

CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS 15

Edited by

T. Abusch, M. J. Geller, Th. P. J. van den Hout
S. M. Maul and F. A. M. Wiggermann

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**Principles of the Relation
between Local Adverb, Verb
and Sentence Particle in Hittite**

F. A. Tjerckstra



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Tel. # 31 (0)50-5717502
Fax. #31 (0)50-5733325
E-mail: styxnl@compuserve.com

Voor mijn ouders

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Foreword

Like many others I discovered Hittitology while studying Greek and Latin, which have remained a passion for me ever since. Professor C. J. Ruijgh first awoke my interest in linguistics, and it is a source of satisfaction for me that in one section of this book I briefly return from my wanderings in Hittite to his beloved field of Greek grammar. In 1985 I was introduced to the Hittite language by Dr. J. de Roos, whose classes were supplemented one year later by the lectures of Professor Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate. In January of 1989, I started a PhD project with him about Middle Hittite Grammar, enabled to do so through a job as *assistent in opleiding* in our Faculty. Especially during my work on Middle Hittite syntax, I was faced time and again by the problem of the function of local adverbs, which far transcends the boundaries of the corpus which I was working on at the time. The puzzlement which took hold of me finally led to a change of subject of my PhD research, allowing me to concentrate all my efforts on the solution of this problem.

My 1993 journey to Chicago greatly furthered the progress of my work. It was helped by subventions of NWO and the Faculty of Languages and Literatures of the University of Amsterdam, and by the willingness of the school where I teach Greek and Latin, *De Nieuwe School* in Amsterdam, to give me paid leave for two weeks. Professor Harry Hoffner allowed me to use the files of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary and put concept versions of a number of entries of the Dictionary at my disposal, while of the staff of the Dictionary Richard Beal and Billy Jean Collins were especially helpful. I completed the manuscript as a guest researcher in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, where Professor Th. P. J. van den Hout shared his room, experience and advice with me. On 7 October 1996 I received the degree of PhD. Preparing the manuscript for publication took some time, especially since our youngest son Rolf was born in January 1997.

A number of new publications came to my attention while the book was being prepared for the press, and could not be incorporated any more, such as Harry Hoffner's new edition of the Hittite Laws (published by Brill: Leiden 1997), Gary Beckman's translation of a large group of Hittite diplomatic texts (published by Scholars Press: Atlanta, Georgia, 1996), and the third fascicle of the P volume of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary.

Among the many persons to whom I feel grateful, I want to single out some for their personal support and assistance. Philo Houwink ten Cate for his patience, support and confidence in the outcome, his wife Annemie for her warm personal interest, Han de Roos for introducing me to the wonders of Hittite, Theo van den Hout for his continuous support and practical advice. I also want to thank the members of my PhD committee, all of whom gave numerous suggestions for greater and smaller improvements at some time during my work; I am especially grateful for Professor Harry Hoffner's close reading of the manuscript and many useful suggestions. Rodie Risselada provided me with useful comments about linguistic matters. Outside of the sphere of Hittite studies, I want to mention Nanda Piersma, the loyal companion of my study and beginning PhD days,

and Zoë Graeter of Gunten (Switzerland), with whom I found refuge many times when my work did not proceed the way I wanted it. Finally I want to thank my parents, my husband Jan-Wim, my late sister's children Joram, Nanja and Joëlle and our sons Carel and Rolf, who together created the happy atmosphere in which I could finish this book.

CHAPTER 1

The problem of the local adverb in Hittite

1.0 Introduction

The problem of the nature and the function of the so-called local adverbs in Hittite has occupied the attention of Hittitologists from the outset of this discipline of cuneiform studies, but the issue has hitherto not been adequately solved. In Hittite linguistics the terms local adverbs and *Ortsadverbien* are used to refer to a group of words that frequently appear in Hittite sentences in various positions, now immediately in front of the verb, then directly following an inflected noun in an oblique case, then again at the beginning of the clause. Although a more neutral term like particle would better cover the wide variety of functions these words may have in the sentence, the conventional term local adverbs will be employed in this study as a general designation of this group of words, in spite of the fact that their function is not exclusively local or adverbial. The term particle will be reserved for the enclitic particles *-an*, *-(a)pa*, *-(a)šta*, *-kan* and *-šan*, further defined below, whose relation with the local adverbs is the subject of this study.

The traditional approach to the problem of the local adverbs was aimed at describing their function as “preverb”, “postposition” or “pure adverb” according to their position in the sentence (§ 1.1.1). The following words belong to this category:¹

<i>anda</i> , <i>andan</i> , “into, in”	<i>katta</i> , <i>kattan</i> , <i>kattanda</i> , “down, downwards”
<i>andurza</i> , “inside”	<i>menahḫanda</i> , “to, towards”
<i>āppa</i> , <i>āppan</i> , “again, back, behind”	<i>parā</i> , “out of, forth”, <i>peran</i> , “in front of” ²
<i>āppanda</i> (<i>āppananda</i>), “behind, after”	<i>pariian</i> , “across, over”
<i>arahza</i> , “outside”, <i>arahzanda</i> , “around”	<i>parranda</i> , “across, over”
<i>arḫa</i> , “away”	<i>šarā</i> , <i>šer</i> , “up, upwards, on top”
[<i>aḫan</i> , “away”, only with other local adverbs]	<i>tapuša</i> , “to the side, sideways”
<i>ištarna</i> , “in between, in the middle”	<i>tapuša</i> , “on the side, next to”

In this study it will be argued that the relation of the local adverb with the verb, or predicate, is crucial to the understanding of its function within the sentence. On the basis of their relation with the predicate, local adverbs can be divided into two groups, viz local adverbs that belong to the predicate and those that are independent of it. The local adverbs in the first group can be shown to influence the meaning or construction of the predicate and to form a unity with it, which will be called a derived predicate. The local adverbs making up the second group have no such influence on the predicate and are optional elements of the sentence (§ 1.2).

¹ The translations given here are only approximate, as many local adverbs can have various shades of meaning, depending on the grammatical context, as will be demonstrated below.

² The plene spelling *pé-e-ra-an* found in contemporary and later copies of Old Hittite originals indicates that the vowel intended by the spelling *PI-ra-an* is really *el* and not *il*. See Neu (1974a: 38 + n. 6 and 11).

The function of the local adverbs will be studied also in relation to the presence of five enclitic particles, *-an*, *-(a)pa*, *-(a)šta*, *-kan* and *-šan*, known to Hittitologists as “sentence particles” or “local particles” (“Ortspartikeln”). In this book the view will be defended that these particles refer to the sentence as a whole, that is first and foremost to the verb as its central element, rather than to individual elements of the sentence. In order to emphasize this relation with the verb the term “sentence particles” will be used, also because the term “local particles” implies at the outset taking a position in the debate about the “local” or the “aspectual” interpretation of these particles (§ 1.1.2). The division of the local adverbs into a dependent and an independent group also throws new light on the relation between local adverb and sentence particle. We will see that in many cases the presence of a sentence particle is the direct result of the addition of a local adverb from the first group to a verb that would otherwise not be accompanied by a sentence particle. These observations enable us to reformulate the relation between local adverb, sentence particle and verb in Hittite sentences.

An attempt will be made to prove this thesis by induction. Four sample verbs will be described in their use with and without local adverbs and sentence particles as they appear in texts of all genres and of all periods of the Hittite language. Three of these are verbs of motion that on the basis of their syntactic constructions can be divided into two groups, each treated in a separate chapter: *ija-* “to be on one’s way, to (be on the) march” (ch. 2); *pai-* “to go”, and *uya-* “to come” (ch. 3). The fact that these verbs belong to the same semantic field enables us to compare them and define which uses and constructions of the verb and which functions of the local adverbs are typical of the individual verb and which follow a more general pattern. In order to verify and complete the results obtained with the verbs of motion, a different type of verb will be dealt with in chapter 4, namely *dā-* “to take, to fetch”, governing sentence structures that are not found with the verbs described in chapter 2–3. Each of these chapters is set up according to a fixed scheme, which is described in § 1.4.

In chapter 5 the results of chapters 2–4 will be compared, the position of local adverbs in the sentence will be described and some general conclusions will be drawn with regard to the interaction of verb, local adverb and sentence particle. In the last section of this chapter the situation with the local adverbs in Hittite will be compared with that of the particles in Homeric Greek. The traditional division of these particles into preverb, preposition and adverb proved as problematic as that of the Hittite local adverbs into preverb, postposition and adverb, and the solutions proposed for this problem provide a nice parallel for the approach to the Hittite situation which is advocated here.

1.1 Status quaestionis

1.1.1 Previous studies of the local adverbs

In his pioneering grammar of the Hittite language, Hrozný (1917: 180–185) described the local adverbs with the general term “*Adverbien*” and listed them along with particles, conjunctions and other adverbs in chapter 4, “*Die wichtigsten Adverbien, Präpositionen und Partikeln*”. When in 1936 Zuntz published her *Inaugural-Dissertation* about “*Die hethitischen Ortsadverbien arḫa, parā, piran*”, a few attempts had been made by other

scholars to further specify the function of the local adverbs, and the terms “postposition” and “preverb” had made their way into Hittite linguistics.³ Zuntz (1936: 8) was the first to attempt a systematic division of the use of the local adverbs into the three syntactic categories of “adverb”, “preverb” and “postposition”, on the basis of the formal criterion of their position in the sentence. In her own words:

“Ich nenne ein Ortsadverb

I. selbständiges Adverb,

- a) wo es das Prädikat eines Satzes bildet.
- b) wo das enkl. Poss.-Pron. als Suffix mit ihm verbunden auftritt.
- c) wo es vom Verbum getrennt, an erster Stelle im Satze oder direkt hinter der satzeinleitenden Partikel steht.

II. Postposition,

wo es hinter einem Nomen mit “regiertem” Cas. obl. steht.

III. Präverb,

wo es vor einer Verbalform steht.”

A conspicuous disadvantage of Zuntz’s method of approach is that it cannot be used in the numerous cases where the local adverb is found between an inflected noun and the verb, as in the following example:

(1-NS)⁴ *n=ašta GAL DUMU.É.GAL II NINDA.GUR₄.RA GIŠBANŠUR-az arḫa dāi*
 “The chief of palace attendants takes two thick breads away from the table.”
 KUB II 13 I 59–60 (CTH 591.5A)

In this position, for which Zuntz (1936: 9) used the term “*Mittelstellung*”, the local adverb *arḫa* “away” can be called a postposition, since it immediately follows the ablative *GIŠBANŠUR-az* “from the table”, but with the same right it could be dubbed a preverb, since it precedes the verb *dā-* “to take, to fetch”. Zuntz’s solution for this dilemma was to consider *arḫa* and *parā* in all cases of *Mittelstellung* as a preverb and *peran* in the same position always as a postposition. She justified this choice by pointing out that example (1-NS) can be compared with example (2-NS) below, where the same expression is found with a different word order and where *arḫa* is not in *Mittelstellung*:

(2-NS) *n=ašta DUMU É.GAL GIŠDAG-az GIŠkalmuš GIŠŠUKUR.ḪI.ḪA arḫa dāi*
 “The palace attendant takes the *lituus* (and) the spears away from the throne.”
 KUB X 18 VI 6–8 (CTH 594.1A)

³ See for instance the contributions by Forrer (1922), Delaporte (1929) and Sturtevant (1933) as discussed by Zuntz (1936: 7–8).

⁴ Example (1-NS) will be discussed in § 4.2.2, where it is cited as (277-NS). The abbreviations in the numbering of the examples are explained in § 1.5.

Since the Object ^{GIŠ}*kalmuš* ^{GIŠ}*ŠUKUR.HI.A* “the *lituus* (and) the spears” is placed between *arḥa* and the ablative ^{GIŠ}*DAG-az*, the local adverb *arḥa*, in her opinion, cannot belong to the oblique case form, but must in this example, and for that reason apparently also in other instances of *Mittelstellung* of *arḥa* with this verb and others, be a preverb belonging to the verb. For *peran* a similar comparison is made to show that *peran* in this ambiguous position is to be interpreted as a postposition.⁵

Another problem is presented by those cases in which a local adverb is in sentence initial position. According to Zuntz’s definitions a local adverb at the beginning of the sentence and separated from the verb would be an adverb (Ic). In her conclusions, however, she suggested that in cases where they form “eine begriffliche Einheit”, they are rather to be interpreted as preverbs in “*Sperrstellung*” or “*Tmesis*” (1936: 118–119).

In a 1963 article Goetze concerned himself with the question under what conditions a local adverb can be classified as preverb, postposition or adverb, especially in the case of *Mittelstellung*. In order to decide about the function of a local adverb in this position one has to determine, whether it is in “nexus” with (i.e. belongs to) the verb, and thus a preverb, or with the “directional case” and therewith a postposition.⁶ When the local adverb can be separated from the verb or directional case by a constituent with the function Subject or Object, there is apparently no nexus and the local adverb does not belong to the verb or the directional case in question. When dealing with the word order directional case – local adverb – verb, one has to look for additional examples in which a Subject or an Object is inserted in the decisive spot. In fact, the same reasoning was followed by Zuntz, albeit only once, with regard to *arḥa* in (1-NS) and (2-NS). Unfortunately, there are many occurrences of *Mittelstellung* in which no comparable examples can be found which have a different word order. Also, Goetze does not specify what he considered suitable examples to use as comparable evidence: all examples of the same construction of local adverb and verb, or only those with the same meaning? The following example is cited by Goetze as evidence for *parā* as a postposition, since the Subject is inserted between *parā* and the verb *anija-* “to make, to draw up, to copy”:⁷

(3-MH+) *kī=ma=kan tuppī ANA dUTU^{ŠI}KA×U-az parā mGIŠ GIDRU. DINGIR^{LIM}-iš anijat* “Hattušiliš wrote down this tablet from the mouth of His Majesty.”
KUB XV 31 IV 38’–40’ (CTH 484.1A) ed. Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 170–171, 179)⁸

As mentioned in the CHD (P/2: 117–118), the expression *ANA dUTU^{ŠI}iššaz (KA×U-az) parā aniia-*, “to write down from the mouth of His Majesty” is attested in other colophon texts with a different word order, for instance:

⁵ The fact that *peran* in *Mittelstellung* is always a postposition is, according to Zuntz (1936: 9), indicated by the fact that the same expression can be found with *peran* and with *PANI*: In KUB IX 16 I 13–14 (CTH 626.11A) one finds *nu [ḥar(puš)] ID-i=šan peran ḥarpanzi* “They pile up the heaps in front of the river” and in KUB X 48 II 18–19 (CTH 626.11B) *nu=kan ŠA LÚ.MEŠ dU ḥarpuš [] INA URU Nirḥanta PANI ID ḥarpanzi* “The heaps of the men of the Storm god [] they pile up in Nirḥanta, in front of the river”. Both examples are also discussed by Siegelová (1971: 76).

⁶ The term “directional case” is used by Goetze to denote an inflected nominal form (that can be) governed by a local adverb.

⁷ My proposal for the interpretation of (3-MH+), (4-MH) and (5-MH) can be found in § 5.4.2.

⁸ See the treatment of this instance in § 5.4.2.

(4-MH) *ANA dUTU^{ŠI}=ia=at=kan INA URU Zithara INA BURU₁₄ KA×U-az parā anijayen* “and from His Majesty’s mouth we wrote it down in the city Zithara, in harvest time.”
KUB XXIX 8 IV 38–39 (CTH 777) ed. Haas (1984: 100)

(5-MH) *[ANA dUTU^{ŠI}=i]a=at=kan KA×U-az INA URU Zi[thar]a [INA BURU₁₄ p]arā anijayen* “and from the mouth of His Majesty we wrote it down in the city Zithara, in harvest time.”
KBo XXIII 6+ FHG 20 (IV) 9–10 (CTH 777) ed. Haas (1984: 65)

These examples demonstrate that with this method two different conclusions can be drawn about the function of *parā* in one and the same expression. In (3-MH) *parā* is a postposition and in (5-MH) a preverb. With regard to a similar case of an expression attested with various patterns of word order, Goetze remarked that, in an inflected language like Hittite, with a relatively free word order, “it is not surprising that in numerous cases variants occur which, extremely similar to another, seem to contain preverbs here but postpositions there”. To this observation he added the following conclusion: “looking for the common denominator under which all these uses may be subsumed we might say: the local adverb is attached, either enclitically or proclitically, to that element of the sentence which is to be emphasized (1963: 100).” If the difference between preverb and postposition is a matter of emphasis only, the problem of the function of *parā* in (4-MH) is, in my opinion, unsolvable, since the function of the local adverb can be different in any other instance of the same expression. If, on the other hand, the terms preverb and postposition indicate a different function in the sentence, examples like the ones above with *parā aniia-*, show that this difference cannot be determined on the basis of word order.⁹ Goetze is right that in these cases of variable word order stylistic (or pragmatic) factors play an important role.¹⁰

Zuntz’s classification scheme was later adopted by Kammenhuber (1973: 143), who redefined the categories adverb (I) and preverb (III) as follows:

- “Adverb: 1. Oberbegriff für Adverb, Postposition, Präverb; daher auch bei Unge-deutetem gebraucht;
2. Ohne Bezugswort in dem betr. Satz (das Bezugswort kann im voraus-gehenden Satz stehen);

Präverb: + Verb – ohne Rücksicht auf die Stellung im Satz.”

In this scheme Kammenhuber made allowance for the fact that a local adverb in sentence initial position can be a preverb, but the problem of *Mittelstellung* is not removed by her modifications. This scheme does not inform us on what grounds a local adverb is to be defined as belonging to the verb (preverb), if it is not its position in front of the verb.

⁹ Cf. the remark in the CHD (P/2: 118) that “in the many cases where the order is abl. – *parā* – verb, a decision between preverb or postposition for *parā* is impossible and unnecessary”.

¹⁰ See the discussion of these instances in § 5.4.2.

These attempts to attribute different functions to the local adverbs according to their position in the sentence were sharply criticized by Starke (1977: 127–131) in his systematic and comprehensive study of the function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite. This book is a turning point in the description of the function of local adverbs, since it is the first to define the role of local adverbs in terms of their relation with the verb. Starke concluded that previous studies had failed to produce proof for the existence of preverbs and postpositions in Hittite and postulated that Hittite only had the category adverb. Starke's line of thought about the function of the local adverbs can be summarized as follows (1977: 131–200):¹¹ Other scholars, to wit Laroche (1970: 35–45) and Neu (1974a: 67–69), demonstrated that the local adverbs are in origin nouns. On the basis of their form they can be divided into five groups, each ending representing a different case form:¹²

Ending:	Case form:
(I) <i>-a</i> (<i>anda</i> , <i>āppa</i> etc.)	“allative”
(II) <i>-n</i> (<i>andan</i> , <i>āppan</i> etc.)	“accusative”
(III) <i>-i</i> (<i>ištarni=</i> , <i>katti=</i>)	“locative”
(IV) <i>-za</i> (<i>arahza</i> , <i>tapuša</i>)	“ablative”
(V) without ending (<i>šer</i>)	“endungslose Lokativ”

(Table 1.1. Division of local adverbs according to ending, by Starke (1977: 132).)

Most of the local adverbs ending in *-a* (group I) correspond with a local adverb with the ending *-n* (group II), which is formed with the same stem, as illustrated in table 1.2:

Group I:	Group II:
<i>anda</i>	<i>andan</i>
<i>āppa</i>	<i>āppan</i>
<i>katta</i>	<i>kattan</i>
<i>parā</i>	<i>peran</i>
<i>šarā</i>	<i>šer</i> ¹³

(Table 1.2. Two groups of corresponding local adverbs, by Starke (1977: 133).)

¹¹ Starke's treatment of the local adverbs in Old Hittite will be described here without further comment. My own, in some aspects dissenting, opinion about the function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite can be found in § 5.2.

¹² Of the local adverbs listed in § 1.0 the following do not fall into these five categories: *āppanda*, *āppananda*, *arahzanda*, *menahhanda*, *parranda*, *parijan*. For remarks about the form of *āppanda* and *āppananda* see Otten and Souček (1969: 93–94), for *arahzanda* and *menahhanda* see Laroche (1970: 37–38). It should be remarked that *ayan* is not a local adverb in its own right and is never used independently, but only in combination with the local adverbs *arha*, *katta* and *šarā*; see Kammenhuber (HW², A: 635–636) and Puhvel (HED, Vol. 1: 245).

¹³ This local adverb is in origin a different case form (table 1.1), but shares all properties of the local adverbs in this group.

Starke was able to show that in Old Hittite the local adverbs of group I had a different function from those of group II and that the members of each of these groups shared a number of common features that set them apart from those of the other group.¹⁴ When a local adverb of group I occurs with a dative or allative in the same sentence, the local adverb is always in front of this case form, as for instance in *anda parna* “into the house”.¹⁵ According to Starke these local adverbs ending in *-a* do not just originate from nouns in the allative, but in Old Hittite still behave like nouns in the allative case (1977: 149): “Es wäre eigentlich wörtlich zu übersetzen: *anda* “ins Innere”, *āppa* “zur Rück-/Hinter(seite)”, *katta* “zur Unter(seite)”, *parā* “zur Vorder(seite)”, *šarā* “zur Ober(seite)”.¹⁶ As nouns in the allative they are in apposition with the dative or allative, which they mostly precede. Though the local adverbs of group II do not all have a locative ending, they do, according to Starke, function in the same way as nouns in the locative. Before dealing with the function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite, Starke gave a convincing description of the function of the “*dimensionale Kasus*” in Old Hittite (i.e. allative, locative, ablative, instrumental and dative) and reached the important conclusion that with animate nouns the dative fulfills the function that the allative, locative and ablative have with inanimate nouns.¹⁷ In his opinion, nouns in the allative (*a*-case) are only found with “*direktivische Verben*” and are therefore always dependent on the verb, and nouns in the locative are always independent of the verb, or in his own terminology the allative and the locative take “*semantisch eine Zentral- bzw. Randposition im syntaktischen Feld des Satzes*” (1977: 131). In accordance with their function as nouns in the allative or locative, Starke considers all local adverbs of group I as dependent on the verb and all local adverbs of group II as independent of the verb, regardless of the meaning or construction of that particular verb (1977: 166–167).

In contrast with the local adverbs of group I, those belonging to group II can:

- (1) be placed before a noun in the locative, e.g. *andan É-ri* “in the house”;
- (2) be placed behind a noun in the locative or dative, e.g. *É-ri andan* “in the house” and *LUGAL-i peran* “in front of the king”;
- (3) be constructed with a (preceding) noun in the genitive, e.g. *LUGAL-uaš peran* “in front of the king”;
- (4) be constructed with an enclitic possessive pronoun, e.g. *pera(n)=mmit* “in front of me”.

When the local adverb precedes the noun in the locative (1), Starke (1977: 172–173) interprets the construction, in conformity with the construction of a local adverb of

¹⁴ The use of the local adverb *katta* in Old Hittite texts does not completely fit into this scheme; see § 5.3.

¹⁵ Following the CHD (L-N: xii-xiii), the Old Hittite *a*-case has been called “allative” in preference to the term “Terminativ” used by Starke (1977: 23).

¹⁶ Starke suggested that his conclusions about the nominal character of the local adverb do not only apply to the Old Hittite situation, but are also valid in later Hittite (1977: 151, 177).

¹⁷ The terms animate noun and inanimate noun are used here in the sense of nouns indicating living beings and inanimate entities respectively and correspond with Starke's distinction of nouns belonging to the “Personenklasse” and those of the “Sachklasse”. Note that Starke already established that nouns designating animals belong to the “Personenklasse” as well (1977: 100). Weitenberg (1987: 219–220) rightly stressed that Starke's classes are semantic categories and do not overlap with the two gender classes *commune* and *neutrum*. Neuter nouns all belong to the “Sachklasse”, but, as already noted by Starke himself (1977: 43), words of common gender may belong either to the “Sachklasse” or to the “Personenklasse”. For the terms Old Hittite, Middle Hittite, New Hittite and the dating of texts see § 1.5.

group I with a noun in the allative (*anda parna*), as two locatives in apposition. In the example *andan É-ri* the first noun (*andan*) denotes the general location as “inside” and the second (*É-ri*) specifies it as “in the house”.

Regarding construction (2) and (3), Starke (1977: 173–176) argued that, since these two constructions could replace each other in Old Hittite, they must have had the same function. The only construction that can replace the construction with a genitive attribute is that of the “partitive apposition”, so construction (2) is likely to be a “partitive apposition”. When two nouns are in partitive apposition, the first noun (e.g. *LUGAL-i*) indicates the whole and the second (e.g. *peran*) the part. As was demonstrated in a joint article by Carruba, Souček and Sternemann (1965: 14–15) the partitive apposition becomes increasingly popular from Middle Hittite onwards. The reason that the construction with the genitive case is more frequent than the one with the preceding dative or locative is, according to Starke (1977: 175–176), to be found in the fact that the partitive apposition was not frequently used in Old Hittite and does not necessarily prove Neu’s (1974a: 68–69) view that the construction with the genitive case (*LUGAL-uaš *peran**) is older and was gradually replaced by the one with the dative or locative (*LUGAL-i *peran**).¹⁸ Starke rejected Neu’s explanation that this change was caused by the fact that “der ehemalige Substantivcharakter von *peran* oder *āppan* im Bewußtsein des Sprechers immer mehr verloren ging (...) so wurde aus *LUGAL-uaš *peran**, das wörtlich mit ‘(zur) Vorder(seite) des Königs (hin)’ zu übersetzen wäre, ein neues syntagma: *LUGAL-i *peran** (wörtlich ‘beim König vorn)’”. Neu (1980b: 23 n. 48) in his turn criticized Starke’s idea that *LUGAL-i *peran** is a partitive apposition by stating that a partitive apposition with *LUGAL* and *peran* would be of the form **LUGAL-un *peran**, since *peran* is an accusative case in form, although a locative in function.¹⁹

The function of the other local adverbs that occur in Old Hittite texts, but do not belong to group I and II was treated by Starke in separate paragraphs. In his view *arḫa*, which is rare in Old Hittite texts, does not belong to the category of Old Hittite local adverbs, but simply is the allative of the noun *arḫa*- meaning “to the border” (1977: 134). To *āppanda* / *āppananda*, *ištarna* / *ištarni*= and *menahḫanda* he attributed a locative function, but regarded the Old Hittite evidence for *araḫza*, *tapuša* and *tapuša* as too limited to define their function with any certainty (1977: 188–200).

In a review of Starke’s book, Josephson (1981: 101–103) made the important observation that a local adverb can be called a preverb if it changes the meaning of the verb and concluded that in Old Hittite one can already observe “*Präverbien in nascendo*”. He also suggested that in examples like *LUGAL-i *peran* ḫuyai*- “to walk in front of the king” (construction 2) we may have a postposition *in nascendo*.

Boley (1985) wrote an article about the syntax of the Hittite Place Words (=local adverbs) from Old Hittite to New Hittite.²⁰ She rejected Starke’s theory that the local adverbs are nominal in character, among others objecting to it that it is typologically untenable “and not consonant with Indo-European patterns, from which the Hittite usage

must, at least in part, derive” (1985: 7–8). About the position in the sentence she seems on the whole to agree with Starke, although she remarked that “motion place words” (= local adverbs of Starke’s group I) now and then follow instead of precede a noun in the allative or dative in Old Hittite.²¹ Starke’s concepts of “Zentral-” and “Randposition” are adopted by Boley, but she rightly noticed that “stative local adverbs” (= local adverbs of Starke’s group II) can also be dependent on the verb (1985: 19). According to Boley the syntax of the local adverbs is profoundly changed in Middle Hittite. Whereas in Old Hittite motion place words (group I) are found with “adverbial” function and stative place words (group II) with “adnominal” function, they can in Middle Hittite be observed to take over each other’s functions. She also noted an increasing tendency in Middle Hittite to connect the place word with the verb. The unities formed by the place word and verb in the case of adverbial use were described by Boley as “PW + V (=Place Word + Verb) phrases”, which she considered as syntactic unities already in Old Hittite. From the fact that place word and verb can be separated by, for instance, a negation, she concluded that true compounds do not seem to be attested for Old Hittite (1985: 14). An example of a motion place word with adnominal function is the use of *É-ri anda* instead of *É-ri andan* “inside the house”. As an example of a stative place word with adverbial function Boley cited the expression *āppan ar*- “to stand behind, to support”, which is described as “a phrasal verb, requiring a locative complement” (1985: 30).

In her book on Old Hittite word order, Luraghi makes some interesting observations about the function of local adverbs in Old Hittite (1990: 31–35). She, for instance, suggested that in the case of *parā ep*- the addition of *parā* seems to influence the valency of the verb and thus builds at least a semantic unit, if not a true compound (1990: 33). About local adverbs in *-n* she stated, without further argumentation, that they can form a semantic unit with the verb or occur as Complements of bi- or trivalent verbs.²²

When two local adverbs occur in one clause, often in juxtaposition, they either form a unity or function independently of each other. Kammenhuber (1974) cited many examples in which two local adverbs show a formal unity. Among these are cases where two local adverbs occur in sentence initial position and the sentence connective follows after the second local adverb and a few sporadic examples in which two local adverbs are written together, without any word division.²³

In the CHD (L-N: 96–97 s.v. *-ma*) a special usage of local adverbs in paragraph initial or sentence initial position is described, in which they, often followed by the particle *-ma*, connect a paragraph or a sentence with the preceding one. In this use the local adverbs do not have any function within the sentence, but simply serve as connectors adding one sentence to the other, for instance, *anda = ma* “moreover” *āppa(= ma)* “afterwards, later” *āppanda(ma)* “afterwards, later” and *parā(= ma)* “further, moreover, additionally”.²⁴

²¹ See Luraghi (1990: 32–34) and the remarks about the position of local adverbs in the sentence in Old Hittite in § 5.4.1.

²² These remarks are further discussed in § 5.2.

²³ For examples of two local adverbs in sentence initial position see Kammenhuber (1974: 153–156). Unfortunately no such examples are found with the predicates treated in ch. 2–5. For examples of two local adverbs without word division see Kammenhuber (1974: 157–158) and § 4.2.9 and 4.2.10, n. 90.

²⁴ Compare the following observations in the CHD: “*anda = ma* which is paragraph initial, and which is not properly the local preverb “in, into, together” but an adverb of transition which connects the new paragraph with the preceding”, with reference to Otten and von Schuler (L-N: 96), and “*āppa = ma* which is clause initial,

¹⁸ Starke does admit that the construction with the genitive case is more frequent in Old Hittite and is completely replaced by the construction with dative or locative in Middle and New Hittite (1977: 176).

¹⁹ This criticism is shared by Josephson (1981: 103).

²⁰ In general, I agree with her conclusions about the change in the position of local adverbs in Middle Hittite, their growing tendency to coalesce with the verb and the merging in function between local adverbs ending in *-a* and *-n*, but arguments are often lacking and her line of thought is hard to follow.

This use of *anda*, *parā* etc. can be compared with that of the connector *namma* (= *ma*) at the beginning of a paragraph, described in the CHD (L-N: 390). These cases, of course, are irrelevant to the problem of the relationship between local adverb and verb.²⁵

1.1.2 Previous studies of the sentence particles

With regard to the Hittite sentence particles *-an*, *-(a)pa*, *-(a)šta*, *-kan* and *-šan*, I will be primarily concerned with explaining their presence and relation to the use of local adverbs and to a lesser extent with identifying their function and meaning. Before giving a summarizing survey of the current opinions about both aspects of these particles, a few remarks need to be made about their chronological distribution.

The particle *-an* is rare and only found in Old Hittite texts.²⁶ The archaic character of the particle *-(a)pa* was already noted by Sommer (1938: 55). It seems to have fallen into disuse by the Middle Hittite period.²⁷ Also the other three particles *-kan*, *-ašta* and *-šan* are not used with the same frequency in all phases of the Hittite language.²⁸ In Old Hittite, sentence particles are on the whole less frequently employed than in later Hittite. The particle *-kan* is rarely found in Old Hittite and its use gradually increased from Old to New Hittite, whereby two developments can be noted.²⁹ On the one hand it is increasingly used with verbs that are found without particle in Old Hittite, while on the other hand it gradually replaces the other particles. Not only does it appear to be responsible for the disappearance of the particle *-an* after Old Hittite, the particle *-kan* can also be observed to take over the function of *-(a)šta*.³⁰ Although, for instance, Oettinger (1976: 67–70) argued that this interchange took place in Middle Hittite, the first traces of it can be found already in Old Hittite.³¹ According to Oettinger in the larger Middle Hittite texts a “silbenrhythmische, komplementäre Verteilung” can be observed to work, implying that normally the particle *-kan* is found, but after *nu-* the particle *-(a)šta* is used instead. In a later phase the use of *n=ašta* (the only representation of *-ašta* at this stage) is considerably reduced too and in the texts from the reign of Tuthaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II *-ašta* is rarely used.³² As remarked by Hoffner (1972: 32) the

frequently paragraph initial, is not the preverb, but a transitional adverb, relating paragraphs in a temporal sequence” (L-N: 97). Kammenhuber’s statement (1973: 149–150 + n. 12) that clause initial *anda=ma* is a “jungheth. Neubildung” has been refuted by Neu (1983: 18 + n. 114) and CHD (L-N: 96), where it is observed that “its diachronic distribution was OH and MH, passing out of use in early NH”.

²⁵ An example of this paragraph initial use can be found in (108-MH), § 3.2.3, where *appa=ma* introduces a sentence with *arḫa uya-*.

²⁶ See Otten and Souček (1969: 80–81), Kammenhuber (HW², A: 69–70). There is evidence that *-an* could be replaced by *-kan*; see Houwink ten Cate (1970: 31+n.4). The Middle Hittite examples of *-an* listed by Josephson (1972: 339–342) are all cases of *-za-an*, which may also be interpreted as *-za=šan*; see Kammenhuber (HW², A: 70) and Neu (1968c: 175).

²⁷ There are no certain examples in Middle Hittite originals; see Melchert (1977: 19). The New Hittite examples listed by Kammenhuber (HW², A 125–130) all come from (archaizing²) mythological texts, omens and rituals; see Josephson (1972: 335).

²⁸ According to Kammenhuber (1979: 200) the particles *-ašta*, *kan* and *-šan* are all used frequently up to the 13th century.

²⁹ See e.g. Laroche (1961: 35), Carruba, Souček and Sternemann (1965: 10–13) and Otten and Souček (1969: 80).

³⁰ For examples see Houwink ten Cate (1970: 24–25, 30–31), Neu and Rüster (1973: 231, 233) and Oettinger (1976: 670–70).

³¹ See, for example, the use of *-kan* instead of *-ašta* with trivalent *dā-* mentioned in § 4.1.6.

³² See also van den Hout (1992: 291) and (1995: 59–60), where he mentions the surprisingly high number

particle *-šan* is “exceedingly rare after Muwatalli”. There are hardly any examples of the particle *-šan* in late New Hittite texts from the reign of Tuthaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II).³³ The number of Hittite sentence particles was thus reduced in the course of the history of the Hittite language from five in Old Hittite to one in the latest phase of the language. This tendency of the sentence particles to take over each other’s functions makes it hard to define their individual meaning and function, since in the only period in which all five of them were present and presumably expressed their own typical function, the use of sentence particles was far more restricted than in later Hittite and may not be representative for the situation in later Hittite.

In the continuing debate about the function of these particles two opposing views have been defended. The first is the local theory which was introduced by Götze (1933b), the other is the aspectual theory developed by Josephson (1972). Two very readable surveys of earlier research on the topic can be found in Josephson (1972: 1–20) and Carruba (1985: 86–93). I will summarize the discussion before 1985 by describing a few landmarks, which are of special interest for my treatment of the subject, and give a short overview of the studies that have appeared since Carruba’s 1985 summary.

In Götze’s local theory (1933b, 1950) the particles *-kan* and *-šan* imply an indication of local relation (“Ortsbezug”). Götze connects the use of sentence particles with the presence of local adverbs in the sentence, although he notes that they are also found in clauses with verbs that are not accompanied by local adverbs. Concentrating on the particle *-kan*, he concluded that the use of certain local adverbs excludes the presence of *-kan*, e.g. *andan*, *kattan*, *āppanda* and *menahḫanda*, though with other local adverbs it is regularly found, but may be absent when the local adverb has a different meaning. Götze presented his findings in the following table:

	ohne <i>-kan</i>	mit <i>-kan</i>
<i>anda</i>	“weiter ein”	“ein zu”
<i>āppa</i>	“zurück”	“aus, weg”
<i>arḫa</i>	“heim”	“aus, weg”
<i>parā</i>	“weiter nach vorn”	“nach vorn”
<i>katta</i>	“wieder nach unten”	“nach unten”
<i>šarā</i>	“wieder nach oben”	“nach oben”

(Table 1.3. Relation between local adverb and sentence particle according to Götze (1933b: 29).)

In her treatment of the verbs used in combination with *arḫa*, *parā* and *peran*, Zuntz consistently added notes about the presence or absence of sentence particles. In her summary (1936: 106–111) she largely accepted Götze’s ideas, and added the valuable remark that *-kan* and *-šan* can also be used anaphorically, or as she put it, they can “in geradezu adverbiallem Gebrauch auf eine Ortsbestimmung im vorangehenden Satze

of six examples of *-ašta* in the bronze tablet Bo 86/299, and Boley (1992: 28).

³³ According to van den Hout (1995: 73) the only example of *-šan* in a late New Hittite text occurs in the bronze tablet Bo 86/299 IV 25, ed. Otten (1988: 26). In the corresponding passage in KBo IV 10 rev. 23, ed. van den Hout (1995: 46) the particle *-kan* is used. For the replacement of *-šan* by *-kan* see also Neu and Rüster (1973: 231, 233) and Boley (1992: 28).

Bezug nehmen und dann “daher” bzw. “darüber” oder ähnl. heißen” (1936: 107).³⁴ The same idea was formulated by Pedersen (1938: 152): “Die Funktion der Partikeln erinnert also an d. *her-*, *hin-* in *her-ein*, *hin-ein* und noch mehr an niederl. *er*, z.B. in *ik heb er veel over nagedacht* ‘ich habe viel darüber nachgedacht’ ”.

In the treatment of *arḫa* in the second edition of the “Hethitisches Wörterbuch” by Kammenhuber, she convincingly showed that Götze’s idea that *arḫa* means “weg” when used with *-kan*, and “heim” when used without *-kan*, only works with motion verbs that are formed with the prefix *pe-* and *u-* “hin” und “her” (HW², A: 259, 263–273).³⁵

Carruba (1964, 1969, 1985) followed Götze’s local interpretation of the sentence particles. In his first publication on this topic we find the following summary of his opinion about the local function of these particles:

<i>-kan</i> :	Bewegung zu einem Punkt hin im allgemeinen Sinn
<i>-šan</i> :	Bewegung auf oder über etwas
<i>-(a)šta</i> :	Bewegung aus oder auf oder in einem Zentrum
<i>-(a)pa</i> :	Bewegung an einem Punkt heran, auf einen Punkt zu

(Table 1.4. Local function of particles according to Carruba (1964: 430).)

Next to a local role within the sentence, Carruba (1985) also attributed a relational-temporal function to them in the wider context of the whole paragraph or in a succession of clauses belonging together. “Es ist nicht anders im Deutschen mit den relativen Adverbien ‘dazu’, ‘dabei’, ‘darunter’ usw., welche ursprünglich örtliche, dann auch zeitliche Bezüge feststellen und hervorheben” (1985: 89). This “textsyntaktische anaphorische Bezug” would be the main function of the particles after the Middle Hittite period, whereas in Old Hittite “der satzinnere, syntaktische Bezug” was prominent (1985: 90–91).³⁶

An objection to the local theory is that these particles are also found with verbs that do not express or imply any motion, for example the verb *ḫarnink-* “to destroy”. This argument was brought up by Schwartz in a discussion with Goetze in volume 70 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1950). Schwarz remarked that *-kan* may occur with any verb and came up with the solution that *-kan* is a “connective”. Later Laroche (1961) asserted that *-kan* does not always indicate a location and that it certainly has to do with modality of the verb (perfective aspect).

Josephson (1972) developed an aspectual theory to describe the five Hittite sentence particles. Whereas in the local interpretation the relation of the particle with the local adverb is emphasized, Josephson stated that: “the particles do not refer exclusively to the verb, but are connected with the inflection of the entire phrase. Mostly, however, they should be understood as most intimately qualifying the predicate”. In his material he found no indication of a specific connection of any particle with any local adverb, since there are no local adverbs that only occur with one particular sentence particle and even the local adverbs *andan*, *āppan* and *peran* do not prevent the use of a particle (1972: 352–353). In his view (1972: 416–417 et passim) the particle *-kan* first of all denotes

³⁴ For examples of this anaphoric use of *-ašta* and *-kan* with the verb *dā-* see § 4.1.6.

³⁵ In § 3.2.3 it will be shown that the difference in meaning is syntactically motivated.

³⁶ Note that this anaphoric use of the particles was already observed by Zuntz (1936) and Pedersen (1938).

“perfective” aspect of the verb, but also expresses a manner of action (“Aktionsart”): the perfective action is normally seen as “terminal” (that is it indicates that the action is limited). The particles *-šan* and *-ašta* do not function on the aspectual level, but designate manner of action. The particle *-ašta*, like *-kan*, indicates terminal manner of action and *-šan* is the sign of “intraterminality” (that is, it indicates that the action develops in the direction of a goal). The particle *-(a)pa* is also qualified as designating manner of action, perhaps similar to *-ašta*. The function of the Old Hittite *-an* is regarded as possibly equivalent to *-kan* (1972: 344).

Boley (1989) considered the particles in Old Hittite and Middle Hittite with special reference to their relation with what she calls the place words (=local adverbs). In this book and in two later articles (1992 and 1994) we find many observations and conjectures about the relation of the particles and the local adverbs, though her ideas are not completely vindicated by her highly casuistic treatment of individual text passages and the limited amount of texts on which they are based (1989: 22–24). According to Boley the particles in Old Hittite had both local and aspectual functions. Stating that they already had connections with the local adverbs in Old Hittite, she surmised that in Middle Hittite “a profound alteration (took place) in the relation of the particles to the place words, which ultimately led to the strengthening of the place words at the expense of the particles” (1989: 334). The local function of the particles in Old Hittite is taken over in Middle Hittite by “standardized place words + particle phrases”, a situation which is also found in the later phases of the Hittite language (1992: 5).

Neither the local nor the aspectual theory seems to be able to explain the function of the sentence particles in each of their attestations. In an article about the use of sentence particles with *šanḫ-* “to seek”, “to clean” and *ḫarnink-* “to destroy”, Hoffner (1992) allowed for the possibility that sentence particles can have both functions, by showing that they seem to have a local function with *šanḫ-*, but have an aspectual role or indicate manner of action (“Aktionsart”) with *ḫarnink-*.

Finally the 1993 article by Neu should be mentioned in which he discussed sentences with two sentence particles and cases in which a sentence particle does not follow the first word of the sentence, but is found in the middle of the sentence. In this article Neu advocates a local interpretation of the sentence particles.

1.2 Local adverbs and verbal valency

We saw that the traditional approach of labelling local adverbs as preverb, postposition or pure adverb solely on the basis of their position in the sentence cannot solve the many problems involved. Starke (1977) was the first to describe the function of the local adverbs in terms of their dependence on the verb. He divided local adverbs on formal grounds into a group functioning as nouns in the allative and one of nouns in the locative and accordingly classified them as being in “Zentralposition” (dependent) or in “Randposition” (independent). A similar concept of dependence is used by Boley (1985), but the terms “nuclear” and “non-nuclear”, which she explains as the equivalents of Starke’s concepts of “Zentralposition” and “Randposition”, are not systematically applied in her description, and alternate with ambiguous designations like “adnominal” and “adverbal” (1985: 8). The view taken in this study is that dependence on the verb is

not determined by the case form of a noun or local adverb, but by the meaning of the verb which may or may not require the presence of a noun in a particular case form. Subscribing to the linguistic view that the verb is to be regarded as the central element of the sentence, my approach to this problem will be to start from the verb and compare its construction and meaning in its use with and without local adverbs. In this way it can be decided whether the local adverb influences the meaning or construction of the verb, in which case it is called dependent, or whether it has no function within the construction governed by the verb, in which case it is denoted independent of the verb.

The idea that the verb is the centre of the sentence, which governs the other elements, was first used in a linguistic model by Tesnière (1959). His ideas were further developed and his model adopted by other scholars under various names and forms, for instance "Valency grammar" ("Valenz-Grammatik"), "Dependency Grammar" ("Dependenz-Grammatik") and "Functional Grammar". The term "valency" was introduced into linguistics to describe the capacity each verb has for combining with particular patterns of other sentence constituents.³⁷ A survey of the historical development of the concept of verbal valency and the various linguistic models based upon this privileged position of the verb can be found in Happ (1976: 24–57, 313–346) and Allerton (1982: 1–29).³⁸ In the present study the function of the local adverb in Hittite sentences will be described following the model and terminology of Functional Grammar as developed by Dik (1978, 1989), in the adaptation for the description of Latin by Pinkster (1972, 1990).³⁹

According to this view the central element of every sentence is the constituent functioning as Predicate⁴⁰. In most sentences the predicate is a verb, but it can, for example, also be a combination of an adjective or adverb with a copula⁴¹. In example (1) and (2) below *stumbled* and *was unhappy* are examples of predicate constituents:⁴²

(1) *Oliver stumbled.*

(2) *Oliver was unhappy.*

Each predicate has the potential for occurring with a given number of other constituents in a fixed sentence structure or predicate frame. The English verb *to open* in (3), for example, requires two "companion nouns" (Allerton 1982: 2) to form a complete, meaningful sentence, while *to stumble* in (1) only needs one:

³⁷ For this definition of the term valency as applied to a verb, see Allerton (1982: 2).

³⁸ See also the bibliography in Pinkster (1990: 4–5).

³⁹ The summary of this theory below is largely based on Pinkster (1990: 1–31). An example of a general theoretical approach to a problem of Hittite grammar is Luraghi's study (1990) on word order in Old Hittite; see § 5.4.1.

⁴⁰ The term sentence will be used throughout this study in the sense of simple sentence, (i.e. a sentence consisting of one single independent clause). See Quirk et al. (1985: 47).

⁴¹ Following Pinkster we will use the shorter term predicate for "constituent functioning as Predicate". From now on the term verb will only be used to indicate that a word is of the syntactic category verb as opposed to, for instance, noun or adverb.

⁴² The English examples used as illustration in this paragraph, are cited from Allerton's (1982) book on English verbal valency, viz p. 32 (1), p. 36 (16), p. 35 (14a) and p. 32 (5).

(3) *Oliver suddenly opened the door.*

The verb *to open* can be called bivalent, and *to stumble* monovalent. With these verbs the difference between monovalent and bivalent coincides with the traditional opposition "intransitive" - "transitive", but as explained below and in § 2.0, bivalent verbs are not always transitive. Other verbs, like *to give* in (4), require three companion nouns to complete their meaning and are trivalent:

(4) *Oliver gave Fagin the watch.*

Constituents that are required by the meaning of the predicate are called "arguments". Many sentences also contain constituents that are outside the scope of the predicate, as for instance *suddenly* in (3). These constituents are optional constituents that can be omitted without leaving behind a sentence that is grammatically incorrect. Arguments and optional constituents together with the predicate form a "predication". The "nucleus" of a predication is formed by the predicate and its arguments, which together denote a certain event or situation.

The number of arguments and the type of semantic functions that are required by a predicate depend on the meaning of that particular predicate. The syntactic structure of the predication and the syntactic function which arguments may have are likewise determined by the predicate.⁴³ Since predicates can have more than one meaning, they can also have more than one predicate frame and more than one valency. The Latin verb *dicere* may serve as an example. As explained by Pinkster (1990: 8) several predicate frames can be distinguished for *dicere*, among which bivalent *dicere* "to speak" in (5) and trivalent *dicere* "to say, to tell" in (6).⁴⁴

(5) *est oratoris proprium apte, distincte, ornate dicere*, "It is the orator's special ability to speak with propriety, clearness, elegance" (Cicero, *de Officiis* 1.2).

(6) *tum mihi Roscius . . . alia multa . . . dixit*, "Then Roscius told me many other things" (Cicero, *pro Quinctio* 78).

These examples demonstrate that one has to be cautious with labelling constituents as omissible. By rashly applying the criterion of omissibility to *dicere* one could be induced to believe that the constituents *mihi*, "(to) me", and *alia multa*, "many other things", in (6) are optional, since sentence (5) is grammatically correct without these. It is only by comparing the use of *dicere* in (5) and (6) with that of similar verbs or classes of verbs that the necessity to distinguish different predicate frames of *dicere* becomes clear. In (5) *dicere* is comparable to *loqui* "to speak" and *dicere* in (6) can be compared with verbs of communication like *exponere*, "to expound".⁴⁵ In other words the criterion "omissible"

⁴³ Besides the syntactic and semantic functions of constituents, a third level of pragmatic functions can be distinguished. See Dik (1978: 19–20) and Pinkster (1990: 4). Pragmatic factors play, for instance, an important role in matters of word order. See e.g. the observations about the pragmatic aspects of word order in Old Hittite by Luraghi (1990: 83–109). For the position of local adverbs in the sentence and the possible influence of pragmatic factors see § 5.4.1, p. 164 and 5.4.2 p. 169, 174.

⁴⁴ The Latin examples (5) and (6) are sentence (11) and (12) of Pinkster (1990: 8).

⁴⁵ With *loqui* and with *dicere* "to speak" a Subject and possibly also an expression of Manner (Pinkster 1990: 260 n. 4) is needed. Like other verbs of communication, *dicere* "to say, to tell" requires a Subject, an

must be further specified. A constituent is considered omissible if the following three conditions are met:

- (a) the remainder is a grammatically correct sentence;
- (b) the lexical meaning of the remaining constituents is not influenced;
- (c) the semantic relations between the remaining constituents are not changed.

According to this new definition the constituents *mihi* and *alia multa* in (6) are clearly non-omissible, since both the lexical meaning of and the semantic relations between the remaining constituents would change if they would be omitted.

Nominal constituents, or noun phrases, consisting of more than one word have an internal structure of their own, which can be described as a construction on noun phrase level.⁴⁶ The central and obligatory element of a noun phrase is the Head, which is typically a noun. The constituent that determines, modifies or complements the Head is the Attribute. Attributes can be omissible or required by the Head. Adjectives, pronouns or nouns in the genitive are most frequently found as Attributes. A Hittite example of such a noun phrase is *kuršaš É-irza* in (6-OH), where the genitive *kuršaš* functions as the (omissible) Attribute and the ablative *É-irza* as the Head.⁴⁷

- (6-OH) *kuršaš É-irza* DINGIR.MEŠ *uenzi* "The gods come from the house of the *kurša*."
KBo XXV 12 + KBo XX 5+ II 18' (CTH 627) translit. Singer (1984: 34) and Neu (1980: 32)

Another type of phrase consisting of more than one word is the postpositional phrase formed by a postposition and a (postposition) Complement. In contrast with noun phrases both elements of this structure are obligatory.⁴⁸

When dealing with living languages one can consult the intuition of a native speaker to establish the valency of a predicate, but in the case of Latin or Hittite this is, of course, out of the question. In the study of a dead language like Hittite our most important tools for determining the valency of a predicate are observations, statistical or otherwise, about the occurrence of certain sentence structures with a predicate.⁴⁹ Of course we can only describe the valency of Hittite verbs as they are attested in the Hittite cuneiform

Object and an Indirect Object (§ 1.3).

⁴⁶ See Pinkster (1990: 73–75) and Quirk et al. (1985: 61–62).

⁴⁷ This example is discussed and cited with a part of the context in translation in § 3.1.2. Obligatory Attributes occur in the Old Hittite construction of a local adverb governing a preceding genitive Attribute; see § 5.2.

⁴⁸ Cf. the definition of prepositional phrases by Quirk et al. (1985: 60–61, 63) and Pinkster (1990: 70). Examples of postpositional phrases are discussed in § 5.1.

⁴⁹ Some practical tests have been developed in transformational generative grammar and other linguistic theories, which can also be of help in deciding the valency of a predicate. Some of these tests can be applied to specific situations in Latin. See the discussion of such tests by Happ (1976: 347–428), Bolkestein (1977), Vester (1981) and Pinkster (1990: 10–12, 24) with references to further literature. These tests cannot be used to define the valency of Hittite verbs, since they require a degree of language intuition that cannot be acquired on the basis of the limited Hittite text corpus, although they can sometimes help to improve our insight in the structure of Hittite sentences. The principles of, for instance, the "coordination-test" (*Nektions-Test*) and the "collocation-test" (*Exclusions-Test*) that constituents with the same function can assume each other's position in the sentence, but cannot be juxtaposed (=co-occur without a connector) in the same sentence, also applies to Hittite, although, like in Latin, cases of asyndeton tend to blur the picture. See e.g. example (243-OH) and (244-OH) in § 4.1.1 where the Object *aḫin uāḫin pittulius=š(mušš=a* "pain, woe and their anxieties" consists of three nouns, the first two of which are simply juxtaposed whereas the third is added through the connector *-al-ia* "and".

texts. It is very well possible that the verbs we study had a wider range of uses in the spoken Hittite language or were used differently in types of texts that have not been preserved. A large number of our Hittite documents are religious texts like rituals, festival texts, oracles and prayers. Then there are narrative texts such as historical texts and myths, and prescriptive texts, for instance, laws and instructions. There also is a relatively small group of administrative texts like economic and cult inventories and land grants. As a result the Hittite text corpus contains a high number of stylistically marked texts. Even letters, of which we fortunately have many, are quite formulaic in structure and phrasing, although probably closer to the everyday language than other kinds of texts. Within these limitations, though, it is in most cases possible to define the valency and the predicate frames of a Hittite predicate using the following three tools: (a) the criterion of omissibility in its threefold definition as set forth above; (b) paradigmatic comparison as explained with regard to the Latin verb *dicere* and, most important of all, (c) observations about the kinds of constituents that are attested with a predicate: If a predicate is regularly constructed with a specific type of constituent and these constituents are not of the kind that one may find with every predicate, indifferent of its meaning and usage, the constituent is likely to be an argument.⁵⁰

This method is followed in the description of the predicate frames of the sample verbs in ch. 2–4, with one extension of approach (c). Sometimes a particular constituent is only rarely used with a predicate, while there are semantic indications to believe that it might be required by the predicate. In these cases the constituent has also been considered as an argument.⁵¹

The syntactic functions of Subject, Object and Indirect Object are exclusively found with constituents that are required by the predicate. The same goes for the semantic functions Agent, Patient and Loser (§ 1.4). Other semantic functions can, however, be expressed by both obligatory and optional constituents. When, for example, dealing with an adverbial expression indicating Direction or Location the constituent can either be an argument or an optional constituent. In the first case its syntactic function would be labelled Complement, in the second case Adjunct (§ 1.3). The idea that adverbial expressions are not necessarily outside the scope of verbal valency was first formulated by Helbig and Schenkel (1973: 41): "Unsere bisher genannten Beispiele lassen keinen Zweifel offen, daß nicht nur Subjekte, Objekte und Prädikativa, sondern auch bestimmte Typen von Adverbialbestimmungen bei einigen Verben syntaktisch notwendig sind".⁵² The following three sentences were cited by Allerton (1982: 61) as examples of verbs that demand "either the presence or at least the reconstructability of an accompanying adverbial":

- (7) *Oliver went to Switzerland.*

- (8) *The holiday lasted for three weeks.*

- (9) *Oliver behaved badly.*

⁵⁰ See Pinkster (1990: 12).

⁵¹ See, for instance, the construction of *ija-*, *pai-* and *uua-* with an accusative of the internal Object (§ 2.1.3 and 3.1.4) or *katta pai-* with an ablative or accusative indicating the Route along which § 3.2.4.

⁵² See further Helbig and Schenkel (1973: 34, 41–42), Allerton (1982: 57–64) and Pinkster (1990: 27–28).

The verbs *to go*, *to last* and *to behave* in sentences (7) to (9) require respectively an adverbial expression of Direction (*to Switzerland*), of Time during which (*for three weeks*) and of Manner (*badly*). With these verbs the adverbials of Direction, Time or Manner can be omitted, but only if they can be reconstructed from the context.⁵³

The predicate frames of the verbs studied in chapters 2–5 will be described in terms of the syntactic and semantic functions of the arguments. Wherever it may be a relevant factor in the structure of the predicate frame, it will be noted whether a noun in a particular argument position always belongs to the semantic category of animate or to that of inanimate nouns, or if both categories are attested.⁵⁴ See for example the following predicate frame of *dā-* “to take from” described in § 4.1.3:

(4.3) <i>dā-</i> “to take from”	SUBJECT+ OBJECT +	INDIRECT OBJECT
	Agent Patient	Loser
		animate

In this standard presentation of predicate frames, in the first line the syntactic function of the arguments (in the order Subject, Object, Indirect Object and Complement) is given in capitals after the predicate in italics with its translation. In the second line, the semantic functions are given, and optionally in the third the semantic category animate-inanimate. From the above example it appears that the verb *dā-* “to take from” governs three arguments: Subject, Object and Indirect Object. These constituents have the semantic functions of Agent, Patient and Loser, respectively.⁵⁵ Finally, the constituent with the function Loser is shown to be always an animate noun. The number in brackets at the beginning denotes the number of the chapter (in this case chapter 4) and the order of treatment within the chapter (in this case we are dealing with the second predicate frame).

In this study a distinction has been made between “basic predicates” and “derived predicates”. The term basic predicate is used to designate the predicates that are contained in the lexicon of a language. The verbs studied in ch. 2–4, for instance, can be described as basic predicates in their use without local adverbs. By adding a dependent local adverb to a basic predicate new predicates are formed. These will be called derived predicates, indicating that they are not contained in the Hittite lexicon as such, but are derived from the basic predicates through the addition of a local adverb.⁵⁶ From the English basic predicate “to go”, for example, a great number of derived predicates are formed, like “to go about”, “to go by”, “to go in”, “to go out” etc.⁵⁷

⁵³ See also the remarks about the English verb *to go* in § 2.0.

⁵⁴ For my use of the terms animate and inanimate noun and their relation with Starke’s categories of “Personenklasse” and “Sachklasse” see § 1.1.1 n. 17 with references. In this context, the word noun is used in the sense of noun phrase referring to pronouns as well.

⁵⁵ See the definition of syntactic and semantic functions in § 1.3.

⁵⁶ See Dik (1978: 15–16): “From these basic predicates derived predicates can be derived “by means of predicate formation rules”.

⁵⁷ The linguistic status of the derived predicates in Hittite is discussed in § 5.1, p. 136 and § 5.5, p. 178.

1.3 Syntactic and semantic functions on sentence level

The following syntactic and semantic functions will be referred to in this study:

*Syntactic functions:*⁵⁸

Subject	With predicates requiring one argument only, this single argument has the syntactic function Subject. The finite verb form agrees with this constituent in Number and Person. With bivalent and trivalent predicates the function Subject is held by the argument which determines this agreement with the finite verb in Number and Person. The Subject occurs in the nominative case. ⁵⁹
Object	The formal criterion that distinguishes the constituent with the function Object from the others is that with bivalent and trivalent predicates this constituent becomes Subject in passive sentences. ⁶⁰ The Object constituent always occurs in the accusative case.
Indirect Object	The third argument of predicates marking “transfer” or “communication” will be called Indirect Object. This argument function is typically expressed by the dative case.
Complement	This label will be used for the syntactic function of adverbial expressions in second and third argument position, which cannot be defined as Object or Indirect Object.
Adjunct	The syntactic function of optional constituents that specify the predication.

*Semantic functions:*⁶¹

The following semantic functions regularly occur in the description of the sample verbs in ch. 2–4:

Agent	The animate entity that controls a certain action or situation.
Patient	The entity to which a certain action is applied or to which something happens.
Direction	The place or person to which/whom an item moves or is moved.
Origin	The place or person from which/whom an item moves or the place from which an item is removed.
Route along which	The route along which the movement denoted by the predicate takes place.
Loser	The animate entity from which an item is removed. As the living being from whom an item is taken away, the Loser is implicated in the action denoted by the predicate. The function Loser is the opposite of the function Recipient, described below.

⁵⁸ The definitions have been adopted from Pinkster (1990: 13–15). For the problems involved in the development of formal criteria to define the syntactic functions of arguments see Pinkster (1990: 13–15) and Allerton (1982: 42).

⁵⁹ There are a few traces of the *accusativus cum participio* construction in Hittite, where the accusative functions as Subject; see Friedrich (HE² § 325), van den Hout (1992: 295) and the survey of *verba dicendi et sentiendi* by Cotticelli-Kurras (1995).

⁶⁰ This characteristic of the Object can only rarely be verified in Hittite sentences, since the passive voice only developed in later Hittite and its use has remained limited; see § 2.1.3. For a passive example of the verb *dā-* see (242-NH) in § 4.1.1.

⁶¹ The definition of these semantic roles follows Pinkster (1990: 15–16, 28–29). The terms Origin, Location and Time and the distinction of the semantic role Loser have been adopted from Allerton (1982: 55, 129).

Location	The location of an event or situation.
Time	The (moment in) time of an event or situation.

The following semantic function are only occasionally mentioned:

Accompaniment	The person in the company of whom an event or situation takes place.
Beneficiary	The person benefitting from an event or situation.
Manner	The manner or circumstances of an event or situation.
Motive	The motive of an event.
Purpose	The purpose of an event or situation.
Recipient	The person to whom an item is transferred.
Time during which	The time during which an event or situation takes place.

1.4 Layout of chapters 2–4

In the chapters dealing with the sample verbs, I will, after a short introduction to the verb (§ #.0), first describe the predicate frames when the predicate is used without local adverbs (§ #.1). Each predicate frame will be treated in a separate paragraph (§ #.1.1, #.1.2...). The last of these sub-paragraphs will be devoted to the occurrence of sentence particles with the various constructions. Then all the attested combinations of local adverbs with the predicate, along with the presence of sentence particles, will be discussed. First I will deal with the sentence structures that are found when the local adverb belongs to the predicate (§ #.2), then with the predicate frames that are attested when the local adverb is independent of the predicate (§ #.3) and finally a number of instances where the evidence does not permit a choice between dependent and independent use will be listed (§ #.4). Each chapter ends with a conclusion (§ #.5), in which the results obtained will be discussed and the derived predicate frames are described, in order of their treatment within the chapter and with an additional remark about the necessity of an accompanying sentence particle.

In describing the predicate frames I will concentrate on discussing the types of arguments that are found with a predicate and the meaning of the various predicate frames of which these arguments are a part. The presence of optional constituents will be discussed where it is relevant for establishing the valency and meaning of the predicate. It is not my aim to present a full description of all the idiomatic expressions found with a verb, but I will only treat those that are relevant for the definition of the function of the local adverb. The position of the local adverb in the sentence will not be considered in the descriptive chapters, but will be treated separately in § 5.4.

When dealing with combinations of two local adverbs two different interpretations are possible. They may belong together or they can function separately as two entities that are incidentally juxtaposed. If they are both dependent on the predicate they will consequently be treated with the other cases of dependent use (§ #.2). If one or both of the local adverbs are independent, the passage will be treated in the sub-paragraph devoted to independent use (§ #.3). When no choice could be made, they are to be found with the problematic cases of § #.4.

The local adverbs will be treated in the following order: *anda*, *andan*, *arḫa*, *arḫza*, *katta*, *kattan*, *kattanda*, *šarā*, *šer*, *parā*, *peran*, *āppa*, *āppan*, *āppanda*, *andurza*, *ištarna*, *menahḫanda*, *parranda*, *parijan*, *tapuša*.⁶²

1.5 Examples from Hittite texts

Over a span of about five centuries Hittite documents were written on clay tablets in cuneiform script. In the course of that time the Hittite language developed and underwent all kind of changes in lexicon, spelling and grammar. The Hittite language is generally divided into three phases:

Old Hittite	ca 1650–1500 BC
Middle Hittite	ca 1500 / 1435–1350 ⁶³
New Hittite	ca 1350–1180

The Hittites had a great tradition in copying texts, so that many of the Hittite texts that are known to us now are later copies of older compositions. When studying a specific feature of the Hittite language in a given Hittite text, it is important to know the date of the text, that is the date of the composition and the date of the manuscript of the text. When dealing with a later copy of an older composition, one has to be aware of the possibility that it contains linguistic modernisms. In the last 30 years much work has been done to improve our tools for dating texts and the following methods have been developed. The composition of a text can be dated by its contents, for instance by the name of its author or other prosopographic and historic information, and by noting the oldest orthographic, grammatical and lexical features in its manuscript(s). The date of the copy can be determined by its sign forms or other paleographic features of its script. Here the principle holds that a manuscript is at least as young as the latest sign form it contains. The term “original” will be used for those texts of which both the composition and the manuscript can be dated to the same phase of the language, even if the manuscript is a contemporary copy of the first version and thus hardly an original in the ordinary sense.⁶⁴

Examples from Hittite texts are quoted in bound transcription and a part of the context has usually been added in translation between round brackets. As a rule the text will be cited by referring to the cuneiform copy, followed by its number in Laroche’s “*Catalogue des textes hittites*” (1971) and, as a help to the reader, a reference or references to an available edition or another treatment of the text passage, for instance KUB XIV 1 rev.

⁶² The order is partly alphabetical and partly based on the desire to juxtapose local adverbs with related meanings.

⁶³ There is a gap in the transmission of Hittite texts of about 60 years in the period between the last Old Hittite king Telepinu (ca 1500) and Tuthaliya I, the first king of a new dynasty at the beginning of the Hittite Empire (ca 1435). From this period we do have texts, but they are all land grant texts (*Landschenkungsurkunden*) in Akkadian, that now and then contain Hittite words and phrases; see Otten (1987) and Rüster (1993). These lands grants are generally described as Middle Hittite on paleographic grounds; see Otten (1987). The period of which we actually have Middle Hittite texts is quite short; about 80 years (ca 1435–1350).

⁶⁴ In a number of instances we indeed have the first version of a text, for example in the case of sealed documents like land grants or the bronze tablet published by Otten (1988).

34–35 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 28–29). In my, often literal, translation of the Hittite text passages the indicated editions have not always been completely followed. When a tablet has a very complex composition or when many manuscripts are involved, the text will be quoted in a standard edition, for instance 2mašt. III 5–7 (CTH 404) ed. Jakob Rost (1953: 356–359) or StBoT 24 II 79–81 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981).

For ease of reference, examples from Hittite texts are numbered in order of treatment, even for passages which are quoted more than once; where necessary a reference to the other occurrence is added. In the concluding chapter 5, however, examples from earlier parts of the book, mostly cited without context, are marked by an arrow (⇒) before their (first) number and provided with references to the sections where they are first treated. An indication of the date of the text is appended to the number (e.g. 7-OH: example no. 7, from an Old Hittite Original). In the numbering the following references to the date are used:

OH	Examples from Old Hittite Originals;
OH+	Examples from Old Hittite texts in Middle or New Hittite manuscripts;
MH	Examples from Middle Hittite originals;
MH+	Examples from Middle Hittite texts in New Hittite manuscripts;
MS	Examples from Middle Hittite manuscripts of Old or Middle Hittite compositions;
NH	Examples from New Hittite texts;
lateNH	Examples from late New Hittite manuscripts of compositions dating from the reign of king Tuthaliya IV onwards;
NS	Examples from New Hittite manuscripts of older compositions or of compositions of indeterminate date.

In the translation of the examples the sentence connectives *-ma* and *nu* have not consistently been translated as “but, however” and “and” respectively. As for instance shown in the treatment of these words in the CHD (L-N, 91–99, 460–468), translation of these connectives is not always possible or necessary.⁶⁵

Abbreviations and symbols are in conformity with the conventions of *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CHD), L-N, Chicago, 1980–1989, xv–xxviii.

⁶⁵ The same goes for the Old Hittite sentence connectives *ta-* and *šu-*. Incidentally *nu-* has been rendered as “then”.

CHAPTER 2

The deponent *ija-* “to be on one’s way, to (be on the) march”

2.0 Introduction

The nature of *ija-* “to march”, as opposed to *pai-* “to go” and *uua-* “to come”, was recognized by Götze (1925: 73) as marking “die Tätigkeit des ‘sich Fortbewegens’, des ‘Gehens’, des ‘Marschierens’”, to which he added: “auf das Ziel kommt es dabei gar nicht an” (see § 2.1.1). This special character of *ija-* is the reason that Bechtel (1936: 99–100) “paradoxical as this may seem for a verb denoting motion” (p. 99) ranked it as a “static verb” meaning “to be on one’s way” rather than simply “to go”. In this way he could account for the fact characteristic of static verbs that *ija-* did not build any *-šk* forms. The Hittite verb *ija-* is a deponent, medial in flexion but active in meaning, whereas the related Luwian verb *i-* “to go” has an active inflection (Laroche, 1959: 50). Etymologically *ija-* represents a form of the Indo-European root **h₁ei-*, though the views are divided over the exact grade of the root present in *ija-*. As illustrated by example (7-OH), in Old Hittite the form of the verb was *ia-* instead of *ija-*. This might be taken as evidence in favour of a zero-grade of the root.¹ Although the active verb *ijannai-* may have originated as a durative of *ija-*, it seems to function as a separate verb in Hittite meaning “to move, to march, to go” rather than “to move or march constantly”.² Examples of *ijannai-* have not been considered in this chapter.³ Many of the examples discussed in this chapter can be found in the treatment of *ija-* by Neu (1968a: 62–67) and Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 330–335).⁴

In § 1.2 we saw that Allerton (1982: 61) calls the English verb *go* bivalent, since it requires a Subject constituent and the presence or at least the reconstructability of an expression of Direction to create a sentence that is syntactically and semantically complete. Compare the following sentences:

- (1) *Francis went to Switzerland.*
- (2) *Francis went.*
- (3) *Francis went [namely to Switzerland].*

In sentence (1) the expression of Direction *to Switzerland* is a necessary completion of the predicate. Without this constituent the sentence is grammatically incorrect, because it is incomplete (2), unless the Direction can be understood from the context (3). Sentence

¹ Cf. Neu (1968b: 86), Oettinger (1979: 348–349) and Puhvel (HED, Vol. 2: 334–335) with references.

² See Friedrich (HW: 80–81) and Oettinger (1979:81). Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 325–328) describes it as an original iterative- “durative” belonging to the active *i-*, (*i*)*i-* “to go”, which is present in the imperative forms *ī* and *īten*.

³ In its use with local adverbs *ijannai-* is very similar to *ija-* and *pai-*; see table 5.6 in § 5.3 with subsequent discussion.

⁴ See also the short remarks by Kronasser (1966: 463–464).

(2) can be described as a case of absolute use, where the Direction is omitted.⁵ The example with the English verb *go* shows that there is no general rule that “intransitive” verbs of motion are monovalent. In each case one has to determine the valency and see whether or not it requires the addition of an adverbial expression.

2.1 Constructions attested in sentences without local adverbs

The verb *ija-* is regularly found in Hittite texts, but far less frequently than *pai-* and *uua-*. In Old Hittite originals, however, there is little evidence for *ija-*. As noted in the introduction (§ 2.0), the spelling in Old Hittite indicates that the original form of the verb is *ja-*, rather than *ija-*.⁶ The following passage from a historical text is too fragmentary to describe the construction:

- (7-OH) ÉRIN.MEŠ^{URU} *Hatti iatta* “the troops of Hatti march (and the SA.GAZ-troops [...])”
KUB XXXVI 106(+) obv. 2' (CTH 27) ed. Otten (1957: 217–218)

2.1.1 *ija-* + Subject

In the majority of cases *ija-* is attested without an expression of Direction, governing a Subject constituent only. Consider the following examples:

- (8-MH) LÚKÚR=ua *pangarit išpandaz kuwapi* VI M[E LÚKÚR] *kuwapi=ma* IV ME LÚKÚR *ia[ttari]*⁷ “‘The enemy is on the march in large numbers by night, 600 enemies in one place, 400 enemies in another.’”
HKM 25: 6–8 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 164–165); see CHD (P/1: 88)⁸
- (9-NH) (“I led the army in haste”) nu LUGAL.GAL *ištu* ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA .ĪLA *munnanda iahhat* “and I, My Majesty, together with troops (and) charioteers marched concealed.”
KBo IV 4 III 31–33 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 126–127); see CHD (L-N: 332) and (P/2: 147)
- (10-NH) *mahhan=ma iahhat nu* GIM-an INA^{HUR.SAG} *Lauša arhun* “But when I was on my way and when I arrived at mount Lauša, (then the mighty Stormgod, My Lord, manifested his divine guidance.)”
KBo III 4 II 15–16 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 46–47)

⁵ The term absolute use will be used in a broad sense, including cases of context conditioned ellipsis.

⁶ In the fragment KBo XX 31: 14 (CTH 438.b) the spelling [i]-ia-at-[ta] is found, but the date of this text is disputed. According to Hoffner (1992b) it is likely to be an Old Hittite copy, Neu (1974a: 110 n. 252) referred to it as a “mh” (=mittelhethitisch) copy and in the preface to KBo XX (p. VI–VII) by Otten and Rüster it is included among the “althethitisch Ritualtexte” without specifying the date of the copy.

⁷ Note that in this example the spelling *i-a[t-ta-ri]* is used.

⁸ I have assigned the Mašat letters to CTH 199, the number of the long known Mašat letter ABoT 65, ed. Güterbock (1944).

In the first two examples *ija-* is accompanied by adverbial expressions of Manner, *pangarit* in (8-MH) and *munnanda* in (9-NH), and Time, *išpandaz* in (8-MH).⁹ They inform the reader about the way in which or the moment in time in which the movement takes place. Adverbials of this type are regularly found with *ija-*. The clause *mahhan=ma iahhat* in example (10-NH) shows that a complete sentence can be formed by *ija-* and a Subject constituent only. In the Annals of Muršili II this phrase regularly occurs in sentences of the type “While I was on my way, such and so happened”, where the main clause following the one with *ija-* informs the reader about the whereabouts of the King during his expedition. The fact that in the majority of attestations no expression of Direction is found with *ija-* confirms Götze’s description (1925: 73) of *ija-*, as cited in § 2.0. Both this general omission of the Direction of the movement and the regular use of Adjuncts of Manner and Time are indications that *ija-* denotes the action of moving in its own right without emphasis on a possible direction of the movement. The appropriate translation of *ija-* in its main function indeed is “to be on one’s way, to (be on the) march, to move, to walk”. For this monovalent *ija-* the following predicate frame can be formulated:

- (2.1) *ija-* “to be on one’s way, to (be on the) march, to move, to walk” SUBJECT
Agent

2.1.2 *ija-* + Subject + expression of Direction

In the previous section we saw that in the majority of cases no notion of direction is found in sentences with *ija-*. There are, however, a few instances in which *ija-* is accompanied by an expression of Direction:¹⁰

- (11-NH) INA KUR^{URU} *Tümmanna=ia kuwapi iahhat* “And when I was on my way to the land of Tümmanna, (the elders (of the city) also did not come up in front of me.)”
KBo V 8 IV 10–12 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götze (1933a: 160–161)
- (12-NH) (“‘But when I moved back from the Egyptian country,’”) nu INA^{URU} *Lawazantiia* ANA DINGIR^{LIM} BAL-u^{an}zi *iahhat* “I was headed to Lawazantiia in order to sacrifice to the god.”
StBoT 24: II 79–81 (CTH 81.A) ed. Otten (1981: 16–17)

This use of *ija-* with an expression of Direction, INA KUR^{URU} *Tümmanna* in (11-NH) and INA^{URU} *Lawazantiia* in (12-NH), may have developed under the influence of *pai-*

⁹ Although *pangarit* in origin is a comitative instrumental “(together) with a crowd, mass”, it is used already in Old Hittite as an adverb of Manner “*en masse*, in large numbers” see (117-OH) in § 3.2.4, Melchert (1977: 164) and CHD (P/1: 87–88). Starke (1977: 104) claimed that there are no examples of animate nouns in the instrumental case in Old Hittite originals. The collective noun **pangar-* apparently belongs to the semantic category of inanimate nouns, although it denotes a group of living beings. For the semantic character of Starke’s classes of animate nouns (=“Personenklasse”) and inanimate nouns (“Sachklasse”) see § 1.1.1, n. 17.

¹⁰ To give an idea of the relative frequency of this use: Among a total of around 100 complete instances, *ija-* is found ten times with an expression of Direction.

2.2 Constructions with local adverbs belonging to the predicate *ija-*

In this section examples are described in which the local adverb is dependent on the predicate, none of which occur in Old Hittite texts. The local adverbs modify the meaning of the predicate and in many cases also influence the grammatical construction. In combination with these local adverbs, *ija-* no longer denotes the action of moving in its own right, but a movement in a certain direction, in most cases to or from a certain place or person. As a result the combination of *ija-* plus local adverb now requires the completion of an adverbial expression of Direction or Origin, the choice of which depends on the nature of the local adverb, or in some cases a noun in the accusative, possibly with the function Object.²² The local adverb defines the direction of the motion denoted by *ija-* as going into (*anda*), away from (*arḥa*), down from (*katta*) or into (*kattanda*), up to or from (*šarā*), on to, out to or out of (*parā*), back from (*āppa*) or past (*ištarna arḥa* and *šer arḥa*) a certain place or to (*anda*, *kattan*), from (*arḥa*) or after (*āppan*) a person. Only in the case of *ištarna* the construction is identical with the main construction of *ija-*. Many of these dependent local adverbs are responsible for the presence of sentence particles in the sentence, particles that are otherwise absent with *ija-* (§ 2.1.4).

2.2.1 *anda ija-*

In combination with *anda* the predicate *ija-* is accompanied by an expression of Direction and a sentence particle.²³ Compare the following examples:

- (17-MH) *n=ašta* ^{LÚ}KUR QATAMMA kuit KUR-e *anda lammar lammar iattar[i]*
 “Because the enemy likewise constantly marches into the country, (if you would locate him somewhere, you might be able to defeat him.)”
 HKM 8: 12–17 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 132–133)
- (18-MH) *namma=ta=kkān* ŠA KUR ^{URU}Hatti kuiēš ^{LÚ.MEŠ}pittejanteš *anda ija[ntat]*
 “Then, the refugees from the country of Hatti, who went (in) to you,”
 (you, Madduḡatta, kept taking them (up).)”
 KUB XIV 1+ rev. 34 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 28–29)
- (19-MH) (“Your Majesty, my lord, send yo[ur] servants to me quickly.”) ^{LÚ.MEŠ}
^{URU}Qašga=*ia=mu=ššan* kuiēš *anda iiantat* “Also (of) the Kaška tribes
 that went (in) to me, (no one comes with me anymore.)”
 ABoT 60 rev. 3–7 (CTH 200) ed. Laroche (1960: 82–83)

The expression of Direction used with *anda ija-* can be an inanimate noun in the dative-locative (KUR-e in 17-MH), or a personal pronoun in the dative case (-*ta* and -*mu* in 18-MH and 19-MH). In the first case the original meaning of *ija-* is still recognizable in the combination *anda ija-* “to move or march into”, but in the latter case the meaning of *anda ija-* is not different from that of *anda pai-* with an animate noun in the dative.

²² The expressions of Direction or Origin are in most cases inanimate nouns. Exceptions will be noted.

²³ See Boley (1989: 199) with regard to (18-MH).

In this use with an animate expression of Direction, *anda ija-* “to go (in) to a person” has the connotation “to join the party of, to seek refuge among”, which was observed for *anda pai-* by von Schuler (1957: 18); see § 3.2.1.

As sentence particles, -*kan*, -*ašta* and -*šan* are used with *anda ija-*, the only examples of -*ašta* and -*šan* being the ones cited here.²⁴

2.2.2 *arḥa ija-*

When the local adverb *arḥa* is added to the predicate *ija-* and has the notion “away, forth”, the sentence contains an expression of Origin and the sentence particle -*kan*. Unfortunately there are only two examples of *arḥa ija-* in which the complete sentence is readable:

- (20-NH) (To my lord speak. Thus Maša, your servant: “I fell down at the feet of my lord two times seven times.”) ^{URU}Udaza=*kan kuḡapi arḥa ijaḥḥat*
 “As soon as I went away from the city of Uda, (did I not speak to my lord as follows?)”
 KBo IX 82 obv. 1–5 (CTH 197) ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 149)

In the above instance *arḥa ija-* has the meaning “to go away from”. In this use *arḥa ija-* is comparable with *arḥa pai-* “to go away”, see § 3.2.3.

In the following passage we might have an example of *arḥa ija-* denoting the withdrawal of the Hittite king from enemy territory. Here Kümmel (1967: 112–113) suggested to restore *ija-* at the beginning of I 7:²⁵

- (21-NH) *mahḡann=aš=kan*²⁶ *ištu* ZAG KUR ^{LÚ}KUR *arḥa [iḡattari]* “As soon as he (=the king) marches away from the border of the territory of the enemy, (they take one (male) prisoner and one woman of the country.)”
 KBo XV 1 I 6–7 (CTH 407.A) ed. Kümmel (1967: 112–113)

In the following example *arḥa ija-* has a slightly different notion:

- (22-MH) (“The countries that were your suppliers of thick breads, libations and tribute, O gods of heaven,”) *arḥa=kan* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}AMA.DIN-
^{GIR}^{LIM}šuppaēš ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAN[GA] ^{LÚ.MEŠ}GUDU₁₂ ^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR ^{LÚ.MEŠ}išhamatal-
leš kuē[z] iiantat “out of which priests, *šiḡanzanni*-priestesses, sacred priests, anointed priests, musicians and singers have come forth, (from these (countries) they carried away the tribute and ritual paraphernalia of the gods.)”
 KUB XVII 21+ II 8–13 (CTH 375.1A) ed. von Schuler (1965: 154–155)

²⁴ When in the Mašat letter HKM 37: 3 *i-ja-at-ta-ri* is restored, a sentence particle has to be read as well in the lacuna of l. 2. The same goes for a possible restoration *ú-iz-zi*. Differently Alp (1991b: 186–187 + n. 145).

²⁵ See Kümmel (1967: 112) referring to KBo XV 1 I 2–3, where the verbal form *iḡattari* is present, but the rest of the sentence must be restored at the end of line 2: *n[a-aš-kan ištū ZAG KUR LÚ KUR ar-ḡa] i-ja-at-ta-ri []*.

²⁶ *ma-aḡ-ḡa-an-na-aš=kán* can also be interpreted as *mahḡan=a=aš* “But as soon as”.

In (22-MH) the context tells us that *arḥa ija-* means “to come out of, to come forth from” rather than “to go away from”.²⁷ In this use *arḥa ija-* is comparable with *arḥa uya-* “to come forth from, to come out of” in (108-MH) in § 3.2.3. A case of independent use of *arḥa* is discussed in § 2.3.1.

2.2.3 *katta ija-*

The local adverb *katta* is attested only twice with *ija-*, both times written with the logogram GAM and with the sentence particle *-kan* in the sentence:

(23-NH) *DI-ešni = ma = aš = kan* GAM *ijattaru* “But he (=the EN KUR^{TI}) must come down for the trial (and look into the case outside (of the city).)”
KUB XXI 29 II 14–15 (CTH 89.A) transl. von Schuler (1965: 146–147)

(24-NS) (“If stars stand at the right and left horn of the moon²⁸ and [...])
namma = at = kan GAM DU-ri “(If) in addition they go down.”
KUB VIII 13: 11’–12’ (CTH 533.5)

In the preceding lines of example (23-NH) we are told that the EN KUR^{TI} “the lord of the country” arrives at the gate of the city with a Kaskaean driving his cart. The Kaskaean is not allowed to enter the city and has to step down from his cart after arriving at the gate and return (II 6–13). So (23-NH) can be understood as ordering the EN KUR^{TI} not to enter the city as well, but to come down (namely from his cart) and hold a trial near the gate, outside of the city. The probability of the omission of an expression of Origin “from the cart” in this context is suggested by the occurrence of the same construction, with explicit expression of Origin (^{GI}*hulugannaz*) and sentence particle, with the combination *katta uya-* “to come down from”; see (119-OH+) in § 3.2.4.

The dative-locative *DI-ešni* in (23-NH) can be understood as an Adjunct that indicates the Purpose of *katta ija-* “to come down for the trial”.²⁹

In (24-NS) *katta ija-* describes the going down of stars. In the description of a general phenomenon like this there is no need to stress the Origin of the movement. Comparison with *katta pai-* and *katta uya-*, which are both constructed with an expression of Origin when they are accompanied by a sentence particle, makes it likely that in the above examples we are dealing with the same construction of *katta ija-* with omission of the expression of Origin; see § 3.2.4.

2.2.4 *kattan ija-*

In the following instance we may have an example of the combination *kattan ija-* with an animate noun in the dative serving as expression of Direction and the meaning “to go or come (in)to (the presence of)”:

²⁷ Differently Boley (1989: 199).

²⁸ *takku* ^dSIN SI ZAG SI GÜB MUL.MEŠ *arta*, transl. Güterbock (1988: 173).

²⁹ Cf Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 82): “but he shall go down for the trial” and von Schuler (1965: 146–147): “Zu einem Prozeß aber soll er hinabgehen”.

(25-NH) (“The head of the scribes on wood here said: ‘write to him’”) *nu = u = mu* UKÜ-*aš* INA ^{URU}*Taparuqa* GAM-an *ijattaru* “‘a man must come to me in Taparuqa.’”
KBo IX 82 obv. 9–11 (CTH 197) ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 149); see Neu (1968: 65)

The same construction, with an animate expression of Direction and, in contrast with *katta*, without a sentence particle, is attested with *kattan pai-* and *kattan uya-*; see § 3.2.5. Independent use of *kattan* with *ija-* is discussed in § 2.3.2.

2.2.5 *kattanda ija-*

There is only one example of *kattanda ija-* “to move or march down into” with an expression of Direction and the particle *-kan*:

(26-NH) *nu = kan* *kuitma* <n> IN[A KUR ^{URU}*Mal*] *azzija kattanda ijaḥḥat* “During the time I marched down into the country of Malazzija (a fog [arose] in front of me and the troops so that the enemy did not see anything at all.)”
KUB XIV 20: 16’–17’ + KBo XIX 76 I 29’–30’ (CTH 61.III 3) ed. Houwink ten Cate (1979: 162–164)

kattanda ija- “to march down into” is comparable with *kattanda pai-* “to go down into” in particle use and in meaning; see § 3.2.6.

2.2.6 *šarā ija-*

The combination *šarā ija-* “to walk up to, to go or come up to” is attested with an expression of Direction and the sentence particle *-kan* or *-ašta*:

(27-NH) *nu = kan* ^{LÚ}UKU.ÜŠ ^{LÚ}KARTAPPU = *ja* ŠA ^{LÚ}MEŠ ^{URU}*Kašga* URU-ri *šarā lē iiantari* “A heavily armed soldier and a charioteer of the Kaškaeans may not walk up to the city.”
KUB XXI 29 II 6–8 (CTH 89.A) transl. von Schuler (1965: 146)

Compare the analogous constructions of *šarā pai-* and *šarā uya-* in § 3.2.7. The absence of the sentence particle in the following passage from an oracle text is an exception:³⁰

(28-NH) (“Because Pattiya reached out (his hand) to palace property, therefore a penance was determined³¹”) ^m*Pallilišš = a* *kuit* INA É.GAL ^{LIM}*šarā iattat* “and because Pallili went up to the palace (and put on the clothes belonging to his mother, (...))”
KUB XXII 70 obv. 76–78 (CTH 566) ed. Ünal (1978: 78–79)

³⁰ See *ibid.* (KUB XXII 70) rev. 36 ed. Ünal (1978: 90–91).

³¹ See the discussion of the meaning of ANA KIN É.GAL ^{LIM}*parā šali[kta]* obv. 76 by Ünal (1978: 125), who suggested the alternative translation “weil Pattiya sich in die Arbeit des Palastes eingemischt h[at]”. See *ibid.* for further references.

There are no examples of *šarā ija-* with an explicit expression of Origin, but in the following instances of absolute use an expression of Origin seems to be omitted rather than an expression of Direction:

- (29-NS) (“As from an oven no grass comes up”) [(*n=ašta apell=a ištu A.ŠÀ=šU ZÍZ-tar*) ŠE^{AM} *šarā l(ē uizzi n=ašta š)*]*arā haḥḥall(i iṭataru)*] “may (thus) from his field no wheat (and) no barley come up and may weeds come up.”
1087/z III 6’ (CTH 427.B) ed. Oettinger (1976: 14–15, 138)³²
- (30-NH) (“Speech became little in my mouth³³”) *nu=mu=kan memiaš tepu kuitki šarā iṭattat* “and my speech came up somewhat little.³⁴”
KBo IV 2 III 42–44 (CTH 486.C) ed. Götze and Pedersen (1934: 4)

In (29-NS) *šarā ija-* with *-ašta* resumes *šarā uya-* with *-ašta* “to come up from” of the previous clause, without repeating the expression of Origin *ištu A.ŠÀ=šU* “from his field”.³⁵ The corresponding construction of *šarā uya-* with expression of Origin and sentence particle is treated in § 3.2.7. In (30-NH) the act of producing speech is described with the metaphor of speech coming up. The fact that the words come up from the mouth is not explicitly mentioned here.³⁶

2.2.7 *parā ija-*

The few complete instances of *parā ija-* that are available represent three different uses. The constructions of *parā pai-* and *parā uya-* referred to in this section are discussed in § 3.2.8. There is one example of *parā ija-* with an expression of Direction, but without the particle *-kan*:

- (31-NH) *lukkatti=ma ina URU Taptina parā iḥaḥḥat* “In the morning I marched on to Taptina. (As soon as I arrived in Tarkuma, I burnt down Tarkuma.)”
KBo IV 4 III 43–44 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 128–129)

This use of *parā ija-* “to move or march on to” can be compared with that of *parā pai-* “to go on to” with expression of Direction and without sentence particle.
parā ija- also occurs with *-kan* and the meaning “to go out”:

- (32-NH) ([...]) *parā=ma=aš=kan ul iṭa[(ttari manqa)]* “But he will not go out at all.([...])”
KBo XV 2 rev. 5’ (CTH 421.1A) ed. Kümmel (1967: 60–61)

³² Restored from KBo VI 34+ III 43–45 (MS A), which in III 45 has the variant *n[a]-aš-ta UGU za-aḥ-hé-li i-ja-ta-ru*. The word *zaḥḥeli-*, corresponding with logographic ZĀ.AḤ.LI^{SAR} and Akkadian *saḥlū* “garden cress”, is used here for unwanted “weeds”. See Hoffner (1974: 110–111) and Neu (1974a: 28).

³³ See CHD (L-N: 269).

³⁴ See Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 333).

³⁵ Differently Oettinger, who suggested (1976: 48 + n. 120) to take A.ŠÀ as the Subject and *haḥḥali* as the Direction of *iṭattaru* “und es (sc. das Feld) soll (hinauf) in die Macchia (über)gehen”.

³⁶ For speech coming out of the mouth see the expression *-ašta uddar iššaz parā iṭattari* in (33-NS) in § 2.2.7.

This instance of *parā ija-* resembles cases of absolute use of the construction of *parā pai-* with an expression of Direction and a sentence particle, which has the meaning “to go out to”.

The combination *parā ija-* is also attested with an expression of Origin and the particle *-ašta*:

- (33-NS) *uddar=ma=ašt[a³⁷] kue KA×U-az parā iṭattari* “But the words that come out of the mouth, (must be as sweet as honey.)”
KUB XXVII 29+ II 17–18 (CTH 780.2) ed. Haas and Thiel (1978: 142–143)

Here *parā ija-* is similar in construction and meaning to *parā uya-* “to come out of, to leave” with an expression of Origin and a sentence particle, see § 3.2.8.

2.2.8. *appa ija-*

There is one clear example of *appa ija-* with an expression of Origin and the meaning “to move or march back from”:

- (34-NH) *GIM-an=ma ištu KUR URU Mizrī EGIR-pa iḥaḥḥat* “But when I moved back from the Egyptian country, (I was headed to Lawazantiia in order to sacrifice to the god.)”
StBoT 24: II 79–81 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 16–17)

The same construction of *appa ija-* is found with *appa uya-* “to come back from”, also without a sentence particle; see § 3.2.9. Independent use of *appa* with *ija-* is treated in § 2.3.4.

2.2.9 *appan ija-*

There is one instance of *appan ija-* governing a constituent in the accusative and the particle *-kan*:

- (35-NH) (“About the matter of Palla, she³⁸ said: ‘The queen said: ‘What I used to give to Palla, acknowledge it, O god’ ’ ’³⁹)” *m Pallānn=a=ya=kan EGIR-an iḥaḥḥut* “and go after Palla.” (We interrogated Palla’s comrades and they said: ‘We don’t know about that matter.’)”
KUB XXII 70 obv. 36–38 (CTH 566) ed. Ünal (1978: 64–65)

In the first discussion of this passage by Sommer (1932: 186–187 + n. 1), he suggested the translation “ihm den Weg frei lassen(?)” for *appan ija-*. Others followed him in taking the above example as a request to the god “to go easy on Palla”.⁴⁰ Ünal (1978: 65, 115) proposed the opposite translation “dafür sollst du Palla verantwortlich machen”,

³⁷ Following Neu (1968a: 64 + n. 14, with ref.) the particle *-ašta* is to be read here instead of *-kan*.

³⁸ Subject is a woman called Naru mentioned in obv. 34.

³⁹ For other possible translations, see Ünal (1978: 65 + n. c.)

⁴⁰ Thus Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 333) and similarly Kronasser (1966: 463): “laß den P. unbehelligt”.

which fits better in the context and can be explained as derived from the literal translation “to go or come after, to pursue”.⁴¹ This meaning is normally found with *āppan pai-* and *āppan uya-* governing a dative case; see § 3.2.10. In the above example the use of the local adverb *āppan* with *ija-* has resulted in a construction of the predicate with an accusative, which is accompanied by the particle *-kan*.⁴² The local adverb *āppan* can also be independent of the predicate *ija-*; see § 2.3.5.

2.2.10 *ištarna ija-*

The local adverb *ištarna* is attested once with *ija-*, with the particle *-kan*:

- (36-NH) (“He takes the following herbs (...) and he gives it to him seven days.”)
UD^{KAM} = *ma=kan ištarna iṭattari* “One day goes by in between (and he gives [it] repeatedly [to him].)”
KUB XLIV 61 obv. 3, 5–7 (CTH 461) ed. Burde (1974: 18–19)

In this use, the Subject of *ija-* no longer has the semantic function of Agent, the animate entity that controls the action of *ija-*; see § 1.3. The same construction with a unit of time as Subject and the meaning “to go by, to pass” is more often found with *ištarna pai-*, which is also accompanied by *-kan*; see § 3.2.12.

2.2.11 *ištarna arḥa ija-*

The combination *ištarna arḥa ija-* “to walk or march through, to pass through” is constructed with a constituent in the accusative and the particle *-kan*.⁴³

- (37-NH) (“and you do not fight the enemy.”) [*našma=ka*]_n ^{LÚ}KÚR = *ma tuel*
KUR = *KA ištarna arḥa iṭattari* “Or (if) the enemy marches through your country (and you do not fight him.)”
KBo V 4 rev. 46–47 (CTH 67) Friedrich (1926: 68–69)
- (38-NH) *lukkatta=ma=kan* KUR ^{URU}*Ištaluppa ištarna arḥa pāun* “The next morning I went through the land of Ištaluppa (...) *nu=kan kuitman* KUR ^{URU}*Ištaluppa ištarna arḥa iṭahḥat* “While I was passing through the land of Ištaluppa, (the Kabbubban enemy and all the Kaška lands mobilized.)”
KBo V 8 I 30, 31–33 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götze (1933a: 150–151)

In (38-NH) *ištarna arḥa ija-* and *ištarna arḥa pai-* “to go through, to pass through” are used as alternative expressions. The combination of local adverbs *ištarna arḥa* is also found with *uya-* governing the same construction with a constituent in the accusative and *-kan*. The function of the constituent in the accusative may be that of Object, see § 3.5. The problem of the meaning and the relation of these two local adverbs with the

⁴¹ See also van den Hout (1995: 219): “und du sollst Pallā zur Rechenschaft ziehen!”.

⁴² The constituent in the accusative may have the function of Object with *ija-*; see § 3.5.

⁴³ In KBo V 4 rev. 37–38 the particle *-kan* can be restored: *na-aš-m[a-kán m]a-[a]-an ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.R[A.MEŠ KUR-KA i]š-tar-na ar-ḥa i-ja-at-ta-ri* “Or if troops (and) charioteers march through your country” (CTH 67) ed. Friedrich (1926: 66–67) without *-kan*.

predicate is treated in the introduction to § 3.2.17 – 3.2.21.

There is one instance of *ištarna arḥa ija-* without the particle *-kan*:

- (39-NS) (“O Sungod, mighty king,”) 4 *ḥalḥaltūmari ukturi ištarna arḥa iṭattari*
“You walk through the four eternal corners (with the Fears walking on your right and the Terrors walking on your left.)”
KUB XXXI 127+ I 58–59 (CTH 372) ed. Güterbock (1958: 240–241)

This example comes from a manuscript of the “Son of Mankind” version of the Hittite prayer to the Sungod. This text is part of a group of three prayers in which an older hymn to the Sungod has been incorporated (CTH 372, 373, 274), which may date back as far as the Old Hittite period.⁴⁴ The absence of the particle *-kan* in (39-NS) can be explained as an archaism.⁴⁵

2.2.12 *šer arḥa ija-*

The combination *šer arḥa ija-* is found twice in Hittite texts with a constituent in the accusative, once with *-kan* and once with *-šan*.⁴⁶

- (40-NH) (“Ḥanutti is young. He was never yet appointed by oracle to (join) a campaign for my lord”,) *nu=kan kuit AŠRU paizzi=ja kuit=ma=kan AŠRU nūya šer ar[ḥa] iṭaddari* to whatever place he will go⁴⁸ and whatever place he may still pass by. (“For that reason I don’t believe the story.”).⁴⁹
KUB XIX 23 rev. 6–9 (CTH 192) ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 27–29)
- (41-NS) (“Let the ass urinate on them, let the ox defecate on them (=the words of sorcery).”) DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU = *uš=šan [kuiš] šer arḥa iṭattari* “The man that passes by them, (let him spit on (them).)”
KUB XVII 27 III 12–15 (CTH 434.1) ed. Haas and Wegner (1988a: 194)

The same combination of the local adverbs *šer* and *arḥa* is attested with *pai-*, also with a constituent in the accusative and with a particle (*-ašta* or *-kan*).⁵⁰ see § 3.2.21. In these

⁴⁴ The prayers themselves are likely to have been composed in the Middle Hittite period. The manuscripts are all preserved in Middle and New Hittite copies. For the Old Hittite date of the hymn see Güterbock (1958, 1978), Carruba (1971: 222), Melchert (1977: 54, 75) and CHD (L-N: 343). The date of the individual manuscripts was treated by Güterbock (1980: 42), Neu (1990: 148) and Melchert (1977: 54, 75).

⁴⁵ Other characteristics of the Old Hittite language are found in this text, for instance the genitive plural ending in *-an*, occurring once as a relic form in the MH original KBo XVI 25+ I 81: ^{LÚ}KÚR-*an* (CTH 251.A) and the use of the particle *-(a)pa*, discussed in § 1.1.2.

⁴⁶ See Zuntz (1936: 55) with the translation “darüber hinweggehen”.

⁴⁷ The translation of this difficult sentence was suggested to me by prof. Houwink ten Cate, who discussed the problem with prof. Güterbock. For other translations see CHD (L-N: 469) and van den Hout (1995: 202).

⁴⁸ See the treatment of this construction of *pai-* in § 3.1.1 ad (68-NH).

⁴⁹ This translation is similar to CHD (L-N: 469b) and Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 331). Different translations are found in CHD (P/1: 36), Hagenbuchner (1989: 27–29) and van den Hout (1995: 202).

⁵⁰ The problem of the function of the constituent in the accusative, possibly that of Object, is discussed in § 3.5.

instances *šer arḥa iia-* has the same meaning as *šer arḥa pai-*, namely “to pass over, to pass by”. An explanation of this translation is suggested in the introduction to § 3.2.17 – 3.2.21.

2.2.13 *arḥa iia-* + *andan iia-*

- (42-NH) *mahḥan=ma=kan* ^{URU}Aštataz *arḥa* *INA* ^{URU}Kargamiš *andan iiaḥḥat*
 “While I was marching from Aštata into Kargamiš, (Nanaziti, the prince whom I had sent ahead to (deliver a) message to Nuḥanza, ‘Chief of the Wine’, drove to me on the road.)”
 KBo IV 4 II 67–70 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 120–121)

In this example we find a combination of two constructions *arḥa iia-* with an expression of Origin and *-kan* and *andan iia-* with an expression of Direction (and possibly without *-kan*).⁵¹ The same combination of constructions with *arḥa* and *andan* is also attested with *pai-*; see § 3.2.22.⁵²

2.3 The local adverb is independent of the predicate *iia-*

In the sentences with local adverbs discussed in this section the predicate *iia-* is always used in its main function as monovalent predicate and is never accompanied by an expression of Direction or Origin (§ 2.1.1). The fact that the local adverbs do not affect the construction or meaning of *iia-* has been taken as an indication that they function outside the scope of the predicate. As in sentences without local adverbs, no sentence particles are employed when *iia-* occurs with these independent local adverbs.

2.3.1 *arḥa* + *iia-*

In § 2.2.2 two examples were discussed in which *arḥa* forms a unity with *iia-*, which is constructed with an expression of Origin and accompanied by *-kan* and means “to go away from, to come forth from”. In the following example, the beginning of a difficult section of the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard, the situation seems to be quite different. Here *iia-* indicates the marching of two soldiers of a field batallion in a procession, one to the left and one to the right; see Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 53). This monovalent use of *iia-* is not influenced by the presence of *arḥa* in this sentence, but *arḥa* simply seems to indicate the Manner in which they march in the procession, namely three IKU “apart” or “away” from each other. In contrast with the instances of dependent use of *arḥa* with *iia-* (§ 2.2.2) no particle is found here:

⁵¹ There is only one fragmentary example of *andan* with *iia-* (§ 2.4.1), but the similarity between *iia-* and the motion verbs *pai-* and *uya-* in their use with local adverbs suggests that *andan iia-* governs the same construction as *andan pai-* and *andan uya-* treated in § 3.2.2.

⁵² With the verbs studied in ch. 2–4 no instances are found of two constructions of a predicate with a local adverb that both require the presence of a sentence particle. Sentences with two sentence particles are treated by Neu (1993).

- (43-MH) (“The soldier who (is) of a field batallion keeps the peaceful (population) [lin]ed up to the sides. The left one keeps (it) lined up on the left and the right one keeps (it) lined up on the right.”) *arḥa=ma=aš 3* IKU *iiaṭta* “He (=the left one) marches three IKU away (from the right one).”
 IBoT I 36 II 60–62 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 22–23)⁵³

2.3.2 *kattan* + *iia-*

In addition to its dependent use with *iia-* (§ 2.2.4), the local adverb *kattan* also functions as an Adjunct of Accompaniment with the predicate *iia-* indicating the person in the company of whom the Subject is on his way:

- (44-OH) (“But the following is (part) of his allotment: fifty breads, ten from each house.”) I LÚ I MUNUS *katti=šši iēnta* “One man and one woman shall go with him.”
 KBo XXII 1: 14’ (CTH 272) ed. Archi (1974: 46–47)
- (45-MH) (“Two spearmen [march]. (...)”) GAL LÚ.MEŠ.ŠUKUR=*iia=šmaš* NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ=*iia katti=šmi iianta* “Both a chief of spear men and an army bailiff march with them.”
 IBoT I 36 II 47, 50 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 20–21)
- (46-NH) *ABU=IA=iia ANA ABI ABI=IA laḥḥi* GAM-an=*pat iia[ttat]* “and my father marched together with my grandfather on the campaign.”
 KUB XIX 10 I 12 (CTH 40.IIE) ed. Güterbock (1956: 65)

The use of a local adverb as a host for an enclitic possessive pronoun, as for instance *katti=šši* and *katti=šmi* in (44-OH) and (45-MH), is a typical characteristic of the Old Hittite language. In later Hittite this construction is replaced by that of a local adverb and the dative of the enclitic personal pronoun, for instance *kattan* + *-šši* instead of *katti=šši*. In (45-MH) a combination of these two constructions is found.⁵⁴ In (46-NH) *kattan* governs the dative *ANA ABI ABI=IA*. This dative can be considered as the Complement of *kattan* on noun phrase level (§ 1.2).

2.3.3 *peran* + *iia-*

The local adverb *peran* functions as an Adjunct of Location with *iia-* indicating that the walking takes place “in front of, ahead of (a place or person)”:

⁵³ Güterbock and van den Hout use the plural in the translation, because it is easier in English, but note that the text uses the singular throughout the section (1991: 53). The rest of this section is treated in § 3.3.1.

⁵⁴ Archi reads X *ta-a-an Ê-az* “dix dans un deuxième temps, (donnés) par la maison”. The translation “ten from each house” is derived from the reading X.TA.ÀM Ê-az.

⁵⁵ This is often the case in Middle and New Hittite examples of this Old Hittite construction; see § 5.1, p. 139.

- (47-NH) [nu = tta ...] ŠEŠ.MEŠ-aš i_uar peran i_uantaru “Let them walk in front [of you] like brothers.”
KBo X 12 III 10’ (CTH 49.II) ed. Freydank (1959–60): 363, 371)
- (48-NS) (“Kumarbi stood up”) nu = šši^d Impalur[(i_uš peran [i_uattat])] “and Impaluri went in front of him.”
KUB XXXIII 102 II 18 (CTH 345.IC) ed. Güterbock (1951: 150–151)⁵⁶
- (49-NS) (“The blacksmiths bring in two ox heads of silver.”) peran = a
LÚ SAGI.LIŠ.A u_aššanza i_uattari “In front (of them) walks the cup-bearer (all) dressed (up).”
KUB II 5 II 35–39 (CTH 612.4A) ed. Badali and Zinko (1994: 80–81)

In (48-NS) *peran* governs the dative -šši “in front of him”, but in (49-NS) the point of reference of *peran* is to be inferred from the context. In (47-NH) the pronoun -tta can be restored in the lacuna as the dative belonging to *peran*.⁵⁷

2.3.4 āppa + i_ua-

In the following instance *āppa* appears to be used instead of *āppan* as an Adjunct of Location meaning “behind, in the back of” and governs the dative-locative ANA GIŠ *huluganni*; see § 2.3.5:

- (50-MH) (“The guards and the palace attendants march in three files. (...)”) ANA
GIŠ *huluganni* = ma = at EGIR-pa I IKU i_uanta “But they march one IKU behind the cart.”
IBoT I 36 II 36, 38 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 18–19)

A case of dependent use of *appa* is treated in § 2.2.8.

2.3.5 āppan + i_ua-

The local adverb *āppan* regularly functions as an Adjunct of Location with *i_ua-* indicating that the action of the verb takes place “behind or in the back of (a place or living being)”:

- (51-NS) (“The patient is bathed”) n = aš EGIR-an i_uattari “and he walks behind (her).”
KUB IX 27+ I 14–15 (CTH 406) ed. Hoffner (1987: 272, 277)
- (52-lateNH) (“They drive the adorned sheep into the temple of the old priest(s).”) LÚ SANGA GIBIL MUNUS.MEŠ *hazqara* = i_ua ANA UDU EGIR-an i_ua <n> tari “The new priest and the *hazqara*-women walk behind the sheep.”
KUB XVII 35 I 24’–25’ (CTH 525.2) ed. Carter (1962: 124, 138)

⁵⁶ Restorations from KUB XXXIII 98+ II 15–16 (MS B).

⁵⁷ In the following instance the construction *peran* = šet can be restored: LÚ.MEŠ *hāpi* [ēš] unu_uanteš [pir]an = šet i_uanta KBo X 27 V 29–30 (CTH 649.1).

Like *peran* in § 2.3.2, *āppan* is attested with and without explicit point of reference in the dative-locative.⁵⁸ An instance of dependent use of *āppan* is treated in § 2.2.9.

2.3.6 āppanda + i_ua-

The local adverb *āppanda* also serves as Adjunct of Location with *i_ua-* meaning “behind, in the back of”:

- (53-NS) EGIR-anda DINGIR^{LUM} i_uatta “The god goes behind.”
KUB X 91 II 11 (CTH 669.5)

In this function the logographic writing EGIR-ŠU is used with *i_ua-* from Old Hittite onwards.⁵⁹

- (54-OH) EGIR-[ŠU] LÚ meneiaš iet[ta] “The *meneia*-man walks behind (him).”
KBo XVII 43 I 10’ (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)

- (55-NS) [EGI]R-ŠU = ma LÚ HADANU LÚ hejālāšš = a [i_u]antari piran = ma [LÚ.MEŠ N]AR MUNUS.MEŠ > katrešš = a [hūi]anteš “The relative (by marriage) and the *hejala*-man march behind, while the singers and the *katra*-women walk in front.”
KUB LVIII 51 II 17–20 (CTH 670)

2.3.7 andurza + i_ua- and tapuša + i_ua-

In the following example *andurza* “inside” and *tapuša* “to the side, beside” are used as Adjuncts of Location with *i_ua-*.⁶⁰

- (56-MH) n = at šarkanti andurza tapuša i_uanta “They walk beside the defendant on the inside.”
IBoT I 36 III 18–19 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24–25)

The dative-locative *šarkanti* appears to be governed by *tapuša*.

2.4 Problematic or unclear instances

2.4.1 andan (+) i_ua-:

Unfortunately in the only example of the local adverb *andan* in combination with *i_ua-* the context is broken:

⁵⁸ See also KBo II 8 III 12 [] MUNUS.MEŠ *hazqara* = i_ua EGIR i_uatari “and the *hazqara*-women walk behind.” (CTH 519) and ibid. IV 4’ [EGI]R-pa-an i_uatari, with the spelling EGIR-pan.

⁵⁹ As shown by Kammenhuber (HW², A: 149), EGIR-ŠU (and the learned spelling *appan* = šet) may be used in the function of *appanda*.

⁶⁰ See Boley (1989: 198), who translates this example as “they march inside around the s.”

- (57-NS) *an-da-an i-ja-aḥ-ḥa-at* [“I went in [] ”
KUB XV 12 IV 5' (CTH 590) ed. de Roos (1984: 230, 369)

2.4.2 *pariḥan ija-*

There is only one example of *pariḥan* with *ija-* and *-kan*:

- (58-NS) (“Gurparanzaḥ shoots.”) *[n]u=šši=kan GI-aš ištu* ^{GIŠ}BAN *pari[ḥan]*
MUŠEN-iš *mān iḥattari* “His arrow goes across from the bow like a
bird (and he triumphs in shooting over 60 kings and 70 heroes.)”
KUB XXXVI 67 II 21'–23' (CTH 362.1) ed. Güterbock (1938: 86–87)

In the CHD (P/2: 152) it is suggested that the expression of Direction “to the target” is to be supplied from the context. See example (176-MH) with *pariḥan pai-* and an expression of Direction + *-kan* in § 3.2.15.

2.4.3 *peran (+) āppa ija-*

(59-NH) is an example of the expression *peran āppa ija-* “to walk back and forth to, to go frequently to (?)” plus an expression of Direction and without particle:⁶¹

- (59-NH) *nu ANA DINGIR.MEŠ ḥūmāndaš peran EGIR-pa iḥaḥḥat* “I walked back and forth to all the gods.”
KUB XIV 10 I 20–21 (CTH 378) ed. Götze (1930a: 206–207)

In this example *peran* and *āppa* are used together, probably asyndetically coordinated, in a fixed idiomatic expression that literally means something like “to walk forth (and) back to”.⁶² It is not entirely clear whether they form a unity *peran āppa* belonging to the predicate *ija-* or that we are dealing with a combination of two separate expressions *peran ija-* and *āppa ija-*. The combination *peran ija-* is not attested with an expression of Direction and the notion “to walk or go forward to” outside this combination with *āppa*. The same use of *peran āppa* is found with *pai-* and *uḡa-*; see § 3.4.7.

2.4.4 *āppa + šarā ija-*

Depending on the translation of (60-MH), we are either dealing with *āppa* in its use as Adjunct of Time meaning “once more, again”, which is independent of the predicate *šarā ija-* (+ *-kan*) “to go up to”, or with a combination of the constructions of *āppa ija-* “to go back to” and *šarā ija-* (+ *-kan*) “to go up to” occurring in the same sentence:⁶³

⁶¹ Other examples of *peran āppa ija-* can be found in KUB VI 45+ III 7–8 (CTH 381.A, Muḡatalli II), KUB XV 17+ I 5 (CTH 585, NH) ed. Otten and Souček (1965: 16–17) with duplicate KUB XLVIII 116 I 5–6 and KUB XXII 70 obv. 8–9 et passim (CTH 566, NH) ed. Ünal (1978: 56–57).

⁶² Compare Götze's (1930b: 223–224) commentary on this expression: “Ich kann mir das nur als Asyndeton ‘vor und zurück’, ‘hinein (und) heraus’ denken”.

⁶³ There are no (other) instances of *āppa ija-* with an expression of Direction.

- (60-MH) (“[The enemy]es that were in (the country) ” *[n=a]t=kan kāša EGIR-pa šarā* [] *li iḡandari* “See, they go up again (or: back up) to the [].”
HKM 50: 8–10 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 212–213)

2.5 Summary

Besides its main function as monovalent predicate (2.1), two more predicate frames of the basic predicate *ija-* have been defined:⁶⁴

- (2.1) *ija-* “to be on one's way, to (be on the) march, to move, to walk” SUBJECT
Agent
- (2.2) *ija-* “to be on the way to, to be headed to” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Direction
inanimate
- (2.3) *ija-* “to go a (certain) way” SUBJECT + internal OBJECT
Agent Route along which?
inanimate

The local adverbs that occur in sentences with *ija-* have been divided into two groups, local adverbs belonging to the predicate and those functioning independent of it.⁶⁵ When local adverbs belong to the predicate *ija-*, they influence both the meaning and the construction of the predicate. The local adverbs *anda*, *arḥa*, *katta*, *kattanda*, *šarā*, *parā*, *āppan*, *ištarna*, *ištarna arḥa*, *šer arḥa* are accompanied by a sentence particle, when they are dependent of *ija-* (§ 2.2). Only in the case of *ištarna ija-* the construction is identical with the main construction of *ija-*, but here the meaning of the predicate is affected by the presence of *ištarna*. Independent local adverbs have no influence on the construction of the predicate *ija-*, which in all of these cases is attested in its main, monovalent, use without sentence particle (§ 2.3).

In those instances where a local adverb can be shown to belong to the predicate, a new, derived predicate is formed, which has a construction of its own, but is based on the predicate *ija-* (§ 1.2, p. 18). With one local adverb, more than one derived predicate can be formed, each with a different meaning and construction. In its use with local adverbs *ija-* now has a parallel with *pai-*, then with *uḡa-* and then again with both verbs. This alternating correspondence with both *pai-* and *uḡa-* is possible, since *ija-*, in contrast with *pai-* and *uḡa-*, is neutral with regard to the point of view of the speaker.⁶⁶ This possibility of comparison with *pai-* and *uḡa-* enables us to determine the construction and the meaning of a combination of a local adverb with *ija-*, even if it is rarely found. The following derived predicates are based on *ija-*:

⁶⁴ An explanation of my presentation of the predicate frames can be found in § 1.2, p. 18.

⁶⁵ A table (5.1) showing the distribution of dependent and independent local adverbs with *ija-* can be found in § 5.1.

⁶⁶ The verb *pai-* denotes a movement away from the speaker and *uḡa-* a motion directed to the speaker, see § 3.0.

The deponent iia-

- (2.4) *anda iia-* “to move or march into, to go (in)to”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle
Agent Direction
animate+inanimate
- (2.5) *arha iia-* “to go or march away from, to come forth from”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle
Agent Origin
inanimate
- (2.6) *katta iia-* “to go or come down from”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT⁶⁷ + sentence particle
Agent Origin
inanimate
- (2.7) *kattan iia-* “to come (in)to (the presence of)”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Direction
animate
- (2.8) *kattanda iia-* “to move or march down into”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle
Agent Direction
inanimate
- (2.9) *šarā iia-* “to walk up to, to go or come up to”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle
Agent Direction
inanimate
- (2.10) *šarā iia-* “to come up from”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle
Agent Origin⁶⁸
- (2.11) *parā iia-* “to move or march on to”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Direction
inanimate
- (2.12) *parā iia-* “to go out to”
SUBJECT+ COMPLEMENT + sentence particle
Agent Direction⁶⁹

⁶⁷ This construction is only attested in absolute use.

⁶⁸ Only in absolute use.

⁶⁹ Only in absolute use.

The deponent iia-

- (2.13) *parā iia-* “to come out of, to leave”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sentence particle
Agent Origin
inanimate
- (2.14) *āppa iia-* “to move or march back from, to return from”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Origin
inanimate
- (2.15) *āppan iia-* “to go or come after, to pursue”
SUBJECT + OBJECT⁷ + sentence particle
Agent Patient
animate
- (2.16) *ištarna iia-* “to go by, to pass”
SUBJECT + sentence particle
- (2.17) *ištarna arha iia-* “to walk through, to pass through”
SUBJECT + OBJECT⁷ + sentence particle
Agent Patient
inanimate
- (2.18) *šer arha iia-* “to pass over, to pass by”
SUBJECT + OBJECT⁷ + sentence particle
Agent Patient
inanimate

CHAPTER 3

The verbs *pai-* “to go” and *uua-* “to come”

3.0 Introduction

In contrast with the deponent *ija-* treated in the second chapter, the active verbs *pai-* and *uua-* express the notion of movement in a certain direction. In origin *pai-* and *uua-* are “compound verbs”, derived from the same verbal root **h₁ei-* as present in *ija-*, to which the prefix *pe-* “thither, forth” and *u-* “whither, back” are added.¹ The main difference between *pai-* and *uua-* can be described as a distinction in perception or point of view of the speaker. With *pai-* the movement denoted by the predicate is conceived as directed away from the speaker, whereas with *uua-* it is seen as directed towards the speaker. In contrast with *ija-* derived *šk-*verbs were formed on the basis of *pai-* and *uua-*. These verbs, *paišk-* and *uešk-*, as a rule only have medial forms.²

While I was working on this study, fascicle one of volume P of the CHD appeared, which contains the first elaborate description of the verb *pai-* (1994: 20–40). My description of the various uses of *pai-* greatly benefitted from this treatment and many of the examples cited can be found there. The Old Hittite examples of *pai-* and *uua-* are treated by Starke (1977: 32–34, 139–140 et passim), both in their use with and without local adverbs. Götze already made valuable observations about the use of sentence particles with certain combinations of *uua-* and local adverbs in the index of his edition of the Annals of Muršili II (1933a: 317–318). Boley commented on the use of sentence particles with *pai-* and *uua-* in sentences with and without local adverbs as occurring in her corpus of Old Hittite and Middle Hittite texts (1989: 29–30, 242–245, 310–315 et passim).

Examples of “phraseological” *pai-* and *uua-* are not discussed in this chapter, since in this use a second verb, introduced by *pai-* and *uua-*, governs the main construction of the sentence.³ The various combinations of local adverbs with *pai-* and *uua-* occurring in the passages of bird, snake and KIN-oracles where the movements of the animals or entities are described have as a rule not been included, since the meaning of the oracular terms used in the observations is often unclear or uncertain.⁴

¹ See Friedrich (1930a: 146 and HE: § 144), Neu (1968b: 87), Oettinger (1979: 389–391) and Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 328) with ref.

² See Neu (1968b: 86–88), noting one exception.

³ For this construction see Friedrich (HE § 312), Disterheft (1984), Dunkel (1985: 57–63), CHD (P/1: 23) and Neu (1995).

⁴ The only exceptions are instances where no other example of a particular combination of a local adverb with the verb *uua-* was available to me; see (178-NS) and (229-NS²).

3.1 Constructions attested in sentences without local adverbs

The verbs *pai-* and *uua-* are widely attested in all phases of the language. Whereas *uua-* is both constructed with an expression of Direction and with an expression of Origin, the verb *pai-* is almost exclusively found with an expression of Direction and never with an expression of Origin.⁵

3.1.1 *pai-* and *uua-* + Subject + expression of Direction

The verbs *pai-* and *uua-* are both constructed with an expression of Direction denoting the place to or the person to whom the Subject goes.

- (61-OH) (“But when I [cam(e)] back to Neša,⁶ I brought the man of Purušḫanda with me.”) *mān tunnakišna = ma paizzi* “However, when he goes to the inner room, (he will sit at (my) right, in front of me.)”
KBo III 22 rev. 76–79 (CTH 1A) ed. Neu (1974a: 14–15)
- (62-NH) (“This I accomplished in one year.”) *MU-anni = ma ina kur Azzi pāun* “In the (next) year I went to Azzi.”
KBo III 4 IV 34–35 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 130–131)
- (63-NS) [(*mān = uā A*)]_{NA} ^{dIM} ^{URU} *Nerik pāiṽani* “When we go to the Stormgod of Nerik.”
KBo III 7 IV 5–6 (CTH 321.A) ed. Beckman (1982: 16, 20)⁷
- (64-NS) (“But if some years have gone by) *nu LUGAL-uš laḫḫi ul kuṽapikki panza* “and the king has gone nowhere on a campaign, (then no ritual takes place.)”
KUB XXVII 1 I 20–21 (CTH 712.A) ed. Lebrun (1976: 75, 86)
- (65-OH) *LUGAL-uš* ^{URU} *Hattuša* DINGIR.DIDLI-aš *aruṽanzi uēt* “The king came to Hattuša to worship the gods, (but he left the old king there.)”
KBo XXII 2 rev. 13’–14’ (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 12–13)
- (66-MH) (“[Report] to the governor [about the] matt[er straightaway].”) *nu* ^{LÚ} *KÚR kuedani pēdi uizzi* “To which place the enemy comes, (that [(place)] to him.)”
KUB XXIII 77+: 26’–27’ (CTH 138.1) transl. von Schuler (1965: 119)
- (67-NH) (“Pihḫuniiaš wrote me back as follows: ‘I will not give anything back to you’”) *mānn = a = uā = mu zahḫiia uṽaši* “‘If you will come to battle

against me, (I will not line up for battle with you anywhere in my field (and) land’)”

KBo III 4 III 79–82 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 90–91)

The expression of Direction is as a rule an animate noun in the dative or an inanimate noun in the dative-locative. In (68-NH) we may have an instance of *pai-* with an accusative of Direction:

- (68-NH) (“Ḫanutti is young. He was never yet appointed by oracle to (join) a campaign for my lord.”) *nu = kan kuit ašRU paizzi = iā kuit = ma = kan ašRU nūṽa šer ar[ḫa] iḫaddari* to whatever place he will go⁸ and whatever place he may still pass by. (“For that reason I don’t believe the story.”)
KUB XIX 23 rev. 6–9 (CTH 192) ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 27–29)⁹

Sometimes the Direction of *pai-* and *uua-* is not expressed and must be inferred from the context. Compare the following cases of absolute use of *pai-* and *uua-*:¹⁰

- (69-NH) (“[A]s soon as I reached Ḫattuša, (...)”) *nu Tarḫiniš išTU ERÍN.MEŠ [ANŠE.]KUR.RA.MEŠ* *pait* “Tarḫiniš went with troops (and) charioteers. (He took the city of Lakku, the Lakku in which they killed Aparruš.)”
KBo II 5 IV 4, 6–9 (CTH 61.II10) ed. Götze (1933a: 190–193)
- (70-NH) (“If, however, you do not seize him and hand him over to me,”) *nu = uā uṽami nu = uā = šmaš QADU KUR = KUNU arḫa ḫarnikmi* “I will come and completely destroy you along with your land.”
KBo V 13 I 7–9 (CTH 68.C) ed. Friedrich (1926: 112–113)

The constituents DINGIR.DIDLI-aš *aruṽanzi* in (65-OH), *laḫḫi* in (64-NS), and *zahḫiia* in (67-NH) indicate the Purpose of the movement denoted by *pai-* and *uua-*. These expressions of Purpose do not occur often enough to make a reasonable case for the assumption that in their use with an expression of Direction *pai-* and *uua-* require an additional expression of Purpose to form a complete, meaningful sentence.

The following predicate frames can be defined for the basic predicates *pai-* “to go to” and *uua-* “to come to”:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| (3.1a) <i>pai-</i> “to go to” | SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT |
| | Agent Direction |
| | animate+inanimate |
| (3.1b) <i>uua-</i> “to come to” | SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT |
| | Agent Direction |
| | animate+inanimate |

⁸ See CHD (L-N: 469b) and Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 331). For the accusative of Direction in Hittite see Friedrich (HE § 201a), Neu (1980b: 30 n. 67) and Josephson (1981: 101–102). The meaning “to pass” for this instance of *paizzi* suggested in CHD (P/1: 36) is not otherwise found with the basic predicate *pai-*, but seems to be reserved for *arḫa pai-* or one of its combination with a second local adverb; see ad § 3.2.17–3.2.21.

⁹ For the translation of the rest of this passage see § 2.2.12 where it is cited as (40-NH).

¹⁰ See also the instances of “absolute use (without goal expressed)” of *pai-* in CHD (P/1: 22–23).

⁵ Expressions of Direction and Origin governed by *pai-* and *uua-* are as a rule inanimate nouns. Exceptions will be noted.

⁶ The transcription of this sentence is cited in (150-OH), § 3.2.9.

⁷ In the duplicate KUB XII 66 IV 9 (MS D) ^{dIM} has been omitted.

3.1.2 *uua-* + Subject + expression of Origin

The predicate *uua-* can also be constructed with an inanimate noun in the ablative case denoting the Origin of the movement indicated by *uua-*. In this construction *uua-* means “to come from, to leave”:

- (71-OH) (“On the second day there are no birds and animals. The foreman of the ALUZINNU’s is sitting on the *marāu*.”) *kuršaš É-irza DINGIR.MEŠ uenzi* “The gods come from the house of the *kurša*.”
KBo XXV 12 + KBo XX 5+ II 17’–18’ (CTH 627) translit. Singer (1984: 34) and Neu (1980: 32)

The expression of Origin may also indicate the person with whom the movement of *uua-* originates. In this case the dative case is used, since this is the appropriate case to describe a movement away from an animate noun.¹¹ There seem to be no examples of the basic predicate *uua-* with a single expression of Origin in the dative case, but we do have an example with two expressions of Origin in partitive apposition, the dative (*taknaš*) ^dUTU-*i* “from the Sungoddess of the earth” and the ablative KA×U-*az* “from the mouth”:¹²

- (72-NS) *mān=kan taknaš=ma* ^dUTU-*i* ḪUL-*lu* KA×U-*az* *uizzi* “When evil comes out of the mouth of the Sungoddess of the earth (and she attributes something to these in (their) place, let these grandmothers and grandfathers put forward the substitutes and spe[ak t]hus.)”
KUB VII 10 I 7–11 (CTH 448.4) ed. Kümmel (1967: 130)

The term partitive apposition is normally used to describe the use of two constituents in the same case form, the first of which designates the whole and the second a part of the whole, instead of putting the first noun in the genitive case and the second in the case that is required by the predicate.¹³ Although *taknaš* ^dUTU-*i* and KA×U-*az* in (72-NS) do not coincide in case form they have the same semantic function with the predicate. They both serve as expression of Origin, whereby the dative (*taknaš*) ^dUTU-*i* designates the whole and the ablative KA×U-*az* a part of the whole. As noted in § 1.1.1, the use of the partitive apposition is still restricted in Old Hittite, but becomes increasingly popular in later Hittite, at the expense of the construction with a genitive Attribute. Whereas in (72-NS) the partitive apposition *taknaš* ^dUTU-*i* KA×U-*az* is preferred, (73-OH+) below provides us with an instance of the construction with an attributive genitive ^dUTU=*ušaš=ua* É-*az* “From the temple of the Sungod”:

- (73-OH+) *ḫāš nu kuāz uuaši šuppaz=ua uuami nu=ua kuēz šuppaiāz* “Soap, where are you coming from? I come from the holy (place). From what

holy (place)? (From the cult room (*zaḫanittenna*)). From what cult room?” ^dUTU=*ušaš=ua* É-*az* *nu=ua kuēz* ^dUTU-*az* “From the temple of the Sungod. From what Sungod? (From the one whose statue is new, whose chest is new, whose [head] is new, (and) whose penis (lit. manhood) is new.)”

KBo XXI 22: 22’–26’ (CTH 820.4) ed. Kellerman (1978: 200, 202) and Hoffner (1995b: 104)

The phrase *nu=ua kuēz* ^dUTU-*az* in (73-OH+) was cited by Starke (1977: 101) as one of the exceptional instances of an animate entity in the ablative case. It is possible that ^dUTU-*az* is treated as an inanimate noun, since it refers to the statue of the Sungod, *ēšri=šet* “his statue”, described in the answer to the question *nu=ua kuēz* ^dUTU-*az*.

For the basic predicate *uua-* a second predicate frame can be formulated:

- (3.2) *uua-* “to come from” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Origin
animate+inanimate

We sometimes find a combination of the constructions of *uua-* with an expression of Origin and an expression of Destination, but these instances are remarkably rare:¹⁴

- (74-NS) *mān LUGAL-uš ḫamešḫi* ^{URU}*Taḫurpaza* *INA* EZEN₄ ANTAḪŠUM ^{URU}*KÜ.BABBAR-ši uizzi* “If in spring the king comes from Taḫurpa to Ḫattuša for the ANTAḪŠUM festival, (as soon as he arrives at Tippiuḫa, the tent and the stele have been placed (there) already.)”
KUB X 18 I 1–5 (CTH 594.1)

3.1.3 *pai-* + Subject

The predicate *pai-* is also found with a unit of time as Subject and the meaning “to go by, to pass”:¹⁵

- (75-OH+) *nu mašiēš* MU.ḪI.A *pāir* “How many years have passed (and [how man] have run (by))?”
KUB I 16 III 44–45 (CTH 6) ed. Hoffner (1995b:100)¹⁶

In this use *pai-* is monovalent requiring a Subject constituent. Unlike in the other predicate frames of *pai-*, this Subject is inanimate and does not function as the Agent that controls the action of *pai-*; see § 1.3:

¹⁴ See also *mān LUGAL-uš laḫḫaz zēni* ^{[U]RU}*Arinnaz* [A]NA EZEN₄ *nuntarrijašaš* ^[URU]*Ḫattuši uizzi* “If the king comes from a trip in autumn, from Arinna to Ḫattuša for the *nuntarrijaša*-festival” KUB XXV 12 VI 9–13 (CTH 626, NS) and partially restored: [*mān IŠTU KUR* ^{URU}*Ḫat*]ti *pittejanza* *INA* KUR ^{URU}*Kašga takšulaš* *URU-ia uizzi* “If a refugee comes from Ḫatti to Kaška-land, to an allied city” KUB XXIII 77+: 52’ (CTH 138.1, MH) transl. von Schuler (1965: 120).

¹⁵ See the examples cited by Neu (1968a: 65 + n. 22) and CHD (P/1: 38). See also *ištarna pai-* “to go by, to pass” in § 3.2.12.

¹⁶ Differently Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 14–15).

¹¹ This is in conformity with Starke’s theory (1977) that in Old Hittite the dative fulfills the functions with animate nouns that the allative, locative and ablative have with inanimate nouns; see § 1.1.1 with n. 17.

¹² The use of the particle *-kan* with *uua-* is exceptional and will be explained in § 3.1.5. An example of a single expression of Origin in the dative is attested with *ayan arḫa uua-* in (NS-180), § 3.2.16.

¹³ See Friedrich (HE: § 213).

- (3.3) *pai-* “to go by, to pass” SUBJECT
inanimate

In (76-NS) *pai-* has a slightly different nuance, but also in this case there seems to be no emphasis on the Direction:

- (76-NS) *n = at ēšta* SIG₅-in *paiddu = (u)at* SIG₅-in “It was well, (so) let it go well (and these things further [])”
KUB XLIV 4+ rev. 17 (CTH 767.4) ed. Beckman (1983: 176–177, 190–191)

3.1.4 *pai-* and *uṣa-* + internal Object

Like *ija-*, the predicates *pai-* and *uṣa-* are attested with an accusative of the internal Object in the expression *KASKAL-an pai-* “to go a (certain) way” and *KASKAL-an uṣa-* “to come a (certain) way”.¹⁷

- (77-OH+) (May it (=the anger etc. of Telipinu) not go into the fruitful field, garden or forest.) *taknaš = at* ⁴UTU-*aš* *KASKAL-an paiddu* “Let it go the way of the Sungoddess of the earth.”
KUB XVII 10 IV 12–13 (CTH 324.1A) translit. Laroche (1965: 97), transl. Hoffner (1990: 17)
- (78-NS) *KASKAL-an = ma k[ui]n iṣantari nu* *KASKAL-[an kuin] uṣanzi* “The way they (= the winds) are to go and the way they come, ((those) I, LAMMA, [king of he]aven, allot to the gods.)”
KUB XXXIII 112+ III 10–12 (CTH 343.1A) translit. Laroche (1968: 34), transl. Hoffner (1990: 44)

This construction with an accusative as internal Object is described in more detail in § 2.1.3. For this use of *pai-* and *uṣa-* we can enter the following predicate frames:

- | | | |
|--|-----------|--------------------|
| (3.4a) <i>pai-</i> “to go a (certain) way” | SUBJECT + | internal OBJECT |
| | Agent | Route along which? |
| (3.4b) <i>uṣa-</i> “to come a (certain) way” | SUBJECT + | internal OBJECT |
| | Agent | Route along which? |

3.1.5 Use of sentence particles in sentences without local adverbs

As a rule no sentence particles are found with the basic predicate *pai-* and *uṣa-*. If sentence particles occur with *pai-* and *uṣa-*, it is often in cases of phraseological use, where the particles preceding or attached to *pai-* and *uṣa-* belong to the construction of the main predicate introduced by *pai-* or *uṣa-*.¹⁸ There are, however, exceptions where

¹⁷ For other examples of *KASKAL-an pai-* see CHD (P/1: 24–25).

¹⁸ See the observations about the use of sentence particles with *pai-* in the CHD (P/1: 26) and the remarks about phraseological use of *pai-* and *uṣa-* in § 3.0 with n. 3. See also Boley’s remark that *ija-*, *pai-* and *uṣa-* have identical use of particles (1989: 197).

the particle belongs to the construction of *pai-* and *uṣa-*. In all of these cases the basic predicate *pai-* and *uṣa-* seem to be used instead of one of the combinations of *pai-* or *uṣa-* and a dependent local adverb that are accompanied by a sentence particle (§ 3.2ff). These exceptions can be described as cases of *simplex pro composito*.¹⁹ It is remarkable that all instances are found in Old Hittite texts or in later copies of festival texts and rituals, the composition of which may date back to the Old Hittite period.²⁰

pai- + *-kan* or *-šan* and *uṣa-* + *-kan* are used instead of *anda pai-* “to go into, to enter” and *anda uṣa-* “to come into, to enter” treated in § 3.2.1:

- (79-MS) (“As this clay does not go back to the claypit (...)”) *išnaš = ma = uṣa = kan* *kāš* DINGIR.MEŠ NIND[(A *ḥarši* U)]L [(p)]a[iz]zi *kēdaš = a = uṣa = [š]šan*²¹ *idāluš lāla[š tuē]kki lē paizzi* “and this dough does not go into the thick-bread of the gods, let also no evil tongue go into their body.”
2Mašt. III 3, 5–7 (CTH 404.2A) ed. Jakob-Rost (1953: 356–359)

Here we seem to have an example of *pai-* with two expressions of Direction in partitive apposition, the dative *kēdaš* “to these (offerants)” and the dative-locative *tuēkki* “to the body”.²²

- (80-NS) *parašnāuṣaš = kan* ^{LÚ}SAGIA-*as*²³ *uizzi* “The cupbearer ‘of squatting’ comes in. (Sitting, the king and queen drink (to) the god Taḥpiltanū.)”
KUB II 3 I 13–15 (CTH 627.12A) ed. Singer (1984: 62)

pai- *-kan* and *uṣa-* + *-ašta* or *-kan* are used instead of *arḥa pai-* “to go away from, to leave” or *parā pai-* “to go out of, to leave” and *arḥa uṣa-* “to come out of, to leave” or *parā uṣa-* “to come out of, to leave”; see § 3.2.3 and 3.2.8:

- (81-NS) (“The chief of guards goes and places the silver *zau* next to the king. He walks in front of the priest. The priests rise. They take the hearth in front.”) *t = ašta pānzi* “Then they go out.”
KUB II 3 I 41–46 (CTH 627.12A) ed. Singer (1984: 63)
- (82-NS) *mān = ašta* LUGAL-*uš* ^{GIŠ}ZA.LAM.GAR-*az* *uizzi* “When the king comes out of the tent, (he takes his stand near the hearth, at a basin with *marnuṣan*-beer.)”
KUB II 3 II 11–14 (CTH 627.12A) ed. Singer (1984: 64)

¹⁹ For instances of the same feature with *dā-* see (288-NH) in § 4.2.4 and (298-NH) in 4.2.6.

²⁰ See the examples of *pai-* with particle in CHD (P/1: 26).

²¹ In a manuscript of the first version of this *Maštigga*-ritual the particle *-kan* is used instead of *-šan*: *kēdaš = a = uṣa = kan* ANA 2 EN.SÍSKUR *idāluš* EME-*aš* NÍ.TE-*ši* QATAMMA *lē paizzi* “In the same way let also no evil tongue go into the body of these two patients.” KUB XV 39 + KUB XII 59 II 19–20; see CHD (P/1: 22, 26).

²² The same construction is found in KUB XV 39 + KUB XII 59 II 19–20 cited in the previous footnote.

²³ Probably a special type of cupbearer whose task is to squat down. See Neu (1982: 118–119) with references.

- (83-NS) *mān=kan taknaš=ma* ^dUTU-i *ḫUL-lu KA×U-az uizzi* “When evil comes out of the mouth of the Sungoddess of the earth.”
KUB VII 10 I 7–8 (CTH 448.4) ed. Kümmel (1967: 130)

uūa- + *-ašta* or *-kan* instead of *šarā uūa-* “to come up”; see § 3.2.7:²⁴

- (84-OH) “(If cattle go onto a field and the owner of the field finds them, he may hitch them up for one day.)” *mān=ašta* MUL.ḪIA-*eš uenzi* “If the stars come (up), (he must drive them back to their lord.)”
KBo VI 2+ IV 12’–13’ (HG I § 79, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 42–43), transl. Hoffner (1963: 66) and (1995: 227)
- (85-NS) *takku=kan* ^{MUL}*leššallaš uizzi* “If a *leššalla*-star comes (up) (and its *ḫapparnuūatar* shines very brightly.)”
KUB VIII 16: 7–9 + KUB VIII 24 rev. 8–10 (CTH 535.1); see CHD (L-N: 72)

3.2 Constructions with local adverbs belonging to the predicate *pai-* and *uūa-*

The local adverbs in the examples of this section influence the meaning of *pai-* and *uūa-* and in some cases also affect the construction of the predicates. In the preceding chapter about *iia-*, we saw that dependent local adverbs add a dimension of direction to the motion indicated by the basic predicate (§ 2.2). Many of the dependent local adverbs found with *iia-* are attested in similar constructions with *pai-* and *uūa-*, verbs that already express a movement directed to or from a place or person in their use without local adverbs. The influence of these local adverbs on the meaning of *pai-* and *uūa-* is that they specify or modify the direction of the motion denoted by the predicate as going into (*anda*, *andan*), down (*katta*), up (*šara*) out, on (*parā*) or back (*āppa*) to a place, away (*arḫa*), down (*katta*), up (*šarā*), back (*āppa*) from or out of (*parā*), across (*parranda*, *pariian*), through or past (*arḫa*, *ištarna arḫa* etc) a place, to (*anda*, *kattan*, *menahḫanda*) or after (*āppan*, *āppanda*) a person. Local adverbs can also affect the construction of the predicate. In combination with certain local adverbs *pai-* governs an expression of Origin (e.g. *arḫa*), with others *pai-* and *uūa-* are constructed with an accusative, possibly with the function Object (e.g. *ištarna arḫa*) or an expression of Location (e.g. *peran arḫa*), constructions that are not found with the basic predicates. The same local adverbs that are accompanied by sentence particles with *iia-* are also responsible for the use of sentence particles with *pai-* and *uūa-*, to which a few can be added that do not occur with *iia-*.

3.2.1 *anda pai-* and *anda uūa-*

The combinations *anda pai-* and *anda uūa-* are constructed with an expression of Direction:

²⁴ See also *takku* ^d*SIN uizzi n=aš* GE₆-*išzi* “If the Moongod comes (up) and he becomes black” KUB VIII 27 left edge b1–2 (CTH 569.2).

anda pai- “to go into, to enter, to go (in) to”:

- (86-OH) “[If] they catch a fr[(ee man at the ou)]tset²⁵” *anda=ša[(n parna nāyi paizzi)]* “(and) he has not yet entered the house.”
KBo VI 2+ IV 37’ (HG I § 93, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 46–47),²⁶ transl. Hoffner (1995a: 228)
- (87-OH) (“Then we go out.²⁷ I place these in the forecourt.”) *ueš[(=a) n]amma anda [p]aiyuni* “We go in again.”
KBo XVII 1+ I 20’–22’ (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 20–21), translit. Neu (1980a: 6)
- (88-OH+) (“(The deity) Andaliia went in (...) [and²] a *kurtali* he took.”)
^dUTU=*an DUMU-aš anda pai[t]* “The son of the Sungoddess went in.”
KUB XII 63+ rev. 19, 22 (CTH 412.3)
- (89-OH+) (“I will call the soul of the person.”) *n=at=še=pa anda p[ā]ir* “‘They went in to him (and sei[zed] him.)’”
KUB XII 63 obv 18’ + KUB XXXVI 70: 7’ (CTH 412.3)
- (90-MH) (“[Whoever] flees [for the army of His majesty]”) *[A]NA LÚ.MEŠ URU Pahḫuūa=ma=aš=kan anda pait* “and goes (in) to the people of Pahḫuūa, ([they will hand] him [over, e]ach (of them).)”
KUB XXIII 72+ rev. 16–17 (CTH 146) transl. Gurney (1948: 36)
- (91-MH+) (“[] the army [of the] Gašga I slew.”) *namma=ašta KUR-eašš=a anda pāū[n]* “Then I went also into (their) countries.”
KUB XXIII 11 III 20–22 (CTH 142.2A) ed. Carruba (1977: 160–161)

The combination *anda pai-* mostly governs a noun in the allative or dative-locative denoting “the place into which” the movement is directed. Examples of this construction already occur in Old Hittite texts. In texts of later date *anda pai-* is also attested with a noun in the dative case indicating a human being. This construction of *anda pai-* with an animate expression of Direction meaning “to go (in) to a person”, may have developed from its more common use with an inanimate noun in the locative, in which case it is to be understood as “to go in(to an unspecified location) to a person”; see (89-OH+). Von Schuler (1957: 18) already noted that in the context of a treaty or instruction text this use of *anda pai-* has the connotation “to join the party of, to seek refuge among”; see (90-MH) and (103-lateNH) in § 3.2.2. Example (87-OH) is an instance of absolute use where the Direction of the movement is not explicitly mentioned, but can be supplied from the context. Except for example (86-OH), where the particle *-šan* is used, the Old Hittite examples of *anda pai-* do not have a sentence particle.²⁸ In later texts *anda pai-* is

²⁵ Following Hoffner *tapešni* has been translated as “at the outset”. See also Friedrich’s translation “vorher” and differently Starke (1977: 152).

²⁶ The restorations are from KBo VI 3+ IV 35–36 (MS B).

²⁷ The transcription of this sentence is cited in (138-OH), § 3.2.8.

²⁸ See (87-OH) and the OH examples of *anda pai-* cited by Starke (1977: 139–140).

as a rule accompanied by a sentence particle, in most cases *-kan*, less frequently *-ašta* or *-šan*.²⁹ In (88-OH+) and (89-OH+), passages from a later copy of an Old Hittite ritual, we even find the particles *-an* and *(a)pa* with *anda pai-*.³⁰ A case of independent *anda* with *pai-* is discussed in § 3.3.1.

anda uya- “to come into, to enter”:

- (92-OH) (“[The king (goes) out(side)].”) LÚ.MEŠ MUḪALDIM *anda uenzi* “The cooks come in.”
KBo XVII 11+ KBo XX 12 IV 24’ (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 34–35), translit. Neu (1980a: 68)
- (93-MH) (“If he goes across to the land of Mount Šakkaddunuwa, (or) if he perchance turns back,”) *n=aš=kan KUR-ia anda uizzi* “he will come into the country.”
HKM 46: 8–12 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 200–201)

Example (92-OH), a case of absolute use with omission of the expression of Direction, is the only instance of *anda uya-* in an Old Hittite original. The Direction of *anda uya-* is always indicated by an inanimate noun in the allative or dative-locative. In the Old Hittite example no sentence particle is used, but in later texts *anda uya-* is accompanied by the particle *-kan*.³¹

3.2.2 *andan pai-* and *andan uya-*

The use of the local adverb *andan* with *pai-* and *uya-* is very similar to that of *anda* described in the previous section. The expression of Direction is with *andan pai-* and *andan uya-* usually an inanimate noun.³²

andan pai- “to go into, to enter”:

- (94-NH) (“The next morning I went through the land of Ištaluppa”) *nu INA KUR URU Takkuuḫina andan pāun* “and I went into the country of Takkuuḫina.”
KBo V 8 I 30–31 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götze (1933a: 150–151)
- (95-NH) (“I went across to the land of Arzaḫa.”) *nu INA URU Apāša ANA URU LIM ŠA mUḫḫa-LÚ andan pāun* “(Then) I went into Apāša, the city of Uḫhazitiš.”
KBo III 4 II 28–30 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 50–51)

andan uya- “to come into, to enter”:

- (96-OH+) *mān=ma LUGAL andan parna uizzi* “But when the king enters the house, (the Throne says to the Eagle: ‘Come, I send you to the sea’.)”
KUB XXIX 1 I 50–51 (CTH 414.A) ed. Kellerman (1980: 12, 27), transl. Goetze (ANET: 357)
- (97-NH) (“I came up from the land of Kargamiš”) *nu INA KUR URU Tegaramma andan uyanun* “and I came into the land of Tegaramma.”
KBo IV 4 III 18–19 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 124–125)

In contrast with *anda pai-* and *anda uya-*, the combinations *andan pai-* and *andan uya-* are not accompanied by a sentence particle, although they share the same construction and are used with the same meaning. This remarkable difference in use of sentence particles was already observed by Götze (1933a: 317) with regard to the use of *anda uya-* and *andan uya-* in the Annals of Muršili II.³³ In parallel versions or duplicate manuscripts of the same text *andan pai-* is sometimes found alternating with *anda pai-* and *andan uya-* with *anda uya-*:

- (98-OH+) (“In the dark earth are iron *palḫi*-vessels. Their lids are of lead.”) *kuit=kan anda paizzi n=at=kan namma šarā UL uizzi* “What goes in(to these vessels) does not come up again. (It perishes therein.)”
KUB XXXIII 8 III 7–10 (CTH 324.2D) translit. Laroche (1965: 103–104), transl. Hoffner (1990: 19)
- (99-OH+) *kuit andan paizzi n=ašta namma šarā UL uizzi* “What goes in(to these vessels) does not come up again. (It perishes therein.)”
KUB XVII 10 IV 16–17 (CTH 324.1A) translit. Laroche (1965: 97), transl. Hoffner (1990: 17)

In some of these cases the distinction in the use of sentence particles is abandoned altogether so that we find *anda pai-* / *uya-* without a sentence particle or *andan pai-* / *uya-* with a particle:

- (100-NS) (“One sheep they send to the Old Woman. They fill (litt: draw) two goblets.”) *n=at andan U[(RU-ḫ)]a uit*³⁴ “They come into town.” ((...) and he washes himself.)”
KUB XXIV 9 IV 18–19, 20 + KBo XII 126 IV 4–5, 6 (CTH 402.A) ed. Jakob-Rost (1972: 54–55) with corrections by Neu (1974c: 266)
- (101-NS) (She breaks one container.”) *n=at anda URU=ia uyanzi* “They come into town. (She puts wheat, a little barley, *pašša*-loaves³⁵, a bow and three arrows in a basket.)”

³³ Götze (1933a: 317) translated *andan uya-* as “sich begeben nach, Aufenthalt nehmen in”. In (96-OH+), however, *andan uya-* clearly means “to go into, to enter” and also in (97-NH) the king seems to go into the land of Tegaramma, before he reaches the city of Tegaramma itself.

³⁴ The form *uit* is possibly a mistake for *uyanzi* occurring in (101-NS). See Jakob-Rost (1972: 75).

³⁵ Jakob-Rost (1972: 38 + n. 22) and the CHD (P/2: 204) respectively transliterate NINDA *pa-aš-šu-uš* and NINDA *pa-aš-šu-uš*, a bread name not otherwise attested. Maybe it is possible to read here 4 *PA-AŠ-ŠU-UŠ*

²⁹ In oracles, rituals or festival texts *anda pai-* occasionally occurs without a sentence particle; see § 3.2.2.

³⁰ See CHD (P/1, 27) and Carruba (1964: 420).

³¹ In oracles or rituals the sentence particle is sometimes omitted; see also § 3.2.2.

³² See the exception (102-lateNH) explained below.

KUB XXIV 11 II 22'–24' (CTH 402.C) ed. Jakob-Rost (1972: 38–39)

- (102-lateNH) (“If ev[e(r)] evil [(is done)] against His majesty (...)”) [*nu=k(an t)a-m (ēdani)*] *kuedanikki andan paiitt[(eni)]* “and you go (in) to anybody else.”

KUB XXVI 1+ I 17, 19–20 (CTH 255.2A) ed. von Schuler (1957: 9)³⁶

- (103-lateNH) *anda=kam tamēda[(ni lē kuedanikki pai)tteni* “Do not go (in) to anybody else.”

KUB XXVI 1+ I 25–26 (CTH 255.2A) ed. von Schuler (1957: 9)³⁷

Examples (100-NS) and (101-NS) are found in duplicate manuscripts of the *Alli*-ritual and (103-lateNH) is a repetition of the stipulation of (102-lateNH) in the same paragraph of the Instruction to Eunuchs. (102-lateNH) is the only instance where *andan pai-* governs an animate noun in the dative case, but this is a familiar construction of *anda pai-*, especially in treaties and instructions, where it has the connotation “to join the party of, to give one’s allegiance to”; see § 3.2.1.

3.2.3 *arḥa pai-* and *arḥa uṣa-*

The local adverb *arḥa* is widely used with *pai-* and *uṣa-* resulting in various constructions. In § 1.1.2 we saw that according to Götze (1933b: 29, 317) *arḥa* with *-kan* means “away”, but without *-kan* has the meaning “heim”. Götze’s idea was confirmed by Zuntz stating that *-kan* is used “beim wörtlichen Gebrauch von *arḥa*, soweit es ‘weg’ heißt, während es beim übertragenen Gebrauch fehlt” (1936: 107–109).³⁸ Kammenhuber rightly added the restriction that Götze’s rule for the translation of *arḥa* only applies to its use with motion verbs that are formed with the prefix *pe-* and *u-* “hin” und “her” (HW², A: 259, 263–273). Götze’s observation indeed holds for the use of *arḥa* with *pai-* and *uṣa-*, but not for *arḥa iṣa-* (§ 2.2.2). The presence or absence of *-kan* with these predicates, however, is not only a matter of a different translation of *arḥa*, but corresponds with a different construction. The particle *-kan* is found when *arḥa pai-* and *arḥa uṣa-* are constructed with an expression of Origin and is absent when they govern an expression of Direction:

arḥa pai- “to go away from, to leave” + expression of Origin and *-kan*:

- (104-NH) (He also [took ma]ny prisoner(s) and brought them back to Šamuḥa.”) *namma=kam A[BU=IA] URU Šamuḥa arḥa pait* “Then my father went away from Šamuḥa.”

KUB XIX 11 I 9'–11' (CTH 40.IID) ed. Güterbock (1956: 63)

“four axes” and accordingly in KBo X 41: 1' (MS E): [4 PA-Š[U-UŠ]] and in KUB XXIV 10 II 2' (MS B): 4 PA¹-Š[U-UŠ].

³⁶ With restorations from duplicate KUB XXVI 8 (MS B).

³⁷ With restorations from duplicate KUB XXVI 8 (MS B).

³⁸ Accordingly she divided her evidence of *arḥa pai-* and *arḥa uṣa-* into a section “weggehen” and a section “heimgehen” respectively “heimkommen” (1936: 18–19, 25–26).

- (105-NS) (As they dye this red-brown skin blood red,”) *nu=šši=kam i[šḥa]ruātar arḥa UL paizzi* “and the blood-redness never leaves it, (let the oath-gods seize you in the same way.”) *nu=šmaš=at=kam arḥa lē paizzi* “Let it not go away from you.”

KBo VI 34+ III 47- IV 3 (CTH 427.A) ed. Oettinger (1976: 14–15)³⁹

The expression of Origin is mostly an inanimate noun in the ablative (e.g. ^{URU}Šamuḥaz in (104-NH)), but as shown in (105-NS) occasionally a dative of an animate noun may occur in this position (*-ši, šmaš*). Note that in (105-NS) the enclitic personal pronoun *-ši*, always a dative, is used to refer to an inanimate noun (the neuter *kī* KUŠ.SA₅).⁴⁰

arḥa uṣa- “to come out of, to leave” + expression of Origin and *-kan*:⁴¹

- (106-NH) (“Uḥḥaziti died in the sea, but his sons parted from each other. One (of the sons) remained in that (litt: the) same sea,”) *I-aš=ma=kam Tapalazunauliš arunaz arḥa uit* “the other, Tapalazunauliš, came out of the sea.”

KBo III 4 II 52–54 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 60–61)

- (107-MH+) (“The deportee who is quartered in the country, see to his needs copiously with seed(s), cattle (and) sheep (...)”) *arnuṣalaš=a=ta=kam kuiš URU-az arḥa uizzi* “But the deportee who leaves your city (, who- ever remains on his place, also provide seeds for him.)”

KUB XIII 2 III 36–37, 38–40 (CTH 261.A) ed. von Schuler (1957: 48)

In (107-MH+) *arḥa uṣa-* governs two expressions of Origin in partitive apposition, the animate noun *-ta* in the dative and the ablative *KUR-az* in the ablative. See the discussion of the partitive apposition with the basic predicate *uṣa-* in § 3.1.2.⁴²

In the following example *arḥa uṣa-* + *-kan* is used with the notion “to come forth, to appear”.⁴³

- (108-MH) [*ā*][*ppa*]=*ma=kam Attariššijaš* LÚ ^{URU}Aḥḥiā *arḥa uit* “Later, however, Attariššija the man of Aḥḥiā appeared (and sought to kill you, Madduqatta.)”

KUB XIV 1+ obv. 60 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 14–15)

This use of *arḥa uṣa-* is comparable with that of *arḥa iṣa-* “to come forth” in (22-MH), § 2.2.2. In the latter example an expression of Origin is present, whereas (108-MH) is a case of absolute use, where the Origin is to be restored from the context. From a

³⁹ See also CHD (P/1: 30).

⁴⁰ For this use of *-ši* see Güterbock (1983) and the discussion of (294-NS) in § 4.2.4.

⁴¹ As noted by Zuntz (1936: 108), there are a few exceptions to the rule that *arḥa uṣa-* with an expression of Origin is always accompanied by the particle *-kan*. See e.g. *mān URU Nuḥajana arḥa uṣauen* “When we left Nuḥajana, (we went and rode at a gallop to Ilanzura).” KBo III 60 III 10'–11' (CTH 17.1, OH+) ed. Güterbock (1936: 108–109).

⁴² Another example is ANA DINGIR^{LIM} *=kam kuiēš ginuṣaz arḥa uṣatten* “You, who came forth from the knee of the deity” KUB XV 1 II 29, 30 (CTH 584, NH) ed. de Roos (1984: 187, 327).

⁴³ In (108-MH) *āppa=ma* functions as a connector introducing a new paragraph and as such it is independent of the contents of the sentence. See § 1.1.1, p. 9–10 and CHD (L-N: 97).

literal translation “the man of Aḫḫija came out of (Aḫḫija or his native town)” the above translation “the man of Aḫḫija appeared” is derived.

arḫa pai- and *arḫa uya-* + expression of Direction without *-kan*

Besides their widely attested use with an expression of Origin, *arḫa pai-* and *arḫa uya-* also occur with an expression of Direction. In these cases the particle *-kan* is always absent. The presence or absence of *-kan*, in other words, corresponds with a different predicate frame of *arḫa pai-* and *arḫa uya-*. According to the rule by Götze mentioned above, all instances of *arḫa pai-* and *arḫa uya-* without *-kan* are to be translated as “to go home” and “to come home”. This translation congrues with the fact that, whenever the Direction of the predicate is mentioned, it is either the place of residence of the Subject, or the capital of the Hittite empire, Ḫattuša. See for instance *INA KUR-ŠU* and *URU KÙ BABBAR-ši* in the following examples:

(109-MH) [n] = aš = za [arḫa] [i] NA KUR = ŠU pait “He went home to his own country. (Then they instated Madduḡattaš for the second time.)”
KUB XIV 1+ obv. 65 (CTH 47) ed. Götze (1927: 16–17)

(110-NH) (“After I conquered the whole country of Arzaḡa,”) *namma*
URU KÙ BABBAR-ši arḫa uyanun “then, I came home to Ḫattuša.”⁴⁴
KBo III 4 III 36–37 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 76–77)

As shown in (109-MH), the particle *-za* can be added to *arḫa pai-* or *arḫa uya-*. It is used here in its role as “subject-resumer”, emphasizing the possessive relation between the Subject and the Direction of the predicate (*INA KUR = ŠU*), which is already indicated by the possessive pronoun *-ŠU*.⁴⁵ The particle *-za* may, however, also be used when the expression of Direction is omitted:

(111-NS) (“They consecrate a billy goat, a sheep (and) a pig to that god who caused this plague in the army. (...) They eat and they drink.”) *n = at = za arḫa uyanzi* “(Then) they come home.”
HT I IV 23–25, 29–30 (CTH 394.A) ed. Dinçol (1985: 20)

The fact that (111-NS) describes the end of the third day of the ritual of Ašḫella, makes it likely that, also in this case, the expression *-za arḫa uya-* means “come home”.

In the following example the context indicates that *-za arḫa pai-* cannot be translated as “to go home”, but must mean something like “to go out, to set out”:⁴⁶

(112-MH) (“The enemy reach[ed] the city of Maraša (...)”) *n = at = za arḫa pāir*
URU Marā[ša] [n URU-a] n kattan lukkiēr “(Then) they went out (and) set

⁴⁴ In Muršili’s Annals this example alternates with *namma URU KÙ BABBAR-ši EGIR-pa uyanun* “Then, I came back to Ḫattuša”; see e.g. KBo III 4 IV 33 and *ibid.* III 66 (with different word order).

⁴⁵ For the description of the particle *-za* as “subject-resumer” see Hoffner (1973a: 521) and the discussion in § 5.1.2 n.8. See also HKM 63 obv. 23–24 *n = aš = za arḫa INA É = ŠU pait* “He went to his house.” ed. Alp (1991b: 240–241).

⁴⁶ See Boley (1989: 245), who on the basis of this example rejects Götze’s distinction altogether.

fire to the city of Maraša.”

KUB XIV 1+ rev. 52, 54 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 32–33)

The sentence following *n = at = za arḫa pāir* was restored by Götze and translated as “Da zogen sie fort (und) zündeten die stadt Māraša an”.

There is one instance of *arḫa pai-* in an Old Hittite original. The function and meaning of *arḫa* in Old Hittite will be discussed in § 5.2:

(113-OH) (“When on the sixth day they open (and) dra[w] up the curtain,”)
LUGAL-uš *arḫa paizzi* “the king goes away (or: outwards).”
KBo XX 10+ I 1–2 (CTH 669) translit. Neu (1980a: 131)

Finally an instance of *arḫa pai-* has to be discussed that does not seem to belong to any of the constructions treated so far.

(114-MH) [ŠA] LÚ.MEŠ.ŠUKUR *māḫḫan* *ḫilammar arḫa takšan šār[ijaš =]pat paizzi*
“When only half the file of the spearmen has passed the portico, (it [go]es in[to the sa]me <place> where spearmen having deposited (their) [spears usually go].)”
IBoT I 36 IV 8–10 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 32–33)

Example (114-MH) is a passage from the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard in the new edition by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 32–33). This use of *arḫa pai-* with an accusative case, without *-kan* and the meaning “to go through, to pass” is not found in other texts. This example explains the meaning of the many combinations of *arḫa* and a second local adverb that are found with *pai-*, like *peran arḫa pai-* and *āppan arḫa pai-*; see the introduction to § 3.2.19 – 3.2.23. Note that Götze’s rule for the translation of *arḫa* does not apply to this use of *arḫa pai-* without *-kan*.

3.2.4 *katta pai-* and *katta uya-*

The combination *katta pai-* is constructed with an expression of Direction and with an expression of Origin. Only in the latter case a sentence particle is added to the sentence.⁴⁷

katta pai- “to go down to, to descend to” + expression of Direction:

(115-NH) GIM-an = ma ŠEŠ = IA ^mNIR.GÁL IŠTU AMAT DINGIR^{LIM} = ŠU INA KUR ŠAPLITI
katta pait “But when my brother Muwatalli at the word of his deity went down to the Lower Land, (he left Ḫattuša behind.)”
StBoT 24: I 75–76 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 10–11)

katta pai- “to go down from, to descend from” + expression of Origin and *-kan* or *-ašta*:

⁴⁷ There is one broken example of *katta pai-* “to go down”: (“Go. Tell the man of the city of Ḫaššu:”) [*ka*]tta *paimi* “I will go down []” KBo VII 14 obv. 3–4; see Starke (1977: 140).

- (116-lateNH) (“It becomes spring.”) *nu=kan* LÚ^dU^{URU} *Ḫakmiššaz katta paizzi* “The man of the Stormgod goes down from Ḫakmiš.”
KUB XXV 23 left edge a1–2 (CTH 525.3) ed. Carter (1962: 163, 173)

This construction with an expression of Origin and *-kan* or *-ašta* is also found with *katta uya-* “to come down from, to descend from”:

- (117-OH) [LUG]AL^{URU} *Kuššara URU-az katta [p]angarit [u][ē]*⁴⁸ “The king of Kuššara came down from the city with massed troops ([and he] to[ok] Neša at night with force.)”
KBo III 22 obv. 5–6 (CTH 1A) ed. Neu (1974a: 10–11)
- (118-OH) (“[When the Stor(m)god roars his thunder].”) [(LUGAL-*uš* ^{GIŠ}*ḫu*[luga[n]nia(z)] [*kat*]ta *u*[(i)]zzi “the king comes down from his cart.”
KBo XVII 11 + 2606/c I 28’ (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 14–15), translit. Neu (1980a: 65) and (1983: 364)
- (119-OH+) (“When (the cart) arrives at the woods and the tent (has been) placed there too.”) (*n=ašta* NIN.DINGIR ^{GIŠ}*ḫulugannaz katta uizzi* “the NIN.DINGIR(-priestess) comes down from the cart (and the priest carries the god inside the tent.)”
KUB XI 32+ IV 15’–21’ (CTH 738.1)⁴⁹

As shown in these examples the combination *katta uya-* already occurs in Old Hittite, but the sentence particle is not yet found with it.⁵⁰

katta pai- and *katta uya-* are also used in the metaphorical sense “to collapse, to get lost”, always without a sentence particle.⁵¹

- (120-lateNH) ^{UR}[^U*H*]al[i]nzuyaš URU-*aš karūiliiaš* A[NA] LUGAL.MEŠ [...] *kat*[ta] *pānza ēšta* DINGIR.MEŠ-*tarr=a katta pān ēšt*[a “The city of Ḫalinzuya had collapsed [] for[?] the ancient kings. The images of the deities had gone lost.”
KUB XXXVIII 35 I 1–2 (CTH 525.4) ed. Jakob Rost (1963: 195–196)
- (121-NH) (“At the moment I arrived back with him.”) BÀD-*eššar ša išši* 40 *gipeššar katta uit* “the wooden wall (with a length of) 40 *gipeššar* came down (and Ištar of Šamuḫa, My Lady, caught him like a fish with a net.”)
KBo VI 29+ II 31–34 (CTH 85.1) ed. Götze (1925: 50–51)

This use may have developed from the meaning “to go down (namely to the ground)” as a special case of absolute use of the construction *katta pai-* with expression of Direction,

which likewise has no sentence particle. From there it possibly came to be used with *katta uya-* as well.

In a few cases *katta pai-* is attested with a constituent indicating the Route along which the Subject goes down. This constituent can be in the ablative or in the accusative case.⁵² In these cases no emphasis is put on the Origin or the Direction, but on the fact that a certain road or entrance is taken, rather than another one. Examples of *katta pai-* “to go down through, to descend” with an expression of the Route along which:

- (122-MH) LÚ.MEŠ^{MEŠEDUTIM}=*ma=kan* DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL^{TIM} [GAL]-*iaz KÁ.GAL-az katta UL paiškanda n=at=kan lušdaniiaz katta paiš*[kand]a
“The Guards and palace attendants shall not go down through the main gate. They shall go down through the postern.”
IBoT I 36 I 60–61 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991:10–11)
- (123-NS) (“But when the king travels around in the country, he passes behind the temple of Me(i)zzulla”) *n=aš=kan ša É^dMizzulla^ē luštanin katta paizzi* “and descends the postern of the temple of Me(i)zzulla (and enters the *ḫalentuya*-house.)”
KBo XXX 164 III 8–15 (CTH 670) ed. Alp (1983: 16)⁵³

3.2.5 *kattan pai-* and *kattan uya-*

The combinations *kattan pai-* “to go (in)to (the presence of)” and *kattan uya-* “to come (in)to (the presence of)” are constructed with an expression of Direction that is indicated by an animate noun in the dative and are as a rule not accompanied by a sentence particle:

- (124-NS) (“He descended from the tower”) *n=aš^dUTU-ni kattan pait* “and he went to the Stormgod.”
KUB XXXIII 106 II 11–12 (CTH 345.3A) ed. Güterbock (1952: 20–21)
- (125-NH) *nu=tta mān ša DAM=KA kuuapi NIN=ZU našma ša [NU]MUN NIN=ZU MUNUS^{ānninni}amiš kattan uizzi* “If ever a sister or half-sister of your wife or a cousin comes to you, (give her to eat and to drink.)”
KBo V 3+ III 35–37 (CTH 42.A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 126–127)

In the following instance the Direction of *kattan pai-* is an inanimate noun in the dative-locative, in which case it has the meaning “to go down to”:

- (126-MH) “He will say to the [gu]ard who stands in front of him.”) ^{DUG}*kaltija⁵⁴=ya kattan paimi* “‘I shall go down to the pot.’”
IBoT I 36 I 35–36 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 8–9)

⁴⁸ Or [*ū*][*-it*]; see Neu (1974a: 20).

⁴⁹ This festival of the Ḫattian deity Tetešhapi is likely to date back to the Old Hittite period. For its position in the Hittite cult calendar see Houwink ten Cate (1988: 179 + n. 16).

⁵⁰ In festival texts the particle is occasionally omitted; see e.g. LUGAL-*uš* ^{GIŠ}*ḫulugannaz katta uizzi* KUB X 21 I 10–11 (CTH 669.2A).

⁵¹ See CHD (P/I: 39) for examples of *katta pai-* “to collapse, to get lost”.

⁵² The ablative has the function described by Melchert (1977: 315–317) as “perlative ablative”.

⁵³ See also CHD (L-N: 88).

⁵⁴ In Middle and New Hittite, the dative-locative of *i*-stems mostly ends in *-ija* in stead of *-i* and thus coincides in form with the Old Hittite allative; see Starke (1977: 107–109). According to Starke, most Old Hittite instances in *-ija* are allatives, some are locatives, but there are no certain examples of datives. Therefore, he assumed that the dative of *i*-stems in Old Hittite may have had the ending *-i* instead of *-ija*.

This use of *kattan pai-* with an inanimate expression of Direction is rare and may be a secondary development influenced by *katta pai-* with expression of Direction; see § 3.2.4.⁵⁵ An instance of *kattan pai-* and *-ašta* meaning “to go down into”, (127-NS), is discussed in the following section. Independent use of *kattan* is treated in § 3.3.2.

3.2.6 *kattanda pai-* and *kattanda uṣa-*

kattanda pai- + expression of Direction and *-ašta* or *-kan* “to go down into”:⁵⁶

- (127-NS) (“They burn a goat and bury a *šurašura*-bird and he says:”) *ki(i)=ašta mahḥan* [MÁŠ.G]AL *šurašurašš=a kattan taknaza pāir* [k]ī=kan *ša URU Ḫatti inan ēšhar NIS DINGIR^{LIM} pangauṣaš EME-aš QATAMMA GAM-anda taknaza paidd[u]* “As these, the goat and the *šurašura*-bird, have gone down into the earth, so may these, the sickness, the blood, the oath and the tongue of (the common people of) Ḫatti, likewise go down into the earth.”
KUB XXX 34 IV 25–29 (CTH 401.3A); see Melchert (1977: 311) and CHD (P/I: 31)
- (128-NS) *nu=ṣa=šši=kan andakitti=šši kattanta pait* “He went down into her bedroom.”
KUB VII 5+ I 6–8 (=KUB IX 27+ I 34–35) (CTH 406) ed. Hoffner (1987: 272, 277)

The original meaning of *kattanda pai-* seems to be “to go down into”, a combination of *katta pai-* “to go down” and *anda pai-* “to go into”. The function of the personal pronoun *-ši* in (128-NS) may be to stress the possessive pronoun in the expression of Direction *andakitti=šši*, but it may also be directly governed by *kattanda pai-*, as the first of two expressions of Direction in partitive apposition.⁵⁷ There is one possible other example of *kattanda pai-* with a dative of an animate noun, which may indicate that *kattanda pai-* could be used instead of *kattan pai-* “to go (in)to (the presence of)”.⁵⁸

The use of *kattan pai-* in the protasis of (127-NS) with the particle *-ašta* and the meaning “to go down into” is not attested elsewhere and is possibly brought about by the presence of *kattanda pai-* in the corresponding apodosis.

The only complete instance of *kattanda uṣa-* is the following case of absolute use, with the particle *-kan* and the meaning “to come down”:

- (129-NH) (“[The matter of the daugh]ter of Babylon not yet []”) *[kinun]a=aš=kan nuntaraš kaddanda uizz[i]* “Now she will com[e] down soon.”
KUB LVII 123: 12–13 ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 20–21)

⁵⁵ The influence of *katta pai-* may also explain the use of *-kan* in the example of *kattan pai-* “to go down to” with *-kan* in 738/z obv. 9, cited in the CHD (P/I: 31).

⁵⁶ The following example from the Illuyanka myth seems to indicate that in Old Hittite the particle could still be omitted: KUB XVII 5 I 13–14 *[n]=e namma ḥattešnaš kattant[a] nūmān pānzi* “They do not want to go down into (their) holes again” (CTH 321.B, OH+) ed. Beckman (1982: 13, 18). See also Hoffner (1982: 41) and CHD (L-N: 471).

⁵⁷ For a comparable example of two expressions of Origins in partitive apposition see (72-NS) in § 3.1.2.

⁵⁸ LUG]AL-*i kattanta paizzi* “He goes to the king” IBoT IV 343: 5; see CHD (P/I: 32).

3.2.7 *šarā pai-* and *šarā uṣa-*

šarā pai- “to go up to, to ascend to” and *šarā uṣa-* “to come up to, to ascend to” can be constructed with an expression of Direction and the sentence particle *-kan*. In Old Hittite this construction is found without a particle:

- (130-OH) *š=aš šarā URU-[ja] pait* “He went up to the city ((and said): ‘I will become your king!’)”
KBo XXII 2 rev 14’–15’ (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 12–13)
- (131-NH) (“As soon as I arrived at Aštata,”) *nu=kan URU Aštata URU-ri šarā pāun* “I went up to Aštata, the town, (and I built a stronghold on top.)”
KBo IV 4 II 60–62 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 118–121)
- (132-OH+) *[mān LUGAL-uš šar]ā URU-ja uizzi* “When the king comes up to the city, ([on that day] he does not [do] anything (else).)”
KBo XVII 74+ I 30–31 (CTH 631.1B) ed. Neu (1970: 14–15)
- (133-MH) (“They shall not come up to the gate of the palace.”)
mān II Ḫil[ammar=ma] n=at=kan kattera KÁ.GAL^{TIM} šarā uṣanzi *šarā[zzi=ma]=at=kan KÁ.GAL šarā UL uṣanzi* “[However], if there are two por[ticoes], they (may) come up to the lower gate, but they shall not come up to the upper gate.”
IBoT I 36 IV 14–17 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 34–35)

šarā uṣa- may also govern an expression of Origin and *-kan* or *-ašta* meaning “to come up from, to ascend from”:⁵⁹

- (134-NH) (“After I organized the land of Kargamiš”) *nu=kan ištu KUR URU Kargamiš šarā uṣanun* “I came up from the land of Kargamiš (and I came into the country of Tegaramma.)”
KBo IV 4 III 17–19 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 124–125)
- (135-NS) (“As from an oven no grass comes up,”) *[(n=ašta apell=a ištu A.ŠÀ=šU ZÍZ-tar) ŠE^{AM} šarā l(ē uizzi)]* “may (thus) from his field no wheat (and) no barley come up ([and may]) weed(s come u)[p.]”
1087/z III 6’ (CTH 427.B) ed. Oettinger (1976: 14–15, 138)⁶⁰

šarā pai- is also attested with an accusative indicating the Route along which the Subject goes up + *-kan* meaning “to go up along, to climb, to ascend.”⁶¹

⁵⁹ There is one OH example of *šarā* with *uṣa-* in combination with *appa*; see (234-OH) in § 3.4.8. For two examples of absolute use see (98-OH+) and (99-OH+) in § 3.2.2.

⁶⁰ See the discussion of this same instance, cited as (29-NS), in § 2.2.6.

⁶¹ (136-NH) is cited as example of “Akkusativ des Weges” by Friedrich (HE § 201b). See also in broken context KUB XIX 13+14: 10’ *[n=aš=kan UR.SAG ...]x-un šarā pait* (CTH 40.V) ed. Güterbock (1956: 109).

- (136-NH) “[Then] I went on.” *man=kan* ^{HUR.SAG} *Tehšinan ša[rā] pāun* “I would have climbed mount Tehšina, (but [the roads] were too difficult for me.)”
KUB XIX 37 III 49–50 (CTH 61.II9) ed. Götze (1933a: 176–177)
- (137-NS) (“I went to Zippašna”) *nu=kan* ^{URU} *Zippašnan* *GE₆-az=pat šarā pāun* “and in that (litt: the) same night I ascended Zippašna (and I went into battle with them. (...) I, the King, the Tabarna, went to Zippašna.)”
KBo X 2 II 48–51, 54–55 (CTH 4) ed. Imparati (1965: 50–51), transl. Kümmel (TUAT I.5: 462)⁶²

3.2.8 *parā pai-* and *parā uya-*

parā pai- governs two different constructions with an expression of Direction, one with a sentence particle and the meaning “to go out to” and one without a particle and the meaning “to go on to, to go forward to”. This different meaning of *parā pai-* with and without sentence particle was already noted by Götze (1933a: 128).⁶³ The importance of the sentence particle for the distinction of the various uses of *parā pai-* is also shown by the fact that in two vocabulary texts Akkadian *šitu* and *uššutu* both meaning “departure, going out” are translated as *parā=kan pā(u)yar*.⁶⁴

Examples of *parā pai-* “to go out to” with *-kan* or *-ašta*:⁶⁵

- (138-OH) *n=aš[(a par)]ā paiyani*. “Then we go out. (I place these in the fore-court). We go in again.”
KBo XVII 1+ I 20’–22’ (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 20–21), translit. Neu (1980a: 6)⁶⁶
- (139-NS) (*n=aš=kan parā* ^Ē *hili paizzi* “He goes out to the courtyard. (He takes mud in the courtyard and he speaks likewise (...))” *n=aš=kan parā paizzi* “Then he goes out.”
KUB VII 41 obv. 22–23, 24 (CTH 446.A) ed. Otten (1961: 118–119)

Examples of *parā pai-* “to go on to, to go forward to”:⁶⁷

⁶² See also Melchert (1978: 18–20).

⁶³ See also the treatment of *parā pai-* and *parā uya-* by Zuntz (1936: 63–64, 67–70), the lemma *parā* in CHD (P/I-II: 109–122) and for *parā pai-* CHD (P/I: 32–33), with the reservation that not all examples of *parā pai-* without *-kan* occurring in Muršili’s Annals can be translated as “weiter ziehen”. A translation “to go on to, to go forward to”, however, fits into the context in all these cases.

⁶⁴ Respectively in KBo I 35 IV 4 and KBo XIII 1 rev. left col. 16. See already Zuntz (1936: 63) and CHD (P/I: 21, 33).

⁶⁵ In KUB XXIX 4 III 41–42 we even find the particle *-šan*: *n=at=šan* *ĪD-i parā pānzi* “They go out to the river” (CTH 481.A, NS) ed. Kronasser (1963: 24–25). Note that in KBo V 2 I 46–47 the same expression is attested with *-kan*: *n=aš=kan* *ĪD-i parā paizzi* (CTH 471.A, NS).

⁶⁶ For the translation “to go out” see Starke (1977: 140).

⁶⁷ The Direction may be an animate or an inanimate noun.

- (140-OH) LUGAL-*i parā* I-*šu paizzi* “He (= the singer) goes forward once to the king. (Then he turns back (and) strikes the *meneja*-man with the *water bag*.)” [*parā*] = [*m*] *a=aš paizzi* “Then he goes forward (and) strikes the performers.”
KBo XVII 43 I 11’–13’ (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)⁶⁸
- (141-NH) [*nu*] *parā pāun* “Then I went on. (I would have cli[mb]ed mount Tehšina,⁶⁹ (but [the roads] were too difficult for me.)”
KUB XIX 37 III 49–50 (CTH 61.II9) ed. Götze (1933a: 176–177)
- (142-NH) *kuiēš=ma* NAM.RA.ĪLA *parā* INA ^{URU} *Pūrandā pāir* “Other deportees went on to Puranda (and seized Puranda.)”
KBo III 4 II 34–35 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 52–53)

Much rarer than the above construction is the use of *parā pai-* with particle *-kan* and an expression of Origin meaning “to go out of, to leave”:

- (143-NS) LUGAL-*uš=kan* IŠTU É ^d LAMMA *parā paizzi* “The king leaves the temple of the tutelary deity (and step[s] on the threshold.)”
KUB XI 17 IV 6–11 (CTH 669.7)

In (144-OH+) we may have an example of *parā pai-* with an ablative denoting the Route along Which the Subject goes out and the particle *-kan*:

- (144-OH+) [*na(mma)=a*] *t=kan* KÁ-*az parā pānzi* “They go out through the gate.”
KUB XXXII 123 + KBo XXIX 206 I 9’ (CTH 772.3A) translit. Starke (1985: 304)⁷⁰

para uya- “to come out of, to leave” is as a rule constructed with an expression of Origin and the particle *-kan* or *-ašta*:

- (145-MH) (“When the king goes outside”) *n=ašta* 1 DUMU É.GAL ^Ē *halentuayaz parā uizzi* “one palace attendant comes out of the palace.”
IBoT I 36 I 64 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 12–13)

With omission of the expression of Origin:

- (146-MH) LUGAL-*uš=kan parā* [*uizzi*] “The king comes out (of the palace), (while the chief of palace attendants holds him by the hand.)”
IBoT I 36 II 15–16 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 16–17)

There is one instance of *parā uya-* without a sentence particle and the meaning “to go on, to continue”:

⁶⁸ Translation in CHD (L-N: 290).

⁶⁹ For the transcription of this sentence see (136-NH) in § 3.2.7.

⁷⁰ For the possible Old Hittite origin of the *Ištanuaya*-festival and the date of its manuscripts see Starke (1985: 301–304).

- (147-NH) (“...] fifth year”) *kāš kuiš* MU.KAM-*z*[(*a parā uiz*)*zi*] “This year, which is (still) going on, (has earlier been included.)”
KUB XXXI 54: 11–12 (CTH 585.O) ed. Otten and Souček (1965: 34–35)⁷¹

3.2.9 *āppa pai-* and *āppa uya-*

In combination with *āppa* the predicates *pai-* and *uya-* are as a rule not accompanied by a sentence particle.⁷² *āppa pai-* “to go back to, to return to” and *āppa uya-* “to come back to, to return to” are found with an expression of Direction from Old Hittite onwards:

- (148-OH) [*m*]ān *INA* UD III^{KAM} āp[*pa pa*]i_uani “When, on the third day, we go back.”
KBo XVII 25 obv.⁷ 6’ (CTH 752.1B) translit. Neu (1980a: 224)
- (149-NH) (“‘Let us make a [rebellion.]’”) *n*[*u = u*]a *INA* URU *Gašga* EGIR-*pa* pāi_ueni “‘Let us go back to Kaška.’”
KUB XXXIV 33: 4 + KBo XIV 20 I 18 (CTH 61.III2A) ed. Houwink ten Cate (1966: 169, 178)
- (150-OH) *mān āppa = ma* URU *Nēša* [*u*yan(un)] “But when I came back to Neša, (I brought the man of Purušanda with me.)”
KBo III 22 rev. 76–77 (CTH 1A) ed. Neu (1974a: 14–15)⁷³
- (151-NS) (“Come away from that evil person”) *nu = ya* [EGIR]-*pa* *kēl ša* EN SÍSKUR É-ri *u*atten “and come back to the house of this sacrificer.”
KUB XV 32 I 52–54 (CTH 484.IB)

āppa uya- is also constructed with an expression of Origin meaning “to come back from, to return from”:

- (152-NH) (“I also captured Piḫunijaš and I led him home to Ḫattuša.”) *namma ištu* KUR URU *Tipiia* EGIR-*pa* u_uanun “Then I came back from the land of Tipiia.”
KBo III 4 III 89–90 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 94–95)

Examples of *āppa pai-* with an expression of Origin and the meaning “to go back from, to return from” are much rarer than the ones with *āppa uya-*:

- (153-NS) *nu* LUGAL-*uš* EGIR-*pa* *ištu* É^d *iškur* *paizzi* “The king goes back from the temple of the Stormgod (and requests to eat.)”
KUB XII 12 V 22–23 (CTH 628) ed. Wegner and Salvini (1991: 149, 151)

In the following example *āppa uya-* is accompanied by an expression of Direction and an expression of Origin:

- (154-NH) *namma* URU *Palḫuišša* EGIR-*pa* *INA* URU *Kù.BABBAR-ši* u_uanun “Then I came back from Palḫuišša to Ḫattuša (and I mobilized (my) troops (and) charioteers.)”
KBo III 4 II 7–8 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 44–45)

Remarkably enough examples like (154-NH) in which both the Direction and the Origin of the predicate are mentioned are quite exceptional.⁷⁴

A possible case of independent *āppa* is mentioned in § 3.4.3.

3.2.10 *āppan pai-* and *āppan uya-*

āppan pai- is attested with an animate expression of Direction in the dative case, without sentence particle and the meaning “to go after, to pursue, to support”.⁷⁵

- (155-NH) “Behold this is (your) king. (...). Now bad omen, short years (and) short days you must observe [this one].’” *nu = ya* *kēdani : tarpalli* EGIR-*an* [*p*]aitten “Pursue this substitute.”
KUB XXIV 5+ KUB IX 13 obv.20’, 23’–24’ (CTH 419.A) ed. Kümmel (1967: 10–11)
- (156-NH) (“I stood behind him”) [(*nu = š*)]*ši* EGIR-*an* pāūn “I supported him.”
KBo IV 7 I 12–13 (CTH 68) ed. Friedrich (1926: 108–109)⁷⁶

The same construction with an animate expression of Direction in the dative case and without particle is also found with *āppan uya-* “to come after, to pursue, to support”:

- (157-NH) (“‘An enemy stood up against me’”) *nu = ya = mu* EGIR-*an* u_uatten “‘Support me (and (together) we will fight him’.)”
KBo V 4 rev. 27 (CTH 67) ed. Friedrich (1926: 64–65)
- (158-lateNH) (“For this matter the gods must lay down an oath.”) *n = e = tta* EGIR-*an* u_uandu “and come after you.”
KBo IV 14 III 51–52 (CTH 123) ed. van den Hout (1989: 294, 296)

Note that the only example of the combination *āppan iia-* “to go after, to come after” occurs with the particle *-kan*; see § 2.2.9.

⁷¹ With duplicate KUB XXXI 56 (MS N).

⁷² In the CHD (P/I: 28–29) a few exceptions are cited of *āppa pai-* with *-kan* or *-šan*. The particle *-(a)pa* is twice found with *āppa uya-*: *n = at = apa* EGIR-*pa* *lē uizzi* “They (=the evil words) may not come back” KBo XV 10+ III 58’ (CTH 443, MH) and *man = aš = apa* *lahḫaz = ma* EGIR-*pa* *uizzi* KBo III 1 I 18’ (CTH 19.IA, OH+). ed. Hoffmann (1984: 16–17). Note that the particle is absent in MS C (KBo III 67 I 8–9): *mān = aš lahḫaz* [(*= ma* EGIR-*pa*)] *uizzi*.

⁷³ With restorations from KUB XXVI 71 I 17’–18’ (MS B).

⁷⁴ See, for example, (74-NS) in § 3.1.2.

⁷⁵ In *nu takšatar* EGIR-*an* *paizzi* “Will he pass behind the plain?”, (231-NH) in § 3.4.8, *āppan pai-* seems to be used instead of *āppan arḫa pai-*.

⁷⁶ With duplicates KUB VI 44 I 12–13 (MS D) and KUB VI 41 obv. 14 (MS E).

3.2.11 *āppanda pai* (*āppan(-)anda pai-*) and *āppanda uṣa-*

āppanda pai- is found with an expression of Direction, which can be animate or inanimate, without a sentence particle and the meaning “to go after, to follow, to pursue”:

- (159-OH+) “If a man elopes with a woman”) EGIR-*anda* = *m[a = šma]š [ša]rdijaš paizzi* “and a helper goes after them.”
KBo VI 3+ II 29–30 (HG I § 37, CTH 291.1B) ed. Friedrich (1959: 26–27)

Whereas in the Middle Hittite manuscript in (159-OH+) the local adverb EGIR-*anda* is found, the Old Hittite manuscript has the older *āppan(-)anda*:

- (160-OH) (“If someone elopes with a woman”) *n[u = šmaš⁷⁷ šard]iješ āppan(-)anda pā[n]zi* “and helpers go after them.”
KBo VI 2 II 10 (HG I § 37) ed. Friedrich (1959: 26 n. 15, 27 n. 10) and Hrozný (1922: 28 n. 10), transl. Hoffner (1995: 222)
- (161-MH) [*mān*⁷⁷ ^{GI}š^{GI} *huluganni = ma* EGIR-*anda* *pānzi n = at* ^{GI}š^{GI} *GIDRU-uṣanteš* EGIR-*anda* *UL pā[n]zi*] “But, if they (=the guards) follow the cart, they shall not follow holding staffs. (They shall take their spears.)”
IBoT I 36 III 48–50 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 28–29)
- (162-NH) (“I completely forgot about the matter,”) *maḥḥan = ma uēr* MU.ḪLA-*uš* EGIR-*anda* *pāir* “but as the years came to follow (namely one another),”⁷⁸ (this matter came to appear to me in my dreams.)”
KBo IV 2 III 44–46 (CTH 486.C) ed. Götze and Pedersen (1934: 4)

āppanda uṣa- is attested with an animate expression of Direction, also without accompanying sentence particle, and the meaning “to come after, to follow, to pursue”. An instance of absolute use already occurs in Old Hittite:

- (163-OH) [(LÚ ^{GI}š^{GI} *GIDRU-aš* ^URU *Dāuniija* LÚ.MEŠ *hāpieš āppanda*⁷⁹ *uenzi*] “The staff bearer of Dauniija (and) the *hapiija*-men follow.”
KBo XVII 43 I 5’ (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 104) and (1983: 359)⁸⁰
- (164-NH) *nu = mu šEš = ja* ^mNIR.GÁL EGIR-*anda* *uit* “My brother Muwatalli followed me.”
StBoT 24 II 48 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 14–15)

⁷⁷ In the edition by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 28–29) the particle *-kan* is restored in the lacuna. The other instances of *āppanda pai-* and *āppanda uṣa-* in this text, however, follow the regular pattern without a sentence particle.

⁷⁸ The CHD (P/I: 38) translates “But as the years proceeded to pass”. There are no other examples of *āppanda pai-* with the meaning “to pass”, which is normally expressed by *pai-* or *ištarna pai-* + *-kan*; see § 3.1.3 and 3.2.12.

⁷⁹ The Old Hittite duplicate KBo XVII 18 II 6’ has EGIR-*šU*; see Neu (1980a: 100) and Starke (1977: 195).

⁸⁰ Cited with restorations from Middle Hittite duplicate KBo VII 35+ KBo XVII 44+ 99 I 9’–10’ by Starke (1977: 195), translit. Neu (1980a: 101).

3.2.12 *ištarna pai-*⁸¹

The combination *ištarna pai-* is constructed with a Subject constituent denoting a unit of time. In this use *ištarna pai-* is always accompanied by the particle *-kan* or *-ašta*, except in Old Hittite:⁸²

- (165-OH) (“[The queen] of Kaniš gave in one year birth to 30 children. (...)”) *mān* MU.ḪLA *ištarna pāir* “When years had passed by, (the queen) again gave birth to (this time) 30 daughters.”
KBo XXII 2 obv. 1, 6 (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 6–7)
- (166-NS) (“What regions the king used to travel in,”) *nu mašieš gimruš laḥḥijan ḥarzi ištarna = kan kuiēš* MU.ḪLA *panteš* “however many regions he has travelled in (during) the years that have gone by. (...)” *mān = kan* MU.ḪLA-*ma kuiēš ištarna panteš* “But if some years have gone by (and the king has gone nowhere on a campaign, (then no ritual takes place).”
KUB XXVII 1 I 7–9, 20–21 (CTH 712.A) ed. Lebrun (1976: 75, 86)
- (167-NS) (“On the second day they offer two *tuḥalzi*.”) *n = ašta apāš* UD-*az ištarna paizzi* “That day goes by. (On the third day they give *gangati*.)”
KBo V 1 I 56–58 (CTH 476) ed. Sommer and Ehelolf (1924: 4–5)

The combination *ištarna pai-* is generally translated as “to go by, to pass.”⁸³ The same notion of time “going by” is also expressed by the basic predicate *pai-* (§ 3.1.3).

There is one instance of *ištarna ija* (+ *-kan*) with the same construction and meaning “to go by, to pass”; see § 2.2.10. An example of independent use of *ištarna* with *pai-* can be found in § 3.3.4, a possible case of independent *ištarna* with *uṣa-* in § 3.4.5.

3.2.13 *menahḥanda pai-* and *menahḥanda uṣa-*⁸⁴

menahḥanda pai- “to go toward, to go against, to go to meet” and *menahḥanda uṣa-* “to come toward, to come against, to come to meet” are constructed with an expression of Direction (in most cases an animate noun in the dative case) and as a rule not accompanied by a sentence particle:⁸⁵

⁸¹ Less likely is an interpretation of *ištarna* as an independent Adjunct of Time meaning “in the meantime”. The local adverb *ištarna* is regularly used as an Adjunct of Location meaning “between, among”, but there is no evidence for its use as an Adjunct of Time meaning “in the meantime”. See e.g. the lemma *ištarna*, *istarni* in Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 478–480). Also, the presence of *-kan* is hard to explain if *ištarna* is independent of *pai-*. In the other combinations of *pai-* and local adverbs described in this chapter the particle *-kan* is only found when a dependent local adverb is present in the sentence.

⁸² As already remarked in the CHD (P/I: 37), the use of *ištarna pai-* + *-kan* in KBo IX 106 III 20 [*n = aš = kan*] [*pahḥu*] *r išt[ar]na pai[(zzi)]* (CTH 404.2B) is probably a mistake for *ištarna arḥa pai-* + *-kan*, which is found in the duplicate KUB XXXII 115+ IV 6 (404.2A, MS) ed. Jakob-Rost (1953: 364–365). See § 3.2.20.

⁸³ Cf. Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 478–480) and CHD (P/I: 38).

⁸⁴ For these and other examples of *menahḥanda pai-* and *menahḥanda uṣa-* see CHD (L-N: 275–276 and P/I: 32).

⁸⁵ There are a few exceptions of *menahḥanda pai-* with *-ašta* and *-kan* cited in CHD (P/I: 32).

- (168-OH) [(ta ḤUR.SAG-a^dUTU-i mē)]*nahḥanda pa[imi]* “Then I go towards the mountain, to the Sungod.”
KBo XVII 1+ II 40’ (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969 : 28–29), translit. Neu (1980a: 8)⁸⁶
- (169-OH) [nu LÚ^U]^{RU} *Hašši LUGAL-i menahḥanda zahḥiia uit* “The man of Ḥašši came to battle against the king.”
KBo VII 14 obv. 7 (CTH 15.A) transl. Otten (1953: 60)
- (170-NS) (“Go, [(say)] to Kumarbi:”) *kuḡat = ūa É-ri IGI-anda ka[rtimmi]auḡanza uit* “‘Why have you come against (my) house in anger?’ ”
KUB XXXIII 102 II 7–8 (CTH 345.1C) ed. Güterbock (1951: 148–149)⁸⁷
- (171-NH) (“When I reached the city of Tegaramma”) *nu = mu^m Nuḡanzaš GAL. GEŠTIN EN.MEŠ = ia ḥūmanteš INA^{URU} Tegaramma menahḥanda uēr* “Nuḡanza, ‘Chief of Wine’, and all the lords came to meet me in Tegaramma.”
KBo IV 4 III 19–22 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 124–125)

3.2.14 *parranda pai-* and *parranda uḡa-*

parranda pai- governs a construction with an expression of Location indicating the place that is crossed and an expression of Direction, which can be animate or inanimate, and has the meaning “to go across (a place) to, to go over to” and is always accompanied by *-kan*.⁸⁸

- (172-NH) *nu = kan INA KUR^{URU} Arzauḡa parranda pān* “I went across to the land of Arzauḡa. (...) *n = aš = kan aruni parranda : guršauḡananza pait* “He went across the sea to the islands.”⁸⁹
KBo III 4 II 28–29, 31–32 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933: 50–51)
- (173-NH) (“Some deportees went to mount Arinnanda. (...)”) *kuiēš = ma = kan NAM.RA.MEŠ aruni parranda ITTI^m Uḡḡa-LÚ pāir* “Other deportees went across the sea with Uḡḡaziti.”
KBo III 4 II 33, 36 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 52–53)
- (174-NS) (“The farmers who were there,”) *nu = kan apūš INA LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} Araūnna par[an]da pāir apūš = ma = kan INA^{LÚ.MEŠ} EN.NU.UN ḤUR.SAG-i parranda pāir* “some went across to the men of Araunna. Others went across the mountain to the watchmen”.
KUB XVI 16 rev. 5–7 (CTH 570) ed. Beal (1992: 259 + n.973)⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Restorations from KBo XVII 3+ II 11’ (MS B).

⁸⁷ The parallel manuscript A uses the expression *peran āppa uḡa-*; see (226-NS) in § 3.4.7.

⁸⁸ See the treatment in CHD (P/I: 33 and P/2: 135–136) with the following and other examples.

⁸⁹ For the interpretation of : *guršauḡananza* as the dative plural of the cuneiform Luwian word for island *kuršayar / kuršayan-* see Starke (1985: 142–152).

⁹⁰ Beal translates “across the mountain ^{LÚ}EN.NU.UNs”.

The expression of Location indicating the place that is crossed is often omitted. In some of these cases the obstacle crossed is a river, a sea or a mountain mentioned in the context, e.g. ḤUR.SAG-*i* in the second sentence of (174-NS), but it can also be the border of the country not explicitly referred to, as for instance in the case of *parranda uḡa-* in (175-NH) below. Less frequent is the omission of the expression of Direction as found in (173-NH).⁹¹

parranda uḡa- “to come across to, to come over to” is likely to govern the same construction as *parranda pai-* and is also accompanied by *-kan*. In the available instances of *parranda uḡa-*, the expression of Location is never explicitly mentioned, but the obstacle that is crossed in all cases seems to be the border of the country.⁹²

- (175-NH) *nu = kan tuk kuiš ša KUR^{URU} Arzauḡa [NAM.RA.MEŠ p]arranda u[ḡan]za* “The deportees from Arzauḡa, who (have) come across to you. ((...) Arrest all deportees.)”
KUB XIX 49+ I 49–50, 53 (CTH 69) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 8–9)⁹³

3.2.15 *pariḡan pai-* and *pariḡan uḡa-*

The combination *pariḡan pai-* is attested a few times with an expression of Direction and the particle *-kan* and seems to have the same meaning as *parranda pai-* “to go across to”, described in § 3.2.14. It may also have the same construction as *parranda pai-*, with an expression of Location indicating the place that is crossed and an expression of Direction, but in the available examples the place that is crossed is never explicitly mentioned.⁹⁴

- (176-MH) *n = aš = kan mān INA KUR^{URU} ḤUR.SAG Šakaddunuḡa parēan paizzi* “If he (= the enemy) goes across to the land of Mount Šakaddunuḡa.”
HKM 46: 8–9 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 200–201)

pariḡan pai- and *pariḡan uḡa-* are both attested with an accusative denoting the place that is crossed, with the particle *-kan*.⁹⁵

- (177-NS) (“Uršanabi began to reply to Gilgameš, the king:”) *[kī = ūa] kuit^d GIŠ.GIM. MAŠ nu = ūa = kan arunan p[ariḡan]⁹⁶ pāiši* “‘What (is) [this], Gilgameš? Do you want to go across the sea? (When you reach the waters of death, how shall you act?)’”

⁹¹ Following Starke’s interpretation of : *guršauḡananza* in (172-NH), it can be inferred from the context that the NAM.RA.MEŠ cross the sea in the Direction of the islands; see n. 89 ad (172-NH).

⁹² See CHD (P/2: 136) citing among others: *n = at = kan ANA KUR = KA [parr]a[n]ta* (coll.) *uēr* “They came across into your land.” KUB XXXI 47 rev. 5 (CTH 187, NH), with correction of Hagenbuchner’s reading *katta[n]da* (1989: 442–443).

⁹³ The same expression seems to be used two times more in this text: *kuiš] = ūa = mu = kan kuiš [parrand]a uḡanza* “‘Whoever has come across to me.’” KUB XIX 49+ I 44–45 ed. Friedrich (1930a: 8–9); see CHD (P/2: 136) and similarly *ibid.* I 52.

⁹⁴ For these and other examples see CHD (P/I: 33 and P/2: 152). In the following example the Direction is unexpressed: *ammuk = ma = za = kan pariḡan pāuḡ[anzi] UL tarlaš* “But he did not let me go across.” KUB XXIII 87: 10–11 (CTH 209.8) ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 227–228).

⁹⁵ See CHD (P/I: 35 and P/2: 151). The accusative possibly functions as Object with the predicate; see § 3.5.

⁹⁶ So Friedrich (1930b: 24 n. 3), or with Laroche (1968: 20) and CHD (P/2: 151): *nu = ūa = kan arunan*

KUB VIII 50+ III 6–9 (CTH 341.III9B) ed. Friedrich (1930b: 24–25), transl. Laroche (1968: 20)

- (178-NS) *n=aš=kan* ID-*an pariān uit namma=aš pariāyan* *pait* “He came across the river. Again he went across.”
KUB XVIII 5 II 10–11 (CTH 573) ed. Ünal (1973: 46–47)

3.2.16 *aṣan arḥa pai-* and *aṣan arḥa uṣa-*

The adverb *aṣan* is only found in combination with *arḥa*, *katta* and *šarā* and its meaning is not yet clear. Götze (1927: 135) suggested that it might have been used to strengthen the separating notions of these local adverbs, but this is not easy to prove.⁹⁷ The combinations *aṣan arḥa pai-* “to go away from, to leave” and *aṣan arḥa uṣa-* “to come away from, to leave” are attested with an expression of Origin (animate or inanimate) and the particle *-kan*:

- (179-MH) *n=aš=kan* LÚ.MEŠ MEŠEDUTIM DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL = *ia aṣan arḥa paizzi* “He goes away from the guards and palace attendants (and takes his position at the left wheel of the cart.)”
IBoT I 36 II 41–43 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 18–19)
- (180-NS) (“And we will give you a desirable and pure offering”) *nu=ṣa=kan apēdani idālaṣi antuḥši aṣan arḥa uṣatten* “Come away from that evil person (and come back to the house of this sacrificer.)”
KUB XV 32 I 52–54 (CTH 484.IB)

3.2.17 – 3.2.21 *Combinations of arḥa and a second local adverb with pai- and uṣa-*

In § 3.2.3 it was remarked that (114-MH), an example of *arḥa pai-* with an accusative and the meaning “to pass” in the new edition of the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 32–33), provides us with the clue to the meaning of the many combinations of *arḥa* and a second local adverb found with *pai-*, *uṣa-* and less frequently *iṣa-*.⁹⁸ Following Güterbock’s translation of the combinations that occur in the Instruction of the Royal Bodyguard, these can be understood as derivations of *arḥa pai-* “to go through, to pass”, in which the second local adverb further specifies *arḥa pai-*, for instance *peran arḥa pai-* “to pass in front” or *ištarna arḥa pai-* “to go through, to pass through”.⁹⁹ Similar notions came to be expressed by the corresponding combinations of *arḥa* and a second local adverb occurring with *uṣa-* and *iṣa-*. Compared with the relative frequency of these combinations the single attestation of *arḥa pai-* is remarkable. The combinations described in the following paragraphs mostly govern a constituent in the accusative, either animate or inanimate, which possibly has the syntactic function Object, and sometimes also an expression of Location in the dative-

p[ariān GIM-an (?)] pāiši “[When (?)] you go a[cross] the sea.”

⁹⁷ See also Kammenhuber (HW², A: 635).

⁹⁸ See the examples of *ištarna arḥa iṣa-* and *šer arḥa iṣa-* in § 2.2.12 and 2.2.13.

⁹⁹ See Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 54) and the examples of these combinations with *pai-* in CHD (P/1: 36–37) many of which are cited in the following paragraphs. Note that the second local adverb is actually the first, since it always precedes *arḥa*.

locative.¹⁰⁰ The semantic function Location is to be understood here as “local point of reference”: The point that is passed is often indicated by a human being. Unlike the “basic” construction of *arḥa pai-*, they are always accompanied by *-ašta* or *-kan*. In these combinations *arḥa* and the second local adverb seem to function as a unity, together modifying the meaning of the basic predicate. The meaning of *ištarna arḥa pai-* “to go through, to pass through” or *šer arḥa pai-* “to pass over, to pass by, to ignore”, for instance, is more than the sum of the individual notions of *ištarna* “between” or *šer* “above, on top” and *arḥa pai-* “to pass”.¹⁰¹ The combination *appan arḥa* in one example appears to be written as one word.

3.2.17 *kattan arḥa pai-* and *kattan arḥa uṣa-*

As shown in the CHD (P/1: 37), *kattan arḥa pai-* “to pass under, to pass below” can be constructed with an accusative and *-ašta* or *-kan*.¹⁰²

- (181-NS) *n=ašta* EN.SÍSKUR *apē=a* KÁ.GAL.ḪI.A *kattan arḥa [p]aizzi* “The sacrificer passes under these gates too.”
KBo XXIV 63 III 4–5 + KBo XXIII 43 III 11–12; see CHD (P/1: 37)

kattan arḥa pai- and *kattan arḥa uṣa-* are also attested with a dative-locative and *-ašta* or *-kan* and the same meaning “to pass under, to pass below”.¹⁰³

- (182-OH+) (“You are the hawthorn tree.(...)”) GU₄-*uš=ta=kkān katti[=ti]. arḥa paizzi* “The cow passes under you (and you pull out a tuft of its hair.)”
UDU-*u[š=m]a=ta=kan katti=ti [(arḥa pa)izzi]* “The sheep passes under you (and you pull out its fleece.)”
KUB XXX 54 II 13–16 + KUB XXXIII 47: 1’–5’ (CTH 334.1A) translit. Laroche (1965: 139), transl. Hoffner (1990: 28)¹⁰⁴
- (183-NS) *n=ašta ḥūmanza* KÁ.GAL^{TIM} *kattan arḥa uizzi* “Then every one passes under the gate (and he who runs last breaks off the gate.)”
VBoT 24 II 9–12 (CTH 393.A) ed. Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935: 110–111)

3.2.18 *peran arḥa pai-* and *peran arḥa uṣa-*

peran arḥa pai- “to pass before, to pass in front of” is attested with an accusative and *-kan*:

¹⁰⁰ The problem of the function of the accusative is discussed in § 3.5.

¹⁰¹ Admittedly, this is less clear in the other combinations. If the second local adverb would function independently of *arḥa* and the predicate, the presence of the sentence particle would be unexplained. As demonstrated in § 3.3.1–3.3.8 other local adverbs functioning as independent Adjuncts with *pai-* and *uṣa-* are not responsible for the use of sentence particles.

¹⁰² See also with *-kan*: *nu=[kan]* URU^{URU} *Šuppilulijān GAM-an arḥa paizzi* “He passes below Šuppiluli.” KUB XXII 51 obv. 11 (CTH 577), cited in CHD (P/1: 37).

¹⁰³ In (182-OH+) we find a combination of the constructions *katti=ti* and *kattan + -ta*; see § 5.1, p. 139. An example with omission of the dative-locative is found in KUB XLV 26 II 3: *n=ašta* EN SISKUR *katta[n] arḥa [paizzi]* (CTH 790, NS).

¹⁰⁴ With duplicate KUB XXXIII 48: 1–2 (MS B).

- (184-MH) $n=aš=kan$ šarkantin peran arḫa UL paizzi “He does not pass before the petitioner,¹⁰⁵ (he passes behind (him).)”
IBoT I 36 III 32–33 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 26–27)

peran arḫa pai- and peran arḫa uḫa- “to pass before, to pass in front of” are also found with a dative-locative and -kan:

- (185-NS) (“The GUDU₁₂-priests of Arinna and the ḫamena-man come.”)
[$n=a$]t=kan LUGAL-i peran arḫa pānzi “They pass in front of the king.”
KBo XXV 176 rev. 18’–19’ (CTH 627) transl. Singer (1984: 94)
- (186-MH) (“When he comes back, he also comes back (or: again) that same way,”)
ANA LÚ.MEŠ MEŠEDUTI=ma=aš=kan peran arḫa uizzi “but passes in front of the guards.”
IBoT I 36 III 25–26 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24–25)

3.2.19 āppan arḫa pai-

āppan arḫa pai- is found with an accusative and -kan “to pass behind”:¹⁰⁶

- (187-MH) (The guard who holds the outside, (...)) apaš=a=kan šarkantin EGIR-an arḫa paizzi “that (guard) passes behind the petitioner”.¹⁰⁷
IBoT I 36 III 19, 21 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24–25)
- (188-MH) (“He does not pass the defendant in front,”) EGIR-an(-)arḫa=aš=kan paizzi he passes behind (him).¹⁰⁸
IBoT I 36 III 32–33 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 26–27)
- (189-NS) (“But when the king travels around in the country,”) $n=aš=kan$ É^d Mizzulla EGIR-an arḫa paizzi “he passes behind the temple of Me(i)zzulla (and descends the postern of the temple of Me(i)zzulla).”
KBo XXX 164 III 8–15 (CTH 670) ed. Alp (1983: 16)

Note that in (188-MH) we have an instance of absolute use with omission of the accusative.

3.2.20 ištarna arḫa pai- and ištarna arḫa uḫa-

ištarna arḫa pai- “to go through, to pass through” and ištarna arḫa uḫa- “to come through, to pass through” are constructed with a constituent in the accusative and the particle -kan:

¹⁰⁵ The translation “petitioner” for šarkanti- has been adopted from Melchert (1996: 135).

¹⁰⁶ The same construction seems to be present in a New Hittite copy of the Old Hittite Anitta text: [(^{URU}Ne-e)-ša-aš ÉRIN.MEŠ E]GIR-pan arḫa pait “and [the troops of Neša’] passed behind [him]”, KUB XXVI 71 I 13’ (CTH I.B, OH+) ed. Neu (1974a: 14–15, 34).

¹⁰⁷ For “petitioner” see Melchert (1996: 135).

¹⁰⁸ In this example arḫa and EGIR-an seem to be written as one word. For other examples of a unity of two local adverbs written as one word see § 4.2.9 and 4.2.11.

- (190-NH) lukkatta=ma=kan KUR^{URU} Ištalluppa ištarna arḫa pāun “The next morning I went through the land of Ištalluppa (and I went into the land of Takkuḫahina.)”
KBo V 8 I 30–31 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götze (1933a: 150–151)

- (191-MH) (“Moreover, if the enemy [comes] to Ḫattusa [with mas]sed troops”) [$n=aš=kan$ mā]n šumenzan A.ŠÀ kueran ištarna ar[ḫa] uizzi “and if he comes through your field (and) land, (and you do not sturdily [defend] it.)”
KUB XIII 27 rev¹ 22–23 + KUB XXIII 77 + KUB XXVI 40: 93’–94’ (CTH 138.1) transl. von Schuler (1965: 123)

- (192-MH) (“‘See, the enemy came and pressed on Ḫapara on that side, while he pressed on Kašipura from this side,’”) apāš=uḫa=kan ištarna arḫa uit “‘(so that) he could pass through.’”
HKM 6: 4–8 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 126–129)

3.2.21 šer arḫa pai-

The combination šer arḫa pai- “to pass over, to pass by, to ignore” is constructed with an accusative and the particle -kan or -ašta:¹⁰⁹

- (193-NH) (“When some weapon was given to me by the god and someone revolted against me,”) $n=ašta$ apāt pēdan šer arḫa pāun “I passed by that place (=Nerik).” (“When, after that, some other year arrived and struck my eyes by means of an oracle,”) ammuk=ma=kan apadda=ja šer arḫa pāun “I ignored that too.”
KUB XXXVI 87 III 6’–15’ (CTH 386.3) ed. Haas (1970: 190–191)

An instance of independent šer with arḫa pai- “to go away” can be found in § 3.3.7.

3.2.22 arḫa pai- + andan pai-

In the following passage from an oracle text we find a combination of the constructions of arḫa pai- “to go away from” with an expression of Origin and -kan and andan pai- “to go into” with an expression of Direction:¹¹⁰

- (194-NH) (“If His majesty mobilizes Nerik and the troops of Piḡainariša draw near,”) nu=kan^{URU} Piḡainarišaz arḫa^{URU} Aštigurqa andan paizzi “Will he go away from Piḡainariša into Aštigurqa?”
KUB V 1 I 53–54 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 40–41)

¹⁰⁹ See CHD (P/1: 37, 39).

¹¹⁰ The same combination of a construction with arḫa and andan is attested once with ija-; see § 2.2.14.

3.2.23 *arḥa uṣa- + āppa uṣa-*

arḥa uṣa- “to come away from” with *-kan* and an expression of Origin and *āppa uṣa-* “to come back to” with an expression of Direction are combined in the following example:

- (195-NH) ^dUTU^{ŠI} = *kan* ^{URU}Neriqaz *arḥa* EGIR-*pa* ^{URU}Ḥakmiš *uizzi* “Will His Majesty come away from Nerik back to Ḥakmiš (and defeat Talmališa?)”
KUB V 1 II 45 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 58–59)

3.3 The local adverb is independent of the predicate

The local adverbs in this section serve as independent Adjuncts indicating the Time in which, the Location where or the Manner in which the motion denoted by *pai-* and *uṣa-* takes place or the Accompaniment or Motive of this motion. Unlike the dependent local adverbs they do not specify the direction of the movement of the predicate or affect its construction. As in sentences without a local adverb, *pai-* and *uṣa-* are never accompanied by a sentence particle, when they occur with independent local adverbs.

3.3.1 *anda + pai-*

In (196-MH), a difficult section of the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard, the beginning of which was already discussed in § 2.3.1 ad (43-MH), we find the only example of *anda pai-* without the construction with an expression of Direction and the sentence particle, which are present when *anda* is dependent on *pai-* (§ 3.2.1):

- (196-MH) (“The soldier who (is) of a field batallion keeps the peaceful (population) [lin]ed up to the sides. The left one keeps (it) lined up on the left and the right one keeps (it) lined up on the right.”) *arḥa = ma = aš* 3 IKU *iḡatta* “He (=the left one) marches three IKU away (from the right one). (If, however, anywhere in front of him the road is narrow,) *n = aš anda* [paizzi] “he goes within (three IKU of the other).”
IBoT I 36 II 60–63 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 22–23, 53)

It is hard to define the exact meaning of *n = aš anda paizzi*, since this use of *anda* with *pai-* is unparalleled, but the context seems to suggest that *n = aš anda paizzi* denotes the opposite of *arḥa = ma = aš* 3 IKU *iḡatta*.¹¹¹ Given this opposition it seems likely that *anda* has the same function with *pai-* as *arḥa* has with *iḡa-*, namely that of Adjunct indicating the Manner in which the Subject marches or moves forward; see § 2.3.1. In the edition by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 23, 54) a suggestion by Singer is followed to translate *anda pai-* as “to move inward”, “to converge” and in the CHD (P/1: 28) the meaning “to move closer together, to close ranks” is suggested. A translation “they go (closer) together” is very attractive, but only possible if the whole section is translated

¹¹¹ We are clearly not dealing with *anda pai-* “to go into, to enter” described in § 3.2.1.

in the plural, which was done in the edition of Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 53) with the motivation that it is easier in English, although the Hittite text uses the singular. The literal translation suggested above is an attempt to stay close to the Hittite text and to render the opposition *arḥa iḡa-* versus *anda pai-*.

3.3.2 *kattan + pai- and uṣa-*

Besides its dependent use (§ 3.2.5), *kattan* is also attested as an Adjunct of Accompaniment with *pai-* and *uṣa-* indicating the person in the company of whom the motion of the predicate takes place:¹¹²

- (197-NH) (“Then I imposed (the raising of) troops on them and they began to give me troops”) *n = at = mu laḥḥi kattan paišgauṣan tiḡer* “and they began to accompany me to war.”
KBo V 8 II 3–5 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götze (1933a: 152–153)
- (198-NH) (“But when it became spring, Ḥattušaziti [came back] from Egypt,”) ^{ŠA}^{URU}*Mizri = iḡa = šši* ^{LÜ}*TEMU* ^m*Ḥāniš* *BEU kattan uit* “and the messenger of Egypt, lord Ḥani, came with him.”
KBo XIV 12 III 24–25 (MS E₃) followed by KBo V 6 III 44–45 (MS A) (CTH 40.IV) ed. Güterbock (1956: 96)

3.3.3 *šer + arḥa pai-*

In the following example the local adverb *šer* is juxtaposed to *arḥa pai-* “to go away”. Judging from the meaning of this sentence *šer* functions independently of the predicate *arḥa pai-* as an Adjunct of Motive meaning “on account of, for the sake of”. In this function it governs the dative *ANA* ^m*Ḥ(ūd)]upiianza*.

- (199-NH) [*n = at = kan ANA* ^m*Ḥ(ūd)]upiianza šer arḥa pāir* “They went away for the sake of Ḥudupianza ([and they went against Ṹ(ašum)]ana).”
KBo XVI 6 III 6–7 (CTH 61.II5E) ed. CHD (P/1: 30)¹¹³

Note that this is a completely different use than that of the combination *šer arḥa pai- + -kan* “to pass over, to pass by, to ignore in § 3.2.21.¹¹⁴

3.3.4 *ištarna + pai-*

The local adverb *ištarna* is regularly attested in the function of Adjunct of Location meaning “between, among”.¹¹⁵ In the following example *ištarna* seems to indicate the Location of the movement denoted by *pai-*:

¹¹² An example of the construction with *katti-* and a possessive pronoun, described in § 2.3.2, is cited in CHD (P/1: 31): (“When the equipment of the ŠATAMMU goes from Ḥattuša to Ankuṣa,”) ^{LÜ}*ḥupralašš = a katti = šmi paizzi* “the ḥuprala-man goes with them.” KUB XXV 28 I 3–4 (CTH 657, NS).

¹¹³ Cf. duplicate KUB XIV 29 I 16–17 (MS A) ed. Götze (1933a: 106–107).

¹¹⁴ See also CHD (P/1: 30).

¹¹⁵ See Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 478–480).

- (200-NS) *namma ANA UDU.ĪIA ištarna paimi* “Then I go among the sheep (and I pluck a tuft of wool from what sheep is turned with its eyes toward the sun.)”
VBoT 24 III 11–13 (CTH 393.A) ed. Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935: 112–113)

In this example *pai-* seems to be used without emphasis on the Direction, like *īia-* “to be on one’s way, to (be on the) march” (§ 2.1.1). A possible example of *ištarna* as Adjunct of Location with *uua-* is discussed in § 3.4.5. The combination *ištarna pai- + -kan* “to go by, to pass by” is treated in § 3.2.12.

3.3.5 *peran para + pai- and anda pai-*

It has long been observed that the combination of local adverbs *peran parā* functions as a unity meaning “beforehand, in advance, ahead”.¹¹⁶ This combination is attested as an Adjunct of Time with *pai-*, but also with the derived predicate *anda pai-* “to go into”:

- (201-lateNH) “When the prince comes,” *n=aš hūdak INA É Ĥalki peran parā paizzi* “he immediately goes ahead to the temple of Ĥalki.”
KUB XLII 100 IV 36’–37’ (CTH 525) ed. del Monte (1978: 185, 188); see CHD (P/1: 33)
- (202-NS) (“Before the king and queen go to the temple of ZABABA,”) *nu=kan peran parā* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ALAM.ZU₉ ^{LÚ}paluātallaš ^{LÚ}kītašš=a *anda*¹¹⁷ *pānzi* “the ALAM.ZU-men, the *paluātalla*-man and the *kita*-man go in beforehand (and take their seats.)”
KBo IV 9 II 1–6 (CTH 604.1A) ed. Badali and Zinko (1994: 26–27)

3.4 Problematic and unclear instances

3.4.1 *arahza pai- and arahza uua-*

In her treatment of *arahza* in HW² (A: 235–238), Kammenhuber showed that *arahza* means “(to the) outside,” when it is used with a motion verb containing the prefix **pe-*, and “from outside” when combined with a motion verb formed with **u-*.¹¹⁸ It is attested with *pai-* and *uua-* from Old Hittite onwards:¹¹⁹

arahza pai- “to go outside”:

¹¹⁶ See Friedrich (1926: 75) and Zuntz (1936: 82). As observed by Kammenhuber (1974: 146) enclitic elements follow the unity *peran parā* when occurring in sentence initial position.

¹¹⁷ Manuscript B (KUB XI 29 II 12’) reads: E[GI]R³ *an-da pa-a-an-zi* “they go in again”.

¹¹⁸ See also Neu (1970: 15, 81). According to Starke (1977: 199–200) *arahza* has the function of an “Ablativus instrumenti” with the meaning “draußen” in Old Hittite and cannot be translated as a “Zielkasus” in (203-OH).

¹¹⁹ For other examples see Kammenhuber (HW², A: 235–238).

- (203-OH) *arahza paiyani* “We go outside (and lead the billy-goat away).”
KBo XVII 3+ III 42 (CTH 416.1B) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 34), translit. Neu (1980a: 16)
- (204-OH) [(The king)] puts on h[(is gear”)] LU[GAL-uš] a[rah]za paiz[zi] “(and) the king goes outside.”
KBo XVII 11 + I 32’ (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 14–15), translit. Neu (1980a: 65).¹²⁰
- (205-MH) *māhhan=ma* LUGAL-uš *arahza paizzi* “When the king goes outside, (one palace attendant comes out of the palace.)”
IBoT I 36 I 64 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 12–13)
- (206-NS) *n=aš gimri arahza paizzi* “He goes outside to the steppe.”¹²¹
KBo XVII 94 III 5’ (CTH 449.8)

arahza uua- “to come from outside”:

- (207-OH) [(LUGAL-u)]š *arahza uizzi* “the king comes from outside (and g[oes] into the inner room.)”
KBo XVII 11+ KBo XX 12 IV 25’ (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 34–35), translit. Neu (1980a: 68)

It is possible that *arahza* functions here as a dependent local adverb forming a unity with the predicate and that it belongs to the sub-paragraph about dependent use (§ 3.2). It should, however, be noted that the use of an explicit expression of Direction as in (206-NS) is highly exceptional with *arahza pai-* and that expressions of Origin are altogether absent with *arahza uua-*. One wonders whether *arahza* did not keep more of its nominal character than the other local adverbs and is itself functioning as the expression of Direction or Origin governed by the predicate.¹²²

3.4.2 *peran (+) pai-*

Because of the scarcity of the examples, it is hard to define the function and meaning of *peran* in its use with *pai-* in the following instances with any certainty. In the following two instances *peran* seems to be used as an independent Adjunct of Time or Location with *pai-* meaning “before, in front of, ahead”:

- (208-MH) (“[Or if] you go to attack [the ...],”) *peran=ma paizzi* “but he goes in front, (if that man [...,] you should not do him harm.)”
KUB XXIII 77a+ rev. 11’–12’ (CTH 138.1) transl. von Schuler (1965: 124); see CHD (P/1: 34)

¹²⁰ With restorations from the better preserved later copy KBo XVII 74+ I 32–33 (MS B).

¹²¹ The same expression is found in KBo IV 2 II 28 *n=aš gimri arahza panzi* (CTH 398.A).

¹²² For the nominal origin of the local adverbs see the *status quaestionis* in § 1.1.1.

- (209-NS) (“When the king [goes?] from [...] to the *daḥang[a]*-grove, they before-hand do as follows:”) GAL^{LÚ.MEŠ} DUB.SAR GIŠ GA[L DUMU].[MEŠ.É].GAL^{LÚ} DUB.SAR LÚ^{dU} LÚ^{LÚ} GUDU₁₂-*ia peran*^{GIŠ} *daḥan[qa] pānzi* “The chief of the wood-tablet-scribes, the chief of the palace attendants, the scribe, the ‘man of the Stormgod’ and the GUDU₁₂-priest go before (or: ahead) to the *daḥang*-grove. (The man of the Stormgod holds a *mukar*-instrument.”)
KUB LVIII 11 obv. 1–4, ed. Haas (1970: 214–215); see CHD (P/1: 34)

A different use of *peran* seems to be present in the following examples, which are possibly instances of a derived predicate *peran pai-* that is constructed with an expression of Direction and has the meaning “to go before or to go forward to”:¹²³

- (210-NS) GIM-*an*^{LÚ.MEŠ} SANGA^{LÚ} HAL-*ia kariuariyar* PANI É DINGIR^{LIM} *pānzi* “When in the morning the priests and the diviner go forward to the temple, (they remove the thick breads from in front of the god.)”
KUB XXXI 113: 10’–12’ (CTH 275) ed. Haas (1970: 130–131)
- (211-MS)¹²⁴ ANA P]ANI DINGIR^{LIM} *paizzi* “He goes before the deity.”
KBo XXVII 165+ obv. 8

The same use of *peran* may be present in many of the combinations of *peran* and other local adverbs treated in § 3.4.7.

3.4.3 *appa (+) uṣa-*

It is not completely clear whether *appa* in the second sentence of (212-MH) belongs to the predicate *uṣa-*, which governs the internal Object KASKAL-*an*, or is used as an Adjunct of Time meaning “again”:¹²⁵

- (212-MH) (“If a palace attendant afterwards brings a message,¹²⁶ he comes from the left, from behind the palace attendants.”) EGIR-*pa=ma=aš kuṣapi uizzi n=aš appa=ia=pat apūn* KASKAL-*an uizzi* “When he comes back, he also comes back (or: again) that same way, (but passes in front of the guards.)”
IBoT I 36 III 23–26 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24–25)

Dependent use of *appa* with *pai-* and *uṣa-* was treated in § 3.2.9.

3.4.4 *appanda (+) uṣa-*

In the Hittite sentence of (213-MH) below, which was already cited in translation in the previous paragraph under (212-MH), *appanda uṣa-* is accompanied by an expression of Origin instead of the usual expression of Direction; see § 3.2.11. On the basis of this isolated instance it cannot be decided whether or not *appanda* forms a unity with the predicate *uṣa-*:

- (213-MH) (“If a palace attendant afterwards brings a message,”) *n=aš GÜB-laz=pat iṣtu* DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL EGIR-*anda uizzi* “he comes from the left, (from) behind the palace attendants. “When he comes back, he also comes back (or: again) that same way, (but passes in front of the guards.)”
IBoT I 36 III 23–26 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24–25)

3.4.5 *ištarna (+) uṣa-*

The only example of the local adverb *ištarna* in a sentence with *uṣa-* occurs in a list of omnia at the beginning of a ritual text:

- (214-NS) [*našm*]a *lalaṣešaš iṣtananiṣ ḥaššit* [*našm*]a=*aš=kan É-ri ištarna pidi uizzi* “Or (if) an ant (comes) from the altar or the hearth or comes to a place in the middle of the house.”
KUB LIII 50 I 8–9 (CTH 453) ed. Hoffmann (1990: 186–187)¹²⁷

Since the meaning of these lines is not very clear, the function of *ištarna* is hard to determine. In the above translation *ištarna É-ri* is taken as an Adjunct of Location in apposition with *pidi*, the expression of Direction depending on the predicate *uṣa-*.¹²⁸ This leaves us, however, with the presence of *-kan*, which is exceptional with the basic predicate *uṣa-*; see § 3.1.5. Other examples of *ištarna* and *pai-* are treated in § 3.2.12 and § 3.3.3.

3.4.6 *tapuša pai- and tapuša uṣa-*

In the following instances we seem to have evidence of a derived predicate *tapuša pai-* “to go to the side to” and *tapuša uṣa-* “to come to the side to”, both accompanied by an expression of Direction and a sentence particle:¹²⁹

- (215-NS) LÚ^{LÚ} SANGA-*ma=kan ina É^{dU} tapuša paizzi* “The priest goes to the side to the temple of Teššub.”¹³⁰
KUB XLIII 54 rev. V 7’–9’ (CTH 706) ed. Heinhold-Krahmer (1992: 283)

¹²⁷ Differently Otten (1982: 285): “oder l. [wird] durch Postament (oder) Herd”.

¹²⁸ Cf. Hoffmann (1990: 187): “oder an einen Platz innerhalb des Hauses kommt”.

¹²⁹ For the frequent occurrence of *tapuša* in texts about the cult of Teššup and Hepat see Heinhold-Krahmer (1992) with further examples.

¹³⁰ A few lines earlier in this text the particle *-ašta* is used: [*n*]=*ašta* LÚ^{LÚ} SANGA *tapuša ina É^{dU} Hepat paizzi* “Then the priest goes to the side to the temple of Hepat” KUB XLIII 54 rev. V 1’–2’.

¹²³ The meaning “to go forward to” may also be present in *peran appa pai-* “to go back and forth to” in § 3.4.7.

¹²⁴ For the date of the manuscript and the join with KBo XXXV 229 see Groddek (1996: 106–107).

¹²⁵ This problem regularly occurs with *appa*, since the definition of its function often depends on the translation. See also § 3.4.8 and 4.2.7.

¹²⁶ The meaning of III 23 *mān* DUMU.É.GAL=*ma* EGIR-*anda me*[*mi*]an *udai* and the role of EGIR-*anda* is not entirely clear. See Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 55).

- (216-NS) [mā]n=kan LUGAL-uš tapūša INA É^d Hepat uizzi “When the king comes to the side to the temple of Hepat.”
KUB XLIV 47 obv. 21’ (CTH 706) ed. Heinhold-Krahmer (1992: 282)

The combination *tapuša pai-* can also be used in a metaphorical sense: “to go aside, to cease to function”.¹³¹

- (217-NH) (“In my sleep the hand of a god came upon me”) KA×U-išš=a=mu=kan tapūša pait “and my mouth went aside.”
KBo IV 2 III 47–48 (CTH 486.C) ed. Götze and Pedersen (1934: 4)

In the Taḫagalāḫa-letter, however, two instances of *tapuša uḫa-* (with *-kan*) occur where *tapuša* seems to function as allative of the noun *tapu(u)aš-* “side” rather than as a dependent local adverb.¹³²

- (218-NH) NAM.RA.MEŠ=kan me[kkiš] K[UR]=IA tapuša uit “Many deportees came to the border of my country (and 7000 deportees my brother to[ok?].)”
KUB XIV 3 III 9–10 (CTH 181) ed. Sommer (1932: 12–13)

- (219-NH) When the aforementioned Tawalagāḫa (was) Great King,”) [nu=kan¹³³]
URU Millaḡanda tapuša uit “he came to the border of Millaḡanda.¹³⁴
([Formerly Kurunta was here.]”
KUB XIV 3 I 71–73 (CTH 181) ed. Sommer (1932: 6–7); see Heinhold Krahmer (1986: 54–55)

Given these two instances one wonders how much of its nominal character *tapuša* has kept in its other use with *pai-* and *uḫa-* and to what extent *tapuša* belongs to the category of local adverbs in Hittite. An argument in favor of an interpretation as dependent local adverb with *pai-* and *uḫa-* would be the presence of *-kan*, which is not used with the basic predicates *pai-* and *uḫa-*, but generally is the result of the presence of a dependent local adverb in the sentence; see § 3.1.5.

3.4.7 *peran* and other local adverbs with *pai-* and *uḫa-*

The local adverb *peran* occurs in combination with a number of other local adverbs and *pai-* or *uḫa-*. In these cases *peran* and the other local adverb may individually be connected with the predicate, each one governing a construction of its own, in (220-NS),

¹³¹ See also in the birth ritual KUB XLIV 4 rev. 7–8: nu=šši=kan KA×U-iš tapuša pa[it] IGI.HI.A-ḡa KIMIN 9^{UZU} UR.HI.A KIMIN “His mouth went aside of him, (his) eyes went aside of him, the nine parts of his body went aside of him”. In this translation -šši is taken to refer to the newly born male child, cf. CHD (P/1: 35). In Beckman’s interpretation (1983: 177, 185) it is the baby’s mother who is suffering the attack out of anxiety for her child’s well-being.

¹³² See Laroche (1970: 30), Starke (1977: 200) and the survey of opinions by Heinhold-Krahmer (1992: 277–279). Following the translation of (218-NH) in CHD (L-N: 245), “to the side” can in this context be understood as “to the border”.

¹³³ The particle *-kan* has been restored by Götze and Pedersen (1934: 24–25).

¹³⁴ Heinhold-Krahmer (1986: 54–55) translates here: “war er abseits (seitlich?) von Millawanda (vorbei-) gekommen”.

for instance, a combination of *peran pai-* “to go before” (§ 3.4.2) and *anda pai (+kan)* “to go into” (§ 3.2.1). It is, however, also possible that *peran* forms a unity with the second local adverb with a special meaning of its own. Note that *peran* always precedes the second local adverb.

-peran (+) anda pai+ -kan “to go in before, into the presence of” and *peran (+) anda uḫa- +-ašta* “to come in before, into the presence of”:

- (220-NS) (“They all clean their hands.”) na-x-x (dupl: n=at=kan) [(DINGIR^{LIM}-n)]i peran anda panzi “and they go in before the deity.”
KBo XXIV 57 I 3–4 (CTH 701) ed. CHD (P/1: 28)¹³⁵

- (221-MH) n=ašta MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL=ia ANA PANI DINGIR^{LIM} anda uḫanzi “The queen and the princes come in before the god (and prostrate themselves before the god.)”
KUB XLV 47+ I 38–39 (CTH 494)

-peran (+) katta uḫa- + -kan “to come down before”:

- (222-NH) (“After I dedicated the city of Timmuḫala to the Stormgod,”) nu=kan
INA^{URU} Kašimula peran katta uḫanun “I came down before Kašimula (and I went home.)”
KUB XIX 37 II 35–37 (CTH 61.II9A) ed. Götze (1933a: 170–171)

For an example of *peran katta uḫa-* with *appa*; see § 3.4.8.

-peran (+) šarā uḫa- “to come up before”:

- (223-NH) (“And when I was on my way to the land of Tūmmanna,”) nu=mu
namma^{LÜ.MEŠ} ŠU.GI=ia peran šarā UL uḫer “the elders (of the city) also did not come up in front of me.”
KBo V 8 IV 10–12 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götze (1933a: 160–161)

The absence of a sentence particle is remarkable, since *šarā uḫa-* is always accompanied by *-ašta* or *-kan* (§ 3.2.7).

-peran (+) appa pai “to go back and forth to, to go frequently to(?)” and *peran (+) appa uḫa-* “to go back and forth to, to go frequently to(?)”:

The evidence for *peran appa pai-* and *peran appa uḫa-* is poor:¹³⁶

¹³⁵ With duplicate KBo XXIII 42 I 3–4.

¹³⁶ Here Götze’s translation of *peran appa ija-* is followed; see § 2.4.3. In CHD (P/1: 39) *peran appa pai-* is translated as “to have free access to(?)”. See also in fragmentary context x[]x-an-ma-aš šumel ARAD=KUNU GÉME=KUNU per[a?]n EGIR-pa uḫaḡeni KUB XXI 27 II 9–10 (CTH 384, prayer of Puduḫepa).

- (224-lateNH) (“Whatever *šaḥḥan* and *luzzi* obligations (there used to be,)” *nu = šmaš peran* EGIR-*pa lē kuiški paizzi* “let no one go to them frequently (to ask for it.)”
Bo 86/299 III 54–55 (CTH 106) ed. Otten (1988: 22–23)¹³⁷
- (225-NS) (May you live, o Ea! []”) *kuiš peran* EGIR-*pa ui[zzi]* “who comes to and fro ([]”
KUB XXXIII 106 III 7’–8’ (CTH 345.3A) ed. Güterbock (1951: 24–25)
- (226-NS) [(*kuṣat = uṣa*)] É = *IA pe(r)an* EGIR-*pa [(ka)rtimmij]auṣanza uit*] “Why have you come in and out of my house in anger?”
KUB XXXIII 93 II 21 (CTH 345.1A) ed. Güterbock (1951: 148–149)¹³⁸

3.4.8 *appa* and other local adverbs with *pai-* and *uṣa-*

The local adverb *appa* is attested in various combinations with other local adverbs and *pai-* or *uṣa-*. In many cases more than one translation is possible and depending on the translation *appa* can be interpreted as a dependent local adverb or as an independent Adjunct of Time meaning “again”. In the first case *appa* and the other local adverb(s) may both form a unity with the predicate. In (227-OH+), for instance, we may have a combination of the constructions of *appa uṣa-* “to come back to” (§ 3.2.9) and *anda uṣa-* “to come into” (§ 3.2.1), or *appa* may be used as an Adjunct of Time with the derived predicate *anda uṣa-*.

-*appa* + *anda uṣa-* “to come back into (?)”:

- (227-OH+) “If a mother removes from her son his garment, she is disinheriting her sons.”) *mān DUMU = šU* EGIR-*pa anda uizzi* “If her son comes back in(to her house), (he/she takes her door and removes it.)”
KBo VI 26 II 3–5 (HG II § 56, CTH 292.IIa.B, MS j) ed. Friedrich (1959: 76–77), transl. Hoffner (1995: 234).¹³⁹

-*appa* (+) *arḥa pai-* “to go back home (?)”:

- (228-NS) [] *n = aš* [EGIR]-*pa arḥa pait* [“and he went back home (or: he went home again).”
KBo XXXIV 268: 9’ (CTH 832)

-*appa* + *katta uṣa-* + *-kan* “to come down again (?)”:

- (229-NS?) ([]) *n = aš = kan* EGIR GAM *uit* “He came down again (and [“
KUB XVI 59: 4 (CTH 582)

-*appa* + *katta* + *andan uṣa-* and *katta* + *appa* + *andan uṣa-* “to come down again into (?)”:

- (230-NS?) *lukkatti = ma* ID-*an* EGIR-*pa GAM uizzi* URU *Iṣaušuriṣa andan* “Will he the next morning come down the river again (or: back down the river) into Iṣaušuriṣa (and attack the city Taštarišša.)”
KUB XL 106 obv. II’ 7’–10’ (CTH 562.2B) ed. Klengel (1963: 15–16)¹⁴⁰

In (230-NS?) the accusative ID-*an* apparently is governed by *katta uṣa-* and URU *Iṣaušuriṣa* by *andan uṣa-*. Because of *katta uṣa-* one would expect a sentence particle (§ 3.2.4). A sentence particle is present in the following example, where we find the same combination of local adverbs in a different word order. This time *katta uṣa-* governs an expression of Origin in the ablative:

- (231-NH) HUR.SAG *Ḥaḥarṣa = kan* GAM EGIR-*pa* URU *Aštigurqa andan uizzi nu takšatar* EGIR-*an paizzi* “Will he (=the king) come down again from Mt. Ḥaḥarṣa (or: come down from Mt. Ḥaḥarṣa back) into Aštigurqa and pass behind the plain?”
KUB V 1 IV 65–66 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 88–89)

-*appa* + *kattan pai-* and *kattan* + *appa pai-* “to go back into the presence of (?)”:

- (232-NS) *n = aš* EGIR-*pa EN-a = šši kattan pait* “He went back (or: again) into the presence of his lord (and again [began] to speak to his lord.¹⁴¹)”
KUB XXXVI 74 III 6’–7’ (CTH 347.2) ed. Siegelová (1970: 136)

The same combination with a different word order, which does not seem to influence the meaning:

- (233-NH) *nu* INA URU *Šamuḥa ANA mUrḥi-^dU-up* GAM-*an* EGIR-*pa pāun* “I went back (or: again) to Samuḥa into the presence of Urḥitešub (and led him down like a prisoner.)”
KBo III 6 III 61’–62’ (CTH 81.B) ed. Otten (1981: 24–25, 77)¹⁴²

-*appa* + *šarā uṣa-* “to come up again”:

The following Old Hittite example possibly shows an instance of absolute use of the construction of *šarā uṣa-* with expression of Origin with the Adjunct *appa* “again”; see (135-NS) in § 3.2.7:

¹³⁷ See Otten (1988: 23): “Was immer es an Fron (und) Abgaben (gibt), ihnen gegenüber soll niemand (darauf) zurückkommen!”

¹³⁸ The parallel manuscript A, on which the restorations are based, uses the expression *menahḥanda uṣa-*, see (170-NS) in § 3.2.13.

¹³⁹ See also CHD (L-N: 362).

¹⁴⁰ Klengel did not choose for an interrogative translation of this sentence.

¹⁴¹ As shown by Güterbock (1952: 34–35) and CHD (L-N: 262), the use of *appa* in the expression EGIR-*pa memiškiṣan appa* does not always imply repetition.

¹⁴² In MS A (KUB I 1+ IV 30) INA URU *Šamuḥa* is omitted. See also CHD (P/1: 29).

- (234-OH) (“See, for the king, the queen and their children, for Hattuša I buried their illness, their b[(lo)]odshed, their evil and their fearsome (deed).”) *t=ar*¹⁴³ *āppa šarā lē* [uēzzi] “Let these not come up again.” KBo XVII 1+ III 10–13 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 30–31), translit. Neu (1980a: 9)¹⁴⁴

-*āppa* + *peran* (+) *katta uua-* + -*kan* “to again come down before”:

In (235-NH) *āppa* seems to be used as an Adjunct of Time co-occurring with the combination *peran katta uua-* mentioned in § 3.4.7:

- (235-NH) (“However many days (His Majesty) spends up there,”) EGIR-*pa=ma=aš* =*kan* ^{URU} *Kaštama pe(r)an* GAM *uizzi* “will he again come down before Kaštama?” KUB V I 79–80 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 46–47)

3.4.9 *āppan* and other local adverbs with *pai-* and *uua-*

The local adverb *āppan* is also attested with various combinations of local adverbs and *pai-* or *uua-*. In many of these cases the precise meaning and the function of *āppan* with the other local adverbs and the predicate is unclear.

-*āppan* (+) *katta pai-* + -*kan* “to go down behind, go down the back (?)”:¹⁴⁵

- (236-NH) INIM : *uāluaiallaš=ma=ua=kan namma* EGIR-*an katta pait* “‘Thereafter the matter of the: *uāluaialli* followed (me) around (?) (lit.: went down behind).’” KUB XIII 35 I 24 + KUB XXIII 80 obv.¹ 10 (CTH 293) ed. Werner (1967: 4–5)¹⁴⁶
- (237-NS) (“When he (=the king) arrives out of the city Hišarluua, the HAZANNU stands on the right, on top of the [(*paššu*)], but when [the kin(g² is lin)]ed up with him, he b[ow]s”) [*t=a(š=ka)n paššun* E[(GIR-a)]n [*kat*]ta *paizzi* “and goes down the back of the *paššu*.” KUB LVIII 22+ I 28’–32’ (CTH 627.II2A) ed. Nakamura (1993: 138, 140)¹⁴⁷

-*āppan* (+) *šarā pai-* + -*kan* “to go up from behind (?)” and *āppan* (+) *šarā uua-* + -*kan* “to come up from behind (?)”:

¹⁴³ According to Otten and Souček (1969: 31 n. 18) KBo XVII 6 III 4’ has the reading -[*aš-ta*]. Neu (1980a: 20+ n. 53) transliterates -[*x-ta*] on this spot, but refers to this suggestion by Otten and Souček.

¹⁴⁴ The translation “for Hattuša”, in preference to “in Hattuša” of Otten and Souček (1969: 30–31), has been adopted from Starke (1977: 70–72) and Neu (1983: 355).

¹⁴⁵ See the translations suggested in CHD (P/I: 31).

¹⁴⁶ Werner (1967: 5) apparently took *katta* for the independent Adjunct *kattan* (§ 3.3.2): “Die Sache des: *uāluaialla* aber kam infolgedessen hinterher mit”.

¹⁴⁷ With duplicates KUB II 7: 13’–20’ (MS B) and KBo XXXIV 160: 1’–6’ (MS D). See also CHD (P/I: 31).

- (238-NH) *nu=kan* ^{HUR.SAG} *Haḫarua* EGIR UGU *paizzi* “Will he (=His Majesty) go up from behind Mt. Haḫarua (and attack Talmali(i)a (from) below and when he is up (there), will he attack Kammama?)” KUB V I II 55–56 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 60–61)

- (239-NH) (“From that side, from Kazzapa, the stronghold of the father of His Majesty is his border. On the other side from Tapapanuua (it is) his (border)”) *nu=kan* ^{MULU} *parkuin kuuapi* EGIR-*an šarā uuaši* “and when you come up from behind the Bare Peak, (the peak is the border.)” KUB XIX 37 II 28–31 (CTH 61.II9A) ed. Götze (1933a: 170–171)

-*andan* + *āppan* (+) *šarā pai-* “to go up into from behind”:

- (240-NH) ^{URU} *Tani<zila> andan* ^{URU} *Ziqapallaza* EGIR UGU [*paiz*]zi “Shall he (=his Majesty) go up into Tanizila from behind Ziqapalla?” KUB V I left edge a: 1–2 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 92–93)

3.5 Summary

For the basic predicates *pai-* and *uua-* the following predicate frames have been defined:¹⁴⁸

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (3.1a) <i>pai-</i> | “to go to” | |
| | SUBJECT + | COMPLEMENT |
| | Agent | Direction |
| | | animate+inanimate |
| (3.1b) <i>uua-</i> | “to come to” | |
| | SUBJECT + | COMPLEMENT |
| | Agent | Direction |
| | | animate+inanimate |
| (3.2) <i>uua-</i> | “to come from” | |
| | SUBJECT + | COMPLEMENT |
| | Agent | Origin |
| | | animate+inanimate |
| (3.3) <i>pai-</i> | “to go, to pass by” | |
| | SUBJECT | |
| | inanimate | |
| (3.4a) <i>pai-</i> | “to go a (certain) way” | |
| | SUBJECT + | internal OBJECT |
| | Agent | Route along which? |

¹⁴⁸ An explanation of my presentation of the predicate frames can be found in § 1.2, p. 18.

(3.4b) <i>uṣa-</i>	“to come a (certain) way”
SUBJECT +	internal OBJECT
Agent	Route along which?

The basic predicate *pai-* is as a rule constructed with an expression of Direction and is never attested with an expression of Origin. The verb *uṣa-*, which can be constructed with an expression of Direction and of Origin, is in the majority of cases found with only one of the two and only rarely with both an expression of Direction and an expression of Origin (§ 3.1.2).

Local adverbs that are dependent on *pai-* and *uṣa-* specify or modify the direction of the movement that is denoted by *pai-* and *uṣa-* and sometimes also influence the construction of the predicate. A change in construction is clearly visible in the fact that in combination with *arḥa*, *katta*, *parā*, *āppa* and *aṣan arḥa*, *pai-* can govern an expression of Origin, a construction not attested with the basic predicate *pai-*. When used with *arḥa*, *katta*, *ṣarā*, *pariḥan*, *kattan arḥa*, *peran arḥa*, *iṣtarna arḥa* and *ṣer arḥa* the predicate *pai-* and, with a few of them, *uṣa-* can govern a noun in the accusative case. It is hard to define the function of the accusative with motion verbs like *pai-* and *uṣa-* with any degree of certainty. The same goes for the predicate *iḥa-*, which is constructed with an accusative, when it is used in combination with *appan*, *iṣtarna arḥa* and *ṣer arḥa*.¹⁴⁹ It is possible that these accusatives serve as Objects with the derived predicates, but the formal criterion that Objects are the constituents that become Subject when the sentence is passivized cannot be checked by lack of examples of these verbs in the passive voice. The fact that the accusative with *katta pai-* alternates with a “perlative” ablative may indicate that the accusative with *katta pai-*, and subsequently also with the opposite expression *ṣarā pai-*, can better be described as markers of the Route along which the movement goes up or down.¹⁵⁰

A large group of dependent local adverbs are responsible for the use of sentence particles with *pai-* and *uṣa-*, to wit *anda*, *arḥa*, *katta*, *kattanda*, *ṣarā*, *parā*, *parranda*, *pariḥan*, *aṣan arḥa* and all the combinations of *arḥa* and a second local adverb. With local adverbs that in combination with *pai-* and *uṣa-* govern more than one constructions, the use of sentence particles can be restricted to particular constructions.

Independent local adverbs do not define the direction indicated by *pai-* and *uṣa-* and are not responsible for a change in construction or for the use of sentence particles with these verbs.¹⁵¹

On the basis of *pai-* and *uṣa-* the following derived predicates are formed. The occurrence of sentence particles with the predicate frame is indicated with the abbreviation sent. part.:

(3.5a) <i>anda pai-</i>	“to go (in)to, to enter”
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
Agent	Direction
	animate+inanimate

¹⁴⁹ See § 2.2.9, 2.2.11 and 2.2.12.

¹⁵⁰ See Friedrich (HE § 201b) and Melchert (1978: 20).

¹⁵¹ The distribution of dependent and independent use over the local adverbs in this chapter is shown in table 5.1 in § 5.1.

(3.5b) <i>anda uṣa-</i>	“to come into, to enter”
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
Agent	Direction
	inanimate
(3.6a) <i>andan pai-</i>	“to go into, to enter”
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT
Agent	Direction
	inanimate
(3.6b) <i>andan uṣa-</i>	“to come into, to enter”
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT
Agent	Direction
	inanimate
(3.7a) <i>arḥa pai-</i>	“to go away from, to leave”
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
Agent	Origin
	animate+inanimate
(3.7b) <i>arḥa uṣa-</i>	“to come out of, to leave”
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT + sent.part.
Agent	Origin
	animate+inanimate
(3.8a) <i>arḥa pai-</i>	“to go home to”
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT
Agent	Direction
	inanimate
(3.8b) <i>arḥa uṣa</i>	“to come home to”
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT
Agent	Direction
	inanimate
(3.9) <i>arḥa pai-</i>	“to go through, to pass”
SUBJECT +	OBJECT?
Agent	Patient
	inanimate
(3.10) <i>katta pai-</i>	“to go down to, to descend to”
SUBJECT +	COMPLEMENT
Agent	Direction
	inanimate

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(3.11a) <i>katta pai-</i>	“to go down from, to descend from” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Origin inanimate
(3.11b) <i>katta uya-</i>	“to come down from, to descend from” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Origin inanimate
(3.12) <i>katta pai-</i>	“to go down through, to descend” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Route along which inanimate
(3.13a) <i>kattan pai-</i>	“to go (in)to (the presence of)” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT Agent Direction animate
(3.13b) <i>kattan uya-</i>	“to come (in)to (the presence of)” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT Agent Direction animate
(3.14) <i>kattan pai-</i>	“to go down to” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT Agent Direction inanimate
(3.15a) <i>kattanda pai-</i>	“to go down into” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Agent Direction inanimate+animate ¹⁵²
(3.15b) <i>kattanda uya-</i>	“to come down into” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT ¹⁵² + sent. part. Agent Direction
(3.16a) <i>šarā pai-</i>	“to go up to, to ascend to” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Direction inanimate

The verb *pai-* and *uya-*

(3.16b) <i>šarā uya-</i>	“to come up to, to ascend to” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Direction inanimate
(3.17) <i>šarā uya-</i>	“to come up from, to ascend from” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Origin inanimate
(3.18) <i>šarā pai-</i>	“to go up along” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Route along which? inanimate
(3.19) <i>parā pai-</i>	“to go out to” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Direction inanimate
(3.20) <i>parā pai-</i>	“to go on to, to go forward to” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT Agent Direction animate+inanimate
(3.21a) <i>parā pai-</i>	“to go out of, to leave” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Origin inanimate
(3.21b) <i>parā uya-</i>	“to come out of, to leave” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent.part. Agent Origin inanimate
(3.22a) <i>āppa pai-</i>	“to go back to, to return to” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT Agent Direction inanimate
(3.22b) <i>āppa uya-</i>	“to come back to, to return to” SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT Agent Direction inanimate

¹⁵² This construction is only attested in absolute use.

- (3.23a) *āppa pai-* “to go back from, to return from”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Origin
inanimate
- (3.23b) *āppa uṣa-* “to come back from, to return from”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Origin
inanimate
- (3.24a) *āppan pai-* “to go after, to pursue, to support”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Direction
animate
- (3.24b) *āppan uṣa-* “to come after, to pursue, to support”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Direction
animate
- (3.25a) *āppanda pai-* “to go after, to follow, to pursue”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Direction
animate
- (3.25b) *āppanda uṣa-* “to come after, to follow, to pursue”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Direction
animate
- (3.26) *ištarna pai-* “to pass by”
SUBJECT + sentence particle
- (3.27a) *menaḥḥanda pai-* “to go toward, to go against, to go to meet”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Direction
animate+inanimate
- (3.27b) *menaḥḥanda uṣa-* “to come toward, to come against, to come to meet”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT
Agent Direction
animate+inanimate

- (3.28a) *parranda pai-* “to go across to, to go over to”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
Agent Location + Direction
inanimate animate+inanimate
- (3.28b) *parranda uṣa-* “to come across to, to come over to”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT¹⁵³ + COMPLEMENT
+ sent. part.
Agent Location Direction
animate+inanimate
- (3.29) *pariṇan pai-* “to go across to, to go over to”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT¹⁵⁴ + COMPLEMENT
+ sent. part.
Agent Location + Direction
animate+inanimate
- (3.30a) *pariṇan pai-* “to go across, to cross”
SUBJECT + OBJECT[?] + sent. part.
Agent Patient
inanimate
- (3.30b) *pariṇan uṣa-* “to come across, to cross”
SUBJECT + OBJECT[?] + sent. part.
Agent Patient
inanimate
- (3.31a) *aṣan arḥa pai-* “to go away from, to leave”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
Agent Origin
animate+inanimate
- (3.31b) *aṣan arḥa uṣa-* “to come away from, to leave”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
Agent Origin
animate+inanimate
- (3.32a) *kattan arḥa pai-* “to pass under, to pass below”
SUBJECT + OBJECT[?] / COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
Agent Patient / Location
inanimate / animate+inanimate
- (3.32b) *kattan arḥa uṣa-* “to pass under, to pass below”
SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
Agent Location
inanimate

¹⁵³ The expression of Location is never explicitly mentioned.¹⁵⁴ Always without explicit expression of Location.

- (3.33a) *peran arḥa pai-* “to pass before, to pass in front of”
 SUBJECT + OBJECT? / COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
 Agent Patient / Location
 animate
- (3.33b) *peran arḥa uya-* “to pass before, to pass in front of”
 SUBJECT + COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
 Agent Location
 animate
- (3.34) *āppan arḥa pai-* “to pass behind”
 SUBJECT + OBJECT? + sent. part.
 Agent Patient
 animate+inanimate
- (3.35a) *ištarna arḥa pai-* “to go through, to pass through”
 SUBJECT + OBJECT? + sent. part.
 Agent Patient
 inanimate
- (3.35b) *ištarna arḥa uya-* “to come through, to pass through”
 SUBJECT + OBJECT? + sent. part.
 Agent Patient
 inanimate
- (3.36) *šer arḥa pai-* “to pass over, to pass by, to ignore”
 SUBJECT + OBJECT? + sent. part.
 Agent Patient
 inanimate

CHAPTER 4

The verb *dā-*, “to take, to fetch”

4.0 Introduction

The verb *dā-* is different from the verbs treated so far, in that we find constituents with *dā-* that have syntactic and semantic functions not attested with any of the motion verbs, like, for instance, the syntactic function Indirect Object. It also gives a different picture regarding the presence of local adverbs and sentence particles. The verb *dā-* was extensively treated by Ciantelli in Kammenhuber's “*Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus*” (1978–79). The part with the description of ‘*dā-* mit Adverbien’ is not finished, the only local adverbs treated so far being *anda* and *āppa*. For the treatment of the constructions of *dā-* without local adverbs this comprehensive description was a great help. The fact that the third person singular active *da-a-i* has the same form as that of *dai-* “to place” sometimes leads to confusion about its provenance; see, for instance, § 4.2.1.

4.1 Constructions attested in sentences without local adverbs

4.1.1 *dā-* + Subject and Object

In rituals, instructions and similar texts we often find *dā-* in the third person (singular or plural) of the present tense accompanied by a noun in the accusative case expressing the cult object that is taken by the Subject. The sentence with *dā-*, in these cases, denotes an intermediate action and generally a coordinated clause follows in which the act that is performed with the item taken is described.¹ This preparatory usage of *dā-* is found from Old Hittite onwards:

- (241-OH) “From the inner room they bring the troop(s)² and the cups and the bronze spear.” [(LUG)]AL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš*[š=a t]*eššumiuš danzi*
 “The king and the queen take the cups (and place them on the throne and on the hearth.)”
 KBo XVII 1+ II 34'–36' (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 28–29), translit. Neu (1980a: 8)³

¹ This usage of *dā-* was already described by Götze (1933b: 10 n. 1), who observed that in many cases *dā-* is “sehr bedeutungsschwach und erfordert ein zweites Verbum, um einen vollen Sinn zu bekommen”. Similarly Ciantelli (1978–79: 1).

² Probably a statue representing troops. The phonetic complement *-an* indicates that ÉRIN.MEŠ-*an* refers to a singular noun.

³ Restorations from duplicate KBo XVII 3+: II 4'–6' (MS B).

This construction of *dā-* with an Object constituent only, surpasses the other constructions in number of attestations.⁴ The meaning of this bivalent *dā-* can be described as “to take (and use)”. In (242-NH) we have an example of bivalent *dā-* in a passive sentence:⁵

- (242-NH) (“From which table I used to eat, from which cup I used to drink (...) *nu UL kuitki dattat* “that nothing was taken (was determined by the deity.)”
KUB XII 27+ rev. 16–17, 20–21 (CTH 486.A) ed. Götze and Pedersen (1934: 10–11), transl. Kümmel (TUAT 2.2: 291)

As expected, the constituent that functions as the Object of the predicate in active sentences, becomes the Subject when the sentence is put into the passive voice. This example also shows that the coordinated clause, which as a rule follows the sentence with bivalent *dā-*, is not always present. Nevertheless it is clear from the context that also in (242-NH) *dā-* has the meaning: “to take (and use)”. The predicate frame of *dā-* in this usage can be formulated as follows:

- (4.1) *dā-* “to take, to fetch” SUBJECT + OBJECT
Agent Patient
inanimate

In Old Hittite *dā-* is attested in a construction with an Object and an animate noun in the genitive case indicating the possessor of the Object:

- (243-OH) *dā LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-š(=a) aḫin uāḫin pittuliuš(=š)mušš(=a)*
“Take the king’s and queen’s pain, woe and their anxieties.”
KBo XVII 3+ IV 26–27 (CTH 416.1B) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 38–39), translit. Neu (1980a: 17)

In the same Old Hittite text the removal of pain, woe and anxieties is described by means of a construction of *dā-* with an Object and an Indirect Object:

- (244-OH) *d[ā]hḫu(n)=šma[(š(=š)ta aḫi)]n uāḫi[in pittuliuš(=š)m]uš[(š(=a)]* “I have taken from them (their) pain, woe and their anxieties.”
KBo XVII 1+ IV 39–40 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 38–39), translit. Neu (1980a: 11)

The dative *-šmaš* in (244-OH) corresponds with the nouns in the genitive *LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-š(=a)* in (243-OH). Note that in both instances the possessive pronoun *-šmuš* “their” is added to the word *pittuliuš*, one of the three nouns functioning as Object. In Old Hittite examples of both constructions are found,⁶ but in later Hittite the

⁴ Compare the number of examples of bivalent *dā-* that are cited by Ciantelli (1978–79: 22–89), about 550, with that of the other constructions with an Indirect Object (1978–79: 109–126) and an Origin expression (1978–79: 142–153, 156), ca. 120 and 180 respectively.

⁵ Examples of passive forms of *dā-*, among which (242-NH), can be found in Ciantelli (1978–79: 219–220).

⁶ See Ciantelli (1979–79: 13–15). In her opinion the construction with the genitive is the older of the two. This is possible of course, but the only conclusion that can be drawn with any certainty from the available

construction with the dative case is the only way to say by means of the predicate *dā-* that “something is taken away from somebody”; see § 4.1.3. The most important difference between both constructions is that in the one with the dative, *dā-* has a predicate frame implying a notion of removal, whereas in the other construction the fact that the Object is taken away must be inferred from the context and is not indicated by the syntactic or semantic function of the noun in the genitive that is added to the Object of bivalent *dā-* “to take, to fetch” (4.1). A direct result of this difference in construction is the variance in use of the sentence particles. The construction with the dative case in (244-OH) is accompanied by the particle *-ašta*, whereas the one with the genitive has no particle, as is the rule for trivalent respectively bivalent *dā-*; see § 4.1.6.

4.1.2 *-za dā-*

The various uses of *-za dā-* were described by Götze (1933b: 10–12), Ciantelli (1978–79: 183–218) and Boley (1993: 55–72). The overall function of *za-* is that it refers to the Subject and stresses the involvement of the Subject in the action of the predicate.⁷ Of the various uses of *-za dā-*, the following are specially interesting for our description of the predicate *dā-* in its use with local adverbs:

4.1.2.1 *Lexical use of -za dā- + Subject and Object:*

When used in combination with the particle *-za*, the predicate *dā-*, accompanied by a Subject and an Object, shows a variety of notions, which differ from the preparatory use of the basic predicate *dā-* “to take (and use)” described in § 4.1.1, and can be explained as the result of the addition of *-za* to the predicate *dā-*.⁸ In these various nuances the overall use of the particle *-za* can be defined as referring back to the Subject and emphasizing the involvement of the Subject in the action of the predicate (§ 4.1.2):

The combination *-za dā- + Subject + inanimate Object* is attested with the meaning “to take (for oneself), to take possession of” from Old Hittite onwards:

- (245-OH) (“If someone injures a man’s head, formerly one used to give 6 shekels of silver.”) *hūninkanza 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR dāi ANA É.GAL 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR da<š>kēr* “The injured party takes 3 shekels of silver (and) for the palace one used to take 3 shekels of silver.” (“But now the king has abolished (the share) of the palace”) *nu=za hūninkanza=pat 3 GÍN d[ā][i]* “and only the injured party takes 3 shekels.”

evidence is that the one with genitive is typical of Old Hittite.

⁷ This usage “in Rückbezug auf die handelnde Person” (Götze and Pedersen 1934: 39, 75) or as “subject-resumer” (Hoffner 1973a: 521) is now generally regarded as the basic function of *-za*. In an earlier article Götze (1933b: 3–16) recognized that *-za* can be used to refer back to the Subject of the predicate, but considered this function as secondary, describing the primary function of *-za* as giving “ingressiv-perfektivischen Sinne” to the verb. Convinced by Pedersen, he later modified this opinion stating that the original function of *-za* is that it refers back to the Subject. (cf. Götze and Pedersen 1934: 39, 75 (Götze) and 80–81 (Pedersen). See also Carruba (1969: 50), Friedrich (HE § 239–244) and Boley (1993: 204–209 et passim).

⁸ See Hoffner (1973a: 521).

KBo VI 2+ I 13–15 (HG I § 9, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 18–19), transl. Hoffner (1995: 218)

- (246-MH) (“And Madduḫatta transgressed the oath (sworn) to the father of His Majesty”) *nu=za* KUR^{URU} *Arzauḫa ḫūman dāš* “and he took possession of the entire land of Arzauḫa.”
KUB XIV 1+ rev. 20 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 24–25)
- (247-MH) (“‘The land of Ḫapalla, which is a coun[try] of His majesty,’”) *[zi]g=a=uar=at kuḫat dātta* “‘why did you take it?’”
KUB XIV 1+ rev. 56 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 32–33)

In (245-OH) *dā-* alternates with *-za dā-* in the meaning “to take (for oneself), to take possession of”. The same goes for *dā-* in (247-MH), which has the same connotation as *-za dā-* in (246-MH), both being passages from the Madduḫatta text.⁹

The use of *-za dā-* + *Subject* + *inanimate Object* with the meaning “to put on one’s clothes” occurs from Old Hittite onwards:

- (248-OH) (“[W(hen it dawn)]s, they o[pe]n and dra[w u(p)] the curtain.”) [(LUGAL-*uš=za anijatta=še*)]t *dāi* “The king puts on his gear.”
KBo XVII 11+ I 31’–32’ (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 14–15), translit. Neu (1980a: 65)¹⁰

-za dā- + *Subject* + *animate Object* “to take a person (sexually), to take in marriage”:

- (249-NH) (“Because your country is uncivilized, in (your country) it is [...]”¹¹ *ŠA ŠEŠ=ŠU-za DAM=ŠU* MUNUS *ānninniḫamin daška[(nzi=pat)]*¹² “They even sexually take the (litt: his) wife of one’s brother or (his) cousin. (This is not allowed in Ḫattuša.)”
KBo V 3+ III 32–34 (CTH 42.A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 124–127) with improvements by Otten (1970: 164) and Klinger (1992: 193–194)¹³
- (250-OH+) *takku=za* Ṛ*-iš* GEME-*an dāi* “If an unfree man takes an unfree woman in marriage, (the provision of the law is the same for them.)”

⁹ See also *ibid.* obv. 50 nu DAM.MEŠ=ŠU DUMU.MEŠ=ŠU NAM.RA.ḪI.A=ŠUNU [a]ššū=ja ḫumanta=pat *dāš* “he (=Kupanta^d LAMMA) took his (Madduḫatta’s) wives, sons, deportees and all his goods”, ed. Götze (1927: 12–13).

¹⁰ With restorations from the better preserved later copy KBo XVII 74+ I 31–32 (MS B).

¹¹ KBo V 3+ III 32 (MS A) has *šu-me-in-za-an* KUR-*e dam-pu-u-pi ku-it an-da-at za[-]* *an-ŠA*. MS B (KBo XIX 44+) rev. 20–21 has [] KUR-*e dam-pu-u-pi ku-i[t an-da-a]* *za-aḫ-ḫa-an / ŠA* [ŠEŠ=ŠU etc.]. Accordingly in MS A the lacuna at the end of III 32 can be restored as *za [-aḫ-ḫa-]an ŠA*. The translation of *andan zaḫḫan* is far from clear. Otten (1970: 164) suggested “*darin/dazu ist es geprügelt*” taking *zaḫḫan* as the participle of the verb *zaḫḫ* - “to beat”.

¹² The restoration is based on MS B: KBo XIX 44+ rev. 21 [da-aš-kán]-zi-pát.

¹³ MS B indicates that *ŠA*, the last sign of line III 32, is to be connected with *ŠEŠ=ZU*; see Otten (1970: 164). Klinger (1992: 193–194) solved the problem of the interpretation of this well-known passage by showing that the sumerogram DAM “wife” is to be read here instead of NIN “sister” in the edition by Friedrich (1930a: 124–127).

KBo VI 3+ II 22 (HG I § 33, CTH 291.1B) ed. Friedrich (1959: 26–27), transl. Hoffner (1963: 35)

In the Old Hittite manuscript KBo VI 2+, *dā-* is used in stead of *-za dā-*:¹⁴

- (251-OH) *takku* Ṛ*-aš* GEME-*an dāi* “If an unfree man takes an unfree woman (and they [get children], when they divide their house, they shall divide their goods equa[lly].)”
KBo VI 2+ II 7–8 (HG I § 33, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 26–27) and Hrozný (1922: 26 n. 1, 27 n. 2), transl. von Schuler (TUAT I.1: 101) and Hoffner (1995a: 221)

-za dā- + *Subject* + *inanimate Object* “to take, to accept”:

- (252-OH+) []¹⁵ *kinun ištanzana(n)=man* UL *kuiški dāš* [*zig=a* DUMU=I]A^m *Muršili n=an=za zig dā* “[] Now nobody has accepted my will. You are my son Muršili, you must accept it. (You must keep the wor[ds] of your father.)”
KUB I 16 III 26–27 (CTH 6) ed. Sommer and Falkenstein (1938: 12–13)
- (253-MH) (“Let no one let [the soldier?] escape”) *nu=za maškan dā[i]* “and accept a bribe.”
KBo XVI 24 I 19’–20’ + KBo XVI 25 I 8’–9’ (CTH 251.A) ed. Rizzi Mellini (1979: 518–519)

The use of *dā-* instead of *-za dā-* mentioned in this section seems to be a characteristic of Old Hittite texts, an archaism only now and then showing up in a Middle Hittite text.¹⁶ The various expressions of the unity *-za dā-* all have a predicate frame with the following structure:

- (4.2) *-za dā-* + SUBJECT + OBJECT
Agent Patient

4.1.2.2 *dā-* + *Subject* + *inanimate Object* and reflexive particle *-za* “to take (and use for oneself)”

¹⁴ Ciantelli (1978–79: 6) also cited the following example from the Huqqana treaty as an instance of *dā-* used instead of *-za dā-*: *ŠEŠ=[ŠU] NIN=ŠU* MUNUS *ānninniḫamin UL [(dāi)]*, KBo V 3+ III 29 (CTH 42.A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 124–125). As shown by Otten (1970: 163), it is likely that the particle *-za* is to be read here after all: *ŠEŠ-aš=za NIN=ŠU* MUNUS *ānninniḫamin UL [(dāi)]* “A brother does not take his sister or his cousin”.

¹⁵ Sommer restored [*ḫašannaš=maš*] “of my family” without *-za*. Note that in the following *n=an=za zig dā*, the particle *-za* is used.

¹⁶ Besides the examples in the Madduḫatta text (§ 4.1.2.1) no other instances of this interchange from MH or NH historical texts are known to me. The use of the particle *-za* is on the whole more restricted in OH and even in MH texts it is occasionally missing, where one would later expect it. See Hoffner (1969 and 1973a).

In religious texts and instructions of all periods, there is often little difference in meaning between the use of *-za dā-* and preparatory *dā-* “to take (and use)” described in § 4.1.1.¹⁷ In these instances the particle *-za* seems to be used in its original function indicating that the action of the predicate takes place for the benefit of the Subject “to take (and use for oneself)”¹⁸ It should be noted that in some of these examples the function of *-za* is more manifest and indicates that the Object of *dā-* belongs to the Subject “to take (and use one’s own)”.¹⁹ Compare the following examples:

- (254-MH) ^{LÚ}MEŠEDI=ma ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA dāi “A guard takes the stool. (He leaves the palace attendants on the left.)”
IBoT I 36 IV 10–11 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 32–33)
- (255-MH) (“But if they (=the guards) follow the cart, they shall not follow holding staffs.”) ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR.ĪLA=za tanzi “They shall take their spears”.
IBoT I 36 III 48–50 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 28–29)

In (255-MH) the guards take their own spears, the spears that are part of their kit, whereas the guard in (254-MH) takes the stool that was used to seat the king on the cart.

4.1.3 *dā-* + Subject + Object + Indirect Object

In § 4.1.1 we already saw an Old Hittite example (244-OH), in which *dā-* was constructed with an Object and an Indirect Object. This construction is very common in all phases of the Hittite language:

- (256-MH) “Write to me.” datten=ma=šši=kan lē²⁰ kuitman kuitk[i]. “In the meantime do not take anything from him.”
HKM 17 left edge 4–5 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 146–147)²¹

In this construction *dā-* can be described as a predicate indicating “transfer”, which besides a Subject and an Object requires a third argument denoting the person from whom the Object is being transferred. The syntactic function of the third argument of predicates marking transfer is defined as Indirect Object, a function which is typically expressed by the dative case and is restricted to animate nouns.²² Following Allerton

¹⁷ Ciantelli (1978–79: 191–192) divides this usage of *-za dā-* into two groups, one in which *-za dā-* means “to take (and keep)” and another in which *-za dā-* is used instead of *dā-* “to take (and use)”. As admitted by Ciantelli, this distinction is very much a matter of subjective interpretation and no usable criteria are at hand; there are no differences in the construction, the use of sentence particles, or in the context of the examples.

¹⁸ Pedersen (in Götze and Pedersen 1934: 80–81) already described the original function of *-za* as that of a “dativus ethicus” of the reflexive pronoun. See § 4.1.2.1 n. 7 and Friedrich (HE § 240).

¹⁹ See Hoffner (1973a: 573)

²⁰ The use of *lē* + imperative seems to be a typical feature of the Old Hittite language; see CHD (L-N, 56). The only other example in a later text known so far is *lē paiddu* in KBo IV 10 obv. 35 (CTH 106, Tuthaliya IV) ed. van den Hout (1995: 32), alternating with *lē paizzi* in the bronze tablet Bo 86/299 II 15, ed. Otten (1988: 16).

²¹ This sentence makes good sense without the restoration of the additional verb *ḫa-at-ra-a-mi* behind *kuitk[i]* suggested by Alp.

²² This function of the dative has first been noted by Zuntz (1936: 22–23), in its use with *arḫa dā-*, and was later described by Güterbock (1943: 154). Starke (1977) convincingly showed that in Old Hittite the dative is restricted to animate nouns. For the distribution of the dative and ablative with *dā-* see further § 4.1.4.

(1982: 55), the semantic role of this constituent will be called Loser to indicate that the constituent in question is directly involved in the action of the predicate as the living being losing the Object that is removed. The predicate frame of this trivalent *dā-*, “to take from” can be formulated as:

- (4.3) *dā-*, “to take from” SUBJECT + OBJECT +INDIRECT OBJECT
 Agent Patient Loser
 animate

Not only human beings belong to the semantic category of animate nouns, but nouns denoting animals fall into this category as well.²³ It is, therefore, not surprising that we also find nouns denoting animals in the dative case with this trivalent *dā-*, albeit only in the expressions *anaḫi dā-* + dative case “to take a test sample from (an animal)” and ^{UZU}X *dā-* + dative case “to take a piece of meat from (an animal)”:

- (257-NS) *n=ašta ANA MUŠEN ^{UZU}ŠÀ dāi* “He takes the inner parts of a bird.”
KBo VII 60 rev. 8 (CTH 706.II)

So far this construction is in conformity with the structure of predicate frame (4.3). Apparently in Hittite even dead animals are conceived as animate and can therefore fulfill the function of Indirect Object with *dā-* “to take from”. The construction with *anaḫi dā-* and ^{UZU}X *dā-*, however, is more generally used with inanimate nouns indicating pieces of meat and loaves of bread:²⁴

- (258-NS) [*n=ašī*]a ^{LÚ}AZU ANA ^{UZU}GABA *anāḫi dāi* “The seer takes a test sample from the breast (part) ([and] places it in the oil.)”
KBo XIII 167 II 10 (CTH 628)
- (259-NS) (“Afterwards he breaks five thin breads and recites: ‘*ānuiš ḫaršaiš giluš tēa*’.”) *nu=kan ANA NINDA.SIG.MEŠ anāḫi dāi* “He takes a test sample from the thin breads (and dips them in the oil.)”
KBo XV 48 III 34–38 (CTH 628.IIa.A) ed. Wegner and Salvini (1991: 32, 34)

This clear-cut group of examples found in ritual and festival texts and the like forms the only exceptions to the rule that only animate nouns occur in the dative with *dā-* “to take from”.

If, in a given context, the Indirect Object is not explicitly mentioned, one always finds a sentence particle informing the reader that *dā-* + Object is to be interpreted as “to take from”; see § 4.1.6. When this construction of *dā* occurs in a sequence of clauses without sentence connectives, both the Indirect Object and the sentence particle can be omitted.²⁵

²³ See Starke (1977: 100) and Weitenberg (1987).

²⁴ For examples see Ciantelli (1978–79: 95–98 and 116–118).

²⁵ See the instances cited by Ciantelli (1978–79: 17–20). The rule she formulates, that in these cases either the dative and the sentence particle are repeated or none of the two, is challenged by examples like (261-lateNH); see § 4.1.5.

- (263-OH+) (“Formerly (cases of) bloodshed were numerous in Ḫattuša.”) *nu = uar = at = apa* DINGIR.MEŠ-*iš šallai ḫaššannai dāir*³⁴ “The gods took it out on the royal family.”
KBo III 1 II 48–49 (CTH 19.A) ed. Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935: 190–191) and Hoffmann (1984: 34–35)

Since (263-OH+) is the only example of *-apa* with *dā-*, it is hard to tell whether the function of *-apa* is similar to that of *-ašta* and *-kan* with trivalent *dā-* or another nuance is intended here. Sturtevant’s translation (1935: 191) “and the gods exacted penalty for it from the royal family” fits well into the context and can be explained as a special usage of *dā-* + Indirect Object “to take out on”. Maybe this is what is indicated by the particle *-apa* in this passage.³⁵

When *dā-* is accompanied by an Origin expression, one often finds *-ašta* or *-kan*, but there are a lot more exceptions than with the construction of *dā-* and an Indirect Object. In Old Hittite there are no examples of a sentence particle with an expression of Origin and the only examples in contemporary Middle Hittite texts, two instances in the Maṣat letters, are also without a sentence particle.³⁶

- (264-MH) (“The barley and wheat that has been planted for Tapigga, Anziliija, Ḫariija and for Ḫaninqauṣa,”) *man UL apēz datta* “had you not taken (seed) out of that (seed), (they would have sown those ploughed fields.)”
HKM 54: 8–17 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 220–221)
- (265-MH) *namma ERÍN.MEŠ šaramnit dāḫhun* “Then I took the troops away from the citadel³⁷ (and sent them to Išašpāra.)”
HKM 36: 34–36 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 184–185)

Most examples of *dā-* with an expression of Origin occur in ritual and festival texts, the majority of which are 13th-century copies of older texts, probably dating back to the Old or Middle Hittite period. In these texts we find this construction now with a sentence particle, *-kan* more often than *-ašta*, and then again without:

- (266-NS) (“The chief of table attendants enters.”) *nu = kan* [IŠ]TU GIŠBANŠUR DINGIR^{LIM} 1 NINDA *uagata[n] dāi* “From the table of the god he takes

³⁴ Hoffmann (1984: 35) takes *da-a-i-ir* as a form of the verb *dai-*: “und die Götter haben sie (die Bluttat) auf die Königssippe gelegt”. In that case the original opposition of *da-a-i-ir* (*da-a-i-ir*), belonging to *dā-*, with *da-i-ir*, a form of *dai-*, would be lost here. See Neu (1974b: 259–260).

³⁵ For other interpretations of *-apa* in this passage see Ciantelli (1988–93), Kammenhuber (HW², A: 129) and Josephson (1972: 327–28).

³⁶ For the Old Hittite situation see the remark by Otten and Souček (1969: 83).

³⁷ The precise meaning of *šaram(a)n-*, with the ablative *šaramnaz* and the instrumental *šaramnit* is uncertain. According to Alp (1979) *šaramna-* is the Hittite word for “palace”. The more literal translation “partie supérieure, citadel” has been proposed by Grélois (1988: 126). If *šaramnaz* is indeed a noun and not an adverb, as suggested by Friedrich (HW: 184, HW 3.Erg: 28), this would be the first example of an instrumental marking separation in a contemporary Middle Hittite text. Till now no certain examples were known of “Instrumentals of Separation” in originals texts from the three successive phases of the Hittite language. Cf. Melchert (1977: 426).

one wagata-bread (and he gives it to the chief of smiths of (the city of) Arinna. He goes back and prostrates himself and he goes outside.)”
KUB II 6 V 36–43 (CTH 598.1A)

- (267-NS) *ta IŠTU* GIŠBANŠUR DINGIR^{LIM} 1 NINDA *uagatan dāi* “From the table of the god he takes one wagata-bread.”
KUB X 28 I 11–12 (CTH 598.1C)

From the fact that this construction of *dā-* is attested with and without accompanying sentence particle, Ciantelli (1978–79: 135–137) concluded that the use of *-ašta* and *-kan* is optional with this construction, a matter of style rather than syntax. It is, however, also possible that the habit to add a sentence particle to a sentence with *dā-* and an expression of Origin is a later, New Hittite, development. In that case the irregular use of the sentence particles in ritual and festival texts is a remnant of the older language, one of many archaic features reflecting the Old Hittite or Middle Hittite origin of these texts. Note in this respect also the use of the sentence connective *ta* in (267-NS).³⁸

Whereas the use of *-ašta* and *-kan* is compulsory in all phases of the Hittite language in sentences of *dā-* and a dative case, this habit only started later, and maybe never was obligatory, when *dā-* is used with the ablative case. The explanation for this variance can be found in the diverse functions of both cases. The most common function of the ablative case is to mark separation.³⁹ When *dā-* is accompanied by a noun in the ablative, this noun is interpreted as the Origin from which something is taken. The notion of removal expressed by *dā-* and an ablative case can be emphasized by adding the sentence particles *-ašta* or *-kan*, but is also apparent without these. The dative case, however, has a wider range of semantic functions, so that in this construction with *dā-* the sentence particles are needed to indicate that the predicate is expressing removal and means “to take from”, therewith identifying the semantic function of the constituent in the dative case as Loser.

Finally it should be remarked that in cases of asyndeton, the force of a sentence particle from a previous clause carries over; see Hoffner (1973a: 526). An example of this habit can be found in (261-lateNH) treated in § 4.1.5, where we find a sequence of clauses with *dā-* governing an Indirect Object and an Origin expression in partitive apposition, of which only the first clause has the particle *-kan*.

The sentence particles *-ašta* and *-kan* are also found in sentences with *dā-* and an Object. In these cases we are not dealing with bivalent *dā-* “to take, to fetch” (4.1), but with instances of trivalent *dā-* “to take from, to take out of”:

- (268-OH) *ta* DUGTU₇ -ša šaliga UZU₇ *ušta dāi* “He approaches the bowl and out (of it) he takes the (piece of) thigh-bone (and throws it back into the bowl and he runs (off).)”
KBo XVII 43 I 15’–16’ (CTH 744.18) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)

³⁸ The Old Hittite sentence connective *ta* is not found in Middle Hittite or New Hittite historical texts; see Melchert (1977: 19). As remarked by Weitenberg (1992: 309) in later Hittite “*ta* is used nearly exclusively in ritual texts, presumably as a stylistic device”.

³⁹ See Melchert (1977: 423 et passim).

- (269-MH) (“Concerning the matter of the troops of Išḫupitta about which you wrote to me:”) III ME ÉRIN.MEŠ = *ua* = *kan* *da[h]h[u]n* “‘I took 300 soldiers away (from them).’”
HKM 36: 29–31 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 184–185)
- (270-MH) (“See, whatever the servant has taken for herself and has stolen,”) *n* = *ašta* *apātt* = *a* III-ŠU *dā* “take away three times (the amount of) that too (and s[end] it to me.)”
HKM 30: 23-left edge 2 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 174–175)

In these examples the particles *-kan* and *-ašta* indicate that *dā-* is to be translated as “to take from, to take out of”. The animate or inanimate entity from which something is taken away is not explicitly mentioned, but has to be supplied from the preceding clause. This use of *-kan* and *-ašta* has been described as “anaphoric”, since their function can be understood as referring to the previous clause. In (268-OH), for instance, the particle *-ašta* refers to the inanimate noun ^{DUG}TU₇ and in (269-MH) *-kan* points back to the animate noun ÉRIN.MEŠ ^{URU}Išḫupitta.⁴⁰ These instances of anaphoric use of *-kan* and *-ašta* are in fact cases of absolute use of trivalent *dā-* “to take from” (4.3 and 4.4), in which the third constituent, be it the Indirect Object or the Origin expression, has to be supplied from the preceding clause. There are also examples in which *dā-* clearly means “to take away”, but where no indication is given in the context, whether *-kan* and *-ašta* refer to an animate or an inanimate noun. In (270-MH), for instance, *ašta dā* can be interpreted as “take away (from her)” or as “take away (from that)”. In these cases there is no need to choose, since practically speaking both translations amount to the same action.⁴¹

The following example has a more complex structure:

- (271-OH) (“A palace attendant takes the tongue of iron from the mouth(s) of the king and queen”) *kalulupi(t)* = *šmit* = *ašta* *išg[ara]nta dāi* “(and) he takes away what is attached to their fingers (and places them in their hands.)”
KBo XVII 1 + I 18’–20’ (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 18–21), translit. Neu (1980a: 6)

Otten and Souček (1969: 21) translated (271-OH) as “Und (zwar) nimmt er mit ihren Fingern das ‘Festgesteckte’ weg”. The interpretation of *kalulupit* = *šmit* as “with their fingers” raises many problems of interpretation.⁴² One cannot suppose that a palace attendant first takes the tongues of iron out of the mouths of the king and queen and that he then uses the fingers of the king and queen to remove the items from the tongues. Ciantelli (1978: 128–129) proposes to take *kalupi(t)* = *šmit* as an instrumental marking

⁴⁰ For this anaphoric use of particles see the discussion of Zuntz (1936), Pedersen (1938) and Carruba (1985) in § 1.1 and Ciantelli (1978–79: 167–176).

⁴¹ See also HKM 45 lower edge 16 ÉRIN.MEŠ-*ia-kán* *da-at-tén* “Take the troops away (from them or from there)”. In Alp’s edition (1991b: 174–175, 184–185, 198–199) these examples are all translated as regular cases of bivalent *dā-* without a sentence particle.

⁴² In this interpretation the instrumental is an Adjunct of Means, which is the basic function of the instrumental in Hittite; see Melchert (1977: 174, 422).

separation “aus ihren Fingern”. Although easy and simple this solution is not very probable in case of an original Old Hittite text. First of all there are no solid cases of instrumentals expressing separation in Old Hittite and secondly no construction of *dā-* with an Origin expression is ever accompanied by a sentence particle in original texts from this period.⁴³ Melchert (1977: 166–168) suggested that one should not construe the instrumental *kalulupi(t)* = *šmit* with the main predicate *dā-*, but with the participle *išgaranta*: “what is fastened to / on / around their fingers”. Unfortunately there are no direct parallels for *išgar-* governing a Complement in the instrumental meaning “to fasten or to attach to”, but there are other verbs, for instance *takš-*, “to fasten, to put together” and *immiya-*, “mix, blend” that are constructed with a dative-locative and with an instrumental case.⁴⁴ (271-OH), then, supplies us with an Old Hittite example of anaphoric *-ašta* added to a construction of *dā-* with the Object constituent *išgaranta*. Note that *-ašta dā-* can be understood as “to take away (from them)” and as “to take away (from their fingers)”.

In cases of a sequence of clauses with trivalent constructions without sentence connectives, the sentence particle can be omitted; see (261-lateNH) in § 4.1.5.⁴⁵

4.2 Constructions with local adverbs belonging to the predicate *dā-*

The local adverbs treated in this section are all dependent on the predicate *dā-*. Sometimes the addition of the local adverb to the predicate *dā-* results in a new construction that is not attested with the basic predicate *dā-* (*anda*, *āppa*) or *-za dā-* (*anda*, *arḫa*), but in most cases the influence of the local adverb is limited to the semantics of the predicate, with some local adverbs more manifest (*katta*, *šara*, *parā*) than with others (*arḫa*). Since sentence particles are also found with constructions of the basic predicate *dā-*, the effect of the local adverb on the use of sentence particles is less conspicuous than with the predicates of motion treated in ch. 2–3, though not altogether absent.

4.2.1 *anda dā-*

The local adverb *anda* is only sporadically attested in combination with *dā-*. There are no certain Old Hittite examples of *anda* + *dā-* and only two complete later ones.⁴⁶ In the

⁴³ For the function of the instrumental case in Old Hittite see Melchert (1977: 162–174) and § 4.1.6 with n. 42. The absence of sentence particles with *dā-* with Origin expression has been discussed earlier in this section.

⁴⁴ The closest parallel for the construction suggested by Melchert is KUB XXXI 1 + KBo III 16 II 7’–8’ (CTH 311.2A, OH+) *mān paizzi išpannit iškarḫi* ^{URUDU}*tapulliannit* = *a kuērzi* “When he goes (away) I will impale (him) on a spit and he will cut him with a *tapulli*.” Although it is obvious to interpret both *išpannit* and ^{URUDU}*tapulliannit* as Adjuncts of Means, see Güterbock (1938: 53) and Puhvel (HED, Vol. 2, 416), it is also possible that *išpannit* is governed by *išgar-*, like in English “to impale on a spit” and Dutch, “aan het spit steken”, “aan een spies rijgen”.

⁴⁵ This is in agreement with the observation by Hoffner (1973a: 526) that in these cases “sentence enclitics” carry over.

⁴⁶ A possible Old Hittite example is discussed in § 4.4.1. Other examples are too fragmentary to decide whether they belong to the paradigm of *dā-* or that of *dai-*. Ciantelli (1978–79: 230) quoted KUB XXXI 127 + I 4–5 (CTH 372.A), but this is no evidence for *anda* + *dā-*. In stead of *zik* = *pat ḫandanza anda genzu daškiši*, see ed. Güterbock (1958: 241), one has to read: *zi-ik-pát ḫa-an-da-an-za* DINGIR-uš (sic) *ge-en-zu-ú da-aš-ki-ši* “You alone are a just god, you alone are having mercy”. In a later article Güterbock corrected this

following instance we have an example of *-za anda dā-* accompanied by an inanimate noun in the dative-locative:

- (272-NH) ANA KUR.KUR URU *Hatti=ma=za=kan* ZAG.ĤIA ANA ZAG.ĤIA [*a(nda da)hḫun* “To the *Hatti* lands I added territory to territory. (Those (kings), who were enemies at the time of my fathers and forefathers, concluded peace with me.)”
StBoT 24: IV 57–59 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 26–27)

In (272-NH) the local adverb *anda* is added to the predicate *-za dā-* “to take possession of” (§ 4.1.2.1) changing both its meaning and construction. In the combination *-za anda dā-* “to (take and) add to” a third constituent is needed indicating the thing to which something is added. This constituent is marked twice, first by ANA KUR.KUR URU *Hatti* and then again by ANA ZAG.ĤIA. These nouns coinciding in case form and in function are in partitive apposition, the first denoting the whole and the second the part.⁴⁷ Accordingly, this instance can also be translated as “I added territory to the territory of the *Hatti* lands”

The following passage from the Instructions for the *Bēl Madgalti* is also likely to be an example of *anda dā-*.⁴⁸

- (273-MH+) “Inside (sc. in the fortress) nobody (is supposed to) light a fire and into the walls no cattle, sheep,⁴⁹ horse, mule (or) donkey is admitted”.)
arahzenašš=a=kan anturijašš=a ANA AN.ZA.GÀR GIŠ^{SU} GIŠ^{GIŠ} *zupparu anda lē kuiš[k]i dāi* “Let no one take (fire)wood (or) a torch into both outer and inner towers.”
KUB XXXI 86+ 1203/u II 23'–27' (CTH 261.2) ed. von Schuler (1957: 43–44) and Otten (1971: 46)

The above translation follows von Schuler's (1957: 44) “nehme niemand hinein”, which seems to fit well in with the previous line, where we find a stipulation about animals that are not to be brought inside the walls. In this interpretation, the combination *anda dā-* is used here with the meaning “to take into” and governs the expression of Direction *arahzenašš=a=kan anturijašš=a* ANA AN.ZA.GÀR “into both outer and inner towers”. This *anda dā-* is comparable with combinations like *anda peda-* “to carry into” or *pehute-* “to lead into”, which also govern an expression of Direction and have a sentence particle.⁵⁰ A translation “Let no one place (fire)wood (or) a torch in the towers, which one would get when taking *da-a-i* for a form of *dai-* “to place”, seems less suited to this context.

older reading (1980: 43).

⁴⁷ This construction was treated in § 4.1.5. Cf. Friedrich (HE; § 213).

⁴⁸ See Ciantelli (1978–79: 230).

⁴⁹ Laroche (1957: 127) emended von Schuler's reading *BELU* to *GU₄ UDU*.

⁵⁰ See the treatment of *anda pehute-* in § 5.3, p. 148.

4.2.2 *arḫa dā-*⁵¹

The combination *arḫa dā-* “to take away from” is attested with various constructions of the basic predicate *dā-* and always shows a sentence particle, *-kan* more frequently than *-ašta*.⁵² First and foremost *arḫa dā-* is found with an Indirect Object:

- (274-MH) *n=aṇ=ši=kan arḫa dā* “Take it away from him”.
HKM 84 left edge a:3 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 282–283)
- (275-MH) (“Whatever guard (is) of high rank”) *nu=šši=kan* GIŠ^{GIŠ} *GIDRU arḫa dāi* “takes the staff away from him.”
IBoT I 36 I 23–24 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 6–7)

There is one broken example of *arḫa dā-* in an Old Hittite original, which possibly shows the same construction.⁵³

- (276-OH) [] *ūlānuš ḫūm[an]daš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš arḫa dā[u][e]ni* “We will take away the pieces of clay [] from all the gods.”
KBo XIX 156+ II 16 (CTH 752.1A) translit. Neu (1980a: 222)

A few isolated instances have the particle *-šan* instead of the regular sentence particles *-ašta* or *-kan*.⁵⁴ The local adverb *arḫa* is also attested with *dā-* in combination with an expression of Origin:

- (277-NS) *n=ašta* GAL DUMU.É.GAL II NINDA.GUR₄.RA GIŠ^{GIŠ} *BANŠUR-az arḫa dāi* “The chief of palace attendants takes two thick breads away from the table.”
KUB II 13 I 59–60 (CTH 591.5A)

In contrast with the basic predicate *dā-* with an Origin expression (§ 4.1.4), this construction of *arḫa dā-* is always accompanied by a sentence particle.

Also the combination of an Indirect Object and an expression of Origin in partitive apposition is found with *arḫa dā-*; see (302-NS) in § 4.2.6.

Sometimes *arḫa dā-* only occurs with an Object. In these cases the third argument, indicating the person from whom or the thing from which something is removed, can be supplied from the context:

⁵¹ The use of the local adverb *arḫa* with *dā-* has already been treated by Zuntz (1936: 22–23).

⁵² An example of *arḫa dā-* with *-šan* is cited as (302-NS) in § 4.2.6. In the Horsetraining text of Kikkuli *arḫa dā-* occurs without a sentence particle; see for instance (300-MH+) and (301-MH+) in § 4.2.6. In this text *-kan* is regularly omitted where one would expect it. See Zuntz (1936: 108), Kammenhuber (1952: 84 and 1961: 332) and Neu (1986: 159).

⁵³ This instance is further discussed in § 5.2.

⁵⁴ See e.g. KUB IX 27+ I 23–24 *nu=šši=šan* GIŠ^{GIŠ} *ḫūša[n] GIŠ^{GIŠ} ḫūlaliḫa arḫa d[a]ḫḫi* “I take the spindle and distaff away from him” (CTH 406, NS), ed. Hoffner (1987: 272, 277) and (302-NS) in § 4.2.6.

- (278-NH) ^{URU} *Hattušan=ma kuin [(pē harta n=an=kan arha)] dahhun*
 “The (inhabitants of) Hattuša, which he had with him, I took away
 (from him) (and I resettled them all.)”
 StBoT 24: II 26–27 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 12–13)

These cases of absolute use of *arha dā-*, with sentence particle, are comparable with the examples of *dā-* with an Object and “anaphoric” sentence particle treated in § 4.1.6.

The influence of *arha* on the meaning of *dā-* is rather modest, a difference comparable with that between “to take away from” and “to take from”. With regard to the use of sentence particles it can be observed, that *arha* is responsible for the, now mandatory, use of *-kan* or *-ašta* in the construction with Origin expression.

The combination *arha dā-* is also attested with the particle *-za*. In the following instance the combination *-za arha dā-* is used with an expression of Origin:

- (279-NH) (“They lead (that) one prisoner and (that) one woman in front of him (=the king.)” *nu=za=kan NÍ.TE=ŠU^{TUG} NÍG.LAM.MEŠ arha dāi* “He takes off (his) garments from his body (and they clothe the man with them.)”
 KBo XV 1 I 9–11 (CTH 407.A) ed. Kümmel (1967: 112–113)

Here *-za arha dā-*, “to take off one’s clothes”, seems to denote the opposite of the expression *-za dā-* “to put on one’s clothes” (§ 4.1.2.1). In (280-NS) the enclitic personal pronoun *-šmaš* is used as a reflexive pronoun replacing the particle *-za*.⁵⁵

- (280-NS) (“When the days of conciliation arrive and when in the city a statue of the son of the Stormgod or a temple of the son of the Stormgod is present, then the priests and the “mothers of god” wash themselves.”)
KILILU=ma=šmaš=kan SAG.DU-az arha dānzi “They take off the circlets from their heads (and they enwrap their heads with white headbands.)”
 KUB IX 15 II 24–III 3 (CTH 456.1A) ed. Souček (1963: 375–376)

In these examples the particle *-za* indicates that a piece of clothing or the like is taken away from the Subject, whereas the part of the body from where it is taken is explicitly denoted by the Origin expressions *NÍ.TE=ŠU* and *SAG.DU-az*. In the following example we find *arha* with a somewhat different use of *-za dā-*:

- (281-NS) (“When in Hattuša a great loss occurs, on which occasion either the king or the queen becomes a god,”) *nu=za=kan hūmanza šalliš ammijan*
^{GI} *ŠULPATE^{MEŠ}=ŠUNU arha danzi* “everyone great (and) small removes their drinking-straws’ (and starts to mourn.)”
 KUB XXX 16+ KUB XXXIX 1 I 1–5 (CTH 450.1A) ed. Otten (1958: 18–19)

⁵⁵ See Souček (1963: 376). The translation of this example by Zuntz (1936:22) “den Kranz aber nehmen sie ihnen vom Kopf weg” is not correct in the present context. For the use of datives of the enclitic personal pronoun instead of the particle *-za* see Friedrich (HE § 139). There are no examples of the use in Old Hittite originals. For the replacement of *-za* by the enclitic personal pronoun in nominal sentences see Hoffner (1973a: 521).

Here the combination *-za arha dā-* simply seems to mean “to take away something from oneself” or “to take away something (that is one’s own)”. In this use *-za arha dā-* can be described as the opposite of *za dā-*, “to take (for oneself), to take (one’s own)”; see § 4.1.2.2.⁵⁶ It is not surprising that we do not find an Indirect Object or an expression of Origin with this use of *-za arha dā-*, as one would expect with combinations of *arha* and *dā-*, since the particle *-za* indicates that the person from whom something is taken away is the Subject.

4.2.3 *katta dā-*

The local adverb *katta* is attested with *dā-* in two different constructions. It occurs in the expression *zahhiaz katta dā-* + Object and *-kan*, “to take down in battle”:

- (282-NH) *nu=kan^{URU} Aripšan^{URU} Dukkamann=a zahhiaz katta dahhun* “I tore down Aripša and Dukkama in battle. (The deportees, which I, My Majesty, led back to the palace, (were 3000 (in number).)”
 KBo III 4 IV 39–41 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 134–137)

In this construction *katta dā-* “to take down, to tear down, to destroy” is comparable with predicates like *harnink-* and *harganu-*. The ablative *zahhiaz* functions as an Adjunct of Manner.

With the literal meaning “to take down”, *katta dā-* is found with an expression of Origin:

- (283-NS) (“Then they give the effigy on the sitting chariot to drink. (...))” *n=ašta*
^{ALAM} *İSTU^{GIŠ} GIGIR ašannaš katta danzi* “Then they take the effigy down from the sitting chariot. (On forehand a tent has been put up on that same spot and they carry (it) into the tent.)”
 KUB XXX 24 II 8–9, 12–14 (CTH 450) ed. Otten (1958: 60–61)

In this use *katta dā-*, “to take down from” denotes the opposite of *šarā dā-*, “to take up from, to lift up out of”; see § 4.2.4. In all instances of this construction with Origin expression the particle *-ašta* is present.

4.2.4 *šarā dā-*

The local adverb *šarā* is found with the three constructions of the basic predicate *dā-* and shows the same pattern in the use of sentence particles.

When combined with an Object, *šarā dā-* expresses several nuances, all of which are also present in the english compound verb “to take up”. As in the case of bivalent *dā-*, no sentence particle is used. As illustrated by (284-MH), *šarā dā-* can be used in the literal sense “to take up, to lift up”:⁵⁷

⁵⁶ For a similar example see KUB LVII 79 rev IV 36 *n=[aī]=za=kan arha dā[i]* “He takes it away from himself”. This text belongs to the Hantitaššu-ritual (CTH 395.1D); see van den Hout (1990: 428).

⁵⁷ This instance was cited by Boley (1989: 281).

- (284-MH) *nu laḥḥurnuḫi* [Q]ADU NINDA.KUR₄.RA.ḪI.A *tūrupuṣṣa* = *a šarā dāi* “He takes up the *laḥḥurnuḫi* together with the thick breads and the *turuppa*-breads (and places them in front of the statues.)”
KBo XV 10+ II 28–29 (CTH 443) ed. Szabó (1971: 24–25)

In this case the Object depending on *šarā dā-* is always an inanimate noun. When found in a military context it is used in the sense of “to take along” or “to carry along” as booty⁵⁸

- (285-NH) (“Because Arma-Tarḫunta was a blood-relative of mine (and) in addition he was an old man, he aroused my pity and I let him off. (...)”) [A.ŠA = *m(a takšan šarran šar)*] *ā dahḥun* “However, I took along half [of (his) estate] (and gave it back again to Arma-Tarḫunta.)”
StBoT 24: III 25–26, 29–30 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 18–19)
- (286-NH) (“And I burned down the country of Piggainarešša”) *īṣTU NAM.RA = ma = at GU₄ UDU šarā dahḥun* “and I took it along together with deportees, cattle (and) sheep (and brought them back home to Ḫattuša.)”
KBo III 4 IV 30–32 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 128–131)

In combination with an Object denoting a human being *šarā dā-* can have a favorable connotation and mean “to take up (into one’s care), to adopt”:

- (287-NH) (Thus (speaks) His Majesty Šuppiluliuma, king of Ḫatti land:”) *kāša tuk* ^m*Ḫuqqanān appezzin* UR.GI₇-*an šarā dahḥun* “See I took you up, Ḫuqqana, an underdog (litt: rearmost dog).⁵⁹ (and I treated you well.)”
KBo V 3+ I 1–5 (CTH 42.A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 106–107)
- (288-NH) (“And Muḫattalli, my brother, honoured Mittannamuḫa and pushed him forward and gave him Ḫattuša. Also my good will towards him was evident.”) ^m*Puranda-A.A-an = ma DUMU* ^m*Mittannamūḫa daš* “But he took Purandamuḫa, the son of Mittannamuḫa, (and made him chief of scribes. After my brother had become a god.)” ^m*Urḫi-^dU-upan = ma DUMU* *šeš = IA šarā dahḥun* “I took up Urḫiteššup, my nephew, (and installed him in kingship.)”
KBo IV 12 obv. 15–21 (CTH 87) ed. Götze (1925: 42–43)

Note that in the first Hittite sentence of (288-NH) *dā-* “to take” is used with the connotation of *šarā dā-* “to take up (into one’s care)”, which is found in the second Hittite

sentence.⁶⁰ This use of the basic predicate with a notion otherwise belonging to a combination of the predicate with a local adverb can be compared with the feature of *simplex pro composito* in Latin grammar. The same phenomenon is attested with *parā dā-* in (298-NH) in § 4.2.6. In these instances *dā-* is constructed with an animate Object, whereas in “regular” instances of bivalent *dā-* “to take (and use), the Object is always an inanimate noun; see § 4.1.1.

On the other hand *šarā dā-* can be used in the sense of “to arrest a person”; cf. English “to take up a person” and Dutch “iemand oppakken”:

- (289-NH) (“If one of his servants revolts against Kupanta-^dLAMMA and he comes to you,”) *n = an šarā dā* “you have to take him up (and give him back to Kupanta-^dLAMMA.)”
KUB XIX 6+ III 40–42 (CTH 76.A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 72–73)

There is one instance of *-za šara dā-* with an Object and *-kan*:

- (290-MH+) (“But if some shepherd or cowherd contrives deception on the road and exchanges the fattened ox or sheep”) *nu = za = kan ḫappar šarā dāi*. “and he scoops (up) payment.”
KUB XIII 4 IV 63–64 (CTH 264.A) ed. Sturtevant (1934: 396–397) and Sturtevant and Bechtel (1935: 166–167)

The context suggests that in this isolated example of *-za šara dā-* the literal translation “to take up for oneself” must be understood in the negative sense of “to scoop (up)” payment above one’s regular wages.⁶¹ Elsewhere in this text the expression *za dā-*, “to take (for oneself)” is used; see § 4.1.2.1.⁶² The presence of *-kan* is somewhat surprising, since neither bivalent *šarā dā-* nor *-za dā-* has a sentence particle. In another manuscript *-za šer dā-* is used with this notion of *-za šarā dā-*; see (295-MH+) in § 4.2.5.

The combination *šarā dā-*, “to take up from, to lift up out of” is also attested with an Origin expression and the sentence particle *-ašta* or *-kan*:

- (291-NS) (“They take the bones with a silver *lappa* and they put them into perfumed oil in a silver *ḫappar*-vessel.”) *īṣTU* *l.DÜG.GA = ma = at = kan šarā daškanzi* “They lift them up out of the perfumed oil (and place them on a *gazzarnuli*-cloth.)”
KUB XXX 15+ obv. 3–5 (CTH 450.1A₁) ed. Otten (1958: 66–67)

This construction of *šarā dā-* is already found in Old Hittite. Like in the corresponding construction of the basic predicate *dā-*, no sentence particle is used:

⁵⁸ This use of *šarā dā* is frequently attested in the Annals of king Muṣṣili II and described by Goetze in the index of his edition (1933a: 311) as “aufnehmen (um an einen anderen Ort zu bringen)”. This description does not apply to all instances of *šarā dā-* in the Annals of Muṣṣili II. See, for instance, *nu = ya = tta ABU = IA šarā dāš* “and my father took you up” KUB XIV 15 IV 39, ed. Götze (1933a: 72–73).

⁵⁹ The reading *appezzin* UR.GI₇-*an* “letzter Hund” was proposed by Eichner, in an unpublished lecture at the Pavia conference of 1993, instead of UR.SAG-*an*. See Klinger (1992: 192 + n. 42). The traditional reading *appezzin* UR.SAG-*an* was translated by Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 92) as “a down-at-the-heels paladin”.

⁶⁰ The same alternation of *šarā dā-* with *dā-* can be found in KUB I 1+ IV 62 and *ibid.* IV 64–65 (CTH 81), ed. Otten (1981: 28–29). See also Götze (1930b: 32, 36) and Ciantelli (1978–79: 3).

⁶¹ Cf. the Dutch expression “geld opstrijken”.

⁶² See e.g. KUB XIII 4 I 48–49 *nu = šmaš šumeš LÚ.MEŠ É DINGIR^{LIM} ḫappar daškatteni* “and (if) you, temple officials, take payment (for yourself)”, where the enclitic personal pronoun *-šmaš* is used instead of *-za*. See n. 55 ad (280-NS) in § 4.2.2.

- (292-OH) [DING]IR.DIDLI-š=a DUMU.MEŠ-uš A.AB.BA-az šarā dāir “The gods, however, lifted the children up from the sea (and brought them up.)” KBo XXII 2 obv. 4–5 (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 6–7)

Instances of absolute use are attested from Old Hittite onwards:

- (293-OH) [(“Three thick breads and a libation of *marnuan* are lying (there already). (...))” *t=uš=(š)ta šarā tumēni* “We lift these up. (The king and queen are (present).)” KBo XVII 3+ IV 20, 22 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 38–39), translit. Neu (1980a: 17)

The presence of *-ašta* indicates that we are dealing with the construction of *šarā dā-* “to take up from”. The place from where the Object is lifted up is not explicitly mentioned. There are a few instances of *šarā dā-*. “to take up from, to take along from” with a dative marking the Indirect Object:

- (294-NS) (“[The]n I went to Zalpa [and] destroyed [i]t”) *nu=šši DINGIR.MEŠ=šU šarā dahhun* “and its gods I took along from there.” KBo X 2 I 9–10 (CTH 4) ed. Imparati (1965: 44–45), transl. Kümmel (TUAT I.5: 459–460)

The fact that no sentence particle is present here is remarkable. Even in original Old Hittite texts, this construction of *dā-* with an Indirect Object as a rule has *-ašta* or *-kan* and similar later examples also have *-kan*.⁶³ Note that in (294-NS) the personal pronoun *-ši* resumes the inanimate place name ^{URU}Zalpa.⁶⁴

4.2.5 *-za šer dā-*

There is only one example of the combination *-za šer dā-*, with Object and *-kan*:

- (295-MH+) *nu=za=kan ŠAM šer datteni* “and you scoop (up) payment.” KUB XIII 6 II 8 (CTH 264.B) ed. Sturtevant (1934: 372–373)

This use of *-za šer dā-* coincides in construction and meaning with the expression *-za šara dā-* with Object and *-kan*, which is used in a passage from a parallel manuscript of this text cited in § 4.2.4 as (290-MH+).⁶⁵ In both expressions the literal meaning “to take up for oneself”, has the negative connotation “to scoop (up)” payment above one’s regular wages. The combinations *-za šarā dā-* and *-za šer dā-* are both accompanied by the particle *-kan*.

⁶³ See e.g. ^{UZU}ŠA=[ŠU]NU=ja=šmaš=kan šarā dāi “Their innerparts I took (up) out of these” KUB XLV 47+ II 15 (CTH 494, MH). Here *-šmaš* refers to dead birds. Similarly KBo V 1 III 14–15 (CTH 476, NS).

⁶⁴ The same expression is found further on in the same text *āššu=ma=šši šarā dahhun* KBo X 2 I 19–20. There *-ši* refers back to the plural KUR.KUR.MEŠ of I 19. See also (105-NS) in § 3.2.3 and Güterbock (1983).

⁶⁵ A third manuscript again has *-za šer dā-*: *[nu=za=kan ŠA]M šer datteni* KUB XIII 5 II 25 (CTH 264.C).

4.2.6 *parā dā-*

Like *šarā dā-* in § 4.2.4, the combination *parā dā-* is attested with the three constructions of the basic predicate *dā-* and shows the same pattern in the use of sentence particles.⁶⁶ The construction of *parā dā-* + Object is found from Old Hittite onwards. The object can be both an inanimate and an animate noun:

- (296-OH) *ū 1 kapunu A.ŠA parā dāš* “and a field of one *kapunu* he picked out.” KBo XXII 1: 14’–15’ (CTH 272) ed. Archi (1974: 46–47)

- (297-NH) (“and (the Egyptian queen) wrote to him thus: ‘My husband died. I do not have a son, but they say you have many sons. If you were to give me one of your sons, he would become my husband.’” *İR=IA=ma=ua nūyān parā dahhi* “‘I do not want to pick out a subject of mine (and make him my husband.)’” KBo V 6 III 10–15 (CTH 40. IVA) ed. Güterbock (1956: 94), transl. CHD (L-N: 471–472)

The meaning of *parā dā-* in this construction can be described as “to take, to pick out, to select”. Note that no sentence particles are used here. In (298-NH) below we find a direct report of the statement in (297-NH), made earlier in the same text. This time the basic predicate *dā-* is used instead of the combination *parā dā-*.⁶⁷

- (298-NH) (“‘He who was my husband has died on me. I do not have a son.’” *İR=IA=ma=ua nūman dahhi* “‘I do not want to take a subject of mine.’” KBo V 6 IV 4–6 (CTH 40. IVA) ed. Güterbock (1956: 96); transl. CHD (L-N: 471–472)

Another construction found with *parā dā-* is with Indirect Object:

- (299-MH) *n=an=ši=kan parā dā* “Take it away from him (and send it to me.)” HKM 94: 5’–6’ (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 296–297)

In this construction with an Indirect Object, *parā dā-* “to take away from, to take out of” is very similar in meaning to *arha dā-* “to take away from”. In the following passages from the Kikkuli text *parā dā-* alternates with *arha dā-*.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ See also the earlier treatment of *parā dā-* by Zuntz (1936: 70–71).

⁶⁷ This feature, which can be described as “*simplex pro composito*”, is also attested with *šarā dā-*; see the discussion ad (288-NH) in § 4.2.4. In the case of *parā dā-* the *compositum* is already attested in Old Hittite.

⁶⁸ According to Kammenhuber (1952: 85–86) the local adverb *parā* and *arha* are neatly kept distinct in the Kikkuli-text. In her opinion, *parā dā* in (300-MH+) is used to denote the removal of the bridle, the older type of which supposedly had a mouthpiece attached to it, out of the mouth of the horse, while *arha* is used to describe the removal of the covers from the back of the horse. The use of *arha* in (301-NH+) and elsewhere in tablet III and IV of this text would be caused by the presence of TUG.ḪI.A in the same phrase, the removal of which cannot be adequately described by means of *parā dā-*.

- (300-MH+) (“[But when the horses per]spir[e]⁶⁹ and their sweat] [c]omes,”)
nu=[š] *m*[aš^{KUŠ} KIR₄.TAB.ANŠE *p*] *arā danz*[i *nu*=š*maš* TÚG.ĤIA⁷⁰] *arḥa danz*[i “they take away from them (their) bridle and they take away from them (their) blankets.”
 KUB I 13+ II 22–23 (CTH 284.I) ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 60–61)

In tablet III and IV this same action is described by means of *arḥa dā-*, again without a sentence particle:

- (301-MH+) *nu*=š*maš*^{KUŠ} KIR₄.TAB.ANŠE TÚG.ĤIA=*ia arḥa danzi* “and they take away from them (their) bridle and blankets”.
 KBo III 2 obv¹. 27 (CTH 284.IV) ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 130–131)

As a rule the presence of *-kan* or *-ašta* is expected with *parā dā-* and an Indirect Object. As shown by Kammenhuber (1952: 84 and 1961: 332), the omission of *-kan* in constructions where one would expect it, is a peculiarity of the Kikkuli text.

We also find *parā dā-* with an Indirect Object and an expression of Origin in partitive apposition:

- (302-NS) (“Then what black shirt he has put on, the old woman tears from him from top to bottom,⁷¹”) TÚG.GADA.DAM GE₆=*ia*=š*i*=š*an* ĠIR-az *parā dāi* *išTU* GEŠTU.ĤIA=*šU*-ta=*š*i=*š*an^{SIG} *eḥuratiuš* GE₆^{TIM} *arḥa dāi* “and she takes the black gaiters away from his feet and she takes out of (or: from) his ears the black woollen stuffing (and she speaks as follows:)”
 KUB VII 53 + KUB XII 58 II 41–45 (CTH 409.A) ed. Goetze (1938: 14–15)

In this example the meaning of *parā dā-* and *arḥa dā-* are again very similar. In the edition by Goetze (1938: 17) the alternation *parā* / *arḥa* is rendered by “to draw off” as opposed to “to take out of”. The interpretation of *arḥa dā-* in (302-NS) as “to take out of” or “to take away from” totally depends on the interpretation of the unclear^{SIG} *eḥuratiuš*, whether it is something that is put in or around the ears of the horse. The use of the sentence particle *-š*an is exceptional, both with *parā dā-* and with *arḥa dā-*.⁷²

There are also examples of absolute use, with *-kan*:

- (303-NS⁷³) (“[If the] child⁷⁴ dies in the birth-stool⁷⁵, then the *p*[atili]-priests take up⁷⁶] the child, and they take him to a different spot. And [as are thei]r [instructions], so they treat him. And the birth-stool⁷⁷ they take. [And a]s are their instructions, so they act.”) [*n*]amma=*kan*^{LÚ} *pātīliš* DUMU.NITA *parā dāi* “Then the *patili*-priest takes the male child away.”
 Bo 4951 rev. 6’–10’, ed. Beckman (1983: 124–125)

⁶⁹ This translation of *allanija-* has been suggested by Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 28), Kammenhuber (1961: 61 note *a* and HW², A: 55) proposed “to become agitated”.

⁷⁰ For this restoration see Kammenhuber (1952: 75–78).

⁷¹ The interpretation of *n*=*at*=š*i*=š*an*^{MUNUS} ŠU.ĠI *šer katta iškallaizzi* is difficult. Puhvel (HED, Vol 2, 413–414) connects the local adverb *šer* with the pronoun *-š*i. Goetze translated *šer katta iškallai-* as “to tear from top to bottom” and interpreted *-š*i as “literally upon him/her” (1938:n. 26a).

⁷² See also § 4.2.2. with n. 52.

In (303-NS) the removal of a dead male child (from the mother⁷³) is described.⁷³ The particle *-kan* and the context indicates that we are dealing here with *parā dā-* “to take away from, to take out of” and not with bivalent *parā dā-* “to take, to pick out, to select”.

4.2.7 *appa dā-*

The combination *appa dā-* is found with an expression of Direction, meaning “to take back to”:

- (304-NS) (“They slaughter ten sheep, take the me[at] and put it in front of the god.”) UDU.ĤIA=*ma ḥūmanduš* INA É.GAL^{LIM} EGIR-*pa danzi* “They take all the sheep back to the palace, (but one sheep they leave in the temple.)”
 KBo X 20 II 34–37 (CTH 604.A) ed. Güterbock (1960: 82, 86)

In this use *appa dā-* is comparable in construction and meaning with combinations like *appa peda-* “to take back to” and *appa peḥute-* “to lead back to”.⁷⁴ See also the construction of *anda dā-* with expression of Direction treated in § 4.2.1.⁷⁵ No sentence particle is used with *appa dā-*. In the following example the particle *-za*, in its function as dative of the reflexive pronoun, seems to function as expression of Direction indicating that the Object is taken back to the Subject of *appa dā-* “to take back (to oneself)”.⁷⁶

- (305-OH) (“Whoever transacts business with a *ḥippara*-man, must withdraw from the bargain.”) LÚ⁷⁷ *ḥipparaš kuit ḥapparāit ta=z appa dā[i]* “What the *ḥippara*-man traded, he shall take back.”
 KBo VI 2+ II 51–52 (HG I § 48, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 32–33), transl. Hoffner (1963: 49) and (1995: 224)⁷⁷

When *appa dā-* is accompanied by an Object constituent only, it can be interpreted as an instance of absolute use of *appa dā-*, “to take back to”, where the Direction – either a person or a place – is not mentioned, or *appa* can be an Adjunct of Time with the meaning “again”, which is juxtaposed to bivalent *dā-*, “to take”. By lack of formal differences this choice is solely a matter of semantics and therewith not always easy to make:

- (306-MH+) *anda=ma mān ḥannan* DI-š*ar kuiški* EGIR-*pa dāi* “Furthermore, if someone takes up again an adjudicated case (one will clear up this matter in a correct way.)”
 KUB XL 62 + KUB XIII 9 III 19–20 (CTH 258.1)

⁷³ See Beckman (1983: 124, 128).

⁷⁴ The combinations *appa peḥute-* is treated in § 5.3, p. 151.

⁷⁵ According to Ciantelli (1978–(79): 231–239), however, “wird *appa* (EGIR-*pa*) neben *dā-* mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit als Adv. (‘zurück/wieder’) empfunden.”

⁷⁶ Compare the combination *-za arḥa dā-* “to take away from oneself”, where the particle *-za* takes the position of a dative of the Indirect Object (§ 4.2.2).

⁷⁷ See also Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 317).

In the above translation of (306-MH+), EGIR-*pa* is rendered as an Adjunct of Time indicating that the action denoted by the predicate takes place once more. The Object *ḥannan* DI-*šar* “an adjudicated case” seems to favour this interpretation. On the other hand, the translation of *ḥaneššar dā-* as “to take up a case”, which is unparalleled with *dā-* or *šarā dā-*, does not rule out the possibility that an expression of Direction is to be supplied from the context; “to take (up) a case (to court)”. So, an interpretation of *appa dā-* as a unity, “to take back (to court)” is equally possible.⁷⁸

4.2.8 *aṣan arḥa dā-*

The combination *aṣan arḥa dā-* “to take away from” is attested with Origin expression and -*ašta* or -*kan*:

- (307-OH+) (“The three times eight soldier breads which¹ they arrange,”) *n=ašta*⁷⁹ *apiz ištū* NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ⁸⁰ NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ *aṣan arḥa danzi* “from those soldier breads they take away a soldier bread.”
KUB XXXII 123+ III 31–32 (CTH 772.3A) translit. Starke (1985: 310)⁸¹

We also have an example with an expression of Origin in the dative instead of the ablative case, but without sentence particle:⁸²

- (308-MH) (“The plaster that is crumbling down,”) *n=at kuttas aṣan arḥa daškandu*⁸³ “that they must (regularly) take off from the walls, (so that they show the (bare) stones.)”
KUB XXXI 87 II 18–20 + KUB XXXI 88 II 4–6 (CTH 261.1A) ed. von Schuler (1957: 45)

For lack of other evidence we do not know whether the absence of a sentence particle in (308-MH+) is an exception. The survey by Zuntz (1936: 44–45) shows that the combination *aṣan arḥa* is more often found without a sentence particle, in spite of the fact that it expresses separation.⁸⁴ This is in contrast with *arḥa*, which is always accompanied by a particle when expressing separation.

⁷⁸ The local adverb *anda* in the combination *anda=ma* marks the transition to a new paragraph “furthermore, moreover” and is completely independent of the predicate; see § 1.1.1, p. 9–10.

⁷⁹ In the parallel manuscript KBo VIII 107+ III 14–15 (MS C in Starke’s edition), the particle -*kan* is used instead; see Starke (1985: 310 n. 55).

⁸⁰ According to Starke (1985: 310, n. 54) the number before the second NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ has been erased.

⁸¹ For the possible Old Hittite origin of the *Istanuqa*-festival and the date of its manuscripts see Starke (1985: 301–304).

⁸² Origin expressions in the dative case are highly exceptional; see § 4.1.3.

⁸³ The parallel manuscript D₂ KUB XXXI 86: 3 has the variant *daiškandu*.

⁸⁴ Boley (1989: 280–281) assumes that in (308-MH+) the particle is not present “because the PW (=local adverb) does not really have a separative / ablative meaning, but rather incidentally describes the verbal content.”

4.2.9 *kattan arḥa dā-*

The combination *kattan arḥa dā-* is construed with an expression of Origin:⁸⁵

- (309-NS) *INA* UD.II.KAM *mān lukkatta nu p[(attar GIŠ.NÁ-az kattan)] arḥa dāi*
“When on the second day it dawns, she takes away the *pattar* from under the bed.”
KUB XXIV 9+ II 48’–49’ (CTH 402.A) ed. Jakob-Rost (1972: 38–39)⁸⁶

and with an Indirect Object:

- (310-MH) *nu=šmaš šasduš kattan-arḥa d[a]n-zi* “They remove the lairs from under them.”
KUB XXIX 52+ IV 6 (CTH 286.IV) ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 196–197)

For the interpretation of *kattan arḥa dā-* as a unity with the meaning “to take away from under, to remove from under” and not as a case of juxtaposition of an independent local adverb *kattan* with *arḥa dā-* two arguments can be adduced. First of all no sentence particles are used with *kattan arḥa dā-*, which one would expect to be present when dealing with *arḥa dā-* (§ 4.2.2). Secondly the fact that *kattan arḥa* is written without word division in (310-MH) tells us that *kattan arḥa* is considered here as a semantic unity.⁸⁷

4.2.10 *peran arḥa dā-*

The evidence for *peran arḥa dā-* can be divided into two different uses,⁸⁸ in the first of which *peran arḥa dā-* is accompanied by a dative of the Indirect Object:

- (311-NS) (“The thick breads that the palace attendant has been breaking for Ziparḫa and for the gods and the thick breads that the old women have been breaking after the palace attendant,⁸⁹) *n=aš ANA* DINGIR.MEŠ *peran arḥa danz[i]* “these they remove from in front of the gods.”
KUB XX 8 I 3–8 (CTH 610)

⁸⁵ In her treatment of *kattan arḥa dā-*, “unten weg nehmen” Zuntz (1936: 48–9) cited (309-NS) and KUB XX 78 IV 7–9 LÚ GIŠ.BANŠUR I NINDA.KUR₄.RA NINDA *zippulaššaz kattan arḥa dāi* (CTH 591.2C) “A table attendant takes away one ‘thick bread’ from under the *zippulašša*-bread.”, both with an Origin expression.

⁸⁶ With the duplicates KUB XXIV 10 II 6’–7’ (MS B), KUB XXIV 11 II 27’–28’ (MS C) and KBo X 41: 6’–7’ (MS E).

⁸⁷ Elsewhere in this horsetraining text (CTH 286) other combinations of local adverbs are written as one word. See Kammenhuber (1961: 170 n. 7, 187 n. 38, 197 n. 7) and (1974: 163) and the example of *peran-arḥa* cited in § 4.2.10 n. 90. Of course this lack of word division is really exceptional and therefore it may not indicate more than that in those instances the two local adverbs are conceived of as a unity by the speaker or scribe. Note that in the fragmentary instance KUB LX 157 III 5–6 *nu MUNUS.ŠU.G[I] kat-ta-an-na ar-ḥa da-a-i* the local adverb *kattan* is separated from *arḥa* by the conjunction -*a* / -*ja*.

⁸⁸ This was already recognized by Zuntz (1936: 52, 54), who divided examples of *peran arḥa dā-* over two sections, namely “*piran* als ursprüngliche Postposition” and “*piran* als ursprüngliches Adverb”.

⁸⁹ In EGIR DUMU.É.GAL the local adverb EGIR is used here as an Adjunct of Time “after the palace attendant”. Examples of this construction can be found in Kammenhuber (HW², A: 160).

This construction of *peran arḥa dā-*, “to take away from in front” is comparable with that of *kattan arḥa dā-* (§ 4.2.9) and *šer arḥa dā-* (§ 4.2.11). With this use of *peran arḥa dā-*, as with *kattan arḥa dā-*, no sentence particles are found. So, also in this case it is not likely that we are dealing with an incidental juxtaposition of *peran* to the combination *arḥa dā-*.⁹⁰ The other construction of *peran arḥa dā-* will be treated in § 4.4.4.

4.2.11 *šer arḥa dā-*

The combination *šer arḥa dā-* is constructed with an expression of Origin and an Indirect Object. In the following example, for instance, both constructions are found in putitive apposition:

- (312-NS) (“Two palace attendants and one body guard ent[er]. One palace attendant holds a billy-goat and one palace attendant holds a jar of wine. A palace attendant gives a spear to the prince.”) DUMU.É.GAL=*kan* ANA ^d*Zittahari* SAG.DU-az NINDA ÉRIN.MEŠ *išgaranta=ia šer arḥa dāi* “From on top of the head of Zit(ta)harija the palace attendant takes away the army loaves and the things that are stuck (on it).”⁹¹
KUB XI 23 V 2–8 (CTH 618.4A)

In (313-NS) we have an instance of absolute use of *šer arḥa dā-*, where the expression of Origin must be supplied from the context:

- (313-NS) (“The king goes to the inner-room. In the inner-room a table is already standing. Thirteen ‘thick *tuḥurai*-breads’ and one ‘croissant’ are lying on the table and they are covered with a cloth. The king goes and he prostrates himself. They put the table in front of the window”) *n=ašta* GAD-an *šer arḥa danzi* “and they remove the cloth from on top (of the table/breads). (The chief of palace attendants takes the thick breads and then gives them to the king.)”
KUB II 13 I 12–22 (CTH 591.5A)

The combination *šer arḥa dā-* seems to express exactly the opposite notion of the unity *kattan arḥa dā-*, namely “to take away from on top, to remove from on top”.⁹² Unlike *kattan arḥa dā-* (§ 4.2.9), examples of *šer arḥa dā-* are as a rule accompanied by *-ašta* or *-kan*.⁹³

⁹⁰ In § 4.2.9 we saw an example from a horse trainingstext (310-MH) where *kattan arḥa* was written as one word. In another tablet of this text we might have an instance of *peran-arḥa dā-* without word division: *n[u]=šmaš=at piran-arḥa danzi*] “and they take it away from in front of them” KUB XXIX 45 I 7–8’ (CTH 286.I, MH), ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 170–171).

⁹¹ The translation by Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 417–418) “A page gives a spear to the prince, and the page removes the army loaves which are stuck on the [spear]head [as an offering] to Z.” is problematic. Apart from the function of the dative ANA ^d*Zittahari*, the Object consists of both NINDA ÉRIN.MEŠ and (-ia) *išgaranta*, and SAG.DU-az clearly refers to the head of the statue of Zit(ta)harija.

⁹² See already Zuntz’s (1936: 56–57) translation “oben weg nehmen”.

⁹³ The only exception is in the following sentence from the oracle text KUB V 6+ I 34–35 (CTH 570): ANA DINGIR^{LIM} ŠA ¹*Mizzulla iḥar kartimijadduš šer arḥa danzi* “From (on top of) the god they take away the (reasons for his) anger in the manner of the woman Mizzulla”, an example of *šer arḥa dā-* with an Indirect Object.

4.2.12 *appa šarā dā-*

The combination *appa šarā dā-* is attested with an Object and the particle *-kan* in the following example:

- (314-lateNH) (“If someone has established himself in His Majesty’s favor,”) *tuk=ma=kan* ŠA ^dUTU=^{šl} LÚ KÚR-aš EGIR-pa UG[U] *dāi* “but an enemy of His majesty *sollicits* you (saying) (: ‘Make that person fall out of His majesty’s favor’.)”
KUB XXVI I+ III 37–40 (CTH 255.2A) ed. von Schuler (1957: 13–14); see CHD (L-N: 20)⁹⁴

In the above example the combination *appa šarā dā-* has a figurative notion that is not otherwise found with *šarā dā-* and an Object (§ 4.2.4). By lack of comparable examples we do not know what exactly is intended by this expression. In the CHD (L-N: 20) the translation “to solicit” was suggested, which seems to fit well into the context. This special notion and the use of the particle *-kan* may indicate that we are not dealing with an incidental combination of *appa* and *šarā dā-* and an Object, but that *appa* and *šarā* form a unity with *dā-* with its own meaning and habits in usage of sentence particles.

4.3 The local adverb is independent of the predicate

In the examples treated in this section there are no indications that the local adverb in question influences the construction or the meaning of the predicate *dā-*. When it is omitted the sentence remains syntactically and semantically correct. With independent local adverbs we find the same patterns in the use of sentence particles as with the basic predicate *dā-*, namely no particles with bivalent *dā-* and *-kan* or *-ašta* with trivalent *dā-*.

4.3.1 *kattan + dā-*

- (315-OH+) (“If someone diverts a canal, he shall give one shekel of silver”) *takku* PA₅-an EGIR-izziaz *kuiški šarā* [n]āi (MS f: *šer dāi*) *ta larputta takku kattann=a dāi n=aš apēl* (MS f: *apel=pat*) “If someone (else) afterwards (or: stealthily) diverts the canal upwards (MS f: takes a canal above), ... But if he takes (it) below, it is his.”
KBo VI 26 I 18–21 (HG II § 47, CTH 292.IIa.B, MS j) with duplicate KBo VI 15 IV⁷ 6–8 (MS f) ed. Friedrich (1959: 74–75)

The above translation of this difficult passage from the Hittite Laws largely follows Melchert (1979: 59–62).⁹⁵ MS f presents us with an instance of *šer dāi*, a reading that expresses the exact opposite of *kattann=a dāi*. Both *šer* and *kattan* are used here as

⁹⁴ Here the translation of the CHD (L-N: 20) has been followed in preference to von Schuler’s translation (1957: 13) “dich aber nimmt eind Feind der Sonne heimlich auf”.

⁹⁵ See also the treatment in the CHD (L-N: 351–352) with references, Hoffner (1995a: 233) and von Schuler (TUAT 1.1: 117).

independent Adjuncts, indicating the Location where the water from the canal is taken, that is respectively “above” and “below” the point where the owner of the irrigation canal takes his water.

4.3.2 *peran* + *šarā dā-*

In the following example *peran* is attested with *šara dā-*, “to take along” (§ 4.2.4):

- (316-NS) (“and [. . . against] the city of Appa [(I waged war.)]”) [(G)U₄.H.I.A UDU.H.I.A ŠA^{URU} Takš]a[nna] =ja *peran šarā dahhun* “Earlier, I also took along the cattle (and) sheep of the city of Takšanna. (Then I went to the city of Parmanna.)”⁹⁶
KBo X 2 I 53- II 2 (CTH 4) ed. Imparati (1965: 46–47), transl. Kümmel (TUAT 1.5: 461)

In this damaged and largely restored passage from the Annals of king Ḫattušili I, we seem to be dealing with an instance of *šarā dā-* and an Object meaning “to take along”, like (286-NH) in § 4.2.4. The local adverb *peran* is likely to be independent of this unity *šarā dā-*. In the translation I followed Kümmel (TUAT 1.5: 461) and interpreted *peran* as an Adjunct of Time: “before, earlier”. Another possible translation of *peran* would be “openly, for all to see”.

4.3.3 *šer* + *dā-*

See example (315-OH+) treated in § 4.3.1.

4.3.4 *appa* + *arḫa dā-*

In the following example the local adverb *appa* is juxtaposed to *arḫa dā-*:

- (317-NH) (“Since I, My Majesty, gave silver, cattle (and) sheep of My majesty to Ištar of the Field, thus (says) Ḫepapija: ANA^d IŠTAR LÍL =*uar* =*aš* =*kan* EGIR-*pa arḫa danzi* “They will take these away again from Ištar of the Field (and give them to the ‘great god’.)”
KUB XV 5 III 17–21 (CTH 583) ed. de Roos (1984: 207, 346)

In (317-NH) we are informed that goods, which were given to the goddess Ištar of the Field, are taken away from her and given to another god. In this context the most likely function of *appa* is that of an independent Adjunct of Time meaning “again”.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ The restorations are based on the Hittite duplicate KUB XXIII 33: 5’–7’ and on the Akkadian version (KBo X 1); see the translation by Kümmel (TUAT 1.5: 461).

⁹⁷ This example is cited by Zuntz with the translation “zurück (und dadurch) weg nehmen”, apparently taking it as a combination of *appa dā-* “to take back” and *arḫa dā-* “to take away”. Although this might be right and this could be a case of absolute use of *appa dā-* “to take back”, one would expect the presence of *-za* to note that the object is taken back to the Subject of the predicate; see (305-OH) in § 4.2.7. A comparable example of *appa* with *-za arḫa dā-* can be found in KBo II 11 rev. 5’ *nu = za apē* KUR.KUR.MEŠ EGIR *arḫa da-a[-aš²]* “and again [he²] took possession of those lands.” (CTH 209.12, NH), ed. Hagenbuchner (1989: 393).

For the use of *appa* as Adjunct of Time, “again”, see also § 4.2.7.

4.3.5 *appa* + *dā-* and *šarā dā-*

There are only a few examples of *appa* used in combination with *dā-*. In § 4.4.3 the somewhat problematic use of *haššan appan dā-* will be discussed, in which *appa* either is an Adjunct of Location or forms a unity with *dā-*. In the following example the local adverb *appa* seems to be used independently of *dā-*:

- (318-NH) (“‘What is this? I took an oath before’”) E[GI]R-*zi = man =*ua* =*za dahḫi* kuitki* “‘Would I afterwards’ take possession of something?” “‘I am bound to this matter by oath.’”) *nu =*ua* =*za* EGIR-an UL kuitk[i] dahḫi* “‘I won’t afterwards take possession of something’”.
KUB XIII 35+ I 29–32 (CTH 293) ed. Werner (1967: 4–5)

The above example is found in the statement of a person named Ukkura, who is accused of fraud and conversion of goods belonging to the king. With the restriction that the exact purport of the statements in (318-NH) is not altogether clear, it is possible that *appa dā-* resumes the earlier *appezzi dā-* and that both are functioning as Adjuncts of Time, meaning “afterwards, later”.⁹⁸

A different meaning of *appa* seems to be present in the following examples, where it is juxtaposed to *šarā dā-*:

- (319-NH) (“See, in my land are three noblemen; you Targašnalli, Mašḫuiluḫa and [Manapa-Tarḫunta] (...)”) *n =*aš* =*kan* 1-*aš* 1-edani kunanna* EGIR-*an šarā lē dāi* “Neither shall undertake to kill them (=the free men) behind the back of the other.”
KBo V 4 rev. 2–3, 13 (CTH 67) ed. Friedrich (1926: 60–63)⁹⁹

Earlier in this treaty we find the following expression:

- (320-NH) (“Neither shall become evil towards the other”) *nu 1-*aš* 1-an kunanna lē šanḫa[zi]* “and neither shall seek to kill the other.”
KBo V 4 rev. 5 (CTH 67) ed. Friedrich (1926: 60–61)

Given the similarity in construction it is likely that the predicate *šarā dā-* in (319-NH), like *šanḫ-* in (320-NH), governs the Object constituent *-aš kunanna* “to kill them”. The function of the local adverb EGIR-*an* is that of an independent Adjunct in its turn governing the dative 1-*edani*. From its function as Adjunct of Location meaning “behind”, this metaphorical use of EGIR-*an*, “behind the back of someone else, secretly”,

⁹⁸ Another solution would be to translate *appa* as “secretly, behind (someone’s back)”, like for instance in (319-NH) below.

⁹⁹ Following a suggestion by van den Hout the pronoun *-aš* has been interpreted as the Object of *kunanna*, rather than as the Subject of *šarā dā-*, which would be an exception to the Watkins-Garrett rule; see Garrett (1990).

developed.¹⁰⁰ In the treatment of *šarā dā-* in § 4.2.4 we saw no examples with the notion “to undertake”. The presence of *-kan* is also remarkable.¹⁰¹ The only other example of *šarā dā-* with this meaning also occurs in a sentence with a second local adverb, namely (321-NH) in § 4.3.6, but this time no sentence particle is found.

4.3.6 *menahḫanda* + *šarā da-*

The combination of *menahḫanda* and *šarā dā-* occurs in the following passage from the Hūqqana treaty of Šuppiluluma I:

- (321-NH) *našma=mu=za mān LÚ^{URU} Hatti [nam]ma kuiški idālu menahḫanda šarā dāi* “Or further, if some Hittite man undertakes evil against me, (whatever man it (may be), if you do not indicate him to me the very moment you hear of him, (...) then these oaths may destroy [you, Hūqqana].)”
KBo V 3+ II 32–35, 43 (CTH 42.A) ed. Friedrich (1930a: 116–119)

The only example of *šara dā-* with a comparable meaning is example (319-NH) in § 4.3.5, where *šarā dā-*, “to undertake” governs the Object constituent *kunanna*. It is possible that in (321-NH) we have a similar construction of the predicate *šarā dā-* and the Object *idālu*. The dative *-mu* is governed by the local adverb *menahḫanda*, “against, towards”, which seems to be independent of the predicate, like *āppan* in (319-NH). Note that in (321-NH) no sentence particle is used. The particle *-za* is added to the predicate to indicate that the action benefits the Subject; “to undertake (for oneself)”; see § 4.1.2.2.

4.4 Problematic or unclear instances

4.4.1 *anda* + *dā-*

The following Old Hittite example is cited by Starke (1977: 145) as an instance of *anda* and the verb *dā-* “to take”.¹⁰²

- (322-OH) “If someone hires an ox”) *nu=šše=an^{KUŠ} hušan našma^{KUŠ} taruṣḫa anda dāi* “and adds to him a *huša* or *taruṣḫa* (and his owner finds him, he gives one *parisu* of grain.)”
KBo VI 2+ IV 10–11 (HG I § 78, CTH 291.1A), ed. Friedrich (1959: 42–43)

Sofar this instance has been interpreted a case of *anda dai-* “to place onto”, see e.g. Friedrich (1959: 43) and Hoffner (1995a: 227). Starke (1977: 145–146) translated this example as “und (von) ihm dann ^{KUŠ}hušan or ^{KUŠ}taruṣḫa hinein- (bzw.: dazu-) nimmt”.

¹⁰⁰ Compare the analysis and translation of this example by Friedrich (1926: 63 + n. 3).

¹⁰¹ It cannot easily be explained as required by *kunanna*, since in (320-NH) *-kan* is missing with *kunanna*. For the use of sentence particles with *šanḫ-* see Hoffner (1992a).

¹⁰² Another possible Old Hittite example is KBo XX 16 obv. 3–4. It is, however, not certain whether *anda* of obv. 3 belongs to the restored verb form *d[anzi]* in obv. 4. See Neu (1980a: 43) and Ciantelli (1978–79: 230).

Following Starke’s explanation of this construction, this would be a case of trivalent *dā-*, with *-šši* indicating the losing party (§ 4.1.3), to which *anda* is added to indicate the Direction; “to take away from him into (his house)”. For this use of trivalent *dā-* with an additional expression of Direction, there are however no parallels. In the above translation, the use of *anda dā-* is similar to that of *-za anda dā-* in (272-NH). In Starke’s interpretation the *huša* or *taruṣḫa* are stolen from the hired ox, while in the other two solutions the *huša* or *taruṣḫa* are added to the ox. Since the nature of these items is still unknown, it is hard to tell which of the situations is more likely to harm the owner of the ox. If *da-a-i* would belong to *dai-* “to place”, this would be the only Old Hittite example of *dai-* (or the iterative *zikk-*) occurring with a local adverb ending in *-a*.¹⁰³

4.4.2 *peran* (+) *dā-*

In the song of Ullikummi we repeatedly encounter the following expression:

- (323-NS) (“I will sing of Kumarbi, the father of all the gods”) ^d*Kumarbiš=za ḫat<ta>tar ZI-ni pian* (var. B: *kattan*) *d[(aš)kizzi]* “Kumarbi takes wisdom in front of (var. B: down in) his mind.” (...) ^d*Kumarbiš=za ZI-ni pian* (var. B: *kattan*) *ḫa[(ttatar) daš)kizzi]* “Kumarbi takes wisdom in front of (var. B: down in) his mind (and he sticks it on like a bead.)”
KUB XXXIII 96+ I 3–5, 9–10 (CTH 345.1A) ed. Güterbock (1951: 146–147)¹⁰⁴

Judging from the fact that MS B uses *kattan* instead of *peran*, the same notion is apparently expressed by *-za ḫattatar ištanzani peran dā-* and *-za ḫattatar ištanzani kattan dā-*. Since Güterbock (1951: 147) *ištanzani peran* (or: *kattan*) *dā-* is generally taken to mean “to take into one’s mind”. In this interpretation *ištanzani* denotes the Direction of *ḫattatar dā-*. Knowing that the basic predicate *dā-* and *-za dā-* are not attested with an expression of Direction, this construction could then be regarded as belonging to the derived predicates *peran dā-* and *kattan dā-* both meaning “to take into”. In the more literal translation above, however, the solution has been suggested to take *ištanzani peran* and *ištanzani kattan* as Adjuncts marking the Location of *ḫattatar*, “to take wisdom in front of his mind (or: down in his mind).”

4.4.3 *ḫaššan peran* (+) *dā-*, *ḫaššan āppan* (+) *dā-*, *ḫaššan āppan* (+) *arḫa dā-*

In festival texts one regularly finds the expression *ḫaššan peran dā* + *-kan*:

- (324-NS) (“The chief of bodyguards goes and places the silver *zau* next to the king. He walks in front of the priest. The priests rise.”) GUNNI-*an=kan peran danzi* “They take the hearth in front. (Then they go out.)”
KUB II 3 I 41–46 (CTH 627.12A) ed. Singer (1984: 63)

¹⁰³ In that case (322-OH) would be an exception to Starke’s, generally valid, rule that in Old Hittite local adverbs in *-a* only occur with “direktivischen Verben” (1977: 201–202); see § 5.2.

¹⁰⁴ With duplicate KUB XXXIII 98+ I 4–6, 9–10 (MS B). See also the discussion of this passage by Beckman (1986: 27–28) and his description of *ḫattatar* as “capacity to generate a plot”.

There even is an example in a fragmentary ritual texts in an Old Hittite original:

- (325-OH) [x *hāššan pēran da-a*[-i “[he[?]] take[s] the hearth in front.”
KBo XXV 147 rev[?] 6’, translit. Neu (1980a: 233)

In (326-NS) we possibly have an example of *peran hāššan dā-* and the opposite expression *āppan hāššan dā-*:

- (326-NS) (“The king and queen are standing. The chief of bodyguards holds a gold *zaḥa* and carries it inside.”) [*h*] *aššan=kan peran dāi* “He takes the hearth in front.” (“[The her]ald holds a *hali*-bread.”) [*ta=kkān*]
hāššan EGIR-an dāi “[and] takes the hearth in back.”
KUB XX 28 I 3–8 (CTH 592.1B) ed. Gonnet (1975–76: 127, 139)¹⁰⁵

The particle *-kan* may need to be restored with *hāššan āppan dā-*, but for lack of other instances this cannot be verified. The local adverb *āppan* is, however, attested several times in the comparable expression *hāššan āppan arḥa dā-* with *ašta*:

- (327-NS) (“The chief of guards and the chief of palace attendants come back.”)
n=ašta GAL MEŠEDI hāššan EGIR-an arḥa dāi “The chief of guards takes away the hearth in back (and steps over the *šaramman*-breads of the chief of guards. The chief of table attendants goes outside.)”
KBo IV 9 IV 45–50 (CTH 604.1A) ed. Badali and Zinko (1994: 42–43)¹⁰⁶

The function of *peran* and *āppan* in these expressions is hard to define with any certainty. Comparison with the expression *hāššan āppan arḥa dā-* might indicate that also in the expressions *-kan hāššan peran dā-* and *-kan[?] hāššan āppan dā-* the predicate *dā-* is to be translated as “to take away”, with anaphoric use of the particle *-kan*.¹⁰⁷ In all three expressions, then, the function of *peran* and *āppan* could be that of an Adjunct marking the Location of the hearth. This solution was followed in the above translations. One can also follow Zuntz (1936: 96) and take *peran dā* + *-kan* as a unity meaning something like “to take from the front” (and similarly *āppan dā-*, “to take from the back”).¹⁰⁸ In that case there is no need to interpret the local adverb *āppan* in *āppan arḥa dā-* as an Adjunct of Location. Then, it can then be translated with Zuntz (1936: 44) as “behind (someone’s back), secretly” and one can even take *āppan arḥa dā-* + *-ašta* as a unity with the meaning “to take away from behind”.

4.4.4 *anaḥi peran (+) arḥa dā-*

The expression *anaḥi peran arḥa dā-* is regularly attested:

- (328-NS) (“He breaks the *harašpauwant*-breads and the *aladari*-bread”) *n=ašta anaḥi peran arḥa dāi ištū* ^{DUG}*DILIM=ja* GAL ^{TU}*šampukki anaḥi dāi*

¹⁰⁵ Gonnet translates *da-a* as a form of *dai*- “to place”.

¹⁰⁶ Badali and Zinko (1994: 43) translate “Der Anführer der Leibgardisten nimmt den Herd wieder weg”.

¹⁰⁷ In this use of *-kan* the third argument of *dā-* “to take away” is omitted; see § 4.1.6 with examples.

¹⁰⁸ Zuntz translated *peran dā-* as “vorne wegnehmen”.

“From (these) he takes away a test sample in advance and out of a big bowl of *šampukki* ‘soup’ he takes a test sample (and throws it into the fire.)”

KBo V 1 III 17–20 (CTH 476) ed. Sommer and Ehelolf (1924: 10*–11*)

The meaning of *peran arḥa dā-* in this expression is clearly different from that of the derived predicate *peran arḥa dā-* “to take away from in front” discussed in § 4.2.11.¹⁰⁹ There is also a variance in construction and usage of sentence particles. In contrast with the combination *peran arḥa dā-* that is always construed with a dative of the Indirect Object and never has a sentence particle, no Origin expression or Indirect object is found with *anaḥi peran arḥa dā-*, but it always has the particle *-ašta*. In (328-NS) the construction *anaḥi peran arḥa dā-* alternates with *anaḥi dā-* + Origin expression “to take a test sample out of”¹¹⁰ Probably *peran* is independent of the derived predicate *arḥa dā-* “to take away from”, which is always accompanied by *-ašta* or *-kan*. In all instances *anaḥi arḥa dā-* is used with reference to breads, but the Origin expression “from the breads” is never explicitly mentioned. The meaning and semantic function of *peran* is even less clear. Maybe it is used as an Adjunct of Time meaning “in advance”.

4.5 Summary

We saw that the basic predicate *dā-* is attested with three different predicate frames, two of which are in complementary distribution, namely 4.2 and 4.3. The presence of sentence particles with a predicate frame is marked with the abbreviation sent. part.¹¹¹

- | | | | |
|---|---------|--|---------------------|
| (4.1) <i>dā-</i> , “to take (and use)” | SUBJECT | + OBJECT | |
| | Agent | Patient | |
| (4.3) <i>dā-</i> , “to take from” | SUBJECT | + OBJECT + INDIRECT OBJECT + sent. part. | |
| | Agent | Patient | Loser
animate |
| (4.4) <i>dā-</i> , “to take from, to take out of” | SUBJECT | + OBJECT + COMPLEMENT | |
| | Agent | Patient | Origin
inanimate |

In those cases where the particle *-za* forms a unity with *dā-*, it can express several different notions, all of which have a predicate frame with the following structure:

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| (4.2) <i>-za dā-</i> | + SUBJECT + OBJECT |
| | Agent Patient |

¹⁰⁹ This was already recognized by Zuntz (1936: 52, 54).

¹¹⁰ These are the two constructions attested with *anaḥi* and *dā-*; see also HW² (A: 72–73). As expected of *dā-* with an Origin expression, there are instances of *anaḥi dā-* with and without a sentence particle; see § 4.1.6.

¹¹¹ An explanation of the presentation of the predicate frames can be found in § 1.2, p. 18.

Although the unity *-za dā-* can itself be described as a derived predicate formed by adding the particle *-za* to the predicate *dā-*, it serves in its turn as the basis for the formation of the derived predicate *-za anda dā-* “to (take and) add to”. The particle *-za* is also attested with *arḥa dā-* and *āppa dā-* in its function as dative of the reflexive pronoun “for oneself”, where it identifies the Subject as the person from whom something is taken away, respectively as the person to whom something is taken back.

In most cases where a local adverb is added to *dā-*, the result is a new predicate with a meaning that is different from that of the basic predicate, but with the same construction(s) of the basic predicate *dā-*. Only the combinations *anda dā-*, *za anda dā-*, *āppa dā-* and *-za arḥa dā-* show an entirely new construction. With the combinations *arḥa dā-*, *šara dā-* and *parā dā-* the use of the sentence particles *-ašta* and *-kan* coincides with that of the basic predicate, with the restriction that in the construction with an expression of Origin the presence of *-ašta* or *-kan* now is obligatory. The usage of a sentence particle with *anda dā-*, *-za anda dā-*, *-za arḥa dā-*, *katta dā-*, *-za šarā dā-*, *-za šer dā-* and *āppa šara dā-*, however, is clearly an innovation of the derived predicate.

Independent local adverbs that do not affect the meaning, construction or habits in the usage of sentence particles of the predicate are found with bivalent *dā-* (e.g. *kattan*, *šer*) or *-za dā-* (*āppan*), but can also be juxtaposed to combinations of *dā-* with other local adverbs (e.g. *peran + šarā dā-*).¹¹²

The following derived predicates are based on *dā-*:

(4.5)	<i>-za anda dā-</i>	“to (take and) add to”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
		+ COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
		Direction?
		inanimate
(4.6)	<i>anda dā-</i>	“to take into”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
		+ COMPL. + sent. part.
		Direction
		inanimate+animate??
(4.7)	<i>arḥa dā-</i>	“to take away from”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
		+ IND. OBJ. / COMPL. + sent. part.
		Loser / Origin
		animate / inanimate
(4.8)	<i>-za arḥa dā-</i>	“to take off one’s clothes”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
		+ COMPL. + sentence particle
		Origin
		inanimate

¹¹² The distribution of dependent and independent use of local adverbs with *dā-* is indicated in table 5.1 in § 5.1.

(4.9)	<i>katta dā-</i>	“to take down, to tear down, to destroy”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT + sentence particle
	Agent	Patient
(4.10)	<i>katta dā-</i>	“to take down from”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
		+ COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
		Origin
		inanimate
(4.11)	<i>šarā dā-</i>	“to take up”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
(4.12)	<i>-za šarā dā-</i>	“to take up for oneself, to scoop (up)”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT + sentence particle
	Agent	Patient
(4.13)	<i>šarā dā-</i>	“to take up from, to take along from, to lift up out of”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
		+ IND. OBJ. / COMPL. + sent. part.
		Loser / Origin
		animate / inanimate
(4.14)	<i>-za šer dā-</i>	“to take up for oneself, to scoop (up)”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT + sentence particle
	Agent	Patient
(4.15)	<i>parā dā-</i>	“To take, to pick out, to select”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
(4.16)	<i>parā dā-</i>	“to take away from, to take out of”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
		+ IND. OBJ. / COMPL. + sent. part.
		Loser / Origin
		animate / inanimate
(4.17)	<i>āppa dā-</i>	“to take back to”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
		+ COMPLEMENT
		Direction
		animate+inanimate
(4.18)	<i>aṇan arḥa dā-</i>	“to take away from”
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT
	Agent	Patient
		+ COMPLEMENT + sent. part.
		Origin
		inanimate

Chapter 4

(4.19) <i>kattan arḥa dā-</i>	“to take away from under, to remove from under”		
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	+ IND. OBJ. / COMPL.
	Agent	Patient	Loser / Origin animate / inanimate
(4.20) <i>šer arḥa dā-</i>	“to take away from on top, to remove from on top”		
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	+ IND. OBJ. / COMPL. + sent. part.
	Agent	Patient	Loser / Origin animate / inanimate
(4.21) <i>peran arḥa dā-</i>	“to take away from in front”		
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT	+ INDIRECT OBJECT
	Agent	Patient	Loser animate
(4.22) <i>āppa sarā dā-</i>	“to solicit”		
	SUBJECT	+ OBJECT + sentence particle	
	Agent	Patient	

CHAPTER 5

The interaction of local adverb, verb and sentence particle

5.0 Introduction

The results that can be gained from a comparison of the observations about the interaction between local adverb, sentence particle and predicate with the sample verbs of ch. 2–4 are presented in § 5.1; the situation in Old Hittite is treated separately in § 5.2. In § 5.3 the main results of § 5.1 are completed by studying sentences with local adverbs in a sample of Middle and New Hittite texts. The position of local adverbs in the sentence is discussed in § 5.4. The problem of the function of local adverbs in Hittite will be compared with that of the “particles” in Greek grammar in § 5.5.

5.1 Local adverbs with the sample verbs of ch. 2–4

In this paragraph we will concentrate on the evidence from contemporary manuscripts of Middle, New and late-New Hittite texts, where necessary completed with information from other examples.¹ The situation in Old Hittite texts will be discussed in § 5.2. While studying the data of the sample verbs no difference could be detected in the function of local adverbs or in their influence on the use of sentence particles between Middle Hittite, New Hittite and late-New Hittite texts.²

In the description of the verbs a distinction has been made between local adverbs that are dependent and independent of the predicate. Dependent local adverbs influence the meaning or the construction of the predicate and form a unity with it. Independent local adverbs have no direct relation with the predicate and can be omitted, leaving the predicate in the same sense and the remainder of the sentence grammatically complete.

In the following table the occurrence of the various local adverbs with the verbs of 2–4 is indicated, divided in dependent or independent use with the predicate:

The following symbols are used in this table:

× = Local adverb is attested with the predicate

? = The function of the local adverb with the predicate is uncertain

¹ That is from later copies of older or undated compositions; see the list of categories of Hittite texts in § 1.5.

² This impression is confirmed by the test of Middle and New Hittite texts in § 5.3.

local adverb	dependent use				independent use			
	<i>ija-</i>	<i>pai-</i>	<i>uua-</i>	<i>dā-</i>	<i>ija-</i>	<i>pai-</i>	<i>uua-</i>	<i>dā-</i>
<i>anda</i>	×	×	×	×		×		
<i>andan</i>	?	×	×					
<i>arḥa</i>	×	×	×	×	×			
<i>arahza</i> ³		?	?					
<i>katta</i>	×	×	×	×				
<i>kattan</i>	×	×	×		×	×	×	×
<i>kattanda</i>	×	×	×					
<i>šarā</i>	×	×	×	×				
<i>šer</i>				×		×		×
<i>parā</i>	×	×	×	×				
<i>peran</i>		?	?		×	?		×
<i>āppa</i>	×	×	×	×	×	?	?	×
<i>āppan</i>	×	×	×		×	?	?	×
<i>āppanda</i>		×	×		×		?	
<i>andurza</i>					×			
<i>ištarna</i>	×	×				×	?	
<i>menahḥanda</i>		×	×					×
<i>parranda</i>		×	×					
<i>pariḥan</i>	?	×	×					
<i>tapuša</i> ⁴		?	?		×			
<i>ayan arḥa</i>		×	×	×				
<i>kattan arḥa</i>		×	×	×				
<i>peran arḥa</i>		×	×	×				
<i>appan arḥa</i>		×						
<i>ištarna arḥa</i>	×	×	×					
<i>šer arḥa</i>	×	×	×	×				
<i>peran parā</i>						×		
<i>appa šarā</i>				×				

(Table 5.1 Distribution of local adverbs over the sample verbs of ch. 2–4.)

What first strikes the eye is the large amount of local adverbs that occur with these verbs. From a total of 22 local adverbs (see the list in § 1.0) 15 can form a unity with *pai-* and 14 with *uua-*, which number respectively may amount to 18 and 17, if the uncertain combinations are included in the calculation. With 12–14 possible combinations, the predicate *ija-*, which is far less frequently used than the other predicates and therefore probably attested with a smaller number of local adverbs, also shows a great capability

³ As mentioned in § 3.4.1, *arahza* may have the function of a (dependent) expression of Direction or Origin with *pai-* and *uua-*.

⁴ This *tapuša*, at least in some instances, still functions as a noun in the allative with *pai-* and *uua-*; see § 3.4.6.

to combine with local adverbs. In comparison with the predicates of motion the amount of dependent local adverbs that can be combined with *dā-* is less high, but also quite impressive.

This table also shows that cases of dependent use of local adverbs are much more frequent than instances of independent use.⁵ Many local adverbs are exclusively found in dependent use and a few only appear as independent Adjuncts, while there are also local adverbs that can be used both dependently and independently of the predicate.

Before continuing these observations, it is useful to recall Starke's division of local adverbs in Old Hittite into two corresponding groups, group I consisting of local adverbs ending in *-a*, which are always dependent on the predicate and group II of local adverbs formed with the same stem, but ending in *-n*, which are always independent of the predicate; see table 1.2, repeated below, and the description of Starke's theory in § 1.1.1:⁶

Group I:	Group II:
<i>anda</i>	<i>andan</i>
<i>āppa</i>	<i>āppan</i>
<i>katta</i>	<i>kattan</i>
<i>parā</i>	<i>peran</i>
<i>šarā</i>	<i>šer</i>

(Table 1.2. Two groups of corresponding local adverbs, by Starke (1977: 133).)

When we turn back to table 5.1, it is interesting to see that local adverbs ending in *-n* (group II) are more often attested with a function independent of *ija-*, *pai-*, *uua-* and *dā-* than local adverbs ending in *-a* (group I). The reverse, however, is also possible, though less frequent: local adverbs in *-n* can be dependent and those ending in *-a* independent of these predicates. This indicates that the original distinction in function between the two sets of local adverbs described in § 5.2 is disappearing in Middle and New Hittite, but still clearly visible.

If we compare the predicate frames of the motion verbs *ija-*, *pai-* and *uua-* in their use with dependent local adverbs, a clear relationship becomes visible between the presence of a particular local adverb, the type of predicate frame governed by the predicate and the occurrence of sentence particles. Predicate frames attested with *ija-* also occur with *pai-* or *uua-*.⁷ Table 5.2 below indicates the types of predicate frames that are attested with the predicates *ija-*, *pai-* and *uua-* in their use with dependent local adverbs, and the presence of sentence particles with the predicate frame.⁸ In the case of *arḥa* and *parā*, where the local adverb has a different meaning in some of the predicate frames, the translation has been added. In the description of the predicate frames in the third column, the arguments are mentioned that occur beside the Subject constituent. The presence of sentence particles is marked with the abbreviation sent. part:

⁵ Horrocks (1981) gained a similar result in his study about the "particles" in Homeric Greek; see § 5.5.

⁶ In § 5.2 it will be argued that Starke's division is too strict, since local adverbs in *-n* can be dependent on predicates requiring the completion of an expression of Location.

⁷ But see n. 17 ad *āppan* (frame 16) in table 5.2 below.

⁸ The few predicate frames that are only found with *pai-* or *uua-* are omitted from this table with the exception of frame 5, which is added to show the difference in particle use with frame 6.

nr	local adverb	predicate frame and use of sentence particles	sample verbs with which the frame occurs
1	<i>anda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction animate+inanimate	<i>ija-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uua</i> ⁹
2	<i>andan</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
3	<i>arha</i> “away”	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin animate+inanimate	<i>ija</i> ¹⁰ , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
4	<i>arha</i> “home”	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
5	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-</i>
6	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate	<i>ija</i> ¹¹ , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
7	<i>kattan</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate	<i>ija-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
8	<i>kattanda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction inanimate	<i>ija-</i> , <i>pai</i> ¹² , <i>uua</i> ¹³
9	<i>šarā</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction inanimate	<i>ija-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
10	<i>šarā</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate	<i>ija</i> ¹⁴ , <i>uua-</i>
11	<i>parā</i> “on, forward”	COMPLEMENT Direction animate+inanimate	<i>ija</i> ¹⁵ , <i>pai-</i> ,

⁹ With *uua-* the Direction is always an inanimate noun.

¹⁰ Only found with inanimate nouns.

¹¹ Only attested in absolute use.

¹² With *pai-* possibly also with animate expressions of Direction.

¹³ Only in absolute use.

¹⁴ Only instances of absolute use.

¹⁵ Only in combination with an inanimate noun.

12	<i>parā</i> “out”	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction inanimate ¹⁶	<i>ija-</i> , <i>pai-</i> ,
13	<i>parā</i> “out”	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate	<i>ija-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
14	<i>āppa</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
15	<i>āppa</i>	COMPLEMENT Origin inanimate	<i>ija-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
16	<i>āppan</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate	(<i>ija</i> ¹⁷), <i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
17	<i>āppanda</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate+inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uua</i> ¹⁸
18	<i>ištarna</i>	+ sent. part.	<i>ija-</i> , <i>pai-</i>
19	<i>menahḥanda</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate+inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
20	<i>parranda</i>	COMPLEMENT + COMPLEMENT Location Direction inanimate animate+ inanimate + sent. part.	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uua</i> ¹⁹
21	<i>pariian</i>	OBJECT ² + sent. part. Patient inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
22	<i>aṇan arha</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin animate+inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>
23	<i>kattan arha</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Location inanimate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uua-</i>

¹⁶ This construction occurs with *ija-* only in absolute use.

¹⁷ The only instance of *appan ija-* “to go after” is constructed with an accusative, possibly with the syntactic function Object, and has *-kan*, while the corresponding constructions of *appan pai-* and *appan uua-* govern an expression of Direction in the dative case, without sentence particle; see § 2.2.9 and 3.2.10.

¹⁸ Only with animate expression of Direction.

¹⁹ Never with explicit expression of Location.

24	<i>peran arḥa</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Location animate	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uṣa-</i>
25	<i>ištarna arḥa</i>	OBJECT ²⁰ + sent. part. Patient inanimate	<i>iṣa-</i> , <i>pai-</i> , <i>uṣa-</i>
26	<i>šer arḥa</i>	OBJECT ²⁰ + sent. part. Patient inanimate	<i>iṣa-</i> , <i>pai-</i>

(Table 5.2. Relation between dependent local adverb, type of predicate frame and sentence particle with *iṣa-*, *pai-* and *uṣa-*.)

This table shows that there is quite a difference in the effect local adverbs may have on the construction and the use of sentence particles with one and the same verb. With some local adverbs only one construction of the predicate is possible, either with or without accompanying sentence particle. See, for instance, *anda* (frame 1) or *kattan* (frame 7). Other local adverbs are found with more than one predicate frame. This is the case with *arḥa* (frame 3 or 4), *katta* (frame 5 and 6), *šarā* (frame 9 and 10), *parā* (frame 11, 12 and 13) and *āppa* (frame 14 and 15). The local adverbs *anda*, *kattanda* and *šarā* are consistent in the presence of sentence particles, whereas *andan*, *kattan*, *āppa*, *āppan*, *āppanda* and *menahḥanda* are not accompanied by such particles, regardless of the construction of the predicate. With the others the use of sentence particles is restricted to a particular construction of the predicate. These last cases are all the more interesting, since they show that there is no direct relation between the use of a local adverb with a verb and the occurrence of sentence particles, but a complex interaction between local adverb, verb and sentence particles, which can be described as follows: Dependent local adverbs form a unity with the predicate. Together they govern a predicate frame, which depending on its meaning and construction may or may not require the company of sentence particles.²⁰ In the descriptive chapters 2–4, the unity of dependent local adverb and verb was called a derived predicate, indicating that the local adverb and the verb form a new predicate, which is not contained in the Hittite lexicon as such, but is derived from the basic predicate by the addition of a local adverb. The unity of the local adverb and the verb is of a semantic, not of a syntactic nature, since the local adverb and the verb can be separated from each other without effect on the meaning.²¹ The traditional term preverb may therefore be a less appropriate description of the function of the local adverb in this connection. If one would need a separate designation, the best choice would probably be something like “converb”.

In combination with a dependent local adverb, *iṣa-*, *pai-* and *uṣa-* are mostly con-

structed with an expression of Direction or Origin. Occasionally they are attested with an accusative, which may function as Object and in combinations of *arḥa* and a second local adverb they can even govern an expression of Location. The presence of local adverbs cannot be connected with any of these functions in particular, since they are attested with each type of construction. With the exception of *āppa* (frame 15), expressions of Origin are marked by a sentence particle; see frame 3, 6, 10, 13 and 22.

With some local adverbs the presence or absence of sentence particles corresponds with a different translation of the local adverb in its use with the predicate. This is the case with *arḥa pai* and *arḥa uṣa-* in frame 3 and 4, “to go or come away” as opposed to “to go or come home” and with *parā iṣa-* and *parā pai-* in frame 11 and 12, meaning “to move or go on to” and “to go out to” respectively.²² On the other hand a similarity in meaning can be observed between *anda pai-* and *anda uṣa-* (frame 1) and *andan pai-* and *andan uṣa-* (frame 2), which do vary in the use of sentence particles. The combinations *katta pai-* (frame 5) and *kattan pai-* (frame 7) are often treated as synonyms, since both can have the meaning “to go down to”.²³ Their basic usage may, however, originally have been different: The combination *katta pai-* is constructed with an inanimate expression of Direction and has the meaning “to go down to”, whereas with *kattan pai-* “to go (in)to (the presence of)” the expression of Direction is as a rule an animate noun. This shows that the fact whether a noun belongs to the semantic category of animate or inanimate nouns can be a relevant factor in the structure of the predicate frame of *iṣa-*, *pai-* and *uṣa-*.

In this respect it is important to note that the distribution of the dative and ablative with the three motion verbs and *dā-* suggests that Starke’s theory (1977) about the use of the dative with animate nouns in the functions of the allative, locative and ablative with inanimate nouns, discussed in § 1.1.1, applies to later phases of the language as well; see § 3.1.2 and 4.1.4.

If we contrast the predicate frames of the motion verbs in table 5.2 with those of the verb of “removal” *dā-* and concentrate on the arguments of the predicate frame that occur beside the Subject and the Object constituents, we find that some of the predicate frames of table 5.2 also appear with *dā-*:

nr	local adverb	predicate frame and use of sentence particles with <i>dā-</i>
1	<i>anda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction inanimate+animate ²
3	<i>arḥa</i> “away”	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate
6	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate

²² With *arḥa* the construction of frame 3 and 4 is different as well.

²³ See, for instance Friedrich (HW: 154): *katta(n) pai-* “hinabgehen; hingehen; mitgehen”. In the CHD (P/I: 31) *katta pai-* and *kattan pai-* have been treated separately.

²⁰ The fact that sentence particles refer to the unity of local adverb and verb, and not to one of them in isolation is also indicated by the translation of Akkadian *šitu* and *uššutu*, both meaning “departure, going out”, in two vocabulary texts as *parā = kan pā(u)yar*; see § 3.2.8.

²¹ The local adverb can, for instance, be fronted; see § 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 ad sentence pattern 3a and 3b. The linguistic status of the unity of local adverb and verb will be further considered in relation with the situation in Homeric Greek, in § 5.5, p. 178.

10	<i>šarā</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate
13	<i>parā</i> “out”	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate
14	<i>appa</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate+inanimate
22	<i>aṣan arḥa</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin inanimate

(Table 5.3. Predicate frames of table 5.2 occurring with *dā-*.)

This table shows that 7 out of 18 derived predicate frames based on *dā-* are also found with the predicates of motion *ija-*, *pai-* and *uṣa-*. The corresponding frames consist of the only two constructions of *dā-* with an expression of Direction (frame 1 and 14) and all the frames of combinations of *dā-* with local adverbs denoting removal of an entity from a place (frame 3, 6, 10, 13 and 22).²⁴ The construction of *dā-*, in other words, coincides in those cases where the predicate expresses a movement to or from a certain place. This indicates that the influence of a local adverb on the construction of the predicate and on its habits in the use of sentence particles is the same with predicates that belong to the same semantic sphere.²⁵ If the emphasis is on the action of taking itself, *dā-* governs a Subject and an Object constituent only.²⁶ The derived predicate frames *šarā dā-* “to take up” and *parā dā-* “to take, to select”, which are based on this bivalent *dā-*, have no sentence particle, although they do have a particle when they mean “to take up from” (frame 10) and “to take away from” (frame 13) respectively.²⁷ The predicate frames found with combinations of *arḥa* and a second local adverb and the verbs of motion are different from those found with *dā-*.²⁸ In the combinations with *dā-*, where *arḥa* has kept its local meaning “away from”, the predicate expresses removal of an entity from a place or person, whereas the combinations of *arḥa* and a second local adverb with *ija-*, *pai-* and *uṣa-* are based on a special notion of *arḥa pai-* “to pass” and accordingly indicate various notions of “passing” of a place or person.

Independent local adverbs do not belong to the main construction of the predicate, but can govern a Complement in the dative-locative on noun phrase level. These combinations of a local adverb and a Complement can be described as postpositional phrases. This is, for instance, the case with *ANA* ^{GIŠ} *ḥuluganni* EGIR-*pa* and *ANA* ^m *Ḥudupijanza šer* in (50-MH) and (199-NH):

²⁴ Most of these predicate frames of *dā-* are in complementary distribution with constructions governing an Indirect Object, which indicate removal of an entity from a person; see predicate frames (4.7), (4.10), (4.13) and (4.16) in § 4.5.

²⁵ This conclusion will be tested in § 5.3.

²⁶ Predicate frame (4.1) in § 4.5.

²⁷ Cf. predicate frames (4.11) and (4.15) with (4.13) and (4.16) in § 4.5.

²⁸ Cf. frame 23, 24 and 26 in table 5.3 with frames (4.19) to (4.21) in § 4.5.

(⇒50-MH) *ANA* ^{GIŠ} *ḥuluganni* = *ma* = *at* EGIR-*pa* I IKU *ijanta* “But they march one IKU behind the cart.”, § 2.3.4
IBoT I 36 II 38 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 18–19)

(⇒199-NH) [*n* = *at* = *kan* *ANA* ^m *Ḥ(ūd)*] *upijanza šer arḥa pāir* “They went away for the sake of *Ḥudupijanza*.”, § 3.3.3
KBo XVI 6 III 6–7 (CTH 61.II5E) ed. CHD (P/1: 30)

In the structure of a postpositional phrase, the postposition and its Complement are both obligatory elements. The Complement can only be omitted, if it can be inferred from the context:

(⇒49-NS) (“The blacksmiths bring in two ox heads of silver.”) *perann* = *a* ^{LÚ} SAGI.
LIŠ.A *uāššanza iṭattari* “In front (of them) walks the cup-bearer (all) dressed (up).”, § 2.3.3
KUB II 5 II 35–39 (CTH 612.4A) ed. Badali and Zinko (1994: 80–81)

In the following examples we find a combination of the Old Hittite construction of a local adverb serving as a host for an enclitic possessive pronoun in combination with a Complement in the dative-locative:²⁹

(⇒45-MH) GAL LÚ.MEŠ.SUKUR = *ia* = *šmaš* NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ = *ia* *katti* = *šmi* *ijanta*
“Both a chief of spearmen and an army bailiff march with them.”,
§ 2.3.2
IBoT I 36 II 50 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 20–21)

(⇒182-OH+) GU₄-*uš* = *ta* = *kkan* *katti* [= *ti*] *arḥa paizzi* “The cow passes under you (and you pull out a tuft of its hair) UDU-*u* [*š* = *m*] *a* = *ta* = *kan* *katti* = *ti* [(*arḥa pa*) *izzil*] “The sheep passes under you (and you pull out its fleece).”,
§ 3.2.17
KUB XXX 54 II 14–16 + KUB XXXIII 47: 2’–5’ (CTH 334.1A) translit.
Laroche (1965: 139), transl. Hoffner (1990: 28)

Middle and New Hittite examples of this Old Hittite construction often show this double use, which can be explained by the fact that the enclitic possessive pronoun was no longer a part of the spoken language in Middle and New Hittite.³⁰

Independent local adverbs have no effect on the occurrence of sentence particles in the sentence. When the basic predicate is not accompanied by a sentence particle, as in the case of *ija-*, *pai-* and *uṣa-* and an independent local adverb is present in the sentence, one does not find a sentence particle either. With the predicate *dā-* and independent local adverbs we find the same patterns in the use of sentence particles as with the basic predicate, namely no particle with bivalent *dā-* and *-ašta* or *-kan* with trivalent *dā-*.

There are two major correspondences between the sample verbs *ija-*, *pai-*, *uṣa-* and *dā-* in their use with local adverbs. The first is their great capacity to combine with

²⁹ The Old Hittite construction will be described in § 5.2.

³⁰ See Melchert (1977: 36–38), with examples, for the situation in New Hittite. In the Mašat letters pure instances of the Old Hittite construction occur in expressions of the type *katti* = *ti* *ḥūman* SIG₅-*in* *ēšdu* “May everything be fine with you.” HKM 27: 20, cited in § 5.4.2 as (375-MH), et passim. In the plural we find *kattan* = *šmaš* = *ḥūman* SIG₅-*in* *ēšdu* in HKM 60: 30–31 ed. Alp (1991b: 234–235) and *kat-ta-aš-ma-aš* (probably a variant spelling for *kattan* = *šmaš* with assimilation of the final *-n*; see HE (§ 36a)) *ḥūman* SIG₅-*in* *ēštu* in HKM 57: 6–7 ed. Alp (1991b: 226–227).

local adverbs; see the discussion ad table 5.1 earlier in this section. The second point of agreement is that the local adverbs mostly have a literal, local meaning. Only in the case of *appa šara dā-*, which must mean something like “to solicit” (frame 4.22), the combination of local adverbs and *dā-* has lost its literal meaning altogether. In two other combinations of the verb *dā-*, namely *-za šara dā-* and *-za šer dā-*, a special connotation “to scoop (up)” seems to have developed from the literal translation “to take up for oneself” (frame 4.12 and 4.14 in § 4.5).

5.2 The function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite

The function of the local adverbs in Old Hittite has been thoroughly treated by Starke (1977). As mentioned in § 1.1.1 Starke’s study was a break through in the discussion about the function of local adverbs in the sentence. He convincingly showed that local adverbs ending in *-a* (group I) have a different function in Old Hittite than local adverbs in *-n* (group II) and he was the first to define their function in relation to the predicate.³¹ Since his comprehensive description of the situation in Old Hittite is available, my treatment of this subject will concentrate on two issues only, in which I partly disagree with Starke. The first is the distribution of dependent and independent use over the local adverbs of group I and II and the second is the question to what extent local adverbs in Old Hittite had a different relation with the predicate than in later Hittite.

The distribution of local adverbs over the sample verbs in the Old Hittite examples of ch. 2–4 is shown in the following table:

local adverb	dependent use				independent use			
	<i>iia-</i>	<i>pai-</i>	<i>uua-</i>	<i>dā-</i>	<i>iia-</i>	<i>pai-</i>	<i>uua-</i>	<i>dā-</i>
<i>anda</i>		×	×	?				
<i>arḥa</i>		?		?				
<i>arḥza</i>		?	?					
<i>katta</i>		×	×					
<i>kattan</i>					×			
<i>šarā</i>		×	×	×				
<i>parā</i>		×		×				
<i>peran</i>								?
<i>appa</i>		×	×	×			?	
<i>appanda</i> (<i>āppananda</i>)		×	×		×			
<i>ištarna</i>		×						
<i>menahḥanda</i>		×	×					

(Table 5.4. Distribution of local adverbs over the sample verbs in Old Hittite.)

³¹ In this section Starke’s views will only be briefly referred to, a more detailed description can be found in § 1.1.1.

³² There is one Old Hittite example of *šarā appa uua-*, (234-OH) in § 3.4.8, where *appa* may be used as independent Adjunct of Time meaning “again”.

This table shows that the number of local adverbs that are combined with *pai-*, *uua-* and *dā-* in Old Hittite is much lower than in later Hittite (see table 5.1 in § 5.1). Although table 5.4 fits in with Starke’s theory that local adverbs ending in *-a* are always dependent and local adverbs in *-n* always independent of the predicate, it is, in this form, not valid as a general rule for all verbs in Old Hittite. As explained in § 1.2, the dependence of a noun phrase or other type of constituent from the predicate is not determined by its grammatical form but by the meaning of the predicate with which it occurs. The verbs that occur with local adverbs in *-a* in Old Hittite, as shown in the survey by Starke (1977: 201–202), are indeed mostly verbs of motion or other verbs expressing or implying a notion of movement or removal. It seems reasonable to assume that with these verbs local adverbs in *-a*, which (in origin) are nouns in the allative indicating a notion of Direction, are always dependent on the predicate. Starke’s assumption that nouns in the locative, and for that matter local adverbs in *-n* as well, are always independent of the predicate, regardless of its meaning or construction, is in my opinion incorrect. There are verbs where the presence of an expression of Location is an essential completion of their verbal content, like *tija-* “to place”, *eš-* “to be (in a certain place)”, the deponent *ar-* “to stand” and *ki-* “to lie”.³³ These verbs can be provisionally called “verbs of position”. With this type of verb, local adverbs in *-n* are used as expressions of Location and are therefore also dependent on the predicate.³⁴

- (329-OH) LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD LÚ.MEŠ ŠUKUR ZABAR [pe]ra(n)=šmit a[ša]nzi “The of-ficers (and) the men of the bronze spear are in front of them.”
KUB XXXVI 104 rev. 7’ (CTH 8.D) cited by Starke (1977: 162)
- (330-OH) [ÉRIN.MEŠ]-ti=ma=ššan³⁵ šēr GÍR ZAB[(AR)] kitta “On top of the troop(s) a bronze dagger is placed.”
KBo XVII 1+ II 19’–20’ (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 26–27), translit. Neu (1980a: 7)
- (331-OH) t=an ḥaššāš peran tianzi “They place him in front of the hearth.”
KBo XVII 18 II 8’ (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 100)
- (332-OH) DAM LÚ GUDU₁₂ andan šiunaš É-ri [šar]ḥ [(ul)]iiaš per[an (arta)]
The wife of the priest stands in the house of the god, in front of the pillar.”³⁶
KBo XVII 15 rev¹ 13’ (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)³⁷

³³ See already Boley (1985: 19, 1992: 7) and Luraghi (1990: 34–35). The same has been observed for other languages. Latin examples of verbs which may be completed by an expression of Location are *habitare* “to live, to dwell” and *versari* “to pass one’s time (in a place), to subsist (in a place)”; see Pinkster (1990: 15, 28). English examples mentioned by Allerton (1982: 123) are “to stand” and “to be (in a certain place)”.

³⁴ The local adverbs in these examples are part of larger constructions on sentence or noun phrase level, which will be described below when dealing with the relation of local adverbs in *-n* with the predicate.

³⁵ The Hittite noun behind the spelling ÉRIN.MEŠ-*an* is singular; see n. 2 in § 4.1.1.

³⁶ See the discussion by Boysan-Dietrich (1987: 83–84) with ref.

³⁷ With restorations from the New Hittite manuscript KBo XVII 40 IV 7’. See also Starke (1977: 168).

In (332-OH) the verb of position *ar-* governs two local adverbs *andan* and *peran*, which both serve as expression of Location.

As observed by Starke (1977: 181–187) *katta* with some verbs behaves like a local adverb in *-a*, but with others it is used as a local adverb in *-n*, governing an Attribute in the genitive, or following a Complement in the locative, constructions normally restricted to local adverbs in *-n*. The following examples show that *katta* can be used as a dependent local adverb in *-a* with a verb of motion (117-OH), as a dependent local adverb in *-n* (i.e. like *kattan*) with a verb of position (333-OH), and finally as an independent local adverb in *-n*, in (334-OH) and (335-OH):

- (⇒117-OH) [LUG]AL^{URU} *Kuššara* URU-az *katta* [p]angarit [u][ēl] “The king of Kuššara came down from the city with massed troops.”, § 3.2.4
KBo III 22 obv. 5 (CTH 1.A) ed. Neu (1974a: 10–11)
- (333-OH) [(UGULA^{LÚ.MEŠ} MUḪALDIM)] *ḥaššāš katta kēt arta* “The chief of cooks stands on this side by the hearth.”
KBo XVII 15 rev¹ 14’–15’ (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)³⁸
- (334-OH) L[^U *ḥištā*] *ḥaššāš katta edi paršnān ḥarzi* “The man of the *ḥištā*-house has crouched on that side by the hearth.”
KBo XVII 15 rev¹ 15’–16’ (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)³⁹
- (335-OH) UGULA^{LÚ.MEŠ} MUḪALDIM *kur[šaš] peran* GI[^S *BANŠUR katta* III]-[*šU*] *šipanti* “The chief of cooks libates 3 times in front of the *kurša-*, next to the table.”
KUB XLIII 30 II 9’–10’ (CTH 645.7) translit. Neu (1980a: 77)

Starke conjectured that Old Hittite had two local adverbs *katta* coinciding in form but with a distinct function, namely a terminative *katta* belonging to group I and a locative *katta* / *katti* = belonging to group II (1977: 134).⁴⁰ It is, however, more likely that here we have the beginning of the gradual merging in function of the two sets of local adverbs attested in Middle and New Hittite; see § 5.1.

Now the second question can be addressed, whether the relation of dependent local adverbs with the predicate is different in Old Hittite compared to Middle and New Hittite. According to Starke local adverbs in *-a* have the same function with the predicate as any other noun in the allative. This means that they serve as Direction Complements of the predicate and as such are in apposition to any other Complement of the predicate in the dative or allative. If this is correct, they have an entirely different relation with the predicate than in later Hittite, where they form a semantic unity with the predicate (§ 5.1).

Table 5.5 shows which of the predicate frames of table 5.2 in § 5.1, listing the predicate frames of the sample verbs in their use with dependent local adverbs in Middle

³⁸ The restorations are based on the New Hittite manuscript KBo XVII 40 IV 8’. Cf. Starke (1977: 183).

³⁹ Cf. Starke (1977: 184).

⁴⁰ *katti-* is generally regarded as a special form of *kattan*, in its Old Hittite use as host for an enclitic possessive pronoun; see Friedrich (HE § 247c).

and New Hittite texts, are also present in Old Hittite. Differences with the situation in Middle and New Hittite are marked in bold type face:⁴¹

1	<i>anda</i>	COMPLEMENT, no sent. part or sent. part. optional. ⁴² Direction	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uṣa-</i> , <i>dā-</i> [?]
6	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT, no sent. part Origin	<i>pai-</i> [?] , <i>uṣa-</i>
9	<i>šarā</i>	COMPLEMENT, no sent. part. Direction	<i>pai-</i>
10	<i>šarā</i>	COMPLEMENT, sent. part. optional Origin inanimate	<i>uṣa-</i> ⁴³ , <i>dā-</i>
11	<i>parā</i> “on, forward”	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> ⁴⁴
12	<i>parā</i> “out”	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction	<i>pai-</i>
14	<i>āppa</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> ⁴⁵ , <i>uṣa-</i> , <i>dā-</i>
17	<i>āppanda</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uṣa-</i> ⁴⁶
18	<i>ištarna</i>	no sent. part.	<i>pai-</i>
19	<i>menahḫanda</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-</i> , <i>uṣa-</i>

(Table 5.5. Relation between dependent local adverb, use of predicate frame and sentence particle with the sample verbs in Old Hittite.)

Less than half of the predicate frames of table 5.2 are found in Old Hittite texts and many examples of these predicate frames are cases of absolute use. As shown in this table, the structure of the predicate frames is the same in Old Hittite and in later texts. There are also no indications that in the Old Hittite examples of ch. 2–4 the combinations of local adverbs and verb have a different meaning.⁴⁷ A difference with the later situation is that there are no examples of dependent local adverbs with *iṣa-* in Old Hittite originals. Additionally, it can be noted that predicate frames with an expression of Origin do not

⁴¹ Because of the scarce evidence for each predicate frame, remarks about the semantic category animate or inanimate of the noun phrase in Complement position have been omitted.

⁴² There is one example of *anda pai-* with *-šan*; see (86-OH) in § 3.2.1.

⁴³ There is one example of *šarā āppa uṣa-* without sentence particle, which may be an instance of absolute use of this construction of *šarā uṣa-* with independent *āppa* “again”; see (234-OH) in § 3.4.8 with n. 143, where it is remarked that a parallel manuscript shows traces of *-ašta*.

⁴⁴ In Old Hittite *parā dā-* is only attested with a bivalent predicate frame; see § 4.2.6 and predicate frame (4.15) in § 4.5.

⁴⁵ Only attested in absolute use.

⁴⁶ Only in absolute use.

⁴⁷ Of the dependent local adverbs listed in table 5.4 only *arḫa* has a different meaning and function in Old Hittite, which is discussed below.

occur with *pai-* in Old Hittite.⁴⁸ The third and most significant difference with later Hittite is the absence of sentence particles in Old Hittite with frames that are later accompanied by such a particle. In this respect it is interesting to note that in the only case where the sentence particle is necessary to distinguish between two frames that are identical in structure, but correspond with a different meaning of the predicate, namely frames 11 and 12 of *parā pai-*, a sentence particle is already used in Old Hittite. In the other cases the sentence particle is either absent or, with *anda pai-* in frame 1, optional. This shows that the habit to add sentence particles to certain combinations of predicate and local adverb was not yet customary in Old Hittite.⁴⁹

If we approach the problem of the function of the local adverbs in *-a* in Old Hittite from the situation in Middle and New Hittite, the similarities in meaning and construction and the occasional presence of sentence particles with *pai-* and *uṣa-* seem to indicate that they were no longer treated as common nouns in the allative, but already had the status of, or at least were developing into, a group of adverbs that could form a semantic unity with the predicate. The only manifest indication that they may have had a looser relationship with the predicate is their position in the sentence. In later Hittite their dominant position is immediately before the verb following a possible Complement or Indirect Object, whereas in Old Hittite they are as a rule placed away from the verb preceding the Complement or Indirect Object.⁵⁰

In this respect it is important to realize that there are a few examples which show the word order in later Hittite, in which local adverbs in *-a* follow the Complement and appear before the verb:⁵¹

- (336-OH) [UGULA LÚ.]^{MEŠ}MUḪALDIM *marnuandaš išpantuziaššar* LUGAL-*i parā epz[i]* “The chief of the cooks holds out to the king a vessel of *marnu-ant*.”
KUB XLIII 30 II 8', ed. Neu (1980a: 77)
- (⇒292-OH) [DING]IR.DIDLI-*ša* DUMU.MEŠ-*uš* A.AB.BA-*az šarā dāir* “The gods, however, lifted the children up from the sea.”, § 4.2.4
KBo XXII 2 obv. 4–5 (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 6–7)
- (⇒140-OH) LUGAL-*i parā* I-*šu paizzi* “He goes once forward to the king.”, § 3.2.8.
KBo XVII 43 I 11'–12' (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)
- (⇒117-OH) [LUG]AL^{URU} *Kuššara URU-az katta [p]angarit [u][ē]* “The king of Kuššara came down from the city with massed troops.”, § 3.2.4
KBo III 22 obv. 5 (CTH 1.A) ed. Neu (1974a: 10–11)

⁴⁸ Note the contrast with the situation in Middle and New Hittite, where five such frames (3, 6, 13, 15 and 22) are found with *pai-*.

⁴⁹ For the fact that sentence particles are less often employed in Old Hittite see § 1.1.2 with references.

⁵⁰ The position of local adverbs in Hittite sentences is described in more detail in § 5.4.

⁵¹ In (140-OH) the regular word order is abandoned: The Complement LUGAL-*i* is fronted, immediately followed by *parā*; see § 5.4.1, p. 160–161. (117-OH) is an example of the habit, described on p. 165 and 173–174, to place specific types of Adjuncts between the local adverb and the verb.

The last three instances are sentences with *dā-*, *pai-* and *uṣa-*, where the structure of the predicate frame coincides with the patterns established for the sample verbs in Middle and New Hittite in § 5.2.⁵² Luraghi (1990: 33 + n. 62) rightly observed that in the first example, (336-OH), the addition of *parā* to the predicate *ep-* influences the valency of this verb. Whereas the basic predicate *ep-* “to seize, to grab” is bivalent, *parā ep-* “to hold out to” is trivalent, requiring the presence of a Subject, Object and an Indirect Object. This use of *parā ep-* is widely attested in later Hittite.⁵³ In these Old Hittite examples of the word order pattern, which is common in Middle and New Hittite, we are likely to have the first examples of the later situation in which the local adverb forms a semantic unit with the predicate.⁵⁴

As shown by Starke the function of local adverbs in *-n* is quite different from that of local adverbs in *-a*. This group of local adverbs in Old Hittite still behaves like nouns or at least betrays its nominal origin, in that they may host an enclitic possessive pronoun or govern a noun phrase in the genitive. In both cases the local adverb functions as the Head of an obligatory Attribute. The later construction where the local adverb follows and occasionally precedes a Complement in the dative or locative is also found in Old Hittite.⁵⁵ On p. 141 examples (329-OH) to (332-OH) were cited to show that local adverbs in *-n* can function as an expression of Location with verbs of position. The fact that this nominal use with a genitive Attribute or possessive pronoun also occurs when they belong to a verb of position, as shown by *pera(n)šmit* “in front of them” and *ḫaššāš peran* “in front of the hearth” in (329-OH) and (331-OH), indicates that in these cases they do not yet form a unity with the predicate, but function as Complements of Location.⁵⁶ Their use with a dative or locative in Old Hittite, as e.g. ÉRIN.MEŠ-*ti šēr* “on top of the troop(s)” in (330-OH), can accordingly be described as two Location Complements in partitive apposition.⁵⁷ Dependent local adverbs in *-n* are, unlike their counterparts in *-a*, always placed before the verb and have the same position as in later Hittite.⁵⁸

In the following example *kattan* cannot be interpreted as an expression of Location in the locative. Here it already seems to have the function that local adverbs in *-n* can

⁵² See frame 10, 11, and 6 in table 5.2 and 5.3 in § 5.1.

⁵³ See the survey of the verb *ep-* with and without *parā* in Kammenhuber (HW²: 44–45 and 73–82).

⁵⁴ Since in (336-OH) and (140-OH) *parā* follows instead of precedes LUGAL-*i*, the dative LUGAL-*i* is interpreted by Starke as an independent dative with locative function (1977: 179–180) meaning “for the king” instead of “to the king”. It is, in my opinion, not very likely that the only constituent of the sentence that can indicate the Direction (or the Recipient with *parā ep-*) of the “direktivische Verben” *pai-* and *ep-*, namely the dative LUGAL-*i*, may not be interpreted as such, so that this function is to be inferred from the context.

⁵⁵ I tend to agree with Neu (1974a: 68–69) that the construction with the genitive is older, is gradually replaced by the one with the dative or locative and that this development shows how they slowly but steadily lost their original nominal characteristics. According to Starke they function as nouns in all of these usages, none of which can be shown to be older than the other (1977: 175–176).

⁵⁶ A similar statement was made by Luraghi (1990: 35) about the function of *andan* with *zikk-* “to place” in KBo XXII 2 obv. 2–3 (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 6–7). The other example, KUB XXIX 28 I 8', is wrongly quoted as an instance of *andan* serving as Complement with *ḫark-* “to perish”, which is clearly a monovalent verb. This example is cited as (366-OH) in § 5.4.1.

⁵⁷ The description of this construction as a case of partitive apposition has been adopted from Starke (1977: 175–176); see § 1.1.1. It should, however, be noted that in Starke's opinion these locatives do not serve as Complements of the predicate, but as independent Adjuncts. A different interpretation has been suggested by Boley (1985: 19).

⁵⁸ See the more detailed description in § 5.4.1.

have in later Hittite: it modifies the meaning of the predicate and thus forms a unity with the verb *damaš-/dameš-* “to press, to push”.⁵⁹

- (337-OH) (“You are constantly oppressing the craftsmen.”) *apē=ma [kattan]*⁶⁰
dameškiyan dāir “They, however, have started to oppress (others)”⁶¹.
 KBo XXII 1: 3’–4’ (CTH 272) ed. Archi (1974: 45–46)

The similarity in construction and meaning of the local adverbs *ištarna* and *menahhanda* in their use with *pai-* and *uua-* seems to indicate that their function with these verbs was the same in Old Hittite; see table 5.5.⁶²

The local adverb *arha* which is so widely attested in later Hittite is rarely used in Old Hittite and mostly in broken sentences.⁶³ The only complete or almost complete examples are:

- (⇒113-OH) (“When on the sixth day they open (and) dra[w] up the curtain,”
 LUGAL-*uš arha paizzi* “the king goes away (or: outwards).”, § 3.2.3
 KBo XX 10+ I 1–2 (CTH 669) translit. Neu (1980a: 131)
- (⇒276-OH) [] *uila-uš hūm[an]daš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš arha dā[u]e[ni]* “We will
 take away the pieces of clay [] from all the gods.”, § 4.2.2
 KBo XIX 156+ II 16 (CTH 752.1A) translit. Neu (1980a: 222)

On the basis of so little evidence it is impossible to say anything definite about the function and meaning of *arha* in Old Hittite. The instances of *kattan arha* cited by Neu (1983: 27), all of which are unfortunately in broken context, remind us of the later use of *arha* in combination with another local adverb. The possibility of a trivalent construction of *arha dā-* in (276-OH) and the fact that the translation “away” fits in both cases may also be seen as signs that *arha* is losing or already has lost its original position of noun in the allative in Old Hittite. On the other hand, it can be noted that the use of *arha paizzi* in the only complete sentence with *arha*, is very similar to that of *arahza pai-* in another Old Hittite ritual in a similar context:

- (⇒204-OH) [(The king)] puts on h[(is gear.)] LU[GAL-*uš*] a[*rah*]za *paiz[zi]* “(and)
 the king goes outside.”, § 3.4.1
 KBo XVII 11+ I 32’ (CTH 631.1A) ed. Neu (1970: 14–15), translit. Neu (1980a: 65)

As mentioned in § 3.4.1, *arahza* may have kept its original nominal character even in later Hittite.

5.3 The relation between local adverb, verb and sentence particle in Middle and New Hittite: Completion of the main results of § 5.1

The main conclusion of § 5.1 is that the addition of dependent local adverbs to the verbs *ija-*, *pai-* and *uua-* results in the same types of predicate frames with the same habits in the use of sentence particles. These were listed for each local adverb in table 5.2. As was shown in table 5.3, some of these patterns occur with *dā-* as well, namely in those cases where the combination of local adverb and predicate expresses a notion of movement to or from a place. This was taken as an indication that the influence of a local adverb on the construction of the predicate and possibly on its habits in sentence particles is the same with predicates belonging to the same semantic sphere. In this section, we will try to show the plausibility of this inference by demonstrating that the same kind of predicate frames are found with two motion verbs of a different type, namely the trivalent verbs *pehute-* “to take, to lead (away) to” and *uuate-* “to bring, to lead (back) to”.⁶⁴ Then the results will be presented of a study of the sentences with local adverbs in a sample of Middle Hittite and New Hittite texts showing that the same predicate frames are found with other verbs of motion. The comparison of the predicate frames will be restricted to the first fifteen predicate frames of table 5.2 belonging to local adverbs that can be combined with a great number of other verbs and where the effect on the construction and meaning of the verb is the most evident.

Local adverbs with *pehute-* and *uuate-*

In its use without local adverbs, *pehute-* is constructed with a Subject, an Object and an expression of Direction, whereas *uuate-* may govern the same construction with an expression of Direction or one with an expression of Origin. This same distribution is found with *pai-* and *uua-* (§ 3.1.1 and 3.1.2).⁶⁵ As a rule no sentence particles are employed with the basic predicate *pehute-* and *uuate-*. See the following examples:

- (338-MH) *nu^m Kišna[pili]š ÉRIN.MEŠ-an^{URU} Hinduu^a zahhija pehutet* “Kišnapiliš
 led his troops to battle against Hinduu^a. (Madduattaš, thereafter, did
 not go to battle against Dalauu^a at all.)”
 KUB XIV 1+ obv. 68–69 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 16–17)
- (339-lateNH) (“Tarhūntanaradu I took along with his wives [...]”) *n=an^{URU} pū-
 na^{UTU}-aš URU-ri [uua]tenun* “I led him to Arinna, the city of the
 Sungoddess.”
 KUB XXIII 13: 8–9 (CTH 211.4) ed. Sommer (1932: 314–315)
- (340-NH) *kuitman^{LÚ} SANGA^{URU} Aštataza uūadanzi* “As long as they are leading
 the priest from Aštata, (as long as they are on their way to arrange the

⁵⁹ See also Luraghi (1990: 34).

⁶⁰ The word *kattan* is clearly readable in the text copy.

⁶¹ Differently Archi (1974: 46): “et ceux-ci en conséquence ont commencé à (vous) opprimer”.

⁶² In Starke’s view, they have a(n independent) locative function, regardless of the verb they are used with; see § 1.1.1.

⁶³ See the examples cited by Starke (1977: 197) and Neu (1983: 26–27).

⁶⁴ I thank prof. Hoffner for letting me use a first draft of the lemma *pehute-*, which is to appear in the third fascicle of CHD (P), and for his suggestion to include *pehute-* and *uuate-* in my study as motion verbs with a different syntactic structure than *ija-*, *pai-* and *uua-*.

⁶⁵ These verbs are formed with the same prefix *pe-* “thither, forth” and *u-* “whither, back”. As mentioned in § 3.0, with verbs containing the prefix *pe-* the movement of the verb is conceived as directed away from the speaker, in those with *u-* as coming back to the speaker.

rites of the god, if you, o god, will not in anger further add anything extra to this illness of his Majesty, let the KIN-oracle be favourable.)” KUB V 6+ I 39’–42’ (CTH 570); see Sommer (1932: 276)

Under each of the fifteen predicate frames of table 5.2, examples of *pehute-* or *uuate-* will be cited, which show the same predicate frame. In the description of the predicate frames in this table only the constituents are indicated that occur beside the Subject or Subject and Object.⁶⁶ To the third column the occurrence with *dā-* (table 5.3) and *pehute-* or *uuate-* has been added:

1	<i>anda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction	<i>iia-, pai-, uua-, dā-, pehute-, uuate-</i>
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(341-NH) (“In a dream someone (looking) like a prince came in. (...)”) *nu = uua = mu = kan anda kuedanikki pidi pehutet* “He led me into some place.” KUB XXXI 71+ III 2–3, 7–8 (CTH 297.19) ed. van den Hout (1994: 310, 313)

(342-NS) (“She (= the Old Woman) holds a palace attendant by (his) *šeknu*-garment”) *n = an = kan LUGAL-i anda pehutezzi* “and he leads her in to the king.” KUB XXXV 163 III 12–14 (CTH 754.2A)

(343-MH) (“You, Pipappa, lead the UKU.UŠ-troops quickly across”) *n = an = kan tuzziia anda uuate* “and lead them (back) into the army.” HKM 35: 1–7 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 182–183)

2	<i>andan</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-, uua-</i>
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andan is not attested in combination with *pehute-* and *uuate-*.

3	<i>arha</i> “away”	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin	<i>iia-, pai-, uua-, dā-, pehute-,⁶⁷ uuate-</i>
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(344-MH) *āppa = ma = kan*⁶⁸ *UTU ŠI IŠTU KUR URU Šalpa Û I[ŠTU KUR URU Pitaš]ša*⁶⁹ *ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĪA arha uatenun* “Later, however, I, My Majesty, led the troops (and) charioteers away from the land of Šalpa and f[rom the land of Pitaš]ša.” KUB XIV 1+ rev. 38 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 28–29)

⁶⁶ The semantic category animate or inanimate of the Complement is only noted in frame 5 and 7, where it was shown to be a relevant factor in the structure of the predicate frame; see § 5.1.

⁶⁷ With *pehute-* this construction only occurs in absolute use: *š = an = ašta arha pehuter* “They led him away” KBo III 34 II 6–7 (CTH 8.A, OH+) and *š = an = ašta arha pehuter* in duplicate KBo III 36 I 14’ (MS C).

⁶⁸ The reading *a-ap-pa-ma-kān* has been suggested by Otten (1969: 26). In this example *āppa = ma* functions as a connector relating paragraphs in a temporal sequence and as such is independent of the contents of the predication; see § 1.1.1, p. 9–10 and CHD (L–N: 97).

⁶⁹ See Garstang and Gurney (1959: 100).

4	<i>arha</i> “home”	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-, uua-, pehute-,⁷⁰ uuate-</i>
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(345-NH) *n = aš arha = pat pat* “He went home straight away. (He did not come near me at all. He let the troops (and) charioteers of the land of Ḫatti march ahead of him.)” *n = an arha pehutet* “and led them home”. StBoT 24: II 49–51 (CTH 81) ed. Otten (1981: 14–15)

(346-NH) (“I also captured Piḫḫunijaš”) *n = an URU KÙ.BABBAR-ši arha uatenun* “and I led him home to Ḫattuša. (Then I came back from the land of Tipija.)” KBo III 4 III 89–90 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 94–95)

5	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction inanimate	<i>pai-, pehute-, uuate-⁷¹</i>
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(347-MH+) (“They wash them (= the horses) with warm water.”) *namma = aš ID-i katta pehudanzi* “Then they lead them (= the horses) down to the river.” KBo III 2 obv’. 28–29 (CTH 284.4) ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 130–131)

6	<i>katta</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin	<i>iia-, pai-, uua-, dā-, pehute-, uuate-</i>
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(348-NS) *n = ašta antuḫšuš [kuēz] za KÁ.GAL.ĪA-za katta kunanna [pē] hudanzi* “From which gate they lead the men down to kill (them), (you shall bring those (evils) down from there.)” KUB XXX 34 IV 20–23 (CTH 401.3A) ed. Kümmel (1967: 158)

(349-NH) *[ne] pišaš dU-aš dU URU Nerikki = uua = kan nepišaza katta SIG₅-in uua [te]* “O Stormgod of heaven, lead the Stormgod safely down from heaven to the city of Nerik.” KUB XXXVI 89 rev. 64’–65’ (CTH 671) ed. Haas (1970: 156–157)

7	<i>kattan</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction animate	<i>iia-, pai-, uua-, pehute-, uuate-</i>
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(350-NH) (“These lands that I resettled,”) *nu KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.R[(A.MEŠ)] kēl ŠA KUR⁷² ANA ŠEŠ = IA lah [hi i] NA KUR Mizrī GAM-an pehutenun* “the troops (and) charioteers of these lands(!) I led (in) to the presence of my brother, on campaign against Egypt.”⁷² StBoT 24 II 70–72 (CTH 81.A) ed. Otten (1981: 16–17)

⁷⁰ Only without explicit expression of Direction.

⁷¹ Only attested in combination with an expression of Origin; see (349-NH).

⁷² This is the only complete examples of frame 7 with *pehute-*, where we have, in fact, a combination of the

- (351-NH) (“Because NIG.BA-^dU-aš, the king of Kinza, killed Aitaggama, his father,”) *n=an=mu kattān uṣater* “they brought him into my presence.” KBo IV 4 II 65–66 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 120–121)

8	<i>kattanda</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction	<i>īā-, pai-, uṣa-, peḥute-</i>
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- (352-NH) (“I sent him a messenger and wrote to him: ‘The servants of mine, of whom you took possession,’”) *nu=ṣar=aš=kan INA^{URU} Gašga kattanta pēḥutet* “‘and whom you led down into the Kaška city, (send them home to me!’)”

KBo III 4 III 76–78 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 90–91)

9	<i>šarā</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction	<i>īā-, pai-, uṣa-, peḥute-</i>
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- (353-NH) ^dUTU^{ŠI} = *kan kuit* ^{HUR.SAG} *Ḥaḥarūa* KARAS.ḤI.A UGU *pēḥutezzi* “Because His Majesty will lead the army up to mount Ḥaḥarūa.” KUB V 1 I 46 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 40–41)

10	<i>šarā</i>	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin	<i>īā-, uṣa-, dā-, uṣate-⁷³</i>
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- (354-MH+) *maḥḥan=ma=aš INA III KASKAL ṣetenaz šarā uṣadanzi* “When in the third round they lead them (= the horses) up from the water, (they give them one hand of hay.)”

KBo III 2 rev 4–5 (CTH 284.4) ed. Kammenhuber (136–137)

11	<i>parā</i> “on, forward”	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>īā-, pai-, peḥute-</i>
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- (355-NS) *n=an LUGAL-i parā pēḥu[te]zi* “He (=the chief of guards) leads him (= the cupbearer) forward to the king.”⁷⁴

KUB II 5 V 1 (CTH 612.4) ed. Badali and Zinko (1994: 92–93)⁷⁵

constructions KARAS - KUR^{TI} ANA ŠEŠ-IA GAM-an *pēḥutenun* “The troops etc. I led (in)to the presence of my brother” and KARAS - KUR^{TI} *lahḥi INA KUR Mizrī pēḥutenun* “The troops etc. I led on campaign against Egypt.”

⁷³ The absence of the sentence particle in (354-MH+) is typical for the Kikkuli text; see Zuntz (1936: 108), Kammenhuber (1952: 84 and 1961: 332) and Neu (1986: 159). The Mašat letter HKM 43 contains two broken passages with *šarā uṣate-* and the particle *-ašta* in lines 8’–10’ and 1’–3’; see ed. Alp (1991b: 194–197).

⁷⁴ Similarly KBo XXI 85 I 8–9 + KBo VIII 109 I 3’–4’ *n=an LUGAL-i parā pēḥutezzi* (CTH 630.A). I wonder if the use of *-kan* with *parā peḥute-* “to lead forward” in IBoT IV 63: 9’–10’ (NS), cited in the CHD (P/2: 120), is not a mistake caused by the reading *anda peḥute-* (always with *-kan*) in the duplicate KBo XXI 78 I 11–12 (NS).

⁷⁵ Their translation “Er bringt ihn zum König hinaus” is not correct. The contexts indicates that the king is in the same room as these officials.

12	<i>parā</i> “out”	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Direction	<i>īā-, pai-, (peḥute-⁷⁶), uṣate-</i>
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- (356-MH) *nu=ššan É[RIN.MEŠ^{URU}] Dalauṣa KASKAL-ši parā [uṣater]* “Then they led the troops of the city of Dalauṣa out to the road. (Then it came about that they blocked the road for our troops.)” KUB XIV 1+ obv. 71 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 18–19)⁷⁷

13	<i>parā</i> “out”	COMPLEMENT + sent. part. Origin	<i>īā-, pai-, uṣa-, dā-, uṣate-</i>
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- (357-NS) (“He (=the seer) raises him (=the sacrificer)”) *n=an=kan KÁ.GAL-az parā uṣatezzi* “and leads him out of the main gate.” KBo V 2 III 39 (CTH 471.A)

14	<i>āppa</i>	COMPLEMENT Direction	<i>pai-, uṣa-, dā-, peḥute-, uṣate-</i>
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- (358-NH) *n[u⁷⁸ a(ntuḥšatar k)]uinna apel ANA URU=ŠU EGIR-pa [(pēḥutet)]* “He (=my father) led back the population, everyone to his own town (and they again occupied the towns of the population.)” KUB XIX 11 IV 14–16 (CTH 40.IID) ed. Güterbock (1956: 65)⁷⁹

- (359-NH) (He [took ma]ny prisoner(s)) *n=an EGIR-pa INA^{URU} Šamuḥa uṣate[t]* “and brought them back to Šamuḥa.” KUB XIX 11 I 9’–10’ (CTH 40.IID) ed. Güterbock (1956: 63)

15	<i>āppa</i>	COMPLEMENT Origin inanimate	<i>īā-, pai-, uṣa-, uṣate-</i>
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- (360-lateNH) (“Even if this (= the offspring of a daughter of Kurunta) is in a foreign country,”) *n=at apezzi(i)=ia EGIR-pa uṣadandu* “one has to bring it back from there too (and install this person on the throne in the land of Tarḥuntašša.)” Bo 86/299 III 18–20 (CTH 106) ed. Otten (1988: 20–21)⁸⁰

⁷⁶ With the exception of a few instances of *parā peḥute-* in absolute use, which can belong to frame 12 or 13, see e.g. KBo XXXIV 185 I 5 cited in CHD (P/2: 113), there are no certain instances of this construction with *peḥute-*. There is one example where *peḥute-* may be restored: KUB XXIX 55 I 16 (CTH 285.1, MH) *nu=uš=šan uḥnušni parā p[ēḥutemi]* “I lead them out to the circle.” ed. Kammenhuber (1961: 150–151 + n. 10). See also Starke (1995: 66). For the use of *peḥute-* with horses as Object see (347-MH+) and (354-MH+).

⁷⁷ Cf. CHD (P/2: 116).

⁷⁸ Güterbock’s restoration of the particle *-kan* seems unnecessary with *āppa peḥute-*.

⁷⁹ With restorations from KUB XIX 10 I 4’–5’ (MS E).

⁸⁰ The same expression is found in KBo IV 10 obv. 13’–14’ (CTH 106) ed. van den Hout (1995: 24–25).

Local adverbs with other verbs: a test

Table 5.6 below shows the verbs that occur in a sample of Middle and New Hittite texts with one or more of the first fifteen predicate frames of table 5.2 repeated above. For this test sample the following texts have been selected: The Maṣat letters in the edition by Alp (1991b) and the Hittite instruction for the Royal Bodyguard (CTH 262) edited by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991) as examples of Middle Hittite texts and the manuscripts of the Annals of King Muṣili II (CTH 61) that were edited by Götze (1933a)⁸¹ and the Apology of King Ḫattuṣili III (CTH 81) in the edition by Otten (1981) as New Hittite texts.

In table 5.6 the editions are cited in conformity with the conventions of the CHD:

- AM: Götze, A. 1933a. *Die Annalen des Muṣiliš* (Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 38), Leipzig.
 HBM: Alp, S. 1991b. *Hethitische Briefe aus Maṣat-Höyük*, Ankara.
 AS 24: Güterbock, H.G. and Th.P.J. van den Hout. 1991. *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*. (Assyriological Studies 24), Chicago.
 StBoT 24: Otten, H. 1981. *Die Apologie Ḫattuṣiliš III. Das Bild der Überlieferung* (Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 24), Wiesbaden.

verb	predicate frame of table 5.2	translation of predicate frame and occurrence in sample text (with page number of the edition) ⁸²
ar- "to arrive, to reach"	frame 1	"to arrive in" IBoT I 36 IV 3–4 (AS 24: 32–33)
	frame 11	"to reach on to" KBo III 4 III 69–70 (AM: 88–89)
arnu- "to make go, to lead, to bring"	frame 8	"to make go or force down into" KBo V 8 III 35 (AM: 158–159)
	frame 10	"to lead up to" HKM 65: 11–12 (HBM: 244–245)
	frame 12	"to bring out to" HKM 25: 18–19 (HBM: 164–165)
ḫandai- "to line up"	frame 9	"to attempt to go up" IBoT I 36 I 57 (AS 24: 10–11) ⁸³

⁸¹ Additions and joins to the Annals that were published later have not been included in this restricted text sample.

⁸² Of each predicate frame one instance is cited.

⁸³ The verb *ḫandai-* has a wide range of notions; see Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 96–107). The translation of this isolated instance of *ṣarā ḫandai-* has been adopted from Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 11). In this use, which may be derived from the meaning "to line up", *ḫandai-* behaves like a motion verb. The Direction "to the palace" is to be inferred from the context. Similarly, the expression *anda ḫandai* with a dative (+ *-kan*) "to join up with" can be compared with *anda pai-* with an animate expression of Direction "to go in to"; see § 3.2.1.

ḫuittija- "to draw, to pull"	frame 1	"to drag into" KBo V 8 II 29–30 (AM: 154–155) ⁸⁴
	frame 3	"to draw away from"
	frame 5	HKM 71: 26–28 (HBM: 256–257) "to pull down" HKM 7: 8 (HBM: 130–131) ⁸⁵
ḫuṣai- "to run, to rush"	frame 13	"to rush out of" HKM 59: 4–7 (HBM: 232–233)
iṣnani- "to move, to march, to go"	frame 1	"to march in to" KBo V 8 III 23–24 (AM: 158–159)
	frame 2	"to march in to"
	frame 11	KBo IV 4 IV 17 (AM: 134–135) "to move on, to progress"
	frame 12 or 13 ⁸⁶	StBoT 24: III 7–8 (ib: 16–17) ⁸⁷ "to move out" IBoT I 36 II 23–24 (AS 24: 16–17)
nai- "to turn, to send"	frame 3	"to send away from" HKM 37: 11 (HBM: 186–187)
	frame 12	"to send out to"
	frame 13	HKM 36 : 5 (HBM: 182–183) "to send out of" HKM 89: 10–11 (HBM: 290–291)
penna- "to bring, to drive"	frame 4	"to send home to" HKM 89: 23–24 (HBM: 290–291)
	frame 6 ⁸⁸	"to drive down"
	frame 9	HKM 66: 12 (HBM: 246–247) "to drive up to"
	frame 14 or 15 ⁸⁹	KUB XIV 15 III 43 (AM: 54–55) ⁹⁰ "to drive back" HKM 17: 7 (HBM: 142–143)
peššija- "to throw"	frame 3	"to throw out" HKM 10: 38–39 (HBM: 136–137) ⁹¹

⁸⁴ I follow Götze in assuming that the Direction is to be supplied from the context: "die Mannschaft, die er in geringer Zahl dorthin ge[zo]gen hatte."

⁸⁵ This is not a very clear example. The context is broken and both the Object and the expression of Direction are omitted. Frame 6, with an expression of Origin and a particle, is attested with *ḫuittija-* in KUB XV 34+ I 21–22: *n = ašta TUG kureššar [ISTU] GIŠBANŠUR AD.KID katta ḫuittijanzi* "They pull a length of cloth down from the reed table." (CTH 483.A, MS) ed. Zuntz (1937: 492–493); see Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 345).

⁸⁶ The instance in IBoT I 36 is a case of absolute use, which may also belong to frame 11.

⁸⁷ Note that *parā iṣnani-* is used here in a figurative sense.

⁸⁸ Without expression of Origin.

⁸⁹ In this instance the Direction or Origin is omitted, so that it may belong to frame 14 or 15.

⁹⁰ The Direction ^{URU}Arinnanda is not mentioned in this sentence, but in the next one.

⁹¹ The sentence *nu = ʷar = an = kan arḫa peššijanun* can be interpreted as "I threw him out (of Zikkatta)". Alp translated: "Ich habe ihn zurück geworfen".

<i>peda-</i> “to bring, to carry”	frame 5	“to bring down to” StBoT 24: II 53 (ib: 14–15)
	frame 8	“to bring down into” KBo III 4 III 70–71 (AM: 88–89)
	frame 9	“to carry up to” IBoT I 36 III 62 (AS 24: 62–63)
	frame 12 or 13 ⁹²	“to carry out” IBoT I 36 I 14 (AS 24: 6–7)
<i>pīja-</i> / <i>pešk-</i> “to send”	frame 1	“to send into” HKM 46: 18–21 (HBM: 202–203)
	frame 11	“to send off, to dispatch” IBoT I 36 I 31 (AS 24: 8–9) ⁹³
<i>piddai-</i> “to run”	frame 14 or 15	“to run back” IBoT I 36 III 10 (AS 24: 24–25) ⁹⁴
<i>tarna-</i> “to let go or come”	frame 1	“to let come into” StBoT 24: IV 49 (ib: 26–27)
	frame 9	“to let go up to” HKM 31: 5–7 (HBM: 174–175)
	frame 13	“to let go out or leave” IBoT I 36 I 73 (AS 24: 12–13) ⁹⁵
<i>tiia-</i> “to step, to take a stand”	frame 11	“to step forward” IBoT I 36 III 44–45 (AS 24: 26–27) ⁹⁶
<i>uiia-</i> “to send, to chase”	frame 3	“to chase away from” StBoT 24: I 72 (ib: 8–9)
	frame 9	“to chase up to” KBo V 8 III 30–31
	frame 11	“to send off, to dispatch” StBoT 24: I 66 (ib: 8–9) ⁹⁷
<i>unna-</i> “to take, to drive”	frame 8	“to take down (into)” HKM 31: 19 ⁹⁸
	frame 14	“to drive back to” HKM 47: 10 (HBM: 202–203)
<i>uppa-</i> “to send”	frame 4	“to send home to” KBo III 4 III 78 (AM: 90–91)

⁹² Neither the Direction nor the Origin is mentioned.

⁹³ Only attested in absolute use; see CHD (P/2: 113).

⁹⁴ An instance of absolute use.

⁹⁵ The Origin ^E*hilaz* is mentioned in the next sentence *ibid.* 74.

⁹⁶ With omission of the Direction.

⁹⁷ Without expression of Origin.

⁹⁸ The Object and the Direction seem to be omitted.

<i>uda-</i> “to take, to carry”	frame 4	“to take home to” KBo III 4 I 34 (AM: 22–23)
	frame 7	“to take (in)to (the presence of)” HKM 30: 22 (HBM: 174–175)
	frame 14	“to bring back to” HKM 46: 22–23 (HBM: 202–203)
<i>uāhnu-</i> “to turn”	frame 14	“to turn back to” KBo IV 4 II 7–8 (AM: 12–113)
<i>uatkunu-</i> “to chase”	frame 3 ⁹⁹	“to chase away from” KUB XIV 15 IV 23 (AM: 68–69)

(Table 5.6. Verbs in sample texts showing one or more of the predicate frames of table 5.2.)

The common denominator of the verbs listed in table 5.6 is that they all express a notion of movement. The verbs *pehute-* and *uuate-* belong to a group of contrasting pairs of verbs meaning “to take, to bring”. The other two pairs are *peda-*, *uda-* and *penna-*, *unna-*. The difference between these verbs is the semantic category of the Object. In the words of Starke (1977: 142): “*pehute-* bedeutet dasselbe wie *peda-*, der Unterschied besteht lediglich darin, daß das Objekt zu *pehute-* immer eine Person, zu *peda-* immer ein Gegenstand ist”. The Object of the third pair *penna-* and *unna-* are as a rule animals (live stock).¹⁰⁰ Since the predicate frames of *pehute-* and *uuate-* coincide with those of *iia-*, *pai-* and *uua-*, it is likely that the same holds for the pairs *peda-*, *uda-* and *penna-*, *unna-* in table 5.6. The verbs *arnu-*, *huuiai-* and *ijannai-* also seem to have the same sentence patterns in their use with local adverbs.¹⁰¹ The active verb *ijannai-*, which originated as a durative of *iia-*, shows predicate frames attested with *iia-* and *pai-*.¹⁰²

As was observed with *dā-*, table 5.3 in § 5.1, the fact that a verb shares some of its constructions with motion verbs like *iia-*, *pai-* and *uua-* does not imply that the function of local adverbs is the same in all its uses. They may have a wider range of notions with different constructions and habits in the use of sentence particles. This is especially clear with *handai-* and *uatkunu-*, which only in one or two particular uses share a frame with the verbs of table 5.2.¹⁰³ With the other verbs in table 5.6, the addition of a local adverb generally results in a predicate frame with the same structure, but here deviations in the use of sentence particles may occur, either the result of special notions or of minor differences in meaning. With *parā nai-*, for instance, no distinction is made between the construction with an expression of Direction and a particle meaning “to send out” (frame 12) and the one without such a particle meaning “to send forth, to dispatch” (frame 11).¹⁰⁴ In its use with *appa* it also shows a different use of sentence particles. When *appa nai-* has the meaning “to return”, it is not accompanied by a sentence particle,

⁹⁹ The verb *uatkunu-* is only attested with *arha*; see Friedrich (HW: 250).

¹⁰⁰ This rule, however, is not without exceptions; see e.g. p. 151 n. 76.

¹⁰¹ This observation is based on the treatment of these verbs in the dictionaries by Kammenhuber (HW², A: 328–336) and Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 419–423 and Vol 2: 326–326).

¹⁰² Only frame 2 is not attested with *iia-*, but there is one broken example of *andan iia-* mentioned in § 2.4.1.

¹⁰³ See n.83 and 99 ad table 5.6.

¹⁰⁴ See CHD (P/1: 112) citing one instance without particle and CHD (P/2: 120).

just like *āppa ija-*, *āppa pai-* and *āppa uya-*, with which it shares this use (frame 14 or 15). When, in the mediopassive, *āppa nai-* has the notion “to turn (oneself) back” or, in the active, means “to send (someone) back”, it does have a sentence particle.¹⁰⁵ Sometimes a different notion of a verb in combination with a local adverb corresponds with a change in construction. This is, for instance, shown by *anda hūittija-*, which with the literal meaning “to drag into” behaves like a verb of motion governing predicate frame 1, but also occurs with an Object and without *-kan* when used in the sense “to draw in, to curtail”.¹⁰⁶

Although frame 3 of *arha* (with an expression of Origin and a sentence particle) is attested with a great number of other verbs, the alternation with frame 4 (without sentence particle and expression of Direction) is restricted to motion verbs formed with the prefix *pe-* and *u-*; see *penna-*, *uppa-* and *uda-* in table 5.6. This was already observed by Kammenhuber (HW², A: 259, 263–275) with regard to Götze’s rule for the different translation of *arha* with and without *-kan*; see § 3.2.3.

In the description of the sample verbs, we saw two clear examples of sentences with two local adverbs belonging to two different constructions of the predicate; in § 2.2.13 a combination of *arha ija-* with frame 3 (+ particle) and *andan ija-* with frame 2 (without particle) and in § 3.2.23 an instance of *arha uya-* with frame 3 (+ particle) and *āppa uya-* with frame 14 (without particle). These were all examples in which only one of the constructions requires a sentence particle. In a recent article Neu (1993) discussed interesting examples in which two sentence particles are found in one sentence. These can be explained as instances of a combination of two constructions of the predicate, which are both attended by a sentence particle. See the following examples with two local adverbs, where we find a combination of frame 6 and 1 with *penna-* and a combination of frame 13 and frame 1 with *peda-*.¹⁰⁷

(361-NH) [luk]katti=ma=kan ABU=IA URUTi[uanzanaza katta KUR-e]=kan anda pennai “The next morning my father drove down from Tiuanzana into the country.”
KBo XIV 3 IV 26’–27’ (CTH 40.IIF) ed. Güterbock (1956: 76)¹⁰⁸

(362-MS) n=ašta GİŠMÁ ištappešnaš PA₅-aš ištappeš[naz] parā ID=kan anda pēd[a]i “The outlet of the dam carries the boat out of the dam into the river.”
KUB XXIX 7+ rev. 51–52 (CTH 480) ed. Lebrun (1976: 124, 131)¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ See CHD (L-N: 355, 353, 358) with examples.

¹⁰⁶ See Bo 86/299 I 23 nu=šši ABU=IA ZAG anda hūittiat “My father curtailed his boundary” (CTH 106) ed. Otten (1988: 10), cited by Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 347).

¹⁰⁷ Among Neu’s examples are also instances with two Complements with the same semantic function in one and the same sentence. In fact, these are also instances of a combination of two constructions governed by the predicate and local adverb, each time accompanied by a sentence particle. See, for instance, (“From (its) breast they take a test sample.”) n=at=šan DUGāh [(rušhi ANA I.GIS=kan)] anda dāi “and they place it in the incense vessel, in the linseed oil.” KBo XXXV 253+ obv. II 15’–17’ (CTH 628.15) cited by Neu (1993: 140).

¹⁰⁸ Restorations from KUB XIX 18 IV 22’ (MS G).

¹⁰⁹ Cited according to Neu (1993: 139).

In this study all attention has been focused on the function of local adverbs and sentence particles with verbs expressing motion. Different types of verbs will show different predicate frames and a different distribution of sentence particles. The principle of the interaction between local adverb, predicate and sentence particle, however, applies to all Hittite verbs: Dependent local adverbs form a semantic unity with the predicate. Depending on the meaning and the construction, this unity of local adverb and predicate may or may not require the company of sentence particles.

The function of local adverbs with other types of verbs is yet to be studied. In this book I tried to show that this can be successfully done, if one tackles the problem for a group of verbs with similar notions. It would, for instance, be interesting to look at the function of local adverbs with verbs requiring the completion of an expression of Location, like *tija-* “to place”, *eš-* “to be (in a certain place)”, the deponent *ar-* “to stand” and *ki-* “to lie”.¹¹⁰ In my opinion, these verbs will likewise show general patterns in the structure of the predicate frames and the use of sentence particles. Verbs like *ep-* “to seize, to grab” and *pai-* “to give” govern different types of constructions in their use without local adverbs, so the addition of dependent local adverbs to these verbs is likely to result in different kinds of predicate frames and habits in the use of particles.

With regard to the function of local adverbs, Hittite verbs roughly fall into two categories. The first and largest group consists of motion verbs and the other verbs mentioned above, which have two important characteristics in common. First of all they can be combined with a fair amount of local adverbs and secondly the local adverbs mostly keep their literal, local meaning. There is also a substantial group of Hittite verbs, though smaller than the first, that only permits local adverbs to be used in a non-literal, figurative sense.¹¹¹ These verbs are also quite particular in their choice of local adverbs. This non-literal use, which is most often found with *arha*, may be a later development, since it does not occur with any certainty in Old Hittite. Examples of this use are *kattan arra-* “to wash off”, and *arha arra-* “to wash off”, *arha harnink-* “to utterly destroy”, *arha lā-* “to untie, to detach” and *āppa lā-* “to release (from a spell)”.¹¹²

Up till now, we only considered the relation of sentence particles with local adverbs and the predicate and concentrated on explaining their presence or absence in the sentences we studied. With regard to the function of the sentence particles two opposing views have been defended, the local theory introduced by Götze (1933b) and the aspectual theory developed by Josephson (1972); see the description in § 1.1.2. Neither the local nor the aspectual theory seems to be able to explain the function of the sentence particles in each of their attestations. Hoffner (1992) was the first to allow for the possibility that sentence particles can have both functions, by showing that with *šanḫ-* this class of particles seems to have a local function, but that their function with *harnink-* can better be explained in aspectual terms as intensifying “the ‘telic’ force of the verb and stressing the finality of the result” (1992: 148).

In view of the close interaction that could be observed between local adverb, verb and sentence particle, one can wonder whether the answer to the problem of the function of the sentence particles may be a multiple one, linked with the function of the local adverbs. With verbs of the first group where local adverbs predominantly have a local

¹¹⁰ Their function in Old Hittite has been discussed in § 5.2.

¹¹¹ See already Zuntz (1936: 9–10 and 107–111).

¹¹² See Kammenhuber (HW², A: 233–234), Puhvel (HED, Vol 3: 161–166) and CHD (L-N: 1–4).

function, sentence particles also have a local function, probably the primary function of both classes of words, whereas with the verbs of the second group the local adverb and the sentence particles have an aspectual function, which may well be a secondary development.¹¹³

The meaning of the individual sentence particle is hard to determine, since in the course of the history of the Hittite language they show, as described in § 1.1.2, a growing tendency to take over each other's functions or to simply disappear. With the sample verbs of ch. 2–4, *-ašta* and *-kan* are both employed when the combination of local adverb and predicate indicated a movement to, from and past a certain place or person and may have the function to emphasize this movement. The other particles are too rarely used with these verbs to describe their function with any certainty. The aspectual function of *-kan* and *-ašta* with verbs of the second group may with Josephson (1972: 416–417 et passim) be described as terminal or telic, emphasizing the finality or completion of the action of the predicate.

5.4 Position of local adverbs in the sentence

In this paragraph the position of local adverbs in the sentence will be discussed and the possible relation between their function with the verb and their position in the sentence will be considered. The position of local adverbs will be treated separately for Old Hittite and Middle–New Hittite. In § 5.4.1 a survey is given of the patterns of word order that are found in the Old Hittite examples with local adverbs of ch. 2–4 and in other Old Hittite texts. In § 5.4.2 the position of local adverbs in later texts is described by comparing the results obtained with the sample verbs of ch. 2–4 with the types of word order found with other verbs in a sample of Middle and New Hittite texts.

The following list shows the abbreviations that will be used and the categories that will be distinguished in the word order patterns of the Hittite examples cited in the following sections:¹¹⁴

S	=	Subject
O	=	Object
IO	=	Indirect Object
C	=	Complement
V	=	Verb ¹¹⁵
A	=	Adjunct
Attr	=	Attribute

¹¹³ See Hoffner's observation (1992: 148) with regard to *šanḫ-* and *ḫarnink-*: "This *might* mean that the localizing function existed before the intensifying one" (Italics: Hoffner). See also Kammenhuber (HW², A: 479–482).

¹¹⁴ My representation of the sentence patterns is a modification of the one used by Luraghi (1990). Elements of the sentence that only function on noun phrase level have not been marked in the word order patterns, except for constructions governed by a local adverb. These are indicated in terms of Complement, and in Old Hittite also Attribute, belonging to the local adverb and are put between braces; see § 5.1 and 5.2.

¹¹⁵ In most cases V is a finite verb serving as predicate, but it can also be a combination of a finite auxiliary with a nominal form of the main verb or a dependent infinitive; see Luraghi (1990: 17).

la	=	dependent local adverb ¹¹⁶
{la}	=	independent local adverb ¹¹⁷
cl	=	pronominal clitic
cl _x	=	pronominal clitic serving as x, where x can be S, O, IO, C, A or Attr
conn	=	sentence connective: accented sentence connectives like <i>nu-</i> and <i>namma</i> and the enclitic sentence connectives <i>-ma</i> , <i>-a</i> and <i>-(i)a</i> . ¹¹⁸
copula	=	<i>idem</i>
inter	=	interrogative adverb
mod	=	modal particle <i>man</i>
neg	=	negation
part	=	sentence particle (<i>-an</i> , <i>-(a)pa</i> , <i>-(a)šta</i> , <i>-šan</i> , <i>-kan</i>), reflexive particle (<i>-z(a)</i>) or particle of indirect speech (<i>-ua(r)</i>)
Pred	=	Predicative Complement
sub	=	subordinating conjunction
()	=	constituent with this function can be absent or omitted ¹¹⁹
{ }	=	construction on noun phrase level governed by a local adverb.

In addition to the use of the self explaining terms clause initial and clause final position, I will use two terms to describe other important positions in the sentence; see Luraghi (1990: 13):

first position:	the position of the first accented word, preceded only by an accented connective
last position	the position of the last word of the sentence before the verb

5.4.1 Situation in Old Hittite

The position of local adverbs in Old Hittite sentences, which is different from that in later Hittite, has extensively been described by Starke (1977), Boley (1985) and Luraghi (1990). Starke (1977: 152–167) was the first to observe that the dominant position of a local adverb ending in *-a* (group I) is before the noun in the dative or allative with which it stands in apposition.¹²⁰ In this case the sentence has the following word order:¹²¹

(1) (S) (O) la (C/IO) V

(⇒ 130-OH) *š = aš šarā URU-[ia] pait* "He went up to the city."
(conn = cl_s la C V), § 3.2.7.
KBo XXII 2 rev 14' (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 12–13)

¹¹⁶ In Old Hittite sentences also used for local adverbs serving as Complements of the predicate; see § 5.2.
¹¹⁷ The braces indicate that the local adverb does not belong to the construction on sentence level, which is governed by the predicate.

¹¹⁸ The conjunction *-ia*, which coordinates sentences and noun phrases, is only marked in the sentence patterns if it is used as a sentence connective.

¹¹⁹ Omission of a constituent is used here in the sense that a constituent is required by the predicate, but not explicitly mentioned, since it can be supplied from the immediate context. Luraghi uses the term in a stricter sense, excluding certain cases of absolute use (1990: 37–40).

¹²⁰ Among the instances of "Voranstellung" cited by Starke (1977: 152–155) are also examples in which the local adverb is fronted; see p. 161–162.

¹²¹ See Luraghi (1990: 32).

- (⇒150-OH) *mān appa=ma*^{URU} *Nēša* [*uṣan(un)*] “But when I came back to Neša.”
(sub la=conn C V), § 3.2.9.
KBo III 22 rev. 76 (CTH 1.A) ed. Neu (1974a: 14–15)
- (363-OH) *n=an āppa išhi=šši pianzi* “They will give him back to his owner.”
(conn=cl_o la IO V)
KBo VI 2 IV 45’–46’ (HG I § 95, CTH 291.IA), ed. Friedrich (1959: 46–47),
transl. Hoffner (1995a: 229)
- (364-OH) DUMU.NITA.MEŠ [*ā*][*pp*]*a*^{URU} *Nēša ianzi* “The sons make (their way)
back to Neša.”
(S la C V)
KBo XXII 2 obv. 7 (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 6–7)

If one of the functions in this sentence pattern is expressed by an enclitic personal pronoun, it is appended to the first accented word of the sentence.¹²² In (130-OH) the Subject is cliticized and in (363-OH) the Object. When the Complement is omitted, the local adverb automatically takes last position, that is the position immediately before the predicate (V).¹²³ See, for example:

- (⇒163-OH) [(LÚ^{GIŠ} GIDRU-*aš*^URU) *Dāunij*]*a* LÚ.MEŠ *hāpieš āppanda uenzi* “The
staff bearer of Daunija (and) the *hapija*-men follow.”
(S la V), § 3.2.11
KBo XVII 43 I 5’ (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 104) and (1983: 359)
- (⇒148-OH) [*mān* *ina* UD III^{KAM} *āp[pa pa] iṣani*] “When, on the third day, we go
back.”
(sub A la V), § 3.2.9
KBo XVII 25 obv.[?] 6’ (CTH 752.1B) translit. Neu (1980a: 224)

Boley (1985: 13) noted that local adverbs of group I sometimes follow instead of precede the Complement or Indirect Object. See the following examples from Starke’s corpus of Old Hittite texts.¹²⁴

- (⇒140-OH) LUGAL-*i parā* I-ŠU *paizzi* “He goes forward once to the king.”
(C la A V), § 3.2.8.
KBo XVII 43 I 11’–12’ (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 105)
- (⇒336-OH) [UGULA^{LÚ}]^{MEŠ} MUḪALDIM *marnuandaš išpantuziaššar* LUGAL-*i parā*
epz[i] “The chief of the cooks holds out to the king a vessel of *marnu-*
ant.”
(S O C la V), § 5.2.
KUB XLIII 30 II 8’, ed. Neu (1980a: 77).

¹²² This may, of course, affect the order (S) (O) (C/IO).

¹²³ The predicate always takes clause final position; see Luraghi (1990: 17).

¹²⁴ According to Starke (1977: 179–180) the dative does not depend on the predicate, but has a locative function; see n. 54 in § 5.2.

In (140-OH) *parā* immediately follows the Complement LUGAL-*i*, which is in clause initial position. It is, therefore, possible that in this case the usual word order pattern (1) is abandoned in order to emphasize the Complement.¹²⁵ Example (336-OH), however, is a clear example of the following sentence type:

- (2) (S) (O) (C/IO) la V

In § 5.4.2 we will see that pattern (2) is the dominant order for local adverb in Middle and New Hittite. Apparently the first traces of this word order are already present in Old Hittite. Luraghi (1990: 33) even suggested that word order (2) is the rule rather than an exception, when the Complement is an expression of Origin in the ablative:

- (⇒292-OH) [DING]IR.DIDLI-*š=a* DUMU.MEŠ-*uš* A.AB.BA-*az šarā dāir* “The gods,
however, lifted the children up from the sea.”
(S=conn O C la V), § 4.2.4
KBo XXII 2 obv. 4–5 (CTH 3) ed. Otten (1973: 6–7)
- (⇒117-OH) [LUG]AL^{URU} *Kuššara* URU-*az katta* [*p*]*angarit* [*u*][*ēt*] “The king of
Kuššara came down from the city with massed troops.”
(S C la A V), § 3.2.4.
KBo III 22 obv. 5 (CTH 1.A) ed. Neu (1974a: 10–11)

So far, the examples of local adverbs in -*a* were dependent on the predicate. As described in § 5.2, *katta* sometimes behaves like an independent local adverb in -*n*. In these cases the position of *katta* seems to be relatively free:

- (⇒334-OH) ^L[*ū* *hištā*] *haššāš katta edi paršnān harzi* “The man of the *hišta*-house
has crouched on this side by the hearth.”
(S {Attr+la} A V), § 5.2
KBo XVII 15 rev.¹ 15’–16’ (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)
- (⇒335-OH) UGULA^{LÚ} MEŠ MUḪALDIM *kur[šaš] peran* ^{GI}[*š* BANŠUR *katta* III]-[*šU*]
šipanti “The chief of cooks libates 3 times in front of the *kurša*-, next
to the table.”
(S {Attr+la} {Attr²+la} A V), § 5.2
KUB XLIII 30 II 9’–10’ (CTH 645.7) translit. Neu (1980a: 77)

Starke stated that the local adverbs in -*n* (group II), unlike their counterparts in -*a*, can both precede and follow the noun in the locative with which they are in apposition or partitive apposition.¹²⁶ Luraghi (1990: 35), however, may well be right in observing that the local adverb is emphasized whenever it is preposed. In three of the four instances cited by Starke (1977: 168), the local adverb is fronted, not only preceding its Complement but all the other constituents of the sentence, as for instance in (365-OH):¹²⁷

¹²⁵ For fronting of a constituent see below ad pattern (3a) and (3b).

¹²⁶ See the description of his observations in § 1.1.1.

¹²⁷ For fronting see below ad pattern (3a) and (3b).

(365-OH) *andan* = *a É-ri kuit ḫarakzi* “What, however, perishes inside the house.”
({la} = conn {C} S V)
KBo VI 2 IV 54' (HG I § 98, CTH 291.IA) ed. Friedrich (1959: 48–49), transl. Hoffner (1995a: 229)

(366-OH) [(*ku-i*)]*t kuit É-ri andan* [(*ḫarakzi*)] “Whatever perishes inside the house.”
(S {C la} V)
KUB XXIX 28 I 8' (HG II § 24, CTH 292.IA) ed. Friedrich (1959: 68–69), transl. Hoffner (1995a: 231)

(366-OH) has been added to show that if *andan* is not emphasized and placed at the beginning of the sentence, it follows instead of precedes the Complement. In Starke's fourth example (332-OH) the predicate *ar-* “to stand” is constructed with two expressions of Location in apposition, *andan šiunaš É-ri* and *šarḫulijaš peran*. Here stylistic factors (chiasm) and the desire to contrast *andan* with *peran* may have played a role in the “Voranstellung” of *andan*:

(⇒332-OH) DAM^{LÚ} GUDU₁₂ *andan šiunaš É-ri* [šar⁷ḫ[(*ul*)]ijaš *per[an (arta)]*
The wife of the priest stands in the house of the god, in front of the pillar”
(S la C {Attr} la V), § 5.2
KBo XVII 15 rev¹ 13' (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)

The construction of the local adverb in *-n*, whether it is in (partitive) apposition with a Complement in the dative or locative, whether it governs a nominal Attribute in the genitive or serves as a host to an enclitic possessive pronoun, does not affect its position in the sentence.¹²⁸ What appears to be of influence, is its relation with the predicate. The normal position for a local adverb in *-n*, if it is dependent on the predicate, seems to be before the verb and after the Complement. This word order, pattern (2), is the dominant order for all dependent local adverbs in later Hittite (§ 5.4.2). See, for example:

(⇒331-OH) *t = an ḫaššāš peran tianzi* “They place him in front of the hearth.”
(conn = cl_o {Attr} la V), § 5.2
KBo XVII 18 II 8' (CTH 649) translit. Neu (1980a: 100)

(⇒337-OH) *apē = ma [k]atta[n] dameškiyan dāir* “They, however, have started to oppress (others).”
(S = conn la V), § 5.2
KBo XXII 1: 3'–4' (CTH 272) ed. Archi (1974: 45–46)

The following example is the only exception. Here the Complement [ÉRIN.MEŠ]-*ti* is fronted and the Subject is placed between *šer* and the verb:

(⇒330-OH) [ÉRIN.MEŠ]-*ti = ma = ššan šēr GÍR ZAB[(AR)] kitta* “On top of the troop(s) a bronze dagger is placed.”
(C = conn = part la S V), § 5.2
KBo XVII 1+ II 19'–20' (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 26–27), translit. Neu (1980a: 7)

Luraghi (1990: 121) observed that independent local adverbs have a relatively free position in the sentence. They can occur in various positions, but are also found immediately before the verb. Examples of this relatively free position are provided by *katta* in (334-OH) and *appan* in (367-OH):

(⇒334-OH) ^L[*ḫištā*] *ḫaššāš katta edi paršnān ḫarzi* “The man of the *ḫištā*-house has crouched on this side by the hearth.”
(S {Attr la} A V), § 5.2
KBo XVII 15 rev¹ 15'–16' (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)

(367-OH) [*nu^m Pi*] *thānaš attas = maš āppan šaniya uitti* [*ḫ*] *ullanzan ḫullanun* “After my father Pithana, I inflicted a defeat in the same year.”
(conn {Attr la} A O V)
KBo III 22 obv. 10–11 (CTH 1.A) ed. Neu (1974a: 10–11)

In the following examples the independent local adverbs *katta* (*katti-*) and *andan* are found in last position:

(⇒44-OH) 1 LÚ 1 MUNUS *katti = šši iēnta* “One man and one woman shall go with him.”
(S {la = cl_{Attr}} V), § 2.3.2.
KBo XXII 1: 14' (CTH 272) ed. Archi (1974: 46–47)

(⇒366-OH) [(*ku-i*)]*t kuit É-ri andan* [(*ḫarakzi*)] “Whatever perishes inside the house.”
(S {C la} V), § 5.4.1
KUB XXIX 28 I 8' (HG II § 24, CTH 292.IA) ed. Friedrich (1959: 68–69), transl. Hoffner (1995a: 231)

The local adverbs *menahḫanda*, *ištarna*, *arḫa* and the other local adverbs that do not belong to Starke's groups I (local adverbs in *-a*) and II (local adverbs in *-n*) are always in last position. Only *menahḫanda* is attested in sentences with a Complement, in which case it follows the Complement (pattern 2). See e.g:

(⇒169-OH) [*nu LÚ^U*]^{RU} *Ḫašši LUGAL-i menahḫanda zahḫiia uit* “The man of Ḫašši came to battle against the king.”
(conn S C la A V), § 3.2.13.
KBo VII 14 obv. 7 (CTH 15.A) transl. Otten (1953: 60)

¹²⁸ See also Luraghi (1990: 34–35).

The dominant word order can be changed by placing one of the constituents at the beginning of the sentence. As explained by Luraghi (1990: 84), constituents are fronted for pragmatic purposes in order to be emphasized, contrasted or given special attention.¹²⁹ If the local adverb is fronted, which is comparable to tmesis in Greek grammar, the sentence changes accordingly. Depending on the type of sentence connective (accented, enclitic or absence of a connective in case of asyndeton) the local adverb can be in sentence initial or in first position. In the first case possible enclitics are appended to the local adverb.¹³⁰

(3a) la(=cl) (S) (O) (C) V or (3b) conn(=cl) la (S) (O) (C) V

Examples of these sentence patterns are:¹³¹

- (⇒86-OH) *anda=š[(an parna nāui paizzi)]* “He has not yet entered the house.”
(la=part C neg V), § 3.2.1
KBo VI 2 IV 37’ (HG I § 93, CTH 291.1A) ed. Friedrich (1959: 46–47), transl. Hoffner (1995a: 228)
- (368-OH) *t=an anda III-iš LUGAL-uš MUNUS.LUGAL-ša zērija allapahhanzi* “Three times the king and queen spit into the cup.”
(conn=part la A S C V)
KBo XVII 3+ IV 31–32 (CTH 416.1B) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 38–39), translit. Neu (1980a: 18)

In examples where the local adverb belongs to a predicate that governs both an expression of Origin and an expression of Direction, the word order is as follows:

(4) (S) (O) C=Origin la C=Direction V

- (369-OH) *[app]ezziian=a^m Anittaš LUGAL.GAL^d šiu(n)=šu[m([min]^u)^{RU} Z]ālpuūaz āppa^{URU} Neša pē[taḥhun]* Later on, however, I, Anitta, the Great King, took our god from Zalpuūa back to Neša.”
(A=conn S O C=Origin la C=Direction V)
KBo III 22 obv. 41–42 (CTH 1.A) ed. Neu (1974a: 12–13)¹³²

There are two Old Hittite instances where two local adverbs in *-a* occur in the same sentence. Both are sentences without an explicit Complement and in each case both local adverbs occur in last position:

- (⇒234-OH) *t=at āppa šarā lē uēzzi* “Let these not come up again.”
(conn=cl_s la la neg V), § 3.4.8.

¹²⁹ The pragmatic aspects of fronting are discussed by Luraghi (1990: 83–109).

¹³⁰ See Luraghi (1990: 33, 120–121).

¹³¹ (368-OH) is the only Old Hittite example of a fronted local adverb in *-a* occurring in first position. The other examples are instances of the normal word order (1), where the position before the Complement or Indirect Object coincides with the first position in the sentence; see e.g. (150-OH), (130-OH) and (363-OH) cited on p. 159–160.

¹³² Restorations from KUB XXXVI 98a: 10’ (MS C2).

KBo XVII 1+ III 12–13 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 30–31), translit. Neu (1980a: 9)

- (370-OH) *[(ū^{GI})ššUKUR ZABAR] āppa šarā pētumeni* “And the bronze spears we carry up again.”
(conn O la la V)
KBo XVII 1+ III 16 (CTH 416.1A) ed. Otten and Souček (1969: 30–31), translit. Neu (1980a: 9); see also Starke (1977: 157) and Neu (1983: 273)

If two local adverbs in *-n* are present in one sentence, one of them is in last position:

- (⇒332-OH) DAM^{LÜ} GUDU₁₂ *andan šiunaš É-ri [šar]ḥ[(ul)]iiaš per[an (arta)]*
The wife of the priest stands in the house of the god, in front of the pillar”
(S la C {Attr} la V), § 5.2
KBo XVII 15 rev¹ 13’ (CTH 645.6) translit. Neu (1980a: 73)

In pattern (2) the position of the local adverb is as a rule immediately before the verb. As will be described in more detail in § 5.4.2, the order local adverb verb can be interrupted by specific categories of words, among which negations, Adjuncts of Manner and Purpose. This explains the intrusion of *lē* in (234-OH), *pangarit* in (117-OH) and *zahḥija* in (169-OH) cited on p. 164, 161 and 163.

5.4.2 The situation in Middle and New Hittite

The position of local adverbs in Middle and New Hittite is quite different from that in Old Hittite.¹³³ A study of the sentences with the verbs of ch. 2–4 already gives a lot of information about the position of local adverbs in the sentence in Middle and New Hittite texts. In order to check and complete the picture, the sentence patterns found with these verbs have been compared with the position of the local adverb in a sample of Middle and Hittite texts. The Mašat letters in the edition by Alp (1991b) have been chosen to represent the situation in Middle Hittite.¹³⁴ Four manuscripts of the Annals of king Muršili II edited by Götze (1933a) have been selected as a specimen of New-Hittite texts.¹³⁵

No difference was found in the sentence patterns of Middle, New and late-New Hittite sentences with the verbs studied in ch. 2–4. The position of the local adverb in the sentence appears to be the same in these three phases of the language of the Empire period.¹³⁶

¹³³ Cf Boley (1985: 22–39).

¹³⁴ The long known Mašat letter ABoT 65, ed. Güterbock (1944), has been added to the letters in Alp’s edition. The other Mašat letters have been assigned to the CTH number of ABoT 65 (CTH 199).

¹³⁵ KBo III 4 (CTH 61.1A) ed. Götze (1933a: 14–137), KBo IV 4 (CTH 61.II5B) *ibid.* (108–142), KBo V 8 (61.II7A) *ibid.* (146–162) and KBo II 5 (CTH 61.II10) *ibid.* (180–95). Later additions and joins to these manuscripts have not been included in the sample.

¹³⁶ Boley’s remark that the Old Hittite sentence pattern (1) generally occurs in “the expressions familiar from OH” and that by the time of Šuppiluliuma I this situation has changed, seems to be based on the fact that she also considers fronted local adverbs in first position as examples of this Old Hittite word order (1985:

The same patterns of word order found in Old Hittite also occur in Middle and Late Hittite, but the distribution is entirely different. The order of frequency in Middle and New Hittite is:

(2) (S) (O) (C/IO) la V

(3a) la(=cl) (S) (O) (C) V or (3b) conn(=cl) la (S) (O) (C) V

(1) (S) (O) la (C/IO) V

Pattern (2) represents the dominant position of all local adverbs in the sentence in this period. There is no longer a difference in position between local adverbs in *-a* and *-n*. From a total of 198 complete or almost complete sentences with local adverbs in the Maṣat letters, 160 sentences show sentence pattern (2), i.e. 80.8%. In the sample from Muršili's Annals this word order occurs 161 times in a total of 183 sentences with local adverbs, which is 88%.¹³⁷ The position of a local adverb immediately before the verb and following a Complement or Indirect Object was called "Mittelstellung" by Zuntz (1936:9).¹³⁸ See the following examples of sentence pattern 2:

(⇒275-MH) *nu=šši=kan* ^{GIŠ}GIDRU *arḫa dāi* "He takes the staff away from him."
(conn=cl_{IO}=part O la V), § 4.2.2
IBoT I 36 I 24 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 6–7)

(⇒161-MH) [*mān* ^{GIŠ}huluganni=ma EGIR-*anda pānzi* "But, if they follow the cart."
(sub C=conn la V), § 3.2.11
IBoT I 36 III 48–49 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 28–29)

(⇒97-NH) *nu* ^{INA}KUR ^{URU}Tegaramma *andan uyanun* "I came into the land of Tegaramma, § 3.2.2
(conn C la V)
KBo IV 4 III 19 (CTH 61.II5B) ed. Götze (1933a: 124–125)

(⇒155-NH) *nu=ya kēdani :tarpalli* EGIR-*an [p]aitten* "Pursue this substitute."
(conn=part C la V), § 3.2.10
KUB XXIV 5+ KUB IX 13 obv. 23'–24' (CTH 419.A) ed. Kümmel (1967: 10–11)

(⇒116-lateNH) *nu=kan* ^{LÚ}^{dU} ^{URU}Hakmiššaz *katta paizzi* "The man of the Stormgod goes down from Hakmiš."
(conn=part S C la V), § 3.2.4
KUB XXV 23 left edge a2 (CTH 525.3) ed. Carter (1962: 163, 173)

22). See below ad pattern 3a and b.

¹³⁷ Examples with nominal predicates, which have the same position in the sentence as verbal predicates, have been included in this calculation. For the clause final position of nominal predicates see Luraghi (1990: 28–29). For an example of a nominal predicate see (375-MH) cited on p. 169.

¹³⁸ The fact that Mittelstellung is the dominant position for local adverbs in sentences with an explicit Complement or Indirect Object, explains why it is impossible to distinguish between the functions of preverb and postposition in Hittite on the basis of their position in the sentence.

There appears to be no difference in the position of a local adverb in main and subordinate clauses. Compare, for instance, the word order in:

(⇒18-MH) *namma=ta=kkan* ^{ŠA}KUR ^{URU}Hatti *kuieš* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}pittejanteš *anda iia[ntat]*
"Then, the refugees from the country of Hatti, who went (in) to you."
(conn=cl_C=part S la V), § 2.2.1
KUB XIV 1+ rev. 34 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 28–29)

(371-NH) *nu=mu* ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}kuit ^{GIR.MEŠ-aš}GAM-*an ḫālijer* "Because the women fell down to my feet."
(conn=cl_A S sub C la V)
KBo III 4 III 16 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 70–71)

The fact that dependent local adverbs are placed in Mittelstellung can be explained as a reflection of their double function: They belong first of all to the predicate, but as a part of the predicate they are also connected with the preceding Complement or Indirect Object, which is governed by the predicate and the local adverb operating as a unity.

The position of independent local adverbs seems to be less fixed. They are predominantly found in last position, but can also be placed in other positions in the sentence, in most cases following any overt Complement or Attribute that they may govern. Examples of independent local adverbs in last position:

(⇒45-MH) *GAL* ^{LÚ.MEŠ.ŠUKUR=ia=šmaš}NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ=ia *katti=šmi iianta*
"Both a chief of spearmen and an army bailiff march with them."
(S=cl_{C} {la=cl_{Attr}} V), § 2.3.2
IBoT I 36 II 50 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 20–21)

(⇒52-lateNH) ^{LÚ}SANGA GIBIL ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}ḫazqara=ia ^{ANA}UDUEGIR-*an iia<n>tari* "The new priest and the ḫazqara-women walk behind the sheep."
(S {C la} V), § 2.2.5
KUB XVII 35 I 25' (CTH 525.2) ed. Carter (1962: 124, 138)

(372-NH) *nu=mu=kan* ^{INA} ^{URU}Šapidduṣa *A.ŠÀ kueri andan luktat* "It dawned for me in Šapidduṣa, in the field (and) land."
(conn=cl_A=part A {C la} V)
KBo V 8 III 22 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götze (1933a: 158–159)

(⇒48-NS) *nu=šši* ^dImpalur[(iš peran [iḫattat])] "and Impaluri went in front of him."
(conn=cl_{C} S {la} V), § 2.3.3.
KUB XXXIII 102 II 18 (CTH 345.IC) ed. Güterbock (1951: 150–151)

The following examples from the Indictment of Madduṣatta show that independent local adverbs are not bound to the last position of the sentence:

- (373-MH) (“Because they had fo[ug]ht on behalf of Madduṣatta.”) [ma]n=kan šēr ANA ^mMadduṣatta kuenir “they could have been killed on behalf of Madduṣatta.”¹³⁹
(mod=part {la C} V)
KUB XIV 1+ obv. 59 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 14–15)
- (374-MH) mān Ul=ma [ma]n=ša[ma]š kašti peran UR.GI₇.[H₁.A] karēper
“Otherwise dogs would have devoured you because of hunger.”
(sub neg=conn mod=cl₀ {C la} S V)
KUB XIV 1+ obv. 11 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 4–5)

The fact that independent local adverbs so often occur in last position is remarkable and needs further study.¹⁴⁰ It would be interesting to see how many examples can be explained by the fact that in Hittite Adjuncts of Manner, Purpose and Accompaniment or Instrument tend to take last position, a function which is often held by independent local adverbs.¹⁴¹ The practical point that no other unmarked position is available in the sentence may be of influence too.

Independent local adverbs as a rule follow the Complement they govern; see (52-lateNH) and (372-NH). If the Complement is fronted, the local adverb moves along away from the verb:

- (⇒50-MH) ANA GIŠ ^hhuluganni=ma=at EGIR-pa I IKU iianta “But they march one IKU behind the cart.”
({A}=conn=cl_s {la} A V), § 2.3.4
IBoT I 36 II 38 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 18–19)

As explained in § 5.3.1, local adverbs can be fronted so that they occur in clause initial or first position:

- (3a) la(=cl) (S) (O) (C) V or (3b) conn(=cl) la (S) (O) (C) V

Examples are:

- (⇒22-MH) (“The countries that were your suppliers of thick breads, libations and tribute, O gods of heaven.”) arḫa=kan ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA ^{MUNUS.MEŠ}AMA. DINGIR (...) kuē[z] iiantat “out of which priests (...) have come forth, (from these (countries) they carried away the tribute and ritual paraphernalia of the gods.”¹⁴²)

¹³⁹ Here Götze’s translation has been followed. In the CHD (L-N: 140) another possibility is suggested: “They wanted to kill (certain persons) on behalf of Madduṣatta”.

¹⁴⁰ In Homeric Greek, for instance, the situation is quite different; see § 5.5. A description of the position of independent local adverbs on the basis of a selection of texts is rather time consuming, since, as shown in ch. 2–4, the definition of a local adverb as dependent or independent of the predicate often requires a thorough study of the construction of the verb in question.

¹⁴¹ As shown on p. 173–174, this tendency is so strong that they may come between local adverb and verb.

¹⁴² DINGIR.MEŠ-š=a=kan argamanuš ḫ[a]zziu=ja kuēz arḫa pedāer. Note that in these lines arḫa is in unmarked position, immediately before the verb peda- “to bring, to carry”. In the following two sections, where the text continues with the relative pronoun kuēz “from which” and the combinations arḫa peda- “to bring away” (II 14–17) and arḫa nanna- “to drive away” (II 18–19), arḫa is also in unmarked, last position.

- (la=part S C V), § 2.2.2
KUB XVII 21+ II 8–13 (CTH 375.1A) ed. von Schuler (1965: 154–155)
- (375-MH) katti=ti hūman SIG₅ ēšdu “May everything be fine with you.”
({la=cl_C} S Pred copula)
HKM 27: 20 (CTH 199) ed Alp (1991b: 168–169)

In my opinion, examples like (109-MH) below cannot be adduced to prove the persistence of Old Hittite word order pattern (1) in Middle Hittite texts, because the local adverb is in first position and may be placed there for pragmatic purposes:¹⁴³

- (⇒109-MH) [n]=aš=za [arḫa] [I]NA KUR=šU pait “He went home to his own country.”
(conn=cl_s=part la C V), § 3.2.3
KUB XIV 1+ obv. 65 (CTH 147) ed. Götze (1927: 16–17)

Compare also the alternation in word order in the same expression occurring at the end of the description of the sixth year and the ninth year in KBo III 4:

- (376-NH) namma EGIR-pa ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-ši uyanun “Then, back I came to Ḫattuša.”
(conn la C V)
KBo III 4 III 66 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 80–81)
- (377-NH) namma ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-ši EGIR-pa uyanun “Then I came back to Ḫattuša.”
(conn C la V)
KBo III 4 IV 33 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 130–131)

The variation in the position of āppa in two instances of the same expression in one text may well indicate a difference in emphasis, similar to that in the English sentences “Then, back I came to Ḫattuša.” and “Then I came back to Ḫattuša.”.

Boley (1985: 9, 33) noted two instances where both the local adverb and the verb are fronted:

- (378-OH+) ḫāšta ^{LÚ}NI.DUḫ VII GIŠ^{IG} āppa ḫuittiyat VII GIŠ^{IG} ḫattalu “The gatekeeper opened the seven doors. He drew back the seven bars.”
(V S O) + (la V O)
KUB XVII 10 IV 14 (CTH 324.1A) translit. Laroche (1965: 97) transl. Hoffner (1990: 17)

- (379-NS) EGIR-an šuyandumat “Push (it) behind (you)”¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Luraghi (1990: 84, 88–90) showed that clause initial and first position are both marked positions in the word order. In Boley’s article, instances like (109-MH) are now referred to as examples of the Old Hittite sentence pattern (1) and then considered as cases with a marked position of the local adverb (1985: 22 ad ex. 40–41 and 23 ad ex. 48).

¹⁴⁴ Later on in this same text the active form is used: šumeš=ma=at EGIR-an-d[(a š)]uyatten KUB XLI 8 IV 26–27 (MS C). See Neu (1968a: 160) and Oettinger (1979: 297 n. 76).

(la V)

KBo X 45 IV 1 (CTH 446.B) ed. Otten (1961: 134–135)

The last instance is not a good example. The sentence is so short that no other position is available for the local adverb. Here the first position is also the last position of the sentence.

Occasionally one still finds word order (1). Example (96-OH+) shows that this word order is no longer restricted to local adverbs in *-a*, but also found with local adverbs in *-n*:

- (⇒153-NS) *nu* LUGAL-*uš* EGIR-*pa* *ištu* É ^dİŠKUR *paizzi* “The king goes back from the temple of the Stormgod.”
(conn S la C V), § 3.2.9.
KUB XII 12 V 22 (CTH 628) ed. Wegner and Salvini (1991: 149, 151)
- (⇒96-OH+) *mān=ma* LUGAL *andan* *parna* *uizzi* “But when the king enters the house.”
(sub=conn S la C V), § 3.2.2.
KUB XXIX 1 I 50 (CTH 414.A) ed. Kellerman (1980: 12, 27)
- (⇒142-NH) *kuiēš=ma* NAM.RA.ĪA *parā* *ina* ^{URU}Pūrandā *pāir* “Other deportees went on to Puranda.”
(S=conn la C V), § 3.2.8
KBo III 4 II 34–35 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 52–53)

In examples where the local adverb belongs to a predicate that governs both an expression of Origin and an expression of Direction, the Origin always precedes the Direction:¹⁴⁵

- (4) (S) (O) C=Origin la C=Direction V

See, for example:

- (⇒154-NH) *namma* ^{URU}Palḫuišša^z EGIR-*pa* *ina* ^{URU}Kū.BABBAR-*ši* *uṣanun* “Then I came back from Palḫuišša to Ḫattuša.”
(conn C=Origin la C=Direction V), § 3.2.9
KBo III 4 II 7 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 44–45)

If a sentence contains two local adverbs, they usually are found in last position immediately following each other. This is not only the case when the two local adverbs form a unity, dependent or independent of the predicate, but also when the local adverbs have a separate function in the sentence. Examples with a unity of two local adverbs are:

- (⇒186-MH) *ana* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}MEŠEDUTI *=ma=aš=kan* *peran* *arḫa* *uizzi* “He passes in front of the guards.”
(C=conn=cl_s=part la+la V), § 3.2.18
IBoT I 36 III 25–26 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 24–25)

- (⇒201-lateNH) *n=aš=hūdak* *ina* É *Ḫalki* *peran* *parā* *paizzi* “He immediately goes in advance to the temple of Ḫalki.”
(conn=cl_s A C {la+la} V), § 3.2.5.
KUB XLII 100 IV 36'–37' (CTH 525) ed. del Monte (1978: 185, 188)

As examples of two local adverbs with separate functions can be mentioned:

- (⇒199-NH) [*n=at=kan* *ana* ^mḪ(ūd)]*upīanza* *šer* *arḫa* *pāir* “They went away for the sake of Ḫudupianza.”
(conn=cl_s=part {C la} la V), § 3.3.3
KBo XVI 6 III 6–7 (CTH 61.II5E) ed. CHD (P/1: 30)
- (⇒319-NH) *n=aš=kan* 1-*aš* 1-*edani* *kunanna* EGIR-*an* *šarā* *lē* *dāi* “Neither shall undertake to kill them (=the free men) behind the back of the other.”
(conn=cl_{O}=part S {C}O {la} la neg V), § 4.2.5.
KBo V 4 rev 13 (CTH 67) ed. Friedrich (1926: 60–63)

In cases of fronting there is a difference between local adverbs belonging together and independent ones. In the first case both local adverbs are fronted and in the latter case only one of the two. The fact that with two local adverbs in initial position the enclitics are appended to the second local adverb, was already mentioned as an indication of their unity (“Univerbierung”) by Kammenhuber (1974: 153). Compare the following examples:

- (⇒188-MH) EGIR-*an*(-)*arḫa=aš=kan* *paizzi* “He passes behind (him).”
(la+la=cl_s=part V), § 3.2.19
IBoT I 36 III 33 (CTH 262) ed. Güterbock and van den Hout (1991: 26–27)
- (⇒232-NS) *n=aš* EGIR-*pa* EN-*a=šši* *kattan* *pait* “He went back (or: again) into the presence of his lord.”
(conn=cl_s la C la V), § 3.4.8
KUB XXXVI 74 III 6'–7' (CTH 347.2) ed. Siegelová (1970: 136)

See also the list of examples cited by Kammenhuber (1974: 153–156).

In the rare cases where two constructions are governed by one verb and two local adverbs occur in the sentence each belonging to a different construction of the verb, the Complements and local adverbs can be in a parallel or in a chiasitic order in front of the verb:

- (5a) (S) (O) C la C la V or (5b) (S) (O) C la la C V

See, for example:

- (⇒194-NH) *nu=kan* ^{URU}Piqainariša^z *arḫa* ^{URU}Aštigurqa *andan* *paizzi* “Will he go away from Piqainariša into Aštigurqa?”
(conn=part C la C la V), § 3.2.22
KUB V 1 I 54 CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 40–41)

¹⁴⁵ The same has been observed for Old Hittite; see § 5.4.1.

- (⇒195-NH) ^dUTU^{ŠI} = kan^{URU} Neriqaz arḥa EGIR-pa^{URU} Ḥakmiš uizzi “Will His Majesty come away from Nerik back to Ḥakmiš?”
(S = part C la la C V), § 3.2.23
KUB V 1 II 45 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 58–59)

When three local adverbs occur in one sentence, one of them is separated from the others or they all follow each other:

- (⇒202-NS) nu = kan peran parā^{LÚ.MEŠ} ALAM.ZU⁽⁹⁾ LÚ paluātallaš^{LÚ} kītašš = a anda pānzi “The ALAM.ZU-man, the paluātalla-man and the kita-man go in beforehand.”
(conn = part {la la} S la V), § 3.3.3
KBo IV 9 II 2–5 (CTH 604.1A) ed. Badali and Zinko (1994: 26–27)
- (⇒240-NH) ^{URU}Tani<zila> andan^{URU} Ziqapallaza EGIR UGU [paiz]zi “Shall he (=his Majesty) go up into Tanizila from behind Ziqapalla?”
(C la C la la V), § 3.4.9¹⁴⁶
KUB V 1 left edge a: 1–2 (CTH 561) ed. Ünal (1974: 92–93)
- (⇒230-NS?) lukkatti = ma ID-an EGIR-pa GAM uizzi^{URU} Iḡaušuriḡa andan “The next morning he comes down the river again (or: back) into Iḡaušuriḡa.”
(A = conn O la la V C la), § 3.4.8
KUB XL 106 obv. II⁷ 7'–9' (CTH 562.2B) ed. Klengel (1963: 15–16)
- (380-NH) n = aš = mu = kan uit^{INA} ^{URU}Qappuppuḡa = pat ḤUR.SAG-i šer parā menaḥḥanda tiḡet “And it happened that in that very Kappuppuḡa, up in the mountain, he(=the enemy) stepped forward to meet me.”
conn = cl_S = C = part V¹⁴⁷ A {C la} la la V
KBo V 8 I 33–35 (CTH 61.II7A) ed. Götze (1933a: 150–151)

Note that in (230-NS) the third local adverb and the Complement are placed behind the verb. This position is highly exceptional for a local adverb. There is one comparable instance in a Mašat letter:

- (381-MH) BELU man = ḡa ḡnnatti kat[t]an “‘O lord, may you drive down.’”
(S mod = part V la)
HKM 71: 4 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 254–255)

According to Luraghi (1990: 21–22) post-verbal constituents in Middle and New Hittite texts are amplifications, that is optional constituents which are appositional to a constituent in the predication or to the predication as a whole. This may be the case in (230-NS), where the second construction ^{URU}Iḡaušuriḡa andan uizzi can be considered appositional to the first construction ID-an (EGIR-pa) GAM uizzi.¹⁴⁸ In (381-MH) we

seem to be dealing with a kind of inversion of the local adverb, comparable to that of negations, relative pronouns and obligatory constituents of the sentence described by Luraghi (1990: 20–21).

It has long been observed that the sequence local adverb verb (la V) in sentence pattern (2) can be interrupted by a negation, which is usually placed before the verb.¹⁴⁹ There are also certain types of Adjuncts that may come between the local adverb and the verb. These are the kinds of Adjuncts that, according to Luraghi (1990: 44–45), tend to follow the obligatory constituents of the sentence and regularly appear in last position, namely Adjuncts of Manner, Purpose and Accompaniment. Apparently, the tendency of these constituents to be placed before the verb is stronger than the need to keep the local adverb and the verb together. See the following examples:

- (⇒27-NH) nu = kan^{LÚ} UKU.UŠ^{LÚ} KARTAPPU = ḡa ŠA LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} Kašga URU-ri šarā lē iḡantari “A heavily armed soldier and a charioteer of the Kaškaeans may not walk up to the city.”
(conn = part S C la neg V), § 2.2.6
KUB XXI 29 II 6–8 (CTH 89.A) transl. von Schuler (1965: 146)
- (⇒273-MH+) araḡzenašš = a = kan anturiḡašš = a ANA AN.ZA.GÀR GIŠ^{ŠU} GIŠ^{GIŠ} zupparu anda lē kuiš[k]i dāi “Let no one take (fire)wood (or) a torch into both outer and inner towers.”
(C = conn = part O la S+neg V), § 4.2.1
KUB XXXI 86+ 1203/u II 26'–27' (CTH 261.2) ed. von Schuler (1957: 43–44) and Otten (1971: 46)
- (⇒17-MH) n = ašta^{LÚ} KÚR QATAMMA kuit KUR-e anda lammar lammar iattar[i] “Because the enemy likewise constantly marches into the country.”
(conn = part S A sub C la A=Manner V), § 2.2.1¹⁵⁰
HKM 8: 12–14 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 132–133)
- (⇒170-NS) kuḡat = ḡa É-ri IGI-anda ka[r]timmiḡ^{auḡanza} uit “‘Why have you come against my house in anger?’”
(inter = part C la A=Manner V), § 3.2.13
KUB XXXIII 102 II 7–8 (CTH 345.1C) ed. Güterbock (1951: 148–149)
- (382-MH) ammug = a = kan ŠA KASKAL GÍD.DA^{LÚ.MEŠ} NIZU^{TIM} ḤUR.SAG^{Ḥapidduini} anda šašanna pēḡiškimi “I will send spies of the long stretch into Mount Ḥapidduini to sleep (there).”
(S = conn = part O C la A=Purpose¹⁵¹ V)
HKM 46: 18–21 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 202–203)

¹⁴⁹ This also applies for combinations of negations and indefinite pronouns or adverbs in -ki or -ka; see Zuntz (1936: 112–113), Friedrich (HE § 281), Hoffner (1983: 86–89) and Luraghi (1990: 30–31).

¹⁵⁰ An Old Hittite example with an Adjunct of manner in last position is (117-OH) cited in § 5.2, p. 161.

¹⁵¹ The infinitive šašanna “to sleep” is used here as an Adjunct of Purpose. The same position of the Purpose expression is found in (169-OH), cited in § 5.4.1.

¹⁴⁶ This is another example of sentence pattern (5a).

¹⁴⁷ This is an instance of phraseological uḡa- introducing the main verb tiḡet.

¹⁴⁸ The function of āppa is not clear; see § 3.4.8.

- (⇒173-NH) *kuiēš=ma=kan* NAM.RA.MEŠ *aruni parranda ITTI^m Uḫḫa-LÚ pāir* “Other deportees went across the sea with Uḫḫaziti.”
(S=conn=part C la A=Accompaniment V), § 3.2.14
KBo III 4 II 36 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 52–53)

Examples in which other constituents are placed between the local adverb and the verb are very rare and in our sample restricted to two instances in the Mašat letters.¹⁵² One very clear example, (3-MH+), has already been cited in § 1.1.1 in the discussion of Goetze’s 1963 article, in which he called attention to the fact that the nexus between local adverb and verb can be interrupted by the insertion of a Subject:

- (⇒3-MH+) *kī=ma=kan tuppi ANA^d UTU^š KA×U-az parā mGišGIDRU.DINGIR^{LIM}-iṣ anija* “Hattušiliš wrote down this tablet from the mouth of His Majesty.”
(O=conn=part C C la S V), § 1.1.1
KUB XV 31 IV 38’–40’ (CTH 484.1A) ed. Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 170–171)¹⁵³

The construction with an expression of Origin and the presence of the particle *-kan* seem to be the result of the addition of *parā* to *anija*-, which in this use with *parā* has the meaning “to write down from” and requires the presence of an expression of Origin, in this case one in the dative and one in the ablative in partitive apposition, and the particle *-kan*.¹⁵⁴ If we compare this instance with the word order in the other two instances of the expression *ANA^d UTU^š KA×U-az parā anija*- that were cited in § 1.1.1, it seems likely that in (3-MH+) the Subject Hattušiliš is placed between the local adverb and the verb in order to give it special emphasis:

- (⇒4-MH) *ANA^d UTU^š =ia=at=kan INA^{URU} Zithara INA BURU₁₄ KA×U-az parā anija* “and from His Majesty’s mouth we wrote it down in the city Zithara, in harvest time.”
(C=conn=cl₀=part A A C la V), § 1.1.1
KUB XXIX 8 IV 38–39 (CTH 777) ed. Haas (1984: 100)
- (⇒5-MH) *[ANA^d UTU^š =i]a=at=kan KA×U-az INA^{URU} Zi[thar]a [INA BURU₁₄ p]arā anija* “and from the mouth of His Majesty we wrote it down in the city Zithara, in harvest time.”
(C=conn=cl₀=part C A A la V), § 1.1.1
KBo XXIII 6+ FHG 20 (IV) 9–10 (CTH 777) ed. Haas (1984: 65)

In these two instances the local adverb is in its usual position before the verb, but now other constituents than the Subject are emphasized, namely the Complement *ANA^d UTU^š* in (4-MH) and the two Complements *ANA^d UTU^š* and *KA×U-az* in (5-MH).

¹⁵² Namely HKM 38: 3–7 and HKM 70: 5–7.

¹⁵³ See Zuntz (1936: 60): “der Sonne aus der Munde heraus, nach dem Diktat der Sonne”. Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 170–171) translated “auf Befehl”, but add the remark that “nach Diktat” is also possible (ib. 179).

¹⁵⁴ When the basic predicate *anija*- is used with the meaning “to draw up, to copy”, it is only accompanied by the accusative *tuppi* and occurs without *-kan*. See Kammenhuber (HW², A: 81–88) and Puhvel (HED, Vol 1: 66–69).

If a local adverb belongs to a verb form, which is not the main verb of the sentence, the local adverb precedes the verb to which it belongs. In the following example *anda* precedes the participle *daruppantet*, which is the Attribute of ÉRIN.MEŠ:

- (383-MH) *nu ÉRIN.MEŠ anda daruppantet ANŠE.KUR.RA.ḪI.A =ia=šmaš=kan kuiš anda* “With the troops that are gathered in (that place) also the charioteers that are in (that place) with you, (lead them quickly to his Majesty, in three days.)”
HKM 15: 6–9 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 140–141)

With nouns or participles derived from verbs that form a fixed combination with a particular local adverb, the local adverb, of course, precedes the noun or participle to which it belongs:

- (384-NH) *nu=za^d U NIR.GÁL EN=IA parā ḫandandātar tekkuššanut* “Then the mighty Stormgod, My Lord, manifested his divine guidance.”
KBo III 4 II 16 (CTH 61.IA) ed. Götze (1933a: 46–47),

In conclusion it can be remarked that there is no one to one relationship between the function of a local adverb and its position in the sentence in Hittite. The fact that in Hittite independent local adverbs can be placed in front of the verb, almost excludes the possibility to draw conclusions about the function of a local adverb from its position in the sentence, with the exception that in sentences where the local adverb is placed away from the verb in an unmarked position, the chances are high that it is an independent local adverb.

5.5 A comparable problem in Homeric Greek

The problem of the function of the local adverbs in Hittite can be compared with that of the “particles” in Homeric Greek, which traditionally are likewise divided into preverbs, prepositions and independent adverbs.¹⁵⁵ This view is found in Chantraine’s *Grammaire Homérique* (1953: 82–86) and standard grammars like Schwyzler and Debrunner (1950: 419–436). The variety of usage is explained as the result of a process of change in the function of the particles, which is still in progress in Homeric Greek. They originally functioned as independent adverbs (example 1 below). In some cases a connection developed between the verb and the adverb, whereby the adverb was still separated from the verb (“in tmesis”), but had a bearing on the meaning of the verb (example 2). This development ultimately led to the forming of compound verbs (example 3). In other cases adverbs developed a close tie with nominal forms inflected in a particular case and so ultimately became prepositions (example 4).¹⁵⁶ See the following examples:¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Following Horrocks (1981) the general term particle will be employed to refer to this category of words rather than “preposition”, which designates a specific syntactic function of these particles.

¹⁵⁶ See the description of the traditional view by Horrocks (1981: 5–13).

¹⁵⁷ The Greek examples are cited from Chantraine (1953: 82–86) and Horrocks (1981: 7–9). The English translations are from A.T. Murray in the Loeb Classical Library (1924, 1928, 1929) Cambridge, Massachusetts, London.

- (1) γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθῶν / χαλκοῦ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς “and all the earth round about laughed by reason of the flashing of the bronze.”
Iliad T 362–363
- (2) νήπιοι, οἱ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἥελιοιο ἥσθιον “fools, who devoured the kine of Helios Hyperion.”
Odyssey α 8–9
- (3) γάστρην μὲν τρίποδος πῦρ ἄμφεπε “Then the fire played about the belly of the cauldron.”
Iliad Σ 348
- (4) Ἀργεῖοι, τοὶ δὲ ἔθεν ἔινεκα πουλὺν ἐφ’ ὕγρην / ἥλυθον ἐς Τροίην πόλεμον θρασὺν ὁρμαίνοντες “Argives who for his sake had come to Troy over the wide waters of the sea, pondering in their hearts fierce war.”
Iliad K 27–28

Chantraine (1953: 84) already observed that in many cases the choice between adverb, preverb and preposition is hard to make. Often more than one of the categories seem to apply to the particle in question. The assignment of the categories adverb, preverb and preposition, in other words, appeared to be as problematic as that of adverb, preverb and postposition in Hittite (§ 1.1.1).

The problem of the function of the particle was readressed by Horrocks in the first chapter of a study devoted to the prepositional and adverbial particles in the Greek epic (1981: 5–89). Horrocks searched for new criteria to describe the syntactic role of the particles more adequately. On the basis of seven criteria, Horrocks distinguished five types of “particle-verb” combinations, one category of independent or “extra-nuclear” use in which the particle is completely optional and four types of dependent or “nuclear” use showing various degrees of cohesion between the particle and the predicate (1981: 29–46). The main tool to distinguish between extra-nuclear and nuclear use is the omissibility of a particle. If a particle can be omitted leaving the predicate in the same sense and the predication otherwise syntactically complete, the particle is considered as an optional Adjunct (1981: 29–30). The same criterion is employed in our description of the sample verbs in ch. 2–4 to distinguish between dependent and independent use of a local adverb from the predicate. Another characteristic of independent particles is that they are never placed immediately before the verb. In the first of the four dependent combinations, the so-called “nuclear adverb phrase”, the choice of the particle to be used with the predicate is rather free.¹⁵⁸ Then follow the categories of “prepositional” and “phrasal verbs”, where the particle forms a semantic unity with the predicate. With these verbs the choice of the particle is idiosyncratic to a particular predicate, but the particle can still be separated from the verb.¹⁵⁹ The last category is that of true

¹⁵⁸ According to Horrocks (1981: 18–20), Homeric Greek did not yet have fully developed prepositional phrases, since the use of the particle in inflected nominal expressions in adverbial function is still optional, which is reflected in the fact that the particle may be separated from the noun phrase whose ending it modifies.

¹⁵⁹ The criterion applied by Horrocks to decide between prepositional and phrasal verbs in Greek is the fact that only in the first case the particle is “prepositional (actually or implicitly qualifying a case ending)”; see

compounds, where particle and verb are inseparably conjoined and form a semantic and syntactic unity (1981: 29–46). Horrocks’s distinction between free combinations of particle and verb (=“nuclear adverb phrases”) on the one hand and the categories of phrasal and prepositional verbs on the other is based on the description of the situation in English by Quirk et al. (1972, revised and expanded edition 1985: 1150–1168). With free combinations the particle can be easily substituted by a number of other particles. In the English combination *go up*, the particle *up* can, for instance, be replaced by *down*, *into*, *out*, *past* etc. without disturbing the correctness of the sentence. Another feature of free combinations is that the verb and the particle have distinct meanings. Phrasal verbs are lexical verbs consisting of a simple verb combined with one or more particles. With phrasal verbs the meaning of the whole is typically unpredictable from the meanings of the verb and particle in isolation. A prepositional verb is defined by Quirk et al. (1985: 1155) as a lexical verb followed by a preposition with which it is semantically or syntactically associated. Phrasal verbs are distinguished from prepositional verbs by a series of mainly syntactical criteria. The first feature cited by Quirk et al. (1985: 1167) is the fact that with prepositional verbs the particle must precede the noun phrase following the verb, while with phrasal verbs it can stand either before or after this noun phrase. This is illustrated by the following sentences with the prepositional verb *call on* and the phrasal verb *call up*:

(5a) They *called on* the dean. (5b) *They *called* the dean *on*.

(6a) They *called up* the dean. (6b) They *called* the dean *up*.

As remarked above, the situation with the prepositions in Homeric Greek clearly resembles that of the local adverbs in Hittite. There are, however, also important differences. In Homeric Greek, for instance, the end of the development of an intimate connection between particle and predicate is clearly visible. Both in Homeric and in classical Greek true compounds exist, in which preverb and verb are written together and function as a semantic and syntactic unity. The rules for word order are also different in Hittite. The Hittite local adverbs follow instead of precede the inflected noun phrase whose ending they modify in case of independent use, or which is governed by the local adverb and the verb in case of dependent use. In Greek extra-nuclear particles are never placed immediately before the verb. As shown in § 5.4.1 and 5.4.2, independent local adverbs often precede the verb, although they may occur elsewhere in the sentence. This makes it more difficult to distinguish between dependent and independent use in Hittite.

In Horrocks’s view, particles that are combined with motion verbs like βαίνω, and ἔρχομαι function as nuclear adverb phrases, that is as Complements of the predicate, but they do not yet form a semantic unity with it.¹⁶⁰ In the same way the verb *go up* was considered as a free combination of particle and verb in English by Quirk et al. (1985); see above. Horrocks main criterion is the fact that these verbs can be combined with a large number of particles; see above.

Horrocks (1981: 27–30). See also the situation in English described below.

¹⁶⁰ In classical Greek on the other hand, large numbers of true compound nouns are formed with these verbs like ἀποβαίνω, ἐκβαίνω, προσβαίνω, περιέρχομαι, κατέρχομαι etc.

Here we have another important difference with the situation in Hittite. In ch. 2–3 it could be shown that dependent local adverbs can influence the construction of the motion verbs *ija-*, *pai-* and *uya-* or affect the use of sentence particles with these verbs. This indicates that they form a semantic unity with the predicate, be it not a fixed idiomatic combination like that of phrasal or prepositional verbs. In § 5.3 we saw that there is also a group of Hittite verbs where local adverbs are used in a non-literal sense and which are quite particular in their choice of local adverbs. As in Homeric Greek and English, the combinations of local adverbs and this type of verbs can be described as phrasal verbs or fixed idiomatic combinations which do not yet form a syntactic unity, since the local adverb can be placed away from the verb in sentence initial or first position.¹⁶¹ As explained by Horrocks (1985: 38–41) one and the same verb, for instance the English verb *go*, can, when having a literal sense, form a free combination with various particles, which serve as its (prepositional phrase) Complement. If the verb *go* is used in a figurative sense, it can only be combined with the particle *into*, in which case the combination *go into* (=investigate) can be described as a prepositional verb. The same phenomenon can be observed with the verb *dā-* in Hittite, which in most combinations kept its literal meaning, although incidentally the meaning of the whole seems to surpass that of its constituent elements; see § 5.1.¹⁶²

In the nominal sphere there is evidence that local adverb and verb can form an inseparable unity in Hittite. There are, for instance, examples of compound nouns, which are derived from a combination of local adverb and verb, like *appa appatar* “withdrawal”, *parā hand(and)atar* “divine guidance”, *parā handandant-* “rightly guided or guiding” and names of officials like ^{LÚ}*parāuuant* “inspector”, ^{LÚ}*parāuuntalla* “lookout”.¹⁶³ Remarkable is also the *sandhi* form ^{LÚ}*antijant* “son-in-law”, literally someone who entered, that is married into the family.¹⁶⁴ This word is also attested as ^{LÚ}*andaijandatar*¹⁶⁵ and ^{LÚ}*andatiattalla*.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Boley (1985: 9, 33) cited two instances where both the local adverb and the verb are fronted; see (378-OH+) and (379-NS) cited in § 5.4.2. With regard to the first instance she remarked that this is an indication that local adverb and verb are considered a syntactic unit (1985: 9).

¹⁶² As mentioned in § 1.1.1, Boley already described the Hittite combination *appan ar-* as a phrasal verb “with an extended meaning ‘to stand behind, i.e. to support’”.

¹⁶³ This type of compound nouns has been treated by Güterbock (1955: 63–64) and Hoffner (1966: 392–394). For *appa appatar* see Kammenhuber (HW², E:88) and Puhvel (HED, Vol 2: 280). The compound nouns with *parā* are treated in the CHD (P/1–2: 110–111, 129–132).

¹⁶⁴ This noun can be analyzed as derived from *anda* + *ija-*, as first suggested by Balkan, or as *anda tija-*, as proposed by Machek. See the surveys by Hoffner (1966: 393) and Puhvel (HED, Vol 1: 78) with further references.

¹⁶⁵ This noun is only attested in the dative ^{LÚ}*an-da-i-ia-an-da-an-ni(-ia)* in KUB XIII 8 obv. 14 (CTH 252, MH+).

¹⁶⁶ In HKM 10:47 (CTH 199) ed. Alp (1991b: 136–137). See also Alp (1991b: 309).

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