

The Origin of the Luvian Possessive Adjectives

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1.1. Luvian possessive adjectives (with the possessor unmarked for plurality).

	Sg. c	sg. n.	pl. c.	pl. n.
Nom.	-assi-s	-ass-an(-za)	-assi-nzi	-ass-a
Acc.	-assi-n		-assi-nz(a)	
Dat./Loc.	-ass-an		-ass-anz(a)	
Abl./Instr.	-ass-ati			

1.2. Hittite derivational suffix *-assa-* (cf. Hajnal 2000:174).

Lexeme	Deriv. Base
anassa- ‘buttocks’	Cf. Lat. <i>ānus</i>
hanzassa < <i>*hamsassa</i> ‘great-grandchild’	hassa- < <i>*hamsa-</i> ‘grandchild’
^(DUG) hapassa- ‘water-vessel’	hap(a)- ‘river’
^{GUD} iugassa- ‘ploughing bull’	iuga- ‘yoke’
genussa/i- ‘knee-joint’	genu- ‘knee’
tan pedassahh- ‘to reduce one to the second rank’	peda- ‘place’
EZEN ₄ witassiyas ‘yearly festival’	witt- ‘year’

1.3. State-of the-art hypothesis.

“The geminate /-ss-/ of the Hittite and CLuvian “relational” suffix *-ašša/i-* demands an assimilated cluster, while the a-vocalism of the matching Lycian *-ahe/i-* requires PA /a/. These two facts falsify the derivation from a “thematization” of the genitive singular ending **-os*. Since the /-i-/ of the Luvian and Lycian suffix is the “motion-i”, the suffix is underlyingly thematic, and the oft-cited **direct** equation with Lat. *-ārius* is impossible. Nevertheless, a closely related **-eh₂so-* (> Anat. **-asso-*) seems the only means for accounting for the shape and the function of the Anatolian suffix” (Melchert 1994: 77).

1.4. Problems of this hypothesis.

a) The Lycian distribution of *-ahe/i-* and *-ehe/i-* correlates with the stem vocalism

ebe- ~ ebehe/i- ‘this’	atla- ~ atlahe/i- ‘self’
ebi(je)- ~ ebijehe/i- ‘local’	Pedrita- ‘Aphrodite’ ~ Pedritahe/i-
ēne/i- ~ ēnehe/i- ‘mother’	xñtawata- ‘kingship’ ~ xñtawatahe/i-

b) The sequence *-hs-* is well-attested in the inherited stratum of Hittite lexicon.

pahs- ‘to protect’	tuhs- ‘to cut off’
nahsaratt- ‘fear’	palahsa- ‘(a garment)’

1.5. Alternative proposal.

The Luvian possessive adjectives in *-assa/i-* and their Anatolian cognates arose as a result of contact-driven case attraction in genitive case nouns ending in **-osso* and **-osyo*. These two endings can be analyzed as the basic genitive marker **-os* extended by the deictic particle **-so* and the relative particle **-yo*.

2. Case attraction in the Anatolian Linguistic Area (cf. Luraghi 1993).

2.1. The “double case” construction (*Suffixaufnahme*) in Hurrian.

- (1) KBo 20.129 ii 56-57, CTH 777.5 (MH/MS), Wilhelm 1995: 118
 hi-pa-ap-te-ni-ta ^dGAŠAN-ka-bi-ne-da
 hibapte=ne=da Šauška=ve=ne=da
 hibapte=RltSg=Dir Sawoska=Gen=RltSg=Dir
 ‘...to the *hibapte* of the (goddess) Sawoska’.
- (2) Mitt. iii 98, Wegner 1995: 141 (with a misprint)
^{URU}ni-i-nu-a-a-we ^dša-uš-ka-a-wa
^{URU}Ninua=ve Šauška=va
 Niniveh=Gen Sawoska=Dat
 ‘...to the (goddess) Sawoska of Niniveh’

2.2. The historical development of “partitive apposition” in Hittite.

- (2) KBo 6.2 i 24, CTH 1.a.A (OH/OS), Hoffner 1997: 26
 takku LÚ. U₁₉.LU-**as** (gen.) *ELLAM-as* (gen.) KIR₁₄=set (acc.) kuiski wāki
 KBo 6.3. i 33, CTH 1.b.A (OH/NS²), Hoffner 1997: 26
 takku LÚ.U₁₉.LU-**an** (acc.) *ELLAM* (acc.) KIR₁₄=set (acc.) kuiski wāki
 ‘If someone bites off the nose of a free person...’.

2.3. Synchronic alternations between genitives and poss. adjectives in Luvian

- a) In the same sentence
- (3) KARABURUN § 9-10, Hawkins 2000: 481
 si-pi-sa-pa-wa/i ni-**ia-sa** (gen.) REL-ti si-pi-ia REX-ti MALUS-za CUM-ni ||
 za<+ra/i>-ti-ti ni-mu-wa/i-zi ni-pa-wa/i ha-ma-si si-pi-ia-pa-wa/i-ta ni-ia-**sá-na**
 (poss. adj.)hara/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa(URBS) (DEUS)ku+AVIS-ia ku-ma-pi ta-wa/i
 INFRA-ta á-za-tu
 ‘But if Sipis, (son) of Nis, wishes evil for Sipis the king, for (his) son or grandson,
 for Sipis, (son) of Nis, may the Haranean (god) together with⁷ Kubaba swallow
 down the eyes’.
- b) In the same text
- (4) SULTANHAN § 2, Hawkins 2000: 465
 |a-wa/i |za-a-na |(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-zá-na |tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-**si-i-na** (poss. adj.)
 |ta-nu-wa/i-ha ||
 ‘I have set up this Tarhunt of the Vineyard’.
- (5) SULTANHAN § 8, Hawkins 2000: 466
 |a-wa/i |tu-wa/i+ra/i-sà-**sa** (gen.) |(DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sa
 |wa/i>-su-SARMA-ma-[ia? ...]-[...]-ti-i |[mu-w]a/i-ta-li-na-’
 |wa/i+ra/i-pi-na |pi-ia-ta
 ‘And Tarhunt of the Vineyard gave Wasusarmas the king⁷ the mighty power’.

3. Genitives in *-osso.

3.1. Relic Forms in Bronze Age Luvian (-assa).

- (6) KBo 4.14 ii 57-59, CTH 123 (NH/LNS), Stefanini 1965: 42
 nasma=kan LUGAL-us tūwali KASKAL-si arha paizzi nasm=at GIM-an asān
 imma ṡmar-ša-aš-ša mēhur
 ‘... Or (when) the king goes to a long campaign, or whatever time of calamity?
 there may be...’.
- (7) KUB 35.54 ii 14, 758.1.C (MS), Starke 1985: 66
 [...] im-ra-aš-ša ṡISKUR-aš-ša-an-za [...] ^d
 ‘...of the Storm-god of an open country’
- (8) KUB 35.54 ii 35-36, 758.1.C (MS), Starke 1985: 67
 a-ta im-ra-aš-ša ṡISKUR-u[n-t]i pa-ri ta-ra-a-u-i-it-ṡa
 ‘He handed them over to the Storm-god of an open country’.
- (9) KUB 35.54 iii 2-5, CTH 758.1.C (MS), Starke 1985: 68
 hal-li-iš-ša ṡpa-ṡra-at-ta-an[-za] ‘...*halis*- and impurity
 pu-wa-ti-il-za [n]a-nu-un-tar-ri-š[a] past and present
 ir-hu-u-wa-aš-ša pa-ṡri-it-tar-u-wa-a-aš-š[a] of *ir(hu)wa*- and of *parittarwa*-
 u-ṡla-an-ta-al-li-ya-an hu-it-w[a-li-ya-an] of the dead and of the living’.
- (10) KUB 35.54 iii 6-8, 758.1.C (MS), Starke 1985: 68
 a-ta a-ap-pa za-aš-ta-an-za DINGIR.MEŠ-an-za párra-an ni-iš <<??>>
 im-ma-ra-aš-ša ṡISKUR-aš-ša-an-za ha-li-iš-ša
 ‘Let the *halis*- of the Storm-God of an Open Country not <<??>> before these
 gods’.
- (11) KUB 35.123 iv⁷ 7, CTH 768.2 (LNS), Starke 1985: 251
 [...^dP]i-ir-wa-ša ha-an-ta-ṡwa-da-hi-ša
 ‘...the kingship of Pirwa’.

3.2. Manuscript variation between forms in -assa and poss. adjectives

- (12) KBo 29.55 iii 1-5 + KUB 35.43 iii 28-32, CTH 760 II.1.A (Pre-NH/NS), cf.
 Starke 1985: 147
 l[a-la-i-]du-ut-ta ta-ṡpa-a-ru ta-ta-ri-ya-am-ma-an h[i-i-ru-ú-u]n
 e-ir-hu-u-wa-ṡal-li-ya-an pa-ri-it-tar-wa-al-li-ya-an wa-a[l-l]i-ya-an
 hu-u-it-wa-li-ya-an pu-u-wa-ti-i-il pa-ri-ya-na-al-la ^{LÚ}lu-la-hi-ya-an
 ha-ap-pí-ri-ya-an ku-wa-a[r-š]a-aš-ša<<-aš-ša>> tu-ú-li-ya-aš-ša
 ‘It takes (away from) him *tabaru*, the spell, (and) the curse, of *ir(hu)wa*- (and) of
parittarwa-, of the dead (and) of the living, past (and) future, of the *lulahhi* (and)
 of the *habiri*, of *ku(wa)rsa*- (and) of the assembly’.

- (13) KUB 35.45 ii 1-4, CTH 760 II.2.B (Pre-NH/NS), Starke 1985: 151
 hi-i-ru-ú-un pu-ú-wa-<ti>-i-il¹ pa-ri-ya-na-al-la-an AMA-ya-an ta-a-ti-ya-an
 ŠEŠ-ya-an NIN-ya-an ARAD-ya-an GEMÉ-ya-an ^{LÚ}lu-u-la-hi-ya-an
 ha-pí-ri-ya-an kur-ša-aš-ša-an tu-ú-li-ya-<aš-ša>-an
 ‘the curse past (and) future, maternal (and) paternal, fraternal (and) sororal,
 of slaves (and) of slave-women, of the *lulahhi* (and) of the *habiri*, of *ku(wa)rsa*-
 (and) of the assembly’.

3.3. Indo-European comparanda (cf. Fortson 2004: 114, 129).

- a) nominal **-oso*: OEngl. *-æs*, (probably) Old Pruss. *-as*, Greek *-ov*
- b) pronominal **-es(s)o*: OCS. *česo* ‘of what’, OIsl. *þess* < **tesso* ‘of this’, *hwe(s)s* < **k^wesso* ‘whose’, Hom. *τεο* ‘whose’.
- c) within Anatolian, cf. Lyc. *-eh(e)* (Melchert, forthcoming).

4. Genitives in **-osyo*

4.1. Genitives in **a-si* in Iron Age Luvian (brief selection).

- (14) KARATEPE 1, § 51 (Hu.), Hawkins 2000: 55
 pi-ia-tu-há-wa/i-tu-u (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-za-sá ARHA u-sa-nú-wa/i-mi-sá
 za-si-há-wa/i | (“CASTRUM”)há<+ra/i>-na-sá-si DEUS-ní-zi
 (LITUUS)á-za-ti-wa/i-tà-ia || “LONGUS”-ta₅-ia (DIES)há-li-ia mi-ia-ti-zi-ha ||
 (ANNUS)u-si-zi sa-na-wa/i-sá-ha-wa/i || tá-mi-hi-sá
 ‘And may Tarhunt the highly blessed and this fortress’s gods give to him,
 to Azatiwada, long days and many years and good abundance’.
- (15) KARKAMIŞ A 2+3, § 16, Hawkins 2000: 109
 |za-ti-pa-wa/i |kar-ka-mi-si-za(URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-ti-i¹ka-tu-wa/i-sa
 |REGIO-ni-ia-si |DOMINUS-ia-sa REL-i-zi | (“*273”)wa/i+ra/i-pa-si
 |DOMINUS-ia-zi-i pi-ia-tá
 ‘The “lords of lore” whom Katuwa the country-lord gave to this Karkamisean
 Tarhunt...’
- (16) KÖRKÜN § 4, Hawkins 2000: 172
 |wa/i-ti ku-ma-na á-sa-ti-ru-sá REX-ti-sá wa/i+ra/i-pa-si DOMUS-na
 “AEDIFICARE”
 ‘When king Astiruwa built himself the “houses of lore”...’

4.2. Possible traces of *-assi* < **-ass(i)ya* < **-osyo* in Bronze Age Luvian.

KUB 35.79 iii 9 ku-li-im-ma-aš-ši=wa
 KUB 25.37 iii 33 ma-aš-ša-ni-ya-aš-ši wa-al-z[a-me-en]
 KUB 35.70 ii 5 acc. [ma-a-y]a[-aš-]-ši EME-in

4.3. Indo-European comparanda (cf. Fortson 2004: 114)

Ved. *-asya*, Gath. *-ahiiā*, Hom. *-oio*, Arm. *-oy* etc.

5. The original functions of gen. sg. in *-os, *-os-so, and *-os-yo

5.1. Reconstruction of the clitic elements *=so and *=yo

- a) Postpositive deictic particle -sa in Anatolian (cf. Melchert 2003: 188).

Luv. *hallis-sa parattan[-za] puwatil-za nanuntarri-sa* (ex. (9)).

Cf. in Carian: *juś|upe-sa|trielś|mrsiś* (M18)

- b) Postpositive relative -yo- in Balto-Slavic and Celtic (cf. Schmidt 1978).

OCS. *vino novo-je* ‘new vine’, OLith. *dangu(je)-jis* ‘who (is) in Heaven’.

Gaul. *dugiionti-io* ‘who serve (or ‘who make’?)

5.2. *yo- as marker of extraposed NP constituents in Indo-Iranian.

Av. *haiθīm maθrēm yim haurvatātō ašahiiā amərətātasčā* ‘the real spell of integrity, truth, and immortality’ (Y 31.5-6).

5.3. Morphological asymmetry between left- and right-hand branching constructions.

- a) In non-Indo-European languages (Croft and Deligianni, unpublished).

Komi (Uralic) ‘big and dark houses’	<i>ydžyd da pemyd kerkajas</i> big and dark house:PL	<i>kerkajas ydžydös’ da pemydös’</i> house:PL big:PL and dark:PL
Tuvaluan (Austronesian) ‘two drinking coconuts’	<i>lua pii</i> two drinking-coconut	<i>pii e lua</i> drinking-coconut LINK two
Yagua (Peba-Yaguan) ‘Tom’s house’	<i>Tomáása rooriy</i> Tom house	<i>sa- rooriy Tomáása</i> 3SG- house Tom

- b) In Indo-European languages

Classical Greek ‘the Athenian people’	<i>ó τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος</i> the of-the Athenians people	<i>ó δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων</i> the people the of-the Athenians
Middle Persian ‘head of the household’	<i>dūdag sālār</i> household head	<i>sālār ī dūdag</i> head LINK household
Lycian (Melchert, forthcoming ²)	<i>Tutinimeh: tideimi</i> T.GEN son.NOM ‘son of T.’	<i>ēni mahanahi</i> mother.NOM gods.POSS.NOM ‘mother of the gods’

5.3. Suggested reconstruction of the Early Indo-European morphosyntax.

**bhrātros ek’wos* ‘brother’s horse’

**ek’wos (...)* *bhrātros-yo* ‘horse of the brother’.

**bhrātros-so* ‘that of the brother’

5.4. Dialectal developments

- a) Hittite: *-os generalized as gen.sg. Some forms in *-os-so lexicalized (cf. 1.2)

b) Luvian: *-os-so and *-os-yo are preserved in the Hattusa dialect with no clear distribution. Possessive adjectives are generalized in the Kizzuwatna dialect.

c) Late IE. *-os(s)o and *-osyo became specialized as thematic endings, thus disambiguating nom. sg. and gen.sg. in the thematic paradigm.

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