The thematic vowel *e/a* in Hittite verbs

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I. Verbs in -*ške/a*-

(1) The distribution of the ablaut vowels *$*e$ and $*o$ in the suffix *-*s$\hat{k}$e/o*-
(Kloekhorst 2008:135-6; cf. Oettinger 1979:315-6)

	PIE	OS			PIE	OS
pres. sg. 1	*-s$\hat{k}$ó-	°š-ke-e-mi	pret. sg. 1	*-s$\hat{k}$ó-	---
2	*-s$\hat{k}$é-	°š-ke-e-ši	2	*-s$\hat{k}$é-	---
3	*-s$\hat{k}$é-	°š-ke-ez-zi	3	*-s$\hat{k}$é-	°š-ke-et
pl. 1	*-s$\hat{k}$ó-	°š-ke-e-u̯a-ni	pl. 1	*-s$\hat{k}$ó-	---
2	*-s$\hat{k}$é-	°š-ket₀-te-ni	2	*-s$\hat{k}$é-	---
3	*-s$\hat{k}$ó-	°š-kán-zi	3		°š-ke-e-er

(2) Pres. 3 pl. -*škanzi* can go back to *-*s$\hat{k}$é*-; cf. Hitt. *anda*, Lat. *endo*. There is no positive evidence that unambiguously shows the thematic vowel $*o$. The distribution of -*ške*- and -*ška*- is not what would be expected from the traditional Indo-European point of view.

II. Verbs in -*ie/a*-

(3) The fluctuation between -(*i*)*ia*- and -*e*- (-*i*-) in *ie/a*-verbs, which was previously taken to reflect a contraction of -(*i*)*ia*- to -*e*- (-*i*-) by Friedrich (1960:27), has now been shown to be due to a replacement of OH -*ie*- by later Hittite -*ia*-; e.g. *a-ni-e-ez-zi* 'makes' (OS) → *a-ni-ia-zi* (in a later copy), *ú-e-mi-zi* 'finds' (OS) → *ú-e-mi-ia-zi* (in a later copy). Cf. Carruba (1966:79ff.), Watkins (1969:71) and Oettinger (1979:27).

(4) However, there are some OH verbs in -(*i*)*ia*-:

a) *pé-eš-ši-ia-mi* KBo 17.3 iv 18 (OS) 'I throw', *pé-eš-ši-ia-u-e-ni* KUB 35.164 obv. 6 (OS) 'we throw' in contrast to *pé-eš-ši-e-mi* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-ez-zi* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-i-e-ez-zi* (OS), *pé-eš-ši-er* (OS)

b) *ú-e-mi-ia-u-en* KBo 22.2 obv. 14 (OS) 'we found' in contrast to *ú-e-mi-ez-zi* (OS), *ú-e-mi-zi* (OS), *ú-e-mi-et* (OS)

c) *ḫu-la-a-li-ia-mi* KBo 17.1 iii 22 (OS) and 17.6 iii 14 (OS) 'I entwine' in contrast to *ḫu-la-a-li-e-mi* (OS), *ḫu-la-a-li-e-z[i]* (OS), *ḫu-la-a-li-ez-zi* (OS)

(5) The distribution of the ablaut vowels $*e$ and $*o$ in the suffix *-*ie/o*-
(Kloekhorst 2008:131; cf. Oettinger 1979:343)

	PIE	OS			PIE	OS
pres. sg. 1	*-ió-	-ia-mi, -i-e-mi	pret. sg. 1	*-ió-	-i-e-nu-un
2	*-ié-	-i-e-ši	2	*-ié-	---
3	*-ié-	-i-e-ez-zi	3	*-ié-	-i-e-et
pl. 1	*-ió-	-ia-u-e-ni	pl. 1	*-ió-	-ia-u-en
2	*-ié-	---	2	*-ié-	---
3	*-ió-	-ia-an-zi	3		-i-er

(6) Some problems in Kloekhorst's reconstruction

a) There is no evidence for the pret. 1 sg. *-ió- in Old Hittite.

b) Pres. 1 sg. -*i-e-mi* as well as pret. 1 sg. -*i-e-nu-un* is considered to be secondary. If so, the replacement of *-*ié*- for *-*ió*- must be due to the paradigmatic leveling (cf. Oettinger 1979:344), which would, however, be incomplete here (1 sg. -*ia-mi* and 1 pl. -*ia-u-e-ni* and -*ia-u-en*) unlike the case with suffix -*ške/a*-; cf. (1) above.

c) Posttonic *'-*ie/o*- is not discussed at all; cf. Kloekhorst (2008:180).

(7) The persistent *e*-vocalism in the paradigm of verbs in -*ške/a*- as seen in (1) is due to the accent, which always falls on the thematic vowel. On the other hand, the *a*-timbre of the suffix -(*i*)*ia*- in verbs shown in (4) is explained by a phonological rule that changes PA $*e$ to *a* in Hittite in post-tonic open syllables; cf. Melchert (1994:137).

a) *pé-eš-ši-ia-mi*, *pé-eš-ši-ia-u-e-ni* < *$*pé+h_1s-ie$-.

b) *ú-e-mi-ia-u-en* < *$*au-h_1ém-ie$-; cf. OS *ú-e-mi-zi* with single -*z*- (Yoshida 1998) due to the second lenition rule which operated between unaccented short vowels (cf. Eichner 1973, Morpurgo Davies 1982/83).

c) *ḫu-la-a-li-ia-mi*: a denominative verb derived from *ḫulāli*- 'distaff'. The scriptio plena -*a*- suggests accentual retraction due to the corresponding noun; cf. OS *ḫu-la-a-li-e-z[i]* with single -*z*-.

(8) The rule in (7) should be more restricted, i.e. "PA $*e$ became *a* in Hittite in post-tonic open syllables *before sonorants* (Yoshida 2010:391)." This modified version not only explains the limited number of attestations of the suffix -*ia*- in the 1 sg. -*iami* and 1 pl. *iau̯en(i)*, but also works with 1 pl. and 2 pl. active present endings, -*u̯ani* and -*tani*, the oblique stem of *u*-stem adjectives such as *āššau̯aš* (< *$*h_1és-eu̯-os$) 'good' and the oblique stem of *i*-stem adjectives such as *šallaiaš* (< *$*sélH-ei-os$) 'great, large'.

(17) A standard reconstructed paradigm of Hittite verbs in *- āi-/-ā-*

		Pres.	Pret.
Sg.	1.	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}io\text{-}$	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}io\text{-}$
	2.	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}$	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}$
	3.	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}$	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}$
Pl.	1.	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}io\text{-}$	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}io\text{-}$
	2.	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}$	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}$
	3.	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}io\text{-}$	$*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}io\text{-}$

(18) A proposed paradigm

		Pres.			Pret.		
Sg.	1.	-āmi	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ia\text{-}mi$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}ni$	-ānun	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ia\text{-}nun$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}n + \d{m}$
	2.	-ā(i)ši	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ie\text{-}si$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}si$	-āiš	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ie\text{-}s$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}s$
	3.	-āizzi	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ie\text{-}ti$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}ti$	-āit	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ie\text{-}t$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}t$
Pl.	1.	-āu̯a/eni	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ia\text{-}u̯ani$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}u̯eni$	-āu̯en	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ia\text{-}u̯en$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}u̯en$
	2.	(-ātta/eni)	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ie\text{-}tani$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}teni$	(-ātten)	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ie\text{-}ten$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}ten$
	3.	-ānzi	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ia\text{-}nti$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}nti$	-āer	$< *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ie\text{-}r$	$< *\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}r$

(19) Verbal substantive in *-āu̯ar*

ḫandāu̯uar, ḫandauu̯ar, ḫandau̯ar, but ***ḫandaiu̯ar (ḫandāi-/ā-)*

irḫāu̯ar, irḫauu̯ar, but ***irḫaiu̯ar (irḫāi-/-ā-)*

Oettinger (1979:359) assumes *-io-u̯r* (no independent evidence for positing *-io-*!).

Our reconstruction: $*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}u\d{r} > *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ia\text{-}u̯ar > \text{-}āu̯ar$

(20) Infinitive 1 in *-āu̯anzi*

ḫandāu̯u̯anzi, ḫandauu̯anzi, ḫandau̯anzi, but ***ḫandaiu̯anzi*

irḫauu̯anzi, but ***irḫaiu̯anzi*

Our reconstruction: $*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}u̯en\text{-}ti > *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ia\text{-}u̯an\text{-}ti > \text{-}āu̯anzi$

(21) Participle in *-ānt-*

ḫandānt-, ḫandant-, ḫāndānt-, but ***ḫandaint-*

irḫānt-, irḫant-, but ***irḫaint-*

Oettinger (1979:359) assumes *-o-io-nt-*.

Our reconstruction: $*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}nt\text{-} > *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ia\text{-}nt > \text{-}ānt\text{-}$ (also explained by *-ent- > -ant-*)

(22) Iterative in *-ške/a-*

ḫandāiške/a-, ḫantaiške/a-, but ***ḫandāške/a-*

irḫaīške/a-, but ** *irḫāške/a-*

Oettinger (1979:360) assumes *-o-ie-ške- > -aeske/a-*.

Our reconstruction: $*\text{-}éh_2\text{-}ie\text{-}sk\acute{e}\text{-} > *\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}ii\text{-}sk\acute{e} > \text{-}aiške/a\text{-}$

Oettinger reads the *iš* sign (𒅖) as *eš*, though there is a distinctive sign for *eš* (𒌍). The reading *iš* here is a predictable result of the rule that changes pre-tonic *e* to *i* in closed syllables (cf. Melchert 1994:139).

ḫanteške/a-, ,irḫeške/a-, irḫiške/a-: "the long diphthong is irregularly reduced to *-ē-*, due to its unaccented position in a polysyllabic stem" Melchert (1994:177)

(23) In sum, there is no positive evidence that unambiguously shows the thematic vowel *o* in *-āi-/-ā-* verbs, either.

IV. Verbs in *-e/a-*

(24) *u̯aššezzi* 'clothes', *u̯aššanzi < *u̯os-éie/o-*; cf. Eichner (1969:31ff.), Melchert (1984:31ff.)

lukkezzi 'sets fire to', *lukkanzi < *louk-éie/o-*; cf. Melchert (1984: 34f., following Watkins 1973:68f.)

(25) Oettinger (1979:304ff. and 271ff., following Hoffmann 1968) analyzes them as a simple thematic type in *-e/o-* due to the lack of scriptio plene (***u̯aššēzzi*): cf. Oettinger 1992:220.

Objections:

1) Scriptio plene is optional.

2) Transfer to the more numerous *š : a* pattern (*-ške/a-*, *-ie/a-*); cf. Melchert (1984:34)

3) The virtual absence of simple thematic verbs in Hittite

4) The *o*-grade root is most naturally attributed to the causative.

(26) 3 sg. *u̯aššezzi* $< *\text{-}ée\text{-}ti < *\text{-}éie\text{-}ti$

1 pl. *u̯aššau̯eni* (MS) $< *\text{-}éa\text{-}u̯eni < *\text{-}éia\text{-}u̯eni < *\text{-}éie\text{-}u̯eni$

3 pl. *u̯aššanzi* $< *\text{-}a\text{-}nti < *\text{-}éa\text{-}nti < *\text{-}éia\text{-}nti < *\text{-}éie\text{-}nti$

$*eie > *ee > *ē$ (contraction), $*eia > *ea > *a$ (deletion); cf. *pe + ai-* 'give' > *pai-* cf. Melchert (1984:32 and 1994:176)

(27) Likewise, there is no need for positing *-io-* in *-e/a-* verbs.

V. Cuneiform Luvian verbs in *-i-/-(i)ia-*

(28) Following Oettinger, Morpurgo Davies (1982/3:267) states, "in Luvian the *-ye/o-* verbs tend to generalize the *-ye-* forms of the suffix".