



Alice Mouton (dir.)

**Hittitology today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday**  
5<sup>e</sup> Rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA, Istanbul 21-22 novembre 2014

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## Syntax of the Hittite “Supine” Construction

Harry A. Hoffner Jr. † and H. Craig Melchert

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Éditées par Alice MOUTON

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# SOMMAIRE

- IX** ABRÉVIATIONS
- XIII** INTRODUCTION  
Alice Mouton
- I. LINGUISTIQUE, GRAMMAIRE ET ÉPIGRAPHIE**
- 3** SYNTAX OF THE HITTITE "SUPINE" CONSTRUCTION  
Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. et H. Craig Melchert
- 7** AGREEMENT PATTERNS OF COLLECTIVE NOUNS IN HITTITE  
Elisabeth Rieken
- 19** YAYINLANMAMIŞ BAZI Bo TABLETLERİNE YENİ DUPLİKAT VE  
PARALEL METİNLER  
Rukiye Akdoğan
- 39** THE LUWIAN TITLE OF THE GREAT KING  
Ilya Yakubovich
- 51** A NEW HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN EPIGRAPH: URFA-KÜLAFLI TEPE  
Massimo Poetto
- 63** OLD AND NEWLY DISCOVERED LYCIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM TLOS  
Recai Tekoğlu
- II. PHILOGIE ET HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS**
- 71** A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE HITTITE EXPRESSION ŠARĀ AR-  
Willemijn Waal
- 81** SANDAS IN TRANSLATION  
Ian Rutherford
- 101** L'INDIVIDU ET SON CORPS EN ANATOLIE HITTITE :  
UN NOUVEAU PROJET  
Alice Mouton
- 113** KUBABA IN THE HITTITE EMPIRE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR  
HER EXPANSION TO WESTERN ANATOLIA  
Manfred Hutter

### III. HISTOIRE ET GÉOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE

- 125** LE RÔLE DE PURUŠḪANDA DANS L'HISTOIRE HITTITE  
Massimo Forlanini
- 151** THE HURRIAN LANGUAGE IN ANATOLIA IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE  
Stefano de Martino
- 163** AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW ON THE LOCATION OF ARZAWA  
Max Gander
- 191** PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE FASILAR SURVEY  
Yiğit Erbil
- 201** THE NORTHERN BORDER OF TABAL  
Zsolt Simon

### IV. ARCHÉOLOGIE

- 215** CULT AND RITUAL AT LATE BRONZE AGE II ALALAKH:  
HYBRIDITY AND POWER UNDER HITTITE ADMINISTRATION  
K. Aslıhan Yener
- 225** A NEW TABLET FRAGMENT AND A SEALED POTTERY FRAGMENT  
FROM ALACAHÖYÜK  
Belkis Dinçol
- 229** LE SITE DE ZEYVE-HÖYÜK-PORSUK AUX ÉPOQUES HITTITE ET  
NÉO-HITTITE. REMARQUES SUR LA SUCCESSION DES SYSTÈMES  
DÉFENSIFS  
Dominique Beyer et Françoise Laroche-Traunecker

### V. HISTORIOGRAPHIE

- 247** LAROCHE AND THE SEALS OF MESKENE-EMAR  
J. David Hawkins
- 267** "WHAT DO WE UNDERSTAND IN HURRIAN?"  
Susanne Görke
- 277** EIN PHILOLOGISCH-SPRACHWISSENSCHAFTLICHER BLICK AUF DEN  
FORTGANG DER LYKISCHEN STUDIEN SEIT EMMANUEL LAROCHE  
Heiner Eichner

INDEX

**301** NOMS GÉOGRAPHIQUES

**303** NOMS DIVINS

**304** NOMS DE PERSONNES





# ABRÉVIATIONS

ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri. Millî eğitim basımevi, İstanbul.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
AnSt	Anatolian Studies.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen.
AS	Assyriological Studies.
AT	Alalakh Text.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Bo	Fragments de tablettes inédits de Boğazköy/Hattuša.
BoHa	Boğazköy-Hattuša, von Zabern, Mayence.
BSIEL	Brill's Studies in Indo-European Languages and Linguistics, Brill, Leyde.
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris.
CAD	OPPENHEIM, A. L. et al. (éds.), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1964-2010.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, Brill, Leyde.
CHD	GÜTERBOCK, H. G. / HOFFNER, H. A. / VAN DEN HOUT, T. (éds.), <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1989-.
CHLI 1	HAWKINS, J. D., <i>Corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age</i> (Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft NF 8/1). de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 2000.
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler, Multigrafica editrice, Rome.
CTH	LAROCHE, E., <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Klincksieck, Paris, 1971.
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
dupl.	Duplicat
EA	Tablettes provenant d'el-Amarna.
Eothen	Eothen. Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico, LoGisma, Florence.
FGrHist	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.
GrHL	HOFFNER, H. A., Jr. / MELCHERT, H. C., <i>A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar</i> (Languages of the Ancient Near East 1). Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 2008.
HE	FRIEDRICH, J., <i>Hethitisches Elementarbuch, 1. Teil: Kurzgefaßte Grammatik</i> . 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition. Winter, Heidelberg, 1960.

HED	PUHVEL, J., <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> , Trends in Linguistics. De Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 1984.
HEG	TISCHLER, J., <i>Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar</i> (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 20-). Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, Innsbruck, 1977-.
hethiter.net	<a href="http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/">http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/</a> .
HKM	ALP, S., <i>Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat</i> (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları VI/34). Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991.
HS	<i>Historische Sprachforschung</i> .
HW	FRIEDRICH, J., <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Kurzgefasste kritische Sammlung der Deutungen hethitischer Wörter</i> , Winter, Heidelberg, 1952.
HW <sup>2</sup>	FRIEDRICH, J. / KAMMENHUBER, A. / HOFFMANN, I. (éds.), <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch, zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte</i> , Indogermanische Bibliothek. Winter, Heidelberg, 1975-.
HZI	NEU, E. / RÜSTER, Chr., <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon</i> (StBoT Beiheft 2). Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1989.
IBOT	<i>İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</i> . Millî Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul.
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i> .
InL	<i>Incontri Linguistici</i> .
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i> .
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> .
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> .
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> .
KASKAL	KASKAL. <i>Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente antico</i> , LoGisma, Florence.
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin.
Konkordanz	KOŠAK, S., <i>Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte</i> , hethiter.net:/hetkonk (v. 1.91).
Kp	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Kayalipınar/Şamuha mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin.
Kt	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Kültepe mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
L.	Numéros des signes hiéroglyphiques de LAROCHE, E., 1960: <i>Les hiéroglyphes hittites, I – L'écriture</i> . Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.
LHK	RÜSTER, Chr. / WILHELM, G., <i>Landschenkungsurkunden hethitischer Könige</i> (StBoT Beiheft 4). Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2012.
LIMC	KAHIL, L. (éd.), <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Artemis, Munich, 1981-2009.
LGNP	FRASER, P. M. (éd.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987-2000.
LSU	RIEMSCHNEIDER, K., „Die hethitischen Landschenkungsurkunden“, <i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> 6, 1958: 321-381.
Luwian Corpus	<i>Luwian Corpus – “Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts / Hieroglyphic Vocabulary”</i> (I. Yakubovich) online: <a href="http://web.corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/">web.corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/</a> (last accessed September 3rd, 2015).
MH	Middle Hittite
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> .
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> .
MS	Middle Hittite Script
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i> .
N	NEUMANN, G., <i>Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901</i> (Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris Nr. 7, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 135. Band). Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienne, 1979.
N.A.B.U.	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i> , Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien, Paris.
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i> .
NH	New Hittite

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NS	New Hittite Script
obv.	Obverse
OH	Old Hittite
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Oriental Institute, Chicago.
Or NS	<i>Orientalia Nova Series.</i>
OS	Old Hittite Script
PEG 2.1	BERNABÉ, A. P. (éd.), <i>Poetarum epicorum Graecorum testimonia et fragmenta II, Orphicorum et orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta. Fasciculus 1</i> (Bibliotheca scriptorium Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana). Saur, Leipzig, 2004.
PNAE 3/1	BAKER, H. D. (éd.), <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire 3/1. The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project</i> , Helsinki, 2002.
PRU	SCHAEFFER, C. (éd.), <i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit, Mission de Ras Shamra</i> , Paris, 1956-.
PW	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
r. col.	right column
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie.</i>
rev.	Reverse
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asianique.</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie.</i>
Ro	Recto
RS	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Ras-Shamra/Ugarit mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
SBo	GÜTERBOCK, H. G., <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy I, II</i> (Afo Beiheft 5, 7). H. G. Güterbock, Berlin, 1940, 1942.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</i>
SGO	MERKELBACH, R. / STAUBER, J. (éds), <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> . Teubner, Munich, 1998-2004.
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.</i>
SNG	<i>Sylloge nummorum graecorum</i> , Bibliothèque nationale de France – Numismatica ars classica, Paris – Zurich, 1931-.
StBoT	<i>Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten</i> , Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
TB	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Tell Brak mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
THeth	<i>Texte der Hethiter</i> , Heidelberg, Winter.
TL	KALINKA, E., <i>Tituli Lyciae lingua lycia conscripti</i> . Hoelder, Vienne, 1901.
TTC	CONTENAU, G., <i>Trente tablettes cappadociennes</i> . Geuthner, Paris, 1919.
TUAT	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments.</i>
UEM	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Tell Umm el-Marra mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
VAT	Tablets preserved at the <i>Vorderasiatisches Museum</i> of Berlin.
Vo	Verso
VS (NF)	<i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Neue Folge)</i> . Ph. von Zabern, Mayence.
WAW	<i>Writings from the Ancient World</i> , Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta.
WdO	<i>Die Welt des Orients.</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.</i>
zBoTU	FORRER, E., <i>Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift 2. Geschichtliche Texte aus Boghazköi</i> (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 42). O. Zeller, Osnabrück, 1969.



# I. LINGUISTIQUE, GRAMMAIRE ET ÉPIGRAPHIE



# SYNTAX OF THE HITTITE “SUPINE” CONSTRUCTION\*

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.† and H. Craig Melchert  
University of Chicago/University of California, Los Angeles

As is well-known, the Hittite verbal form ending in *-(u)wan*, labeled now for more than half a century the “supine”, occurs only in a construction with either *dai-* ‘to put’ or *tiya-* ‘to step’ that expresses the notion ‘begin/undertake to do X’:<sup>1</sup>

(1) KBo 5.8 iii 3-5 (CTH 61, Annals of Muršili; NH)

*namma=šmaš=kan ÉRIN.MEŠ išḫiḫun nu=mu ÉRIN.MEŠ piškewan dāir  
n=at=mu laḫḫi kattan paišgauwan tiyēr*

“Then I imposed (a commitment for) troops on them, and they began to give me troops and began to go on campaign with me.”

It is clear that in older Hittite the auxiliary was *dai-* ‘to put’ (note *iššuwān daišten* and *piyanniwan daišten* at KBo 8.42 Vo 2-3; OH/OS). However, likely due to the ambiguity of plural forms such as *Pres3Pl ti(y)anzi*, we find also in later Hittite use of *tiya-* ‘to step’ as the auxiliary. In the example cited as (1), both auxiliaries occur side by side.

Our focus in the present discussion will be on the use or non-use of third-person enclitic subject pronouns in the supine construction.<sup>2</sup> As first observed by Calvert Watkins and confirmed by Andrew Garrett, such subject enclitic pronouns never occur with transitive verbs in Hittite.<sup>3</sup> In the case of intransitive verbs, their use is governed by the lexical semantics of the verb: so-called “unaccusative” verbs regularly take third-person enclitic subject

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\* Both authors were most grateful to Alice Mouton and other organizers of the IFEA conference for allowing us to participate in this volume honoring the centennial of Emmanuel Laroche, although we were unable to attend the conference itself. Professor Laroche was not only one of the giants of Hittitology, but also a pioneer in the study of other languages of ancient Anatolia, both Indo-European (Luvian and Lycian) and non-Indo-European (Hattic and Hurrian), and he generously assisted both of us early in our careers, as he did so many others. Professor Hoffner’s sudden and unexpected death on March 10, 2015, prevented him from participating in the final preparation of this joint paper. He had furnished many of the crucial examples and had seen and approved with changes an initial draft, but responsibility for the version published here necessarily rests with me—HCM.

1 The modern terminology follows Kammenhuber 1955: 31-57. For older literature see HE: 142-143 and for a recent summary *GrHL*: 338.

2 We are indebted to Hans Bork of UCLA for calling our attention to this issue by asking during class instruction about the pattern shown by example (1).

3 Garrett 1990, following Watkins.



pronouns, while “unergative” verbs do not.<sup>4</sup> Since *dai-* is a transitive verb, it does not in its usual use as ‘to put, place’ ever take an enclitic subject pronoun. As an “unaccusative” intransitive verb, *tiya-* ‘to step, take up a position’ regularly does so. Readers will notice that in example (1) *piškewan dāir* is not accompanied by a subject pronoun, while *paišgauwan tiyēr* is. The question then becomes: is the use or non-use of the enclitic subject pronoun governed by the lexical semantics of the auxiliary verbs or of the verb in the supine?

A survey of all examples known to us clearly shows that it is the latter. First of all, if the verb in the supine is transitive, there is no enclitic subject pronoun, whether the auxiliary is *dai-* or *tiya-*:

(2) VS 28.111 rev. 5-6 (CTH 530, Cult Inventory; NH)

*nu=šši EZEN<sub>4</sub> DUMU.SAL.ḫI.A [e]ššūwan tiēzzi*

“And one undertakes to perform for him/her the festival of the daughters.”

(3) KBo 29.86 obv. 10-11 with dupl. KUB 20.16 i 10-11 (CTH 694, Festival fragment; NS)

*[(nu<sup>GIŠ</sup>arg)]ami galgaltūri<sup>GIŠ.dI</sup>INANNA.ḫI.A [(ḫazz)]iyēškewan tianzi*

“They begin to play the *argami*, *galgalturi*, and Ishtar-instruments.”

Example (2) with no subject enclitic pronoun even with an unambiguous form of *tiya-* shows that likewise its absence with a transitive verb in the supine plus *dai-* (as in the first clause of example (1) above) and in the ambiguous example (3) is due to the supine, not the auxiliary. See further the second clause of example (9) below.<sup>5</sup>

Naturally, the supine of a transitive verb can take an object enclitic pronoun, but this has nothing to do with the choice of auxiliary:

(4) KUB 32.133 i 4-7 (CTH 482, Cult Reform of Muršili; NH)

*nu=za ḫazziwita išḫiul<sup>ḫI.A</sup>=ya kue INA É.DINGIR-LUM kattan ḫamankatta wēr=ma=at=kan LÚ.MEŠ DUB.SAR.GIŠ LÚ.MEŠ É.DINGIR-LIM=ya waḫnuškewan dāir n=at<sup>m</sup> Murši-DINGIR-LIM-iš LUGAL.GAL tuppiyaz EGIR-pa aniyānun*

“The scribes on wood and the men of the temple proceeded to begin to alter the ritual prescriptions and regulations that he (Tuthaliya) had mandated in the temple. I, Muršili, the Great King, restored them by means of a clay tablet.”

The same remark applies to the examples with transitive *ē[šš]ūwan tiyanzi* in KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 i 23 and KUB 56.19 i 39.

As predicted, when the supine is an unaccusative intransitive verb, an enclitic subject pronoun is required:

(5) KBo 3.67 i 8-9 with dupl. KUB 11.5 obv. 4 (CTH 19, Edict of Telipinu; OH/NS)

*mān<sup>m</sup> ḫantiliš«š»=a<sup>LÚŠU</sup>.GI [kiša(t n=aš DINGIR-L)IM-iš] kikkiššūwan dāiš*

“But when Hantili became an old man, and he began to become a god.” (i.e., to die)

(6) KUB 14.8 obv. 26-28 (CTH 378.2.A, Plague Prayer of Muršili; NH)

*nu<sup>LÚ</sup>[(<sup>MEŠ</sup>appa)ntan] kuin ēpper n=an maḫḫan INA KUR<sup>URU</sup> ḫat[(ti)] EGIR-pa uwate[(r)] nu=kan INA ŠÀ-BI<sup>LÚ.MEŠŠU</sup>.DIB.BI.ḫI.A ḫinkan kišat n=aš akkiškewan da[iš]*

“A plague broke out among the prisoners whom they took, when they brought them back to Hatti, and they began to die.”

4 See in extenso Garrett 1996 and for a summary GrHL: 280-281. The dividing line between the two classes of verbs is notoriously fluid, but by and large the patterns observed in Hittite match those found elsewhere.

5 Further transitive examples occur in KUB 14.16 ii 22, KBo 4.4 iv 35 and 47, and Bo 86/299 ii 27 (‘give’), KUB 1.1 ii 6 and 10 (‘strike’), KUB 1.1 ii 43 (‘attack’), KUB 1.1 iv 52-53 (‘send’), KBo 11.1 obv. 37, KUB 5.6 i 17 and 23 and KUB 16.77 ii 40 (‘perform’), and KUB 16.32 ii 7 (‘sacrifice’).

Both *kiš-* ‘to become, happen’ and *akk-* ‘to die’, as change-of-state verbs, are well established to be unaccusative in Hittite and thus require an enclitic subject pronoun, despite the fact that the auxiliary here is *dai-* ‘to put’. Likewise, as a verb expressing emotion, *duške-* ‘to rejoice’ is unaccusative and requires an enclitic subject pronoun also in the supine:<sup>6</sup>

(7) KBo 26.65 iv 15-16 (CTH 345.3A, Song of Ullikummi; pre-NH/NS)

<sup>d</sup>Tašmišuš [iš]tamašta n=aš=za duškiškewan daiš

“Tašmišu heard, and he began to rejoice.”

Likewise in KUB 33.112 + KUB 33.114 + KUB 36.2 ii 3. So also it is the verb of directed motion *pai-* ‘go’ that demands an enclitic subject pronoun in the second clause of example (1), not the auxiliary *tiya-*.

In a few cases where we have no finite examples of intransitive verbs with pronominal subjects the supine construction is diagnostic:

(8) KUB 12.44 ii 27-28 (CTH 392, Ritual of Anna; MH/NS)

mān SAR.GEŠTIN kuiš UL miyēškezzi [... k]iššan aniyami n=aš miškewan dāi

“If some vineyard is not growing, I treat [it] as follows, and it will begin to grow.”

(9) KBo 3.1 i 21-22 (CTH 19, Edict of Telipinu; OH/NS)

išḫa[ašš]=a=šmaš=šan [(t)]aštašeškeuwan dāir (22) nu ēšḫar=š«um»mit ēššuwān tiyēr

“They also began to conspire (whisper) against their lords and began to shed their blood.”

The evidence of example (8) for *mai-* ‘to grow’ as an unaccusative verb has been recognized,<sup>7</sup> but example (9) is thus far unique in showing by its absence of a subject pronoun (-e in Old Hittite or -at in a New Script copy) that *taštašiya-* ‘to whisper, conspire’ is unergative.

As expected, “detransitives”, that is, transitive verbs that are used intransitively without a direct object,<sup>8</sup> also behave as unergative in the supine construction:

(10) KUB 9.4 + ii 22-23 (CTH 760.1.2, <sup>MUNUS</sup>ŠU.GI Ritual; NS)

nu=za namma kī ḫukmai ēpzi nu ḫukkiskewan dāi

“He again takes up this incantation and begins to recite the incantation.”

Likewise KUB 9.34 + iii 7 and KUB 53.4 rev. 9 without enclitic subject.

We have found only one exception to this very regular distribution, and it is surely specially conditioned. In the only occurrence in a native Hittite composition, the intransitive verb *w(iy)ai-* ‘to wail, weep’ behaves as an unergative, as is to be expected for a *verbum dicendi* (compare *taštašiya-* ‘to whisper’ above):

(11) KUB 30.15 + KUB 39.19 obv. 34-36 (CTH 450, Royal Funeral Rite; OH/NS)

[nu <sup>ḫ</sup>RIŃ ZI.B[A.NA arb]a duwarniyaizzi n=at=kan <sup>d</sup>UTU-i menahḫ[anda ...] [nu kalga]linaizzi nu weškewan [dai]

“One breaks the scales and [...] it facing the Sun-god. It clangs(?), and one begins to wail.”<sup>9</sup>

6 See Neu 1968: 181. The fact is acknowledged in Garrett 1996: 91, but with an incorrect meaning ‘to please’ for the verb.

7 Garrett 1996: 94. This example is also cited in GrHL: 281, note 16, as contrasting with the absence of an enclitic subject pronoun when there is no referential subject.

8 For the concept and the label see Garrett 1996: 98-100.

9 For the tentative interpretation of *kalkalīnai-* as ‘clang’, referring to the lugubrious sound made by the breaking of the scales see HED K: 25 and the similar passage cited there.

Predictably, it also takes no enclitic subject pronoun in the secondary transitive use ‘to bewail’:<sup>10</sup>

(12) KUB 19.4 + KBo 19.45 i 7-8 (CTH 40, Deeds of Šuppiluliuma; NH)  
*nu mahḥan ABU=YA ŠA* <sup>m</sup>Zannanza kunātar išt[amašta nu] <sup>m</sup>Zannanzan wēškewan daiš  
 “When my father heard about the killing of Zannanza, he began to bewail Zannanza.”

However, in the Hurro-Hittite translation literature the same verb behaves as an unaccusative and consistently takes an enclitic subject pronoun. One example will suffice for illustration:

(13) KUB 33.120 ii 53-54 (CTH 344, Theogony; MH/NS)  
 [m]ān=ši=kan ZU<sub>9</sub>.HI.A-uš anda iškalliyanta [<sup>d</sup>Kumarbiya n]=aš weiškeuwan [dāi]š  
 “When his, Kumarbi’s, teeth began to be torn inside, he began to wail.”

Likewise showing an enclitic subject pronoun are KUB 33.106 iii 4-6 (CTH 345.3A, Song of Ullikummi) and KUB 17.4:7 (CTH 364.3A, Song of Silver). While the motivation for use of the enclitic subject pronoun here is unclear, we must in view of other non-native usages in the translation literature attribute it to “translationese” and follow the evidence of the native example (11) for this verb being unergative in Hittite.

Our finding that in the supine construction it is the lexical verb that determines the use or non-use of enclitic subject pronouns with intransitive verbs is of interest in confirming that *dai-* and *tiya-* have been fully reduced to the status of auxiliaries. Their behavior is thus entirely parallel to that of *pai-* ‘to go’ and *uwa-* ‘to come’ in the “serial” construction, where it has long been clear that it is the lexical verb that determines the behavior of subject enclitic pronouns as well as local particles.<sup>11</sup> We may therefore henceforth confidently use any new examples of the supine construction in non-translation literature with intransitive verbs and expressed or unexpressed pronominal subject as diagnostic for unaccusativity in Hittite.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The available space at the beginning of line 8 permits only restoration of [nu], not [na-aš].

<sup>11</sup> See *GrHL*: 325, following van den Hout 2003.

<sup>12</sup> The conclusions just presented for the supine construction with *dai-* and *tiya-* raise the question of what the facts are for the competing construction with *-za épp-* plus the infinitive (see *GrHL*: 335 and 338 on its distribution). Based on all examples known to us (see the collection in *HW<sup>3</sup> E*: 64), the answer is that *-za épp-* plus the infinitive appears to be restricted to collocations with transitive verbs, a limitation not previously noted. The distinction of unaccusative versus unergative is thus irrelevant for this construction.