1. Relational adjectives in -\textit{\text{ائنا}}-

CLuvian relational adjectives in -\textit{\text{ائنا}}- show ordinary ablative-instrumental forms in -\textit{\text{ائنا}} and by-forms in -\textit{\text{ائنا}}. The latter have previously been interpreted as ablative-instrumental plural; tentatively by Laroche (1959: 138), explicitly by Kammernhuber (1999: 207) who speaks of a "plural infix", by Neumann (1982: 159), and by others. Laroche, Kammernhuber, and others also interpret the ending -\textit{\text{ائنا}} (1x in \textit{\text{nafa\text{\text{ائنا}}}}) as a genitive plural, with the same inserted element -\textit{\text{n}}, and the equivalent of the Old Hittite genitive plural ending -\textit{\text{an}}.

The identification of the inserted element -\textit{\text{n}}- in these examples with the plural ending -\textit{\text{n}}(\textit{\text{a}}) of the CLuvian animate accusative plural and dative plural seems unquestionable. The reading of the forms in -\textit{\text{ائنا}} as plurals also seems compatible with the contexts in which they occur, although in most cases there is no positive evidence for a plural sense. However, there are difficulties with this received interpretation. These have even led Starke (1982: 414ff) to question the authenticity of the -\textit{\text{n}} forms.

The first problem is: if there was a tendency in CLuvian to extend the distinction of singular/plural to the ablative-instrumental, it is surprising that this development is restricted just to relational adjectives in -\textit{\text{ائنا}}- (see already Starke). One would expect to find such forms in other adjectives and in nouns. Second, and more seriously, the interpretation of other examples of inserted -\textit{\text{n}}- as plurals cannot possibly be correct.

We may begin with the example \	extit{\text{nafa\text{\text{ائنا}}}} EN-ya (KUB XXXV 39 (ii 25). Already Mintelberger (1963: 990) had identified the ending -\textit{\text{n}} of adjectives in -\textit{\text{ائنا}}- as dative singular, citing three examples from HLuvian and at least one in CLuvian (\textit{\text{mimara\text{\text{n}}}} \textit{\text{I\text{\text{ISKUR}}} ti}} "to the Storm-god of the open country", KUB XXXV 54 (ii 37). The identification of -\textit{\text{ائنا}} as dative singular has now been fully confirmed by additional evidence from HLuvian, assembled by Morpurgo Davies (1980: 123ff). Morpurgo Davies, writing in 1980, was cautious about attributing -\textit{\text{ائنا}} to CLuvian, but we may now add at least one more
certain example: wallunad<zi>an wâni “to the woman of lifting”, i
“midwife” (KUB XXXV 88 ii 12). For this example see Starke (1984
41a), who also properly emends irima<zi> SISKUR-ci of KUB
XXXV 54 ii 35 to irima<zh>ci after the correct immurai<zi>SISKUR
two lines later. He explicitly states that (a)zin marks dative singu-
lar (see also Starke 1985: 67 with note 25). If (an) is the dative singular
ing of -(a)zi- adjectives, then mala<zi>salzanun EN-ya must be dative
singular as well (note the ending of EN-ya!)2.3
We also have examples ending in -anza: "EN-ZU-anza (KUB
XXXV 103 ii 11) and [mala<zi>salzanun EN-anta] (KUB XXX
78.7). Here the final -anza already marks dative plural, making it
high unlikely that the preceding -an- also indicates plural. Starke (198
passim) consistently emends all forms with -an- except ablative-instru-
mentals, deleting the final -anza of the last two examples cited as d

tograpy and also correcting mala<zi>salzanun to simply mala<zi>sals.
He also reads the two instances SISKUR-anta (EN-ya) (KUB XXX
45 ii 7) and EN SISKUR-anta (KUB XXXV 59.7) as -(a)zin. See al
his discussion in Starke (1982: 414f with note 33) and (1990: 39ff).

The ablative-instrumental forms, however, prove that an inserted cleric
-n- exists. In view of this it is highly suspect that three different types
 scribal error (diphthong of final -ana, an extra final -a-an, and an ex-
 final -za) all conspire to produce a formant -nz- elsewhere. It is particu-
 hard to see the motivation for the last two alleged errors. As Starke’s editi
 shows, the Hittite scribes were often quite careless in writing Luvian, t
 nearly all the errors consist of omission of signs. The manuscript KU
 XXXV 45 shows nine examples of omitted signs, including some in the
 Hittite portion (see Starke 1985: 151ff). This pattern strongly suggests t
 SISKUR-anta at KUB XXXV 45 ii 7 should be emended not to
 SISKUR-anan, but rather to SISKUR-anzanun-cn, matching attest
 mala<zi>salzanun. Likewise we should read EN SISKUR-anza-cn in KU
 XXXV 59.7. Recall the necessary emendation of irima<zi> to irima<zi>cn
 KUB XXXV 54 ii 35 cited above. The forms in -anzanun and -a<zi>zanun
 are real, and they must be explained along with those in -a<zi>zanun.

1 The source of the unusual dative ending -(a)zin remains unknown. As pointed
 by Starke (1980: 41), the explanation offered by MODRIDGE DAVIES is problematic
 Cliverian, but his own derivation from an archaic locational -(a)zi- accounts neither for
 restriction to -(a)zi- adjectives nor for the exclusivity dative function.

2 There is one case of an omitted sign which is missed by Starke and edit.
 In line ii 1, instead of the inerceptible pa-ad-ya-ta-a, we should read pa-<zi>-a-a-ta-a.
 Both the combinations pa(a)salp daypaladian "past and future" and the shape of the sig
 see KUB XXXV 43 ii 10.

3 See Starke, the parallel structure demands the reading and restoration kun-mar-pa-
a<zi>za in ii 11.
In the expression dastaks inverting (atul X, XVII, 46, etc.), both
orders of expression are used, the former, with the
subscripts with the subscript above, and the latter with
the subscript below. In this way, the expression may be
considered as a collective term, and the phrase as a
collective term. But in view of the fact that the
phrase "in the collective term" is a collective term,
and the phrase "in the collective term" is a collective
term, it may be considered as a collective term.

A study of the abodes of atoms shows that
the abode in which the atomic number of the
atom is 1, the atomic number of the atom is 2,
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The adjective [11]Kaplawiy-

The above analysis of inserted -ns as marking plural number of the modifier rather than the modified is the only one which can account for the combinations -alatanan and -alatanan, and it is consistent with all occurrences of -alatan-

It is true that in the case of the -alsa adjectives the -i of the animate nominative and accusative plural is not an inherent part of the stem, but rather a "motion-suffix", as established by Stark (1990: 59f).

Insertion of the marker -ns into the neuter nominative and accusative singular and plural would also have been problematic. The basic neuter nom.-acc. singular of -alsa is -alsa.

To summarize: forms of the Cluvian -alsa-adjectives in -alatan, -alatanan, and -alatanzi are real. The marker -ns, borrowed from the animate plural case endings, is inserted between stem and regular case ending to indicate plurality of the possessor, not that of the modified noun.

2. Third person enclitic pronoun -af

Larco (1959: 141) lists -af as the animate nominative singular of the third person enclitic pronoun, and it is well attested in this function.
He lists -ata not only as neuter nominative-accusative singular and plural, but also as animate nominative and accusative plural.

Evidence for -ata as anim. nom. plural is scarce, but there is at least one sure example (KIU 11v 14v; Starke 1985: 341): aðha-ata=ata ala ati awienta wiliatai “When they came from steep Wilusa”11. The initial sequence is to be analyzed with Laroche (1959: 22) and Watkins as aðha “where” + -ata “they” + *ata (phenomenon = Hint. *anu). The particle -ata is usually written with a geminate, but other single spellings occur. Given the Hitite scribes’ penchant for omitting signs in CLavian texts, one could extend to aðha-ata=ata, but this is not strictly necessary in any case. For no justification for the assumption that aðha-ata=ata is an error for aðha=ata (i.e. simply aðha=ata), as suggested by Starke (1985: 341)12. We may thus accept -ata as anim. nom. plural “they”.

On the other hand, in repeated readings of the CLavian corpus in Starke 1985 I have been unable to find a single occurrence of -ata which suggests an interpretation as animate accusative plural. This absence could be due to chance, but it certainly brings into question Laroche’s assignment of -ata to this functional role.

Our doubts increase when we find examples of enclitic -ata which cannot possibly be read as animate nominative singular. A close examination of these examples shows that they in fact must be interpreted as animate accusative plural.

We may begin with KUB XXXV 88 iii 11-12 (Starke 1985: 227): upatta=pa wu wu darrjyani 2-ja 9-ul[n]-at a[n]a=wa=al=ata waluna<ci>-gi wan uvun uoppata “He granted her eighteen sarriyani. They brought them into the “woman of lifting” (midwife)”.13. Starke, to whom we owe identification of wu as “woman”, translates the second sentence as: “Man schickte hinein nach der Frau des Hebeng” (Starke 1985: 207). This translation surprisingly leaves the transitive verb uppa-“bring” without an object and also leaves -at untranslated. The conclusion is obvious: -at is the missing object, animate accusative plural “them”, referring to the eighteen objects named in the preceding sentence (sarriyani is of course animate). Note that an interpretation of -at as anim. nom. singular is excluded by the plural verb. Nor can -at be anim. nom. plural, since that function is filled by -ana.

11 For the details of the interpretation of this passage see Watkins (1986: 38ff).
12 The antecedent of the dative enclitic -ata is by no means certain, but this does not affect the issue of -at in the following sentence.
The incomplete adjective in -a{l]t[a]na should therefore also be restored as [brna]lta "of the oaths" or the like, not as [m]a{l]t[a]na with Starke (1985: 180) and Larochdi (1959: 66). It is not the "lords of the sacrifice" (the clients) who are being referred to, but rather the enemies who have caused the trouble which the ritual is designed to get rid of. In lines following dya]t we find a{-a]i-ta bannu and z[i]l[a] di]da]pu. The form di]da]pu is surely to be taken with Larochdi (1959: 99) as imperative second singular to a reduplicated stem related to d[i]p[i]d[i]pu: "strike". This strongly suggests that a{-a]i-ta bannu should be read as conjonction a[-a] plus -a] "them" plus particle -atu plus another imperative second singular bannu. Whether the verb is to be identified with Hittite banni- "judge" may be left open, but the sense would fit the context: "Judge them (the enemies)! ... thereafter strike (them)!". In any case, the immediately preceding animate plural antecedent [lta]na EN-anca and the following imperative second singular argues that we should likewise divide dya]t as dya-as "Make/breat them [ ]"

Having now recognized -a] as anim. acc. plural, we can now notice that the context of KUB XXXX 908 (Starke 1985: 246), XXXX 89/16 (Starke 1985: 228), and XXXX 34+ 4 6 (Starke 1985: 378) also favors this interpretation for -a]l. We have defined two examples of -a] which must be taken as anim. acc. plural, and two more cases where this interpretation improves our understanding of the text. We find no examples for -atu as anim. acc. plural. We must therefore conclude that the nom.-acc. plural forms of the third person enclitic pronoun in CLavian agree with those of Neo-Hittite (anim. nom. pl: -atu = Hitt. -or; anim. acc. pl: -a]l = Hitt. -al) rather than with those of HLuvian, which has indeed generalized -atu for the entire nom.-acc. plural, animate and inanimate.

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