Addenda and Corrigenda to Harry A. Hoffner Jr. and H. Craig Melchert, Grammar of the Hittite Language (GrHL). Reference Grammar

It was long planned that—following a now common practice—addenda and corrigenda to the reference grammar volume of the *GrHL* would be posted online on the Eisenbrauns website and the respective home-pages of the authors. These plans were delayed due to a variety of reasons. As is often the case, the appearance of reviews stretched over several years, and following publication of the *GrHL* Professor Hoffner was very much preoccupied with other research projects. His sudden death in March, 2015, forestalled any planned collaboration on these notes upon my own retirement the following June.

The very long delay in the appearance of these addenda and corrigenda inevitably has had serious consequences. Most obviously, consultation with my late co-author was impossible. We had informally discussed preliminary notes written in January, 2011, in response to the first reviews, but I must stress that Professor Hoffner never had the opportunity to explicitly approve even those, so I am solely responsible for the content of what follows. The passage of eight years has also unsurprisingly greatly increased the number of newly published works on various aspects of Hittite grammar. It was our cherished hope that publication of *GrHL* would stimulate new research, but the gratifyingly brisk pace of activity during the long delay adds to the challenge of preparing an adequate response. Fortunately, current technology permits rapid further updating, so this surely incomplete initial effort may be modified promptly. I not only welcome but indeed solicit help in filling omissions, including any reviews beyond those listed below that have escaped my attention.

Rather later than I had intended, I have now made a second round of addenda & corrigenda, all highlighted in red. Most of these involve the paradigms of verbal forms, which I have now updated in the manner done previously for the nominal paradigms. I apologize for having inevitably overlooked some recent works on the synchrony of Hittite and welcome help in repairing these omissions.

H. Craig Melchert May, 2020 (melchert@humnet.ucla.edu)

Published reviews of *GrHL*:


To spare users from unnecessary scrolling within this document, new bibliography is introduced as needed; author-year references are to works in the bibliography of *GrHL*.


p. 5, §0.13: there is now a gratifying abundance of instructional grammars/primers for Hittite:


One should also take note of the second edition of Francia 2005:


and of the grammatical sketch of Watkins 2004:


p. 5, §0.16: the *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* of Johann Tischler is now complete with the appearance of Lieferungen 15 (2010) and 16 (2016). Volumes 8, 9 and 10 of the *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* of Jaan Puhvel have also appeared, completing coverage through words beginning with *SA*-. These have now been joined by Alwin Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* (Leiden 2008)—henceforth *EDHIL*—which also includes an extensive historical phonology and morphology.


p. 13, §11, end: with Kloekhorst (Kratylos 55.14), the spellings li-ik-zi and li-ik-ta represent a genuine phonetic loss of /n/ before a dorsal obstruent plus consonant. That the nasal is often analogically restored is unsurprising. See further the corrective note below to §1.135 (p. 46).

p. 15, line 14: Read ‘Mesopotamia’.

p. 16, §1.15, end: read eš17 (= MEŠ). Likewise p. 21, §1.35.

p. 18, §1.22: Read “mMaš-ḫu-i-šu(-an)” without acute accent.

p. 18, §1.23: the textual reference for tuḫḫuššar túḫḫ-ša ‘cuts the t.’ (sic!) is KBo 4.13 ii 6-7.

p. 21, §1.35: the new value for MEŠ is transliterated as eš17.

It has not been fully acknowledged that Hittite scribes use the sign <e> alone or in a sequence <e-a> to spell /ya/. One incontrovertible example is dat.-loc. pl. ḥa-a-li-E-aš (KBo 6.2 iii 48, OH/OS, Laws §66), which cannot be read as ḥa-a-le-e-aš (contra Hoffner 1997: 76), which could have never been a form of ḥǎli- ‘pen, corral’, but stands for ḥa-a-lya-aš. Another is a-ni-e-az at IBOT 2.128 Ro 5. Compare also ša-li-e-a-an-da at KBo 47.81 Ro 5. In view of these sure examples, one should likewise judge me-mi-e-ni (KBo 10.2 ii 8 & 18.54 Ro 11) as equivalent to the more frequent and expected me-mi-ya-ni. Likewise, the spelling me-e-e-ni (KUB 42.105 iii 6) is not evidence for a suffixal e-grade (contra Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.14), which could only be spelled ḫme-(e)-i-e-ni, but stands for /me:jani/. See also URUMa-la-zi-e at KBo 19.76 i 35 beside URUMa-la-az-zi-ya ibid. i 38. The sequence <e-a> is also occasionally used to spell the enclitic conjunction =ya: šu-up-pa-e-a = šuppa=ya (KBo 20.24 iii 1, OH/OS; see Neu 1983: 174). See for further examples below p. 281, note 14 and p. 399, note 14. One or two similar uses of <e-a> also appear in Boğazköy Akkadian: ki-e-a-am (KBo 1.5 i 13&29 and iv 14) and ša-ni-e-a-am (ibid. iv 28): see Durham 1976: 326, note 451. Such spellings in Hittite may support the claim of Martin Kümmel (forthcoming) that Hittite /a/ had an allophone [æ] or [ε] after [j]: Über die hethitische 3. Šg. Präsens auf -ia-Iz-zi, paper presented at Hrozný and Hittite: The First Hundred Years, Charles University, Prague, 11-14 November 2015.

p. 22, §1.36: the cuneiform sign for wa, was inadvertently omitted. See HZL #326. The penultimate sentence should read: ‘This contrasts with the customary writing of initial /wa/ as wa- (rarely ū-wa-) and initial /we/ and /wi/ as ū-e- and ū-i- or wiš- (rarely ū-i-) and post-initial /wa/ as -(u)wa- and post-initial /we/ as -u-e- or ū-e- and /wi/ as -u-i-, ū-i- or -wiš- in native Hittite words.’

p. 25, §1.46: Simon (JNES 71.340) correctly points out that the second vowel of pa-ra-a is surely long, so that the plene spelling need not be attributed merely to an effort to distinguish the presence of a vowel versus its absence. Likewise the shift in accent in words like ‘earth’ also entails vowel length under the accent. Since there is universal agreement that prehistoric short vowels were lengthened in Hittite at least in open syllables, it is doubtful that the plene spelling in da-a ‘take!’ and i-it ‘go!’ (from an immediate preform *id(h)i) is motivated by avoidance of writing words with a single sign. Plene spelling to indicate question intonation also involves vowel lengthening (likely under the accent—see von Soden 1952: 206). There is considerable disagreement regarding the precise conditions under which prehistoric short vowels are lengthened under the accent in closed syllables, but with the exception cited below of sequences ūi-eli-eiliC most scholars do regard instances of plene spellings in closed syllables as showing length. Of the five alleged uses of plene to mark something other than length cited here, we are left only with the disambiguation of Ce/i and e/iC signs. However, the demonstration by Alwin Kloekhorst, Accent in Hittite: A Study in Plene Spelling, Consonant Gradation, Clitics, and Metrics (Wiesbaden 2014), pp. 138-61, that in Hittite medial spellings of the type u/û-e-eC and i-e-eC the -e- does not mark vowel length, but serves to mark the preceding glide in /we/ and /ye/ sequences—in the absence of CV signs parallel to wa and ya—has reduced the number of putative examples of plene e and i in unaccented syllables to near zero. One may therefore question whether plene spellings ever directly mark any feature other than vowel length—with the exception just cited and the one that immediately follows.

Kimball (1999: 67), following an earlier suggestion of Kronasser and Rosenkranz, argued that starting in MH and regularly in NH the sequence <ḫu-u> came to be used as a ligature ūu-u equivalent to just <ḥu> (perhaps to disambiguate ẖu> from the similar sign <ri/tal>). This is also partially adopted by Kloekhorst EDHIL 51, but strangely not applied to the sequences that mainly demonstrate the usage. As per below (§1.94), it is to Kloekhorst that we owe the demonstration that <ḥu> before vowel represents a unitary labialized dorsal fricative /xʷ/ (or /χʷ/), already in pre-Hittite. The underlying (phonemic) shape of a root like ḫuug- ‘to conjure’ is therefore /xʷ eg-~ xug/- (with delabialization of the unitary labiovelar before [u]), entirely parallel to /kʷen-~ kun- ‘to kill’. Since there is a phonotactic constraint in Hittite against [u] next to /x/ (or /χ/), /xug/- appears automatically as [x/χg-]. There is no basis for a phonemic /Hueg-~ Hug-/, and the idea that innovative MS/NS ḫu-u-V(C)- reflects a change to /x0V(C)/ (Kloekhorst loc. cit.) is quite unbelievable, especially since there is no such change in the labiovelar stop /kʷ/ (which continues to be spelled ku-V(C)-). When we add further examples where an assuredly unaccented short [o] following h suddenly is written “plene” in NH (me-e-ḫu-un-na-s=a me-e-ḫu-u-ni at KUB 13.4 iv 38, etc.) vs. OH/OS me-e-ḫu-ni (KBo 3.22 Ro 19), we are justified in regarding the <u> in such spellings as merely a graphic device and transliterating these as me-e-ḫu+u-ni and likewise ḫu+u-ek-zi and ḫu+u-kán-zi. While this does not affect words written consistently ḫu-u-CV- or ḫu-u-uC- from OH/OS, it does mean that such spellings in MS and NS are not alone probative for true vowel length (compare the similar problem with late spellings CVm-mV and CV-Vm-mV, §1.24).

Kloekhorst, Accent in Hittite, pp.155-158, interprets spellings of -e-eC- after word-initial /kʷ/- and /xʷ/- (that is, ku-e-e-n-zi or ḫu-e-ek-zi) and word-initial sequences ū-e-
eC- and i-e-eC- also as spellings for /we-/ and /ye-/ and not evidence for vowel length, analogous to word-internal *u/- *e-eC and *i-e-eC. Parallelism suggests that this is true for word-initial *u-e-eC- and i-e-eC- (the vowels may still be long, but one cannot cite the spellings as evidence). However, as argued above, the labiovelars are unitary consonants, and there is no glide /w/ present, so there is no motivation for a spelling for /we/. In these sequences the plene spelling surely does mark vowel length (compare the remarks of Kimball, Kratylos 60.24-25).

Word-initial spellings V₁-V₁/C- also do mark vowel length. See the discussion below on §1.88.

p. 25, §1.47, third line: Read ‘differentiated’.

p. 26, §1.48: Simon (JNES 71.341) quite reasonably laments the absence of a chart of Hittite vowel and consonant phonemes. More to the point, the basis for concluding just how many and which phonemes exist in Hittite is only rather haphazardly presented. Although many uncertainties remain due to the ambiguities of Hittite cuneiform writing, there is no reason why a more explicit account should not be attempted. For an earlier treatment see H. Craig Melchert, Hittite Phonology, pp. 555-67 in Alan S. Kaye (ed.), Phonologies of Africa and Asia (Winona Lake 1997), but some aspects are predictably now badly dated. In the case of vocalism the major change is recognition of two more vowels /o/ and /o:/, so that we must posit ten Hittite vowel phonemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>/i/, /i:/</td>
<td>/u/, /u:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>/e/, /e:/</td>
<td>/o/, /o:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>/a/, /a:/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The position of the low vowel as “central” is conventional; the /a/ may well have been phonetically back. There is no doubt that the four vowels /i/, /u/, /e/ and /a/ contrast with each other, in both their short and long varieties. For the short vowels one may cite -ri vs. -ru (indicative vs. imperative medio-passive endings), =mi-it vs. =me-et ‘my’ (instrumental vs. nominative-accusative singular neuter of the enclitic possessive), ḫar-ki-iš ‘white’ (nominative singular common gender) vs. ḫar-ga-aš ‘destruction’ (nominative singular), nu (conjunction) vs. n=e (conjunction plus enclitic pronoun ‘they’, nominative plural common gender), al-pu ‘pointed’ (nominative-accusative singular neuter) vs. al-pa ‘clouds’ (nominative-accusative collective plural), at-te-eš vs. at-ta-aš ‘father’ (nominative plural vs. nominative singular). For the long vowels note: ki-ša-an ([ki:san]) ‘become’ (nominative-accusative singular neuter of the participle) vs. ku-ú-ša-an ‘bride, son-in-law’ (accusative singular), i-it ‘go!’ vs. e-et ‘eat!’, ki-i ‘this’ (nominative-accusative singular neuter) vs. ka-a ‘here, hither’, ú-da-aš ([ú:das]) ‘s/he brought’ vs. e-da-aš ([e:das]) ‘those’ (dative-locative plural), ú-uk ‘l’ vs. a-ak ‘die!’, e-eš-zí ‘is’ vs. a-aš-zí ‘remains’. There are some significant changes in the distribution of /i/, /i:/ and /e/, /e:/ from Old to New Hittite. This leads to incorrect spellings in later copies of old texts (a large portion of the Hittite corpus), and one must be prepared to find i for expected e and vice-versa in NS copies of older texts.
It is now clear that, aside from a few specially conditioned exceptions, “plene spellings” (that is, CV-V₁ and V₁-V₁C) do indicate vowel length, but as illustrated by pé-ra-an beside pé-e-ra-an cited earlier, use of plene spelling is not always consistent. This and the fact that phonetically long vowels are to some extent conditioned by the accent complicates the question of to what extent the short and long varieties of each vowel contrast. Examples such as kī-it-ta-(ri) ‘lies’ (surely [kīt:ə(ri)]) vs. i-it-te-en ‘go!’ (Imv2P) [tːɛn] and tu-uk ‘thee’ [tʊk] vs. ū-uk [ʊ:k] ‘I’ suggest that the short and long high vowels are at least marginally contrastive. The situation for /a/ vs. /a:/ and /e/ vs. /e:/ remains much debated: any further studies will have to start from the very thorough investigation by Kloekhorst, Accent in Hittite, pp. 23-414, taking into account the remarks of Kimball, Kratylos 60 (2015) 23-34.

Already Rieken (2005) properly criticized the argumentation against a contrast of spellings with <u> and <ü> reflected here in footnote 38 and in the corresponding discussion by Kimball (1999: 79-80). One cannot argue for a spelling equivalence on the basis of unique ḥu-ū-ni-ik-zī in KBo 6.2 i 16 versus three spellings ḥu-u-ni-(in)-kō in the preceding paragraph in the face of the invariance shown by hundreds of spellings with only <u> before or after <ḫ>—likewise for many other examples that show overwhelmingly either <u> or <ü>. The fact that in a few poorly attested words we may not be able to determine which spelling is the correct one does not alter this fact. The studies of Rieken (2005) and especially Kloekhorst (EDHIL 35-60) have fully confirmed the claims of previous scholars that the vowel signs <u> and <ü> represent different vowels, despite my and others’ longstanding doubts. While spellings ū-CV, ū-uC, and Cu-ū represent [uː], those in u-CV, u-uC, and Cu-u stand for a lower back rounded vowel plausibly assumed on various grounds to be [oː]. While not every detail about the distribution of the vowel has been fully worked out, it is clear that the [oː] is to a large extent conditioned by its environment and thus in complementary distribution with [uː]. Nevertheless, there are at least a few environments where they contrasted: e.g., the dative-locative singular of pīt-tu-u-la- ‘loop, snare’ must have been [pīt:ů:li], as shown by instrumental pīt-tu-u-li-it, while that of wa-ašt-tūl- ‘sin’ was [vastū:li] (wa-aš-du-ū-li). Determining the distribution of short [o] is made difficult by the fact that the Cu and uC signs are used to spell both [u] and [o]. However, there are reasons to believe that the preterite active first singular verb ending was [-on] (see Kloekhorst EDHIL 609), while the u-stem accusative singular common gender ending was surely [-un], matching the nominative singular common gender ending [-us] and nominative-accusative singular neuter ending [-u]. In sum, while the “functional load” of the /o/ and /o:/ phonemes and of other long vowels may have been limited, we may provisionally assume ten contrastive vowels for Hittite.

It is also assured that Hittite had contrastive short and long diphthongs /aj/ and /a:j/ and /aw/ and /a:w/, but once again the less than consistent use of “plene” spellings to indicate the long versions means that we cannot always tell the difference with certainty. Such cases do not refute the existence of a length contrast, as redemonstrated by Alwin Kloekhorst, Accent in Hittite, pp. 392-7. As previously shown by Kloekhorst (EDHIL 42-3, 59-60), for /aw/ and /a:w/ in native words the spelling is overwhelmingly Ca-(a)-u; one finds Ca-(a)-u only in a few likely or assured loanwords. Whether the latter is a monosyllabic diphthong /a(ː)u/ or a disyllabic sequence /a(ː)u/ cannot be determined. A NH conditioned sound change of /a(ː)w/ to /a(ː)on/ (Kloekhorst ibid. 42) is dubious.
p. 27, §1.54: despite the arguments of Yakubovich, *BiOr* 67.151-152, the alternative spellings *iš-pa-an-t* and *ši-pa-an-t* can hardly represent *išpand-. We now know how the Hittites wrote an initial cluster /sp-/ (see GrHL §1.11): with alternating *še*/a-pV-, as in *še*/ši*/ša-pi-(ik)-ku-uš-ta-* ‘pin, needle’ (its possible etymology is irrelevant). This practice is consistent with how other initial clusters are spelled. The absolutely fixed spelling of *ši-pa-an-t* (in hundreds of examples) makes it clear that the first vowel is real, however this is to be explained historically. Debate on the problem of this verb continues: compare H. Craig Melchert, *Journal of Language Relationship/Вопросы языкового родства* 14/3 (2016) 187-196, and the response by Ilya Yakubovich, ibid. 196-205.


p. 30, §1.66: on spellings *ai*/ae for expected *e* see the remarks of Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.14 with refs.

p. 32, §1.74: as noted by Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.14, beside unelided *nu-uš-še-an* in Laws §78 one also finds elided *ne-en* (*n=e=u*) in KBo 17.1+25.3 i 20 (OS).


p. 36, §1.86: the status of word-final stops was almost certainly more complicated than implied in the statement here. As argued by Yoshida (2002: 167-70), the lenition of word-final stops in pre-Hittite was restricted to postvocalic position (e.g. *kuit=a* ‘but what’), and a form like Pret3Sg *ēšta* ‘was’ was /e:st/. While this might suggest a neutralization by complementary distribution, it is far from certain that *Imv2Sg *hark* ‘hold!’ (/xark/) and unattested but safely inferable *Imv2Sg *ḫark* ‘perish!’ (/xarg/) were homophonous. Contra Kloekhorst, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121 (2016) 221, *takku* ‘if’ and *nekku* ‘nonne’ do not represent /tak:/ and /nek:/ with word-final /-k:/, since they may and likely do represent /tak:u/ and /nek:u/ with word-final /-k:w/ < *-k*w* < *-k*ew^<. There are no probative examples of apocope of short *-*e# in Hittite.

p. 33, §1.78 (also p. 261, §16.72. p. 280, §18.14. pp. 296-7, §§20.8-9, p. 303, §21.5. p. 368, §28.58 and passim): as per the correct analysis of *HW^2* III.796 and especially 805, the verb *ḥuwai*-*ḥu(i)ya* does not inherently imply speed or haste of movement and should be interpreted in atelic use rather simply as ‘to proceed, move’, not misleadingly
as ‘to run’. It *does* also mean ‘to flee, escape’, but flight is more often accomplished by stealth than by speed. This recognition explains why the transitive stem *ḫu(i)nu-* means likewise simply ‘cause to move, transfer’ and may take objects such as articles of clothing and loaves of bread, which manifestly cannot be made to ‘run’. The true Hittite verb for ‘to run’ is *piddai*.

p. 36, §1.87: we may represent Hittite consonant phonemes in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labiovelar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>/p:/</td>
<td>/t:/</td>
<td>/k:/</td>
<td>/kʷ:/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lenis</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/kʷ/</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>/tˢ:/</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/x:/</td>
<td>/xʷ:/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>/xʷ/</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Liquids</strong></td>
<td>/l/,</td>
<td>/r/</td>
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p. 36, §1.88: the major issue regarding Hittite stops is the question of the phonetic feature that distinguishes the two contrasting series and their overall distribution. Melchert (1994: 13-21) and Kloekhorst (*EDHIL* 21-25) conclude (not entirely on the same grounds) that the synchronic contrast in Hittite is between fortis and lenis stops, which in intervocalic position are realized respectively as long /Tː/ vs. short /T/—although both retain for simplicity /T/ vs. /D/ in transcriptions.

The definition of “fortis–lenis” is a complex issue that does not exclude voicing (see [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fortis_and_lenis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fortis_and_lenis)), and the lenis stops may easily have been realized as phonetically voiced in favorable environments, but there was no *contrast* in voicing. That the fortis stops were long intervocally is shown by the fact that they close a preceding syllable (Melchert 1994: 18 and Kloekhorst, *Accent in Hittite*, pp. 21-2 and 544-6, and *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121 (2016) 213-7). Recognition of the fact that Lycian *ebette* ‘those’ (dat.-loc. pl.) matches Hittite *apedaš* ‘idem’ (Kloekhorst, *Accent in Hittite*, pp. 571-4) shows that even etymological voiced stops secondarily geminated by “Čop’s Law” were realized as voiceless, so that the assumption of some geminate voiced stops in Hittite and Luvian (Melchert 1994: 20) may and should be abandoned.

The arguments of Alwin Kloekhorst, Initial stops in Hittite (with an excursus on the spelling of stops in Alalāḫ Akkadian), *ZA* 100 (2010) 197-241, for a limited contrast of fortis vs. lenis stops word-initially results in a synchronic system that is *prima facie* typologically improbable (likewise that given in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121 (2016) 217-20). Fortis stops were generalized in word-initial position.
There is also no probative evidence for an initial glottal stop phoneme /ʔ/ in Hittite or Luvian, contra Alwin Kloekhorst, *HS* 119 (2006) 77-81 and The preservation of *h₁ in Hieroglyphic Luwian: two separate a-signs, *HS* 117 (2004) 26-49, and Zsolt Simon, Das Problem der phonetischen Interpretation der anlautenden *scriptio plena* im Keilschriftluwischen, *Babel und Bibel* 4 (2010) 249-65, and Once again on the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign *19 ⟨a⟩, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 11 (2013) 1-21. For counter-arguments regarding Hittite cuneiform orthography see Mark Weeden, *BSOAS* 74 (2011) 61-8. A full refutation of the claims of Kloekhorst and Simon regarding the signs ⟨a⟩ and ⟨á⟩ in Hieroglyphic Luvian is neither appropriate nor necessary in the present context. Suffice it to say that alternate spellings of the same lexemes in the same texts are attested at all periods of the hieroglyphs, and these cannot be explained away as “aberrant” spellings or shown to be conditioned except by various combinations of ad hoc explanations.

p. 38, §1.94: The dorsal fricatives may well have been uvulars (thus /χ/, /χ̃/, /χ̃w/ and /χw/), rather than velars. See now Michael Weiss, The Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals and the Name of Cilicia in the Iron Age, pp. 331-40 in Andrew Miles Byrd, Jessica DeLisi & Mark Wenthe (eds.), *Tavet Tat Satyam: Studies in Honor of Jared S. Klein on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Ann Arbor – New York 2016). In any case the unnecessarily algebraic use of /H/ (and /h/) may and should be avoided, at least for synchronic Hittite and Luvian.

For arguments for the existence of two unitary labiovelar fricatives see respectively Alwin Kloekhorst, *Historische Sprachforschung* 119 (2006) 97-101 (also *EDHIL* 836-9) and H. Craig Melchert, The PIE Verb for ‘to pour’ and Medial *h₃* in Anatolian, pp. 127-32 in Stephanie W. Jamison, H. Craig Melchert, and Brent Vine (eds.), *Proceedings of the 22nd Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference* (Bremen: 2011). For the same reasons given above for the stops, I now choose to represent the contrast in the dorsal fricatives as fortis and lenis instead of voiceless and voiced (so also Kloekhorst *EDHIL* 27).

p. 39, §1.97: as discussed by Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 29-31, there are reasons to doubt that the glides [w] and [j] were phonemic in Hittite. In most cases they are certainly allophones of /i/ and /u/ next to another unlike vowel. Even if a third plural like /kistnu.man.təs/ ‘to extinguish’ was pronounced as [kistnu.wan.təs] (which is indeterminable), this surface outcome was produced by regular syllabification rules, and the contrast with [kistnu.man.təs] < /kistnu-wantəs/ ‘to extinguish’ was not underlying.

p. 46, §135: while one may reasonably speak of a general “weakness” of a nasal before another consonant, this paragraph uncritically and confusingly describes together what are surely a series of distinct phenomena. First, as already noted above (p. 13, §11, end, with reference to Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.14), loss of a nasal before k or h plus an additional true consonant (non-glide) is a regular pre-Hittite sound change, reflected in OH forms such as *li-ik-zı ‘swears’* (KBo 6.2 iv 3, OS). See also Andrej Shatskov, *AoF* 33 (2006) 289-290. Spellings such as *ša-a-ah-te-en* (Imv2Pl) or *li-i-ik* (Imv2Sg) suggest that there was also compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. Unsurprisingly, the nasal was restored in later Hittite, except in verbs in -ni(n)k-. Second, loss of n before m
and w in OH was also a regular sound change, seen in kuemi, kuewen and also OH ša-ah-ša-me-et (KBo 6.2 ii 19, OS), as well as the cited ma-a-wa for mān=wa. The nasal was again regularly restored in mān=wa. Third, there is the illustrated sporadic non-spelling of a nasal before any following obstruent, likely reflecting a genuine loss of the nasal with nasalization of the preceding vowel (which may or may not have subsequently been denasalized). Both the deocclusion of the nasal and loss of nasalization may have been subject to synchronic variation.


p. 63, §2.60, fourth line: Read ‘second’.

p. 66, §3.7: several scholars have tried to refine the notion of “Personenklasse” and “Sachklasse”—see Joseph J. S. Weitenberg, Proto-Indo-European nominal classification and Old Hittite, Munchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 48 (1987) 213-30; Zeilfelder 2001: 198ff., and Petra Goedegebuure, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 102 (2012) 280, with note 24. However, even this revised version of an alleged grammatical division of Hittite nouns based on animacy is unworkable. The agentive and comitative use of the instrumental with nouns with animate referents in Old Hittite refutes the claim that nouns of this type did not appear in the instrumental (see below p. 269 on §§16.107-108).

The precise sense of ablative ḏUTU-az in the Anitta text (KBo 3.22 Ro 11; OH/OS) remains much debated. The interpretation of Neu (1974: 11) “mit (Hilfe von) Šiu” cannot be correct, since it construes the ablative in the wrong clause and presupposes an impossible comitative or instrumental use of the ablative in Old Hittite. Contextually, the most likely interpretation is “welches Land auch immer vom Sonnengott sich erhob…”: thus Onofrio Carruba, p. 23 in Anittae Res Gestae (Pavia 2003), who argues correctly (ibid. p. 98) that an interpretation “to the east” is contextually very unlikely, but his attempt to relate the Sun-god to the title of the Hittite king is anachronistic, and his and others’ equation of ḏUTU and ḏšiu- in the Anitta text must be rejected. The word ḏšiu- is the generic ‘god’ here as elsewhere. See Itamar Singer, “Our God” and “Their God” in the Anitta Text, pp. 343-9 in Onofrio Carruba, Mauro Giorgieri and Clelia Mora (eds.), Atti del II congresso internazionale di hittitologia (Pavia: 1995). He is correctly followed by Gary Beckman, The Anitta text, pp. 216-9 in Mark W. Chavalas (ed.), The Ancient
Near East: Historical Sources in Translation (Oxford and Malden: 2006). Beckman interprets the clause as “Whatever land under the sun rose up…” This also makes good sense in context, but the use of the ablative would be somewhat unusual. In any case, whatever precise sense one assigns dUTU-az, the divine determinative assures that the referent is semantically animate. In view of the very small number of examples for the OH genitive plural in -an (types and tokens) and the restricted nature of the OH/OS corpus, little significance can be attached to the absence thus far of any examples to grammatically neuter nouns (pace Zeilfelder and Goedegebuure). The absence of nouns with animate reference in the allative is a pragmatic, not grammatical feature. In sum, there remains no credible basis for animacy as a grammatical category in Hittite nouns.

pp. 66-67, §§3.8-3.10: no aspect of Hittite synchronic grammar has aroused as much controversy as the status of “split ergativity”. The following is merely a very partial list of publications since the writing of GrHL (see for further works, including on diachrony, the references in Goedegebuure, 2012):


Goedegebuure (2012) has refuted not only the unique analysis of Patri (2007), but also the widespread interpretation by which forms of neuter nouns in -anza and -anteš in agentive function reflect a derivational process by which inanimates are transferred to the class of animates. Further remarks on this point here may thus be kept brief. First and above all, the derivational analysis fails because the ergative forms are also used for grammatically neuter nouns with animate semantic referents (correct Goedegebuure 2012: notes 10 and 24, contra Dardano 2010: 180, Rizza 2013: 240, Zeilfelder 2014: 205): there is thus no motivation at all for a derivational process transferring an already
semantically animate noun like *antuḫšātar* to the “animate class”. Second, the noun *utni*ānt- ‘population, inhabitants’ which certainly is a genuine derivative from *utnē/utni*- ‘land’ (likely with the possessive -*ant*- seen in *pērun-ant*- ‘rocky’ etc.) proves precisely the opposite of what is intended by Dardano (2010: 178) and Zeilfelder (2014: 204). As a genuine derived noun, it naturally occurs in a variety of case and number forms and syntactic roles. It is precisely the complementary distribution of forms in -*anza* and -*anteš* to neuter nouns (appearing exclusively in agentive function) that marks them as ergative case forms of the neuter nouns, not nominatives of inexplicably defective common gender nouns. Third, the use of common gender forms of demonstratives, possessive pronouns, and adjectives to modify ergative nouns may be due to suppletion or ergative/nominative syncretism (Goedegebuure 2012: 297 with references)—that the ergative case endings historically reflect the nominative of stems in -*ant*- is no longer in question. Finally, the use of neuter anaphoric pronouns to resume ergatives confirms that the latter remain grammatically neuter (Melchert 2011: 162-3)—on the putative example of common gender resumption see below. These facts all uphold the split ergative analysis against the derivational alternative.

Goedegebuure (2012) arrives at the same conclusion, but argues that split ergativity only became fully grammaticalized in Middle Hittite. While this claim cannot be strictly refuted, it is in several respects problematic. First, contra Goedegebuure 2012: 272-3, note 11, Zeilfelder 2014: 200, et al., given the robustness of the ergative pattern, it is not circular to suppose that *ḥandaiš*- (attested in agentive function at KBo 3.23 i 6; OH/NS) is common gender. What is circular is the unjustified presumption that any s-stem in Hittite must be neuter gender—already refuted by *ḥāšš*- ‘ash; soap’. Since *ḥandaiš*- with its unique stem in -*aiš*- does not belong to any established class of Hittite neuter s-stems (in -*aš*-, -*iš*-, -i/*eš*(n)- or -*uš*-), it must be taken as common gender until a convincing account of its stem formation has been presented. The other alleged example of a neuter noun in agentive function (KUB 30.34 iv 4-10; MH/NS) is also not probative: *kinuna ḫalinduwa«š» É.DINGIR.MEŠ=ya parkunut nu kī <i>i>nan ēšḫar NIŠ DINGIR-LIM kuwapi paizzi zik šīraššārā|MUSÉN apadda ītten (sic!) nu ēšhananza linkiyaz ḫalinduwa É.DINGIR.MEŠ lē ēpzi § nu kartimmiyaz lē kuikit nu šāwar lē kuikit*. The number of scribal errors and the discrepancy between the sets of evils in the succession of clauses leaves some room for doubt, but the reading of CHD Š 316b remains plausible: “It (the s.-bird) has now purified the palace and temple. Go (pl.!) you s.-bird wherever this illness, bloodshed and perjury goes. Let the bloodshed and perjury not seize the palace and temple. Let not the anger (seize) anything. Let not the sullenness (seize) anything.” But even if this interpretation is correct, we are dealing with “gapping”. There is no collocation of šāwar with a transitive verb and its direct object. Other similar instances in Hittite show use of the nominative as the default case: direct objects appear in the nominative in lists (§16.9) and when “left-dislocated” (§30.10). We thus cannot exclude that ‘anger’ and ‘sullenness’ stand here in the nominative in what are effectively “add on” sentence fragments. Compare also the contrast in Lycian between *s=ēne*: *tesēti*: qaṇṭi: *ṭrēmilijēti* ‘The Lycian oaths (erg.) shall strike (pl.) him!’ (TL 149,10) vs. *m=ēne* *tubidi*: *q[l]a[(j)]=eb[i s]e* malija: *se t[asa]: miṯaha* ‘The mother of the local temenos shall strike (sg.) him, and Maliya, and the oaths of the mindis (coll. pl.).’ There are no assured examples of neuter nouns serving as the subject of a transitive verb in Hittite.
The only example of a neuter noun appearing in an agentive role in Middle Hittite compositions in Middle Script appears in the ergative: *mahhan=ta kâš tuppianza anda wemiyyazzi ‘when this tablet reaches you’ (HKM 14:3-5 etc.). Goedegebuure (2012: 297) takes conflicting evidence of anaphoric agreement in two NS copies of a MH ritual (KBo 45 and KUB 41.8) as evidence for a transition from -*anti- as a derivational morpheme to -*ants- as an ergative inflectional ending. One problem with this claim is that the fully grammaticalized use of -anza and -anteš in ergative function in the MS copy of the OH Telipinu Myth (KUB 17.10 iv 5-12) would need to be attributed to the Middle Hittite copyist, which strains credulity. It is also dubious to infer anything about the reality of Middle Hittite grammar based on NS copies, and one cannot safely claim that “In Middle Hittite therefore we may expect both common and neuter gender forms for enclitic pronouns with -anza antecedents” (loc. cit.). There is another at least equally likely explanation for the discrepancy. KUB 41.8 ii 20-21 has: ‘(Let the pure water (šuppiš A-anza, agentive) cleanse the evil tongue, uncleanness, blood, sin, curse. Just as the wind disperses chaff and carries it across the sea, may it (Ø, the pure water, agentive) also disperse the blood (and) uncleanness of his house, and may it (Ø, agentive) carry it across the sea.)’ n=asš=šan [(anda)] ḪUR.SAG-āš šuppayaš paiddu n=asš=kan ḫall[(uwaš)] altannaš paiddu ‘Let it (comm. nom. sg.) go into the pure mountains, let it (comm. nom. sg.) go to the deep springs!’). The duplicate KBo 10.45 ii 55 has n=at=kan (neut. nom.-acc. sg.) in both instances. Since =kan is known to replace =šan, it is reasonably certain that the MH original had =šan in both occurrences, but one must bear in mind that neither extant copy necessarily was made from the original. It is established that in Old Hittite /-t=s/ at clitic boundary assimilated to /-s=s/-, including /n=at=san/ to [n=as=šan] (§1.111, p. 41). The copyist of KUB 41.8 may thus have miscalculated a naaš-ša-an in the first occurrence of his model as containing the common gender nominative singular and adjusted the second occurrence to match it. The supposed competition in Middle Hittite of neuter and common gender for enclitic pronouns with ergative antecedents may thus be a mirage. The difference between parnaš in KUB 41.8 iv 30 and parnanza in KBo 10.45 iv 35 as the subject of an intransitive verb also need not reflect any diachronic change, (contra Goedegebuure 2012: 299). The sentence says ‘Let also this city and this house become a ram!’. We have here a clear case of use of either the ergative or conversion to the common gender to mark genuine animacy in a neuter noun whose referent is inherently inanimate. There is no clear evidence that these were both not available for this purpose throughout the history of Hittite (also non-probative is nepišanza beside nepišaš). Since there is only to my knowledge a single instance of an ergative modified by an adjective in an assured New Hittite composition (ḪUL-uanza GIG at KUB 5.1+ ii 8 and iii 31), one can also hardly draw any diachronic inferences from the fact that the adjective here has l-ants/ (contra Goedegebuure 2012: 297). In sum, there is at present no compelling evidence that the grammaticalization of the “individualizing” suffix *-e/ont- in ergative function is not already Old Hittite.

p. 72, §3.20: on the secondary origin of the neuter nominative-accusative plural ending -*i see now the persuasive account by Elisabeth Rieken, HS 125 (2012) 285-94.

p. 74, §3.24: although the ending -iya in both dative and locatival function in i-stems already in Old Hittite/Old Script is acknowledged in footnote 24, p. 69, its existence is
entirely ignored here. The statement that “The only sg. d.-l. ending in OS is -i” is patently false. For a thorough treatment of the issue see Dita Frantiková, The problem of the -a ending in the Hittite dative/locative, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121 (2016) 187-97. Frantiková also refutes the claim that the allative ending -iya became the “normal” dative-locative ending for i-stems in post-Old Hittite (putatively for reasons of disambiguation). See below regarding §4.20, p. 87.

Chapters 4-8 and 12-14: Hasenbos, *IJD* 11.64-65, quite legitimately questions the rationale for just which forms of a given word are or are not given in the representative paradigms. No attempt at exhaustiveness in listing every spelling variant was intended (that seems the proper province of lexica), but it obviously is desirable that the paradigms be as complete as available attestations permit, and that goal clearly was not achieved. I have contented myself here with trying to fill the most obvious gaps and also recheck in particular the status of OH/OS occurrences. In order not to delay this first updating even further, only Chapters 4-8 are fully treated here. The verbal chapters will be treated in subsequent updates.

p. 80: the genitive singular *attaš* should be bolded as occurring in OS (KBo 3.22 Ro 10); the accusative plural *iš-ḫu-u-uš* is attested at KBo 15.31 i 14.

p. 81: genitive singular *uzu/GEŠTU-aš* ‘of the ear’ is attested at KUB 45.28 Ro 2; nominative singular *arunaš* is attested in OS (KBo 25.12 ii 5&6), and likely genitive singular *arunaš* (KBo 3.38 Ro 32); of interest for /u/ vs. /o/ vocalism is *a-ru-ú-ni* at KUB 36.41 i 13.

p. 82: the actual spellings for the genitive singular and instrumental of ‘yoke’ are respectively *GISUDUN-aš* (KUB 7.8 iii 6) and *GIS[ŠUDU]N-it* (KBo 4.1 Vo 12); also *[GIS]i-ú-ki-it* KBo 41.42 i 4 (see Klinger *StBoT* 37.702).

p. 83, note 40: further i-stem forms attested are nom. sg. comm. *annalliš* (KUB 21.27 i 7) and abl. *annalliyaz* (KBo 21.37 Vo 14).

p. 84: dative-locative plural *kunnaš* appears at KBo 20.89 Vo 10 (MS); *[hantezziyaš]* in a *locatival* sense is surely to be restored at KBo 25.17 Ro 1 (OS; see Neu 1983: 51) and probably also to be read at KBo 17.75 i 46 (vs. ḫantezzi=ya); dative-locative plural ḫantezzi(y)aš is well attested; genitive singular *appezzi(y)aš* is also attested.

p. 84, note 43: the example *arahzenaš* KUR.KUR.MEŠ-az in KBo 20.107+ ii 10 shows undeniably genitive singular of a noun ‘from the lands of the outside’; see Daliah Bawanyeck, *Die Rituale der Auguren* (Heidelberg 2005), pp. 108&116. One should thus also assume a genitive singular for the examples cited and others from KBo 3.4. There is no compelling evidence for a nominative plural common gender Ḫarahzenaš. The aberrant acc. sg. comm. *arahzenun* at KUB 21.38 Ro 49 should be acknowledged; dat.-loc. sg. *arahzeni* appears at Bo 86.299 iii 18 and KBo 4.10 Ro 13.
p. 85: the nominative-accusative neuter (collective) plural *an-tu-u-ri-ya* appears at KUB 44.64 iii 11 substantivized as ‘innards’. I cannot vouch for the dative-locative singular listed.

p. 87, §4.20: the implication that the use of the ending -iya in dative-locative function is only post-OH is false, as the last example in footnote 52 already shows. For further examples from OH/OS see footnote 24, p. 69 and in detail the treatment by Dita Frantiková cited regarding §3.24 at p. 74 above.

p. 88: although it is surely a second creation, one must acknowledge nominative singular *tuzziaš=miš* at KBo 2.5 ii 13; an instrumental *tu-zì-it* is attested at KUB 40.61:7+13.28:11; a collective plural *UZU a-ú-li* appears at KUB 133 ii 32; a genitive singular or plural *[L(U,MEŠ)p]urapšiyaš* is to be read at KUB 42.106 Ro ² 13.

p. 89: however one analyzes the example from the Laws (see footnote 61), genitive singular *išḫuzziyaš* is certain at KUB 33.92 iii 15; accusative singular *a-ú-ri-in* is attested at KBo 12.69:5; the attested OS spelling of the genitive singular is specifically *a-ú-a-piš(ša)* at KUB 34.57:4 is nominative singular of ‘ritual pit’.

p. 90: ablative *ḫuwašiaz* is multiply attested at 2064/g Ro 15ff. and *ḫuwašiyaz* at KUB 10.17 i 14&33 and elsewhere; a count plural *NA₄ḫuwašiu[š]* appears at KUB 40.2 Ro 15 (see §3.13, end); dative-locative plural *ḫu-(u)-wa-ši-(ya)-aš* is well attested in various spellings; the OS spelling of the nominative-accusative of ‘libation (vessel)’ is consistently *išpantuzzi*; ablative *išpandu(z)zi(y)az* is well attested and instrumental *DUG išpanduzit* appears at KUB 24.2 Ro 12; *DUG išpantuzzi* at KUB 17.21 i 16 & iv 10 is nominative-accusative plural; the OS spelling for the genitive singular is specifically *[t]up-piš* (KUB 36.106 Vo 5); the OS ablative (KBo 3.22:33) is almost entirely restored, so the presence/absence of -ya- cannot be determined; the spelling *tup-pi-za* at KUB 23.95 iii 18 and 7.53 ii 6 may be faulty for *tup-pi-<ya>-za* or a genuine variant; *tuppiaš* and *TUP.PAḪLA-aš* at KUB 17.18 ii 14.15&25 attest the genitive plural; also *tuppiyaš* at KUB 33.106 ii 20; note Luvian nom.-acc. pl. *Giše/irhuit[a] in Hittite context at KUB 17.5 Vo 63; it is not assured that ‘bridge’ is consistently a collective plural tenum—one should not dismiss likely nom. sg. comm. *Giš armiziš=ti[š] ‘your bridge’ at KUB 13.86 Vo 2.

p. 91: dative-locative *Gišmāri* appears at KBo 4.9 iv 10 & KUB 11.19 iv 12; the ablative *Gišmārita[z]* at KUB 43.56 ii 16 argues for a loanword from Luvian, making highly questionable the claim that the instrumental *māraît* at KBo 17.43 i 7 is the same word with an ablauting stem (compare the separate entries in the CHD); ‘pasture’ undeniably does show an ablauting stem, but there are additional forms with -i-: dative-locative singular *weši* (KBo 12.73 Ro ² 3), ablative *wešiyaz* (KBo 6.10 iv 7, 6.15:11), likely instrumental *wešid=a* (2064/g Vo 3), nominative plural *wešeš* (KBo 32.14 ii 27-28, MS) and dative-locative plural *wešiyaš* (KBo 32.14 ii 29, MS); for the nominative-accusative collective plural of ‘corner’ read *ḥal-ḥal-tu-u-mar* (KUB 31.130 Ro 6).
p. 92, §4.31: it is far from certain that ‘corner’ was ever an r/h-stem. Most evidence points to a neuter r-stem (§4.82). The few NS examples of the count plural in -iyēš could be built on the secondary collective nominative-accusative plural ending -i (on which see the paper by Rieken cited above, p. 72, §3.20).

pp. 92-93, §4.33: acc. pl. zaḫhāuš appears at KUB 33.92 iii 3 and zaḫḫāuš at KUB 36.7b iv 16; whatever one thinks of their status, one must acknowledge the existence of nom. sg. hūrtaš at KUB 29.1 i 45 and acc. sg. hūrtan at KUB 41.23 ii 16; likewise to be noted are spellings with hu-u-ur- (nom. sg. KUB 43.58 ii 49, gen. sg. KUB 17.18 ii 30 etc., abl. KUB 43.58 i 47, acc. pl. KUB 35.92+KBo 9.146 Vo 13) and ḫu-(u)-wa-ar- (acc. sg. KBo 9.146 Vo 23, abl. KUB 35.92 Vo 19), but see above on NS spellings with ḫu-u- (p. 25, §1.46, second paragraph); the OS nom. sg. spelling is precisely ša-ga-i-iš.

p. 93, §4.34: dat.-loc. sg. haštai is attested at KUB 9.4 i 15 and inst. haštiī at KUB 13.27 Vo' 23; hašti(y)aš at KUB 30.15 Ro 1&17 is assuredly dat.-loc. plural (also KUB 39.9 Ro 8 and 39.11 Ro 50); erg. sg. haštianza appears at KUB 9.4 i 37; Gišluttaš at KUB 17.10 iv 21 is assuredly a collective plural (with Hoffner 1998b: 17).


p. 97, §4.40: nom. pl. com. talugaēš, acc. pl. com. ta-lu-ga-ū-uš, and dat.-loc. pl. ta-lu-ga-aš are attested in OS at KBo 17.22 iii 7, iii 6, and iii 8 respectively; nom.-acc. pl. nt. ta-lu-ū-ga is attested in adverbial use at KBo 10.7 ii 27&31. For the spellings of ‘rain’ with -u- and -ū- before -uš/-un, which are quite inconsistent, see the entry in HW2.


p. 101, §4.51: while it is true that no acc. pl. ṣ genuš exists, the secondary acc. sg. com. g/ke-nu-un in ‘the walking knee’ at KUB 9.34 iii 34&37 cannot be denied; gēnu at KUB 17.29 ii 9 is nom.-acc. plural (see ibid. ii 11); dat.-loc. pl. kanuwaš at KBo 14.93 iii 17 likely belongs here (with Kloekhorst EDHIL 467).

pp. 103-104, §4.57: acc. sg. comm. aššun is attested in OS at KUB 36.49 iv 7; dat.-loc. pl. aššau(w)aš is multiply attested; gen. sg. idāluwaš occurs at KBo 16.56:7&16 and idalauwaš at KUB 31.127 i 45; erg. sg. idāluwauanz(=iya) is attested at KUB 29.7 Vo 29; nom.-acc. pl. nt. ḫušuwa is found at KUB 39.69 Vo 4; collective plural (probably substantivized) uzi ḫu-(u)-i-šu is massively attested; dat.-loc. pl. ḫušuaš appears at KUB 32.1 iii 11 and ḫušuaš at KBo 17.83 ii 10 & KUB 20.88 vi 15; the OS nom. sg. is tēpuš with plene; inst. tepauīt occurs at KBo 23.28 i 57 vs. tepuīt at KBo 15.37 i 25; abl. daššauwaz is attested at KBo 19.110:4, and dat.-loc. pl. daššauaš at KBo 19.109 iv 6 & dupl.
nom.-acc. sg. *utnē* is also attested in OS (KBo 3.22 Ro 11 and KBo 25.122 iii 1&2). The intended OS example for dat.-loc. sg. *utnē* is KUB 8.41 iii 15, where the contrast with *dandukšni* and parallelism with DINGIR.MEŠ-naš=a *ištarna* elsewhere in the text argues for [DINGIR.MEŠ]-aš *utnē* ‘in the land of the gods’ (or perhaps [DINGIR.MEŠ-naš=a a arawa])š *utnē* ‘in the land of the free gods’.

On the prehistory of Hittite stems in -iš- and -uš- (NB spelled -ú-š- and -ú-š-⁻⁻) see now Elisabeth Rieken, The Origin of the l-Genitive and the History of the Stems in -iš- and -uš- in Hittite, pp. 239-56 in Karlene Jones-Bley et al., Proceedings of the 19th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference: Los Angeles, November 3-4, 2007 (Washington DC 2008). The attempt to deny that nom. sg. *alil* ‘flower’ in KUB 33.68 ii 1-2 is common gender (CHD Š 179 et al.) is strained in the extreme. This noun is with Rieken 2008: 246 originally common gender, just like *šarnikzil* ‘restitution’. The accusative singular form *alel* at KUB 39.6 Ro 15 and 4.4 Ro 8 is entirely ambiguous as to gender; clearly neuter is *alil* at KUB 46.30:33 and IBoT 2.39 Vo 22. Since homophonous nominative and accusative singular forms in common gender nouns were unusual in Hittite, originally common gender stems in -iš- were either partially converted to a-stems (nom. sg. *alilaš*) or became neuters. Spellings of ‘thread’ with -iš- are older than those with -el-. There is thus no basis for supposing any genuine Hittite nominal stems in -ēš-. On the derivation of *ḫurkīl*-a and *šuwīl*-(sic!) see Rieken 2008: 249. For ‘restitution’ one also finds NH nom.-acc. pl. nt. [*šar*]nikzelMEŠ at KUB 50.6 iii 50.

nom.-acc. sg. *šaḫḫan* is already in OS (KBo 6.2 ii 25&43) and in assimilated forms with following enclitic possessive (see CHD Š 2); nom.-acc. pl. *šaḫḫana* appears at KBo 4.10 Ro 42 and KUB 26.43 Ro 54 (NH); nom.-acc. sg. NINDAšarāman occurs at KBo 30.82 i 12; OS *ku-ú-ša-an* (KBo 6.2 ii 17; Laws §55) means ‘son-in-law’ (Rieken 1999: 158 et al., following Starke 1977: 144) and must be stricken from the paradigm of *kuššan*; ergative singular *ḫing/kananza* is attested at KUB 24.3 ii 25 = 24.4 Ro 15; erg. sg. Î-anza appears at KUB 24.1 i 12 = 24.2 i 10, and abl. Î-az/Î-za is also attested; dat.-loc. sg. NÂA4kunnani is found at KUB 35.145 Ro 11.

abl. *taknāz* and gen. sg. *taknāš* appear at KUB 43.23 Vo 17&18, which I regard as OS (cf. below p. 112, note 162).

nom.-loc. *MUSHENhāranī* occurs at KBo 12.77:12; nom. pl. *išhimānes* is also OS (KBo 17.15 Vo 1), and the acc. pl. has plene spelling: [iš]himānuš (ibid. Vo 1).

abl. *memiaš* appears at KUB 5.24 i 24; *memiyaš* at KBo 5.9 iii 2 is nominative plural (in partitive apposition ‘(of) these things which…’); as per the CHD L-N: 333, all (6x) spellings of ‘(grape) cluster’ show mu-u-ri- (including OS KUB 43.23 Vo 21), except KUB 57.110 ii 8 (= Bo 884) mu-ú-ri-iš, which still is surely the same word.

It is crucial to acknowledge the spelling MUNUS-anza for the nominative singular of ‘woman’ (KUB 30.29 i 1 etc.). Furthermore, the likely appearance of
/kwant(a)/ as a feminine personal name (see Hawkins apud Weeden, BSOAS 74.1 (2011) 70-71) supports the already persuasive synchronic analysis of ‘woman’ as an n-stem /kwan/- by Kloekhorst, EDHIL 505. A Hittite stem *kuinn(a)- for ‘woman’ may be abandoned; the plene spelling MUNUS-ni-i for the dative-locative singular is noteworthy, even if all examples are NS (KUB 7.6:10, 13.4 ii 77, 21.27 ii 16).

p. 114, §4.81: it is important to note that all plene spellings of paršur- ‘stew’ are spelled with -u-, including the OS example pár-šu-u-ur (KBo 25.79 iv 6). See CHD 193-4 and Kloekhorst, EDHIL 646. The majority spelling of aniur- ‘ritual’ is also with -u-, but one must acknowledge the three examples with -ú- (see Kloekhorst, EDHIL 180). The example a-ni-ú-ri at KUB 35.54 iii 45 likely is dative-locative singular (‘held/had [ ] for the ritual’), and the reading at KUB 9.4 iv 33 (Puhvel, HED 1-2: 70) is erroneous, but contra Rieken, HS 125 (2012) 287, note 4, et al., a dative-locative for a-ni-ú-ri at KUB 5.6 iii 30 would leave the transitive verb katta dāi ‘lays down/deposits’ with no object (or antecedent). One should assume with Beckman (pp. 198-199 in Gary Beckman, Trevor R. Bryce, and Eric H. Cline, The Ahhiyawa Texts, Atlanta: 2011) that aniuri is nom.-acc. pl., the object of katta dāi. However, his emendation ku-e’=kán and overall syntactic analysis cannot be accepted: dāi- ‘take’ in Hittite never means ‘carry’ as in English, and DINGIR-LUM in the next clause is the direct object, so a preposed relative clause is excluded. One should read rather ku-ú’=kán (with Theo van den Hout, p. 4 in The Purity of Kingship, Leiden: 1998, and Ahmet Ünal, Archivum Anatolicum 8 (2005) 66) and assume a postposed relative clause: ‘Shall we proceed to do as follows? A man will go to Kuwalana, who will deposit (the) ritual materials of (= for) the deity. They will carry the deity between a billy goat and a fire, then treat him/her ritually.’ In view of the clear ergative aniyawaranza at KBo 10.45 iv 10 (to the verbal noun aniya’war seen at KBo 15.21 i 15), it is likely that one should read the matching word in the duplicate KUB 41.8 iv 38 (sic!) with Kloekhorst, EDHIL 180, as erg. sg. a-ni’-ú’-ra-an-za, but this must be marked as an emendation for the a-pí-ra-an-za of the autograph.

pp. 115-116, §4.82: nom. sg. keššar(=šiš) (Laws §3) is an archaism, but it is not in OS; as per Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.16, acc. sg. [kl]iššeran appears in KBo 17.45,5 (OS); the alleged dative-locative keššar should be stricken (for the reasons given by Neu 1980: 33-35); abl. ḫapparaz is OS (KBo 6.2 ii 51, Laws §48); happer at KBo 12.70 Ro’14.15, if genuine, could represent an archaic collective plural (seen in the derivatives ‘sell’ and ‘city’), but given the use of <pár> to spell pé-er, a false resolution of ḫa-ap-pár in NS cannot be excluded. It certainly belongs to the same word (with HW² ḫ 215-216 and Kloekhorst, EDHIL 295).

pp. 116-117, §4.84: since in all complete contexts ḫuppar follows a numeral, it is likely a “pseudo-Akkadographic” writing of the stem form, not a true endingless nominative singular; ḫupparuš is OS only if one treats KBo 17.74+ as OS (against the standard view of Neu, 1970: 7, et al.); the CHD § 457 takes šittar as nom.-acc. neuter, but no passages cited prove that it is neuter. However, since all examples are NS, and all but a handful follow a numeral, whether any examples are genuine common gender nominative or accusative singulars with zero ending may also be doubted; as per the CHD, loc. cit., šittaraš is attested, either a genitive singular or plural or dative-locative plural.
p. 117, §4.85: all plene spellings of kurur- show -u-. It must be stressed that the OS example of kurur nom. sg. comm. (KBo 3.22 Ro 25) is predicatival, not attributive. This is also true for all instances of ku-(u)-ru-ur in NH texts that are functionally nominative singular or plural common gender; as per the CHD Š 62, the nom. sg. comm. šakuwaššar (KUB 23.54 Ro 10) is also predicatival, which may not be accidental in what is likely a NH text.

pp. 118-119, §4.88: the OS spelling of the nom.-acc. sg. of ‘mouth’ is specifically a-i-š (KBo 17.1 i 15 etc.); abl. iššaz is OS (KBo 17.1 i 18=17.3 i 13). The entry for ‘side’ must be radically revised in the light of the convincing suggestion of Rieken (1999a: 208)—despite her own partial withdrawal of it—one should assume a u-stem tāpu- ‘flank’ (body part only!), which is directly attested in dat.-loc. pl. tapuwaš in KBo 4.1 Vo 4 (= KUB 2.2 ii 3) and tāpuwašša in KUB 9.4 i 9; in the rest of KUB 9.4 this stem is replaced by a substantivized form of the appurtenance adjective tāpuwašša-, originally ‘rib’ (compare genušša- ‘knee-joint’): coll. nom-acc. pl. tāpuwašša 9.4 i 9, gen. sg. tapuwašša 9.4 i 27 and erg. sg. tāpuwaššanza 9.4 i 27. As in the case of genušša/ and genu-, the synchronic difference in sense of tāpu- and tāpuwašša- was likely minimal, but from this body part was derived a genuine s-stem *tāpuš- ‘side’ (in general), attested only in the adverbial forms tapuša and tapušza. There is no support for a Hittite or Luvian derived neuter s-stem †tāpuwašš with an inexplicable geminate šš- (pace Rieken 1999: 209). Whether TI-anza and TI-i in KUB 9.34 ii 41 stand for the original u-stem or the derived stem in -ašša- cannot be determined. Although it occurs only in NS, dat.-loc. sg. ḫandaši should be acknowledged, especially since the derivation of this unique stem is quite unexplained (see Kloekhorst, EDHIL 291-2 with refs.). Since its stem type is entirely indeterminate, this noun must be classified as common gender (see further discussion above at pp. 66-67). Several more forms of ‘ash, soap; dirt’ are attested (see HW²: Ḫ 388-391): dat.-loc. sg. ḫašši (KUB 45.5 iii 10), abl. ḫaššaz (KUB 24.12 iii 7), inst. ḫaššit (KUB 9.39 i 6, 43.74 Ro 4), but nom. pl. comm. ḫaššeš=a (KBo 32.16 iii 2) is entirely ambiguous (Neu 1996: 283).

p. 120, §4.90: abl. tu[nnak]išnaza appears at KUB 30.57+59 LCol 10; several case forms are attested with É.ŠA plus phonetic complements, including erg. É.ŠA-nanza at KUB 7.41 i 20, matched in agentive use by nom. sg. comm. É.ŠA-aš in the parallel KBo 10.45 i 11.

pp. 121-122, §4.94: abl. [a]niyattaz is attested at KUB 44.61 LEdge 1 (see Burde 1974: 20) and acc. pl. aniyyadduš appears at KBo 10.45 iv 45; kaštaza at KBo 11.85:10 is surely the ablative of ‘hunger’; whatever its interpretation, šīwaz (KBo 17.15 Vo 19) is OS; loc. UD-at is in OS (KBo 17.11 i 14 = StBoT 25 i 30); a secondary nom. pl. karittiyaš appears at KBo 8.47 Ro 10 (NS!) and acc. pl. karidduš at KBo 12.73 Ro 8 and 19.109A iv 21 (both partially restored); karittas at KBo 12.1 i 7 may be either genitive singular or dative-locative plural.
p. 123, §4.98: KBo 3.55 ii 8 shows acc. pl. ḫu-ūš-wa-an-du-ūš; nom-acc. sg. neut. (anda) appān appears at KBo 18.170a Vo 6 (also anda...appan at KUB 13.33 ii 8); nom.-acc. pl. neut. (anda) appenda is multiply attested.

pp. 124-125, §4.101: nom.-acc. sg. ụttar is multiply attested in OS (KBo 6.2 iii 43, KUB 37.223 d 5, and KBo 16.71 ii 10); the ergative singular of ‘blood’ is multiply attested in various spellings (išḥananza KUB 14.14 Vo 11, ēšḥananza KUB 30.34 iv 7, etc.), inst. ēšḥanit appears at Bo 3696 i 7&10 per Kloekhorst, EDHIL 257; dat.-loc. sg. paḫḫueni is OS (KBo 6.2 ii 33); all. [paḥhuena likely appears at KBo 11.1 ii 11; erg. sg. paḫhuenenaza occurs at KBo 32.14 ii 7&8 (pre-NH/MS) and paḫhuenalza at KBo 12.128 RCol 5; inst. ṣēḥunit is found at KBo 16.89 ii 4 and 12.111:7 and erg. šēḥunanza at IBoT 1.36 i 34 (MH/MS).

p. 129, §4.108: since uppi- is the older weak stem of ‘to send’, the spellings up-pi-ya-aš-šar (KUB 33.93 iii 29, 23.103 Ro 23) and up-pi-āš-šar (KUB 23.101 ii 3.4.8) should probably be taken seriously and the spelling up-pi-eš-šar read as /up:ies:ar/ (with Kloekhorst, EDHIL 921); allative ḫattešna appears at KBo 11.14 iii 9.

p. 129, §4.111: the example [pa]-ar-ta-u-na-aš (sic!) (KUB 36.49 ii 8, OS?) may be genitive singular (or plural) or dative-locative plural; pár-ta-u-na-aš (VBoT 125 ii 3) is most likely dative-locative plural.

p. 131, §4.115: dat.-loc. sg. É-ri is well attested in OS; while its existence is presupposed by forms like pērī and É-erza, there are no compelling examples of an attested endingless locative ŤÉ-er (pace Neu 1980: 29-30).

p. 131, §4.116: nom.-acc. singular is attested phonetically in ke-er-še-me-et ‘your (plural) heart(s)’ at KBo 8.35 ii 21 (MH/MS) and KUB 40.28:2; one should also understand the faulty ḫISKUR-āš ke-er-ti-it-<ta> in KBo 3.21 iii 12 as ‘your, the Storm-god’s heart’ (nom.-acc. singular with the OH “split genitive” construction) and likewise the faulty ke-er-ti-<sit> in following lines as nom.-acc. sg. ‘your heart’, with Goetze and Archi, contra CHD L-N 291 and all others. As elsewhere, the copyst misunderstood the enclitic possessive and tried unsuccessfully to renew it with second singular dative enclitic =ta. There is no probative evidence for either an endingless locative Ťker or an aberrant Ťkerti. The OS dat.-loc. singular is also spelled karđi (KBo 17.1 i 12, 25.102 Ro 6),

p. 135, §5.12: the second singular clitic pronoun should be given as -ṭṭa (-ddu), since the stop clearly is fortis. That the initial consonants of -naš and -še. -ši are also geminate after a vowel is duly noted in §5.14. Until a satisfactory account has been given for why that of -mu is not in the same environment, it would be misleading to suggest that we know that the initial consonants of -naš and -še. -ši (and likewise the local particle -šan) are underlying geminate/fortis (contra Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.17).

p. 139, §6.4: as per Detlev Grodek, p. 90, note 7, in Henning Marquardt, Silvio Reichmuth & José Virgilio García Trabazo (eds.), Anatolica et Indogermanica: Studia linguistica in honorem Johannis Tischler septuagenarii dedicata (Innsbruck 2016),
several more forms of the enclitic possessive pronouns are attested (but for pragmatic reasons the non-first person cells for the vocative should be marked with — as non-occurring):

Allative ‘our’: -šumma (KBo 47.7 Ro 16’, MS, A.Škuera=šumma)
Allative ‘their’: -šma (KBo 42.74:6’ tagganiya=šma)
Nom.-Acc. Plural Neuter ‘thy’: -tet (KBo 44.65:5’ [u]ddār=tet)
Gen. Plural ‘their’: -šman (KUB 54.75 Ro 3, [p]a-ta-a-aš-ma-an)

See for a more detailed presentation of the last example Detlev Groddek, Historische Sprachforschung 126 (2013) 118-22.

p. 142ff.: a number of aspects of Chapter 7 on deixis require revision or reconsideration in the light of Chapters 1-5 in Petra Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives: Studies in Deixis, Topics and Focus (Wiesbaden 2014), to which global reference is made. Specific remarks below are selective and not exhaustive.

p. 142, §7.1: it appears that the three-way person-based deictic contrast of proximal kā- (near the speaker), medial apā- (near the addressee), and distal aši+ (not speaker- or addressee-oriented) was simplified in Late New Hittite (Tuḫaliya IV and Ṣuppiluliuma II) to a two-way distance-based system consisting only of proximal kā- and non-proximal aši+ (Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives, especially pp. 274-6).
For an extensive and updated summary of the uses of proximal first-person kā- and medial second-person apā- see respectively ibid. Chapters 5 and 4.

p. 142, §7.2: on the use of apeniššan and i/eniššan see the corrective below p. 147, §7.18.

p. 143, §7.3: the table displaying attested forms of kā- and apā- requires a few revisions and additions. The dat.-loc. singular kēdani is OS (KUB 33.59 iii 7-9); an extended acc. pl. com. ku-u-ši is attested at VBoT 58 Ro 34 (OH/NS) — see Petra Goedegebuure, p. 60 in Ron Kim et al. (eds.), Ex Anatolia Lux: Anatolian and Indo-European Studies in honor of H. Craig Melchert on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday (Ann Arbor – New York 2010). There is no doubt that there was also an extended neuter nom.-acc. sg. kēni (matching ini and like the latter appearing as kēni in NS): see Petra Goedegebuure, pp. 309-12 in Detlev Groddek and Marina Zorman (eds.), Tabularia Hethaeorum: Hethitologische Studien Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag (Wiesbaden 2007). The remarks at the end of §7.4 should be revised accordingly.

p. 144, §7.6: Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.17 is correct in dismissing the entire content of this paragraph, which should be stricken (see the discussion above on plene spellings at p. 25, §1.46).

p. 145, §7.11: for a much elaborated and updated summary of the paradigm of aši+ at various stages of Hittite see now Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives, pp. 221-225.
p. 146, §7.17: pace Simon, *JNES* 71.341, note 7, and Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 173-4 and 767, there is no doubt about the reality of Old Hittite *ana-* with near deixis and MH/NH *anna/i-* with far deixis, but their relationship is not that presented (p. 303) in H. Craig Melchert, ‘‘Čop’s Law’’ in Common Anatolian, pp. 297-306 in Jens E. Rasmussen (ed.), *In honorem Holger Pedersen...* (Wiesbaden 1994). See the corrective in H. Craig Melchert, Deictic Pronouns in Anatolian, pp. 151-61 in Kazuhiko Yoshida and Brent Vine (eds.), *East and West: Papers in Indo-European Studies* (Bremen 1997). While native (but obsolescent) Hittite near-deictic *ana-* (attested only in *ani-šiwat* ‘today’ and the hapax *a-ni-da-ni* at KBo 47.230:18) reflects *ó-no-*, far-deictic *anna/i-*, which first appears only in late Middle Hittite, is almost surely a loanword from Luvian, < *é-no-* by the real ‘Čop’s Law’ (not the alleged limited Common Anatolian version posited in Melchert in the work cited above, which almost certainly does not exist). For a thorough description of *anna/i-* in Hittite see now Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives* 211-17.

p. 147, §7.18: against the implication in the table given, it is *i/eniššan* that serves as the anaphoric pendant ‘‘in the aforementioned manner’’ to cataphoric *kiššan* ‘‘in the following manner’’ in discourse-tracking usage. See Petra Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives*, pp. 171-7. For the real use of *apeníššan* in comparisons with *māḥhan* and for counter-expectant focus see *ibid.* pp. 249-52.

p. 151, §8.7: for important refinements regarding the use in generalizing relatives and other free choice expressions of iterated *kui- kui- and kui- imma (kui-*) see Andrej Sideltsev and Ilya Yakubovich, pp. 79-83, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 70/1 (2016).

p. 152, §§8.10-12: the presentation of the stems *dapi(a)/dapid- and dapiant-* ‘‘all, entire, each’’ is unsatisfactory. First, with a single exception (nom.-acc. pl. neuter *dapiya* at KBo 12.38 i 24), neither stem is ever spelled with the sign -ya-. All other forms listed as spelled with a yod should be given as *dapia*. Second, since the lack of explicitness seems to have led to misunderstanding, the frequent stem *dapid-* is real, reflecting Luvian origin (see §4.15, p. 86) and is not an erroneous spelling for or irregular reduction of *dapiant-* (contra Tischler, *HEG* 3.127, *et al.*). The genitive singular *ṭdapiyāš* should be removed from the paradigm, but the following forms added (in addition to *dapiya* cited above): nom. pl. com. *dapieš* (KUB 44.50 i 8), *dapiteš* (IBoT 3.100:9), abl. *dapiaz* (KUB 18.12 Ro 5). On the syntax of *dapi(a)/dapid- and dapiant-* see below p. 271, §17.6 with references to the works of Kimball and Oettinger.

p. 158, §9.21: the statement made here needs significant modification. Alfredo Rizza, On the syntax of numerals in Hittite and in the ANE linguistic area, *Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese NS* 6 (2011)[2012] 235-61, argues that in Old Hittite ritual texts (common gender) nouns with animate reference appear consistently as plurals after cardinal numbers, neuter nouns with inanimate reference appear consistently as singulars, while common gender nouns with animate reference show a split, appearing almost exclusively as plurals after the inflected cardinals 2-4, but almost always as singular after the uninflected numbers 5 and higher. A comparison with the MH Ammihatna ritual
seemed to suggest a different system in later Hittite. Elisabeth Rieken, Die Numeruskongruenz nach Kardinalzahlen im Hethitischen, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 118 (2013) 321-38, has confirmed and refined Rizza’s results for Old Hittite and shown that the same system remains intact in later Hittite. She also thoroughly discusses various conditioned exceptions.

p. 173, §10.3: as noted by Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.17, the ghost stem †kikki- should be stricken. For a comprehensive survey of reduplicated verbal stems in Hittite see now Timothy R. Dempsey, *Verbal Reduplication in Anatolian*, PhD. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2015.

p. 175, §10.7: the consistent single -n- in ḫēwaniške- shows that it is a “marked imperfective” form of a stem ḫē(ya)waniya ‘to rain’ (of the small class of verbal stems in -aniya-), as argued by Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.17. See now the correction to p. 323, §24.24 below with reference to Pisaniello.

p. 175, §10.8: this effectively gratuitous paragraph should be stricken. As noted by Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.17, it is in any case incorrect as formulated, since -šš(a)- is inflected consistently in the ḫi-conjugation (see §13.15), while factitives in -aḫḫ- are inflected as ḫi-verbs in Old Hittite, but mostly as mi-verbs in later Hittite (§13.6).

p. 181, §11.6: the table of personal endings should include a forward reference to the rare present third person endings -z(a) and -anz(a) discussed in §11.8; the first person plural allomorph -wani occurs multiple times in OS. Despite the claim of Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.18, it remains a matter of debate whether the vowel of the mi-conjugation preterite second and third person endings -tta after consonant is linguistically real or merely graphic, so one must continue to acknowledge both viewpoints. As argued by Kloekhorst, loc. cit., one may eliminate the alleged ḫi-conjugation preterite second singular ending -t, since the two putative examples may and should be restored with -tta: za-a-it-[ta] (KUB 33.106 iii 10) and hal-za-it-[ta] (KUB 30.10 Ro 9). Footnote 14 should be expanded to indicate that -(u)men(i) also occurs in some mi-conjugation verbs of the “e/a”-class (see the discussion below regarding pp. 198-202, §§12.21-27) and in ḫi-conjugation verbs of the “a-class” (pp. 218-220, §§13.9-14).

p. 182, note 19: the imperative second singular ending also appears in te-(e)-et to tē-‘to say’ (see p. 212, §12.48).

p. 188, §12.3: ēšteni at KBo 7.20 iii 14 may belong to ‘to be’ or ‘to be sitting’; the spelling e-ep-pu-u-un at KBo 3.6 ii 7 and other texts of Hattušili III must be acknowledged, even if its motivation is unclear; Imv3Sg ēzdu, Imv2Pl ēzten, Imv3Sg ekuddu, and Imv2Pl ekuten in KUB 43.23 are OH/MS; Imv2Sg e-ak is indirectly attested in erroneous e-az at KBo 3.34 ii 34, where the ambiguous shape of the OS sign was
misread by the NS copyist—read *e-ik* [ni ĒRIDU]N LUGAL “(They give the one who strikes (the target) wine to drink:) Drink! [You are a soldi]er of the king!”. The reading *e-az* makes no sense in a third-person nominal sentence, nor does a third plural subject fit the context, *contra* Dardano 1997: 53&109ff.

p. 190, §12.6: *kuinzi* (KUB 9.28 ii 15, MH/NS) & *kuienzi* (KBo 3.34 ii 17, OH/NS) should be acknowledged; Imv3Sg *huekdu* at KUB 7.1 iii 12-16 = 43.52 iii 4ff. belongs to ‘to exorcise, conjure’.

pp. 191-2, §12.8: as conceded in footnote 29, *nahḥ-* is almost certainly an original *hi*-verb (so also Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 592), so it is the *mi*-conjugation forms in the paradigm that should be marked with the obelisk as secondary (and the Pres3Sg ex. in KBo 23.27 iii 31 should be stricken—see CHD L-N 342 & Kloekhorst, loc. cit.); Pres3Sg *ḪUŠ-ḫi* appears at KUB 5.1 iv 71 (NH), and Pres1Pl *ḪUŠ-u-e-ni* is well attested in NH; medio-passive Pret3Pl *nahrantat* is found at KBO 50.16 Vo 4. Spellings of *wa-al-ah-ti* with GUL & RA are not included here; Pres2Sg *wa-al-ah-ti*† occurs at KBO 10.12 ii 31 (NH); Pres3Pl *wa-al-ah-ḫa-an-zi* and Pret1Sg *wa-al-ah-ḫu-un* are well attested in NS; NB hapax *wa-al-ḫu-u-un* at KUB 14.20 i 21 (NH); to my knowledge the listed Imv2Pl and Imv3Pl forms are *not* OS. We find Pres1Sg *šahmi* at KBO 17.61 Ro 13&15 (MH/MS) and *šanḫami* at KUB 21.10 i 7 (NH); Pres3Sg *šanḫazi* is frequent in NH; Pres3Sg *šanzi* (KUB 27.29 i 9, MH/NS) is surely real (see Melchert 1994: 166); Pret2Sg *ša-an-ḫa-ta* & *ša-na-ah-ta* are attested in NH (see CHD entry), and *šannaḥta* at KUB 5.1 Ro 31 is Pret2Sg, not Pret3Sg(!); *šaḥta* at KUB 43.33 Ro 4&5 (OH/OS~MS?) may be Pret2Sg or Pret3Sg; *ša-na-ah-ta* and *ša-an-ḫa-ta* also appear as Pret3Sg; Pret1Pl *šanḫuien* is now found at KBO 38.257:19 (NS); NB Imv2Sg *šanḫi* at KBO 11.1 Ro 38 (NH); the attested Imv2Pl and Imv3Pl forms are *not* OS. Note hapax Pres3Sg *karpazi* (KUB 31.147, NS); Pres1Pl *kar-ap-ḫu-u-e-ni* occurs at KUB 22.57 i 12 (NH) and Pres2Pl *kar-ap-te-ni* at KUB 29.1 ii 29 (OH/NS); NB hapax *kar-pa-a-an-zi* (KUB 11.13 ii 4, NS) and “Luvoid” *kar-pa-an-ti* (KBO 19.128 iv 17, NS)—the Pres3Pl variant *kar-(ap)-pl-an-zi* obviously belongs to the alternate stem *karpiye/a- and should be stricken from this paradigm; Pret1Sg *karpun* appears at KBO 18.22 Ro 5; Imv3Sg *karapdu* at KUB 43.23 Ro 16 is OH/MS; for Imv3Pl we find both *kar-ap-pa-an-du* (KUB 24.10 ii 26&28, OH/NS) and *kar-pa-an-du* (well attested in NS).

p. 193-4, §12.10: Pres1Sg *ḥarmi* and Pres3Pl *ḥarkanzi* are well attested in OS; Pres2Pl *ḥarteni* is the standard NH/NS spelling, but NB hapax *har-te-e-ni* at KUB 14.12 Vo 11; NB unusual Pret3Sg *ḥarda* at KBO 18.54 Ro 9 (MH/MS), likely also KUB 19.20 Vo 6 (NS; cf. van den Hout ZA 84.63). Pres3Sg *išparzaizzi* is now published as KBO 56.33:6; add Imv3Sg [i]šparzadu at KBO 55.36:7.

p. 195, §12.14: NB also the “broken spellings” Pres3Sg *tāk-ki-i/ēš-iz-zi* at KBO 13.241 Vo 18&21 (NS).
p. 195, §12.16: Alwin Kloekhorst, *Historische Sprachforschung* 119 (2006) 98-101 and *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* (Leiden 2008), 836-9, has shown that there is no verb stem *tarḥ-* in Hittite, only a stem /tarxʷ/- ‘be powerful; overcome, conquer’, spelled alternately *tar-ḥu-* and *tar-ru-ḥ-C-/tar-uh-ḥṾ*- , entirely parallel to *eku*- /euk- ‘to drink’. His argument is the complete absence of any spellings †*tar-ḥṾ*-, as predicted for a true stem /tarḥ/- (compare such spellings for *parḥ-* ‘to chase’). A unitary labiovelar is confirmed by the preterite first plural *tar-ḥu-en* (not †*tar-ḥu-me-en*). In the absence of counterevidence, one must assume likewise that ‘to roast’ is /sanxʷ/-.

pp. 196-7, §12.18: add Pres1Sg *ḥarrnikki* (KBo 13.78 i 9, OH/NS—a very faulty copy!), Pres2Sg *ḥarrnikši* (KUB 33.120 iii 8 MH/NS), Pres1Pl *ḥarrninku[eni]* (ibid. iii 3 and IBoT 3.89 Ro 5), Pret3Sg *niningsš*†(KUB 53.15 iv¹ 30.33), and Inv2Sg *ištarnik* (KBo 3.28 ii 16, OH/NS). Perhaps also Pres3Sg *ištarnika* at KBo 40.72:5 (MS). Read Pret3Pl *ḥarrinker* and *nišniker*.

pp. 198-202, §§12.21-12.27: the entire treatment of *mi*-verbs with alternating stems in -e/-a- requires considerable revision.

First, as correctly pointed out by Yakubovich, *BiOr* 67.150, there is no justification for distinguishing synchronically the group of verbs *uwate-*,- *pelute-*,- *wete*- and *werite-* (whatever their etymologies, on which there is far from unanimity) from the other verbs that show a stem alternation -e/-a-, which as stated in §12.23 are of diverse origin. These verbs should thus be incorporated into §§12.23-12.25.

Second, as argued on multiple grounds by Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 727-9, the active verb †*šarre/a-* does not exist and should be stricken. The robust MH/MS evidence for a Pres3Sg *šərrī* (see CHD Š 230) shows that the active verb ‘to divide, apportion’ is originally a consonant-stem *hi*-verb of the type of *ārr-* ‘to wash’ (§13.3, p. 216) and like it only secondarily joined the *hi*-verbs in -a- (§13.13, p. 219, as already correctly noted for *wašt(a)-* ‘to sin’). The alleged OH/OS Pret3Sg *šarret* at KUB 36.106 Vo 5 (thus CHD Š 230) does not exist. As Kloekhorst rightly points out, in the sense ‘transgress’ we expect in OH the medio-passive. A “precocious” use of the active as in NH is not entirely unthinkable, but the verb occurs in the protasis of a *sanction formula*, which is always formulated in the present-future (and the verb at Ro 9 confirms the same for this text). We must therefore read at line end with Kloekhorst *šarr-ri-etc-[ta]*, which stands next to *šar-ra-at-ta* just like *mar-ri-ye*-ta(l)ri* beside *marra*-ta(l)ri* ‘to melt, dissolve’. Existence of OH *šarri(y)e*-ta(l)ri* also makes even more understandable the coexistence of active *šarriye*-mi beside *šarra*-bbi ‘to transgress’in NH. All graphically ambiguous NS examples of the type *šar-RI-(e)-ez-zi* must be read as *šar-ri-(e)-ez-zi* (contra CHD Š 230). Naturally, given the existence of a NH *hi*-verb *šarra*- and *mi*-verb *šarriye/-a-* , preterite third plurals spelled *šar-RI-er* are ambiguous, but *šar-ri-(i)-er* is not and clearly belongs to the latter.

Third, while the original inflection of *mall(a)-* ‘to grind’, attested thus far only in NS, remains uncertain, it is now clear that we must distinguish the verb *išpār/-išpar*-bbi ‘to spread (out)’ from *išparre/a*-mi ‘to kick, trample’. For the original inflection of ‘to spread’ see Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 406-7. For the original inflection of ‘to kick, trample’ and the only secondary confusion of the two stems in NH see H. Craig Melchert, Hittite *išpar*- “to spread out” and *išparre/a-* “to kick”, pp. 499-506 in Piotr Taracha (ed.),
Finally, there are good reasons to think that in Old Hittite there likely were some subclasses within the “-e/-a-” type of *mi*-verbs. Contra Kloekhorst, EDHIL 120, one cannot synchronically assign verbs like *zinna*-/*zinna*- ‘to finish’ to the Hittite class with e/zero ablaut—the Pres1Pl [zi]nna[w]eni is already OH/OS (KBo 17.25 Ro 2)—nor *ḫulle/-a- ‘to defeat’, for which we find Pres2Sg *ḫullaši* and Pret1Sg *ḫullanun* in OH/OS (respectively KUB 37.223 a7 and c4, and KBo 3.22 Ro 11&15). These forms are only explicable as due to already prehistoric influence of verbs like *suwe/-a- ‘to push, reject’. However, contrary to the assertion in note 69 (p. 200), the prehistory of stems like *ḫulle/-a-, duwarn/-a-, and zinn/-a- (Kloekhorst, loc. cit. and the respective lemmata) shows that the first plural and verbal nominal forms in -Cum-v- are older than those in -CawV-. Furthermore, as Kloekhorst correctly observes, at least *duwarni- and zinni- show i-vocalism (the reading †zinnezi in §12.25 for OS *zi-in-ni-zi[i] must be corrected!). For one account of the unexpected i-vocalism see Anthony Yates, Anatolian Default Accentuation and Its Diachronic Consequences, Indo-European Linguistics 3 (2015) 145-87, especially section 2.1. It is likely, but not provable, that we should also read ambiguous *ḫu-ul-LI- as *ḫulli-, not *ḫulle-. However, a dearth (in many cases a complete lack) of evidence for most verbs of this class in OS and MS, especially in diagnostic person and number forms, makes any definitive subdivision of the class impossible at present. And the OS examples cited above make it clear in any case that analogical effects began already in Old Hittite, so considerable synchronic variation must be conceded. Thus even further OS and MS evidence might not entirely solve the issue.

pp. 198-99, §12.21: Pres1Pl uwatummēni (KUB 31.44 ii 12, MH/NS) and Pres2Pl uwadatēni (KUB 13.9 iii 10) both show plene spellings! Pres3Pl iú-[wa.ta-an]-zī (KBo 20.20 (i) 3) is OS; ú-wa-da-an-zī is not. Imv2Pl uwatetten in KUB 43.23 Ro 1&6 is OH/MS.

p. 203, §12.29: add Pres3Sg ya-[az]-zi (KUB 36.108 Ro 12, OH/OS contra Konkordanz!) and e-[ya]-zi (KBo 23.103 iv 18, OH/NS), Pres3Pl ya-an-zi (KUB 36.106 Ro 1 and KBo 25.98 LC 6, OH/OS), i-an-zī (KBo 21.22 Vo 41, OH/MS, KUB 32.130 Vo 24, MH/MS, KUB 28.97 ii 8, OH/MS), Pret2Sg i-e-es (KUB 36.103:6, OH/NS, etc.), Pret3Sg e-et (KUB 36.41 i 5, pre-NH/MS), Pret3Pl i-th-i (KUB 34.90:7, NS).

Add Pres3Sg ti-y-i[z]-zi (KBo 6.26 iii 22, OH/NS, etc.), Pret3Pl ti-i-th-i (KBo 16.35:6, NH), and Imv3Sg ti-ed-du (KUB 31.115:6, OH/NS) and ti-i-th-i (KUB 12.63 Ro 6, OH/MS).

Add Pres3Sg ú-e-mi-y-a-[iz]-zi (KBo 13.58 iii 4, MH/NS), Pres2Pl ú-e-mi-y-a-at--dropdown (KBo 8.37 Vo 4, MH/NS) and ú-i-e-mi-y-a-[e]-ni (KUB 43.36:9&11, OH/NS). I can find no attestation of Pres3Pl ú-e-mi-y-an-zī in OS. The example ú-e-mi-y-a-t[e]n (KUB 13.3 iii 41, pre-NH/NS) may be Pret2Pl or Imv2Pl. Imv2Sg ú-e-mi-y[a] appears at KBo 13.78 Vo 9 (OH/NS) and in its duplicates.
The active stem ḫuittiye/a- (or ḫuettiye/a-) is a MH creation, since in OH this verb inflected as a transitive medio-passive ḫuett(i)-: see pp. 123-4 in Jay Jasanoff, Did Hittite Have si-Imperatives?, pp. 116-32 in Roman Sukač & Ondřej Šefčík (eds.), The Sound of Indo-European 2: Papers on Indo-European Phonetics, Phonemics and Morphophonemics (Munich 2012). Add to the innovative active paradigm Imv2Sg ḫuittiyya (KUB 7.53 iii 8, pre-NH/NS, etc.), Imv2Sg [ḫu]iittiyyai (KUB 27.67 i 20, pre-NH/NS—likely real given Pres3Sg ḫuittiyyai), and Imv3Sg ḫu+u-i-t-ti-ya-ad-du (KBO 10.45 iv 27, pre-NH/NS).


p. 207, §12.36: given the appearance already in OH/OS of spellings -Ca-(a)-e(C) for what can only have been a diphthong [a:j] (li-in-ga-en KUB 36.108 Ro 10, [t]a-ma-a-e KBO 20.18 Vo’ 4, ṭuẓ[ma]-aḥ-ra-en KBO 17.30 ii 2), the claim of Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.20, that the demonstrative verbal suffix was /a/e/ in attested Hittite is doubtful. In any case, however, spellings such as tar-ma-a-e-[mi] (IBOT 3.135 (Vo) 3) and pa-lu-wa-a-an-zi (KBO 44.1423 Ro 3) already in OH/OS show that the stem was -āi-/ā- or -āe-/ā- with a consistently long vowel (reflecting prehistoric *-ó-ye/o-; a compensatory lengthening of the vowel, as suggested by Kloekhorst, EDHIL 90 and 133, is impossible, since the yod was syllabified with the following vowel and was not tautosyllabic with the preceding one).

However, the proposal by Kloekhorst, EDHIL 132-5, that in Old Hittite there was originally a contrast between the -āi-/ā- type < *-o-ye/o- and an -āye-/āya- type < *-eh2-ye/o- is illuminating. Recognition of at least some trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic stems of the latter type (e.g., šakuwāye/a- ‘to look at’) eliminates the need for ad hoc explanations for tāye/a- ‘to steal’ (Melchert 1994: 130 w/refs.), which is regular from *(s)teh2-ye/o-.

pp. 207-8, §12.36: Ḫatrāš in KBO 18.94:4 is likely Pret2Sg; Pret3Pl Ḫatrāwe[n] appears in KUB 31.79 Vo 34; Pres1Sg Ḫantāmi and Pret1Sg Ḫantamun are attested in KUB 21.36:9 and ibid. 6; Pres1Pl Ḫandāuni is now published in KBO 53.10 ii 15(MH/MS); we find Pres3Pl Ḫantānzi in KUB 39.102 i 3; nom.-acc. sg. neut. ptc. Ḫandān is well attested in OS; Pres3Sg Ḫirāzzi is found in KUB 15.34 iv 40(MH/MS) & IBOT 2.82:7(NS).

p. 208, §12.39: given the limited space and presence of -za, one may possibly restore Pret2Sg [ṣa]-eš in KBO 41.8 Ro 13 = [ṣa]-a-iš in KUB 33.70 iii 13: “Why did you become [sullen/angry]?”. Compare below regarding Pret2Sg paši in the following clause.

p. 209, §12.41: Pres2Sg pāši has plene spelling; Pres3Sg pa-i-iz-zi is OS (KBO 25.127 iii 7 & 25.147 iii 7, same tablet), but against Kloekhorst, EDHIL 616, this does not prove a stem /payi-/. Compare OS acc. sg. com. ta-ma-i-in (KBO 22.2 Ro 16, 20.18 Vo 3, the latter beside nom.-acc. sg. neut. ta-ma-a-e Vo 4) and ir-ša-iš-ke-ez-zi (KBO 25.84 i 5), where one can only read /a:y/. What pa-i-iz-zi shows is that the spread of /pay-1/ for /pay-1/ (based on Pret3Pl pānzi, Pret1Sg pāun, Pret3Pl pāer/pāir, and influence of the verbs in -āi-/ā-) had sporadically begun in OH. We find also Pres1Pl pāiwani/pāiwāni and pāiwēni in NS. NB that Pret1Sg pa-a-ū-un occurs rarely in MS (e.g., KBO 16.42 Ro 24), while pa-a-ū-un appears 9x in NH (Muršili II & Hattušili III): see Kloekhorst, EDHIL 42-3. I cannot verify the reality of Pret1Sg pānun. Pret2Sg paši is attested at
KUB 33.70 iii 13: (“Hannahanna, why did you [ ] nu āppa wappuwa paiš “and go back to the riverbank?”” (compare S. Görke (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 403.2 (TX 08.06.2015, TRde 08.06.2015, but with misunderstanding of clear vocative DINGIR.MAḪ and false interpretation as Pret3Sg). The OS form of the Pret3Sg is always pa-it without plene! The archaic uncompound Pres3Pl aanzi of ‘to go’ must also be acknowledged (KBo 22.2 Ro 7), and the back-formed Pres3Sg iezi at KUB 33.66+KBo 40.333 (OH/MS): see correctly E. Rieken et al. (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 331.1 (INTR 2009-08-12) §13 of the translation. NB that the subject pronoun assures an intransitive unaccusative verb.

Pres3Sg úwazzi in KUB 4.72 e3 and KBo 9.67:5 may or may not be OS; Pret1Sg ú-e-nu-[u]n appears at KUB 43.31 LC 8 (OH/OS~MS—see van den Hout, JNES 50.196-8); Pret1Sg ú-’wa-an-nu-un with aberrant geminate spelling seems unavoidable at KBo 19.76 i 35 (with Houwink ten Cate, FS Laroche 162&164); Pret2Sg ú-et appears at KUB 14.15 iv 39 and elsewhere in NH and NS; footnote 125 should be emended to read “...than uwanzi in NS” (to my knowledge ú-en-zi is unattested in NH compositions).

pp. 210-11, §12.44: Pret1Sg armunun is well attested; Pres3Sg paḫšan[u(z)zi] may be safely restored at KUB 13.20 iv 5 (MH/NS) and Pret1Sg pa-ah-ša-nu-[n]u-[un] at KBo 3.20 i 8 (OH/NS); NB OS Pres1Sg with plene is spelled wa-ah-nu-ú-mi; Pret1Sg wahunun is widely attested; Pret2Pl waḫnut[ten] is assured at KUB 14.13 i 27 (NH); Pret1Sg aššamunun is well attested; voluntative ašnull[u] appears at KUB 14.8 Vo 7, spelled a-aš-š[a-nu]-ul-lu in the duplicate KUB 14.11 iii 20 (NH); we find Imv2Pl aššamuten at KBo 20.34 Vo 9 and Imv3Pl ašnuandu at KUB 31.86 iv 9.

p. 211, §12.48: the use of ak(k)-/ek- (sic!) ‘to die’ as ‘to be killed’ for the largely missing passive of kuen - ‘to kill’—at best attested in the hapax kunati at KUB 34.45+ Ro 11, for which see Neu 1968: 101-2 and Rudolf Werner, Hethitische Gerichtspratokolle (Wiesbaden 1967) p. 53—and similar cases are duly treated on p. 305, §21.13. That these should be characterized as “suppletion”, as suggested by Cotticelli-Kurras, ZA 100.299, is dubious, since the respective pairs in question all form complete individual paradigms and do not constitute a single averbo.

pp. 214-16, §13.1: for all spelling variants of šakk-/sekk- see CHD § 21-22; NB Imv3Sg sāku (KUB 23 77:70, MH/MS) and šakku (KUB 19.25 i 12 & 26.19 i 7, MH/NS) and Imv2Pl šaktten (IBoT 3.147:6).

NB Pret1Sg [a]-a)-hu-u-un (KBo 19.76 i 15, NH Muršili II), Pret3Pl ērēr (KUB 16.74:8) and Pret3Pl arair (KUB 24.8 iv 2, ?/NS); read Imv2Pl ērten with plene.

For ḫašš(š)-/ḫeš(š)- ‘to open’ add Pres3Sg ḫešzi (KBo 17.94 iii 23, OH/NS); Pres1Pl ḫa-ashi-e-ni (KBo 19.156 ii 9) and ḫa-ašš-š-i-e-ni (KBo 25.139 iii 1) are both OH/OS; Pret1Pl hé-e-ši-u-e-ni appears at KUB 50.6 iii 44 (NH); add Pres1Pl heššan[z] (KUB 51.69 Ro 4, ?/NS), hišanzi (KBo 25.183 RC 5, NS), hiššanzi (Bo 6871 Vo 33, per Kloekhorst, EDHIL 321), Pret1Pl hašuen (KBo 41.181 Vo 15), Pret3Pl heššer (KBO 10.2 i 32, OH/NS), and Imv25g ḫēṣ (KBO 18.48 Ro 17).

For ḫašš(š) ‘to beget, give birth’ add Pres3Sg ḫašši (KBO 17.65 Ro 37, pre-NH/MS), and Imv3Sg ḫāšu and ḫašdu (multiple exx.).
I cannot affirm existence of Pres3Pl ḥātanzi. We find also Pret3Sg ha(z)zašta (multiple exx.) and Imv3Sg hazzadu (KUB 60.144:6, NS).

p. 216, §13.3: it should be noted explicitly that paḫš-“a(ri) is exclusively in OH and mostly in MH a transitive medio-passive; with the single exception of Imv2Pl paḫhašten in KUB 23.82 Vo 5&12, all active forms are NS. Imv2Sg paḫši is associated in OH & MH with the medio-passive paradigm; see p. 121ff. in Jay Jasanoff, Did Hittite Have si-Imperatives?, pp. 116-32 in Roman Sukač & Ondřej Šefčík (eds.), The Sound of Indo-European 2: Papers on Indo-European Phonetics, Phonemics and Morphophonemics (Munich 2012), following Oettinger. Add Imv3Sg paḫḫašdu.

For the complete range of variants šipand/t- see CHD Š: 384-6; Pres1Sg išpandaḫi is also OS; add Pres2Sg BAL-atti (NS); Pres3Sg iš-pa-a-an-ti with plene is attested twice in OS (KBo 25.22:7 & KBo 25.44:2, partially but safely restored); NB Pres3Pl ši-ip-pa-an-tan-zi in KBo 4.13 v 12 (pre-NH/NS).

p. 217-18, §13.6: Pres3Sg allappalḫi ‘spits (on)’ is also OS; Pret3Sg išiyāḫḫiš ‘denounced’ appears in KUB 36.104 Ro 11 (OH/OS); Pret3Pl armahḫer is attested at KUB 33.59 iv 9&13 (OH/OS).

p. 218-19, §13.11: Pres2Pl tattini appears in KUB 6.46 i 29 (NH) and tatteni at KUB 9.34 iii 36 (pre-NH/NS); add Pres3Pl tanzi (OH/OS at KUB 20.17 Ro 7 and well attested in MS & NS) and dānzi (multiple times in MS & NS); the oldest Pret2Sg form is dāta (KUB 14.1 passim, MH/MS); Pret2Sg dāš is only NH&NS; conversely Pret3Sg datta/dadda is only NH&NS.

p. 219-20, §13.13: Pres3Pl tarnanzi is attested multiple times in OS; as already discussed above ad pp. 198-202, §§12.21-12.27, following Kloekhorst, EDHIL 728-9, there is no mi-conjugation stem †šarre/a- (for alleged Pret3Sg †šarret in KUB 36.106 Vo 5, OH/OS, read with Kloekhorst Pres3SgM-P šarriet[ta] “transgresses”); robustly attested Pres3Sg ša/ārri in MH/MS (see CHD Š: 230) confirms the evidence of Pret3Sg šār(a)š in OH/OS ([sa:rs] like a-ar-aš [a:rs]) that the active verb ‘to divide, allot, etc.’ was originally a ḫi-verb with a consonantal stem and only entered the “tarna-class” secondarily like wašt(a)- ‘to sin’; add Pres3Sg šārri & šarri (MH/MS); Pres3Sg šar-ri-(e)-ez-zi (sic!) belongs to a separate stem šarriye/a-.

Add Pret2Sg waštatta (KUB 33.24 i 33, OH/NS) and Pret2Pl waštatten (KBo 16.27 i 23, MH/MS); against Kloekhorst, EDHIL 931, udaš in KUB 29.1 i 24 is Pret3Sg, but it is possible that it is Pret2Sg in KUB 7.57 i 6; add Imv1Sg (voluntative) udallu in KUB 17.63 (iv) 10&13, MH/MS’; all examples of Imv3Sg known to me are without plene (u-da-ī); add Pres2Sg pé-e-da-ad-di (KUB 33.59 ii 2; OH/OS); Pres2Sg pé-e-da-at-ti is also OH/OS (KUB 37.223 c 6); in post OS Pres3Sg pé-e-da-a-i with plene spelling of the ending is well attested; add Pres3Pl pé-e-ta-an-zi (KBo 17.1 ii 38 etc., OH/OS), Pret3Sg pé-e-ta-āš (KUB 36.49 & 10, OH/likely OS), and Imv3Sg pé-e-da-ad-du (KUB 39.71 iv 21, NS).
p. 221, §13.15: the stems arpaša- (sic!), karmalašša-, and tarpanallāšša- are all Luvian; all native Hittite stems of this class show specifically -iš(ša)-; I cannot affirm the existence of Pres3Sg huitteššai.

Pres3Sg hažiššái appears in KBo 17.43 i 11 (OH/OS); add Pres2Pl hažeššätteni (KBo 12.110:8, NS); Pres3Pl hažiššanzi is well attested in OH/OS; add Pres3Pl šiššanzi (KBo 10.16 i 3, NS) and Imv3Pl šiššandu (KUB 11.1 iii 10, OH/NS and emended KBo 3.67 iii 3, OH/NS) and ši-e-eš-ša-an-du (KBo 3.1 iii 45, OH/NS, with faulty plene spelling); NB the safely restored consonantal stem infinitive [wa-ar-r]i-<iš>−šu-wa-an-zi at KBo 5.9 ii 19 (NH).

p. 222, §13.17: lāhw- ‘to pour (liquids)’ is to be read as [la:xʷ-] with a labiovelar fricative, as per Kloekhorst, EDHIL 512, and H. Craig Melchert, The PIE Verb for ‘to pour’ and Medial *h₁ in Anatolian, pp. 127-32 in Stephanie W. Jamison, H. Craig Melchert, and Brent Vine (eds.), Proceedings of the 22nd Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference (Bremen: 2011). The original inflection of išh(₃u)- ‘to scatter, pour’ (dry materials)’ is far less certain: see the discussion by Kloekhorst, EDHIL 395-9. NB, however, that the ambiguity of the <VH₁> sign allows for different readings of various first-person singular examples, and the plausible assumption that Hittite šuḫḫ(a)- ‘to scatter, pour’ reflects a metathesized form of the same root does argue for a paradigm iš-ḫu-ur- (isixo-:), iš-ḫu- (isxu-C-){isxʷ-V-}). The complete lack of examples in OS leaves the question unresolved. Against the claim in footnote 39, there is no compelling evidence for an alternative stem ṭlāḥ-. Pres1Sg lāhueni is the predicted form to a stem in a labiovelar (compare aküeni to [e/akʷ-] ‘to drink’); Pret1Sg lāhun† may likewise represent a regular mi-conjugation variant [lā:xon] matching [ēkon]; and Imv2Sg lāk may easily reflect a delabialization in word-final position (see for all three points Kloekhorst, EDHIL 502).

In addition to the cited secondary spread of the allomorph in -āi- outside the Pres3Sg there is also a tendency in this class to extract a weak stem in -iya- from the Pres3Pl and to extend it to other persons of the plural where the strong stem in -ai- was original. Pres2Sg daiitti & taitti are not spelled with plene; we find Pres3Sg da-i (likely merely an error) at KBo 21.48 Ro 3 (pre-NH/NS); Pret2Sg t/daitta appears in KUB 33.70 iii 14 = KBo 41.6 i 11 (pre-NH, NS), Pret2Sg daišta is found in KUB 21.27 i 4&6 (NH); Pret3Sg daiš is attested in OH/OS (KUB 36.100 Vo 3); NB unique Pret3Sg ta-iš in KBo 18.151 Vo 10&11 (OS or MS??); I cannot affirm the existence of Pret3Sg dāišta or dāitta; NB Imv2Sg da-i (KBo 3.23 Ro 6.8 & Vo 6, OH/NS, the OH form); Imv2Pl tiyatten is also attested in KUB 33.98 iii 14 = 33.102 iii 24 (MH/NS); against Kloekhorst, EDHIL 806& 808, Pres3Sg tiyazi and Pret3Sg tiyat in the supine construction belong to tiye/a- ‘to step’ (see p. 335, §25.22).

NB that only Pres1Pl pē-(i)-u-e-ni is attested in MH/MS; Pres1Pl piyaueni is only NH&NS; likewise only Pres2Pl pē-š-t-e-ni appears in MH/MS; spellings with pē-eš-rᵗ are only NH&NS; in OH/OS Pres3Pl pi-an-zi is standard (24x), while pē-ya-an-zi occurs once (KBo 20.5 (iii) 7); Pres3Pl pē-en-zi is attested in KUB 27.12:8 & 45.44 i 9 (both
NS); Pret2Sg *paitta* is MH/MS and OH/MS&NS, while Pret2Sg *paštta* (KBo 3.4 ii 12) and *peštta* are only NH; NB unique Pret3Sg *ba-i-iš* in KBo 18.151 Ro 7 & 13 (OS or MS??); against Kloekhorst, *Accent in Hittite*, p. 106, note 405, both the photo and context uphold the reading Imv2Pl [*p]i-i-iš-te-en in IBoT 3.135 iv 10 (for the unexpected plene spelling of the first vowel compare likewise unexpected *pi-i-š* in the Pres1Pl and Pret1Pl). NB only Pres2Sg *na-it-ti* without plene spelling is attested in MS; likewise Pret2Sg *na-it-ta*, Pret3Sg *na-iš* and Imv2Sg *na-i*; corresponding forms with plene are all NH/NS; Pres2Sg *zäšir†* and *halziyašir†* obviously should be marked as mi-conjugation variants; add Pres2Pl *zištēn[i] in KUB 26.87:11 (OH/NS) and Pres3Pl *zânsî† (KUB 46.38 i 16, NS)—but at KUB 25.14 iv 13 read *gul-za-an-zi* “they draw/etch” (against Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 1025)—also Pret3Pl *zâir* in KUB 18.24:16 (NH) and Imv2Pl *zaten†* in KUB 40.1 Ro 6 (NH). As per above, p. 181, §11.6, one should now with Kloekhorst read Pret2Sg *zait[ta] at KUB 33.106 iii 10 (against *EDHIL* 1025).

One should note that it is unclear whether we should read first-person singular forms as *hal-zi-ih-* or *hal-ze-eh-* (thus Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 276-7). Structural considerations tend to argue for the latter (see Kloekhorst, loc. cit.). The attested Pres2Sg is *ḥal-za-i-it-[i] (KBo 17.23 Ro 2, OH/OS); as per above read now with Kloekhorst Pret2Sg *ḥalzait[ta] in KUB 30.10 Ro 9 (OH/MS), matching KUB 1.16 ii 60 (OH/NS); Pret3Sg *ḥalzāš* is attested multiple times in OH/OS; NB only Imv2Sg *ḥalzai* without plene is attested in MH/MS (HKM 21 Vo 21 etc.), while *ḥalzāš* is only NH/NS.

pp. 225-6, §13.23: NB Pres1Sg *memahḥī* in KBo 18.22 Ro 6 (this probably indicates interrogative prosody—see p. 348, §27.2—but it cannot be proven); Pres3Sg *mēmai* is frequent in OH/OS (17x), but so is *memai* (17x); *mēmāi* occurs once in a ms. whose OS status is debatable (KBo 25.35 ii 11); Imv3Pl *memandu* appears at KUB 14.3 i 67 (NH). To my knowledge Pres3Sg *u-un-na-a-i* is only NS, not OS; *u-un-na-i* is MH/MS (KUB 17.21 iii 27); *ū-nu-um-me-n[i] at KBo 41.42 i 5 spelled with <ū> and single -n- definitely belongs to *unu- ‘to adorn’ and should be stricken here; Pret3Pl *ū-ni-er* in incomplete context in KUB 31.64 i 39 (OH/NS) remains a crux (an error for *u-un-ni-er* by the NH copyist is not easy to motivate), but Imv3Pl is the expected *u-un-ni-an-du* (HKM 65 Vo 25), not the form listed.

The Imv3Sg *up-pa-ū* is to my knowledge attested only *without* plene of the ending(6x). The spelling *ū-up-pa-ū* in KUB 13.2 i 19 and 31.86 i 16 is aberrant in the face of more than 90 examples of *up-pa-ū*.

pp. 226-7, §13.26: add Pres1Sg *iyannaḥhe* (KBo 17.4 ii 8, OH/OS) and *iyannaḥhi* (KUB 41.32 Vo 9, NS), Pres2Sg *wal(a)ḥhannatti* in KUB 33.52 iii 5 (OH/NS) and *iyanniyyatti* (KUB 43.37 ii 3, NS), Pres3Sg *yannai* (KBo 20.48 Vo 9, pre-NH/MS) plus *iyann(i)zi†* and *iyanniyazi† (NS); Pres3Sg *ḥattiannāni* with plene spelling of the ending is also OH/OS (KBo 17.43 i 11); Pres3Pl *paršiyannāni* with plene in the ending is found in OH/NS; Pres1Pl *[huít]iyanniweni may be restored in KBo 15.10 iii 15 (MH/MS); Pres3Pl *parš(i)yanni(āz)zi* appears in NS (perhaps also MS); NB Pret3Sg *iyannir† (KUB 19.12 ii 2, NH) and Pret3Pl *i-ya-an-ni-er* (4x) beside *i-ya-an-ner* (2x); likewise *paršiyannir† (KUB 20.8 i 5, NS) and *paršiyanner* (ibid. i 6). Add Imv2Sg *iyanni* (often), Imv3Sg *[huít]iyannau at KUB 36.65 ii 18 (pre-NH/NS), Imv2Pl *iyanniyyattan* (3x), and Imv3Pl *iyanniyandu* (KBo 10.37 ii 20, NS).
p. 228, §13.30: replace the erroneously iterated present forms with the real Pret1Sg tālahḥun (KBo 3.22 Vo 45), da/ālahḥun and tāliyanun–da/āliyanun; add Imv 2SgImv taliya (KUB 31.136 ii 6, ?/NS), Imv3Sg dalāu (KUB 36.55 ii 9, pre-NH/MS), and Imv3Pl dāliyadu (KUB 40.1 Ro 26, NH).

As in the case of ḫalzai-, one may and probably should read the first-person singular forms as Pres1Sg išḫeḫḫi and išḫeḫḫun (with Kloekhorst, EDHIL 391); Pres2Pl išḫiyatišu has plene spelling of the ending; add Pret1Sg išḫiyanun (at least 6x) and Imv2Sg išḫāị (KBo 16.54:15, NH — thus with Jared Miller, pp. 269&398 in Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts (Atlanta 2013) against below p. 247, §16.23, end).

Pres3Sg šī-(i)-ē-zi with -zz- is also attested; Pres1Pl šiye[weni] likely appears at KBo 10.37 ii 8 (OH/NS); replace erroneously iterated present forms with real Pret1Sg šiya/ānun; assignment of Imv2Pl še-ē-zi-ē-zi here (Kloekhorst, EDHIL 694 & CHD Š 15) is arguable — see alternative reading as “am Fluss/Wasser? sollt ihr euch hinlegen!” in M. Marazzi (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 23.3 (INTR 2012-07-11), as form of river ordeal.

p. 229, §13.32: it is crucial to make explicit that the first person singular forms are spelled u-uh-°, while all other u-initial forms are spelled ū-°, expressing [o:-] vs. [u-] (see extended discussion above ad p. 26, §1.48); add Pres1Pl a-ū-ma-ni (MH/MS); add P2Pl uš-t[e-e]-ni at KBo 7.14+KUB 36.100 Ro 23 (OH/OS); the peculiar Pret3Sg a-ū-uš-ta in KBo 3.60 i 8 (OH/NS) should be acknowledged.

p. 230, §14.2: Pres3Sg arta is standard in OH/OS; contra Kloekhorst, EDHIL 195 artari is assuredly attested only once in OH/OS (KBo 17.3 iii 35) — there are also two examples of arta[ ]; Pret1Sg is also attested with plene ārḥaḥat in KUB 12.31 Vo 16 (NH).

Pres3Sg eša is standard in OH/OS; contra Kloekhorst, EDHIL 252 ešari is attested just once in OH/OS (KBo 3.22 Vo 79); Pret1Pl ēššuwaštati is now published in KBo 50.44 ii 29; add Pret3Pl ešandat (3x) and [eš]antati (FHG 2 ii 16); NB that eši functions as the transitive Imv2Sg of medio-passive eš- in the sense ‘occupy!’ (KUB 14.1 Ro 19, MH/MS).

The aberrant Pres3Sg kiššari at KUB 24.5 Vo 11 should be acknowledged; we also find Pres3Pl kišanda(ri); Pret3Sg is also attested with plene as kišat(i); Imv3Sg appears also often with plene as kišaru; the variant kišāru is hapax (KUB 24.3ii 52, NS), as is kiššaru, now published in KBo 54.57:2; Imv3Pl kišantararu appears at KUB 23.77 Ro 10 (MH/MS), KUB 31.127 iv 28 (NS), and KBo 13.112:1 (NS); I cannot affirm a variant kišandaru.

NB that paḥši functions as the Imv2Sg of medio-passive paḥš- in the sense ‘gather, collect’, and there is nothing special about its occurrences as a medio-passive with passive or “autocausative” sense.

p. 232, §14.5: Pres1Sg iyahja is now published in KBo 38.164:3; I cannot affirm existence of a variant iyahhaḥari; Pres3Sg ya-at-ta is the OH/OS spelling, not the implied ṭi-at-ta (KUB 36.106 Ro 2); add Pres3Pl i-e-en-ta (KBo 22.1 Ro 14; OH/OS) and
Imv2Sg *ieḥut* (KBo 8.66 Ro 8, NS), but against *HW* IV.19 [x-*ya-ah-ḥu-*ut] at KUB 21.39; clearly is incomplete and does not belong to this verb.

Pres3Sg *nea* is also attested in OH/OS (KUB 37.223 a 2); we also find variants *ne-* (e) *ya* and *ne-i-ya*; NB also in late NH *ni-ya-ri* (KBo 4.14 passim) and likewise Pres3Pl *ni-ya-an-ta-ri* (ibid. ii 48 & 56); add Pret3Sg *ni* at KUB 3.46 Ro 52+KUB 26.75 Ro 6 (OH/NS); NB Imv2Sg *nišḥut* (KBo 17.105 ii 14 (MH/MS) and Imv3Sg *niyaru* (KBo 4.14 ii 15).

Add Pres3Pl *zaḥḫiyanda* (KBo 15.52 v 6, NS) and Pres3Sg *kidda* (KBo 3.21 ii 9, OH/NS) and *kiddari* (KUB 30.15 Ro 6, NS).

pp. 239-41: on the overall issue of agreement involving coordinated noun phrases and that of the “*constructio ad sensum*” see the publications of Cyril Brosch: Koordinierte singularische Nomina im Hethitischen und ihr Kongruenzverhalten, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 40/1 (2013) 20-41; Gemischte und pluralische Koordinationen im Hethitischen und ihr Kongruenzverhalten, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 40/2 (2013) 314-36; Agreement patterns of coordinations in Hittite, pp. 327-52 in Jürg Fleischer, Elisabeth Rieken, and Paul Widmer (eds.), *Agreement from a diachronic perspective* (Berlin – New York 2015); Genus- und Numerusinkongruenzen im Hethitischen – Willkürlich oder Regel?, *Die Sprache* 51/1 (2016) 60-82. See further H. Craig Melchert, Agreement Patterns in Old and Middle Hittite, pp. 165-80 in Shu-Fen Chen and Benjamin Slade (eds.), *Grammatica et verba Glamor and verve: Studies in South Asian, historical, and Indo-European linguistics in honor of Hans Henrich Hock on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday* (Ann Arbor – New York 2013). The last-named work also acknowledges (but does not explain) the previously recognized peculiar use of nom.-acc. neuter plural =e to refer to singular antecedents in the sequences *n=e=tta* and *n=e=sšan*, which continues in NH compositions (e.g., KBo 19.73 iii 73-4 kī kuit ṬUPPU…*n=e=tta=kkan*…, when =e has long since been replaced in all other uses by =at.

p. 242, §16.3 and p. 244, §16.15: Yakubovich, *BiOr* 67.154, is correct in arguing that the “naming construction” does not involve a bare stem. Examples in that form are simply further examples of “Akkadographic” spelling. The real syntax is that seen in other older Indo-European languages, an inserted nominal sentence, with the name correctly in the nominative: e.g. KBo 15.37 i 20-23 *namma=kan ANA 4IM manuzziya kuiš* TlGUŠKIN ŠUM=ŠU Eribuškiš GEŠTU-ni=kan neyanza n=an=ši=kan arḥa danzi ‘Furthermore, they take away the eagle of gold—it’s name is Eribuski— which is turned towards the ear of (the statue of) the Storm-god of m.’ For further examples showing the nominative case in this construction see pp. 86-87 in Silvain Patri, *L’alignement syntaxique dans les langues indo-européennes* (Wiesbaden 2007), although Patri fails to understand the Akkadographic variant and falsely posits an “onomastic” case in Hittite.

pp. 244-245, §§16.11-14 and 16.17: see now Heiner Eichner, Zur Syntax des vedischen und hethitischen Vokativs im Vergleich, pp. 119-40 in Šárka Velhartická (ed.), *Audias fabulas veteres. Anatolian Studies in Honor of Jana Součková-Siegelová* (Leiden and Boston: 2016). He also cites (p. 135) a further genuine example of the nominative used for the vocative (KUB 9.25+27.67 i 42-43)—but the example from KUB 14.15 iv 29-30 is simply another of many examples for appositional direct address (§16.16). A seventh
example of nominative for vocative is found in KBo 26.79:13 (Ḫedammu): see Detlev Groddek, Studies...Součková-Siegelová p. 157 with note 75.

p. 246, §16.18, end: read (7) for (8).


Nor is the use of ḫuwāi- ‘run’ with the accusative in Old Hittite ritual contexts (Cotticelli-Kurras, p. 136, example 36) an accusative of direction. As per Frank Starke (1977: 40-41), ḫuwāi- ‘run; flee’ never takes a goal in Old Hittite. As shown by KBo 25.31 ii 8-12 and duplicates (and other similar passages), the OH use with an accusative and particle =kan is an idiom for ‘to run around’; NIN.DINGIR-aš LÜ GIŠGIDRU-aš pēran ḫuwāi N[(IN.DINGIR-aš uezzi 2 DUMU.MEŠ Ė.GAL ŠÀ-BA kēt-t=a)] 1-iš kēt-t=a 1-iš ị̄̄ḥarzi 15 LÜ.MEŠ hāl[(pieš URU Hatti EGIR=ŠU)] īsgaran-tes ḫāššan=kan 1-ŠU [(ḫuwāi)] § mān=ašta LUGAL-i NIN.DINGIR-aš ḫandāētta L[(U x (LÜ GIŠGIDRU))] āppianzi ta A.ŠAR=ŠUNU appanzi ‘The staff-bearer of the NIN.DINGIR-priestess precedes. The NIN.DINGIR-priestess comes. There are two palace officials of whom one keeps to one side, one keeps to the other. Fifteen hapıya-men are lined up behind her. She runs (around) the hearth once. When the NIN.DINGIR-priestess draws even with the king, the [ ] (and) the staff-bearer step back and take their places.’ See correctly Petra Goedebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives, pp. 281-2. See also KUB 56.46 ii 14-17.

p. 247, §16.23, end: read išḫāj as Imv2Sg “You shall impose...” with Jared Miller, pp. 269&398 in Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts (Atlanta 2013).

p. 254, §16.48, third line: Read ‘tayazzilaš’.

p. 254, §16.54: while the word order head noun+genitive modifier with “logograms” may in most instances be regarded as merely graphic, Maksim Kudrinski, Hittite heterographic writings and their interpretation, Indogermanische Forschungen 121 (2016) 159-75, has presented compelling evidence for some instances of genuine noun+genitive modifier order based on interference from Akkadian and Sumerian in the Hittite of the Hattuša scribes.

p. 256, §16.60: the phrase ‘is written (not spoken!) as a preposition before logograms or proper names’ means to say that in spoken Hittite the genitive of the noun was always followed by iwar as a postposition, not that iwar was not spoken at all!

pp. 265-6, §16.92: pace Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.21, the ablative of direction towards is well established (including with motion verbs), and in the boundary descriptions of treaties the viewpoint is always from the city whose boundaries are being described, so ‘towards X’ is the only sensible translation, as already seen by Garstang and Gurney, The Geography of the Hittite Empire (London: 1959) 66ff. See Melchert 1977: 200-03, 311, and 358-9.

p. 269, §16.107: for a renewed demonstration that in Old Hittite the case of the agent was the instrumental see H. Craig Melchert, The Case of the Agent in Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European, pp. 239-249 in Dieter Gunkel et al. (eds.), Sahasram Ati Srajas: Indo-Iranian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Stephanie W. Jamison (Ann Arbor and New York: 2016). Compare the remarks above on §3.7 (p. 66).

p. 269, §16.108: an important example of the comitative use is found in the Laws, §190, where one finds takku=ššan akkantit tianzi ‘If they have sex with a dead person’ (KUB 29.34 iv 11), matching takku-ššan GIDIM-it ‘tiezi ‘If one has sex with a dead person’ (KBo 6.26 iii 29). See Hoffner 1997d: 150. Compare the remarks above on §3.7 (p. 66).

p. 271, §17.5: most if not all participles that follow the noun are not attributive, but rather appositional or “decriptive”; see Elisabeth Rieken, Das hethitische Partizip: Zur Schnittstelle von Syntax und Semantik, pp. 391-403 in Claire Le Feuvre, Daniel Petit, and Georges-Jean Pinault (eds.), Verbal Adjectives and Participles in Indo-European Languages / Adjectifs verbaux et participes dans les langues indo-européennes: Proceedings of the conference of the Society for Indo-European Studies (Indogermanische Gesellschaft), Paris, 24th to 26th September 2014 (Bremen 2017).

p. 271, §17.6: the regular order of the universal quantifiers hümant- and dapiant-following their head noun probably reflects their original appositional syntax, which was only partially renewed by prenominal position as they became attributive adjectives (as stated in §17.9 for mekk(i)- and tēpu-). For hümant- as originally a participle ‘taken together’ see Sara Kimball, Hittite humant- ‘All, Entire, Each’, pp. 201-12 in Alan J. Nussbaum (ed.), Verba Docenti: Studies in Historical and Indo-European Linguistics Presented to Jay H. Jasanoff by Students, Colleagues, and Friends (Ann Arbor – New York 2007). One may compare for the meaning and the syntax attested Hittite anda
appant- ‘taken together, inclusive’, as at KBo 4.2 iv 39: nu kē TÜG NÍG LAM MEŠ anda appanta ‘and these festive garments taken together’.

Sara Kimball, Hittite dapi- ‘all, whole, each’, pp. 159-69 in Dieter Gunkel et. al. (eds.), Sahasram Ati Srajas: Indo-Iranian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Stephanie W. Jamison (Ann Arbor – New York: 2016), revives the root etymology of Edgar Sturtevant to *dheb- ‘massive, heavy’ (or similar), but struggles with the apparent substantival inflection (pp. 167-8). The solution is that despite her assertion to the contrary, there is clear evidence for Luvian origin. As implied (but unfortunately not made explicit) above at §8.10, p. 152, forms such as abl. dapidaz, nom. pl. com. dapiteš, nom.-acc. pl. dapida and gen. pl. dapidaš are not to be emended (Kimball, loc. cit.) or taken as very irregular reductions of dapiant- (Tischler, HEG 3.127), but reflect that dapi- is another Luvian loanword into Hittite with the very productive noun-forming suffix -it-. Norbert Oettinger, Pronominaladjektive in frühen indogermanischen Sprachen, pp. 1327-35 in R. Bombi et al. (eds.), Studi linguistici in onore di Robert Gusmani (Alessandria 2006), recognizes the stem dapit- as well as the peculiar non-writing of fj/ in all but a single instance of both dapi- and dapiant as reflective of a loanword, but tries unnecessarily to explain away the adjectival use in Hittite of a Luvian noun (pp. 1329-31). The predominant position of dapi(đ)- and dapiant- following its head noun would be entirely in order if the original syntax was appositional: X, a mass (of it) = X en masse.

The syntax of Luvian pu-u-na and pu-u-na-ta ‘all’ suggests a similar origin (see Starke 1990: 303 with note 1934 and reference to HLuvian *430 ‘all, whole’).

Since by their origin both hümant- *‘taken together’ and dipid- *‘mass (thereof)’ would have been suitable only for plural objects (‘all’) or for things consisting of parts (‘entire’), it is not surprising that the normal attributive prenominal position is predominant with individual body parts: §17.7.

p. 273, footnote 4: the differing opinion of Francia, Orientalia 78/2 (2009) 220, is duly noted, but doubts remain regarding the reality of some apparently postposed adjectives after nouns written with logograms.

pp. 273-276: see on the comparison of adjectives Paola Cotticelli-Kurras, Zum hethitischen Komparativ, pp. 33-45 in Michaela Ofitsch and Christian Zinko (eds.), 125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz (Graz 2000). Regarding the isolated use of the ablative for the comparandum (p. 274, §17.15), her suggestion (p. 38) that the dative-locative in comparison is being used as an ablative, making the isolated kapruaz less aberrant than it first seems, is attractive, but against her claim on pp. 37-8 following Starke, the syncretism of the dative with the locative is already Old Hittite (OS), as is the use of the dative-locative to express ‘place from which’, based on an extension of the “dative of disadvantage” from nouns with animate referents to those with inanimate referents: see p. 259, §16.69. See further on comparison in Hittite Susanne Zeilfelder, Steigern und Vergleichen im Hethitischen, pp. 475-82 in J. Prosecky (ed.), Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East (Prague 1998).

p. 278, §18.4: as correctly pointed out and stressed by Detlev Groddek, pp. 89-97 in Henning Marquardt, Silvio Reichmuth & José Virgilio García Trabazo (eds.), Anatolica et Indogermanica: Studia linguistica in honorem Johannis Tischler septuagenarii
dedicata (Innsbruck 2016), the discussion of pronominal possession in Hittite fails to point out that it is indeterminate, not determinate (as in modern English or German, for example). That is, it is equivalent either to ‘my X’ or ‘an X of mine’. This applies to both the independent genitive pronoun and the enclitic possessive pronouns (for an indeterminate example of the latter see the example from KuT 50 Ro 15, cited by Groddek, p. 91). This is not a new discovery: in KBo 14.12+ iv 24–5 (DŠ 28, E₃) nu=wa=nnaš BELI=NI DUMU=KA pāi clearly means ‘Give us, our Lord, a son of thine!’ and is correctly translated thus by Güterbock (1956: 98). However, Groddek is entirely justified in complaining that this grammatical fact has nowhere been explicitly recognized and that Hittitologists tend to assume a determinate reading as the default, often leading to wrong or seriously misleading interpretations. For example, in KUB 14.8 i 21–22 (Muršili’s 2nd Plague Prayer) n=at uēr nu ANA ABI=YA DUMU=ŠU [(LUGAL)]=uēznanni anku weker nu=šmaš maḫḫan ABU=YA apēl [(DUMU)]=ŠU pēšta the sense also is clearly ‘they came and asked my father outright for a son of his for the kingship, and when my father gave them a son of his…’, but Singer (2002b: 58) incorrectly translates ‘his son’, implying for general English readers that he had only one. Likewise false/misleading is the translation of KUB 14.4 iv 22 here in GrHL 137 and by others, which furnished the impetus for Groddek’s clarifying treatment.

p. 279: one topic effectively entirely omitted in the description of pronominal syntax is the use of the accented anaphoric (third-person) pronoun apā-. For a comprehensive treatment see now Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives Chapters 6-9, detailing the use of apā- for various kinds of focus and for contrastive topics.


p. 287, §18.35, fifth line: Read ‘DINU=ma’ (Hittite, not Akkadian).

p. 290, §19.6: As shown by Valentina Cambi, The Hittite adverb karū: ‘early, formerly; already’, pp. 219-34 in K. Jones-Bley et al. (eds.), Proceedings of the 16th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference. Los Angeles. November 5-6, 2004 (Washington 2005), the adverb karū in preverbal position always means ‘already’, while in clause-initial position it usually means ‘formerly, earlier’. However, there are some instances where karū in the sense ‘already’ has been “fronted” to clause-initial position, such as KUB 21.38 Ro 61 karū=ma kuiški ḫaššanteš wemiyanun ‘But those whom I found already born…’, or to the position following initial conjunction and clitics, as in Cambi’s own example 10.

p. 299, §20.21: the postposition katta/kattan means only ‘with, beside’ (or with motion verbs simply ‘to’) and must not be confused with katta ‘down(wards)’ and kattan ‘below, under’ (contra Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.21).
pp. 307, §22.6: for a very useful treatment of the “historical present” see Paola Coticelli-Kurras, Textlinguistische Annäherungen in den hethitischen Erzähltexten, pp. 43-56 in Onofrio Carruba & Wolfgang Meid (eds.), Anatolisch und Indogermanisch... (Innsbruck 2001). As she indicates, against the statement in note 2, the present tense examples in Old Hittite past narratives are examples of the historical present, when correctly construed as a means of “Aufmerksamkeitslenkung” (“foregrounding” and “backgrounding”), but the pattern of use almost certainly changed from Old to New Hittite. On the use of preterital forms of -ške- and -šša- for “backgrounding” in New Hittite see the reference to the work of Alexandra Daues below at p. 317ff (end).

pp. 308-9, §§22.13: the implication that the present indicative is not likewise used prescriptively in the third person obviously is misleading. The “Heischefutur” of the third person is the standard use in the Hittite Laws (see the translations in Hoffner 1997), and it is also used alongside the imperative in instructions: see the remark of Jared Miller, pp 6-7 in Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts, (Atlanta 2013).

p. 313ff., Chapter 23: see for a brief overview of the various means in Hittite of expressing modality in the broadest sense Marina Zorman, Modality in Hittite, Historische Sprachforschung 126 (2013) 127-41.

p. 314, §23.7: as noted by Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.21, the translation of šešdu in māu šešdu as ‘have rest’ is false. Whether or not the verb ši/ešd- (sic!) is historically from the root *sed- ‘to sit’, synchronically the verb means ‘to prosper’.

p. 317ff.: the contention of Coticelli-Kurras, ZA 100.297 with note 4, that American linguists do not distinguish “aspect” and “manner of action” is false. The problem with identifying the suffixes -ške/a-, -šš(a)-, and -anna/i- as markers of “Aktionsart” is that none of them mark any specific Aktionsart, but indicate a range of meanings whose only common denominator is imperfectivity. Aside from a few semantically motivated exceptions, they also appear freely on all types of Hittite verbal stems, including those that mark lexical Aktionsart (e.g., -aḫḫ-, -āi-; -e-, -ešš-; -nu-, -nin-). Unlike the latter, -ške/a-, -šš(a)-, and -anna/i- are grammatical, not derivational morphemes, and for this reason they alone are treated here in Chapter 24.


p. 318, §24.4: the statement that fientives in -ešš- are not attested with an imperfective suffix is patently false, as is already clear from the treatment by Neu 1968b: 86-9. For a
recent discussion see H. Craig Melchert, Mediopassives in *-sk*e/o- to Active Intransitives, pp. 477-86 in Ivo Hajnal, Daniel Kölligan and Katharina Zipser (eds.), Miscellanea Indogermanica. Festschrift für José Luis García Ramón zum 65. Geburtstag (Innsbruck 2017). For the suppletive use of iya-*ṭaṭer* and pai-*mi* to distinguish aspect in ‘to go’ in the Annals of Muršili see Alexandra Daues, Ein Suppletivismus in den Annalen des Muršili, pp. 12-16 in the same volume.

p. 323, §24.24: for important correctives to this paragraph see Valerio Pisaniello, Four Alleged Hittite Verbs with the Suffix -anna/i-, RSO NS 90 (2017) 11-25. The stem ḫē(ya)waniya- ‘to (cause to) rain’ with consistently single -n- spellings is an ordinary denominative of the -aniya- class (so already Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.17). There is also no justification for treating takšanniške- as anything except a -ške- stem to a denominative takšanniya- ‘to make level’, an assimilated variant of takšatniya-. Nor against opinions to the contrary are there -anna/i- variants †ḫaluganna/i- or †šipandanna/i-.

p. 324ff.: The debate regarding the structure and meaning of the “serial” or “phraseological construction” with pai- and uwa- continues. Two works referred to as forthcoming have now appeared: (please note for both the corrected book title/place of publication!): Theo van den Hout, Studies in the Hittite Phraseological Construction II. Its Origin, pp. 191-204 in R. Lebrun & J. De Vos (eds.), Studia Anatolica in memoriam Erich Neu dicata (Leuven 2010); Elisabeth Rieken, Die periphrastischen Konstruktionen mit pai- “gehen” und uwa- “kommen” im Hethitischen, pp. 217-39 in J. Klinger, E. Rieken, & C. Rüster (eds.), Investigationes Anatolicae. Gedenkschrift für Erich Neu (Wiesbaden 2010). See now also Bernhard Koller, Hittite pai- ‘come’ and uwa- ‘go’ (sic!) as Restructuring Verbs, Journal of Historical Linguistics 3:1 (2013) 77-97, whose analysis suggests that while ‘proceed to…’ is an appropriate translation for pai- (a “control verb”), the often suggested ‘it happens/happened that…’ is more accurate for many cases of uwa- (a “raising verb”), when the latter is used where the action of the lexical verb is not due to the volition of the subject.

p. 325, §24.32: for an additional example of finite verb in asyndeton with zinni/a- (instead of use of the infinitive) see nu mān KIN-an teḫḫi zinnami at KBo 41.42 i 15; see further marnuan šipanti irḫaizzi…šipati irḫaizzi at KBo 44.92 Vo 6-7.

pp. 332-334, §§25.11-16: see the reference at p. 415, §30.34 below to Zeilfelder 2001 on the expression of finality in Hittite, who includes discussion of such use of the infinitive.

p. 336, §25.28: given the clear space following waqqareš, one should retain the restoration [ma]-an tiyat of Güterbock, JCS 6.20 (with the CHD L-N, p. 142), and the interpretation ‘Had she taken a step…’ (contra Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.21).

p. 338, §25.37: there is no question that due to ambiguous forms like present third plural ti-(ya)-an-zi there was a reanalysis that led to secondary use of tiya- with the supine instead of original dai-, but since there is no evidence that forms like preterite third singular tiyat ever belonged to the paradigm of dai- ‘to put, place’, the use of tiya- ‘to step’ in NH cannot be denied (pace Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.21).

p. 350ff., §§27.6-27.15: It has now been independently demonstrated by Petra Goedegebuure, Focus structure and Q-word questions in Hittite, *Linguistics* 47/4 (2009) 945-69, and Mattyas Huggard, On Wh-(Non)-Movement and Internal Structures of the Hittite Preposed Relative Clause, pp. 83-104 in Stephanie W. Jamison, H. Craig Melchert, and Brent Vine (eds.), *Proceedings of the 22nd Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference* (Bremen 2011), that contrary to previous claims Hittite does not show “overt wh-movement” and is an “in situ wh-language”. The placement of wh-words in both interrogative and relative clauses is determined by the overall focus structure of the clause. For full discussion of wh-interrogatives see Goedegebuure, loc. cit., and Mattyas Huggard, Chapter 4 The Syntax of Interrogatives in Wh-words in Hittite: A Study in Syntax-Semantics and Syntax-Phonology Interfaces (University of California, Los Angeles, PhD. dissertation 2015). For the implications for Hittite relative clauses see the comments on §§30.58-64 (pp. 423-26) below.

pp. 350-51, §27.7: recognition that Hittite is in fact an “in situ wh-language” resolves the paradox that the word order in interrogatives of the type ‘what is this/that?’ is of the type *kī=wa kuit* (KBo 6.34 i 36 etc.), noted by Olav Hackstein, p. 351 with note 7, in his paper Von der Diskurssyntax zur Satzsyntax: Hethitisch *kī kuit*, pp. 345-59 in Detlev Groddek and Sylvester Rößle (eds.), *Šarnikel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer* (Dresden 2004). However, the example cited by Hackstein at KBo 22.2 Ro 2 is not an ordinary question, but belongs to the exclamatory ‘what kind of…?!’ *kī kuit* type: *[k]ī=wa kuit walkuwan ḫāšḫun* ‘What kind of w. have I given birth to?’ (with Otten 1973: 7). Likewise, the example cited here (GrHL §27.7) from KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 Vo 15–6 is not an ordinary informational question, but the exclamatory type: *uk=uš punuškemi* [*kī=wa k]uit walkuwan *[išḫam]a[i]š[t]e[n]* ‘I ask them: “What is this monstrosity/gibberish you are singing?”’. See on these clauses and the sense of *walkuwan* H. Craig Melchert, p. 207 in: *Hittite kī (kuit) and Vedic “sā-fīgē”*, pp. 204-13 in Andrew Miles Byrd, Jessica DeLisi and Mark Wenthe (eds.), *Tavet Tat Satyam. Studies in Honor of Jared S. Klein on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Ann Arbor and New York 2016).


p.386, §28.127, third line: Read ‘may be translated’.

pp. 395-9: for excellent further discussion of the syntax and function of *=a/=ma see Petra Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives* Chapter 9. As she makes clear, however, the findings based primarily on the interaction of non-geminating *=a/=ma and *apā* require amplification and confirmation based on a broader survey of the use of *=a/=ma. Many of her results are also incorporated into the study by Andrey Sideltsev and Maria Molina, Enclitic -(m)a ‘but’, clause architecture and the prosody of focus in Hittite, *Indo-
germanische Forschungen 120 (2015) 209-53, who further address the problem of the function and syntax of clause-internal =a/=ma and its pattern of use with subordinating conjunctions, as well as the interplay of syntax and phonology (prosody) in the behavior of both =a/=ma and =a/=ya. Their example (27) from HKM 72 Ro 9-10 should almost certainly not be emended, but it nevertheless is another example of the preverbal contrastive focus they identify: n=ašta GIS murta tuel=ma [-] karššandu “Let your (men) cut m.-wood!” (against the preceding advice to wait for wood to finish the bridge).

p. 400, sixth line: Read ‘occasional’.

pp. 400-01, §§29.41-45: for a thorough demonstration of the functional difference between clause-coordinating geminating =a/=ya ‘(both…and’ and expanding focus geminating =a/=ya ‘also; even’ and their syntactic behavior see Petra Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives, Chapter 8. However, as discussed below, p. 410 regarding §30.15, the long-supposed distinction of “initial” and “first” position in the clause does not exist at the level of syntax. So the complementary distribution of the clause-coordinating geminating =a/=ya ‘(both…and’ and ta or nu is due to the fact that they are members of the same functional class and are semantically mutually exclusive.

pp. 402ff., §§29.48ff.: on the function of clausal asyndeton in Hittite see Harry A. Hoffner, Asyndeton in Hittite, pp. 385-99 in Detlev Groddek and Marina Zorman (eds.), Tabularia Hethaeorum: Festschrift für Silvin Košak (Wiesbaden 2007) and Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer, Asyndeton in vorangestellten temporalen Nebensätzen mit der Konjunktion kuwapi?, pp. 106-22 in Itamar Singer (ed.), ipamati kistamati parituratimis: Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday (Tel Aviv 2010). Their combined results show that the condition “…where there is no connection to a previous clause” includes not only (a) the beginning of a composition and (b) direct speech, but also (c) the beginning of a new major discourse unit and (d) parenthetical epexegetic insertions.

p. 409, §30.11: Contrary to the claim made here, it is highly unlikely that “right dislocation” is a genuine feature of native Hittite. First of all, examples in translation literature are clearly motivated by the desire to imitate the word order of the source language and as “translationese” cannot be used as evidence for Hittite grammar. See for Hittite texts based on Hattic Alfredo Rizza, I pronomi enclitici nei testi etei di traduzione dal hattico (Pavia 2007), esp. pp. 68-73 and 171-173. For texts based on Hurrian models see Elisabeth Rieken, Verberstellung in hethitischen Übersetzungs- texten, pp. 498-507 in Thomas Krisch & Thomas Lindner (eds.), Indogermanistik und Linguistik im Dialog: Akten der XIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 21. bis 27. September 2008 in Salzburg (Wiesbaden 2011), esp. p. 499. For arguments against the reality of the alleged handful of examples in native Hittite contexts see H. Craig Melchert, Alleged “Right Dislocation” in Hittite, pp. 137-145 in Andreas Müller-Karpe, Elisabeth Rieken & Walter Sommerfeld (eds.), Saeculum: Gedenkschrift für Heinrich Otten anlässlich seines 100. Geburtstags (Wiesbaden 2015 = StBoT 58). For an unpersuasive attempt to demonstrate true discourse grammatical function for such structures in translation and non-translation literature see Andrej Sideltsev, The Origin of
p. 410, §30.15: as demonstrated by Brian Agbayani and Chris Golston, Second-position is first-position: Wackernagel’s Law and the role of clausal conjunction, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 115 (2010) 1-21, interclausal conjunctions are in fact syntactically interclausal—they do not stand first in the second clause. The result of this realization is that syntactically so-called “initial position” and “first position” are identical. It is the various constituents listed in columns 1-6 that appear syntactically first in the clause (I emphasize that determining their structural positions and ordering in relation to each other is far from settled). Syntactically, the pronoun =uš ‘them’ in partaunit=uš “them with a wing” and in t=uš “and them” is clause-initial in both cases. Since the pronoun is prosodically weak and cannot stand at the left edge of a phonological phrase, it is in the spoken sentence attached in the first instance as a clitic to the first fully accented word in the clause (there being no other available host), while in the second instance it is attached as a clitic to the interclausal conjunction. The presentation of Agbayani and Golston represents merely one formal analysis of this “syntax-phonology” interface. What is crucial is that there is no syntactic structural difference between the two configurations, other than the presence of an interclausal conjunction instead of clausal asyndeton.


p. 415, §30.34:


(2) a further type of dependent clause must be recognized for New Hittite, that introduced by eni kuit ‘as to that fact that’ and kī kuit ‘as to this fact that...’. See on their usage Petra Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives* (2010) 162-8 and 310-11. For two competing accounts of their origin see Olav Hackstein, Von der Diskurssyntax zur Satzsyntax: Hethitisch kī kuit, pp. 345-59 in Detlev Groddek and Sylvester Rößle (eds.), *Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer* (Dresden 2004) and H. Craig Melchert (following Gary Holland), pp. 205-7 in: Hittite kī (kuit) and Vedic “sā-fige”, pp. 204-13 in Andrew Miles Byrd, Jessica DeLisi and Mark Wenthe (eds.), *Tavet Tat Satyam. Studies in Honor of Jared S. Klein on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Ann Arbor – New York: 2016). However, the claim by Melchert (2016: 205, note 3) that in oracular questions eni kuit and kī kuit are pragmatically equivalent must be rejected—see rather Goedegebuure, *loc. cit.*
(3) for a thorough treatment of the expression of “finality” in Hittite see Susanne Zeilfelder, Zum Ausdruck der Finalität im Hethitischen, pp. 395-410 in Onofrio Carruba & Wolfgang Meid (eds.), Anatolisch und Indogermanisch... (Innsbruck 2001). Note in particular her tentative but plausible identification of two instances of mān indicating finality (p. 400). NB that only §§25.11-16 here actually treat infinitives expressing finality.

p. 417, §30.38: as established by Alexandra Daues, Historische Sprachforschung 125 (2012) 91-4, mahhan in temporal use is incompatible with “marked imperfective” verbal forms in -ške-. See also immediately below on kuwapi.

p. 417, §30.39: for a comprehensive treatment of the contrast in usage between mahhan and kuwapi as temporal subordinating conjunctions see Alexandra Daues, “Zum Bedeutungsspektrum von heth. kuwapi”, Historische Sprachforschung 125 (2012) 90-111, who carefully distinguishes between the use of the preterite and the present of kuwapi. However, the apparent use of both mahhan and kuwapi as temporal conjunctions in the same clause (Bo 86/299 ii 53-55 cited in note 33 and KBo 6.29 ii 22-23 cited as example (16) p. 108) is a mirage: one may in each case take kuwapi as an indefinite ‘at some time’ (more idiomatically in English ‘at a certain time’), which also explains the unexpected position of kuwapi in the first instance. NB that Daues amply confirms, as long silently but not explicitly acknowledged, that kuwapi with the present-future often has a conditional sense: ‘in (the) case that’. For the specific use of kuwapi natta (UL) in the sense ‘if not’ see pp. 126-7 in Elisabeth Rieken and David Sasseville, Hethitisch kuwapi UL, kattan išḫaššarwaḥ- und KUB 21.38 Vs. 14’, Altorientalische Forschungen 39 (2012) 124-9.


p. 421, §30.52: as noted by Probert, BMCR 2009-05-49, note 2, the statement that mān in the first clause of the citation from KBo 5.6 iii 12-13 is the potential particle and not the conjunction ‘if’ contradicts what is said on p. 315 (top, under §23.10). The latter formulation is correct, and mān in mān=wa=mu...paišti is the conjunction: ‘If you give me...’.

pp. 423-26, §§30.58-30.64: recent research has shown that major revisions are required in the description given of Hittite relative clauses (RCs):

(1) there are several more types of Hittite RCs than previously acknowledged. For a summary (by no means exhaustive) see H. Craig Melchert, Relative Clauses in Anatolian, pp. 287-95 in Sergio Neri, Roland Schuhmann and Susanne Zeilfelder (eds.), »dat ih dir it nu bi huldi gibu« Linguistische, germanistische und indogermanistische Studien Rosemarie Lühr gewidmet (Wiesbaden 2016). First, against the claim in §30.58 Hittite
does rarely but undeniably show some RC’s embedded within the main clause: namma=ma=za damain BELAM kui«e»š=as kuiš [UKU-aš] ANA 𒀂andez AGIR an arḫa lē kuinki šākti ‘Furthermore, do not recognize any other lord, whatsoever [person] he is, behind the back of His Majesty!’ (KBo 5.3 i 14-15; MH/NS). Besides this “non-restrictive” example there are also at least one instance each of such embedded “restrictive” and “indefinite” RCs (see Melchert, op. cit. p. 293). Second, internally headed RCs may also rarely be embedded as noun phrases coordinated with another noun phrase: kāša ḫatušiliš LUGAL.GAL šummaš ANA LÚ.ME.ES ႃ URTIliura arahzanda=ya kuišš URU.DIDLI.HLA zik EN KUR-TI kuiš šan išḫiškeši ANA LÚ.ME.ES ႃ URTI Hatti LÚ.ME.ES ႃ GAšga=ya išḫišš kišan išḫiyanun ‘I Hattusili, the Great King, have made a treaty (lit. bound an obligation) as follows for you, the people of Tiliura, and (for) the cities that are round about, which you, governor of the boundary territory administer, for both Hittites and Gasgeans.’ (KUB 21.29 i 6–10; NH). This very complex sentence also has a postposed non-restrictive RC modifying the embedded RC. Third, Probert (2006) has argued for the existence in Old Hittite of embedded RCs that are “fronted” within their clause. Finally, besides previously recognized “non-restrictive” and “indefinite” types (§§30.62-30.63), Hittite postposed RCs also include restrictive examples: apūnn=a=za arḫa d(āb)i karū=za kuin harši ‘Also let go/give up the one whom you already have (as wife)!’ (KBo 5.3+ iii 63-64). There is also an apparent example of a postposed “free” RC (without true antecedent): n=at=za ariyami kuin=mu Û SİxSÁ-ri ‘I will investigate by oracle which herb is determined for me.’ (KUB 22.61 Vo! 16-19; NH).

(2) Contrary to the claim in §30.59, Hittite does not show overt “wh-movement”: see Petra Goedegebuure, Focus structure and Q-word questions in Hittite, Linguistics 47/4 (2009) 945-69, and Mattyas Huggard, On Wh-(Non)-Movement and Internal Structures of the Hittite Preposed Relative Clause, pp. 83-104 in Stephanie W. Jamison, H. Craig Melchert, and Brent Vine (eds.), Proceedings of the 22nd Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference (Bremen 2011). Furthermore, the alleged grammatical distinction between “determinate” and “indefinite” preposed RCs as presented following the works of Held, Hale, and Garrett cannot be upheld in its previous formulation. First, while the relative pronoun or adjective in “indefinite” (better “conditional”) preposed RCs does regularly appear at the front of the clause due to being in “informational focus” (see Goedegebuure and Huggard, loc. cit.), the so-called “determinate” type does not form a natural class (see Huggard), and the notion of “determinate” should be abandoned. Second, other constituents can occasionally appear to the left of the relative pronoun or adjective even in “indeterminate=conditional” RCs (against the standard claim): namma ANA ᄄ ᄂ TU-ŠI kuiš LÚ.KÜR [n=as / tak] LÚ.KÜR ēšdu ‘Whoever is an enemy to His Majesty (= ‘if anyone is an enemy…’), let him be an enemy to you!’ (KBo 5.4 Ro 32-33, NH). However, contra Melchert, Studien…Lühr p. 288, this example involves not “contrastive focus”, but a forward-looking contrastive topic (see Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives p. 566 and passim). See also the following example with “tail-head linking” in the first, but not the second conditional RC: ANA Piyaššili ŚEŠ.DÜG.GA=YA ANA DUMU.M[EŚ–ŠU] DUMU.DUMU.MEŚ–ŠU zilati[ya] šallanni kī išḫišš iyanun ŠA ᄂPiya<ššili kuiš DUMU=ŠU DUMU.DUMU=ŠU našma kuiš ŠA ᄂPiya<ššili NUMUN-aš INA KUR Kargamiš šallī pēdan tiyazi ‘I have made this treaty
for (his) elevation for my dear brother Piyassili (and) for his sons and grandsons in the future. Whatever son (or) grandson of Piyassili, or whatever descendant of Piyassili ascends the throne in the land of Carchemish…” (KBo 1.8 6-14; NH). For the notion of “tail-head linking” see Rieken 2000a: 416, but contrary to her claim this construction is extremely frequent in Hittite: see on this “anaphoric” use of =ma CHD L-N p. 96 (section d.). See also for non-initial position of the wh-word in preposed conditional RCs KBo 3.1 ii 40 (OH/NS), KUB 23.77 Ro” 27 (MH/MS), 23.72 Vo 27-28 (MH/MS), KUB 14.1 Ro 24 (MH/MS), KBo 5.9 iii 2-3 (NH).

p. 426, §30.45: egregiously omitted was reference to the study by Paola Cotticelli-Kurras, Die Konstruktionen mit verba dicendi und sentiendi, pp. 87-100 in Onofrio Carruba, Mauro Giorgieri & Clelia Mora (eds.), Atti del II Congresso internazionale di hittitologia (Pavia 1995).

p. 444, under Dardano 2005: Read ‘costrutti’ and ‘verbo’.

p. 446, under Francia 2007: Read ‘dī estensione’.

p. 446, under García Trabazo 2002: Read ‘plegariās’.


p. 462, under Pecchioli Daddi 2003: Read ‘dī provincia’.

Despite the statement (preface xvi) that the tutorial was not intended for self-instruction, one must acknowledge the fact that some have so used it and will continue to do so—and likewise the reality that some of those using the tutorial for classroom instruction are not Hittite specialists. Therefore, those who wish to have a translation key for the Hittite sentences in the lessons may email Craig Melchert (melchert@humnet.ucla.edu) and request one for their personal or instructional use.