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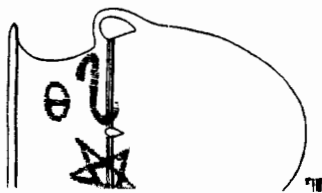
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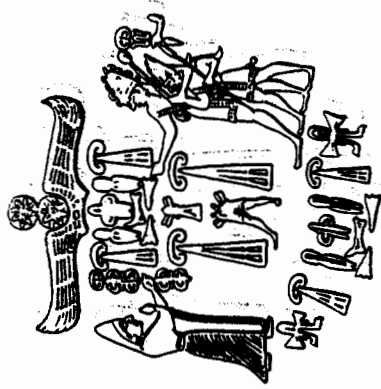
1) Pithos de Kültepe-Kanesh portant trois signes peints; u archaïque d'Alishar.



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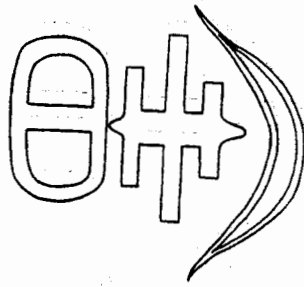


e

2) eaux archaïques de Boğazköy; (e) sceau de Tuthaliya IV trouvé à Ras Shamra.



c



3) Inscription de la divinité solaire sur les inscriptions d'Emirgazi (a), du Südburg; (b) h kaya (c).

ASPECTS OF VERBAL ASPECT IN HITTITE

H. Craig MELCHERT

1. Introduction

It is not my intention here to attempt a comprehensive description of verbal aspect in Hittite, much less to enter into the complex and controversial question of the proper definition of this category. For present purposes I will take aspect to refer to a speaker's view of the internal structure of a verbal action, as opposed to tense, which marks the time of the action described in relation to that of the speech event. I also explicitly take aspect to be a grammatical category which in principle may be formed to any verb, as contrasted with Aktionsart, which describes the inherent semantic properties of the action expressed by a particular verb. I fully realize that the sharp distinctions just implied are often difficult to uphold in practice.

My goal in what follows is a modest one: to bring to the attention of colleagues usages involving aspect in the Hittite verb which are too often misunderstood or are not given the attention they deserve. Several of the analyses below have already been made by others, but these have either been wrongly rejected, ignored, or underappreciated. While scholars are often able to interpret individual cases involving aspect correctly, based on their experience and appreciation of the context, egregious misinterpretations are frequent enough to show that Sprachgefühl is not a reliable guide in such matters. I have chosen to present this topic to a wider audience because it is important for the interpretation of texts, not just for linguistic analysis of the structure of the language. I wish to make four major points.

2. "Unmarked" Basic Verbal Stem

The first point is that the basic verbal stem in Hittite can indicate any aspect according to context, as already rightly stressed by Friedrich (1960: 136). Perfective aspect with a preterite is commonplace and scarcely needs illustration (*s=aš yannis^{URU} Haraqšu=aš arša* 'He (the king) set out and arrived in Haraqšu'; *KBo 22.2 Vo 7*; OH text/OH ms.); Perfective present-futures are frequent in prescriptive texts such as the Hittite Laws (*pāi* 'shall give', *dāi* 'shall take', etc.).

The basic stem may also function as an imperfective: *nu=za* ¹UTUst EZEN MEŠ *mašiyanki* MU KAM-ti *iyazi apān=ma* EZEN *šakawaššaran=pat eššanzi* 'They perform that festival in full as many times as His Majesty performs festivals during the year.' (AbOT 14 iii 12-15; ?/NH). It is clear that the action of the king (*iyazi*) is just as repetitive as that indicated by the marked form *eššanzi*. The presence of *mašiyanki* 'as many times' assures the imperfective reading of the former. Finally, the basic stem may have the force of a perfect, describing a completed action whose effect carries over into the present: *kāšata=šmaš=kan utniyandan lāhuš dāhuhul* 'I have just taken the tongues of the population from them' (KBo 17.1 + i 11; OH/OH). Hoffner (1968: 532) first established that the perfect reading of a simple preterite may optionally be marked by the deictic adverb *kāša* 'behold, look here!' or one of its variants (see above). He correctly emphasizes that the function of the deictic adverb is to mark explicitly the connection of the action to the present time. As he shows, *kāša* is thus also used to mark certain cases of the present progressive described below. One should adopt his translation 'just (now)' for such cases instead of the stilted 'behold, look here!'.

3. "Marked" Imperfectives

The basic verbal stem in Hittite is thus functionally "unmarked" for aspect. As my second major point I wish to assert that virtually every Hittite verb may also form a "marked" imperfective by means of one of the three suffixes *-ške/a-*, *-anni/a-*, or *-išš(a)-*. Stems in *-ške/a-* and the rarer *-išš(a)-* are typically labeled "iterative-durative," while those in *-anni/a-* are described as merely "durative." This characterization is doubly false: the definition of their usage is far too narrow, and the implied difference in their function does not exist. All three are used to mark a wide variety of usages, all of which share the feature imperfectivity (see already Pulvel, 1991: 17). Whatever their origin, synchronically they function effectively as suppletive allomorphs of a single morpheme (cf. Dressler, 1968: 215).

We can identify at least five different functional realizations of this marked imperfective. The first may be termed "descriptive" or "progressive", marking action ongoing at the time of speech or another action (so-called "backgrounding"). This usage was ably described by Bechtel (1936: 52ff) to which I refer for full discussion. Rejection of his analysis by Pedersen (1938: 132ff), Dressler (1968: 185ff), and others was wholly unjustified, as shown by plentiful examples. The following illustrates the equivalence of two of the suffixes: *kuitman=ma=z=(s)an BEL SISKUR SISKUR IŠTU SAG.DU-ŠU tētan laplē[pan] enierann=ma hūtiyannāi* ^{MUNUS}ŠUGI=*ma luwili kiššan hūkkīškezzi* 'While the client is pulling the hair, lash(es) and brow(s) from his head, the "old woman" is reciting in Luvian as follows.' (KUB 32.8 iii 6-10; OH/NH). Compare the frequent ritual phrase *nu amiškemī kuin UN-an* 'the person whom I am treating' (correctly rendered by Güterbock & Hoffner, 1994: 79).

The iterative and durative functions are well-documented. The following example shows that *-anna/i-* expresses iterativity just like the other two suffixes:

EGIR=ŠU^{LÜ} *meneyaš iēta kēit=a kēi=a* GI(I-an) *hūtiyannāi tarraī=ma-i-an naitta i i hūziššāi* 'The m. walks behind; he draws (back) the arrow towards this side and that, but does not let it go. He cries out "ee ee".' (KBo 17.43 i 10-11; OH/OH).

Another realization of the general imperfective function is the so-called "distributive" use. When an action is performed a single time on multiple objects, Hittite may choose to view the total act as consisting of several (repeated) individual actions: ^{NINDA} ^{HI.A} NINDA.KU₇.HI.A *kue paršiyannianzi nu=kan anāi dāškanzi. n=at=kan EGIR-pa zikkanzi* 'They take a taste of the warm breads and the sweet breads which they break and put them back.' (KUB 25.32 iii 23-25; ?/NH). This usage was thoroughly and accurately described by Dressler (1968: 172ff/213ff), with cross-linguistic typological parallels. However, many Hittitologists do not seem to have read or understood Dressler, as shown by the mistranslation of the cited example by Neu (1983: 142, 'dauernd brechen') and the puzzlement of McMahon (1991: 67⁵⁹ and 71). For obvious reasons, translation of such examples with iterative or durative expressions in the modern European languages totally distorts the intended sense. One should simply note the distributive usage and perhaps ask why it has been chosen in a particular case. As always with optional grammatical features, the speaker/writer may choose or not to express a particular viewpoint, and most plural direct objects in Hittite unsurprisingly cooccur with the basic verbal stem.

The last usage of the marked imperfective which I have been able to identify is that of expressing the beginning of an action or entry into a state. With inherently stative verbs, the notion of progressive in effect refers to development of, hence entry into a state (see Mignot, 1969: 213ff, on Latin *-scō*, with refs.). Since Hittite *šēš-* means 'sleep, be asleep,' its marked imperfective form may mean 'go to sleep': *p[at]/t=a=ššan[^{GIS}]NA-aš šarkuw[^(a)]nza šēšket* 'He went and went to sleep in (his) bed with his shoes on.' (KUB 24.8 i 24-26; MH/?/NH). Siegelová (1971: 4-5) interprets this example correctly in context, but does not notice the implications of this meaning for the standard definition of *-ške/a-* as "iterative-durative."

Similarly, the medial verb *iya-* means 'walk, march' (i.e., 'be in motion'), while its marked imperfective stem *iyanni/a-* means 'start in motion, set out': *maḥhan=ma=*[*k*]an ^{GIS}*huluganniš parā iyannai* 'When the carriage begins to move out' (IBOT 1.36 ii 23-24; Güterbock & van den Hout, 1991: 16; MH/MH). This meaning has been recognized (e.g. Oettinger, 1979: 78f, 'losziehen'). What has not been acknowledged is that this is the only sense of *iyanni/a-* (aside from a secondary use as 'go (to)', equivalent to *pāi-*). Contra Oettinger (1992: 140f) and others, the stem *iyanni/a-* never means 'march' (for which the verb is simple *iya-*). There is thus no evidence for the synchronic "intensive" meaning claimed by Oettinger (but this fact does not in any way exclude his historical derivation of the suffix).

An example of the suffix *-išš(a)-* marking the ingressive is probably furnished by the common phrase (*anda*) *warišša-* 'come to the aid (of)'; *n=aš ANA LÜ.MEŠ* ^{URU}*Takkawahina* [*war/reššēšta* 'He went to the aid of the men of T.' (KBo 5.8 i 42; NH/NH). The basic stem *warri-irri-* (probably a *hi-*verb; Melchert,

1994: 78) means 'be of help, hence *warišša-* 'become helpful' (with the preverb *anda* conveying the sense of physical motion implied in giving military assistance).

While the ingressive or inceptive force of the marked imperfective is most common with verbs whose inherent meaning is stative, this association is not exclusive. Not all marked imperfectives from statives are inceptive; (*kattan*) *šeške-* 'sleep with' in the Hittite Laws referring to sexual intercourse surely conveys a habitual sense. On the other hand, virtually any Hittite verb can appear in the construction with the "supine" in *-wan* plus *dar-* 'put' or *tiya-* 'step' meaning 'begin to X' or 'undertake to X' (already Old Hittite). The well-known fact that the supine is in all but a handful of cases in the marked imperfective: (*-skewan* or *-amīwan*) again reflects the inceptive/ingressive sense of the latter.

The evidence just cited (which can easily be multiplied) supports the claim made above for the general imperfective value of the suffixes *-ške/a-*, *-amī/a-* and *-išš(a)-*. I term it a "marked" imperfective because use of these suffixes unambiguously marks the action expressed by the verb as imperfective; while the basic verbal stem may be interpreted as perfective or imperfective (or perfect); I must insist that the prevailing prejudice that forms in *-ške/a-* and the other suffixes are iterative-duratives be abandoned! We must approach each occurrence with an open mind as to which of the different imperfective values shown above is most appropriate for a given verb and its context.

I cannot offer here the full philological evidence for complementary distribution of the three suffixes. A survey shows, however, that of stems in *-amī/a-* seven are complementary to *-ške/a-*, while another ten occur only sporadically (once or twice each) beside regular, productive *-ške/a-*. There are only two cases of genuine competing stems, in both of which the *-amī/a-* form has become lexicalized: *nammī/a-* 'drive' beside *naiške/a-*; the imperfective to *nai-* 'turn, guide; send' and *walḡammī/a-* 'beat' (frequentative) beside *walḡiške/a-* imperfective to *walḡ-* 'strike.'

4. Formal Presents in Past Narratives

My third major point involves a usage whose precise definition and parameters remain to be defined. My goal here is merely to establish its existence in the hope that others may contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon. In several Old Hittite narratives (attested in OH manuscripts and in later copies) the formal present tense is used to indicate unbounded or open-ended states and activities, in contrast to the formal preterite, which expresses events: *nu* M[UNUS.LUGA]L *nam/m/a* 30 DUMU.MUNUS *hašta š=us* *apašila šallanušket* DUMU.NITA.MEŠ *ā[pp]a* ^{URU} *Nesa yanzi* ANŠE-in *nannianzi mān* ^{URU} *Tama[rmarā]* *arer nu tarsikanzi*. The queen in turn gave birth to thirty daughters, and she raised them herself. (Meanwhile) the sons were going back to Nesa and driving a donkey. When they arrived in Tamarmara, they said: (direct speech follows)? (*KBo* 2.2.2. Ro 6-8, OH/OH). Note that the punctual events of giving birth and arriving in the town are expressed with formal preterites, while the ongoing trip of the sons (interrupted by the events in Tamarmara) but with no expressed beginning or end

point) is indicated by formal presents. This contrast is even clearer in other examples, such as the famous beginning of the Myth of Telepinu, too long to be quoted and analyzed here (*KUB* 17. 10 i 12-18; OH/MH).

I must stress that these passages cannot be interpreted as mere instances of the so-called "historical present" of "vivid narration." Real cases of the latter do occur in Hittite, but they pattern quite differently, with the present tense occurring in discrete blocks: see for examples *KBo* 3.40 Vo 12ff (Melchert, 1986: 102); *KUB* 1.16 iii 64ff (Sommer-Falkenstein, 1938); or the Kumari cycle (treated by Puuhvel, 1991: 18). The example quoted above also shows some of the complications in trying to capture the precise function of this usage. Unbounded, open-ended states and activities should be imperfective in aspect, and there are some cases of the expected correlation of marked imperfectives and the use of the present described here (cf. *KUB* 17.10 ii 33-35 or *KBo* 3.34 ii 23-24). But as *šallanušket* shows, this correlation is not a consistent one. While it is reasonable to view the raising of the daughters as an event (hence the formal preterite), objectively this is an activity which takes considerable time, and which might therefore be marked as imperfective. This nuance may be expressed here by the *-ške-* suffix, but the latter may also have distributive force, emphasizing the spectacular plurality of the direct object.

The relationship of imperfective aspect to the use of the present described here thus needs further research, with special focus on the meaning of preterite forms of the marked imperfectives. Another special problem is posed by verbs of speaking. As several colleagues have pointed out to me, it is not unusual for such verbs which introduce direct quotations to appear as formal presents in past narratives (cf. Latin *inquii*, formally 'says' but used for 'said'). This does not, however, account for the use of the *-ške-* form *tarsikanzi* in the passage cited. I close this discussion with one final point: the special use of the present in past narratives described here seems to be productive only in Old Hittite. Putative examples in Neo-Hittite historical texts are rare and sporadic (e.g. *ištarakzi* 'became ill' in *KUB* 1.1 i 44), and there are clear contrasting examples suggesting loss of the function: contrast OH *Kuwatta=āš ... paizzi* 'wherever he went...' (*KBo* 3.1 i 5) with NH *kuwattan... andan naiškenun* 'wherever I turned (my eyes)...' (*KUB* 1.1 i 67-68).

5. "Marked" Perfects

My last point may be quite brief. Hittite has a famous periphrastic formation with the verbs *ḡark-* and *eš-* plus participle. As described by Boley (1984 & 1992), the original sense was that of a stative ('hold (something) Xed' or 'be Xed'), but the construction appears to have developed into a true perfect ('have Xed'). As shown by Garrett (1996), the choice of auxiliary 'have' or 'be' even correlates with the pattern of modern European languages. As Boley emphasizes, the construction is extremely rare in Old Hittite (one example in an OH ms.) and the usage may have been only embryonic in the older period, becoming productive during the attested history of the language. Further study is needed to determine whether this construction is merely the "marked" equivalent of the perfect value of the basic verbal stem cited in section 1. above, or conveys some different nuance.

6. Conclusion

As indicated at the beginning, the present discussion is not intended to be a remotely adequate account of the category of aspect in the Hittite verb. I do hope to have called attention to underappreciated features of Hittite verbal usage and to have raised the sensitivity of colleagues towards this important issue.

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QUELQUES RÉFLEXIONS SUR LES ARCHIVES RÉCENTES DE KÜLTEPE

Cécile MIC

Entre 1881 et 1948, le site de Kültepe a livré quelques milliers de tablettes cunéiformes, pour une bonne part issues de fouilles clandestines. Ces tablettes connues en majorité depuis près d'un demi-siècle, ont donné lieu à de nombreuses études historiques et thématiques. Plus récemment, les recherches furent orientées vers le remembrement d'archives privées de marchands. Depuis 1948, les fouilles officielles et annuelles ont mis au jour de nombreux lots d'archives archéologiques permettant alors la naissance de nouvelles méthodes de recherche.

Les études de plus en plus systématiques de ces sources, par années de fouilles, permettent dorénavant l'analyse de véritables lots archéologiques. Avec la parution du volume AKT 3 qui regroupe les tablettes découvertes en 1970 et déchiffrées en cours des tablettes exhumées dans le kârum en 1990, 1991 et 1994¹, nous disposons désormais d'un échantillon de fonds d'archives suffisant pour proposer quelques réflexions sur les détenteurs de ces archives privées et la nature des sources et leur composition.

Ces archives, plus ou moins conséquentes, se rattachent souvent à un ou deux marchands dont les noms figurent dans les formules épistolaires, les listes de témoins ou encore parmi les créanciers. Les recherches entreprises sur ces lots d'archives et sur leur composition éclairent d'un nouveau jour la famille, la vie et les activités de leurs propriétaires. En outre, la présence occasionnelle dans même demeure de plusieurs lots de textes, ou de certains types de documents comme par exemple la présence massive d'enveloppes, permet d'envisager l'histoire de la constitution de ces archives.

¹ Les 260 premières tablettes de 1990, ainsi que les textes mis au jour en 1993 et 1994, ont été corrigés pour publication par T. Özgüç, à P. Garelli et au présent auteur.