

eothen

Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico

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ANATOLIA ANTICA

STUDI IN MEMORIA DI
FIORELLA IMPARATI

a cura di

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LoGisma editore
Firenze
2002

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§1 The following description grew out of preparations for a new introductory Hittite grammar. Its goal is to assist in properly interpreting the meaning of Hittite verb forms as they are found in the texts. The present account takes Melchert 1998 as its starting point, addressing certain weaknesses and omissions in that treatment. And although we have sought to make clear how we are using concepts and terminology relating to verbal aspect, we make no claim here to a complete solution to this very complex problem.

§1.1 *Aspect* in the broadest sense refers to the temporal structure of related events or situations, as opposed to *tense*, which refers to the time of the related event to that of the speech event. We may define aspect in the narrow sense as a *grammatical* category that is fundamentally independent of the lexical meaning of individual verbs. For Hittite it is sufficient to distinguish *imperfective* aspect, in which an event is viewed as having an internal temporal structure, from *perfective* aspect, in which it is not. The inherent meaning of individual verb stems also implies a certain temporal structure or *lexical aspect*. Recognizing that no classificatory scheme is fully adequate, we may usefully follow Vendler 1967 97-121 and Dowty 1979 54ff. in distinguishing verbs that express states ("to know", "to have"), activities ("to walk, work"), accomplishments ("to hitch up", "to drive across"), and achievements ("to die", "to arrive", "to take"). The realization of grammatical aspect as a particular *manner of action* (*Aktionsart*) in a given instance results from the interplay of context and the lexical aspect of the verb.

§2 The basic verbal stem in Hittite may be interpreted as perfective or imperfective according to context, the latter value being confirmed especially by the presence of accompanying conjunctions such as *kuitman* "while" and *mašiyanki* "as many times as".

* In presenting this joint paper in memory of Fiorella Imparati we are consciously emulating the spirit of scholarly collaboration that she herself exemplified so often and so well. Privileged to have known and worked with her, we count ourselves fortunate to have been touched by her energy, warmth, and generosity of spirit. We will deeply miss her.

§2.1 Examples of perfective aspect are:

- [1] *namma* =aš *INA* ^{HURSAG} *Zukkuki* EGIR-*pa* *uet* "Then he came back to Mt. Zukkuki" (KBo 5.6 i 1).
 [2] *n* =uš GU₄-*li* *turier* "They yoked them like cattle" (KBo 3.34 i 16; OH/NS).

§2.2 Examples of the same verbs showing imperfective aspect are

- [3] *nu* *kuitman* ^{m.GIS} GIDRU-LÚ-*iš* *IŠTU* KUR ^{URU} *Mizzi* EGIR-*pa* *uet* "While *Ḫattušaziti* was coming back from the land of Egypt" (KBo 5.6 iii 26). The aspect indicator is the *kuitman*: nothing in the form *uet-* either suffix nor inherent lexical component of *uwa*-zdicrates or indicates aspect.

- [4] *tūriyanzi*=*ma*=aš *mašiyanki* *nu* KASKAL-*ši* KASKAL-*ši*=*pat* *INA* 7. IKU.HI.A *anda* *penneskanzi* "But as many times as they hitch them up, each time they drive them seven IKU's" (KBo 3.5 ii 13-15). Here *tūriyanzi* refers to iterated action just as much as the formally marked *penneskanzi*.

§3 Imperfective aspect as defined above may optionally be marked *explicitly* in Hittite by the addition to the basic verbal stem of one of three suffixes: *-ške/a-*, *-(e/i)šš(a)*, and *-anna/i-* (henceforth for simplicity cited as *-ške-*, *-šša-*, and *-anna-*). Contrary to the implication of Melchert 1998 414, the productivity of *-ške* is not unlimited. There are significant restrictions based on the lexical aspect of individual verbs, which may either imply a given aspect or be largely incompatible with it. The stative verbs *šakk-* "to know", *ḫar(k)-* "to hold, keep" and *ar-* "to stand" and the entire class of denominative "statives" in *-e-* (many of which function synchronically in Hittite as achievement verbs, see Hoffner 1998) and the denominative "inchoatives" in *-ešš-* (which are achievement verbs) are not attested with *-ške-* or equivalent suffix. The activity verb *ija-* (middle) "to be in motion, be walking" takes *-anna/i-* only in the inceptive sense "to set out, start to walk", and the achievement verb *akk-* "to die" takes a *-ške-* middle form only in the distributive sense, with and without a subject: *akkiškittari* "there is much dying". Cf. §10.2.

§4 The suffixes *-ške-* and *-šša-* are commonly labeled "iterative" or "iterative-durative," while *-anna-* is said to be "durative" (e.g. Friedrich 1960 73-75 §§137, 141). This description is misleading in two respects. First, as established by Bechtel 1936 and Dressler 1968, the use of the suffixes *-ške-* and *-šša-* is much broader than implied by the name "iterative-(durative)" (see the concession by Friedrich (§141 and §269), who recognizes many, though not all, of the variety of meanings cited

below). Second, the use of *-anna-* is completely equivalent to that of the other two suffixes-it is not limited to durability. At least the following different meanings are attested for the trio of *-ške-*, *-šša-*, and *-anna-*:

- §5 Progressive/Descriptive (see Bechtel 1936 52-57, against Dressler 1968 185-188, and others).

§5.1 An action is described as ongoing (often as setting the scene for another action-so-called "backgrounding"):

- [5] *kuitman*=*ma*=*z*=*an* BEL SISKUR *IŠTU* SAG.DU=*ŠU* *tētan* *laple[pa]* *enērann*=*a* *ḫūrtiyannai* ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI=*ma* *luwili* *kiššan* *ḫūkkiškezzi* "While the ritual client is pulling the hair, lash(es) and brow(s) from his own (-*za*) head, the Old Woman is reciting in Luwian as follows" (KUB 32.8 iii 6-10). Here the temporally parallel main clause uses the imperfective form *ḫūkkiškezzi*.

[6] *takku* LÚ-*aš* GU₄=*ŠU* *ÍD*-*an* *zinuškezzi* "If a man is driving his ox across a river (and another person pushes him off, seizes the ox's tail and fords the river [all non-*-ške-*])" (KBo 6.2 ii 30, Laws §43, OS). Here the contrast of *-ške-* for the background and non-*-ške-* for the events within the setting is entirely appropriate.

[7] *nu* *anniškemi* *kuin* *n*=*an*=*kan* *ŠUM*=*ŠU* *ḫalziḫḫi* "I call by his name the one whom I am treating" (KUB 12.63 obv. 28). Note here the equivalence of the forms in *-anna-* and *-ške-*.

[8] *takku* *arnuwalan* [(*kuiškt*)] / *katta* *šeškezzi* *anna(n)*=*šan* *n[e]k[a(n)]*=*šann*=*a* (*wenz*) "If someone is sleeping with an *arnuwala*-woman, and 'knocks up' her mother or (lit. 'and') her sister" (KBo 6.26 iv 23-27, Laws §200, OH/NS).

§5.2 The adverb *kāša* may be used to emphasize that the action is going on at the moment of speaking:

- [9] *kāšatta*=*wa* ^{I.Ü.MEŠ} *NĀŠI* *ŠIDĪTI*=*KUNU* *dameškatteni* "You are oppressing your provisions bearers!" (KBo 22.2 obv. 18-19, OS).

For a full discussion of the grammaticalization of *kāša* and equivalents with verbs see Hoffner 1968 532 and our summary below sub §14ff.

§6 Durative

An activity may be underscored as continuing over an extended period. In some cases the period of time is explicitly indicated:

§6.1 Imperfective forms are used if an action, although not necessarily continuous, extends over an expressed period of time (Friedrich 1960 §269e):

- [10] *nu* GE₆-*an* *ḫumanta*[*n* *uzuḫrin* *ḪĀD*.DU.A]/ *azzikkanzi* "(the horses) eat hay throughout the entire night" (KUB 1.13 i 35-36).

[11] (the following year I went to fight against Šanaḥuitta), *nu* URU[Šanaḥuittan INA ITU.5.KAM zaḥḥeškinun “and I fought against Šanaḥuitta for five months” (KBo 10.2 i 47, OH/NS).

§6.2 In other cases the end point of the extended action expressed by marked imperfective stem appears as a result expressed by a non-*-ške-* verb:

[12] (if someone sets fire to another's grain-storage shed,) [GU]₄.HI.A=ŠU eṭreškizzi *n=uš=šan parā ḥamešḥanda / arnuzi* “he must feed (-*ške-*) his cattle, and bring them through to the following spring” (KBo 6.3 iv 60-61, Laws §100, OH/NS). Here *eṭreškizzi* is durative-imperfective and *arnuzi* is terminative-perfective (cf. the underlying *ar-* “to arrive”), marking the end of the period during which the action *eṭreške-* transpires.

[13] *nu Ē-nj=šši anniškezzi kuitmān=aš lāzziatta* “He will (continue to) work in his (the victim's) house, until he (the victim) recovers” (KBo 6.2 i 17-18).

§6.3 Sometimes the period of time is left unspecified with no definite end point expressed:

[14] *takku* ^{GIS}TUKUL-*li=ma mimmai LÚ* ^{GIS}TUKUL-*š=a*(, text -*uš*) A.ŠA.HI.A *ḥarkantaš taranzi n=an=za LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM anniškanni* “But if he refuses (to perform) the craft, they shall declare the fields to be those of a vacating craftsman, and the men of the city shall work them” (KBo 6.2 + 19.1 ii 20-21, Laws §40, OS, with dupl. KBo 6.3 ii 40-41, OH/NS).

[15] ^{URU}*Ḥaḥḥan=ma=za=kan UR.MAH maḥḥan / arḥa tarkuwalliḥkenun* “I kept glowering(?) at Hahha like a lion” (KBo 10.2 iii 1-2, OH/NS).

[16] “(If someone finds a horse, mule, or ass *ṭ*) *n=an=za tūriškezzi* (var. *tūriezzi*) he may hitch it up (for work)” (KBo 6.3 iii 65, Laws, §71, OH/NS w. dupl. KBo 6.2 iii 60, OS). The NH scribe substituted a *-ške-* form for the OH *tūriezzi*, wishing to mark explicitly the view of the action as extending over the period until the lost animal was reclaimed.

§7 The meaning of *-ške-* in imperatives is often “keep on ...ing”:

[17] *nu=[z]a pankun EGIR-pa punuški* “Keep consulting the *pankuš*” (KUB 1.16 iii 6, OH/NS).

[18] *nu zik azzikki akkuški nu taknaš* ^{UTU-i}*peran LUGAL-un aššu / memiški n=ašta ŠUMMI LUGAL taknaš* ^{UTU-i}*peran aššu tar(a)ški* “Now keep eating and drinking. And keep speaking well of the king before the Sun-goddess of Earth. Keep saying the name of the king favorably before the Sun-goddess of Earth” (KBo 7.28 + 8.92:17-19).

[19] *ta BĀD-eššar / [(wa)]ḥiškeddu* “and let it (i.e. the battering ram) keep on hitting the city wall” (KBo 22.6 iv 21-22, OH/NS).

[20] *nu=mu ḥatreški* “Keep writing to me” (HKM 27:10, MH/MS).

[21] *BĒLU=mu aššul ḥatreški / namma=ššan ANA Ē=YA / IGI.HI.A-wa ḥar(a)k* “Keep sending greetings to me, O lord. And further keep (your) eyes on my house” (HKM 27:23-25, MH/MS).

[22] *nu=ššan parā kalankanza eš nu=ta kuit memiškemi nu=mu DINGIR-LUM ištamanan / lagan ḥar(a)k n=at ištamaški* “Be appeased, and with respect to what I am saying to you, O god, keep your ear inclined to me and keep listening” (KUB 24.1 i 15-17). Note that in the last two examples [21] and [22] the inherently stative verbs *eš-* ‘be’ and *ḥark-* ‘hold, keep’ do not take the *-ške-* form, including the periphrastic construction with the participle plus *ḥar(k)-*.

§7.1 Likewise the use of a *-ške-* form with the negative *lē* sometimes carries the meaning of an “inhibitive,” i.e. it means “stop ...ing” versus the usual “prohibitive” meaning “don’t ...!”:

[23] *nu=ššan ilašni parā n[(aššu 1 gipeššar] naššu 2 gipeššar / ḥaminkiškir n=ašta u[(tnē ešḥar akkuš)]ir / kinun=a lē eššanzi* “(Dishonest men) by degrees have been joining one or two *gipeššar* (to their lands), and have been drinking the land's blood, but now let them stop doing it” (KBo 3.1 + iii 46-48, OH/NS).

[24] *šumeš=ma=aš=za ZI-az kuwat daškatteni kinun=a=kan apūš NAM.RA.MEŠ ANA* ^m*Duppi-ṭU arḥa lē daškatteni* “Why do you keep willfully taking them for yourselves? Now stop taking those transportees away from Duppi-Tešubi” (KBo 3.3 iii 24'-26', Treaty with Duppi-Tešub, NH/NS).

[25] TUG.HI.A=wa *kue zik waššiyaši nu*]=*war=at ANA DUMU=KA lē peškeši apāš=ma=at=šj pišket* “Stop giving the clothes you w[ear] to your son! But she kept giving them to him” (KUB 22.70 rev. 35-36, NH/NS).

Not every imperfective form with *lē* is inhibitive. The context makes clear that in the following the *-ške-* forms mark a habitual action.

[26] *n=an=ši dušgarauwanza piškellu pidduliyauwanza=ma=da lē peškemi* “(But the leavened bread which I give to you), may I (always) give it to you joyfully. Let me not (ever) give it to you under constraint” (KUB 6.45 + 30.14 iii 66-67, prayer of Muwattalli II).

§8 Iterative. An action is described as repeated, either continually (in immediate succession) or on separate occasions:

[27] EGIR=ŠU ^{1U}*meneyaš iētta kētt=a kētt=a GI-an ḥuittiannāi tarnāi=ma=an natta i i ḥalziššai* “The *m*-man walks behind. He keeps

drawing (back) the arrow towards this side and that, but does not let it go. He keeps crying out 'ee ee'" (KBo 17.43 i 10-11). For an example involving separate occasions see the example [4] cited above. Note again the equivalence of the three suffixes. This use of the "marked" stem is virtually obligatory with distributive expressions such as UD-at UD-at "day after day", ITU-mi ITU-mi "month after month", GE₆-ti GE₆-ti "night after night", MU-ti MU-ti, lammar lammar "moment by moment", etc.:

[28] ANA DINGIR-LIM anda UD-at UD-at memiškizzi nu DINGIR-LAM walliškizzi "(the scribe who reads the royal prayer to the cult statue of the deity) says it to the deity daily and repeatedly praises the deity" (KUB 24.2 i 1-2), cf. KBo 3.5 i 4.

[29] nu INA 6 MŪŠĪ INA É^{10j} aranda nu ŠA.GAL azzikkanzi GE₆-ti=ma GE₆-ti turīškizzi=pat "For six nights (the horses) stand in the stable, and eat fodder, but he also hitches (the horses to the chariots) night by night" (KBo 3.5 iii 65-67).

[30] uddār=meṯ=ta peḥhun nu kī / [tupp]i ITU-mi ITU-mi pīran=tit ḫalzeššandu "I have given you my words. Let them read this tablet aloud in your presence monthly!" (KUB 1.16 iii 56-57, OH/NS).

[31] n=aš=kan MU.KAM-ti MUK[(AM-ṭ)] / [(šarā š)] anḫiškandu "Let them clean them out year by year" (KUB 31.86 + 40.78 + 1203/u ii 31-32 w. dupl: KUB 31.89:14).

[32] watar=ma=šši KASKAL-šī KASKAL-šī=pat IŠTU 1 UPNI peškanzi "They give water to them time after time with one UPNI-measure" (KBo 3.5 ii 45-46).

In accord with §5 note that *jya-* (mid.) accompanies the distributive expression without the derivational suffix:

[33] n=ašta LÚ.KUR QĀTAMMA / kuit KUR-e anda / lammar iattar[ā] "And because the enemy likewise marches moment by moment into the land" (HKM 8:12-14, MH/MS).

§9 Habitual/Gnomic

The marked *-ške-* stem or equivalents may also express habitual, customary, or characteristic behavior:

One of the clearest examples of a *-ške-* verb form expressing customary action is in Mursili's Speech Loss (KBo 4.2 iv 28-32 and duplicates):

[34] IŠTU^{61b} BANŠUR=ma=za=kan kuezza azzikkinun IŠTU GAL=ya=kan kuezza akkuškinun šašt=ya=za=kan kuedani šeškeškinun IŠTU^{URUBU} DU₁₀.xA=ya=za=kan kuezza arreškinun "the table from which I customarily ate, the cup from which I customarily drank, the bed

in which I customarily slept, the wash bowl from which I customarily washed myself" (cf. Goetze and Pedersen 1934 10f., lines 16ff.). Note the contrast with KBo 4.2 iv 37-39 (a few lines later), where the king speaks of what happened on a single occasion (non-*-ške-* forms).

[35] tuk=ma=wa DUMU.MEŠ=KA mekkaus memiškanzi "they (always) say you have many sons" (KBo 5.6 iii 11-12).

[36] ḫalkiš=wa maḫḫan NAM.LÚ.U₁₉.LU GUD UDU ḫūtarr=a ḫūman ḫušnuškizzi "just as grain keeps all humans, cattle, sheep and wild game alive" (KBo 4.2 i 58-59).

The preterite of the *-ške-* form is combined with the adverb *karū* to express our "used to do something":

[37] LAW §7 takku LÚ.U₁₉.LU-an ELLAM kuiški dašuwahḫi našma ZU₉=ŠU laki / karū 1 MA.NA KÜ.BABBAR pišker kinuna 20 GĪN KÜ.BABBAR p[(at)] ... "If someone blinds a free person or knocks out his tooth, they formerly used to give one mina of silver, but now one gives twenty shekels of silver". But the *karū* is optional, as is shown by the example:

[38] nu=wa ANA DINGIR-LIM IŠTU É.GAL-LIM 1 GĪN KÜ.BABBAR SĪG SA₅ SĪG ZA.GĪN 1-NUUTUM^{KUB} NĪG.BĀR.Ī.A=ya / peškir kinun=a=wa EZEN₄ ašraḫitaššin ier KÜ.BABBAR=ma=wa SĪG SA₅ SĪG ZA.GĪN^{KUB} NĪG.BĀR.Ī.A=ya / UL pier "From the palace they used to give to the deity one shekel of silver, red and blue wool, and a set of curtains, but now they celebrated the Festival of Womanhood, and they didn't give the silver, red and blue wool and curtains" (KUB 5.10 + 16.33 + 16.83 i 8-13, NH).

§9.1 The habitual sense of *-ške-* is effectively lexicalized in *maniyahḫeske-* "to administer, govern," from *maniyahḫ-* "to handle" (always with *-ške-* in this sense except as an infinitive; cf. CHD s.v.). A similar use of *-šša-* probably appears in the usage of *ḫalzišša-* (plus *-za*) to mean "to call (someone something)".

[39] nu=wa=mu=za DUMU-lan ḫalzeššešta "And you called me 'boy!'" (Or: "you called me a child!") (KBo 3.4 ii 12, NH). See also the remarks below on *nanna-* "to drive".

§9.2 *memiškanzi* "they (always) say" is used frequently to introduce proverbs or popular sayings expressing customary behavior or statements of general validity (Beckman 1986). But the verb expressing the customary behavior is not in the *-ške-* form:

[40] ANA DUMU.NAM.LÚ.U₁₉.LU=paṯ=kan anda memian kišan mem[š]kanzi / ḫamawaš=wa MUNUS-ni DINGIR-LUM kari tiya[zi]

"Among mortals they (always) say: 'A deity will yield (non-imperfective *tijaz*) to the wish of a woman of the bearing stool'" (KUB 21.27+ ii 15).

§10 Distributive (see Dressler, 1968: 172-182)

§10.1 An action may be performed once each on a series of objects (the action is thus from a certain point of view iterated):

[41] (if a slave burglarizes a house,) *İR-š=a KA≈KAK=ŠU išta*(*manuš*)=*šuš kukkuš**ēškezzi n=an appa išhī=šši pianzi* "he will cut off the slave's nose and ears and give him back to his master" (KBo 6.2 iv 45, Laws, §95, OS).

[42] ^{NINDA}*ār*^{HLA} *NINDA.KU*, *HLA kue paršiyannianzi nu=kan anāhi daškanzi n=a=kan EGIR-pa zikkanzi* "They take a taste of the warm breads (and) the sweet breads which they break (one after the other) and put them back" (KUB 25.32 iii 23-25). Here the focus is on doing something to the multiple objects "one-by-one." Note again the equivalence of the *-anna-* and *-ške-* forms. Likewise an action may be viewed as unfolding in several stages or consisting of repeated movements:

[43] ^{DUG}*hupuwaya hašši anda lahuškezzi* ^{DUG}*hupuwaya=ma tuwarniškezzi* "(the priestess) pours out little by little from the *h.*-vessel onto the hearth, and she breaks the *h.*-vessel piece by piece" (2Mast. iii 32-34).

§10.2 It is less clear whether Hittite ever similarly marks a single action performed by multiple subjects, but a likely example is:

[44] *UMMA* ^{URU}*Arzawa mān=kan ŠA KUR-TI / akkiškirtari* "Thus (says) Uḫḫa-muwa: If in there is (much) dying in the land (i.e., a plague in which many people die)" (HT 1 ii 17-18); see Dressler 1968 162-163. Since the context surely suggests that there are multiple deaths, it is likely that this is the basis for the *-ške-* form. One notes that for expressing multiple deaths with an explicitly named subject the active form is preferred (KUB 7.53 i 4), although the unnamed "they" occurs once with the active in KBo 5.3 iii 38-39.

§11 Inceptive

§11.1 In the case of verbs that refer to activities or accomplishments, the *-ške-* form or equivalent may focus on the beginning of the activity:

[45] *maḫḫan=ma=kan* ^{GIS}*ḫuluganniš parā iyannai* "When the carriage begins to move" (IBoT 1.36 ii 23-24) (stem *iya-* "to walk, march, move"). *iyanna-* is a special case in that the inceptive of *iya-* (mid.) may have been lexicalized as a separate verb.

[46] *p[aj]=aš=ššan* [¹⁵]*NÁ-aš šarkuwanza šešker* "He proceeded to go to sleep in bed with his shoes on" (KUB 24.8 i 25-26) (stem *šeš-* "to sleep"). Note that as a serial verb *pait* is never inflected as an imperfective.

[47] *DINGIR.DIDLI-š=a DUMU.MEŠ-uš A.AB.BA-az šarā dair š=uš šallanušker* "the gods took the boys up out of the sea and began to raise them" KBo 22.2 obv. 4-5; cf. also line 7. Note, however, that the same verb in *-ške-* form can indicate the entire protracted course of the action: ("O my god, ever since my mother gave birth to me") *nu=mu ammē* [*DINGIR=YAJ*] [*šallanuškiš*] "you, [O my god], have been raising me" (FHG 1 ii 16-17, solar hymn, OH/NS); similar KUB 30.10 obv. 6-7 (prayer of Kantuzili, OH/MS).

§11.2 This inceptive value is also seen in the construction of the so-called "supine" with the verbs *dāi-* "to put" and *tija-* "to step" meaning "to begin to/undertake to." With extremely rare exceptions the "supine" is always formed from the marked imperfective stem:

[48] *iššuwan daišten ... pijanniwan daišfen* "you began to do ... you began to give" (KBo 9.5 rev. 2-3).

[49] *nu=mu ÉRIN.MEŠ peškewan dair* "They began to give me troops" (KBo 3.4 iii 24).

One usually translates the supine construction "to begin to do something", "to be ready to do something", "to be willing to do something". It is found occasionally in almost all types of text, but it is used quite extensively in only two types: the NH mythological narratives (see DeVries 1967) and the NH military annals (see Goetze 1933 and Güterbock 1956), but especially in the former. There is a noticeable complementary distribution of the two semantically similar constructions (both meaning "to begin to ..."), supine with *dai-* or *tija-* and infinitive with *ep-*: where the supine construction is found, the infinitival one is not, and vice versa. Thus the infinitival construction is not found in the myths or in the annals of Muršili II, but the supine construction occurs. The infinitival construction occurs in the Deeds of Šuppiliuma, authored by Muršili II, but the supine construction is not found. The infinitive + *ep-* construction occurs rarely prior to New Hittite, while the supine construction was in normal use from Old Hittite times.

§12 The productive suffix for all the functions just described is *-ške-*. Only a handful of verbs take one of the other suffixes.

§12.1 The verbs *ḫalzai-*, *iya-* "to make, do," *šai-*, and *warrai-* form their marked imperfective stems in *-išša-*. In NH the stem often appears

as *-cšša-* instead (see on this problem Melchert 1984 153-155, and Rieken 1996 294-297).

§12.2 The verbs *hatta*, *huitiya*, *iškar*, *iya* “to walk, go,” *paršiya*, *šalla()*, and *tuhš-* regularly employ the suffix *-anna-*. In OH and MH *walḫ-* also takes *-anna-*. A few other verbs are attested with only one or two examples of *-anna-* beside regular *-ške-*: *huck-* “to slaughter,” *hulla*, *išbuwa*, *išpar*, *labḫiya*, *pai-*, *parḫ-*, *peššiya*, *pidḫai*, *dai-*, *weriya*. A special case is *nanna*, which has been lexicalized as a separate verb “to drive,” while only *naiške-* serves as the marked imperfective form of *nai-*.

§12.3 As the productive form of the category, the suffix *-ške-* spread at the expense of the other two. In NH one finds *walḫiske-* for *walḫanna-* (also rarely *halziške-* for *halzišša-*).

§12.4 As described, the added suffix explicitly marks a verbal stem as expressing one of the values given above, versus the simple verb that is functionally neutral. By a common linguistic process, there is a tendency to reinforce the expressive value of the suffix by repeating it: *uškiške-* beside *uške-*, [ap]p*iškiškemi* (HKM 89: 18) beside usual *appiške-*, and *šeškeškenun* and *šeškiškanzi* in texts of Muršili II beside *šeške-*. By the same process, the productive *-ške-* is often redundantly added to *-anna-*: *huitiyanniške-*, *labḫiyanniške-*, *paršiyanniške-*, *peššiyanniške-*, *šallanniške-*, *takšanniške-*, *walḫanniške-*, *weranniške-*. Examples like that in KBo 3.6 i 71-72, where *walḫiškewan* and *walḫanniškewan* (*daiš*) “began to beset” are used equivalently in successive lines show that the extra suffix adds no functional value.

§12.5 Somewhat different are cases where the suffix *-ške-* lost its expressive value already in prehistoric times and became what is in Hittite the basic verbal stem: *iške-* “to smear, anoint,” *paške-* “to fix, fasten,” *duške-* “to rejoice.” Naturally, these verbs can like any other add the suffix in its productive function: *duškiške-*.

§13 The preceding discussion of the role of *-ške-* and equivalent suffixes in expressing aspect in Hittite by no means exhausts the topic. As has repeatedly been suggested (see e.g. Luraghi 1997 29), it is likely that reduplication in the verb in at least some cases expresses iterativity or other manner of action. This issue, as well as the interaction of aspect with other verbal categories such as tense and voice, awaits further research.

§14 Our discussion of verbal aspect in Hittite would not be complete without at least a summary of the uses of *kāša* and its equivalent forms *kāšma* and (OH) *kāšatta*, in accord with the basic observations of Hoffner 1968. It is customary among translators of

Hittite texts to render these forms with a mechanical “behold,” “lo” (or their equivalents in other languages). But, as Hoffner pointed out, this approach misses both the clear pattern of its uses with the Hittite verbal tenses and the fundamental function of the adverb.

§14.1 Previous interpreters of these forms have rightly signaled their ultimate derivation from the base of the proximal demonstrative “*kā-* “this” and the adverb *kā* “here” denoting spatial proximity.

§14.2 One should note that the form *ka-a-ša* is diachronically anterior to *ka-a-aš-ma*. The former occurs already in Old Script (KBo 9.73 obv. 2, KBo 7.28 + 8.92 obv. 2, and see *ka-a-ša-at-ta* in KBo 22.1:18, and *ka-a-ša-ta* in ibid. 24, KBo 17.1 + 25.3 i 11), while the latter seems to appear first in Middle Script texts, whether MH originals (HKM 1:8, 2:6) or MS copies of OH originals (KUB 17.10 iii 4). This temporal distribution accords nicely with what has been shown regarding the diachronic replacement of OH “adversative” *-a* by its equivalent *-ma* in post-OH. In OH *-a* followed (uneminated) consonants, while *-ma* followed vowels (on this see Rieken (2000)). In post-OH *-ma* began to appear in all environments. This means that OH *kāša* should be analyzed as *kāš + -a* which began to be replaced in post-OH by *kāš + -ma*. Once this step was taken, the origin of the *kāša* form was forgotten, and speakers felt free to write *kāša=ma* (KBo 13.119 iii 24 with dupl. KBo 13.120:8). In post-OH the forms *kāša* and *kāšma* are free variants.

§14.3 Puhvel (HED A 216-218) has claimed that *a-aš-ma* instead of being the adverb “first” is synonymous with *kāšma*. If so, then this form too must be included in our account of *kāša > kāšma*. So far *āšma*, like *kāšma*, fails to occur in Old Script and by its use of *-ma* testifies to its more recent coinage than *kāša*. If *kāša* and *kāšma* are based upon the proximal demonstrative, it would be likely that *āšma* as well would be derived from a (near) demonstrative. This base is undoubtedly the pronoun *ā-*, occurring in *aš*, *uni*, and *eni*. To be sure, Puhvel has offered a different account of the origin of *āšma*, assuming syncope from **a-ša-ma*, which is also his explanation of *ka-a-aš-ma* from *ka-a-ša-ma*. He stars the latter form, apparently unaware that such a form actually exists (cf. above in §14.2). But since no preform **a-ša* (**āša*) exists - the problematic forms of *a-ša-a* cited by Puhvel notwithstanding, and since the alleged parallel *naššu-ma > našma* arose as a correlative (*naššu-ma*) to *naššu*, whereas correlative constructions of *kāša ... kāšma* are unknown, we would prefer the account of the origin of *kāšma* and *āšma* given above.

§14.4 The implication of the proximal demonstrative origin of the forms should not be lost in the approach to interpreting their force in combination with the verbal tenses. *kāša* (and its synonyms *kāšma* and *āšma*) renders both past and non-past verbal tenses more immediate. Hoffner suggested therefore as working translations “have just ...ed” for *kāša* + preterite and “are on the point of (or: are about to) ...” for *kāša* + present-future forms. These translations were proposed only as provisional aids to convey what is essentially a process of bringing either a past or a close future action close to the moment of speech. Often the immediacy implied in the adverbs can best be captured in English by the adverbs “hereby” and “herewith”, indicating that the action or state expressed by the predicate coincides with the moment of speech or writing: Hattušili I wrote: *kāšma* ^m *Mursiliš* DUMU=Y[A] “Mursili is hereby my (adopted) son (and designated heir)” KUB 1.16 ii 37 (OH/NS).

§15 In summary, let it be said that Hittite possessed a rich variety of means for indicating the “temporal structure” of the action being expressed. Whether or not all scholars will wish to call this “verbal aspect” is of less concern to the present authors than that interpreters and translators of Hittite texts understand the implications of these forms. It is with this purpose in mind that we offer these remarks to our colleagues in memory of Fiorella Imparati.

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