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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations in this work largely conform to the system employed by the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Vol. P (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997) pages vii-xxvi and Vol. Š fasc. 1 (2002) pages vi-viii. Additions and changes are listed below. Given the nature of Hurrian as an ergative language, a large number of grammatical features not typically found in the other languages of the ancient Near East are used in this study. The list of these abbreviations are also given here.

Publications:

ChS I	*Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler*: *I. Abteilung, die Texte aus Boğazköy.*
ChS I/1	Haas, V. *Die Serien itkaḫi und itkalzi des AZU-Priesters, Rituale für Tašmišarri und Tatuḫepa sowie weitere Texte mit Bezug auf Tašmišarri.* Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1984.
ChS I/2:1-2	Salvini, M. and I. Wegner. *Die Rituale des AZU-Priesters, Band 1-2.* Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1986.
ChS I/4	Wegner, I. and M. Salvini. *Die hethitisch-hurritischen Ritualtafeln des* (ḫ)*išuwa-Festes.* Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1991.
ChS I/5:1-2	Haas, V. and I. Wegner. *Die Rituale der Beschwörerinnen* ^{SAL}*ŠU.GI: Teil 1: Die Texte*, *Teil 2: Das Glossar.* Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1998.
ChS I/6	Salvini, M. and I. Wegner. *Die mythologischen Texte.* Rome: CNR - Istituto di Studi Sulle Civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, 2004.
ChS I/7	Salvini, M. *Die mantischen Texte.* Rome: Bonsignori Editore, 1992.
ChS I/Erg. I	Wilhelm, G. *Ein Ritual des AZU-Priesters.* ChS I Ergänzungsheft 1. Rome: Bonsignori Editore, 1995.
KUKN	Arutjunjan, N.V. 2001. *Korpus urartskich klinoobraznych nadpisej.* Erevan: Izdatel'stvo "GITUTJUN."
UKN	Melikišvili, G.A. 1960. *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi.* Moskow: Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR.

Grammatical abbreviations:

ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
ADV	adverb
AOR	aorist
AP	antipassive
Akk.	Akkadian
COLL	collective
CONN	connective
DAT	dative
DERIV	derivational morpheme
DIR	directive
DN	divine name
ENCL	enclitic pronoun
EPNTH	epenthetic vowel
ERG	ergative
ESS	essive
FEM	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GEN.ADJ	genitival adjective
GN	geographical name
IMPERF	imperfective
INCHO	inchoative
INDIC	indicative
instr.	instrumental
INST/ABL	instrumental/ablative
INTRAN	intransitive
JUSS	jussive
MONOP	monopersonal
NEG	negative
NFUT	non-future
NOM	nominative
OBJ	object
OPT	optative
PART	particle
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
PN	personal name
POLYP	polypersonal
POSS	possessive
POT	potential(is)

PN	personal name
PRET	preterite
PRON	pronoun
REL	relative
RELAT	relator
SG	singular
STAT	stative
SUBJ	subject
Sum.	Sumerian
TH	Thematic
TRAN	transitive

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Finally I need to thank my family for their encouragement through the years. My wife Lauren for putting up with me daily spouting off about esoteric minutiae and not going crazy as a result. I also need to thank my parents, Dennis and Catherine Campbell for the support through all my years of schooling, and who never questioned my chosen field of study.

PREFACE

    In this study I have followed certain conventions that are not followed across

discipline lines. Any study of Hurrian must utilize other languages of the ancient Near

East. Each area of study has its own methods of transcribing various ancient languages.

In order to allow for a certain level of continuity between examples, certain liberties have

been taken. As per modern studies in Hurrian, I have used fracture hyphens (=) to

indicate morpheme boundaries. While this is not typically used in Hittitology and is not

utilized in Assyriology, I have chosen to use it with Hittite and Akkadian examples as

well for the same purpose.

    Within the work a large number of examples are given from various texts to illustrate

various points of grammar. Hurrian passages are given in transcription. As mentioned

above, I have used fracture hyphens to indicate morpheme boundaries, but not with all

derivational morphemes (i.e. *pašš=i=ḫe* "messenger" is typically given as *paššitḫe*).

Beneath each transcribed word, a grammatical breakdown of the various morphemes is

included. I have not specified the function of each derivational morpheme, instead often

opting to give a translation of the root and derivational morphemes combined. The final

element of the example is the English translation. Transliterations of each example are

given in footnotes in order to limit the amount of information in the body of the text.

Any detailed linguistic study of a long dead language is fraught with difficulties. The scholar is at the mercy of the textual remains and cannot turn to a native speaker for clarification of various grammatical elements. For this reason, I feel that the only way to approach the topic of modality in Hurrian is by taking a functional-typological approach. It is only through the study of similar still-living languages that models for Hurrian can be developed. By developing a framework of the possible within which one can work, we can better determine what is and what is not possible in ancient languages.

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The key to the study of the history of the ancient Near East, in fact, of any ancient

history, is the ability to accurately translate and read indigenous documents left behind by

literate cultures that are no longer in existence. While translated material may be used by

those unable to actually read the original source material, the validity of all resulting

studies is dependent upon the supposed accuracy of the original translations. If it is

found to be faulty then all that is built off of it is greatly weakened. In order to maintain

the highest quality in translation, it is of the utmost importance that philological and

linguistic studies are constantly pursued. These studies provide us with an ever

sophisticated understanding of ancient tongues, which in the end results in increasingly

trustworthy translations.

With the ancient near Eastern languages Akkadian and Hittite, scholars can be quite

confident in their readings of their respective texts. This is not to say that further work

cannot be done in order further elucidate forms in order to make the readings even more accurate.[1] In some cases, however, the language of interest is much more difficult to decipher, despite repeated attempts to decode it. This may be the result of a lack of preserved material, the "differentness" or "otherness" of the language in comparison to better known ones, or some combination of the above. In the case of Hurrian, the language of presumably a large portion of the society of the ancient Near East in the Late Bronze Age, especially in the region of modern day northern Iraq and Syria and into Anatolia,[2] the relative paucity of texts in comparison to the neighboring Hittites and Akkadians has made translation of the language difficult at best. This is further exacerbated by the fact that the only clearly related language to Hurrian is its sister language Urartian.[3]

Hurrian was first studied in the last years of the nineteenth century. While progress in decipherment was made, study of the language was largely relegated to the fringes of ancient Near Eastern philology. The extreme dearth of (readable) textual material[4] and the numerous differences between Hurrian and the better known languages of the region, made study of the language less appealing to most scholars. The discovery of new texts

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[1] A terrific example of this is the dissertation by Petra Goedegebuure on deixis in Hittite (2003).

[2] A number of studies have focused on the nature of the influx of Hurrian populations into the ancient Near East and their subsequent sentlement in the region (see recently Steinkeller 1998 and Salvini 1998). Grammatical differences in texts from various areas seem to indicate that potentially several different dialects of Hurrian are reflected in the written material (On dialects in Hurrian, see Khačikyan (Chačikjan) 1985; Diakonoff 1981: 77-89; Wegner 2000: 26-27). This may indicate that the emigration of Hurrian population groups in to the ancient Near East took place in multiple waves.

[3] The connection between these two languages has long been recognized but it was not until Diakonoff's grammar *Hurrisch und Urartäisch* (1972) that they were treated as closely related.

[4] Numerous texts containing examples of the Hurrian language were discovered at Boğazköy, the modern site of the ancient Hittite capital of Hattuša, but these texts, due to issues of lexicon and grammar

in the mid-1980's, primarily the set of texts comprising the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual,[5] has resulted in a renewed interest in the language. This in turn has resulted in a more advanced understanding of Hurrian. Along with linguistic advances into ergativity beginning in the latter part of the twentieth century,[6] scholars of the language are in a better position than ever before to treat Hurrian textual material.[7] It is my goal in the present work to offer the first in depth study of the complex system of non-indicative forms in Hurrian, thereby increasing our ability to translate this language.

Hurrian is a fascinating language both from the view point of the scholar of the ancient Near East as well as from a linguistic standpoint. Hurrians as a population group had a profound affect in not only the political sphere of the region in the Late Bronze Age (primarily in the form of the Mittani Empire), but also in the area of culture and religion. A typological study of Hurrian such as the present work allows us to better understand the role of the Hurrians in the ancient world. Typologically speaking, Hurrian is an interesting language, displaying an extremely high degree of ergativity that is seen in very few of the world's languages. Therefore the results of the present work will also be of use to the modern linguist.

1.2 The Hurrians and Hurrian Language Source Material

Hurrian was the language of a significant percentage of the population in the Near East through the Early and Late Bronze Ages, especially in the northern regions

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were almost entirely illegible to early scholars of the language. With the exception of the Mittani Letter, few other texts were of real use in the study of Hurrian prior to the latter part twentieth century.

[5] See Neu 1996 for a full treatment of these texts.

[6] The relationship of ergativity to Hurrian is explored below in chapter two.

stretching from Assyria in the east to the Mediterranean coast in the west and even into central Anatolia.[8] The history and culture of the Hurrian speaking peoples have been well treated.[9] For this reason this dissertation will not attempt to address such issues. Sometime during the latter half of the third millennium B.C., Hurrian population groups likely migrated south from the Trans-Caucasian region into northern Mesopotamia, especially in the region of the Habur triangle.[10] The exact date of this migration is unclear, but within the texts dating to the twenty-fourth century B.C. from the site of Ebla located in northern Syria there are no examples of Hurrian personal or place names.[11] By the reign of Narām-Sîn (c. 2200 B.C.), a king of the Akkadian Dynasty in Mesopotamia, however, a large number of such names are found in the Habur region. Within the roughly 200 years between the Ebla texts and Narām-Sîn, Hurrian groups had migrated into the region and established themselves as one of the dominatant populations there.

   With the exception of a handful of texts, written evidence for Hurrian is largely limited to the latter part of the Late Bronze Age. Hurrian language textual material from the earliest period of their settlement in the Near East is poorly represented in the archaeological record. This is may very well be due to the chance preservation (and

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[7] The issue of vocabulary remains a problem, but not an insurmountable one.

[8] It is not possible to determine any exact numbers for the Hurrians in the ancient Near East. While one must always practice caution when using onomastics to determine population density for a particular culture group, names can be an important marker for the prevalence of cultural influence in a particular area. Based on personal names at the sites of Alalah (Drafkorn 1959) and Nuzi (Gelb, et al. 1943) indicate large Hurrian populations at both cities. On Hurrian onomastics in general, see Giorgieri 2000b and Richter 2005.

[9] The history of the Hurrians is the topic of Wilhelm 1989.

[10] Steinkeller 1998: 96

[11] Wilhelm 1988: 45

discovery) of texts, or, alternatively, it may indicate that Hurrian was simply not often written in the earlier periods. Of the earliest texts, with the exception of some individual finds such as the Tiš-atal inscription from Urkeš (Tell Mozan) from sometime between 2100-2000 B.C.,[12] two main groups can be identified: approximately eleven tablets presumably all from the site of Larsa in southern Babylonia,[13] and six tablets from Mari.[14] The Hurrian texts from Babylonia and Mari date to some time during the Old Babylonian period (c. 1850-1550 B.C.)

The majority of known texts date from approximately 1600 B.C. through until just before the end of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1180 B.C.), but the end date may be earlier.[15] These Hurrian texts , with one notable exception, have been discovered in North-West Mesopotamia and Syria and in Boğazköy in central Anatolia. One Hurrian language tablet is known from the site of Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, the so-called "Mittani Letter." Despite its find spot well outside of the Hurrian heartland, it clearly originated in the Habur region, presumably from Waššukanni. The majority of Hurrian texts from this

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[12] Most recently treated in full in Wilhelm 1998a. The text is also treated in Wegner 2000: 208-211 in the "Textproben" section of her grammar. On Urkeš as an early Hurrian city, see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1997; for a more detailed bibliography of the site of Tell Mozan, see the bibliographic section of the sites web page at http://128.97.6.202/urkeshpublic/library.htm.
    The text was originally dated to the Old Akkadian period (Parrot and Nougayrol 1948), but more recent work has suggested an earlier date in the Ur III period (Whiting 1976; followed by Salvini 1998: 107 and Wilhelm 1998a: 118).

[13] Prechel and Richter 2001: 334-371 (list of tablets on 335); Wegner 2000: 18; van Dijk 1982; Cunningham 1998: 131-156

[14] Originally published in Thureau-Dangin 1939: 1-28. In this publication Thureau-Dangin originally gave a count of seven tablets, but his tablets 6 and 7 have since been joined (Salvini 1988b; Wegner 2004)

[15] Although the late date of 1180 B.C. is given here, there is little evidence that Hurrian was a productively written language by this period. There is a distinct movement in Ḫattuša, the site from which the lion's share of Hurrian texts have come, away from the Hurrian language by this late period.

period have been excavated at the site of Boğazköy, the Hittite capital of Ḫattusa.[16] The

texts from Ḫattuša are by and large quite fragmentary and are limited to a small number

of genres, all concerning religious matters.[17] The most important text for the study of

Hurrian from Boğazköy is the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual which consists of a series of

roughly related texts.[18] The Bilingual contains clear Middle Script features and the

tablets are therefore to be dated to the period before Suppiluliuma I, likely between the

reigns of Tudḫaliya I/II and Tudḫaliya III (c. 1400-1340 B.C.). It has been postulated that

the text was original composed at some earlier period.[19] Outside of Anatolia, the site of

Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra) has produced a number of important texts, including an

Akkadian-Hurrian bilingual text and vocabularies.[20]

This blossoming of texts corresponds to the consolidation of power in Syria and

northern Mesopotamia of Hurrian power under the Mittani Empire. Originating

sometime in the late fifteenth century, the Mittani Empire came to control Syria, Assyria

and Kizzuwatna (southern Anatolia). This Hurrian empire came to rival Egypt for power,

and after several generations of skirmishes, the two powers came to an understanding.[21]

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[16] These texts are published in transliteration in the series *Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler* I. The Hurrian presence and influence on the Hittites is well documented. For overviews cf. Hoffner 1998b; Klinger 2001 amongst others. See also Giorigieri 2002a.

[17] By the far the most examples of Hurrian from Ḫattuša are from ritual texts, but omens, oracles and myths in the language are also known from the site.

[18] For bibliography see below sub §1.4.1

[19] Neu 1988b: 6

[20] On the bilingual, see most recently Dijkstra 1993; on the vocabularies, see note 38 below. A number of alphabetic scrip incantations as well as several songs have also been found at Ugarit (see, for example, Dietrich and Mayer 1994 on alphabetic incantations).

[21] By the reign of Amonhotep III (Amonophis), references to the Mittani Empire (Naharin) are couched in less militaristic terms, indicating that the two powers had come to a mutual agreement

The fall of Mittani is documented in part in the letters sent by Tušratta to Egypt and in the Hittite texts concerning Suppiluliuma I's expansion southward.[22]

1.3 Statement of Purpose

In the present study I attempt to define the form and function of the numerous non-indicative verbal forms in Hurrian. The non-indicative in Hurrian consists of a rather large complement of modal endings. There are at least eight distinct modal forms that can be clearly identified,[23] and there may be more that are as of yet to be identified.

In this dissertation I take a typological approach, focusing on linguistic structures within Hurrian. The primary emphasis of this work is on the specific forms and functions of the numerous modal forms in the language. Comparison— and to a lesser extent contrast— with non-indicative forms from modern ergative languages are also included. This dissertation is not directly concerned with theoretical linguistics. Although there are many points of interest for those working in theory, my main purpose in this dissertation is a descriptive and to a lesser extent typological in that it situates a little known and unaffiliated language in the typological framework ergativity.

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concerning their respective areas of control in Syro-Palestine. It is not until the latter part of Amonhotep III's reign that Mittani is again reflected in a negative light. This is likely due to the murder of Tušratta's brother, the rightful king of Mittani, by UD-ḫi. If Egypt and Mittani shared a peace treaty similar to those used by the more northern Hittites, then the pharaoh would have to react adversely to the assassination of his "brother" the Mittani king. In the first Amarna Letter sent by Tušratta to Amonhotep III (EA 17), the Mittani king appears to be trying to reestablish peaceful relations between the two lands.

[22] The Hittite documentation concerning the fall of Mittani is largely found in the "Deeds of Suppiluliuma" (CTH 40).

[23] This count includes the first person cohortative and third person command forms under the rubric "jussive."

A related purpose of this work is to identify the exact nature of "split-ergativity" in the language.[24] As an ergative language Hurrian should evince a split in some aspect of its grammar. It will be shown that in the indicative Hurrian conforms to the ergative system in all aspects of its grammar. Some have claimed to have already identified evidence of split-ergativity in the modal system.[25] It will be shown that the evidence presented for such a split is faulty and that the split must be found elsewhere.

1.4 Current State of the Field

1.4.1 Progress!

A study like this is truly built upon the work of other scholars. Many of the details contained herein differ from the *communis opinio*, but this is not to be seen so much as a divergence from the status quo but rather the evolution of tradition. Without the past work of others, both recent and antiquated, such a study like this would not be possible.

While Hurrian remains amongst the "lesser-known languages" of the ancient Near East,[26] work in the past twenty years has seen our understanding of the language grow exponentially. Despite being a relatively minor language in terms of textual attestations, Hurrian has always enjoyed at least the passing attention of scholars in Assyriology and Hittitology. Between the discovery of the Mittani Letter amongst the texts of the Amarna Letters in the 1880's[27] and the discovery of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual at the site of

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[24] By "split-ergativity" I am referring to the morpho-syntactic situations in Hurrian in which it no longer functions as an ergative language but as a nominative-accusative (or other) language type. Split-ergativity is described in Dixon 1994: 70-110. Hurrian as an ergative language, and previous theories on split-ergativity in the language are discussed in detail below.

[25] Haas and Wegner 1997a; Hazenbos 2001

[26] Gragg 1995

Hattusa (modern Boğazkale/Boğazköy[28]) in 1983-1985, four grammars of the language

were published along with numerous treatises on various grammatical features.[29]

For the first hundred years of its existence "Hurritology" was largely limited to the

study of the approximately five hundred lines long Mittani Letter. Other texts certainly

aided in the study of the language,[30] but almost all advances in Hurrian were due to this

one letter.[31] The discovery of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual[32] revolutionized our

understanding of the language.[33] Several well preserved tablets containing both the

Hurrian text and Hittite translation as well as numerous tablets provided scholars with a

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[27] The exact date of the discovery of the Amarna Letters at the site of Tell el'Amarna in Egypt is unclear, but likely to have been in the mid-1880's (see Moran 1992: xiii-xv).

[28] The town has recently changed its name from Boğazköy to Boğazkale. Since most work refers to the site as Boğazköy, I will refer to the site by this earlier name.

[29] The earliest treatments of Hurrian are Jensen 1890; Brünnow 1890; and Sayce 1890. Johannes Friedrich published his "Kleine Beiträge zur hurritischen Grammatik" in 1939. In 1941 Speiser published the first true grammar of the language in his *Introduction to Hurrian*. A second grammar appeared in 1964 with Frederic Bush's dissertation *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language*. This was closely followed by Friedrich's contribution to the Handbuch der Orientalistik in his long article "Churritisch" in 1939. 1971 saw the publication of the translation of Diakonoff's seminal *Hurrisch und Urartäisch*. One should also note the short grammar included by Laroche in his *Glossaire de la langue hurrite* (1978: 25-28). For a concise recording of the early works on Hurrian, see Wegner 2000: 127-130.

[30] Particularly the vocabulary texts (Thureau-Dangin 1931) and the short Akkadian-Hurrian bilingual text (most recently Dijkstra 1993 with bibliography) from the site of Ugarit (modern Ras-Shamra). The texts from Boğazköy were of some limited use, but the difficult vocabulary in the texts made the study of them difficult.

[31] Even after the discovery of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual the Mittani Letter remained the focus of study in such work as Dietrich and Mayer 1991; idem 1992; Girbal 1988; idem. 1989; idem. 1990; idem 1992; Wilhelm 1984. In the 1980's inroads began to be made into the Hurrian texts from Boğazköy. Amongst the important studies are: Wegner 1988; idem. 1990; Wilhelm 1983.

[32] The tablets of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual are traditionally treated as belonging to one large text (for example see Hoffner 1988a: 65-80 and the text edition by Neu 1996). This view has been successfully challenged (Wilhelm 82-85), and while all of the tablets are clearly thematically related (Otto 2001: 529), they are not to be taken as one single composition.

[33] Published in handcopy by Otten and Rüster 1990. The text edition was published by Neu in 1996. For bibliography of the earliest references to the Bilingual, see Neu 1996: 1[1].

wealth of new information about the language.[34] The Bilinguals not only provided

new insights into the Hurrian language, they also were invaluable in helping scholars

begin to decipher the other Hurrian texts from Boğazköy that had hitherto proven to be

largely unreadable.[35] Equally important at this time was the appearance of the first

volumes of the series *Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler* (ChS) which saw to the

systematic publication of the Hurrian texts from Boğazköy according to genre.[36]

The discovery of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual saw a renewed interest in Hurrian and as

a result more treatments of various aspects of the grammar and of the texts themselves

began to appear. Within a period of approximately ten years, our understanding of the

language had grown so far beyond what had been previously known that the earlier

grammars of Bush and Diakonoff, while not rendered completely useless, desperately

needed to be updated. In 2000, two new grammars of Hurrian appeared: Ilse Wegner's

German *Hurritisch: Eine Einführung* and Mauro Giorgieri's Italian *Schizzo*

grammaticale della lingua hurrica in the journal Parola del Passato. The two authors

have distinct views of the Hurrian language and approach it differently, allowing the

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[34] There are different opinions as to how the texts of the bilingual are to be combined. There has even been a recent push to separate some texts, primarily the parables KBo 32.12 and KBo 32.14, out from the "Song of Release" (see Wilhelm 2001c: 84).

[35] Note especially the works of Giorgieri 1998; Haas 1989; Salvini 1988a; Wegner 1990; idem. 1994 amongst others.

[36] The ChS grew out of the meetings on the *hurritologische Archiv* between German and Italian scholars in the late 1970's and 1980's. The first volume, ChS I/1: *Die Serien itkaḫi und itkalzi des AZU-priesters, Rituale für Tašmišarri und Tatuḫepa sowie weitere Texte mit Bezug auf Tašmišarri*, was published in 1984. The final volume of first Abteilung of the series (the texts from Boğazköy), ChS I/8, is to be published in the near future. Future volumes of the ChS, namely those belonging to the second Abteilung (texts from other archives), will continue to work with Hurrian texts from outside of Boğazköy. Despite some problems, the volumes of ChS I are an indispensable tool for anyone studying the Hurrian language.

grammars to complement one another rather than be redundant.[37] Additionally, two

short grammatical sketches of the language have appeared since then.[38]

1.4.2 Problems Still Remain

The modern scholar of Hurrian now has at his or her fingertips a wide assortment of

tools, from general grammars to articles focused on specific linguistic features.[39] That

being said, however, numerous difficulties are still encountered by those seeking to study

Hurrian. A number of features of Hurrian grammar are still poorly understood.[40]

Compounding this issue is the difficulty that still remains concerning vocabulary.

Despite the vocabulary texts from Ugarit[41] and the few bilinguals, the lexicon of Hurrian

remains a very large obstacle in our study of the language. In his grammar, Bush largely

refrains from bringing the Boğazköy texts into his study because, as he writes:

"[a]lthough some very helpful lexical information has been forthcoming from the

Boghazköi material, the texts themselves are largely unintelligible … and consequently

can only serve as ancillary sources for Hurrian grammar."[42] The situation is somewhat

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[37] The grammar of Wegner functions much more as a learner for the Hurrian language and even includes a number of lengthy text passages with full commentary at the back of the book. Giorgieri's grammar is of a more technical nature.

[38] Hazenbos 2005; Wilhelm 2004a

[39] e.g. Wegner 1995a and Wilhelm 1995, both on Suffixaufnahme in Hurrian. Also to be mentioned are Laroche's invaluable glossary of Hurrian (1978) and the forthcoming online Hurrian dictionary project introduced by Giorgieri and de Martino a the Sixth International Conference in Hittitology held in Rome in 2005.

[40] In particular the enclitic particles, the exact function of the relators =ne and =na, the function of most derivational morphemes, and various aspects of syntax all require further study.

[41] This includes those treated by Thureau-Dangin 1931, Heuhnergard 1987: 21-102 and André-Salvini and Salvini 1998, idem. 2000.

[42] Bush 1964: 10

better at present, but much of the material from Boğazköy still remains beyond our grasp. That being said, the texts from the Hittite capital have been heavily utilized in this current study, and while certain passages remain untranslatable, much of the material now lends itself to grammatical analysis, even if a large number of words cannot as of yet be translated.

An equally problematic feature of the texts from Boğazköy is their relatively poor level of preservation. When one looks through the texts in the volumes of ChS I the large number of fragments is notable. The result of this plethora of broken tablets is that it is often difficult to determine not only the context of a particular passage, but the passage itself is often largely unintelligible because it is missing so many elements. Given that word order is highly variable in Hurrian, when the texts are so fragmentary it is typically impossible to tell where a phrase begins and ends. With that being said, however, the situation is not as bleak as it appears. Many of the fragments are duplicates or parallels to other ones, allowing more or less complete texts to be formed.

1.4.3 Viability of this Work

Despite the problems plaguing the study of Hurrian, a detailed study of a specific grammatical feature such as modality is now possible. Such a study relies upon both a detailed examination of forms as well as the contexts in which they are found. Therein lies the *caveat lector* – due to the problematic nature of the majority of Hurrian texts, the results of the present study, while based on solid philological groundwork, are certainly probable, but must remain tentative.

When context is all but lost, it can be virtually impossible to determine the exact

nuance of a particular non-indicative form. Take, for example, the purposive form in ≠*ai*

(formerly called the finalis) discussed in chapter seven. At least three different functions

have been discerned for this morpheme, two of which are closely related (i.e. the

purposive and consequential function) and a distinct third function (i.e. indicating

necessity). If the verbal form in ≠*ai* is in broken context, its exact function is nearly

impossible to determine. In such a situation the translator is forced to rely on intuition

and guess work. While I have primarily relied on passages in clear or at least mostly

clear context, due to the relative infrequency of some of the non-indicative endings, it is

necessary at times to include passages from fragmentary contexts.

1.5 Modality

In order to define the complex category of modality we must resort to generalities.[43]

Unlike tense and aspect which are used, albeit in different ways, to indicate the time

frame of an event,[44] modality is concerned, according to Palmer, with the "status of the

proposition which describes the event."[45] In the most general terms, modality concerns

itself with the speaker's intent concerning a speech act.[46] Speech acts tend to belong to

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[43] I am not including here treatments on the modal logic (i.e. the philosophy of modality) or even the semantics of modality (Lyons 1977: 745-759). The general framework of modality that is adhered to in this work conforms in large part to the typological work of Palmer 2001 (a complete re-formulation of his 1986 work on the topic). This is largely in following with the remarks made by Cohen 2005: 9.

[44] One tense, see Comrie 1985; on aspect, Comrie 1981.

[45] Palmer 2001: 1

[46] This is basically the same as Bybee's statement that "*mood* … signals how the speaker chooses to put the proposition into the discourse context" and that that they "signal what the *speaker* is doing with the proposition" (1985: 165; her italics).

one of two broad categories. In the first case, modality indicates the speaker's

commitment to the truth of the statement. This use is labeled by Palmer as propositional

modality.[47] The other use of modality refers to the event of the action itself and is

therefore called event modality.[48]

   Propositional modality indicates the degree to which the speaker commits to the

validity of a particular statement. In this sense, the indicative can be considered modal in

that it indicates that the speaker either takes an utterance to be a fact or that (s)he refrains

from committing to the truth value of the statement in any way (i.e. modally neutral).

The two main subcategories of propositional modality (with the exception of the

indicative) are epistemic and evidential moods. Epistemic moods directly reflect the

speaker's opinion of the statement. Evidentials, on the other hand, indicate the evidence

upon which the speaker bases a statement. This includes such things as reported speech,

assumptions, and deductions. Not all languages mark for evidential or epistemic

modality.

   Functionally distinct from propositional modality (though as we will see, not

necessarily formally so) is event modality. Event modality concerns potential events that

have yet to occur.[49] As with propositional modality, two main subdivisions of event

modality can be discerned, deontic and dynamic. Deontic modality involves obligation

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[47] Palmer 2001: 8-9, 24-69

[48] Palmer 2001: 7-8, 70-85

[49] Palmer 2001: 70; note that Palmer here mistakenly switches deontic and dynamic in his brief
introduction to chapter three.

or permission and is typically represented by various types of commands.[50] While

deontic modality is in the form of a command, according to Lyons, it does not describe

the act itself, but rather "the state-of-affairs that will obtain if the act in question is

performed."[51] Therefore deontic commands can be seen as being concerned less with the

actual action that it is with the result of said action. Dynamic modality indicates such

things as ability or willingness to do a particular action and is therefore internal to the

speaker while deontic commands are directed outwards towards another entity, typically

the hearer.[52]

The two-category system of propositional and event modality serves to cover virtually

every modal nuance. How a particular language indicates these categories of modality

differs, sometimes to a large degree. There is a level of opacity concerning general

terminology in modality. According to Palmer, modality is indicated by either a *modal*

system (e.g. modal particles, modal verbs) or by *mood* which is marked directly on the

verb itself, or a combination.[53] For Palmer mood is typically a binary construction

marking realis and irrealis (or indicative and subjunctive) on the verb.[54] If, however, we

are to define mood as the formal marking of modality on the verb, then we should not

limit it to these binary pairs. As will be mentioned below (§1.6), Hurrian has a rich

system of verbal endings indicating a range of modal functions. Following Palmer's

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[50] According to Lyons 1977: 823, deontic stands for "the logic of obligation and permission."

[51] Lyons 1977: 823

[52] Palmer 2001: 70

[53] Palmer 2001: 4; while a combination of modal system and mood is possible, in many languages only one occurs or is at least more salient than the other. See also Bybee 1985: 165 who offers a similar definition of "mood."

definition, these must be considered to be "moods," even though there is no

realis/irrealis or indicative/subjunctive pairing.[55]

A further problem with assigning strict definitions needs to be noted. In his work on

modality, Palmer assigns certain specific moods (or aspects of modal systems) to the

subdivisions of epistemic, evidential, deontic and dynamic modality. Languages,

however, do not always conform to such a strict categorization. In his work on the modal

system of Old Babylonian (OB), Cohen notes that the conditional protases in OB is

formally closer to epistemic moods even though according to Palmer they should belong

to deontic modality.[56] Of course it must be kept in mind that for a large number of

languages modal endings can have several different functions. Note for example the

English modal verb "may" in the following two examples:

(1.1)   a. John may be in the office, (I think I can hear his voice through the door).

         b. John may come in now, (I am ready to talk to him).

(1.1a) indicates epistemic possibility. The speaker is not certain that John is actually in

the office. In (1.1b), on the other hand, "may" is used to give permission, and therefore is

clearly deontic in this function. The potential multifunctionality of a modal ending

introduces a further level of complexity into the study of modality in a particular

language. In a dead language such as Hurrian for which there are relatively few texts, the

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[54] Palmer 2001: 4

[55] The indicative in Hurrian is certainly comparable to the realis in that it indicates factual information.

[56] Cohen 2005: 12

full range of functions of a particular mood may not be indicated in the preserved

documents.

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                              Modality
                             /        \
                            /          \
                 Propositional          Event
             (commitment to truth)  (potential event)
                /        \              /        \
               /          \            /          \
          Epistemic    Evidential   Deontic        Dynamic
      (speaker's opinion) (evidence) (obligation/permission) (ability or willingness)
```
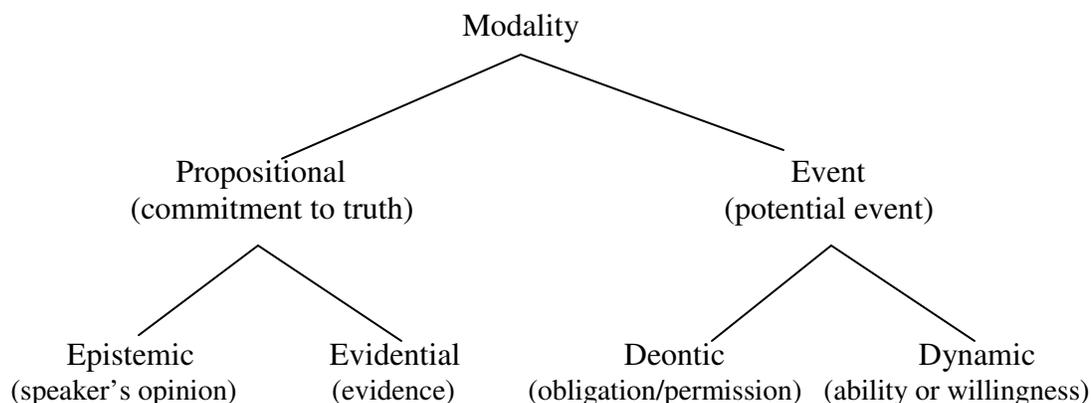
Figure 1.1: Types of Modality

1.6 Modality in Hurrian

Hurrian contains a rich system of non-indicative or modal morphemes.[57] Modal

constructions in Hurrian differ considerably from the indicative. The indicative

distinguishes between transitive and intransitive and employs the antipassive as a

detransitivizing voice. The transitive-intransitive combination is shared only by the

imperative in Hurrian (see §§2.3.3-2.3.5). That the imperative should be formally and

functionally distinct from the other moods is not surprising. As will be discussed below,

the imperative in most languages is atypical in comparison to other moods (cf. chapter 2).

In all other moods transitives and intransitives are not differentiated in Hurrian. In

contrast to the imperative, an important characteristic of the other moods is the use of the

morphemes

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[57] Wegner 2000: 87; Wilhelm 2004a: 112

⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗ to distinguish different voices.[58] Another characteristic shared by most modal endings is that with the exception of the third person plural agent, they do not mark agreement with either the agent or the patient. Agreement with the third plural agent is indicated by the infix ⸗id⸗ which occurs to the left of both the modal ending and the ⸗i⸗ or ⸗o⸗ morpheme.[59]

Most moods in Hurrian appear to have a deontic function. That is to say, they are concerned with event and not propositional modality. This would seem to hold with the general theory that epistemic endings develop later than, and likely from, deontic markers.[60] That being said, there does appear to be at least one example of the epistemic function of a typically deontic ending in Hurrian. A possible epistemic use of the optative ⸗ež is explored in (§4.3.6).

1.7 Layout of Dissertation

The present work is primarily concerned with the morphological indicators of modality on the Hurrian verb. That is to say, this is a specific study of mood in Hurrian. As mentioned above (§1.5), the indicative is itself a mood indicating either the speaker's certainty in the truthfulness of a statement or his complete neutrality concerning such a value. For this reason, I have chosen to begin this work with a chapter on the major

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[58] These morphemes have not been well studied in Hurrian. The morpheme ⸗i⸗ is typically called either "transitive" (cf. Giorgieri 200a: 238; Wilhelm 2004a: 113) or as a modal morpheme (cf. Girbal 1989; Hazenbos 2005: 148; Wegner 1990). See chapter eleven for my conclusions concerning ⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗.

[59] An exception for this is with the positive third person plural jussive where we find simply ⸗id⸗en. In negative forms, however, the morphemes ⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗ clearly occur immediately following ⸗id⸗. Because of this, the parsing of the third person plural jussive as ⸗i⸗d⸗en is untenable (for this reading, see Hazenbos 2005 amongst others). For more on this, see §5.2.4.2.

[60] Bybee 1985: 168

features of the indicative verb. In chapter two, the basics of ergativity are discussed, especially in relation to Hurrian (§2.2). This is followed by a study of the morpho-syntax of the indicative verb (§2.3). The section concludes with a look at syntactic ergativity in Hurrian (§2.4). The primary goal of this, and of the subsequent chapters, is to examine the form and function of those morphemes which affect the syntactic role of the verb in its clause. For this reason I have not concerned myself here with a study of the diverse, and largely unidentified, set of derivational morphemes in Hurrian. While it is understood here that derivational morphemes can play a large role in shaping and changing the verb, I feel that these morphemes are deserving a complete study of their own.

Chapters three through ten deal with the various non-indicative moods in Hurrian. There are a large number of such moods in Hurrian, but some are better represented in the preserved material than others. Because of this, the treatments of some endings, such as the imperative (chapter three), jussive (chapter five) and optative (chapter four), are much more exhaustive than others like the desiderative (chapter eight) and purposive (chapter seven).[61] The structure of chapters three through ten is as follows. After a brief introduction on the mood in question, a short cross-linguistic overview of comparative (and sometimes contrasting) examples of the mood from other, primarily ergative languages is given. The purpose of this section is to show the diverse ways in which similar moods are treated in various languages. This is followed by a section on form and function. Here the phonological shape of the modal ending is considered, and its

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[61] The purposive is traditionally labeled as the "finalis" in Hurritological studies. Based on cross-linguistic comparison with other languages, I feel that the label "purposive" better suits the varied functions of this ending. See chapter seven for the complete discussion of this mood.

function (or functions) is considered. The final section is devoted to a philological

treatment of passages containing the relevant modal ending. Modality is related not just

to the verb but to the phrase as a whole. For this reason, it is best to place the modal

phrase in its correct context in order to study its function. Given the difficult nature of

the majority of Hurrian texts, this often requires detailed philological investigations into

not just the modal phrase, but into the surrounding ones as well. In chapter eleven, the

morphemes *=o=*, *=i=* and *=l=* are discussed, and an attempt is made to pin down their

exact functions.

Chapter twelve functions as both as a conclusion and as a concise descriptive grammar

of both the indicative and non-indicative verb in Hurrian. The major points discussed

throughout the dissertation are included in this chapter with cross-references to their

original place in the work. I have included both paradigms and a series of example

passages which exemplify various points of grammar. Following chapter twelve are two

indices given as appendix one and two. The first appendix is a concordance of cited

passages. In the second appendix, the publication numbers of all of the texts used from

the ChS volumes are given. Throughout this work I have preferred to use ChS numbers

with cited passages.

CHAPTER TWO
The Indicative

2.1 Background

Hurrian is an agglutinating language, a trait shared with the other so-called "less-understood" languages of the ancient Near East.[1] A typical word consists of a root which always appears in first position. This root is often ambivalent as to function, being able to take on both verbal and nominal aspects depending upon the morphemes appended to it.[2] Due to the agglutinative nature of the language, these morphemes occur at strict phonological boundaries, with very little fusion or allomorphy. When present, allomorphy is always motivated by phonetic rules.[3] As is to be expected, the occurring closest to the root are derivational in nature, semantically modifying the root (e.g. causative, iterative, and factitive morphemes).[4] Those set further away from the root

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[1] c.f. Gragg 1995: 2161-2179.

[2] Examples of this ambiguity in function abound in Hurrian. Take for example the root *ḫan-*. As a verb, *ḫan-* means "to bear/sire (children)." Several nominal uses of this root are known: *ḫāni* "child," *ḫan⹀iri* "one who has given birth," *ḫan⹀um⹀a⹀šše* "creation, fertility," *ḫan⹀u⹀mb⹀aẓe* "fertility."

[3] E.g. loss of intervocalic *-i-* and word final *-n* in certain situations: *nu-ut-te* (=*nud(⹀i)⹀d⹀e(n)*) ChS I/1 62 rv. 16; *ka-ti-il-li* (= *kad⹀il(⹀i)⹀l⹀e(n)*) KBo 32.11 i 4, 7; cf. Giorgieri 2000a: 189

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[4] On derivational morphemes, see Bybee 1985: 81-91 and Matthews 1997: 61-81. Matthews prefers the term lexical derivation, contrasting it to inflectional derivations in his terminology.

are used to indicate the word's (syntactic) function within the sentence (e.g. case, tense, number). These elements are monofunctional and appear in a clearly prescribed order.[5]

2.2 Ergativity and Nominal Morphology in Hurrian

2.2.1 Ergativity

Hurrian is a morphologically ergative language. Morphological ergativity is to be kept distinct from syntactical ergativity (to be discussed below). While all syntactically ergative languages display morphological ergativity, the inverse does not hold true.[6] A number of languages displaying morphological ergativity operate syntactically along nominative-accusative lines.[7] Ergative morphology involves a different system of grammatical roles from languages displaying nominative-accusative morphology. This is primarily manifested in the case marking of the core arguments of the sentence.

Dixon has proposed a system of core arguments consisting of three primitives labeled A, S and O.[8] A corresponds to the subject of a transitive verbal phrases (abbreviated VP), namely the A(ctor) or A(gent). S is the S(ubject) of an intransitive V(erb) P(hrase), and O is the O(bject) of the transitive VP.[9] In a nominative accusative language such as English, German or (to use an ancient example) Akkadian, A = S. That is, the subject of

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[4] On derivational morphemes, see Bybee 1985: 81-91 and Matthews 1997: 61-81. Matthews prefers the term lexical derivation, contrasting it to inflectional derivations in his terminology.

[5] cf. Giorgieri 2000a: 192-194.

[6] Dixon 1994: 15.

[7] For morphologically ergative languages with clear nominative-accusative syntax (e.g. exhibiting S/A and *not* S/O pivots) see Dixon 1994: 172-175. For pivots, see below (§2.3.4.3).

[8] Dixon 1994: 6-8.

[9] Manning prefers to see not three, but four primitives (1996: 49-50).

the transitive VP will be marked in the same way as the subject of the intransitive VP

((2.1) and fig. 2.1).

(2.1) a. *šarr-**um** bīt -am ēpuš*
        king+NOM house+ACC 3SG.PRET.make
        "The king built the house"

      b. *šarr-**um**   illik*
        king+NOM   3SG.PRET.go
        "the king went"

In an ergative language such as Hurrian, a different pattern emerges. In morphologically

ergative languages, S = O and appear in the Ø-absolutive case while A is marked by the

ergative case ((2.2) and fig. 2.1). In the following examples, nominal phrases (abbreviate

N(oun) P(hrase)) in the absolutive are underlined while the ergative NPs are in bold.

(2.2) a. <u>*niġāri*</u> *≠mān kur≠o*   **šēn(a)≠iffu**   *≠ž*   *fur≠êd≠a*[10]
        gift+**Ø**ABS+CONN furthermore brother+1SG.POSS+ERG   see+FUT+3SG.ERG
        "Furthermore, **my brother** will see <u>the gift</u>." (Mitt. iii 15)[11]

      b. *und≠o≠mān   inna≠mē   ≠nīn   šēn(a)≠iffu≠we <u>ašti</u>*
        now   +CONN when+3SG.ENCL[12]+PART brother+my +GEN wife+ØABS
        un   ≠ēt ≠t≠a
        come+FUT+*t* +INTRAN
        "and now when <u>the wife</u> of my brother comes." (Mitt. iii 21)[13]

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[10] In normalizing Hurrian passages I will be showing elided vowels. This helps to indicate the various morphological elements into which I have divided the Hurrian words. Scholars have used various means of separating these morphological elements, but this seems to be the most useful.

[11] *ni-ḫa-a-ri-ma-a-an gu-ru še-e-ni-íw-wu-u**š** wu-ri-e-e-ta*

[12] The status of *-me-* as an enclitic personal pronoun is questionable. It does not fit with the known paradigm of enclitic pronouns (*-nna* being the typical 3sg. pronoun), but it is found in the construction *inū≠mē≠nīn* (Mitt. i 13(*inu*), 75, ii 123, 125, iii 97) parallel to *inū≠ttā≠nīn* (Mitt. i 74, ii 60) and *inū≠llē≠nīn* (Mitt. iii 101), and in each occurrence (except the very broken i 13), the sentence requires a third person absolutive form for the direct object, cf. Wegner 2000: 68; Diakonoff 1971: 108.

[13] *un-du-ma-a-an in-na-me-e-ni-i-in še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e aš-ti ú-ni-e-et-ta*; cf. Girbal 1989: 80; Girbal and Wegner 1987: 149; Wegner 1995a: 139 (4); and Wilhelm 1995: 116(1).

The difference in marking strategies is exemplified by the schematic in figure 1:

Fig. 2.1: Marking Strategies

2.2.2 Case System of Hurrian

Hurrian has a very rich case marking system.[14] The majority of the thirteen identified cases are oblique in nature. These inherent cases are not typically part of the core constituents of the phrase. NPs in the dative ⸗*wa* and the directive ⸗*ta* can be found as part of the core of ditransitive verbs,[15] but their role appears to be limited to that of the indirect object. The three structural cases are the ergative, absolutive and essive. Subject/agent and patient roles are primarily marked by the ergative and aboslutive case, although the essive can be used for the patient as well. The structural cases in Hurrian are given here as (2.3):

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[14] see most notably, Giorgieri 1999: 223-256.

[15] Ditransitive verbs take more than the two arguments of the typical transitive verb (i.e. subject and object). The English verb "to give" is a prime example of a ditransitive verb. The verb codes not only for the actor and the object but also for the beneficiary of the action. Therefore, a statement such as "John gave the book" is only comprehensible if one assumes that the beneficiary has been deleted by the speaker as being obvious to the hearer. The above example could be the logical response to the question "Who gave the book to her?".

(2.3) <u>Case</u>   <u>SG</u>   <u>PL</u>
       Absolutive   Ø   ⸗*na*
       Ergative   ⸗*ž*   (⸗*n(a)*)⸗*až*⸗*už*[16]
       Essive   ⸗*a*   (⸗*n(a)*)⸗*až*⸗*a*

The essive is typically an oblique with a number of functions.[17] For the discussion at

hand, I will be focusing on the use of the essive as an indicator of the demoted O NPs in

the antipassive construction (§2.3.4.1). The predicates of a number of nominal sentences

also appear in the essive, though nominal predicates also occur in the absolutive.[18] The

distribution of essive and absolutive in nominal sentences requires further study.

   The absolutive case is used for NPs in S and O function. The absolutive NP is

morphologically unmarked in the singular, and in the plural it is marked by the

morpheme ⸗*na*. This plural absolutive marker is the same morpheme as the so-called

plural relator.[19]   In certain cases, the plural absolutive is marked by the use of the enclitic

third person plural pronoun ⸗*lla* (short form ⸗*l*) (for the enclitic pronouns see §2.2.3).[20]

The ergative is used for NPs in A function and is morphologically marked. For a number

of morphologically ergative languages it can be shown that the ergative marker is in some

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[16] The (non-absolutive) plural forms are typically given as ⸗*až*+Case in the various Hurrian grammars. There is, however, little doubt that ⸗*na*⸗ must play some role in pluralizing the cases. With the exclusion of possessed forms, one never sees a plural form given as R⸗*až*⸗Case. It is always R⸗*n(a)*⸗*až*⸗ Case, often with long *a* in ⸗*āž*⸗. When a possessive morpheme is used, then and only then is ⸗*na*⸗ not used.

[17] Giorgieri 2000aa: 254-256.

[18] Giorgieri 2000aa: 252-253; Wilhelm 2000: 199-208.

[19] As noted in Wilhelm 1995: 114, the morphemes ⸗*ne* and ⸗*na* are best termed "relators" since they do not appear to impart any sense of definiteness upon the NP to which it is appended.

[20] Giorgieri 2000aa: 220.

way derived from an oblique, typically an instrumental or genitive.[21] There is no direct

evidence that the ergative ≈ž in Hurrian is historically derived from an oblique.

2.2.3 Pronominal System of Hurrian

Hurrian has both free standing and enclitic pronouns, although the latter are limited to

the absolute (see below). The pronominal systems in Hurrian also conform to ergative

morphology, at least with indicative VPs.[22] This is in contrast to another highly ergative

language, Dyirbal, which displays split-ergativity in its case-marking system.[23] While

NPs display full ergative morphology, the pronouns in Dyirbal have nominative-

accusative marking. Compare the typical ergative construction in (2.4) to a sentence with

pronominal arguments in (2.5)

(2.4)   ŋuma   yabu-ŋgu   bura-n   banaga-n^{y}u
        father+ABS mother-ERG see-NFUT return -NFUT
        "Mother saw father and (he) returned" (based on Dixon, 1998: 12)

(2.5)   nyurra   ŋana -na   bura-n
        you.PL.NOM we.PL+ACC see +NFUT
        "You all saw us" (Manning 1996: 72)

In Hurrian, free-standing pronouns can be fully declined, taking not only the

absolute and ergative cases, but the oblique cases as well. Enclitic pronouns, however,

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[21] cf. Trask 1979: 385.

[22] For paradigms of the pronominal system in Hurrian, cf. Giorgieri 1999: 256 Table 3; idem. 2000: 219 Table 5, 220 Table 6; Wegner 2000: 71-72; Wilhelm 2004a: 108-109.

[23] Dixon, 1998: 83-94.

only occur in the absolutive.[24] Compare the example from Dyirbal (2.5) with the

Hurrian in (2.6) where the absolutive pronoun appears as a clitic element on the first

word, and the ergative pronoun is free-standing:

(2.6)   *andi⸗ll(a)*   *⸗ān*   *šukk(o)⸗a⸗nnē⸗lla*   *⸗man   pašši⸗ġ(i)⸗*
         this +3PL.ENCL+CONN   at once   +3PL.ENCL+CONN gift   +
         iff(e)⸗e   *iž ⸗ až ēman⸗ām ⸗ož ⸗av*
         1SG.POSS+*e*-CASE 1SG+ERG make tenfold+PRET+1SG.ERG
         "At once I made them (those things that my father had formerly done for you)
         tenfold in my gift (to you)" (Mitt. iii 55-56)[25]

As demonstrated in (2.6), in the indicative, enclitic pronouns can only relate to NPs in

S/O function and never A. As we shall see further below, the enclitic pronoun may stand

for A in certain non-indicative forms.

   It will be assumed here that demonstratives/deictic pronouns also conform to ergative

morphology. Most examples of demonstratives in Hurrian occur in the absolutive or in

an oblique case.[26] The only example of a deictic pronoun in the ergative is the form

akku⸗ž "the one" (Mitt. i 81).

2.3 Morpho-Syntax of the Indicative Verbal System in Hurrian

2.3.1 Introduction

   In comparison to the modal forms, the indicative verbal constructions in Hurrian and

Urartian are fairly well understood. Long before it was determined that Hurrian was

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[24] The exclusively absolutive character of the enclitic pronoun in Hurrian is used as evidence for classifying Hurrian as an ergative language by Plank (1988, 85).

[25] *an-til-la-a-an šuk-kán-ni-e-el-la-ma-an* 57 *pa-aš-ši-ḫi-íw-we i-ša-aš e-e-ma-na-a-mu-ša-a-ú*; cf. Friedrich, 1938-1940, 99-100, and Müller, 1986: 233.

[26] see the paradigm in Giorgieri 1999: 256 Table 4. On demonstratives in Hurrian in general, see Wilhelm 1984.

indeed an ergative language (for that matter, well before ergativity itself was understood), the basic paradigms of the indicative verb in Mittani Hurrian (MHu) had been discovered.[27] The previously anomalous forms from Boğazköy and Mari have since been demonstrated to belong to an earlier stage of the language thanks to the discovery of the Tiš-atal inscription and the Hurrian-Hittite Bilingual.

As will be seen in the following chapters, modal forms in Hurrian were largely morphologically distinct from the indicative ones. This in and of itself is not surprising. With the typical exception of the imperative, modal forms are often quite different from their indicative counterparts, in part due to the different syntactical roles that these forms have. As will be demonstrated, however, the modal and indicative forms, especially those from Old Hurrian (OHu), do share some morphologic features. In light of this, it is necessary to give an overview of the indicative verbal forms of Hurrian and Urartian.

The following sections contain a summary of the indicative forms. The discussion of these forms is only cursory. While the question of dialects in Hurrian is far from resolved,[28] I have decided to divide the language into two larger dialectical groups: Mittani Hurrian and the admittedly much more amorphous Old Hurrian. The Hurrian of Boğazköy contains a mixture of older forms and the younger Mittanian ones,[29] likely

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[27] For some early work on Hurrian see: Goetze 1940; Friedrich, 1939: 37; Messerschmidt, 1899: 109-112; Speiser, 1941: 160-165.

[28] Diakonoff, 1981: 77-89, Giorgieri, 2000: 179-180, Khačikyan, 1978: 39-46, 1985, Wegner, 2000: 26-27.

[29] Contrast the parables of the Hurro-Hittite bilingual (KBo 32.12 and KBo 32.14) which predominately display older grammatical features with the "prayer" ChS I/1 41 which demonstrates a much closer relation to the young Hurrian of the Mittani Letter than to Old Hurrian.

documenting a period of change in the language. The distribution of old versus young

forms may occur along aspectual lines.

    The following examination of the indicative verb follows this two-dialect grouping.

The forms analyzed here are as follows: the intransitive (§2.3.3), the antipassive (§2.3.4),

and the transitive (§2.3.5). Each section is further subdivided. Following a general

overview of each valence, I examine first the evidence from OHu and then from MHu.

This is followed by the analysis of the negation for each form. Each section concludes

with a short synopsis on the comparable forms in Urartian.

2.3.2 Basic Structure

    Verbal roots in Hurrian can be divided into transitives, intransitives, antipassives and

statives. There is no evidence for a passive in Hurrian,[30] but the language did have a

transitive, non-ergative construction called the antipassive which operates on a similar

syntactic level to passives in nominative-accusative languages.[31] The core arguments of

the transitive verb are A and O. In the case of ditransitives, a further core constituent

appears in the dative or directive. The single core argument of the intransitive verb, the

grammatical and logical subject, is always S. The antipassive is a derived verbal form.

Antipassive verbs are transitive constructions in which A has been promoted to S, and O

(when used) is demoted to the oblique essive. Statives decline like intransitives. The

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[30] This holds for the indicative. Note the structure of modal verbs in ⸗o⸗, which differ from pure active constructions and is taken by me to be a marker of inverse voice (§11.2.4).

[31] This is not to say that the antipassive had the same function as the passive. The various functions of the antipassive in the world's (ergative) languages has been increasingly well studied. See, for example, Cooreman 1994 amongst others.

subject of the stative verb is also in S, but unlike intransitive verbs, statives only

appear in the (unmarked) present tense and seldom take verbal negative morphemes.

   The vast majority of verbal roots in Hurrian are clearly transitive or intransitive.

There are, however, a number of ambitransitive or labile verbs in Hurrian.

Ambitransitives can function as either transitive or intransitive VPs depending upon the

valence marker. The root *un-* is the prototypical example of such a verb. The form *un=*

i= (*un*+TRAN/AP) means "to bring" in MHu while *un=a=* (*un*+INTRAN) means "to

come".[32]

2.3.3 The Intransitive Verb in Hurrian

2.3.3.1 General Form

   The intransitive verb in both Mittani Hurrian (MHu) and in Old Hurrian (OHu) is

marked by the inclusion of the intransitive-marking morpheme *=a* suffixed to the verbal

construct (2.7).[33] While occurring primarily with semantically intransitive verbs (e.g. "to

go", "to come", "to sit"), *=a* can also appear in apparent middle verbs (e.g. "to graze"),

and in some verbs of state.[34] The subject of the intransitive sentence is in the absolute

case (§§2.2.1-2.2.2):

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[32] The root *puzz-* of unknown meaning is another potential ambitransitive root. In the Hurrian prayer from Boğazköy ChS I/1 41 i 28, 29 we find two variants of this root. In i 28, we have the phrase *pāž(i)=i=a(ž)=l puzz=ar=i* "their mouths do not *puzz-*". In the next line, we have *pāž(i)=i=až kad=ind=a=šše puzz=o=kko* (written: *pu-uz-zu-ku*) which translates approximately to: "their mouths which speak do not *puzz-*. Therefore, *puzz-* can be transitive (here antipassive), at least with the proper morphemes, and intransitive.

[33] What I am calling the "verbal construct" includes the verbal root plus the optional addition of various derivational morphemes and tense/aspect markers.

[34] Giorgieri, 2000: 227, 228; Khačikyan, 1999: 259. For middle verbs using the intransitive marker *=a*, Khačikyan gives the form *nāv=a* "it (the deer) grazes" (KBo 32.14 i 26) as an example.

(2.7)   S⸗Ø V⸗a(⸗…)

In the following example (2.8), both the personal name (PN) Manē and the enclitic

personal pronoun ⸗n⸗ are in the absolutive and function as subject of the intransitive verb

un⸗a.

(2.8)   ^m***Manē*** *⸗n*   *⸗an*   …   *ūn*   *⸗a*
      Mane   +3SG.ABS+CONN …   come+INTRAN
      "(Thus) Mane (the messenger of my brother) is coming" (Mitt. ii 13-14)[35]

2.3.3.2 The Old Hurrian Intransitive

The intransitive in OHu is differentiated from that of MHu by the addition of an extra

morpheme. In OHu, the third person absolutive subject in both the singular and plural is

often, but not always, cross-referenced on the verb by the morpheme *⸗b*.[36] While

seemingly limited to third person S NPs in the intransitive, it is clear from the antipassive

that this *⸗b* morpheme is found with all persons and numbers. When present, this

morpheme always appears suffixed to the verb immediately following the intransitive

valence marker and in word final position. The origin of this agreement marker is

unclear. This *⸗b* does not function as an individual syntactic unit in OHu. In other words,

it never occurs as an enclitic on any other element in the sentence, making it unlikely that

it functioned as an enclitic personal pronoun in this period. It is better to analyze *⸗b* as a

marker of subject agreement. While it clearly cross-references S NPs, it does not code

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[35] ^m*ma-ni-e-na-an … ú-ú-**na***; cf. Haas and Wegner 1997b: 333-334; Girbal/Wegner 1987: 152;
Wilhelm 1992b: 660

[36] Campbell (forthcoming); Giorgieri, 2000: 229; Wegner, 2000: 111; Wilhelm, 1992: 662.

for either number, or, apparently, person. This agreement marker does not distinguish

between singular and plural S NPs:

(2.9)   … *kešḫi ⸗ni*   **naḫḫ ⸗a   ⸗b**
             throne+INST/ABL sit   +INTRAN+*b*
          "He (Teššob) sat on the throne" (KBo 32.13 i 4)[37]

(2.10) *tapš ⸗ā ⸗ġe ⸗na*   **sugm ⸗ušt ⸗a   ⸗b**
          cupbearer +PL.ABS come+DERIV+INTRAN+*b*
          "(and) the cupbearers came in" (KBo 32.13 i 21)[38]

While examples (2.9) and (2.10) occur with this agreement marker, there are a number of

sentences that do not include it (2.11). The reasons for this is not yet known.

(2.11) ᵈ*Āllāni ⸗ma*   … ᵈ*Teššop ⸗pa ⸗ma tapš ⸗a ⸗ġ(e) ⸗a*   **mēġ ⸗a**
          Allani +CONN … Teššob +DAT+CONN cupbearer   +ESS step +INTRAN
          "Allani …[39] stepped to Teššob as a cupbearer" (KBo 32.13 i 28-29)[40]

   The agreement marker ⸗*b* is only found with third person forms in the intransitive.

Based on this, it has been assumed that this morpheme marked agreement with third

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[37] *gi-eš-ḫi-ni na-aḫ-ḫa-ab*. The Hittite gives: … *A-NA* ᴳᴵˢˢÚ.A ᵈIM-*aš … e-ša-at* "On the throne, the Storm God … sat down" (ii 7); see Neu 1996: 239, 241.

[38] *tap-ša-a-ḫi-na su-uk-mu-uš-tab*. Hittite: ᴸ�·ᴹᴱˢSAGI-*ia an-da a-ri-ir* "and the cupbearers came in" (ii 21-22); see Neu 1996: 259; Wilhelm 1992: 663.

[39] It is not clear how *tād ⸗i ⸗a ⸗šše* is to be translated. The Hittite version does not include a translation of this form. The word is clearly a nominalization of the third person transitive verbal form *tad ⸗i ⸗a* "(s)he loves him/her". The difficulty comes in determining the subject of the nominalized form. Is it "Allani who loves (him, Teššob)" or "Allani whom (Teššob) loves"? For more on this, see below (§2.4.2.2.4).

[40] ᵈ*a-al-la-a-ni-ma* … ᵈIM-*up-pa-ma tap-ša-a-ḫa mi-e-ḫa*. Hittite: *ták-na-aš-ma* ᵈUTU-*uš* ᵈIM-*un-ni pé-ra-an* ᴸᵁSAGI-*aš i-wa-ar ti-i-e-et* "The Sun Goddess of the Earth stepped before the Storm God like a cupbearer (ii 28f.); see Neu 1996: 266-267; Wilhelm 1992: 664; idem., 2000: 202.

person singular/plural subjects.[41] Agreement with the S NPs in antipassive forms is also indicated by this ⸗*b* morpheme. As will be shown below, examples exist with ⸗*b* functioning as an agreement marker for S NPs of nearly every person and number. Based on this, one should expect that intransitive verbs with first or second person subjects would have been cross-referenced on the verb by this morpheme. With the discovery of more texts, one should expect to find examples of such forms. This will be further explored in (§2.3.4.4).

2.3.3.3 The Mittani Hurrian Intransitive

The S-agreement morpheme ⸗*b* is not found in MHu. The intransitive verbal form in MHu consists of the verbal construct with the intransitive marker ⸗*a* plus the optional addition of an enclitic pronoun. This led Diakonoff to incorrectly label the intransitive forms as participles.[42] Instead, what we have with the MHu intransitive verb is a dependent-marking system as opposed to a head-marking one. In a dependent-marking system, the "syntactic relation between a head and its dependent(s) is coded morphologically on the dependent."[43] Instead of agreement, which is indicative of head-marking systems, S in MHu is cross-referenced by enclitic pronouns that may or may not be affixed to the verb. In languages such as Jacaltec (a Mayan language), clitics are used

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[41] Haas and Wegner 1997a: 444; Giorgieri 2000a: 229; Wegner 2000: 109; Wilhelm 1992b: 662; idem. 2004: 111

[42] He writes: "im Hurrischen ist das Intransitivum als eine nominale (partizipiale) Form behandelt: es wird nicht konjugiert, denn die pronominalen Kennzeichen der Person des Zustandssubjekts werden meistens in die eigentliche Verbalform nicht hineingetragen" (Diaknoff, 1971: 113). His observation that "[u]m den Zustand auszudrücken … denen Personalpronomina im Nullkasus (casus absolutus) enklitisch angegliedert werden können" (1971: 122) is quite correct. See also Wilhelm 1998a: 130[74].

[43] van Valin Jr. and LaPolla 1997: 23.

to cross-reference arguments in situations where "there is only one argument to cross-reference (intransitives), while agreement is used in addition to a clitic when there are two arguments to cross-reference (transitives)."[44] The same holds true for Hurrian, where the transitive verb uses bound agreement (§2.3.5.3.1) while the intransitive uses optional enclitic cross-referencing.

The S of the intransitive sentence in MHu is typically indicated by the use of absolute enclitic personal pronouns, regardless of whether or not there is an expressed absolutive NP. These pronouns often appear in Wackernagel position after the first accented element of a sentence ((2.12), (2.13)), but they can also appear on other elements within the sentence (2.14). The distribution of clitics within a phrase in Hurrian is a topic that requires further investigation. When occurring on the VP, the pronouns are to be analyzed simply as free enclitics and not as bound morphemes on the verb.

(2.12) *ūn*   *=ā*   *=ll(a)*   *=ān*   *šēn(a)* *=iffu*   *=da*
        come+INTRAN+3PL.ENCL+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+DIR
        "(I have released Keliya, my messenger, and Mane, your messenger) and they are coming to my brother" (Mitt. i 115).[45]

(2.13) *innā* *=mā*   *=nīn*   *un*   *=ēt* *=t* *=a*
        now+3SG.ENCL[46]+CONN come+FUT+*t*+INTRAN
        "Now she (the wife of my brother) will come" (Mitt. iii 12).[47]

and:

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[44] Woolford 1999: 1

[45] *ú-ú-na-a-al-la-a-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta*; see Wilhelm 1992: 660.

[46] For *=mā=* here as a 3 sg. absolutive pronoun, see §2.3.5.2.1.

[47] *in-na-a-ma-a-ni-i-in* (erasure) *ú-ni*[!](text: *ú*)-*e-et-ta*;

(2.14) *ōnn ≠o ište   fōri ≠v   ≠a   ≠da ≠d   mēġ ≠a*
ADV[48] 1SG.ABS eye +2SG.POSS+EPNTH+DIR+1SG.ENCL[49] step+INTRAN
"*subsequently*[?] I step towards you (my god)" (ChS I/1 41 iii 48-49). [50]

2.3.3.4 Negative Intransitives

In both OHu and MHu, the negative intransitive verb is marked by the intransitive marker

≠a plus the negative morpheme *≠kko*. [51] This same negative morpheme is also used to

negate antipassive forms (§2.3.4.6). Through regressive vowel harmony, the intransitive

≠a≠ > ≠o≠, resulting in the form *≠o≠kko* (2.15). When followed by an enclitic element

(typically a pronoun), *≠kko*+CLITIC > *≠kka*+CLITIC, again the result of regressive vowel

harmony (2.16).

(2.15) *aî ≠n   … tupp(i) ≠i   ≠až **tupp**   ≠o(<a) ≠kko*
if +3SG.ENCL … tablet +3SG.POSS+PL be assembled+INTRAN+NEG
"If their tablets, ((those) of the dowries of my female relatives) are not

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[48] *ōnn ≠o* is most likely a temporal adverb along the lines of *und≠o* "now", *kur≠o* "again".

[49] The form is difficult to parse. Along with *fōrivadad* in iii 49, there is the parallel form *pāġivanid* in iii 47 also with *available … mēġ ≠a*. In both cases we have the first person subject stepping towards (*mēġ-*) something. In iii 47, the indirect object appears to be in the *≠ni* ablative/instrumental case, while in iii 49 it is in the *≠da* directive case. The crux is in how the morpheme *≠va≠* is to be interpreted. The dative case is not possible, nor is it possible to interpret the form as a defective genitive. The only other possibility that I can see is to interpret it as the second person possessive (here refereeing to *en(i) ≠iffu ≠ž* "my god" in iii 50) plus an epenthetic vowel. Against this interpretation, however, are the forms with this possessive pronoun from the Mittani Letter. In ergative and directive cases, the epenthetic vowel is *≠u≠* (e.g. *pa-aš-ši-i-it-ḫi-wu-uš* (*pašš ≠ītḫe ≠v ≠u ≠ž*) i 72, and *pa[-aš-š]i-i-it-ḫi-wu-ú-ta* (*pa[šš]≠ītḫe ≠v ≠ū ≠da*) i 53), and this epenthetic vowel does not occur with the genitive or dative (e.g. *še-e-na-a-ap-pè* (*šēnā ≠p ≠pe*) i 89). Note also the form *paġi≠p≠pe≠ne(≠ž)≠m eni≠ž* (*pa-ḫi-ib-bi-ni-im e-ni-iš*) "the god of your head" from Mari 1 occurs without a glide (Thureau-Dangin 1939: 4-5; Khačikyan (Khachikyans) 1976: 252-253).

[50] *u-un-nu iš-ti* [49] *wuᵤ-u-ri-pa-ta-at mi-e-ḫa*

[51] The negative morpheme *≠kko* is not to be confused with the nominal derivational morpheme *≠kk*. To make matters more complicated, the negative morpheme can be used with nominal forms: e.g. *ḫaž≠i ≠kk≠o ≠nni* "deaf person" (< *ḫaž-* "to hear") and *fōr≠i ≠kk ≠o ≠nni* "blind person" (< *fōr-* "to see"). In forms such as *ašḫ ≠ož ≠i ≠kk ≠o ≠nni* "diviner" (< *ašḫ-* "to sacrifice"), it does not seem possible to take the *≠kk≠* as a negative morpheme. The morpheme *≠kk≠* in the nominal forms may be *≠kko* with the final */-o/* eliding before the */-o/* of the following *≠o ≠nni*.

available" (Mitt. iii 44-45).[52]

(2.16) *andi*   **ūn** *⸗o(<a)* *⸗kka(<o)* *⸗l*   *⸗an*
        this+ØABS come+INTRAN+NEG   +3PL.ENCL+CONN
        "These (malicious speakers??) do not come (before a great king)" (Mitt. iv 3)[53]

2.3.3.5 The Intransitive in Urartian

The intransitive verb in Urartian demonstrates a clear genetic relationship to Hurrian. The morpheme *⸗a* suffixed directly to the verbal construct marks the intransitive just as in Hurrian. Similar to OHu, the intransitive verb in Urartian employs a head-marking system. The marker of S-agreement is expressed as a bound morpheme affixed to the intransitive marker.[54] As opposed to OHu, the intransitive verb in Urartian agrees with S in number. Unlike the free enclitic personal pronouns used in MHu, subject agreement appears to be a fixed part of the verbal form.

(2.17) *iu*   *ᵈ(Ḫ)aldi⸗kāi*   [ᵁᴿᵁ*A*]*rdini⸗də* **nun** *⸗a*   *⸗bə*
        when Ḫaldi +before   Ardini+DIR come+INTRAN+3SG.ABS
        ᵐ*Išpūini⸗nə*   [ᵐᵈ*S*]*ardurē⸗ḫə*
        Išpuini +3SG.ENCL   Sardure +GEN.ADJ+ØABS
        "When Išpuini, son of Sardure, came to Ardini before the god Ḫaldi" (KUKN 30: 16-18 = UKN 19: 16-18)[55]

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[52] *a-i-i-in … tup-pí-aš tup-pu-uk-ku*; see Wilhelm 1992: 661.

[53] *an-ti ú-ú-nu-uk-ka-la-an*

[54] Diakonoff 1971: 122

[55] *i-ú ᵈal-di-ka-ạ-*[*i*] ¹⁷ [ᵁᴿᵁ*a*]*r-di-ni-di nu-na-be* ᵐ*iš-pu-ú-i-ni-nị* ¹⁸ [ᵐᵈ*s*]*ar₅-du-ri-e-ḫé*; The Akkadian translation reads: *ki-i ina pa-an* ᵈ*ḫal-di-*[*e*] ¹⁵ [*ana* ᵁ]ᴿᵁ*mu-ṣa-ṣir illik*(DU)*-an-ni* ᵐ*iš-pu-ú-i-ni apil*(A) ᵐ*sar₅-d*[*uri*] (14-16); cf. Benedict, 1961: 362, 372.

In a clear case of morphologization,[56] the bound person markers in Urartian are clearly related to the enclitic personal pronouns in Hurrian. This is made abundantly clear from the following table comparing the Hurrian and Urartian morphemes:

	Urartian	Hurrian
1sg.	꞊də[57]	꞊b(OHu); ꞊d/꞊tta(MHu)
3sg.	꞊bə	꞊b(OHu); ꞊n/꞊nna(MHu)
3pl.	꞊lə	꞊b(OHu); ꞊ll/꞊lla (MHu)

Table 2.1: S-agreement markers in Hurrian and Urartian

The 3 sg. morpheme ꞊bə in Urartian is certainly related to the OHu S-agreement marker ꞊b (cf. §2.3.3.2).[58] As in OHu, this agreement marker is different from the 3sg. enclitic pronoun ꞊nə. In nominal sentences the argument (S) is clitic doubled with the inclusion of the pronoun ꞊nə, while in transitive sentences, this pronoun is used for the direct object (§2.3.5.5). Note the following example:

(2.18) ᵈḪald(i)꞊i   ꞊ni   ꞊nə   ušm ꞊a ꞊še ꞊nə   ᵐIšpūini ꞊**nə**
       Ḫaldi +GEN+RELAT+ABL/INST might   +ABL/INST   Išpuini +3SG.ENCL
       ᵐᵈSardurē꞊ḫə   MAN   DANNU…
       Sardure +GEN.ADJ+ØABS   king(Sum.) mighty(Akk.)
       "through the might of Ḫaldi, Išpuini, son of Sardure (is) the mighty king …"
       (KUKN 36: 2-3 = UKN 25: 2-3)[59]

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[56] Hopper and Traugott 2003: 141.

[57] The exact phonological value of the vowel in word-final signs is not clear. Through comparison with similar forms in Hurrian, it is possible to postulate a likely value for some word final morphemes. Due to orthographic conventions, however, almost all word final signs, regardless of whether the vowel is a final -a, -e, or -i, are written with a final -i or -e. Because of this, I have decided to use the neutral schwa ə in my normalizations of Urartian.

[58] See Wilhelm 2004b: 131.

[59] ᵈḫal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-ni ᵐiš-pu-ú-i-ni-ni ᵐᵈsar₅-du-ri-e-ḫé ³ MAN DAN-NU

2.3.4 The Antipassive Verb in Hurrian

2.3.4.1 General Form

The antipassive construction closely parallels the intransitive forms in Hurrian despite the fact that the antipassive is essentially a transitive (though non-ergative) construction.[60] In the case of the antipassive, the degree of transitivity is much lower than it is in the transitive.[61] The A NP of the transitive ergative sentence occurs instead as S in the antipassive. This is understood as the process of promoting an A NP to S.[62] Unlike the intransitive, the antipassive allows for either one or two core constituents (i.e. for subject and for object). The antipassive is triggered by a variety of factors, typically pragmatic or discourse related. Since both intransitive and antipassive verbs require absolutive subjects, it is not surprising that they are also similarly conjugated.

The process of antipassivization can be seen in the following examples from Chuckchee. In (2.19) we find an example of a simple transitive sentence, while (2.20) is the antipassive version of the same sentence. In Chuckchee, the O NP of the transitive verb is demoted to either the dative or instrumental case. Note also the change in meaning of the verb *penrə-* between (2.19) and (2.20).

(2.19)   *ətləg -e   keyŋ-ən   penrə -nen*
           father-ERG bear -ABS   attack-3SG+3SG+AOR
           "Father attacked the bear"

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[60] For the earliest recognition of the existence of the antipassive construction in Hurrian; cf. Plank 1988 202 and Girbal 1992: 171-182. An alternate explanation for these forms is given in Khačikyan 1995: 22 where she calls these forms "une construction équative."

[61] For example, see Palmer 1994: 181-186

[62] This may seem counterintuitive since one can envision this as an example of demotion. In ergative languages, NPs in the absolutive contain a number of subject properties as opposed to accusatives in nominative-accusative languages (Palmer 1994: 176).

(2.20) ətləg -en penrə-tko-gʔe   kayŋ-etə
        father-ABS attack-AP -3SG+AOR bear -DAT
        "Father ran at the bear."[63]

The particular function of the antipassive in Hurrian is not clear, but its occurrence is likely the result of both certain semantic or pragmatic factors, as well as syntactic ones.[64] We will return to the question of function below in (§2.3.4.3).

2.3.4.2 Antipassive Valence Marker

The antipassive is indicated by the valence marker ⹀i suffixed to the verbal construct. This ⹀i morpheme is not to be confused with the stative(?) marker ⹀e (§2.3.6) or with the transitive marker ⹀i in MHu, though the two are likely related (§2.3.5.3.1). There are examples of antipassive verbs without an expressed direct object (2.21) as well as examples with one (2.22). When expressed, the direct object of an antipassive verb occurs in the essive (the essive direct object is underlined in (2.22)).[65]

(2.21) *undo ⹀mān šēn(a) ⹀iffē   ⹀n   **pašš ⹀[ož ⹀i***
       now +CONN brother+1SG.POSS+3SG.ENCL   send +PRET+AP
       "Now my brother has sent, (my brother has sent Mane)" (Mitt. ii 107)[66]

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[63] Examples taken from Palmer 1994: 177.

[64] "If the same semantic propositions can be coded or expressed by means of different linguistic constructions, I assume that these differences in syntactic coding are to a large extent driven by semantic and/or pragmatic factors" (Cooreman 1994: 51).

[65] Giorgieri 2000aa: 251-252; Wegner 2000: 103-104; Wilhelm 2000.

[66] *un-du-ma-a-an še-e-ni-í[w-w]e-e-en pa-aš-š[u-ši*; While one would prefer not to rely on a restored verb for one's evidence, in this case, the use of such a restoration is completely justified. The antipassive sentence is immediately followed by a virtually identical clause that is in the transitive (see example (26)). This allows for the certain restoration of the past tense marker ⹀ož⹀, and demonstrates that "my brother" must be the subject of the form *pašš⹀[*. This substantive can only be in the absolutive. If one were to analyze it as the subject of a transitive verb, then the form would have to be *šēniffušša* with assimilation of the enclitic third singular pronoun ⹀nna to ⹀ša immediately following the ergative case ending (cf. Farber, 1971). Since there is no reason to posit "my brother" as object of the verb *pašš-* "to

(2.22) _el(i) ꞊a_ _faġr ꞊o ꞊ž̌(e)꞊a_ **tān** _꞊d ꞊i ꞊b_ _negri_ _eže ꞊ne_ _꞊ve_
feast+ESS good +ESS make+*d*+AP+*b* bolt+ØABS earth+SG.RELAT+GEN
^d*Āllāni*
DN+ØABS
"Allani, the bolt of the earth, prepared a beautiful feast" (KBo 32.13 i 12-13)[67]

2.3.4.3 Function(s) of the Antipassive

One of the commonest functions of the antipassive in ergative languages, the creation

of a syntactic pivot,[68] is found in Hurrian. The pivot is one of Dixon's primary tests for

syntactic ergativity. In a syntactically ergative language such as Dyirbal, deletion

between two conjoined clauses with coreferential elements can only occur between NPs

in S/O. Arguments in A can never be deleted. In order to delete the subject of a

transitive sentence, the A of the transitive verb must first be promoted to S, that is to say,

an antipassive must be used. This is best demonstrated by the examples in (2.23) and

(2.24) from Dyirbal. In (2.23) we find a typical S/O pivot where the O NP of the

transitive sentence is the S NP of the following intransitive one. In (2.24), however, the

antipassive is used to place A into derived S function in order to feed this pivot (O is

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send", then the only logical conclusion is to take it as the absolutive (S) subject. If this is the case, the verb
must be in the antipassive.

[67] ¹²*e-la wa_a-aḫ-ru-ša da-a-an-ti-ib ne-eg-ri* ¹³*e-še-ni-we_e* ^d*a-al-la-a-ni*; Hitt: *nu ša-ni-iz-zi-in*
EZEN₄-*an i-e-et ták-na-a-aš ḫa-at-tal-wa-aš ták-na-a-aš* ^dUTU-*uš* "The sun goddess of the earth, the bolt
of the earth (lit: the one of the bolt of the earth) prepared a magnificent feast" (KBo 32.13 ii 13-14). The
Hittite *taknas hattalwas* has been analyzed as a pl. dat.-loc. (Hoffner 1998a: 73 "at the Bolts of the
Netherworld"; Haas 1994: 130 n. 124 "an den Riegeln der Erde"). According to Neu, "der Absolutiv *nekri*
steht also hier auf die Frage „Wo?‟" (1996: 253). The analysis of the absolutive as a locatival expression is
not very plausible. Instead of forcing the Hurrian to match one possible analysis of the Hittite, it would be
better to base our reading of the Hittite on the Hurrian. The form *negri* is clearly absolute singular. It can
therefore be taken in apposition to the DN Allani. In that case, another analysis of the Hittite must be
found. If *hattalwas* is taken as a free standing genitive, then we have a form "(the one) of the bolt of the
earth" which could function as an epithet for the Sun Goddess of the Earth (cf. Wegner 2000: 185).

[68] I use the term "syntactic pivot" here following Dixon 1994:152-157.

demoted to the dative in the antipassive in Dyirbal).[69] The translations in (2.23b) and

(2.24b) are grammatical while (2.23c) and (2.24 c) are not.

(2.23) a. baŋgun   yibi   -ŋgu bayi   yara   bura-n   yanu
           II.ERG.TH woman-ERG I.ABS.TH man.ABS   see -NFUT   go.NFUT
           "The woman saw the man and went"
       b. "The woman saw the man and [the man] went."
       c. *"The woman saw the man and [the woman] went."

(2.24) a. balan   yibi   bagul   yara-gu   bura-ŋa-nju   yanu
           II.ABS.TH woman.ABS   I.DAT.TH man-DAT   see -AP-NFUT   go.NFUT
           "The woman saw the man and went"
       b. "The woman saw the man and [the woman] went."
       c. *"The woman saw the man and [the man] went."

Hurrian certainly allows for deletion of coreferential NP. As expected this is typically

accomplished through S/O pivots, but there is evidence for the use of the antipassive to

put A NPs into derived S positions in order to feed a pivot. The only clear example of

this is found in the Tiš-atal inscription. In (2.25) there is no deletion of the coreferential

NPs. Instead the A NP of the relative clause is coreferential with the patient of the main

clause:

(2.25) *e* ⸗*me*   ⸗*ni*   **tašp** ⸗*i* *'ālli*   ᵈ*Lubadaga*⸗*ž*   *tašp*⸗*o*⸗*en*[70]
        REL+3SG.ENCL+*ni(n)* destroy+AP 3SG.ABS DN   +ERG destroy+*o*+3.JUSS
        "The one who destroys (the temple), may Lubadaga destroy that one!" (Tiš-atal
        11-14)[71]

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[69] Blake describes syntactic ergativity in Dyirbal as: "[t]he general principle is that where A is co-referent with a major actant of another clause in the same sentence, the clause (or clauses) with a co-referent A must be anti-passivised … It operates largely in terms of S_i [i.e. subject of intransitive verbs] and P being treated as a grammatical subject with A being promoted to that syntactic slot under certain co-reference conditions" (1979: 376).

[70] On the jussive in the Tiš-atal inscription as ⸗*en* and not ⸗*in* see §5.2.2.

[71] *e-me-ni* [12] *da-áš-bi 'à-al-li* [13] ᵈ*lu-ba-da-ga-áš* [14] *da-áš-pu-in*; cf. Wilhelm, 1998: 136-137.

The only way to say this in Hurrian is by placing the predicate of the relative clause into the antipassive.[72]

One common function of the antipassive is that it allows O NPs to be omitted under certain circumstances. This "indefinite" use of the antipassive allows an O NP to be deleted "because it is unimportant in the discourse, indefinite, unknown, or obvious."[73] While (2.26) would seem to support this, the antipassive is immediately followed by the following transitive sentence (2.26) [(2.21) is repeated here]:

(2.21)   *undo* ‗*mān* *šēn*(*a*)   ‗*iffē*   ‗*n*   ***pašš*** ‗**[***ož*** ‗*i***
          now +CONN   brother+1SG.POSS+3SG.ENCL   send+PRET+AP
          "Now my brother has sent, (my brother has sent Mane)" (Mitt. ii 107)

(2.26)   ^m*Ma*]*ne* ‗*nna*   ‗*n*   *š*[*ē*]*n*(*a*) ‗*i*[*ffu*   ‗]*ž*   ***pašš*** ‗*ôž*   ‗*a*
          PN   +3SG.ENCL+CON   brother+1SG.POSS+ERG   send+PAST+3SG.ERG
          "(Now my brother has sent), my brother has sent him, Mane" (Mitt. ii 107-108)[74]

The use of the antipassive here does not appear to indicate a lower degree of "identifiablity" of the O on the part of the hearer.[75] The following sentence is all but identical with the first, with the exception that it is transitive and expresses the O argument. Furthermore, the NP which fills the O spot in (2.26) is not a generic substantive but an actual personal name, which is by nature definite.

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[72] If the relative verb was transitive (i.e. with A and O NPs), then the absolutive '*ālli* of the main clause could only correspond to the O NP (presumably the temple) of the relative clause.

[73] Cooreman 1994: 52.

[74] ^m*ma*]-*ni-en-na-an* *š*[*e-e*]-*ni-í*[*w-wu-u*]*š* ^108 *pa-aš-šu-u-u-ša*

[75] Cooreman 1994: 52 "The occurrence of an antipassive in many languages correlates with a low degree of identifiability of the O in the position."

The most promising function of the antipassive construction in Hurrian is its detransitivizing nature.[76] The antipassive can emphasize the actual action inherent in the verb rather than the effect of the verb upon its direct object or even the subject. In other words, it focuses the force of the sentence on the verb itself while lowering the saliency of either (or both) the A or O NPs. In the case of (2.21), the antipassive is used to focus the audience on the action of sending before going into more specific details about it. In KBo 32.13 i 12-13 (2.22), the antipassive may have been used to focus upon the action of preparing the feast for Teššob. In lines i 15-19, however, the specific actions performed by Allani in the actual preparation for the feast are all in the transitive.[77] Therefore, the antipassive in (2.22) can be said to indicate the imperfective aspect, being used to describe "an event which is incomplete."[78] Following Allani's preparations for the feast, we read: "The bakers repeatedly make (antipassive) (their wares) in the correct way, the cupbearers come in (intransitive), the cooks continually bring in (antipassive) the breasts, they repeatedly come (in) (intransitive) with bowls (of food) at mealtime (lit.: in the time of the food)" (KBo 32.13 i 21-23).[79] Each of the antipassive verbal forms here can be easily translated as iteratives.[80]

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[76] Cooreman 1994: 60; Palmer 1994: 181-186.

[77] *uv=o=m nūbi pedari … uv=ō=m nūbi pedari kungallē kīge nūbi šūr=ō=m … šešfe ḫavirni šāġari šūr=ō=m* "She (Allani) slaughters ten thousand oxen (before the great Teššob). She slaughters ten thousand oxen and thirty thousand sheep she killed (too). (Their number is without counting(??).) She slaughters kid, lamb and ram." (KBo 32.13 i 15-19).

[78] Correman 1994: 70

[79] [21]*wa-ri-ni-na-a-ma mu-ú-ši-ib tap-ša-a-ḫi-na su-uk-mu-uš-tap* [22] *waₐ-an-ta-ri-ni-na-a-ma a-ki-ib ne-ḫi-ir-na* [23] *ma-al-la-ta-el ú-ni-ib ḫi-i-ri-ia a-šu-ḫi-ni-waₐ*

2.3.4.4 The Old Hurrian Antipassive

As with the intransitive verb, the 3 person subject (singular and plural) of the antipassive form in OHu is typically cross-referenced on the verb by the morpheme ⸗b. In the Tiš-atal inscription, the oldest Hurrian-language text, however, ⸗b is not found with the antipassive. No agreement marker is used in this text. There are two occurrences of the antipassive in identical phrases in this inscription, both occurring without this S-agreement marker:

(2.27) *e*   *⸗me*   *⸗ni*(*n*)   **tašp**   *⸗i*
         REL+3SG.ENCL+*nin*   destroy+AP
         "The one who destroys (the temple), (that one may Lubadag destroy)! (Tiš-atal 11-12, 21-22)[81]

In the OHu texts from Mari dating to the Old Babylonian period, however, there are a number of examples of antipassive verbs with the S-agreement marker ⸗b.[82]

There are few examples of antipassive verbs with a second person subject. The majority of these forms are found in the "Prayer to Teššob of Ḫalab" (KUB 47.78).[83] In this text, two such antipassive forms appear in i 7' and 8' (2.28). In both cases, we find both the agreement marker ⸗b and the (absolutive) second person singular enclitic pronoun being used to indicate the subject.

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[80] On the iterative aspect of antipassives, cf. Palmer 1994: 183.

[81] For the transliteration, see above in footnote 72 of this chapter.

[82] e.g. *pa-ši-ib* (*pašš⸗i⸗b*) Mari 1: 3. cf. Khachikyan, 1976: 258.

[83] ed. by Thiel and Wegner, 1984.

(2.28) *tīž(≠)uvᵗ≠ar≠ġ(e)≠ā ≠mma*[84] **fõr ≠i kapp≠až ≠i ≠b**
  (unclear noun) +ESS+2SG.ENCL see +AP fill +DERIV+AP+*b*
      muž≠o≠n(i)≠ā ≠m   **tēl ≠i ≠b**[85]
      fairness +ESS+2SG.ENCL increase+AP+*b*
  "You (Teššob) recognize … and fill. You increase fairness" (KUB 47.78 i 7'-8')[86]

Based on the MHu forms (§2.3.4.5), one would expect the 2 sg. enclitic absolutive

pronoun *≠mma* (short form *≠m*) to be used as the agreement marker. For this reason,

Giorgieri emends the forms to *kapp≠až≠i≠m*ᵗ and *tēl≠i≠m*ᵗ respectively.[87] In the same

text, a morpheme *≠b* occurs as an agreement marker for a transitive verb with 3 sg.

subject and 2 sg. object (cf. (2.38) below).

Examples of antipassive verbs with first person plural agents are also known. In the

semi-bilingual text ChS I/5 40, we find a number of parallel passages with first person

plural subjects. These are typified by the following two examples:

(2.29) *kašša≠va ≠dil arārē[≠ni ašt(e) ≠a]* **firfir≠išt≠i ≠b**
  gate +DAT+1PL.ENCL sorcery+ABL/INST woman+ESS release +AP+*b*
  "We released [the woman from] sorcery at the gate" (ChS I/5 40 rev. 41'-42')[88]

and:

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[84] The normalization of this form follows Giorgieri 2001a: 134.

[85] The format of this example is meant to roughly approximate the text on the original tablet.

[86] 7' *ti-i-šu-wa-ar-ḫa-a*(over erasure)-*am-ma wuᵤ-u-ri kap-pa-ši-ib*
  8'   *mu-šu-na-a*(over erasure)-*am te-e-li-ib*

[87] 2001: 134-135.

[88] *ka-aš-ša-pa-a-ti-il a-ra-a-re-e-*[*ni aš-ta*] ⁴²' *wiᵢ-ir-wiᵢ-ri-iš-ti-ip*; The phrase is repeated in rev. 47'-48': *ka*[*-aš-ša-pa-a-ti-il*] *a-ra-a<-ri>-e-ni aš-ta wiᵢ-ir-wiᵢ*[*-ri-iš-ti-ib*]

(2.30) *kašša⸗v[ā ⸗di]l*   *arārē ⸗ni*   *taġ(e)⸗a*ˈ(text: *taġe*) **firfir ⸗išt ⸗i ⸗b**
      gate +DAT+1PL.ENCL sorcery+ABL/INST man +ESS   release +AP+*b*
      "[W]e released the man from sorcery [a]t the gate" (ChS I/5 40 rev. 42'-43') [89]

Based on the examples above, it is clear that ⸗*b* is neutral as to both person and number.

2.3.4.5 The Mittani Hurrian Antipassive

The antipassive continues to operate along the same lines as the intransitive in MHu.

Just as the intransitive verb in MHu cross-references the S NP by means of a free enclitic

pronoun (§2.3.3.3), so does the antipassive verb as well (2.31). The absolutive subject S

NP is always present in the sentence as either a fully declined NP (i.e.

Root(+DERIV)+ØABS) or as a pronoun (free-standing in the absolutive case or enclitic).

There are no attested antipassive verbs with the object in essive in the Mittani letter.

(2.31) **pašš ⸗ed ⸗ī ⸗d ⸗an** *šēn(a) ⸗i[ffu ⸗d]a*
      send+FUT+AP+1SG.ENCL+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+ DIR
      "(Should there exist… for me an enemy…) I will write to my brother" (Mitt. iii
      116-117)[90]

Evidence for a possible MHu antipassive verbs with a direct object in the essive

comes from the prayer to Teššob ChS I/1 41. Note that in (2.32), the verb is actually in

the negative antipassive. We do not expect a final *b* with such forms. For this reason it is

difficult to determine if the form here is truly "MHu" or if it is simply "OHu."

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[89] *ka-aš-ša-p[a-a-ti-i]l a-ra-a-re-e-ni* ⁴³' *da-aḫ-a*ˈ(text: *-e*) *wiᵢ-ir-wiᵢ-ri-iš-ti-ip*; The Hittite
equivalents for (2.29) and (2.30) are *a-aš-ki-kán an-⌈da⌉ al-wa-an-za-aḫ-ḫa-an-da-an* MUNUS-*an la-a-nu-un* "At the gate I released the bewitched woman (from the spell)" (ChS I/5 40 rev. 41'-42') and *a-aš-k[i-k]án an-da al-wa-an-za-aḫ-ḫa-an-da-an* LÚ-*an la-a-nu-un* "At the gate I released the bewitched man (from
the spell)" (ChS I/5 40 rev. 42'-43') respectively. The *taġe* of (2.30) is likely to be a scribal error for the
expected essive form *taġ(e)⸗a*, especially based on the passage in footnote 88 of this chapter. The patient
is incorrectly given in rev. 43' as an absolutive NP while an essive is required according to proper grammar.

[90] *pa-aš-še-ti-tan* ¹¹⁷*še-e-ni-ī[w-wu-t]a*

(2.32) ḫinz≠ugar(i)≠a   ≠mān [ᵈ]Šimige **tād** ≠i   ≠**kki** \\[91]
       ?   +ESS+CONN   DN   love+AP+NEG
    "Šimige does not love the ḫ." (ChS I/1 41 iv 14-16)[92]

The grammar of this text displays much more affinity to the Hurrian of the Mittani Letter

than it does to the older Hurrian of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual. While the above passage

is difficult to translate, it offers clear evidence of the essive used to indicate the direct

object of an antipassive verb.

2.3.4.6 Negative Antipassive

The negative antipassive verb is parallel to the negative intransitive (§2.3.3.4). It

involves the antipassive marker ≠i plus the negative morpheme ≠kko. Unlike the

regressive vowel harmony of the intransitive where the /o/ of the negative morpheme

colors the intransitive morpheme (≠a > ≠o), in the antipassive, the valence marker ≠i

colors the /o/ of the negative morpheme to an /i/ (≠i≠kko > ≠i≠kki) through progressive

vowel harmony (2.33). As with the intransitive, the final vowel of the negative

morpheme appears as /a/ when followed by a clitic (2.34).

(2.33) *ia* ≠*til*   ≠*an*   **ūr** ≠*i* ≠**kki** *šātti*   ≠*l* ≠*an*   *evr(i)*≠*ard(i)*≠*i*   ≠
       REL+1PL.ENCL+CONN wish+AP+NEG 1PL.ABS+PL+CONN lord +COLL+3POSS+
       až
       PL
    "What we, their lords, do not wish" (Mitt. ii 74)[93]

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[91] The horizontal stroke is used by the scribe to differentiate various syntactic units. There also
appears to be some for of metrics involved in the distribution of these syntactic units. On metrics in
Hurrian see Thiel 1975: 240-264; and for metrics specifically in ChS I/1 41, see Wilhelm 2001a: 42-43.

[92] *ḫi-in-zu-ga-ra-ma-a-an* [15] [ᵈ]*ši-me-ki da-a-ti-ik-ki*

[93] *ia-ti-la-<<a>>-an ú-ú-rik-ki ša-a-at-ti-[la-an] éw-ra-aṛ²-ti-[ia]-aš*; Wilhelm 1992: 660.

(2.34) *īa ⸗tta ⸗man **tān⸗ož** ⸗i ⸗kka*(*<i*)*⸗tt*(*a*) *⸗ān*
REL+1SG.ENCL+CONN do +PRET+AP+NEG +1SG.ENCL+CONN
"That which I had not done (for the wife of my brother)" (Mitt. ii 5) [94]

2.3.4.7 Verbs in *⸗i* in Urartian

There is a poorly attested *i*-class of verbs in Urartian.[95] Due to the paucity of

attestations, it is extremely difficult to discern its true function. Verbs with this *i*-valence

marker appear to operate akin to intransitives. It is unclear if they are able to take a direct

object, and they mark agreement in the same manner as intransitives (§2.3.3.5). It is so

far attested only with the third person (absolutive) agreement marker *⸗bə*. The most

commonly attested verb with this valence marker is *sul⸗ušt-* "to bow down, prostrate

oneself."[96] The following example is taken from an inscription by Sarduri:

(2.35) *nun ⸗a ⸗bə kauki* [m]*Nidīnə*[97] MAN [KUR]*Ueliku⸗ḫə*
come+INTRAN+3SG.ABS before+me PN king GN +GEN.ADJ
sul⸗ušt⸗i⸗bə
bow +*i*+3SG.ABS
"(Sarduri said:) 'He came, and Nidinə (or simply Nidi) the king of the land
of Weliku[98] bowed down before me'" (KUKN 241F 19-20 = UKN 155F 19-
20)[99]

An interesting occurrence of an *i*-class verb comes from a text by Menua:

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[94] *i-ia-at-ta-ma-an ta-a-nu-ši-ik-kat-ta-a̯-a̯n*

[95] cf. Wilhelm 2004b: 130.

[96] Arutunian 2001: 461 ("склоняться" and "падать ниц"); Diakonoff 1971: 119[134] (translates with German *sich verbeugen*); Melikishvili 1971: 86 ("sich bis zur Erde verneigen")

[97] Also possible is [m]*Nidī⸗nə* with *⸗nə* acting as a resumptive third person singular pronoun.

[98] cf. Diakonoff and Kashkai 1981: 99-100.

[99] *nu-na-bi ka-ú-ki* [m]*ni-di-i-ni* [20] MAN [KUR]*ú-e-li-ku-ḫi su-lu-uš-ti-bi*

(2.36) *in*⸗*uka* ⸗*nə*   *esi*   ⸗*ne*   ⸗*nə*   ANŠE.KUR.R[A]
this very + ABL/INST place+SG.RELAT+ABL/INST   horse+ØABS
Arṣibinə   *ti*   ⸗*nə*   ᵐ*Menua*⸗*pə*   *a*(*i*)⸗*išt*⸗*i*⸗*bə*   22 1-KUŠ
PN+ØABS name+ABL/INST   PN   +before   jump   +*i*+3SG.ABS 22 cubits
"From this very place, a horse, it's name is Arṣibini,[100] jumped 22 cubits
before Menua" (KUKN 136: 5-9 = UKN 110: 9)[101]

In order for it to agree with the verbal form, the underlying Urartian of the Sumerogram
ANŠE.KUR.R[A] must be in the absolute case. The exact case of 22 1-KUŠ "22
cubits" is, unfortunately, not as clear. Are we dealing with an unmarked (in the Sumerian)
oblique, or does the verb *a*(*i*)⸗*išt*- take the distance jump as the direct object? If the latter
is correct, then the underlying Urartian should be in a case like the essive and the ⸗*i*-
marker would indeed indicate antipassivity. Until more evidence arises, this question
shall remain unanswered.

2.3.5 The Transitive in Hurrian

2.3.5.1 General Introduction

The transitive verb in Hurrian involves the ergative construction. In contrast to
antipassive verbs where the subject stands in the (derived) Ø-absolutive S position
(§2.3.4.1), with the transitive veb, the actor NP (A) is in the ergative case (Hurrian ⸗*ž*),
and the object (O) in the Ø-absolutive. Unlike the intransitive and antipassive, there
exists a considerable difference between the forms of the transitive verb in OHu and
MHu. In OHu, a valence marker ⸗*o* marks the transitive verb. In contrast, the transitive

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[100] Or is it to be understood as *Arṣibi*⸗*nə* "It, Arṣibini ((is) the name)"?

[101] *i-nu-ka-ni* ⁶ ⌈*e*⌉-*si-ni-ni* ANŠE.KUR.R[A] ⁷ *ar-ṣi-bi-ni ti-ni* ⁸ ᵐ*me-nu-a-pi-i* ⁹ *a-iš-ti-bi* 22 1-
KUŠ

verb in MHu is indicated either by the absence of a valence marker (≠Ø) or by the morpheme ≠i≠ (occurring only with 2 and 3 sg. and 3 pl. subjects in the (unmarked) present tense). The dialects display substantial differences in agreement strategies. In both OHu and MHu, NPs are cross-referenced through bound agreement on the verb, but depending upon the dialect, this may involve either A or O.

2.3.5.2 The Old Hurrian Transitive

To date there is no clear consensus as to how the OHu transitive verb is to be analyzed.[102] The majority of the data on these verbal forms comes from the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual.[103] This data is further supplemented by the Tiš-atal inscription and the Mari texts amongst others. This corpus of texts, although quite large, presents numerous challenges. As the study of Hurrian has progressed, these texts have yielded ever more light on OHu grammar, but much still remains unclear.

For the vast majority of transitive sentences in the OHu corpus both the A and O NPs are either 3 sg. or 3 pl. The following discussion on agreement is therefore based on very restricted evidence. It will be assumed here that the pattern presented here is applicable throughout the paradigm of the OHu transitive verb even though the focus is solely on verbs with A and O in 3 sg./pl. The paradigm for the preserved verbs is shown in table 2.

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[102] Treated most recently in Campbell (forthcoming).

[103] This composition exhibits a number of MHu forms, however, indicating that the language of the Bilingual is in a period of change with older forms being phased out in favor of younger ones.

	3sg. O	3pl. O
3sg. A	V≠o≠m	V≠o≠žo???[104]
3pl. A	V≠id≠o	V≠id≠o≠l(la)

Table 2.2: Old Hurrian transitive verbal paradigm

Certain patterns arise in this paradigm. Forms with 3 sg. A share only the transitive morpheme ≠o, while forms with 3 pl. A share both the morpheme ≠id≠ and the transitive morpheme ≠o. The ≠l(la) of the 3 pl./3pl. form is clearly the enclitic 3 pl. pronoun. I would like to propose here that OHu utilized a split-agreement system. When A is singular, agreement is with the O (≠m for 3 sg. O)[105], but when the A is plural, agreement is with A (2.37a-d). The following examples are used to demonstrate this split-agreement system. I have chosen to present the forms in the order OAV, although AOV would have been possible as well.[106] In the diagram, a solid line is used to connect the bound agreement marker on the VP to the NP which it cross-references. Therefore in (2.37a), the O NP is linked to the agreement marker ≠m in the VP, while in (2.37c), the plural A NP is joined to the pluralizer ≠id≠ in the VP. Dashed lines are used to indicate optional cross-referencing through free enclitic pronouns (see below):

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[104] Wilhelm 1992: 137; idem. 1992b: 666 followed by Giorgieri 2000aa: 230; but see Wilhelm 2004a: 112 where he analyzes the form as ≠ožo in *naḫḫ≠ōžo*. There is no reason why this form alone should not include the transitive morpheme ≠o≠.

[105] For problems with the 3sg./3pl. form in ≠o≠žo see below.

[106] In the oldest texts, the prevailing word order appears to be OAV. This is contra Wilhelm 2004a: 116 where he sees OAV order in Old Hurrian as indicating topicalization of the absolutive NP.

(2.37) a. 3 sg A   NP(ABS.SG)   NP(ERG.SG)   V≠o   ≠*m*
       3 sg O
                 O   A   V+TRAN+3SG.O

   b. 3 sg A   NP(ABS.PL)   NP(ERG.SG)   V≠o   ≠*žo*
       3 pl O
                 O   A   V+TRAN+3PL.O

   c. 3 pl A   NP(ABS.SG)   NP(ERG.PL)   V≠*id*   ≠o
       3sg O
                 O   A   V+PL.A+TRAN

   d. 3 pl A   NP(ABS.PL)   NP(ERG.PL)   V≠*id*   ≠o   (≠ *l*)
       3 pl O
                 O   A   V+PL.A+TRAN+3PL.ABS

There is one example of a form with 3 sg. subject and 2 sg. object (2.38). As we shall see, however, this example is fraught with difficulties and disagreement.

(2.38) *nera* ≠*v* ≠*ū(ž)*≠*mma* ^d*Kumarbi*≠*ne* ≠*ž* **un** ≠*ō* ≠*b/v*
       mother+2POSS+ERG +2SG.ENCL DN   +SG.RELAT +ERG come+TRAN+2SG.ABS[?]
       "Your mother Kumarbi brought you (Teššub) (into the world)" (KUB 47.78 i 13'-14')[107]

Giorgieri has opted to take the verbal form *un*≠*ō*≠*b* as a an aberrant writing of *un*≠*ō*≠*m*[!], with the ≠*m* here as the 2 sg. enclitic (absolutive) pronoun.[108] In this same text he also notes the series of intransitive verbal forms ending in *-ib* in lines i 7'-9' where one would expect the 2 sg. absolutive pronoun ≠*m* (§2.3.4.4 and (2.28)).[109] According to Giorgieri, it appears "daß der Schreiber dieses Textes anscheinend die Verwendung von Zeichen mit auslautendem bilabialen Okklusiv zur Wiedergabe des bilabialen Nasals /m/

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[107] *ni-ra-wu_ú-ú-um-ma* ^{14'} ^d*ku-mar-we_e-ni-eš ú-nu-u-ub*

[108] Giorgieri, 2001: 135.

bevorzugte."[110] Why the scribe would prefer or choose to use a bilabial occlusive for a

bilabial nasal is unclear to me. Wilhelm offers an alternate explanation. The

geographical name [URU]Ḫalab (i 15') immediately follows the verb *un≠ō≠b*. According to

Wilhelm, the appearance of a *b* instead of *m* is conditioned by the appearance of this city

name which begins with an initial fricative /ḫ/.[111] This falls back upon the theory of both

Neu and Khačikyan that the morphemes *-b* and *-m* are identical.[112] Two examples

are given from the Hurro-Hittite bilingual, *pu-ú-zi-ḫu-ub* (KBo 32.14 rv. 24) and *a-le-e-*

u-ub (KBo 32.14 rv. 36), both of which are immediately followed by forms with initial *ḫ-*.

As noted by Wilhelm, however, there is simply not enough statistical evidence to show

that the sound combination *-m#ḫ-* (with # indicating word break) would result in

-b/p#ḫ-.[113]

   Both Giorgieri's and Wilhelm's solutions operate on the assumption that the

appropriate agreement marker here is *≠m*. That *≠m* is clearly used in forms with 3 sg.

subject and 3 sg. object is clear. If we also posit an *≠m* agreement marker for forms with

3 sg. subject and 2 sg. object, how are we to analyze the morpheme? While it is certainly

possible, it seems doubtful that *≠m* is only an agreement marker indicating the singular

status of the O NP and not for person. Unfortunately the data at hand is of no help in this

matter, given that KUB 47.78 i 14' is the sole example of an OHu transitive form that

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[109] Giorgieri, 2001: 134-135.

[110] Giorgieri, 2001: 135.

[111] Wilhelm, 1998: 130-131, idem., 2003: 394[6]; see also Catsanicos, 1996: 219.

[112] cf. Wilhelm 1998a: 130[75] for the bibliography.

[113] Wilhelm 1998a: 131.

does not have a third person object. Alternatively, the 2 sg. absolutive pronoun is *=*

mma with a short form of *=m*. Perhaps OHu verbs with 2 sg. objects used this pronoun as

an agreement marker. This would create a situation in which two distinct yet

homophonous morphemes were used as agreement markers. On the surface there would

be no difference between these two functionally distinct morphemes.

In support of a morpheme *=b* agreeing with a 2 sg. absolutive object, one should note

the form *=ppa* (*=ffa*) and *=p* (*=f*) for the 2 pl. absolutive in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual

next

to the 2 sg. *=mma* and *=m*.[114] There is also the 2 sg. possessive morpheme which is either

=b or *=v*/*=f*. Suffice it to say, there is plenty of evidence of the use of a labial or labial-

fricative to indicate second person absolutives. Therefore an explanation of this *=b* as a

second person absolutive agreement marker is not out of the question.

Until more examples of OHu transitive verbs with non-third person arguments are

found, this question will remain unanswered. At the present time, I would prefer to leave

the text as is and not emendate it to *=m*[!]. At present, *=b*/*v* should stand as a potential 2nd

sg. O-agreement marker.

2.3.5.2.1 *=m* as "Binary"?

It has been recently posited that the *=m* of (2.37a) is a "bipolar" or binary morpheme

agreeing with both A and O.[115] Such binary agreement markers do exist in some modern

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[114] Giorgieri 2000a: 220; Neu 1996: 124; Wegner 2000: 66; Wilhelm 1992a: 135 (with pre-1992 bibliographic information).

[115] Wilhelm 1992: 666; followed by Giorgieri 2000a: 229-230.

languages. In Inuktitut for example, morphemes on the verb indicate whether the

agreement is with the subject and object (polypersonal) or simply with the subject

(monopersonal). In example (2.39), the transitive verb uses the polypersonal morpheme

(-*a*) while the antipassive construction in (2.40) requires a monopersonal marker (-*uq*):

(2.39) *inu-up   qimmiq-Ø   taku-v   -a   -a*
        person(SUBJ)   dog(OBJ)   see +INDIC+POLYP+3SG/3SG
        "A/The person saw the dog" (from Kalmár 1979: 118).

(2.40) *inuk-Ø   qimmir-mik taku-v   -uq   -Ø*
        person(SUBJ)   dog(OBJ)   see +INDIC+MONOP+3SG
        "A/The person saw a dog" (from Kalmár 1979: 118)

Agreement markers cross-referencing both A and O are typically generated by distinct

morphemes which have "merged into a single portmanteau form which is not

synchronically analyzable."[116] In most cases, this merge occurs in an agglutinative

system.[117] The question is whether or not this ⹁*m* morpheme in OHu represents such a

portmanteau form. Rather than see this in Hurrian, I would prefer to take the ⹁*m* of

Hurrian as simply referring to one argument, namely the O NP.[118]

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[116] Dixon 1994: 44

[117] Dixon 1994: 44 "But in almost all such cases the portmanteau forms have developed from an agglutinative structure in which there were segmentable A and O affixes, and one of them was identical or closely similar to the S set of cross-referencing forms."

[118] This goes against the observation made in Plank 1988, 85. He writes: "[d]ie Personalsuffixe an Verben können sich nur auf einen transitiven Agens beziehen …, nie auf einen transitiven Patiens oder einen intransitiven Aktanten." While this is true for the transitive forms in MHu (§2.3.5.3), it simply does not hold for OHu.

Khačikyan[119] and Wegner[120] have both analyzed this ⹀m morpheme as a marker of

subject agreement, comparable to the agreement marker ⹀b in intransitive/antipassive

verbs. While it is typical in nominative-accusative languages for S and A to share the

same agreement marker while O is cross-referenced (if at all) by a different morpheme,

for languages with ergative agreement, S and O are usually cross-referenced by the same

morpheme. There are certain ergative languages that do not cross-reference A at all.[121]

Khačikyan and Neu would like to see this ⹀m agreement morpheme as one and the same

as the agreement morpheme ⹀b from the intransitive and antipassive.[122] Khačikyan has

even gone so far as to analyze this ⹀m/b morpheme "as an originally singular pronoun,

which was neutralized [i.e. optional] in certain positions."[123] This analysis simply does

not hold up under examination. The morpheme ⹀b does indeed appear to be optional

with intransitives and antipassives as Khačikyan claims (cf. §2.3.3.2 and §2.3.4.4), and it

is indeed indifferent as to number and even person (§2.3.3.2). Against Khačikyan,

however, ⹀m is never optional[124] and only appears with singular O NPs, and is therefore

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[119] 1999: 259

[120] 2000: 110

[121] The following examples and citations are from Dixon 1994: 44: Canelo-Krahô of Central
Brazil (Popjes and Popjes 1986) and the Northeast Causcasian language Avar (Černý 1971; Charachidzé
1981).
        [122] Khačikyan 1999: 259; Neu 1988a: 238 "In diesen transitiven Bildungen dürfte geschriebenes -
m am Wortende morphonologisch -b repräsentieren."

[123] 1999: 259.

[124] "-b/m was absent in the forms with pluralizing suffix -(i)d" (Khačikyan 1999: 259). It is my
position that ⹀m is only a valid agreement marker for verbs with 3 sg. A and 3 sg. O. It is not expected to
occur in forms with 3 pl. A (see below).

not to be taken as a marker of A.[125] Wegner bases her analysis on the form =o=b

which appear parallel to verbs in =o=m in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual.[126] I follow

Giorgieri and Wilhelm in seeing these forms as occurring so rarely as to be statistically

negligible.[127] There are a number of possible explanations for these forms, and there is

no reason to see =o=m as anything but the typical form.

2.3.5.2.2 An Alternative View

The origin of the =m morpheme is not clear. It may be related to the morpheme   =

ma/e= found in certain constructions in MHu. In MHu, the typical 3 sg. absolutive

enclitic pronoun was =*nna*, but in constructions such as *inu/ū=mēl/ā=nīn*[128] and *innā=*

māl/ē=nīn[129] the =*ma/e=* morpheme must be a form of the 3 sg. absolutive enclitic

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[125] Khačikyan's statement that =*m* can be omitted in the Hurrian of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual simply does not hold up. One example cited by her is the form *šeḫl-o* (Khačikyan's normalization). The sentence (ᵈ*Teššob*) *šeḫl=u* [*ḫ*]*aikal*(*i*)=*le*(<*ne*) (KBo 32.13 i 1-2) is clearly intransitive, and it is translated as such by the Hittite *na-aš-kán* ² *ták-na-a-aš* ᵈUTU-*aš* ᴱ*ḫa-le-en-tu-u-wa-aš* ³ *an-da-an i-ia-an-ni-iš* "he went into the palace of the Sun Goddess of the earth" (ii 1-3) (Neu 1996: 230). While difficult, the form must be analyzed not as a transitive in =*o*, but as an intransitive in =*u* (§2.3.6). Khačikyan also argues that the =*m* form is absent from plural forms such as *kiwud-o* and *naḫed-o* (both as normalized by Khačikyan) from KBo 32.13 i 2. The first form is not a plural at all, but is better taken as a singular intransitive in =*u* (Neu 1996: 233-234 tentatively takes it as such). The second example is best analyzed as [*naḫ*]=*ēd*=*o*, an indefinite plural form, matching the Hittite *iēr* "one made" (KBo 32.14 ii 34). As has been shown above, OHu has a split-agreement system based on the number of the subject. When the subject is plural, we simply do not expect the object marker =*m*.

[126] Wegner 2000: 110

[127] Giorgieri 2000a: 230 n. 174; Wilhelm 1998a: 131 (see above)

[128] Mitt. i 13, 75, ii 123, 125, iii 97

[129] Mitt. ii 6, 14, 16, iii 12, 21, 22, 29

pronoun.[130] This morpheme also occurs in similar constructions in Hurrian texts from

Boğazköy:

(2.41) *inu ⸗mē   ušḫōni   šeġ ⸗al   ⸗a*
      as +3SG.ENCL silver+ØABS. pure+DERIV+INTRAN
      "As silver is pure…" (ChS I/1 9 iv 8, 27)[131]

    Clitic doubling of the absolutive, be it S or O, is a common feature in Hurrian. The

enclitic pronoun ⸗*ma/e*⸗ must be an archaic form that was only preserved in certain

frozen expressions. If the ⸗*m* agreement marker is indeed related to this archaic

absolutive pronoun, then it seems all the more likely that it would stand in agreement

with the O of the transitive verb rather then both A and O.[132] This situation would be

comparable to the Hindi construction of transitive/ergative sentences where agreement is

with the object (here the feminine *roṭī*):

(2.42) Rām-ne   roṭī   khāyī   thī
      Ram +ERG bread+NOM+FEM eat+PERF+FEM   be+PAST+FEM
      "Ram had eaten bread"

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[130] This idea goes back as far as Bork, 1932-1933: 310. It was refuted by Goetze (1948: 257-258; followed by Bush 1964: 255). Since Goetze, there has been a tendency to analyze the morpheme as an enclitic pronoun, even if tentatively (cf. Wilhelm 1992: 666-667 with citations; Giorgieri 2000a: 220; Wegner 2000: 68).

[131] *i-nu-me-e uš-ḫu-u-ni še-ḫa-la-a* iv 8 (iv 27: *i-nu-me uš-ḫu-ni ši-ḫa-a-la*); note the lack of ⸗*nīn* which is typically found with subordinate clauses in the Mittani Letter.

[132] The rise of agreement markers from original pronominal forms has been posited for other languages. For example, such a correspondence between agreement markers and pronouns has been posited for Inuit (Bok-Bennema 1991: 195).

2.3.5.2.3 Old Hurrian Transitive Verbs with 3 pl. A

Verbs with 3 pl. subjects in OHu show a completely different agreement strategy from those with singular subjects. The majority of examples come from verbs with plural subject and singular object (i.e. 3pl./3sg.). The only agreement marker present in these forms is the morpheme ⸗*id*⸗ affixed before the valence marker. The morpheme ⸗*m* is never found with ⸗*id*⸗*o*. There is at least one example of a sentence with 3 pl. A and 3 pl. O (2.43). The sentence is verb initial, and therefore the ⸗*l* 3 pl. marker can be taken as a free enclitic pronoun appearing in Wackernagel position. It is highly doubtful that the inclusion of the 3 pl. pronoun in this case was anything more than optional.

(2.43) ᵈ*Šauška*(⸗*ž*) ⸗*l*   *tīve* ⸗*na*   *taržē* ⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*aš*⸗*ta* ⸗[*l* …
       DN   (+ERG)+3PL.ENCLword+PL.ABS person+PL.RELAT+PL+DIR+3PL.ENCL
       § ⸢*ḫ*⸣*āž*⸗*id*   ⸗*ū*[133] ⸗*l*   *tīve* ⸗*n*(*a*)   x[
       hear+3PL.ERG+TRAN+3PL.ENCL word+PL.ABS
       "Šauška [spoke] them, the words, to the people … § They (the people) heard
       them, the words" (ChS I/6 26 i 8-13)[134]

The ⸗*id*⸗ morpheme cross-references the plural agent and only the plural agent.[135] Interestingly, this is the only agreement marker that occurs to the left of the valence marker. In all other cases the cross-referencing morpheme is always affixed to the right of the valence marker. Based on the general principle that morphemes which affect the

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[133] The use of Ú for expected U is of little consequence here. The texts from Boğazköy make little distinction between the two, as opposed to the Mittani Letter where the two are carefully distinguished in order to represent different phonological values.

[134] ᵈIŠTAR-*al ti-i-wi$_i$-na tar-še-e-na-aš-ta-a*[*l* … § ¹³ ⸢*ḫa*⸣-*a-ši-i-tu-ú-ul ti-i-wi$_i$-na* x[

[135] Giorgieri 2000a: 230; Wegner 2000: 110; Wilhelm 1992: 666, 1992a: 138.

semantic content of the root (i.e. derivational morphemes) always appear closer to the

root than those morphemes which affect the syntactic role of the verb within the sentence

(i.e. inflectional morphemes), =id= would appear to be in a more derivational rather than

inflectional position.[136] Agreement markers are, however, traditionally inflectional.[137]

They have no effect upon the semantic content of the root but instead play a syntactic role,

linking the verb to its core arguments.[138] The position of =id= closer to the root than the

valence marker makes it unlikely that this morpheme always functioned as an agreement

marker. It is more likely that this morpheme was originally derivational, perhaps

imparting a sense of plurality to the verbal root (e.g. habitual, reciprocate, iterative,

etc…).[139] Early in Proto-Hurro-Urartian, this derivational morpheme may have been

reanalyzed as a plural subject agreement marker.[140]

2.3.5.3 The Mittani Hurrian Transitive

As mentioned above (§2.3.5.1) the transitive verb in MHu is indicated either by the

absence of a valence marker or by the inclusion of the morpheme =i=. The use of =i= as

a marker of transitivity is only found in forms with 2 or 3 person sg. or 3 pl. subject in the

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[136] Bybee 1985: 12.

[137] Bybee 1985: 22-23, Figure 1.

[138] Agreement markers typically have little to do with modifying the lexical form of the verb. Instead, they play more of a syntactic role, linking the verbal form to one or more of the core constituents (e.g. subject, object, dative, etc.). This is especially true of person agreement markers. Number agreement markers, however, are more likely to turn up as derivational markers or even be expressed lexically as in !Kung. On this, cf. Bybee 1985: 102-105.

[139] Bybee writes "that plurality in a verb may express more than the number of the subject or object. Plurality of action may involve either distribution or iteration of the action. These various plural notions may be expressed by a single morpheme" (1985: 104).

[140] The motivation for this is unclear. At the moment one can only speculate. For that reason I have not attempted such a study here.

present tense.[141] There are, however, examples of forms with 3 sg. and 2 sg. A that do

not include this ≠i≠ morpheme.[142] In a difficult passage from ChS I/1 6, there is a series

of transitive phrases. The first is marked with the transitive ≠i≠, while the others omit it:

(2.44) *ḫan≠u≠mb≠azḫe tupp≠e   šīe   ≠n(a)   ≠až≠a   taržuw≠a≠n(i)≠zi*
        fertility+ØABS   collect+STAT water+PL.RELAT+PL +ESS humanity+ØABS
        *šīe   ≠ne   ≠ž **zāz** ≠ol≠i   ≠a   **tēġ** ≠oll ≠a*
        water+SG.RELAT+ERG nourish+*ol*+TRAN+3SG.ERG raise+*oll*+3SG.ERG
        ***talm**   ≠ol ≠a*
        make strong+*ol*+3SG.ERG
        "Fertility is gathered in the waters. The water nourishes, raises and makes
        strong humanity" (ChS I/1 6 iii 43'-44')[143]

Another example of the omission of the transitive ≠i≠ comes from this same text. In

(2.45), as in (2.44), the agent is in the ergative singular.

(2.45) *šīe   ≠ne   ≠ž **až** ≠**ōl**≠a   mōr(i)≠ri(<ni)   ḫā*-x[
        water+SG.RELAT+ERG wash+*ol*+3SG.ERG ?   +ABL/INST   ?
        "The water washes […] in/with the *mōri*" (ChS I/1 6 iii 13')[144]

An example of a second person A without ≠i≠ is found in the texts from Boğazköy as

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[141] But note that there are no examples of transitive verbs with 2 pl. subjects in MHu.

[142] For further examples, see Giorgieri 2001a: 126[7]. Note that every example given both here and
in Giorgieri except for one (*šid≠ār≠a* KBo 32.14 i 11, 46 cf. Neu 1996: 112-113) occurs with the
morpheme ≠*ol*(*l*).

[143] 43' *ḫa-nu-um-pa-az-ḫi tup-pé ši-i-e-na-ša tar-šu-wa-an-zi ši-i-e-ni-iš* 44' *za-a-šu-li-ia te-e-ḫu-ul-
la tal-mu-u-la*; Haas gives a very different interpretation of this passage (1989: 268). He sees *te-e-ḫu-ul-la*
and *tal-mu-u-la* as nominal forms, but runs into difficulties with his analysis of the latter word, parsing it as
talm+uli=na[?]. He takes these two words as objects of *ši-ia* which he tentatively associates this form with
Urartian *ši-* "to bring", but this analysis seems unlikely. Against Haas, I would read the *ši-ia* as the essive
of *šie* "water" (*ši(e)≠a*), and I would prefer to take this as the first element of a new sentence:
        ši(e)   ≠a taržuw≠a≠nni≠va   šeġur≠ni≠nni pošši≠nni \ ežile≠nni
        water+ESS humanity   +DAT life   +*nni* ? +*nni* ? +*nni*
        "In the water is life, *pušši≠nni* and *eže≠nni* for humanity" (ChS I/1 6 iii 44'-45')

[144] *ši-i-e-ni-eš a-šu-u-la mu-u-ur-ri ḫa-a*-x[

well:

(2.46) *anāġidi⹀ne*   ⹀*ž*   **tād** ⹀**o**   ⹀*šše*⹀*ne*   ⹀*ž* …
        morsel +SG.RELAT+ERG   love+2SG.ERG+REL+SG.RELAT+ERG
        "the morsel which you love …" (ChS I/2 31 i 1)[145]

   The Mittani dialect appears to have lost the OHu transitive marker ⹀*o*⹀. The ⹀*i*⹀

morpheme used to mark the transitive verb in this dialect is most certainly the same as the

valence marker for antipassive verbs. That the antipassive ⹀*i*⹀ came to be used to mark

the transitive verb (even if only under certain conditions) is not surprising since

antipassivity and transitivity are closely related in that both can support two arguments.

   Unlike the OHu transitive forms, the transitive verbs in MHu cross-reference A for all

persons and numbers. The A NP is cross-referenced by a bound morpheme, while the

direct object is optionally indicated by a clitic pronoun affixed to the subject marker:

V(+DERIV)(+TRAN)+ERG.SUBJ(+ABS.OBJ). The verb agrees with both person and number

of the ergative NP. It has been posited that these agreement morphemes developed from

the possessive enclitic pronouns.[146]

   Although the agreement strategy of MHu significantly differs from that of OHu, it

remains an ergative system. The agreement system found in MHu is very similar to other

known ergative languages. As we have seen, in MHu the transitive (i.e. ergative) A NP is

cross-referenced by a subject agreement marker affixed to the verb. It occurs either

immediately following the verbal construct (V+DERIV) or after the valence marker ⹀*i*⹀.

Absolutives, that is to say, the S NPs of intransitive/antipassive verbs and O NPs of

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[145] ⸢*a-na-a*⸣-*ḫi-te-ni-eš da-*[(*a-tu-u-uš-še-ni-iš* …; restored from ChS I/2 33 iv 9.

[146] Khačikyan 1999: 257 with chart.

transitive ones, are cross-referenced by enclitic pronouns. This type of agreement is

clearly ergative: both S and O are cross-referenced one way, while A is marked in a

different manner. This agreement strategy can be found in ergative languages with

nominative-accusative case systems (with accusative morphologically unmarked) as well

as in ones with overt ergative case marking, such as Hurrian.[147]

The basic concept behind this is, according to Woolford, that "[b]ecause of a limit of

one clitic per clause, in transitives only one argument may be clitic doubled, so

agreement must be used to cross-reference the other argument."[148] In the case of Hurrian,

there is no doubt as to which argument will be cross-referenced by an enclitic pronoun.

In this language, enclitic pronouns occur only in the absolutive and can therefore only

cross-reference S and O (cf. §2.2.3). Because of this, transitive subjects are coded on the

verb by a bound morpheme affixed directly to it. The doubling of the absolutive is

possible since the absolutive forms are morphologically unmarked in Hurrian.

2.3.5.4 Negative Transitive

2.3.5.4.1 Negatives in ǂud ǂ

As can be expected, methods of negating transitive verbs differ between OHu and

MHu. The language of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual contains negative forms similar to

MHu forms as well as older negatives in ǂud ǂ.[149] The ǂud ǂ negative morpheme is

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[147] Woolford 1999: 4

[148] Woolford 1999: 16

[149] Neu's interpretation of this negative morpheme as *-u-* plus a preterit *-t-* is not very likely (1996: 164).

primarily found only at Boğazköy,[150] and is always used in conjunction with the OHu

transitive forms in =o=. This negative marker always appears immediately before the

valence marker:

(2.47) *agāv/be   am=ūd =o   =m   ežāv/bē   =ma*
        this side+ØABS see+NEG+TRAN+3SG.ABS that side+ØABS+CONN
        f[ur]=ud =o   =m
        see   +NEG+TRAN+3SG.ABS
        "He (the deer) did not see this side, nor did he see the other side" (KBo
        32.14 i 28-29)[151]

2.3.5.4.2 Negatives in =uw=

   There are two negative morphemes in MHu that are dependent upon the A NP of the

sentence. One morpheme is attested with 1 sg./pl. and 2 pl. A NPs while the other is only

attested with 3 sg. ones (there are no attested negatives with 2 sg. A). The exact form of

the first morpheme is not certain. It partially fuses with the subject markers to give the

following forms and always follows the transitive valence marker =i=:

1 sg.	=i=uffu
1 pl.	=i=uffu=ž
2 pl.	=i=uššu

Table 2.3: Negatives in MHu with
first and second person agents

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[150] Wilhelm 2004a: 111; Haas and Wegner take the form *ḫupp=ud=a=ššā(<e)=ll(a)=ān* from the Mittani Letter (ii 22) as a negative "*unversehrt*" (their italics) (1997: 344).

[151] *a-ga-a-we_e* [29] *ạ-mu-u-tu-um e-ša-a-be-e-ma p[u-r]u-tụ-ụ[m]*; Hitt.: *na-aš-ša-an ta-pu-ša-aš ú-e-ši-ia-aš* [30] *a-ạr-aš Ú-UL ki-ma ú-e-mi-it Ú-UL.* The Hittite is a rather free rendering of the Hurrian despite the placement of the negative *ŪL* after the verb contrary to typical Hittite syntax (Neu 1996: 130).

Wegner analyzes these negatives as: ⸗u(w) (negative morpheme) + (a)ffu (long form of

1 sg. transitive).[152] She relates this ⸗u(w) negative morpheme to the negative marker ⸗

va⸗ found with modal verbs.[153] The exact nature of the -u- vowel is not clear. It may

indeed belong to the negative morpheme as taken by Wegner,[154] or it may simply be

some sort of epenthetic vowel between the negative morpheme ⸗v(a) and the transitive

marker ⸗i. It is very tempting to see these transitive negatives as containing the negative

morpheme ⸗va⸗ despite the difficulty in analyzing the forms.

2.3.5.4.3 Negatives in ⸗*ma*

   3 sg. verbs are negated through the affix ⸗*ma* which occurs after the person marker in

contrast to the ⸗u(⸗)v(a)⸗ mentioned above. An example of this is (2.48), where we find

the negative transitive verb *kuliāma*:

(2.48) *ai ⸗l   ⸗an   ᵐMane⸗ž   ᵐKelia(⸗ž)   ⸗ll(a)   ⸗ān*
        if+3PL.ENCL+CONN PN +ERG PN (+ERG)+3PL.ENCL+CONN
        kul ⸗i   ⸗ā   ⸗ma
        say+TRAN+3SG.ERG+NEG
        "If Mane and Kelia do not say them (the words)…" (Mitt. iv 20-21)[155]

In the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, this morpheme is written geminately as ⸗*mma*.[156] Wegner

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[152] Wegner 2000: 81.

[153] Girbal sees a development ⸗*wa* negation + *awwu* 1 sg. > *uwwu*, presumably with the two -*a*-vowels eliding and *w*(*a*) > *u*(*a*) (1994: 82-83).

[154] Wegner 2000: 81

[155] *a-i-la-an* ᵐ*ma-ni-eš* ᵐ*ge-li-ia-al-la-a-an* ²¹ *gu-li-a-a-ma*

[156] Neu 1995: 51-52

sees this negative morpheme as an allomorph to the above mentioned ⸗va⸗. This is, however, far from certain.

2.3.5.5 Transitive Verbs in Urartian

The transitive verb in Urartian bears many similarities to the OHu transitive verb (§2.3.5.2). Transitivity is indicated by the valence marker ⸗o⸗, familiar to us form OHu. The MHu script, and to a certain extent earlier texts as well, clearly differentiated the vowels *u* and *o* through the signs 𒌋 (Ú) and 𒌑 (U) respectively, but this distinction was not made in Urartian[157]. The hypothesized ⸗o⸗ transitive valence marker was orthographically represented by the vowel -*u*- in Urartian.[158] As in OHu, the transitive verb in Urartian primarily cross-references only the object through bound agreement

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[157] The distinction between /o/ and /u/ was careful maintained by the scribe of the Mittani Letter and less consistently by the scribes at Hattusa (cf. Wegner 2000: 41 with citations).

[158] The script did not differentiate these two vowels, although it is assumed that the language had an /o/ vowel as well (Diakonoff 1971: 42-43; Diakonoff and Starostin 1986: 12). When one looks at the cognates between Hurrian and Urartian, it becomes clear that Urartian orthography did not have a means of representing the sound /o/. To demonstrate this point, two cognate NPs found in both Hurrian and Urartian are compared here:

<p align="center">ḫor⸗adi "warrior"</p>

Hurrian	Urartian
ḫu-u-ra-ta (ChS I/1 41 ii 58)	LÚ*ḫu-ra-di-e* (KUKN 174 B2, 38 = UKN 128 B2, 38)
ḫu-u-ra-ti (ChS I/1 55 9')	LÚ*ḫu-ú-ra-di* (KUKN 50, 4 = UKN 33, 4)
ḫu-u-ra-ti-ni-ta (ChS I/1 49 ii 25)	LÚ*ḫu-ú-ra-d[i-n]a-a* (KUKN 53, 22 (Arutunian omits the -*ú*-!) = UKN 36, 22)

and:

<p align="center">Hurr. *torobi* "enemy" and
Urararatian *d/torb*- "to arise, rebel" and *d/tor(o)baie* "rebel, enemy"</p>

d[u]-ru-pí (Mitt. iii 111)	*du-ur-ba-bi* (KUKN 174 A1, 14 = UKN 128 A3, 23)
du-u-ru-[(Mitt. iii 116)	*du-ur-ba-i-e* (KUKN 174 A3, 23 = UKN 128 A3, 23;
tu-u-ru-up-wa_a-wa_a (ChS I/5 46 iv 12')	KUKN 148, 8, 22)
tu-u-ru-u(erasure)-*ub-bi* (ChS I/5 46 iv 34')	*du-ru-ba-i-e* (KUKN 149, 20)
[*t*]*u-u-ru-u-bi-ni-bi* (ChS I/1 52 obv. 11)	

These cognate sets offer clear examples of an /o/ vowel in Urartian. The use of the -*ú*- in the forms of *ḫor⸗adi* is likely to be purely orthographic and not representative of actual Urartian phonology. Wilhelm (2004: 122), however, is hesitant to posit an /o/ alongside the /u/ vowel in Urartian.

markers.[159] The third plural agent is indicated by plural *≠it≠* (/*id*/) morpheme affixed

immediately preceding the valence marker, just as in OHu. Not all forms in Urartian are

attested resulting in the following abbreviated paradigm:[160]

	3 sg. O	3 pl. O
1 sg. A	V*≠o≠bə*	V*≠o≠bə*; V*≠o≠lə*
3 sg. A	V*≠o≠nə*	V*≠o≠a≠lə*
3 pl. A	V*≠it≠o≠nə*	V*≠it≠o≠lə*

Table 2.4: Paradigm of transitive Urartian verbs

There is no clear agreement on the exact nature of the agreement markers in Urartian.

The morpheme *≠bə* of the first person forms is best understood as reflecting the *≠b* S-

agreement marker found with OHu intransitive and antipassive verbs and not with the

MHu first person agent marker *≠av*.[161] This S-agreement marker likely became

generalized and came to stand as a basic Ø-absolutive marker, replacing the *≠m* object

marker known from OHu. This shift of *≠m* > *≠b* likely occurred sometime after Urartian

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[159] The agreement strategy in Urartian is similar to that of Inuit. As with Urartian, it has been theorized that the agreement markers in Inuit historically arose from nominal inflections (although the course of development is different between the two languages) (cf. Bok-Bennema 1991: 195). The paradigm for transitive verbs with 3 person A and O is as follows:

	3 sg. A	3 pl. A
3 sg. O	V-*a*-Ø	V-*a*-*t*
3 pl. O	V-*i*-Ø	V-*i*-*t*

The table given above (adapted from Bok-Bennema 1991: 194) shows that when A is 3 sg., then it receives the Ø-agreement marker, but O is expressed by -*a* in the singular and -*i* in the plural. When A is 3 pl., however, the O-agreement markers remain the same, but in this case, the plural A NP is indicated through the addition of the morpheme -*t*. According to Bok-Bennema, this agreement strategy in Inuit has an underlying singular and plural markers of -Ø and -*t* respectively for both O and A. The -Ø and -*t* agreement markers then change to -*a* and -*i* respectively when followed by another set of -Ø or -*t* markers (Bok-Bennema 1991: 195). For example, a verb with 3 sg. A and sg. O would go from *V-Ø-Ø → V-*a*-Ø and one with 3 pl. A and pl. O would go from *V-*t*-*t* → V-*i*-*t*.

[160] Following Wilhelm, 2004: 130.

[161] For *≠bə* as object marker cf. Melikišvili 1971: 56; Salvini 1995: 199-200; Wilhelm 2004b: 130-131.

split from Hurrian. The agreement marker ⸗*b* continued to cross-reference only

person and not number in Urartian, being used as an agreement marker for both 3 sg. *and*

3 pl. O, at least with first person agents. The 3 pl. enclitic pronoun ⸗*lə* (Hurrian ⸗*l(la)*) is

also used to cross-reference 3 pl. objects. Perhaps the preserved Urartian texts are

documenting a period when ⸗*bə* was beginning to be replaced by ⸗*lə*. This is

demonstrated in the following two examples with first person agents and third plural

patients:

(2.49) ᵈ*Ḫaldi*⸗*ni*   ⸗*lə*   *šešti*⸗*lə*   É.GAL *bad*⸗*u*⸗*s(i)*⸗*i*   ⸗*ə*
          DN   +INST/ABL+3PL.ABS gate+3PL.ABS palace glory   +3SG.POSS+DAT
          šid* ⸗*išt* ⸗*o*   ⸗*bə
          build+DERIV+TRAN+3ABS
          "I built for Ḫaldi the gates and the palace for his glory" (KUKN 388: 4-5 =
          UKN 265 4-5).[162]

(2.50) [ᵈ*Ḫald*]ī̆⸗*ni*   ⸗*lə*   *šešti*   ***šid* ⸗*išt* ⸗*o*   ⸗*lə***
          DN   +INST/ABL+3PL.ABS gate+ØABS build+DERIV+TRAN+3PL.ABS
          "I built the gates for Ḫaldi" (KUKN 37 I 5 = UKN 26: 5)[163]

Of key interest to the topic at hand is the persistence of the third plural subject marker

⸗*it*⸗. The exact phonetic vowel of the dental is not clear. This morpheme is typically

written as -(C)*i-tú*(-),[164] The morpheme is also sometimes written with the sign *-tu* which

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[162] ᵈ*ḫal-di-ni-li* KÁ.MEŠ ⁵ É.GAL *ba-du-si-e ši-di-iš-tú-bi*

[163] Transliteration following Arutuniyan (2001: 43) and others: [ᵈ*ḫal-di*]-*i-ni-li* KÁ *ši-di-iš-tú-li*;
Meliškivili (1960: 143) only transliterates: [. . . . .] *i-ni-li* KÁ *ši-diš*ˀ-*tú-li* (variation of his
transliteration). Although KÁ does not have the plural ending MEŠ, it is clearly plural based on the use of
the 3 pl. enclitic pronoun ⸗*lə* and the use of the 3 pl. absolutive ⸗*lə* on the verbal form.

[164] e.g. *ḫa-i-tú* (KUKN 39: 4; *ḫa-a-i-tú-ú* (KUKN 44 rv. 4)

has the alternate reading *dú*.[165] While it appears that in Urartian the third plural agent

agreement marker was /*it*/ while in Hurrian it was /*id*/ it is certainly the same morpheme

in both languages. It is likely that already in proto-Hurro-Urartian the morpheme ⸗*id* had

developed into an agreement marker for plural A NPs.[166] Though no longer used in

indicative forms in MHu, it remained, as we shall see, productive in modal forms.

2.3.6 Verbal Morphemes ⸗*e* and ⸗*u*

   Alongside the above mentioned valences, there are two other indicative verbal

morphemes that require mention. The morpheme ⸗*e* appears primarily with verbs of state

(or at least with stative-like verbs) and requires an absolutive subject (2.51).[167]

Alongside the verb *mann*⸗ "to be," which always occurs with ⸗*e* in the positive

indicative, the verb *tupp*⸗ "to (be) assemble(d), gather(ed)" is also found with this

morpheme and never with the intransitive ⸗*a*. For this reason I take ⸗*e* as a stative

marker as opposed to an existential one. Examples of this ⸗*e* "stative" are found in both

OHu and MHu.

(2.51) *fir*⸗*ad(e)*⸗*ard(i)* ⸗*iffa* ⸗*l*   ⸗*an*   … **tupp**   **⸗e**
          dignitary+COLL +1POSS+3PL.ENCL+CONN … assemble +STAT
          "All of my dignitaries … were assembled" (Mitt. ii 18)[168]

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[165] According to Borger, this value is attested only in Old Akkadian (2004: 263), but according to Labat (1988: 61) it is attested in Old Akkadian, Neo-Babylonian, Boğazköy (Hattusa) and Amarna Akkadian (cf. also HZL no. 346).

[166] Borrowing is also a possible explanation.

[167] Giorgieri 2000a: 228; Wilhelm 1992: 659-660.

[168] *wi-i-ra-tar-ti-íw-wa-la-an* … *tup-pè*

A morpheme ⸗*u* is also attested, although it is primarily found only in OHu texts.[169]

While ⸗*e* appears with verbs of a certain semantic category (i.e. statives), ⸗*u* is not so easily classified. Verbs in ⸗*u* function along lines similar to intransitive and antipassive verbal forms. The subject is always in the absolutive (2.52). Unfortunately, the exact function of this morpheme is still not known.[170]

(2.52) *tab(⸗i)⸗rē⸗nni ḫaž ⸗i ⸗m⸗āi **fār** ⸗u ištan(i)⸗ī ⸗da*
      smith+ØABS hear+AP+GERUND be(come) sick+*u* inside +3SG.POSS+DIR
      "When the smith heard, he became sick within himself" (KBo 32.14 i 50-51)[171]

2.3.7 Tense/Aspect

In MHu, two derivational morphemes appear to indicate either tense or aspect. According to Wilhelm, the morphemes ⸗*ed-* (⸗*et*⸗ before ⸗*t*⸗)[172] and ⸗*ož*⸗ (⸗*oš*⸗ before ⸗*t*⸗) are "Tempussuffixen."[173] It is possible, however, that these morphemes may be aspectual and not temporal.[174] The morpheme ⸗*ed*⸗ is either a future marker or an imperfective, while the ⸗*ož*⸗ morpheme indicates either past tense or the perfective. The following example (2.53) utilizes both tense/aspect markers:

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[169] The form *ur⸗om⸗u* in the Mittani Letter (iv 47) has been analyzed by Wegner as belonging to this ⸗*u* class of verbs.

[170] Giorgieri 2000a: 228 (in verbi apparentemente intransitive, benché la funzioni esatta di questo morfema sia ancora poco chiara); Wegner 2000: 111 (ungeklärtes Verbalmorphem).

[171] *tab-re-e-in-ni ḫa-ši-ia-i pa-a-ru* [51] *iš-ta-ni-i-ta*; Hitt: *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* ᴸᵁSIMUG *iš-ta-ma-aš-ta* [51] *nu-uš-ši-eš-ta* ŠÀ-ŠU *an-da iš-tar-ak-ki-at* "When the smith heard, he became sick within himself" (ii 50-51).

[172] Giorgieri 2000a: 226 describes this morpheme as primarily intransitive. See also Wilhelm 1992b: 659. For an alternate analysis, see Girbal 1988: 129; idem. 1989: 78-83; idem. 1994b: 84-85.

[173] Wilhelm 1992b: 659.

[174] Giorgieri 2000a: 225

(2.53) *und⸗o⸗mān šēn(a)* *⸗iffu⸗we* *⸗n* *ašti* **ar** *⸗ōž* *⸗av*
now +CONN brother+my+GEN+3SG.ENCL wife+ØABS give+PRET/PRF+1SG.ERG
itt⸗ōš *⸗t⸗a* *⸗mān šēn(a)* *⸗iffu* *⸗da innā ⸗mā* *⸗nīn*
go+PAST/PERF+*t*+INTRAN+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+DIR when+3SG.ABS+CONN
un *⸗et* *⸗t⸗a*
come+FUT/IMPERF+*t*+INTRAN
"Now I have given the wife of my brother (and) [she] has gone. When [she] will
come (my brother will see her …)" (Mitt. iii 11-12)[175]

The situation in OHu is far from clear. As mentioned above, the Hurro-Hittite

Bilingual contains both older OHu and younger MHu verbal forms. No published OHu

text outside of Boğazköy displays any MHu forms, although this may simply be the result

of the chance preservation (and discovery) of texts. MHu forms in the Bilingual are

invariably translated into the Hittite as present/future tense verbs,[176] while OHu forms are

translated as preterites. According to Neu, the OHu verbal system is aspectual in nature

and is a forerunner of the later temporal system of MHu.[177] For the close relationship

between "future" forms in *⸗ed⸗* and modality, see §6.2.3.

2.4 Syntactic Ergativity

2.4.1 General Considerations

It is clear that Hurrian and Urartian are morphologically ergative languages. Their

case marking system and even cross-referencing strategies all conform to the expect

pattern for morphologically ergative languages. The status of Hurrian as a syntactically

ergative language, however, is not as clear. Anderson considered Hurrian to be one of

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[175] *un-du-ma-a-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-en aš-ti a-ru-u-ša-ú id-du-u-uš-ta-ma-a-an* [12] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta in-na-a-ma-a-ni-i-in* (erasure) *ú-ni*ˈ(text: *ú*)-*e-et-ta*; the square brackets are used to indicate deleted NPs.

[176] On this see Neu 1995.

[177] Neu 1996: 6

the few known syntactically ergative languages,[178] but this has been met with some
caution since he offers no justification for this claim.[179] Syntactically ergative languages,
unlike morphologically ergative ones, are much rarer.[180]

One of the most important tests for syntactic ergativity is one of coreferentiallity
between NPs of adjoining clauses. In a syntactically ergative language, this can only (or
at least primarily) occur between S and O NPs rather than S and A NPs. The following
discussion will focus on two aspects of syntax in an attempt to delineate the true syntactic
affiliation of Hurrian. A large number of relative clauses are found in the extant corpora
of Hurrian language texts. As will be shown below, the NPs involved in the process of
relativization can be strictly controlled by the syntax of the language, though this is not
always the case. Second, I will look at the nature of NP deletion in Hurrian. While there
is little evidence for this kind of "syntactic control" in Hurrian,[181] there are examples of
deletion of one of two identical NPs in adjoining sentences. The pattern of NP deletion
in Hurrian should shed light on its syntax.

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[178] Anderson 1976

[179] Manning 1996: 10

[180] Most scholars traditionally see Dyirbal as being the one true example of a syntactically ergative language. Manning, however, attempts to expand the parameters of the definition of syntactic ergativity and includes more languages into the group (1996).

[181] Equi NP deletion (or equi) is the deletion of one of two coreferential NPs in a sentence. This typically, though not solely, occurs with infinitives. An English example would be "John wants to sneeze" where John is the subject of the infinitive and the conjugated verb. The sentence should be analyzed as: "John wants [John] to sneeze." The second "John" is deleted through equi.

2.4.2 Relative Clauses

2.4.2.1 General Considerations

The strategies by which a language forms relative clauses offers a view of its syntactic affinities. Relativization is a form of modification in which one of the NPs in the main clause is modified by a coreferential NP in the relative clause. This typically involves deletion of one NP or its replacement (as in English) by a particular pronoun. Unlike equi NP deletion, for many languages relativization can occur between most NPs and is not limited to only those operating as S or A.[182] English for example is extremely free as to which NPs can be relativized.[183] In contrast to English, there are languages which can only relativize on the primary (i.e. topic or subject) NP. An example of such a restrictive language is Malagasy. Despite this restriction on NPs that can be relativized in Malagasy, one can still relativize other terms within the sentence through various forms of promotion.[184]

In the case of English and Malagasy, relative clauses are not indicative of syntactic accusativity or ergativity, one being overly inclusive and the other overly limiting. There are, however, examples of ergative languages which relativize along ergative lines, that is, requiring the NPs involved to be in S or O function. In such languages, the formation of

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[182] For the issues of relativization and the NP types which can be relativized in a given language, see the important study in Keenan and Comrie 1977.

[183] Consider the following example. After each example, the NPs involved in the relativization are given in parenthesis: "John hit the man who walked into the room" (O-S); "John hit the man whom he disliked" (O-O); "The man who walked into the bar hit John" (A-S); "John hit the man with the bottle which was on the table" (oblique-S); etc…

[184] cf. Keenan and Comrie 1977: 69-70; Palmer, 1994: 96-97.

a relative sentence must function within the confines of syntactic ergativity. This does

not mean, however, that all such languages form relatives in the same exact manner.

One of the most ergative languages in terms of relativization is the Australian

language Yidiny. In the case of Yidiny, only absolutive NPs can be involved in

relativization. Both the controller and that target[185] must be in the absolutive, that is to

say, they must be either S or O. It is not permissible to involve an A NP in a relative

clause as either controller or target in Yidiny. In order for an A NP to be relativized (i.e.

functioning as the controller NP) *or* to function as the deleted or target NP, the A NP

must be promoted to S through use of the antipassive. The following examples illustrate

this point:

(2.54)　　*buɲa　　maŋga:ɲ wagudanda wura:diɲu:n*
　　　　　woman+ABS laughed　man+DAT　slapped+AP+REL
　　　　　"The woman who slapped the man laughed."[186]

and:

(2.55)　　*buɲa　　　wagudanda wura:diɲu　maŋgaɲunda*
　　　　　woman+ABS man+DAT　　slapped+AP laughed+REL
　　　　　"The woman who laughed slapped the man"[187]

The prototypical ergative language, Dyirbal, is in all actuality a little freer concerning

which NPs are allowed to form relative clauses. As in Yidiny, the target NP must be

either S or O, with the use of the antipassive to promote A NPs to S. If the controller NP

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[185] By "controller" I am referring to the NP within the main clause which is relativized upon, while the target is the coreferential (typically deleted) NP within the relative clause. (cf. Palmer 1994: 96-100).

[186] Palmer 1994: 99; here we have: S_{ABS} V_{INTRAN} O_{DAT} [S_{ABD}] V_{AP+REL}

[187] Palmer 1994: 99; S_{ABS} O_{DAT} V_{AP} [S_{ABS}] $V_{INTRAN+REL}$

is A in the main clause, however, it does not need to be promoted to S. That is to say,

Dyirbal, unlike Yidiny, allows for A NPs to act as controllers of relative clauses. While

Dyirbal would require that the relative predicate be in the antipassive to say "The man

who saw$_{AP}$ the lady is laughing" (= S$_{ABS}$ V$_{INTRAN}$ O$_{DAT}$ [S$_{ABS}$] V$_{AP+REL}$),[188] it does not require

the antipassive in the main clause for sentences such as: "The man who is laughing saw

the woman" (= A$_{ERG}$ O$_{ABS}$ V$_{TRAN}$ [S$_{ABS}$] V$_{INTRAN+REL}$ where A=S). In the first case, both the

controller and target (through the use of the antipassive) are in S, while in the second

example, the controller is in A in the main clause and as the target, the NP is in S.

Relativization along ergative lines is not limited to Australian languages. It is also

found in Inuit (West Greenlandic). Unlike the above mentioned languages, Inuit does not

employ actual relative clauses. Instead, the relative clause is a participial formation that

is strictly bound to the main clause.[189] This is of particular interest in that one of the

forms of relativization in Hurrian also involves nominalization of the relative (see

§2.4.2.2.3 below). Relatives can only be formed by relativizing on S or O NPs, but never

on A arguments.[190] Despite the use of a nominalized form, relativization still conforms to

syntactic ergativity in Inuit.

2.4.2.2 Relativization in Hurrian

Given the high degree of ergativity exhibited by Hurrian, it would not be surprising if

relatives were subject to ergative syntax. This is exactly the position taken by Plank in

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[188] The schematic follows the word order in (2.54) and (2.55) to display the point.

[189] Manning 1996: 83

[190] Manning 1996: 84.

his work on this language.[191] Relativization in Hurrian only operates on absolutive (S/O) NPs and never on ergative (A) ones.[192] In the following sections we will examine the available evidence in order to ascertain the validity of this claim.

2.4.2.2.1 The Relative Particle *iya⸗*

There are two ways in which relatives are formed in Hurrian. The first strategy is through the use of the sentence-initial particle *iya⸗* and its biform *iye⸗*.[193] In OHu, this particle appears simply as *e⸗*.[194] The relative particle is followed by either the short or long allomorph of the enclitic personal pronouns. The spelling of the relative particle is dependant upon the form of the enclitic pronoun that is used. If the short allomorph is present, then the relative particle is *ia-a-*, while it is *i-ia-a-* when it precedes the long allomorph. The relative chain is typically completed by the particles *⸗nīn*,[195] *⸗man* or *⸗an*, all of uncertain meaning. The predicate does not receive any special morphemes to mark its place as part of the relative clause.

The target or referent NP in the relative clause is always the enclitic pronoun found following the relative particle. As mentioned above (§2.2.3), enclitic pronouns in Hurrian are always in the absolutive. Therefore, the target in the relative can only be an NP in S or O function and never A. A clear example of this can be found in the Mittani Letter:

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[191] Plank 1988: 85ff.

[192] Giorgieri 2000a: 240; Lehmann 1984: 76; Wegner 2000: 105-106.

[193] Why it is *iya-* in some cases and *iye-* in others is far from clear.

[194] Wilhelm 1998a: 136

[195] In the Tiš-atal inscription, the particle *⸗nīn* is given simply as *⸗ni* (see below).

(2.56) **iyā** ⸗l ⸗an **tān**⸗**av** ôl(i) ⸗la(<na) avēšši⸗lla ⸗man
REL+3PL.ENCL+CONN do +1SG.ERG others+PL.ABS where+3PL.ENCL+CONN
"The other (things) which I make/have made, where are they?" (Mitt. ii 92)[196]

In (2.56), the target is an O NP which modifies the S NP of the main clause. A similar

example is found several lines later:

(2.57) **īye** ⸗mā ⸗nīn tive ^m Mane⸗ž šēn(a) ⸗iffu⸗da
REL+3SG.ENCL+PART word+ØABS PN +ERG brother+my+DIR
kad⸗**ill**⸗**ēd** ⸗**ā** ⸗[m]maman faġr⸗ō-[
say +ill+FUT+3SG.ERG+PART beautiful[(+)
"The word which Mane shall say to my brother is beautiful" (Mitt. ii 101-102)[197]

While the target typically agrees with the controller in number, there is at least one

example of a singular target relating to a plural controller:

(2.58) **īye** ⸗mā ⸗nīn ^m Kelīa⸗ž ^m Mane⸗š ⸗š(<nna) ⸗ān
REL+3SG.ENCL+PART PN +ERG PN +ERG+3SG.ENCL+CONN
kul⸗**ēd** ⸗**a** … urġ(i)⸗a ⸗lla ⸗ān pald(i)⸗ā ⸗l ⸗
say+FUT+3SG.ERG … true +ESS+3PL.ENCL+CONN perfect+ESS+3PL.ENCL+

an
CONN
"That which Kelia and Mane will speak … they (⸗lla) are true and perfect"
(Mitt. iv 27-29)[198]

As mentioned above, the target NP can only be S or O and never A. This does not

mean that the subject of a transitive verb could not be the target in a relative clause. As

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[196] *ia-a-la-an ta-a-na-ú u-u-ul-la a-we-e-eš-ši-il-la-ma-an*

[197] *i-[i]-e-ma-a-ni-i-[i]n ti-we* ^102 ^m *ma-ni-eš še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta ka-til-li-e-ta-a̱-[am]-ma-ma-an wa-a̱-r[u]-u̱^? -[*

[198] ^27 *i-i-e-ma-a-ni-i-in* ^m *ge-li-i-aš* ^m *ma-ni-eš-ša-a-an gu-li-e-ta …* ^29 *ur-ẖa-al-la-a-an pa-al-ta-a-la-an*

in Yidiny and Dyirbal, in order for an A NP to function as the target within a relative

clause it must be promoted to S through the antipassivization of the verb. Indeed this is

exactly what we find. As far back as the Tiš-atal inscription the antipassive is used to

promote an A NP to S in order for the transitive verb to be relativized. This is clear from

the following example:

(2.59) **e** ⸗*me* ⸗*ni(n)* **tašp** ⸗**i** ’*ālli* ᵈ*Lubadaga⸗ž*
REL+3SG.ENCL+PART destroy+AP 3SG.ABS DN +ERG
tašp ⸗*o* ⸗*en*
destroy+TRAN+JUSS?
"The one who destroys (the temple of Nergal), may Lubadaga destroy that
one!" (Tiš-atal 11-14)[199]

The relative sentence is of the type S V$_{AP}$ while the main sentence is O A V$_{TRAN}$. The

anaphoric demonstrative pronoun ’*ālli* references the head noun of the relative

sentence.[200] Relative sentences of this type continued to be used in the Hurrian of the

Mittani letter.[201]

This first form of relativization in Hurrian seems to function strictly following

ergative syntax. Due to lack of examples, it is not clear if relatives in Hurrian are closer

to the Yidiny or the Dyirbal models given above (i.e. if it allows for an ergative NP to

function as the controller). I know of no examples where the controller NP is the subject

of a transitive sentence. Therefore it is not possible to determine whether or not Hurrian

required the subject NP of a transitive verb be promoted to S in order for it to act as the

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[199] ¹¹ *e-me-ni* ¹² *da-áš-bi ’à-al-li* ¹³ ᵈ*lu-ba-da-ga-áš* ¹⁴ *da-áš-pu-in*; cf. Wilhelm 1998a: 133f. See also §5.3.2.3.1 on jussive forms in the Tiš-atal inscription.

[200] For ’*ālli* as a demonstrative pronoun (related to Urartian *ali*), cf. Wilhelm 1998a: 133f.

[201] cf. Wilhelm 1995: 122f. (38-42) for five examples from the Mitt. letter.

controller of a relative clause. Since the target NP is always either S or O and since the

controller in all known examples is also S and O, there can be little doubt that this first

type of relativization in Hurrian is syntactically ergative.

2.4.2.2.2 Other Use of *iya⸗*

There are a few clauses with *iya⸗* that do not seem to function as relatives. Three

virtually identical phrases from the Mittani Letter involve *iya⸗* plus the negative

antipassive form of the verb *ūr-* "to want, desire." This combination of *iya⸗* plus *ur⸗i⸗*

kki has been understood by Girbal as "sowohl … als auch …".[202] Note the following

example:

(2.60) *iyâ⸗n ūr⸗i⸗kki māna šueni hurr⸗ō⸗ǧe ōmīni*
  iyâ⸗n ūr⸗i⸗kki māna šueni māžri⸗â⸗nni ōmīni
  šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗we⸗ne⸗ž ašti⸗ž šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗da tīǧ⸗an⸗ōl⸗om⸗ā⸗šše⸗ni
  šue⸗ni
  (Mitt. iii 5-8)[203]

If one were to take the first two clauses as relatives, then the target would be the

absolute enclitic pronoun *⸗n*, the subject of the antipassive *ūr⸗i⸗kki*. This would

roughly translate as: "The land of the Hurrians, in its entirety,[204] which does not desire (it)

(and) the land of Egypt, in its entirety, which (also) does not desire (it)". One would then

expect that the lands (i.e. the targets of the relative) would be resumed by a co-referential

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[202] Girbal 1994a: 376-379.

[203] *i-a-a-an ú-ú-rik-ki ma-a-na šu-e-ni* [6] *ḫur-ru-u-ḫé* [KUR]*u-u-mi-i-ni i-a-a-an ú-ú-rik-ki ma-a-na šu-e-ni* [7] [KUR]*ma-a-áš-ri-a-an-ni* [KUR]*u-u-mi-i-ni še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-níš aš-ti-iš* [8] *še*[!](text: KUR)*-e-ni-íw-wu-ta ti-i-ḫa-nu-u-lu-ma-a-aš-še-ni šu-e-ni*

[204] The exact translation of *māna šueni* is not clear. I have taken it as an adverbial expression roughly equating to "altogether" > "in its entirety".

NP in the main clause. The main clause, however, appears to be a nominal sentence, without an expressed subject or predicate. The only constituent of this main clause is the oblique *šueni* which is modified by the nominal "relative" *ašti≠ž … tīġ≠an≠ōl≠om≠ā≠ šše≠ni* "amongst[?] all that the wife of my brother shall show (to my brother)". Joining these "relatives" in *iya≠* to the main clause does not produce a sensible translation.

The combination *iya≠ … ūrikki* always appears in a pair. The other occurrences of this combination, Mitt. ii 73-74 and iv 126, are very similar to the above quoted example (2.60) with only minor variation. In all cases, the subject of the antipassive *ūrikki* is either a land (ii 73, iii 5-6) or a person (ii 74, iv 127-128). I know of no other occurrences in the Mittani Letter where there are two relatives of this type in a row, let alone two with the same exact predicate. While I remain unconvinced that Girbal's "sowohl … als auch" is the correct interpretation of this combination, I agree that they represent something other than relative clauses.

2.4.2.2.3 Nominalized Relatives in *≠šše*

Hurrian is not limited to the relative constructions discussed above, but rather has a secondary means of relativization. It is not uncommon for languages to have alternative means for expressing relative constructions.[205] The second form of relative clause in Hurrian involves the nominalization of the relative clause. The conjugated verb of the relative clause is nominalized through the affixation of the morpheme *≠šše*.[206] The nominalized relative sentence then acts as a modifier of the controller in the main

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[205] Keenan and Comrie 1977

[206] cf. Giorgieri 2000a: 239-242; Wegner 2000: 104-105; Wilhelm 1995: 121-123

sentence. Just as with the formal relatives (§2.4.2.2.1), the target NP is always in the

absolute as either S or O of the relative clause ((2.61), (2.62)).[207] Unlike the formal

relatives, however, the controller can be in any case, including ergative![208]

(2.61) **ūr** *=av=ž* *=ā*   *=šše* *=nā* *=mān tive* *=na*
   desire+1PL.ERG+EPNTH+NOM+PL.ABS+CONN word+PL.ABS
   faġr=o=nni=n   *ištan(i)=iffu=ž* *=a*   *akku=ž* *agu=wa*
   beautiful +ABL/INST middle +1PL.POSS+ESS[209] one +ERG one +DAT
   ed(i)=î   *=da* *tān=ašt=i* *=en* *nīr=o=ž(i)=ae tiššan*
   self+3SG.POSS+DIR do +*ašt*+TRAN+JUSS swiftly   very
   "Those things which we desire, in a beautiful way between us, may one do for
   the other exceedingly swiftly" (Mitt. i 80-82)[210]

(2.62) **īya** *=llā*   *=nīn* *šēn(a)=iffu*   *=ž* *tažē=nē=va ed(i)=ī*   *=da*
   REL+3PL.ENCL+PART brother+1SG.POSS+ERG gift+SG+DAT self+3SG.POSS+DIR
   tivē *=na* **tān=ōž** *=ā* *=šše* *=na* … *andi=ll(a)*   *=ān*
   word+PL.ABS do +PAST+3SG.ERG+NOM+PL.ABS …these+3PL.ENCL+CONN
   [d]*Šimīge=ne*   *=ž* *ar =ēd =a*   *šēn(a) =iffu*   *=wa*
   DN   +SG.RELAT+ERG give+FUT+3SG.ERG brother+1SG.POSS+DAT
   "The things which my brother has done/made concerning the gift (for Šimīge,
   his god, his father), these (things) Šimīge shall give to my brother" (Mitt. i
   104-107)[211]

In both example (2.61) and (2.62), the absolutive plural form *tive=na* is the Object of

both the relative clause and of the main clause. In (2.63), the target is the subject of an

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[207] cf. Lehmann 1984: 76 amongst others

[208] This is not uncommon for secondary relatives; see Keenan and Comrie 1977.

[209] or dative

[210] 80 *ú-ú-ra-ú-ša-a-aš-še-na-a-ma-a-an ti-we-e-e*.MEŠ [81] *wa-aḫ-ru-un-ni-en iš-ta-ni-íw-wu-ša ag-gu-uš a-gu-ú-a* [82] *e-ti-i-i[?]-ta ta-a-na-aš-ti-en ni-i-ru-ša-e tiš-ša-an*; Wilhelm 1992c: 64 translates: "And the things that we wish for ourselves, may one for the other, between us, generously, most graciously do."

[211] 104 *i-i-al-la-a-ni-i-in še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš ta-še-e-ni-e-wa e-ti-i-ta* [105] *ti-we-e-na*[.MEŠ] ⌈*ta*⌉-*a-nu-u-ša-a-aš-še-na* … [106] … *an-til-la-a-an* [d]*ši-mi-i-gi-níš a-re-e-ta* [107] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-a*; cf. Wilhelm 1984: 219.

intransitive verb and the controller is the subject of a stative verb in *=e*. This again

results in an absolute NP as both modifier and controller.

(2.63) *wir=ad(e)*   *=ard(i)=iffa*   *=l*   *=an* **tupp** *=a*   *=*
        foreign dignitary+COLL +1SG.POSS+3PL.ENCL+CONN assembl+INTRAN+
        =šše *=na*   *tupp*   *=e*
        +NOM+PL.ABS   assemble+STAT
        "My nobles, (all) who were gathered (in Waššukanni), were assembled"
        (Mitt. ii 18)[212]

From these examples, it appears that the relatives in *=šše* also function according to

ergative sytax.[213]

   Unlike the formal relatives, the controller NP of a nominalized relative is not

restricted to the absolutive case. It can be used to modify both ergatives and obliques

within the main clause. I know of one example of the controller NP being in the ergative.

The passage was treated above as (2.46) and is repeated here as (2.64):

(2.64) *anāġidi =ne*   *=ž*   **tād** *=o*   *=šše =ne*   *=ž* …
        morsel +RELAT+ERG   love+2SG.ERG+REL+RELAT+ERG
        "the morsel which you love …" (ChS I/2 31 i 1)[214]

The target NP, *anāġidi* is the absolutive patient of the nominalized relative *tād =o =šše =*

ne =ž "that which you (*=o*) love." It appears in the ergative because it is the agent of the

verb of the main clause. In this particular example, then we have an A NP of a relative

clause functioning as the A NP of the main clause.

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[212] *wi-i-ra-tar-ti-íw-wa-la-an tup-pa-aš-še-na tup-pè*

[213] Giorgieri 2000a: 240; Plank 1988: 85ff.

[214] ⌜*a-na-a*⌝-*ḫi-te-ni-eš da-*[(*a-tu-u-uš-še-ni-iš* …; restored from ChS I/2 33 iv 9.

Several examples are also known in which the controller is in an oblique case. The

best example of this is found in the Mittani Letter:

(2.65) *šō* ≠*ve* ≠*mān tuppi* *niġār(i)*≠*rē*(<*nē*) ≠*ve*
  1PERS+GEN+CONN tablet+ØABS dowry +SG.RELAT+GEN
  ar ≠***ōž*** ≠***av*** ≠***šše*** ≠***nē*** ≠***ve*** *ar* ≠*ann* ≠*i* ≠*en* ≠*na* ≠
  give+PRET+1SG.ERG+NOM+SG.RELAT+GEN give+CAUS+TRAN+JUSS+PL.ABS+
  man šēn(a) ≠*iffu* ≠*ž*
  CONN brother+1SG.POSS+ERG
  "The tablet of mine of the dowry which I had given, may my brother
  cause to be given (i.e. so that it will be read aloud for him)" (Mitt. iii 40-42)[215]

In (2.65), *niġāri* "dowry" is the direct object of the relative clause. We would expect the

relative to look something like this:

(2.66)   **niġari ar*≠*ōž*≠*av*

In the main clause, however, it is in the genitive, modifying the absolutive case *tuppi*

which is the direct object of the main clause. The nominalized verb of the relative

reflects this by occurring in the genitive as well. In another example from the Mittani

Letter, the relativized NP is in the plural commutative in the main clause (i 71).[216]

Despite the fact that the controller in this type of relative can appear in an oblique case, it

can still be said that the nominalized relative forms, like the formal forms, function

according to syntactic ergativity.

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[215] *šu-u-we-ma-a-an tup-pè* [41] *ni-ḫa-a-ar-ri-e-we a-ru-u-ša-uš-še-ni-e-we a-ra-an-ni-en-na-ma-an* [42] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš*; cf. Steiner 1992: 444; Wegner 1995a: 141; Wilhelm 1995: 121.

[216]]-*ti-íw-wu-ra ta-a-ta-uš-še-na-a-šu-ra*; While appearing only in the singular on the target NP, the nominalized verbal form indicates that it is actually in the plural (≠*n(a)*≠*āž*≠*u*≠*ra*). Cf. Steiner 1992: 444. Wilhelm 1995: 121 restores as [*aš*]*t(i)*≠*iffu*≠*ra* and translates as "with my wife, whom I love." Unfortunately he does not explain why the nominalized verbal form is in the plural commitativ. Steiner's explanation of the]-*ti* form as the "Kollektiv" ≠*ardi* morpheme is far more satisfying.

2.4.2.2.4 Problematic Cases in ⸗i⸗a⸗šše?

There exists in Hurrian a series of nominal forms of the type Root+*i*+*a*(+*ma*)+*šše*(+ case). In each case, we appear to have a conjugated third person singular transitive MHu verbal form followed by the nominalizing morpheme ⸗*šše*. As we have seen, this is exactly identical to how nominal relatives are formed, and therefore lends itself to a translation "the X which (s)he Y-s" where X is both the target of the relative and the absolute O NP of the relative verb and Y is a transitive nominalized relative predicate. While appearing to be transitive in nature, however, none of these forms is given a direct object. Because of this, these forms have been translated as "he who x's." This is typified by the form *ašḫ ⸗i ⸗a ⸗šše* which is usually translated as "the ritual official."[217] There are, however, certain issues that make it difficult to accept such a translation.

The form *ašḫiašše* most typically occurs in the formula *ḫill ⸗i*[218] *ašḫiašše* (*anamma*) "the *ašḫiašše* speaks, (thus:)." In one text of the Salasu ritual[219], this formula immediately follows the Hittite phrase: *nu*] *QATAMMA memaḫḫi* "I speak in the same way:"[220] This results in the following sequence:

(2.67) (Hitt.) … and I speak in the same way
          (Hurr.) the *ašḫiašše* says (as follows:)…

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[217] The form *ašḫiašše* has been translated as "ritual official" (i.e. "one who sacrifices") from a root *ašḫ-* "to offer, sacrifice" (cf. Laroche 1976: 59 "sacrificateur, officiant").

[218] *ḫi-el-li* (ChS I/5 19 iv 11; 23 iii 4; 57 iii 10'([ḫ]i-); *ḫi-il-li* (ChS I/5 rev. 68'); *ḫi-i-li* (ChS I/5 24: 14'); broken (ChS I/5 23 ii [3'], iii 18 (-)li); 41 obv. [28]; 119: 8' (-l]i).

[219] ChS I/5 II

[220] *nu*] *QA-TAM-MA me-ma-aḫ-ḫi* (ChS I/5 41 obv. 27)

Another passage goes as follows:

(2.68) (Hitt.) […] "she (the ritual practitioner) speaks the name of the client."
        (Hurr.) [(*ḫīl   ⸗i*)] ⌈*aš*⌉*ḫiašše šukkod*(*i*)⸗*a ⸗lla   *en*(*i*)⸗*na*
               speak+AP *ašḫiašše*   one(?)   +ESS+3PL.ENCL god +PL.ABS
               [(*šukk*)]*od*(*i*)⸗*a   ⸗lla   šilāva ēvri ⸗n*(*i*)⸗*na*
               one(?)   +ESS+3PL.ENCL ?   king   +PL.ABS
               "The *ašḫiašše* speaks: the gods, they are as one. The kings, they
               are as one *šilāva*[221]" (ChS I/5 23 ii 2'-4')[222]

That the form *ḫil*(*l*)*i* is to be interpreted as the antipassive form of the verb *ḫil*(*l*)- "to

speak" seems highly likely. But what exactly does this imply? Why is there a repetition

of the verb "to speak" in the Hurrian passages, and why does it primarily occur with the

form *ašḫiašše* immediately following it?

   One example of *ašḫiašše* that seems to speak against a translation of "ritual

practitioner" is found in ChS I/5 64. According to the text, the [MUNUS]ŠU.GI first burns

something for the client and then speaks the following in Hurrian:[223]

(2.69) *šēġ ⸗al   ⸗o ⸗l ⸗ež   tive   nir ⸗ubad*[*i   . . . (.)*]
        make pure+*o*+*l*+*ež*[224] word+ØABS evil   +ØABS
        faġr ⸗ubadi ⸗niž ⸗an   šinda   x[
        ugly   +? +CONN seven+ØABS
        *šēġ ⸗al   ⸗o ⸗l ⸗ēž **ašḫiašše**   en*[(*i*)⸗*na⸗ . . . (.)*]
        make pure+*o*+*l*+*ež ašḫiašše*+ØABS god   +PL+CASE?
        ḫōradi ⸗ni   ommin(*i*)⸗*i ⸗až   ⸗a*
        soldier+ABL/INST army   +3PL.POSS+DAT/ESS

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[221] This word appears to be in the dative ⸗*va*, but no real sense can be made of it here.

[222] (Hitt.) …]x EN.SÍSKUR *ŠUM-ŠU ḫal*⌐(text: *an*)-*za-a-*[Ø]*i* (paragraph divider) [3'][(*ḫi-i-li*)] ⌈*aš*⌉-*ḫi-ia-aš-ši šu-uk-ku-ta-*⌈*al-la*⌉ DINGIR.M[EŠ]-*na* [4'][(*šu-uk-k*)]*u-ta-al-la ši-la-a-wa_a e-*⌈*ep*⌉-*ri-*⌈*in*⌉-*na* (restored from ChS I/5 24 13'-15').

[223] [15'] [*nu-u*]*š-ši-kán* [MUNUS]ŠU.GI *šu-wa-ru-uk w*[*a-ar-nu-zi*] [16'] *nu* [MUNUS]ŠU.GI *ḫur-li-li ki-iš-š*[*a-an me-ma-i*] (ChS I/5 64 i 15'-16').

[224] On the parsing of non-indicative forms in ⸗*o ⸗l ⸗ēž*, see §4.2.1.2 and §4.3.4.

"may the evil word be made pure! […] ugly, seven … may the *ašḫiašše* be made pure [by(?) the] god[s] with/from the troops *in*(?) their *contingent*(?)" (ChS I/5 64 i 17'-20')[225]

Since the ritual practitioner is the one saying this, why would she ask that she be purified?

Despite the difficulties in translating line 20', there is clearly a sense that the term

ašḫiašše is somehow connected or related to the military terms *ḫōradi* and *ommini*.

Other examples exist outside of *ašḫ=i=a=šše*. As with the former term, it is possible

(or at least tempting) to take *pal=i=a=mā=šše* in (2.70) as "he who does not know":

(2.71) **pal** *=i* *=a* *=mā =šše =mān* ur *=o* *=kko*
know+TRAN+3SG.ERG+NEG+REL+CONN exist+INTRAN+NEG
"The one who does not know, he does not exist!" (Mitt. iii 46)[226]

As we shall see, however, this translation is simply not tenable.

When placed into its correct context, it is clear that the above offered translation for

Mitt. iii 46 is not possible. The full passage reads as follows:

(2.72) **pal** *=i* *=a* *=mā =šše =mān* ur *=o* *=kko*
know+TRAN+3SG.ERG+NEG+REL+CONN exist+INTRAN+NEG
pal *=i* *=ā* *=ll(a)* *=ān* ed(i)*=ī* *=dan =*
know+TRAN+3SG.ERG+3PL.ENCL+CONN self+3POSS+ABL+
i *=lla* *=man* šēn(a) *=iffu* *=ž*
EPNTH+3PL.ENCL+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+ERG
"That which my brother does not know does not exist! My brother knows them from themselves[?]" (Mitt. iii 46-47).[227]

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[225] 17' *še-e-ḫa-lu-le-e-eš te-bi ni-ru-pa-a-t[e . . . (.)]* 18' *pa-aḫ-ru-pa-ti-ni-ša-an ši-en-ta* x[. . . (.)] 19' *še-e-ḫa-lu-le-e-eš aš-ḫi-ia-aš-še* DINGIR.M[EŠ- . . . (.)] 20' *ḫu-u-ra-te-ni um-mi-ni-a-ša* x[. . . . . . .]

[226] *pa-li-a-ma-a-aš-še-ma-a-an ú-ru-uk-ku*; Translated by Wilhelm in Moran 1992 as: "… *in view of that* not (!?), and there is nobody who does not known it." (his italics). Girbal translate as "«es ist unmöglich, daß ere s nich weiß» (wörtlich: «Daß ere s nicht weiß, das gibt es nicht»" (1994b: 83).

[227] *pa-li-a-ma-a-aš-še-ma-a-an ú-ru-uk-ku* 47 *pa-li-a-al-la-a-an e-ti-i-ta-ni-il-la-ma-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš*. This translation is also given by giorgieri as "ciò che egli non sa" (2000: 241).

This translation is particularly satisfying in that it conforms nicely to the relative forms given above. An object of the relative *pal ⸗i ⸗a ⸗mā ⸗šše* is not explicitly stated, but an underlying phrase such as *tive pal ⸗i ⸗a ⸗mā* "he does not know the thing" can be safely posited. It is not the actor of the relative verb who does not exist (*ur ⸗o ⸗kko*), but rather the thing that the actor does not know.

The antiquity of this form is not known. It may occur as early as the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual. In this text, we find the form *tādiašše* apparently modifying the goddess Allani:

(2.73) ^d*Āllāni* ⸗*ma* **tād** ⸗**i** ⸗**a** ⸗*šše* ^d*Teššop⸗pa* ⸗*ma*
  DN+ØABS+CONN love +TRAN+3SG.ERG+REL DN +DAT+CONN
  tapš⸗aġ(⸗i)⸗a *mēġ* ⸗*a*
  cupbearer +ESS stand before+INTRAN (KBo 32.13 i 28-29)[228]

The form *tād⸗i⸗a⸗šše* can be translated as either "the whom (s)he loves" or as "the one who loves."[229] If we take this as a nominalized relative, then the former translation is appropriate. In this case, the constituents of the relative verb would certainly be Allani and Teššob. Since only absolutive NPs can act as the target and because the nominalized verbal form is also in the absolutive, only a translation of "Allani, whom (Teššob) loves stepped before Teššob as a cupbearer." Unfortunately the Hittite translation omits this

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[228] ^d*a-al-la-a-ni-ma ta-a-ti-ia-aš-ši* ^dIM-*up-pa-ma* ²⁹ *tap-ša-a-ḫa mi-e-ḫa*.

[229] Neu 1996: 224 translates as "Allāni aber *zeigt ihre Zuneigung*" (his italics), taking Allāni as the agent of *tādiašše*, while Haas and Wegner 1997a: 449 translates as "[u]nd Allani, die er (der Wettergott) liebt, tritt zum Wettergott als Mundschenk" and note that it is not Allani who loves but "sondern der Wettergott liebt Allani!"

form.[230] If we take *tād≠i≠a≠šše* as parallel to *ašḫ≠i≠a≠šše*, then a translation "the one

who loves" or, better, "the lover" is appropriate. While a translation "Allani, the lover

(or: the one who loves) steps before Teššob" is certainly within the realm of reason, it

does not seem to fit very well. I feel that in this case, it is better to analyze *tād≠i≠a≠šše*

as a nominalized relative short for *[d]*Allāni* [d]*Teššoba≠ž tad≠i≠a* "Teššob loves Allāni."[231]

2.4.3 Deletion

The situation with deletion in Hurrian is not as clearly cut as that of relativization.

When dealing with deletion, we must attempt to distinguish between those facets of the

language triggered by syntactic rules from those that occur as a result of discourse.

According to Dixon, "[w]e would not expect labels such as 'ergative' and 'accusative' …

to be applicable in the field of discourse; nor do they appear to be."[232] That being said,

we shall look at two examples of syntactic pivots in Hurrian (on pivots see above,

§2.3.4.3).

2.4.3.1 S/O Pivots in the Mittani Letter

The clearest examples of S/O pivots in Hurrian are found within the Mittani Letter.

The S/O pivot is the expect form of deletion in a language displaying ergative syntax. As

such it involves the deletion of only absolutive NPs and not ergative case ones. Observe

the following example (the deleted NP is given in bold):

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[230] The Hittite simply reads: *ták-na-aš-ma* [d]UTU-*uš* [d]IM-*un-ni pé-ra-an* [29] [LÚ]SAGI-*aš iwa-ar ti-i-e-et* "The Sun goddess of the Earth stepped before the Storm god as a cupbearer." (KBo 32.13 ii 28-29). The Hittite is an exact translation of the main clause of the Hurrian.

[231] This follows the translation of Haas and Wegner 1997a: 449 (see above)

(2.74) *und⸵o⸵mān   šēn(a) ⸵iffu⸵wē ⸵n   **ašti** ar ⸵ōž ⸵av*
now   +CONN brother+my+GEN+3SG.ENCL wife gave+PAST+1SG.ERG
itt⸵ōš ⸵t⸵a   ⸵mān šēn(a) ⸵iffu⸵da
go+PAST+*t*+INTRAN+CONN brother+my+DIR
"Now I have sent the wife of my brother and (she) has gone to my brother"
(Mitt. iii 11-12)[233]

The absolutive NP *ašti* is the direct object of the first sentence and the deleted S NP of

the following one. This is a form of deletion unique to ergative languages. One cannot

formulate such a phrase in a nominative-accusative language. To illustrate this point, let

us analyze the passage from the point of view of a nominative-accusative language such

as English. To begin with, we will omit the recipient *šēn(a)⸵iffu⸵da* as extraneous,

although meaningful, information. One is then left with the following English:

(2.75)   "Now I have sent the wife of my brother and went"

There are two possible restorations for the deleted NP in the second clause, either the

agent or the patient of the first one. Only one of these options, however, is possible

according to English grammar:

(2.76) "Now I have sent the wife of my brother and went"
   a. "Now I have sent the wife of my brother and I went"
   b. *"Now I have sent the wife of my brother and the wife went"

---

[232] Dixon 1994: 207.

[233] *un-du-ma-a-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-en aš-ti a-ru-u-ša-ú id-du-u-uš-ta-ma-a-an* [12] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta*

The restoration in (2.76b) is ungrammatical in English. The translation in (2.76a),

while the only grammatical option in Engilsh, would be ungrammatical for languages

exhibiting syntactic ergativity such as Hurrian.

2.4.3.2 An Example from KBo 32.14

A more complex example comes from the Hurro-Hittite parables KBo 32.14.[234] In this

example, we have evidence of not only an S/O pivot, but also of a resulting S/A

pivot. The entire passage looks as follows:

(2.77) *nāli idē≠i≠ne≠ž faban(i)≠ne≠ž mel≠aḫḫ≠o≠m : nāli ōlbī≠ne faban(i)≠ne*
       ḫab≠ān≠a≠b fūr≠u tēl≠u tapš≠ū faban(i)≠ne šid≠ar≠ill≠ō≠m (KBo 32.14 i 1-4)

In the first two sentences, repeated as (2.78) below, we have a transitive verb followed by

an intransitive one. The direct object of the transitive verb, *nāli*, is reiterated as subject of

the following intransitive verb. In this case there is no deletion.

(2.78) *nāli idē* *≠i*   *≠ne*   *≠ž* *faban(i) ≠ne*   *≠ž*
       deer body+3SG.POSS+INST/ABL+ERG mountain+SG.RELAT+ERG
       mel ≠aḫḫ≠o   *≠m*   *nāli*   *ōlbī ≠ne*   *faban(i) ≠ne*
       expel+*aḫḫ*+TRAN+3SG.ABS deer+ØABS other+INST/ABL mountain+INST/ABL
       ḫab≠ān≠a   *≠b*
       go off   +INTRAN+3SG
       "The mountain expelled the deer from its body : the deer went off to another
       mountain" (KBo 32.14 i 1-3)[235]

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[234] I am intentionally distinguishing KBo 32.14 (and subsequently KBo 32.12) from the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual. While clearly thematically related to the *Epos der Freilassung*, the parables are separate from the epic. For more on this, see Otto 2001: 529 and Wilhelm 2001c: 84.

[235] *na-a-li i-te-*[*e*]⌈*-i*⌉*-ni-eš pa-pa-an-ni-iš* [2] *me-lu-uḫ-ḫu-um na-a-li u-ul-bi-i-ni* [3] *pa-pa-an-ni ḫa-pa-a-na-ap*. This is translated by the Hittite [1] *a-li-*⌈*ia-n*⌉[*a-an*]-*za a-pé-el tu-e-eg-ga-a*[*z-še-et*] [2] ḪUR.SAG-*aš a-wa-an ar-ḫa šu-ú-e-et nu-uš-š*[*a-an*] [3] *a-li-ia-aš pa-ra-a- ta-me-e-da-ni* ḪUR.SAG-*i* ⌈*pa-*⌉[*it*⌈?⌉] "The mountain expelled the deer from [its] body and the deer we[nt] to another mountain." (KBo 32.14 ii 1-3).

According to discourse analysis studies, new information is typically introduced as either the direct object of a transitive verb or as the subject of an intransitive one.[236] The main character, and therefore the topic, of this parable is the deer and for this reason it is not surprising that it should be introduced as a direct object. In syntactic ergativity, one would expect the second *nāli*, the S NP of the intransitive *ḫab=an=a=b*, to be deleted, resulting in an S/O pivot. The reason why there is no deletion here likely has to deal with discourse strategy. These first two phrase result in the following pattern (the reiterated NP is in bold):

(2.79) $\mathbf{O_x}$ A_y V_{TRAN} $\mathbf{S_x}$ V_{INTRAN}

   The following series of words are difficult to interpret:

(2.80)   *fūr=u tēl=u tapš=ū* (KBo 32.14 i 3-4)[237]

This group of words is difficult to decipher. They are translated by the Hittite *na-aš šu-u-ul-li-e-et*, "he became quarrelsome."[238] This is a good intransitive verb with the enclitic *=aš* for the 3 sg. nominative personal pronoun. Given the similarity between the three Hurrian words, it is likely that we are dealing with a series of three verbs. Each form is in the intransitive *=u* (§2.3.6), forming a kind of verbal hendiadys construction.[239] It is

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[236] Dixon 1994: 208-210.

[237] *wu${_i}$-ú-ru* (erasure) *te-e-lu* ^{4} *tap-šu-ú*; See Giorgieri 2001a: 132-133; Neu 1988b: 8; idem. 1996: 103

[238] Following CHD Š Fasc. 2 sub *šulle/a*, *šullai-* B (forthcoming).

[239] On verbal hendiadys (admittedly in Akkadian context), see N. Wasserman *Style and Form in Old-Babylonian Literary Texts* (Cuneiform Monographs 27), Boston, 2003, 17-28.

interesting to note that the first two forms have long (accented?) vowels in the first

syllable while the final form has a long vowel in the second (final) position. Perhaps this

is a means of indicating stress on the final verb of the hendiadys construction. If the

above analysis is correct, then the expressed S NP of the preceding sentence is the deleted

S NP of the following verbal forms. The pattern now looks as follows:

(2.81) $\mathbf{O_x}$ A_y V_{TRAN} $\mathbf{S_x}$ V_{INTRAN} $(\mathbf{S_x})$ V_{INTRAN} $(\mathbf{S_x})$ V_{INTRAN} $(\mathbf{S_x})$ V_{INTRAN}

   The subject of the final phrase is also deleted. The sentence can be analyzed as

follows:

(2.82)   *faban*(*i*) *≠ne*   *šid≠ar≠ill*   *≠ō*   *≠m*
             mountain+INST/ABL curse +INCHO+TRAN+3SG.ABS
             "(The deer) began to curse at the mountain" (KBo 32.14 i 4)[240]

The subject of the sentence is clearly the *nāli* last mentioned in line 2. If the deleted form

had been expressed, we would expect the ergative form *nāli≠ž* as A NP of the sentence.

Despite the fact that there is an intervening phrase with deleted subject, given that it is the

nāli that is deleted in all instances, we can safely assume that we are dealing with an S/A

pivot here. The final pattern looks like this:

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[240] *pa-pa-an-ni ši-ta-ri-il-lu-u-um*. Translated into Hittite as: *nu a-ap-pa* ḪUR.SAG-*an ḫu-ur-za-ki-u-an da-iš* "and (he) then began to curse the mountain." (KBo 32.14 ii 5).
        There are some difficulties with this passage that require discussion. The morpheme *≠ne* does not function as a definite marker in Hurrian (Wilhelm 1993: 106-108) , contra Neu 1996: 104 who takes the object to be *pa-pa-an-ni*. In the Hittite translation, however, the mountain (ḪUR.SAG-*an*) is clearly the direct object, the recipient of the action of cursing. In this case, the only potential object for the Hurrian would be the absolutive *šidari* (or *šidarni*) "the curse." This would create a *figura etymologica* **šidari šid≠ ar≠ill≠ō≠m*. I would suggest then that the cognate accusative was then deleted as understood in this case, perhaps for metrical reasons.

(2.83)　　**O$_x$** A$_y$ V$_{TRAN.ERG}$ **S$_x$** V$_{INTRAN}$ **(S$_x$)** V$_{INTRAN}$ **(S$_x$)** V$_{INTRAN}$ **(S$_x$)** V$_{INTRAN}$ **(A$_x$)**
　　　　　IO$_y$ (DO$_z$) V$_{TRAN}$

This S/A pivot is a function of accusative syntax and not of ergative syntax.

2.4.3.3 A/A and O/O Pivots in the Mittani Letter

One last example will suffice to illustrate the complex nature of deletion in Hurrian.

The following passage from the Mittani Letter demonstrates both A/A and O/O deletion:

(2.84) *šēn(a)* ⸗*v* ⸗*už* ⸗*an* ᵐ*Nimmōrīa*⸗*ž* … *taže* *abli*
　　　　brother+2SG.POSS+ERG+CONN　PN　　+ERG … gift+ØABS present+ØABS
　　　　tân ⸗*ōž* ⸗*a* ᵁᴿᵁ*Iġibe*⸗*ne* … *un* ⸗*ôž* ⸗*a*
　　　　made+PRET+3SG.ERG　　GN　+INST/ABL … bring+PRET+3SG.ERG
　　　　ᵈ*Šimīge*⸗*nē* ⸗*va* ⸗*mān* … *ag* ⸗*ōž* ⸗*a*
　　　　DN　+SG.RELAT+DAT+CONN … convery+PRET+3SG.ERG
　　　　"Your brother Nimmōrīya (the lord of Egypt) made the gift, the present. He
　　　　brought (it) from Iġibe, (from (the city) of Šimīge), he conveyed (it) to
　　　　Šimīge, to the god of his father" (Mitt. i 84-87)[241]

The ergative *šēn(a)⸗v⸗už* is the subject of both *un⸗ôž⸗a* and *ag⸗ōž⸗a* and the deleted

objects are certainly *taže* and *abli*. While the deletion of the subject is acceptable in

nominative-accusative languages, the deletion of the direct object is not. The example

above indicates that Hurrian displayed aspects of both ergative and accusative syntax.

2.4.4 Observation on Syntactic Ergativity in Hurrian

The above examples serve to demonstrate the complex nature of deletion in Hurrian.

While the relative clauses operate quite strictly following ergative syntax, the situation of

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[241] *še-e-na-wu-ša-an* ᵐ*ni-im-mu-u-ri-i-aš* [85] … *ta-še ap-li ta-a-a-nu-u-ša* [86] ᵁᴿᵁ*i-ḫi-pè-ni* … *ú-nu-u-u-ša* [87] ᵈ*ši-mi-i-gi-ni-e-wa-ma-a-an* … *a-ku-u-ša.*

deletion cannot be so cleanly summed up. It appears that Hurrian employs a mixed S/A and S/O pivot system. Such a mixing of pivots is found in a number of modern languages.[242] The exact reason for the appearance of mixed systems is not yet understood, but there may be factors outside of pure syntax which trigger them. In Yidiny, there is evidence that the mixed pivot system in this language may be a result of discourse structure as opposed to syntax.[243] It is not clear what factors trigger a particular form of pivot in Hurrian, but what is clear as that both forms of pivot do exist in it.

2.5 Conclusions

In this chapter we have examined the nature of ergativity in Hurrian as pertains to the indicative verbal system. Morphologically, Hurrian is a perfect example of how an ergative language should look. Within the indicative verbal system, Hurrian conforms to all known norms for ergativity and exhibits no trace of accusativity. The evolution of the transitive verbal from OHu to MHu does not indicate a movement of Hurrian from an ergative language to a nominative-accusative one. The transitive forms in MHu, although a major departure from the older OHu forms, remain completely ergative.

Hurrian syntax largely operates along ergative lines. Relativization in Hurrian functions strictly according to syntactic ergativity. The few potential counter examples ((55) and (61)) can be discounted. They are not actually relativization at all. Deletion in Hurrian displays both the S/A pivot found in nominative-accusative languages and the S/O pivot of ergative ones. In regards to deletion, one cannot say that Hurrian functions

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[242] Dixon 1994: 175-177 gives Yidiny, Chukchee, and Tongan as examples of languages with a mixed S/A and S/O pivot system.

[243] Dixon 1994: 220-221.

as either an ergative or as a nominative-accusative language. Hurrian syntax can

therefore be said to operate largely, though not solely, along ergative lines.

CHAPTER THREE
The Imperative

3.1 Background

The imperative is a form of manipulative speech act typically issued by the speaker to an addressee in order to give a command or to give permission for a certain action.[1] In most languages, the imperative exhibits an extremely limited range of both agreement and tense-aspect-mood (TAM) marking.[2] In fact, in languages such as English, amongst many others, the imperative is indicated by the zero-stem of the verb, with no agreement or TAM markers. For example, the second singular imperative form of the Turkish verb "to go," *gitmek*, is the bare stem *git* "Go!"[3] The use of the base form of the stem to indicate the imperative, while seen as a hallmark of this category, is not entirely typical

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[1] For a philosophical approach to the imperative, cf. Broadie 1972: 179-190; a semantic approach to the imperative can be found in Lyons 1977: 839; For a more functional treatment, cf. Palmer 2001: 80-85

[2] Gívon 1990: 313

[3] Underhill 1976: 421-423; Bader, Werlen and Wymann 1994: 46

amongst the world's languages.[4] Regardless of the paucity of true Ø-stem forms, the

imperative is still the "least marked of all major speech-acts."[5]

A characteristic of the imperative in many languages is that only two forms, the

second person singular and the second person plural, are found.[6] Depending upon certain

language specific requirements for levels of politeness, more forms of the imperative can

exist. For example, the imperative in Akkadian only occurs in the second person,[7] with a

zero stem form in the singular and a second plural form in ⸗ā:

(3.1)   a. *alik* "(You) go!"
        b. *alkā* "(You pl.) go!"

Turkish on the other hand has three different agreement morphemes for the imperative

depending upon the number and social status of the addressee(s):[8]

(3.2)   a. second singular: -Ø
        b. second plural familiar: -(y)In[9]
        c. singular or plural polite: -(y)InIz

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[4] In their study on the development of mood, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca found that only eleven out of the one hundred and thirty-six languages that they examined expressed the imperative through the use of the bare stem. (1994: 210)

[5] Gívon 1990: 313.

[6] Bybee 1985: 171

[7] von Soden 1995: §81a; contra Cohen 2005: 78-79 who includes imperatives, precatives, voluntatives, and cohortatives altogether as one paradigm.

[8] Following Underhill 1976: 422. The situation is similar in Korean which has four imperative forms: High Formal Style (R-*b/ŭb-si-o*), Low Formal Style (R-*ŏ/a-yo*; functions as both the indicative and imperative), High Plain Style (R-*ge*), and Low Plain Style (R-*ra*) (Bader, Werlen and Wymann 1994: 60, 62-64, 65)

[9] The capital I indicates either the /i/ or /ı/ vowel depending upon the preceding vowel.

While the imperative is typically limited to the second person, there are languages in which the imperative is said to also occur with the first and even with the third person. This broader understanding of the imperative is contrary to strict definitions which limit the imperative to only the second person.[10] Palmer educes two possible examples from Latin and Greek in which a third person verbal form distinct from the subjunctive occurs.[11] The question of whether or not these first and third person forms are indeed imperatives is one of definition. In this treatment, I am following the strict interpretation of the imperative as a form involving only second person subjects.

As mentioned above, an imperative is, to use Palmer's words, "defined as presenting a proposition for action by the hearer."[12] If we are to follow this strict definition, then first and third person forms cannot be imperatives since only the second person indicates the addressee. There are languages in which the second person "imperative" occurs within the same paradigm as first and third person forms. Bybee notes that for such cases where there is a full set of agreement many linguists have used the term "optative" for the paradigm.[13] An example of such a language is Nahuatl in which no separate imperative form exists for the second person.[14]

A number of languages have commands with first and third person subjects next to a true imperative form for the second person. The first and third person forms are grouped

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[10] Lyons 1977: 747.

[11] Palmer 1986: 109

[12] Palmer 1986: 111

[13] Bybee 1985: 171

[14] See the paradigm given in Bybee 1985: 171.

with the imperative to create a suppletive paradigm. These forms are not, however,

imperatives, but rather commands with non-second person subjects. In order to avoid

confusion with languages such as Greek which have an actual optative mood, these first

and third person commands are best subsumed under the term "jussive".[15] In this way the

jussive and the imperative together can form a complete paradigm in languages. This is

the case for both Hittite and Akkadian. In the case of Hurrian, we have three distinct

morphological forms for first, second and third person commands, but the first and third

person forms are likely related. The term jussive will is used here to signify command

forms with both first and third person subjects (see Chapter 5).

   In Hittite, the entire paradigm has been called "imperative."[16] The true imperative, the

second person command, typically occurs in the Ø stem, but occasionally also in *-i* or *-it*

in the singular and *-ten* in the plural in the active.[17] Distinct first and third person forms

exist. Friedrich describes the first person forms as having a "voluntative" function in the

singular and "cohortative" reading in the plural.[18] The third person, according to

Friedrich, has an "optative" function.[19] Based on their functions alone, it is clear that the

first and person forms are not true imperatives. Despite this difference in function, they

can be said to fill out the paradigm of inflected mood in Hittite, but to term this entire

paradigm "imperative" is misleading. The same goes for Akkadian, where the imperative

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[15] Palmer 1986: 111; 2001: 81

[16] Friedrich 1974: 76-77

[17] Friedrich 1974: 78

[18] Friedrich 1974: 139.

[19] Friedrich 1974: 139.

is distinct from the precative, but together they form a suppletive paradigm for commands.[20] For both Hittite and Akkadian the complete paradigm is better described as directive rather than imperative.

The imperative was defined above as a manipulative speech act addressed directly to the addressee in order to elicit some form of action from him or her. The imperative command does not only involve the giving of orders, but it can also entail the giving of permission for the addressee to perform a particular action.[21] The imperative is clearly related to deontic modals and not epistemic ones since its function is to illicit action and not to impart a truth judgment. This function of the imperative creates certain limits. Given its nature, an imperative can only have future focus, even if that future event is to be carried out almost instantaneously with the command.[22] If there is any tense indication on the imperative verb, then it is expected to be some form of future, be it near or remote.[23] Because of this, imperatives cannot express actions meant to have been carried out in the past.[24]

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[20] see Huehnegard 2000: 142-146; Cohen (2005: 73-78) nicely sums up past work done on the precatives and imperatives. Contrary to the position taken here, Cohen includes the imperative in the precative paradigm, seeing it as syntactically the same (2005: 78-79). While there is a degree of "syntactic symmetry" between imperatives and precatives (i.e. first and third person demands or wishes), there are also important discrepancies between the two systems. Most importantly, the imperative is unmarked for person (e.g. *alik* "Go!" versus *tallik* "you went") while the precative is note (e.g. the precative *liprus* is the fusion of *lū* and the third person preterite form *iprus*). For this reason alone, it is clear that the imperative is not syntactically the same as the precative. Semantic differences between the forms exist as well. I prefer to follow Huehnegard as seeing the precatives and imperatives combined to form a "suppletive injunctive … paradigm" (Huehnegard 2000: 144).

[21] Palmer 2001: 80

[22] For example, if a baseball has been hit into a crowd, a person who yells "Duck!" at those who may be hit certainly expects the listeners to obey instantly.

[23] Lyons 1977: 746-747

[24] Lyons 1977: 746

3.1.1 The Imperative in Ergative Languages

Before looking at the imperative in Hurrian, it is worthwhile to briefly examine the ways in which other ergative languages treat this verbal form. In syntactically ergative languages, deletion rules typically only affect S/O NPs while A NPs are never subject to deletion (cf. §2.4). As mentioned above, the imperative often has no person agreement. In fact, the imperative typically involves the deletion of the addressee.[25] For example, the Turkish *Git*! "Go!" requires no overt mention of the second person, neither through verbal agreement[26] nor through the use of the personal pronoun *sen* "you." The very nature of the imperative requires the addressee to carry out some action. For this reason, the addressee is always either an S or A NP and agent of the predicate.[27] Therefore, ergative languages that allow for deletion of the addressee in the imperative will allow for deletion of both S and A NPs, counter to the S/O link that is expected.

According to Dixon, deletion in the imperative is not, however, an indication of any particular syntactic structure.[28] Since it seems to be a universal quality that the addressee is always S or A, and since the addressee is always called upon to act as an agent, it follows that the deletion of S or A is not evidence for either nominative-accusativity nor

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[25] According to Palmer (1998: 111), the imperative in some ways functions along the same lines as pivots.

[26] Person agreement does occur with plural and formal forms (cf. (3.2)), but this is more of a distinction of either number (i.e. "you all" vs. "you") or social status.

[27] Dixon 1979: 112-114; Palmer (1998: 111) educes some examples of passive imperatives, such as "Be persuaded by your friends!" Formally this is a passive of the jussive statement: "Let your friends persuade you!", but one can also imagine an implied command: "(Allow yourself to) be persuaded by your friends!" In the latter case, the addressee is the agent of the reflexive "to allow oneself", a verb which is omitted in the actual imperative (cf. Dixon 1994: 132).

[28] Dixon 1979: 112-114; 1994: 131.

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for ergativity but rather a universal characteristic of languages.[29] Therefore it can be

said that the inherent nature of the imperative functions beyond the bounds of syntactic

affiliation.

While the S/A link is universal according to Dixon, he does allow that some languages

may still retain a way of linking S and O in the imperative.[30] This primarily occurs in

languages which have one agreement marker for S and O and another for A. For some

languages, in the transitive imperative A may be omitted, but the S/O affix is obligatory,

while in others the inverse is the rule.[31] On top of this, the antipassive can also be used in

certain situations (see (3.5b) below).[32]

3.1.1.1 Dyirbal

The imperative in Dyirbal functions according to the above mentioned characteristics.

The second person addressee can be either expressed or admitted as in example (3.3):

(3.3)   a. ŋinda bani = "You come!"

b. bani = "(You) come!"[33]

Deletion of the addressee can also occur with transitive verbs. Note the following

example where only the patient is expressed:

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[29] Dixon 1979: 112-114; Palmer 1994: 111

[30] Dixon 1994: 133

[31] Dixon 1994: 133

[32] Palmer 1994: 112

[33] Examples taken from Dixon 1972: 110 numbers 332 and 335 respectively.

(3.4)   balan ḍugumbil ɲinayma
        CL   woman   marry
        "Marry the woman!"[34]

This is in contrast to all other constructions in Dyirbal. Regardless of the inherent nature

of the imperative, Dyirbal appears to function as a nominative-accusative language in this

situation and so therefore, it is not surprising that we find deletion of both S and A.

Dyirbal exhibits split-ergativity in the pronominal system.[35] As a result, the language

functions according to nominative-accusative syntax iff the agent of the sentence is either

a first person or second person pronoun. In the case of the imperative, the agent is

inevitably second person "you." That Dyirbal allows for deletion of a second person

pronoun functioning as an A NP is therefore not only allowable but expected.

    There is, however, one problem with this analysis. While the imperative in Dyirbal

largely functions along nominative-accusative lines with deletion of both A and S NPs,

there is evidence for the use of the antipassive in this construction. As we have seen

above (§2.3.4.3), the antipassive functions to promote the A NP to S. In the following

examples, we have a typical transitive imperative (3.5a) followed by the antipassive

construction of this phrase (3.5b):

(3.5)   a. ŋinda bayi yaṛa balga
           you   CL   man hit
           "You hit the man!"

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[34] Palmer 1994: 112

[35] Dixon 1994: 85-86

b. ŋinda bagul   yaṛa-gu   balgal-ŋa
   you   CL+DAT   man-DAT   hit   -AP
   "You hit the man!"[36]

The use of the antipassive in the imperative is not obligatory and is, in fact, rare.[37] The

use of the antipassive in this function may simply be a means of detransitivizing the

predicate. In the case of (3.5a), the focus would be on the person who is being hit, while

in (3.5b), the focus is on the act of hitting which just happens to be performed on a

human object.

3.2 Form and Function in Hurrian

The imperative in Hurrian has received a fair amount of attention, but there is no clear

consensus as to the morphology or syntax of the form. In the earliest works on Hurrian

grammar, imperatives were given as probable but not certain based on a lack of evidence.

For a long time, only two potential, though problematic, forms were posited for the

imperative: *zu-zi-la-ma-an* (*zuz꞊i꞊la꞊man?*)[38] and *a-ri* (*ar꞊i* see (3.31)).[39] The

discovery of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual at Boğazköy brought to light a number of new

imperative forms.

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[36] Examples taken from Dixon 1972: 110, numbers 336 and 337; (5b) is also found in Palmer 1994: 112.

[37] Dixon 1980: 457.

[38] EA 170 line 11; The Hurrian glosses the Akkadian *ù pa-ni-šu-nu ṣa-bat* "Get ahead of them(?)"

[39] Speiser 1941: 107 n. 114, 159, 164; Friedrich 1939: 22; Bork OLZ 1932: 377; Friedrich 1969: 18; Diakonoff 1971: 136; Bush 1964: 224, 366(n. 115); contra Goetze 1940: 131[28].

Since the discovery of the Bilingual, scholars have attempted to define the form
and function of the imperative with much more precision than was formerly possible.[40]
This resulted in a number of different constructions being posited for the imperative. It is
my goal with this section to determine which of these constructions belong and which do
not belong to the imperative paradigm.

3.2.1 Form of the Imperative

Most studies include a rather large complement of forms for the imperative paradigm.
Typical of this is the definition of the imperative according to Wilhelm. According to
him, imperative verbs "are formed by the root and the class-marker, optionally followed
by an enclitic personal pronoun; the plural is marked by -ž. Both second- and third-
person imperative forms occur, as well as a first plural cohortative."[41] The following is a
paradigm distilled from his examples:[42]

person	singular	plural
1	N/A	V=i=ž; V=o=ž
2	V=a; V=i; V=o	V=i=ž
3	V=o	V=o=ž

Table 3.1: Wilhelm's imperative paradigm

A similar paradigm is posited by Giorgieri in his grammar of Hurrian. In contrast to
Wilhelm, he does not include first person forms:[43]

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[40] See Haas and Wegner 1997a: 452-454; Neu 1994: 127-132; Wilhelm 1992a: 139.

[41] Wilhelm 2004a: 113.

[42] Based on the data from Wilhelm 2004a: 113. All second singular, third singular, and first plural
forms can be optionally followed by a (resumptive) enclitic pronoun according to Wilhelm's paradigm.

[43] Based on forms from Giorgieri 2000a: 235. As with Wilhelm, resumptive pronouns can occur
on verbal forms that do not end in =ž.

person	singular	plural
2	V⸗a; V⸗e/i; V⸗o	V⸗e/i⸗ž
3	V⸗i⸗ž; V⸗o; V⸗o⸗ž	V⸗e/i⸗ž; V⸗o⸗ž

Table 3.2: Giorgieri's imperative paradigm

Note that in Giorgieri's paradigm, forms in *⸗i⸗ž* and *⸗o⸗ž* are posited for the third

person singular. These forms are not included by Wilhelm.

As we have defined the imperative above it can only be used for second person forms.

Commands with first or third person as the agent are not, strictly speaking, imperatives.

Based on the two paradigms above, the "imperative" would include multiple persons and

two separate forms. Some imperatives are formed by the root plus valence marker while

others by a morpheme *e/i* or *o* plus *ž*.[44] If the above paradigms are correct, then some

difficulties arise in separating the third person commands from the true imperatives. As

presented in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, the third person singular has a form V⸗o which is

identical to the second person form. Furthermore, the second person plural form as given

is identical to the third person singular and plural as well as the first person plural forms.

This raises doubts as to the validity of including these forms in the imperative paradigm.

It is much more likely that they are to be treated as a modal ending distinct from the

imperative (see Chapter 4).

Not all posited paradigms of the imperative are as inclusive as Wilhelm's and

Giorgieri's. For example, Neu does not include any of the forms in *⸗i⸗ž* or *⸗o⸗ž*.[45] Neu

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[44] Khačikyan also analyzes the forms in *⸗ž* as indicating the plural imperative (1999: 262).

[45] Neu 1994: 127-132.

also limits the imperative to the second person.[46] The same position is taken by Haas

and Wegner,[47] which Wegner also follows in her grammar.[48] By eliminating forms in =

e/i (or =*o*)=*ž*, we are left with forms that consist of a root plus valence marker followed

by an optional resumptive enclitic pronoun. In other words, the imperative is represented

by a minimal form. Given the high rate of labile verbs in Hurrian (i.e. verbs whose

meaning is dependent upon its valence),[49] the use of a bare root form for the imperative is

not practical since the root form does not contain enough inherent lexical information in

and of itself to always distinguish meaning. The smallest meaningful unit is therefore not

the root but the root plus valence marker. Since this formulization of the imperative best

fits the definition given above, we will use it as our starting point. Once the forms are

described, we will return to the paradigms of Wilhelm and Giorgieri in order to determine

whether or not they can be accepted.

There are a minimal number of potential imperative forms that can be predicted for

Hurrian based on the above definition. The following chart lists these predicted forms.

valence	form
intransitive	V=*a*
antipassive	V=*i*
transitive	V=*o*; V=*i*

Table 3.3: Predicted imperative forms

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[46] Neu defines the imperative as having three actors: "die erste grammatische Person mit dem Sprecher eines Kommunikationsmodells, die zweite grammatische Person mit dem Angesprochenen und die dritte grammatische Person mit dem Besprochenen" (1994: 127).

[47] Haas and Wegner 1997a: 348-349

[48] Wegner 2000: 88 writes: "Der Imperativ als die einfachste morphologische Kategorie des Verbes wird gebildet aus dem Stamm + *i*"

[49] e.g. *un-* is "to come" in the intransitive and "to bring" in the transitive.

I have omitted from the chart the use of any agreement marker or resumptive pronoun for the second person from this chart. As we have seen, agreement varies widely depending upon both valence and period. As we explore the imperative forms, agreement strategies will be noted when applicable. The chart above predicts transitive imperative forms in =o based on the Old Hurrian transitive valence marker =o (see §2.3.5). As we shall see below, there are no secure examples of such imperatives (§3.3.3). Possible reasons for this will be given.

3.3 Philological Commentary

In the following section various examples of imperative verbs in Hurrian will be discussed in their full context. The section is divided into three subsections: §3.3.1 imperative forms in =a; §3.3.2 imperative forms in =i; §3.3.3 forms in =o and the difficulties involved in analyzing them as imperative.

3.3.1 Imperatives in =a

A number of forms of the type V=a have been identified. They can be divided into two types, forms in =a and forms in =a=b.[50] Based on the predicted forms in table 3.3 we expect imperatives in =a to behave as intransitives. As we will see below, despite certain difficulties, and despite past treatments, imperatives in =a do indeed appear to function as intransitive verbs.[51]

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[50] cf. Haas and Wegner 1997a: 452-454; Neu 1994: 128-129;

[51] This idea was also developed by Khačikyan 1999: 262.

The evidence from bilingual texts paints a complicated picture of imperatives in ⸗

a. The Akkado-Hurrian bilingual from Ugarit contains two such forms. These forms are

identifiable as imperatives both through their minimal marking and accompanying

Akkadian translation.[52] The two forms occur in the following sequence, left unparsed

here:

(3.6)   *elaminedaniman uɡola idippan udrana* (RS 15.010:6-7)[53]

They are parallel to the Akkadian:
(3.7)   *māmīta pilaḫi ⸗ma pagarka šullim* (RS 15.010: 2)

The Akkadian version contains two transitive imperatives: "Respect the oath!" and "Save

yourself!" In the second clause, the reflexive *pagarka* "your body; your self" from *pagru*

can be analyzed as the accusative object of the verb *šalāmu*. Despite the transitivity of

the Akkadian forms, the Hurrian contains imperatives in ⸗*a* and not ⸗*i*.

In contrast to the Akkadian, the Hurrian forms can be analyzed as follows:

(3.8)   a.   *elami ⸗ ne   ⸗ dan ⸗ i   ⸗ man **ug**   ⸗**ol** ⸗**a***
                oath +SG.RELAT+ABL +EPNTH+*man* respect+*ol*+*a*
                "Show respect concerning the oath"

        b.   *idi ⸗p   ⸗pa ⸗n   **udr**   ⸗**an**   ⸗**a***
                self+2SG.POSS+DAT+CONN   protect+CAUS[?]+*a*
                "and protect yourself!"

---

[52] Or perhaps conversely, the Akkadian original. The question of priority for this bilingual text has not been satisfactorily answered. The position that this text represents a Hurrian translation of an original Akkadian text has been put forward (cf. Dijkstra 1993: 163).

[53] *e-la-me-ni-da-ni-ma-an ú[?]-⌈ku[?]⌉-la* [7] *i-ti-ib-ba-an ud-ra-na*

The accusative *māmīta* of the Akkadian is given as an ablative form in the Hurrian.[54]

In this case, it is likely that the Hurrian verbal form *ug⸗ol-* does not allow for a direct

object, and instead takes the thing that is to be respected in the ablative *⸗dan*.

The second passage is more difficult to analyze. There are few concrete occurrences

of reflexives in Hurrian. Unlike reciprocality which is indicated through the derivational

morpheme *⸗ugar⸗*,[55] it appears that reflexivity in Hurrian is indicated through the use of

a lexical reflexive. The noun *edi* "body, self" (with its bi-form *idi*) typically occurs as a

postposition meaning "concerning x" or "in the presence of x," where x is typically an

animate NP.[56] In its postpositional use, both head and *edi* are in an oblique case, either

dative + directive[57] or the head is in the genitive with *edi* in the *-e* locatival case (and

Suffixaufnahme).[58] Important for us here are the occurrences of *edi* not in postpositional

constructions.

In the case of (3.8b), I would analyze the form as *edi⸗p⸗pa⸗n*, consisting of the root

plus second person possessive which is in turn followed by the dative *⸗wa* (>*pa* before a

labial).[59] Cross-linguistically, a typically transitive verb such as "to save" occurring in

the intransitive in a reflexive construction is not unheard of. West Greenlandic has a

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[54] Dijkstra 1993: 165

[55] See Giorgieri 2000a: 197; Wegner 2000: 76 writes that "*tad=ugar-* soll die Gegenseitigkeit ausdrücken 'einander lieben', aber auch den Iterativ-Durativ."

[56] Giorgieri 2000a: 245-246; Wegner 2000: 97-98

[57] e.g. *tažē⸗nē⸗va ed(i)⸗ī⸗da* (Mitt. i 99)

[58] e.g. ᴷᵁᴿ*ōmīn(i)⸗iffu⸗we⸗n(e)⸗ē ed(i)⸗ī⸗e* (Mitt. iv 22)

[59] Dijkstra offers a plausible alternative analysis of the form as *edi=bban* (following his normalization), with the full form of the second person possessive *⸗bba* (or perhaps better *⸗ffa*) followed by the short form of the directional *⸗n(i)*. Based on other possible reflexive forms, however, I prefer to see it as being in the dative case.

similar construction in which transitive verbs used in reflexive constructions always

occur as intransitives.[60] Furthermore, reflexivity in West Greenlandic is indicated

through a lexical form that must be in an oblique (typically dative) case. If Hurrian does

in deed form reflexives in a manner similar to West Greenlandic, then *ug⸗ol⸗a* is a

perfectly acceptable intransitive imperative form.

   A form that presents more difficulties is the verb *šalġ⸗ōl⸗a* found in the bilingual

Hurrian-Hittite parables related to the Song of Release.[61] After each parable, the

audience is asked to put aside what they have just heard and to listen to the next moral

lesson. This interlude between tales contains a number of non-indicative forms, but here

we will focus solely upon the imperative form in question:

(3.9)   (Set aside this word[62] and let me tell you another!)
       a-mu-u-ma-a-ap[63] *šal-ḫu-u-la* (KBo 32.14 i 24, iv 7, 21, rev. 33, 53)

This has been traditionally analyzed as:

(3.10) *amōma(<i)*   *⸗f(fa)*   **šalġ⸗ōl⸗a** (my normalization)
       message[64]+ØABSOL+2PL.ENCL hear +ōl+a[65]

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[60] cf. Bok-Bennema 1991: 50-51; Note the following examples: *Immi-nut tuqup-puq* (= himself+DAT kill+IND.3SG) "He killed himself" (Bok-Bennema 1991: 50 (23a)) and *Angut immi-nut taku-vuq* (= man+ABS himself+DAT see+IND.3SG) "The man sees himself" (ibid.: 50 (23c)). For more on reflexives, cf. Fortescue 1984: 155-165.

[61] Giorgieri 2000a: 236 notes the difficulty of this particular form.

[62] The form *ku-u-li-eš* is typically treated as a plural imperative form (Giorgieri 2000a: 235; Neu 1996: 122; Wegner 2000: 116, 201). All forms in *⸗ež* are taken here as optatives (cf. Chapter 4).

[63] note the variant writing: *a-mu-ma-a-am* in i 40

[64] A nominal form built off of the verbal root *am-* "to look, see"

[65] See Haas and Wegner 1997a: 454; Neu 1994: 129; idem. 1996: 125-126

This normalization is based upon the Hittite translation:

(3.11) ḫatressar istamaskiten (variant: ištamašten)
        "Hear (pl.) the message!"[66]

The Hittite clearly has a transitive imperative verb in ištamaškiten with a direct object

ḫatreššar "message."[67] The analysis of the Hurrian in (3.11) assumes a one-to-one

correspondence between the Hurrian and the Hittite.

   For the sake of argument, let us operate under the assumption that the parsing in (3.11)

is correct. The verb is an imperative in =a and must function here as a transitive "hear

s.t./s.o.". The agent would be indicated by the second person plural absolutive enclitic

pronoun =ffa, here in the short form =f.[68] The direct object would be amōmi "message"

with the typical movement of -i > -a through vowel harmony with the enclitic pronoun.

Haas and Wegner are correct in noting that this analysis results in a case of split-

ergativity with both A and O in the absolutive.[69] As we will see shortly, transitive

imperative forms in Hurrian, do show split ergativity, and so this interpretation is not

implausible.

   There are, however, a few problems with the above treatment. First of all, the noun

amōmi does not necessarily mean "message." The noun amōmi clearly means

"administrator" and is equivalent to the Hittite maniyaḫḫiyas isḫas literally "lord of the

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[66] ḫa-at-re-eš-šar iš-ta-ma-aš-[ki-t]én (KBo 32.14 ii 24); ḫa-at-re-eš-šar iš-ta-ma-aš-ki-tén (KBo 32.14 ii 40); ḫa-at-re-eš-šar iš-ta-ma-aš-tén (KBo 32.14 iii 7, 21, rev. 34, 54).

[67] Neu 1996: 125

[68] Giorgieri 2000a: 220; Wegner 2000: 66-67; Wilhelm 1992: 135 (w. bibliography); idem. 2004: 108

[69] Haas and Wegner 1997a: 454

administrative unit."[70] It is highly unlikely that the same form would mean both

"message" and "administrator." For this reason, the equation *amōmi* = *ḫatressar* is not

likely.

The main problem with the above treatment of this line, however, is the use of a

morpheme ⸗*a* to indicate a transitive imperative. A number of transitive imperatives are

known, but they are all formed with ⸗*i* (cf. §3.3.2 below). If the imperatives are formed

through the verbal root plus valence marker, then it is impossible to take *šalġ⸗ōl⸗a* as

transitive. According to the valence markers known from the indicative, ⸗*a* functions

solely as the intransitive marker and is never used to mark a transitive verb. I would

suggest that the analysis of the form as a transitive verb is based on an over-reliance on

the Hittite in translating the Hurrian. It is clear that the Hittite and Hurrian of the text do

not always correspond one-to-one. Recall the Hittite translation of the Hurrian

construction *fūr⸗u tēl⸗u tapš⸗ū* (§2.3.6). Perhaps we have a similar situation here,

where the Hittite is not an exact translation of the Hurrian.

I would like to offer the following alternate analysis of the passage:

(3.12) **am**   ⸗*ōm⸗a*   ⸗*f*(*fa*)   **šalġ**   ⸗*ōl⸗a*
       observe+*ōm* +IMPR.INTRAN+2PL.ENCL listen+*ōl* +IMPR.INTRAN
       "Be observant and listen!"

Instead of taking *amōmaf* as a nominal form, I would rather analyze it as an intransitive

imperative. With this analysis, we no longer have to equate *amōmi* with the Hittite

ḫatressar. Instead, this treatment results in two intransitive imperative forms likely

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[70] Wilhelm 1992a: 129 (with bibliography prior to 1992); cf. also CHD L-N 168 sub *maniyaḫḫai-*
3. Wilhelm here takes the base form as *amōmin*(*n*)*i*, apparently seeing the *a-mu-ú-mi-ne-e-wa*_a of KBo

functioning as verbal asyndeton. The combination of *am⸗ōm-* "to see, observe" and

šalġ- "to hear, listen" combine here to stress the importance of heeding the lessons of the

parables. We no longer have to postulate a transitive function of the otherwise intransitive

⸗a valence marker in *šalġ⸗ōl⸗a*. While we must rely on the Hittite to translate much of

the Hurrian, we must be careful not to assume too close of a relationship between the

phraseology of the Hittite and Hurrian sections.

A concrete example of an imperative in *⸗a* is found in the quasi-bilingual section of

ChS I/5 40 rev. 41'-50'. The final lines of the tablet contain a "bilingual" passage. The

Hittite is identical to the Hurrian for the first several lines, 41'-47', while the last lines

diverge from the original Hurrian.[71] In 44', we find the imperative of a verb of motion in

⸗a followed by the second person plural enclitic pronoun *⸗ffa*:

(3.13) **faž** **⸗a** **⸗ffa** *parġi* *⸗d*[*a*
     enter+IMPR.INTRAN+2PL.ENCL courtyard+DIR
     "Enter into the courtyard!" (ChS I/5 40 rev. 44')[72]

This is translated into Hittite as:

(3.14) *na-aš-ta ḫi-i-e*[*l-l*]*i i-it-ten*
     "Go to the courty[ard]!" (ChS I/5 40 rev. 44')

32.14 iv 14 as being the dative of a derived *amōm(i)⸗i⸗n(n)i* instead of as *amōmi⸗nē⸗va* with *⸗ne⸗* as the singular relator (for this interpretation, see Neu 1996: 171).

[71] The nature of translation in bilinguals is a subject that requires further study.

[72] *waₐ-aš-ap-waₐ bar-ḫi-d*[*a*; Wegner 2001: 445-446

The verbal form *faž⸗a⸗ffa* parallels *am⸗ōm⸗a⸗f* from (3.12) in form.[73]

There is one potential example of an imperative in *⸗a⸗b*. The form is found in the

Hurrian-Hittite Song of Release. It appears in the following context:

(3.15) (Kneeling, Mēgi spoke the words to Teššob:)
 ḫaž ⸗až⸗il⸗a **⸗b** ^d*Teššob* ^{URU}*Kumme⸗ne* *⸗ve*
 hear+*až*+*il*+IMPR.INTRAN+ABS.AGR? DN+ØABS GN +SG.RELAT+GEN
 talāvuži *evri*
 great+ØABS lord+ØABS
 "Hear (me), O Teššob, great lord of Kumme!" (KBo 32.15 iv 13-14)[74]

This corresponds to the following Hittite:

(3.16) ¹³ … [*i*]*š-ta-ma-aš-mu* ^dIM-*aš* ^{14 URU}*kum-mi-ia-aš* LU[GA]L GAL
 "Hear me Tarḫunt, the great king of Kumme!" (KBo 32.15 iii 13-14)

This cannot be a case where we have a movement *⸗i > ⸗a* through interference of an

enclitic pronoun since the final *⸗b* is not an enclitic pronoun. The subject in (3.15) is the

second singular Teššob. *⸗b* as an enclitic pronoun can only be the second plural *⸗f*.[75] If

we are to take *ḫaž⸗až⸗il⸗a⸗b* as an imperative, then it must be in *⸗a*. The verb in the

Hurrian section is certainly intransitive, but the Hittite is transitive. If we follow this

analysis, then a difference of valence exists between the two versions.

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[73] Wegner does not take *fav⸗a⸗ffa* as an imperative but rather as "ein Indikativ Präs. Der 2. Pers. Pl. des Intransitivums" (2001: 446). Following this, the verb should be translated as "you(pl.) enter." She allows that the form may be analyzed as "einen Imperativ auf -i/e" *faž⸗a(<i>)⸗ffa* (2001: 446). Note, however, that we have examples of imperatives in *⸗i* immediately followed by an enclitic pronoun without a shift of *⸗i > ⸗a* through vowel harmony (cf. 3.22 below).

[74] *ḫa-ša-ši-la-ab* ^{14 d}IM-*ub* ^{URU}*kum-mi-ni-bi da-la-a-wu_u-ši ib-ri*

[75] This is not to be confused with the second person singular possessive morpheme *⸗b(⸗)*.

To begin with, the use of this particular verb is problematic. The verb *ḫaž-* "to hear" is transitive in Hurrian.[76] I know of no examples of *ḫaž-* being used as an intransitive verb. We do have, however, an example of *ḫaž-* used in a transitive imperative construction in (3.22) below. The following passage is indicative of the typical use of this verb:

(3.17) *kād* ⸗*i* ⸗*a* ⸗*šše* [*t*]*ivšari* *nô(i)*⸗*īffu* ⸗*ž*
speak+TRAN+3SG.ERG+REL+ØABS speech?+ØABS [77] ear +1SG.POSS+ERG
ḫaž ⸗***ī*** ⸗***a*** ⸗***n***
hear+TRAN+3SG.ERG+3SG.ENCL
"My ear hears the speech which he speaks." (ChS I/1 41 i 24-25)[78]

The form in KBo 32.15 iii 13 does not fit in with the basic pattern of this verb. It would be odd to have here an intransitive usage of an otherwise consistently transitive verb.[79] We would expect there to be an object, either "hear *me*" following the Hittite use of the enclitic pronoun ⸗*mu* or "hear *it/them* (i.e. the word(s))."

A different interpretation of the Hurrian is possible. The form can also be analyzed as the transitive, indicative first person verbal form *ḫaž*⸗*až*⸗*il*⸗*av*.[80] In this case, Teššob is then the direct object and the agent is none other than Mēgi. This changes the reading of

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[76] cf. Laroche GLH, pp. 95 (note: Laroche was not aware of the near homonym *ḫāž-* "to anoint" and so forms of both verbs are given under his *ḫaš-* "entendre").

[77] I am tentatively translating this word as "command" in order to keep it distinct from the separate lexeme *tive* "word."

[78] *ga-a-ti-i*[*a-aš*]*-ši* 25 [*t*]*e-ep-ša-ri nu-u-ú-i-ip-pu-uš ḫa-aš-i-ia-an*; cf. Wegner 1995b: 122.

[79] As a transitive, it can occur both in the normal transitive (ergative) construction as well as in the detransitivizing antipassive.

[80] Haas and Wegner 1997a: 452-453.

the passage, but not in an implausible way. If the verb is imperative, we get the

following translation:

(3.18) "Kneeling, Mēgi speaks the words to Teššob: 'Hear (me) Teššob, great lord of Kumme! I give it, but my city is not giving it, the releasing (of the captives from Igingališ). Zazzala, the son of Fāzangari is not giving a releasing!'"

Here, Mēgi is imploring Teššob to hear that he, Mēgi, had done as his god had asked

while no one else had. If we are to take the verb as a first person transitive form, we get

the alternate translation:

(3.19) "Kneeling, Mēgi speaks the words to Teššob: 'I hear (you) Teššob, great lord of Kumme and I am giving it, but my city is not giving it, the releasing …'"

If we follow this second reading, we find that Mēgi is reporting that he has obeyed a

command that he had received earlier from Teššob. This is the reading tentatively

suggested by Haas and Wegner.[81] If the second interpretation is correct, then we have a

difference in person and mood between the Hurrian and Hittite.

This is not the only place in this text where the Hittite uses a verbal form with a

different person from the original Hurrian. Earlier in the text, Mēgi's attempts to sway

the council of Ebla to release the people of Igingališ were met with rejection. The main

argument given by the opposition goes as follows:

(3.20) *andi=lla*   *=m*   *nakk =ed =āū =ž avē(=ž) =dilla*   *šātti*
       that +3PL.ABS+CONN   release+FUT+1ERG+PL who+ERG+1PL.ENCL   1PL.ABS
       zāz=ol =il=ed =a   *tapš=a=ḫḫ(e)=a   kur=a=ḫḫ(e)=a*
       feed+*ol*+*il*+FUT+3SG.ERG   cupbearer   +ESS   waiter   +ESS
       fand=ar=i=nn(i)=a   fud=ar=i=nn(i)=a   =lla
       cook   +ESS dishwasher   +ESS+3PL.ENCL

---

[81] They even go so far as to read the verb as *gehorchen* "to obey" (Haas and Wegner 1997a: 453).

"(If) we release those ones, who will feed us? They are (our) cup bearers, waiters, cooks, and dishwashers!" (KBo 32.15 i 26'-29')[82]

This is translated into Hittite as:

(3.21) [26'] *a-pu-u-š ar-ḫa ku-it tar-nu-m[e]⌈-ni⌉ an-za-a-ša a-da-an-[na]* [27'] *ku-iš pí-iš-ki-iz-zi* LÚ.MEŠSAGI-*ia-at-na-aš* [28'] *pa-ra-a-ia-aš-na-aš pí-iš-ki-u-wa-ni* LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM-*ša-at-na-aš* [29'] *ar-ra-aš-kán-zi-ia-aš-na*(erasure)-*aš*
"Concerning our releasing them, who would give us (food) to eat? On one hand they are our cupbearers and on the other, *we* serve *them to us*. They are our cooks and they do the washing for us!" (KBo 32.15 ii 26'-29')

The key phrase is the Hittite *parā⹀ya⹀as⹀nas piskiwani*, "we serve them to us."[83] As it stands, the form makes no sense. We expect something along the lines of **parā⹀ya⹀nas piskanzi* "they give forth (food?) to us." Unfortunately there is no corresponding Hurrian to clarify the situation. If there had been a Hurrian phrase to match the Hittite, it would have to be transitive with the agent (the cupbearers) in ergative and the recipient ("us") as patient. It appears as if the agent and patient had been switched in the Hittite translation of the Hurrian. This phenomena is also found in the Akkadian of Nuzi.[84]

This switching of actors can be applied to KBo 32.15 iv 13-14. It is not impossible that the Hurrian version's "I hear you" could have been misconstrued in the Hittite as

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[82] *an-ti-il-la-am na-ak-ki-da-a-u-uš a-pé-e-di-il-la* [27'] *ša-a-at-ti za-a-zu-li-li-ta tap-ša-aḫ-ḫa ku-ra-aḫ-ḫa* [28'] *pa-an-ta-ri-in-na wu_ú-ta-ri-na-al-la*; cf. Haas and Wegner 1997a: 453; Neu 1996: 335-341; idem. 2003: 298; Wegner 1992: 235; Wilhelm 1997: 283;

[83] The enclitic chain in this i 26'-29' is of some interest. According to Hoffner, whenever a plural dative such as ⹀*naš* is used, the third person enclitic *-a-* form always follows the dative (1988: 93f.). In this passage of the Bilingual, however, this combination is switched, with the *-a-* third person form *preceding* the dative plural pronoun!

[84] cf. Wilhelm 1997: 283-284 fn. 36; A good example of this switching of arguments is found in a will from Nuzi (HSS 19.17). The text reads in lines 21-22: [21] 3 DUMU.MEŠ-*ya* [22] *an-nu-tu_4 i-pal-la-aḫ-šu-nu-ti* "She will respect them, these three sons of mine." The context, however, calls for the reverse "These three sons of mine shall respect her!" (cf. Speiser 1963: 66).

"you hear me." In ii 26', the scribe did nothing to the Hittite to make the resulting

mistranslation fit into the passage. Saying "we serve them to us" clearly makes no sense

in this (or in any) context. In contrast, it appears that the scribe attempted to fit iii 13 into

the context by changing the verb from the indicative "you hear me" to the imperative

"Hear me!" As shown above, the use of an imperative results in a perfectly acceptable

translation. Instead of taking *ḫa-ša-ši-la-ab* as an imperative based on the Hittite,

perhaps we are better off analyzing the Hittite as a reworking of a mistranslation of the

Hurrian. It is also possible, that the scribe simply misunderstood the form, taking it as an

imperative in ⸗*a* with a ⸗*b* agreement marker instead of as the indicative transitive ⸗*av*.

Such an analysis, while difficult, fits the grammar far better than an imperative form

would.

3.3.2 Imperatives in ⸗*i*

More frequent then the above discussed forms, though still far from common, are

transitive imperatives. Transitivity in the imperative is indicated through the use of the

morpheme ⸗*i*. Based on the indicative pattern, we would expect transitive imperatives to

have an agent in the ergative case and the patient in the absolutive. As we have seen

above, however, imperatives in ergative languages do not usually behave according to the

rules of ergativity. The action of the imperative is focused on the listener, regardless of

valence. This creates a link between S and A NPs that is not typically found in ergative

languages. Because of this, we do not necessarily expect the transitive imperative in

Hurrian to function strictly according to ergative rules. As we shall see below, this is

borne out in the examples.

The passage in (3.22) is an example of one of the ways in which the transitive imperative in Hurrian is formed. This example is found in the long monolingual Hurrian prayer from Boğazköy, ChS I/1 41:

(3.22) *anammi⸗tta*   *ḫā̌ž⸗i*   *⸗mma*   *Tado-Ḫeba⸗tta*
        so   +1SG.ENCL hear+TRANS+2SG.ENCL PN   +1SG.ENCL
        "So, hear me Tado-Ḫeba!" (ChS I/1 41 iii 63)[85]

The verb *ḫā̌ž-* "to hear" is, as discussed above, a transitive verb. It cannot be construed as an indicative form and therefore must be imperative.[86] It is formally minimal and does not contain any of the other known non-indicative morphemes. *⸗mma* cannot be construed as an indicative negative morpheme, since the expected negative form would be *ḫažž⸗i⸗a⸗mma* (see §2.3.5.4.3 above). While omission of the *⸗i* is possible in indicative transitive forms, the agreement marker *⸗a* is always used with third person singular agents.[87] The morpheme *⸗mma* can only be interpreted as the second person absolutive singular enclitic pronoun "you."

The passage contains two enclitic, absolutive pronouns. The following lines in the text include first person verbs such as *ḫill⸗eva⸗tta* and first person pronouns such as *šō̌⸗da* "to me."[88] I interpret these first person forms as referring to the speaker who is directing Tado-Ḫeba to listen. For this reason, I would take the *⸗tta* not as agent, but rather as the patient of the intransitive verb. This is an imperative directed at Tado-

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[85] *a-na-am-mi-it-ta ḫa-a-ši-im-ma da-du-ḫi-pa-at-ta*; cf. Catsanicos 1996: 225

[86] The expected indicative form would be *ḫažž⸗i⸗a* (present), *ḫažž⸗ed⸗a* (future), or *ḫažž⸗ož⸗a* (preterite).

[87] See §2.3.4.3

Heba, ordering her to listen to the speaker. Because of the use of the enclitic pronoun

⸗*mma* to indicate the agent,[89] it is unlikely that we should take the resumptive personal

name Tado-Ḫeba as the ergative form *Tado-Ḫeba*(⸗*ž*), with elision of the ergative case

marker before a first person enclitic pronoun. While the form is ambiguous, the grammar

argues against the use of an ergative form.

In (3.22), the agent is cross-referenced on the verb through the use of the enclitic

plural pronoun ⸗*mma*. This is just one of the ways in which the transitive imperative is

formed. A long passage in ChS I/1 3 (obv. 40-50) involves several imperatives directed

to an unknown addressee. The addressee is to summon forth Teššob and other masculine

deities including Ea. In none of the several imperative forms found here is agreement

with the agent marked. In these passages, if agreement is indicated, it is with the patient

and not the agent. In (3.23) we have a long phrase (delineated from the rest of the text

through the use of a gloss mark) with the imperative verb *ḫō⸗i* "Call!" occurring twice.

The agent appears with the second imperative:

(3.23) **ḫō ⸗i** ⸗*lla* *šummi⸗n* *en*(*i*)⸗*na* *šerri⸗n*
 call+TRAN.IMP+3PL.ENCL all +CONN god+PL.ABS *š.* +ABL/INST
 kišḫi ⸗n *Teššop⸗pe* … **ḫō ⸗i** *Eā⸗n*
 throne+ABL/INST DN +GEN … call+TRAN.IMP DN+CONN[90]
 ayankuri⸗n *šelli⸗n*
 a. +ABL/INST house+ABL/INST
 "Call them, all the gods from the *šerri*, from the throne of Teššob, call Ea, the …,
 from the *ayankurri*-house!" (ChS I/1 3 obv. 45-47)[91]

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[88] *šu-u-ta* ChS I/1 41 iii 68; cf. also perhaps iii 72: *šu-u-*[

[89] Even in languages such as English where the imperative does not require an explicit agent, the speaker may include the second person pronoun "you" for various pragmatic reasons.

[90] Possibly the third singular enclitic pronoun ⸗*n*(*na*).

[91] *ḫu-u-i-el-la šum-mi-in* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na še-er-ri-in* [46] *ki-iš-ḫi-in* ᵈU-*up-pé* … *ḫu-u-i* ᵈ*é-a-an* [47] *a-ia-an-ku-ri-in še-el-li-ni* /

The passage can be culled down to these primary elements:

(3.24) **ḫō≠i≠lla en(i)≠na ḫo≠i Eā**
"Call the gods! Call Ea!"

The plural patients are cross-referenced on the verb through the third plural enclitic *≠lla*.

The singular patient Ea is not cross-referenced.

Further imperative forms are found in this paragraph. Here the verb is not *ḫō-* "to call" but rather the transitive use of *un-* "to come; to bring" and of *faž-* "to enter; to bring in." Again the agent is not mention and Ea and the gods are the patient:

(3.25) *Eā≠n   šummi≠n   tur≠o≠ḫḫi≠na   en(i)≠na   [Teššop]≠pe≠na*
DN+CONN all   +CONN male   +PL.ABS.   god+PL.ABS   DN   +GEN+PL.ABS
…[92] *purul(i)≠le(<ne)   ≠ve≠na   ḫiyarun(i)≠n(i)   ≠a   aġar(i)≠*
…   temple +SG.RELAT+GEN+PL.ABS ḫ.   +SG.RELAT+ESS? incense+
r[i](<ni) **un** *≠i*   *≠l*   *aġar(i)≠ri(<ni)* **fāž** *≠i*   *≠*
ABL/INST bring+TRAN.IMP+3PL.ENCL incense+ABL/INST bring in+TRAN.IMP+
l   iġār(i)≠ri(<ne)   ≠n
3PL.ENCL *i.*   +SG.RELAT +ABL/INST
"Bring Ea and all the masculine deities of Teššob … and of the temple by means of incense *like ḫiyaroni*! Bring them in from the *iġari* by means of incense!" (ChS I/1 3 obv. 48-50)[93]

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[92] Teššob is often followed by the epithets *eġli≠ve šubri≠ve* in the texts from Boğazköy. Both terms appear to be free standing genitives (i.e. "the one of salvation, the one of *šubri*"). In cases where Teššob appears in the genitive, we expect the epithets to also occur in the genitive. This creates a situation where we have a genitive + genitive (Suffixaufnahme with Teššob) + Suffixaufnahme (with head of genitive) such as in the form *eḫ-li-pí-ni-pí-na-a-ša* (*eġli≠ve≠ne≠ve≠n(a)≠āž≠a* = "to (the gods) (of Teššob = *Teššop≠pe≠n(a)≠āž≠a*) of the savior") found in ChS I/1 2 obv. 15' amongst others. In this passage, we have either a mistake or an abbreviated writing: *eḫ-li-pí-na šu-up-ri-pí-na*.

[93] d*É-a-an šum-mi-in du-ru-uḫ-ḫi-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na* d[U-*up*]-*pí-na* [49] … *pu-ru-ul-li-pí-na ḫi-ia-ru-un-na a-ḫar-r[iˀ]* [50] *ú-ni-el a-ḫar-ri waₐ-a-ši-el i-ḫa-a-ar-ri-in*; the translation is different from the partial translation found in Wegner 2001: 443. Wegner takes the form *a-ḫar-ri* as *aḫar=r(<n)i* (her normalization; my italicization). In her translation she takes the incense as the agent. The above analysis of the form as an ablative/instrumental in *≠ni* fits the grammar much better.

Both imperative forms include the third person enclitic pronoun =*l(la)*, referring to all

of the god who are to be brought.

    Two further examples of imperative verbs without any agreement marked on the verb

are found in this paragraph. In both passages, the agent is omitted, with only the patient

being explicitly mentioned. The examples are as follows:

(3.26) *zuppi*=*ni*   *kišḫ(i)*=*idi*=*n*   **ḫō**=*i*   Teššob   *težoġarḫi*=*da*
       z.   +ABL/INST throne+*idi*+ABL/INST call+TRAN.IMP DN+ØABS *t.*   +DIR
       "Call Teššob from the *zuppi*, from the *kešḫidi*[94] to the *težoġarḫi*[95]!" (ChS I/1 3
       obv. 44-45)[96]

and:

(3.27) **ḫō**=*i*   Teššob   *eġli*=*ve šubri*=*vē šarr(i)*=*i*   =*až en(i)*=*n(a)*   =
       call+TRAN.IMP DN+ØABS savior[97]   *š.*   king +3POSS+PL god +PL.RELAT+
       āž=*e*
       PL+GEN
       "Call Teššob, the savior, the *šubrive*, the king of the gods!" (ChS I/1 3 obv. 47-
       48)[98]

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[94] The form *kešḫidi* is clearly based on the nominal room *kešḫi* "throne."

[95] This word is probably related to *težoġi* "old" (cf. Salvini SMEA 22, 166). If so, we have a collective form in =*arḫi*. Perhaps it is a reference to the primordial deities?

[96] *zu-up-pi-ni ki-iš-ḫi-te-en ḫu-u-i* ᵈU-*up* ⁴⁵ *te-šu-ḫa-ar-ḫi-ta*

[97] The NPs *eġlive* and *šubrive* are technically in the genitive case with Ø-case absoulitve Suffixaufnahme. Note the full agreement in the following example: *eġli*=*ve*=*n*]*e*=*ve*[=*n(a)*=*ā*]*ž*=*a šubri*=*ve*=*n(a)*=*āž*=*a tor*=*o*=*ḫḫi*=*n(a)*=*āž*=*a* [*en(i)*=*n(a)*=*āž*=*a*^{?? d}]*Teššop*=*pe*=*n(a)*=*āž*=*a* "to the male [gods] of Teššob, the saviour, the *šubri*=*ve*" (ChS I/1 obv. 3-4). Here the head of the genitive construction is the dative plural *toroḫḫināža* [*ennāža*]. Both *eġli*=*ve* and *šubri*=*ve* show Suffixaufnahme with Teššob as well as with the true head. This does not always hold. Often we find instead passages such as: *tor*=*o*=*ḫḫi*=*na en(i)*=*na* ᵈ[*Teššop*]=*pe*=*na eġli*=*ve*=*na šubri*=*ve*=*na* "the male gods of Teššob the saviour, the *šubri*=*ve*" (ChS I/3 obv. 48-49). In this case instead of the expected *eġli=*ve*=*ne*=*ve*=*na šubri*=*ve*=*ne*=*ve*=*na*, Suffixaufnahme with Teššob is omitted and only case agreement with the plural absolutive head is present.

In both passages, the patient immediately follows the imperative verb. In (3.26), the verb is fronted by the oblique forms in ⸗*ni* indicating the places from which Teššob is to be called.[99]

The evidence from ChS I/1 3 does not give any indication as to when and why agreement markers are or are not used. We have examples of imperatives with patient agreement markers and omitted agent (3.23, 3.25), expressed agent with omitted patient and no agreement (3.22), and omitted agent with expressed patient and no agreement (3.27). There does not appear to be any pattern in the optional use of the agreement marker.[100]

I know of one other example of an imperative with potential patient agreement. This example comes from the Akkado-Hurrian bilingual from Ugarit:

(3.28) **kē** (⸗**i**$^?$)   ⸗*n*   *ušḫoni*   *elami* ⸗ *ne*   ⸗ (*v*)*e*
set+TRAN.IMP?+3SG.ENCL/CONN silver+ØABS oath +RELAT+GEN$^?$
"Set (down) the silver of the oath!" (RS 15.010: 5)[101]

with the accompanying Akkadian:

(3.29) *šukun kaspī ša māmīti*
"Set down the silver of the oath!" (RS 15.010: 1)[102]

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[98] *ḫu-u-i* ^{d}U-*up eǵ-li-pí šu-up-ri-pí-e*<<-*ni*>> [48] *šar-ri-ia-aš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-ši*; partly treated in Wegner 2001: 443.

[99] On the ablative/instrumental ⸗*ni/e* see Wilhelm 1983.

[100] It is possible that the inclusion of a cross-referencing enclitic pronoun either indicates markedness or emphasis or has some other discourse related function.

[101] *gi-e-en ušḫoni*(KÙ) *e-la-mi-ni-e*

[102] *šu-ku-un* KÙ.MEŠ *ša ma-mi-ti*

The verbal form *gi-e-en* has been analyzed as a jussive *ki⸗ēn* "Let him place!"[103]

This does not match up with the Akkadian, which clearly uses the imperative form *šukun*

of the verb *šakānu* "to set, place." An imperative reading of the form is also possible.

The writing *gi-e-en* with the vowels *-i-e-e-* likely represents the confluence of the vowel

final root *ke-* and the transitive imperative marker *⸗i*. It is possible that the combination -

e⸗i > *-ē*. The final *⸗n* on the verb can be taken as either a connective or as the third

singular enclitic pronoun. It is impossible to definitively say one way or the other, but

taking it as a patient agreement marker is not out of the question.

An example of an imperative without any agreement is known from the Mittani Letter.

The form *ar⸗i* "Give!" has long been recognized as an imperative form.[104] The context is

fragmentary, but an imperative reading of the verb seems likely. Tušratta is apparently

quoting a letter that he received from the Egyptian pharaoh Amonhotep IV requesting a

Mittani princess be sent as his wife:

(3.30) *šāla   ⸗b   ⸗an   ašt(i)⸗iff(e)   ⸗ū   ⸗nn(i)⸗a   **ar ⸗i***
        daughter+2POSS+CONN   wife +1POSS+EPNTH+EQUAT/ADV give+TRAN.IMP
        "Give (to me) your daughter as my wife!" (Mitt. i 51)[105]

Here we have the patient fronting the verb instead of following it as in (3.23) and (3.27).

The patient is clearly *šāla* "daughter," and the agent must be an omitted *⸗mma*

Tušratta+Ø "you, Tušratta."

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[103] Dijkstra 1993: 165.

[104] See footnote 344 above.

[105] *ša-a-la-pa-an aš-ti-íw-wu-ú-un-na a-ri*; cf. Haas and Wegner 1997a: 338.

Finally, two further transitive imperative forms in ⸗*i* are found in Song of Release.

In Teššob's speech to Mēgi, he demands the release of the prisoners as follows:

(3.31) � ⌜URU⌝*Igingal*(*i*)⸗*išḫe* ⸗*nā* ⸗*ma* **nakk** ⸗*i* *futki*⸗*na*
        GN   +DERIV+PL.ABS+CONN release+TRAN.IMP son +PL.ABS
    keld(*i*) ⸗*āi*
    well-being+ADV
    "Release the Igingališnian sons *wholeheartedly*[106]" (KBo 32.19 i 1-2)[107]

and:

(3.32) **nakk** ⸗*i* ⸗*ma* ᵐ*Purra*⸗*n* *āzziri*
    release+TRAN.IMP+CONN/2SG.ENCL   PN +3SG.ENCL captive+ØABS
    "Release Purra, the captive!" (KBo 32.19 i 3)[108]

The agent in both cases is the omitted Mēgi.[109] The patient is a plural NP in (33) and

singular PN in (3.32). Both of these passages parallel usages of the imperative given

above.

3.3.3 Observations on ⸗*a* and ⸗*i*

The above examples give a consistent picture of the transitive imperative. The

imperative is a minimal form consisting of the verb (+ optional derivational morphemes)

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[106] I understand the adverbial form *keldāi* as indicating unconditional and unquestioning compliance with the demand freely given by Mēgi. Teššob not only wants Mēgi to comply, but he wants him to do so willingly and not through coercion and threat of disaster alone. Giorgieri translates as: "con le buone, amichevolmente" (2000: 261[237])

[107] ⌜URU⌝*i-ki-in-kal-iš-ḫé-na-a-ma na-ak-ki* ² *pu-ut-ki-na ke-el-ta-a-i*; = Hitt. DUMU.MEŠ ᵁᴿᵁ*i-ki-in-kal ar*[(*-ḫa-ma*) *aš-šu-li tar-n*(*a*)] "r[elease in goodness] the sons of Ikinkal" (KBo 32.19 ii 1, with duplicate KBo 32.22 x+1-2')

[108] *na-ak-ki-ma* ᵐ*pur-ra-an a-az-zi-i-ri*; = Hitt. *ar-ḫa-ma-an tar-n*[*a* ᵐ*pur-ra-an-pá*]*t* "and relea[se] him, [Purra]" (KBo 32.19 ii 2); The function of *-pat* here in the Hittite is not clear. The tablet begins with this speech, and no prior context is currently known.

[109] It is also conceivable that these phrases have the entire city of Ebla, including Mēgi, as the agent. If so, then it would be a second plural, "you all."

+ the ⸗*i* transitive valence marker. Agreement is optional and can be with either

agent (3.22) or patient (3.23-3.25, 3.28) or omitted (3.26-3.27, 3.30-3.32). Both the

patient and agent, when given, are in the absolutive. It has been postulated that a

different way of expressing the transitive imperative exists.

3.3.4 Imperatives in ⸗*o/u*?

In table 3.3 above, I predicted that a transitive imperative in ⸗*o* should exist in Hurrian

(or more specifically in Old Hurrian) based on the indicative valence markers. There are

potential examples of imperatives in ⸗*o* from the Song of Release, but these examples are

extremely problematic.

3.3.4.1 KBo 32.15 iv 2-6

In the Ebla section of the Song of Release, the city council refuses Mēgi's request that

the prisoners from Igingališ be released. While they refuse to relinquish their prisoners,

they tell Mēgi that he is more than welcome to release his own if he so desires:

(3.33) (If you desire a releasing): *ki-ru-un-na pu-ra-am-mi-ib ki-i-ru-nu-ul-mi-ib*
        (blank) § *wu_ú-ut-ki-ib ḫa-a-ra a-ru-li-ib a-aš-ti-ip-pa at-ta-e-bi-ni pí-in-du-un*
        (KBo 32.15 iv 2-6).

The corresponding Hittite is fragmentary, but some verbal forms are preserved:

(3.34) (If you [desire] a releasing)[110] *tu-el* ÌR-*DÁM* GÉME-*TAM* (erasure) *pa-*[*ra-a*
        …[111]] § DUMU-*KA-za ar-ḫa ma-ni-ia-aḫ* DAM-[*KA* (5 or 6 signs)] *ŠU-PUR*

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[110] A more literal restoration would be "If for you a releasing [lies in the heart]" following Neu 1996: 295 "Wenn dir Freilassung aber [am Herzen liegt]."

[111] Expect is an imperative form of *tarn-*; for more on this see below.

"[Release] your male and female servants! Give away your son! Send [your] wife [...]!" (KBo 32.15 iii 4-6)[112]

Based on the Hittite, we can expect that the Hurrian contains several imperatives. Four verbal forms are preserved in the Hurrian: *ki-ru-un-na* (iv 2), *ki-i-ru-n*V- (iv 3), *a-ru-li-ib* (iv 5) and *pí-in-du-un* (iv 6). Line iv 3 is written *ki-i-ru-nu-ul-mi-ib*. This is an example of sandhi writing, combining the verbal form *kiru/on* and the absolutive form *ulmib* "your female servant."[113] Therefore we have three verbal forms in ⸗*u/o*⸗*n(na)* and one in ⸗*i*⸗*b*, all potentially forms of transitive imperatives.

The form *pí-in-du-un* (iv 6) is translated by the transitive imperative form *šupur* of the Akkadian verb *šapāru* "to send." Based on the Hittite, it is tempting to analyze the Hurrian as *pind*⸗*o*⸗*n* with ⸗*o* as the transitive imperative marker and ⸗*n* as the short form of the third person enclitic pronoun.[114] There is at least one example of an indicative transitive verb in ⸗*o* in this text (*tal*⸗*āḫḫ*⸗*o*⸗*m*[115] "(Mēgi) purified (his body)" KBo 32.15 iv 19) and so the use of this ⸗*o* morpheme to mark the transitive imperative is not impossible.

If *pí-in-du-un* is in deed a transitive imperative, then the parallel forms *ki-ru-un-na* and *ki-i-ru-n-* are likely to be so as well. The two Hurrian phrases in iv 2-3 are summed up in one clause in the Hittite (iii 4-5). Unfortunately the verb of the Hittite translation is

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[112] See Hoffner 1998a: 75

[113] cf. Neu 1996: 345-346.

[114] This is the approach taken by Neu 1994: 127 in his translation "Schicke sie (nämlich deine Gemahlin) zurück/fort!"

[115] ⌜*ta*⌝-*la-a-aḫ-ḫu-um*

lost. Neu has proposed a restoration of *pa-*[*ra-a tar-na*], taking the verb as a transitive imperative.[116] This would make clause in iii 4 parallel to the two in iii 5-6. A similar passage occurs in fragments KBo 32.23 (Hurrian) and KBo 32.24 + KBo 32.216 (Hittite). In KBo 32.23 we have the Hurrian: [*ki-ru-u*]*n-na pu-ra-am-m*[*i-ib*,[117] which parallels KBo 32.15 iv 2. The Hittite of KBo 32.24+ reads:

(3.35) [10'] … *nu-wa-kán* ÌR-[*KA*] [11'] [*pa-r*]*a-a tar-na-at-ta-ru*
         "May your servant be released!" (KBo 32.24+ iii 10'-11')

The verb is the third person singular medio-passive imperative form of *tarn-*, not the active form that we would expect based on (3.34). It is true that the passages are not identical, but based on the similarities that do exist, the Hittite raises serious doubts about the Neu's restoration of KBo 32.15 iii 5.

In response to the medio-passive in the Hittite KBo 32.24+ iii 11', Wilhelm shies away from analyzing the Hurrian as a transitive imperative in (3.33). In order to take into account the Hittite medio-passive *tarnattaru* of KBo 32.24+, Wilhelm translates the Hurrian as "er soll freigelassen sein!"[118] While restoring the verb as the active *pa*[*rā tarna*], Neu follows Wilhelm's assessment of the Hurrian, also translating it as passive.[119] Catsanicos, in his analysis of *pí-in-du-un*, calls both forms third person intransitive

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[116] Neu, 1994: 127; idem. 1996: 295, 345

[117] following Neu 1996: 488.

[118] Wlhelm 1992: 139

[119] Neu 1996: 294, 345; but see his translation of *ki-ru-u*]*un-na-a* in KBo 32.86 4' as "laß ihn frei!" (1996: 536) (cf. Haas and Wegner 1997a: 452).

jussives.[120] Wegner includes this form in her treatment of the "Althurritisch" modal

verbs under the heading of "Voluntativ," also translating it as a passive.[121] The same

position is taken by Giorgieri in his grammar.[122]

Despite the active imperative *ŠUPUR* for Hurrian *pind꞊u/o꞊n*, it seems much more

likely that we are not dealing with imperative forms of these verbs. Since these forms are

not transitive, it is questionable as to whether or not the vowel should be read as an /o/.

There is evidence for a stative-like *꞊u* morpheme in Hurrian.[123] Other non-indicative

forms in *꞊u/o(꞊n(na))* are known. Each one can be translated as a passive "x should be

…" or "may/let x be …" I will examine these forms bellows §3.3.4.2.

3.3.4.2 Examples outside of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual

A series of forms *kel꞊u/o(꞊m)* are known from the ᴸᵁAZU-rituals from Boğazköy.[124]

In the *mān꞊za ANA Ḫebat kuis sipanti* ritual, the goddess Ḫebat is invoked in her various

forms. In ChS I/2 1 i 25, the form *ke-e-lu* is translated by Wilhelm as a middle

imperative "befinde dich [Ḫebat] wohl!"[125] Taken alone, this is a plausible analysis of

the form. Problematic for this, however, is the fact that this passage does not stand in

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[120] Catsanicos 1996: 255: "le jussif 3ᵉ intransitive (avec le pronom personnel enclitique de la 3ᵉ pers. sg. …)"

[121] Wegner 2000: 116.

[122] Giorgieri 2000a: 235.

[123] e.g. *āi Teššob ḫenz꞊ād꞊u* "if Teššob *is in need*" (KBo 32.15 i 4');

[124] Published in ChS I/2.

[125] Wilhelm 1983: 109

isolation, but is rather closely connected to several other passages in the text. In

(3.36) I have given the various passages in transliteration with the verb *kel-* in bold face:

(3.36) a) … *a-aš-še-eš* ^d*ḫe-pát šu-u-ni-ip ši-ia-a-i a-aḫ-ra-a-i ú-na-am-ma* ^{GIŠ}*ke-e-eš-ḫé-ep-we_e ke-el-t*[*e*]*-i-e-ni a-am-ba-aš-ši-ni* **ke-e-lu** (i 23-25)

b) … *a-ḫar-re-eš la-ap-la-aḫ-ḫi-ni-eš* **KI.MIN** (i 30-31)

c) [*a-na-a*]*ḫ-i-te-e-ni-eš ta-a-tu-u-uš-še-ni-eš* **ke-e-lu** (i 35)

d) [*šu-u*]*-wa-a-la* (erasure) *ni-eš-še wa_a-a-a*[*ḫ-r*]*u-še-en-ni-eš š-i-iš* **ke-e-lu** (i 38)

e) [*ú-l*]*a-ap* **ke-e-lu-um-ma** ^d*ḫé-pát* ^{GIŠ}*ke-e-eš-ḫé-ep-w*[*i_i-ni*[?] **gi-lum**^{??126}] [*ke*]*-e-e-el-te-i-e-ni a-am-ba-aš-ši-ni* **ke-e-lu** *ka-a-a*[*l-le-eš*] [*ka*]*-a-ma-a-aḫ-ḫi-ni-eš* **KI.MIN** (i 50-52)

f) … *wa_a-a-ad-da-an-ni*(-)[…] [*u-r*]*u-un-ni-eš wa_a-a-an-da-ni-ip*[!] *šu-u-um-mu-u-un-ni-eš wa_a-a-*[…] [*ku-up*]*-ḫa-še-e-ni-eš ni-ḫar-ni-ip še-tu-u-še-ni-eš i-it-*⌈*te*⌉*-er-r*[*e-eš* …] [*te*]*-*⌈*e*⌉*-ši-en-ni-eš ú-úr-mi-e-ni-eš ni-e-ia-bi-ni-eš a*[*l-la-a-e-ni-eš* …] [*da-a*]*-tu-u-uš-še-ni-eš* **ke-e-lu** (i 56-60)

Similar passages are found throughout this text. The passages all have in common the

verb *kel-* "to please, make well; to be well." It appears in a variety of similar forms: *ke-e-*

lu (3.36a, 3.36c, 3.36d, 3.36f), *ke-e-lu-um-ma* (3.36e), and [*gi-lum*] (3.36e).[127] The

Sumerian KI.MIN (3.36b, e) is likely to stand for *ke-e-lu* and not one of the variant

writings. In examples (3.36b-f) the verb is clearly transitive with the agent(s) in ergative.

In (3.36a) and twice in (3.36e), the verb appears without an ergative agent.

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[126] Restoration based on iv 22. In Salvini and Wegner's treatment of the text in ChS I/2, the restoration of *gi-lum* in line i 50 is incorrectly noted as coming from iv 21 (p. 45 fn. for line 50 (2)).

[127] In Salvini and Wegner's treatment of the text in ChS I/2, the restoration of *gi-lum* in line i 50 is incorrectly noted as coming from iv 21 (p. 45 fn. for line 50 (2)).

Before we examine (3.36a) and (3.36e) more thoroughly, a quick glance at the

other examples is necessary. All of the Hurrian passages are embedded in longer Hittite

sections. (3.36b) and (3.36c) occur in the following paragraph:

(3.37) a)((Hitt.:) "The AZU-priest takes the cedar from the *āḫrošḫi*-vessel and throws it
into the *ḫūbrošḫi*-vessel on the hearth. He speaks in Hurrian:")
aġar(*i*)≠*re*(<*ne*)   ≠*ž*   *laplaḫḫi* ≠ *ne*   ≠ *ž*   KI.MIN(=***kēl***   ≠***u/o***)
incense+SG.RELAT+ERG *l.*   +SG.RELAT+ERG   to make well+*u/o*
"The cedar(-based) incense/aromatic[128] (will?) make (me/you/he/she/it) well"

b)((Hitt.:) "he speaks. He holds forth a large bird for the ritual client and sets (it)
in the hand. The AZU-priest takes from its breast a (sacrificial) morsel and drops
it into the *āḫrošḫi*-vessel (of) oil. He throws it (the *a.*-vessel?) into the *ḫūbrošḫi*-
vessel on the hearth. He speaks in Hurrian:")
[*anā*]*ġ*(*i*)≠*idē*   ≠ *ne*   ≠ *ž*   *tād* ≠ *ō*   ≠ *šše* ≠ *ne*   ≠ *ž*[130]
(sacrificial) morsel[129]+SG.RELAT+ERG love+2SG.ERG+REL+SG.RELAT+ERG
kēl   ≠***u/o***
to make well+*u/o*
"The *anāġidi* which you love (will) make (me/you/he/she/it) well"

In neither case is the direct object explicitly mentioned, but a clue is provided for in

(3.37b). The Hurrian passage in (3.37b) contains the nominalized relative *tād* ≠ *ō* ≠ *šše*,

standing for the expected transitive form **tād* ≠ *i* ≠ *o* ≠ *šše* with second person agent.[131] The

second person in this case is the goddess Ḫebat. Apparently the AZU-priest is saying that

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[128] *laplaḫḫi* is translated by Haas as "Libanonzeder" (2003: 281).

[129] The exact function of ≠ *idi* here (or perhaps R-*i* ≠ *di*?) is not clear. It is unlikely that *anāġidi* is a
different substance from the *anaḫiti* in the Hittite section.

[130] Note the lack of the transitive morpheme ≠*i*≠ in this form (see below).

[131] Cf. also the form [*da-a*]-*tu-u-uš-še-ni-eš* ([*tā*]*d* ≠ *ō* ≠ *šše* ≠ *ne* ≠ *ž*) in (3.36f = ChS I/2 1 i 60).

the various offered materials (i.e. the incense and bird meat) will (or: may?/shall?/

must?) soothe or appease the goddess, perhaps making her more inclined to help the

ritual client.

   In (3.36d), the direct object is explicitly given:

(3.38) ((Hitt.:) "The AZU-priest takes the cup of wine and libates (it) once down into the
       ḫūbrošḫi-vessel on the hearth before the goddess. He speaks in Hurrian:")
       [šō]   =vā(<ē?)=l(l)a   nešši   fā[ġr]=o=ži=n(i)=ne=ž
       1.PRON+GEN? +3PL.ENCL present+ØABS good   +SG.RELAT+ERG
       ši(e)=ž   **kēl**   **=u/o**
       water+ERG to make well+u/o
       "The good water[132] makes well (or: pleasing) my gifts"

Here the direct object is not the goddess, but rather the materials offered to her. "My

gifts" likely refers to the cedar wood and bird meat that was offered in the preceding

paragraph (cf. example 3.37a-b). In (3.36f), we find a series of ergative agents with at

least two absolutive patients interspersed amongst them: *fāndani=b* "your right side" and

niġarni=b "your *n*."

   The passages in (3.36a) and (3.36e) do not exactly fit the pattern from (3.36b-d, f).

The passage (3.36a) does not have an explicit agent, while in (3.36e) the ergative agent

follows the verbal form. In both passages there appears to be indications of verbal

agreement with a second person absolutive. This allows for an alternate analysis distinct

from the ones we have seen above. Another point of departure from (3.36b-d, f) is that

both (3.36a) and (3.36e) have the appearance of invocations. Phrase (3.36a) is as

follows:

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[132] "Good water" here clearly stands for the wine (GEŠTIN) that was libated.

(3.39) ((Hitt.:) "The AZU-priest takes a large bird with (his) left hand, and with the
right hand he takes up cedar from the *āḫrošḫi*-vessel. He drips oil into a cup of
water and encircles the *katkiša* of Ḫeb[at]. He sets the cedar down into the cu[p
of water.] He lifts up the cup of water and pours out the water before the goddess.
§ He speaks as follows in Hurrian:")

āšš⹂i⹂(e)ž   ^d*Ḫebat*   *šōni*   *⹂b*   *ši(e)*   *⹂āi*   *aġr(i)⹂*
wash+ACT+OPT[133] DN+ØABS   hand?+2SG.POSS+ØABS water+INST/ADV incense+

āi   **un**   *⹂a* *⹂mma*   ^{GIŠ}*kēšḫ(i)⹂iffe*   *keldī⹂e*   *⹂ni*
INST/ADV come+IMP+2SG.ENCL throne +1SG.POSS *k.*   +3SG.POSS?+INST/ABL

āmbašši⹂ni   **kēl**   *⹂u/o*
a.   +INST/ABL to make well+*u/o*

"Ḫebat, may you *wash/cleanse* your hand by means of aromatic water![134] Come!
Let my throne *be made good* through the *k.* - and *a.*-offerings[135]!""

Phrase (3.36e) is very similar to (3.36a):

(3.40) ((Hitt.:) "The AZU-priest who is standing [by] the offering, [he takes] 1 [thin]
bread. He breaks it up and [speaks] as follows in Hurrian:")

[ul]a⹂b[?]   **kēl**   *⹂u/o⹂mma*   ^d*Ḫebat*   *kešḫi⹂p*   *⹂*
u.   +2SG.POSS?+ØABS to make good+*u/o*+2SG.ENCL DN+ØABS throne+

p   *⹂p[e⹂ni*[?]   *kel*   *⹂u/o⹂m*[?]*]*[136]   *k]ēldī⹂e*   *⹂*
2SG.POSS+GEN+INST/ABL to make good+*u/o*+2SG.ENCL? *k.*   +3SG.POSS?+

ni   *āmbašši⹂ni*   **kēl**   *⹂u/o* *kā[l(i)⹂le(<ne)* *⹂ž]*
INST/ABL *a.*   +INST/ABL to make good+*u/o* *k.*   +SG.RELAT+ERG

[k]āmāḫḫi⹂ne   *⹂ž*
k.   +SG.RELAT+ERG

"You are made good, namely your *ula-*. You, Ḫebat, [are made good[?] by[?] (the
offering of)] your throne. Through the *k.* - and *a.*-offerings, the *ka[li k]āmāḫḫi*
will make (you) good."

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[133] On this form, see (4.28) in §4.3.1.

[134] Wilhelm translates as "komm um Wasser und Weihrauch willen" (1992: 109). The water (*šie*)
and aromatic/incense (*aġri*) clearly refer to the mixture of cedar and water mentioned in the preceding
Hittite. Since we are dealing with a mixture and not two distinct items, I would prefer to take *aġri* as an
adjective "aromatic" or the like, modifying the water. Note, however, the parallel phrase *ši⹂ai aġri⹂v(e)⹂*
ai "through the water of the *a.*-aromatic" in ChS I/1 3 rev. 11 (Haas 2003: 151-152).

[135] *keldi* is clearly related to the verbal root *kēl-* to make well. It is translated as "wholeness,
wellness, health" (cf. HED K: 142; Haas 2003: 773). As used in (3.39) and (3.40) it is also a type of
offering. *ambašši* is a type of burnt offering

[136] Restored from iv 22.

(3.36a) clearly involves the invocation of the goddess through the use of water that has been mixed with aromatic substances (*šī(e)≠āi āġr(i)≠āi*). It is unclear what the exact function of the form *šu-u-ni-ib* is in this context. I have tentatively translated it as "your hand," taking it in apposition to the second person pronoun "you" (i.e. "you, namely your hand).[137] In both (3.36a) and (3.36e), the verb *kel-* takes as indirect objects in the instrumental-ablative case the offerings through which Ḫebat or the throne is to be made good or whole. In both cases, the offerings are specified as being of the *keldi* and *āmbašši* variety.[138] In the case of (3.40) (= 3.36e), the agent of the verb is the *kallež kām(m)aḫḫinež*.[139] In (3.39) (= 3.36a) there is no expressed agent. This goes for the duplicate and parallel passages to (3.36a) as well.[140] In one parallel, an explicit agent is mentioned, but in this case, the verb is not *ke-e-lu* (or even *gi-lum*) but rather *ke-e!-lu-lu*[*m*].[141] In the translations of (3.36a) and (3.36e) I have tentatively employed a variant of Wilhelm's original translation "Befinde dich wohl." Translating the forms as passive but not imperative. The validity of these translations will be tested below.

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[137] For an alternate analysis see Dietrich and Mayer 1994: 73-112 and footnote 566 in §4.3.1.6 below.

[138] On the *keldi* and *āmbašši* offerings, see Haas 1994: 661-665.

[139] Various spellings exist; The *kām(m)aḫḫi* is an adjective modifying the *kali*, which in turn must refer to some aspect or item of the sacrifice.

[140] All cited passages come from ChS I/2. I have included the name of the deity being addressed and spelling of the verb following the line number. The passages are: 1 ii 30 (Ḫebat; *ke-e-lu*), iii 3 (Ḫebat; *ke-e-lu* (long space) [(-)); 16 iii 4' (Teššub; *g*[*i-lum*]); 17 i 30 (Teššub; *gi-lum*), iii 22'' (Teššub; [verb lost]); 26 i? 10' (Teššub; *gi-lum*); 31 i 16' (Teššub; *gi-lum*); 32 i 8' (Teššub; *gi-lum*); 37 left col. 6' (Ḫebat; *gi-lum*). I have omitted passages that require full restoration of both the divine name and the verbal form such as in ChS I/2 27 iii 14'.

[141] ChS I/2 6: 6'-9' is quite broken, but it is clearly parallel (though not duplicate!) to (x a), with the goddess Ḫebat being named. The ergative form *ka-ta-a-aḫ-ḫi-ni-eš* appears in 8', and in line 9' is the verbal form *ke-e!-lu-lu*[*m*].

The analysis of (3.39) comes down to whether or not an ergative agent is expected for the verb *ke-e-lu*. The agents in all other passages can be identified as referring to actual items used in the sacrifice, be it "good water" or bird flesh. As mentioned above, the *kali* must also be such a sacrificial item. In (3.39), one such item is mentioned, namely the aromatic waters. They appear in the invocation passage as the instruments by which the goddess is to come. As the sacrificial item relevant to the Hurrian, perhaps they also stand as the deleted agent to the verb *ke-e-lu*. Through pragmatic reasons, perhaps the agent is deleted because it has already been mentioned. In such a case, the "aromatic water" plays a double role as both the item used to call the goddess and the item which is to *kel-* her. This allows us to analyze (3.39) in light of the other passages, rather than requiring an alternate analysis for the same form.

If the forms are in deed to be taken as transitives as I have argued, theydo not conform to the typical OHu transitive verb (cf. §2.3.5.2). In most cases, the verb consists of simply the root and valence marker, and no agreement marker is used. In (3.36e), the first verbal form clearly has the second person enclitic pronoun ⸗*mma* appended to it. The restored second verb may have ended in ⸗*m*. While it is tempting to see this ⸗*m* morpheme as the typical third person singular patient agreement marker (§2.3.5.2.1), it is more likely that it is the short form of the second person enclitic ⸗*m(ma)*, especially in light of the full form *kēl⸗u/o⸗mma*. If transitive, the valence should be indicated through the morpheme ⸗*o*. While agreement is not as expected, I feel that the best analysis of these forms is as *kēl⸗o(⸗m(ma))*, a transitive verb with a second person object. The ending ⸗*u/o* will be revisited in detail in Chapter Ten.

3.3.4.3 Final Thoughts on ⸗o/u as Imperative

To return to (3.33), three of the four verbal forms in KBo 32.15 iv 2-6 can thus be accounted for, but the fourth requires an alternate explanation. The third of the four forms ends not in ⸗u/o⸗n(na), but rather in ⸗i⸗b:

(3.41) *futki⸗b ḫar(i)⸗a ar⸗ol⸗i⸗b* (KBo 32.15 iv 5)

Standing alone, the verb could be analyzed as an antipassive form with the absolutive *futki⸗b* "your son" as the agent and the essive *ḫar(i)⸗a* "the road" as the patient. The verb *ar⸗ol-* means "to give." Wilhelm translates the combination *ḫar(i)⸗a ar⸗ol-* as "weggeben," "to send away."[142] If we are to follow an antipassive reading, the combination "to give the road" would have to be an idiomatic phrase roughly parallel to the English idiom "to hit the road" for "to go out/away." In light of the context and Hittite translation, it does not seem likely that such an interpretation is possible.

The greatest difficulty in analyzing *ar⸗ol⸗i⸗b* as a transitive imperative is the use of the ⸗b morpheme. As seen above (§2.3.3.2 and §2.3.4.4), the OHu. indicative agreement marker for the intransitive and antipassive is the morpheme ⸗b. This morpheme is semantically bleached and no longer contains person or number information. It simply agrees with the absolutive S NP. If the form is in the imperative, we would expect both the agent and the patient to be in the absolutive. While possible, it does not seem likely that the absolutive agreement marker ⸗b would be used to mark agreement with the agent. According to Neu, the morpheme is emphatic in nature and is there in response to

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[142] Wilhelm 1992: 129.

the second singular possessive ⸗b on *futki*.[143] Haas and Wegner correctly point out

that this is not a phenomenon that is otherwise attested in Hurrian. They develop the

rather ingenious solution of taking the IB sign as a variant writing for IM, resulting in

**ar⸗ol⸗i⸗m*. This is a nice transitive imperative form with a second person singular

enclitic pronoun. This result depends, of course, on emending the text.

3.4 Conclusion

Since no imperative forms appear to be formed in ⸗o or in ⸗u, the imperative

paradigm is therefore limited to ⸗a and ⸗i. Imperatives in ⸗a can have both singular and

plural agent, and by extension, so too should those in ⸗i. There are very few imperatives

in ⸗a, but those that do exist can all be interpreted as intransitive. Forms in ⸗i comprise a

much larger proportion of imperative forms. All known ⸗i imperatives are transitive.

Therefore there is a clear distinction made between intransitive and transitive valences in

the imperative. The vowels are the same as the ⸗a intransitive and ⸗i antipassive-

transitive (at least in MHu) valence morphemes known to us from the indicative. The

imperative, therefore, is not indicated by a modal morpheme, but rather, by the use of the

verb plus valence marker. The intransitive imperative is difficult to distinguish from the

indicative. The transitive imperative, on the other hand, is distinguished by several

characteristics: a lack of A agreement morphemes, the optional use of the absolutive

enclitic pronoun to mark agreement with the agent (creating a situation where both agent

and patient are present in the absolutive), and thirdly by context. Based on this, it is

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[143] Neu 1994: 128

unlikely that that $\leq i$ is not to be analyzed as a modal marker, but simply as a

transitivizing valence marker.

CHAPTER FOUR
The Optative

4.1 Background

The optative is another modal form that has a deontic function. Unlike the imperative, jussive and hortative which are primarily used to issue commands, the optative is used to express the wishes or desires of the speaker that a certain action or state be achieved.[1] The term "optative" traditionally refers to the Greek form used to express wishes. The Greek optative is not in itself a separate mood but rather the "modal-past form of the subjunctive."[2] The term has been semantically defined as indicating counter-factuality or remote possibility,[3] in contrast with the "desiderative" which functions as a means for expressing desire, needs or wants.[4] "Optative" has been used as a label by the authors of

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[1] See the definition given in Crystal 2001: 242. See also Bybee 1985: 171.

[2] Palmer 2001: 205-207.

[3] Lyons 1977: 816; A counter-factive "commits the speaker, not to the truth, but to the falsity, of the proposition, or propositions, expressed by one or more constituent clauses … [it] indicates the speaker's commitment to the falsity of the proposition or propositions expressed" (Lyons 1977: 795).

[4] Lyons 1977: 815

some grammars when the imperative is found with all persons and numbers.[5] I will follow here Bybee's definition of the optative as the means of expressing the wishes and desires of the speaker and not as a type of direct command.[6]

As we have seen above, the imperative in Hurrian is morphologically limited to the second person and is used as a means for the speaker to issue direct commands to the addressee. The imperative, along with the jussive and hortative (two morphologically distinct forms limited to the third and first person respectively), form a suppletive Imperative or Command paradigm.[7] As will be seen below, the optative is a morphologically distinct form that has a complete paradigm with virtually every person and number being represented in the corpus. The one form not found in the paradigm, the first person singular, is simply a product of the chance preservation of texts. Its inclusion in the paradigm is secure. The optative is mostly found in religious contexts and is to be typically translated as an expression of the speaker's desire or hopes that the gods (or some spiritual agent) perform a certain action. Of course this usage is primarily the result of text corpus and does not indicate that this was a liturgical (or ritual) form to be used only in religious ceremonies. The form is translated here in most examples with the English modal "may."

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[5] Bybee 1985: 171. In my opinion, Palmer misreads Bybee when he writes that "Bybee … suggests that where there is a full set of person-number forms the term 'optative' is used" (2001: 81). Bybee is not suggesting that the optative be used in such situation. She is simply asserting that others have used the term in place of "imperative" when such conditions are met. In fact, on the same page, Bybee defines the imperative as a direct command or order and the optative as an expression of "a wish or desire of the *speaker*." (Bybee 1985: 171; her emphasis).

[6] Bybee 1985: 171.

[7] The capitals here are used to mark typological categories and not specific forms.

4.1.1 Sumerian

A language that has a similar distribution of modal morphemes is Sumerian. Alongside an imperative[8] and a cohortative,[9] Sumerian has the well developed "optative" prefix *ḫé-*.[10] This morpheme in Sumerian has the deontic functions of indicating the assignation of commands and issuing of exhortations on one hand and indicating the optative wishes and desires of the speaker on the other.[11] The first of these uses is closer to the command function of the imperative while the latter is indicative of an optative. On top of these deontic functions, this modal prefix also has a well developed epistemic function. In this function, the *ḫé-* marked predicate is subordinate to an adjoining clause, leading Civil to label this modal morpheme as "subjunctive-optative." While the label "subjunctive" suffices to cover both functions of the morpheme, the label "optative" is included primarily due to fact that the deontic function occurs much more frequently than the epistemic.[12] Deontic modality is focused on future events. Therefore it is no surprise that the examples of the *ḫé-* modal form in Sumerian are in the *marû*-conjugation (likely indicating present-future aspect) when they are used deontically. Therefore, the optative is not ergative but rather nominative-accusative. As we shall see below the Hurrian bears a number of similarities to the Sumerian in terms of the function of the optative.

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[8] Thomsen 2001: 251-253.

[9] Civil 2006: 36-37; Thomsen 2001: 199-202. It must be noted here that Civil's position is differs from traditional views of Sumerian. That being said, his is the most recent and sophisticated treatment of the Sumerian modal system to date.

[10] Civil 2006: 31-35; Thomsen 2001: 202-206 terms it a "precative" and "affirmative."

[11] Civil 2006: 31-32

[12] Civil 2006: 32

4.2 Form and Function in Hurrian

4.2.1 Form

Wilhelm and Giorgieri amongst others have included forms in *-i/e-ž* and *-o-ž* in their paradigms of imperative forms (cf. §3.2.1 tables 3.1 and 3.2). According to the strict analysis in (§3.2), the imperative in Hurrian is limited to forms in ⸗*a* and ⸗*i* for intransitive and transitive verbs respectively and occur only with the second person. In contrast to the imperative, forms in *-i/e-ž* and *-o-ž* enjoy a much wider distribution. Forms in *-i/e-ž* are found for every person while forms in *-o-ž* are found with every person except for the first and second person plural.[13] The two missing forms in the paradigm are to be attributed solely to the chance preservation of the textual material. Note the distribution of ⸗*ež* (and ⸗*ož*) in the table 4.1 below.

4.2.1.1 Form of the Modal Ending

The exact determination of the phonemic shape of this morpheme is a matter of some debate. The analysis *au courrant* involves separating this ending into two morphemes, a modal element ⸗*i/e* (and presumably ⸗*o*) plus a morpheme ⸗*ž*.[14] This ⸗*ž* morpheme is typically understood as being related to the nominal pluralizer ⸗*(a)ž*.[15] Since there are numerous examples of this morpheme with singular subjects, this is clearly not possible.

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[13] This includes "extended" forms in ⸗*l-* (see below). See Wegner 1988: 152-153 where she notes that ⸗*ež* and ⸗*ož* occur with various persons and numbers as subject.

[14] Giorgieri 2000a: 235-236 (sub III.11.5.1. *L'imperativo* and III.11.5.2. *Il volontativo e il coortativo*), 237-238 (sub III.11.5.4. *L'ottativo*); Wegner 2000: 116

[15] See Khačikyan 1999: 262 (she separates out a *-š* used with "plural imperatives" from a "correlative particle" *-š* that she finds in personal names; see discusses such forms on page 261); Wegner

In response, some have taken this ⸗ž as having developed from an original plural morpheme into an emphatic or intesivizer marker.[16] The morpheme ⸗o- does not receive much attention in the literature. This is likely due to the opinion held by some that ⸗i/e- is the modal marker.

In order to gauge the accuracy of these parsings, we must briefly turn to the particular syntactic circumstances in which these morphemes occur. While the function of these morphemes will be examined in full below, a brief synopsis is due here. Verbs in -i/e-ž can be either intransitive (e.g. *ú-ni-eš* from *un-* "to come"[17]), reciprocal (e.g. *ta-a-du-ka-a-ri-iš* from *tād-* "to love"[18]), or transitive (e.g. *zu-ul-lu-ú-ti-iš* from *zull⸗ūd-* "to untie"[19]). Forms in -o-ž appear to only occur with transitive verbs (e.g. *ḫa-a-ši-in-du-uš* from *ḫāž-* "to anoint"[20]). While the majority of forms in -i/e-ž are transitive verbs, but in no case is the agent in the ergative. The agent is always in the absolute. The patient is either in the absolute or in the essive. The latter construction (i.e. A$_{ABS}$ O$_{ESS}$ V$_{OPT}$) is similar to the antipassive in the indicative. Concerning forms in -o-ž, the agent is rarely expressed. In those cases where the agent is present, it is inevitably in the ergative case.

1988: 152; Wilhelm 1983: 97[3] with some older bibliography. This is followed by Neu 1990: 227 and others.

[16] Giorgieri 2004: 326[22]

[17] ChS I/1 41 i 21

[18] Mitt. i 19 (*t*]*a-*), ii 93, iv 121; iv 113 *ta-a-du-ka-a-iš* may be a scribal error for expected *ta-a-du-ka-a<-ri>-iš* (on this see below).

[19] ChS I/5 40 rev. 47'

[20] ChS I/1 3 obv. 26

In many examples there is not even a direct antecedent for an agent. The undergoer

or patient is consistently given with forms in *-o-ž*, and in every case it is in the absolutive.

Next to the forms in *-i/e-ž* and those in *-o-ž* are alternate constructions of this mood.

In certain texts from Boğazköy, in place of the expected *-i/e-ž* and *-o-ž*, we find instead

extended forms in *-i/e-l-i/e-ž* and *-o-l-i/e-ž*. The former operate under the same syntactic

constraints as the forms in *-i/e-ž*, and the latter operate in the same way as those in *-o-ž*.

Because of this, it is assumed here that they are all forms of the same mood. In the

extended forms, it appears that a morpheme ⸗*l-* has been inserted in order to give added

nuance to the mood.[21] These extended forms are typically written *-le-e-eš* (e.g. *qa-ti-le-e-*

eš from *kad-* "to tell"[22]) regardless of whether or not the preceding vowel is *-i/e-* or *-o-*.

This indicates that underlying the forms in *-i/e-ž* and *-o-ž* is a modal element ⸗*ež*. This

means that the *-i/e-* and the *-o-* are not actually part of the modal morpheme but play a

different role instead. The *e* vowel of the modal morpheme appears to elide before these

vowels resulting in the following parsings: ⸗*i*⸗(*e*)*ž* and ⸗*o*⸗(*e*)*ž*.

According to the analysis given above, the modal construction contains a vocalic

morpheme and the actual modal morpheme. The mood marker is, according to the

expanded forms found at Boğazköy, *-e-ž*. The question remains as to whether or not

these are two phonemes indicating one morpheme or the combination of two morphemes.

In the first case, we would expect a modal ⸗*ež* while in the latter it would be ⸗*e*⸗*ž*.

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[21] This is in stark contrast to Speiser who takes the combination of *-i+l-* and *-o+l-* as one morpheme (1941: 152-155). Diakonoff splits the two, taking *-l-* as an irrealis marker (1971: 120). He separates out the *-o-* in the form *ḫāž*⸗*o*⸗*l*⸗*ež* but notes that "das Verb *ḫaz-* "hören" kein Intransitivum sein kann, ist somit das *-o-* vor dem *-l-* nicht Kennzeichen der Intransitivität" (1971: 120[137a]). While we now know that *ḫāž-* is "to anoint" and not "to hear," Diakonoff's statement still remains valid.

[22] ChS I/1 9 iii 35; 11 rev. 17'(-e[š])

As mentioned above, some have opted to analyze *≠ž* as a plural marker. Deriving

the *≠ž* morpheme from the nominal pluralizer *≠(a)ž* has certain drawbacks. First, this

modal morpheme occurs with all persons regardless of number (cf. table 4.1 below). A

plausible response to this is that the *≠ž* marker had developed from an original indicator

of plural subjects or agents and over time came to be grammaticalized (or semantically

blanched), losing its specific plural reference in this modal form. It would have been

then distributed throughout the paradigm.

The primary constituent for all verbs in *-e-ž* is a subject or agent in the absolute.

There is an inherent incompatability between absolutive forms and plurals in *≠ž*. The

nominal pluralizer *≠ž* only occurs with oblique and ergative forms and never with

absolutive ones. Absolutive plurals are indicated through either the use of the plural

relator *≠na* or the third plural enclitic pronoun *≠l(la)*. It is true, however, that possessive

pronouns are made plural through a morpheme *≠ž*, even if attached to an absolutive NP.

If *-ž* is to be taken as an emphatic marker and not part of the modal ending, then one

would expect forms without *-ž* to occur in similar contexts. There are indeed forms in *≠e*

with absolutive subjects, but they appear to be indicative. These are typically seen as

stative or stative-like forms (cf. §2.3.6). There are also forms in *≠o/u*, but these do not

occur in contexts parallel to those in *≠ož* and do not involve ergative agents (cf. §2.3.6).

These two endings are not related to the *-e-ž* and *-o-ž* non-indicative forms that are the

subject of this section. Therefore, the path of development of *≠ž* from plural marker to

emphatic marker, while certainly possible, is at the moment difficult to prove.[23] Until

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[23] If we are to follow this hypothesis, then we must assume that certain parts of grammar,
particularly nominal morphology, continue to utilize *≠ž* as a marker of plurality while for other parts of

such a time that the development of a plural ⸗ž to an emphatic marker occuring with

different modal elements can be demonstrated, I will simply analyze the combination of

-e-ž as one morpheme ⸗ež.

4.2.1.2 On ⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗

Now that the shape of the modal morpheme has been provisionally determined to be ⸗

ež, it is time to turn to the vocalic element preceding it. As mentioned above, both

intransitive and transitive verbs con occur in ⸗i/e⸗(e)ž. Since the majority of writings

involve signs with a primary *i*-vowel (see below), this modal form will be normalized as

simply ⸗i⸗(e)ž. Transitive verbs and some labile verbs[24] can appear in ⸗o⸗(e)ž.[25] This

form of the mood has an absolutive NP as its primary constituent. Note the following

example (without commentary):

(4.1)   *pāġi⸗b šeġorni⸗v(e)⸗āe ḫōdan(i)⸗n(e)⸗v(e)⸗āe ḫāžar(i)⸗āe **ḫāž⸗o⸗l⸗ēž***
         "May your head be anointed with the oil of the prayer of life!" (ChS I/1 10 ii 48'-
         49')[26]

Since ergative NPs are rarely expressed with it, they are considered here to be secondary.

The modal form ⸗i⸗(e)ž is used for verbs which would require the valence markers ⸗

a, ⸗i, and ⸗o in the indicative depending upon their transitivity. Note the following

examples:

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grammar, i.e. mood, this morpheme has been gramaticalized and is to be understood only as an emphatic
marker.

[24] By labile here I am referring to verbs that can have both intransitive and transitive meanings.

[25] According to Giorgieri, such a form is "eine auf das Handlungsresultat abzielende
Wunschform" (2001b: 147 with other references given in notes 55 and 56).

[26] Treated below as (4.51).

(4.2) *šēn(a)=iffē=n **tād=ugār=i=(e)ž** šû=ra*
   "May my brother share love with me!" (Mitt. ii 93)[27]

(4.3) *irdi=b urġ(i)=a tī(e)=a **kad=i=l=ēž***
   "Let your tongue speak (only?) true word(s)!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 35)[28]

 The absolute NPs in forms in *=o=(e)ž* never function as the agent of the transitive verb but rather as its patient.[29] Since, however, agents are rarely expressed and typically cannot even be taken as understood, the absolute NP, while remaining the undergoer, can be seen as functioning not as the direct object but rather as the subject of the verb.[30] That is to say, verbs in *=o=(e)ž* appear to be translated best as passives and *not* active transitive verbs![31] When combined with the fact that *=i=* covers verbs of all valences, it appears that these morphemes must be seen as indicators of voice. Forms in *=i=* are always active, while forms in *=o=* are always passive.[32]

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[27] For treatment see below (4.26) and (5.42).

[28] See below (4.18), (4.36) and (4.44).

[29] By patient I am talking more of the semantic role of the absolute NP in transitive constructions in Hurrian. The absolute has a number of different semantic roles, from patient or undergoer, to the experiencer to even the agent in antipassive constructions (on the difference between semantic and grammatical roles, see Palmer 1994: 4-8).

[30] Perhaps better understood as middle voice.

[31] It is determined in chapter eleven that *=o=* does not indicate passive voice but rather is an inverse marker (cf. §11.2.4).

[32] In his section on forms in *-ol-*, Speiser concludes that these forms must be medio-passive (1941: 154-155; cf. also Friedrich 1969: 18). He is correct in using the verbal form *ḫaz-ol-ez* (his normalization) to prove that *-o-l-* is not limited to adjectival bases, but it was not yet known that the root in question is not *ḫaž-* "to hear" but rather a near homonym *ḫāž-* "to anoint (with oil)" with its cognate *ḫāžari* "oil." So the translation of the form is not "let X be heard" but rather "let X be anointed (with oil)" (cf. e.g. 4.51 below). Diakonoff counters this by stating that "der Verbalstamm an sich in Bezug auf Transitivität un Intransitivität neutral ist; das Kennzeichen der Transitivität verleiht dem Intransitivum causative Bedeutung, während das Kennzeichen der Intransitivität dem Transitivum eine intransitive bzw. stative Bedeutung gibt (ins Deutsch meistens als Passivum zu übersetzen." (1971: 121[137a]). While a number of

4.2.1.2.1 *=o =(e)ž*

I have so far been calling the passive morpheme *-o-* and not *-u-*. Forms in *-o-(e)ž* and

-o-l-ež are typically written -C*u*(-*le*(-*e*))-*eš*. In a few cases, we have a plene spelling: e.g.

ḫu-du-up-šu-u-uš[33] and *ki-bu-u-li-iš*[34]. In the Mittani dialect, the use of the sign U (𒌋) in

plene spellings indicates a vowel that is typically understood as /o/. The above quoted

examples, however, are from Boğazköy, and it has yet to be determined just how

consistently 𒌋 was used to indicate /o/ as opposed to /u/. As will be explored below, this

-o- voice morpheme and the indicative transitive valence marker *-o-* may be closely

related. Since I know of no occurrences of the Ú (𒌑) sign used in plene spellings of this

voice marker, I will provisionally analyze this morpheme as *-o-*.

4.2.1.2.2 *=i =(e)ž*

It has been postulated that a form in *=iž* (typically analyzed as *=i =ž*) exists next to

forms in *=ež*.[35] These two writings do not differentiate different modal forms, but are

rather different writings of the combination of the active voice marker and the modal

morpheme *=ež*. In the Mittani Letter, this combination of active voice and *=ež* is written

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labile or polyvalent verbs exist in Hurrian, we cannot assume that every verb could be made transitive or intransitive simply through the addition of the proper valence marker. In the indicative, Hurrian does not have a passive. This is not unexpected in languages that exhibit both ergative morphology and syntax. In the modal system, or at least in certain parts of the modal system, Hurrian displays neither morphological or syntactic ergativity. In these cases the language is functioning along nominative-accusative lines, and it is quite possible that a passive may have been retained with these forms.

[33] ChS I/5 34 obv.? 5'

[34] ChS I/1 9 iii 18

[35] Giorgieri 2000a: 235; Wilhelm 2001a: 113

-C*i-iš* such as in the form *ta-a-du-ka-a-**ri-iš***. In the Boğazköy corpus, a variety of

spellings are found. The form can be spelled with either initial -C*e-* or -C*i-* combined

with either *-iš* or *-eš*. I know of no combinations, however, of an unambiguous -C*e-* sign

being followed by *-iš*, but all other combinations are viable. Note the various spellings in

(4.4):

(4.4)   a) *a-aš-še-eš*   ChS I/2 1 i 23
        b) *a-aš-ši-iš*   ChS I/2 17 iii 22'
        c) *šal-ḫi-eš*   ChS I/1 41 i 22

In all of the extended forms VOICE+*l*+*ež*, we find the writing -C*i-le-* but never -C*e-le-*.[36]

Some examples of this writing are *ḫa-a-ša-ši-le-e-eš*,[37] *qa-ti-li-e-eš*,[38] and *du-ni-le-eš*.[39]

The above evidence indicates that the active voice marker is *i* and not *e*. One further

example seems to support this. In ChS I/1 1 obv. 5, one finds the interesting writing *šu-*

u-du-uš-ti-i-e-eš. The normalized form would be *šōd⸗ošt⸗ī⸗ēž*. While it is not clear

why, this particular form appears to represent both the active voice marker and the modal

marker as two distinct morphemes without elision. The active voice marker is *i*, just as in

the expanded forms. This means that the active form of this mood is formed by the

combination *-i*+*ež* and the "passive" by *-o*+*ež*. In the case of the "passive," the *e* of the

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[36] Admittedly all of the -C*i-* signs here can be read as -C*e*$_x$-, but they almost always occur when the sign is immediately followed by either the vocalic sign *-e-* or by a sign that is always read *-eC*. In other words, most occurrences where ŠI can be read as ŠE$_{20}$, TI as TE$_9$, and NI as NÉ, can be seen as being strictly conditioned by the next sign in the word which must be initial *e*. Therefore it is relative certain that the signs are to read as ŠI, TI and NI in the above examples. For work on the various spellings with these signs, see Giorgieri and Wilhelm 1995.

[37] ChS I/1 9 iii 30

[38] ChS I/1 9 iii 35

[39] ChS I/5 1 rev. 36'

modal morpheme clearly elides after the *o* voice marker. If the Mittani forms of the

active form truly conform to actual phonology, then it would appear that the *e* elides after

the *i* voice marker. The evidence from Boğazköy is more variable, but it may be that the

writings in -C*e-eš* may be due to scribal preference rather than strict adherence to

phonology. As a result, this mood can be parsed as follows in (4.5):

(4.5) active voice: a) Root*≠i≠(e)ž*
  b) Root*≠i≠l≠ēž*
  passive voice a) Root*≠o≠(e)ž*
  b) Root*≠o≠l≠ēž*

As mentioned above the optative is found with all persons and all numbers. The fact

that it enjoys such a wide distribution virtually insures that it is to be taken as a separate

modal form. Simple forms in *≠i≠(e)ž* and *≠o≠(e)ž* are found throughout the paradigm

while extended forms in *≠l≠* are largely limited to third person singular subjects. A

checklist of endings and the persons that they are attested with are given below as table

4.1. While the distribution of *≠ež* beyond the second person has been noted before,[40] it

has not before now been treated as a separate modal form.

	≠i≠(e)ž	*≠i≠l≠ēž*	*≠o≠(e)ž*	*≠o≠l≠ēž*
1sg.			✓	
2sg.	✓			✓
3sg.	✓	✓	✓	✓
1pl.	✓			
2pl.	✓			
3pl.	✓		✓	

Table 4.1: Checklist of attested persons and
corresponding forms of the optative

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[40] See the charts of Wilhelm and Giorgieri in §3.2.1 (tables 3.1 and 3.2).

4.2.2 Function

An important difference arises between this mood and the imperative. It has been

shown above that in the imperative all transitive forms are indicated by the valence

morpheme =*i* while intransitives appear in =*a* (cf. Chapter Three above). There is no

evidence that the imperative marks for anything other than valence. The =*ež* mood,

however, is used not only with both intransitive and transitive valence, but also with

active and "passive" voice. There is no morpheme to distinguish valence in this mood

(i.e. there is no =*a* morpheme to distinguish intransitive verbs from transitive verbs), but

voice is distinguished through the use of the morpheme =*i* to indicate active voice and =*o*

to indicate "passive" voice.

The exact function(s) of this morpheme is difficult to determine. There is clear

evidence that this non-indicative form exhibits both deontic and epistemic functions. The

vast majority of forms, however, are clearly deontic in nature, expressing a command.

When functioning in this capacity, =*ež* must be distinguished from the imperative and the

jussive. The imperative occurs only with second person subjects, and jussives are limited

to the third and first person (cf. Chapter Five). The =*ež* mood can occur with any person

or number.[41] This combined with its use in religious contexts indicates that in its deontic

function, this non-indicative form is best considered to be an optative.

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[41] This blanket statement is, of course, operating upon the assumptions made above that the reason
why the =*ež* paradigm is currently incomplete is due to the vagaries of chance preservation of texts.

In his seminal comparative grammar of Hurrian and Urartian, Diakanoff combines

modal forms in ⸗ež with the first person hortatives as optative forms.[42] As we will see,

the hortative is much closer to the jussive and may in fact be the first person counterpart

to the third person jussive. The ⸗ež forms, as stated above, are not limited by person.

This is an important distinction between the optative and the other command modals.

Diakanoff apparently recognized the voice distinction in the optative, translating a form

in ⸗o⸗l⸗ež as "passive".[43] Hurrian lexicography has grown tremendously since the

publication of his grammar, providing us with a more refined tool with which to approach

issues of modality in Hurrian.

The modal morpheme primarily functions as an indicator of deontic modality. As will

be shown below, there is at least one passage for which a deontic reading of this modal

form is not possible (cf. §4.3.6). In this particular case, the form can only have an

epistemic function. I know of no other examples of such an epistemic reading for this

otherwise deontic modal in Hurrian.

4.3 The Form in Context

In the following section I will examine the various occurrences of optative ⸗ež. I

begin by treating forms in ⸗i⸗(e)ž (§4.3.1). This is followed by an exploration of the

extended forms in ⸗i⸗l⸗ež (§4.3.2). I then turn to the "passive" forms in ⸗o⸗(e)ž and

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[42] Diakonoff 1971: 130.

[43] He translates the form ḫa-a-šu-le-eš as "möge (der jenige) … angehört werden" (1971: 130) and as "mögen sie erhört werden" (1971: 120[137a]). This interpretation is followed by Salvini who calls such forms "passivische Optativform" (1988a: 158). We now know that the correct translation is "May it be anointed," but the basic passive character of the form remains valid.

the extend forms in ⸗o⸗l⸗ež (§4.3.4). The final part of this section will deal with the

epistemic use of ⸗ež (§4.3.6).

4.3.1 ⸗i⸗(e)ž

4.3.1.1 ChS I/1 41 i 21-22

  The long monolingual prayer to Teššob, ChS I/1 41, is a wellspring of Hurrian verbal

forms. The text is extremely difficult, yet it has been of some use in various studies on

the Hurrian language.[44] The final lines of the second paragraph appear to involve the acts

of speaking, hearing and possibly seeing. It begins with the following series of indicative

phrases:

(4.6) ḫaž⸗i⸗kk⸗o⸗nni   ōr   ⸗o   ⸗kko taržuwāni
       one who does not hear+ØABS exist[?45]+INTRAN+NEG person+ØABS
       fōr⸗i⸗kk⸗o⸗nni   ud⸗ur⸗a   ⸗b   kād⸗i⸗k[k⸗o⸗nn]i
       one who does not see+ØABS   ? +ur+INTRAN+AGR one who does not talk+ØABS
       ḫulm⸗a   ⸗b
        ?   +INTRAN+AGR
       "The one who does not hear does not exist. The person, the one who does not see,
       ud's. The one who does not talk ḫulm's" (ChS I/1 41 i 19-21).[46]

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[44] While a source for various grammatical forms, very little work has been done on the text as a
whole. For an examination of the text as a whole, see Wilhelm 2001a.

[45] There are two possible sources for this root. A root ūr- "to desire" is known from the Mittani
Letter (ūr⸗av⸗ž⸗ā⸗šše⸗na(⸗mān) "those things which we desire" i 80 and ūr⸗i⸗ā⸗šše⸗na "those things
which he desires" i 108). A near homonym ur- "to occur, to be (present)" is also known from the letter.
This second root may have a transitive variant ur⸗ōm⸗ "to busy oneself (with something)" (Mitt. ii 9).
The negative intransitive form of this verb, ur⸗o⸗kko occurs twice in the Mittani Letter (iii 123, 124). The
first root, ūr- "to desire" is only preserved as a transitive verb. ur- "to be (present)" occurs primarily as an
intransitive (with the exception of the extended transitive form in ⸗ōm⸗ mentioned above). Given this, I
prefer to take the verb in (3) as coming from this latter root. It is possible that the verb in (3) is not related
to either ūr- or ur-.

[46] ḫa-a-ši-ik-ku-un-ni [20] u-ur-uk-ku tar-šu-wa-a-ni wuu-u-ri-ik-ku-un-ni ú-du-ra-ap ga-a-ti-ik-[ku-
un-n]i / [21] ḫu-ul-ma-ap \

We have a series of three persons, one who does not hear, one who does not see and

one who does not talk. The following passage consists of three optative forms, each one

relating to one of the persons mentioned above:

(4.7)   a) ***un ⸗i   ⸗(e)ž šō ⸗ve fōri***
          come+ACT+OPT 1SG+GEN eye+ØABS
          "May my eye come!" (ChS I/1 41 i 21)[47]

        b) ***kād ⸗ind⸗ōr⸗i   ⸗(e)ž ē[n(i)⸗zari?²]   faġ⸗andi⸗nzi***
          speak+ind+ōr+ACT+OPT god +ABSTRACT+ØABS *destruction*?+ØABS[48]
          "May the go[ds(?)[49]] speak *destruction*!" (ChS I/1 41 i 21-22)[50]

        c) *tupš[ar]i   tive⸗lla   **šalġ⸗i   ⸗(e)ž***
          scribe+ØABS word+3PL.ENCL hear+ACT+OPT
          "May the scribe hear the words!" (ChS I/1 41 i 22)[51]

Phrases (4.7a-c) correspond to the phrases in (4.6). (4.7a) deals with sight and is linked

to the *fōrikkonni*. In (4.7b), the verb *kādindoriž* relates back to the *kādikkonni*, and in

(4.7c), the verb *šalġiž* goes with the *ḫāžikkonni*.[52]

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[47] *ú-ni-eš šu-u-bi wu_u-u-ri*; An alternative to the above translation would be to analyze the two forms following the verb as *šōbi fōri* "the evil eye." According to the new trilingual vocabulary list from Ugarit, Hurrian *šu-be* is the equivalent of Sumerian ḪUL and Akkadian *lem-nu* (André-Salvini and Salvini 1998: 17). It is far more likely, however, since the first person occurs frequently throughout the text, *šu-u-be* is to be taken as the genitive of the first person singular free standing pronoun. On the first person pronominal forms see Giorgieri 2000a: 219; Wegner 2000: 71.

[48] *faġandinzi* may be built off of the root *paġ-* "to destroy" known to us from the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual where the form *pa-ḫé-tab* (*paġ⸗ed⸗av*) is translated into Hittite as *ḫ]ar-ni-ik-mi* "I will destroy" (KBo 32.19 i/ii 24); cf. Neu 1996: 419.

[49] *ēnzari* (or perhaps better: *ēn(i)⸗zari*) is likely to be the root *eni* "god" plus the collective derivational root *⸗šari*, here written *⸗zari*.

[50] *ga-a-ti-in-tu-u-ri-eš e-i[n-za²-ri²]* ²² *pa-ḫa-an-ti-in-zi*

[51] *du-up-š[a-r]i ti-bi-el-la šal-ḫi-eš*

[52] It is interesting to note that while the verbs in (4.7a) and (4.7b) are cognate with nominal forms in (4.6), the scribe chose to use the verb *šalġ-* "to hear" to go with the nominal form *ḫažikkonni* which is built off of the root *ḫaž-* "to hear." The reason for this is unclear and may have simply been stylistic.

The passage in (4.7a) is an example of the intransitive use of the active optative. The subject of *un-* "to come" is the absolutive NP *šō̱ ̱ve fōri* " my eye." It is possible, however, that the verb is to be analyzed as the transitive *un-* "to bring." Because both (4.7b) and (4.7c) have expressed agents (see below), if (4.7a) were to be transitive, I would expect an expressed agent here as well. Since no agent is expressed here, I prefer to take the verb as intransitive. In the indicative, we would expect the phrase to look like: **uṉa šō̱ ̱ve fōri*, with *̱a* as the intransitive valence marker. This is all the more reason to analyze the *̱i* in the optative ending *̱i̱(e)ž* as indicating active voice and not valence. According to the indicative and imperative paradigms, intransitivity is never marked by a morpheme *̱i*. Therefore I would not expect the morpheme *̱i̱* in the optative to specifically indicate the intransitive.

The verbs in both (4.7b) and (4.7c) are transitive with expressed agent and patient. The patients in both examples are in the absolutive. The agents in both cases are not fully preserved. In his transcription of the text, Haas has restored the forms as *e-i*[*n-za-re-eš*] and ⌈*du-up*⌉-*š*[*a-r*]*i*.[53] According to his restorations, the agent in (4.7b) would be in the ergative while the agent of (4.7c) is in the absolutive. Following this, (4.7b) would be of the type $V_{OPT} A_{ERG} P_{ABS}$ while (4.7c) would be $A_{ABS} P_{ABS} V_{OPT}$. There is no reason to assume such drastically different structures for two very similar phrases. In accordance with other examples of this mood, I have opted to restore an absolutive form for the agent of (4.7b). If (4.7b) and (4.7c) are correct, then transitive active optative verbs would appear to take both agent and patient in the absolutive. While it is possible that the

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[53] ChS I/1: 219

restoration of *ē*[*nzari*] in (4.7b) as agent is incorrect, it remains difficult, however, to

explain away the presence of *tupšari* in (4.7c).   In (4.7c), *tupšari* "scribe" can logically

only be the subject of the verb *šalġ-* "hear" when paired with *tive⸗lla* "words."

4.3.1.2 ChS I/5 40 rev. 46'-47'

Two further examples of the active use of the optative are found in a quasi-bilingual

section of the Šalašu Ritual.[54] After parallel passages in which it is stated that "we will

release the woman/man from sorcery at the gate,"[55] the passage moves to second person

commands. The first is an imperative with second person plural agent:

(4.8)   … *pedar(i)⸗re(<ne)   ⸗va(<e) ⸗f(fa)   ḫā ⸗i*
            ? bull   +SG.RELAT+GEN[?56]+2PL.ENCL take+TRAN.IMPER
         "Take the x *of*[?] the bull" (ChS I/5 40 rev. 44'-45')[57]

This is immediately followed by two similar clauses with transitive optative verbal forms.

No agent is expressed, and it is assumed here that the agent is the second person plural ⸗

f(fa) continued from line 45': [58]

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[54] I use the term "pseudo-bilingual" here because the Hurrian and the Hittite versions, while starting off as bilingual, begin to diverge until the two versions are quite different.

[55] Cf. (2.29) and (2.30) for treatment of these lines.

[56] As written, the form is ambiguous. It could be a dative (of respect) *pedar(i)⸗re(<ne)⸗va⸗f* "You(pl.) … concerning the bull." I feel that it is better to take the form as *pedar(i)⸗re(<ne)⸗va(<e)⸗f* with the genitive *⸗ve > ⸗va* through vowel harmony with the following plural enclitic pronoun *⸗f(fa)*. For this vowel harmony in Hurrian see Wegner (2000: 67).

[57] …[45'] *bi-tar-ri-waₐ-ap ḫa-a-i*; the patient in line 44' is badly broken and here simply left as ellipsis. The Corresponding Hittite reads: *nu GUD-aš šu-wa-an-ti-ia-an da-a-at-ten* "take the *fullness* of the cow"

[58] Giorgieri sees these forms as having first person plural agents (1998: 75[11]). He likely gets this from the indicative phrases in rev. 40'-43' which contain antipassive verbs with the first person plural enclitic *⸗dil* as agent. Given the fact that the passage with second person plural imperative (5) appears in

(4.9) *ḫērē* ⹋*ni*[??]   *ḫērb(e)* ⹋*a* ⹋*l*   *ḫe*[*ribād*]*i*   **ḫe[rb** ⹋**ud]** ⹋*i* ⹋
      wood+ABL/INST[?] *binding*+ESS+3PL.ENCL *bound one*+ØABS bind +NEG[59]+ACT+
      (e)ž *zōl(e)*⹋*a* **zoll** ⹋**ūd** ⹋*i* ⹋*(e)ž*
      OPT *tie* +ESS tie up+NEG+ACT+OPT
      "May (you pl.) unbind the *bound ones* (from) the *bindings* from the *wood*[60]! May (you pl.) untie the ties!" (ChS I/5 40 rev. 46'-47')[61]

The restoration of ⌜*ḫé*⌝-[*er-pu-ut*]-*iš* is certain based on the parallel passage:

(4.10) *faban(i)* ⹋*ni*   *ḫiribadi*   **ḫirb** ⹋**ud** ⹋*i* ⹋*(e)ž*
      mountain+ABL/INST *bound one*+ØABS bind+NEG+ACT+OPT
      "*From the mountain*[62] may (you) unbind the bound one (from the bindings)!" (ChS I/5 2 obv. 37')[63]

In (4.9), both optative verbs are preceded by cognate forms in the essive. Just as the

nominal form *ḫērbe* is clearly related to the verb *ḫerb-*, so should *zōle* (a variant writing

for *zolle*) be related to *zoll-*.[64] Based on (4.9), one expects there to be an understood

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between these antipassive phrases and the optative ones, Giorgieri's analysis is less likely. Since we have a change in person in (5), it is likely that the verbs that follow have the same agent until a new agent is explicitly introduced.

[59] The function of ⹋*ud-* here is one of root negation and not verbal negation.

[60] Perhaps: "May you unbind the bound one with respect to (their) bonds to the wood" suggested by I. Yakubovich (personal communication).

[61] *ḫé-e-re-e-ne ḫé-e-er-pa-a-al ḫé-*[*ri-ip-a-t*]*i* ⌜*ḫé*⌝-[*er-pu-ti*]-*iš* [47'] *zu-u-ul-a zu-ul-lu-ú-ti-iš*; This is translated into Hittite as: *ki-i*[*t pa*]*-an-da-la-az iš-ḫi-ia-an-da-an* [46'] *la-a-at-ten* LÚ GIŠ-[*ru-wa-a*]*n-da-an-ma-kán* GIŠ-*ru-wa-az* [47'] [*ar-ḫ*]*a tar-na-at-*[*ten*] "from this point, unbind the bound one, release the *staked* man from the *stakes*!" (lines 45'-47').

[62] It is unclear whether or not *fabanni* is to be taken as part of this phrase or as belonging to the preceding one.

[63] ḪUR.SAG-*ni ḫi-ri-ip-a-ti ḫi-ir-pu-ti-iš*

[64] The vocalization of the forms in (4.9) are contrary to typical spellings. The second verbal form is expected to be *zul(l)-* (or: *sul(l)-* cf. Giorgieri 1998: 79-80), and here the cognate form is written with plene *-u-*, typically used to express the vowel /o/. In the first phrase of (4.9), the root is *ḫērb-* while in (4.10) it is *ḫirb-*. It is not clear why we have two distinct vocalizations of the same form between the two examples.

ḫirb(e)≠a in (4.10). In (4.9), an absolute form *ḫeribadi* occurs between the essive

ḫērba and the verb. This absolutive is plural based on the appearance of the third person

plural enclitic pronoun *≠l(la)* appended to the immediately preceding essive form.

ḫeribadi is built off of the root *ḫiri-* "tree." Our understanding of the phrase is dependent

upon how we translate this form. If it refers to the binding then it may be translated as

some sort of staking through the use of a wooden peg. In this case, it would be parallel to

the GIŠ-*ru-wa-az* in the Hittite version (ChS I/5 40 rev. 46') from which the person is to

be removed. If so, then it would have to function as the patient. An alternate analysis

would be to take it as the one who does the staking. In this case, it would function as the

agent. A final possibility is to take it as the ones who are staked. If this is correct, then

the essive *ḫērba* stands for the material that is binding the patient. In the above

treatments of these passages, I have opted for the final analysis, taking *ḫeribadi* as the

patient referring to the one who is staked. This also assumes an understood second plural

agent continued from the preceding passage (4.8). If this is correct, then we have another

example of a transitive optative with absolutive patient.

   In (4.9), I translate the phrase *zōl(e)≠a zull≠ūd≠i≠(e)ž* differently from the preceding

ḫērb(e)≠ā≠l ḫe[ribad]i ḫe[rb≠ud]≠i≠(e)ž. One cannot assume that the former phrase is

parallel to the latter with an absolutive *ḫeribadi* to be taken as understood between the

essive and the verb. A critical argument against such an understanding comes form the

Ritual of Allaituraḫi:

(4.11) *zul(e)⊰ā ⊰d*   *zul ⊰ud ⊰i ⊰b*
      tie   +ESS+1SG.ENCL to tie+NEG+AP+AGR
      "I will untie the ties" (ChS I/5 2 rev. 69')[65]

Here we have an antipassive construction with the first person singular enclitic pronoun *⊰d* as agent and the essive *zula* as patient. This would correspond to a transitive construction : **ižaž žule zul⊰ud⊰av*, with *zule* as a cognate accusative to the verbal root *zul-*. Based on this, *zōla zullūdiž* in (4.9) can only be analyzed as an active optative form with understood agent and patient in the essive and *not* in the absolutive.

   It is possible that the two optative verbs here take different arguments. With the form *ḫērb(e)⊰ā⊰l ḫe*[*ribad*]*i*, it is difficult to take this as anything but an oblique essive followed by the absolutive patient. The explicit use of the enclitic third person plural pronoun *⊰l* to mark plural absolutive patients makes it very difficult to see the *ḫeribadi* as a simple scribal error. Until more evidence appears to the contrary, these two optative forms must be analyzed differently from one another in terms of how the patient is grammatically expressed. More evidence for active transitive optative forms with essive patients will be given below.

   A more explicit example of the transitive optative with both agent and patient in the absolutive is found in the Allaituraḫi Ritual. The phrase is the final sentence of a rather broken paragraph.

(4.12) *kašša⊰va ⊰*[*d*]*il   arare ⊰ni   ašte   **firfir⊰iz⊰ud⊰i   ⊰(e)ž***
      gate +DAT+1PL.ENCL *sorcery*+ABL/INST woman+ØABS free +iz^?+ud^?+ACT+OPT
      "May we release the woman from sorcery at the gate!" (ChS I/5 2 obv. 38')[66]

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[65] *zu-la-a-at zu-lu-ti-ip*

This passage is parallel to an indicative statement found in the Šalašu ritual treated above as (2.29) repeatd here as (4.13):

(4.13) *kašša*⸗*va*⸗*dil arārē*⸗[*ni ašt(e)*⸗*a*] *firfir*⸗*išt*⸗*i*⸗*b* (ChS I/5 40 rev. 41'-42')

The derivational morphemes in *firfirizud-* (4.12) may be a mistake for the ⸗*išt-* found on the verb in (4.13). In obv. 40' of ChS I/5 2, the verb appears as *bi-ir-bi-ri-iš-du-up-pu-uš*, displaying the ⸗*išt-* derivation and not ⸗*iz*⸗*ud-*. While the form is admittedly different from the one in obv. 38', it does allow for the possibility of emendating the verb in (x) to *firfir*⸗*išt*⸗*i*⸗(*e*)*ž*. In (4.13) we have an indicative antipassive verb, with the agent (⸗*dil*) in the absolutive and patient (*ašt(e)*⸗*a*) in the essive.[67] The form in (4.12) indicates that no such demotion of the patient from absolutive to the oblique essive is required with optative verbs. In this case, the optative operates under conditions very similar to the imperative.

4.3.1.3 ChS I/5 107 obv. 15'-18'

A difficult paragraph in ChS I/5 107 is replete with transitive optative forms. The Hurrian passages follow a series of ritual instructions written in Hittite. The passage is given as a whole in (4.14), while the parts will be individually treated following it. The scribe used a diagonal gloss wedge to separate words or groups of words. The use of gloss wedges is, however, inconsistent and not to be relied upon as a guide for dividing up sentences. For this reason it is not clear where some of the phrases begin and end.

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[66] *ka-aš-ša-ap-a-*[*t*]*i-el a-ra-ri-ni* MUNUS-*ti bi-ir-bi-ri-zu-ti-iš*

[67] The restoration of *ašta* here is certain based on the repeated phrase in ChS I/5 40 rev. 47'-48'.

(4.14) 15' [***ul*(⸗*i/o*)⸗*l*]⸗*i*[?]⸗(*e*)*ž* (written: *ulēž*) / *ābi appidi*[68] / *ēn*(*i*)⸗*n*(*a*)⸗*až*⸗*e ēn*(*i*)⸗
n(*a*)⸗*až*⸗*už*
16' ⌈*ti*⌉(*e*)⸗*a* / *kad*⸗*ind*⸗*a*⸗*šše* / *nerġ*(*e*)⸗*a* / *nerġ*⸗*ind*⸗*a*⸗*šš*[*e*]
17' *ti*(*e*)⸗*a* / ***kad***⸗***ašt***⸗***i***⸗(***e***)***ž*** / *nerġ*(*e*)⸗*ā*⸗*ma* ***nerġ***⸗***išt***⸗***i***⸗(***e***)***ž***
18' *ašḫiaže*⸗*ne*⸗*a*^{??} / *keldi*⸗*ma* ***tan***⸗***ašt***⸗***i***⸗(***e***)***ž***
(ChS I/5 107 obv. 15'-18')[69]

I would see the first phrase ending after the plural genitive form *ēn*(*i*)⸗*n*(*a*)⸗*až*⸗*e* "of

the gods."[70] It is possible that this form and the following ergative plural "the gods" were

not divided by a gloss wedge simply because the two share the same root. The verbal

form [*ú-l*]*e-e-eš*[71] presents certain difficulties. The short form (i.e. the form without ⸗*l*-)

of the active optative is not written with a plene vowel (cf. example (1)). The use of

plene -*e*- in writing the optative form is reserved for the extended forms ⸗*i/o*⸗*l*⸗*ēž*. A

normalization based strictly on orthography results in *ulēž*. Perhaps we actually have

here a form *ullēž* with elision of either the *i*-active or *o*-passive morpheme between the

root *ul*- "?" and the modal extension ⸗*l*-. The elision of ⸗*o*- is known from at least one

other form. In ChS I/5 40 obv. 2 the writing *ḫu-up-le-*⌈*e*⌉*-eš* does not stand for the active

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[68] Or *tuppidi*, cf. ChS I/5 p. 43

[69] 15' [*ú-l*]*e-e-eš* / *a-a-bi ab-bi-ti* (or: *tub-bi-ti*) / *e-en-na-še e-en-na-šu-uš*
16' ⌈*ti*⌉-*ia* / *ka-ti-en-ta-aš-ši* / *ne-er-ḫa* / *ni-ir-ḫe-en-ta-aš-š*[*i*]
17' *ti-ia* / *ka-ta-aš-te-eš* / *ni-ir-ḫa-a-ma ni-ir-ḫi-iš-te-eš*
18' *aš-ḫì-ia-ši*[?]-*ne-e-a* / *ke-el-ti-ma ta-na-aš-te-eš*

[70] Taking *ēn*(*i*)⸗*n*(*a*)⸗*až*⸗*e* as part of the phrases which follow requires us to make certain unlikely assumptions. First of all, there would be no expressed head of the genitive, and so the form would have to function as a free standing genitive "the one of the gods." If the head were present it would have been an absolutive NP since there is no Suffixaufnahme appended to the genitive. As an absolutive, it would be the relativized NP of the two following relative clauses. As analyzed below, the relative clauses make perfect sense without this genitive. I would prefer to see the heads for this genitive as the *ābi appidi* that immediately precede it.

[71] Restored from *ú-le-e-eš* and *ú-le-e-eš-ša* in obv. 19' of this text.

transitive *ḫub(⸗)l⸗i⸗(e)ž* but rather for the extended "passive" form *ḫub(⸗o)⸗l⸗ēž*![72]

Since the root *ul-* is unknown,[73] it is not possible to determine if we have an active *ul(⸗ i)⸗l⸗ēž* or "passive" *ul(⸗o)⸗l⸗ēž* here. The phrase, as taken here, is as follows:

(4.15) [**ul(⸗i/o)⸗l]⸗ēž**[?] *ābi appidi*[?] *ēn(i)⸗n(a)⸗až⸗e*
        "May the *a. a.* of the gods (be) [*ul-*]!" (ChS I/5 107 obv. 15')

The next section begins with the plural ergative form *ēn(i)⸗n(a)⸗až⸗už* and likely concludes with the two optative forms *kad⸗ašt⸗i⸗(e)ž* and *nerġ⸗išt⸗i⸗(e)ž* (obv. 17'). The phrase in 18' is likely connected in that it shares the same agent. In the first part of the phrase, we have an ergative agent followed by two relative clauses in the form of: *ēnnažuž ⌈ti⌉a kadindašše nerġa nerġindašše.* Each relative clause includes an essive form. In the second relative, the essive *nerġa* is cognate to the verb *nerġ-*, similar to (4.9). The relative clauses are followed by the two optative verbs *kadaštiž* and *nerġištiž.* The first optative form is parallel to the first relative clause in the use of the same essive NP and the same verbal root (*kadindašše*(obv. 16) and *kadaštiž* (obv. 17)) , while the second optative is parallel to the second relative clause in the same way (*nerġindašše* (obv. 16) and *nerġištiž* (obv. 16)). I feel that the phrase makes best sense if the plural ergative NP is understood as the agent of the optative forms and *not* of the relatives. Given that the relative verbs end in ⸗*a* and not in ⸗*i*, it is not possible to take the underlying phrases of the relative clauses as antipassives.

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[72] cf. Giorgieri 1998: 74-75; Wegner 1988: 152 ("In -l- könnte das … Suffix -ol- zu sehen sein"); this passage in ChS I/5 40 will be treated in full below (4.70).

[73] It is unlikely that *ul-* here is to be taken as an alternate writing of *ull-* "to destroy." In the Hurrian fragment of the Ullikummi myth, the passive optative form of *ull-* is *ull⸗o⸗l⸗ēž* with expressed ⸗ *o-* (Giorgieri 2001b: 148); see (4.58) below.

One possibility would be to take the predicates of the relative clauses as either intransitive or agent-less transitive verbs. In both cases the essive would have the meaning "in the manner of."[74] If we take the verbs as intransitives, they would have to translate into English as the passive constructions: "that which is spoken as a word, that which is *nerġ*-ed as a *nerġe*."[75] As agent-less transitives, the phrases would translate as: "that which one speaks as a word and that which one *nerġ*-s as a *nerġe*." This latter analysis seems much more satisfactory.[76] Combined with the optative forms we get the following translation in (4.16).

(4.16) "That which one speaks as a word and that which one *nerġ*-s as a *nerġe* may the gods speak (it) as a word and may they *nerġ*- (it) as a *nerġ*-!"[77]

The translation in (4.16) assumes that the ergative *ēnnažuž* is the agent of the optative verbs and not of the relative clauses. Based on the evidence at hand, this is not possible. No other examples of a transitive optative occurs with an ergative. Only the "passive" optatives in *=o=(e)ž* can have an optionally expressed agent in the ergative (cf. §4.3.4). A way around this is to assume that the optative forms and relative forms both have the same agent. This results in the following translation:

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[74] Giorgieri 2000a: 254-255; Wegner 2000: 58.

[75] This assumes that the root plus derivational morpheme *kad=ind-* can take that which is spoken as subject. The verb *kad-*, however, does not appear to occur in intransitive expressions.

[76] Typically indefinite or agent-less transitive verbs are indicated through plural agent agreement markers on the verb. Since the optative does not indicate agreement, it is impossible to tell whether the agent is singular or plural based on the verbal form alone.

[77] This translation preserves as much as possible the word order of the original Hurrian. While in English we need to resume the relatives with a pronoun such as "it," this was apparently not necessary in Hurrian.

(4.17) "That which the gods speak as a word and that which (the gods) *nerġ-* as a *nerġe*, may (the gods) speak (it) as a word and may (the gods) *nerġ-* as a *nerġe*!"

This way, the ergative form would be the agent of the relative clauses. The verbal forms

kadinda⸗ and *nerġinda⸗* would be transitive forms without the expected ⸗*i-* valence

marker.[78] The plural "gods" would also function as the understood agents of the optative

forms. In this position, if expressed, they would have been in the absolutive. An

understood absolutive form *en(i)⸗na* would conform to the suggested grammar of the

active optative. For this reason, this second analysis is preferred over the first. Therefore

we would have an understood absolutive agent and the absolutive patients are the two

nominalized relative verbs.

While the same verbal roots in the relative clauses are used in the subsequent optative

forms, there is one difference. Both verbal forms in the relative clause have the

derivational morpheme ⸗*ind-*. On the other hand, the optative forms are extended with

the derivational morpheme ⸗V*št-*. It is not clear what difference there is between the two

morphemes.[79] In the above translations I have translated both forms the same, but I allow

that a new translation may be required when we determine the true functions of these

derivational morphemes.

It is likely that "the gods" continue to act as the understood agent of the final optative

form *tan⸗ašt⸗i⸗(e)ž*. The first word of this final phrase, *ašḫiaženea*, is somewhat of an

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[78] On the occasional omission of this valence marker, especially in third person forms, see above (§2.3.5.3).

[79] As will be seen below in §4.3.4, when there is an expressed plural agent with a passive optative, the morpheme ⸗*ind-* is always included on the verbal form.

enigma. *ašḫiaš(š)e* is typically translated as "ritual client."[80] It is difficult to

determine the nature of the ending on this form. It likely involved the singular relator ⸗

ne, but the combination of *-e+a* is atypical in Hurrian. Context seems to require that the

form be an indirect object akin to a dative. The patient is the absolutive form *keldi* "well-

being" to which the connective morpheme ⸗*ma* is attached. The verb is *tan-* "to do."

The line may be translated as: "and may the gods make well-being *for*[?] the ritual client!"

4.3.1.4 The Patient in the Essive

Based on the above examples, it appears that at least some transitive optative forms

take both the agent and patient in the absolutive. This is similar to the situation discussed

above concerning the imperative (§3.3.2). There are, however, examples in which the

agent is in the absolutive but the patient is in the essive. The most definitive example

involves a passage with an extended optative form. The following passage is taken from

an AZU ritual:

(4.18) *irdi*   ⸗*b*   *urġ(i)⸗a*   *tī(e)* ⸗*a* *kad* ⸗*i*   ⸗*l*⸗*ēž*
        tongue+2POSS.SG+ØABS true +ESS word+ESS speak+ACT+*l*+OPT
        "May your tongue speak (only?) true word(s)!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 35)[81]

This passage is syntactically very similar to the antipassives in the indicative, though it is

not clear if there are any functional similarities (i.e. detransitivization). In the duplicate

ChS I/1 11 rev. 17', the only difference is that the agent *irdi* does not include the

possessive morpheme ⸗*b*. Another duplicate, however, gives a slightly different verbal

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[80] Laroche 1976: 59

[81] *ir-ti-ip úr-ḫa ti-i-ia qa-ti-le-e-eš*

form. In ChS I/Erg. I i 10', we find: *te-e-ia ka-a-tu-le-e-eš*, with the beginning of the

phrase lost at the end of line i 9'. This particular text is problematic. The chance that this

text may be corrupt will be explored below (4.37).

Another example of a transitive optative form with the patient in the essive may be

found in the long Hurrian prayer ChS I/1 41.

(4.19) *ḫaž ≠il(≠)d≠ae   tivōšḫ(i)≠a   nāli   pērž≠o/už≠i   ≠(e)ž tēve≠n(a)   ≠*
hear+*il(≠)d*+INST[?] *speech* +ESS ?+ØABS   ?   +*o/už*+ACT+OPT word+PL.RELAT+
āž≠a
PL+ESS
"*Through what is heard*[?82] may the *nāli pērž≠o/už*- the speech as the words[?]!"
(ChS I/1 41 iii 6-7)[83]

Before analyzing the phrase, a potential problem must be addressed. The prayer ChS I/1

41 divides phrases or group of phrase through the use of a diagonal gloss wedge. The

grouping in which example (4.19) occurs continues for another line which is difficult to

analyze. It is not even clear if they constitute a separate sentence from (4.19). The

phrase runs as follows:

(4.20) *zuzzižena edēġla* ᵈ*Teššob šarr(i)≠i≠až en(i)≠n(a)≠āž≠e* (ChS I/1 41 iii 8)[84]

The final three words in (4.20) are easily understood. The divine name Teššob is in the

absolutive and is further modified by *šarr(i)≠i≠až*, the absolutive *šarri* "king" plus the

third person plural possessive morphemes *≠i≠až*. This is in turn further modified by the

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[82] For an analysis of this form, see below.

[83] *ḫa-ši-el-ta-⌈e⌉ ⁷ te-pu-u-uš-ḫa na-a-li pé-e-er-šu-ši-iš te-e-pí-na-a-ša*

[84] *zu-uz-zi-ši-na e-te-eḫ-la* ᵈU-*up šar-ri-aš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-ši*[?]

genitive plural form *en(i)⹀n(a)⹀āž⹀e*, "of the gods." This final NP is therefore to be literally translated "Teššob, their king, that of the gods" which is equivalent to "Teššob, king of the gods."

The preceding two forms can both be analyzed as essives. The word *edēġli* has been translated as "prince."[85] *edēġla* is a proper essive form. The term *zuzzižina* is problematic. Evidence for a *zuzziže* as a nominal form may be found amongst the ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢŠU.GI rituals from Boğazköy. In two duplicate fragments of ritual texts, the following phrase appears:

(4.21) *zu-uz-zi-iš zu-uz-zi-ša-at* (ChS I/5 127:8'; 128:7')

We are again faced with an active optative form in *zuzz⹀i⹀(e)ž*. It is possible that this is a verb fronted phrase and what follows is therefore nominal. If so, the form can be analyzed as the root *zuzzi* followed by the abstract building derivational morpheme *⹀i⹀ š(š)e*.[86] This derivational morpheme occurs with a number of verbal roots.[87] The final consonant *-t* can only be the short form of the first person singular enclitic pronoun *⹀d*. The remaining *zuzziža* can be analyzed in one of two ways. It is either an essive form *zuzz(i)⹀i⹀ž(e)⹀a*, or it is an absolutive form *zuzz(i)⹀i⹀ža(<e)* with vowel harmony with the following enclitic pronoun.[88] Evidence has been given above for essive patients of

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[85] Laroche 1980: 73 tentatively conntects *edeġli* to Akkadian *eṭellu*.

[86] Giorgieri 2000a: 204; Wegner 2000: 49.

[87] Take for example: *šar-* "to wish" → *šar(i)⹀i⹀šše*; *keb-* "to set" → *kib⹀i⹀šše* "seat."

[88] On the presence of vowel harmony even when the following enclitic is the short, vowel-less form, see Wegner 2000: 67.

active optative forms when the patient is a cognate accusative with the verb (cf. (4.9)

and (4.11)). For this reason I would propose taking ≠d as the absolutive agent and

zuzz(i)≠i=ž(e)≠a as the essive patient of the active transitive optative form *zuzz≠i≠(e)ž*.

Given this evidence, the form *zuzzižena* in (4.20) can be taken as the essive form *zuzz(i)≠*

i=že=n(e)≠a with a ≠ne- singular relator between the nominal root and the case ending.

   The phrase in (4.20) may be a nominal sentence with the predicate in the essive and

the subject in the absolutive. Hurrian allows for two different constructions of nominal

sentences. In one case both subject and predicate are in the absolutive while the other has

the subject in the absolutive and predicate in the essive.[89] It is not clear what, if any,

differences exist between the two. If this is correct then in (4.20) we have a situation

where the essive predicate is fronted. This would result in a translation: "a *zuzziže* and a

prince is Teššob, the king of the gods (lit.: their king, (that) of the gods)." Taking this

phrase as such allows us to separate it out from the optative clause.

   Now let us return to the optative phrase in question. The normalization is repeated

here as (4.22):

(4.22) *ḫaž ≠il(≠)d≠ae tivōšḫ(i)≠a nāli pērž≠o/už≠i≠(e)ž tēve≠n(a)≠až≠a* (ChS I/1 41
        iii 6-7)

The first form *ḫažildae* is quite difficult. The root is the common verb *ḫaž-* "to hear."[90]

The root is further modified through the use of the derivational morpheme ≠il(≠)d- of

which little is known. The morpheme ≠ae is likely either the instrumental case or an

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[89] Giorgieri 2000a: 252-253; Wilhelm 2000: 199-208

[90] It is also possible that the root is to be read as *ḫāž-* "to anoint," but since the verb is followed by the nouns of speech *tivošḫi* and *tive*, such a reading is unlikely.

adverbial ending. If it is an adverb, a translation of "audibly" may be possible. The

following form, *tivošḫa*, is the essive patient. The root *tivošḫi* is one of several words

built off of a root **tiv-* "to speak."[91] Neu translates the word as "Rede."[92] The agent is

the absolutive form *nāli*. The *nāli*, along with the *šaderi*, is one of the key elements of

the prayer ChS I/1 41. The *nāli* has an active role in the prayer, and may act as an

intermediary between the human supplicant and the divine powers. It is highly doubtful

that the *nāli* in this prayer is the same *nāli* "deer; roebuck" known from the parables of

the Hurro-Hittite bilingual texts.[93] It is likely to be a homonym instead. The meaning of

the verbal root *perž-* is not clear.

   Two final examples will be given for active transitive optative forms with patients in

the essive. Both are again taken from the prayer ChS I/1 41. In fact, both occur between

the same diagonal gloss marks. The phrases are as follows:

(4.23) **šūg⸗am⸗i   ⸗(e)ž** *šall(i)⸗a   omīn(i)⸗a   šarr(i)⸗a⸗šš(e)   ⸗a*
    unite[?] +ACT+OPT house+ESS land   +ESS king +ABSTRACT+ESS
    "May (it) *unite*[94] the house(s), the land, and kingship!" (ChS I/1 41 ii 57)[95]

and:

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   [91] Some alternate nominal forms are *tive* "word" and *tivšāri* "a story[?], a telling[?]" (*tive* + the
collective ending *-šari*); a verbal form *tiv⸗aġ⸗ošt⸗a* (ChS I/1 41 ii 43) and potentially *ti-wi_i-wu_u̯-tab* (KBo
32.17 iv 14) are also known.

   [92] Neu 1996a: 352

   [93] The exact nature of the *nāli* is unclear. In the Hurro-Hittite parables KBo 32.14, a Hurrian noun
nāli is translated into Hittite as *aliya-* "roebuck, deer." In the ritual ChS I/1 49, a *nāli* is part of a list
including *ardi* "city" and *šelli* "house" (ii 9: *ardi⸗ve šelli⸗ve nāli⸗ve*).

   [94] I take this from a root *šūg-* related to *šukko* "one" and its other derivatives. While typically
written with geminate *-kk-*, at least one other form, with single *-g-*, *šug⸗am⸗ġ⸗a* "single" is known
(Wegner 2000: 70). The derivational morpheme *⸗am-* is found with other number terms. The verb
eman⸗am- "to make tenfold" is built off of the root *eman-* "ten." The verbal form *šūg⸗am-* would
therefore be "to make one" or better "to unite."

   [95] *šu-ú-ga-mi-iš šal-la u-mi-i-na šar-ra-aš-ša*

(4.24) *nūl(i)* ≠*a* *ḫōrad(i)* ≠*a* *umman(i)*≠*a* ^{URU}*Ḫatt(i)*≠*ō*≠*ġ(e)*≠*a* **šumm** ≠
n.-soldier+ESS ḫ.-soldier+ESS troops +ESS GN +ADJ +ESS *assemble+*
i ≠*(e)ž*
ACT+OPT

"May it *assemble*[96] the *n.*-soldiers, the *ḫ.*-soldiers, the troops of Hatti!" (ChS I/1 41 ii 57-58)[97]

The agent must be continued from the set of phrases that precede the ones in (4.23) and (4.24).[98] With these two examples it is difficult to determine where one phrase stops and the next begins. The grouping begins and ends with optative forms, and all of the nominal forms that occur between the two verbs are in the essive case and therefore could potentially belong to either verb. The phrase immediately preceding (4.23) is another optative:

(4.25) *šug* ≠ *amm* ≠ *i* ≠ *(e)ž šall(i)*≠*a* (ChS I/1 41 ii 56)[99]

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[96] The verb *šumm-* may be related to the nominal form *šummi* "all" (Girbal 1994c). Based on this, the verbal root *šumm-* in the transitive likely has the sense of collecting or bringing things together, thus the translation "to assemble" given above.

[97] *nu-ú-la* ⁵⁸ *ḫu-u-ra-ta um-ma-na* ^{URU}*ḫa-at-tu-u-ḫa šum-mi-iš* \

[98] The agent is difficult to determine. There are three possibilities based on preceding passages. The agent can be either first person singular, second person singular or the third person singular in which case it would be either the king or the god Teššob. In ii 53-54, we may have two agents, a second singular and a third person: *al* ≠ *amm* ≠ *ašt* ≠ *a* ≠ *m fōrē* ≠ *va eni* ≠ *va* ^d*Teššop* ≠ *pa* ≠ *m* "you⸲(≠*m*) speak (*al-*) before the god Teššob" (ii 53) followed by *šarri* ≠ *ne* ≠ *ž tivōšḫi* ≠ *b kad* ≠ *i* ≠ *a* "the king speaks your word" (ii 53-54). The next section reads as follows: *tivōšḫi kad* ≠ *i* ≠ *a talm* ≠ *i* ≠ *a ḫōdangi* ≠ *b vē* ≠ *ve* ^m*Tažmi-šarrē* ≠ *ve* "(the king⸲) speaks the word (and) he makes great (*talm-*) your, Tažmi-šarri's, prayer" (ii 54-55). This is presumably followed by the quote: *iš-te ša-te-ri-ib na-a-li-eš tu-u-nu-ni-ša-at*(or: *-la*) *šu-ga-am-mi-iš šal-la* (ii 55-56). I am uncertain as to how this quotation is to be parsed. The first person absolutive pronoun *ište* must function as either agent or patient. *ša-te-ri-ib* can be analyzed as either an antipassive verb *šad* ≠ *er* ≠ *i* ≠ *b* "I š. (s.t.)" or as an absolutive NP *šaderi* with the second person singular possessive ≠*b* (i.e. "your š."). Since *tu-u-nu-ni-ša-at* appears to be an active optative form *tōn* ≠ *on* ≠ *i* ≠ *(e)ž*(≠*a* ≠ *d/l*), *na-a-li-eš* is likely to be one as well. As seen above, no examples of the active optative involve an ergative agent. The final two forms are treated in (4.25).

[99] *šu-ga-am-mi-iš šal-la* \

(4.25) is identical to the beginning of (4.23). My division of nominal forms between

(4.23) and (4.24) was simply done by the grouping of like forms. It is entirely possible

that (4.23) stops after *šalla* with *omīna* and *šarrašša* belonging with the other essive

forms in (4.24). It was felt that "lands" and "kingship" fit together forming one group

while the military terms make a second group. In both examples, we again have an active

transitive optative form with patients in the essive case.

4.3.1.5 The Active Optative with Intransitive Verbs

As shown above, the active optative can function with intransitive verbs (4.7a) and

transitive ones. Before turning to the extended optative, there is one last function of the

active optative to be discussed. The best studied use of the active optative is in the

reciprocal verb *tād⸗ugār⸗i⸗(e)ž* found in the Mittani Letter. This form has recently

received considerable attention by Giorgieri.[100] The form consists of a root *tād-* "to love"

with the reciprocal morpheme *⸗ugār-* with the resulting translation "to love one another."

There are two different uses of this optative form in the Mittani Letter. The first example

is as follows:

(4.26) *šēn(a) ⸗iffē*   *⸗n*   **tād ⸗ugār ⸗i**   *⸗(e)ž šû ⸗ra*
      brother+1SG.POSS+ØABS+CONN love+RECIP+ACT+OPT 1SG+COMM
      "May my brother share love with me!" (Mitt. ii 93)[101]

This is parallel to the Akkadian phrase used by Tušratta in other letters sent to Egypt:

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[100] Giorgieri 2004: esp. 322, 325-326.

[101] *še-e-ni-íw-we-e-en ta-a-du-ka-a-ri-iš šu-ú-ú-ra*; translated by Wilhelm 1992: 66 "May my
brother carry on with me a relationship full of love;" Giorgieri 1999: 382 "mio fratello intrattenga relazioni

(4.27) *akanna aḫūya inanna ittiya lirta''am*
  "so now may my brother (show) love with me!" (EA 28:47)

In (4.26), the subject is the third person singular *šēniffē* "my brother." The other party in

this reciprocal love, Tušratta, is indicated by the first person commitative form *šû ꞊ ra*.

   In contrast, two other examples of *tādugāriž* have first person plural subjects. Both

are found within the final paragraph of the letter. The first line includes a "passive"

optative form. The line reads:

(4.28) **faġr ꞊o   ꞊(e)š ꞊ tilla   ꞊n   tād ꞊ ugā<r>꞊i   ꞊(e)ž tiž(a)꞊iff(e)꞊až꞊a   ꞊**
   good+PASS+OPT+1PL.ENCL+CONN love+RECIP +ACT+OPT heart+1POSS+PL+ESS+
   n
   CONN
   "May we have good (relations?) (or: May we be (mutually) favored) and may
   we love one another in our hearts!"
   (Mitt. iv 113)[102]

This is the typical analysis given for (4.28), but it must be said that there are certain

problems with it.

   One problem lies in the analysis of the first word. I have treated it above as an active

optative form.[103] The spelling of the form may indicate that a alternate analysis is

required. The expected combination of a full enclitic pronoun and a connective would be

꞊till(a)꞊ān, with plene *-a-*. It may be that we simply have to emend the text and insert an

<-a-> here. There is already one scribal error on this line (i.e. the omission of *-ri-* from

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di amore reciproco con me;" and Giorgieri 2004: 322 "Mein Bruder soll mit mir Beziehungen
gegenseitiger Freundschaft unterhalten!"

   [102] *wa-aḫ-ru-uš-til-la-an ta-a-du-ka-a<-ri>-iš ti-ši-íw-wa-ša-an*; I am unaware of an Akkadian
parallel for either (24) or (25).

   [103] This is similar to how Wilhelm takes the form in his translation: "we wish to be friendly (to
each other)"

tādugā<r>iž), and so assuming a second is not out of the question. The spelling *wa-*
aḫ-ru-uš-til-la-an could, however, stand for an intransitive *faġr ⸗ o/ušt ⸗ ill ⸗ a ⸗ n* "he is
good."[104] Let us briefly turn to the preceding phrase which reads: *še-e-ni-íw-[w]e-en-na-*
a-an ur-ḫu-up-ti-in (iv 112). Two alternate analyses of this passage are possible here:

(4.29) *šēn(a) ⸗if[f]e ⸗nn(a) ⸗ān* **urġ⸗upt⸗i ⸗en**
brother+1SG.POSS+3SG.ENCL+CONN truthful +TRAN[?]+JUSS
"May my brother act in a truthful manner!" (Mitt. iv 112)[105]

or:

(4.30) *šēn(a) ⸗if[f]e ⸗nn(a) ⸗ān* **urġ⸗upt⸗i ⸗n**
brother+1SG.POSS+3SG.ENCL+CONN truthful +AP+CONN/3SG.ENCL
"My brother acts in a truthful manner."

In (4.30) we find an indicative statement with an antipassive verb in *urġupti* and the
absolutive *šēniffe* as subject. This implies that *urġupt-* is transitive. In (4.29) on the
other hand, *šēniffe* can be taken as either the patient or subject of the jussive *urġuptien*.
As we shall see below (§5.2.3), the jussive seems to require and ergative subject in main
clauses such as this one.[106] If we follow (4.30), however, we get the following translation
when we include *faġroštillan*: "My brother acts in a truthful manner and (verily = Hurr.
[*teō*]*nae tiššan*) he is good!" An optative form *tad ⸗ ugā<r ⸗ i> ⸗ (e)ž* does not fit in as well

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(1992: 71).

[104] The combination of *⸗o/ušt ⸗ ill ⸗* is not found elsewhere.

[105] *še-e-ni-íw-[w]e-en-na-a-an ur-ḫu-up-ti-in*

[106] The jussive appears to be incompatible with intransitive verbs.

with this translation as it would with (4.29).[107] This is not, however, the only

restoration available to us. A restoration *ta-a-du-ka-a<-ra>-iš* results in the finalis form

tād⸗ugār⸗ai⸗ž. If we follow this, the passage as a whole would read:

(4.31) *šēn(a)⸗if[f]e⸗nn(a)⸗ān urġ⸗upt⸗i⸗n [teō]nae tiššan faġr⸗o/ušt⸗ill⸗a⸗n **tād⸗***
      ***ugā<r⸗a>i⸗ž** tiž(a)⸗iff(e)⸗až⸗a⸗n*
      "My brother acts in a truthful manner and verily he is good; for this reason, let
      (us) love one another in our hearts!" (Mitt. iv 112-113)

While I prefer this reading, the subsequent lack of a first person plural enclitic pronoun is

a problem.

   The final example in the Mittani Letter is:

(4.32) *ištan(i) ⸗iff(e) ⸗až⸗a ⸗dill(a)   ⸗ān   šēnn(a)⸗o⸗ḫḫ(e)⸗a*
      between+1POSS+PL +ESS+1PL.ENCL+CONN brother+ABSTR +ESS
      *ḫež⸗all⸗o⸗ḫḫ(e)⸗ā ⸗dill(a)   ⸗ān   **tād⸗ugār ⸗i ⸗(e)ž***
      ?   +ABSTR +ESS+1PL.ENCL+CONN love+RECIP+ACT+OPT
      "Between us, may we love one another in brotherhood and *ḫežall*-ness!" (Mitt. iv
      120-121)[108]

(4.32) take the first person plural ⸗*dilla* as the subject and (4.28) might too. This is in

contrast with (4.27) which just has the third person singular as subject.

4.3.1.6 The Active Optative with Other Modal Forms

   The use of the active optative form with second person subjects can be paired with

imperative or other modal forms. The first second person form that we will look at

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[107] If we follow (4.29) and take *faġroštillan* as a passive optative, we get the following translation
when we include (4.28): "May my brother act in a truthful manner! Verily may we have good relations and
may we love one another!"

[108] *iš-ta-ni-íw-wa-ša-til-la-a-an* [121] *še-e-en-nu-uḫ-ḫa ḫé-šal-lu-uḫ-ḫa-a-til-la-a-an ta-a-du-ka-a-ri-iš*

comes from the "Offering to the Throne of Ḫebat" ChS I/2 1. On the second day,

aromatic waters are prepared by mixing cedar with water.[109] The water is then poured

before the goddess as an act of invocation.[110] This act is accompanied by the following

Hurrian invocation:

(4.33) **āšš** ⸗*i*   ⸗(*e*)*ž* ^d*Ḫebat*   *šōni* ⸗*b*   *šī*(*e*) ⸗*āi*   *āġr*(*i*) ⸗
        wash+ACT+OPT DN+ØABS hand+2SG.POSS+ØABS water+INST incense+
        āi   *un* ⸗*a*   ⸗*mma*
        INST come+INTRAN.IMP+2SG.ENCL
        "Ḫebat you must *cleanse/wash*[?] your hand with aromatic water!¹¹¹ Come
        (here)!" (ChS I/2 1 i 23-24)[112]

The verbal root *āšš*- almost certainly means "to wash."[113] The root may also appear in a

^{LÚ}AZU ritual, though the phrase makes little sense:

(4.34) *šīe* ⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*āž*⸗*už* **āšš**⸗*id*   ⸗*en* *id*[(*i* ⸗*va* *pāġi* ⸗*va* *tarže*)]
        water+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG ? +PL.ERG+JUSS body+DAT head+DAT man+ØABS
        "Let the waters *send forth*[?] the man concerning the head!"(ChS I/1 10 i 54''-ii
        1)[114]

In (4.34), the verb is clearly transitive with ergative agent and absolutive patient.[115]

Based on (4.34), *šōni* ⸗ *b* is best taken as the patient and not as being in partitive

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[109] ChS I/2 1 i 1-22

[110] *nu wa-a-tar A-NA* DINGIR-*LIM* ²² *me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da la-a-ḫu-i* (ChS I/2 1 i 21-22)

[111] This is not to be translated "through water (and) through incense." The ritual preparations that occur before this invocation are focused on the creation of a special water. One of the final actions is the setting of cedar, an aromatic, into the water: *nu-uš-ša-an* ^{GIŠ}ERIN *kat-ta A-NA* ^{DUG}GA[L *ME-E*] ²¹ *da-a-i* (ChS I/2 i 20-21).

[112] *a-aš-še-eš* ^d*ḫé-pát šu-u-ni-ip* ²⁴ *ši-ia-a-i a-aḫ-ra-a-i ú-na-am-ma*

[113] See, independently, Haas 2003: 153.

[114] *ši-i-e-na-a-šu-*[(*u*)]*š* ^{ii 1} *a-aš-ši-te-in i-t*[(*i-pa pa-a-ḫi-pa tar-še*)]; the passage is restored from ChS I/1 9 ii 34-36.

apposition with ^{d}Ḫebat. The agent must be the second person based on the following imperative *un ⸗ a ⸗ mma* even though no explicit person marking is given. It is clear that ^{d}Ḫebat is the one being invoked, and it is to this goddess that the optative command is issued.[116]

A parallel example is found in the parable section of the Hurro-Hittite bilingual. After each parable is completed, the audience is told to literally let go of the just completed parable and listen to the next one. This exhortation begins with an optative form followed by a first person jussive:

(4.35) **kōl** ⸗**i** ⸗**(e)ž** *andi*   *tīvšāri ula(<i)⸗ffa*   *kad ⸗ol(⸗i) ⸗*
    release+ACT+OPT this+∅ABS matter other +2PL.ENCL+∅ABS speak+*ol*+TRAN+
    le
    1.JUSS
    "You must (now) let go of this matter. Let me tell you another!" (KBo 32.14 i
    23-24, 39-40, iv 6-7, 20-21, rev. 33, 53)[117]

The first person jussive will be explored below (§5.2.1). The agent of *kōl-* "to let go,

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[115] The jussive will be explored in full in chapter five.

[116] This passage and other similar ones in ChS I/2 have parallels in some of the alphabetic Hurrian incantations from Ugarit (Laroche 1968: 512-514; Dietrich and Mayer 1994: 73-112). The passage in RS 1.007 (=KTU 1.44) 6-8 runs as follows: *atm kmrb tnp ty aġr att*. The passage is normalized by Dietrich and Mayer as *att=e=ma(n) kumarbe tun=ib tiye aġre att=i=t* (1994: 74-75, 78-79). The first form *atm* can be analyzed as either an imperative form with a second person enclitic pronoun *ašš⸗i⸗m* parallel to the *un ⸗ a ⸗ mma* in ChS I/2 1 i 24 or as an active optative with the -*ž* of the modal morpheme elided before either the second person enclitic or a connective ⸗*ma(n)*. In light of ChS I/2 1 i 23, the latter is more attractive, resulting in a reading: *ašš⸗i⸗(ež)⸗m(an$^?$) Kumarbi šōni⸗b*. Kumarbi is the subject of both the initial and final verbs. The final word in this phrase is the active optative *ašš⸗i⸗(e)ž* and not a nominalized "participle" contra Dietrich and Mayer (1994: 78). The preceding *ty aġr* cannot be absolutive forms (contra Dietrich and Mayer 1994: 79). They need to be taken as the ablative/instrumental forms *ši(e)⸗ai* and *aġr(i)⸗ai*. The combined writing *tġr* in KTU 1.128:17 and 1.131.11 must be a corrupted form *ši(e-a)ġr(i)⸗ai*.

[117] *ku-u-le-eš an-ti ti-i-ib-ša-a-ri u-la-ap-wa$_a$ ka$_4$-du-ul-li* (i 23-24); all other examples have *ka$_4$-túl-li*. The corresponding Hittite is: ^{23} *ar-ḫa da-a-le-eš-tén a-pa-a-at ut-tar nu-uš-ma-aš ta-ma-i* ^{24} *ut-tar me-mi-iš-ki-mi* (ii 23-24).

release" is the second person plural (absolutive) patient of the following phrase. The

Hurrian form is translated into Hittite as the second person plural imperative form *arḫa*

dalesten. Neu correctly notes that although the Hittite employs an imperative form, the

Hurrian section employs a different modal form.[118] The patient of *kōl-* is the absolutive

NP *andi tīvšāri*. This is the same situation as in (4.32).

4.3.2 *=i=l=ež*

There are relatively few examples of extended active optative forms in *=i=l=ež*. Most

examples of extended optative forms, be they active or "passive", occur in the same

group of texts from Boğazköy. In the preserved text corpus, if a text contains an

elongated form of the optative, then typically all, or most, optative forms in the text will

be extended. While not a hard and fast rule, it holds true for the majority of texts. A

perfect example of such a text is ChS I/1 25. Another is ChS I/1 9 and its duplicates.

These texts primarily contain "passive" extended optative forms, but a few active forms

can be found in them.

4.3.2.1 ChS I/1 9 and Duplicates

In example (4.18) above, we saw an extended active transitive optative with an

absolutive agent and patient in the essive. The passage will be repeated here as (4.36):

(4.36) *irdi*   *=b*   *urġ(i)=a*   *tī(e)* *=a* **kad** *=i*   *=l=ēž*
      tongue+2POSS.SG+ØABS true +ESS word+ESS speak+ACT+*l*+OPT
      "Let your tongue speak (only?) true word(s)!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 35)[119]

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[118] Neu 1996a: 122

[119] See footnote 81 of this chapter for transliteration. This passage and its duplicates in ChS I/1 11
and ChS I/Erg. are compared by Wilhelm (ChS I/Erg. p. 10).

The passage in ChS I/1 11 rev. 17' is virtually identical to the passage in (31). The

only difference between the two is that the duplicate passage simply has *irdi* "tongue" as

agent without the possessive suffix *≠b*. In ChS I/Erg. i 10', however, instead of an active

optative, the text has a "passive" form:

(4.37) […]   *tē*   *≠a* **kād** *≠o*   *≠l≠ēž*
       [(your) tongue] word+ESS speak+PASS+*l*+OPT (ChS I/Erg. i 9'-10')[120]

The patient here is a variant writing for expected *tī(e)≠a* "the word." The verb is spelled

qa-ti-le-e-eš in ChS I/1 9 and in ChS I/11, clearly indicating the active nature of the

optative form through the use of the TI sign. In (4.37), however, *kadolēž* can only be

analyzed as a "passive" optative. This is not simply the case of a form containing a

different thematic vowel than the other duplicates.[121] The *≠o≠* morpheme is a

meaningful unit that directly impacts the syntax of not just the verb but of the sentence as

a whole.

   This is not the only place where ChS I/Erg. differs from duplicate passages in other

texts. Let us turn once again to ChS I/1 9 and its duplicates. In this second example, we

have a transitive verb without an expressed patient:

(4.38) *nōi(≠b)*   *≠a*   *≠l*   **ḫāž** *≠až≠i* *≠l≠ēž*
       ear +2POSS.SG+EPNTH+3PL.ENCL hear+*až*+ACT+*l*+OPT
       "let (your) ears hear (the word)!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 30)[122]

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[120] [   ] [10'] *te-e-ia ka-a-tu-le-e-eš*

[121] Wilhelm ChS I/Erg. p. 9 seems to leave the difference between these forms at that.

[122] *ḫa-az-zi-zi šal-ḫu-le-e-eš nu-u-ia-al ḫa-a-ša-ši-le-e-eš*

As mentioned above, the verb *ḫaž-* "to hear" (here written atypically with plene *a*[123])

never functions as an intransitive verb (cf. §3.3.1 sub (3.15)). The form in the ChS I/Erg.

I i 3' is different from the form in (4.38). In this text, we find the writing *ḫa-a-ša-šu-u-*

l[e-e-eš] for *ḫāž=až=ō=l[=ēž]*. Once again the text of ChS I/Erg. differs from those in

ChS I/1 by using *=ō=l=ēž* in place of *=i=l=ēž*. The third plural enclitic pronoun *=l(la)*

functions as a plural marker, indicating that more than one ear is involved as the

subject.[124]

   One final example can be found in these texts. Unlike (4.36) and (4.38), in example

(4.39) it is the passage in ChS I/1 9 that differs from what is found in the other two texts.

The phrase in question immediately follows (4.36) and (4.37) for ChS I/1 9 and ChS

I/Erg. respectively. The various versions of the passage are given here in transcription:

(4.39) a) *ti-i-bi pa-a-ši-pa ši-i-ia-ia-aš-ši ḫi-in-zu-ru-la-a-eš* (ChS I/1 9 iii 36)

      b) *[t]i-ia pa-a-ši-ta ši-in-ti-ia-aš-ši ḫi-in-zu-u-ri-le-⌈e-eš⌉* (ChS I/1 11 rev. 17'-
         18')

      c) *te-⌈e⌉-[...] ḫé-in-zu-ri-le-e-eš* (ChS I/Erg. I i 10'-11')

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[123] The traditional spelling of is with short *a*, but there are other occurrences of a spelling with long *ā* found in the Boğazköy corpus: i.e. *ḫa-a-až-*. The homophonous verb *ḫāž-* means "to anoint (with oil)" and has the cognate *ḫāžari* "oil." Outside of context it is impossible to distinguish *ḫaž-* "to hear" from *ḫāž-* "to anoint" when the former is written with plene -*a*-.

[124] Wilhelm (ChS I/Erg.: 9) takes the *=l* as indicating the plural object of the verb *ḫaž-* in his translation of the phrase: "dein Ohr möge *sie* hören!" (my emphasis). In a footnote, he is correct in stating that the translation given by Wegner (1995b: 122) implies an intransitive construction. As shown above, the verb *ḫaž-* "to hear" is transitive. It is possible, however, that we have a construction here consisting of a plural agent and transitive optative verb without an expressed object. One way in which a verb can be detransitivized is through the loss of the patient. The context does not call for a definite object, and so none was needed. Instead of "may your ear hear them (i.e. the words)" we have "May your ears hear (words in general)!"

The verbal root in all three examples is the unknown *ḫinz-* plus the derivational

morpheme *≠ur-*. While ChS I/Erg. differed from the other two texts in examples (4.36)

and (4.38), here, it is the text of ChS I/1 9 that is different. The differences between

(4.39a) and (4.39b-c) are considerable.

    While largely broken, the text of ChS I/Erg. likely duplicates ChS I/1 11. A

restoration *te-⌈e⌉-[a* at the start of (4.39c) is very likely based on (4.37).[125] The passages

in (4.39b-c) can be analyzed as follows:

(4.40) *tī(e) ≠a   pāži   ≠da šindi≠a≠šše   ḫinz≠ōr≠i   ≠l≠ēž*
        word+ESS mouth+DIR seven+ABSTR?+ØABS? ?   +ōr +ACT+*l*+OPT

While the phrase looks to be a good active transitive optative with absolutive agent

(*šindiašše*) and essive patient (*tīa*), I am hesitant to offer a translation. The problem lies

in the translation of the absolutive form. I have analyzed *šindi≠a≠šše* as an abstract built

off of the root *šindi-* "seven." The morpheme *≠ži*, and its biform *≠šše*, when appended

directly to a cardinal number, is used to form ordinals.[126] Perhaps this is simply a further

biform of this *≠ži* morpheme that requires an *≠a*-epenthetic vowel to occur between it and

the root. Wilhelm, on the other hand, presumably analyzes the form as an adverb in his

translation of the line as "Das Wort möge *siebenfach* zum/dem Munde …" (my italics).[127]

This seems unlikely given the adverbial form *ēman≠ām≠ḫ(e)≠a* "tenfold" from the

Mittani Letter iv 32 which requires the derivational morphemes *≠ām≠ḫ(e)≠a*. If

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[125] Following the transcription in ChS I/Erg. i 10'.

[126] Giorgieri 2000a: 203; Wegner 2000: 70

[127] ChS I/Erg. I p. 11

šindiašše is indeed absolute, then it would most likely function as the agent, or at

least as a modifier of it since there is no other candidate for this position. This would

leave us with an agent "the seventh," but what is it the seventh of? It would be easier to

determine whether or not this is correct if we knew the meaning of the verb *ḫinz=ōr-*. As

it stands, the translation that makes best use of the grammar is: "May the *seventh ḫinz=*

or- the word(s) to the mouth!"

We must now turn our attention to the version found in ChS I/1 9. In contrast to the

other two texts, the passage in (4.39a) is separated from (4.36) by a paragraph divider. In

light of the rather stark differences between the text of (4.39a) and (4.39b-c), the presence

of a paragraph divider is a fairly significant indication that the texts diverge at this point.

(4.39a) begins with the full absolutive form *tīve* "word" while in both (4.39b-c), it occurs

in the essive as *tī(e)=a* and *tē=a* respectively. If we assume that (4.39b-c) represent the

original text, then the scribe of ChS I/1 9 broke with the original at this point, only to

return to it with the immediately following phrases (treated below (9.1) and (9.5)). The

second NP in ChS I/1 9 differs from the other texts only in that it is in the dative *=va* in

(4.39a) and in the directive *=da* in (4.39b).[128]

As problematic as the form *šindiašše* is for (4.39b), the comparable NP in (4.39a) is

even more difficult to analyze. The spelling *ši-i-ia-ia-aš-ši* does not fit any known

grammatical form.[129] An emendation *ši-i-ia«-ia»-aš-ši* would result in a normalized form

šī(e)=a=šše which could be an abstract form of the root *ši(y)e* "water" in the absolutive.

In (4.39b-c) we find good active optative forms in *=i=l=ēž*. In (4.39a), however, the verb

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[128] This NP is not preserved in (4.39c)

appears to be in the ⸗*ae*(⸗*ž*) "purposive" case.[130] That (4.39a) is so distinct from the others and that it contains some grammatical oddities, points to an error in this redaction that is not found in the other two texts.

4.3.3 Conclusion of Active Forms

Some conclusions can be drawn from the various examples of active optatives in ⸗*i*⸗ (*e*)*ž* and ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*ēž* given above. Active optative forms do not distinguish between various valences. Examples of optative forms with intransitive verbs are relatively scarce but do exist (cf. 4.7a). Forms such as those in (4.26) and (4.28) represent examples of reciprocal verbs. Transitive verbs make up the largest portion of the active optative forms. The transitive examples can be divided into two types, those with patients in the absolute (4.41b), those with patients in the essive (4.41c) and in at least one case, without any expressed patient (4.41d). For both types the agent is in the absolutive case:

(4.41) a) intransitive: S_{ABS} $V_{ACT+OPT}$
           and reciprocal
        b) transitive$_1$: A_{ABS} P_{ABS} $V_{ACT+OPT}$
        c) transitive$_2$: A_{ABS} P_{ESS} $V_{ACT+OPT}$
        d) transitive$_3$: A_{ABS} $V_{ACT+OPT}$

The basic transitive form is represented by (4.41b). In virtually every example, the patient is clearly definite.

The transitive constructions in (4.41c-d) are used to either indicate an indefinite patient or to detransitivize the verb. The second function is similar to that of the

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[129] The form is taken by Wegner (citing Neu) as possibly coming from the root *šeže* "six," but this is highly unlikely (1995b: 123).

[130] Also known as the "finalis" in Hurritological literature (cf. Chapter Seven).

antipassive in the indicative (cf. §2.3.4.3). Example (4.38) has a transitive verb with

no expressed patient. The example is repeated here as (4.42):

(4.42) *nōi(⸗b)⸗a⸗l* **ḫāž⸗až⸗i⸗l⸗ēž**
        "let (your) ears hear (the word)!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 30)

The emphasis is not on what is to be heard but rather on the act of hearing. This is in

contrast to (4.7c) which places the focus on the patient (repeated here as (4.43)):

(4.43) *tupš[ar]i tive⸗lla* **šalġ⸗i⸗(e)ž**
        "May the scribe hear the words!" (ChS I/1 41 i 22)

Here *tive⸗lla* should be taken as definite, referring to the result of the speech act

mentioned in (4.7b). The use of the essive is also used as a way to indicate that the

patient is indefinite or non-specific as in (4.44):

(4.44) *irdi⸗b urġ(i)⸗a tī(e)⸗a* **kad⸗i⸗l⸗ēž**
        "Let your tongue speak (only?) true word(s)!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 35) [131]

The patient *urġa tīa* "true word" does not have any referent in the preceding text. The

function of this phrase is simply a wish that the speaker will only be able to speak the

truth and not lies. In the indicative, examples (4.42) and (4.44) would be distinguished

from (4.43) through the use of a different construction. There is no difference, however,

in verbal morphology between the detransitivized optative forms in (4.42) and (4.44) and

transitive (4.43) with the exception of the addition of the modal morpheme *⸗l-* in (4.44).

This is a clear indication that the *⸗i-* morpheme is not a marker of valence but of some

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[131] Found above as example (14) and (31).

other property, namely voice. Detransitivization is indicated solely through case

marking on the nominal forms and, optionally, deletion of the patient.

4.3.4 *=o=(e)ž* and *=o=l=ež*

4.3.4.1 "Passive" Optatives without Expressed Agent

4.3.4.1.1 ChS I/1 6

We will begin by looking at "passive" optative forms that do not have an explicit

agent. The first example will be taken from a portion of the *itkalzi*-ritual. The following

passage is a request for the purification of the ritual client, here Tado-Ḫeba, through the

use of a special kind of water:

(4.45) [*aš*]*ḫ=ož=i=kk=o=nni* ^f*Tado-Ḫeba*[*=n   š*]*īe   =ni   [a]nzi=ni*
        ritual client +ØABS   PN +ØABS +CONN water+ABL/INST ?   +ABL/INST
        ***itk   =o   =(e)ž** en(i)=n(a)   =āž=a   [abi=da[?] aš]ḫ=ož=i=kk=o=nni*
        purify+PASS+OPT god +PL.RELAT+PL+DAT face+DIR ritual client +ØABS
        ^f*Tado-Ḫeb[a šīe[?]=ni   a]nzi=ni   =n   **itk   =ō   =(e)ž***
         PN +ØABS   ?+ABL/INST ?   +ABL/INST+CONN purify+PASS+OPT
        "May the ritual client Tado-Ḫeba be purified through the *anzi*-water! [Before] the
        gods, may Tado-Ḫeb[a] be purified through the *anzi*-[water]" (ChS I/1 6 ii 23-
        26)[132]

The closest explicit agent in the text is DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-šu-uš* (i.e. *ēn(i)=n(a)=až=už*) in

ii 18, and is separated from the passage in (4.45) by an entire paragraph (ii 19-22). It

remains to be said, however, that the ergative plural form in ii 18 may very well be the

assumed agent of the verb *itk=id=o* "they will purify" in ii 19. The ablative/instrumental

forms *šīe=ni anzi=ni* (ii 23-24, [25]-26) does not function as agent but simply indicates

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[132] [*aš*]-*ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni* ^f*ta-du-ḫé-pa-a*[*n š*]*i-i-*⌈*e-ni*⌉ [24] [*a*]*n-zi-ni it-ku-uš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-ša* [*a-bi-ta*] [25] [*aš*]-*ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni* ^f*ta-du-ḫé-p*[*a- …*] [26] [*a*]*n-zi-ni-in it-ku-u-uš*/

the means by which the action of the verb will occur. It is not just a request for the

client to be purified, but it is a specific request that it be done so through the use of this

special *anzi*-water.

A similar passage is found later in the same text. One difference between the passages

is that there are no NPs in the ablative/instrumental ⹁*ne* in (4.46), and the optatives are in

the extended form with modal ⹁*l-*.

(4.46) *anammi⹁mma*   *ašḫ⹁ož⹁i⹁kk⹁o⹁nni* ᶠ*Tado-Ḫeba⹁n*   ***šēġ⹁al***   ⹁***o***   ⹁***l⹁***
        thus   +2SG.ENCL? ritual client+ØABS   PN+ØABS+CONN make pure+PASS+*l*+
        ēž ***kažl***   ⹁***o***   ⹁***l⹁ēž***
        OPT make strong+PASS+*l*+OPT
        "Thus may you, the ritual client, Tado-Ḫeba, be made pure and strong!" (ChS I/1
        6 iii 51'-52')[133]

This example is similar to one found in a ᴹᵁᴺᵁˢŠU.GI ritual:

(4.47) ***šēġ⹁al⹁o***   ⹁***l⹁ēž*** *tive*   *nirubād*[*i*   …] ***šēġ⹁al⹁o***   ⹁***l⹁ēž***
        purify +PASS+*l*+OPT word+ØABS evil+ØABS …   purify +PASS+*l*+OPT
        ašḫiašše
        ritual client+ØABS
        "May the evil word be purified! … May the ritual client be purified!" (ChS I/5
        64 i 17'-19')[134]

4.3.4.1.2 ChS I/1 25

A fragment of the *itkalzi*-ritual, ChS I/1 25 (with its duplicates ChS I/1 19 and I/1 20),

preserves, to varying degrees, the first twenty lines of the second column of the original

tablet. The preserved text is divided into three paragraphs. The second and third

paragraphs have verbs in the "passive" optative and contain virtually the same exact

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[133] *a-na-am-mi-im-ma aš-ḫu-še-ek-ku-un-ni* ᶠ*ta-du-ḫé-waₐ-an* ⁵²' *še-e-ḫa-lu-le-e-eš ga-aš-lu-le-e-eš*

[134] *še-e-ḫa-lu-le-e-eš te-*⌈*bi*⌉ *ni-ru-pa-a-t*[*e* … ¹⁹' *še-e-ḫa-lu-le-e-eš aš-ḫia-ia-aš-še*

phrasing. The first section, on the other hand, is an invocation calling various waters

and other things (such as the "*incantations* of the gods"[135]) to perform various purifying

actions on the ritual client, Tado-Ḫeba. The verbs all appear with the series of

morphemes ⹀*ožillandin* which must indicate a transitive command upon an ergative agent

(cf. below §9.1.2). The following passages then call for the various parts of the ritual

client's body to undergo various purifying actions. The first of these two passages can be

analyzed as follows:

(4.48)   (May the *egošše*-waters of purity and the *egošše pōe*'s of purity, the words, the
invocations, the *incantations* of the gods make the client, Tado-Heba, pure,
purified, strong and *egošše*!)
§ *ašḫ ⹀ ož ⹀ i ⹀ kk ⹀ o ⹀ nni ⹀ ne*　　　　⹀ *ve* ᶠ*Tado-Ḫebā ⹀ ve idi*　　　*pāǧi*
　ritual client　　　　　　+SG.RELAT+GEN PN　　　+GEN body+ØABS head+ØABS
pāži　　　　*irdi*　　　*karži*　　*ḫapzōri*　　*idi idni*　　*šummi*
mouth+ØABS tongue+ØABS lip+ØABS spittle+ØABS *i.- i.*+ØABS[136] all+ØABS
taržuwanni ⹀ ve　āšḫ ⹀ ož ⹀ i ⹀ kk ⹀ o ⹀ nni ⹀ ne　　　　⹀ *ve*　ᶠ*Tad[o-Ḫebā ⹀ ve]*
person　　+GEN ritual client　　　　+SG.RELAT+GEN　PN　　　+GEN
šeġ　⹀al⹀o　⹀l⹀ēž kažl　　⹀o　⹀l⹀ēž　itk　⹀o　⹀l⹀ēž　eg⹀ošš⹀
purify+*al*+PASS+*l*+OPT make strong+PASS+*l*+OPT　purify+PASS+*l*+OPT　？ +*ošš*+
o　⹀l⹀ēž
PASS+*l*+OPT
"May Tado-Ḫeba's, the ritual client's, body, head, mouth, tongue, lip, spittle, *i.-i.*,
the entirety of the person of the ritual client, of Tado-Ḫeba be purified, be made
strong, be made pure, be *egošš*'ed!" (ChS I/1 25 ii 8-13)[137]

The third passage (ii 13-19) mirrors the second. The major difference is in the use of the

introductory postpositional phrase:

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[135] [(*katki ⹀ n(a)⹀āž⹀už e*)]*n(i)⹀n(a)⹀až⹀e ⹀ n(a)⹀āž⹀už* (ChS I/1 25 ii 5-6)

[136] The exact meaning of *idi idni* is not clear, but the two appear to act together, perhaps as a
compound noun.

[137] For the sake of clarity I have left out all of the restorations from the normalized text. They are
given here in the transliteration: [8] … *aš-ḫu-ši-ik-*[(*ku-un-ni-ni-bi*)] [9] [(ᶠ*ta-du-ḫé-pa*)]⸢*-a-bi*⸣ [(*i*)]*-ti pa-a-ḫi
pa-a-ši* [10] [(*ir-te kar-ši ḫa-a*)]*p-zu-u-ri i-ti it-ni* (over erasure) [11] [(*šum-mi tar-šu-wa-a*)]*n-ni-bi a-aš-ḫu-ši-*

(4.49) *ašḫ꞊ož꞊i꞊kk꞊o꞊nni <en(i)꞊n(a)   ꞊āž꞊a> ābi   ꞊da*
ritual client+ØABS   god +PL.RELAT+PL.+DAT before+DIR
"The ritual client before <the gods>" (ChS I/1 25 ii 13-14)[138]

A further difference is that the expected form *šeġalolēž* in ii 18 is actually restored as [(*še-ḫa-lu-la-a-eš-ša*)] based on the duplicate ChS I/1 19 i 41'. The form occurs with other "passive" optatives and is therefore to be taken as scribal error and not as a different modal form (cf. §7.2.5).

The verbal roots used in the second and third passages in ChS I/1 25 are the same as those in the first. The only difference is in their ordering:

(4.50) a. *šeġ꞊al꞊o꞊l꞊ēž, kažl꞊o꞊l꞊ēž, itk꞊o꞊l꞊ēž, eg꞊ošš꞊o꞊l꞊ēž*

   b. *šeġ꞊al꞊o꞊l꞊ae꞊ž, itk꞊o꞊l꞊ēž, kažl꞊o꞊l꞊ēž, eg꞊ošš꞊o꞊l꞊ēž*

The verbs *kažl-* and *itk-* are switched in the first passage. This is likely stylistic and does not appear to affect the meaning of the passage. The reason why the third passage so closely mirrors the second is not clear. It may be that the second passage calls for the general purifying of the body parts while the third calls for it to happen specifically before the gods.

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ik-ku-un-ni-ni-bi [12] [(ᶠ*ta-d)u-ḫé-pa-a-bi*] *še-ḫa-lu-le-e-eš ka-aš-lu-le-*[(*e-eš*)] [13] [(*it-ku-le-e-eš*)] ⌜*e*⌝-*ku-uš-šu-le-e-eš*; For the differences between the duplicates, see the transliteration by Haas in ChS I/1 p. 187-188.

[138] … *aš-ḫu-ši-ik-*[(*ku-un-ni*)] [14][(*a-a-bi-da*)]. The restoration of the plural dative form *ennāža* before the postposition *ābida* is virtually certain. The phrase occurs a number of times in the *itkalzi*-rituals (e.g. ChS I/1 9 iv 26, 29-30).

4.3.4.1.3 Use of the Instrumental =ai with "Passive" Optatives

The instrumental in =āe[139] can be used to indicate the materials required in order for the "passive" action to be completed. In the first example, a mouth is to be anointed:

(4.51) *pāġi = b*   *šeġorni = v(e) = āe   ḫōdan(i) = n(e)   = v(e) = āe*
mouth+2SG.POSS+ØABS life   +GEN+INST prayer   +SG.RELAT+GEN+INST
ḫāžar(i) = āe   ḫā̌ž   = o   = l = ē̌ž
oil   +INST anoint+PASS+*l*+OPT
"May your head be anointed by the oil of the prayer of life!" (ChS I/1 10 ii 48'-49')[140]

The immediately following passage has a simply absolute form *ḫāžari* for the expected instrumental found in both ChS I/1 10 (ii 50', 51') and in I/1 9 (iii 23). In both cases it needs to emended to *ḫāžarāe'*. The passage in ChS I/1 9 is as follows:

(4.52) *tarinni = ma   nanariški = ne   = v(e) = āe   keldi   = ne   = v(e) = āe*
?+ØABS+CONN *joy*?   +SG.RELAT+GEN+INST well-being+SG.RELAT+GEN+INST

tādireški = ne   = v(e) = āe   ḫāžar(i) = āe' (text: *ḫāžari*) *ḫā̌ž   = o   = l = ē̌ž*
love?   +SG.RELAT+GEN+INST oil   +INST   anoint+PASS+*l*+OPT
"May the *tarinni* be anointed by the oil of *joy*, of well-being, and of *love*[141]!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 22-24)[142]

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[139] Or =*ai*; cf. Wegner, 2000: 57; Giorgieri 2000a: 261

[140] *pa-a-ḫi-ip še-ḫur-ni-pa-a-e ḫu-u-da-an-ni-pa-a-e* [49'] *ḫa-a-ša-ra-a-e ḫa-a-šu-le-e-eš*. The duplicate ChS I/1 9 iii 21 has the form *ḫu-u-da-an-na-a-e* which must be a mistake for the genitive form found in ii 48' above. One does not expect the mouth to be anointed "through prayer of life and through oil." I take the combination *šeġorni = v(e) = āe ḫōdanni = v(e) = āe*, both with the instrumental =*āe* as Suffixaufnahme, as a syntactic unit, i.e. "(by the X) of the prayer of life." The passage is translated by Wilhelm as: "Dein Haupt sei mit dem Öl des Lebens und des (guten) Geschickes(?) gesalbt!" (1998b: 180).

[141] The exact functions of the morphemes =*a/iriški* in *tādiriški* is not clear.

[142] *ta-ri-in-ni-ma a-na-na-ri-iš-ki-ni-pa-a-e* [23] *ke-el-di-ni-pa-a-e ta-a-ti-re-eš-ki-ni-pa-a-e ḫa-a-ša-ri* [24] *ḫa-a-šu-le-e-eš*; ChS I/1 10 ii 49'-51' runs parallel to this: *ta-ri-i[n-ni-ma]* [50'] *a-na-na-re-eš-ki-ni-pa-a-e ḫa-a-ša-ri ḫa-⌈a-⌉[šu-le-e-eš]* [51'] *ta-re-eš-ki-ni-pa-a-e ḫa-a-ša-ri ḫa-[šu-le-e-eš]*. It splits the one phrase of ChS I/1 9 into two separate phrases: "May the *tari[nni]* be anointed by the oil of *joy* and anointed by the oil of *tareški*!" As with ChS I/1 9, the forms *ḫāžari* must be emendated to the instrumental *ḫāžar(i) = āe*. In

It is not clear what a *tarinni* is, but given that it is to be anointed (*ḫāž-*) and immediately

follows a parallel phrase in which *paġi* "mouth" is the subject of the same verb, it is

likely that it is another body part. Earlier in ChS I/1 9 (iii 12-20), two parallel passages

occur in which no explicit subject or agent is mentioned. All that we have are

instrumentals in *⸗āe* and a directive *pāġi⸗da*[143] immediately preceding a "passive"

optative form *kib⸗ō⸗l⸗ēž* "may it be placed."[144]

4.3.4.2 Transitivity and the "Passive" Optative

Rendering forms in *⸗o⸗(e)ž* and *⸗o⸗l⸗ēž* as passives indicates that the verbal root is

transitive and not intransitive. When one finds a form *ú-nu-uš*, the root *un-* can therefore

only be the transitive "to bring." An optative "May he come" ought to be rendered as *un⸗*

i⸗(e)ž. The implications of this can be seen in the following example:

(4.53) *nešši⸗da⸗l*   *īnzari*   **un** **⸗o** **⸗(e)ž**
        ?   +DIR+3PL.ENCL gods/divinity+ØABS bring+PASS+OPT
        "May the *īnzari*-s be brought to the *nešši*!" (ChS I/1 3 obv. 29, 30)[145]

I/1 10 ii 51', we have a genitive *tareškineve* for the *tādireškineve* of I/1 9 iii 23. I prefer to see ChS I/10 as
being a copy mistake on the part of the scribe at Boğazköy. Wilhelm translates as "Das *t.* aber werde mit(!)
dem Öl der 'Erfreuung'(?), des Wohlbefindens (und) der Liebe gesalbt" (1998b: 180).

[143] In the duplicate ChS I/1 10, it is written *pāġida*, likely for *pāġ(i)⸗ī⸗da* "to his mouth" (ii 45').

[144] *ki-pu-u-li-iš* ChS I/1 9 iii 9(-[li-iš]), 18; written *ḫi-pu-le-e-eš* in the duplicate ChS I/1 10 ii 45'.

[145] *ni-eš-ši-da-al i-in-⌈za-ri ú⌉-nu-uš* and *ni-eš-ši-⌈da-al i-in-za-ri⌉ ú-nu-uš* respectively. Similar
examples are found in ChS I/1 46 ii 7'ff.: *eže naldubādi un⸗o⸗(e)ž maldubādi [(ḫavōrni)] aliпteaša⸗ni⸗l*
*šīe⸗na un⸗o⸗(e)ž … kuruppundōri⸗n(a)⸗āž⸗a⸗l pōrul(i)⸗l(a <na)⸗āž⸗a īnzar(i)⸗ra*ꞏ (text: *-ri*) *un⸗o⸗*
(e)ž "May the *n.* earth and *m.* heaven be brought! May the waters be brought from the *a.*! … May the *īnzari*
be brought to the *k.* and to the temple!"

In this example, the target for the verb *un-* "to bring" is given as a directive. It is not

clear what exactly an *īnzari* is.[146]

A few more examples of "passive" optative forms without expressed agent will

suffice. We will begin by returning to ChS I/1 9. In iii 28-30, we have five optative

verbs, the first four "passive" and the fourth active. The first three passages are as

follows:

(4.54) *šī ⸗ b*   ***tāg***   *⸗o*   *⸗l ⸗ēž*
          eye+2SG.POSS+ØABS make pure/shining+PASS+*l*+OPT
          "May your eye be made pure/shining!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 28)[147]

(4.55) *pōnġi ⸗ b*   ***kir***   *⸗o*   *⸗l ⸗ēž*
          nose +2SG.POSS+ØABS free[148]+PASS+*l*+OPT
          "May your nose be freed (or: long)!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 28)[149]

(4.56) *nakti ⸗ b*   *pāeni ⸗ p*   *⸗pa   idi*   *⸗ da* ***am ⸗o***   *⸗l ⸗ēž*
          ?   +2SG.POSS+ØABS ?   +2SG.POSS+DAT body+DIR ?[150]+PASS+*l*+OPT
          "May your *nakti* within your *pāeni* be *am-*!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 29)[151]

The first two passages are quite simple, containing only absolutive subjects and "passive"

optatives. The third is different only in that it includes a postpositional phrase indicating

the location in which the action is to occur.

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[146] The derivational morpheme *⸗zari* or *⸗šari* is used to create collectives and possibly abstracts (cf. Wegner 2000: 50; Giorgieri 2000a: 202). It is unclear if *inzari* is to be translated here as "(a group of) gods" or as "divinity, godhead."

[147] *ši-i-ib ta-a-ku-le-e-eš*; translated by Wegner as "dein *ši* möge rein sein" (1995b: 125).

[148] Or *ker-* "long"

[149] *pu-u-un-ḫi-ip ki-ru-le-e-eš*. The passage is treated in part in Wegner 1995b: 123-124.

[150] Two homophonous roots *am-* "to burn" and *am-* "to look, see" are known, as well as a near-homonym *amm-* "to bring." It is not clear which, if any, of these roots is used here.

[151] *na-ak-ti-ip pa-a-e-ni-ip-pa i-ti-ta a-mu-le-e-eš*

The fourth and fifth phrases are often treated in conjunction with one another. The fifth phrase has been treated above as (4.38). The phrases are repeated several times in various documents. The versions are as follows, treatment will be given below:

(4.57) a) *ḫazzizi šalġ=o=l=ēž nōi=a=l ḫāž=až=i=l=ēž* (ChS I/1 9 iii 30)[152]

b) *ḫaziz[z]i=b=a=l šalġ=ō=l=ež nōi=b=a=lla ḫaž=āž=[i=l=e]ž* (ChS I/1 11 rev. 12')[153]

The two versions are very close. One difference is that (4.57b) uses the second person singular enclitic possessive *=b* and the third plural enclitic *=l(la)* as a pluralizer on both nominal forms (i.e. *ḫaziz[z]i=b=a=l* and *nōi=b=a=lla*).[154] The other difference is in the spelling of the first verbal form, with (4.57a) showing length on the final syllable and (4.57b) on the penultimate one (i.e. *šalġolēž* (ChS I/1 9) vs. *šalġōlež* (ChS I/1 11)).

A proper analysis of (4.57) is dependent upon two factors. Both factors are in turn dependent upon the question of which phrase, (4.57a) or (4.57b) is closer to the original. The two differences between the versions that were mentioned above may be pivotal in understanding the phrase. Wilhelm translates the phrase as "[d]ein Sinn möge sie vernehmen,"[155] clearly taking the verb as transitive. As demonstrated above, *šalġ-* "to

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[152] *ḫa-az-zi-zi šal-ḫu-le-e-eš nu-u-ia-al ḫa-a-ša-ši-le-e-eš*

[153] *ḫa-zi-iz-[z]i-pal šal-ḫu-u-le-eš nu-i-wa$_a$-al-la ḫa-ša-a-š[i-li-i]š*. The phrase appears in broken context in other duplicates as well: ChS I/1 10 iii 3: ⌈ḫa⌉-az-zi-z[i … ; ChS I/1 12 i 6': -l]e-e-eš nu-ú-i-wa$_a$-al-la ⌈?⌉ […]; ChS I/Erg. i 2': ḫa-az-zi-zi-p[al$^?$ …] $^{3'}$ ḫa-a-ša-šu-u-l[e-. It is impossible to determine whether these preserved sections follows (4.57a) or (4.57b) closer. In the case of ChS I/1 12, the preserved nominal form is closer to (4.57b), but the optative ending is similar to (4.57a). The form in ChS I/Erg. preserves an anomalous verbal form in *ḫāž=až=ō=l[=ēž* (cf. the discussion in §4.3.2.1).

[154] The *=a=* between the possessive marker and the plural enclitic is simply an epenthetic vowel.

[155] Wilhelm ChS I/Erg. 9; see also Wegner 1995b: 121.

hear," unlike *ḫaž-*, can function both as a transitive (cf. example (4.7c), (4.43)) and an intransitive verb (cf. example (3.12)). In (4.57a), the verb is spelled *šal-ḫu-le-e-eš*. This spelling, with plene *-e-*, is exactly that which is expected for the "passive" optative which is always *-Cu-le-e-eš*. The spelling in (4.57b), however, is slightly different. The verb is written *šal-ḫu-u-le-eš*. In the Hurro-Hittite bilingual, the intransitive imperative form of the verb is written *šal-ḫu-u-la*. In this form, the root *šalġ-* is modified by the derivational morpheme ⸗*ōl-* which is not to be confused with ⸗*o*⸗*l-*.[156] One of the key features of the extended optative form is the plene writing of the modal morpheme and not of the voice marker. As we have seen above (4.4), the short form of the transitive optative can be written *-Ce-eš*. With this in hand, the form in (4.57b) can be analyzed as the transitive optative form *šalġ*⸗*ōl*⸗*i*⸗*(e)ž*. As a result, in (4.57a) we have a "passive" optative while in (4.57b) we find an active form.

Before a decision can be made as to which form is original, it is necessary to take a brief look at the subject *ḫazzizi*. This noun has been taken as a borrowing into Hurrian from the Akkadian *ḫasîsu* "ear; intelligence."[157] It is translated by Laroche as simply "intelligence."[158] Wegner, in her treatment on Hurrian body parts, translates it as "Verstand, Ohr,"[159] though apparently preferring the former in her translation of this

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[156] See Wegner 2000: 76.

[157] Laroche 1980: 100

[158] Laroche 1980: 100

[159] Wegner 1995b: 116.

phrase.[160] As mentioned above, Wilhelm translates it as "Sinn."[161] Contextual

evidence favors a translation of "intelligence," "knowledge," or even "understanding"

over a translation "ear." Outside of (4.57) in the *itkalzi* rituals, *ḫazzizi* is always paired

with *mādi* "wisdom."[162] The noun is not found in lists of body parts. While in Akkadian,

ḫasîsu may have originally stood for "ear" with a derived meaning "intelligence," it

appears that the Hurrians, already possessing a word for ear (*nōi*), borrowed only the

second meaning of the word.

    With this in mind, *ḫazzizi* is not likely to be the subject of an active verb meaning "to

hear." It can function as either the subject of the "passive" construction or as the patient

of a transitive. If we follow the former, then (4.57a) means: "May knowledge[163] be

heard! May the ears hear (it)!" It is difficult to imagine that an abstract word such as

ḫazzizi could occur in the plural, making it all the more likely that the ⸗*l* in the form *nōi⸗*

a⸗l is being used to pluralize *nōi* "ear." It is doubtful that the third plural enclitic

pronoun ⸗*l* in the writing *ḫaziz*[*z*]*i⸗b⸗a⸗l* in (4.57b) is being used to pluralize *ḫazizzi* for

this same reason. Since *ḫazizzi* is likely to be singular and not the agent of a transitive

verb, the ⸗*l* can only indicate the agent. The verb in (4.57b) can be taken as either an

active transitive "May they hear the knowledge! May the ears hear (it)!" or as a

misspelling of a passive "May the knowledge be heard *by them*! May the ears hear (it)!"

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[160] Wegner 1995b: 121.

[161] ChS I/Erg. p. 9.

[162] ChS I/1 6 iii 34': *ma-a-ti-ta ḫa-a*[*z-zi-zi-ta*]; I/1 9 iii 5-6: [*ma-ta-a-e*] [6] *ḫa-az-zi-za-i*, 15: *ma-ta-a-e ḫa-a-zi-za-a-e*; I/1 10 ii 30': *ma-a-ta-i ḫa-*[*az-zi-za-a-e*], 41': *ma-a-ta-i ḫa-az-zi-za-a-e*; I/1 11 rev. 4': *ma-a-ta-a-e* ⌈*ḫa*⌉-[*az-zi-za-a-e*; and I/1 49 ii 23 *ma-a-ta ḫa-az-zi-za*. Twice in ChS I/1 49, the two forms are separated by *ši-in-ni-ḫa* (ii 25, 26-27).

As we shall see below, this latter analysis is not possible (cf. §4.3.4.3). Therefore, either (4.57b) is an active transitive in *≥i≥(e)ž* or it is the result of scribal error. Based simply on orthography, the former analysis is quite possible. Two arguments can, however, be made against this. First of all, all optative forms in the text are extended forms. If we are to take the form as *šalġ≥ōl≥i≥(e)ž*, it would be the only short form. Secondly, the use of the second person possessive *≥b* may have been a late addition to the text. If so, the writing *ḫaziz[z]i≥b≥a≥l* may be a scribal mistake, a dittographic error in anticipation of the following *nōi≥b≥a≥l*. Due to the manifold problems in (4.57b), I prefer to see (4.57a) as original (or closer to the original), taking *ḫazzizi* as the subject of a "passive" optative form, and (4.57b) being the result of a mistake on the part of the scribe.

Another possible example of the extended "passive" optative is found in the fragment of the Hurrian version of the Song of Ullikummi.[164] In the myths or songs making up the Kumarbi Cycle, Kumarbi repeatedly engenders monstrous offspring in the hope that they will grow to overthrow Teššob and claim kingship over the gods.[165] When he names Ullikummi, he also declared his son's *raison d'être*:

(4.58) *Kumme≥n*   *≥i*[?]   *≥m*   **ull**   *≥o*   *≥l≥ež*
        GN   +3SG.ENCL[?]+EPNTH[?]+CONN destroy+PASS+*l*+OPT
        "May (the city of) Kumme be destroyed!" (ChS I/6 9 ii 15)[166]

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[163] Since it is difficult to imagine one hearing "intelligence," I have chosen to translate the word here as "knowledge," although this is not the preferred reading.

[164] Edited in Giorgieri 2001b

[165] For an English translation of the Hittite versions of these myths, see Hoffner 1998a: 42-65.

[166] *ku-um-mi-ni-im ul-lu-li-iš*; Giorgieri translates the verb as: "Es möge zurückgehalten / unterdrückt / niedergedrückt sein!" (2001b: 149).

The writing of the verbal form, *ul-lu-li-iš* (or, following Giorgieri: *ul-lu-le-eš*₁₅[167]) is not opaque. It is possible that instead of the "passive" optative in ⸗*o*⸗*l*⸗*ež*, we have the derivational marker ⸗*ol-*[168] and the active optative in ⸗*i*⸗(*e*)*ž*. This would result in a translation: "May he (Ullikummi) destroy Kumme!" This results in a translation that is much closer to the Hittite:

(4.59) *nu-wa-kán* ^URU*kum-mi-ia-an* URU-[*an ša-n*]*e-ez-zi-in* GAM *ta-ma-aš-du*
"Let him (Ullikummi) press down Kumme, the first-rate city!" (KUB 33.96+ iii 20')[169]

The lack of a plene spelling of the optative ending is troubling, but while it is a typical feature of extended optatives, there are some examples with a short ⸗*ež*. As it stands, I prefer to take the verb as active with the ⸗*ol-* derivational morpheme, but the "passive" reading cannot be ruled out.

A final example is in order before we turn our attention to passages with expressed agent. In the Allaituraḫi ritual, we have two phrases with "passive" optative verbal forms and first person singular subjects. The phrases are virtually identical:

(4.60) ^d*Teššob*⸗*o*⸗*n*(*i*)⸗*ā*⸗*d*   *parn*⸗*ošt*⸗*o*   ⸗(*e*)*ž* … [^d*Ḫebad*⸗*o*⸗*n*(*i*)⸗*ā*⸗
DN   +ADV   +1SG.ENCL pure   +PASS+OPT … DN   +ADV   +
⸗*d*]   ***parn*** ⸗***ošt***⸗***o***   ⸗(***e***)***ž***
1SG.ENCL pure   +PASS+OPT
"May I be pure in the same way as Teššob! … May [I] be pure [in the same way as Ḫebat!]" (ChS I/5 2 rev. 64'-65')[170]

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[167] Giorgieri 2001b: 153

[168] See footnote 48 in chapter six below.

[169] Giorgieri 2001b: 149; KUB 33.96 is not included as a join for this text in the online Konkordanz.

The passage has a Hittite parallel in ChS I/5 19:

(4.61) ^{20} *Š*]*A* ^{d}U-*wa-ra-aš i-wa-ar pár-ku-iš* ^{21} [*e-eš-du* …] … *ŠA ḫé-bat-wa-ra-aš* ^{22} [*i-wa-ar pár-ku-iš e-eš-du*]
"[May he be] pure like Teššob! … [May he be pure like] Ḫebat!" (ChS I/5 19 i 20-22)

Haas and Wegner restore only [Ḫebat] at the end of ChS I/5 2 rev. 64'. Based on the form *Teššobonad* in the same text and the corresponding construction in the Hittite, this restoration cannot be correct. The divine name must be in the adverbial ⁼*o* ⁼ *n(ni)*⁼*a* with a first person enclitic pronoun. If we follow the Hittite, then Hurrian *parn* ⁼ *ošt-* should function as a deadjectival verb "to be pure." It is not clear if such a predicate would require a "passive". It may be that *parn* ⁼ *ošt-* is another transitive verb of purification. A resulting passive would then be "to be purified."

4.3.4.3 "Passive" Optative with Expressed Agent

Most of our examples of "passive" optative verbs occur without an expressed agent. In the several cases where we do find an expressed agent, the agent occurs in the ergative case. In the indicative we have a situation where the ergative case displays a number of characteristics attributed to the grammatical subject.[171] In the "passive" construction, however, the agent does not have these subject properties and is relegated to the status of an optional oblique noun phrase.[172] It is the logical patient which is promoted to subject

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[170] ^{d}IM-*pu-na-a-at bar-nu-uš-du-uš* … [^{d}*ḫé-bat-u-na-a-at*] $^{65'}$ *bar-nu-uš-du-uš.* A similar phrase is found in ChS I/5 1 rev. 33': ^{d}*Teššob* ⁼ *o* ⁼ *n(i)*⁼*ā*⁼*d fud*⁼*ušt*⁼*o*⁼(*e*)*ž až*⁼*ašt*⁼*o*⁼(*e*)*ž* "May I be *begotten* and *až*'ed like Teššob!"

[171] For more detail see Dixon 1998: 113-127.

[172] Dixon 1998: 146.

position in the passive. As demonstrated above, active transitive optative verbs take

an agent in the absolutive and the patient in either the absolutive or essive. For example,

the phrase "May the gods anoint the head of the ritual client!" would look like this:

(4.62) *en(i)⸗na   paġi   ašḫ⸗ož⸗i⸗kk⸗o⸗nni⸗ve **ḫāž** ⸗**i** ⸗**(e)ž**
        god+PL.ABS head+ØABS ritual client   +GEN anoint+ACT+OPT

If the above explanation of the optative form in ⸗o⸗(e)ž as "passive" is correct, then it

would hold that the verbs are still to be taken as "passive" even if an ergative agent is

present. In some languages, the ergative case is limited to A NPs, but in many others, the

marker indicating an ergative NP is used for other cases as well.[173] There is no reason

that the ergative case in Hurrian cannot have an alternate oblique sense, even if it is only

found in certain restricted situations.

4.3.4.3.1 ChS I/1 3

The first example of a "passive" optative verb with explicit agent comes from the

itkaḫi-ritual ChS I/1 3. The passage in question is not completely comprehendable.

While the meanings of many of the words in the passage are not known, the grammar is

clear:

(4.63) [(*nešši*   ⸗*m*)][174] *en*(*i*)⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*āž*⸗*uš* ⸗*ša*(<*nna*) **nōġ**⸗**ind**⸗**o**   ⸗**(e)ž**
          ?+ØABS+CONN god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG+3SG.ENCL ?   +*ind* +PASS+OPT
        ḫāžar(*i*)⸗*a*   **ḫāž** ⸗**ind**⸗**o**   ⸗**(e)ž**
        oil   +ESS anoint+*ind* +PASS+OPT
        "May [the *nešši*] be *noġ*'ed by the gods! May it be anointed in oil (by them)!"
        (ChS I/1 3 obv. 26)[175]

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[173] See Dixon 1998: 57.

[174] restored from ChS I/1 45 ii 17' and I/1 46 ii 25'. The restoration is certain based on context.

[175] [(*ne-eš-ši-im*)] DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-šu-uš nu-u-ḫi-in-du-uš ḫa-a-ša-ra ḫa-a-ši-in-du-uš*

The *nešši*, while still defying translation, plays an important role in this ritual. In the

next line, it is called *nešši ꞊ b*, "your *nešši*," apparently referring to the ritual client. The

verb *noġ-* is poorly, if at all, attested.[176] The use of the morpheme *꞊ind-* on the verb may

bear some relation to the appearance of an ergative agent. Note its use in the subsequent

verb *ḫaž꞊ind ꞊ o ꞊(e)ž*. Examples (4.51) and (4.52) both have "passive" optative forms of

the verb *ḫāž-* "to anoint," and yet neither display this *꞊ind-* morpheme. In (4.63), the

second phrase is to be considered asyndetic to the preceding one. That it shares the same

essive agent is indicated by the continued use of the *꞊ind-* morpheme on the verb.

Further examples of "passive" optatives with expressed plural agents in this text also

include this *꞊ind-* morpheme. As with (4.63), many words remain unknown. That the

passages are not complete further complicates the issue. Two examples are as follows:

(4.64) **kad   ꞊ind꞊o   ꞊(e)ž** *ḫalmi ꞊ n(a)   ꞊āž꞊už faġr꞊ō꞊ži꞊na   …*
  speak+*ind*+PASS+OPT *song* +PL.RELAT+PL.ERG beautiful +PL.ABS
  "May beautiful (things) be spoken by the *songs*!" (ChS I/1 3 obv. 14)[177]

(4.65) **pār ꞊ind꞊o   ꞊(e)ž** *igi ꞊ n(a)   ꞊āž꞊už   paḫḫi ꞊ n(a)'   ꞊āž꞊už …*
  ? +*ind* +PASS+OPT ?[178]+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG ?   +PL.RELAT[?]+PL+ERG (ChS I/1 3
  obv. 15-16)[179]

Example (4.65) is clearly of little use since the forms are largely untranslatable. (4.64),

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[176] The form *nu-ḫu-na-ap* (ChS I/1 9 ii 46; I/1 10 ii 13(-]na-) may be analyzed as an intransitive form of *noġ-*.

[177] *ga-te-⌜in-du-uš⌝ ḫal-mi-na-a-šu-uš pa-aḫ-ru-u-ši-na*

[178] Perphaps related to *egi-* "inside."

[179] *pa-a-ri-in-du-uš* [16] ⌜i⌝-*ki-na-a-šu-uš* ⌜*pa-aḫ-ḫi*⌝-*na*'(text: -*ra*)-*a-šu-*⌜*uš*⌝; Given the plene *-a-* in the final form, a emendation of *-na*'- is likely.

however, is a bit clearer. The patient must be the plural absolutive adjectival form

faġrōžina, but it is not clear what it is modifying. The noun *ḫalmi*, based on a vocabulary

text from Ugarit, is translated as "song."[180] It is not clear how *ḫalmi* can function as the

agent of a transitive verb of speaking. While no plural form of the equative ⸗*uš* is

known, if the case does have a plural, it would likely be *⸗*až*⸗*už*, identical to the plural

ergative. This would result in a translation: "May the beautiful (things) be uttered *as*

songs!" Until more examples of a plural equative are found, it would be best to take it as

a plural ergative regardless of the resulting difficulties in translation.

4.3.4.3.2 ChS I/1 6

The link between an expressed plural agent and a morpheme ⸗*ind-* is further supported

by the following example. The subject is the absolutive plural noun *pašši* found in the

first paragraph.

(4.66) ***šēġ⸗al*** ⸗*ud* ⸗*i* ⸗*(e)ž pašši⸗na* ⸗*mma* *en(i)⸗n(a)* ⸗*āž⸗už*
make pure+NEG+ACT+OPT ? +PL.ABS+2SG.ENCL god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
tal⸗āv⸗ō⸗ži⸗n(a) ⸗*āž⸗už ašt* ⸗*o⸗ḫḫi⸗n(a)* ⸗*āž⸗už*
mighty +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG woman+ADJ +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
en(i)⸗n(a) ⸗*āž⸗už nāi⸗n(a)* ⸗*āž⸗už itk* ⸗*und⸗a* ⸗*šše⸗*
god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG ? +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG purify+*und*+3TRANS.SG+REL
na ⸗*ma*
PL.ABS+CONN

en(i)⸗n(a) ⸗*āž⸗už talāv⸗o⸗ži⸗n(a)* ⸗*āž⸗už ašt* ⸗*o⸗ḫḫi⸗*
god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG mighty +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG woman+ADJ +
n(a) ⸗*āž⸗už en(i)⸗n(a)* ⸗*āž⸗už nāi⸗n(a)* ⸗*až⸗už*
PL.RELAT+PL+ERG god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG ? +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
šēġ⸗al ⸗*ind⸗o* ⸗*(e)ž itk* ⸗*ind⸗o* ⸗*(e)ž en(i)⸗n(a)* ⸗*āž⸗už*
make pure+*ind*+PASS+OPT purify+*ind*+PASS+OPT god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
"You shall not purify the *pašši*'s which the mighty female deities, the gods, the
nāi's will purify! § May (the *pašši*) be made pure and purified by the mighty

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[180] Heuhnergard 1987: 97 (sub 197.2); Neu 1996: 451.

female gods, the gods, the *nāi*'s!" (ChS I/1 6 ii 5-11)[181]

The first paragraph is a negative prescription, warning that the purification of the *pašši* is not to be done by anyone but the "mighty female gods." The second paragraph is the actual wish that these particular deities do the said purification. The actual subject of the second paragraph is the *pašši⹀na … itk⹀und⹀a⹀šše⹀na* "the p. which they (the gods) will purify" found at the end of the first one. The second paragraph is so closely related to the first one that there was apparently no need to repeat the absolute subject.

4.3.4.3.3 The *ḫišuwa*-Festival

There can be little doubt that the presence of the morpheme ⹀*ind*- on the verb is closely linked to the presence of an expressed agent. That being said, there are occasions where we find an expressed agent without this ⹀*ind*- morpheme. The Hurrian passages in the *ḫišuwa* festival are on the whole rather difficult to understand. There are a series of passages, however, that are pertinent to this study. In each passage, the "passive" optative form *kel⹀o⹀(e)ž* is construed with different agents. The agent is dependent upon the actions described in the Hittite section immediately preceding the Hurrian incantation. This is demonstrated in the following examples:

(4.67) (He (the priest) sets the cedar into the oil. He pours it into the *ḫuprošḫi* vessel on the hearth and says:)
   *aġar(i)⹀re(<ne) ⹀ž **kel** ⹀o ⹀(e)ž tēa*
   incense+SG.RELAT+ERG *heal*+PASS+OPT greatly

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[181] *še-⌈e-ḫa⌉-lu-ti-iš pa-aš-ši-na-am-ma* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-šu-uš* [6] *da-la-a-pu-u-ši-na-a-šu-uš aš-du-uḫ-ḫi-na-a-šu-uš* [7] DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-šu-uš na-a-i-na-a-šu-uš it-ku-un-ta-aš-ši-na-ma* §
[8] DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-šu-uš da-la-a-pu-u-ši-na-a-šu-uš* [9] *aš-du-uḫ-ḫi-na-a-šu-uš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-šu-uš*
[10] *na-a-i-na-šu-uš še-e-ḫa-li-in-du-uš* [11] ⌈*it*⌉-*ki-in-du-uš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-šu-uš*

"May he (the king?) be completely *healed*[182] by the incense (i.e. the cedar and oil mixture)!" (ChS I/4 1 iii 33-34) [183]

(4.68) (Subsequently he breaks up 5 thin breads and says:)
    ānui⸗*ž*   *ḫaržai*⸗*ž*   **kel**   ⸗**o**   ⸗(*e*)*ž tēa*
    ?   +ERG ?   +ERG *heal*+PASS+OPT greatly
    "May he (the king?) be completely *healed* by *the thin bread*[184]!" (ChS I/4 1 iii 35-36)[185]

and lastly:

(4.69) ([Afterwards] he libates [once] on the ground from a cup of wine before the
            DUGDÍLIM.GAL and he says:)
    šōvali⸗*ž*   **kel**   ⸗**o**   ⸗(*e*)*ž tēa*
    wine[?] +ERG *heal*+PASS+OPT greatly
    "May he (the king?) be completely *healed* by the *wine*[186]!" (ChS I/4 7 ii 18")[187]

The subject is omitted in each of these passages. The only reason that the subject would not be specifically mentioned in the text is that it is known information. In the case of the *ḫišuwa*-fest, the most likely candidate is the king who is an active participant in the festival.

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[182] or perhaps better: "made well"

[183] *a-ḫar-re-eš gi-lu-uš* [34] *te-e-a*

[184] The combination *anui- ḫaržai-* most likely is the Hurrian translation of NINDA.SIG(.MEŠ).

[185] *a-a-nu-iš ḫar-ša-iš* [36] *gi-lu-uš te-e-a*

[186] Hurrian *šōvali* almost certainly refers to the wine offering poured out by the priest.

[187] [*š*]*u-u-wa-li-iš gi-lu-uš te-e-a*

4.3.4.4 Elision of ⸗o⸗

In certain forms, the voice marker ⸗o- elides between a root final consonant and the modal extension ⸗l-. This phenomenon was mentioned in passing above following example (4.14). Note the following passage given here:

(4.70) **ḫub** **(⸗o)** **⸗l⸗ēž** ḫūpuv[a]⸗šše⸗ne ⸗nn(i)⸗a tīe …
break(+PASS)+l+OPT ḫ.-vessel +SG.RELAT+ADV word+ØABS …
"May it be broken like an ḫ.-vessel, the (evil) word, (and a list of other evils)!"
(ChS I/5 40 obv. 2)[188]

In this example, the modal morpheme is written with plene -e-. As we have seen above, this writing is limited to extended forms in ⸗l-. The verbal form in (64) has an -l- immediately preceding the modal morpheme. If active, we must assume a third person agent. One major problem with taking ḫublēž as an active optative is that it would be the only example of such a form with an agent in the ergative. As seen above, the active optative requires the agent of a transitive verb to be in the absolutive (§4.3.1-§4.3.2). Taking the form as "passive" in ⸗o-, however, gives a much better reading with tīe as the absolutive subject. There is a form ḫōb⸗o⸗l⸗ež with the root vowel showing length and the optative form written with a short e.[189] It is possible that this writing indicates a shift in stress, and this shift is what caused the ⸗o- "passive" morpheme to be expressed in this case.

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[188] ḫu-up-le-e-eš ḫu-ú-pu-w[a-a]š-še-ni-en-na ti-i-e … This is parallel to the Hittite translation: ^DUGḫu-p[u-wa-ia-aš-ša-at i-wa-ar du-wa-ar-na-at-ta-ru] (KBo 19.145 ii 2); the restorations are secure based on ii 5 of the same text.

[189] ḫu-u-⌈pu-le-eš⌉ (ChS I/5 122 5')

4.3.5 Observations

The optative in ⸗o⸗(e)ž clearly differs from those in ⸗i⸗(e)ž. In a majority of cases

we find a transitive verb with expressed patient and no clear agent. Transitive verbs in ⸗

i⸗(e)ž are numerous, yet they typically have an expressed agent. This conspicuous

omission of the agent in the forms with ⸗o- indicates that the verbs cannot be translated

as simple active transitives. As we have seen, transitive verbs in ⸗i⸗(e)ž take the agent in

the absolutive and the patient in either the absolutive or essive, depending upon the level

of transitivity expressed by the speaker. In those few examples of ⸗o⸗(e)ž optative forms

in which an agent is present, the agent is inevitably in the ergative case. In many

languages the morpheme indicating the ergative case is used to indicate other oblique

cases as well such as dative, genitive or instrumental. I would argue that here, the case

marker ⸗ž is not functioning as the "subject" but rather as an oblique akin to the

instrumental.

It was demonstrated above that the imperative does not function along ergative lines.

This is largely due to its specific nature as a command to the listener. This function

clearly links A NPs to S NPs (as opposed to the link between S and O NPs found in

ergative constructions). Given this inherent characteristics of imperatives, these forms

cannot be taken as true indicators of split-ergativity in Hurrian or in any other ergative

language. The optative has a much broader function than the imperative and does not

operate under the same constrictions. In this way, the optative can truly be used as an

indicator of split-ergativity in Hurrian.

It was shown above that optative forms in ⸗i⸗(e)ž can be intransitive, transitive or

detransitive/reciprocal. With the exception of detransitives, all of the core constituents

occur in the absolute, resulting in A, S and O NPs being marked by the Ø absolute case. It is likely that word order may have played an important role in distinguishing between agent and patient with transitive verbs. In the forms in ≠o≠(e)ž, agents are typically omitted and the patients or undergoers are always in the absolute. The agents, when they do appear, are in the oblique ≠ž case. Based on this information, the optative ≠ež does not function along ergative lines. If anything, it appears to be nominative-accusative.

There is no indication of a passive in the Hurrian indicative verb. This is in keeping with what we expect from ergative systems (but not ergative languages).[190] The differences between the optative forms ≠i≠(e)ž and ≠o≠(e)ž are best explained as differences between active and "passive" voice. Since Hurrian functions along nominative-accusative lines in the optative, there is no reason why it could not distinguish between active and "passive" voice in this modal form.

I have been normalizing the "passive" indicator as ≠o-. It needs to be made clear here, however, that the writing of this passive is ambiguous as to vocalic quality. With the exception of the writing *šalǵ≠ō≠l≠ež* in (xb), which is likely a spelling error on the part of the scribe, no writings of this "passive" marker exist with a plene spelling -C*u-u*- or -C*u-ú*- (for -C≠o- and -C≠u- respectively). Therefore, a reading ≠u- for this morpheme is theoretically also possible.

When an agent is explicitly stressed, the "passive" optative is structurally quite similar to the indicative (ergative) transitive construction. The agent for both is in the ≠ž case.

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[190] There is no language which is one hundred percent ergative throughout morphology and syntax. By ergative system I am referring specifically to that part of an ergative language which displays a

In the latter, this case is has been termed "ergative" and contains a number of subject properties. For the former, the agent is optional and is not the subject of the predicate.[191] This role falls to the NP in absolutive case. In the indicative, ergative constructions are used to indicate transitivity. Detransitives and intransitives are indicated through the use of constructions with absolutive subjects. In other words, in the indicative there is a clear division between the expression of transitive constructions and detransitive/intransitive ones. There is no such distinction made in the optative. All active forms, regardless of their levels of transitivity, are found with the optative form *=i=(e)ž*. Regardless of their functional differences, optative forms in *=o=(e)ž* and the indicative transitive marker *=o(-)* may be historically related.

4.3.6 An Epistemic Function

In all of the above examples, the modal form *=ež*, regardless of voice, indicates a wish or command. That is to say, it functions as an indicator of deontic modality. There is, however, one occurrence of this modal marker in the Mittani Letter that cannot be taken as such. The passage will be treated in full in the appendix, but a brief summary is due here. Section §27 (= iv 1-29) is the longest paragraph in the Mittani Letter. The paragraph can be divided into two sections, the first being a statement citing Tušratta's concern about how he is being presented in the pharaoh's court. Tušratta feels that he is being maligned, with evil words being spoken about him directly to the pharaoh. In the

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high degree of ergativity. For example, the perfective in Middle Persian is ergative while the imperfective is not. It is in that part of an ergative language that we do not expect a passive.

[191] i.e. the agent plays no role in interclausal syntax and it has little or no reference in the text, often needing to be translated simply by the third person indefinite "one."

second section, Tušratta seeks to eliminate any future occurrences of such slander

both in Egypt and in Mittani by forming a mutual pact with the pharaoh. It is the first

section that will be the focus here.

The section begins with a politically motivated speech by Tušratta. We see him

attempting to be diplomatic about a situation that he clearly sees as having a negative

affect on the relationship between Egypt and Mittani. He begins by asserting that the

pharaoh would never knowingly allow someone to speak lies to him. He writes: "Before

my brother, one speaking evil words does not exist. These [speakers] do not come before

a great lord!"[192] The following phrases are the ones that are pertinent to this study. The

above quote is immediately followed by the following phrase:

(4.71) *šurve*　　*tive*　　**kad[=i]**　　*=(e)ž*
　　　 evil+ØABS word+ØABS speak+ACT+OPT (Mitt. iv 4)[193]

Based on the above analysis of the optative, this passage ought to be translated as: "May

he (or: one) speak an evil word!" This reading in no way fits the context of this section.

In fact, it contradicts the entire *reason d'être* of this paragraph. It simply does not make

sense that Tušratta would demand or wish that someone would speak evil words to the

pharaoh! Therefore, the modal form in *=ež* in this phrase cannot be taken as a deontic

marker. At the same time, however, the verbal form *kad=i=(e)ž* cannot be taken as a

simple indicative statement either.

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[192] See the Appendix for the full treatment of these lines.

[193] *šur-we ti-we ka-t[i-i]š ḫi-il-lu-ši-i-in ḫi-il-lu-ši-ik-k[u-un-n]i*; Wilhelm only translates this passage as "An evil word … to my brother" (1992c: 69). Giorgieri translates: "… ma dicono (?) la parola malevola (direttamente) al [loro] signore (?).

We must adduce an epistemic reading for this form in this context. As an

epistemic, it would function as an indication of the speaker's confidence in the truth

value of the statement. Here the form in ⸗*ež* is to be taken as a strong assertion of truth.

Tušratta is saying here that regardless of the fact that evil words are not to be spoken

before a great king, he feels that exactly that has been done. Tušratta has no doubt in his

mind that such an evil word has made its way to the pharaoh's ear. This analysis results

in a translation: "(yet) one *has* spoken an evil word!" or "one must have spoken an evil

word!" These two translations best reflect a strong epistemic reading of the verb, the

former through emphatic stress and the latter through the use of the strong modal

"must."[194]

It is also possible that the verb here is to be read as subjunctive. If so, it would have to

go with the following phrase. The phrase preceding this line (iv 3) is unlikely to take the

phrase in iv 4 as a subordinate.[195] The phrase following the one in question reads:

(4.72) *ḫill   ⸗ož   ⸗ī   ⸗n   ḫilložikk[ōnn]i*
        speak+PRET+AP+CONN one who does not speak+ØABS
        "The one who does not speak has spoken (it)" (Mitt. iv 4)[196]

In order to take (4.71) as a subordinate to (4.72), we must assume certain nuances in

(4.71). A translation: "(yet since) an evil word has been spoken, the one who does not

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[194] A translation "One has certainly spoken an evil word" is less than desirable in this case. "Certainly" is a modal adverb. An emphasis on "*has*" or the use of the strong modal "must" places the force of the modal marker squarely on the verbal predicate.

[195] iv 3 reads: *andi ūn⸗o⸗kka(<o)⸗l⸗an talame⸗nē⸗va āī⸗da evri⸗[nē⸗va]⸗n* "that one (i.e. a liar) does not come before a great lord!" The *andi* must refer to the *tive šurve kadikkonni* in iv 2. The exact parsing of this NP will be treated in the appendix.

[196] *ḫi-il-lu-ši-i-in ḫi-il-lu-ši-ik-k[u-u-un-n]i*

speak has spoken!" The resulting English is rather awkward. If anything, reading

(4.72) as subordinate to (4.71) yields the better translation: "an evil word must have been

spoken since/because the one who does not speak has spoken (it)." Unfortunately, there

is nothing in the grammar to suggest that (4.72) is subordinate to (4.71). Given this, I

prefer to take (4.71) as a separate sentence with the verb having a strong epistemic

function mentioned above.

A modal auxiliary or morpheme having both deontic and epistemic functions is not

uncommon amongst the world's languages. For instance, this has been well demonstrated

for a number of the modal auxiliaries in English.[197] In all cases where a language uses

the same modal construction for both functions, the epistemic sense of the modal element

develops directly from the deontic sense after some period of time.[198] It has been

demonstrated that the epistemic readings of modal morphemes are clearly related to its

earlier deontic sense.[199] Unfortunately the exact mechanism or mechanisms by which

this development occurs is unclear.[200] The result of this change is typically a highly

grammaticalized marker of modality.[201] Based on this, we can postulate that the

originally deontic optative modal morpheme =ež was beginning to develop into a marker

of epistemic modality by the time of the Mittani Letter. Given that no other examples are

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[197] Take for example the use of modal *may* in English. *May* can be used deontically: "You may go" (as a dismissal), as well as epistemically: "I see a light on, so John may be still home (or he may be somewhere else)."

[198] Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 195

[199] Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 195 with citations.

[200] See Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 196-197 for a brief account of this problem.

[201] Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 205

known, it is likely that this development was relatively new at the time of Tušratta.

Presumably this morpheme would have seen broader use as an epistemic marker over

time.

CHAPTER FIVE
The Jussive

5.1 Background

The imperative has been limited in this study to morphologically minimal forms with second person subjects. Hurrian uses distinct modal markers used to indicate commands with first and third person subjects. These forms are grouped together here under the heading "jussive."[1] Jussives, like the imperative, belong to the larger category of deontic modality in that their purpose is to elicit some action.[2] First person commands are also called "voluntatives" in some grammars. It is my position that in Hurrian, the first and third person commands are a paradigmatic pair and should therefore be taken together as two separate expressions of one mood. When combined with the imperative they make up the larger paradigm of Imperative or Command forms.

5.1.1 Dyirbal

The Australian language Dyirbal gives a picture of a different system from that found in Hurrian in that it does not have a distinct jussive form. The imperative is used not only

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[1] Palmer 2001: 81

[2] The term jussive is used here as a syntactic category within Hurrian. This is to be distinguished from the semantic category of "jussive sentences" as defined by Lyons (1977: 748).

with second person subjects, but third and first person ones as well.[3] As with

Hurrian, the imperative in Dyirbal is morphological minimal forms (cf. §3.1.1.1).[4] Note

the following two examples:

(5.1) *ŋinda bani*
      you-S/A[5] come-IMP
      "You, come!"[6]

(5.2) *ŋali yani*
      we-S/A go-IMP
      "Let's you and I go!"[7]

Dyribal exhibits a split conditioned by the semantic nature of the NPs. The first and

second person pronouns have one form for S and A and a separate one for O. In other

words, when the subject of a transitive verb is the first or second person, it is nominative

accusative as opposed to ergative.[8]

5.1.2 Yidiny

The same holds for another Australian language, Yidiny. In Yidiny, first and second

person pronouns function along nominative-accusative lines, while all other NPs belong

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[3] Dixon 1972: 15

[4] Dixon 1972: 110

[5] S/A is used to indicate a pronoun which occurs as S and A NPs but not O.

[6] Dixon 1972: 110 example (332).

[7] Dixon 1972: 110 example (334).

[8] Dixon 1994: 87

to an ergative paradigm.[9] As in Dyirbal, the imperative in Yidiny can have a second, first or third person subjects. Note the following example with transitive imperatives:

(5.3) *ŋanda wiwin waŋal   / ŋayu ŋuni:nda gala   wiwin   ḍaybaṛ*
        I-DAT give-IMP boomerang-ABS   I-S/A you-DAT spear-ABS give-IMP PART
        "Give me the boomerang and I'll give you [my] spear in exchange!"[10]

The subject of the first imperative *wiwin* "give!" is omitted while the expressed first person singular pronoun *ŋayu* is the expressed subject of the second occurrence of the *wiwin*. In all cases, the verb is unmarked.

5.1.3 West Greenlandic

West Greenlandic Eskimo has an imperative that is distinct from the jussive. The former is limited to the second person singular and plural and the first person plural.[11] The latter is found with first and third person singular and plural subjects.[12] This results in an overlap between the two paradigms at the first person plural. There is a functional difference between the first plural imperative and the first plural jussive in transitive constructions with third person patients. The imperative takes the "inclusive" form of the third person patient while the jussive requires the "exclusive" form.[13] In transitive

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[9] Dixon 1994: 87

[10] Dixon 1977: 370 (827)

[11] Fortescue 1984: 291; The first person plural is likely included due to its combinatory nature of first and second person "you and I."

[12] Fortescue (1984: 291-292) uses the term "optative."

[13] Fortescue 1984: 291-292

jussive constructions, object agreement is largely the same as it is in the indicative.[14]

The jussive can be said to function along ergative lines in this language.

5.2 Form and Function in Hurrian

As mentioned above in §5.1 the first and third person are treated together here as the jussive. The term jussive is used here to refer to those modal endings limited to the first and third person that while morphologically distinct from the imperative (and from each other) combine with it to create the larger Command paradigm. Unlike the optative discussed in Chapter Four, the jussive forms are specific to certain persons and number. The first person jussive which is discussed below in §5.2.1 is limited to first person singular agents.[15] The third person jussive (§5.2.2) is found with both singular and plural agents. The endings and the various morphemes that accompany them are discussed below.

5.2.1 First Person Jussive

The first person jussive, or voluntative, is formed by the phonemes *-l-e*.[16] As with the optative ⸗*ež* and third person jussive ⸗*en* (see bellow §5.2.2), it is unclear if this *-l-e* stands for a single morpheme ⸗*le* or the combination ⸗*l*⸗*e*. A variety of treatments of this modal form have been proposed. Speiser breaks the form down to a modal *-l-* and a

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[14] The main exception is the third person patient agreement makers which are similar to those found in the conditional and that there is a slight difference regarding the third person subject agreement markers (Fortescue 1984: 291).

[15] It is unclear if this is the rule or simply the result of the preserved text corpus. All first person plural command/wish forms are limited to the optative.

[16] Neu 1994: 133-134

first person marker *-i/e*.[17] For Bush, the *-e* is the jussive morpheme.[18] Neu takes the

ending as a single morpheme *⸗le*.[19] According to Wilhelm, this is an optative form with

a modal morpheme *-l-* of unknown function and the jussive suffix *-en* with omission of

the final *-n*.[20] Following Wilhelm, this *-l-* morpheme would be identical to the one found

in the extended optative forms *⸗i⸗l⸗ēž* and *⸗o⸗l⸗ēž*. For Hazanbos, the modal marker

is the preceding *⸗i⸗* which occurs before the first person modal marker *⸗le*.[21] Giorgieri

parses the form as *⸗l⸗e*, comparing the *⸗e* to the transitive imperative morpheme *⸗i* (for

him *-e/i*).[22] Finally, Wegner takes the most cautious approach, parsing this modal

morpheme as *⸗l+e* following a jussive morpheme *⸗i-*.[23]

    As with the optative, I feel that *-l-e* was originally a combination of two morpheme *⸗

l⸗e*. Over time these two morphemes fused and by the time of the textual material, it is

simply *⸗le*. The *-l-* cannot be the same modal morpheme found in the extended optative.

In the optative, *⸗l-* is an optional morpheme providing a particular unidentified nuance to

the mood (on *⸗l⸗* see Chapter Eleven). All first person jussives display this *-l-* indicating

that it was a key element of this particular morpheme. There are no examples of a verb in

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[17] Speiser 1941: 153-154

[18] Bush 1964: 216-217

[19] Neu 1996: 123; note that in his article on Hurrian modal forms, however, Neu analyzes the form as *⸗l⸗e* (1994: 133-134).

[20] Wilhelm 2004a: 113

[21] Hazenbos 2005: 148; This idea goes back to the earlier works of Girbal 1989 and Wegner 1990.

[22] Giorgieri 2000a: 236

[23] Wegner 2000: 88

just =e that can be analyzed as a first person jussive.[24] While we can certainly posit a

hitherto unidentified modal morpheme -l- that only occurs in conjunction with a separate

modal morpheme -e, it is far simpler to take the jussive ending as a fused combination of

the two. Until we have material that proves otherwise, I will continue to analyze this

modal form as =le.[25]

    An allomorph =llī is found in certain formations. This biform is found with both a

negative and a positive first person jussive of the root ḫaž- "to hear."[26] The two

examples are as follows:

(5.4)   a. ḫa-ša-a-ši-wa-al-li-i-il-la-a-an = ḫaž = āž=i = va = llī = ll(a)=ān (Mitt. iv 26)

        b. ḫa-ša-a-ši-il-li-i-il-la-a-an = ḫaž = āž = i = llī = ll(a)=ān (Mitt. iv 29)

Unlike other first person jussives, these two forms include the enclitic pronoun =lla and

the connective =an. As we shall see with the third person jussive, when the modal

morpheme is followed by any enclitic pronoun except for the third singular =nna, an

epenthetic vowel =i- occurs between the two morphemes (i.e. =en=i=lla). It is possible

that the combination =llī=lla < *=le=i=lla. The combination e+i would then result in a

long ī with an apparent lengthening of the consonant -l- > -ll-.

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[24] The actual existence of such a morpheme is discussed below in Chapter Ten.

[25] While I do not disagree with Wegner's =l+e, I feel this is an overly cautious rendering of the form. As stated above, this morpheme is in deed likely to have originated from such a combination, but there is no evidence that the Hurrian speakers of the second millennium B.C. maintained any distinction between the two morphemes.

[26] Giorgieri 2000a: 236 writes: "dopo negozione: -ll=ī;" Wilhelm's comment that the modal suffix -l- is "under unidentified conditions apparently -ll-" (2004: 113), is not completely valid since it is unlikely that the -l- of the jussive is the same as the =l- of the extended optative.

A potential counter example is the form *ku-u-lu-le-el* = *kōl=ol(=i)=le=l* (ChS I/1 41 i 34). There are two points that may explain this form. First is that the form only includes the short form of the third plural pronoun *=l* instead of the long form and the connective *=an* as found in (5.4a-b). Another factor is the presence of the derivational morpheme *=ol-*. When a morpheme with a liquid like *l* or *r* precedes the modal *=le*, the *=i*-morpheme elides (i.e. **=ol=i=le* > *=ol(=i)=le* written as *-olle*). The combination *=ol= i=lli/e=l* may have resulted in the combination **-ollli/e=* is reduced to *-olli/e=*.[27]

5.2.2 Third Person Jussive

The third person jussive is formed by the morpheme *=en*.[28] As with the other modal morphemes, it is unclear if we are dealing with a single *=en* or a combination *=e=n*.[29] It is unlikely that the *-n*, if it ever was a separate morpheme, was originally the third person enclitic pronoun *=nna* agreeing with the third person agent. If we take *=n* as a pronoun then we must assume that it is a relic dating from a time before Hurrian was an ergative language since this ending is only found with third person agents:[30]

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[27] A possible analysis that has not been heretofore discussed is that *kōlolel* may be the short form of the optative with elision of the final *-ž* to the following enclitic pronoun *=l(la)*. This would result in a form *kōl=ol=i(=ež)=l* (actually **kōl=ol=i=(e)ž=l* > *kōl=ol=i(=ež)=l*). The primary problem that I can see with this analysis is that the optative form is completely ambiguous as to person. If it is optative then it is unlikely to be a first person form since there is nothing in the clause to indicate a change of subject. If it is a jussive in *=le* then the subject is the first person, but if it is an optative then the subject is in the third person.

[28] This morpheme is consistently written with the sign IN in the Tiš-atal inscription and in the texts from Mari. For this reason, Wilhelm has opted to normalize the third person jussive in these texts as *=in* instead of *=en*. While the EN sign is used in this text (note the form *en-da-an* li. 2), this does not rule out the reading *-en₆* for IN. There is evidence for a jussive in *=a(n)* in Boğazköy (Giorgieri *apud* Wilhelm 2004: 113). This is treated below in §5.4.2.

[29] Bush 1964: 217

[30] There is absolutely no evidence that *=nna* ever agreed with an ergative NP.

(5.5)   A~ABS~ O~ABS~ V=e=n

The absolutive-absolutive construction is preserved in the optative (cf. §4.3.3), but the

jussive in the textual material is typically ergative-absolutive with transitive verbs. A

problem with the reconstruction in (5.5) is that we would expect a form *=e=l for

jussives with third plural agents. It is possible that the plural *=e=l was lost and the

singular *=e=n was grammaticalized to cover both numbers sometime before Hurrian

split from Urartian. This, however, remains highly speculative. Until a better theory

arises, it will suffice to treat the third person jussive as =en.

In the case of Boğazköy Hurrian, it appears that -n was weakly realized. When a

jussive form is followed by a word with a consonant in initial position, the -n of the

modal morpheme elides.[31] The -n is preserved only if the following form begins with a

vowel. This is demonstrated in examples (5.6a-b) and (5.7a-b):

(5.6)   a. *ḫā=id=e **k**arē=n(a)=až=už* (KBo 32.14 i 12-13) [32]

b. *ḫā=id=**en** āže* (KBo 32.14 i 13)[33]

(5.7)   a. *pāġ=id=e **t**ive* (ChS I/1 9 ii 36)[34]

b. *pāl=id=**en** **e**n(i)=n(a)=až=už* (ChS I/1 41 ii 8)[35]

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[31] Wegner 1990

[32] *ḫa-a-i-te ka-ri-e-na-šu-uš*

[33] *ḫa-a-i-te-in a-a-še*

[34] *pa-a-ḫi-ti te-bi*; duplicate ChS I/1 10 ii 2: *wa~a~-a-ḫa⸣-ti [t]i-w[i~i~*

[35] *pa-a-li-ten* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-šu-uš*

The situation in Boğazköy can be summed up as follows:

(5.8)   a. *=en* *C > *=e(n)* *C
       b. *=en* *V > *=en* *V

This "*n*-Verlust" is largely consistent throughout the texts from Boğazköy (note the counterexamples in (5.67d)). In the Mittani Letter, however, this rule does not hold. The -*n* of the jussive is preserved in all situations in this text.[36]

    The nature of -*n* in the oldest Hurrian document is ambiguous. There are four jussive forms found in the Tiš-atal inscription. They are given in (5.9) along with the immediately following form:

(5.9)   a. *šagr=o=**en** e=me=ni* (10-11)[37]

     b. *tašp=o=en* DINGIR-[S]Ú[?] (14-15)[38]

     c. *ḫaž=o=(w)e=en* [d]NIN (17-18)[39]

     d. *šit=(i)t=en* (end of text) (25)[40]

In (5.9a), the jussive is followed by the relative particle *e=*. Following the pattern in (5.8), we expect the -*n* of the jussive to be preserved in such a situation, and it is. (5.9d)

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[36] Note the following examples: *ta-a-ta-aš-ti-te-**en** g[**i**]-ra-aš-še-n[a-a-al-l]a-a-an* (i 78-79) and *ḫa-ši-**en** **a**-ti-i-ni-i-in* (ii 13).

[37] *ša-ak-ru-in e-me-ni*

[38] *da-áš-pu-in* DINGIR-[S]Ú[?]; following the reading of Wilhelm 1998a: 119., 137-138.

[39] *ḫa-śu*⌜-e⌝-*in* [d]NIN

[40] *śi-ti-in*

is the final form in the text, and again we would expect to see the *-n* since no word

follows it. In both (5.9b) and (5.9c), the jussives are followed by Sumerograms. If the

reading in (5.9b) is correct, then the underlying form of DINGIR-[*S*]*U* is likely to be *eni*

plus a possessive pronoun and the ergative case ending. In (5.9c), the modal form is

followed by the divine name ᵈNIN ⌜*na-gàr*⌝ᴷᴵ. If NIN here stands simply for "sister,"

then the Hurrian would be *ēla*. In both cases, the underlying Hurrian of the following

form may begin with an initial vowel. The evidence from this text is insufficient to argue

one way or the other.

   The texts from Mari provide more conclusive evidence for the nature of *-n* within the

oldest Hurrian material. In the ritual Mari 5, two groups of consecutive jussive phrases

shed light on the issue. The first runs as follows in (5.10). Only the pertinent forms are

given.

(5.10) *ḫaw ꞊ i ꞊ **en** šiwa ꞊ l ḫaw ꞊ i ꞊ **en** šiniwa ꞊ l* (Mari 5: 12-14)[41]

It is possible, if not likely, that *ḫawin* is to be taken as a third singular jussive. If this is

correct then the final *-n* is preserved even though the following forms begin with the

consonant *š-*. The second group of phrases offers more concrete evidence:

(5.11) *piž ꞊ id ꞊ **en** šini piž ꞊ išt ꞊ id ꞊ **en** šini* (Mari 5: 16-17)[42]

Here we have two third person plural jussives. The first simply built off of the root *piž-*

and the second off of the extended root *piž ꞊ išt-*. Again both jussive forms are followed

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[41] *ḫa-wi-in ši-wa-al ḫa-wi-in ši-ni-wa-al*

[42] *pí-ši-di-in ši-ni pí-ši-iš-ti-di-en ši-ni*

by NPs with initial *š-* without the elision of the final *-n*. The evidence from Mari

shows that the elision of *-n* is unique to the texts from Boğazköy, and this likely holds for

the Hurrian of Tiš-atal as well.[43]

5.2.3 *=i=* and *=o=*

The singular jussive, both first and third person, never appears appended directly to

the verbal root or root plus derivational morpheme(s). It is always construed with either a

morpheme *=i-* or, at least with third person forms, *=o-*. These morphemes can be elided

under certain phonetic conditions, most typically between two liquids. The *=i-* and *=o-*

morphemes occur in the same position as the *=i-* and *=o-* voice markers found with the

optative. In this section the form of these two morphemes in conjunction with the third

person jussive *=en* will be explored (§5.2.3.1-.3) as well as the form of the third plural

jussive (§5.2.3.4). The function of these morphemes will be explored below (§5.2.4).

5.2.3.1 *=i=* with the Third Person Jussive

The morpheme *=i-* is found with jussive forms throughout the Mittani Letter, in the

texts from Boğazköy, as well as in the older Mari texts. While in the cuneiform script

there is a certain level of fluidity between the front vowels *e* and *i*, it is clear that with the

jussive, we are to read -C*i/e-en* as the orthographic representation of the combination *=i=*

en and not simply *=en*.[44] The scribes of Mittani had developed a strict methodology

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[43] The Tiš-atal inscription is to be taken as closer to the Hurrian of Mari then that of Boğazköy both temporally and geographically.

[44] This is in stark contrast to the optative where the *e* of the modal morpheme elides following the voice markers *=i-* and *=o-* (cf. §4.2.1.2 above and (6.3) below).

whereby the choice of a particular sign restricted the phonetic values associated with it.[45] For example, the signs BE and TE are to be read only as C*e* while BI and TI as C*i*.[46] Most telling is the use of the sign KI. Forms that require a velar consonant to be followed by the vowel *e* are written with GI in Mittani. KI is used to indicate a velar followed by *i*.[47] For example, the Hurrian demonstrative pronoun *akke* is consistently written *ag-gi*(-) while the jussive form *nakkien* is written *na-ak-ki-en* (Mitt. iv 51).[48] The orthography of the Mittani chancellery does not apply to scribal traditions from other regions and periods.[49]

5.2.3.2 =*o*= with Old Hurrian Jussives

As mentioned above, there are four jussive forms found in the Tiš-atal inscription (cf. (5.9) above). They are repeated here as (5.12):

(5.12)   a. *šagr = o = **en** e = me = ni* (10-11)

b. *tašp = o = en* DINGIR-[*S*]*U*[?] (14-15)

c. *ḫaž = o = (w)e = en* [d]NIN (17-18)

d. *šit = (i)t = en* (end of text) (25)

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[45] Giorgieri 2000a: 181

[46] The choice of C to indicate the phonetic reading of the signs is due to the multiple readings available for the consonant. Each consonant has at least two available values. The exact difference between them, be it voiced-voiceless or *media-tenuis* is not yet clear. The value of the consonant is dependent upon where it occurs within the word.

[47] Giorgieri 2000a: 181; Wegner 2000: 37-38; Wilhelm 2004a: 98

[48] Girbal 1989: 82

[49] The orthography of the Hurrian texts from Boğazköy has been studied in some detail regarding the writing of signs including *i* and *e*. Wilhelm and Giorgieri have determined that there was a tendency to distinguish between the two values but signs with *i* in many cases also have a reading *e* (Wilhelm and Giorgieri 1995).

The first three forms (5.12a-c) show a morpheme =o- in the position otherwise occupied by =i- in later texts. The fourth example (5.12d) involves a third plural subject and does not display either =o- or =i- (see §5.2.3.3). Further evidence that this =o- morpheme occurs in the same slot as =i- comes from the Mittani Letter. The negative jussive or vetitive in the Mittani Letter typically consists of the combination =i=va=en where =va- is the negative marker (see §5.2.5). A few negative forms in the text are alternatively written =o=v(a)=en. While =o= occurs in the same position in both Old Hurrian and Mittani Hurrian, there appears to be a functional difference between the two (cf. §5.2.3.2).

The exact phonetic shape of this =u/o= morpheme is not entirely clear. In the Tiš-atal inscription, the jussive is simply written -C*u-en*₆.[50] The examples from the Mittani Letter exhibit three different writings. One form is written without a plene vowel, just like those from Tiš-atal.[51] One is written with a plene -*ú*-,[52] and three are written with a plene -*u*-.[53] Despite certain counterexamples, the evidence points to a reading =o- as opposed to =u-.

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[50] See note 28 of this chapter for this reading of the IN sign.

[51] The positive jussive form *keb=ān=o=en* (*ge-pa-a-nu-en*) (Mitt. iii 74).

[52] Note the form *ḫis=ūǵ=ol=ū=w(a)=en* (*ḫi-su-ú-ḫu-lu-ú-en*) (Mitt. i 110). This may be a dittographic mistake based on the plene writing of the derivational morpheme =ūǵ= earlier in the form.

[53] The forms are: *nakk=id=ō=w(a)=en* (*na-ak-ki-du-u-we-en*) (Mitt. ii 52) and *ur=ō=w(a)=en* (*ú-ru-u-we-en*) (Mitt. iii 111, 116).

5.2.3.3 Third Person Plural Jussive

The plural jussive consists of the combination of morphemes *=iden*.[54] There has been

a considerable amount of debate, however, as to the parsing and exact function of *=iden*.

In his grammar, Speiser takes the plural morpheme as *-id(o)-*, at least in the case of

"transitives construed with plural nouns in the agentive [i.e. ergative]."[55] He included the

optional *o* in order to explain the negative forms such as *na-ak-ki-du-u-we-en* (Mitt. ii

52). This form will be examined below in more detail (cf. (5.80)). In contrast to the

position taken by Speiser and others, Bush explicitly states that the plural *-iten-* "cannot

be regarded as being or containing an agentive suffix … 'by them.'"[56] His argument is

based on occurrences of the jussive with verbs that he treats as intransitives. In such

cases *=iden* cannot contain an agentive morpheme.[57] At the time of his grammar, Bush's

hypothesis was a valid counterexample to the ideas of Speiser. As we shall see however,

this analysis is no longer tenable.

Two alternatives persist in modern literature. First is the theory posited by Girbal

concerning a plural marker *=t-* in Hurrian.[58] A morpheme *=t=* is found following the

tense markers *=ož-* and *=ed-* for a number of intransitive verbs and a few transitive ones

in the Mittani Letter. Several of the intransitive constructions involve third person

subjects, as demonstrated in the following example:

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[54] For a bibliography on early works concerning this form as plural, see Speiser 1941: 146.

[55] Speiser 1941: 148

[56] Bush 1964: 221

[57] Bush 1964: 221

[58] Girbal 1989

(5.13) *īa ⸗llā ⸗nīn ammad(i) ⸗iffu ⸗ž atta(i)⸗iffu ⸗ž*
REL+3PL.ENCL+CONN grandfather+1SG.POSS+ERG father+1SG.POSS+ERG
attaī ⸗p ⸗pa fē ⸗ve/a mag⸗ā⸗nn(i)⸗a keb ⸗ān ⸗ol
father+2SG.POSS+DAT 2SG+GEN/DAT gift +ESS send+CAUS+*ol*
⸗ōš ⸗t⸗ā ⸗šše⸗na
+PRET+*t*+3AGENT+REL+ABS.PL
"Those which my grandfather and my father sent to your (own[59]) father (and to you(?)[60]) as a gift …" (Mitt. iii 57-59)[61]

According to Girbal, the *⸗t⸗* in *keb⸗ān⸗ol⸗oš⸗t⸗ā⸗šše⸗na* is to be analyzed as a "Pluralisator."[62] At the same time, he also sees a morpheme *⸗t-* that functions as an "Anzeiger der Intransitivität," occurring in the same position as this "plural" *⸗t-*.[63] This "second" *⸗t-* morpheme occurs with singular subjects such as in the following example:

(5.14) *und⸗o⸗mān inna ⸗mē ⸗nīn šēn(a) ⸗iffu ⸗we ašti*
now +CONN when+3SG.ENCL+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+GEN wife+ØABS
un ⸗ēt ⸗t⸗a
come+FUT+*t*+INTRAN
"Now when the wife of my brother comes …" (Mitt. iii 21)[64]

Girbal applies this theory of a plural *⸗t⸗* to forms in the jussive. He analyzes the *d* (for him /t/) of the jussive *⸗iden* as being one and the same as the *⸗t⸗* "plural" from the

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[59] I have used the term "own" to indicate the possibility that *we-e-wə* is to be read as a genitive *fē⸗ve*, a possessive acting in conjunction with the enclitic possessive *⸗b-* on the form *attaī⸗p⸗pa*.

[60] If *we-e-wə* is to be analyzed as a dative *fē⸗va*, then it is to be taken as asyndetic to the preceding *attaī⸗p⸗pa*.

[61] … *i-i-al-la-a-ni-i-in* [58] *am-ma-ti-íw-wu-uš at-ta-íw-wu-uš at-ta-i-ip-pa we-e-wə ma-ka-a-an-na* [59] *gi-pa-a-nu-lu-u-uš-ta-a-aš-še-na*

[62] Girbal 1989: 79

[63] Girbal 1989: 80

[64] *un-du-ma-a-an in-na-me-e-ni-i-in še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e aš-ti ú-ni-e-et-ta*

indicative.[65] The evidence from Hurrian appears to conflict with the "one form/one

meaning principle."[66] This principle is defined by Johns as follows:

(5.15) "ONE FORM/ONE MEANING PRINCIPLE
Where morphemes are identical or similar in phonological properties, in the
unmarked case, they are identical or similar in all lexical properties"[67]

According to this principle, "homophony is considered to be the analysis of last resort."[68]

If we apply this to the analysis of the morpheme ≠t- in Hurrian, then it is highly unlikely

that we should find two homophonous morphemes ≠t- in the same exact position in the

indicative verb. According to this principle, the ≠t≠ in (5.13) and (5.14) should be the

same morpheme. Therefore, we should seek another explanation for this morpheme.

In an early article, Wegner follows Girbal, taking the *t* in the plural jussive as a plural

marker.[69] In her grammar, however, Wegner, while still largely basing her analysis of the

morphemes of the third plural jussive on Girbal's theory, analyzes the plural as -(*i*)*t*- and

not as simply -*t*-.[70] According to Wegner, -*t*- is actually to be taken as an allomorph of -

it- (better: -*id*-) which is the third plural agent agreement marker in indicative transitive

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[65] Girbal 1989: 81-83

[66] Johns 1992; This theory is very general and cannot be taken as an absolute. Polysemy is a factor in most every language. It is useful, however, as a caution against possible ad hoc grammatical treatments.

[67] Johns 1999: 184

[68] Johns 1999: 184

[69] Wegner 1990

[70] Wegner 2000: 88-90

verbs in OHu (cf. §2.3.5.2).[71] According to Wegner the *i* of ⸗*id*⸗ elides to the preceding modal morpheme ⸗*i*⸗. Following Wegner, the plural jussive is to be analyzed as:

(5.16)   V   +*i*   +(*i*)*d*   +*en*
        VERB+JUSSIVE+PLURAL+3PERSON

An alternate analysis of the plural jussive has been offered by Wilhelm and is followed by Giorgieri. As we have seen, the indicative third person plural transitive verb in old Hurrian is V⸗*id*⸗*o* with ⸗*id*- functioning as the plural agent agreement marker. Based on this, Wilhelm parses the plural jussive as ⸗*id*⸗*en*.[72] According to this analysis, the plural jussive would then consist of the third plural agent marker and the jussive morpheme. The parsing ⸗*id*⸗*en* does not include the ⸗*i/o*- morpheme found with singular agents when the verb is positive.[73] In the negative plural jussive, the morpheme ⸗*i*- or ⸗*o*- occurs between the plural marker ⸗*id*- and the negative morpheme ⸗*wa*-. A clear example of this is the negative form *nakk*⸗*id*⸗*o*⸗*w(a)*⸗*en* "may they not release" (Mitt. ii 52).[74]

Based on the evidence form the OHu indicative transitive forms in ⸗*id*⸗*o* and the negative jussive form in ⸗*id*⸗*o*⸗*w(a)*⸗*en*, I find it difficult to accept Girbal's analysis. It

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[71] Wegner 2000: 90

[72] Wilhelm 1992: 139; idem. 1998a: 135[101]; idem. 2004: 113; followed by Giorgieri 2000a: 239.

[73] This is one of the prime arguments made by Hazenbos 2001: 173[14] against a parsing ⸗*id*⸗*en*.

[74] While parsing positive plural jussives as R+*i*+*t*+*en*, Girbal offers the following explanation for this negative form: "[f]ür nakkidowen wurde folgende Analyse vorgeschlagen: nakk+ido+w+en … Die Form wurde als negierter Jussive der 3. Plural aufgefaßt." (1989: 82[10]). According to this analysis it appears that Girbal is positing two different plural agreement markers, one in ⸗*t*⸗ and one in ⸗*ido*⸗.

has been argued that ⸗*id-* cannot be an agreement marker because it defies the general

pattern of Root+TAM[75]+Number/Person.[76] This assumes that ⸗*id-* has always been an

agreement marker. I have argued above that ⸗*id-* originated not as an agreement marker

but rather as a derivational morpheme indicating some type of verbal plurality (cf.

§2.3.5.2.3). Over time it came to be associated with the third plural agent. This best

explains why ⸗*id-* is the only agreement marker to be found to the left of the valence

marker in the indicative. The assumption that ⸗*id-* occurs in one position in the

indicative and in another in the jussive defies logic. It is much easier to analyze the

jussive form as ⸗*id*⸗*en* and ⸗*id*⸗*o*⸗*w(a)*⸗*en* next to the indicative ⸗*id*⸗*o*, than *⸗*i*⸗*(i)d*⸗

en and *⸗*i*⸗*(i)d*⸗*o*⸗*w(a)*⸗*en*!

5.2.3.4 Parsing the Third Person Jussive

In the above sections I have discussed the various morphemes involved in third person

jussive constructions. The various morphemes, with the one exception of the modal

ending ⸗*en* itself, only occur in certain situations. While the morphemes ⸗*i*⸗ and ⸗*o*⸗

are always found with third person singular agents, they are omitted when the agent is in

the plural when the verb is positive, but expressed when it is negative. The various

morphemes can be fit into a number of mutually exclusive slots occurring after the verbal

root and optional derivational morphemes. The morphemes of the third person jussive

are given here in table 5.1:

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[75] TAM stands simply for tense, aspect and mood.

[76] Wegner 2000: 90

1. ROOT (+DERIV)	2. PL.AGR.	3. ? (see below)	4. NEG.	5. JUSSIVE
R	⸗id⸗	⸗i⸗; ⸗o⸗	⸗va⸗	⸗en

Table 5.1: Third person jussive

5.2.4 Function

Not all scholars agree on the function of the morphemes that make up the jussive or
even on the way in which the jussive is used. According to some, the ⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗
morphemes are to be analyzed as transitive markers.[77] Others prefer to analyze ⸗i- as a
modal marker itself,[78] arguing that since ⸗i⸗en appears with certain supposed intransitive
verbs it cannot function as a transitive marker.[79] Sometimes ⸗o- is not even accounted
for in discussions of the jussive.[80] On the level of syntax, it has been claimed that
Hurrian exhibits a split in the first person jussive, taking the absolutive first person
enclitic pronoun ⸗tta as subject.[81] According to this theory, Hurrian would be
nominative-accusative when the verb was a first person jussive form. As we will see,
however, there are certain problems with this analysis. The question of the function of
these morphemes ⸗i- and ⸗o- are closely tied to the nature of the predicate and its
constituent arguments.

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[77] Giorgieri 2000a: 238; Neu 1996: 113; Wilhelm 2004a: 113

[78] Girbal 1989: 81-83 ; Hazenbos 2001: 173-174; Wegner 1990: 299-300; idem. 2000: 90

[79] The argument primarily focuses on the form *ittiden* which will be discussed in full below (cf.
(5.90)). Other potential examples are given by Wegner (2000: 87).

[80] In her formal analysis of the jussive, Wegner does not include ⸗o- in her discussion, also
omitting it from her charts. She briefly touches upon the negative forms in ⸗owen (2000: 92-93). In the
textual examples which conclude her grammar, she does call *kebanoen* a jussive form, and states:
"[i]nwieweit das Morpheme -u- hier die Unwandlung der Konstruktion bewirkt, ist nicht recht klar" (2000:
172).

[81] Haas and Wegner 1997a: 440; Hazenbos 2001: 172, 177; Wegner 2000: 90

5.2.4.1 First Person Jussive

With the first person jussive, the subject is not typically expressed in the form of a pronoun. It is simply understood in the verbal form. That is to say, ⹀*le* can only be used to indicate jussives with first person subjects to the exclusion of all other persons. In the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual we find the following broken passage:

(5.17) *ma-an-zu-u-ra-a-ma ka-ti-il-le i*-x[. (.)] (KBo 32.11 i 4)

The predicate is the first person jussive *kad⹀il(⹀i)⹀le*. Neu restores the following *i*-x[as the first person singular ergative *i-š*[*a-aš*]. The restoration -*š*[*a*- fits the traces nicely.

Two counterexamples have been used to refute Neu's restoration.[82] In both examples, the first person enclitic pronoun ⹀*tta* is analyzed as the subject of a jussive verb. This would result in an absolutive-absolutive construction. For this reason the first person jussive could be seen as involving split-ergativity. While they are treated as solid proof against Neu, these examples are not as solid as originally believed. Both supposed counterexamples come from the Mittani Letter. The first example, as given by Haas and Wegner, is given here as (5.18):

(5.18) *tiva<e=tta=an … šeniffuveman keldi niriže ḫaš=i=l=e*
        "[I]ch will hören … das Wort … und das Wohl meines Bruders" (Mitt. iv 42-
        43)[83]

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[82] See the bibliography in note 81 of this chapter.

[83] Haas and Wegner 1997a: 440; Hazenbos 2001: 172, 174; Wegner 2000: 90 "ich will hören … das Wort und das Wohl (und) den guten Zustand meines Bruders." This appears to be followed by Girbal who translates this passage as: "Worte («das Wort» der Antwort, das Wohl meines Bruders möchte ich bald vernehmen" (1992: 172).

The crux of this example lies in the ellipsis given by all who use this as a counterargument to Neu. According to this treatment of the passage, the absolutive ⸗*tta* would be the subject of the first person jussive verb *ḫaž⸗i⸗le*. The form *gu-ru-ú-wǝ* which occurs in the ellipsis in (5.18) is not considered to be significant for our understanding of this passage. This misconception, however, results in the faulty reading of the passage as given above.

While its function remains uncertain, the ending ⸗*o/uva* (-C*u-ú-wǝ*) is found on a number of verbal forms from both Boğazköy and the Mittani Letter.[84] Since the vocalic quality of the sign 𒀀 is not explicit in and of itself, a number of different readings are available for *gu-ru-ú-wǝ*. If we read the sign as -*wa* here, we get the verbal form *kur⸗o/uva*. The root *kur-* may be translated as "to reply" or the like based on the context of this passage. This results in the following reading of iv 42-43:

(5.19) *tiv(e)⸗ā*   ⸗*tt(a)*   ⸗*ān*   *kur* ⸗*o/uva šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu*   ⸗*we* ⸗*mān*
word+ESS[85]+1SG.ENCL+CONN reply+*o/uva* brother+1SG.POSS+GEN+CONN
kēldi   *nīriže*   **ḫaž** ⸗*î* ⸗*le*
well-being+ØABS ?+ØABS hear+*i*+1.JUSS
"Would (that) I might *be sent* a word *in reply*.[86] May I hear the well-being and *n.* of my brother!" (Mitt. iv 42-43)[87]

The analysis in (5.19) results in the division of the passage into two separate phrases. The predicate of the first is *kuro/uva* while the predicate of the second is the jussive

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[84] See §6.3.3

[85] Perhaps it is to be taken as *tiva*(<*e*), an absolutive form with *e*>*a* through vowel harmony with following ⸗*tta*. This would result in a double accusative construction. More work is needed on double accusatives in Hurrian.

[86] See §6.3.3 (6.45) below.

[87] *ti-wa-a-at-ta-a-an gu-ru-ú-wa* [43] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-ma-a-an gi-e-el-ti ni-i-ri-še ḫa-ši-i-i-le*

ḫažîle. If (5.19) is correct, then the passage can no longer be used as an example of

the use of an explicit absolute subject for the jussive verb.

The second example used against Neu also contains an absolutive *=tta* according to

some restorations. The passage has been given as follows:

(5.20) *šen(a)=iffe=[t]ta=man tad=ugar=i=l=e*
          "[I]ch will meinen Bruder lieben" (Mitt. ii 84-85)[88]

According to the handcopy[89] the first form in this passage is to be transliterated as:

(5.21) [š]*e-e-*[*ni*]-*íw-w*[*ə*-x-]x-*ma-an*

A number of different restorations have been posited for this form. Some have opted to

restore it as the third person ergative subject *šēniffuž* of the verb *tādugārrē*.[90] This is

simply not possible since the form *tādugārrē* must be analyzed as the first person jussive

tād=ugār(=i)=re(<le).[91] For this reason, *šēniffe* "my brother" cannot be the subject.

Based on his personal collation of the Mittani Letter, Giorigieri proposes the following

restoration:

(5.22) [*š*]*e-ẹ-*[*ni-í*]*u̯-u̯u̯-ú-*[*r*]*a-* [*m*]*a-an*[92]

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[88] Normalization follows Haas and Wegner 1997a: 440. See also Hazenbos 2001: 172, 174 and Wegner 2000: 90.

[89] The handcopy in VS 12 is used here.

[90] [*še*]-*e-*[*ni-i*]*p-*[*p*]*i-*[*ú-š*]*a-*[*m*]*a-an* (Knudtzon 1902: 141); *še-e-*[*ni*]-*iu̯-u̯*[*u-ú-š*]*a-ma-an* (Friedrich 1932: 18); *še-e-ni-iw-w*[*u-ú-ut*ˈ-*t*]*a*ˈ-*ma-an* (Farber 1971: 49, 55, 65; This is to be analyzed as *šēn(a)=iff*[*u(=ž)=tt*]*a=man*.

[91] Giorgieri 2004: 324

[92] Giorgieri 2004: 324.

This is to be analyzed as the comitative form [*š*]*ē*[*n*(*a*)⸗*i*]*ffū*⸗[*r*]*a*⸗[*m*]*an* with space

between the -[*r*]*a* and the following -[*m*]*a-an*. According to Giorgieri, this space was the

result of the scribe's attempt to eliminate any empty space between the end of the word

and the end of the line. This would be similar to the Hittite scribal convention of the

right displacement of the final sign of the final word of a paragraph in order to use as

much of the available space as possible. Based on his translation of the passage, it is

clear that Wilhelm also prefers to restore a comitative form here.[93] Giorgieri aptly

compares this passage to another with the verb *tād*⸗*ugar-* and a noun in the comitative:

(5.23) *adī*⸗*nīn šēn*(*a*) ⸗*iffē*   ⸗*n*   *tād* ⸗*ugār*⸗*i*   ⸗(*e*)*ž šû* ⸗*ra*
        so +*nin* brother+1SG.POSS+ØABS+3SG.ENCL love+*ugār*+ACT+OPT 1SG+COMM
        "So may my brother reciprocate love with me!" (Mitt. ii 92-93)[94]

    While Giorgieri's restoration is plausible, there is another reading that I feel is at least

equally, if not more, attractive. I would propose the following restoration:

(5.24) [*š*]*e-e-*[*ni*]*-íw-w*[*e-en-n*]*a-ma-an*

Admittedly this reading does not clearly match up with Giorgieri's collation, but then

again, neither does his own restoration. The short form ⸗*man* is almost exclusively used

following enclitic pronouns (cf. Mitt. ii 8, ii 90 for examples with the first person enclitic

pronoun ⸗*tta*). With the exception of Mitt. ii 84-85, the reciprocal form *tād*⸗*ugār-* in the

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[93] "I will have *with* my brother a relationship full of love" (my italics) (Wilhelm 1992c: 66).

[94] See (4.26) for treatment of this passage.

indicative always occurs in the antipassive with the subject doubled by a resumptive

enclitic pronoun (shown in bold):

(5.25) *att(a)⸗ārd(i)⸗iff(e)*   *⸗až … tād ⸗ugār ⸗ož ⸗i ⸗**ll(a)**   ⸗ān*
        father+COLL +1SG.POSS+PL … love+RECIP+PRET+AP+3PL.ENCL+CONN
        "Our fathers ([mine] and of my brother) returned one another's love" (Mitt. i 8-9)[95]

(5.26) *ave ⸗**nna**   ⸗man … tād ⸗ugār⸗ož ⸗i ⸗kki*
        who+3SG.ENCL+CONN … love+RECIP+PRET+AP+NEG
        "Whoever has not reciprocated love (as my forefather or as I) …" (Mitt. ii 78-79)[96]

Every example of *tād⸗ugar-* with an expressed subject doubles the subject with an

enclitic pronoun.[97] While the third plural enclitic *⸗ll(a)* is attached directly to the verb in

(5.25), I do not hesitate in taking it as a resumptive pronoun referring back to the *att(a)⸗*

ārd(i)⸗iff(e)⸗až rather than as part of the verbal form.[98] Based on the combined

tendencies of *⸗man* and *tād⸗ugār-*, such a restoration as (5.22) is not implausible.

Admittedly, in this case, the resumptive pronoun would not be referring to the agent of

the verb but rather to the object. Based on this, I would normalize the passage in ii 84-85

as:

(5.27) *[š]ē[n(a)]⸗iff[e   ⸗nn]a   ⸗man tād ⸗ugār(⸗i)⸗re(<le)*
        brother +1SG.POSS+3SG.ENCL+CONN love+RECIP +*i* +1.JUSS
        "May I love him(*⸗nna*), namely my brother!"

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[95] *at-ta-a-ar-ti-iw-wa-aš*^MEŠ 9 … *ta-a-du-ka-a-ru-ši-il-la-a-an*

[96] *a-we-en-na-ma-an …* [79] *… ta-a-du-ka-a-ru-ši-ik-ki*; Wilhelm: "Whosoever did not carry on a relationship full of love in the manner of my forefathers (and) my own (manner)" (1992c: 65).

[97] In Mit. iii 64-65, iv 120-121, 122-123, the subject is in the first person (sg. or pl.) and is only expressed by the appropriate enclitic pronoun (*⸗tta* or *⸗dilla*).

[98] On agreement marking through the use of free enclitics (i.e. unbound agreement), see above (§2.3.3.3).

Based on the above arguments, the proposed examples of first person jussive verbs

with absolute subjects must be rejected. With this, let us return to the passage in KBo

32.11. Preceding line i 4, we find the following phrase:

(5.28) (Let me sing (of) Teššob of Kumme, the m[ighty] lord!)
    talm ⸗**ašt**⸗**ī**⸗**le**   *ší*[*dōri*]   … *Āllā*[*ni*]
    praise+*ašt* +*i*+1.JUSS maiden+ØABS … DN+ØABS
    "Let me praise the mai[den] (the bolt of the earth) Āllāni!" (KBo 32.11 i 2-3)[99]

Line i 4 is separated from the passage in (5.28) by a paragraph line. This next passage

reads:

(5.29) *man*   ⸗*z* ⸗*ō*   ⸗*rā*   ⸗*ma* **kad** ⸗**il**(⸗**i**)⸗**le**   *i*-x-[x] *šidōri*
    3SG.PRON+PL+EPNTH+COMM+CONN speak+*il* +*i* +1.JUSS …   maiden+ØABS
    ^d*Išḫara*
    DN+ØABS
    "With them (i.e. with Teššob and Āllāni), let me speak … (of) the maiden
    Išḫara!" (KBo 32.11 i 4-5)[100]

In (5.28), the first title given to Allani is *ši*[*dōri*] "maiden." It is difficult to imagine that

the form preceding *šidōri* in (5.29) being a different title or even an adjective modifying

it given the limited amount of available space. The restoration *i-š*[*a-aš*] not only best fits

the remaining space, but it also makes sense based on analogy with the third person

jussives. When the subject of a third person transitive jussive is explicitly given, it is

inevitably in the ergative. The verb *kad-* "to speak" is transitive in (5.29), taking the

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[99] *ta-al-ma-aš-ti-i-li ši-i-*[*tu-u-ri*] ³ … *a-al-la-a-*[*ni*]; The verb *talm-* also occurs in the first person jussive in another text. In a song from Ugarit, we find the following: *ta-al-mi-li ši-ir-ri* (= *talm*⸗*i* ⸗*le šir*(*i*)⸗*re* "Let me praise … through a song!" (RS 19.157c). The verb *šir-* "to sing" is found in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual in the form *šir*⸗*ad*⸗*i*⸗*le* "Let me sing!" (KBo 32.11 i 1). While the writing *ši-ir-ri* could stand for the first person jussive form *šir*(⸗*i*)⸗*re*(<*le*), I am taking it here from a nominal form *širi* in the instrumental/ablative case ⸗*ni*.

[100] *ma-an-zu-u-ra-a-ma ka-ti-il-li i-*x-[x] ⁵ *ši-tu-u-ri* ^d*iš-ḫa-ra*

goddess Išḫara as the patient. Therefore the expressed first person pronoun would be

in the ergative as per Neu.

5.2.4.2 Third Person Jussive

In contrast with the first person jussives, third person forms often have an expressed

subject. This is certainly due to the fact that third person NPs stand lower in the animacy

hierarchy than the first person does. First and second person subjects are known factors

in the discourse and do not typically need further specification. The third person is less

definite and often requires a specific NP to identify it. The overwhelming majority of

third person jussives occur with transitive verbs. The expressed agents are inevitably in

the ergative case. Note the following examples from the Tiš-atal inscription, Boğazköy

and the Mittani Letter:

(5.30) ᵈ*Lubadaga⹀ž* **tašp⹀o⹀en**
      "May Lubadaga destroy (him)!" (Tiš-atal 13-14)

(5.31) *kēb⹀il(i)⹀l(a<na)⹀āž⹀už* **ḫā⹀id⹀e(n)**
      "May the hunters take (it)" (KBo 32.14 i 12)

(5.32) **ar⹀ann⹀i⹀en⹀i⹀l⹀an** *šēn(a)⹀iffu⹀ž*
      "Let my brother cause (the tablets) to be given!" (Mitt. iii 39)[101]

This is in stark contrast to the transitive optative forms which take the subject in the

absolutive (§4.3.3).

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[101] All of the above examples (5.30)-(5.32) are treated in full below.

The difference between transitive jussive and optative forms is striking. The optative may perhaps reflect an older period when Hurrian was not ergative.[102] Both arguments appear in the absolutive and were likely distinguished based on pragmatic or discourse criteria. It is likely that in its pre-ergative state, proto-Hurro-Urartian formed the third person jussive something along the final lines:

(31) $*A_{ABS} O_{ABS} V{=}i{=}en$[103]

Instead of maintaining this construction, once (or as) proto-Hurro-Urartian became ergative, the jussive was completely reanalyzed. Not only did it begin to require an agent in the ergative case, it also adopted the transitive morpheme =o- (more on which see below). The reason for this likely has to do with the nature of the jussive itself. As a command, it requires the subject have a large degree of control over the requested action, therefore requiring a rather high degree of agency on the part of the subject. The ergative case is used to indicate such agency.

There are three examples in which the jussive verb is not transitive. Two are virtually identical phrases with the existential *ur-* "to exist" in the negative jussive:

(5.34) *innā=mmaman … t[o]rubi **ur=ō=w(a)=en***
       "If only the enemy … did not exist!" (Mitt. iii 110-111)

and:

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[102] The historical reconstruction of Hurrian is still a matter that requires much more work.

[103] Based on optative forms, it was determined that a distinction was made not based on valence, but rather on voice (cf. §4.2.1.2). The morpheme =o- refers to the passive voice. It was reanalyzed as a transitive morpheme as the language became increasingly ergative. =i-, however, is used to indicate the active voice. This morpheme is equitable to the antipassive =i- which in turn develops into the ergative transitive marker in Mittani Hurrian.

(5.35) *innā ⸗ mmaman **ur⸗ō⸗w(a)⸗en***
　　　　"If only he did not exist!" (Mitt. iii 116)

In (5.34), the subject is the absolutive form *torubi* while in (5.35) it is not expressed. A

slightly different function of the jussive is found in this next example:

(5.36) *šēn(a)⸗iffe **ḫis⸗ūġ⸗ol⸗o⸗w(a)⸗en***
　　　　"May my brother not be distressed!" (Mitt. i 110)

The verb *ḫis⸗ūġ-* is typically transitive with the agent in the ergative and the patient in

the absolutive:

(5.37) *t[iž(a)]⸗iffe⸗nn(a)⸗ān šēn(a)⸗if[f]u⸗ž **ḫis⸗ūġ⸗i⸗wā⸗en***
　　　　"May my brother not distress my he[art]!" (Mitt. iii 89)

Based on (5.37), it is likely that the verb in (5.36) is to be interpreted as a passive "to be

distressed by s.o. or s.t." The subject is in the subject. This is reminiscent of the

"passive" optative forms which require an absolutive subject (cf. §4.2.1.2 and §4.3.4).

5.2.4.3 Function of *⸗i⸗* and *⸗o⸗*

Now that the basic structure of jussive phrases have been established, it is left to

determine the function of the morphemes *⸗i⸗* and *⸗o⸗*. There is no consensus as to how

these morphemes are to be analyzed. I will begin by examining two contrasting views.

Some scholars have seen this *⸗i-* as the actual jussive morpheme. For Wegner, the *⸗en* is

to be analyzed as the marker of the third person.[104] According to Hazenbos, *⸗i-* is a

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[104] Based on Wegner (1990: 298-305; 2000: 90 and the chart on 88). She claims to follow the
interpretation of Girbal (1989: 81-83), and takes *⸗i-* as the jussive marker and *⸗en* as the "Personanzeiger

general modal morpheme found in the first person voluntative, the second person imperative[105] and the jussive.[106] The =en morpheme is taken as a second modal suffix specifically indicating the "jussive."[107] The problem that scholars have had with taking the morpheme =i= as a transitive marker is the apparently third person plural intransitive form *it-ti-ten* (Mitt. iii 123). This form has been parsed as *itt+i+d+en* by Girbal[108] and is followed by Wegner[109] and Hazenbos[110] although the analysis of the various constituent morphemes differs amongst these scholars. Based on this parsing, the =i= in *itt=i=d=en* would be the same as the =i= in the singular transitive jussive *tān=ašt=i=en* (Mitt. i 82, iii 75, 78).[111] Based on such a reading, =i= cannot function as a transitive marker in the latter example if it is also used with the intransitive *itt-* "to go."

An alternate analysis of =i= and =o= has been offered by Wilhelm in his treatment of the Tiš-atal inscription.[112] Singular jussive forms in the Tiš-atal inscription are formed with the morpheme =o- in combination with the jussive =en. According to Wilhelm, this =o- morpheme in the jussive forms is identical to the transitive indicative valence marker

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der 3. Person" (1990: 299). I am not certain that this is representative of Girbal's actual position. It does not seem as if he takes a stand one way or the other concerning the function of =en.

[105] He includes a plural imperative in =i(š), but as has been demonstrated below, all forms in =ež are "optatives" and not imperatives. The second person plural imperative is only indicated through the use of a second person plural pronoun, be it enclitic or free-standing.

[106] Hazenbos 2001: 173-174.

[107] See the chart in Hazenbos 2001: 174.

[108] Girbal 1989: 82

[109] Wegner 2000: 89 parses the form as itt+i+(i)t+en.

[110] Hazenbos 2001: 173[10] reads it as "itt(gehen)=i(1Mod)=d(Plur)=en(2Mod(3))."

[111] Girbal 1989: 83

[112] Wilhelm 1998a: 135-136, especially note 101.

≠*o*-. As ≠*o*- was replaced by ≠*i*- in the indicative, the same was happening with the jussive. Therefore transitive jussives are marked by ≠*o*- in the oldest texts and ≠*i*- in the younger ones. Following this, the form *ittiden* can only be transitive. In the non-transitive forms *ur≠o≠w(a)≠en* and *ḫis≠ūġ≠ol≠o≠w(a)≠en* we have a morpheme ≠*o*- that is separate from the transitive ≠*o*-.[113]

I would like to propose a third analysis of these morphemes. I follow Wilhelm in analyzing the ≠*o*- in the jussive forms from the Tiš-atal inscription as a transitive morpheme. As ≠*o*- is lost in the indicative, so too is it lost in the jussive. The evidence from the older texts is so sparse that it is impossible to say much more about jussive forms from this period. The situation in the younger texts from Boğazköy and Mittani present a different picture. The jussive verbs in ≠*i*- in the Mittani Letter are virtually all transitive. The form *ittiden* which is so frequently used as an example of an intransitive jussive is actually transitive. This is not because the verb *itt*- "to go" could not be used with the jussive, but due to contextual reasons. This will be discussed in full in §5.3.2.5. If we follow Giorgieri in analyzing the form *tād≠ugār(≠i)≠re(<le)* "may I love" (Mitt. ii 85) as an intransitive form, we would have both transitive and intransitive forms with ≠*i*-.[114] This form may, however, be transitive as well. Next to these forms in ≠*i*-, we have at least one "passive" form in ≠*o*- (see (5.37) above). The existential verb *ur*- must also take this "passive" morpheme ≠*o*-. It would appear that as the transitive ≠*o*- was

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[113] Wilhelm 1998a: 140[124] prefers to see two morphemes in ≠*o*≠, one transitive (ergative) and the other found in the negative intransitive constructions *mann≠o≠kko* and *ur≠o≠kko*.

[114] See above §5.2.4.1

lost, the jussive began to use the voice markers =i- and =o- found in the optative.[115]

This distinction will be explored below as the forms are analyzed in their full contexts.

5.2.4.4 Negative Third Person Jussive

There are no forms of a negative imperative or optative in the preserved Hurrian texts. A negative jussive, or vetitive, is known largely from examples found in the Mittani Letter. The negative jussive is typically marked by the morpheme =w(a)= which occurs between the morphemes =i=/=o= and the jussive morpheme =en.[116] When the morpheme =i= is present, the negative morpheme is written with plene -a- (e.g. *ḫi-su-ú-ḫi-wa-⌈a⌉-en* = *ḫis=ūġ=i=wā=en* (Mitt. iii 85)). When =o= is present, the *a* of the negative morpheme elides before the jussive =en, resulting in a combination =owen (=o=w(a)=en).[117] This negative morpheme is also found with first and second person indicative transitive forms in the Mittani Letter (cf. §2.3.5.4.2). The negative marker for transitive indicative verbs in Old Hurrian forms from Boğazköy is =ud=.[118] There are some examples of jussive forms which may include this negative morpheme. These will be explored below in §5.3.4.4.3.

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[115] This does not explain the form *keb=ān=o=en*. This form and possible reasons for the use of the morpheme =o- will be explored below in §5.3.2.3.3.

[116] Diakonoff 1971: 137-138; Giorgieri 2000a: 239; Wegner 2000: 92-93; Wilhelm 2004: 113

[117] Giorgieri 2000a: 239; Wegner 2000: 211; Wilhelm 1998a: 140; Diakonoff 1971: 138 does not separate out a negative in =o=w(a)=en, normalizing all forms in -u-wə-en as -(i-)-wa-en with the -o- going with a preceding morpheme (cf. his normalization of *na-ak-ki-du-u-wə-en* as *nakk-ido-(i-)-wa-en*). It is true, however, that the sign WA is ambiguous as to vowel quality in the Mittani Letter. Since in negative jussive forms in =o= WA is followed by the unambiguous -en, it is likely that -wA-en is to be read as -we-en. Although it is possible that it could be read as a short -wa-en, it is more likely that the absence of a plene vowel indicates that the ending is to be read -we-en.

[118] Giorgieri 2000a: 233; Wegner 2000: 114, Wilhelm 1992a: 139 (with pre 1992-bibliography); idem. 1992b: 665; Neu analyzes differently, taking =u= as the negative morpheme (<wa) and =d/t= as a temporal or aspect marker.

5.3 The Form in Context

5.3.1 First Person Jussive

Examples of first person jussive verbs than there are much fewer in number than those

of third person ones. The first person forms invariably have a first person singular

subject. Cohortative or first person plural commands or wishes are apparently limited to

the optative.[119] As with the third person jussive, most of the first person forms occur with

transitive verbs. As mentioned above, some have tried to see the subject of these verbs as

the absolutive pronoun ⸗*tta*. This has been refuted above (cf. §5.2.4.1), and it is the

belief of the author that in the case of transitive verbs, the agent is the ergative *ižaž*.

5.3.1.1 Mittani Letter

The majority of examples of first person jussives are found in the Mittani Letter. Of

these, all but one involves verbs of speaking or hearing. The first example is found in

connection with a third person jussive form:

(5.38) *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu* ⸗*dā* ⸗*man tive* *šukko* **kol** (⸗*i*) ⸗*le*
brother+1SG.POSS+DIR+CONN word+ØABS one+ØABS speak+ACT+1.JUSS
"May I say one thing to my brother (and may my brother hear (*ḫaž⸗i⸗en*) it)"
(Mitt. iii 49)[120]

A similar example is found further on in the letter:

(5.39) *tivē* ⸗*mān šukko* *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu* ⸗*da* **kol** (⸗*i*) ⸗*le*
word+ØABS+CONN one+ØABS brother+1SG.POSS+DIR speak+ACT+1.JUSS
"May I say one thing to my brother" (Mitt. iv 1)[121]

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[119] The first person plural forms in ⸗*ilevaž* found in KBo 32.15 are often analyzed as cohortatives
(e.g. Neu 1994: 134). For my take on these forms, see (§6.2.4.4) below.

[120] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta-a-ma-an ti-we šuk-ku kul-li*

[121] *ti-we-e-ma-a-an šuk-ku še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta kul-li*

Both examples are found at the start of new paragraphs. They are used to introduce new

topics in the letter. In both examples, the patient is the absolutive construction *tive šukko*,

"one thing" or perhaps "another thing."

In this text we find a pair of jussive forms built on the verb *ḫaž-* "to hear," one

positive and one negative. They occur in the same paragraph in the same context.

Tušratta talks about how he will only listen to Mane and Kelia and to no one else. He

writes:

(5.40) ("Any (words) which shall be subsequently told to me concerning my brother or
       concerning my brother or concerning his land")
       ḫaž =āž =i   =va =llī = ll(a)   =ān
       hear+*až* +ACT+NEG+1.JUS+3PL.ENCL+CONN
       "May I not hear (if Kelia and Mane do not speak them)" (Mitt. iv 26)[122]

He follows this with the following positive statement:

(5.41) ("Those (words) which Kelia and Mane shall say concerning my brother or
       concerning his land. They are true, and they are authentic.")
       ḫaž =āž =i   =llī = ll(a)   =ān
       hear+*až* +ACT+1.JUSS+3PL.ENCL+CONN
       "May I hear them" (Mitt. iv 29)[123]

On the biform *=llī*, see above §5.2.1. In both cases, *ḫaž-* is transitive with the third plural

enclitic *=lla* as the patient.

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[122] *ḫa-ša-a-ši-wa-al-li-i-il-la-a-an*

[123] *ḫa-ša-a-ši-il-li-i-il-la-a-an*

One of the most common refrains in the Mittani Letter concerns Tušratta's desire

that he and Amonhotep continue to love one another.[124] Most examples involve optative

constructions such as the following:

(5.42) *šēn(a)=iffē=n tād=ugār=i=(e)ž šû=ra*
     "May my brother share love with me!" (Mitt. ii 93)[125]

In (5.42), the verb *tād=ugār-* is used intransitively. There is one example of this verb

with a first person jussive. Two different treatments of this passage are possible based on

how one restores the passage. If we follow Giorgieri, the passage is treated as follows:

(5.43) *[š]ē[n(a)=i]ffū*   *=[r]a* *=[m]an* **tād** **=ugār** **(=i)** **=re(<le)**
     brother +1SG.POSS+COMM+CONN love+RECIP+ACT+1.JUSS
     "May I share love with my brother!" (Mitt. ii 84-85)[126]

In this case, (5.43) is parallel to (5.42) with the exception of the mood used. I have

offered an alternative above (§5.2.4.1). This version of the passage runs as follows:

(5.44) *[š]ē[n(a)=i]ff[e*   *=nn]a*   *=man* **tād** **=ugār(=i)**   **=re(<le)**
      brother +1SG.POSS+3SG.ENCL+CONN love+RECIP+ACT+1.JUSS
     "May I love my brother reciprocally"[127]

In contrast to (5.43), the restoration in (5.44) results in a transitive construction with a

first person agent and the patient, *šēniffe*, in the absolute. Both restorations are

possible. The status of the verb changes depending upon which one is chosen. For now,

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[124] On this see Giorgieri 2004.

[125] For treatment of this passage, see (4.2) and (4.26) above.

[126] For the transliteration, see (5.22).

[127] For this see (5.27).

however, I would prefer to leave both as plausible renditions of this passage until

such a time when more information is available.

5.3.1.2 Boğazköy

A few examples of first person jussive forms can be found in the Hurro-Hittite

Bilingual. In the break between parables the listeners are told to let go of the one that

they have just heard and to listen to the next one. This is accomplished in part through

the use of the optative.[128] Each of these sections contains two jussive constructions:

(5.45) *ol*(*i*)   ⸗*a*   ⸗*ffa*   **kad** ⸗*ol*(⸗*i*)   ⸗*le*
another+ESS[129]+2PL.ENCL say   +*ol*+ACT+1.JUSS
"Let me tell you(pl.) another!" (KBo 32.14 i 23-24, 39-40, iv 6-7, 20-21, rev. 33,
53)[130]

and:

(5.46) *mad*(*i*)   ⸗*ā*   ⸗*ffa*   **kad** ⸗*ol*(⸗*i*)   ⸗*le*
wisdom (story)+ESS[131]+2PL.ENCL say+*ol* +ACT+1.JUSS
"Let me tell you a wisdom (story)" (KBo 32.14 i 25, 40-41, iv 7-8, 21, rev. 33,
53)[132]

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[128] See example (3.9), (3.10) and (3.12) in the imperative and (4.35) in the optative with
accompanying remarks.

[129] Or perhaps a double accusative?

[130] *u-la-ap-wa_a ka_4-du-ul-li* (i 23-24); *u-la-ap-wa_a ka_4-túl-li* (i 39-40, iv 20-21, rev. 33); *u-la-ap-pa
ka_4-túl-li* (iv 6-7, rev. 53). The Hittite translations are: *nu-uš-ma-aš ta-ma-i ut-tar me-mi-iš-ki-mi* (ii 23-24,
39-40, iii 6-7); *nu-uš-ma-aš ta-ma-a-i ut-tar me-ma-aḫ-ḫi* (iii 20-21); *nu-uš-ma-aš ta-ma-i u[t-t]ar me-ma-
aḫ-ḫi* (rev. 34, 54).

[131] Or perhaps double accusative.

[132] *ma-ta-a-ap-pa ka_4-du-ul-li* (i 25); *ma-ta-ap-wa_a ka_4-túl-li* (i 40-41, iv 21); *ma-a-ta-ap-wa_a ka_4-
túl-li* (iv 7-8); *ma-a-ta-ap-pa ka_4-túl-li* (rev. 33); *[m]a-ta-ap-pa ka_4-túl-li* (rev. 53). The Hittite translations
is: *ḫa-at-ta-a-tar-ma-aš-ma-aš me-mi-iš-ki-mi* (ii 25, 41, iii 8, 21-22, rev. 34, 54).

In the above examples, I have analyzed the first NP as an essive, but it is possible that

both are actually absolutive NPs with the root vowel *-i* > *-a* due to vowel harmony with

the following enclitic pronoun. This would result in a double accusative construction

with both patients in the absolutive. It is unclear what nuance the derivational morpheme

⸗*ol-* provides.[133] Another jussive construction found in KBo 32.11 i 4 has been discussed

in detail above in §5.2.4.1.

The first person jussive is also found in the introduction or proem of Hurrian myths

from Boğazköy. The myths appear to open with the verb *širadile* "Let me sing."[134] The

patient of the verb is a deity. In one example, it is the Stormgod Teššob (KBo 32.11 i 1),

while in another it is the deified sea *kiaže* (ChS I/6 12 i 3). A first example is found in

KBo 32.11, the first tablet of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual:

(5.47) ***šir⸗ad⸗i⸗le***   ^d*Teššob*   ^{URU}*Kummi⸗ne*   *⸗ve*   *t[alāvoži]*
       sing +ACT+1.JUSS DN+ØABS   GN   +SG.RELAT+GEN mighty+ØABS
       ēvri
       lord+ØABS
       "Let me sing of Teššob, the great lord of Kumme!" (KBo 32.11 i 1-2)[135]

This passage is followed by two other first person jussive forms: *talm⸗ašt⸗ī⸗le* (i 2)

"May I make great"[136] and *kad⸗il(⸗i)⸗le* "May I speak" (cf. §5.2.4.1 above). A similar

passage is found in the second paragraph of the so-called "Song of the Sea":

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[133] Neu 1988a: 238-243; Wilhelm 1992a: 137.

[134] On the verb *šir-* and its cognates, see Neu 1996: 33.

[135] *ši-ra-ti-li* ^dIM-*ub* ^{URU}*kum-mi-ni-wi_i t[a-la-a-wu_ú-ši]* ² *e-eb-ri*. The corresponding Hittite is not preserved.

[136] This is not to be taken as the speaker physically making the god great, but rather making it great through the myth (i.e. adding to the gods renown). Neu translates as "ich will preisen" (1994: 134).

(5.48) **šīr ꞊ād ꞊i ꞊le**   **kīaži**
       sing   +ACT+1.JUSS sea+ØABS
       "Let me sing of the sea!" (ChS I/6 12 i 3)[137]

In the Hittite version of the Song of Silver, in place of a modal verb, we find the present/future form *išḫamiḫḫi* "I (will) sing."[138] Unfortunately the introductory passages of all other Hurrian language myths from Boğazköy have not been preserved.

5.3.2 Third Person Jussive

To begin with, I will focus on examples of jussive forms found in the Mittani Letter and texts from Boğazköy. Jussives with singular agents will be treated first (§5.3.2.1) followed by forms with third plural agents (§5.3.2.2). Examples of jussives in ꞊o꞊ will be examined in (§5.3.2.3). Negative jussive or vetitive forms will be examined in (§5.3.2.4). Finally, anomalous examples will be examined in (§5.3.2.5).

5.3.2.1 Singular Jussives

5.3.2.1.1 Mittani Letter

Jussive forms abound in the Mittani Letter. The majority of these are focused at either Amonhotep as the recipient of the letter, the messengers Mane and/or Keliya, and finally at the gods. While second person forms are often used for Amonhotep,[139] all non-indicative forms with the pharaoh as agent are in the third person. In fact, the only clear

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[137] *ši-i-ra-a-ti-li ki-i-ia-ši*

[138] Hoffner 1988: 143; Neu 1996: 34 and note 3.

[139] This is often accomplished through the use of second singular possessives ꞊b (e.g. *attai ꞊p ꞊pa* "for *your* father" Mitt. iii 52) and obliques (e.g. *vē ꞊va* "for *you*" Mitt. iii 55). There are also several indicative forms with second singular agents: *keb ꞊ān ꞊ōž ꞊ō ꞊šše* "that which *you* had sent" (Mitt. iii 69) and *kuz ꞊ōž ꞊o* "*you* detained" (Mitt. iv 35).

second person command, the imperative *ar≠i* (Mitt. i 51), occurs in quoted speech

with Tušratta himself as agent (cf. (3.3)). In most cases, Amonhotep is simply called

šēn(a)≠iffe "my (i.e. Tušratta's) brother." The following examples, all have him as agent:

(5.49) *und≠o≠mān* ᵐ*Mane*   *≠nna*   *≠man … šēn(a) ≠iffu*   *≠š*   *≠ša(<nna)≠*
now   +CONN   PN+ØABS+3SG.ENCL+CONN … brother+1SG.POSS+ERG+3SG.ENCL+
man   **ag≠ugar≠ašt≠i**   *≠en*
CONN dispatch *+ašt*+TRAN+JUSS
"Now, let my brother send him, Mane (the messenger of my brother)!" (Mitt. ii
57-58)[140]

(5.50) *šēn(a) ≠iffū*   (*≠ž*)   *≠l[l(a)]*   *≠ān*   **ḫaž≠i**   *≠en*
brother+1SG.POSS(+ERG)+3PL.ENCL+CONN hear+TRAN+JUSS
"Let my brother hear them!" (Mitt. i 113)[141]

(5.51) **subi≠am≠ašt≠i**   *≠en ≠i*   *≠d*   *≠an šēn(a) ≠iffu*   *≠ž*
make rich+*ašt*+TRAN+JUSS+EPNTH+1SG.ENCL+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+ERG
ōmīn(i)≠iffu   *≠wa for(i) ≠ī*   *≠da*
land   +1SG.POSS+DAT before+3SG.POSS+DIR
"Let my brother make me rich before my land!" (Mitt. iii 88)[142]

In all three examples, the agent is the ergative *šēniffuž*. In (5.51) the phrase is verb

initial. The patient *≠d*, "me," is attached directly to the verb, but it is separated from the

modal morpheme through the use of the epenthetic vowel *≠i≠*. In (5.49), the patient is

the messenger Mane and is resumed by the enclitic pronoun *≠nna* (here *≠ša* following the

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[140] *un-du-ma-a-an* ᵐ*Ma-ni-en-na-ma-an …* ⁵⁸ *še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš-ša-ma-an a-gu-ka-ra-aš-ti-en*; See also: ᵐ*Mane≠nna≠man šēn(a)≠iffu≠ž ag≠ugar≠ašt≠i≠en* "Let my brother send forth Mane!" (Mitt. ii 86). Wilhelm translates (ii 57-58) as: "And now may my brother send Mane, my brother's envoy." (Moran 1992: 65).

[141] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-ul-[la-a]-an ḫa-ši-en*; Wilhelm translates as: "and may my brother hear them" (Moran 1992: 64). Similar is the phrase *šēn(a)≠iffu≠š≠š[a(<nna)]≠n ḫaž≠i≠en* "(I would like to say one more thing to my brother,) and may my brother hear it!" (Mitt. ii 12-13).

[142] *su-pí-a-maš-ti-e-ni-tan še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš* ᴷᵁᴿ*u-u-mi-i-ni-íw-wu-ú-a wu-ri-[i]-ta*. Following Wilhelm's translation: "And may my brother *make* me *rich* in respect to my land." (his italics) (Moran 1992: 68).

ergative ending). In both (5.50) and (5.51), the patient is an enclitic pronoun. The

third plural pronoun ⸗*lla* in (5.50) probably refers to the *ani⸗ll(a)⸗[ā]n* (⸢*a*⸣-*ni-il-l[a-a-*

a]*n*) "those" in i 112. This in turn likely refers to *paššīt̬e*[⸗*na*] (*pa-aš-ši-i-it*⸢-*h̬i*⸣[-

na/ᴹᴱˢ]) "the messengers" in i 111. In all cases, the patient can be said to be given

information in the discourse.

A few more examples from the Mittani Letter of jussives with singular agents will

suffice before turning to the texts from Boğazköy. The first example again involves

Amonhotep as the third person agent:

(5.52) ***ar*** ⸗***ann*** ⸗***i*** ⸗***en*** ⸗***i*** ⸗*l* ⸗*an* *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu* ⸗*ž*
give+CAUS+TRAN+JUSS+EPNTH+3PL.ENCL+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+ERG
tupp(i)⸗i ⸗*až* *šin(i)⸗i* ⸗*až⸗e* ⸗*nā* ⸗*mmaman*
tablet +3SG.POSS+PL two +3SG.POSS+PL +GEN+PL.RELAT+CONN
h̬až ⸗***i*** ⸗***en*** ⸗***i*** ⸗*ll(a)* ⸗*ān*
hear+TRAN+JUSS+EPNTH+3PL.ENCL+CONN
"Let my brother cause their tablets[143] to be given (to be read)[144], and let him hear
those (tablets) of those two!" (Mitt. iii 39-40)[145]

As with (5.51), an epenthetic vowel is used between the modal ending and the third plural

enclitic pronoun. When the verb is followed by a third singular enclitic pronoun, no such

vowel is used:

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[143] These are the dowry tablets of Tušratta's sister and his aunt who were previously sent to Egypt.

[144] The pharaoh would not have been able to read the cuneiform tablets containing the lists of goods sent as dowries. The tablets would have been given to a scribe to read aloud to the pharaoh, thus the use of the causative of *ar-* "to give" here.

[145] *a-ra-an-ni-e-ni-la-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš tup-pí-aš* [40] *ši-ni-a-še-na-a-am-ma-ma-an h̬a-ši-e-ni-il-la-a-an*; This is immediately repeated as: (The dowry tablet of mine which I have given,) *ar⸗ann⸗i⸗en⸗ n(n)a⸗man šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗ž h̬až⸗i⸗en⸗n⸗an* "Let him cause it to be given (to be read) and let my brother hear it!" (Mitt. iii 41-42); Wilhelm translates these as: "May my brother have their tablets given to him and may he hear (the words of) both their (tablets). And the tablet(!) of the dowry from me, which I gave, may he have given to him, and may my brother hear …" (Moran 1992: 67).

(5.53) ***ped*⸗*ešt* ⸗*i* ⸗*en* ⸗*n* ⸗*an* *niĝâri*
spread out+ACT+JUSS+3SG.ENCL+CONN dowry+ØABS
"Let (my brother) spread it, the dowry, out!" (Mitt. iii 34)[146]

(5.54) ***ar*** ⸗*i* ⸗*en* ⸗*n(na)* ⸗*ān* *šēn(a)* ⸗*if*[*fu* ⸗*ž*]
give+ACT+JUSS+3SG.ENCL+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+ERG
"Let my brother give it!" (Mitt. iii 85)[147]

Many other examples of the jussive exist in the Mittani Letter. The majority of these

examples are to be treated as above. A few problematic examples exist, and these will be

treated below (§5.3.2.5).

5.3.2.1.2 Boğazköy

Examples from Boğazköy conform to the use of the jussive in the Mittani Letter. The

first example is from the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual. After hearing that the cup has cursed

him, the smith in turn curses the cup, saying:

(5.55) ***id*** ⸗*ī* ⸗*e(n)* *kāzi* *Teššōba*⸗*ž*
strike+ACT+JUSS cup+ØABS   DN   +ERG
"Let Teššob strike the cup! (May the decorations be knocked off)" (KBo 32.14 i
56)[148]

According to the above mentioned rule concerning the jussive found in texts from

Boğazköy, the -*n* of the jussive elides when followed by *kāzi* (cf. §5.2.2).

In several rituals, birds are called upon to perform a number of actions.[149] The

following are examples of such phrases:

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[146] *pè-te-eš-ti-e-na-an ni-ḫa-a-a-ri*. This is immediately followed by another jussive form *šir*⸗*i*⸗
en⸗*n(na)*⸗*ān*. Wilhelm translates as: "And may he spread out the dowry" (Moran 1992: 67).

[147] *a-ri-en-na-a-an še-e-ni-íw*-[*wu-uš*]; Wilhelm: "And may my brother give" (Moran 1992: 68).

[148] *i-ti₇-i-e ka-a-zi te-eš-šu-u-pa-aš*; Neu 1988c: 108-109

(5.56) (Then he holds the bird [before] the gods and [he speaks in] hur[rian]:)
        kel (⸗)**l**⸗**i**   ⸗**en** ⸗i   ⸗m   er[adi⸗ne   ⸗ž ḫ]avorun(i)⸗
        heal(+*l*)+ACT+JUSS+EPNTH+2SG.ENCL bird +SG.RELAT+ERG heaven   +
        ne   ⸗*ve*⸗*ne*   ⸗*ž*
        SG.RELAT+GEN+SG.RELAT+ERG
        "Let the bird of heaven heal you!" (ChS I/2 40 i 24)[150]

(5.57) *ḫa* ⸗*i*   ⸗*en* id(i) ⸗ia   ⸗n   nirubādi erādi⸗ne   ⸗ž
        take+ACT+JUSS body+3SG.POSS+INST/ABL evil+ØABS bird +SG.RELAT+ERG
        ḫaurni<⸗*ve*> ⸗*ne*   ⸗ *ž*
        heaven +GEN+SG.RELAT+ERG
        "Let the bird of heaven take evil from his body!" (ChS I/5 2 obv. 44')[151]

In (5.56), the second person enclitic pronoun is separated from the jussive morpheme by an epenthetic vowel ⸗*i*⸗, as with the first person and third plural. Both (5.56) and (5.57) are VOA, akin to (5.55).

5.3.2.1.3 Singular Jussive Verbs with Plural Agents

Singular jussive forms can also be used with plural agents. The first example comes from the Mittani Letter. The following passage has three deities functioning as ergative agents, but the verb is in the singular:

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[149] Wegner 1988: 145-149

[150] *ge-el-li-ne-em e-r[a-te-nieš ḫ]a-wu_u-ru-ne-bi-ne-eš*; see Wegner 1988: 147; idem. 1990: 304. For a similar indicative phrase, note: *irādi ⸗ ne ⸗ ž ḫavorun(i)⸗ne⸗ve[⸗ne⸗ž anāĝidi ⸗ ne ⸗ ž]* [18'] *[t]ād⸗o⸗ šše⸗ne⸗*[*ž* KI.MIN(= *kel⸗o⸗m*)] "The bird of heaven, [the morsel] which you love, [heals (him?)]" (ChS I/2 32 i 17'-18').

[151] *ḫa-i-en i-ti-ia-an ni-ru-pa-a-ti e-ra-a-te-ni-eš ḫa-ur-ni*<-*we_e*>-*ni-eš*; Wegner 1988: 147; idem. 1990: 304

(5.58) *andi⸗ll(a)*   *⸗ân*   ^d*Šimīg[e⸗ne*   *⸗ž]* ^d*Amānū(⸗ž)* *⸗l*   *⸗an*
this +3PL.ENCL+CONN   DN   +SG.RELAT+ERG   DN   +ERG+3PL.ENCL+CONN
^d*Eā⸗šarri⸗nē*   *(⸗ž) ⸗ll(a)*   *⸗ān*   *šēn(a)⸗iffu*   *⸗[w]a* ^{KUR}*ōmīn(i)⸗*
  DN   +SG.RELAT+ERG+3PL.ENCL+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+DAT   land   +
ī   *⸗va ⸗ll(a)*   *⸗ān*   *ed(i) ⸗ī*   *⸗da ḫodann(i)⸗a*
3SG.POSS+DAT+3PL.ENCL+CONN body+3SG.POSS+DIR prayer   +ESS
fend⸗i*   *⸗en
send+ACT+JUSS
"These (things) let Šimīge, Amānū and Eā-šarri send before my brother and
before his lands *as/in a prayer*!" (Mitt. i 100-103)[152]

A second example of multiple agents with a singular verb is found in a ^{LÚ}AZU-ritual

from Boğazköy:

(5.59) …]*⸗ni*   *⸗m*   ***kil⸗ol⸗i***   *⸗en* *aġar(i)⸗re(<ne)*   *⸗ž*
   ? +ABL/INST[?]+2SG.ENCL[?] heal+*ol*+ACT+JUSS incense+SG.RELAT+ERG
ḫāžari⸗ž
oil   +ERG
"Let the incense and oil heal *you* through/from x!" (ChS I/2 83 rev. 3)[153]

In both (5.58) and (5.59), while we have multiple agents, each is in the singular. This is

likely the reason why a singular verbal form is used.

5.3.2.2 Plural Jussives

5.3.2.2.1 Mittani Letter

As mentioned above (§5.2.3.3), the plural jussive is *⸗id⸗en* (and not **⸗id⸗i⸗en*). In

the Mittani Letter, plural jussives typically take multiple deities as agents. A perfect

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[152] *an-til-la-a-an* [101] ^d*ši-mi-i-g[i-ne-eš*[?]] ^d*a-ma-a-nu-ú-la-an* ^d*e-a-a-šar-ri-ni-e-el-la-a-an* [102] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-[ú]-a* ^{KUR}*u-u-mi-i-ni-i-wa-al-la-a-an e-ti-i-ta ḫu-tan-na* [103] *pè-en-ti-en*; Wilhelm: "these may Šimige and Aman and Ea-šarri for my brother and his land … in a favorable way, …" (Moran 1992: 64); Wegner: "Šimige, Amun und Ea-šarri … … möge(n) zurückschicken sie (=*lla*)" (2000: 211).

[153] …]-*ne-ma gi-lu-le-en a-ḫar-re-eš ḫa-a-ša-re-eš*; Wegner: "Der Weihrauch soll zufrieden machen dich[?] …" (1990: 304). She does not translate the *ḫāžariž*. She also mistakenly cites this passage as coming from rev. 4.

example of this is the following passage:

(5.60) *anammi≠dill(a)*   *≠ān*   [ᵈT]*ēššoba≠ž*   ᵈ*Šauška≠ž*   ᵈ*Amānū(≠ž)*   *≠dil*   *≠*
SO   +1PL.ENCL+CONN   DN   +ERG   DN   +ERG   DN   +ERG+1PL.ENCL+
an   ᵈ*Šimīge≠nē*   *(≠ž)* *≠dil*   *≠an*   ᵈ*Eā≠šarri≠nē*   *(≠ž)* *≠*
CONN   DN   +SG.RELAT+ERG+1PL.ENCL+CONN   DN   +SG.RELAT+ERG+
dil   *≠an*   *man*   *≠žō(≠ž)* *≠dill(a)*   *≠ān*   ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ·ᴹᴱˢ*ên(i)≠n(a)*   *≠*
1PL.ENCL+CONN   3.PRON+PL   +ERG+1PL.ENCL+CONN   god   +PL.RELAT+
[*ž*]*≠už*   *tiž(a)≠i*   *≠až≠a*   *≠n*   *tiššan tiššan* **tād*≠*ašt*≠*id**   *≠en*
PL   +ERG   heart   +3SG.POSS+PL   +ESS¹⁵⁴ +CONN   very   very   love+*ašt*+PL.ERG+JUSS
"So let Teššob, Šauška, Amānu, Šimīge, Eā-šarri, they, (namely) the gods love us
very very much in their hearts!" (Mitt. i 76-78)¹⁵⁵

Similar to (5.60) is the following:

(5.61) [*š*]*ā*[*t*]*ti*   *≠ll(a)*   *≠ān* *šinē*   *≠dilla*   *≠man*
1PL.PRON+ØABS+3PL.ENCL¹⁵⁶+CONN   two+ØABS+1PL.ENCL+CONN
[ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ].ᴹᴱˢ*ên(i)≠n(a)*   *≠až≠už* **nakk *≠id***   *≠en*
         god+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG   free   +PL.ERG+JUSS
"May the gods free us two!" (Mitt. iv 117)¹⁵⁷

In both cases, the agents of the jussive verbs *tādaštiden* (5.60) and *nakkiden* (5.61) are

"the gods." In (5.60) a list of specific gods is followed by the general *ennažuž* "the

gods." In (5.61), we find simply *ennažuž*. In both examples, the patient is the first

person plural "us."

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¹⁵⁴ The form may also be analyzed as dative plural.

¹⁵⁵ *a-nam-mi-til-la-a-an* [ᵈ*t*]*e-e-eš-šu-pa-aš* ᵈ*ša-uš-gaš* ᵈ*a-ma-a-nu-ú-ti-la-an* ⁷⁷ ᵈ*ši-mi-i-gi-ni-e-ti-la-an* ᵈ*e-a-a-šar-ri-ni-e-ti-la-an ma-an-šu-u-til-la-a-an* ⁷⁸ ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ·ᴹᴱˢ*e-e-en-na*[*-š*]*u-uš ti-ši-a-ša-an tiš-ša-an tiš-ša-an ta-a-ta-aš-ti-te-en*; Wilhelm: "so may Teššup, Šauška, Amanu, Šimige, Ea-šarri and all the gods love us in their hearts very very much" (1992: 64); Girbal: "so mögen Tessup, Sauska, Amanu, Simige, Ea-König, sie, die Götter, uns in ihren Herzen sehr lieben." (1990: 96).

¹⁵⁶ Functioning here not as an enclitic pronoun "they/them" but rather as a general plural marker.

¹⁵⁷ [*ša*]*-a-*[*at*]*-til-la-a-an ši-ni-e-til-la-ma-an* [ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ]ᴹᴱˢ*e-e-en-na-šu-uš na-ak-ki-te-en*; Wilhelm: "may the gods guide both of us together" (Moran 1992: 71).

In iii 27-30, a series of third plural jussive forms are used. The paragraph

concerns the presentation of Tušratta's daughter and the dowry to Amonhotep. The

pharaoh is to assemble not only his own people, but all of the foreign dignitaries and

emissaries who are currently residing in the Egyptian capital. This is followed by

commands that the gifts be displayed before the pharaoh:

(5.62) **tīġ ꞊an ꞊id**   **꞊en**   ꞊*n(na)*   ꞊*ān*   *šēn(a)* ꞊*iffu*   ꞊*da niġār(i)꞊ī*   ꞊
     show +PL.ERG+JUSS+3SG.ENCL+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+DIR dowry +3SG.POSS+
        ꞊*n*   *šēn(a)* ꞊*iffu*   ꞊*we* ꞊*n(e)*   ꞊*ē*   *ā(i)*   ꞊*i*   ꞊*ē*
     ØABS+CONN brother+1SG.POSS+GEN+SG.RELAT+*e*-CASE before+3SG.POSS+*e*-CASE
     ped ꞊ešt **꞊id**   **꞊en**   *šūa*   ꞊*nna*   ꞊*man*
     spread out+PL.ERG+JUSS all +ØABS+3SG.ENCL+CONN
     "Let them show/display it, her gift, to my brother! Let them spread all (of it) out
     before my brother!" (Mitt. iii 27-28)[158]

This is followed by:

(5.63) (When they spread it out before my brother,)
     tar ꞊īd   **꞊en**   ꞊*an*   *šukka* ꞊*n(i)꞊ni*   *ēže* ꞊*ni*
     ? +PL.ERG+JUSS+CONN one   +ABL/INST place+ABL/INST
     "Let them *tar-* (it) from one place!" (Mitt. i 30)[159]

It is not clear exactly who the plural agent refers to in these two examples. It is most

likely that they are the functionaries responsible for presenting and parading treasures

before the pharaoh. In the beginning of the paragraph containing the examples (5.62) and

(5.63), we find the form *itt ꞊ id ꞊ en* (iii 23). This form has typically been translated as an

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[158] *ti-i-ḫa-ni-i-tin-na-a-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta ni-ḫa-a-ri-i-in* 28 *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-ni-e a-a-i-e-e pè-te-eš-ti-tin šu-ú-an-na-ma-an*; Wilhelm: "And they may show his dowry to my brother, and they may spread out everything in the view of my brother." (Moran 1992: 67).

[159] *ta-ri-i-te-na-an šuk-kán-ni e-e-še-ni*; Wilhelm: "*on/from* the earth may …" (Moran 1992: 67).

intransitive "sie sollen gehen."[160] This form is problematic and will be treated in full

below in §5.3.2.4.

5.3.2.2.2 Boğazköy

   Numerous examples of jussive forms with plural agents are found outside of the

Mittani Letter. As with the singular jussive above, I will begin with examples taken from

the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual parable text KBo 32.14. In the first parable (i 1-15), the

mountain curses the deer. In doing so, it says:

(5.64) **kut** ⸗(**i**)**t**   ⸗**e**(**n**) *nāli*   *kēbil*(*i*)⸗*l*(*a* <*na*) ⸗*āž*⸗*už* **ḫā** ⸗**id**   ⸗**e**(**n**)
       fell+PL.ERG+JUSS deer+ØABS hunter +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG take+PL.ERG+JUSS
       karē   ⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*až*⸗*už* \ **ḫā** ⸗**id**   ⸗**en** *āže*   [*k*]*ebēl*(*i*) ⸗
       bird catcher+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG \ take+PL.ERG+JUSS fat+ØABS   bird catcher+
       l(*a*)   ⸗*až*⸗*už* *āšḫ*(*i*)⸗*ī*   ⸗*ma* *karē*   ⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*až*⸗*už*
       PL.RELAT+PL+ERG pelt   +3SG.POSS+ØABS+CONN bird catcher+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
       "Let the hunters fell the deer! Let the bird catchers take (it)! Let the hunters take
       the fat and the bird catchers its pelt!" (KBo 32.14 i 11-15)[161]

In (5.64), we find a series of three plural jussives. The second phrase, *ḫāide*(*n*) *karēnažuž*

(i 12-13), is asyndetic to the preceding one, allowing for the omission of the patient *nāli*.

In the third sentence in (5.64) is quite interesting we find one verb with two sets of agents

and patients separated by the particle ⸗*ma*. This results in two separate phrases sharing

the same verb (i.e. V O₁ A₁ O₂⸗*ma* A₂). The omitted predicate is clearly the same as the

preserved *ḫāide*(*n*) in i 13.

   Plural jussive forms are found throughout the ritual and mythological texts found at

Boğazköy. The first example comes from the prayer ChS I/1 41:

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[160] See Wegner 2000: 90.

[161] *ku-ut-te* ¹² *na-a-li ke-e-bi-il-la-a-šu-uš ḫa-a-i-te* ¹³ *ka-ri-e-na-šu-uš* \ *ḫa-a-i-te-in a-a-še* ¹⁴ [*k*]*i-bi-e-il-la-šu-uš a-aš-ḫi-i-ma* ¹⁵ *ga-ri-e-na-šu-uš*; treated in Neu 1996: 113-116; Wegner 1990: 299-300.

(5.65) *en*(*i*)⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*až*⸗*už* **tad** ⸗*ōn*⸗*id*   ⸗*en ište*
god +PL.RELAT+PL.ERG love+*ōn* +PL.ERG+JUSS 1SG.PRON+ØABS
"Let the gods love me!" (ChS I/1 41 iii 55-56)[162]

In this particular example, "the gods" are the agents. The next example comes from ChS

I/9 ii 36. In (5.66), the agent is the understood "waters of Šauška and Nabarbi"

found in the preceding lines ii 34-35:[163]

(5.66) [(***ašš***   ⸗***id***)] ⸗*en idi* ⸗*va pāġi*⸗*va tarže*
   wash[?]/cleanse[?]+PL.ERG+JUSS body+DAT head +DAT person+ØABS
pāġ ⸗*id* ⸗*e*(*n*) *tive zabri*
destroy+PL.ERG+JUSS word+ØABS evil+ØABS
"May (the waters) *cleanse* the man, on his body and on his head! May they
destroy the evil word (that is on him)!" (ChS I/1 9 ii 36)[164]

Since it is often construed with water in these rituals, the verb *ašš*- almost certainl means

"to wash, cleanse."[165] It is not clear why the dative forms *idiva* and *pāġiva* occur with

ašš-. Perhaps it is simply that the dative is required when specifying what parts of the

person are to be washed, or, perhaps better, the dative indicates "with respect to." The

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[162] DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-šu-uš ta-tu-u-ni-ti-in* [56] *iš-te*; cf. Wegner 1990: 301

[163] ᵈ*Šauška* ⸗ *ve* ⸗ *n*(*a*)⸗*až* ⸗ *už* ᵈ*Nabarbi*ⁱ ⸗ *n*(*a*)⸗*až*⸗*už* … *šīe* ⸗*n*(*a*)⸗*až*⸗*už*; variant writings are found in ChS I/1 10 i 53'-54'.   In ChS I/1 9 ii 34, the second DN is written incorrectly as ᵈ*na-bar-bi-na-šu-uš* for expected ᵈ*na-bar-bi<-ni-bi>-na-šu-uš*. The genitive of the divine name ᵈNabarbi ought to be ᵈ*Nabarbi* ⸗ *ne* ⸗ *ve* following ChS I/3-2 191 2'' (ᵈ]*na-bar-bi-e-ni-b*[*i*) and KBo 33.113 (joins ChS I/1 9; cf. the Hittite Konkordanz version 1.0 at http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/) iii 2 (ᵈ*na-bar-bi-ni-bi*). For the various spellings of this divine name, see van Gessel 1998: 327.

[164] [(*a-aš-ši-t*)]*i-in i-*⌈*ti*⌉-*pa pa-a-ḫi-pa tar-še pa-a-ḫi-ti te-bi za-ap-ri*; restorations based on the duplicate ChS I/1 10 ii 1-2 (with minor differences in spelling). See Wegner 1990: 301 "Sie sollen x-en den Menschen …, sie sollen vernichten das böse Wort." Haas 2003: 153 independently translates *ašš*- as "Das Waschen."

[165] In ChS I/1 3 rev. 11, the modal form *ašš* ⸗ *ae* ⸗ *ž*(⸗*a* ⸗ *l*) occurs with the instrumental form *šī*⸗*āi aġar*(*i*)⸗*re*(<*ne*)⸗*v*(*e*)⸗*āi* "through/by means of the 'water of incense' (i.e. aromatic water)." The patient is the plural …⸗*l šōni* "the hands."

jussive forms in (5.64), (5.65) and (5.66) all conform to the "-*n* Verlust"-rule

expected in the texts form Boğazköy.

Before turning to the jussive forms in ⸗*o*⸗, one last passage from Boğazköy deserves

attention. The Ritual of Ummaya found on the Sammeltafel KBo 15.1 (published in

transliteration as ChS I/5 46) is an example of a substitution or *nakkušši*-ritual.[166] In this

passage, an unspecified third plural agent is commanded to perform two actions, to *mul*⸗

ad- and to give (Hurrian *ar*-) a number of different things. The series of passages will be

given individually in (5.67) in the order in which they appear in the text:

(5.67) a. *tun*⸗*ugar*⸗*igi*⸗*na*   *en*(*i*)⸗*na*   \ **mūl**⸗***at***⸗(***i***)***t***   ⸗**en**   ᵈ*Teššop*⸗*pa*⸗*ra*ˀ
         ?   +PL.ABS god +PL.ABS   ? +*ad*+PL.ERG+JUSS DN   +DAT+*ra*ˀ
         \ **ar** ⸗**id**   ⸗**en**   *šōni*⸗*da*
          give+PL.ERG+JUSS hand+DIR
          "Let them *mūlad*- the *tunugarigi*-gods (and) let them hand (them) over to
          Teššob!" (iv 17'-18')[167]

        b. *šīe*   ⸗*na*   \ **mūl**⸗***at***⸗(***i***)***t***   ⸗**en**   *paban*(*i*) ⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*až*⸗*a* \ **ar**⸗
          water+PL.ABS ? +*at*+PL.ERG+JUSS mounatin+PL.RELAT+PL +DAT give+
          id   ⸗**en** \ *šōni* ⸗*da*
          PL.ERG+JUSS hand+DIR
          "Let them *mūlad*- the waters (and) let them hand (them) over to the
          mountains!" (iv 18'-19')[168]

        c. *eže*   \ **mōl**⸗***at***⸗(***i***)***t***   ⸗**en** \ *ḫavoruni*⸗*va* ⸗*n*   **ar** ⸗**id**ˈ   ⸗**en**
          earth+ØABS   ? +*at*+PL.ERG+JUSS heaven +DAT+CONN[169] give+PL.ERG+JUSS
          \ *šōni* ⸗*da*
           hand+DIR
          "Let them *mūlad*- the earth and let them hand (it) over to heaven!" (iv 19'-
          20')[170]

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[166] See ChS I/5 p. 16 with bibliography in note 3.

[167] *du-nu-ga-ri-ki-na* ¹⁸ˈ DINGIR.MEŠ-*na* \ *mu-ú-la-at-ten* ᵈU-*up-pa-ra* \ *a-ri-ten šu-u-ni-ta*

[168] ÍD.MEŠ-*na* \ *mu-ú-la-at-ten*(over erasure) ¹⁹ˈ ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-*na-ša* \ *a-ri-ten* \ *šu-u*⌈*-ni*⌉*-ta*

[169] or the third singular enclitic ⸗*n*(*na*)

d. *ḫalzi*　　　\ ***mōl**≠at≠(i)t*　≠en \ ***ar**　≠id*　≠ān　*šōni≠da* \
　　fortress+ØABS　? +at+PL.ERG+JUSS　give+PL.ERG[?]+JUSS[?]　hand+DIR
　　ārdi　　　\ *ḫazzi≠ne*　　≠ve \ ***ar**　≠id*[!]　≠en　\ *šōni≠da*
　　city+ØABS　?　+SG.RELAT+GEN　give+PL.ERG+JUSS　hand+DIR
　　"Let them *mūlad*- the fortress (and) let them hand (it) over! The city of *ḫ.*,[171] let
　　them hand over!" (iv 20'-21')[172]

e. *tōrop(i)≠pe* \ *nagadi*　\ *šueldi*　\ *ul(i)≠lā(<na[?])* \ *ummin(i)≠na*　　\
　　enemy +GEN[?]　?+ØABS　?+ØABS　? +PL.ABS[?]　troop[?173] +PL.ABS
　　tōrubi ≠na　　\ ***mōl**≠at≠(i)t*　≠en \ *kašti ≠ra* \ *ipšādi ≠ra* \ *ešši ≠*
　　enemy+PL.ABS　? +at +PL.ERG+JUSS　bow+COMM　quiver+COMM　shield+
　　ra　[*k*]*argarni ≠ra* \ *nōli ≠ra* \ *ḫōradi ≠ra* \ ***mōl**≠at≠(i)t*　≠en*
　　COMM armor[?174]+COMM　?　+COMM　soldier+COMM　? +at +PL.ERG+JUSS
　　[[m]]*Muršili ≠va* ***ar** ≠id*[!]　≠en　*šōni ≠da*
　　　PN　+DAT give+PL.ERG+JUSS　hand+DIR
　　"Let them *mūlad*- the *n.* of the enemy, the *š.*, the *u.* and the enemy troops! Let
　　them take (them) with the bow, with the quiver, with the shield, with the
　　armor, with the *n.* and with the troop(s)! Let them hand (them) over to
　　Muršili!" (iv 22'-25')[175]

A few general observations are due before a more detailed analysis is given. In all of the

jussive verbs in (66a-e), the final *-n* is preserved even if the following word begins with a

consonant violating the rule of "*-n* Verlust." In (66c-e), *ar≠id≠en* is spelled *a-ri-it-tén*,

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[170] *e-ši \ mu-u-la-at-ten \ ḫa-wu$_u$-ru-ni-pa-an* [20'] *a-ri-it-ti-en \ šu-u-ni-ta*; It is unclear why we have *aritten* here and not the expected *ariden*. The verb is spelled this way again in the next phrase (see the transliteration in note 172 of this chapter). It is possible that these two spellings are simple ditographic mistakes on the part of the scribe based on the consistent double *-tt-* in *mu-ú/u-la-at-ten*. The spelling *mu-u-la-at-ten* is continued in iv 20', 23', and 24', and is likely due to the fact that *-u-* is a comparatively easier sign to write then *-ú-*.

[171] It is possible, if not likely, that *ḫazzi* is related to *ḫazannu*, *ḫaziannu* "mayor, magistrate" (cf. CAD Ḫ p. 163 sub *ḫazannu*). Admittedly the spelling with geminate *-zz-* is problematic.

[172] *ḫal-zi \ mu-u-la-at-ten \ a-ri-da-a-an* [21'] *šu-u-ni-ta \ a-ar-ti \ ḫa-az-zi-ni-bi*(over erasure) *\ a-ri-it-ten \ šu-u-ni-ta*

[173] perhaps a variant spelling of *ummana* "troop" or *omani* "land."

[174] The word for "armor" is typically simply *kargari*. It is unclear what the final *-ni* is here.

[175] *tu-u-ru-ub-bi \ na-ga-ti \ šu-el-ti \ ul-la-a \ um-mi-en-na* [23'] *tu-u-ru-bi-na \ mu-u-la-at-ten \ ka-aš-ti-ra \ ip-ša-a-ti-ra \ eš-ši-ra* [24'] [*k*]*ar-kar-ni-ra \ nu-u-li-ra \ ḫu-u-ra-ti-ra \ mu-u-la-at-ten* [25'] [[m]]*mu-ur-ši-li-pa a-ri-it-ten šu-u-ni-ta*

with geminate -*tt*-. This is not to be taken as indicative of the actual shape of the

form but rather as a dittographic error based on the writing -V*t*-*tén* in *mu-ú/u-la-at*-**tén**.

  Both (5.67d) and (5.67e) contain difficulties not found in the first three passages. In

(5.67d), the jussive *mūlatten* is immediately followed by *a-ri-da-a-an šu-u-ni-ta*. In all of

the passages in (5.67), including in the latter part of (5.67d), the directive singular *šōni⸗*

da "to the hand" always follows the jussive *ar⸗id⸗en*. It is possible that in (5.67d), we

have two *ariden šōnida* phrases. If so, then the first is to be analyzed as *ar⸗id⸗ān*.

There are examples of the jussive with an *a* vowel in place of the expected *e* from

Boğazköy.[176] In the Prayer to Teššob, for instance, we find the following jussive

constructions:

(5.68) *adī⸗l*   *⸗an*   *ōrġ(i)⸗a*   **talm**   *⸗id*   *⸗e*   *tivošḫi*   …
    so +3PL.ENCL+CONN truth +ESS make great+PL.ERG+JUSS word+ØABS …
    adī⸗l   *⸗an*   *andi*   *en(i)⸗n(a)*   *⸗až⸗už fōri⸗va*
    so +3PL.ENCL+CONN this+ØABS god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG eye+DAT
    kat   *⸗(i)t*   *⸗a(n)*[177]
    speak+PL.ERG+JUSS
    "So let them make the word great in truth! … So let the gods speak these *before*
    (*me*[?])[178]" (ChS I/1 41 iii 72-74)[179]

While it breaks the pattern found in (66a-c), two *ariden šōnida* phrases without a dative

recipient is possible for (66d). The passages in (66e) are of some interest as well. We

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[176] Giorgieri *apud* Wilhelm 2004: 113

[177] The following word is *naġ⸗oll⸗i⸗o⸗šše⸗na⸗n*, which would cause the –*n* of the *kat⸗(i)t⸗an* to drop. Difficult however, is the identically spelled form *kat-ta* in iii 73 which is followed by *adī⸗l⸗an*.

[178] Typically one expects the directive *fōri⸗da* preceded by a personal pronoun in the dative for the postposition "before/in the presence of x." In iii 72-73, we find *šu-u-*[. .] *wuᵤ-u-ri-pa*. Perhaps this is to be restored as *šō⸗*[*va*] *fōri⸗va* "before me." If so, then perhaps the *fōriva* of iii 74 is also to be construed with this *šō⸗va* in iii 72.

[179] *a-ti-i-na-an u-ur-ḫa ta-al-mi-ti te-pu-uš-ḫi* … [73] … \ *a-ti-i-la-an* ⌈*an-ti*⌉ DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-šu-uš* [74] *w*[*uᵤ*]-*u-ri-pa kat-ta*

find two *mūlatten* phrases, the first with several patients, all related to the enemy's

military. The second is preceded by commitative forms in ⸗*ra* of martial terms, mostly

weaponry. In this example, a translation "let them take" or "let them defeat" or even

"seize" or "capture" for *mūlatten* is certainly possible. The enemy troops in the first

phrase are then "handed over" to the king Muršili.

5.3.2.3 Forms in ⸗*o*⸗

5.3.2.3.1 Tiš-atal

As mentioned above (§5.2.3.2), a morpheme ⸗*o*⸗ occurs in the same slot as the active

morpheme ⸗*i*⸗ in the Tiš-atal inscription and in certain forms in the Mittani Letter. The

jussive forms from the Tiš-atal inscription have been listed above (5.9). In this section,

the forms will be examined in the context in which they occur. As mentioned above, four

jussive verbs are found in this inscription. Two are positive with the god Lubadaga as

agent. One is negative with a third singular agent, and the fourth is a plural jussive with

three deities functioning as agents. The negative jussive form will be treated in full in

section §5.3.2.4.3 below. The two positive jussive forms with singular agents are as

follows:

(5.69) *puruli*   *adi*   *'ālli*   ᵈ*Lubadaga*⸗*ž*   ***šagr***   ⸗***o***⸗***en***
        temple+ØABS this+ØABS 3SG.PRON+ØABS   DN   +ERG protect+*o*+JUSS
        "This temple, let Lubadaga protect it!" (Tiš-atal 7-10)[180]

and

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[180] *pu-ru-li* [8] *a-ti 'à-al-li* [9] ᵈ*lu-ba-da-ga-áš* [10] *ša-ak-ru-en₆*; For commentary see Wilhelm 1998a: 132-136 and Wegner 2000: 210. On *puruli*, see Wegner (2001: 441) with bibliography and Wilhelm 1998a: 123-124.

(5.70) *e* ⸗*me* ⸗*ni* *tašp* ⸗*i* ʾ*ālli* ^d*Lubadaga*⸗*ž*
REL+3SG.ENCL+PART destroy+AP 3SG.PRON+ØABS DN +ERG
tašp ⸗***o*** ⸗***en***
destroy+*o*+ JUSS
"The one who destroys (the temple), let Lubadaga destroy him!" (Tiš-atal 11-14)[181]

As mentioned above, I prefer to normalize the jussive in this inscription as ⸗*en*, reading

the IN sign as -*en*₆.[182] In (5.69) we have an example of the antipassive being used to

allow for the relativization of an agent by promoting it from A to S. The agent of the

relative sentence is resumed by the absolutive pronoun ʾ*ālli* which functions as the

patient of the modal verb. The agent in both examples is the ergative *Lubadagaž*.

The plural jussive form in the Tiš-atal inscription does not use this ⸗*o*⸗ morpheme.

As with the examples in §5.3.2.2, the plural form of this mood contains the plural

ergative agreement marker ⸗*id* which precedes the jussive morpheme ⸗*en*. The passage

is as follows:

(5.71) ^d*NIN Nagar*^{KI} ^d*Šimiga*⸗*n* ^d*IM e* ⸗*me* ⸗*ni* *tašp* ⸗*i*
  DN GN(+GEN) DN +CONN DN REL+3SG.ENCL+PART destroy+AP
ʾ*ālli* *inube inaube šit* ⸗(***i***)***t*** ⸗***en***
3SG.PRON+ØABS ? ? curse+PL.ERG+JUSS
"Let "the lady of Nagar," Šimiga and the Stormgod curse *inube inaube* the one
who destroys (the temple)!" (Tiš-atal 18-25)[183]

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[181] *e-me-ni* ¹² *da-áš-bi* ʾ*à-al-li* ¹³ ^d*lu-ba-da-ga-áš* ¹⁴ *da-áš-pu-en*₆; For commentary see Wilhelm 1998a: 136-137 and Wegner 2000: 210-211.

[182] This is contra Wilhelm 1998a: 135. Note the variation in the ritual Mari 5 between *pi-ši-di-in* (16) and *pi*ᵎ*-ši-iš-ti-di-en* (17). The sign -*in* is also used for ⸗*en* in some forms from Boğazköy (e.g. *ḫa-a-i-te-in* for *ḫā*⸗*id*⸗*en* KBo 32.14 i 13, and *še-e-ia-li-ti-in* for *šē*(⸗)*al*⸗*id*⸗*en* ChS I/6 9 ii⁷ 11).

[183] ^d*NIN* ⸢*na-gàr*⸣^{KI} ¹⁹ ^d*UTU-ga-an* ²⁰ ^d⸢*IM*⸣ ²¹ *e-me-ni* ²² *da-àš-bi* ʾ*a-al*ᵎ(text: *ta*)-*li* ²³ *in-u-be* ²⁴ *i-na-u-be* ²⁵ *ši-ti-in*. See Wilhelm 1998a: 140-142; Wegner 2000: 211.

The three divinities are clearly the agents of *šit=(i)t=en*, but all stand in the

absolutive rather than in the expected ergative. The relative phrase *emeni tašpi* is

imbedded within the main clause, set between the agents and the patient, *'ālli*. Wilhelm's

identification of the absolutive agents here as anacothulon is quite possible.[184]

5.3.2.3.2 Boğazköy

There are at least a couple of possible occurrences of jussive forms in *=o=en* found in

the texts from Boğazköy. The first example is found in very broken context. In ChS I/5

80 iv 22', is a form *a-tu-uˈ-lu-eˈ-en*. This is best analyzed as a jussive verb *ad=ōl=o=ēn*

from a root *ad-*.

In ChS I/5 19, the sixth and final tablet of the Allaituraḫi ritual.[185] The tablet contains

both Hittite instructions and Hurrian recitations. The passage iv 4-10 is extremely

difficult to translate.[186] In iv 6 we find a jussive form *mi-ti-im-ˈtu-u-ú-tuˈ-u-en* which is

to be normalized as either *mid=imd=ôd=ō=en*[187] or *mid=imd=ō=ud=ō=en*. In either

case we have a jussive in *=o=en* preceded by either a morpheme *=ôd=* or by *=ud=*.[188]

The duplicate passage in ChS I/5 23 iii 13 contains an alternate form: *mi-ti-im-tu-u-ú-tu-*

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[184] Wilhelm 1998a: 141

[185] ChS I/5 p. 11

[186] Wegner 1988: 149 treats certain words within iv 8-10. Haas normalizes iv 4 as *taskarḫ(i)=ae=tta ag=ašt=o=(m)* "Mit dem Buchsbaum hat sie mich geleitet" (2003: 294), using ChS I/5 23 iii 10 to restore brakes in ChS I/5 19. The verb, however, is spelled *ˈaˈ-ku-ru-uš-d[u]* in ChS I/5 19 iv 4 and *a-ku-ni-nu-uš-du* in ChS I/5 23 iii 10. It must be either *ag=ur=ušt=o/u* or *ak=on=in=ušt=o/u* and not the *ag=ašt=o=(m)* of Haas. The form in ChS I/5 23 appears to be defective, especially given the combination of the derivational morphemes *=on=in=*.

[187] This assumes that the writing *-tu-u-ú-* is equivalent to the hyper plene spelling *-tu-u-u-*

[188] It is possible that *=ôd=* is simply a variant spelling of *=ud=*.

ti-e-en. This form is to be normalized as *mid⸗imd⸗ō⸗ud*[189]*⸗ud⸗i⸗ēn*. The plene

spelling of the jussive morpheme is not common, but examples are known.[190] It is

difficult, however, to imagine a case where we would expect a reduplication of the

derivational morpheme *⸗ud⸗ud⸗*. It is unclear why in ChS I/5 19 a jussive in *⸗ō⸗en* is

used while in the duplicate passage ChS I/5 23, it is in *⸗i⸗ēn*.[191] Until the passage is

better understood, the jussive in ChS I/5 19 iv 6 can only be given as a possible example

of a form in *⸗o⸗en*.

5.3.2.3.3 Mittani Letter

   There are a few jussive forms in *⸗o⸗* found in the Mittani Letter. All but one form is

in the negative. The negative forms will be treated below in §5.3.2.4. Given the large

number of jussive forms in *⸗i⸗en*, it is somewhat curious to find forms in *⸗o⸗en* in this

text. In iii 71-74 we have two sentences with jussive verbs. The first jussive form is the

active *subi⸗ām⸗ašt⸗i⸗en*. In the next phrase, we find a form in *⸗o⸗en*:

(5.72) *ḫiar⸗o⸗ḫḫ(e)⸗ā ⸗tt(a)   ⸗ān   teōn(i)⸗a   šēn(a)⸗iffu   ⸗ž*
        gold   +ESS+1SG.ENCL+CONN much +ESS[192] brother+1SG.POSS+ERG
        keb⸗ān⸗o⸗en
        send   +*o*+JUSS
        "May my brother send me much gold!" (Mitt. iii 73-74)[193]

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[189] Or alternately *⸗ôd⸗* as above.

[190] Note the form *ḫa⸗i⸗ēn* (*ḫa-i-e-en*) in ChS I/2 90 ii 10.

[191] Equally unclear is why in ChS I/5 19 the length is on the *⸗o⸗* morpheme while in I/5 23 it is on the jussive itself.

[192] It is also possible that this is to be taken as parallel to the adverbial form *teōnae*

[193] *ḫi-ia-ru-uḫ-ḫa-a-at-ta-a-an* [74] *te-u-u-na še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš gi-pa-a-nu-en*; The passage is treated in Giorgieri 2000a: 271, 275 and note 263; and in Girbal 1988: 128-129.

As noted by Wegner, the verb *keb⸗an-* usually takes that which is being sent as the patient with the recipient in the dative.[194] Here the recipient is clearly the first person enclitic pronoun *⸗tta*. Not only does the preceding phrase have a jussive in *⸗i⸗en*, but the two phrases immediately following (5.72) have forms in *⸗i⸗en* as well! I have been unable to determine what differentiates this phrase from the others that would cause it to be in *⸗o⸗en*. For more on this passage, see below.

5.3.2.4 Negative Jussive

As mentioned above (§5.2.4.4), the negative jussive, or vetitive, is almost exclusively found in the Mittani Letter. The primary marker of the negative jussive is the morpheme *⸗w(a)⸗*, found between the valence marker *⸗i⸗* and the jussive morpheme *⸗en*.[195] The *a* of the negative morphemes is typically lengthened in this situation. When the *⸗o⸗* valence marker is present, the *a* of the negative morpheme elides before the jussive *⸗en* resulting in a combination *⸗owen* (*⸗o⸗w(a)⸗en*).[196] This negative morpheme *⸗wa⸗* is not exclusive to the jussive. It is also found with first and second person indicative transitive forms in the Mittani Letter (cf. §2.3.5.4.2). The negative marker for transitive indicative verbs in Old Hurrian forms from Boğazköy is *⸗ud⸗*.[197] There are some examples which indicate that this morpheme may also have been used to negate the jussive.

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[194] Wegner 2000: 172

[195] See note 116 of this chapter.

[196] See note 117 of this chapter.

[197] See note 118 of this chapter.

5.3.2.4.1 Negative in ⸗i⸗va⸗

The most common form of the negative jussive in the Hurrian corpus are those in ⸗i⸗ va⸗en. The following example from the Mittani Letter juxtaposes the negative jussive form of the verb *pašš-* "to send" with a positive one:

(5.73) *ōlē*　　　⸗n　　*šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu*　⸗*ž*　*paššītḫe*　　　***pašš⸗ar ⸗ī*** 　⸗
other+ØABS+CONN[198] brother+1SG.POSS+ERG messenger+ØABS send+ITER+ACT+
vā ⸗***en***　ᵐ*Mane* ⸗*nna*　　⸗*man pašš* ⸗*i*　　⸗*en*
NEG+JUSS　　PN　+3SG.ENCL+CON　send+ACT+JUSS
"Let my brother not keep sending another messenger! Let him send (only) Mane!" (Mitt. iv 53-54)[199]

In this passage, Tušratta explicitly states that he will not accept any Egyptian emissary other than Mane. The agent of the positive jussive *paššien* is the understood *šēniffuž* from the preceding phrase. The negative form is modified by the derivational morpheme ⸗*ar*⸗ which has a factitive or iterative function.[200] It is likely that this morpheme is acting as an iterative here, indicating the sending of not one other messenger but numerous.

In the letter, the verb *ḫis⸗ūġ-* "to make sick" occurs several times in the negative in the stock phrase: "May (my brother) not distress my heart!" In every occurrence, the patient is *tiž(a)⸗iffe* "my (i.e. Tušratta's) heart," and the agent is either an expressed or understood *šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗ž* "my brother (i.e. the pharaoh)." Note the following examples:

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[198] Or 3SG.ENCL

[199] *u-u-li-e-en še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš* ⁵⁴ *pa-aš-ši-it-ḫé pa-aš-ša-ri-i-wa-a-en* ᵐ*ma-ni-en-na-ma-an pa-aš-ši-en*

[200] Wegner 2000: 76

(5.74) *tiž(a)⸗iffe ⸗ nn(a)⸗ān **ḫi[s ⸗ū]ġ ⸗i ⸗vā ⸗en*** (Mitt. iii 75-76)[201]

(5.75) *tiž(a)⸗iffe ⸗ n[n(a)]⸗ān **ḫis ⸗ūġ ⸗i ⸗vā ⸗en*** (Mitt. iii 85)[202]

(5.76) *t[iž(a)]⸗iffe ⸗ nn(a)⸗ān šēn(a)⸗if[f]u ⸗ ž **ḫis ⸗ūġ ⸗i ⸗vā ⸗en*** (Mitt. iii 89)[203]

(5.77) *tiž(a)⸗iffē ⸗ n **ḫis ⸗ūġ ⸗[i ⸗v]ā ⸗en*** (Mitt. iii 95)[204]

As can be seen in (5.74) through (5.77), each phrase begins with the absolutive *tižiffe*. In all but (5.77), the patient is resumed by the enclitic pronoun *⸗nna*. The only example with explicit agent is (5.76) where the agent appears between the patient and predicate. With the exception of the omission of the enclitic pronoun in (5.77), there is no apparent variation in the writing of the patient and predicate amongst the examples. It must be admitted, however, that some degree of restoration is necessary in all examples.

5.3.2.4.2 A Negative in *⸗ud⸗*?

Before turning to the forms in *⸗o ⸗ w(a)⸗en*, a brief examination of some possible negative jussive forms in *⸗ud*. There are a few jussive forms in the Mittani-period letter found at Tell Brak (TB 11021).[205] The text is extremely broken, making it difficult to interpret the forms. On the obverse line 5', there is the form *a-ru-ú-ten*. If a verbal form,

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[201] *ti-ši-íw-we-en-na-a-an* [76] *ḫi-[su-ú]-ḫi-wa-a-en*

[202] *ti-ši-íw-we-en-*[na]*-a-an ḫi-su-ú-ḫi-wa-a-en*

[203] *t*[i-ši]*-íw-we-en-na-a-an še-e-ni-íw-*[wu]*-uš ḫi-su-ú-ḫi-wa-a-en*

[204] *ti-ši-íw-we-e-en ḫi-su-ú-ḫ*[i-wa]*-a-en*

[205] Published in Wilhelm 1991.

this can only be a jussive in =en. Wilhelm takes the =ūd= as the negative morpheme known from indicative verbs.[206] There are, however, difficulties with this analysis. While in the plural positive forms, the transitive =i= is elided, it is present in all other forms, including the negative in =wa=. It could be that the morpheme =ud= has the same affect as the plural marker =id= in suppressing the transitive valence marker. It is also possible that the writing -ú-ten represents not the negative =ud + jussive =en, but rather the derivational morpheme =ud[207] + the plural marker =id + jussive =en, with elision of the i of the plural marker between the two dentals. This would result in a form arütten which can be parsed as ar=ut=(i)t=en "May they …!." It is not clear what nuance the derivational morpheme =ud- provides. Given the use of the sign TEN and not a writing -ti-en, I prefer the latter analysis.

In the texts from Mari, another potential negative jussive in =ud= can be found. As has been noted above, the texts from Mari, like the Old Babylonian ones from Mesopotamia, are very difficult. Large portions of these texts remain mostly unintelligible. In the ritual Mari 5,[208] several verbal forms are found with an infix =ud=. In line 1 and 2 we have the predicates i-si and al-lu-li-e respectively. In line 6 and 7, we find the forms i-su-di-iš and al-lu-lu-da-i[š] respectively. The parsing of the forms in lines 1 and 2 are uncertain,[209] but in 6 we have the optative form is=ud=i=(e)ž and in 7 a

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[206] Wilhelm 1991: 164

[207] Wegner 2000: 77

[208] Thureau-Dangin 1939: 17-20

[209] Both verbs are followed by the noun šinni "tooth." It is possible that they are simply antipassive forms with šinni functioning as S. They may be jussives with loss of -n before the š of šinni. Finally, they may be optative forms in =i=(e)ž. In this last case, instead of elision of the ž of the modal

purposive form *all=ul=ud=aiž* (on the purposive see chapter seven). In line 19 we

have a jussive form with *=ud=*:

(5.78) (…) *ḫad=**ud**=i*   *=en*   *kiazi=ni*
        ? +*ud*+ACT+JUSS sea +ABL/INST
      "May (he) … (it/them) from the sea!" (Mari 5: 19)[210]

Unfortunately the verb is unknown. The surrounding context is unclear as well. This

makes it virtually impossible to determine if the *=ud=* morpheme is to be taken as a

derivational morpheme or as the negative marker in this passage. As it can be seen, the

evidence for *=ud=* as a negative morpheme in the jussive is meager at best. It is quite

possible that in the cases shown above that *=ud=* is simply a derivational morpheme.

5.3.2.4.3 Negative in *=o=v(a)=*

   While it is unlikely that *=ud=* functions as a negative marker in the jussive, there is an

alternate construction involving the negative *=va=* seen above in §5.3.2.4.1. In jussive

forms with *=o=* instead of the commoner *=i=*, the *a* of the negative morpheme elides

before the jussive ending. This results in a construction *=o=v(a)=en*. In the Tiš-atal

inscription, the *w* of the negative actually elides and *a > e* before the jussive morpheme,

resulting in a form *=o=(v)e(<a)=en*.[211] This form will be treated below. Forms in *=oven*

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form, we may have a sandhi writing *isiššinni* and *alluliššinni* for *is=i=(e)ž šinni* and *all=ul=i=(e)ž šinni* respectively.

   [210] *ḫa-tu-di-en ki-ia-zi-ni*

   [211] Giorgieri 2000a: 239, separates forms in *=o=* found in the Mittani Letter from the one found in the Tiš-atal inscription. The former are normalized as *=ō=v(a)=en* while the latter as *=o=(v)e=in* by him (following his normalization). Wegner 2000: 92 gives the basic construction as *-o/uw(a)en*, but then normalizes *urōwen* as *ur=o=w(e)=en*! Wilhelm 2004a: 113 gives the following explanation of the vetitive: "[t]he negation of the jussive ('vetitive') is *-va-* (OH *-v(e)-*) after a vowel, *-ov-* after a consonant."

do not all behave like jussives in ⸗*i*⸗. A number of forms in ⸗*oven* can be translated

as "passive". Wegner does not analyze this ending as a negative jussive, but rather posits

a distinct positive modal form ⸗*oven*.[212]

    In two passages within the Mittan Letter, we have a jussive form of *nakk-* "to free,

release" with the plural "gods" as the ergative agent. One example is positive:

(5.79) [*š*]*ā*[*t*]*ti*   ⸗*ll*(*a*)   ⸗*ān*   *šinē*   ⸗*dilla*   ⸗*man*
        1PL.PRON+ØABS+3PL.ENCL+CONN two+ØABS+1PL.ENCL+CONN
        [^{DINGIER}].^{MEŠ}*ên*(*i*)⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*až*⸗*už* **nakk**⸗*id*   ⸗*en*
             god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG free +PL.ERG+JUSS
        "Let the gods free us two!" (Mitt. iv 117)[213]

Earlier in the letter, the verb appears in the negative:

(5.80) … ^{DINGIR.MEŠ}*ên*(*i*)⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*až*⸗*už* **nakk**⸗*id*   ⸗*ō*   ⸗*v*(*a*)⸗*en*
               god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG free +PL.ERG+ACT+NEG+JUSS
        "… let the gods not free (s.o./s.t.)!" (Mitt. ii 52)[214]

Unfortunately (5.80) is found in a fragmentary section of the letter, making it difficult to

translate. It appears that the only real difference between (5.79) and (5.80) is that the

former is positive while the latter is negative. Note that while in the positive we have

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Following Wilhelm, certain jussive forms with singular agents such as *ḫi-su-ú-ḫu-lu-ú-en* (Mitt. i 110) and
ú-ru-u-wə-en would not have a valence marker (⸗*i*⸗ or ⸗*o*⸗). Reconstructed positive forms should be
**ḫis⸗*ūġ*⸗*ol*⸗*en* and **ur⸗*en* respectively following this analysis.

[212] Wegner 2000: 92-93

[213] [*ša*]-*a*[-*at*]-*til-la-a-an ši-ni-e-til-la-ma-an* [^{DINGIR}].^{MEŠ}*e-e-en-na-šu-uš na-ak-ki-te-en*

[214] ^{DINGIR.MEŠ}*e-e-en-*⌈*na-šu-uš*⌉ *na-ak-ki-du-u-wə-en*

simply the combinaton ⸗*id*⸗*en*, while in the negative, a morpheme ⸗*o*⸗ appears

between the negative and the plural morphemes.[215]

    Examples (5.74) through (5.77), each contain the negative active jussive form *ḫis*⸗

ūġ⸗*i*⸗*wā*⸗*en*. In i 110 of the Mittani Letter, we find a variant form of this verb:

(5.81) *anu*⸗*wa* ⸗*mān* *tivē* ⸗*nē*   ⸗*va* *šēn*(*a*)⸗*iffe*
        this +DAT+CONN word+SG.RELAT+DAT brother+1SG.POSS+ØABS
        his   ⸗*ūġ*⸗*ol*⸗*o*⸗*v*(*a*)⸗*en*
        make ill+*ūġ*+*ol*+*o* +NEG +JUSS
        "Over (lit.: to/for) this word, may my brother not be distressed!" (Mitt. i 110)[216]

In (5.74)-(5.77) the verb *ḫis*⸗*ūġ*- is transitive with either an expressed (5.76) or

unexpressed agent (5.74), (5.75) and (5.77). In the case of those phrases where the agent

is unexpressed, it is explicitly mentioned in the preceding phrase or phrases.[217] In all four

examples, *ḫis*⸗*ūġ*- is a transitive verb "to make s.o./s.t. sick." The passage in (5.81) is

the first line of a new paragraph in the letter. There is no ergative agent, explicit or

assumed. The subject of the verb is the absolutive *šēniffe*. The verb is also further

modified by a derivational morpheme ⸗*ol*⸗. While ⸗*ol*⸗ has been seen as playing an

important role in switching the verb from a transitive to an intransitive or even

"passive,"[218] the role of ⸗*o*⸗ in this construction must be determined.

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[215] It is examples like this that have led Wilhelm to see the negative morpheme as ⸗*ov*⸗ when following a consonant. He normalizes this form as *nakk*=*id*=*ōv*=*en* "may they not let/send" (2004: 113).

[216] *a-nu-ú-a-ma-a-an ti-ve-e-ni-e-wa še-e-ni-íw-we ḫi-su-ú-ḫulu-ú-en*; Wilhelm translates as "Über jene Sache möge mein Bruder sich nicht betrüben," taking the verb as reflexive (1984: 220).

[217] For example (5.74), the ergative *šēniffuž* is mentioned in iii 74 and is the agent for a series of jussive forms including *ḫisūġiwaen*. For (5.75), *šēniffuž* actually occurs after the phase in question. The agent for (5.77) occurs in the immediately preceding negative jussive phrase in iii 94-95.

[218] Giorgieri 2000a: 224

In order to determine the function of ⸗o⸗ in these negative forms it is necessary to examine some other occurrences. One other negative form is found in the Mittani Letter. In one section, Tušratta discusses mutual protection of each other's lands. Note the following parallel passages:

(5.82)   *innā⸗mmaman šēn(a)*   *⸗iffu*   *⸗we* *t[o]rubi*   **ur** *⸗ō⸗v(a)⸗en*
        if   +CONN   brother+1SG.POSS+GEN enemy+ØABS exist+ō+NEG +JUSS
        "If (only) an enemy of my brother did not exist!" (Mitt. iii 110-111)[219]

and

(5.83) (Should there exist, on the other hand, for me an enemy,)
       innā⸗mmaman **ur**   *⸗ō⸗v(a)⸗en*
       if   +CONN   exist+ō+NEG+JUSS
       "If (only) he did not exist!" (Mitt. iii 116)[220]

In both (5.82) and (5.83) we find the protasis of incomplete conditional clauses. The phrases can be completed with something along the line: "… then all would be well." The verb *ur-* is an existential verb meaning "to exist." The form *urōven* is similar to the negative form *mānn⸗obur* "it is not" found in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual.[221] This is the one verb that does not have a transitive reading that occurs in the jussive. While *ḫis⸗ūġ⸗ol-* is *not* transitive in (5.81), a transitive *ḫis⸗ūġ-* exists.

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[219] *in-na-a-am-ma-ma-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e* [111] *d[u]-ru-bi ú-ru-u-wə-en*

[220] *in-na-a-am-ma-ma-an ú-ru-u-wə-en*

[221] Take for example, the phrase *nāli mānn⸗ōbur* "it is not a deer" (KBo 32.14 i 17). The negative (indicative) form is *mann⸗o⸗kko*. Wilhelm 1998a: 140[124] prefers to see two morphemes in ⸗o⸗, one transitive (ergative) and the other found in the negative intransitive constructions *mann⸗o⸗kko* and *ur⸗o⸗kko*.

The oldest example of the negative jussive is found in the Tiš-atal inscription. In the curse formula, we find the following passage:

(5.84) *en(i)⸗i⁷*   *⸗ž*   *ḫav(i⁷)⸗a(y)a⁷*[222]   **ḫaž ⸗o ⸗(v)e(<a)⸗en**
god +3SG.POSS+ERG[223]   prayer+3SG.POSS⁷+ØABS   hear+ACT+NEG   +JUSS
"May his god not hear his prayer(s)!" (Tiš-atal 15-17)[224]

In contrast to the other negative jussive verbs given above, the form here does not preserve the *w* of the negative. Taking the jussive in this text as *⸗en* results in either the combination *⸗e⸗en* which requires the assumption of a (slight) glottal stop between the two *e* vowels or as *⸗ēn*. The latter assumes that the combination *o* + negative *wa* +*en* resulted in the elision of the *w*, a shift of *a > e* and its ultimate combination with the jussive morpheme resulting in a lengthened (and likely stressed) *⸗ēn*. The only distinction between the negative and positive jussive forms would be that the negative has the lengthened morpheme *⸗ēn*. With the limited data available, it is far simpler to analyze the form as *⸗o⸗e⸗en* at the present.[225] A similar form is found in ChS I/5 80. In

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[222] See Wilhelm 1998a: 139; Wegner follows Diakonoff in taking this form from *ḫawaḫa* (better: *ḫavaġa*) (2000: 211)

[223] This follows Wilhelm's transliteration DINGIR-[*S*]*Ú⁷* (1998a: 119, 137-138). Since this form is a Sumerogram with an Akkadographic possessive, the expected ergative ending is not expressed in this writing. I have used the more Mittanian possessive morpheme *⸗i⸗*, but perhaps *⸗iya* or even *⸗aya* is to be preferred.

[224] DINGIR-[*S*]*Ú⁷* ¹⁶ *ḫa-⌈wa-'à⌉-a* ¹⁷ *ḫa-śu⌈-e⌉-in*; Wilhelm 1998a: 120 translates as: "[Se]in Gott möge sein Gebet nicht hören." Wegner 2000: 209 translates: "Der Gott x[ ] möge sein Gebet? nicht hören." This phrase can be contrasted with the following (positive) expressions in Akkadian: (if some future ruler rebuilds this wall when it has collapsed, Aššur and Adad) *ikribīšu išammeu* "will listen to his prayers" AOB 1 32 no. 3:13 (cf. CAD I p. 65 sub *ikribu* 3) and *Ištar ikribīšu išemme* VA Ass 2296: 71-73 (Grayson 1987: 255) amongst others.

[225] Wegner 2000: 211 parses the form as *ḫaš=u=w(e)=en*

broken context, we find *a-tu-u⸢-lu-e⸣-en*. This may be a negative jussive *ad⸗ōl⸗o⸗(v)e(<a)⸗en* from a root *ad-*.

Following Wilhelm, the negative (and positive) jussive verbs in *⸗o⸗* are not to be taken together but rather separated out into two groups with different *⸗o⸗* morphemes, one transitive and one intransitive.[226] In examples (5.69), (5.70), (5.72), (5.80) and (5.84) the jussive forms would display the transitive *⸗o⸗* while (5.81), (5.82) and (5.83) have jussives with an intransitive *⸗o⸗*. According to the "one form/one meaning principle" mentioned above in (5.14), since the "transitive" *⸗o⸗* and intransitive *⸗o⸗* are phonologically identical and occur in the same morphological position within the verb, they are likely to be lexically identical as well. In other words, we must allow that these are less likely to be homophonous morphemes but rather one and the same.

It was demonstrated in the previous chapter on the optative that Hurrian had a "passive" morpheme *⸗o⸗*. This "passive" morpheme was further linked to the indicative transitive valence marker *⸗o⸗*, with both having a common origin in proto-Hurro-Urartian. The optative does not function along ergative lines. The subject of an optative verb, regardless of person, is in the absolute. The jussive, however, functions quite differently from optative. The jussive can only occur with third person subjects and agents. With the exception of examples (80) through (82), the agents are all in the ergative. The only examples of jussive verbs with absolutive subjects are the three examples found in the Mittani Letter. The overwhelming majority of examples of jussives require ergative agents. This leads me to believe that the jussive either came into existence either while Hurrian was developing into an ergative language or sometime

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[226] Wilhelm 1998a: 140[124]

shortly thereafter, or, conversely, the preexisting jussive in pre-ergative proto-Hurro-

Urartian, was adapted over time to fit the ergative model. The fact that we have no

substantive examples of intransitive jussives argues in favor of the former. If the jussive

developed according to the latter explanation, we would expect to find clear examples of

intransitive verbs in this mood. If proto-Hurro-Urartian was originally nominative-

accusative, there would be no difference between the agent of "let him give you the

message!" and the subject in "let him come!" Both would function as A NPs. In an

ergative language, however, there is a considerable amount of difference between the two

examples. In the first we would have an A NP and in the second an S NP which is

functionally closer to the patient of the first example then it is to the agent. For these

reasons, I prefer to see the jussive in Hurrian as arising as the direct result of the

development of ergativity within the proto-language.

   The early jussive forms found in the Tiš-atal inscription would therefore be built off of

the indicative transitive model down to the use of the transitive valence marker $⸗o⸗$. In

other words, the jussive constructions:

(5.85) *puruli adi 'ālli* $^{\text{d}}$*Lubadaga⸗ž* ***šagr⸗o⸗en***[227]

(5.86) *e⸗me⸗ni tašp⸗i 'ālli* $^{\text{d}}$*Lubadaga⸗ž* ***tašp⸗o⸗en***[228]

were built on analogy from indicative phrases such as:

(5.87) **puruli adi 'ālli* $^{\text{d}}$*Lubadaga⸗ž šagr⸗o⸗m*

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[227] Given earlier as (5.69).

[228] Given eralier as (5.70).

(5.88)   *e⸗me⸗ni tašp⸗i 'ālli ^dLubadaga⸗ž tašp⸗o⸗m

For some reason, the plural jussive forms omit the transitive marker. Instead of *šit⸗

(i)t⸗o⸗en (with parallel indicative *šit⸗(i)t⸗o), we find šit⸗(i)t⸗en. The transitive

marker ⸗o⸗ was phased out of use and replaced by ⸗i⸗ in both the indicative and the

jussive. Based on this, the jussive forms in ⸗o⸗ found in the Tiš-atal inscription can be

taken as parallel to those in the Mittani Letter.

   This does not, however, explain the jussive forms in ⸗o⸗ found in the Mittani Letter.

There are four examples of jussive forms in ⸗o⸗ found in the letter. Three are negative

while one is positive. In both the optative and the potentials, "passive" forms are

indicated by a morpheme ⸗o⸗ (cf. §4.2.1.2.1, §4.34 and §6.3.1.3, §6.3.2.1). The negative

form ḫisūġolowen can be translated as a "passive" "may he not be distressed by

someone/something." The verb ur-, which is an existential verb meaning "to exist,"

occurs with ⸗o⸗ in non-indicative forms (e.g. ur⸗o⸗l⸗ēva Mitt. iii 115 and ur⸗d⸗o⸗l⸗

ēva Mitt. ii 53). Note also the form mānn⸗o⸗l⸗ēva⸗ā⸗ll(a)⸗ān (Mitt. ii 122) from the

verb mann- "to be." Apparently the verbs ur- and mann- require the "passive" morpheme

⸗o⸗ in the nonindicative.[229]

   The passage in (5.72) can be translated as active with an ergative agent and an

absolutive patient. As mentioned above, the verb keb⸗ān- is used atypically in this

example, taking the recipient as the absolute patient instead of as a dative. The shift of

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[229] Note also the nonindicative form tupp⸗o⸗l⸗ēva (Mitt. iii 100). Like mann-, the verb tupp-
takes the ⸗e "valence" marker in the indicative. Since there are no examples of a positive indicative use of
ur-, it can only be hypothesized that it to would appear with this ⸗e morpheme (as opposed to ⸗a or ⸗u).
The morpheme ⸗o⸗ as "passive" will be discussed in more detail in chapter eleven (§11.2.2, §11.2.4).

focus from that which is being sent to the recipient fits with the general context of this section of the Mittani Letter. The focus of this section is on Tušratta, himself, as indicated by the numerous first person forms. In (5.89), the passage originally treated as (5.72) is given in its broader context. Grammatical comments have not been included with (5.89), but all first person forms are in bold:

(5.89) *šēn(a)=iffū(=ž)=tt(a)=ān subi=ām=ašt=i=en evri=nn(i)=āž=a irī=nn(i)=ard(i)=iffu=wa ôl(i)=l(a <na)=āž=a* ^{KUR}*ōmīn(i)=n(a)=āž=a for=i=až=a ḫiar=o=ḫḫ(e)=ā=tt(a)ān teōn(i)=a šēn(a)=iffu=ž keb=ān=o=en for=(i)d=en=i=tt(a)=ān*[230] *šēn(a)=iffu=š=š(<nna)=ān … tiv(e)=iffe šukk=o tān=ašt=i=en tiž(a)=iffe=nn(a)=ān ḫi[s=ū]ġ=i=vā=en*
"May **my** brother *subi-* **me** before the kings, **my** … and the other lands! May **my** brother send **me** much gold! May (t)he(y) see[?] **me**! May **my** brother do **my** matter alone and may he not distress **my** heart (i.e. may he not upset **me**)!" (Mitt. iii 71-76)[231]

It is likely no coincidence that we find an atypical use of *keb=ān-* which requires the pronoun *=tta* "me" as patient with a jussive in *=o=en* instead of the typical *=i=en*. There are four jussive forms in (5.89) in *=i=en. keb=ān=o=en* is embedded within the passage, and it is highly unlikely that it would be the result of scribal error. The result of the use of *keb=ān=o=en*, here, is that the first person *=tta* is the patient for the first three jussive forms. The verb cannot be a "passive" jussive, because the verb is in the third person jussive *=en* and not in the first person *=le*. In (5.81), it is acceptable to translate the verb as a "passive" since the subject, *šēniffe* is a third person absolutive NP. The use of *=o=*

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[230] As parsed, the form is a plural jussive with elision of the *i* of the plural morpheme between *-r* and *d-*. It is unclear who the agents would be. An alternate parsing would be *fur=d=i=en=i=tt(a)=ān*, with a derivational morpheme *=d=* and the singular jussive construction *=i=en*.

[231] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-ut-ta-a-an* [72] *su-bi-a-a-maš-ti-en ip-ri-en-na-a-ša i-ri-i-in-na-ar-ti-íw-wu-ú-a* [73] *u-u-ul-la-a-ša* ^{KUR}*u-u-mi-i-in-na-a-ša wu-ri-a-ša ḫi-ia-ru-uḫ-ḫa-a-at-ta-an* [74] *te-u-u-na še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš gi-pa-a-nu-en wu-ur-te-ni-it-ta-an še-e-ni-íw<-wu>-uš-ša-a-an* [75] *… ti-wi-íw-we šuk-ku ta-a-na-aš-ti-en ti-ši-íw-we-en-na-a-an* [76] *ḫi[-su-ú]-ḫi-wa-a-en*

en in (5.72) must have one of the following two functions: either it was required in order to allow *keb⸗ān-* to take the recipient as patient or it places emphasis on the patient (i.e. "may my brother send ME much gold"). If the latter is correct, then why do the forms *subiamaštien* and *forden* not have this *⸗o⸗* morpheme? Against the former explanation, we would expect the change in focus of *keb⸗ān-* to be indicated by a derivational morpheme. This should not prevent the use of the typical *⸗i⸗en* for the jussive. As a result, it remains unclear why we have a form in *⸗o⸗* here and not *⸗i⸗*.[232]

With the exception of *keb⸗ān⸗o⸗en*, the forms in *⸗o⸗* from the Mittani Letter can be analyzed as passives. While the jussive forms in the Tiš-atal inscription are also in *⸗o⸗*, these are almost certainly to be translated as active verbs. The most likely explanation for this goes against the "one form/one meaning principle." As *⸗o⸗* died out as the transitive morpheme in the indicative, it did the same in the jussive. By the time of the Mittani Letter, a "passive" *⸗o⸗*, known from the optative and other nonindicative forms was introduced in to the jussive paradigm. This supports Wilhlem's theory of two separate *⸗o⸗* morphemes in the jussive with the exception that in place of an intransitive morpheme *⸗o⸗*, I would see it is as functioning as a "passive" marker.

5.3.2.5 Anomalous Forms?

In §5.2.3.1, it was mentioned that some scholars have rejected the notion that *⸗i⸗* is a transitive marker. The argument is largely based upon the form *ittiden* which is taken as an intransitive jussive. The form *it-ti-tin* has been parsed as the root *itt-* "to go" + *-i-*

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[232] The same argument holds for the negative *nakk⸗id⸗ō⸗w(a)⸗en* in Mitt. ii 52; cf. example (580).

modal marker + *-t-* plural + *en* jussive.[233] This analysis is dependent upon the

separation of a modal *-i-* from a plural *-t-* morpheme. As demonstrated above (1.2.3.3), it

is preferable to read a single plural morpheme *⸗id⸗* rather than separating it into two

separate ones. Instead of parsing the form as *itt⸗i⸗d⸗en*, a parsing *itt⸗id⸗en* is

preferable. This does not, however, address the more important issue of whether or not

the jussive can occur with intransitive verbs. All examples of the jussive in non-

transitive situations include the morpheme *⸗o⸗* in place of *⸗i⸗*. Of these, one involves

the existential verb *ur-* "to exist," while the other form, *ḫis⸗ūġ⸗ol⸗o⸗w(a)⸗en*, can be

taken as a passive "to be distressed/made sick (by s.t. or s.o.). The form *ittiden*, however,

has been consistently analyzed as containing the intransitive root *itt-* "to go."

In order to evaluate the validity of this analysis, we must focus on the context. The

passage in which the verb is found comes from the Mittani Letter. Tušratta states that he

has sent his daughter as well as her dowry to Egypt.[234] In the following paragraph, the

Mittanian king talks of presentation of his daughter to his Egyptian counterpart:

(5.90) (Now when the wife of my brother comes, when she appear to my brother,)[235]
    už(i)⸗iffū   *⸗nn(i)⸗a⸗mān šō*   *⸗ve ⸗nē*   *⸗nn(i)⸗a* ***itt⸗id***   ***⸗en***
    flesh+1SG.POSS+EQUAT +CONN 1SG.PRON+GEN+RELAT+EQUAT V +PL.ERG+JUSS
    už(i)⸗iffu   *⸗nn(i)⸗ā⸗n*   ***tīġ ⸗an ⸗id***   ***⸗en***
    flesh+1SG.POSS+EQUAT +3SG.ENCL show+CAUS+1PL.ERG+JUSS
    "May they … as my own flesh! May they display her as my flesh!" (Mitt. iii 23-24)[236]

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[233] Most recently put forth in Hazenbos 2001: 173[10].

[234] Mitt. iii 11-20   "And now I have given the wife of my brother and (she) has gone to my brother! … Furthermore, my brother will see the dowry …"

[235] *undo⸗mān inna⸗mē⸗nīn šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗we ašti un⸗ēt⸗t⸗a inna⸗mā⸗nīn šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗da tīġ⸗an⸗ōll⸗ēt⸗t⸗a* (Mitt. iii 21-22).

[236] *ú-ši-íw-wu-ú-un-na-ma-a-an šu-u-we⸗ni⸗e⸗en⸗na it-ti-tin ú-ši-íw-wu-un-na-a-an* [24] *ti-i-ḫa-ni-tin*

The form *ittiden* is typically translated as "May they go!"[237] Taking the verb from the intransitive *itt-* "to go," however, results in certain difficulties in translation. In the preceding lines, it is clearly the daughter of Tušratta who is the subject of the two verbs *un-* "to come" and *tīǵ꞊an-* "to (be) displayed." Why would Tušratta suddenly switch from his daughter to a third plural subject of the verb "to go" without ever specifying who the actors are? Not only would they be going to the pharaoh, but they would be going "as my [i.e. Tušratta's] flesh!" Wegner postulates that these unspecified actors could be Tušratta's "Stellvertreter" or "Vertrauensleute."[238] The topic of this paragraph, as with the preceding one, is the daughter of Tušratta and the dowry sent with her and not her entourage as a whole. In iii 23-24, he is not talking about the presentation of the dowry, but rather of the arrival and presentation of his daughter who is to become the wife of the pharaoh. It is not some group of actors who are representing the actual body of Tušratta, but his daughter who is his own flesh and blood.

If we take *užiffūnna* as describing the daughter of Tušratta, then the plural jussive *ittiden* cannot be translated as "May they go." Since the verb is plural, the daughter of Tušratta can only be taken as the patient of a transitive verb with plural agents. The homonymous verb *itt-* "to strike" makes no sense in this context. Neither does the near homonym *it-* "to dress/clothe." Instead of looking for a new root *itt-*, an alternate solution can be found within the Mittani Letter itself. The verb *un-* is seen as being a labile verb, with an intransitive meaning "to come" and a transitive meaning "to bring;

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[237] Hazenbos 2001: 173[10] "sie mögen gehen;" Wegner 2000: 90 "sie sollen gehen;" Wilhelm 1992b: 666[7] "sie mögen gehen."

[238] Wegner 2000: 155

have come."[239] If the root *un-* is labile, then could not its counterpart *itt-* also be? In their intransitive function, the two form a complimentary pair, with *un-* indicating motion with near deixes or movement towards, and *itt-* indicating motion with far deixes or movement away. Perhaps *itt-*, like *un-*, has a transitive function and can be translated as "to have go" or the like. The third person agent likely refers to the entourage accompanying Tušratta's daughter. This results in the following translation:

(5.91) "May they have her go (before my brother?) as my own flesh and may they display her as my flesh!"

This translation keeps the focus on the daughter mentioned in the preceding lines. If this is correct, then we no longer have to deal with an intransitive verb in the jussive while all others are transitive.[240]

   In the parables KBo 32.12, the root *itt-* occurs in a voluntative form. Unfortunately, the section of the tablet where this verb is found is quite broken, making it difficult to determine the context in which it occurs. The phrase as preserved is as follows:

(5.92) ***itt*⸗*i*⸗*le*** *nēl*(*i*)⸗*la*(*<na*) …

The verb is a first person voluntative to be translated as "may I *itt-*!" Neu analyzes the root as *itt-* "to go," translating it as "ich will gehen."[241] He correctly notes, however, that *nēlla* must be taken as the grammatical object of the verb, making it impossible to take

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[239] Giorgieri 2000a: 226 " *ūn=ōš=t=a* (intr.) 'egli venne' e *un=ēt=t=a* (intr.) 'ella verrà' vs. *ūn=ōž=a* (trans.-erg.) 'egli portò'." In the Mittani Letter, the majority of occurrences of *un-* are as an intransitive verb.

[240] Wegner is aware of the lack of further evidence for intransitive jussives when she writes: "[w]eitere zur Klärung beitragende sichere intransitive Jussivformen sind aus dem Mittani-Brief leider nicht bekkant" (2000: 90).

[241] Neu 1996: 63; followed by Hazenbos 2001: 173[10].

the verb as intransitive.[242] Perhaps this is a further example of a transitive *itt-* "to have go."

5.4 Conclusion

The jussive, both first and third person, is primarily found with transitive verbs. As with the optative, jussive forms with a preceding *≠o≠* morpheme can be both transitive (*keb≠ān≠o≠en*; ex. 5.72)) and existential (*ur≠o≠v(a)≠en*; exx. (5.34) and (5.35)) or verbs of state (*ḫis≠ūġ≠ol≠o≠w(a)≠en*; ex. (5.36)). The form *itt≠id≠en* (5.90) which has been taken as an example of the jussive used with an intransitive verb ("may they go") has been taken here as a transitive verb ("may they bring/give") based on context.

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[242] Neu 1996: 64

CHAPTER SIX
The Potential

6.1 Background

Hurrian has a modal ending indicating potentiality or conditionality.[1] This modal morpheme ⹁eva is also connected to the future.[2] Based on structural similarities with other deontic forms such as the jussive and optative (note the presence of *e* in the ending, extensions in ⹁l⹁ and the presence of the voice markers ⹁i⹁ and ⹁o⹁ amongst other factors), it is possible, if not likely, that ⹁eva⹁ is similar in nature. Dynamic forms[3] indicating ability can not only express the speaker's ability to perform a particular action, but they can also be used to indicate possibility in a more general manner.[4] It is possible, although at the moment not provable, that ⹁eva may be a dynamic mood.

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[1] Bush 1964: 229-234; Diakonoff 1971: 130-131; Giorgieri 2000a: 237; Wegner 2000: 93-94; Wilhelm 1992: 139; idem. 2004: 113-114.

[2] Girbal 1992: 178-181; Neu 1994: 134-135; idem. 1995; idem. 1996: 414; While virtually all modal forms are focused toward future events (i.e. a command can only be issued for future events), ⹁eva is conspicuously so. In a number of examples below, modal forms in ⹁eva occur in close conjunction to indicative future forms in ⹁ed⹁.

[3] Dynamic (from Greek δύναμαι- "can, to be able to") and Deontic modal forms both belong to the more general category of "event modality" (Palmer 2001: 70). The difference between the two is whether the conditioning factors are external (deontic) or internal (dynamic) (cf. Palmer 2001: 70 where in the first paragraph "dynamic modality" and "deontic modality" are accidentally switched).

[4] Palmer 2001: 10

6.1.1 Dyirbal

In Dyirbal, we find a possible parallel to Hurrian *≠eva*. The morpheme *-bila* is used to indicate that it is possible that an event may take place.[5] Unlike the Hurrian mood, however, *-bila* is only used when the event, if it were to occur, would have negative consequences.[6] Phrases containing *-bila* verbs appear to function along ergative lines. Note the following example:

(6.1) *ŋinda   balan   buni   muymba baŋgun dambundu   buṛalbila*
you-NOM there-NOM fire-NOM put out-IMP there-ERG Dambun-ERG see-*bila*
"Put out the fire lest the Dambun spirit sees it!"[7]

This morpheme can be further modified by a morpheme *-gu* which may be purposive.[8] It can also occur in conditional clauses, typically following a negative imperative, but occasionally also occurring in place of a expected future (but only if the consequence is negative).[9]

There are three particles in Dyirbal that indicate possibility. *yamba* is used to show that an event might occur or have occurred.[10] Note the following example:

(6.2) *bayi   yaṛa   yamba baniɲu*
"The man *might* be coming"[11]

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[5] Dixon 1972: 113

[6] Dixon 1972: 113

[7] Dixon 1972: 113 (346)

[8] Dixon 1972: 113

[9] Dixon 1972: 113

[10] Dixon 1972: 118-119

[11] Dixon 1972: 118 (378)

The particles *ŋaṛa* and *biya* are negative. The former indicates the inability of the

agent to perform an action, while the latter is used to show that an event could have taken

place but did not.[12] These particles and the mood *-bila* are similar to Hurrian ≠*eva*, but

certainly not exactly parallel. Most notably, *-bila* clauses are both morphologically and

syntactically ergative. Passages in ≠*eva*, however, are not.

6.2 Form and Function in Hurrian

6.2.1 General Form

The modal ending ≠*eva* (alternatively: ≠*ēva*) occurs throughout the Mittani Letter, but

its use in the Boğazköy texts is largely limited to the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual. It is

typically written ≠*ēva* (-C*e-e-wa*) or ≠*ēvā*≠[13] (-C*e-e-wa-a-*) in the Mittani Letter and ≠*eva*

(-C*e/i-wa*$_a$(-)) in the Boğazköy texts. Neu postulates a biform ≠*iwa* (-*iṷa*$_a$) for the forms

e-ru-u-li-wa$_a$ (KBo 32.19 i 17) and *ú-ni-wa*$_a$*-at-ta* (KBo 32.19 i 23),[14] but there is no

reason to take these as anything but alternate writings for ≠*eva*.[15] As with the optative in

≠*ež* as well as other moods, it can be modified through use of the modal morpheme ≠*l*≠,

resulting in the extended forms ≠*i*≠*l*≠*eva* and ≠*o*≠*l*≠*eva*. In the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual,

the mood is further modified by the morpheme ≠*ž* (e.g. ≠*i*≠*l*≠*eva*≠*ž*). The similarities

between ≠*eva* and the optative ≠*ež* are not simply formal, but functional as well. Just as

≠*i*≠(*e*)*ž* and ≠*i*≠*l*≠*ež* occur in similar syntactic conditions, so to do ≠*eva* and ≠*i*≠*l*≠*eva*.

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[12] Dixon 1972: 119

[13] Long *-ā-* is conditioned by the presence of an enclitic pronoun following the modal ending; compare V≠*ēva* to V≠*ēvā*≠*tta*.

[14] Neu 1996: 414

[15] The forms can also be read as *e-ru-u-le-wa*$_a$ and *ú-né-wa*$_a$*-at-ta*.

Forms in ⸗o⸗l⸗eva are somewhat different (see below). This implies that the

unextended form ⸗eva is in all actuality (⸗i)⸗eva with elision of the ⸗i- morpheme

immediately preceding the modal ending (see below §6.2.3).

   This brings up an interesting discrepancy amongst the modal forms. As we have seen

above, according to the orthography of the optative form, it appears that the *e*-vowel of

the mood elides (i.e. *⸗i⸗ež > ⸗i⸗(e)ž) (cf. §4.2.1.2). In the jussive, it appears that no

elision occurs, with both ⸗i- and the jussive morpheme expressed (cf. §5.2.3). With ⸗

eva, however, it is the ⸗i- morpheme which appears to elide. This results in the

following:

(6.3)   a. optative   ⸗i⸗(e)ž
        b. jussive   ⸗i⸗en
        c. potential   (⸗i)⸗ēva

The plene writing -C*e-e-wa*(-) in the Mittani Letter clearly represents ⸗ēva. The

Boğazköy spellings in -C*i/e-wa*ₐ, are ambiguous. They could represent ⸗i⸗(e)va or (⸗i)⸗

eva. Based on the unequivocal writings of this modal form in the Mittani Letter, the

latter analysis of the spellings from Boğazköy seems most likely. It is unclear why these

three moods interact differently with ⸗i-.[16]

   As shown above, there are structural similarities between ⸗eva and ⸗ež. Compare the

forms in the following table:

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[16] It is possible that the different modal endings have different stress.

≠i≠(e)ž	*(≠i)≠eva*
≠o≠(e)ž	?
≠i≠l≠ež	*≠i≠l≠eva*
≠o≠l≠ež	*≠o≠l≠eva*

Table 6.1: Comparison of *≠ež* and *≠eva*

We expect a form *≠ova* (<*≠o≠eva*) corresponding to the extended form *≠o≠l≠eva*. There are forms in *≠u/ova* found in the Mittani Letter and throughout the texts from Boğazköy. It has been postulated that this ending has a temporal or aspectual function.[17] The association of *≠u/ova* with the postulated form **≠o≠(e)va* is fraught with problems, not the least being that the majority of occurrences of this ending are in broken or very difficult passages. Despite this, it is identical to the expected form for the combination **≠o+≠eva*. For this reason, I will tentatively including it in the paradigm. The various examples of verbs in *≠u/ova* will be explored in detail below in order to determine if and how they belong to *≠eva*.

6.2.2 Function

This mood has been typically seen as having a potential or conditional function.[18] Some also see it as having an optative or "conditional" optative function.[19] In the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, there are examples of verbs in *≠eva* that appear to function as a type of

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[17] Neu 1988a: 244-246; Wilhelm 1992a: 138, he takes this ending as a form of Aktionsart and compares it to an imperfect or durative form in contrast to the "punktuell" form in *≠o≠m*

[18] For bibliography see footnote 1 of this chapter.

[19] Wilhelm 2004a: 114; Neu 1994: 134 calls it "*Optativ* (auch mit *konditionaler* Nuance)" (his emphasis)

future.[20] In this future function, verbs in ⹀*eva* appear in close conjunction to

indicative forms in ⹀*ed*⹀.[21]

    When used in subordinate constructions, the mood typically occurs in its extended

form with ⹀*l*⹀. In conditional constructions, we have an example of ⹀*eva* occurring on

the predicate of the protasis:[22]

(6.4)   **ur**⹀**o**⹀**l**⹀**ēva**⹀*mā*⹀*nīn* … *šô*⹀*wa tōr*[*ō*]*b*(*i*)⹀*iffe* …
        "(Furthermore) if an enemy should exist for me, (… I will write to my
        brother)" (Mitt. iii 115-116)[23]

(6.5)   *aî*⹀*n* **ur(**⹀**d)**⹀**o**⹀**l**⹀**ēva**
        "If it would be *done*[?24]" (Mitt. ii 53)[25]

It is also found in relative clauses such as:

(6.6)   *šēn*(*a*)⹀*iffu*⹀*dā*⹀*mān avennē*⹀*nīn*[26] *tive šurve īa*⹀*mmaman* **kad**⹀**i**⹀**l**⹀**ēva** …
        "what evil word one would speak to my brother (… may my brother not hear it if
        Mane and Keliya do not speak it!)" (Mitt. iv 17-18)[27]

In clauses introduced by *inū* "as," verbs in ⹀*eva* can occur in either the main (xa) or the

subordinate clause (6.7b):

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[20] Girbal 1992: 179-180; Neu 1995: 197-200.

[21] Girbal 1992: 180

[22] All of the examples given above will be explored in full below in §6.3.

[23] See (6.41) below.

[24] The exact meaning of *ur*(⹀)*d-* is unclear.

[25] Wilhelm 1984: 219

[26] So Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 50; Wilhelm 1984: 220. Steiner 1992: 446 analyzes the form as *awe*⹀*nne*⹀*nīn* with ⹀*nne* as the third singular enclitic (*a* > *e* through vowel harmony with following ⹀*nīn*.

[27] See (6.35).

(6.7) a. *inū ꞊ mē ꞊ nīn … ēn(i)꞊iffu ꞊ wa āī ꞊ da kad ꞊ ēd ꞊ av ḫiaroḫḫe ꞊ mān zalamži šō ꞊ va … **tupp ꞊o ꞊l ꞊ēva***
"As I will speak before my god …, (so[?]) may the gold statue be collected for me!" (Mitt. iii 97-100)[28]

b. *ēže ꞊ nē ꞊ ra ḫavorun(i)꞊nē ꞊ ra tê ꞊ n(e)꞊a kad ꞊ ī ꞊ nna inū ꞊ llē ꞊ nīn **ḫill ꞊o ꞊l ꞊ ēva***
"One speaks the word(s) *before*[?] earth and heaven, as they should be spoken" (Mitt. iii 100-102)[29]

In subordinating constructions like the ones given above, the *꞊eva* forms include the modal extension *꞊l꞊*.[30] We do not find unextended forms in such constructions.[31]

Before turning to the function of this mood, we must turn to the structure of the phrases in which it occurs. Girbal noted the following characteristics of phrases in *꞊eva*: agents do not appear in the ergative case; only one main argument (Girbal: Hauptpartizipienten), be it agent or patient, can appear in the phrase; and finally, this argument is always in the absolutive case.[32] We have already seen that transitive verbs in the optative allow for the expression of both agent and patient with either both in the absolutive or with the agent in absolutive and patient in essive (§4.3.1). While (active) transitive verbs in *꞊eva* are known (cf. especially KBo 32.15 i 6', 8', [10'], 11', 15', 16', 18'), only the agent (6.8a) or patient (6.8b) is given.

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[28] See (6.42) below.

[29] Treated as (6.37) below.

[30] For this reason, Wilhelm distinguishes between a potentialis *꞊eva* and conditional *꞊i/o ꞊l꞊ eva* (2004: 113-114).

[31] One possible exception to this is *unevatta* on which see below.

[32] Girbal 1992: 176.

(6.8) a. *anammi ⸗ tta ⸗ man šēn(a)⸗iffu ⸗ wa **keb ⸗ān ⸗ol(⸗i)⸗l ⸗ēvā** ⸗ tt(a)⸗ān*
       "(Now my brother will see those things which I have sent for my brother) and
       so would I send (them) to my brother!" (Mitt. iii 62-63)[33]

   b. *šikladi ⸗mma ižuġni **ār(⸗i)⸗r(<l)⸗eva⸗ž***
       "((If) Teššob has need of silver,) (we) would give a silver shekel (to him)"
       (KBo 32.15 i 6')[34]

In (6.8a), the agent alone is expressed by the enclitic pronoun *⸗tta*. In (6.8b), however,

the agent "we" is not expressed, while the patient *šikladi ižuġni* is (cf. §6.2.4.4).

According to Girbal, when both agent and patient are expressed, a different

construction is used. He writes: "[w]enn beide Partizipienten ausgedrückt werden sollen,

wird die Form auf *il+eva* durch eine Form auf *ill+et* mit indikativischer Personalendung

ersetzt."[35] We find evidence for this in both the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual and the Mittani

Letter. To exemplify this point, I will turn to a passage from the Bilingual. In KBo

32.19, Teššob is speaking to Mēgi about the releasing of the captives from Igingališ (the

forms in the indicative future are given in bold while the *⸗eva* verb is bold and

underlined):

(6.9) *āi nakk ⸗ ed ⸗ a ⸗ ššo kērenzi … enarġ(i)⸗a ⸗ lla **ḫod ⸗ed ⸗av** ōlmišši § ōlmišši **nān ⸗
       ed ⸗i** adīrġ(i)⸗a ḫel(i)⸗ā? ⸗ma **er ⸗ō ⸗l ⸗eva** avundišši*
       "If you do a releasing … I will/would bless (our) weapons like an *enarġi*! § The
       weapon(s) will/would slay the enemy! The fields will/would be abundant *in
       fame*!" (KBo 32.19 i 11-17)[36]

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[33] See (6.30) below.

[34] Catsanicos 1996: 245-246; Neu 1996: 305-306; Wilhelm 1997: 280-281

[35] Girabl 1992: 180

[36] See (6.43) below.

The apodosis of the conditional consists of three clauses. The predicate of the first is

the transitive (ergative) *ḫōd=ed=av* with the agent expressed through the agreement

marker *=av*. The second clause involves an antipassive construction with the agent

ōlmišši in the absolutive and the patient *adīrġa* in the essive.[37] The final clause involves

the passive(?) construction *er=ō=l=eva* "to be (made?) abundant" with the absolutive

subject *avundišši* "field." We will return to the discussion of passivity in *=eva* forms

below. The final two clauses are both translated into Hittite using the phraseological

construction.[38] For now, it is important to note that it is difficult to imagine a function for

this final clause in *=eva* that is drastically different from the two with indicative forms in

=ed=. All three express the favorable consequences which will occur if the condition is

met. In fact, this passage appears to indicate a semantic parallel between indicative forms

in *=ed=* and non-indicative forms in *=eva*.[39]

   In all of the examples given above, the forms in *=eva* have been translated as

indicating possibility. The actions (or states) of the verbs in *=eva* have not been realized.

In certain cases they may come to pass if certain conditions are met (cf. (6.7a), (6.9)),

while in others, they indicate hypothetical actions that may never actually occur (cf. (6.4),

(6.5)). Certain scholars would like to see a further function for this modal form.

According to some, it would also be used to indicate wishes or desires. This is largely an

issue of how we as modern scholars interpret the texts. In (6.8b) above, I have translated

the verb *ar(=i)=r(<l)=eva=ž* as "(we) would give." It is my understanding that the action

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[37] See Neu 1996: 412-413

[38] See Neu 1995; van den Hout 2003

[39] This does not mean that every indicative future form in *=ed=* is to be taken as parallel to *=eva*.

will only be realized if and only if Teššob is truly in need. In a parallel passage in the

same text we find the form *kapp⹀i⹀l⹀eva⹀ž*:

(6.10) (*āi*)[40] *fētt⹀a* ^d*Teššob* **kapp⹀i⹀l⹀eva⹀ž** *parizzadi uvi*
   "(If) Teššob is hungry, (we) would fill one *parissu* of barley (for him)" (KBo
   32.15 i 8'-9')[41]

According to Wegner, this is not to be translated as "(we) would fill" but rather as

cohortatives "(we) will/want to fill" (Ger. "wir wollen füllen").[42] Every example given

as indicating a wish or desire can also be translated as indicating possibility or

potentiality. Since the latter covers all examples, I prefer it over the former.

6.2.3 Syntactic Conditions and Future Aspect

As noted above, verbs in *⹀eva* are often found in subordinate clauses. When used in

the apodosis of a conditional clause introduced by *ai⹀* or *inū⹀*, the carrying out of the

action of the verb is highly contingent upon the conditions set in protasis. This can be

seen in (6.7a) where the act of *tupp⹀o⹀l⹀ēva* is contingent is dependent upon the *inū⹀*

clause that immediately precedes it. This is even more evident in (6.10) where the filling

(*kapp*-) (of the grain bin^?) with barley will only be done on the condition that Teššob is

hungry. If he is not hungry, then there will be no such act of filling. Conversely, *⹀eva*

can be used in the protasis in order to indicate a lower possibility or probability that the

action will ever occur. In (6.4), Tušratta uses the form *ur⹀o⹀l⹀ēva* "should there exist"

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[40] The conditional particle *ai* is only found in i 4', but it makes sense to carry it throughout this
sets of passages.

[41] Catsanicos 1996: 215; Neu 1996: 308-310; Wilhelm 1997: 280-281

[42] Neu goes so far as to take this as a completely different modal form, analyzing *a-ar-ri-wa_a-aš* as
**ar⹀il⹀i⹀waž* (1996: 306).

instead of the indicative to indicate that this is only hypothetical and not a certainty. In this sense *≠eva* functions as a marker of potentiality. The function of *≠eva* is therefore to somewhat lessen the speaker's commitment to the veracity of the statement.

All examples of verbs in *≠eva* are future looking in scope. They refer to potential events that may (or may not) occur at some time in the future. Future events are by nature uncertain. When talking about the future, the speaker must allow to some degree that the events may not occur as stated. One can state "I went to the store" and the truthfulness is unquestionable. The speaker knows that the event occurred and therefore can say as such with the utmost confidence. Saying "I will go to the store," on the other hand, is not verifiable. While the speaker may truly intend to go to the store regardless of what may happen between the time of the statement and the time of the going, it can not be said with absolute certainty that the event will occur. For this reason many languages do not have a true future form, but rather depend upon certain helping verbs (e.g. English "will") or modal forms.[43]

Hurrian indicates future tense in the indicative through the use of the morpheme *≠ed≠*. It is possible that it began as a modal morpheme and was eventually grammaticalized and incorporated into the indicative paradigm.[44] Given the interchange between future verbs in *≠ed≠* and those in *≠eva* in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, however, it would appear that *≠ed≠* has not completely lost its modal properties.[45] In the case of (6.9), both the future

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[43] On the form of the future in a variety of languages, see Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994: 243-280.

[44] Bybee 1985: 158-159.

[45] It is, of course, entirely possible that the opposite situation holds. It is entirely possible that it is *≠eva* which is actually loosing its future aspect rather than *≠ed≠* becoming less modal.

and potential verbs are used to indicate that the actions are not certain and are, in fact, highly dependent upon the condition in the preceding *ai⸗* clause being met.

The modal morpheme *⸗eva* may best be labeled as a "potentialis" or "potential" marker. It indicates uncertainty and possibility. The term "conditional" for *⸗eva* is also appropriate, but I prefer "potential" as it, in my opinion, best describes the function of the morpheme. It is probable that other nuances exist for this mood, but indicating potential future actions is likely its primary use. For the remainder of this chapter, I will use the term "potential" (abbreviated as POT) for *⸗eva*.

6.2.4 Extended Forms of the Potential

Having discussed the function and syntactic conditions in which *⸗eva* occurs, we can now turn our attention to the extended forms in *⸗i⸗l⸗eva*, *⸗o⸗l⸗eva* and *⸗i⸗l⸗eva⸗ž*. In (§4.2.1.2), it was determined that the morphemes *⸗i⸗* and *⸗o⸗* are to be analyzed as active (i.e. agent focusing) and "passive" (i.e. patient focusing) voice markers respectively.[46] According to Girbal, those forms occurring with an expressed patient are to be translated as passives.[47] He does not, however, equate the presence of *⸗i⸗* or *⸗o⸗* with a change in voice. In fact, he states that "daß /il/ und /ol/ eine sehr ähnliche

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[46] Giorgieri remarks that *⸗o⸗* indicates an "azione verbale 'passiva' o meglio risultativa dal punto di vista del paziente dell'azione" (2000: 235), but in regards to forms in *⸗o⸗l⸗eva*, labels *⸗o⸗* simply as "il tema vocalico di tipo risultativo-intransitivo" (2000: 237). He tentatively posits that we may have to divide the forms into *⸗i/ol⸗eva* and *⸗i/o⸗l⸗eva*, with the function of *⸗il⸗* and *⸗ol⸗* in the former remaining uncertain (2000: 237). This division is completely valid (note the imperative *šeġ⸗al⸗ol⸗a*) and the examples of possible *⸗il⸗uva* and *⸗ol⸗uva* given below. With the exception of context, it is unclear what distinguishes the derivational *⸗ol⸗* and *⸗il⸗* from the combinations *⸗o⸗l⸗* and *⸗i⸗l⸗* respectively.

[47] Girbal 1992: 176: "Wenn der semantische Agens weggelassen wird und der semantische Patiens als grammatisches Subjekt erscheint, ist *eine passivische Übersetzung möglich*" (my emphasis).

Funktion innehaben."[48] It is my position that Hurrian clearly marked for voice on the

non-indicative verbal form itself.

6.2.4.1 (≠i)≠eva and ≠i≠l≠eva

   We have examples of transitive and intransitive as well as middle verbs in ≠eva and ≠

i≠l≠eva. Note the following examples:

(6.11) a. *ur≠ōm≠ošt(≠i)≠ēvā≠d≠an* "I would busy myself" (Mitt. ii 9)

   b. *pis≠ošt(≠i)≠ēva* "I would rejoice" (Mitt. ii 55)

   c. *tād≠ugār(≠i)≠r(<l)≠ēva* "We would love one another" (Mitt. iv 123)

   d. *kapp≠i≠l≠eva≠ž* "(we) would fill" (KBo 32.15 i 8', 10' (-p]í))

   e. *(itt≠i≠l)]≠eva≠ž* "(we) would clothe" (KBo 32.15 i 11')[49]

   f. *faž(≠i)≠eva* "he would invade" (Mitt. iii 112)

   g. *un(≠i)≠eva≠tta* "I would come" (KBo 32.19 i 23)

Based on the forms in (6.11), we can assume that forms such as *ōl≠ōġ(≠i)≠eva≠dil≠an*

"we would be near to one another" (Mitt. ii 11), *urġ≠upt≠ož≠i≠l≠eva* "I would be

truthful" (Mitt. iii 64) are also active despite being translated as statives. This is simply

an issue of a difference in verbal semantics between Hurrian and English. As mentioned

above, all of the verbs in (6.11) have only one argument expressed, and it is always in the

absolutive.

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[48] Girbal 1992: 178. It is possible this is because according to Girbal, *-i-* is not a valence (or voice) marker, but rather "das Kennzeichen des Jussivs" (1992: 177; idem. 1989: 83). Similarly, Wegner writes that "[b]eide *-il-* und *-ol-* haben eine sehr ähnliche Funktion und kommen – wie bereits erwähnt – auch gemeinsam vor" (2000: 93).

[49] restored from KBo 32.58 i 3'

6.2.4.2 ⸗o⸗l⸗eva

Forms in ⸗o⸗l⸗eva do not occur with same frequency as those in ⸗i⸗l⸗eva. They are also in some ways more difficult to pin down. As with the jussive, the existential verb *ur-* "to exist" occurs with ⸗o- and not ⸗i- (cf. §5.2.4). The jussive form:

(6.12) *innā⸗mmaman … t[o]rubi ur⸗ō⸗w(a)⸗en*
  "If only the enemy … did not exist!" (Mitt. iii 110-111)[50]

is similar to:

(6.13) **ur⸗o⸗l⸗ēva⸗mā⸗nīn kur⸗o šô⸗wa tōr[ō]b(i)⸗iffe**
  "Furthermore should an enemy exist for me" (Mitt. iii 115-116)[51]

Along with *ur-*, the existential verb *mān-* "to be" appears in the potential as *mān⸗o⸗l⸗ēvā⸗ll(a)⸗ān* (Mitt. ii 122). Note the following forms in ⸗o⸗l⸗eva:

(6.14) a. *mān⸗o⸗l⸗ēvā⸗ll(a)⸗ān* "(this) would be" (Mitt. ii 122)

  b. *ur(⸗)d⸗o⸗l⸗ēva* "if (they) would be[?52]" (Mitt. ii 53)

  c. *tupp⸗o⸗l⸗ēva* "it would be collected" (Mitt. iii 100)

  d. *ḫill⸗o⸗l⸗ēva* "(they) would be said" (Mitt. iii 102)

  e. *ur⸗o⸗l⸗ēva⸗mā⸗nīn* "it would exist" (Mitt. iii 115)

  f. *er⸗ō⸗l⸗eva* "it would be abundant" (KBo 32.19 i 17)

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[50] Treated in (5.34) and (5.82) above.

[51] See (6.41).

[52] Perhaps *ur⸗* "to exist" plus a derivational morpheme ⸗t⸗?

The forms in *≠o≠l≠eva* occur much less frequently than the extended "passive"

optative in *≠o≠l≠ēž*. In fact, most of our examples of these forms are with the verbs of

state (Ger. Zustandverben) *mān(n)-*, *ur-* and *tupp-*.[53] In the indicative, these verbs do not

take the valence markers *≠a*, *≠i*, or, in older texts, *≠o*, but rather the stative(?) *≠e* (cf.

§2.3.6).

There are three examples of the verb *ḫill-* "to speak" in the extended *≠o≠l≠eva* from

the Mittani Letter. As will be demonstrated below (§6.3.1.3), two are best translated as

"(the word(s)) would be spoken." The third example, however, is problematic. In the

fourth column of the Mittani Letter we find the following phrase:

(6.15) *šēn(a)≠iffe≠nn(a)≠ān **ḫill≠o≠l≠ēva*** (Mitt. iv 45)[54]

In (6.15) the verb *ḫillolēva* cannot be translated as a "passive" because the one expressed

argument is the agent *šēniffe≠nna* "he, my brother." This NP also happens to be in the

absolute. Based on the model from the optative forms, if an agent of a "passive" verb

is expressed, it is in the ergative case (cf. §4.3.4.3). Therefore it is unlikely that (6.15) is

to be translated as "(it) would be said *by my brother*." Potential explanations for this

form will be given below (§6.3.1.3).

6.2.4.3 *≠o/uva*

I have mentioned above that we may have examples of an "unextended" "passive"

form in *≠ova < *≠o≠eva*.[55] We expect such a form given the presence of both *≠i≠l≠eva*

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[53] One this verb type, see Wilhelm 1992b: 660. His claim that these verbs "bilden keine Wunschformen" is clearly no longer tenable.

[54] See (6.38)

and *⸗o⸗l⸗eva*. The short form *⸗eva* would actually be active *(⸗i)⸗eva* with elision of

the active *⸗i*. With the passive, we would expect the elision of *e* following the voice

marker *⸗o⸗*. A few possible forms are found in the Mittani Letter:

(6.16) a. *gi-lu-u-šu-a = kel⸗ōž⸗o(v)a* (Mitt. i 89)

     b. *ni-i-nu-šu-ú-a = nīn⸗ož⸗ova?* (Mitt. iv 7)

     c. *gu-ru-ú-wa = kur⸗ūva* (Mitt. iv 42)

As with "passive" forms of the optative, examples are much more prevalent in the texts

from Boğazköy. The following is a sample of some of these forms:[56]

(6.17) a. *ḫa-ap-ša-a-ru-ú-wa = ḫapš⸗ār⸗ūva* (KBo 32.14 i 28)

     b. *ḫu-šu-ú-wa = ḫuž⸗ūva* (KBo 32.14 i 35)

     c. *a-ku-lu-ú-wa = ag⸗ol⸗ūva* (KBo 32.14 i 45)

     d. *ta-šu-lu-ú-wa = taž⸗ol⸗ūva* (KBo 32.14 i 45)

     e. *pa-az-zu-ú-wa = pazz⸗ūva* (KBo 32.20 i 3')

     f. *ú-wa-mu-wa-a = uw⸗ām⸗uvā* (ChS I/1 9 iii 53)

     g. *g]a-aš-lu-wa = kažl⸗u/ova* (ChS I/1 34:7')

     h. *na-aḫ-ḫu-u-du-wa = naḫḫ⸗ōd⸗u/ova* (ChS I/1 41 iii 39)

     i. *e-ep-ru-wa = ēp/vr⸗u/ova* (ChS I/1 41 iv 31)

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[55] That *e* would elide to the preceding *o* is fairly certain based on outside evidence. Note that the *e* of the optative elides (e.g. **⸗o⸗ež* > *⸗o⸗(e)ž*). In nominal forms, *e/i* often elides when followed by *o*. The combination **⸗nni⸗o⸗ḫḫe* results in *⸗nn(i)⸗o⸗ḫḫe* (cf. the form *tiža⸗nn(i)⸗o⸗ḫḫ(e)⸗a* "in a way which is according to the heart (of my brother)" (Mitt. ii 10; cf. (6.25) below).

[56] For a more complete list see (6.50) below.

j. *a-ku-lu-wa = ag꞊ol꞊u/ova* (ChS I/1 42 i 41)[57]

k. *ši-i-mu-uš-tu-wa-a-al = šīm꞊ušt꞊u/ovā꞊l* (ChS I/5 41 rev. 6)

Note that in every example from the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual (6.17a-e), the ending is spelled with plene *-ú-*. The forms from the remainder of the Boğazköy corpus (6.17f-k), however, spells the form with a short *-u/o-*. Unfortunately, outside of four examples in the parable text KBo 32.14 (6.17a-d), the other forms are in either broken or difficult context.

The ending *꞊uva* has traditionally been taking as a marker of durative aspect. Neu compares this ending to the transitive forms in *꞊o꞊m* (and *꞊o꞊b*). According to Neu, the ending *꞊uva* functions similarly to the imparfait in French while *꞊o꞊m/b* is equivalent to the passé simple.[58] Accordingly, the forms in *꞊uva* are interpreted by Neu as transitive.[59] The translation of *꞊uva* verbs into Hittite through the use of active (third person) verbs would seem to lend credence to this argument. As we have already seen, however, the Hittite is not an exact translation of the Hurrian.

There are certain problems that arise if we chose to analyze these forms as *꞊o꞊(e)va*. It was mentioned above, that with *꞊eva*, *꞊i꞊l꞊eva* and *꞊o꞊l꞊eva* we only find one argument, and it is always in the absolutive. There are examples of verbs in *꞊u/ova*, however, that have two arguments, a patient (or, if passive, subject) in the absolutive and

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[57] Recall that there is also a derivational morpheme *꞊ol-* (see the discussion accompanying (4.57) above).

[58] Neu 1988a: 245; See also Wilhelm 1992b: 670.

[59] Neu 1988a: 245

an agent in the ergative. Note the following example (patient/subject is underlined,

the agent is double underlined, and the verb is in bold):

(6.18) *kur≠o šēn(a)≠iffu≠ž <u>tivī«li»≠na</u>*[60] *tān≠ōž≠ā≠šš(e)≠a nav(i)≠ā≠n talam(i)≠a*
        <u>*šēn(a)≠iffu≠ž*</u> **nīn≠ož≠ova** (Mitt. iv 6-7)[61]

(6.19) <u>*šinzi ḫalzi*</u> <u>*taġē≠ne≠ž*</u> *[š]i≠n(e)≠āi* **ḫu/ož≠ūva** (KBo 32.14 i 34-35)[62]

(6.20) <u>*nāli*</u> <u>*ēvri≠ž*</u> *ḫinni≠mma šō≠wa kešḫi≠ni* **naḫḫ≠ōd≠ova** (ChS I/1 41 iii 39)[63]

The passage in the Mittani Letter iv 42-43 we find a slightly different construction:

(6.21) *tiv(e)≠aʔ≠tt(a)≠ān* **kur≠ūva** *šēn(a)≠iffu≠we≠mān kēldi nīriže ḫaž≠ī≠le*
        "Were I to be told the word in reply (i.e. that the pharaoh had released the Mittani
        messengers), I shall hear the well being and *nīriže* of my brother!" (Mitt. iv 42-
        43)[64]

If we take *kurūva* as "passive", then the subject would be the beneficiary, here the first

person pronoun *≠tt(a)*, with the actual patient of *kur≠* in the essive. The transitive

counterpart to this would be in English: "Were my brother to send the word in reply to

me."

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[60] Following Dietrich and Mayer 1991: 122.

[61] This phrase will be examined in detail below. For now it will suffice to say that it is unlikely
that *tivī«li»na* (regardless of whether or not the emendation is justified) is the patient of the relative verb
tānōžašša. The nominalized verb is in the essive and agrees with *navā≠n talama* "the great *navi*." I would
translate the phrase in part as: "the things (*tivī≠na*) like/as the great *navi* which my brother has done …"

[62] See (6.48)

[63] See (6.57)

[64] See (5.18), (5.19) above and (6.45) below.

A second difficulty that I have with these forms is the prevalence of spellings with

-*ú*- where -*u*- would be expected. In none of the examples given above in (6.17) do we

find an unambiguous spelling with -*u*-. The attested spellings for this form are either

with a short -*u/o*- or with a long -*ū*-. This may simple be convention or it may indicate

that if indeed ⸗*u/ova* is from *⸗*o*⸗*eva* the ⸗*o*-"passive" morpheme sounded more like ⸗

u- when in contact with ⸗*eva*. These two problems not withstanding, the ending ⸗*o/uva*

is the perfect candidate for short form of the "passive" of ⸗*eva*. The passages with

predicates in this ending will be given in more detail below (§6.3.3).

6.2.4.4 Postfix ⸗*ž*

Mentioned above is a further extension of ⸗*eva* through the use of a postfix ⸗*ž*. We

have several examples of this enlarged form, but they are limited to one tablet of the

Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, KBo 32.15. In i 4'-18' we find a series of conditional passages

concerning the god Teššob. The apodoses all contain predicates in ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*eva*⸗*ž*. The

agent of these modal verbs is the first person plural in every case. There is, however,

never an explicit use of the first person plural pronoun ⸗*dil*(*la*). That the agent is "we" is

clear both from context and from the Hittite translation which is in virtually every case

kuissa … V-*weni* "each (of us) we will x …"[65] Neu interprets the form as "eine modale

transitive Verbalform der 1. Pers. Plur. adhortativen Charakters."[66] He does not take

them as forms in ⸗*eva* (although he does note that others have done so). Instead, he

prefers to analyze it as =*il*=*i*=*u̯a*ₐ*š* (perhaps better: ⸗*il*⸗*i*⸗*faž*), taking ⸗*il*⸗ as "eine

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[65] Note that in i 7 we find *ku-i*]*š-ša* … *pa-a-i*. This also occurs in the duplicate KBo 32.16 i 19-20.

[66] Neu 1996: 306

Aktionsartensuffix distributiv-iterativ Funktion" similar in function to Hittite -*sk-*.[67]

According to Neu, ⸗*i*⸗ would be the transitive valence marker.[68] The ⸗*faž* would be a

plural agreement marker.[69]

  This analysis is not likely. As we have seen with past forms, the only mood that

allows an ⸗*i* transitive morpheme is the imperative. In other moods, if a morpheme ⸗*i*⸗

is present, it always occur before the modal ending (occasionally eliding) and stands in

contrast with a morpheme ⸗*o*⸗. I have analyzed these two morphemes as active and

"passive" voice markers respectively. If Neu's parsing is to hold up, then either the

following ⸗*faž* is the modal morpheme or we have to assume the elision of a modal

marker of the type: **⸗*il*⸗*i*(⸗*e*[??])⸗*faž*. Furthermore, this requires us to posit a first

person plural agreement marker (or pronoun) ⸗*faž* that would only be found here.

Enclitic first person plural markers and agreement markers are: 1) the enclitic pronoun ⸗

dil(*la*); 2) the possessive pronoun ⸗*iff*(*e*)⸗*až*[70]; 3) indicative positive transitive agreement

(Mittani Hurrian) ⸗*av*⸗*ž*; 4) indicative negative transitive agreement ⸗*i*⸗*uffu*⸗*ž*(*a*).[71]

There are no examples of a **⸗*faž* outside of this text.

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[67] Neu 1996: 306

[68] Neu 1996: 306

[69] Neu 1994: 134

[70] Giorgieri 2000a: 216

[71] Giorgieri 2000a: 231

The alternative is to take the ending as ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*eva*⸗*ž*.[72] The question still remains,

however, as to how ⸗*ž* is to be analyzed. Most prefer to see it as a marker of plurality.[73]

As we have seen with the optative, it was believed that the forms in ⸗*ež* were to be

analyzed as ⸗*e* plus a pluralizer ⸗*ž*. It was shown in (§4.2.1.1) that forms in ⸗*ež* occur

with all persons and all numbers. As a result -*ž* was taken as an actual part of the modal

morpheme and not as a marker of plurality. In contrast to the optative in ⸗*ež*, the

debitive-finals in ⸗*ai*, like ⸗*eva*, is further modified by a morpheme ⸗*ž*.[74] As with ⸗*eva*,

use of ⸗*ž* appears to be limited to occurrences with plural subjects, but it is not used

consistently. Note the following consecutive passages from the Mittani Letter:

(6.22) *ēn(i)*⸗*iffa(<e)*⸗*ll(a)*⸗*ān* **pall**⸗**ai**⸗*n ēni*⸗*ll(a)*⸗*ān šēn(a)*⸗*iffu*⸗*we*⸗*na* **pall**⸗**ai**⸗*ž*⸗*a*⸗*lla*⸗*man*
   "so that my gods may know and so that the gods of my brother may know!" (Mitt. iv 64-65)[75]

These two passages are virtually identical with "the gods" as subject of the verb *pal-* "to

know." In the first clause the verb does not include the morpheme ⸗*ž* while the second

does. It is difficult to imagine that if ⸗*ž* were in deed a plural marker that it would not be

consistently used with plural agents. In fact, in (6.22) above the subject is marked on the

second verb through the use of the third person plural enclitic pronoun ⸗*lla*. If ⸗*ž* were

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[72] Wilhelm 1992: 139

[73] Giorgieri 2000a: 237 "La desinenza è talvolta provvista dell'elemento -*ž* in funzione di pluralizzatore." Wegner 2000: 93 writes that ⸗*eva* is pluralized in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual "aus dem Indikativ bekannte Plualisator -*š* mit Allomorph -*ša*." See also Haas and Wegner 1997a: 451.

[74] See (§7.2.1) for a complete discussion of finalis ⸗*ai* with ⸗*ž*.

[75] Passage treated in (7.6), (7.10), and (7.11); several other examples of finalis forms with plural subjects without ⸗*ž* are known.

pural, then we would be presented with a case of redundant subject marking with the

form *pall=ai=ž=a=lla=man*.

It is highly unlikely that the *=ž* in *=ai=ž* is to be differentiated from the *=ž* in *=i=l=eva=ž*. Following the "one form/one meaning principle"[76] it is highly unlikely that these are two homophonous morphemes with different functions. While *=ž* is found on predicates with plural subjects, not all predicates with plural subjects include this morpheme. In fact the majority of verbs in *=eva* and *=ai* that have plural subjects do not have *=ž*. A possible function for *=ž* that takes into account its optional use is as an emphatic. In (6.22) above, such a function would result in the following translation:

(6.23) "so that my gods may know, and so that the gods of my brother especially (or: certainly) may know!"

In the case of the Hurro-Hittite Bilngual, the passages given above in (6.8b) may be translated as:

(6.24) ((If) Teššob has need of silver,) (we) would certainly give a silver shekel (to him)!"

It is my opinion that *=ž* is not likely to be a marker of plurality. Its true function, be it as an emphatic marker or as something else, has yet to be determined.[77]

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[76] Cf. (5.15)

[77] The problem with taking *=ž* as an emphatic marker is that there is little way to prove or disprove it. Such an analysis must be taken lightly.

6.3 The Form in Context

In the following section forms in ⸗*eva* will be examined in the context in which they

occur. The majority of examples of this form are found in the Mittani Letter. For this

reason, these will be treated in §6.3.1. Within §6.3.1 the examples will be further

subdivided into forms in (⸗*i*)⸗*eva* §6.3.1.1, forms in ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*eva* §6.3.1.2 and forms in ⸗*o*⸗

l⸗*eva* §6.3.1.3. The forms from Boğazköy are so few in number that they will be treated

together as §6.3.2. Finally, forms in ⸗*o/uva* (< *⸗*o*⸗*eva*[?]) will be treated in detail in

§6.3.3.

6.3.1 Mittani Letter Examples

6.3.1.1 (⸗*i*)⸗*eva*

Three examples of forms in (⸗*i*)⸗*eva* from the Mittani Letter will be examined in this

section. The first two are found in consecutive passages in ii 8-11:

(6.25) *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu*   ⸗*w⌈e⌉*⸗[*nī*]*n ašt(i)* ⸗*î*   ⸗*ve niĝār(i)*⸗*ī*⸗*da*
        brother+1SG.POSS+GEN+*nīn*   woman+3SG.POSS+GEN dowry +3SG.POSS+DIR
        tān[?78] **ur**⸗**ōm**⸗**ošt** (⸗**i**) ⸗**ēvā** ⸗**d**   ⸗**an** *tiššan tiššan*
         ?   busy oneself(?)+ACT[?]+POT +1SG.ENCL+CONN very   very
        šēn(a) ⸗*iffu*   ⸗*we* ⸗*nē*   ⸗*nn(i)*⸗*o*   ⸗*ḫḫ(e)*⸗*a*
        brother+1SG.POSS+GEN+SG.RELAT+*nni* +DERIV+ADJ +ESS
        tižā ⸗*nn(i)*⸗*o*   ⸗*ḫḫ(e)*⸗*a* **ōl**⸗**ōĝ** (⸗**i**) ⸗**ēvā** ⸗**dil**   ⸗**an**
        heart+*nni* +DERIV+ADJ   +ESS be near[?]+ACT+POT +1PL.ENCL+CONN
        zugan ēž(e)   ⸗*iff(e)*   ⸗*aš*⸗*tan āvaddu*⸗*dan*
        still[?] place/earth+1SG.POSS+PL+ABL *far off* +ABL
        "I would busy myself very much *over*[?](⸗*da*) the dowry of the wife of my brother
        in a way that is according to the heart of my brother, and we *would be close* (to
        one another(?)) *still* from our far off places" (Mitt. ii 8-11)[79]

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[78] Perhaps *tāniž*?

[79] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú⌈-e*[?]⌉[*-ni*[?]*-i*[?]]*-en* [9] *aš-ti-i-i-we ni-ḫa-a-ri-i-ta ta-a-an*(or: *-niš*?) *ú-ru-u-muš-te-e-wa-a-tan* [10] *tiš-ša-an tiš-ša-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-ni-e-en-nu-uḫ-ḫa ti-ša-a-an-nu-uḫ-ḫa* [11] *u-u-lu-u-ḫé-e-wa-a-ti-la-an zu-kán e-e-ši-íw-wa-aš-tan a-a-wa-ad-du-tan*; Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 40-42

The verb *ur=ōm=ošt-* is typically translated as "to busy oneself (with s.t.)."[80] A

parallel to this first passage is found in iv 46-47:

(6.26)   (My brother might say: "but you (your)self have detained them, my messenges."
        No! I have not detained them!)[81]
        šēn(a) =iffu   =we =nē   =wā =d   =an   ašt(i)=î   =va
        brother+1SG.POSS+GEN+SG.RELAT+DAT+1SG.ENCL+CONN wife +3SG.POSS+DAT
        niǧār(i)=ī   =da   ur=ōm   =u
        dowry +3SG.POSS+DIR busy oneself+*u*
        "I *am busying myself over* the dowry of the wife of my brother (and my brother
        will see the dowry of the wife of my brother which I have sent.)" (Mitt. iv 46-
        47)[82]

We have here again a verbal form *ur=ōm-*, albeit without the additional *=ošt-*, with a first

person absolute subject and the directive *niǧārida* as the logical patient. I take the

oblique *šēniffuwenēnnoḫḫa tižānnoḫḫa* "in the manner according to my brother's heart"

as going with the first phrase.[83] This is supported by the fact that the next word, the

predicate *ōlōǧēvādilan* contains the connective *=an*. The exact distribution of *=an* has

yet to be determined, but it often occurs in sentence initial position. Tušratta is stating

here that he will make or busy himself with the dowry "in a manner according to my

brother's heart," and not that they will be close to one another in that way.

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[80] See Girbal 1990: 100; Dietrich and Mayer translate as "vorzeigen" and translate this passage as
"[d]as, was mein Bruder (mir) zur Braugabe für seine Frau gemacht hat, sollte man mir sehr, sehr deutlich
vorzeigen können" (1992: 41). They take *ta-a-an* as *tān=u* with the *-u* lost due to sandhi with the
following *urōmoštēvdan*, and apparently translate it as "das Gemachte" from *tan-* "to do; make" (1992:
41[12]). The first person enclitic pronoun *=d* is translated by them as a dative. As subject they assume an
unspecified third person "one."

[81] Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 51-52

[82] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-ni-e-wa-a-tan aš-ti-i-i-wa* [47] *ni-ḫa-a-ri-i-ta ú-ru-u-mu*; cf. Girbal 1990: 99-
100; Wegner 2000: 165-166. She translates the passage as: "Ich (-*tta*) war mit (der Zusammenstellung)
der Mitgift der Frau meines Bruders *beschäftigt*" (her italics).

[83] In contrast, Dietrich and Mayer take it as going with the second phrase, translating it as: "Was
aber nach meines Bruders Herzen ist …" (1992: 41).

The second phrase in (6.25) includes the potential form *ōl⸗ōġ⸗ēvā* with the first plural enclitic pronoun *⸗dil* and the connective *⸗an* appended to it. *ōl⸗ōġ-* has been tentatively translated as "to be near" based on context.[84] The phrase ends with the ablative construction *ēžiffāštan āvaddudan* "from our far off place(s)." The root *eže* is typically "earth," but in this context it must mean something more like "place" or "location." It is unclear how *zugan* is to be translated, but it almost certainly functions as an adverb in this context.

The third example of a short form (*⸗i)⸗eva* is found in ii 55. In this passage, Tušratta says that he will rejoice over the gifts that the pharaoh will send him. It goes as follows:

(6.27) ("If it would be,")[85]

kepše   *⸗mān ḫiaroḫḫe šēn(a) ⸗if[fu ⸗ž] magānn(i)⸗iffe ⸗*
shipment+ØABS+*mān* gold+ØABS brother+1SG.POSS+ERG gift +1SG.POSS+

ū⸗nn(i)⸗a keb ⸗ān ⸗ēd ⸗a andu⸗wā ⸗tt(a) ⸗â[n] teōnae
u+*nni* +ESS[86] send+CAUS+FUT+3SG.ERG this +DAT+1SG.ENCL+CONN much

tiššan tiššan pis⸗ošt(⸗i) ⸗ēva tiž(a)⸗iff(e) ⸗a ⸗n
very very rejoice +ACT+POT heart+1SG.POSS+ESS+CONN[?]

"(then) my brother will send (to me) a gold shipment as my gift and I would rejoice greatly in my heart over this" (Mitt. ii 53-55)[87]

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[84] On *ōl⸗ōġ-* see Dietrich and Mayer 1991: 119; idem. 1992: 41.

[85] This conditional clause contains the predicate *ur(⸗)d⸗o⸗l⸗ēva*. See below sub I.3.1.3 for forms in *⸗o⸗l⸗eva*.

[86] This combination is commonly called the Equative-Adverbialis, cf. Giorgieri 2000a: 217, 256-257; Wegner 2000: 57-58.

[87] *ge-ep-še-ma-a-an* KÙ.GI *še-e-ni-íw-[wu-uš]* [54] *ma-ka-a-an-ni-íw-wu-úˈ-un-naˈ ge-pa-a-né-e-ta an-du-ú-a-at-ta-a-a-[an]* [55] *te-u-u-na-e tiš-ša-an ˈtiš-ša-anˈ bi-su-uš-te-e-wa ti-ši-íw-wa-an*; cf. Wilhelm 1984: 219 "… und darüber würde ich mich in sehr, sehr hohem Maße freuen in meinem Herzen, ganz und gar." Girbal 1992: 172 translates similarly. This passage was surprisingly not treated in Dietrich and Mayer 1992.

Example (6.27) is immediately preceded by the form *urdolēva*.[88] In (6.27) we have a

sentence with a predicate in the future tense (*kebānēda*) immediately followed by one in

the potential *≠eva*. Above §6.2.2 it was indicated that there may be a link between *≠eva*

forms and the future tense. Since (active) *≠eva* verbs can only take one argument, the

future is required if both agent and patient are explicit. If this is correct, then perhaps the

first passage is to be translated as "(if it would be so), then my brother would send the

shipment (… and I would rejoice)" An indicative parallel to (6.27) is:

(6.28) *inū≠t[tā]*   *≠nī[n] akku≠dan niġār(i)≠rē*   *≠dan talami≠nē*   *≠dan*
         as +1SG.ENCL+*n*   this[89]+ABL dowry +SG.RELAT+ABL large +SG.RELAT+ABL
         an[ž]u?≠wa ≠[tt(a)? ≠ān?] **pis≠ošt≠a**   *teonae tiššan*
          ?   +DAT+1SG.ENCL+CONN rejoice +INTRAN much very
         "so I (will) rejoice very much over(*≠dan*) this large … bride price" (Mitt. ii 60-
         62)[90]

Instead of a dative, (6.28) uses the ablative to indicate the material which is causing

Tušratta to rejoice.

   Of the three verbs examined here, *urōmoštēvā(≠)* is transitive while the other two,

ōlōġēvā(≠) and *pisoštēva* are intransitive. In every case the subject is indicated by an

enclitic pronoun and is, therefore, in the absolutive. In (6.25) the oblique form *niġārīda*

is arguably the logical patient of *urōmoštēvā(≠)*. It is interesting that for two of these

three phrases in (*≠i)≠eva* we have parallels using indicative forms of the verbs. It is

unclear to me what, if any, weight should be given to this.

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[88] See example (6.5) above.

[89] *akku* is a demonstrative indicating near deixis (see Wilhelm 1984: 221-222).

[90] *i-nu-ú-ut-[ta-a]⌈-ni?-i?⌉[-in]* [61] *ag-gu-tan ni-ḫa-a-ar-re-e-tan ta-la-me-né-e-tan an-[š]u?-u-a-[…]* [62] *bi-su-uš-ta te-u-na-e tiš-ša-an*

6.3.1.2 ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*eva*

There are several examples of extended potential forms in ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*ēva* in the Mittani

Letter. In most cases the active ⸗*i*- is expressed, but in certain situations it elides.

Situations with geminate -*ll*- and -*rr*- immediately before ⸗*ēva* are to be analyzed as -*l*(⸗

i)⸗*l*⸗ and -*r*(⸗*i*)⸗*r*(<*l*)⸗ respectively.[91] In Mittani iii 62-65 we find a series of clauses

with verbs in ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*eva*. They are introduced by the following indicative statement:

(6.29) *for*⸗*ēd* ⸗*ā* ⸗*l* ⸗*an* *und*⸗*o šēn*(*a*)⸗*iffū* (⸗*ž*) ⸗*lla* ⸗
  see+FUT+3SG.ERG+3PL.ENCL+CONN now   brother+1SG.POSS+ERG+3PL.ENCL+
  man **keb**⸗**ān** ⸗*ož* ⸗*av* ⸗*šše* ⸗*na* *šēn*(*a*) ⸗*iffu* ⸗*wa*
  man send+CAUS+PRET+1SG.ERG+REL+PL.RELAT brother+1SG.POSS+DAT
  "My brother will now see them, the things which I have sent to my brother" (Mitt.
  iii 61-62)[92]

This is followed by the following nonindicative phrase:

(6.30) *anammi*⸗*tta* ⸗*man šēn*(*a*) ⸗*iffu* ⸗*wa* **keb**⸗**ān** ⸗*ol*(⸗*i*) ⸗*l*⸗*ēvā*⸗
  so   +1SG.ENCL+*man* brother+1SG.POSS+DAT send+CAUS+*ol* +ACT+*l*+POT +
  tt(*a*) ⸗*ān* *adī* ⸗*nīn mānn*⸗*a*(<*e*)⸗*tta* ⸗*man*
  1SG.ENCL+CONN thus+*nīn* be +STAT[?]+1SG.ENCL+*man*
  "So would I send (them) to my brother. Thus am I.[93]" (Mitt. iii 62-63)[94]

The phrase is introduced by *anammi* "so, in that way," referring back to the preceding

phrase in iii 61-62. The verb *keb*⸗*ān*- "to cause to send" is transitive, but the agent is the

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[91] Cf. Giorgieri 2000a: 189; Wegner 2000: 94; Dietrich and Mayer 1992 do not recognize such an elision of ⸗*i*-. According to them, the form *tādugārrēva* (Mitt. iv 123) is to be parsed as *tād*⸗*ukār*⸗(*l*)*ēwa* and *kebānol«ol»lēva* (Mitt. iii 63) as *gipān*⸗*ul*⸗*u*⸗*llēwā*(⸗) (parsings based on their spellings in 1992: 56).

[92] *wu-ri-e-ta-a-la-an un-du še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-ul-la-ma-an gi-pa-a-nu-ša-uš-še-na* [62] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-a*; Steiner 1992: 444

[93] On the phrase *adī*⸗*nīn mann*⸗*a*(<*e*)⸗ENCL.PRON see Wegner 2000: 148 amongst others.

[94] *a-nam-mi-it-ta-ma-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-a* [63] *gi-pa-a-nu-ul«-ul»-li-e-wa-a-at-ta-a-an a-ti-i-ni-i-in ma-a-an-na-at-ta-ma-an*; Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 44-45; Girbal 1992: 179

absolutive enclitic pronoun ⸗*tta*. Since the agent is explicitly mentioned, the patient

is omitted. The morpheme ⸗*ol*- is not the "passive" ⸗*o*- + modal ⸗*l*-, but rather a

derivational morpheme ⸗*ol*-.[95] This is certain for two reasons. First of all, given that the

subject is the absolutive pronoun ⸗*tta*, it must be the agent. "Passive" constructions

amongst non-indicative forms in Hurrian are typified by absolutive subjects (logical

patients) and the optional agent in the ergative ⸗*ž*. As we will see, with "passive" forms

of ⸗*eva*, the absolutive NP is inevitably the subject and not the agent (see below

§6.3.1.3). Secondly, the form is written with -*ul*«-*ul*»-*li*-.[96] The second -*ul*- is clearly a

dittographic error on the part of the scribe. The resulting geminate -*ll*- signifies the

elision of the active ⸗*i*- between the two liquids, as mentioned above.

   The passage in (6.30) is followed by two nonindicative clauses that are also

introduced by *anammi*. In both cases the subject is still indicated by the pronoun ⸗*tta*.

The two passages are given as (6.31) and (6.32):

(6.31) *anammi ⸗ tta   ⸗ man šēn*(a) ⸗*iffu   ⸗ ra   **urġ ⸗upt ⸗ož ⸗i   ⸗l ⸗eva***
        so   +1SG.ENCL+*man* brother+1SG.POSS+COMM *tell truth*+*ož*+ACT+*l*+POT
        "So I would share the truth with my brother" (Mitt. iii 64)[97]

and:

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[95] On ⸗*ol*- as a derivational morpheme with (active) transitive modal forms, see the discussion accompanying (4.57)).

[96] According to Dietrich and Mayer, this form is to parsed as *gipān⸗ul⸗u⸗llēwā⸗ttān* which is analyzed as "schicken(Kaus.)-(Refl.)-(intr.)-(Pot.i.B.S.)-ich" (1992: 44). They translate (6.30) as "Soll ich (mir) mit meinem Bruder Geschenke austauschen" (1992: 45). There is no evidence that ⸗*ul*⸗ or ⸗*ol*⸗ as a derivational morpheme should be analyzed as a reflexive. Dietrich and Mayer do not seem to indicate this proposed reflexive in their translation.

[97] *a-nam-mi-it-ta-ma-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-ra ur-ḫu-up-du-ši-li-wa*; Giorgieri 2004: 323 translates as "So möge ich mit meinem Bruder aufrichtig verfahren." Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 45 translate: "Soll ich meinem Bruder gegenüber sehr true handeln."

(6.32) *anammi꞊tta*   *꞊man* **tād꞊ugār** (*꞊i*)   *꞊r(<l)꞊ēva*
so   +1SG.ENCL+*man* love+RECIP+ACT+*l*   +POT
"So I would share love (with my brother)" (Mitt. iii 64-65)[98]

The two phrases are followed by another *adī꞊nīn mānn꞊a(<e)꞊tta꞊man* (iii 65). In

(6.31), the verbal root is *urġ꞊upt-*. *urġ-* is related to the adjective *urġi* "true." Recall the

phrase: *irdi꞊b urġ(i)꞊a tī(e)꞊a kad꞊i꞊l(꞊i)꞊ēž* "may your tongue speak (only) true

words" (ChS I/1 9 iii 36) (cf. (4.35) sub §4.3.2.1). The commitative *šēniffura* is likely

continued through (6.32). Therefore (6.32) is parallel to the optative: *šēn(a)꞊iffē꞊n tād꞊*

ugār꞊i꞊(e)ž šū꞊ra "may my brother share love with me" (cf. (4.26)).

    Similar to (6.32) above is the following:

(6.33) *inū꞊mē*   *꞊nīn Šimige taržuwan(i)꞊ne*   *꞊ž … tād ꞊i ꞊a*
as +3SG.ENCL+*nīn* DN+ØABS mankind   +SG.RELAT+ERG … love+TRAN+3SG.ERG
anammi꞊dill(a) ꞊ān ištan(i)꞊iff(e) ꞊až꞊a ꞊n **tād꞊ugār** (*꞊i*) *꞊*
so   +1PL.ENCL+CONN between+1SG.POSS+PL+DAT+*n* love+RECIP+ACT+
r(<l)꞊ēva
l   +POT
"As mankind loves Šimige …, so should we share love between us" (Mitt. iv 121-
123)[99]

(6.33) consists of an *inū꞊X꞊nīn … anammi(꞊)* construction. The modal verb

tādugārrēva is in the *anammi* clause which is compared to *inū꞊mē꞊nīn … tādia* "as we

love her." Since the *anammi* clause here does not indicate possibility as much as

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[98] *a-nam-mi-it-ta-ma-an* [65] *ta-a-du-ka-a-ar-ri-e-wa*; Giorgieri 2004: 323 "so möge ich (mit ihm) Beziehungen gegenseitiger Freundschaft unterhalten." Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 45 give "soll ich mit ihm (also) Freundschaft unterhalten."

[99] *i-nu-ú-me-e-ni-i-in* [122] ᵈ*ši-mi-gi tar-šu-an-níš … ta-a-ti-a a-nam-mi-til-la-a-an iš-ta-ni-íw-wa-ša* [123] *ta-a-du-ka-a-ar-ri-e-wa*; Giorgieri 2004: 327 "so mögen wir miteinander Beziehungen gegenseitiger Freundschaft unterhalten."

necessity (i.e. it needs or ought to take place based on the condition stated in the *inu*

clause), I translate ⸗*eva* not as "would" but rather "should" in this context.

(6.33) is followed by two phrases. First is a complete sentence with a transitive verb

in the future with both agent and patient expressed. This is followed by a long phrase

with two relative clauses followed by a main clause with its predicate in ⸗*ēva*, and, as

expected, only one main argument is expressed. The expressed argument of the ⸗*ēva*

verb is also the head of the relatives. They are given here as (6.34a-b):

(6.34) a. *aggu⸗š ⸗š(<nna) ⸗ān agu ⸗we ištan(i)⸗iff(e) ⸗až⸗a ⸗n*
         one +ERG+3SG.ENCL+CONN other+GEN midst +1SG.POSS+PL+ESS+CONN
         ḫodanni   **šār ⸗ill⸗ēd ⸗a**
         destiny[100]+ØABS wish+*ill*+FUT+3SG.ERG
         "Between us, one will wish the (good?) *destiny?* of the other!"
         or: "Between us would/should one wish the (good?) *destiny?* of the other!"
         (Mitt. iv 123-124)[101]

     b. *īa ⸗llā ⸗nīn ōmīn(i)⸗na [šū]a⸗lla ⸗man ēže ⸗ni*
         REL+3PL.ENCL+*nīn* land +PL.RELAT all +3PL.ENCL+*man* place+ABL/INST
         *tupp ⸗a(<e?)⸗šše⸗na *ᵈ*Šimīge⸗ne ⸗ž ḫu/ož⸗utt⸗ōl⸗ā ⸗*
         gather+STAT?+REL+PL.RELAT DN +SG.RELAT+ERG *shine*+*ut* +*ol* +3SG.ERG+
         šše ⸗na [andi⸗ll(a)] ⸗ān šūa⸗lla ⸗man ed(i) ⸗iff(e) ⸗
         REL+PL.RELAT this +3PL.ENCL+CONN all +3PL.ENCL+*man* person+1SG.POSS+
         *až⸗a **îl** (⸗i) ⸗l⸗ēva*
         PL +DAT *admire*+ACT+*l*+POT
         "All of the lands which are gathered in their place and which Šimīge shines on,
         all of [these] would/should *admire* our persons!" (Mitt. iv 124-126)[102]

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[100] The nominal form *ḫodanni* is related to the root *ḫod-* "to pray" (Salvini 1988a: 169-170). Based on this, a translation of *ḫodanni* as "prayer" is possible. Unfortunately it is not clear how "prayer" fits into the context here. Given that the fate gods *Ḫōde⸗na* and *Ḫodellurra* contain a root *ḫod-*, a translation "destiny, fate" is also possible.

[101] *ag-gu-uš-ša-a-an a-gu-ú-e iš-ta-ni-íw-wa-ša-an* ¹²⁴ [*ḫu*]-*tan-ni*! *ša-a-ri-il-le-e-ta*

[102] *i-i-al-la-a-ni-i-in* ᴷᵁᴿ*u-u-mi-i-in-na*ᴹᴱˢ ¹²⁵ [*šu-ú-*]*al-la-ma-an e-e-še-ni tup-pa-aš-še-na* ᵈ*ši-mi-i-gi-níš ḫu-šu?-ud?-du-u-la-a-aš-še-na* ¹²⁶ [*an-di-il-l*]*a-a-an šu-ú-al-la-ma-an e-ti-íw-wa-ša i-i-il-le-e-wa*; Dietrich and Mayer 1991: 111.

In (6.34a), the indicative *šārillēda* is to be taken as either a true future "he will wish" or modally as a parallel to *⸗ēva*. If the latter is correct, then the key difference between this predicate and forms in *⸗ēva* is that two arguments, an agent in the ergative and a patient in the absolutive, are expressed. In (6.34b), the root *îl-* "admire(?)" is likely to be transitive. The agent is the absolutive [*andi⸗ll*]*a šūa⸗lla* "all of these" which refers back to the *ōmīnna* [*šū*]*alla* "all of the lands" in the relative clauses.   The patient of *îl-* is either in the plural dative (as analyzed above) or as a plural essive form. Girbal writes that "der einzige Unterschied ist, daß *tadukarewa* und *îllewa* monovalente Formen sind, während *šarilleta* bivalent ist."[103] The question that remains is what motivates this difference? We have clear examples of transitive verbs in *⸗eva* with only one of the two required arguments expressed. There has to be something more do differentiate the forms in *⸗ill⸗ ed⸗a* from those in (*⸗i⸗l*)*⸗ēva* than expression of argument. What is unclear is if this something is syntactically, semantically or pragmatically motivated.

6.3.1.3 *⸗o⸗l⸗eva*

Having looked at forms in (*⸗i*)*⸗ēva* and *⸗i⸗l⸗ēva* in the Mittani Letter, it is time to turn to those in *⸗o⸗l⸗eva*. To begin with, we will look at two similar passages that are set in contrast to one another in the text. In iv 17-21 and 24-27, we have two sets of passages introduced by the verbs of speech *kad-* (iv 18) and *ḫill-* (iv 24). The former is the active extended form *kad⸗i⸗l⸗ēva* while the latter is the "passive" *ḫill⸗o⸗l⸗ēva*. I will begin with iv 17-20:

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[103] Girbal 1992: 180

(6.35) *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu*   ⸗*dā*⸗*mān ave*⸗*nnē*   ⸗*nīn tive*   *šurve*
brother+1SG.POSS+DIR+*man* any+3SG.ENCL[104]+*nin* word+ØABS evil+ØABS
īa ⸗*mma*   ⸗*man* **kad** ⸗*i* ⸗*l*⸗*ēva šō*   ⸗*ve* ⸗*n(e)*   ⸗*ē*
REL+3SG.ENCL+*man* speak+ACT+*l*+POT 1SG.PRON+GEN+SG.RELAT+*e*-CASE
ed(i) ⸗*iffū*   ⸗*e*[!105]   *ōmīn(i)*⸗*iffu*   ⸗*we* ⸗*n(e)*   ⸗*ē*
person+1SG.POSS+*e*-CASE land   +1SG.POSS+GEN+SG.RELAT+*e*-CASE
ed(i) ⸗*ī*   ⸗*ē*   *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffū*   (⸗*ž*) ⸗*ll(a)*   ⸗*ān*
person+3SG.POSS+*e*-CASE brother+1SG.POSS+ERG+3PL.ENCL+*an*
tive   *anē*⸗*nā*   ⸗*mmaman ḫaž* ⸗*āž*⸗*i*   ⸗*vā* ⸗*en*
word+ØABS that+PL.RELAT+*mmaman* hear+*āž*+ACT+NEG+JUSS
"Any evil word which one would speak to my brother concerning myself or
concerning my land, may my brother not hear these words!" (Mitt. iv 17-20)[106]

The NP *ave(*⸗*) tive šurve* "any evil word" is the referent of the relative clause *īa*⸗…

kadilēva.[107] The verb is analyzed here as being active due to the presence of ⸗*i*⸗. For

this reason we must assume that the agent is unexpressed. This is similar to the phrases

in ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*eva*⸗*ž* found in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual where the patient is expressed but the

agent is not (cf. §6.3.2.2 below and (6.8b) above). The ⸗*mma*⸗ of the relative chain *īa*⸗

mma⸗*man* is not the second person singular enclitic pronoun, but rather a lengthened

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[104] Based on the constructions *ōmīn(i)*⸗*iffu*⸗*wa*⸗*n(e)*⸗*ē ed(i)*⸗*ī*⸗*e* (iv 19), *šēn(a)*⸗*iffu*⸗*we*⸗*n(e)*⸗*ē*
ed(i)⸗*ī*⸗*ē* (iv 25) and *ōmīn(i)*⸗*ī*⸗*ve*⸗*n(e)*⸗*ē ed(i)*⸗*i*⸗*ē* (iv 25) (the last two are treated below in (6.36)), the
writing *šu-u-we-ni-e e-ti-íw-wu-ú-a* (iv 18) must be emended to *e-ti-íw-wu-ú-e*ꞌ or even *e-ti-íw-we«-ú»-e*ꞌ.
The latter would result in the normalized form *ed(i)*⸗*iff(e)*⸗*ē* while the former emendation results in *ed(i)*⸗
ifffū⸗*e*. Since *edi* must be in the ⸗*e* case, the former is formally a better fit (note *ti-wi-íw-wa-an* for *tiv(e)*⸗
iff(e)⸗*a*⸗*n* "as/in my word" (Mitt. ii 105).

[105] Text reads *ed(i)*⸗*iffū*⸗*a*. The emendation is based on iv 19, 25.

[106] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta-a-ma-a-an a-we-en-ni-e-ni-i-in ti-wa šur-wa* [18] *i-ia-am-ma-ma-an ka-ti-li-e-*
*wa šu-u-we-ni-e e-ti-íw-wu-ú-e*ꞌ(text: *-a*) [19] KUR*u-u-mi-i-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-ni-e e-ti-i-e-e še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-ul-la-a-*
an ti-we [20] *a-ni-e-na-a-am-ma-ma-an ḫa-ša-a-ši-wa-a-en*; see also Steiner 1992: 446

[107] A similar thing occurs in the immediately preceding phrase. In Mitt. iv 16-17, we read *ti-*
w[a]⌈-a⌉-al-la-a-an šur-wA še-e-ni-íw-wu-ta ka-ti-ik-ki. This was translated by Wilhelm as "[a]nd evil
words are not spoken to my brother" (Moran 1992c: 69). This translation requires us to take "evil word"
as the subject. Alternatively, Plank translates the phrase as the transitive "[u]nd üble Gerüchte berichtet
man nicht meinem Bruder" (1988: 91). The antipassive *kadikki* is still transitive and should be translated
as such. According to this the enclitic pronoun ⸗*ll(a)*⸗ is the subject (indefinite third person) or *kadikki*.
This means that the *ti-w[a]⌈-a-⌉* is to be analyzed as the essive *tiv(e)*⸗*ā*⸗ and not as an absolutive *tivā(<e)*
with *e>a* through vowel harmony with the enclitic ⸗*ll(a)*⸗. The ambiguous *šur-wA* is to be analyzed as the
essive *šurv(e)*⸗*a*, modifying *tiv(e)*⸗*ā*.

form of the third singular enclitic pronoun ⸗*ma/e*⸗. The form *avennēnīn* has been

typically analyzed as *avennē* plus the enclitic particle ⸗*nīn*.[108] Based on the spelling

avennānīn in iv 24 (see (6.36) below), I feel that they are better analyzed as *ave*⸗*nnē*⸗*nīn*

and *ave*⸗*nnā*⸗*nīn* respectively. The particle ⸗*nīn* can change the -*a* of a preceding

enclitic pronoun to -*e*, but this retrograde vowel harmony is not consistent. Note the

following forms: *īa*⸗*llē*⸗*nīn* (Mitt. iv 30) versus *īa*⸗*llā*⸗*nīn* (i 96). Based on this, *ave*⸗

nnē⸗*nīn* can be said to contain the indefinite *ave* followed by the third singular enclitic

pronoun ⸗*nna*, here written ⸗*nnē*⸗.[109] The referent *ave*(⸗) *tive šurve* is reiterated in the

main clause by *tive anē*(⸗) "that word."

    The passage in (6.35) is followed by a similar, though different passage. While in

(6.35) the verb of the relative clause was in ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*ēva*, in (6.36) we have a different verb

of speaking and it is in ⸗*o*⸗*l*⸗*ēva*. The passage is as follows:

(6.36) *ave*⸗*nnā*   ⸗*nīn kur*⸗*o*   *šû*   ⸗*da īa* ⸗*mma*   ⸗*man*
          any+3SG.ENCL+*nīn* subsequently 1SG.PRON+DIR REL+3SG.ENCL+*man*
          ḫill   ⸗***o*** ⸗***l***⸗***ēva*** *šēn*(*a*) ⸗*iffu*   ⸗*we* ⸗*n*(*e*)   ⸗*ē*   *ed*(*i*) ⸗*ī*   ⸗
          speak+PASS+*l*+POT brother+1SG.POSS+GEN+SG.RELAT+*e*-CASE person+3SG.POSS+
          ē   *ōmīn*(*i*)⸗*ī*   ⸗*ve* ⸗*n*(*e*)   ⸗*ē*   *ed*(*i*) ⸗*ī*   ⸗*ē*
          e-case land +3SG.POSS+GEN+SG.RELAT+*e*-CASE person+3SG.POSS+*e*-CASE
          ḫaž ⸗***āž***⸗***i*** ⸗***va*** ⸗***llī*** ⸗*ll*(*a*) ⸗*ān*
          hear+*až*+ACT+NEG+1.JUSS+3PL.ENCL+*an*
          "Any (word) which should/would be spoken to me concerning my brother or
          concerning his land, may I not hear them!" (Mitt. iv 24-26)[110]

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[108] Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 50; Girbal 1992: 176; Wilhelm 1984: 220

[109] This is also how Giorgieri 2000a: 222 analyzes the form.

[110] *a-we-en-na-a-ni-i-in gu-ru šu-ú-ú-ta i-ia-am-ma-ma-an ḫi-il-lu-li-e-wa* [25] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-ni-e e-ti-i-e-e* ^KUR*u-u-mi-i-ni-i-we-ni-e e-ti-i-e-e* [26] *ḫa-ša-a-ši-wa-al-li-i-il-la-a-an*; Girbal 1992: 177; Steiner 1992: 446

While the referent *ave*(⸗) is in the singular (note the use of the third singular enclitic

pronoun ⸗*nnā*⸗), it is picked up in the main clause by the head pronoun ⸗*ll*(*a*)⸗. The

switching of number for *tive* is not uncommon in the Mittani Letter.[111] The verb of the

relative clause is the potential *ḫillolēva*. Based on the expected difference between forms

in ⸗*i*⸗ and those in ⸗*o*⸗, *ḫillolēva* should be analyzed as "passive." Therefore in (6.36)

ave(⸗) is the subject of the relative clause while in (6.35) it is the patient. There is little

difference in meaning between the two. The transitive *kadilēva* is likely used in (6.35)

due to the preceding antipassive ⸗*lla* … *kadikki* "one does not say" in iv 16-17.

Similar to (6.35) is the passage in iii 100-102:

(6.37) *ēže* ⸗*nē*   ⸗*ra*   *ḫāvorue*⸗*nē*   ⸗*ra*   *tê* ⸗*n*(*e*)   ⸗*a*
earth+SG.RELAT+COMM heaven +SG.RELAT+COMM word+SG.RELAT+ESS
kad ⸗*ī* ⸗*nna*   *inu*⸗*llē*   ⸗*nīn* *ḫi*[*ll* ⸗*o*   ⸗*l*]⸗*ēva*
speak+AP+3SG.ENCL so +3PL.ENCL+*nīn* speak+PASS+*l*+POT
"He speaks the word with[?] (Wilhelm: before)[112] earth and heaven, so should they
be spoken" (Mitt. iii 100-102)[113]

As with (6.35) we have a singular "word" repeated as a plural in the subsequent clause.

Since *kadī*(⸗*nna*) is antipassive, *te-e-e-na* must be the essive patient (i.e. *tê*(<*tiya*[?])⸗*n*(*e*)⸗

a) and not a plural absolutive NP. Again we find *ḫill*- with the extended "passive" form

of the potential ⸗*ēva*.

Problematic is the following passage from iv 45-46:

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[111] See Mitt. iv 19-20 where we have a singular *tive* with the plural enclitic ⸗*lla* on the preceding
word for "words."

[112] Wilhelm 1992c: 68

[113] ⌜*e-e-še-ni-e-ra*⌝ [101] *ḫa-a-wu-ru-e-ni-e-ra te-e-e-na ka-ti-i-in-na i-nu-ul-li-e-ni-i-in* [102] ⌜*ḫi-*⌝[*-il-
lu-l*]*i-e-wa*

(6.38) *šēn(a)* =*iffe*   =*nn(a)*   =*ān ḫill* =*o*   =*l* =*ēva*
       brother+1SG.POSS+3SG.ENCL+*an* speak+PASS+*l*+POT
       "My brother might say: ('you *yourself* have detained my messengers')" (Mitt. iv 45)[114]

Here the subject of the potential verb *ḫillolēva* must be *šēniffe* "my brother." As such,

the verb cannot be analyzed as "passive." There are examples of *ḫill-* as an indicative

verb with the speaker as the subject in the Mittani Letter. In all of these examples,

however, the verb is in the antipassive:

(6.39) a. (Keliya, my messenger, reported this message:)
           mānā   =*n*   *ḫill*   =*i*
           3SG.PRON+ØABS+CONN[?] speak+AP
           "He says: ('Your brother Nimmōrīya …')" (Mitt. i 84)[115]

        b. (Keliya *announced expressly* the going of the gift:)
           māna =*n ḫill* =*i*
           "He says: …" (Mitt. i 93)[116]

        c. [*ḫill* =*i*] =*tta*   =*man* ᵐ*Aššutemi* =*va* uia *ḫil(l)* =*ož*   =*i*   =*kka(<i)* =
            speak+AP+1SG.ENCL+*man*   PN   +GEN no speak+PAST+AP+NEG   +
           tt(a)   =*ān*
           1SG.ENCL+CONN
           "I [say/said] to Aššutemi: 'No!' I did not say (it)!" (Mitt. i 52)[117]

Unlike *kad-*, *ḫill-* is never in the transitive. The modal form *ḫillolēva* for expected

*ḫillilēva or even better **kadilēva* is possibly due to the lower transitivity of *ḫill-*. This,

however, does not explain why a "passive" form in =*oleva* should be used here. It is best

to take this as either an error for **kadilēva* or as an atypical use of =*oleva*.

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[114] *še-e-ni-íw-we-en-na-a-an ḫi-il-lu-li-e-wa*; Girbal 1992: 178 "mein Bruder könnte (vielleicht) sagen"; Neu 1994: 135 (translates the same);

[115] *ma-a-an-na-a-an ḫi-il-li*

[116] *ma-a-na-an ḫi-il-li*; Girbal 1988: 135-136

[117] [*ḫi-il-li-i*]*t-ta-ma-an* ᵐ*aš-šu-te-mi-wa u-ia ḫi-il-uš-ik-kat̯ʔ-ta-a-an*

To conclude this section, expamples of the "stative" verbs *mann ≠* "to be," *ur ≠* "to

exist," and *tupp ≠* "to be collected, gathered." These verbs all occur in the extended

"passive" form *≠olēva* in the Mittani Letter. The first example occurs in broken context:

(6.40) *andi ≠ lla   ≠ man **mānn ≠o**   ≠l ≠ēvā ≠ ll(a)   ≠ān*
        this +3PL.ENCL+*man* be   +PASS+*l*+POT+3PL.ENCL+CONN
        "These should be (as such[?])" (Mitt. ii 122)[118]

Similar to this is the following example with *urolēva*:

(6.41) ***ur ≠o   ≠l ≠ēva ≠ mā   ≠ nīn kur ≠ o šô   ≠ wa   tōr[ō]b(i) ≠iffe***
        exist+PASS+*l*+POT+3SG.ENCL+*nīn* again 1SG.PRON+DAT enemy +1SG.POSS+ØABS
        "Furthermore, should there exist for me an enemy ..." (Mitt. iii 115-116)[119]

While likely of little importance, note that here we have the form *≠ēva* with short *a* when

followed by an enclitic pronoun *≠mā*. Typically, when followed by an enclitic pronoun,

the *a* is long (cf. examples (6.25(x2)), (6.30), (6.40)). In both (6.40) and (6.41), the

modal verbs are existential in nature. As we have seen with the optative in *≠ež* (cf.

§4.2.1.2.1 and §4.3.4.1), these verbs require the "passive" *≠o ≠*.

The final example occurs as part of the protasis of an *inu* ... "as ... (so) ..." clause. The

predicate in *≠eva* is found in the apodosis while the protasis contains the indicative form

kadēdav. The passage is as follows:

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[118] *an-ti-il-la-ma-an ma-a-an-nu-l[e]-e-wa-a-al-la-a-an*; Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 44; Girbal
1992: 178

[119] *ú-ru-li-e-wa-ma-a-ni-i-in gu-ru šu-u-u-wa* [116] *du-u-ru-[u?]-bi-íw⌈-we⌉*

(6.42) *inū ⸗ mē* ⸗ *nīn* [URU]*Nīnuā ⸗ ve* [d]*Šauškā ⸗ va* [DINGIR]*ēn(i)⸗iffu* ⸗ *wa*
as +3SG.ENCL+*nīn* GN +GEN DN +DAT god +1SG.POSS+DAT
ā(i) ⸗ī ⸗ *da kad* ⸗ *ēd* ⸗ *av* *ḫiaroḫḫe* ⸗ *mān zalamži*[120]
face+3SG.POSS+DIR speak+FUT+1SG.ERG gold+ØABS+*mān* statue+ØABS
šō ⸗ *wa* ...[121] **tupp** ⸗ **o** ⸗ **l** ⸗ **ēva**
1SG.PRON+DAT ... collect+PASS+*l*+POT
"As I will/would speak before my goddess Šauška of Nineveh, that the gold statue
might be gathered for me ..., (so (may) it be)." (Mitt. iii 97-100)[122]

With the exception of the difficulties involved in analyzing *še*-[. . (.)]-*íw-we* in iii 99, the

passage is clear. The construction is parallel to the indicative constructions in *tupp ⸗ e*

found in ii 19 and iii 115.

   The examples given in §§6.3.1.1 - 6.3.1.3 largely conform to the expected pattern of

an active-passive distinction in ⸗*ēva*. No forms in (⸗*i*)⸗*ēva* and ⸗*i ⸗ l ⸗ ēva* require a

passive translation. Forms in ⸗*o ⸗ l ⸗ ēva*, with the exception of (6.38) above, are parallel

to forms in ⸗*o ⸗ l ⸗ ež*. The morpheme ⸗*o*⸗ is found in both true passive constructions and

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[120] Dietrich and Mayer take this as Akkadian *ṢA-LAM-ŠI* (1992: 45). The difficulty I have with
this is the presumed oblique possessive ⸗*ŠI*. As subject of a passive construction I would expect the
feminine ⸗*ŠA* or even masculine ⸗*ŠU* (similar to Hittite use of ⸗*ŠU* regardless of the gender of the
possessor). For this reason I have taken this form as a true Hurrian NP. For Akkadian *ṢALMU* being
borrowed into Hurrian, see CAD Ṣ p. 78 sub *ṣalmu*, going back to Brandenstein 1939:58.

[121] The traces look like *še*-[. . (.)]-*íw-wə*, which would be a NP with first person singular
possessive ⸗*iffe* in either the absolutive or essive. Wegner offers two potential interpretations of the form,
either as a genitive or as an essive (2000: 176). Her form *šen(a)⸗iffə* is translated as "meines Bruders."
Along with the potential genitive, she normalizes *šu-u-u-wA* as *šô ⸗ we*, "of me," going with the possessive
enclitic ⸗*iffə*. Besides not containing the expected genitive ending *⸗*iffu ⸗ we*, all evidence from the
Amarna Letters suggests that Tušratta had desired statues of his daughter and of himself, but not of the
pharaoh. She offers the alternative *šô ⸗ wa šēn(a)⸗iff(e)⸗a* is more likely. Her translation of this essive NP,
however, is not convincing. She translates *šēn(a)⸗iff(e)⸗a* as "bei meinem Bruder," that is, as the agent of
tupp-. There is absolutely no evidence that the essive functions as a marker of the agent. Unfortunately the
known functions of the essive, as locative, comparative or as the patient marker in antipassive
constructions, are not really applicable here. The only way that a translation like Wegner's "bei meinem
Bruder" is that perhaps "stative" verbs such as *tupp-* can take an agent in the essive.

[122] *i-nu-ú-me-e-ni-i-in* [98] [URU]*ni-i-nu-a-a-we* [d]*ša-uš*⸢-ka-a-⸣*wa* [d]*e-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-a a-a-i-i-ta* [99] *ka-te-*
e-ta-ú ḫi-ia-ru-uḫ-ḫé-ma-a-an za-lam-ši šu-u-wa še-[. . (.)]-*íw-we* [100] *tup-pu-le-e-wa*; treated by Dietrich
and Mayer 1993: 118.

with the "stative" or existential verbs that take ⸗*e* in the indicative. The discussion of

possible forms in ⸗*o*⸗*(e)va* will be discussed below.

6.3.2 Boğazköy Examples

In the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, we have several examples of potential forms in ⸗*eva*.

Two of them are found in KBo 32.19 while the other examples belong to a long passage

in KBo 32.15. We have all three forms of ⸗*eva* mentioned in §§6.3.1.1 - 6.3.1.3

represented in the Bilingual. In contrast to the examples from the Mittani Letter given

above, I will not separate the examples from Boğazköy according to form but rather

according to the texts in which they occur. I will begin with KBo 32.19 (§6.3.2.1) and

then end the section with a look at the forms from KBo 32.15 (§6.3.2.2).

6.3.2.1 KBo 32.19

The first section of KBo 32.19 concerns the conversation between Teššob and Mēgi in

which the god tells the ruler of Ebla to release the prisoners of Igingališ. Teššob, in no

uncertain terms, sets forth the consequences that would result depending upon Ebla's

choice to obey or disobey his command. In i 13-17 the result of obeyence is given. The

passage includes both indicative future tense verbs as well as a verb in ⸗*o*⸗*l*⸗*eva*. It

reads as follows:

(6.43) *nakk*⸗*ed* ⸗*ašš*⸗*ō* *kirenzi* *enarġ(i)*⸗*a* ⸗*lla* *ḫod*⸗*ed* ⸗
     free +FUT+PL +2.ERG releasing+ØABS *e.* +ESS+3PL.ENCL praise+FUT+
     av *ōlmi* ⸗*šši* § *ōlmi* ⸗*šši* *nān* ⸗*ed* ⸗*i*
     1SG.ERG weapon+ØABS+2PL.POSS § weapon+ØABS+2PL.POSS strike+FUT+AP
     adīrġ(i)⸗*a* *ḫel(i)*⸗*ā* ⸗*ma* **er** ⸗*ō* ⸗*l*⸗**eva** *avundišši*
     enemy +ESS fame +ESS+*ma* be plentiful+PASS+*l*+POT field+ØABS
     "(If) you will/would do a releasing, I will/would praise (your) weapons as *enarġi*!

§ (Your) weapon will/would strike the enemy! (Your) field would be abundant in fame!" (KBo 32.19 i 13-17)[123]

The indicative future tense forms *ḫodedav* and *nānedi* (and possibly even *nakkedaššō*), can be translated as either "x will ..." or modally as "x would ..." As mentioned above (§6.2.1), this passage indicates that modal forms in *⸗eva* share some aspects of futurity.[124] Since both the potential form and future indicate events that are not yet realized, this is not surprising. Hurrian *erōleva* is equivalent to Hittite *māi-* "to be abundant, to flourish."[125] Hittite *māi-* is always active transitive while the biform *miya-* is used as a middle verb.[126] Either Hurrian *er-* is the equivalent of *miya-* in that it is middle, or it is simply a rough equivalent to the Hittite which has a passive meaning "to be made abundant" or the like.

While the city of Ebla would be well treated if they agree to release their prisoners, the consequence for refusing to obey was dire. We read:

(6.44) (If you do not do a releasing ... when the seventh day comes (lit. when the seventh day days[127]:)

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[123] *na-ak-ki-ta-aš-šu-u ki-re-en-zé* [14] *e-na-ar-ḫa-al-la ḫu-ti-ta-ú* [15] *u-ul-mi-iš-ši* § [16] *u-ul-mi-iš-ši na-a-ni-ti a-ti-i-ir-ḫa* [17] *ḫé-la-a-ma e-ru-u-li-wa_a a-bu-un-ti-iš-ši*; This is translated into Hittite as: [13] *nu ma-a-an pa-ra*[*-a tar-nu-mar i-ia-at-t*]*e-ni* [14] *nu-uš-ma-aš* [GIŠ]TUKUL.[(ḪI.A-*KU-*)*NU* DINGIR[?]*-LIM-na-aš*] *i-wa-ar* [15] *šar-la-a-*[*mi*] § [16] *nu šu-me-en-za-an*[(*-pát*) [GIŠ]TUKUL.ḪI.A-*KU-NU ú-iz-z*]*i* [17] *ḫar-pa-na-al-l*[*i-uš ḫu-ul-la-an-ni-wa-a*]*n da-a-i* [18] [A.ŠÀ]*ḫar-ša-a-u*[*-ar-ma-aš-ma-aš ú-iz-z*]*i* [19] *wa-al-li-i*[*a-an-ni ma-a-i*] "If you [make a] rel[easing], I will praise yo[ur] weapons like [the gods]! § [Thereup]on only (*⸗pat*) your [weapons] will start [to strike] the enem[ies]! [Thereupon] your fiel[ds] [will grow in] fame!" (KBo 32.19 ii 13-19). The translation of the phraseological constructions in *uizzi … dāi/māi* follows van den Hout 2003: 198.

[124] This is noted by Neu 1996: 414.

[125] See CHD L-N p. 113 sub *mai-*. The restoration [*ma-a-i*] is certain based on KBo 32.19 iii 44'.

[126] CHD L-N p. 115b

[127] See Neu 1996: 416-417.

un (*≠i*) *≠eva≠tta*   *edi≠ž*   *≠ū*   *≠da fe*   *≠ž≠a*
come+ACT+POT+1SG.ENCL self+2.PL.POSS[128]+EPNTH+DİR 2.PRON+PL+DAT
§ *ārdi*   *≠ma* ^{URU}*Ēbla*   *paġ* *≠ed≠av*   *naḫḫubad*(*i*) *≠už*
 city+ØABS+*ma* GN+ØABS destroy+FUT+1SG.ERG unsettled (land)+EQUAT
šer   *≠ed≠av*   *inna*   *≠nna*   *≠m*
make like+FUT+1SG.ERG in that way+3SG.ENCL+*m*
"I would come unto you! § I will/would destroy the city of Ebla, and I will/would
make it like an unsettled land!" (KBo 32.19 i 23-25)[129]

Again we find a modal form in *≠eva* included with indicative future forms (here: *paġedav*

and *šeredav*). The verb *un-* can only be translated as "to come" as opposed to "to bring"

based on context. The subject of this intransitive verb is the first person enclitic pronoun

≠tta. Since the verb must be active, it requires the elision of the active morpheme *≠i≠*

immediatly before the modal ending. The act of Teššob coming to Ebla is certainly

negative in this context.

   In both (6.43) and (6.44) the passages are divided into two paragraphs in both the

Hurrian and Hittite versions of the myth. In the case of (6.43) the modal verb *erōleva*

appears in the second paragraph, while in (6.44), it ends the first paragraph. There is no

clear reason as to why a paragraph divider would be required here, but it is conspicuous

that it occurs in both passages (and in both versions as well).

6.3.2.2 KBo 32.15

   The potential forms found in KBo 32.15 i 4'-18' have been discussed in detail above.

Within these lines we have eight preserved verbs in *≠i≠l≠eva≠ž*. As already mentioned

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[128] See Giorgieri 2000a: 216 and note 139; Wegner 2000: 55 as *-šu*[?].

[129] *ú-ni-wa_a-at-ta e-te-šu-ú-ta we_e-e-ša* § ²⁴ *a-ar-ti-ma* ^{URU}*e-eb-la pa-ḫé-tab* ²⁵ *na-aḫ-ḫu-pa-du-uš še-ri-tab i-in-na-an-na-am*. The Hittite translations is: ²² … *nu-u*]*š-ša-an am-mu-uk* ²³ *šu-ma-a-aš tu-e*[*-eg-ga-ša-m*]*a-aš ú-wa-mi* § ^{24 URU}*e-eb-la-an* U[RU-*an ḫ*]*ar-ni-ik-mi* ²⁵ *na-aš ma-a-an Ú-U*[*L ku-uš-ša-an-g*]*a a-ša-a-an-za* ²⁶ *na-an a-pí-ni-iš-š*[*u-wa-an i-ia-m*]*i* "I will come to you yourself! § I will [d]estroy the c[ity of] Ebla! As if it were ne[ver] settled, in that w[ay] I will [make] it."

above, I do not analyze the word final ⸗ž as a plural marker, but rather as an emphatic

marker. The passages do not, in my opinion, express the will or desire of the speaker but

rather potentiallity. The actions will be carried out (and without question (⸗ž)) if

conditions require them to be, but not otherwise.

   While the begining of the text is broken, it is virtually certain that these conditional

statements with ⸗eva verbs in the apodosis were spoken by Zāzalla and not by Mēgi.[130]

Five conditions and the resulting responses to them are given be Zāzalla.[131] The

responses are typically translated as cohortatives "let us ..." or "we want to ..."[132] The

Hittite translation does not use imperative forms.[133] The use of the present/future in the

Hittite translation coincides with the future aspect of Hurrian ⸗eva that was established

above (§§6.2.2-6.2.3). While the Hurrian is best translated as the potential "we would x,"

the Hittite, strictly speaking, is translated as "we will x." It is possible that the use of

mān "if" to begin the conditional clauses in the Hittite is sufficient enough to give the

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[130] See Wilhelm 1997: 282; Neu 1996: 298-299 favors Zāzalla as the speaker, but allows that it may have been Mēgi, although this is less plausible. The passage in i 20'-21': ᵐMēgi fē⸗ve tiža⸗b an⸗ašt⸗i⸗kki "Mēgi, your heart will not rejoice (over the news that we will not perform a releasing!" (see Wilhelm 1997: 282-283).

[131] The conditions are: 1) need of money (i 5'-8'); 2) need of food (i 8'-11'); 3) need of clothes (i 11'-12'); 4) need of liquid(?) (i 14'-16'); 5) need of releasing (i 18'-19'). This last one is not set up as a conditional, but simply contains the phrase eġ⸗il(⸗i)⸗l⸗eva⸗š⸗ša(<nna) ᵈTeššob … "we would release Teššob …"

[132] Wilhelm 1992: 139 (with bibliography of pre-1991 treatments); Neu 1996: 306 ("adhortativen"). The cohortative function is also subsumed under the heading "conditional-optative" (Diakonoff 1971: 130-131; Wegner 2000: 93). Giorgieri translates as the potential and not as a command (2000: 237).

[133] Although the forms in -weni (e.g. pi-i-ú-[(e-ni)] (ii 9'), wa-aš-ša-u-e-ni (ii 12'), etc.) are ambiguous in that the first person plural ending in both the imperative and active present/future is -weni (cf. Friedrich 1974: 78), the third person forms pa-a-i (ii 7') and šu-un-na-i (ii 10', 11') indicate that all of the verbal forms are in the indicative present/future and not in the imperative.

phrase a hypothetical bend. The passages have been well treated, and do not require

further analysis here.[134]

6.3.3 Forms in ⌐o/uva

Given the existance of forms in (⌐i)⌐eva, ⌐i⌐l⌐eva and ⌐o⌐l⌐eva, one expects to see

unextended "passive" forms in ⌐o⌐(e)va. In this final section we will look at several

possible examples of such "passive" potential forms. The few possible examples that we

have of such a form are problematic at best. In the Mittani Letter there is one example of

a form in ⌐ūva and two others which may be analyzed as ⌐u(w)a and likely do not

involve ⌐eva. There are a number of possible forms in the Boğazköy corpus, but these

are for the most part extremely difficult to analyze. I will begin with the forms from the

Mittani Letter (§6.3.3.1) and will conclude with a brief look at those from Boğazköy

(§§6.3.3.2-6.3.3.3).

6.3.3.1 Mittani Letter

The first example that we will look at is found in lines iv 42-43 of the Mittani Letter.

This passage has already been discussed above concerning potential split-ergativity in the

jussive forms (5.18) and (5.19) (cf. sub §5.3.1.1). It has been argued here that these lines

contain not one, but two phrases, the first having a verb in ⌐ūva while the second has a

first person jussive verb. The passage is repeated here as (6.45):

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[134] Neu 1996: 300-324; Wilhelm 1997: 280-28; idem. 2001: 89-90

(6.45) *tiv(e)⸗a[?] ⸗tt(a)   ⸗ān   **kur⸗ūva** *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu*   ⸗*we⸗mān*
        word +ESS[?]+1SG.ENCL+CONN *reply+uva* brother+1SG.POSS+GEN+*man*
        kēldi   *nīriže*   *ḫaž* ⸗*ī* ⸗*le*
        well-being+ØABS *n.*+ØABS hear+ACT+1.JUSS
        "Would (that) I *might be sent* a word *in reply*, (that[?]) I may hear the well-being
        and *nīriže* of my brother!" (Mitt. iv 42-43)[135]

Based on context, the root *kur-* ought to mean something along the lines of "to send; to

reply." Normally we would expect *tive* would be the patient of *kur-* and the recepient

would be in an oblique case. Here the recepient is clearly in the absolutive (⸗*tta*). The

case of *tiva* is ambiguous. It is either in the essive (i.e. *tiv(e)⸗a⸗tta*) or it is in the

absolutive with shift of final *e > a* through vowel harmony with the following enclitic

pronoun (i.e. *tiva(<e)⸗tta*). If *kurūva* is to be analyzed as *kur⸗ū(<o)⸗(e)va*, then the

former is more likely. I will return to this issue shortly.

   The verb is clearly spelled with a long *ū* where we would expect ⸗*o*⸗ if this is an

unextended "passive" potential form. I know of no other situations where we have a

short rounded back vowel in contact with an immediately following long *ē*, so it is

difficult to predict what the result would be. It is to be noted that in the Mittani Letter,

the potential is consistently written ⸗*ēva* with long *ē*. It is possible that the combination

*⸗*o*⸗ēva* resulted in the shift *o > u*, and the length of the modal morpheme is preserved.

   If we opperate under the assumption that *kurūva* is *kur⸗o⸗ēva*, then this phrase is

parallel to a jussive one analyzed in (5.72). In iii 73-74 we have the following phrase:

(6.46) *ḫiar⸗o⸗ḫḫ(e)⸗ā⸗tt(a)⸗ān teōn(i)⸗a šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗ž* **keb⸗ān⸗o⸗en**
        "May my brother send my much gold!" (Mitt. iii 73-74)[136]

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[135] See (5.18), (5.19) and (6.21)

[136] See (5.72)

While *kebānoen* is formed with the "passive" ⸗*o*⸗, the first person ⸗*tta* must be the

patient since the verb is clearly third person. For this reason, I have not translated it as a

"passive". It was noted that *keb*⸗*ān-* typically requires the recepient to be in an oblique

case, taking what is sent as the patient. In (6.46), ⸗*tta* is the patient, perhaps triggering

the use of ⸗*o*⸗ in the jussive form. In the same way, it is possible that *kur-* is in *⸗*o*⸗*ēva*

because the patient is not what is sent, but rather the recepient. For this reason, *tiva*

would be best analyzed as an essive form as per (6.46).[137] While I have tentatively

translated it as a "passive" in (6.45), it may have to be translated as an active "Would

(that my brother) might send me a word" as in (6.46). Unlike the jussive example,

kurūva is ambiguous as to person.

The other two possible examples are even more ambiguous. While *kurūva* is written

along the same line as other forms in ⸗*ēva* (i.e. with an initial long vowel and the WA

sign), the following two examples are not. In one example we find the spelling *gi-lu-u-*

šu-a (i 89) and in the other we have *ni-i-nu-šu-ú-a* (iv 7). Neither example contains the

expected WA sign, using instead the A sign. If these are in deed examples of *⸗*o*⸗*ēva*,

then we have to assume that the *v/w* elides in these examples. The verb *kelōžu*(*v*)*a* occurs

in a context that requires a preterite reading of the verb. It is bookened by the clauses

with the indicative preterite verbs *ag*⸗*ož*⸗*a* "he brought" (i 87) and *ši*⸗*ōž*⸗*i* "it was

astonished" and *itt*⸗*ōš*⸗*t*⸗*a* "it went" (both i 90). Based on this, the ⸗*ōž*⸗ in *kelōžua* is

likely to be the preterite marker and not a derivational morpheme. While it is certainly

possible for modal morphemes to occur with tense markers in various languages, there is

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[137] Note that the adjective *teōna* is in the essive, indicating that *ḫiaroḫḫa* is also to be taken as essive and not as absolutive with *e* > *a* due to vowel harmony.

no evidence for this in Hurrian outside of this one example. Based on the spelling

-C*u-a* and the presence of the tense marker ⸗*ōž*⸗, I am extremely hestitant to take this as

an example of the "passive" of ⸗*ēva*. The same situation hols for *nīnožūa*,[138] and for the

same reasons I will refrain from including it here as an example of *⸗*o*⸗*ēva*.

6.3.3.2 Hurro-Hittite Bilingual

Five examples of verbs in ⸗*uva* are known from the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual. Four are

found in the parable text KBo 32.14 while the fifth is from KBo 32.20. The first two

examples are found in the second parable of KBo 32.14. One form is used in the actual

parable, while the other used in the same context in the moral of it. The passages are as

follows:

(6.47) ("The deer pastured on this side of the river,")
    ižā   ⸗*ve* ⸗*n(e)*   ⸗*a naiġē* ⸗*n(e)*   ⸗*a šī* ⸗*na*
    other side+GEN+SG.RELAT+ESS pasture+SG.RELAT+ESS eye+PL.ABS
    ḫapš ⸗**ār** ⸗**ūva**
    set[?] +ar+uva
    "(his) eyes are set upon the pasture of the other side" (KBo 32.14 i 27-28)[139]

(6.48) ("They sat him as governor(*ḫalzōġli*) in that district,")
    šīnzi   *ḫalzi*   *taġē* ⸗*ne*   ⸗*ž* [*š*]*ī* ⸗*n(e)*   ⸗*āi*
    second+ØABS district+ØABS man+SG.RELAT+ERG eye+SG.RELAT[?]+INST
    ḫuž ⸗**ūva**
    bind+*uva*
    "(but) a second district is *coveted*[?] (lit. bound by the eyes) by the man" (KBo
    32.14 i 34-35) [140]

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[138] The verb is preceded and followed by verbs in the preterit such as *ḫaž*⸗*ōž*⸗*av*(⸗) "I heard" (iv 6) and *ki*⸗*ōž*⸗*a* "he set" and *âtt*⸗*ōš*⸗*t*⸗*a* (both iv 8). While concerning completely different topics, the passages in i 87-90 is structurally parallel to that in iv 5-8. Parallel constructions abound in the letter and are certainly a topic that requires further study.

[139] *i-ša-a-we_e-na na-i-ḫé-e-na* [28] *ši-i-na ḫa-ap-ša-a-ru-ú-wa*; Catsanicos 1996: 270; Neu 1996: 129-130

[140] *ši-i-in-zi ḫal-zi ta-ḫé-e-ni-eš* [35] [*ši*]-*i-na-a-i*; Catsanicos 1996: 270; Neu 1996: 135-138

The two passages here clearly concern the coveting of land that is not currently held.

In the case of the deer it is pasturage on the opposite side of the river, while for the man it

is a different district than the one that he controls. While functionally the same, the two

passages differ to a high degree in structure. Not only are different verbs used —

ḫapšārūva in (6.47) and *ḫužūva* in (6.48) — but different arguments appear in the

absolutive. While both contain the word *šī-* "eye," in (6.47) it is in the plural absolutive

and in (6.48) it is in the oblique ⸗*ai* case.

In both cases the Hittite translates the predicates with the active *ša-a-ku-wa zi-ik-ki-zi*

"he sets (his) eye" (ii 29, 34-35). Since in (6.48) [*š*]*īnāi* is clearly in the instrumental and

not the absolutive case, and since both (6.47) and (6.48) use different verbs, it is clear that

the Hittite is not a literal translation of the Hurrian. It must be noted here that the use of

the present/future *zikkizi* in the Hittite is of some importance for this discussion. Verbs in

the iterative -*sk*- are commonly used to indicate imperfective aspect,[141] Indicative

Hurrian forms in this text, be they transitive or intransitive, are translated into Hittite as

preterite verbs. While ⸗*uva* is translated into Hittite by present/future -*sk*- forms in (6.47)

and (6.48), in example (6.50) from the same text, it is translated by preterite (non-*sk*-)

forms in the Hittite.

In (6.47), the NP *ižāvena naiġēna* is taken as essive "on the pasture of the other side"

because *šīna* can only be in the absolutive. Therefore *šīna* "the eyes" must function as

either the patient of a transitive verb or subject of an intransitive (i.e. "look (at s.t.)") or

"passive". No agent is explicitly given.

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[141] See most recently Hoffner and Melchert 2002; According to Neu, the iterative in the present/future can also function as a preterite (1995).

As mentioned, the passage in (6.48) is somewhat different. The *šī*- "eye" is not in the absolutive, but in the instrumental while *šīnzi ḫalzi* is in the absolutive. The ergative agent *taġēnež* is explicit. It is perhaps given here to explicitly indicate that the agent is not the third plural of the preceding [*naġ*]⸗*ēd*⸗*o* (for expected *naġ*⸗*id*⸗*o*) "they sat x" (i 34), but something different. Since ⸗*ūva* does not distinguish person or number, the presence of *taġēnež* indicates that it is the newly raised governor and not those who raised him who desires a second district. The verb *ḫuž*- is known to be "to bind." Perhaps when combined with the instrumental *šīnai* "(to bind) with the eyes," it has the derived meaning of "to covet" or the like.

I have translated the verbs in (6.47) and (6.48) as "passives," but this is not certain. If *ḫapšārūva* and *ḫužūva* are to be seen as containing the modal morpheme ⸗*eva*, then they must be "passives" in ⸗*o*⸗. As seen above, ⸗*eva* is typically used to indicate that an event may take place at some future time but that it is not guaranteed to do so unless, typically, a particular condition is met. This does not work with either (6.47) or (6.48). In neither case are we dealing with potential events. The verbs are best translated as either duratives indicating continuous action or as indicating the desire of the agent.

The same situation holds for the other two examples of ⸗*uva* in this text. These two forms appear in close conjunction in the third parable:

(6.49) ("The smith cast the copy in/for glory. He cast (it), he shaped (it). He decorated it with appliqué.")
   agūrn(i)⸗a   **ag**⸗**ol**   ⸗**ūva** *šīrn(i)⸗a*   ⸗*mma* **taž** ⸗**ol**⸗**ūva**
   engraving+ESS engrave[142]+*uva*   detail +ESS+*mma decorate*ʔ+*ol*+*uva*
   "it is engraved *with* engravings, it *is decorated with* detail"

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[142] See Wilhelm 1992: 128

> or: "he engraves *with* engravings, he *decorates with* detail" (KBo 32.14 i 44-45)[143]

Unlike with (6.47) and (6.48), the ⸗*uva* forms in (6.49) are translated into Hittite with the preterite verbs *gul-aš-ta* (ii 44) and *la-a-lu-uk-ki-iš-nu-ut* (ii 45) respectively. As with the examples above, if these are forms of ⸗*eva*, the mood must have some other function than as potentialis here. As with the first two examples, the verbs could be either durative or indicating desire. In (6.49) neither agent nor patient are given. While the agent *tavalliž* from i 42 carries through the verbs in i 43-44 (i.e. *tav⸗ašt⸗ō⸗m*(x2), *muž⸗ōl⸗ō⸗m* and *tun⸗ōšt⸗o⸗m*), since *agolūva* and *tažolūva* are not indicative, it is not clear if the same agent continues through these verbs as well. As with the first two examples, ⸗*uva* here can be taken as either durative or as indicating desire.

Based on the form alone it is tempting to equate ⸗*ūva* with ⸗*eva*. While the majority of examples of ⸗*eva* conform to its function as the marker of potentiality (or even irreality), there is at least one example where it seems to indicate necessity rather than probability (cf. above example (6.33)). In (6.47) through (6.49), neither potentiality nor necessity fit the context. Perhaps ⸗*eva* can also be used to indicate some level of desire or wish. If so, then these four examples from the Bilingual can all be taken as "passive" potentials. If, on the other hand, ⸗*ūva* proves to be a durative marker, then we must explain why forms in ⸗*uva* do not conform to the general paradigm of indicative forms and why it occurs so infrequently.

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[143] *a-ku-ú-úr-na* [45] *a-ku-lu-ú-wa ši-i-ir-na-am-ma ta-šu-lu-ú-wa*; Catsanicos 1996: 241; Neu 1988a: 239; idem. 1996: 147

6.3.3.3 Boğazköy Texts

Outside of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, a number of possible forms in ⸗*uva* are found in the texts from Boğazköy. As mentioned, they are typically in either severly broken passages or in difficult contexts that make understanding their function difficult. A number of possible forms are given here as (6.50):[144]

(6.50)	a. *ú-wa-mu-wa-a*	*uw ⸗ am ⸗ uvā*	ChS I/1 9 iii 53
	b. *g]a-aš-lu-wa*	*kažl ⸗ uva*	ChS I/1 34:7'
	c. *nu-úr-pu-wa*	*nur(⸗)v ⸗ uva*	ChS I/1 41 ii 3
	d. *bi-in-ti-du-wa*	*fend ⸗ i/ed ⸗ uva*	ChS I/1 41 iii 37
	e. *na-aḫ-ḫu-u-du-wa*	*naḫḫ ⸗ ōd ⸗ uva*	ChS I/1 41 iii 39
	f. *e-ep-ru-wa*	*ēvr ⸗ uva*	ChS I/1 41 iv 31
	g. *a-ku-lu-wa*	*ag ⸗ ul ⸗ uva*	ChS I/1 42 i 41
	h. *ni-pal-pu-wa*	*nip ⸗ alb ⸗ uva*	ChS I/1 69 left col. 9'
	i. [(*pa-a-nu-ú-wa-a*)]	*pān ⸗ ūvā*	ChS I/4 26 v 7'
	j. *ki-ú-lu-wa-a*[*n*	*ki ⸗ ul ⸗ uva ⸗* [*n*	ChS I/5 1 rev. 37'
	k. *ši-i-mu-uš-tu-wa-a-al*	*šīm ⸗ ušt ⸗ uvā ⸗ l*	ChS I/5 41 rev. 6
	l. *ḫa-še-ru-wa*	*ḫaž ⸗ er ⸗ uva*	ChS I/5 132:5'
	m. *iš-ni-ib-bi-lu-u-wa*	*ižn ⸗ ipp ⸗ il ⸗ ūva*	ChS I/6 8 i 12
	n. *iš-ni-i]b-bi-lu-wa*	*ižn ⸗ ipp ⸗ il ⸗ uva*	ChS I/6 16:12'

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[144] The list is partially given in (17).

It is possible that some of these forms are to be analyzed not as ⸗*uva* but as nominal

forms in *-ubi* in the essive.[145] It is likely, however, that most, if not all, should be

analyzed as ⸗*uva*. I will not examine each of the examples in (6.50), but approximately

half can be treated to some degree.

6.3.3.3.1 ChS I/1 9

The first example that we will look with is found in the *itkalzi*-ritual text ChS I/1 9.

While the vast majority of verbal forms in this text are non-indicative, just note the

number of examples taken from this text in this work, there are some potential Mittani

Hurrian indicative verbal forms in it.[146] The passage in question is as follows:

(6.51) *ši* ⸗*b* *tag* ⸗*o* ⸗*l*⸗*ēž* *ḫōbri* ⸗*b*
eye+ØABS+2SG.POSS make pure+PASS+*l*+OPT ḫ.+ØABS+2SG.POSS
uššul(i)⸗ē *avi* ⸗*n(e)* ⸗*ē* *ušt* ⸗*ed* ⸗*i* ⸗*a*
u. +*e*-CASE face+SG.RELAT+*e*-CASE bring out[?]+FUT[?]+TRAN+3SG.ERG
šer(i)⸗r(i)[147] ⸗*ē* *kur*⸗*ann*⸗*i* ⸗*a* *šeġ*⸗*al*⸗*ol*⸗*a* ⸗*m*
š. SG.REALT+*e*-CASE ? +*ann* +TRAN+3SG.ERG purify+*ol*+INTRAN+2SG.ENCL[?]
kažl ⸗*ol*⸗*a* ⸗*m* **uw**⸗**am** ⸗**uvā** *faġr(i)⸗a*
make strong+*ol*+INTRAN+2SG.ENCL u. +FACT+*uva* beautiful+ESS/INTRAN
fōri *avi* *en(i)⸗n(a)* ⸗*āž*⸗*a*
eye+ØABS face+ØABS god +PL.RELAT+PL+DAT/ESS
"May your eye be made pure! He/She will *bring out* your ḫ. in front of the *uššuli*.
In the *šeri* (s)he *k.*'s (it). You are/will become pure, you are/will become strong!
Should/would (it) *be u.(.)* like a beautiful (thing) (or: it becomes beautiful) the eye
(and) the face to/for/like the gods." (ChS I/1 9 iii 51-54)[148]

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[145] Note for example *torobi* "enemy" and *ḫuloba* as the essive of *ḫulobi*.

[146] Note the forms *uštedia* and *kurannia*, both in (6.51).

[147] Or perhaps *šeri+ne+e* (*šer(i)⸗r(e)⸗ē*).

[148] *ši-ip ta-ku-le-e-eš ḫu-u-up-ri-ip uš-šu-le-e* [52] *a-bi-ni-e uš-te-ti-ia še-er-re-e ku-ra-an-ni-ia* [53] *še-ḫa-lu-la-am ka-aš-lu-la-am ú-wa-mu-wa-a* [54] *pa-aḫ-ra pu-u-ri a-a-bi* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-ša*

There are several difficulties with this passage, especially concerning the form

uwamuvā. Before turning to the problems in (6.51), it is important to note that the

parallel passages in ChS I/1 11 rev. 24'-26' and ChS I/Erg. i 18'-20' are quite

different.[149] The parallels are given here without any grammatical comments:

(6.52) *šīa tagolē*[*ž*] *ḫōbribāl ōššolēž ḫōdulab* ^d*Teššop*=*pe šarr*(*i*)=*a*=*šše*=*ǧe*=*ne*=*ve*
       ēvr(*i*)=*i*=*šše*=*ǧe*=*ne*=*ve uwām ūi faǧruma fōri* (ChS I/1 11 rev. 24'-26')[150]

(6.53) *šīb tāgolēž ḫōbrib ōššolēž ḫudulab ennāšta uwām ui šeǧram f*[*ori*[?]] (ChS I/Erg. i
       18'-20')[151]

The two passages are not exact duplicates. Note the "of Teššob of kingship and lordship"

(*Teššoppe šarraššeǧeneve ēvriššeǧeneve*) in (6.52) and *ennāšta* in (6.53) which are

nowhere to be found in (6.51).

   While there are a number of key differences between the two texts (note *ši*=*b* "your

eye" in (6.51) and (6.53) and *šī*=(*i*)*a* "his eye"[152] in (6.52)), only the key differences will

be noted here. In (6.51) we find the combination *uššulē avinē*. I analyze these above as a

postpositional phrase in the *e*-case. In (6.52) and (6.53), however, we find the "passive"

optative form *ōšš*=*o*=*l*=*ēž* without a following form of *avi*. In all cases, this word

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[149] For the score of these parallel passages see ChS I/Erg. pp. 12-13.

[150] *ši-i-ia ta-ku-le-e-e*[*š*] *ḫu-u-up-ri-pa-a-al u-uš-šu-le-e-eš* ^{25'} *ḫu-u-tu-la-ap* ^d*U-ub-bi šar-ra-aš-ši-ḫi-ni-bi e-ep-ri-iš-ši-ḫi-ni-bi* ⌈*ú*⌉-*wa-a-am ú-ú-i* ^{26'} *pa-aḫ-ru-ma pu-u-ri*

[151] *ši-i-ip* ^{19'} *da-a-ku-le-e-eš ḫu-u-up-ri-ip u-uš-šu-le-e-eš* ^{20'} *ḫu-tu-lap*_x DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-aš-ta ú-wa-a-am ú-i še-eḫ-ra-am w*[*u*_u-*ri*[?]]

[152] *šīa* may also be the essive of *šī*-.

immediately follows *ḫōbri=b*.[153] It is tempting to take ChS I/1 11 and ChS I/Erg. as closer to the original. In (6.52) and (6.53) we have two "passive" optative forms immediately following body parts, while in (6.51), we have one optative form which is followed by two indicative transitive verbs in *=i=a*.

The most striking difference is between the *uwamuwā faġra fōri āvi ennāža* of (6.51) and the *uwām ūi faġruma fōri* of (6.52) and *uwām ui šeġram f*[*ori*?] of (6.53). In two passages we find the combination *uwām ūi* (with various lengthening of vowels) compared to the *uwamuwā* in (6.51). Immediately following this word (or words) is the combination *faġra/faġruma/šeġram fōri*. In two cases ((6.51) and (6.52)) we have the root *faġr-* "to make/become beautiful." In the third passage, we have the alternate root *šeġr-* "to be generous." The law of averages would seem to favor the *paġra* of (6.51) as original. The question is whether or not it is an NP or a VP. It can be interpreted as a noun in the essive *=a*, or as an intransitive verb in *=a*.[154]

The question that remains for us here is whether the *uwamuwā* of ChS I/1 9 is the correct form or if it is a mistake. The two parallel versions have *uwām* followed by *ūi* (var. *ui*). In light of the forms *šeġalulam* and *kažlolam* in ChS I/1 9 iii 53, it is tempting to read *uwamuwā* as a mistake for **uwam ui*!. This would create a sequence of three verbs in *=a=m*. Given that there are considerable differences between ChS I/1 9 and the other two texts, it is possible that we are simply dealing with two different forms of the verb. Unfortunately there is no way to determine this. Since context makes it unlikely

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[153] In (6.52) the form *ḫōbribāl* can be analyzed as *ḫōbri*+2SG.POSS+EPNTH+3PL.ENCL "your *ḫōbris*."

[154] It is technically possible that they are also to be taken as (indicative) transitive forms with third person singular agents and without the valence marker *=i=*. For the optional use of *=i=* see (§2.3.5.3).

that *uw-* is to be related to *uv-* "to butcher," the root remains unknown. It is difficult

to understand why a "passive" potential form in *≠o≠eva would be needed in this

context. That being said, this passage will have to remain, at best, a tentative example of

the "passive" potential.

6.3.3.3.2 ChS I/1 42

Another possible example is found in ChS I/1 42 i 41. The passage is as follows:

(6.54) ᵐ*Ta*[*žmi-šarr*]*i≠ma*   **ag   ≠ol≠o   ≠(e)va** *šarri*
     PN+ØABS   +2SG.ENCL? bring+*ol*+PASS+POT   king+ØABS
     "You Tažmišarri the king should/would be brought" (CHS I/1 42 i 41)[155]

This passage is followed by the diagonal \ marker indicating that it is the end of a

phrase/sentence. The context in which it occurs is unclear,[156] making it very difficult to

determine the function of *agolova* in (6.54). Formally, the form is quite similar to the

expected "passive" form of the potential.

6.3.3.3.3 ChS I/6 8

An interesting example comes from the Ḫedammu Myth ChS I/6 8. While the

paragraph containing the passage in question is well preserved, there are still several

difficulties that make the analysis of the verb in ≠*uva* problematic. The passage is part of

Šauška's speech to Teššob.[157] She apparently is berating him for his ignorance of events

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[155] ᵐ*ta-*[*aš-me-šar-r*]*i-ma a-ku-lu-wa šar-ri*

[156] Preceding (54) we find *šēna* ᵐ*Tažmi-*[*šarri*]≠*ne≠nn*(*i*)≠*a ōl*(≠)*m≠o≠*(*e*)*ž* (perhaps: "may the brother (*šēna*) be *ōl*(≠)*m*-ed like/as Tažmišarri!") (i 40).

[157] The paragraph begins: ᵈ*Šauška≠n pār≠*[*i*]*ž≠a≠nna* ᵈ*Teššop≠ta* ᵁᴿᵁ*Kummi≠ni* … ᵈ*Šaušk*[*a*(≠*ž*)]≠*l tive≠na* ᵈ*Teššop≠ta alumain kad≠i<≠a>* "Šauška goes forth to Teššob of Kumme (and) … Šauška

as he sits upon his throne.[158] What follows is a series of short clauses with essive NPs

and intransitive verbs. These immediately precede the form in *≠uva*. The text reads as

follows:

(6.55) *tāv≠ōž≠ud≠a*   *≠m*   ^d*Teššob*   ^{GIŠ}SI.GAR-*r(i)≠a*
    ? +*ož*+*ud*[159]+INTRAN+2SG.ENCL DN+ØABS necklace +ESS[?]
    ud ≠ož≠ud≠a   *≠mma*   ^{GIŠ}*ḫōbn(i)≠a*   *tāv≠ož≠ud≠a*   *≠m*
    ?[160]+*ož*+*ud*+INTRAN+2SG.ENCL ḫ. +ESS ? +*ož*+*ud*+INTRAN+2SG.ENCL
    ḫāžēr(i)≠a *šūe≠ne*   *≠ve ≠ne*   *≠nn(i)≠a kēr≠i*   *≠o*   *≠šše≠*
    knife +ESS all+SG.RELAT+GEN+SG.RELAT+EQUAT ? +TRAN+2SG.ERG+REL+
    nn(i)≠a irn≠a   *ište*   *pār≠iž≠i*   *≠nna*   *apše ≠na*
    EQUAT equal+INTRAN 1SG.ABS go +AP+3SG.ENCL snake+PL.RELAT
    ižn ≠ipp ≠il ≠ōva *pōrul(i)≠li(<ni)*   *kēyaži*   *≠ma* ^d*[K]umarbi≠ne*   *≠ra*
    ? +*ipp*+*il* +*ova* temple +ABL/INST sea+ØABS+*ma* DN +SG.RELAT+COMM
    naḫḫ ≠a   ^{GIŠ}*kešḫi ≠ni*   *šīlladāra*
    sit +INTRAN throne+ABL/INST ?[161]
    "You, Teššob, *tav-* like a necklace(?)! You *ud-* like a *ḫōbni*! You *tav-* like a
    dagger! In the manner of that which you *ker-* of all[162] I am like (or better: I am
    equal in the way of that which you *ker- of all*). The snakes bring (it).[163]

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begins to speak to Teššob" (i 5-7). The emendation *ka-a-ti<-ia>* is certain based on the multitude of parallel passages that we have in myths (see Wegner 1994). While Salvini does not make the emendation in his transliteration of ChS I/6 8, he does give the form as *kad≠i(≠a)* in the glossary (ChS I/6 p. 174).

[158] … *Teššob šarž(i)≠a* ^{GIŠ}*kešḫi≠ni≠n pāl≠i≠kka(<i)≠mma* "… Teššob, like a *šarži*, you do not know (anything) upon the throne!" (i 7-8). Salvini takes *šarža* as the essive of *šarži* "ein Unheilsbegriff" (ChS I/6 p. 179).

[159] Salvini analyzes *≠ud≠* here as a negative morpheme, but this morpheme is typically only seen as negating transitive verbs in *≠o≠m* (Giorgieri 2000a: 233; Wegner 2000: 83-84). The negation for intransitive (and antipassive) verbs is *≠o/i≠kko/i*.

[160] Salvini translates as "schützen" (ChS I/6 p. 185). If it were "to protect," one would expect the verb to behave as a transitive (i.e. "to protect s.o./s.t."), appearing in either the transitive or antipassive. Since the form is clearly intransitive, it is possible that we need to look for another meaning for this root.

[161] It is difficult to determine what *šilladāra* is. It could be an intransitive verb *šill≠ad≠ār≠a* taking *kešḫi≠ni* as its indirect object. It could also be an essive *šiladār(i)≠a*.

[162] It is difficult to determine how *šue≠ne≠ve* "of all" relates to the *ker≠i≠o≠šše≠nn(i)≠a* "in the manner (or: like) that which you *ker-*."

[163] It is clear that as an intransitive verb *par≠iž-* has the meaning "to go" (see Salvini ChS I/6 p. 24[35]), but as an antipassive it ought to have a meaning of "to bring(?)" or the like.

Would/should (they?) be *ižn⸗ipp⸗il-* from/within the temple, the sea sits with Kumarbi upon the throne *šilladāra*(?)" (ChS I/6 8 i 9-14)[164]

(6.55) begins with a series of simple intransitive constructions with a word order V S. This continues all the way through the *apšena* "the snakes/serpents" of i 12. The antipassive *par⸗iž⸗i⸗nna* can only go with the *apšena* that follows, even if there is a discrepancy in number. The absolute pronoun *ište* can only go with the preceding *irn⸗a* since *parižinna* is explicitly marked as having a third person subject. The problem that arises is how does the verbal(?) form *ižnippilōva* fit with both what precedes it and what follows?

The deified Sea (*kēyaži*) has to be the subject of the intransitive verb *naḫḫ⸗a* "he sits" (i 14).[165] The *⸗ma* of *kēyaži⸗ma* is likely to be a sentence introductory particle here and not the the second person singular enclitic pronoun. It is quite likely that the ablative/instrumental form *purulli* (<*puruli⸗ni*) goes with the preceding *ižnippilōva* because of this *⸗ma*. If *ižnippilōva* is a "passive" form of the potential *⸗eva* mood, who is the agent? The subject would presumably be *apšena* "the snakes/serpents." While *agolova* (6.54) has a derivational morpheme *⸗ol⸗* immediately preceding the ending, here we have a morpheme *⸗il⸗*. Presuming that *⸗ova* is the combination *⸗o⸗eva*, *⸗il⸗* and *⸗ol⸗* can only be interpreted as derivational morphemes and not *⸗i⸗l⸗* and *⸗o⸗l⸗*. Since the meaning of the root *ižn-* remains as of now unknown, the translation and full

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[164] *ta-a-pu-u-šu-ta-am* ᵈU-*up* ᴳᴵˢSI.GAR-*ra ú-du-šu-ta-am-ma* ¹⁰ ᴳᴵˢ*ḫu-u-up-na ta-a-pu-šu-ta-am ḫa-a-ši-e-ra* ¹¹ *šu-u-e-ni-weₑ-ni-in-na ki-e-ri-uš-ši-in-na ir-na* ¹² *iš-te pa-a-ri-ši-en-na ap-še-na iš-ni-ib-bi-lu-u-wa* ¹³ *pu-u-ruꜝ-ul-li ki-e-ia-ši-ma* ⸢ᵈ⸣[*k*]*u-mar-weₑ-ni-ra* ¹⁴ *na-aḫ-ḫa* ᴳᴵˢ*ki-iš-ḫi-ni ši-i-il*⸢*-la*⸣*-ta-a-ra*

[165] Similarly note the Hittite version of the Ḫedammu Myth: *nu-za-kán šal-li-iš* [*a-ru-na-aš*] ᴳᴵˢŠÚ.A-*ši e-ša-at* "The Great Sea sat himself" (KUB 12.65+ iii 12'-13') when the Sea went to visit Kumarbi.

understanding of this passage remains beyond our grasp. The verb is found in a

similar passage in broken ChS I/6 16:12' *ižn⸗i]pp⸗il⸗ova pōrul(i)⸗li(<ni)*.

6.3.3.3.4 ChS I/1 41

I will conclude this section with an examination of two forms in *⸗o/uva* found in the

prayer ChS I/1 41. While four examples from this text are listed in (6.50) above, two of

them, *nur(⸗)v⸗u/ova* (ii 3) and *ēvr⸗u/ova* (iv 31) are found in such broken context that

they are of little use here. Midway through §16 (= iii 28-46) we find two forms in *⸗u/ova*

in relatively close conjunction. The relevant passages are found in iii 35-39. According

to the transliteration of Haas' the third word of line iii 35 is immediately preceded by a

double slash mark. Collation from the photo is ambiguous due to slight damage to the

sign. It may be a double slash, but it is equally likely that the damage hides simply one

slash mark.[166] The passage, as with most others from the Boğazköy, is extremely

difficult due to problems of vocabulary.

The passage begins in iii 35-37 where the scene is set for the first *⸗uva* clause. Due to

the difficult vocabulary, I will not treat it here.[167] The first relevant passage is as follows:

(6.56) *zēri   nāv ⸗ō⸗ž(e)⸗i⸗nn(i)⸗a   ⸗d   **fend ⸗i/ed   ⸗uva** mār(i)⸗a*
        z.+ØABS graze+o+šše +i+nni+ESS+1SG.ENCL return+FUR[?]/PL.TRAN+uva m.   +ESS

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[166] See the Konkordanz v. 1.0 on the Hittite portal for the photo.

[167] The passage apparently concerns the *zēri* of [m]*Tuwā* and the *mēni* of *Ḫalpaziti* (iii 35), but the focus is clearly on the *zēri* (iii 36, 37) since *mēni* is not mentioned again. We find the intriguing phrases *ižaž ḫenni* (iii 36) and *ižaš⸗ša(<nna) ḫenni* (iii 37) situated within slash marks, likely indicating that the scribe saw them as indepent units. It is of some interest because of the lack of any viable first person transitive verbal forms. It is likely that we have two clauses here with the verb, and patient in iii 36, omitted, basically to be translated as "now I him/her/it." Given the mention of *zēri* close to this phrase, it is the most likely candidate for patient.

"I, the *zēri*, am returned like the *māri*, like/as a *shepherd*[?168]," (ChS I/1 41 iii 37-38)[169]

Both *zēri* and *≠d* are absolute forms. They are either to be combined as "I the *zēri*" or, *zēri* is to be taken with the preceding *ižašša ḫenni*, with the phrase dividing slash incorrectly placed to the left of *zēri* instead of to the right of it. The NP *māri* is unclear, but it may be related to the military term *nōli*.[170] The verbal root is *fend-* "to send (back), to return." It is followed by either *≠id≠* or *≠ed≠*. The former would likely be the (ergative) plural marker while the latter is possibly the future marker. Since there is no clear plural agent (unless *zēri* and *mēni* are to be taken together here), a reading *≠ed≠* would seem more likely. If *fend-* is intransitive here, then (*zēri*) *≠d* is the subject. If it is transitive then these NPs are the patient, or, if passive, then subject. It is difficult to imagine that *≠uva* here is functioning as a durative marker with the essive NPs *nāvōžinna* and *māra* potentially indicating a change in state that occurs with the act of *fend-*. Taking *≠uva* as the "passive" of the potentialis *≠eva* results in the translation given above in (6.56).

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[168] *nāvōžinna* is taken here as an essivee (*≠a*) of the derived noun *nāvōžinni*. It is built off of a root *nav-* "to grave, pasture." The nominalizing morphemes *≠o≠šše* (short form *≠o≠že*) is used to create concrete nouns. Note the *itt≠o≠šše* "clothing" from *itt-* "to dress" (see Giorgieri 2000a: 204). Therefore *nāvōže* is likely to be something along the line of "pasture." The further derivational morpheme *≠i≠nni* is typically used to create occupational nouns (e.g. *urv≠i≠nni* "butcher" from *ur(v)-* "to butcher") (see Giorgieri 2000a: 211; Wegner 2000: 49). If this is correct, then *nāvōžinni* might mean "he who works in the pasture, i.e. shepherd." An alternate possibility is taking it as the equative *≠nna* of *nāvōže* "like a pasture."

[169] *ze-e-ri na-a-pu-u-ši-in-na-at bi-in-ti-du-wa* [38] *ma-a-ra*

[170] In very similar context we find: … ⌈*meni≠ž*⌉ ᵐ*Ḫalpa-ziti≠ve≠ne≠ž* […] *tark*[*umš*]*arra ola nūli māri* (ChS I/1 40 15-16).

The second ⸗*uva* phrase is separated from the one in (6.56) by another clause.[171]

The second phrase is given here as (6.57):

(6.57) *nāli   ēvri⸗ž   ḫini⸗mma   šō   ⸗va   kešḫi⸗ni*
     n+ØABS lord+ERG now+2SG.ENCL[??] 1SG.PRON+DAT throne+ABL/INST
     naḫḫ ⸗ōd ⸗uva
     sit/seat+NEG[?]+*uva*
     "*You*[?] the *nāli*, are *not* now seated upon the throne for me" (ChS I/1 41 iii 39)[172]

As with (6.56) above, there is some problems with the absolutive NPs in (6.57). The enclitic ⸗*mma* is almost certainly the second person enclitic pronoun. If this is correct then absolutive *nāli* must be construed with it as "you, the *nāli*." A major problem with this is that the *nāli* is not otherwise mentioned with the second person in this text. The dative *šōva* is almost certainly to be translated as "on my behalf; for me" rather than "to me." The verb *naḫḫ*- "to sit (intran.); to seat (tran.)" is followed by ⸗*ud*⸗ (here ⸗*ōd*⸗) which is either a derivational morpheme of undetermined function[173] or the transitive negative marker ⸗*ud*⸗. I have opted to take it as the latter, but the former is also possible. Against the interpretation of ⸗*ud*⸗ as a negative is that no other non-indicative form takes this morpheme as a negative marker.[174] As with (6.56), interpreting *naḫḫōduva* as a "passive" potential form results in a plausible translation. In both

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[171] As with the clauses in iii 36 and iii 37 (see footnote 167 of this chapter on some of the difficulties of this passage), there is no clear verb coinciding with the ergative ᵐ*Tažmi-šarri⸗ž* (iii 38), unless *a-bar-ti-ta* is not a directive form *ab/vardi⸗da* but a future transitive verbal form *ab/v(⸗)ar(⸗)d⸗ed⸗a* "he will *ab/vard*-." The remaining three forms in the clause can be interpreted as the equative forms *nāl(i)⸗o⸗n(n)a*, *ḫibrad(i)⸗o⸗n(n)a*, and *mār(i)⸗o⸗n(n)a* (iii 38). Note that *mārona* here is related to *māra* in (56).

[172] *na-a-li e-ep-re-eš ḫi-ni-im-ma šu-u-pa ki-iš-ḫi-ni na-aḫ-ḫu-u-du-wa*

[173] See Wegner 2000: 77

[174] Alternatively, it must be noted that we have very few negative forms of modal verbs.

phrases, however, ⸗uva likely has a different function, or at least nuance, from the

typical potentialis use of ⸗eva.

6.4 Conclusions

The primary function of the modal form ⸗eva is to express potential actions that may

occur at some time subsequent to the speech act. In some cases, it simply indicates a

hypothetical event (cf. exx. (6.4) and (6.6)). There are many examples in which the

action of the verb in ⸗eva is dependent upon set conditions. The ⸗eva verb will only be

carried out if the condition is met (cf. exx. (6.7), (6.8b) and (6.9)). The future aspect of ⸗

eva is virtually assured by the close interaction of future indicative forms with verbs in

the potential mood (cf. §6.2.2, exx. (6.8), (6.43) and (6.44)). Indicative future forms

appear in complementary distribution with ⸗eva verbs. The former allows for the explicit

use of both subject/agent and object/patient with transitive verbs, while the latter only

allows for one expressed argument.

As with the optative and jussive, the potential appears to distinguish for voice through

the use of ⸗i⸗ (active) and ⸗o⸗ (passive). A number examples exist for extended forms

in ⸗i⸗l⸗eva and ⸗o⸗l⸗eva. This leads us to believe that the reduced form ⸗eva is

actually (⸗i)⸗eva with elision of the active morpheme. The existence of a corresponding

reduced "passive" form is questionable. The expected form is ⸗ova with elision of e

following the "passive" morpheme ⸗o⸗. A number of forms in ⸗uva are known from the

Mittani Letter as well as from Boğazköy. When written plene, the Ú sign is always used,

indicating that ending is ⸗uva and not *⸗ova. It is not always possible to translate verbs

in ⸗*uva* as potentials. It is possible that this ending is not related to ⸗*eva* but is a

separate verbal ending, perhaps indicating durative aspect.

CHAPTER SEVEN
The Purposive

7.1 Background

Hurrian has a separate form used to indicate purposive or consequential action (on this see below, esp. §7.2.6).[1] Verbs in this "purposive" mood are typically in subordinate clauses and indicate the reasons for the main clause (i.e. purposive) or the result of the main clause (i.e. consequential or resultative).[2] In languages with a rich system of modal endings, such as Hurrian, this mood is categorized as belong to "event modality."[3] Therefore it belongs to the same system as deontic commands and dynamic expressions.[4] In languages which distinguish the indicative from the subjunctive, the latter category can also indicate purpose or consequential action.[5]

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[1] For background literature on this form, see footnotes 1076 and 1077 below.

[2] While this ending in Hurrian is typically labeled "finalis," I am borrowing here the term "purposive" from Australian languages. As will be shown in §8.1.1, the Australian purposive and the Hurrian ending =*ai* share a number of functions.

[3] Palmer 2001: 83-84.

[4] Palmer 2001: 9-10, 70.

[5] Latin is a prime example of such a language; see Palmer 2001: 128-131, 135-136.

7.1.1 Dyirbal and Yidiny

Dyirbal and Yidiny, amongst other Australian languages, have an ending that has been

labeled "purposive."[6] In Yidiny, the purposive can be used in subordinate constructions

to indicate both purpose and result.[7] Along with indicating resulting action, the

purposive in Australian languages can also be used to indicate epistemic necessity. Note

the following example from Yidiny:

(7.1)   *ḍilŋgu mayi   wayu   wuna:na bana:*
        down vegetable-ABS long time lie-PURP   water-LOC
        "[This] vegetable food must [be allowed to] lie in the water for a long time
        [before it is fit to eat]"[8]

The purposive in Hurrian is also used to indicate necessity (see below §7.2.6.3). The

purposive in Australian, along with the other moods (with the exception of the imperative,

see §3.1.1.1) functions along ergative lines. In transitive constructions, the agent is in the

ergative while the patient is in the absolutive. The same holds for the purposive in

Hurrian (§7.2.3).

7.2 Form and Function in Hurrian

The ending ⸗*ai* (also written as ⸗*ae*)[9] was identified by Diakonoff as having both a

debitive and a finalis function.[10] Attempts have been made to link this verbal ending to

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[6] See Palmer 2001: 83

[7] Palmer 2001: 83 and Dixon 1977: 345-346, both with examples.

[8] Taken from Dixon 1978: 344 (716). For an example of the purposive in Ngiyambaa, see Palmer 2001: 83 taken from Donaldson 1980: 162.

[9] Bush 1964: 228-229 prefers to see these as two distinct morphemes although he allows that these may be orthographic variants of the same ending. According to Bush, forms in ⸗*ai* see to be more polite than those in ⸗*ae*. Note that the page numbers in Bush are incorrectly given by Wegner (2000: 94) as 229f.

the instrumental *=ai*.[11] Despite nominalized verbal forms in *=l=ai* and *=m=ai*,[12] the

exact relationship between the case ending *=ai* and the (homophonous?) verbal ending is

unclear (see §7.2.4 below). As with the potential *=eva*, forms in *=ai* can be followed by a

morpheme *=ž* (see below §7.2.1). It can also be preceded by the by-now-familiar sets of

morphemes *=i=l=* and *=o=l=* (§7.2.2).[13] In contrast to the active optative, the purposive

displays ergative morphology in its main arguments (§7.2.3). Amongst the ritual texts

from Boğazköy there is some confusion between the purposive *=ai* and the optative *=ež*,

with the purposive form being used when the optative is clearly meant (see §7.2.5).

7.2.1 Postfix *=ž*

As we have already seen, the presence of a final *=ž* is typically taken as indicating

plurality.[14] With the purposive, plural forms in *=ai=ž* have been distinguished by some

from singular forms in *=ai=n*.[15] While the evidence for taking *=ž* as a plural marker with

=eva is ambiguous at best, it is more compelling with *=ai*. Purposive forms with *=ž* are

only found in the Mittani Letter.[16] No forms in *=ai=ž* are found with singular subjects,

while most, but not all, examples of the purposive with plural subject occur with this

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[10] Diakonoff 1971: 130-131; followed by Wegner 2000: 94-95; Wilhelm 1998c: 181 (*=ai* as final), idem. 2004: 114 (indicates "final (purpose) clauses"); Giorgieri 2000a: 242 ("significato finale(-consecutivo)"); Bush 1964: 229 ("a force or result or possibility, consequent on a jussive");

[11] Giorgieri 2000a: 242; Wegner 2000: 94;

[12] See especially Neu 1988d and Wilhelm 1992: 140; Giorgieri 2000a: 243; Wegner 2000: 95-96.

[13] Forms in *=o=l=ai* are not noted in any grammar of Hurrian to my knowledge.

[14] See §4.2.1 and §6.2.4.4.

[15] Giorgieri 2000a: 242

[16] The forms in *=ae(=)ž* in forms from Boğazköy are all to be understood as mistakes for opatitives in *=ež* (see 7.2.5 below).

morpheme. The fact that we have examples of =ai with plural subject but without =ž

is a problem if we are to take it as a plural marker.

 Three examples with =ž are as follows:

(7.2) (May (the gods) love us very much in their hearts) … *pis = o = nni = n tiššan tiššan*
    pis =ošt =ai =ž
    "so that we may in a joyful way rejoice greatly (for long years)" (Mitt. i 79-80)[17]

(7.3) ("§ May my brother *šur-* and release my messengers") ***itt =ai =ž = a = ll(a)=ān***
    "so that they might go (to me)" (Mitt. iv 52)[18]

(7.4) [DINGIR.MEŠ]*ēni = ll(a)=ān šēn(a)=iffu = we = na* **pal** (*=i*)*=l =ai =ž = a = lla = man*
    "So that the gods of my brother might know" (Mitt. iv 65)[19]

In (7.2) there is no explicit mention of the subject, but according to context it must be the

first person plural "we." In both (7.3) and (7.4) the subject is explicitly indicated by the

enclitic pronoun *=lla* and, in the case of (7.4), by the plural NP *ēni = lla*(*=*). The two

counterexamples are:

(7.5) ("May my brother assemble the entire land (of Egypt)") *ôl(i)=lā = n* [KUR]*ōmīn(i)=na*
    šūa = lla = man fīradē = nā = n paššītḫe = na[MEŠ] *šūa = lla = man* **tupp =o =l =ai =n**
    "(and) *consequentially*[?20] all the other lands, foreign dignitaries and messengers
    may be gathered (up)" (Mitt. iii 25-26)[21]

and:

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[17] *pí-su-un-ni-en tiš-ša-[a]n tiš-ša-an* [80] *p[í-s]⌈u-uš⌉-ta-iš*

[18] See (7.35)

[19] [DINGIR.MEŠ]*e-e-ni-il-la-a-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-ú-e-na pal-la-i-šal-la-ma-an*; see (7.10).

[20] A translation "so that" does not fit the context. The gathering of the other lands is not the
contingent result of the pharaoh's assembling of Egyptian land.

[21] See (7.36)

(7.6) (…)²² ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ·ᴹᴱˢ*ēn(i)=iffa(<e)=ll(a)=ān* **pal=(i)=l=ai=n**
"so that? my gods may know" (Mitt. iv 64)²³

The passage in (7.6) immediately precedes (7.4). The clauses are virtually identical with

the plural "gods" as the subject. The primary difference between the subjects is that in

(7.6) it is Tušratta's gods while in (7.4) it is the pharaoh's. Despite this, in (7.4) we find

pall=ai=ž and in (7.6) we have *pall=ai=n*. As with (7.6), the subject of (7.5) is clearly

plural,²⁴ consisting of a series of three NPs in the plural absolutive *=na* and the plural

šūa=lla "all(pl.)" occurs twice. There is simply no way that *tuppolai(=n)* or *pallai(=n)*

can be taken as singular.

   If *=ž* is a plural marker, then it ought to occur with all plural forms. The evidence

from (7.5) and (7.6) show that it clearly does not do so. As a result the separation of

purposive into singular *=ai=n* and plural *=ai=ž* no longer holds. The morphemes *=n* and

=ž therefore require and alternate analysis. In the case of (7.5) and (7.6) *=n* can be taken

as the enclitic particle *=(a)n*. In some cases, when the subject is singular, final *=n* can be

taken as the short form of the third person enclitic pronoun *=nna*. In the case of *itt=ai=*

nn(a)=ān "so that he may go" (Mitt. iv 53), both are used.

   In (§7.2.1) above the *=ž* in *=ai=ž* has been analyzed as an emphatic marker. The

passage in (7.4) immediately follows the one given here as (7.6). It is possible that

Tušratta uses the form *pallaiž* with the gods of pharaoh in order to emphasize their

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²² The preceding context is extremely difficult to understand. As a result, it is difficult to tell if the following form in *=ai* is to be translated as "so that" or differently.

²³ ᴰᴵᴺᴳᴵᴿ·ᴹᴱˢ*e-e-ni-íw-wa-al-la-a-an pal-la-in*; see (7.11)

²⁴ The *pallaen* in (7.6) has been erroneously analyzed by some as a singular form; see Wegner 2000: 95 "damit er es wissen möge" and Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 57 "er weiß geiß."

inclusion in the need to know. In both (7.2) and (7.3) an emphatic function for ⸗ž is

also possible.

7.2.2 Extended Forms in ⸗l⸗

As with most of the other modal morphemes that have been discussed, ⸗ai is found

with the extensions ⸗i⸗l⸗ and ⸗o⸗l⸗.[25] According to their function in the optative,

potential and other moods, ⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗ are active and "passive" voice markers

respectively. In the examples given above, this appears to hold for ⸗ai as well. The

forms *pallai⸗n* are to be analyzed as *pal + i + l + ai* with the expected elision of the

active ⸗i⸗ between *pal-* and the modal extension ⸗l⸗. Conversely, the "stative" *tupp-* in

(7.5) requires the "passive" ⸗o⸗l⸗ as expected.[26] There are examples of forms in ⸗o⸗l⸗

in the texts from Boğazköy, but since these texts often confuse the purposive ⸗ai and the

optative ⸗ež, these forms must be treated with caution. The forms *až⸗o⸗l⸗ai⸗n* and

ull⸗oġ⸗ož⸗il(⸗o?)⸗l⸗āi⸗n (ChS I/1 9 iv 12, 13) may be actual purposive forms. They

will be examined in detail below (§7.3.2.2).

Since the extended forms in ⸗i⸗l⸗ and ⸗o⸗l⸗ distinguish voice, it is likely that this

voice distinction was also to be found in non-extended ones. The expected combination

*⸗i⸗ai must be reduced to (⸗i)⸗ai through elision of the voice marker before ⸗ai.

Therefore we must have *-iai > -ai. As with the potential, there is no clear evidence for

non-extended forms in *⸗o⸗ai. It is unclear whether the resulting form from such a

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[25] This is in contrast to the ⸗il⸗ "Formanten des Optativs" proposed by Wegner (2000: 95).

[26] Recall the forms *tuppolēva* (6.7a).

combination would be *-oi* with elision of *a* or *-ai* with elision of the voice marker ≠

o≠. As more examples of the purposive come to light, this problem may be resolved.

7.2.3 Purposive and Ergativity

There is no evidence for split-ergativity in the purposive. Several examples of active

transitive verbs in ≠*ai* are known. In every case, when the agent is explicitly mentioned it

is in the ergative case while the patient is in the absolutive. Note the following two

examples. In (7.7) and (7.8), the ergative and the patient is indicated by the enclitic

pronoun ≠*nna*. In both cases the enclitic pronoun appears as ≠*ša* due to contact with the

ergative ≠*ž*. The agent is double underlined while the patient is simply underlined:

(7.7)   <u><u>*šēn(a)≠iffu≠š≠š≠ān*</u></u> ***kīb*** *≠o[ġ≠]**āl**(≠i)≠**āe**≠n*
         "… so that my brother might *k.* it" (Mitt. ii 103)[27]

(7.8)   <u><u>*šēn(a)≠iffu≠š≠š≠ān*</u></u> ***pal***(≠i)*≠l≠**āe**≠n*
         "… my brother should know it!²⁸" (Mitt. iv 56)[29]

Active intransitive verbs and "passive" ones take a subject in the absolutive (subject is

underlined):

(7.9)   … <u>*šūa≠lla≠man*</u> ***tupp***≠*o≠l≠ai≠n*
         " … so that (all the other lands, the foreign dignitaries, the messengers) all (of)
         them may be gathered" (Mitt. iii 26)[30]

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[27] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš-ša-a-an ki-i-pu-[ḫaˀ-]a-la-a-en*; Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 43 restore the verb as *ki-i-pu[-uš-ta]-a-la-a-en* (*kīp=uš=t=ā=lāen*).

[28] See below §7.2.6

[29] See (7.37) and (7.39)

[30] See (7.36)

That this form is written both as ⸗*ae* and ⸗*ai* has already been noticed.[31] Despite the

unfortunately small number of occurrences of the purposive in the Mittani Letter, certain

patterns can be discerned. We regrettably have only two examples of ⸗*ai* used in true

transitive constructions. They are given above as (7.7) and (7.8). In both cases the form

is written -C*a-a-en* for ⸗*āe*⸗*n*. There are seven examples of the purposive with

absolute subjects. This group includes intransitives (*p*[*is*]⸗*ošt*⸗*ai*⸗*ž* (Mitt. i 80), *faž*⸗

ai⸗*n*⸗*an* (Mitt. iii 33), *itt*⸗*ai*⸗*ž*(⸗) (Mitt. iv 50), and *itt*⸗*ai*⸗*nn*(*a*)⸗*ān* (Mitt. iv 53)), a

"passive" (*tupp*⸗*o*⸗*l*⸗*ai*⸗*n* (Mitt. iii 26)). In each of these cases the ending is written as

⸗*ai*(⸗) with short *a* followed by *i*.[32]

Three other examples of the purposive in ⸗*ai*(⸗) as opposed to ⸗*āe*(⸗) are known. The

verb *pal-* "to know" is used twice with absolute subjects and no explicit patient. Both

examples can be taken as detransitivized forms of *pal-*. The distinction between the

following examples (7.10) and (7.11) and (7.8) above is one of semantics. In (7.8), *pal-*

in a transitive construction has the meaning "x knows y." As a detransitivized verb as in

(7.10) and (7.11), it simply means "x knows," with emphasis on the knower. The two

examples are as follows:

(7.10) *ēn*(*i*)⸗*iffa*(<*e*)⸗*ll*(*a*)⸗*ān* **pal**(⸗***i***)⸗***l***⸗***ai***⸗***n***
   "so that my gods might know" (Mitt. iv 64)

(7.11) *ēni*⸗*ll*(*a*)⸗*ān šēn*(*a*)⸗*iffu*⸗*we*⸗*na* **pal**(⸗***i***)⸗***l***⸗***ai***⸗***ž***⸗*a*⸗*lla*⸗*man*
   "so that the gods of my brother might know" (Mitt. iv 65)

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[31] See bibliography in footnote 1076.

[32] The *i* vowel is indicated through either the use of the signs IN (Mitt. iii 26, iv 53), IŠ (i 74, iv 50) or I (iii 33, iv 52).

The third plural *≠lla* on the verbal form in (7.11) must refer back to the subject *ēni≠lla* "the gods." The *≠n* of *pallain* in (7.10) cannot be the third person singular enclitic pronoun *≠n(na)*. It is possible that the connective *≠an* follows *≠ai/e* except those times when the modal morpheme is modified by *≠ž*.

   This implies that the form *pedeštaiž* (Mitt. iv 50) is not transitive but either intransitive or detransitive. The form occurs in the following context:

(7.12) ("My brother will see the dowry of my brother's wife which I have sent. It is *ipšoži*. It is *tīganišḫi*.")
        ūn≠ā≠n šēn(a)≠iff(e)≠e≠n(e)≠ē āī≠ē ped≠ešt(≠i)≠ai≠ž
        "It comes, so that (or: and *consequently*) it … before my brother" (Mitt. iv 49-50)[33]

ūn≠ā≠n is an intransitive verb with *niġāri* "dowry" from iv 48 as the understood subject. Since *padeštaiž* contains the purposive in *≠ai(≠)*, it cannot be translated as a transitive "x spreads out the *niġāri*" where x is some unnamed agent. It can be either detransitive or intransitive. The former is not likely since the only possible subject is the understood *niġāri*.[34] It is doubtful that *niġāri* would be the subject of a transitive verb. As a result, *ped≠ešt-* is best taken as an intransitive verb. Like *un-*, *ped-* must have both an intransitive and transitive meaning. Note the following transitive use of the verb:

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[33] *ú-ú-na-a-an še-e-ni-íw-we-e-ni-e* [50] *a-a-i-i-e-e pè-te-eš-ta-iš*

[34] Since *ipšoži* and *tīganišḫi* are more likely to be absolutive NPs than antipassive verbs,[34] they must modify *niġāri*. The same NP is, as mentioned above, also the understood subject of *ūn≠ā≠n* "it (i.e. the dowry) comes."

(7.13) *niĝār(i)⸗ī⸗n šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗we⸗n(e)⸗ē āī⸗ē **ped**⸗**ešt**⸗**id**⸗**en***
"May they display her dowry before my brother!" (Mitt. iii 27-28)[35]

It is likely that like *un-*, *ped-* as an intransitive verb indicates a type of movement. Since

as a transitive verb it means something along the lines of "to display, bring before," a

possible meaning of intransitive *ped-* would be "to come before" or the like. Therefore

(7.12) may be best translated as "… so that (or: and *consequently*) it comes before my

brother." This analysis is, of course, based on the theory that *⸗āe* and *⸗ai* occur in

complementary distribution with the former limited to transitive constructions and the

latter when lower levels of transitivity is required.

   The purposive mood is not used in main clauses. In every case it is subordinate to a

main clause. The main clause, is typically in the jussive. This results in the constructions

"do X so that Y" and also "do X and Y will happen" (see below §7.2.6).

7.2.4 Related forms?

   Almost certainly related to the purposive in *⸗ai* are the forms in *⸗l⸗ai*, *⸗m⸗ai*, and *⸗*

k⸗ai. With the exception of *⸗k⸗ai*,[36] examples of forms in these endings are found

throughout the corpus, but the greatest concentration are found in the Hurro-Hittite

Bilingual from Boğazköy.[37] Neu argues that these forms are examples of nonfinite verbs

and are perhaps best taken as gerunds. These forms are typically analyzed as verbal

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[35] See (5.62) above.

[36] To my knowledge there is only one clear example of a form in *⸗k⸗ai*. I will not treat the form here. For an analysis of this passage see Neu 1988d: 511-512; idem. 1996: 175. For an alternate analysis, see Wilhelm 1992: 666.

[37] The most detailed treatment of these forms is found in Neu 1988d.

nouns in the instrumental/adverbial ⸗*ae* case.[38] This however, has been recently

countered by Giorgieri, and it is most likely that the ⸗*ai* in ⸗*l*⸗*ai*, ⸗*m*⸗*ai* and ⸗*k*⸗*ai* is to

be taken as separate from the instrumental ⸗*ae*.[39]

7.2.4.1 ⸗*m*⸗*ai*

Nonfinite forms in ⸗*m*⸗*ai* are all found immediately preceding a finite verb. This

results in the combination "V_1-ing, (s)he V_2-s." The nonfinite V_1 describes what the

actor is doing when (s)he performs the act of V_2. The most common example of this

construction is found in the mythological texts introducing direct speech:

(7.14) PN$_1$(⸗*ž*)⸗*l(la) tive*⸗*na* PN$_2$⸗*da*⸗*l* **al**(⸗)**u**⸗**m**⸗**ai**(⸗**n**) *kad*⸗*i*⸗*a*
        "*Speaking*, PN$_1$ says the words to PN$_2$"[40]

Similar examples are found in the Bilingual:

(7.15) *fabāni* **ḫā̌ž**⸗**ī**⸗**m**⸗**ai** *fār*⸗*u ištan*(*i*)⸗*ī*⸗*da*
        "Hearing (the curse), the mountain became sick within himself" (KBo 32.14 i
        8)[41]

(7.16) ᵐ*Mēgi*⸗*nē*(⸗*ž*⸗*l*) *tivē*⸗*na* ᵈ*Teššob*⸗*u*⸗*da* **kunz**⸗**i**⸗**m**⸗**ai** *kad*⸗*i*⸗*a*
        "Kneeling, Mēgi speaks to Teššob" (KBo 32.15 iv 12-13)[42]

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[38] Neu 1988d: 512 writes: "Für hurr. *-ai* bietet sich in dieser Hinsicht die Verbindung mit dem Instrumental an, der auch zur Bildung adverbialer Ausdrücke zu dienen scheint.". As acknowledged by Neu (1988d: 512[37]) this goes analysis goes all the way back to Speiser 1941: 120.

[39] For Giorgieri's convincing counterargument to Neu, see his article on case endings (1999: 235-236).

[40] See Salvini 1988a: 166-169; Wegner 1994.

[41] *pa-pa-a-ni ḫa-a-ši-i-ma-i pa-a-ru iš-ta-ni-i-ta*; see KBo 32.14 i 50-51, rev. 38 for parallels.

[42] ᵐ*me-e-ki-ni-e ti-pí-e-na* ᵈIM-*up-u-ta* ¹³ *ku-un-zi-ma-i qa-ti-ia*; This is a defective writing the basic formula found in (8.14). According to Neu, the use of the absolutive *Mēgi*⸗*nē* "dürfte mit den unterschiedlichen Graden von Belebtheit zusammenhängen" (1988d: 506[12]). A number of examples exist

(7.17) *tel⸗i⸗p⸗pa*(<*ma*) **ḫā⸗ol⸗i⸗m⸗āī⸗n** *ārd*(*i*)⸗*ī⸗dan erān*(*i*)⸗*a*
"*Taking* (it), he enlarged the gift/tax/tribute from his city" (KBo 32.14 iv 15-16)[43]

(7.18) *inū⸗mē⸗nīn* ᵈ*Šimige taržuan*(*i*)⸗*ne⸗ž **for⸗ī⸗m⸗ai⸗n** tād⸗i⸗a* …
"As mankind loves Šimige (while) looking (upon her?) …" (Mitt. iv 121-122)[44]

In each case, the form in ⸗*m⸗ai* indicates a continuous action that is occurring contemporaneously with the accompanying finite verb but has an earlier starting point. That is to say that the action of the finite verb occurs sometime after the onset of the action of the verb in ⸗*m⸗ai*. It is possible that the ⸗*m⸗ai* form functions as a modifier of the finite verb given that the two occur together and are not separated by any other words.

The ending ⸗*m⸗ai* is translated into Hittite in several different ways. In the case of (7.15) and its two parallels, it is translated twice as a temporal sentence with *maḫḫan*

of the expected ergative PN₁ appearing without the enclitic ⸗*l*(*la*). When the enclitic pronoun is present, the ergative ending elides (ᵐ*Kešše⸗nī*(⸗*ž*)⸗*l* (KUB 48.2 iv 10'); ᵈ*Ea-šarri⸗nī*(⸗*ž*)⸗*l* (KUB 48.2 obv. 14); ᵈ*Šauška*(⸗*ž*)⸗*l* (KUB 48.1 i 8); ᵈ*Kužuġu*(⸗*ž*)⸗*l* (KUB 48.2 obv. 5); ᵈ*Galgamižu*(⸗*ž*)⸗*l* (KUB 8.61+ i 8')). Examples without ⸗*l* are as follows: ᵈ*Kumarbi⸗nī* (KBo 28.217 obv. 33'); ⌜*ḫāžar*(*i*)⌝⸗*rī*(<*ne*) (ibid. obv. 16'; KUB 45.60 ii 20'); ᵈ*Kužuġ* (KUB 48.5 i 6'). Following Wegner (1994: 167), it is difficult to see the latter writings as indicating different degrees of "Belebtheit." The agents Kumarbi, the oil *ḫāžari* and Mēgi in (8.16) are all found with the singular relator. In all examples of these NPs in the absolutive they are in the Ø ending and not ⸗*ne*. These forms are to be analyzed as either defective with omission of ⸗*l* and the subsequent omission of the expected ergative ⸗*ž*, or, as per Wegner, the ⸗*ž* may be omitted due to the following *t* of *tive⸗na* (1994: 167).

[43] *te-li-ip-pa ḫa-a-u-li-ma-a-i-in* ¹⁶ *a-ar-ti-i-ta-an e-ra-a-na*; For an alternate analysis, see Neu 1988d: 507-508; 1996: 172-174. Giorgieri takes *ḫāolimāīn ardīdan* as a subordinate construction, translating it as "indem er (sie) von seiner Stadt einnahm" (2001a: 128). While this is possible, the ablative *ardīdan* "from his city" could indicate the origin of the essive *erāna* which is the oblique patient of the antipassive *tel⸗i⸗b*. *ḫāolimāīn* suggests that the head of the city was enlarging the tax or tribute that he received while in the process of taking it from his people.

[44] See (6.33) above. It is difficult to translate *forīmain* into English. It is likely that the Hurrian is equivalent to the English expression "with open eyes" or, even more abstractly, "attentively." The Hurrian suggests that the people love Šimige while gazing upon her. The passage is treated in part by Girbal 1992: 180)

"when" (KBo 32.14 ii 9[45] and ii 50[46]) and once using a paratactic construction (KBo

32.14 rev. 44[47]). In all three cases there is a clear temporal distinction made between the

act of hearing and the act of feeling ill with the former occurring first and the latter

arising as a consequence of this first action. The passage in (7.17), Hurrian *ḫāolimāīn* is

translated into Hittite by the infinitive form *dānna* from *dā-* "to take."[48] In (7.15) Hurrian

kunzimai "bowing" is translate by the Hittite common gender nominative participle

aruwanza "the bowing (Mēgi)." The Hittite, just like the Hurrian, clearly indicates that

Mēgi was already bowing down when he began to speak to his god.

7.2.4.2 *≠l≠ai*

Forms in *≠l≠ai* function differently from those in *≠m≠ai*. While the latter always

occur in conjunction with a finite verb, forms in *≠l≠ai* stand alone. Also, unlike *≠m≠ai*,

forms in *≠l≠ai* do not indicate a continuous action. In certain situations it appears that

verbs in *≠l≠ai* are to be analyzed as purposive forms indicating the consequence of an

action. This is the case in the following example:

(7.19) *ārd(i)≠ī≠ma am≠ar≠ill≠ō≠m ārdi≠ve≠ne≠š≠ša ene≠ž **šid≠i≠l≠āi***
        "He began to disparage his city, (and) consequently the god of his city curses
        him" (KBo 32.14 i 21-22)[49]

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[45] ḪUR.SAG-*aš-ša ma-aḫ-ḫa-an iš-ta-ma-aš-ta*

[46] *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an* LÚSIMUG *iš-ta-ma-aš-ta*

[47] *IŠ-ME* LÚNAGAR *nu-uš-ši-kán* ŠÀ-ŠU *an-da i[da-a-l]a-u-eš-ta* "The carpenter heard, and his heart became evil within him."

[48] Neu 1988d: 507; idem. 1996: 173

[49] *ar-ti-i-ma a-ma-ri-il-lu-u-um* [22] *a-ar-ti-pí-ni-eš-ša e-ne-eš ši-ti-la-a-i*; Catsanicos 1996: 259, 262; Neu 1996: 119-121

Parallel to the passage in (7.19) is the following:

(7.20) *atta ⸗ i am ⸗ ōl ⸗ ud ⸗ ō ⸗ m atta ⸗ i ⸗ ve ⸗ ne ⸗ š ⸗ ša ene ⸗ ž **šid ⸗i ⸗l ⸗āi***
"He did not see his father[50], and consequently the gods of his father curse him"
(KBo 32.14 iv 4-5)[51]

In the case of (7.19), the form *šidilāi* is translated by the Hittite construction *ḫu-wa-ar-ta-an ḫar-kán-zi* "they (i.e. the gods) hold (him) cursed." The passage in (7.20) is translated into Hittite by the same construction, but it is made into a relative clause through the accusative singular *kuin* "whom."[52] The cursing of the man by the gods is best taken as arising as the direct result or consequence of the preceding action, be it disparaging a city or not seeing his father.

That *⸗l⸗ai* functions in part as an indicator of consequential action has already been noted by Giorgieri.[53] As he correctly observes, however, this is not the only function of this ending. Twice in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual we find a form *naḫḫilāi* which cannot be analyzed as indicating consequential action:

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[50] The Hittite translates the indicative *amōludōm* with the active present form *Ú-UL a-uš-zi* "he does not see."

[51] *at-ta-i a-mu-u-lu-tu-u-um at-ta-i-bi-ni-eš-ša* [5] *e-né-eš ši-ti-la-a-i*; Catsanicos 1996: 259; Neu 1996: 164-166; idem. 2003: 300 ("seines Vaters Gottheit hält ihn (für immer) verflucht").

[52] The Hittite translates the Hurrian as *na-aš-ta nam-ma at-ta-aš-ša-an an-da Ú-UL a-uš-zi ŠA A-BI-ŠU* DINGIR.MEŠ *ku-in ḫu-wa-ar-ta-an ḫar-kán-zi* "Furthermore the one who the gods of his father hold cursed does not see his father" (KBo 32.14 iii 4-5). This is in contrast to the Hittite translation of (8.19): *nu-uš-ša-an* EGIR-*pa* URU-*ri i-da-a-lu ták-ki-iš-ki-u-an da-iš* URU-*ia-ša-an* DINGIR.MEŠ *ḫu-wa-ar-ta-an ḫar-kán-zi* "He began to cause evil upon the (former) city. The gods of the city hold him cursed" (KBo 32.14 iv 20-21). In an early article Neu translates the *ḫark-* constructions as future forms "die Götter der Stadt *warden* ihn (für immer) verflucht halten" (1988d: 508; my emphasis). By the time of his publication of the text edition of the bilingual, he translates the construction as present tense (1996: 77, 83). In both cases the Hittite uses the plural DINGIR.MEŠ while the Hurrian has the singular form *enež*.

[53] Giorgieri 1999: 236

(7.21) *amūmi ⸗ nē ⸗ va mānni ēvri ⸗ ž **naḫḫ ⸗ i ⸗ l ⸗ āi***
"To (the position of) administrator (his) lord *sat* him" (KBo 32.14 iv 14-15)[54]

(7.22) *ḫazian(i)⸗a mānni ēvri ⸗ ž **naḫḫ ⸗ i ⸗ l ⸗ āi***
"As mayor (his) lord *sat* him" (KBo 32.14 rev. 25)[55]

In both cases, the third singular pronoun *manni* stands for the subject of the lesson of the parable.[56] The position in which the man is installed is given in the dative in (7.21) and the essive in (7.22). It is unclear what, if any, difference in meaning results from this.

In both cases the Hittite translates the Hurrian clauses with *naḫḫilāi* as relatives going back to the preceding clause. The Hittite reads as follows:

(7.23) ("It is not a dog") *nu an-tu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš ma-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫi-aš iš-ḫa-a-an ku-in BE-EL-ŠU i-e-zi*
"(It is) a man whom his lord made an administrator" (KBo 32.14 iii 13-14)

(7.24) ("[It is not a g]*ilūsi*-animal") *nu an-tu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš* ᴸᵁ*ut-ni-ia-aš-ḫa-an ku-in BE-EL-ŠU i-e-zi*
"(It is) a man whom his lord made the mayor (of a city)" (KBo 32.14 rev. 30)

Based on the (7.23) and (7.24), Hurrian *naḫḫilāi* should correspond to the Hittite construction *kuin … iezi*. For this reason, Giorgieri takes *⸗l⸗ai* in this situation as "eines untergeordneten Relativsatzes" and translates the Hurrian verb as "den (sein Herr) eingestezt hat."[57] Since there is no preceding action, it is not possible to take *⸗l⸗ai* here

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[54] *a-mu-ú-mi-ne-e-waₐ ma-a-an-ni e-eb-re-eš* ¹⁵ *na-aḫ-ḫi-la-a-i*; Neu 1996: 171-172

[55] *ḫa-zi-ia-na ma-a-an-ni e-eb-re-eš na-aḫ-ḫi-la-a-i*; Neu 1996: 181-183

[56] Neu analyzes *manni* as the verb to be, translating (8.21) as "Zum Verwalter ist (es, zu dem) sein Herr (ihn) einsetzt" (1988d: 510). While the free standing third person pronoun is typically *mani* with a single *n*, it is occasionally written geminately as *manni* (see Wegner 2000: 71).

[57] Giorgieri 1999: 236

as indicating consequential or resulting action. It is unclear how the verbal noun (or

relative) function of ⸗l⸗ai in *naḫḫilāi* corresponds to the consequential (or resultative)

function of the ending in *šidilāi*.[58]

7.2.4.3 Conclusion

The relation of ⸗m⸗ai and ⸗l⸗ai to the purposive ⸗ai is very uncertain. As shown in

§7.2.5.1 ⸗m⸗ai is not even a finite verb. Its position immediately next to a finite verb is

likely an indication of an adverbial function of this ending. The ending ⸗l⸗ai presents an

even more difficult picture. In one case a purposive interpretation results in a good

translation (see (7.19) and (7.20) above). In these two examples, *šidilāi* appears to be

formally and functionally very similar to a form like *pal(⸗i)⸗l⸗ai(⸗)* in the Mittani Letter.

Complicating the picture, however, is the form *naḫḫilāi* given in (7.21) and (7.22).

Based on context and the corresponding Hittite, it most likely functions as a verbal noun

or relative modifying the *taržuwāni* in KBo 32.14 iv 13 and rev. 24. Is it possible that we

have two homophonous endings in *šidilāi* and *naḫḫilāi*? The law of "one form/one

function" speaks against such a possibility, but then how else can these two vastly

diverging functions belong to ⸗l⸗ai?

7.2.5 Confusion Between Purposive and Optative

In certain ritual texts from Boğazköy, especially the *itkalzi*-ritual, there appears to

have been some degree of confusion between the purposive and optative endings. In lists

of "passive" optative verbs in ⸗o⸗l⸗ež, one occasionally finds an unexpected ⸗o⸗l⸗ae⸗

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[58] This problem is not broached by Giorgieri, but he does indicate the problems involved with
analyzing the ⸗ai of ⸗l⸗ai as coming from either the ablative case ending or the purposive ⸗ai known from
the Mittani Letter (1999: 236).

ž.[59] This confusion of forms even occurs in parallel contexts within the same text.

Note, for example, the following passages from ChS I/1 19 and its duplicates[60]:

(7.25)   [… *šummi taržuwan(i)≠ne≠ve āš̮]ožikkonni≠ne≠ve* ᶠ*Tad[o-Ḫebā≠ve **šeġ≠al≠o≠l≠x**[61] **ka]žl≠o≠l≠ēž itk≠o≠l≠ēž e[g≠ošš≠o≠l≠x]*** (ChS I/1 19 i 35'-37')[62]

(7.26)   *šummi tar[žuwan(i)≠ne≠ve āš̮oži]kkonni≠ne≠ve* ᶠ*Tado[-Ḫ]eb[ā]≠ve **šeġ≠al≠o≠l≠āe≠š≠ša [itk≠o≠l≠x] kažl≠o≠l≠ēž e[g]≠ošš≠o≠l≠ēž*** (ChS I/1 19 i 40'-42')[63]

(7.27)   … *šummi taržuwan(i)≠ne≠ve a[š̮ožikkonni≠ne≠ve* ᶠ*Tado-Ḫebā≠ve]* § **[šeġ]≠al≠o≠l≠āe≠ž kažl≠o≠l[≠āe≠ž[64] itk≠o≠l≠x eg≠ošš≠o≠l≠x]** (ChS I/1 19 iv 7-8)[65]

(7.28)   [*šumm]i taržuwan(i)≠ne≠v[e aš̮ožikkonni≠ne≠ve* ᶠ*T]ado-Ḫebā≠ve* § **[šeġ≠a]l≠o≠l≠āe≠š≠ša itk≠o≠l≠[≠āe≠ž[66] kažl≠o≠l≠x eg]≠ošš≠o≠l≠āe≠ž** (ChS I/1 19 iv 12-15)[67]

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[59] Noted in Wegner 2000: 96

[60] While (7.25)-(7.30) represent most examples of this passage, a few other occurrences are known (cf. ChS I/1 20 ii 29-30; 23 i 8'-10', 13'-15'; 25 ii 16-19). These other occurrence incidences of this passage are primarily restored due to poor preservation of the tablets.

[61] Since the ending is in the break I will refrain from restoring the verbal ending. While in (7.25) the optative ≠ēž is expected, it is possible that the text actually read ≠ae≠ž.

[62] [... *šum-mi tar-šu-wa-an-ni-bi*] ³⁶ [*a-aš-ḫ]u-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-bi* ᶠ*ta-d[u-ḫé-pa-a-bi še-ḫa-lu-*x-x-x] ³⁷' [*ka-a]š-lu-le-e-eš it-ku-le-e-eš* ⌈*e*⌉[*-ku-uš-šu-*x-x-x]

[63] *šum-mi tar-[šu-wa-an-ni-bi*] ⁴¹ [*a-aš-ḫu-ši-i]k-ku-un-ni-ni-bi* ᶠ*ta-d[u-ḫ]é-p[a-a]⌈*-bi še-ḫa*⌉*-lu-la-a-eš-ša* ⁴² [*it-ku-le-e-e]š ka-aš-lu-le-e-eš* ⌈*e*⌉[*-k]u-uš-šu-le-e-eš*

[64] Restoration is secure based on the spelling *it-ku-l[a-*, with most of the LA sign preserved

[65] *šum-mi tar-šu-wa-an-ni-bi a[š-ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-bi* ᶠ*ta-du-ḫé-pa-a-bi*] § ⁸ [*še-ḫ]a-lu-la-a-eš ka-aš-lu-l[a-a-eš* ...]; note that the handcopy for KBo 15.70 has columns i and iv switched.

[66] *it-ku-l[a-*

[67] [*šum-m]i* ⌈*tar-šu*⌉*-wa-an-ni-b[i aš-ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-bi*] ¹¹³ [ᶠ*t]a-du-ḫé-pa-a-bi* § ¹¹⁴ [*še-ḫa]-lu-la-a-eš-ša it-ku-l[a-a-eš* ...] ¹⁵ [*e-ku]-uš-šu-la-a-eš*

(7.29) [*šummi taržuwan*(*i*)≠*ne* ≠ *ve*] *ašḫožikkonni* ≠ *ne*[≠*ve* ᶠ*Tado-Ḫebā* ≠ *ve* **šeġ**≠**al**≠**o** ≠**l** ≠**x**]
kažl≠**o** ≠**l**≠**āe** ≠**ž itk** ≠**o** ≠**l**≠[**āe** ≠**ž**[68] **eg** ≠**ošš** ≠**o** ≠**l** ≠**x**] (ChS I/1 23 iii x+1-3')[69]

(7.30) [*šummi taržuwa*]*n*(*i*)≠*ne* ≠ *ve āšḫožikkonni* ≠ *ne* ≠ *ve* [ᶠ*Tado-Ḫebā* ≠ *ve*] **šeġ**≠**al**≠**o** ≠**l** ≠
ēž kažl≠**o** ≠**l**≠[**ēž**[70] **itk**≠**o** ≠**l**≠**x**] **eg** ≠**ošš** ≠**o** ≠**l** ≠**ēž** (ChS I/1 25 ii 11-13)[71]

When you distill the following examples you get the following forms (those in breaks are

not included):

(7.31) a. *šeġ*≠*al-*   *šeġ*≠*al*≠*o* ≠*l*≠*āe*≠*ž*   (ChS I/1 19 i 41'(≠*ša*), iv 8, 14(≠*ša*); 23 i
                                                   14')
                šeġ≠*al*≠*o* ≠*l*≠*ēž*   (ChS I/1 25 ii 12)
        b. *itk-*   *itk*≠*o* ≠*l*≠*āe*≠*ž*   (ChS I/1 19 iv 14(-*l*[*a*-); 23 iii 3'(-*l*[*a*-))
                itk≠*o* ≠*l* ≠*ēž*   (ChS I/1 19 i 37'; 20 ii 30; 25 ii 18(]-*le*-))

        c. *kažl-*   *kažl*≠*o* ≠*l* ≠*āe*≠*ž*   (ChS I/1 19 iv 8(-*l*[*a*-); 23 iii 3')
                kažl≠*o* ≠*l* ≠*ēž*   (ChS I/1 19 i 37'(-*a*]*š*-), 42'; 25 ii12([-*e*-))
        d. *eg*≠*ošš-*   *eg*≠*ošš*≠*o* ≠*l* ≠*āe*≠*ž*   (ChS I/1 19 iv 15(]-*uš*-))
                eg≠*ošš*≠*o* ≠*l* ≠*ēž*   (ChS I/1 19 i 42'; 23 i 10'(-*l*]*e*-), 15'(-*l*]*e*-);
                                                   25 ii 13)

Unfortunately no one example of this passage is completely preserved. Since there is

such variability in which verbal ending is used at any given time, I have refrained from

restoring broken forms in (7.25)-(7.30).[72] I do not feel that it possible to predict what

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[68] *it-ku-l*[*a-*

[69] [... *šum-mi tar-šu-wa-an-ni-ni-bi*] [2'] *aš-ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-*[*bi* ᶠ*ta-du-ḫé-pa-a-bi* ...] [3'] *ka-aš-lu-la-e-eš it-ku-l*[*a-a-eš* ...]; Note also ChS I/1 23 i 8'-10' where the only clear preserved form is the optative *eg* ≠*ošš* ≠*o* ≠*l*]≠*ēž* (i 10', 15').

[70] The restoration of the optative is certain here based on the spelling *ka-aš-lu-le-*[.

[71] [*šum-mi tar-šu-wa-a*]*ni-ni-bi a-aš-ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-bi* [12] [ᶠ*ta-du-ḫé-pa-a-bi*] *še-ḫa-lu-le-e-eš ka-aš-lu-le-*[*e-eš*] [13] [...] ⌈*e*⌉-*ku-uš-šu-le-e-eš*

[72] It does not appear that date of composition is a major factor in determining forms. ChS I/1 19 which shows the greatest diversity consists of older forms (but note that IT and DA are not stepped). ChS

ending is to be found on these broken forms.[73] It is my contention that these forms

are to be understood as all being in the optative mood regardless of spelling. That being

said, however, the passage often immediately follows a set of the same verbs in ⸗

ožillandin (on this ending see Chapter Nine). If ⸗ožillandin is to be taken as a command

like the jussive, then it is possible that instead of the optative we should expect the

purposive and take the passages in (7.25)-(7.30) as subordinate clauses. The passage is to

be translated as either:

(7.32) "May all (of the body parts) of the person of the ritual client Tado-H̬eba be
        purified, made pure, strengthened, and eg⸗ošš-ed!"

or:

(7.33) " … so that all (of the body parts) of the person of the ritual client Tado-H̬eba
        might be purified, made pure, strengthened, and eg⸗ošš-ed!"

   Outside of ChS I/1 19 and its duplicates there are other possible occurrences of verbs

in the purposive. In (7.25)-(7.30), it is clear that the forms in ⸗āe⸗ž are verbs, even if

they may be mistakes for optatives. With the other examples of purported purposive

forms, however, we face the problem of having to distinguish true verbs in the purposive

from nominal forms in the ablative ⸗ai or deverbal forms in (⸗i)⸗l⸗ai. This problem

stems largely from the fact that the texts in which they occur are both fragmentary and

replete with unknown lexical items. Take the following example:

I/1 23, on the other hand, has some younger forms (TAR, E), but shows an equal amount of diversity in
forms.

[73] Haas restores every form in his transliterations of the texts in ChS I/1. Since we have so many
variants of this phrase Haas' restorations are only tentative. It is clear that the verb should end in⸗ae⸗ž or
⸗ēž, but there is no way to predict which one.

(7.34) ⌜*pār⸗ind⸗o⸗(e)ž igi⸗n(a)⸗āž⸗už paḫḫir(i)⸗r(a<na)⸗āž⸗už*⌝ **ku-⌜pa-ḫa-a-e**⌝x x x\
(ChS I/1 3 obv. 15-16)[74]

We almost certainly have a "passive" optative with expressed plural agent (*igināžuž paḫḫirāžuž*) in the form of *pārindož* (note the use of ⸗*ind*⸗ with plural agent!). The three signs that follow *ku-pa-ḫa-a-e* are the final words of the clause, at least according to the scribe who placed a divider mark (\) after them. The question is whether we should take *kupaġāe* as a purposive form *kup⸗aġ⸗āe* or nominal *kupaġ(i)⸗āe*. In ChS I/5 iv 15 we find the forms [*n*]*ānadilāe* and *miloladilāe* which correspond to the transitive forms *nan⸗āD⸗o⸗m* and *mil⸗ol⸗āD⸗o(⸗m)* in iv 17 and [*nan*]⸗*āD⸗o⸗nna* in iv 17. No verbs precede the two forms in *-ilāe* making it more likely that they are to be analyzed as deverbal forms in ⸗*l*⸗*āe* than purposive forms in ⸗*i*⸗*l*⸗*āe*.[75] The few possible examples of the purposive in Boğazköy will be treated in full in (§7.3.2).

7.2.6 Function

7.2.6.1 Purposive

The purposive ⸗*ai* has two related primary functions.[76] Its most common use in the Mittani Letter is to indicate a desired action that is dependent upon a prior action. In contrast to ⸗*eva* which indicates potential future consequences to various actions, the

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[74] The text ChS I/1 3 (=IBoT 2.39) is in extremely poor condition. It is difficult to collate these lines from the photo found in the online Konkordanz (http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/) v. 1.0**.**

[75] It is difficult to indicate subsequent action when there is no preceding action given.

[76] Dietrich and Mayer also distinguish two functions for this mood. According the them, forms in ⸗*lae*(⸗) are purposive while ⸗*ae*(⸗) are verbal nouns indicating consecutive action (1992: 57-58). The difference between the two "ist beduetungsmäßig in einer Übersetzung nur sehr schwer zu erfassen: Nach den Belegen scheint =lae (Fin.) am ehesten eine beabsichtigte Folge zu beinhalten, während =ae eine tatsächliche ausdrückt, wie der folgende Exkurs zeigt" (1992: 58).

purposive indicates the expected and desired end result of a particular action. In this

function, ⸗*ai* is used in the sense of "do X *in order* that Y," where the X of the main

clause is in the jussive and Y of the subordinate is in the purposive. Recall (7.3) above,

given here as (7.35):

(7.35) ("May my brother *šur-* and release my messengers:")
      itt(⸗i)⸗ai⸗ž⸗a⸗ll(a)⸗ān
      "so that they might go (to me)" (Mitt. iv 52)[77]

The desired action is the return of the Mittani messengers to Waššukanni, and in order for

this to happen, the pharaoh must release them from Egypt. The purposive *ittaiž* indicates

not only the expected or anticipated result, but the desired result.

7.2.6.2 Consequential or Resultative Action

A second use of the purposive is to indicate that an action will occur as a result of

another. In this function it does not indicate a desired action. In contrast to "do X *in*

order that Y," it is of the type "do X and consequently Y will happen." The purposive

therefore is used to indicate a resulting action. This function is typified in (7.5) above.

The passage is repeated here as (7.36):

(7.36) ("May my brother assemble the entire land (of Egypt)")
      ôl(i)⸗lā⸗n ^KUR^*ōmīn(i)⸗na šūa⸗lla⸗man fīradē⸗nā⸗n paššītḫe⸗na*^MEŠ^ *šūa⸗lla⸗*
      *man **tupp⸗o⸗l⸗ai⸗n***
      "(and) *consequentially*? all the other lands, foreign dignitaries and messengers
      may be gathered (up)" (Mitt. iii 25-26)[78]

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[77] *it-ta-i-šal-la-a-an*

[78] *u-u-ul-la-a-an* ^KUR^*u-u-mi-i-in-na šu-ú-al-la-ma-an* [26] *wi-i-ra-te-e-na-a-an pa-aš-ši-i-it-ḫé-na*^MEŠ^
šu-ú-al-la-ma-an tup-pu-la-in; Dietrich and Mayer 1991: 116; idem. 1992: 44.

Tušratta does not ask the pharaoh to assemble the Egyptian land in order that all the foreign lands would then be gathered. The jussive command *pugl ꞊ ošt ꞊ i ꞊ en* "may he (i.e. the pharaoh) assemble" (Mitt. iii 25) is not given in order to bring about the subsequent *tupp ꞊ o ꞊ l ꞊ ai ꞊ n* "may they be gathered." The purposive clause actually indicates an action that will happen subsequently to and as a consequent of the main clause.

7.2.6.3 Necessity

A third function for the purposive is also found in the Mittani Letter. In this use, the purposive does not indicate expected or consequent action, but rather necessity. Take the following example:

(7.37) *ai ꞊ mā ꞊ nīn* ᵐ*Mane ꞊ n šēn(a)꞊iffu ꞊ ž pašš ꞊ i ꞊ ā ꞊ ma ōli ꞊ mā ꞊ n pašš ꞊ ēd ꞊ a*
      *ūr ꞊ i ꞊ uffu ꞊ nn(a)꞊ān šēn(a)꞊iffu ꞊ š ꞊ š(<nna)꞊ān **pal(꞊i) ꞊l ꞊āe ꞊n***
      "If my brother is not sending Mane, and he would send another, I do not want
      him! My brother *should* know this!" (Mitt. iv 54-56)[79]

The purposive form *pallāe* is not the result of any of the three preceding verbs in (7.37). Tušratta does not expect the pharaoh to begin knowing things based on the fact that he does not want any other messenger than Mane as the Egyptian ambassador. The pharaoh should already know this. Therefore *pallāen* refers back to an existing condition (i.e. the pharaoh's knowing something) that is directly relevant to the topic. In this function it does not appear that the purposive clause is subordinate. For more on this passage, see below sub §7.3.1

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[79] *a-i-ma-a-ni-i-in* ⁵⁵ ᵐ⌈*ma*⌉-*ni-en še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš pa-aš-ši-a-a-ma u-u-li-ma-a-an pa-aš-še-e-e-ta* ⁵⁶ ⌈*ú-ú*⌉-*ri-up-wu-un-na-a-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš-ša-a-an pal-la-a-en*

7.3 The Form in Context

As a whole, the examples of the purposive that are known are in relatively clear context. All of the known examples of the purposive in the Mittani Letter have been given above in §7.2. Most of these do not require comments. A few examples, however, do require extra treatment. In §7.3.1 those examples from the Mittani Letter that require a more detailed philological treatment will be examined. In §7.3.2 the few possible examples of the purposive from the Boğazköy corpus will be treated in detail.

7.3.1 The Mittani Letter

7.3.1.1 Mitt. iii 30-33

An important topic in the Mittani Letter is the giving and subsequent presentation of the dowry (*niġāri*) to the pharaoh. The first example concerns the actions that the pharaoh should undertake, according to Tušratta, upon the receipt of the gift. He writes:

(7.38) *ḫa* ⸗*i* ⸗*en* ⸗*i* ⸗*l* ⸗*an* *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu* ⸗*ž* *fīradē* ⸗
take+ACT+JUSS+EPNTH+3PL.ENCL+CON brother+1SG.POSS+ERG foreign dignitary+
na *šūa* ⸗*lla* ⸗*man* … *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffu* ⸗*ž* *ūr* ⸗*i* ⸗*ā* ⸗
PL.ABS all +3PL.ENCL+*man* … brother+1SG.POSS+ERG want+TRAN+3SG.ERG+
šše ⸗*na* **faž** (⸗*i*) ⸗*ai* ⸗*n* ⸗*an* *šēn(a)* ⸗*iffe*
REL+PL.ABS enter+ACT+PURP+*n*+CON brother+1SG.POSS+ØABS
"May my brother take all the foreign dignitaries … (all) those whom my brother desires, and *consequently* may he enter (or: so that he might enter)" (Mitt. iii 30-33)[80]

The jussive *ḫaien* "may he take" is used in the sense of "may he take as an audience." It is difficult to determine if ⸗*ai* is used here to indicate purposive or consecutive action. It

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[80] *ḫa-i-e-ni-la-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš* [31] *wi-i-ra-te-e-na šu-ú-al-la-ma-an* … [33] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš ú-ú-ri-a-a-aš-še-na wa-ša-i-na-an še-e-ni-íw-we*; Wilhelm translates: "And may my brother take all the nobles … whom my brother desires, and may my brother go." (1992c: 67).

is entirely possible that the pharaoh's entering before the gifts can only occur after an audience of the pharaoh's choosing has been gathered. Equally possible is that ⸗*ai* is simply used to indicate that the pharaoh's entering will occur after the initial gathering. Note that the absolutive *šēniffe* occurs with the purposive form here. Deletion of "my brother" is not possible according to ergative syntax since it is in the ergative in the main clause. Recall that according to the rules of syntax ergativity, it is not possible to delete an NP when it is an A NP in one clause and an S or O NP in the second.

7.3.1.2 Mitt. iv 55-56

I would like to return to the passage given above as (7.37). The form *pallāen* has typically been translated as "so that he may know."[81] Dietrich and Mayer have already noted that *pallāen* is not in a subordinate clause but rather in a "Hauptsatz."[82] The passage will be repeated here in part as (7.39):

(7.39) ("If my brother does not send Mane,")
    ōli ⸗*mā*   ⸗*n pašš⸗ēd⸗a*   *ūr* ⸗*i*   ⸗*uffu*   ⸗*nn(a)*   ⸗*ān*
    other+3SG.ENCL+*n* send+FUT+3SG.ERG want+TRAN+1SG.NEG+3SG.ENCL+*an*
    šēn(a) ⸗*iffu*   ⸗*š* ⸗*š(<nna)* ⸗*ān* **pal** (⸗*i*) ⸗*l*⸗*āe*   ⸗*n*
    brother+1SG.POSS+ERG+3SG.ENCL+*an* know+ACT+*l*+PURP+*n*
    "and he will/would send another, I do not want him (i.e. the other)! My brother
    should know it!" (Mitt. iv 55-56)[83]

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[81] See Giorgieri 2000a: 243 ("affinché/così che egli sappia"); Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 52 ("Mein Bruder weiß gewiß Bescheid!") and 57 ("er weiß gewiß"); Wegner 2000: 236 ("damit er es weiß; damit er es weisse");

[82] Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 58.

[83] *u-u-li-ma-a-an pa-aš-še-e-e-ta* [56] ⌈*ú-ú-*⌉*ri-up-wu-un-na-a-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš-ša-a-an pal-la-a-en*

The case was made above for taking the ⸗āe in *pallāen* not as indicating purposive or consequent action, but rather necessity. The modal verb is transitive with an ergative agent and an absolutive patient. The patient ⸗š(<⸗*nna*) "him, her, it" cannot refer to the patient of the immediately preceding *ūriuffu⸗nn(a)⸗ān*. The ⸗*nna* of this verb clearly refers back to the *ōli* "another" and is to be translated as "I do not want *him*." The patient of the purposive clause is not this other messenger, but rather the entire clause *ūriuffu⸗nn(a)⸗ān*. Therefore the third singular enclitic pronoun should be taken as "it" and the phrase must be translated as: "My brother should know it (i.e. the fact that I, Tušratta, do not want another messenger)."

7.3.1.3 Mitt. iv 23

The last passage to be treated here is quite problematic. In iv 1-29 (§27), an attempt is made by Tušratta to assure that only Mane and Keliya would act as the official messengers for the Egypt-Mittani correspondence in order to eliminate any possibility of slander or lies being spread between the courts. Tušratta is concerned because he has heard that malicious things had been spoken about him before the pharaoh.[84] Tušratta writes:

(7.40) ("May my brother not hear the evil words which one may speak concerning myself and my land to my brother if Mane and Keliya do not say them. Those (words) which Mane and Keliya shall say concerning myself or my land, they are true and they are authentic,")

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[84] He writes: ḫill⸗ož⸗ī⸗n ḫilložikk[ōnn]i šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗da ed(i)⸗iffu⸗we nīrubād(i)⸗ae kul⸗ōž⸗ā⸗tt(a)⸗ān nīrubād(i)⸗ae ḫaž⸗ōž⸗av⸗nn(a)⸗ān "the one who does not speak (ḫilložikkōnni) has spoken! He has spoken of me, of myself, with evil intent and with evil intent I have heard it!" (Mitt. iv 4-6). The verb *kul-* "to speak" takes the first person ⸗*tta* as patient. With a person as the patient, *kul-* may mean something like "to describe (s.o. to s.o.)" or "talk (about s.o.)." Wilhelm translated the final clause as "and *with satisfaction* have I again heard him" (his italics) (1992c: 69). Since the publication of the translation by Wilhelm, it has been determined that *nirubādi* is actually to be translated as "evil" (Wegner 1995c).

ḫaž ≠*āž*≠*ill* ≠*āi* ≠*n* ≠*i*   ≠*ll(a)*   ≠*ān šēn(a)* ≠*iffu*   ≠*ž*
hear+*až*+*ill*[85]+FIN+*n*+EPNTH+3PL.ENCL+*an* brother+1SG.POSS+ERG
"My brother *should* hear them!" (Mitt. iv 23)[86]

The verb *ḫažāžillāin* does not indicate purposive or consequent action. Dietrich and

Mayer translate the passage as: "Was auch Mane (oder) Gelia (jeweils) sagen wird, über

mich selber, (oder) über mein Land selber, ist wahr (und) gewiß, so daß es mein Bruder

immer anhören kann!"[87] The words of Mane and Keliya are not "true and authentic" for

the sole reason of getting the pharaoh to hear them, but are rather always in such a state.

Therefore the purposive ≠*ai* here is best translated as indicating necessity as in (7.39)

above.

   There is a parallel to (7.40) with a first person agent. Tušratta swears that he will also

disregard things told to him about the pharaoh by anyone but Mane and Keliya:

(7.41) "Any evil words which shall be subsequently told to me concerning my brother or
        concerning his land, may I not hear them if Keliya and Mane do not speak them!
        Those (words) which Keliya and Mane will say concerning my brother or
        concerning his land are true and authentic,"
        ḫaž≠*āž*≠*i*   ≠*llī*   ≠*ll(a)*   ≠*ān*
        hear+*až*+ACT+1.JUSS+3PL.ENCL+*an*
        "May I hear them!" (Mitt. iv 29)[88]

Instead of the purposive, we find here the first person jussive in ≠*llī* (see §5.2.1 for the

writing of the jussive with geminate *ll*). This would seem to indicate that the purposive

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[85] The derivational morpheme ≠*ill*≠ is typically understood as an inchoative or ingressive marker. It is difficult to determine how such a morpheme would function in this particular form. Perhaps we have to analyze this as ≠*il*(≠*i*)≠*l*≠ with elision of the active morpheme ≠*i*≠ between two *l*s.

[86] *ḫa-ša-a-ši-il-la-a-i-ni-il-la-a-an še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš*

[87] Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 51

[88] *ḫa-ša-a-ši-il-li-i-il-la-a-an*

ḫažāžillāin is functionally parallel to the jussive *ḫažāžillī*, making it all the more likely that the former should be taken as indicating necessity and not resultant or consecutive action.

7.3.2 Evidence from Boğazköy?

Outside of the examples in *≠l≠ai* from the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual (cf. above §7.2.4), only a few other possible examples of a purposive *≠ai* are found in the Boğazköy corpus. As will be shown below, it is difficult to determine the exact function of these verbs. Four examples will be examined here. The verbs in *≠ai* will be compared to purposive forms in the Mittani Letter to see if they share functions. It will not always be possible to give complete translations of some of these passages.

7.3.2.1 ChS I/1 3

In ChS I/1 3, the third tablet of the *itkaḫi*-ritual, there are at least two possible examples of verbs in *≠ai*. The first passage is found in obv. 11. Unfortunately this passage is in extremely broken context. The preceding line, obv. 10, is almost entirely lost, making it impossible to determine whether or not the clause is subordinate to what precedes it, or even if the passage is complete. What is preserved is as follows:

(7.42) *nešš(i)≠a fāġrōž(i)≠a ⌈ašk⌉≠ō (≠)l ≠āe* ⌈x-x-un⌉ *itt ≠i (≠)l≠⌈āe⌉*
        gift[?] +ESS good +ESS ask +PASS[?]+l[89]+āe … go/clothe+ACT[?]+l+āe …
        an-[
        ?
        "(he/she/it) *might*[?] be asked as a good *gift* … (he/she/it) might *go* …" (ChS I/1 3 obv. 11)[90]

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[89] It may also be analyzed as *≠ōl≠*. The same goes for the *-il-* of *ittil*⌈*āe*⌉ which may be either *itt≠ i≠l≠*⌈*āe*⌉ or *itt≠il≠*⌈*āe*⌉.

[90] *ni-eš-ša pa-a-aḫ-ru-*⌈*u*⌉*-ša* ⌈*aš-ku*⌉*-u-la-a-e* ⌈x-x-un⌉ *id-di-la-*⌈*a-e*⌉

The subject of *ašk̄ōlāe* is not preserved. The essive in the NP *nešša fā̀ġrōža* is used in its

comparative function. It is unclear if *nešša* is to be equated with *nešši* "gift" of the

Mittani Letter. The verb *ašk̄ōlāe* may be analyzed as a "passive" in *≠o≠l≠*. If this is the

case, then *ittilāe* is also likely to be an extended form in *≠i≠l≠*. Given the broken context

it is impossible to determine the true function of the two verbal forms in (7.42). For this

reason these two verbs can only be tentatively associated with the purposive, and its

function, be it purposive, consequential or indicating necessity, is unclear.

Later in the text, we find a second example of a verb in *≠ai*. In this case it occurs at

the start of a Hurrian incantation introduced by the Hittite *n]u-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a ke-e ud-*

da-a-ar [*me-ma*]-*i* "he (the AZU-priest) [speak]s these words:"

(7.43) **ā̀šš (≠i) ≠ae≠ž≠a   ≠l   šōni   šī(e) ≠āi aġar(i)≠re   ≠**
wash+ACT+*ae*+*ž*+EPNTH+3PL.ENCL hand+ØABS water+INST incense+SG.RELAT+
v(e)≠ai   un ≠a   ≠[*mma*]
GEN+INST come+INTRAN.IMP+2SG.ENCL
"They *shall* wash the hand with the water of incense! Come!" (ChS I/1 3 rev.
11)[91]

The passage in (7.43) is very similar to the one in (§4.3.1, (4.33)) discussed above. That

passage is repeated here as (7.44):

(7.44) *ašš≠i≠(e)ž* ᵈḪebat *šōni≠b šī(e)≠āi āġr(i)≠āi un≠a≠mma*
"Ḫebat, you must wash your hand with aromatic water! Come!" (ChS I/2 1 i 23-
24)

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[91] *a-aš-ša-e-šal šu-u-ni ši-i-ia-a-i a-ḫar-ri-pa-a-e ú-na-a*[*m-ma* …

In contrast to (7.44), no divine name is given as subject in (7.43). It is possible that

Teššob, the subject of the preceding Hurrian passage (ChS I/1 3 rev. 1-5), is continued as

subject in the new passage beginning in rev. 11. If so, then the enclitic pronoun *=l(la)*

must indicate that the following absolutive NP *šōni* is actually plural. As we have seen

above, there is a general confusion in the Boğazköy texts between optative and purposive

endings (see above §7.2.5). It is possible that the *āššaež* of (7.43) is a mistake for the

expected optative form *aššiž*. If this is the case then (7.43) may be translated as:

(7.45) "(Teššob), you must wash (your) hands with the waters of incense! Come!"

Since the construction in (7.44) occurs in other Hurrian texts,[92] this appears to be the

most likely solution for (7.43).

7.3.2.2 ChS I/1 9

Possible examples of *=ai* in ChS I/1 9 were mentioned in §7.2.2 above. The two

forms occur in lines iv 12, 13 and belong to the beginning of a Hurrian recitation. The

passage reads as follows:

(7.46) *pāġi   irdi   ḫapzuri   idi paġi   idi   šummi   =n*
       head+ØABS tongue+ØABS spit+ØABS i.-p. +ØABS body+ØABS all+ØABS+CONN?
       ušḫuni =ž   šīe   =ž   idi   =b   až   =o   =l =āi =n ull =oġ =ož =
       silver +ERG water+ERG body+2SG.POSS wash[93]+PASS+l+ai+n ? +oġ+ož+
       ill[94] *=āi =n*
       ill   +ai+n

"*May* your body, (your) head, tongue, spit, *i.-p.*, all the body be cleansed by the silver (and) water! May it (be) *ulloġ-*!" (ChS I/1 9 iv 11-13)[95]

The agent is the combination *ušḫuniž šīež*, "the silver (and) water." The patient is the ritual client's body parts. Give the presence of the "passive" *≠o≠*, I take these absolutive NPs as the subject of *ažolāin*. There are examples of both *až-* and *ull≠oġ≠* in the complex form *ažōžillandin* and *ulloġožillandin* (on this modal form see Chapter Nine).[96] In a few cases, these complex forms occur together.[97] Note also the form *ulloḫōžib/vāe* in ChS I/1 9 iii 20. This form can be analyzed as a nominal form *ulloḫōži* in the genitive with the ablative *≠āi* as Suffixaufnahme.[98] Context does not call for any of the typical functions of the purposive. It involves neither purposive nor consequential action, especially since it is the beginning of the recitation. Furthermore, the passage does not call for the necessitative function of the purposive either. The verbs *ažolāin* and

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[95] *pa-a-ḫi ir-ti kar-ši ḫa-ap-zu-ri i-ti pa-a-ḫi i-ti* [12] *šum-mi-in uš-ḫu-ni-eš ši-i-e-eš i-ti-pa a-šu-la-in* [13] *ul-lu-ḫu-ši-el-la-a-in*

[96] See ChS I/1 p. 345 and 440 for list of occurrences of these two forms respectively.

[97] *[a-šu]-ši-el-la-an-ti-in ḫa-a-u-ši-el-la-[an-ti-in]* [21'] *[u-u]l-lu-ḫu-ši-el-la-an-ti-in* (ChS I/1 19 i 20'-21'); *a-šu-u-ši-e[l-la-an-ti-in …]* [9'] *ul-lu-ḫu-[š]i-el-la-an-ti-in* (ibid. ii 8'-9'); *a-šu-ši-el-la-an-ti-in ḫa-a-⌈u⌉-[ši-el-la-an-ti-in]* [31] *u-ul-⌈lu⌉-ḫu-ši-el-la-an-ti-in* (ibid. iv 30-31)

[98] The passage ChS I/1 9 iii 15-20 is replete with ablative forms in *≠ai*. The passage begins with the series: *mad(i)≠āe ḫāziz(i)≠āe erižang(i)≠āe tad(i)≠āe tadugar(i)≠āe en(i)≠n(a)<≠až(≠e)>≠āe* (text: DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-a-e*) *taržuwan(i)≠n(a)≠až(≠e)≠āe tāġe!≠v(e)≠āe* (text: *da-a-ḫa-pa-a-e*) *ḫanni≠v(e)≠āi ininkald(i)≠āe šaben(i)≠āe itkalz(i)≠āe pāġi≠da kib≠ō≠l≠ež* "Through the wisdom, knowledge, *erižangi*, love, and mutual respect of the gods, of mankind, of men, of children, through *ininkaldi*, *šabeni* and purification, may it/he be *placed*? (dup. *ḫib≠o≠l≠ēž*) on the head!" (iii 15-18). This is followed by the interesting set of phrases: *iž≠in≠i≠(e)ž iži≠v(e)≠āi pull≠i≠(e)ž* (or: *pul(≠i)≠l≠ež*) *pulidi≠v(e)≠āe šad≠ān≠i≠(e)ž kipp≠in≠i≠(e)ž ulloġōži≠v(e)≠āe* "May it *iž≠in-* by/through that of the *iži*! May it *pull-* by/through that of the *pulidi*! May it *šad≠ān-* and *kipp≠in-* by/through that of the *ulloġōži*!" (iii 19-20). In this second set of clauses, we find an active optative form followed by a noun in the genitive with the ablative *≠āi* as Suffixaufnahme. In the two clauses in iii 19, the genitive NP is a cognate accusative with the preceding optative form (e.g. *iž≠in-* and *iži* and *pul(l)-* and *pulidi*). In iii 20, we have two optative forms followed by the genitive of *ulloġōži*. It is certain that *ulloġoživāe* is to be analyzed as a nominal form in this context. It is rather striking how close this nominal form is to the form *ulloġožillāin* mentioned above.

ulloġožillāin are, in fact, best translated as optative wishes. If so, then (7.46) fits with

the other examples in §7.2.5.[99]

7.3.2.3 ChS I/5 87

The final passages from Boğazköy that will be examined here come from ChS I/5 87,

a ritual text that includes a sort of Hurrian king list.[100] Two forms in *≠ai* are used

in the paragraph concerning Immaškun, the king of Lullue and Kiklipadalli, the king of

Tukriš. The passage runs as follows (without translation):

(7.47) [*au*]   ᵐ*Immaškun evri*   *everni*   ᵁᴿᵁ*Lullue ≠ ne*   *≠ve*
        behold   PN+ØABS lord+ØABS king+ØABS   GN   +SG.RELAT+GEN
        au   ᵐ*Kiklipadalli ≠ n*   ᵁᴿᵁ*Tukriš ≠ ḫi*   *evirni*   *ammatt*[*i*]
        behold   PN+ØABS +3SG.ENCL   GN   +ADJ+ØABS king+ØABS former+ØABS
        [*n*]*ān ≠ad ≠i*   *≠l ≠āe mil ≠ol ≠ad ≠i*   *≠l ≠āe* [*šai*ᵗ]*ui lallar*(*i*)   *≠*
        ?   +ad+ACT+*l+āe* ? +ol+ad+ACT+*l+āe* ?[101]   lamentation priest[102]+
        re   *≠ž*   ᵈ*Ea ≠ve ≠ ne*   *≠ ž*   [.]-*alaž nan ≠ ad ≠ o*   *≠m*
        SG.RELAT+ERG GN+GEN+SG.RELAT+ERG ?   ?   +ad+TRAN+AGR
        mil ≠ ol ≠ād ≠ o   (*≠m*)[103]   [*nan*]*≠ād ≠ o*   *≠nna*[104]   *tešš ≠ož ≠ o*   *≠m*
        ? +ol+ad+TRAN(+AGR)   ?   +ad+TRAN+3SG.ENCL ?[105] +*ož*[106]+TRAN+AGR

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[99] Note the confusion of forms found several lines after (8.46): *en*(*i*)*≠n*(*a*)*≠āž ≠ a taržuwan*(*i*)*≠ n*(*a*)*≠āž ≠ a ābi ≠ da* **tag *≠o ≠l ≠āe ≠ž* šēġ *≠al ≠o ≠l ≠ēž* kažl *≠o ≠l ≠ēž* kir *≠a*[*šš*]*≠o ≠l ≠ae ≠ž* (ChS I/1 9 iv 29-31).
        [100] The most co   mplete treatmen t of this text is found in de Martino 1993.

[101] Restored according to Haas ChS I/1 p. 389 based on ChS I/1 2 rev. 70'.

[102] There is little evidence for native Hurrian words beginning in either *l* or *r*. Therefore, the NP *lallari* is likely to be a borrowing. Haas (1988: 126) translates *lallare* as "der Klagepriester," taking it as a loan from Akkadian *lallāru* (cf. AHw 530a).

[103] The agreement marker *≠m* is expected on Old Hurrian transitive verbal forms.

[104] Perhaps the agreement marker *≠m* is elided (**nan ≠ ād ≠ o ≠ m ≠ nna > nan ≠ ād ≠ o ≠ nna*). The use of the third person enclitic pronoun *≠nna* would be redundant if we assume an object agreement marker *≠m*. It is possible that this is a transitive form with *≠nna* functioning as an agreement marker, or it is actually a modal form in *≠o/u* with the enclitic pronoun as subject "may it be …" (see chapter nine).

[105] Perhaps the same root as the divine name Teššob?

[106] *≠ož≠* here is most like a derivational morpheme and not the preterite tense marker.

tie *≠a*
word+ESS   (ChS I/5 87 iv 13-18)[107]

The passage begins: "Behold (or: lo) Immaškun (was) the lord, the king of the city of Lulle! Behold Kiklipadalli (was) the former[108] (i.e. old, distant) Tukriš-ian king!" The remainder of the passage is largely untranslatable due to issues of vocabulary. That being said, certain patterns do emerge in this passage.

   The combination of verbs *nān≠ad≠* and *mil≠ol≠ad≠* are repeated twice, with *nān≠ad≠* appearing a third time paired with *tešš≠ož≠*. The first time that the combination appears, the verbs are in *≠i≠l≠ae*, presumably the active form of *≠ai*. The second time they appear, they are in the old Hurrian *≠o≠m* (with the *≠m* omitted from *milolādo*). Between the two sets are the forms [*šai*]*ui*[?] *lallarrež* [d]*Eavenež*. The second two can be translated as "the lamentation priest(erg.) of Ea." It is unclear what [*šai*]*ui* is or if it is even correctly restored. The ergative NP *larrež* [d]*Eavenež* is almost certainly the agent of the transitive forms *nanadom* and *milolādo*(*m*). What is unclear is whether or not it is to be understood as a chiasmatic hinge functioning as subject of both the preceding *≠ai* verbs as well as the following indicative verbs in *≠om*.

   There are a few more forms in *≠ai* in the king list section of this text. Concerning Audaluma, the king of Elam,[109] we read the following:

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[107] [*a-u*] [ᵐˡ]*im-ma-aš-ku-un ip-ri e-we*ₑ*-er-ne* [14] [URU][*lu*]*-ul-lu-e-ne-we*ₑ *a-u* [ᵐ]*ki-*[*ik*]*-li-pa-ta-al-li-in* [15] [*na*]-[*a*]*-na-ti-la-a-e mi-lu-la-ti-la-a-e* [16] [*ša*[?]*-i*[?]]*-ú-i la-al-la-ar-re-eš* [d]É.A-*we*ₑ*-ne-eš*(over erasure) [17] [.]-[*a*]*-la-aš na-na-a-tum mi-lu-la-a-du* [18] [*na-n*]*a*-[*a*]*-du-un-na te-eš-šu-šu-um ti-e-a*

[108] A translation "forefather" is also possible. See de Martino 1993: 129 where he translates this passage as "Kiglipadalli, König von Tugriš, Vorfahre." While "King of Tukriš" is a logical translation, the Hurrian actually has the place name as an adjective in *≠ḫe* modifying *evirni* "king."

[109] [ᵐ]*Audalumma≠n evri everni* [URU]*Elami≠nē≠ve*

(7.48) ⌈a⌉u ᵐAudaluma≠n šarri kul(≠i?≠)l≠āe [l?]ōšture (ChS I/5 87 iv 11-12)¹¹⁰

The reading of the final word is unclear and could also be [k]ōšture. The verb is either

kul- "to speak" or kol- "to place." The writing is ambiguous. It is likely that the

geminate -ll- indicates the elision of a morpheme ≠i≠ or ≠o≠. If [l/k]ōšture is an

absolute NP, then it must be decided whether it functions as a modifier of the

absolutive ᵐAudaluma≠n šarri, "the king A." or if (7.48) is to be taken as two clauses. In

the latter case the passage can be translated: "Behold, Audaluma (is/was) king (and) …"

    With the exception of the broken [. -n]a-a-i in iv 27 (to be restored following Haas as

[na-n]a-a-i?¹¹¹) there is one last form in ≠ai that deserves attention. The passage in iv

19-20 may have ties to later Hurrian mythology.¹¹² The two king mentioned, ᵐU]šḫuni

"Silver" and ᵈḪīda may be related to the Silver and Ḫedammu of the Kumarbi Cycle.

This is, in fact, made almost certain by the following:

(7.49) au ᵈḪīdam everni [f]ut(≠)t≠i≠l≠āe ᵈKumarbi≠ne≠ž šarr(i)≠a (ChS I/5 87 iv 20-
        21)¹¹³

As already noted by de Martino¹¹⁴ and Wilhelm,¹¹⁵ the verb futtilāe is built off of the root

fut- "to give birth; to sire." According to mythology, Kumarbi is the father of the serpent

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¹¹⁰ ⌈a⌉-u ᵐa-ú-ta-lu-ma-an šar-ri ku-ul-la-a-e ¹² [l]u?-u-uš-tu-ur-e

¹¹¹ See ChS I/5 p. 389

¹¹² See the article by Wilhelm 2003.

¹¹³ au ᵈḫi-i-dam e-weₑ-er-ne ²¹ [wu]⌈ú⌉-ut-ti-la-a-e ᵈku-mar-⌈weₑ⌉-ne-eš šar-ra

¹¹⁴ de Martino 1993: 129 and note 64

¹¹⁵ Wilhelm 2003: 394

Ḫedammu.[116] The passage in (7.49) is similar to (7.21) and (7.22) above in structure.

The three phrases are compared here in (7.50):

(7.50) a. [f]ut(⸗)t⸗i⸗l⸗āe ᵈKumarbi⸗ne⸗ž šarr(i)⸗a (ChS I/5 87 iv 21)

     b. amūmi⸗nē⸗va mānni ēvri⸗ž naḫḫ⸗i⸗l⸗āi (KBo 32.14 iv 14-15)

     c. ḫazian(i)⸗a mānni ēvri⸗ž naḫḫ⸗i⸗l⸗āi   (KBo 32.14 rev. 25)

While word order is different, the three phrases are virtually identical in structure. Based

on (7.50), it is all but assured that the predicate [f]uttilāe functions like naḫḫilāi and not

like a purposive.[117]

7.3.2.4 Remarks

The evidence for the purposive in Boğazköy presented here in §7.3.2 is extremely

meager. When the phrases are even translatable and in clear context (cf. (7.43) and

(7.46)), none of the established functions of the purposive fit. In certain cases it appears

as if we have a confusion of forms between the optative and the purposive (cf. §7.2.5 and

exx. (7.43) and (7.46)). In the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, the verb šidilāi (cf. (7.19) and

(7.20)) can be analyzed as a purposive verb indicating consequential action. In the same

text, however, the (homophonous?) forms naḫḫilāi cannot be taken as purposive (see

(7.21) and (7.22) above). The same holds for the [f]uttilāe from (7.49).

Although there are a number of verbal forms in ⸗ai (or ⸗ae) from Boğazköy, the

evidence is far from clear. Only the two examples (7.19) and (7.20) can be analyzed as

purposive forms with any certainty. Even in these cases alternative translations remain

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[116] See Siegelová 1971 for a treatment of the text.

[117] Wilhelm 2003: 395 comes to the same conclusion.

possible. Is it likely that we have two homophonous endings in *-ilāi*, one the

extended purposive and the other a verb or verbal noun? Or are all examples of ⸗*ai* in

Boğazköy to be analyzed as something other than the purposive? The apparent confusion

of the purposive ending with the optative, especially in the *itkaḫi-* and *itkalzi-*rituals

simply exacerbates the problem. Unfortunately I do not see any solution that is

immediately forthcoming.

7.3.4 Conclusions

The purposive form of the Mittani Letter has been demonstrated to have three basic

functions. The first use is to indicate that the verb in ⸗*ai* is the expected or desired

outcome of a preceding action (cf. §7.2.6.1). It can be condensed to "do X, *so that* Y." A

related function of this ending is to indicate consequential action (cf. §7.2.6.2). Here it is

used to show that the verb in ⸗*ai* is the outcome of a preceding action: "X was done, and

as a result Y." In both of these uses the verbs in ⸗*ai* are temporally marked as

subsequent to a preceding act.

The third function of the purposive is not temporal. Certain verbs in ⸗*ai* in the Mittani

Letter cannot be analyzed as indicating purpose or consequential action, but rather

necessity (§7.2.6.3). Unlike the other two functions which both appear to be dependent

upon a main clause, in this function, the clause in ⸗*ai* is free standing. It is unclear

whether this is an original or derived function of ⸗*ai*.

Clauses in ⸗*ai* function according to the rules of ergativity. When transitive with two

expressed arguments, the agent is in the ergative while the patient is in the absolutive (see

(7.7) and (7.8) above). Examples exist of transitive verbs with expressed agent in the

absolutive and no patient (e.g. (7.10) and (7.11)). These examples are treated as

detranstivized and are similar to the antipassive in the indicative. Intransitive verbs in the

purposive require absolutive subjects.

   The Purposive also shares some affinity with other modal forms. There is evidence

for extended forms in =*i*=*l*= and =*o*=*l*= in the Mittani Letter (see below §7.2.2). As with

the optative (§§4.3.2, 4.3.4), jussive (§5.2.4.3) and potentialis (§§6.2.4.1, 6.3.1.2, 6.3.1.3),

the use of =*i*= and =*o*= in extended purposive forms appears to reflect a distinction in

voice. The former marks for active, while the latter is used in "passive" constructions.

There is no evidence for an unextended "passive" purposive in *=*oi* (<*=*o*=*ai*).

CHAPTER EIGHT
The Desiderative

8.1 Background

It has been asserted that amongst the non-indicative forms in Hurrian is a

"desiderative." Strictly speaking, a desiderative is used to express "wants to x" as in

"John wants to go to the zoo." It conveys the wish or desire of the subject/agent to

perform a particular action. As will be demonstrated below, this does not accurately

describe the function of the so-called "desiderative" in Hurrian. As we shall see, this

form in Hurrian does express wishes or desires, but it is not of the type "x wants to y" but

rather "(I wish/want that) x do y." That is to say, it express not the desire of the subject

but rather of the speaker.

In Indo-European languages, the subjunctive is used to express wishes or desires.[1]

According to Lyons, in modal contexts Indo-European clearly distinguishes "between

desiderative and instrumental utterances: between 'I want X to bring it about that *p*' and

'Let X bring it about that *p*.'"[2] Hurrian, however, differentiates these two types of

utterances through the use of different modal forms. The latter is indicated through

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[1] Palmer 2001: 131

[2] Lyons 1977: 826

use of the jussive (cf. Chapter Five), while the former is designated by the so-called

"desiderative." The jussive is clearly deontic, expressing commands. The

"desiderative," however, is more complicated. Wishes are mostly to be treated as

epistemic, "since they indicate attitudes to propositions rather than unrealized events."[3]

Expressions of wanting are "different in that the emotion is more directed to the even,

and so should be treated as deontic, a kind of directive."[4] Amongst the Hurrian examples

below, it is difficult to decide whether the "desiderative" expresses wants or wishes. For

this reason I have refrained from labeling the Hurrian form as either deontic or epistemic.

Since, however, the form does express wishes/wants/desires, I continue to use the term

desiderative, even if it is not of the canonical type "x wants to y."

8.2 Form and Function in Hurrian

The Hurrian modal form in question is *=anni*. Verbs in this mood are quite rare in the

corpus, but the texts in which they are found span much of the temporal and spatial range

of written Hurrian. Examples are found in the Old Babylonian texts from Mari, in at least

two texts from Boğazköy and in the Mittani Letter. The form was original seen as either

an opative ending[5] or as an "asseverative" particle modifying jussive and indicative

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[3] Palmer 2001: 134

[4] Palmer 2001: 134; He goes on to note that "telling someone what is wanted is often a direction
for action whereas an expression for wish is not so obviously so" (2001: 134).

[5] This is apparent from Goetze's treatment of KUB 29.8 (= ChS I/1 9) ii 29-30 where he translates
the verbal form *it-ki-ta-an-nim* as "let …" (on this passage see below, (8.4)). Goetze offers no comment on
this form, but Haas and Wilhelm see his translation as indicating an "optative" function or *=anni* (1974:
127). In their treatment of this passage they reject the interpretation of this verbal form as modal, preferring
to take it as a future form *itk=ed=a=nni=m*, with *=nni* as equivalent to the third person singular enclitic
pronoun *=nna*. They translate the passage as "Die Wasser … *werden* deinen Leib … *reinigen*" (my italics)
(1974: 128-129).

verbs.[6] The first to label the form as "desiderative" was Wilhelm based on comparative forms in Urartian.[7] This term has continued to be used in the recent grammatical treatments of the language.[8]

8.2.1 Form

The oldest example of this mood is found in a ritual text from Mari. In Mari 1, the verbal form *tu-wi-la-an-e-en* is repeated four times to end the text (lines 31, 33, 35, 37).[9] Similar forms with a single -*n*- and plene -*a*- are found in the ritual ChS I/5 76: *ša-a-ši-i-da-a-ni-il* (23') and](-)*ta-a-aš-ša-ḫi-i-da-ni-il* (24').[10] All other examples of this mood are written with geminate -*nn*-: e.g. *it-ki-ta-an-nim* (ChS I/1 9 ii 29, 31, 35), *wu-ur-ra-an-ni* (ML iii 3), *a-me-la-a-an-ni* (KBo 32.14 i 6, 7) and *i-ti-la-a-an-ni* (KBo 32.14 i 6). The *a* is written either short or plene. It is not clear what, if anything, triggers the plene writing.

As with the other modal morphemes discussed so far, it occurs in verb final position, although further enclitic particles may be appended to it. The modal element ⸗*l*⸗ may

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[6] Speiser 1941: 191 "-*anni* was an asseverative particle suitable in jussives as well as indicative forms." According to Bush, it is an associative particle that can be appended to both verbal and nominal forms (1964: 274). This is followed by Neu who parses the form *a-me-la-a-an-ni* as *am⸗e⸗l⸗ā⸗nni*, with ⸗*l*⸗*a*- as the modal elements and ⸗*nni* "als mögliche Beteuerungspartikel" (1996: 105).

[7] Wilhelm 1991: 164[20]; on the corresponding form in Urartian, see most recently Salvini 1992: 217-221.

[8] Giorgieri 2000a: 238; Wegner 2000: 96-97; Wilhelm 2004a: 114.

[9] Originally published by Thureau-Dangin 1939: 5; later in Giorgieri 2002b: 68-71 and Wilhelm 1998a: 125.

[10] The ritual is extremely fragmentary. That *ša-a-ši-i-da-a-ni-il* is a verbal form and not a noun in ⸗*a*⸗*nni*, is certain based on the relative form *ša-a-šu-u-ši-i-ia-aš-še-e-na* (*šāž⸗ōž⸗ī⸗a⸗ššē⸗na* or *šāž⸗ōž⸗ī⸗a⸗š⸗š(š)ē⸗na*) in lines 30' and 32'. Based on this, I feel that](-)*ta-a-aš-ša-ḫi-i-ta-ni-il* is also to be analyzed as a modal form in ⸗*anni*. The forms *ḫa-a-u-ši-in-ni-ni-e-el* (27', 28') and](-)*ḫé-ez-zu-um-me-ni-e-el* (26') in the same text are problematic. They may be either nominal or verbal. In this same text we find the form ⌈*a-ru*⌉-*u*-⌈*li*⌉-*in-na-an-ni*-⌈*in*⌉ (18') which displays geminate -*nn*-.

immediately precede the ending. The function of this element remains unclear,

though some have tentatively suggested that it may function as an intensifier when used

with   =anni.[11] These extended forms all have a morpheme =i= coming just before the

=l=, with one exception where =i= is separated from =l= by the negative morpheme =

va= (see below). In one case, this vocalic morpheme is written with a -C*e*- sign (8.1b

below) instead of -C*i*-. Note the following forms and their writings:

(8.1)   a. *id=i=l=ānni*   *i-ti-la-a-an-ni* (KBo 32.14 i 6)

   b. *am=e=l=ānni*   *a-me-la-a-an-ni* (KBo 32.14 i 6, 7)

   c. *tov=i=l=annē=n*   *tu-wə-la-an-e-en* (Mari 1: 31, 33, 35, 37)

The form *ta-a-nu-ši-wa-al-la-a-an-ni* (Mitt. iv 10) is a further example of this modal

form. It is to be normalized as *tān=ož=i=va=ll=ānni*. The additional =l= morpheme is

doubled here, and the =i= morpheme is separated from it by the negative morpheme =

va= (see (8.11) below for a treatment of this verb).

   The morpheme =i= is traditionally analyzed as a transitive marker on analogy with the

transitive indicative forms.[12] Since all of the attested verbs in =anni are transitive (cf.

below §8.2.2), this is a reasonable assumption. We have already seen, however, that

amongst non-indicative forms the morpheme =i=, especially in conjunction with =l=, is

not a transitive valence marker but rather a marker of the active voice. There is no reason

to assume that =i= here is anything but a voice marker. Based on this, one can postulate

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[11] cf. Giorgieri 2000a: 238 (desiderativo-intensivo); Wilhelm 2004a: 114 "[it] may be modified (intensified?) by the modal suffix -*l*-."

[12] Giorgieri 2000a: 238; Neu 1994: 125 (on –i– in the desiderative); Wilhelm 2004a: 113 (jussive formed with =i= "class marker" which is a transitive valence morpheme)

active forms of intransitive verbs such as *un = i = l = anni* ("I desire that x come") and

corresponding "passives" such as *itk = o = l = anni* ("I desire that x be purified"). We

should not assume that *=i=* is only used when the form is modified by *=l=*, but rather that

it is lost through elision before the modal morpheme *=anni* in forms without this modal

extender. Therefore the form *it-ga-an-nim* is not **itk = anni = m* but actually *itk(=i)=*

anni=m and *it-ki-ta-an-nim* is *itk = id(=i)=anni = m*. This is supported by the form [*ḫa]ž =*

i = anni in ChS I/1 41 i 18 where the *=i=* clearly does not elide.

 Neu normalizes this modal morpheme not as *=anni*, but rather as *=a = nni*.[13]

According to him, the modal element would be *=a* which is in turn followed by the

asseverative morpheme *=nni*.[14] This is analysis is not likely. If we are to follow Neu in

taking *-nni* as a separate (verbal) particle, it would only be found immediately following

a morpheme *=a* and never any other modal morpheme. We never find forms in **=e =*

nni, **=eva = nni*, or **=ai = nni* for instance. Its use only with *=a* is conspicuous.

Secondly, there are no other modifying particles that occur after the mood markers.

Finally, all occurrences of this *=a = nni* can be interpreted as having the same (or at least

similar) modal nuance, while verbal forms that end in *=a* are very different.[15] Since *-nni*

occurs in such restricted circumstances, it is more reasonable to treat it as part of the

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[13] Neu 1988c: 103, 1996: 105; In his article on modal forms in Hurrian, however, he normalizes it as *=ānni* (1994: 125).

[14] See above, footnote 6 of this chapter. This is clearly the same as Speiser's analysis although Neu fails to cite the earlier work.

[15] The types of forms that end in *=a* are indicative intransitives, third person singular transitive forms in Mittani Hurrian and intransitive imperatives.

modal morpheme and not as a separate particle. For this reason, I prefer to normalize

this morpheme as *≠anni*.

    This modal form is only found on transitive verbs such as *itk-* "to purify," *ag-* "to

send" and *tov-* "to evoke, conjure."[16] The agent, when preserved is always in the ergative

case. Forms with plural agents typically include the plural ergative agreement marker *≠*

id-. Such is the case in ChS I/1 9 ii 29-30: … *itk≠id≠anni≠m … šīe≠n(a)≠až≠už.* Note,

however, that the duplicate passage in ChS I/1 10 ii 52' does not include this *≠id≠*

morpheme: *itk≠anni≠m … šīe≠n(a)≠āž≠už.*

8.2.2 Function

    The majority of examples of this modal form are found in ritual texts. More

specifically, they are found in invocations or conjurations within these rituals. In the

parable text KBo 32.14 of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, forms in *≠anni* are found in a curse

formula that is not dissimilar from the invocations. The forms in the Mittani Letter,

however, occur in a more general context making more difficult to determine its exact

function in the text. It is to the ritual and curse formulae containing *≠anni* that we must

first turn in order to determine the function of this mood.

    I have mentioned above that forms in *≠anni* are used to express the desire of the

speaker that an agent perform a particular action. There is a fine line between such

expressions and imperative/jussive commands. One difference between the two is that by

using the imperative/jussive (from here on: Imperative), the speaker requires that the

subject perform the commanded (or demanded) action. In other words, the issuing of an

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    [16] On *tov-* as a verbal form, see Giorgieri 2002b.

Imperative command automatically assumes that the action will be realized.[17] The

Hurrian imperative and jussive conform to this. When he writes *šāla=b=an … ar=i*

"give me your daughter …," the pharaoh is giving a command, and he expects Tušratta to

heed it.[18] The modal form *=anni* does not share this implication. While the speaker

certainly desires that the requested action occur, (s)he does not necessarily expect it to

happen.

This at least is the case with the curse in KBo 32.14. In the first parable, a deer curses

the mountain upon which it grazed by saying: "If only fire would consume(*=anni*) the

mountain …! May Teššob strike(*=anni*) it, and may fire consume(*=anni*) (it)!" (i 5-7).[19]

Upon hearing this, the maligned mountain issues a counter-curse against the deer using

verbs in the jussive *=e(n)* rather than in *=anni*: "Let the hunters fell the deer! Let the bird

catchers take (him). Let the hunters take its fat and the bird catchers its pelt!" (i 11-15).[20]

The choice of *=anni* in the curse and *=en* in the counter-curse is hardly arbitrary. In its

original curse, the deer wishes that the mountain would be destroyed. He is not calling

Teššob to strike the mountain (presumably with lightening), therefore burning the

mountain up. In other words, this is not a call to action but rather an expression of what

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[17] This does not mean that there is always the expectation that the action will occur nearly simultaneously with the utterance of the speech act. When one yells "Duck!" as a warning about an incoming object, one expects instantaneous results. There can, however, be a delay between the issuing of the command and the performance of the requested action.

[18] Mitt. i 51; on this passage, see example (3.3).

[19] For a full treatment see below (§8.3.2).

[20] Treated in (5.65).

the deer would like to happen.[21] After having been cursed by the deer, the mountain

does not just wish that the evil befall the deer, but actually commands its death at the

hands of hunters and bird catchers. The mountain expects its commands to be realized.

 Ritual language is highly complex, and it is no less so in Hurrian. We find Imperative

commands that certain actions occur (Chapter Three), wishes in the optative (Chapter

Four) and sundry other moods (e.g. jussive (Chapter Five), purposive (Chapter Seven), =

ožillandin and its related forms (Chapter Nine)). In a few situations we even find forms

in =*anni*. There are two well-preserved passages in the Hurrian ritual texts containing

forms in this mood. The context is similar for both passages in that they are invocations

or conjurations. The first example that will be examined in detail below (8.3.1) is found

in the closing lines of an Old Babylonian period ritual incantation from Mari. Before

turning to this text, a few words on a feature of Mesopotamian incantations is due. A

common feature of incantations from Mesopotamia from at least the pre-Sargonic period

through the Old Babylonian is that it is often explicitly stated that the incantations are

divine and not human as a way of legitimizing them.[22] Take for example, the following

passage from *BiMes* 1 7 iv 5-9: *šiptān la iatān šiptā* ^d*Ningirima iltim* "the two

incantations (are) not mine. (They are) the two incantations of the goddess Ningirim."[23]

We also find explicit statements that deities "cast the incantation."[24] In certain

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[21] This is really not any different from the admittedly silly expression: "may the fleas of a thousand camels infest your smelly armpits!" While the deer's curse is a much more serious malediction, he no more expect any results from the curse, just as one does not truly expect fleas to make home in a person's armpit based on the above-quoted curse.   While the result is not necessarily expected, if it were to actually happen, it would certainly please the issuer of the curse.

[22] See Cunningham 1997: 169

[23] Cunningham 1997: 57; Westenholz 1975:

conjurations, the speaker states that (s)he has performed the conjuration through certain deities.[25] In this case, it is stated that while the conjuration was performed by a human, this person was merely functioning as a divine intermediary.

The final lines of the Hurrian incantation Mari 1 follows along similar lines. It begins with the statement "I (do not conjure/evoke) you,[26] may Ea conjure you! May the god of your head conjure you! May Teššob from Kumme conjure you! May Šimige conjure you!" (lines 30-37).[27] Unlike the Akkadian and Sumerian examples which use indicative forms such as Sumerian *ba-an-si* "he cast" or Akkadian *iddi* "he cast," the Hurrian uses non-indicative forms in =*anni*. Even though the forms are different, the function of this passage is the divine legitimization of the incantation. According to the function attributed to =*anni* given above, the speaker would be saying that (s)he wants the gods to perform the conjuration. It is not a declarative "Teššob conjures you" but rather "(I desire that) Teššob conjure you." In the Sumerian/Akkadian incantations, the deity to whom the incantations are accredited is specifically named, but in the Hurrian, they do impose any limitations in that way, allowing for one of a number of deities to perform the conjuration.

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[24] Note the following examples given in Cunningham 1997: ^d*asal-lú-ḫi nam-šub ba-an-sì* "Asalluḫi cast the incantation" CT 4.3: 32 (118); ^d UTU *ši-ip-tam id-di* "Šamaš cast the incantation" YOS 11.3: 14 (119).

[25] *ú-tam-mi-ki* ^d*a-nim abī-ki ú-tam-mi-ki an-tum umma-ki* "I conjure you by Anu your father! I conjure you by Antum your mother!" AfO 23 40: 10. See also STT 138 rev. 28 (and its duplicate KAR 233 rev. 14). Other passages can be found in CAD T sub *tamû* mng. 4.

[26] While the verb is omitted, it is certainly a negative transitive form of *tov-* "to conjure/evoke" as per Giorgieri 2002b: 69-70. It is unclear if the omitted verb is indicative as translated above or non-indicative (e.g. "I shall not conjure you" or "I will not conjure you").

[27] Treated below in (8.2).

The final example of =*anni* forms in religious context comes from the *itkalzi-*

ritual. In ChS I/1 9 after a description of the ritual actions performed by two AZU-priests

on the ritual client, three Hurrian recitations. The second and third recitations are called,

in Hittite, "(the words) of the waters of Ḫebat" (ii 32) and "(the words) of the waters of

Šauška and Nabarbi" (ii 33). These two rituals involve the use of the "waters of Ḫebat"

(ᵈ*Ḫebat = te*(<*ve*)=*n*(*a*)=*až = už* … *šīe = n*(*a*)=*až = už*) (ii 30-31) and the "waters of Šauška

and Nabarbi" (ᵈ*Šauška = ve = n*(*a*)=*až = už* ᵈ*Nabarbi*(=*ve*)=*n*(*a*)=*až = už* … *šīe = n*(*a*)=*až = už*)

(ii 34-35) respectively. The first recitation involves the more general "waters of purity"

(*itkalzi = ne = ve = n*(*a*)=*až = už šīe = n*(*a*)=*až = už*) (ii 29-30) and is not given a title. These

recitations are invocations asking the various types of holy waters to purify the ritual

client. After pouring ritually purified water on the head of the client, the AZU-priest

recites these invocations. Following these invocations the AZU priest continues to recite

in Hurrian.

All three invocations involve the modal form *itk = id*(=*i*)=*anni* and take as patient the

combination =*m*(*ma*) *idi = b* "you (i.e. the ritual client), your body" (ii 29, 31, 35). I do

not feel that these are to be taken as commands of the type: "the waters of purity *must*

purify your body" or even "let the waters of purity purify" since "let" is typically

reserved for the jussive.[28] These Hurrian passages are to be taken as requests that the

stated action occur. Instead of "let the waters purify" we have "may the waters purify."

They are not just any kind of invocation, but rather benedictions. They are on par with

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[28] This returns to the problem of the inability of the English modal system to exactly match that of
Hurrian.

modern practices of priests blessing worshipers (i.e. performing ritual actions) and

completing the act with words such as "may god watch over you" or the like.

While the recitations function as requests that the waters purify the client, they are

immediately followed in the next paragraph by two passages with jussive verbs which

also have the waters as agents. We go from "may the waters of Šauška and Nabarbi

purify your body" to "§ let them (i.e. the waters) wash away (from) the body and the

head[29] the *tarži*-impurity! Let them destroy the evil word of the *mamuri*, the *erbiri* of

man!" (ii 36-37).[30] There is a clear contrast between these two sets of passages. The first

set is a request that a desired action occur. The second group belong to the ritual

prescriptions of what must happen in order for the purification of the client to be

successful.

In the end we are left with the task of attempting to pinpoint the exact nuance(s) of a

seldom used (at least in the preserved text corpus) mood. None of the examples above

offer foolproof evidence for taking ≠*anni* as "I, the speaker, desire (i.e. wish/want) that x

does y." In the curse formula of KBo 32.14, the divine legitimization of the ritual in Mari

and in the benedictions of the *itkalzi*-ritual, the modal form ≠*anni* can be seen as

indicating a request that a particular agent perform a (desired) action, be it destroying a

mountain, performing a conjuration or purifying a person. It is difficult to capture this in

English since no modal verb shares a similar function with Hurrian ≠*anni*. In many cases

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[29] These two body parts are actually in the dative case ≠*va*. With the verb *ašš-* "to wash (away)," the dative must actually have a partative function here. Haas translates as "(von) dem Körper (und) dem Kopf" (2003: 150).

[30] [(*a-aš-ši-t*)]*i-in i-ti-pa pa-a-ḫi-pa tar-še pa-a-ḫi-ti za-ap-ri* [37] [(

the weak model "may" seems to be the best choice for translating this mood. In other cases, it is best translated with "shall."

There are three occurrences of verbs in ⸗*anni* in the Mittani Letter (treated below §8.3.3). Two are found in conditional clauses introduced by the particle *ai*(⸗) "if" (ii 58-60, iv 9-10). The third occurs in very difficult passage introduced by *avešši* "where" (iii 3). The forms in ii 60 and iii 3 can be translated as indicatives,[31] while the form in iv 10 is either modal[32] or indicative.[33] In light of the forms from Boğazköy and Mari, however, these verbs are certainly non-indicative.

8.3 The Form in Context

In this section, the various verbs in ⸗*anni* will be placed in their full context. I will begin by examining those occurring in ritual contexts (§8.3.1). This will include the forms from Mari as well as those from Boğazköy. This will be followed by the forms found in the curse formula from the parables of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual (§8.3.2). After this, I will treat the forms in the Mittani Letter (§8.3.3). The ritual ChS I/5 76 is so broken as to make it impossible to analyze the forms in context. For this reason they will not be treated below.

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[31] So Speiser 1941: 191

[32] Speiser 1941: 191

[33] Bush 1964: 204-205

8.3.1 Ritual Context

8.3.1.1 Mari Rituals

The text Mari 1 is given the Akkadian title *šipat tûltim* "the incantation of the worm."[34] Excluding this title, the text is some thirty-seven lines long, including an uninscribed section following line 19 that is approximately ten lines in length. The eight lines that follow the break (lines 30-37) contain invocations in =*anni*. The lines are as follows:

(8.2) *iž   =a(ž)=mma   Ea (=ž)*[35] *feli   tov =i   =l=annē =n*
　　　 1SG+ERG+2SG.ENCL DN(+ERG) 2SG[?36]+ØABS evoke+ACT+*l*+DESID+CONN?
　　　 paġi =p   =pe =ne   (=ž) =m   eni =ž tov =i   =l=
　　　 head+2SG.POSS+GEN+SG.RELAT+ERG+2SG.ENCL god+ERG evoke+ACT+*l*+
　　　 annē =n   Teššoba(=ž) =m   Kumme =ni   =n tov =i   =l=
　　　 DESID+CONN? DN   +ERG+2SG.ENCL GN   +ABL/INST+CONN[?]evoke+ACT+*l*+
　　　 annē =n   Šimigē =ne   (=ž) =m   tov =i   =l=annē =n
　　　 DESID+CONN[?] DN +SG.RELAT+ERG+2SG.ENCL   evoke+ACT+*l*+DESID+CONN[?]
　　　 "I (will not evoke[?]) you.[37] May Ea evoke you! The god of your head may evoke you! Teššob from Kumme may evoke you! Šimige may evoke you!" (Mari 1: 30-37)[38]

I have translated the forms as "x may evoke" in order for the translation to flow, but this is not entirely accurate. A better, although much more awkward, rendering of the passage into English would be: "I (will not evoke[?]) you. (It is my (i.e. the speaker's) wish that) Ea invoke you! (It is my wish that) the god of your head evoke you! …" The

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[34] Thureau-Dangin 1939: 1. This title is written on the left edge of the tablet (see the handcopy in idem. 1939: 2).

[35] The divine name here is written as the Sumerogram É.A. On divine names written logographically without phonetic compliments, see Wilhelm 1998a: 125.

[36] For *feli* (*wə-li*) as a possible second person singular pronoun, see Giorgieri 2002b: 69-70.

[37] Following Giorgieri's very plausible explanation for this predicate-less phrase (2002b: 68-69).

[38] *i-ša-am-ma* [31] É.A *wə-li tu-wə-la-an-e-en* [32] *pa-ḫi-ib-bi-ni-im e-ni-iš* [33] *tu-wə-la-an-e-en* [34] *te-šu-ba-am ku-um-me-ni-en* [35] *tu-wə-la-an-e-en* [36] *ši-mi-ge-e-ni-im* [37] *tu-wə-la-an-e-en*.

speaker is remitting himself (or herself) from the act of evoking, requesting that the

act be performed by various gods.[39] It is unclear who the second person patient is. In the

preceding lines 1-19, there is no clear precedent for this pronoun. Perhaps it is the *allâē꞊*

n Šaūšā꞊n "the lady Šauš(g)a" in lines 16-17?[40] I do not know how the final *꞊n* of

tovilannin is to be analyzed. Perhaps it is a connective joining the four phrases?

    The ritual text Mari 2 concludes in a similar way to Mari 1, but is unfortunately much

more fragmentary. As with Mari 1, it begins: *iž꞊a(ž)꞊mma* […] *iž꞊a(ž)꞊m[ma*[41] …]

(14-15). The passage concludes with two *tov꞊i꞊l꞊anni꞊n* phrases:

(8.3)   ^dEN.ZU(-)*užum* [?[42]] ***tov ꞊i ꞊l꞊ann[ē꞊n]***   *kebli* (*꞊ž*) *꞊m[ma]*
      ?[43]   evoke+ACT+*l*+DESID +CONN[?] hunter+ERG+2SG.ENCL
    tov ꞊i ꞊l꞊a[nnē꞊n]
    evoke+ACT+*l*+DESID +CONN[?]
    "(I (will not evoke) you …) The Moon god … shall evoke you[?]! The hunter shall
    evoke you!" (Mari 2: 18-21)[44]

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[39] A similar passage involving a first person remitting himself from performing the evocation is found in a text from Boğazköy (cf. Giorgieri 2002b: 72-73). In ChS I/5 98: 9' we find: *tu-u-wi꞉-kat iš-te* which is normalized as *tōv꞊i꞊kka꞊d ište* "I do not (or: will not) evoke" with the verb in the negative anitpassive.

[40] See Wegner 1981: 27 on *allai* used in conjunction with Šauška.

[41] Following Giorgieri 2002b: 71[23].

[42] There is unlikely to be anything in the break.

[43] The god Kužuġ is *Kužuġu꞊ž* in the ergative (van Gessel 1998: 273). Based on the forms in Mari 1, we would expect a ^d*Kužuġu(꞊ž)꞊m* here, with elision of the ergative *꞊ž* before the second person enclitic pronoun *꞊m(ma)*. According to the writing, however, we would have *Kužuġu꞊ž꞊u꞊m* with *꞊u꞊* perhaps functioning as an epenthetic vowel. Considering the formula in Mari 1: 34-37 (DN꞊m *tovilannēn*), it is therefore tempting to combine ^dEN.ZU with the following *-ú-šu-um*, even if it requires assuming an odd epenthetic vowel between the ergative case marker and the enclitic pronoun.

[44] ^dEN.ZU(-)*ú-šu-um* [?] [19] *tu-wə-la-an-[e-en]* [20] *ki-ib-li-im-[ma]* *tu-wə-la-a[n-e-en]*; The passage is treated in part in Giorgieri 2002b: 71-72.

While it involves a different set of deities, the basic structure of GN⹀m tovilannin is

the same as that in Mari 1.

8.3.1.2 *itkalzi*-Ritual

   With this we turn to the *itkalzi*-ritual from Boğazköy. After performing certain ritual

actions on the client, the AZU-priest performs three evocations with the plural verbal

form *itkidanni* "they shall purify!" The passages are as follows:

(8.4)   (Hitt.: "He pours it(⹀*at*, i.e. the waters of purity) on his head. Subsequently he
        does not pour out the other water. He rather(⹀*pat*) puts it down. When he throws
        a tunic on himself, he sits upon a footstool. The Azu-priest speaks in Hurrian:")

   [*i*]*tkalzi* ⹀ *ne*   ⹀ *ve* ⹀ *n(a)*   ⹀ *až*⹀ *už* **itk**   ⹀*id*   (⹀*i*) ⹀*anni* ⹀ *m*
   purity +SG.RELAT+GEN+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG purify+PL.ERG+ACT+DESID+2SG.ENCL
   idi ⹀ *b*   *šīe*   ⹀ *n(a)*   ⹀ *až*⹀ *už* *šini* ⹀ *m*
   body+2SG.POSS water+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG further+CONN/2SG.ENCL
   ᵈ*Ḫebat* ⹀ *te*(<*ve*)⹀*n(a)*   ⹀ *až*⹀ *už* [**itk**] ⹀*id*   (⹀*i*) ⹀*anni* ⹀ *m*
    DN   +GEN   +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG purify+PL.ERG+ACT+DESID+2SG.ENCL
   idi ⹀ *b*   *šīe*   ⹀ *n(a)*   ⹀ *až*⹀ *už*
   body+2SG.POSS water+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
   "The waters of purity shall purify you, namely your body! Furthermore, the
   waters of Ḫebat shall purify you, namely your body!" (ChS I/1 9 ii 29-31)[45]

The evocation concludes with the Hittite: [*nu ŠA*] ᵈ*ḫé-bat ú-i-te-na-aš QA-TAM-MA me-*

ma-i "he speaks (the words) of the waters of Ḫebat in the same way" (ii 32). Immediately

following this is the third evocation:

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[45] [*i*]*t-kal-zi-ni-bi-na-šu-uš it-ki-ta-an-nim i-ti-ip* ³⁰ *ši-i-e-na-šu-uš ši-nim* ᵈ*ḫé-bat-te-na-šu-uš* ³¹ [*it-k*]*i-da-an-nim i-ti-ib ši-i-e-na-šu-uš*; Wegner 1995a: 140.

(8.5)   (Hitt.: "He speaks (the words) of the waters of Šauška and Nabarbi as follows:")

[š]*ini* ⸗*m* ᵈ*Šauška*⸗*ve* ⸗*n(a)* ⸗*až*⸗*už* ᵈ*nabarbi*<⸗*ve*>⸗*n(a)* ⸗
further+2SG.ENCL[?] GN   +GEN+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG GN   +GEN+PL.RELAT+

až⸗*už*[46] [*itk*] ⸗*id* (⸗*i*) ⸗*anni* ⸗*m*   *idi* ⸗*b*   *šīe* ⸗*n(a)*
PL+ERG purify+PL.ERG+ACT+DESID+2SG.ECL body+2SG.POSS water+PL.RELAT+

až⸗*už*
PL+ERG

"Furthermore, the waters of Šauška and of Nabarbi shall purify you, your body!"
(ChS I/1 9 ii 34-35) ⁴⁷

In both cases the speaker, the AZU-priest, makes a request that certain types of ritual waters purify the physical person of the ritual client. These evocations are even given the Hittite titles: "(the words) of the waters of Ḫebat" and "(the words) of the waters of Šauška and Nabarbi." The plurality of the agent *šīenažuž* is indicated on the verbal form itself through the use of the agreement marker ⸗*id*⸗.

A parallel passage in ChS I/1 10 offers a slightly different rendition of (8.4) and (8.5). Unlike the above two examples, the verbs are not specifically marked for plural agents. Since the passages below are virtually identical to those in (8.4) and (8.5), no grammatical comments will be given.

(8.6)   [*itkalzi*]⸗*ne*⸗*ve*⸗*n(a)*⸗*až*⸗*u*[*ž*ᵎ *i*]*tk*(⸗*i*)⸗*anni*⸗*mma*ᵎ[48] [*idi*]⸗*b šīe*⸗*n(a)*⸗*āž*⸗*už*

šini⸗*m* ᵈ*Ḫebat*⸗*te*(<*ve*>)⸗*n(a)*⸗*āž*⸗*ūž* [*itk*(⸗*i*)⸗*ā*]*nni*⸗*m*[49] *idi*⸗*b šīe*⸗*n(a)*⸗*āž*⸗*už*

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⁴⁶ When the divine name Nabarbi is in the genitive with accompanying *Suffixaufnahme*, the genitive ⸗*ve* is lost. Note the following genitive forms without *Suffixaufnahme*: ᵈ]*na-bar-bé-e-ni-b*[*i* (ChS I/3-2 191:2'') and ᵈ*na-bar-bi-ni-bi* (ChS I/1 9 iii 2). Both can be normalized as ᵈ*Nabarbi*⸗*ne*⸗*ve*. When construed with *Suffixaufnahme*, instead of expected **ᵈ*Nabarbi*⸗*ne*⸗*ve*⸗*n(a)*⸗*až*⸗*už*, we have ᵈ*Nabarbi*⸗ *n(a)*⸗*až*⸗*už*. It is quite possible that the form with *Suffixaufnahme* arose through haplology: *ᵈ*Nabarbi*⸗ *ve*⸗*n(a)*⸗*až*⸗*už* > ᵈ*Nabarbi*⸗*n(a)*⸗*až*⸗*už*. If this is correct, however, then where did the ⸗*ne*⸗ relator found in the genitive forms without *Suffixaufnahme* go?

⁴⁷ [*š*]*i-nim* ᵈ*IŠTAR-ga-bi-na-šu-uš* ᵈ*na-bar-bi-na-šu-uš* ³⁵ [*it-k*]*i-ta-an-nim i-ti-ib ši-i-e-na-šu-uš*

⁴⁸ The form on the tablet is *i*]*t-ka-an-ni-nim-ma* which can only be a scribal error for expected *i*]*t-ka-an-nim-ma* or even *i*]*t-ka-an-ni-im-ma*

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(Hitt.: "He speaks (the words) of$^{!50}$ the waters of Ḫebat in the same way. He speaks (the words) of the waters of Šauška and of Nabarbi in the following way") *itkalzi≠ne≠ve≠n(a)≠āž≠uš*$^{!51}$ *itk(≠i)≠anni≠m idi≠b*$^{!52}$ *šīe≠n(a)≠āž≠už šini≠m* ^{d}*Šauška<≠ve>≠n(a)≠āž≠už* ^{d}*Nabarbi<≠ve>≠n(a)≠āž≠už itk(≠i)≠anni≠m idi≠b šīe≠n(a)≠āž≠už* (ChS I/1 10 i 46'-54')^{53}

The text of ChS I/1 10 is fraught with errors. From the number of mistakes in this text, it is unlikely that the scribe truly understood what he was writing. This makes it difficult to determine whether the writing of singular *itkannim* is indicative of actual Hurrian grammar or is simply the result of a scribe with a poor grasp of the language.

8.3.2 Parables of KBo 32.14

As mentioned above, verbs in ≠*anni* are used in one curse formula within the parable text KBo 32.14 of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual. A common theme of most of the parables is the cursing by an ungrateful thing (be it an object such as a cup (i 42-59) or an animal such as a deer (i 1-15)^{54}) of its maker or caretaker. The curser is in turn then the subject

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^{49} Haas restores: [*it-ki-d*]*a-nim* based on the forms in ChS I/1 9 ii 29-31. All that remains is the trace of a final vertical. Since all preserved forms in ChS I/1 10 are *itkannim*(*ma*) and not *itkidannim*, it is better to read the trace as the end of a *-n*]*a-* sign. This observation is based on the photograph provided by the Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln (http://132.187.88.2/rem_fotarch/bildauswahl.php?fundnr= 11/a&ori=www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de).

^{50} The text gives the plural neuter form *ú-i-da-a-ar* for the expected genitive.

^{51} The text has the extremely odd form *it-kal-zi-ni-wi$_i$-na-a-šu-um-mi-in*. We expect *it-kal-zi-ni-wi$_i$-na-a-šu-uš* here, the genitive of *itkalzi* with plural ergative *Suffixaufnahme*. It is possible that this is a mistake for *itkalzi≠ne≠ve≠n(a)≠āž≠u(ž)≠mma$^!$≠n*.

^{52} The text reads *i-ip* for expected *i-ti-ib*

^{53} [*it-kal-zi*]*-ni-bi-na-šu-u*[*š i*]*t-ka-an«-ni»-nim-ma* $^{47'}$ [*i-ti-i*]*p ši-i-e-na-a-šu-uš ši-nim* ^{d}*ḫé-bat-te-na-a-šu-u-uš* $^{48'}$ [*it-ka-a*]*n-nim i-te-ep še-i-e-na-a-šu-uš* § (Hitt.: $^{49'}$ [*nu*] *ŠA* ^{d}*ḫé-bat ú-i-da-a-ar*$^!$ *QA-TAM-MA me-ma-i* $^{50'}$ [*Š*]*A* ^{d}*IŠTAR-ma* ^{d}[*n*]*a-bar-wi$_i$-ia-aš-ša ú-i-te-na-aš* $^{51'}$ *ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i*) *it-kal-zi-ni-wi$_i$-na-a-šu-um-mi-in*$^!$ $^{52'}$ *it-ga-an-nim i<-ti>-ip ši-e-na-a-šu-uš ši-nim* $^{53'}$ ^{d}*IŠTAR-ga<-bi>-na-a-šu-uš* ^{d}*na-bar-wi$_i$-na-a-šu-uš it-ga-an-nim* $^{54'}$ *i-ti-ip ši-i-e-na-a-šu-*[*u*]*š*

^{54} Not every parable involves a curse, however. One such parable is found in i 26-29 which involves a deer who desires the pasturage on the other side of the river so badly that he forsakes the land on

of a counter curse. The curses typically, though not always, involve verbal forms in

the jussive.[55] In the first parable (i 1-15), when the deer curses the mountain, he uses

verbal forms in ⸗*anni*. The corresponding Hittite uses the construction (*man* +)

indicative. The Hurrian and its corresponding Hittite translation are given below as

(8.7a-b):

(8.7)   a. ("It (the deer) cursed the mountain:")
          āi naun(i)⸗i<ffu>   ⸗*we fāban(i)* ⸗*ni*   ***am* ⸗*e*   ⸗*l* ⸗*ānni***
          if pasture+1SG.POSS+GEN   mountain+INDIVID+ØABS burn+ACT+*l*+DESID
          tār(i)⸗re(<ne)   ⸗*ž*   \ ***id⸗i*   ⸗*l* ⸗*ānni*** ᵈ*Teššōba* ⸗ *ž*   ***am* ⸗*e*   ⸗*l* ⸗*ānni***
          fire   +SG.RELAT+ERG \ hit+ACT+*l*+DESID DN   +ERG burn+ACT+*l*+DESID
          tār(i)⸗re(<ne)   ⸗*ž*
          fire   +SG.RELAT+ERG

          "If only fire should burn the mountain of my pasture[56], Teššob shall strike (it, and)
          fire shall consume it!" (KBo 32.14 i 5-7)[57]

          b. ("It (the deer) began then to curse the mountain:") *ú-e-ši-ia-aḫ-ḫa-ri ku-e-da-*
          ni ḪUR.SAG-*i ma-a-na-an pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-na-an-za ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-zi* ᵈIM-*aš-ma-*
          na-an wa-la-aḫ-zi pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-na-an-za-ma-na-an ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-zi
          "If only fire would burn away the mountain on which I graze! I wish (⸗*man*⸗)

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his side (for translation of the Hittite, see Hoffner 1998a: 70). See also the parables in i 9-12, 23-24, iv 9-12, 23-24.

[55] e.g. *kut(⸗i)t⸗e(n)* (i 11); *ḫā⸗id⸗e(n)* (i 12); *ḫā⸗id⸗en* (i 13); *id⸗ī⸗e(n)* (i 56); *id⸗ī⸗e(n)* (rev. 61).

[56] See Wilhelm 2001b: 449[1] "*na-ú-ni-*pu-*ú-*i* "(der Berg) meines Weidens/meiner Weide." Wilhelm bases this on parallel passages in the parables that include first person possessives (e.g. *ta-bi-ri-pu-ú-i = tabir(i)⸗if(f)ū⸗(w)e* "of my caster" KBo 32.14 i 47). Neu analyzes the form as reflecting an original **nav⸗ni⸗i⸗(v)e* "seiner Weide" while noting that the combination of a third singular possessive ⸗ *i*⸗ and the genitive ⸗*ve* does not usually result in ⸗*ie* (1996: 105). Since the Hurrian is translated by the Hittite medio-passive verbal form *ú-e-ši-ia-aḫ-ḫa-ri* "I graze," Catsanicos prefers to see in *na-ú-ni-i-e* a verbal form (1996: 235) and translates as "au (lieu où se trouve le) pâtourage" (1996: 232). As we have repeatedly seen, however, there is not always a one-to-one relation between the Hurrian and Hittite translation. Wilhelm's analysis fits best with the general characteristics of the parables, and so despite the fact that it requires emendating the Hurrian, I feel that it offers the best solution.

[57] *a-a-i na-ú-ni-i<-pu-ú->e pa-a-pa-an-ni* [6] *a-me-la-a-an-ni ta-a-ar-re-eš* : *i-ti-la-a-an-ni* [7]
Te-eš-šu-u-pa-aš a-me-la-a-an-ni ta-a-ar-ri-iš; Catsancios 1996: 265; Neu 1994: 124-125; idem. 1996: 104-107.

that the Stormgod would strike it and that fire would consume it!" (KBo 32.14 ii 6-8)

The Hurrian curse begins with a conditional clause in *āi* which is followed by two main clauses.[58] It is highly unlikely that these two clauses function as apodoses of the conditional. This is not a contingency curse of the type "if you do x, then y will happen" but rather a spontaneous curse which is "the unprovoked wish for harm to be visited upon someone."[59] As a result, we must determine the function of this first phrase. One possibility is that we have a conditional without an apodosis. This would give a translation: "If fire should burn the mountain of <my> pasture, (then it would be completely destroyed!) (For that reason) Teššob shall strike (it) and (or: so that) fire shall consume (it)!" Neu analyzes the conditional in a slightly different manner. He translates *āi* (and the Hittite *mān*) not simply as "if" but rather as "if only" (Ger. "wenn doch").[60]

With the exception of the first conditional, the Hittite translates the Hurrian modal forms in *⸗anni* with the combination *⸗man* + indicative. One use of the modal particle in Hittite is to indicate the wish or desire of the speaker.[61] This is in keeping with what we

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[58] The Hittite appears to follow this. As equivalent to the Hurrian conditional *āi*, we find the conditional particle *mān* in the Hittite translation. The subsequent two phrases in the Hittite have the modal particle *⸗man⸗*. This modal particle has an alternate, though rare, bi-form *mān* that is homophonous with the conditional particle (cf. CHD L-N p. 139 sub *man*). The CHD translates the *mān* in the first phrase not as a conditional but as this modal particle: "I wish fire would burn up the mountain that I am grazing upon, I wish Teššup would strike it …" (CHD P p. 13 sub *paḫḫur* 1.c.2'). This does not take into account the use of the conditional particle *āi* in the Hurrian. Since the Hurrian includes a conditional particle then the Hittite *mān* is more likely to be conditional rather than modal.

[59] Reichardt 1998: 3-4

[60] This is followed by Hoffner in his translation of the Hittite as: "*If only* fire would burn up the mountain on which I am grazing! *If only* Tessub would strike it (with his lightning), and (the resulting) fire would burn up the mountain!" (1998a: 69). Note that no such use of the conditional *mān* is given in the CHD sub *mān*.

[61] Cf. CHD L-N p. 140 sub *man* a.1'. See also Lühr 2001: 257-258.

have already seen of the function of ⸗*anni* in Hurrian. It is used not so much for

commands – that is the function of the jussive – but to denote the speaker's desire. As

we have seen below, Hurrian jussive forms in the bilingual are translated into Hittite

through the use of the third person jussive or imperative.[62] The scribe made a conscious

effort to reflect the Hurrian ⸗*anni* forms in his Hittite translation.

The patient, *fabanni*, is only mentioned in the introductory conditional clause. While

it remains the patient, it is not repeated in the next two phrases. The last two phrases of

the curse are asyndetic with no sentence initial particles dividing them from each other or

from the initial conditional. The agents, *tārrež* "fire" and the god Teššob, appear in the

ergative case and are found following their predicate. This results in the word order O V

A for the conditional and V A for the subsequent two phrases. The verb *amelānni* is

repeated twice, and *tarriž* is the agent for both. In both occasions we find a vowel -*e*- in

place of the expected -*i*-. As per Neu, we are to either read the MI sign as -*mí*-, or it must

be assume that the ⸗*i*⸗ active marker has been colored to ⸗*e*⸗ through harmony with

either the initial *a* of the root *am*- or the *a* of the modal ending ⸗*anni*.[63]

8.3.3 The Mittani Letter

In the examples given above, the verbs in ⸗*anni* all share very similar functions.

Furthermore, with the exception of the conditional clause in KBo 32.14 i 5-6, all of the

examples are found in main clauses. The situation in the Mittani Letter is somewhat

different. There are three examples of verbs in ⸗*anni*, two of which appear in

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[62] For example, the Hurrian kut–(i)t–e(n) "May they (i.e. the hunters) fell (the deer)" (KBo 32.14 i 11) is translated into Hittite by dāndu "may they (i.e. the hunters) take (the deer)!" (KBo 32.14 ii 14).

[63] Neu 1994: 125; 1996: 105

subordinate clauses. As we shall see, there is also a functional difference between them. A fourth example may exist, and if so it would be the main clause of a relative sentence. I will begin by examining the three clear examples and will conclude this section with an examination of the potential fourth form.

Of the three following examples, two are positive while the third is in the negative. I will begin this discussion with the two positive forms. Unfortunately neither of the first two examples occur in clear contexts making it difficult to determine the exact function of =*anni* in them. In this first example, the verb in =*anni* is the predicate of a conditional clause in *ai*:

(8.8)   ("Now may my brother send forth only Mane, the messenger of my brother!")
   *ai⸗l   ⸗an   [t]ube⸗n[a]   …⁶⁴ **ag⸗ōž** (⸗**i**) ⸗**ānni**
   if+3PL.ENCL+CONN collection+PL.RELAT …   bring+*ož*+ACT+DESID
   inū ⸗t[tā]   ⌈⸗nī⌉[n] aggu⸗dan niġār(i)   ⸗rē(<ne) ⸗dan talme⸗
   then+1SG.ENCL+*nīn*   this +ABL bride price+SG.RELAT+ABL great +
   nē   ⸗dan … pis⸗ošt⸗a   te⸗o⸗n(i)⸗ae tiššan
   SG.RELAT+ABL … rejoice +INTRAN much   very
   "If he should bring the collections (i.e. the group of gifts) … then I will rejoice over this great bride price … very much" (Mitt. ii 58-62)⁶⁵

In the subordinate clause, Tušratta brings up a condition that he would like to see met. That is, he would like Mane to bring him the bride price from Egypt. If this condition is met, then Tušratta claims that he will rejoice greatly over the gifts. In this case, the verb in ⸗*anni* functions much in the same way as we have seen above. The speaker, here Tušratta, wishes or desires that the event in the verb take place. At the same time, it can

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⁶⁴ Following *tubena* is a list of objects including "four (things) of *izi*-material" and "two (things) of ivory" (Mitt. ii 59) that are contained with in the *tubena*.

⁶⁵ *a-i-la-an* [*d*]*u*⌈*-be-n*⌉[*a*ᴹᴱ�Š] … ⁶⁰ … *a-ku-u-ša-a-an-ni i-nu-ú-ut-[ta-a]*⌈*-ni-i*⌉[*-in*] ⁶¹ *ag-gu-tan ni-ḫa-a-ar-re-e-tan ta-la-me-né-e-tan* … ⁶² *bi-su-uš-ta te-u-na-e tiš-ša-an*

also be seen as having an irrealis function. In contrast to the reality expressed by the

indicative, =*anni* here indicates that the action is unrealized at the time of the utterance.

    The next passage is much more difficult. The context is uncertain making it tricky to

translate the modal form. In lines iii 1-2, Tušratta mentions that he sent his daughter to

Egypt.[66] This is followed by the difficult phrase:

(8.9)   *inū =n*   *ḫeri*   *andi*   *šue*   *šir*   *=a*
        as +CONN[?] ?+ØABS this+ØABS all+ØABS pleasant+INTRAN[?67]
        "As all this *ḫ.* is pleasant" (Mitt. iii 3)[68]

While the sense of the passage is clear (i.e. something is pleasant), since *ḫeri* remains

untranslatable, it is unclear how (8.9) fits in with the preceding lines. The passage

following (8.9) contains a verb in =*anni*. It is unclear where this passage ends and the

next one begins. The passage is given below without translation:

(8.10) *aveššē =nīn* **for(=i)** *=r(<l)=anni šue*   *andi*
       where +*nin* see +ACT+*l*   +DESID all+ØABS this+ØABS
       pis =ô =nī =n   *talami*[??]   *tad =oḫḫ =ol =i =kki =nn(a)*   *=ān*
       gladly[?] +CONN great[??]+ØABS ?   +3SG.ENCL+CONN
       (Mitt. iii 3-4)[69]

The passage begins with *avešši* "where" immediately preceding the verbal form *forranni*

(*for(=i)=r=anni* with elision of the active =*i=* and shift of =*l=* > =*r=* due to contact with

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[66] "My brother had desired a wife. [I] s[ent her[??] to] Egypt …. Now I have sent her, and she went [to] my brother" (Mitt. iii 1-2). Wilhelm translates: "And my brother wanted a wife … and now I have given her, and she has gone [to my] broth[er]" (Moran 1992: 66).

[67] The predicate *šira* may be an intransitive, but an alternate possibility is taking it as a nominal *širi* "pleasant thing(?)" in the essive. This would result in a nominal sentence.

[68] *i-nu-ú-un ḫé-ri an-ti šu-e ši-ra*

[69] *a-we-eš-še-e-ni-i-in wu-ur-ra-an-ni*⁴ *šu-e an-ti pí-su-u-u-ni-i-in ta-la[ʾ]-mi ta-duḫ-ḫu-li-ik-ki-in-na-a-an*

the preceding liquid). The root of the verb is *for-* "to see." The verb is transitive with

šue andi "all this" as the patient. It is unclear who the agent is. The final form

tadoḫḫolikkinnān is extremely problematic. The final two elements must be ⸗*nn(a)*⸗*ān*.[70]

This leaves *tadoḫḫolikki*. If a verb, then it has to be a negative antipassive in ⸗*i*⸗*kki*.

The root might be *tad-* "to love," but note that this root is written with a long *ā* in the

Mittani Letter. The writing of *tad-* for expected *tād-* is conspicuous in this document. If

talami is correct, then it would be the agent of the antipassive *tadoḫolikki*. The result of

all of this is that the passage or passages in (8.10) are virtually untranslatable at present.

    The third form to be examined is to be interpreted as a negative form of an *l*-extended

form of the mood ⸗*anni*. The form has received various treatments,[71] but it is almost

certainly a form of ⸗*anni*. The passage runs as follows:

(8.11) ("For the Avârians he (i.e. the pharaoh) set (*ki*⸗) (it), and he *âtt*-ed. I heard it and
      I rejoiced.")
      ai⸗*mā*   ⸗*nīn šēn(a)*⸗*iffu*   ⸗*ž*   *anam* **tān**⸗**ož** ⸗**i**   ⸗**va**⸗**ll**⸗**ānni**
      if +3SG.ENCL+*nin* brother+1SG.POSS+ERG thus   do +PRET$^?$+ACT+NEG+*l* +DESID
      ḫis   ⸗*ūġ*⸗*oll*⸗*ē*   ⸗*tt(a)*   ⸗*ān*[72]   *tiššan*
      grieve+*uġ* +*ol* +STAT$^?$+1SG.ENCL+CONN very
      "If my brother would not have done thus, then I would grieve greatly" (Mitt. iv 9-
      11)[73]

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[70] When the long form of the enclitic pronoun is followed by the connective ⸗*an*, the final -*a* drops
and the connective is lengthened to ⸗*ān*.

[71] Dietrich and Mayer prefer to analyze the form as a positive Conditional in ⸗*eva* with
combination of a following *anni* through sandhi writing: *tān*⸗*uš*⸗*ēwa*⸗*llā(n)(-)anne*. In explanation they
write: "wegen des mit |a| anlautenden folgenden Wortes fällt das sonst im absoluten Auslaut regelmäßig
geschriebene |n| des PronSuff. in der Schrift aus (Sandhi)" (1992: 50). They translate the phrase as:
"Sobald mein Bruder dies vollends tut, will er mich (damit) wohl sehr kränken!" (1992: 49). This does not
make sense when taken with lines iv 8-9 which clearly state that the pharaoh has completed some action
and that it was pleasing to Tušratta.

[72] Dietrich and Mayer analyze the form as *ḫisūḫ*⸗*ul*⸗*lē*⸗*ttān*, taking the ⸗*ul*⸗ as reflexive and the
⸗*lē*⸗ as optative (1992: 49).

The passage in (8.11) is a conditional statement involving a negative hypothetical given in contrast to the statement of reality that precedes it. Tušratta explicitly states that he knows what the pharaoh has done, and that it has made him happy. To show how important this is to him, Tušratta claims that if the pharaoh had not done it, the Mittanian king would have been very upset. The modal morpheme ⸗*anni* is used to indicate this alternate reality. It does not represent the speaker's wish that the pharaoh did something, but is rather used to form an unreal or contrary to fact conditional. As to its form, ⸗*anni* takes negatives in ⸗*va*⸗ much in the same way as the jussive (cf. §5.2.4.4). The negative morpheme is preceded by the active morpheme ⸗*i*⸗. The modal extension ⸗*l*⸗ is doubled. In the first peson jussive, the form ⸗*llī* is triggered by the following ⸗*ān* connective (cf. §5.2.1). The long ⸗*ānni* in (8.11) must be the trigger for the ⸗*ll*⸗, although it is unclear why the modal ending should be lengthened here at all.

A potential fourth form in ⸗*anni* is found in ii 66. It is unclear, however, whether the form is to be analyzed as a verbal form in ⸗*anni* or a nominal form in ⸗*a*⸗*nni*. The passage is as follows:

(8.12) *ti*[*v*]*ē*⸗*n*(*a*)   ⸗*ān*   *ištan*(*i*)⸗*iff*(*e*) ⸗*až*⸗*a* ᵈ*Tēššoba*⸗*ž*   ᵈ*Amānū*(⸗*ž*)   ⸗
        thing +PL.RELAT+CONN midst +1POSS+PL+DAT DN   +ERG   DN   +ERG+
        l[*l*(*a*)   ⸗*ān*]   [*t*]*ā*[*n*]⸗*ōž* ⸗*ā*   ⸗*šše* ⸗*na*   **anzānni**
        3PL.ENCL+CONN do   +PRET+3SG.ERG+NOM+PL.RELAT
        "The things which Teššob and Amānu had done in our midst, …" (Mitt. ii 65-
        66)[74]

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[73] *a-i-ma-a-ni-i-in* [10] *še-e-ni-íw-wu-uš a-nam ta-a-nu-ši-i-wa-al-la-a-an-ni ḫi-su-ú-ḫul-li-e-et-ta-a-an* [11] *tiš-ša-an*; Dietrich and Mayer 1992: 49-50

[74] *ti-*[*we*]*-e-na-a-an iš-ta-ni-íw-wa-ša* ᵈ*te-e-eš-šu-pa-aš* ᵈ*a-ma-a-nu*[-*ú*]⸢-*ul*⸣[-*la-a-an*] [66] [*t*]⸢*a-a*⸣[-*n*]*u-u-ša-a-aš-še-na an-za-a-an-ni*; Haas and Wilhelm 1969: 554

Following *anzānni* is the sentence introductory chain *unū＝mē＝nīn* "just as+3SG.ENCL+*nīn*. If *anzānni* is a verbal form, then it would be the predicate of the main clause of the relative, and furthermore, it would be the *only* word of the main clause. Alternately as the sole word of the main clause, it could also be taken as a nominal predicate in *anz＝ā＝nni*. Arguing against taking it as a modal form in ＝*anni* is that all other examples of this mood are found with transitive verbs with expressed agents. In (8.12), here, we have no ergative agent. The only expressed argument is the plural absolutive *tivēna …tānōžāššena* "the things which they have done." I feel that taking the form as *anz＝ā＝nni*, perhaps "honored (thing)(?)" is the best option.

8.4 Conclusion

As we have seen above, the primary function of ＝*anni* is to indicate the wish or desire of the speaker that an agent carry out a particular action. If we continue to use the label "desiderative" for this morpheme, it must be clarified that it does *not* indicate the desire of the agent. The phrase *fābanni amelānni tārrež* is not "the fire wishes to burn the mountain" but rather "I wish that fire would burn the mountain" (cf. above 8.7a). Catsanicos uses the label "l'optatif (de souhait)"[75] which is basically equivalent to "desiderative."

This function of ＝*anni* is also found in Urartian.[76] While in Hurrian the base form of the mood is ＝*anni* (or perhaps better (＝*i*)＝*anni*) with an extended form in ＝*i*＝*l*＝*anni*, in Urartian, we only find forms in ＝*i*＝*l*＝*ānə*. Note the following two examples:

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[75] Catsanicos 1996: 231, 265

(8.13) [a]li mešə   ^mArgišti=ə   ^mDiauḫe=ne   =š^ə   [ar]=o   =nə
REL tribute+ØABS PN +DAT PN   +SG.RELAT+ERG give+TRAN+3SG.ABS
41 MA.NA KÙ.GI … *ali mešə*   *esirī=ə*   [^mDi]auḫi=ne=də
41 mina   gold   … REL tribute+ØABS upon[?]+DAT[?] PN   +SG.RELAT+DIR
ter=o   *=bə*   MU.MU=nə   **ar** **(=)d=i**   **=l=anə**
set+TRAN+1SG.ERG/3SG.ABS years   +INST/ABL give(+)d+ACT/TRAN+*l*+DESID
[X MA.]NA KÙ.GI
"The tribute which Diauḫe gave to Argišti (was) 41 mina of gold … The tribute
which I set upon Diauḫi, he must (i.e. I desire that he) give yearly (is) [X m]ina of
gold" (KUKN 174.B1: 19-24 = UKN 128 B1: 19-24)[77]

(8.14) [iu[?]] ^mArgištē=ḫi=ni=lə šid   =o   =bə   [^{ÍD}M]una   =nə
 when[?] GN+ØABS   build+TRAN+1SG.ERG/3SG.ABS river Muna+INST/ABL[?]
pilə   ^m'*Azai=ni*   =ə   KUR=ni   =ə   *ag=o*   *=bə*
canal+ØABS PN +SG.RELAT+GEN city +SG.RELAT+DAT lay+TRAN+1SG.ERG/3SG.ABS
… *tarmanalə*^{?78} ^{URU}*Sirā=nə*   **ḫa**   **=i**   **=l=ānə**
… spring+ØABS GN   +INST/ABL take⁷⁹+ACT/TRAN+*l*+DESID
"When I built Argištiḫinili, I lay a canal from the river Muna to the city of
Azai. … it shall take the spring (i.e. the waters of the spring?) from the city
Sirā(?)." (KUKN 173 iv 72-74= UKN 127 iv: 72-74)[80]

While the passage in (8.14) is rather difficult, in (8.14), the modal form *ardilanə*

conforms nicely to the Hurrian forms in *=anni*.

   In the Mittani Letter, forms in *=anni* appear to have two different functions. While the

verb in (8.14) can be translated as a desiderative, in (8.13), however, the form in *=anni* is

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[76] Salvini 1992: 217-221.

[77] [a]-li me-še ^mar-gi-iš-ti-e ^mdi-a-ú-ḫi-ni-še ²⁰ [a-r]u-ni 41 MA.NA KÙ.GI … ²² … a-li me-e-še e-si-ri[?]-i-[e[?]] ²³ [^mdi]-a-ú-ḫi-ni-di te-ru-bi MU.MU-ni ar-di-la-ni ²⁴ [X M]A.NA KÙ.GI; Salvini translates as: "Quel tributo che ad Argišti il Diaueo dette (sono) 41 mine d'oro (etc.) tot decine di migliaja di pecore. Quel tribute che … al Diaueo (im)posi ogni anno di dare (sono) [oppure: ogni anno deve dare] tot mine d'oro etc." (1992: 218).

[78] Salvini reads: ^{KUR}ma-na-še (1992: 218).

[79] Based on the Hurrian verb ḫa- "to take."

[80] [i-u[?]] ^mar-giš-te-e-ḫi-ni-li ši-du-bi ⁷³ [^{ÍD}m]u-na-ni PA₅ ^m'a-za-i-ni-e KUR-ni-e a-gu-bi ⁷⁴ […] tar-ma-na-li ^{[U]RU}si-ra-a-ni ḫa-i-la-a-ni; Salvini does not translate the phrase in line 74 (1992: 218).

almost certainly functioning as an irrealis to create an unreal conditional. This is an

example of the grammaticalization of the form over time. It is slowly loosing its specific

function as a desiderative and is used in a more general sense in subordinate clauses.

CHAPTER NINE:
=(ož)illandin and *=illandu/o*

9.1 Form and Function

The combination of morphemes -(*ož*)*illandin* (and -*illandu/o*) and its parallel form -(*ož*)*innandi* are found in a limited number of texts from Boğazköy. These forms are primarily found in the *itkalzi*-rituals (especially ChS I/1 6 and 9) and in the various duplicate and parallel texts comprising rituals for Tadoḫeba and Tažmišarri (especially ChS I/1 19).[1] The confinement of these forms to such a limited amount of texts is of some interest. What is it about these texts that requires this form that is not found elsewhere? While this question will remain unanswered for the moment, I will attempt to detail its general form and function here.

9.1.1 Context

Verbal forms in -(*ož*)*ilandin* and -(*ož*)*innandi* appear in the exact same context. Strictly speaking they are not, however, interchangeable. A text with verbal forms in -(*ož*)*illandin* will not have forms in -(*ož*)*innandi* and vice versa. Duplicate texts exist

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[1] The one form in -*illandu/o* is found in the ritual text ChS I/5 87. This form and its significance will be explored below.

where in one manuscript the former is used while in the other we find the latter. Note

the following examples (the verbs are left unparsed and are given in bold):

(9.1) a. *ēn(i)꞊n(a)꞊až꞊ už evrin(i)꞊n(a)꞊až꞊ už taržuwan(i)꞊n(a)꞊až꞊ už ḫōri꞊da*
ḫōžillandin (ChS I/1 9 iii 37-38)[2]

   b. *ēn(i)꞊n(a)[꞊až꞊ už šarri꞊n(a)꞊až꞊ už] evrin(i)꞊n(a)꞊āž꞊ už ḫorē꞊da*
ḫ[ōžinnandi][3] (ChS I/Erg. i 11'-12')[4]

   c. *ēn(i)꞊n(a)꞊až꞊ už šarr(i)꞊a꞊ šš(e)꞊i꞊ ġe꞊ne꞊ve꞊n(a)꞊až꞊ už ēvr(i)꞊e꞊šš(e)꞊*
i꞊ġe<꞊ ne>꞊ve꞊n(a)꞊až꞊ už … ḫōr(i)꞊ia꞊ž꞊a **ḫ[ō]žinnandi** (ChS I/1 11 rev.
18'-19')[5]

Some of the differences between the various manuscripts have already been noted (cf.

§4.3.2). These passages will be revisited below. To further exemplify the degree to

which these texts differ from one another, note the following forms of the verb *niv/b-*:

(9.2) a. *niv/bōžillandin* (ChS I/1 9 iii 42)

   b. *niv/bōžinn[andi]* (ChS I/Erg. i 15')[6]

   c. *niv/bōžinnāin* (ChS I/1 11 rev. 22')

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[2] DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-šu-uš ip-ri-in-na*(erasure)-*šu-uš tar-šu-wa-an-na-šu-uš* [38] *ḫu-u-ri-ta ḫu-u-ši-el-la-an-ti-in*; see (9.5)

[3] Restoration is secure based on the forms *faġreššinnāndi* (ChS I/Erg. i 15'), *ḫāžōžināndi* (ibid. i 14'), *šagūžinnandi* (ibid. i 18'), etc.

[4] *e-en-n[ᵃ][-aš-uš …]* [12'] *ip-ri-na-a-šu-uš ḫu-u-ri-e-ta ḫ[u-…*; see (9.6)

[5] ⌜DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-šu*⌝-*uš šar-ra-a[š-š]i-ḫi-ni-bi-na-šu-uš* [18'] *e-ep-re-eš-ši-ḫi<-ni>-bi-na-šu-uš …*
ḫu-u-ri-ia-ša ḫ[u-u]-ši-in-na-an-ti; see (9.7)

[6] While clearly parallel to ChS I/1 9, the two text diverge considerably in phraseology at this point.
Regardless of the differences, the restoration is secure.

The form in (9.2c) is not even in the same mood as the other two! These passages

will all be treated in more detail below. This indicates that the forms in -(*ož*)*illandin* and

-(*ož*)*innandi* are functionally very similar if not virtually identical.

9.1.2 Arguments

These forms are clearly to be taken as non-indicative.[7] They are not to be confused

with jussive forms.[8] These forms occur only in certain restricted circumstances. They

are found only with transitive verbs. In almost every case the agent is preserved, and it is

invariably in the plural ergative. Not every form has an expressed agent. In such cases

the agent is clear from context and is plural and never singular. In no case are we dealing

with an indefinite "one." The patient, when expressed, is in the absolutive.

9.1.3 Parsing

The following is an attempt to enumerate the morphemes that comprise these endings.

Given their length and that fact that certain elements appear to be optional, it is clear that

these constructions involve a number of different morphemes. It will be my position that

at its most complex, five morphemes make up this mood: ≠*ož*≠*ill*≠*and*≠*i/e*≠*n*, while at

its most basic, only three are used: ≠*ill*≠*and*≠*u/o* and ≠*inn*≠*and*≠*i/e*. The morphemes are

not treated in the order in which they appear. The discussion begins with ≠*n* (§9.1.3.1),

followed by ≠*ož*≠ (§9.1.3.2), then by ≠*ill*≠ and ≠*inn*≠ (§9.1.3.3) and then ≠*and*≠

(§9.1.3.4). The final section (§9.1.3.5) will revolve around the function of ≠*i/e*≠ and ≠*u/o*.

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[7] Wilhelm is the only person that I am aware of to mention these forms. While not indicating its function, he takes the form as non-indicative (ChS I/Erg. p. 11) and as a "Wunschform" (ChS I/Erg. p. 12).

[8] Wegner clear analyzes these forms as jussive. Note her parsing of *šagožillandin* as *šag*≠*oš*≠*ill*≠*an*≠*t*≠*en* (1995: 123, 124). It will be shown below that these forms are morphologically distinct from the jussives.

9.1.3.1 ⸗*n*

An -*(ož)illandin* consistently appears in the forms -(ož)illandin but never in -(ož)innandi or -*illandu/o*. This indicates that -*n* is an optional morpheme and not an integral part of the non-indicative ending. In the majority of examples, the patient is in the singular absolute. Even when there are multiple patients, we almost always find lists of singular patients.[9] In one example, however, it appears that the patient is the third plural pronoun ⸗*lla*.[10] The passage is quite broken, but a plural patient is certain. It is possible that this ⸗*lla* stands for a series of singular patients. If so, then all examples of verbs in -(ož)illandin and -(ož)innandi have singular patients, even if there happens to be more than one of them. Based on this it is possible that -*n* is the short form of the third singular pronoun ⸗*nna*. The form [*p*]*ārillandinna* (ChS I/1 19 i 26') is ambiguous. It can be parsed as either [*p*]*ārillandi* ⸗ *nna* or as [*p*]*ārillandin* ⸗ *nna*. The latter parsing assumes that -*n* is either an integral part of the verbal ending or it is a different morpheme from the enclitic pronoun. Since -*n* is not found with all forms (note the lack of it in -(ož)innandi), the former explanation is unlikely. It is equally unlikely that we would have the combination ⸗*n* ⸗ *nna*. Therefore this morpheme is best understood as the enclitic pronoun ⸗*n(na)*.

9.1.3.2 ⸗*ož*⸗

The morpheme ⸗*ož*- is not found with every example. It does, however, appear in the majority of them. Compare the form *ḫāžil*[*landing*] (ChS I/1 23 ii 18') to *ḫāžoži*[*ll*]*andin*

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[9] For example see ChS I/1 6 iii 17'-21' (treated below).

[10] ChS I/1 19 i 14'-21'

(ChS I/1 20 ii 21).[11] The forms *ḫōžillandin* (ChS I/1 9 iii 38) and *ḫōžinnandi* (ChS I/1

11 rev. 19') are ambiguous. The root may be *ḫo-* "to call"[12] in which case we would have

a combination **ḫo⸗ož-* > *ḫōž-* (*ḫ(o)⸗ōž-*). It is equally possible that we have here a

writing of *ḫuž-* "to bind" or a yet unknown *ḫōž-*.[13] In this second scenario the *⸗ož-*

morpheme would be omitted from the form.[14] In support of a reading *ḫuž-* "to bind" is

the active optative *ḫinz⸗ōr⸗i⸗l⸗ēž* "may it (i.e. the word) be bound" in the immediately

preceding phrase.[15] Since *⸗ož* is optional, its presence (or absence) ought not affect the

over all reading of the modal form. It is quite possible that it is the same as the

derivational morpheme *⸗ož-*.[16] It is highly unlikely that it is the temporal marker *⸗ož-*

indicating past reference.[17]

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[11] The form in ChS I/1 11 rev. 6': *ḫa-a-šu-ši-*[may be restored *ḫa-a-šu-ši-*[*in-na-an-di*]. If this is correct then it is another occurrence of *ḫāž+ož-*.

[12] Wegner 2000: 227 ("(herbei)rufen?")

[13] Wilhelm does not allow for the combination **ḫo⸗ož-* > *ḫōž-*, instead preferring to see it as either *ḫuž-* "to bind" or a homonym **ḫož-* (ChS I/Erg. 11[11]).

[14] Note also the forms *dū⸗īnn⸗ānd⸗i/e* (*du-ú-i-in-na-a-an-ti* ChS I/Erg. iv 28). The form *puġr⸗ešš⸗inn⸗ānd⸗i/e* (*pu-uḫ-re-eš-še-en-na-a-an-ti* ChS I/Erg. i 15') is either a unique example of this ending occurring on a root plus derivational morpheme (all other examples are simply either Root+(*ož*)*illandin* or Root+(*ož*)*innandi*) or it is a mistake for *puġr⸗ož⸗inn⸗and⸗i/e*.

[15] So reads ChS I/1 11 rev. 18' (*ḫi-in-zu-u-ri-le-e-eš*) and ChS I/Erg. i 11' (*ḫé-in-zu-ri-le-e-eš*). The parallel ChS I/1 9 iii 36 has *ḫi-in-zu-ru-la-a-eš* which is likely to be an error (cf. §4.3.2 and (4.39)-(4.40)).

[16] Wegner 2000: 76 (-uš-)

[17] The tense/aspect marker *⸗ož-* always appears immediately before the valence and agreement markers.

9.1.3.3 =ill= and =inn=

Following the optional =ož- morpheme is either the morpheme =ill- or =inn-. Since both are of a form $-iC_1C_1$, it is likely that they represent one morpheme rather than a combination of two.[18] An inchoative morpheme =ill- is known primarily from Boğazköy.[19] It is unclear if it functions as such in this context. There is little information available on a morpheme =inn.[20] In some of the same texts where we find forms in (=ož)=ill=and=i/e=n and (=ož)=inn=and=i/e, we also find forms in (=ož)=ill=āi=n and (=ož)=inn=āi=n respectively. It is not appropriate to say that these morphemes are interchangeable. If this were the case we would expect to see forms in =ill- and =inn- in the same text, and this is not the case. Since they are used not only in the same context but in parallel passages, they must be functionally very similar or even identical.[21] Despite this similarity in function, the presence of one excludes the use of the other in a particular text.

9.1.3.4 =and=

The one constant that appears in all examples is the morpheme =and-. It is possible that we are actually dealing with a combination =an=d-. All treatments of a morpheme =an(=)d- have been in respect to the verbal form *pí-sa-an-ti-iš-tin-na-a-an* found in the Mittani Letter iv 44.[22] No treatment of =an(=d)- includes the modal forms discussed here.

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[18] Other morphemes of a similar phonetic shape are known: =oll-, =ann, etc..

[19] Giorgieri 2000a: 224; Neu 1996: 104 with bibliography

[20] This morpheme is not mentioned in either (Wegner 2000) or in (Giorgieri 2000a).

[21] Could they be evidence for different dialects of Hurrian?

Until more information becomes available, I will simply treat it as one morpheme =

and-. In the fragmentary tablet ChS I/5 73 ii[?] 10', we find a jussive(?) verb *arġ=and=en*

(*ar-ḫa-an-ti-en*). This form may be alternatively analyzed as *arġ=and=i/e=n*, parallel to

the forms being discussed here.[23] A "passive" optative verb *šōġ=ur(=)d=and=o=l=ē[ž]*

is known from ChS I/Erg. iv 25:

(9.3) ānni   *avandi* =n   nū (=o) =l=ēž   ānni   **ing=ār** =
       that+ØABS ?+ØABS+3SG.ENCL[24] ?[25]+PASS+*l*+OPT that+ØABS ? +FACT+

       ō   =*l*=**ēž** ānni   **šōġ**   =**ur(=)d=and=o**   =*l*=**ē[ž]**
       PASS+ *l*+OPT that+ØABS live[?26]+*ur*(+)d+and+PASS+*l*+OPT

       "May that *avandi* be *nu/o*'ed! May that one be *ing=ar*'ed! May that one be
       (made) alive(?)!" (ChS I/Erg. iv 24-25)[27]

   As we have already seen, in the "passive" optative, whenever there is an expressed

plural agent, a morpheme =*ind*- immediately precedes the voice marker =*o*-. This is clear

in examples (4.63)-(4.65). There appears to be a correlation between the presence of =

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[22] Girbal 1990: 95 normalizes the form *pí-sa-an-ti-iš-tin-na-a-n* (Mitt. iv 44) as *pis-and-*... calling
the morpheme =*and*- a "unklares Morphem" and allowing for the possibility of a reading *an+d*. Wegner
prefers to read =*and*- (2000: 164), while Giorgieri normalizes it as *pic=an(=)d*- (2000: 402).

[23] This requires us to assume that the morphemes =*ill*- and =*inn*-, can, like =*ož*- and =*n*, be omitted.
Since it appears that the use of an =*ill*- or =*inn*- is mandatory, this analysis is less likely than taking it as a
jussive.

[24] The morpheme =*n* may actually be a connective rather than a third singular enclitic pronoun. I
take *avandi* as a nominal form based on the pattern in this set of passages. We have a series of passive
optative verbs, each preceded by the demonstrative pronoun *ānni*. I would see this first passage as giving
the full *ānni avandi* "that *a*." while the other two simply give *ānni* "that (*a*.)."

[25] The root must be *nu*-. The two other verbs in this set of passages are extended passive optatives
in =*o=l=ēž*. The spelling of this form, *nu-ú-le-e-eš* indicates that it too is to be analyzed as an extended
optative due to the plene spelling of the optative morpheme. The parsing *nū(=o)=* given above may be
correct, if the =*o=* passive morpheme is assumed to elide when following a root or morpheme ending in -*u*-.
It is also possible that the use of the sign -*ú*- is not indicative of the actual phoneme. This would allow for
a parsing *nū/ō(=o)=* or *n(u/o)=ō=*. A root *nu*- or *no*- is not known. It may be related to the noun *nui*- "ear."

[26] It is likely that *šūġ=ur(=)d*- is related to the nominal form *šoġurni* "life."

[27] *a-an-ni a-waₐ-a-an-ti-en nu-ú-le-e-eš a-an-ni* [25] *in-ga-a-ru-ú-le-e-eš a-an-ni šu-u-ḫu-ur-ta-an⌈-
du⌉-le⌈-e⌉[-eš]*

ind- and plural agents. Forms in (=*ož*)=*ill*=*and*=*i/e*=*n* (and (=*ož*)=*inn*=*and*=*i/e*) only occur with plural agents. The question that arises is whether or not the morphemes =*ind-* and =*and-* are related. "Passive" optative forms in =*ind*=*o*=(*e*)*ž* and modal forms in (=*ož*)=*ill*=*and*=*i/e*=*n* are both found in ChS I/1 6.[28] If these were two spellings of one morpheme, then why do both spellings occur in the same text? Especially problematic is the fact that the morpheme =*ind-* is only found with the optative verbs and not with any others. I cannot help but believe that these two morphemes are related in terms of their semantic and syntactic functions. I am, however, unable to determine at the present time why we have =*ind-* in one case and =*and-* in the other.

9.1.3.5 =*i/e* and =*u/o*

The final morphemes to be discussed are the =*i/e* and =*u/o* which immediately follow =*and-*. Since =*n* has been shown to be optional, these two vocalic morphemes are the final mandatory elements of the non-indicative form. There is unfortunately only one example of a form in =*u/o* found in the preserved texts. While we are handicapped by the limited evidence, we can divide this mood into forms in =*i/e* versus those in =*u/o*. This division has already been seen once before. It has been demonstrated that the forms *=*iž* and *=*ož* are actually a combination of a voice marker and the optative morpheme =*ež*. The result of this combination is the elision of the *e* of the optative: *=*i*=*ež* > =*i*=(*e*)*ž* and *=*o*=*ež* > =*o*=(*e*)*ž* (cf. §4.2.1.2). This elision does not occur in the third person jussive where we find =*i*=*en* and =*o*=*en* (cf. §5.2.3). Based on the evidence from the optative

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[28] Take for example the passive optative forms: *šēġ*=*al*=*ind*=*o*=(*e*)*ž* (ii 10), *itk*=*ind*=*o*=(*e*)*ž* (ii 11) and the forms: [*ḫāž*=*i*]*l*[*l*=*and*]=*i/e*=[*n* (iii 20'), *kažl*=*ož*=*ill*=*and*=*i/e*<=*n*> (iii 21') and *it*[*k*=*o*]*ž*=[*ill*= *a*]*nd*=*i/e*=[*n*] (iii 21').

and jussive, a paradigmatic pair =*i* and =*o* are known in Hurrian and their function is related to voice and not to mood. It is possible that we are to parse the forms here as (= *ož*)=*ill*=*and*=*i*(=*e*) and (=*ož*)=*ill*=*and*=*o*(=*e*), with =*e* functioning as a (deontic) modal morpheme.

Unlike the optative where all subjects are in the absolutive and only the agents of "passive" forms are in the ergative, all forms in =*i* have an ergative agent which must be translated as the subject if the verbs are analyzed as active. This is similar to the jussive where we find ergative agents as subjects of active forms in =*i*=*en* and absolutive subjects of "passive" forms in =*o*=*en* (with the exception of the oldest forms in the Tiš-atal inscription). Jussive forms in =*o*- have optional ergative agents, but the subjects are the third person absolutive NPs. This may hold as well for the form in =*ill*=*and*=*o*.

The question that remains is this: are these forms truly modal? It is quite possible that =*i* and =*o* are truly voice markers. If so, then the preceding (=*ož*)=*ill*(or: =*inn*)=*and*= are not likely to have a modal function.[29] There is absolutely no evidence for modal morphemes occurring *before* the voice marker. Even the modal particle =*l*= occurs after the voice markers. The morpheme =*ož*- is certainly derivational. The =*ill*- may be the inchoative marker, a function that it may share with =*inn*-. The morpheme =*and*- may somehow reflect the fact that the verb takes plural agents. This would indicate a pluractional function of this morpheme. The morphemes =*i* and =*o* are likely the same voice markers that are found in the optative and jussive. If we assume that the forms end with these voice markers, then the only way to take the forms as non-indicative is to

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[29] There is a certain level of fluidity between derivational and modal elements throughout the world's languages. Note for example the connotative in Arabic which has a meaning "to try to do s.t."

assign a secondary modal function to them. In the optative and jussive, mood is indicated not by the voice markers but by the modal morphemes. There is no reason to assume such a function here. This leaves us with two options. We can either analyze these forms as indicative with a distinction in voice and not valence or as non-indicative forms with the elision of the modal morpheme to the voice marker.

   As we have seen above, the indicative distinguishes between the transitive and intransitive valence and has an antipassive form. There is no evidence for an active/passive distinction in the indicative. This appears to be limited to modal forms. This makes it less likely that (*=ož)=ill=and=i=n* and *=ill=and=o* are to be analyzed as indicative. If we are to take them as non-indicative, we are faced with the problem of having to assume an elided modal morpheme. There is precedence for this in the optative, in that mood, the full modal form *=ež* is exposed when the optional modal particle *=l-* is used. There is, however, no such extended form here.

   While morphology is of little help, context appears to confirm the modal function of these forms. They are only found in ritual texts. Furthermore, they often appear in conjunction with optative forms. Based on context, the forms should indicate some sort of wish that a particular action be performed by plural agents. Based on the evidence given above, I would prefer to analyze these forms as *=i(=e)* and *=o(=e)*, although this runs the risk of being labeled *ad hoc*. The choice of *=e* as the modal morpheme is based on the behavior of this vowel in the optative forms. This is not to say that the *e* of the optative *=ež* is the same as this **=e*. While I will certainly allow for some relation between these morphemes, such is not provable at present.

9.2 The Form in Context

In the following section we will attempt to place this mood in its proper context. Only

this way can the function of this mood be determined. The discussion will begin with the

one form in *≠ill≠and≠o(≠e)* in the corpus (§9.2.1). This will be followed by a detailed

examination of the forms in *(≠ož)≠ill≠and≠i(≠e)* and *(≠ož)≠inn≠and≠i(≠e)* (§9.2.2).

9.2.1 *≠ill≠*and *≠o(≠e)*

As mentioned above, there is only one form in *≠ill≠and≠o(≠e)*. This is also the only

example of a verbal form in *(≠ož)≠ill≠and≠* found outside of the *itkalzi-* rituals. As

indicated by the parsing, the morpheme *≠ož-* is omitted in this form. It is found twice in

the intriguing text ChS I/5 87[30]:

(9.4)   *īa   ḫen[ni] **ḫa** ≠ol≠ill   ≠ānd≠o   (≠e)   fāban(i) ≠n(a)   ≠až≠u[ž]*
        REL now   take+*ol*+INCHO+*and* +PASS(+MOOD) mountain+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
        [d]*Teššop≠pe   ḫōbidi   *[d]*Šarrumma≠[n]*
         DN   +GEN calf+ØABS   DN   +3SG.ENCL
        "Now the one who shall be taken by the mountains, Šarruma, the calf of Teššob is
        he" (ChS I/5 87 ii 18'-20')[31]

The passage in (9.4) is repeated in iii 1-3.[32] This passage ends a short paragraph. The

next paragraph (ii 21'-26') begins with the relative particle *īa*. This indicates that (9.4)

ought to be a complete sentence with the subordinate relative clause preceding a main

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[30] The text as a whole has most recently been treated in (de Martino 1993).

[31] *i-ia ḫé⌈-en⌉-[ni]* [19'] ⌈*ḫa-u-li⌉-il-la-a-an-tu pa-a-pa-an-⌈na-šu-u⌉[š]* [20'] [d]*te-eš-šu-up-pí ḫu-u-bi-ti* [d]*šar-ru-um-ma-a[n]*

[32] *i-ia ḫa-a-u-li-il-la-a-an-[tu …]* [2] ⌈*pa⌉-a-pa-a[n-n]a-aš-šu-uš* [d]*te-eš-šu-[up-pí ḫu-u-bi-ti]* [3] [d]*šar-ru-⌈um⌉-ma-an*; Note the defective spelling of the ergative agent with geminate *-šš-*.

clause. If this assumption is correct, then the main clause must be taken as a nominal

sentence due to the lack of a predicate. As we have seen above (§2.4.2.2) relative

constructions in Hurrian operate according to ergative syntax. Therefore, the head of the

nominal main clause in (9.4) must be the (unexpressed) patient of the transitive verb

ḫaolillāndo. In this case, I have taken the morpheme *=n* on *ᵈŠarrumma=*[*n*] as the head

of the relative clause. The significance of Šarruma being "taken" by the mountains is

unclear to me.

9.2.2 (*=ož*)*=ill=and=i(=e*) and (*=ož*)*=inn=and=i(=e*)

There are a number of examples of active forms of this mood. They are often found in

duplicate or parallel passages across a number of manuscripts. This results in some

degree in variation in phrase structure. To begin with, let us return to the three parallel

passages from (9.1). They are given here in their broader context as (9.5), (9.6) and (9.7)

respectively:

(9.5)   ("May your tongue speak (the) true word! § Let the word be bound to the
        mouth …[33]")
        en(i)=n(a)   =až=už evri=n(i)=n(a)   =až=už taržuwan(i)=n(a)   =až=
        god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG king   +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG human   +PL.RELAT+PL+
        už ḫōri=da ḫōž =ill   =and=i (=e)   =n
        ERG lap +DIR bind+INCHO+*and*+ACT(+MOD)+3SG.ENCL
        "The gods, the kings, the people shall bind it (i.e. the word) to the lap!" (ChS I/1 9
        iii 37-38)[34]

(9.6)   ("May [your tongue] speak (the) [true] word! May [the *seventh*[?35]] bind the word
        [to the mouth]")

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[33] For this phrase, see (4.36) and (4.39a) and the accompanying discussion in (§4..3.2.1).

[34] See (9.1a)

[35] See §4.3.2.1

ēn(i)=n(a)   =[*až=už šarri=n(a)*   =*až=už*] *evri=n(i)=n(a)*   =*āž=už*
god +PL.RELAT+PL +ERG king +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG king   +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
ḫ[ōž=inn   =and=i   (=e)]
bind+INCHO[?]+*and*+ACT(+MOD)
"The god[s, the kings] and the *high lord*[36] shall b[ind (it)]!" (ChS I/Erg. i 11'-
12')[37]

(9.7)   ("May the tongue speak the true word! May the *seventh*[?] bind the word to the
mouth!")
en(i)=n(a)   =*až=už šarr(i)=a=šš(e)=i=ġe=ne*   =*ve =n(a)*   =*až=už*
god +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG king   +ABSTR +ADJ +SG.RELAT+GEN+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
ēvr(i)=e=šš(e)=i=ġe<=ne>   =*ve =n(a)*   =*až=už ḫinzurug(i)=a   =*
lord +ABSTR +ADJ   +SG.RELAT+GEN+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG *binding*[?] +ESS[?]+
nna[38]   *ḫōr(i)=ia   =ž =a ḫōž =ill   =and =i   (=e)   =n*
3SG.ENCL[?] lap   +3POSS+PL+DAT bind+INCHO+*and* +ACT(+MOD)+3SG.ENCL
"The gods of kingship and lordship shall bind it (the word) to their lap *like a
binding*" (ChS I/1 11 rev. 18'-19')[39]

The basic structure of all of these phrases is as follows:

(9.8)   **en(i)=n(a)=až= už ḫōri= da **ḫōž=ill =and=i(=e)=n***
"The gods shall bind (it) to the lap"

There is some degree of difference between the phrases. Those between (9.5) and (9.6)

are minimal: a slight difference in agents and the verb in (9.5) is in =*illandin* while (9.6)

is in =*innandi*. The greatest differences are between the first two and (9.7). Instead of

three agents, (9.7) has one agent, *ennažuž* which is further modified by the genitive forms

šarraššiġeneve and *ēvreššiġe<ne>ve*. It also includes the essive(?) form *ḫinzuruga*.

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[36] I use the term "high lord" here to distinguish between *šarri-* "king" and the form *evri=ni* ("lord"
+ INDIVIDUALIZING) which is also usually translated "king."

[37] See (9.1b)

[38] This is just one possible parsing.

[39] See (9.1c)

While both (9.5) and (9.6) give simply *ḫōrida* "to the lap," the form in (9.7) is

ḫōriaža "to *their* laps." The verb in (9.7) is consistent with those in (9.5) and (9.6). The

patient in the three passages must be *tive* "the word" found in the preceding phrases.

   The exact function of the forms is unclear. In the immediately preceding phrase, we

find the active opatative (and "passive" optative in (9.5)) form of the verb *ḫinz⸗ōr-* "to

bind." The root is repeated in (9.7) in the nominal form *ḫinzuruga*. As mentioned above

(§9.1.3.2), the root *ḫōž-* may be equivalent to *ḫuž-* "to bind." The exact semantic

difference between *ḫinz⸗or-* and *ḫuž-* is uncertain. The two forms clearly run parallel to

one another in these passages.

   Before turning to occurrences in other texts, a few more passages in ChS I/1 9 deserve

to be cited. In a series of three paragraphs (iii 36-50) we find four passages containing

verbal forms in (⸗ož)⸗ill⸗ and ⸗i(⸗e)⸗n. The first passage has already been treated as

(9.5) above. The next three phrases are treated below as (9.9a-c) in the order in which

they occur:

(9.9)   a. *kuduni⸗b   eni ⸗v(e)⸗āi ḫāžar(i)⸗āi **ḫāž ⸗o ⸗l⸗ēž***
        neck +2POSS god+GEN+INST oil   +INST anoint+PASS+*l*+OPT
        pōšši⸗b   ḫōmari kēraži   ᵈḪebat ᵈMužunni ᵈEa ᵈDamkina
        ?   +2POSS ?+ØABS long⁽ˀ⁾+ØABS DN[40]   DN   DN DN
        ᵈŠauška ⸗ž   ᵈNabarbi ⸗ž šeġorni ⸗ve ⸗ni   tuppi ⸗ni
        DN   +ERG DN   +ERG life   +GEN+ABL/INST tablet+ABL/INST
        niv/b⸗ōž⸗ill   ⸗and⸗i (⸗e) ⸗n
        ?   +ož +INCHO+*and*+ACT(+MOD)+3SG.ENCL
        "May your neck be anointed with the oil of the god![41] Your *p.* (and) *long*⁽ˀ⁾ *ḫ.*
        shall Ḫebat, Mužunni, Ea, Damkina, Šauška and Nabarbi *niv/b-* by means of
        the tablet of life!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 39-43)[42]

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[40] Note the lack of expected ergative case ending on several divine names throughout (9a-c).

[41] Wilhelm translates: "Dein Nacken sei mit dem Öl der Gottheit gesalbt!" (1998b: 180).

b. *fāndi* ⸗ *b*[43] [ᵈḪ]*ebat* ᵈ*Mužuni* ⸗ *ž*   ᵈḪ*ōde* ⸗ *n(a)*   ⸗*až* ⸗ *už*
   right side+2POSS DN   DN   +ERG DN   +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
   ᵈḪ*ōdillor(i)* ⸗ *r(a<na)* ⸗ *a<ž>* ⸗ *už* [ᵈ*Šaušk*]*a* ᵈ*Nabarbi tāri tōr* ⸗ *o* ⸗ *ḫḫ(i)* ⸗ *āe*
   DN   +PL.RELAT+PL   +ERG DN   DN   ?[44] man+ADJ   +INST
   tulbur(i) ⸗ *āe*   ***šag*** ⸗ ***ož*** ⸗ ***ill***   ⸗ ***and*** ⸗ ***i***   (⸗ ***e***)   ⸗ ***n***
   ?   +INST ?[45]+*ož*+INCHO+*and*+ACT(+MOD)+3SG.ENCL
   "Your right side shall [Ḫ]ebat, Mužuni, the Ḫōde and the Ḫōdillori gods,
   Šauška and Nabarbi … by means of the male *tulburi šag*-!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 43-
   46)[46]

c. *šapḫaldi* ⸗ *b*   ᵈḪ*ebatu* ⸗ *ž*   ᵈ[*Mužun*]*i* ⸗ *ž*   ᵈḪ*ode* ⸗ *n(a)*   ⸗*až* ⸗ *už*
   left side +2POSS DN   +ERG DN   +ERG DN +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
   ᵈḪ*ōdillor(i)* ⸗ *r(a<na)* ⸗ *až* ⸗ *už* ᵈ*Šauška* ⸗ *ž*   ᵈ*Nabarbi* ⸗ *ž*   *ašt«ur»* ⸗ *o* ⸗ *ḫḫi* ⸗
   DN   +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG DN   +ERG DN   +ERG woman+ADJ   +
   āe   *tulbur(i)* ⸗ *āe*   ***šag*** ⸗ ***ož*** ⸗ ***ill***   ⸗ ***and*** ⸗ ***i***   (⸗ ***e***)   ⸗ ***n***
   INST ?   +INST ?   +*ož*+INCHO+*and* +ACT(+MOD)+3SG.ENCL
   "Your left side shall Ḫebat, [Mužun]i, the Ḫode and the Ḫōdillori gods, Šauška
   and Nabarbi by means of the female *tulburi šag*-!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 46-50)[47]

Passages (9.9b-c) are condensed into a single phrase in ChS I/Erg.:

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[42] *ku-u-ni-ib i-ni-pa-a-i ḫa-a-ša-ra-a-i ḫa-a-šu-le-e-eš* ⁴⁰ ⸢*pu*⸣-*u-uš*-⸢*ši*⸣-*ib ḫu-u-ma-ri ke-e-ra-ši* ᵈ*ḫé-bat* ᵈ*mu-šu-un-ni* ⁴¹ ᵈÉ.A ᵈ*dam-ki-na* ᵈIŠTAR-*ga-aš* ᵈ*na-bar-bi-iš* ⁴² *še-ḫur-ni-bi-ni tup-pí-ni ni-wuᵤ-u-ši-el-la-an-ti-in*

[43] *fandib* is separated from the rest of the phrase by a paragraph line in the text. Based on the parallel passage in (9c), it is clare that *fandib* belongs with what follows it rather than with the preceding phrase. This is correctly noted by Wegner 1995b: 122²⁴.

[44] This form does not appear in the parallel passage (9c) nor in any of the other parallel texts. It does not make sense to take it as an absolutive, unless it somehow modifies *fandib*. A noun *tāri* "fire" is known from the Hurro-Hittite bilingual as well as from the trilingual vocabulary text from Ugarit (ii 14) (André-Salvini and Salvini 1998: 18). This problem is also noted by Wilhelm in ChS I/Erg. p. 13¹⁵.

[45] Wilhelm leaves untranslated (ChS I/Erg. p. 14). Wegner postulates two possible meanings for this verb: reinigen and verzieren (1995b: 123).

[46] *pa-a-an-ti-ib* § ⁴⁴ [ᵈḫ]*é-bat* ᵈ*mu-šu-ni-iš* ᵈ*ḫu-u-te-na-šu-uš* ᵈ*ḫu-u-ti-el-lu-ur-ra<-šu>-uš* ⁴⁵ [IŠTAR-*g*]*a* ᵈ*na-bar-bi ta-a-ri tu-u-ru-uḫ-ḫa-a-e* ⁴⁶ *túl-p[u-r]a-a*⸢-*e ša-ku-ši-el-l*⸣*a-an-ti-in*; Wegner translates as: "deine rechte Seite mögen Ḫebat-Mušuni, Ḫutena-Ḫutellura, Ša(w)uška-Nabarbi … mit dem männlichen *tulpuri* reinigen/verzieren??" (1995b: 123).

[47] *šap-ḫal-ti-ib* ⁴⁷ ᵈ*ḫé-bat-uš* ᵈ[*mu-šu-ni*]-*iš* ⸢ᵈ*ḫu-te-na-šu*⸣-*uš* ⁴⁸ ᵈ*ḫu-u-te-el-lu-ur-ra-šu-uš* ᵈIŠTAR-*ga-aš* ⁴⁹ ᵈ*na-bar-bi-iš aš-du«-ru»-uḫ-ḫa-a-e túl-pu-ra-a-e* ⁵⁰ *ša-ku-ši-el-la-an-ti-in*; Wegner translates as: "denie linke Seite mögen Ḫebat-Mušuni, Ḫudena-Ḫudellurra, Ša(w)uška-Nabarbi mit dem weiblichen *tulpuri* reinigen/verzieren?" (1995b: 124).

(9.10) *fāndi ꞊ b   tōr ꞊o꞊ḫḫ(i)꞊āi* §[48] *šapḫaldi꞊ma   ašt(a) ꞊o꞊ḫḫ(e)꞊āe*
right side+2POSS man+ADJ   +INST   left side +CONN woman+adj   +INST
*ēn(i)꞊n(a)꞊āe   ḫežmirž(i)꞊āi   **šag ꞊ūž ꞊inn   ꞊and ꞊i   (꞊e)***
 god +PL.RELAT+INST ?   +INST ?   +*ož*+INCHO[?]+*and*+ACT(+MOD)
"Your right side by means of the male and (your) right side by means of the
female gods and by means of the *ḫežmirži* shall (the gods)[49] *šag-*!" (ChS I/Erg. i
16'-18')[50]

The parallel text ChS I/1 11 changes the phrases in (9.9b-c) completely:

(9.11) *fandi   ꞊b   tōr ꞊o꞊ḫḫ(e)꞊āi tulbur(i)꞊āi **tag ꞊o   ꞊l꞊ež***
right side+2POSS man+ADJ   +INST ?   +INST *purify*+PASS+*l*+OPT
…[51] [*š*]*apḫaldi ꞊ b   ašt(a) ꞊o꞊ḫḫ(e)꞊āi   tulbur(i)꞊āi **tag ꞊o   ꞊l꞊ež***
…   left side +2POSS woman+ADJ   +INST ?   +INST *purify*+PASS+*l*+OPT
"May your right side be purified through the male *tulburi*! … May your left side
be purified through the female *tulburi*!" (ChS I/1 11 rev. 23'-24')[52]

   The passages in (9.10) and (9.11) eliminate the long list of deities found in (9.9b-c).

In (9.5), the agent is given as simply *ennažuz* "the gods." In the passages that follow it,

however, the gods are explicitly named in two separate, though overlapping, lists. In ChS

I/Erg. no such enumeration of the deities involved is given. It is safe to assume the

ennažuž from i 11'. The situation in ChS I/1 11 is much more complicated. Following

the passage cited above as (9.7), a new paragraph begins. It starts off with the Hittite

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[48] As in ChS I/1 9, the scribe broke up the phrase through the use of a paragraph line.

[49] Likely the same agent is continued from i 11'.

[50] *wa_a-a-an-ib tu-u-ru-uḫ-ḫa-a-i* § [17'] *ša-ap-ḫa-al-ti-ma aš-du-uḫ-ḫa-a-e e-en-na-a-e* [18'] *ḫi-eš-mi-ir-ša-a-i ša-ku-ú-še-en-na-an-ti*; Wilhelm translates as: "Deine rechte Seite möge durch die männlichen und die linke Seite möge durch die weiblichen Gottheiten um des *ḫežmirži* willen(?) …" (ChS I/Erg. p. 14).

[51] The text includes a form *šīa* (*ši-i-ia*). This is most likely a scribal error anticipating the same form one line below. Wilhelm indicates as such in his transliteration (ChS I/Erg. p. 13).

[52] *pa-an-ti-ip tu-u-ru-uḫ-ḫa-a-i túl-pu-ra-a-i ta-ku-li-iš … [š]a-ap-ḫa-al-ti-ip aš-tu-uḫ-ḫa-a-i* [24'] *túl-pu-ra-a-i ta-ku-le-eš*; Wilhelm translates as: "Deine rechte Seite möge durch die männlichen (Gottheiten) um des *tulburi* willen(?) rein sein, deine linke Seite möge durch die weiblichen (Gottheiten) um des *tulburi* willen(?) rein sein." (ChS I/Erg. p. 14).

phrase: "then he speaks to the king"[53] which is followed by the Hurrian: "may your

kabōžini be anointed with the oil of the god (and) of the *ḫežmir*[*ži*]!"[54] This is followed

by the Hittite: "to the queen he speaks"[55] and the Hurrian: "May your *kaboži* be anointed

with the oil of the god (and) of the *ḫežmirži*!"[56] The only difference between the two

phrases is that for the king it is his *kabōžini* which is to be anointed while for the queen it

is her *kaboži*.[57] These two optative phrases are followed by the bizarre passage:

(9.12) *pošši ḫōmar(i)⸗o⸗ḫḫe kēaži še[ġo]rni⸗ve⸗na tuppi⸗na niv/b⸗ōž⸗inn⸗āi⸗n*
        (ChS I/1 11 rev. 22')[58]

This passage is clearly parallel to ChS I/1 9 iii 40-43 which is given as (9a) above. The

ḫōmaroḫḫe kēaži "the *ḫōmari*-ian sea[?]" appears to be a corruption of *ḫōmari kēraži* "the

long *ḫōmari*" in ChS I/1 9 iii 40. It is also possible that we are to emend *ke-e-a-ši* to *ke-*

e<-ra>-a-ši. In ChS I/1 9 iii 42 we have the instrumental phrase *šeġorniveni tuppini*

"through the tablet of life." In (9.12) we find either an absolute plural NP *še[ġo]rni⸗*

ve⸗na tuppi⸗na "the tablets of life" or an essive singular NP *še[ġo]rni⸗ve⸗n(e)⸗a*

tuppi⸗n(e)⸗a "in/as the tablet of life." If absolutive then we have a double absolutive

construction in (9.12) with the a verb in *⸗āi*.[59] If essive, it is difficult to reconcile the

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[53] ChS I/1 11 rev. 20': *nam-ma A-NA* LUGAL *te-ez-zi*

[54] ChS I/1 11 rev. 20'-21': *ka-pu-u-ši-ni-ip e-ne-pa-a-i ḫe-eš-mi-ir-[ši]-ni-pa-a-i ḫa-ša-ra-a-i* [21] *ḫa-a-šu-le-e-eš*

[55] ChS I/1 11 rev. 21': *A-NA* MUNUS.LUGAL *te-ez-zi*

[56] ChS I/1 11 rev. 21'-22': *ka-pu-ši-ip e-ne-[pa]-a-i ḫe-eš-me-er-ši-ni-pa-a*(over erasure)-*i* [22'] *ḫa-ša-ra-a-i ḫa-a-šu-le-e-eš*

[57] While I have no idea what these are, they are almost certainly body parts. The form *kadōžini* is likely to include the individualizing suffix *⸗ni* on the root *kadoži*.

[58] *pu-uš-ši ḫu-u-ma-ru-uḫ-ḫi ke-e-a-ši še-[ḫu-u]r-ni-bi-na tub-bi-na ni-pu-u-ši-in-na-a-in*

form in (9.12) with that in (9.9a). I am inclined to take ChS I/1 11 here as a corrupted

version of ChS I/1 9.

We turn now to the ritual ChS I/1 19 and its duplicates. Unlike the situation given

above for ChS I/1 9 and its parallels ChS I/1 11 and ChS I/Erg., the differences between

ChS I/1 19 and its duplicates is minimal.[60] The first passage to be discussed can be

broken down into three sections. In (9.13) I give the schematics of these three sections

indicating argument position and verb types:

(9.13) a. $O_{ABS.SG}$ $A_{ERG.PL}$(x7) V=*ožillandin*(x4)

     b. $S_{ABS.SG}$(x8) V=*o*=*l*=*ēž*(x4)

     c. $S_{ABS.SG}$(x8) V=*o*=*l*=*ēž*(x4)[61]

Each passage contains the same four verbs: *šeġ*=*al*-, *itk*-, *kaž*=*l*- and *eg*=*ošš*-. The order

of verbs in (9.13a) and (9.13c) are the same while (9.13b) switches the second and third

ones. Since (9.13c) is virtually identical to (9.13b) with the exceptions given above, I

will only treat (9.13a) and (9.13b) here as (9.14a-b). Since the phrases consist almost

exclusively of absolute and ergative NPs, the normalization below will not include

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[59] As we have already seen, the purposive in =*ai* functions according to ergative rules. Therefore it is not possible to have both the agent and patient in the absolutive in this form.

[60] In the passages that concern us here, the greatest difference between ChS I/1 19 and its duplicates is the omission or insertion of extra vowels in various forms. The differences do not affect the function of the forms in any way.

[61] The first verb is actually of the type V=*o*=*l*=*āe*=*š*=*ša*(<*nna*). This form does not fit the pattern of the passages in (9.13b) and (9.13c) and is therefore considered to be scribal error.

grammatical notations. All verbs are given in bold. The restorations are secure based

on recurring passages in ChS I/1 19 and in the duplicates.[62]

(9.14) a. *ašḫožikkonni = m(m)a* ᶠ*Tado-Ḫ*[(*eba šīe = n(a)≠až = už š*)]*eġel(i)≠le(<ne)≠ve = n(a)≠až = už egošš*[(*i = n(a)≠āž = už*) *itkalzi = ne = v*(*e = n(a)≠āž = už p*)]*ōe = n(a)≠ āž = už egošši = n(a)≠āž = u*[*ž* (*tive = n(a)≠āž = už tōb/vi = n(a)≠āž = už*)] *katki = n(a)≠ āž = už en(i) = n(a)≠až = e = n(a)≠āž = u*[(*ž šeġ≠al≠ož≠ill≠and≠i(≠e)≠n*)] ***itk≠ož≠ ill≠and≠i(≠e)≠n ka*[[(*ž≠l≠ož≠ill≠and≠i(≠e)≠n*)] *eg≠ošš≠ill≠and≠i(≠e)≠n***
"[The waters of p]urity, the *egošš*[*i* of purification, the *p*]*ōe*, the *egošši*,[63] [the words, the incantations,[64]] the speech of the gods [shall purify,] make pure, make [strong] and *eg = ošš*- you Tado-Ḫ[eba,] the ritual client!" (ChS I/1 19 i 28'-33')[65]

    b. [?][66] *āšḫožikkonni = ne = ve* ᶠ*Tad*[(*o-Ḫebā = ve idi pāġi pāži ird*)]*i karži ḫapzōri i*[(*di idni šummi taržuwanni = ve āšḫ*)]*ožikkonni = ne = ve* ᶠ*Tad*[*o-Ḫebā = ve* (***šeġ≠al≠o≠l≠ēž ka***)]***ž≠l≠o≠l≠ēž itk≠o≠l≠ēž e***[(***g≠ošš≠o≠l≠ēž***)]
"[ ] May (that) of the ritual client Tad[o-Ḫeba, (namely her) body, head, mouth tong]ue, lips, spittle, *i*[*di idni*, all of the person] of the [ritu]al client Tad[o-Ḫeba be purified,] made [str]ong, made pure and *eg = ošš*-ied!" (ChS I/1 19 i 33'-37')[67]

It is possible, if not likely, that the agents in (9.14a) are to be assumed to be the

unexpressed agents of the verbs in (9.14b). This would result in: "May (the various body

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[62] While ChS I/1 19 iv 1-8; 20 ii 23-30 basically duplicates (9.14a) and (9.14b), there is an important difference. The scribe of ChS I/1 20 divides the absolute forms in (9.14b) from the passive optative verbal forms with a paragraph line. This is clearly an incorrect use of a paragraph line and may indicate that the scribe was not conversant in Hurrian.

[63] Or perhaps: "the water of purity, the *egošši*, the *pōe* of purification, the *egošši*…"

[64] For *tob/vi* as "incantation" see Wilhelm 2002: 160-161.

[65] ⌈*a*⌉*-aš-ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-ma* ᶠ*ta-du-ḫ*[[(*é-pa-an ši-i-e-na-a-šu-uš*)] ²⁹' [(*š*)]*e-ḫe-el-li-bi-na-šu-uš e-ku-uš-š*[(*i-na-a-šu-uš*) *it-kal-zi-ni-b*(*i-na-a-šu-uš*)] ³⁰' [(*p*)]*u-u-e-na-a-šu-uš e-ku-uš-ši-na-a-šu-*[*uš* (*te-bi-na-a-šu-uš tu-u-bi-na-a-šu-uš*)] ³¹' *kat-ki-na-a-šu-uš* DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-ši-na-a-šu-*[(*uš še-ḫa-lu-ši-el-la-an-ti-in*)] ³²' *it-ku-ši-el-la-an-ti-in ka-a*[(*š-lu-ši-el-la-an-ti-in*)] ³³' *e-ku-uš-ši-el-la-an-ti-in*

[66] There may be nothing within the break, see iv 44-45 for a parallel section of the text.

[67] [Ø] ³⁴' [*a*]*-aš-ḫu-uš-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-bi* ᶠ*ta-d*[(*u-ḫé-pa-a-bi i-ti pa-a-ḫi pa-a-ši*)] ³⁵' [(*ir-t*)]*e kar-ši ḫa-ap-zu-u-ri i-*[(*ti it-ni šum-mi tar-šu-wa-an-ni-bi*)] ³⁶' [(*a-aš-ḫ*)]*u-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-bi* ᶠ*ta-d*[*u-ḫé-pa-a-bi* (*še-ḫa-lu-le-e-eš*)] ³⁷' [(*ka-a*)]*š-lu-li-e-eš it-ku-li-e-eš* ⌈*e-*⌉[(*ku-uš-šu-li-e-eš*)]

parts) be purified, etc… (by the waters of purity, etc…).   This does not mean that we

have to assume any agent for (9.14b). The phrase makes perfect sense with or without

the agent since the function is to list the body parts which are to undergo purification and

not the materials used to accomplish this action.

   In the immediately preceding paragraph of ChS I/1 19 (i 10'-27') we find more verbs

in =ožillandin. This section contains more difficulties than the one given in (9.14). The

paragraph can be broken into at least three parts: an introductory section consisting of

indicative verbal forms, and then two long phrases with verbs in =ožillandin. The two

modal phrases are repeated in iv 26-37. While the introductory section does not contain

any modal forms it is worth examining as it sets the stage for the following phrases. It is

treated here as (9.15):

(9.15) [ai]   =mma   ōnn=o itk   =ol=āv   =ž šeḫ[el(i)=le(<ne)ʔ =v(e)ʔ=āeʔ
        if/when+2SG.ENCL ?⁶⁸   purify+ol+1SG.ERG+PL purity   +SG.RELAT+GEN +INST
        šī(e)ʔ =āiʔ (itkal)]zi=v(e)=āe egošš(i)=āe po(e)=ā[e   …=āe⁶⁹
        water+INST purity +GEN+INST ?   +INST ? +INST …+INST
        (ego)]šš(i)=āe tiv(e)=āe tōv/b(i) =āe [katk(i)=ae⁷⁰ (en(i)=n(a)   <=
         ?   +INST word+INST incantation+INST speech +INST god +PL.RELAT+
        až(=e)> =āe) eg(i) =āe⁷¹ šeġ(=al)]=a =mma   āšḫožikkonni
        PL(+GEN)+INST inside+INST pure+al +INT+2SG.ENCL ritual client+ØABS
        ᶠT[ad(o-Ḫeba=n)]
          PN   +CONN?
        "If/when we purify you (Tado-Ḫeba), through [the waters of] pu[rity], through the
        egošši of [purif]ication, throu[gh] the poe, [through …], through the [ego]šši,
        through the word, through the incantation, [through the speech of the gods,

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⁶⁸ unn=o is clearly a temporal word akin to und=o "now", kur=o "formerly; again", etc…

⁶⁹ We certainly have an instrumental form here. The question is whether it is a genitive with the
instrumental as Suffixaufnahme (i.e. NP=v(e)=āe) or simply an NP in the instrumental.

⁷⁰ There is a limited amount of space available in the break, but kat-ka-e or even kat-ka-a-e would
fit.

⁷¹ Restored by Haas in his transliteration of ChS I/1 19. See the transliteration in footnote 73
below.

through the *inside*[?72]], you, T[ado-Ḫeba], the ritual client, will be pure." (ChS I/1 19 i 10'-13')[73]

It is unclear if the verb *šeġala* in i 13' is to be interpreted as an intransitive *šeġ=al=a* or as a transitive (with omitted *=i=*, cf. §2.3.5.3) *šeġ=al(=i)=a*. It is unclear what the intransitive meaning of *šeġ=al-* "to purify" would be. Since in i 10' we have a first person plural agent of *itk-* "to make pure," would we expect a third person transitive form in i 13'? Who would the agent be? I have taken the verb as intransitive above, translating it as the stative "be pure." This is purely *ad sensum*.

Due to the relatively poor preservation of the text, the next section is a little problematic. The primary issue is with the restoration of the beginning of line i 15'. Haas restores [(*te[?]-bi[?]*)-*d*]*a* based on ChS I/1 21 rev. 13. While the first sign may be TE, the second sign is badly broken. The problem is that the directive *tive=da* "to the word" does not make any sense here unless it is taken as a type of "directive of respect," translating as "concerning; as for." For more on this, see below. A possible verbal form *tiv=ed=a* "he will speak" is possible. In this case, the objects would be the *anni=l nirubādi*, "those evil (things)." This reading depends upon how the first word of i 14' is to be analyzed. The form [(*i*)*n*]-*ni-e-el-la* (*innē=lla*) can be taken in three different ways. First of all, it can be analyzed as a form of *inni* "pride."[74] What follows it is a list of bad

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[72] The noun *egi* is typically translated as "within, inside; heart." I do not know what it is doing in this context.

[73] [*a-i*]-*ma u-un-nu it-ku-la-a-uš še-ḫe-e*[*l-li-wa-a-e* …] [11'] [(*it-kal*)]-*zi-pa-a-e e-ku-uš-ša-a-e pu-wa-*[*a-e* …] [12'] [(*e-ku-u*)]*š-ša-a-e te-pa-a-e tu-u-pa-a-e* [. . . (.) (DINGIR.MEŠ-*na<-ša>-a-e*) *e[?]-ga[?]-a[?]-e[?]*] [13'] [*še-ḫ(a-l)*]*a-am-ma a-aš-ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni* ᶠ*t*[*a-d(u-ḫé-pa-an)*]; The restorations are based on the ergative plural agents in ChS I/1 19 i 28'-31' (example (9.14a) above).

[74] André-Salvini and Salvini 1998: 12-13

things, and "pride" can certainly be seen as belonging to this group. Its place at the

start of the phrase allows for two alternate possibilities. It could be a biform of either *inu*

"as" or, perhaps better, *inna* "when, if." If we translate *innē* as "if," then we have a

conditional phrase with *tiv≠ed≠a* acting as the predicate: "If he will say …" The

apodosis of the conditional would be the verbs of purification and healing in *≠ožillandin*.

Since this gives a plausible reading for not only *innē* but also *tiveda*, I will follow it here.

Lines i 14'-21' are given here as (9.16):

(9.16) [(*i*)*n*]*nē≠lla*   *anni≠l*   *nirubādi* [. . *-u*(*ndi≠na*   *tiv*) *≠e*]*d≠*
         if   +3PL.ENCL those+3PL.ENCL evil+ØABS   ?   +PL.RELAT speak+FUT+
a^(??)   *šeġel*(*i*)   *≠le*   *≠ve* *≠n*(*a*)   *≠až≠už šīe* *≠*[(*n*(*a*)   *≠až≠už*
         3SG.ERG purification+SG.RELAT+GEN+PL.RELAT+PL+ERGwater+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
ego)]*šši≠n*(*a*)   *≠āž≠už itkalzi≠ne*   *≠ve* *≠n*(*a*)   *≠*[(*āž≠už*
         ?   +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG purity +SG.RELAT+GEN+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
pō)]*e≠n*(*a*)   *≠āž≠už egošši≠n*(*a*)   *≠ā*[*ž≠už* … (*en*(*i*)*≠na*   *≠až≠e*)]*≠*
         ?   +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG ?   +PL.RELAT+PL+ERG … god +PL.RELAT+PL+GEN+
n(*a*)   *≠āž≠už tive ≠n*(*a*)   *≠āž≠u*[*ž* …^75 (*t*)]*ōv/bi   ≠n*(*a*)   *≠āž≠už*
         PL.RELAT+PL+ERG word+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG … incantation+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG
katki ≠n(*a*)   *≠āž≠*[(*už en*(*i*)*≠n*(*a*)   *≠āž≠už* ***až***   *≠o*)]*ž≠ill   ≠and≠*
         speech+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG gods+PL.RELAT+PL+ERG *cleanse*^(?)+*ož* +INCHO+*and*+
i   ≠*(*e*)   *≠n   ḫā ≠ož≠ill   ≠a*[*nd≠i* (*≠e*)   *≠n*   … (*ō*)]*ll≠
         ACT(+MOD)+3SG.ENCL take+*ož*+INCHO+*and*+ACT(+MOD)+3SG.ENCL … ?   +
oġ≠ož≠ill   ≠and≠i* (*≠e*)   *≠n
         oġ+*ož*+INCHO+*and*+ACT(+MOD)+3SG.ENCL
         "If (someone^(?)) will [speak] those evil […, the x's], the water[s] of purification,
         the *egošši*, the *pōe* of purity, the *egošši*, …] the words of the [gods] the
         incantations, the speech [of the gods] shall *cleanse*, take, and *ōll≠oġ*- (them)!"
         (ChS I/1 19 i 14'-21')^76

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75 Haas restores *e-ku-uš-ši-na-aš-uš* but there is no room for this in the break. It is also not
expected here, now that we are in a new category of agent. The first group are apparently physical things
such as water. The second group contains spoken thins, such as *tive* "words," *tōv/bi* "incantations," and
katki "speech(?)." The term *egošši* belongs with this first category and not the second.

76 [(*i*)*n*]*-ni-e-el-la an-ni-el ni-ru-pa-a-te* [. . *-u*(*n-te-na*)] ^15' [(*te*^?*-b*)*i*^?*-d*]*a*^? *še-ḫe-el-li-bi-na-šu-uš*
ši-i⌈*-e-*⌉[(*na-šu-uš*)] ^16' [(*e-ku-u*)]*š-ši-na-a-šu-uš it-kal-zi-ni-bi-n*[(*a-a-šu-uš*)] ^17' [(*pu-u*)]*-e-na-a-šu-uš eku-*
uš-ši-na⌈*-a-*⌉[*šu-uš* …] ^18' [(DINGIR.MEŠ)]*-na-a-šu-uš* (erasure) *te-bi-na-a-šu-u*[*š* …] ^19' [(*tu*)]*-u-bi-na-a-*
šu-uš kat-ki-na-a-šu-[(*uš* DINGIR.MEŠ*-na-ši-na-a-šu-uš*)] ^20' [(*a-šu*)]*-ši-el-la-an-ti-in ḫa-a-u-ši-el-la-*[*an-*
ti-in …] ^21' [(*u-u*)]*l-lu-ḫu-ši-el-la-an-ti-in*

Immediately following *ōlloġožillandin* is the genitive construction (with Ø absolute

singular Suffixaufnahme) *āšḫož*[(*ikkonni⸗ne⸗ve* ᶠ)]*Tado-Ḫebā⸗ve* "(that) of the ritual

client Tado-Ḫeba."[77] This is in turn followed by a series of body parts, all in the directive

case. These directives are most likely "directives of respect." They are the enumeration

of the various parts of Tado-Ḫeba that are to be purified. The passage on the whole likely

translates as: "They shall x (the person) of the ritual client, that is to say, the body, the

head, etc…" with all body parts in the directive. Since the major grammatical features

have just been discussed, the following normalization of the passage will not include

grammatical commentary. The passage reads as follows:

(9.17)   *āšḫož*[(*ikkonni⸗ne⸗ve* ᶠ)]*Tado-Ḫebā⸗ve idi⸗da pāġi⸗d*[(*a pāži⸗da*)]
         irdi⸗da karži⸗da ḫapzōri⸗d[(*a ide⸗da i*)]*dni⸗da šummi⸗da taršuwanni<⸗ve⸗
         ne>⸗d*[(*a*)] *āšḫožikkoni⸗ne⸗ve⸗da* ᶠ*T*[(*ado-Ḫebā<⸗ve⸗ne>⸗va p*)]*ār⸗ill⸗and⸗
         i(⸗e)⸗nna ōl(i)⸗li(<ni)* [(*patti⸗ni*)] *ōl(i)⸗li(<ni) paġandar(i)⸗ri(<ni)*
         "They shall *pār-*[78] (the person) of the rit[ual client] Tado-Ḫeba, that is to say, the
         body, the head, [the mouth], the tongue, the lip, the spittle, [the *idi*] *idni*, all of the
         person, of the ritual client Tado-Ḫeba, from the other *patti* (or?) from the other
         paġandari!" (ChS I/1 19 i 21'-27')[79]

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[77] In iv 31-32, the genitive phrase [*āšḫožikkonni⸗ne⸗ve*] ᶠ*ta-du-ḫé-pa-a-bi* is separated from the
following phrase by a paragraph line. Based on this, the genitive phrase would go with (9.16) and not with
what follows. As we have seen, however, paragraph lines in Hurrian texts are not always indicative of
actual division of phrases, and occasionally a phrase will be split up by such lines.

[78] There are at least three different roots *pār-*. There is a *par-* "to go" (equivalent to Hitt. *iya-*)
(KBo 32.13 i 1). Another root *pār-* is "to be ill" is found in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual (KBo 32.14 i 8:
pār⸗u). None of these roots fit the context. There may be a root **par-* "to bake(?)" based on the nominal
form *far⸗i⸗nni* "baker" (KBo 32.15 i 21: *farin(n)i⸗nā*). Some other verbal forms are known from
Boğazköy: *pa-a-ri-in-du-uš* (*pār⸗ind⸗o⸗(e)ž* ChS I/1 3 obv. 15), *pa-a-ru-ša* (*pār⸗ož⸗a* ChS I/15 75 iv
16'), and *pa-a-ru-ú-ša* (*pār⸗ūž⸗a* ChS I/5 75 iv 18').

[79] *a-aš-ḫu-š*[(*i-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-bi*)] ²²' [(ᶠ)]*ta-du-ḫé-pa-a-bi i-ti-ta pa-a-ḫi-t*[(*a pa-a-ši-ta*)] ²³' [*i*]*r-ti-
ta kar-ši-ta ḫa-ap-zu-u-ri-t*[(*a i-te-ta*)] ²⁴' [(*i*)]*t-ni-ta šum-mi-ta tar-šu-wa-an-ni<-ni-bi-ni>-t*[(*a*)] ²⁵' [*a*]*-aš-
ḫu-ši-ikku-un-ni-ni-bi-ni-ta* ᶠ*t*[(*a-du-ḫé-pa-a<-bi-ni>-pa*)] ²⁶' [(*p*)]*a-a-re-el-la-an-ti-in-na u-ul-li* [(*pa-at-te-
ni*)] ²⁷' ⌈*u*⌉*-ul-li pa-ḫa-an-tar-ri*

If (9.17) is correct, then there is neither expressed patient or an expressed agent. There

are certain problems in the writing of (9.17) and its duplicates. First of all, in i 24' we

find the form *tar-šu-wa-an-ni-t*[*a*]. The form cannot be a directive in this context.

Required is the genitive form with Suffixaufnahme *taržuwanni=ne=ve=ne=da* "to the x

of the person." The passage ends with two instrumental/ablative NPs, both introduced by

ol(i)=li(<ni) "from the other."

In ChS I/1 24, a potential partial duplicate of ChS I/1 19 i 15'-27' can be found.[80] The

tablet is in poor condition, preserving only the final lines of column ii and the first several

lines of column iii. It appears as if we have two passages preserved, although the

predicate of the second is not preserved. The first passage would mirror (9.16). Due to

the fragmentary state of the text, it is difficult to determine whether the absolute forms

ḫapzōr]*i*, *idi* and *pāġ*[*i* (ii 3') are to be construed with the modal verbs in ii 7'-8' or with

some verb in the broken section ii x+1-4'. The second passage parallels (9.17),

beginning with the genitive construction *ašḫožikkonni=ne=ve* [ᵐ*Tažmi-šarri=ve*] which

is followed in turn by a series of body parts in the directive. The verb in iii 2 is not

preserved. The passages run as follows:

(9.18) a. [… *šīe=n(a)=až=už*] *šeġel(i)=le(<ne)=ve=n(a)=až=*[*už egošši=n(a)=až=už*
            en(i)<=n(a)=až=e>=n(a)=ā]*ž=už*[81] *tōb/vi=n(a)=až=už* [*katki=n(a)=až=už*

---

en(i)<⸗n(a)⸗až⸗e>⸗n(a)⸗až⸗]už **až⸗ōž⸗ill⸗and⸗i(⸗e)⸗n** [*ḫā⸗ož⸗ill⸗*
and⸗i(⸗e)⸗n *ōll⸗oġ⸗ož⸗i*]*ll⸗and⸗i(⸗e)⸗n*[82]

"[The waters] of purity, [the *egošši* of the gods], the incantations, [the speech of
the gods] shall *cleanse*[?], [take and *ōll⸗oġ-*] (the …)" (ChS I/1 24 ii 4'-8')[83]

b.   *ašḫožikkonni⸗ne⸗ve* [ᶠ*Tažmi-šarri⸗ve*[84] *ide⸗da p*]*aġi⸗da pāši*⌉*⸗da irdi⸗da*
[*karži⸗da ḫapzōri⸗d*]*a idi⸗da idni⸗da šumm*[*i⸗da taržuwanni⸗da*] (end of
column) [*ašḫožikkonni⸗ne⸗ve*(?)[85]] ᵐ*Tažmi-šarri⸗ve*⌉ [**pār⸗ill⸗and⸗i(⸗e)⸗n**
ō]*l(i)*[*⸗l*]*i(<ni) patte⸗ ni ōl(i)⸗li(<ni)* [*paġandar(i)*]*⸗ri(<ni)*

"They [shall *pār-*] (the person) of the ritual client [Tažmi-šarri, that is to say,
the body, the h]ead, the mouth, the tongue, [the lip, the spittle], and the *idi idni*,
all [of the person, that of the ritual client,] Tažmi-šarri [fro]m the other *patti*
(or[?]) from the other [*paġandari*]!" (ChS I/1 24 ii 8'-iii 3)[86]

All other examples of this modal form are similar to the ones given above. They all

contain plural agents in the ergative and singular patients in the absolutive. As we have

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[82] Haas restores these last two verbs as [(*še-ḫa-lu-ši-el-la-an-tin it-ku-ši*)]*-el-l-an-tin*, basing his
restorations on ChS I/1 20 ii 26 (ChS I/1 p. 183). The form *ažōžillandin* typically occurs as the first
member of a group of three verbs, *až-*, *ḫā-* and *oll⸗oġ-* (cf. ChS I/1 19 i 20'-21', ii 8'-9', iv 30-31; 20 ii 11).
In ChS I/1 6 iii 20'-21', we find the verbs *až-*, [*ḫā-*], *kaž⸗l-* and *it*[*k*]-, indicating that it can appear in other
combinations. In ChS I/1 19 iv 2, Haas restores [… *a-šu-ši-el-l(a-an-ti-in)*], referring back to ii 8'.
Unfortunately, this form is immediately followed by *itkožillandi*[*n* in iv 3 and *kažložillandi*[*n* in iv 4. A
better restoration of iv 2-4 would be ² [… *še-ḫa-lu-ši-el-la-an-ti-in*] ³ *it-ku-ši-el-la-an-ti-i*[*n e-ku-uš-ši-el-
la-a-an-ti-in*] ⁴ *ka-aš*⌈*-lu*⌉*-ši-el-la-an-ti-i*[*n*.

[83] [… *ši-i-e-na-a-šu-uš*] *še-ḫe-el-li-bi*⌈*-na*⌉*-š*[*u-uš*] ⁵' [*e-ku-uš-ši-na-šu-uš it-kal-zi-ni*]*-bi-na-šu-uš
pu-u-e-na-šu-u*[*š*] ⁶' [*e-ku-uš-ši-na-šu-uš* DINGIR.MEŠ<*-na-ši*>*-na-a*]*-šu-uš tu-u-bi-na-šu-uš* ⁷' [*kat-ki-na-
šu-uš* DINGIR.MEŠ*-na-ši-na-š*]*u-uš a-šu-u-ši-el-la-an-tin* ⁸' [*ḫa-a-u-ši-el-la-an-tin u-ul-lu-ḫu-ši*]*-el-la-an-
tin*

[84] Haas unsatisfactorily restores: [ᶠ*ta-du-ḫé-pa-a-bi*] (ChS I/1 p. 183). On the likely hood that this
is not her but rather her husband Tažmi-šarri see the next footnote.

[85] The restoration here is highly speculative. Typically following *šummi taržuwanni⸗ne⸗ve* we
find the specification *ašḫožikonni⸗ne⸗ve* ᶠ*Tado-Ḫebā⸗ve* (cf. ChS I/1 6 iii 9 (PN is restored), iv 34
(omitting expected genitive endings); 19 i 35', 40', iv 12, 47 (largely restored); etc…). Note that in ChS I/1
20 ii 23-29, the ritual client is not Tado-Ḫeba, but rather Tažmi-šarri. In ii 29 we get: *šummi taržuw*]*anni⸗
ve ašḫožikkon*[*ni⸗ne⸗ve* ᵐ*Tažmi*]*-šarri⸗ve* "all of the per]son, that [of] the ritual client [Tažmi]-šarri.
Since we have Tažmi-šarri preserved in this passage (in the directive instead of in the expected genitive
case!), It is likely that the passages in (9.18a-b) are devoted to him and not to Tado-Ḫeba. The passage
beginning in iii 4, however, is devoted to Tado-Ḫeba.

[86] *aš-ḫu-ši-ik-ku-un-ni-ni-bi* ⁹' [ᵐ*ta-aš-mi-šar-ri-bi i-te-ta p*]*a-ḫi-ta pa-a-ḫi-ta ir-ti-ta* ¹⁰' [*kar-ši-ta
ḫa-ap-zu-u-ri-t*]*a i*⌈*-ti-ta it*⌉*-ni-ta šum-m*[*i-ta* ¹¹' [*tar-šu-wa-an-ni-ta*] (end of column) ⁱⁱⁱ ¹ [*aš-ḫo-ši-ik-ku-un-
ni-ni-bi*] ᵐ*ta-aš-mi-šar-ri-bi*⌉(text: *-ta*) ² [*pa-a-ri-el-la-an-ti-in u-u*]*l-*[*l*]*i bat-te-ni u-ul-li* ³ [*pa-ḫa-an-tar*]*-ri*

seen above, they often occur in groups of three or more forms, although on occasion

we find just one verb. Each example above and in all the other cases of this modal form,

we appear to have a wish on the part of the speaker that a plural agent perform a certain

action (typically related to purification in the examples above). Therefore this is another

marker of deontic modality in Hurrian. I am unable to determine the strength of the

mood and have opted to use the weak modal "shall" for the English translations. This

may or may not be correct, but until we reach a better understanding of this form, I feel

that "shall" is a good translation of it.

CHAPTER TEN
Forms in ⸗i/e and Forms in ⸗u/o

10.1 Introduction

In §3.3.4 morphologically minimal verbal forms in ⸗u/o were introduced. It was

determined there that while they are formally similar to the imperative, they almost

certainly have a different function. Imperatives are limited to second person subjects and

mark for valence (i.e. ⸗a for intransitive and ⸗i for transitive). Verbs in ⸗u/o certainly

occur with third person singular subjects and perhaps also with second person ones as

well.[1] Furthermore, verbs in ⸗u/o appear to be "passive" in nature. Based on the

available evidence, it would appear that this ending does not belong to the imperative.

In the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual, there are also forms in ⸗(l)i/e that do not belong to any

of the modal endings discussed above. Formally they are most similar to the first person

jussive forms in ⸗le (cf. §5.2.1). The two verbs with this ending have been parsed in a

number of different ways (see below §10.2.1.1). The two constants in these treatments is

that the verbs have third person subjects and are of an intransitive or passive nature. In

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[1] This does not stop Neu from labeling ⸗u/o as imperative when he writes: "[d]aß der Imperativausgang -o (graphisch -u) keine grammatische Person anzeigt, ergibt sich auch aus der als 3. Pers. Singularis fungierenden Imperativform *ku-ú-du* /kūd=o/. The above arguments concerning ⸗u/o follow Wilhelm 1992a: 139.

the following sections the endings *≠u/o* and *≠(l)i/e* will be examined and a possible

connection between the forms will be discussed.

10.2 Form and Function

10.2.1 *≠i/e*

The discussion of the ending *≠i/e* will be limited to examples found in Boğazköy.

This ending is found with two verbs in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual that are found in

combination three times in the parable text KBo 32.14. The two forms are given here as

(10.1) in transcription:

(10.1) a. *sí-ik-ku-ú-ul-li*   (KBo 32.14 i 48)
           sí-ik-ku-ul-li   (KBo 32.14 rev. 37)
           ⌜*sí-ik-*⌝[*k*]*u-ul-li* (KBo 32.14 rev. 58)

       b. *e-ḫé-ep-šu-ul-li*(*≠ma*)   (KBo 32.14 i 48)
           e-ḫé-ep-šu-ul-li⌜*-i*⌝(*≠ma*) (KBo 32.14 rev. 37)
           [*e-ḫé-e*]*p-*|*šu-ul-li-i*(*≠ma*) (KBo 32.14 rev. 58-59)

The forms given above in (10.1a-b) share the ending *-ulli*. The endings are written once

with plene *-ú-* and twice with plene *-i*, but otherwise the forms are written with short

vowels.[2] The form [*e-ḫé-e*]*p-*|*šu-ul-li-i*(*≠ma*) is split between lines rev. 58 and 59.[3]

In order to attempt to analyze the form of this ending, it must be examined in its

proper context. The verbs in (10.1) all occur in parallel passages as part of a curse

formula. The only difference, aside from spelling, is in the person cursed. The three

passages are given below without grammatical commentary or parsing:

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[2] According to Catsanicos 1996: 202[31] *sí-ik-ku-ú-ul-li* is written "avec la notation irrégulière -ú-ul."

[3] Neu 1996: 205

(10.2) *āi tabirifūi šōni* **sikkūlli eġepšullima** *egēni fandani ḫērāri* (KBo 32.14 i 47- 49)[4]

(10.3) [*ā*]*i pairifūi šōni* **sikkulli eġepšullīma** *egēni fandani ḫerāri* (KBo 32.14 rev 37)[5]

(10.4) *āi šialirifūi šōni* **sik[k]ulli [eġe]pšullīma** *igēni fandani ḫerāri* (KBo 32.14 rev. 58-59)[6]

In each case the curse is directed at a particular person. This person is always given as an active participle in ≠*i* ≠ *ri*[7]: *tab* ≠ *i* ≠ *ri* "the one who casts (*tab/v-*)" (i 47), *pa* ≠ *i* ≠ *ri* "the one who builds (*pa-*)" (rev. 37), *ši* ≠ *al* ≠ *i* ≠ *ri* "the one who sets down/stacks up (*ši* ≠ *al-*)" (rev. 58). The cursed person is further modified by the first person possessive ≠*iffe* (written here with a single -*f*-)[8] and the genitive ending ≠*ue* (written -*ú-i*).[9] The curser always the subject of the parable. In the case of (10.2) it is the cup (*kāzi*), in (10.3) it is the tower (*kumdi*), and in (10.4) it is the wood (*tāli*).

   The Hittite versions of (10.2)-(10.4) consistently use medio-passive verbal forms to translate the Hurrian verbs in -*ulli*. The Hittite passage in ii 47-49 will be given here as (10.5). Despite minor differences which will be noted below, this passage can be taken as representative of the Hittite translation of the above Hurrian phrases:

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[4] *a-a-i ta-bi-ri pu-ú-i* [48] *šu-u-ni sí-ik-ku-ú-ul-li e-ḫé-ep-šu-ul-li-ma* [49] *e-ke-e-ni pa-an-ta-ni ḫé-e-ra-a-ri*; Catsanicos 1996: 201; Neu 1994: 132; idem. 1996: 151-152

[5] [*a-a*]-*i pa-i-ri pu*⌈-*ú*⌉-*i šu-u-ni sí-ik-ku-ul-li e-ḫé-ep-šu-ul-li-i-ma e-ke-e-ni wa_a-an-ta-ni ḫé-ra-a-ri*; Catsanicos 1996: 201, 202[31], 203; Neu 1996: 190-191.

[6] *a-a-i ši-ia-li-ri* ⌈*pu*⌉-*ú-i šu-u-ni* ⌈*sí*⌉-*ik-*[*k*]*u-ul-li* [*e-ḫé-e*]*p-*[59]*šu-ul-li-i-ma i-ke-e-ni pa-an-ta-ni ḫé-ra-a-ri*; Catsanicos 1996: 201-202; Neu 1996: 205-206.

[7] See Giorgieri 2000a: 243; Wilhelm 1988: 50-57; idem. 1992: 140 with pre-1992 bibliography.

[8] Catsanicos 1996: 201.

[9] Neu 1996: 152 takes the *pu-ú-i* as a separate word.

(10.5) *ma-a-an*[10]*-wa-mu la-a-ḫu-uš ku-iš ma-an-wa-aš-ši-kán ki-iš-šar-aš ar-ḫa du-wa-ar-na-at-ta-ri ku-un-na-aš-ma-an-wa-aš-ši-kán iš-ḫu-na-ú-uš ar-ḫa ú-i-šu-u-ri-ia-at-ta-ri*
"If only the hand of the one who had cast me would break and his right arm muscle/tendon(?) be *paralyzed*[11]" (KBo 32.14 ii 47-49)

The subjects of the curse are the hand (*kissaras*) and part of the right arm (*kunnas-*…

isḫunaus)[12] of the copper smith. The Hittite uses the modal construction *man* + a verb in

the medio-passive to translate the two Hurrian verbs. If the Hittite translation can be

taken as a literal translation of the Hurrian, then *sikkulli* should equal *man … arḫa*

duwarnattari and *eġepšulli* should match up with Hittite *man … arḫa wisūriyattari*.

   Let us now return to the first phrase in (10.2), given here as (10.6):

(10.6) *āi tabirif(f)ūi šōni **sikkūlli*** (KBo 32.14 i 47-48)

The particle *āi* corresponds to Hittite *mān* and is to be translated as "if only."[13] In the

Hittite we find the dative-locative enclitic pronoun ⸗*ssi* which is modified by the relative

construction ⸗*mu lāḫus kuis* "the one who cast me." The corresponding Hurrian simply

uses the genitive *tabir(i)⸗iffu⸗we* "of my caster (lit. "of my one-who-casts")." The

following *šōni* "hand" corresponds to the Hittite *kissaras*.

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[10] The conditional/temporal particle *mān* is not used in rev. 43, but can be restored in rev. 71.

[11] Following Hoffner 1998a: 70.

[12] For difficulties in translating *isḫunaus*, see Neu 1996: 152-153.

[13] See the discussion in §8.3.2.

The root of the predicate *sikkūlli* is *sikk-* which corresponds to Hittite *duwarnai-*
"to break."[14] The verb can be parsed in a number of different ways. According to Neu,
immediately following the root is the "intransitive-passivische Formans *-ul-*."[15] In i 48,
this morpheme is written with plene *-ú-*. Since the following verb *eġepšulli* is never
written plene, Wilhelm prefers to see these two verbs as utilizing different morphemes.
He parses the forms as *sikk⸗ūl-* and *eġ⸗epš⸗ol-*.[16] This distinction between forms is not
held by Neu.[17] While Wilhelm's observation is certainly valid, the endings of these two
verbs are so similar that it seems unlikely that we are dealing with two nearly
homophonous morphemes in *⸗ul⸗* and *⸗ol⸗* instead of simply one *⸗u/ol⸗*. For this
reason I prefer to follow Neu in seeing these variant writings as representing one and the
same morpheme.

Neu takes the final *-li* (or *-le*) as a third person modal form.[18] He also allows for the
possibility of an elided *⸗i⸗* between the *⸗u/ol⸗* and *⸗li*. He allows for the possibility that
this elided *⸗i⸗* may function as a jussive marker as per Girbal and Wegner.[19] As
demonstrated above (§4.2.1.2 and Chapter Eleven) the morpheme *⸗i⸗* is not a modal
marker but rather functions alongside *⸗o⸗* in indicating voice. The geminate *-ll-* would

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[14] Friedrich 1974: 231; Neu 1968: 75-76; HEG T pp. 492-496 sub *tuwarnai-*

[15] Neu 1994: 132; On this morpheme see Neu 1988a: 238-243.

[16] Wilhelm 1992: 134, 129; for his discussion on *⸗ol⸗* as never being written with plene *-ú-* in the bilingual, see p. 137.

[17] Neu 1996: 154 ("Ist vielleicht im letzten Fall die Pleneschreibung mit *-ú-* nur wegen der Wortlänge unterblieben?"). I appears that Catasanicos also treats the two verbs as both containing *-ul-* (1996: 202).

[18] Neu allows for both readings in his article on modal forms in the Bilingual (1994: 132-133); see also idem. 1996: 151, 154. Catsanicos parses the form as *sikk+ol+li* and calls it an "optatif 3^e sg. à valeur intransitive-passive" (1996: 202).

[19] Neu 1996: 151-152.

seem to indicate that there was elision of a vowel between the two liquids. The two

available options are either =i= as noted by Neu or =o=.[20] The Hittite verb man=…

kissaras arḫa duwarnattari is to be translated as the middle "(if only his) hand would

break" and not as the passive "(if only his) hand would be broken."[21] If we have the

elision of a voice marker between the *-ll-*, then would it be the active =i= or the "passive"

=o=? Against Neu, I prefer the "passive" =o=. I know of no occurrences of the active =

i= used on verbs that must be interpreted as middle. The difference between Hittite "If

only his hand would break" and Hurrian "If only the hand of my caster would be broken"

is minimal. This argument relies, of course, on the assumption that the Hittite middle

arḫa duwarnattari is a literal translation of the Hurrian.

As mentioned above, Neu takes the modal ending as either =li or =le and analyzes it

as a third person singular modal morpheme. If =le, then this proposed modal ending

would be homophonous with the first person jussive =le (see §5.2.1). Alternatively,

Wegner analyzes these forms as ending in a verb "+ u/ol + il (*l+il > ll*) konditioneller

Optativ + i unklar" (her italics).[22] Wegner's "konditioneller Optativ" =il= is not

recognized here as an actual modal morpheme but rather is to be analyzed as =i=l=, the

active morpheme + modal morpheme =l=.

I would like to propose alternative reading of this form to both Neu's and Wegner's

that is consistent with the model for non-indicative forms proposed in this work. As

mentioned the geminate writing *-ll-* likely indicates elision of either and *i* or *o*. Similar

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[20] Cf. §4.3.4.4 on optative forms with elided =o=.

[21] On the use of *duwarnai-* as a middle verb see Neu 1968: 75-76.

[22] Wegner 2000: 195

occurrences of such an elision have been analyzed as coming from an original

combination of *-l=i/o=l=, with =i/o= as the voice markers and =l= as the modal

extension. In such situations, what follows the modal extension =l= is understood to be

the actual modal morpheme (e.g. =i=l=ēž with =ēž as optative). If this holds for *sikkulli*

and *eġepšulli*, then the final -i should be the modal morpheme. All of the writings of

sikkulli are ambiguous as to the quality of the final vowel (cf. (10.1) above). There are,

however, two examples of *eġepšulli* with plene final -i- before the enclitic particle =ma.[23]

This would seem to indicate that the final vowel should be read as the morpheme =i

instead of =e. The question that remains is how indicative is this spelling of actual

phonology?

In the *eġepšulli* phrase we find the form *e-ke-e-ni* (i 49, rev. 37) and *i-ke-e-ni* (rev.

59). If one claims that the writing *e-ḫé-ep-šu-ul-li-i-ma* (rev. 37) with plene -i-

unambiguously indicates that the modal morpheme is =ī, then how are the forms of *egēni*

and *igēni* to be rectified? Both forms use the unambiguous signs *e-* and *i-*, but which is

correct and which is closer to the actual sound of the word?[24] The evidence indicates that

we cannot rely on the use of the vocalic signs I (𒄿) and E (𒂊) to determine vowel

quality. So while the writing *e-ḫé-ep-šu-ul-li-i-ma* can be normalized as *eġepšullīma*, it

is equally possible that we have to read *eġepšullema* with either length or stress on the

final *e* due to the presence of the enclitic particle =ma (i.e. either =ē= or =é=). If this is

correct then we have the following two forms: *sikkulli = sikk=ol(=o)=l=e* "may/would it

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[23] =ma here likely functions as a connector joining the two clauses.

[24] Note also the spelling of *enzari* "the gods" with *i-in-* (ChS I/1 3 29, 30, 31, 42) versus *e-in-* (ChS I/1 41i 6, 21(-i[n]. iii 71) and *en-* (ChS I/1 47 obv.[?] 3', 7'(*e*]*n*[?]-)). Other examples can be found in Giorgieri and Wilhelm 1995.

be broken" and *eġepšulli* = *eġ* ⸗ *epž* ⸗ *ol(* ⸗ *o)* ⸗ *l* ⸗ *e* "may/would it be *paralyzed*." Since

there are no clear examples of middle verbs in Hurrian with the active morpheme ⸗ *i* ⸗,

the elided vowel is best taken as the "passive" ⸗ *o* ⸗ as commented upon above.

Based on their form it is also possible to take these two verbs as first person jussive

forms in ⸗ *le*. If we follow this, then we must assume that the Hittite is a misreading of

the Hurrian, switching the absolutive patient of the Hurrian to the subject in the Hittite.

This kind of error in the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual has been discussed above (§3.3.1).

Instead of translating the Hurrian as "passives," we would have "If only I would/could

break the arm of my caster and paralyze his right arm!" The verbs would be analyzed as

sikk ⸗ *ol(* ⸗ *i)* ⸗ *le* and *eġ* ⸗ *epž* ⸗ *ol(* ⸗ *i)* ⸗ *le*. While one can imagine the cup saying this in i 47-

48, it is difficult to picture how the tower in rev. 37 would be able to accomplish this

curse. The cup can be held and therefore could possible cause damage to his maker. The

tower cannot be held and if it were to hurt its builder, it would likely do much more

damage than simply breaking his hand or paralyzing his arm. So while it is possible to

read the verbs as first person jussives, it is much more likely that they are to be taken as

"passive" third person modal forms in ⸗ *o* ⸗ *l* ⸗ *e*.

An interesting example comes from ChS I/5 59 iii 15'-18'. Two Hurrian paragraphs

are found after a Hittite passage describing the ritual actions of the ^MUNUS^ŠU.GI. Both

involve an *eradi* "bird." The passages are as follows:

(10.7) ("The ^MUNUS^ŠU.GI breaks down the gate (of hawthorn). She kills the birds and
speaks in Hurrian:")
erad(i) ⸗ *a*   ⸗ *d*   *mar* ⸗ *all* ⸗ *i* ⸗ *n*   *šarni* ⸗ *da* ⸗ [*d*]   *kidiže* ⸗
bird   +ESS+1SG.ENCL ?   +*all*+AP+CONN^? ?   +DIR+1SG.ENCL ?   +
ni   ⸗ *n*   *un* ⸗ *i* ⸗ *b* …§ [*e*]*radi* ⸗ *ne*   ⸗ *ž*   *mar* ⸗ *all* ⸗ *i* (⸗ *e*)
ABL/INST+CONN bring+AP+AGR …§ bird   +SG.RELAT+ERG ?   +*all*+ACT+MOD

"I *marall-* the bird. I bring (it) to the *šarni* from the *kidiže* … § Let the bird *marall-*!" (ChS I/5 59 iii 15'-18')[25]

These passages are fraught with difficulties. First is the verb itself. I have taken the *ma-ra-al-le-en* (iii 15') and *ma-ra-al-li* (iii 18') as verbal forms.[26] The former is a good example of an antipassive, with *erada* as the essive patient and *≠d* as the absolutive agent. The latter must be a jussive form. The form *ma-ra-al-li* can only be a modal form. There are no indicative forms in *≠i* that take an ergative agent. With *eradinež*, we would expect a transitive form *mar≠all≠i≠a* or even *mar≠all≠a*, but never *mar≠all≠i*. It is likely that we have a modal form in *≠e* here (i.e. **mar≠all≠i≠e*).

10.2.2 *≠u/o*

Non-indicative verbs ending in *≠u/o* were treated with the imperatives in §3.3.4. It was determined there that this ending does not belong to the imperative system. Unlike the imperatives, there are examples of both second and third person singular subjects with this ending. Another distinction is that verbs in *≠u/o* can take an agent in the ergative, while in the imperative, A, S and O NPs are in the absolutive or essive (only with O NPs). While every example of verbs in *≠u/o* are transitive (e.g. *kel-* "to make good/well," *kir-* "to release"), or labile (e.g. *fend-* "to send off"), expressed agents are rarely

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[25] *e-ra-ta-at ma-ra-al-le-en šar-ni-ta-a*[*t*] [16'] *ki-ti-še-ni-en ú-ni-ip* … § [18'] [*e*]-*ra-ti-ni-iš ma-ra-al-li*; Wegner 1988: 148

[26] There is a noun *maralli* "spear" (= Hitt. [GiŠ]*māri-*) (Haas and Thiel 1978: 179). The *ma-ra-al-le-en* in this text cannot be this noun. If it were to be analyzed as a noun, then the preceding *eradad* would have to be a nominal sentence "I (am) a/the bird" with *eradi* either in the essive or in the absolutive (with root *-i > -a*). As a result, *maralli* would go with the following and function as the absolutive subject of *unib*. In turn, the next form would have to be read as *šar-ni-ta-l*[*a*] or else we would have both *maralli* and *≠d* as the subject. In the end, the resulting translation "the spears bring (x) to the *šarni* from the *kidiže*" makes little sense.

included. This is reminiscent of the situation found in the "passive" or inverse

optative (cf. §4.2.1.2.1; §11.2.4).

As has been alluded to above, the ending =*u/o* is likely to be the "passive" voice

marker =*o* found in other moods. Under this interpretation, the absolute NP would

function as the grammatical subject while being the logical object. Any expressed

ergative NPs would have to be analyzed as oblique and translated as "by X." As

mentioned, this is very similar to the optative. If this ending is to be taken as a "passive"

modal form, then behind =*o* we must have both the "passive" morpheme as well as a non-

indicative one.[27] As with the verbs discussed in §10.2.1, it is very likely that behind =*o*

we have the combination *=*o*=*e*, with =*e* functioning as the modal morpheme. The

significance will be discussed below in §10.2.3.

10.2.2.1 KBo 32.14 i 57-58

A few examples will suffice to prove this point. The first passage to be discussed

comes from the parable text KBo 32.14 of the Hurro-Hittite Bilingual. After having been

cursed by a cup which he had created, a metal smith utters a counter-curse. As part of

this, he says:

(10.8) ***kūd*** =***o*** (=***e***) *kāzi*   *pel(i)*=*lē*(<*ne*) =*ni*
         throw+PASS+MOD cup+ØABS canal+SG.RELAT+ABL/INST
         "May the cup be thrown into the canal!" (KBo 32.14 i 57-58)[28]

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[27] There is no evidence that a Hurrian verb can end in a simply voice morpheme.

[28] *ku-ú-du* [58] *ka-a-zi pé-el-le-e-ni*

The verb *kūdo* is translated into Hittite as the intransitive *mausdu* "may it fall."[29]

That the Hittite translates the "passive" *kūdo* with an active intransitive verb is not a

problem. As with many verbs of motion in Hurrian it is possible that *kūd-* is labile with

an intransitive meaning "to fall" and a transitive meaning "to throw (down)."

A parallel passage from the parables is quite revealing. When he is cursed by the

tower which he built, the builder curses his construction:

(10.9) *id* ⸗*i* ⸗*e(n)*[30] *kumdi* ᵈ*Teššoba*⸗*ž* [. .]-x-x[.]x ⌈***kūd**⸗**a**⌉⸗***ī***⸗***ž***
    strike+ACT+JUSS tower+ØABS DN +ERG fall +PURP
    šūgi *pil(i)*⸗*lē(<ne)* ⸗*ni*
    building+ØABS canal+SG.RELAT+ABL/INST
    "May Teššob strike the tower … *so that* the *building*[31] might fall into the canal!"
    (KBo 32.14 rev. 39-40)[32]

Again the Hurrian verb is translated by the Hittite *mausdu* "may it fall!" Neu analyzes

the form *kūdaīž* as *kūd* "to fall" + *a*-intransitive + the modal ending *ež*.[33] An alternative

to this is to take *kūdaīž* as a purposive form in ⸗*ai*⸗*ž*.[34] The ⸗*ai*⸗*ž* can be analyzed as a

purposive ending as it is in the Mittani Letter (cf. §7.3.1). Here it would indicate the

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[29] On *mauss-*, cf. CHD L-N: 211-213. For the passive translation of *kūdo*, see Giorgieri 2000a: 235 ("esso sia gettato/buttato!").

[30] Contra Neu 1996: 90 who reads *i-*⌈*ti-ia*⌉.

[31] Catsanicos 1996: 222-223, 282 ("toiture"); Neu 1996: 90, 195 ("Dachkonstruktion")

[32] *i-*⌈*ti-e*⌉ *kum-ti* ᵈIM-*aš* ⁴⁰ [. .]-x-x[.]x ⌈*ku-ú-ta*⌉-*i-iš šu-ú-ki pí-il-le-e-ni*

[33] Neu 1994: 130; idem. 1996: 194-195

[34] So Haas and Wegner 1993: 56 ("*kud* (Verbalwurzel, intransitive »fallen«) =ae (Debitiv) =š (verbaler Pluralisator) - »damit sie fallen mögen«"). It is my contention that ⸗*ž* does not indicate verbal plurality but some other nuance (cf. §7.2), and therefore the passage can be translated in the singular as "so that *it* might fall."

desired result of the preceding action (i.e. Teššob is to hit the tower in order for it to

fall into the canal).[35]

   In (10.8) we have the "passive" *kūd=o* "may it be thrown," and in (10.9) we find the

(active) purposive form *kūdaīž* "so that it might fall." The difference between these two

passages may simply come down to the objects being cursed. The beaker, unlike the

tower, is small and can be picked up and thrown into a canal. The tower, on the other

hand, cannot be lifted up. It can only be hit (perhaps by lightening?), causing it to fall

into the river.[36]

10.2.2.2 KBo 32.15 iv 2-6

   With this reanalysis of *=o* as (**=o=e*) in mind, let us return to the passages treated in

§3.3.4. The first passage to be treated comes from the Song of Release section of the

Hurro-Hittite Bilingual. Originally treated as (3.33), it is given here as (10.10):

(10.10) **kir**   *=o*   (*=e*)   *=nna*   *purammi*   *=b*   **kīr**   *=o*   (*=e*)   *=*
       release+PASS+MOD+3SG.ENCL male servant+2SG.POSS+ØABS release+PASS+MOD+
       n   *ulmi*   *=b*[37]   § …[38] *āšti=p*   *=pa(<ma)*
       3SG.ENCL female servant+2SG.POSS+ØABS § …   wife+2SG.POSS+CONN
       atta=e   *=ve* *=ni*   **fend=o** (*=e*)   *=n*
       father+3SG.POSS+GEN+ABL/INST send+PASS+MOD+3SG.ENCL
       "May your male servant be released! May your female servant be released! § …
       and may your wife be sent to (the house) of her father!" (KBo 32.15 iv 2-6)[39]

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   [35] An alternate translation is offered by Catsanicos 1996: 222 ("que soient précipitées (la) toiture[?]
vers le canal.").

   [36] The same analysis holds for rev. 62 where it is the *tāli* (or the things built from it) that is to fall
into the canal.

   [37] Combined with preceding verbal form in the sandhi writing *ki-i-ru-nu-ul-mi-ib*

   [38] On the difficulties of analyzing *futkib ḫāra arolib*, see below §3.3.4.3.

   [39] Transliteration given in (3.33).

According to Neu[40] and Wilhelm[41] the predicates in ⸗o should be intransitive or "medial" imperatives. Neu translates *kiro* as "soll freigalassen werden," "soll … zurückgeschickt werden."[42] Following Wilhelm, Haas and Wegner see the ⸗o in *kiro* as indicating "Handlungsresultat."[43] In her grammar, Wegner simply includes *kiro* as a third person imperative form.[44] Giorgieri also includes the form with the imperatives, but notes that the ending -*o* can be used for "azione verbale 'passiva' o meglio risultativa dal punto di vista del paziente dell'azione."[45] It is my position that *kiro* does not belong to the imperatives, but rather to a modal form in ⸗e. The modal ending elides to the preceding voice marker ⸗o. A passive interpretation of the above verbal forms in (10.10) fits the grammar best, despite the fact that the Hittite translation uses second singular imperative verbs. The Hittite is either the result of a misunderstanding or mistranslation of the Hurrian, or it is to be taken as a reworking of the text by the scribe who decided that imperative forms better fit the Hittite translation.

    The three clauses in (10.10) all have absolutive subjects. The agent is unexpressed in each clause. It can be taken as either an understood second person singular referring back to Mēgi. This is likely how the Hittite translation came to use the second person imperative forms. Another possibility is that the agent is simply indefinite. By saying

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[40] Neu 1996: 345

[41] Wilhelm 1983: 108-109

[42] Neu 1996: 294, 345

[43] Haas and Wegner 1997a: 453; they follow Wilhelm 1992: 139.

[44] Wegner 2000: 116 ("*kir=o* „er soll freigelassen sein/werden").

[45] Giorgieri 2000a: 235 ("*kīr=o, kir=o=nna* 'egli sia rilasciato!').

"may your slaves be released," the speaker is not necessarily implying that Mēgi

himself would be doing the releasing.

10.2.2.3 ChS I/2 1

A number of passages with predicates in ⸗*o* from ChS I/2 1 were given in (3.36a-f).

Some of these passages have expressed agents in the ergative, while others have only an

absolute subject. They all share the same verbal form *kēlo* (<*kēl⸗*o*⸗*e*) "may

he/she/it/they be made well." The first example is from ChS I/2 1 i 50-52 ((3.36e) and

(3.40)). It is repeated here as (10.11):

(10.11) [*ul*]*a*⸗*b*   ***kēl***   ⸗***o*** (⸗***e***) ⸗*mma*   … [*k*]*ēldī*⸗   *e*⸗
    u.   +2SG.POSS+ØABS make well+PASS+MOD+2SG.ENCL … *k.*   +3SG.POSSˀ+
    ni   *āmbašši*⸗*ni*   ***kēl***   ⸗***o*** (⸗***e***) *kā*[*l*(*i*)⸗*le*(<*ne*) ⸗*ž*
    ABL/INST *a.*   +ABL/INST make well+PASS+MOD *k.*   +SG.RELAT+ERG
    k]*āmāḫḫi*⸗*ne*   ⸗*ž*   KI.MIN(=***kēl***   ⸗***o*** (⸗***e***))
    k.   +SG.RELAT+ERG   make well+PASS+MOD
    "May you (Ḫebat), namely your [*ul*]*a* be made well! … Through *his keldi-* and
    ambašši-offerings may (you) be made well! May (you) be made well by the *kā*[*li*]
    and [*k*]*āmāḫḫi*!" (ChS I/2 1 i 50-52)[46]

Example (10.11) contains three clauses.[47] The last two do not have an explicit absolutive

subject, but it is likely that the second person enclitic ⸗*mma* on the first *kēlomma* is

continued through the following clauses. In the first clause we simply have the subject

and the predicate. The next passage includes the ablative/instrumental forms *kēldīeni* and

āmbaššini which can be interpreted as instrumentals of means. The goddess Ḫebat is to

become well through (or by means of) these two offerings. In the final passage, the

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[46] For the transliteration see (3.36e).

[47] A fourth clause is contained in the ellipsis … between *kēlomma* and [*keldīeni*. The predicate is lost, but it is almost certainly a form of *kēlo*.

ergative NPs *kā*[*llež*] and [*k*]*āmāḫḫinež* are the agents of *kēlo*. It is through their

actions that the goddess is to be made well.

Parallel to the third clause in (10.11) with expressed ergative agent are the following

two passages from the same text:

(10.12) *aġar*(*i*) ⸗*re*(<*ne*) ⸗*ž* *laplaḫḫi*⸗*ne* ⸗*ž* **kēl** ⸗*o* (⸗*e*)
incense+SG.RELAT+ERG cedar[48] +SG.RELAT+ERG make well+PASS+MOD
"May (you, Ḫebat) be made well by the incense (and) cedar (or better: incense (of) cedar)" (ChS I/2 1 i 30-31)[49]

(10.13) [*ana*]*ġidē*⸗*ne* ⸗*ž* *tād*⸗*ō* ⸗*šše*⸗*ne* ⸗*ž* **kēl** ⸗
morsel +SG.RELAT+ERG love+2SG.ERG+REL+SG.RELAT+ERG make well+
o (⸗*e*)
PASS+MOD
"May (you, Ḫebat) be made well by the [mo]rsel (of sacrificed meat) which you love!" (ChS I/2 1 i 35)[50]

In neither (10.12) nor in (10.13) is the subject explicitly mentioned. These passages all

occur as evocations to the goddess Ḫebat in a ritual text devoted to calling her forth and

appeasing her so that she will be willing to aid the ritual client. The utterances in the

passages quoted above are all directed at Ḫebat. It is therefore not surprising that the

patient is not explicitly mentioned since it is implicit in the very nature of the utterances

in this text.

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[48] See Haas 2003: 281

[49] Transliteration given in (3.36b).

[50] Transliteration given in (3.36c).

10.3 ⸗e as a Modal Morpheme

As analyzed above, the verbs *sikk⸗ol(⸗o)⸗l⸗e* and *eġ⸗epš⸗ol(⸗o)⸗l⸗e* are extended "passive" forms of a mood ⸗e. The verbs in ⸗o are likewise taken here as coming from an original *⸗o⸗e with elision of the modal ⸗e to the preceding "passive" morpheme. According to this analysis, ⸗o can be taken as the short form of ⸗o⸗l⸗e. In this case the verbs in §10.2.1 and §10.2.2 would all be in the same mood. The verbs are all used to indicate actions that the speaker wants or wishes to happen. The "passive" is used in these examples to move the focus from the agent to the patient (i.e. focus shift A > O), resulting in the shift of the patient to subject (i.e. O > S).[51] While not a direct command, the modal morpheme ⸗e still belongs to the category of deontic modality.

A number of the modal endings discussed in the preceding chapters share certain similarities both functional and formal. The jussive ⸗en, optative ⸗ež, and potential ⸗eva can all be broken down to an original *⸗e⸗n/ž/va. In both the optative and potential, ergative NPs are only found in the "passive" where they are used to express the oblique agent. The jussive functions somewhat differently in that active transitive verbs take an agent in the ergative and patient in the absolutive. It is possible that this is a secondary development in the jussive that has not occurred with the other two moods. There is strong evidence that all three modal endings co-occur with the voice morphemes ⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗.

The modal ending ⸗e is most similar to the optative and potential. It occurs with the passive morpheme ⸗o⸗. The subject is in the absolutive while the agent, if expressed, is in the ergative. Like the other three modal endings, ⸗e is deontic, indicating desired (or

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[51] Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 8

wished for) action. If the above analysis is correct then it is possible to predict active

forms of $\neq e$ (perhaps $*\neq i > *\neq i \neq e$ and $*\neq i \neq l \neq e$?).

CHAPTER ELEVEN
=i=, *=o=*, and *=l=*

11.1 Introduction

An integral part of almost every mood in Hurrian is the inclusion of either the

morpheme *=i=* or *=o=*. These morphemes are found in conjunction with every mood

with the exception of the imperative. Since the imperative is morphologically minimal

and does not have a specific modal ending, relying simply on the valence markers *=i* and

=a, this is not surprising.[1] The morphemes *=i=* and *=o=* have been tentatively identified

as voice markers in the preceding chapters. A further morpheme *=l=* is sometimes found

between these "voice" markers and the modal endings.

The morpheme *=i=* is found with both transitive and intransitive verbs, typically with

an expressed agent. Since intransitive verbs are not distinguished from transitive ones in

the non-indicative (with the clear exception of the imperative), and since *=i=* is found

with both, I have analyzed the morpheme as an active voice marker. In contrast to this

are the verbal forms in *=o=*. The majority of occurrences of *=o=* are found with

transitive verbs with expressed patient and optional (though typically omitted) agent.

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[1] See chapter three for more detail.

This use of =o= when taken in conjunction with =i= has led me to analyze it as a

"passive" morpheme.

Unlike =i=, =o= enjoys a much wider distribution. While it is typically found with

transitive verbs, it is also used with the so-called "existential" verbs *ur-* "to exist," *mann-*

"to be" and *tupp-* "to be assembled/gathered." In at least one other case, the verb in =o=

MOOD is in a clause type that is typically only found with modal verbs in =i= (see 11.7

below). As a result of these potential counter-examples, the analysis of =o= as a

"passive" morpheme (and consequently =i= as an active marker) requires some

modification.

The modal extender =l= is only found in conjunction with the morphemes =i= and

=o=. In the preceding chapters the presence of =l= has not been seen as causing any

major change in the translation of the verb. This is clearly at odds with past treatments of

this morpheme which would see it as directly affecting the modal nuance of the endings

with which it is construed.[2] It is my contention here that this morpheme is related not to

the modal endings but rather to =i= and =o=. For that reason in the following sections I

will first offer a reanalysis of =i= and =o= which will then be followed by a treatment of

=l=.

11.2 =i= and =o=

The morphemes =i= and =o= occupy the same slot in the modal verb. They are found

after the verbal root, derivational morphemes (when present) and the plural ergative

agreement morpheme =id=. If =id= is present and the verb is positive, then =i/o= is

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[2] On past treatments of =l= see §11.3 below.

omitted, but it is explicit if the verb is negative (e.g. ꞊id꞊i꞊va꞊en). The morphemes

꞊i/o꞊ occur before the negative morpheme ꞊wa꞊ and before the morpheme ꞊l꞊. This is

demonstrated in the following table:

1. ROOT (+DERIV)	2. PL.AGR.	3. "VOICE"	4. NEGATIVE	5. ꞊l꞊	MOOD
R	꞊id꞊	꞊i꞊; ꞊o꞊	꞊va꞊	꞊l꞊	꞊ež OPT.
					꞊en JUSS
					꞊eva POT
					꞊ai(꞊) PURP
					꞊anni DESID
					(꞊e) MOD

Table 11.1 The modal verb

In table 11.1 I have placed ꞊l꞊ in slot 5 after the negative in slot 4. That this is the

correct order is clear from the negative desiderative *tān꞊ož꞊i꞊va꞊ll꞊ānni* (Mitt. iv 10).[3]

It is unclear why the morpheme ꞊l꞊ is written geminately in this form.

11.2.1 ꞊i꞊

That ꞊i꞊ is not a valence marker in the non-indicative is clear. Examples of both

intransitive and transitive verbs in ꞊i꞊ have been discussed above.[4] Despite the fact that

forms in ꞊i꞊ lack any means of distinguishing between valences, it is used in clauses that

in the indicative would require either the transitive ꞊i꞊ or intransitive ꞊a꞊. For this

reason I have labeled the morpheme as "active" and have translated them as such. Take

for example the following optative passage:

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[3] Treated as (8.11).

[4] Examples with intransitive verbs are much less frequent then their transitive counterparts. For some examples, note the forms *ōl꞊ōġ(꞊i)꞊ēvā꞊dil꞊an* "so that we would be close" (Mitt. ii 11) (6.25) and *tād꞊ugār꞊i꞊(e)ž* "may (we) love one another" (Mitt. iv 121) (4.31).

(11.1) *irdi=b urġ(i)=a tī(e)=a **kad=i=l=ēž***
      "Let your tongue speak true words!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 35)[5]

In (11.1) we have an A O V construction where the agent is in the absolutive and the patient is in the essive. In the indicative, the modal form *kadilēž* would likely be an antipassive **kad=i*. As a final example recall the following passage:

(11.2) *ōlē=n šēn(a)=iffu=ž paššītḫe **pašš=ar=ī=wā=en*** ᵐ*Mane=nna=man **pašš=i=en***
      "May my brother not keep sending other messengers (to me)! Let him send only Mane!" (Mitt. iv 53-54)[6]

Both the negative *paššarīwāen* and positive *paššien* would be transitive forms in the indicative (i.e. **pašš=ar=i=a=ma* "he does not send" and **pašš=i=a* "he sends").

Active verbs in *=i=* require different cases for their agents depending upon the mood. In the optative and potential, the agent of verbs in *=i=* are in the absolutive. Purposive forms without an expressed patient also take an agent in the absolutive. In the jussive and desiderative, the agents of transitive verbs are in the ergative. The patient, when expressed, is either in the absolutive or in the essive.[7]

11.2.2 *=o=*

While *=i=* is consistent in its function as an active marker, the morpheme *=o=* is found with a broader range of verb types. It is primarily found with two different types

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[5] Treated above as (4.35).

[6] Treated as (5.73).

[7] §4.3.1

of verbs, transitives and existentials.[8] I am aware of no examples of intransitive verbs

in ⸗o⸗. A major distinction between verbs in ⸗i⸗ and those in ⸗o⸗ is that when the

latter morpheme is used with transitive verbs, the agent is very often omitted, but the

patient is always present and always in the absolutive (never in the essive). For this

reason I have tentatively labeled the morpheme ⸗o⸗ as "passive", although certain

difficulties arise when this term is applied to all examples of verbs containing this

morpheme.

　There are certain similarities between non-indicative "passive" constructions in ⸗o⸗

and indicative transitive ones. When the agent is present with a non-indicative predicate

in ⸗o⸗, it is always in the ergative. In both the indicative transitive and in modal forms

in ⸗o⸗, the primary arguments are a logical patient in the absolutive and logical agent in

the ergative. That is to say, there is no difference in case marking between active

transitive verbs and verbs in ⸗o⸗. Compare the following examples:

(11.3)　a. *nāli … faban(i)⸗ne⸗ž* **mel⸗aḫḫ⸗o⸗m**
　　　　　"The mountain expelled the deer (from its body)" (KBo 32.14 i 1-2)

　　　　b. *andi⸗ll(a)⸗ān … iža⸗ž* **ēman⸗am⸗ož⸗āv**
　　　　　"These (things) … I made tenfold" (Mitt. iii 56-57)

(11.4)　[(*nešši⸗m*)] *en(i)⸗n(a)⸗āž⸗uš⸗ša(<nna)* **nōġ⸗ind⸗o⸗(e)ž**
　　　　"May the *nešši* be *noġ*'ed by the gods!" (ChS I/1 3 obv. 26)[9]

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[8] As has already been discussed above and will be reiterated below, the category "existential" in Hurrian includes all verbs that in the indicative take the morpheme ⸗e.

[9] See (4.63)

Structurally (11.4) is parallel to both (11.3a) and (11.3b). They all have a patient in the absolutive (*nāli*, *andi* and *nešši*) and agent in the ergative (*fabannež*, *ižaž* and *ennāžuž*). The basic structure of (11.3) and (11.4) is: O$_{ABS}$ A$_{ERG}$ V.

As observed above in Chapter Five, optative verbs in *=o=* with expressed plural agent, always include the morpheme *=ind=* immediately before *=o=*. Compare the form *itk=ind=o=(e)ž* in (11.6) with the following indicative construction in (11.5):

(11.5) *favan(i)=n(a)=až=už šīe=n(a)=až=už eže=ne=š=ša(<nna) ḫavōrun(i)=ne=š=ša(<nna) … **itk=id=o***
"The mountains, the waters, the earth and the heaven purified it[10]" (ChS I/1 6 ii 12-13)

(11.6) *en(i)=n(a)=āž=už talāv=ō=ži=n(a)=āž=už ašt=o=ḫḫi=n(a)=āž=už … **šēġ=al=ind=o=(e)ž ⌈it⌉k=ind=o=(e)ž***
"May (the *pašši*) be made pure and purified by the mighty female goddesses" (ChS I/1 6 ii 8-11)

The similarities between *itk=id=o* and *itk=ind=o=(e)ž* are certainly worth noting. If the morphemes *=id=* and *=ind=* are related, they are restricted to the indicative and non-indicative respectively. If this is correct then both *=id=* and *=ind=* both function as plural agent agreement markers.

Examples (11.4) and (11.6) both allow for passive translations of the respective modal forms in *=o=(e)ž*, if we assume that the ergative case NP is oblique in these examples. This holds for almost all other examples of *=o=* with non-indicative transitive verbs. An important counter-example to this assumption, however, is found in the Mittani Letter. In

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[10] The "it" (Hurr. *=nna*) is either the *pašši=na* in ii 5, despite the plurality of that NP, or the *id(i)=i=až* "their body" in the immediately following ii 14.

iii 74 we have the third person singular jussive form *keb⸗ān⸗o⸗en* with an expected

third person ergative agent and the patient in the absolutive. The passage is repeated

here:

(11.7) *ḫiar⸗o⸗ḫḫ(e)⸗ā⸗tt(a)⸗ān teōn(i)⸗a šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗ž **keb⸗ān⸗o⸗en***
   "May my brother send *me* much gold!" (Mitt. iii 73-74)[11]

The agent is clearly the ergative form *šēniffuž* "my brother." This is made all the more

certain through the use of the third person jussive morpheme *⸗en*. Atypical for the verb

keb⸗ān- "to send" is the recipient or beneficiary as the absolutive patient. It is typically

in the dative or directive case. Here the patient and logical recipient is the first person

enclitic *⸗tta*.[12] As mentioned above in §5.3.2.3.3 I prefer to take *ḫiaroḫḫā* as an essive of

ḫiaroḫḫi "gold" based on the subsequent modifier *teōna* (*teōni*+ESS), rather than as an

absolutive NP with shift of final *-i* > *-a* through vowel harmony with the enclitic *⸗tta*.

This shift in patient from the undergoer (i.e. that which is sent) to the recipient is taken as

the most likely reason for why the jussive in (11.7) is in *⸗o⸗en* rather than in *⸗i⸗en*.

Equally problematic for the analysis of *⸗o⸗* as "passive" are the occurrences of this

morpheme with "existential" verbs. Such verbs take one argument and are patientive in

nature. That is, their argument is semantically closer to a patient then agent.[13] Since

these verbs express states, it is no surprise that the "existential" verbs *mann-* "to be," *ur-*

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[11] Treated above as (5.72)

[12] Contrast this to the following passages in the Mittani Letter: *fur⸗ēd⸗ā⸗l⸗an und⸗o šēn(a)⸗ iffū(⸗ž)⸗lla⸗man keb⸗ān⸗ož⸗av⸗šše⸗na šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗wa anammi⸗tta⸗man šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗wa keb⸗ān⸗ ol(⸗i)⸗l⸗evā⸗tt(a)⸗ān* "Now my brother will see them, (the things) which I have sent to my brother, so shall I send (them) to my brother!" (Mitt. iii 61-63) (see (6.8) and (6.29)-(6.30) above). Here we have two examples of *keb⸗ān-* with the recipient in the dative *⸗wa*.

[13] Palmer 1994: 70; van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 85

"to exist" and *tupp-* "to be collected" do not take agents and their subjects are not

only in the absolute, but are syntactically closer to the patients in phrases such as (11.4)

and (11.6) above.

11.2.3 Function of *⸗i⸗* and *⸗o⸗*

Just how do verbs in *⸗o⸗* differ from those in *⸗i⸗*? Both take patients in the

absolute and agents in the ergative. In fact, in the one example we have of a non-

indicative verb that marks for person (i.e. the third person jussive form in (11.7) above),

there is little difference in translation between the verb in *⸗o⸗* and active counterparts in

⸗i⸗. While the agents of verbs in *⸗o⸗* can be omitted, this is primarily done so in ritual

texts where the agents are either understood or non-specific. As a result there is little

difference between the general sentence structures of verbs in *⸗o⸗* and those in *⸗i⸗*. The

primary difference is that *⸗o⸗* is found with "stative" verbs.

An important characteristic of verbs in *⸗o⸗* is the high persistence of expressed

patients. In fact, in virtually every case of non-indicative forms in *⸗o⸗*, especially from

within the ritual texts of Boğazköy, the patients are not only expressed but highly topical.

In virtually every example of optative forms in *⸗o⸗*, the patients are the very things

which are to be purified or cleansed in the ritual. This high topicality of patient NPs is

also seen in (11.7) where the newly promoted patient is both highly definite and not just

animate, but human. Lastly the morpheme *⸗o⸗* is found with existential verbs which are

patientive by nature.

The key feature linking all of the verbs in *⸗o⸗* is the focus on the patient. With the

"existential" verbs, their one argument is not a true subject (i.e. does not exhibit control

over the verb) but rather a patient (i.e. the undergoer of a change of state). In (11.7),

the key feature is the promotion of the recipient to patient. The typical use of *≠o≠* is with

non-indicative verbs in clauses with expressed patient and optional agent. Verbs in *≠i≠*

on the other hand, have an expressed agent and optional patient (if the verb is transitive).

The use of *≠o≠* in clauses like (11.7) and with "existential" verbs makes it unlikely

that this morpheme is to be interpreted as a true passive. As a result it is therefore also

unlikely that *≠i≠* is to be taken as a true active voice marker. At the same time, while

these morphemes may not be true voice markers, they function in a similar manner to the

active and passive voice. It is my contention that the morphemes *≠i≠* and *≠o≠* function

as agent focusing and patient focusing morphemes respectively. The morpheme *≠o≠*

does not change the valence and nor is its object promoted to subject, both hallmarks of

the passive. Like the passive, however, the presence of *≠o≠* on the non-indicative verb

indicates that the focus of the verb is on the patient and not the agent. Conversely *≠i≠* is

not to be analyzed as a true active, but rather as agent focusing.

In (11.4) the focus is not on the gods who are the agent, but rather on the *nešši* as

patient. (11.6) demonstrates that the patient can does not need to be expressed if it is

clear from context. In (11.7) *≠o≠* is required because of the promotion of recipient to

patient. It is also required with existential verbs because the subjects are actually patients

and not agents.

If these morphemes are agent and patient focusing, then how are they to be translated?

Clauses with agent focusing *≠i≠* are to be translated as active.[14] The main effect of *≠i≠*

is not necessarily to place extra emphasis on the agent, but rather indicate that the agent is

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[14] It is quite possible that the agent focusing *≠i≠* is related to the transitive valence marker *≠i*.

the primary argument (and perhaps topic?) in the discourse. More difficult is the translation of verbs in ⸗o⸗. Translating these clauses as passive captures the essence of the Hurrian despite being a different construction. I feel that it is justified as long as it is made clear that ⸗o⸗ in Hurrian is not a true passive marker. In the case of a passage such as (11.7), an active translation is necessary in order to preserve the agreement between agent and verb. Since ⸗o⸗ is likely used here because the recipient has been promoted to object, there is no need to add anything to the translation. The existential verbs are, or course, simply translated as stative.

11.2.4 Inverse Voice

Based on the above description of ⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗ given above, we have an interesting grammatical situation not noted in other languages from the region. While further study is required, it may be fruitful to look at these morphemes in the light of the little-investigated category of "inverse" voice. The evidence from Hurrian suggests that there may be a plausible connection between ⸗o⸗ and the inverse voice. The active voice is one in which the agent has a higher of topicality than the patient, but the patient is also topical to a degree. In the passive voice we find promotion of the patient to subject position. In such a construction the patient is highly topical and the agent has a very low level of topicality. The antipassive is the inverse of the passive in that the agent is promoted to S position and the patient has such a low level of topicality that it is typically omitted. In the inverse voice, like the active, both the agent and patient are topical, but in this case, the patient is topical to a higher degree.

A number of studies have been conducted on the inverse voice.[15] One of the most important conclusions to come out is that across languages "there are no structural indicators of inverse constructions upon which one can totally depend."[16] Unlike the passive which is marked by suppression of the agent, inversion allows for the full expression of both patients and agents. Case marking in the inverse is typically the same as it is in the active, and equally important, the verb remains transitive and active. Based on this, it can be difficult to distinguish the inverse from the active, although there is typically some morphology unique to the inverse. The two main characteristics of inverse constructions amongst languages are that the agents are not suppressed and that the patient is more topical than the agent.[17]

As mentioned above, constructions in ≠o≠ in Hurrian do not differ drastically from active constructions in ≠i≠. While the agents are sometimes omitted in ritual texts, when present, they are invariably in the ergative case. In other words, when both arguments are expressed, we find that the agent is in the ergative and the patient is in the absolutive. As a result there is not distinction in case marking between verbs in ≠o≠ and those in ≠i≠. I feel that the evidence as presented is best taken as indicating an inverse function for the morpheme ≠o≠ in Hurrian. The full implications of this require further study.

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[15] Givón 1994; Klaiman 1992 amongst others.

[16] Thompson 1994: 49

[17] Thompson 1994: 62

11.3 ⸗l⸗

The morpheme ⸗l⸗ occurs between the agent/patient focusing morpheme and the

modal form in every mood except for the imperative and the jussive.[18] Its absence in the

imperative is telling. As has been already discussed, the imperative uses the valence

markers ⸗i and ⸗a and not the agent/patient focusing morphemes ⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗. If ⸗l⸗ is

related to ⸗i/o⸗ then it would not be expected to be found with the imperative. As will

be demonstrated below, the fact that it does not occur with either the first or third person

jussive is the direct result of the nature of this mood. In every other mood the

constructions ⸗i⸗ MOOD and ⸗o⸗ MOOD can be extended through the use of this

morpheme ⸗l⸗, resulting in the construction ⸗i/o⸗l⸗ MOOD. It is my position that ⸗l⸗ is

not used in conjunction with the various modal morphemes, but rather with ⸗i/o⸗, and it

is to these morphemes that we should look in order to find the function of this modal

extender.

11.3.1 Past Treatments of ⸗l⸗

Before turning to my analysis of ⸗l⸗ it is worth looking at how this morpheme has

been treated by others. I will primarily limit this section to more recent studies of the

Hurrian language. In his recent treatment of Hurrian, Wilhelm comments that "[t]he

modal suffix -l- (under undefined conditions apparently -ll-) combines with various mood

forms and modifies their meaning in a way which, however, cannot always be well

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[18] This is clear from the parallels between forms in ⸗i⸗(e)ž and ⸗o⸗(e)ž and their extended
versions in ⸗i⸗l⸗ež and ⸗o⸗l⸗ež, as well as in the (⸗i)⸗eva and ⸗i⸗l⸗eva and other combinations. The
combination of ⸗i/o⸗l must be kept distinct from the derivational morphemes ⸗il⸗ and ⸗ol⸗ (recall the
imperative form šalġ⸗ol⸗a (KBo 32.14 i 24, 40, iv 7, 21, 33) treated in Chapter Three) (cf. Khačikyan
1999: 263).

established."[19] One of the main functions of ⸗l⸗ as determined by Wilhelm is in

modifying the potential ⸗eva into a conditional.[20]

    Wegner in her grammar of the language differentiates between "Modalformant" ⸗il⸗

and ⸗ol⸗ and a combination of ⸗i+l⸗ and ⸗o+l⸗.[21] The former are found with modal

endings such as ⸗eva and "[b]eide -il- und -ol- haben eine sehr ähnliche Funktion und

kommen … auch gemeinsam vor."[22] The latter are found in Boğazköy, but Wegner

comments that she prefers to take even these as single forms.[23] Giorgieri in his grammar

separates out ⸗l⸗, but admits that its function is unclear.[24] Diakonoff analyzes ⸗l⸗ as an

irrealis marker occurring in conjunction with other moods.[25]

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[19] Wilhelm 2004a: 113; According to Wilhelm the optative is formed by ⸗l⸗ plus the jussive
ending with the final -n dropped. Based on this the forms treated here as first person jussives are taken by
Wilhelm as optatives (e.g. ḫaž⸗i⸗le is analyzed as ḫaž⸗i⸗l⸗e). He adds that the third person optative
forms in Boğazköy texts is modified by -ž "in a nonplural usage, presumably in an intensifying function."
(2004: 113). As has been desmonstrated above, -ž is an integral part of the optative morpheme ⸗ež and is
used with all persons and numbers. As for the first person jussive forms in ⸗le, it is extremely difficult to
differentiate this ending from the extended forms in ⸗i⸗l⸗e treated in Chapter Ten.

[20] Wilhelm 2004a: 113-114; his argument for ⸗l⸗ modifying ⸗eva is not convincing. In his first
example of the potential function of this ending he gives the example "ai … faž=ēva 'if [the enemy]
invades'" (113) This example actually fits better with the so-called "conditionals" such as "ai=n
ur=d=o=l=eva 'if it happened'" (114) only faž⸗ēva (or better: faž(⸗i)⸗ēva does not include -l-. Modality
is of course a very fluid thing, but the evidence for ⸗l⸗ affecting ⸗eva in such a way is lacking.

[21] Wegner 2000: 93, 96.

[22] Wegner 2000: 93

[23] Wegner 2000: 96 "Ob in =i+l= bzw. =o+l= jeweils der Modalformant (=il= bzw. =ol=)
vorliegt, oder ob hier zwei Formanten (=i=l= bzw. =o=l=) anzusetzen, sind, bleibt vorläufig offen. Ich
tendiere zu der ersten Möglichkeit und sehe sowohl in i+l als auch in o+l jeweils einen Formanten."

[24] Giorgieri 2000a: 234 "Diverse forme non-indicative presentano un elemento -l(l)-, la cui
funzione non è ancora stata stabilita con sicurezza, ma che viene genericamente ritenuta essere
rafforzativa."

[25] Diakonoff 1971: 120

11.3.2 A New Analysis

It is clear that there is little consensus concerning the function of ⸗l⸗ in non-indicative

forms. Instead of looking at ⸗l⸗ as a influencing the modal ending, it may be more

rewarding to look at how this morpheme interacts with the preceding ⸗i/o⸗. There are a

number of examples of extended and unextended forms, especially from the Boğazköy

corpus. When these forms and the contexts in which they occur are studied together, a

clearer picture of the function of ⸗l⸗ begins to appear. In the following sections I will

first examine contrasting pairs of forms with and without ⸗l⸗ (§11.3.2.1). This will be

followed by comparing the use of ⸗l⸗ in different modal forms (§11.3.2.2). Conclusions

will be given in (§11.3.2.3).

11.3.2.1 Comparison of Forms

The following comparisons will be divided amongst two types. The first set involve

roots that occur in the same mood with and without ⸗l⸗.[26] The evidence for this first

group comes entirely from Boğazköy. The second set involves synonymous roots.

11.3.2.1.1 The Same Root

11.3.2.1.1.1 *eg⸗ošš⸗*, *kažl⸗* and *šeġ⸗al⸗*

The verbs *eg⸗ošš-* "?", *kažl-* "to make strong," and *šeġ⸗al-* "to purify" occur often

together in the optative in the *itkalzi*-ritual. They often also occur with the verb *itk⸗* "to

make pure." In (11.8) an example of these verbs in their unextended form is given. A

contrasting example with extended form is given in (11.9):

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[26] The evidence for this is largely drawn from the optative forms in ⸗ež due to the higher
frequency of these forms in the available text corpus.

(11.8) *mādi ꞊ da ḫōlilzi ꞊ da eg*[*ošši ꞊ da*[^?27]] *ḫōdanni ꞊ da šeġōrni ꞊ da tā*[*dareški꞊da*[^?28]]
en(*i*)*꞊ne ꞊ da šavalani ꞊ da mādi ꞊ da ḫa*[*zzizi꞊da*] **eg ꞊ošš ꞊o ꞊(e)ž kažl ꞊o ꞊(e)ž
šeġ ꞊al ꞊o ꞊(e)ž …**[^29]
"May (Tado-Ḫeba or Tažmi-šarri)[^30] be *eg ꞊ ošš*-ed, made strong, and purified *for*
wisdom, *for ḫōlilzi*, [*for*] *eg*[*ošši*], *for* prayer, *for* life, [*for*] l[ove], *for* the god, *for*
šavalani, *for* wisdom [*for*] und[erstanding]!" (ChS I/1 6 iii 32'-35')

It is unclear how the directive forms are to be translated in this context. The next passage

utilizes extended forms:

(11.9) *ašḫožik*[*konni ꞊ ne ꞊ ve* ᶠ*Tado-Ḫeb*]*ā ꞊ ve* [*i*]*di pāġi pāži* [*irdi karži ḫa*]*pzōri idi id*[*ni
šummi taržuwa*]*n*(*i*)*ne ꞊ ve āšḫožikkonni ꞊ ne ꞊ ve* [ᶠ*Tado-Ḫeba ꞊ ve*] **šeġ ꞊al ꞊o ꞊l ꞊ēž
kažl ꞊o ꞊l ꞊ē**[**ž itk ꞊o ꞊l ꞊ēž**] **eg ꞊ošš ꞊o ꞊l ꞊ēž**
"May the ritual cl[ient's, Tado-Ḫeb]a's [b]ody, head, mouth, [tongue, lip(s),
spi]ttle, *idi-id*[*ni*, all] of [the perso]n of the ritual client [Tado-Ḫeba] be purified,
made strong, [made pure] and *eg ꞊ ošš-ed*!" (ChS I/1 25 ii 8-13)

In (11.8) the patient is carried over from the preceding paragraph in the text. In contrast,

the patients of the verbs in (11.9) are explicit. In neither example is there an explicit

agent. It is unlikely that the different order of the verbs is a conditioning factor for the

use (or lack) of ꞊ *l* ꞊ .

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[^27] This restoration is possible based on the nominal forms *egošši* (ChS I/1 6 ii 4) and *egoššinažuž* (ChS I/1 22 ii[^?] 3; 23 ii 10', [11']; 25 ii 3, 4).

[^28] For *tādareški* see (ChS I/1 5 iii 43 (-[*k*]*i*), 50 ([*ta*]-ᵗ*a*ˡ-), 56 (-*r*[*e-eš*]-), iv 19' ([*ta-a-ta*]-)). One of the most problematic aspects of the ChS volumes is that in the word indices, broken and fully restored forms are not differentiated from fully preserved ones. This can, at times, cause certain difficulties. Not all restorations are correct, and since they are not marked differently from preserved material, this can cause problems for those using the indices.

[^29] The paragraph ends with *a-a-b*[*i*(-) after *šeġalož*. It is likely to be restored *āv*[*i en*(*i*)*꞊n*(*a*)*꞊až꞊ a*] following iii 24'.

[^30] Both personal names appear in the immediately preceding paragraph. Tādo-Ḫeba is in the absolutive in iii 25' while the case of Tažmi-šarri is lost in the break. Given that the dative *tāġi ꞊ da* "to the man" appears immediately before his name, it is likely that we are to restore the PN as ᴹ*Ta*[*žmi-šarri ꞊ da*].

11.3.2.1.1.2 *kad⸗*

In two very different texts examples of *kad-* "to speak" with an absolutive agent and a patient *tīa* "word" in the essive. In contrast to (11.8) and (11.9) above, these two examples are found in very different contexts making comparison difficult. A further potential problem is that in (11.10) the verb is modified by the derivational morpheme *⸗ašt⸗* while in (11.11) it is in the bare stem.

The example (11.10) was discussed above in (4.14). While difficult, the passage was translated as follows:

(11.10) *ēn(i)⸗n(a)⸗āž⸗už ti(e)⸗a kad⸗ind⸗a⸗šše … ti(e)⸗a **kad⸗ašt⸗i⸗(e)ž***
     "That which the gods speak as a word … may (the gods) speak (it) as a word!"
     (ChS I/5 107 obv. 15'-17')

The nominalized relative *kadindašše* "that which (they) speak" is taken here as the patient of the optative *kadaštiž*. I take the agent of the optative verb as an understood *enna* (*en(i)⸗na*) "the gods" in the plural absolutive. Note that here the morpheme *⸗ind⸗* is found not with the optative verb but with the relative. Since *kadaštiž* is "active" or agent-focusing, this morpheme is not expected.

In contrast to (11.10) a passage with *kad⸗* in the extended optative is known from the *itkalzi*-ritual. Note the following example:

(11.11) *irdi⸗b urġ(i)⸗a tī(e)⸗a **kad⸗i⸗l⸗ēž***
     "May your tongue speak (only[?]) true words!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 35)[31]

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[31] Treated below in (4.18) amongst other places in Chapter Four.

The NP *tī(e)≠a* is in the essive in both (11.10) and (11.11), but has been analyzed

differently in the two examples. In (11.10), the essive is translated as "like." As a result,

neither *tī(e)≠a* in this example are to be taken as patients of their predicates. In (11.11),

however, we have a detransitivized construction with an agent in the absolutive (*irdi≠b*

"your tongue") and the patient in the essive, indicating that it is indefinite. Unlike

(11.10), the agent is clearly expressed in (11.11).

11.3.2.1.2 (Near) Synonymous Roots

As we have just seen the same root can occur in both extended and unextended forms

in the same mood. Before moving on to a look at the use (or lack thereof) of *≠l≠* on the

same root in different moods, I feel that it is worth taking a look at some examples of the

modal extender on synonymous (or near synonymous) roots in the same mood. For this

the roots *šalġ-* and *ḫaž-* will be examined. Both verbs involve the act of hearing, the

former meaning something like "to listen to" and the latter "to hear." In Chapter Four

examples of *šalġ-* in both the extended and unextended optative were presented along

with an example of an extended form of *ḫaž-*. Both the short form of *šalġ-* (*šalġiž*) and

the extended form of *ḫaž-* (*ḫāžilež*) contain the "active" or agent-focusing *≠i≠*

morpheme. The extended form of *šalġ-* (*šalġolēž*) uses the "passive" or patient focusing

≠o≠. The two extended forms are found in the same line of the same text (ChS I/1 9 iii

30). The forms are given here as (11.12)-(11.13):

(11.12) *nōi(꞊b)꞊a꞊l*[32] **ḫāž꞊až꞊i꞊l꞊ež**
   "May (your) ears hear!"[33] (ChS I/1 9 iii 30)[34]

(11.13) *tupš[ar]i tive꞊lla* **šalġ꞊i꞊(e)ž**
   "May the scr[ib]e listen to the words!" (ChS I/1 41 i 22)[35]

(11.14) *ḫazzizi* **šalġ꞊o꞊l꞊ēž**
   "May knowledge/wisdom be heard!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 30)[36]

I analyze the passage in (11.12) as containing simply an agent and verb with the patient omitted. In contrast, the unextended *šalġ-* occurs with both expressed agent (*tupš[ar]i*) and patient (*tive꞊lla*). In this example, the patient *tive꞊lla* is definite and refers back to an earlier passage.[37] The passage in (11.14) contains the patient-focusing morpheme ꞊*o*꞊ and has an omitted agent. It is possible that the absolute *ḫazzizzi* in (11.14) functions as the omitted patient in (11.12).[38]

11.3.2.2 ꞊*l*꞊ with Same Root and Different Moods

There are a few examples of roots that occur in more than one non-indicative form. By necessity, I have not included imperative or jussive forms in this comparison. The reasons for this will be made clear in §11.3.2.3 below. In this section I will focus on two

[32] The second person possessive is not found in some duplicates (see above §4.3.2.1).

[33] On my decision to take the third plural enclitic ꞊*l(la)* as pluralizing the agent *nōi-* and not as a plural patient "them" see note 124 in chapter four.

[34] Treated above as (4.38).

[35] Treated above as (4.7c)

[36] Treated above as (4.57a-b). For the difficulties in this passage, especially concerning duplicates, see §4.3.4.2.

[37] See (4.6), (4.7) and the accompanying discussion.

[38] See the discussion in §4.3.4.2

roots, *tād=ugār-* "to love (mutually); share love" and *itk-* "to purify." The first root is found several times in the Mittani Letter in a variety of moods. The latter is primarily found in the *itkalzi*-ritual.

11.3.2.2.1 *tād=ugār=*

The verb *tād=ugār-* is primarily found in the Mittani Letter, but examples from Boğazköy of a nominal *tad=ugari* "mutual love(?)" are known.[39] Within the Mittani Letter, the verb occurs in a number of forms. There are examples of it in the infinitive,[40] the antipassive in the indicative,[41] and in the non-indicative first person jussive,[42] optative and potential. These final two forms will be the focus of this section.

There are four examples of *tād=ugār-* in the optative in contrast to only two in the potential. The optative forms occur in the unextended form with the active-focusing *=i=*.[43] The forms in the potentialis *=eva*, on the other hand, all occur in the extended form with elision of *=i/o=* between the final *r* of *=ugār* and the *=l=* modal extender. In these examples we also have a shift of *=l= > =r=* through contact with the *r* of the preceding *=ugār*.

The examples of *tād=ugār-* in these two moods can be narrowed down to two virtually identical passages from the final paragraph of the letter. They run as follows:

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[39] Giorgieri 2004: 322³

[40] [*tād*]*=ugār=umme* (Mitt. iv 112); Giorgieri 2004: 323

[41] *tād=ugār=ož=i=ll(a)=ān* "(Our forefathers …) loved one another" (Mitt. i 8); Giorgieri 2004: 325 with bibliography in note 17. A negative antipassive example *tād=ugār=ož=i=kki* (Mitt. ii 79) is also known; see Giorgieri 2004: 327

[42] *tād=ugār(=i)=r(<l)ē* (Mitt. ii 84); See discussion in §5.3.1.1 and in Giorgieri 2004: 323-324.

[43] The resulting unextended optative is *tād=ugār=i=(e)ž* (Mitt. i 19, ii 93, iv 113ᵎ, 121).

(11.15) *ištan(i)≠iff(e)≠až≠a≠dill(a)≠ān … **tād≠ugār≠i≠(e)ž***
　　　"Between us may we love one another …" (Mitt. iv 120-121)[44]

This is immediately followed by:

(11.16) ("As mankind loves Šimige (while) looking (upon her)"[45])
　　　*anammi≠dill(a)≠ān ištan(i)≠iff(e)≠až≠a **tād≠ugār(≠i)≠r(<l)≠ēva***
　　　"so should we share love between us!" (Mitt. iv 122-123)[46]

The basic structure of (11.15) and (11.16) is the same. They both have the first plural enclitic *≠dilla* as subject and the indirect object *ištaniffaža* "between us." Despite this, in (11.16) we have an extended form, but in (11.15) it is unextended.

11.3.2.2.2 *itk≠*

　　Before turning to the function of *≠l≠*, one last root requires attention. In the ritual texts from Boğazköy, the root *itk-* occurs quite frequently. It typically occurs in the "passive" optative with *≠o≠*, but examples in the desiderative and other moods are known. Amongst the optative forms we find both extended and unextended forms. A few examples should suffice:

(11.17) *[aš]ḫožikkonni* ᶠ*Tado-Ḫeba[≠n š]ī⌉e≠ni⌉ [a]nzi≠ni **itk≠o≠(e)ž***
　　　"May the ritual client Tado-Ḫeba be purified through the *anzi*-water!" (ChS I/1 6 ii 23-24)[47]

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[44] Treated above in (4.31); see also Giorgieri 2004: 326)

[45] See (7.18) above.

[46] Treated as (6.33) above.

[47] This passage is immediately followed by one that is virtually identical: *en(i)≠n(a)≠až≠a [abi≠ da*[?]*] [aš]ḫožikkonni* ᶠ*Tado-Ḫeb[a≠n šīe≠ni] [a]nzi≠ni≠n itk≠o≠(e)ž* (ii 24-26); See (4.45) above.

(11.18) *en(i)⸗n(a)⸗až⸗už talāvōži⸗n(a)⸗āž⸗už aštoḫḫi⸗n(a)⸗āž⸗už en(i)⸗n(a)⸗āž⸗*
už nāi⸗n(a)⸗až⸗už šēġ⸗al⸗ind⸗o⸗(e)ž ⌈it⌉k⸗ind⸗o⸗(e)ž en(i)⸗n(a)⸗āž⸗už
(ChS I/1 6 ii 8-11)[48]

(11.19) *[ašḫ]ožikkonni⸗ne⸗ve [ᶠTado-Ḫebā⸗ve] idi pāġi pāži … [šeġ⸗al⸗o⸗l⸗ēž*[?49] *itk⸗*
o]⸗l⸗ēž …
"May the [rit]ual client's, [Tado-Ḫeba's], body, head, mouth (etc…) [be made
pure and pur]ified!" (ChS I/1 25 ii 14-18)[50]

The patient in (11.18) as mentioned above (§11.2.2) is understood from the preceding
paragraph. In (11.19) there is a plurality of patients, all of which are body parts, but there
is no expressed agent. The agent is also omitted in (11.17), but this passage does include
the instrumental of means *šīeni anzini* indicating the material that will bring about the
purification.

   In the *itkalzi*-Ritual ChS I/1 9 there are examples of *itk-* in the desiderative with plural
agents. In ii 29-31, two such forms are found and the agent for both are different kinds os
purified water. The passage is repeated here:

(11.20) *[i]tkalzi⸗ne⸗ve⸗n(a)⸗až⸗už itk⸗id(⸗i)⸗anni⸗m idi⸗b šīe⸗n(a)⸗až⸗už šini⸗m*
ᵈ*Ḫebat⸗te(<ve)⸗n(a)⸗až⸗už [itk]⸗id(⸗i)⸗anni⸗m idi⸗b šīe⸗n(a)⸗až⸗už*
"The waters of purity shall purify you, namely your body! Furthermore, the
waters of Ḫebat shall purify you, namely your body!" (ChS I/1 9 ii 29-31)[51]

As with (11.19) above, the patient in (11.20) is the physical body of the ritual client.

Unlike (11.19), however, there is no enumeration of all the body parts which are to be

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[48] Treated above as (4.66) and (8.6).

[49] Haas restores as *še-ḫa-lu-la-a-eš-ša* based on a duplicate.

[50] A parallel passage in the same text is treated in full in (4.48).

[51] See (8.4) above.

purified. An important distinction between the two passages is that in (11.20) the

agent is expressed and it is certainly definite (i.e. it is not just any water that is to do the

purification, but the "waters of purity" and the "waters of Ḫebat").

11.3.2.3 Observations

In §§11.3.2.1-.2 a series of examples were given of roots that occur both with and

without the morpheme =l= both within the same and within different moods. There is no

one mood that consistently uses =l= at all times.[52] That being said, there are certain

moods in which =l= is never used. It is found neither with the imperative nor with the

jussive (first and third). That it is not found with the imperative is expected since this is

the one mood that does not take the morphemes =i= and =o=, using the valence markers

=i= and =a= instead. What then is the difference between the jussive and the other non-

indicative moods that precludes the use of =l=?

One large difference between the jussive and the other moods comes immediately to

mind. The jussive, along with the imperative, is the only mood that is limited to a

specific person. The ending =en is only used with third person agents and =le only with

first person ones. The other moods all appear to be neutral as to person. The evidence is

admittedly scanty for some of the forms due to the scarcity of material, but they all

appear to allow for all persons and numbers as subject. =l= is also apparently not

compatible with the plural agent morpheme =id=. The morpheme =id= is the only

possible agreement marker that can occur with non-indicative forms and is strictly limited

to third plural agents.

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[52] As stated above, it is my contention that the first person jussive is not *=l=e but rather a single morpheme =le.

If we look back at (11.8) and (11.9) above, the inclusion of ⸗l⸗ does not appear to have any effect on the optative. As mentioned above, Wilhelm sees ⸗l⸗ as modifying the function of ⸗eva. It is my contention, however, that while ⸗eva may have different functions, the presence of ⸗l⸗ does not affect it in any way. The same holds for the purposive (finalis) and desiderative.

The examples above in §§11.3.2.1-11.3.2.2 are a small sampling of non-indicative forms with and without the modal extender ⸗l⸗. Based on this, certain patterns may be teased out of these examples and a tentative functional definition can be given. Counterexamples to the general pattern certainly exist, but these do not necessarily violate proposed function.

There appears to be a general correlation between the "voice"-morphemes ⸗i⸗ and ⸗o⸗, the modal extender ⸗l⸗ and constituent arguments. In examples (11.8) and (11.9), the primary difference between the two phrases is that the patients are omitted in the first one and explicit in the second. In the former the verb does not include the extender ⸗l⸗ while in the latter it does occur. In neither case is an agent mentioned. This holds for (11.14) as well. In (11.18) there is an omitted, though understood, patient and expressed agent. In this example the verb is in the passive ⸗o⸗ without ⸗l⸗. Example (11.17), however, has the patient expressed (and an instrumental of means) and a verb without ⸗l⸗. The passage is repeated here as (11.21):

(11.21) [aš]ḫožikkonni ᶠTado-Ḫeba[⸗n š]ī⸗e⸗niꟾ [a]nzi⸗ni **itk⸗o⸗(e)ž**
  "May the ritual client Tado-Ḫeba be purified through the *anzi*-water!" (ChS I/1 6 ii 23-24)

Tado-Ḫeba as ritual client is found in the passage immediately preceding (11.21) and

therefore cannot be considered to be new information.[53] This can be compared to (11.9)

where a long list of body parts are explicitly given as the subject (i.e. logical patient) of

itkolēž.

   This can be compared to examples of modal forms with the active *=i=* and *=l=*. In

(11.10), the agent is understood and not explicit. Consequently there is no *=l=*. In

(11.11) and (11.12) we find explicit agents in the absolutive and modal verbs in *=i=l=*.

In the case of (11.11) the patient is given in the oblique essive while in (11.12) it is

omitted completely. In possible contrast to this, example (11.13) has an expressed agent

and patient, both of which are in the absolutive, and the verb does not included *=l=*. As

mentioned above in Chapter Four, however, the passage in (11.13) is directly related to

the lines above it in ChS I/1 41 i 19-20.

   It is my contention that the morpheme *=l=* functions in conjunction with *=i=* and *=o=*.

When the agent is expressed and is either new information or felt to require extra

emphasis, the combination *=i=l=* was used. The same holds for passive subjects. When

the speaker wanted to focus the verb completely on the corresponding argument (i.e.

agent for active and patient/subject for passive), the morpheme *=l=* was used. *=l=* is

very frequent in the potential mood, especially when the verb occurs in subordinate

clauses. In many cases, the subject/agent of the verb in *=eva* either differs from the

arguments in the main clause or it involves an understood (or minimal)[54] A or O NP that

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[53] ChS I/1 6 ii 20-21

[54] Note the use of the third plural *=llē=* (<*=lla*) in (11.23).

is specified in the main clause.[55] As an example of the former, recall (11.16) from

above. It is repeated here as (11.22):

(11.22) ("As mankind loves Šimige (while) looking (upon her)"[56])
     *anammi꞊dill(a)꞊ān ištan(i)꞊iff(e)꞊až꞊a **tād꞊ugār(꞊i)꞊r(<l)꞊ēva***
     "so should we share love between us!" (Mitt. iv 122-123)

An example of the latter is as follows:

(11.23) *ēže꞊nē꞊ra ḫavorun(i)꞊nē꞊ra tê꞊n(e)꞊a kad꞊ī꞊nna inū꞊llē꞊nīn **ḫill꞊o꞊l꞊ēva***
     "One speaks the word(s) *before*[?] earth and heaven, as they(꞊*lla*) should be
     spoken" (Mitt. iii 100-102)[57]

11.4 Conclusions

   The morphemes ꞊*i*꞊ and ꞊*o*꞊ are an integral part of the non-indicative system in

Hurrian. They have a function similar to voice markers with ꞊*i*꞊ as an active and ꞊*o*꞊ as

a passive morpheme. As I have shown above, however, this analysis is too simplistic.

While the function of ꞊*i*꞊ is virtually identical to that of an active marker, the function of

꞊*o*꞊ is much more variable. Since it is found in passive-like or inverse constructions,

with verbs that require patient-like subjects (i.e. verbs of being), and with tri-valent verbs

when the indirect argument is promoted to the absolutive. It is clear that the morpheme ꞊

o꞊ is closely tied to arguments with the semantic role of patient. It is my position that ꞊

o꞊ is required when the speaker wants to focus on the patient at the expense of the agent.

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[55] Since ꞊*eva* can occur with either the main or subordinate clause, the converse is also true: ꞊*l*꞊ is
used on the verb in the main clause with omitted A/O NP which is in turn specified in detail in the
subordinate clause.

[56] See (7.18) above.

[57] Treated as (6.7).

≠*o*≠ therefore has the function of focusing the verb on the patient. As such it is best taken as a marker of inverse voice. The function of ≠*l*≠ is far from clear. I take this morpheme as further focusing the verb on either the agent (≠*i*≠*l*≠) or patient (≠*o*≠*l*≠).

CHAPTER TWELVE
Conclusion: The Hurrian Verb Revisited

12.1 General Remarks

Chapters two through eleven involved detailed analyses of various aspects of the Hurrian verbal system. A number of conclusions concerning the forms and functions of the indicative and non-indicative were formulated. I would like to take advantage of the conclusion here to revisit the various verbal forms discussed in this work. In this section, the summaries of the various aspects of the Hurrian verb are given a succinct treatment in which all major points are highlighted. This is meant to function as both a summary and a quick reference guide. Appropriate sections in the main body of this work are cross-referenced when more detailed analysis is desired.

The summary begins with the various aspects of the indicative verb. After the discussion of the various elements that are found with the indicative (§§12.2.1-12.2.4), a series of paradigms relating the preceding descriptions are given (§12.2.5). This is then followed by a brief overview of the various non-indicative forms which are the focus of this dissertation (§12.3). Applicable paradigms are included after this synopsis. In order

to fully illustrate the various forms, a series of passages are also given as examples at

the end of the conclusion (§12.4).

12.2 The Indicative

12.2.1 Valence (tables 12.1-12.2)

The indicative verb is clearly marked for valence, be it through a vocalic or zero-

morpheme. Three valences are distinguished in Hurrian: transitive (§2.3.5), intransitive

(§2.3.2), and antipassive (§2.3.4), which is also a type of voice. The valence markers

occur after the verbal root and any derivational morphemes and before any agreement

markers, enclitic pronouns or sentence particles. In Old Hurrian transitivity is indicated

by the morpheme ≠o. There is some evidence that this ≠o may have been limited to the

perfective aspect, while the imperfective was marked differently (cf. §2.5.3.2). The ≠o

transitive valence marker is only found in a small number of examples in Mittani

Hurrian. The intransitive and antipassive valence markers remain the same throughout

the various periods. In Mittani Hurrian both the transitive and antipassive share a

morpheme ≠i, but its use in transitive forms is not entirely consistent (cf. §2.3.5.3 and

exx. (12.10), (12.12) and (12.11), (12.13) below).

Both the intransitive and antipassive allow for one core argument, and this argument is

always in the absolutive. Verbs in the antipassive are inherently transitive, and therefore

it is possible that a patient may be given as a second argument. The patient when present

is always in the oblique essive case. The antipassive has multiple functions in Hurrian.

One use of the antipassive is to detransitivize a verb (§2.3.4.3, exx. (12.3) and (12.4)).

The antipassive is also used as a syntactic operator allowing A NPs to function as pivots

by promoting them to S. The clearest example of this is in relative clauses where the antipassive allows an A NP to be relativized (§2.4.2.2, ex. (12.5)).

12.2.2 Agreement (tables 12.3-12.5)

Hurrian displays a number of agreement strategies that differ depending upon both valence and period. In Old Hurrian, the prevailing trend is to mark agreement with the S or O NP. In the intransitive and antipassive, a morpheme =b is found with all persons (table 12.3 and exx. (12.1), (12.3)-(12.4)). It has been proposed that =b began as a specific S NP agreement marker (possibly third person) that became generalized and used throughout the paradigm. At the time of the earliest written documents in Hurrian, this morpheme =b was in the process of being phased out of the language. Its use is inconsistent in even the oldest of Hurrian texts. By the Mittani Letter, it had completely disappeared (table 12.5 and ex. (12.2)). This =b morpheme was preserved in Urartian in the same (or at least similar) function, although it does appear to be in the process of being phased out of usage (cf. §2.3.3.5 and §2.3.4.7). In the Mittani Letter, enclitic pronouns could be optionally appended to intransitive and antipassive verbs to mark agreement.

The Old Hurrian transitive verb in =o marked agreement with either O or A depending upon the number of the arguments (§2.3.5.2). Examples of these verbs are largely limited to clauses with both third person agents and objects. As more forms are discovered it is possible that this interpretation will have to be emended. It is my position here that the Old Hurrian transitive verb in =o exhibits "split-agreement" (see table 12.4). When the agent is in the singular, agreement is with the patient (all evidence is limited to third

singular patients) (cf. ex. (12.6)). When the agent is plural, agreement is with the A

NP (cf. ex. (12.7)). This agreement is indicated by the morpheme *=id=* which occurs to

the left of the valence morpheme. This likely means that *=id=* was originally a

derivational morpheme that came to function as an agreement marker. With a plural

agent and singular patient there is no agreement with the O NP (cf. ex. (12.7)), but when

the patient is plural, the third plural enclitic pronoun *=lla* can function as the O agreement

marker (cf. ex. (12.8)).

In Mittani Hurrian (§2.3.5.3), transitive verbs agree with the agent (see table 12.5 and

exx. (12.7)-(12.X)). Agreement with an O NP, if present, is through the use of an

optional enclitic pronoun placed after the A agreement marker. Since agreement with A

is marked by different morphemes from any O or S agreement, it is still functioning

within the confines of ergative morphology.[1]

12.2.3 Negative (table 12.6)

Hurrian had a variety of ways of negating indicative verbs. In all periods intransitive

and antipassive verbs are negated by the morpheme *=kko* which occurs after the valence

marker (§2.3.3.4 and §2.3.4.6). Through vowel harmony, the intransitive **=a=kko > =*

o=kko (ex. (12.16)) and the antipassive **=i=kko > =i=kki* (ex. (12.17)). When the

negative *=kko* is followed by an enclitic pronoun, we find the shift **=kko/i*+ENCL *> =*

kka+ENCL (cf. ex. (12.18)). The existential verb *mann-* "to be" is negated by the complex

morpheme *=ubur* (cf. ex. (12.19)).

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[1] If A agreement was the same as the S agreement found on intransitive and antipassive forms, then agreement could be said to be nominative-accusative.

Old Hurrian transitive verbs in =o(=) are negated by the morpheme =ud= which occurs before the valence marker (§2.3.5.4.2) (cf. ex. (12.20)). This morpheme is also used to negate verbal roots (e.g. *sull-* "to bind" vs. *sull=ud=* "to release, set free (from bondage)." In Mittani Hurrian, we find two distinct negative morphemes with transitive verbs. Third person transitives are negated by the morpheme =*ma* (§2.3.5.4.3) which follows the agent agreement marker (cf. ex. (12.21)). All other persons are negated by =(*u*)*va*= (§2.3.5.4.2). This morpheme occurs between the valence marker =*i*= and the agent agreement marker. With first person agents, this negative morpheme combines with the long form of the first person agreement marker (=*affu*) resulting in the combination =*uffu* (i.e. *=*uva*=*affu* > =*uffu*) (cf. ex. (12.22)). The negative of the second person plural verbs is =*uššo* presumably from a combination of *=*uva*=(*a*)*ššo* with =*aššo* being the long form of the second person plural agreement marker (cf. ex. (12.23)). This negative morpheme =*va*= is also found with some non-indicative forms (see below §12.3.2).

12.2.4 Tense and Aspect (table 12.7)

Mittani Hurrian distinguishes three tenses (§2.3.7): a future in =*ed*= (cf. ex. (12.14)), a preterite in =*ož*= (cf. ex. (12.15)), and a present in =Ø= (see table 12.7). The present tense can also be used to refer to future events and, depending on context, must be translated as "will X." The transitive valence morpheme =*i*= is never found with the future and preterite morphemes (i.e. **=*ed*=*i*=*a* "he will x (s.t.)"). For this reason the third person singular transitive in the future and preterite is identical to the future and predicate of intransitive verbs. Both are =*ed*=*a* in the future and =*ož*=*a* in the preterite.

A morpheme ⸗t⸗ is found following a number of future/preterite intransitive and antipassive verbs in the Mittani Letter. It is also found with a few transitive verbs. The function of this morpheme is not clear.[2]

    Old Hurrian does not appear to use tense. It is likely that Old Hurrian had a well developed system of aspect. Aspect in this old dialect would have been indicated through derivational morphemes appended directly to the verbal root. It is also possible that the valence marker ⸗o⸗ was limited to the perfective.

12.2.5 Paradigms and Examples

12.2.5.1 Valence

intransitive	⸗a(⸗)
antipassive	⸗i(⸗)
transitive	⸗o(⸗) perfective?
	⸗i(⸗) imperfective?

Table 12.1 Old Hurrian valence markers

intransitive	⸗a
antipassive	⸗i
transitive	⸗Ø 1sg./pl. A, 1sg./pl. neg. A, and occasionally 3sg. A
	⸗i 2sg., 3sg./pl. A

Table 12.2 Mittani Hurrian valence markers

12.2.5.2 Agreement

intransitive	(⸗a)⸗b
antipassive	(⸗i)⸗b

Table 12.3 Old Hurrian intransitive and
antipassive agreement

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[2] For Girbal's treatment of this morpheme see §5.2.3.3.

	3sg. A	3pl. A
3sg. O	(⸗o)⸗m	⸗id(⸗o)
3pl. O	?	⸗id(⸗o)⸗lla

Table 12.4 Old Hurrian transitive agreement

	sg.	pl.
1 A	⸗av; ⸗affu (only with neg.)	⸗av⸗ž
2 A	(⸗i)⸗o	⸗šu^{??}; ⸗(a)ššo (only with neg.)
3 A	(⸗i)⸗a	(⸗i)⸗a⸗ž

Table 12.5 Mittani Hurrian transitive agreement

12.2.5.3 Negative

Old Hurrian transitive	⸗ud⸗
Mittani Hurrian transitive (non-3rd person)	⸗v(a)⸗
Mittani Hurrian transitive (3rd person)	⸗ma

intransitive/antipassive	⸗kko > ⸗i⸗kki(<o) antipassive
	    > ⸗o(<a)⸗kko intransitive
	    >⸗kki/o>⸗kka when followed
	      by encl. pronoun

existential (e.g. *mann-* "to be")	⸗u/o(⸗)bur

Table 12.6 Negative morphemes

12.2.5.4 Tense

Preterite	⸗ož⸗
Present	⸗Ø⸗
Future	⸗ed⸗

Table 12.7 Tense in Mittani Hurrian

12.3 The Non-Indicative

The non-indicative morphemes decline differently than the indicative in Hurrian. The agreement strategies of the indicative are not utilized in the non-indicative except perhaps for the imperative (see Chapter Three and §12.3.1). With the exception of the imperative, all non-indicative endings are construed with the morphemes ⹀*i*⹀ and ⹀*o*⹀ which are analyzed here as active and passive morphemes respectively (see Chapter Eleven and §12.3.8).

12.3.1 Imperative

The imperative as defined in chapter three is a second person command form. Morphologically it is minimal, built off of the root plus any derivational morphemes and a valence marker ⹀*i*⹀ for transitive (ex. 12.25) and ⹀*a*⹀ (ex. 12.24) for intransitive (table 12.8). Given the nature of the imperative as a second person command, there is typically an A = S association instead of the typical S = O of ergative constructions. The agent/subject of the imperative verb in Hurrian is always in the absolutive. If there is a patient with a transitive verb, it is in the absolutive or essive. Even though this mood is S = A, it is not to be considered as evidence for split-ergativity since this is a universal characteristic of imperatives. There is no evidence as of yet for a negative imperative.

12.3.2 Jussive

Along with the imperative, the first and third person jussives form the Command paradigm (see chapter five). Due to their functional similarities, the first and third person command forms are included as jussives (table 12.9). The first person jussive is ⹀*le*

"May I x!" (cf. ex. (12.26)). There is no evidence for a first plural jussive. All first

person plural commands are in the optative (§12.3.3).

The third person jussive is in *=en* "May he x!" (ex. (12.28)) In the Boğazköy texts,

the jussive undergoes "*n*-Verlust." When the third person jussive ending is followed by a

word with initial consonant, the final -*n* is lost. If the following word begins with an

initial vowel it is preserved (ex. (12.30)). The jussive marks agreement with the third

person plural agent with *=id=* before the jussive ending (exx. (12.29), (12.30)). The

modal ending occurs immediately before the active and passive markers *=i=* and *=o=* in

the positive, although the voice morpheme is omitted when the third plural agent marker

=id= is present. In the Tiš-atal inscription (cf. ex. (12.27)), the morpheme *=o=* is

apparently used for transitive jussives (i.e. the voice distinction had yet to spread into the

jussive).

The negative third person jussive (or vetitive) is formed by inclusion of the negative

morpheme *=va* (ex. (12.31)). This is the same negative morpheme that is found with first

and second person transitive verbs in Mittani. In the active, the negative is *=i=va=en*. In

the passive, the *a* of the negative morpheme is apparently lost: *=o=v(a)=en* (ex. (12.33)).

In the Tiš-atal inscription we find *=o=(v)e(<a)=en* (ex. (12.32)).

In the jussive the agent is in the ergative while the patient is in the absolutive.

Therefore the jussive functions ergatively as opposed to the imperative.

12.3.3 Optative

The optative (chapter four) is formed by the morpheme *=ež*. This ending was

originally taken as a plural imperative. This modal morpheme is in fact found with all

persons and numbers and therefore cannot be a plural imperative but instead a

separate non-indicative ending (see table 4.1). The *e* elides to the preceding voice

morpheme (=*i*=(*e*)*ž* and =*o*=(*e*)*ž*). When the modal extender =*l*= is used, the *e* of the

optative is lengthened (=*i*=*l*=*ēž*, =*o*=*l*=*ēž*). The optative is used to indicate wishes or

commands. There are no known examples of a negative optative.

   In the active, the agent/subject is always in the absolutive in the optative. Patients are

either in the absolutive (ex. (12.34)) or in the oblique essive (ex. (12.35)). The essive is

likely used when the patient is indefinite or when the speaker desires to place the focus

on either the agent or the verb itself. Active optative forms of intransitive verbs take

subjects in the absolutive (ex. (12.36)). In the inverse the subject (= logical patient) is in

the absolutive (ex. (12.37)). The agent is typically not expressed but when it is, it is in

the ergative (ex. (12.38)). Hurrian evinces a split in the optative where it clearly does not

function according to ergative morpho-syntax.

12.3.4 Potentialis

   The primary function of =*eva* is to express potential actions that may occur some time

subsequent to the speech act (see chapter six). In some cases it is used to indicate a

hypothetical event (cf. ex. (12.39)). In complex phrases with main and subordinate

clauses, the action of the verb in =*eva* is dependent upon set conditions and will only be

carried out if the conditions are met (cf. ex. (12.40)). =*eva* is also closely linked to the

future and in certain constructions is used almost interchangeably with the future

(§6.3.2).

The potential takes only one argument, even if it is used on a transitive verb. Either the agent or the patient can be explicit. The expressed argument is always in the absolutive. Therefore it can be said that in the potential, Hurrian is not ergative.

12.3.5 Purposive

The purposive (chapter seven) in =*ai* (=*ae* in transitive constructions with expressed agents and patients) has three primary functions. (1) As a purposive it indicates a desired action that is dependent upon a prior action (this is in contrast with =*eva* which indicates potential future consequences of various actions). In this function =*ai* is used in the sense "do X *in order* that Y" where X of the main clause is in the jussive and Y is in the purposive (ex. (12.41)). (2) =*ai* denoting consequential or resultative action. In this case, the modal ending is used to indicate that an action will occur as a direct result of another action, but is not necessarily desired. This function is of the type "do X *and consequently* Y will happen" (ex. (12.42)). (3) A final function, indicating necessity, is only found in the Mittani Letter, and even there this function of =*ai* is not common (ex. (12.43)). When indicating necessity, =*ai* occurs in simple sentences (i.e. not in phrases with subordinate clauses).

When =*ai* is used in transitive constructions with expressed agent and patient, the agent is in the ergative and the patient is in the absolutive. When a transitive verb is used with *only* an expressed agent, the agent is in the absolutive (similar to the antipassive in the indicative).

The purposive is almost always found with an additional morpheme =*ž* (ex. (12.41)) or =*n* (exx. (12.42) and (12.43)). It has been posited that =*ž* is a plural marker, but this is far

from certain since there are examples of plural agents without ꞊ž. Their function is

unclear.

It is unclear if the purposive is related to the ꞊ai found in ꞊mai (gerund) and ꞊lai.

Verbs in ꞊mai always appear in conjunction with a fully declined verb (e.g. alu꞊mai꞊n

kad꞊i꞊a "speaking he speaks"). Verbs in ꞊lai are free standing. Some function like

purposives (e.g. ārd(i)꞊ī꞊ma am꞊ar꞊ill꞊ō꞊m ārdi꞊ve꞊ne꞊š꞊ša ene꞊ž **šid꞊i꞊l꞊āi** "He

began to disparage his city, (and) consequently the god of his city curses

him"), and others appear to be finite (e.g. amūmi꞊nē꞊va mānni ēvri꞊ž **naḫḫ꞊i꞊l꞊āi** "To

(the position of) administrator (his) lord *sat* him").

12.3.6 Desiderative

The desiderative in ꞊anni is used to indicate the wish or desire of the speaker that an

agent carry out a particular agent. In the phrase *fābanni am꞊e(<i)꞊l꞊ānni tār(i)꞊*

re(<ne)꞊ž, it is not **"the fire (*tāri*) wants to burn the mountain" but rather "I wish that

the fire would burn the mountain."

The desiderative takes the agent of transitive verbs in the ergative and patients in the

absolute. This mood, like the jussive, shows agreement with third plural agents through

the use of ꞊id꞊ before the modal ending (꞊id꞊anni "I wish that they would …").

12.3.7 Modal ꞊e?

A common feature of almost all non-indicative endings is the presence of an *e* vowel

(explored in chapter ten). This vowel is found with every ending except for the

imperative, which is not expected to include any modal morpheme, and the desiderative,

unless we are to analyze this ending as ⸗*anne* instead of ⸗*anni*. This raises the

possibility that all or most non-indicative forms in Hurrian were originally derived from a

single morpheme ⸗*e*.

12.3.8 "Voice" and the Non-Indicative

Beginning with the optative (§4.2.1.2), it was noted that the morphemes ⸗*i*⸗ and ⸗*o*⸗

that are found with most non-indicative verbs function like voice markers (table in

§12.3.10.2). The nature of these morphemes was further elaborated upon in chapter

eleven. All examples of non-indicative verbs in ⸗*i*⸗ can be analyzed as active. While

virtually every example of verbs in ⸗*o*⸗ can be taken as passives, one counterexample

exists. In (11.7), the third person singular jussive *kebānoen* has an agent in the ergative

and patient (⸗*tta*) in the absolutive. If the passage was passive, we would expect the verb

to be in the first person jussive (⸗*le*) and not in the third person. The reason for the use of

⸗*o*⸗ in this example was determined to be the result of the promotion of the recipient (or

beneficiary) from the oblique dative to the absolutive. Because of this, it was posited that

⸗*o*⸗ functions not as a true passive but rather as a patient-focusing marker, and therefore

best analyzed as a marker of inverse voice (§11.2.4). Based on this, ⸗*i*⸗ is not a true

active, but rather an agent-focusing morpheme that in a number of moods such as the

optative, requires that the agent be promoted from the ergative to the absolutive.

12.3.9 Split-Ergativity and the Non-Indicative

There is clear evidence that within the non-indicative system Hurrian displays split-

ergativity. While in the imperative there is a clear equation of A=S (i.e. an accusative

system), this is not taken as true evidence of split-ergativity. It is a universal trait of

imperatives that A=S.[3] Accordingly Hurrian conforms to the expected construction

in the imperative. True evidence for split-ergativity is to be found with the optative (with

"active" =i=) and potentialis (=eva). In both cases A NPs and S NPs are both in the

absolutive. This results in a situation of A=S which is indicative of accusative languages.

Coincidentally, O NPs in these constructions are typically in the absolutive as well (i.e.

A=S=O). In all other moods, the expected S=O of ergative languages is found.

12.3.10 Paradigms

12.3.10.1 The Moods

Imperative	Jussive	Optative	Potentialis	Purposive	Desiderative	?
=a (intran.)	=le (1sg.)	=ež	=eva	=ai	=anni	(=e)
=i (tran.)	=en (3sg.)			=ae		

Table 12.8 Non-indicative endings in Hurrian

12.3.10.2 Forms with =i(=l)= and =o(=l)=

	=i=	=i=l=	=o=	=o=l=
imperative	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1.Jussive	=i=le	–	–	–
3.Jussive sg.	=i=en	–	=o=en	–
3.Jussive pl.	=id=en	–	–	–
3.Jussive sg. neg.	=i=va=en	–	=o=v(a)=en	–
3.Jussive pl. neg.	=id=i=va=en	–	–	–
optative	=i=(e)ž	=i=l=ēž	=o=(e)ž	=o=l=ēž
potentialis	(=i)=eva	=i=l=eva	*=o/u=eva(?)	=o=l=eva
purposive	(=i)=ai(?)	=i=l=ai	–	=o=l=ai
desiderative	(=i)=anni(?)	=i=l=anni	–	–
=e	=i(=e)(?)	=i=l=e	=o(=e)	=o=l=e

Table 12.9 Forms with =i(=l)= and =o(=l)=

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[3] See chapter three where exceptions to this are noted.

12.3.10.3 Arguments with Non-Indicative Endings

	A	S	O
imperative	absolutive	absolutive	absolutive
1.Jussive	ergative(?)[a]	N/A	absolutive
3.Jussive sg./pl.	ergative	N/A	absolutive
optative ($\neq i$)	absolutive	absolutive	absolutive essive
optative ($\neq o$)	ergative[b]	N/A	absolutive
potentialis ($\neq i$)[b]	absolutive	absolutive	absolutive
potentialis ($\neq o$)	N/A	absolutive	absolutive
purposive ($\neq i$)	ergative	absolutive[d]	absolutive
purposive ($\neq o$)	N/A	absolutive	N/A
desiderative	ergative	N/A	absolutive
$\neq e$ ($\neq i$)	ergative	N/A	N/A
$\neq e(\neq o$)	ergative[b]	N/A	absolutive

Table 12.10 Arguments with non-indicative endings

a. no example of *ižaž* is fully preserved
b. when expressed
c. only one argument can be expressed, either agent or patient
d. with detransitivized transitive verbs

12.4 Examples

12.4.1 Indicative Verbs

(12.1) Old Hurrian intransitive:
*ᵈTeššob … kešḫi = ni **naḫḫ = a = b***
"Teššob sat upon the throne …" (KBo 32.13 i 4)[4]

(12.2) Mittani Hurrian intransitive (preterit and future)
itt = ōš = t = a** = mān šēn(a) = iffu = da innā = mā = nīn **un = ēt = t = a
"She has gone to my brother. When she comes …" (Mitt. iii 11-12)[5]

(12.3) Old Hurrian antipassive with expressed patient (detransitivizing function)
*el(i) = a faġrož(i) = a **tān = d = i = b** negri eže = ne = ve ᵈĀllāni*
"The bolt of the earth, Āllāni, prepared a beautiful feast" (KBo 32.13 i 12-13)[6]

(12.4) Old Hurrian antipassive with expressed patient
*mužon(i) = ā = m **tēl = i = b***
"You (Teššob) increase fairness" (KUB 47.78 i 8')[7]

(12.5) Old Hurrian antipassive (promoting A > S in relative clause)
*e = me = ni(n) **tašp = i** ālli ᵈLubadaga = ž tašp = o = en*
"He who destroys (the temple), Lubadaga will destroy that one" (Tiš-atal 11-14)[8]

(12.6) Old Hurrian transitive verb (third singular agent - third singular patient)
*nāli … faban(i) = ne = ž **mel = aḫḫ = o = m***
"The mountain expelled the deer (from its body)" (KBo 32.14 i 1-2)[9]

(12.7) Old Hurrian transitive verb (third plural agent - third singular patient)
*faban(i) = n(a) = až = už šīe = n(a) = až = už eže = ne = š = ša(<nna) … **itk = id = o***
"The mountains, the waters, the earth … (will) purify it." (ChS I/1 6 ii 12-13)

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[4] (2.9); cf. Catsanicos 1996: 205; Haas 1993: 264; Khačikyan 1999: 258; Neu 1988a: 251 (18); ibid. 1996: 237-241; Wilhelm 1992b: 663 (20)

[5] (2.53); Wilhelm 1992b: 660 (8)

[6] (2.22); cf. Catsanicos 1996: 214; Neu 1995: 198 (19); idem. 1996c: 66; idem. 1996: 252-253; Wilhelm 1995: 205; idem. 2000: 126 (59).

[7] (2.28) above. See also Giorgieri 2001: 135; Thiel and Wegner 1984: 194.

[8] (2.25) and (2.59) above

[9] (11.3a)

(12.8) Old Hurrian transitive verb (third plural agent - third plural patient)
ḫāž=īd=ō'[10]*=l tīvi=na* x[
"They (the people) heard the words …" (ChS I/6 26 i 8-13)[11]

(12.9) Mittani Hurrian transitive verb (first singular agent; present tense)
[*inū*]*=mē=nīn ḫenni šēn*(*a*)*=iffe iža=ž **tād=av***
"[As] now I love my brother …" (Mitt. i 75)[12]

(12.10) Mittani Hurrian transitive verb (second singular agent; present tense with *=i=*)
*ai **ur=i=o** kirenzi*
"If you desire a releasing" (KBo 32.15 iv 2)[13]

(12.11) Mittani Hurrian transitive verb (second singular agent; present tense; no *=i=*;
relativized with *=šše*)
*anāġidi=ne=ž **tād=o**=šše=ne=ž*
"The *a.* which you love …" (ChS I/2 31 i 1)[14]

(12.12) Mittani Hurrian transitive verb (third singular agent; present tense; with *=i=*)
pāli=mān urġ(*e*)*=a **kul=i=â=n***
"He speaks the *lie* as the truth" (Mitt. ii 106)[15]

(12.13) Mittani Hurrian transitive verb (third singular agent; present tense; no *=i=*)
*taržuwanzi šīe=ne=ž zāz=ol=i=a **tēġ=oll=a talm=ol=a***
"Water nourishes, raises and makes strong humanity" (ChS I/1 6 iii 43'-44')[16]

(12.14) Mittani Hurrian transitive verb (third singular agent; future tense)
andi=ll(*a*)*=ān* ᵈ*Šimīge=ne=ž **ar=ēd=a***
"these (things) Šimige will give" (Mitt. i 106)[17]

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[10] Text: *-tu-ú-ul-*

[11] (2.43)

[12] Girbal 1987: 152

[13] Neu 1996: 344

[14] (2.46), (2.64)

[15] (2.62)

[16] (2.44)

[17] Wilhelm 1984: 219

(12.15) Mittani Hurrian transitive and intransitive verb (first singular agent; third singular
   subject; preterit tense)
   *undo⸗mān šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗wē⸗n ašti **ar⸗ōž⸗av itt⸗ōš⸗t⸗a**⸗mān šēn(a)⸗iffu⸗da*
   "And now I have given the wife of my brother and [she] has gone to my brother"
   (Mitt. iii 11)[18]

(12.16) Mittani Hurrian negative intransitive verb (third singular subject)
   ur⸗o⸗kkō⸗n [*tar*]*žuāni* ^{KUR}*ōmīn(i)⸗n(a)⸗až⸗a š[ū]a⸗ni[?]⸗až⸗ā⸗mmaman*
   "There does not exist a man in all the lands (like him)" (Mitt. ii 95-96)[19]

(12.17) Mittani Hurrian negative antipassive verb (third singular subject)
   *iā⸗l⸗an **ūr⸗i⸗kki** ^{KUR}ōmīn(i)⸗n[a] anni*
   "What these lands do not wish…" (Mitt. ii 73)[20]

(12.18) Mittani Hurrian negative antipassive verb (third singular subject; preterit tense;
   enclitic pronoun)
   *oi⸗a **ḥil⸗ož⸗i⸗kka(<i)⸗tt**(a)⸗ān*
   "'No!' I did not say!" (Mitt. i 52)[21]

(12.19) Old Hurrian negative existential (third singular subject)
   [*n*]*āli **mānn⸗ōbur***
   "It is not a deer" (KBo 32.14 i 17)[22]

(12.20) Old Hurrian negative transitive verb (third singular agent)
   *ežāv/bē⸗ma **f**[**ur**]**⸗ud⸗o⸗m***
   "He did not see the other side" (KBo 32.14 i 29)[23]

(12.21) Mittani Hurrian negative transitive verb (third singular agent)
   *urġē⸗n pāl(i)⸗a **kul⸗i⸗ā⸗ma***
   "He does not speak the truth as a lie" (Mitt. ii 106)[24]

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[18] Wilhelm 1984: 216

[19] Goetze 1948: 266; Wilhelm 1992b: 661

[20] Wilhelm 1995: 123

[21] (6.39c)

[22] Catsanicos 1996: 198; Neu 1996: 116

[23] (2.47)

[24] Left untranslated in Wilhelm 1992: 66.

(12.22) Mittani Hurrian negative transitive verb (first plural agent)
   *Igingališḫī ꞊ na ꞊ ma **nakk ꞊i ꞊uffu ꞊ž** futki ꞊ na*
   "We will not release the Igingališnian sons!" (KBo 32.15 i 23'-24')[25]

(12.23) Mittani Hurrian negative transitive verb (second plural agent)
   nakk ꞊i ꞊o/uššu *kirenzi*
   "You (pl.) do not release a releasing" (KBo 32.19 i 20)[26]

12.4.2 Non-indicative Verbs

(12.24) Intransitive imperative (second plural subject)
   faž ꞊a ꞊ ffa *parġi ꞊ d[a]*
   "Enter into the courtyard!" (ChS I/5 40 rev. 44')[27]

(12.25) Transitive imperative (second singular agent)
   *šāl ꞊ b ꞊ an ašt(i)꞊iff(e)꞊ū ꞊ nn(i)꞊a **ar ꞊i***
   "Give (to me) your daughter as my wife!" (Mitt. i 51)[28]

(12.26) First person jussive (singular agent)
   talm ꞊ašt ꞊ī ꞊le *ši[dōri]* ... *Āllā[ni]*
   "Let me praise the mai[den] (the bolt of the earth) Āllāni!" (KBo 32.11 i 2-3)[29]

(12.27) Third person jussive (singular agent; Old Hurrian)
   puruli adi 'ālli ᵈ*Lubadaga ꞊ ž **šagr ꞊o ꞊en***
   "This temple, let Lubadaga protect it!" (Tiš-atal 7-10)[30]

(12.28) Third person jussive (singular agent; Mittani)
   ḫa ꞊i ꞊en *id(i)꞊ia ꞊ n nirubādi erādi ꞊ ne ꞊ ž ḫauruni<꞊ve>꞊ne ꞊ ž*
   "Let the bird <of> heaven take evil from his body!" (ChS I/5 2 obv. 44')[31]

(12.29) Third person jussive (plural agent)
   ḫā ꞊id ꞊en *āže [k]ebēl(i)꞊l(a<na)꞊až ꞊ už*
   "Let the hunters take the fat!" (KBo 32.14 i 13-14)[32]

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[25] Wegner 2000: 83

[26] Wegner 2000: 83

[27] (3.13)

[28] (3.30)

[29] (5.28)

[30] (5.69)

[31] (5.57)

(12.30) Third person jussive with "*n*-Verlust" (plural agent)
kut ⸗(**i**)**t** ⸗**e**(**n**) *nāli kēbil*(*i*)⸗*l*(*a*<*na*)⸗*āž* ⸗*už*
"May the hunters fell the deer!" (KBo 32.14 i 11-12)[33]

(12.31) Third person negative jussive (i.e. vetitive) (active; singular agent)
ōlē ⸗*n šēn*(*a*)⸗*iffu* ⸗*ž paššītḫe* **pašš** ⸗**ar** ⸗**ī** ⸗**wā** ⸗**en**
"May my brother not keep sending another messenger!" (Mitt. iv 53-54)[34]

(12.32) Third person negative jussive (Old Hurrian; singular agent)
en(*i*)⸗*i*[?]⸗*ž ḫav*(*i*[?])⸗*a*(*y*)*a*[?] **ḫaž** ⸗**o** ⸗(**w**)**e**(<**a**)⸗**en**
"May his god not hear his prayer(s)!" (Tiš-atal 15-17)[35]

(12.33) Third person negative jussive (Mittani; "passive"; plural agent)
… ^{DINGIR.MEŠ}*ên*(*i*)⸗*n*(*a*)⸗*až* ⸗*už* **nakk** ⸗**id** ⸗**ō** ⸗**w**(**a**)⸗**en**
"May the gods not free (s.o./s.t.)!" (Mitt. ii 52)[36]

(12.34) Optative (active; transitive; first plural agent; patient in absolutive)
kašša ⸗*va* ⸗[*d*]*il arare* ⸗*ni ašte* **firfir** ⸗**išt**[!37] ⸗**i** ⸗(**e**)**ž**
"May we release the woman from sorcery at the gate!" (ChS I/5 2 obv. 38')[38]

(12.35) Optative (active; transitive; third singular agent; patient in essive; ⸗*l* ⸗)
irdi ⸗*b urġ*(*i*)⸗*a tī*(*e*)⸗*a* **kad** ⸗**i** ⸗**l** ⸗**ēž**
"May your tongue speak (only?) true word(s)!" (ChS I/1 9 iii 35)[39]

(12.36) Optative (active; intransitive; third singular subject)
šēn(*a*)⸗*iffē* ⸗*n* **tād** ⸗**ugār** ⸗**i** ⸗(**e**)**ž** *šû* ⸗*ra*
"May my brother share love with me!" (Mitt. ii 93)[40]

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[32] (5.64)

[33] (5.64)

[34] (5.73), (11.2)

[35] (5.84)

[36] (5.80)

[37] text: ⸗*iz* ⸗*ud* ⸗ (see comment with example (4.12))

[38] (4.12)

[39] (4.18)

[40] (4.26)

(12.37) Optative ("inverse"; agent not expressed)

[*aš*]*ḫožikkonni* ᶠ*Tado* ⸗ *Ḫeba*[⸗ *n š*]*īe* ⸗ *ni* [*a*]*nzi* ⸗ *ni* **itk** ⸗**o** ⸗**(e)ž**

"May the ritual client Tado-Ḫeba be purified through the *anzi*-water!" (ChS I/1 6 ii 23-24)[41]

(12.38) Optative ("inverse"; agent expressed; patient understood[42])

en(*i*)⸗*n*(*a*)⸗*āž*⸗*už talāvoži*⸗*n*(*a*)⸗*āž*⸗*už ašt*⸗*o*⸗*ḫḫi*⸗*n*(*a*)⸗*āž*⸗*už* …
šēġ ⸗**al** ⸗**ind** ⸗**o** ⸗**(e)ž itk** ⸗**ind** ⸗**o** ⸗**(e)ž**

"May the mighty female gods … make pure and purified (the *pašši*)!" (ChS I/1 6 ii 8-11)[43]

(12.39) Potentialis (hypothetical)

ur ⸗**o** ⸗**l** ⸗**ēva** ⸗ *mā* ⸗ *nīn* … *tōr*[*ō*]*b*(*i*)⸗*iffe*

"If an enemy should exist for me, …" (Mitt. iii 115-116)[44]

(12.40) Potentialis (conditinal)

("If Teššob has need of silver") *šikladi* ⸗ *mma ižuġni* **ār**(⸗*i*)⸗**r**(*<l*)⸗**eva** ⸗**ž**

"We would give a silver shekel (to him)" (KBo 32.15 i 6')[45]

(12.41) Purposive (purposive function; active; intransitive)

("May my brother *šur*- and release my messengers,") **itt**(⸗*i*)⸗**ai ž** ⸗ *a* ⸗ *lla* ⸗ *ān*

"so that they might go (to me)" (Mitt. iv 52)[46]

(12.42) Purposive (resultative; "inverse")

("May my brother assemble the entire land (of Egypt)") *ôl*(*i*)⸗*lā*(*<na*)⸗*n*
ᴷᵁᴿ*ōmīn*(*i*)⸗*na šūa* ⸗ *lla* ⸗ *man* … **tupp** ⸗**o** ⸗**l** ⸗**ai** ⸗**n**

"(and) *consequentially* may all the other lands (and all the foreign dignitaries and messengers) be gathered up" (Mitt. iii 25-26)[47]

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[41] (4.45)

[42] The patient is clear from context having been mentioned in the immediately preceding phrase.

[43] (4.66)

[44] (6.4)

[45] (6.8b)

[46] (7.3)

[47] (7.5)

(12.43) Purposive (indicating necessity)

(“If my brother is not sending Mane and he would (instead) send another, I do not want him!”) *šēn(a)⸗iifu⸗š⸗š(<nna)⸗ān **pal(⸗i)⸗l⸗āe⸗n***

“My brother *should* know this!” (Mitt. iv 56)[48]

(12.44) Desiderative (singular agent)

*āi naun(i)⸗i<ffu>⸗we fāban(i)⸗ni **am⸗e⸗l⸗ānni** tār(i)⸗re(<ne)⸗ž **id⸗i⸗l⸗ānni** ^dTeššōba⸗ž*

“If only fire should burn the mountain of my pasture (and) Teššob should strike (it)” (lit.: “(I desire it that) fire should burn the mountain ... (and) Teššob should strike (it).”) (KBo 32.14 i 5-7)[49]

(12.45) Desiderative (plural agent)

*[i]tkalzi⸗ne⸗ve⸗n(a)⸗až⸗už **itk⸗id⸗anni⸗m** idi⸗b šīe⸗n(a)⸗až⸗už*

“(I want it to be that) the waters of purity should purify you, (namely) your body!” (ChS I/1 9 ii 29-30)[50]

(12.46) Form in *⸗e*? (“inverse”)

kūd⸗o(⸗e?) kāzi pel(i)⸗lē(<ne)⸗ni

“May the cup be thrown into the canal!”

or: “May one throw *the cup* into the canal!” (KBo 32.14 i 57-58)[51]

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[48] (7.8)

[49] (8.7a)

[50] (8.4)

[51] (10.8)

APPENDIX ONE
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ChS I/1 6 ii 8-11	12.38
ChS I/1 6 ii 12-13	12.7
ChS I/1 6 ii 23-24	12.37
ChS I/1 6 ii 23-26	4.45
ChS I/1 6 iii 13'	2.45
ChS I/1 6 iii 32'-35'	11.8
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ChS I/1 6 iii 51'-52'	4.46

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ChS I/5 46 iv 19'-20'	5.67c
ChS I/5 46 iv 20'-21'	5.67d
ChS I/5 46 iv 22'-25'	5.67e
ChS I/5 59 iii 15'-18'	10.7
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ChS I/5 64 i 17'-20'	2.69
ChS I/5 87 ii 18'-20'	9.4
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ChS I/5 87 iv 13-18	7.47
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ChS I/5 128: 7'	4.21
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KBo 32.14 i 7	8.1b
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KBo 32.19 i 23-25	6.44
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Mari 1: 37	8.1c
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RS 15.010: 5	3.28
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UKN 25: 2-3 (cf. KUKN 36: 2-3)	
UKN 26: 5 (cf. KUKN 37 I 5)	
UKN 110: 9 (cf. KUKN 136: 5-9)	
UKN 127 iv: 72-74 (cf. KUKN 173 iv 72-74)	
UKN 128 B1: 19-24 (cf. KUKN 147.B1: 19-24)	
UKN 155F 19-20 (cf. KUKN 241F 19-20)	
UKN 265: 4-5 (cf. KUKN 388: 4-5)	

APPENDIX TWO
Concordance of ChS and Publication Numbers

2.1 ChS to Publication Number[1]

ChS I/1 3	IBoT 2.39
ChS I/1 6	KUB 32.25+
	KBo 20.126+
	FHG 21
ChS I/1 9	KBo 33.43+
	KUB 29.8+
	KBo 33.113
ChS I/1 10[2]	KBo 27.92(+)
	KBo 20.142(+)
	KUB 32.51(+)
	KBo 21.24
ChS I/1 11	KUB 27.42
ChS I/1 19	ABoT 37+
	KBo 15.70+
	KBo 15.71
ChS I/1 23	KBo 20.124+
	KBo 27.103
ChS I/1 24	KBo 15.74

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[1] All publications in this concordance were checked in both the ChS volumes as well as at the online Konkordanz at the Hittite Portal.

[2] Following ChS I/1; the Konkordanz on the Hittite Portal arranges differently.

ChS I/1 25	KBo 27.102
ChS I/1 34	KBo 27.89
ChS I/1 41	KUB 32.19+
	KUB 37.19+
	KBo 15.73+
	KBo 27.99
ChS I/1 42	KBo 33.49(+)
	KUB 32.22+
	KBo 33.4+
	KBo 20.140+
	KBo 35.66+
	KBo 20.135+
	KBo 33.7+
	KBo 35.241+
	KBo 35.169
ChS I/1 69	KUB 32.27
ChS I/2 1	KBo 24.66+
	KUB 32.49a+
	KUB 32.49b+
	KBo 23.12+
	KBo 35.77+
	KBo 21.33+
ChS I/2 40	597/v+
	KUB 45.3+
	KUB 47.43
ChS I/4 1	KBo 33.160(+)
	KUB 32.64+
	KBo 35.257(+)
	KBo 33.185(+)
	KBo 33.79(+)
	KBo 40.231+
	KBo 33.170(+)
	KBo 15.48
ChS I/4 7	KBo 27.194(+)
	KUB 25.42(+)
	KBo 15.47

ChS I/4 26	KBo 33.194(+)
	KBo 33.173+
	KBo 30.159(+)
	KBo 14.131
ChS I/5 1	KUB 45.21
ChS I/5 2	KBo 23.23+
	KBo 33.118+
ChS I/5 9	KUB 58.107(+)
	KUB 12.53+
	KUB 52.107
ChS I/5 19	KBo 12.85+
	VBoT 120+
	KUB 27.29
ChS I/5 23	KBo 19.139
ChS I/5 40	KBo 19.145
ChS I/5 41	KBo 14.22(+)
	IBoT 4.116(+)
	KBo 11.19
ChS I/5 46	KBo 15.1
ChS I/5 59	KBo 24.63+
	KBo 23.43
ChS I/5 64	KBo 27.154+
	KBo 19.144
ChS I/5 87	KUB 27.38
ChS I/5 107	KUB 32.38+
	KBo 33.115+
	KUB 32.28+
	KUB 32.46
ChS I/5 127	KBo 19.143
ChS I.5 128	KUB 47.54

ChS I/5 132	KUB 32.31
ChS I/6 8	KBo 12.80+ KUB 45.62
ChS I/6 9	KUB 45.61
ChS I/6 12	KUB 45.63
ChS I/6 16	KBo 27.180
ChS I/6 26	KBo 27.219+ KUB 47.1+ KBo 27.218

2.2 Publication to ChS

597/v	ChS I/2 40
ABoT 37	ChS I/1 19
FHG 21	ChS I/1 6
IBoT 2.39	ChS I/1 3
IBoT 4.116	ChS I/5 41
KUB 12.53	ChS I/5 9
KUB 25.42	ChS I/4 7
KUB 27.29	ChS I/5 19
KUB 27.38	ChS I/5 87
KUB 27.42	ChS I/1 11
KUB 29.8	ChS I/1 9
KUB 32.19	ChS I/1 41
KUB 32.22	ChS I/1 42
KUB 32.25	ChS I/1 6
KUB 32.27	ChS I/1 69

KUB 32.28	ChS I/5 107
KUB 32.31	ChS I/5 132
KUB 32.38	ChS I/5 107
KUB 32.46	ChS I/5 107
KUB 32.49a	ChS I/2 1
KUB 32.49b	ChS I/2 1
KUB 32.51	ChS I/1 10
KUB 32.64	ChS I/4 1
KUB 37.19	ChS I/1 41
KUB 45.3	ChS I/2 40
KUB 45.21	ChS I/5 1
KUB 45.61	ChS I/6 9
KUB 45.62	ChS I/6 8
KUB 45.63	ChS I/6 12
KUB 47.1	ChS I/6 26
KUB 47.43	ChS I/2 40
KUB 47.54	ChS I/5 128
KUB 52.107	ChS I/5 9
KUB 58.107	ChS I/5 9
KBo 11.19	ChS I/5 41
KBo 12.80	ChS I/6 8
KBo 12.85	ChS I/5 19
KBo 14.22	ChS I/5 41
KBo 14.131	ChS I/4 26
KBo 15.1	ChS I/5 46
KBo 15.47	ChS I/4 7
KBo 15.48	ChS I/4 1
KBo 15.70	ChS I/1 19
KBo 15.71	ChS I/1 19
KBo 15.73	ChS I/1 41

KBo 15.74	ChS I/1 24
KBo 19.139	ChS I/5 23
KBo 19.143	ChS I/5 127
KBo 19.144	ChS I/5 64
KBo 19.145	ChS I/5 40
KBo 20.124	ChS I/1 23
KBo 20.126	ChS I/1 6
KBo 20.135	ChS I/1 42
KBo 20.140	ChS I/1 42
KBo 20.142	ChS I/1 10
KBo 21.24	ChS I/1 10
KBo 21.33	ChS I/2 1
KBo 23.12	ChS I/2 1
KBo 23.23	ChS I/5 2
KBo 23.43	ChS I/5 59
KBo 24.63	ChS I/5 59
KBo 24.66	ChS I/2 1
KBo 27.89	ChS I/1 34
KBo 27.92	ChS I/1 10
KBo 27.99	ChS I/1 41
KBo 27.102	ChS I/1 25
KBo 27.103	ChS I/1 23
KBo 27.154	ChS I/5 64
KBo 27.180	ChS I/6 16
KBo 27.194	ChS I/4 7
KBo 27.218	ChS I/6 26
KBo 27.219	ChS I/6 26
KBo 30.159	ChS I/4 26
KBo 33.160	ChS I/4 1
KBo 33.4	ChS I/1 42

KBo 33.7	ChS I/1 42
KBo 33.43	ChS I/1 9
KBo 33.49	ChS I/1 42
KBo 33.79	ChS I/4 1
KBo 33.113	ChS I/1 9
KBo 33.115	ChS I/5 107
KBo 33.118	ChS I/5 2
KBo 33.170	ChS I/4 1
KBo 33.173	ChS I/4 26
KBo 33.185	ChS I/4 1
KBo 33.194	ChS I/4 26
KBo 35.66	ChS I/1 42
KBo 35.77	ChS I/2 1
KBo 35.169	ChS I/1 42
KBo 35.241	ChS I/1 42
KBo 35.257	ChS I/4 1
KBo 40.231	ChS I/4 1
VBoT 120	ChS I/5 19

ChS I/5 40 rev. 41'-42'	2.29, 4.13
ChS I/5 40 rev. 42'-43'	2.30
ChS I/5 40 rev. 44'	12.24
ChS I/5 40 rev. 44'-45'	3.13, 3.14, 4.8
ChS I/5 40 rev. 46'-47'	4.9
ChS I/5 41 rev. 6	6.17k, 6.50k
ChS I/5 46 iv 17'-18'	5.67a
ChS I/5 46 iv 18'-19'	5.67b
ChS I/5 46 iv 19'-20'	5.67c
ChS I/5 46 iv 20'-21'	5.67d
ChS I/5 46 iv 22'-25'	5.67e
ChS I/5 59 iii 15'-18'	10.7
ChS I/5 64 i 17'-19'	4.47
ChS I/5 64 i 17'-20'	2.69
ChS I/5 87 ii 18'-20'	9.4
ChS I/5 87 iv 11-12	7.48
ChS I/5 87 iv 13-18	7.47
ChS I/5 87 iv 20-21	7.49
ChS I/5 87 iv 21	7.50a
ChS I/5 107 obv. 15'	4.15
ChS I/5 107 obv. 15'-18'	4.14
ChS I/5 127: 8'	4.21
ChS I/5 128: 7'	4.21
ChS I/5 132: 5'	6.50l
ChS I/6 8 i 9-14	6.55
ChS I/6 8 i 12	6.50m
ChS I/6 9 ii 15	4.58
ChS I/6 12 i 3	5.48
ChS I/6 16: 12'	6.50n
ChS I/6 26 i 8-13	2.43, 12.8

KBo 32.14 i 17	12.19
KBo 32.14 i 21-22	7.19
KBo 32.14 i 23-24	4.35, 5.45
KBo 32.14 i 24	3.9
KBo 32.14 i 25	5.46
KBo 32.14 i 27-28	6.47
KBo 32.14 i 28	6.17a
KBo 32.14 i 28-29	2.47
KBo 32.14 i 29	12.20
KBo 32.14 i 34-35	6.19, 6.48
KBo 32.14 i 35	6.17b
KBo 32.14 i 39-40	4.35, 5.45
KBo 32.14 i 40-41	5.46
KBo 32.14 i 44-45	6.49
KBo 32.14 i 45	6.17c-d
KBo 32.14 i 47-48	10.2, 10.6
KBo 32.14 i 48	10.1a, b
KBo 32.14 i 50-51	2.52
KBo 32.14 i 56	5.55
KBo 32.14 i 57-58	10.8, 12.46
KBo 32.14 ii 6-8	8.7b
KBo 32.14 ii 47-49	10.5
KBo 32.14 iii 13-14	7.23
KBo 32.14 iv 4-5	7.20
KBo 32.14 iv 6-7	4.35, 5.45
KBo 32.14 iv 7	3.9
KBo 32.14 iv 7-8	5.46
KBo 32.14 iv 14-15	7.21, 7.50b
KBo 32.14 iv 15-16	7.17
KBo 32.14 iv 20-21	4.35, 5.45

Mitt. iv 123-124	6.34a
Mitt. iv 124-126	6.34b
RS 15.010: 1	3.29
RS 15.010: 2	3.7
RS 15.010: 5	3.28
RS 15.010: 6-7	3.6
Tiš-atal 7-10	5.69, 12.27
Tiš-atal 10-11	5.9a, 5.12a
Tiš-atal 11-12	2.27
Tiš-atal 11-14	2.25, 2.59, 5.70, 12.5
Tiš-atal 13-14	5.30
Tiš-atal 14-15	5.9b, 5.12b
Tiš-atal 15-17	5.84, 12.32
Tiš-atal 17-18	5.9c, 5.12c
Tiš-atal 18-25	5.71
Tiš-atal 21-22	2.27
Tiš-atal 25	5.9d, 5.12d

UKN 19: 16-18 (cf. KUKN 30: 16-18)

UKN 25: 2-3 (cf. KUKN 36: 2-3)

UKN 26: 5 (cf. KUKN 37 I 5)

UKN 110: 9 (cf. KUKN 136: 5-9)

UKN 127 iv: 72-74 (cf. KUKN 173 iv 72-74)

UKN 128 B1: 19-24 (cf. KUKN 147.B1: 19-24)

UKN 155F 19-20 (cf. KUKN 241F 19-20)

UKN 265: 4-5 (cf. KUKN 388: 4-5)

APPENDIX TWO
Concordance of ChS and Publication Numbers

2.1 ChS to Publication Number[1]

ChS I/1 3 — IBoT 2.39

ChS I/1 6 — KUB 32.25+
KBo 20.126+
FHG 21

ChS I/1 9 — KBo 33.43+
KUB 29.8+
KBo 33.113

ChS I/1 10[2] — KBo 27.92(+)
KBo 20.142(+)
KUB 32.51(+)
KBo 21.24

ChS I/1 11 — KUB 27.42

ChS I/1 19 — ABoT 37+
KBo 15.70+
KBo 15.71

ChS I/1 23 — KBo 20.124+
KBo 27.103

ChS I/1 24 — KBo 15.74

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[1] All publications in this concordance were checked in both the ChS volumes as well as at the online Konkordanz at the Hittite Portal.

[2] Following ChS I/1; the Konkordanz on the Hittite Portal arranges differently.

ChS I/1 25	KBo 27.102
ChS I/1 34	KBo 27.89
ChS I/1 41	KUB 32.19+
	KUB 37.19+
	KBo 15.73+
	KBo 27.99
ChS I/1 42	KBo 33.49(+)
	KUB 32.22+
	KBo 33.4+
	KBo 20.140+
	KBo 35.66+
	KBo 20.135+
	KBo 33.7+
	KBo 35.241+
	KBo 35.169
ChS I/1 69	KUB 32.27
ChS I/2 1	KBo 24.66+
	KUB 32.49a+
	KUB 32.49b+
	KBo 23.12+
	KBo 35.77+
	KBo 21.33+
ChS I/2 40	597/v+
	KUB 45.3+
	KUB 47.43
ChS I/4 1	KBo 33.160(+)
	KUB 32.64+
	KBo 35.257(+)
	KBo 33.185(+)
	KBo 33.79(+)
	KBo 40.231+
	KBo 33.170(+)
	KBo 15.48
ChS I/4 7	KBo 27.194(+)
	KUB 25.42(+)
	KBo 15.47

ChS I/4 26	KBo 33.194(+)
	KBo 33.173+
	KBo 30.159(+)
	KBo 14.131
ChS I/5 1	KUB 45.21
ChS I/5 2	KBo 23.23+
	KBo 33.118+
ChS I/5 9	KUB 58.107(+)
	KUB 12.53+
	KUB 52.107
ChS I/5 19	KBo 12.85+
	VBoT 120+
	KUB 27.29
ChS I/5 23	KBo 19.139
ChS I/5 40	KBo 19.145
ChS I/5 41	KBo 14.22(+)
	IBoT 4.116(+)
	KBo 11.19
ChS I/5 46	KBo 15.1
ChS I/5 59	KBo 24.63+
	KBo 23.43
ChS I/5 64	KBo 27.154+
	KBo 19.144
ChS I/5 87	KUB 27.38
ChS I/5 107	KUB 32.38+
	KBo 33.115+
	KUB 32.28+
	KUB 32.46
ChS I/5 127	KBo 19.143
ChS I.5 128	KUB 47.54

ChS I/5 132	KUB 32.31
ChS I/6 8	KBo 12.80+
	KUB 45.62
ChS I/6 9	KUB 45.61
ChS I/6 12	KUB 45.63
ChS I/6 16	KBo 27.180
ChS I/6 26	KBo 27.219+
	KUB 47.1+
	KBo 27.218

2.2 Publication to ChS

597/v	ChS I/2 40
ABoT 37	ChS I/1 19
FHG 21	ChS I/1 6
IBoT 2.39	ChS I/1 3
IBoT 4.116	ChS I/5 41
KUB 12.53	ChS I/5 9
KUB 25.42	ChS I/4 7
KUB 27.29	ChS I/5 19
KUB 27.38	ChS I/5 87
KUB 27.42	ChS I/1 11
KUB 29.8	ChS I/1 9
KUB 32.19	ChS I/1 41
KUB 32.22	ChS I/1 42
KUB 32.25	ChS I/1 6
KUB 32.27	ChS I/1 69
KUB 32.28	ChS I/5 107

KUB 32.31	ChS I/5 132
KUB 32.38	ChS I/5 107
KUB 32.46	ChS I/5 107
KUB 32.49a	ChS I/2 1
KUB 32.49b	ChS I/2 1
KUB 32.51	ChS I/1 10
KUB 32.64	ChS I/4 1
KUB 37.19	ChS I/1 41
KUB 45.3	ChS I/2 40
KUB 45.21	ChS I/5 1
KUB 45.61	ChS I/6 9
KUB 45.62	ChS I/6 8
KUB 45.63	ChS I/6 12
KUB 47.1	ChS I/6 26
KUB 47.43	ChS I/2 40
KUB 47.54	ChS I/5 128
KUB 52.107	ChS I/5 9
KUB 58.107	ChS I/5 9
KBo 11.19	ChS I/5 41
KBo 12.80	ChS I/6 8
KBo 12.85	ChS I/5 19
KBo 14.22	ChS I/5 41
KBo 14.131	ChS I/4 26
KBo 15.1	ChS I/5 46
KBo 15.47	ChS I/4 7
KBo 15.48	ChS I/4 1
KBo 15.70	ChS I/1 19
KBo 15.71	ChS I/1 19
KBo 15.73	ChS I/1 41
KBo 15.74	ChS I/1 24

KBo 19.139	ChS I/5 23
KBo 19.143	ChS I/5 127
KBo 19.144	ChS I/5 64
KBo 19.145	ChS I/5 40
KBo 20.124	ChS I/1 23
KBo 20.126	ChS I/1 6
KBo 20.135	ChS I/1 42
KBo 20.140	ChS I/1 42
KBo 20.142	ChS I/1 10
KBo 21.24	ChS I/1 10
KBo 21.33	ChS I/2 1
KBo 23.12	ChS I/2 1
KBo 23.23	ChS I/5 2
KBo 23.43	ChS I/5 59
KBo 24.63	ChS I/5 59
KBo 24.66	ChS I/2 1
KBo 27.89	ChS I/1 34
KBo 27.92	ChS I/1 10
KBo 27.99	ChS I/1 41
KBo 27.102	ChS I/1 25
KBo 27.103	ChS I/1 23
KBo 27.154	ChS I/5 64
KBo 27.180	ChS I/6 16
KBo 27.194	ChS I/4 7
KBo 27.218	ChS I/6 26
KBo 27.219	ChS I/6 26
KBo 30.159	ChS I/4 26
KBo 33.160	ChS I/4 1
KBo 33.4	ChS I/1 42
KBo 33.7	ChS I/1 42

KBo 33.43	ChS I/1 9
KBo 33.49	ChS I/1 42
KBo 33.79	ChS I/4 1
KBo 33.113	ChS I/1 9
KBo 33.115	ChS I/5 107
KBo 33.118	ChS I/5 2
KBo 33.170	ChS I/4 1
KBo 33.173	ChS I/4 26
KBo 33.185	ChS I/4 1
KBo 33.194	ChS I/4 26
KBo 35.66	ChS I/1 42
KBo 35.77	ChS I/2 1
KBo 35.169	ChS I/1 42
KBo 35.241	ChS I/1 42
KBo 35.257	ChS I/4 1
KBo 40.231	ChS I/4 1
VBoT 120	ChS I/5 19

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[1] All abbreviations are those found in the CHD volumes L-Š.

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