

Word Order in Hittite Heterographic Writings

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0. Token types in Hittite texts

phonetic (*iš-ha-a-aš* 'master')
Sumerogram (EN)
Akkadogram (*BE-LU*)
mixed (*BE-LU^{HL.A}-uš* 'master.NPL')

Normally, heterograms are presumed to be pronounced in Hittite.

1. The word order puzzle

In case of (partly) phonetic writings, noun modifiers normally precede their head:

- (1) KUB 7.5 i 8 (NH), CTH 406, Hoffner (1987: 272)
ka-a-aš ta-an-tu-ke-eš-na-aš DUMU-aš
DEM.NOM.SG.C mortality.GEN son-NOM.SG
'This mortal' (lit. 'this son of mortality').
- (2) KUB 14.1, obv. 2 (MH), CTH 147, Beckman, Bryce, Cline (2011: 70)
nu t[u]-<e>-el ŠA ^mMA[-AD-DU-WA]-AT-<TA>
and 2SG.GEN GEN Madduwatta
[i-da-a]-<lu> ̣i-in-<kán> <ša-an>-̣i-iš-ki-it
evil.ACC.SG.N death.ACC.SG seek.PST.3SG
'And he continued to seek an [evil] death for you, Madduwatta (lit. 'your [evil] death of Madduwatta').'

At the same time, a noun modifier can be occasionally written on either side of the head noun in those cases when it or the head noun or both are completely or partially heterographic.

- (3) KUB 1.1+ i 1 (NH), CTH 81.A, Otten (1981: 4)
LUGAL GAL
king great
'The great king.'
- (4) KBo 22.2 obv. 10 (OH), CTH 3.1.A, Otten (1973: 6)
LÚ^{MES} URU^{LIM}
man.PL town.GEN
'People of the town.'
- (5) KUB 14.1, rev. 39 (MH), CTH 147, Beckman, Bryce, Cline (2011: 88)
[ŠA] KUR^{URU} PÍ-I-TA-AŠ-ŠA^{<LÚ>} ta-pa-ri-ya-al--[uš]

GEN land of Pitassa chieftain.ACC.PL
 ‘They chieftains of the land of Pitassa.’

In much of Hittitological tradition, every change in word order caused by the presence of heterograms is considered as a purely graphic convention, which in no way corresponded to the word order in a real language (Hoffner/Melchert, 2008: 354).

2. Wackernagel clitics in Hittite

Kloekhorst (2014: 599f.): for Hittite the Wackernagel position should be defined as that after the first element in a clause, whether it is accented or not. Wackernagel clitics within the clitic chain have fixed order with respect to each other:

- (6) KBo 5.6 iv 5 (NH), CTH 40, cf. Güterbock (1956: 96)
 nu=**war**=**aš**=**mu**=**kan** BA.ÚŠ
 and=**QUOT**=**NOM.3SG**=**DAT.1SG**=**PTC** die.PST.3SG
 ‘He [my husband] died on me.’

3. The evidence of sentential clitics: clitics on the dependent noun

As a consequence of the common rule, one would expect that noun phrases containing more than one word, when standing in the absolute beginning of the clause, would be split with Wackernagel clitics; intervening sentential clitics would attach to the noun modifier preceding its head. Indeed, this is mostly the case:

- (7) KUB 33.96 (NH), CTH 345.I.1.A, Güterbock (1951: 158)
 ne-pí-ša-aš=**ma**=**wa-ra**=**aš** ḫar-nam-ni-ia-aš-ḫa-aš
 heaven.GEN.SG=**but**=**QUOT**=**3SG**uproar
 ‘Heaven's uproar this is.’
- (8) KUB 19.49+ i 54 (NH), CTH 69.A, Friedrich (1930: 8)
 1-an=**za**=**kán** UN-an [a]n-da le-e da-a-li-[y]a-ši
 1=**REFL**=**PTC** man-ACC.SG ADV PROH let in.PRS.2SG
 ‘You shall not let in a single man.’

In the case of heterographic noun phrases with head-dependent order, clitics attach mostly to the last heterogram in the noun phrase (noun modifier); the whole heterographic noun phrase appears to be “non-transparent” for sentential clitics:

- (9) KUB 1.1+ i 26 (NH), CTH 81.A, Otten (1981: 6)
 KUR UGU=**ya**=**mu** ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-an-ni pé-eš-ta
 land top=**and**=**1SG.DAT** governance.DAT.SG give.PST.3SG
 ‘He gave me the Upper Land to rule.’

- (10) Bo 86/299 i 64 (NH), CTH 106.A.1, Otten (1988: 12)
 IŠ-TU ZAG ^{URU}WA-AL-MA=**ma=aš=ši**
 ABL border town of Walma=**but=3SG.C.NOM=3SG.DAT**
 ‘But from the border of the town of Walma...’

Hoffner/Melchert, 2008: in case of heterographic writings, the scribes used to implement graphic inversion, which resulted in postponing the noun modifier after its head together with any clitics attached.

More obscure contexts involve conjoined phrases:

- (11) KBo 4.10 obv. 42 (LNH), CTH 106.B.2, van den Hout (1995: 34)
 ANŠE.KUR.RA KARAŠ=**wa=aš-ši** ku-it
 chariot troops=**QUOT=3SG.DAT** REL.NOM/ACC.N
 ‘Chariot and troops which...’

The context in (11) features an anomalous word order of the phrase ‘troops and chariots’, which normally occurs as KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA(^{MEŠ}). It is very likely to be due to the writing strategy aiming to eliminate intervening elements between two heterograms at the beginning of the clause, which we observed in the previous examples.

- (12) HKM 52 rev. 42 (MH/MS), CTH 190, Hoffner (2009: 195)
 ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{GIS}GIGIR=**ya=mu** ku-it ut-tar
 GEN horse chariot=**and=me** REL.NOM/ACC.N matter
 ‘Concerning the matter of the horse(s) and chariot...’

The last context can hardly be explained using the hypothesis of graphic inversion as ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{GIS}GIGIR seems to be the normal word order for this combination. A likely explanation is that this was the result of occasional pronunciation of the heterographic combination in its source language.

4. The evidence of Wackernagel clitics: clitics on the head noun

The following clitic placement points either to the right-branching or to the opaque for the sentential clitics (=uttered in the language other than Hittite?) phrases in the speech of scribes.

Genitive modifiers:

- (13) HKM 72 rev. 30 (MH/MS), CTH 190, Hoffner (2009: 231)
 ÉRIN^{MEŠ}=**ma=aš-ši=kán** ŠA KUR ^{[U]RU}IŠ-Ĥ[U-PÍ]-I[T-TA]
 troop.PL=**but=3SG.DAT=PTC** GEN land town of Išhupitta

‘But [you must not in any way detain] work gangs of Išhupitta [needed] for it.’

- (14) KUB 26.43 + KBo 22.56 rev. 8 (NH), CTH 225.A, Imparati (1974: 34)
URU^{HL.A}=**ya** ŠA f.dU-MA-NA-WA
town.PL=**and** GEN Tarhuntamanawa
‘[And Muwatali, the great king, released from *šahhan* and from *luzzi*] the towns of Tarhuntamanawa’
- (15) KUB 22.70 obv. 78 (NH), CTH 566, Ünal (1978: 78)
TÚG^{MEŠ}=**ma** ŠA ŠU AMA=ŠU wa-aš-ša-an har-ta
clothes.PL=**but** GEN hand mother=POSS.3SG dress.PPF.3SG
‘And he had dressed in the clothes of his mother (lit. ‘the clothes of the hand of his mother’).’
- (16) KUB 13.33 (=Bo 5044) ii 13 (NH), CTH 295.1, Werner (1967: 34)
GIŠ^{tup-pa-aš=wa=kán} ŠA GUŠKIN
container.NOM.SG=**QUOT=PTC** GEN gold
‘The container for gold [was destroyed].’
- (17) KUB 28.88 (=Bo 778)+Bo 6910 rev. 17 (NH), CTH 295, Werner (1967: 70)
ANŠU.KUR.RA=**wa** ŠA LÚUŠ.BAR tu-u-ri-an ḥ[ar?-ta?]
horse=**QUOT** GEN weaver harness.PPF.3SG
‘He had harnessed the horse of the weaver.’
- (18) KUB 14.8 i 24 (NH), CTH 378.2.A, Trabazo (2002: 300)
ÉRIN^{MEŠ}=**ya=kán** ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} ŠA KUR^{URU}MI-IZ-RI
troop.PL=**and=PTC** chariot.PL GEN land of Egypt
ku-en-t[a]
destroy.PST.3SG
‘[My father] destroyed the Egyptian infantry and chariots.’
- (19) SMEA 45-T 1 6 (NH), Hoffner (2009: 370)
É-er=**wa=mu=kán** ŠA LÚiš-ḥa-ni-it-ta-ra-aš
house=**QUOT=1SG.DAT=PTC** GEN relative.GEN
ŠA mAn-da-ma-li
GEN Andamali
‘[Alziyamuwa is taking away from me] the estate of my relative Andamali.’
- (20) KUB 1.1+ i 70, iii 8 (NH), CTH 81.A, Otten (1981: 8)
ka-ni-iš-šu-u-wa-ar=**ma-mu** ŠA D^{IŠTAR}-pát GAŠAN=YA
favour.ACC.SG=**but=1SG.DAT** GEN Ištar=PTC lady=POSS.1SG
‘[But I possessed] the respect of Ištar, My Lady’
- (21) KUB 1.1+ ii 50 (NH), CTH 81.A, Otten (1981: 14)

ERÍN^{MEŠ}=**ya=za** ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} ŠA KUR^{URU}Ha-at-ti
troop.PL=**and=REFL** chariot.PL GEN land of Hatti
‘[He drove] troops and carriages of Hatti land.’

- (22) KBo 4.3 iv 14 (NH), CTH 68.C, Friedrich (1926: 144)
[ARAD^{MEŠ}=**ma?**]=**za** ŠA ^dUTU^{ŠI} ki-ša-an-ta-at
slave.PL=**but=REFL** GEN His Majesty become.PST.3PL.M-P
‘They became slaves of His Majesty’

The last context can be understood in two different ways, cf. the translation by Friedrich: “Seine Knechte aber schlossen sich der Sonne an.” (Friedrich 1926: 145)

- (23) KBo 6.29+KUB 21.12 (=23.127)+Bo 2026b+1380/u ii 32 (NH), CTH 85.1.A, Götze (1925: 50)
BÀD-eš-šar=**ma** ŠA IZ-ZI-HI gi-pé-eš-šar
wall.NOM/ACC.SG=**but** GEN *izzih* cubit.NOM/ACC.SG
‘The wall (made of) *izzih* one cubit (thick).’

Numeral modifiers:

- (24) KUB 28.88 (=Bo 778)+Bo 6910 rev. 12 (NH), CTH 295, Werner (1967: 70)
1 TÚG^{TUM}=**wa=za** ^{URU}HA-AN-ZU[-U]Š-RA
1 shirt=**QUOT=REFL** town of Hanzušra
1 TÚG ^{URU}HAR-ZI-EŠ-NA ME-u[n]
1 shirt town of Harziesna take.PST.1SG
‘I took one shirt of city Hanzušra, one shirt of city Hanziešna’

- (25) HKM 36 obv. 31 (MH), CTH 186, Hoffner (2009: 150)
300 ERIN^{MEŠ}=**wa=kán** da[-ah-]h[u-u]n
300 troops=**QUOT=PART** take.PST.1SG
‘I took three hundred troops.’

- (26) HKM 33 rev. 31 (MH/MS), CTH 186, Hoffner (2009: 159)
ŠA 10 ÉRIN^{MEŠ}=**ma** ^{URU}An-zi-l[i-ya-aš
GEN 10 troop.PL=**but** town of Anzilia.GEN.SG
ku-i-uš] ^{URU}TA-PÍ-IG-GA p[é-eh-hu-un]
REL.ACC.PL.C town of Tapikka deploy.PST1SG
‘Let some of the ten workgangs from the city Anziliya that I deployed to Tapikka [harvest the grasses]’

Contexts with intervening relative pronouns:

- (27) KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79 26 (NH), CTH 191, Hoffner (2009: 295)
[^{LÚ.MEŠ}ŠA-RI-PU-T]I^{HIA}=**wa** **ku-e-eš** ŠA ^dU[TU^{ŠI}] a-pí-ya
purple-dyers=**QUOT** REL.NOM.PL.C GEN His Majesty there
‘The purple-dyers of His Majesty who are there, [let them go home!]’

- (28) KUB 1.1+ ii 41 (NH), CTH 81.A, Otten (1981: 12)
 URU^{DIDLH.A}=ma [(ku-i-e-eš Š)]A KUR^{URU}HA-AT-TI
 town.PL=but REL.NOM.PL.C GEN land of Hatti
 ‘The towns of the land Hatti, that [were surrounded...]
- (29) KBo 10.12 obv. iii 17, CTH 49.2, Del Monte (1986: 136)
 NAM.RA^{MEŠ}=ya ku-i-e-eš a-pí-e-el KUR-e-aš
 captive.PL=and REL.NOM.PL.C DEM.GEN.SG land-GEN.SG
 D^{UTU}ŠI ar-nu-ut
 His Majesty bring.PST.3SG
 ‘The captives of that land, which His Majesty brought...’

5. Yet another opaque NP (example from Hoffner, 2009)

- (30) HKM 52 obv. 11, CTH 190, Hoffner (2009: 191)
 ŠA^{LÚ}DUB.SAR 1 É^{TUM}=pát
 GEN scribe 1 house.NOM.SG=PTC
 ‘There is only one house of the scribe.’

6. How do we account for this?

1. Sumerian and Akkadian influence could trigger the syntax changes in the speech of scribes resulting in deviations from Wackernagel’s law and/or inverted word order.
2. This influence could also lead to the situation when at least some of the heterograms and their combinations were pronounced in the language other than Hittite. It would be only natural that heterographic combinations pronounced in another language are opaque for Hittite sentential clitics.

7. Bibliography

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