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

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

H. Craig Melchert June, 2017 (melchert@humnet.ucla.edu)

Published reviews of *GrHL*:


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


p. 2, §§0.4 and 0.6: the use of the term ‘archives’ is merely conventional and is not intended to prejudice the much debated question of ‘archive’ vs. ‘library’ regarding collections of documents in the Ancient Near East. On this issue see the ample bibliography given by Francia, *Orientalia* 78.2 (2009) 219-220, as well as Silvia Alaura, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 87 (2015) 89-116, with further more recent bibliography.

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


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


and of the grammatical sketch of Watkins 2004:
p. 5, §0.16: the *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* of Johann Tischler is now complete with the appearance of Lieferungen 15 (2010) and 16 (2016). Volumes 8, 9 and 10 of the *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* of Jaan Puhvel have also appeared, completing coverage through words beginning with *SA*-.

These have now been joined by Alwin Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* (Leiden 2008)—henceforth *EDHIL*—which also includes an extensive historical phonology and morphology.


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

p. 15, line 14: Read ‘Mesopotamia’.

p. 16, §1.15, end: read *eš_17* (= *MEŠ*). Likewise p. 21, §1.35.

p. 18, §1.22: Read ‘*mMaš-₇₉u-i₅-lu-w₇₉a(-an)*’ without acute accent.
p. 18, §1.23: the textual reference for *tuhhuśšar tūḫḫša* ‘cuts the t.’ (sic!) is KBo 4.13 ii 6-7.

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

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

p. 22, §1.36: the cuneiform sign for wa₄ was inadvertently omitted. See HZL #326. The penultimate sentence should read: ‘This contrasts with the customary writing of initial /wa/ as wa- (rarely ū-wa-) and initial /we/ and /wi/ as ū-e- and ū-i- or wis- (rarely u-i-) and post-initial /wa/ as -(u)-wa- and post-initial /we/ as -u-e- or -u-e- and /wi/ as -u-i-, ū-i- or -wis- in native Hittite words.’


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

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

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

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

p. 25, §1.47, third line: Read ‘differentiated’.
p. 26, §1.48: Simon (JNES 71.341) quite reasonably laments the absence of a chart of Hittite vowel and consonant phonemes. More to the point, the basis for concluding just how many and which phonemes exist in Hittite is only rather haphazardly presented. Although many uncertainties remain due to the ambiguities of Hittite cuneiform writing, there is no reason why a more explicit account should not be attempted. For an earlier treatment see H. Craig Melchert, Hittite Phonology, pp. 555-67 in Alan S. Kaye (ed.), Phonologies of Africa and Asia (Winona Lake 1997), but some aspects are predictably now badly dated. In the case of vocalism the major change is recognition of two more vowels /o/ and /o:/, so that we must posit ten Hittite vowel phonemes.

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

The position of the low vowel as “central” is conventional; the /a/ may well have been phonetically back. There is no doubt that the four vowels /i/, /i:/ and /e/, /e:/ contrast with each other, both in their short and long varieties. For the short vowels one may cite -ri vs. -ru (indicative vs. imperative medio-passive endings), =mi-it vs. =me-et ‘my’ (instrumental vs. nominative-accusative singular neuter of the enclitic possessive), ḫar-ki-iš ‘white’ (nominative singular common gender) vs. ḫar-ga-aš ‘destruction’ (nominative singular), nu (conjunction) vs. n=e (conjunction plus enclitic pronoun ‘they’, nominative plural common gender), al-pu ‘pointed’ (nominative-accusative singular neuter) vs. al-pa ‘clouds’ (nominative-accusative collective plural), at-te-š vs. at-ta-aš ‘father’ (nominaive plural vs. nominative singular). For the long vowels note: ki-ša-an ([ki:san]) ‘become’ (nominative-accusative singular neuter of the participle) vs. ku-ú-ša-an ‘bride, son-in-law’ (accusative singular), i-ši ‘go!’ vs. e-et ‘eat!’, ki-i ‘this’ (nominative-accusative singular neuter) vs. ka-a ‘here, hither’, ú-da-aš ([ú:das]) ‘s/he brought’ vs. e-da-aš ([e:das]) ‘those’ (dative-locative plural), ú-uk ‘I’ vs. a-ak ‘die!’ , e-eš-zi ‘is’ vs. a-aš-zi ‘remains’. There are some significant changes in the distribution of /i/, /i:/ and /e/, /e:/ from Old to New Hittite. This leads to incorrect spellings in later copies of old texts (a large portion of the Hittite corpus), and one must be prepared to find i for expected e and vice-versa in NS copies of older texts.

It is now clear that, aside from a few specially conditioned exceptions, “plene spellings” (that is, CV1-V1 and V1-V1C) do indicate vowel length, but as illustrated by pé-ra-an beside pé-e-ra-an cited earlier, use of plene spelling is not always consistent. This and the fact that phonetically long vowels are to some extent conditioned by the accent complicates the question of to what extent the short and long varieties of each vowel contrast. Examples such as ki-it-ta-(ri) ‘lies’ (surely [kít:a(ri)] vs. i-it-te-en ‘go!’ (Imv2P) [iːt:en] and tu-uk ‘thee’ [túk] vs. ú-uk [ú:k] ‘I’ suggest that the short and long high vowels are at least marginally contrastive. The situation for /a/ vs. /a:/ and /e/ vs. /e:/ remains much debated; any further studies will have to start from the very thorough investigation by Kloekhorst, Accent in Hittite, pp. 23-414, taking into account the remarks of Kimball, Kratylos 60 (2015) 23-34.
Already Rieken (2005) properly criticized the argumentation against a contrast of spellings with <u> and <ú> reflected here in footnote 38 and in the corresponding discussion by Kimball (1999: 79-80). One cannot argue for a spelling equivalence on the basis of unique **hu-ú-ni-ik-zi** in KBo 6.2 i 16 versus three spellings **hu-u-ni-(in)-k** in the preceding paragraph in the face of the *invariance* shown by hundreds of spellings with only <u> before or after <h>—likewise for many other examples that show overwhelmingly either <u> or <ú>. The fact that in a few poorly attested words we may not be able to determine which spelling is the correct one does not alter this fact. The studies of Rieken (2005) and especially Kloekhorst (*EDHIL* 35-60) have fully confirmed the claims of previous scholars that the vowel signs <u> and <ú> represent different vowels, despite my and others’ longstanding doubts. While spellings **ú-CV, ú-uC, and Cu-ú** represent [u:], those in **u-CV, u-uC, and Cu-u** stand for a lower back rounded vowel plausibly assumed on various grounds to be [o:]. While not every detail about the distribution of the vowel has been fully worked out, it is clear that the [o:] is to a large extent conditioned by its environment and thus in complementary distribution with [u:]. Nevertheless, there are at least a few environments where they contrasted: e.g., the dative-locative singular of **pít-tu-u-la** ‘loop, snare’ must have been [pit:ó:li], as shown by instrumental **pít-tu-u-ll-it**, while that of **wa-aš-tií** ‘sin’ was [wastú:li] (wa-aš-du-ú-ll). Determining the distribution of short [o] is made difficult by the fact that the **Cu** and **uC** signs are used to spell both [u] and [o]. However, there are reasons to believe that the preterite active first singular verb ending was [-on] (see Kloekhorst *EDHIL* 609), while the **u**-stem accusative singular common gender ending was surely [-un], matching the nominative singular common gender ending [-us] and nominative-accusative singular neuter ending [-u]. In sum, while the “functional load” of the /o/ and /o:/ phonemes and of other long vowels may have been limited, we may provisionally assume ten contrastive vowels for Hittite.

It is also assured that Hittite had contrastive short and long diphthongs /aj/ and /a:j/ and /aw/ and /a:w/, but once again the less than consistent use of “plene” spellings to indicate the long versions means that we cannot always tell the difference with certainty. Such cases do not refute the existence of a length contrast, as redemonstrated by Alwin Kloekhorst, *Accent in Hittite*, pp. 392-7. As previously shown by Kloekhorst (*EDHIL* 42-3, 59-60), for /aw/ and /a:w/ in native words the spelling is overwhelmingly **Ca-(a)-ú**; one finds **Ca-(a)-u** only in a few likely or assured loanwords. Whether the latter is a monosyllabic diphthong /a(:)o/ or a disyllabic sequence /a(:)o:/ cannot be determined. A NH conditioned sound change of /a(:)wn/ to /a(:)on/ (Kloekhorst ibid. 42) is dubious.

p. 27, §1.54: despite the arguments of Yakubovich, *BiOr* 67.151-152, the alternative spellings **iš-pa-an-t** and **ši-pa-an-t** can hardly represent /spand-. We now know how the Hittites wrote an initial cluster /sp-/ (see GrHL §1.11): with alternating **še-/ša-PI-(ik)-ku-uš-ta** ‘pin, needle’ (its possible etymology is irrelevant). This practice is consistent with how other initial clusters are spelled. The absolutely fixed spelling of **ši-pa-an-t** (in hundreds of examples) makes it clear that the first vowel is real, however this is to be explained historically. Debate on the problem of this verb continues: compare H. Craig Melchert, *Journal of Language Relationship/Wопросы языкового родства* 14/3 (2016) 187-196, and the response by Ilya Yakubovich, ibid. 196-205.

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

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


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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labiovelar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>/p:/</td>
<td>/t:/</td>
<td>/k:/</td>
<td>/kʰ:/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/kʰ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰ:/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortis</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/x:/</td>
<td>/xʰ:/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenis</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>/xʰ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>/l/,</td>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The major issue regarding Hittite stops is the question of the phonetic feature that distinguishes the two contrasting series and their overall distribution. Melchert (1994: 13-21) and Kloekhorst (EDHIL 21-25) conclude (not entirely on the same grounds) that the synchronic contrast in Hittite is between fortis and lenis stops, which in intervocalic position are realized respectively as long /T:/ vs. short /T/—although both retain for simplicity /T/ vs. /D/ in transcriptions. The definition of “fortis–lenis” is a complex issue that does not exclude voicing (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fortis_and_lenis), and the lenis stops may easily have been realized as phonetically voiced in favorable environments, but there was no contrast in voicing. That the fortis stops were long intervocalically is shown by the fact that they close a preceding syllable (Melchert 1994: 18 and Kloekhorst, Accent in Hittite, pp. 21-2 and 544-6, and Indogermanische Forschungen 121 (2016) 213-7). Recognition of the fact that Lycian ebette ‘those’ (dat.-loc. pl.) matches Hittite apedaš ‘idem’ (Kloekhorst, Accent in Hittite, pp. 571-4) shows that even etymological voiced stops secondarily geminated by “Čop’s Law” were realized as voiceless, so that the assumption of some geminate voiced stops in Hittite and Luvian (Melchert 1994: 20) may and should be abandoned.

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

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

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

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

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


p. 63, §2.60, fourth line: Read ‘second’.
several scholars have tried to refine the notion of “Personenklasse” and “Sachklasse”—see Joseph J. S. Weitenberg, Proto-Indo-European nominal classification and Old Hittite, Munchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 48 (1987) 213-30; Zeilfelder 2001: 198ff., and Petra Goedegebuure, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 102 (2012) 280, with note 24. However, even this revised version of an alleged grammatical division of Hittite nouns based on animacy is unworkable. The agentive and comitative use of the instrumental with nouns with animate referents in Old Hittite refutes the claim that nouns of this type did not appear in the instrumental (see below p. 269 on §§16.107-108).

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

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

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

Goedegebuure (2012) arrives at the same conclusion, but argues that split ergativity only became fully grammaticalized in Middle Hittite. While this claim cannot be strictly refuted, it is in several respects problematic. First, contra Goedegebuure 2012: 272-3, note 11, Zeilfelder 2014: 200, et al., given the robustness of the ergative pattern, it is not circular to suppose that ẖandaiš- (attested in agentive function at KBo 3.23 i 6; OH/NS) is common gender. What is circular is the unjustified presumption that any s-stem in Hittite must be neuter gender — already refuted by ẖāšš- ‘ash; soap’. Since ẖandaiš- with its unique stem in -aiš- does not belong to any established class of Hittite neuter s-stems
(in -aš-, -iš-, -iʃeš(n)- or -uš-), it must be taken as common gender until a convincing account of its stem formation has been presented. The other alleged example of a neuter noun in agentive function (KUB 30.34 iv 4-10; MH/NS) is also not probative: kinuna Éhalinduwa«šš» É.DINGIR.MEŠ=ya公园术 nu ki i=n an ʾēš̂ har NIŠ DINGIR-LIM kuwapi paizzi zik šūrasūrāš̂eš MUSEEN apadda ûten (sic!) nu ʾēš̂ ēnanza linkiyaz Éhalinduwa É.DINGIR.MEŠ lē ēpzi § nu kartīmmiyaz lē kuitki nu sāwar lē kuitki. The number of scriv.al errors and the discrepancy between the sets of evils in the succession of clauses leaves some room for doubt, but the reading of CHD § 316b remains plausible: “It (the s.-bird) has purified the palace and temple. Go (pl.) you s.-bird wherever this illness, bloodshed and perjury goes. Let the bloodshed and perjury not seize the palace and temple. Let not the anger (seize) anything. Let not the sullenness (seize) anything.” But even if this interpretation is correct, we are dealing with “gapping”. There is no collocation of sāwar with a transitive verb and its direct object. Other similar instances in Hittite show use of the nominative as the default case: direct objects appear in the nominative in lists (§16.9) and when “left-dislocated” (§30.10). We thus cannot exclude that ‘anger’ and ‘sullenness’ stand here in the nominative in what are effectively “add on” sentence fragments. Compare also the contrast in Lycian between s=ēne: tešētı: qāntı: trPymillijētı ‘The Lycian oaths (erg.) shall strike (pl.) him!’ (TL 149,10) vs. m=ēne tubidi: q[li]al(j)=eb[i s]e malija: se t[asa]: miṇtaha ‘The mother of the local temenos shall strike (sg.) him, and Maliya, and the oaths of the mindis (coll. pl.).’ There are no assured examples of neuter nouns serving as the subject of a transitive verb in Hittite.

The only example of a neuter noun appearing in an agentive role in Middle Hittite compositions in Middle Script appears in the ergative: mahāṇ=ta kāš þupianza anda wemiyazzı ‘when this tablet reaches you’ (HKM 14:3-5 etc.). Goedegebuure (2012: 297) takes conflicting evidence of anaphoric agreement in two NS copies of a MH ritual (KBo 45 and KUB 41.8) as evidence for a transition from -ant- as a derivational morpheme to -ants as an ergative inflectional ending. One problem with this claim is that the fully grammaticalized use of -anza and -anteš in ergative function in the MS copy of the OH Telipinu Myth (KUB 17.10 iv 5-12) would need to be attributed to the Middle Hittite copyist, which strains credulity. It is also dubious to infer anything about the reality of Middle Hittite grammar based on NS copies, and one cannot safely claim that “In Middle Hittite therefore we may expect both common and neuter gender forms for enclitic pronouns with -anza antecedents” (loc. cit.). There is another at least equally likely explanation for the discrepancy. KUB 41.8 ii 20-21 has: ‘(Let the pure water (šuppiš A-anza, agentive) cleanse the evil tongue, uncleanliness, blood, sin, curse. Just as the wind disperses chaff and carries it across the sea, may it (O, the pure water, agentive) also disperse the blood (and) uncleanliness of his house, and may it (O, agentive) carry it across the sea.)’ n=gaš=šan [(anda)] HUR.SAG-aš šuppayaš paiddu n=gaš=kan hāll[(uwašš)] altannas paiddu ‘Let it (comm. nom. sg.) go into the pure mountains, let it (comm. nom. sg.) go to the deep springs!’ The duplicate KBo 10.45 ii 55 has n=at=kan (neut. nom.-acc. sg.) in both instances. Since =kan is known to replace =šan, it is reasonably certain that the MH original had =šan in both occurrences, but one must bear in mind that neither extant copy necessarily was made from the original. It is established that in Old Hittite /t=s/ at clitic boundary assimilated to /s=s/, including /n=at=šan/ to [n=as=saš] (§1.111, p. 41). The copyist of KUB 41.8 may thus have misanalyzed a na-aš-ša-an in the first occurrence of his model as containing the common gender
nominative singular and adjusted the second occurrence to match it. The supposed competition in Middle Hittite of neuter and common gender for enclitic pronouns with ergative antecedents may thus be a mirage. The difference between parnaš in KUB 41.8 iv 30 and paranza in KBo 10.45 iv 35 as the subject of an intransitive verb also need not reflect any diachronic change, (contra Goedegebuure 2012: 299). The sentence says ‘Let also this city and this house become a ram!’ We have here a clear case of use of either the ergative or conversion to the common gender to mark genuine animacy in a neuter noun whose referent is inherently inanimate. There is no clear evidence that these were both not available for this purpose throughout the history of Hittite (also non-probative is nepišanza beside nepišaš). Since there is only to my knowledge a single instance of an ergative modified by an adjective in an assured New Hittite composition (ḪUL-uanza GIG at KUB 5.1+ ii 8 and iii 31), one can also hardly draw any diachronic inferences from the fact that the adjective here has l-ants/ (contra Goedegebuure 2012: 297). In sum, there is at present no compelling evidence that the grammaticalization of the “individualizing” suffix *e/ont- in ergative function is not already Old Hittite.

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

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

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

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

p. 81: genitive singular UZU/GEŠTU-aš ‘of the ear’ is attested at KUB 45.28 Ro 2; nominative singular arunaš is attested in OS (KBo 25.12 ii 5&6), and likely genitive singular arunaš (KBo 3.38 Ro 32); of interest for /u/ vs. /o/ vocalism is a-ru-ú-ni at KUB 36.41 i 13.
p. 82: the actual spellings for the genitive singular and instrumental of ‘yoke’ are respectively GIŠŠUDUN-aš (KUB 7.8 iii 6) and GIŠŠUDU]N-it (KBo 4.1 Vo 12).

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

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

p. 84, note 43: the example arahzenaš KUR.KUR.MEŠ-az in KBo 20.107+ ii 10 shows undeniably genitive singular of a noun ‘from the lands of the outside”; see Daliah Bawanyeck, Die Rituale der Auguren (Heidelberg 2005), pp. 108&116. One should thus also assume a genitive singular for the examples cited and others from KBo 3.4. There is no compelling evidence for a nominative plural common gender †arahżenaš. The aberrant acc. sg. comm. arahzemun at KUB 21.38 Ro 49 should be acknowledged; dat.-loc. sg. arahzeni appears at Bo 86.299 iii 18 and KBo 4.10 Ro 13.

p. 85: the nominative-accusative neuter (collective) plural an-tu-u-ri-ya appears at KUB 44.64 iii 11 substantivized as ‘innards’. I cannot vouch for the dative-locative singular listed.

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

p. 88: although it is surely a secondary creation, one must acknowledge nominative singular tuzziš=miš at KBo 2.5 ii 13; an instrumental tu-zi-it is attested at KUB 40.61:7+13.28:11; a collective plural UZU a-ú-li appears at KUB 133 ii 32; a genitive singular or plural [LÚ(MES)]u rápšiyaš is to be read at KUB 42.106 Ro7 13.

p. 89: however one analyzes the example from the Laws (see footnote 61), genitive singular išḫuzziyaš is certain at KUB 33.92 iii 15; accusative singular a-ú-ri-in is attested at KBo 12.69:5; the attested OS spelling of the genitive singular is specifically a-wa-ri-ya-aš (KUB 36.49 i 9 etc.); it is likely that a-a-pí-iš(-ša) at KUB 34.57:4 is nominative singular of ‘ritual pit’.

p. 90: ablative ḥuwašiaz is multiply attested at 2064/g Ro 15ff. and ḥuwašiyaz at KUB 10.17 i 14&33 and elsewhere; a count plural 3NA4 hũwašiu[š] appears at KUB 40.2 Ro 15 (see §3.13, end); dative-locative plural ḥu-(u)-wa-ši-(ya)-aš is well attested in various spellings; the OS spelling of the nominative-accusative of ‘libation (vessel)’ is consistently išpantuzzi; ablative išpanduzi(z)zi(y)az is well attested and instrumental DUG išpanduzi appears at KUB 24.2 Ro 12; DUG išpantuzzi at KUB 17.21 i 16 & iv 10 is nominative-accusative plural; the OS spelling for the genitive singular is specifically
[t]up-pí-aš (KUB 36.106 Vo 5); the OS ablative (KBo 3.22:33) is almost entirely restored, so the presence/absence of -ya- cannot be determined; the spelling *tup-pí-za* at KUB 23.95 iii 18 and 7.53 ii 6 may be faulty for *tup-pí-<ya>-za* or a genuine variant; *tuppiaš* and *TUP.PA*-aš at KUB 17.18 ii 14.15&25 attest the genitive plural; also *tuppiyaš* at KUB 33.106 ii 20; note Luvian nom.-acc. pl. *GIŠe/*huit[a] in Hittite context at KBo 17.5 Vo 63; it is not assured that ‘bridge’ is consistently a collective plural tantum—one should not dismiss likely nom. sg. comm. *GIŠarmiziš=tii[š]‘ your bridge’ at KBo 13.86 Vo 2.

p. 91: dative-locative *GIŠmāri* appears at KBo 4.9 iv 10 & KUB 11.19 iv 12; the ablative *GIŠmārita[z]* at KUB 43.56 ii 16 argues for a loanword from Luvian, making highly questionable the claim that the instrumental *māraït* at KUB 17.43 i 7 is the same word with an ablauting stem (compare the separate entries in the CHD); ‘pasture’ undeniably does show an ablauting stem, but there are additional forms with -i-: dative-locative singular *wešī* (KBo 12.73 Ro 3), ablative *wešiyaz* (KBo 6.10 iv 7, 6.15:11), likely instrumental *wešiṭ=a* (2064/g Vo 3), nominative plural *wešē* (KBo 32.14 ii 27-28, MS) and dative-locative plural *wešiyaš* (KBo 32.14 ii 29, MS); for the nominative-accusative collective plural of ‘corner’ read *ḥal-ḥal-tu-u-mar* (KUB 31.130 Ro 6).

p. 92, §4.31: it is far from certain that ‘corner’ was ever an r/n-stem. Most evidence points to a neuter r-stem (§4.82). The few NS examples of the count plural in -iyaš could be built on the secondary collective nominative-accusative plural ending -i (on which see the paper by Rieken cited above, p. 72, §3.20).

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

p. 93, §4.34: dat.-loc. sg. *ḫaštai* is attested at KUB 9.4 i 15 and inst. *ḫaštištū* at KUB 13.27 Vo’ 23; *ḫašṭi(y)ḫaš* at KUB 30.15 Ro 1&17 is assuredly dat.-loc. plural (also KUB 39.9 Ro 8 and 39.11 Ro 50); erg. sg. *ḫašṭianza* appears at KUB 9.4 i 37; *GIŠḥuttaštū* at KUB 17.10 iv 21 is assuredly a collective plural (with Hoffner 1998b: 17).


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

pp. 103-104, §4.57: acc. sg. comm. āššu is attested in OS at KUB 36.49 iv 7; dat.-loc. pl. āššau(w)aš is multiply attested; gen. sg. idāluwaš occurs at KBo 16.56:7&16 and idalauwaš at KUB 31.127 i 45; erg. sg. idāluwanz(=iya) is attested at KUB 29.7 Vo 29; nom.-acc. pl. nt. hūšuwa is found at KUB 39.69 Vo 4; collective plural (probably substantivized) Uṣu-hu-(u)-i-su is massively attested; dat.-loc. pl. hūšuwaš appears at KUB 32.1 iii 11 and huišuwaš at KBo 17.83 ii 10 & KUB 20.88 vi 15; the OS nom. sg. is īpuš with plene; inst. tepauīt occurs at KBo 23.28 i 57 vs. tepuit at KBo 15.37 i 25; abl. daššauwaz is attested at KBo 19.110:4, and dat.-loc. pl. daššauaš at KBo 19.109 iv 6 & dupl.

pp. 104-5, §4.58: nom.-acc. sg. utnē is also attested in OS (KBo 3.22 Ro 11 and KBo 25.122 iii 1&2). The intended OS example for dat.-loc. sg. utnē is KUB 8.41 iii 15, where the contrast with dandukišni and parallelism with DINGIR.MEŠ-naš=š ištarña elsewhere in the text argues for [DINGIR.MEŠ]-aš utnē ‘in the land of the gods’ (or perhaps [DINGIR.MEŠ]-naš=š a arawa]š utnē ‘in the land of the free gods’).

pp. 107-8: on the prehistory of Hittite stems in -īl- and -ūl- (NB spelled -ū-ul and -ū-lV-) see now Elisabeth Rieken, The Origin of the l-Genitive and the History of the Stems in -īl- and -ūl- in Hittite, pp. 239-56 in Karlene Jones-Bley et al., Proceedings of the 19th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference: Los Angeles, November 3-4, 2007 (Washington DC 2008). The attempt to deny that nom. sg. allil ‘flower’ in KUB 33.68 ii 1-2 is common gender (CHD Š 179 et al.) is strained in the extreme. This noun is with Rieken 2008: 246 originally common gender, just like šarnikzil ‘restitution’. The accusative singular form alel at KUB 39.6 Ro 15 and 4.4 Ro 8 is entirely ambiguous as to gender; clearly neuter is allil at KUB 46.30:33 and IBOT 2.39 Vo 22. Since homophonous nominative and accusative singular forms in common gender nouns were unusual in Hittite, originally common gender stems in -il- were either partially converted to a-stems (nom. sg. alilaš) or became neutrals. Spellings of ‘thread’ with -il- are older than those with -el. There is thus no basis for supposing any genuine Hittite nominal stems in -ēl-. On the derivation of ĕrkīl- and šuwīl- (sic!) see Rieken 2008: 249. For ‘restitution’ one also finds NH nom.-acc. pl. nt. [šar]nikzelMES at KUB 50.6 iii 50.

pp. 109-110, §4.70: nom.-acc. sg. šahhan is already in OS (KBo 6.2 ii 25&43) and in assimilated forms with following enclitic possessive (see CHD Š 2); nom.-acc. pl. šahhana appears at KBo 4.10 Ro 42 and KUB 26.43 Ro 54 (NH); nom.-acc. sg. NINDAsarāman occurs at KBo 30.82 i 12; OS ku-ú-ša-an (KBO 6.2 ii 17; Laws §55)
means ‘son-in-law’ (Rieken 1999: 158 et al., following Starke 1977: 144) and must be stricken from the paradigm of **kuššan**; ergative singular **ḫing/kananza** is attested at KUB 24.3 ii 25 = 24.4 Ro 15; erg. sg. **I-anza** appears at KUB 24.1 i 12 = 24.2 i 10, and abl. **I-az/I-za** is also attested; dat.-loc. sg. **NA4 kunnani** is found at KUB 35.145 Ro 11.

p. 110, §4.71: abl. **taknāz** and gen. sg. **taknāš** appear at KUB 43.23 Vo 17&18, which I regard as OS (cf. below p. 112, note 162).

pp. 111-112, §4.75: dat.-loc. **MUSHEN ḫārani** occurs at KBo 12.77:12; nom. pl. **išhimāneš** is also OS (KBo 17.15 Vo 10), and the acc. pl. has plene spelling: **[iš]ḫimānuš** (ibid. Vo 7).

p. 112, §4.76: abl. **memiaz** appears at KUB 5.24 i 24; **memiyaš** at KBo 5.9 iii 2 is nominative plural (in partitive apposition ‘(of) these things which…’); as per the CHD L-N: 333, all (6x) spellings of ‘(grape) cluster’ show **mu-ú-ri** (including OS KUB 43.23 Vo 21), except KUB 57.110 ii 8 (= Bo 884) **mu-ú-ri-iš**, which still is surely the same word.

p. 113, §4.78: it is crucial to acknowledge the spelling MUNUS-**anza** for the nominative singular of ‘woman’ (KUB 30.29 i 1 etc.). Furthermore, the likely appearance of **/kwant(a)/** as a feminine personal name (see Hawkins apud Weeden, *BSOAS* 74.1 (2011) 70-71) supports the already persuasive synchronic analysis of ‘woman’ as an n-stem **/kan-/** by Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 505. A Hittite stem †**kuinn(a)** for ‘woman’ may be abandoned; the plene spelling MUNUS-**ni-i** for the dative-locative singular is noteworthy, even if all examples are NS (KUB 7.6:10, 13.4 ii 77, 21.27 ii 16).

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

pp. 115-116, §4.82: nom. sg. *keššar (=šiš)* (Laws §3) is an archaism, but it is not in OS; as per Kloekhorst, *Krätylos* 55.16, acc. sg. *[k]iššeran* appears in KBo 17.45.5 (OS); the alleged dative-locative *keššar* should be stricken (for the reasons given by Neu 1980: 33-35); abl. *hāpparaz* is OS (KBo 6.2 ii 51, Laws §48); *hapus* at KBo 12.70 Ro’14.15, if genuine, could represent an archaic collective plural (seen in the derivatives ‘sell’ and ‘city’), but given the use of <pár> to spell pé-er, a false resolution of ha-ap-pār in NS cannot be excluded. It certainly belongs to the same word (with *HW2* Ḥ 215-216 and Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* 295).

pp. 116-117, §4.84: since in all complete contexts *ḫuppar* follows a numeral, it is likely a “pseudo-Akkadographic” writing of the stem form, not a true endingless nominative singular; *ḫupparuš* is OS only if one treats KBo 17.74+ as OS (against the standard view of Neu, 1970: 7, et al.); the CHD Š 457 takes šittar as nom.-acc. neuter, but no passages cited prove that it is neuter. However, since all examples are NS, and all but a handful follow a numeral, whether any examples are genuine common gender nominative or accusative singulars with zero ending may also be doubted; as per the CHD, loc. cit., šittaraš is attested, either a genitive singular or plural or dative-locative plural.

p. 117, §4.85: all plene spellings of *kurur*- show -u-. It must be stressed that the OS example of *kurur* nom. sg. comm. (KBo 3.22 Ro 25) is predicatival, not attributive. This is also true for all instances of *ku-(u)-ru-ur* in NH texts that are functionally nominative singular or plural common gender; as per the CHD Š 62, the nom. sg. comm. *šakuwaššar* (KUB 23.54 Ro 10) is also predicatival, which may not be accidental in what is likely a NH text.

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

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

pp. 121-122, §4.94: abl. a[niyattaz is attested at KUB 44.61 LEdge 1 (see Burde 1974: 20) and acc. pl. aniyyadduš appears at KBo 10.45 iv 45; kaštaza at KBo 12.73 Ro 8 and 19.109A iv 21 (both partially restored); karittaš at KBo 12.1 i 7 may be either genitive singular or dative-locative plural.

p. 123, §4.98: KBo 3.55 ii 8 shows acc. pl. Ḫu-u-uš-wa-an-du-uš; nom-acc. sg. neut. (anda) appān appears at KBo 18.170a Vo 6 (also anda...appan at KUB 13.33 ii 8); nom.-acc. pl. neut. (anda) appenda is multiply attested.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

p. 142, §7.2: on the use of apeniššan and i/eniššan see the corrective below p. 147, §7.18.
p. 143, §7.3: the table displaying attested forms of kā- and apā- requires a few revisions and additions. The dat.-loc. singular kēdani is OS (KUB 33.59 iii 7-9); an extended acc. pl. com. ku-u-ši is attested at VBoT 58 Ro 34 (OH/NS) — see Petra Goedegebuure, p. 60 in Ron Kim et al. (eds.), Ex Anatolia Lux: Anatolian and Indo-European Studies in honor of H. Craig Melchert on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday (Ann Arbor – New York 2010). There is no doubt that there was also an extended neuter nom.-acc. sg. kēni (matching ini and like the latter appearing as kēni in NS): see Petra Goedegebuure, pp. 309-12 in Detlev Groddek and Marina Zorman (eds.), Tabularia Hethaeorum: Hethitologische Studien Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag (Wiesbaden 2007). The remarks at the end of §7.4 should be revised accordingly.

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

p. 145, §7.11: for a much elaborated and updated summary of the paradigm of aši+ at various stages of Hittite see now Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives, pp. 221-225.

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

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

p. 151, §8.7: for important refinements regarding the use in generalizing relatives and other free choice expressions of iterated kui- kui- and kui- imma (kui-) see Andrej Sideltsev and Ilya Yakubovich, pp. 79-83, Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 70/1 (2016).
p. 152, §§8.10-12: the presentation of the stems *dapi(a)/dapid-* and *dapiant-* ‘all, entire, each’ is unsatisfactory. First, with a *single* exception (nom.-acc. pl. neuter *dapiya* at KBo 12.38 i 24), neither stem is ever spelled with the sign *-ya*. All other forms listed as spelled with a yod should be given as *dapia*. Second, since the lack of explicitness seems to have led to misunderstanding, the frequent stem *dapid-* is real, reflecting Luvian origin (see §4.15, p. 86) and is not an erroneous spelling for or irregular reduction of *dapiant-* (*contra* Tischler, *HEG* 3.127, *et al.*). The genitive singular †*dapiyaš* should be removed from the paradigm, but the following forms added (in addition to *dapiya* cited above): nom. pl. com. *dapieš* (KUB 44.50 i 8), *dapiteš* (IBoT 3.100:9), abl. *dapiaz* (KUB 18.12 Ro 5). On the syntax of *dapi(a)/dapid-* and *dapiant-* see below p. 271, §17.6 with references to the works of Kimball and Oettinger.

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

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

p. 175, §10.7: the consistent single *-n-* in *hewaniške-* shows that it is a “marked imperfective” form of a stem *hē(ya)waniya-* ‘to rain’ (of the small class of verbal stems in *-aniya-*), as argued by Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.17.

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

p. 180, §11.5: on the distribution of the second plural endings *-šten(i)* see Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.18, with reference to his more detailed treatment in *SMEA* 50 (2007) 493-500.

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

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

p. 195, §12.16: Alwin Kloekhorst, \textit{Historische Sprachforschung} 119 (2006) 98-101 and \textit{Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon} (Leiden 2008), 836-9, has shown that there is no verb stem \textit{tarḫ}- in Hittite, only a stem /\textit{tarh}/- ‘be powerful; overcome, conquer’, spelled alternately \textit{tar-\textit{hu}-} and \textit{ta-ru-\textit{uh}-C-/\textit{tar-uh-hV}(-, entirely parallel to \textit{eku-/euk-’to drink’}. His argument is the complete absence of any spellings /\textit{tar-\textit{hV}}(-, as predicted for a true stem /\textit{tarh/- (compare such spellings for \textit{parh}- ‘to chase’). A unitary labiovelar is confirmed by the preterite first plural \textit{tar-\textit{hu-en} (not /\textit{tar-\textit{hu-me-en} (In the absence of counterevidence, one must assume likewise that ‘to roast’ is /\textit{sanh%/).}

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

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

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

Third, while the original inflection of mall(a)- ‘to grind’, attested thus far only in NS, remains uncertain, it is now clear that we must distinguish the verb išpar-.išpar-.ḫḫi ‘to spread (out)’ from išparre/-a-.mi ‘to kick, trample’. For the original inflection of ‘to spread’ see Kloekhorst, EDHIL 406-7. For the original inflection of ‘to kick, trample’ and the only secondary confusion of the two stems in NH see H. Craig Melchert, Hittite išpar- “to spread out” and išparre/-a- “to kick”, pp. 499-506 in Piotr Taracha (ed.), Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Hittitology. Warsaw, 5. to 9. September 2011 (Warsaw 2014).

Finally, there are good reasons to think that in Old Hittite there likely were some subclasses within the “-e/-a-” type of mi-verbs. Contra Kloekhorst, EDHIL 120, one cannot synchronically assign verbs like zinmi/-zinna- ‘to finish’ to the Hittite class with e/zero ablaut—the Pres1PL [zi]nnauweni is already OH/OS (KBo 17.25 Ro 2)—nor ḫulle/a- ‘to defeat’, for which we find Pres2Sg ḫullasi and Pres3Sg ḫullazi and Pret1Sg ḫullanun in OH/OS (respectively KUB 37.223 a7 and e4, and KBo 3.22 Ro 11&15). These forms are only explicable as due to already prehistoric influence of verbs like šuwe/a- ‘to push, reject’. However, contrary to the assertion in note 69 (p. 200), the prehistory of stems like ḫulle/a-, duwarni/a-, and zinmi/a- (Kloekhorst, loc. cit. and the respective lemmata) shows that the first plural and verbal nominal forms in -CumV- are older than those in -CaV-. Furthermore, as Kloekhorst correctly observes, at least duwarni- and zinmi- show i-vocalism (the reading †zinnezi in §12.25 for OS zi-in-ni[z][i] must be corrected!). For one account of the unexpected i-vocalism see Anthony Yates, Anatolian Default Accentuation and Its Diachronic Consequences, Indo-European Linguistics 3 (2015) 145-87, especially section 2.1. It is likely, but not provable, that we should also read ambiguous ḫu-ul-LI- as ḫulli-, not ḫulle-. However, a dearth (in many cases a complete lack) of evidence for most verbs of this class in OS and MS, especially in diagnostic person and number forms, makes any definitive subdivision of the class impossible at present. And the OS examples cited above make it clear in any case that analogical effects began already in Old Hittite, so considerable synchronic variation must be conceded. Thus even further OS and MS evidence might not entirely solve the issue.

p. 207, §12.36: given the appearance already in OH/OS of spellings -Ca-(a)-e(C) for what can only have been a diphthong [aːj] (li-in-ga-en KUB 36.108 Ro 10, [t]a-ma-a-e KBo 20.18 Vo7 4, SimpleName]ma-ḫḫ-ra-en KBo 17.30 ii 2), the claim of Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.20, that the denominative verbal suffix was /aːe/ in attested Hittite is doubtful. In any case, however, spellings such as tar-ma-ae-[mil] (IBoT 3.135 (Vo) 3) and pa-lu-wa-a-an-zi (KBo 44.1423 Ro 3) already in OH/OS show that the stem was -āi-/āa- or -āe-/āa- with a consistently long vowel (reflecting prehistoric *-ɑye/o-, a compensatory lengthening of the vowel, as suggested by Kloekhorst, EDHIL 90 and 133, is impossible, since the yod was syllabified with the following vowel and was not tautosyllabic with the preceding one).

However, the proposal by Kloekhorst, EDHIL 132-5, that in Old Hittite there was originally a contrast between the -āi-/āa- type < *-ɑye/o- and an -āye-/āa- type < *-eʰ2ye/o- is illuminating. Recognition of at least some trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic stems of
the latter type (e.g., šakuwāye/a- ‘to look at’) eliminates the need for ad hoc explanations for tāye/a- ‘to steal’ (Melchert 1994: 130 w/refs.), which is regular from *(s)teh2-ye/o-.

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

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

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

is simply another of many examples for appositional direct address (§16.16). A seventh example of nominative for vocative is found in KBo 26.79:13 (Ḫedammu): see Detlev Groddek, Studies...Součková-Siegelová p. 157 with note 75.

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


Nor is the use of ḫuwai- ‘run’ with the accusative in Old Hittite ritual contexts (Cotticelli-Kuras, p. 136, example 36) an accusative of direction. As per Frank Starke (1977: 40-41), ḫuwai- ‘run; flee’ never takes a goal in Old Hittite. As shown by KBo 25.31 ii 8-12 and duplicates (and other similar passages), the OH use with an accusative and particle =kan is an idiom for ‘to run around’: NIN.DINGIR-aš LÚ gísGIDRU-aš pēran ḫuwāi N[(IN.DINGIR-aš uezzi 2 DUMU.MEŠ-É.GAL ŠÀ-BA kētt=a)] 1-iš kētt=a 1-iš ḫarzi 15 Lu.MEš hā[(piēš URU Ḫatti EGRIR=ŠU)] išgaranteš ḫaššan=kan 1-ŠU [(仇恨)] § mān=āsta LUGAL-i NIN.DINGIR-aš ḫandāētta L[Ú x (LÚ gísGIDRU)] āppianzi ta A.ŠAR=ŠUNU appanzi ‘The staff-bearer of the NIN.DINGIR-priestess precedes. The NIN.DINGIR-priestess comes. There are two palace officials of whom one keeps to one side, one keeps to the other. Fifteen hapiya-men are lined up behind her. She runs (around) the hearth once. When the NIN.DINGIR-priestess draws even with the king, the [ ] (and) the staff-bearer step back and take their places.’ See correctly Petra Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives, pp. 281-2. See also KUB 56.46 ii 14-17.

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

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

p. 256, §16.60: the phrase ‘is written (not spoken!) as a preposition before logograms or proper names’ means to say that in spoken Hittite the genitive of the noun was always followed by iwar as a postposition, not that iwar was not spoken at all!
pace Kloekhorst, *Kratylos* 55.21, the ablative of direction towards is well established (including with motion verbs), and in the boundary descriptions of treaties the viewpoint is always from the city whose boundaries are being described, so ‘towards X’ is the only sensible translation, as already seen by Garstang and Gurney. See Melchert 1977: 200-03, 311, and 358-9.

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

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

most if not all participles that follow the noun are not attributive, but rather appositional or “depictive”; see Elisabeth Rieken, Das hethitische Partizip: Zur Schnittstelle von Syntax und Semantik, in Georges-Jean Pinault, Claire Le Feuvre and Daniel Petit (eds.), *Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft “Adjectifs verbaux et participes dans les langues indo-européennes”, 24.-26.9.2014* [in press].

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

Sara Kimball, Hittite dapi- ‘all, whole, each’, pp. 159-69 in Dieter Gunkel et. al. (eds.), *Sahasram Ati Srajas: Indo-Iranian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Stephanie W. Jamison* (Ann Arbor – New York: 2016), revives the root etymology of Edgar Sturtevant to *dheb- ‘massive, heavy’ (or similar), but struggles with the apparent substantival inflection (pp. 167-8). The solution is that despite her assertion to the contrary, there is clear evidence for Luvian origin. As implied (but unfortunately not made explicit) above at §8.10, p. 152, forms such as abl. dapidaz, nom. pl. com. dapiteš, nom.-acc. pl. dapida and gen. pl. dapašas are not to be emended (Kimball, loc. cit.) or taken as very irregular reductions of dapiant- (Tischler, *HEG* 3.127), but reflect that dapi- is another Luvian loanword into Hittite with the very productive noun-forming suffix -it-. Norbert Oettinger, Pronominaladjektive in frühen indogermanischen Sprachen, pp. 1327-35 in R. Bombi et al. (eds.), *Studi linguistici in onore di Robert Gusmani*
Alessandria 2006), recognizes the stem *dapit-* as well as the peculiar non-writing of *ʃʃ* in all but a single instance of both *dapi-* and *dapiant* as reflective of a loanword, but tries unnecessarily to explain away the adjectival use in Hittite of a Luvian noun (pp. 1329-31). The predominant position of *dapi(d)*- and *dapiant* following its head noun would be entirely in order if the original syntax was appositional: X, a mass (of it) = X en masse. The syntax of Luvian *pu-u-na* and *pu-u-na-ta* ‘all’ suggests a similar origin (see Starke 1990: 303 with note 1034 and reference to HLuvian *430* ‘all, whole’).

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

p. 299, §20.21: the postposition katta/kattan means only ‘with, beside’ (or with motion verbs simply ‘to’) and must not be confused with katta ‘down(wards)’ and kattan ‘below, under’ (contra Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.21).

p. 307, §22.6: for a very useful treatment of the “historical present” see Paola Coticelli-Kurras, Textlinguistische Annäherungen in den hethitischen Erzähltexten, pp. 43-56 in Onofrio Carruba & Wolfgang Meid (eds.), Anatolisch und Indogermanisch... (Innsbruck 2001). As she indicates, against the statement in note 2, the present tense examples in Old Hittite past narratives are examples of the historical present, when correctly construed as a means of “Aufmerksamkeitslenkung” (“foregrounding” and “backgrounding”), but the pattern of use almost certainly changed from Old to New Hittite. On the use of preterital forms of -ške- and -šša- for “backgrounding” in New Hittite see the reference to the work of Alexandra Daues below at p. 317ff (end).

p. 313ff., Chapter 23: see for a brief overview of the various means in Hittite of expressing modality in the broadest sense Marina Zorman, Modality in Hittite, Historische Sprachforschung 126 (2013) 127-41.
p. 314, §23.7: as noted by Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.21, the translation of šešdu in mâu šešdu as ‘have rest’ is false. Whether or not the verb ši/šd- (sic!) is historically from the root *sed- ‘to sit’, synchronically the verb means ‘to prosper’.

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


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

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

p. 336, §25.28: given the clear space following waqqareš, one should retain the restoration [ma]-an tiyat of Güterbock, JCS 6.20 (with the CHD L-N, p. 142), and the interpretation ‘Had she taken a step…’ (contra Kloekhorst, Kratylos 55.21).
p. 338, §25.37: there is no question that due to ambiguous forms like present third plural \textit{ti-(ya)-an-zi} there was a reanalysis that led to secondary use of \textit{tiya-} with the supine instead of original \textit{dai-}, but since there is no evidence that forms like preterite third singular \textit{tiyat} ever belonged to the paradigm of \textit{dai-} ‘to put, place’, the use of \textit{tiya-} ‘to step’ in NH cannot be denied (\textit{pace} Kloekhorst, \textit{Kratylos} 55.21).


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

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


p.386, §28.127, third line: Read ‘may be translated’.
pp. 395-9: for excellent further discussion of the syntax and function of \(=a/=ma\) see Petra Goedegebuure, *The Hittite Demonstratives* Chapter 9. As she makes clear, however, the findings based primarily on the interaction of non-geminating \(=a/=ma\) and apā- require amplification and confirmation based on a broader survey of the use of \(=a/=ma\). Many of her results are also incorporated into the study by Andrej Sideltsev and Maria Molina, Enclitic -(m)\(a\) ‘but’, clause architecture and the prosody of focus in Hittite, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 120 (2015) 209-53, who further address the problem of the function and syntax of **clause-internal** \(=a/=ma\) and its pattern of use with subordinating conjunctions, as well as the interplay of syntax and phonology (prosody) in the behavior of both \(=a/=ma\) and \(=a/=ya\). Their example (27) from HKM 72 Ro 9-10 should almost certainly not be emended, but it nevertheless is another example of the preverbal contrastive focus they identify: \(n=ašta\) G\(Is\)murta tuel\(=ma\) [---] karššandu “Let your (men) cut m.-wood!” (against the preceding advice to wait for wood to finish the bridge).

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

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

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

p. 409, §30.11: Contrary to the claim made here, it is highly unlikely that “right dislocation” is a genuine feature of native Hittite. First of all, examples in translation literature are clearly motivated by the desire to imitate the word order of the source language and as “translationese” **cannot** be used as evidence for Hittite grammar. See for Hittite texts based on Hattic Alfredo Rizza, *I pronomi enclitici nei testi etei di traduzione dal hattico* (Pavia 2007), esp. pp. 68-73 and 171-173. For texts based on Hurrian models see Elisabeth Rieken, Verberstellung in hethitischen Übersetzungsstexten, pp. 498-507 in Thomas Krisch & Thomas Lindner (eds.), *Indogermanistik und Linguistik im Dialog: Akten der XIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 21. bis 27. September 2008 in Salzburg* (Wiesbaden 2011), esp. p. 499. For arguments against the

p. 410, §30.15: as demonstrated by Brian Agbayani and Chris Golston, Second-position is first-position: Wackernagel’s Law and the role of clausal conjunction, Indogermanische Forschungen 115 (2010) 1-21, interclausal conjunctions are in fact syntactically interclausal—they do not stand first in the second clause. The result of this realization is that syntactically so-called “initial position” and “first position” are identical. It is the various constituents listed in columns 1-6 that appear syntactically first in the clause (I emphasize that determining their structural positions and ordering in relation to each other is far from settled). Syntactically, the pronoun =$uš ‘them’ in partauni=$uš “them with a wing” and in t=$uš “and them” is clause-initial in both cases. Since the pronoun is prosodically weak and cannot stand at the left edge of a phonological phrase, it is in the spoken sentence attached in the first instance as a clitic to the first fully accented word in the clause (there being no other available host), while in the second instance it is attached as a clitic to the interclausal conjunction. The presentation of Agbayani and Golston represents merely one formal analysis of this “syntax-phonology” interface. What is crucial is that there is no syntactic structural difference between the two configurations, other than the presence of an interclausal conjunction instead of clausal asyndeton.

pp. 411-412, §30.19: on the origin of repeated enclitic sequences such as n=at=ši=at as resulting from interference from Luvian see Yakubovich, Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language, 357-67, with reference to Elisabeth Rieken, Altorientalische Forschungen 33 (2006) 278.

p. 415, §30.34:


(2) a further type of dependent clause must be recognized for New Hittite, that introduced by eni kuit ‘as to that fact that’ and kī kuit ‘as to this fact that…’. See on their usage Petra Goedegebuure, The Hittite Demonstratives (2010) 162-8 and 310-11. For two competing accounts of their origin see Olav Hackstein, Von der Diskurssyntax zur Satzsyntax: Hethitisch kī kuit, pp. 345-59 in Detlev Groddek and Sylvestre Rößle (eds.), Šarnikzel. Hethitologische Studien zum Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer (Dresden 2004) and H. Craig Melchert (following Gary Holland), pp. 205-7 in: Hittite kī (kuit) and Vedic “sā-
FIGÊ”, pp. 204-13 in Andrew Miles Byrd, Jessica DeLisi and Mark Wenthe (eds.), TAVET TAT SATYAM. Studies in Honor of Jared S. Klein on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday (Ann Arbor – New York: 2016). However, the claim by Melchert (2016: 205, note 3) that in oracular questions eni kuit and ki kuit are pragmatically equivalent must be rejected—see rather Goedegebuure, loc. cit.

(3) for a thorough treatment of the expression of “finality” in Hittite see Susanne Zeilfelder, Zum Ausdruck der Finalität im Hethitischen, pp. 395-410 in Onofrio Carruba & Wolfgang Meid (eds.), ANATOLISCH UND INDOGERMANISCH... (Innsbruck 2001). Note in particular her tentative but plausible identification of two instances of mān indicating finality (p. 400). NB that only §§25.11-16 here actually treat infinitives expressing finality.

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

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


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

pp. 423-26, §§30.58-30.64: recent research has shown that major revisions are required in the description of Hittite relative clauses (RCs):
(1) there are several more types of Hittite RCs than previously acknowledged. For a summary (by no means exhaustive) see H. Craig Melchert, Relative Clauses in Anatolian, pp. 287-95 in Sergio Neri, Roland Schuhmann and Susanne Zeilfelder (eds.), »dat ih dir it nu bi huldi gibum Linguistische, germanistische und indogermanistische Studien Rosemarie Lühr gewidmet« (Wiesbaden 2016). First, against the claim in §30.58 Hittite does rarely but undeniably show some RC’s embedded within the main clause: namma=ma=za damain BELAM kuï<ež=>aš kuïš [UKU-aš] ANA dUTU-ŠI EGIR-an arha lē kuinki šakti ‘Furthermore, do not recognize any other lord, whatsoever [person] he is, behind the back of His Majesty!’ (KBo 5.3 i 14-15; MH/NS). Besides this “non-restrictive” example there are also at least one instance each of such embedded “restrictive” and “indefinite” RCs (see Melchert, op. cit. p. 293). Second, internally headed RCs may also rarely be embedded as noun phrases coordinated with another noun phrase: kāša wHattušiliš LUGAL.GAL šummaš ANA LÚ.ME.ES dUTU-Tiliura arahzanda=ya kuïš URU.DIDLI.HI a zik EN KUR-TI kuïš maniyahheškeši ANA LÚ.ME.ES wHatti LÚ.ME.ES wHGašga=ya ištül kišan ištúyanun ‘I Hattusili, the Great King, have made a treaty (lit. bound an obligation) as follows for you, the people of Tiliura, and (for) the cities that are round about, which you, governor of the boundary territory administer, for both Hittites and Gasgeans.’ (KUB 21.29 i 6–10; NH). This very complex sentence also has a postposed non-restrictive RC modifying the embedded RC. Third, Probert (2006) has argued for the existence in Old Hittite of embedded RCs that are “fronted” within their clause. Finally, besides previously recognized “non-restrictive” and “indefinite” types (§§30.62-30.63), Hittite postposed RCs also include restrictive examples: apūnn=a=za arḫa d[(āl)]i karū=za kuin harši ‘Also let go/give up the one whom you already have (as wife)!’ (KBo 5.3+ iii 63-64). There is also an apparent example of a postposed “free” RC (without true antecedent): n=at=za ariyami kuit=mu Ū SInŠA-rī ‘I will investigate by oracle which herb is determined for me.’ (KUB 22.61 Vo! 16-19; NH).

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

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

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

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

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


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

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