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ON LOCAL PARTICLES AS SPATIAL CASE MARKERS IN HITTITE

Mojca Cajnko

Summary

Local particles have received a great deal of attention in Hittitology. Their meaning and scope and changes in their use from Old to Late New Hittite have been described in detail. The complex interplay in the use of local particles, local adverbs, case endings and verbs has also been emphasised, and it has been noted that local particles are used for “Verdeutlichung einer autonomen Kasusfunktion.” One aspect that has yet to be described is the functional value of local particles. The aim of this paper is therefore to provide an overview of previous studies on the use of local particles and to embed these findings into a broader theoretical apparatus in order to determine the functional value of these particles. Case theory is thus applied to advance the claim that local particles in Hittite function as spatial case markers.

INTRODUCTION

The use of the local particles *-an*, *-apa*, *-ašta*, *-šan* and *-kan* is one of the most frequently treated topics of study in Hittite syntax.¹ Their origin has been sought in proto-Indo-European local adverbs (Boley 1989, 74; Josephson 1976, 173; Carruba 1964, 429),² preverbs (Carruba 1969, 33),³ aspectual and other particles (Josephson 1972, 418f.),⁴ and in Hittite local adverbs (Carruba 1964, 429).⁵ Some scholars stress the local meaning of these particles, while others stress their correlation with verb aspect; as already pointed out these perspectives are not mutually exclusive (Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 365; Brosch 2014, 26).

Only one local particle could be used in an enclitic chain at the beginning of the sentence, and in Middle Hittite *-kan* and *-šan* were sometimes added to a noun in the dative-locative within the sentence. In these examples, a local particle could also appear in the enclitic chain, whereby each local particle referred to a different local meaning. Here questions regarding the scope of the particle arise. It is likely that a particle in a sentence internal position precisely and unambiguously determined spatial relations linked to the noun (Neu 1993, 151; Tjerkstra 1999, 156; Brosch 2014, 106; similarly Josephson 2011, 144).⁶ Otherwise the local particles delimited the meaning of local adverbs (Brosch 2014, 26, 115, 116; similarly Boley 1989; Tjerkstra 1999; Luraghi 2001), their semantic link with the verb was also stressed (Josephson 1972, 416; Starke 1977), and some scholars have even sought reasons for their use in larger discourse units (Carruba 1964; 1969).

1 Local particles have been studied by Goetze 1933; 1950; Schwartz 1950a; 1950b; Carruba 1964; 1969; 1985; Lee 1966; Josephson 1972; 1976; 1981; 1995; 2008; 2010; 2011; Kestemont 1972; Boley 1989; 1992; 2001; Dunkel 1990; Oshiro 1990; Hoffner 1992; Neu 1993; Luraghi 2001; Rieken 2004; Goedegebuure 2007; Hoffner, Melchert 2008; Fortson 2010; Brosch 2014, 99-137; Dunkel 2014. Important studies of local particles were also written in the framework of the dictionaries HW² 1975-1984, 69-70, 125-130, 426-491 and CHD Š 2002, 126-155.

2 *-an* < **en* ‘in’; **kom* ‘by, with, next to’; **ša(r)an* ‘up(on), over’.

3 *-apa* < **olep/phi*.

4 *-šan* < **som* ‘(together) with’. See also Dunkel 1990, 119-122, who traces the Hittite *-kan* to the PIE **kóm* and its enclitic allomorph **kem*. Dunkel attributes the meaning ‘together with’ and emphatic and ‘*kasusverstärkendes*’ use to the particle *-kan*.

5 *-ašta* < *ištarna* ‘in the midst of’. For a summary see Luraghi 2001, 47-51. See also Lee 1966, who interprets the particles *-ašta*, *-šan*, *-kan* (and perhaps *-apa*) as fossilised enclitic pronouns. Josephson 1972, 413 also mentions that the *-s-* in *-ašta* could derive from the nominal enclitic pronoun in the sequence *na-aš-ta*. The term *local adverb* is used as a cover term for Hittite analytic case markers which are usually categorized according to their possible syntactic roles - adverb, preverb, postposition.

6 Josephson 1995, 170 links the use of the particle *-kan* or *-šan* within the sentence to the modification of the meaning of the particle in the enclitic chain.

The semantics of local particles is thus well described, the complex interplay in the use of local particles, local adverbs, case endings and verbs has been emphasised (Josephson 2008; 2010; 2011),⁷ and it has been noted that the local particles are used for “Verdeutlichung einer autonomen Kasusfunktion” (Brosch 2014, 100), but their functional value has yet to be recognised.

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the previous studies on the use of local particles and to embed these findings into a broader as yet unused theoretical apparatus in Hittitology that will enable us to determine their functional value. It will be argued that the local particles in Hittite function as spatial case markers.

CASE AND CASE MARKERS

The vast spectrum of treatments and theoretical points of departure which include the term *case* in their investigations reveals the complex nature of this phenomenon. Definitions of case primarily differ in terms of whether they emphasise its form or semantic value.

According to the formal and most generally accepted definition, case is a category of flexible morphology that applies primarily to nouns. The term case is therefore often equated with the term *case ending* or *case suffix*. Some case endings primarily express syntactic relations in a sentence (the nominative, for example), while others have more semantic content (the locative, for example). The term *case* should therefore be understood as a *syntactic and/or semantic* relation which establishes a link between concrete meanings in a sentence (see Blake 1994; Butt 2009).

Accepting the definition of case relation as a syntactic-semantic relation, one soon starts to notice that these relations may be expressed with various means, that is adpositions; clitics; differences in intonation; modification of the internal root or grammatical element; independent words with a concrete meaning, such as adverbs of place, time, or manner, nouns with a local meaning, etc. and grammatical processes, that is word order, apposition, compounding (see Sapir 1921; Butt 2006; Blake 1994; Malchukov, Spencer 2009).

Overt means for expressing case relations are called *case markers*. They are ordered in terms of their formal properties: *analytic case markers* are free forms (adpositions, adverbs, etc.) and *synthetic case markers* are bound forms (affixes, clitics). Both can function independently, or they can link to form *complex case markers* consisting of multiple synthetic or analytic case markers or of a combination of synthetic and analytic case markers: Avarian is an example of a language that uses combinations of synthetic case markers (*-de* ‘to the top of’ can be analysed as *-d* ‘on, over’ + *-e* ‘away from’); combinations of multiple analytic case markers can be found in English (*from out of two hundred candidates*); combinations of synthetic and analytic case markers can be found in Ancient Greek: *eis tē-n poli-n* (into the-ACC city-ACC) ‘into the city’ (see Blake 1994, 107f.; Moravcsik 2009, 240). The listed examples show that the meaning of complex case markers is usually dependent on the semantic content of all elements and that their use is typical for expressing spatial relations when these have to be exactly defined (see Lestrade 2006, 29, 35).

Many modern studies of case do not devote attention to the fact that case markers do not express solely relations between sentence elements, but can also signal other categories, such as grammatical and semantic gender, number, (in)definiteness, (non)specificity, the pragmatic functions topic and focus, referential continuity, modality and concepts related to verb aspect (Butt 2006, 191; 2009, 27), and do not deal with alternative strategies for expressing case relations. The shortcomings of such approaches are revealed by the fact that the reasons for competition between different case markers remain unnoticed and by the fact that even languages with a large number of case suffixes also use a variety of other possibilities to express case. The choice of one strategy over another can be prompted by a need to express precise differences of meaning or resolve ambiguity or by

⁷ Similarly CHD Š 2002, 155, which stresses the connection between the use of *-šan* and an unexpressed dative-locative in clauses with verbs that can take or regularly take the locative, and Brosch 2014, 26, 37, who stresses the connection between particles, Place Words (preverbs) and verbs.

discourse-pragmatic factors. And this choice can have syntactic consequences (Blake 1994, 34f., 135; Siewierska, Bakker 2009). Descriptions of case systems in many languages thus remain a mixture of scientific and “common knowledge” approach, whereby some means for expressing case relations are defined as case markers and others simply as suffixes, particles, etc., in most examples without any discussion of the basis for the decision (Blake 1994, 12).

SEMANTICS OF LOCAL PARTICLES

The particle *-an* had an illative meaning and stressed arrival at a goal, *i.e.* it expressed movement ‘from the outside into’ and ‘arrival in’ (Oshiro 1990, 8). Similar semantic content probably influenced its frequent use with the local adverb *anda* (HW² 1975-1984, 70).

The particle *-apa* expressed arrival at a goal and the end of a (short) path (Josephson 2010, 188), and its use to express physical contact could be derived from this meaning (Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 379f.). In terms of verb aspect, it had a telic meaning, as it marked an action as “completed as a consequence of the preceding action” (Josephson 1972, 322-338).⁸ The connection of this particle with the local adverb *appa* has been noted and the meanings ‘wieder’, ‘zurück’ and ‘seinerseits’, ‘entsprechend’ were also proposed for this particle (Rieken 2004).

The particle *-ašta* probably originally marked “passage from one spatial domain across a boundary into another domain” (Josephson 1995, 171). “The specific uses with reference to separation, transition, and arrival would merely reflect varying focus on one aspect of the movement according to context (and choice of the speaker)” (Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 383f.).⁹ In the ellative use (movement away from a source) ‘out of’, it frequently appeared with the ablative and the local adverb *parā* (Brosch 2014, 116f.),¹⁰ and this use can also be noted in expressing abstract origin with animate nouns (HW² 1975-1984, 426). The particle *-ašta* could also describe arrival at a goal, *i.e.* removal and subsequent fixation. In terms of verb aspect, it had a perfectivizing function (Josephson 1995, 170-172). This particle has also been observed to have the syntactic function of the conjunction ‘and then’ (Brosch 2014, 117).¹¹

The particle *-šan* indicated “approach to a limit with or without final coherence” (Josephson 2010, 184); in other words, it had an allative meaning. The allative or directional meaning was also stressed when it appeared with the allative adverbs *anda*, *katta*, *parā*. With actional or motion verbs, it stressed directionality towards a surface (Josephson 1995, 166-168; 2011, 146). The adessive function (the meaning ‘on’) of this particle was also present when it appeared with stative verbs and with the local adverb *šer*; here, the allative nuance of meaning is still present. The particle *-šan* could thus supplement the meaning of the allative and the dative-locative. It was used with the dative-locative to express recipient or location, and could also mark direction or coherence (‘besides the river’, ‘on the mountain’). In texts written in post-Old Script, it also expressed the “relative conceptual position ‘upon, in addition to, instead of’” (Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 374f.) and the metaphorical meanings ‘für’, ‘zu gunsten’, ‘wegen’ (Brosch 2014, 12). In terms of verb aspect, it stressed resultative performance (Josephson 1995, 166ff., see also Boley 1989, 48). It has also been noted that *-šan* could accompany the expressions ‘for (the benefit of)’, ‘about, concerning’ and ideas of measuring or counting, and that in New Hittite it might have the meaning ‘off, from’ (CHD § 2002, 126).

The particle *-kan* had illative (movement toward) and inessive (‘to be in’) meaning, which is why it could semantically supplement the dative-locative (Josephson 1995, 170; 2011, 145) and local adverbs. The latter influenced the use of *-kan* with verbs of movement (Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 367). With persons, it expressed the dative

8 Similarly, Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 380, who assign it a terminative meaning.

9 The authors list the following uses of *-ašta*: separation or divergence, partitive sense, selection from a group, comparison, referring to arrival at a goal, including entrance, transition or crossing.

10 Josephson 1995, 172 feels that the use of the particle *-ašta* is not as closely linked to local adverbs as the use of the particles *-kan* and *-šan*.

11 Similarly, Josephson 1995, 172: “As to its meaning in mental space, the particle indicates deflection and is therefore appropriate for carrying the narrative forward in a deflected direction to a new fixation.”

of disadvantage (Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 371f.) or the origin of a movement. It expressed an elative relation also when used with the ablative and the local adverb *parā*. The particle *-kan* therefore limits the verbal action initially and finally and refers to transgressing a limit (Josephson 2010, 184, 2011, 145, see also Josephson 1995), which is why in terms of verb aspect it expressed telicity. Additionally, *-kan* (or *-ašta*) could influence the meaning of a verb: *šanḫ-* denotes ‘to search for (someone or something)’, but with a local particle, it means ‘to search (an area or place)’ (Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 371-373).

CHANGES IN THE USE OF LOCAL PARTICLES FROM OLD TO LATE NEW HITTITE

All of the particles are attested only in Old Hittite. The particle *-an* fell out of use with this period (Oshiro 1990; Brosch 2014, 107), *-apa* was in use up to early Middle Hittite (Brosch 2014, 109) and it is also attested in New Hittite copies of Old Hittite texts (Hoffner, Melchert 2008, 379). In Middle Hittite the particle *-kan* started to replace *-ašta* first in its local meaning and in late Middle Hittite also in its use as a conjunction (Brosch 2014, 116, 118). In late Middle and New Hittite, *-šan* was frequently replaced with the particle *-kan*, or no particle was used (CHD Š 2002, 155). Yet despite these developments, the particle *-šan* never completely fell out of use (Josephson 2008, 139). The particle *-kan* appeared only rarely in Old Hittite; in Middle Hittite it became the most frequently used, and in New Hittite nearly the only productive local particle. It thus acquired the meanings of other local particles over time (see Brosch 2014, 127).

In Old Hittite, local particles were used independently to express spatial concepts¹² and were absent when these were expressed with local adverbs. The use of local particles increased together with the use of local adverbs in the post-Old Hittite period. At the same time, some particles began to fall out of use (Brosch 2014, 100). In Middle Hittite, local particles began to specify the meaning of case endings and local adverbs and their use became obligatory for the expression of certain spatial relations (Josephson 2011, 144, 148; Brosch 2014, 26). By providing additional information about the event (movement/duration: location/beginning or end) they also contributed to the expression of verb aspect (Josephson 1995, 174).¹³

LOCAL PARTICLES AS CASE MARKERS IN HITTITE

The above overview shows that it has been acknowledged that the local particles share some meanings with the Hittite case endings, they may also provide a greater degree of precision in expressing spatial relations and thus suppress possible ambiguities (1). The reason for their use could also lie in semantic delineation of local adverbs (2) or in expressing aspect (3). Because redundancy may also occur in such examples, the case endings, which express spatial relations less precisely, can be omitted, as can be observed with nouns of Sumerian origin (4). Lastly, the use of the particle *-ašta* (and more rarely *-kan*) with the dative-locative for expressing abstract origin with animate nouns may be understood as ‘bridging’ phenomenon. Because the use of ablative (which expresses origin) with nouns describing people in Hittite seems to be unacceptable, local particle is used to express this meaning (5).¹⁴

(1) *nu=ššan wātar* ^{GI}ŠERIN-za LUGAL-i ŠU.ḪI.A-aš *lahūwai*
‘And he pours water with cedar-wood **on** the hands of the king’¹⁵

If the particle were absent, the proper translation would be ‘in/to the hands of the king’.

(2) *n=at=kan* ^Eḫilamni šarā *pēdai*

12 See for example *mān=ašta* MUL.ḪI.A-eš *wenzi* ‘When the stars come **out**’, KBo 6.2 iv 13, OH/OS.

13 See *ibid.* *-šan anda* (allative meaning) : *-kan anda* (inessive or illative meaning), *-šan parā* (perlative) : *-kan parā* (ingressive).

14 For example, in the Oriya language proper names and honorifics cannot appear with the ablative or locative and therefore use the noun *ṭā* (derived from **stāna* ‘place’) as a bridge marker: *John ṭā-r-u* (John place-ABL) ‘from John’s place’; see Aristar 1997, 348f. Much more can be said on case marking and (in)animacy in Hittite; the topic demands a systematic overview and will not be discussed further here.

15 KBo 15.48 iii 25-26, MH/NS.

‘And he transports it (*i.e.* the coach) up to the gatehouse’¹⁶

The translation without the local particle would be ‘And he transports it upwards to the gatehouse’.

(3) *nu=kan*^{LÚ} *KÚR Pišḫurun INA*^{URU} *Palḫuišša EGIR-an kuenun*

‘And I killed the enemy Pišḫuru behind Palḫuišša’¹⁷

The translation without the local particle would be ‘And I struck the enemy Pišḫuru behind Palḫuišša’.

(4) *n=ašta kuēzzi TÚL-az*^{NA₄} *paššilan š[a]rā dāi n=an=šan*^{GIS} *BANŠUR dāi*

‘And he takes up a stone out of each spring and puts it **on** the table’¹⁸

The translation of this sentence without the local particle would be: ‘And I put it, the table’.

(5) *n=ašta*^D *Telipinui tuggaz=šet idālu=šit dahḫun*¹⁹

‘And I took **from** Telipinu, from his body, his evilness’

The translation without the local particle would be: ‘And I took to Telipinu, away from his body, his evilness’.

The described independent use of the local particles in Old Hittite, their spatial meanings, parallel changes in the use of local particles and local adverbs and the simultaneous occurrence of local particles, adverbs and case endings thus indicate that local particles contributed to the expression of case relations in Hittite and should be understood as spatial case markers. Examples where the local particles appear together with case endings or local adverbs should be understood as examples of complex case marking. It also appears that local particles contributed to differentiation between static meaning, dynamic meaning, telicity and atelicity in instances where the other sentence elements did not encode these differences or allowed for differing interpretations, which does not disprove the interpretation of local particles as case markers (see above). It seems probable that *-ašta* also expressed spatial relations between events in larger discourse units, creating a kind of cohesion of spatial relations in instances where the latter were not expressed with other means, which would explain the development of its meaning and function into conjunction ‘and then’.

The reasons for not interpreting and describing local particles as case markers in Hittitology seem to be methodological. Namely, a glimpse at the most recent grammars of the Hittite language (Hoffner, Melchert 2008; van den Hout 2011; Rieken 2011) and a study by Brosch 2014 which dealt with various means of case expression show that a definition of the term *case* is nowhere to be found. Case, simply and for simplification’s sake, is identified with case endings. Perhaps the most important goal of this paper is therefore to point out that case expression in Hittite is much more complex than currently thought and that more in-depth studies on this topic are needed before the complex case system of Hittite can be understood.

Acknowledgments

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Abbreviations

- CHD Güterbock H.G., Hoffner H.A., van den Hout Th.P.J. (eds), *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago, 1980-.
- KUB *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin 1921ff.
- KBo *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Leipzig und Berlin 1916-.
- HW¹ *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1952-.

16 IBoT 1.36 iii 62, MH/MS.

17 KBo 3.4 Ro ii 5, NH/NS.

18 KUB 15.34 Vo iii 43–44, MH/MS.

19 KUB 17.10 Vo iii 9, OH/MS.

- HW² Friedrich J., Kammenhuber A., *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*, Heidelberg, 1975-.
- IBoT *Istanbul Arkeoloji Muzelerinde bulunan Bogazköy Tabletleri*, Istanbul 1944-.

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