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Hittite

Phonology – Part 3: Suprasegmental

Roadmap

- Syllable structure
- Accent and prosody
- Clitics

Syllable structure

What are the possible syllable structures?

- Open vs. closed syllables *ar-ta* /ar.ta/ 's/he stands'
- Double consonants: *at-ta-aš* /a.das/ (consonant doubling reflects the fortis/lenis distinction)
- Complex onsets CCV with 'empty' vowels:
 - stop plus sonorant: *parā* /pr-/
 - fricative plus stop: *še/ši/ša-pí-ik-ku-uš-ta* 'pin' /sp-/
 - fricative plus nasal: *ša/še-me-en-* /sm-/
- Possible nuclei: V or diphthongs, e.g. *āiš* 'mouth'
- Possible codae: any consonant; /m/ never word final

Vowel length and stress: graphic issues

‘Plene’ spelling (e.g. *pa-a-...*) has various functions:

1. Accent: *te-e-kán* ‘earth.N/A’ vs. *ták-na-a-aš* ‘earth.GEN’
2. Vowel length: *ut-ta-a-ar* /uˈda:r/ ‘words.N/A.PL’
3. Distinguish graphic vs. real vowels: *pa-ra-a* /pra/
4. Show e-coloring of ambiguous Ce/i signs: *pí-i-e-et-ta* ‘allotment’
5. Avoid one-sign spellings (except e.g. *nu*): *da-a* ‘take!’
6. Interrogative intonation: *nu me-ma-aḫ-ḫi-i* ‘Shall I tell (you)?’

Stress

- Orthographic diagnostics of stress
 - Plene spelling: long vowels are accented
 - Unstressed vowels are reduced/deleted:

ēpzi 's/he seizes' vs. *appanzi* 'they seize'
āiš / *iššī* 'mouth (NOM/DAT)'

Properties of Hittite stress

- CULMINATIVITY: words have only one prosodically prominent syllable
- FREE STRESS: stress can occur on any syllable
- LEXICAL ACCENT: the position of stress can be lexically stored for individual morphemes (e.g. derivational morphemes: *-ātar* suffix for deverbal nouns)

1ST σ	2ND σ	3RD σ	4TH $\sigma+$
<i>ēšhar</i> ‘blood’ [é:sχ:ar]	<i>išhāš</i> ‘master’ [isχ:á:s]	<i>alwanzātar</i> ‘sorcery’ [alwantsá:tar]	<i>kukupalātar</i> ‘deception’ [kukupalá:tar]
<i>pēdan</i> ‘place’ [pé:tan]	<i>aššūl</i> ‘well-being’ [as:ú:l]	<i>antuḫšātar</i> ‘humanity’ [antux:sá:tar]	<i>annitalwātar</i> ‘capacity to be a mother’ [an:italwá:tar]
<i>nēpišaš</i> ‘heaven’ (GEN.S.) [né:pišas]	<i>takšūl</i> ‘peace’ [taksú:l]	<i>išhiūl</i> ‘binding; treaty’ [isχ:ijú:l]	<i>išhanattarātar</i> ‘marriage bond’ [isχ:anat:ará:tar]

from Yates 2016: 4

Clitics

Wackernagel's Law: clitics follow the first accented word

1) *tám te hinvanti*

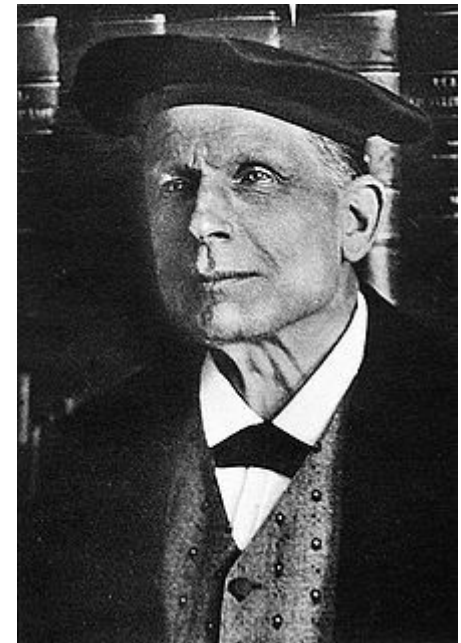
DEM.ACC 2SG.DAT drive.PRS.3PL

'This one they push for you.' (RV 3.46.5)

2) *líen se páros g' out' eíromai*

ADV 2SG.ACC formerly PTC NEG ask.PRS.1SG.M/P

'In the past I have not been accustomed to inquire you.' (//. 1.553)



The Hittite sentence initial clitic chain

Host	1	2	3	4	5	6
Accented word (+ <i>=(y)a/(m)a/man</i>) modal particle <i>man</i> <i>nu, šu, ta</i>	<i>=war</i>	<i>=naš</i> <i>=šmaš</i>	<i>=a-</i>	<i>=mu</i> <i>=ta/du</i> <i>=še/i</i>	<i>=za</i>	<i>=an</i> <i>=apa</i> <i>=ašta</i> <i>=kan</i> <i>=šan</i>

Clitic chains in Hittite

- 1) *piran=ma=at=mu* ^mDXXX.^DU-aš DUMU ^mZida *maniyaḥḥiškīt*
 before=CONN=3SG.ACC=1SG.OBL A.NOM child Z. administer.ITER.PST.3SG
 ‘Before me Armadatta, the son of Zida, had administered it’ (KUB 1.1 i 28)
- 2) ŠEŠ-YA=*ma=za=kan* ^mNIR.GÁL ANA ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA ABI-ŠU *ešat*
 brother=1SG.POSS=CONN=REFL=PTC M. on throne father=3SG.POSS sit.PST.3SG.M
 ‘My brother Muwatalli sat on the throne of his father’ (KUB 1.1 i 23)
- 3) *nu=war=aš* LÚ-iš *ešta* *ug=a=wa=z* UL *imma* LÚ-aš
 CONN=QUOT=3SG.NOM man.NOM be.PST.3SG 1SG.NOM=CONN=QUOT=REFL NEG besides man.NOM
 ‘He was a man, am I not a man, too?’ (KUB 23.72+ obv 42)

The modal particle *man*: host or P2 clitic

1) *iyami=man=pat=wa* *kuitki*

do.PRS.1SG=PTC=PTC=QUOT INDF.N/A.N

‘If I only could do something!’ (KUB 23.103 rev. 13)

2) *man=uš=kan* ^m*Huzziyaš* *kuenta*

PTC=3PL.ACC=PTC H.NOM kill.PST.3SG

‘Huzziya would have killed them’ (TE iii 11)

Non-Wackernagel clitics

Possessive pronouns (Old Hittite)

- 1) *nu=uš* *appa* *išḫi=šši* *pennai*
CONN=3PL.ACC back master.DAT=3SG.POSS.DAT drive.PRS.3SG
'(S)he takes them (= the oxen) back to their (sg.) owner' (KUB 6.2 iv 13).

Coordinating conjunction

- 2) *ta* LUGAL-*i* MUNUS.LUGAL=***ya*** *tarueni*
CONN king.DAT queen=CONJ speak.PRS.1PL
'(Whatever sign occur[s]), we report (it) to the king and the queen' (KBo 17.1 + iv 9)

Non-Wackernagel clitics

Focus particle

1) EGIR-*an=ma=aš* *irmaliyattat=pat*

after=CONN=3SG.NOM become.ill.PST.3SG.MID=PTC

‘Later on he also became ill’ (KBo 3.4 i 5-6)

2) *nu=ššan* ^m*Keššiš* *para* *ANA* *DAM-ŠU=pat* *IŠME*

CONN=PTC K.NOM towards to wife=3SG.POSS=PTC he_listened

‘Kessi listened only to his wife’ (KUB 33.121+ ii 16)

Occasionally non-P2 local particles

n=ašta ^{GIŠ}MÁ *ištappešnaš* PA₅-aš *ištappešnaz* *para*
CONN=PTC ship basin.GEN channel.NOM basin.ABL towards
ÍD=kan *anda* *pedai*
river=PTC into lead.PRS.3SG

‘The channel of the basin leads the ship outside toward the river from the basin’
(KUB 29.7+ rev. 51-52)

Other prosodically weak words

- Adverbs functioning as preverbs or postpositions
- Conjunctions
- Indefinite and relative pronouns