

SILVIA LURAGHI, GUGLIELMO INGLESE

# Hittite

Syntax – Part 3: Tense, Aspect, Modality

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# Roadmap

- Use of tenses
- Aspect and actionality
- Mood and modality

## Tense

Present/future and preterite:

**karū** 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR **pišker** **kinun=a** 20 GÍN  
formerly 1 mine silver give.PLUR.PST.3PL now=CONN 20 shekel

KÙ.BABBAR **pāi**  
silver give.PRS.3SG

‘Before they used to give 1 mine of silver, now he gives 20 shekels of silver.’  
(KBo 6.2 i 10)

## Tense – Present/future, historical present

- (1) **URRAM ŠERAM** *kuiš* *ammuk* EGIR-*anda* LUGAL-*uš* **kišari**  
in\_the\_future REL.NOM 1SG.DAT after king.NOM become.PRS.3SG.MID  
'Whoever in the future shall become king after me.' (KBo 3.1 ii 40)

- (2) *n=aš* **karū/nawi paizzi**  
CONN=3SG.NOM already/yet go.PRS.3SG  
'He has already / hasn't yet gone.'

## Tense – Anterior preterite

*nu=mu*      *kūš*      *kuyēš*      URU*Gašga*<sup>Hl.A</sup>      *kūruriyaḥḥir*  
CONN=1SG.DAT    DEM.NOM.PL    REL.NOM.PL    K.town(PL)      become.hostile.PST.3PL  
‘These Kaskean towns which had become hostile to me (I moved against them).’  
(KBo 2.5 ii 4)

## Tense - Periphrastic perfect *eš-*

KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Nerik* *ḫūdak=pat* *karūliyaš* ANA LUGAL<sup>MEŠ</sup> *karū*  
land N. suddenly=PTC former.GEN.PL to king(PL) formerly  
***ḫarkanza*** ***ēšta***  
perish.PTCP.NOM be.PST.3SG

‘The land of Nerik had already suddenly perished under (the leadership of) the previous kings.’ (KUB 21.19 + iii 11)

## Tense - Periphrastic perfect *ḫark-*

- (1) *nu=wa=za*      *karū*      30      *É<sup>TUM</sup>*      *ašešan*      *ḫarzi*  
 CONN=QUOT=REFL    already    30      house      settle.PTCP.N/A.N    have.PRS.3SG  
 ‘(Pihinakki is occupying the town of Lipisira) and he has already settled 30 houses.’ (HMK 10 rev. 6)

→ Agreement in the perfect:

- (2) *ḫarkanza*      *ēšta*      **BUT**      *ašešan*      *ḫarzi*  
 perish.PTCP.NOM    be.PST.3SG      settle.PTCP.N/A.N    have.PRS.3SG  
 ‘has perished’      ‘has settled’

## Serialized motion verbs

- *pai-* ‘go’ / *uwa-* ‘come’ + agreeing finite verb form

GIM-*an=ma=za*    **uit**                    ŠEŠ-YA                    <sup>m</sup>Arnuwandaš    DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>  
when=CONN=REFL    come.PST.3SG    brother=1SG.POSS    A.NOM                    god

***kišat***

become.PST.3SG.MID

‘When my brother Arnuwanda (came) became god (=died).’



## Serialized motion verbs

Clitics refer to the second verb (monoclausal structure):

- (1) *paiueni=war=an=kan*                      *kuennumeni*  
go.PRS.1PL=QUOT=3SG.ACC=PTC    kill.PRS.1PL  
'We shall (go) kill him.' (KBo 6.29 ii 24-26)

- (2) *n=an*                      *uwami*                      <sup>LÚ</sup>KÚR-*aš*    *iwar*    **GUL-*aḫmi***  
CONN=3SG.ACC    come.PRS.1SG    enemy.GEN as    fight.PRS.1SG  
'I will (come) fight against him as an enemy.' (KBo 5.13 i 35)

## Serialized motion verbs: meaning

- ***pai-*** mostly in reference to a near future or past
- ***uwa-*** refers to a more distant future or past

## Aspect

(1) *namma=aš* *INA* <sup>ḪUR.SAG</sup>*Zukkuki* *EGIR-pa* *uet*  
then=3SG.NOM to mountain.Z back come.PST.3SG  
'Then he came back to Mt. Zukkuki.' (KBo 5.6 i 1)

(2) *nu* *kuitman* <sup>m.GIŠ</sup>*GIDRU-LÚ-iš* *IŠTU* *KUR* <sup>URU</sup>*Mizri* *EGIR-pa* *uet*  
CONN while *H.NOM* from land Egypt back come.PST.3SG  
'While Hattusaziti was coming back from the land of Egypt.' (KBo 5.6 iii 26)

## The pluractional suffix *-ške/a-*

- Plurality of participants
- Frequentative/iterative
- Habitual
- Imperfective

→ the suffixes *-(š)ša-* and *-anna-* cover a similar range of functions!

## The pluractional suffix *-ške/a-*: plurality of participants

*nu=wa*      *kinun=ma*   *ammuk*    *peran*      ***akkiškittari***  
CONN=QUOT    NOW=CONN   1SG.DAT    in.front.of   die.PLUR.PRS.3SG.MID

‘But now under my kingdom (lit. in front of me) people die (lit. it dies).’ (KUB 14.10+ i 12)

## The pluractional suffix *-ške/a-*: frequentative/iterative

- (1) *namma* ÉRIN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*an* MU-*ti* MU-*ti* ***piškanzi***  
then troop.ACC year.DAT year.DAT give.PLUR.PRS.3PL  
'And they will keep providing troops year after year.' (KUB 23.72+ obv. 18)
- (2) *nu* <sup>LÚ</sup>A.ZU ***ḫukkiškizzi***  
CONN physician invoke.PLUR.PRS.3SG  
'(The gold-spear-man holds a plated spear, and a physician holds a sistrum. They march together), and the 'physician' repeats the invocations.' (IBoT 1.36 ii 46)

## The pluractional suffix *-ške/a-*: habitual

*karū* 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pišker* *kinuna* 20 GÍN  
formerly 1 mine silver give.PLUR.PST.3PL now 20 shekel  
KÙ.BABBAR *pāi*  
silver give.PRS.3SG

‘Before they used to give 1 mine of silver, now he gives 20 shekels of silver.’  
(KBo 6.2 i 10)

## The pluractional suffix *-ške/a-*: imperfective

*nu*      *kuitman* <sup>URU</sup>*Alminan*      *weteškit*  
CONN      while      A.ACC      build.PLUR.PST.3SG

‘And while he was building the town of Almina (he sent Urawanni and Kuwalanzaniti, chief of the shepherds, off to assault the region of Kasula.)’ (KUB 31.7 i 3)



## The pluractional suffix *-ške/a-*: inchoative constructions

(1) *nu* KUR URU *Kaniš* ***walaḥḥiškiwan*** *daiš*  
CONN country K. strike.PLUR.SUP put.3SG.PRET  
'He started striking continuously the city of Kaneš.' (KUB 1.1 ii 6)

(2) *nu=wa* ANA BELI=NI ERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup> ANŠU.KUR.RA<sup>HI.A</sup> ***peškiwan***  
CONN=QUOT to lord=1PL.POSS troop horse(PL) send.PLUR.SUP  
*tiyaweni*  
put.PRS.1PL  
'We shall start to send out troops regularly.' (KBo 4.3 iv 34-35)

## Local/aspectual particles

- Telicizing =*kan*: e.g. =*kan ... kuen-* ‘kill’

(1) *kuenzi=uš*                      LUGAL-*uš* [...] *n=an=kan*                      *kunanzi*  
kill.PRS.3SG=3PL.ACC king.NOM                      CONN=3SG.ACC=PTC kill.PRS.3PL  
‘The king may have them executed (or he may spare them) [...] (They shall substitute one sheep in the place of the man) and kill it.’ (KBo 6.26 iv 17-21)

(2) *n=an=kan*                      *kunanzi*                      *š=an=ap*                      *atanzi*  
CONN=3SG.ACC=PTC kill.PRS.3PL                      CONN=3SG.ACC=PTC eat.PRS.3PL  
‘They will kill it and eat it up.’ (KBo 3.60 ii 4-5)

## Preverbs and aspect

- (1) Bare verb → atelic

*kēdani=ma pahhur urāni*

DEM.DAT=CONN fire(N).NOM burn.PRS.3SG.MID

‘(On this stands [*arta*] a *ippiya*-plant, under it lies [*kitta*] a bowl), and near to this one burns a fire.’ (KUB 23.59 iii 9)

- (2) Preverb + verb → telic

*ŪL=aš dapianza arḫa BIL-ni*

NEG=3SG.NOM entire.NOM away burn.PRS.3SG.MID

‘[If the city of A. survives] and it does not entirely burn to the ground.’ (KUB 15.12 iii 5)

## Local particles: a summary

- =*kan* terminative, telicizing
- =*ašta* separative, often with *arḥa* and *para*
- =*šan* locative, often with *šer* and/or DAT/LOC NP
- =*an* only OH, often with *anda* 'inside' (cf. PIE \**en*)
- =*apa* only OH, physical contact?

## Mood - Imperative

- Second person imperative → **orders**

***pai=mu***                      DUMU.É.GAL-*in*  
give.2SG.IMP=1SG.DAT    palace\_servant.ACC  
'Give me a palace servant!'(KBo 17.1+ ii 16)

## Mood - Imperative

- Third person imperative:

*utne*            ***mau***

land(N).NOM grow.3SG.IMP

‘May the country flourish.’ (KBo 3.7 i 5)

- First person imperative:

*piškellu* ‘I shall repeatedly send’, *uwallu* ‘may I see’

## Mood – Prohibitive

(1) *nu=wa BELI=NI INA<sup>URU</sup> Hayasa lē pāisi*  
CONN=QUOT lord=1PL.POSS to H. NEG go.PRS.2SG  
'Our Lord, do not go to the city of Hayasa.' (KBo 4.4 iii 25-26)

(2) *lē=man=še LUGAL-uš kiššan tezzi*  
NEG=PTC=3SG.DAT king.NOM so speak.PRS.3SG  
'Let not the king speak to him as follows.' (KUB 1.16+ iii 65-66)

## Mood – Particle *man*

Present tense

(1) *iyami=man=pat=wa*      *kuitki*  
do.PRS.1SG=PTC=PTC=QUOT      INDF.ACC.N  
'If I only could do something!' (KUB 23.103 rev. 13)

(2) *man=an=kan*      <sup>m</sup>*Aškaliyaš*      *kuenzi*  
PTC=3SG.ACC=PTC      A.NOM      kill.PRS.3SG  
'Askaliya wanted to kill him, (so he put him in prison).'



## Mood – Particle *man*

Preterite

***man***=*uš=kan*     <sup>m</sup>*Huzziyaš* *kuenta*

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

‘Huzziya would have killed them, (but the matter became known).’ (KUB 23.11 iii 11)