

# The Alignment of Hattian: An Active Language with an Ergative Base

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## 1. Introduction

One of the limited corpus languages of the Ancient Near East is Hattian, the language of the non-Indo-European indigenous population of Central Anatolia of the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC. There is general consensus that the speakers of Hattian lived within the bend of the Kızıl Irmak river<sup>1</sup> although how far their territory extended beyond that is still a matter of debate.<sup>2</sup>

Hattian is documented in cuneiform script on clay tablets stored in the archives of the Hittite empire. Compared to the ca. 30,000 tablets and tablet fragments written in Hittite, the 359 fragments in Hattian (see fig. 1)<sup>3</sup> form indeed a highly restricted corpus. Despite attempts to find a genetic relationship with the Northwest Caucasian languages, Hattian must still be considered an isolate for practical purposes. The only way to truly access this language is therefore by means of the Hattian-Hittite bilinguals, but considering that only 15 of the 359 fragments are bilingual it is clear that there is not much material to help us understand the remaining monolingual Hattian documents and those Hittite documents with untranslated Hattian.

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Klinger (1996:182ff.) and Singer (1981:119–123). The Hattians are often referred to as the indigenous people of Anatolia, but what is meant is that they were already present before the arrival of the Anatolian Indo-Europeans (Kammenhuber 1969:429; Soysal 2004a:2, n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Kültepe/Kaneš (near modern Kayseri) is usually seen as the original and main power base of the speakers of Hittite. Soysal on the other hand assumes that Kültepe/Kaneš was part of the Hattian linguistic area. According to him, only around 1800–1750 BC the Hittites gained control of Kültepe with the conquests of Piṭḫana and Anitta, but before that period the Hittites were an integral and politically subordinate part of Hattian society (Soysal 2004a:6).

<sup>3</sup> The counts in fig. 1 are based on Soysal 2004a:52–68, with dating of the texts following the online *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln*, Version 1.3 (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>).

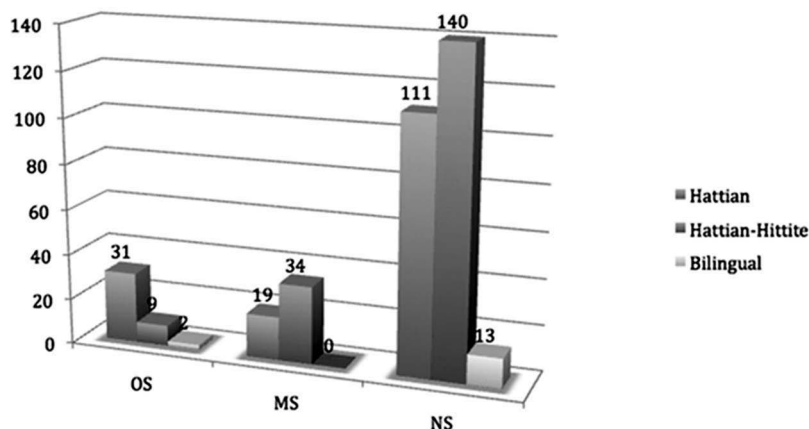


Fig. 1. Chronological distribution of Hattian texts, Hittite texts containing untranslated Hattian, and Hattian-Hittite bilingual texts

Given this rather desperate situation it is all the more astonishing that we still know so much about this language, thanks to the often monumental undertakings of scholars like Girbal, Klinger, Schuster, Soysal, and Taracha and the earlier grammatical studies of for example Laroche and Kammenhuber.

However, since Hattian is the language of the cult during the Old Hittite period (ca. 1650–1450 BC),<sup>4</sup> a deeper knowledge of Hattian is important for our understanding of early Hittite religion. A very important step towards that goal is Soysal's monograph on the Hattian lexicon (*Hattischer Wortschatz in hethitischer Textüberlieferung*. Leiden etc., 1994). But with respect to verbal morphology and syntax much remains to be done. In this paper I will address the syntactic alignment of Hattian by providing a thorough analysis of certain elements in the prefix chain of the verb. Although I needed to restrict my study to the 3rd person singular prefixes, the results support most of Taracha's views for the plural forms as defended in Taracha 1988, 1989, 1993, 1995 and 1998.

In order to provide the background that is necessary for the main discussion presented in sections 4 (transitive clauses) and 5 (intransitive clauses), I will first address the function of the verbal prefix *-h-* (section 2), followed by an introduction to typological language type and alignment in general and for Hattian (section 3). In section 6 I will present some

<sup>4</sup> The influence of Hattian culture in the historical Hittite period is thoroughly investigated in Klinger 1996.

evidence for the anti-passive in Hattian, thereby showing that this language has an ergative base, although it is not fully ergative in the way Taracha has described it.

## 2. Preliminary study: the verbal morpheme *-h-* as a marker of the allative

According to Soysal (2004a:215–216) the verbal infix *-h-* captures three different morphemes. As *-h<sup>1</sup>-* it apparently appears as an assimilated form of the object marker *-n-* before the velars *h-* and *k-* (also see Girbal 1986:8f.),<sup>5</sup> but, surprisingly, also before labials, dentals and sibilants. The two other morphemes *-h<sup>2</sup>-* and *-h<sup>3</sup>-* seem to be connected with morphemes with local value. The infix *-h<sup>2</sup>-* is found after the local infix *-ka-* (Soysal 2004a:216), whereas *-h<sup>3</sup>-* might be an apocopated form of the dative-like infix *-ha<sup>2</sup>-* (Soysal 2004a:216, 218).

Schuster (2002:447) on the other hand opted for a unified treatment of *-h-* as a marker for the goal or end point of an action, equating it with the Hittite 3rd person dative enclitic pronoun *-ši* ‘to him/her.’<sup>6</sup> His claim was only based on limited evidence, but since his discovery is very important for the remainder of this article (see especially section 6), I will present additional material to support Schuster’s claim.

I will begin with listing those verbal complexes with *-h-* and its allomorph *-k-* that match a Hittite verb accompanied by the dative pronoun *-ši* (the Hattian verbal stem is underlined):

- |  |                                     |                               |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. taš-te- <u>h</u> -ka-zi(i)-a        | -šši-kan anda lē kittari            | KUB 2, 2 + KUB 48, 1 ii 51/54 |
| taš-te- <u>h</u> -ka- <u>zzi</u> (i)-a | -šši-kan anda lē <kittari>          | KUB 2, 2 + KUB 48, 1 ii 53/   |
|  | ‘Let ... not lie with <b>him</b> ’  | 55–56                         |
| 2. [t]u- <u>h</u> -ta-šul              | -šši EGIR-an ... tarnaš             | KUB 28, 4obv.:17a/19b         |
| tu- <u>h</u> -za-š[ul]                 | -šši EGIR-anda tarnaš               | KUB 28, 4obv.:17a/19b–20b     |
|  | ‘He released ... after <b>him</b> ’ |                               |

The myth “The Moon fell from Heaven” clearly shows how *-h-* may alternate with *-k-*. The phrase *āhkunnu-fa Tāru* in KUB 28, 4obv.:9a (also see ex. 6) appears as *ākkunnu-fa Tā[ru]* in obv. 16a in the same text. With Taracha (1989:262) I would not go as far as Girbal (1986:10), followed by Soysal (2004a:341, 348), and conclude that *ān-* assimilated to *-k-* by taking

<sup>5</sup> Klinger (1994:31; 1996:630) treats *-h(a)-* as the object marker proper.

<sup>6</sup> This is also implied by Taracha’s translations of *-h-* as ‘ihm<sup>2</sup>’ (1988:63; 1989:262).

the shape of *ah-* or *ak-*,<sup>7</sup> but with Schuster (2002:465) we should accept the reality of a possible assimilation of *-h-* to *-k-*, at least before a velar. This allows us to bring KUB 28, 4obv.:19a into the equation with:

3. *še-ttu-k-ka-aš<sup>s</sup>*      *-šši kattan tīt*      KUB 28, 4obv.:19a/22b  
 ‘She stepped next **to him**’

In general the Hittite dative pronoun *-ši* does not refer to inanimate entities. Since animacy does not seem to play a role in Hattian grammar, I do not expect a similar restriction for the infix *-h-*. And indeed we find *-h-* in the absence of *-ši* in clauses where an inanimate local phrase can be adduced from the preceding context:

4. *tē-ta-h-šūl*      *-ašta anda tarneškiddu*      KUB 2, 2 iii 51/54<sup>9</sup>  
 ‘May he release ... into **(it)**’  
 5. *ā(n)-h-pa*      *daiš-ma-at-šan*      KBo 37, 1 i 10/ii 9  
 ‘She placed it at **(it)**’

In section 4 I will present some further arguments for treating the sequence *(a-)an-* as a unitary morpheme *ān-/an-* instead of as a sequence of separate morphemes *a-/ā-* and *-n-*, following the majority of scholars.<sup>10</sup> I therefore take a form such as *a-ah-pa* in KBo 37, 1 i 10 (ex. 5) as *ā(n)-h-pa*. The syllabic nature of the script does not allow a sequence of three consonants (*-VnC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V-*), hence the spelling *-VC<sub>1</sub>-C<sub>2</sub>V-* (also see ex. 21 with *\*ān-p-ta- > āpta-*, and fn. 59 with *\*an-t-ḫa > atḫa-*). An alternative explanation for the omission of *-n-* might simply be the full assimilation of *-n-*

<sup>7</sup> Instead, I suggest that *-n-* only assimilates to a following consonant in a consonant cluster *-nC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-*, see below.

<sup>8</sup> I prefer an analysis *še-ttu-k-ka-aš* as <sup>ʔ</sup>-tu-3ALL-on/with-**come**’ with the motion verb stem *aš* ‘come’ over *še-tuk-aš* (Soysal 2004a:709), with a verb *tuk* with unknown meaning, or *še-tu-k-kaš* (Schuster 2002:465), with a verb *kaš* with unknown meaning. For the equation of the Hattian imperative *aš-a* ‘come!’ with the Hittite imperative *ehū*, see Haas 1970:184, and for the prefix *še-* see Soysal 2004a:239 (sub *še<sup>3</sup>*).

<sup>9</sup> The duplicate KBo 21, 110rev.:8’ has a 2nd person verbal complex *tū-ta-šūl* ‘You must release.’ Both texts also contain a 2nd person prohibitive *ašah=pi taš-tū-ta-šūl-a* ‘You may not release evil’ (KUB 2, 2 iii 51–52/KBo 21, 110rev.:9’) = Hitt. KUB 2, 2 iii 55 *idalu=ma=kan anda lē tarnāi* ‘He may not release evil into (it).’ At this point it is unclear to me why the infix *-h-* is absent with a 2nd person but present with the 3rd person.

<sup>10</sup> See Kammenhuber 1962:22; 1969:513f.; Klinger 1994:30; 1996:627; Girbal 1986:6; 2000:369; Taracha 1988:62f.; 1989:265; 1995:354. But pace Soysal 2004a:189.

to a consonant immediately followed by another consonant. Two other instances of this phenomenon, both with the verb *kun* ‘look (at),’ are:

- |                                       |   |                       |
|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 6. ā(n)- <b>ḫ</b> - <u>kunn</u> -u-fa | au[(šta- <b>an</b> )]<br>‘He saw <b>him</b> ’ | KUB 28, 5obv.:21a/20b |
| 7. fa-a(n)- <b>ḫ</b> - <u>kun</u>     | a[uš]ta- <b>at</b><br>‘She saw <b>it</b> ’    | KUB 28, 6 i 12a/11b   |

The Hittite construction with the accusative object *-an* or *-at* is matched by a Hattian construction with *-ḫ-*. Verbs of seeing do not necessarily express the stimulus of the perception as direct object (or accusative object) as with English *see* and Hittite *auš-* ‘see,’ but may also use an oblique case for the stimulus. In English, for example, a verb like *look* may take a prepositional object *at something*.<sup>11</sup> We also find this in Hittite where the verb *šūwaya-*, the equivalent of *look at*, usually takes an allative object<sup>12</sup> instead of an accusative object. The use of *-ḫ-* to mark the stimulus may therefore not be taken as evidence for the alternative interpretation of *-ḫ-* as an object marker, rejected above. Instead, it supports the other uses of *-ḫ-* as a goal marker. I therefore translate the verb *kun* as ‘look (at)’ instead of ‘see.’

We also find *-ḫ-* in clauses with a full local noun phrase, that is, when the referent of the local expression is not discourse topical. The Hittite counterparts of course also contain a local noun phrase. At this point it is important to realize that Hattian tends to cross-reference arguments on the verb whether a full noun phrase is present or not. This method of referring is completely different from the Hittite system, in which entities are referred to by pronouns or nouns, or sometimes zero, but never marked on the verb with the exception of the subject. Just as the Hittite verb does not lose its verb ending when a subject noun phrase is present, Hattian does not shed its verbal prefixes in the presence of a full noun phrase with the same semantic or syntactic role.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| 8. ziš <sup>l</sup> Š. ... fa- <b>ḫ</b> -zī- <u>ḫert</u> -a | INA <sup>HUR.SAG</sup> Š. munnandu<br>‘they hide ... at Mount Š.’ | KUB 2, 2 + KUB 48, 1<br>ii 57, 60/61, iii 2<br>(similar iii 10/12) |
|---|---|--|

<sup>11</sup> Levin (1993:185ff.) distinguishes three major types of English verbs of perception: the *see* verbs like feel, hear, smell, taste, notice, the *sight* verbs like glimpse, perceive, overhear, scan, scent, watch and the *peer* verbs like gape, glance, goggle, listen, look, sniff. Only the verbs of the latter group are not used transitively: the stimulus is expressed as a prepositional phrase with *at* or as one of the locative prepositions.

<sup>12</sup> See for example *nu uliliya* <sup>GIŠ</sup>T<sub>1</sub>Γ<sub>R</sub><sup>7</sup>-na *šūwaya* ‘look at the greenery (and) forest’ (KUB 29, 1 i 52, OH/NS).



Besides the goal of a motion *onto* and position *on*, the goal of motion *into* is also excluded from cross-reference with *-h-*:

- |                                     |  |                          |
|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| 14. pē-fil ... taš-tē-ta-nūw-a      | -kan ... É-ri anda lē uizzi<br>'let (him) not enter the house'       | KUB 2, 2 iii 40–41/43–44 |
| 15. u-da-nu                         | -kan ... an[d]a pāiši<br>'you will go inside'                        | KUB 2, 2 iii 57/58       |
| 16. [t]a-nifaš                      | -šan anda ēšzi<br>'he sits down inside'                              | KUB 2, 2 iii 53/56       |
| 17. šū-fa <sup>URU</sup> Ḫattuš ... | dāir-ma-at <sup>URU</sup> Ḫattuši ...<br>'they placed it in Ḫattuša' | KUB 2, 2 ii 40–41/43     |

In semantic theories a distinction is often made between a location as the goal or end point of an action and a recipient. In Functional Grammar the semantic function of recipient is defined as “the entity into whose possession something is transferred” (Dik 1997:121). This transferral is literal with a verb like ‘give to,’ but more abstract or metaphorical with English verbs like ‘wave to,’ ‘be grateful to’ and ‘apologize to’ (Dik 1997: 121–122). The distinction between a location as the goal of an action and a recipient seems to be maintained in Hattian. Whereas a location may be marked on the verb by means of *-h-*, this marker is always absent with the verb stem *yay-* ‘give’ (for a list of its attested verbal complexes see Soysal 2004a:284):

- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| 18. yā(y)-e ...  | n-aš-šī piweni<br>'we will give them <b>to him</b> '   | KUB 2, 2 + KUB<br>48, 1 ii 47/50                                       |
| 19. [tab]ar[na] katte yā[y-a]<br>[tabarna katte y]āy-a | labarnai LUGAL-i [piya]n[du]<br>LUGAL-i labarn[ai piyandu]<br>'let them give <b>to Labarna, king</b> ' | KUB 2, 2 + KUB<br>48, 1 iii 5–6/9<br>KUB 2, 2 + KUB<br>48, 1 iii 11/13 |
| 20. āšš-ya ... tabarna kattē                           | peiēr ... l[(a)]ba[rnai] LUGAL-i<br>'they gave ... <b>to Labarna, king</b> '                           | KUB 2, 2 iii<br>27/28–29   |

As examples 18–20 show, recipients in Hittite may be expressed as *-šī*. In the following example we witness the same phenomenon whereby the recipient of a command finds expression in Hittite but not in Hattian:

- |                            |   |                    |
|----------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 21. ā(n)-p-ta-kā-fāh-ø ... | anda-ma-šši-ššan wātarnaḥḥi<br>'he orders <b>to him</b> ' | KUB 2, 2 iii 34/37 |
|----------------------------|---|--------------------|

To summarize, the verbal infix *-h-* expresses the goal of an action or the stationary end point of the action, when the end point is near, by or at the goal, irrespective of the animacy of that goal. In other words, *-h-* is an allative and adessive marker. When the action involves motion into (illative) or onto (sublative) a goal, we do not find *-h-*. The semantics of

*-ḫ-* are then clearly different from its alleged Hittite counterpart, the dative clitic pronoun *-šī*. Not only does *-šī* usually refer to animate entities, *-šī* may also express the other types of goals and the recipient of an action. Only when the referent is both discourse topical, animate and the allative goal of an action, we find *-šī* as a translation of *-ḫ-*:

	HATTIAN		HITTITE	
	animate	inanimate	animate	inanimate
allative goal	<i>-ḫ-</i>	<i>-ḫ-</i>	<i>-šī</i>	∅
other goals	∅	∅	<i>-šī</i>	∅
recipient	∅	∅	<i>-šī</i>	∅

Fig. 2. Goal and recipient marking in Hattian and Hittite

### 3. From verbal prefixes to alignment: theoretical remarks and previous scholarship

The analysis of the prefix chain of the verbal complex still constitutes a major problem in Hattian studies. Solving this problem is not merely a prerequisite for an enhanced understanding of Hattian texts, but it is also interesting from a theoretical linguistic point of view. Typological studies show a strong correlation between prefixing, verb-initial word order, head-marking, and stative-active alignment. As I will summarize below, Hattian is a prefixing, head-marking language with basic verb-initial word order. It might then also have stative-active, or, in the more recent terminology used in Donohue–Wichmann 2008, semantic alignment instead of nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive alignment.

As far as I am aware of, there is only consensus regarding the prefixing nature of Hattian and the basic VSO word order (Berman 1977:458–459; Klinger 1994:34).<sup>15</sup> Klinger (1994:35, n. 56) already pointed at the typological correlation between prefixing and verb-initial word order. Nichols (1992) discovered the relationship between word order, marking type, and alignment. She has found the following correlates, among others:

1. “Verb-initial order and lack of any determinate or stated order favor head marking; verb medial and verb final order favor dependent marking” (Nichols 1992:113).

<sup>15</sup> In Goedegebuure 2008:156–157, 176 I showed that transitive clauses prefer VSO word order but intransitive clauses SV word order. Kammenhuber (1962:18; 1969:543) claimed that word order in Hattian varies freely, and that the verb can take any position in the clause (1969:503, 543). This is only true if one does not distinguish between transitive and intransitive clauses.



2. “The accusative alignment ... is equally compatible with all head/dependent types. The ergative alignment favors dependent-marking morphology ... [t]he stative/active type ... strongly prefer[s] head-marking morphology” (Nichols 1992:100–101).

In Goedegebuure 2008:157ff. I discussed the third typological parameter, marking type and concluded that Hattian is mainly head-marking. The most important syntactic relations, those of subject and object,<sup>16</sup> are not marked on Hattian nouns. Instead, we find agreement markers on the verb. And although the dimensional relations may be marked on the nouns as prefixes, the verb is also marked for dimensional relations. This means that if we want to evaluate the claims made for ergative-absolutive alignment or nominative-accusative alignment, we need to understand how the syntactic relations are marked on the verb (see for example Girbal 1986:139; Taracha 1988:60; 1995:354). This is the core problem which underlies the debate regarding the alignment of Hattian.

The starting point for any investigation of alignment is how the only argument of the intransitive verb is marked. In a nominative-accusative alignment this argument receives the same marking as the agentive-like argument in a transitive clause, as witnessed by the nom. sg. ending *-š* of the intransitive and transitive subjects in ex. 22 and 23, respectively:

22. *idalu-š=qa=kan UN-a-š é-r-i anda lē ui-zzi*  
 evil-NOM.S=QUOT=PTCL man-NOM.S house-LOC in PROHIBITIVE come-3S.PRS  
 ‘The evil man may not come into the house’ (KUB 2, 2 iii 43–44, NS, CTH 725).

23. *dā-š=ma=za <sup>d</sup>Šulinkatte-š LU[GAL-u]-š UNUTE<sup>MES</sup>*  
 take-3S.PRT=QUOT=REFL Šulinkatte-NOM.S ki[ng]-NOM.S tools  
 ‘Lord Šulinkatte took the utensils’ (KUB 2, 2 iii 48, NS, CTH 725).

In an ergative-absolutive alignment the marking is different: this time objects and intransitive subjects are grouped together. The ergative language Hurrian has one case ending, the absolutive, for the object of a transitive clause and the intransitive subject, whereas the transitive subject receives a different, ergative, marking. The absolutive singular case ending is *-ø*, the ergative singular is *-ž*:

<sup>16</sup> The object is only occasionally marked by means of the more general oblique marker *-šu* (Soysal 2004a:241, with references to older literature).



transitive verb (exx. 30 and 31), whereas a stative verb like ‘dwell’ still takes the agentive marker (exx. 32 and 33):<sup>20</sup>

30. <b>ma</b> -híxpaye ‘I fell.’	31. <b>ma</b> -ktékte ‘He’ll kill <b>me</b> .’
32. <b>wa</b> -t <sup>h</sup> í ‘I live, dwell.’	33. <b>wa</b> -ktékte ‘I’ll kill him.’

The distribution of the agent and patient markers in the three alignment types can be visualized as follows (figs. 3 and 4):

	ergative system	accusative system	semantic system	
transitive subject	A	A	A	—
intransitive subject	P	A	A	P
object	P	P		P

Fig. 3. The distribution of agent and patient markers in the three types of alignment

	ergative sys.	accusative sys.	semantic system	
transitive subj.	Ergative			—
intransitive subject	Absolutive	Nominative	Agentive	Patientive
object		Accusative		

Fig. 4. The case system of the three types of alignment

With these schemas in mind, we can now assess previous claims about the alignment of Hattian. The field is divided between advocates of the nominative-accusative alignment (Kammenhuber 1969:502, 543; Hattian does not have an “allzu passivischen Verbalauffassung”; Klinger 1994: 36ff.; Girbal 1986:137–140; 2000:369; Soysal 2004a:37) and the ergative-absolutive alignment (Schuster 1974:106, fn. 35; Taracha 1988:60–63; 1989:266; 1993:292–293; 1995:354; 1998:15f.).

Kammenhuber, Klinger and Taracha have provided most philological support for their respective claims. Kammenhuber (1962:22) and Klinger (1994:30; 1996:627–628) argue that *an-* and sometimes  $\emptyset$  are the 3rd person singular markers for the transitive subject. The prefix *aš-* is a 3rd person plural transitive subject marker. Klinger follows Forrer’s (1922: 237f.) suggestion that the singular direct object is marked by means of *-h(a)-* (1994:31; 1996:630, not accepted in Kammenhuber 1969:525, and see my discussion above). The plural object is probably represented by *-wa-/-b-* (Klinger 1996:631). Kammenhuber and Klinger do not explicitly

<sup>20</sup> The examples are taken from Mithun 1991:514–515.

discuss the shape of intransitives with respect to person markers, but both consider either the bare verbal stem or the verbal stem preceded by local prefixes as the normal form for the intransitive singular (Klinger 1994:39, n. 81 and Kammenhuber 1969:509<sup>21</sup>). Klinger provides a few arguments against an ergative structure for Hattian,<sup>22</sup> and more or less by default opts for an accusative alignment. The different markings for the transitive subject, intransitive subject and object however, do not point at an accusative alignment. Instead, languages with this type of marking are usually classified as tripartite.

Taracha also argues that *an-* is the optional 3rd person singular transitive subject marker (1993:290; 1995:354) and  $\emptyset$  the marker of the 3rd person singular intransitive subject (1988:62). The 3rd person singular object is unmarked (1988:63, 67). The two latter roles may also be optionally marked by means of *te-* (1989:265).<sup>23</sup> For the plural agreement markers he claims that *a/eš-* marks both the intransitive subject and the object (1988:61–62; 1993:289f.). Since both the singular and the plural intransitive subject and object receive the same marking on the verb, Taracha concludes that Hattian has ergative alignment (followed by Goedegebuure 2008:143, fn. 15). Figure 5 tabulates the distribution of the verbal prefixes according to Kammenhuber, Klinger and Taracha.

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<sup>21</sup> Kammenhuber observes that intransitive verbs sometimes occur without any prefixes, whether personal or local. The only example to support this view is *antiu* (KUB 28, 6obv.:6', 8', 10'), which should now be analyzed as *an-ti-u*, ironically as one of the intransitive verbs marked with the agent prefix. From her description of the remaining intransitive verbs (1969:510f.) I infer that she assumed that the singular intransitive verbs were always unmarked for person. At the time plural intransitive verbs had not yet been detected.

<sup>22</sup> Klinger (1996:629) argues that an ergative alignment requires congruency with the object and adduces the verbal complex *nīpupē* (KUB 2, 2 ii 46) with the 1st person plural subject marker *-i/e-*, hence congruency with the subject, as counter-evidence against an ergative alignment. First of all, in an ergative system the absolutive is unmarked and often realized as zero (Dixon 1979:72). The fact that we cannot see such a marker does not mean that there is only congruency with the subject. In addition, we should always reckon with an ergative split, especially regarding the person markers. In Dyirbal for example, the 1st and 2nd person pronouns receive nominative-accusative marking, whereas the 3rd person pronouns, proper names and common nouns follow the ergative pattern (Dixon 1979:87). Assuming that ergativity requires congruency with the object, we would first have to prove that Hattian does not have a similar ergative split before we could use the congruency argument.

<sup>23</sup> For a rejection of this morpheme as a 3rd person singular marker see fn. 47.

	Kammenhuber		Klinger		Taracha	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
transitive subj.	∅ or an-	a/eš-	∅ or an-	a/eš-	∅ or an-	∅
intrans. subj.	∅	?	∅	?	∅ or te-	a/eš-
object	?	?	-h(a)-	-wa-/b-	∅ or te-	a/eš-
alignment	?		tripartite system		ergative system	

Fig. 5. The distribution of the verbal prefixes according to Kammenhuber, Klinger and Taracha, and the alignments matching these distributions

To establish the alignment of Hattian we need to reassess how the intransitive subject is marked: does it pattern with the transitive subject or with the object, or both? Girbal (1986:6) initially states that *an-* only occurs in transitive clauses, but later observes that *an-* is also found with intransitives (2000:369). Taracha (1988:62f.; 1989:265) originally classified *an-* as a demonstrative in view of its irregular use with both transitives and intransitives, but later revoked his views (1993:290; 1995:354), concluding that *an-* only occurs with transitives and therefore functions as an ergative marker. Before addressing these contradicting views on the use of *an-* with intransitives, it needs to be sorted out how the object is marked on the verb. This is one of the topics in the next section. Due to limitations of space, I will restrict the discussion to the prefixes of the singular.

#### 4. Marking of 3rd person singular transitive subject and singular object

If a verb whose subject is a 3rd person singular belongs to the formal class of true transitives (“Rein-Transitiv,” Soysal 2004a:188), the verbal prefix chain starts with *an-*<sup>24</sup> or its phonologically conditioned variant *am-*. According to Soysal (2004a:189), the agreement marker for the 3rd person singular subject on the verb is *a-*, leaving *-n-* and *-m-*<sup>25</sup> as markers for the 3rd person singular object.<sup>26</sup> Mostly however, *an-* is analyzed as a unitary morpheme for the 3rd person singular subject.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> “Die Verbalformen mit anlautendem *Vn*≠ (z. B. *an*≠) geben in den transitivisch gebildeten Sätzen regelmäßig verbale Singularität mit direktem/betontem (singularem) Objekt wieder” (Soysal 2004a:188).

<sup>25</sup> For my rejection of *-h-* and *-k-* as allomorphs of *-n-*, see section 2.

<sup>26</sup> Dunajevskaja (1962) also treats *a-/ā-* and *-n-* as distinct morphemes. She too classifies *-n-* as an object marker, but suggests a reflexive function for *a-/ā-* (1962:281).

<sup>27</sup> See Kammenhuber 1962:22; 1969:513f.; Klinger 1994:30; 1996:627; Girbal 1986:6; 2000:369; Taracha 1988:62f.; 1989:265; 1995:354.

There are three major arguments to take *an-* and its alternant *am-* as a unitary morpheme marking the 3rd person singular subject only. First, if *an-* or *-n-* were cross-referencing the singular object, we would expect to find it in clauses with a singular object and a non-3rd person subject. The following example contains a 1st person plural subject and a 3rd person singular object:

34. pala aī- $\emptyset$ -**ppu**- $\emptyset$  [aī]-pparāiu-šū pala ai- $\emptyset$ -šai**p**- $\emptyset$   
 and IPL.AG-3S.PAT-**make**-PST IPL-priest-'ACC' and IPL.AG-3S.PAT-**do**  
**good**-PST

'We made him our priest and we treated him well' (KBo 37, 9obv.:5'–6', MS, CTH 728, ed. Soysal 2004b:82, 84).

The sequence *\*ai-n-pu* would have become *\*aimpu*,<sup>28</sup> just as we find *ampu* < *\*an-pu*, and many more verbs with initial *p-* that also show *am-* instead of *an-*.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the 1st person singular marker *fa-*, the 2nd person singular marker *u(n)-* and the optative forms of all persons are never attested in combination with an alleged object marker *-n-* or its allophone *-m-*.<sup>30</sup>

Secondly, *an-* also cross-references the subject in a few *intransitive* clauses. This again prevents a further analysis of *an* < *\*a≠n*. As I will discuss in section 5, the occurrence of *an-* in intransitive clauses is not a mistake that should be attributed to disappearing knowledge of Hattian (pace Soysal 2004a:188).

Thirdly, as is typologically very common, 2nd person imperatives are usually not marked for the subject. Nothing however should prevent the expression of the object on the verb. In the Northwest Caucasian language Abkhaz, often adduced for comparison with Hattian, the 2nd per-

<sup>28</sup> Soysal (2004a:490) analyzes *i-im-pu-u* and variant spellings as *\*ai≠n≠pu(≠u)* "we will do/make it". Each form only occurs in festival texts as the object of a Hittite verb of speaking, either as a single word or combined with *hu-u-u*. A typical example is <sup>LU.MES</sup>*ha-a-pi-eš hu-u-u i-im-pu[-u] hal-zi-iš-ša-an-z[i]* 'The *hapi*-men call out *hū impū*' (KBo 25, 46obv.:9', OH/MS, CTH 649). The context does not provide any clues as to the meaning of these two words, and it is therefore premature to even try to present a morphological analysis.

<sup>29</sup> It is unclear whether a sequence *\*ai≠n≠šai**p*** would have led to *\*aimšai**p*** or *\*aiššai**p***. Assimilation of *-nš-* > *-šš-* is attested (Soysal 2004a:156) but is not obligatory (compare for example [... (-)u]<sub>u</sub>-ru-uš-ši-mu-ú in KUB 28, 64obv.:10 with u<sub>u</sub>-ru-un-ši-mu in KUB 28, 104 iii 9' (Soysal 2004a:104f.)).

<sup>30</sup> See for example the transitive verbal complexes *fa- $\emptyset$ -h**h**ill-ū* '1S.-3S.PAT-**pour**-FUT = I will pour it' (KBo 37, 23 iii 18, MS), or *taš-tū- $\emptyset$ -ta-š**ū**l-a* 'NEG-OPT: 2S.-3S.PAT-in(to)-**release**-MOD = You may not let it (i. e., evil) inside' (KUB 2, 2 iii 52, NS).

son imperative of a transitive verb consists of the bare stem, without subject affix but with object affix:

35. *yə-q'a-c'a*  
 it-prev.-do-imp.  
 '(You-sing.) do it!'

In Hattian however, we never find *-n-/-m-* on the imperative.<sup>31</sup> A typical example is

36. *ø-miš-ā*                      *ḫapalkiy-an*                      *kālapupišēt*  
 3S.PAT-take-MOD              iron-'GEN'                      fire place<sup>2</sup>  
 'Take the iron fire place?' (KBo 37, 1 i 15 = Hitt. *dā=ma=an=za* AN.BAR-aš  
<sub>URUDU<sup>2?</sup></sub> KA.IZ[I...]) × KBo 37, 1 ii 15, NS, CTH 726).

The verbal complex *mišā* only consists of the verbal stem *miš* 'take' and the modal ending *-a*, but is matched by the Hittite imperative *dā* and the enclitic singular object pronoun *-an*. The absence of *an-/ān-* might not conclusively prove that it only cross-references the subject and not also or only the object, but it certainly supports that claim.<sup>32</sup>

There is one phenomenon that might present counter-evidence to the claim that *an-/ān-* is a unitary morpheme. A number of transitive forms shows the sequence *a-wa-an-* or its phonologically conditioned variant *a-wa-am-* (Soysal 2004a:263). Soysal classifies the sequence *a-wa-* as a 3rd person marker *a-* followed by the plural marker *-wa-*, and *-n-/-m-* of course as an object marker. But taking into account the date of the texts in which this sequence occurs, it becomes obvious that we are dealing with a chronological distribution. Of the 19 attestations with *a-wa-* which can be analyzed as verbal complexes, 7 occur in OS and 8 in MS documents. So either the 3rd person plural marker *awa-* was facing extinction, or, and this is more likely, over time the morpheme *awan-* contracted to *ān-*, with phonetic long /a/.

A few intransitive verb forms seem to contain only *a-*, but the three forms listed by Soysal (2004a:194) do not actually prove the existence of a separate prefix *a-*. The words *a-ta-ka-a-ah-za-aš* (KUB 28, 80 ii 11) and *a-ta-an-nu* (KBo 37, 17:16') occur without context. Although it is likely that these words are indeed verbal complexes, we cannot be sure that

<sup>31</sup> This observation is based on the lexicon listed in Soysal 2004a:274–330. For a discussion of the formation of the imperative, see Soysal 2004a:195.

<sup>32</sup> A clause like *im-a=ḫu šaīl kātti kurkupienna* 'im (imp. 2. s.) the standard<sup>2</sup> of the Lord, King' (KUB 1, 17 ii 19–20) shows by analogy that *miš-ā* does not contain an assimilated *-n-*, otherwise we would have found *\*n-im-a*.





The transitive subject marker *ān-* is also attested with the plural object marker *-fa-/-p-* (Klinger 1996:631; Soysal 2004a:234f. (*-p<sup>1</sup>-*, and possibly *-p<sup>2</sup>-*):

39. [(pal)]*a*      *ān-ta-p-(p)nu-ø*<sup>39</sup>      *pi-izzī*      *fa-šḫa[(p)]*  
and      3S.AG-in(to)-3PL.PAT-**watch**-PST      into<sup>2</sup>-good<sup>40</sup>      PL-god

‘And he (Zilipuriu) looked benevolently at the gods (and (so) they gave abundance to Labarna, king)’ (KBo 21, 110obv.:9’, w. dupls. KUB 2, 2 iii 26 (*ān-da-p-pu*), Or. 90/1839 + Or. 90/1771 + Or. 91/113 i 17’ = Hitt. *n=as̄ta* DINGIR.MEŠ *anda ū[ški]*<sup>41</sup> ‘He lo[oked] at the gods,’ KUB 48, 3:6’, w. dupls. KUB 48, 6:5’ and KUB 2, 2 iii 28, NS, CTH 725, ed. differently Schuster 1974:73 (“Darauf schauten die Götter hin(ein)”).

40. [pal(a)      *ā(n)-p-ta-)]kā-fāḫ-ø*<sup>42</sup>      <sup>d</sup>Šulinkatti [katt]ē      *tūḫul*  
and      3S.AG-3PL.PAT-in(to)-on-**place**-PST      Šulinkatti king:DAT      *tuwaḫši*  
4<sup>2</sup> pillar<sup>2</sup>

‘And he placed the four pillars in (the palace) for Šulinkatte, King: (“Let each one support the walls”)’ (KUB 2, 2 iii 34–35, with dupl. KBo 21, 110obv.:14’–15’ = Hitt. *anda=ma=šši=ššan ūātarnahḫi*<sup>43</sup> dU. ʽGURʽ LUGAL-*i* 4-*aš* [š]arḫuliuš ‘But

<sup>38</sup> Schuster proposed a different translation, assuming an omission in the Hattian text: ‘er nahm den Thron. <Es trat heran (??)> die Göttin *Kataḫziwuri*; darauf setzte sie sich.’

<sup>39</sup> The parsing of the verbal complex follows Klinger (1996:631, w. fn. 61) in recognizing the plural object marker *-p-*. The only objection against taking *-p-* as a plural object marker instead of as part of the verbal stem, is that this marker usually precedes the local infixes. However, since the same phenomenon can be observed with the goal-marker *-ḫ-* (compare exx. 1–3, 8 with ex. 4), I am inclined to follow Klinger.

<sup>40</sup> With Haas (1970:75 (n. 2), 167) and Schuster (1974:121) I take *pizzi* (*pi-izzi*) as an adverb ‘favorably, in günstiger Weise,’ which was not translated in the Hittite version. The same adverb, again without Hittite equivalent, can be observed in KUB 2, 2 iii 57 with *nu* ‘come, go’: *u-da-nu pizzi* ‘you go inside in a favorable way’ = Hitt. *an[d]a p ʽaiʽ ši* ‘you go inside’ (KUB 2, 2 iii 58).

<sup>41</sup> The restoration of the verb proposed by Schuster (1974:73, 117, 120) as *u[šker]* depends on his analysis of *an-* as a singular object marker and DINGIR.MEŠ/*fa-šḫap* as the plural subject.

<sup>42</sup> Whenever *an-* occurs with the plural morpheme *p*, the *n* is elided. This should not be taken as evidence for a 3rd person marker *a-*, because each time the plural morpheme *-p-* is followed by another consonant. The syllabic nature of the script does not allow a sequence of three consonants (*-npC-*), hence the spelling *ap-CV*. Alternatively, *n* is completely assimilated to *p* (see section 2). However, it is unclear to me why we never find *an-fa-CV*.

<sup>43</sup> The duplicate *]aḫ-ḫi* (Or. 90/132 + Or. 90/292 (+) Or. 90/422 iii 1) now shows that the emendation of *watarnahḫi* to *watarnahḫir* as proposed by Schuster 1974:131 is not required (Süel–Soysal 2007:13).

he commands the four pillars for him, that is, for U.GUR, king' KUB 2, 2 iii 37–38 (CTH 725).<sup>44</sup>

However, *an-* does not occur in all types of transitive clauses (Taracha 1989:266, Girbal 2000:369, Soysal 2004a:190ff., Klinger 1994:30). There is also a transitive-intransitive category (Soysal's "Transitiv-Intransitiv" category) marked by *tu/šu* that never takes the 3rd person subject marker *an-*,<sup>45</sup> even though this category is attested with 1st and 2nd person subject markers in the slot preceding *tu/šu-* (see Soysal 2004a:190). The morpheme *tu/šu* itself can therefore not be equated with a 3rd person marker (Girbal 2000:369). The transitive 3rd person singular subject for *tu*-verbs is thus a zero-morpheme. Ascertained examples of transitive *tu*-verbs with a 3rd person singular subject and singular object are:

<sup>44</sup> My analysis of both the Hittite and Hattian clauses differs from all others (see, for example, Schuster 1974:72f.; Süel–Soysal 2007:13). By separating *šarhuliuš* 'pillars' from the reported speech clause *kuišš=a=ua=za kuttan paḥšaru*, the pillars become the direct object of *uātarnahḫ-* 'to command.' The distributive pronoun *kuišša* 'each (one)' now refers to the four pillars individually, and the message becomes that the pillars have to protect or support the walls of the building for which this myth and ritual are intended. As a result, the clause *kuišša=ua=za kuttan paḥšaru* matches *te-kīp* [*p*]ē-kaššil iš-kā-teḫ. The word *te-kīp* is clearly a modal verb, and matches *paḥšaru* (Soysal 2004a:784; Süel–Soysal 2007: 13). The word *iš-kā-teḫ* is not a verb (pace Soysal 2004a:501) but a noun and consists of the plural morpheme *iš-*, a nominal prefix *ka-* (*ka*<sup>1</sup>-, Soysal 2004a:225) and the root *teḫ* 'build.' As such it is the most likely candidate to be equated with *kuttan* (acc. sg.) 'wall.' This leaves *pē-kašš-il* as the equivalent of *kuišša*. Perhaps *pē-kašš-il* can be analyzed as the plural morpheme *pi-*, the core element *kaš* 'head,' and the masculine suffix *-Vl*. This would not give a perfect match with the Hittite distributive universal quantifier, but it would make sense in the context to have the capitals of the pillars support the building. Or perhaps the plural lexeme 'head' grammaticalized as a distributive along the cline 'heads' > 'each head' > 'each one'. Without further attestations the solutions offered for *pēkaššil* remain highly conjectural.

<sup>45</sup> Despite this claim there are a few words that seem to contain the sequence *an-tu-* (Soysal 2004a:370–371), but none of the proposed analyses is certain. For example, *a-an-tu-uh-ha-ap-nu* (KUB 28, 98 iii 12') might represent *an-tu-ḫa-pnu* (Soysal 2004a:370), but Haas (1970:187) splits off *an-tuḫ* 'he took.' The verbal complex *an-tu-uh-du-un-du* (KUB 28, 4obv., l. col. 12) represents *an-tu-ḫ-dundu* "etwa \*er starnte ständig wie gebannt zu ihr hin" (Schuster 2002:466), or perhaps *an-\*ta<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-dundu* 'she throws a spell at him' (Soysal 2004a:370). But since the verbal stem *dundu* only occurs here (and in duplicates), nothing precludes *an-tuḫdundu* with a verbal stem *\*tuḫdundu*.



already noted that *\*te-an-* > *te-n-* or *t-an-* is not attested (Kammenhuber 1969:507). As with the *tu*-forms, the transitive subject morpheme of the modal forms is  $\emptyset$  (Klinger 1994:30, with n. 34), and so is, again, the singular object morpheme:

43. *mallip*=[h]u                      *tē- $\emptyset$ -ta-h-* 𐎧𐎺𐎠 I  
     good=QUOT                      OPT-3S.AG<sup>48</sup>-3S.PAT-in(to)-3ALL-release

‘Let him release good things into it’ (KUB 2, 2 iii 51 = Hitt. *n=ašta aššu anda tarnieškiddu*, KUB 2, 2 iii 54, NS, CTH 725, ed. Schuster 1974:74).

Summarizing the results at this point, the 3rd person singular transitive subject is marked by means of  $\emptyset$  if the verbal complex contains the affix *tu-* or in the non-indicative mode, otherwise the marker is *an-/ān-*.<sup>49</sup> The 3rd person singular object is always expressed as a zero-morpheme.

### 5. Marking of 3rd person singular intransitive subject

In the preceding section I discussed the shape and distribution of the verbal prefixes for the 3rd person singular transitive subject (Agent) (= *an-* for the class of purely transitive verbs,  $\emptyset$  for the *tu/šu*-verbs and the modal forms) and the 3rd person singular object (Patient) (=  $\emptyset$ ). In order to establish the alignment of Hattian, we need to examine how the intransitive subject (S) is expressed. If Hattian has a nominative-accusative alignment, A and S should be treated the same. The subject marker for the intransitive *tu/šu*-verbs and the intransitive modal forms should be  $\emptyset$ , and with the remainder of the intransitive verbs we should expect *an-* (figure 6). An ergative-absolutive alignment on the other hand should lead to the grouping together of S and P, versus A. For *all* intransitive classes we should find  $\emptyset$  as the marker for S (fig. 7). And finally, a seman-

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verbal root *nu* ‘go’ over *pnu-* ‘look at’ in the hope that that makes more sense contextually in lines 5’–6’ *fā[-š]haw-un* (GEN/DAT) *fā-ša[h]* *alip teauš-te-ga-p-nu* ‘Let the evil words not go up to the gods’.

<sup>48</sup> Because the modal morpheme *tu(n)-* for the 2nd person may be analyzed as the optative marker *t(e)-* followed by the 2nd person marker *u(n)-*, the zero-morpheme for the 3rd person subject follows the morpheme *te-* as well. For this reason a form like *an-te-eg-ga- $\eta$ u-li* in KBo 21, 109 i 9’–11’ (GAL=ŠUNU *halzāi an-te-eg-ga- $\eta$ u-li apē=ma=šši kaltan halzianzi te-eg-ga- $\eta$ u-li te-eg-ga te-eg-ga- $\eta$ u-li*, translit. Klinger 1996:694; Schuster 1974:18, n. 50 reads <sup>d</sup>*Teggahuli*) probably does not contain the optative morpheme *te-*.

<sup>49</sup> The mismatch between *āmmiš* ‘she took’ in KBo 37, 1 i 30 and 33 and the Hittite translation *dāir* ‘they took,’ or even ‘they placed’ in KBo 37, 1 ii 31, 32 and 33 is discussed by Schuster (2002:250f.).



i 4', also see obv.:12–13 = Hitt. *idaluš=ma=šši=kan* NA<sub>4</sub> *anda lē kittari*, KUB 2, 2 + KUB 48, I ii 54, NS, CTH 725, ed. Schuster 1974:66 (differently)<sup>50</sup>).

46. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 taš-tē-ø-nū(w)-a pē-fil  
DET<sup>2</sup>-evil NEG-OPT-3S.PAT-**come**-MOD into-house

'May evil not come into the house!' (KUB 2, 2 iii 40 = Hitt. *nu=ua=k[ā]n idalu[š=]u[ā]=ká[n ]lē, uizzi*, KUB 2, 2 iii 42, NS, CTH 725, ed. Schuster 1974: 72f.).<sup>51</sup>

47. kāp=ḫu zi-jaḫ-du <sup>d</sup>Kāšku' tu-ø-k-z[**(ik)**]-ø  
moon=QUOT down-heaven-'ABL' gate building<sup>52</sup> tu-3S.PAT-upon-**fall**-PST

'The moon fell down from heaven onto the gate building' (KUB 28, 4 i 15a, with dupl. KUB 28, 5, l. col. 20a = Hitt. <sup>d</sup>*SIN-aš=ua=kan nepišaz maušta n=aš=kan šer* KL.LAM-*nī maušta*, ii 16b–17b, NS, CTH 727, ed. Schuster 2002:388f. (differently)<sup>53</sup>).

The 3rd person subjects of the remaining intransitive verbs are not uniformly marked. Very often there is no marking, in other words, we have a zero-morpheme, see Girbal 1986:57, Taracha 1988:62, Soysal 2004a:190, 192. Once in a while however we find intransitive verbs with the *transitive* 3rd person singular subject marker *an-* (with Girbal 2000:369; Taracha 1988:62f.; 1989:265, contra Girbal 1986:6, 57 and Taracha 1995:354). According to Soysal (2004a:188),<sup>54</sup> *an-*marked intransitives should be treated as scribal errors due to disappearing knowledge of Hattian.

But instead of assuming that the scribes erroneously turned these verbs into transitive forms, we could also treat these forms as grammati-

<sup>50</sup> According to Schuster (1974:97) *pi-i-ip* is an unmarked locative form of *fae-* 'house' (in Schuster's transcription *vae-*), followed by a particle *-p* (in his transcription *-b*). However, the word for house is clearly *fael* (Soysal 2004a:320). For *pi-p* as 'stone,' see Soysal 2004a:681 with references.

<sup>51</sup> Schuster (1974:72) considers *pi-e-ūi-il* = *pi-fil* 'in-house' > 'in the house' as part of this clause, although the Hittite version treats this constituent as part of the next clause.

<sup>52</sup> Soysal (2004c:370) equates <sup>d</sup>*kašku* with Hittite *ḫilammar* 'gate building.'

<sup>53</sup> Schuster (2002:388f.) presents a different sentence parsing and translation ('Der Mond ist hier vom strahlenden (Himmel) aus (herab)gefallen; er wandte sich nach der (Stadt) *Lahza* ((und) fiel hier (nieder)).') Of the several points of divergence I cite here Schuster's analysis of <sup>d</sup>*Kāšku'* as a verb *ankāšma* 'he fell down' and of *tukzik* as 'he turned.' For further discussion and partial rejection of Schuster's views see Soysal 2004c:370f.

<sup>54</sup> "Ganz seltene Fälle in den Bilinguen, wo ein hattisches Prädikat auf *an=* ins Hethitische doch mit einer intransitiven Entsprechung übertragen wird, sollten auf jeden Fall auf die allmählich nachlassende Überlieferungstradition der Hethiter zurückgeführt werden" (also see Soysal 2004b:89–90, with n. 16; 2004a:81–82, 137, 218).



28, 8 + KBo 37, 48rev., r. col. 10'–11', with dupl. KBo 17, 22 iii 12' (OS) (CTH 736), ed. Klinger 2000:159).

51. ān-ḥa-kka-**nu**-∅                      [...-**ni**]faš-∅                      tabarna«n»                      kätte  
 3S.AG-(in)to-up(on)-**go**-PST                      [...]sit-PST                      Tabarna                      king  
 '(In Hattusa they built the houses of the king, Labarna.) He entered and sat [down], King Tabarna' (KBo 37, 1 iv 4 (NS) = Hitt. *anda=ma=aš=kan pait labarnaš* LUGAL-*uš*, Or. 90/1693 ii 10', see Soysal 2004a:359, 546, 755 (CTH 726), translit. Klinger 1996:646; ed. Schuster 2002:162).

The sequence of entering and sitting down of ex. 51 is found without the marker *an-* in:

52. ]× ∅-ta-ḥā-kka-**nu**-∅    ∅-ta-**nifaš**-∅  
 3S.PAT-STAT/INTR<sup>2</sup>-(in)to-up(on)-**go**-PST                      3S.PAT-STAT/INTR<sup>2</sup>-**sit**-PST  
 'S/he entered (and) sat down' (KUB 28, 64obv.:4, NS, CTH 745).

As in the previous example, the verb *nifaš* 'sit' is usually attested with a zero-morpheme:

53. lē-kusim                      mā ∅-ḥā-**nifaš**-∅                      šāil                      mā li-tūmil-i                      palā                      lē-pi-pīzzil-i  
 his-throne                      CONJ3S.PAT-                      lord                      CONJ his-rain-?                      and                      his-PL-rainstorm-?  
 (in)to-**sit**-PST  
 '(As for) his throne, the lord (= the Stormgod) sat down on (it), together with (?) his rain and his storms' (KUB 28, 18rev., r. col. 6'–8', OS/MS, CTH 735).

54. <sup>d</sup>Sulinkatti                      katti    ∅-<sub>1</sub>ta<sub>1</sub>-**nifaš**-∅<sup>57</sup>  
 Sulinkatti                      king    3S.PAT-STAT/INTR<sup>2</sup>-**sit**-PST  
 'Sulinkatti, King, sat down (on it)' (KUB 2, 2 iii 52–53 = Hitt. <sup>d</sup>*Sulinkattiš=šan* LUGAL-*uš anda ešzi*, KUB 2, 2 iii 56, NS, CTH 725, ed. Schuster 1974:74).

But in the MS version of CTH 725 we find a form with *an-* whereas the younger duplicate (KUB 2, 2 ii 42) has the affix *ta-*:

55. tabar[(na)]                      kätte    ān-**nifaš**-∅ // ∅-ta-**nifaš**-∅  
 tabarna                      king    3S.AG-**sit**-PST // 3S.PAT-STAT/INTR<sup>2</sup>-**sit**-PST  
 '(They placed the Great Throne in Hattuš. They placed it (so that)) Tabar[na], King, might take a seat' (KBo 19, 162:6–7, with dupl. KUB 2, 2 ii 42 = Hitt. *nu=za labarnaš* LUGAL-<sub>1</sub>uš<sub>1</sub> [...], KUB 2, 2 ii 44, NS, CTH 725, ed. Schuster 1974:66).

gantic tree, then the viewpoint of mere mortals could be to stand under the tree, with its foliage coming down from as high as heaven.

<sup>57</sup> Schuster (1974:144) reads *a-ṽa-ni-ua<sub>a</sub>-aš* after collation. There is enough space for the sign A, and the lower side of the vertical is indeed visible. However, this sign might as well be erased, and the form *a-ta-nifaš* can therefore not be taken as assured.



The same alternation of an intransitive<sup>58</sup> form with *ān-* in the older manuscript and with  $\emptyset$  in the younger one, occurs in the duplicates of the “Angry Priest” bilingual:

56. pala            *ān-ḫa-u[i]t=pa //  $\emptyset$ -ḫā-uit- $\emptyset$ =pa<sup>59</sup>*            *ūk*  
and                3S.AG-(in)to-**sour**=but//3S.PAT-(in)to-**sour**-PST            why

‘(Lady [Estan<sup>2</sup>] and [Lord] Taru speak as well: “[...] and we made him [ou]r priest, we treated him well, and we also assigned his land to him. (So) why does he pick a fight,) and why did he become sour?’ (KBo 37, 9obv.:10’ (MS), with dupl. KUB 28, 1 iv 25’ = Hitt. *šammalešzi=ma=aš [kuu]at*,<sup>60</sup> KUB 28, 1 iv 26’–27’, NS, CTH 728, ed. Soysal 2004b:80, 82).

Finally, the intransitive verbs of perception *ḫukuru* ‘look’<sup>61</sup> and *kun* ‘look at’ are attested both with and without *an-/ān-*:

57. an-ta-**ḫḫukuru- $\emptyset$**             Katalḫzifuri            *zi-jaḫ-šu*  
3S.AG-in(to)-**look**-PST            Katalḫzifuri            down-heaven-‘ABL’

‘Katalḫziwuri looked down from heaven (and [said] thus: “What is this?”) (KUB 28, 4obv., l. col. 13a–14a<sup>62</sup> = Hitt. *aušta=ma=kan* <sup>d</sup>*Kamrušepaš nepišaz katta*, KUB 28, 4obv., r. col. 15b, NS, CTH 727, ed. Schuster 2002:386f.).

58.  $\emptyset$ -ta-**ḫḫukuru- $\emptyset$**             Katalḫzifuri            *zi-jaḫ-du*            *pala(-)a(n)-ḫ-kūnn-u*  
3S.PAT-in(to)-**look**-PST            Katalḫzifuri            down-heaven-‘ABL’            and-3S.AG-3ALL-**look**-PRS

‘Katalḫziwuri looked down from heaven and looks at them (= the clothes of Šaru<sup>2</sup>)’ (KBo 21, 82 i 26’–27’,<sup>63</sup> MS, CTH 734, translit. Del Monte 1979:113).

In section 2, sub ex. 6, I argued that the perceived entity of the verb *kun* ‘look at’ was not expressed by means of the patient marker  $\emptyset$ , but by means of the goal marker *-ḫ-*. This verb may therefore be considered in-

<sup>58</sup> On the assumption that *an-* only occurs in transitive clauses, Kammenhuber (1969:514) took *ḫawit* as transitive. The meaning of the corresponding Hittite verb *šammaleš-/šammaliḫa-* was still unknown to her.

<sup>59</sup> Compare the similar alternation of *at-ḫa[-a<sup>2</sup>-ū-it]* (< \**an-t-ḫawit*) in KBo 37, 74:4’ (MS) with *ta-a-ḫa-a-ū-e-et* in KUB 28, 1 iv 35’ = Hitt. *n=aš šammalliḫazi* KUB 28, 1 iv 37’.

<sup>60</sup> My translation of Hattian and restoration of the Hittite version differ from those of Soysal. The reasons are explained in Goedegebuure 2008:149, n. 32.

<sup>61</sup> I follow Schuster’s initial suggestion for this verb as an intransitive verb of perception (2002:487).

<sup>62</sup> This clause is also attested in KUB 28, 86 + KUB 48, 23 (NS, CTH 734) iii-v 4–5: *ān-ta-ḫḫukuru- $\emptyset$*  <sup>d</sup>*Katalḫzīpūri zi-jaḫ-š[u] itā=ḫu=pi ūk* (translit. Del Monte 1979:111).

<sup>63</sup> Also see KBo 37, 28 iv 10’–11’ (NS, CTH 734): *ta-ḫḫūku[r]u- $\emptyset$ =pi* <sup>d</sup>*Katalḫzīfūri [zi-jaḫ-šu pala] a(n)-ḫ<sup>1</sup>-kunn-ū ū[k]=ḫū itā*.

transitive, as is also shown by those forms that occur with *ta-* instead of *an-*. The alternation of *a(n)-ḫ-kun* and *ta-ḫ-kun* is the same as found with ‘sit,’ *an-niḫaš* and *ta-niḫaš*, and ‘go,’ *ān-ḫa-ka-nu* and *ta-ḫa-ka-nu*:

59.  $\emptyset$ -*ta-ḫ-kūm*- $\emptyset$ =*pa*≠*li*

3S.PAT-STAT/INTR<sup>2</sup>-3ALL-**look**-PST≠*but*≠PRON.3S<sup>64</sup>

‘But/And *s/he* looked at him/it’ (KUB 28, 45 i 18’, NS, CTH 744).

The following text-citation was originally discarded as evidence for the use of *an-* with intransitive verbs (Taracha 1993:290; 1995:354), but can now be reinstated:

60. *šāfat*≠*ma*

apple-tree≠REFL

*ga-ur*

on-spring

-*a(n)-nti-u*

-3S.AG-**stand**-PRS

The apple-tree stands over the spring. (KUB 28, 6obv., l. col. 10a = Hitt. <sup>GIS</sup>ḪAŠḪUR PŪ-*i šer antari*, KUB 28, 6obv., r. col. 10b, NS, CTH 728).

Soysal (2004a:188) assumes that *an*-marked intransitives should be treated as scribal errors due to disappearing knowledge of Hattian (also see Schuster 1974:52). We would therefore expect that the frequency of *an-* increases in later documents. This is not the case. We find both *ān-* and  $\emptyset$ -intransitives in middle script and new script documents, but there is a tendency to change *ān-* to  $\emptyset$  in the later manuscripts, as illustrated by the duplicates in ex. 55 (*ān-niḫaš* in the MS version, *ta-niḫaš* in the NS version) and ex. 56 (*ān-ḫa-wit* in the MS version, *ḫā-wit* in the NS version). This actually implies that more intransitive verbs in NS manuscripts were originally marked by means of *ān-* in the older manuscripts, but were deemed inappropriate in the later manuscripts.

But the most important argument against scribal failure is that the dual marking of intransitives is linguistically acceptable (figs. 3, 4 and 8). The agentive and patientive marking found with intransitives conclusively points at a semantic alignment of Hattian.

As noted above sub ex. 25, the use of agentive subject markers and patient subject markers for intransitives in semantically aligned languages is subjected to certain rules. The distinction between agent and patient marking is often one between control and lack of control, or between activities and states, or telicity and atelicity. It seems that  $\emptyset$  started to replace the agent marker *an-*, so in order to find the original semantic motivation for the use of these markers, we need to consider: a) all pre-NS examples of  $\emptyset$  and *an-*, b) NS attestations of intransitively used *an-* be-

<sup>64</sup> For a different parsing of the sequence *-(u)m-pa-li-i* see Soysal 2004a:732.

cause this might represent an original situation, c) as well as variation of the subject markers within a single text, irrespective of its date. Attestations of only the zero-morpheme in NS texts have to be excluded because we might be dealing with an innovation that almost certainly has blurred the original semantic motivation for the use of either *an-* or  $\emptyset$ . Based on these criteria the exx. 48, 52, 54, and 59 are excluded from the following discussion. The remainder of the examples is listed in fig. 9.

The opposition activity-state as a motivation for the use of *an-* and  $\emptyset$  can be excluded. Both markers are attested with activities ( $\emptyset$ -*ha-nūya*, ex. 49, *ān-ha-kka-nu*, ex. 51) and possibly states (*an-ta-hḫukuru*, ex. 57, *ta-hḫukuru*, ex. 58). The same is true for telicity (compare telic  $\emptyset$ -*ha-nūya*, ex. 49 and  $\emptyset$ -*ha-nifaš*, ex. 53 with telic *ān-ha-kka-nu*, ex. 51 and *ān-ha-uit*, ex. 56). It is therefore safe to conclude that lexical aspect does not govern the choice of subject marker.

The remaining factor is the semantics of the intransitive subject. According to Mithun (1991:516) a typical agent performs, effects, instigates or controls a situation or event. As the table shows, in almost each case the subject performs, effects or controls the action or state, yet both *an-* and  $\emptyset$  are used. The degree of instigation however seems to explain the use of these markers. In ex. 49 *Ḫašammil*, the strong blacksmith, is asked to enter. *Ḫašammil* necessarily controls the action of entering, which however, was not on his own account but on the instigation of others. This explains why the patientive marker  $\emptyset$  is used. In ex. 56 on the other hand the gods are in the dark about why the unnamed king is angry. The circumstances of the king do not call for this reaction, so at least in the opinion of the gods the action of ‘becoming sour’ is only on the instigation of the king. Thus, it is appropriate to use the agentive marker *an-*. It is also likely that the king enters his palace on his own instigation (ex. 51, with *an-*), not because his subordinates command him.

The remaining examples do not confirm nor contradict the suggestion that *an-* is used when the intransitive subject instigated the action or situation denoted by the verb. In most examples the lack of understanding of the co-text, the cultural setting, or both, prevents a satisfying explanation. Is ex. 53 part of a myth which describes how the deity *Taru* is perhaps asked to sit down on his throne? Is *an-ta-hḫukuru* ‘she looked down’ in ex. 57 a voluntary action, on instigation of the agent, but  $\emptyset$ -*ta-hḫukuru* ‘she looked down’ in ex. 58 not? In the myth-like ex. 60, does the apple tree stand over the spring on its own instigation? Do we have to assume that the king in ex. 55 sits down on the throne without being

asked? Without the context providing clues to the volition of the action or situation, it remains guesswork.

	LEXICAL ASPECT		AGENTIVITY	
	ACTIVITY	TELICITY	CONTROL	INSTIGATION
<i>nu</i> 'go'				
ex. 49 ( $\emptyset$ )	+	+	+	—
ex. 50 ( <i>an-</i> )	+	+	+?	+?
ex. 51 ( <i>an-</i> )	+	+	+	+
<i>nifaš</i> 'sit'				
ex. 53 ( $\emptyset$ )	+	+	+	?
ex. 55 ( <i>an-</i> )	+	+	+	+?
<i>hawit</i> 'become sour'				
ex. 56 ( <i>an-</i> )	+	+	+	+
<i>hukuru</i> 'look'				
ex. 57 ( <i>an-</i> )	—?	—	+	?
ex. 58 ( $\emptyset$ )	—?	—	+	?
<i>kun-</i> 'look at'				
ex. 58 ( <i>an-</i> )	—?	—	+	?
<i>nti-</i> 'stand'				
ex. 60 ( <i>an-</i> )	—	—	?	?

Fig. 9. Correlation of semantic factors with the intransitive subject markers *an-* and  $\emptyset$

## 6. The antipassive

The fact that the Hattian intransitive singular verb may take either *an-* or  $\emptyset$ -marking for its single argument conclusively characterizes Hattian as a semantically aligned language. The question whether Hattian is nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive has therefore become somewhat irrelevant. However, semantically aligned languages may still have an accusative or ergative base.

Since the majority of intransitive clauses takes the  $\emptyset$  marker for the intransitive singular subject, which is identical to the singular object marker, Hattian has an ergative base. We might therefore hope to find the antipassive, the counterpart of the passive in nominative-accusative systems. The passive voice promotes the patient-object to patient-subject, and the agent-subject, if expressed at all, loses its subject marking and becomes simply an agent (with 'by'-marking in English). Mirroring this, the anti-passive voice promotes the agent-ergative to agent-absolutive, while the patient may be expressed in an oblique case, such as the dative or instrument (Polinsky 2008):

ACCUSATIVE LANGUAGE			ERGATIVE LANGUAGE		
	agent	patient		patient	agent
active	Nominative	Accusative	active	Absolutive	Ergative
passive	∅ / Oblique	Nominative	anti-pass.	∅ / Oblique	Absolutive

Fig. 10. Case marking in the voices of accusative and ergative languages

What we are looking for in Hattian is a verb with two arguments but with the ∅-morpheme instead of *an-/ān-* for the agent, and with again the ∅-morpheme or the allative marker *-ḫ-* for the patient. There seems to be one example that shows exactly this pattern:

61. [∅-t]ū-∅-**fa**-∅<sup>65</sup>                      tāufa    tūpi    ∅-ta-ḫ-**ku**-∅-(w)at  
 3S-tu-3S.PAT-**place**-PST              Fear    Fright    3S.PAT-PASS/INTR<sup>2</sup>-3ALL-**take**-PST-?  
 ‘Fear positioned him (the Moongod), Fright took him’ (KUB 28, 4 i 11a, NS, CTH 727, ed. Schuster 2002:386, 441–446 (translating differently)).
62. ēp-ta≠an                                      naḫšaraz                      ēp-ta≠an                                      weritema-š  
 take-3S.PRT≠him                              Fear                                      take-3S.PRT≠him                              Fright-NOM.S.C.  
 ‘Fear seized him; Fright seized him (the Moongod)’ (KUB 28, 4 i 21b, NS, CTH 727, ed. Schuster 2002:387).

This example has both the morphological (Soysal 2004a:200) and word order features of an intransitive clause. The Hittite translation shows that this clause was understood as transitive, but the Hattian verb *ku* ‘grab, seize’ looks intransitive: it lacks the agent marker *ān-* and starts with *ta-* instead. The affix *ta-* often occurs with verbs that are stative or passive-like (Soysal 2004a:194–195). The element which would normally be the syntactic object, the Moongod, is now expressed by means of the allative infix *-ḫ-*. A final clue to the intransitivity of this verbal complex is that the Hattian verb appears in sentence final position, and as I have shown elsewhere (Goedegebuure 2008:156), this position is highly correlated with intransitivity.

One of the functions of the antipassive is to shift the focus of the clause away from the patient to the action denoted by the verb (Cooreman 1994:60; Palmer 1994:181–186). This is exactly what we see in the second clause of the Hittite translation (ex. 62). The initial position of the Hittite verb cannot

<sup>65</sup> Written as *ut-u-ua<sub>a</sub>*. Schuster (2002:386) suggest to emend to *tu<sup>1</sup>-u-ua<sub>a</sub>*. He treats this word as a variant of *tufi* ‘fear’ (2002:445), whereas Klingler, still reading *ud-u-ua<sub>a</sub>*, opts for a verb (1994:39, fn. 76). Combining the new reading with Klingler’s suggestion, we can actually make some sense of this line. The verbal complex *tūfa* may be resolved as a *tu*-transitive of the verb *fa* ‘place.’ The concept of fear placing someone in a fixed position could refer to the well-known fact that one can be frozen on the spot in fear.

be explained as a faithful but unwarranted rendering of the word order of the Hattian clause, which has the verb in final position, but has to be caused by the pragmatics of the Hittite language itself. As observed by Luraghi (1990:94), one of the reasons to place a verb in initial position is for emphasis, in other words, for focusing the attention specifically on the verb.

Thus, the verbal complex *tahkuwat* is without a doubt an antipassive, confirming that Hattian is a semantically aligned language with an ergative base. It is therefore not surprising that later duplicates of older texts tend to replace the agentive marker *an-* of intransitive verbs with the patientive zero-morpheme. Hattian became more ergative towards the New Hittite period.<sup>66</sup>

## 7. Summary

The 3rd person singular subject of intransitive clauses in Hattian is usually expressed in the prefix chain of the verb by means of a zero-morpheme, formally similar to the 3rd person singular object verbal prefix. Once in a while however we find *an-/ān-*, the 3rd person singular *transitive* subject marker with intransitive verbs. This is not a scribal error, but a phenomenon that is the defining feature for semantically aligned (= active) languages. In ergative languages on the other hand, the single argument of an intransitive verb always receives ‘patient’ marking, irrespective of the semantics of the verb or the agentivity of the subject.

The choice for the subject marker in intransitive clauses does not depend on the lexical aspect of the verb, but on the agentivity of the single argument. The meagre evidence allowed the preliminary conclusion that the notion of *instigation* governs this choice: the agent marker *an-* is found when the subject instigated the action or situation denoted by the verb, otherwise the patient marker  $\emptyset$  is used.

Despite the semantic alignment of Hattian, the one instance of an antipassive, together with the preference for zero-marking of the intransitive subject points at an ergative base for Hattian. The replacement of *an*-intransitives in MS manuscripts by means of  $\emptyset$ -intransitives in NS duplicates shows that Hattian moved towards an even more ergative alignment.

To conclude, although Hattian is truly a small corpus language, with less than 15 bilingual texts, there is nevertheless enough material to show that Hattian is an active, or semantically aligned language with an ergative base.

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<sup>66</sup> This development implies that Hattian remained alive until at least the end of the 14th century BC.

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