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Anatolian and Indo-European studies
in honor of

H. Craig Melchert

on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday

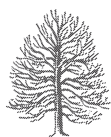
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Deictic-Emphatic *-i* and the Anatolian Demonstratives

Petra Goedegebuure

1. Introduction. It is a great honor to dedicate this article to Craig Melchert, whose achievements have shaped almost every aspect of comparative and reconstructive Anatolian studies. As a result, the honorand's many insights are a happy playground for further thought, and form the backbone of the present study.

In several of the Indo-European languages we find a deictic-emphatic particle *-i* that regularly occurs with pronouns. This particle is still productive in Attic Greek as in for example *ὄδ-ί*, *οὐτοσ-ί*, *ἐκεινοσ-ί* and *ννν-ί*, but also in Old Latin in *quo-i* > *quī*, etc. The *-i* of the Hittite demonstrative *ašī* + (and its cognates Luv. **ašši* + and Lyd. *eš-*) has long been equated with this particle (Pedersen 1938:60). But, as I will show in §4, deictic-emphatic *-i* is also used with at least two other Anatolian demonstratives, **kó/i/é-* and **obbó/é-*. The starting point for the discussion of *-i* is the reconstruction of the Proto-Anatolian pronominal genitive, hitherto **-asyo*. On the basis of the Hittite genitives *ašī*, *apašī(la)*, and the Luvian genitives *zašši* and *apašši* I will argue for PAnat. **-(é)s* with deictic *-i* (§§2 and 3).

2. The Hittite genitives *ašī*, *ēl*¹ and *uniyaš*. As is well known and widely discussed, the Hittite pronominal genitive singular ending is *-ēl*. Among others, this ending is attested for the demonstratives *kā-* 'this' (*kēl*) and *apā-* 'that (near addressee); s/he, it' (*apēl*). It is therefore not unreasonable to expect a genitive in *-ēl* for the distal demonstrative *ašī* + 'yon'² as well. Instead, we have one secure and one restored attestation³ of a *nominal* genitive in *-aš*. This genitive, *uniyaš*,⁴ belongs to *uni-*, a new distal demonstrative based on *uni*, acc.sg.comm. of *ašī* +.

¹The discovery of the genitive *ēl* is the serendipitous result of my research on *ašī* + during a study visit to the Oriental Institute in October 2002. I am most grateful to the editors of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary for allowing me access to the files.

²For a description of the function of *ašī* + and its diachronic morphological development see Goedegebuure 2002. The radically different view expressed by Patri (2008) that *ašī* + is a definite marker and not a pronoun is based on an unfortunate omission of data, namely the 40 or so independent occurrences of *ašī* + that—using Patri's own criteria (2008:152)—directly contradict his claims.

³Pecchioli Daddi (2004:460, 464 with nn. 62 and 63) reads another instance of the genitive *uniyaš* in KUB 13.3 ii 10': *u-ni-aš-ma-šmaš* DINGIR.MEŠ-[u]š *karū uškanzi* 'but the gods of that one have already seen you (pl.)'. The genitive *uniyaš* refers to the king, mentioned in the preceding narrative part (ii 7'). Although the transliteration suggests differently, the first two signs are not fully visible. The difficulty with the restoration [u-] *ni'-aš* is that the deprecativ connotations of *ašī* +, prevalent for anaphoric use, are not suitable for reference to the king. I therefore follow Friedrich (1928:46) in restoring [LUG]'AL'-*aš-ma-šmaš* DINGIR.MEŠ:'ŠU' (Friedrich reads *-[u]š*) 'the gods of the king'.

⁴See Hoffner and Melchert 2008:146.

These two genitives occur in the song of Ullikummi, a myth of Hurrian background that narrates the battle between different generations of gods. The Storm-god Teššub has just laid eyes on the frightful Basalt Stone, his opponent:

- (1) KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 i 30'-34' (NH/NS myth, Muršili II,⁵ CTH 345), ed. Güterbock 1952:12, tr. Hoffner 1998:60

(Teššub sat down on the ground, and his tears flowed like streams.)

nu ^dU-*aš* IGI.HI.A-*wa* (31') [*iš-ḥa-*] *aḥ-ru-wa-an-za me-mi-ya-an me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi ku-iš-wa-ra-an* (32') [*nam-m*] *a uš-ki-iz-zi u-ni-ya-aš*¹ *ḥal-lu-wa-in nu-wa ku-iš nam-ma* (33') [*za-a*] *ḥ-ḥi-iš-ki-iz-zi nu-wa-ra-aš ku-iš nam-ma uš-ki-iz-zi* (34') [*u-ni*]-*ya-aš na-aḥ-šar-ad-du-uš*

The Storm-god, [te]arful of eye, speaks: 'Who can behold it [agai]n, **that one's** violence? Who can [f]ight again, who can behold them again, [**that o]ne's** fearsome qualities?'

Since *uniyaš* is a new formation, there originally must have been another genitive. By analogy we would expect **eli*, with deictic *-i*. This reconstruction is based on a comparison of several forms of the paradigm of *aš*i + and their respective counterparts in the paradigms of *kā-* 'this'⁶ and *apā-* 'that':

	<i>kā-</i>	<i>apā-</i>	<i>aš</i> i +
nom.sg.comm.	<i>kāš</i>	<i>apāš</i>	<i>aš</i> i
acc.sg.comm.	<i>kūn</i>	<i>apūn</i>	<i>uni</i>
nom.-acc.sg.neut.	<i>kī, kīni, kēni</i> ⁷	<i>apāt, apēni</i> ⁸	<i>ini, eni</i>
gen.sg.	<i>kēl</i>	<i>apēl</i>	<i>*eli</i>
dat.-loc.sg.	<i>kēti, kēdani</i>	<i>apēti</i> ⁹ , <i>apēdani</i>	<i>edi, edani</i>
abl. ¹⁰	<i>kēd</i>	<i>apid(-)</i>	<i>edi</i>

Table 1: comparison of *kā-*, *apā-* and *aš*i +

⁵According to Haas (2006:130) the Kumarbi cycle, to which the Song of Ullikummi belongs, is an original Hittite composition from the reign of Muršili II, and not a translation from Hurrian. The Hurrian background of the cycle remains of course undisputed.

⁶For the latest update on the paradigms of *kā-* and *apā-* see Hoffner and Melchert 2008:143 and n. 8 below. For *aš*i +, see Hoffner and Melchert 2008:145.

⁷For *kīni/kēni* as alternative neuter sg. of *kā-* see most recently Goedegebuure 2007:309ff. and KBo 50:viii (ad no. 103).

⁸As I mention elsewhere (2007:310 n. 19), most or all tokens of *apēni* represent *apē(da)ni*. Still, the structure of the adverb *apiniššan* (compare *ini-ššan* and *kīni-ššan* besides *kīššan*) could point at a neuter **apini*. KBo 60:iv (ad no. 4) offers a possible attestation of *apēni* in KuSa I/1 30 rev. 2' (]'a¹-pē-e-ni-mu), which either reads '... that (acc.sg.) to me (dat.sg.) ...', or '... me (acc.sg.) to him (dat.sg.)' if *apēni* is again a mistake for *apēdani*. KBo 60.4 rev. 5' does not contain *apēni* but *a-pē-e-ni-šu-wa-an*, nom.-acc.sg.neuter of the adjective *apeniššuwant-* 'that kind of ...'.

⁹Attested in KUB 9.19:7' (MS?).

¹⁰For the reconstruction of a PAnat. pronominal ablative in **-d*, see Melchert and Oettinger 2009:54, 59ff., 70.

And indeed, there is one instance of an almost identical *e-el*:¹¹

- (2) KUB 49.70 rev. 20'-21' (NH/lateNS oracle, CTH 572)
 (20') [BE-*an-kán*] 'ke-e-da-ni' 'MU-'[*t*]i e-el¹² ŠA LÚ URU Az-z[*i*] GIŠTUKUL
 ŠA KUR.MEŠ URUGIDRU-TI Ú²-UL ú-iz-z[*i*]¹³ DINGIR.MEŠ a-š*i* LÚ
 URU Az[-z*i*] (21') [...]

'[When] in this year [the weapon] of **that** (*ēl*) man of Azz[*i*] does [not come to the lands of Hatti,] (and) the gods [verb] **that** (*aš*i**) man of Azzi, (...).'

Assuming that **ā-*, presumably found in *ānki* 'once',¹⁴ could be reconstructed for Hitt. 'one', Eichner (1992:38) suggests that **e-el* could be the reading of the genitive sg. 1-*el*, based on the equation nom.sg. *apās* 'that one' : gen.sg. *apēl* = nom.sg. **ās* 'one' : gen.sg. **ēl*. In the present context, however, the translation 'of (the) one man of Azzi' can be excluded. More importantly, I recently re-analyzed the pronoun *š*i**¹⁵ as the Hittite numeral 1, equating 1-*el* with *š*i**-(*i*)-*e-el*. One should therefore discard Eichner's otherwise plausible proposals.

Recently Rieken (2008) has convincingly shown that the pronominal genitive ending *-ēl* is derived from a denominative adjective *-la-* < PIE **-lo-*,¹⁶ attached to the oblique pronominal stem in *-e-*. In pre-Hittite, she argues, pronominal possession could be marked by means of this morpheme, in the same way as Luvian (pro)nominal possession is expressed by means of the genitival adjective on *-aš*ša*/i-*, and possession in Lycian by means of *-abe/i-*, *-che/i-*. In Hittite, however, the pronominal adjective lost its theme vowel *-a-* and then its inflection when followed by *-s* or *-n* (**abē-la-s*, **abē-la-n* > **abēls*, **abēln* > *abēl* (*a-pē-e-el*), Rieken 2008).

In view of Rieken's proposal we should now consider the possibility that the paradigm of *aš*i** + originally contained yet another genitive. What argues for analogical formation of *ēl* after *kēl* and *apēl* is its form. Had *ēl* been part of the Proto-Anatolian paradigm of the pronoun **o-/e-* before the addition of deictic *-i* to the case endings, we would have encountered ***eli*.

Recently Hoffner and Melchert (2008:145 n. 5) have detected this older genitive in *aš*i**, attested only in the OS ritual KBo 17.17 (+) KBo 30.30 obv. 6'. I here present

¹¹As collected by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary Project through November 2009.

¹²In the files of the CHD Project this sequence of signs was read as either "E.EL or E.SIR". Only the latter reading is an attempt to make sense of the sequence. Allowing for two scribal mistakes, (1) an aberrant form of the sign SIR and (2) the absence of the determinative for leather objects, KUŠ, this interpretation would imply that 'this year' the oracle inquirer is concerned with the 'shoe of the man of Azzi'. That this is quite odd needs no further comment.

¹³The restoration is based on KUB 49.70:10'-11': BE-*an-kán*[break with room for ca.10 signs -z]² GIŠTUKUL ŠA KUR.MEŠ URUGIDRU[-TI...], and left edge [...-z]i GIŠTUKUL KUR.MEŠ URUGIDRU-TI UL ú-wa-an-z*i*.

¹⁴The multiplicative adverb *a-an-ki* 'once, one time' in KUB 4.1 iv 36, 38 does not exist. Although the hand copy has *a-an-ki*, the photo in the Konkordanz (version 1.6) clearly shows *2-an-ki*, proving Hoffner and Melchert 2008:168 n. 49 right in their rejection of *a-an-ki*.

¹⁵See Goedegebuure 2006, followed by Hoffner and Melchert 2008:154 (with some modifications in the paradigm) and Kloekhorst 2008:750 (with modification of the stem *š*a-** to *š*i-**).

¹⁶The same morpheme is also present in the Lycian demonstrative adverb *ebeli* 'here', locative of **ob*h*'é-lo-*, and as an independent innovation in the Lydian possessive adjective *bili-* 'his, her' (Rieken 2008).

a new transliteration and translation of obv. 6'–7' (w. dupl. KUB 43.53 i 16'–18'), replacing the one in Goedegebuure 2002:64, 70:

- (3) (6') [(DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-an* ^dUTU-*i*)]' *ka-¹a-ša* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš a-ši* p[(*é-éš-ki-mi* ^dUTU-*šum-ma-an la-ba-a*)]r[-*na-an*] (7') [(DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš*)¹⁷ (*pi-iš-ki-mi*) t]*a*¹⁸ *a-a-an-da-aš-ša-an* [(*pi-i*)^š*ki-mi a-(a-za-aš-ši-iš* T)]I' *-an¹-za-aš-ši-i*[(*s*)¹⁹ *ka-a-ša*]

'O Sungod of the gods, I hereby give to the gods (**that**) of his (lit. of that one). Our Sun Labarna I give to the gods. I give his equivalent. Here is his equivalent, his living (substitute)!'

Originally I could not account for the existence of an Old Hittite acc.sg.comm. *aši*. Only in New Hittite documents do we encounter *aši* both as nom. and acc.sg.comm. (besides *umi(n)*). Finding *aši* instead of *umi* in such an old text was difficult to explain, but I could offer no solution. Now that the non-pronominal origin of *-el* suggests the existence of yet another genitive form, I find Hoffner's and Melchert's solution highly convincing.

It is also easy to see why the late-NH duplicate had *aši* not only in i 16', DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš a-ši pé-éš-ki-mi* (dupl. of DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš a-ši p[é- ...]*), but also in i 17', DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš a-ši pi-iš-ki-mi*.²⁰ Assuming that line 16' was favorable to dittography in line 17', a repetition of *aši* as *object* would certainly have made sense to the late NH scribe in whose times *aši* only functioned as either a nom.sg.comm. or acc.sg.comm.²¹ while the genitive sg. was *ēl* or *umiyāš*.

3. The Luvian genitive *-ašši* < PA **-éši*. Hoffner and Melchert (2008:145 n. 5) note that the Luvian possessive adjective in *-ašša/i-* is very similar to their newly found genitive *aši*. In Iron Age Luvian *-ašša/i-* and the *-iya-* adjective coexisted with the (pro)nominal genitives <^o*a/oi-sa*> and <^o*a/oi-si*>.²² The form in *-i* is usually read as */-asi/*, a perfect match with Hittite *aši*, but there is solid evidence that the reading */-asi/* is not correct. Recently Yakubovich (2008:208ff.) has convincingly argued for a Luvian genitive *-ašši* */-assi/* and its connection with the possessive adjective *-ašša/i-*.²³ Unfortunately this throws all reconstructions for *-ašša/i-* and previously read */-asi/* in disarray, and also severs the ties between the Hittite and Luvian forms.

The stem form of the genitival adjective is usually considered to be *-ašša-*, with the forms in *-i-* the result of *i*-mutation. Taking the Lycian form *-abe/i-* into account, Melchert (1994:77) reconstructs PA **-eh₂so-*.²⁴ Now that Yakubovich has shown that

¹⁷KUB 43.54 i 17' adds *a-ši*.

¹⁸In KUB 43.53 i 18' *a-a-an-da-aš-ša-an* is preceded by *nu*.

¹⁹KUB 43.53 i 18': TI-*wa-an-za-aš-ši-iš*.

²⁰KUB 43.54 i 16'–17' therefore translates as: "O Sungod of the gods, I hereby give **that one** to the gods, that is, Our Sun Labarna. I give **that one** to the gods, I give his equivalent."

²¹See Goedegebuure 2002:4 with n. 13.

²²Hawkins 2000:479; Melchert 2003:187; Ploechl 2003:63, 64, 69, 70.

²³Georgiev (1967:164) already connected the Iron Age Luvian genitive */-assi/* (his *-asa*) with the possessive adjective */-assa/i-* (his *-asa-*), and derived the former from PIE **-o-syo* (1967:161, 164).

²⁴Also see Bader 1991:137 for Luvian *-ašši/a-* from **-eh₂-si/o-*.

the genitival adjective is based on the genitive *-ašši* we still might take **-eh₂si* instead of **-eh₂so-* as the preform of Luvian *-ašši* (and Lycian *-abhi-*), although this would never lead to Hittite *ašši*.²⁵ The Hittite form should reflect **ósi*, itself considered an irregular apocope of **-ósyo*.²⁶ A genitive **-ósi* in turn does not lead, for example, to the Luvian demonstrative genitives /abassi/ and /t^sassi/. Given that **-eh₂si* cannot possibly be a Luvic innovation but has to be Proto-Anatolian, **ósi* must be a pre-Hittite innovation.

Still, PANat. **-eh₂si* remains problematic. Both Kloekhorst (2008:216) and Yakubovich (2008:194–5) adduce important evidence against the Proto-Anatolian assimilation rule **-h₂s- > -ss-*, and both favor derivation from the well-known Proto-Indo-European thematic genitive **-asyo*. Kloekhorst (2008:216) derives Hittite *-ašša-* (and therefore, I suppose, also Luvian *-ašša-*) from **-asyo* through a different assimilation rule **-sy- > -ss-*, but since we now need to explain Luvian *-ašši* instead of *-ašša-*, the disappearance of *-y-* is not very helpful. Yakubovich (2008:211) extends to Luvian the Hittite rule that PANat. **/s/* geminates as the first member of a heterosyllabic consonant cluster (Melchert 1994:150–2). Thus, PANat. **/-ósyo/* became Luvian **/-a:s.sya/*, and after apocope /a:šsi/ (Yakubovich 2008:211). The same process must then also have been at work in pre-Hittite, resulting in ***/a:ssi/* (later replaced by /a:si/).

My objection against this development is that we now not only need the gemination of PANat. **/s/* in both Hittite and Luvian, but also an otherwise unattested apocope in both languages. Given its non-trivial nature this apocope should not have occurred independently in each language, so the only explanation is change through prehistoric contact, with the direction of interference unknown. An alternative is to place the whole development of gemination and apocope in Proto-Anatolian. Given these new complications caused by the new Hittite genitive *ašši*, I now prefer another, much simpler reconstruction.

According to me /t^sassi/ and /abassi/ are the regular reflexes of PANat. **kési* and **ob^hési* (by “Cop’s Law”). As is clear from Hittite *-ēl < *-ē-lo-*, *-ēdi < *-ē-d^hi* and *-ēd < *-ē-d*, the oblique pronominal stem is *-é-* (short accented *e*), and this is what I expect for the oldest reconstructable pronominal genitive in Hittite as well: instead of **-ósi* I assume **-ési*. Of course this does not explain the earliest attested Hittite demonstrative genitive *ašši*, but neither does any of the other reconstructions. This form must be a Proto-Hittite innovation, whether it replaces **ašši < *osyo* (Yakubovich) / **eh₂si* (Bader, Melchert), or **éši < *ési* (Goedegebuure).

4. Proto-Anatolian demonstratives with deictic *-i*. PANat. **-ési* could be the reflex of PIE **-é-syo*, with **-é-* as the oblique stem vowel and **-syo* as the pronominal genitive ending,²⁷ but there is an alternative for the final *-i*. We do not need to arrive at our form through the apocope which, as everyone acknowledges, is otherwise not attested

²⁵PA **-eh₂si > Hitt. -abši*, or *-ašši* if one follows Melchert 1994:77, but not *-ašši*.

²⁶Melchert forthcoming; Szemerényi 1999:184.

²⁷Szemerényi 1999:207–9; Meier-Brügger 2000:213.

in Anatolian. It is equally possible to treat PIE **-syo*²⁸ as an innovation in Proto-Indo-European Proper after the Anatolian group branched off, and reconstruct PANat. **-s*.

If we reconstruct a PANat. pronominal genitive **-s*, a different solution is readily available in the reconstruction of the PANat. genitives **kési* and **ob^hési* as **kés-i* and **ob^hés-i* with the deictic *-i* that is also found in the paradigm of Hittite *aši* + (see figure 1) and Cuneiform Luvian **āšši*.²⁹ We only need to show that not only *aši* + **āšši* + but also at least some of the other Proto-Anatolian demonstratives were once attested with deictic *-i*.

According to the dictionaries and grammars Hittite *kā-* and *apā-* are not attested with deictic *-i*, but in fact we do have one instance of a reinforced demonstrative:

(4) VBoT 58 obv. 34–5 (OH/NS myth, CTH 323)

(“[Go,] call Gulsu (and) Hannahanna! If the other deities (lit. *they*) have died, [then th]ese too have certainly died! Did Frost even [come] to *their* gates?”)

[*h*]a-ab-*hi*-ma-s[*a* ^dI]M-ni te-ez-zi ku-u-s[*i*]³⁰-wa pé-iš-ša-at-ti³¹ (35) [*ku-it* (?)]
nu-wa *hu-u-ma-an-te-eš a-ki-ir*

[But Fr]ost says to the [S]torm-god: “[Why (?)] do you keep sending these (gods)? They all have died!”

Within this context it is worthwhile to reconsider the etymology of the adverbial intensifier *apašila* ‘himself, herself, on one’s own, personally’. Friedrich and Kammenhuber (1975:165, with references) and Hoffner and Melchert (2008:132, 143) analyze *apašila* as the nominative sg. *apaš* followed by the suffix *-il(a)*, only attested with the personal pronouns. But we might consider this form as a genitive *apaši* followed by *-la* in adverbial use. This requires that *apašila* be a hypostasis of the adjective **apašila-*,

²⁸The PIE pronominal genitive ending **-syo* is often assumed to be based on an earlier **-s* through addition of the relative pronoun **-yo* (see for example Szemerényi 1999:209), or *-i-e/o* (Shields 1991:58, 2005:234).

²⁹Melchert (2009:152) has shown that Cuneiform Luvian had far-deictic **āšši*, only attested in *āššiwant(i)* ‘poor’ and *āššiwantattar* ‘poverty’. Although Hitt. *aši* points to pre-Hitt. **ōsi*, Luv. **āšši* can only continue **ési* (“Čop’s Law”). The latter reconstruction is also necessary for the Lydian near-deictic demonstrative *eš* ‘this’ < **ési*. According to Kloekhorst (2008:220–1), the *o*-vocalism of Hitt. *aši* + is a pre-Hittite innovation.

³⁰Pecchioli Daddi (1990:66), Hoffner (1998:28), and Mazoyer (2003:179) all take *ku-u-ši* as the 2nd pers.sg.prs. of *kuen-* ‘kill’. First, this requires the unwarranted emendation of *ku-u-ši* to *ku-e¹-ši*, and in addition, the order of events ‘you kill, you cast away’ is not supported by the context. All the Storm-god does is send out deities to find the vanished Sun-god, and as a result of their mission into the frozen lands they all are frozen themselves (caught by Frost). He never kills them personally.

³¹This verb form is usually taken as an (aberrant) 2nd pers.sg.prs. (*-hi* conjugation) of the *-mi* verb *peššiya-* ‘reject, neglect, cast away’. But we can also analyze it as a combination of the preverb *pe-* ‘away, thither’ and *iššatti*, formally the 2nd pers.sg.prs. imperfect of *iye/a-* ‘do, make’. We see here proof of the etymological connection between *iye/a-* ‘do, make’ and **ye-* ‘send’, found in *peye-* ‘send away’ and connected with Lat. *tēcī* (Kloekhorst 2008:664). Kloekhorst’s main argument against connecting the two is that according to him the oldest forms for the first person singular of *iye/a-* should have been *yemi* and **yemun* (compare *peyemi* and *peyemun*) instead of *iyami* and *īyanun* (2008:381–2), if the two were connected. But we do have OS *yemi* (*i-e-mi*), and the earliest form for the past tense is MH/MS *īyanun*, at a time therefore when the *iya-* stem is firmly gaining ground on the *ye-* stem. It is very well possible then that MH/MS *īyanun* replaces OH **yemun*. To conclude, just as *išša-* and *eške-/iške-* coexist as imperfective forms of *iya/e-*, I propose that also *peišša-* and *peške-/peiške-* coexist as imperfective forms of *peye-*.

with grammaticalized ellipsis of its head noun.³² Following a suggestion of Kammenhuber (1965:206 n. 100) that *apašila* may be compared with Akk. *ramānu* = Hitt. *tuekka-* ‘body’³³ (pl. ‘body parts, limbs’), one could imagine on original construction **apaši tuekka-* (pl.) + poss.encl. ‘his/her body parts, limbs’. When the derivational morpheme *-la-* became productive as a possessive marker, **apaši tuekka-* + poss.encl. became **apašila- tuekka-* + poss.encl. A sentence like “She raised them (using) her own limbs = personally” (in Dutch one can say *eigenhandig* ‘with one’s own hands’) would then have required the appositional phrase **apašila tuekka-ššet*³⁴ in adverbial use.³⁵ Because the phrase “using one’s own body parts, limbs” would have been a standard expression, it would have been prone to grammaticalized ellipsis of the head noun, exactly as happened with English “on one’s own” < Middle English *on ouen hēd* (= head).

Even though *apašila* was already fully grammaticalized in OH, there is one instance in Hittite of an almost identical construction intensifying the actions of the subject, with *apel* instead of **apaši*:

- (5) KBo 32.14 ii 1–2 (MH/MS, CTH 789), ed. Neu 1996:75³⁶

a-li-^rya^r-n[a-an-]za a-pé-el tu-e-eg-ga-aš³⁷[-šē-et] HUR.SAG-aš a-wa-an ar-ḫa šu-ú-e-et

A mountain personally pushed off a deer from himself (-za).

The use of the “original” construction preceding HUR.SAG-*aš* instead of *apašila* following it is probably triggered by the original Hurrian phrase.³⁸

Since adverbial constructions and adverbs like *apašila* only modify the actions of the subject, another solution is needed to express ‘-self, -selves, in person’ in the remaining syntactic roles. Not surprisingly, we find the same construction that once gave rise to *apašila*, the genitive personal pronoun followed by *tuekka-* and possessive

³² For a discussion of hypostasis as a case of synchronic head-noun ellipsis in possessive noun phrases with case attraction, see Yakubovich 2006.

³³ For this equation see the lexical list KBo 1.51 rev. 11, Akk. [RA-MA-]NU = Hitt. *t[u]-e-kán*.

³⁴ Collective/neuter nom.pl. For *tuekka-* vacillating between common and neuter gender see Kloekhorst 2008:885.

³⁵ For appositions with adverbial function see Hoffner and Melchert 2008:236f.

³⁶ Translating differently: “Einen Rehbock vertrieb ein Berg von seinem Körper.”

³⁷ This sign is usually interpreted as *-a[z-* (Neu 1996:75) and *tuēgga[z ...]* therefore as an ablative, mainly because the morpheme *-ne-* in the Hurrian original *i-te[...]-ne-éš* is understood as an ablative (Neu 1996:100). There are however four arguments against the ablative *tuēgga[z ...]*: 1) the hand copy only shows one horizontal instead of the two that are expected for AZ, leaving no other option but to read AŠ; 2) pushing an object off from an object or a location in the ablative requires either *-kan* or *-ašta*, so the absence of a sentence particle makes the presence of an ablative highly unlikely; 3) the particle *-za* is sufficient to express removal from oneself; and 4) originally the full grade (*tuekka-*) was only found in the direct cases, whereas the zero-grade occurred especially in the genitive and ablative (Kloekhorst 2008:885). The “loss” of the ablative of course has consequences not only for the Hittite translation, but also for our understanding of the matching Hurrian phrase *i-te[...]-ne-éš* (= *apel tuēggaš[-šēt]*). Limitations of space prevent me from elaborating my views, but I reject *i-te[-e]^r-i^r-ne-éš* = *idē-ṣ-ne-š* (body-his-ABL-ERG) ‘from his body’ (Neu 1996:100) in favor of *i-ti₇[-i]n-ne-éš* = *idi=n(i)=ne-š* (body-adj.-rlt.sg.-ERG) ‘bodily > personally’.

³⁸ Neu 1996:418.

clitic in the appropriate case: [(šume)]nzan [tuē(ggaš-šmas)]³⁹ ‘to your (pl.) own bodies > to you yourselves’ (MH/MS, KBo 32.24 ii 8’–9’, w. dupl. KBo 32.27 r.col. 2’–3’, cf. KBo 32.29 r.col. 3’ and par. KBo 32.19 ii 22–23, iii 48’ šumās tuēggaš-šmas).

With the partitive apposition, the post-Old Hittite replacement of the Old Hittite split genitive construction,⁴⁰ we find *nu-wa-kan* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš *kuwapi haš’šik’izzi* [nu-wa apiya² DI]NGIR^{MEŠ}-uš *tuikkuš anda arnuud[d]u* ‘Where he will pass judgment on the gods, [there²] he must bring together the gods themselves/in person’ (MS, KUB 36.55 ii 21’–22’⁴¹) and [nu-w]a² m*Madduwatta tuēkkuš anda mekki arḫun* ‘I have often met with Madduwatta himself/in person’ (MH/MS, KUB 14.1 obv. 82).

With its syntactically motivated restriction to intensifying the subject only, *apašila* was open to reinterpretation after knowledge of the original formation as adjectivized genitive was lost. Similar to the reinterpretation of the genitive *aši* in KUB 43.54 i 16’, 17’ (see above) as accusative in agreement with the productive pattern of its era, *apašila* could only be understood as a singular nominative *apaš* with a new derivational morpheme *-ila*. Thus we start finding *ukila* ‘I myself’, *zikila* ‘you yourself’ and *šumešila* ‘you yourselves’, starting with Middle Hittite compositions.⁴²

Deictic *-i* is also still visible in the Palaic independent demonstratives, with the exception of *kāt*,⁴³ neuter nom.-acc.sg. of *kā-* in the phrase *kāt-kuwāt kuit* ‘What is this anyhow?’ (KUB 32.18 i 8’).⁴⁴ Otherwise we find the accusatives *gān-i* ‘this’, *apan-i* ‘that/him’ in KUB 35.165 rev. 9’ and obv. 25, respectively. Not surprisingly, enclitic *-ka-/-a-*⁴⁵ and *-apa-*⁴⁶ are always attested without deictic *-i*.

Formally Pal. *gāni* can be compared with Luv. *zāni* ‘this’ (Melchert 1984:35, 1993:277), but not with Hitt. *kāni* ‘here’. Assuming that *gāni* indeed represents **gān + i*, Hitt. *kāni* has to be excluded because it is *not* an extended version of adverbial *kān*⁴⁷ ‘thus’ (pace Puhvel 1997:47, Kloekhorst 2008:425). The latter is only attested as a by-form of the accusative singular *kūn*.⁴⁸ The place adverb *kāni* rather continues the combination **kī-óni* > **kyóni* > **kóni* > *kāni*,⁴⁹ with **óni* > *ani* as the dative-locative

³⁹Of course *tuēkka-* in the split genitive construction could still be taken literally, as in [*k*]āša-wa *ammēl tuēggaš-miš ānta* ‘[M]e here, my limbs are hot’ (VBoT 58 obv. 24). For *kāša* as ‘me here’, see Ricken 2009.

⁴⁰Garrett 1998.

⁴¹See also Archi 2002:4, 7–8.

⁴²*ú-ki-la* in KBo 16.97 obv. 2 (MH/MS oracle), *zi-ki-la* in KUB 17.10 i 31 (OH?-MH?/MS myth), *šu-me-ši-la* in HKM 42 lower edge 5’ (MH/MS letter).

⁴³The neuter *kāt* is analogical after **apāt* (Melchert 1984:30 n. 10), which itself must be a Proto-Anatolian innovation **ob’ód* (after **k’w’id?*) replacing original **ob’úni*. The latter is only attested in Hitt. *apēni*(?) (see Table 1) and *apini*(-ššan), but reflexes of **ob’ód* are found in Hitt. *apāt* and Luv. *apa*.

⁴⁴Melchert 1984:28.

⁴⁵For the discovery of enclitic post-vocalic *-ka-* and its post-consonantal variant *-a-* see Melchert 1984:29–30.

⁴⁶See Melchert 2009:152.

⁴⁷The sequence *ka-a-na-at* in KUB 41.23 ii 20’ has to be emended to *ka-a UD’-at* (Goedegebuure 2003:207f. n. 230).

⁴⁸In KUB 33.93 + 95 + 36.7b iv 18’ with duplicate KUB 33.92 iii 5’, and KUB 46.37 obv. 45’. Two attestations of *ka-a-an* without context are KBo 18.127 rev. 5’ and KUB 16.11:7.

⁴⁹As a proclitic **kī* is probably treated in the same way as *nu*, where the *-u-* is maintained before consonants but elided before vowels (**nu-ús* > **nwús* > *naš*, Kloekhorst 2008:608).

singular of the obsolete near-deictic demonstrative *ana-* ‘this’.⁵⁰ It is thus similar in formation to *kinum* ‘now’ < **kī-num*.⁵¹ Luv. *zāni* is attested in KUB 35.107 iii 8’–9’ (MH/MS myth, CTH 764):

(6) (The gods vomited three times.)

§ (8’) ^dUTU-*wa-az* ^dKam-ru-*še-pa-i da-u-e-ya-an ma-am-ma[-an-na-at-ta]* (9’)
za-a-ni-wa ku-wa-ti ^dKam-ru-*še-pa a-wa ku-wa-ti na-a[-wa]* §

§ Tiwat look[ed] towards Kamrusepa. “Why (is) **this** (*zāni*), Kamrusepa? Why don[’t . . .]?”

Although *zāni* is clearly a neuter, referring to an event in the speech setting, the formation is unclear. Is it a neuter singular *zā* ‘this’ that is extended with an unclear deictic *-ni*, or does it consist of an original neuter **zān* with deictic *-i* (< *kóm-i*?) similar to the Hittite neuters *kīni*, *ini* < PANat. **kīm-i*, **īm-i*? I consider both options problematic, but tend towards the latter.

To return to the point of departure for the discussion of demonstratives with deictic *-i*, the Proto-Anatolian pronominal gen.sg. **-és-i*, we may indeed analyze it as **-é-s-i*, that is, the oblique stem *-e-*, followed by the genitive *-s* and the deictic particle *-i*.

5. Conclusion. Hitt. *apaši(-la)* ‘himself’, *kūši* ‘these (acc.pl.)’, the Palaic singular accusatives *gāni* ‘this’ and *apani* ‘that’, and possibly Luvian *zāni* ‘this’ prove that not only *aši+* but probably most or all Proto-Anatolian demonstratives could take deictic *-i*. As in Greek, the core function of deictic *-i* in Proto-Anatolian is *emphasis*: the little evidence we have is enough to show a distribution between unemphatic demonstratives without *-i* and emphatic ones with *-i*.

Pal. *gān-i* and *apan-i* are not only independent pronouns but also occur in clause-initial position, whereas the forms without *-i* are cliticized to their head nouns or to the clause-initial clitic chain, i.e. they are phonologically dependent.

The PANat. distribution of emphatic versus non-emphatic forms led to a different outcome in Hittite and Luvian. The one example of *kūši* in Hittite is indeed found in clause-initial position, but this is not the case for neuter *kīni*. Also, the demonstratives without *-i* never developed into clitics. Since fronting will typically do to mark a constituent as emphatic, the emphatic deixis of *-i* became redundant and disappeared almost completely in Old Hittite, with the exception of *kīni*, which is attested until Middle Hittite (Goedegebuure 2007:312). More evidence for the emphatic nature of *-i* is its survival in the highly emphatic adverb *apaš-i-la*, based on the genitive **apaš*. In less emphatic contexts the genitive **apaš* was replaced already in pre-Hittite by newly created *apēl*.

For Luvian we possibly have *zān-i* in clause-initial position as an emphatic form, but the genitives *zašši* < **kés-i* and *apašši* < **ob^hés-i* do not occur in particularly emphatic contexts. The survival of only these forms at the expense of **zaš* and **apaš* may have

⁵⁰For *ana-* see most recently Melchert 2009:151.

⁵¹Hittite proclitic *hi-* continues the reinforcing PIE particle **ke* that is also attested in Lat. *nun-c* ‘now’ (Kloekhorst 2008:491), *hi-c* ‘this’ and Gk. *κεῖνος* ‘that’ < **ke-enos* (Melchert 2009:155 n. 7).

been prompted by the part they played in the formation of the possessive adjective (Yakubovich 2008:211).

I suggest that the development of the Proto-Anatolian neutral demonstrative *é-⁵² with and without *-i* is somewhat similar to what happened to Pal. *kā-* and *apā-*. Initially unemphatic deictic *é- could freely be turned into emphatic deictic *é- + *-i*, but then unemphatic deictic *é- lost its deictic feature. It developed into the independent third person pronoun *é-, with further grammaticalization into enclitic **-o-*, leaving the emphatic demonstrative *é- + *-i* as the only neutral deictic. This must have led to the loss of the emphatic feature of *é- + *-i*, at which point the *-i*, robbed of its function, merged with the endings to form PANat. *é*si* +, witness Hitt. *aš*i** +, Luv. *āšš*i* + and secondarily inflected Lyd. *eš-*.

Since PANat. *é*si* + now only contrasted with the demonstratives *kó/i/é- and *obhó/é-, and no longer with a non-deictic pronoun, it acquired its non-neutral semantics. It became distal in Hittite and Luvian where we find the reflexes of *kó/i/é- and *obhó/é-, but proximal in Lydian and Palaic. After the loss of *kó/i/é- in Proto-Lydian but with retention of secondarily inflected non-proximal *os-*, reflex of PLYd. *ó*msi* - < PANat. *ó*m-s-i*, *é*si* + entered the empty proximal slot. In Palaic, *a-* without *-i* is only attested as the post-consonantal part of the enclitic proximal demonstrative *-a/-ka-*. No such distribution would be possible between independent proximal *aš*i** + and *kaš*i** +, and I therefore assume the loss of Pal. *aš*i** +.

I conclude with an updated paradigm of the only demonstrative that fully preserved deictic-emphatic *-i*:

	Hittite	Proto-Hittite
nom.sg.comm.	<i>aš<i>i</i></i>	*ó <i>s-i</i>
acc.sg.comm.	<i>uni</i>	*ó <i>m-i</i>
nom.-acc.sg.neut.	<i>ini</i>	*i <i>m-i</i>
gen.sg.	<i>aš<i>i</i></i>	*ó <i>s-i</i>
dat.-loc.sg.	<i>edi</i>	*é <i>d^hi-i</i>
abl.	<i>edi</i>	*é <i>d-i</i>

Table 2: paradigm of singular forms of *aš*i** +

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⁵²Unlike near-deictic PIE *k^hé/ó-, Proto-Anatolian *é- started out either as a third person anaphoric pronoun or as a non-contrastive or distance-neutral demonstrative (Melchert 2009:155, 156 n. 9).

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