

MORPHOLOGY AND
LANGUAGE HISTORY
IN HONOUR OF HAROLD KOCH

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JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
AMSTERDAM/PHILADELPHIA



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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Morphology and language history : in honour of Harold Koch / edited by Claire Bovern, Bethwyn Evans, Luisa Miceli.

p. cm. -- (Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science. Series IV, Current issues in linguistic theory, ISSN 0304-0763 ; v. 298)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Grammar, Comparative and general--Morphology. 2. Historical linguistics. I. Koch, Harold James. II. Bovern, Claire, 1977- III. Evans, Bethwyn. IV. Miceli, Luisa.

P241.M6525 2008

415--dc22

2008019102

ISBN 978 90 272 4814 5 (Hb; alk. paper)

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John Benjamins Publishing Co. • P.O.Box 36224 • 1020 ME Amsterdam • The Netherlands

John Benjamins North America • P.O.Box 27519 • Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 • USA

HITTITE DUWĀN (PARĀ)

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I am pleased to offer the following lines in tribute to Harold Koch, with fond memories of the times shared in Room B of Widener Library at Harvard when we began graduate study of historical linguistics together nearly four decades ago.¹

The Hittite adverb *duwān* in those rare instances where it occurs alone is generally interpreted as 'hither' (Beckman 1996:157, Tischler 2001:182, Rieken 1999:69), and the equally rare combination *duwān parā* as 'hitherto, heretofore' (Friedrich 1952:231, Güterbock & Hoffner 1995:128-129 and Tischler loc. cit.). The far more frequently attested correlative *duwān...duwān* is typically glossed as 'hither and thither' (both Friedrich and Tischler, loc. cit.).

Nevertheless, the most popular etymology for *duwān* is that which derives it from PIE **dweh₂m* (*[*dwām*] by 'Stang's Law' as discussed below) and sees it as forming a direct word equation with Grk. *δήν* 'for a long time, long ago': see Tischler 1994:491-492 with references to Pisani, Schindler and others. The adverb *duwān* is further analyzed as a fossilised accusative singular of a root noun also seen in Hittite *tūwa* '(a)far' and *tūwaz* 'from afar' (see e.g. Melchert 1984:30, following Schindler, and Rieken 1999:70). For correlated *duwān...duwān* there is a competing etymology based on PIE **two-...two-* 'the one...the other' (Benveniste 1962:84-85), but see the serious reservations of Cardona (1987:5).²

Neither etymology explains the assigned synchronic meaning 'hither' for *duwān* alone. Furthermore, correlated *duwān...duwān* means simply 'in one direction...in the other' (Hoffner 1997:133). There is no evidence that in the correlated instances the first direction is near-deictic, indicating motion towards the speaker. It is thus far from clear that single *duwān* and correlated *duwān...duwān* are related. Finally, *duwān (parā)* should mean 'for a long time; long ago' by the first etymology. In what follows I will address these discrepancies as well as briefly review the formal problems of deriving Hittite *tūwa* and *tūwaz* from the same prehistoric paradigm as *duwān*, which have never been fully acknowledged.

I begin with the combination *duwān parā*. The overall usage of Hittite *parā* is compatible with either 'heretofore' or 'long ago, for a long time' for *duwān parā*.

¹ I presented a preliminary oral version of this analysis at the Twenty-Fifth East Coast Indo-European Conference at The Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, June 21, 2006. I am grateful to members of that audience, in particular to Jay Jasanoff, for helpful critical remarks. I, of course, remain solely responsible for the views expressed here.

² Tischler (1994:492) is wrong in implying that Cardona uncritically endorsed Benveniste's comparison.

In both cases *parā* would mean 'before (in time), previously', for which one may compare *parā ḥand(ā)ātar* '(divine) providence' (actually '(divine) pre-ordination, preparation', as per Puhvel 1991:105 contra Güterbock & Hoffner 1995:130) and *pēran parā* 'previously, beforehand', with renewal by addition of the synchronic adverb for 'before'. Compare also *pēran parā UD.KAM-an* 'the day before' (thus contra Güterbock and Hoffner 1997:303).

The contexts of two of the attested instances of *duwān parā* also permit either 'heretofore' or 'long ago, for a long time'. The first is found in an oracular inquiry (KUB 5.1 iii 53-54, NH/NS):³ *BAD-an=ma=mu=za dU URUNerik SAG.DU DINGIR-LIM-iš duwān parā GIM-an SAG.KI-za ḥarta kinuna=ya QATAMMA kēdani=za=kan LÍL-ri kuwatan imma kuwatan neyahḥari nu=mu pean ḥūiyaši* 'If you, Storm-god of Nerik, are my personal deity, as you (have) protected (me) for a long time/heretofore, will it now also be likewise? Wherever I turn on this campaign, will you run ahead of me?'

The second appears in a prayer of Muršili II regarding the plague (KUB 14.14 Ro 37-39, NH/NS). I give in parentheses a translation of several preceding clauses in order to make clear the overall context: ('The land of Hatti prospered...You gods have now proceeded subsequently to take vengeance on my father for that affair of Tuthaliya the Younger. My father [-ed] on account of the blood of Tuthaliya. Whatever princes, lords, commanders, officers went over to the side of [my father] died from [that] affair. That same affair also reached the land of Hatti, and the land [of Hatti] began to die because of [that] affair.') *nu KUR URUGIDRU-ti duwān par[ā] kinun=a ḥinkan parā namma da[šše]šta KUR URUGIDRU!-ti ḥinganaz [mekki?] dammešḥaittat* 'The land of Hatti [(has) -ed] for a long time/heretofore, but now the plague has become even worse. The land of Hatti has been [much] oppressed by the plague.'⁴

The decisive third example of *duwān parā* again comes from an oracular inquiry (KBo 2.2 iii 19-27, NH/NS): ('If you alone, Sun-goddess of Arinna, are angry because of the vows (made to obtain) offspring, and in addition no other deity is joined with you, let the signs be favorable: ...unfavorable. § Seeing that this was the outcome,') *[DIN]GIR-LUM kuit duwan parā [š]allakartan ḥarkun nu=z[a DINGIR-L]UM apaddan šer kartimmiyauwanza nu TE. MEŠ NU.SIG₅-du G^{IS}ŠÚ.A¹ GÜB-an*

³ My textual citations follow the conventions of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary. The sigla OH, MH, and NH (Old Hittite, Middle Hittite, and New Hittite respectively), refer to the date of the composition of the texts, while OS, MS, and NS (Old Script, Middle Script, and New Script) indicate the relative age of the manuscripts. For the various text editions see Laroche (1976) or visit the online Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte created by Silvin Košak: <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk>.

⁴ Likewise indeterminate is KUB 6.9+ i 12-13 (restored with Van den Hout 1998:16): *[ANA dUTU-Š]I=kan kuit LUGAL-ueznanni a[šātar duwān] parā arḥa zalukišta* 'As to the fact that [for his Maje]sty the a[ccession] to kingship has been heretofore/for a long time postponed.' We may safely assume that the important enthronement ritual usually took place soon after the de facto assumption of the kingship, so that a delay in the ceremony from one year to the next (see van den Hout 1981:279-283 and 1998:85-88) could well have been regarded by the king and his advisors as 'for a long time'.

NU.SIG₅ § *mān=za DINGIR-LUM apaddan=pat šer kartimiyauwanza duwan=ta kuit parā šallakartan ḫarkun...* 'Because I had offended the deity through hubris long ago, are you the deity angry on that account? Let the signs be unfavorable. The throne is (on the) left: unfavorable. If you the deity are angry only on that account, because I had offended you through hubris long ago...'.⁵

Güterbock and Hoffner (1995:129) translated the clauses with *duwan parā* as 'Because I [o]ffended the [dei]ty heretofore...because I have offended you heretofore.' In so doing, they overlooked the past tense of the auxiliary verb *ḫark-*. Hittite is quite strict in its use of tense in the analytic perfect construction with the verbs *ḫark-* 'to have, hold' and *ēš-* 'to be' plus the past participle. It without exception employs present tense of the auxiliary for the present perfect and the preterite for the past perfect (see Hoffner & Melchert forthcoming §§22.22-23). Since the use of 'heretofore' implies that a past action is described with reference to the present time, it is only compatible with a present perfect, for which we would expect *šallakartan ḫarmi* 'I have offended' with present tense of the auxiliary. The use of the preterite *ḫarkun* shows that the action of the clause is being described with reference to another past action, and the preceding context makes it clear what that other action was: namely, the vows made to the Sun-goddess to obtain offspring. Having learned that the latter action is one cause of divine anger, the inquiry next asks whether it is the only one. Informed that it is not, the inquiry then proceeds to investigate other possible earlier causes. That one of them might be characterised as having happened 'long ago' is entirely reasonable. The interpretation 'for a long time, long ago' thus seems justified for the combination *duwān parā*.

Evidence for *duwān* alone is limited to four assured examples. The first occurs in a text of Muršili II regarding arbitration of disputes in Syria (KBo 3.3 iii 29-33, NH/NS): ('But if there is some legal dispute, let the Priest intervene in disputes among you, and let him investigate the disputes for you.') *mān DINU=ma kuitki šallešzi n=at arḫa ēppūwanzi ŪL taraḫteni n=at=kan duwān MAḪAR ḏUTU-ŠI parā naišten n=at ḏUTU-ŠI arḫa ēpzi* 'But if some legal dispute becomes too big, and you cannot dispose of it, send it *duwān* before His Majesty, and His Majesty will dispose of it.' Beckman (1996:157) translates *duwān* as 'here', following the conventional interpretation. The context obviously is consistent with such a sense, but by no means imposes it. One wonders why such a specification of place or direction is needed, since the location of the Hittite king is hardly in doubt. We might also expect the normal word for 'here, hither' in Hittite, which is *kā*, though obviously the existence of another term for this notion is possible.

The other three previously overlooked examples of *duwān* alone provide us with the crucial evidence to determine its true meaning. All of these appear in a

⁵ The incident is referred to again several lines later in KBo 2.2 iv 2-4, also with the past tense of the auxiliary: *DINGIR-LUM=ya kuit duwan parā šallakartan ḫarkun nu apaddann=a šer SISKUR SUM-anzi* 'And also because I had offended the deity through hubris long ago, will they also give an offering on that account?'

single text, one of the Middle Hittite Maṣat letters. The first two occur in the same passage and must be treated together, with the preceding and intervening context (HKM 66: 23-25 & 31-32, MH/MS): ('Also the servant of Saparta whom I sent to the Gasga country (with the words): 'Let him proceed to find the son of Saparta!') *n=aš [m]ān k[a]rū pānza n=an=m[u]=kan duwān parā nai* 'If he has/is already gone, send him to me *duwān*.' ('If he hasn't gone yet, write to Lullu and Zuwana. Let one take three Gasga men in his place. But let him go and find the son of Saparta.') *namma=as maḥḥ[a]n EGIR-pa paizzi n=an=mu=kan duwān parā nai* 'Then when he returns, send him to me *duwān*.'⁶

The third instance of *duwān* comes at the very end of the letter and deals with a completely different topic (HKM 66: LeftEdge 1-5):⁷ *nu ammuk duwān ḥ[a]treškatten ^mTahazzilinn=a kuit walḥ[e]r² nu=šši kāša L[Ú] TEMI awan arḥa uet SIG5-anza=wa=z[a nu]=šši=kan lē kuwatqa laḥlahḥiyaši* 'You (pl.) kept writing to me *duwān* that [they?] had also beaten/struck Tahazzili. A messenger has just come from him: 'I am well.' Do not worry at all about him.'⁸

The use with an imperative excludes a meaning 'long ago, for a long time' for *duwān* alone, while the fact that the addressee is ordered to send the servant *duwān* in the event that he has already gone likewise eliminates 'hither, here'. The addressee cannot reasonably be ordered to send the servant anywhere if he has already departed on his previously assigned mission. The only plausible sense I can see for *duwān* in this context is 'later, subsequently'. The addressee is to send the servant only later, after he has returned from his mission. If the man has already left, then there is nothing more to be done. If he has not yet left, the addressee is to take the opportunity before he leaves to secure three men to carry out his regular duties in his absence.

A sense 'later, subsequently' also fits the first example cited above from KBo 3.3 iii 29-33: 'But if some legal dispute becomes too big, and you cannot dispose of it, send it subsequently before His Majesty, and His Majesty will dispose of it.' The meaning 'later' will not work for the last example cited with a preterite verb, but here we may assume rather 'late(ly), (of) late': 'You (pl.) kept writing to me lately that [they?] had also beaten/struck Tahazzili. A messenger has just come from him: 'I am well.' Do not worry at all about him.'⁹ Thus Hittite *duwān*

⁶ It is crucial to note that in this passage the adverb *parā* is functioning as a preverb with the imperative verb *nai*, the combination of which means 'to send' (*nai* alone would mean 'turn!'), and thus *parā* does not form a syntagm with *duwān*. Confusion on this point long prevented me from understanding the passage correctly and may have caused others to overlook the evidence here for *duwān* alone.

⁷ Some of my readings here differ from those in the edition by Alp (1991:248).

⁸ In purely formal terms the verb *ḥ[a]treškatten* of the first clause could also be interpreted as imperative second plural: 'Keep writing to me...', but the following context argues strongly for a preterite second plural.

⁹ The adverb 'late' alone is attested well into the 19th century in English in the sense 'lately, of late'. Since Hittite has no morphological marker of the comparative, we would not expect any difference between '(of) late' and 'later'.

'late' covers the range of English 'later' and 'lately', having the former value with a present-future or imperative verb, and the latter with a preterite.

Reconciling the difference between 'late' for *duwān* alone and 'long ago, for a long time' for *duwān parā* is not difficult. One may compare Latin *sērus* 'late' which forms a direct word equation with Old Irish *sír* 'long(-lasting)' and Welsh *hir* 'long' (spatial and temporal) < PIE *seh₁-ro-. For the Hittite I assume preservation of an older meaning 'long' (of time) in the fixed phrase *duwān parā* (note again the Greek cognate *δῆν*) and a shift to 'late(r)' in simple *duwān*.

The attested meaning of the well documented correlated pair *duwān...duwān* clearly is 'in one direction...in the other', and in some cases it appears to be equivalent to *kēt...kētt=a* 'to/on the one side ...to/on the other side'. The latter sense is typical in ritual contexts, as in the following (KBo 26 Ro 23-24, OH/OS):¹⁰ [] *p]ēdi=šmi=pat tuwān 1-ŠU waḥanzi LÚ.MEŠ ALAM.ZÚ[...š...tuw]ānn=a 1-ŠU waḥanz[i]* 'The [] turn once in place in one direction. The 'performers' [] turn once in the other direction.' The cited example with its specification of 'in place' makes it clear that the synchronic sense of correlated *duwān ...duwān* contains no inherent element of distance.

However, some examples do incorporate the notion of movement across a distance. I cite first a famous example from the Hittite Laws (KBo 6.26 i 35-38, OH/NS): ('If someone sows seed upon (another's) seed, his neck shall ascend the plow.') [1+]1 *ŠIMDI GU₄.ḪI.A turiyanzi kēl mene=ššit duwān kēll=a mene=ššit duwān nēyanzi LÚ-eš aki GU₄.ḪI.A=ya akkanzi* 'They shall hitch up two teams of oxen. They shall turn the face of one in one direction and of the other in the other direction. The man shall be killed, and the oxen shall be killed.' While the text does not spell out the gory details, it is clear that the oxen are to be driven far enough in opposite directions to pull apart and kill the perpetrator.

In two other instances the distances involved are specified.¹¹ The first is from a late version of the Hittite Laws (KBo 6.4 i 11-13, NH/NS): *takku ŪL=ma A.ŠĀ A.GĀR dammel pēdan duwan 3 DANNA duwann=a 3 DANNA nu=kan kuiš kuiš URU-aš anda SlxSĀ-ri...* 'But if it is not a cultivated land, but a virgin place, (they measure) three DANNA's in each direction, and whatever city is determined (to be) within (that radius)...'. The second appears in the Myth of Appu (KBo 19.108: 10, OH/NS): [...*duwān IKU-an S]UD-at duwānn=a IKU-an SUD-a[t]* '[] drew [] one IKU in one direction] and drew one IKU in the other direction.'¹²

I see no way to exclude entirely derivation of correlated *duwān... duwān* from a virtual **tweh₂m...tweh₂m* to the 'oppositional' stem **two-* à la Benveniste, thus assuming a completely different historical source for this expression from that

¹⁰ Compare also instances with *papparš-* 'to sprinkle (liquid)' in KUB 12.40 ii 7-8 (NS), with *išḫuwa-* 'to scatter, sprinkle (dry material)' in KUB 10.72 ii 23-24 (NS), and with *lāḫuwa-* 'to pour' in KUB 41.33 Ro 14 (MH/NS).

¹¹ For an estimated value of fifteen hundred meters for the Hittite DANNA and fifteen meters for the IKU see Melchert (1980). Compare also van den Hout (1990:517-521).

¹² See also the very similar example with *terippiya-* 'to plow' in KUB 13.1 iv 21 & 23 (MH/MS).

for *duwān* (*parā*).¹³ However, as already pointed out by Cardona (1987:5), there is not only no other evidence for a stem *two- in Anatolian, but also none for an accented pronominal stem *to- on which the stem *t-wo- was probably built (for this analysis see the arguments of Cardona 1987). It thus seems far more economical to suppose that the correlated use of *duwān...duwān* began in examples where the original meaning was 'for a distance... for a distance'. Reanalysis to 'in one direction...in the other direction' led to a 'semantic bleaching' whereby the expression could be used merely for 'on/to the one side...on/to the other side'.

According to this scenario, the accusative singular *dweh₂m of a PIE root noun 'distance' was used as an 'accusative of extent' both spatially and temporally. The meaning *'for a distance' is attested indirectly in Hittite correlated *duwān... duwān*, while the sense of 'for a long time, long ago' is reflected directly in Greek *δῆν* and Hittite *duwān parā*. Hittite *duwān* 'late(r), (of) late' represents a secondary development of the temporal use.

The attested usage of Hittite *duwān* therefore presents no obstacles in semantic terms to its derivation from PIE *dweh₂m and its equation with Greek *δῆν*, as widely assumed. The derivation of the Hittite also faces no formal problems, if one accepts the minor PIE synchronic rule known as 'Stang's Law', by which word-final *-eh₂m was realised as phonetic *[-ām] (see Meier-Brügger 2003:97 with references). Indeed, the extraparadigmatic status and hence likely early morphological isolation of Hittite *duwān* makes it one of the strongest pieces of evidence for this particular application of 'Stang's Law'.

The derivation of Hittite *tūwa* 'far' and *tūwaz* 'from a distance' from the same root noun paradigm as that of *duwān* is far less straightforward, despite the claims in Melchert (1984:30) and Rieken (1999:69-70). Any analysis of these forms must begin with the attested orthographic facts. The adverb *duwān* is spelled overwhelmingly with initial *tu-wa-* or *du-wa-*: *tu-wa-a-an* (12x), *tu-wa-an* (2x), *du-wa-a-an* (19x), *du-wa-an* (20x) vs. only three instances of *tu/du-u-wa-*.¹⁴ On the other hand, *tūwa* appears at least a dozen times always as *tu-u-wa*, and *tūwaz* likewise shows overwhelmingly *tu-u-(wa)-*: *tu-u-wa-az* (at least 33x), *tu-u-wa-za* (9x), *tu-u-az* (4x). In view of these figures we may safely regard the hapax *tu-az* (KUB 25.36 v 4, MS) as an error.

There can be no doubt that the pattern just described reflects a real linguistic contrast between *duwān* on the one hand and *tūwa/ tūwaz* on the

¹³ I reconstruct a virtual *tweh₂m ...tweh₂m because *twom would surely have led to Hittite *tān (see Melchert 1994:128 with references).

¹⁴ I am much indebted to Professor Theo van den Hout for sharing with me the files of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary on *duwān*, which considerably amplified my own data. The three exceptions are *du-u-wa-an* in KBo 4.4 i 38 (NH/NS), and two instances of *tu-u-wa-an* (KBo 25.3 RtCol 6', OH/OS' and KUB 23.34:5, MH/NS). The spelling with initial *tu-* is clearly the older practice, gradually replaced by *du-*, which alone is attested in New Hittite compositions. Since voiced stops are devoiced word-initially in Hittite (see Melchert 1994:18-20), the spelling of the initial stop as *tu-* or *du-* has no functional significance.

other. The claim of Rieken (1999:70) that both spellings represent [twa-] is not remotely credible. If this were the case, we would expect the distribution of *tu/du-wa-* and *tu/du-u-(wa)-* to be roughly the same in all three words. We must conclude rather that *duwān* spelled with *tu/du-wa-* does have the shape [twa:n], as we would expect from a preform *dwām, while the spelling *tu-u-(wa)-* shows that the other two must be disyllabic [tu:wa] and [tu:wats].¹⁵

How we should account for this discrepancy remains unclear. One approach is to attribute it to the effects of the PIE synchronic rule known as ‘Lindeman’s Law’.¹⁶ By this rule all monosyllabic forms of the original paradigm of the putative root noun for ‘distance’ would have had beside them disyllabic variants: nom. sg. *d(u)weh₂s, acc. sg. *d(u)weh₂m (phonetically *[d(u)wām] as per above), and arguably an endingless locative *d(u)weh₂.¹⁷ If both variants persisted into pre-Hittite, we may assume that the *dw- of the shorter variants blocked the regular dissimilation *duw- > *dum- in the longer (see Melchert 1984:23-27). If we further assume that by this stage there was no longer any unitary paradigm, but merely two isolated adverbs *d(u)wām and *d(u)wā, nothing precludes that the former generalised the monosyllabic variant and the latter the disyllabic. The latter then developed regularly into *tūwa*, and the ablative *tūwaz* was formed secondarily on the basis of the presumed endingless locative.¹⁸

If *dweh₂- ‘distance’ continued to form a unitary paradigm into the prehistory of Hittite, it seems to me ad hoc to suppose that the accusative singular generalised the monosyllabic variant *dwām, while the presumed endingless locative generalised disyllabic *duwā. There is an alternative. If we consider again the pre-Hittite paradigm of *dweh₂-, we may reasonably assume that the nominative singular *dweh₂s became pre-Hittite *twās, either by regular phonological change or by reshaping from *twahs after the accusative singular *twām from PIE *dwām. The regular outcome of the weak stem *duh₂- in Hittite would have been *tuḥḥ- (cf. *tuḥḥi-* ‘cough, gasp’ < *djuh₂-). Thus genitive singular *tuḥḥaš, dative-locative *tuḥḥi, allative *tuḥḥa, ablative *tuḥḥaz. That such an irregular paradigm would have been reshaped seems clear. The question is: just how? A complete levelling after the strong cases would certainly have been possible: hence gen. sg. *twāš, dat.-loc. *twī, and so forth. However, monosyllabic forms in the non-direct cases of a substantive

¹⁵ For further examples of initial *Cu-u-(wa)-* as a spelling for [CuwV-] see Melchert (1984:28).

¹⁶ For the PIE phenomenon known as ‘Lindeman’s Law’ see among others Meier-Brügger (2003:91) with references. For this basic approach to the problem of *tūwa* and *tūwaz* see already Melchert (1984:30), following Jochem Schindler, but without full recognition of the complications involved.

¹⁷ Since *tūwa* ‘far’ is attested in the sense of both an allative and a locative, it may plausibly be derived in functional terms from either a locative or an allative. For other Hittite adverbs in *-a* showing synchronically both functions compare *kā* ‘here, hither’ and *apiya* ‘there, thither’.

¹⁸ The apparent retraction of the accent in *tūwa* < *duwā is reminiscent of that in CLuvian *pīya-* ‘give’ or *tūwa-* ‘put, place’ (see Melchert 1994:89), however these are to be explained.

would have been highly unusual in Hittite. I submit then that a direct replacement of *tuḫḫ- by *tu- as the stem in these cases is equally plausible. The insertion of a hiatus-filling -w- would then have been entirely regular (see Melchert 1984:28-29).

A choice between the alternatives just presented depends crucially on whether or not a unitary paradigm of *dweh₂- 'distance' persisted into the prehistory of Hittite. I see at present no basis for deciding this question and thus for a reasoned choice between them.¹⁹

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¹⁹ Rieken (1999:70 with note 332) objects on phonological grounds to the alternative derivation by Eichner (1978:160⁶⁹) of *tūwa* and *tūwaz* from an adjective *duh₂-yo- (endorsed in Melchert 1994:128). Her objection may or may not be valid. For the loss of prehistoric *y in Hittite in a sequence *-Vh₂yV- one may compare present third plurals in -ānzi < *-eh₂yenti (Melchert 1994:130). On the other hand, the shape *duh₂-yo- is quite close to that of *teh₂-yé/ó- 'to steal', which does appear as Hittite *tāye-* with preserved -y-, as stressed by Rieken. In any case, reconstruction of an adjective stem *duh₂-yo- 'far, distant' just to provide the basis for the two adverbs *tūwa* and *tūwaz* seems at best uneconomical, if not ad hoc.

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