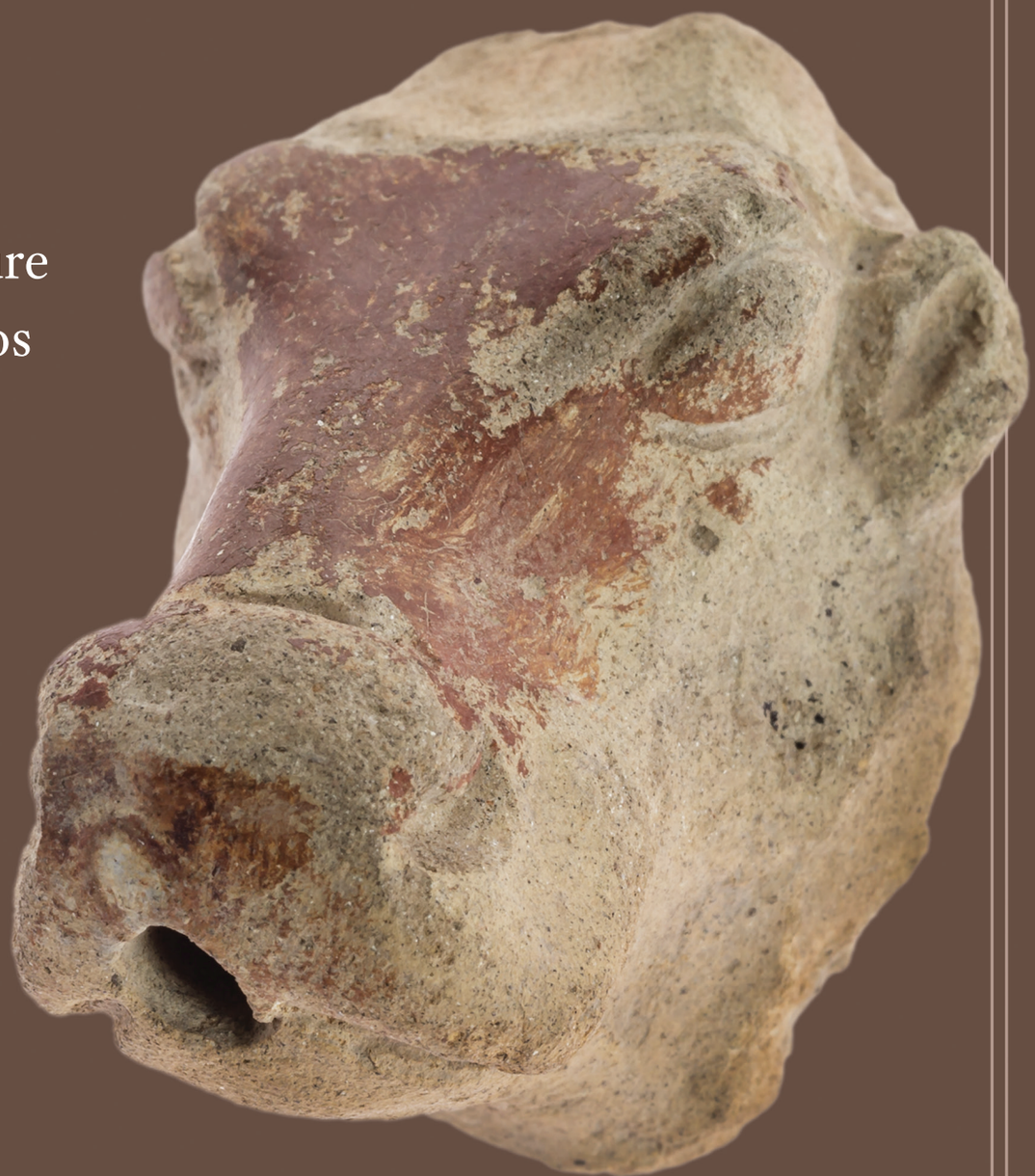
ḪATTANNAŠ

A Festschrift in Honor of Theo van den Hout

Edited by
Petra Goedegebuure
and Joost Hazenbos
with the assistance of
Emily Smith



INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT CULTURES • NUMBER 5

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CONTENTS

List of Figures vii
List of Tables ix
Introduction xi
Publications of Theo van den Hout xiii

1. Deep Structures in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and *nuntarriyašḫa-* Festivals 1
Alfonso Archi

2. How Are Unrelated Verbs Related? *tuḫḫueššar* and Its Friends and Relations 15
Richard H. Beal

3. Madduwatta's In-Law Troubles 33
Gary Beckman

4. VITA and Double Eagle in the Iconography of Hittite Seals 39
James Michael Burgin

5. Pirate Historiography and the Late Bronze Age 61
Dennis R. M. Campbell

6. Mursili II and the *Sammeltafeln* 73
Billie Jean Collins

7. Hethitische „Event" und „Result Nominals": Die Syntax der Nominalisierungen 85
Paola Cotticelli Kurras

8. The Topos of "Homer the Herald" in Greek and Latin Literature 99
Irene J. F. de Jong

9. The Undelivered ASSUR Letters: Reading /wa/ for the Hieroglyphic Luwian Sign *375 115
Martien Dillo

10. Dealing with Bestiality in Hittite Anatolia: The Interplay between Ritual and Jurisprudence 129
Amir Gilan

11. "Poldering" in Beyond-the-River: Revisiting the End of the ÇİNEKÖY Inscription 139
Petra M. Goedegebuure

12. Weil sein kann, was nicht sein darf! KBo 58.216 + KBo 7.44: Zum Problem der Bilokation einer hethitischen Tontafel 153
Detlev Groddek

13. Bemerkungen zur Fußbekleidung bei den Hethitern 163
Albertine Hagenbuchner-Dresel

14. Dative or No Dative: The Function of the Morpheme **-is* in Semitic 181
Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee

15. EMİRGAZİ 1: Current State of Reading and Interpretation 195
J. David Hawkins†

16. The Ivory Panel with a "Dancing God" from Temple 7 in Boğazköy/Hattusa Reconsidered 201
Suzanne Herbordt

17. Only an Image? *nbš, atri-*, and the Katumuwa Inscription 211
Virginia R. Herrmann

18. The Gala in Presargonic Lagaš Revisited 225
Fumi Karahashi

19. Linguistic Interpretations of the Spelling of Hittite Dative-Locative and Allative Singular Forms 235
Alwin Kloekhorst

20. Visual Rhetoric: Physical Design for Semantic Stress in the SÜDBURG Inscription 251
Robert Marineau

21. The Mediopassive in Transition from Old to New Hittite 261
H. Craig Melchert

22. Anatolian Hieroglyphic Writing: The Question of Its Origin and Development 273
Clelia Mora

23. Women in Hittite Correspondence: Some Case Studies 283
Alice Mouton

24. Horses and Chariots, Hittites and Indo-Aryans in the Studies of Annelies Kammenhuber: A Look behind the Curtain of Chariotry Research 295
Peter Raulwing

25. Hidden Pronominal Clitics in Luwian Texts 345
Elisabeth Rieken and Ilya Yakubovich

26. Rethinking the Size and Role of Ḫattuša 363
Jürgen Seeher

27. A Magical Ritual Concerning the West Anatolian Foe Kukkulli 379
Oğuz Soysal

28. The Chronological Boundaries of the Persepolis Fortification Archive 387
Matthew W. Stolper

29. The Divine Soul, the Royal Soul, and Legal Authority in Hittite Texts 417
Ada Taggar Cohen

30. A New Fragment of the Arinna Text Corpus 431
Piotr Taracha

31. The Curious Case of Walawala's Letter: An Old Assyrian Envelope in the ISAC Museum 437
Oya Topçuoğlu

32. "When the moon gives an omen": On the Ritual KUB 17.28 III 18–IV 44 and Its Composition 451
Giulia Torri

33. Eight Middle Babylonian Texts 463
Wilfred H. van Soldt†

34. From a Calm Sea to a Desolate Depth: A New Interpretation of *ku(wa)li(u) ḫunḫu(n)eššar* 489
Willemijn Waal

35. Das Kultinventar KuT 60 aus Šarišša 501
Gernot Wilhelm

36. On the Hittite Mediopassive Type *ḫandāitta* 511
Kazuhiko Yoshida

21 THE MEDIOPASSIVE IN TRANSITION FROM OLD TO NEW HITTITE

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Carrboro, North Carolina

DEDICATION

Our honorand's broad range of interests in all things Hittite includes changes in the language within the historical period. It is a great pleasure and honor to offer him in this richly deserved tribute for his innumerable contributions to Hittitology the following remarks on changes in a major grammatical category of the language.[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

Hittite inherited from Proto-Indo-European a contrast of active and mediopassive ("middle") diathesis in the finite verb, expressed formally by different inflectional endings. The formal prehistory of the mediopassive has been ably elucidated (Yoshida 1990). There is also Old Hittite evidence (see section 2 below) that Hittite inherited most, but perhaps not all, of the functions reconstructed for the Proto-Indo-European mediopassive. Leonid Kulikov has carefully documented that in the oldest Sanskrit the mediopassive undergoes what he terms "degrammaticalization" (Kulikov 2012) and has briefly summarized significant changes in diathesis elsewhere in Indo-European (Kulikov 2012, 186–87). He does not include Hittite in his survey, and what follows seeks to fill that gap. As will be clear, the Hittite mediopassive also undergoes major functional changes from Old to New Hittite.[2]

2. FUNCTIONS OF THE MEDIOPASSIVE IN OLD HITTITE

In delineating the functions of the mediopassive one must distinguish "oppositional middles," which contrast with active forms of the same verb, and *media tantum* ("deponents"), inflected only in the mediopassive.

2.1. OPPOSITIONAL MEDIOPASSIVES IN OLD HITTITE

Old Hittite shows four expected uses of the mediopassive in contrast to the active: for "direct reflexives," autocausatives, reciprocal actions, and passives/anticausatives.

1 I thank Leonid Kulikov for very helpful comments and crucial references. Responsibility for the contents naturally remains mine.

2 The following is based on a new survey of all mediopassives in three restricted corpora: Old Hittite texts in Old Script (OH/OS), assured Middle Hittite compositions in Middle Script (MH/MS), and assured New Hittite compositions (NH). I have also resurveyed all material in the still indispensable and foundational collection of Erich Neu (1968b). For the data, see http://www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/Melchert/Hittite%20Medio-Passive.htm.

We have only two attested examples of the mediopassive used alone for so-called direct reflexives—that is, transitive actions performed on one's own person. The Old Hittite composition about Naram-Sin shows two instances with *šuppiyaḫḫ-* "to purify": *īt šuppiyaḫḫut . . .* [^{m}*Nar*]*am-*^{d}SIN-*naš šuppiyaḫḫati* "Go purify yourself! . . . Naram-Sin purified himself" (KBo 3.16 iii 8, 11; OH/NS). In the Allaiturahi Ritual, there is one example of *warp-* "to wash" with a bare mediopassive: *ŠA ZUNNI witenaz warput* "Wash yourself with rainwater!" (VBoT 120 iii 7; pre-NH/NS).

We find also autocausative *nē(y)a-* "to turn (oneself)," as in *āppa=ma=aš=(s)ta nēa* "He turns back" (KBo 17.43 ii 14; OH/OS) and *ninink-* "to mobilize (oneself)" in *š=aš niniktati* "He mobilized" at KUB 23.28+ i 12 (OH/NS), expressing motions/changes of state initiated by the subject (for the type, see Geniušienė 1987, 86–89, 251–53).

Just two examples of the mediopassive alone indicate reciprocal actions, both of them in New Script copies of older compositions. The Laws §174/*59 shows *takku* LÚ.MEŠ *zaḫḫanda* "If men strike each other . . ." (NS KBo 6.26 ii 16; verb assured by OH/OS KUB 29.32:7 [*zaḫḫand*]*a*). The Song of Silver attests ŠU-*az=at=kan appant*[*at*] "They took each other by the hand" (KUB 33.115 iii 13; pre-NH/NS). On the reason for the paucity of evidence, see section 3.1.[3]

As in the oldest stages of other ancient Indo-European languages, in Old Hittite the use of the mediopassive to express the passive is rare. The expected nonexpression of the agent also raises questions in some cases as to whether a given example is a true passive or an anticausative (where no agent is necessarily presupposed—cf. Kulikov 2011, 231–32 with references), but the overall syntax can help disambiguate them. Whatever the subject noun means, *waršulaš=teš ammel katta uwaru* (KUB 36.44 i 4; OH/NS) is surely "May your *w.* be(come) visible/appear to me!" (thus with Neu 1968b, 22). This syntax is also that attested in New Hittite compositions (section 3.1.4)—compare Sanskrit *dṛśyáte* "is visible; appears" ← "is seen" (Kulikov 2011, 234–35). On the other hand, the use of *ḫalzi(y)a* with an expressed subject (^{KUŠ}NÍG.BÀR "curtain" KBo 17.19 ii 13 and ^{NINDA}*šarama* "ration-bread" KBo 20.10 ii 2, both OH/OS) argues that it is a true passive "is called," also in the many instances (OH/NS) with no overt subject. Also clearly passive is one example from an Old Hittite historical text (Neu 1968a, 112): [(*kī mān ḫ*)*ull*]*attati* ^{m}*Ḫapruzišš=a* [. . . (*ḫ*)]*uladaru* "As these were defeated, let also Hapruzi [. . .] be defeated" (KBo 3.29:14–15; OH/NS with dupl.).

One expected use of the oppositional mediopassive is lacking in Old Hittite: the "self-benefactive" or "indirect reflexive" type of Sanskrit *yájate* "worships/sacrifices for oneself" versus active *yájati* "worships/sacrifices." I have suggested (Melchert 2017, 478) that *ušneškatta* "offers for sale" (KUB 29.29 ii 12, Laws §146b/*35b; OH/OS) versus active *ušneške-* "to pledge" is an example (pledging something in return for something else is self-benefactive). However, even if this analysis is correct (and it must remain provisional, given the isolation of the form), it surely represents a lexicalization and not a synchronically living use of the mediopassive. Already in Old Hittite (OS) we find for self-benefactives only the reflexive particle *-z(a)* plus the *active*: for example, *n=an=za dāi* "He shall take it for himself" (KBo 6.2 i 8, Laws §6 and passim).

The few diagnostic oppositional mediopassives in Old Hittite raise a formal issue that requires a brief excursus. Against older views, more recent accounts have rejected a direct correlation of the active *mi-* and *ḫi*-conjugations with the contrast in the third-singular mediopassive endings *-tta(ri)*, *-ttat(i)*, and *-ttaru* versus *-a(ri)*, *-at(i)*, and *-aru* (Neu 1968a, 19–23; implicitly Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 184, 230–34). However, such a correlation has recently been reasserted (Yoshida 2016a, 506–7 and passim). As we shall see below, the claim is untrue for New Hittite and largely based on false premises, but such a contrast in *oppositional* mediopassives in Old Hittite must be taken seriously. As seen above, the Old Hittite mediopassives for the active *ḫi*-verbs *au(š)-* "to see," *ḫalzai-* "to call (out)," *nai-* "to turn," and *šuppiyaḫḫ-* "to purify" are *uwaru*, *ḫalzi(y)a*, *nēa*, and *šuppiyaḫḫati*,[4] respectively, while for active *mi*-verbs we find the cited *ḫullattati* and *ḫuladaru* to *ḫulle/a-* "to defeat" and *niniktati* "mobilized" to *ninink-* "to mobilize, set in motion," as well as

3 The likely example *n=e . . . zaḫḫiškanta* at KBo 17.36 ii 15–16 (OH/OS) is in a broken context.

4 Plus Pret3Sg *šiuniyaḫḫati* "was struck by a god" (error for "were . . .") at KUB 11.1 iv 15 (OH/NS), anticausative Pres3Sg *šiyari* "spurts out" at KBo 3.16+ ii 10 (OH/NS) and Pret3Sg *šiyati* KBo 3.16+ ii 16, 18 (to *šai-*$^{-ḫḫi}$ "to press"), and Pret3Sg *ku-li-e-ya-wa-aḫ-ḫa-ti* at KBo 7.14+ ro 22 (OH/OS), whatever it means.

ḫandāitta "draws even with" (anticausative to *ḫandā(i)-* "to align" at KBo 20.14 i 9, 13 [OH/OS] and elsewhere) and *lazziatta* "gets well/better" (anticausative to active *lazziya-* "to make better" at KBo 6.2 i 18, Laws §10; OH/OS). There is thus some basis for supposing that in Old Hittite the synchronic valency-reducing use of the mediopassive to form direct reflexives, autocausatives, passives, and anticausatives from actives may show a correlation between endings with and without *-tt-* in the third singular and the two active conjugations. Any such correlation clearly broke down by New Hittite (see section 3.1.5).

There is also no reason to believe that any such correlation was inherited. Although they must be treated as separate lexemes in attested Hittite (against the handbooks), the Old Hittite *medium tantum šarra-* "to cross, transgress" is clearly related etymologically to Old Hittite transitive active *šarr(a)-* "to divide, apportion" (Yoshida 2016a, 505; et al.). However, the first underwent the renewal **-or* > **-otor* (> Pres3Sg *šarratta*), while the latter appears as an active *ḫi*-verb (Pres3Sg *šārri/šarrai*). Old Hittite (OS) *tuḫḫušta* "comes to an end" cannot be the formal renewal of *contemporary* transitive *tuḫša(ri)* "cuts (off)" (contra Yoshida 2016a, 499; 2016b, 361; following Watkins), but it almost certainly is etymologically an anticausative **Téuh$_2$s-to(r)* "cuts off, stops" (← original passive *"is cut off") beside transitive **Téuh$_2$s-o(r)* "cuts off" (Neu 1968b, 171–77 with n22).[5]

2.2. *MEDIA TANTUM* IN OLD HITTITE

Most uses of *media tantum* in Old Hittite are among those reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European. There are verbs indicating the state of or changes in bodily posture: *ar-* "to stand," *ēš-* "to sit down" (exclusively change of state in OH), and *ki-* "to lie, lie down." Others refer to translational motion (*iya-* "to walk"). There are also examples describing mental or emotional states: *lēlaniya-* "to become angry," *naḫšariya-* "to take fright." Finally, many "spontaneous" events (not subject controlled) are also *media tantum*, both telic and atelic: for example, *kiš-* "to happen; become" (both senses consistently *without* the particle *-z(a)* in OH/OS) and *lukk-* "to grow bright, dawn"; *marra-/marriya-* "to stew, melt, dissolve" and *w(a)r-* "to burn" (both intransitive and atelic).

In addition to these expected types of intransitive *media tantum*, Old Hittite surprisingly also shows a robust number of transitive *media tantum*, of three formal types: (1) with third-person singulars in *-a(ri)* (e.g., *ḫatta-* "to prick, slit; sacrifice [by throat slitting]," *paḫš-* "to protect"; (2) with third-person singulars in *-tta(ri)* (e.g., *šarra-/šarriye-* "to transgress,"[6] *wēšš-* "to wear," and *zaḫḫiya-* "to fight"); (3) with a third-person stem in *-i-* (and third-singular ending in *-i(y)a*) that is absent in the other persons: *ḫuett(i)-* "to draw, pull" and *parš(i)-* "to break apart" (Jasanoff 2012, 123–24).[7]

3. CHANGES IN THE MEDIOPASSIVE FROM OLD TO NEW HITTITE

Most changes in the usage of the mediopassive are due to two factors: (1) encroachment on, and in some cases eventual replacement of, the mediopassive by the reflexive particle *-z(a)*; and (2) a growing tendency in Hittite to mark contrasts in valency by overt morphological means.[8]

While the directions of these trends are quite clear, the historical development of the mediopassive reminds us of limitations on our methodology and data that are not always fully acknowledged. First, as is

5 The collocation LUGAL-*wa*<*š*> UD.KAM.ḪI.A *tuḫḫuššanteš* "The king's days (are) cut off/at an end" (KUB 8.1 iii 1–2) seems decisive, despite the ingenious alternative etymology linking *tuḫḫušta* "comes to an end" < *"comes full circle" with Old Irish *dún* "ring fort" (Watkins 1990).

6 While *šarratta* reflects prehistoric **-otor* (section 2.1), synchronically the stem is *šarra-* (with Yoshida 2016a, 506), so the ending is just *-tta(ri)*.

7 For the peculiar stem alternation, see (all OH/OS): Pres1Sg *par(a)šḫa* at KBo 17.1+ iii 14 versus Pres3Sg *paršiya* at KBo 17.11+ i 52, etc., and Pres3Pl [(*parši*)]*yanda* KBo 17.11+ i 51. The third-person stem is with Jasanoff *-i-*, not *-ya-* (pace Yoshida 2016a, 499).

8 This tendency includes the use of transitivizing derivational suffixes (Luraghi 2015, 6–10). Luraghi also correctly identifies many changes in the use of the mediopassive but underestimates the growth in use of the mediopassive to mark valency reduction in the form of the passive.

well known, all chronological divisions of languages into historical periods are arbitrary: not all members of a speech community adopt innovations simultaneously. Second, one may question "lexical diffusion" as an explanatory principle, but there can be no doubt that changes do descriptively affect individual lexemes differentially. Finally, in the present case we are working with written texts produced by a bureaucratic elite that dealt on a regular, almost daily basis with older records of cultic texts and other genres that served as models for the texts they produced. This situation leads to the persistence of some older patterns that are not what one may justly term "set expressions." There is thus much continuity as well as change in the attested New Hittite usage of the mediopassive.

3.1. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE USE OF OPPOSITIONAL MEDIOPASSIVES

3.1.1. "Direct Reflexives"

Beginning in Old Hittite, we find the mediopassive used *with* the reflexive particle *-z(a)*: LUGAL-*uš=za šuppiāḫḫati* "The king purified himself" (KBo 25.112 ii 14; OH/OS); ^{d}*Inarašš=a=z unuttat* "Inara adorned herself" (KUB 17.5 i 4–5; OH/NS); *ŠA* KASKAL-*NI=za* A-*az ārraḫḫut* "Wash yourself with the water of the path!" (KBo 33.119:9; pre-NH/NS); *nu=wa=za* [. . . D]INGIR.MEŠ-*aš waššiyaḫḫaḫat* "I have dressed myself for the [. . .]gods" (KUB 24.5+ vo 15; ?/NS).

We also find already in Old Hittite (OS) the further step of the *active* plus the particle: *unut=wa=z(a)* "Adorn yourself!" (KUB 31.43 ii 23 and KBo 25.119:3). Note also beside *-za ārraḫḫut* in the preceding line active *mān=za* EN SISKUR *ārri* "When the ritual client washes himself" (KBo 33.119:8). For New Hittite, note *-za . . . war(a)pta* and *-za . . . arriškenun* (KUB 12.31 ro 11, vo 10 and dupls. [Muršili II]) and *-za . . . waššiškeši . . .-za . . . waššiya* (KUB 26.25 ii 6–7 [Šuppiluliuma II]).

3.1.2. Autocausatives

Autocausative mediopassive *ne(y)a-* "to turn" (intrans.) is well attested as late as Šuppiluliuma II (KBo 4.14 and passim);[9] *ninink-* "to mobilize" (intrans.) appears in texts of Muršili II (KBo 5.8 i 33, ii 11, and 5.4 vo 43) and Hattušili III (KUB 21.1 iii 46); *(arḫa) šarra-* "to divide (oneself)" is found at KBo 5.6 i 23 (Muršili II).[10] Two of these are also renewed with *-za*: NH *-za ne(y)a-* "to turn" (intrans.) (KUB 1.1 iv 11 [Hattušili III]) and *-za (arḫa) šarra-* "to divide (oneself)" (KBo 3.4 ii 53 and KUB 14.15 iii 30 [Muršili II]).

3.1.3. Reciprocals

Reinforcement with a reflexive also took place in reciprocals: [*n*]*u=šmaš=kan . . .* ^{d}U-*aš* ^{d}*Dašmišušš=a* Š[U-*z*]*a appantat* "The Storm-god and Tasmisu took each other by the hand" (KUB 33.87+ i 15–16; pre-NH/NS). We have no assured New Hittite examples of the reciprocal construction, so we cannot be sure that a shift to the active took place, but that change seems likely.

3.1.4. Anticausatives

This usage is continued with minimal change. In addition to the examples seen already in Old Hittite, *uwa-* "to be(come) visible, appear" (KUB 14.14 vo 15, 22, 30, etc. [Muršili II], and KUB 21.19 iv 28 [Hattušili III]) and *lazziya-* "to get better" (KBo 4.8 ii 21 [Muršili II], KBo 6.29+ i 11 [Hattušili III], and KUB 23.103 ro 4 [Tuthaliya IV]), we find *lagāittari* "is toppling" (KUB 5.7 ro 18) and *zinnattat* "came to an end" (KBo 2.5 iv 11

9 One should note, however, that while the Pres3Sg and Imv3Sg continue to end in *-a(ri)* and *-aru*, the Pret3Sg ending *-at(i)* has been replaced by *-attat* (*neyattat* KUB 19.41+ ii 2, *neattat* KBo 16.6 left edge 3 [both Muršili II], and *niyattat* KBo 4.14 ii 2 [Šuppiluliuma II]). This change is presumably motivated by the desire to avoid homophony with the new transitive active Pret3Sg *neyat*.

10 Note that the form is *šarrattari*, although active *šarra-* "to divide" is clearly a *ḫi*-verb in New Hittite (Pret1Sg *šarraḫḫun*, Pret3Sg *šarraš*).

[Muršili II]). Note that *lagāittari* has replaced older *lagāri*,[11] and *zinnattat* stands beside active *zinna/i-*, overwhelmingly a *ḫi*-verb in New Hittite (contra Yoshida 2016a, 500). We have no diagnostic forms to determine whether *uwa-* "to be(come) visible" has undergone a similar renewal.[12]

3.1.5. Passives

On the other hand, use of the mediopassive to mark the passive of active transitive verbs becomes massively productive—arguably its only truly productive use by New Hittite. A complete survey is impossible here (see Neu 1968a, 110–12, and the URL given in n1 above). I focus on formal developments, some of which have been misunderstood and misrepresented. First of all—with a single possible exception—all passives in New Hittite are formed with the *-tta(ri)* and *-ttat(i)* endings, whether or not the *synchronically* corresponding active stem belongs to the *mi-* or *ḫi*-conjugation. The only likely counterexample in an assured New Hittite composition is *kunati* at KUB 34.75 ro 11, notably built to an active verb that remains consistently a *mi*-verb in New Hittite. While due caution is in order, it is hard to avoid an interpretation "was killed," a not unexpected colloquialism in a deposition for the usual "suppletive" use of *ak(k)-* "to die" (Werner 1967, 53; Neu 1968b, 101–2).[13]

Renewal of the endings *-a(ri)* and *-at(i)* by *-ttari* and *-ttat* in passives of factitives in *-aḫḫ-* (NH Pret3Sg *išiyaḫtat* "was denounced" at KUB 5.24 iii 24 and other examples in NS) may reflect merely the fact that these verbs have almost entirely switched to the *mi*-conjugation in New Hittite (Oettinger 1979, 41–42; Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 217; et al.).

However, active *ḫi*-verbs also now show passives with exclusively *-tta-* endings: *dā-* "to take" (*d/tattat* KUB 12.31 vo 11 and KBo 4.2 iv 33, 35 [Muršili II] and *dattari* Bo 86/299 ii 3, 89 [Tuthaliya IV]); *tarna-* "to release" (*tarnattat* KBo 5.8 i 22 [Muršili II] and *tarnattari* KBo 4.10 ro 12 [Tuthaliya IV]); *zaḫ-* "to strike" (*zaḫtari* KUB 5.1 iv 72 and 5.18 ro? 6, vo? 6); and *zinna-* "to finish, bring to an end" (*zinnattari* KUB 22.70 vo 65 versus active *zinnāi* KUB 22.70 vo 67). Note further passive *ēštat* "was occupied" (KBo 5.8 ii 15 [Muršili II]) to transitive mediopassive *-za ešat* "occupied" (KBo 3.4 iii 60–61, etc.).

It is crucial to note that no Middle Hittite or New Hittite passive forms in *-tta-* are formal renewals of Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* (contra Yoshida 2016a, 499, 501, and passim; 2016b, 362–63, with several false translations) but are productively formed passives to their real formal replacements—namely, active(!) *ḫi-* and *mi*-verbs: *ḫannata*[*t*] "was judged" KBo 31.143 (MH/MS) to *ḫanna-*$^{-i}$ and EGIR-*pa ḫuittiyattat* (KUB 1.1 iii 15 [Hattušili III]) "was renewed" (literally "was dragged [out] again") to *ḫue/ittiya-*$^{-mi}$. The passive *tuḫḫuštat* "has been cut off/separated" in the Middle Script copy of an earlier ritual text (KBo 39.8 i 41) is also likely to be built on the new transitive active *tuḫš-*$^{-mi}$ "to cut (off)" seen in *tuḫ*^{ḫu}*šandu* in the very same line, rather than on the older transitive *medium tantum tuḫš-* (Pres3Sg *tuḫša(ri)*). See section 3.2.2 for discussion of the genuine New Hittite renewals of Old Hittite transitive *media tantum*.

3.2. CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE USE OF *MEDIA TANTUM*

3.2.1. Intransitive media tantum

The extent to which intransitive *media tantum* are reinforced with *-z(a)* or replaced by actives varies significantly according to their semantic class.

Verbs referring to the most basic bodily states and motions remain resolutely mediopassive: *ar-* "to stand," *ēš-* "to sit (down)," and *ki-* "to lie (down)"—examples seem superfluous. The only change is that

11 Just as *laknu-* has largely if not completely replaced the active *ḫi*-verb *lāg-* "to topple, knock down."

12 The forms *ú-wa-it-ta-ri* and *u-wa-it-ta-at* belong to *(u)wai(a)-* "to feel regret for" (contra Neu 1968b, 21). See section 3.2.1 with n19.

13 The reality of *karšāru* "shall be cut off" (Neu 1968b, 83–84) in a New Script copy of a pre–New Hittite text is cast into doubt by the matching *kar(a)štaru* in the parallel text KUB 32.138 ii 10 (Glocker 1997, 32–33). Pret3Sg *ḫannat* in a difficult passage (KUB 12.63 vo 33; pre-NH/NS), if it means "was judged" (Neu 1968b, 39), has no probative value for New Hittite usage.

mediopassive *ēš-* alone now means "to sit, be seated," replacing Old Hittite active *ēš-* (Otten and Souček 1969, 85), while *-za ēš-* is used for "to sit down" (Neu 1968b, 29). However, *ḫāliya-* "to bow" shows both mediopassive and active forms (*ḫaliyattat* KUB 14.15 iv 29, 31 and 19.49+ i 39; *ḫāliyandat* KUB 14.16 iii 16 and dupls. and KBo 4.4 iii 47 [all Muršili II], but active *ḫaliyat* KBo 3.3+ i 13 and dupls. and *ḫāliēr* KBo 3.4 iii 19, 14.19 iii 11, and 4.4 iv 20, 32 [all Muršili II]).[14] There is also late *ḫāliškattari* (KUB 5.6+ ii 51). The other verb *ḫink-* "to bow" is attested thus far only in the active in New Hittite compositions: *ḫin(i)kzi* KUB 5.6+ ii 54, *ḫink(at)ta* (Pret3Sg) KBo 5.6 iii 38 (DŠ 28) and 4.2 iii 56 (both Muršili II).[15]

The translational motion verb *iya-* "to walk" is inflected without exception as a mediopassive throughout New Hittite. However, *šalīg-* "to come in contact with, violate" (construed with the allative or dative-locative) is entirely replaced by active forms, mostly *mi*-conjugation but also a couple of *ḫi*-conjugation forms: beside Pret3Sg *šalikaš* (ABoT 1.60 ro 7; MH/MS) we find in New Hittite *šalikmi* KUB 5.1 i 29; *šalikti* KUB 5.4 i 42 and KBo 2.2 ii 56; *šaligai* KUB 26.12 iv 37 (Tuthaliya IV); *šalikzi* KUB 5.1+ i 27; *šalikanzi* KUB 5.1+ i 54, ii 6, 10, 54, 78, 98, 100; *šalikta* KUB 5.7 ro 34; *šalikiške*[*t*] KUB 22.70 vo 6; and *šalikišker* KUB 22.70 vo 52, 55 and 50.23:10.

Media tantum expressing "spontaneous" (non-subject-controlled) states and events continue to be inflected consistently in the mediopassive. Examples include LUGAL-*ezziya-* (*ḫaššuezzi(y)a-**) "to become king" (Neu 1968b, 109); *irmaliya-* "to fall sick" (Neu 1968b, 73);[16] *kiš-* "to happen, occur, take place" and with a predicative nominative "to become";[17] *tukk-* "to be visible; important" (*tuqqār*[*i*] "is important, matters" KUB 19.14 iv 19 (DŠ 37) [Muršili II] and KUB 15.17+ i 9 [Hattušili III]; *tuqqāt* "was visible" KBo 4.12 ro 18 [Hattušili III]).

It is also unlikely to be coincidental that all six cases of onetime sporadic use of the mediopassive in otherwise active intransitive verbs likewise refer to non-subject-controlled states and events: *āš-* "to remain, be left" (*āštat* KUB 22.70 ro 18); *ištar(a)kk(iya)-* "to get sick" ([*i*]*štar(a)kkiyattat* KUB 14.15 ii 13 beside regular *ištar(a)kta* KUB 14.15 ii 6 [Muršili II]); *mau(š)-* "to fall" (*maušḫaḫat* KUB 1.1 iii 24 and dupls. [Hattušili III]); *mer-* "to disappear" (*mertat* KUB 31.56:6 [Hattušili III]); *nakkešš-* "to weigh upon" (*nakkēštat* KUB 14.4 iii 25 [Muršili II]); and *neku-* "to become twilight" (*nekutt*[*a*]*t* KBo 5.8 iii 19 [Muršili II]).[18]

Verbs referring to mental or emotional states continue to be inflected as mediopassives, but there are some instances of renewal by actives. We find for *kariya-* "to accede to, be gracious to" Pret1Sg *kariyaḫḫaḫat* (KUB 19.49+ i 47 [Muršili II]) and for *(u)way(a)-* "to feel regret for, concern about" (with dative of the experiencer) Pres3Sg *uwaittari* (KUB 31.68:45) and *uwaittat* (KUB 23.103 ro 24 [Tuthaliya IV]).[19]

In the Treaty of Muršili II with Kupanta-Kuruntiya, *karuššiya-* "to keep silent" shows both mediopassive and active inflection: Pres2Sg *karuššiyari* (KUB 6.41+ iii 60) and Pret3Sg *-za karuššiyattat* (KUB 6.41 iii 50 and KBo 4.3 ii 26), but Pres1Sg *karuššiyami* (KUB 6.41 iii 66 and KBo 4.3 iv 9), Pres2Sg [*karušš*]*iyaši* (KBo 4.3 ii 37), and Pret3Sg *-za karuššiyat* (KBo 4.7 iii 9). In later texts, the verb is consistently active: KUB 21.5 iii 10, 14 and 21.4 i 13 (Muwattalli II), KBo 4.12 ro 26 (Hattušili III), and KUB 22.70 ro 62, 75.

We find a similar mixed pattern for *naḫšariya-* "to take fright" in texts of Muršili II: *naḫšarriyandari* (KBo 5.6 ii 6, DŠ 28) versus *naḫšariyanzi* (KBo 5.6 iii 6), further mediopassives (KBo 3.4 ii 68, iii 16; 4.4 iv 31;

14 Strictly speaking, *ḫaliyat* is ambiguous, but the existence of *ḫaliyattat* and the pattern cited in n9 argue that *ḫaliyat* is active (also implicitly Neu 1968b, 34; cf. also 35n6 for other NS active forms).

15 A Pres3Sg mediopassive as an "historical present" would be conceivable, but the contexts argue for an active preterite (also implicitly Neu 1968b, 54).

16 The inflection is mediopassive with either accusative or nominative of the experiencer.

17 There is in New Hittite a strong tendency for *kiš-* "to occur" not to take the particle *-z(a)* and for *kiš-* "to become" to do so (Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 361–62), but there are at least seven exceptions to both generalizations, so the difference should not be exaggerated (cf. Neu 1968b, 97–98n1).

18 Broken context precludes analysis of *auštat* (KBo 14.40:9 [Muršili II]), while the contextual sense "I interceded" for *memiyaḫḫat* (KBo 4.12 ro 27 [Hattušili III]) may or may not show use of the mediopassive to underscore personal involvement (cf. Neu 1968b, 116n1). Transitive *tamaštat* "oppressed" (KBo 4.6 ro 25 [Muršili II]) is puzzling. In any case, I withdraw the claim that the sporadic examples with *intransitives* are hypercorrections (Melchert 2017, 480n2).

19 Thus van den Hout (1995, 209), not to *au(š)-* "to see" (Neu 1968b, 21).

4.7 i 57; 5.13 i 10; KUB 19.13 i 49 = DŠ 34; KUB 14.8 i 20 and dupls.), but also actives (KUB 19.54 i 10 and KBo 14.12+ iv 9 = DŠ 28). The verb *waršiya-* "to be(come) calm, soothed" likewise shows a mixed usage in texts of Muršili II: *waršiyattari* (KUB 14.8 vo 34) versus *waršiyazzi* (KUB 14.8 vo 28) and *waršiyaddu* (KUB 14.8 vo 17 and 14.11 iii 38). The oracular inquiry KUB 16.77 ii 36 also has *waršiyattari*. It is unclear whether the language of Muršili II is transitional (as in other grammatical features) or the mixed usage is to be attributed to partial modernization by later copyists.

3.2.2. Transitive media tantum

While intransitive *media tantum* mostly continue to be inflected as mediopassives in New Hittite (with some exceptions in verbs of change in body posture, translational motion, and mental states), *all* Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* are renewed by actives, and many have been entirely replaced. It is this development that, along with the increase in the use of the mediopassive in *-tta-* for the passive, greatly raises the profile of the mediopassive as a means of marking valency reduction. This change begins already in Old Hittite, where we find Pres3Sg *tuḫḫuszi* "cuts off" at KBo 25.2 ro 10 (OH/OS; Neu 1983, 199) beside usual Old Hittite *tuḫša*.[20]

By New Hittite, replacement by active inflection is effectively complete for most verbs of this class. Of those with third-person endings in *-a(ri)* and *-at(i)*, the verb *ḫatta-* "to prick, slit, slaughter" is rare in New Hittite compositions, but we find only Pres3Sg active *ḫattāi* "slaughters" at KUB 5.12 vo 2.4.5. Old Hittite *ḫuett(i)-* "to draw, pull" appears in New Hittite exclusively as an active *mi*-verb *ḫue/ittiya-*: KUB 14.4 i 15; KBo 4.4 iii 32; 2.5 ii 3, iii 19, 25, 55, iv 15 (Muršili II); KUB 21.19 ii 18; 21.17 i 23; and KBo 4.12 ro 16 (Hattušili III); Bo 86/299 i 23 (Tuthaliya IV); KUB 50.6+ ii 46, iii 57, 61, KBo 2.6+ i 40, ii 37, iii 49, 66, and KUB 5.24 ii 14, 20 (oracular inquiries).

In its transitive use with a "content accusative," *ḫanneššar* "legal case," the verb *ḫanna-* "to judge, decide" is also exclusively an active *ḫi*-verb in New Hittite: KBo 19.70:3, KUB 19.14 iv 6, KBo 3.4 ii 14 = 16.1 iii 4, and KUB 14.17 iii 19 = KUB 26.79 i 12 (Muršili II); KUB 6.45 iii 17 = 6.46 ii 56 (Muwattalli II); KUB 1.1 iii 72 and duplicates (Hattušili III). It also shows mostly active *ḫi*-inflection in its intransitive use "to litigate against, contest in court" (with dative-locative of the opponent): KBo 3.3+ ii 13 (Muršili II) and KUB 21.17 iii 37, KUB 21.19 ii 6 and likely KUB 21.19 ii' 2 (Hattušili III). We do find, just once, Pres3Sg *ḫannari*: KBo 4.10 vo 23 (Tuthaliya IV).[21]

Of those Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* with third-person endings in *-tta(ri)* and *-ttat(i)*, *šarra-* "to cross (a boundary), transgress (oaths, words)" is inflected exclusively in the active in New Hittite, mostly as a *ḫi*-verb: Pres2Sg *šarratti* is frequent in treaties of Muršili II (KBo 5.9, 5.4, 5.13 and dupls., KBo 4.3, KUB 6.41, 6.44+, 6.48, and 19.49+) and also occurs in KUB 21.1 iv 32 (Muwattalli II), KBo 4.10 ro 15 (Tuthaliya IV), and KUB 19.55+ ro 28 (Milawanda Letter). Pres3Sg *šarrai* appears at KBo 5.9 ii 37 (Muršili II). Based on the competing mediopassive *šarriye-* (n20) we also find Pret3Pl *šarriyēr* to a stem *šarriya-* at KUB 14.14 ro 22 and 14.8 i 19, 36, and active *šk*e-forms [*šarr*]*esker* and *šarrišker* at KBo 4.4 i 46, ii 9 (all Muršili II). Old Hittite transitive *zaḫḫiya-* "to fight" (with and without an expressed object) appears in the mediopassive in New Hittite only in the "calling out" challenge (*eḫu*) *zaḫḫiyawaštati* "Come (on), let's fight!"—a cliché surely learned early by every Hittite male (KBo 3.4 ii 13 and often in texts of Muršili II).[22] Otherwise, its New Hittite inflection is throughout as an active *mi*-verb: KBo 4.4 iv 8; 5.8 iii 26; 3.4 ii 3, 25, 38, iii 14, 44, iv 38; 5.4 vo 27, 46; KUB 21.10:15; 21.49 ro 4; and 14.16 i 16 (Muršili II); KUB 21.1 iii 52, 53 (Muwattalli II); KUB 1.1 ii 24 and duplicates (Hattušili III); KUB 23.1+ i 36 (Tuthaliya IV). Texts of Muršili II also attest multiple active examples of the stem *zaḫḫiške-*.

20 At KUB 36.106 vo 6 (OH/OS or MS) read Pres3Sg *šar-ri-et-*[*ta*] (Kloekhorst 2008, 728–29, contra CHD Š, 231).

21 The syntax of other examples argues against taking this example as transitive with unexpressed object (contra Neu 1968b, 39).

22 The inherited transitive sense of mediopassive *zaḫḫiya-* precludes attributing a specifically reciprocal value to its use in this phrase.

The fate of *wēš-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ "to wear" in New Hittite (certainly still alive in the MH/MS instructions for the bodyguard at IBoT 1.36 i 77 and passim) is rather different. Likely reflecting its stative sense and less-than-prototypical transitivity, it appears to have been replaced with *waššan ḫark-* "to have on": see *waššan ḫarkun* "I was wearing" (KBo 4.2 iv 37 and dupls. [Muršili II]), *waššan ḫarzi* "wears" (KUB 22.70 ro 9), and *waššan ḫarta* "wore" (KUB 22.70 ro 78).

Some Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* are not attested in assured New Hittite compositions, but it is reasonably clear that they were also replaced by actives. For Old Hittite *tuḫš-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ "to cut (off)" we find, besides the already OH/OS Pres3Sg *tuḫḫušzi* cited above, also Late Middle Hittite active Imv2Pl *tuḫšatt*[*en*] (HKM 34:9) and Imv3Pl *tuḫšandu* (HKM 31:11). Older *iškalla-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ "to tear, slit" (Pres3Sg *iškallāri* at KBo 6.3 i 39; OH/NS) is replaced by an active *ḫi*-verb (Pres3Sg *iškallai*, Pres3Pl *iškallanzi*, Pret1Sg *iškallaḫḫun*, Imv3Sg *iškallau*, Imv3Pl *iškallandu*). The Pres3Sg *arga* (KUB 41.8 iv 29; pre-NH/NS) beside Imv3Sg *argaru* (KUB 41.8 iv 31 and dupl. KBo 10.45 iv 32) and the active replacement Pres3Sg *ārki* (KBo 10.45 iv 30) suggest that *ark-* "to mount (sexually)" had an original inflection *ark-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$, but the Pres3Sg *arkatta* (KBo 22.2 ro 9, 10; OH/OS) complicates the picture. Perhaps this example is to be interpreted as passive "is mounted," but this possibility is far from assured.

Only two Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* continue to show significant mediopassive inflection in New Hittite compositions, though it is quite clear that they too are being replaced by actives. Unsurprisingly, the Pres3Sg *paršiya* "breaks apart," ubiquitous in cultic context, is still predominant in the two manuscripts of the Prayer of Muwattalli to the Storm-god of Lightning. It is exclusive in the redacted manuscript KUB 6.45 iv 53, 55, 56, 60 (on the manuscript's history, see Singer 1996, 134–42). The less experienced scribe of the dictation copy managed to use older *paršiya* ten times but finally lapsed into active *paršiya*[*zzi*] (KUB 6.46 iv 52, 53). This renewal began in Middle Hittite (see CHD P, 181–82).

New Hittite inflection of *paḫš-* "to protect" is mostly that of an active *ḫi*-verb, from Muršili II: Pres1Sg *paḫḫašḫi* KBo 5.9 i 24, 26, 27, ii 13, plus examples from Tuthaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II; Pres2Sg *paḫḫašti* KBo 5.4 i 44; 5.13 ii 14, iii 20; etc. (Muršili II), plus examples from Muwattalli II and Tuthaliya IV; Pres1Pl *paḫšueni* KUB 26.1+ i 4, 5 (Tuthaliya IV); Pres2Pl *paḫḫaštini* KUB 19.49+ iv 31 (Muršili II); Pres3Pl *paḫšanzi* KUB 21.1 i 69 (Muwattalli II); Pret3Sg *paḫḫašta* KBo 16.8 ii 20, etc. (Muršili II), plus many examples from Tuthaliya IV; Pret3Pl *paḫšer* KUB 21.49 ro 12 (Muršili II); Imv3Sg *paḫḫašdu* (Tuthaliya IV); Imv2Pl *paḫḫašten*/PAB-*ašten* appears in texts of Hattušili III and Tuthaliya IV, as does Imv3Pl *paḫšandu*/PAB-*andu*.

Many attested mediopassive forms alternate in the same manuscripts with the actives just cited, but not all can be appropriately labeled as "set phrases," and they persist to the end of Hittite: Pres3Sg *paḫšari* Bo 86/299 ii 69 and PAB-*ri* KUB 23.103 ro 5 (Tuthaliya IV); Pres3Pl [*paḫḫa*]*ššantari* KUB 21.1 i 75, ii 44 (Muwattalli II); Pret1Sg *paḫḫašḫat* KUB 6.41 i 30 (Muršili II), *paḫḫašḫaḫat* KUB 21.1 i 72 (Muwattalli II), PAB-*ašḫat* KUB 26.32+ i 10, PAB-*ḫaḫat* KUB 26.32+ i 12, PAB-*aḫḫat* KUB 26.32+ i 17 (Šuppiluliuma II); Pret3Sg *paḫḫaštat* KBo 5.8 ii 26, KUB 3.119+ i 7 and duplicate 21.49 ro 6 (Muršili II), KUB 21.1 i 45 (Muwattalli II), KUB 8.82+ ro 7 (Tuthaliya IV); Imv3Sg *paḫšaru* KUB 21.1 iii 40, 44 and duplicates KUB 21.5 and 21.4 (Muwattalli II), Bo 86/299 ii 34, 47, 70 (Tuthaliya IV); Imv2Pl *paḫḫašdumat* KBo 4.12 vo 3 (Hattušili III); Imv3Pl [*paḫ*]*šandaru* KUB 19.49+ iv 45 (Muršili II), *paḫšantaru* KUB 21.1 iv 44 (Muwattalli II), KUB 26.58 ro 31 (Hattušili III), Bo 86/299 iv 14 (Tuthaliya IV).

A dearth of evidence for Old Hittite (especially OS) leaves the status of the transitive mediopassives *parḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$ "to pursue" and *šanna-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ "to conceal" less than assured. For *šanna-* we have no Old Hittite evidence: the pattern of transitive Pres3Sg *šannatta* "conceals" (KUB 36.127 vo 10, 13; MH/NS) alongside the active *ḫi*-verb, attested in Pres2Sg *šannatti* from Late Middle Hittite (KUB 14.1 ro 35), matches that of *šarra-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ "to transgress" replaced by *šarr-*$^{\text{-ḫḫi}}$, but one cannot prove that the transitive *medium tantum* is older in this verb.

The single active Pres3Sg *par(a)ḫzi* "pursues" (KBo 25.2 ro 11; OH/OS) is not decisive (cf. OS *tuḫḫušzi*, cited above), nor are the active forms in Middle Hittite historical texts: *par(a)ḫzi* and *par(a)ḫši* (KBo 16.47 ro 18; MH/MS), *par(a)ḫta* (KUB 14.1 ro 1; MH/MS), and *parḫišket* (KUB 14.1 ro 2). The MH/MS Imv3Pl forms *parḫantaru* and *parḫandaru* (CHD P, 143) appear beside the assured transitive mediopassives *šarratta* "you

transgress" and *paḫḫašdumat* "you shall protect" (Miller 2013, 156–62), and Pres3Pl *parḫanta* (KBo 31.83 ii 2; NS) is followed closely by clearly old [*ta*]*kku natta=ma*. Whether *parḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$ is a pre-Hittite creation (Yoshida 2016b, 366) or one of "early Middle Hittite," its stem shape must have been based on the active *parḫ-*$^{\text{-mi}}$, since an original **bhérh*$_2$*-o-* would appear as †*parra-* (Yoshida 2016b, 361).[23]

As should be clear from the preceding summary, there is no basis for the claim of a special correlation between Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* in *-a(ri)* and their replacement by *ḫi*-conjugation actives in New Hittite (contra Yoshida 2016a, 506–7). There *are* two major patterns. First, unsurprisingly, not only Old Hittite transitive *šarriye-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$, *wešiya-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$, and *zaḫḫiya-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ but also *ḫuett(i)-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ and *parš(i)-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ are replaced by active *mi*-verbs of the expanding *-iya-* class. Second, verbs of the shape *CVCCa-*, regardless of whether their Old Hittite ending was *-tta(ri)* or *-a(ri)*, are inflected almost entirely as active *ḫi*-verbs: not only *ḫanna-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ and *ḫatta-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ but also *šarra-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ and likely *šanna-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$. This change probably results from the resemblance of their stems to those of New Hittite active *ḫi*-verbs such as *nanna-* "to drive," *penna-* "to lead (away)," *pippa-* "to overturn," and *ūnna-* "to drive/lead."

For Old Hittite transitive *media tantum* ending in an obstruent, there seems to be no clear pattern: *paḫš-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ is mostly replaced by an active *ḫi*-verb, but *tuḫš-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ with an active *mi*-verb. It is possible that *arg-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ "to mount" was replaced by active *ḫi*-conjugation *ārki* because of existing active *ark-*$^{\text{-ḫḫi}}$ "to cut," but with only a single example ending in a stop we cannot be sure.

4. A SPECIAL CASE: *WEḪ-* "TO TURN"

Hittite *weḫ-* "to turn" cannot be assigned to any of the types discussed above. The active verb is intransitive, so its mediopassive forms are not "oppositional." Some other Hittite active intransitives show occasional mediopassive forms, but they are relatively infrequent and typically display no difference in meaning from the active: for example, *ḫuya-* "to run" (Neu 1968b, 161–62)[24] or *tiyari* "steps, enters" (KUB 31.127 i 42 and dupl.; pre-NH/NS).[25]

The active of *weḫ-* means "to turn" in the intransitive telic sense "to change one's orientation": *āppa lē wēḫzi* "let it (evil, impurity, etc.) not turn back" (KBo 17.1 iv 3; OH/OS), [*p*]*ēdi=šmi=pat* ZAG-*ni* 1-*ŠU waḫanzi . . . namma* GÙB-*li=ya* 1-*ŠU waḫanzi* "They (the *hapiya*-men) turn in their place once to the right . . . then they also turn once to the left" (KBo 20.26+ ro 19–20; OH/OS).

Mediopassive *weḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$ is consistently atelic with several meanings—(1) "to spin": SAG.DU-*aš=ma=nnaš* $^{\text{LÚ}}$BÁḪAR-*aš* [$^{\text{GIŠ}}$DUB]BIN GIM-*an weḫattari* "Our head spins like a potter's wheel" (KUB 33.103 iii 5–6; pre-NH/NS); (2) "to go back and forth, move about": [$^{\text{m}}$*K*]*eššiš* ITU.3.KAM-*aš* ḪURSAG.MEŠ-*aš anda weḫatta* "Kessi roams in the mountains for three months" (KUB 33.121 ii 15; pre-NH/NS); in ritual context with *pēran* effectively "to attend": *nu PANI* DINGIR-*LIM* EN=*YA kāš* MUNUS-*aš wēḫattaru* "Let this woman move back and forth before/attend the god, my lord" (KBo 4.6 ro 15; NH);[26] attenuated to "be active, be present": $^{\text{d}}$*Tarpattaššaš kuiš peran w*[*eḫ*]*atta kūn=za dā* "(You) Tarpattassa who are present before (us), take this (mouse) for yourself!" (KUB 27.67 ii 45 and passim; pre-NH/NS). Note that this usage is already Old Hittite: *ANA* KI *šuḫmili taknaš* $^{\text{d}}$UTU-*i peraš=šitt=a kuiēš weḫanta* ". . . to the *s.* earth (and) the Sun-goddess of the earth and those who are present before/in attendance upon her" (KUB 43.23 vo 57–61; OH/OS).

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23 Since the undeniable existence of *weḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$ (see section 4) refutes the argument (Yoshida 2016b, 366) against the impossibility of a mediopassive in *-atta-* to a root *mi*-verb, one should retain the orthographically expected reading *parḫ-*$^{\text{-atta(ri)}}$, parallel to transitive *šarra-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$ and *šanna-*$^{\text{-tta(ri)}}$.

24 To which add the OH/OS examples Pres3Sg *ḫuyatta* (KBo 30.39 + KUB 35.164 vo 8) and (likely) Pres3Pl *ḫuyanta* (Bo 4767:3, 8).

25 An exception is *mai-*$^{\text{-ḫḫi}}$ "to grow," where mediopassive *mi-*$^{\text{-a(ri)}}$ seems to be specialized as telic "to mature, grow to term" (CHD L–N, 115).

26 Thus Singer (2002, 72), not "soll sich befinden" (Neu 1968b, 197). Compare *peran* EGIR-*pa iyantari* "they attend" (KUB 6.45 iii 7–8; NH), but for the genuine sense "to be active, be present," see below.

On the other hand, mediopassive *weḫ-*$^{-tta(ri)}$ is consistently telic, in a variety of senses—(1) "to happen" (cf. "to take a turn"): GIM-*an=ma=nnaš=kan* ḪUL-*uwa AWATE*^{MEŠ} *ištarni=šummi wēḫtat* "As evil things have happened between us" (KUB 31.66 ii 10–11; NH); (2) "to pass" (of time): *lenganut=wa=mu kuiš nu=wa karū ḫalliya wēḫtat* "As for the one who swore me to an oath, the days have already passed" (KUB 26.1 iii 17–18; NH);[27] (3) "to go/pass away": *nu=kan ŠA* ^{m}DU.^{d}U-*up* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA LUGAL-*UTTI INA* KUR *Parga wēḫtari* "The throne of kingship of D. in the land of Parga shall pass away" (KBo 3.3 ii 17–18; NH); (4) "to get away": *n=ašta kuedani ḫāli waštul anda kīša n=aš aku lē(y)=aš=kan wēḫtari* "In whose watch the sin occurs, let him die! Let him not get away!" (KUB 13.4 iii 19–20; MH/NS).[28]

How and why Hittite created not one but two semantically differentiated mediopassives beside active intransitive *weḫ-* remains to be elucidated, but use of the stem *weḫ-* instead of *waḫ(ḫ)-* suggests the innovation is relatively recent. The manifestly different senses of *weḫ-*$^{-atta(ri)}$ and *weḫ-*$^{-tta(ri)}$ do refute the claim that *ú-e-ḫa-at-ta-* is a mere alternative spelling of *ú-e-eḫ-ta-* (Yoshida 2016a, 509). There are in fact two attested mediopassive stems of this verb.

5. CONCLUSION

Changes in the use of intransitive *media tantum* are relatively modest. All those expressing "spontaneous events" and most referring to bodily motions and states remain mediopassive (though a few are converted to actives, as are those indicating emotional states). Among oppositional mediopassives, anticausatives undergo no change, while "direct reflexives" and reciprocals are almost always reinforced by the particle *-z(a)*, and at least the former replaced by actives plus *-z(a)*. Autocausatives remain mediopassive but also show reinforcement by *-z(a)*.

The major change is the gradual elimination of all transitive *media tantum* along with a massive expansion of the use of the passive, thereby making use of the oppositional mediopassive a major indicator of valency reduction in New Hittite.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in this chapter other than the following ones are those used by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-hittite-dictionary).

Imv2Pl	second-plural imperative
Imv3Pl	third-plural imperative
Imv3Sg	third-singular imperative
Pres1Pl	first-plural present
Pres1Sg	first-singular present
Pres2Pl	second-plural present
Pres2Sg	second-singular present
Pres3Sg	third-singular present
Pres3Pl	third-plural present
Pret1Sg	first-singular preterite
Pret3Pl	third-plural preterite
Pret3Sg	third-singular preterite
ro/vo	recto/verso

27 Other examples show that *weḫ-*$^{-tta(ri)}$ is "unaccusative" and requires a subject pronoun, so *ḫalliya* "days" must be the subject (contra Neu 1968b, 196; et al.).

28 Thus with Jared Miller (2013, 257), despite doubts, contra Neu 1968b, 197. For more examples showing the usage of *weḫ-*$^{-zi}$, *weḫ-*$^{-atta(ri)}$, and *weḫ-*$^{-tta(ri)}$, see the URL in n2.

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