GARY HOLLAND ΜΝΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

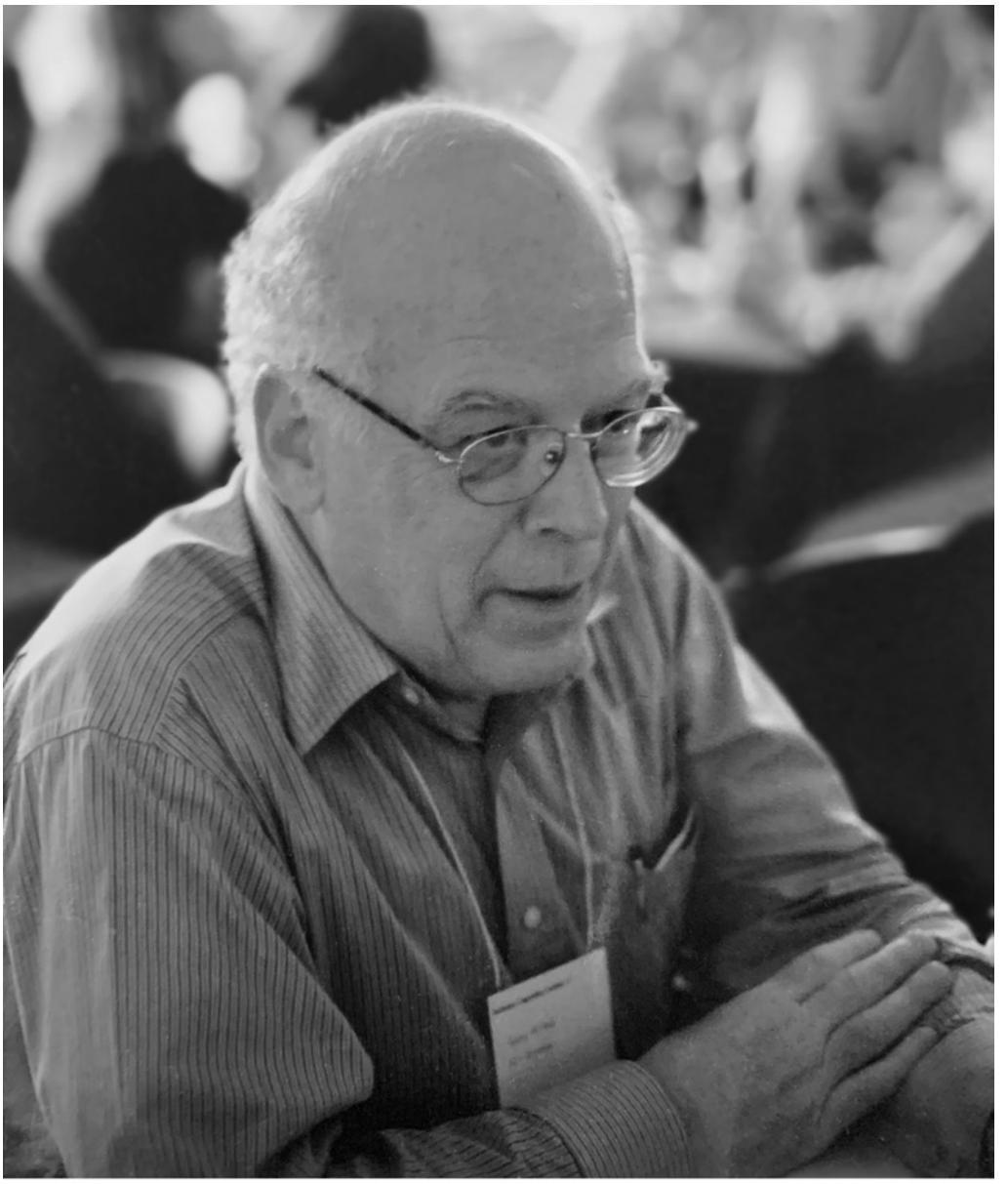
Indo-European and Related Studies



Edited by
Roslyn Burns, Alfredo Rizza, and Marina Zorman

GARY HOLLAND ΜΝΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ





Best regards,
Amy Holland

GARY HOLLAND ΜΝΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

Indo-European and Related Studies in Memory of Gary B. Holland

Edited by
Roslyn Burns, Alfredo Rizza, and Marina Zorman
with the assistance of Eleonora Selvi

REICHERT VERLAG WIESBADEN
LJUBLJANA UNIVERSITY PRESS
2026

Published with financial support from the Department of Cultures and Civilizations, University of Verona, and the Slovenian Research Agency.

Reviewers: Marek Majer, Mauro Giorgieri.



Cover image:
Attic red-figure amphora from Nola, ca. 470 BCE. Attributed to the Painter of Oionokles. Depicting Hades and Persephone – an image chosen for its evocation of transition, return, and enduring presence. Musée du Louvre, inv. no. CA 302 / G 209. © 1994 GrandPalaisRmn (Musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski. Reproduced with permission.

Bibliographic information from the German National Library
The German National Library lists this publication in the German National Bibliography; detailed bibliographic data is available online at http://dnb.dnb.de.

ORCID
Roslyn Burns: 0000-0001-9081-1197
Alfredo Rizza: 0000-0003-3886-1212
Marina Zorman: 0009-0005-1784-9195

Printed on acid-free paper
(age-resistant – pH 7, neutral)

Copublishing: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani
(Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of Arts)

© Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden 2026
Tauernstraße 11, 65199 Wiesbaden
info@reichert-verlag.de, www.reichert-verlag.de

ISBN: 978-3-7520-0914-9 (Print)
eISBN: 978-3-7520-0375-8 (Ebook)
https://doi.org/10.29091/9783752003758

The work, including all its parts, is protected by copyright.
Any use outside the narrow limits of copyright law is not allowed without the publisher's permission and is punishable by law. This applies in particular to reproductions, translations, microfilming, and storage and processing in electronic systems.
The publisher reserves the right to text and data mining in accordance with § 44b UrhG (German Copyright Act), which is hereby prohibited to third parties without the consent of the publisher.

Wenn ein Freund weggeht, muss man die Türe schließen, sonst wird es kalt.
– Bertolt Brecht

Table of Contents

Preface 9

A scholar among us

The Writings of Gary B. Holland 13
Eleonora Selvi

Tracing Gary's Path 17
Mary McGarry

Shared Roads, Shared Minds 21
Eve Sweetser

Learning the Craft Beside Gary 23
Roslyn Burns

Scholarly essays

A Thorny Verse: *Aen*. 6.462 *per loca senta situ* 27
Timothy G. Barnes

Plautdietsch Traditional Dialects in a Transregional Perspective 35
Roslyn Burns

On Tocharian B *lypauwa* and *lypaṣ* 51
Adam Alvah Catt

Grammaticalization Path of *kuit* from Pronoun to Connective 61
Paola Cotticelli-Kurras

From the Files of a New Bechtel, *Personennamen*:
Ἀρμό-δικος and the Indo-European Chariot (and the Wheel) of Justice and Truth,
Εὐθύ-δικος, Ὀρθό-δικος and the Greek Straight Justice 81
José L. García Ramón

Zalpa Self-Destructs: A New Ending for Zalpa and the Zalpa Text 95
Petra Goedegebuure

Linguistic Persistence of Features and Types 109
Olav Hackstein

Limits on Indo-Iranian Compounding 125
Stephanie W. Jamison

'Now' and 'then' in Indo-European Discourse 133
Jared S. Klein

Ragnarök (rǫk/røk(k)r/røk):
The Concept and Designation of Cosmic Eschatology in Old Norse Mythology 147
John Lindow

Lexical Patterns of Ancient Greek Perception Verbs 157
Silvia Luraghi

Unusual Control Structures in Hittite Infinitives 165
H. Craig Melchert

Measuring the Europeanization of Indo-European and Uralic 171
Johanna Nichols

Vedic *yād-* 181
Alexander Nikolaev

Vedisch Agástya- und sein á̆gas 201
Norbert Oettinger

Cuneiform Luwian *tappāni-* 'hair' and Related Matters 205
Massimo Poetto

"*pantes theoi* + Single Gods": Indo-European Formulas of Prayer and Praise 209
Rosa Ronzitti

Proto-Iranian √*anh* (**ahra-*, etc.) < Proto-Indo-European √h_2ens:
'to wield a weapon against (so as to restrain'?) 221
Martin Schwartz

pittuliya-, laḫlaḫḫima-, laknu- and the Reversal of Time:
Anguish and Anxiety in Hittite Texts 233
Sylvie Vanséveren

Latin *famēs* 'hunger' 243
Brent Vine

naskal on the Sigtuna Handle (Sl 28): The Finnic Connection 255
Kendra Willson

Hittite *ur-ki-i̯a-IZ-zi* 267
Kazuhiko Yoshida

Sidetische Personennamen im indogermanischen Kontext:
Eine neu entdeckte Stele mit sidetischen Namen (Inschriftenfund 2023 – S I.2.9) 273
Michaela Zinko

Gender Shift in Hittite Root Nouns *ḫāšš-*, *parā-*, and *uett-/uitt-* 291
Marina Zorman

Contributor Biographies 301

Selected Word Index 307

Unusual Control Structures in Hittite Infinitives

H. Craig Melchert

Holland (2011) showed that infinitives in sentences with raising structures must be read as passive. Lyutikova and Sideltsev (2021) have shown that such passive readings of Hittite infinitives are limited to sentences with intransitive matrix verbs. However, sentences where the matrix verb takes an experiencer subject with non-canonical case marking behave rather as control structures, establishing the subjecthood of the experiencer.*

1 "Raising" versus "Control" Structures

Holland (2011: 73–78) showed – against previous scholarship – that in examples like the following the respective underlying subject in (1) and direct object in (2) of the infinitive have been "raised" to be the subject (bolded) of the passive matrix predicate (underscored). In the latter instance, the infinitive itself must be construed as passive:

(1) KBo 24.45 obv. 20 (Ritual of Kizzuwatna, MH/MS?)[1]

mān	DINGIR-*LUM*	LÚ-*LUM*=*ma*	**MUNUS-*za*=*ši*=*kan***	*anda*	*pāwanzi*	*ŪL*	*ārа*
conj.	NSg	NSg =ptl	NSg =DSg=ptl	pvb	inf	neg	adv
if	god	male but	woman him	in	go	not	right

'But if the god is a male, a woman is not permitted to go in to him.'

(2) KBo 4.2 iii 52–53 (Muršili's "Aphasia," NH)

n ***=aš***	*pedi* =*šši*	*INA* KUR	URU*Kummanni*	[*INA*] É.DINGIR-*LIM*
conj =NSg	D-LSg =D-LSg	D-LSg	GSg	D-LSg
it	place his	land	Kummani	temple
piyauwanzi	SIxSÁ-*at*			
inf	Pret3SgMP			
send	determine			

'And it (the substitute ox) was determined by oracle to be sent in his (Muršili's) place to the temple in the land of Kummani.'

---

* I am grateful to have been invited to take part in this tribute to the late Gary Holland, a friend and colleague whose contributions to our field have sometimes not received full recognition, in part due to his not always having published his consistently illuminating conference presentations. A happy exception to this is his paper presented at the 22nd UCLA Indo-European Conference, published in the proceedings in 2011. I am indebted to Anthony Yates and Joseph Eska for invaluable comments that have spared me from serious error. I naturally am solely responsible for the content of what follows.

1 I use the standard sigla OH, MH and NH refer to "Old", "Middle" and "New Hittite" text compositions and OS, MS and NS to indicate "Old", "Middle" and "New Hittite" manuscripts. In glosses MP = mediopassive, ptl = particle, pvb = preverb, quot = quotation marker.

https://doi.org/10.29091/9783752003758/017

These examples with *raising* contrast with *control* structures, where the direct object of a transitive infinitive remains in its underlying position with its expected case marking as shown in (3):

(3) KBo 5.4 obv. 5 (Treaty of Muršili II with Targašnalli, NH)

nu	1-*aš*	1-***an***	*kunanna*	*lē*	*šanḫ*(*a*)[*zi*]
conj	NSg	ASg	inf	proh	Pres3Sg
	one	one	kill		seek

'Let one not seek to kill the other!'

The technicalities of the continually evolving formal syntactic analysis of "raising" versus "control" structures are not crucial for our purposes (for one formulation see Davis and Dubinsky 2009 cited by Holland).[2] What is important is that in a "raising" structure the surface subject of the matrix/main clause is not its underlying subject, but either the subject (1) or direct object (2) of the embedded clause: 'A woman is not permitted to go in' = 'It is not permitted for/it is not right for a woman to go in' and 'It was determined to be sent …' = 'It was determined to send it …'. Whereas in a "control" structure the surface matrix/main clause subject is its underlying subject: In (3) it is the subject of 'seeks' who both desires and carries out the action of the embedded clause.

2 Infinitives with Matrix Experiencer Subjects

Holland (2011: 70) notes the existence of examples like that in (4):

(4) KUB 8.53 iv 18–20 (Gilgamesh, pre-NH/NS)

nu =*šši*	*ŪL*	*parā*	*i*[*y*]*anniyawa*[*nzi*]	*kišari*	*ŪL* =*ma* =*šši*
conj. =DSg	neg	pvb	inf	Pres3Sg	neg =conj =DSg
him	not	forward	walk	happen	not him
EGIR-*pa*	*ti*[(*ya*) *wanzi*]	*kišari*			
pvb	inf	Pres3Sg			
back	step	happen			

'So he could not walk forward, nor could he step back.'[3]

Holland follows the usual practice of analyzing this as an "impersonal" construction, but there is good evidence that Hittite, like many other Indo-European languages, can have canonical and non-canonical case with experiencer subjects. I will contend in what follows that the case assignment of the pronoun *=šši* argues against an impersonal construction and for an experiencer subject.

We owe to Luraghi 2010 and Dardano 2017 the recognition that the syntax of Hittite experiencer verbs shows the same patterns attested elsewhere. The verb for 'to be sick' appears with the experiencer subject in both the nominative and the accusative, even in the same composition:

2 The claim of Lyutikova and Sideltsev (2021: 26–28) that passive readings of infinitives as in (1) and (2) are limited to sentences with intransitive (including passive) matrix verbs appears to be a descriptively valid generalization. Whether it is due to "verb restructuring" and not morphological ambiguity of Hittite infinitives as they suggest is a complex topic I cannot pursue here. Interested readers are referred to their full argumentation.

3 The context shows we have a "historical present".

(5) KBo 3.4 i 13 (Annals of Muršili II, NH)

nu =*war* =*an*	*irmaliattat*
conj =quot =ASg	Pret3Sg
him	sicken

'And he became ill.'

(6) KBo 3.4 i 5–6 (Annals of Muršili II, NH)

EGIR-*an*=*ma*=*aš*	*irmaliyattat*=*pat*
adv =ptc=NSg	Pret3Sg =ptc
afterward he	sicken too

'But afterward he too became ill'.

As per Luraghi (2010: 259), dative coding of experiences is typical for verbs of emotion, and we find it also with the generic verb for 'to experience,' *kiš-* 'to happen (to)' as shown in (7):[4]

(7) KBo 14.12+ iv 6 (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, NH)

nu =*wa* =*mu*	*kartimmiyaz*	[*kiša*]*t*
conj =quot =DSg	NSg	Pret3Sg
me	anger	happen

'I became angry.'

Both Luraghi (2010: 261) and Dardano (2017: 114–115) address the issue of whether the non-nominative coding of experiencers may be taken as evidence that these are non-canonical subjects – as elsewhere. Both answer in the affirmative, but Luraghi points out that the usual tests of subjecthood applied in other Indo-European languages are not applicable in Hittite.[5]

However, examples like (4) provide the long-sought evidence. This and others like it clearly show "control" structures: It is the dative subject of the matrix clause that is the subject that carries out the action of the infinitives, just as much as it is in (8):

(8) KBo 5.8 i 8 (Annals of Muršili II, NH)

^{d}UTU-*ŠI* =*wa*	*šumāš*	*wal*(*a*)*ḫḫuwanzi*	*uezzi*
NSg =quot	D-Apl	inf	Pres3Sg
His Majesty you		attack	come

'His Majesty is coming to attack you.'

Beckman (2019: 42) correctly translates (4) as: 'so that he was unable to advance and unable to retreat'. What is diagnostic for this interpretation is the contrast with (1). If (4) were truly an impersonal construction with an intransitive matrix predicate *ŪL kišari* 'does/did not happen' and embedded clauses =*aš parā iyanni-* and =*aš āppa tiya-* 'he walks forward' and 'he steps back',[6] based on the behavior of (1) we would be forced to predict that (4) would likewise appear as †*n*=***aš*** *ŪL parā iyanniyawanzi* <u>*kišari*</u> *ŪL*=*ma* EGIR-*pa tiyauwanzi* <u>*kišari*</u>, by raising or verb restructuring.[7] The dative case of =*šši* instead of nominative -*aš* must be assigned by the

4 That =*mu* is dative, not accusative, is now confirmed by the clearly dative =šš*i* in (4). See further below.

5 For ample references see Dardano 2017: 105, note 2.

6 Both *iyanni-* and *tiya-* are unaccusative intransitives and require a subject enclitic pronoun in Hittite in the third person. See Garrett 1996: 90–106.

7 The position of the negation in the two clauses is due to their being contrastive topics. They modify the matrix verb *kišari*. That the subject of the embedded clauses would be raised to be the surface subject of the matrix clause in the nominative case is assured by (1) and (2).

matrix verb *kiš*-, of which it is the subject, but in a control structure it is identical to the subject referent of the embedded predicates.[8]

In view of this clear example, we may and should assume the same structure for a further example with *kiš*- and one with mediopassive *ḫapp*- "to join (intr.), to come together":

(9) KBo 5.9 ii 19*'* (Treaty of Muršili II with Duppi-Teššup, NH)

mān	***tuk*** *=ma*	[*warr*]*i*<*š*>*šuwanzi*	*ŪL*	*kišari*
conj	DSg =ptl	inf	neg	Pres3Sg
if	you	assist	not	happen

'But if you are unable to assist'

(10) KBo 18.54 rev. 14–15 (letter, MH/MS)

nu	***=nnaš=kan***	*epurawanzi*	*ŪL*	*ḫapdat*
conj	=DPl =ptl	inf	neg	Pret3SgMP
	us	?	not	come together

'We did not succeed in *epura*-ing.'[9]

If (9) were a raising structure, the subject would have to be nominative *zik*, and (10) would have to have an enclitic subject pronoun expressing the raised embedded direct object. Colloquial English 'it (just) didn't happen for you' and 'it (just) didn't come together for us' show how the senses 'to be able' and 'to succeed' can develop from experiencer verbs, but it is the structure of the examples with infinitives that affirm the subjecthood of non-canonical experiencer subjects in Hittite.

References

Beckman, G. (2019) *The Hittite Gilgamesh*. Atlanta, Georgia: Lockwood Press. (Journal of Cuneiform Studies, Supplemental Series; 6)

Dardano, P. (2017) 'La marcatura non canonica del soggetto in ittito'. In Hajnal, I., D. Kölligan, and K. Zipser (eds.) *Miscellanea Indogermanica. Festschrift für José Luis García Ramón zum 65. Geburtstag*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, 105–120. (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft; 154).

Davis, W. D., and S. Dubinsky (2004) *The Grammar of Raising and Control*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Garrett, A. (1996) 'Wackernagel's Law and Unaccusativity in Hittite'. In Halpern, A. L., and A. M. Zwicky (eds.), *Approaching Second*: *Second Position Clitics and Related Phenomena*. Stanford, California: CSLI, 85–133.

Haas, V. (1970) *Der Kult von Nerik. Ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Religionsgeschichte*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. (Studia Pohl; 4).

Holland, G. (2011) 'Active and Passive in Hittite Infinitival Constructions'. In Jamison, S. W., H. C. Melchert, and B. Vine (eds.) *Proceedings of the 22nd Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*. Bremen: Hempen, 69–82.

8 Invisible because it would be represented by PRO. For one formal analysis of such a structure in Hittite see (Koller 2013: 82).

9 The sense of *epurā*(*i*)- remains elusive, but it is worth noting that it definitely is transitive: cf. ÍD-*aš aršanuwa lē epuraizzi* 'let him (the Storm-god) not *epura*- the flowings of the river!' (KUB 36.89 Vo 41, OH/NS). See Haas 1970: 154–155. The *=nnaš* of (10) thus expresses the agent of the act indicated by *epurawanzi*.

Koller, B. (2013) 'Hittite *pai-* 'come' and *uwa-* 'go' as Restructuring Verbs'. *Journal of Linguistics* 3/1, 77–97.

Luraghi, S. (2010) 'Experiencer Predicates in Hittite'. In Kim, R., N. Oettinger, E. Rieken, and M. Weiss (eds.) *Ex Anatolia Lux. Anatolian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of H. Craig Melchert on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Ann Arbor; New York: Beech Stave, 249–264.

Lyutikova, E., and A. Sideltsev (2021) 'Voice Neutrality in Hittite Infinitives: A Restructuring Analysis'. *Journal of Historical Syntax* 5/15, 1–70.