

Archaisms vs. innovations: topics in relative chronology
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The Rise of the Hittite Periphrastic Perfect:
Examples and references

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The development of *ḥark*-constructions

(1) *nu šuppa šarā danzi šuppa karpan ḥarkanzi*

‘(They) take up the meat. They **keep** the meat **lifted**, (go round the hearth and sing thus: “Alāiya Arinittu, alāiya Arinittu!”)’. (IBoT 1.29 rev. 20’–21’, *CTH* 633, MS?)

(2) L[Ú *ḥištā*] *ḥaššāš katta edi paršanān ḥarzi 6 ḥarnai^{SAR} ḥarzi*

‘The *ḥ*.-man **has squatted** next to the hearth on that side and holds six *ḥ*.-plants’ (KBo 17.15 rev. 15’–16’, *CTH* 645, OS?, see GrHL², 412.)

(3) *nu aruwan ḥarkanzi*

‘(They) **have bowed**’ (IBoT 3.140 4’, *CTH* 631, NS)

Functions of *ḫark-*

Resultative/Anterior

(4) *apēdani=ma mēḫuni ABU-IA ŠEŠ MAḤRŪ LÚ tūḫukantahiti tiyan ḫarta ammuk=ma apēdani mēḫuni LUGAL-eznani nawi taparriyan ḫarta* ^{m.d}KAL-aš=ma=mu *apēdani mēḫuni paḫḫaššanut* (Bo 86/299 II 34–37, CTH 106, NH)

“At that time my father **installed** the older brother to be heir. At that time he had not yet decided me for kingship. But at that time Kurunta swore allegiance to me”

Experiential?

(5) *nu=mu=za ŠEŠ-IA mNIR.GÁL parā uišket nu=mu dIŠTAR GAŠAN-IA GIM-an kaniššan ḫarta nu=za=kan IGI^{HL.A}-wa kuwattan ANA KUR LÚKÚR andan nāiškenun nu=mu=kan IGI^{HL.A}-wa LÚKÚR EGIR-pa ŪL kuiški nāiš nu=za KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} LÚKÚR taruḫḫiškenun kaniššūwar=ma=mu ŠA dIŠTAR-pat GAŠAN-IA ēšta*

‘My brother Muwatalli **kept sending me out**, and as Ištar, My Mistress, **has recognized** me, wherever I **turned** my eyes to an enemy country, no enemy country **turned** eyes back at me. I **conquered** enemy lands. The recognition of Ištar is mine.’ (KUB 1.1+ I 66-70, CTH 81, NH)

Universal

(6) *EGIR-az=ma=za ABU-YA URU Kargamiššan URU-an taruḫta n=an=kan INA UD 7^{KAM} anda waḫnuwan ḫarta nu=šši INA UD 8^{KAM} INA UD 1^{KAM} zaḫḫin paiš*

‘Finally, my father (Šuppiluliuma I) **conquered** the city Kargamiš. (He) **had besieged** it for seven days and on the eighth day he **went** into a battle with it for one day’. (KBo 5.6 III 27’–29’, CTH 40, NH)

Simple past?

(7) *nu* ^{TÚG}NÍG.LÁM^{MEŠ} *kue apēdani U₄-ti waššan harkun ANA* ^{GIŠ}GIGIR=*ya=kan kuedani apēdani U₄-ti ārhahat*

‘the festive dress that I **wore** that day and on which chariot I **stood** that day, (that dress and the yoked chariot they took)’ (KUB 12.31 rev. 14-15, *CTH* 486, NH)

(8) *nu=za UD*^{KAM.HI.A} *išpantiuš iyanun nu KARASŠ*^{HI.A} *parhiešni huittianun nu LUGAL.GAL IŠTU ÉRIN*^{MEŠ} *ANŠE.KUR.RA*^{HI.A} *munnda iyahhat nu=mu=kan* ^{d10} *NIR.GÁL BELI-IA* ^d*Hašammilin BELI-IA weriyan hartata* (KBo 14.18 5' [*weriy*]at) *nu=mu munnda hartata* (KBo 14.18 5' *munna hartata*) *nu=mu ŪL kuiški aušta*

‘I **made** days into nights. I **led** the army in haste. I, the great king, **went** concealed with the troops and chariotry. The mighty Storm-god, my lord, **called** Ḫašammili, my lord, for me and he **kept** me concealed (var. **hid** me), so that no one **saw** me.’ (KBo 4.4 III 31'–35', *CTH* 61, NH).

(9) *mān* ^m*Muršiliš* ^{URU}*Ḫattuši LU[GAL]-ēt n=apa apēlla DUMU*^{MEŠ}-*ŠU ŠEŠ*^{MEŠ}-*ŠU* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*gaenaššiš LÚMEŠ ḫ[asš]annaššaš Ū* *ÉRIN*^{MEŠ}-*ŠU taruppanteš ešer nu* ^{LÚ}*KÚR-an utnē kuttan[i]t taruḫhan hartata* [*n*]u *utnē a[rh]a tarranut n=uš a[run]aš irḫuš iēt*

‘When Muršili **was the king** in Ḫattuša, his sons, brothers, his in-laws, his troops **were united**. He **conquered** the enemy lands with (his) might, he **disempowered**? the lands and **made** them the borders of the sea.’ (KBo 3.1+ I 23'–26', *CTH* 19, OH/NS)

Stative *ḥark*-constructions?

(10) (II 18') *nu=kan*^{URU} *Murmuriga anda waḥnuwanzi* ... (II 24'–25') *ÉRIN*^{MEŠ}=*wa=kan* ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} *kuiš INA*^{URU} *Murmuriga šer nu=war=aš=kan LÚ*^{MEŠ} *URU Hurri anda waḥnuwan ḥarkanzi*

‘(The Hurrian troops and chariotry) **surround** Murmuriga. ... “The troops (and) chariotry that are up in Murmuriga, the Hurrians **have surrounded** them”’ KBo 5.6, II 18', 24'–25', CTH 40, NH)

Imperatives with *ḥark*-

(11) [*nu=wa*] *zik*^m *Madduwattaš QADU [ÉRIN]*^{MEŠ}-*KA INA KUR*^{HUR.SAG} *Zippašlā eš nu=wa=za=kan iškiša āppa INA KUR*^{[HUR.SA]G} *Zippašlā tiyān ḥarak*

‘You, Madduwatta, **be** with your [troops] in the land of Mount Zippasla and **have** base of support established in the land of [Mount] Zippasla.’ (Beckman 1999: 154) // “So keep yourself placed with your back towards the land of Mt. Zippašlā” (GrHL²: 413); (KUB 14.1+ obv. 16–17, CTH 147, MH/MS)

(12) *nu=wa karuššiyān ḥar(a)k*

‘so **keep quiet!**’ (KUB 14.1 IV 11, CTH 70, NH; tr. by GrHL²: 413)

Imperative Perfect in Greek

(13) τὸν καὶ τεθνηῶτα προσηύδα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς:

τέθναθι: κῆρα δ' ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι ὅπποτε κεν δῆ

Ζεὺς ἐθέλη τελέσαι ἠδ' ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι.

‘And to him even in his death spoke noble Achilles: “**Lie dead**; my fate will I accept when Zeus is minded to bring it to pass and the other immortal gods.’ (Iliad 22.364-366, tr. by A.T. Murray, rev. by W.F. Wyatt)

(14) ἀλλὰ μάχεσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἀολλέες: ὃς δέ κεν ὑμέων

βλήμενος ἠὲ τυπεῖς θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπη

τεθνάτω: οὐ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης

τεθνάμεν: ἀλλ' ἄλοχός τε σόη καὶ παῖδες ὀπίσσω,

καὶ οἶκος καὶ κλῆρος ἀκήρατος, εἴ κεν Ἀχαιοὶ

οἴχωνται σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

‘But fight at the ships in close throngs, and if any one of you, struck by missile or thrust, meets death and fate, **let him die**. No unseemly thing is it for him to die while fighting for his country. But his wife is safe and his children after him, and his house and his portion of land are unharmed, if the Achaeans have gone with their ships to their dear native country’ (Iliad 15.495-499, tr. by A.T. Murray, rev. by W.F. Wyatt)

(15) καὶ εἶπεν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, σιώπα, **πεφίμωσο**

‘and said unto the sea, Peace, **be still**.’ (Mk 4:39, Standard King James Version)

Imperatives with *ḫark-*, part II

(16) *nu URU^{DIDL.HI.A} anda ištappandu n=ašta LÚ.MEŠŠE.KIN.KU₅ GU₄ UDU ANŠE.KUR.RA [AN]ŠE katta lē tarnanzi nu pahḫ(aš)nuandu ḫantezziēš=ma ku(i)ēš MADGALTI nu ŠA LÚ.KÚR kuiēš KASKAL^{HI.A} n=aš=za BEL MADGALTI kappūwan ḫardu n=aš=za gulaššan ḫardu namma 1 KASKAL 3 LÚ.MEŠNÍ.ZU-TIM ḫarkandu šer=ma=ššan³ LÚ.MEŠDUGUD weḫandaru auriyaš=a=šši kuiš ÉRIN^{MEŠ} n=an kappūwaeddu n=aš=za gulaššan ḫardu*

‘They **shall close up** the towns. They **shall not let** the field workers, cattle, sheep, horses, (and) donkeys down out (of the town). They **shall protect** (them). The governor of the post, though, **shall keep counted** the routes of the enemy and **keep record** of them. Further, three scouts **shall hold** each road, while three commanders **shall supervise**. The troops he has of the watch posts he shall count and he shall keep record of them.’ (KUB 13.2 I 7”–14”, *CTH* 261, MH/NS, for the translation cf. Miller 2013, 221, GrHL²: 413, HED IV: 69)

New Hittite resultative?

(17) [*nu=za kā*]šma au ^D10 NIR.GÁL-mu BELI-YA mahḫan *peran [ḫ]ūiyanza nu=mu idālawi parā ŪL tarnāi [ā]ššawi=ma=mu parā tarnan ḫarzi*

‘See how the mighty Stormgod, my lord, **is going before** me (i.e. is my helper), (how) he **doesn’t let** me **come** to harm, but always **lets** me **come** to good’ (KBo 5.8 I 12’–14’, *CTH* 61, NH, tr. after CHD L-N: 105)

Singular/Plural Agreement

(18) *ḥalkiaš ḥarš[ā]r išḥiyanda* [Z]ÍZ^{Hl.A}-aš[š=a] *ḥaršār išḥiyanda*

‘**Heads** of barley **are tied together** and **heads** of spelt **are tied together.**’ KBo 17.1+ IV 19–20, *CTH* 416, OS)

vs.

(19) [*nu* I]TTI DINGIR-LIM GIBIL *kue 2 GÍR^{Hl.A} iyan nu apē [da]nzi*

‘(They) take those two daggers which **are made** along with the new deity.’ (KUB 29.4+ IV 33–34, *CTH* 481, NS)

(van den Hout 2001: 173, 187ff., cf. Rieken 2017: 400)

eš-constructions: Resultative or Perfect?

Resultative

(20) *n=aš [m]ān k[a]rū pānza ... mān=aš nāwi=ma paizzi*

‘If he **is** already **gone**, ... If he **is not yet gone**’ (HKM 66 obv. 23–24, 26, *CTH* 190, MH/MS)

Perfect

(21) [*ANA* ^{LÚ}*BEL MADGALT*]*I=ma=aš=kan kuedani anda* ^{LÚ}*SIGs lahhi=ma=aš ŪL [p]ānza*

‘To whatever governor of the post an officer (there is) and he **has not gone** to the military campaign...’ (KUB 13.20 I 1, *CTH* 259, MH/NS)

Perfect?

(22) *aši=ma* [^{(HUR.SA)G}*Ari(nnanda)*]*š mekki [(nak)]kiš aruni=ya=aš=kan paranda pānza*

‘That mount Arinnanda is very steep and it **protrudes** (lit. **has gone over**) to the sea’ (KUB 14.15 III 39–40, *CTH* 61, NH).

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