

Hittite nasal presents

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Conclusions

8.1 This monograph discussed the Hittite reflexes of two PIE verbal classes, the verbs with the nasal infix and the verbs with the suffix *-néu/nu-. In PIE, these were two different, but related, types. The Hittite imperfective suffix -anna/i-, which may also be related, is treated in a separate chapter.

In Hittite, infixed verbs belong to various types of the mi- and hi-conjugation. Infixes are found only in the roots that end in a velar or a laryngeal (certainly $*h_1$ and $*h_3$, perhaps $*h_2$ as well). This distribution markedly differs from the situation in other IE languages where we find many infixed present stems made from the roots with a dental or labial stop in the auslaut. The shape of the infix varies: most verbs generalized the weak stem -n-; some verbs made from roots ending in a velar stop developed a new infix -nin- based ultimately on the full grade of the PIE infix $*-n\acute{e}$ -; two other verbs, namely hink- 'to grant' and tamink- 'to attach', in my opinion, have partially preserved the original ablaut in the infix.

The PIE suffix *- $n\acute{e}u/nu$ - is continued in Hittite and Luwian as -nu-. In the singular, one would expect - $n\bar{u}$ - < *- $n\acute{e}u$ -; there are, however, only two possible instances of preservation of - $n\bar{u}$ -, see 4.4. It appears that the ablaut was mostly levelled in favor of the zero-grade. Both in Hittite and Luwian, nu-verbs form a numerous and very productive type of mi-verbs.

An important difference is that in non-Anatolian Indo-European languages the infix and the suffix $*-n\acute{e}u/nu$ - normally appear only in the present stem; they are a part of verbal inflection. In Hittite, the formations with the infix or the suffix -nu- are distinct verbs that are derived from other verbal or nominal stems.

8.2 The shape of the infix in Hittite is compatible with that of Indo-Iranian and PIE; there are traces of ablaut in both infixed and *nu*-verbs. However, only a few Hittite nasal verbs have parallel nasal formations in other languages, even though there are about 20 infixed verbs and more than 100 *nu*-verbs in Hittite. Moreover, only a few

Hittite *nu*-verbs and one infixed verb (*sunna*- 'to fill') have parallel formations in other Anatolian languages. Together with the limited distribution of infixed stems, this fact speaks in favor of productivity of these types in Proto-Anatolian and Proto-Hittite and of a late date of formation for most of them.

In this respect, the nasal stems are similar to other stem types in Hittite: many verbal suffixes (e.g., -ye/a-, -ske/a-, -ahh-) have counterparts in other Indo-European languages, as do many Hittite verbs; however, suffixed or reduplicated verbal stems can only rarely be immediately compared to suffixed or reduplicated verbal stems in other Indo-European languages, which points to a post-PIE date of formation for most Hittite morphologically extended stems.

8.3 The function of the suffix -*nu*- and the infix can be described as causative or factitive in most verbs; however, this is not the only function, and in *hunink*- 'to scar, crack' and some *nu*-verbs these morphemes rather have an intensive or terminative/telic function. Crosslinguistically, causative markers often have other functions, most often intensive. Therefore, the polysemy of the Hittite nasal formations is not peculiar from a typological point of view. The original function of the nasal types in PIE, if there was any, was likely to increase the transitivity of a verbal stem.