



Master thesis
Comparative Indo-European Linguistics

The Hittite Verb *pahš-^{a(ri)/i}*

The Battle of the Hittite Inflections

Marijn Hoeksel

Student number: s0843806

Date: February 13th 2015

Leiden University

Faculty of Humanities

Primary supervisor: Dr. A. Kloekhorst

Second supervisor: Dr. L.C. van Beek



Preface

Although I am not a very superstitious person, I am glad that this Friday 13th did not bring any bad luck to me. On the contrary: I finished this thesis and was able to hand it in today.

I am very thankful to some people around me, without whom this thesis would not have been finished today:

First of all I want to thank warmly my thesis mentor Alwin Kloekhorst, who had the patience to guide me through all phases of the realization of this thesis and was so kind to provide his digital databases to me.

Secondly, I want to thank the employees of the NINO-library at Leiden, which are always willing to help me find the books I am looking for. One has to admit: The NINO is a sort of maze, in which finding the books you are looking for is not always that easy.

Then I want to thank Merel, who is always willing to lunch or to have coffee with me in the cafeteria of the library, even when she is studying at home.

I want to thank my friends and family members for asking me so many times whether my thesis was already finished or not; although it was often frustrating, it really pushed me to the finish!

And last but not least, I want to thank Lucien van Beek in advance for being my second reader; I hope you will enjoy my thesis.

Marijn Hoeksel

Contents

Preface	i
Contents.....	ii
Abbreviations.....	iii
1. Introduction.....	1
2. Inflections and their functions.....	2
2.1) In the Indo-European language family.....	2
2.2) In Hittite.....	3
2.2.1) Typological approach.....	3
2.2.2) Linguistic approach.....	4
3. The Hittite verb <i>paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}</i>	6
4. Research, data analysis.....	9
4.1) Chronological distribution?.....	11
4.2) Texts with both active and medio-passive forms of <i>paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}</i>	13
4.3) Complete randomness or a strict distinction?.....	15
4.4) The hypothesis tested on other texts.....	17
4.4.1) A NH/NS text with both an active and a medio-passive form of <i>paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}</i>	18
4.4.2) An older text with both active and medio-passive forms of <i>paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}</i>	18
4.4.3) A text with only active forms of <i>paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}</i>	20
4.4.4) A text with only medio-passive forms of <i>paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}</i>	21
4.5) Conclusions of the data analysis.....	22
5. Conclusion.....	23
Bibliography.....	24
Appendix.....	27

Abbreviations

acc.	accusative
A(ct).	active
CHD	<i>Chicago Hittite Dictionary</i> (see Güterbock & Hoffner 1997)
dat.	dative
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
EDHIL	<i>Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon</i> (see Kloekhorst 2008)
EHS	<i>Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache</i> (see Kronasser 1966)
et al.	et alii (= Latin for: and others)
fthc.	forthcoming
HEd	<i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> (see Puhvel 1984a+b)
HEG	<i>Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar</i> (see Tischler 2001)
Hetkonk	S. Košak, <i>Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln, Online-Datenbank</i> , http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/
HW	<i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> (see Friedrich 1952)
imp.	imperative
intrans.	intransitive
KUB	Keilschrifturkunde aus Boğazköy
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy
LNS	Late New Script
MH	Middle Hittite
MP.	medio-passive
MS	Middle Script
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch(-Aegyptisch)en Gesellschaft
NH	Neo-Hittite
NS	New Script
obv.	obverse
OH	Old Hittite
OS	Old Script
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	plural
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
rev.	reverse
sg.	singular
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
trans.	transitive

1. Introduction

Since the discovery of the Anatolian languages and the recognition that they form a branch of the Indo-European language family, these languages have always taken a special place in the group: Although Hittite, which is the best preserved Anatolian language, is in many of its aspects closely related to other Indo-European languages, it also contains a number of distinctive features from the rest of the Indo-European languages. It is therefore generally thought that the Anatolian branch was the first to split off from the rest of the Indo-European languages, after which the rest shared more changes and innovations. Since the Anatolian languages seem to have preserved many archaisms of the proto-language, this branch is of great importance for the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European.

One of the features in which Hittite is distinct from the rest of the Indo-European languages is its verbal system, containing two separate conjugations which we do not find in any other Indo-European language: A *mi-* and a *hi-* conjugation. Apart from these conjugations, Hittite makes the distinction between active and medio-passive inflected verbal forms, of which the distinct function is often less clear than in some other Indo-European languages. In some verbs we see clearly that this division denotes the difference between transitive and reflexive meaning, like ‘I dress him’ and ‘I dress myself’, as we know of the verbal system of Ancient Greek. For other Hittite verbs, however, this does not seem to be the distinction between the two inflections, but what the difference in function actually is, is in many of these cases still debated.

One verb upon which scholars still could not agree what the exact distinction in function between the two inflections is, is Hittite *paḥš-^{a(ri)/i}* ‘to protect’, which often occurs in the medio-passive inflection, but is also well attested in the active inflection.

This thesis is about that odd relationship between the active and medio-passive inflection of *paḥš-^{a(ri)/i}*: I want to know more about the Hittite verb *paḥš-^{a(ri)/i}* and why this verb has this typical division in inflection. I think it is necessary to investigate in which period of Hittite which forms of *paḥš-^{a(ri)/i}* in which inflection actually are attested and most of all I am wondering what determines whether the active or the medio-passive inflection of *paḥš-^{a(ri)/i}* is used. These are a lot of questions which I all hope to be able to answer in this thesis.

In order to possibly find the answers to the questions above, I will first take a look at the verbal system and its different inflections¹ in the Indo-European language family before we zoom in on Hittite.

After that, I will examine the verb *paḥš-^{a(ri)/i}* to see what the differences are with other Hittite verbs and what other scholars have written about this particular verb. Finally, I will make an extensive data analysis of all the forms of *paḥš-^{a(ri)/i}* and look whether it is possible to give answers to my posited questions, after which I will recapitulate my findings in the conclusion of this thesis.

¹ To avoid confusion, I will use the term “inflection” instead of “voice”. I am concerned with the different inflected verbal forms and their function. I think “voice” is a confusing term which is often used by scholars to denote what I call “inflection”.

2. Inflections and their functions

2.1 In the Indo-European language family

From the moment the Anatolian languages came into picture as being part of the Indo-European language family, the comparative Indo-European linguists were forced to reconsider the classic reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European verbal system, which was largely based on the verbal systems of Ancient Greek and Sanskrit. The scholars now also had to deal with Anatolian in their comparative search for the (Proto-)Indo-European verbal system and had to take the Hittite verbal system - and therefore the Hittite medio-passive inflection - into account. Hart (1988) formulates the questions that arose with the increasing knowledge of the Anatolian verbal system as follows:

“Did the simplicity of the Anatolian system represent something more primitive than the classic image of Indo-European, out of which the latter could be explained as a subsequent development, or was it the simplified outcome of an originally more complex system, close to that which had been reconstructed before the Anatolian family was known?” (1988:69).

Most of the Indo-European languages have two or three distinct inflections: An active one, a medium and a passive inflection, or sometimes, when the latter two share the same forms, a medio-passive inflection. The function of the active inflection is most of the time very clear; active forms usually denote active, mostly transitive actions, which need an object (in the accusative), sometimes intransitive ones, which do not require any object.

Passive forms also mostly have a clear function and denotes the opposite of the active forms: The subject of the sentences with a passive inflected verb is not the one who performs the action, but the one who experiences the action, also called the patiens. The passive sentence often includes an agens, which is the performer of the action.

For the medium (part of the medio-passive) inflection, it is much harder to make a general statement for the different languages. Pooth (fthc.) expresses this as follows:

“Die terminologischen Verwirrungen, die sich nun schon so lange sowohl auf indogermanistischer wie auf allgemein-sprachwissenschaftlicher Seite um den Begriff “Medium” herum gebildet haben, sind also offensichtlich eben genau deshalb entstanden, weil, im Gegensatz zu den in vielen europäischen Sprachen vorkommenden verbalen Kategorien “Reflexiv” oder “Passiv”, über die Grundbedeutung der altgriechischen, altindischen, hethitischen, tocharischen oder urindogermanischen verbalen Flexionskategorie “Medium” immer noch nur ungefähre Ahnungen oder relativ “schwammige”, d.h. unzureichende Vorstellungen bestehen, und es bis heute noch immer keine präzise und die Sache treffende Definition gibt, weshalb der Begriff “Middle” oder “Medium” schließlich für alles verwendet werden kann, was nur im Ungefähren mit dem zu tun hat, was das “gemeinindogermanische” Medium zu tun hatte” (fthc:22-23).

Hart (1988) states that the opposition of the active inflection to the medio-passive inflection is one of the important structural features of the standard Indo-European model. The essential nature of the medio-passive inflection has been often the topic of discussion;

“[t]he one thing about which there seems to be universal agreement is that the medio-passive is opposed to the active, an agreement doubtless founded on the clear morphological difference between the two categories. The functional basis of the opposition is much more problematical” (Hart 1988:69).

Hart (1988:93) argues that the Indo-European medio-passive has a morphologically complex origin, and that its affinity with the PIE perfect and Anatolian *hi*-conjugation was older than its opposition to the active paradigm. She states that the ancestor of the perfect and *hi*-conjugation was a morphological category, distinct from the ancestral forms of the medio-passive.

Luraghi (2012) searched for the basic valency of the Indo-European language family. In her research, based on the typology as proposed in Nichols et al. (2004), she distinguishes transitivizing languages from languages with detransitivizing strategies. In the former, intransitive verbs are the “naked” basic verbs of the language, opposed to transitive verbs, which are recognizable by extra marking. In detransitivizing languages it is the other way around; transitive verbs are the basic verbs and intransitive the marked ones. She states that, looking at the ancient Indo-European languages, evidence is found for both transitivization and voice alternation² as devices to encode the basic valency of the Proto-Indo-European. Luraghi states that “[r]egarding voice alternation, it must be stressed that, as neither voice can be considered to be derived with respect to the other, the pattern attests to indeterminate basic valency instantiated by conjugation change” (2012:25). Languages with a indeterminate basic valency are not very common, as revealed in the typology studies of Nichols and others.

In order to determine the basic valency of the Proto-Indo-European language, the function of the medium inflection is very important and still heavily debated. Benveniste stated already in 1966 that the distribution of voice in Proto-Indo-European was lexical. According to him, verbs were divided into two conjugation classes, active and medium, based on their lexical meaning. Luraghi (2012) found that the same is true for Hittite. She states that “even languages in which voice alternation is well established and the middle has developed into a real medio-passive attest to such an original situation, as for example Ancient Greek, in which some verbs developed active forms only later than middle forms” (2012:24).

According to Luraghi, this findings lead us to a stage in which active and medium were morphologically different conjugations, probably with a semantic, lexical distinction. In late-Proto-Indo-European some verbs probably started to be inflected in both conjugations, which created the start of a voice system. This extension of (either) conjugation to a verb with the other conjugation must have meant that the verb was dealing with two different core meanings, belonging to each of the conjugations. In the Indo-European languages are many verbs inflected in both inflections, but the high number of media and activa tantum makes it impossible to say something about which voice is basic and which voice is derived because these forms are unmarked. Luraghi states though that it seems quite clear that voice alternation is connected with basic valency; the medium inflection indicates spontaneous events while the active one indicates control. The Indo-European languages which do not have a medium inflection anymore contain a further developed derivational pattern; they rather use derivation than inflection to indicate basic valency.

Now let us zoom in on Hittite, to see what could be said about the basic valency in that language and what the special features of the Hittite verbal system are.

2.2 In Hittite

2.2.1 Typological approach

Luraghi (2012) also focused on Hittite in her search for basic valency. According to her, Hittite is a heavily transitivizing language, which means that the language often makes use of transitivizing affixes on unmarked non-transitive verbs (either stative verbs or uncontrolled change-of-state event) to create an active counterpart beside the basic verb. She states that “[m]any intransitive verbs which served as a basis for causative derivation were also characterized by being inflected in the middle voice; most of them were media tantum” (2012:25).

Of the verbs that indicate an uncontrolled event, there is a clear division visible between the stative verbs and the change-of-state verbs. The stative verbs are more likely to be completely inflected in the medio-passive inflection and no stative verb allows for voice alternation. The change-of state verbs could be either activa or media tantum and do allow some degree of voice alternation: If the verb is inflected in both inflections, the medio-passive forms indicate a change-of-state where the active forms point to a transitive action. Luraghi states that although Hittite has a high amount of labile verbs (“that

² Luraghi does use the term “voice” for both the inflection and the function of the inflection.

is, verbs which can be used both intransitively and transitively without overt marking” (2012:4)), the pattern is clearly visible, and it is significant when compared with other Indo-European languages.

According to Luraghi, voice alternation “is also involved to some extent to valency alternation” (2012:13) beside transitivizing strategies. The Hittite medio-passive has, beside the function to detransitivize sentences, various other functions, but some seem to contradict each other; there is, for example, a small group of verbs that are only inflected in the medio-passive inflection (*media tanta*) but with transitive meanings, which we normally would expect for active forms.

The function of the Hittite medium is still considered to be a complex matter by many scholars, which is still roughly unexplained regarding the details. Erich Neu (1968) was the only scholar who attempted to explore this Hittite medium extensively, but his work is largely outdated by now, according to Luraghi. The scholars who are engaged in this matter are puzzled by the fact that the Hittite medium does not behave like the medium inflection behaves in many Indo-European languages. Whereas in Greek this inflection for example denotes mostly the typical self-beneficent function, the Hittite medio-passive is self-beneficent in a very few cases only, and is only a few times used to represent a passive. Luraghi explains:

“The basic function of the [Hittite] middle seems to be to indicate uncontrolled events, often, but not only, states. For stative verbs and for adjectives, a frequent pattern features a three-fold opposition, whereby the stative verb was basic (or it was an adjective), and had both a change-of-state (fientive) and a transitive counterpart. Such a pattern is remindful of similar patterns attested in other ancient Indo-European languages” (2012:22).

According to her, it is visible that, within the category of uncontrolled event verbs, the stative verbs are more likely to be completely inflected in the medio-passive inflection than the change-of-state verbs, which could be either *activa* or *media tanta*.

2.2.2 Linguistic approach

Let us now look at the Hittite verbal system from the linguistic point of view. As described clearly in Hoffner and Melchert (2008:180-184) and as we already have seen above, the Hittite finite verb contains two inflections: active and medio-passive. The active forms are divided in the *mi-* and *hi-* conjugation, while this division does not occur in the medio-passive inflection. Inflections carry functions with them, as we already have seen in the former section of this thesis.

The function of the Hittite active inflection is generally quite clear. Active forms denote almost always actions, in which the subject is the initiator of the action, the agent. Most of these active verbs are transitive and require an accusative object in the sentence, like Hittite *epp-^{zi}/app-* ‘to take, to seize (someone/something)’; the other ones are intransitive, mostly denoting states which do not need an object, like verbs as *eš-^{zi}/aš-* ‘to be’. A verb that only occurs in the active inflection is called an *activa tantum*.

The medio-passive inflection is less transparent in Hittite and seems to have more functions; as the name already would suggest could this inflection roughly be divided into a medium and a passive function.

To denote the opposition between the active and the passive function, the Hittites used, beside a construction with the verb *eš-/aš-^{zi}* ‘to be’ plus the participle of the verb in question, also the medio-passive inflection: For instance, the active Hittite stem *armizziya* means ‘to bridge something’, whereas its medio-passive counterpart denotes ‘to be bridged’, as we could see in the sentences below (in the first one the active 3pl. present form versus the medio-passive 3pl. imperative form in the second sentence):

ṛnam-ma-aš-ši šu-up-pí-ja-an¹-ni ḥa-an-da še-er ṛar-mi-iz-zi-ja-an-zi (KUB 36.83 i 5-6)
“Ferner **überbrückt** man ihm (die Grube) wegen der Reinheit” (Bawanypeck 2005:266-267)

nu=uš-ma-aš HUR.SAG^{MEŠ} *pe-ra-an ták-ša-at-ni-ya-an-ta-ru* [ÍD^{HL.A}]*aš-ma-aš pe-ra-an ar-mi-iz-zi-ja-an-ta-ru* (KUB 15.34 i 45-46) “before you let mountains be levelled, before you let rivers **be bridged**” (Puhvel 1984a:161)

Hoffner and Melchert state (2008:303) that medio-passive forms that show a transitive active function are called deponents, and that most of these verbs are also attested with active forms in the same meaning, like *pahš*-^{a(ri)/i} does. I however, will use the term “deponent” exclusively for verbs that represent a (transitive) active meaning and *only* occur in the medio-passive inflection; therefore, I consider *pahš*-^{a(ri)/i} not to be a deponent.

The function of the Hittite medium is much harder to generalize into one function; some functions are more clearly marked than others: There is a reflexive marker *-z(a)* after some medio-passive counterparts of active verbs and some plural medio-passive forms could represent a reciprocal meaning: Medio-passive *zahḫiya-* means ‘to fight each other’.

Melchert and Hoffner (2008:303) state that some medio-passive counterparts to active inflected forms have a reflexive meaning without the marker *-z(a)*, “expressing an action performed by the subject on the subject: *nai-* (act.) ‘to turn something’, (m.-p.) ‘to turn oneself’” (2008:303). Still, there seems to be no general reflexive meaning inside the medium forms, like for example the medium forms in Ancient Greek (like the medium counterpart *λούομαι* ‘I wash myself’ to active *λούω* ‘I wash (trans.)’). Often, it is not clear what the distinct function of these medio-passive counterparts is.

So, roughly stated, there are four categories of Hittite verbs:

1. Verbs that only occur in active forms (*activa tanta*) with one clear meaning; adverbs and addenda make some variation in this meaning possible. Most of these verbs are transitive (for example verbs with *-nu*-^{zi}, like *arnu*-^{zi} ‘to make go, to transport’), some of these verbs are intransitive and stative, like the verb *eš*-^{zi/aš}- ‘to be’.
2. Verbs that only occur in medio-passive forms (*media tanta*) with one clear meaning; adverbs and addenda make some variation in this meaning possible. An example of this category is *ki*-^{ta(ri)} ‘to lie’.
3. Verbs that occur in both active and medio-passive forms, with a clear distinction in function between the two inflections, like *uešš*-^{ta}/*uašše/a*-^{zi}, of which the active forms (+ acc. + dat.) denote ‘to put something on on someone’, where its medio-passive forms without any object denote ‘to be dressed, to be covered’.
4. Verbs that occur in both active and medio-passive forms, of which the distinction in meaning is not (yet) clear. *pahš*-^{a(ri)/i} is such a verb.

Now we have seen why *pahš*-^{a(ri)/i} is problematic, it is time to dive into this verb and explore what other scholars have written about this verb, where after we could analyze the data in order to get possibly the answer to the main question of this research: What determines whether active or medio-passive forms of *pahš*-^{a(ri)/i} are used?

3. The Hittite verb *paḫš-*^{a(ri)/i}

It is striking how much is written about the Hittite verb *paḫš-*^{a(ri)/i}; it is obvious that many scholars consider this verb to be an interesting, but difficult problem for which they have found no satisfactory solution yet. Before we start the data analysis to search for answers, let us first look how other scholars have treated the verb *paḫš-*^{a(ri)/i} in their (etymological) Hittite dictionaries.

Kronasser states in his *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache* (EHS, 1966:519) that the active and medio-passive forms of *paḫš-*^{a(ri)/i} should be translated the same way and that they sometimes occur next to each other. It seems to me that he does not exactly know how to express the difference between the active forms of *paḫš-*^{a(ri)/i} and the medio-passive ones.

Neu (1968a) sees more differences in translation and distinguishes a transitive meaning of the verb from a reflexive and a medio-stative meaning. He states that the transitive meaning of *paḫš-*^{a(ri)/i} is ‘to protect, to keep’ and that the active and the medio-passive transitive forms are equal to each other. He gives an example, in which he translates both forms indeed equally to each other:

nu ammel DUMU-IA DUMU^{MEŠ}-KA-ia katta aššuli paḫšari^DUTU^{ŠI}-ma tuk paḫḫašḫi (KBo 5.3 i 37-38) “und mein Sohn wird auch deine Söhne entsprechend freundlich **schützen**; ich meine Sonne, aber werde dich **schützen**” (1968:63).

According to Neu, the reflexive meaning of the verb is ‘to be in the protection of someone (+dat) (“sich schützen lassen” (1968:63))’, of which he gives the example:

[QA-DU] É^{TI}-ua-mu IR-aḫ-ḫu-ut nu A-NA DINGR^{LIM} QA-DU É^{TI}-IA [pa-aḫ-ḫ]a-aš-ḫa-ḫa-at (KUB 1.1 + 1304/u 3.5f.) “werde mir samt dem Hause untertan!” Und ich **begab mich** mit meinem Hause **in den Schutz** der Gottheit” (Neu 1968b:132)

Of the medio-static meaning ‘to be loyal to (+ dat.)’ he gives the following example:

nu-uš-ši^I A-zi-ra-aš QA-TAM-MA [(pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-t)]a-at (KUB 23.1 i 20) “und **ihm** gegenüber war Aziru ebenso **loyal**” (1968b:132).

Oettinger (1979:210) states that *paḫš-* was a *mi*-conjugated verb before Old Hittite, with the inflection [*pāḫšmi*], [*pāḫšši*], [*pāḫšzi*].³ He states that from Old Hittite onwards, there are some renewing changes in Hittite: Analogical to some medio-passive inflected verbs with transitive meanings like *ḫatt-* ‘to hew’ and *tuhš-* ‘to cut (off)’ arose the meaning for *paḫš-* ‘to protect’. He states that the medio-passive and the active forms are equally often attested in the same texts, in all the periods of Hittite, but that in New Hittite the active forms are prevailing. He also notices that instead of the expected 2sg. imperative **pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš* we find from Old Hittite onwards the form *pa-aḫ-ši*. He proposes that the 2sg. active present form could have replaced the 2sg. active imperative form. Later, however, he will withdraw this proposal to propose a new theory on *paḫši* (see Oettinger 2007).

The *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (CHD, 1997) has treated the verb *paḫš-*^{a(ri)/i} extensively and gives for many various subjects and possible objects different specific translations. The main translations are ‘to protect, keep safe, to guard, to defend, to restrain, to hold in (harmful or dangerous things), to observe (agreements), to keep (oaths/secrets), to heed (advice), to obey (commands)’ and they distinguish also a distinct meaning for the medio-passive forms: ‘to seek protection with’. The CHD provides us an extensive and very complete list of all attestations of *paḫš-*^{a(ri)/i}, which I will use in the next section.

³ I rather agree with Kloekhorst, who states: “The active forms are treated by Oettinger [...] as *mi*-conjugated, who cites 1sg. pres. act. *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-mi*. This is misleading, as this form occurs only once, whereas *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ḫi* is attested many times. I therefore assume that the active verb originally is *ḫi*-conjugated” (Kloekhorst 2008:612).

Kloekhorst states in his *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* (EDHIL, 2008:611-612) that the Hittite verb *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i} is cognate with Latin *pāscō* ‘to graze’, Old Church Slavic *pasti* ‘to pasture’ and Serbo-Croatian *pāsti* ‘to pasture, to look after’. On the basis of these cognates, together with the Anatolian cognate Cuneiform Luwian *pa-* ‘to protect?’, Kloekhorst transposes the Proto-Indo-European stems of this verb as **péh₂s-o*, **póh₂s-ei*, **ph₂s-neu-*. The translations Kloekhorst gives for *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i} largely correspond to those of the CHD, but for the medium function he states way more cautiously ‘to seek protection with?’. He adds that there is no traceable difference in meaning between the active and the medio-passive forms.

Also Tischler gives approximately the same translations for *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i} in his *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar* (HEG, 2001) but states more confidently: “MP auch ‘sich in den Schutz von jemanden begeben’ und ‘loyal sein (gegen jemanden)’” (HEG:361). He makes us clear that there are no forms of *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i} attested in Old Script texts; the earliest texts with forms of *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i} are Middle Script texts.

Puhvel (HED, 1984a) notices that there are no attestations of a 3sg. present active form **paḥši* or **paḥšašzi* at all, no attestations of a 2sg. imperative medio-passive form **paḥšašhut* and no participle **paḥšant*. He states: “[s]eemingly the reinforced transitival *paḥšnu-* [...] helped neutralize the diathesis of *paḥš-* and itself monopolized the participial usage (*paḥšanuwant*)” (HED:16). He states that the original active meaning of *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i} must have been ‘protect, be protective of’ versus medio-passive ‘be protected, be a protégé of, be beholden to’. He speculates:

“[...] with overuse in diplomatic language, and the pretense of mutuality in vassal treaties, being a protégé came to signify ‘return the favor, be (in turn) protective’, i.e. ‘be loyal to, uphold’ the medio-passive thus blending in meaning with the active” (HED:16).

According to Puhvel there are some old traces of intransitive medio-passive reconstructions in which the translation ‘be loyal to’ prevails. He makes clear that this sense of reciprocal loyalty is not shared by the transitive *paḥšnu-*^{zi}, which does not occur in such treaty formulas.

The things we could conclude out of these dictionary lemmas are:

- There are no forms of *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i} in Old Script texts;
- there are no attestations of a 3sg. present active form, no 2sg. medio-passive imperative and no participle of the verb *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i};
- there are direct cognates of *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i} in other Indo-European languages, which all could go back to the PIE root **peh₂-s-*;
- there are medio-passive forms of *paḥš*-^{a(ri)/i}, which seem to be equal in meaning to active forms;
- we possibly could make a distinction between transitive, reflexive and stative meanings;
- possible translations are ‘to protect, keep safe, to guard, to defend, to restrain, to hold in (harmful or dangerous things), to observe (agreements), to keep (oaths/secrets), to heed (advice), to obey (commands)’ and for the middle ‘to seek protection with, be loyal to’;
- the active and medio-passive forms could have lost their distinctive meanings by mutuality in vassal treaties.

The (cautious suggested) translations of the medio-passive forms by Neu, The CHD, Kloekhorst and Tischler and the statement of Puhvel that there are some traces of an old difference in meaning because of the reciprocal loyalty belonging to vassal treaties, are of course very important for this research: If these traces actually exist in the older texts, and we could apply these translations to all of the texts, the answer to the main question of this thesis is already given.

Puhvel gives the following sources as examples for traces of this old medio-passive meaning:

KUB 23.103 obv. 5 *nu-šši DUMU-ŠU PAP-ri kuit* ‘because his son **was loyal to him**’

KUB 23.1 i 19-20 *nu-šši¹ Aziraš paḥšaštat* ‘A[ziraš] **was loyal to him**’

KUB 21.49 obv. 5-6 *nu* ¹*Aziraš* *ABU-YA-pát* *paḥḥaštat* ⁴ [... *ABU-YA* ¹*Azir*] *an...* *paḥḥaštat*
 ‘A[ziraš] **was loyal to** my father... and my father **was protective of**
 A[ziraš]’

This last example however, does in my opinion not belong between these alleged old traces: The first *ABU-YA* must be an accusative in this sentence, because otherwise it would be *ANA ABU-YA*. Therefore, this line is not different from the other lines with medio-passive forms of *paḥḥ-^{a(ri)/i}*. Besides that, if we look at the age of the texts in which the first two passages occur, it is striking that these examples of “old traces” are in fact both composed and written down in the youngest Hittite period. So if there was indeed an old division in meaning between the active and the medio-passive inflection, these examples are invalid to prove that old division too. Therefore, we still have to analyze the available data of *paḥḥ-^{a(ri)/i}*, to see whether we could find some other evidence for the division in meaning as Puhvel argues for, or whether we are able to find another distinction in function between the two inflections of *paḥḥ-^{a(ri)/i}*.

It still seems striking to me that the two inflections have existed next to each other during all the Hittite periods. In the next section we will see that there may be a tendency in which the active forms become more common in later texts, but it is a fact that the 3sg. present form of *paḥḥ-^{a(ri)/i}* is always inflected in the medio-passive and never in the active inflection, despite of this tendency of the rest of the verbal forms. On the other hand, there is this 2sg. imperative that always occurs in the active inflection and never occurs in the medio-passive form, not even in the earliest period. Why are these forms never inflected in the other inflection, and why are some other forms inflected in both inflections instead of forming a single, suppletive paradigm.

I think that there must have been a difference in function between both inflections in all periods. The question is what exactly determines the use of the active or the medio-passive inflection. In the next section, I will provide an overview of the available data of the Hittite verb *paḥḥ-^{a(ri)/i}* and make a complete analysis of this data in order to be able to give an answer to the questions above.

⁴ Both in the handcopy of KUB 21.49 obv. 5-6 as on the pictures of the Hetkonk database, this place where this first *paḥḥaštat* must have stood is crumbled. I do not know what the exact source of Puhvel is, but I would rather transcribe [*paḥḥaštat*].

4. Data analysis

Sommer and Falkenstein pointed out already in 1938, that the change of diathesis between the active 2sg. imperative *pa-aḫ-ši* and the medio-passive 2sg. present form *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta* in KUB 1.16 iii 28 is striking:

[*nu at-ta-aš ud-da-]a-ar pa-aḫ-ši || ma-a-an at-ta-aš ut-tar pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta ||*

They translate: “[So] **bewahre** [des Vaters Wor]te! - Solange du des Vaters Wort(e?) **bewahrst**, [...]” (1938:13) and they state: “Hier ist wegen *paḫši* zu buchen, daß die zweiten Personen des Imperativs eine Vorliebe für aktive Form zu haben scheinen” (1938:148).

Why is this change of inflection and what do these preferences tell us? Does the medio-passive inflection have its own function, distinct from the active one? And, back to the main question as posited above: What determines whether the active is used or the medio-passive inflection? These questions will be answered during this research.

Erich Neu provided in 1968 a schematic overview of the paradigms that had been attested for *paḫš^{a(ri)/i}* (see figure 1, x = form is attested):

Present			Preterite			Imperative		
	Act.	MP.		Act.	MP.		Act.	MP.
sg. 1	x	x	sg. 1	-	x	sg. 1	-	-
2	x	x	2	x	-	2	x	-
3	-	x	3	x	x	3	-	x
<hr/>			<hr/>			<hr/>		
pl. 1	x	x	pl. 1	-	-	pl.		
2	x	x	2	-	-	2	x	x
3	x	x	3	x	-	3	x	x

Figure 1 Attested forms of *paḫš^{a(ri)/i}* in 1968 (Neu 1968:63-64)

About thirty years later, much more attestations of *paḫš^{a(ri)/i}* are found; all the attested forms are collected and displayed in the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (CHD, volume P:2-7). To this day, this is the most complete list of attestations. More evidence and a slightly different view on - and reading of⁵ - some Hittite passages have caused that the schematic paradigms look slightly different by now (see figure 2):

Present			Preterite			Imperative		
	Act.	MP.		Act.	MP.		Act.	MP.
sg. 1	x	x	sg. 1	x ^{4a}	x	sg. 1	-	-
2	x	x	2	- ^{4b}	-	2	x	-
3	-	x	3	x	x	3	x ^{4c}	x
<hr/>			<hr/>			<hr/>		
pl. 1	x	x	pl. 1	-	-	pl.		
2	x	x	2	-	-	2	x	x
3	x	x	3	x	-	3	x	x

Figure 2 Attested forms of *paḫš^{a(ri)/i}* in 1997 (CHD, volume P:2-3)

Figure 2 provides us a clear confirmation of the words of Puhvel (1984a); there is no active 3sg. present form attested, nor a medio-passive 2sg. imperative.

⁵ The differences:

a. The active 1sg. pret. form *pa-aḫ-ḫa-[aš-ḫu-u]n* is attested in KBo 21.12:8 (s. CHD:2, HEG:361).

b. CHD (P:2) considers *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta* KUB 21.1 i 45 to be an act. 3sg. pret., as does Tischler (HEG:361). This was the only form Neu considered to be an active 2sg. pret. of *paḫš^{a(ri)/i}*.

c. The act. 3sg. imp. form *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-du* is among others attested in Bronze tablet ii 73 (s. CHD:2, HEG:362)

In figure 3 I have put the numbers of attestations, to make clear that these separations seem to be quite significant:

Present			Preterite			Imperative		
	Act.	MP.		Act.	MP.		Act.	MP.
sg. 1	19	3	sg. 1	1	7	sg. 1	-	-
2	10	1	2	-	-	2	29	-
3	-	9	3	5	5	3	3	8
pl. 1	3	2	pl. 1	-	-	pl.		
2	8	4	2	-	-	2	24	4
3	1	4	3	1	-	3	3	24
	41	23		7	12		59	36
								= 178

Figure 3 The numbers of all attested forms of $paḥṣ\text{-}^{a(ri)/i}$

We see in figure 3 that there are nine attestations of the medio-passive 3sg. present form versus zero active ones and that there are twenty-nine(!) active 2sg. imperatives of $paḥṣ\text{-}^{a(ri)/i}$ attested, versus zero medio-passive ones. Why would the Hittites only use these forms $paḥṣari$ and $paḥṣi$ and never active 3sg. present $*paḥṣi$ or medio-passive 2sg. imperative $*paḥḥaṣḥut$? Again the question arises: What determines whether to use an active form or a medio-passive form in Hittite?

To be possibly able to find the answers to the questions posited above, it is necessary to analyze the available data. In order to provide a complete analysis, I will take the following steps:

1. To see if it is possible to assign a distinction in function between active and medio-passive forms of $paḥṣ\text{-}^{a(ri)/i}$, it is necessary to first figure out whether forms in both inflections are occurring in all periods or whether there is a chronological division visible between active and medio-passive forms of this verb. This is because in the latter case a distinction in function is not necessary; if, for example, all medio-passive forms are only attested in the older text and the active ones in the younger texts, the active ones could have completely replaced the medio-passive ones and probably have taken over their function and meaning.
2. In the case we could conclude that there is no chronological distribution visible, the next step is to look at the texts in which both active and medio-passive forms of $paḥṣ\text{-}^{a(ri)/i}$ occur. It is interesting to see whether we could assign a complementary distribution, that is, whether we could denote that (a) certain inflected form(s) of $paḥṣ\text{-}^{a(ri)/i}$ only occur(s) when (a) certain other form(s) of $paḥṣ\text{-}^{a(ri)/i}$ occur in that text. If this actually is the case (for instance, if all singular forms are in the active inflection whereas all plural forms are in the medio-passive inflection when both numbers occur in one text), a distinction in function between the inflections is again not necessary, because the different inflected forms then form together one paradigm. If this is not the case, the two inflections have either totally merged so that the Hittites did not see (anymore) the difference between the two inflections, or there is still a distinction in function to assign.
3. The only way to certainly know whether there is a distinction in function between the two inflections, is when we could find any text in which both an active and a medio-passive form of $paḥṣ\text{-}^{a(ri)/i}$ occurs, with concord in tense or mood, number and person. If this is the case, we could look at the context of these forms in order to assign a distinction in function between these two different inflected forms.
4. If there is a (possible) distinction in function to assign between these both forms, we could look at other texts in which both an active and a medio-passive form of $paḥṣ\text{-}^{a(ri)/i}$ occur and even to text in which only active or medio-passive forms occur, to see whether we could also apply this

distinction in function in the other texts. If this is indeed the case, we have answered successfully all the questions posited above.

In order to analyze the forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* while following the steps above, the available data⁶ must meet the following requirements to be useful for this research:

- It must be a verbal form of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}*;
- there should be among scholars generally agreed upon which inflection, tense/mood, number and person the form represents⁷;
- the dating of the text composition⁸ in which the form is attested must be generally agreed upon. A distinction is made between Old Hittite (OH), Middle Hittite (MH) and Neo-Hittite (NH) texts;
- the dating of the script of the text in which the form is attested must be generally agreed upon. A distinction is made between Old Script (OS), Middle Script (MS), New Script (NS) and Late New Script (LNS) texts.

Of the 178 attestations there are unfortunately three occurrences which do not meet (completely) the requirements as established above:

- The age of the text composition of KUB 31.37 obv. 10, in which active 2pl. imperative *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén* is attested, is still unknown; therefore, this form must be excluded of any analysis with regard to text composition age;
- the age of the text composition of KBo 19.60:12, in which medio-passive 3 sg. medio-passive *pa-aḥ-ša-ri* is attested, is also unknown and is therefore not taken into account in any analysis with regard to text composition age as well;
- About the dating of the text composition of KBo 21.12:8, in which the active 1sg. preterite form *pa-aḥ-ḥa-[aš-ḥu-u]n* is attested, is not much known, beside that it must be pre-NH. This form will not be taken into account in any analysis with regard to text composition age.

I colored these three attestations red in appendix 1.

4.1 Chronological distribution?

To take the first step of this research as established above and reveal a potential chronological division between active and medio-passive forms, we should take a look at the forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* in each inflection, occurring in the different periods of the Hittite scribal tradition. I have put the 175 relevant forms in one table (see figure 4 below) to provide a clear overview of the number of forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* in the different composition periods of Hittite.

	OH	MH	NH	Number of attestations
Active	59%	29%	70%	105
Medio-passive	41%	71%	30%	70
Number of attestations	22	35	118	175

Figure 4 Percentages of attested forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* in the different composition periods of Hittite

Although this figure makes clear that there are less attestations of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* in Old Hittite compositions available, there is no substantial difference between the active and medio-passive forms in these oldest compositions. In Middle Hittite compositions it looks like there is some more preference for medio-

⁶ A list of all occurrences with their publication number, age of composition and age of script is provided in the appendix of this thesis.

⁷ According to the CHD, the alleged medio-passive 1sg. preterite form *[pa-ḥ]a-aš-ḥa-ḥa-at* in KUB 1.1 iii 6 (Goetze 1925:22) must be read as *[IR-a]h-ha-ha-at*; this is not a verbal form of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* and is therefore excluded from the whole analysis and from the appendix.

⁸ For the age of the composition of the Hittite texts, I mostly consulted my digital database, kindly provided by Alwin Kloekhorst, in which most Hittite texts and their evaluated (by Weitenberg (1984:13-21), Oettinger (1979:573-580) and/or Melchert(1977:45-131)) composition age are listed. For the age of the script, I mostly consulted the online Konkordanz of Silvin Košak. In some cases I consulted Groddeck's Liste to see if somebody else has written something about the (possible) age of the texts but I considered the evaluations of Melchert and Košak (if available) as decisive. If there was an estimation of age available but no certainty about the age (of script or composition), I assumed the estimation to be the right one.

passive forms, whereas in Neo-Hittite compositions the active forms clearly prevail. Hoffner and Mechlert (2008:233) state that a Hittite tendency is visible, in which medio-passive forms with active transitive meaning are mostly converted to the active *hi*-conjugation in Neo-Hittite, probably because of the strong association of the medio-passive inflection with verbs with intransitive meaning. This tendency is also visible in the data of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}*; while in the oldest text medio-passive forms prevail, in the younger periods the active forms are more numerous. However, both active and medio-passive forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}* are attested in all composition periods, so at this point, we could not speak of a chronological distribution.

Beside the composition age it is also necessary to look at the age of the script of the texts in which the forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}* occur. I have put the data in the table below (see figure 5).

	OS	MS	NS	LNS	<u>Number of attestations</u>
Active	-	23%	68%	70%	107
Medio-passive	-	27%	32%	30%	71
<u>Number of attestations</u>	0	31	105	41	<u>178</u>

Figure 5 Percentages of attested forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}* in the different scribal periods of Hittite

Here again, about the same division is clear between the attestations in Middle Script texts and New Script texts as we saw in Middle Hittite and Neo-Hittite compositions above. There are less Late New Script texts with forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}*, but also for these texts is it clear that the active forms prevail. It is however striking that there are no forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}* at all attested in Old Script texts. That means that there are only later copies available of Old Hittite compositions, or, if available in Old Script, the forms for *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}* did not yet occur in those texts. This lack may be remarkable, but since this research is about the *distinction* between the active and medio-passive forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}*, it is of not much value for this research; neither active nor medio-passive forms are attested in OS texts, so there is nothing to say about the distinction in function between the two inflections in OS texts.

Although there is some variety of the prevailed inflection of the forms in the different periods, figures 4 and 5 above made clear that there is no significant distinction between active and medio-passive inflected forms; both inflections occur next to each other in all periods except that neither occurs in OS texts. It is however interesting to take a look at the differences between the attestations of the various forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}*, to see whether there may be a chronological division visible; see figure 6 below.

<u>Script</u>		OS	MS	NS	LNS	<u>Composition</u>		OH	MH	NH	
	present	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP
sg.	1	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	-
	2	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	-
	3	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	x
	<hr/>										
	pl.	1	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x
		2	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	x
3		-	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	
<hr/>											
	preterite	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP
sg.	1	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	x
<hr/>											
pl.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x	-

imperative		OS		MS		NS		LNS		imperative		OH		MH		NH	
		A	MP	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP	A	MP
sg.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	x	-	x	-
	3	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	x
pl.	2	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	x	x	x

Figure 6 Attestations of the various forms of $paḥṣ-^{a(ri)i}$ in the different scribal periods and composition periods

Here again, it is striking that any OS evidence is completely lacking. But what this table also reveals is that in MS texts the division between active and medio-passive forms is remarkable. The only active forms attested in MS texts are the 2sg. and 2pl. imperatives $paḥṣi$ and $paḥḥaṣten$ and the only attested active indicative form is the 2pl. present form $paḥḥaṣteni$; all other attested forms are in the medio-passive inflection. In the preterite, neither active nor medio-passive forms are attested in OS and MS texts. If we look at the oldest attestations we have, OH/MS, only the active 2sg. imperative $paḥṣi$ is attested beside medio-passive forms 1sg. present $paḥḥaṣḥa$ and 3pl. $paḥṣanta$.

Therefore, we could conclude that there is a little chronological division between the occurrences of active and medio-passive forms of $paḥṣ-^{a(ri)i}$; the question is whether this division is significant for this research: Again, the distinction in attestations between the active and medio-passive forms is not that overwhelming: The three OH/MS attestations mentioned above are in fact the only three OH/MS attestations. In my opinion the conclusion is that there is no significant chronological division visible. The well-occupied medio-passive present paradigm in MS texts versus the solely active present MS form may indeed tell us that originally $paḥṣ-^{a(ri)i}$ could have been a medium tantum verb in earlier times, and that in later times there is a tendency visible in which the active forms begin to prevail. But since the active forms already in MS texts coexist with the medio-passive forms and the medio-passive forms keep coexisting with the more frequent used active forms in later times does in my opinion confirm that there actually must have been a distinction in function between the two inflections. The other possibilities are that the forms of both inflections are occurring in a complementary distribution, or that the active and medio-passive forms of $paḥṣ-^{a(ri)i}$ have completely merged through the different stages of Hittite; the Hittites then lost the distinction between the two inflections and did use these different inflected forms completely random.

4.2 Texts with both active and medio-passive forms of $paḥṣ-^{a(ri)i}$

To continue this research, the next step is to look if there are any inscriptions in which both active and medio-passive forms of $paḥṣ-^{a(ri)i}$ occur, preferably close to each other. In figure 7 below I collected the inscriptions in which this is the case within the same column of the tablet in question.

Place of attestation		Inflection				
KBo 4.10 rev. 6	NH/NS	Active	2	sg.	pres.	$pa-aḥ-ḥa-aṣ-ti$
KBo 4.10 rev. 8	NH/NS	Active	2	sg.	pres.	$pa-aḥ-ḥa-aṣ-ti$
KBo 4.10 rev. 10	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3	pl.	imp.	$pa-aḥ-ṣa-an-ta-ru$
KBo 4.12 rev. 3	NH/NS	Medio-passive	2	pl.	imp.	$pa-aḥ-ḥa-aṣ-du-ma-at$
KBo 4.12 rev. 4	NH/NS	Active	3	pl.	imp.	$pa-aḥ-ṣa-an-du$
KBo 5.3 i 16	NH/NS	Active	2	sg.	imp.	$pa-aḥ-ṣi$
KBo 5.3 i 31	NH/NS	Active	2	sg.	imp.	$pa-aḥ-ṣi$
KBo 5.3 i 34	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3	sg.	pres.	$pa-aḥ-ṣa-ri$
KBo 5.3 i 37	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3	sg.	pres.	$pa-aḥ-ṣa-ri$
KBo 5.3 i 38	NH/NS	Active	1	sg.	pres.	$pa-aḥ-ḥa-aṣ-ḥi$
KBo 5.3 ii 10	NH/NS	Active	2	sg.	pres.	$pa-aḥ-ḥa-aṣ-ti$
KBo 5.3 ii 12	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3	pl.	imp.	$pa-aḥ-ṣa-an-da-ru$
KBo 5.3 ii 22	NH/NS	Active	2	sg.	imp.	$pa-aḥ-ṣi$
KUB 1.16 iii 28	OH/NS	Active	2	sg.	imp.	$pa-aḥ-ṣi$
KUB 1.16 iii 28	OH/NS	Medio-passive	2	sg.	pres.	$pa-aḥ-ḥa-aṣ-ta$

KUB 1.16 iii 34	OH/NS	Medio-passive	2 pl. imp.	[pa-ah-ḥa-aš-d]u-ma-at
KUB 1.16 iii 47	OH/NS	Medio-passive	2 pl. pres.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-du-ma
KUB 1.16 iii 49	OH/NS	Medio-passive	2 pl. pres.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-du-ma
KUB 13.4 iii 14	OH/NS	Medio-passive	3 sg. imp.	pa-ah-ša-ru
KUB 13.4 iii 17	OH/NS	Active	2 pl. imp.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-tén
KUB 13.4 iii 26	OH/NS	Active	1 sg. pres.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ḥi
KUB 13.4 iii 45	OH/NS	Active	2 pl. imp.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-tén
KUB 21.1 i 45	NH/NS	Active	3 sg. pret.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ta
KUB 21.1 i 69	NH/NS	Active	2 sg. imp.	pa-ah-ši
KUB 21.1 i 69	NH/NS	Active	3 pl. pres.	pa-ah-ša-an-zi
KUB 21.1 i 70	NH/NS	Active	2 sg. imp.	pa-ah-ši
KUB 21.1 i 72	NH/NS	Medio-passive	1 sg. pret.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ḥa-ḥa-at
KUB 21.1 i 75	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3 pl. pres.	[pa-ah-ḥa-aš]-ša-an-ta-ri
KUB 21.1 iii 39	NH/NS	Active	2 sg. imp.	pa-ah-ši
KUB 21.1 iii 40	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3 sg. imp.	pa-ah-ša-[ru]
KUB 21.1 iii 44	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3 sg. imp.	pa-ah-ša-ru
KUB 21.1 iv 38	NH/NS	Active	2 sg. pres.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ti
KUB 21.49 obv. 6	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3 sg. pret.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ta-at
KUB 21.49 obv. 12	NH/NS	Active	3 pl. pret.	pa-ah-šir
KUB 21.5 ii 11	NH/NS	Active	2 sg. imp.	pa-ah-ši
KUB 21.5 ii 12	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3 pl. imp.	pa-ah-ša-an-da-ru
KUB 23.103 obv. 5	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3 sg. pres.	PAP-ri
KUB 23.103 rev. 7	NH/NS	Active	2 pl. imp.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-tén
KUB 26.33 ii 6	NH/NS	Medio-passive	1 sg. pret.	PAP-ah-ḥa-aš-ḥa-at
KUB 26.33 iii 22	NH/NS	Active	1 sg. pres.	PAP-ah-[ḥi]
KUB 26.33 iii 23	NH/NS	Active	1 sg. pres.	PAP-ah-ḥi
KUB 26.37:13	NH/NS	Active	2 sg. pres.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ti
KUB 26.37:14	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3 pl. imp.	pa-ah-ša-an-t[a-ru]
KUB 31.115:18	OH/NS	Medio-passive	1 sg. pres.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ḥa
KUB 31.115:19	OH/NS	Active	2 pl. imp.	pa-ah-ḥa-aš-tén
KUB 40.1 rev.! 29	NH/NS	Active	3 pl. imp.	PAP-an-d[u]
KUB 40.1 rev.! 33	NH/NS	Medio-passive	3 pl. pres.	PAP-an-d[a]

Figure 7 Hittite in which both active and medio-passive forms of $paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}$ occur within one tablet column

Now we have an overview of the texts in which both active and medio-passive forms of $paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}$ occur, it is interesting to look if these forms are occurring in complementary distribution with another. That is, to look whether some active forms are only occurring with specific medio-passive forms and vice versa. Because when this is the case, we could possibly formulate conditions in which the inflections do occur next to each other; the two inflections form together one paradigm and could share their function. In figure 8 below, I collected the forms of $paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}$, which are attested in texts with at least one form in the other inflection, and show with which form of the other inflection the forms occur.

Active	Medio-passive																	
	1 sg. pres.	2 sg. pres.	3 sg. pres.	1 pl. pres.	2 pl. pres.	3 pl. pres.	1 sg. pret.	2 sg. pret.	3 sg. pret.	1 pl. pret.	2 pl. pret.	3 pl. pret.	1 sg. imp.	2 sg. imp.	3 sg. imp.	1 pl. imp.	2 pl. imp.	3 pl. imp.
1 sg. pres.			X				X								X			X
2 sg. pres.															X			X
3 sg. pres.																		
1 pl. pres.																		
2 pl. pres.																		
3 pl. pres.						X	X											X
1 sg. pret.																		
2 sg. pret.																		
3 sg. pret.						X	X											
1 pl. pret.																		
2 pl. pret.																		
3 pl. pret.										X								
1 sg. imp.																		
2 sg. imp.		X	X		X	X	X								X	X	X	
3 sg. imp.																		
2 pl. imp.	X	X													X			
3 pl. imp.																	X	

Figure 8 Attested combinations of different inflected forms of $paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}$, occurring close to each other in a text

As we could see in figure 8, there is no clear visible pattern of combinations of different inflected forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}*; it is not just that certain forms only occur with a specific (group of) other inflected form(s). The active 2sg. imperative *paḥši* already occurs together with eight medio-passive forms of which both present and preterite forms as well imperative forms and of which first person forms, second person forms and third person forms. In my view, we could therefore conclude that the different inflected forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* are not occurring in complementary distribution.

The only solutions left are now either:

- The function of the two inflections has completely merged and that the Hittite people could randomly use the forms of both inflections, or
- there was a (strict) distinction in function between the both inflections.

4.3 Complete randomness or a strict distinction?

The first solution mentioned above, is in my opinion only possible if there is not once in any Hittite text the same form attested in both the active inflection and in the medio-passive inflection. That is: A concord in tense or mood, number and person between any active and medio-passive form of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* in the same text. Because if there is such a text, in which the author uses exactly the same form in both inflections, I assume that the author probably had a reason why he would use a different inflection.

If we look back at figure 7, we see that one inscription actually does meet this requirements; in KUB 21.1 i we do find in line 69 the active 3pl. present form *pa-aḥ-ša-an-zi*, while in line 75 of the same KUB 21.1 i the medio-passive 3pl. present [*pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš*]-*ša-an-ta-ri* is attested. This means that the suggested solution of complete randomness is not that probable anymore; since the Hittite person who wrote the text used the same form of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* in two different inflections just six lines away from each other, he probably would have meant to make a distinction between these two forms.

It would be interesting to look closer at this particular text. I have put the transcription of KUB 21.1 i 65-81 (NH/NS), supplemented with parts from duplicates of this composition where parts were broken⁹, after Friedrich (1930:50-57). Under the Hittite text one can find my transliteration.

65 [DUMU]-KA=ma ku-in LUGAL-ez-na-an-ni zi-ik ta-pár-ri-ja-ši x[]
66 [Š]A DAM-KA ma-a-n=a-aš=ta ŠA^{MUNUŠ} NAP-TI-GA n=a-aš ma-a-an nu-u-ya=[i]a? []
67 [n]=a-an=za=an KUR-an-za Ú-UL me-ma-a-i nu kiš-an te-ez-zi NUMUN=ya-r=a-aš DU[MU
LUGAL e-eš-du]⁹
68 ^dUTU^{SI}=ma=za Ú-UL me-ma-aḥ-ḥi kat-ta DUMU-IA DUMU.DUMU-IA ḥa-aš-ša ḥa-an-za-
a[š-ša]x-x
69 ***pa-aḥ-ša-an-zi*** zi-ik ^mA-la-ak-ša-an-du-uš ^dUTU^{SI} aš-šu-li ***pa-aḥ-ši***
70 kat-ta=ma am-me-el DUMU-IA DUMU.DUMU-IA ḥa-aš-ša ḥa-an-za-aš-ša ***pa-aḥ-ši***
71 nu ^dUTU^{SI} GIM-an tu-uk ^mA-la-ak-ša-an-du-un ŠIG₅-an-ti me-mi-ni
72 IŠ-TU A-ŪA-AT A-BU-KA ***pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥa-ḥa-at*** nu-u=t-ta ya-ar-ri u-ya-nu-un
73 nu-u=t-tá=k-kán ^{LÚ}KÚR-KA še-er ku-e-nu-un zi-la-ti-ja=ta kat-ta
74 [ḥa-aš-š]a ḥa-an-za-aš-ša tu-e-el DUMU-an am-me-el DUMU^{MEŠ}-IA DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ}-IA
75 ***[pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš]-ša-an-ta-ri***=pát ma-a-an=ta ^{LÚ}KÚR=[m]a ku-iš-ki a-ra-a-i
76 [(nu-ut-ták-kán)] ^dUTU^{SI} ki-nu-un GIM-an an-da Ú-UL da-la-aḥ-ḥu-un
77 [(a-pi-ja-ja)]-tá=k-kán an-da Ú-[UL d]a-a-li-ja-mi nu-u=tá=k-kán ^{LÚ}KÚR-KA
78 [(še-er ku-e-mi)] m[a]-a-[an tu-uk-ma ^mA]-la-ak-ša-an-du-un ŠEŠ-KA
79 [(na-a)š-(ma ŠA MAŠ-KA ku-iš-ki ya-aq-q)a-a-ri-ī[a-zi]
80 [(na-a)š-ma kat-ta DUMU-KA DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ}-KA ku-iš-ki] ya-aq-qa-°[(a-ri-ja-zi) nu Š(A
KU)]R ^{URU}U[i₅-lu-ša]
81 [(LUGAL-iz-na-tar ša-an-ḥa-an-zi ^dUTU^{SI}-ma t)]u-uk ^m[(A-la-ak-ša)-an-du-[(un)]
82 [] x x []

⁹ These parts are displayed as [...].

¹⁰ Friedrich is not sure of this addition.

- 65 But your [son], whom you decide for the kingship []
 66 whether he is (for you) [from] your wife or from your second wife, whether he is also still []
 67 and the people reject him (litt: say no to him), and speak this way: “[it must be] an offspring, a son of [the king]”.
 68 But I, The Majesty, will not agree (litt: will say no to them), my son, my grandson down all generat[ions]
 69 **will protect** []. You, Alakšanduš, **protect** The Majesty benevolently (litt: for well-being)
 70 and **protect** later my son, my grandson down all generations!
 71-72 Like I, The Majesty, **have protected** you, Alakšanduš, [regarding] the word of your father, in a good (litt. becoming good) way (litt: case/word), and [like] I came to help you
 73-75 and I therefore killed your enemy for you: In the future my sons and my grandsons [**will protect**(?) your son [down all] generations. And if some enemy will rise for you,
 76 like I, The Majesty, did not leave [you] behind now,
 77 I will not leave you behind [then] and [I will kill] your enemy for you.
 78-79 [But] i[f] your brother [or anyone of your family] rebels [against you, A]lakšanduš,
 80-81 [or any of your sons or grandsons] rebels [against you,] or [they avenge the kingship of the la]nd of W[ilusa, I, The Majesty, will [...] y]ou, [Alakš]andu[š]

It is unfortunate that exactly before the (for this research so important) verbal form *pa-aḫ-ša-an-zi* in line 69 the tablet has crumbled and therefore we do not know for sure the content and the meaning of this sentence. In figure 9 below, we could clearly see the signs *ḫa-aš-ša ḫa-an-za-* (marked with circle 9.1) on this fragment of the handcopy of KUB 21.1 i 68. Since *ḫa-aš-ša ḫa-an-za-aš-ša* ‘down all generations’ is a more frequent combination of Hittite words, which also makes its occurrence more often in this text, we expect the first crumbled signs to be *-aš-* and *-ša-*. The left part of the sign *-aš-* was at the time of the handcopy still visible and if we expect for the signs *-aš-ša-* to take approximately as much space as at the end of *ḫa-aš-ša* before, it will take as much space on the tablet as marked in circle 9.2. That means that the rest of the signs only had the space marked as 9.3, of which Friedrich the last two signs transliterates as “...-]e?-i?” (1930:56).

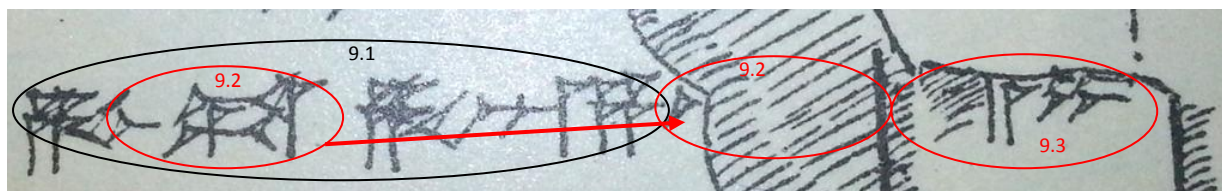


Figure 9 Handcopy of crumbled line 68 of KUB 21.1 i

Contextually, it seems that the object in the accusative, belonging to the transitive function of *paḫš^{a(ri)i}*, is missing in this line and concerning the context, it seems to me that this missing part should have been something like (*tu-el*) DUMU-KA ‘your son’, but the reading of Friedrich makes this quite difficult. The piece of the tablet on which these signs once stood has crumbled off more in younger times (as we could see on the pictures on the Hetkonk website), so I guess we will never know which signs actually have been there.

However, whatever this missing part exactly has been, considering that the ^dUTU^{šI} just had said in the former lines that he will disapprove it if the people reject the son of Alakšanduš, it seems logical to me that the following sentence must denote that like the ^dUTU^{šI} does, his sons and further offspring also will protect Alakšanduš and his further offspring. In my opinion, the best way to translate *pa-aḫ-ša-an-zi* would then be as a futuric present: “my son, my grandson down all generations **will protect** [...]”.

Let us now look at the other third person plural present, but medio-passive form of *paḫš^{a(ri)i}*, [*pa-aḫ-ḫa-a*]š-ša-an-ta-ri in line 75. Friedrich translates this form also as a futuric present:

- 71 Und wie ich, die Sonne, dich, Aleksandus, in freundlicher Weise
 72 gemäß dem Worte deines Vaters geschützt habe und dir zu Hilfe gekommen bin
 73 und für dich deinen Feind geschlagen habe, entsprechend(?) **werden** künftig
 74 dich (und) deinen Sohn, Enkel und Urenkel, meine Söhne (und) meine Enkel

75 ebenfalls **[schüt]zen**. (Friedrich, J 1930: 57)

Also the CHD translates this sentence this way:

71-75 “And just as I, My Majesty, protected you, Alakšandu, in good will [...] for the sake of the agreement with (lit. word of) your father ... so in the future my sons and my grandsons **will** also (-pat) **protect** you and your son (and) down to the third and fourth generations” (CHD, P 3)

Of course this translation would be valid if we would assume that there is no distinction between the active and the medio-passive forms. But like I stated above; if one would use two different inflections for exactly the same form in tense/mood, person and number, only six lines away from each other, he probably would have meant to make a distinction between these two forms.

I think that the interchange between the two inflections in this sentence has something to do with to stick to a pact; indeed with the mutuality in vassal treaties.

Contextually, the ^dUTU^{ŠI} highlights the pact he once made with the father of Alakšanduš: The ^dUTU^{ŠI} has agreed to protect Alakšanduš and his further offspring, and so must the further offspring of the ^dUTU^{ŠI} after him. The enclitic emphasizing particle -pat stresses the importance of the form *paḥšantari*.

I think the rough storyline then should be:

1. I (the Majesty) will stand up for you and your son, even though the people disagree.
2. My son and next generations will also protect you.
3. Now you must in return protect me and protect my next generations!
4. Like I have (had to) protect(ed) you, helped you, killed for you, etc., my sons and next generations have to protect your sons and next generations in the future, regarding the pact I made with your father.

If this is what is meant to be written, then we see exactly what the difference in function could be between the active and medio-passive inflection of the forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}*; where the active forms indicate present or futuric protection, the medio-passive forms denote a situation in which one should protect somebody or something, regarding a(n in earlier times concealed) pact. This function is also suitable for the medio-passive preterite first person singular form *pa-ah-ḥa-aš-ḥa-ḥa-at* in line 72: The Majesty makes clear that he had to protect Alakšanduš because of the verbal pact which he concluded with the father of Alakšanduš.

That the second person singular imperatives *pa-ah-ši* in lines 69 and 70 occur in the active inflection does not harm this hypothesis; since imperatives in general already have the function of an order, it is of no extra value to put these forms in the medio-passive inflection to create this extra function. In fact, this could be the reason why there is not any medio-passive second person singular imperative attested: originally there was simply no need to use a medio-passive imperative. The question rises whether this *paḥši* actually is an active form or not; more about the possible origins of this form I have put in the excursus of this thesis.

The question why on the other hand the plural medio-passive imperatives are attested from MS text on, and why in later times the third singular imperative does occur in medio-passive inflection is material for an extra research; it is possible that these forms are created to denote a slightly different function than the active imperatives.

4.4 The hypothesis tested on other texts

Now I have posted a hypothesis about the functional (semantic) distinction between active and medio-passive inflected forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}*, it is time to test this hypothesis also on other texts, to see if it does not just fit in that one text. Because within the context of this thesis it is too much to examine all texts in which forms in both inflections of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* occur, it seems to me sufficient to take another NH/NS text in which both inflections of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* are found, one older text in which this is the case too, one

text with only active forms and one text with only medio-passive forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}*, to see whether this distinction in function also is visible when the contrast between active and medio-passive forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}* is not present.

4.4.1 Another NH/NS text with both an active and a medio-passive form of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}*

First, I want to look at the small passage of KUB 21.49 obv. 3-12 (NH/NS), which Puhvel also named as example for the “traces” of an old division. In this passage we find the medio-passive 3sg. preterite form *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta-at* in line 6 and the active 3pl. preterite *pa-aḫ-šer* in line 12.

3	[]A-NA A-BU-YA ARAD-aḫ-ta-at ú-e-er=ma LÚ ^{MEŠ} KUR ^{URU} Nu-ḫaš-
	šī	
4	[za-a]ḫ-ḫe-er ¹ A-zi-ra-aš=ma Ú-UL ku-ru-ri-ya-aḫ-ta
5	[]°-ša QA-TAM-MA za-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ke-et nu ¹ A-zi-ra-aš A-BU-
	[Y]A=pát	
6	[pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta-at? ¹ A-zi-r]a-an QA-DU KUR-ŠU pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta-at n=a-an ḪUL-u-an-ni	
7	[]x Ú-UL ku-e-ez-qa kar-tim-mi-ya-nu-ut
8	[]°x-aš-lu? iš-ḫi-ya-an ḫar-ta n=a-an=šī pe-eš-ke-et
9	[A-BU]-YA DINGIR ^{LIM} -iš ki-ša-at am-mu-uk=ma=za=kán A-NA
	GIŠ ^{GU.ZA}	
10	[GIM-a]n e-eš-ta am-mu-uk-q=a=aš pe-ra-an QA-TAM-MA=pát e-eš-ta
11	[]x pe-ra-an ku-ru-ri-ya-aḫ-he-er ¹ A-zi-ra-aš=ma-a=š-ma-aš=kán
12	[]°x-at am-mu-uk=pát AŠ-ŠUM EN-ut- ^{TIM} pa-aḫ-šer

We already saw that Puhvel translates this passage as “A. **was loyal to** my father... and my father **was protective of A.**” (HED:16), and we have a more complete translation by Singer:

3-12 Duppi-Tešub! Your grandfather Azira submitted to my father. When it came about that the kings of Nuḫḫašše and the king of Kinza became hostile, Azira did not become hostile. When my father fought his enemies, Azira likewise fought them. Just as Azira protected my father, my father **protected** Azira together with his land. He did not seek to harm him in any way. He kept delivering to him the 300 shekels of refined gold of first-class quality that had been decreed. My father died and I sat on the throne of my father. And just as Azira had been in [the time of my father], so he was in my time. When it came about that the kings of Nuḫḫašše and the king of Kinza became again hostile in my time, Azira, your grandfather, and DU-Tešub, your father, [did not join] them. They **supported** only me in (my) overlordship (Singer 2000:96-98).

I think that this passage perfectly fits into my posited hypothesis: The 3sg. preterite *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta-at* in line 6 is inflected in the medio-passive inflection because the speaker (Muršili) just has stressed out in line 3 that Azira (the grandfather of Duppi-Tešub) was submitted to his own father (Šuppiluliuma, the father of Muršili), and what kind of consequences came with that pact. Šuppiluliuma therefore had to protect Azira.

In lines 9-12, Muršili describes to Duppi-Tešub that even when Šuppiluliuma died en Muršili took over the throne, Azira and his son remain loyal to Muršili. In this passage, it is not stressed out that Muršili and Azira also had the verbal pact, and he just tells Duppi-Tešub how loyal his grandfather and father were; the 3pl. preterite form *pa-aḫ-šer* in line 12 therefore meets the expectation and is inflected as an active form.

4.4.2 An older text with both active and medio-passive forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}*

Let us now take a look at a text passage, composed in an earlier Hittite period (OH/NS), to see if the hypothesis also works for older texts. Below, we see a passage of KUB 1.16 iii, of which Sommer and Falkenstein noticed that the change of inflection between the two forms of *pahš^{-a(ri)/i}* in line 28 is remarkable, as we saw at the beginning of chapter 4.

The Hittite text of KUB 1.16 iii 26-54 (OH/NS) is the following:

- 26 [ḫa-ša-an-na-aš-ma-aš] *kī-nu-un iš-ta-an-za-na-ma-an* Ú.UL *ku-iš-ki da-a-aš*
 27 [zi-ik-ma DUMU-]A¹ *Mu-ur-ši-li na-an-za zi-ik da-a*
 28 [nu at-ta-aš ud-da-]a-qr **pa-aḫ-ši** ma-a-an at-ta-aš ut-tar **pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta**
 29 [NINDA-an e-ez-za-]aš-ši *ḡa-a-tar-ra e-ku-uš-ši ma-a-an* LÚ *ma-ja-a[n]-[d]a-ta[r]*
 30 [kar-di-it-]tī nu-za UD-an II-ŠU III-ŠU e-et nu-za a-ar-š [i²-i-ja-]aḫ-ḫu-ut
 31 [ma-a-an-ma^L]ŠU.GI-tar-ra *kar-di-it-ti nu-za ni-in-ki-iḫ-ḫ[u-ut]* (o?)
 32 [at-ta-aš-š]a ut-tar *pe-e-eš-ši-ja* []
 33 [nu ḫa-an-te-e]z-zi-ja-aš-mi-iš ÌR^{MES}-JA *šu-me-eš nu LUGAL-aš ud-da[-a]ar-mi-it*
 34 [**pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-d**]u-ma-at nu NINDA-an *az-za-aš-te-ni ḡa-a-tar-ra e-ku-ut¹-te-ni*
 35 [nu^{URU} ḫa-at-t]u-ša-aš-ša *ša-ra-a ar-ta-ri KUR-e-me-et-ta*
 36 [*ḡa-ar-ši-i*]-ja-an ma-a-an A-WA-AT LUGAL-ma Ú.UL *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-ut-te-ni*
 37 [zi-la-du-ū]a²-aš-ša-an Ú.UL *ḫu-i-iš-te-ni nu ḫar-ak-te-ni*
 38 [ku-iš-ma-kā]n LUGAL-aš *ud-da-a-ar ḫu-ur-ta-lī-iz-zi na-aš ki-nu-na-pát*
 39 [a-ku(?) le-e M]AŠKIM^{1?}-aš-mi-iš a-pa-a-aš *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-ja-aš-ša-aš¹ ÌR le-e*
 40 [na-an^{UZU}]UR-da-an *ḫa-at-ta-an-ta-ru i-e-ni ḫu-uh-ḫa-ma-an*
 41 [¹Pu-LUGAL-ma(?) u]d²-da-a-ar-še-et U[L](?) DUMU^{MES}-ŠU *e-di na-a-er ḫu-uh-ḫa-aš-mi-iš*
 42 [La-ba-a]r-na-an DUMU-ša-an^{URU} *Sa-na-ḫu-it-ti iš-ku-na-aḫ-ḫi-iš*
 43 [EGIR-an-da-m]a-kán ÌR^{MES}-ŠU LÚ^{MES} GAL.GAL *ud-da-a-ar-še-et ḫu-ur-tal-li-e-er*
 44 [nu-uš-š]a-an¹ *Pa-pa-aḫ-di-il-ma-ḫa-an a-še-še-er nu ma-ši-e-eš MU^{HL.A} pa-a-er*
 45 [ma-ši-eš-š]a-kán *ḫu-ḡa-a-er ŠA^{LÚ} GAL.GAL^{TIM} É-ŠU.NU ku-ḡa-pi Ú.UL-at ḫar-ki-e-er*
 46 [šu-me-eš-m]a² *Lā-[b]a-gr¹¹-na-aš LUGAL GAL ud-da-a-ar-me-et pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-ut-te-en*
 47 [ma-a-na-a]t **pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-du-ma** nu^{URU} *ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš ḫa-ra-a ar-ta KUR-še-me-et-ta*
 48 [*ḡa-ar-a*]š-nu-ut-te-ni NINDA-an *az-za-aš-te-ni ḡa-a-tar-ra e-ku-ut-te-ni ma-a-an*
 49 [Ú.UL-m]a **pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-du-ma** KUR-e-še-me-et *ta-me-u-ma-an ki-i-ša-ri šu-me-ša*
 50 [DINGIR^{MES}-aš-za u]d-da-a-ni-i *na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš e-eš-ten nu NINDA KUR₄.RA^{HL.A}-ŠU iš-pa-*
 51 *an-du-uz-zi-iš-me-e[t]*
 52 [pár-šu-ū]r(?) *še-me-et-ta me-ma-al-še-me-et ḫa-ra-a ar-ta-ru nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-ja*
 53 [le-e] na-it-ti EGIR-pa-ja-kán (x) *le-e (x) ma-uš-ta ma-a-an-ga-an*
 54 [pa-ra-a] na-it-ti *i-da-a-lu-ma-an ka-ru-ú-i-li - iš*
 55 [a-pa-a-]at-pát *e-eš-du*

Sommer and Falkenstein translate:

- 26 Bis jetzt hat niemand [von meiner Familie] mein Willensgebot *befolgt*,
 27 [du aber bist me]in [Sohn] Muršili, *tu dú es!*
 28 [So] **bewahre** [des Vaters Wor]te! - Solange du des Vaters Wort(e?) **bewahrst**,
 29 wirst du [(nur) Brot ess]en und Wasser trinken. Wann die Zeit des reifen Mannes
 30 [in] *dich eingezogen ist*, so iß den Tag über zwei-, dreimal und pflege dich gut!
 31 [Wann aber] auch noch das Greisenalter *in dich eingezogen ist*, dann trin[k dich] *satt!*
 32 Und [des Vaters] Wort magst du (dann) beiseitesetzen! -
 33 Ihr seid [nun] meine [ober]sten Diener! Und meine, des Königs, Worte müßt ihr
 34 [**bewahr]en!** Ihr werdet (nur) Brot essen und Wasser trinken.
 35 [So] wird [die Stadt ḫatt]uša *ragend* dastehen wie auch mein Land
 36 [in Ruhe und Frie]den sein! Sobald ihr aber die Worte des Königs nicht **bewahrt**,
 37 werdet ihr [künftig]in (?) nich am Leben bleiben - ihr seid verloren!
 38 [Wer aber] des Königs Worte (gar?) zu nichte macht (?), der [soll] auch schon jetzt
 39 Todes sterben! Nicht soll] so Einer mein Minister (?), nicht soll er einer meiner obersten Diener
 sein!
 40 Das Glied soll man [ihm] abschneiden! - So *ist es mit den* [W]orten meines Großvaters
 41 [Pu-LUGAL-ma(?) *gewesen*]: Hat man nic[hat](?) seine Söhne abtrünnig gemacht? - Mein
 Großvater

- 42 hatte seinen Sohn [Laba]rna in Šanaḫuitta *als Thronfolger verkündet*.
 43 [Nachher ab]er haben seine Diener, (und?) die Großen, seine Worte zunichte gemacht (?)
 44 [und] den Papaḫdilmah *auf den Thron* gesetzt! Nun, wie viele Jahren sind (dabei) vergangen,
 45 u[nd wie Viel]e sind *ihrem Schicksal* entgangen? Der Großen Häuser - wo sind sie? Sind sie nicht verschwunden?
- 46 [Ihr abe]r müßt meine, des Großkönigs Labarna, Worte bewahren!
 47 [So lange ihr si]e **bewahrt**, wird die Stadt Ḫattuša *ragend* dastehen, und euer Land
 48 werdet ihr [befrie]den. (Nur) Brot werden ihr essen und Wasser trinken! Sobald
 49 ihr (sie) [ab]er [nicht] **bewahrt**, wird euer Land *unter Fremdherrschaft geraten!* - Auch müßt ihr
 50 [auf der Götter S]ache ehrfürchtig bedacht sein: Ihr Brotanteil und ihr *Weinanteil(?)*,
 51 ihr [Brockengerich]t(?) und ihre Grütze muß aufgetischt sein! Und du (, Muršili,) darfst [wed]er
 52 säumen noch nachlassen! Sobald du
 53 [sä]umst, würde das Unheil wieder (dasein) so wie einst!
 54 [A]men!

(Sommer & Falkenstein, 1938:12-15)

It seems to me clear that the tone of this whole passage is pretty compelling and threatening. Muršili is the son of the speaker, and therefore he has to keep the oaths to his father. His father explains what the consequences are, whether Muršili keeps the oaths or not. To me it is therefore not surprising that all forms of *paḫš^{-a(ri)/i}* are in the medio-passive inflection, except 2sg. imperative *paḫši* in line 28, which is already a command.

It is however striking that we also find two forms of the Hittite stem *paḫšnu^{-zi}* in this passage. And I think it is even more striking that we find in line 36 *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-nu-ut-te-ni*, the active 2pl. present form of *paḫšnu^{-zi}*, in surrounded by exactly the same words as the medio-passive 2pl. present form of *paḫš^{-a(ri)/i}*, *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-du-ma* in line 49: Both forms are accompanied by *ma-a-an* ‘if’ and *Ú.UL* ‘not’. Although we have a hypothesis that fits very well in the texts we saw above, the question rises here what then the distinction is between the medio-passive forms of *paḫš^{-a(ri)/i}* and the active ones of *paḫšnu^{-zi}*. As we could read in CHD (volume P:7) is *paḫšnu^{-zi}* an activa tantum, and therefore does this verb not have the same change of inflection as *paḫš^{-a(ri)/i}* does. But since the author wrote the two forms mentioned above in the same environment, only a few lines away from each other, it looks like he would have meant to make a distinction between the two forms. What this distinction exactly is and whether it is comparable with the distinction between the active and the medio-passive inflection of *paḫš^{-a(ri)/i}*, I do not know, but it seems to be an interesting question for another research.

4.4.3 A text with only active forms of *paḫš^{-a(ri)/i}*

In contrast to the Hittite texts with both active and medio-passive forms of *paḫš^{-a(ri)/i}*, I think it would be interesting to also take a look at texts with only active or only medio-passive forms of *paḫš^{-a(ri)/i}*. In KUB 43.38 rev. (MH/MS) is a small passage in which only two of these active forms occur, with two times the active 2pl. present form *pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-te-ni* in line 4 and line 6:

- 1 [a]r-ḫa du-wa-ar-na-an-[zi]
 2 [a]n-da-ma-kán ki-{iš}-ša-an [me-ma-i ki-i-wa]
 3 [Ú-UL š]u-me-en-za-an-wa SAG.DU^{MES}-KU-NU nu-w[a-ra-at]
 4 [ma-a-an Ú-UL-ma] **pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-te-ni** nu-wa-aš-ma-aš DINGIR^{MES} Q[A-TAM-MA
 SAG.DU^{MES}-KU-NU]
 5 [ar-ḫa du-w]a-ar-na-an-du nu-wa-aš-ma-aš-ša-[an] QA-[TAM-MA] [x]

 6 [ma-a-an-m]a-wa-ra-at **pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-te-ni**-ma nu-wa-[aš-m]a-aš-k[án] DINGIR^{MES} (?)
 i-da-a-lu]

7 [ÚŠ-kán (?)] ar-ḥa QA-TAM-MA du-wa-ar-ni-iš-kán-d[u

Oettinger translates:

1 [Dann gibt er ihnen Töpfe in die Hände(?), und] diese zerschlagen sie,
 2 [und ert sie (?), d]azu aber [spricht er] folgendermaßen:
 3 [„Dies sind keine Töpfe], (es sind) eure Schädel, und [wenn ihr die Worte]
 4 [nicht] **einhalten**, dann sollen euch die Götter eb[enso eure Schädel]
 5 [ze]rschlagen und sollen euch eb[enso xen!]

 6 [Wenn] ihr es [a]ber **bewahrt**, so sollen [eu]ch [die Götter das böse]
 7 ebenso jeweils zerbrechen!“

(Oettinger 1976:19+21)

Although this is only a small passage of the text, it seems clear to me that this passage with its active forms of *pahš^{a(ri)/i}* is not about a vassal treaty, a reciprocal service in which somebody has to protect some other one in return for the received protection. Also this passage fits my hypothesis therefore just fine.

4.4.4 A text with only medio-passive forms of *pahš^{a(ri)/i}*

A text in which only medio-passive forms occur, is KBo 5.8 ii (NH/NS), in which we find in both line 26 and line 42 the medio-passive 3sg. preterite form *pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta-at*. Let us take a look at this text and its translation:

26 ¹Hu-tu-pí-ya-an-za-aš=ma KUR ^{URU}Pa-la-a **pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta-at**
 27 KARAS=ma-a=š-ši Ú-UL ku-it-ki kat-ta-an e-eš-ta
 28 nu=za=kán ḤUR.SAG^{MES}-aš an-da ša-a-aš-du-uš e-eš-še-eš-ta
 29 an-tu-uḥ-ša-tar-r=a=za=kán ku-it te-e-pa-u-wa-az
 30 an-da [ḥ]u-it-ti-ya-an ḥar-ta nu ŠA KUR Pa-la-a
 31 A-NA [^{LU}KUR? pa-r]a-a Ú-UL ku-it-ki pí-eš-ta
 32 [] ku-iš A-NA ^mHu-tu-pí-ya-an-za
 33 [] n=a-an=za=an tar-aḥ-ḥe-eš-ke-et

 34 [ma-aḥ-ḥa]-an=ma=za=kán am-mu-uk A-NA [^{GIS}G]U.ZA A-BI-YA
 35 [e-eš-ḥ]a-at nu ku-u-ru-ri^{HLA} ku-it me-eg-ga-ya
 36 [ni-ni]-in-kán e-eš-ta n=a-at ku-it-ma-an
 37 za-aḥ-ḥi-iš-ke-nu-un ku-it-ma-n=a-at=kán
 38 [k]u-wa-aš-ke-nu-un n=a-at ta-ni-nu-nu-un
 39 [nu?] pe-ra-an pa-ra-a ku-it-ta=ya=za=kán
 40 [a]m-mu-uk A-NA ^{GIS}GU.ZA A-BI-YA e-eš-ḥa-at
 41 [nu]=mu []x pa-it
 42 [] KUR ^{URU}Pa-l]a-a **pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta-[at]**
 43 [] e-šu-un
 44 [] °-u]n

26 Hutupijanšaš aber **schützte** das Land Palā,
 27 eind Heer aber stand ihm nicht zur Verfügung.
 28 Und er schuf Schlupwinkel in den Bergen;
 29 und die Mannschaft, die er in geringer Zahl
 30 dorthin ge[zo]gen hatte, übergab vom Lande Palā
 31 dem [Feinde] nichts.
 32 [Und] welcher [.....sich] dem Hutupijanšaš
 33 [zur Schlacht stellte,] den besiegte er.

34 [Al]s ich mich aber auf den Thron meines Vaters
 35 [setz]te, die Feinde, die sich da in großer Zahl auch
 36 erhoben hatten, solange ich die da
 37 bekämpfte, bis ich sie
 38 schlug und (ins Riche ein)ordnete,
 39 vorher seit ich mich auch
 40 auf den Thron meines Vaters gesetzt hatte,
 41 vergingen [.....] 20 Jahre.
 42 [.....].....[das Land Pa]lā **schützte** er
 43 [.....].....[.....] war ich.
 44 [.....t]e ich.

(Götze 1933:155)

This passage is actually a bit harder to fit into my hypothesis. In line 42 is a part of the line crumbled and we do not know exactly what words were standing there. This passage, is not about a vassal treaty, and therefore we could not prove that each medio-passive in each text represents the obligatory protection. However, since in this text the contrast between the “normal protection” and the protection because of the vassal treaties is not present, maybe the need to make this contrast is absent too. I am not sure why in this passage the medio-passive forms are chosen instead of the active ones; I only could suggest that the distinction in function maybe still was used just in the youngest texts where this contextual contrast is meant, and that in the other texts in which this is not the case, either active forms or medio-passive forms could be used to express “normal protection”, just not both inflections.

4.5 Conclusions of the data analysis

In order to answer some questions posited earlier, I think we could conclude that Puhvel could have been right about the mutuality in vassal treaties. It is because of this we see variation in narrating about the term “protection” in the Hittite texts; the Hittites seem to have used a form of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* in the active inflection when narrating about just protection one gave to another, and a medio-passive form of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* if they wanted to stress out that the protection one gave to another was because of the pact or reciprocal loyalty they had. That in an older stage of Hittite this difference in function was more clearly a difference between active and medio-passive inflection, ‘to protect’ versus ‘to be a protégé’ as Puhvel claims (HED:16), is still very good possible; I just think that this difference actually was never lost in any Hittite period since we saw above that also in the youngest text this distinction occurs.

The nine occurrences of the medio-passive 3sg. present form *paḥšari* versus zero attestations of an active 3sg. present form may then be coincidence; vassal treaties and reciprocal services played a major role in the Hittite culture, so probably these nine 3sg. present forms were indeed used to express some protection because of such a pact. The twenty-nine occurrences of the active 2sg. imperative *paḥši* versus zero medio-passive ones is in my opinion such a significant difference in attestation that this could not be coincidental; maybe my own posited hypothesis - that there was no need for a medio-passive imperative because an imperative already has the function of an order - is the correct one, maybe this has another reason.

The answer to the main question of this thesis “what determines whether the Hittites used an active form of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* or a medio-passive one?” can in my opinion be formulated as follows: The difference in use is a pragmatic one: The stress on whether the protection the speaker narrates about is because of the mutuality in vassal treaties or not.

5. Conclusion

The Hittite verbal system has two inflections: There is a division in active and medio-passive finite verbal forms. Although most Hittite verbs which contain verbal forms in both inflections have a clear distinction between the function of both inflections, or are activa or media tantum (with only one function), the forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* occur in both inflections and seem to lack a clear distinction between these two. Many scholars have stumbled over this verb and the statements in the dictionaries vary widely. Puhvel states to see some old traces in vassal treaties, but the sources he names as examples are from the youngest period of Hittite. Besides, it is still strange that some forms are always inflected in the active inflection, while some forms are always in the medio-passive inflection and never in the active one.

In order to perform a complete data analysis, it is necessary to first investigate which forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* are attested in which inflection in the different Hittite text periods, after having designated the usable data. It is important to look whether the active and medio-passive forms occur in all periods or whether there is a chronological division visible. I made clear that there is no relevant chronological distribution between the different inflected forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}*. Therefore, we looked whether there are any Hittite texts available in which both active and medio-passive forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* occur. Since this is the case, and there is even an text in which two forms with the same tense, number and person occur in both inflections, I argue that there must be a distinction in function between these two forms. Contextually, it seems to me that the difference between the use of any of the two inflections of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* is a pragmatic difference: An active form of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* seems to be used when just some protection is meant, whereas a medio-passive form is used when the narrator wants to stress out that some protection was given or has to be given because of some pact, for instance, for reciprocal services. Therefore, Puhvel was right about that the difference was because of old vassal treaties, but I argued that this difference was not lost and that we could see it in texts of different Hittite periods. I think that the fact that the 2sg. imperative only occurs in the active form does not harm my hypothesis. On the contrary: I think that this form only was used in the active form since an imperative already has the function of something that one must do, so that there was no need to use a medio-passive imperative form.

It still would be very interesting to investigate why there then was a medio-passive 3sg. imperative from Old-Hittite onwards, and why there did occur a medio-passive 2pl. imperative form already in Old-Hittite (although both not as numerous as *paḥsi*). That however, as well the question what the distinction between forms of *paḥš^{-a(ri)/i}* and forms of *paḥšnu^{-zi}* exactly denotes, is a matter for further research.

Bibliography

- Bawanypeck, D.
2005 *Die Rituale der Auguren* (= THeth 25), Heidelberg
- Beckman, G.
1996 *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (= Society of Biblical Literature, volume 7), edited by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., Georgia
- Beek, L.C. van
fthc. The etymology of Greek *πέπαμαι*, to be published in: B.A. Olsen et. al. (eds.), *Etymology and the European lexicon: Proceedings of the XIVth Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*, Copenhagen
- Beekes, R.S.P.
1995 *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: an introduction*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia
- Bryce, T.
2005 *The Kingdom of the Hittites, new edition*. Oxford
- Friedrich, J.
1930 *Staatsverträge der Ḫatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache, 2. Teil* (= MVAeG 34/1), Leipzig
1952 *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg
- Götze, A.
1925 *Hattušiliš, Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexten* (= MVAeG 29/3), Leipzig
1933 *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* (= MVAeG 38/4), Leipzig
- Güterbock, H.G. & H.A. Hoffner (eds.)
1997 *Chicago Hittite Dictionary: P*, Chicago
- Hagenbuchner, A.
1989 *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter, 2. Teil* (= THeth 16), Heidelberg
- Hart, G.R.
1988 Anatolian Evidence and the Origins of the Indo-European Mediopassive, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, volume 51*
- Hoffner, H.A. & H.C. Melchert
2008 *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar*, Winona Lake, Indiana
- Jasanoff, J.H.
2012 Did Hittite have *si*-imperatives? in: *The Sound of Indo-European II*, R. Sukač & O. Šefčík (eds), München
- Kammenhuber, A.
1976 *Orakelpraxis, Träume und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern* (= Texte der Hethiter 7), Heidelberg

- Kloekhorst, A.
2008 *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden
- Kronasser, H.
1966 *Etymologie Der Hethitischen Sprache, Band 1*, Wiesbaden
- Luraghi, S.
2012 Basic valency orientation and the middle voice in Hittite, in: *Studies in Language 36*, New York/London
- Marquardt, H.
2011 *Hethitische Logogramme, Funktion und Verwendung* (= DBH 34), Wiesbaden
- Melchert, H.C.
1977 *Ablative and Instrumental in Hittite* (Harvard dissertation)
- Mouton, A.
2006 KUB 22,61 (CTH 578), Comment traiter les yeux de Mon Soleil? in: *Die Welt des Orients 36*, Göttingen
- Neu, E.
1968a *Das hethitische Mediopassiv und Seine indogermanischen Grundlagen* (= StBoT 6), Wiesbaden
1968b *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen* (= StBoT 5), Wiesbaden
- Nichols, J., D. Peterson & J. Barnes
2004 *Transitivizing and detransitivizing languages* (= Linguistic Typology 8 (2))
- Oettinger, N.
1976 *Die Militärischen Eide* (=StBoT 22), Wiesbaden
1979 *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums*, Nürnberg
2007 Der hethitische Imperativ auf -i vom Typ paḥši 'schütze!', in: *Tabularia Hethaeorum. Hethitische Beiträge Silvin Košak zum 65. Geburtstag*. Detlev Groddek & Marina Zorman (eds.) (= DBH 25), Wiesbaden
- Pooth, R.A.
fthc. Die Diathesen Aktiv vs. Medium und die Verbsemantik im Vedischen der Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā
- Puhvel, J.
1984a *Hittite Etymological Dictionary, vol. 1: Words beginning with A, and vol. 2: Words beginning with E and I*, Berlin-New York
1984b *Hittite Etymological Dictionary, vol. 8: Words beginning with PA*, Berlin-New York
- Roos, J. de
1989 A votive text of Tuthalias IV, Amsterdam, in: *Journal of Ancient Civilization 4, Changchun*
- Singer, I.
2000 Treaty between Muršili and Duppi-Tešub (2.17B), in: *The Context of Scripture, volume two*, Hallo, W.W. (ed), Leiden, Boston, Köln

- Sommer, F & A. Falkenstein
1938 *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattušili I. (Labarna II)* (= Neue Folge 16),
München
- Smith, S.
1940 *Alalakh and Chronology*, London
- Tischler, J.
2001 *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar*, Innsbrück
- Ünal, A.
2007 *A Concise Multilingual Hittite Dictionary, vol. I + II*, Hamburg
- Weitenberg, J.J.S.
1984 *Die hethitischen u-Stämme*, Amsterdam
- Wiseman, D.J.
1943 *The Alalakh Tablets*, London

Appendix

Attested forms of *paḥš^{a(ri)ḫ}*; ranked by determination, with publication sources and age of the composition and the script of the text.

Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	Bronze tablet ii 40	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	Bronze tablet ii 42	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	Bronze tablet ii 72	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	Bronze tablet ii 74	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	PAP- <i>aš-ḫi</i>	KBo 14.112:4	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	KBo 5.3 i 38	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	KBo 5.3 iv 27	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	KBo 5.3 iv 28	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	KBo 5.9 i 24	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	KBo 5.9 i 27	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	KBo 5.9 ii 13	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	KUB 13.4 iii 26	OH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ḫi</i>	KUB 23.1 ii 29	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	PAP- <i>aš-ḫi</i>	KUB 23.44 iii! 11	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	PAP- <i>aš-ḫi</i>	KUB 23.44 iii! 7	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	PAP- <i>aḥ-ḫi</i>	KUB 26.33 iii 22	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	PAP- <i>aḥ-ḫi</i>	KUB 26.33 iii 23	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-mi</i>	KUB 29.1 i 19	OH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 1	PAP- <i>aš-ḫi</i>	KUB 40.38:7	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ti</i>	KBo 4.10 rev. 6	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ti</i>	KBo 4.10 rev. 8	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ti</i>	KBo 5.13 ii 14	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ti</i>	KBo 5.13 iii 20	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ti</i>	KBo 5.3 ii 10	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ti</i>	KBo 5.4 obv. 44	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 2	PAP- <i>aš-ti</i>	KUB 19.55 rev. 40	NH / LNS
Act. pres. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ti</i>	KUB 21.1 iv 38	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ti</i>	KUB 26.37 obv. 13	NH / NS
Act. pres. sg. 2	PAP- <i>aš-ti</i>	KUB 48.123 i 24	NH / NS
Act. pres. pl. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-šū-u-e-ni</i>	KUB 23.112 i 5	NH / NS
Act. pres. pl. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-šū-u-e-ni</i>	KUB 26.1 i 4	NH / NS
Act. pres. pl. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-šū-e-ni</i>	KUB 31.44 ii 28	MH / NS
Act. pres. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-te-ni</i>	KBo 5.12 iv (10)	NH / NS
Act. pres. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-te-ni</i>	KBo 5.12 iv 11	NH / NS
Act. pres. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-te-ni</i>	KBo 5.3 iv 26	NH / NS
Act. pres. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-te-ni</i>	KBo 5.3 iv 30	NH / NS
Act. pres. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-te-ni</i>	KBo 5.3 iv 36	NH / NS
Act. pres. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-te-ni</i>	KUB 43.38 rev. 29	MH / MS
Act. pres. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-te-ni</i>	KUB 43.38 rev. 4	MH / MS
Act. pres. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-te-ni</i>	KUB 43.38 rev. 6	MH / MS
Act. pres. pl. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-zi</i>	KUB 21.1 i 69	NH / NS
Act. pret. sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-[aš-ḫu-u]n</i>	KBo 21.12:8	pre-NH / NS
Act. pret. sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḫa-aš-ta</i>	KUB 21.1 i 45	NH / NS

Act. pret. sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta</i>	KUB 23.1 i 23	NH / LNS
Act. pret. sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta</i>	KUB 23.1 i 25	NH / LNS
Act. pret. sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta</i>	KUB 23.1 i 46	NH / LNS
Act. pret. sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta</i>	KUB 23.1 ii (27)	NH / LNS
Act. pret. pl. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-šir</i>	KUB 21.49 obv. 12	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 10.12 i (9)	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 10.12 iii (9)	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 10.12 iii 11	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 12.30 ii 4	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 15.10 ii 44	OH / MS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 18.28 iv 10	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 4.3 i 21	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 4.3 i 28	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 5.3 i 16	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 5.3 i 31	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KBo 5.3 ii 22	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	PAP-ši	KBo 8.37 rev. 9	MH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 1.16 iii 28	OH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 21.1 i 69	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 21.i 70	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 21.1 iii 39	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 21.5 ii 11	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 23.1 ii 10	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 23.1 ii 39	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 2	PAP-ši	KUB 23.1 ii 4	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 23.1 ii 40	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 2	PAP-ši	KUB 23.1 ii 5	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 23.1 ii 9	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 23.72 rev.70	MH / MS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 23.92 obv. 9	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 24.9 ii 30	OH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 26.59 rev. 6	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 29.4 iii 26	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ši</i>	KUB 34.40:20	MH / MS
Act. imp. sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du</i>	Bronze tablet ii 73	NH / LNS
Act. imp. sg. 3	PAP-du	KBo 18.28 i 8	NH / NS
Act. imp. sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du</i>	KBo 19.71:(3)	NH / NS
Act. imp. pl. 2	PAP-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén	KBo 12.39 rev. 13	NH / LNS
Act. imp. pl. 2	PAP-aš-tén	KBo 7.20 ii 5	NH / LNS
Act. imp. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KBo 8.22 obv.(7)	MH / MS
Act. imp. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 13.4 iii 17	OH / NS
Act. imp. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 13.4 iii 45	OH / NS
Act. imp. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 13.5 iii 16	OH / NS
Act. imp. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-te-en</i>	KUB 14.14 obv. 23 (coll. W)	NH / NS
Act. imp. pl. 2	PAP-aš-tén	KUB 21.42 i 11	NH / NS
Act. imp. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 21.42 i 29	NH / NS
Act. imp. pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 21.42 i 30	NH / NS

Act.	imp.	pl. 2	PAP- <i>aš-tén</i>	KUB 21.42 iv 19	NH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	PAP- <i>aš-tén</i>	KUB 21.42 iv 22	NH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 22.61 iv 7	NH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 23.103 rev. 7	NH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-te-en</i>	KUB 23.68 rev. 8	MH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ti-en</i>	KUB 24.11 ii 18	OH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ti-en</i>	KUB 24.9 ii 39	OH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-aš-té[n]</i>	KUB 26.1 i 16	NH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 26.1 i 8	NH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	PAP- <i>aš-tén</i>	KUB 26.18 obv. 12	NH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 28.82 rev. 12	OH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 28.82 rev. 5	OH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 31.115:19	OH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-tén</i>	KUB 31.37 obv. 10	? / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 3	<i>ṽpa`-aḥ-ša-an-du</i>	KBo 4.12 rev. 4	NH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 3	PAP- <i>an-d[u]</i>	KUB 40.1 rev.! 29	NH / NS
Act.	imp.	pl. 3	[<i>p</i>] <i>a-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ša-[an-du]</i>	KUB 40.58:5	MH / NS
MP.	pres.	sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥa</i>	KBo 3.23 rev. 11	OH / MS
MP.	pres.	sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥa</i>	KUB 31.115:18	OH / NS
MP.	pres.	sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥa</i>	KUB 36.127 obv. 5	MH / MS
MP.	pres.	sg. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-`aš-ta`</i>	KUB 1.16 iii 28	OH / NS
MP.	pres.	sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ri</i>	Bronze tablet ii 69	NH / LNS
MP.	pres.	sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ri</i>	KBo 16.25 i 49	MH / MS
MP.	pres.	sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ri</i>	KBo 16.27 ii 16	MH / MS
MP.	pres.	sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ri</i>	KBo 19.60:12	? / NS
MP.	pres.	sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ri</i>	KBo 5.3 i 34	NH / NS
MP.	pres.	sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ri</i>	KBo 5.3 i 37	NH / NS
MP.	pres.	sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ri</i>	KUB 21.15 + 715/v iv 6 (ZA 63:85)	NH / NS
MP.	pres.	sg. 3	PAP- <i>ri</i>	KUB 23.103 obv. 5	NH / NS
MP.	pres.	sg. 3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša</i>	KUB 36.127 obv. 8	MH / MS
MP.	pres.	pl. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-šu-wa-aš-ta</i>	KBo 16.27 iii 16	MH / MS
MP.	pres.	pl. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-šu-wa-aš-ta</i>	KUB 19.25 i (13)	NH / NS
MP.	pres.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma</i>	KBo 8.35 ii 14 (dupl van KUB 13.78b ii 10)	MH / MS
MP.	pres.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma</i>	KUB 1.16 iii 47	OH / NS
MP.	pres.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma</i>	KUB 1.16 iii 49	OH / NS
MP.	pres.	pl. 2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma</i>	KUB 23.78b ii 10 (dupl: KBo 8.35 ii 14)	MH / MS
MP.	pres.	pl. 3	<i>pa-a-aḥ-ša-an-ta</i>	KBo 21.22 rev. 38	OH / MS
MP.	pres.	pl. 3	[<i>pa-aḥ</i>]-` <i>ḥa-aš`-ša-an-ta-ri</i>	KUB 21.1 i 75 (coll. W)	NH / NS
MP.	pres.	pl. 3	PAP- <i>aḥ-ša-an-ta-ri</i>	KUB 23.94:10	NH / LNS
MP.	pres.	pl. 3	PAP- <i>an-d[a]</i>	KUB 40.1 rev.! 33	NH / NS
MP.	pret.	sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥa-ḥa-at</i>	KUB 21.1 i 72	NH / NS
MP.	pret.	sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥa-ḥa-at</i>	KUB 21.44 obv. (4)	NH / LNS
MP.	pret.	sg. 1	PAP- <i>aš-ḥa-at</i>	KUB 26.32 i 10	NH / LNS
MP.	pret.	sg. 1	PAP- <i>ḥa-ḥa-at</i>	KUB 26.32 i 12	NH / LNS
MP.	pret.	sg. 1	[PA]P- <i>aḥ-ḥa-at</i>	KUB 26.32 i 17	NH / LNS
MP.	pret.	sg. 1	PAP- <i>aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥa-at</i>	KUB 26.33 ii 6	NH / LNS
MP.	pret.	sg. 1	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ḥa-at</i>	KUB 6.41 i 31	NH / NS

MP.	pret.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta-at</i>	KBo 5.8 ii 26	NH / NS
MP.	pret.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta-at</i>	KBo 5.8 ii (42)	NH / NS
MP.	pret.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta-at</i>	KUB 21.49 obv. 6	NH / NS
MP.	pret.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta-at</i>	KUB 3.119 i 7	NH / NS
MP.	pret.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-ta-at</i>	KUB 8.82 obv. 1 + 1198/u obv. 7	NH / LNS
MP.	imp.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ru</i>	Bronze tablet ii 34	NH / LNS
MP.	imp.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ru</i>	Bronze tablet ii 47	NH / LNS
MP.	imp.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ru</i>	Bronze tablet ii 70	NH / LNS
MP.	imp.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ru</i>	KUB 13.4 iii 14	OH / NS
MP.	imp.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ru</i>	KUB 2.2 iii 39	OH / NS
MP.	imp.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ru</i>	KUB 21.1 iii (40)	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ru</i>	KUB 21.1 iii 44	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	sg.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-ru</i>	KUB 30.40 iii 6	MH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma-at</i>	KBo 16.25 i 69	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma-at</i>	KBo 4.12 rev. 3	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma-at</i>	KUB 1.16 iii (34)	OH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	2	<i>pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-du-ma-at</i>	KUB 36.114 ii? 13	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	ABoT 65 obv. 5	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>PAP-ru</i>	AT 125:3 (coll.p 62)	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	HKM 3:20	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	HKM 31:24	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	HKM 36:41	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	HKM 52:24	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	HKM 56:25	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	HKM 56:6	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	HKM 58:28	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	HKM 58:4	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	HKM 60:33	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	KBo 18.50 obv. 4	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	KBo 18.97 1.e. 5	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>[PAP-]an-ta-ru</i>	KBo 19.73 + KUB 21.1 ii 12	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	KBo 4.10 + 1549/u (ZA 63:86) rev. 10	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	KBo 5.3 ii 12	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	KBo 7.56:4	MH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	KBo 8.35 ii 15 (dupl van KUB 23.78b ii 11)	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-da-ru</i>	KUB 21.5 ii 12	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>[pa-aḥ-ša-an-]ta-ru</i>	KUB 23.78b ii 11 (dupl: KBo 8.35 ii 15)	MH / MS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	KUB 26.37:(14)	NH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>[pa-aḥ-š]a-an-da-a-r[u]</i>	KUB 40.23 i 5	NH / LNS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	KUB 45.20 ii 11	MH / NS
MP.	imp.	pl.	3	<i>pa-aḥ-ša-an-ta-ru</i>	VBoT 2:18	MH / MS