Ex Anatolia Lux

Anatolian and Indo-European studies
in honor of

H. Craig Melchert

on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday

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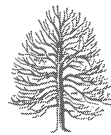
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More Negatives and Disjunctives in Hieroglyphic Luwian

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1 Introduction

It is now some 35 years since we identified the signs for the negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian, presented the evidence and commented on negation, prohibition, and disjunction in the language: Hawkins 1975; Morpurgo Davies 1975. Since that time a number of new examples have appeared, while the reading of some of the old examples has been improved; all this calls for comment, but in addition, while at the time the emphasis was necessarily on arguing that the relevant signs did indeed indicate negatives, now that this is established, it is possible to aim at a more general account and to try to summarize what we actually know about the negatives of Hieroglyphic Luwian. This paper is meant both as a collection of data additional to those listed in 1975 (see Appendix) and as a first attempt to enlarge for Hieroglyphic Luwian the section, necessarily short, that Craig Melchert (2003:206) dedicated to negation in his impressive account of the Luwian language which is likely to remain for a long time the best description of both Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian. The Assur letters in their repeated protestations against bad correspondents apparently use a double negative to produce a strong positive statement: *ni-wa/i-mu-i á-pi* NEG$_2$-*a* VIA-*wa/i-ni-si*, '(do) not not send (it) back to me' (ASSUR letter d, 3 §10). We hope that our multiplicity of negatives will be understood in the same way and will serve to highlight the strength of our admiration for the depth and originality of Craig's work on all Indo-European languages of the Anatolian group.

2 The negatives of Hieroglyphic Luwian

Most Anatolian languages contrast, as Indo-European did, a factual negative or negative of assertion and a prohibitive negative as well as other forms of negative. For Hittite the standard forms are *natta* and *lē*, but additional negatives are *nāwi* 'not yet', *nūman* and *nekku* (Hoffner 1986, Hoffner and Melchert 2008:330–47, Güterbock and Hoffner 1989– :*s.vv.*); in Cuneiform Luwian we find *nāwa/nawa* and *niš/niš*.[1] Both forms are matched in the Hieroglyphic texts of the Empire period but in the Late Period the most frequent forms are the factual NEG$_2$(-*a*) (= *na*) and the prohibitive *ni/ni*(-*i*) (= *ni*).

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[1] For Cuneiform Luwian Starke (1990:453 n. 1636) also assumes a prohibitive negative *ni* found e.g. in KBo XIII 260 ii 34. There is also a possible *na-a* form of the factual negative (Melchert 1993:*s.v.*).

2.1   The attestations of the negatives

If we take Hieroglyphic Luwian as a whole, including both the documents from the Empire period and those of the First Millennium, we find the following alternative forms and spellings for I) the negative of assertion, and II) the prohibitive negative (excluding at this stage the disjunctive use and the very fragmentary examples):[2]

I) (i)   **NEG-*wa/i*(-)** (EMİRGAZİ 1, §§25, 28, 34; YALBURT block 3 (cf. EMİR-GAZİ 2, B 3–4 NEG[]), BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), §13; KARA-HÖYÜK, 10 §20).

(ii)   **NEG-*a*** (YALBURT block 4, §2).

(iii)   **NEG+*a*** (KARKAMIŠ A 21, 5 §6 (archaizing); cf. KARKAMIŠ A 20b, fragments 5, 9, 10).

(iv)   **NEG₂(-)** (KARATEPE 1, §§XXI 108 Hu, Ho, XXVI 134 Hu, Ho; KAR-KAMIŠ A 11c, 5 §31; A 14a, 4 §6; A 12, 2 §2; A 23, 3 §5, 4 §7; A 24a, frag. 21; A 31, 5 §§[13], 14; A 17b, 2 §4; A 17c, 3 §5; A 5a, 1 §4; ?TELL AHMAR 4, 1; ARSLANTAŞ, 3 §4; ANCOZ 7, C §8; HAMA 4, A 1 §2, A 4 §12; TOPADA, 6 §29; BOHÇA, 3 §7; İVRİZ 2, D 5 §§13–14, E §28; KIRŞEHİR lead letter, 3–4 §§15, 17, 20, 22).

Cf. NEG₂-*ha* … NEG₂-*ha*(-) (KARKAMIŠ A 2, 2 §§3–4).

(v)   **NEG₂-*a*(-)** (KARKAMIŠ A 11b, 3 §8; 15b, 4 §25; A 5a, 1 §3; ?A 27 mm, mm*, 9; ALEPPO 2, 3 §§7, 9, 11; TELL AHMAR 6, 4 §10; MARAŞ 4, 3 §7; ANCOZ 7, A §3; TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 12, 5; HAMA 4, B 3 §11; SULTANHAN base 2, §44; BOHÇA, 4 §11; EĞREK, 1 §§1–2; İVRİZ 2, D 7 §24; ASSUR letter a, 2 §§5–7; c, 2 §6; d, 2 §5; e, 1 §5, 3 §16; f+g, f 3 §20, f 4 §26, g "3" §§30, 32, g "1", §42, g "2", §48; TÜNP 2, 2 §1).

Cf. **NEG₂-*a-ha* … NEG₂-*a-ha*** (MARAŞ 4, 3 §9; ÇİFTLİK, 2 §§3, [4]).

(vi)   ***na*** (AKSARAY, 5 §8; KARKAMIŠ A 5a, 2 §7; TÜNP 1, 4 §7; ??cf.]NEG₂(-) *na* KARKAMIŠ A 25b, 1 §1a).[3]

(vii)   ***na-wa/i-'*** (ASSUR letter e, 4 §31).[4] For NEG₃-*wa/i* in MARAŞ 2 see n. 6.

II) (i)   **NEG-*sa*** (EMİRGAZİ 1, §§7–10; KARAHÖYÜK, 11 §21).

(ii)   **NEG₃-*sa*** (BABYLON 1, 6 §15; KARKAMIŠ A 2, 5 §12; A 3, 4 §23; A 11 a, 7 §27; A 11 c, 4 §28; TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §33).[5]

(iii)   ***ni-sa*** (ISKENDERUN, 5 §6), ***ni-i-sá*** (MARAŞ 14, 5 §8).

(iv)   **NEG₃** (KARKAMIŠ A 30b, 1 §1: archaic or archaizing but NEG₂ expected); **NEG₃+*i*, NEG₃-*i*** (KARKAMIŠ A 6, 8 §§27–8; see n. 6).

(v)   ***ni*** (CEKKE, 11 §25; ERKİLET 1, 2 §3; 2, 2 §2); ***ni-*** (ASSUR letter d, 3 §10); ***ni-i*** (KARKAMIŠ A 11c, 5 §29; ALEPPO 2, 4 §15; KARABURÇLU,

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[2] Texts are listed in the order in which they appear in Hawkins 2000 (= *CHLI*).

[3]]NEG₂(-)-*na* in KARKAMIŠ A 25b, 1 §1 remains obscure.

[4] NEG₂+*ra/i* (TOPADA, 6 §27) is too uncertain to be discussed here.

[5] For NEG₃-*sa* (-*pa-wa/i*) and NEG₃-*sa-a-pa* see the discussion of disjunctives below.

4; BOYBEYPINARI 2, IV A 3 §22; ?MALPINAR, 3 §9; KULULU 1, 6 §14; SULTANHAN base, F 1 §42; KARABURUN, 3 §13; ASSUR letter e, 2 §13; f, 3 §17; EREĞLI, §4); **ni-i-'** (ASSUR letter c, 2 §5; f, 2 §12; f, 2 §15; f, 4 §26); **ni-i-i** (SULTANHAN stele, E 1 §36); **ni-i-^{i}** (ASSUR letter g, 2 §51); **ni** (CEKKE, 11–12 §26, 27); **ni-i** (ALEPPO 2, 4 §16; ASSUR letter e, 2 §12).[6]

Typical examples of negative use in the First Millennium are:[7]

(1) KARKAMIŠ A 23, 3 §§4–5 (= 1975 cit. 17, *CHLI* II.17)

*a-wa/i-mu *a-mi-zi ||*a-ta$_4$-ni-zi |pi-pa-sa-ta
*a-mu-pa-wa/i-*a-ta$_4$-na-za **NEG$_2$** *|pi-ia-ta*

"She kept giving my enemies to me, but me she did **not** give to the enemies."

(2) ERKİLET 2, 1–2 §§1–2 (*CHLI* X.24–5, App. B 28b)

za-wa/i |á-la-na ^{1}á-sa-ti-wa/i-su-sa |tu-ta ||
*za-pa-wa/i-ta |**ni** |**REL**-i-sà-ha |sa-ni-i-ti*

"This ALA Astiwasus erected and/but **let no one** overturn this."

2.2 Forms and meaning

Some of the spelling alternations point to different forms. Through most of the first millennium BCE NEG$_2$ differs from NEG$_3$ because of two short strokes at the bottom which match the similar strokes distinguishing ⟨ia⟩ and ⟨za⟩ from ⟨i⟩ and ⟨zi⟩. Hence it is not surprising to find NEG$_2$ used, albeit rarely, as a syllabic sign with an *a*-value; in that function NEG$_2$ alternates with the *na* sign, e.g. in the accusative singular (see Hawkins 1975:125–8). In the Empire period the distinction between NEG$_2$ and NEG$_3$ is not indicated in writing, i.e. the strokes have not been added (just as there is no graphic distinction between /i/ and /ia/, /zi/ and /za/). This accounts for the transliteration NEG for a sign which can correspond to *ni* or *na*, while in the later period we assume NEG$_2$ = *na* and NEG$_3$ = *ni*. In KARKAMIŠ A 21, 5 §6 and in a few fragments (cf. (I iii) in §2.1. above) NEG has, instead of the standard strokes, an *a*-sign added; hence the transliteration NEG+*a*. A 21 is a very late text with archaizing sign shapes and points at what Gelb had already surmised, the *a*-origin of the bottom strokes which mark the *a*-value of ⟨ia⟩, ⟨za⟩ and now NEG$_2$.

In the Empire inscriptions NEG is normally followed by a phonetic complement: NEG-*wa/i* and once NEG-*a* are used for the negative of assertion; NEG-*sa* for the

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[6]For NEG$_3$+*i*, NEG$_3$-*i*, *ni* with a possible disjunctive value see below §3.5. Instead of NEG$_3$ in KARKAMIŠ A 30h, 1 §1 and in MARAŞ 2, §2 (NEG$_3$-*wa/i*) we expect NEG$_2$, but they may be archaizing forms with an undifferentiated NEG instead of NEG$_2$. For the disjunctives NEG$_2$(-*a*)-*pa*(-*wa/i*)(-), NEG$_3$-*sa*(-*a*)-*pa*(-), *ni/ní*(-*i*)-*pa*(-*wa/i*)(-) etc., see below §§3.2 and 3.5.

[7]Here and elsewhere each text citation which includes negatives is followed by a reference to a) *CHLI*, b) Hawkins 1975 (in the form = 1975 cit[ation] *nn*.), or c) the number of the text in our Appendix below (App[endix] A *nn*. or App[endix] B *nn*.). We write **a* at the start of a word for 'initial-*a*-final', an -*a* (or ') written finally in the early texts (Hawkins 2003:161).

prohibitive negative. In the Late Period more spellings are available; for the negative of assertion we find another example of NEG-*wa/i* in the Transitional Period (KARAHÖYÜK). Otherwise we have NEG₂, NEG₂-*a* and a rare syllabic spelling *na* (cf. (I vi) in §2.1. above). One of the ASSUR letters has an instance of *na-wa/i-ʾ*. For the prohibitive negative, NEG₃-*sa* alternates with isolated examples of the syllabic spellings *ni-sa* and *ni-i-sá*, but by far the most frequent forms are shorter and written with the standard *ni*-syllabograms: *ni, ni-i, ni-i-ʾ, ni-i-i, ni-i-ⁱ, ní, ní-i*. Spellings like NEG₃, NEG₃+*i*, NEG₃-*i*, which may correspond to *ni*, are rare and almost unique.

Clearly in the Empire Period the negative of assertion is *nawa*. The Hieroglyphic spelling would allow a reading *nawi*, but the complete parallelism with Cuneiform Luwian speaks for *nawa*. The prohibitive negative is *nis* in complete agreement with Cuneiform Luwian (but recall n. 1). In view of the later developments, it is likely that NEG-*a* was read *na* (cf. n. 1 for Luwian *na-a*). In the Transitional Period the very early text KARAHÖYÜK still has NEG-*wa* = *nawa*, but the rare syllabic spellings and the lack of the *wa/i*-complement after NEG₂ point to the short form *na* for the negative of assertion in the other texts. The isolated *na-wa/i-ʾ* of the later ASSUR letter is difficult to interpret; it could be read *nawa* and count as an odd survival (see also n. 6) or it could be attributed a meaning 'not yet' and read as *nawi*, matching Hittite *nawi*.[8]

The prohibitive negative is rarely *nis* as in the early period, but far more frequently *ni*, with the variety of spellings that we have listed. The instances of NEG₃-*sa* spelling all belong to the early First Millennium (in KARKAMIŠ they belong to Katuwa's inscriptions); by contrast the *ni-sa / ni-i-sá* spellings belong to the late 9th century. In one inscription (KARKAMIŠ A 11c, 4–5 §§28–9 = 1975 cit. 50) we find in successive paragraphs NEG₃-*sa* CAPERE-*ti-i* and *ni-i* CAPERE-*ti-i* 'let them not take'. Of the three examples of NEG₃ without a -*sa* or -*wa/i* phonetic complement, one (in MARAŞ 2, cf. n. 6) cannot be a prohibitive negative since it occurs with a preterite verb; for the other two in KARKAMIŠ A 6 see below (37) in §3.5. The final conclusion about the **standard** forms of the negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian is as follows:

	Empire	Late
Negative of Assertion	*nawa*, *na*	*na*
Prohibitive Negative	*nis*	*ni* (rarer *nis*)

2.3   Use and distribution

In what follows we contrast the usage of the Empire and Transitional Periods with that of the Late Period.

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[8]The final sign, transliterated ʾ above, is a small ⟨a⟩ of the type that ASSUR uses as space filler in alternation with small ⟨i⟩; clearly it does not point to an *a*-reading since we find the same sign used e.g. after the unambiguous -*ti/-ri* ending of the 3rd person singular present verb or the equally unambiguous -*u* of the pronominal form -*tu*. At present we transcribe the sign as either ⟨a⟩ or ⟨ʾ⟩ depending on the context.

2.3.1 Empire and Transitional Periods

We find a few examples of negatives in the Empire Period and the Transitional Period. The sign NEG is undifferentiated but the phonetic complements -*wa/i* for the factual negative (NEG-*wa/i* but once NEG-*a* before the indefinite pronoun) and -*sa* for the prohibitive negative make clear what is meant.

The evidence is very limited. The negative of assertion NEG-*wa/i* occurs three times in EMİRGAZİ 1 (App. A 2, A 3); once in YALBURT block 3 (App. A 4), once in KARAHÖYÜK (= 1975 cit. 13); it is always clause-internal and immediately precedes the final verb, which is in the past in YALBURT and presumably in the indicative present in EMİRGAZİ 1 and KARAHÖYÜK. In BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜD-BURG, App. A 6) NEG-*wa/i-tá* occurs before REL-*ti-ha*, the dative of the indefinite pronoun, which precedes the verb; similarly NEG-*a* in YALBURT block 4 (App. A 5) occurs before the nominative REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* which is followed by the verb. In EMİRGAZİ 1, §28 (App. A 2) the order is Preverb (= *arha*) + Negative + Verb.

The prohibitive negative *nis* is found four times in EMİRGAZİ 1 (App. A 1 = (39) below) always before the indefinite REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*; the phrase may immediately precede or immediately follow the verb, which, when the endings are written, is in the indicative present. In KARAHÖYÜK (= 1975 cit. 13) NEG-*sa* immediately precedes the verb which is clause-final. Twice in EMİRGAZİ 1 the sequence of prohibitive negative and indefinite pronoun is inserted between the preverb/adverb *arha* and the verb.

2.3.2 Late Period: The negative of assertion

Even if we do not consider its occurrence in the disjunctives (see below §§3 and 3.1), the evidence for NEG$_2$ is much more extensive than in the earlier period. If we include the broken texts there are more than 60 examples of NEG$_2$(-*a*) 'not' and three examples of syllabically written *na* 'not'; *na-wa/i*, as we have seen, appears once in a very late text and, if the text is emended from NEG or NEG$_3$ to NEG$_2$, may also occur in MARAŞ 2 (see n. 6). In the distribution some patterns are recognizable.

First, in the most frequent pattern the negative of assertion immediately precedes the verb, which normally takes the final position in the clause, unless it is followed by indirect cases and/or adverbial elements. Examples come from all periods including the Empire period; see e.g. EMİRGAZİ 1 (App. A 2), KARKAMIŠ A 23 ((1) above), and KARKAMIŠ A 11b, 3 §8 (= 1975 cit. 32a).

Second, in the Late Period, if there is a preverb (or adverb) like *arha*, *anda*, etc., the negative tends to precede the preverb rather than the verb. The adverbs *zi-la* and *zi-ta* can also occur between the negative and the verb.[9] This ordering occurs all through the Late Period; (3) below is early and (4) late:

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[9]In ASSUR and SULTANHAN we frequently find a form *á-pi* which has been compared with Hittite *appa* by Oshiro (1988) (see *CHLI* 554–5); its distribution is somewhat different from that of e.g. *ARHA*, but not incompatible with it.

(3)   TELL AHMAR 6, 4 §10 (Hawkins 2006a, App. B 7)

  a-wa/i *a-mi-ia-za |tá-ti-ia-za |á-ta$_5$-ma-za |**NEG$_2$-a** |INFRA-*ta*
    LITUUS$^?$+*na$^?$-tà*

  "They (the gods) did **not** look down on my father's name . . . "

(4)   TÜNP 1, 4 §7 (*CHLI* II.29, App. B 2)

  CAPUT+*ra/i-sa-pa-wa/i-ta* REL-*sa* **na** *a-ta i-zi-ia+ra/i*

  "But the person who is **not** involved . . . "

Other examples: HAMA 4, A §12 (= 1975 cit. 33: NEG$_2$ *a-tá* Verb); İVRİZ 2, 7 §24 (App. B 6: NEG$_2$ *zi-ta* [Verb]); KARKAMIŠ A 14a, 4–5 §6 (= 1975 cit. 34: NEG$_2$ POST-*ni a-tá* Verb).[10] The preverb can (rarely) take the first position in the clause before the negative, as in (13) below or in SULTANHAN stele, E 1 §36 (App. B 25).

Third, NEG$_2$ may be strengthened by the adverbial *ma-nu/nú-ha* (cf. Hitt. *manka*) which immediately follows it; the sequence precedes the verb or preverb + verb. Cf.:

(5)   ASSUR letter a, 2 §5 (= 1975 cit. 29, *CHLI* XI.1)

  |*wa/i-mu^{-i}* |*ha-tu+ra/i-na* |**NEG$_2$-a** |**ma-nu-ha** |("LOQUI")*pu-pa-la-ta*

  "You **by no means** replied to me a letter."

Other examples: ASSUR letter a, 2 §7 (= 1975 cit. 29); KARKAMIŠ A 5a, 1 §3 ((8) below, App. B 10); KÖRKÜN, rev. 1–2 §2 (= 1975 cit. 30).

Fourth, if the clause includes the indefinite pronoun REL-*i-sa-ha* (= *kwisha*) in its various inflectional forms, the negative immediately precedes the pronoun and the whole phrase tends to precede the verb or the sequence of preverb + verb. The distribution is the same as in the Empire texts. Cf.:

(6)   ALEPPO 2, 3 §11 (= 1975 cit. 41; *CHLI* III.5)

  |"VAS"-*tara/i-pa-wa/i-na* **NEG$_2$-a** |**REL-*i-ha*** *a-tá* |CRUS+*RA/I-nu-wa/i-ha*

  "but I did **not** set him up (as) **any** figure."

The repeated occurrence of NEG$_2$ REL-*ha-na* apparently in the function of object or subject or even adverb makes one wonder whether the innovated form with inflected final -*ha* may have been grammaticalized into semi-adverbial function, but this is difficult to establish. Examples of negative + indefinite pronoun are found in Hawkins 1975 citations 37–45 and in App. B 14. Note that in some instances the sequence of negative and indefinite acts as an adjective which modifies a following noun and consequently does not immediately precede the verb (ASSUR letter e, 1 §5 = 1975 cit. 40b; TOPADA, 7 §29 = 1975 cit. 43).

Finally we should consider the instances when the negative is not close to the preverb + verb sequence, even in the absence of *ma-nu-ha* or the indefinite pronoun. If

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[10]In ASSUR letter f, 2 §10 (= 1975 cit. 28, *CHLI* XI.5) *tu-wa-ri+i* is inserted between NEG$_2$-*a* and the verb. In EĞREK, 1 §2 (= 1975 cit. 25, *CHLI* X.23) . . . |*á-pa* |NEG$_2$-*a* |*ha-si*[the first word has been interpreted as a preverb, but the ordering would be very odd; see the discussion in *CHLI* 493. A demonstrative after the noun would be equally odd, but may perhaps be justified in connection with the preceding adjective.

we leave aside the disjunctive NEG$_2$(-*a*)-*pa*(-*wa*), which will be discussed later and is normally clause-initial,[11] there are not many examples and they too seem to fall into a pattern. The negative occurs clause-initially in:

a) KARKAMIŠ A 2, 2–3 §4 (= 1975 cit. 35), A 5a, 1–2 §4 ((8) and App. B 10), A 11c, 5 §31 (= 1975 cit. 23), A 17b, 2 §4 (= 1975 cit. 19), A 21b, 5 §6 (App. B 11), KARATEPE 1, §§XXI Ho and Hu, XXVI Ho and Hu (= 1975 cit. 15, 16), ASSUR letter a, 2 §6 (= 1975 cit. 29), e, 3 §16 (= 1975 cit. 26).

In addition we must consider occurrences of NEG$_2$ which are not clause initial but are not immediately to the left of (preverb +) verb:

b) KARKAMIŠ A 2, 2–3 §3 (= 1975 cit. 35), MARAŞ 4, 3 §9 (= 1975 cit. 36), ÇİFTLİK, 2 §§3–4 (App. B 12), ASSUR letter f, 2 §10 (= 1975 cit. 28), KIRŞEHİR lead letter, 4 §20 (App. B 5).

The easiest case is that of the 'neither . . . nor' clauses identified by Hawkins (1975: 138); NEG$_2$-*ha* . . . NEG$_2$-*ha* may belong to the same or to two different clauses but in either case NEG$_2$-*ha* (formed from the negative and the clitic connective -*ha* 'and') precedes the negated word. Hence sequences like:

(7) KARKAMIŠ A 2, 2–3 §§3–4 (= 1975 cit. 35, *CHLI* II.13)

a-wa/i |*za-a-sa* |*kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa* (URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* **NEG$_2$-*ha***
   *a-mi-i |*tá-ti-i* |"VAS"-*tara/i-na* POST-*ni a-tá* |BONUS-*li-ia-ta*
NEG$_2$-*ha-wa/i-sa* *a-mi-i AVUS-*ha* POST-*ni a-tá* |BONUS-*li-ia*||-*ta*

"This Karkamisean Tarhunzas had **neither** for my father exalted the person **nor** for my grandfather had he exalted (it)."

In MARAŞ 4, 3 §9 (= 1975 cit. 36) which has the same topos (which also occurs in ÇİFTLİK = App. B 12), NEG$_2$-*a-ha* |*tá-ti-i-sa* NEG$_2$-*a-ha* AVUS-*ha-sa* belongs to the same clause. The evidence is very scanty but we have the impression that the construction is used when either the two negated elements belong to the same clause or they belong to entirely parallel clauses, i.e. clauses which repeat the same verb; in other words, the negated elements are the nouns and not the verbs but the second NEG$_2$-*a-ha* must take first position in the second clause and is again followed by the negated word. Recently discovered inscriptions from ARSUZ, which we know thanks to the generosity of Professors Belkıs and Ali Dinçol, confirm this view. If so, this may give us an insight into the distinction between the two connectives -*ha* and -*pa*. Compare (7) above with (8) below:

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[11] KARKAMIŠ A 13d, 4–5 §5 (App. B 31) belongs with the disjunctives even if it is differently understood in Hawkins 1975 cit. 20 (cf. *CHLI* II.16: 115).

(8)   KARKAMIŠ A 5a, 1–2 §§3–4 (*CHLI* II.45, App. B 10)

a-wa/i FRONS-*la/i/u*-x FRATER-*la*-x **NEG₂-*a* ma-nú-ha** INFRA *ARHA*
     |*pa+ra/i-há*

NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* || (DEUS)*ma-sa-ti-na tu-pi-há*

"I **in no way** . . . -ed (to?) the elder brother,
and I did **not** smite / **(n)or** did I smite . . . "

We have two coordinated clauses, both with negative meaning, but the conditions for the use of *naha . . . naha* are not satisfied. We could take NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* as the disjunctive 'or', with the negative meaning carried over from the previous clause (see below §2.3.3 and (14a)), but at this period (8th century) we would expect *nipawa* rather than *napawa* (see §3.2). Alternatively we may have a straight negative coordinated with the previous negative clause by *-pa*. The position at the start of the clause is understandable both because of focus and because of the previous negative clause. Note that in the first clause of (8) the negative is ordered in the usual way, before the verb and not before the noun as in (7).

The remaining examples of initial negative share, with the exception of the two ASSUR passages, one characteristic, exemplified e.g. by:

(9)   KARKAMIŠ A17b, 2 §4 (= 1975 cit. 19, *CHLI* II.41)

NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-na* REL-*sa i-zi-i-[sa-ta-i*

"He who does **not** honour him . . . "

(10)   KARKAMIŠ A11c, 5 §31 (= 1975 cit. 23)

|**NEG₂-*wa/i-na*** |REL+*ra/i* (LOCUS)*pi-ta-ha-li-ia-ha*

"*since* I did **not** *exile* it."

In these passages (as in KARATEPE 1, §§XXI, XXVI and in KARKAMIŠ A 21b) the negative is in clause-initial position followed by the usual clitics and then by a form of relative pronoun meaning either 'who, which' or 'as, since, if', etc. The relative normally does not take absolute initial position in the clause[12] and consequently it looks as if the negative is fronted in order to allow the relative and the verb to take their normal position. In KARATEPE 1 it would have been possible to start the clause with another word (the subject in XXI or an indirect complement in XXVI) but these elements have a post-verbal position which must be meaningful. The two ASSUR passages where the negative is clause-initial are not altogether clear, as is often the case in ASSUR. In the first (ASSUR letter a, 2 §6 = 1975 cit. 29) we may well have to deal with a question, which would explain the ordering (cf. *CHLI* XI.1: 542); the second (ASSUR letter e, 3 §16 = 1975 cit. 26) is very obscure; it is possible that the negative is focussed but nothing can really be stated.

Most of the negatives which, though not clause-initial, do not immediately precede the (preverb +) verb, have already been discussed in connection with double negative clauses. KIRŞEHİR, 4 §20 (App. B 5) is fragmentary and obscure.

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[12]This is clearly an oversimplification and relatives can start an indeterminate clause; for a brief discussion of the ordering of relatives (and the earlier references) see Melchert 2002:224–6.

We are left with:

(11)   ASSUR letter f, 2 §10 (= 1975 cit. 28; *CHLI* XI. 5)

|*u-nu-pa-wa/i-za* |NEG₂-*a* |*tu-wa/i-ri+i* |*ha-tu-ra+a*

Here too the meaning is not altogether clear; *tu-wa/i-ri+i* looks like the ablative-instrumental of *tuwi-* 'your' and may refer to an expected or missing letter; the word takes the place which is normally allocated to a preverb.

In general the point to retain is that if the negative does not precede the verb it is reasonable to ask why.

2.3.3   The prohibitive negative

As we have seen the various spellings for the prohibitive negative point to *nis* in the Empire and Transitional Period and sporadically in the Late Period and *ni* in the Late Period. Even when the two forms coexisted it is unlikely that there was a difference in meaning; cf. KARKAMIŠ A 11 c, 4–5 §§28–9 where they are both used in entirely parallel passages.

As predictable the negative of assertion can be linked to present and past verbs (and never occurs with an imperative). The prohibitive negative, on the other hand, cannot occur with past verbs and normally occurs with the present indicative (more than 30 examples). There are, to our knowledge, only three texts, all very late, which use *ni-i* with the imperative:

(12)   SULTANHAN base top, F 1 §42 (*CHLI* X.14, App. B 21)

|*a-wa/i* |*ka-ti-i-sa* |***ni-i*** |***á-sa-tu-u-'***

"**let not there be** *damage*."

(13)   KARABURUN, 3 §13 (*CHLI* X.18, App. B 22)

SUPER+*ra/i-pa-wa/i-tu-ta* **ni-i ma-nu-ha pu-tu**

"((He) who shall erase these engravings, for him may the Haranean King, the Moon God, INFRA(-)SATU (imperative) on (his) KIHARANI (and) heart) and let him **in no way PU- up** for him."

(14a)   ASSUR letter e, 2–3 §§12–14 (*CHLI* XI.5, App. B 23)

|*u-nu-ha-wa/i-ma-za-ta* |***ni-i*** |***ma-nu-ha*** |ARHA-' ("VAS")*pa+ra/i-ra+a-ia*
|DOMINUS-*ni-i* |*a-za-ia-ha-'* |*sa-na-wa/i-ia*
|*wa/i-za*⁻ⁱ |***ni-i*** |ARHA |("*69") ***sa-tu*⁻ⁱ**
|***ni-pa-wa/i-mu*** || ARHA-' |**MORI**-*nu-'*

"Now let the lord's and our goods **by no means** disappear (ind.) for you **(n)or let them miss** (imp.) **us, (n)or let me die** (imp.)."[13]

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[13] For this text cf. Melchert 1989:36. In EMİRGAZİ, 1 §§8, 10 ((39) below, App. A 1) the verbal endings are not always marked, as is often the case in the texts of the period, but the verbs of §§7 and 9 are in the present indicative.

(14b)   ASSUR letter f, 2 §§12–15 (*CHLI* XI.5, App. B 26)

|*wa/i-za* **ni-i-'** |**ma-nu-ha** |*ARHA-'* |("*69") *sa-si-i*
|**ni-pa-wa/i-mu** |("SIGILLUM")*HWI-pa-sa-nu*
|*á-ta₅-wa/i-za* |REL-*sa-ha* |*a-sa-ti*
|*wa/i-tu-u-ta* |**ni-i** |**ma-nu-ha** |"356"(-)⌈REL-*sù*⌉-[. . . .

"**by no means** abandon (ind.) us, **(n)or cause** (imp.) **me** harm!
Who is ATA to us, **by no means** . . ."

The ASSUR passages are interesting. In (14b) a negative clause with *ni manuha* and the expected indicative is followed by a disjunctive *nipawa* clause with the imperative; in (14a) a *ni manuha* clause, again with the indicative, is followed by a further *ni* clause and then by a *nipawa* clause both with the imperative. From a formal point of view in (14a) and (14b) the *nipawa* clauses do not include a prohibitive negative since *nipa(wa)* is fully grammaticalized as 'or' rather than 'nor'; if so the imperative is justified. The required negative meaning is carried over from the previous clauses just as in Hittite the negative value of *natta* can be carried over (Güterbock and Hoffner 1989– :s.v. *natta* 2′ e; Hoffner and Melchert 2008:346). In view of the data offered by the late text KULULU 5 ((34) below) where *ni . . . nipawa* means 'either . . . or', it is more than possible that the *ni* of the second clause of (14a) is in fact a disjunctive (*ni . . . nipawa*); if so, here too the imperative would be formally justified.

The prohibitive negative, in whatever form, has a similar distribution to the negative of assertion. Normally it is immediately followed by the verb (cf. (2) and (12) above), which tends to have final position in the clause (though it may in its turn be followed by an infinitive, an indirect complement or, rarely, the subject). Once, in a two-member parenthetic clause, we find an initial verb followed by *nis*:

(15)   MARAŞ 14, 5C §8 (*CHLI* IV.5, App. B 18)

|"MALLEUS"-*wa/i-t*[*á*] **ni-i-sá**

"(To this statue of Astiwasus let there be this performance)
—**let not** (one) erase it!—
(three breads . . .)"

The ordering is clearly emphatic (cf. Güterbock and Hoffner 1989– :s.v. *lē* 3′ c′).

Examples: NEG₃-*sa* + Verb in KARKAMIŠ A 3, 4 §23 (= 1975 cit. 47a); A 11c, 4 §28 (= 1975 cit. 50); BABYLON 1, 6 §15 (= 1975 cit. 48); *ni/ní(-i)* + Verb in KARKAMIŠ A 11c, 5 §29 (= 1975 cit. 50); SULTANHAN base, F 1 §42 ((12) and App. B 21); CEKKE, reverse 11 §§25–7 (= 1975 cit. 47b) (cf. the Empire and Transitional data quoted above).

A preverb (*ARHA*, CUM(-*i*), INFRA-*ta/tá*, SUPER+*ra/i*) is frequently inserted between the prohibitive negative and the verb, as in (14a) and (14b) above and (16) below:[14]

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[14]In two texts (İSKENDERUN, 4–5 §6 = (38), App. B 17; BOYBEYPINARI 2, IV A 3 §22 = App. B 20) in this position we do not find one of the standard preverbs but two obscure words, *wa/i-na-ha* and *ha+ra/i-wa/i*-x, which seem to be in some way adverbial.

(16) KARKAMIŠ A 11a, 6–7 §27 (= 1975 cit. 49, *CHLI* II.9)

a-wa/i-tú-ta (PANIS)*tú+ra/i-pi-na* (LIBARE) *sa₅+ra/i-la* ||*-ta-za-ha*
  NEG₃-*sa ARHA* |CAPERE-*ti-i*

"From him **let them not** take up bread and libation!"

For an instance of clause-initial preverb followed by *ni manuha* and the verb see below.

Examples: NEG₃-*sa* + Preverb + Verb in KARKAMIŠ A 2, 5 §12 = 1975 cit. 46 (CUM-*i*); A 11a, 6–7 §27 = (16) (*ARHA*); TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §33 = (28), App. B 16 (CUM); *ni/ní*(-*i*) + Preverb + Verb in ALEPPO 2, 4 §15 = App. B 19 (INFRA-*tá*), §16 (SUPER+*ra/i-*'); KARABURÇLU, 4; see App. B 19 (INFRA²-*ta²*); ASSUR letter e, 2 §13 = (14a) (*ARHA*); g, "2" §51 = App. B 24 (*ARHA*). Cf. also KARKAMIŠ A 6, 8 §§27–8 = (37), App. B 42.

The prohibitive negative, like the factual negative, can be strengthened with *manuha*, which immediately follows it; once we have a dissimilated form *ma-ru-ha* (SULTANHAN, stele top, E 1 §36, App. B 25). The sequence *ni manuha* precedes the verb, as in (13), but a preverb may be inserted before the verb as in (14a) and (14b). The ordering cohesion of preverb and verb must match that of negative and *manuha* if we can find oscillations like those of (17) and (18) below. That the ordering of preverbs may be a matter of stylistic choice is shown by (13) where the unexpected clause-initial position of SUPER clearly is meant to create a contrast with the INFRA of the previous clause:

(17) ASSUR letter e, 2 §12 (= (14a), *CHLI* XI.5, App. B 23)

|*u-nu-ha-wa/i-ma-za-ta* |**ni-i** |**ma-nu-ha** |ARHA-' ("VAS")*pa+ra/i-ra+a-ia* ||
  DOMINUS-*ni-i* |*a-za-ia-ha-'* |*sa-na-wa/i-ia*

"Now let the lord's and our goods **by no means** disappear for you
(and let them not miss us)."

(18) ASSUR letter c, 2 §5 (*CHLI* XI.3, App. B 27)

|*á-pi-ha-wa/i-tu-u-ta* |**ni-i-'** ARHA-' |**ma-nu-ha** *pa+ra/i-ra+a-wa/i*

"Further let me **by no means** disappear for you."

Examples: *ni manuha* or *ni maruha* + Verb in KARABURUN, 3 §13 = (13); ASSUR letter f, 2 §15 = (14b), SULTANHAN stele, top 1 §36; + Preverb Verb in ASSUR letter e, 2 §12 = (17); ASSUR letter f, 2 §12 = (14b). *ni* + Preverb + *manuha* + Verb in ASSUR letter c, 2 §5 = (18).

Instances of the prohibitive negative together with the indefinite pronoun start with NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* in EMİRGAZİ 1, §§7–10 ((39), App. A 1) where this sequence precedes or follows the verb in a chiastic fashion. In the Late Period the few examples of *ni* with indefinite pronoun all precede the verb as in (2) above. Cf. also:

(19) EREĞLİ, C §4 (Poetto 2002; *CHLI* [X.52], App. B 29)

|*wa/i-ta* [(DEUS)]TONITRUS-*hu-za-sá* [|](CAELUM)*ti-pa-sa-ti* |INFRA-*ta*
  [|]**ni-i** [|]**REL-ha** [x]-*sa-i*[

"**Let** Tarhunzas *let*(?) down **nothing** from the sky."

Finally, we must note the two examples of double negative with positive meaning already listed in 1975, which also offer a rare example of clause-initial *ni* not in disjunctive function:

(20)   ASSUR letter d, 3 §10 (= 1975 cit. 52a; *CHLI* XI.4)

   |***ni**-wa/i-mu⁻ⁱ* |*á-pi* |**NEG₂-*a*** |VIA-*wa/i-ni-si*

   "**do not not** send back to me."

(21)   ASSUR letter f, 4 §26 (= 1975 cit. 52b; *CHLI* XI.6)

   |*á-pi-wa/i-ma-na* |***ni-i-'*** |**NEG₂-*a*** | VIA-*wa/i-ni-si*

   "**Do not not** send it back to me."

2.4   The negatives: Summary

In the Late Period the standard spelling for the negative of assertion is NEG₂(-*a*), but a few instances of *na* also occur; the earlier *nawa* is abandoned. On the other hand the early spelling NEG₃-*sa* of the prohibitive negative is given up relatively soon; a few instances of a syllabic spelling for *nis* occur but the negative which prevails is *ni*, spelled syllabically. The distribution of these negatives seems to vary over time. The major change is the use of the negatives to mark disjunction which will be discussed below, but, if we can trust our limited evidence for the Early Period, the other change may concern the distribution of negatives in the clause. In the Late Period the standard pattern calls for a negative (both factual and prohibitive) which immediately precedes the verb. On the other hand the so-called preverbs like *ARHA*, *anda*, etc., if present, are normally positioned between the negative and the verb. By contrast in the Empire Period it looks as if the preverbs precede the negative, which is the most frequent position in Hittite. Also regular, both in the Empire and later on, is the position of both negatives before the indefinite pronoun: *ni kwisha* + Verb. Both factual and prohibitive negatives are often followed by *manuha* in contrast with Hittite where *manka* follows *natta* but not *lē* (Hoffner 1986:89). In the Late Period the factual negative is occasionally separated from the verb, but normally this happens either when the negative negates a specific word (usually in a sequence of the type 'neither X nor Y') or when the negative belongs to a relative clause and precedes the relative pronoun.

Another change concerns the use of the prohibitive negative. It is regularly joined to forms of the present indicative but in our latest texts we find three apparent examples of *ni* with the imperative. This looks like a new and rare development; it is also possible that one of the examples (14a) may have been misinterpreted and *ni* is in fact a disjunctive. If so, the rarity of the imperative use with *ni* would be even more striking.[15]

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[15]We do not discuss here the adnominal use, if any, of the negatives, which would lead us to a consideration of compounds like (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* 'child, son.'

3 Disjunctives

In 1975 we were struck by the fact that NEG$_2$ also occurred in what seemed to be a non-negative function. Most frequently this was at the beginning of a clause (though not the first clause in the sentence) and NEG$_2$(-*a*) was followed by -*pa-wa/i* and other particles or pronominal elements. In internal position it was also possible to find NEG$_2$(-*a*)-*pa*, which showed that -*wa/i* was the normal particle of reported speech which occurs at the start of practically all Hieroglyphic Luwian clauses. Given the formulaic nature of a number of texts it was clear that NEG$_2$-*pa-wa/i* alternated with, and fulfilled the same functions as, *ni/ní(-i)-pa-wa/i*, which even then was known to be the disjunctive particle 'or'. The new evidence supports this conclusion and adds important data. Below we list the data at our disposal. The forms in question are a) NEG$_2$-*pa-wa/i*(-), NEG$_2$-*pa* ; b) NEG$_2$-*a-pa-wa/i*(-), NEG$_2$-*a-pa*; c) NEG$_3$-*sa-pa-wa/i*(-), NEG$_3$-*sa-a-pa*; d) *ni/ní*(-*i*)-*pa-wa/i*(-), *ni-pa*; e) NEG$_3$ + *i*, NEG$_3$-*i*, *ni*.

There is no evidence from the Empire Period for these forms, since the sequences *ní-pa-wa/i* and *ní-i(a)-pa-wa/i* in EMİRGAZİ 2 and YALBURT block 13 are not clear, and probably need to be differently interpreted.[16] This does not necessarily mean that we have no evidence for a disjunctive at that time (see below §3.6). We should also note that the clause-initial sequence NEG$_2$(-*a*-)*pa-wa/i*- need not be disjunctive and may introduce a negative clause; in a few instances this is certainly the correct interpretation.[17]

3.1 Disjunctives in the Late Period: Attestations

The evidence for the disjunctives (all from the Late Period) is as follows:

a) (i) **NEG$_2$-*pa-wa/i*(-)** (KARKAMIŠ A 5a, 1 §4; A 11a, 6 §§24–5; A 11c, 2 §§20, [21], 3 §24; [A 19c, 9 (x 2)]; A 27g, 1; A 27 s, *s (?); [A 29 h]; ALEPPO 2, 6 §25; MARAŞ [11, 2 §2], 14, 3 §5; [BOYBEYPINARI 2, IIIA.2 §14]; BABYLON 1, 6 §14).

  (ii) **NEG$_2$-*pa*** (MARAŞ 14, 3 §5).

b) (i) **NEG$_2$-*a-pa-wa/i*(-)** (KARKAMIŠ [A 29 d, 2]; TELL AHMAR 2,7 §§13, 14, [16], 8 §17; TELL AHMAR 5, 5 §17; TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §30).

  (ii) **NEG$_2$-*a-pa*** (TELL AHMAR 2, 8 §18; TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 3 line 3 §ii).

c) (i) **NEG$_3$-*sa-pa-wa/i*(-)** (BOROWSKI 3, 4 §§9–10).

  (ii) **NEG$_3$-*sa-a-pa*** (TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §34).

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[16] We now prefer to read the text differently from e.g. Hawkins 1995:82; in Yalburt block 13 + block 3 it would be possible to read ASINUS-*ni-i(a)-pa-wa/i* NEG-*wa/i a-sa-tá* assuming that -*pa-wa/i* are the clitics which follow the previous word. In any case since, as is shown below, the disjunctive *ni/ní*(-*i*)-*pa-wa/i*(-) does not occur in the earliest documents of the Late Period, one should hesitate to recognize it in YALBURT and EMİRGAZİ 1.

[17] Cf. KARKAMIŠ A 21b, 5 §6 (= App. B 11): NEG$_2$ + *a-pa-wa/i-mu* REL-*zi* BONUS['who (were) not dear to me'; KARKAMIŠ A 17b, 2 §4 (= 1975 cit. 19): NEG$_2$-*pa-wa/i-na* REL-*sa i-zi-i-*[*sa-ta-i* 'he who does not honour him'. For KARKAMIŠ A 5a, 1–2 §4 see above (8).

d) (i)   ***ni-pa-wa/i(-)*** (KARATEPE 1, §LXV 351 Hu; KARKAMIŠ A 6, 9 §30; [A 25 b, 1 §2]; A 31, 4 §11; CEKKE reverse, 10 §21; MARAŞ 14, 5 §14; BOYBEYPINARI 1, IID §6, IIC §9; BOYBEYPINARI 2, IIIB 2 §§12–13, IVC 2 §§16, [17a], IVB 2 §7 b, [c], IVB 3 §18, IVC 3 §19; MALPINAR, 5 §§19, 20, 22; 6 §27; ADIYAMAN 1, 3 §§4–6; ANCOZ 2, 2 §2; 7, D §§10, 11, 13; KULULU 1, 3 §8 (× 3); SULTANHAN stele, 5 §20, top, 2 §§[38], 39, base top, F 1 §40, F 3 §§47–8, 4 §49; KARABURUN, 2 §7, 3 §9; KULULU 5, 5 §7 b, c, d, f; KULULU 2, 3–4 §5 b, c, d; İVRİZ 2, 6 §20, 7 §§21–5; ASSUR letter a, 3 §10; c, 4 §9; e, 2 §§9, 14; f+g, f 2 §13, g "3" §32 , g "1" §42); ***ni-i-pa-wa/i(-)*** (BOYBEYPINARI 2, IIIB 2 §11; [TELL TAYINAT 2, fragm. 11]).

(ii)   ***ni-pa(-)*** (ANCOZ 7, B §5, C §§7, 9, D §12; ANKARA, 2 §6).

(iii)   ***ni-pa-wa/i(-)*** (KARATEPE 1, §§LX 334 Hu, LXXII a 377 Hu and Ho, KARKAMIŠ A 6, 9 §29; A 31, 5 §14; CEKKE reverse, 10 §22; KARKAMIŠ A 13 a, 1 §3, 4; A 18 e, 2 §4; BOYBEYPINARI 1, [II A §7], II B §8; [KAYSERİ, 2 §4, 3 §6]); ***ni-i-pa-wa/i*** (KARATEPE 1, §LXXII a 377 Hu); ***ni-i-pa-wa/i(-)*** (KARATEPE 1, §LXXII b 379 Hu).

e)   **Possible examples of simple negative used as disjunctive.**

(i)   **NEG$_3$+*i*** (KARKAMIŠ A 6, 8 §28); **NEG$_3$ -*i*** (ibid., §27).

(ii)   ***ni(-i)(-)*** (*ni-wa/i-ta* KARATEPE 1, §LXXI 373 Hu [Ho]; *ni-wa/i* MALPINAR, 5 §21; *ni-i* KULULU 5, 4–5 §7 a, e; cf. ASSUR letter e, 3 §14).

3.2   NEG$_2$(-*a*)-*pa*, NEG$_3$-*sa-pa*, *ni/ní(-i)-pa(-)*

Alternative spellings with *scriptio plena* or *ni* vs. *ní* do not indicate different words. On the other hand NEG$_2$-*pa*(-), NEG$_3$-*sa-pa*, *ni/ní(-i)-pa*(-) clearly are different forms and must be read differently, presumably as *napa*, *nispa*, *nipa*.[18] As we have seen the -*wa/i*(-) which normally follows is not part of the disjunctive, but the -*pa*(-) connective clearly is, since it is almost always present even when the disjunctive occurs in the middle of the clause, while normally the clitic -*pa* follows the first orthotonic word. In all instances the first element matches one of the negatives: on the one hand the factual negative NEG$_2$(-*a*) = *na*, on the other the prohibitive negatives NEG$_3$-*sa* = *nis* and NEG$_3$(-*i*) = *ni*. The question is whether *napa* and *nipa*, the two most frequent forms, have different meanings or syntactic functions. Once again we can appeal to the formulaic nature of the texts, as already done by Hawkins (1975:148). The disjunctives normally occur in the curse which often forms the final part of our inscriptions: "Whoever does X / If someone does X, or does Y, or does Z, . . . him/to him the god(s)

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[18]Our writing *napa*, *nipa*, *nispa*, etc. is purely conventional and does not imply that the labial is voiceless. In Cuneiform Luwian the clitic -*pa* is written with a single stop after vowels (cf. Melchert 2003:208; differently Melchert 2002:230); in Lycian, where the disjunctive is *kibe* (Lycian B) or *tibe* (Lycian A), clearly -*be* is the equivalent of -*pa* and we also have *sebe* 'and', but cf. the negatives *ne-pe* and *ni-pe*, which may represent a different particle. These data do not necessarily point to an original voiced stop (lenition may have happened at any stage and the generalization of lenition may be lexically determined). On the other hand it is likely that our main disjunctives are /naba/ and /niba/.

will punish / will do something in retaliation." The crimes committed by the potential malefactor tend to be the same in different inscriptions. A standard crime involves removing the original name from the stele or the rock, sometimes with the aim of replacing it with one's own. See for instance:

(22) KARKAMIŠ A 11a, 6 §25 (= 1975 cit. 53b, *CHLI* II.9)

(If in future they shall pass down to (one) who shall . . .)

|**NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-*tá** *á-ma-za á-ta₅-ma-za ARHA* MALLEUS-*i*

"**or** shall erase my name . . . (against him may Tarhunzas . . .)."

(23) KARKAMIŠ A 6, 9 §29 (= 1975 cit. 51, *CHLI* II.22)

|***ní-pa-wa/i-*tá** |*á-ma-za* |*á-ta₅-ma-za-*' |REL-*i-sá* |*ARHA*
    "MALLEUS"-*la⟨-i⟩*

"**or** who shall erase my name . . . (for him may Nikarawas' dogs eat up his head)."

(24) BOYBEYPINARI 2, IV B 3, §18 (*CHLI* VI.2)

***ní-pa-wa/i-*ta** *á-ma-za tá-ti-ia-za* ¹*á-za-mi-sa á-ta₅-ma-za* ||*ARHA*
    MALLEUS-*i*

(He who shall . . . or . . .)

"**or** shall erase the name of my father Azamis . . . (for him may ATA Kubaba . . .)."

Other parallels can be found in Hawkins 1975 but there is little doubt that NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* and *ni/ní(-i)pa-wa/i* occur in identical constructions (see also (28) below). The question then arises of what determines the choice. With more evidence than we had in 1975 it now looks as if *napa(wa)* is attested earlier than *nipa(wa)* and indeed, with one exception,[19] is limited to the first centuries of the Late Period. In KARKAMIŠ, NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* belongs to the period of Katuwas (10th century or early 9th century), while *ní-pa-wa/i* appears first with Yariris (end 9th century, beginning 8th century). This is interesting because Yariris' regency is also associated with other writing developments such as the end of the earlier practice for which an initial ⟨a⟩ can be written at the end of a word (Hawkins 2003:150–61). If this is so we should not expect to find *ni-pa-wa* in the Empire texts (see n. 16) and we also understand why *ni/ní(-i)-pa-wa/i* is so much more frequent than NEG₂-*pa-wa/i*. Since NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* is phonetically different from *ni-pa-wa/i* we are dealing with an instance of lexical replacement rather than graphic change. This is all the more certain because, even when NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* is no longer written, NEG₂(-*a*) remains as the main (or only) negative of assertion.

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[19]MARAŞ 14 has clause-internal NEG₂-*pa* and NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-sa* as well as clause-initial *ni-pa-wa/i(-)*, though it is late. It may well be an attempt at archaism. The restoration [NEG₂ (?)]-*pa-wa/i* in BOYBEYPINARI 2, III A 2 + IV D 2 §14 in the middle of a string of clauses which begin with *ni-pa-wa/i(-)* now seems very unlikely. It is possible that collation may show ˹*ni-i*˺-*pa-wa/i*.

3.3 The *wa*-particle

NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* and *ni/ní(-i)-pa-wa/i* normally start a new clause, which, as we have seen, accounts for the regular presence of the *wa*-particle. Its absence in the rare occurrences of NEG₂-(*a-*)*pa* and *ni-pa* may be casual, since *ni-pa*(-) can occur in initial position in the clause (ANKARA, 2 §6, ANCOZ 7, B §5, C §§7, 9, D §12 = App. B 38) and *-wa* is occasionally omitted in other clauses too (cf. *CHLI* 195), but NEG₂-*a-pa* in MARAŞ 14 and TELL AHMAR 2 joins two nouns inside the main clause, i.e. to all effects and purposes the syntax of the disjunctive is parallel to that of the 'and' connective, the clitic *-ha*:

(25) MARAŞ 14, 3 §5 (*CHLI* IV.5; App. B 34)

a-wa/i |*mi-i-sa* |INFANS-*ni-i-sa* |REL-*sa* |*i-zi-i-ia+ra/i* **NEG₂-*pa***
|("INFANS.NEPOS") *ha-ma-si-sa* **NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-sa*** ||
|"INFANS.NEPOS"-REL-*la-sá*

"(He) who shall become my son, **or** grandson, **or** great-grandson (literally '**or** he** (will be) great-grandson)."

(26) TELL AHMAR 2, 8 §18 (= 1975 cit. 56a, *CHLI* III.1)

…*á-ma-wa/i-sá* |FRATER-*la-sa* |**NEG₂-*a-pa*** |FRATER-*la-sa*
|INFANS-*ni-sá*

"…brother **or** brother's child"

Note that in (25) *-wa* is absent between the first two nouns but the third noun ('great-grandson'), though syntactically isofunctional, is introduced by *-wa* and the clitic subject pronoun *-as*. From this point of view 'or' and 'and' behave in the same manner; *-ha* 'and' is a clitic which can join two nouns or two clauses; in the former case there need not be other particles involved. On the other hand e.g. KARATEPE 1, §LXXIII 399 Hu, Ho uses *-ha-wa* in nominal coordination: (May celestial Tarhunzas, the celestial Sun, Ea and all the gods delete) *á-pa* |REX-*hi-sá* |*á-pa-**há*** "REX"-*na* |*á-pa-**há-wa/i*** |CAPUT-*ti-na* "that kingdom **and** that king **and** (*-ha-wa/i*) that man."[20]

We may be tempted to assume that the disjunctive coordination of two nouns calls for *napa* or *nipa* and the omission of the omnipresent *-wa* but this is not always so, as shown by other texts. Cf.:

(27) KULULU 1, 2–3 §§8–9 (*CHLI* X.9)

|*wa/i-ti* || |*za-ia* |DOMUS-*na-'* |REL-*sá* |*tu-wa/i-ti-i* |*wa/i-zi-ti-*[*i*]
|**ni-pa-wa/i** |*á-ma-ta-'* |**ni-pa-wa/i** |*la-hi²-zi-i* |**ni-pa-wa/i**
|*wa/i-ia-ni-*[*si²-*]*i* |*tu-wa/i*[*+ra/i*]-*sà-za-'*

"(He) who shall *demand* these houses from Tuwatis
or the AMATA **or** the LAHIZI (?) **or** the vineyard of vine(s) …"

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[20] In the Assur letters the repeated requests to send some numbered items yield ASSUR letter a, 3–4 §10: 3-*zi-i* |*ni-pa-wa/i* || 4-*zi* |("*78") *a-ru-ti-zi* '3 or 4 ARUTIs' and ASSUR letter c, 3–4 §9 4-*zi* || |*ni-pa-wa/i* |5-*na-'* |("*78") *a-ru-ti-na*, '4 or 5 ARUTIs (acc. sing.).'

From this point of view what looks to us as nominal connection is treated as clausal connection.

3.4 NEG$_3$-*sa-a-pa*

While in 1975 the only forms of disjunctive that we recognized with certainty were *napa*(*wa*) and *nipa*(*wa*), recent discoveries have added *nispa*(*wa*), attested only in two early inscriptions of the Late Period. A difficult example is found in:

(28) TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §§33–4 (Hawkins 2006b, App. B 16)

*a-wa/i-tú-ta LOCUS-*ta$_4$-wa/i-za* |**NEG-*sa*** CUM *u-sa-la-li-ti*
á-na(REGIO)-*i-ta-pa-wa/i* |**NEG$_3$-*sa-a-pa*** |(PES$_2$)*i-ti* |*za-a-na*
    (DEUS)TONITRUS-*na* ^{1}*ha-mi-ia-ta-si-i-na* |*wa/i+ra/i-*273-na*

"(He who shall erase Hamiyata's name or (NEG$_2$-*pa-wa/i*) who shall desire evil
… for him may this Tarhunzas of the Army become a lion; may he swallow down his head, wife and child).
To him may he (the malefactor? or the god?) **not** USALALI the …
nor may he (the malefactor) go to the land A. (in order) to … this Tarhunzas of Hamiyatas."

The first clause has a prohibitive negative of the archaic type (*nis*); the second must have a negative meaning. This would allow a translation such as "and/but let him not go …," but grammatically it would not explain the double presence of the *pa*-connective both as a clitic after the first word and in NEG$_3$-*sa-a-pa*.[21] If *nispa* means 'or' we have a justification for the second *-pa*. The negative meaning may be carried over from the previous clause (see above p. 107) or at this stage may still be carried by *nispa*. The comparison with the contemporary (29) speaks in favour of the first possibility, but a neutralization of 'nor' and 'or' is also possible:

(29) BOROWSKI 3, 4–5 §§9–10 (CSLI III.2, App. B 37)

NEG$_3$-*sa-pa-wa/i-ta* **a-mi-i* |INFANS-*ni-i* |REL-*sa* |*ARHA* |CAPERE-*i*
|**NEG$_3$-*sa-pa-wa/i-ta*** |*á-ta$_5$-ma-za* |REL-*sa* |*ARHA* |MALLEUS||-*la-i*

"or who shall take it away from my child,
or who shall erase (my) name (for him may this Tarhunzas …)"

This is part of the account of the crimes which the malefactor may commit. The relative pronoun in both clauses obliges us to take *nispa* as a disjunctive 'or', since a prohibitive negative would be impossible; a negative meaning would also be impossible; cf. (22), (23), (24) above. The inevitable conclusion is that here *nispa* means 'or'

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[21]The spelling NEG$_3$-*sa-a-pa* is puzzling, but *-a-* may simply be a space filler. To treat *-a-pa* as a separate word is difficult in a text which carefully divides words (in Hawkins 2006b:16 a word divider before NEG$_3$-*sa-a-pa* is missing in the transliteration). There is a remote possibility that the spelling is due to contamination with NEG$_2$-*a-pa* found e.g. in TELL AHMAR 2 = (26) above. All these inscriptions, (29) included, are by Hamiyatas.

rather than 'nor' and synchronically cannot be treated as a sequence of prohibitive negative and connective.

3.5 Alternative disjunction strategies: *man ... manpa*; REL-*i*(?) ... REL-*i-pa*(?); *nipa ... nipa*; *ni ... nipa*

The standard curses which appear at the end of many inscriptions have two compulsory elements: the hypothetical list of the evil actions which the malefactors may perpetrate and the mention of the punishment which they would incur as a result. An additional topos is a statement about the nature or status of the malefactor; this often takes the form of alternatives of the type "if he is a king or a lesser man," "whether he is a king or a prince ...," etc. A common way of indicating the alternative is with *man...man ...* clauses:

(30) KARKAMIŠ A 2, 5–6 §14 (*CHLI* II.13)

(In future he who shall ... these temples)

*a-wa/i-sa |ma-na REX-*ti-sa* ||
|*ma-pa-sa* REGIO DOMINUS-*sa*
|*ma-pa-sa* *355-*li-sa*

"whether he (is) a king, **and/but whether** he (is) a country lord, **and/but whether** he (is) a priest" (may Tarhunzas of Karkamiš ... against his paternal house ...)"

Cf. also KARKAMIŠ A 3, 1–2 §17 a, b, c, d, e, 3 §19 a, b; BABYLON 1, 5 §§11–12 and in a different context, 3 §§5–7; ALEPPO 2, 5 §§19–20; ANKARA, 2 §§7–8.[22]

It is of course possible to translate *man* with 'if', but, however we translate it, we must note that in the series of *man* clauses, the second, but not the first, has a *-pa* connective, while the first *man* need not be clause-initial.

A different strategy with *kwi ... kwipa* is found once in:

(31) TOPADA, 8 §§35, 37 (*CHLI* X.12)

wa/i-sa **REL-*i*[. . . ?]** REX-*ti-sa* . . .
REL-*i*[. . . ?]*pa-wa/i-*[*sa*] POST+*ra/i-*[*sa*] CAPUT-*ti-*[*sa*]

"((He) who shall *smash* ...), **if** he (is) a king (may the gods smash his person [and] his land), **if/or** he (is) a lesser person, (may the gods *smash* his person and his house.)"[23]

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[22] There is a striking (early) example also in ALEPPO 6, 7–8 §§7–9 (to be published by Hawkins). For EMİRGAZİ 1, §§31–2 see (41) below. Note that here we have examples of exclusive disjunction in contrast with the majority of inclusive disjunction occurrences elsewhere. The distinction does not seem to have formal expression.

[23] See Melchert 2002:228; the text may be complete but after REL-*i* there may be space for e.g. *ra/i*, though this would be difficult to understand.

Yet another way of expressing the same topos is with an 'or' phrase as in:

(32) SULTANHAN base top, 3 §§48–9 (*CHLI* X. 14)

ni-pa-wa/i-sa-' LEPUS+*ra/i-ia-li-sa*
ni-pa-wa/i REX[

"(He who covets this ARMA, or (if) a . . . woman . . . brings it away (?))
or (if) he (is) a governor
or a king [(him . . . he shall smite . . .)"

(33) KARKAMIŠ A 19 *c*, 9 (*CHLI* II.67, App. B 36)

. . . RE]X-*ti-sa* **[N]EG₂**-*pa-wa/i-sa* REGIO [DOMI]NUS-[*i*]*a-sa* [N]EG₂-*pa-wa/i-* [

"whether he (is)] a king **or** he (is) a country lord or he (is) [. . . "

Cf. also KARKAMIŠ A 27 *s* (*CHLI* II.69).

A variant of this 'whether . . . or . . . or' construction is found in:

(34) KULULU 5, 4–5 §7 a b c d e f (*CHLI* X.20, App. B 39)

"(He who shall make . . . to these houses . . . .)"

wa/i-sá **ni-i** || REX-*ti-sá*
ni-pa-wa/i-sá (FEMINA)*ha-su-sa₅*+*ra/i-sa*
ni-pa-wa/i MAGNUS+*ra/i*[-*za?*]-*sá*
ni-pa-wa/i [. . .]*sa₄-ti-i*⟪+*ra/i*⟫-*sa*
wa/i-sá **ni-i** VIR-*ti-sa*
ni-pa-wa/i FEMINA-*ti-sa* ||

"**whether** (s)he (is) a king, **or** (s)he (is) a queen, **either** great **or** little (?),
whether (s)he (is) a man **or** a woman (to him/her let these gods come fatally.)"

If *ni-i* occurred only in *a* where we expect *ni-pa* we could think of a mistake but the repetition of the pattern in *e* excludes it.[24] Clearly *ni* . . . *nipa(wa)* . . . corresponds to *man* . . . *manpa(wa)* . . . The meaning must be 'whether . . . or' or 'if . . . if . . . '; *ni* matches the prohibitive negative but in English at least any negation would be out of place. Other examples of *ni* . . . *nipa* meaning 'either . . . or' exist. We may wonder whether they are due to the casual omission of the first -*pa*-, but the fact that in both cases they seem to start a sequence as in KULULU 5 speaks against it:

(35) KARATEPE 1, §§LXXI, LXXII 373–8 Hu [Ho] (*CHLI* I.1, App. B 40)

ni-wa/i-ta ("VAS")*á-la/i/u-na-ma-ti a-ta* AEDIFICARE-*MI-ri*+*i-i* ||
ni-pa-wa MALUS-*ta₄-sa-tara/i-ri*+*i* ||

"**whether** he shall block them up from covetousness,
or from badness (or . . .)."

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[24]The sentence has a level of complexity marked by the presence of a subject pronoun in the first two phrases, but not in the second two. Presumably 'great or little(?)' refers both to the potential king and the potential queen. We would have expected a subject pronoun in the last phrase.

(36)   MALPINAR, 5 §§21–2 (*CHLI* VI.3, App. B 41)

（or if any inferior man shall erase them）

ni-i-wa/i *u-si-na-si-i-sa*
ni-pa-wa/i […

"whether a eunuch, or … "

Above in §2.3.3 we argued that in (14a) (ASSUR letter e, 2–3 §13–4), again a late text, we have another instance of *ni … nipawa* meaning 'either … or' and following a negative clause.

Finally, we must remain in doubt about the correct interpretation of:

(37)   KARKAMIŠ A 6, 8 §§27–8 (= 1975 cit. 51, *CHLI* II.22, App. B 42)

|*zi-i-pa-wa/i* |"SCALPRUM"-*su-wa/i-ti-i* |"SCALPRUM"-*su-na-'* |**NEG$_3$-*i***
    CUM-*ní ARHA* |*tà-ia*
|*ta-sà-pa-wa/i-'* *ta-si* |**NEG$_3$+*i*** CUM-*ní ARHA* |*tà-ia*
|*ni-pa-wa/i-ta* |*á-ma-za* |*á-ta$_5$-ma-za-'* |REL-*i-sá* |*ARHA* "MALLEUS"-*la⟨-i⟩*

"(If this seat shall pass down to any king, who shall SCRIBA+*RA/I*(-)*tà-i*)
—let him **not** take away a stone from these stones,[25]
nor take away a stele for a stele—
or who shall erase my name … "

In view of the examples of *ni … nipa(wa)* quoted above it would be possible to suggest the tentative translation offered in *CHLI* which interprets NEG$_3$-*i* … NEG$_3$+*i* … *ni-pa-wa/i* … as "either … or … or". However, the spelling NEG$_3$+*i*/NEG$_3$-*i* is unique as is the construction without a -*pa* in the second clause. Above we have returned to the 1975 translation of §§27 and 28 as parenthetic with a prohibitive value of the negatives NEG$_3$+*i*/NEG$_3$-*i* which take the expected place before Preverb + Verb.[26] In favour of this view are the two almost contemporary parenthetic clauses which appear in the curses of MARAŞ 14 = (15) above and İSKENDERUN and which cannot be interpreted otherwise:

(38)   İSKENDERUN, 4–5 §6 (*CHLI* IV.3, App. B 17)

za-pa-wa/i [1]*la+ra/i+a-ma* |*á-ta$_5$-ma-za* |***ni-sa*** |*wa/i-na-ha* |*la-si*
"((He) who shall … it/them)
—do **not** take *away* (?) this Larama name—(the gods will prosecute him.)"

3.6   The Empire Period and the Transitional Period: REL+*ra/i-pa-*, etc.

As already mentioned, we have no evidence in the Empire Period or the Transitional Period for a disjunctive of the type discussed above. However, there are three possible

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[25] For the translation of *zi-i-* (= *zin*) see Goedegebuure 2007:323.

[26] Elsewhere NEG$_3$ only occurs in the more archaic form NEG$_3$-*sa*; the exception is NEG$_3$ of KARKAMIŠ A 30b, 1 §1 (II.42), where, however, we require a factual negative before a relative and a preterite. We cannot exclude that in this archaic or archaizing inscription we are dealing with an undifferentiated NEG, which legitimately stands for the later NEG$_2$.

strategies to indicate disjunction. Asyndeton is always possible, sometimes joined to specific syntactic alternations (chiasmos), though we can never be certain whether we are dealing with disjunction or simple coordination. Cf.:

(39) EMİRGAZİ 1, §§7–10 (Hawkins 1995:88, App. A 1)

zi/a-la-tu-wa/i-ha-wa/i zi/a STELE *sà-ka-tà-la-i(a)* **NEG-*sa***
    REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*
ARHA **NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*** CAPUT+SCALPRUM
tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-ti-wa/i-tá **NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha***
zi/a-i(a)-ha-wa/i-tá *461-*tá ARHA* **NEG-*sa* REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*** *tu-pi*

"And in future this stele *damage* **let no one,**
let no one *remove* (it),
TARZANU it **let no one**,
and these . . . **let no one** erase."

The presence of *-ha-* 'and' in the last clause may imply that the two preceding chiastic and asyndetic clauses are to be understood as 'and' clauses, but in view of the similar formulae in the Later Period where we find NEG$_2$-*pa-wa/i* or *ni-pa-wa/i*, we might expect 'or' clauses.

The second possibility is provided by *man* clauses, which in the earlier texts are reasonably well attested. They may introduce full hypothetical clauses as in:

(40) EMİRGAZİ 1, §16 (Hawkins 2006b:54–5, App. A 2)

ma-*pa*-*wa/i-tà* (MONS) ASCIA *sà-ka-tà-la-i(a)*

"**But if** one damages it/them (on?) Mount 'Axe' . . ."

Otherwise they may introduce alternatives:

(41) EMİRGAZİ 1, §§31–2 (Hawkins 2006b:55–6)

(And he who will put a . . . on Mount Sarpa)
ma-*wa/i-sa* [. . .]
ma-*wa/i-sa* ˹VITELLUS˺.*285

"**if/whether** he (is) . . .
if/or he (is) a hunter (?) . . ."

Note that in the Later Period the second occurrence of *man* would almost certainly be followed by *-pa*, which makes us wonder whether here we simply have two hypothetical clauses in asyndeton. Pragmatically there is little or no difference between 'if' and 'or' in this context.

The third possibility is best documented in a text of the transitional period:

(42) KARAHÖYÜK, C II §§22–3 (= 1975 cit. II, *CHLI* V.1)

REL-*i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i i(a)-ma* REL-*i(a)-sa* |CAPUT-*ti-sa a-mi-i(a)*
    DOMUS-*ní-i(a)* **REL+*ra/i-i(a)-pa*** |URBS+*MI-ni-i(a) tara/i-pa-a-ti*

"Whatsoever man shall TARPA- on my house **or** city . . ."

The construction with -*pa* but no -*wa/i* is parallel to the later use of NEG$_2$(-*a*)-*pa* when it joins two nouns as in (25) and (26) above; the difference is that here -*pa* is preceded not by a negative, but by REL+*ra/i* that elsewhere means 'if'. This of course leaves us in doubt when we find earlier clauses such as:

(43)   EMİRGAZİ 1, §§24–5 (Hawkins 2006b:55)

REL-*i*(*a*)-*sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i*(*a*) STELE *sà-ka-tà-la-i*(*a*)
REL+*ra/i-pa-wa/i* *tà-na* NEG-*wa/i* *á*

"The King who damages these stele,
if/or does not make (them) holy (?) (for him may the gods . . . .)"

One could argue that if REL+*ra/i* were understood as 'if', we might expect to find *REL+*ra/i-pa-wa/i-sa* with an overt -*as* 'he' subject, but perhaps we should acknowledge that our knowledge of Empire syntax is too shaky for this type of statement.

To sum up: the evidence for the Early Period is defective but there is little doubt that disjunction can be indicated—through asyndeton or *man*-phrases or (in the Transitional Period at least) through clauses introduced by REL+*ra/i-pa*. However, we emerge with the impression that there is not yet a fully grammaticalized way of doing so. More texts may change this view.

3.7   Disjunction: A summary

The first question is when and whether disjunctive coordinators existed.[27] In the Empire and Transitional Periods we have very little evidence, but we find a use of REL+*ra/i-pa* which is ambiguous in (43) (EMİRGAZİ 1) where we could argue that REL+*ra/i* is a subordinator which can be rendered with 'if' (or 'as'), though a coordinating 'or' would also be a possibility. On the other hand the use is reasonably clear in (42) (KARAHÖYÜK) where REL+*ra/i-pa* acts as a disjunctive coordinator between two nouns (Noun + REL+*ra/i-pa* + Noun).

In the Late Period REL-*ri*+*i* is a subordinator ('if', 'as') and in disjunctive function we find first NEG$_2$(-*a*)-*pa*(-*wa/i*) (= *napa*(*wa*)), which is then replaced by *nipa*(*wa*). These two forms seem to be equivalent, i.e. appear in the same formula, without a recognizable meaning or distribution difference. Both *napa*(*wa*) and *nipa*(*wa*) act as noun coordinators and as clause coordinators. The distinction is not always clear because e.g. in (25) above *napa* is clearly a noun coordinator as in (26) but again in (25) the following coordinated noun seems to require a new clause with a subject pronoun. As clause coordinators normally *napa*(*wa*) and *nipa*(*wa*) occur at the start of the clause and are immediately followed by the clause clitics.

Twice we have a third disjunctive coordinator *nispa*(*wa*): in (29) this form is used in the same way as *napa*(*wa*) and *nipa*(*wa*), but in (28) it is more difficult to understand, though as we have seen, 'or' is a possible meaning.

Something more can be said about the coordinators of negative clauses. We have a few examples of *na-ha* . . . *na-ha* 'and not . . . and not' (i.e. 'neither . . . nor') joining either two nouns in the same clause or two clauses which repeat the same verb (cf. (7)

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[27] For some of the terminology used here we refer to Haspelmath 2007.

above). We also have in (8) an instance of a negative clause followed by a second clause (with a different verb) which starts with NEG-*pa-wa/i*; if this is not the grammaticalized disjunction *napa(wa)* (see p. III) it **may** provide evidence that -*pa* is the standard connector not subject to the limitations of *na-ha … na-ha*. On the other hand we now have reasonably clear evidence for a negative clause with *ni* (*manuha*) followed by an 'or' clause which has negative meaning: see (14a) and (14b) (ASSUR letter e and letter f). Does this mean that *nipawa* or the other disjunctives have or preserve negative meaning? This seems unlikely in view of their clearly non-negative use elsewhere, of their use with another negative in the clause (e.g. KARKAMIŠ A 31, 5 §15), of the use of *nipawa* with the imperative (p. 107), and of the fact that in these circumstances carrying over of negative meaning from the previous clause seems plausible, given the Hittite parallels.

3.7.1. In 1975 we were worried by the similarity between the negative $NEG_2(-a)$ and the disjunctive $NEG_2(-a)$-*pa*(-*wa/i*) which did not introduce negative clauses; we feared that this would demolish the case for the interpretation as negatives of the relevant signs. On the other hand on formal grounds we recognized that (i) there was adequate evidence for a *na* value of NEG_2, (ii) next to $NEG_2(-a)$-*pa*(-*wa/i*) 'or' there was NEG_2 for which a 'not' value was more than plausible, (iii) $NEG_2(-a)$-*pa-wa/i* alternated with *nipawa* 'or', and (iv) next to *nipawa* there was *ni*, the prohibitive negative. In other words it was difficult not to link the disjunctives and the negatives. The new evidence puts this link beyond doubt, since we now have a disjunctive NEG_3-*sa-pa-wa/i* (= *nispawa*) next to the archaic prohibitive negative NEG-*sa*, *ni-i-sa* (= *nis*) as well as some instances of *ni* in disjunctive function. In addition there is now adequate evidence for a syllabically rather than logographically written *na* negative. One may argue that this does not provide a total proof of an etymological link between *napa(wa)*, *nipa(wa)*, *nispa(wa)* and the negatives *na*, *ni*, *nis*, though it makes a very strong case for it, but spelling and form speak at the very least for a synchronic link between the negatives and the disjunctives. In 1975 we provided some (sketchy) evidence that such links (etymological, synchronic or both) between disjunctives and negatives were not unparalleled (Morpurgo Davies 1975). Typological studies have made remarkable progress since then but we still seem to lack a full study of disjunction which includes diachronic data (cf. Mauri 2008a). However, it is now more frequently acknowledged that negators, interrogative and hypothetical elements play a role in marking disjunction (cf. most recently Mauri 2008a:43, 2008b) and a link between disjunction and unreality is also acknowledged. To pursue the matter further would call for another extensive paper and one which, now that the data have been collected, is indeed needed. Here we can only repeat that to find a disjunction marker based on the combination of a negation and a connective particle (-*pa*) is not surprising from a typological point of view,[28] just as is not surprising to find alterna-

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[28] When we find *ni* used as disjunctive (always in late texts) we may be tempted to think that this is an early usage previous to the grammaticalization of *nipa*. On the other hand we should keep in mind the possibility, in our view more plausible, that *ni* is a back-formation from *nipa …nipa* on the basis of constructions like NEG_2-*a* … NEG_2-*pa-wa/i* … in (8).

tive disjunctive strategies based on asyndeton or on hypothetical connectors (*man* 'if', REL+*ri-i* 'if').

A point which should be highlighted concerns the general development of disjunction markers in Anatolian. Our new evidence for Hieroglyphic Luwian reveals, in spite of its limitations, a form of development in the language. Perhaps oversimplifying one can state that in the Empire Period we cannot identify a grammaticalized disjunctive marker, though there are strategies to indicate disjunction: asyndeton and 'if' constructions. However we interpret EMİRGAZİ 1, by the time of KARAHÖYÜK it looks as if REL+*ra/i-i-i(a)-pa* indicates disjunction. Soon after we encounter another grammaticalized form which is much better attested: NEG₂(*-a-*)*pa*(*-wa/i*): *napa*(*wa*) 'or'. A third form NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i* is roughly contemporary. Within a reasonably short period a replacement emerges: *nipa*(*wa*). We cannot of course exclude that *nipa*(*wa*) too existed from the beginning of the Late Period, but we have no evidence for it. Either way, we seem to be witnessing the creation of several grammaticalized forms to indicate disjunction which coexist with alternative strategies (*man* … *manpa* and possibly REL-*i* … REL-*i-pa*) until one of them prevails. If we now turn to the other Anatolian languages we find a series of different forms: *naššu* … *našma* in Hittite, *tibe* in Lycian A, *kibe* in Lycian B. Of these the Hittite forms are likely to include a negative (cf. *natta* 'not') and *našma* certainly includes -*ma*, which functionally corresponds to -*pa*. Lycian *tibe/kibe* correspond to REL-*i-pa* (Melchert 2002). In other words we have evidence that disjunctive coordinators were created independently in the various Anatolian languages, though similar strategies were followed in all of them. Remarkably, however, Hieroglyphic Luwian with its limited attestation still offers the best evidence for the process of grammaticalization which led to the creation of these forms. In their turn the negatives and the disjunctives provide us with remarkable evidence for the internal diachrony of Hieroglyphic Luwian itself.

Appendix

This appendix lists the evidence for the negatives which was not considered in Hawkins 1975. The examples collected here include a few from the Empire Period (A), but are mostly from the Late Period (B). Of these a first group includes texts which are included in the *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, vol. I (*CHLI*): B 1–3, 8–15, 17–28, 30–1, 33–5, 36–42. A second group is formed of texts which became available since 2000: B 4–7, 16, 26, 29, 32.

Within B the order roughly follows that of the 1975 list: D.: *na* syllabic, 'not' (B 1–3); E.: NEG₂(*-a*), 'not' (B 4–11); F.: NEG₂-*a-ha* … [NEG₂-*a-ha*], 'neither … nor' (B 12); G./H./I.: negative + relative or indefinite pronoun (B 13–15), J.: prohibitive NEG₃-*sa*, NEG₃-*sa-a-pa*, *ni*(*-i*)-*sa*, *ni*(*-i-i*) (B 16–27), + indefinite pronoun (B 28–30); K.: NEG₃(*-i*), see under M.; (L.: no new examples); M.: disjunctives: NEG₂(*-a*)-*pa-wa/i*), NEG₂(*-a*)-*pa* 'or' (B 31–6), NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i* (B 37), *ni-pa*(*-wa/i*), *ni-i* 'whether … or' (B 38–41). Possibly not in disjunctive function NEG₃-*i* … NEG₃+*i* (B 42). To save space we have not included in the appendix the evidence for *nipawa* 'or', but a complete list of the occurrences of the various forms of negatives and disjunctives built on negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian is given above in §2.1 and §3.

In addition to the A or B number the citations provide a reference to *CHLI*, if available; when this is in square brackets it means that the text does not yet appear in *CHLI* but either *CHLI* includes a reference to a future publication or the publication provides a potential Corpus reference. If a passage is reproduced in our text above it is not copied here but a reference is given to the continuous numeration in our text (e.g. see (1) above).

Citations

(A) EMPIRE

(A 1)   EMİRGAZİ 1, §§7–10 (replacing Hawkins 1975 cit. 9). See (39) above.

(A 2)   EMİRGAZİ 1, §§24–9 (replacing Hawkins 1975 cit. 10; Hawkins 2006b)

§24 REL-*i*(*a*)-*sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i*(*a*) STELE *sà-ka-ta-la-i*(*a*)
§25 REL+*ra/i-pa-wa/i tà-na* **NEG-*wa/i á***
§26 **a-wa/i-tu-tá* (DEUS) (× 5) . . . REX.*398-*zi/a* *303-*zi/a* INFRA
   tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-tu
§27 REL-*i*(*a*)-*sa-pa-wa/i* REX *zi/a-i*(*a*) STELE PUGNUS-*MI-na á*
§28 **a-wa/i-tà ARHA* **NEG-*wa/i*** DELERE-*i*(*a*)
§29 **a-wa/i-na* (DEUS) (× 5) . . . *su-na-sa-ti* PUGNUS-*MI-tu*

"But the king who will *damage* these stelae,
or **not** make (them) *holy*,
for him may the gods . . . TARZANU down the royal (?) *303's.
But the king who will make these stelae *firm*,
and **not** destroy them,
him may the gods . . . make *firm* with full measure!"

(A 3)   EMİRGAZİ 1, §§34–5 (partially replacing Hawkins 1975 cit. 11)

§34 REL-*i*(*a*)-*sa-pa-wa/i-mu* *137-*ha-sa₅* **NEG-*wa/i*** DARE
§35 **a-wa/i-ti-i*(*a*)-*na* CERVUS₃.DEUS.*463-*ti* (DEUS)MONS.
   THRONUS [

"(He) who does **not** give a *ritual* to me,
him may the gods . . ."

For the text of A 1, 2, 3 see Hawkins 1995:88ff. with corrections in Hawkins 2006b:54ff. For *tarzanu-* 'umkehren, umstoßen' in A 1 see Rieken 2004:460.

(A 4)   YALBURT, block 3 §1

]**NEG-*wa/i*** *a-sa-tá*

". . . was/were **not**."

(A 5)   YALBURT, block 4 §2

zi/a-tá-zi/a-pa-wa/i REGIO-*ní-zi/a* MAGNUS.REX-*zi/a* HATTI.REGIO
   a-mi-zi/a |*TÁ*.AVUS-*zi/a* **NEG-*a*** REL-*i*(*a*)-*sa-ha* CURRERE-*i*(*a*)-*tá*

"and to those countries the Great Kings of Hatti, my fathers (and) grand-fathers, **not anyone** had marched."

For the text of A 4 and A 5 see Hawkins 1995:68ff. For A 4 see n. 16 above.

(A 6)   BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), 5 §13 (edition: Hawkins 1995:22f. and 42)

    pu-wa/i-ti AVUS.*506-*na* **NEG-*wa/i-tá* REL-*ti-ha* *507

    "Formerly the ancestors (grandfather(s) (and) grandmother(s)) **to no one. . .** "

The unexpected *-tá* is difficult but may be an *Ortspartikel*.

(B) LATE PERIOD

(B 1)   AKSARAY, 5 §8 (*CHLI* X.16)

    (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hú-za-sá-pa-wa/i-na* |*na* **REL-*tí-ha*ₓ** *pi-ia-ta*

    "Tarhunzas gave it to **no one**
    (he gave it to me, PN . . .)"

(B 2)   TÜNP 1, 4 §7 (*CHLI* II.29): *na*. See (4) above.

The word division is uncertain but plausible; for the parallel with Hitt. *-kan . . . anda kiš-* see *CHLI* 156.

(B 3)   KARKAMIŠ A 5a, 2 §7 (*CHLI* II.45)

    wa/i-mu-u-ta á-mi-zi ara/i-i-zi **na** *ha*[*si-ta?*

    "they (?) did **not** . . . my times/years."

(B 4)   IVRIZ 2, 5 §§13–14; 7 §§23–4 (*CHLI* [X.46]). Inscription currently published only in photographs.

    a) |*wa/i-na* |**NEG₂** |[x]-*zi-ri+i*
      [x]-*pi-ta-ha-wa/i-tu-u* |**NEG₂** |DARE-*ia*

      "(He who forgets the king,)
      (and/or) does **not** . . . him,
      and does **not** give . . . to him . . ."

    b) |***ni-pa-wa/i*** | . . . |**LOCUS-*ta₅-za*** *ARHA-*' |("SA₄")*sa-ni-ti-i-i*
      |***ni-pa-wa/i*+*ra/i*** |**NEG₂-*a*** |*zi-ta* . . .

      "**or** overturns (it) (in its) place,
      or does **not** thereafter [. . .] it . . ."

(B 5)   KIRŞEHİR lead letter, 3–4 §§15, 17, 20, 22 (see Akdoğan and Hawkins 2009: 7–14)

    á-mu-u-wa/i |**NEG₂** *nu-tara/i-wa/i*
    . . .
    á-mi-ia-pa-wa/i **NEG₂** ⌈*wa/i*⌉-[*li*]-*ia-si*
    . . .
    CRUS₂-*nú-pa-wa/i* *187(-)*ka-pa*+*ra/i-na-*' **NEG₂** *tà*ˀ-*na*
    *69(-)*sà-tara/i-ti* PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*i-wa/i*
    . . .
    |*wa/i-mu-u* 1 ARGENTUM-*sa* ARGENTUM-*za-*' **NEG₂** *pi-ia-ta*

> "I will **not** hasten . . .
> but mine you do **not** praise . . .
> but now **not** . . . with . . . will I PUGNUS.PUGNUS the KAPARA. . . .
> to me he did **not** give one silver (shekel?) of silver."

(B 6)   IVRIZ 2, 7 §24 (*CHLI* [X.46]). NEG$_2$-*a*. See App. B 4b

(B 7)   TELL AHMAR 6, 4 §10 (edition: Hawkins 2006a). NEG$_2$-*a*. See (3) above.

(B 8)   TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 12, line 5 (*CHLI* VII.2: 375)

   . . .]**NEG$_2$-*a*** (LITUUS)*ti-ia-ri+i-ia-*[?]-*i*

   ". . .] does **not** watch[. . ."

(B 9)   KARKAMIŠ A 31, 4–5 §§14–15 (= 1975 cit. 53c [as A 32], *CHLI* II.26). NEG$_2$.

(B 10) KARKAMIŠ A 5a, 1 §§3–4 (*CHLI* II.45: 183).

   NEG$_2$-*a* ma-nú-ha. See (8) above. In §3 the verb has not been identified and in §4 DEUS . . . is uncertain.

(B 11) KARKAMIŠ A 21b, 5 §6 (*CHLI* II.32)

   NEG+*a-pa*-wa/i-mu** REL-*zi* BONUS[. . .

   "(. . .] she (?) [Kubaba?] caused to embrace [me?])
   (those) who (were) **not** dear to me."

Text and interpretation uncertain.

(B 12) ÇİFTLİK, 2 §§3–4 (*CHLI* X.11)

   . . .] **NEG$_2$-*a-ha*** *tá-ti-i-zi* [. . .
   . . .] AVUS-*ha-zi* (AEDIFICARE)*ta-ma-ta*

   ". . .] **neither** the fathers [built it]
   [nor] the grandfathers built [it]"

(B 13) ANCOZ 7, C §8 (*CHLI* VI 16): **NEG$_2$ REL-*sa***. See below, App. B 38.

(B 14) KARKAMIŠ A 30h, 1 §1 (*CHLI* II. 42)

   ⌈(DEUS)*ku*⌉+AVIS (*256)*ka-*282-*na* **NEG$_3$ REL-*i-sa-ha*** *su-su-tá*

   "**No one** kept filling Kubaba's granary . . ."

NEG$_3$ (or NEG?) for NEG$_2$: archaic or archaizing? See n. 6.

(B 15) MARAŞ 2, §2 (*CHLI* IV.10)

   a-wa/i |*á-mi-na* |⌈FEMINA⌉-*ti-na* |VAS-*tara/i-na* |**NEG$_3$-*wa/i*** REL-*sa*$^{?!}$ *a-ta*
      [x]-*pa-ha*

   "I who did **not** . . . my woman's image"

Identification as negative relative clause seems the least difficult option. NEG$_3$-*wa/i* must stand for NEG$_2$-*wa/i* (= *nawa*); see n. 6.

(B 16)   TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §§33–4 (*CHLI* [III.11]; edition: Hawkins 2006a). See
      (28) above. **NEG$_3$-*sa*. NEG$_3$-*sa-a-pa*.**

§33 almost identical with KARKAMIŠ A 2, 5 §12 (= 1975 cit. 46; *CHLI* II.13). LO-CUS-*ta₄-wa/i-za* and the verb *wasalali-/usalali-* remain unelucidated.

(B 17)   İSKENDERUN, 4–5 §6 (*CHLI* IV.3). **ni-sa**. See (38) above.

(B 18)   MARAŞ 14, 5 §8 (*CHLI* IV.5). **ni-i-sá**. See (15) above.

(B 19)   ALEPPO 2, 4 §§15–16 (*CHLI* III.2)

> *wa/i-tú-'* |CAELUM[......] |**ni-i** INFRA-*tá* |PES-*wa/i-ti-i*
> |("TERRA")*ta-sà*-REL+*ra/i-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* |("*471") ((m)*u²-ru-wa/i-tà-za* |**ni-i**
> |SUPER+*ra/i-'* |PES-*wa/i-ti*

"For him let **not** [...] come down from the sky,
   and/or let **not** MURUWATANZA come up from the earth."

Cf. KARABURÇLU, 4 (*CHLI* IV.13) ... |**ni-i** |INFRA²-*ta²* |PES-*wa/i-t[i²* ... "let him/them **not** come down ..."

(B 20)   BOYBEYPINARI 2, IV A 3 §22 (*CHLI* VI.2)

> *wa/i-ta* **ni-i** |*ha+ra/i-wa/i*-x (PONERE)*tu-wa/i*-x

"(and against him may the gods ... in litigation ...)
   and **may they not** put ..."

(B 21)   SULTANHAN base top, F 1 §42 (*CHLI* X 14). **ni** + **imperative**. See (12) above.

(B 22)   KARABURUN, 3 §13 (*CHLI* X.15). **ni manuha** + **imperative**. See (13) above.

(B 23)   ASSUR letter e, 2–3 §§12–5 (*CHLI* XI.5). **ni** + **imperative**. See (14a) above.

(B 24)   ASSUR letter g, "2" §51 (*CHLI* XI.6)

> |*wa/i*-[*ri*+*i*]-*ia-sa-ta* |**ni-i-ⁱ** |ARHA⁻ⁱ |OCCIDENS(-)*la/i/u⁻ⁱ-si-ti-i*

"let him **not** *absent* himself"

(B 25)   SULTANHAN stele, E 1 §36 (*CHLI* X.14)

> |*a-ta-pa-wa/i-na* |**ni-i-i** |**ma-ru-ha** |*pa-nu-wa/i-i* |TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa*
> |*tu-wa/i*+*ra/i-sa*

"may Tarhunzas **by no means** let him drink in the vineyard."

(B 26a)   ASSUR letter f, 2 §§12–15 (*CHLI* XI.5). **ni ... manuha** + **(Preverb and) Verb**. See (14b) above.

(B 26b)   ASSUR letter f, 3 §17 (*CHLI* XI.5)

> |*wa/i-na* |**ni-i** |**REL-sà-ha** LITUUS+*na-ri*+*i*

"(... that child ...) **let no one** see her!"

(B 27)   ASSUR letter c, 2 §5 (*CHLI* XI.3). **ni** + **Preverb** + *manuha* + **Verb**. See (18) above.

(B 28a) ERKİLET 1, 2 §3 (*CHLI* X.24)

|*za-pa-wa/i-ta* |**ni** |REL-*i-sa-ha* |*sa-ni-ti*

"(This stone I myself carved) and/but **let no one** overturn this."

(B 28b) ERKİLET 2, 2, §2 (*CHLI* X.25). **ni kwisha**. See (2) above.

(B 29) EREĞLİ, C §4 (*CHLI* [X. 52]. Edition: Poetto 2002. **ni REL-ha**. See (19) above.

(B 30) KULULU 1, 5–6 §§13–14 (*CHLI* X.9)

^{I}*tu-wa/i-ti-ia-pa-wa-ta* |*za-zi* |DEUS-*ni-zi-i* |*wa/i-su* |*á-wa/i-tu*
wa/i-tà || |**ni-i** |REL-*ti-i-ha pi-i*[*a*]*-a-i*

"But for Tuwatis may these gods come well.
Let him give it/them **to no one**."

(B 31) KARKAMIŠ A 13d, 4–5 §5 (= 1975 cit. 20, *CHLI* II.16)

|**NEG₂-pa-wa/i-tá** || *za-a-ti* |("SCALPRUM")*ku-ta-sa₅+ra/i-i* |REL+*ra/i-i*
^{I}*ka-tu-wa/i*[...

"(he shall give nine / a ninth to him.) **Or** if to this orthostat Katuwas ..."

The disjunctive interpretation corrects, following *CHLI*, that of 1975 cit. 20.

(B 32) TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §30 (*CHLI* [III.11]; edition: Hawkins 2006a)

|**NEG₂-a-pa-wa/i** ^{I}*ha-mi-ia-ta-sa-na* |NEPOS-*sa-ta-ní-i* |REL-*i-sa*
|MALUS-*wa/i-za-'* |POST-*ni a-tá* |(VAS.ANIMAL) *za+ra/i-ti-ti-i*

"**or** who shall desire evil for Hamiyatas's posterity..."

(B 33) TELL AHMAR 5, 8 §17 (*CHLI* III.3)

|**NEG₂-a-pa-[wa/i]** ^{I}*ha-mi-ia-ta-*[...] |REL-[...] MALUS-*ta₄-hi-t*[*à*]*-ti-'*
|CUM-*ni* |PES₂(-)*wa/i-si-ti*

"(He who shall overturn these granaries,)
or who shall come [against] Hamiyata [with] badness ..."

(B 34) MARAŞ 14, 3 §5 (*CHLI* IV.5)

NEG₂-pa ... **NEG₂-pa-wa/i-sa** ... See (25) above.

(B 35) TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 3 line 3 (*CHLI* VII.2)

|***a-wa/i NEG₂-a-pa** REL-*i*[

(B 36) KARKAMIŠ A 19c, 9 (*CHLI* II.67)

NEG₂-pa-wa/i-sa ... See (33) above and cf. KARKAMIŠ A 27s.

(B 37) BOROWSKI 3, 4–5 §§9–10 (*CHLI* III.2).

NEG₃-sa-pa-wa/i ... See (29) above.

(B 38) ANCOZ 7, B–D §§5–13 (*CHLI* VI.16)

ni-pa-ta$^{?}$ REL+*ra/i hu+ra/i-x-x* INFRA ... || FINES-*hi-zi* REL-*sa*
|*za-la-na* PONERE-*wa/i-i*

mu-wa/i PURUS.FONS.*MI* REL-*zi* |*pi-ia-ha*
ni-pa *ku-ma-sa-tara/i-na* REL-*na za-ti-ia-za* URBS+*MI-na-za* CUM-*ni*
  i-zi-i-ha
wa/i-na |NEG₂ REL-*sa* |*i-zi-i-ti*
ni-pa |*za* MENSA |REL-*sa* ... (DEUS) (× 3) ... || "MALUS"-*ta₄-tara/i-ti*
  PRAE-*ha* CAPERE-*i*
ni-pa-wa/i-tà ARHA MALLEUS
ni-pa-wa/i-tà *a-tá i-ma-ni-ti*
ni-pa LOCUS-*ta₄-za* [(SA₄)]*sa-ni-ti-i*
ni-pa-wa/i-ta PURUS.FONS.*MI* ¹*HÁ+LI-ha tá-ti-ia-za* |INFANS-*ni-za-ha*
  á-ta₅-ma-za ARHA MALLEUS-*i*

  "(These cities ... (he) who takes away from the gods ...)
  or if anyone ... puts ZALAN the frontiers,
  which I Suppuliumas have given,
  or the sacrament which I have celebrated for these cities,
  (he) who does not celebrate it,
  or who takes this table from before the gods ... with badness,
  or hammers it away,
  or ANTA IMANI's it,
  or overturns (it) (in its) place,
  or hammers away the name of Suppiluliuma and Hattusilis, father and son,
  (against him may these gods be the prosecutors.)"

(B 39) KULULU 5, 4–5 §7 a–f (*CHLI* X.20). **ni ... nipawa** ... See (34) above.

(B 40) KARATEPE 1, §§LXXI, LXXII 373–8 Hu [Ho] (*CHLI* I.1) **niwa ... nipa-
  wa/i**. See (35) above.

(B 41) MALPINAR, 5 §§21–2 (*CHLI* VI.3). **niwa ... nipawa ...** See (36) above.

(B 42) KARKAMIŠ A 6, 8 §§27–8 (= 1975 cit. 51 *CHLI* II. 22)

  NEG₃-*i* ... NEG₃+*i*. See (37) above.

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