The development of local particles and adverbs in Anatolian
as a grammaticalization process

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Summary

In this article, S. Luraghi is concerned with two word classes in Hittite, local particles and local adverbs or “Place Words”. She studies a process of grammaticalization by which local particles in Old Hittite, which tended more and more to co-occur with local adverbs, endured semantic bleaching and loss of phonological autonomy, and were progressively replaced in their preverbal/adpositional function by local adverbs. She demonstrates that the supposedly archaism of Anatolian as to the absence of preverbs/adpositions is an illusion. In Luraghi’s opinion, Old Hittite represents a stage of renewal. Preverbs/adpositions did exist before the Anatolian split, and were being renewed in Old Hittite, following her schema:

Simplex adverbs  >  particles  >  bleached or lost
(included prev/adp)

Augmented/reinforced adverbs and nouns with spatial referent  >  adverbs  >  assume former function of particles

Introduction

The local particles are a special set of clitics found in Anatolian languages. They are P2 clitics (i.e. occur after the first accented word in the sentence). In Old Hittite, they often co-occur with some kind of local expression. As a word class, they have no direct correspondent in any of the other IE languages. In Old Hittite, they underwent a semantic change (loss of their spatial meaning). Much of their function was then delegated to the class of local adverbs (strengthening of the local adverbs at the
expense of the particles). Thus, the function of preverbs/adpositions was always fulfilled in Hittite. Luraghi aims at demonstrating that the OH particles originate in PIE preverbs/adpositions.

NB: The notion of the “function” of adposition in spite of the formal absence of that word class is to be linked to DeLancey (2005).

**Local adverbs**

There are two sets of local adverbs in Old Hittite, semantically and syntactically different: dynamic and static. They behave as nominal constituents.

Dynamic adv. are complements of motion verbs; static adv. occur where no motion is implied. A small set of verbs focusing on the end point of motion occur with static adverbs.

The two sets also differ in their syntax: static adv. have some properties of nominal heads (they can take modifiers in the genitive, possessive clitics).

When a dynamic adv. co-occurs with a NP in the directive or dative/locative, it appears before the NP. Conversely with a NP in the ablative.

At the end of the Old Hittite period occurs a case syncretism at the end of which the opposition static/dynamic is blurred. In Middle Hittite then, postpositional use develops with all local adverbs.

**Etymology and origin of local adverbs**

Dynamic adverbs are irregular as opposed to static adverbs, which are regular. Luraghi proposes that static adverbs may be more ancient or at most as ancient as dynamic adverbs. The static adverbs can be connected to the IE preverbs/adpositions, as an original strengthening of them. They virtually have the same meanings.

Luraghi proposes that these adverbs are not necessarily old nominal form (in spite of their behaving as nominal heads), but that they go back to IE adverbs. Once the opposition static/dynamic was established, they were reinterpreted as nouns, also on the account that they functioned as complements of verbs, just like nominal constituents.

So the origin of local adverbs is two-fold: IE preverbs/adpositions and nouns.
Function of the local particles in Old Hittite

For some of them, a connection with a specific case form or a specific local adverb is clear. The particles are never obligatory with any of the verbs they can co-occur with. Luraghi studies the Old Hittite particles one by one.

Development after Old Hittite

The local particles underwent a process of semantic bleaching parallel with the development of local adverbs as preverbs. They virtually all disappeared, except for one (the less spatial of all *kan*). A particle (mainly *kan*) became obligatory with some telic verbs (e.g. ‘to kill’). The particles, then, were no longer sufficient to supply the local sense. Luraghi more specifically studies the particle *kan* in this section.

Etymology of the particles

According to Luraghi, their most likely origin should be traced back to the IE preverbs. Old Hittite may be then viewed as a transition: particles were functioning as preverbs, then they grammaticalized and were progressively replaced by local adverbs in this function.

Grammaticalization

The semantic evolution of the particles:
- Change from local to aspectual marker (partly matches evolution of preverbs in other languages)
- Development of an anaphoric function out of the original local deictic one (follows common developments of deictic forms)

On the whole, this grammaticalization process may be viewed as follows:

Simplex adverbs > particles > bleached or lost
(included prev/adp)

Augmented/reinforced adverbs and nouns with spatial referent > adverbs > assume former function of particles
From adverbs to P2 clitics

In this section, Luraghi studies the place occupied by the local particles in the clitic chain.

Conclusion

Local particles and local adverbs derive in different ways from the IE preverbs. Preverbs underwent semantic bleaching in Anatolian and became P2 clitics. In the meantime, other adverbs (local adverbs) developed, mostly out of the same set of IE forms, strengthened with suffixes, and replaced the preverbs/adpositions in their original function.

Important implication according to Luraghi:

“Very often, it has been held that the situation in Old Hittite, where there is no fully developed class of adpositions, mirrored the situation of PIE, and that adpositional use of preverbs developed later, in the single languages. […] In my opinion the first Hittite sources mirror a stage at which the lexical class of preverbs/adpositions was being renewed. That this lexical class already existed, with its different functions, before the IE languages split […]. More specifically, I would like to add that the ‘free adverbial function’ may well be original (historical development of adverbs into adpositions is attested in virtually all languages), but that this does not mean that there has ever been a stage of PIE that had no adpositions at all.”