

SILVIA LURAGHI, GUGLIELMO INGLESE

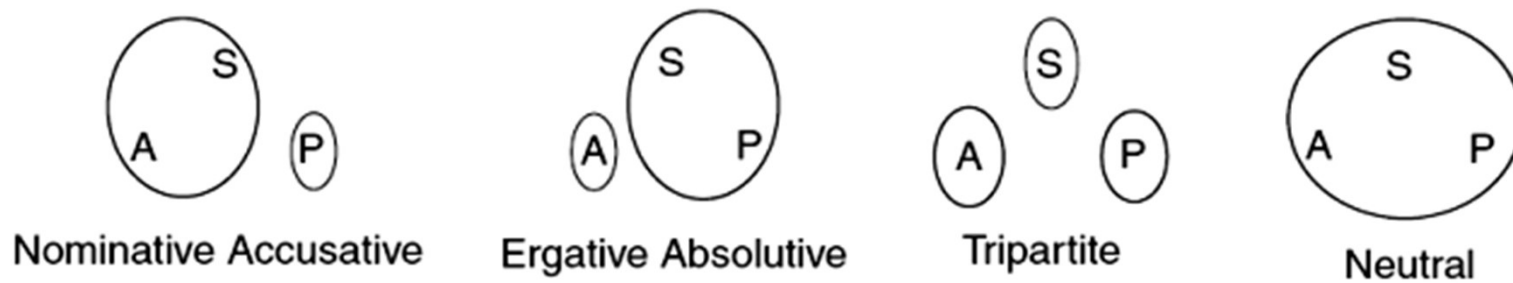
Hittite

Syntax – Part 2: Case, grammatical relations and semantic roles

Roadmap

- Alignment
- Grammatical relations
- Semantic roles
- The free-standing genitive

Alignment



- Hittite has a gender-based **split alignment** system:
- **Common gender:** Nominative/Accusative – **Neuter gender:** Ergative/Absolutive

Alignment – Encoding grammatical relations

- Common gender: S=A≠P

(1) **LUGAL-uš** 3-ŠU aīš=šet ārri
king.NOM 3.times mouth(N).ACC=3SG.POSS.ACC.N wash.PRS.3SG

‘The king washes his mouth three times.’ (KBo 17.1+ i 15)

(2) **LUGAL-uš** arḫa paizzi
king.NOM away go.PRS.3SG

‘The king goes away.’ (KBo 20.10+ i 2)

(3) ta **LUGAL-un** šuppiaḫḫi
CONN king.ACC purify.PRS.3SG

‘And he purifies the king.’ (KBo 20.10+ ii 8)

Alignment – Encoding grammatical relations

- Neuter gender: S=P≠A

(1) *kēdani=ma pahhur urāni*
DEM.DAT=PTC fire(N).N/A burn.PRS.3SG.MID

‘And near to this one burns a fire.’ (KUB 23.59 iii 9)

(2) ^{LÚ}MUḪALDIM=*kan hašši pahhur warnuzzi*
cook=PTC hearth.DAT fire(N).N/A make.burn.PRS.3SG

‘The cook lights the fire on the hearth.’ (KUB 11.53 v 16)

(3) *man=an pahhuwenanza arḫa warnuzzi*
PTC=3SG.ACC fire(N).ERG away make.burn.PRS.3SG

‘May the fire burn him completely.’ (KBo 32.14 ii 6-7)

Alignment – Encoding grammatical relations

	LUGAL- <i>u-</i> ‘king (c.)’	<i>paḥḥur</i> ‘fire’ (n.)
A	LUGAL- <i>uš</i>	<i>paḥḥuwen-anza</i>
S	LUGAL- <i>uš</i>	<i>paḥḥur</i>
P	LUGAL- <i>un</i>	<i>paḥḥur</i>

Intransitive subject clitics

- Hittite is a partial Null Subject language:
- 1st, 2nd person → NSs unconstrained
- 3rd person → no overt clitic subjects with transitive verbs
→ NSs with some intransitive verbs impossible → **clitic subjects**

(1) *nu paun* '(I) went'

(2) *n=aš pait* '(s/he) went' **BUT** **nu pait* '(s/he) went'

(3) *n=an ekuzi* '(s/he) drinks it' **BUT** **n=aš=an ekuzi* '(s/he) drinks it'

Semantic roles

Agent and patient

Common gender nouns: Nominative alignment → Nominative / accusative

takku LÚ-an našma MUNUS-an šullannaz kuiški kuenzi
if man.ACC or woman.ACC quarrel.ABL INDF.NOM kill.PRS.3SG
'If anyone kills a man or a woman because of a quarrel.' (KBo 6.3 i 1)

Semantic roles

Neuter nouns: ergative alignment → Ergative / accusative

man=an

paḥḥuwenanza

arḥa

warnuzi

PTC=3SG.ACC

fire(N).ERG

away

make.burn.PRS.3SG

‘May the fire burn him completely.’ (KBo 32.14 ii 6-7)

Semantic roles

- **Passive agent:** instrumental, ablative

(1) KUR-*yaš* A.ŠÀ *kuraš* **IZI-it** *warnutari*
country.GEN field slice.GEN fire.INSTR burn.PRS.3SG.MID

‘(When a star falls down from the sky), the field of the country will be burned by fire.’ (KUB 8.25 i 3)

(2) *nu* **DINGIR^{MEŠ}-za** *kī=ma* *malān*
CONN god(PL).ABL DEM.NOM.N=CONN approve.PTCP.NOM.N

‘This has been approved by the gods.’ (KUB 5.1 iii 28)

Semantic roles

- **Passive agent with infinitive:** dative/locative

tuk=ma *kī* *ūttar* *ŠÀ=ta* *šiyanna*
2SG.DAT=CONN DEM.NOM.PL.N thing(N).NOM.PL heart=2SG.POSS.DIR put.INF
'You must place these things in your heart.' (from Friedrich 1960: 143)

Semantic roles – Spatial roles

Location: dative/locative

hurtiyali=ma AN.BAR-*aš* *nepiš* 1^{EN} *kitta*
bowl.DAT=CONN iron.GEN sky.NOM one lie.PRS.3SG.MID
'An iron sky lies in the bowl.' (KBo 17.1+ i 7'-8')

- Zero locative: *tēkan* 'earth' (NOM) / *tagān* locative
- Ablative of position/direction: *kunnaz* 'on/to the right', *GÙB-laz* 'on/to the left'

Semantic roles – Local roles

Direction: dative/locative, in OH allative

- (1) LUGAL-*wann=a* *parna* 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *dašker*
king.GEN.PL=and house.ALL 3 shekel silver take.PLUR.PST.3PL
'They used to take three shekels of silver to the royal palace.' (KBo 6.1 i 58)

Source: ablative

- (2) *nu=kan* GAL-*in* *arunan* ^d*Kumarbiyaza* É-*irza* [...] *uwater*
CONN=PTC big.ACC sea.ACC Kumarbi.ABL house.ABL bring.PST.3PL
'They brought the big sea out of Kumarbi's house.' (KUB 43.65 i 16-19)

Semantic roles – Time

- Dative/locative: location in time, e.g. *išpanti* ‘at night’
- Allative (OH): time until which, e.g. *ḫamešḫanta* ‘until the spring’
- Accusative: duration *išpandan ḫūmandan* ‘all night long’ (cf. *KAKSAL-an pai-* ‘go the way’)

Semantic roles – Cause

- Cause: ablative, instrumental, adpositions

(1) *takku LÚ-an našma MUNUS-an šullannaz kuiški kuenzi*
if man.ACC or woman.ACC quarrel.ABL INDF.NOM kill.PRS.3SG
'If anyone kills a man or a woman because of a quarrel.' (KBo 6.3 i 1)

(2) *kašti piran akkiš*
hunger.DAT for die.PST.3SG
'S/he died of hunger.'

Semantic roles – Instrument and purpose

- **Instrument:** instrumental, ablative

(1) *š=an* *išpanti* *nakkit* *daḥḥun*
CONN=3SG.ACC night.DAT violence.INSTR take.PST.1S
'I took it in the night by storm.' (KBo 3.22 rev. 47-48)

- **Purpose:** dative

(2) *šu=wa* ^{URU}*Hattuša* *ḥengani* *paun*
CONN=QUOT H.ALL death.DAT go.PST.1SG
'I went to Hattusa to die (lit. for death.)' (KBo 22.2 rev. 5-6)

Semantic roles – Recipient and addressee

(1) *apedašš=a tamain GEŠTIN-an pier*
DEM.DAT.PL=CONJ another.ACC wine.ACC give.PST.3PL
‘And to these (they) gave a different wine.’ (KBo 3.34 ii 3-4)

(2) *ta LUGAL-i MUNUS.LUGAL=ya kiššan memaḥḥi*
CONN king.DAT queen=CONJ so say.PRS.1SG
‘And to the king and the queen I say as follows.’ (KBo 17.1+ i 9-10)

Semantic roles – Experiencer

- Experiencer encoded as Agent

Stimulus: accusative (perception verbs)

ūk=a=wa=kan *kururaš* *memian* *kuez* KUR-yaz
1SG.NOM=CONN=QUOT=PTC hostility.GEN word.ACC REL.ABL land.ABL

arḫa *ištamašmi*
away hear.PRS.1SG

‘Out of what land I hear word of hostility.’ (KUB 14.1 rev. 24)

Semantic roles – Experiencer

- Experiencer encoded as non-Agent subject

Stimulus: instrumental

(1) *n=aš* *naḥšaratti* *katkattiškizzi*
CONN=3SG.NOM fear.INST tremble.PLUR.PRS.3SG
'S/he trembles with fear.' (KBo 12.74 9)

Stimulus: dative/locative

(2) *nu=šši* ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}*Gašgaš* *ḫūmanza* *naḫta*
CONN=3SG.DAT enemy G.NOM all.NOM fear.PST.3SG
'All the Kaskaean enemy feared him.' (KBo 5.6 i 30)

Semantic roles – Experiencer

- Non-nominative experiencer – Impersonal verbs or non-canonical subjects

Accusative

(1) *mān antuhšan SAG.DU-ŠU ištarakzi n=an naššu apeniššan ištarakzi*
if man.ACC head=3SG.POSS ail.PRS.3SG CONN=3SG.ACC or likewise ail.PRS.3SG
'If a man has head pains, or if he has some similar illness.' (KUB 8.36 ii 12-13)

Dative

(2) *nu=šši maḥḥan kāšti kāninti nakkešta*
CONN=3SG.DAT when hunger.DAT thirst.DAT become.troublesome.PST.3SG
'When it (=the population) started to suffer hunger and thirst.' (KUB 14.15 iii 45-46)

Semantic roles – Experiencer

- Stimulus subject

Dative Experiencer

- (1) *n=aš=mu=kan* *uwayattat*
CONN=3SG.NOM=1SG.DAT=PTC make.pity.PST.3SG.MID
'(Because Armadatta was an old man) I took pity of him.' (KUB 19.67 i 20-21)

Accusative Experiencer

- (2) *nu* *apēl* **ABU=ŠU** **AMA=ŠU** *pittuliaš* *wemiyazi*
CONN DEM.GEN father=3SG.POSS mother=3SG.POSS anguish.NOM find.PRS.3SG
'Anguish will find his father and mother.' (KUB 8.35 obv. 7)

Free-standing genitive

(1) *nu ABU-ŠU kuel waštai katta=ma DUMU-ŠU UL wašdulaš=pat*
CONN father=3SG.POSS REL.GEN sin.PRS.3SG down=PTC son=3SG.POSS not sin.GEN=PTC
'The son whose father has committed a sin is not a sinner.' (KBo 5.13 i 15)

(2) *ammel dahhi*
1SG.GEN take.PRS.3SG
'I will take (what is) mine.' (KUB 13.35 ii 3)

→ *šāwataraš* 'that of the horn; horn-player' (KBo 17.1+ i 37, OS)

Free-standing genitive

- *tayazilaš* ‘the (compensation) for theft’:

(1) ***tayazilaš*** 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pai*
theft.GEN six shekel silver give.PRS.3SG
‘He shall pay 6 shekels of silver as compensation (for the theft).’ (KBo 6.2 iv 44)

- Frequently also in reference to a human participant and functioning as an agent noun: ‘that of the theft; the thief’:

(2) ***dayazilaš*** *apāšš=a* QATAMMA
theft.GEN DEM.NOM=CONJ likewise
‘He also becomes a thief.’ (KBo 19.1 iii 65)