

SILVIA LURAGHI, GUGLIELMO INGLESE

# Hittite

Syntax – Part 4: Valency changing strategies

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# Roadmap

- Verbal voice
- Causative suffixation
- Periphrastic passive
- The 'reflexive' particle =*za*
- Reciprocals

## Voice – Oppositional middle in OH/OS

OPPOSITIONAL MIDDLES	
<i>ḫalzai-i</i> ‘shout, call’ vs. <i>ḫalzi-a(ri)</i> ‘be called (mid.)’	PASSIVE (?)
<i>ḫantae-zi</i> ‘align (tr.)’ vs. <i>ḫandai-tta(ri)</i> ‘align (intr.)’	ANTICAUSATIVE
<i>ištarni(n)k-zi</i> ‘afflict’ vs. <i>ištarni(n)k-ta(ri)</i> ‘become ill’	ANTICAUSATIVE
<i>markiye/a-zi</i> ‘refuse’ vs. <i>markiye/a-tta(ri)</i> ‘be refused (mid.)’	PASSIVE
<i>nai-i</i> ‘turn’ vs. <i>nē-a(ri)</i> ‘turn (intr.)’	ANTICAUSATIVE
<i>šuppiyaḫḫ-i</i> ‘purify’ vs. (=za) <i>šuppiyaḫḫ-ta(ri)</i> ‘purify oneself’	REFLEXIVE
<i>zaḫḫ-i</i> ‘hit’ (post-OS) vs. <i>zaḫḫ-ta(ri)</i> ‘hit each other’	RECIPROCAL

## Voice – OH/OS *media tantum*

*ar-ta(ri)* ‘stand’, *ark-a(ri)* ‘mount (tr.)’, *eš-a(ri)* ‘sit down’, *ḥink-a(ri)* ‘bow (intr.)’, *ḥapp-tta(ri)* ‘join (intr.); work out’, *ḥarp-tta(ri)* ‘separate and re-associate oneself’, *ḥatt-a(ri)* ‘prick’, *ḥuett(i)-a(ri)* ‘draw, pull (tr.)’, *ye/a-tta(ri)* ‘go, march’, *ki-tta(ri)* ‘lie’, *kīš-a(ri)* ‘become, happen’, *kišt-ā(ri)* ‘perish’, *lukk-tta* ‘get light, dawn’, *marriye/a-tta(ri)* ‘melt, stew (intr.)’, *parš(i)-a(ri)* ‘break (tr.)’, *šalik-a(ri)* ‘approach’, *tith-a* ‘thunder’, *tuhš-a(ri)* ‘cut (tr.)’, *wešš-tta* ‘wear’, *ur-āri* ‘burn (intr.)’, *zē-a(ri)* ‘cook (intr.)’, *irmaliye/a-tta(ri)* ‘be(come) ill’, *kištanziye/a-tta(ri)* ‘be(come) hungry’, *lazziye/a-tta(ri)* ‘be(come) good, be favorable’, *lēlaniye/a-tta(ri)* ‘be(come) furious’, *ušneške/a-tta(ri)* ‘put up for sale (tr.)’, *wešiye/a-tta(ri)* ‘graze (intr.)’

## Voice – Post OH distribution of the middle

	MEDIA TANTUM	OPPOSITIONAL MIDDLES
OH	27	7
MH	16	19
NH	13	32

## Voice: meanings of oppositional middle

- **Passive:**

KUR-*yaš*    A.ŠÀ *kuraš*    IZI-*it*    ***warnutari***  
country.GEN   field   field.NOM   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)

## Voice: meanings of oppositional middle

- Reflexive (most often with =za):

(1) *it*                    **šuppiaḥḥut**  
go.2SG.IMP    purify.2SG.IMP.MID  
'Go, purify yourself!' (KBo 3.16 iii 8)

(2) *nu=za*        <sup>d</sup>U                    **šuppiaḥḥut**  
CONN=REFL    weather\_god    purify.2SG.IMP.MID  
'Weather god, purify yourself!' (KBo 15.30 iii 5)

## Voice: meanings of oppositional middle

- **Reciprocal:**

*takku* LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>      ***zahhanda***

if      man(PL)      hit.PRS.3PL.MID

‘If (two) men strike each other (and one of them dies).’ (KBo 6.26 ii 16)



## Voice: meanings of oppositional middle

- Impersonal:

*nu=kan*    *INA*    ŠÀ    <sup>KUR</sup>*Hatti*    *apēzz=a*    *UD*<sup>KAM</sup>-*az*    ***akkiškettari***  
CONN=PTC    to    inside    H.    DEM.ABL=also    day.ABL    die.PLUR.PRS.3SG.MID

‘From that day as well, people died in the inner part of the land of Hatti.’ (KUB 14.8 obv. 30)

## Voice: meanings of oppositional middle

- Anticausative:

(1) *maniyaḥinn=a*                      *tuk*            ***zinnit***  
administration.ACC=CONJ    2SG.DAT    finish.PST.3SG  
'He brought the administration to completion for you.' (KBo 3-21 ii 1)

(2) *kuitman=ma gimmanza*    *nāwi*            ***zinnattat***  
until=PTC    winter.NOM    not.yet    finish.PRS.3SG.MID  
'And before winter is over.' (KBo 2.5 iv 11)

## Causative derivation: The suffix *-nu-*

- **Intransitive verbs:**
  - Atelic: *tarranu-* ‘make powerful’ from *tarra-* ‘be able’, *puqqanu-* ‘make hateful’ from *pugga-* ‘be hateful’, *šaš(ša)nu-* ‘put to sleep’ from *šeš-* ‘sleep, be asleep’
  - Change-of-state: *ninganu-* ‘drench, make drunk’ < *nink-* ‘soak, get drunk’ and *šamenu-* ‘eliminate’ from *šamen-* ‘disappear’
- **Nouns:** *ešḫarnu-* ‘to make bloody’ < *ešḫar-* ‘blood’
- **Adjectives:** *parganu-* ‘make tall’ from *parku-* ‘tall’, *šallanu-* ‘make big’ from *šalli-* ‘big’, *maknu-* ‘make numerous’ from *mekki-* ‘much, many’

## Causative derivation: The suffix *-nu-*

- **Transitive verbs:** *memiyanu-* ‘let talk’ from *mema/i-* ‘talk’, ‘tell’ or *linganu-* ‘let swear’ from *link-* ‘swear’.

(1) *arḥaya=an=ma=kan*                      ***kanga-nu-mi***

besides=3SG.ACC=CONN=PTC    weigh-CAUS-PRS.1SG

‘(I will build statue of Hattusili in silver) and I will also have it weighed.’ (KUB 21.27 iii 42)

- *-nu-* causatives are usually not ditransitive; the only exception is a single occurrence of *zainu-*, *zinu-* ‘let cross’ < *zai-* ‘cross’ in OH

(2) *takku*    *LÚ-aš*            *GU<sub>4</sub>=ŠU*            *ÍD-an*            ***zī-nu-škizzi***

if            man.NOM    ox=3SG.POSS    river.ACC    cross-CAUS-IPFV-PRS.3SG

‘If a man is making his ox cross a river.’ (KBo 6.2 ii 30)

## Causative derivation: other formations

- **-aḫḫ- suffixation:** *šuppiaḫḫ-* ‘purify’ from *šuppi-* ‘pure’, *ikunaḫḫ-* ‘make cold’ from *ekuna-* ‘cold’, *idalawaḫḫ-* ‘harm, injure’ from *idalu-* ‘evil’
- **Nasal infixation:** *ḫarnink-* ‘destroy’ from *ḫark-* ‘perish’ and *ištarnink-* ‘make sick’ from *ištark-* ‘get sick’
- **Reduplication:** *ašeš-* ‘seat’ from *eš-* ‘sit (down)’, *lilakk-* ‘fell’ is also sporadically attested, connected with *lak-* ‘fall’ (cf. *laknu-*)

## Periphrastic passive

Participle of a transitive verb plus passive auxiliary *eš-* ‘be’ (always omitted in the present)

(1) <sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL<sup>HI.A-</sup>*iš=wa=tta*      *šiunit*      ***piyanteš***  
weapon.NOM=QUOT=2SG.DAT    god.INST      give.PTCP.NOM.PL  
‘The weapons are given to you by the Gods.’ (KBo 22.6+ i 25)

(2)[...]      ***wedanza***      ***ešta***  
build.PTCP.NOM    be.PST.3SG  
‘It (sc. <sup>URU</sup>*Ursaš* ‘the city of Ura’) had been built.’ (KUB 14.17 iii 24)

## Reflexives

- Third person clitic pronoun:

*warpanzi=ma=wa=šmaš*                      *UL*

wash.PRS.3PL=CONN =QUOT=3PL.DAT NEG

‘They don’t wash them(selves)’

## Reflexives – The particle =za

- Reflexive

(1) *nu=za*      6-ŠU      *walḫanzi*  
CONN=REFL   six\_times   hit.PRS.3PL

‘(Afterwards the two priests of the God Zilipuri come) they beat themselves six times.’ (KUB 1.14 ii 8)

- Autocausative

(2) *nu=z*      ANA PANI      EN-YA      *kuit*      šara *ḫuittiyan*      *ḫarkun*  
CONN=REFL   to   presence   lord=1SG.POSS   because   up   pull.PTCP.N/A.   have.PST.1SG  
‘Given the fact that I had pulled up myself before my lord.’ (KUB 19.23 obv. 9)



## Reflexives – The particle =za

- Self-beneficiary

NINDA-*an=za*      *wemiyanun*

bread.ACC=REFL      find.PST.1SG

‘I found bread for myself.’ (KUB 30.10 obv. 16)

## Reciprocal – The particle =za

*man=e=za*

*idalaweššanzi*

if=3PL.NOM=REFL

become\_evil.PRS.3PL

‘If they have a falling out (lit. become evil at each other).’ (KBo 6.2 iii 8-11)

## Reciprocal – Polyptotic constructions

(1) *nu* <sup>LÚ</sup>*araš* <sup>LÚ</sup>*aran* *lē* *aušzi* *kāšš=a* *lē* *kūn*  
CONN fellow.NOM fellow.ACC NEG see.PRS.3SG DEM.NOM=CONJ NEG DEM.ACC

*išdammašzi*

hear.PRS.3SG

‘One shall not see the other, and they shall not hear each other.’ (KBo 6.2 ii 56-57)

(2) *nu=kan* **1-aš** **1-an** *kuwaškit*  
CONN=PTC one.NOM one.ACC kill.PLUR.PST.3SG

‘They would kill each other.’ (KBo 2.5 iv 18)

## The particle =za

- Non-third person subject in nominal clauses:

*nu=war=aš*      *LÚ-iš*      *ešta*      *uga=wa=z*      *UL imma*      *LÚ-aš*  
CONN=QUOT=3SG.NOM man.NOM be.PST.3SG 1SG.NOM=QUOT=REFL NEG besides man.NOM  
'He was a man, am I not a man, too?' (KUB 23.72+ obv 42)