

Per descrivere la riflessività. Il caso dell'ittita.

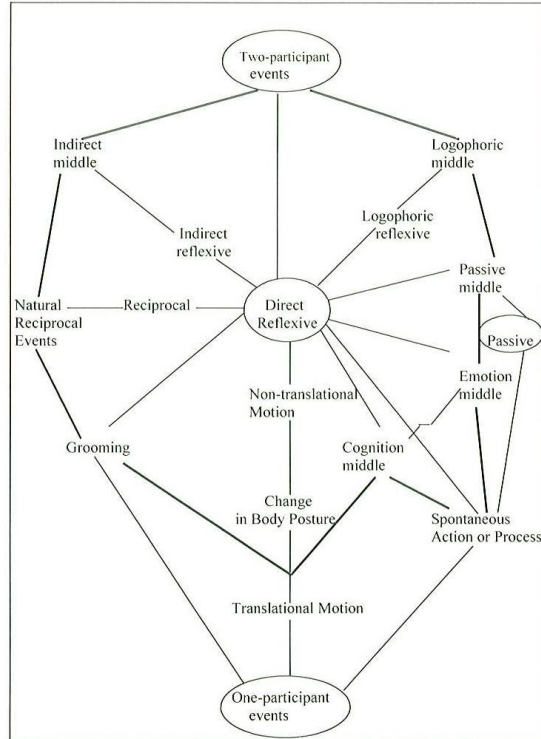
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Introduzione

Le relazioni semantiche tra tipologie di situazione 'medie' (Kemmer 1993: 211)

Fig. 4 Relazioni semantiche tra tipologie di situazioni medie (adattato da Kemmer 1993: 211)



evento

partecipanti

x

a, b, c

se $a=b$ | $a=c$ | $b=c$ e a, b o c sono 'soggetto' --> situazione 'riflessiva'

faccio un regalo a Marco

x = fare un regalo

a = io (S)

b = regalo (O)

c = Marco (OI)

Se invece fosse

a = io (S)

b = regalo (O)

c = io (OI)

poiché a = c e a = S --> riflessività

‘**mi** faccio un regalo’ vs. ‘**ti** faccio un regalo’ vs. ‘le/gli faccio un regalo’

‘**ti** fai un regalo’ vs. ‘**mi** fai un regalo’ vs. ‘le/gli fai un regalo’

‘si fa un regalo’ vs. ‘**mi/ti** fa un regalo’ vs. ‘le/gli fa un regalo’

- morfi dedicati (‘si’) o comuni (‘mi’, ‘ti’)

- i morfi riflessivi tendono a perdere specificità (‘si’ sg/pl, m/f)

- influenza sulla diatesi: mi **hai** fatto un regalo vs. mi **sono** fatto un regalo

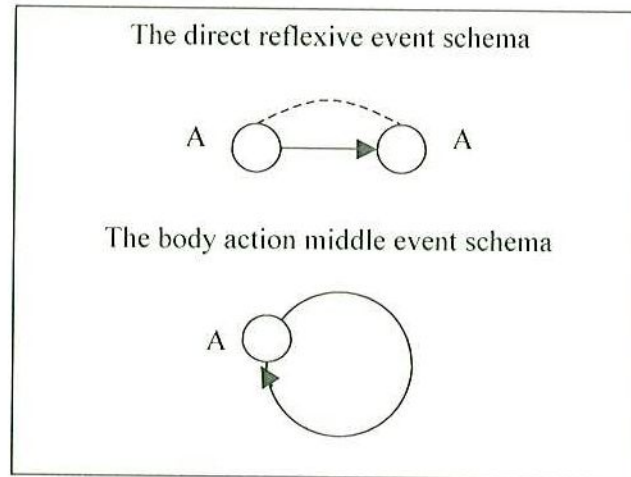
tipologie di riflessivo e rapporto col 'medio'

Tab. 2 Situazioni etero-dirette vs. non etero-dirette (da König e Siemund 2000a: 61)

Non-other directed situations	Other-directed situations
Grooming	Violent actions (killing, destroying)
Preparing, protecting	Emotions (love, hate)
Defending, liberating	Communicating
Be proud/ashamed of	Be jealous of / angry with / pleased with

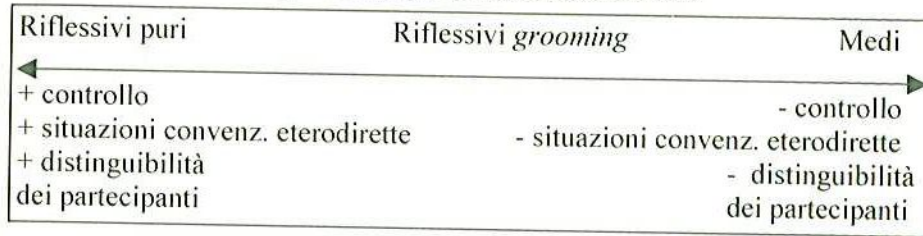
(da Puddu, N., *Riflessivi e intensificatori: greco, latino e le altre lingue indoeuropee*, ETS, Pisa 2005)

Fig. 5 Differenza tra “direct reflexive event schema” e “body action middle event schema” secondo Kemmer (1993: 71)



(da Puddu, *Riflessivi ... cit.*)

Fig. 6 Combinazione di parametri per la definizione dei MR



(da Puddu, *Riflessivi ... cit.*)

Riflessivi / Intensificatori

- Gianni vede se stesso ::: Gianni si vede (?)::: Gianni si lava le mani ::: Gianni si mangia un gelato ::: Gianni mangia ?a? se stesso? un gelato ::: Gianni stesso (si) mangia un gelato

Non lo sa nemmeno il Prof. X ::: Lo stesso Prof. X non lo sa ::: Non lo sa lo stesso Prof. X

(identificatore enfatico)

Strategie:

A. Pronominal strategies in IE languages can be (adapted from Petit 1999 and Puddu 2005):

RM [+ person] a. full personal (1/2/3), e.g. *myself, yourself, her/him/itself*

 b. 3rd reflexive, e.g. *si* (sg/pl, m/f)

RM [-person] a. generic pronoun (123), e.g. OCS *sebe, svoj*, Lith. *savè, sãvas*

 b. particle, e.g. Hittite $\backslash = z \backslash$

B. Verbal strategies start with the morphological middle (like gr. *louomai* “I wash (myself)”);

personal involvement (ai. *yájate* “x performs the sacrifice”);

reflexivity (gr. *louomai* “I wash myself”);

reciprocity (Hittite *ŠU-za appantat* “they took each other by hand”);

passivity (development in Latin, Gothic, also Greek and Anatolian).

A-B. Overlapping of strategies: structures of the middle/active verb (\pm pron.):

I. middle + proN/particle (like Hittite);

II. active + proN/particle/suffix (like Latin, Lithuanian ...)

Hittite can express reflexivity with:

- middle endings
- clitic pronouns (*warpanzi = ma = wa = šmaš UL*, " they don't wash themselves ")
- nominal periphrasis (*nu = za mahhan kun memian ZI-ni EGIR-pa kiššan AQ-BI* "and when I had recalled this word thus myself")

but it is the particle =z(a) that is commonly associated with a reflexive event, and resorting to a medio-passive diathesis became not even primary.

The particle -z(a) is also connected to the realm of the functions of the 'semantic' middle and its many functions, that can be described in a scalar typological/functional scheme, might be ultimately reduced to one function within a generative approach (this is what we concluded in our first step in the present research about =z in Hittite, cf. Cotticelli Kurras & Rizza (2011, Acts FTIG Salzburg).

2.1 IE languages with middle/reflexive second position particle

We find a reflexive particle in the following languages:

- Hittite (Wackernagel clitic)
- Slavic: OCS (and later Serbo-Croatian), Russian and others; Baltic: Lithuanian, Latvian (Wackernagel clitic --> Wackernagel verbal suffix --> suffix) (Nevis/Joseph 1992)

confronto Ittita ::: Baltico

2.1.1. Hittite

Hittite –z(a) shares with the Middle three main prototypical segments:

I. Place of the event II. Reflexive meaning III. Possessive / affective meaning

a. multifunctional morph in the realm of the (semantic) 'middle' voice

b. subject involvement (Hoffner, Carruba, Boley, Luraghi)

- 'middle' functions

- other morphosyntactic values

- nominal sentences

- predicative complements

c. basic value from which all other can be derived: function of identity dependency

List of functions

- reflexive, e.g. *-za lipzi*, "licks himself";
- reciprocal
- ethical (commodi/incommodi)
- possessive
- intensive, e.g. *n = aš = za munnaittat* "and he hid" «stresses agentivity (causation) by a wilful person, whereas *n = aš munnaittat* has a less autonomous subject»
- "active", e.g. *-za tarh-*, Josephson: "to show oneself capable" vs. *tarh-* "to be able"

3.2. The Hittite Data

3.2.1. First group: transitive reflexive

A - O - IO

A - O - \ = z\

1.: transitive reflexive (Kazenin 2001: indirect reflexives).

Typical are transitive reflexive of the kind: possessive/body action

Hittite *ḫatta-*, 'hit' is attested with the particle \ = z\ functioning either as direct object reflexive or possessive reflexive, e.g. (middle voice):

(4) KUB 1.14 ii.8- (jh, festival fragment CTH 744) ⁽⁸⁾ EGIR-ŠU = ma LÚ^{MEŠ} zilipurijatallaš ⁽⁹⁾ uwanzi nu = za 6-ŠU ⁽¹⁰⁾ walḫanzi 1-aš = za = kan ⁽¹¹⁾ ŠU-ZU ḫatta 1-aš = ma = za = kan ⁽¹²⁾ GÌR-ŠU ḫatta “*afterward the two priests of the God Zilipuri come, they beat **themselves** six times: one beats his **own** hand, the other one his **own** foot*”.

Lithuanian can show a valence reduction (125a-b) or a possessive-reflexive (125c)

125a-b Ona prausia-si “*Ann washes her face* (a) // *Ann washes herself* (b)

125c Ona prausia-si veidą “*Ann washes her face*”.

2. Second group: subjective reflexive

A - O

A - \ = z\

2.a "true" reflexive (Geniušiene: semantic reflexives)

Hittite *arra-*, 'to wash', can receive a reflexive interpretation in the middle voice, with or without \ = z\. With \ = z\ it is also attested with active voice.

(5) KUB 59.66 iii.7-8 (jh.) ⁽⁷⁾ nu = **za** kēdanta w[etenit] ⁽⁸⁾ **arrattaru** “*and with this water he has to wash himself*”.

Lithuanian 125b above: Ona prausia-si (Ann washes herself).

2.b "Absolute" reflexive:

A - O

A - _ - \ = z\

In comparison to usual transitive construction, in "absolute" reflexives the direct object of a transitive verb is deleted, the verb acquires a reflexive marker, but an interpretation with a reflexive object is not correct.

(6) KUB 33.24+ (CTH 325) i.17-18 ⁽¹⁷⁾ **eter = za** n = e [= z *UL išpi*] **ēr ekuer** n = e = z *ŪL* ⁽¹⁸⁾
ħaššikker "they ate and they were not satiated. They drunk and they were not satisfied".

Lithuanian: šuo kandžioja-si 'the dog bites'

typically with transitive counterparts with animate direct object, e.g.:

šuo kandžioja vaikus 'the dog bites children'

2.c "Auto-causative" reflexive

The most interesting example for "auto-causative" reflexives in Hittite is certainly the verb *eš-*, 'sit, sit down, place'. Hittite texts show four different constructions:

- 1) Intransitive active voice, 'to sit' German 'sitzen', from OH
- 2) Intransitive middle voice, 'to sit down', German 'sich setzen', from OH
- 3) Transitive middle/active, 'to place' (generally with $\backslash = z\backslash$), from beginning of NH
- 4) Intransitive middle with $\backslash = z\backslash$, 'sich setzen',
- 5) (In)transitive active with $\backslash = z\backslash$, 'sich setzen'

For what concern the use with $\backslash = z\backslash$, it is possible to trace a diachronic development from middle voice without $\backslash = z\backslash$ in older times down to active voice with $\backslash = z\backslash$.

(7) KUB 2.2 iii.58 (jh. copy of an Old Hittite Hattic-Hittite bilingual CTH 725)

(58) DINGIR^šŠulinkattiš = šan LUGAL-uš anda ešzi “*Šulinkatte the king will sit there*”.

(8) KBo 3.1 + ii.16 (jh copy of the Telipinu Edict) ⁽¹⁶⁾ mān = šan ^mTelipinuš INA ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA
ABI = JA ēšhat “*When I, Telipinu, sat down on the throne of my father*”.

(9) KBo 3.4 + iii.57-58 (jh. exemplar of the Annals of Mursili II) ⁽⁵⁷⁾ ... nu = za ANA PANI ABI
ABI = JA ⁽⁵⁸⁾ kuiš URU Gašgaš ^{HUR.SAG}Tarikarimun GÉŠPU-az ešat “... *the Kaskean city that at the
presence of my grandfather forcefully occupied (the mountain) Tarikumu*”.

(10) KBo 3.4 + i.5 (5) ^mArnuantaš = ma = za = kan ŠEŠ-JA ANA ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA ABI-ŠU ešat “*My
brother Arnuwanda sat down on the throne of his father*”.

Latvian: (31b) Esspiežo-s pie sienan "I flatten myself against the wall"

2.d Reciprocal reflexives

Reciprocal constructions with \ = z\ are attested in Hittite, e.g.:

(11) KUB 12.26 ii.1-3 (jh exemplar of the Ritual of the river CTH 441)

(1) ^{DINGIR}UTU-uš = wa ^{DINGIR}Kamrušipaš = ša UDU^{HI.A} kiškanzi (2) nu = war = at = za = kan

ḫanna(n)tati nu = war = at = za = kan (3) šāntati “*The Sun-God and Kamrušepa are combing the sheep. They contended and enraged at each other*”.

Lithuanian: (32c) Petra ir Ona (jiedu) bučiuoja-si “*Peter and Ann (they) kiss (are kissing)*”

3. *Third group: objective reflexive*

The subject in the objective reflexives has a transitive counterpart in the direct object. Objective reflexive thus share certain features with the passive derivation.

A - O

_ - S - rflx

It is not so easy to find Hittite examples of this class. Typically objective reflexive are decausatives.

In Geniušienė 1987 one typical Lithuanian example for decausative reflexive is:

(46a) Petrasatidarė duris “*Peter opened the door*”.

(46b) Durys at-si-darė “*The door opened*”.

In Hittite causative/anticausative alternation has been recently studied in Luraghi 2010: «In Hittite the semantic properties of middle voice are distributed between morphological middle and reflexive constructions», for the particle =z she concludes: «[...] the Hittite data seems to point toward a division in the domain of middle voice: in particular, subject involvement is connected with the particle -z(a), while spontaneous events are connected with grammatical middle».

The regular use of =z with verbs such as *kiš-* 'to become' or -z *halzai-* 'to name (without =z , 'to call')' are to be connected and studied within the expression of predicative nominals: this is one of the next step of the present research.

4. The new Model

	TrR: A - O - IO	TrR: A - poss.O	SR <i>true</i>	SR <i>absolute</i>	SR <i>auto- causative</i>	SR <i>reciprocal</i>	OR <i>de- causative</i>	--> Passive
-z	●						●	
middle voice	●							●

Extension

(Haspelmath xxxx; Cotticelli Kurras / Rizza, Thessaloniki, *ISTAL* 2011)

