

IX Старостинские чтения, РГГУ
24-25 марта, 2016

Анатолийские кванторы в исторической перспективе.

А.В. Сидельцев, И.С. Якубович

Indefinite expressions and related forms:
an illustration.

- Universal quantifier: I kissed **each one**;
- Free choice expression (a): I can kiss **anyone**;
- Free choice expression (b): I can kiss **anyone/ whoever** you wish;
- Negative polarity item (a): I did not kiss **anyone**;
- Negative polarity item (b): Even if I kissed **some/ anyone**, I would not tell it;
- Existential quantifier: I kissed **someone**;

The Hittite system of indefinite pronouns belongs to one of the most standard varieties, see (Haspelmath 1997):

<i>Wh</i> -words	existential	NPI	universal	Free Choice
<i>kuiš</i>	<i>kuiš-ki</i>	<i>kuiš-ki</i>	<i>kuišš=a</i>	<i>kuiš,</i> <i>kuiš kuiš,</i> <i>kuiš imma,</i> <i>kuiš imma kuiš</i>

- 2.1. Universal quantification

- (1) KBo 15.10+ obv. i 8-9, CTH 443.1 (MH/MS)

KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ^{NA4}ZA.GÌN ^{NA4}KÁ.DINGIR.RA

silver gold lapis lazuli “Babylon-stone”

^{NA4}parašhaš ^{NA4}DU₈.ŠÚ.A lulluri AN.NAURUDU

p.-stone *DUŠŪ*-stone lulluri-stone tin copper

kuitt-a parā tepu dāi

each.ACC.SG.N out little take.3SG.PRS

‘He takes silver, gold, lapis lazuli, “Babylon-stone”, *DUŠŪ*-stone, *p*.-stone, *lulluri*-stone, tin, copper – a little bit of each’.

Free choice expression

- KUB 13.20 obv. i 7-8, CTH 259.B (MH/NS)

mān KIN=ma kuitk[(i)] našma

when task=but some.NOM.SG.N or

w[etumm]ar našma **kuiš**

construction or which.NOM.SG.C

imma KIN-az

EMPH task.NOM.SG.C

- ‘When there is some task, though, either cons [truc]tion duty or **any** task **whatsoever**, ...’.

Hittite existential quantifiers

specific known

NH/NS (CTH 584.5) KUB 48.118 19

nu=wa

ᶠAmmīš

kuiški

CONN=QUOT

Ammi-NOM.SG.C

some.NOM.SG.C

AMA

MUNUS.LUGAL

DAM

ᵐIddu

mother

queen

wife

Iddu

“And (there was) a **certain** Ammi, mother
of the queen, wife of Iddu”

specific known

NH/NS (CTH 584) KUB 31.71(+?) obv. i 6'

nu=wa ^DUTU-Š=I **[ku]edanikki** *ped-i*

CONN=QUOT Majesty=My some.LOC.SG place-LOC.SG

“My Majesty is at a **certain** place (in front of him there are lords, the majordome, and the main scribe of wood tablets, and then in front of him many lords are standing)”

specific unknown (group reference):

MH/NS (CTH 264.A) KUB 13.4 rev. iii 35-37

<i>anda=ma=za</i>	<i>n[amm]a</i>	<i>šumeš</i>	<u>LÚ*MEŠ</u> SANGA
moreover=but=REFL	further you.NOM.PL	priests	<u>LÚ*MEŠ</u> GUDU ₁₂
	<u>MUNUS*MEŠ</u> AMA.DINGIR-LÌ	<u>LÚ</u> MEŠ	É
anointed.priests	mother-goddess	people	house
<u>DINGIR-LÌ</u>	x x x-tuḥ [?] me [?] yanza	ŠÀ	É
god	x	inside	house
<i>naš*ma*</i>	<i>tamēdani</i>	<i>εkarimme</i>	god
or	another.LOC.SG	shrine.LOC.SG	
<i>kuiški</i>	<i>nik-zi</i>		
somebody.NOM.SG.C	get.drunk-3SG.PRS		

“Moreover: f[urth]er, you priests, anointed ones, mother-goddess priestesses (and) temple personnel: **someone** [...] gets drunk in the temple or in another shrine, ...”.

specific unknown:

INH/NS (CTH 577.I) KBo 2.2 obv. ii 18-19

:tapaššan ANA ^DUTU–Š=I **DINGIR-LUM**
fever-ACC.SG.C to Majesty=My deity
kuiški *iya-zi*
smb.NOM.SG.C do-3SG.PRS

“**Some deity** will cause fever? for His Majesty.
(Through the diviner and the 'Old Woman' it was
ascertained. # (To find out) which deity was
ascertained, we continued the enquiry and the
Sungoddess of Arinna was ascertained)”

NPI, licenced by conditional (most common type)

MH/MS (CTH 138.1) KUB 23.77+ rev. 68`

mān *ḥuwāi* ***kuiški***

if run.3SG.PRS somebody.NOM.SG.C

“If anyone runs away”.

NPI, licenced by negation

OH/OS (CTH 1.A) KBo 3.22 obv. 7-8

Ù DUMU^{MEŠ URU} Neš[aš id]ālu *natta*

and sons Nesa evil.ACC.SG.N NEG

kuedanikki takkiš-ta

someone.DAT.SG set.up-3SG.PST

“And he did **not** plot evil to **any** of the citizens of Nesa”.

Situation in Luwian

Universal quantification

- HAMA 4 § 5

a-wa/i DEUS-ni DEUS-ni **kwa/i-ti-ha**

a=wa massani massani kwadi-ha

CONN=PRTC god.DAT.SG god.DAT.SG each.DAT.SG

á-pi-si-na “SOLIUM”-sa-na i-zi-i-ha

abissin asan izziha

that.POSS-ACC.SG.C seat.ACC.SG make.1SG.PST

“For **each** god I made his own seat”

- **Free Choice** expression

ASSUR letter f+g § 31

wa/i-za	ka-mara/i-ra+a-na	 kwa/i-i-ha
wa=anza	kamaran	kwin-ha
PRTC=us	<i>commodity</i> .ACC.SG.C	some.ACC.SG.C

|VIA-wa/i-ni^l

Harwanni

dispatch.2SG.IMP

- ‘Send us **any** KAMARA, *(or (if) you do not have (any), and there remain (some) to [Par]niwaris the AMURALURA, but it from him, and send it to us)*’

- Negative polarity items

KARATEPE 1 (Hu.) § 49, cf. Hawkins 2000, I: 56

REX-ta-ti-i-pa-wa/i	kwa/i+ra/i	kwa/i-sa-há
<i>hantawattatti=ba=wa</i>	<i>kwari</i>	<i>kwis-ha</i>
rule.as.king.3SG.PRS=but=PRTC	if	anyone.NOM.SG.C

‘But if **anyone** rules as king’.

KULULU 1, § 14, cf. Hawkins 2000, II: 443

wa/i-tà	ni-i	 kwa/i-ti-i-ha	pi-i[a]-a-i
wa=ada	ni	kwatti-ha	piyai
PRTC=it	PROHIB	someone.DAT.SG	give.3SG.PRS

‘And let him not give it to **anyone** (else)’.

Situation in Lycian

Free choice expressions

TL 110.3-5

me	tise	ti[s]e :	prñnawati
CONN	what.ACC.SG	what.ACC.SG	build.3SG.PRS
me=t=ẽni			qanuweti
CONN=PRTC=mother.NOM.SG			destroy.3SG.PRS
qla[h]i:		eb[ij]ehi	
precinct.POSS.SG-NOM.SG		here.POSS.SG-NOM.SG	

‘Whatever he builds, the Mother of the local precinct will destroy (it)’.

- Negative polarity items

TL 57 7-9

1. [s]e=[ije] n[e hrppi tã]ti **tike**
 and=there NEG on put.3PL.PRS someone.ACC.SG
 kbi:

other.ACC.SG

2. hrppi=(i)je=me=i: ta-di: **tike:**
 on=there=CONN=him.DAT put-3SG.PRS someone.NOM.SG
 itlehi: trmmili:

belonging.to.a.league.NOM.PL.C Lycian.NOM.PL.C

‘(1) And they will not put **any other** (one) on top of him. (2) (If) **someone** puts (one) on top of him, (they will strike him, all the gods and members of the Lycian league)’.

Language	Universal quantifier	Free-choice Relative	Free-choice (non-relative)	Negative polarity item	Existential quantifier
Hittite	kuišš-a	kuiš (imma), kuiš (imma) kuiš	kuiš imma (kuiš) [rarely] kuiš-ki	kuiš-ki	kuiš-ki
Luwian	kwis-ha	kwis, kwis-ha, kwis-ha kwis	kwis-ha	kwis-ha kwihha-	?
Lycian	?	Tise tise	tisñ-ke (acc.)	ti-ke, tihe	?
Lydian	?	Qiš, qid-a	qesi-k	qesi-k, qi-k	?
Palaic	kuiš-a (?)	kuiš-a, kuiš kuiš (?)	?	?	?

Thus we have **kwis-Ho* and **kwis-ke* in Proto-Anatolian

Reflexes of **kwis-Ho* are universal quantifiers in Hittite,

universal quantifiers, free choice and NPIs in the Luwian branch.

Reflexes of **kwis-ke* are NPIs and existential quantifiers in Hittite and Lycian, lost in Luwian.

Only **kwis-ke* has IE cognates if < **kwis-kwe* 'any': Lat. *quis-que* 'each', etc. The cognates are universal quantifiers.

One of the most common diachronical sources of indefinites is free choice > existential quantifiers/NPIs (Haspelmath 1997: 149-150).

Moreover, there are even relic free choice functions of *kuiški* “somebody” attested in historical Hittite:

NH/NS (CTH 89.A) KUB 21.29+ rev. iv 8-9

mān=ma=[ka]n UN-aš=ma kuiški ŠA
if=but=LOC person-NOM.SG.C=but some.NOM.SG.C of

URU-LÌ ANA LÚ^{MEŠ} [U]_{RU} *Gašga* ***kuiški***
city to people Gasga somebody.NOM.SG.C
anda dammek-tari
in join-3SG.PRS.MED

“If any person of the city – **anybody at all** –
joins people of Gasga, ...”.

NH/NS (CTH 123) KBo 4.14 rev. iii 67-69

1. *kuišš=a=aš* *imma* UN-*aš*
which=and=he EMPH man-NOM.SG.C
2. *mān=aš* LÚ KUR URU^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR
if=he man country Hatti
3. BE-*an=aš* Š[A] KUR URU LÚ^{LÚ}MEḪRI
if=he of country city equal
4. *mān=aš* EGIR-*ziš* UN-*aš*
if=he last.NOM.SG.C man.NOM.SG.C
5. *mān=[a]š* ZAG-*aš* UN-*aš*
if=he border.GEN.SG man.NOM.SG.C
6. *n[u]=tta* LUGAL-*waš* ḪUL GÙB-*tar*
CONN=you king.GEN.SG evil malevolence.ACC.SG.N

kuiški

somebody.NOM.SG.C *udai*
bring.3SG.PRS

“(1) Whichever man he is (2) whether he is a Hittite citizen, (3) or if he is of an equal country, (4) or whether he is a common (lit. last) man, (5) or whether he is a borderman, – (6) (if) **any** (of them) brings evil or malevolence regarding the king, – (do not hide him from the king ...)”.

NH/NS (CTH 255.1.A) KUB 21.42+ rev. iii 7-12

1. *našma kī kuiški DÙ-zi*
or this someone.NOM.SG.C does
2. *naššu BELU našma DUMU LUGAL našma*
or lord or prince or
- ŠÀ.MÁŠ *našma ŠÀ x[]x^{HI?.A?} **kuiški***
family. member or member [] somebody.NOM.SG.C
- EME-an *BAL-nu-zi ...*
tongue-ACC.SG.C turn-3SG.PRS
- 3'. *memai=ma=at [k]uedani*
say.3SG.PRS=but=it who.DAT.SG
- 4'. *n=an=kan ḥantī UL tiya-zi*
CONN=him=LOC forward NEG step-3SG.PRS

“(1) Or (if) someone does this, (2) be it a lord ⁽⁸⁾or a prince or a family member or [...]members, **whoever** twists words (thus): (“He has become evil. So come and let us *collaborate* with someone else!”) (3’) But to **whomever** he says it (4’) he does not denounce him, ((it) shall be placed [under oa]th)”.

These contexts might appear at first sight to be common NPIs, but if placed in a broader Hittite perspective, they are not.

If a context contains both an existential quantifier (including negative polarity items) and free choice pronoun, the existential quantifier normally comes first and denotes a representative of the group. It is then followed by the free choice pronoun 'whatever', which spreads the reference to all the group members, as in

MH/NS (CTH 259.B) KUB 13.20 obv. i 7-8

mān KIN=*ma* *kuitk*[(i)] *našma*

when task=but some.NOM.SG.N or

w[etumm]ar *našma*

construction or

kui-š *imma* KIN-*az*

which-NOM.SG.C EMPH task-NOM.SG.C

“When there is some task, though, either
cons[truc]tion duty or **any** task **whatsoever**, ...”.

These data warrant that *kuiški* above is in the position which is normally reserved for free choice expressions.

It is a slightly worrying fact that all the examples are quite late. Should it be interpreted as secondary and not indicative of the original distribution. However, as different from bare indefinites assessed above, the contexts which might contain *kuiški* appear simply not to be available in the earlier texts.

Alternatively, the sporadic and quite late occurrences of free choice readings of NPIs/ existential quantifiers may simply be free-choice inference under deontic modals, just as is attested for German existential quantifiers of the type *irgendein* (Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002) as well as Basque *nor-bait* existential type (Etxepare 2016).

Naturally, a comparison with Basque existential quantifiers *nor-bait* “somebody”, etc as analyzed by R.Etxepare 2016 suggests itself.

Similarly to Basque dialectal and archaic forms, in Hittite indefinites of the type *kuiški* the morphological case is between the *wh*-word and the particle *-ki*:

kui-š-ki

kui-n-ki

wh-word-NOM.SG.C-*ki*

wh-word-ACC.SG.C-*ki*

However, the particle itself is never attested as a complementizer. It is not even attested synchronically as a separable particle. We claim that its *etymological* cognate is attested as an additive or disjunctive *-ku*.

The particle is cognate with IE $*-k^we$ “and”.

Narrow Indo-European Data testify that wh-word + $*-k^we$ “and” produce universal quantifiers:

Lat. *quis-que* ‘each one’, Avestan *čiš-ča* ‘id.’, and Vedic *kaś ca* ‘id.’ (Oettinger 1983) contra (HED K: 173).

So we suggest free choice original function with two diverse developments:

free choice > universal (Haspelmath 1997: 154-5) in Narrow Indo-European

free choice > existential quantifier/NPI in Anatolian.

The derivation of indefinites as correlatives/free choice relatives + **-ki* “and” in the prehistory of Hittite fits well into the constant renewal of free choice relatives within historical Hittite. Besides bare *kuiš*, historical Hittite attests reduplication of the relative pronoun in the function of free choice item

kuiš kuiš

Another way is to modify the relative pronoun with another particle *imma* (Melchert 1985):

kuiš imma,

kuiš imma kuiš.

Further development of *kuiški* involved grammaticalization as existential quantifier/NPI.

A parallel for *wh*-word + additive particle producing a free choice expression is provided by the other Anatolian quantifier **kwis-Ho*:

It is particularly obvious for Luvian *kwis-ha* which is synchronically analyzable as *wh*-word *kuis* and an additive particle *-ha* “and”. It is universal, free choice and NPI. No existential function is attested for Luvian and its universal function is attested in the Hittite cognate *kuišš=a* “each, every(one)” .

The fact that **kwis-Ho* has no certain narrow parallels warrants that it is a common Anatolian innovation which was built along the same model as earlier **kwis-ki*. The innovative **kwis-Ho* pushed Hittite and Lycian reflexes into the NPI/existential quantifier sphere and completely ousted **kwis-ki* in Luwian, both in the universal and NPI functions.

Thus we see cyclic development of Anatolian quantifiers along the same two lines of semantic evolution:

free choice > universal;

free choice > NPI:

Inherited **kwis-ki*

Anatolian innovation **kwis-Ho*