

Topics in Lycian Syntax*

1. Recent work on the 'minor' Indo-European languages of Anatolia has resulted in enough agreement on lexical and morphological interpretation that in favorable cases it should now be possible to advance our understanding of these languages' configurational syntax too – both synchronically and with a view to Anatolian comparison.¹⁾ Needless to say such work has limitations, mostly due to the nature of the surviving corpora, but some interesting problems can be addressed. This paper will discuss a well-known Lycian construction and develop an analysis of its syntax on the basis of internal examination informed in a few places by cross-linguistic syntactic typology. This will lead not only to what I hope is a plausible partial reconstruction of Lycian syntax but also in turn to some new morphological interpretations, and it may provide the basis for a future diachronic treatment of this and related constructions throughout Anatolian.

The construction in question is illustrated in (1 a–b):

- (1a) *ebēñnē : prñawā : m=ē-ti prñawatē : Xluwānīmi : hrppi ladi : ehbi : se tideime | ehbi : ēnē Periklehe : xñtawata* (TL 67)
 'Xluwānīmi built this building for his wife and his children under the rule of Perikle'
- (1b) *ebēñnē : prñawā m=ē-ti prñawatē | Xisterija Xzzbāzeh tideimi | hrppi : ladi ehbi se-tideime* (TL 19)
 'Xisterija, child of Xzzbāze, built this building for his wife and children'

Each of these sentences begins with an accusative Noun Phrase (NP) *ebēñnē prñawā* 'this building', an elided sentential particle *me*, and a resumptive or doubling clitic pronoun *ē* 'it'; they are therefore

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¹⁾ On the contrast between configurational (word-order) syntax and morpho-syntax in Indo-European linguistics, see Hale (1987 a: 1–3).

characterized descriptively by left-dislocation. Elements appearing to the left of *me* will here be called 'topics' or 'topic constituents', whether clitic-doubled as in (1 a–b) or not, and the common construction in which they appear will be called the 'topic construction'.²⁾

The particle *me* which defines this construction has an independent sentence-connective value, illustrated in (2 a), and in particular is virtually obligatory in apodoses, as in (2 b):

- (2a) *me-te : ñta-tāti | ebññē : hātā : se-ladā* (TL 84.2–3)
 'And they will inter him, (when he is) dead, and his wife'³⁾
- (2b) *hlñmi me-i tuweti tike tibe-i ñt[epi] tadi tike m=ēne Trqas tubidi se muhāi huwedri* (TL 93.3)
 '(If) someone places *hlñmi* there or inters someone there, then Trqas and all the gods will strike him'

Its well-known cognates include the Hittite contrastive focus particle *ma*, Thessalian Greek *μά ὄέ*, and Latin *immō* 'rather, on the contrary'. This comparative evidence, together with the full range of usage of Lycian *me*, would prove crucial in understanding the origin of the topic construction, but will be ignored in the synchronic treatment here.⁴⁾

2. A systematic survey, sorting out the several types of topic constituent and comparing their characteristics, leads to some surprising conclusions – first, about the distribution of clitic-doubling. Lycian has five clear clitic pronouns: a common-gender accusative with variants *ē*, *ene*, *ne*, and *ēne*; a neuter absolutive *ede*; a dative singular *i*; a dative plural *ñne*; and a locative with variants *ije* and *i*.⁵⁾

2.1. This section will examine those NP topic constituents which

²⁾ Terminology in this area is notoriously inconsistent. To avoid confusion and to be consistent with other work on Indo-European, I will use the term 'topic (constituent)' for a syntactically defined notion, and I will reserve the term 'discourse topic' for the appropriate pragmatic notion. A 'left-dislocated' constituent appears to the left of its sentence and is anaphorically resumed within it.

³⁾ Against e.g. Meriggi's 'Person' (1930: 417), and with Melchert (1989 a: 22) and (1989 b: 40), I take *hātā* as the inherited participle of *ha-* 'release': *'released' > 'dead'.

⁴⁾ On the connection with *immō* see Melchert (1985); cf. also Garrett (1990 a: 248–52).

⁵⁾ I have argued elsewhere (Garrett 1990 b: 265–80, 287–91) that Anatolian 'nominative-accusative' neuters are more accurately 'absolutive', but the distinction is not crucial here. The dative plural *ñne* has been identified by Melchert (1992).

are referentially definite. By far the most common subclass is represented by over sixty sentences like (1 a–b) where an unambiguous direct object is doubled by the appropriate clitic object pronoun. A second, minor subclass consists of the three sentences with locative NP topics, in each case clitic-doubled:

- (3 a) *ebehi : isbazi : mi-ije sijēni : Padrñma* (TL 49)
 'In this *isbazi* lies *Padrñma*'
 (3 b) *hrzzi prñnawi : me-i : ñtepi-tāti | I[dā M]axzzā : se la[dā]* (TL 57.6–7)
 'In the upper building they will inter *Ida Maxzza* and (his) wife'
 (3 c) *ebehi xupa : me-i-ti sijēni : Sbi:(\):aza* (TL 106.1)
 'In this tomb lies *Sbi(\)āza*'

Whereas *ebehi isbazi* 'in this *isbazi*' in (3 a) is doubled by the unambiguously locative *ije*, *hrzzi prñnawi* 'in the upper building' in (3 b) and *ebehi xupa* 'in this tomb' in (3 c) are doubled by the formally ambiguous *i*. Both (3 a) and parallelism with the type of (1 a–b) suggest that locative topics should require locative clitics and, if so, that *i* in (3 b–c) is the locative variant rather than the dative clitic. The latter correctly appears when a dative topic is present, as in (4), where the glide *j* is epenthetic before *eseri*:

- (4) *Pigesereje : me-ij eseri-hhati* (N 320.40–41)
 'They will leave (it) to *Pigesere*'

Definite topics are thus clitic-doubled some seventy times in the Lycian corpus. This must reflect some rule if pronominal distribution is not altogether haphazard, and a natural preliminary hypothesis is that definite NP topics are doubled by the appropriate clitic pronouns. To be sure, however natural, this suffers the immediate disadvantage of seeming to have half as many counter-examples as positive examples, yet under scrutiny the former resolve themselves into three clearly defined types, each with an independent—and itself revealing—explanation.

The first class of counter-examples includes almost thirty sentences like the following:

- (5 a) *ebēñnē : xupā : me-ti prñnawatē : Tuwada : hrppi ladi | se t(i) -deime* (TL 42.3–4)
 'Tuwada built this tomb for (his) wife and children'
 (5 b) *ebēñnē prñnawu : me-ti prñnawatē | Ixtta : Hlah : tideimi : hrppi ladi : ehbi | se tideime : ehbije* (TL 56.1–3)

- '*Ixtta*, child of *Hla*, built this building for his wife and his children'
 (5 c) *ebēñē xupu se-i hri ti ñtipa me-ti adē Uhetēi ebehi ñtatā* (TL 124.1–8)
 'Uhetēi made, as his sarcophagus, this tomb and the *ñtipa* which is on it'⁶)

In each case, *me* is preceded by an accusative NP and followed immediately by the reflexive clitic *ti* rather than an expected accusative clitic pronoun. Among the various alternations between nasal and non-nasal vowels, however, there is one whose conditioning seems fairly clear: nasal vowels are often denasalized before *t*. Thus the third-person plural endings occur nearly fifty times as the historically proper *-āti* and *-ēti* but are denasalized as *-ati* or *-eti* in over ten instances: cf. e.g. *alahāti* and *alahati* 'they bury'.⁷) In view of this alternation, it would be very surprising if the frequent sequence *m-ē-ti* (as in 1 a–b) never showed a denasalized variant *m-e-ti*. I propose that sentences like (5 a–c) in fact exemplify this variant, and that *e* is a realization of the accusative clitic pronoun before *t*.

The second class of apparent exceptions to the generalization that definite topics are obligatorily clitic-doubled includes six sentences like the following:

- (6 a) *erawazija : ebe[ij]a : me prñnawaxā* (TL 40 c.7–8)
 'I built this monument'
 (6 b) *ebeija : [xr]uwata : me-ije pijetē : Wat[aprd]ata* (TL 40 d.1)
 'Wataprd data gave these *xruwata* here'

In each case *me* is preceded by a neuter plural direct object and clitic-doubling appears to be absent. No other neuter plural topics are attested. This distribution suggests that Lycian continues the Anatolian neuter plural clitic pronoun **oi* which elsewhere appears only as Hittite and Palaic *e*, and that the sequence *me* in (6 a–b) reflects not simply **mo* but **mo-oi*.⁸) Such a proposal is not vitiated by the possible occurrence of a neuter plural clitic pronoun *ede* (= Luvian

⁶) Elsewhere (Garrett 1990 a: 224–26), in the context of a general treatment of Anatolian possessive pronouns, I have discussed the use of unsynopated *ebehi* 'his' in this sentence, as opposed to the usual form *ehbi*.

⁷) I translate *alaha-* as 'bury', but, since this verb's meaning is uncertain, I will use scare quotes throughout. See recently Heubeck (1989: 49–51) and Melchert (1989b: 38–41).

⁸) H. C. Melchert (pers. comm.) compares the phonology of the 3sg. *hi*-conjugation desinence *-e* < **-oi* < **-o-ei*.

ata) at N 320.12, since in any case Hittite also attests both *e* and *at* (= *ede* without the secondary prop-vowel). If added to the Lycian pronominal inventory, this clitic is an important archaism of first-millennium Lycian against the older Luvian languages.

The final class of apparent counter-examples to the claim that definite topics must be clitic-doubled consists, unfortunately, of a single case:

- (7) *ebe xupa me tibeija* (TL 100)
 'This grave (is) Tibeian'

On the interpretation of this inscription see Melchert (1990: 205); it is isolated because the phrase *ebe xupa* 'this grave' is the only subject NP topic at all in Lycian. There are two possible explanations for the apparent failure of clitic-doubling here. First, as in (5–6), (7) may in fact contain a subject clitic. The regular word-final reflex of the Anatolian nominative singular common-gender clitic **os* would be **e*, and elision would be expected after *me*: **mo-os* > *me*. There is of course no independent evidence for any subject clitics in Lycian, but the corpus in fact provides no context where one would be expected.⁹) An alternative possibility is that the topic construction simply does not require subject clitic-doubling. If true, this could mean that subject clitic-doubling was originally required but that Lycian eliminated its inherited subject clitics by generalizing the phonologically null variant which would have characterized many environments, and that consequently clitic-doubling was restricted to non-subjects. Given the data it is hardly possible to decide among the various possibilities. The important point is that (7) does not significantly counter-exemplify the claim that definite topics are clitic-doubled.

Within Indo-European the system described here may seem unusual, but it is unremarkable cross-linguistically. One interesting parallel is found in Chicheŵa, examined in detail by Bresnan & Mchombo (1987). Like other Bantu languages, Chicheŵa has obligatory verbal subject agreement of the familiar Indo-European type as well as optional verbal object agreement; hence there is subject agreement in (8) between *njuchi* 'bees' and the verbal prefix *zi-*, and object agreement in (9) between *alenje* 'hunters' and the verbal prefix

⁹) I have argued elsewhere (Garrett 1990a: 94–156 and 1990c) that Anatolian subject clitics are restricted to a specific set of intransitive verbs. None of them occurs in Lycian in a subjectless context where a clitic *e* can be excluded.

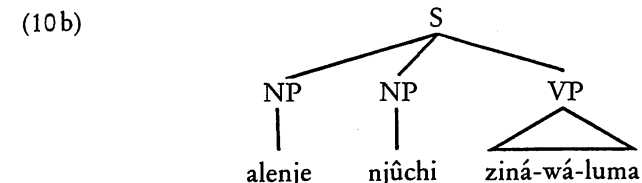
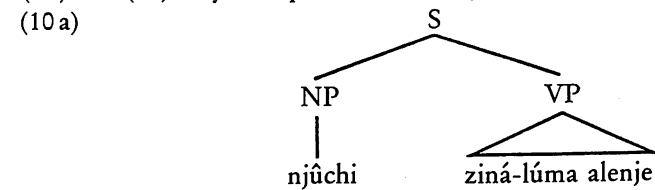
-wa-. The presence or absence of object marking in Chicheŵa is, as Bresnan & Mchombo show, related to the position of the direct object. The word order Verb + Object is obligatory when object agreement is omitted, as in (8 a–b), although the subject may precede or follow the Verb + Object sequence (the Verb Phrase or VP). Thus sentences like (8 c–f), where the VP has been interrupted or rearranged, are all ungrammatical.

- (8 a) *Njûchi zi-ná-lúm-a alenje* 'The bees bit the hunters'
 bees SUBJ-PAST-bite-INDIC hunters
 (8 b) *Zinálúma alenje njûchi*
 (8 c) **Alenje zinálúma njûchi*
 (8 d) **Zinálúma njûchi alenje*
 (8 e) **Njûchi alenje zinálúma*
 (8 f) **Alenje njûchi zinálúma*

If object agreement is present, however, the verb, subject, and direct object may appear in any order, and the counterparts of (8 c–f) are grammatical:

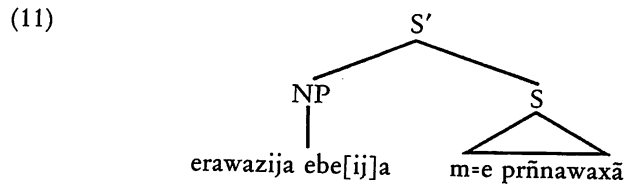
- (9 a) *Njûchi zi-ná-wá-lum-a alenje*
 bees SUBJ-PAST-OBJ-bite-INDIC hunters
 (9 b) *Zináwáluma alenje njûchi*
 (9 c) *Alenje zináwáluma njûchi*
 (9 d) *Zináwáluma njûchi alenje*
 (9 e) *Njûchi alenje zináwáluma*
 (9 f) *Alenje njûchi zináwáluma*

Bresnan & Mchombo use phonological and syntactic evidence to argue that verbal object agreement is not conditioned by word order directly but by structural position: objects outside the VP trigger agreement, but those within it do not. On this analysis the sentences in (8 a) and (9 f) may be represented as in (10 a) and (10 b) respectively:



The verbal prefix *-wa-* is present in (9f/10b) and the sentence is grammatical, whereas by comparison (8f) lacks *-wa-* and is ungrammatical. Note that VP-external position is immediately postverbal in (9a–b), where word order alone does not reveal structural position, as opposed to (9f/10b), for instance, where *alenje* ‘hunters’ is manifestly outside the VP.

At least for the cases discussed above, the Lycian topic construction may be analyzed in a parallel way: clitic-doubling can be triggered by elements positioned syntactically outside of some other constituent. Whatever its precise internal structure, the latter can be called S and the larger constituent containing both it and the topic can be called S'. On this view the topic constituent occupies a position of syntactic prominence, not merely linear precedence, which may be called the ‘topic position’. The sentence in (6a) is thus represented as in (11).¹⁰



2.2. Definite NPs, illustrated in (1) and (3–7) above, are not the only items which can be topic constituents in Lycian. This section surveys the four other attested types.

2.2.1. The apparently extended preverbs or prepositions *hrppi* and *hrije* ‘thereon’ appear ten times as topics and are invariably clitic-doubled, as here:

(12a) *hrppi* *me=i* : *tadi* : *tike* (TL 57.8)
‘Thereon one puts someone’

(12b) *hrije* *me=i* : *alahadi* : *tike* : *terihe* (N 309 a.4)
‘Thereon one “buries” someone *terihe*’

The forms *hrppi* and *hrije* are presumably just the prepositions *hrppi* and *hri* respectively plus the locative clitic *ije* as prepositional object; in other words, they are Prepositional Phrases (PPs). The pronoun *i* after *me* in (12a–b) may be understood as doubling either

¹⁰ I introduce this formalism for concreteness: the discussion below hardly requires a specific commitment. The account is naturally reminiscent of the Vedic analysis and Indo-European reconstruction proposed by Hale (1987b), but I hope to show elsewhere that the relevant Indo-European and Lycian structures are not diachronically related.

the PP topic or its pronominal object. Compare sentences like the following, where a S-internal *hrppi* co-occurs with its notional object *ije*, as in (12a), but without a pleonastic *i*:

(13) *me=ije* : *ni hr[ppi]=tātu* : *tike* (TL 75.3)
‘They shall not put anyone thereon’

There is another very significant feature of PP topics. In those inscriptions where the word divider (transcribed with a colon) is consistently used, the vast majority of definite NP topics are followed by it. However, as in (12a–b), it is consistently omitted after PP topics.

2.2.2. Unextended preverbs or preverb sequences are attested as topics three times, here and in (24a):

(14a) *hri=ñ[te]* : *me=i lahadi* : *tike* (TL 134.3)

‘(If) he “buries” someone on top of him ...’

(14b) *ñte me=j=epi* : *tadi* : *ti[k]e [tik]e* (TL 83.10–11)

‘(If) someone inters someone on top of him ...’

In these sentences the otherwise unexplained pronouns following *me-i* in (14a) and *j* in (14b) – are the objects of *hri=ñte* and *ñte* ‘on top of’ rather than doubling clitics.¹¹

Verbs are also attested three times as topics in Lycian:

(15a) *adi me=j=ē* | *tik:e* : *xttbā* : *tisñke* (TL 89.2–3)¹²

‘If anyone does it any harm whatsoever ...’

(15b) *adi* : *mē=j=ē tik[e x]tt[bā]* (TL 90.4)

‘If anyone does it harm ...’

(15c) *xttade me=j=ē* : *tike* (N 320.36–37)

‘If someone will have done him harm ...’

Significantly, the verb in each instance has no associated preverb: preverb and verb topics are in complementary distribution. This

¹¹ I take *j* in (14b) as an intervocalic realization of *i*; cf. n.12. Other treatments are attested: the glide insertion in (4); *i* in *se=i-agā* at TL 149.13, although the interpretation of the sequence *-eia-* is quite unclear; and the elision in (14a). But since elision has variable outcomes in Lycian, this sandhi process may as well.

¹² On *ē* ‘if’ see Melchert (1989a: 19). Since elision rather than glide insertion is expected between *me* and *ē*, as between *me* and the homophonous accusative clitic pronoun, I take the glide *j* in (15a–c) as a realization of the clitic pronoun *i*; cf. n.11. In (15a–b) this pronoun refers to the tomb and in (15c) to the conjunct ... *mahāna ebette* ... *kumazi ebehi* ‘... these gods ... this priest’, although it agrees only with the closer of the two conjoined NPs. This analysis is not crucial for the main point being made.

property is surely inherited from Proto-Indo-European. Hittite lacks clear cases of verb topicalization with preverb stranding, as many scholars have implicitly recognized, and in Vedic, as explicitly noted by Renou (1933: 54), preverb topicalization is isofunctional with the topicalization of verbs which lack preverbs. The topic constituents in (14–15) are thus instances of a single type, one quite naturally not accompanied by clitic-doubling and in four of six cases not followed by the word divider.

2.2.3. Indefinite NPs do not pattern with definite NPs:

(16a) *hl̄m̄mi me-i tuweti tike* (TL 88.4, TL 93.3)

'Someone puts *hl̄m̄mi* here'¹³

(16b) *kbi tike me-i nipe n̄tepi tātu* (TL 88.3, TL 93.2)

'Let them not inter here someone else'

The indefinite direct objects *hl̄m̄mi* in (16a) and *kbi tike* 'someone else' in (16b), and similarly at N 309 a.3–4 and in (24a) – six occurrences in all – are not doubled by any variant of the accusative clitic pronoun. Like definite NP topics, however, they are regularly followed by the word divider in inscriptions which consistently use it.

Contrasts of the general type found in Lycian – between left-dislocation of definite NPs and its absence with indefinites – are cross-linguistically widespread. For instance, in colloquial French, sentences like (17a–b) occur freely with no pause or other prosodic break before the clitic subject pronouns, whereas the type of (18a–b) is impossible; see e.g. Lambrecht (1981: 61–62).

(17a) *Ces Romains ils sont fous*

(17b) *Le garçon il attend devant la porte*

(18a) **Quelque Romain il est fous*

(18b) **Un garçon il attend devant la porte*

Similar contrasts occur in Italian left-dislocation structures, according to Duranti & Ochs (1979: 391), and in several Bantu languages in structures cognate to the Chicheŵa ones discussed above; cf. Bresnan & Mchombo (1987: 760 n.25). Lycian is interestingly different in that its definiteness contrast is not realized by the absence of indefinite topics but only by the absence of clitic-doubling with inde-

¹³ On *hl̄m̄mi* see Bryce (1986: 79 n.81), Melchert (1989a: 23), and the references they cite. Whatever *hl̄m̄mi* means, it is almost certainly indefinite in the contexts cited here; depending on its exact meaning, of course, better translations might be 'a h.' or 'some h.'

finite topics. An explanation for this difference must await a treatment of the particular history of the Lycian construction.

2.2.4. Finally, there is a minor topic type:

(19a) [*e*] *beli : m-ēti-sijēni : Tele : se lada : se tideimi : ehbi : V : ȝ-la-dāi : ebttehi : IV* (TL 107 a.1)

'Here are laid down Tele, and (his) wife and his five children and their four wives'

(19b) *ebeli : me sijēni : Xssēñzija* (TL 150.1)

'Here lies Xssēñzija'

Although in origin clearly a demonstrative and thus a definite NP, the adverbial topic *ebeli* 'here' does not occur with clitic-doubling. As expected, it is followed by the word divider.

2.3. The word divider used in Lycian inscriptions almost certainly separates prosodic units of some kind, whether phonological words or phrases.¹⁴ The particle *me* which defines the topic construction is thus prosodically ambivalent: it is ordinarily part of the same prosodic unit as a preceding verb, preverb, or PP, but it is prosodically separated from a preceding NP (and from *ebeli* 'here'). An authoritative interpretation of these facts must await a comprehensive study of Lycian prosody, but the most natural preliminary interpretation is that the particle *me* is stressed after NP topics but unstressed after other topics:

| (20) Topic Constituent | <i>Me</i> Stressed | Clitic-Doubling |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Definite NP (1,3–6) | yes (> 100×) | yes (> 100×) |
| Indefinite NP (16) | yes (2×) | no (6×) |
| <i>Ebeli</i> 'here' (19) | yes (2×) | no (2×) |
| Verb or Preverb (14–15) | no 4×, yes 2× | no (6×) |
| P + Clitic Pronoun (12) | no (7×) | yes (8×) |

The topic construction thus has five attested subtypes:

(21) Definite NP + *mé* + Resumptive Pronoun ...

Indefinite NP + *mé* ...

Ebeli 'here' + *mé* ...

Verb or Preverb + *me* ...

P with Clitic Pronoun + *me* + Resumptive Pronoun ...

3. While the Lycian corpus hardly lends itself to sophisticated discourse analysis, a brief consideration of the topic construction's syn-

¹⁴ Cf. Morpurgo Davies (1987: 266–71) on some of the problems associated with prosodic analysis based on the distribution of the word divider in Greek.

chronic function may prove illuminating. The construction is attested in two clear discourse contexts.¹⁵) The first characterizes all attested left-dislocated NPs, as well as *ebeli* 'here', and thus by far most Lycian topics. These begin sepulchral inscriptions and refer to funerary monuments, as in (1), (3–7), and (19), and could be paraphrased by English sentences of the following type:

- (22 a) *This tomb was built by so-and-so.*
 (22 b) *In this sarcophagus are the mortal remains of so-and-so.*
 (22 c) *Here lies so-and-so.*

These are examples of locative inversion. As is well known, this English construction is associated with focus on the postverbal NP, while the preverbal inverted locative is a discourse topic; see e.g. Rochemont & Culicover (1990: 17–31, 69–115). Since analogous constructions cross-linguistically are associated with similar pragmatic functions – e.g. on Chicheŵa cf. Bresnan & Kanerva (1989: 32–36) – it is reasonable to assume that the Lycian topic constituents in this first context are discourse topics.

The second discourse context is one of contrastive focus on the topic constituent, which thus usually corresponds to an English NP with special phonological prominence. All four instances of the indefinite NP topic *kbi tike* 'someone else' occur in this context, as in (23):

- (23) *se ēke lati Ddaqasa | m=ene n̄tepi tāti n̄tipa tezi se ladā ehbi kbi tike me=i nipe n̄tepi tātu* (TL 88.2–3)
 'And when Ddaqasa dies, they will inter him in the *n̄tipa tezi* with his wife; anyone else let them not inter there'

Here the topic construction is used to contrast legal and illegal tomb occupants. In other instances of this discourse context the construction is found with verbs, preverbs, and indefinite NPs:

- (24 a) *kbi : tike : me=n̄te=ne : hrij=alahadi : tike : atlahi : tibe kbijehi : hri=n̄te me=i : alahadi : tike : atlahi : tibe kbijehi* (N 306.2–3)
 'Someone will not "bury" someone else – his own body or another's – on top; if one does "bury" someone – his own body or another's – on top of him ...'
 (24 b) *[s]e=[ije=n[e hrppi tā]ti tike | kbi : hrppi me=i : tadi : tike* (TL 57.7–8)

¹⁵) In two instances, cited in (15 a–b), its function is unclear to me.

'And they will not put someone else on top of him; if one does put someone on top of him ...'

- (24 c) *se=we=ne : xttadi : tike : ebi=ne n̄tewē : mahāna : ebette : ebi=ne : n̄tewē : kumazi : ebehi : xttade me=j-ē : tike* (N 320.34–37)
 'And someone will not do harm, neither to these gods nor to this priest; if someone will have done him harm ...'
 (24 d) *tibe=i nipe hl̄m̄mi tuwetu hl̄m̄mi me=i tuweti tike* (TL 88.4; similarly TL 93.2–3)
 'Nor shall they put *hl̄m̄mi* here; (if) they do put *hl̄m̄mi* here ...'

The contrast here is not lexical but one of polarity: in each case a positive is explicitly contrasted with a negative. Despite the formal differences among these topic constituents, it is not surprising that they form a functional class. As noted in § 2.2.2, preverb and verb topicalization appear to be isofunctional elsewhere in Indo-European; compare (24 a–b) and (24 c) respectively. Moreover, Verb + Indefinite Object complexes like *hl̄m̄mi ... tuweti* 'they do put *hl̄m̄mi*' in (24 d) function in many languages pragmatically – and indeed sometimes syntactically – like verbs rather than VPs. The nature of the evidence certainly warrants care, but since it is internally clear in this case and supported by typological parallels, I conclude that the Lycian topic construction functions pragmatically to mark both discourse topics and contrastive focus.¹⁶)

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¹⁶) Cf. the Japanese particle *wa*, which marks 'the theme [i.e. discourse topic] or the contrasted element of the sentence' (Kuno 1972: 270); likewise Bresnan & Mchombo (1987: 757–64) argue that Chicheŵa VP-external objects are discourse topics; to judge from their example 78, these may apparently also be used contrastively.

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Vedic "sá figé": An inherited sentence connective?

As is well known, forms of the Vedic *sá/tám* pronoun, particularly *sá* itself, occur frequently in some unusual contexts: with first or second person reference, or "frozen" before subordinate clauses, with no clear referent at all. This usage has long been noted in the literature (e.g. Delbrück, *AIS* §§ 138, 140; Speyer/Speijer, *Skt. Syn.* § 445; *Ved. u. Skt. Syn.* § 266; Renou, *GrLVéd.* § 400; *GrLSans.* § 260), and Delbrück denominated it "sa als Partikel". Wackernagel (*Kl. Schr.*, pp. 257-61 [part of the Nachlass]) seems to have been the first to suggest diachronic dimensions to the usage, by comparing Greek *ὄτε* and Vedic *sá* ca.¹⁾ With the comparison of the Old Hittite sentence connective *šu* and the burgeoning interest in the Indo-European sentence introductory chain (for both see esp. Watkins, *Celtica* 6 (1963), pp. 18-19), it has now become an informal article of faith for many Indo-Europeanists that a number of the functions of Vedic *sá* reflect those of an inherited sentence connective—or, rather, that Vedic *sá* provides strong evidence for the sentence connective value of PIE **só*.

Most of the evidence adduced for "sá figé" comes from middle and late Vedic prose (esp. ŚB) and consists of relatively few examples. It is the merit of the most recent treatment of this phenomenon, that of Dunkel 1990,²⁾ to seek evidence from the earliest Vedic text, the Rig Veda. And indeed Dunkel resoundingly concludes that the RV provides evidence not only that *sá* was inherited from a sentence

¹⁾ Though the equation of the second elements, *τε* and *ca*, must be given up, on the basis of Mycenaean *o-te*, as Risch pointed out (apud Watkins, *Celtica* 6, p. 19, n. 1). But see now Dunkel 1990, pp. 100-101.

²⁾ G. Dunkel, "J. Wackernagel und die idg. Partikeln **só*, **ke*, **kem* und **an*"; Part I (pp. 100-107), "Satzeinleitendes **só*: Spuren im Vedischen und Griechischen" [in *Sprachwissenschaft und Philologie: Jacob Wackernagel und die Indogermanistik heute*, edd. H. Eichner and H. Rix, 1990]. My remarks on this paper will be confined to the first section, not the more substantial treatment of **ke*, **kem*, and **an* (pp. 108-130).