

these scattered observations into a coherent account, however, is surely a task for another time.

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## Relative Clause Syntax in Lycian and Hittite\*

### 1. Introduction

Over the past century many authors have discussed the syntax of Lycian relative clauses, mainly focussing on the position of relative pronouns. These are variously postverbal, as in (1a), or initial or near-initial, as in (1b):

(1a) N 320.29–30

me kumezidi : Seimija : se de : Seimijaje :  $\chi$ wati ti  
'Seimija and whoever succeeds Seimija will sacrifice'

(1b) TL 6.2–3

se ije ti (e)seri tadi tike  $\tilde{n}$ tat[a] ebehi me ije [tu]be[it]i puna-  
ma $\theta\theta$ i

'And whoever puts somebody with them in this sarcophagus, the p. will strike at him' (6–7 και  $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  τις  $\tilde{\alpha}$ δικήσῃ τὸ μνημα τοῦτο ἐξώλεα και πανώλεα εἴη  $\tilde{\alpha}$ οτῶι πάντων 'and if anybody damages this memorial, may there be utter and total destruction of everything for him')

If the placement of relative pronouns is systematic it should be possible to determine the rules governing the use of these or any other positions. Since Thomsen (1899: 7–15), the standard assumption has been that postverbal position is regular and that relative pronouns only occupy other positions under special circumstances. Thomsen's own account of these circumstances is naturally out of date, but Gusmani (1962) has shown that non-postverbal placement is in fact regular in only one context – in conditional relative clauses<sup>1</sup>. In (1b), for example, though the Lycian and Greek texts differ, the latter uses a conditional clause, and the Lycian relative clause essentially means 'if anybody puts somebody with them in this sarcophagus'.

\* I cite older Lycian texts as 'TL' from Friedrich's edition (1932, checked against Kalinka 1901) and newer texts as 'N' from Neumann's edition (1979, checked against Laroche 1979 in the case of the Letoon Trilingual N 320). Hittite text citations follow the standard conventions of Güterbock and Hoffner (1980–1990). In writing this paper I have benefitted from discussions with Ileana Comorovski, F. Roger Higgins, Gary Holland, Paul Kiparsky, Craig Melchert, and Elizabeth Traugott.

<sup>1</sup> See also Gusmani (1975: 63–69). Other important discussions include those of Torp (1898: 10–44, 1900: 25–33), Pedersen (1945: 21–23), Houwink ten Cate (1961: 70–71), Carruba (1969), and Laroche (1979: 93–94).

With certain modifications I will accept Gusmani's important discovery here, but other questions remain. The relative clause in (1b) is preposed, for example, as is common in Hittite and other early Indo-European languages, but the one in (1a) is clearly not preposed. It would be interesting to know what conditions this variation, and in addition whether non-preposed clauses are syntactically postposed or embedded. It should also eventually be possible to compare the structures found in Lycian with those found in related languages and then to reconstruct their historical evolution. These considerations may in turn cast light on relativization generally or its diachrony.

My goal in this paper is to try to address some of these problems by describing the Lycian system of relativization as a whole and proposing a reconstruction of its syntactic prehistory. Needless to say, any syntactic analysis of the exiguous Lycian corpus is preliminary – subject to change as new texts are discovered and new interpretations offered, as other aspects of Lycian syntax are studied, and as Luvian relative clause syntax is analyzed in detail. Yet despite these limitations several interesting conclusions are possible.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. In §2 I present an overview of relevant general features of Lycian syntax and a schematic reconstruction of their historical relation to comparable features of Hittite. In §3 I briefly discuss relative clause typology, and in §4 I survey Hittite relative clause syntax. In §5 I examine the Lycian relativization system in terms established in §§2–4, proposing in each section an account of the appropriate syntactic diachrony. A short conclusion appears in §6.

## 2. Lycian and Hittite syntactic preliminaries

In this section I will identify two peripheral syntactic positions found in Lycian, Hittite, and by hypothesis Proto-Anatolian. I will argue *inter alia* that these two positions respectively precede and follow any sentence conjunctions and enclitics, that otherwise Lycian is essentially a verb-initial language, and that the interesting Lycian system of topicalization may partly be a consequence of independent changes in verb position.

2.1. Lycian is strikingly unlike the older Anatolian languages in that verbs regularly appear near the beginnings of clauses. Yet certain elements in turn do precede verbs, and it will be simplest to treat verb position together with two of these – negatives and preverbs. For concreteness I therefore assume a syntactic category *V'* which consists of all three elements:

- (2)  $V' \rightarrow \text{Negative} + \text{Preverb(s)} + \text{Verb}$

A second useful assumption is that certain typically clause-initial words are syntactically adjoined to their clauses, without occupying defined positions. They can occur together and they are of several types, as listed in (3):

- (3) Conjunctions: *me*; *se* 'and'; *ebi* 'or(?)'; *tibe* 'or'; *ēke* 'when'  
Complex conjunction: *tibe nipe* 'nor'

Adverbs and preverbs

I will arbitrarily refer to these elements as 'S-adverbs'. The 'adverbs and preverbs' in (3) include the full range of preverbs, both in their special sentence-connective uses – e.g. *epñ* 'after(wards) > in addition' (Meriggi 1978: 47, 1980: 243) – and apparently in ordinary preverb uses too. Since preverbs also appear in *V'*, as indicated in (2), clauses with S-adverb preverbs and preverbs in *V'* must somehow differ. It is tempting to speculate that the semantic scope of preverbs is somehow relevant in determining this difference, but I am unable to offer any concrete suggestion along these lines. Instances of both uses will appear throughout, as will a number of ambiguous cases.

Treating *V'* and the S-adverbs as syntactically distinct permits the following proposal: the constituent *V'* is either clause-initial or preceded at most by two syntactic positions, and all other syntactic positions follow *V'*, including ordinary argument positions; for mnemonic reasons to be explained below, I will call the two positions before *V'* 'Topic' and 'Front'. Any S-adverbs precede *V'* too, of course, and enclitics simply follow the first word of their clause.

This analysis is plausible only under several empirical circumstances. There must be no argument position which regularly precedes the surface position of *V'*, for example, and in particular it must be possible for both subjects and objects to follow the verb. Lycian sentences with VS, VO, and VSO word order are indeed unambiguously attested, as in (4), (5), and (6) respectively:

- (4a) TL 75

m(e) ēne **tubidi** : q[l]a[j] eb[i] : s]e Malija : se t[asa] : miñtaha  
'The local precinct and Malija and the oaths of the *miñti* will strike him'

- (4b) N 320.5–7

me **hñti tubedē** : Arus : sej epewēt[īmēi] : Arñnāi ...  
'Xanthos and the *perioikoi* of Xanthos decided (?) ...'  
(G 5–6 ἔδοξε δὴ Ξανθίοις καὶ τοῖς περιόικοις ... 'it seemed good to the Xanthians and *perioikoi* ...')

- (5a) TL 94.2

se [ij]e ne : hrppi tāti : tik[e]  
'They will not put anybody on top of him'

(5b) TL 111

me ttilidi : kbisñtáta : áñmám : ql(a) ebi  
 'He will pay twenty (?) cattle to the local precinct'

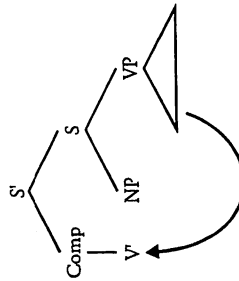
(6) TL 143

se pi[jete] Mlā:nazi : ebēñné : ñtatu : Pttlezeje : se ladi e[h]bi  
 Mañmahaje : kbatri : ehbi : se tideime : ehbije  
 'And Mlāñnazi gave this sarcophagus to Pttlezei and his wife  
 Mañmaha, his daughter, and his children'

Additional examples of the VS type in (4) appear in (1a) and the apodosis of (1b); in (4-6) the constituent V' is printed in boldface. On the analysis I propose, to repeat, the VSO word order found here is syntactically 'basic' in Lycian.

A considerable literature now exists on the syntax of VSO languages. This is not the place to review the advantages and disadvantages of competing analyses, and I will simply assume the following account here. V' occupies a peripheral movement site Comp, distinct from its underlying VP-internal position. The Comp position is external to the constituent S, with which it forms a constituent S', as represented in (7):

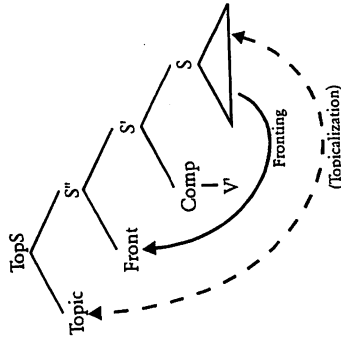
(7) Lycian verb placement



Consequently, in clauses like (4-6) where nothing else disrupts the word order, verbs precede their subjects and objects. Any S-adverbs in structures like (7) are adjoined to S' and therefore precede V'.

This 'basic' word order can be disrupted by either of the processes I will call Fronting and Topicalization, both of which place elements to the left of Comp. The first of these processes involves the Front position, which is external to S' and with it forms a larger constituent S''. The second process, Topicalization, places elements in the Topic position, which is external to S'' and with it forms a still larger constituent 'TopS'. The two syntactic processes and their associated peripheral positions are jointly represented in (8):

(8) Lycian Topicalization and Fronting



This representation is misleading, however, inasmuch as it seems to imply that Topicalization is actually a syntactic process involving 'movement'. In fact, whereas Fronting is such a process and is therefore indicated by a solid arrow in (8), Topicalization has a rather different syntax, discussed below and suggested here by a dashed double arrow. Second, though the representation in (8) implies the cooccurrence of Fronting and Topicalization, they are actually in complementary distribution. The proposed account thus predicts the absence of clauses with V' preceded by more than a single element other than S-adverbs and enclitics, a prediction that is largely correct<sup>2</sup>.

Examples of Fronting are given in (9-11), with fronted elements printed here in boldface and elements in V' printed in small capitals:

(9a) TL 27

**Mejistt(e) éné** : EP[ɪ] ruwete : atli : ehbi : ... : sa ladi : ehbi : Meri-  
 mawa,je] ... : se tideimi | ehbi : Sxχulije

'**Mejistte** ERRECTED it for his (own) person ... and his wife Meri-  
 mawa ... and his child Sxχulija'

(9b) TL 44c.3-4

me ñ[n](e) emu AXACÁ maraza

'I BECAME judge for them' (Meichert 1993b)

<sup>2</sup> The representation in (8) implies the possible cooccurrence of Fronting and Topicalization, but the only clear examples known to me are a pair of sentences at TL 29.9: *hñmami de : Alaxsañtira : erite teri : Irñmisiñ : ñtepti : xñlawata apptite teri* ... when Alaxsañtra raised (?) *hñmami*, when he took Lycia into (his) rule'. The (unknown) discourse function of Fronting will probably be relevant in explaining the rarity of this cooccurrence.

A terminological note is in order here. Structurally and to some extent functionally, what I am calling 'Topicalization' and 'Fronting' are equivalent to what Aissen (1992) calls 'external' and 'internal' topicalization respectively and to what others have called 'topicalization' and 'left-dislocation'.

- (9c) TL 48.6–8  
 se tideimi : Padr̄mmahe | Xudiwazade : EPENĒTIJATTE | Padr̄mma  
 ‘And Padr̄mma’s child Xudiwazade ACTED AS SALES AGENT for Padr̄mma’
- (10a) TL 84  
 m(e) ene q̄la : [Q]A[SS]TT(1) ebi : Surezi  
 ‘The local precinct of Sura WILL DESTROY him’
- (10b) TL 51.1–2  
 n̄t(e) ene Qar̄naya TUWE[TE] Q̄ntbeh tideimi ...  
 ‘Inside Qar̄naya child of Q̄ntbe PLACED it ...’
- (10c) N 306.3–4  
 me i : m̄h̄ai : HTTEṀ : l̄t̄ai : se heledi  
 ‘The gods of the dead and *heledi* (will be) RESPONSIBLE for him’
- (11a) N 320.1–2  
 ēke : Tr̄mmis̄n̄ : XSSAΘRAPAZATE : Pigesere : Katamlah : tideimi  
 ...  
 ‘When Pigesere child of Katamlah WAS SATRAP OF Lycia ...’  
 (G 1–2 ἐπει Λυκίας ξαδράπης ἐγένετο Πιξόδαρος Ἐκατόμνω ὄος ... ‘when Piksōdaros son of Hekatomnos became satrap of Lycia ...’)
- (11b) TL 44b.39–40  
 m(e) erawazi[ja] ADE : Tuminehi  
 ‘(He) MADE the monument in Tymnessos’
- (11c) TL 88.4 = TL 93.2  
 tibe i nipe hl̄m̄mi TUWETU  
 ‘Nor LET (them) PLACE *hl̄m̄mi* in it’

The examples in (9–10) and (11) involve subject and object Fronting respectively. This affects the head nouns *q̄la* ‘precinct’, *Qar̄naya*, and *m̄h̄ai* in (10a–c) respectively, not the entire subject NPs. Compare (10a), where *q̄la ... ebi Surezi* ‘the local precinct of Sura’ is discontinuous, with (4a), where *q̄laj = ebi* ‘the local precinct’ remains *in situ*. Note the pre-verb functioning as an S-adverb in (10b), and note also that *htteṀ* ‘responsible’ in (10c) is in the expected V’ position, illustrating what is also true elsewhere in Anatolian – that a predicate adjective behaves syntactically like a verb if the verb is gapped.

Elements other than subjects and objects can be affected by Fronting, as in (12a–b), where a locative and a predicative preposition (with enclitic object) respectively are fronted:

- (12a) TL 44c.4–5 (continued in 60c below)  
 se | Ut̄ana : STTATI : sttala : ēti : Malijahi : pdd̄ati  
 ‘And in Hytenna a stele WILL STAND in the place of Malija’<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On this example and its continuation in (60c) below see Laroche (1979: 89)

- (12b) TL 109.2  
 se i n̄tewē TĀTI : Muwētē  
 ‘And opposite him they WILL PUT Muwētē’
- Prepositions with their objects, or the head nouns of their object NPs, can also be fronted, as in (13) and several examples to be discussed in §§5.3.3–4:
- (13a) N 320.34–40  
 se we ne : χttadi : tike ... χttade mej ē : tike : me pdd̄e : mahāna :  
 S̄MMATI : ebete : sej ēni : qlahi : ebijehi | p̄ntreñni : se tideime : eh-  
 bije : sej Elijāna  
 ‘Nobody will do harm ... If anyone has done harm, he WILL BE LIABLE before these gods and the p. Mother of this precinct and her children and Elijāna’<sup>4</sup>  
 (G 30–35 καὶ μὴ μετακινήσειν μηδαμὰ ... ἂν δὲ τις μετακινήσῃ, ἀμαρτωλὸς (ἐ)στὼ τῶν θεῶν τούτων καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ ἐγγόνων καὶ Νυμφῶν ‘and one is not to alter in any way ... if anyone does alter, let him be guilty before these gods, and Leto and [her] issue, and the Nymphs’)
- (13b) TL 84.6–7  
 [...] adi : ē : sej epi hadi ti : [s]e me i ne kumazati : m(e) ene : pdd̄e : q̄la :  
 S̄MMATI : ebi : Surezi  
 ‘If he does/makes ... and appoints someone, and he is not a priest there, he WILL BE LIABLE for him before the local precinct of Sura’<sup>5</sup>
- The examples in (9–13) share an important syntactic property: S-adverbs precede all fronted elements except in (9a), and no S-adverbs follow these fronted elements. This is a diagnostic of Fronting as opposed to Topicalization. As represented in (14), in other words, S-adverbs are adjoined at the left of S’. The Fronting site follows the S-adverb adjunction site, while the Topicalization site precedes it. Enclitics follow the first element in S’, whether an S-adverb or not.

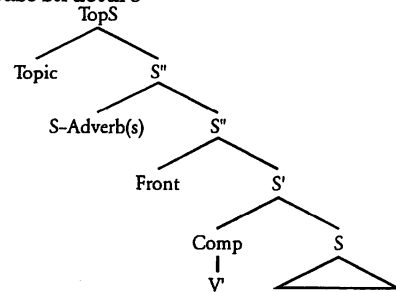
and Melchert (1993b), whom I partly follow. I take *dde wē* in line 6, which immediately follows *pdd̄ati* here, as the beginning of a new sentence; the sequence need not be enclitic to *pdd̄ati*, since in line 10 *ddeu* is separated from what precedes it by the word divider (:) and hence not enclitic, and since the word divider is typically omitted line-finally.

<sup>4</sup> On the verb *s̄mma-* see Laroche (1979: 75), Gusmani (1979b), and especially Eichner (1983: 55 n. 45); I take it as ‘be liable, assume liability’ or the like. An accusative object indicates a person for whom liability is assumed (hence *ene ... s̄mmati* ‘he will be liable for him’ in 13b), and a preposition *pdd̄e* ‘in place > before’ (vel sim.) + Dative indicates those to whom the subject is liable.

<sup>5</sup> The interpretation of *ti : [s]e* as the indefinite *tise* is due to Gusmani (1975: 65 n. 9); on *kumazati* see Melchert (1993a: 35).



## (14) Lycian phrase structure



The process of Topicalization can be surveyed more briefly here, since I have treated it elsewhere in detail (Garrett 1992). It has three properties of special interest. First, as already indicated, the Topic position is to the left of the sentence conjunctions. In fact the only conjunction attested with this construction is *me*, which serves as its regular marker. In the following typical examples the Topic elements are printed in boldface:

## (15a) N 314a

**χupā ebēñni** m(e) ene adē Masauwēti Mejereh [t]ideimi [ē]ti :  
 χūtawata [P]eriklehe  
 ‘Masauwēti child of Mejere made **this tomb** in the rule of Perikle’  
 (literally ‘**This tomb**, Masauwēti child of Mejere made it in the rule of Perikle’)

## (15b) TL 8.1–2

**ebēñnē** : χupā m(e) ene prīnawatē : Trijētezi  
 ‘Trijētezi built **this tomb**’ (literally ‘**this tomb**, Trijētezi built it’)

In each example an enclitic object pronoun *ene* ‘it’ refers anaphorically to the Topic NP. This illustrates the second relevant property of Topicalization: definite NPs in the Topic position are obligatorily doubled by the appropriate enclitic pronoun. For this reason Topicalization is best analyzed not as a syntactic movement process *per se*, but as part of a left-dislocation construction with a Topic operator and a resumptive pronoun in S’.

The third property of Topicalization is its pragmatic force: the construction is used to mark discourse topics and contrastively focussed phrases. The former use is comparable to the use of NP fronting in English passives or intransitives like *Here lies so-and-so*. It is illustrated in (15) and (16a), and the contrastive focus use of Topicalization is illustrated in (16b):

## (16a) TL 106.1

**ebehi** χupa : me i ti sijēni : Sbi:◊:aza  
 ‘In **this tomb** lies Sbi◊aza’

## (16b) TL 88.3–4

se ēke lati Ddaqasa | m(e) ene ntepi tāti ntipa tezi se ladā ehbi **kbi tike** me i nipe ntepi tātu  
 ‘And when Ddaqasa dies, they will inter him in the inscribed (?) sarcophagus, and his wife; **someone else** let them not inter there’  
 Since the contrastive NP *kbi tike* ‘someone else’ in (16b) is indefinite, unlike the NP Topics in (15) and (16a), no resumptive pronoun appears. An idiomatic English translation would itself use topicalization and a special intonation contour.

2.2. In this section I offer a reconstruction of the diachronic basis of verb placement, Fronting, and Topicalization in Lycian. This is both schematic and tentative: my main purpose is to provide a context for discussing relative clause diachrony in §5. It is likely that other accounts along similar lines would be equally satisfactory, and in any case the Luwian evidence should certainly be assessed before any authoritative analysis is possible.

Lycian may be assumed to continue a system resembling the one found in Hittite. This has three relevant and well-known constructions. The first is the ordinary, pragmatically neutral one in which the verb is clause-final:

## (17) KBo 6.2 i 15

nu=za hūnikanza=pat 3 GĪN KŪ.BABBAR dā[(i)]  
 ‘The injured party himself takes three shekels of silver’

The second construction is one in which the verb is positioned clause-initially:

## (18a) KBo 6.26 iii 20–22

LUGAL=an āški uwa[(dan)z]i kuenzi=ma=an LUGAL-uš  
 huiš[nu]ziy[=an LUGAL-u]š  
 ‘They bring him to the king’s gate, and the king kills him (or) the king lets him live’

## (18b) KBo 17.1+ i 23’

harkanzi=ma=an dHantašepeš anduḥšaš ḥaršā[(rr)]=a  
 GIŠŠUKUR.⟨HI⟩A=ya

‘The Hantašepa-divinities hold both human heads and lances’

## (18c) KBo 6.29 ii 14–15

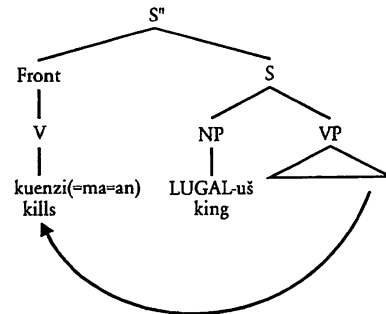
nu ḥatrānun kueda[š KUR.KUR]-eaš EGIR-an=wa=mu tiyat-  
 ten n=at=mu EGIR-an tiēr

‘The lands to which I wrote “Follow me”, they followed me’

Verb fronting as in (18) is merely a special case of Fronting generally, which is generally agreed to indicate contrastive focus or some other special semantic or pragmatic emphasis. This may be represented in just the

same way as Lycian Fronting – as movement into a syntactically prominent position:

(19) Hittite Fronting (= 18a in part)



The examples in (18) show that enclitics follow the first word in their sentence and that any S-adverbs – *nu* and *ta*, for instance, *našma* ‘or if’, and conjunctive *namma*, *anda=ma*, and *parā=ma* – precede elements fronted by the process represented in (19). The Lycian process of Fronting is cognate with this Hittite movement process.

The third relevant Hittite construction is rare but clearly attested. In this construction an NP is positioned to the left of the sentence proper, within which some element refers to it anaphorically. Any S-adverbs follow the NPs in question, and enclitics follow the first element in the sentence proper, as here:

(20a) KBo 6.25 + KBo 13.35 iii 3’–4’ (Riemschneider 1970: 22)

takku MUNUS-za ḥaši n=aš tašwanza EN É [AN]A<sup>1</sup>  
ZAG=aš=(š)ta ŪL ari

‘If a woman gives birth and it is blind, the lord of the house, he will not reach the right side (i. e. prosperity)’

(20b) StBoT 24 iv 73

<sup>4</sup>IŠTAR DINGIR-LIM=aš=mu

‘(As for) Ištar, she is my divinity’

In a few cases the left-dislocated NP is marked with the focus particle *ma*, whose Lycian cognate *me* characterizes Topicalization in that language:

(21a) KBo 17.11 + i 36’–38’ (Neu 1980: 65)

LÚ.MEŠ GISBANŠUR LÚ.MEŠ MUḤALDIM [30 ḥarši(n karpanzi ḥaršiya)l(li=ma)] 2-e apiya 15 ḥaršiš GE<sub>6</sub> kitt[(a apiya=ya 15 ḥarši)š GE<sub>6</sub> (kitta ud)]anzi

‘The waiters and cooks carry thirty loaves; (as for) storage vessels, they bring two – in one are placed 15 black loaves and in one are placed 15 black loaves’

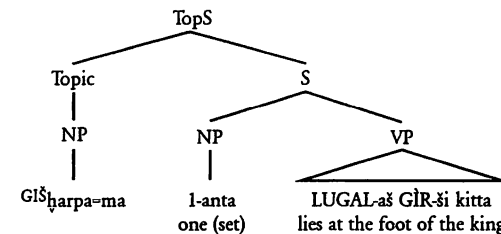
(21b) KBo 17.3 + iv 25–26 (Neu 1980: 17)

GIS<sup>5</sup>ḥarpa=ma 1-anta LUGAL-aš GİR-ši kitta MUNUS.LUGAL-aš 1-anta kitta

‘(As for) the ḥarpa, one set is placed at the foot of the king, one set is placed (at the foot) of the queen’

Though the two constructions do not have the same range of uses, this is syntactically like Lycian Topicalization: in both languages S-adverbs follow the NP in question, to which there is anaphoric reference within the sentence. It should therefore be reasonable to analyze the Hittite construction syntactically along the same lines as the Lycian construction:

(22) Hittite Topicalization (= 21b in part)



To summarize, Hittite and by hypothesis Proto-Anatolian have three relevant constructions: one which is pragmatically neutral, with clause-final verbs (17); one with verbs positioned initially by Fronting (18–19); and one involving Topicalization (20–22). Several innovations separate this from the attested Lycian system. The central change must have been the extension of Verb Fronting to a wider range of semantic, pragmatic, and discourse contexts. This affected a construction, not a lexical element, but it is essentially the same as familiar semantic extension or ‘bleaching’ processes, and it can be seen as driving the remaining two changes.

First, since only one constituent can be affected by Fronting in a single sentence, any general increase in Fronting one sort of element must have come at the expense of others<sup>6</sup>. In particular, any extension of Verb Fronting would have tended to limit the availability of NP or PP Fronting. Under such circumstances it would be natural for another preexisting construction to acquire some of the semantic, pragmatic, or discourse nuances of Fronting. I suggest that Topicalization picked up this expressive slack and that any tendency to restrict Fronting to verbs was accom-

<sup>6</sup> The general principle here is due to Hale (1987a), who has applied it to the interrelation of syntactic fronting processes with various discourse adverbs and particles in Indo-Iranian and Indo-European generally; I simply adopt his model as I understand it and apply it to a similar kind of change in Anatolian.

panied by a generalization of Topicalization. To deploy a different metaphor, as the original meaning of Verb Fronting came to be 'bleached', Topicalization was compensatorily 'colored'. I do not mean to suggest that Topicalization acquired all the functions of Fronting, since the latter certainly continues to exist, albeit with obscure functions, but rather that Topicalization acquired some of the functions of Fronting and thus competed with it.

Eventually the other change occurred: Verb Fronting lost enough of its special semantic, pragmatic, or discourse value that it was no longer seen as the same kind of process as the Fronting that continued to affect other elements. Verb Fronting was then reanalyzed as an automatic syntactic process, not one associated with any semantically prominent syntactic position. The position of fronted verbs was taken to be Comp, as described in §2.1, and syntactically 'basic' VSO word order was innovated. This yielded something like the attested Lycian system, in which the pragmatically neutral construction is verb-initial, but Fronting and Topicalization position elements to the left of verbs. The inherited Fronting process is in part reflected structurally by initial verb placement, but it is continued functionally both by its structural reflex, the Fronting process in (9–13), and by Topicalization. There must also have been further semantic and syntactic settling, but anything beyond a general outline is doubtless unreconstructible<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Developments along the same general lines have been proposed and widely accepted for Celtic VSO languages (Watkins 1961) and have also been proposed for the prehistory of some Germanic languages (Lenerz 1984, 1985); for discussion see also Dressler 1969 and Kiparsky (in press). They are presumably one typical mechanism by which verb-final languages become verb-initial. An obvious typological comparandum to the changes involving Topicalization in Lycian is the creation of the Irish cleft focus construction, which can be understood as a partial functional replacement of Fronting after the fixing of verb-initial word order.

Independent evidence for the account sketched here for Lycian is provided by the distribution of nasalized preterite verbs like 3 sg. *adē* 'made' and 3 pl. *pijētē* 'gave'. I have argued elsewhere (Garrett 1991) that such forms continue sequences of verbs plus enclitic object pronouns: *adē* < \**ade en* '(s/he) made it' and *pijētē* < \**pijente en* '(they) gave it'. Since pronominal enclitics follow their clause's first word, this development would only have been possible in a system with fairly robust verb-initial word order.

A further peculiarity of the nasalized preterite formation may cast some light on Fronting. Lycian verbs do not form nasalized preterites if their subjects are affected by Fronting (Garrett 1991: 19–20), though they do form them if (say) oblique arguments are fronted. I infer that the necessary verb-initial word order must have coexisted with sufficiently robust SV-initial word order, at least during the creation of the nasalized preterite system. This would be explained if subjects were the pragmatically neutral Fronting targets, as is plausible enough *a priori*. Cf. Thomsen (1899: 28): 'the habitual order of words in Lycian is the following: subject – verb – indirect object – direct object'.

### 3. Relativization

I begin this section with two familiar typological oppositions in the study of relativization. The first is between *restrictive* and *nonrestrictive* (appositional) relative clauses. This is sometimes loosely characterized as a contrast between clauses that do and do not restrict truth value or NP denotation, but the essential difference is pragmatic. Nonrestrictive clauses are independent speech acts, whereas restrictive clauses derive their illocutionary force from their superordinate clauses. This is clearly illustrated in (23):

(23a) Restrictive: Did your cousin who knows Lycian buy you that copy of Kalinka?

(23b) Nonrestrictive: Did your cousin, who knows Lycian, buy you that copy of Kalinka?

The truth of the proposition in the relative clause is asserted in (23b) but not (23a); only (23b) is felicitously answered by an utterance like *That's false – my cousin doesn't know Lycian*. This underlying pragmatic difference may in turn typically be associated with prosodic, syntactic, or other differences. Nonrestrictive relative clauses will play only a minor role in the discussion below.

The second familiar typological opposition is the crucial one between syntactically *adjoined* and *embedded* relative clauses. Within systems of embedded relativization, three relative clause types in particular may be identified. They differ according to the status and position of their *domain noun* (or NP), which identifies a class of objects from which the relative clause itself picks out one or more in particular. The first embedded relative type is the *free relative*. It has no overt domain noun and may be analyzed syntactically as a subordinate clause vacuously embedded in an NP:

(24) I bought [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>S</sub> what Kit wanted]]

The second and third embedded types are *externally* and *internally headed* relatives. Both have overt domain nouns, unlike free relatives, but they differ in domain noun syntax. Internally headed relative clauses actually contain their domain nouns, which are thus case-marked according to their relative clause function<sup>8</sup>. Like free relatives, internally headed relatives may be analyzed as subordinate clauses vacuously embedded in NPs, as here:

(25) Bambara (Keenan 1985: 162)

tye ye [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>S</sub> ne ye [<sub>NP</sub> so min] ye]] san  
man PAST I PAST horse REL see buy  
'The man bought the HORSE which I saw'

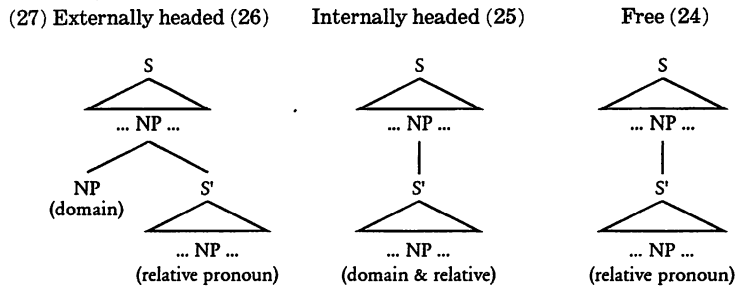
<sup>8</sup> See Cole (1987) and Culy (1990), and on relative clause typology generally see Lehmann (1984) and Keenan (1985).

Domain nouns here and below are printed in small capitals. The domain noun so 'horse' in (25) heads an NP within the relative clause. An externally headed relative clause, on the other hand, may be analyzed as a complex NP containing both a domain NP and a subordinate clause:

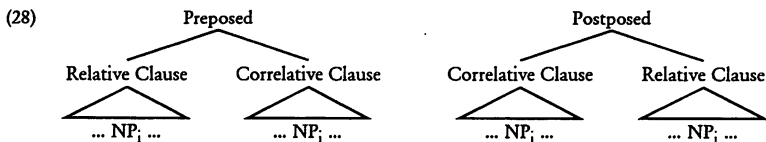
(26) I bought [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> the BOOK] [<sub>S</sub> that Kit wanted]]

The domain noun *book* here is external to its relative clause.

The three embedded relative clause types may be represented schematically as follows:



Adjoined relative clauses, by contrast, are either *preposed* or *postposed* and may be assigned structures very approximately like the following:



Each adjoined relative clause type contains a relative NP with an antecedent in the correlative (main) clause, as indicated in (28). Preposed and postposed relative clauses are illustrated for Hittite in (29a) and (29b) respectively:

(29a) KBo 4.9 v 3-5

<sup>GIS</sup>ŠUKUR.ĪIA=ma Ū <sup>GIS</sup>PA.ĪIA kue ħarkanzi nu=šmaš  
=at=kan 1-aš <sup>LÜ</sup>MEŠEDI arĥa dāi

'But the SPEARS AND SCEPTERS that they hold, one guard takes them away from them'

(29b) KUB 29.1 i 26-27

nu <sup>GIS</sup>ĪIA LUGAL-uš <sup>U</sup>ni uēkki ĥeyawēš kuit tašnuškir  
šallanuškir

'The king asks the Stormgod for TIMBER that the rains have made strong and tall'

To avoid confusion with logograms, small capitals are not used in Hittite examples. Note that the domain nouns in (29a) are in the preposed relative clause itself, whereas, with the postposed relative clause in (29b), the domain noun is in the correlative clause. It is not customary to describe adjoined relative clauses as free, internally headed, or externally headed, but clearly the preposed clause in (29a) is like an internally headed relative clause, the postposed clause in (29b) is like an externally headed relative clause, and the Lycian preposed clause in (1b) is like a free relative clause.

#### 4. Hittite relative clauses

Many aspects of the Hittite system of relativization are well known, but some remain unclear. The language has relative clauses of at least four distinct semantic and pragmatic types, which I will call *indeterminate*, *determinate*, *indefinite*, and *nonrestrictive* clauses<sup>9</sup>. Since Hittite lacks overtly embedded relative clauses, all four types appear in adjoined clauses. Indeterminate and determinate clauses are preposed and will be discussed in §4.1, while indefinite and nonrestrictive relative clauses are postposed and will be discussed in §4.2.

4.1. The indeterminate and determinate types were named and first identified by Held (1957). A determinate relative was quoted in (29a) and an indeterminate relative appears in (30):

(30) KBo 6.4 iv 15-16

nu=šši=ššan kuit šaḥḥan LUGAL-uš dāi nu apāt ēššai

'Whatever SERVICE the king imposes on him, he will do that'

The essential semantic property of Hittite preposed relative clauses – both indeterminate and determinate – is that they are interpreted or can be described as universal quantifiers, as in these periphrases:

(31a) Determinate relative clause interpretation (= 29a)

For all *x*, *x* = the spears and scepters they hold, one guard takes *x* away from them

(31b) Indeterminate relative clause interpretation (= 30)

For all *x*, *x* = a service the king imposes on him, he will do *x*

<sup>9</sup> I do not mean to imply that all relative clauses in Hittite are necessarily of one of these four types, though all preposed clauses are indeed either indeterminate or determinate. An apparent fifth type, which I will consider in detail elsewhere, has no immediate bearing on relative clause syntax in the Lycian corpus. On Hittite relativization see Sturtevant (1930), Hahn (1946, 1949), Held (1957), and Justus (1976); for Indo-European comparanda see recently Lehmann (1979), Holland (1984), Hale (1987a, 1987b), and several contributors to Ramat (1980); and from a general linguistic perspective see Berman (1972), Cooper (1975), Bach and Cooper (1979), and Lehmann (1984).

The semantic difference between the two relative clause types should be clear from (31): in a determinate clause a relative NP is itself definite (' $x = \textit{the spears and scepters}$ '), but in an indeterminate clause it is indefinite and nonspecific (' $x = \textit{a service}$ '). That is, determinate relative NPs in preposed clauses denote objects or individuals whose existence is presupposed in context, as in (32):

- (32) IBoT 1.36 iii 6–16 (Güterbock and van den Hout 1991: 24–25)  
 namma GAL *MEŠEDI* paizzi EGIR-ann=a=šši 2 <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>BEL [UTI...]  
 ... n=at ANA GAL *MEŠEDI* [EGIR-an<sup>1</sup>] aranta ... māḥḥan=ma  
 šarkantin arḥa tarnanzi nu=za GAL *MEŠEDI* pētan=pat ḥarzi 2  
*BELUTI*=ma=šši *kuiēš* EGIR-an aranta ... n=at EGIR-pa  
 pānzi nu EGIR-pa <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>*MEŠEDI* uemianzi  
 'Then the Chief of Guards goes, and behind him two officials  
 [stand (?)] ... They stand behind the Chief of Guards ... And when  
 they release a defendant, the Chief of Guards keeps his place, but  
 the TWO OFFICIALS who stand behind him ... they return and re-  
 join the guards.'

Here the relative clause 2 *BELUTI*=ma=šši *kuiēš* EGIR-an aranta 'what two officials stand behind him' refers to a specific pair of officials already introduced into the discourse. By contrast, as Held puts it, an indeterminate relative NP denotes 'an indefinite object, the existence of which, in some cases, may be in doubt' (1957: 13)<sup>10</sup>. Further examples appear in (33):

- (33a) KUB 13.2 iii 16  
*kuiš*=an=šan EGIR-pa tarnai n=an šakuwanzi  
 'Whoever lets him back, they will imprison him'  
 (33b) KUB 14.10 iv 17–18  
 nu kuezza uddānaz akkiškittari n=at uemiyattaru  
 'For whatever REASON people are dying, let it be found out'

From the presuppositional difference between indeterminate and determinate relative clauses it follows that indeterminate clauses have felicitous conditional periphrases, but determinate clauses do not:

- (34a) Conditional periphrasis of an indeterminate relative clause (= 30 = 31b)  
 If the king imposes a service  $x$  on him, he will do  $x$   
 (34b) Conditional periphrasis of a determinate relative clause (= 29a = 31a)

<sup>10</sup> Two specialized relative clause types have sometimes wrongly been described as having the same kind of interpretation as that identified here for indeterminate relative clauses: those where the adverb *imma* 'indeed' follows a relative pronoun or adjective, on whose interpretation see Melchert (1985: 197–201); and those with iterated relatives, on whose interpretation see Held (1957: 44–47).

If they hold the spears and scepters  $x$ , one guard takes  $x$  away from them

The periphrasis in (34b) is not felicitous because the truth of its protasis is already presupposed in context.

Determinate and indeterminate relative clauses as defined here also differ syntactically. Ignoring S-adverbs and enclitics, that is, indeterminate relative NPs are always sentence-initial, whereas determinate relative pronouns and adjectives are never initial and are ordinarily preceded by only a single syntactic constituent. This is illustrated by the determinate relative clauses in (29a), (32), and (35):

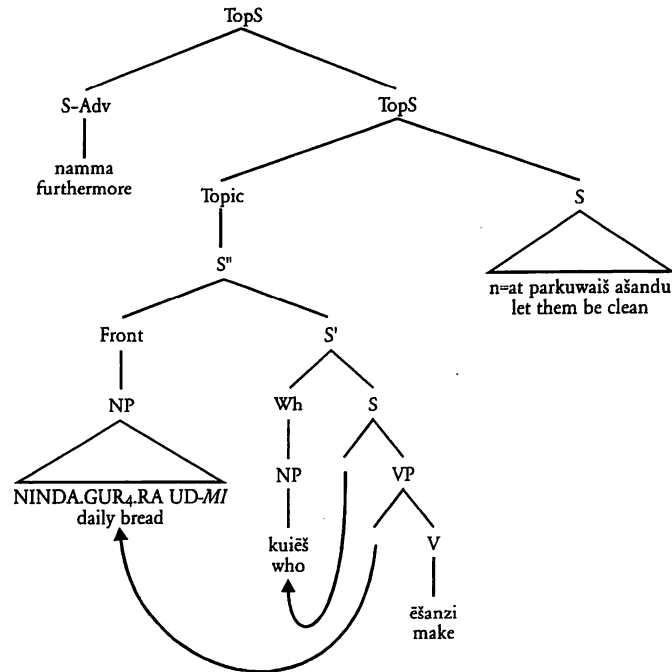
- (35a) KUB 7.5 iv 5–7  
 nu=za=kan zašḥimuš *kuiēš* uškizzi n=aš memiškizzi  
 'The DREAMS that he sees, he tells them'  
 (35b) KUB 13.4 i 14  
 namma NINDA.[GUR<sub>4</sub>].RA UD-MI *kuiēš* ēšanzi n=at parku-  
 waiš ašandu  
 'Furthermore, (those) who make the daily loaves, let them be clean'

In (35b) the relative pronoun *kuiēš* '(those) who' is preceded by the phrase NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA UD-MI 'daily loaves'. In each of the remaining determinate relative clauses above, a relative adjective is preceded by its own governing noun: *kue* by <sup>GIŠ</sup>ŠUKUR.ḪIA ... Ū <sup>GIŠ</sup>PA.ḪIA 'spears and scepters' in (29a); *kuiēš* by 2 *BELUTI* 'two officials' in (32); and *kuiēš* by *zašḥimuš* 'dreams' in (35a).

Held's general view of the syntax and semantics of Hittite preposed relative clauses has been widely accepted, and I will assume its essential correctness here. In representing the syntactic structure of such clauses I will make several assumptions in addition to those discussed in §2.2, largely following Hale (1987a, 1987b) and Kiparsky (in press). First, vis-à-vis correlative clauses, preposed relative clauses occupy the Topic position, which NPs also sometimes fill<sup>11</sup>. This is a syntactic operator position, and preposed relative clauses are interpreted quantificationally. Second, within relative clauses, determinate relative pronouns and adjectives occupy a peripheral syntactic position 'Wh' to the right of the position associated with Fronting, which is obligatorily filled, as in the following representation of (35b):

<sup>11</sup> Semantic or structural connections between relativization and Topicalization have been noted by others; cf. e.g. Holland and Ickler (1978: 441): 'the purpose of the Indo-European preposed relative clause is to establish or delimit the topic of the main clause'.

## (36) Hittite determinate relative clause syntax (= 35b)

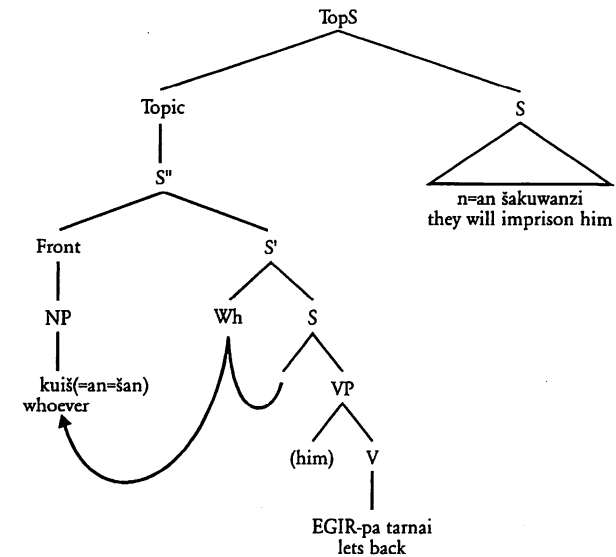


As a consequence of this structure, determinate relative pronouns and adjectives are obligatorily preceded by a single syntactic constituent within their clause. A third assumption is that the relative NP itself occupies the Front position in an indeterminate relative clause. Hence such relative NPs are always initial, as in the following representation of (33a):

<sup>12</sup> For example, Held's own evidence contradicts his view that a postposed restrictive relative clause 'characterizes or particularizes' its domain NP 'by indicating the customary state in which it is, or by indicating the customary action which it performs or has performed upon it' (1957: 48). According to Luraghi, Old Hittite postposed restrictive relatives are 'Attributions . . . not essential to the predication itself' (1990: 78). I am not convinced, however, that the term 'attribution' adequately describes the semantic contribution made by these relative clauses to their main clause domain NPs, or that relative clauses like those in (39a–b) are not 'essential' to the meaning of the correlative clause.

<sup>13</sup> Indefinite relative clauses have close pragmatic and semantic counterparts in many languages; for representative recent discussion of English and German see Huck and Na (1990), Rochement and Culicover (1990), and Shannon (1992).

## (37) Hittite indeterminate relative clause syntax (= 33a)



4.2. Two properties not found in the Hittite relative clause types discussed in § 4.1 are shared by the remaining types: they are postposed and are not quantificationally interpreted. This is particularly clear in the case of nonrestrictive relative clauses, which do not delimit correlative clause interpretation at all. The postposed syntax of Hittite nonrestrictive relatives is uncontroversial (Sturtevant 1930: 143, Held 1957: 51–52, Luraghi 1990: 78), and a typical example is given in (38):

## (38) KUB 33.98+ i 4–5

nu=za <sup>d</sup>Kumarbiš GALGA-tar ZI-ni kattan daškizzi UD<sup>KAM</sup>-an  
kuiš LÚ HUL-an šallanuškizzi

'Kumarbi takes wisdom into his mind, (he) who raises the day as an evil being'

The second postposed type is somewhat more interesting and has never been characterized adequately<sup>12</sup>. Yet the properties of determinate and indeterminate relatives leave an obvious gap in the inventory of relative clauses – those that are indefinite and nonquantificational. The equivalent of *a book that I bought* cannot be expressed as a preposed relative clause in Hittite, for example, since as a determinate relative it would mean *the book that I bought* and as an indeterminate relative it would mean *any book that I bought*. Such relative clauses are in fact postposed, as in (29b) and (39):

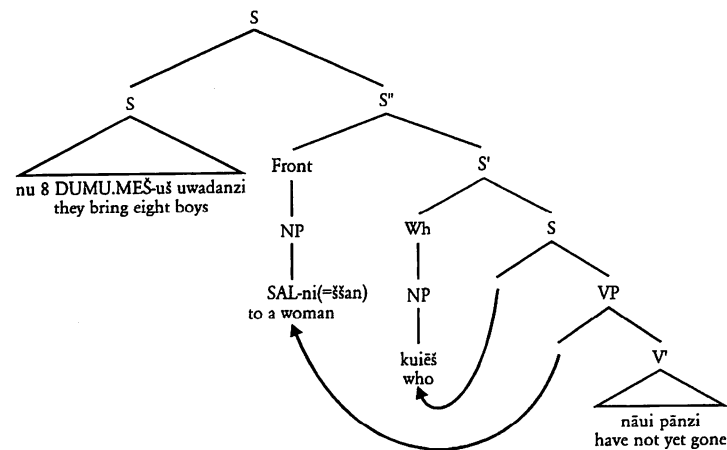
- (39a) KUB 9.31 ii 9–10  
 nu 8 DUMU.MEŠ-uš uwadanzi SAL-ni=ššan kuiēš nāui pānzi  
 'They bring EIGHT BOYS who have not yet gone to a woman'
- (39b) IBoT 1.36 iv 20–21  
 mān ta[m]aiš=ma kuiški BELUM ḥandāitta kuiš ḥantezzi[a]nni arta  
 'But if SOME OTHER OFFICIAL is available who is standing in the front line ...'

In addition, as illustrated in these examples, an indefinite relative clause never repeats its domain noun<sup>13</sup>. With preposed relative clauses as in (40), on the other hand, domain nouns often occur in both the correlative and the relative clause:

- (40) KUB 17.7+ iii 38–39  
 INIM.MEŠ-ar=[ta] kue memiškimi nu=mu uddanaš GEŠ-TUG-an p[arā] lagān ḥarak  
 'The words that I am speaking to you, hold your ear inclined to my words!'

In their interpretation, indefinite relative clauses resemble embedded relative clauses in languages such as English more than quantificational operators. Syntactically, therefore, they may simply be represented as adjoined to their correlative clauses:

- (41) Hittite indefinite relative clause syntax (= 39a)



For footnotes 12 and 13, see page 46.

4.3. A synopsis of Hittite relative clause types with their syntactic position and part of their internal structure, as discussed in §§4.1–2, appears in (42):

- (42) indeterminate preposed ## [<sub>Front</sub> Relative NP] [<sub>Wh</sub> (empty)] ...  
 determinate preposed ## Front + [<sub>Wh</sub> Relative NP] ...  
 indefinite postposed ## (Front +) [<sub>Wh</sub> Relative NP] ...  
 nonrestrictive postposed ## (Front +) [<sub>Wh</sub> Relative NP] ...

Here S-adverbs and enclitics are omitted, since their positions are predictable and their presence has no syntactic effect. Among other arguments, the Lycian evidence to be discussed in §5 suggests that essentially the system in (42) should be reconstructed for Proto-Anatolian.

### 5. Lycian relative clauses

In this section I examine the Lycian system of relativization. On relative pronouns and adverbs in Lycian see Carruba (1978) and Meriggi (1980: 242–247), with references to earlier literature. Here I have considered clauses with the relative and subordinating adverbs *teli* 'where', *teri* 'when', *mē* 'as, likewise (?)', and *tere, terñ* 'when (?)' in addition to the following relatives<sup>14</sup>:

(43)	singular	plural
nominative	ti	ti, tijāi, tijēi; kṛmētis
accusative	ti	kṛmīs, kṛmētīs
nom./acc. neuter	ti; kṛmē	tija; kṛma
dative	tdi	
genitive		tijāi

In §5.1 I discuss indeterminate relative clauses, already illustrated in (1b), in §5.2 I discuss preposed determinate relative clauses, and in §5.3 I discuss other relative clauses and related subordinate clause types.

5.1.1. As in Hittite, indeterminate relative clauses are invariably preposed in Lycian. They typically occur in the penalty provisions of sepulchral inscriptions, as in (1b) and (44):

- (44a) TL 56.3–4  
 se ije ti edi : tike : mētē : m(e) ene qasttu : ēni : qlahi : ebijehi  
 'And whoever does it any injury, let the Mother of this precinct destroy him'

<sup>14</sup> I have ignored indefinite *tise* except where iterated and relative, *tike, tihe, terihe*, and *tēpi* and *tepihe* if they exist, as well as some relatives in fragmentary or lexically or syntactically unclear contexts, such as the relative pronouns in N 324 (Bousquet 1992: 181–185).

(6  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$   $\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta$   $\tau\omicron$   $\mu\eta\mu\alpha$ ,  $\eta$   $\Lambda\eta\tau\acute{\omega}$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau[\rho\acute{\iota}]\psi[\epsilon]\iota$  'but if anybody damages or purchases the memorial, Leto will destroy him')

(44b) TL 102.2-3

ti nte : hri : alahadi : tike : tibe nte ti : hrppi tadi : tike : me ttleiti ...

'Whoever "buries" anyone above inside, or whoever places anyone on top inside, they will pay ...'

Such Lycian indeterminate relative clauses share two striking properties with their Hittite counterparts: they are all preposed and, as shown by Gusmani (1962, 1975: 63-69), their relative pronouns are almost always preceded clause-internally only by S-adverbs and enclitics<sup>15</sup>. The linear position of these relatives suggests no useful generalization, since they are sometimes clause-initial and sometimes preceded by conjunctions and enclitics. Structurally, however, they can be described as occupying a position to the right of S-adverbs and to the left of V' in Comp. Moreover, since Lycian indeterminate relative clauses as a whole have the same basic syntactic distribution as their Hittite counterparts, they are naturally analyzed along the same lines: they occupy the Topic position vis-à-vis correlative clauses, and their relative pronouns occupy their Front position. It will also prove convenient to assume that Comp

<sup>15</sup> Similar examples appear at TL 75.3, 80.2, 111.2, 118.6, 128.2, 135.2, and, after *se* 'and' with enclitics, at TL 94.3, 131.2, and 139.3; iterated *tise tise* 'whoever' has the same syntax at TL 109.6, 110.3, and 111.5-6.

<sup>16</sup> Despite its fragmentary context the relative clause at TL 118.5 is certainly of the same type: *mētē : ti : (i)j(e) adi : tike* : 'whoever does it any injury ...' Cf. *χttade mej ē tike* 'if someone has done harm ...' in (13a), where *χttade* 'has done harm' is topicalized.

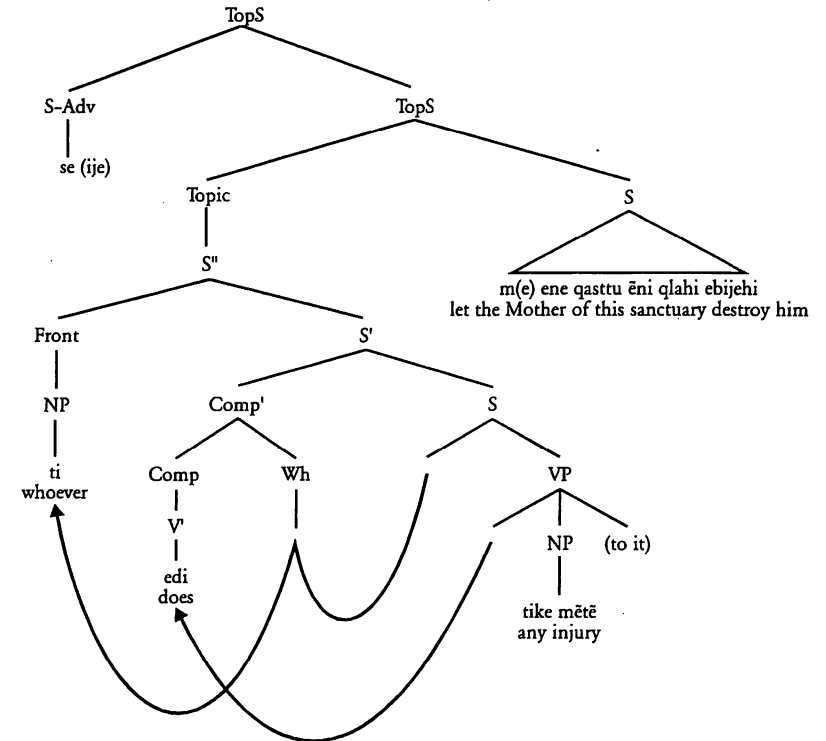
<sup>17</sup> The claim of enclisis is also contradicted by the position of the word divider in examples like (44c) and (46a).

<sup>18</sup> This may seem to be contradicted by the correspondence between Lycian *hlīmipijata* and Greek  $\delta\ \tau\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\phi\acute{o}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  in (49c). The crucial difference between determinate and indeterminate relatives is presuppositional, however, and I suggest that the existence of some *hlīmipijata/ἔχφοριον* or other is indeed presupposed in context. It is admittedly conventional to claim that a Greek indefinite relative 'gives a conditional force to the clause in which it stands' (Goodwin 1889: 197-198), but many such relatives in fact suggest nonspecificity:  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$   $\delta\eta$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\delta\iota\sigma\chi\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\alpha\upsilon$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\acute{\Lambda}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\phi\eta\mu\iota$   $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$   $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$   $\eta\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\eta$   $\lambda\iota\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$   $\delta\omicron\kappa\eta$  'I say all the soldiers will number two thousand, and of them I think five hundred should be Athenians, from whatever age it shall seem good to you to have' (Dem. 4.21). The relative clause here is not felicitously paraphrased as a conditional 'if from any age ...', since the uncertainty concerns what the actual (minimum) age should be, not whether there should be one. Lycian indeterminate relatives correspond to actual conditional clauses in Greek, and are so translated in bilingual inscriptions.

The example in (49a) is less certain than the others, partly because of the un-

precedes Wh and with it forms a syntactic constituent Comp', as indicated in the following representation of (44a):

(45) Lycian indeterminate relative clause syntax (= 44a)



As comparison of (37) and (45) reveals, aside from the Lycian innovation of regular V' placement in Comp, there is no significant syntactic difference between Hittite and Lycian indeterminate relative clauses.

5.1.2. There are a few cases where indeterminate relative pronouns are preceded by elements other than S-adverbs and enclitics:

(46a) TL 101.2-5

me ntepi tāti : Za[h]āmā : se lada : se : tideimis : ehbi[s] | kbi : tike : ti ntepi tadi : ... m(e) ene : mā[h]āi : tubeiti | wed[reñ]ni

certain meaning of *nēti* and partly because the relative clause is conjoined with an NP. I classify it here because it seems to have the syntax of preposed relatives. In (49c), note that if *hlīmipijata* is common-gender, as acc. sg. *pijatu* suggests, its



'They will inter Zahāma and (his) wife and his children; whoever inters anyone else ... the municipal gods will strike him'

(46b) N 314b

*χupa ebehi | tijjadi : tike | zuñmē : tihe | m(e) ene tubidi | ...*

'In this tomb whoever does any z. t., ... will strike him'

Each indeterminate relative pronoun here is preceded by a single NP – *kbi tike* 'someone else' in (46a) and *χupa ebehi* 'in this tomb' in (46b) – but in each case the NP has the semantic or pragmatic value elsewhere associated with Topicalization. For instance, *kbi tike* in (46a) occurs in essentially the same contrastive discourse context as *kbi tike* in (16b): 'someone else' is contrasted with Ddaqasa and his wife in (16b) and with Zahāma and his family in (46a)<sup>16</sup>. The other Lycian context for Topicalization is the one illustrated in (15) and (16a). Unlike the Topics there, the initial NP *χupa ebehi* in (46b) is not usually taken as text-initial (Neumann 1979: 36), but the other similarities among (15), (16a), and (46b) warrant taking *χupa ebehi* as Topicalized. Since this NP is definite, the account is only possible if (46b) contains an enclitic pronoun. Locative *ū(je)* is expected, and I see no good reason to doubt that the attested spelling *tijjadi* in fact conceals an underlying sequence /ti ij(e) adi/ 'whoever does in it'.

I therefore assume that the unexpectedly initial NPs in (46) have been positioned by Topicalization. At least two syntactic analyses invite consideration if Topics can indeed precede indeterminate relative pronouns: these Topics may be positioned vis-à-vis either the preposed relative clause or the correlative clause. Since Fronting and Topicalization are otherwise largely in complementary distribution, as observed in note 2, I tentatively conclude that the Topicalized NPs in (46) are probably not relative clause Topics. This actually poses no syntactic obstacle in these cases, which can now be interpreted somewhat literally as follows:

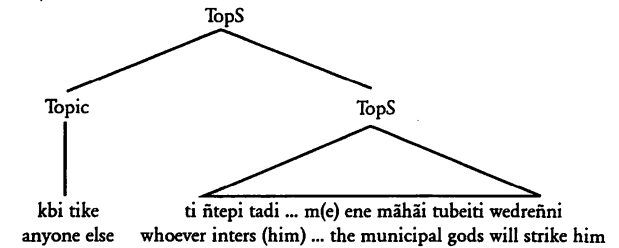
(47a) 'They will inter Zahāma and (his) wife and his children; (as for) anyone else, whoever inters (him) ... the municipal gods will strike him' (= 46a)

(47b) 'In this tomb, whoever does there any z. t., ... will strike him' (= 46b)

For (47a), recall that indefinite NP Topics are not resumed by anaphoric pronouns. A partial structural representation of (46a) along the proposed lines appears in (48):

resumption by neuter *ede* is not strictly grammatical. Could the Greek text have influenced the Lycian here?

(48) Topicalization in Lycian indeterminate relative clauses (= 46a in part)



Here the lower 'TopS' constituent has essentially the internal structure of the same constituent in (45). If this analysis proves unacceptable, of course, it can be assumed that the Topicalized NPs in (46) are relative clause Topics. In any case, the proposed account differs from that of Gusmani, according to whom all indeterminate relatives are enclitic and 'occur after the first stressed word of the sentence' (1962: 170). By contrast, on the present account, indeterminate relative pronouns occur in noninitial position only as an incidental consequence of S-adverb placement and Topicalization, phenomena which have nothing to do with relativization<sup>17</sup>. Structurally, all indeterminate relatives occupy a uniform syntactic position.

5.2. Preposed relative clauses other than indeterminate relatives are not numerous in Lycian:

(49a) TL 124

*ebēñē χupu se i hri ti NTIPA m(e) e ti adē Uhetēi ...*

'This tomb and the SCULPTURE (?) that (is) on it, Uhetēi made it ...'

(49b) TL 75.2

*s(e) ene nte : tāti tdi i[s]BAZI : me ije : ni hr[ppi] : tātu : tike : rñmē : ladā*

'And the COUCH on which they will place him, let them not place anybody on it but (his) wife'

(49c) N 320.25–27

*me ije sitēni ti : HLMPIJATA | m(e) ede te wē : kumezidi : nuredi : nuredi : arā : kumehedi*

'The BENEFICE that will lie here, he (the priest Seimija) will sacrifice it month by month properly with a sacrificial victim'

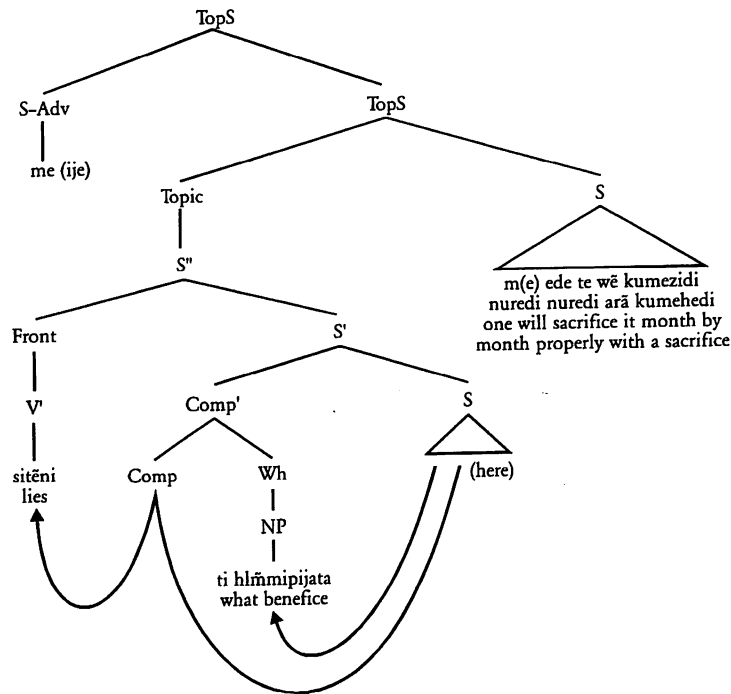
(G 23–25 και ὁ τι ἄν ἐχφόριον ἐκ τούτων γίνηται θύειν κατ' ἐκάστην νομηνιαὺν ἱερεῖον 'and whatever produce there shall be from them, he is to offer as a sacrifice at each new moon')

For footnotes 16 through 18, see page 50.

All three examples are semantically equivalent to Hittite determinate relatives, not indeterminate relatives<sup>18</sup>.

There are (at least) two plausible analyses of the preposed relative clauses in (49), though unfortunately the choice between them probably requires more evidence. Note that each relative NP in (49) follows V', itself preceded only by an S-adverb with enclitics. This naturally recalls the syntax of Hittite determinate relatives, which are preceded by only a single syntactic element. If the pattern of (49a-c) is general, then an analysis along Hittite lines is suggested for Lycian. That is, relative NPs occupy the Wh position and are preceded by V', which is obligatorily (but vacuously) fronted in determinate relative clauses:

(50) Lycian determinate relative clause syntax (= 49c): analysis 1



If this is the right analysis of preposed determinate relative clauses, then, as comparison of (36) and (50) reveals, the crucial Lycian innovation has to do with verb position rather than relativization: Lycian has innovated a fronting requirement for V' in determinate relative clauses. Such a

change would represent a generalization of the Hittite pattern in (18c) and (51):

(51) KUB 12.63 obv 28

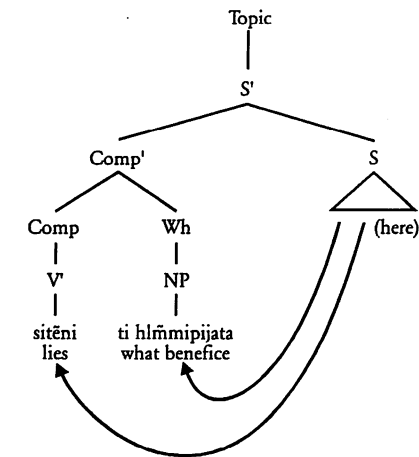
nu anniškimi kuin n=an=kan ŠUM-ŠU ḫalziḫḫi

'(The one) whom I treat ritually, I call him by his name'

Verb Fronting is as rare in determinate relative clauses as it is elsewhere in Hittite, but if (49a-c) are truly representative, it is obligatory in Lycian preposed determinate relative clauses.

Unfortunately, as noted above, these examples may well be unrepresentative: Fronting to the left of the verb is common in the relative clause types to be discussed in § 5.3, and it may have been possible – and accidentally unattested – in the type now under discussion. The analysis in (50) would naturally be untenable in that case, and it could be assumed to the contrary that verbs in preposed determinate relative clauses occupy the Comp position. This alternative analysis may be illustrated by the following representation of the relative clause in (49c):

(52) Lycian determinate relative clause syntax (= 49c in part): analysis 2



This would be similar to the analysis required for other Lycian relative clauses, but without more evidence as to whether preposed determinate relative clauses permit Fronting or not, a final decision cannot be made between this and the first analysis<sup>19</sup>.

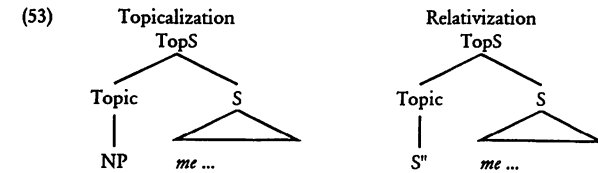
<sup>19</sup> A possible example of Fronting in such a relative clause appears at TL 58.3, *upei de [...] tati idi*, if this means 'the *upei* on which they will place (them?)'; cf. Carruba (1978: 177). A further uncertainty is suggested by the disjunction at

As noted in § 1 and widely recognized, postverbal relative placement in Lycian is regular in a range of contexts – in fact, as Gusmani (1962) showed, in all relative clauses other than indeterminates. I have argued in this section that this is due to a change in verb syntax and that the postverbal position of relatives is the diachronic reflex of the second-constituent position found in some Hittite relative clauses. A different connection was proposed by Laroche (1979: 93–94), whose account unfortunately founders on a mistaken understanding of the syntax of Hittite relativization. Laroche erroneously attributes to Held (1957) the view that determinate relatives are regularly adjacent to predicates in Hittite, and suggests that this adjacency lies at the root of their syntax in Lycian<sup>20</sup>. In fact relatives are only incidentally adjacent to predicates in Hittite, however, under certain syntactic circumstances. The existence of independent evidence for a Lycian change in verb syntax favors instead the more conservative view that the syntax of preposed relative clauses itself has changed little, as proposed here.

One final feature of preposed relative clauses in Lycian – indeterminate as well as determinate clauses – is well known: the correlative clause always begins with the particle *me*. This is particularly interesting because it is this particle which also regularly marks Topicalization. In other words, Topicalization and preposed relativization look rather similar in Lycian:

TL 101.3–5 (= 46a in part), *kbi : tike : ti ntepi tadi : a[t]la[h]i : tibe : kbijehi | tibe te : ala[h]adi ti : m(e) ene : mā[h]āi : tubeiti ...* ‘whoever inters anyone else – his (own) person or another’s – or who(ever) “buries”, the gods will strike him’. (There may exist a few other similar but less clear examples.) What is odd here is that the second relative clause *te alahadi ti* ‘who(ever) “buries”’ should have the same indeterminate sense as the first clause, but the relative pronoun follows the verb as if the clause were determinate; the expected indeterminate word order would be *tibe te ti alahadi*. As a possible explanation I conjecture that disjunctively coordinated indeterminate relative clauses permit the second (and any subsequent) conjunct to have the syntax of a determinate relative: to put it differently, the nonpresuppositional or effectively conditional force of the first conjunct can have scope over the second conjunct. Something of the same sort occurs in colloquial English, where, alongside *Whoever robs a bank or commits any other felony*, it is also possible to say *Whoever robs a bank or who commits any other felony*. The Lycian verb *alaha-* is a notoriously hard nut to crack, of course, and more – and more decisive – evidence would be desirable here.

<sup>20</sup> Laroche also fails to recognize that Lycian preserves determinate as well as indeterminate relative clauses, and that it continues to distinguish them syntactically; he suggests that determinate relatives have replaced indeterminates because of ‘accentual action’ (1979: 94).



I take this descriptive similarity as support for the proposed similarity in representation.

5.3. In this section I examine three Lycian relative clause types that are clearly not preposed. Though most examples are ambiguous – including the relative clause in (1a) – the testimony of several clear examples of one type suggests that all three types are in fact probably syntactically embedded, not postposed as in Hittite. I consider nonrestrictive relatives in § 5.3.1, indefinite relatives in § 5.3.2, and postposed determinate relatives in § 5.3.3. Other subordinate clause types are discussed in § 5.3.4, and a general synchronic and diachronic discussion in § 5.3.5 concludes this section.

5.3.1. There are at least two nonrestrictive relative clauses in the Lycian corpus:

(54a) N 310

ebēñē : χup[ā : m(e)] ēne : prñawatē | Xlasiṭini : Magabatah : tideimi | χali : qehñnite ti : ebēñē : ē[nē] : Arppaxuhe : χñt[aw]ata  
‘Xlasiṭini child of Magabata built this tomb, (he) who q. this χ. under Arppaxu’s rule’

(54b) TL 150.1–4

ebeli : me sijēni : Xssēñzija : Xñtlapah : tideimi : Mutleh : prñezijehi : prñawate ti : ñtatā : atli : ehbi  
‘Here lies Xssēñzija child of Xñtlapa of the household of Mutlēi, who built the sarcophagus for his (own) person’<sup>21</sup>

Two points are worth noting here. First, as in the determinate relatives discussed in § 5.2, the relative pronouns in (54) are postverbal. Second, whether these relative clauses are syntactically postposed or embedded, just as in Hittite the position of nonrestrictive relatives evidently differs from that of determinate relatives.

<sup>21</sup> This example is not entirely certain, since *ti* could be the reflexive pronoun: ‘Here lies X. ... He built himself the sarcophagus for his (own) person’. Another example may occur at TL 44c.14, on Melchert’s interpretation of *Kizzaprñna*: *epri ti* as ‘Tissaphernes, who is “behind”’ (1992: 198 n. 19).

5.3.2. Also as in Hittite, Lycian nonquantificational relative clauses with indefinite domain nouns differ syntactically from those with definite domain nouns. There are unfortunately only two clear examples:

(55a) TL 93.1–2

e[b]ēñn[ē] χ[ι]lupā m(e) ē t[i] p[r]rñn[a]watē Upazi Muskkah tideimi hrppi ladi : ehbi : se TIDEIME : sttati [t]i  
 ‘Upazi child of Muskka built this tomb for his wife and CHILDREN who remain’

(55b) N 320.20–22

se sñmāti : XDDAZAS : epi(-)de : arawa : hāti krñmētis : me i pibiti : sixlas  
 ‘And they will be liable for as many SLAVES as they set free, (viz. for ensuring that) they will give shekels to him (viz. the priest Seimija)’  
 (G 18–20 και ὅσοι ἂν ἀπελεύθεροι γένωνται ἀποτινεῖν τῶι θεῶι δύο δραχμάς ‘and all that shall become freedmen are to pay two drachmas to the god’)

The domain nouns *tideime* ‘children’ and *χddazas* ‘slaves’ in (55) are indefinite, whereas preposed relative clauses like those in (49) have definite domain nouns.

5.3.3. Finally, a large number of Lycian relative clauses have the syntax of the relative clause types discussed in §§5.3.1–2 – they are not preposed – but the interpretation of determinate relative clauses. These are quite amply illustrated in (1a) and (56–57):

(56a) N 320.10–11

... Eseimiju : Qñturahahñ : tideimi : se de : Eseimijaje : χuwati ti  
 ‘... Eseimija child of Qñturahi and whoever succeeds Eseimija’  
 (G 8–10 ... Σιμίαν Κονδορασιος ὄν και ὅς ἂν Σιμίαι ἐγγύτατος ἦι ‘... Simias son of Kondorasis and whoever shall be closest to Simias’)

(56b) TL 89.3–4

m(e) ēne : i[t]lehi : qāti : Trñmili : se i (e)pñ : pablāti tijāi  
 ‘The Lycian *itlehi* will destroy him and (those) who later p. for/ to him’

(56c) TL 39.1–5

ebēñnē : prñnawu : m(e) e ti prñnawatē | Mēmruwi : Xñtenubeh : tideimi | hrppi esedeñnewi : χñnahi | ehbiehi : se θurttāi : lada se ñne : sñmāti | tijāi : kbijehis  
 ‘Mēmruwi, child of Xñtenube, built this building for the descendants of his grandmother, the wives of the θ., and whoever else’s he is liable to them for’<sup>22</sup>

(56d) N 320.12–18

se d(e) eli fītatē : teteri : sej epewēt[ī]rñmēi : hrñmada : ttaraha ... se ñte ñte krñmē : sej ēti : θθē : sttati teli : se t(e) ahñtāi : Xñtawatehi : Xbidēñehi : sej ArKKazumahi  
 ‘And the city and *perioikoi* gave city lands ... and all that (is) within, and inside where the altar stands; and (they are) the property of the Lord of Kaunos and ArKKazuma’  
 (G 12–16 και ἔδωκαν ἡ πόλις ἄγρον ... και ὅσον πρὸς τῶι ἀγρῶι και τὰ οἰκήματα εἶναι Βασιλέως Καυνίου και Ἀρκεσιμα ‘and the city gave land ... Both all that is near the land and the buildings are to belong to the King of Kaunos and Arkesima’)

(57a) N 320.22–24

se waj aitē : kumaha : ēti | sttali : ppuwetī : krñmē : ebehi : Xñtawataha : Xbidēñnaha : se (A)rKKazumaha  
 ‘And they made everything they engrave on this stele sacred to the Lord of Kaunos and to ArKKazuma’  
 (G 20–23 και ὅσα ἐν τῆι στήλῃ ἐγγέγραπται κατιερώθη πάντα εἶναι Βασιλέως Καυνίου και Ἀρκεσιμα ‘and as much as has been engraved on the stele was all consecrated to belong to the King of Kaunos and Arkesima’)

(57b) TL 87.4–5

me i (e)pñ : pudē : ti ñte | χahba : [eh]bi : Wazzije : kbatra  
 ‘Afterwards his grandchild the daughter of Wazzi engraved here what (is) inside’

(57c) TL 83.11–16 (similarly 6–9)

se ije n(e) epi : mθ[.]uhāti : ebeila : epñ χupa : ppu[.]weti : tijēi : ebehi : tibe : esedeñnewe : ebttehi : tibe laθθi | ebttehi : m(e) ene : tubidi : Trqqas : se itlehi : Trñmili : huwedri  
 ‘And (if) they do not m. here (those) who later engrave on this tomb or their descendants or their in-laws, Trqqas and all the Lycian *itlehi* will strike them’

(57d) TL 44b.1–2

ebei : KBIJA : PRULIJA : ēti pddāt[i] | Ijāna tija : ...

<sup>22</sup> I take *tijāi kbijehi-* as the *de facto* possessive relative of *kbi tike* ‘someone else’: ‘whoever else’s’. Attested *tijāi kbijehis* is then accusative plural ‘whoever else’s (descendants? wives?)’, the direct object of *sñma-* ‘be liable for (someone)’. The inscription’s concluding sentence, TL 39.5–6, *me ñne nij esu | esedeñnewi : epttehi : ñtepi tane*, may mean ‘but let it not be (permitted) to them to put their descendants within’, i.e. ‘they may not have their descendants put within’. There are admittedly many quite different interpretations of TL 39: for an important early proposal see Thomsen (1899: 61–62), and for more recent interpretations see Laroche (1974: 131), Bryce (1978: 221–222), Laroche (1979: 131), Meriggi (1980: 243), Melchert (1992: 198), and other literature they cite.

'Here (are) **THE OTHER P. which (were = happened) to the Ionians in the place ...**'<sup>23</sup>

(57e) N 320.11–12

se i pijētē : arawā : ehbjē : esi ti

'And they granted him immunity (as to) what is his'

(G 11–12 και ἔδωσαν αὐτῶι ἀτέλειαν τῶν ὄντων 'and they gave him exemption of property')

The difference between (1a) and (56) on the one hand and (57) on the other is syntactic: only the latter group contains relative clauses as verbal arguments. By contrast the relative clauses in (1a) and (56a–c) are coordinated with NPs and, though its syntax is debated, (56d) too appears to be coordinated with NPs and other relatives. Idiomatic English translations of some of these examples use forms in *-ever*, but none of the relative clauses here are 'indeterminate' as defined in § 4.1: each presupposes the existence of what its relative pronoun denotes. For example, even if the best English translation of *Seimija se de Seimijaje xuwati ti* in (1a) is 'Seimija and whoever succeeds Seimija', what distinguishes it from an indeterminate relative clause is that the future existence of a successor is presupposed. An indeterminate relative would mean effectively 'if anyone succeeds Seimija...'. As also observed in note 18 above, determinate relative clauses are translated as Greek relative clauses, as in (49c), (56a), (56d), and (57a), whereas indeterminate relatives are typically rendered as conditional clauses, as in (1b) and (44a).

There are three syntactic points to be made about (1a) and (56–57). First, the two relative clauses in (57a–b) are of particular importance because they are unambiguously embedded rather than adjoined. Despite the ambiguity of the other examples here, and despite the absence of equally clear evidence for nonrestrictive and indefinite relative clauses, I nonetheless assume that these too are embedded. This assumption would put the evolution of Anatolian relativization in line with the evolution of relativization elsewhere in Indo-European, and it has a consequence with very interesting general ramifications: at least in part, Hittite preposed and postposed relatives correspond to Lycian preposed and embedded relatives respectively. I will return to this briefly in § 6.

Second, as in preposed determinate relatives and the postposed relatives in § 5.3.1–2, with one exception relative pronouns in (1a) and (56–57) are all postverbal<sup>24</sup>. Third and finally, determinate relative clauses are preposed in Hittite, but this class has split in Lycian: those in (49)

<sup>23</sup> See Meriggi (1980: 224, 243); the prepositional phrase could alternatively be part of the main clause, not the relative clause. There is space for as many as three letters at the end of line 1, but space is often left empty at the end of a line in the Xanthos Stele after the end of a word.

<sup>24</sup> The sole exception is in the short relative clause *ti nite* 'what (is) inside' in (57b). Here the model of (*se*) *i hri ti ntipa* '(and) the sculpture (?) that (is) on it' in

are preposed, and those in (56–57) have simply become embedded free relatives. In general terms, this split might reflect an ongoing analogical extension of indefinite relative syntax to the determinate relatives, but a more precise syntactic or semantic characterization of any such extension is obviously desirable.

5.3.4. Adverbial subordinate clause syntax resembles relative clause syntax in some cases. In the following examples, and in the clause *sej eti 00ē sttati teli* 'and inside where the altar stands' in (56d), an adverbial clause stands as an adjunct dependent on no (obvious) element of the main clause:

(58a) TL 11.1–2

ebēñnē prīnawā : m(e) ē ti prīnawatē : Ddapssm̄ma : Padr̄mah : tid[eimi] | hrppi pr̄nezi : ehbi : Urebillaha : Tr̄m̄misñ : x̄ntewete ter[i] | Arttuñpara

'Ddapssm̄ma child of Padr̄ma built this building for his household when Arttuñpara ruled Lycia'

(58b) TL 44c.3

trbbi : Atānas : zxxāte : terñ

'... when (?) they were fighting against Athens'

In other cases, like the following, adverbial subordinate clauses are dependent on a main clause adverb or noun:

(59a) N 309.10–14 (Eichner 1993)

ĒTI : kbatra : sijēn[i] teli : Ddep̄neweh : me i : mähāi : httēñ : latāi : se heledi

'INSIDE where the daughter of Ddep̄neweh lies, there the gods of the dead and *heledi* (are?) responsible ...'

(59b) TL 128.2

[... ebe]jila : ISBAZI : amu [si]xani teli : se [I]ada

'... here on the COUCH where I and (my) wife lie'

Note that the adverbial clause in (59a) is not preposed, but dependent on the adverb *eti* 'inside', which is itself a preposed Topic. I conclude that subordinate adverbial clauses are (at least ordinarily) embedded subordinate clauses, just like nonpreposed relative clauses.

Subordinate clauses in *mē* are a final type whose internal syntax resembles that of relative clauses. The meaning of this conjunction or adverb is probably along the lines suggested in (60):

(60a) TL 44b.60–61

(49a) might lead one to expect \**nite ti*. There are several imaginable explanations for the attested order. For instance, perhaps the relative pronoun *ti* was somehow attracted by the immediately preceding verb *puḏē* 'engraved'; other possibly relevant factors could include the different phonological weight of *ti* in (57b) and *ti ntipa* in (49a), or the slight syntactic difference between *i hri* 'on it' and *nite* 'inside'.

se ti : Teθθiweibi : ade mē : Leθθi qlā  
 'And likewise (?) Teθθiweibi made the precinct of Leto'

(60b) N 320.32–34

me t(e) epi tuwēti : mara ebeija : ēti sttali : ppuweti mē : ebehi  
 'They will establish these laws just as (?) they engrave on this stele'<sup>25</sup>

(G 26–29 και ἐποιήσαντο ὄρκους ... ὅσα ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἐγγέγραπται ποιήσειν 'and they took oaths ... to do all that has been engraved on the stele')

(60c) TL 44c.6–11 (continuation of 12a above)

... se Xbide | sttati mē : sttala : ēti : qlahi (e)bijehi : se Mal[i]jahi : se[j] Ertemi : se χῆtawatehi : Xbidēñhi : se dde we : sttati mē urublijē

'... and in Kaunos likewise (?) a stele will stand in (the place) of (the Mother of?) the local precinct and Maliya and Artemis and the Lord of Kaunos; and an urublijē will likewise (?) stand'

In each case here (and at TL 44c.10), *mē* is postverbal and the verb is preceded by at most a single, presumably fronted constituent. There are, however, also examples where *mē* appears in the enclitic chain, not post-verbally (TL 44b.47, 44c.11). In this respect the syntax of *mē* exactly matches that of its probable exact cognate, Hittite *mān* 'when, if', a conjunction with the distribution of a relative pronoun; this too follows at most a single constituent and so probably occupies the Wh position (Sternemann 1966: 381–390, Garrett 1990: 35–38).

5.3.5. Four important descriptive conclusions emerge from the foregoing discussion. First, just as in preposed determinate clauses, relative pronouns and certain similar adverbial and conjunctive elements are regularly positioned postverbally; the notable exception is *ti nite* 'what (is) inside' in (57b). As indicated in § 5.2, except for indeterminate relatives, I assume that relative pronouns occupy the Wh position and are immediately preceded by V' in Comp<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Here *mē* has often been emended to *kāmē*, as in (57a) above. There is no reason not to take the text at face value, however, especially in view of the Hittite comparandum noted below; this example then provides a crucial example of the subordinating use 'just as' also found in Hittite. The original meaning of this word in Anatolian was presumably 'like', as still in Hittite, from which Hittite and Lycian subordinating '(just) as' (etc.) and Lycian 'likewise' developed.

<sup>26</sup> Though relative pronouns other than indeterminates are certainly often (if not always) phonologically enclitic, there is no real reason to assume with Gusmani (1962) that they are positioned by any (syntactic) rule of clitic placement. Not only would such a rule differ from the rule positioning other clitics in Lycian – a rule descended from the Indo-European and Anatolian versions of Wackernagel's Law – but the consistent adjacency of relative adjectives and governing nouns in internally headed relative clauses would be accidental.

Second, apart from S-adverbs and enclitics, at most a single element precedes V'. Representative examples are listed in (61):

(61) Subjects: *θθē* 'altar' (56e), *ti* 'what' (57b), *kbatra* 'daughter' (59a), *amu* 'I' (59b), *Teθθiweibi* (60b), *Sbelimi* (TL 58.3)

Objects: *Seimijaje* (1a), *χali* (54a), *Eseimijaje* (56a), *Trñmisiñ* 'Lycia' (58a)

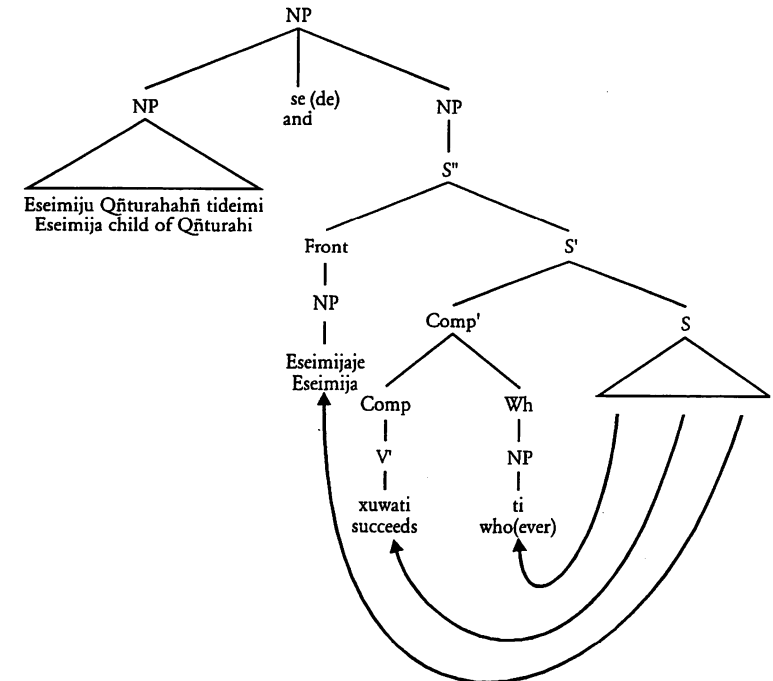
Predicate possessive: *ehbijē* 'his' (55b)

Prepositional phrase: *ēti sttali* 'on the stele' (57a, 60a), *ēti pddāti* 'in the place' (57d), *trbbi Atānas* 'against Athens' (58b)

Locative: *arawa* 'into freedom' (55c), *χupa* 'on the tomb' (57c), *Xbide* 'in Kaunos' (60c)

All these elements presumably occupy the Front position and are the result of Fronting to the left of the Comp and Wh positions, as illustrated in (62) for the representative example in (56a):

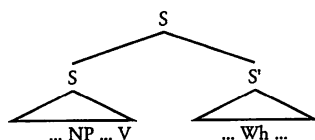
(62) Lycian embedded relative clause syntax (= 56a in part).



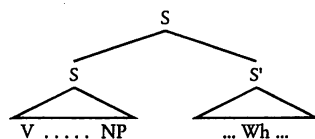
Third, the evidence suggests that nonpreposed relative clauses are syntactically embedded, as also illustrated in (62). Diachronically, that is, postposed clauses have become embedded. Such a syntactic change

may in part be a by-product of the independent change in verb position. Once verbs were no longer regularly clause-final, that is, certain typical postposed relative clauses would have become syntactically ambiguous. For example, if the correlative-clause verbs are removed from the two Hittite indefinite relatives in (39), then each relative clause immediately follows its antecedent. Speakers would naturally be uncertain whether relative clauses like these were syntactically postposed or embedded, especially since Hittite relative clauses of this type typically do not repeat their domain noun. The critical Lycian change then occurred when such originally postposed relative clauses were reanalyzed as embedded. All this is schematized in (63):

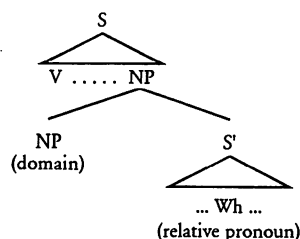
(63a) Stage I: postposed relative clauses



(63b) Stage II: initial verb position, accidentally final antecedent NP



(63c) Stage III: embedded relative clauses



For two reasons, the change from the adjoined structure in (63b) to the embedded structure in (63c) almost certainly originated with indefinite relatives, not nonrestrictive relatives. First, as noted in §4.2, indefinite relative clauses do not repeat correlative-clause domain nouns; such repetition is found with nonrestrictive (and preposed) relatives and would

block the change. In addition, the change would probably also have been disfavored by the special pragmatic and possibly prosodic cues of nonrestrictive relative clauses.

The fourth conclusion is that the Lycian embedded relative clause types do not exactly correspond to those that are postposed in Hittite. Nonrestrictive and indefinite relatives are nonpreposed in Lycian, as in Hittite, but most determinate relatives also pattern with these. Between Proto-Anatolian and Lycian, in other words, determinate relative clauses partially shifted syntactically from the preposed type to the embedded (originally postposed) type. From the diachronic point of view this is likely to have been a kind of syntactic assimilation – an extension of embedded relative clause syntax – and future research on Luvian may help illuminate the nature and dimensions of this assimilation, whose effects seem still to be incomplete in Lycian. The change did not affect indeterminate clauses at all, presumably because of their unusual (effectively conditional) semantics.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper I have offered a preliminary description of the Lycian relativization system, summarized here with Hittite comparanda:

(64) Relative clause type	Position	Internal structure	Hittite position
indeterminate	preposed	Wh + V ...	preposed
determinate	{ preposed embedded	{ (?Front +) V + Wh ... (Front) + V + Wh ...	preposed
indefinite	embedded	(Front) + V + Wh ...	postposed
nonrestrictive	embedded	(Front) + V + Wh ...	postposed
adverbial clauses	embedded	(Front) + V + Wh ...	(both)

Several proposed changes led from a Proto-Anatolian relativization system like that of Hittite to the system attested in Lycian. The first was the innovation of verb-initial (or nearly verb-initial) word order, which was quite a fundamental syntactic development if it indeed also yielded the restructuring of Fronting and Topicalization. This change affected relative clauses in two ways. As discussed in §5.2, it led to the regular postverbal placement of relative pronouns, except in indeterminate clauses, where initial position had always been regular for relatives. In addition, as discussed in §5.3.5, once verbs were no longer clause-final, it was possible to reanalyze adjacent domain nouns and relative clauses – which originally belonged to distinct clauses – as parts of the same NP and thus an embedded relativization system. The locus of this change was probably the indefinite type. Relative clause embedding was then extended to most determinate relatives; Lycian retains preposed relatives only for some determinates and all indeterminates.

This account has an interesting consequence: *embedded* relative clauses in Lycian result from the reanalysis and generalization of what were originally *postposed* relative clauses. Such a development is of general interest, because the innovation of embedded relativization strategies from a presumed system of adjoined relativization is an Indo-European commonplace. Preposed relative clauses are by far the most numerous in Hittite, and it is sometimes assumed that such clauses – in Anatolian or elsewhere – are somehow the source of embedded relativization<sup>27</sup>. The results of this study suggest quite a different view. What is now needed is careful study of the pragmatics, semantics, and syntax of preposed, postposed, and embedded relative clauses in other branches of Indo-European, such as Greek, Italic, and Germanic, to see whether changes like those proposed here for Anatolian can be reconstructed there or not.

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- <sup>27</sup> For example, following Haudry (1973), Holland and Ickler (1978: 438–440) suggest that embedded relative clauses in e.g. Greek and Sanskrit might have originated in contexts like the Hittite examples in (29a), (32), and (35) – where relative domain nouns preceded definite relative adjectives – but with no overt main-clause resumption. This account is typical in assuming that null anaphora was misanalyzed and that the preponderant relative clause pattern at one stage is the source of the preponderant pattern at another stage. I have argued to the contrary that the eventual preponderant pattern (embedding) was extended from one that was originally fairly uncommon, and that the development of embedded relativization was in certain respects a natural consequence of independent word order changes.

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