The Syntax of Anatolian Pronominal Clitics

A thesis presented

by

Andrew James Garrett

to

The Department of Linguistics

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Linguistics

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

July 1990

© 1990 by Andrew James Garrett

All rights reserved.

Abstract

This thesis investigates the syntax of unemphatic pronouns in the Anatolian branch of Indo-European, from both a diachronic and a descriptive synchronic point of view. Most of the particular morphological elements studied are clitics positioned by Wackernagel's Law, and evidence is presented throughout the thesis that this process must be understood syntactically rather than exclusively phonologically or prosodically. Chapter 1 contains surveys of the Anatolian family, the corpora of the languages used in the thesis (Hittite, Palaic, Cuneiform Luvian, and Lycian), and the unemphatic pronouns under investigation. Chapter 2 consists largely of a survey of some important features of Anatolian syntax: topicalization and WH-movement, verb serialization, focus movement, possessor raising, and quantifier float. It is also argued that the Anatolian languages have a split-ergative case-marking system in which neuters inflect ergatively and common-gender nouns accusatively.

Chapter 3 studies the distribution of subject clitics. Subject clitics were an innovation of the Anatolian family, and this chapter demonstrates that these clitics are in fact restricted, throughout Hittite and possibly Anatolian, to the subject position of clauses with unaccusative verbs. Chapter 4 studies the distribution of possessive pronouns. After an investigation of the Old Hittite system of possessor marking, it argues, first, that the process of possessor raising as well as possessive function for Wackernagel's Law pronouns were independent innovations of Middle Hittite and other Anatolian languages, and second, that after this innovation, Wackernagel's Law was constrained from operating in certain well-defined syntactic contexts. Chapter 5 studies two special features of Lycian. It argues that a characteristic construction of that language, the "topic construction", reflects the grammaticalization of an inherited discourse-driven left-dislocation structure, and that the Lycian nasal preterite continues inherited sequences of verb plus direct object.

Contents

Acknowledgements iv

Chapter One: Introduction 1

1.1. Wackernagel's Law 1

1.2. The Anatolian Languages and Corpora 3

1.2.1. Hittite 4

1.2.2. Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian 11

1.2.3. Lycian 12

1.3. Indo-European and Anatolian Pronominal Clitics 13

1.3.1. Emphatic, Sentence Connective, and Sentential Clitics 13

1.3.2. Anatolian Pronominal Clitic Morphology 19

Chapter Two: Anatolian Syntax 27

2.1. Phrase Structure 27

2.2. Syntactic Fronting 28

2.2.1. Syntactic Fronting in Indo-European 28

2.2.2. Syntactic Fronting in Anatolian 32

2.3. Transitivity and Case-Marking 40

2.3.1. The Anatolian Ergative 40

2.3.2. Phonology of the Ergative 53

2.3.3. Origin of the Ergative 60

2.3.4. Development of the Ergative in Hittite and Luvian 64

2.4. Verb Serialization 72

2.5. Focus Movement 77

2.6. NP Syntax 79

2.6.1. Possessor Raising 79

2.6.2. Quantifier Float 91

Chapter Three: Subject Clitics 94

3.1. Transitive Verbs 94

3.2. Independent Null-Subject-Creating Processes 100

3.3. Hittite Intransitive Clauses 107

3.3.1. Tuthaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II 108

3.3.2. Hattušili III 111

3.3.3. Muwattalli 115

3.3.4. Muršili II 117

3.3.5. Šuppiluliuma I 122

3.3.6. Middle Hittite 123

3.3.7. Old Hittite 126

3.3.8. Discourse-Conditioned Null Anaphora 130

3.3.9. Summary 134

3.4. Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian 143

3.5. Lycian 144

3.6. The Syntax of Anatolian Subject Clitics 145

3.7. Appendix: Hittite Subject Clitics With Transitive Verbs 150

Chapter Four: Possessive Clitics 158

4.1. Possession and Thematic Relations 158

4.2. Hittite 163

4.2.1. Emphatic Possessive Pronouns 164

4.2.2. Old Hittite 170

4.2.3. Unemphatic Possessive Pronouns in Middle and Neo-Hittite 190

4.2.4. Suffixed Possessive Pronouns in Middle and Neo-Hittite 222

4.3. Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian 223

4.4. Lycian 224

Chapter Five: Clitic-Doubling 227

5.1. The Lycian Topic Construction 227

5.1.1. Introduction 227

5.1.2. Right Dislocation 229

5.1.3. The Syntax of the Topic Construction 234

5.1.4. The Pragmatics of the Topic Construction 245

5.1.5. The Prehistory of Lycian *me* 248

5.2. Right-Dislocation in Cuneiform Luvian and Hittite 252

5.3. Intrasentential Clitic-Doubling in Hittite 256

5.3.1. Possessor Raising 256

5.3.2. Quantifier Float 257

5.3.3. Other Cases of Clitic-Doubling 258

5.4. Left-Dislocation in Hittite 266

5.5. The Origin of the Lycian Topic Construction 270

5.6. The Lycian Nasal Preterite 274

Bibliography 287

Acknowledgements

I would like first to thank my fellow-students and teachers at Harvard, in both Indo-European and general linguistics. In particular I have profited from many discussions with Jill Carrier, Sam Epstein, John Harkness, Stephanie Jamison, Karin Michelson, Graziella Saccon, Jochem Schindler, John Whitman, and Jeff Wills. Second, I would like to thank the four people without whose support it would have been impossible to complete this thesis: Mark Hale, who taught me how to think about the syntax of Indo-European, and who has always and unstintingly been willing to discuss the ideas in the thesis and the larger research program; Craig Melchert, who led me to appreciate the significance of comparative Anatolian linguistics, and whose insights and meticulous attention have improved virtually every page of my work; Calvert Watkins, who first exposed me to Indo-European and Hittite, and without whose sensitivity to the Anatolian languages and texts, and unparallelled breadth of knowledge within and outside of Indo-European, I would many times have fallen short; and Leslie Kurke, who has been for me both a model and a constant support throughout. The importance of their contributions to my work far exceeds any specific mention below.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Wackernagel's Law

This dissertation will investigate several aspects of the syntax of sentence-second clitics, also called Wackernagel's Law clitics, in the Anatolian branch of Indo-European. "Wackernagel's Law" is a descriptive cover term for a class of processes which position certain words—typically unstressed adverbs and pronouns—in the second position of their sentence. It was identified for Indo-European and discussed at length in a famous article by Wackernagel (1892), and has since been found in numerous languages throughout the world (see e.g. Kaisse 1985 for a review). Indo-European examples of the operation of Wackernagel's Law appear in (1.1a) from Arcadian Greek and (1.1b) from Vedic Sanskrit, and examples from Finnish (Nevis 1986: 6) and Warlpiri (Nash 1985: 178) appear in (1.2a) and (1.2b) respectively:

(1.1) a IG 5.2.6 (Buck 1955: 201)

eik **án ti** gínetoi toîs ergõnais toîs in toî autoî érgoi

"If **anything** happens among contractors on the same job ..."

b RV 1.76.1d (cited by Hale 1987a: 9)

kéna **vā te** mánasā dāśema

"**Or** by what intent would we worship **you**?"

(1.2) a Olet=**han** itsekin samaa mieltä

are=**PTCL** self.too same opinion

"You are yourself of the same opinion, **you know**"

b Karli jarnti=**rni=nja=rla=jinta=rna=ju** pantu-rnu

boomerang trim=**INF=REFL=PROX=COMP=I=me** pierce-PAST

"**I** cut **myself (accidentally) while** trimming the boomerang"

In (1.1a) the modal clitic *án* and the enclitic relative *ti* follow their clause's first word, as do the sentence-connective clitic *vā* and pronominal clitic *te* in (1.1b) and the modal clitic *han* in (1.2a). In (1.2b) second position is occupied by a string of six clitics which follow, not the first word, but a sentence-initial syntactic constituent, in particular a VP.

The use of a single cover term like "Wackernagel's Law" in this dissertation is not intended to imply that all words in sentence-second position are positioned by a single process, or that sentence-second or Wackernagel's position can necessarily be defined uniformly even in a single language. The definition of second position in fact varies across languages, and within languages across Wackernagel's Law items: in some cases, "second" position follows a sentence's first phonological word, for example, and in some other cases it follows topicalized constituents of any length (compare [1.1] and [1.2a] on the one hand and [1.2b] on the other). With this caveat, though, it has proven and may continue to prove productive to consider various Wackernagel's Law phenomena together. The use of the term "clitic" here is, moreover, not intended to imply that elements with differing accentual status necessarily differ syntactically, or that a class of "clitics" will ultimately prove necessary in analytic linguistic description. All Wackernagel's Law elements in Anatolian appear to be phonologically enclitic.

My interests and approach in this dissertation are both synchronic and diachronic. It has of course long been known by historical linguists that the comparative method cannot be practiced without adequate synchronic descriptions; in the case of diachronic configurational syntax, as noted by Hale (1987a: 1-2), this requires the analytic techniques associated with generative syntax. It is equally true, although less often asserted, that at least in principle synchronic analysis cannot be practiced in the absence of diachronic analysis. This is because the objective of synchronic analysis—or generative analysis in particular—is an explanation of the productive linguistic knowledge of speakers of a given language, which, in many instances, can only be distinguished from unproductive memorized knowledge by means of diachronic analysis. For example, patterns of case

syncretism are certainly significant for any general theory of nominal case, but only diachronic analysis can reveal whether a particular syncretism results from the phonological merger of two historically distinct cases (which is unlikely to be generally significant) or from speakers' productive replacement of one case by another (which is quite likely to be significant). Likewise, although a theoretical account of Wackernagel's Law phenomena is not my objective, I will argue that the specific course of certain historical changes in Anatolian can cast some light on such a theory.

The particular focus of this dissertation is the operation of Wackernagel's Law on pronominal clitics, and especially the historical evolution and successive synchronic states associated with three varieties of pronominal clitics: subjects, possessive pronouns, and doubled or pleonastic pronouns. These topics will be discussed in chapters 3, 4, and 5 respectively, while chapter 2 will provide some necessary background discussion of Anatolian syntax in general. The title of this dissertation is thus excessive in scope inasmuch as there are some important aspects of pronominal clitic syntax which will not be discussed here. To give only two examples, I will not discuss either the conditions under which argument clitics in general can be omitted in Anatolian or the conditions under which certain non-verbal arguments, such as prepositional complements, can appear as pronominal clitics.

1.2. The Anatolian Languages and Corpora

The Anatolian branch of Indo-European consists of a number of languages attested from the second and first millennia B.C.E., almost all spoken in Anatolia (modern Turkey and northern Syria). In chronological order of attestations, the most significant Anatolian languages are Hittite, Palaic, Cuneiform Luvian, Hieroglyphic Luvian, Lycian, and Lydian. Of these Cuneiform Luvian and Hieroglyphic Luvian certainly subgroup, and I may use the term "Luvian" for features they share; other subgroups within Anatolian are likely but not yet proven. This dissertation systematically includes data from four Anatolian

languages—Lycian, Cuneiform Luvian, Palaic, and Hittite—discussed individually below. Several other languages have been excluded from the scope of this dissertation and warrant a brief comment. First, I have not attempted to collect data from Lydian, which is attested in some one hundred inscriptions from the middle of the first millennium B.C.E., or from Milyan (also called "Lycian B"), a sister of Lycian attested in two inscriptions from the same period, or from any of the minor and only possibly Anatolian languages like Carian and Sidetic. These languages are all too poorly understood to be useful in syntactic research, although Lydian in particular is well enough attested that it might in the future be able to play a more significant role.

Second, I have deliberately excluded data from Hieroglyphic Luvian—the only Anatolian language attested from both the second and first millennia—even though it is certainly well enough attested and understood to be relevant here. The reason for this decision is entirely pragmatic: a new edition of the Hieroglyphic Luvian corpus is in press, and in view of certain philological problems associated with this language, time spent collecting linguistic data in advance of the publication of this edition is probably wasted. I have no doubt that Hieroglyphic Luvian data will necessitate revision of at least a few of the conclusions of this dissertation.

1.2.1. Hittite

Hittite is by far the best attested and most extensively investigated Anatolian language. It is known from some thirty thousand clay tablets and tablet fragments (and one bronze tablet) engraved in the cuneiform script used throughout the Near East, most of which have been found in the course of excavating the Hittite capital at ancient Hattuša, near modern Boğazkale in central Turkey. On archeological and historical grounds these tablets have been dated between the middle of the eighteenth century and the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E., when the Hittite Empire was overthrown. The standard Hittite dictionary and grammar, both unfortunately out-of-date, are those of Friedrich (1952) and (1960)

respectively; newer dictionaries by Friedrich & Kammenhuber (1975ff) and Güterbock & Hoffner (1980ff) are not yet complete.

The Hittite language is conventionally divided into three periods, Old Hittite from ca. 1750 to ca. 1600, Middle Hittite from ca. 1600 to ca. 1400, and Neo-Hittite from ca. 1400 to ca. 1200; manuscripts dating from these periods can be identified paleographically, and texts composed during these periods can be identified linguistically. In addition, it is known that there are linguistic differences between early and late Neo-Hittite compositions, and it is has recently been suggested by Neu (1979a) that texts composed during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I in particular have, against the traditional assumption, more Middle Hittite than Neo-Hittite linguistic features (but see Melchert 1984a: 82-83 n. 8). In this dissertation I have therefore divided the "Neo-Hittite" period into five distinct chronological periods corresponding to the reigns of different kings: Šuppiluliuma I; Muršili II; Muwattalli; Hattušili III; and Tuthaliya IV with Šuppiluliuma II. I have thus collected data from seven distinct chronological periods of Hittite, although in contexts where the last five periods agree with respect to a particular linguistic phenomenon, I may refer to them collectively as "Neo-Hittite" without prejudice to Neu's views.

Since old texts were frequently re-copied during the five centuries of Hittite's attestation, any text may survive in a manuscript which is either contemporary with or later than its date of composition. An Old Hittite composition may survive in a more or less contemporary Old Hittite manuscript, for example, or in a Neo-Hittite manuscipt copied some five hundred years afterwards. During this copying process, linguistic archaisms were often modernized and false archaisms were occasionally inserted. This means that the best evidence for determining the linguistic features of any stage of Hittite must be compositions from that stage recorded in manuscripts from that stage, and that later copies are only probative when it is possible to control for modernizations and false archaisms; see in general Melchert (1977: 2-9). In collecting Hittite data for chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation I have therefore used primarily, for each of the seven chronological periods indicated above, texts

which were composed in that period and written down in contemporary manuscripts. All statements about these periods of Hittite are based on the corpora listed below, which are drawn from Melchert (1977: 40-131), Oettinger (1979: 574-77), Melchert (1984a: 80-83), and Yoshida (1990: 7-43), and arranged and numbered according to the system of Laroche (1971, 1972). In addition to limiting these corpora to contemporary manuscripts, I have excluded texts or manuscripts which are too short or fragmentary for meaningful syntactic research. Some texts were also excluded for reasons of time or accessibility, and future research could expand my corpora to include both these and late manuscripts of older texts. Otherwise, the following corpora are intended to include most contemporary manuscripts of well-preserved texts of a reasonable length. Data was collected either, if possible, from published editions or transliterations (cited in parentheses for those texts which have them) or, otherwise, directly from the published autographs.

1.2.1.1. Old Hittite

1. Proclamation of Anitta (Neu 1974)

   A. KBo 3.22

3. Zalpa (Otten 1973)

   1.A. KBo 22.2

8. Palace chronicle

   D. KUB 36.104

9. Palace chronicle fragments

   5. KBo 8.42

25. Treaty of Zidanza with Pilliya (Otten 1951)

27. Treaty with the Habiru (Otten 1957)

272. Protocol (Archi 1979: 44-48)

291. Laws, series one (Friedrich 1959; Otten & Souček 1966)

   I.A. KBo 6.2 + 19.1 + 1a + 22.61 + 62

I.B. KUB 29.16 + KBo 19.2

I.C. KUB 29.13

292. Laws, series two (Friedrich 1959)

I.A. KUB 29.25 (+) 28 (+) 29 + 30 (+) 32 (+) 35 + 36

416. Ritual for the royal couple

1.A. KBo 17.1 + 25.3 (Neu 1980a nr. 3)

1.B. KBo 17.3 + 4 + 20.15 + KUB 43.32 (+) KBo 17.2 (Neu 1980a nrs. 2, 4)

2. KBo 17.5 (Neu 1980a nr. 5)

3. KBo 17.6 (Neu 1980a nr. 6)

4. KBo 17.7 + 25.7 + IBoT 3.135 (Neu 1980a nr. 7)

627. KI.LAM festival (Singer 1984 nr. 1h)

ABoT 5+

631. Storm ritual (Neu 1980a nr. 25)

1.B. KBo 17.11 (+) KBo 20.12 (+) KUB 43.26

645. Fragments of festivals for the gods of the earth

6.B. KBo 17.15 (Neu 1980a nr. 27)

7. KUB 43.30 (Neu 1980a nr. 30)

649. Festival fragments naming the NIN.DINGIR

7. KBo 20.14 + KBo 25.33 (Neu 1980a nr. 33)

KBo 25.31 (Neu 1980a nr. 31)

KBo 20.26 + KBo 25.34 (Neu 1980a nr. 34)

665. Fragments naming the *ašušaleš* (Neu 1980a nr. 54)

1.A. KBo 17.36 + KBo 20.17 + KBo 20.20 + KBo 25.54 + ABoT 35

669. Festival fragments

30. KBo 20.10 + 25.59 (Neu 1980a nr. 59)

733. Invocations to Hattic divinities

I.1.A. KUB 28.75 (Neu 1980a nr. 113)

II.1. KUB 8.41 (Neu 1980a nr. 109)

II.2. KUB 31.143 (Neu 1980a nr. 110)

II.3. KUB 31.143a + VBoT 124 (Neu 1980a nr. 111)

II.4. KBo 25.112 (Neu 1980a nr. 112)

820. Benedictions for the king

1. KUB 36.110 (Neu 1980a nr. 140)

1.2.1.2. Middle Hittite

28. Preimperial treaty (Otten 1967)

41. Treaty with Šunaššura (Götze 1925b; Petschow 1963: 242-43)

II. KUB 8.81 + KBo 19.39

133. Treaty of an Arnuwanda with the people of Išmerika (Kempinski & Košak 1970)

137. Treaty of an Arnuwanda with the Gasgas (von Schuler 1965: 134-38)

KBo 16.27

146. Mida of Pahhuwa

KUB 23.72 + 40.10

147. Madduwatta (Götze 1928; Otten 1969)

200. Letter from a "prefect" to the king (Hagenbuchner 1989 nr. 46)

Uncatalogued. Maşat letters (Alp 1980)

Mst 75/10-11, 13-15, 43, 45, 64, 69, 104

261. Bēl madgalti instructions (von Schuler 1957: 36-59)

3. 3rd version. KUB 13.1 (+?) 31.87 + 31.88 + 40.56 (+) 40.55

262. Guard protocol (Jakob-Rost 1966)

270. Oath of Ašhapala (Otten 1960)

375. Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal concerning Nerik (von Schuler 1965: 152-65)

1.A. KUB 17.21 (+) KBo 23.75

1.B. KUB 31.124 (+) 31.72

404. Rituals of Maštigga (Rost 1953)

2nd version. A. KUB 34.84+

3rd version. KUB 34.82 + KBo 24.1

480. Ritual of Šamuha (Lebrun 1976: 117-38)

1.2.1.3. Šuppiluliuma I

42. Treaty with Hukkana (Friedrich 1930; Otten & Rüster 1972: 102-103)

44. Decree concerning the priesthood of Telibinu (Goetze 1940: 12-17)

49. Treaty with Aziru (Freydank 1959/60)

II. KBo 10.13 (+) 12

50. Treaty with Šarri-Kušuh (Forrer 1926: 2.48-50)

52. Treaty with Mattiwaza (Friedrich 1925)

II. HT 21 + KUB 8.80

154. Letter to the Pharaoh (Hagenbuchner 1989 nr. 208)

1.2.1.4. Muršili II

40. Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I (Güterbock 1956)

61. Annals (Götze 1933; Otten 1957)

62. Treaty with Duppi-Tešub (Friedrich 1926: 1-48)

67. Treaty with Targašnalli (Friedrich 1926: 51-94)

68. Treaty with Kupanta-^{d}LAMMA (Friedrich 1926: 95-179)

69. Treaty with Manapa-^{d}U (Friedrich 1930: 1-41)

70. On the affair of the Tawannanna

1. KUB 14.4

2. KBo 19.84, 85

378. Plague prayers (Götze 1929)

486. Aphasia (Lebrun 1985)

1.2.1.5. Muwattalli

76. Treaty with Alakšandu of Wiluša (Friedrich 1930: 42-102)

171. Letter to Adadnirari I (Hagenbuchner 1989 nr. 192)

381. Prayer to the storm god (Lebrun 1980: 257-73)

382. Prayer to Tešub of Kummanni (Houwink ten Cate & Josephson 1967)

1.2.1.6. Hattušili III

81. Apology (Otten 1981)

83. On the campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I (Riemschneider 1962)

85. Documents concerning the conflict with Urhi-Tešub (Götze 1925: 44-51; Ünal 1974: 116-27)

1.A. KBo 6.29 + KUB 21.12 + 23.127

1.B. KUB 21.15

2. KUB 21.37

3. KBo 14.45

86. Requisition against Arma-^{d}U (Ünal 1974: 18-31)

1.A. KUB 21.17

1.B. KUB 31.27

87. Royal decree in favor of Mittannamuwa (Götze 1925: 41-45)

KBo 4.12

90. Fragments concerning the restoration of Nerik (Cornil & Lebrun 1972)

176. Letter from Puduhepa to the king of Alašiya (Stefanini 1964)

383. Prayer of Hattušili and Puduhepa to the sungoddess of Arinna

KUB 21.19 (+) KUB 14.7

384. Prayer of Puduhepa to the sungoddess of Arinna

KUB 21.27

585. Vow of Puduhepa (Otten & Souček 1965)

1.2.1.7. Tuthaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II

105. Treaty of Tuthaliya with Šaušgamuwa (Kühne & Otten 1971)

106. Treaty of Tuthaliya with Ulmi-Tešub

KBo 4.10 + 1548/u (Otten & Rüster 1973: 85-86)

Uncatalogued. Treaty of Tuthaliya with Kurunta (Otten 1988)

121. The conquest of Alašiya (Güterbock 1967)

123. Treaty of Šuppiluliuma with an unkown partner (Stefanini 1965)

KBo 4.14 (+) KUB 40.38

177. Letters from Tuthaliya to Tukulti-Ninurta I

1. KUB 3.74 (Hagenbuchner 1989 nr. 190)
2. KUB 23.99 (Otten 1959: 65)
3. KUB 23.101 (Hagenbuchner 1989 nr. 203)

255. Instructions of Tuthaliya to the eunuchs (von Schuler 1957: 8-33)

1.2.2. Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian

The Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian languages survive only in passages of Hittite ritual texts which stipulate recitation in one of those languages. Palaic is quoted primarily in Old Hittite rituals, in other words from the first half of the second millenium B.C.E., and in only a dozen texts; it is therefore only marginally useful for comparative syntax. Almost all Palaic texts are collected with a grammatical sketch and glossary by Carruba (1970). Cuneiform Luvian is quoted in Hittite rituals dating from the sixteenth through thirteenth centuries B.C.E., but although there are some three hundred tablets containing Cuneiform Luvian, these represent fewer than a dozen completely independent texts. This fact, together with the texts' extremely restricted pragmatic domain, has made their interpretation and linguistic analysis somewhat difficult, but Cuneiform Luvian may nevertheless be understood better than any Anatolian language other than Hittite itself. The new standard edition of Cuneiform Luvian texts, with their Hittite contexts, is that of Starke (1985), and the standard, if somewhat out-of-date, lexicon and grammar are those of Laroche (1959). In chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation I have based some statements about Cuneiform Luvian on an examination of that part of the corpus indexed by Laroche (1959).

1.2.3. Lycian

The Lycian language is attested from the seventh through fourth centuries B.C.E. on coins and in some one hundred and seventy-five inscriptions found in Lycia on the southern coast of Asia Minor, that is, roughly the region south of a line from Köyceğiz to Antalya in Turkey. For the purposes of this dissertation the coins preserve no useful information. Since the inscriptions are written in an epichoric alphabet modelled on the Ionian Greek alphabet, they are the best understood Anatolian testimony recorded in an approximately phonemic writing system. However, the value of this testimony is somewhat mitigated by Lycian's late date and especially by the fact that, while most of the inscriptions are understood, some of the longer ones—in particular the 138 Lycian lines of the Xanthos stele—are quite poorly understood. The most important of the well-understood longer inscriptions is inscribed on a stele discovered in 1973 in the Lētoön at Xanthos. This is a cult document of some forty lines in each of three languages—Aramaic, Greek, and Lycian—which has naturally advanced the understanding of Lycian quite considerably. The Lycian texts known through the end of the eighteenth century were edited by Kalinka (1901) and by Friedrich (1932); texts preceded with the letters "TL" are cited from Friedrich's edition. More recently discovered texts have been edited by Neumann (1979) and are cited with the letter "N"; the Lētoön trilingual in particular is N 320 and has also been edited by Laroche (1979). A grammatical sketch of Lycian and a lexicon with a complete word index are provided by Neumann (1969) and Melchert (1989a) respectively. Finally, note that the transcription of Lycian used in this dissertation is not the standard one: for typographical reasons, the character properly transliterated as an *e* with a tilde will here be written *ę*, and the character properly transliterated as an *m* with a tilde will here be written *m*. These transcriptions are in all cases unambiguous and will therefore cause no confusion, although they are admittedly undesirable.

1.3. Indo-European and Anatolian Pronominal Clitics

1.3.1. Emphatic, Sentence Connective, and Sentential Clitics

Wackernagel's Law in Indo-European is, as noted above, a class of processes rather than a unitary syntactic process. This was discovered by Hale (1987a, 1987b, 1990b), who found specifically that in Greek and Indo-Iranian—and by hypothesis Indo-European as well—there are three syntactically distinct classes of Wackernagel's Law: "emphatic clitics", "sentence connective clitics", and "sentential clitics". The first of these, the emphatic clitics, have semantic scope over a single word and are positioned immediately after that word. If words marked with emphatic clitics are sentence-initial for any reason, then the emphatic clitics will be sentence-second and, preceding all other clitics in the clitic chain, will appear to have been positioned by Wackernagel's Law. Sanskrit emphatic clitics cited by Hale include *cit* and *gha*. The second class of clitics, the sentence connectives, function roughly to conjoin and disjoin clauses; some also conjoin or disjoin sub-clausal constituents. Sentence connective clitics cited by Hale include Greek *te* "and" and *dé* "and, but" and Sanskrit *ca* "and" and *vā* "or", and by hypothesis Indo-European *k^we* "and" (> Greek *te* and Sanskrit *ca*). Finally, the class of sentential clitics contains both pronominal clitics and adverbial clitics with sentential scope; among the latter Hale identifies Greek *ke(n)* and *mén* and Sanskrit *u* and *svit*.

The Anatolian languages also display the three classes of Wackernagel's Law clitics reconstructed by Hale for Indo-European. Thus each language has a set of sentential clitics, including pronominal clitics, the reflexive clitic (Common Anatolian **ti*), the quotative clitic (Common Anatolian **wa(r)*), and modal and adverbial clitics. In Hittite this last class includes *man*, *an*, *kan*, *šan*, *(a)šta*, and *(a)pa*. Anatolian sentential clitics are positioned immediately after their sentence's first phonological word (and after that word's emphatic clitics). There is no need here to discuss this class further: the pronominal clitics will be

discussed throughout, and the other sentential clitics, although not directly relevant, will also be extensively exemplified below.

There is one sentence-connective clitic in Anatolian, the descendant of Indo-European *k^we, which survives at least as Hittite *kku*, Palaic *ku*, and Cuneiform Luvian *kuwa*. Hittite *kku* has three functions (see Eichner 1971 and Watkins 1985 with references): it is a coordinating conjunction "and", its primary function historically; an emphatic particle[1]; and a disjunctive conditional conjunction "if/either/whether ... or". In addition, *kku* appears in a number of lexicalized host-clitic compounds like *takku* "if" < **ta=kku* < a virtual **tó=k^we*. The three functions of *kku* are illustrated in (1.3a), (1.3b), and (1.3c) respectively:

(1.3) a KBo 19.163 ii 33'-34' per Watkins (1985: 495-96) (Festival, CTH 738)

[n=aš] ēšzi=pat natta=**kuw**[=aš=apa ar]āi

"She remains seated **and** she does not get up"

b 533/f: 9 (Carruba 1969: 71)

ītten=**ku** aušten

"Go see!"

c KUB 33.24 i 43'-45' (Stormgod myth, CTH 325)

tuē[(l=**ku** wašta)iš] ug=at SIG_5-ziyami *ŪL*=a=**kku** tu[(el wašta)iš] ug=at SIG_5-ziyami

"**If** it's your fault, I will make it good, and **if** it's not your fault, I will make it good"

Like its Indo-European cognates, *kku* can also have sub-clausal scope. For example, (1.4a) and (1.4b) respectively contain sub-clausal counterparts of the conjunctive use in (1.3a) and the disjunctive conditional use in (1.3c):

---

[1] As Craig Melchert notes (p.c.), this function would explain the identifying and emphatic function of Palaic *kuwar* (Melchert 1984b: 24).

(1.4) a KBo 11.14 i 6-7 prototype per Watkins (1985: 495) (Ritual of Hantitaššu, CTH 395)

ZÍZ-tar šeppit parhuenaš ewan karaš hattar zinail=**ku** tiyan

"Spelt, wheat, *parhuena-*, barley, *kara-*, lentil, **and** chick-peas are placed"

b KBo 6.3 i 45-46 (Law, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 20)

takku LÚ.ULÙ.LU-an LÚ-ann=a=**ku** MUNUS-n=a=**ku** ^{URU}Hattušaz kuiš[ki] LÚ ^{URU}Lūiyaš tāizzi

"If some Luvian man steals a person—both **if** a man and **if** a woman—from Hattuša ..."

Finally, Anatolian also has emphatic clitics. Hittite in particular has three of these, which I will refer to as *pat*, *ya*, and *ma* and which very roughly function respectively as an identifying particle ("the same X", "only X", etc.—see Hart 1971), a conjunctive marker ("and X", "X too", etc.), and a focus marker ("and X", "but X", "as for X", etc., like Greek *dé*). Their assignment to the emphatic class rather than the sentence-connective class depends in the first instance on their shared syntactic distribution rather than their semantic scope: all three can cliticize to non-sentence-initial words. Semantically, *pat* in particular very clearly has its scope over the word it follows, as in (1.5); note that other clitics follow it if it marks a sentence-initial word, as in (1.5c).

(1.5) a KBo 6.3 iii 54 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 38)

n=an=za šakuwaššarran=**pat** dāi

"He takes **only** what is rightfully his"

b KUB 13.4 iii 24-26 (Instructions to priests and temple servants, CTH 264)

n=aš hāli paiddu=**pat** kiššan lē=**pat** tezzi ammuk=wa=za É.DINGIR-*LIM-YA* pahhašhi apiya=ma=wa *UL* paimi

"Let him **actually** go into the precinct. Let him not say, 'I am guarding the temple; I will not go there' "

c KBo 3.4 ii 53-54 (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 60)

nu=kan 1-aš ŠÀ A.AB.BA=**pat** ēšta 1-aš=ma=kan ^{m}Tapalazunauliš arunaz arha uit

"One **continued** to be in the sea [i.e. island], while the other, Tapalazunauli, left the sea" (cf. Hart 1971: 130-31)

d KUB 19.37 iii 25' (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 174)

kappūwanteš=**pat**=mu=kan antuhšeš išparter

"**Only** a few people escaped me"

The analysis of *ya* and *ma* is considerably more problematic: both clitics must often be interpreted as having scope only over single words, and word-level emphasis may be the primary function of *ma* in particular. If, however, in some contexts at some stages of the language, *ya* and *ma* must be interpreted with sentential scope, then a priori they cannot syntactically be emphatic clitics in such contexts. They may instead pattern syntactically with the sentential or sentence-connective clitics, or they may constitute a fourth descriptive class peculiar to Anatolian; I have not investigated this problem systematically here. Even to the extent that *ya* and *ma* have scope over the words they follow, however, one reason for their frequent appearance at the head of the Wackernagel's Law clitic chain may be that elements with the semantic or pragmatic features marked by *ya* and *ma* also often have the semantic or pragmatic features marked by sentence-initial position, that is, associated with the process of topicalization discussed in chapter 2. By contrast, elements marked by *pat* only occasionally have these semantic or pragmatic features.

Both *ya* and *ma* have two allomorphs, in both cases reflecting the collapse of etymologically distinct morphemes. The allomorphs of *ya*, identified by Houwink ten Cate (1973), are postvocalic *ya* and postconsonantal *a*—the latter with gemination of the preceding consonant—and are illustrated in (1.6) and (1.7) respectively.

(1.6) a KBo 20.10+ i 5-6 (Festival fragment, CTH 669, ed. Neu 1980a: 131)

ANA LUGAL hekta āppa=**ea** hekta

"He bows to the king **and** bows again"

b KBo 17.1+ ii 35'-36' (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 8)

halmaššuitti hašši=**ya**=[(šš)]an tianzi

"They place them on the throne **and** on the hearth"

c Bo 86/299 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 18)

^{md}LAMMA-aš=ma=mu apēdani=**ya** mēhuni šer akta

"But Kurunta would have died for me **even** at that time"

d KBo 4.10 obv 13 (Ulmi-Tešub treaty, CTH 106)

mān=aš arahzini=**ya** KUR-e

"**Even** if he is in a foreign land ..."

(1.7) a KBo 6.2 i 4-5 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 18)

1 *ME* MANA KÙ.BABBAR pāi āššu=ssett=**a** šarnikzi

"He gives one mina of silver **and also** replaces his goods"

b KBo 17.1+ i 18'-19' (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 6)

[DU(MU)].É.GAL LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-ašš=**a** iššaz=mit lālan AN.BAR-aš [d]āi

"The page takes the tongue of iron from the king's **and** queen's mouth"

c KBo 4.12 obv 24-26 (Decree, CTH 87, ed. Götze 1925: 42)

^{m}Urhi-^{d}U-upaš=ma=mu mān HUL-ušš=**a** ēšta

"**Even** though Urhitešupa was hostile toward me ..."

d Bo 86/299 i 63-64 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 12)

nu KUR ^{URU}Parhann=**a** *IŠTU* ^{GIŠ}TUKUL ēpzi nu=kan apāšš=**a** *ANA* LUGAL KUR ^{URU} ^{d}U-taššа āššanza

"(If) he takes Parha **too** by force, that **too** will belong to the king of Tarhuntašša"

Melchert (1984b: 30 n. 9) has discovered that within Old Hittite, the emphatic clitic *ma* too has two allomorphs: postvocalically it is *ma*, and postconsonantally it is *a* without gemination (the very few exceptions to this distributional generalization are secondarily conditioned). Synchronically, in other words, the alleged non-geminating clitic *a* is in reality nothing but a postconsonantal allomorph of *ma*. This somewhat surprising allomorphy was eliminated in the later language by generalizing the postvocalic allomorph *ma* to all phonological environments. In fact, as already observed by Houwink ten Cate (1973: 124), non-geminating *a* was frequently replaced by *ma* in late copies of Old Hittite texts: the copyists must have considered *ma* at least functionally close to the otiose *a*. Old Hittite examples of the allomorphs *ma* and *a* are illustrated in (1.8) and (1.9) respectively, and Neo-Hittite postvocalic and postconsonantal examples of *ma* are illustrated in (1.10) and (1.11) respectively:

(1.8) a KBo 6.2 ii 35 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 30)

takku=at=an parna=**ma** kuēlka peššizzi

"**But** if he throws them away into somebody's house ..."

b KBo 20.10 + KBo 25.59 i 5 (Festival fragment, CTH 669, ed. Neu 1980a: 131)

mān zinniz[i=**m**]**a**

"**And** when he finishes ..."

c KBo 17.1+ i 7' (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 5)

hurtiyali=**ma** [AN.B]AR-aš nēpiš 1-*EN* kitta

"**But** in the bowl lies a heaven of iron"

(1.9) a KBo 6.3 iii 65 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 40)

mān=an išhaš=šiš=**a** wemiyazi

"**But** when its owner finds it ..."

b KBo 8.74+ iii 14'-15' (Hymn and myth, CTH 752, ed. Neu 1980a: 223)

nu=za ūg ^{GIŠ}huhupalli dāh[h]e nu huppēmi ^{MUNUS}araš=miš=**a**=šša**n**

ištananaš āppa kē zaškizzi

"I take the clappers and go *hupp*, **and** my colleague puts them back on the altar" (see Melchert 1988: 230-33)

c KBo 22.1 obv 29' (Protocol, CTH 272, ed. differently Archi 1979: 46)

^{LÚ}ašiwandan=**a** šēt dātti

"**But** the poor man you thereby 'take' " (see Melchert 1977: 172-74)

(1.10) a KBo 5.9 iii 17-18 (Duppi-Tešub treaty, CTH 62, ed. Friedrich 1926: 20)

damedani=**ma**=aš=kan lē kuwapikki neyatti

"**But** don't send them anywhere else"

b Bo 86/299 i 94 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 14)

eni=**ma** *ABU-YA ŪL* šakta

"**But** that one my father didn't know"

(1.11) a KBo 5.13 ii 34 (Kupanta-^{d}LAMMA treaty, CTH 68, ed. Friedrich 1926: 124)

tuk=**ma** mān ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* hatrāmi

"**But** if I His Majesty write to you ..."

b KUB 23.1+ ii 8 (Šaušgamuwa treaty, CTH 105, ed. Kühne & Otten 1971: 8)

tuk=**ma**=za [^{m}]^{d}*IŠTAR*-A.A-an ^{LÚ}*HADANU* kuit DÙ-nu[n]

"**But** because you, Šaušgamuwa, I made my brother-in-law ..."

1.3.2. Anatolian Pronominal Clitic Morphology

The final section of this chapter will identify the morphological entities which are the objects of study of this dissertation. I will treat these pronouns here with special reference to

four parameters of variation displayed by NPs in general, parameters which are in part related but which are also occasionally conflated in the literature. These reflect variation in morphological, thematic, grammatical, and pragmatic status: every NP and hence every pronoun bears some morphological relation or case, some thematic relation or θ-role, some grammatical relation, and some pragmatic relation.

To begin with the last of these, I suggest that NPs cross-linguistically may be classified as "emphatic" or "unemphatic". These two categories differ in the conditions on their use: very roughly, emphatic NPs are used in pragmatic contexts requiring emphasis or contrastive focus and prosodic contexts requiring stress, and unemphatic NPs are used in other contexts (although strictly speaking, "emphasis" may well be conditioned only prosodically, with prosody in some sense fed by focus and other semantic or pragmatic factors). Unemphatic NPs are probably always pronouns or zero, but in any case the emphatic-unemphatic contrast is ordinarily realized even among a language's pronouns. For instance, English has both emphatic object pronouns—*her*, *him*, *it*, and *them*—and unemphatic ones—'*r*, '*m*, '*t*, and '*m* respectively. Similarly any null subject language has emphatic and unemphatic subject pronouns, which are respectively overt and phonologically null.

The objects of study of this dissertation are some of Anatolian's unemphatic pronouns in particular. The typology described above allows unemphatic pronouns to be subdivided in several ways—by case (morphological relation), by θ-role (thematic relation), and by grammatical relation. This last property indicates nonstructurally what syntactic role an element has in a sentence. For instance, some NPs have grammatical relations with respect to the sentence as a whole: these include the relations "subject", "direct object", and "indirect object". Some NPs have grammatical relations only with respect to other NPs: these include the relation "possessor". Finally, some NPs have no grammatical relation at all: to borrow a term from Relational Grammar, they may be called "chômeurs". Note that grammatical relations and θ-roles are not at all the same; for example, it is well-known that

possessors may have almost any θ-role as long as they have some thematic connection with the NP they possess. The θ-roles associated with the grammatical relation of possession will not be investigated in this dissertation.

In Anatolian, unemphatic pronominal possessors are of two syntactic types: most are positioned by Wackernagel's Law, but a few are instead adjacent to their governing noun. These occur in Hittite, Luvian, and Lycian. In Hittite there are two kinds of NP-internal possessive pronouns: clitic or suffixed possessive pronouns; and genitive demonstrative pronouns. The Hittite suffixed possessive pronouns agree with their hosts in gender, case, and number, and also inflect for possessors' person and number (see HE §107-109). For example, *miš* is nominative common-gender singular, first-person singular possessor; *tiš* is also nominative common-gender singular, but second-person singular possessor; and *šma* is directive singular, third-person plural possessor. Nouns with possessive suffixes cited in HE §109 include genitive *kardiyaš=taš* "your (sg.) heart" and dative-locative *kiššari=mi* "my hand" and *atti=šši* "her/his/its father". In Cuneiform Luvian, a clear suffixed possessive pronoun is accusative common-gender *šan*.

The other kind of NP-internal possessive pronoun attested in Hittite is simply the genitive of the demonstrative pronoun, for example *apēl* and *apēdaš*, respectively the genitive singular and plural of *apāš* "that" < Common Anatolian **obós*. Cognates of *apēl* and *apēdaš* are not attested elsewhere in Anatolian, but remodelled possessives built to the same stem do appear in Luvian and Lycian. These languages largely replaced the inherited Indo-European genitive in *-s* by a new possessive adjective in **-osi-* (e.g. CLuv. *tiyammaššiš-* "of the earth" < *tiyammi-* "earth" and Lyc. *xñtawatehi-* "of the ruler" < *xñtawati-* "ruler"), and in particular they replaced the inherited genitive of **obós* by a possessive adjective **obósi-*. This is attested in Hieroglyphic Luvian but not Cuneiform Luvian; in Lycian, Common Anatolian **obós* survives as the demonstrative pronoun *ebe*, and **obósi-* survives as the possessive pronoun *ebehi-*, and syncopated and with metathesis as *ehbi-*. The distribution of these forms will be discussed in chapter 4.

The Wackernagel's Law pronominal clitics in Anatolian may be conveniently discussed in three groups, all three inflected for gender and number. The first two groups—subject clitics and direct object clitics—are positively defined by grammatical relation, while the third group consists of all other pronominal clitics; I will refer to these as "oblique" clitics. Oblique clitics bear a variety of grammatical relations, and must analyzed synchronically as bearing a variety of cases (including at least the dative-locative and genitive, and probably also the ablative), but they are morphologically a single class. The direct object clitics and the oblique clitics are identical in the first and second person.

Anatolian has subject clitics only in the third person:

(1.12) Subject Clitic Paradigms

	CAnat.	Hitt.	Palaic	CLuv.
sg. comm.	**os*	*aš*	*aš*	*aš*
sg. neut.	**od*	*at*		*ata*
pl. comm.	**oy*	*e, aš, at*	*aš*	*ata*
pl. neut.	**oy*	*e, at*		*ata*

Most of the forms in (1.12) either directly reflect their Common Anatolian ancestors or represent fairly straightforward morphological developments; note in particular that Luvian *ata* continues Common Anatolian **od* with a so-called "prop vowel" **o*. Subject clitics are not directly attested in Lycian.

The Anatolian subject clitics have the usual range of subject θ-roles. For example, in Hittite they may be agents, experiencers, or themes, as illustrated in (1.13a), (1.13b), and (1.13c) respectively:

(1.13) a KUB 14.15 iv 28-29 (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 70)

n=**aš**=mu uit GÌR.MEŠ-aš kattan **haliyattat**

"**She** then **kneeled** down at my feet"

b StBoT 24 iv 88-89 (Autobiography of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 30)

n=**aš**=kan SÀ DINGIR.MEŠ *ANA* ^{d}IŠTAR ^{URU}Šamuha **nahhanza ēšdu**

"**Let him be afraid** of Ištar of Šamuha among the gods"

c KUB 8.81 + KBo 19.39 ii 2-3 (Šunaššura II treaty, CTH 41, ed. Götze 1925b: 11)

mān=**aš** tam[ēd]az KUR-az *INA* KUR ^{URU}Kizzuwatni apašila **paiz[z]i**

"If **he** himself **goes** from another land into Kizzuwatna ..."

The third-person direct object clitic paradigm can be presented in a similar manner (first- and second-person direct object clitics are listed below):

(1.14) Direct Object Clitic Paradigms

	CAnat.	Hitt.	Palaic	CLuv.	Lycian
sg. comm.	**om*	*an*	*an*	*an*	*ę, ęne*
sg. neut.	**od*	*at*	*at*	*ata*	*ede*
pl. comm.	**ons*	*uš, aš*		*aš*	*ę, ęne*
pl. neut.	**oy*	*e, at*	*e*	*ata*	*e, ede*

Again the developments are fairly straightforward; Lycian *ęne* and *ede* and Cuneiform Luvian *ata* continue the Common Anatolian forms plus the prop vowel **o*. The evidence for Lycian *e* is presented in chapter 5.

The object clitics also seem to have the expected range of direct object interpretations, although it is rather difficult to determine what interpretations are expected. The Hittite object clitics in particular function thematically at least as patients and themes, as illustrated in (1.15a) and (1.15b) respectively:

(1.15) a KBo 6.3 ii 52 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 30)

tamaiš=**an šūwaizzi**

"(If) another person pushes **him** ..."

b KBo 3.7 iii 30 (Illuyanka, CTH 321)

lē=**mu genzuwaiši**

"Don't **pity me**"

The oblique clitics have a much wider range of grammatical relations—in various contexts they may be possessors of verbal arguments, complements of postpositions, or any of a variety of oblique verbal arguments—a wide enough range, in fact, that the traditional and etymologically accurate term "dative" clitic seems unacceptable. It is for this reason that I use the term "oblique" clitics. Their paradigm is presented in (1.16); note that in those languages which attest first and second-person object clitics, these are identical to the first and second-person oblique clitics listed here.

(1.16) Oblique Clitic Paradigms

	Hitt.	Palaic	CLuv.	Lycian
1st sg.	*mu*	*mu*		
2nd sg.	*ta*, *ddu*			
3rd sg.	*ši*	*du*	*du*	*i*
1st pl.	*naš*			
2nd pl.	*šmaš*			
3rd pl.	*šmaš*		*mmaš*	*ñne*

Lycian *i* can only be the cognate of Hittite *ši* if special clitic phonology is invoked to account for an otherwise irregular loss of **s*; on Lycian *ñne* see Melchert 1990a. The Palaic and Luvian third-person singular forms evidently originated as second-person singular forms—cognate with the Hittite second-person allomorph *ddu*, which appears only before the reflexive clitic *za* < **ti*—while ironically, the cognate of Hittite *ši* is a reflexive marker in Palaic (and in Lydian).

Some of the grammatical relations and θ-roles borne by oblique clitics in Hittite are illustrated in (1.17-19). This presentation is not intended to be systematic or complete: a full study of the range of grammatical and thematic relations associated with oblique clitics

and with the dative case in Hittite remains to be undertaken. Indirect objects appear with goal and recipient θ-roles in (1.17a) and (1.17b) respectively:

(1.17) a KBo 5.3 ii 28 (Hukkana treaty, CTH 42, ed. Friedrich 1930: 116)
nu=**mu**=šša*n* mān ERÍN.MEŠ-it ANŠE.KUR.RA.[HI].A-it lammar *ŪL* ārti
"If you don't come **to me** instantly with troops and horses ..."

b StBoT 24 i 26 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 6)
KUR UGU=ya=**mu** maniyahhanni pešta
"He also gave **me** the Upper Country to rule"

Other sentential grammatical relations are illustrated in (1.18), including what may informally be called "benefactive", "malefactive", and "affected" θ-roles in (1.18a), (1.18b), (1.18c) respectively:

(1.18) a KUB 19.49 i 60 (Manapa-^{d}U treaty, CTH 69, ed. Friedrich 1930: 10))
nu=**mu**=za takšul ēš
"Be friendly **to me**"

b KBo 5.4 ii 7 (Targašnalli treaty, CTH 67, ed. Friedrich 1926: 60)
zik=wa=**mu**=za kūrur ēš
"Be hostile **to me**"

c KBo 5.6 iv 5 (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, CTH 40, ed. Güterbock 1956: 96)
nu=war=aš=**mu**=kan BA.ÚŠ
"He died **on me**"

Finally, there are oblique clitics which bear only sub-sentential grammatical relations, such as the postpositional object in (1.19a) and the NP possessor in (1.19b):

(1.19) a KBo 5.4 obv 45 (Targašnalli treaty, CTH 67, ed. Friedrich 1926: 60)
nu=**tta menahhanda** kuru[ri]yahhanzi
"(If) they're hostile **against you** ..."

b KBo 3.4 iii 85-86 (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 90-92)

nu=šši **KUR-*ZU*** GUL-un

"I attacked **his land**"

All these unemphatic sentence-second pronouns contrast functionally with stressed or emphatic pronouns. For the purposes of this dissertation the most important emphatic pronouns are the demonstrative ***obós*** mentioned above (Hittite, Palaic, and Luvian *apāš* and Lycian *ebe*) and the stressed first and second-person pronouns. Other demonstrative pronouns—such as Hittite *aši* and Anatolian ***k'ós*** "this" (Luvian *zāš*, Hittite and Palaic *kāš*)—will play no role in the discussions of this dissertation, since either their deixis differs from that of the unemphatic pronouns or they are functionally marked vis-à-vis the reflexes of ***obós***, and in either case they do not minimally contrast with the objects of study here.

Chapter Two: Anatolian Syntax

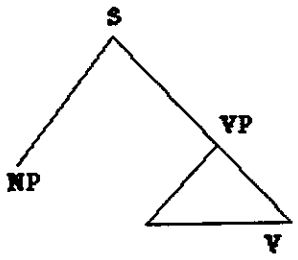
Several features of Anatolian syntax will be discussed briefly in this chapter in order to facilitate the discussions of subsequent chapters. The descriptive generalizations made here are not based on the full corpora listed in chapter 1.

2.1. Phrase Structure

Since almost all Hittite sentences are verb-final, I will assume in this dissertation that verbs are base-generated in sentence-final position. Ultimately this assumption can be maintained only by showing that all Hittite sentences without final verbs can be generated by independently motivated syntactic processes, and to the extent that I am unable to do so here, the assumption must remain tentative. The majority of attested non-final verbs can indeed be explained as the result of one of two processes, topicalization and right dislocation, to be discussed in §2.2.2 and §5.3 respectively, and a few of the residual cases will be mentioned below. The assumption that Hittite sentences are underlyingly verb-final is adopted here largely for analytic convenience, and will crucially affect only a few of the proposals below.

Somewhat less well motivated is a second assumption about Hittite syntax, namely that sentences contain a VP to which the subject position is external. In other words, I assume for Hittite roughly the following underlying phrase structure:

(2.1) Hittite Phrase Structure



Evidence for the existence of a VP in Hittite, as in any language, would be any asymmetry between subjects and objects which is plausibly explained as a consequence of their respective positions outside of and within a VP. Some evidence to this effect is collected in chapter 3 and addressed formally in §4.5. If a VP exists, of course, then all sentences in which the subject does not precede the entire VP must be analyzed as the result of independent movement processes. I have made no systematic attempt in this dissertation to account for such sentences, although most of them can certainly be derived by the processes of topicalization and right-dislocation already mentioned.

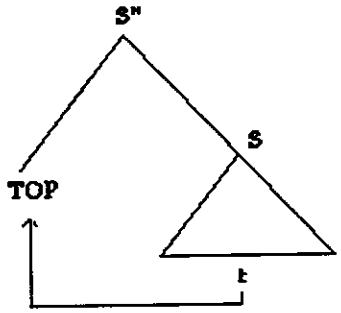
I will make the same two assumptions about Cuneiform Luvian syntax, for the same reasons, but I make no special assumptions about Lycian syntax. Lycian word order is impressionistically quite different from Hittite or Cuneiform Luvian word order, and it is certain that the phrase structure rules and syntactic movement processes necessary to account for it will also be quite different.

2.2. Syntactic Fronting

2.2.1. Syntactic Fronting in Indo-European

Two syntactic fronting processes have been identified for Indo-European and in particular for Anatolian: topicalization and WH-movement. These processes, found in all old Indo-European languages, have been recognized informally at least since Delbrück, but their precise characterization is due to work by Hale (1987a, 1987b, 1990b) on Indo-Iranian, Hittite, and Greek. The first of these processes, topicalization, moves a single constituent from its base-generated position within the sentence to a structural position at the sentence's left margin, as illustrated schematically in (2.2); it is evidently associated pragmatically with special emphasis of some kind. Following Hale, I refer to the structural position occupied by topicalized constituents as "TOP".

(2.2) Topicalization in Indo-European



Instances of topicalization in Greek and Sanskrit are given in (2.3):

(2.3) a Iliad 10.257

amphì dé hoi kunéēn kephalêphin éthēke

"He put his helmet **on** his head"

b RV 1.35.5a

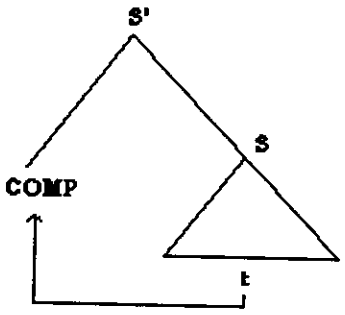
ví jánāñ chyāvā́ḥ śitipā́do akhyan

"The dusky white-footed ones surveyed the people"

In (2.3a) and (2.3b) the TOP positions are filled respectively by the preposition/preverbs *amphì* and *ví*, as indicated by their respective separation from *kephalêphin* "head" and *akhyan* "saw", with which, it may be argued (as in Garrett 1988 for Greek), they underlyingly form a constituent.

WH-movement, the second securely established fronting process in Indo-European, positions WH-words like relative pronouns as illustrated schematically in (2.4), also to the left margin of the sentence. Following Hale, I refer to the structural position occupied by WH-constituents as "COMP".

(2.4) WH-Movement in Indo-European



Instances of WH-movement in Greek and Sanskrit are given in (2.5):

(2.5) a Iliad 1.2

hễ murí' Akhaioîs álge' éthēke

"... **which** laid countless pains on the Achaeans"

b RV 4.2.6a (cited by Hale 1987b: 44)

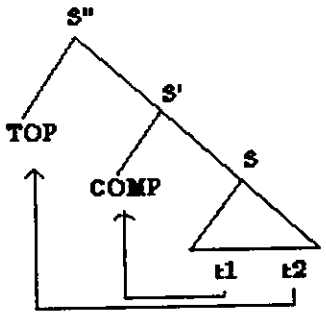
yás ta idhmáṃ jabhárat siṣvidānáḥ

" ... **who** bears you the kindling sweating"

Since the TOP and COMP positions are both at the left of the sentence, it is possible in principle that they are merely two names for the same structural position; in fact, however, as shown by Hale, they must be structurally distinct positions. A more accurate representation of Greek and Sanskrit sentence structure is given in (2.6), where TOP and COMP are sisters of S' and S respectively[1]:

[1] In most current transformational theories (e.g. Chomsky 1986) the nodes TOP, COMP, S", S', and S would be labelled SpecCP (i.e. Specifier of CP), C, CP (i.e. Complementizer Phrase), C', and IP (i.e. Inflection Phrase) respectively, but the precise labelling will not affect any of the arguments made here, except in §4.5, where the more accurate notation will be adopted.

(2.6) Indo-European Phrase Structure and Left Movement Processes



Greek and Sanskrit sentences with both TOP and COMP filled are given respectively in (2.7a-b), cited by Hale (1990b), and (2.7c-d), cited by Hale (1987b: 44, 41).

(2.7) a Iliad 1.300

[$_{TOP}$ tôn d' állōn] [$_{COMP}$ há moi] ésti

"But whatever of these others is mine ..."

b Iliad 17.260

[$_{TOP}$ tôn d' állōn] [$_{COMP}$ tís ken] hêisi phresìn ounómat eípoi

"Who could speak with his heart the names of those others?"

c RV 4.12.2a

[$_{TOP}$ idhmáṃ] [$_{COMP}$ yás te] jabhárac chaśramāṇáḥ

"... who, exerting himself, bears you the kindling"

d RV 8.84.5ab

[$_{TOP}$ dāśéma] [$_{COMP}$ kásya] mánasā yajñásya

"With the thought of which worship would we worship?"

Two main arguments support Hale's claim that in Homeric Greek and Vedic Sanskrit, TOP and COMP are structurally distinct positions filled by syntactic movement processes. First, a WH-constituent may be preceded by at most one syntactic constituent other than Wackernagel's Law clitics, for example by a single word or an NP. This is explained if the COMP position is in fact preceded by another position—the TOP position—which can be filled only by movement. Second, two of the three classes of Wackernagel's Law clitics

discussed in §1.3.1 are in fact positioned differently vis-à-vis the TOP and COMP positions. In particular, sentence connective clitics like Greek *te* or Sanskrit *ca*, or Greek *de* in (2.3a) and (2.7a-b), are positioned immediately after the first phonological word of the sentence, excluding null-position elements, while sentential clitics like the pronominal clitics in (2.3a), (2.5b), (2.7a), and (2.7c), and Greek *ken* in (2.7b), are positioned immediately after the COMP position if it is filled, and immediately after the sentence connective clitics if the COMP position is not filled. Only the assumption of distinct TOP and COMP positions permits an adequate description of the syntax of Wackernagel's Law in these languages.

2.2.2. Syntactic Fronting in Anatolian

On the basis of the comparison of Greek and Sanskrit, and in view of certain Hittite evidence, Hale reconstructs the structure in (2.6) for Indo-European itself—in other words, topicalization and WH-movement processes with distinct landing sites, and in particular a TOP position to the left of a COMP position. The Hittite evidence concerns the interaction of topicalization and WH-movement, processes illustrated in (2.8) and (2.9) respectively:

(2.8) a StBoT 24 i 27-28 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 6)
piran=ma=at=mu ^{md}SIN-^{d}U-aš DUMU ^{m}Zida maniyahhiškit
"But **before** me Arma-^{d}U, son of Zida, had been administering it"

b KBo 6.3 ii 29 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 26)
EGIR-anda=m[a=šma]š=kan [ša]rdiyaš paizzi
"And a *šardiya*-troop goes **after** them"

(2.9) a KBo 3.4 ii 41-42 (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 56)
nu=za ^{d}UTU-ŠI **kuin NAM.RA** *INA* É LUGAL uwatenun
"**The deportees who** I My Majesty brought to the palace ..."

b StBoT 24 iv 69 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 28)
ammuqq=a **kuit** harkun
"And also **that which** I had ..."

c KUB 23.1+ ii 25-26 (Šaušgamuwa treaty, CTH 105, ed. Kühne & Otten 1971: 10)

n=an datta **kuiš** ^{m}**NIR.GAL-iš** ^{LÚ}*HADANU*=y[a=a]n **kuiš** DÙ-at

"**Muwatalli, who** took him to himself and **who** also made him a brother-in-law"

d KUB 36.13 i 32'-33' (Song of Ullikummi, CTH 345, ed. Güterbock 1952: 12)

nu=wa **kuiš** namma [za]hhiškizzi

"**Who** will fight any longer?"

e KUB 14.3 ii 37 (Tawagalawa letter, CTH 181)

kuit apāt

"**What** is that?"

The postpositions *piran* in (2.8a) and *appanda* in (2.8b) have been topicalized—moved from their base-generated VP-internal positions to the TOP position—and as a result precede their clauses' subjects. The definite relative WH-constituents *kuin* NAM.RA "which deportees" in (2.9a), *kuit* "which" in (2.9b), and *kuiš* ^{m}NIR.GAL-*iš* "which Muwatalli" and *kuiš* "who" in (2.9c) have likewise been moved from their base-generated VP-internal positions, but since they are positioned by WH-movement their landing site is the COMP position. Finally, the interrogative WH-words *kuiš* "who?" in (2.9d) and *kuit* "what?" in (2.9e) have also been positioned by WH-movement.

Note that these WH-words may not actually appear to occupy the same position, since *kuiš* in (2.9d) is preceded by the common sentence-introductory particle *nu*, whereas *kuit* in (2.9e) is absolutely sentence-initial; likewise, since *kuin* in (2.9a) and the first *kuiš* in (2.9c) are the third word in their sentences, but *kuit* in (2.9b) and the second *kuiš* in (2.9c) are each second in their sentences, it is not immediately obvious that all of these are positioned in the same way. However, as observed by Held (1957), Sternemann (1966), and Hale (1987a, 1987b), the Hittite sentence-introductory particles *nu*, *ta*, and *ša* are extra-clausal

for the purposes of syntactic movement processes other than Wackernagel's Law, much as German *aber* behaves extra-clausally for the purposes of the verb-placement rule: they are "null-position" elements. It is possible for at least the later language that other elements—like *našma* "or if" and, as suggested by Houwink ten Cate (1973: 129 n. 47), *namma* "next" and *kinuna* "now"—fall into the same syntactic class. (As Hale 1987a, 1990b shows, a similar status must be posited for *átha* "then" in Vedic prose.)

Held (1957) demonstrated that Hittite definite relative pronouns and adjectives are never clause-initial, whereas indefinite relative pronouns and adjectives are (apart from null-position sentence-introductory particles and second-position clitics) invariably clause-initial. Definite relatives appear in (2.9a-c) above, and indefinite relatives cited by Held include the following:

(2.10) a KBo 6.34+ iii 39-40 (Military oath, CTH 427, ed. Oettinger 1976: 14)
kuiš=wa=kan kē lingauš šarrizzi
"**Whoever** breaks these oaths ..."

b KUB 13.2 iii 29-30 (Bēl madgalti instructions, CTH 261, ed. von Schuler 1957: 48)
kuedani=ma=šša**n URU-ri** EGIR-pa ārti
"But **in whatever town** you return ..."

More specifically, as shown by Hale (1987a, 1987b), Hittite definite relative pronouns and adjectives are regularly preceded—again apart from null-position elements and clitics—by exactly one syntactic constituent, for example by a single word, as in (2.9a-c), or by a PP or internally complex NP, as in (2.11a) and (2.11b) respectively:

(2.11) a KUB 14.10+ iii 9' (Plague prayer, CTH 378, ed. Lebrun 1980: 207)
[nu] **hingani šer** kue *AWATE*^{MEŠ} ha[(ndaitat)]
"The reasons which were established **for the plague** ..."

b KBo 3.4 iii 34-35 (Annals of Muršili III, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 76)

URUKÙ.BABBAR-**aš**=ma=za **EN.MEŠ ERÍN.MEŠ**

ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ=ya kuin NAM.RA GU_4 UDU=ya uwatet

"But the slaves, oxen, and sheep which **the lords, troops, and cavalry of Hatti** brought back ..."

Similarly, as Hale (1987b: 43 n. 10) notes, non-initial WH-question-words are preceded by one syntactic constituent:

(2.12) a KUB 44.4 rev 9 (Birth ritual, ed. Beckman 1983: 176)

eni=ma=wa kuit

"But what is **this**?"

b KBo 6.34+ iii 14 (Military oath, CTH 427, ed. Oettinger 1976: 12)

[k]**aš**=wa kuiš

"Who is **this**?"

c KUB 23.102 obv 10 (Letter of Muwatalli, CTH 171, ed. Hagenbuchner 1989: 260)

ŠEŠ-tar kuiš kuedani hatreškizzi

"Who always writes (about) **brotherhood** to another?"

These facts can be explained by the hypothesis, advanced by Hale, that Hittite WH-interrogatives and definite relatives occupy a single position—in the terms used here, the COMP position—and that, as in Greek and Sanskrit, there is another syntactic position—the TOP position—to its left. Topicalized constituents and no other clause-internal elements may thus precede WH-moved elements. Within this framework, the distribution of indefinite relatives can be most easily explained by positing that they are obligatorily topicalized, either directly or via the COMP position; it is therefore impossible for clause-internal material to precede them.

Sternemann (1966: 381-90) has called attention to syntactic similarities between WH-words as described by Held and two Hittite lexical complementizers. These elements

are evidently either clause-initial or preceded by exactly one syntactic constituent, and I suggest that like definite relative pronouns and WH-question words, they too can occupy the COMP position; they may thus be preceded by whatever occupies the TOP position. Sternemann's collection, as well as those in CHD s.vv. and the specific remarks at CHD 110-11, show that *mahhan* "as, how, when" and *mān* "if, when" in their sentential-scope interpretations, as well as *māhhanda/mānhanda* "just as", illustrated respectively in (2.13), (2.14), and (2.15), are preceded by at most one constituent[2]:

(2.13) a KBo 5.6 ii 15 (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, CTH 40, ed Güterbock 1956: 92)
LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}Hurri=ma=kan mahhan ^{LÚ}SANGA EGIR-anda awer
"But when **the Hurrians** saw that the Priest was opposite ..."

b KBo 6.29 ii 18 (Urhi-Tešub, CTH 85, ed. Götze 1925: 48)
apāš=ma GIM-an ištamašta
"But when **he** heard ..."

c KBo 5.8 i 40-41 (Annals of Muršili III, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 150)
^{LÚ}KÚR KUR ^{ÍD}Kummišmahaš=ma [ma]hhan ištamašzi
"But when **the enemy from the Kummišmaha River land** heard ..."

d KBo.5.3 ii 34 (Hukkana treaty, CTH 42, ed. Friedrich 1930: 116)
zig=an GIM-an ištamašti
"As soon as **you** hear him ..."

---

[2] The double question construction discussed at CHD 147-48 gives rise to apparent exceptions. Thus *mān* does not in fact have sentential scope at KUB 15.17 + KUB 31.61 i 8-9, [(UDU.HI.A=*ma* MU.KAM)]-*li mān* 1 *ME mān* 50 UDU *peškimi* [*ŪL ku(itki t)*]*ūqqari* "it makes no difference whether I give one hundred or fifty sheep every year", or at Bo 86/299 ii 88-89, *kinun=ma=za apūn* MUNUS-*an* ^{md}LAMMA-*aš mān dāi mān=za=an ŪL dāi* "but now whether Kurunta takes that woman or doesn't take her ...". In both passages, *mān* precedes the (sub-clausal) element it focusses.

e StBoT 24 iii 66 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 22)

[(**kururiyahhun**=ma=šši GIM-an)]

"But when **I became hostile** to him ..."

(2.14) KBo 25.112 ii 14' (Invocation to Hattic divinities, CTH 733, ed. Neu 1980a: 191)

***ANA* [hal]pūti** mānhand[a] māldi

"Just as he chants **to the *halpūti*** ..."

(2.15) a KUB 9.10 rev 3-11 (Festival, CTH 659)

nu **kūn EZEN** mān LUGAL-uš UD.3.KAM tezzi

"If the king orders **this festival** for the third day ..."

b KBo 17.1+ iii 6 (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 9)

^{d}UTU-uš ^{d}IM-as mān uktūreš

"Just as **the Sungod and Stormgod** are everlasting ..."

c KBo 3.22: 3 (Proclamation of Anitta, CTH 1, ed. Neu 1974: 10)

n=aš=(š)ta **^{d}IM-unni**=ma mān āššus ēšta

"And since he was dear **to the Stormgod** ..."

d KUB 29.8 i 58 (Ritual, CTH 777)

nu **EN.SISKUR.SISKUR** mān LÚ

"If **the client** is a man ..."

A syntactic constituent preceding *mān* or *mahhan*—in the TOP position, on my analysis, like elements preceding a definite relative pronoun—can be internally quite complex, as noted by Sternemann (1966: 383) in connection with the following:

(2.16) a KUB 13.2 iii 31-32 (Bēl madgalti instructions, CTH 261, ed. von Schuler 1957: 48)

ÌR LÚ GEME LÚ wannumiyaš MUNUS-ni mān DI-*ŠUNU* ēšzi

"If **a man's male slave, a man's female slave, (or) a *w.* woman** has a lawsuit ..."

b KBo 5.6 iii 5-6 (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, CTH 40, ed. Güterbock 1956: 94)
LÚ.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}Mizra=ma mahhan *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}Amka GUL-ahhuwar ištamaššanzi
"But when **the people of Egypt** heard about the attack on Amka ..."

Cuneiform Luvian *āhha* in its sentential-scope interpretation "as, when" may, as Watkins (1986b: 61) notes, have the same distribution as Hittite *mahhan*. Compare the following:

(2.17) a KBo 4.11 rev 46 (Ištanuvian ritual, CTH 772, ed. Starke 1985: 341)
ahha=ata=ta alati auienta Uilušati
"**When** they came from steep Wiluša ..."

b KUB 35.102+ iii 11 (Lunar magic, CTH 766, ed. Starke 1985: 223)
ālati=tta **āhha** LÚ-iš auita [Wilušati?]
"**When** the man came from steep Wiluša ..."

c KBo 9.145 left 3' (Fragment, CTH 770, ed. Starke 1985: 132)
[du]painti **āhha**=tiy=a[n ...
"... they strike. **As** ..."

d KUB 35.89: 17' (Spell against sickness, CTH 765, ed. Starke 1985: 228)
...] a=wa=ti zinza ÍD.TUR.MEŠ-*KUNU* **āhha** t[i- ...
"**As** ... these streams of yours ..."

In summary, Hale's first class of evidence for a distinct TOP position—evidence from the interaction of topicalization and WH-movement—is clearly present in Anatolian. Interrogative pronouns, definite relative pronouns, *mahhan*, *mān*, and *māhhanda* can all be argued to be positioned in COMP; therefore any elements to their left, other than null-position elements and clitics, must be positioned in TOP. Hale's second class of evidence—evidence from clitic syntax—is unfortunately not available in Anatolian. In Greek, Sanskrit, and by hypothesis Indo-European, as noted above, sentential clitics were positioned immediately after the COMP position whenever it was filled, whereas

sentence-connective clitics were absolutely sentence-second; the two clitic types were thus positioned differently in sentences with the TOP and COMP positions both filled. In Hittite, however, sentential clitics are absolutely sentence-second even in sentences with TOP and COMP filled, as in many of the examples in (2.11-15). The rule positioning sentential clitics has evidently been collapsed with the rule positioning sentence-connective clitics—an innovation which, if it is reflected elsewhere, is an important characteristic of Common Anatolian.

The sentence-connective class is hardly robust in Anatolian, but, as indicated in §1.3.1, at least one member survives. Unfortunately the descendants of Indo-European *k^we are not attested in any sentences with COMP filled, but the scanty evidence is at least consistent with its expected syntax and so with the view that it served as the model for the generalization of originally sentence-connective clitic syntax to the sentential clitics. The Hittite and Palaic invocations in (2.18) both show a paragraph-initial *nu=k(k)u*, etymologically "and now":

(2.18) a KBo 12.128 ii 6' (Prayer fragment, CTH 389, ed. Lebrun 1980: 399)
nu=kku karušten GEŠTU-ten
"Be quiet and listen!"

b KUB 35.165 rev 11'-12' (Parole des pains, CTH 751, ed. Carruba 1970: 19)
nu kī memai **nu=ku** ^{d}Zaparwaz aškumāuwa=ga waqqakanta
"She says the following [in Palaic]: Zaparwa, these pure meats are to be eaten' " (see Melchert 1984b: 29)

The comparison of *nu=kku* and *takku* < **ta=kku* indicates that Anatolian *k^we at all stages, like the sentential clitics (and not the emphatic clitics), followed null-position elements rather than topicalized constituents. This is certainly expected if the syntax of Hittite sentential clitics was originally proper only to *k^we, and if sentences with an empty COMP—where the sentential clitics would always have immediately followed *k^we—were the model for a reanalysis of the position of the sentential clitics as indicated above.

2.3. Transitivity and Case-Marking[3]

2.3.1. The Anatolian Ergative

Several Anatolian languages are characterized by a nominal formation which has long resisted successful analysis. This so-called "animatizing" or ergative formation is illustrated in (2.19) for the three languages where it is found.

(2.19) Hittite: sg. *-anza*, pl. *-anteš* (see [2.20])

Luvian: sg. *-antiš*, pl. *-antinzi*, e.g. *parnantinzi* < *parn-* "house"

Lycian: sg. *-ẹti*, pl. *-ẹti*, e.g. *tesẹti* < *tas-* "oath"

Laroche (1962) established that in Hittite and Luvian (the Lycian evidence was not yet known), this formation is typically built to neuter nouns and typically occurs with transitive subjects. Laroche therefore introduced the term "ergative", although even he did not consider it a true ergative case (see below). This formation is sometimes also referred to as "animatizing", to reflect the widespread view that it is characterized by a derivational suffix whose function is to transfer neuter transitive subjects to the common or "animate" gender. Anticipating my conclusion, I will here use the term "ergative" to refer to this formation. Hittite examples are *išhananza*, *išhišnanteš*, *pahhuenanza*, and *tuppianza*, built respectively to the neuter nouns *ešhar* "blood", *išheššar* "binding", *pahhur* "fire", and *tuppi* "tablet":

(2.20) a KUB 14.14+ rev 23' (Plague prayer, CTH 378, ed. Lebrun 1980: 196)

nu KUR ^{URU}Hatti=ya **apāš išhananza** arha namma zinne[šta]

"**That murder** moreover ended the land of Hatti too"

b 473/t obv 11 (Puhvel 1984: 399)

[SA]G.DU-ann=a **išhišnanteš** appanzi

"**The bindings** also clasp the head"

---

[3] This section reproduces, by kind permission of the Linguistic Society of America, most of the contents of §2 of Garrett (1990).

c KBo 32.14 ii 6-7 (Hittite-Hurrian bilingual, quoted by Neu 1988: 101)

mān=an **pahhuenanza** arha warnuzi

"I wish **fire** would burn it up"

d Mşt 75/10: 3 (Letter, ed. Alp 1980: 39)

mahhan=ta **kāš tuppianza** anda wemiyazzi

"As soon as **this tablet** reaches you ..."

There are several reasons for the view that the Anatolian ergative is a derivational category whose members are common-gender nominatives. First, it resembles other such categories. For example, three Hittite nominal formations are characterized by a derivational suffix *-ant-* (nom. sg. *-anza*).[4] Two of these are well-known: participles, which are deverbal adjectival *ant*-stems like *akk-ant-* "dead" (nom. sg. *akkanza*) from *ak-* "die"; and possessive adjectives, which are denominal adjectival *ant*-stems like *perunant-* "rocky" from *peru(n)-* "stone" and *ganenant-* "thirsty" from **ganer/*ganen-* "thirst" (see Oettinger 1981). A third *ant*-suffix forms deadjectival adjectives like *āššuwant-* from *āššu-* "good", *šuppiyant-* from *šuppi-* "pure", *daššuw-ant-* from *daššu-* "strong", and *duddumiyant-* from *duddumi-* "deaf". This third type probably originated in the possessive adjective type: given inherited or secondary pairs like the adjective *āššu-* "good" and a substantivized *āššu* "good(s)", possessive adjectives like *āššuw-ant-* *"having good(s)" > "good" were built to the latter. As a result of this derivation, synchronically deadjectival *ant*-stem adjectives are virtual synonyms of their bases. Craig Melchert (p.c.) observes that this analysis accounts for the ablaut as well as the meaning of such adjectives, which are built with the zero-grade suffix (e.g. *u*-stem *-u-*), as is regular for denominal formations. If they had originated deadjectivally, the full-grade suffix (e.g. *u*-stem *-aw-*) would have been used, and forms like **āššawant-* would be expected. Of course, the form *āššawanza* does exist, but it originated

---

[4] A fourth synchronic *ant*-stem class includes *t*-extensions of *(r/)n*-stems, e.g. *išpant-* "night" and *gimmant-* "winter". This formation is of Indo-European date; see Oettinger (1982) with references.

as an ergative built to the adjective *āššu-* rather than an *ant*-stem derivative of the type under discussion. Likewise *idālawanza* is the ergative built to the adjective *idalu-* "bad" rather than the nominative singular of a putative ***idālawant-*** "evil" in sentences like the following:

(2.21) a KUB 33.121 ii 16-17 (Kešši, CTH 361)
nu ^{m}Keššin **[i]dālawanza** GIG-anza harzi *INA* ITU.3.KAM
"A **bad** sickness held Kešši for three months"

b KBo 17.62+ iv 9'-11' (Birth ritual, CTH 478, ed. Beckman 1983: 34)
nu[...] **idālauwanz[a]** uddananza pēdi *QATAMM[A* lē] ninikzi
"Likewise let no **evil** thing lift ... from its place"

These originally adjectival forms *idālawanza* and *āššawanza* were secondarily extended to nominal function, for instance respectively in (2.35) below and the following:

(2.22) KUB 5.3 iv 6 (Divination, CTH 563)
āššauwaza EGIR.UD-*MI* ME-aš
"**Good** took the future"

A second reason is that the Hittite ergative plural ending *-anteš* can only have originated as the suffix *-ant-* with the common-gender nominative plural ending *-eš*. Similarly, the Luvian ergative is characterized by the sequence *-anti-*, which regularly corresponds to the Hittite suffix *-ant-*, followed by the common-gender nominative endings *-š* (sg.) and *-nzi* (pl.). Finally, adjectives modifying the Hittite ergative are evidently common-gender in form, not neuter; for example, *apāš* "that" in (2.20a) and *kāš* "this" in (2.20d) are the ordinary common-gender nominative demonstrative pronouns.

I will show here that the Anatolian ergative is nevertheless a genuine ergative case, first discussing its function, then showing that it cannot have originated in a suffix ***-ant-***, and finally identifying its actual source. Its synchronic status in the attested languages and the phenomena just discussed are treated in §2.3.4.

There are three possible synchronic analyses of the ergative.[5] First, it may be morphologically inflectional and functionally syntactic. In other words, the Hittite case-marking system is of the crosslinguistically unexceptionable type in which most NPs inflect accusatively but the (here morphologized) inanimates inflect ergatively (on the typologically unexceptionable nature of the type see also Rumsey 1987a: 31, 1987b: 312 n. 12). On this view, the endings *-anza* and *-anteš* are ergative endings just as *-š* and *-eš* are nominative endings, and forms like *išhananza*, *išhišnanteš*, *pahhuenanza*, and *tuppianza* in (2.20) are just neuter ergatives. Of course, nothing about this analysis implies that all *anza*-formation transitive subjects built to neuter nouns are ergative case-forms. Other Hittite formations in *-anza* exist, and any particular *anza*-neuter could well belong to another class. The important feature of this analysis is that it entails that the ergative case is a grammatical category in Hittite and that neuters inflect ergatively.

Second, the ergative may be morphologically derivational and functionally syntactic. In other words, the endings *-anza* and *-anteš* consist of the nominative common-gender endings *-š* and *-eš* preceded by a derivational suffix *-ant-*. This suffix is presumably etymologically identical to the suffix of the participles and possessive adjectives. However, its function is not semantic (as expected of derivational morphology), but syntactic. On this analysis, neuters are excluded from the transitive subject position and the suffix *-ant-* has somehow been co-opted to change their grammatical gender when necessary. There is thus no semantic difference between e.g. the intransitive subject and transitive object *tuppi* and the transitive subject *tuppianza*. This analysis, like the preceding one, does not exclude the

---

5 A fourth analysis on which the ergative is a genuine ergative case with common-gender exemplars is impossible, however, since while gender-changing derivational processes are common, it is meaningless to describe an inflectional process as gender-changing. Gender is a feature of lexical stems, not inflected forms, and is in fact the very feature which determines a stem's case-forms. The logical possibility that the ergative is morphologically inflectional but functionally semantic may be dismissed for the reasons discussed below.

possibility that some transitive subjects in *-anza* are the nominatives of other *ant*-stem categories; it simply identifies a synchronically distinct, syntactically-motivated suffix *-ant-*.

Third, the ergative may be morphologically derivational and functionally semantic. As in the preceding analysis, that is, the sequences *-anza* and *-anteš* consist of a derivational suffix *-ant-* followed by the nominative endings *-š* and *-eš*. This analysis, however, unlike the preceding one, posits some semantic feature distinguishing base nouns like *tuppi* and derived nouns like *tuppiant-*. This semantic feature presumably developed from that of the other denominal *ant*-suffix mentioned above. On this analysis, any apparent connection among *anza*-forms, neuters, and transitive subjects is not the result of any syntactic fact about neuters or transitive subjects, but a consequence of some other (possibly pragmatic) factor. This analysis thus has the advantage of accounting easily for two classes of forms which appear otherwise to pose a problem: those similar to ergatives which are built to common-gender bases (e.g. *tuzziyanza* to *tuzzi-* "army/camp"), and those which inflect in oblique cases (e.g. dative-locative *udniyanti* to *udne* "land"). All treatments of this issue prior to Laroche's assumed this analysis and therefore attempted to identify the semantic force of the derivational suffix *-ant-*.[6]

---

[6] The traditional view that the *ant*-suffix has a collective value cannot be correct, as noted e.g. by Laroche (1962: 24-25) and Kronasser (1963-66: 258-63, with references at 256), but is still occasionally encountered (cf. Singh 1978). For the view that the *ant*-suffix has primarily some kind of individualizing, personifying, or intensive function, see Krause (1956: 189-92), Solta (1958: 15-21), Kronasser (1962), and more recently Neu (1989), and compare Benveniste's position discussed below. This view finds support in at most a few passages but, as we will see, cannot be maintained in general. A putative semantic function has also been identified by Georgiev (1965), according to whom *anza*-nouns (and adjectives) are diminutives; however, he presents no synchronic evidence to support this claim. The few diachronic proposals which have been made on the basis of these synchronic treatments (see also Lindeman 1986) cannot account for the actual synchronic function of the ergative or the evidence to be discussed in §2.3.2 below.

The possibility that the first or second analysis above might be correct was raised only with Laroche's discovery of the syntactic distribution of nouns in *-anza*, a distribution which, if meaningful, cannot be explained by the third analysis. Oddly enough, despite numerous attacks on it, the first analysis—the view that Anatolian is characterized by ergative case-marking—has never been proposed or defended explicitly (although it is occasionally assumed without comment, as in CHD). The assumption that Laroche favored this view is due to his unclear stand: while overtly introducing "dans la description grammaticale du hittite ... un *tertium quid* absent des autres langues indo-européenes"—the "ergatif"—he nevertheless stated immediately that "le suffixe *-(a)nt-* est la marque du *transfert d'un inanimé dans la classe animée*; il n'appartient pas au système des nombres (sg.-pl.-coll.), mais à celui des genres" (1962: 41). Likewise he claimed elsewhere that "pour devenir sujet de la phrase transitive-active, l'inanimé (neutre) doit se transformer en animé par l'addition du suffixe *-ant-* et de la désinence de nominatif" (1970: 50). Laroche's stated view is thus quite clearly that of the second analysis above.

Responses to Laroche, though, have in general attacked the first analysis. Benveniste (1962: 45), for example, presented the following two objections: first, the ergatives "ne se réfèrent jamais à des êtres humains individuels en fonction d'agent, ce qui devrait être pourtant l'emploi primordial d' "ergatifs" "; and second, "les formes en *-anza* ne sont à aucun moment des cas spécifiques d'une flexion hétèrogène, mais seulement des nominatifs de thèmes en *-ant-*, derivés d'autres thèmes". The first objection depends on a misunderstanding of the nature of ergative case-marking systems[7], while the second

---

7 As does Starke's remark (1977: 182 n. 24) that "Genaugenommen kann von einem Ergativ nicht die Rede sein, denn das Hethitische kennt keine passivische Verbalauffassung wie z.B. das Sumerische oder das Hurritische". Compare the statement of Kammenhuber (1985: 453) that "Vergleiche zwischen ergativischen und idg. Sprachen entfallen schon deshalb, weil Neutra als Subjekt in transitiven [see below!] und intransitiven und Nominalsätzen dasselbe flektierte Verbum wie Substantiva mask., fem. bzw. Substantiva comm. in Hethitischen

coincides with Laroche's own expressed view. Laroche's and Benveniste's treatments nevertheless differ. According to Benveniste, ergatives are not only the nominatives of derived common-gender nouns, but are semantically distinct from their base nouns: they "désigneront des notions matérielles transférées au rang de puissances actives"; for example, "*pir/parn-* "maison" devient *parnant-* 'maison comme siège de pouvoir' " (1962: 51).[8] Benveniste thus subscribes to the third analysis above. On this analysis, as noted, the correlation established by Laroche is simply a consequence of the unusual pragmatics, and therefore the unusual semantic value, of inanimate agents.

This analysis is, however, demonstrably false. It entails that whatever the precise semantic value of the putative *ant*-suffix is, a noun without that value will lack the suffix even as a transitive subject; the evidence contradicts this prediction, however, as Laroche already showed on the basis of a survey of several dozen common neuter nouns, none of which occurred as transitive subjects. I have confirmed his conclusion by examining some twenty-five Hittite texts of various genres and dates, within which there is not a single certain neuter transitive subject aside from the ergatives themselves.[9] Mistakenly adduced

---

haben". Typological generalization based on data from one or two languages is especially egregious with respect to such a well-studied phenomenon as ergativity.

[8] Cf. Watkins (1972: 44-46). Of course, if "puissance active" designates the ability to be the subject of a transitive verb, Benveniste and Laroche do not materially differ. Benveniste's view is otherwise supported by no textual evidence. He argues further that the semantic feature of "puissance active" developed historically from the "fonction individualisante de *-ant-*" (1962: 50) putatively attested in season terms like *gimmant-* "winter" (cf. n. 4 above). Such a development, regardless of its semantic plausibility, is excluded by the syntactic distribution of the season by-forms in *-ant-* (see Laroche 1962: 35).

[9] The texts examined were CTH 1, 3, 61, 40, 81, 105, 291, 292, 321, 345, 348, 364, 370, 396, 402, 409, 446, 566, 585, 625 and those edited by Alp (1980), Beckman (1983), Burde (1974), Haas & Jakob-Rost (1984), Neu (1980a), Oettinger (1976), and Riemschneider (1970).

as a counterexample by Kammenhuber (1985: 454-55) is the following passage, where neither transitive clause has an overt subject (see Neu 1989 for a discussion of Kammenhuber's view that the ergative is a Neo-Hittite innovation):

(2.23) KBo 18.151 rev 7-8 (Oracle, CTH 827)

[it]alu[(=wa) araiš h]enkan **taš** ... aššu arha **tuhšet**

"Evil arose, **it** took the plague ... **it** cut off good"

The few more plausible apparent exceptions can now be disambiguated. Thus in view of (2.24), *handaiš* must be a common-gender *š*-stem (like *hāš*) rather than a neuter:

(2.24) KBo 3.23 i 5-6 (Admonitions of Pimpira, CTH 24)

mān=[(an)] **handaiš** walahzi

"If **the heat** hits him ..."

In the following sentence, *kuitki* is adverbial, not pronominal ("something", with Güterbock 1962: 29); the clause is literally "now it sickens my right shoulder somewhat":

(2.25) KUB 33.106 iii 43'-44' (Song of Ullikummi, CTH 345, ed. Güterbock 1952: 28)

[k]inuna=mu ZAG-an **kuitki** ^{UZU}ZAG.LU-an GIG-zi

"Now my right shoulder is **somewhat** sick"

Similarly, in (2.26a), we may take HUL-*lu* (= *idalu*) as adverbial rather than adjectival (with Götze 1925: 41 and HE §200.2) and translate as indicated. Compare (2.26b), where HUL-*lu* "evil" would make no sense as the subject.

(2.26) a KBo 4.12 i 5-6 (Decree of Hattušili III, CTH 87, ed. Götze 1925: 40)

ANA PANI ABU=YA=mu kappin DUMU-an **HUL-lu** GIG GIG-at

"In my father's time illness sickened me **badly** as a small child"

b KUB 19.5 obv 5 (Letter, CTH 191, ed. Forrer 1926: 1.90)

GIG-zi=ma=mu **HUL-lu**

"And it sickens me **badly**"

The apparent absence of neuter transitive subjects is not an accidental consequence of the pragmatic rarity of inanimate agents, as implied by Kammenhuber (1985: 454), since semantically inanimate common-gender nouns are frequently transitive subjects.[10] Ergatives are therefore conditioned syntactically, not semantically; in other words, whatever their origin, they constitute a synchronically distinct category which functions to replace ordinary neuters in the subject position of transitive clauses. This means that some transitive subjects in *-anza* will not be ergatives; they may, for example, be substantivized possessive adjectives or lexicalized participles. Such nouns are not directly relevant to an investigation of the functionally distinct, syntactically conditioned ergative formation, a formation which cannot be explained by the third analysis above (cf. Laroche 1970: 50 n. 37).

At this point, I will discuss some apparent exceptions to the conclusion that the Hittite ergative has a synchronically syntactic function. First, nouns with *ant*-stems which are not transitive subjects may be assigned to other formations as appropriate. Apparent ergatives built to common-gender nouns could likewise belong to other categories, although they may instead represent sporadic extensions of the domain of the ergative formation from neuter nouns to inanimate nouns in general. Extensions of this type do not vitiate either the first or the second analysis above, and they certainly underlie several formations in which a semantic difference between common-gender base noun and *anza*-form is impossible to justify, such as *kalulupanza* "finger" and *šankuwayanza* "fingernail" at KUB 9.4 i 34-35, both

---

[10] For example: *alpa-* "cloud" KUB 17.8 iv 9; *aruna-* "sea" KUB 12.65 iii 9, KUB 33.94 i 7; *ekunima-* "cold" KBo 3.23 i 7; *halki-* "grain" KBo 4.2 i 60; *haluga-* "message" KUB 7.58 i 7; *heu-* "rain" KUB 29.3 i 8, KBo 17.62+ iv 8'; *huwant-* "wind" KBo 17.62+ iv 8'; *kammara-* "fog" KUB 17.10 i 5; *katkattima-* "trembling" KUB 33.98 ii 7; *lala-* (EME-*aš*) "tongue" KUB 12.62 rev 6; *mahla-* "(vine) branch" KUB 43.23 rev 21; *nahšaratt-* "fear" KUB 33.98 ii 8, KUB 28.4 obv rt.col. 21, IBoT 1.36 i 59; *paššila-* "pebble" KBo 15.32 iv 3; *šurka-* "root" KBo 17.22 iii 12'; *tuhhui-* "vapor" KUB 17.10 i 5; *weritema-* "terror" KUB 28.4 obv rt.col. 21; and *zahhai-* "battle" KUB 7.58 i 7.

under the influence of seven neighboring proper ergatives. In the following Cuneiform Luvian sentence, such an extension may also account for *tiyammantiš*, built under the influence of *tappašantiš* "heaven" to the common-gender noun *tiyammi-* "earth" (cf. the transitive subject *tiyammiš* at KUB 35.54 ii 51'):

(2.27) KUB 9.6+ ii 14-15 (Dupaduparša ritual, CTH 759, ed. Starke 1985: 113)

āš=ša=ti ēlhādu **tappašantiš tiyammantiš**

"Let **heaven** and **earth** wash their own mouth(s)"

A similar extension is found in Hieroglyphic Luvian:

(2.28) BOYBEYPINARI 2 III B3 - III C3 - IV A3 (Hawkins 1970: 85)

('CAELUM') *ti-pa-sa-ti-sa-pa-wa/i-tu-u* ('TERRA') *ta-sà*-REL+*ra/i-ti-sa-ha* CAELUM-*sa-ha* TERRA-REL+*ra/i-sa-ha* DEUS-*ni-i-zi* IRA-*tà-ti* CUM-*ni* X-*tu*

"May **heaven** and **earth** and the gods of heaven and earth ... to him in anger"

Here **tipasantis* "heaven" and **tasakurantis* "earth" are ergatives, as noted by Hawkins (1970: 95), and the latter is, like *tiyammantiš* above, built to a common-gender noun. Moreover, since **tu* "to him" is dative, this sentence must reflect a cross-linguistically trivial extension, whether sporadic or systematic in Hieroglyphic Luvian, of the domain of the ergative from properly transitive clauses to those with two-place agentive intransitive verbs.

The second group of exceptions involves personification. As Craig Melchert (p.c.) observes, since some neuter transitive subjects must routinely have entailed personification (e.g. Hieroglyphic Luvian **tipasantis* = Cuneiform Luvian *tappašantiš* = Hittite *nepišanza*), extension of the ergative formation to common-gender nouns would have been favored when personification was intended. Thus suggestions like that of Neu (e.g. 1979: 425-27) that the ergative reflects a general Hittite process of animatization should be evaluated only on the basis of syntactically conditioned ergatives. In (2.29), the motivation is somewhat more complicated for the creation of the ergatives URU-*az* "town" (built to common-gender *happira-*) and *parnanzašš=a* "house":

(2.29) KUB 41.8 iv 30 (Ritual for the infernal divinities, CTH 446, ed. Otten 1961: 138)

kāšš=a=za URU-az parnanzašš=a [(UD)]U.A.LUM DÙ-ru

"And let **this town** and **house** become the ram"

It is syntactic inasmuch as the verb *kiš-* "become", while intransitive, has two arguments and in context an active interpretation (see above). It is not strictly syntactic, however, since personification is intended, and so not only *pir/parn-* "house" but "town" is given an ergative. The existence of a few instances of this type is to be expected and is not evidence against a syntactic treatment of the ergative formation. In order to defend the view that the ergative has in general the same motivation as (for instance) the putative thematization of neuters, it would be necessary to claim, with Tchekhoff (1978: 228-32), that this too is motivated by a syntactic constraint against neuter transitive subjects. There is no evidence for this view. Tchekhoff adduces the sentence in (2.30), translating "quand le feu saisit un homme à la gorge" (1978: 231, following Laroche 1971: 190).

(2.30) KUB 8.36 iii 1-2 (Catalogue, CTH 279, ed. Laroche 1971: 188)

[mān] antuhš[an] hūwahh[urtin] **p[ah]huenaš** ēpzi

Especially in view of the recently discovered ergative *pahhuenanza* in (2.20) above, however, *pahhuenaš* is almost certainly a genitive, and the sentence may mean "if (that) of the fire seizes a man in the throat" (see HE §212 on this use of the genitive and cf. Burde 1974: 40 on the "Beschwörung des Feuers"). Another argument might point to *parnaš* in the transitive subject position at KBo 10.45 i 5, i 19, and iv 31; since the last of these is parallel to (2.29), it seems certain, if *parnaš* is a common-gender nominative that thematization and ergative formation serve the same purpose in this text; alternatively, as Calvert Watkins (p.c.) suggest, *parnaš* too might be a genitive "(that) of the house". As noted, however, this purpose is only partially syntactic. Although there is no reason to doubt that a transfer to the common-gender class by means of thematization expressed personification, there is likewise no reason to believe that this process was more than occasional, or that it was ever employed

for strictly syntactic purposes when personification was not intended. The existence of a personified *parnaš* as a transitive subject is thus of no relevance to the status of the ergative.

There are, finally and unsurprisingly, some transitive subjects in *-anza* which are at present ambiguous and may be either ergatives or possessive denominals. An example is *tuikkanza*, built to the root noun *tuekk-* "body" in the following sentence[11]:

(2.31) KBo 6.2 ii 54 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 32)

nu **tuikkanza**=šiš=pat šarnikzi

"His own ***t.*** replaces (it)" or "his own ***t.*** makes restitution"

If the verb *šarnink-* here is transitive "replace", as at KBo 6.2 i 5 and elsewhere, then *tuikkanza* could be either an ergative "body" or a possessive denominal meaning originally "having the body", but if *šarnink-* here is intransitive "make restitution", then *tuikkanza* must be a possessive denominal. Two similar forms are *tuzziyanza* and *udniyanza* (from common-gender *tuzzi-* "army/camp" and neuter *udne* "land"). Since there are oblique case-forms of both *tuzziyant-* and *udniyant-*, these obliques must be substantivized possessive denominals (*"having the army/camp" > "soldier(s)" and *"having the land" > "population"). Instances of *tuzziyanza* and *udniyanza* as transitive subjects are thus ambiguous: they may be either ergatives (to *tuzzi-* and *udne*) or ordinary nominatives (to *tuzziyant-* and *udniyant-*), and the ambiguity can only be resolved case by case (if at all). In the cases of *tuikkanza* and *tuzziyanza*, there is no apparent reason to have built ergatives to common-gender nouns: neither is a personification or obviously under the influence of proper ergatives, and *tuzziyanza* at least is not a sporadic creation. It may therefore be easier to take both as possessive denominals at present.

---

[11] Calvert Watkins suggests (p.c.), in view of its ablauting paradigm (cf. e.g. gen. sg. *tukkaš*), that this noun may not be thematic, and that nominative singular *tuekkaš* may actually continue **tweks* directly, with an epenthetic vowel triggered by the coda cluster.

The last uncertain case is presented by *linkiyanza* and *linkiyanteš* "oath-deity/deities". These forms have been taken at CHD 67-69 (following Laroche) as ergatives of *lingai-* "oath" in an otherwise unattested meaning, and by Oettinger (1976: 41-42) as nominatives of an otherwise unattested substantivized possessive denominal *linkiyant-* (< *"having the oath"). Although the forms in question certainly mean something like "oath-deity" rather than simply "oath", such an extension is crosslinguistically trivial: compare the Lycian phrase "the oaths will strike/seize him" in (2.38) below, where *teseti* "oaths" cannot be a possessive denominal, as well as the following:

(2.32) a Hesiod, Theogony 231-32

Hórkon th, hòs dḕ pleîston epikhthoníous anthrṓpous pēmaínei, hóte kén tis hekṑn epíorkon omóssēi

"Oath, which most damages earthly men, when someone knowingly swears a false oath" (see Benveniste 1969: 2.168)

b Helgaqviða Hundingsbana 2.31

þic scyli allir eiðar bíta

"All the oaths shall bite you"

The analysis of the CHD is thus semantically plausible. It is true, as Craig Melchert points out (p.c.), that the evidence for a neuter **lingai* rests on the reading of a badly broken Hittite sign and on assumptions about the Hittite values of several logograms, and is therefore somewhat tenuous. If *linkiyanza* and *linkiyanteš* are ergatives, they are thus probably built to a common-gender noun; however, since they are attested as personifications, this too is possible. To resolve the matter, it would be necessary to identify an instance—not a transitive subject—either of *lingai-* in the meaning "oath-deity" or of *linkiyant-*. These would, respectively, support the position of the CHD or that of Oettinger. The existence and distribution of *NIŠ* DINGIR(.MEŠ/-*LIM*) and *linkiyaš* DINGIR(.MES) are irrelevant, since it is not doubted that *linkiyanza/linkiyanteš* and *lingai-*, as attested, differ semantically.

The remaining possible analyses of the ergative are (to repeat) first, that neuters inflect in an ergative case whose endings are *-anza* and *-anteš*, and second, that a functionally distinct derivational suffix *-ant-* transfers neuter transitive subjects to the common-gender class. The first analysis is of course preferable a priori, since ergative case-marking of the type proposed for Hittite is crosslinguistically unremarkable, whereas a derivational suffix whose function is to permit nouns of a particular gender to stand in a particular syntactic function would, as far as I know, have no parallel in Indo-European or elsewhere. Such a process would in fact be so remarkable that it is extraordinary that it has been widely accepted for Anatolian in the face of a straightforward alternative. However, since such typological considerations are at best only suggestive, I turn to the history of the ergative.

2.3.2. Phonology of the Ergative

I argued above that the Hittite ergative is conditioned syntactically, as is atypical of derivational morphology. In this section I will present evidence from Hittite and Lycian which shows that the Anatolian ergative in fact cannot be a development from the well-attested derivational suffix ***-ant-*** (nom. sg. ***-ant-s***), but must rather be reconstructed with a sequence ***-anti.***

To begin with, the evidence of Luvian is ambiguous. Examples of the Luvian ergative appear above and in (2.33):

(2.33) KUB 35.54 ii 49' - iii 1 (Ritual of Puriyanni, CTH 758, ed. Starke 1985: 68)

[š]ānduw=ata **parnantinzi ... tarušantiš**

"Let **the house**(s), ..., and **the statue** release them"

Other probable ergatives are *haratn-antiš* "scandal", GIG-*anteš* "sickness", and ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG-*antiš* "liver", but two Luvian forms treated as ergatives by Laroche can now be reassigned to other categories. First, in (2.34), *parnanza* is not an ergative but just *parnan* in the so-called *ša*-case:

(2.34) KUB 35.54 iii 26 (Ritual of Puriyanni, CTH 758, ed. Starke 1985: 69)

a=ta halāl āšdu zā **[p]arnanza**

"Let it be pure, this **house**"

Hieroglyphic Luvian DOMUS-*na-za* may therefore well conceal **parnan-za* rather than **parn-za* (see Hawkins et al. 1974: 176). Second, at KUB 35.54 ii 51', *huwahhuršantinzi* (unknown meaning) cannot be an ergative, even though it is the subject of a transitive verb, since at ibid. iii 27 and 36, *huhhuršantinzi*, the same form with syncope, is a subject of the intransitive verb *ašdu* "let it be". The noun is simply common-gender *hu(wa)hhuršanti-*.

The *-i-* which appears in the endings *-antiš* (sg.) and *-antinzi* (pl.), while absent in Hittite, need not be taken as a phonological archaism, since all inherited *nt*-stems were thematized (i.e. given a certain vocalic suffix) in Luvian as *nti*-stems. The Luvian evidence is thus consistent with the view that the ergative originated in a derivational suffix **-ant-*: nom. sg. **-ant-s* > *-antiš* and nom. pl. **-ant-es* > *-antinzi* by regular phonological and morphological developments. Of course, since *anti* is also the regular phonological outcome of **anti*, the Luvian data is equally consistent with the view that the Anatolian ergative was characterized by an ending **-anti* to which the productive nominative endings *-š* and *-nzi* were secondarily added (see further §2.3.4.2 below).

Within Hittite, though, phonological evidence shows that **-anti* must be the source of the Anatolian ergative ending. Since Anatolian **ti* ordinarily gives /ts/ in final position in Hittite, an ending *-anza* can reflect either **-anti* or **-ants*. However, inherited final **i* after **t* was retained in sandhi before *ya* "and"; thus the productive ablative ending *-aza* < **-ati* is regularly *-azzi=ya* before *ya* (see Melchert 1977: 439-42). Ordinarily, as noted in §1.3.1, the postconsonatal allomorph of *ya* causes gemination of the preceding consonant, e.g. the final *z* of the nominative singular of *ant*-stems (so *kunanzaššš=a* /gunantsts=a/ "and the killed" at KBo 4.4 ii 75).

In addition to its productive ablative, Hittite has a marginal ablative in *-anza* < **-anti* (see below). The historically correct shape of this ending before *ya* "and" is *-anzi=ya*, which

is attested once among the secure *anza*-ablatives identified by Melchert (1977: 448-50), in the form GÙB-*anzi=ya* "and from the left" at KUB 24.14 i 13. The ergative should show the same sandhi treatment if it originated in a sequence ***-anti*.** In other Hittite phonological environments, however, the ergative ending is identical to the suffix plus ending of the nominatives of *ant*-stems. Given this phonological overlap, their functional overlap (both occur as transitive subjects), and the frequency of *ant*-stems, the introduction in the ergatives of the analogical, properly postconsonantal sandhi treatment *-anzašš=a* should have been possible regardless of their original shape. Such a treatment is indeed attested in five of six instances of this sandhi context.[12] By contrast, the treatment *-anzi=ya* occurs once:

(2.35) KUB 29.7 rev 29-30 (Ritual of Šamuha, CTH 480, ed. Lebrun 1976: 123)

i-da-a-la-u-wa-an-zi-ya *NIŠ* DINGIR-*LIM*=ya hurtaiš

pa-ap-ra-an-na-a[n-z]a-ša ini É.DINGIR-*LIM* šuppi[wašha]naš iwar anda hūlaliyan hardu

"**And** may **evil** and perjury, curse **and impurity** hold this temple enveloped like an onion"

The two forms *idālauwanzi=ya* "and evil" and *paprannanzaš=a* "and impurity" illustrate, respectively, the sandhi treatments historically appropriate to *anza*-ablatives and to the nominative singulars of *ant*-stems. The first form, *idālauwanzi*, must be an ergative rather than a possessive adjective, since the latter would be ***idāluwant-*** like *āššuwant-* (see §2.3.1 above). Its final *i* has been taken as a Luvianism by Lebrun (1976: 137) and as the result of analogy to the *anza*-ablative by Melchert (1977: 298). However, although analogy could easily have led to an innovation in the ergatives on the model of transitive subject *ant*-stems

---

[12] Once in (2.35), and twice at KUB 41.8 iv 30 and 34 (both *parnanzašš=a* "and the house"). Despite fragmentary contexts, *ēšhananzašš=a* "and blood" and *[huw]alliššananzašš=a* "and the pine-cone" are presumably "ergatives" at KUB 4.1 ii 22 and KUB 7.58 i 4 respectively.

(hence the attested *paprannanzaš=a*, etc.), it seems unlikely to have led to innovation in the ergatives on the model of the *anza*-ablatives, a small class whose function is synchronically unrelated to that of the ergatives. By comparison, the very frequent nominative singulars of secure *ant*-stems never attest the sandhi outcome *-anzi=ya*. This outcome is therefore synchronically unmotivated and likely to preserve an archaism.

The final **i* of an original ergative ending **-anti* seems also to have been preserved in a secondarily created Hittite vocative. It is well known that in addition to nominative *-anza* in vocative function, the vocatives of apparent *nt*-stems show two treatments, *-nta* and *-nti* (see e.g. Laroche 1969: 176-77 and Eichner 1982/83: 239 n36). The former treatment is associated with secure *nt*-stems such as the divine names *Wišuriyanta* at KBo 15.27:2 and ^{d}IM-*ta* = **Tarhunta* at KUB 33.24 + 28 iii 13. The treatment *-nti*, however, as Craig Melchert points out (p.c.), seems to be characteristic of ergatives:

(2.36) a KUB 32.137 ii 2-3 (cf. ii 19; Foundation ritual, CTH 415)

anda=ma=kan kiššan memai **pētanti** ēt=za nu=za duškiški

"... while one speaks as follows: "**O place**, eat and rejoice!" "

b KUB 36.18 ii 6'-7' (Song of Silver, CTH 364, ed. Hoffner 1986: 152)

EGIR-pa memiškiuwan da[i]š [lē=mu kuwaškiš]i **KÙ.BABBAR-anti**

lē=mu=kan kueš[i][13]

"She began to reply: 'don't strike me, **O Silver**, don't kill me!' "

---

[13] The restoration is that of Laroche (1968: 64; cf. 1969: 177); other restorations from the Song of Silver are those of Hoffner (1986). In this instance I follow Laroche rather than Hoffner because KÙ.BABBAR-*anti* is extremely unlikely to be dative-locative with a verb of speaking. If it were, it would be sentence-final and the verb of speaking which governs it would therefore probably be sentence-initial, perhaps immediately after *memiškiuwan da[i]š*; this would make poor sense in context (cf. KUB 36.19 left 12'-13'). Given the form of *pētanti*, a secure vocative in (2.36a), there is no reason to doubt that KÙ.BABBAR-*anti* is also a vocative, as its context virtually requires.

The vocative *pētanti* in (2.36a) is unlikely to reflect a derived common-gender **pēd-ant-*; compare neuter *apāt ... pētan* "that place" at ii 8 in the same manuscript. Likewise, it is unnecessary to assume (with Hoffner 1986: 163) a derived *ant*-stem underlying KÙ.BABBAR-*anti* in (2.36b), although such a derivation would be both semantically plausible ("[god] who has silver") and, as Calvert Watkins notes (p.c.), parallelled elsewhere in Indo-European (cf. the **nt*-stems Latin *argentum* and Old Irish *argat*). Other than KÙ.BABBAR-*anti* itself, the logogram KÙ.BABBAR occurs in the Song of Silver with a secure phonetic complement in *-ant-* only in the form KÙ.BABBAR-*anza*, which in clear contexts appears only as a transitive subject, as in (2.37)[14]:

(2.37) KUB 17.4:2' (Song of Silver, CTH 364, ed. Hoffner 1986: 149)

DUMU-an **KÙ.BABBAR-anza** GIŠP[A-it GUL-ahta]

"**Silver** struck the boy with a stick"

The treatment of KÙ.BABBAR in the Song of Silver is thus consistent with the view that it conceals a Hittite neuter whose ergative is KÙ.BABBAR-*anza*.[15] This in turn allows an

---

[14] The exception at KUB 17.4: 8', KÙ.BABBAR-*anza anda parna=šša pait* "Silver entered his house", may be comparable to the sentences discussed in §2.3.1 above.

[15] The surviving Song of Silver fragments in fact show contradictory treatments of the gender of KÙ.BABBAR. Thus at KUB 33.115 iii 16', *nakki=ma=ššan* KÙ[.BABBAR ...], *nakki* must, pace Hoffner (1986: 156 with n. 101), be a neuter adjective modifying KÙ.BABBAR (so Otten 1950: 29 n. 2); cf. KUB 36.19 left 8'-9', *nakkiyatar=z[a ...* Š(U[?].MEŠ-*it* KÙ.BAB)BAR-*anza ēpt]a*[?] "Silver seized *nakkiyatar* with his hands" (restored slightly differently by Hoffner 1986: 159). On the other hand, the only pronouns which clearly refer to Silver are common-gender, e.g. *aš* at KUB 36.18 ii 20' and *an* at HFAC 12 i 7. At KUB 36.18 ii 5', [EG]IR-*pa=aš=za=kan neya[i]* "he turned around", the sign AŠ has been written over an erased AT, according to H.G. Güterbock apud Hoffner (1986: 152 n. 59). I take this variation as support for the view that KÙ.BABBAR is grammatically neuter but personified and therefore common-gender ad sensum. The existence of a direct object KÙ.BABBAR-*an* at HFAC 12 i 7 does not contradict this view, since the Hittite word concealed by KÙ.BABBAR is unknown. (KÙ.BABBAR-*i-an-za* at Bo 5019 [Hoffner 1986: 161] may in fact consist of KÙ.BABBAR-*i* followed by the beginning of another word.)

explanation of the vocative KÙ.BABBAR-*anti*; the assumption of a derived noun *KÙ.BABBAR-*ant*- does not.

As indicated above, inherited *-*anti* ordinarily results in -*anza*; the lack of assibilation and retention of final *i* in these vocatives in -*anti* must thus in some way reflect the unusual phonological environment of vocatives, and will ultimately help determine precisely the conditioning of the development *-*ti* > *z* /ts/. These vocatives in -*anti* were undoubtedly created by the same trivial extension of subject-marking to vocative function observed throughout Indo-European. In this case, the locus of the change—whose phonology shows that it occurred before *-*ti* > *z*—must have been transitive clauses with null second-person subjects to which neuter (hence ergative) NPs were apposed; these were reanalyzed as vocatives.[16]

Since Laroche's treatment of the ergatives, a related formation has been identified in Lycian. Among the possible instances noted by Carruba (1982: 14), a secure ergative is the plural *teseti* from *tasa* "oaths" (independently identified by Laroche 1979: 89 n. 12 and Philo Houwink ten Cate apud Bryce 1976: 185). This form occurs twice in curse formulae[17]:

(2.38) a TL 135.2

s=ene **teseti** tubeiti trmmili

"and the Lycian **oaths** will strike him"

---

[16] Ultimately, they were replaced via a subsequent extension of the same type, resulting in forms like *nepišanz*[*a*] at KUB 15.34 iv 32, *n=uš attaš nepišanz*[*a*] EGIR-*an tarna* "father heaven, release them".

[17] The denasalization in *teseti* in (2.38a), as opposed to *teseti* in (2.38b), reflects a sporadic Lycian phonological process. As Carruba (1982: 14) notes, *trmmili* and *trmmilijeti* (if this reading is correct) in these two clauses seem to show, respectively, nominative and ergative adjectival agreement with *teseti*. Laroche (1979: 89 n. 12) appears to follow Meriggi (e.g. 1980: 372) in analyzing *trmmilijeti* as *trmmili* plus *eti* "under", but even if a postpositional *eti* existed, the necessary sense seems impossible in context.

b TL 149.10

s=ẹne **teseẹti** qãñti trmmilijẹti

"and the Lycian **oaths** will seize (?) him"

The ergative singular "oath" should also be **teseẹti*. A Lycian form in *-ẹti* < **-enti* can reflect **-anti* and **-antis* inter alia, but not **-ants* directly; *teseẹti* in particular might thus continue **taks-anti* or **taks-antis* (cf. Laroche 1979: 73). In principle, the Luvian *i*-thematization of *nt*-stems could be a common innovation of Luvian and Lycian, and since *-ẹti* could be formally identical to both *-antiš* and *-antinzi* in Luvian, Lycian could provide no independent evidence of the original ergative ending. In fact, however, this cannot be the case, since secure *nt*-stems appear in Lycian as *a*-stems rather than *i*-stems (Melchert 1989b: 44 n. 35): *ahñtãi* "property, possessions", the frozen participle of the verb "be" (Laroche 1979: 68), is synchronically an *a*-stem *ahñta-*, not an *i*-stem **ahñti-*; and in the phrase *mahãi ... lãtãi* "gods of the dead", *lãtãi* is probably (with Melchert 1989a: 34) the genitive plural of the frozen participle of *la-* "die", also treated synchronically as an *a*-stem *lãta-*. The *i*-stem seen in Cuneiform Luvian *ul-ant-i-š* "dead" would have led to Lycian **lãti-*. Since a stem **taks-ant-* would thus give nom. pl. **taks-ant-a-nsi* > Lycian **tasãtãi* or the like, the ergative *teseẹti* must instead reflect an original ending **-anti*.[18]

---

[18] The putative Lycian examples of *i*-thematization of **nt*-stems mentioned by Carruba (1979: 82) and Neumann (1962: 208 and 1978: 127) are extremely uncertain (on e.g. *aruwãti*, see Melchert 1989a: 6) and must now be assigned other derivations.

Craig Melchert observes (p.c.) that the conditioning of the ergative in Lycian is demonstrably syntactic, not semantic. The phrase *tasa miñtaha* "oaths of the miñti" appears at TL 75.4-5, *m=ẹne tubidi q[ĩ]a[j] eb[i s]e Malija se t[asa] miñtaha* "the local precinct (?) will strike him, and Malija, and the oaths of the miñti". In this sentence, *tasa* functions as the agent of a transitive verb and seems therefore to contradict the view that *teseẹti* replaces it in in the transitive subject position. However, postverbal subjects preceded by the conjunction *se* "and" regularly (as here) fail to affect verbal agreement and are probably in their unmarked (i.e. intransitive

2.3.3. Origin of the Ergative

The reconstruction of an Anatolian ergative ending **-anti* means that any historical connection with a suffix **-ant-* is impossible. As mentioned above, the Hittite ablative has both a productive allomorph *-aza* < **-ati*, cognate with Luvian *-ati* and Lycian *-edi*, and a rare allomorph *-anza*; I will argue with Puhvel (1984: 476-77), who does not mention any of the phonological evidence above, that the ergative originated in the ancestor of the *anza*-ablative.

Since the *anza*-ablative is confined to neuter singular nouns and mainly to *r/n*-stems (see Melchert 1977: 448-50), most analyses have rightly looked there for its source. For example, according to Jasanoff (1973: 123-28), the *anza*-ablatives originated as ablatives built to the endingless locatives of *r/n*-stems, i.e. in Hittite terms forms like **papratan-za* from *papratar* "impurity". Calvert Watkins (p.c.) notes as an alternative that **papratan-za* would simply be the regular outcome of an ablative like **papratn̥-za* built to the zero-grade weak stem (cf. dative-locative *kišr-i* "hand" < **g^{h}'esr-i* and instrumental *kiššar-ta* as if < **g^{h}'esr̥-t*). In either case, with the decline in productivity of both the endingless locative and the zero-grade weak nominal stem, forms like **papratan-za* became opaque; their ending was reanalyzed as **-anza*, and, on the model of other oblique cases like genitive **papratn-aš* and dative **papratn-ai*, they were remade as **papratn-anza* (> Hitt. *paprannanza* by sound law). Since this step could only have occurred in the subclass of the *r/n*-stems where strong stems in **-ar* (e.g. *papratar*) contrasted with weak stems in **-n* (e.g. **papratan-*), the *anza*-ablative was at first confined only to such stems. Subsequently it was generalized to other neuters, but not to common-gender nouns.

---

subject) case, rather than in a marked form (the ergative). There cannot be any semantic difference between *tasa* here and *teseti* above.

Although it is ordinarily quite naturally assumed that the *anza*-ablative was an innovation of Hittite, nothing about the historical scenario just sketched precludes dating it to any other stage of Anatolian: by the same mechanism ablatives in ***-an-ti*** could have become opaque and have been remade in ***-n-anti***. The absence of comparative evidence for an ****anti*-ablative in Anatolian is not particularly significant, since the *anza*-ablative is marginal even in Hittite, and loss or accidental nonattestation elsewhere would hardly be surprising. An early Anatolian neuter ablative allomorph in ***-anti*** is therefore possible.

While proposing that the *anza*-ablative is the source of the ergatives, Puhvel's explication of the actual diachronic development seems to me certainly wrong.[19] According to him, the source of the ergative is the construction seen in (2.47), with impersonal verb and ablative of agent:

(2.39) KUB 30.26 i 1-2 (Ritual of Zelliya, CTH 783)

mān UKÚ-an **^{d}Išharaz** GIG-zi

"If it ails a man **from** (the goddess) **Išhara**", i.e. "if **Išhara** makes a man sick"

On this view, clauses like (2.40), originally interpreted as in (2.40a), were reanalyzed as in (2.40b):

(2.40) KUB 30.34 iv 7-8 (Ritual, CTH 401)

nu **ēšhananza** ... ^{É}halinduwa ... lē ēpzi

a "Let it not seize the palace **by bloodshed**"

b "Let **bloodshed** not seize the palace"

There are two problems with this analysis. First, whatever the Indo-European status may have been of the impersonal construction with oblique agent, in Anatolian it is quite marginal (Melchert 1977: 393). It is unlikely to have occurred with sufficient frequency to

---

[19] Even Puhvel does not take the Hittite ergative as a true ergative case; in his view *anza*-ablatives were "secondarily reinterpreted from paradigmatic to derivational status" (1984: 477).

provide a basis for the reanalysis suggested. Second, there is no reason to suppose that this construction was used only with transitive verbs; a clause like "it thundered from the gods" might well have been possible. On Puhvel's analysis there is therefore no explanation of the most salient characteristic of the ergative, namely that it appears just in transitive clauses.

The real models for the creation of the ergative must, in the manner outlined in Garrett (1990), have been transitive clauses with instrumental ablatives and no overt subjects, i.e. clauses like "(s/he) strikes it with a dagger", reanalyzed as meaning "a dagger strikes it". In Hittite terms, the development was as follows. Given an invented sentence like (2.41), originally interpreted as in (2.41a), the crucial innovation involved reanalysis as in (2.41b):

(2.41) n=at **witenanza** parkunuzi

a "S/he purifies it **with water**"

b "**Water** purifies it"

For two reasons, we can be certain that clauses like (2.41a) existed. First, as we will see below, the creation of clitic subject pronouns in Anatolian followed that of the ergative, and, in any case, at no stage between Indo-European and the attested Anatolian languages did such pronouns occur in transitive clauses. The subject of a transitive verb was therefore always either stressed or zero; in particular, transitive clauses with null subject existed (and would have been common, as argued in Garrett [1990: 265]). Second, it is likely that at the relevant stage of Anatolian, the ablative was productively used in instrumental function. Although Hittite itself has an instrumental case, marked by the ending *-(i)t*, Melchert (1977: 466-71) has shown that there is no evidence that this functioned as a productive ending at any prior stage. In the other Anatolian languages, for example, cognates of the Hittite ablative are used in both ablatival and instrumental functions. The Hittite instrumental may therefore be regarded as only secondarily productive.[20]

---

[20] Comparison with Skt. *dakṣiṇit* "with the right hand" and *cikitvit* "with attention" (Pinault 1979, Melchert 1984: 98, and Jochem Schindler apud Melchert 1977: 459-60) does not entail that **-(i)t* was a productive

Prior to the creation of the Hittite opposition between ablative and instrumental, then, the unmarked transitive clause with expressed instrument will have had a null subject and an instrumental ablative. Whenever this instrument was grammatically neuter, its ablative will have had allomorphs in **-ati* and **-anti*. The restricted distribution and partial opacity of the latter facilitated its reanalysis as a marker of some other function, in particular as the subject of its clause. A Hittite example of the clause type which, on this view, provided the source of the ergative is given in (2.42):

(2.42) StBoT 24 ii 78-79 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 16)
URUŠamuhann=a ... **alwanzešnaza** šer šunništa
"He also filled up Šamuha ... **with witchcraft**" or "**Witchcraft** also filled up Šamuha"

The analysis presented here accounts for all the peculiarities of the Anatolian ergative. It is confined to neuters because the opaque ablative allomorph in which it originated was built only to neuters; the other ablative allomorph, being fully productive, was not liable to reanalysis. It is confined to transitive subjects because, as argued in Garrett (1990), instrumentals in intransitive clauses cannot be reanalyzed as subjects. By contrast, the view that the ergatives somehow originated as derived *ant*-stems requires not only ad hoc explanations of the Hittite and Lycian data discussed in §2.3.2 above, but also the proposal that a constraint against neuter transitive subjects somehow developed in Anatolian, and that somehow a derivational suffix with a specific semantic value was pressed into service to

---

instrumental ending of Indo-European or Anatolian, and is consistent with the view that the Hittite instrumental ending was generalized only in pre-Hittite from marginal or adverbial forms (of the type *pangarit* "en masse"). A typological comparandum is furnished by the Indo-European adverbial suffix **-tos*, which was generalized in Sanskrit and elsewhere as a productive ablative ending (see Brugmann 1892: 594-96).

"animatize" neuters just in one syntactic context. It is virtually impossible to imagine a motivation for such developments.

The fact that the ergatives originated as ablatives has a very important syntactic implication. At the stage of Anatolian ancestral to Hittite, Luvian, and Lycian, the ablative ending ended in **i*. There would therefore have been no motivation for reanalyzing an ablative as a masculine or feminine nominative singular, since all nominatives ended in **-s*. At least originally, therefore, the ergative must have been an ergative case with full inflectional status. This means that a synchronically accurate grammatical description of the appropriate stage of Anatolian must identify, for common-gender nouns, a nominative and an accusative case, but for neuter nouns, an ergative and an absolutive case. This stage was in fact Common Anatolian; in other words, as §2.3.4 will show, one of the few certain common innovations of the Anatolian languages was the creation of a split-ergative case-marking system.

2.3.4. Development of the Ergative in Hittite and Luvian

This section will consider the development and synchronic analysis of the attested morphological categories which continue the Anatolian ergative. The possible analyses are, first, that these categories are marked by (inflectional) ergative endings and, second, that they are the nominatives of nouns formed with (derivational) suffixes in a syntactic function. If the second analysis is correct, an inherited inflectional category has, in a rare change type, been reanalyzed as derivational. Although the problem is of course uninteresting if (as it may) it lacks diachronic or synchronic implications, I will argue briefly that the first, simpler analysis is sufficient.

A possible Hittite motivation for reanalyzing the ergative as derivational would have been the secondary homophony between inherited ergative singulars in *-anza* < **-anti* and nominative singulars in *-anza* < **-ant-s*; elsewhere the motivation is less straightforward. But of course, while the Hittite collapse of **-anti* and **-ant-s* might have facilitated this

change, it is not evidence for it. Still, several apparent morphological and syntactic changes could suggest that the Anatolian ergative was secondarily reanalyzed as derivational.

2.3.4.1. Adjectival Agreement

In Hittite and in one of two possible instances in Lycian, adjectives modifying the reflexes of the Anatolian ergative are apparently common-gender. In addition to those in (2.20a), (2.20d), and (2.29) above, Hittite examples include: *kāš aniyawaranza* "this ritual" at KBo 10.45 iv 40; [*idal*]*uš* GIG-*anza* "bad illness" at Bo 5333 (StBoT 9.18); *uddananza ... kuiški* "whichever word" at KUB 15.1 ii 32-33; and *ekunaš wetenaz* "cool water" at KUB 31.127+ iv 22 (cf. Melchert 1977: 256-57). The nouns *aniyawaranza*, GIG-*anza*, *uddananza*, and *wetenaz* are all ergatives, and the adjectives *kāš*, *idaluš*, *kuiški*, and *ekunaš* all have the shapes of common-gender nominatives, not neuter intransitive subjects. Likewise *trmmili* in (2.38a) above has the shape of a masculine or feminine nominative plural, not a neuter plural intransitive subject. No adjectives modifying ergatives are attested in Luvian.

There is a second pattern of adjectival agreement in Hittite and Lycian, characterized by the use of apparently ergative endings (Hittite *-anza*, Lycian *-ẹti*) on adjectives modifying ergative nouns. Examples include Lycian *trmmilijẹti* in (2.38b) above (if the reading is correct), Hittite **āššawanza* "good" and *idālawanza* "evil", both discussed above, and Hittite *arahzenanteš* "surrounding", which modifies *udnianteš* "lands" in the following sentence:

(2.43) KUB 24.3+ ii 49'-50' (Muršili II's prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna, CTH 376, ed. Lebrun 1980: 162-63)

kinun=a **arahzenanteš [udniant]eš** hūmanteš KUR ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-ti [w(alh)]aneškiuwan dāir

"But now all **the surrounding lands** began to attack the Hittite land"

This second pattern, although common to Hittite and Lycian, is probably secondary. The productivity of the nominal ergative endings is such that, if ergative adjectival agreement

had in fact been inherited, there would have been no motivation to replace it by the pattern more commonly attested; such a development is quite unlikely to have occurred twice. On the other hand, a secondary extension of the ergative nominal endings *-anza* and *-ęti* to adjectival paradigms seems trivial. I conclude that the pattern with apparently nominative masculine or feminine adjectival agreement characterized Anatolian itself.

This pattern is not due to any early reanalysis of the ergative in **-anti* as a masculine or feminine nominative—which would, as noted above, have been phonologically impossible—but to a paradigmatic gap caused by the creation of an ergative case. Since the original locus of this category was a class of neuter singular ablative nouns, ergative case-marking itself could originally have characterized only neuter singular transitive subject nouns. Even if the only adjectival ablative ending **-ati* had been extended to mark adjectives modifying ergative nouns, its productivity in ablatival function would have created pressure to replace it in the transitive subject position.

It was therefore necessary in Anatolian to introduce an ending for adjectives which modified nouns in the new ergative case. Evidently the logical possibility **-anti* was not selected, but rather nominative masculine/feminine marking was extended to modify neuter ergatives. This should not be surprising. Once an ergative case had been created, a categorial distinction existed between ergative and absolutive. Even though the absolutive adjectival endings had been used for transitive subjects before the creation of ergativity, there is no reason to expect that the same endings would be secondarily reintroduced for transitive subjects. In fact, after the innovation of an ergative case, neuter and masculine/feminine adjectival inflection would have been distinct only in the absolutive case, and it would thus have been quite natural to model new neuter transitive subject adjectival endings on the pre-existing masculine/feminine ones.

In other words, seemingly nonneuter adjectives modifying ergatives in Hittite and Lycian may continue forms created, on the model of masculine and feminine transitive subjects, to fill a paradigmatic gap in Anatolian. There is no reason to analyze adjectives like *apāš*

"that" in (2.20a) and *kāš* "this" in (2.20b) as nominative: in context they are morphologically ergative. The identity of the adjectival (common-gender) nominative and (neuter) ergative endings is simply a consequence of the origin of the latter, just as the existence in Neo-Hittite of a nominative plural ending *-uš* beside accusative plural *-uš* indicates only that the inherited accusative *-uš* is replacing the inherited nominative ending *-eš*, and not that plural subjects in *-uš* are accusative. This account is necessarily somewhat speculative, but as long as it is possible, adjectival agreement is not evidence that the Anatolian ergative case has become a derivational category.

2.3.4.2. Internal Structure

In Luvian, the inherited ergative ending **-anti* was renewed with the productive common-gender nominative endings *-š* and *-nzi*, an innovation which could in principle have been common to Luvian and Lycian, since Luvian *-antiš* and *-antinzi* both correspond exactly to Lycian *-ẹti*. Similarly, Hittite has extended the sequence *-anteš*, properly the derivational suffix *-ant-* plus the nominative plural ending *-eš*, as the regular ergative plural ending: e.g. *happišnan*[*i*]*eš* "body-parts" (KUB 9.4 i 19 = 9.34 ii 36), *išhišnanteš* "bindings" in (2.20b) above, *lahhurnuzziyanteš* "leafy branches", and *uttananteš* "words". These developments could be taken as evidence that Anatolian ergatives were reanalyzed in Hittite and Luvian as the nominatives of common-gender derived stems in Hittite *-ant-* and Luvian *-anti-*.

Again, however, it may be easier to regard the developments in question as the products of systematic pressure dating from the Anatolian period. Since the ergative case originated via the reanalysis of neuter singulars, it must originally have lacked plural forms, just as it lacked adjectival forms. But while the absence of an adjectival ergative ending created a paradigmatic gap which urgently required filling to allow adjectival modification of neuter transitive subjects, the paradigmatic gap created by the absence of a plural nominal ergative ending was not so serious. The ergative as a category could well have continued indefinitely

to have as its domain only singular neuters, with plural neuter transitive subjects retaining their inherited nominative or absolutive marking.

The failure of Hittite and Luvian to agree on the shape of the ergative plural ending supports this scenario and suggests that the extension of the ergative case to neuter plurals was a parallel innovation in Hittite and Luvian. Such a development, being systematically well-motivated, is trivial enough to be posited twice. Hittite and Luvian then filled this paradigmatic gap in different ways: in Luvian, the only other transitive subject plural ending, nominative *-nzi*, was added to the ergative singular ending *-anti*; and in Hittite, the proportional analogy in (2.44a) created an ergative plural ending *-anteš* on the basis of the nominative plurals of *ant*-stems. Subsequently in Luvian, the proportional analogy in (2.44b) replaced the inherited ergative singular ending *-anti* by a recharacterized *-antiš*.

(2.44) a nom. sg. *-anza* : erg. sg. *-anza* :: nom. pl. *-anteš* : *x*, *x* = erg. pl. *-anteš*

b nom. pl. *-antinzi* : erg. pl. *-antinzi* :: nom. sg. *-antiš* : *x*, *x* = erg. sg. *-antiš*

Analogical developments like these are perfectly possible. In Sanskrit, neut. nom.-acc. pl. *-āni*, historically proper to the *n*-stems, was extended to the *a*-stems, so that on the model of *n*-stem pairs like neut. nom.-acc. pl. *nām-ā* and *nām-āni* "names", inherited *yug-ā* "yokes" acquired a competing *yug-āni*. But although analogical pressure from the neuter *n*-stems led to the creation of a new neuter *a*-stem form, the *a*-stems were not themselves reanalyzed as *n*-stems, as can be seen from their continued independence elsewhere; cf. e.g. nom.-acc. sg. *nām-a* vs. *yug-am*, gen. sg. *nām-naḥ* vs. *yug-asya*. One linguistic category can thus easily provide the basis for analogical change in a second without any actual reanalysis of the second category itself, and in Hittite, for instance, common-gender nominatives in *-anza* could well have provided the basis for analogy within the ergative paradigm (sg. *-anza*) without any need for reanalysis of the ergatives as nominatives.

2.3.4.3. Verbal Agreement

While Hittite neuter plurals never agree with intransitive verbs and instead invariably co-occur with singular verbs (HE §196), the ergative plurals attested in Hittite and (twice)

in Lycian regularly agree with plural verbs. There is no relevant Luvian evidence. It could be argued that since the Hittite and Lycian reflexes of the Anatolian ergative do not pattern with (intransitive subject) neuters in verbal agreement, they should not be analyzed synchronically as neuters. However, the fact that ergative plurals do not share a property with intransitive subject neuter plurals is not proof that they are not neuter. The property in question may simply be diagnostic of intransitive subjects rather than subjects in general, and the behavior of ergatives may thus simply indicate what we already know, that they are not intransitive subjects. This is certainly the case here: there is no more reason to expect the absolutive verb-agreement rule to have been extended to ergative plurals than there is to expect it to have been extended to intransitive subject common-gender plurals. After the ergative case was created, the rule applied just to intransitive verbs with neuter plural subjects.

2.3.4.4. Anaphora

There is a positive indication that the ergative remains an ergative case in at least Hittite, namely, the evidence of pronominal anaphora. In at least two contexts, an ergative noun is resumed with a formally neuter pronoun. One of these appears in (2.45):

(2.45) KBo 10.45 iv 37-39 (Ritual for the infernal divinities, CTH 446, ed. Otten 1961: 138)

karizz=a=kan GIM-an URU-az šēhur IM-an arri šuhha=ma=kan **A-az** arri n=**at**=kan GAM ^{GIŠ}PISÁN-az ārzi

"And just as a flood washes urine and mud from the city, and **water** washes the roof and **it** flows down the drain"

The antecedent of the clitic pronoun *at* here is A-*az* (i.e. *wetenanza*), the ergative singular of *watar* "water". It is not possible to interpret this passage alternatively as "and just as a flood washes urine and mud from the city and washes the roof with water, and it flows down the drain", i.e. with A-*az* an ablative. This is indicated by the presence of *ma* and proven by the fact that *karitt-* means "flood, crue, Hochwasser", rather than "Regenguss" (as translated by

Otten 1961: 139). In addition to the passages quoted by Laroche (1951: 69-70), note the following:

(2.46) a KBo 10.45 iv 41 (Ritual to the infernal divinities, CTH 446, ed. Otten 1961: 138)

n=at=kan kariz aruni anda pidau

"Let the flood carry them into the sea"

b KUB 36.110 rev 17-21 (Benedictions for the king, CTH 820, ed. Neu 1980a: 228)

appaliyallaš=a É[-ir] karitti pēran u[etan] karaiz lah[ui] n=at parā šartai n=a[t ...] aruna [...]

"But the enemy's house is built in front of the flood; the flood will flow, dislodge it, and carry (?) it to the sea"

c KUB 34.10 ii 9'-11' (Lunar divination, CTH 533)

mān *INA* ITU.5.KAM ^{d}SIN-aš pušz[a] girēz=a uizzi tā halki$^{HI.A}$-uš pēdā[i]

"If in the fifth month the moon wanes, a flood will come and carry off the grains"

d KBo 12.73:7'-8' (Hymn to Iškur-Adad, CTH 314)

[Í]D.MEŠ-ašš=a=kan anda [k]aridduš aršanut

"He made floods flow in the rivers"

Since *karitt-* refers to a flood caused by overflowing rivers, and not to rain itself (the latter is Hittite *heu-*; note *[hēaw]eš garitteššš=a* "rains and floods" at KUB 34.14:10), it would make no sense to speak of a *karitt-* washing roofs. In (2.45), then, the first two clauses must have different subjects: the (river's) flood which washes out the town, and the (rain) water which washes off the roof.

The second context where an ergative noun is resumed by a neuter pronoun is the following:

(2.47) KUB 14.1+ obv 25-27 (Madduwatta, CTH 147, ed. Götze 1928: 6)

kuiš=a=wa **KUR-eanza**=ma=t[ta k]ūru[r ēpzi nu=wa=šš*a*n kuitma]n *ŠA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* [ERÍN.MEŠ zahhiyata]ri ug=a=wa=za manni[nk]uwan kuit [nu=w]ar=**at** ūk hū[d]ak wa[lah]mi

"But **any land which** takes hostility to you, while His Majesty's troops do battle and I am near, I shall immediately destroy **it**"

Here the subject of the first sentence, *kuiš* KUR-*eanza* (i.e. *udneanza*) "whichever land", is resumed in the last sentence by *at* "it".

I have seen two other apparent cases of resumption of an ergative by an intransitive subject pronoun, neither of which is probative. On the pronominalization of KÙ.BABBAR in the Song of Silver, see note 15 above. The other instance is printed and translated at CHD 74 as follows:

(2.48) KUB 39.71 ii 44-47 (Ritual for Ištar-Pirinkir, CTH 718)

mahhan=ma=za ^{GIŠ}**lūēšnanza** arh[a ...] n=**at** *ANA* DINGIR-*LIM* šer arha wah[nuzzi kuitman=m]a ^{GIŠ}lūēššar wahn[(uškizzi)]

"But when **the *lūēššar*** [burns (?)] out [...] he waves **it** over the deity; while he is waving the *l.* ...."

If ^{GIŠ}*lūēšnanza* were indeed an ergative, this would exemplify the agreement pattern of (2.45) and (2.47). However, although the antecedent of *at* here is obviously *lūēššar* in some form, without evidence of a transitive verb in the first clause there is no reason not to take ^{GIŠ}*lūēšnanza* as an ablative with *arha*. The presence of an absolutive ^{GIŠ}*lūēššar* in place of ^{GIŠ}*lūēšnanza* in the parallel text KUB 39.70 i 5 is not evidence against an ablative, since ^{GIŠ}*lūēššar* can only be in A or O function, and ^{GIŠ}*lūēšnanza* cannot be in either; the manuscripts therefore differ materially.

The pattern of agreement represented by (2.45) and (2.47) is unlikely to be ad sensum: even if semantically animate nouns, which are virtually all morphologically common-gender, are common-gender ad sensum (see note 15), there is no reason to suppose that Hittite

inanimates are neuter ad sensum, since unlike animates they are not limited to one grammatical gender, and there are no clear instances of neuter pronouns resuming common-gender inanimates. If pronouns agree with their antecedents, then, because *at* is neuter, A-*az* should be neuter too. In view of this agreement pattern, the view that forms like this are common-gender could be maintained in one of two ways. One could treat ergatives as underlying neuters which are made common-gender by an extraordinary syntactic process; but see note 5 above. Alternatively, one could propose that the clitic pronouns in (2.45) and (2.47) are neuter because they represent an underlying intransitive subject *watar* and and underlying object *udne*. This would entail a revival of the view that pronominalization is a syntactic process which transforms underlying nouns into surface pronouns; for a survey of the evidence against this view see e.g. Newmeyer (1986: 141-43). Both proposals are thus unacceptable. For these reasons the Hittite reflex of the Anatolian ergative must be analyzed synchronically, not just diachronically, as a neuter ergative rather than the nominative of a derived stem.

2.4. Verb Serialization

A typologically interesting feature of Anatolian syntax is the existence of serial verb constructions. Such constructions—roughly single sentences with more than one non-conjoined verb—are cross-linguistically common and have been especially well-studied among creoles and the languages of Africa and Papua New Guinea. In Hittite there are two distinct serial verb constructions. The first of these is the "consecutive" construction, as it is termed by Disterheft (1984) in its only special treatment (compare HE §312); I will also use the term "consecutive". This construction is characterized by the presence of two verbs: in addition to the usual sentence-final lexical verb, the clause's first or second stressed word is the verb *pāi-* "go" or *uwa-* "come", agreeing with the subject of the other verb. Examples of this construction appear in (2.49) for *pāi-* and (2.50) for *uwa-* :

(2.49) a KBo 17.11 i 2-3 (Storm ritual, CTH 631, ed. Neu 1980a)

[t]=aš **paiz[z]i** $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*MEŠEDI*-an pēran **tiēz[zi]**

"He **then walks** before the guards"

b KBo 10.23+ i 29'-31' (KI.LAM festival, CTH 627, ed. Singer 1984: 10)

[(n)]u **paizzi** GAL LÚ.MEŠ E.DÉ.A [(LUGA)]L-i šakuwannaš ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR

[(p)]**āi**

"The chief smith **then gives** the ceremonial spear to the king"

c KBo 16.61 rev$^{?}$ 6 (Legal fragment, CTH 295, ed. Werner 1967: 60)

paimi=war=aš *ANA* NAM.RA ^{URU}Šuwa[ššuwa] **pihhi**

"I **will then give** them to the Šuwaššuwa deportees"

(2.50) a KBo 5.13 i 35 (Kupanta-^{d}LAMMA treaty, CTH 68, ed. Friedrich 1926: 116)

n=an **u[(wa)]mi** ^{LÚ}KÚR-aš iwar **walahmi**

"I **will then attack** you like an enemy"

b KUB 14.1+ obv 62-63 (Madduwatta, CTH 147, ed. Götze 1928: 16)

nu=ddu=za **uit** ^{m}Kišnapiliš an[dan] *IŠTU* KUR ^{URU}Hatti **huinut**

"Kišnapili **then saved** you from Hatti"

c Bo 86/299 i 36-37 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 12)

nu=šši **uit** *ABU-YA*=pat ^{URU}Šantimman ZAG-an **iyat**

"My father himself **then made** Šantimma his border"

d Bo 86/299 ii 3 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 14)

n=at **uizzi** mān **udai**

"If he **then brings** them ..."

e Bo 86/299 i 97-98 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 14)

uit=ma mahhan *ABU-YA* memian ***IŠME***

"But when my father **then heard** the word ..."

As Disterheft shows, the two inflected verbs in this construction cannot be analyzed as parts of asyndetically conjoined sentences, since Wackernagel's Law clitic arguments of the

second verb invariably either precede or cliticize to the consecutive verb *pāi-* or *uwa-*. These consecutive verbs appear synchronically to occupy the structural TOP position, since like topicalized constitutents they are either absolutely sentence-initially or follow null-position elements like *nu* and clitics; note that the consecutives in (2.50d-e) precede *mān* and *mahhan*, which, I suggested above, may occupy the COMP position.[21] They cannot have their etymologically proper interpretation, as Disterheft also shows on the basis of cases where motion is impossible, but are evidently aspectualizers of some kind. For want of a better alternative, I here follow Disterheft in translating them consecutively. Diachronically, this construction must ultimately continue an asyndetic conjunctive structure, and in particular, for reasons that will become clear in chapter 3, it is likely to continue a structure in which the second verb is intransitive.

The consecutive construction is also attested in the following Cuneiform Luvian passage (and probably also at KBo 29.34 (+) VBoT 60 i 8'):

(2.51) KUB 35.102+ ii 11'-14', iii 1-3 (cf. ibid. iv 1-2; Lunar magic, CTH 766, ed. Starke 1985: 222)

[iū]**nni**=wa ^{d}EN.ZU-anzanza kummaya[nza hat]ayannanza āpan **hizzaūn[ni]**

iyandu=kuwa zaššin DUMU-annašši[n] ānnin warallin **uwata[ndu]** ...

[p]a=wa **iyandu** ^{d}EN.ZU-inzi x[...] kummayanza hatayannanza apan **hizzaindu**

"**Let** us **then entrust** him to the Moongods' holy *hatayanni-*, and **let** them **then bring** this child's own mother ... **Let** the Moongods **then entrust** him to the holy *hatayanni-*"

---

[21] However, *mahhan* precedes *uit* at StBoT 24 ii 69, GIM-*an=ma uit* Š[(EŠ-*Y*)]*A kuwapi INA* KUR *Mizrī pait* "but when my brother then went against the land of Egypt at some time ...", and StBoT 24 iii 14-15, [GIM(-*an=ma*)] *uit IŠTU* É.LUGAL DI-*eššar ku*[(*itki* EGIR-*pa huitti*)]*yattat* "but when the lawsuit from the palace then became somewhat protracted ..."

See Melchert (1990c) on the readings and interpretation of this passage. The first instance of the intransitive verb *iyandu* "let them go" here is clause-initial and without an overt subject, and the transitive verb *uwatandu* "let them bring" is clause-final and likewise without an overt subject. If these two verbs headed two different clauses, then, as I will show in chapter 3, a subject clitic *aš* would be expected with the first verb. If *iyandu* is taken as a consecutive, however, with precisely the syntax of its Hittite counterpart, then the sentence is syntactically unproblematic and may be interpreted as indicated. Given this clear case, both *iūnni* "let us go" and the second instance of *iyandu* are certainly also consecutives. The former is also absolutely clause-initial, while the latter, like many of its Hittite counterparts, follows only a sentence-initial particle and clitics.

The immediate diachronic source of the Anatolian consecutive may be the second attested Hittite serial verb construction, fully grammaticalized only in the cases of *pāi-* and *uwa-*. This second construction requires syntactic and semantic investigation more systematic than I have been able to undertake here. Nevertheless I believe it is attested in at least three places, most securely in the following sentence from the ritual of Hatiya:

(2.52) KBo 15.25 rev 7-8 (Ritual of Hatiya, CTH 396, ed. Carruba 1966: 4)

šēr=a=šš̌an ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ^{UZU}ŠÀ **kuirzi dāi**

"but he **cuts, and places** thereon, liver and heart"

In this sentence, not only do both inflected verbs (*kuirzi* "cuts" and *dāi* "places") share an overt object—which could in principle be treated as discourse-conditioned null object anaphora with the second verb—but the preverb *šēr* "on" and clitic locative particle *šan* must both be construed with the second verb rather than the first one.

A second example of this construction is the following:

(2.53) KBo 5.3+ iii 23 (Hukkana treaty, CTH 42, ed. Friedrich 1930: 124)

zig=a=[šma]š=at mān **paitti** EGIR-pa **mem[a]tti**

"But if you **go and repeat** it to them"

If the proposal that consecutives are in TOP is correct, then the verb *paitti* "go" here cannot be a consecutive, since it is preceded not only by *mān* "if" but a topicalized *zig* "you" (in other words by both TOP and COMP).

A third example of this construction will be cited in chapter 3; other possible examples appear in (2.54).

(2.54) a KUB 29.1 i 26-27 (Foundation ritual, CTH 414)
hēyauēš kuit **tašnuskir šallanuškir**
"... which the rains **have made strong and have made tall**"

b KBo 21.74 iii 8'-9' (Medical ritual, CTH 461, ed. Burde 1974: 26)
n=at anda [...] **kināizzi SIG_5-ahzi**
"He **sorts** them therein **and makes** them **right**"

c KUB 44.64 ii 12-13 (Medical ritual, CTH 461, ed. Burde 1974: 49)
namma=at **kīnaizzi pūwāizzi SIG_5-ahzi**
"Then he **sorts** them, **crushes** them, **and makes** them **right**"

d KUB 6.45+ iii 47 (Muwatalli's prayer to the Stormgod, CTH 381, ed. Lebrun 1980: 267)
n=an=mu DINGIR.MEŠ EGIR-pa **SIG_5-ahhanzi šarlanzi**
"The gods **will make** it **right again and lift** it from me"

e KBo 12.38 i 7-9 (Conquest of Cyprus, CTH 121, ed. Güterbock 1967: 75)
^{KUR}Alašiyan=ma=za=kan pede=šši **[ÌR-ahhu]n arkammanahhun**
"But Cyprus I **subjugated** on the spot **and obligated to tribute**"

I will not suggest a structural analysis of verb serialization of this type (cf. e.g. Baker 1989), but will simply note, in the absence of a constrained account of this construction in Hittite, that it cannot be excluded that sequences superficially similar to (2.52-54)—that is, with adjacent identically agreeing verbs—in fact exemplify the same serial verb construction rather than asyndetic conjunction.

2.5. Focus Movement

It is well-known that certain elements frequently appear either near or immediately before the verb in Hittite and Luvian: these include preverbs, the negation, certain adverbs, and a small class of substantival morphemes including especially indefinite pronouns like *kuišk*i "any(body)". The syntactic and semantic conditions on the appearance of such elements in this position (or class of positions) has not been systematically investigated to date, nor have the precise structural positions involved been determined, but some kind of focus movement is a priori a likely syntactic mechanism, and I will assume the existence of such a process in this dissertation. Examples of focus movement in Hittite include the following:

(2.55) a KUB 13.1 iv 5 (Bēl madgalti instructions, CTH 261, ed. von Schuler 1957: 62)
naššu dammišhān **kuišk**i **kuitki** [harzi]
"Whether **someone** has injured **something** ..."

b Bo 86/299 iii 69-70 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 24)
nu=šši=kan **arha lē kuišk**i **kuitki** dāi
"Let nobody (*lit.* **not anybody**) take **anything away** from him"

c Bo 86/299 ii 74-75 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 18)
nu=šši=kan mān wakšiyazi **kuitki**
"If **something** is lacking for him ..."

d Bo 86/299 iii 28 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 22)
mān=ma *ANA* NUMUN ^{m}Tuthaliya nakkēšzi **kuitki**
"But if **something** weighs upon the seed of Tuthaliya ..."

Some apparent cases of focus movement may in fact reflect other syntactic processes. For instance, while the position of *kuitki* in (2.56) is probably governed by the same operations as in (2.55c-d), this cannot be proven syntactically, since it is logically possible

that *kuitki* has in fact not been moved syntactically and that the verb *nakkēšzi* "weighs" has instead been topicalized.

(2.56) Bo 86/299 iii 22 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 22)

nu=šši nakkēšzi **kuitki**

"**Something** weighs upon him"

The same logical possibility is not present in (2.57) if my analysis of the position of consecutives is in correct, since the only known movement process which could affect the position of the verb *šannai* "conceals" is topicalization, a process which cannot operate in this case, since TOP is already filled by *uizzi* "comes". Therefore *kuwatqa* "somehow" must have been positioned via focus movement.

(2.57) KBo 15.25 obv 36 (Ritual fragment, CTH 500)

uizzi=at ša[nnai **ku]watqa**

"S/he will then conceal it **somehow**"

Similarly, while it is possible to account for the word order in (2.58a) by assuming that the verb *šakta* "knew" has been topicalized, apparently stranding two indefinite pronouns, the same explanation is not available for (2.58b), where the verb *ištamašzi* "hears" is non-initial. The word order in both sentences is probably due to focus movement.

(2.58) a KUB 26.1 iv 32 (Eunuch instructions, CTH 255, ed. von Schuler 1957: 16)

[(nu=za)=ka]n šakta **kuiški kuinki**

"**Someone** knew **something**"

b KUB 26.12 i 33 (Eunuch instructions, CTH 255, ed. von Schuler 1957: 24)

našma=šmaš EGIR-ziaz ištamašzi **kuiški kuitki**

"Or if **someone** hears **something** about you afterwards ..."

"Focus movement" may actually consist of several processes. In particular, I conjecture that the postverbal positioning of indefinites and other ordinarily immediately preverbal elements in sentences like (2.55c-d) and (2.56-58) may be the result of focus movement

followed by a local verb fronting process. This is suggested by sentences like the following, where postverbal focus positioning is accompanied by overt emphatic marking on the verb:

(2.59) a Bo 86/299 ii 31 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 16)
ūk=ma ^{m}Tuthaliyaš LUGAL.GAL kuitman **LUGAL-izziahhat=pat** naui
"But as long as I, Tuthaliya the Great King, **did** not yet **rule** ..."

b Bo 86/299 ii 87 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 20)
apūn=ma=za MUNUS-an ^{md}LAMMA-aš *ANA PANI ABI-YA* **datta=pat** naui
"Kurunta **had** not yet **taken** that woman for himself in my father's time"

c Bo 86/299 ii 99-100 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 20)
mān=ma DUMU-*KA* DUMU.DUMU-*KA* katta **waštai=ya** kuiški
"But if some son (or) grandson of yours later **also commits an offence** ..."

Support for this view comes from the following sentence, which appears to exemplify both focus movement and verb serialization, since the second verb otherwise lacks an object:

(2.60) KBo 6.3 iv 18 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 44)
takku ŠAH.TUR kappi **karašzi** kuiški **tāizzi**
"If someone **cuts out and steals** a small piglet"

If the position of *karašzi* before its indefinite subject is the result of a local fronting process, then, at an underlying level of representation, the two verbs are adjacent, and (2.60) may be assimilated to the process of serialization discussed above.

2.6. NP Syntax

2.6.1. Possessor Raising

Discussion of two syntactic processes affecting NPs—possessor raising and quantifier float—will conclude this chapter. As far as I know, neither process has been explicitly identified as such in the literature, but both are intended as analyses of very well-known phenomena. The first process, possessor raising, is hypothesized to operate in what is usually called "partitive apposition" or the "construction of the whole and the part" in Hittite

grammar (see HE §213 and Yoshida 1987: 34-37). These traditional terms describe any two tautosentential NPs which seem to have the same grammatical or thematic role—which, loosely speaking, are in apposition—such that one of them is in some sense part of the other. Hittite examples of this include the following:

(2.61) a KBo 3.4 ii 20 (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 48)
^{m}Uhha-LÚ-n=a **ginuššuš** ašešta
"He also set **Uhhaziti** (on his) **knees**"

b KUB 8.36 ii 7' (Catalogue, CTH 279, ed. Laroche 1971: 188)
[mā]n **antuhšan IGI.HI.A-w[a]** ištar[akzi]
"If it sickens **a man** (in) **the eyes** ..."

c KBo 14.18: 10' (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, CTH 40, ed. Güterbock 1956: 118)
n=**an**=kan **SAG.DU-*ZU*** kuerta
"He cut off **his head**"

d KUB 34.84+ iv 18 (Ritual of Maštigga, CTH 404, ed. Rost 1953: 364)
nu **2 [*B*]*ĒL* SISKUR.SISKUR tuikkuš** warši
"She rubs **the two clients** (on) **the bodies**"

(2.62) a KUB 34.84+ i 26' (Ritual of Maštigga, CTH 404, ed. Rost 1953: 348)
n=**at**=kan **SAG.[DU]-*ŠUNU*** kariyanteš
"**Their heads** are covered"

b KBo 5.8 iii 18-19 (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 62, ed. Götze 1933: 156)
nu=za=kan **IGI.HI.A-wa** etez *ANA* ^{m}Pittipara neyahhat
"**I** turned (in) **the eyes** to that side, to Pittipara"

In these and the vast majority of Hittite instances of "partitive apposition", the two NPs are a body part and the person (or organism) it is part of, and they seem to share the surface subject or direct object grammatical relation. The body part may in most cases also be

called an "accusative of respect": "he cut him off in respect to the head"; "if it sickens a man in respect to the eyes"; and so on.

The pragmatic function of possessor raising in (2.61-62) is probably like that of similar constructions in modern languages. In particular it is likely to resemble the function of the English construction illustrated in (2.64) as opposed to (2.63):

(2.63) a John kicked **Bob's knee**

b Vlad bit **John's neck**

(2.64) a John kicked **Bob in the knee**

b Vlad bit **John in the neck**

This English construction permits the possessor to be assigned the θ-role proper to the possessed NP in the genitive construction, rather than any θ-role of a possessor; in (2.64), for instance, *Bob* and *John* are interpreted as thematic patients and not as the possessors of patients. On the other hand, whereas the body parts in (2.63) are overtly assigned the patient θ-role, in (2.64) they are overtly interpreted as locations and are only implicitly (if at all) patients. The Hittite construction in (2.61-62) could be assumed to have been used, like its English counterpart in (2.64), in pragmatic contexts where a possessor θ-role is less appropriate than (say) a patient or theme θ-role.

Despite widespread use, the term "partitive apposition" for this construction has no value beyond that of a very preliminary label: it is by definition a special case of NP apposition in general, which all languages probably permit, and the relation between a whole and its part is evidently one of the relations generally permissible in NP apposition. For example, in English, which has no special construction structurally parallel to the Hittite one under discussion, "partitive apposition" is perfectly acceptable sytactically:

(2.65) a The State House is **in Boston, downtown, on Beacon Hill**

b I was introduced to **the Jacksons—the parents**—yesterday after dinner

c You shot Dan **in the leg, on the kneecap**

d We brought presents **for the Joneses, for every single one**

If the very common Hittite type in (2.61-62) is "partitive apposition", then the relevant NPs are derived by whatever means apposition generally is derived, in the same manner as the apposed English NPs in (2.61-62), and they must have the syntax of apposed NPs generally.[22] This is demonstrably not the case, however, as is implicitly recognized in referring this type to a special "construction of the whole and the part". Hittite apposition is in general vanishingly rare between clitics and free NPs, as I will show in §5.4, but the construction in (2.61-62) typically involves a clitic possessor and a free NP body part.

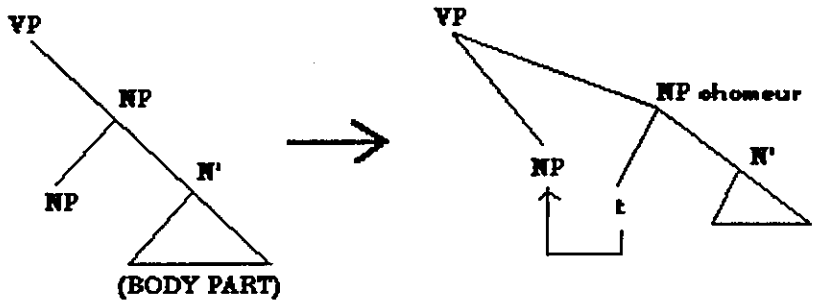
My alternative proposal, then, is that the apparently apposed NPs in (2.61-62) and most other Hittite instances of "partitive apposition" are derived by the syntactic process of possessor raising. This is a process which, like topicalization and WH-movement, relates two distinct levels of syntactic representation; like passivization or dative movement in other languages, it also has an important effect on grammatical relations.[23] First, the possessor of an inalienably possessed object (such as a body part or a physical constituent of an inanimate object) is raised from its base-generated position within the NP to a position where it is a verbal argument and, in particular, assumes the underlying grammatical relation of the possessed object. Second, the possessed object assumes the chômeur grammatical relation: it is syntactically inert, incapable of being affected by other syntactic processes like passivization and Wackernagel's Law cliticization. A schematic illustration of this process is given in (2.66):

---

[22] I do not mean by this to belittle the very important descriptive work which led to the discovery of partitive apposition, but merely to suggest that the descriptive category can and should now be replaced.

[23] The following characteristics could, as usual, easily be restated in a non-derivational model: the syntactic claims made here are, I believe, largely independent of the details of formalism, although they naturally cannot be articulated without a particular formalism.

(2.66) Possessor Raising



If the examples in (2.61-62) are representative, this process may also be assumed to have a related effect on thematic relations: the underlying possessor assumes the θ-role of the possessed NP, which in turn assumes some less prominent θ-role.

Possessor raising is quite common cross-linguistically. In Chicheŵa, for instance, this process transforms the possessors of direct objects into direct objects themselves; thus *kalulu* "hare" is a possessor in (2.67a) but a direct object in (2.67b) (both cited from Baker 1988: 271).

(2.67) a Fisi anadya nsomba za **kalulu**
hyena ate fish AGR.of **hare**
"The hyena ate the **hare's** fish"

b Fisi anady-**er**-a **kalulu** nsomba
hyena ate.**APPL** **hare** fish
"The hyena ate the **hare's** fish"

The direct object status of *kalulu* in (2.67b) is indicated by its immediately postverbal position and by its ability to be the subject of the corresponding passive, (2.68) (cited from Baker 1988: 272).

(2.68) **Kalulu** anady-**er**-edwa nsomba ndi fisi
hare ate.**APPL**.PASS fish by hyena
"**The hare** had his fish eaten by the hyena"

The underlying direct object *nsomba* "fish" is syntactically a chômeur in (2.67b) and (2.68), and cannot be the subject of any passive corresponding to (2.67b).

Likewise the possessor of a direct object in Tzotzil can (under circumstances discussed by Aissen 1987: 126-54) assume direct object status, with the possessed NP demoted to chômeur status. The objecthood of the underlying possessor is indicated by evidence from agreement and passivization (cited from Aissen 1987: 126, 131): in (2.69a), the verb agrees with the possessor of the underlying direct object and not with the object itself; in (2.69b), where the morpheme *be* which licenses possessor raising is omitted, the verb cannot agree with its object's possessor; and in (2.69c), the passive subject is the underlying possessor.

(2.69) a A-mil-**b-on** jutuk **k**-ol
2SUBJ-kill-***be***-**1SG.DIR.OBJ** one **1SG.POSS**-child
"You killed one of **my** children"

b *A-mil-**on** **k**-ol
2SUBJ-kill-**1SG.DIR.OBJ** **1SG.POSS**-child
"You killed **my** child"

c Ch-**i**-toyilan-**b**-at **j**-jol
ASP-**1SUBJ**-keep.lifting-***be***-PASS **1SG.POSS**-head
"**My** head was lifted over and over"

There are three very important differences between possessor raising in Hittite and in other more cross-linguistically typical possessor raising systems. First, possessor raising is commonly licensed by a valence-increasing verbal morpheme—for instance, the applicative morpheme *-er-* in Chicheŵa and the functionally similar *-be-* in Tzotzil—but in Hittite only the raised possessor changes formally. Second, in both Chicheŵa and Tzotzil, a possessor can undergo this process regardless of the particular thematic relationship between it and the possessed NP. In Hittite, on the other hand, the process is restricted to partitive relationships and in practice largely to body parts. Third, in both Chicheŵa and Tzotzil, only the possessors of direct objects can undergo the process of possessor raising. This is

indicated for Chichewa by unacceptable instances of possessor raising with a PP and a subject (cited from Baker 1988: 275), in (2.70a) and (2.70b) respectively:

(2.70) a *Fisi anatumizira **kalulu** kalata kwa nsomba
hyena sent.APPL **hare** letter to fish
"The hyena sent a letter to the **hare's** fish"

b ***Kalulu** anadyera udzu mbuzi
hare ate.APPL grass goats
"The **hare's** goats ate the grass"

Similarly Aissen (1987: 127) observes that possessor raising in Tzotzil only affects the possessors of underlying direct objects, and is unacceptable for underlying indirect objects and other oblique complements.

In Hittite, on the other hand, while the vast majority of instances of possessor raising involve either surface direct objects or surface subjects which are underlying direct objects, as in (2.61) and (2.62) respectively, descriptions of partitive apposition specifically adduce instances of apposed oblique NPs. Six instances of this type are cited at HE §213 and quoted in (2.71), and at least (2.71b) is parallelled elsewhere.

(2.71) a StBoT 24 iv 54-55 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 26)
n=at ***ANA ABBA***$^{\mathbf{HI.A}}$ ***Ù ANA ABBA ABBA***$^{\mathbf{HI.A}}$ [... (*ŪL* **ku**)]**edanikki**
uppir
"They did not send them **to any of my fathers and grandfathers**"

b KUB 21.1+ iv 45-46 (Alakšandu treaty, CTH 76, ed. Friedrich 1930: 82)
nu=kan ***ANA*** $^{\mathbf{d}}$**U[(TU-*ŠI*)] ŠU-i** anda āš[(šu lul)]u au nu=kan ***ANA***
$^{\mathbf{d}}$**[(UTU-*ŠI* ŠU)]-i** anda miya[(huwan)ta]hhut
"May you experience good *lulu* in **His Majesty's hand,** may you grow old in **His Majesty's hand**"

c KUB 6.45+ i 30-31 (Muwatalli's prayer to the Stormgod, CTH 381, ed. Lebrun 1980: 258)

n=at=mu=kan **UKÙ-az KAxU-az** šarā uizzi=pat

"They indeed rise **from** my **man's** (i.e. mortal) **mouth**"

d KBo 3.4 iv 45-46 (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 136)

nu=za kē KUR.KUR ^{LÚ}KÚR *INA* MU.10.KAM **ammēdaz ŠU-az** tarahhun

"Over ten years I destroyed these enemy lands **with my** (own) **hand**"

e KUB 8.48 i 12 (Gilgameš, CTH 341)

ŪL=war=an=kan **tuētaza memiyanaz** kuennir

"Did they not kill him **on your word**?"

As noted at HE §213b2, however, the usage of the personal pronouns in (2.71d-e) is parallel to that of other forms in *-ed-* which cannot always be construed as partitively apposed to any NP and which seem to have more generally possessive function (cf. Lebrun 1980: 373):

(2.72) a KUB 36.90 obv 19-20 (Prayer, CTH 386, ed. Lebrun 1980: 365)

ehu *IŠTU* $^{HUR.SAG}$Hahruwa **tuedaz āššiyantaza**

"Come from Mt. Hahruwa, **your favorite**"

b KUB 36.90 obv 15-18 (Prayer, CTH 386, ed. Lebrun 1980: 365)

lukkattaš=kan UD.KAM-ti ^{m}Duthaliyan **tuedaš āššiyantas pēdaš** ^{URU}Hakmiš ^{URU}Nerik *AŠŠUM* ^{LÚ}SANGA-*UTTIM* iškanzi

"Tomorrow they will anoint Tuthaliya to the priesthood **in your favorite places**, Hakmi and Nerik"

c KUB 14.3 iv 4-5 (Tawagalawa letter, CTH 181)

ammetaza=ma=wa=za=kan **KUR-eza** arha lē kurur

"**With respect to my country** you are not to be hostile "

The plural form *tuedaš* in (2.72b) in particular shows that the forms in *-ed-* in (2.71d-e) and (2.72) are, synchronically, simply inflecting pronominal possessive stems *ammed-* and *tued-*. They may have been created within Neo-Hittite by analyzing the ablatives *ammedaz* "from

me" and *tuedaz* "from you" in some context as ablatives built to possessives, that is, as "from mine" and "from yours" respectively. This would have resulted in the creation of these new, only marginally productive pronominal stems in *-ed-* (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1966: 131).

The potential evidence for non-object possessor raising cited at HE §213 therefore reduces to the four examples in (2.71a-c) and others like them. The first of these, (2.71a), would be formally unproblematic as possessor raising: while the relation between an indefinite quantifier and an NP is ordinarily expressed by agreement, the genitive is sometimes used, as in (2.73).

(2.73) KBo 6.2 iii 21-22 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 36)

ŠA [(LÚ**URUDU.**)]**NAGAR** natta **kuiški** arauas

"None (*lit.* not **any**) **of his metalworkers** is free"

On the other hand, (2.71a) is not probative as possessor raising, since, as noted above, some instances of ordinary apposition are partitive. Compare specifically the English appositions in (2.65d) and the following:

(2.74) They did not send them **to my cousins and my uncles and my aunts**, not **to any**

Alternative analyses are more difficult for (2.71b-c), however. Three specific consequences follow if these are, as it seems they must be, taken as possessor raising rather than partitive apposition or some other construction, and consequently as evidence that the process of possessor raising in Hittite is indifferent to case or grammatical relation. First, although this process must be analyzed as resulting in a change in grammatical relations, it cannot—despite appearances—be analyzed as resulting in any change in thematic relations. In (2.71b), for instance, dUTU-*ŠI* "His Majesty" must be a thematic possessor and not a location, since "in His Majesty (with respect to) the hand" makes no sense. But if possessor raising does not affect thematic relations, then the account of its pragmatics offered above must be abandoned. A priori, to be sure, this account has no special virtue—it clearly cannot be applied to possessor raising in Chicheŵa or Tzotzil—but it is unclear what

alternative will explain the frequent use of possessor raising in Hittite with underlying direct-object body parts. Second, as I will show in chapter 4, there are many possibly possessive Wackernagel's Law oblique clitics which must be treated as syntactically ambiguous if possessor raising can apply freely to non-objects. Third, Hittite becomes somewhat unusual not only typologically but within the Indo-European and Anatolian context: the comparative evidence for possessor raising is confined to underlying objects.[24]

Within Anatolian, this comparative evidence involves Palaic, Cuneiform Luvian, and Hieroglyphic Luvian. Possessor raising is clearly attested in Palaic and Hieroglyphic Luvian, as in (2.75a) and (2.75b) respectively:

(2.75) a KUB 32.18 i 13' (Hymn and myth, CTH 752, ed. Carruba 1970: 8)
[š]**āuitiran**=kuwar=**an** šīttan
"Press **him** right (on) **the horn**" (Melchert 1984: 26)

b MARAŞ 4, 5 (Hawkins 1980: 143)
wa/i-tá **VIR-ti-i-zi-i ("PES") pa-ti-zi** | *ARHA* ("MANUS+CULTER")
REL+ra/i-ha-'
"I cut off **the men's feet**"

For Cuneiform Luvian, Craig Melchert has called my attention to the sequences *pa=an dāuwa*, *pa=an* ^{UZU}EME-*in*, and *a=an* ^{UZU}E[ME], all unfortunately in broken contexts at KUB 7.68 (+) 69 ii 15', 17', 21', and 22': despite the lack of contextual information, these are likely to be "... her/him in the eyes ..." and "... her/him in the tongue ...". In a more complete context, possessor raising may occur in the following passage:

(2.76) KUB 9.6+ iii 21"-31" (Dupaduparša ritual, CTH 759, ed. Starke 1985: 115)
EN SISKUR=ma=šši=ya=aš mena[hh]anda *IŠTU QATI-ŠU* ēpzi n=uš anda
uešuriyanzi n=uš arha duwarnanzi ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI=ma kiššan memai

---

[24] These last two points are of course simply interesting consequences of non-object possessor raising, not arguments against it.

kuiš=tar malhaššaššanzan EN-ya ādduwala ānniti a=an
DINGIR.MEŠ-inzi āhha nātatta tatarhandu **uītpanim**=pa=**an** uidāindu
a=duw=[a]n annān pātanza dūwandu
nu ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI GI.HI.A *ANA* EN SISKUR.SISKUR *ŠAPAL* GÌR.MEŠ-*ŠU* dāi
"Opposite her [the Old Woman], the celebrant also takes them [two reed baskets] in his hands. They crush them by twisting. They break them apart. The Old Woman speaks as follows [in Luvian]:
'Whoever does evil to the celebrant, may the gods crush him like reeds, may they smash **him *wītpanim***, may they put him under his [the celebrant's] feet"
The Old Woman places the reeds under the celebrant's feet"
(translation after Watkins 1986: 325)

The sentence in question is *uītpanim=pa=an uidāindu* "may they smash him *wītpanim*", where *wītpanim* is assimilated from **wītpanin*. Melchert (1984: 158) notes that *wītpanim* is in apposition to *an* "him" and suggests that it may form at least a folk figura etymologica with the verb *widāindu*; Watkins (1986: 326) tentatively translates "smash him a smashing". Certainly either a cognate accusative of this type or a resultative accusative would make sense syntactically. Contextually, however, as Leslie Kurke observes (p.c.), the conventions of homeopathic magic favor an interpretation on which the ritual twisting and crushing of two reed baskets is followed by a more specific request, namely that the gods twist and crush something resembling the two reed baskets: the testicles of the evil-doer. While this argument is by its nature not provable, I therefore suggest that *wītpani-* may mean "testicle(s)" and that the sentence in which it appears may illustrate possessor raising in Luvian. If this is correct, the object of the following sentence is the evil-doer's testicles (literally "it", sg. *wītpanim*) rather than the evil-doer himself, and the two sentences mean "may they smash him in the testicles, may they put them under his feet". On this interpretation, *wītpani-* "testicle(s)" may be a regular Luvian *i*-thematization of a noun

formed with the suffix of Hittite *paltana-* "shoulder", reflecting a virtual **wí-d^hb^h-ono-* "having two little one(s)" (compare Latin *bi-ped-* and Sanskrit *dvi-pád-* *"having two feet").

Elsewhere in Indo-European, according to Delbrück (1893: 385-86), the construction of the whole and the part is clearly found only in Indo-Iranian and Greek. Delbrück cites exactly one clear Indo-Iranian instance (from the Atharvaveda), however, and, as Mark Hale (p.c.) points out, the citation depends critically on a misprint in the edition then available to him. We may therefore disregard his conclusion that this "einfach und alterthümlich" construction was inherited from Indo-European (although the conclusion could in the end still prove true).

The construction is fairly common in Homeric Greek, where it is restricted to underlying direct objects, as in the following examples:

(2.77) a Iliad 3.438

mḗ **me**, gúnai, khalepoîsin oneídesi **thumòn** énipte

"Woman, don't reprove **me** (in) **the *thumos*** with hard blames"

b Iliad 4.461

tòn dè skótos **ósse** kálupsen

"Darkness covered **him** (in) **the eyes**"

c Iliad 4.501-502

tón hr' Oduseùs ... bále dourì **kórsēn**

"Odysseus struck **him** (in) **the temple** with a spear"

I would analyze these as the result of possessor raising—exactly as in Hittite except that, like other such systems cross-linguistically, Greek possessor raising is restricted to the underlying direct object position. As Delbrück (1893: 385) already saw, possessor raising feeds passivization, and it is therefore the raised possessor which is the subject of the corresponding passive:

(2.78) Iliad 5.284

béblēai **keneôna** diamperés

"**You** have been struck (in) **the flank** straight through"

The history and prehistory of possessor raising in Anatolian (and by implication elsewhere) will be discussed in chapter 4.

2.6.2. Quantifier Float

The final syntactic process to be identified here has to do with the positioning of quantifers, a class of adjectives including various words for "all" like Hittite *humant-*; I have not investigated the syntax of this class outside Hittite, Most Hittite adjectives, including demonstratives like *kāš* "this" and *apāš* "that", must precede their governing nouns, but quantifiers (and participles) need not. Ordinarily quantifiers are positioned immediately after their governing nouns, as in (2.80), but they also occur before their governing nouns, as in (2.81), and in the preverbal focus position, as in (2.82):

(2.80) a KBo 5.6 i 14 (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, CTH 40, ed. Güterbock 1956: 90)

^{URU}**Gašgaš**=ma **hūmanza** kuit takšūl ēšta

"And because **the whole Gašga land** was at peace ..."

b KUB 14.10+ i 22-24 (Plague prayer, CTH 378, ed. Lebrun 1980: 204)

nu=za hingani šer [(*A*)]*NA* **DINGIR.MEŠ hūmandaš** ārkuwar [ē]ššahhun

"I made prayers about the plague **to all the gods**"

c KUB 21.27 i 3 (Puduhepa's prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna, CTH 384, ed. Lebrun 1980: 330)

^{d}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-na=za GAŠAN-*YA* **KUR-eaš hūmandaš**

MUNUS.LUGAL-aš

"Sungoddess of Arinna, you are the queen **of all lands**"

(2.81) KBo 5.6 i 24 (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, CTH 40, ed. Güterbock 1956: 91)

n=at **hūmandaš** *ANA* **BÀD.KARAŠ** MÈ-ya panzi

"They went in battle **to all the fortified camps**"

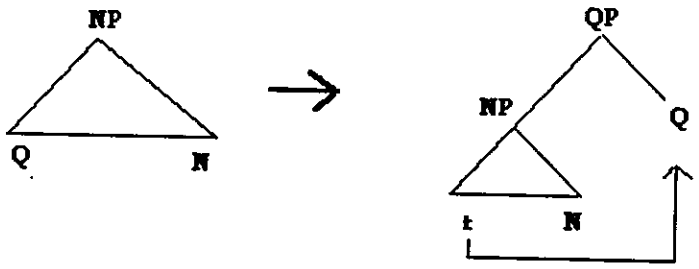
(2.82) IBoT 1.36 iii 37 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 194)

nu $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$*MEŠDU-TIM* EGIR-anda **hūmanteš** pānzi

"**All the guards** go behind"

It is quite likely that the Hittite preverbal quantifier in (2.82) is positioned by the focus movement process identified very informally above. Either the post-nominal quantifiers in (2.80) or the pre-nominal one in (2.81) must be positioned by another process, however, and following conventional syntactic terminology, I will refer to this process as "quantifer float". Floating quantifiers are extremely common cross-linguistically, and naturally there are competing analyses even for well-studied languages in which they occur, such as English and French. In this dissertation I will assume that quantifiers are base-generated within NPs to the left of their nouns, and that quantifier float moves them to the post-nominal position. This is illustrated in (2.83):

(2.83) Quantifier Float



The node dominating the NP and the raised quantifier in (2.83) is analyzed as a Quantifier Phrase ("QP") since, as I will show in §5.3.2, it does not behave syntactically like an NP. Additional evidence for the view that this node is not an NP node might arise from an investigation of focus movement: it is plausible a priori that quantifiers are moved to the pre-verbal position illustrated in (2.82) only from the post-nominal position, in other words, that quantifier float feeds focus movement. This in turn might be explicable if, for structural reasons, elements within an NP cannot be positioned directly by focus movement, in which

case floated quantifiers could be taken as NP-external. This hypothesis will not be pursued further here.

Chapter Three: Subject Clitics

3.1. Transitive Verbs

The Hittite subject clitics—common-gender singular *aš*, neuter singular *at*, and plurals *e* and *at*—are illustrated in the following sentences:

(3.1) a KBo 3.4 i 11 (Annals of Muršili, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 16)

nu=war=**aš**=za DINGIR-*LIM*-iš DÙ-at

"**He** became a god"

b KUB 13.35 iv 45 (Legal case, CTH 294)

martari=war=**at**=kan

"**They** disappear"

c KBo 6.2 iii 7 (Law, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 34)

mān=**e**=za i[(tālauēššanzi)]

"If **they** become estranged"

d KUB 24.8 iii 17 (Appu, CTH 360)

n=**at** mayanteššer

"**They** grew up"

It is well-known that Hittite object clitics are occasionally omitted even in contexts where specific referential direct objects must be understood (see e.g. HE §236); some discourse-conditioned null anaphora process is probably responsible for such gapping. It is also well-known, if rarely noted explicitly, that Hittite subject clitics are very frequently omitted; in clauses with no other overt subjects, they in fact seem to vary promiscuously with zero. Null counterparts of some of the clitics in (3.1) appear in (3.2):

(3.2) a KBo 3.4 ii 22-23 (Annals of Muršili, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 50)
nu=mu=kan ^{m}SUM-ma-^{d}LAMMA-an DUMU-*ŠU QADU* ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ menahhanda parā naešta
"**He** sent his son SUM-ma-^{d}LAMMA-a against me with soldiers and horses"

b KBo 17.1+ ii 36' (Ritual for the king and queen, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 8)
^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR ZABAR walhannianzi 3-*ŠU*
"**They** strike the bronze lances three times"

c KBo 3.4 ii 34 (Annals of Muršili, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 52)
nu=za=kan $^{HUR.SAG}$Arinnandan ēppir
"**They** took Mt. Arinnanda"

Since null subjects are vastly more common in Hittite than null objects of transitive verbs, it is somewhat unlikely that both are identically conditioned. As a step toward elucidating the conditioning of subject clitics, this section will revive and elaborate an observation by Calvert Watkins regarding their appearance with transitive verbs.

As noted by Watkins (1963: 42), the Hittite subject and object clitics do not co-occur in the clitic chain; in other words, chains like *n=aš* "and he" and *n=an* "and him" are common, whereas e.g. **n=aš=an* and **n=an=aš* "and he him" never occur. This is usually explained simply by observing that the Hittite clitic chain includes only one slot for third-person nominative or accusative clitic pronouns.[1] Although descriptively unassailable, this

---

[1] See e.g. Hoffner (1978: 520). An irrelevant exception, the doubled pronominal clitic construction of chains like *n=at=ši=at* (StBoT 24 iii 18), is secondary and late (see HW^{2} 41 and Hoffner 1986a: 93-94). Pace the conjecture of Otten (1988: 57), the sequence *na=aš=ši=aš* at Bo 86/299 i 89 must instantiate this construction rather than one with a transitive subject clitic *aš*, and the sequence *-ma-aš-ši-ya-aš* at Bo 86/299 i 88 may be interpreted either as *ma=aš=ši=aš*, an instance of the same construction, or as *ma=šši=aš*, with only an object clitic.

observation begs the question of historical explanation; if taken as a starting-point in diachronic study, it even presents a certain paradox. Mutually exclusive bound morphemes in the same position, like *aš* and *an*, typically reflect an earlier stage at which mutually exclusive free forms existed; however, there is no reason to doubt the free co-occurence of nominative and accusative stressed pronouns both in Indo-European and Common Anatolian. On the other hand, in view of the absence of subject clitics outside Anatolian, the distribution of clitics there is unlikely to be inherited.

The analysis in terms of clitic slots is in fact synchronically inadequate as well, since it predicts that a third-person clitic subject or object should be free to appear in the open clitic slot of a transitive clause whose other core argument is a non-clitic (object or subject respectively). There are indeed numerous non-clitic subjects with clitic direct objects, such as the following:

(3.3) a KUB 23.1+ ii 10 (Šaušgamuwa treaty, CTH 105, ed. Kühne & Otten 1971: 8)

n=**an** ^{m}NIR.GÁL-iš dāš

"Muwatalli received **him**"

b KUB 24.8 iv 12 (Appu, CTH 360)

n=**e**=ta ūg mema[hhi]

"I will tell you **them**"

We should therefore easily be able to find clauses with clitic subjects and non-clitic direct objects, i.e. clauses of the form **n=aš* ^{m}NIR.GÁL-*in dāš* "he received Muwatalli". As observed in passing by Watkins (1968-69: 93), however, such clauses do not exist: Hittite subject clitics do not occur in transitive clauses.

Testing this observation requires an explicit understanding of transitivity. For this purpose, transitive clauses may be defined as clauses with transitive verbs, and transitive verbs in turn as verbs which select accusative complements; clitic subjects naturally appear

freely with intransitive verbs like those in (3.1) above.[2] However, given these definitions, not every clause with a clitic subject and an overt accusative would counter-exemplify Watkins's observation that transitive clauses lack subject clitics. This follows from two considerations. First, as mentioned above, Hittite transitive verbs do occasionally lack overt objects. The generalization would therefore be counter-exemplified by any sentence containing both a clitic subject and a verb with an implicit direct object. Second, transitive clauses as defined here do not include clauses with non-complement (adjunct) accusatives. Watkins's observation, in other words, would not necesssarily be counter-exemplified by a clause with a clitic subject and an overt accusative, and in fact predicts that subject clitics can occur in clauses with adjunct accusatives.

There are two relevant classes of adjunct accusatives in Hittite: path adjuncts and, as discussed in chapter 2, inalienably possessed accusative chômeurs due to possessor raising. Since the latter ordinarily appear with non-adjunct accusatives, they do not ordinarily occur with subject clitics. For example, the following formulae are repeated over a dozen times each in one ritual text, with different body parts in the accusative:

---

[2] The transitivity of some Hittite verbs varies according to chronological, semantic, or unknown factors. For instance, *nahh-* "fear" can be either intransitive, selecting a dative-locative argument, or transitive, selecting an accusative argument (see CHD 339-40); subject clitics appear with the intransitive verb only. Hence at StBoT 24 iv 55-56, *nahhūwaš=ma=mu kuiš* LUGAL-*uš ēšta n=aš=mu=kan nahta* "the king who had feared me continued to fear me", the second *mu*, and so presumably the first as well, must be dative-locative, and the entire passage can be assigned to the CHD's entry *nah(ḫ)-* **a 1' c'** rather than **a 4'** ("ambiguous"). Likewise the participle *nahhant-* must be built to the intransitive *nahh-*, since it means "respectful toward" and takes dative-locative arguments (see CHD 340-41).

A similar case syntax governs *šullāi-* "quarrel", which, although selecting an accusative object in all unambiguous instances known to Sommer & Falkenstein (1938: 41), has since been attested intransitively (see Oettinger 1979: 293 with n. 69). Otherwise ambiguous instances of *mu* must therefore be dative-locative in passages like KUB 6.41 i 47, *nu=war=aš=mu=kan šullāit* "he quarrelled with me", and KBo 5.8 iv 9, *n=at=mu=šš̄an šullīēr* "they quarrelled with me".

(3.4) a KUB 7.1 iii 18 (Ritual, CTH 390)

n=**an** ^{UZU}**arra(n)=ššan** KI.MIN (*i.e.* huikdu)

"Let her cast a spell on **him** (in) **his arse**"

b KUB 7.1 iii 25 (Ritual, CTH 390)

n=**an** ^{UZU}**arran** KI.MIN (*i.e.* lāun)

"I have released **him** (in) **the arse**"

These formulae lack clitic subjects. It is possible, however, for an accusative of this type to be the only overt accusative in a passive clause; it is then in "apposition" to the clause's surface subject (compare Kronasser 1961: 161-62). Hence clitic subjects do appear with accusatives in the other formula of this text:

(3.5) KUB 7.1 iii 7 (Ritual, CTH 390)

n=**aš** ^{UZU}**arra(n)=ššan** hamiktat

"**He** was bound (in) **his arse**"

Since ^{UZU}*arra(n)=ššan* here cannot be a direct object, it must be taken as an adjunct accusative.[3]

Path accusatives (see Friedrich 1930: 40 and HE §201b), are attested in clauses like the following[4]:

---

[3] In this "text with many scribal errors" (CHD 1), the final AT sign of *hamiktat* is omitted in several sentences analogous to (3.5); so, *n=aš* ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG *hamikta* at ibid. 5 should be read *hamiktat* and translated "he was bound (in) the liver" rather than "he bound the liver". The latter would mean a subject clitic in a transitive sentence.

[4] The intransitive construction KASKAL-*an pāi-* must be distinguished from transitive constructions like KASKAL-*an iya-* "make one's way", which do not occur with clitic subject pronouns. It is a construction's syntax, not its idiomaticity, which is relevant here. There are typological parallels to the Hittite accusative of route. For example, Austin (1982: 38-39) has noted that in various Australian languages with extensive ergative case-marking, "there are verbs that occur with an [absolutive, not ergative] NP ... *and* a complement noun phrase which has some or all of the morphosyntactic properties of a transitive object NP". Such a verb in Yidiñ, for

(3.6) a KUB 43.60 i 10-11 (CTH 457)

NIM.LÀL **teriyaš UD-aš [m]īuwa<š> UD-aš KASKAL-an** pāndu

"Let the bees go **on a journey of three days (or) four days**" (cf. CHD 308)

b KBo 17.1+ i 40' (Ritual for the king and queen, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 7)

KASKAL-an LUGAL-uš **kuin** uizzi

"**The way on which** the king comes ..."

c KUB 50.1 ii 15'

KASKAL-an=ma **kuin** paizzi

"And **the way which** (it) goes ..."

d KUB 26.29 + 31.55: 13 (Protocol, CTH 144)

nu tuzzin **SIG_5-an KASKAL-[a]n** uidattin

"Bring the army **on a good way**"

e KUB 17.29: 8-9 (Ritual fragment, CTH 470)

ZAG-an KASKAL-ann=a ŪL kuiški paražzi

"Nobody escapes **on the border and the road**"

Path accusatives can co-occur with clitic subjects:

(3.7) a IBoT 1.36 iii 25 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 192)

n=**aš** āppa=ya=pat **apūn KASKAL-an** uizzi

"**He** also comes back **that way**"

---

example, is *galin* "go", which can occur with what appears morphologically to be a direct object, *wabar* "a walk", and yet requires an absolutive rather than an ergative subject (R.M.W. Dixon apud Austin 1982: 44). In other words, comparable constructions in both Hittite and Yidiñ appear to have direct objects but are nonetheless syntactically intransitive.

b IBoT 1.36 iii 28 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 192)

EGIR-pa=ya=**aš** ZAG-az **apūn**=pat **KASKAL-an** pāizzi

"**He** also goes back **that** same **way** on the right"

c KUB 17.10 iv 13 (Telipinu, CTH 324)

taknaš=**at** ^{d}**UTU-aš KASKAL-an** pāiddu

"Let **it** go **the way of the Sungoddess of the Earth**"

A test of Watkins's observation should now be straightforward, and indeed, aside from the two classes of putative counter-evidence just discussed, to my knowledge it has no probative counter-examples.[5] The establishment of this grammatical rule for Hittite has the following two consequences. First, the rule may now be used as a philological tool: the appendix to this chapter consists of discussions of some specific cases where Hittite subject clitics have been mistakenly identified in the literature. Second, since the genuinely attested Hittite subject clitics occur in a much more restricted environment than had previously been supposed—namely the intransitive clauses as defined above—the rule considerably improves the chances of determining the actual distribution of subject clitics in Hittite and Anatolian. For example, one reasonable (but, in the end, false) hypothesis would be that subject clitics are obligatory in third-person intransitive clauses without other overt subjects. The remainder of this chapter will address this problem.

3.2. Independent Null-Subject-Creating Processes

There are several contexts which appear to show null third-person subjects but which either ordinarily lack null subjects, or have them only as a result of independent processes. The first three types are created by syntactic processes which were discussed in chapter 2, namely topicalization and two varieties of verb serialization.

---

[5] I have systematically checked the texts listed in chapter 2, note 9. As the comparative evidence would suggest, composition and manuscript date play no role in the phenomenon under discussion.

The topicalization of a verb always creates the appearance of a null subject when its subject is not enclitic: the topicalized verb must occupy the TOP position, and the TOP position precedes all other possibly relevant elements of the sentence. Therefore, if a verb is initial or is preceded only by elements which ordinarily precede TOP, it cannot be excluded that the verb has indeed been topicalized. A subject following the verb under such circumstances may be taken as the base-generated subject unless some other evidence requires a different analysis. A clause of this type appears in (3.8):

(3.8) KUB 33.1 i 7' (Telipinu, CTH 324)
nu tetheškizzi ^{d}Ašd[abiš]
"Ašdabi thunders"

Since the verb *tetheškizzi* "thunders" may have been topicalized, with its subject remaining in its base-generated positions, it cannot be adduced as an example of a verb with a null subject.[6]

The consecutive construction discussed in §2.4 provides a second context in which null subjects have frequently been identified. In fact, as instances of verb serialization, the consecutives *pāi-* and *uwa-* invariably share the subjects of their clauses' lexical main verbs: they have null and overt subjects when their main verbs have null and overt subjects respectively. Therefore consecutives with transitive main verbs in particular cannot have clitic subjects: they may have null subjects, as in (3.9), or, as in (3.10), they may precede the lexical subjects they share with their main verbs.

(3.9) a KBo 5.6 iii 3-4 (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, CTH 40, ed. Güterbock 1956: 94)
nu **pāir** KUR ^{URU}Amka **GUL-ahhir**
"**They then attacked** Amka"

[6] Note that it is merely possible that these verbs are topicalized; the syntactic process of right-dislocation, to be discussed in chapter 5, would also yield these surface sequences.

b KUB 33.106 iii 42' (Song of Ullikummi, CTH 345)

uēr=ma AN-iš kuwapi teka[nn=]a $^{U[RU]DU}$kuruzzit arha **kuerir**

"But **then** when **they cut** apart heaven and earth with a cutter ..."

(3.10) KUB 33.103 ii 7-8 (Kumarbi, CTH 346)

nu **uizzi**=ma ^{d}**IŠTAR-iš** ^{d}**Hepatušš=a** [^{NA_4}AR]A_5 apāšila **mallanzi**

"And **then Ištar and Hebat** themselves **will turn** the millstone"

On the other hand, consecutives occurring with intransitive main verbs may have clitic subjects just in case their main verbs do, as in (3.11), or they may have lexical subjects, as in (3.12).

(3.11) a IBoT 1.36 iii 34 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 194)

n=**aš paizzi** apēdani kattan **tiyazzi**

"**He then steps** beside him"

b IBoT 1.36 iv 11-12 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 198)

n=**aš paizzi** ^{GIŠ}DUB[BI]N GÙB-laz **iyatta**

"**He then walks** on the left of the wheel"

(3.12) a StBoT 24 ii 31 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 12)

uit=ma ^{LÚ}**KÚR** ^{URU}[(**Pišhuruš** anda **āraš**)]

"But **then the Pishurian enemy arrived**"

b StBoT 24 ii 69 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 16)

GIM-an=ma **uit Š[(EŠ-*Y*)]*A*** kuwapi *INA* KUR Mizrī **pait**

"And when **my brother then went** at some time against Egypt ..."

Likewise other, better-known auxiliaries, such as the ingressive aspectualizer *dāi-* and the perfect aspectualizer *har(k)-*, do not affect the distribution of subject clitics; if the main verb is transitive, as in (3.13), subject clitics cannot appear, and if the main verb is intransitive, as in (3.14), subject clitics can appear.

(3.13) KUB 17.7+ iii 13'-14' (Song of Ullikummi, CTH 345))

n=an **kunkeškiuwan** d[āiš] nu šanezzi ŠUM-an [x x **p]eškiuwan** dāiš

"**He** started **to fondle** (?) him, **he** started **to give** the dear name"

(3.14) a KUB 17.4: 7' (Song of Silver, CTH 364)

[n]=**aš uīškiuwan** dāiš

"**He** started **to weep**"

b KUB 14.1+ obv 73-74

n=**at** *IŠTU* LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI-*TIM* kattan apēdani [x] **iyanniwan** [dāi]r

"**They** started **to march** with the elders down to him"

The discussion in this chapter will only take account of features of a clause's main verb.

A third context in which null subjects could be mistakenly identified is the other verb serialization construction discussed in §2.4. Some examples are presented there in which the second verb is transitive; (3.15a-b) are the only clear cases I have seen where the second verb is intransitive.

(3.15) a KBo 5.3+ ii 31 (Hukkana treaty)

n=**aš** ^{URU}Hattuši *ŪL* **hūiššūizzi aki**=pa[t?]

"**He** doesn't **remain alive** in Hattuša **but will die**"

b KUB 26.12 iii 9 (Eunuch instructions, CTH 255, ed. von Schuler 1957: 26)

kuiški EME-an **BAL-nuzi HUL-uešta**

"(If) **somebody makes** the tongue **rebellious and became evil** ..."

In both cases, the second verbs are intransitive and seem to have null subjects, but since both immediately follow other verbs, it cannot be excluded that they are serialized, with *aš* the subject of *aki* "will die" and *kuiški* the subject of HUL-*uešta* "becomes evil". In fact, one consequence of the distribution of subject clitics to be established in this chapter is that the verbs in (3.15) must be serialized.

The following passage provides a context where the same explanation is possible but somewhat more uncertain at present:

(3.16) IBoT 1.33: 6-8

n=**aš** DUGUD-ni **munnait** 2 *ANA* GUNNI UGU ***IZBAT*** n=**aš**=kan DUGUD-ni **munnait** 3 harki akkanni hadandaza GAM-da **uit** ^{d}Gulsas DUGUD-ni **munnait**

"**It hid** (itself) in 'importance' (and,) second, **held** (itself) over the 'hearth'. **It hid** (itself) in 'importance' (and,) third, **came** down into 'destruction' (and) 'death' from the dry (place) (and) **hid** (itself) in the 'importance' of the Gulšeš-deities" (CHD 331-32)

In this passage the intransitive verb *munnait* "hid" occurs twice with the subject clitic *aš*, while the intransitive verbs *uit* "came" and *munnait* each occur once with no apparent overt subject. This distribution is unexpected, as I will show below; however, it may prove significant that in this passage *aš* occurs precisely where the sentence-introductory particle *nu* occurs. I suggest specifically, although quite tentatively in view of the absence of decisive corroborative evidence, that the strict adjacency seen in (3.15) may not be necessary for verb serialization, which may instead be possible in a variety of contexts with adjacent VP-internal material. I repeat that this proposal is very speculative and would require extensive investigation to verify.

There is a fourth context where null subjects are sometimes mistakenly identified. Because the distribution of subject clitics is not usually regarded as systematic, interpreters of Hittite texts usually analyze the sentence-introductory sequence *na-aš-ta* as *n=ašta*, that is, as an allomorph of the sentence-introductory particle *nu* followed by an allomorph of the adverbial sentential clitic *(a)šta*. In many cases this analysis is correct, but it is usually further implicitly assumed that the proper analysis is *n=ašta* even in clauses with non-overt third-person singular subjects. This is explicitly stated at HW^{2} 434 with the reasoning that "um Verwechslungen mit nominalem Wortausgang und pron. *-aš* + *-ta* ... zu vermeiden, wurden schon im Aheth. *tašta* und *našta* für *ta*, *nu* + Ortspart. *-ašta* reserviert". Of course, such an assertion cannot possibly be maintained in the absence of any hypothesis about the

distribution of subject clitics in otherwise subject-less statements. In fact, the distribution of subject clitics to be established below will show that the sequence *na-aš-ta* must frequently be analyzed as *n=aš=(š)ta*, that is, as an allomorph of *nu*, followed by the subject clitic *aš*, followed by an allomorph of *ašta*, just as *nu-uš-ta* is *n=uš=(š)ta*, with a common-gender plural object clitic. Cases where the rules to be identified below require the analysis *n=aš=(š)ta* include the following:

(3.17) a KBo 3.22 obv 2-3

nepišza=**aš=(š)ta** ^{d}IŠKUR-unni āššus ēšta n=**aš=(š)ta** ^{d}IŠKUR-unni=ma mān āššuš ēšta

"**He** was dear to the Stormgod from heaven, and since **he** was dear to the Stormgod ..."

b KUB 14.1+ obv 46

ma[h]han [*IŠ*]*ME* n=**aš=(š)ta** [pa]it

"When he heard, **he** went"

c KUB 33.84+ iv 24'

^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A-za=**aš=(š)ta** arunaza katta uit

"**He** came down from the chair, from the sea"

d IBoT 1.36 iv 23 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 200)

mān=**aš=(š)ta** ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-za=ma kuwapi anda paizzi

"When **he** enters somewhere from the carriage"

e KBo 6.25 + KBo 13.35 iii 4' (Oracle, CTH 540, ed. Riemschneider 1970: 22)

[*AN*]*A*? ZAG=**aš=(š)ta** *ŪL* ari

"**He** will not reach the right side (*i.e.* success)"

f Bo 86/299 iii 22-24 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 22)

NUMUN ^{md}LAMMA=ma kuit *INA* KUR $^{URU\ d}$U-tašša LUGAL-iznani artari

n=**aš**=(š)**ta** šer akdu

"Let the descendant of Kurunta who stands in the kingship of Tarhuntašša die for him"

Until the rules are determined, of course, clauses like the ones above must be regarded as ambiguous, and will not be counted as instances of either a null subject or the pronoun *aš*.

The final context for null subjects which are irrelevant to the discussion here—but unlike the contexts identified above, one which does indeed involve null subjects—is clauses with non-referential subjects. Such subjects are regularly phonetically null in Hittite, although this is not noted in the standard handbooks. Non-referential subjects may be singular or plural in Hittite, as in (3.18) and (3.19) respectively:

(3.18) a KBo 17.11+ i 31'

[m(ān **lukkatt**)]**a**=ma

"But when **it becomes light** ..."

b KUB 13.1 i 18

māhhan=ma **nekuzzi**

"But when **it becomes evening** ..."

c Bo 2533 i 25 (Neu 1968: 13)

nu=ši=kan lē **areškatta**

"**May there be** no **oracle consulted** for her"

d KUB 8.1 iii 6

zahhiya=kan pangawi ERÍN.MEŠ-ti **maušzi**

"**There will be a fall** in battle for the entire army"

e KBo 5.13 i 14-15

mān ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-ši kuit *AWAT* BAL **waštai**

"If **there is sinning** in Hattuša in respect to some matter of rebellion ..."

f KBo 5.9 ii 19

mān tuk=ma [warr]išuwanzi *ŪL* **kišari**

"If **it is** not **possible** for you to help ..."

g Bo 86/299 iii 13 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 20)

nu mān *IŠTU AWAT* DINGIR-*LIM* kuedanikki **GÙB-lišzi**

"If **it becomes unfavorable** for someone according to the word of the divinity ..."

(3.19) KBo 5.3 iii 38-39

apēz=kan uddanaz arha **akkiškanzi**

"**People will die** off from that matter"

In a few cases the fact that non-referential subjects are not pronominalized can be exploited for interpretation, for instance in comparing the following clauses from a medical text:

(3.20) a KUB 44.61 i 10

mān=ma=**aš** apiz *ŪL* **SIG$_5$-ri**

"But if **he does** not **improve** from that ..."

b KUB 44.61 i 17

mān apiz *ŪL* **SIG$_5$-ri**

"If **there is** no **improvement** from that ..."

Since there is no overt subject in (3.20b), the clause must be construed with a non-referential subject, as indicated, rather than with a null referential one.

3.3. Hittite Intransitive Clauses

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to determining the distribution of third-person, referential clitic and null subjects of intransitive verbs in contexts which can be shown to lack stressed subjects. Its findings are simple: Hittite and evidently the other Anatolian languages have two classes of verbs, one whose members cannot occur with clitic

subjects, and one whose members ordinarily do occur with clitic subjects in contexts requiring an unemphatic third-person referential subject. Clitic subjects need not obligatorily occur with verbs of the second type, since the discourse-conditioned process responsible, especially in Old Hittite, for occasional null object anaphora would be expected to operate equally on subjects.

3.3.1. Tuthaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II

In texts composed under Tuthaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II, the following intransitive verbs never occur with clitic subjects and do occur with third-person referential null subjects:

(3.21) *au(š)-* "see" (Bo 86/299)
kururiyahh- "become hostile" (Bo 86/299)
link- "swear" (Bo 86/299)
mema- "speak" (255)
unna- "drive" (Bo 86/299)
wašta- "commit an offense" (105)
weh-/wah- "turn" (255)

Examples include the following:

(3.22) a Bo 86/299 iii 80 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 24)
nu **uškandu** ištamaškandu=ya[7]
"Let **them see** and hear"

b Bo 86/299 ii 38 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 16)
nu *ANA* ZI-*YA* šer kiššan **lenkatta**
"**He swore** to me personally as follows"

---

[7] Note that *ištamaškandu* "let them hear" may be part of a VP conjunction or sentential conjunction, and is hence not counted in (3.21).

c KUB 21.42 left edge 4

ANA LUGAL=ma *UL* **mema[i]**

"But **he does** not **speak** to the king"

d Bo 86/299 ii 5-6 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 16)

mann=a *IŠTU* KUR ^{ÍD}Hūlaya šalli lāpani :wāniya **ūnnanzi**

"And if **they drive** from the Hūlaya River land to the great saltlick ..." (see Watkins 1990b)

The following intransitive verbs, when they have third-person referential unstressed subjects, consistently occur with clitic subjects:

(3.23) *ak-* "die" (123, 255)

ar- "stand" (255)

ašandulai- "garrison" (Bo 86/299)

eš- "be" (105, 123, 177, 255, Bo 86/299)[8]

ki- "lie" (105, 123, 255, Bo 86/299)

pai- "go" (105, 255)

tiya- "step" (105, Bo 86/299)

uwa- "come" (105, 123)

Examples include the following:

(3.24) a KUB 26.1 iii 22

kuitman=**aš aki**

"Until **he dies** ..."

---

[8] Here and throughout this chapter, citations of *eš-* "be" include all overt instances of the verb, whether functioning as a predicate or with a participle, and all instances of the verb gapped, whether functioning as a predicate or with a participle. All four of these categories pattern exactly alike with respect to all phenomena under discussion in this chapter.

b Bo 86/299 iii 42 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 22)

ašandulanzi=ma=**at** lē

"But **they shall** not **garrison**"

c KUB 23.1+ iii 43-44 (Šaušgamuwa treaty, CTH 105, ed. Kühne & Otten 1971: 14)

tuqq=**aš** takšul **ēšdu**

"**Let him be** friendly to you"

d Bo 86/299 ii 7 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 16)

ANA LUGAL KUR ^{URU}^{d}U-tašša=**at piyan**

"**It is given** to the king of Tarhuntašša"

e Bo 86/299 iv 44-45 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 28)

n=**at** *IŠTU* ^{NA4}KIŠIB ^{d}UTU ^{URU}Arinna *Ù IŠTU* ^{NA4}KIŠIB ^{d}U ^{URU}*HATTI* **šiyan**

"**It is sealed** with the seal of the Sungoddess of Arinna and with the seal of the Stormgod of Hatti"

f KUB 23.1+ iv 18 (Šaušgamuwa treaty, CTH 105, ed. Kühne & Otten 1971: 16)

mān=ma=**aš**=ta=kka*n* ŠÀ KUR-*KA*=ma **uizzi**

"But if **he comes** to your land ..."

Both classes of intransitives are illustrated in the following passage:

(3.25) Bo 86/299 iii 28-31 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 22)

mān=ma *ANA* NUMUN ^{m}Tuthaliya nakkēšzi kuitki n=**aš** *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}*HATTI* LUGAL-iznani awan arha **tiyazi** NUMUN ^{md}LAMMA=ma kuit *INA* KUR ^{URU} ^{d}U-tašša LUGAL-iznani artari nu *ANA* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*HATTI* **kururiyahdu** lē=**aš**=(š)ta **ÌR-ahtari**

"But if something becomes difficult for a descendant of Tuthaliya, and **he** abdicates (*lit.* **steps** away from) the kingship of Hatti, let the descendant of Kurunta who stands in the kingship of Tarhuntašša **become hostile** to the king of Hatti, and **let him** not **submit**"

A subject clitic is used here with *tiyazi* "steps" but not with *kururiyahdu* "let him become hostile"; the sequence *le-e-aš-ta* in the final clause is formally ambiguous but, in view of evidence cited below, must reflect *lē=aš=(š)ta*. (This does not violate rules of Hittite anaphora: a grammatically neuter but semantically animate NP like NUMUN = *warwalan* "descendant" may freely be resumed by a common-gender pronoun.)

3.3.2. Hattušili III

In texts composed under Hattušili III, the following intransitive verbs never occur with clitic subjects and do occur with third-person referential null subjects:

(3.26) *link-* "swear" (85)

mema- "say" (81, 85)

penna- "drive" (81)

walh- "attack" (81)

Examples include the following:

(3.27) a StBoT 24 iv 17 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 24)

nu=mu **memiškit** GIM-an kišat=ya=za

"It happened just as **she told** me"

b StBoT 24 iv 34-35 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 24)

mān *INA* KUR ^{URU}Karanduniya **penništa**

"**He** would have **driven** to Babylonia"

The following intransitive verbs, when they have third-person unemphatic referential subjects, consistently occur with clitic subjects:

(3.28) *ar-* "stand" (176)

aršaniya- "envy" (81)

eš- "be" (81, 85, 86, 176, 384, 585)

eš- "sit" (585)

handanda- "lead on the right path" (81)

hūlla- "fight" (83)

iya- "go" (83, 585)

idalaweš- "become evil"

kiš- "become" (81)

marh- "?" (81)

nahh- "be afraid" (81)

pāi- "go" (81, 85)

parš- "flee" (85)

šullāi- "quarrel" (81)

dāriya- "call" (87)

tiya- "step" (81, 85)

uwa- "come" (81, 85, 384)

uwaya- "do harm" (81)

Examples include the following:

(3.29) a StBoT 24 iii 25-26 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 18)

namma=**aš** ^{LÚ}ŠU.GI-anza [(**ēšta**)]

"Moreover **he was** an old man"

b KUB 31.51+ iv 14

ešari=ma=**at**=za *INA* ^{URU}[(MUL-ra)]

"But **they are settled** in Aštira"

c KUB 21.17 i 4 (Requisition against Arma-dU, CTH 86, ed. Ünal)

HUL-eššir=ma=**at** kēdani memiyani

"**They became unfriendly** in that matter"

d StBoT 24 ii 54 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 14)

^{URU}Durmitta=ma=**aš** ^{URU}Kuruštama *ŪL* **pait**

"But **he did** not **go** to Durmitta and Kuruštama"

e StBoT 24 iii 78 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 22)

kinuna=**aš**=mu=kan **šulliyat** kuit

"Now because **he quarrelled** with me"

f KBo 4.12 obv 7

n=**aš**=mu=kan anda **dāriyat**

"**He called** to me"

g StBoT 24 ii 50 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 14)

maninkuwann=**aš**=mu *ŪL*=pat **uit**

"**He did** not **come** near me at all"

There is apparent vacillation in the case of one of these verbs, *aršaniya-* "be envious":

(3.30) a StBoT 24 i 30-32 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 30)

nu=mu=kan GIM-an UKÙ.MEŠ-annaza *ŠA* ^{d}IŠTAR GAŠAN-*YA* kaniššūwar *ŠA* ŠEŠ-*YA*-ya [aš]šulan auēr nu=mu :**arsanīēr**

"When the population saw My Lady Ištar's goodwill and my brother's favor to me, **people were envious** of me"

b StBoT 24 iii 54-55 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 20)

GIM-an=ma=mu=kan ^{m}Urhi-^{d}U-uppaš eniššan [*S*]*A* DINGIR-*LIM* aššulan

aušta n=**aš**=mu **aršaniyat**

"But when Urhi-Tešup in this way saw the divinity's favor to me, **he was envious** of me"

This is likely to reflect a difference between referential and non-referential subjects, as I have translated, but could in principle reflect a transitive/intransitive alternation in the syntactic frame of the verb, in the manner of *nahh-* "fear" discussed in note 2 above. It is also possible that the Glossenkeil marking in (3.30a) is relevant to the inconsistent treatment.

There are also two exceptions to the present generalization in the corpus I examined. The first may be given without comment:

(3.31) KUB 21.17 i 17 (Requisition against Arma-^{d}U, CTH 86, ed. Ünal 1974: 20)

[(nu EGI)]R-pa KUR Aba **pait**

He went back to Aba"

The second exception occurs twice in manuscript M of the Vow of Puduhepa; other manuscripts behave according to rule.

(3.32) a KUB 26.63 iii 10' (Vow of Puduhepa, CTH 585)

SANGA-ešni karū anda **D[IB-anz]a**

"**He was** already **placed** in the priesthood"

b KUB 26.63 iii 12' (Vow of Puduhepa, CTH 585)

SANGA-esni=ma=kan karū anda **[DIB-anza]**

"**He was** already **placed** in the priesthood"

Even if the null subjects in (3.32) cannot be explained as scribal error or the like, note that since null objects are occasionally gapped at all periods of Hittite (although most strikingly in Old Hittite and genres influenced by Old Hittite prototypes), some null subjects are

expected in contexts where we would otherwise predict subject clitics. A few instances of the type in (3.31-32), therefore, do not pose a problem for the proposals of this chapter.

3.3.3. Muwattalli

In texts composed under Muwattalli, the following intransitive verbs never occur with clitic subjects and do occur with third-person referential null subjects:

(3.33) *arkuwāi-* "plead" (382)
au(š)- "see" (382)
ištamaš- "hear" (76)
mema- "speak" (381)
te-/tar- "speak" (76)

Examples include the following:

(3.34) a KBo 11.1 obv 11
kinuna takšulit IGI.HI.A-it anda **au**
"**May he** now **look** with a conciliatory countenance"

b KUB 19.6+ iii 83
[n]u **ištamaškandu**
"**Let them hear**"

c KUB 19.6+ i 67'
nu kisan **tezzi**
"**He speaks** as follows"

The following intransitive verbs, when they have third-person unemphatic referential subjects, consistently occur with clitic subjects:

(3.35) *ar-* "stand" (382)
eš- "be" (76, 171, 382)
hink- "bow" (381)
hueš- "live" (381)
iya- "go" (381)

kuršā- "?" (382)

lā- "be released" (382)

pāi- "go" (76)

tepaweš- "become small" (382)

uwa- "come" (76, 381)

Examples include the following:

(3.36) a KUB 23.102 obv 7

kuitt=a=**at** ŠEŠ-*UTTA*

"What else **is it**, (namely) brotherhood?"

b KUB 6.45+ iii 40

MUSEN-iš ^{GIŠ}taptappan EGIR-pa ēpzi n=**aš TI-ešzi**

"The bird reassumes its nest and **it lives**"

c KUB 6.45+ iii 7-8

kuetaš=**a**[(t)] *ANA* É.MEŠ.DINGIR.MEŠ **piran EGIR-pa** *ŪL* **iyantari**

"Whoever's temples **they do** not **frequent** ..."

d KBo 11.1 obv 19

n=**at tep[awēšta]**

"**It has diminished**"

e KUB 19.6+ iii 41

[(n)]=**aš**=k[(an tu)]k anda **uizzi**

"**He comes** to you"

Again there are one or two exceptions—null subjects in contexts where overt subject clitics would be expected.

(3.37) a KUB 21.5 i 8

[(tūwaza=ma)] *ANA* LUGAL.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}*HATTI* takšu[(l=pat **ešir**)]

"From afar **they remained** true to the kings of Hatti"

b KUB 6.45+ i 24 (Muwatalli's prayer to the Stormgod, CTH 381, ed. Lebrun 1980: 258)

GIM-ann=a=az **idalawahhanteš**

"... how **they are** also **abused** ..."

Note in connection with (3.37b) that the parallel manuscript has an overt subject clitic

3.3.4. Muršili II

In texts composed under Muršili II, the following intransitive verbs never occur with clitic subjects and do occur with third person referential null subjects:

(3.38) *ašandulai-* "garrison" (61)

au(š)- "see" (61)

hatrāi- "write" (40)

gimmantariya- "spend the winter" (40)

kururiyahh- "become hostile" (40, 61, 67, 68)

lahhiyai- "travel, campaign" (62)

link- "swear" (68)

mema- "speak" (40, 61, 67, 68)

šakk- "know" (61)

tuhušiya- "wait" (40, 61)

uiya- "send" (378)

unnā- "drive" (61)

wahnu- "change sides" (68)

walh- "attack" (378)

wašta- "commit an offence" (68)

Examples include the following:

(3.39) a KBo 4.4 iv 62 (Annals of Muršili, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 142)

nu=kan anda **ašanduliškit**

"He garrisoned"

b KBo 5.4 obv 45

nu=tta menahhanda **kūru[ri]yahhanzi**

"**They are hostile** to you"

c KUB 3.119 obv 16

nu=za **lah[hiyau(wanzi** *ŪL* namma tarahheškit)]

"**He** was no longer able **to go to war**"

d KUB 6.41 iii 52

[(nu=)]šši menahhanda **linkatta**

"**He swore allegiance** to him"

e KUB 19.12 ii 1

nu namma *ŪL* **tuhušiy[ait]**

"**He waited** no longer"

f KUB 14.15 ii 12

nu=mu menahhanda **ūnništa**

"**He drove** against me"

g KUB 6.41 iii 51 (Kupanta-^{d}LAMMA treaty, CTH 68, ed. Friedrich 1926: 128)

[na]mma EGIR-pa=pat **wahnut**

"Then **he** actually **changed sides**"

h KBo 4.3 iv 13

nu *ITTI* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* **waštaš**

"**He committed an offense** against His Majesty"

i KUB 14.8 obv 20'

nu namma **walahhir**

"Again **they attacked**"

Note that *ašandulai-* "garrison" lacks a subject clitic in (3.39a), although it is attested with one in (3.24b). There is not enough data to determine whether this variation is due to a

lexical shift from the class of verbs which occurs without subject clitics to that which occurs with them — a type of shift which would be expected to occur occasionally in the history of the language — or whether some other factor is responsible.

The following intransitive verbs, when they have third-person unemphatic referential subjects, consistently occur with clitic subjects:

(3.40) *ak-* "die" (40, 61, 378)
ar- "arrive" (40, 61)
ar- "stand" (61)
eš- "be" (40, 61, 62, 67, 68, 378)
eš- "sit" (61)
haliya- "kneel" (40, 61)
handai- "be arranged" (378, 486)
hink- "bow" (40)
huwāi- "run" (68)
iya- "go" (61, 62)
iyannāi- "walk" (40)
irmaliya- "sicken" (61)
ištandāi- "linger" (61)
karuššiya- "be quiet" (68)
ki- "lie" (68, 69)
kiš- "become" (40, 61, 68, 378)
luluwāi- "survive" (378)
miyahhunteš- "grow old" (378)
nahšariya- "be afraid" (40, 61, 68)
pāi- "go" (40, 61, 67, 68, 378)
paraš- "disperse" (?) (61)
parš- "flee" (61)

piddāi- "flee" (68)

šarra- "break" (40, 61)

šeš- "sleep (40, 378)

šullāi- "quarrel" (61, 68)

tepaweš- "diminish" (378)

tiya- "step" (40, 61, 68)

dudduwareš- "become lame" (61)

uwa- "come" (40, 61, 62, 67, 68, 378)

warrišša- "come to help" (61)

watku- "jump" (68)

wemiya- "be found" (378)

weriya- "fall in with" (68)

Examples include the following:

(3.41) a KUB 34.27+ iii 23'-24'

n=**aš** mahhan *INA* ^{URU}Zithara **āraš**

"When **he arrived** at Zithara ..."

b KBo 3.4 i 10 (Annals of Muršili, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 16)

nu=war=**aš** UR.SAG-iš LUGAL-uš **ēšta**

"**He was** a heroic king"

c KBo 5.4 i 34

tuk=ma kuiš ^{LÚ}KÚR *ANA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI*=ya=**aš** ^{LÚ}KÚR

"The one who is an enemy to you **is** an enemy also to His Majesty"

d KBo 5.6 iv 11-12 (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, CTH 40, ed. Güterbock 1956: 97)

nu=war=**aš** ammuk ^{LÚ}*MUDI-YA INA* KUR ^{URU}Mi<z>ri=ma=wa<r>=**aš** LUGAL-uš

"To me **he will be** a husband, but in Egypt **he will be** king"

e KUB 14.15 iv 28-29

n=**aš**=mu uit GÌR.MEŠ-aš kattan **haliyattat**

"**She** then **kneeled** down at my feet"

f KBo 3.4 i 5-6 (Annals of Muršili, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 14)

EGIR-an=ma=**aš irmaliyattat**=pat

"But then **he got sick**"

g KBo 3.4 i 17 (Annals of Muršili, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 20)

n=**aš**=kan ašanduli anda **ištandait**

"**He lingered** in the garrison"

h KBo 5.8 ii 4-5 (Annals of Muršili, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 152)

n=**at**=mu lahhi kattan **paišgauwan** tīēr

"**They** began **to go** to war with me"

i KBo 2.5 i 2-3

n=**aš**=mu=kan piran arha **parašta**

"**It fled** away before me"

j KUB 14.15 iii 30

arha=war=**at**=za **šarrandat**

"**They broke** from one another"

k KUB 19.13+14 i 33'

n=**aš** ^{URU}Wašhaya **šešta**

"**He slept** in Wašhaya"

l KUB 14.15 ii 6

n=**aš** ginušši **dudduwarešta**

"**He became lame** in the knee"

m KUB 19.10 i 8

n=**aš** *IŠTU* KUR ^{URU}UGU-*TI* katta **uit**

"**He came** down from the Upper Country"

n KBo 5.8 i 41-42 (Annals of Muršili, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 150)

n=**aš** *ANA* LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}Takkuwahina [**war**]**reššešta**

"**He came to help** the people of Takkuwahina"

The following pair of sentences shows quite clearly that the alternation under investigation is conditioned lexically rather than semantically:

(3.42) a KUB 34.24 iii 23

nu=kan ŠÀ KUR ^{URU}Hatti **gimma[ntariyat]**

"**He wintered** in Hatti"

b KBo 5.6 i 40 (Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I, CTH 40, ed. Güterbock 1956: 91)

namma=**aš** EGIR-pa gimmandariya[(uwanz)]i ^{URU}Hattuši **uit**

"Thereafter **he came** back to Hattuša to spend the winter"

Note also the following five clauses, all with unemphatic subjects, in which the presence or absence of a subject clitic is strictly in accordance with the rules described here:

(3.43) KUB 6.41 i 47-53 + KBo 5.13 i 4-6

nu=war=**aš**=mu=kan **šullāit** nu=wa=mu ÌR.MEŠ-*YA* kattan **harnamni[yat]** man=wa=mu menahhanda **kururiyahta** nu=war=**aš**=mu piran arha **[(piddāiš)]** nu=war=**aš**=kan kāšma šumāš anda **uit**

"**He quarrelled** with me, **he provoked** my slaves against me, **he** would have **begun hostilities** against me, **he fled** away before me, and behold, **he came** to you"

3.3.5. Šuppiluliuma I

I found no intransitive verbs with third-person referential null subjects in texts composed under Šuppiluliuma I. The following intransitive verbs, when they have third-person unemphatic referential subjects, consistently occur with clitic subjects:

(3.44) *ak-* "die" (42)

eš- "be" (42, 44, 49)

haliya- "kneel" (49)

huišwe- "live" (42)

huwāi- "run" (49)

ki- "lie" (42)

uwa- "come" (49, 52)

ÌR-*nah-* "submit" (49)

Examples include the following:

(3.45) a KUB 19.26 i 10-11

n=**aš** *ANA* LUGAL mahhan ^{LÚ}KÚR-*ŠU* apedani=ya=**aš** *QATAMMA*

^{LÚ}KÚR-*ŠU* ēšdu

"Just as **he is** an enemy to the king, so **let him** also **be** an enemy to him"

b KBo 10.12 iii 41'

n=**aš huwaizzi**

"**He flees**"

c HT 21 + KUB 8.80: 11

zahhiya=nnaš=**a[t]** namma *ŪL* **uēr**

"**They did** not **come** in battle to us"

d KBo 10.12 i 19'

n=[**aš**=za *AN*]*A* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* L[UGAL KUR ^{URU}H]atti **ÌR-nahtat**

"**He submitted** to His Majesty the king of Hatti"

3.3.6. Middle Hittite

In Middle Hittite texts, the following intransitive verbs never occur with clitic subjects and do occur with third-person referential null subjects:

(3.46) *halzāi-* "call" (262)

hatrāi- "write" (147)

išhamāi- "sing" (262)

išparre- "kick (flat)" (147)

link- "swear" (137, 375)

manninkuwahh- "draw near" (262)

mema- "speak" (200, 262, 404, 480, Mşt)

šanh- "sweep" (262)

te-/tar- "speak" (262, 404)

wak- "bite" (147)

zahhiya- "fight" (147)

Examples include the following:

(3.47) a KBo 16.27 ii 3'

nu **linkir**

"**They swore**"

b IBoT 1.36 iii 71-72 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 196)

nu [^{É}halentūwaš (?)] KÁ.GAL-aš **manninkuwahhi**

"**He draws near** to the door of the halentūwa-house"

c KUB 14.1+ rev 91

aliyaš=wa *ŪL* wāi *ŪL*=ma=wa **wāki** *ŪL*=ma=wa **išparizzi**

"The deer does not cry, **it does** not **bite, it does** not **kick**"

d KUB 14.1+ obv 59

nu=ššan *ANA* ^{m}Madduwatta kuit šer **zah[h]ir**

"Because **they were fighting** for Madduwatta ..."

The following intransitive verbs, when they have third-person unemphatic referential subjects, consistently occur with clitic subjects:

(3.48) *ar-* "arrive" (262, 375)

ar- "stand" (262)

eš- "be" (28, 133, 137, 147, 200, 261, 262, 404, 480, Mşt)

handanda- "lead on the right path" (262)

hink- "bow" (262)

huwāi- "run" (262)

iya- "go" (262)

iyannnāi- "walk" (147, 262)

ki- "lie" (270)

kiš- "become" (28, 133, 404)

lak- "fall" (404)

pāi- "go" (28, 41, 147, 262, 404)

piddāi- "flee" (262)

tarup- "join together" (480)

tiya- "step" (262)

tuwarnāi- "break" (404)

uwa- "come" (133, 147, 262, 480, Mşt)

Examples include the following:

(3.49) a IBoT 1.36 i 51 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 178)

luštaniya=ma=**aš ari**

"But **he arrives** at the side-door"

b KUB 34.84+ ii 45-46

[(kāša=w)]ar=**aš** Ú-it halkit **warkanza**

"Behold, **it has become fat** with grass and grain"

c KUB 14.1+ obv 73-74

n=**at** *IŠTU* LÚ.MEŠŠU.GI-*TIM* kattan apēdani [x] **iyanniwan** [dāi]r

"**They** began **to march** there with the elders"

d KBo 2.3 iii c. 20

kinunn=a=[(war=**at**=kan)] kāša **lagāri**

"Look, now too **they've fallen over**"

e IBoT 1.36 i 44 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 178)

šēhuna=war=**aš paizzi**

"**He'll go** to urinate"

f KBo 16.47 obv 11'

n=**aš** kuedani KUR-ya **paizzi**

"In whatever land **he goes** ..."

g IBoT 1.36 ii 42-43 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 186)

n=**aš** paizzi TA ^{GIŠ}huluganni ^{GIŠ}DUBBIN GÙB-laz **tiyazzi**

"**He** then **stations** himself to the left of the wheel of the wagon"

h KUB 14.1+ rev 60

nu=war=**aš** katti=ti **uit**

"**He came** to you"

3.3.7. Old Hittite

In Old Hittite texts, the following intransitive verbs never occur with clitic subjects and do occur with third-person referential null subjects:

(3.50) *aniya-* "work" (291, 669)

aruwāi- "bow" (291, 631)

eku- "drink" (631, 665)

ed- "eat" (665)

halzāi- "call" (649)

hatrāi- "write" (272)

huek- "cast a spell" (733)

link- "swear" (291)

mald- "recite, vow" (631, 669, 733)

punušš- "ask" (9)

šanh- "sweep" (669)

šarnink- "make restitution" (291)

šipant- "libate" (631)

šittariya- "order" (291)

te-/tar- "speak" (3, 291, 292, 416)

walh- "strike" (292)

weh-/wah- "turn" (649)

zinna- "end" (669)

Examples include the following:

(3.51) a KBo 6.2 i 17-18 (Law, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 18)

nu É-ri=šši **anniškizzi**

"**He works** in his field"

b KBo 22.1: 22'

nu=šmaš mānhanda **hatreškizzi**

"Just as **he customarily writes** to you ..."

c KUB 8.41 obv 1'

mān *ANA* DAM-*ŠU* **huekzi**

"When **he casts a spell** on his wife ..."

d KBo 6.2 iv 3 (Law, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 75)

nu **likzi**

"**He swears**"

e KBo 20.10 + 25.59 i 3

anda **šanhanzi**

"**They sweep**"

f KBo 6.2 iv 58 (Law, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 48)

takku natta=ma **šarnik[(zi)]**

"If **he does** not **make restitution** ..."

g KBo 17.11+ iv 30'-31'

kuttaš peran [šiuni 1-(iš **šipant**)]**i**

"In front of the wall **he libates** once to the god"

h KBo 6.2 iii 19 (Law, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 36)

[(nu a)]nda **šittarit**

"**He ordered ...**"

i StBoT 3 iv 12

[takk]u natta=ma **taranzi**

"But if **they do** not **say** ...", i.e. "if **they say** 'no' ..."

j KBo 20.26+ obv 19'

[p]ēdi=šmi=pat ZAG-ni 1-ŠU **wahanzi**

"**They turn** once in place to the right"

The following intransitive verbs, when they have third-person unemphatic referential subjects, consistently occur with clitic subjects:

(3.52) *ak-* "die" (3, 291, 292)

ar- "stand" (631)

ar- "arrive" (3, 733)

eš- "be" (1, 25, 820)

eš- "sit" (665)

hark- "perish" (27, 291)

iyannāi- "walk" (3)

idalaweš- "become evil, quarrel" (291)

ki- "lie" (645)

kiš- "become" (291)

kištanziya- "starve" (1)

lāzziya- "recover" (291)

pāi- "go" (3, 291, 627, 631)

parkueš- "become pure" (9)

šamen- "withdraw" (291, 292)

tarku- "dance" (649)[9]

tiya- "step" (631, 649)

uwa- "come" (645)

GEME-*reš-* "become unfree" (291)

Examples include the following:

(3.53) a KBo 22.2 rev 13'

š=**e akir**

"**They died**"

b KBo 25.112 ii 17'

mān=**aš** ^{URU}Karikūriška **āri**

"When **he reaches** Karikuriska"

c KUB 36.108 obv 4

n=**e** *ŠA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI*=pat **ašantu**

"**Let them be** His Majesty's"

d KUB 36.110 rev 15'16'

n=**e**=ššan ^{NA_4}pēruni **uetan**

"**They are built** on a rock"

e KBo 17.36+ iii 10'

n=**e** haššaš katta **ešanta**

"**They sit** by the hearth"

f KBo 17.15 rev 17'

n=**aš**=ša[(n hašši *PANI* ^{d}U.GUR **kitta**)]

"**It lies** on the hearth before ^{d}U.GUR"

---

[9] It is possible that *tarku-* in fact belongs under (3.51): I have seen two places where it lacks a subject clitic, as its meaning might lead us to expect (see below), while the one subject clitic it has is the unusual nominative plural form *aš* at KBo 20.26+ obv 18'.

g KBo 6.2+ ii 22 (Law, series one, CTH 291)

t=**aš** ^{GIŠ}TUKUL-li **kīš[a]**

"**He'll become** a TUKUL-man"

h ABoT 5+ iii 21'

t=**e**=šta **pānzi**

"**They go**"

i KBo 6.2 ii 51-52 (Law, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 32)

n=**aš**=kan hāpparaz **[šame]nzi**

"**He withdraws** from the transaction"

j KBo 17.11+ i 7-8

t=**aš** paizzi DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ.[(LUGAL)] pēran **tiēzzi**

"**He** then **stands** before the princes and princesses"

k KBo 6.2 ii 6 (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 26)

[n]=**aš** *INA* MU.3.KAM **GEME-re[šzi]**

"In three years **he becomes unfree**"

l KBo 8.42 rev 9'

s=**aš parkuēšta**

"**He became pure**"

3.3.8. Discourse-Conditioned Null Anaphora

As mentioned above, the presumably discourse-conditioned process responsible for occasional null objects, most frequently in Old Hittite, may be expected to have operated on subjects. In fact, in my view, a sign that research on subject anaphora has made real progress is that it is possible to isolate those cases where this process must be responsible for null subjects. The following Old Hittite subjectless clauses would, based on their verbs' behavior elsewhere in Old Hittite and consistently in the later language, be expected to have subject clitics:

(3.54) a KBo 3.22 rev 78

mān tunnakišna=ma **paizzi**

"When **he goes** into the inner room"

b KBo 17.11+ i 3'-4'

LÚ.MEŠ*MEŠEDI*-an āppan **tienzi**

"**They station themselves** behind the guards"

c KBo 17.11+ i 36'

[hal(maš)šu(itaš tap)]ušz[a **t**]**iēzzi**

"**He stations himself** next to the throne"

d KBo 17.11+ iv 14'

[(t)]a É.ŠÀ-na **paizzi**

"**He goes** to the inner room"

e KBo 17.11+ iv 25'

tunnakkišna **p**[**aizzi**]

"**He goes** to the inner room"

f KBo 17.11+ iv 28'-29'

[(mišt)]iliya mehur tunnakišna [**pānzi**]

"At *mištiliya*-time **they go** to the inner room"

g KBo 22.2 obv 8

mān URUTamar[mara] **arir**

"When **they reached** Tamarmara ..."

h KBo 22.2 obv 15

mān URUNēša **pāir**

"When **they went** to Nesa ..."

i KBo 22.2 rev 11'

MU.2.KAM kattan **ēšta**

"For two years **he was** below"

j KBo 20.10+ i 5 [cf. ibid. 6, 10]

ANA LUGAL **hekta**

"**He bows** to the king"

k KBo 6.2 iii 23-24 (Law, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 36)

takku GU_4 šaudišza natta GU_4.MAH-aš [takku GU_4 iug]aš natta GU_4.MAH-aš takku GU_4 tāiugaš apaš GU_4.MAH-aš

"If **it's** a suckling cow, **it's** not a breeding cow; if **it's** a one-year-old cow, **it's** not a breeding cow; if **it's** a two-year-old cow, that's a breeding cow"

l KBo 6.2 iv 3 (Law, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 42)

INA QATI DINGIR-*LIM* ākkiš

"He died at the hand of a god"

m KBo 17.43 i 9' (cf. 14')

ta namma **tarukzi**

"Then **he dances**"

Considerably fewer cases were found in my Middle Hittite corpus, all from a single text in a genre with Old Hittite antecedents:

(3.55) a IBoT 1.36 i 74 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 180)

n[am]ma=kan parā *ŠA* ^{LÚ}*M[EŠ]EDI* ^{É}hilaz **uiškandari**

"Then **they come** forth from the guards' court"

b IBoT 1.36 iii 63 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 196)

mān ^{GIŠ}hulugānnaza=ma **nēari**

"But if **he turns** from the wagon ..."

c IBoT 1.36 iii 71 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 196)

nu ^{GIŠ}hulukānnaz ^{É}halitūwaš **paizzi**

"From the wagon **he goes** to the *halitūwa*-house"

d IBoT 1.36 iv 26-27 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 200)

nu=ššan GAL-az ^{É}kāškaštepaz sarā **[uwa]nzi**

"**They go** up from the great gatehouse"

One or two Neo-Hittite cases of this type were already identified above. It is also easy to find unexpected null-subject clauses in later manuscripts of ritual texts, where direct or indirect influence from Old Hittite archetypes can never be excluded, as in the following sentences, randomly selected among many others from the KI.LAM festival:

(3.56) a KBo 10.25 ii 4

parašnauwaš=kan **uizzi**

"**He comes** squatting (?)"

b KUB 2.3 v 27'-28'

GIM-an=ma ^{GI}[(^{Š}KÁ.GAL-aš)] **aranzi**

"But when **they arrive** at the city gate ..."

c KBo 27.42 i 2

ta ^{GIŠ}ZA.LAM.GAR-aš **paizzi**

"**He goes** to the tent"

d KBo 10.23 ii 31'-32'

LUGAL-i=kan menahhanda **aranta**

"**They stand** facing the king"

e KUB 2.3 i 46

t=ašta **pānzi**

"**They leave**"

On the other hand, in most Middle Hittite texts and virtually all Neo-Hittite texts, the distribution of subject clitics in my corpus is precisely in accordance with the rules proposed above. It is not clear whether the unexpected null subjects identified in this section should be attributed specifically to linguistic features of Old Hittite, or to features of those literary genres which, precisely because of their close affiliation with Old Hittite, were

largely excluded from my corpus, or to both.

It should not be surprising, however, if unexpected null subjects are associated with specific literary genres. Ritual texts in particular are characterized by an extremely restricted pragmatic domain, and it is certainly imaginable a priori that discourse conditions might operate there which are otherwise largely unrecoverable in the language; by comparison, unexpected null objects too are probably more common in ritual texts than other genres. A typological parallel for the phenomenon of generically restricted null anaphora occurs in so-called "recipe contexts" in English, a language where null anaphora is ordinarily categorially disallowed. In recipe contexts, however, null anaphora is extremely common, as in the following passage cited by Massam & Roberge (1989: 135):

(3.57) Take the cake mix, 1 cup of water, and 3 eggs. Mix ___ well and beat ___ for 5 minutes. Pour ___ into a well-greased pan and bake ___ for 20 minutes. Remove ___ from oven and cool ___.

3.3.9. Summary

Overall the preceding survey has shown that there are two classes of intransitive verbs in Hittite, those which never occur with subject clitics and those which ordinarily do occur with subject clitics when their subjects are third-person and referential. The objective of this chapter has been to establish this descriptive generalization, and not to determine the membership of the two classes exhaustively. Nevertheless it should be clear that over the five hundred years of its attestation, Hittite is remarkably consistent not only in the specific assignment of individual verbs to one class or the other, but also in some general features of the two classes. These general features are both syntactic and semantic.

The class of intransitive verbs which never occur with subject clitics may be subdivided into three groups. First, there is a syntactically defined group: intransitive verbs with transitive counterparts whose subjects have the same θ-roles as the subjects of their transitive counterparts. I will refer to such intransitive verbs as "absolute" transitives. The following absolute transitives have been identified above:

(3.58)

aniya- "work" (OH)

au(š)- "see" (Tut IV, Muw, Murš II)

eku- "drink" (OH)

ed- "eat" (OH)

halzāi- "call" (MH, OH)

hatrāi- "write" (Murš II, MH, OH)

huek- "cast a spell" (OH)

išhamāi- "sing" (MH)

išparre- "kick (flat)" (MH)

ištamaš- "hear" (Muw)

lahhiyāi- "travel, campaign" (Murš II)

mald- "recite, vow" (OH)

mema- "speak" (Tut IV, Hatt III, Muw, Murš II, MH)

penna- "drive" (Hatt III)

**peda-* "bring"

punušš- "ask" (OH)

šakk- "know" (Murš II)

šanh- "sweep" (MH, OH)

šarnink- "pay (compensation)" (OH)

šipant- "libate" (OH)

šittariya- "order" (OH)

dāi- "place" (Murš II)

te-/tar- "speak" (Muw, MH, OH)

tuhušiya- "wait" (Murš II)

uiya- "send" (Murš II)

unna- "drive" (Tut IV, Murš II)

wak- "bite" (MH)

walh- "attack" (Hatt III, Murš II, OH)

zahhiya- "fight" (MH)

zinna- "end" (OH)

Verbs marked with an asterisk in this and the following lists did not occur in the appropriate context in my corpus, but happen to have been noted elsewhere. Each such verb is appropriately exemplified either in the place cited or immediately after the list where it occurs, as here:

(3.59) KUB 13.35+ i 10

nu=za=kan linkiya anda kisan **pēdaš**

"**He brought** in as follows under oath"

The second subgroup of the class of intransitives prohibiting subject clitics is morphologically characterized. It contains several verbs which are intransitive but which belong to morphologically transitive verb classes, namely the class of factitives in *-ahh-* and the class of causatives in *-nu-*:

(3.60) *kururiyahh-* "be hostile" (Tut IV, Murš II)

maninkuwahh- "draw near" (MH)

**nuntarnu-* "hurry"

wahnu- "change sides" (Murš II)

(3.61) KUB 36.12 iii 15'-16'

nu nuntarnut

"He hurried"

The third subclass is a miscellaneous one:

(3.62) *arkuwāi-* "plead" (Muw)

aruwāi- "bow" (OH)

gimmantariya- "spend the winter" (Hatt III)

link- "swear" (Tut IV, Hatt III, Murš II, MH, OH)

**šalik-* "force one's way"

**šuwaya-* "look"

wašta- "commit an offence" (Tut IV, Murš II)

weh-/wah- "turn" (Tut IV, OH)

(3.63) a KBo 6.26 iii 51-53

ta DUMU.MUNUS=ši=ya šaliga ... ta anni=šši=a našma NIN-i=šši šaliga

"(If) he also forces himself on her daughter ... (If) he also forces himself on her mother or her sister ..."

b KBo 3.1 ii 50-51

nu LUGAL-waš haraššanā **šuwāyēzzi**

"(Whoever) **sets his sights** on the king's head" (see Melchert 1977: 222-23)

It is possible that some of the verbs in (3.62) in fact belong to the absolute intransitive class. For example, both *link-* "swear" and *wašta-* "commit an offence" occasionally occur with accusatives, as in (3.64-65) :

(3.64) Bo 86/299 ii 55 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 18)

nu *MAMETE*^{MEŠ} kue lenqan harta

"The oaths which he had sworn ..."

(3.65) a KBo 16.47 obv 8'

[m]ān ^{SIG}maištann=a mašiwantan waštanzi

"Even if they are remiss in respect to so much as a fiber of wool ..." (CHD 208)

b KUB 23.1+ i 26-27 (Šaušgamuwa treaty, CTH 105, ed. Kühne & Otten 1971: 6)

nu *ITTI* KUR ^{URU}Hatti *ŪL* kuitki waštaš

"He committed no offence against the land of Hatti"

c Bo 86/299 i 10 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 10)

LÚ.MEŠ ^{URU}Hatti kuit imma kuit waštir

"Whatever offence at all the people of Hatti committed ..."

In the case of *link-* "swear", the difficulty lies in determining whether *MAMETE*^{MEŠ} *kue* "which oaths" in (3.64) is a direct object or a non-argument "cognate object". The fact that *linkant-* means "perjurer" rather than "oath" or the like—that *link-* forms an active rather than a passive participle—argues that the absolutive in (3.64) is indeed an adjunct and not an argument. In the case of *wašta-* "commit an offence", the difficulty lies in determining whether the apparent object NPs in (3.65) function as direct objects or adverbs.[10]

The class of intransitive verbs which can occur with subject clitics—and which ordinarily do when their third-person referential subjects are omitted—may be divided into several syntactic-semantic subgroups. First, it includes a syntactically-defined class of verbs which are identical to transitives and whose subjects have the same θ-roles as the objects of their transitive counterparts. Despite the possibility of confusion with the Indo-European morphological category, I will refer to these verbs as "middle intransitives". Many Hittite middle intransitives are formally (morphologically) middle, in opposition to active transitives, but by no means all of them are. This class includes the following:

(3.66) *haliya-* "kneel" (Murs II, Šupp I)

handāi- (mid.) "be arranged" (vs. act. "arrange") (Murš II)

**huršakniya-* (mid.) "burst"

irmaliya- "sicken" (Murš II)

ištark- "sicken"

lā- (mid.) "be released" (vs. act. "release") (Muw)

lak- (mid.) "fall" (vs. act. "knock out") (MH)

---

[10] Note incidentally that ergative and absolutive case assignment are determined by transitivity itself and not the two verb classes described here: at KBo 5.13 ii 27-28, KUR-*TUM kuitki arahza ANA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI kururiyahzi* "some land outside will begin hostilities with His Majesty", the subject KUR-*TUM kuitki* "some land" is an absolutive neuter, not an ergative, because its verb *kururiyahzi* "will be hostile" is intransitive, even though it belongs to the class prohibiting subject clitics.

lazziya- (mid.) "recover" (vs. act. "set straight") (OH)

luluwāi- (mid.) "survive" (vs. act. "sustain") (Murš II)

**munnāi-* "hide" (act., mid.: [3.16] above)

**paršiya-* (mid.) "break"

šarra- "break" (mid.) (Murš II)

tarup- "join together" (act., mid.) (MH)

tuwarnāi- "break" (MH)

wemiya- (mid.) "be found" (vs. act. "find") (Murš II)

weriya- (mid.) "fall in with" (vs. act. "call") (Murs II)

ÌR-*nah-* (mid.) "submit" (vs. act. "subjugate") (Šupp I)

(3.67) a KBo 6.34+ ii 14-15 (Military oath, CTH , ed. Oettinger 1976: 8)

n=**aš** ^{UZU}SA-aš iwar **huršakniyaddaru**

"**Let him burst** like sinew"

b KBo 6.34+ i 44 (Military oath, CTH , ed. Oettinger 1976: 8)

n=**aš**=kan inanaš šer arha **paršiyaddaru**

"**Let him break** apart with sicknesses"

The second intransitive class includes three semantically defined subgroups. First, there are statives:

(3.68) *ar-* "stand" (Tut IV, Muw, Murš II, MH, OH)

aršaniya- "envy" (Hatt III)

eš- "be" (Tut IV, Hatt III, Muw, Murš II, Šupp I, MH, OH)

eš- "sit" (Hatt III, Murš II, OH)

huišwe- "live" (Šupp I)

ištandāi- "linger" (Murš II)

karuššiya- "be silent" (Murš II)

ki- "lie" (Tut IV, Murš II, Šupp I, MH, OH)

nahh- "be afraid" (Hatt III)

nahšariya- "be afraid" (Murš II)

šeš- "sleep" (Murš II)

Second, there are change-of-state verbs, including all the inchoatives in *-eš*:

(3.69) *ak-* "die" (Tut IV, Murš II, Šupp I, OH)

hark- "perish" (OH)

huešwe- "live" (Muw)

idalaweš- "become evil" (Hatt III, OH)

kiš- "become" (Hatt III, Murš II, MH, OH)

kištanziya- "starve" (OH)

**māi-* "grow"

**mayanteš-* "grow up" ([3.1d] above)

miyahhunteš- "grow old" (Murš II)

**mīeš-* "become gentle"

**militeš-* "become sweet"

**merr-* "disappear" ([3.1b] above)

parkueš- "become pure" (OH)

**putk-* "swell"

**šalliya-* "melt"

**šuppeš-* "become holy"

tepaweš- "become small" (Muw, Murš II)

dudduwareš- "become lame" (Murš II)

GEME-*reš-* "become unfree" (OH)

(3.70) a KUB 12.44 ii 28

n=**aš miškiuwan** dāi

"**It** will begin **to bear fruit**" (CHD 115)

b KUB 17.10 ii 27

n=**aš** *QĀTAMMA* **mīēštu**

"Let **it** likewise **become gentle**"

c KUB 9.4 iii 27-28 [CHD 252]

nu=šmaš=**aš**=kan anda **mili<<ta>>**tešdu

"**Let him become sweet** to them"

d KBo 6.34+ i 39 (Military oath, ed. Oettinger 1976: 8)

n=**aš putkīētta**

"**May he swell**"

d KBo 6.34+ ii 2 (Military oath, ed. Oettinger 1976: 8)

n=**aš** GAB.LÀL-[aš i]war **šallitaru**

"**May he melt** like wax"

e KUB 29.8 ii 20-23

UL=ma=**aš** kuwatqa **šuppešzi**

"**It does** not **become holy** in any way"

Third, there are verbs of motion:

(3.71) *ar-* "arrive" (Murš II, MH, OH)

**arāi-* "arise"

huwāi- "run" (Murš II, Supp I, MH)

iya- "go" (Hatt III, Muw, Murš II, MH)

iyannāi- "walk" (Murs II, MH, OH)

**mauššš-* "fall"

**mummiya-* "fall"

pāi- "go" (Tut IV, Hatt III, Muw, Murš II, MH, OH)

paraša- "disperse (?)" (Murš II)

parš- "flee" (Hatt III, Murš II)

piddāi- "flee" (Murš II, MH)

šamen- "withdraw" (OH)

tiya- "step" (Tut IV, Hatt III, Murš II, MH, OH)

uwa- "come" (Tut IV, Hatt III, Muw, Murš II, Šupp I, MH, OH)

warrišša- "come to help" (Murš II)

watku- "jump" (Murš II)

(3.72) a KUB 12.65+ iii 10'

n=**aš**=kan šarā hūdak **arāiš**

"**It rose** up quickly"

b KUB 28.4 obv 17b

n=**aš**=kan šer KI.LAM-ni **maušta**

"**It fell** on the gatehouse"

c KUB 8.22 ii 7-8

n=**at**=kan katta **[m]umianzi**

"**They fall** (?) down" (CHD 328)

Finally, the class of intransitives which occur with subject clitics includes the following miscellaneous verbs:

(3.73) *handanda-* "lead on the right path" (Hatt III, MH)

hink- "bow" (Muw, Murš II, MH)

hūlla- "fight" (Hatt III)

kuršā- "?" (Muw)

marh- "?" (Hatt III)

šullāi- "quarrel" (Hatt III, Murš II)

dāriya- "call" (Hatt III)

tarku- "dance" (OH)

uwaya- "do harm" (Hatt III)

**wešk-* "weep" ([3.14a] above)

3.4. Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian

Subject clitics are clearly attested in Palaic only in the following passages:

(3.74) a KUB 35.165 rev 23'

mān=**aš marhanza**

"**When** s/he is *marhanza* ..."

b KUB 32.18 i 7' = 9' = 18'

ni=ppa=**aš hašanti**

"**They are** not **satisfied**"

Null third-person referential subjects are attested with intransitive verbs in the following passages:

(3.75) a KUB 32.18 i 7', 9', 18'

ahuwanti

"**They drink**"

b KUB 35.165 rev 22'

^{d}Zaparwāi ahūna **huššīnta**

"**They have poured** for Zaparwa to drink"

c KUB 32.18 i 15' = KUB 35.168: 3'

nit=kuwat **parait**

"**S/he did** not **come forth**" (??)

d KUB 32.18 i 7' = 9' = 18' (cf. KUB 35.165 obv 25, rev 9)

ni=ppa=ši **mušānti**

"They **are not satisfied**"

In (3.75d), of course, identification of a null subject depends on the assumption that an overt *aš* would result in a *-Vš-šV-* spelling in at least some of the five places the verb occurs. The appropriate Hittite and Palaic contexts are compared in (3.76a) and (3.76b) respectively:

(3.76) a KUB 17.10 i 19-20

eter n=e *ŪL* išpīēr **ekuiēr=ma n=e=za** *ŪL* **haššikir**

"They ate, and they were not satisfied; **they drank**, and **they were** not **satisfied**"

b KUB 32.18 i 7' (ed. Carruba

[... a]tānti ni=ppa=ši mušānti **ahuwanti** ni=ppa=**aš hašanti**

"They eat, and they are not satisfied; **they drink**, and **they are** not **satisfied**"

The cognate intransitive verbs "drink" and "be satisfied" (and probably "eat" as well) have the same subject clitic syntax. This is consistent with the view that Palaic shares the Hittite distribution of subject clitics in intransitive clauses: as in Hittite, the copula can occur with a subject clitic, and absolute intransitives like "pour" and "drink" cannot occur with a subject clitic. I take this as evidence that both Hittite and Palaic inherited from their common ancestor these two syntactically distinct classes of intransitives.

Turning to Cuneiform Luvian, none of the subject clitics listed by Laroche (1959) occurs with a transitive verb, confirming the conclusion of §3.1. However, I have not yet examined the referential third-person null subjects to determine whether the Cuneiform Luvian distribution of subject clitics with intransitives parallels the one found for Hittite and Palaic. This project may be more usefully undertaken in conjunction with a similar analysis of the Hieroglyphic Luvian data, which has been consistently ignored here.

3.5. Lycian

Since the regular outcome of Common Anatolian word-final **-os* is *-e* in Lycian, and the regular treatment of medial **-os-* is *-eh-*, the Common Anatolian subject clitic **os* would regularly give two allomorphs *e* and *eh* in Lycian. Neither is attested—in fact, no subject clitics are attested in Lycian—but this gap is insignificant. There is no context in any Lycian text where a subject clitic would be expected and is unambiguously absent: all clear

Lycian clauses with third person referential null subjects are transitive, and Anatolian transitive verbs are not expected to have clitic subjects. In a single case, to be discussed in chapter 5, a third-person singular subject clitic would be expected, but the evidence in that case does not exclude the possibility that a clitic *e* is actually present. The evidence of Lycian may therefore be disregarded in investigating the syntax of the Anatolian subject clitics.

3.6. The Syntax of Anatolian Subject Clitics

The evidence presented above indicates that either with or after the innovation of clitic subject pronouns, but in any case already in Common Anatolian, two lexical classes of verbs came to be distinguished syntactically: one class, including the transitives, the absolute transitives, and certain other intransitives, never had clitic subjects; and the other class, including the middle intransitives, statives, change-of-state verbs, verbs of motion, and certain other intransitives, ordinarily had clitic subjects in the absence of other overt third-person referential subjects.

An analysis of these developments is available based on the so-called "unaccusative hypothesis" developed originally by Perlmutter (1978) and subsequently by numerous researchers (see Grimshaw 1987 for a review). According to this hypothesis, many languages are characterized by an opposition between two classes of intransitive verbs, namely "unaccusatives" and "unergatives". These two classes are generally distinguished in part semantically: the unergative class typically includes agentive intransitives and absolute transitives in the sense used here, and the unaccusative class includes most non-agentive intransitives and middle intransitives. Many attempts have been made, mainly unsuccessfully, to derive the behavior and membership of the two classes from the semantic properties of the various intransitive verbs (but see most recently Van Valin 1990). The two classes are also distinguished syntactically. Unaccusative verbs behave in some respects like transitives, and it is ordinarily taken as the defining characteristic of the two

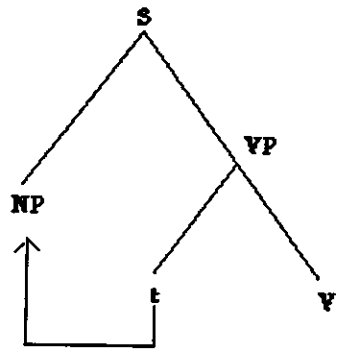
intransitive classes that the surface subject of an unaccusative verb is in fact underlyingly its object, not its subject, whereas the surface subject of an unergative verb is an underlying subject. This means that the subjects of unaccusative verbs share with the objects of transitive verbs the property of being underlying objects, and the subjects of unergative verbs share with the subjects of transitive verbs the property of being underlying subjects:

(3.77)

	SURFACE SUBJECT	SURFACE OBJECT
UNACCUSATIVE	underlying object	(none)
UNERGATIVE	underlying subject	(none)
TRANSITIVE	underlying subject	underlying object

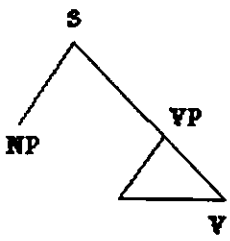
The specific implementation of the notion "underlying" of course varies according to the formal apparatus employed; within the transformational model used here, clauses with unaccusative verbs may be regarded as having the structure in (3.78).

(3.78) Unaccusative Verbs



By contrast, clauses with unergative verbs have the structure in (3.79).

(3.79) Unergative Verbs



The syntactic manifestations of the unaccusative/unergative contrast naturally vary from

language to language according to whatever syntactic parameters cross-classify underlying and surface subjecthood and objecthood. For example, in Italian, the language where contrasts between unaccusatives and unergatives have been most extensively investigated, a representative unaccusative is *arrivare* and a representative unergative is *telefonare*. Compound past unaccusative verbs require the auxiliary *essere*, while unergatives require *avere* (the data in [3.80-81] is cited from Grimshaw [1987: 245]):

(3.80) a Giovanni arriva

Giovanni è arrivato

b Giovanni telefona

Giovanni ha telefonato

Likewise the process of subject *ne*-cliticization is sensitive to the unaccusative/unergative contrast:

(3.81) a Ne arrivano molti

b *Ne telefonano molti

As shown by the following sentences, cited by Rosen (1984: 53), Italian middle intransitives are unaccusative and absolute transitives are unergative:

(3.82) a Il pubblico ha fischiato il tenore

Il pubblico ha fischiato

b Bertini ha calato il sipario

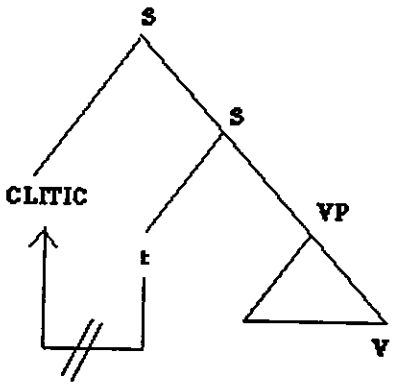
Il sipario è calato

Other manifestations of the contrast in various languages cited by Grimshaw (1987: 245-47) include Dutch impersonal passivization, English adjectival participle formation, Lakhota verbal agreement morphology, and arbitrary plural interpretation of null subjects in Spanish and Italian.

I suggest that the division of Anatolian intransitive verbs is another manifestation of the common division of intransitives into these two classes. This make sense both semantically and syntactically. Semantically, the class of Hittite intransitive verbs which can occur with

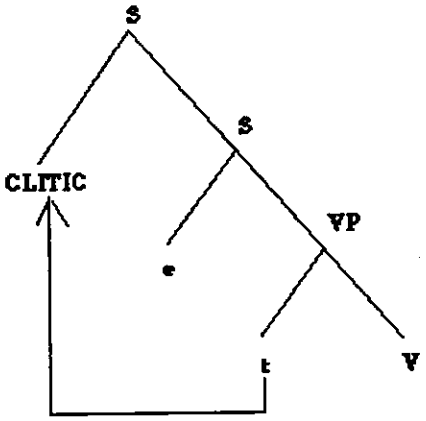
clitic subjects corresponds fairly well to classes of unaccusatives in other languages: see Rosen (1984: 44-45) on Italian, for instance. My proposal also makes pre-theoretical syntactic sense: instead of positing that Anatolian subject clitics cannot occur with transitive verbs or a lexically specified class of intransitive verbs, it permits the simpler generalization that Anatolian clitics do not occur as underlying subjects. In other words, while clitics may occur in underlying object positions (as the objects of transitives or the subjects of unaccusatives), they cannot occur in underlying subject positions (as the subjects of transitives or unergatives). The position from which clitics are blocked in Anatolian is indicated in the following representation:

(3.83) Cliticization from Underlying Subject Position

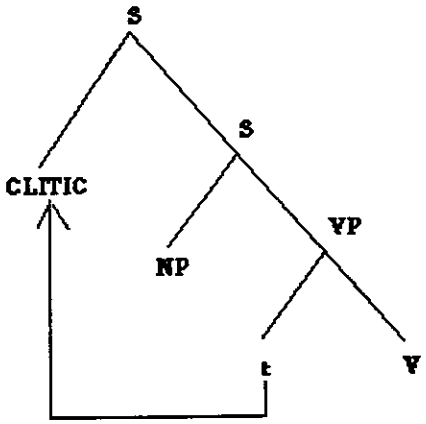


Representations of clauses with surface subject and object clitics are given in (3.84) and (3.85) respectively:

(3.84) Cliticization from Unaccusative Subject Position



(3.85) Cliticization from Direct Object Position



Two final points must be noted. First, if the proposal that Anatolian clitic syntax manifests a distinction between unaccusative and unergative syntax is correct, this distinction should manifest itself elsewhere in the syntax of these languages. I have not attempted to identify any independent correlates of the unaccusative/unergative contrast in Anatolian, and it is of course possible in principle that the corpus available to us will not allow their identification, since many of the syntactic tests possible in living languages are necessarily unavailable even in research on a relatively well-attested dead language like Hittite.[11] Second, while the present hypothesis does permit the generalization that

[11] The distribution of possessor raising may furnish an independent test of the desired type. As far as I know,

cliticization from the underlying subject position is impossible in Anatolian, it does not provide an explanation for this in turn. This dissertation is, however, not the proper forum for a discussion of this somewhat more theoretical problem.

3.7. Appendix: Hittite Subject Clitics With Transitive Verbs

This appendix considers, case by case, Hittite contexts in which subject clitics have been identified in violation of Watkins's rule discussed in §3.1 above. In none of these cases does the evidence require positing a subject clitic.

a. The following sign sequences should be read as indicated rather than as indexed by Burde (1974): *ku-it-ma-an-ma-aš-ši* is *kuitman=ma=šši* not *kuitman=ma=aš=ši* at KUB 44.61 i 7-8; and *GA-PA-NU-ya-aš-ši-kán* is *GAPANU=ya=šši=kan* not *GAPANU=ya=aš=ši=kan* at KUB 44.63 ii 10'.

b. The following sign sequences should be read as indicated rather than as indexed by Beckman (1983): *nam-ma-aš-ša-an* is *namma=šša*n not *namma=aš=šan* at KUB 9.22 ii 34 (with dupl.), iii 2, 8, 36; ABoT 17 ii 4-5; *Q[A-TAM-y]a-aš-ša-an* is *QATAM=ya=šša*n not *QATAM=ya=aš=šan* at KUB 9.22 iii 40; and *a-ra-ah-ze-ni-ya-aš-ša-an* is *arahzeni=ya=šša*n not *arahzeni=ya=aš=šan* at ABoT 17 iii 11'.

c. At KBo 17.88 + KBo 24.116 iii 23-25, *āššuš=aš halugaš wemiškiddu mayantan* ^{d}UTU=*šummin* ^{f}*Tawanannan* AN.BAR-*aš* GIŠ$_{DAG}$-*ti*, *aš* should be taken as accusative plural rather than nominative singular, so that the translation is not "let it (*aš*), (namely) the 'good message', find our vigorous Sungod (i.e. the king) (and) the *Tawananna* on a throne

---

the only verbs whose subjects are raised direct-object possessors are verbs of the unaccusative class. Such a distribution would be explained if possessor raising were a process restricted to (underlying) VP-internal arguments.

dais of iron" (CHD 117), but is rather "let the 'good message' find them (*aš*), (namely) our vigorous Sungod ...."

d. At KUB 53.3 i 7', [*n*]*=aš=kan parā pēdai*, *aš* should be taken as accusative plural rather than nominative singular, so that the translation is not "und er schafft es hinaus" (Haas & Jakob-Rost 1984: 58), but is rather "(he) removes them".

e. At KUB 51.1+ iii 25'-26' (Haas & Jakob-Rost 1984: 43), *Ù* 9 *iukan* L[(Ú.MEŠ*hunēpi*)*ša* LÚ.MEŠ*halliy*]*areš PANI* DINGIR-*LIM huyanteš n=at hunē*[(*piša tišk*)*anzi*], the translation, which begins "and nine one-year-old (sheep), the *hunēpiša*-people, and the *haliyari*-people run before the god", cannot conclude with Haas & Jakob-Rost's (1984: 46) "...und sie stellen das *hunēpiša* hin". As Craig Melchert points out (p.c.), since we do not know what *hunēpiša* means and since in the second sentence it lacks a determinative, this sentence may instead be interpreted as "they step to the *hunēpiša*", with a directive.

f. At KBo 17.65 edge 8, *namma=aš piyan*[*āizzi*], we should translate "further, (s/he) pays them" rather than intransitively "further, (s)he pays a fee" (Beckman 1983: 147), since *piyanāi-* is elsewhere transitive: cf. KBo 17.65 edge 5, *namma=aš* 3 BAL<*-ši*> *piyanaizzi kuit=s*[*i āššu*] "further, (s/he) pays them three times what is right to her"; KBo 17.65 rev 64, [*šipa*]*nti kuiš n=an* EN.SISKUR.SISKUR *piyanāizzi kuit=ši āššu* "the client pays the one who performs the offering what is right to him"; KBo 6.3 ii 58, *apūn piyanaizzi* "(he) pays him"; and KBo 22.1 rev 28, *parna=šša paiši ēzši eukši piyanazzi=a=tta* "you go to his house, you eat (and) drink, and (he) rewards you".

g. Bo 3752 ii 2'-5' (Neu 1980: 179) reads as follows:

(3.86) *šarā šuhha paizzi* [
ta=kkan 1 SÍLA.GE$_6$ *šipanti* [
t=aš=kan DUMU.É.GAL *ap-pi-i*[*š-k-*
anda šunneškizzi [
"he goes up to the roof ... he offers one black lamb ... the palace servant seizes/holds them ..."

Neu (1983: 3) takes *aš* in line 4' as nominative singular. If this were correct, the line would either mean "he holds the palace servant " or (with proleptic *aš*) "he, the palace servant, holds ...", but neither is possible. In light of lines 16'-17' of the same text, [ta=kkan ...] *Ù* 1 KAŠ.GEŠTIN DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ... *appiškanzi* "the palace servants hold [...] and one K.G.", we might take *aš* as accusative plural and translate line 4' as "the palace servant holds them". Although this would be the only instance known to me of *ta-aš* "and them (acc.)" in an Old Hittite manuscript, as opposed to the usual *tu-uš*, it does appear at KUB 58.6+ i 5', *ta-aš* NINDA-*arzazuta iyazi* "(he) makes them into X-puddings", as shown by Watkins (1990a). If the sign IŠ in 4' is not assured, however, the line may have some entirely different interpretation.

h. Güterbock (1952: 16-17) reads [... *n*]*a-aš* (?) Ì.DÙG.GA *pēdaš* "he brought perfumed oil" at KUB 36.14 iii 19'. The traces in the autograph are consistent with this tentative reading, but do not force it, and we should seek another restoration.

i. Similarly Kümmel (1967: 36) reads [*n*]*a-aš ANA* NAM.RU *arkuwar kišan* DÙ-*zi* "he makes a request as follows to the deportees" at KBo 15.7: 14'. Again, however, the autograph traces are consistent with other readings.

j. At KUB 44.63 ii 5'-6', Burde (1974: 28) reads *ku-it-ma*[*-na*]*-aš-kán waššši* [ ] / *anda nāwi tarnai*. There is, however, no AŠ visible in the autograph. I suggest *ku-it-ma-*[*an-ši*]*-kán* ... or *ku-it-ma-*[*an-š*]*i-kán* ... "before he gives him the medicine".

k. There is also no evidence for an AŠ at KUB 8.36 ii 8', printed by Laroche (1971:

188) and Burde (1974: 38) as [*na-a*]*š kī waššši dāi*. The horizontal stroke taken by Laroche and Burde as part of AŠ could equally well be part of NU (cf. KUB 8.36 ii 10'). We should read [*n*]*u kī waššši dāi* "(he) takes this medicine"; cf. KBo 21.74 iii 7', *nu kī* Ú *dāi*, and KUB 44.64 iii 11'-12', *nu kē waššii*$^{HI.A}$ *dāi*.

l. KBo 17.62+ i 27' is printed by Beckman (1983: 32) as [*na-a*]*t*!? SAL-*an arha tarna*[*ndu*]. While his translation, "may they release the woman", is undoubtedly correct, the autograph does not show an AT, and there is now reason not to read one.

m. An interesting problem is posed by two passages from the Hedammu myth, printed as follows by Siegelová (1971: 50):

(3.87) a KUB 12.65+ iii 10'

n=aš=kan taknaš ÍD-*aššš=a* KASKAL-*an* GAM-*an arha* [*iyat*]

"he took the way of the earth and the river below"

b KUB 33.122 ii 7'-8'

[*n=aš=ka*]*n* ÍD-*za taknaza* GAM-*an arha* [(KASKAL-*an iyat*)]

"he made his way via the river and earth below"

The verb *iyat* in (3.87a) and the clitic pronoun *aš* in (3.87b) are both restored. Mark Hale points out to me that the idiom KASKAL-*an iya-* "make one's way" should not, as it does in these restorations, be construed in two different ways (with the genitive and with the ablative). For this reason, it seems reasonable to restore *uit* or *pait* rather than *iyat* in (3.87a), so that KASKAL-*an* is a path accusative (see above), and a subject clitic is permissible. In (3.87b) we should read [*nu=ka*]*n*.

n. At KUB 36.118: 8, *nu=war=aš=za nahhān hardu* is translated by CHD 341 as "let him have respect", but now it is clear that we must take *nahhān* as a neuter participle used adverbially, with the sentence meaning "let (him) hold them (*aš*) in reverence". This is one of the two instances cited in CHD of a putative noun *nahhān*; since the other is also questionable, the lemma should probably be deleted.

o. At KBo 4.4 iv 6, Götze (1933: 134) restores *n=aš* HUR.SAG ^{NA_4}*pērunu*[*š harkir*]

"they held the rocky mountains", interpretation which must now be abandoned.

p. At KUB 14.15 ii 9, Götze (1933: 48) restores *n=aš=mu* ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *INA* ^{URU}*Šallapa piran šarā u-*[*da-aš*]. If the restoration were correct, *aš* would now have to be a proleptic accusative plural: "(he) brought them—soldiers and horses—up to Šarrapa for me". Another restoration is more likely, however, such as *u-*[*it*], with *IŠTU* understood after *n=aš=mu*: "he came up to Šallapa with soldiers and horses for me".

q. In view of the absence of the verb at KBo 17.65 edge 5, *na-aš-za* DUMU.MUNUS EGIR-*an INA É-ŠU*, translated by Beckman (1983: 147) as "and she [takes] the female child back into her house", there are at least two possible solutions. The *aš* may be a plural object with the child, if possible, as the subject; or, the verb may be intransitive (e.g. *paizzi*) with the mother as the subject and a missing *IŠTU* before DUMU.MUNUS.

r. KUB 33.84+ iv 24'-26' includes the following: ... ^{d}*IŠTAR-iš* EGIR-*an=ma=šši* ^{MUŠ}*hedammuš* x x *-la-aš mahhan ha-t*[*u*$^{?}$ / *-i*]*t arha lahuiškizzi n=at dagān hatugauš kariddu*[*š* / ...]x-*šanzi* ..., with the translation beginning "just as Ištar and behind her ... Hedammu ... pour(s) out fearsome ...." Siegelová's (1971: 61) translation, "und sie am Boden furchtbare Flut[en ... auslö]sen", i.e. with *at* as the subject of the transitive *lahuiškizzi*, cannot be correct. A possible alternative would be to restore a second *mahhan* at the end of 35 or the beginning of 36, and conclude, "(so) on the earth they release it/them (*at*) like the fearsome floods", whatever the reference of *at*. For this type of construction cf. KUB 43.23 rev 19-22, *nu=za* 1 ŠAH *māhhan* ŠAH.TUR.HI.A *mekkuš haškizzi kēll=a=z ŠA* ^{GIŠ}KIRI$_6$.G[EŠTIN] 1-*aššš=a* ^{GIŠ}*māhlaš* ŠAH-*aš iwar mūriuš mekkuš haškiddu* "just as one sow bears many piglets, also may every single (vine) branch of this vineyard, like the sow, bear many grape clusters" (CHD 112).

s. At KBo 19.128 v 14'-15', *n=aš=kan* [...] ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR [...] *dāi* "and (he) places them (on) the table", and KBo 19.128 vi 4'-5', *n=aš=k*[*an* ... ZA]G.GAR.RI *dāi* "and (he) places them (on) the altar", we can now exclude the possibility (mentioned by Otten 1971: 53) that

aš is nominative singular.

t. At KBo 5.8 ii 17, *n=aš* LÚKÚR URU*Kaškaš harnikta*, Götze (1933: 153) correctly translates "die verwüstete der kaškäische Feind", but in his index he incorrectly takes *aš* as nominative singular.

u. At KUB 2.3 iii 25-28, d*Damnaššaruš=a wahnuwanzi n=aš=kan* IGI.HI.A-*wa* LUGAL-*i anda neyanzi*, *aš* cannot be the subject of a plural transitive "turn" as taken by Singer (1984: 123). It is instead an accusative plural with IGI.HI.A-*wa* an accusative of inalienable possession, as described above, and the passage means "and (they) turn the Damnassara-deities around; (they) turn them (in) the eyes toward the king", i.e. "they turn the deities' eyes toward the king". Compare CHD 351; KBo 10.24 iv 4, *n=an* LUGAL-*i anda nā*[*i*] "(he) turns him toward the king"; and the passages cited by Neu (1968: 125) in connection with 530/z: 13 (ibid. 124), *n=aš=za=kan* IGI.HI.A-*wa* EGIR-*pa neyari* "he turns back (in) the eyes", i.e. "his eyes turn back".

v. At KUB 13.9+ ii 7, *mān=aš=za QADU* DAM.MEŠ-*ŠU* DUMU.MEŠ-*ŠU dān harzi* is translated as "wenn er sich (ihn) nebst seinen Frauen, seinen Kindern genommen hat" by Freydank (1970: 259). The correct translation must be "if (he) has taken them with his wives and children".

w. At KUB 37.223 obv 4-5, we can now exclude Starke's (1977: 164) reading, *n=aš šēr=ši*[*t*] *šiwan tariyatta* "he will call the god on his behalf", in favor of his alternative suggestion, *n=aš šēr=šit* IGI-*wantariyatta*.

x. KUB 24.7 i 48-55 reads as follows:

(3.88) [*mā*]*n* MUNUS-*TUM=ma ANA* ^{LÚ}*MUTI-ŠU pu*[*kkanza*]

[ ]*puqqanuwan hart*[*i*] *mān* [LÚ-*iš ANA*]

[DAM-*ZU*] *pukkanza nu=šm*[*aš=*]*kan* [ ]

[*zik*] ^{d}IŠTAR-*iš išhuwa*[*tt*]*i* [ ]

[*z*]*i na-aš mar-la-tar pu-pu-wa*-[ ]

[*z*]*i man=at=kan watkuan*[*zi*]

[T]I-*nuzi appanzi=ma*[ ]

[*y*]*ašuwar marla*[*tar*]

"If a woman is hateful to her husband, [you] have made [her] hateful. If a man is hateful to his wife, [you,] Ištar, will pour [troubles (?)] on them. ...*zi na-aš marlatar pupuwa*[... were they to elope, the [...] will [not] save [them]. The [...]-s will seize them. To be [...] is foolishness."

This passage, and in particular lines 52-53, have been treated several times; see CHD 191 with references. All treatments are equally problematic. If *aš* in 52 were the subject of the missing verb, then *marlatar* would be the direct object, and a transitive verb would have a subject clitic. On the other hand, if *aš* were an accusative plural direct object, then *marlatar* would have to be the subject; as shown in chapter 2, however, Hittite would require an ergative **marlannanza* in the subject position of a transitive clause. Mark Hale points out the correct solution to me: if we take the space separating the signs ZI and NA in line 52 as an error by either the ancient or the modern copyist, then we can read [Z]I-*na-aš*, i.e. *ištanzanaš*, a dative-locative or genitive plural. The correct restoration is probably [*nu=za* Z]I-*naš marlatar pupuwa*[*lannaš*] (or *pupuwa*[*latarr=a*]) [*danz*]*i* (or [ME-*kanz*]*i*) "into their minds they take the foolishness of adultery" (or "foolishness and adultery"). For the idiom, compare KBo 4.14 ii 39-40, *nu=mu=kan* ZI-*ni marlatar* [*lē daškiš*]*i* "towards me don't take foolishness into (your) mind" (and see Riemschneider 1970: 39).

Chapter Four: Possessive Clitics

4.1. Possession and Thematic Relations

The objective of this chapter is to determine the syntactic distribution of unemphatic and some emphatic possessive pronouns in Anatolian. As indicated in §1.3.2, possession (in the sense used here) is a grammatical rather than a semantic relation: a possessive pronoun need not have any particular thematic relationship with its possessed NP, although the two must have some thematic relation. Since, in the syntactic model used here, possessive NPs are structurally the underlying specifiers of their possessed NPs, the objects of study of this chapter may be described in three ways: as those unemphatic pronouns whose grammatical relations are to NPs rather than sentences or other elements; as those unemphatic pronouns which are structurally the underlying specifiers of NPs; or as those unemphatic pronouns whose θ-roles are assigned by NPs rather than verbs. These are logically independent classes, of course, but in the present system of analysis they are effectively equivalent.

NP-internal possessive pronouns are easy to identify: they are the suffixed pronouns and genitive personal and demonstrative pronouns. On the other hand, identifying possessive Wackernagel's Law pronouns is a difficult descriptive task. For this purpose I will take adnominal genitive NPs as models: if a sentential clitic pronoun could be interpreted as having a thematic relation to an NP in its sentence, and if that thematic relation is found elsewhere in the language between NPs and dependent genitives, then I will assume that the pronoun might be possessive. Among the θ-roles assigned in Hittite by NPs to dependent genitives are those assigned to kinship and other relational terms, body parts and other inalienable objects, owned objects, and purpose specifiers, as with the following genitives cited by Yoshida (1987): *annaš* DINGIR-*LIM-aš* "the divinity's mother" (KUB 43.60 i 21); *addaš ēšhar=šet* "the father's blood" (KUB 11.5 obv 8'); A.ŠÀ-*aš* ZAG-*an* "the field's border" (KBo 6.13 i 1); *šiunaš parna* "to the divinity's house" (KBo 13.175 obv 5); *ŠA* KUŠ.GU_4-*aš*

išhī "to the cowhide's owner" (KUB 36.100+ rev 10'); and *kišraš wātar* "water of (*i.e.* for) the hands" (KBo 21.90 obv 8').

The possibility of such a relationship between a sentential clitic and an NP does not, however, prove that one exists. As noted in §1.3.2, the oblique Wackernagel's Law pronouns can have all the grammatical relations and θ-roles of adverbial (non-adnominal) dative NPs. If such a pronoun could in context be interpreted as having a θ-role which is elsewhere in the language found assigned to (adverbial) dative NPs—for example if it could be interpreted thematically as a goal, recipient, benefactive, malefactive, or affected complement—then I will assume that the pronoun might be underlyingly adverbial. Consequently, if a Wackernagel's Law pronoun could in context be interpreted either as the possessor of some NP or as an adverbial dative, then it cannot be adduced as evidence for the distribution of possessive pronouns. Once their distribution is determined on the basis of clear cases, of course, it may be possible to exclude either the possessive or the adverbial interpretation, but the ambiguous cases cannot themselves contribute to this determination. Examples of such ambiguous pronouns are the following oblique Wackernagel's Law clitics:

(4.1) a KUB 23.1+ iv 18

mān=ma=aš=**ta**=kkan *ŠÀ* KUR-*KA*=ma uizzi

POSSESSIVE: "But if he comes into **your** land ..."

GOAL: "But if he comes **to you** in (your) land ..."

(4.2) a StBoT 24 iii 71-72 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 22)

[(nu=wa=**nnaš** ^{d}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}Š)]amuha ^{d}U ^{URU}Neriqqa=ya [(hanneššar hanna)]nzi

POSSESSIVE: "Let Ištar of Šamuha and the Stormgod of Nerik decide **our** case"

BENEFACTIVE: "Let Ištar of Šamuha and the Stormgod of Nerik decide the case **for us**"

b KUB 6.45+ i 26-27

nu=**mu** kē arkuwarri$^{HI.A}$ ištamašten

POSSESSIVE: "Listen to these **my** prayers"

BENEFACTIVE: "Listen to these prayers **for me**"

c KUB 34.24+ iv 25-26

nu=**šmaš** *ABU-YA ANA* DUMU-*RI* katta namma *IZBAT*

POSSESSIVE: "Then my father concerned himself with **their** matter of a son"

BENEFACTIVE: "Then my father concerned himself **on their behalf** with the matter of a son"

d KBo 5.8 iv 13-14

nu=**mu**=kan šāru kuit NAM.RA GU_4 UDU mekki makkiššan ešta

POSSESSIVE: "Because **my** booty in deportees, cattle, and sheep had become far too great ..."

BENEFACTIVE: "Because the booty in deportees, cattle, and sheep had become far too great **for me** ..."

(4.3) a KUB 6.41 iv 19-20

nu=wa=**ta**=kkan naššu É *ABI-KA* našma=wa KUR-*TUM* arha dāi

POSSESSIVE: "He'll take away either **your** father's house or land"

MALEFACTIVE: "He'll take either the father's house or land away **from you**"

b KBo 4.4 ii 5-6

nu=**šmaš** halki$^{HI.A}$-uš namma [tepau]ēšzi

POSSESSIVE: "**Your** grain will moreover become diminished"

MALEFACTIVE: "Grain will moreover become diminished **for you**"

(4.4) a KBo 5.6 iii 7-8

nu=**šmaš**=kan EN-*ŠUNU* kuit ^{m}Piphururiyaš immakku BA.UŠ

POSSESSIVE: "Since indeed **their** lord Nibhururiya did die ..."

AFFECTED: "Since indeed (their) lord Nibhururiya did die **on them** ..."

b KUB 43.50+ obv 4

nu=**mu**=kan **memiaš** t[(epu)] kuitki šarā [(iyattat)]

POSSESSIVE: "**My voice** went somewhat small"

AFFECTED: "The voice went somewhat small **on me**"

There are two other configurations where oblique Wackernagel's Law pronouns occur which will be disregarded in this chapter. The first is the common existential construction:

(4.5) a KBo 5.3+ iii 26 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 124)

nu=**šš[i]** NIN.MEŠ-*ŠU ŠA* MÁŠ-*ŠU ŠA* NUMUN-*ŠU* mekkaēš ašanzi

"**She** has many sisters of family and seed"

b KBo 5.4 ii 16

[našm]a=**šmaš** *DINU*=ma kuitki

"Or if **you** have some lawsuit ..."

c KBo 4.3 iv 42

nu=**šši** mān DUMU-*ŠU* ēšzi

"If **she** has a son ..."

d KUB 6.41 i 25

nu=wa=**mu** IBILA kuit [(NÚ.GAL)]

"Because **I** had no heir ..."

e Bo 86/299 iii 17 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 20)

mān=**ši** NUMUN DUMU.NITA=ma *ŪL* ēšzi

"But if **he** has no male descendant ..."

f Bo 86/299 iii 38 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 22)

ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ=ma=**šši** *ŪL* ēšzi

"But **he** has no horses"

Although these sentences are most naturally translated as indicated, I take them literally as copular sentences with null non-referential subjects and pronominal oblique arguments:

"there are many sisters ... for her", "they say there are many sons for you", and so on. This analysis is confirmed by (4.6):

(4.6) a KUB 21.38 i 15

ANA* ŠEŠ-*YA NU.GÁL kuitki

"**My brother** has nothing"

b KBo 11.10 ii 16'

kī=ma ***ANA*** **^{d}Gulšaš** ēšdu

"Let **the Gulša-divinities** have this"

c KUB 21.38 i 15-16 (Letter, CTH 176)

mān ***ANA*** **DUMU ^{d}UTU** našma **DUMU ^{d}U** *ŪL* kuitki ēšzi našma **aruni** *ŪL* ēšzi **tuqq**=a *ŪL* kuitki ēšzi

"If **the Sungod's son** or **the Stormgod's son** has nothing, or **the sea** has nothing, **you** too will have nothing"

For these reasons, the oblique pronouns in (4.5) are not underlyingly adnominal genitives and may be expected not to pattern syntactically with possessive pronouns. In this chapter I will disregard pronouns which appear in this construction. (Comparative evidence indicates that the construction is Indo-European, and Starke [1977: 86] and Yoshida [1987: 42] are probably right in attributing its absence in Old Hittite to chance.)

The other special context for oblique Wackernagel's Law pronouns is one where they are clearly adnominal underlyingly, but where their surface syntax is ambiguous:

(4.7) a KBo 5.8 iii 41-42

nu=**mu** ^{d}U NIR.GÁL kuit EN-*YA* ŠU-an harzi

"Because my lord the noble Stormgod holds **my** hand ..."

b KUB 14.15 iv 28-29

n=aš=**mu** uit GÌR.MEŠ-aš kattan haliyattat

"They then knelt down at **my** feet"

c StBoT 24 ii 72-73 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 16)

nu=**mu**=kan *PANI* ŠEŠ-*YA* kuit KARAŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ŠA* KUR ^{URU}Hatti ŠU-i ēšta

"The soldiers and cavalry of Hatti which were in **my** hand during my brother's reign ..."

d KUB 34.84+ i 29'-30'

tuiggaš=a=**š**[**maš**=ka]n SÍG ZA.GÌN SÍG SA_5 šūil anda iyazzi

"But **for their limbs** she makes a cord of blue and red wool"

e KUB 34.84+ i 27'-28'

2 ŠU.[HI].A-a=**šmaš**=kan 2 EME.HI.A š[arā?] ***INA* SAG.DU-*ŠUNU*** dāi

"She puts two hands and two tongues **on their head**"

f KUB 34.84+ ii 28-29

nu=wa=**šmaš tuiggaš** tarpalliš ēštu

"Let there be a substitute **for your limbs**"

g KUB 34.84+ ii 36-37

SAG.HI.A-aš=**šmaš** tuiggaš hūmandāš tarpalliš UDU GE_6

"The black sheep will be a substitute **for their heads** and all (their) limbs"

h KBo 11.1 rev 16

KAxU-za=**naš**=kan kue *ŪL* uit

"Those which didn't come **from our mouth** ..."

i KUB 6.45+ i 30-31

n=at=**mu**=kan **UKÙ-az EME-az** šarā uizzi=pat

"They will indeed come up **from my mortal mouth**"

j KUB 21.27 iv 7'

nu=**šmaš**=at=kan **KAxU-az** uiddu

"Let it come **from their mouth**"

The object or oblique pronouns in these sentences could in principle be possessors directly positioned by Wackernagel's Law, of the type under investigation here. However, since they are all the possessors of body parts, they could instead have first advanced from possessor to object or verbal complement status by the process of possessor raising discussed in chapter 2, and only then have been positioned by Wackernagel's Law. Note that although there are, as indicated in chapter 2, extremely few clear cases of possessor raising with NPs which are not underlying direct objects, none of the relevant NPs in (4.7b-j) are direct objects. These sentences would thus all be disambiguated—and our understanding of Wackernagel's Law in Anatolian considerably improved—if it could be shown that there is in fact no good evidence for non-object possessor raising.

Naturally enough, there are also some oblique Wackernagel's Law clitics which are multiply ambiguous, as in the following sentence:

(4.8) KUB 43.50+ obv 3-4 (Aphasia of Muršili II, CTH 486, ed. Lebrun)

nu=**mu**=kan memiaš K[(AxU-i and)a (tepauešt)]a

POSSESSIVE: "**My** voice diminished in the mouth"

POSSESSIVE: "The voice diminished in **my** mouth"

POSSESSOR RAISING: "The voice diminished in **my** mouth"

AFFECTED: "The voice diminished **on me** in the mouth"

Sentences of this type will also be disregarded here.

4.2. Hittite

The internal history of Hittite is characterized by a change in the distribution of unemphatic possessive pronouns; as summarized at CHD 221-23, the development was roughly as follows. In Old Hittite the suffixed possessive pronouns were widely used, whereas in Neo-Hittite the oblique Wackernagel's Law pronouns were widely used in possessive function. In Old Hittite the suffixed pronoun marked unemphatic possession and the free genitive (for example *apēl*) marked emphatic possession, but in Neo-Hittite both the

Wackernagel's Law pronouns and the free genitive were used to mark unemphatic possession. My objective in this section is to determine specifically the distribution of each of these constructions at the various stages of Hittite, and if possible to elucidate the mechanisms whereby certain of them may have replaced others.

An important question which will remain open throughout this chapter concerns the Hittite readings of Akkadographic possession. As noted at CHD 222, there is no principled basis at present for determining, in any particular case, whether possession which is written only Akkadographically reflects a suffixed possessive pronoun, a free genitive pronoun, or no overt possession at all (as in the cases mentioned by Eichner 1979: 46 n. 10)—for instance, whether in a specific instance an NP like É-*ŠU* "its house" reflects *pir=šet*, *apēl pir*, or simply *pir*. The correct Hittite readings of Akkadographic possession can only be determined on the basis of an understanding of the Hittite rules of possessor marking, which can in turn only be determined on the basis of cases with Hittite rather than non-Hittite phonetic material. For this reason I will make no assumptions here regarding the Hittite readings of any Akkadographic possession—in fact, I will ignore altogether any possession which is only indicated Akkadographically, and I will not undertake here the potentially interesting task of assigning Hittite readings to Akkadographic possession. (It is in any case unclear whether such assignments will have any linguistic implications, if they must be based on independently determined grammatical rules.)

4.2.1. Emphatic Possessive Pronouns

At all stages of Hittite, genitive personal pronouns and demonstratives were the semantically unmarked emphatic possessive markers. As indicated above, however, the same morphological objects were also used in at least some contexts to mark unemphatic possession (any phonological difference which might have distinguished their emphatic and unemphatic uses is of course permanently lost). In studying the distribution of unemphatic pronouns, therefore, it is necessary to identify and exclude from consideration those genitives which are emphatic. To do this, I have developed five diagnostics for

"emphasis"—contrast, emphatic marking, topicalization, apposition, and predication. Unfortunately, since these diagnostics cannot be expected to exhaust the contexts in which emphatic pronouns were used in Hittite, there will inevitably be a residue, that is, a set of genitive pronouns and demonstratives which appear in contexts where unemphatic possession is not otherwise predicted to occur. An Old Hittite example of this type is the following:

(4.9) KBo 22.2 obv 12-13 (Zalpa, CTH 3, ed. Otten 1973: 6)
āšma **anze**[l MUNUS.]LUGAL ^{URU}Kaniš 30 MUNUS.DUMU 1-*ŠU* hāšta
"Behold, **our** queen of Kaniš bore 30 sons at once"

This residue creates no methodological problem as long as it is not too large.

4.2.1.1. Overt Contrast

I have assumed that genitive personal pronouns and demonstratives are emphatic if they occur in contexts where they are arguably contrasted with some other NP. This of course does not entail that all pronouns in such contexts must be emphatic, and there are indeed demonstrably unemphatic pronouns (such as Wackernagel's Law clitic pronouns) in such contexts. However, since any free genitive pronoun which occurs in such a context might be emphatic, the class must be disregarded in trying to understand the distribution of unemphatic possessive pronouns. Examples follow:

(4.10) a KBo 16.47 obv 17'-18'
nu=wa ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* **tuel** KUR-*i* [*ŪL*] parahzi zig=a=wa *ŠA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* KUR-i lē parahši
"His Majesty will not harass **your** land, nor shall you harass His Majesty's land"

b KUB 14.1+ obv 21
ERÍN.MEŠ.HI.A-*KA*=ya=wa **ammel** ERÍN.MEŠ.HI.A ašandu
"Let your troops also be **my** troops"

c KUB 14.1+ obv 64

n=ašta *ŠA* ^{m}Atta[riš]šiya=ya 1 $^{LÚ}SIG_5$-in kuenir **anzell=a=kan** 1 $^{LÚ}SIG_5$ ^{m}Zidānzan kuenir

"They both killed one officer of Attarišiya, and killed one officer **of ours**, Zidānza"

d KBo 5.3+ i 34 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 110)

katta=ma **tuel** DUMU.MEŠ-*KA* **ammel** DUMU-*YA* pahšari

"And subsequently **my** son will protect **your** sons"

e KBo 5.3+ i 37 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 110)

nu **ammel** DUMU-*YA* DUMU.MEŠ-*KA*=ya katta aššuli pahšari

"**My** son will subsequently protect your sons too in friendship"

f KBo 5.3+ i 18 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 108)

nu=tta mān **tuel** mahhan SAG.DU-*KA* nakkiš nu=tta[[=ma]] mān SAG.DU ^{d}UTU-*ŠI QATAMMA ŪL* nakkiš

"Just as **your** head is important to you, if His Majesty's head isn't just as important to you ..."

g KBo 5.3+ i 22-24 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 108)

nu=za mān **tuel** mahhan *ANA* SAG.DU-*KA* ZI-*KA Ù ANA RAMANI-KA* genzu harši ŠU.HI.A-uš=za arahzanda harši nu mān *ANA* SAG.DU ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* ZI ^{d}UTU-*ŠI RAMĀN* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* ginzu *QATAMMA ŪL* harši

"Just as you have affection for **your** head, your person, and yourself, and you hold your hands around (*i.e.* protect) them, if you don't have just as much affection for His Majesty's head, His Majesty's person, His Majesty's self ..."

h KUB 23.1+ iv 14-16

tuel=kan ^{LÚ}DAM.GÀR *ŠÀ* KUR Aššur lē paizzi **apel**=ma=kan

^{LÚ}DAM.GÀR *ŠÀ* KUR-*KA* lē tarnatti

"**Your** merchant may not go into Assyria, and **his** merchant you may not allow into your land"

4.2.1.2. Overt Emphasis

I have assumed that all genitives marked by an emphatic clitic (*pat*, *ma*, or *ya*) are emphatic. Examples follow:

(4.11) a KUB 14.1+ rev 41

nu=za=kan **ammel=pat** ERÍN.MEŠ.HI.A tarhuilauš karātau[š ...]

"... **my own** troops ... heroic and *k.* ..."

b KBo 4.4 ii 2

nu=šmaš **apēl=pat** UZU.Ì uerīē[r]

"They called **his own** flesh and blood on them"

c KUB 6.45+ i 21-23

hūdak=ma=az **ammel=pat** *ŠA* EN.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *ŠA*

É.MEŠ.DINGIR-*LIM-KUNU* [(šume)l] *ŠA* ALAM-*KUNU* arkuwar iyami

"But I will immediately make a prayer regarding **my own** lord gods, your temples, and your images"

d KUB 14.13 i 24 (Plague prayer, CTH 378)

šumēll=a ÌR.MEŠ DINGIR-*LIM* meggaēš e[šir]

"**Your** servants **too** of the divinity were numerous"

e KBo 4.12 obv 17-18

ammell=a=šši āššul tukkāt

"**My** favor **too** mattered to him"

f Bo 86/299 ii 98 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 20)

n=at katta **tuel=pat** NUMUN-anza harzi

"**Your own** line will hold it"

4.2.1.3. Topicalization

Since topicalization marks some kind of pragmatic emphasis, I have assumed that all topicalized possessive pronouns are emphatic. Examples follow:

(4.12) a Mşt 75/15: 29-30

[tu]el kuit *[N]APŠADU* apiya

"Those of **your** souls which are there ..."

b KUB 6.45 iii 45

nu **ammel** kuwapi *AWATE*^{MEŠ} DINGIR.MEŠ ištamaššanzi

"As soon as the gods hear **my** words ..."

c KUB 6.41 ii 26

[(nu **tuēl** mahh)a(n ^{m}Mašhūiluwaš *ABU-KA ITTI* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* w)aštaš

"Just as **your** father Mašhūiluwaš sinned against His Majesty"

4.2.1.4. Predicative Possession

Emphatic possessive pronouns are obligatory in contexts like the following, that is, as predicates of copular clauses (cf. Otten 1967: 56 n. 6 and Kammenhuber 1969: 202):

(4.13) a KBo 16.47 obv 3'

n=at=za **apēl** kīšantat

"They became **his**"

b KUB 8.81 + KBo 19.39 ii 8'

apāš=wa **ammel**

"This is **mine**"

c KUB 14.1+ rev 40

ammel=wa=za ēšten

"Be **mine**"

d KUB 14.1+ rev 88

KUR ^{URU}Alašiya=wa **ammel**

"Alašiya is **mine**"

e KBo 5.3+ ii 42 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 118)

apel kištati

"(If) you become **his** ..."

f KUB 19.50 iii 13

nu=za **apel** kištati

"you will become **his**"

4.2.1.5. Hosts of Apposition

Emphatic pronouns are also required when they are the targets or hosts of apposition. Examples include the following:

(4.14) a KUB 14.1+ obv 2

nu **t[u]ēl ŠA ^{m}Ma[dduw]atta** [...] hinkan šanhiškit

"He sought **your — Madduwatta's —** ... destruction"

b KUB 17.21+ i 11-13

nu=za **šumenzan *ŠA* [DINGIR.MEŠ]** āššū KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN

BIBRI$^{HI.A}$ TÚG.HI.A anzel iwar EGIR-an *ŪL* kuiški kappūwan harta

"Nobody had looked after **your — the gods'** — goods, silver, gold, rhyta, and clothes like us"

c KUB 17.21+ i 14-15

namma **š[u]menzan DINGIR.MEŠ-aš** kue ALAM.HI.A-*KUNU ŠA* KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN

"Moreover, those of **your — the gods'** — statues which are of silver and gold ..."

d KUB 17.21+ i 25-26

[(nu=za **šume**)]**nzan** ***ŠA*** **DINGIR.MEŠ** ÌR.MEŠ-*KUNU* GEME.MEŠ-*KUNU*

d[(aškirr=a)]

"They also took **your—the gods'**—male slaves and female slaves"

e KUB 17.21+ iv 17-18

nu=za **šumenzan** ***ŠA*** **DINGIR.MEŠ** memiyanuš tepnuwanzi

"They will diminish **your—the gods'**—words"

f KBo 3.4 i 24-25

nu=wa **tuel** ***ŠA*** ^{d}**UTU** ^{URU}**Arinna GAŠAN-*YA*** ZAG.HI.A danna

šanhiškiuan dāir

"They started trying to take **your—my Lady the Sungoddess of Arinna's**—borders"

g KBo 5.13 ii 11-12

katta=ma **tuel** ***ŠA*** ^{m}**Kupanta-**^{d}**LAMMA** DUMU.MEŠ-*KA* hašša hanzašša

NARARU ŠÚ.BULUG-aš šardiyašš=a ašandu

"Let **your—Kupanta-**^{d}**LAMMA's**—sons down to the first and second generation be helpful and of aid"

h KUB 6.45+ i 20-21

kinuna=mu DINGIR.MEŠ **ammel** ***ŠA*** ^{LÚ}**SANGA-*KUNU*** ÌR-*KUNU*

memian arkuwar ištamašten

"Now, gods, hear for me **my—your priest's**—word and prayer"

i KUB 6.45+ iii 36-37

[(**amme**)]**l**=ma ***ŠA*** ^{m}**NIR.GÁL ÌR-*KA*** *AWATE*^{MEŠ} *ŠA* EME-*YA* [(dā)]

"But take the words of **my**—your servant Muwatalli's—tongue"

4.2.2. Old Hittite

Within Old Hittite there are potentially five possessive constructions to be distinguished. First, there are two constructions used to mark emphatic possession which I

will refer to as the "genitive construction" and the "pleonastic genitive construction". The genitive construction consists simply of a genitive possessor and a possessed NP, and need not be specially illustrated here. The pleonastic genitive construction, a well-known feature of Old Hittite, consists of a genitive possessor, a possessed NP, and a pleonastic suffixed possessive pronoun. This construction appears in a range of texts of different genres, as in the following examples and (1.7b) above:

(4.15) a KBo 22.1 obv 24'-25' (Protocol, ed. Archi 1979: 46)

nu **ŠA ^{LÚ}MAŠDÁ ēšhar=šet** natta šanhiškatteni

"You do not seek **the poor man's blood**"

b KUB 36.110 (Benedictions for the king, CTH 820, ed. Neu 1980: 228)

[laba]rnaš LUGAL-aš NINDA=šan adue[ni]

"We eat **the king labarna's bread**"

c KUB 36.104 obv 15'-16'

[(**^{m}Nunnušš=a**)] **^{LÚ}gainaš=šan** ēppir

"They also took **Nunnu's relative**"

The third (potential) possessive construction is possessor raising, and the fourth and fifth, both unemphatic, involve the use of the suffixed possessive pronouns and the oblique Wackernagel's Law pronouns respectively. Representative examples of the suffixed possessive pronouns are the following:

(4.16) [^{m}*Pi*]*thānaš attaš=maš* "my father Pithāna" (CTH 1)

šardias=šann=a kuin "and his helper who ..." (1)

pēdi=šši=ma "but in his place" (1, 8)

mēni=mmet "my face" (1)

niku=šmuš "their sisters" (3)

a[*tti=*]*m*[*i*] "to my father" (3)

LUGAL-*uš=*(*š*)*miš* "your king" (3)

karti=šmi "their heart" (3)

TÚG*išhial=š*[(*emett=a*)] "and their bands (?)" (8)

aniyatta=šet "his vestments" (631)

parna=šma "to your house" (272)

parna=šša "to his house" (272)

It is uncontroversial that these suffixed pronouns are the usual markers of unemphatic possession in Old Hittite. It is less widely known that they are the only Old Hittite markers of unemphatic possession: oblique Wackernagel's Law pronouns are never used in possessive function in Old Hittite (hence their merely "possible" status referred to above). This generalization is based on my own corpus, but compare already Güterbock (1983: 75). Note that the only "Old Hittite" instances of the oblique Wackernagel's Law clitic *mu* in possessive function cited at CHD 312 are in late (respectively Middle and Neo-Hittite) copies:

(4.17) a KUB 30.10 rev 25 (Kantuzzili prayer, CTH 373)

annaš=**miš**=a=**mu** [zi]k

"But you are **my** mother"

b KBo 3.28: 6-7 (Palace chronicle fragment, CTH 9)

šu=**mu** DINGIR.DIDLI DUMU ^{URU}Pur[ušhanda] kišri=**mi** daier

"The gods placed the son of Purušhanda in **my** hand"

Significantly, both instances of *mu* co-occur with a suffixed possesssive pronoun. I take it that in each case the Old Hittite archetype had only the suffixed pronoun, which was later reinforced by the addition of the copyist's productive marker of unemphatic possession (*mu*).

I would like to suggest here that another of the four remaining potential Old Hittite possessive constructions also did not exist, namely, possessor raising. As noted in §2.6.1, this construction is found not only in Middle and Neo-Hittite, but also in Palaic, Hieroglyphic Luvian, possibly Cuneiform Luvian, Greek, and once in Sanskrit. This naturally leads to the expectation that possessor raising should have existed in Old Hittite too, and that the abundantly attested later Hittite construction is simply a direct inheritance from Indo-European and Common Anatolian. However, while possessor raising was certainly quite productive in later stages of Hittite, the evidence that it existed in Old Hittite is problematic, while there is reason to assume that it did not exist there.

Twelve alleged cases of "partitive apposition" are identified, and in a few cases dismissed, by Starke (1977: 176) and Yoshida (1987: 34-36); I have discovered no other possible cases in my own Old Hittite corpus. Of these twelve, three cited by Yoshida (1987: 35-36) are from late copies of Old Hittite texts (KBo 3.23, KBo 3.34, and TelErl ii 29), and as Yoshida himself notes, such late copies typically replace the corresponding Old Hittite construction by possessor raising. Their testimony is hence of no value in determining the Old Hittite linguistic facts. A fourth instance, cited by Yoshida (1987: 34-35 n. 9) as the only instance of partitive apposition in Manuscript A of the Laws, is the phrase NÍG.BA 2 *QATAM* "two parts of the gift" at KBo 6.2 iii 11. However, the actual Hittite desinence (and hence case) concealed by the ideogram NÍG.BA "gift" can only be identified after the possible Old Hittite constructions are established on the basis of clear cases: if there were no evidence that Old Hittite allowed possessor raising, NÍG.BA would have to be understood as genitive. A fifth instance is the phrase ^{LÚ}*ašiwandan=a šēt* at KBo 22.1 obv 29'. Starke (1977: 176) explicitly takes this as partitive apposition, but translates "und das Seinige (d.h. die Habe, der Besitz) des Armen": the thematic relationship he envisions between the two

nouns is thus in fact possessive rather than partitive, although he provides no basis for a putative construction "possessive apposition". Yoshida (1987: 35-36, following HW^2 406) takes the phrase as a genitive followed by a possessive pronoun, without offering a translation (likewise "but his [things] of the poor" but with number incongruity?). Alternatively and in my view more sensibly, Melchert (1977: 172-74) takes it as an accusative followed by an instrumental pronoun "but the poor man thereby"; see (1.9c) above.[1] A sixth alleged instance of partitive apposition is the phrase *hantaiši mēhun*[*i*] "at the heat time" (KBo 3.22: 17, 19), cited by Starke (1977: 176), but even if this is apposition, it too is hardly partitive and it is certainly not possessor raising. As noted at CHD 242, *mēhur* "time" can be construed with an agreeing modifier, as with LÚ-*ni mehuni* "at the man time", *mištiliya mēhur* "the *m.* time", and *elašni mēhunni* "at the *e.* time".

The remaining six alleged instances of Old Hittite partitive apposition cited by Starke and Yoshida are the following:

(4.18) a KBo 17.1+ iv 16 (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 11)
ta **GIŠ-ru** kattan **1-*EN* 5 alkištaš=šiš**
"Und ein Baum (steht) unten; fünf (sind) seine Äste" (Otten & Souček 1969: 37)
"Fünf Äste eines einzigen Baumes ..." (Starke 1977: 176)

b KBo 17.15 rev 19' (Festival fragment, CTH 645, ed. Neu 1980a: 74)
šīwaz 8 wakšur āšzi
"**Eight *w.* of the day** remain"

[1] Note that Melchert (1984b: 127) accepts Starke's analysis.

c KUB 43.30 iii 15'-17' (Festival fragment, CTH 645, ed. Neu 1980: 78)

]x *Ù* GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ***ANA*** **UGULA** $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$**Ú.HÚB hū[ppi=šši** šuhha]nzi memal šemehunan ^{UZU}NÍG.GI[G ... ***ANA*** **UGULA** ^{L}]$^{Ú.MEŠ}$**Ú.HÚB hūppi=šši** šuhhanz[i]

"... and the chief of the pages strew ... **for the chief of the Ú.HÚB people in his *hūppi*.** They strew meal, *šemehuna-*, and liver **for the chief of the Ú.HÚB people in his *hūppi***"

d KBo 17.1+ i 27'-28' (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980: 6)

DUMU.É.GAL-iš ^{d}Hantašepan **LUGAL-i kiššarī** dāi

"The page puts the Hantašepa-divinity **in the king's hands**"

e KBo 17.1+ iii 25-27 (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980: 9-10)

1 MÁŠ.GAL-r[(i garauni=š)]i muriyaleš ganganteš kē[(tt=a gar)auni=š]i muriyaleš ganganteš

"**On one billy-goat's horn** *m.*-breads are hung, and on the other side *m.*-breads are hung on its (*sc.* other) horn"

f KBo 6.2 ii 59' (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959: 33)

kuiš ^{URU}A[rinna?] kuiš ^{URU}Ziplanti ^{LÚ}SANGA-eš ***INA*** **URU.DIDLI hūmant[i]** É.HI.A-*ŠUNU ELLU*

"Whoever (is a priest) in Arinna, whoever is a priest in Ziplanti, **in each of the cities** their temples are free (of corvée)"

For (4.18a), the interpretation of Otten & Souček seems at least as plausible as that of Starke, while for (4.18b), Neu (1980b: 14 n. 26) reasonably takes *šīwaz* "day" as a genitive in *-s*. Therefore neither passage is relevant.

The remaining cases—(4.18c-f)—all involve double dative-locatives. This is an odd distribution, since by comparison the vast majority of instances of possessor raising in later

Hittite involve double accusatives, and, as noted in §2.6.1, the corresponding Greek construction is, like many possessor raising systems cross-linguistically, restricted to accusatives. There are (at least) three possible solutions to this distributional anomaly. First, it could be taken as an accident of history: possessor raising was productive in Old Hittite with the same syntactic distribution as in the later language, but only a few instances of the construction survive, all involving the dative-locative. Second, the dative-locative could be taken as the original locus of the construction: possessor raising in Old Hittite was restricted to this case, from which it spread to the accusative and other cases in Middle Hittite. This account has the disadvantage of being difficult to reconcile with the comparative and typological evidence. If a cognate construction is restricted to direct objects, and Old Hittite has innovated, what motivated a restriction to the dative-locative? On the other hand, if Old Hittite is archaic, why should a construction so typically associated with direct objects have originated with other NPs? Third, the four alleged cases of possessor raising in (4.18c-f) could be analyzed differently: either Old Hittite lacked possessor raising altogether, or for some reason it is not attested.

In view of the polythematic character of the Hittite dative-locative, I suggest that this last approach may be the most plausible: none of (4.18c-f) actually exemplifies possessor raising. First, both (4.18c) and (4.18e) are characterized by suffixed possessive pronouns which would be pleonastic on the possessor raising analysis; as noted below, however, such pronouns are not properly a feature of possessor raising at all in the later language. As for (4.18c) in particular, since a phrase "to the chief, to his *hūppi*" would not be "partitive" apposition, the two NPs *ANA* UGULA $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$Ú.HÚB "for the chief of the Ú.HÚB people" and *hūppi=šši* "in his *hūppi*" are best taken (with Yoshida 1987: 36) as translated above, the one as a thematic recipient or beneficiary and the other as a thematic goal or location. A similar interpretation may be acceptable for (4.18d): "the page puts the Hantašepa-divinity in the hands for the king". Compare (4.19), where *dāi-* "put" also occurs with both a subcategorized location and a benefactive complement:

(4.19) KBo 3.23 obv 4 (Admonitions of Pimpira, CTH 24)

nu=**šmas**=kan [N]INDA-an **kiššari**=**<š>mi** an[da dai]

"Put the bread in their hand for them!"

Next, (4.18e) is characterized by an unexpected suffixed possessive pronoun. The construction expected with such a pronoun is the pleonastic genitive construction:

(4.20) a KBo 17.3+ iii 40 (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980: 16)

...]x-ša mūriyalus=a **MÁŠ.GAL-š=a garaun[i=ši** ...

"(They place?) *m.*-breads too **on the billy-goat's horn**"

b Bo 2689 ii 9-12 (CHD 333)

nu mūriyaluš **GU_4.HI.A-an karauni=šmi** [katta] ganganzi

"They hang *m.*-breads **on the oxen's horns**"

I suggest understanding MÁŠ.GAL-*ri* in (4.18e) as a syntactically independent locative with distributed scope over both of the following clauses: "on one billy-goat, *m.*-breads are hung on its horn (*sc.* on one side) and *m.*-breads are hung on its horn on the other side too". This analysis is not the same as the partitive apposition analysis, on which any distributed scope of MÁŠ.GAL-*ri* is implicit and the entire passage may be translated, "on one billy-goat, *m.*-breads are hung on its horn (*sc.* on one side); *m.*-breads are hung on its horn on the other side too". See §5.5 for parallels for a left-dislocated NP of this type.

Finally, for (4.18f), recall that possessor raising and partitive apposition are not the same. As noted in §2.6.1, for instance, while English certainly has no possessor raising process, it does, probably like all languages, permit apposition which happens to be partitive. It would be wrong to attribute such appositions to a process or construction of partitive apposition: they are simply special cases of apposition. Likewise in all stages of Hittite, there should be some cases of apposition which are not possessor raising, that is, which are simply apposition which is interpreted partitively. In fact, for this reason the question asked by both Starke and Yoshida—was there partitive apposition in Old Hittite?—is misguided: there must have been, whether it is attested or not. A more

c LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*aš ELLAM-aš ištamanaš=šan* (KBo 6.3 i 37)

UKÙ-*an ILLAM* GESTU-*an* (KBo 6.5 i 16)

"a free man's ear"

Note that KBo 6.3, cited here twice for the Old Hittite construction, is not an Old Hittite manuscript. It is cited because there are actually very few instances where a passage of the Laws exists both in an Old Hittite manuscript and in a later manuscript which has correctly modernized its Old Hittite model. Nevertheless, since Old Hittite manuscripts consistently show the pleonastic genitive construction, and since late compositions in contemporary manuscripts only show possessor raising, it is certain that KBo 6.3 accurately reproduces its Old Hittite model in (4.21b-c). In other places KBo 6.3, typically for late copies attempting partial modernizations of old models, has introduced a linguistic monstrosity: for example, at KBo 6.2 i 24' we find LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*aš ELLAM-aš* KAxKAK=*šet*, literally "of a free man his nose", but at KBo 6.3 i 33 and KBo 6.4 i 33 we find LÚ.ULÙ.LU-*an ELLAM* KAxKAK=*šet*, literally "a free man his nose". Since to my knowledge this construction—possessor raising with a pleonastic suffixed possessive pronoun—is not attested in manuscripts contemporary with their composition, I assume that it is nothing more than an attempt to make some sense of the Old Hittite construction (cf. already Eichner 1979: 46 n. 10).

While it is quite possible that Middle and Neo-Hittite copyists did not themselves understand the function of the pleonastic genitive construction, its consistent replacement by the structurally dissimilar possessor raising construction can only mean that these copyists considered the latter functionally appropriate in contexts where the pleonastic genitive construction had been used. In other words, at two distinct stages of the language—Old Hittite on the one hand and Middle and Neo-Hittite on the other hand—speakers considered the pleonastic genitive and possessor raising constructions, respectively, appropriate in the same contexts. Since these contexts in fact all involve direct object body-parts, clearly the primary context for possessor raising, the conclusion seems

inescapable that the pleonastic genitive construction had at least roughly the functional value which possessor raising had in the later language.

Consequently, if possessor raising was actually possible in Old Hittite, but is either marginally or not at all attested, it must have undergone two changes: first, between Common Anatolian and Old Hittite, it must have lost its inherited function and acquired another more marginal function such that it continued to exist but happens to be unattested; and second, between Old and Middle Hittite, it must have regained roughly its original function. While this account is not impossible, it should perhaps be set aside in the absence of a clear notion of what pragmatic function possessor raising might have had in Old Hittite—in other words, how possessor raising fit into the Old Hittite system of possessor marking.

The alternative account is that possessor raising did not exist in Old Hittite. In that case, either it was inherited by Anatolian from Indo-European, lost between Common Anatolian and Old Hittite, and subsequently newly innovated in Middle Hittite, or else both Indo-European and Anatolian lacked the construction, and its appearance in Hittite, Palaic, Luvian, and Greek is the result of parallel innovation. The choice between these two accounts depends on one's view of the relative triviality of the changes assumed by each: the second account in particular may not be as implausible as it seems.

On either account, I suggest that the creation of possessor raising in Middle Hittite is related to the elimination of the suffixed possessive pronouns during the same period. The semantic or other weakening which drove this general process would have facilitated the reanalysis of some other construction as a functional replacement of the dying pleonastic genitive construction. The particular alternative construction selected—my own proposed source for possessor raising in Anatolian—was both a natural choice and itself dying, so that it was especially prone to opacity: a construction with an accusative possessor (typically a person) and a possessed element (typically a body part) in the endingless locative case. Such a sequence would often have been phonologically indistinguishable from a double

accusative construction. I know of no instances of this construction itself, but since the endingless locative is a dying category in Hittite as attested, its absence is not surprising. All that is necessary for my hypothesis to be at least possible is that endingless locative body parts occurred often enough in late Old Hittite or early Middle Hittite to be reanalyzed as something else, and that body parts could occur in the required construction. In view of the following—precisely analogous to the English sentences in (2.64)—I see no reason to doubt that the proposed source construction was possible in Old and Middle Hittite:

(4.22) a KBo 3.21 iii 16-17 (Hymn to Adad, CTH 313)

nu=**tta kirti** minuwandu **lišši**=ma=**tta** waršnuwandu

"Let them soothe **you in the heart**, and let them assuage **you in the liver**"

b KUB 14.15 ii 6 (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 48)

n=**aš ginušši** dudduwarešta

"**He** became lame **in the knee**"

Neu (1980b: 31-35) argues convincingly that, contrary to some proposals, endingless locatives are attested for neither *kir* "heart" nor *keššar* "hand". His collection shows that the endingless locative is clearly attested for Hittite body parts only in the basically adverbial forms *kitkar* "at the head", *takšan* "in the middle", and *tapuš* "at the side" (Neu 1980b: 20-28, 13-15, 41). This distribution does not favor my account, since it forces one of two assumptions: either unattested endingless locatives of other body parts existed and were used in the construction in (4.22), or one or more of *kitkar*, *takšan*, and *tapuš* formed the original locus for possessor raising. Neither assumption is very attractive. However, if Old Hittite indeed lacked possessor raising, one of them must be adopted unless some other historical source for this process can be found within the language. On my account, then, sequences like Verb + Direct Object + *kitkar* "at the head (*sc.* of the direct object)"—or similar sequences with other endingless locatives—occurred frequently enough to yield possessor raising directly. The endingless locative in such sequences was, because of its morphological opacity, reanalyzed as an NP with an underlying syntactic and thematic

connection with the direct object; as a result, possessor raising was extended to other body part nouns which had not formed endingless locatives.

This suggestion is manifestly speculative, and in particular need not be accepted if it is assumed that Old Hittite did not lack possessor raising. I should repeat, however, that this assumption in its turn requires some account, first, of the fact that possessor raising is either not attested in Old Hittite or is only marginally attested there in pragmatic contexts outside its usual Middle and Neo-Hittite ones, and second, of the fact that the pragmatic function of Middle and Neo-Hittite possessor raising was evidently associated with the pleonastic genitive construction in Old Hittite. If it fails to explain these facts, then the traditional view that possessor raising was simply inherited directly from Indo-European is as speculative as the alternative proposed here.[2]

I now turn to another interesting feature of the syntax of Old Hittite possessive pronouns, the contrast between the ordinary genitive construction and the pleonastic genitive construction. It appears that this contrast reflects a grammatical distinction between the categories of alienable and inalienable possession. In other words, I suggest that inalienably possessed NPs in Old Hittite obligatorily occur with suffixed possessive pronouns when their possessors are at all overt, whether emphatic (indicated by a genitive) or unemphatic (indicated only by the suffixed pronoun): compare already Yoshida's (1987: 45) observation that "das enklitische Possessivpronomen kommt [often] bei der Angabe des Ganzen (Genitiv) und dessen Teils (Regens) vor". By contrast, alienably possessed NPs only occur

---

[2] The same scenario might in fact be more generally applicable: if the Anatolian system of suffixed possessive pronouns is inherited from Indo-European, then all the Indo-European languages which exhibit possessor raising would at some stage have confronted the dual pressure which on my account motivated its creation in Hittite, viz. the loss of suffixed pronouns pronouns and the decline in productivity of the endingless locative. The creation of possessor raising in Indo-European might therefore be an event natural enough, and with enough internal systematic motivation, to be posited independently for several languages.

with suffixed possessive pronouns when their possessors are overt and unemphatic. Such a contrast between alienable and inalienable possession is typologically quite natural, as is the specific articulation proposed here. Ponapean, for instance, has two types of possession: "direct" and "indirect" possession (see Rehg 1981: 164-91). For pronominal possessors, direct possession is indicated by a suffix attached to the possessed noun, and indirect possession is indicated by a suffix attached to a preposed nominal classifier, as in (4.23) and (4.24) respectively (cited from Rehg 1981: 166-67, 179):

(4.23) *moange-i* "my head"
kil-i "my skin"
pah-i "my arm"
ede-i "my name"
ngore-i "my dialect"
seme-i "my father"

(4.24) *ne-i seri* "my child"
kene-i mwenge "my food"
nime-i saida "my soda"
were-i pwoht "my boat"

The direct-indirect contrast is conditioned lexically: every noun in the language is construed either with direct or with indirect possession. The system is clearly a system of alienable versus inalienable possession; direct possession, in Rehg's (1981: 166) words, "is characteristically employed where the relationship between the possessor and the thing possessed is viewed as permanent and indestructable", for example with body parts, parts of plants and things, and a few attributes and kinship terms. However, as Rehg (1981: 166) also notes, "It is difficult, if not impossible, to formulate a rule that will predict which nouns will be directly possessed". The Ponapean system of possessor marking is, in other words, founded on a contrast between alienable and inalienable possession, but where these

categories are linguistic rather than concrete. The system of possession which operated in Old Hittite appears to be of just this type.

In my Old Hittite corpus together with those instances of possession cited by Yoshida (1987) from Old Hittite manuscripts, I have found the pleonastic genitive construction to occur with the possessed NPs listed in (4.25-27). This list omits forms with no Hittite phonetic complementation, since, as noted above, we can only hope to interpret non-Hittite spellings on the basis of linguistic rules determined by examining Hittite spellings.

(4.25) *aiš* "mouth" (CTH 416)
ēšhar "blood" (272)
ištamina- "ear" pl. (291)
kiššar "hand" (416, 627)
meni- "face" (292)
UZU*muhrāuš* "?" (645)
pada- "foot" pl. (416)
pittulia- "pain" (416)

(4.26) *atta-* "father" (1)
LÚ*gaina-* "relative" (8)
šašant- "concubine" (733)

(4.27) a KUB 36.110 rev 5'
[laba]rnaš LUGAL-aš NINDA=šan
"the King Labarna's bread"

b KUB 36.110 rev 13'
labarnaš É-ir=šet
"the Labarna's house"

c KBo 17.22 iii 9'-11' (ed. Neu 1980a: 208; cf. CHD 16)
labarnaš=a MU.HI.A=šeš T[I-tar=šet ...] labarnaš šurkiš=š[eš ...] tegaš=šet
"but the Labarna's years and life ... the Labarna's roots and earth"

The arrangement of these forms is as follows: body parts are listed in (4.25); kinship and relational terms are listed in (4.26); and cases where the possessor is the noun *labarna* are listed in (4.27). Yoshida (1987) cites no cases where the noun *labarna* is a possessor without a pleonastic suffixed possessive pronoun.

The (non-pleonastic) genitive construction occurs with the following possessed NPs among the Old Hittite manuscripts cited by Yoshida (1987), as well as three others to be discussed immediately:

(4.28) *haluka-* "message" (CTH 649)
kuššan "fee" (291)
malteššar "ritual" (733)
palša- "way" (291)
pir "house" (1, 291, 631, 645, 654, 670)
DUMU "son" (15)
KUN "tail" (291)
TÚG-*an* "clothing" (670)

The distribution of these two constructions in Old Hittite manuscripts confirms fairly well the suggestion that they mark inalienable and alienable possession. As indicated above, the notion of alienability is linguistic, not logical: it may therefore be unproblematic that the royal title *labarna* invariably possesses inalienably (compare the cross-linguistically common phenomenon of honorific marking). The presence of DUMU "son" and KUN "tail" (one occurence each) in the "alienable" category might be the result of some conditioned exception, or it is possible that, as in Ponapean, the membership of the two lexical classes is not absolutely predictable on semantic grounds. These nouns are alienably possessed in the following passages:

(4.29) a KBo 7.14 obv 11-12
... ^{m}Kiyaruašš=a ubāti [^{m}Ka]**rahnuiliaš DUMU-as** āppan dā[ir]
"They place ... and the *ubāti* of Kiyaru behind **Karahnuili's son**"

b KBo 6.2 ii 30'-31' (Laws, series one, CTH 291)

takku LÚ-aš GU_4-*ŠU* ÍD-an zinuškizzi tamaiš=an š[(ūwaizzi)] nu **GU_4-aš KUN-an** ēpzi ta ÍD-an zāi *Ù BEL* G[(U_4 ÍD-aš pēdai)]

"If a man is bringing his cow across a river, and another person pushes him, takes **the cow's tail**, and crosses the river, and the river carries off the cow's master ..."

In any case, if the pleonastic and non-pleonastic constructions do indeed mark inalienable and alienable possession, one would expect some instances where an apparently inalienably possessed noun is marked for alienable possession for any of several pragmatic reasons. The three remaining cases of the non-pleonastic construction seem to involve just just reasons. These three cases appear in two passages. In (4.30), either "tongue" in the special sense "slander, gossip" is inherently alienable, or the point is precisely that by removing the tongues they becomes alienable:

(4.30) KBo 17.1+ i 11'

[(k)]āša=ta=šmaš=kan **utniyandan lāluš** dāhhu[n]

"Behold, I take from you **the 'tongues' of the population**"

In (4.31), the heads are clearly conceived as detached objects rather than inalienable body parts:

(4.31) KBo 17.1+ i 23'

harkanzi=ma=an ^{d}Hantašepeš **anduhšaš haršā[(rr)]=a**

^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR.<HI.>A=ya

"The Hantašepa-divinities hold both human heads and lances"

Examples like those in (4.32-33), from late copies of Old Hittite compositions, can be explained in two ways: either they are special cases like the immediately preceding ones, or, more probably, they reflect a stage after the death of the suffixed pronouns when the original distribution of the constructions in question was no longer clear. In other words, the

pleonastic genitives in (4.32) may be treated as false archaisms, and the lack of pleonasm in (4.33) as the result of modernization.

(4.32) *šuppala=šše̅t kuēlqa* "somebody's animal" (HG 163)

[ÌR-*n*]*an=ašta* GÉME=*šan natta kuelka* "nobody's male and female slave" (KBo 3.41 + KUB 31.4 obv 6')

LUGAL=*wa uddār=a=met* "and my the king's word" (KBo 3.28 ii 20')

(4.33) *šallaš=pat haššannaš ēšhar* "the great family's blood" (TelErl ii 31)

SILÁ-*aš ištanzanan* "the lamb's soul" (KUB 41.23 ii 15')

Finally, Yoshida (1987: 29-30) cites instances of the pleonastic genitive construction with *tuel* "your" which would also counterexemplify the rule proposed here, but they are all based either on restorations or on the supposition that the Akkadographic possession marker *KA* must conceal a Hittite suffixed pronoun. As noted above, this supposition need not be correct.

In this connection a note is in order on the Old Hittite syntax of the postpositions *kitkar* "at the head of" and *šēr* "above". Unlike all other postpositions, when *kitkar* and *šēr* have emphatic genitive complements, they usually occur in a construction identical to the pleonastic genitive construction. This construction is illustrated in (4.34), and the construction regular with other postpositions in (4.35):

(4.34) a KBo 17.1+ iv 21 (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 11)

n=e **LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUGAL-aššš=a** [(ki)]tkar=**šamet** tehhi

"I put them at the head **of the king and queen**"

b KBo 17.1+ ii 31'-32' (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 8)

DUMU.É.[GA]L ^{MUŠEN}hāran[an] **LUGAL-aš MUNUS.LUG[AL-aš]š=a** šēr=[**ša**]**met** wa[(hn)]uzzi

"The page whirls the eagle over **the king and queen**"

(4.35) a KBo 3.22: 49

kuiš **ammel** āppan LUGAL-uš

"Whoever is king after **me** ..."

b KBo 25.36 iii 5'

DUMU-aš **luttiaš** piran *ASAR-ŠU* ēp[zi]

"The son takes his place in front of **the window**"

The pleonastic genitive construction is of course precisely what is expected for *kitkar* and *šēr* if they originated as nouns (on *šēr* see e.g. Neu 1980b: 35-36): in construction with nominal complements they would originally have been inalienably possessed nouns, "at X's head" and "at X's top" or the like. What is unexpected is the complete absence of pleonastic suffixed pronouns with other postpositions, if they too continue old nouns. It is surely no coincidence that among the postpositions construed with the genitive, only *kitkar* and *šēr* are etymologically endingless locatives; the others—*āppan* "after", *kattan* "under", and *peran* "in front of" (Starke 1977: 168-71)—are presumably ultimately accusatives. I therefore suggest that, for whatever reason, the reanalysis of endingless locatives as postpositions occurred later in pre-Hittite than that of other nominal case-forms: the locative ancestors of *kitkar* and *šēr* in particular were still understood as nouns when the Old Hittite system of alienable and inalienable possession was created. Forms like *āppan* and *kattan*, on the other hand, were not synchronically nominal and therefore did not participate in the pleonastic construction. I have no explanation for the chronological difference in the reanalysis of the types of *kitkar* and *āppan*.[3]

Melchert (1984a: 122-25) has shown that the two forms of each suffixed possessive pronoun which appear with adverb/postpositions—forms in *-e-* like *šet* "her, his, its" and forms in *-i-* like *šit*—are in largely complementary distribution. Eight of nine forms in *-e-*

[3] The latter type may, as Melchert (1984a: 124 with n. 87) suggests, already have been adverbial/postpositional in Indo-European.

appear in the pleonastic construction illustrated in (4.34), whereas all seven forms in *-i-* appear in the unemphatic construction illustrated in (4.36):

(4.36) a KBo 3.22: 78-79

ap[(āš=a)] **pēra(n)=mmit** kunnaz ešari

"But he sits **in front of me** on the right"

b KBo 6.2 iv 48' (Laws, series one, CTH 291, ed. Friedrich 1959:)

šēr=šit=wa šarnikmi

"I will make restitution **for it**"

Melchert himself takes this distribution as evidence that the forms in *-i-* had an independent source, but an alternative analysis has been suggested to me by Mark Hale's comparison (p.c.) of the accentual behavior of the Vedic Sanskrit demonstrative pronoun *ayám*. According to Macdonell (1916: 108 n. 4), oblique forms of this pronoun—including *asya* "her, his, its"—are ordinarily accented, but may be unaccented "when used as nouns and unemphatic". In other words, these forms are obligatorily accented when they modify or are in apposition to a noun (depending on the correct analysis of demonstrative-noun collocations), but may be unaccented when they stand alone. Now the Hittite suffixed pronouns in *-i-* can be derived phonologically from forms in **-e-* via the sound law which regularly changed unaccented **-e-* to *-i-*, as in *nepiš-* "heaven" < **nébʰes-* (see Melchert 1984a: 104-108). To explain the variation in vocalism in the suffixed pronouns in (4.34) and (4.36), then, it is only necessary to assume that these pronouns were already postpositive when the sound law operated, and that they were stressed or unstressed according to whether a preceding genitive was present. It may not be necessary to posit any diachronic link between the Vedic and Hittite systems, since apposition and stress are trivially correlated (compare the discussion in §4.2.1.5).

This account explains not only the distribution of *e-* and *i*-vocalism in forms of the suffixed pronouns with adverb/postpositions, but also the consistent *e*-vocalism of the same forms when they appear in the pleonastic genitive construction with neuter absolutive

singular nouns (for an example see [4.15a]). However, it wrongly predicts that these forms will be characterized by *i*-vocalism when they appear in the unemphatic construction without a genitive: in fact *-e-* always appears in this category too, as in *papratār=šamet* "their impurity" (KBo 17.3+ ii 6') and *ērma(n)=šmet* "their sickness" (KBo 17.1+ iii 11). It is possible that a phonologically correct **-i-* was replaced in this category by *-e-* via paradigm levelling—in other words, that sequences like **papradar=smid* were replaced on the model of sequences like **anduhsas papradar=smed* "man's impurity". Both types would certainly have been common enough. Among the adverb/prepositions, however, the *e*-vocalism models necessary for levelling would have existed only for *kitkar* and *šēr*, to which the pleonastic construction is restricted. One of two assumptions may therefore be made: either the locatives *kitkar* and *šēr* had not yet been reanalyzed as postpositions when the levelling occurred, so that in fact no motivation for levelling at all existed among the adverb/postpositions; or *kitkar* and *šēr* had been reanalyzed as postpositions, but the pleonastic construction—since it occurred with them alone—was not common enough to cause levelling. Neither assumption seems unreasonable.

4.2.3. Unemphatic Possessive Pronouns in Middle and Neo-Hittite

In Middle and Neo-Hittite, as noted above, the primary markers of unemphatic possession are two sets of forms: genitive demonstratives and personal pronouns, also used in emphatic contexts; and oblique Wackernagel's Law pronouns. The innovation of possessive function for the latter was a relatively trivial innovation: as already noted above, the adverbial sentential clitics (interpreted as benefactives, malefactives, and so on) would in many instances have been ambiguous between their properly adverbial interpretations and a new possessive interpretation. The introduction of this new interpretation was certainly part of the gradual death of the suffixed possessive pronouns.[4]

---

[4] This development may well have occurred independently in other Indo-European languages. The same thematic development is undoubtedly responsible in most cases (but not in Indo-European) for the evolution of

The distribution of the unemphatic genitives and possessive Wackernagel's Law clitics is not random in Middle and Neo-Hittite. In several environments the free genitives appear to be obligatory, while the sentential clitics are used in the remaining environments. For convenience in the following subsections, I have categorized the relevant environments according to the grammatical relation of the possessed NP, although the ultimate conditioning could prove to be thematic or (as I will in fact argue in §4.6) structural.

Two methodological points should be emphasized here. The first follows from the ambiguity of the genitive pronouns and demonstratives, which mark both emphatic and unemphatic possession. Since we do not yet control all the factors which condition emphatic pronominalization in general—a few diagnostics were discussed in §4.2.1—it is inevitable that some genitive pronominal possessors will appear in environments where, for independent reasons, we would expect all unemphatic possession to be marked by Wackernagel's Law clitics. Such genitives may be assumed to be emphatic rather than unemphatic possessors, pending a complete understanding of emphatic pronominalization. The second methodological point concerns the interpretation of oblique Wackernagel's Law clitics. Since neither possessors nor benefactive complements are subcategorized, it is often difficult to prove conclusively that a specific sentential clitic must be possessive, although in some cases a non-possessive interpretation is in fact impossible. In each category where I claim Wackernagel's Law possession is grammatically possible, it is therefore necessary to have a reason for believing that a possessive interpretation is preferable to a benefactive or other adverbial interpretation for the relevant oblique clitics. I will try to present such reasons in cases which do not seem straightforward.

---

possessor raising, which, as noted in §2.6.1, is typically marked formally by a verbal valence-increasing morpheme also used to license adverbial benefactive complements and the like.

4.2.3.1. Subjects

A possessor cannot be a Wackernagel's Law pronominal clitic if it modifies a non-topicalized subject; however, if the possessed NP is topicalized, cliticization is acceptable. If it not topicalized, then, and if unemphatic possession is intended, the possessor must be a free genitive. Examples of the genitive are given in (4.37-38): the subjects in (4.37) must be non-topicalized, since they are non-initial, and the subjects in (4.38) can be non-topicalized, since they do not precede any element known to occupy COMP. This means that if the present analysis is correct, these subjects must in fact be non-topicalized. (The data in this and subsequent sections of this chapter are not labelled chronologically – although within each numbered set of examples they are arranged roughly chronologically – because I have found no differences within Middle or Neo-Hittite with respect to the phenomena under investigation.)

(4.37) a KUB 23.68+ rev 8

katta=ma **šume[nzan DUMU.MEŠ** *IT*]*TI* DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL

linkiyaš=ša[š]

"And later **your sons** will be the sworn allies of the king's sons"

b Mşt 75/14: 12-13

PANI ^{m}Pullī=kan **ammel aššul** halzai

"Before Pullī **my greeting** will be called"

c KBo 3.4 ii 17-18

nu ^{GIŠ}kalmišanan **ammel KARAŠ.HI.A-*YA*** uškit

"**My army** saw the thunderbolt"

d KUB 14.15 i 28

nu *ANA* ^{m}Mašhuiluwa **ammel DINGIR.MEŠ** piran hūiēr

"**My gods** helped Mašhuiluwa"

e KBo 5.9 ii 39-40

nu=mu=kan mān **apel kuiški** *ŠA* **NAM.RA.MEŠ** hūwaizzi

"If **any of his deportees** flees to me ..."

f KUB 21.38 i 50 (Letter, CTH)

nu mān *ANA* MU[NUS]É.GI_4.A kuwapi **apel** ^{LÚ}***TEMU*** EGIR-anda

mišriwanda uwanzi

"If at some time **his messengers** come *mišriwanda* after my daughter-in-law ..."

(4.38) a KBo 5.3+ iii 31-32 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 124)

[nu=šš]an **šumenzan KUR-e** dampūpi kuit

"Because **your land** is uncivilized ..."

b KUB 14.29+ i 22

[nu=šmaš **a(mmē)]l DINGIR.MEŠ** piran hūiēr

"**My gods** helped them"

c KUB 19.49 i 40

[nu=mu **tu]el LÚ.MEŠ *TEME*** GÌR.MEŠ-aš katt[an halēr]

"**Your emi**ssaries knelt down at my feet"

d KBo 5.9 i 33-34

tuel adduš a[(rkamm)a]n *INA* KUR ^{URU}Mizri piddāir

"**Your fathers** brought tribute to Egypt"

e KUB 19.8 iii 26

ammel=an ^{GIŠ}**TUKUL-iš** *ŪL* [GUL-ahta?]

"**My force** didn't attack it"

f KUB 19.10 i 6

[**a]mmel**=ma ***ABI.ABI-YA*** haddulišta namma

"But **my grandfather** once more became well"

g KUB 19.11 iv 13

nu=kan **ammel *ABU-YA*** ku[it dann(atti)] URU-ri EGIR-an AN.ZA.KÀR uetet

"Because **my father** built fortifications behind the empty towns ..."

h KUB 23.101 ii 15-16

ammel puškantatar tuk m[ena]hhanda

"Is **my *puškantatar*** against you?"

Examples of Wackernagel's Law clitics understood as possessors of subjects are given in (4.39-40), where the subjects in (4.39) must be topicalized, and the subjects in (4.40) can be (and by hypothesis are) topicalized.

(4.39) a KBo 3.4 i 11-12

DUMU-*ŠU*=ma=wa=**šši**=za=kan kuiš *ANA* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA *ABI-ŠU* ešat

"**His son** who seated himself on his father's throne ..."

b KBo 3.4 i 10

ABU-ŠU=wa=**šši** kuiš LUGAL KUR Hatti ēšta

"His father who was king of Hatti ..."

c KUB 21.27 ii 5

[**EZEN.ME**]**Š**=ma=**šmaš**=kan DINGIR.MEŠ kuit EGIR-pa ištappanteš

"Those **festivals of yours** which were stopped, O gods ..."

In (4.39c), the vocative DINGIR.MEŠ "O gods" appears to the left of COMP but to the right of another constituent, apparently contradicting the rule that only one constituent can precede COMP. Mark Hale (p.c.) has called my attention to the fact that vocatives in Vedic Sanskrit frequently appear after the Wackernagel's Law clitics, as the Hittite vocative does here; in other words, vocative placement seems independent of the ordinary movement processes.

(4.40) a KUB 33.103 iii 4-7

ginuwa=nnaš=kan [ ] katkattiškizzi **SAG.DU-aš**=ma=**nnaš**

^{LÚ}DUG.GA$_5$.BUR-aš [^{GIŠ}DUB]BIN GIM-an uehattari

"**Our knees** tremble and **our head** spins like a potter's wheel"

b Hedammu 5.18

[**išhahru**=ma=**šš**]**i**=kan parā PA$_5$.HI.A[-uš mān aršanzi]

"**His tears** flowed like canals"

c KUB 23.68+ rev 9

DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-*KUNU*=ma=**šmaš** *ITTI* DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL

linkiaš=pat

"And **your grandsons** will indeed be sworn allies of the king's grandsons"

d KUB 34.24+ iv 19

DAM *BELI-NI*=ma=wa=**nnaš** [w]annummiyaš

"**Our lord's wife** is a widow"

e StBoT 24 iii 7-8 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 16)

nu=**nnaš É-ir** parā iyanniš

"**Our** house marched on"

f KBo 4.12 rev 10-11

nu=**šmaš**=kan **aššulaš A.ŠAR-*ŠUNU*=ya** lē uēhtari

"Let **their place of favor** not turn"

g KUB 21.27 ii 7-8

nu=**šmaš**=kan DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*YA* **[EZEN.MEŠ]** lē namma

ištappanteš

"O gods my lords, **your festivals** will never be stopped again"

In (4.40g), EZEN.MEŠ "festivals" might seem non-topicalized, but since vocatives can interrupt the ordinary word order (see [4.39c] above), the position of the vocative

DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*YA* "O gods my lords" before EZEN.MEŠ does not show that the latter is not in TOP.

4.2.3.2. Anaphoric Possessors

A possessor cannot be a Wackernagel's Law pronominal clitic if it modifies a non-topicalized noun and is co-referential with the subject or direct object. Again, therefore, if the possessor is unemphatic, it must be a free genitive. Examples of the genitive are given in (4.41-42): the possessed NPs in (4.41) must be non-topicalized, and the possessed NPs in (4.42) can be—and by hypothesis must be—non-topicalized.

(4.41) a KBo 2.13 obv 12-13

DINGIR.MEŠ kuinna apel *ANA* ^{NA_4}ZI.KIN piran taninuanzi

"They put **each divinity** before **its** cult stone"

b KBo 10.12 iii 17'-18'

[NAM.RA.M]EŠ=ya kuiēš **apēl** KUR-eaš [^{d}**UTU-*ŠI***] arnut

"And the prisoners who **His Majesty** moved to **his** lands ..."

c KUB 19.11 iv 14-15

n[u=kan a(ntuhšatar **k**)]**uinna apel** *ANA* URU-*ŠU* EGIR-pa [(pēhutet)]

"He brought the population back, **everyone** to **his** town"

d KUB 14.1+ obv 1

[tukk=]a ^{m}Madduwattan **t[ue]l** KUR-yaz ^{m}Attariššiyas LÚ ^{URU}Ā[hhiy]a arha parahta

"Attariššiya the Āhhiyan chased **you**, Madduwatta, from **your** land"

e KBo 5.3+ iii 39-40 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 126)

n=at **zik tuel** ZI-it lē ēpši

"Don't **you** take it on **your** initiative!"

f KUB 19.26 i 13-14

nu=za ^{LÚ}**SANGA** **našma** katta [**DU**]**MU** ^{LÚ}**SANGA** mahhan **apēl**

hannešni karašši memiškizzi

"Just as '**the Priest**' **or** later **the son of** '**the Priest**' customarily speaks truly in **his** case" (CHD 260)

g KUB 19.49 i 68

zikk=a **t**[**u**]**ēl** DUMU-an šulla[i?]

"May **you** too quarrel with **your** son!"

h KBo 3.4 iii 81-82

nu=wa=tta *ŪL* kuwatka **ammel** $^{A.ŠÀ}$kueri anda zahhiya tiyami

"In no way will **I** step to you in battle in **my** territory"

i KUB 19.11 iv 8

nu=za **kuišša apel** *INA* [URU-*ŠU* arha pait (?)]

"**Each one** went away to **their** town"

j KUB 34.24+ iv 16-17

mān=wa=naš [**an**]**zel** *BELI* ueškiškiuen

"Would **we** have kept asking for **our** lord for ourselves?"

k KUB 14.8 obv 22'

nu=šmaš mahhan ***ABU-YA*** **apēl** [DUMU-*Š*]*U* pēšta

"When **my father** gave them **his** son ..."

l Bo 86/299 ii 85-86 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 20)

nu=wa *INA* KUR ^{d}U-tašša LUGAL-iznani **apel** DUMU-*ŠU* dāi

"**He** will put **his** son in the kingship in Tarhuntašša"

m KUB 23.1+ ii 26-27

nu namma **apel** DUMU-*ŠU* ^{m}Urhi-^{d}U-upan *ŪL* pahhašta

"Moreover **he** didn't protect **his** son Urhi-Tešub"

n KUB 3.74 obv 3-4

[zi]k kuit ^{m}Dukult[u-^{d}IB x **amm**]**ēl** SIG$_5$-anni h[atranun]

"Because **I** wrote you, Tukultu-Ninurta ... in **my** favor ..."

o KUB 26.12 iii 22-23

z[i]qq=a=an=zan **tuēl** aššulan [hal]ziyaši

"**You** too call it **your** good"

(4.42) a KUB 26.12 iv 21-22

našma=**tta tuēl** [(kuedani)]kki memini punušmi

"Or if I ask **you** about some business **of yours** ..."

b KBo 5.3+ i 5 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 107)

nu=tta **ammel** NIN-*YA AŠŠUM* DAM-*UTTIM ADDIN*

"**I** gave you **my** sister as a wife"

c KBo 3.4 iii 72

n=at=za **apel** uišiyauwaš pēdan iyat

"**He** made it **his** pasturing place"

d KUB 34.24+ iv 6-7

nu=wa=kan **ammel** ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *BELU*^{MEŠ}=ya [parā] nehhun

"**I** sent forth **my** troops, chariots, and lords"

I have found only one example of a Wackernagel's Law clitic in possessive function which is coreferential with a subject or direct object, but it a clear case:

(4.43) KBo 4.4 ii 45-46

Š[EŠ-*Š*]*U*=ma=wa=**šši** kuin *INA* KUR ^{URU}Kargamiš LUGAL-un iyat

"And **his brother** whom **he** made king in Kargamiš"

The possessed NP here is topicalized, as the position of *kuin* shows, confirming that the possessors of topicalized NPs can cliticize via Wackernagel's Law. Therefore the possessed

NPs in (4.42) are all probably non-topicalized (although in principle some may be emphatic).

The proper analysis of the phenomenon outlined in this section is complicated. The descriptive generalization stated above—possessors of non-topicalized NPs cannot cliticize via Wackernagel's Law if they refer to the sentence's subject or direct object—is extremely unlikely to be linguistically significant. In particular, it is unlikely that the absence of similar examples where possessors refer to other NPs (such as indirect objects) is due to anything but chance: sentences of the relevant type—like English *I gave a book to John for his collection*, where the possessor of the benefactive complement refers to the indirect object—simply do not occur often enough for us to expect to find them in Hittite texts. A more plausible generalization, then, is that the possessor of a non-topicalized NP cannot cliticize via Wackernagel's Law if it refers to any tautosentential NP, or, perhaps, to any tautosentential NP which is syntactically or thematicically more prominent in some sense to be made explicit (as subjects and direct objects are more prominent than other verbal complements). The linear order of the possessor and co-referential NP cannot be relevant, since these occur in both orders in the data above, and since frequently the co-referential NP is in fact a null subject.

In my view, these facts should be assimilated to the well-known syntactic phenomenon of crossover discovered by Paul Postal. In English sentences like those in (4.44), it is perfectly acceptable for the boldface NPs to be coreferential—for the intended meanings to be "what person said of herself that Jerzy taught her?" and so on.

(4.44) a **Who** said Jerzy taught **her**?

b **Which linguist** did you ask whether **he** had published?

In the superficially similar sentences in (4.45), however, it is unacceptable for the boldface NPs to be coreferential: (4.45a) cannot have the intended meaning of (4.44a), and (4.45b) cannot mean "which linguist said of himself that he had published?".

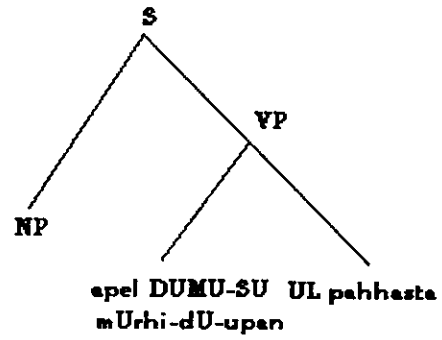
(4.45) a *Who did **she** say Jerzy taught?

b ***Which linguist** did **he** say had published?

The pattern in (4.45) is called "crossover"—in particular "strong crossover", to distinguish it from another construction which is irrelevant here—because in the derivation of each sentence, a moved NP "crosses over" a coreferential pronoun: *who* in (4.45a) is underlyingly to the right of *taught*, and crosses over *she*; and *which linguist* in (4.45b) is underlyingly between *say* and *had*, and crosses over *he*.

This description obviously does not explain why, in English and other languages, sentences with strong crossover are unacceptable: the point is that since the Hittite facts outlined above seem to be manifestations of the same phenomenon, whatever accounts for it elsewhere may also account for it in Hittite. If Wackernagel's Law involves syntactic movement to some left-marginal position, then, in particular, possessors subject to this process are moved there from NP-internal positions. If they "cross over" a co-referential NP in the course of being positioned in this way, they will descriptively instantiate the phenomenon of crossover. As an example, a schematic illustration of the relevant structure of (4.41m) is given in (4.46):

(4.46)

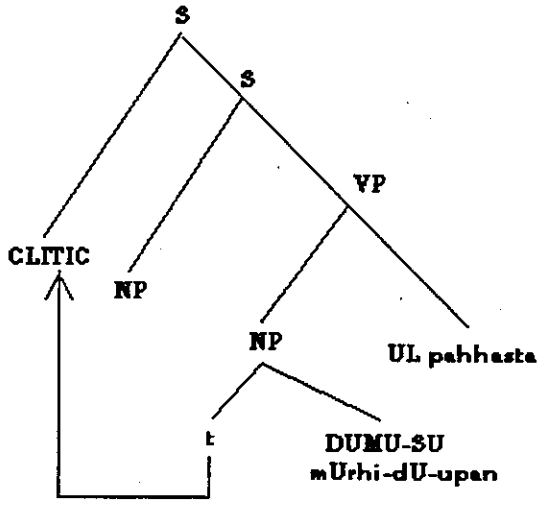


Notice that the possessive pronoun is co-referential with an NP to its left.[5] If cliticization via Wackernagel's Law had occurred, the sentence in (4.47)—a completely unattested type—would have resulted:

(4.47) nu=šši namma DUMU-*ŠU* ^{m}Urhi-^{d}U-upan *ŪL* pahhašta

The structure of such a sentence would be the following:

(4.48)



The oblique Wackernagel's Law pronoun in (4.48) has "crossed over" the coreferential NP.

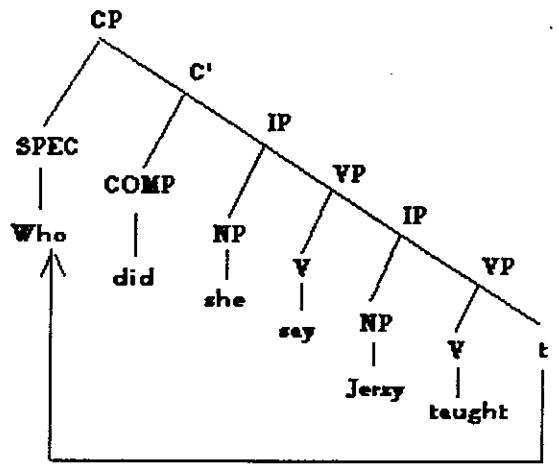
There are, of course, numerous cases where a constraint against literal "crossover" cannot account for a genitive pronoun. The genitives in (4.41b) and (4.42a), for instance, are coreferential with NPs to their right (in one case restored), not to their left; therefore even if Wackernagel's Law cliticization operated, the clitics would not actually have "crossed over" coreferential NPs. However, no analysis of the constraint against strong crossover constructions in English or other modern languages takes the actual derivational movement of one element "over" another as a significant factor; they instead typically derive the constraint from structural properties of sentences in which strong crossover has occurred. There are in fact several analyses of this constraint: since any of them will

---

[5] This NP is phonologically null but nevertheless, as we would expect and as the results of this section show, syntactically present.

explain the Hittite phenomenon, the choice among them must be made on cross-linguistic grounds. For this reason I will only mention one possible analysis here. On this analysis, due to Thomas Wasow (see Lasnik & Uriagereka 1988: 40-42 for a recent summary), it is the trace of a moved NP which is responsible for the unacceptability of strong crossover constructions. Thus the structure of (4.45a) is something like the following:

(4.49)



In this structure, the trace of *who* is in the direct object position of the embedded clause *Jerzy taught* t. In this position it is "bound" by the coreferential pronoun *she*, where one constituent is said to bind another constituent if, and only if, the two are coreferential and every maximal projection which dominates the first constituent also dominates the second. The proposal to account for the unacceptability of strong crossover is, given this definition, that traces behave like full NPs inasmuch as they cannot be bound (strictly speaking, they cannot be bound from argument positions). From the sentences in (4.50), it is easy to see that full NPs cannot be bound: the boldface NPs cannot be understood as coreferential.

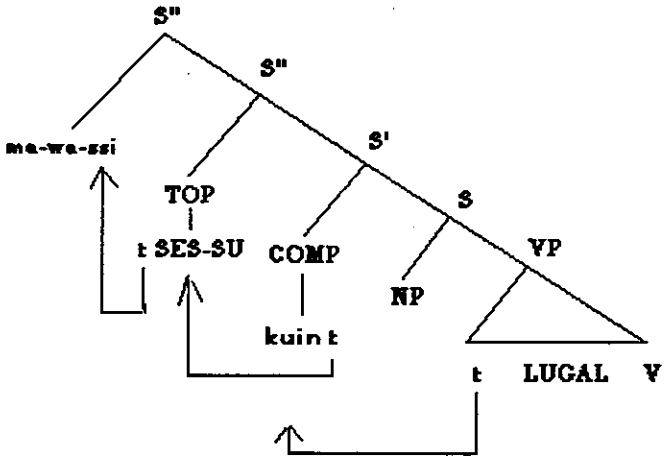
(4.50) a *__The fool__ saw __John__ running out the back door

b *__They__ had a picture taken of __the entire family__

Likewise, on this analysis, since strong crossover results in configurations where traces are bound (from argument positions), they too are unacceptable.

Returning to Hittite, the trace of the Wackernagel's Law clitic in the representation in (4.48) is bound by the coreferential NP in the subject position. By hypothesis, traces are like NPs in that they cannot be bound (from argument positions), and therefore this representation is illicit. This explains the absence of Hittite sentences of the type in (4.48). Turning to the case of topicalized NPs, now, a partial representation of (4.43) is the following[6]:

(4.51)



In this sentence there is a Wackernagel's Law clitic in possessive function which is coreferential with the subject of its sentence. However, since the possessed NP in this case has been fronted—with the relative in COMP and the head noun in TOP—the actual trace of the clitic cannot be in the underlying object position. It is instead either in TOP or in COMP, according to whether the topicalized constituent is "his brother" or "brother" respectively; I have arbitrarily chosen the former in this representation. This means that the

[6] For the reasons stated in Garrett (1989: 121), I represent the structural position of Wackernagel's Law clitics as indicated, that is, as adjoined to their sentences' maximal maximal projection. This particular hypothesis does not materially affect the argument made here concerning strong crossover, although it will have a bearing on the ultimate formal treatment of the constraints on Wackernagel's Law discovered in chapters 3 and 4.

clitic trace is not in fact bound by the corefential (null) subject NP: consequently the sentence is acceptable.

This discussion should not be concluded without some mention of two very interesting related phenomena. The first of these, noted by Carruba (1969: 49-50) and discussed by Hoffner (1973a: 523-24), is that the Hittite reflexive clitic *za* frequently seems to function "to identify the grammatical subject as possessor of some person or object mentioned in the clause" (Hoffner 1973a: 523). An example cited by Hoffner is the following:

(4.52) StBoT 24 iii 15-16 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 18)
nu=**za** ^{d}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN-*YA* [(parā handandātar)] ... tikkuššan[(ut)]
"Ištar, my lady, revealed **her** divine power"

This is structurally quite different from the phenomenon described above, but it is plainly related functionally. The fact that oblique clitics can function as de facto plurals of *za* means, in addition, that there a few cases in which they may be construed as having either the special subject-anaphoric function of *za* as described by Hoffner or a more properly possessive function:

(4.53) a KUB 19.11 iv 11
nu=**šmaš** ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.HI.A namma katt[a d(āir)]
"In consequence **they** put down **their** weapons"

b KBo 11.1 obv 26
nu=**šmaš** pēdan *QATAMMA* EGIR-pa appanzi
"**They** will likewise take up **their** positions again"

The other related phenomenon is that the emphatic clitic *pat* frequently occurs with possessive pronouns in contexts where it corresponds to English (*hers/his/its*) *own* or German *eigen* (see HE §293b, Hart 1971: 121-23, and Hoffner 1973b: 115); some examples appear in §4.2.1.2 above. English *own* has both emphatic and reflexive uses, as illustrated respectively in (4.54a) and (4.54b):

(4.54) a Their **own** parents wouldn't recognize them

b Adrian saw his **own** reflection in the mirror

Since not all instances of *pat* modifying a possessive pronoun are reflexive, and since the use of the genitive possessive pronoun discussed above seems itself to indicate subject or object coreference, it is probably the emphatic use of *own* in particular that *pat* corresponds to.

4.2.3.3. NP-Internal Embedding

A possessor cannot be a Wackernagel's Law pronominal clitic if it occurs in one of several syntactic configurations. Once again, therefore, if the possessor is unemphatic, it must be a free genitive. The relevant configurations seem to be unified by the following principle: in each case, the possessor is syntactically fairly deeply embedded in its sentence. We may wish to assume that possessors in these configurations can cliticize via Wackernagel's Law if the NPs they possess are topicalized, but unfortunately I have not encountered much decisive evidence. The configurations are enumerated in the following sections. Some of them are unambiguously exemplified within my corpus by a very small number of sentences; in such cases more data would of course be welcome, but since constraints on syntactic extraction based on configuration and depth of embedding are among the most widely-exemplified of all syntactic phenomena cross-linguistically, I have felt justified in proposing similar ones here even on the basis of a few examples.

4.2.3.3.1. Possessors of Dependent Genitives

Possessors do not cliticize via Wackernagel's Law if they possess NPs which are genitives embedded in other (overt or implicit) NPs. Instead, the free genitive pronoun is used, as in the following examples:

(4.55) a KUB 14.1+ obv 71

nu uēr **anz[el]** ERÍN.MEŠ-*TI* KASKAL-an ēppir

"They then took **our** troops' route"

b KUB 31.124 + KUB 31.72 ii 10-11

nu ketaš *ANA* KUR.KUR.HI.A **šumenzan** *ŠA* É.HI.A DINGIR.MEŠ-*KUNU*

kue ēšta

"Those of **your** temples which were in these lands ..."

c KBo 3.3 i 14-15

^{URU}Iyaruwaddaš URU-aš annaz **ammēl** *ŠA ABI.ABI-YA* ešta

"The city of Iyaruwadda was previously **my** grandfather's"

d KUB 21.27 i 14-15

n=at **tuel** āššiyantaš DUMU-aš *ŠA* ^{d}IM ^{URU}Nerik *AŠRU*

"It was **your** beloved son's, the Stormgod of Nerik's"

In (4.55a) and (4.55c-d) the genitive pronouns are the possessors of possessors—the possessed NPs in (4.55c-d) are only implicit—and in (4.55b) the genitive pronoun is the possessor of a partitive genitive. In all four cases, the genitive pronouns are the possessors of dependent genitives. The sentence in (4.56) may indicate that, as with the other constraints on possessor cliticization via Wackernagel's Law, the possessors of topicalized NPs can freely cliticize: in this example the NP *ŠA* É.GU$_4$ "of (your) stable" is sentence-initial and thus may well be topicalized, explaining the acceptability of possessor cliticization.

(4.56) KUB 21.27 i 8

ŠA É.GU$_4$=**du**=za AMAR-uš

"I am a heifer from **your** stable"

4.2.3.3.2. Possessors of Appositive NPs

Possessors do not cliticize via Wackernagel's Law if they possess NPs which are in apposition to other NPs. The free genitive pronoun is instead used, as in the following examples:

(4.57) a KUB 14.10+ obv 2-3

uiyat=mu ^{m}Mur[šiliš ... **šu**]**mel** ÌR-*KUNU*

"Muršili, ..., **your** servant, has sent me"

b KUB 21.27 iv 4'-7'

nu=kan ^{d}IM-ni **tuel** huhhi [... *Ù ANA* ^{d}]UTU ^{URU}TÚL-na **tuel** hanni [... *ANA* ^{m}Ha]ttušili ÌR-*KA* TI-tar MU.HI.A GÍD.DA=ya [parā] arnut

"Before the Stormgod, **your** grandfather, ... and before the Sungoddess of Arinna, **your** grandmother, bring to your servant Hattušili life and long years"

c KUB 21.27 iv 9'-10'

n=at *ANA* ^{d}IM **tuel** huhhi [x? *Ù A*]*NA* ^{d}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-na **tuel** hanni parā arnuši

"(If) you bring them to the Stormgod, **your** grandfather, and to the Sungoddess of Arinna, **your** grandmother ..."

4.2.3.3.3. Possessors in Conjunct NPs

Possessors do not cliticize via Wackernagel's Law if they possess NPs which are conjoined to other NPs. Again, as the following examples indicate, the free genitive pronoun is used:

(4.58) a KUB 6.45+ i 21-23

hūdak=ma=az ammel=pat *ŠA* EN.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *ŠA* É.MEŠ.DINGIR-*LIM-KUNU* [(**šume**)**l**] *ŠA* ALAM-*KUNU* arkuwar iyami

"But I will immediately make a prayer regarding my own lord gods, your temples, and **your** images"

b KBo 5.3+ i 12 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 106)

namma=ma kuiēš **ammel** DUMU.MEŠ-*YA* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ŠU* **ammell**=a ŠEŠ.MEŠ[-*YA*]

"And moreover whoever are **my** sons' brothers and **my** brothers ..."

c KUB 19.6 i 70' (Alakšandu treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 56)

katta=ma **ammel** DUMU-*YA* DUMU.DUMU-*YA* hašša hanzašša pahši

"And may you protect **my** son and my grandson down to the first and second generation"

The following sentence appears to be an exception to this rule:

(4.59) KBo 5.9 i 17-18

nu=**tta** [t]uk x-x-uš ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*KA* KUR ^{URU}Amurri=ya šer linga[n]un

"I made **your** ... brothers and the land of Amurri swear allegiance to you"

Here it appears that *tuk* "to you" is the thematic benefactive NP ("swear allegiance *to you*"), which seems to leave only a possessive interpretation for the sentential clitic *tta*. The rule would not be violated if *tta* were interpreted with scope over the conjunct—"your [brothers and land of Amurri]"—but such an interpretation seems quite strained. It is possible that the rule violation is only apparent, and would be resolved by a full transcription of the sentence.

4.2.3.3.4. Conjunct Possessors

Possessors apparently do not cliticize via Wackernagel's Law if they are themselves conjoined to other possessors. I have unfortunately encountered only one example of the relevant context, but it seems unambiguous, and, significantly, a genitive pronoun is used:

(4.60) KBo 4.4 i 45-46

[nu=ka]n LUGAL.MEŠ ^{URU}Nuhašši kuit *ŠA A*[*BI*]-*YA* **ammell**=a lingaūš [šarr]eškir

"Because the kings of Nuhašši transgressed my father's and **my** oaths ..."

The pronoun *ammel(l)* here is conjoined with *ŠA A*[*BI*]-*YA* "my father's" and is hence too deeply embedded to cliticize via Wackernagel's Law.

4.2.3.4. Postpositional Complements

One of the most interesting syntactic contexts for possessors is the position of possessors of postpositional complements. It is likely that a clear understanding of their syntax would

contribute to our understanding of postposition and adverb syntax generally in Hittite. Unfortunately the evidence I have found has not been nearly clear enough. First, there are several cases like the following in which the possessors of postpostional complements seem to have cliticized via Wackernagel's Law:

(4.61) a KUB 34.84 ii 28-29

nu=**šši**=kan iššī anda allapahhanzi

"They spit in **his** mouth"

b KUB 34.84 ii 38-39

nu=**šši**=kan 2 *BEL* SISKUR.SISKUR i[š]šī anda allapahhanzi

"The two clients spit in **its** mouth"

c KUB 6.45+ iii 47

nu=**mu**=kan kuiš idaluš memiaš ZI-ni anda

"Whatever evil thing is in **my** mind ..."

These sentences would seem to indicate that PPs, unlike some other VP-internal constituents discussed above, do not block Wackernagel's Law. However, since it was concluded in chapter 2 that the process of possessor raising is indifferent to case and grammatical relation (despite the extremely few clear cases of the process with non-objects), it cannot be excluded that these sentences are derived by possessor raising: first, the possessor of the postpositional object assumes the syntactic position of postpositional object itself, and second, that cliticizes via Wackernagel's Law according to whatever constraints may operate on the cliticization of postpositional objects. The sentences in (4.61) therefore do not bear on the status of the possessors of postpositional objects in this regard.

In some cases, like the following, possessor raising is excluded by the nature of the thematic relation between NP and possessor, but the presence of a postposition cannot be proven:

(4.62) KBo 10.12 iii 22'-23'

n=aš=kan **tuēl** KUR-e [anda] uizzi

"He comes into **your** land"

If the restoration *anda* were assured in (4.62), the sentence would be evidence that the possessors of postpositional objects cannot in fact cliticize via Wackernagel's Law.

A set of related questions are raised by data like the following, having to do with the syntax of the idiom *ištarna arha* + Motion Verb, meaning "cross".

(4.63) a KBo 5.8 i 27

n=**an**=kan ištarna arha pāun

"I crossed **it** (*i.e.* the friendly city Kattitimu)"

b KBo 5.4: 47

[našma=ka]n ^{LÚ}KÚR=ma **tuel** KUR-*KA* ištarna arha iyattari

"Or if an enemy crosses **your** land ..."

c KBo 5.9 iii 14-15

n=**at**=kan **tuel** KUR-*KA* ištarna arha uizzi

"**It** crosses **your** land"

d KUB 23.1 iv 17

KUR-*KA*=**aš**=kan ištarna arha lē paizzi

"**He** is not to cross your land"

The problem concerns the proper syntactic analysis of the NP understood as the object of this complex predicate, that is, the place which is crossed. There is no doubt that notionally this NP is the object of an idiomatic phrase, but this does not guarantee any particular syntactic analysis. As (4.63a) shows, this NP is absolutive/accusative and can cliticize via Wackernagel's Law. One possible analysis is therefore that it is the direct object of an idiomatic phrase which is effectively transitive. This analysis is false, however, as shown by (4.63c-d): the construction freely occurs with subject clitics, whereas subject clitics are excluded in proper transitive clauses.

There are two remaining alternatives. First, as Craig Melchert (p.c.) points out, the notional object in this construction might be a kind of path accusative. As shown in §3.1, path accusatives (like KASKAL-*an* with motion verbs) are syntactically adjuncts and do not trigger transitivity effects; therefore the presence of subject clitics with this construction would be expected. If this analysis were correct, then (4.63b-c) would suggest that the possessors of path adjuncts cannot cliticize via Wackernagel's Law, as is certainly reasonable a priori. However, by the same token (4.63a) would show that path adjuncts themselves can cliticize via Wackernagel's Law. This conclusion seems to me somewhat undesirable on general grounds: if indeed, as this dissertation has argued for a number of specific cases, Wackernagel's Law is constrained according to the syntactic status of the cliticizing elements, then certainly syntactic adjuncts would be expected to fall among the positions from which cliticization cannot occur. I am well aware that this argument is theory-internal rather than empirical, but it might provide some basis for a choice between alternatives. I know of no (other) clear cases of clitic path adjuncts, but this could well be due to chance.

On the alternative analysis, the notional object of the construction in (4.63)—the place crossed—is the object of the postposition *ištarna* and not of the entire predicate. On this analysis, in other words, *tuel* KUR-*KA ištarna* in (4.63b-c) is a PP, which would suggest—to return to our starting point—that the possessors of postpositional complements cannot cliticize via Wackernagel's Law. The reason this analysis is problematic is, first, that *ištarna* is ordinarily construed with a dative-locative rather than an accusative, and second, that in general Hittite terms a postpositional construction with the accusative is suspect. According to HE §233, the only postposition construed with the accusative is *pariyan* "across, over":

(4.64) KBo 5.8 iii 34 (Annals of Muršili II, CTH 61, ed. Götze 1933: 158)

n=an=kan $^{HUR.SAG}$**Elluriyan parian** pennir

"They chased him **over Mt. Elluriya**"

The postposition *šēr* is also evidently at least once construed with the accusative:

(4.65) KBo 6.26 i 35

GÚ-*ZU* ^{GIŠ}**APIN-an šēr** tizz[i]

"His neck is placed (*lit.* steps) **on a plow**"

From the comparative standpoint, there would be nothing surprising about a system in which certain postpositions can occasionally be construed with the accusative in contexts where they have the appropriate interpretation. This interpretation would presumably involve whatever precise nuance of motion is conveyed by the accusative of goal, illustrated in the following sentences cited from HE §201 and Neu (1980b: 30-31 n. 67):

(4.66) a KUB 13.3 ii 11' (Instructions to palace servants, CTH 265)

nu=šmaš=kan **HUR.SAG-an** parhanzi

"They chase you **to the mountain**"

b KUB 39.8 iv 6 (Royal funeral ritual, CTH 450, ed. Otten 1958: 46)

mān=wa=kan **Ú.SAL-un** pāiši

"If you go **to the meadow** ..."

In light of these facts, while *ištarna* is ordinarily construed with the dative-locative in the sense "among, in the middle of", it is plausible that it should also be construed with the accusative in the sense "through (the middle of)" in the construction *ištarna arha* + Motion Verb. This interpretation may in addition be more satisfactory than the alternative analysis, on which evidently path adjuncts can cliticize via Wackernagel's Law. If the place crossed in the construction under discussion is syntactically just a postpositional complement, then it is likely that possessors of postpositional complements cannot undergo Wackernagel's Law.

4.2.3.5. Copular Predicates

In the structure "X is her/his/its Y", Wackernagel's Law cliticization is quite common; I have collected several dozen instances from all stages of Middle and Neo-Hittite, and the number could certainly be increased. Representative examples are the following:

(4.67) a KUB 23.68+ rev 12

INA KUR ^{URU}Kizzuwatni=ma=**šši** ^{URU}Waššuganas **URU-aš**

"In Kizzuwatna Waššuganna is **his city**"

b KUB 19.49 i 63-64 (Manapa-^{d}U treaty, CTH 69, ed. Friedrich 1930: 10)

kāšma=tta ^{ÍD}Šēha KUR ^{URU}[Appaw]iya=ya *ADDIN* nu=**tta** apāt **KUR-e** ēšdu

"Behold, I gave you the Šēha River and Appawiya; let that be **your land**"

c KBo 3.6+ ii 16-17

nu=**šši** apēz KUR ^{URU}Taqqaštaš **ZAG-aš** ēšta kēz=a=ma=**šši** ^{URU}Talmaliyaš **ZAG-aš** ēšta

"On that side Taqqasta was **his border**, and on this side Talmaliya was **his border**"

d StBoT 24 iv 74 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 28)

^{d}*IŠTAR* **DINGIR-*LIM***=aš=**mu**

"Ištar, she is **my divinity**"

e KUB 23.1+ i 32 (Šaušgamuwa treaty, ed. Kühne & Otten 1971: 6)

kinun=ma=wa=**tu**=za *ŪL* **ÌR.MEŠ**

"We are not **your vassals** now"

f Bo 86/299 i 22 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 10)

IŠTU KUR ^{URU}Pitašša=ma=**šši** annaz ^{URU}Nahhantaš **ZAG-aš** ēšta

"But towards Pitašša, Nahhanta was previously **his border**"

(4.67a) is one of a dozen or more sentences just like it in succession: "as for so-and-so, in Kizzuwatna such-and-such is his city; as for so-and-so ..." It seems quite unlikely that the intended intepretation is not possessive. Likewise in (4.67b), if *tta* were not possessive, the interpretation would be "let that be a/the land for you", which is implausible. In (4.67c) and (4.67f), I see no reason to challenge the natural interpretation on which the oblique clitics are possessive, but more research into parallel phraseology would certainly be profitable;

likewise in (4.67d), an interpretation "my divinity" (as opposed to "she's the divinity for me" or the like) is certainly favored by the repeated references throughout the text to ^{d}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN-*YA* "Ištar, my lady". Finally, for (4.67e), compare the following similar phraseology with overt genitive:

(4.68) KUB 23.1+ 18-19 (Šaušgamuwa treaty, ed. Kühne & Otten 1971: 6)
ÌR.MEŠ **ŠA LUGAL Hurri**=at [ešir?]
"They were vassals **of the Hurrian king**"

Now it is certainly possible that, in some of the several dozen cases I identified of the structure in (4.68), a benefactive interpretation is despite appearances in fact intended, but it is very unlikely that this is so in very many cases. I therefore conclude that cliticization via Wackernagel's Law is grammatical for the possessors of copular predicates.

It may be added that there are also some cases where a possessive interpretation for an oblique sentential clitic seems natural but cannot be proven, because contemporary usage permits an adverbial dative-locative as well as a genitive possessor in the appropriate construction. Several examples of this type are the following:

(4.69) a KUB 21.5 iii 24 (Alakšandu treaty)
^{URU}Hattušaz=ma=wa=**tta** [(kē l)]**ahhiyatar**
"But from Hattuša these are **your military obligations**"

b StBoT 24 i 16 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 4)
nu=war=aš=**mu** ^{LÚ}[(ša)]**nkunniš** ēšdu
"Let him be **my priest**"

The sentences in (4.70a-b) show that the pronouns in (4.69a-b) respectively could (although they need not) be underlying adverbial dative-locatives rather than adnominal genitives:

(4.70) a KBo 22.264 i 1-2

ANA ^{d}**UTU-*ŠI* lahhiyatar** DINGIR-*LUM* kedani MU-ti ZAG KUR Durmitta malān harti

"O divinity, have you approved the border of Durmitta as **a military campaign for His Majesty** this year?"

b StBoT 24 iii 60 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 20)

[(*ANA*)] ^{d}**U** ^{URU}**Neriqqaza** k[ui(t? ^{LÚ}**SANGA** ešun)]

"Because I was **priest to the Stormgod of Nerik** ..."

A similar state of affairs arises with oblique Wackernagel's Law clitics with kinship terms, as in the following sentences:

(4.71) a KBo 4.4 ii 3-4

nu=**šši** ^{m}NIG.BA-^{d}U-aš [kuiš **hante]zziš DUMU-laš** ēšta

"NIG.BA-^{d}U-a, who was **his oldest son** ..."

b KBo 5.6 iii 13

man=war=aš=**mu** ^{LÚ}*MUTI-YA* kišari

"He would become **my husband**"

These could be underlying genitives, but, as the following sentences cited at HE §195 show, the dative-locative was possible as well in this context:

(4.72) a KUB 21.1 iii 34-36

ANA ABI-YA=ma=aš ^{m}Muršili ... DUMU NIN-*ŠU ANA* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI*=ma=aš ānninniyamiš

"To my father Muršili ... he is a sister's son, but to His Majesty he is a cousin"

b KBo 5.6 iv 11

nu=war=aš ammuk ^{LÚ}*MUDI-YA*

"He will be a husband to me"

Clitics of the type in (4.71) could in principle therefore represent underlying adnominal datives.

The free genitive is also found in a few cases with copular predicates. For the reasons stated above, it may be assumed that these genitives are emphatic:

(4.73) a Bo 86/299 ii 40-41 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 16)

ūk=ma=wa tuk=pat pahhašhi nu=wa=za **tuel** ÌR-iš

"I will protect you, I will be **your** servant"

b KUB 14.1+ obv 21

nu=wa=za **am[mel]** ÌR-*TUM* ēš

"Be **my** servant"

c KBo 5.6 iv 4-5

ammel=wa ^{LÚ}MUDI-*YA* kuiš ēšta

"He who was **my** husband ..."

4.2.3.6. Direct Objects

I have also collected some twenty clear oblique sentential clitics functioning as the possessors of direct objects in Middle and Neo-Hittite; in this context too Wackernagel's Law cliticization seems to be the rule. Representative examples are the following:

(4.74) a KBo 5.3+ i 33-34 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 110)

katta=ma=**tta** **DUMU.MEŠ-*KA*** pahhašhi

"And subsequently I will protect **your sons**"

b KBo 5.6 ii 2 (NB IND OBJ)

nu=šši=kan ***ANA* KARAŠ** GE_6-za anda GUL-a[hzi]

"He attacked **his army** by night"

c KUB 21.5 ii 10

KUR-e=ya=šši=ššan anda harnikmi

"I will destroy **his land** too"

d StBoT 24 ii 74-75 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 81, ed. Otten 1981: 16)

GIM-an=ma=**mu**=kan ^{md}*SIN*-^{d}U-aš DUMU ^{m}Zidā *ŠA* ^{d}*IŠTAR* GAŠAN-*YA Ù*

ŠA ŠEŠ-*YA*=ya **āššulan** aušta

"But when Arma-^{d}U-a, son of Zidā, saw **the favor** of Ištar, my lady, and of my brother **to me** ..."

e Bo 86/299 i 25 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 10)

kinuna=**šši** ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* **annallin ZAG** EGIR-pa tehhun

"Now I have restored **his earlier border**"

f Bo 86/299 iv 18 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 26)

našma=**šši ZAG** anda tepnuzi

"Or if he diminishes **his border** ..."

In (4.74a), *tta* must be interpreted possessively: the object of *pahš-* "protect" is frequently a kinship term with overtly genitive possession, whereas at least in the treaties edited by Friedrich (1926, 1930) there is no parallel for a putative benefactive complement to this verb (i.e. for an interpretation "I will protect your sons *for you*"). In the case of (4.74b-c), the phraseology of (4.10d-e) and (4.58c) is somewhat similar and may indicate that an underlyingly adnominal genitive is indeed appropriate here. In the case of (4.74d), *mu* surely must be underlyingly adnominal (an objective genitive): it would be difficult to construe a strictly benefactive complement with the predicate "see so-and-so's favor", since the referent of *mu* has no thematic relation whatsoever to the verbal action (seeing), but only to the object of the verbal action (the favor).

As above, in some cases a possessive interpretation is natural but cannot be proven. For instance, the presence of an overt possessive genitive in (4.75a) shows that *mu* must be interpreted benefactively; therefore either a possessive or a benefactive interpretation of *mu* is possible in (4.75b).

(4.75) a KUB 6.45 i 20-21

kinuna=**mu** DINGIR.MEŠ **ammel** *ŠA* ^{LÚ}SANGA-*KUNU* ÌR-*KUNU* memian arkuwar ištamašten

"O gods, now listen **for me** to **my** — your priest and servant's — word and prayer!"

b KBo 3.4 i 27

nu=**mu** ^{d}UTU ^{URU}Arinna **memian** ištamašta

"The Sungoddess of Arinna heard **my word**"

In this configuration too the free genitive is attested. I have found almost a dozen examples of this type, which should probably, following the reasoning above, be analyzed as emphatic possessors.

(4.76) a Mşt 75/45: 13-14

mān *ŪL*=ma nu=za **apēl waštul** zik dātti

"Otherwise you assume **his guilt**"

b KBo 5.9 i 12-13

ABU-KA kuit **[tu]el [ŠU]M**$^{?}$**-an** :hūidūwaluwara piran memišk[i]t

"Because your father often mentioned **your name** h. ..."

c KBo 5.12 iv 52-56 (Hukkana treaty, ed. Friedrich 1930: 134-36)

nu=šma[š kē] *NIŠ* DINGIR-*LIM* **šumenzan SAG.DU.MEŠ-*KUNU*** *QADU* DAM.MEŠ-*KUNU* DUMU.MEŠ-[*KUNU* SEŠ].MEŠ-*KUNU* ... kattan arha <harganuwandu>

"May these oaths thoroughly destroy **your persons** on you together with your wives, your children, your brothers, ..."

d KUB 26.12 iv 1

[n]ašma **apēl kuitki GÙB-tar** aušzi

"Or if he$_i$ sees **some wrong of his$_j$** ..."

e KUB 26.12 ii 51

[našm]a **apēl INIM.MEŠ** wahnuši

"Or if you turn **his words** ..."

f KUB 34.24+ iv 7-8

nu=wa **šumel [īrh]an** KUR ^{URU}Amga walahhir

"They attacked **your territory** Amka"

g KUB 14.1+ rev 33

[nu=]za **apēl ANŠE.KUR.RA.HI.A-*ŠU*** *ANA* ^{GIŠ}A[PIN ?? t]ittanuškit

"He put **his horses** to the plow"

h KUB 17.21+i 7'-8'

ka[r]ū=za **šumenzan** É.DINGIR.MEŠ-*K[UN]U* EGIR-an anzel [iwa]r *ŪL*

kuiški kappu[w]an harta

"Previously nobody had looked after **your** temples like us"

i KUB 23.101 ii 5

nu **tuel** ^{LÚ}**TE$_4$-*MU*** kuwat *ŪL* punušta

"Why didn't you ask **your messenger**?"

j KUB 21.27 i 46'-47'

apāš=ma **apēl harg[an** *ŪL* kappuwāit ... **ap]ēll-kaḫḫiḫkwāit]**

"But he didn't care about **its ruin** ... and he didn't care about **its doom**"

k KUB 21.27 iv 30'-31'

[nu ^{d}IM] *ABU-KA* ^{d}UTU ^{URU}TÚL-na AMA-*KA* **tuel mem[ian** *ŪL*

w]ahnuwanzi

"Your father the Stormgod (and) your mother the Sungoddess of Arinna will not reject **your word**"

Note that tuel ^{LÚ}*TE$_4$-MU* "your messenger" in (4.76h) is topicalized and that therefore *tuel*, if it were unemphatic, should be able to undergo Wackernagel's Law cliticization despite being coreferential with the subject.

4.2.3.7. Second Objects

There are a few similar instances of overt possession of a second object:

(4.77) a KBo 6.29 i 28 (Urhi-Tešub, CTH 85, ed. Götze 1925: 46)

nu=**mu** ^{URU}Kuruš[tama **Z**]**AG-an** iyat

"He made Kuruštama **my border**"

b Bo 86/299 i 36-37 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 12)

nu=**šši** uit *ABU-YA*=pat ^{URU}Šantimman **ZAG-an** iyat

"My father himself then made Šantimma **his border**"

c Bo 86/299 i 46-47 (Kurunta treaty, ed. Otten 1988: 12)

^{d}UTU-*ŠI*=ma=**šši** ^{URU}Uppaššanan **ZAG-an** iyanun

"But I His Majesty made Uppaššana **his border**"

If the phraseology of this idiom is "make X her/his Y" rather than "make X Y for her/him", then these examples show that cliticization via Wackernagel's Law is possible for the possessors of second objects. It is not clear, however, whether this is indeed the case.

4.2.3.8. Possessors of Objects of Comparison

Finally, I have found one overt possessor of an object of comparison:

(4.78) KUB 19.29 iv 19

ANA ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ=ma=wa=**tta** ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*YA* mekki

"My horses are more numerous than **your** horses"

In this context *tta* is surely possessive, since its referent is not affected by any verbal action and thus cannot be understood as a benefactive or malefactive complement. Unfortunately the structure of the sentence is quite unclear. From the word order it cannot be determined whether the possessed NP, *ANA* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ "than (your) horses", is topicalized or not; if the former, we would expect Wackernagel's Law to operate in any case. This evidence therefore does not permit any statement about the ability of the possessors of in situ objects of comparison to cliticize via Wackernagel's Law.

4.2.3.9. Summary

This section has identified several environments where, despite the innovation of possessive function for Wackernagel's Law oblique clitics generally in Middle and Neo-Hittite, the use of these forms was blocked, and unemphatic possession was instead marked by otherwise emphatic genitive demonstratives and personal pronouns. The clear environments where this constraint operates are listed in (4.79).

(4.79) Possessors of non-topicalized NPs do not undergo Wackernagel's Law if:

1. they possess subjects (§4.2.3.1);
2. they occur in strong crossover contexts (§4.2.3.2);
3. they possess dependent genitives (§4.2.3.3.1);
4. they possess apposed NPs (§4.2.3.3.2);
5. they possess NPs conjoined with other NPs (§4.2.3.3.3);
6. they are conjoined with other possessors (§4.2.3.3.4); or
7. they possess postpositional objects (§4.2.3.4).

Cliticization via Wackernagel's Law is freely possible in the following contexts:

(4.80) Wackernagel's Law may operate on possessors if they possess:

1. topicalized NPs (§4.2.3.1-2);
2. copular predicates (§4.2.3.5); or
3. direct objects (§4.2.3.6).

On the basis of the evidence I have collected, it is impossible to determine whether Wackernagel's Law cliticization is possible in other environments, for instance for the possessors of second objects and objects of comparison (see §4.2.3.7-8). The results described above are, of course, by no means the ultimate explanation of the distribution of unemphatic possessive marking in Hittite. It is likely that a formal analysis of the positions from which cliticization via Wackernagel's Law is impossible—that is, the external argument position, as shown in chapter 3, and the positions identified in this chapter—will reveal their underlying structural similarities. This analysis is not appropriate here,

however; I hope to be able to undertake it elsewhere. In the meantime, it should be noted that the conclusions of this chapter and chapter 3 militate against the theory that Wackernagel's Law cliticization is exclusively a prosodic or phonological process; instead, it must be allowed that syntactic conditions operate on this type of movement.

4.2.4. Suffixed Possessive Pronouns in Middle and Neo-Hittite

It is widely agreed that the suffixed possessive pronouns died or became relatively unproductive within the history of Hittite: they were fully productive in unemphatic function in Old Hittite, in Middle Hittite they occur in a restricted number of texts and forms, and in Neo-Hittite they are rarer still. This is of course just what we would expect if they were being replaced by other unemphatic possessive pronouns. A few Middle Hittite examples are given in (4.81); see Melchert (1977: 36-38) for references to some Neo-Hittite examples.

(4.81) a KUB 12.65+ iii 12'-13' (Hedammu, CTH 348, ed. Siegelová 1971: 50)
nu=za=kan šalliš [arunaš] ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A=**ši** ešat
"The great sea sat on **its** stool"

b KUB 14.1+ obv 13
namma=az uit *ABI* ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* tuk ^{m}Madduwattan linkiaš=**šaš** iēt
"His Majesty's father then made you, Madduwatta, **his** sworn ally"

c IBoT 1.36 iii 61
māhhan ^{GIŠ}huluganniš parna=**šša** paizzi
"When the wagon goes to **his** house ..."

d KUB 34.84+ i 21'
^{d}UTU-i išhā=mi
"**My** lord the Sungod!"

I have not attempted to determine the distribution of the suffixed possessive pronouns at each successive stage of Hittite. In particular I have not attempted to determine (if this is even possible) whether these forms were still marginally productive in some contexts in

Middle or Neo-Hittite, or whether they were in fact dead in the contemporary language, and were used only in writing in some definable traditional contexts or phrases. It may be interesting to note that in a disproportionate number of cases, as in (4.81a-b), suffixed pronouns appear in contexts where the rules above would rule out Wackernagel's Law cliticization; unfortunately, this cannot be sensibly interpreted at present.

4.3. Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian

Not surprisingly in view of the size of its corpus, Palaic provides no evidence relevant to the problems of this chapter. Even Cuneiform Luvian provides surprisingly little evidence for the syntax of pronominal possession: the possessive adjective built to the inherited demonstrative stem is not attested in sufficiently helpful contexts in Cuneiform Luvian, for instance, and the contexts in which the possible suffixed pronoun *mi* occurs are also somewhat opaque. As Carruba (1986: 50-52) and Melchert (1988: 214) note, however, at least the suffixed possessive pronoun *šan*, third-person singular direct object, is attested:

(4.82) KBo 13.260 ii 1-4

hattaram=**šan** a[yata] muhatram=**šan** ayat[a] pizzarnam=**šan** aya[ta]

turim=**šan** ayata

"he made **his** *h.*, he made **his** *m.*, he made **his** *p.*, he made **his** *t.*"

The preservation of *m* before *s* in these accusatives implies, as Melchert (1988: 214) observes, that the phonological univerbation of noun and possessive pronoun predated the Common Anatolian change of word-final **m* to *n*. This confirms what we would probably reconstruct anyway, namely suffixed possessive pronouns for Common Anatolian.

There is also at least one clear example of the Wackernagel's Law third-person singular oblique clitic *du* in possessive function:

(4.83) KUB 35.102 (+) 103 iii 12

GÌR.MEŠ-ta=**du** tarueya īššara=**d[u** ...]

"**His** feet are splayed, **his** hands ..."

Note that while both instances of *du* here evidently modify grammatical subjects, these subjects could be topicalized and would therefore likewise permit possessor cliticization to Wackernagel's position in Hittite by the rules identified above.

The manuscript in which (4.83) occurs is dated by Starke (1985: 218-21) to the fourteenth century and is therefore, like much of Luvian, contemporary with late Middle Hittite. It is possible that the existence of sentential possessive clitics in Luvian is related to their innovation in Middle Hittite, in other words, that this syntactic phenomenon was an areal feature common to the two languages. On this view the suffixed construction found in (4.82) would, even though its manuscript is dated by Starke (1985: 258) to the thirteenth century, reflect an archaism within Luvian, and the existence in both Middle Hittite and Luvian of a similar use of the sentential oblique clitics would not compel a reconstruction of this use for Common Anatolian.

4.4. Lycian

To my knowledge there are no sentential oblique clitics in Lycian which must be construed as possessive. Given the small size of the Lycian corpus, of course, this fact cannot possibly be probative by itself, but, in conjunction with certain other evidence, it confirms the suggestion above that Common Anatolian Wackernagel's Law oblique clitics were not used in possessive function. The other evidence concerns the syntax of the possessive pronoun in Lycian. This pronoun has an unsyncopated form *ebehi-* and a syncopated form *ehbi-*; with a revealing distribution. The syncopated allomorph is extremely frequent, occuring some one hundred and thirty times in the Lycian corpus. In all one hundred and twenty-five clear cases, this form is adnominal and follows the noun it modifies, just as demonstratives follow their noun, and in most instances a word-divider separates it from its noun. The same distribution obtains for the eight instances of *epttehi-* "their", always syncopated, and the two clear instances of *ẹmi-* "my". Examples include the following (see also chapter 5 *passim*):

(4.84) a TL 106: 3

ladã : ẹmi : se=tideimis : ẹmis

"My wife and my sons"

b TL 67

ebẹñnẹ : prñnawã : m=ẹ=ti prñnawatẹ : Xluwãnimi : hrppi **ladi : ehbi** : se **tideime | ehbije** : ẹnẹ Periklehe : xñtawata

"Xluwãnimi built this building for **his wife** and **his children** under the rule of Perikle"

c TL 102.1-2

m=ẹne : ñtepi=tẹti : Sxxutrazi : se **ladu : ehbi** | se **tidemis : ehbis**

"They will inter Sxxutrazi and **his wife** and **his children**"

Unsyncopated *ebehi* "his" is sometimes difficult to identify, since it is formally identical to the dative-locative of *ebe-* "this". Nevertheless there is at least one clear case:

(4.85) TL 124

ebẹnẹ xupu se=i hri ti ñtipa m=e=ti adẹ Uhetẹi **ebehi** ñtatã s=ebeijes kmmis **Itei ladi tideime ehbije**

"This grave and that which is upon it, Uhetẹi made **it** for himself as **his** sarcophagus, and these (others), as many as there are, **for** (his) **wife Itei** (and) **his sons**"

In this example, *ebehi ñtatã* "his sarcophagus" is explicitly contrasted with *Itei ladi tideime ehbije* "for his wife Itei and his sons": Uhetẹi made one sarcophagus for himself, and one for them. It is precisely this context where emphatic pronominalization occurs and unemphatic pronominalization is disallowed in both English and, as I have shown above, Hittite. This confirms what its shape already suggests—that unsyncopated *ebehi-* is the emphatic counterpart of syncopated, unemphatic *ehbi-*.

Note moreover that *ebehi* in (4.85) precedes its head noun rather than following it, as is the usual pattern. It seems reasonable to conclude that Lycian demonstratives and

Hittite, where emphatic *apēl* (Lycian *ebehi* mutatis mutandis) precedes its noun, but unemphatic possession is marked by pronominal suffixes. I therefore take the evidence of Lycian as a weak indication that a system like the Old Hittite system of possession—rather than one like the Neo-Hittite system—should be reconstructed for Common Anatolian. The Lycian system would then have developed out of the Anatolian one in something like the following manner. By whatever means demonstratives generally came to be postposed to their nouns, and presumably at first only under certain circumstances, pre-Lycian **obosi-* could sometimes follow its noun. Subsequent to this change two further developments occurred in some order: there was an accent shift, presumably due to its new prosodic environment, which permitted only the postnominal pronoun to be syncopated; and the postnominal possessive pronoun replaced the inherited suffixed pronouns via the usual mechanism whereby free forms replace clitics.

Chapter Five: Clitic-Doubling

The objective of this chapter is to examine a Lycian construction characterized by clitic-doubling; in the course of the examination it will be necessary to consider some aspects of clitic-doubling more generally throughout Anatolian. The term "clitic-doubling" should be explained at the outset. It does not mean any occurence of a pronominal clitic and a coreferential NP in a single sentence: such a definition would make no sense of the process in Anatolian or cross-linguistically, since, among other failings, it would classify English sentences like those in (5.1) as "clitic-doubling", where the boldface NPs are coreferential.

(5.1) a **He** left jail **a new man**

b Did you see **her** as **Desdemona**?

c We made **them** all **generals**

Clitic-doubling will be understood here specifically as doubling—the presence of an NP and coreferential pronominal clitic in a single sentence—in the case where the clitic and NP appear to share the same θ-role or, equivalently in the present syntactic framework, where they appear to be base-generated in the same syntactic position. It is this double—both thematic and syntactic—redundancy which gives clitic-doubling its general interest. The test for clitic-doubling employed in this chapter will necessarily be thematic: must an NP and a potentially doubling clitic be interpreted as thematically redundant, in the way that genuine apposed NPs are thematically redundant?

5.1. The Lycian Topic Construction

5.1.1. Introduction

The following sentence illustrates a well-known Lycian syntactic construction:

(5.2) TL 67

ebęñnę : prñnawã : m=ę=ti prñnawatę : Xluwãnimi : hrppi ladi : ehbi : se tideime ¦ ehbije : ęnę Periklehe : xñtawata

"Xluwãnimi built **this building** for his wife and his children under the rule of Perikle"

This sentence contains both an accusative NP, *ebęñnę prñnawã* "this building", and a resumptive clitic pronoun, *ę*, and is thus descriptively an instance of left-dislocation.[1] I will refer to constituents appearing to the left of the sentential particle *me* as "topics", whether clitic-doubled as in (5.2) or not, and to the common construction in which they appear as the "topic construction".

I will begin by examining the distribution of clitic-doubling, which often characterizes the topic construction. There are five well-established clitic pronouns in Lycian: an accusative *ę* (with allomorphs *ene*, *ne*, and *ęne*); an absolutive *ede*; a dative singular *i*; a dative plural *ñne* (see Melchert 1990a); and a locative *ije* (with allomorph *i*). Clitic-doubling involving these pronouns is not as promiscuous as is sometimes assumed for other Indo-European languages, but is rule-governed, as follows. A phrase is doubled if and only if it is referentially definite and in one of two positions: either to the left of *me*—topicalized—or to the right of all non-doubled constituents in its sentence—i.e. end-topicalized. Indefinite phrases are never doubled even if they occur in one of these positions. Lycian clitic-doubling, in other words, resolves to left- and right-dislocation of definite phrases.

This is empirically equivalent to three claims: all definite phrases extracted rightward are doubled; all definite phrases preceding *me* are doubled; and all instances of

[1] I will freely use the following terms: "dislocation" is topicalization with clitic-doubling; "left-dislocation" in particular is topicalization to the left with clitic-doubling; and "right-dislocation" is topicalization to the right ("end-topicalization") with clitic-doubling.

clitic-doubling involve either right- or left-dislocation around *me*. The next two sections of this chapter will be organized as follows: §5.1.2 will examine rightward extraction and will show that right-extracted definite phrases are obligatorily clitic-doubled, and §5.1.3 will examine the topic construction itself and will show that definite topics are obligatorily clitic-doubled. Together, these treatments should leave no residual cases of clitic-doubling.

5.1.2. Right Dislocation

A particular phrase can only be shown to have been extracted rightward if there is phrasal material which should follow it but instead precedes it. In sentences without such material, extraction will be vacuous and no movement will be demonstrable. The six or more Lycian sentences like the following—in which the clitic-doubled direct object *Sxxutrazi ... ehbis* "Sxxutrazi and his wife and his children" follows the verb and concludes the sentence—are thus ambiguous, evidence neither for nor against the analysis presented here[2]:

(5.3) TL 102.1-2

m=ẹne : ñtepi=tẹti : **Sxxutrazi : se ladu : ehbi | se tidemis : ehbis**

"They will inter **Sxxutrazi and his wife and his children**"

Extraction and in particular vacuous extraction are not limited to direct objects. Vacuous movement, which is ipso facto not probative, is in fact more likely to apply to oblique arguments, since they ordinarily appear sentence-finally (see below). Moreover, while few verbs allow more than one accusative complement, many allow several dative or locative ones; thus, to prove that a particular oblique clitic doubles a particular NP or PP, it must be shown that the clitic cannot fulfill some other oblique argument function. Finally, since the oblique clitics *i* and *ije* can both mean "here", an interpretation almost always appropriate in sepulchral inscriptions, it is rarely possible in particular instances to show that these clitics must be proleptic. They are thus of relatively little independent value in

---

[2] Other examples of this type occur at TL 28.1-5, 45.1-3 and 131.1, and N 309a.2-3 and 320.12-14.

investigating doubling. In addition, Lycian either lacks or does not obviously continue the Anatolian subject clitics. The absence of subject clitic-doubling in cases of topicalization or rightward extraction is therefore not very meaningful (see further below). In summary, only the accusative and dative plural clitics are likely to provide evidence bearing on the above analysis of clitic-doubling, although once this has been confirmed on independent grounds, it may of course be possible to disambiguate other clitics.

In order to prove that extraction has occurred, it is necessary to show that some other word order is underlying. Compare (5.4a) and (5.4b):

(5.4) a N 306.2

[m]=**ene** : ñtepi=tāti : hrzzi : prñnawi **Piñteusi : se ladā : ehbi**

"They will inter in the upper building Piñteusi and his wife"

b TL 131.2

se=ije=ti : eseri=tadi : **tike** xupa : ebehi

"And whoever puts **someone** together (*sc.* with the legal occupant) here in this tomb ..."

Both sentences include a direct object and a locative phrase. In (5.4a), the direct object *Piñteusi se ladā ehbi* "Piñteusi and his wife", doubled by the pronoun *ene*, follows the locative noun phrase *hrzzi prñnawi* "in the upper building", whereas in (5.4b) the order is reversed—the direct object *tike* "someone" precedes the locative phrase *xupa ebehi* "in this tomb"—and there is no clitic-doubling. This contrast is systematic: there are no Lycian sentences with the word order Verb + Direct Object + Locative Phrase which exhibit direct object clitic-doubling (compare TL 6.2-3), while the only sentence with the word order Verb + Locative Phrase + Direct Object ([5.4a] above) does exhibit such clitic-doubling. This can be explained by positing an underlying word order as in (5.4b), with the word order of (5.4a) the result of rightward extraction and obligatory clitic-doubling.

Direct object clitic-doubling also occurs in the sequence Verb + Beneficiary + Direct Object, as in (5.5a), while it never occurs in the common sequence Verb + Direct Object + Beneficiary, as in (5.5b)[3]:

(5.5) a TL 84.2

s=**ed**=adę : atli : **hrzzę** | **[i]spaziję**

"He made for himself **the upper** ***ispazije***"

b TL 99

Purihimeti=ti : prñnawate : Masasah : tideimi : **xupã** :: **ebęñnę** hrppi : atli : ehbi : se tideime : ehbije

"Purihimeti, child of Masasa, built **this tomb** for himself and his children"

In general, then, Lycian direct objects ordinarily precede oblique nominal arguments but can follow them in right-dislocation structures.

If this conclusion is correct, it is possible to resolve several textual ambiguities. In a few Lycian sentences, for example, there are words which are clearly not extracted rightward and which, if they are direct objects, are clitic-doubled and thus contradict my analysis. Each of them may, however—and hence in my view must—be interpreted differently. Thus Laroche (1979: 72) hesitates between adverbial and direct-object interpretations of *arã* in (5.6). But *arã* is not extracted rightward, since it precedes *kumehedi* "with a sacrifice", and if it is the object, it is clitic-doubled by *ede*; therefore it must be adverbial (e.g. "properly").

(5.6) N 320.26-27

m=ede=te=wę : kumezidi : nuredi : nuredi : **arã** : kumehedi

"One will sacrifice it each month **properly** with a sacrifice"

A somewhat more interesting problem is raised by the following two passages from the Lētoön Trilingual:

---

[3] Other sentences of the latter type occur at TL 29.1-2, 36.5, 36.6, 63, 102.3, 143.4-5, and 150.3-4, and N 320.7-9.

(5.7) a N 320.3-5

sẹ=**ñne**=ñte=pddẹhadẹ : **Trmmile** : pddẹnehmmis : Ijeru : se=Natrbbijẹmi : sej=**Arñna** : asaxlazu : Erttimeli

"And he appointed, **for the Lycians**, the deputies Ijera and Natrbbijẹmi, and **for Xanthos**, the governor Erttimeli"

b N 320.9-11

sẹ=**ñn**=aitẹ : kumazu : **mahãna** : **ebette** : Eseimiju : Qñturahahñ : tideimi : se=de : Eseimijaje : xuwati=ti

"And for these gods they made priest Eseimija, child of Qñturaha, and whoever succeeds (?) Eseimija"

As shown by Melchert (1990a), *ñne* in (5.7a) is a proleptic clitic pronoun doubling *Trmmile* "for the Lycians" as well as *Arñna* "for Xanthos". Both words, however, are followed by direct objects, *Trmmile* by *pddẹnehmmis Ijeru se=Natrbbijẹmi* "Ijera and Natrbbijẹmi as deputies" and *Arñna* by *asaxlazu Erttimeli* "Erttimeli as governor". Similarly, *ñn* in (5.7b) doubles *mahãna ebette* "for these gods", which is followed by the direct object *Eseimiju ... xuwati=ti* "Eseimija ... and whoever succeeds Eseimija". Unless all these direct objects have also been extracted rightward, my description of Lycian clitic-doubling cannot be precisely correct.

Fortunately, there is some reason to suspect that these phrases have indeed been extracted. First, if the direct objects in (5.7a-b) have not been extracted, then the word orders—Benefactive + Direct Object in (5.7a), and Second Object + Benefactive + First Object in (5.7b)—are underlyingly acceptable with these verbs. From both the Anatolian and typological perspectives, this would be surprising. Second, (5.7a) and (5.7b) both show the sequence *sẹñn(e)*, with an apparent nasalized allomorph of the conjunction *se*. This has been taken by Laroche (1979: 61) as assimilation to the following nasal, a hypothesis which is certainly possible in view of similar apparent assimilations elsewhere. Assimilation of this type is, however, hardly regular in Lycian, and its conditioning is not understood. In fact, there is no secure evidence that the clitic pronoun *ñne* ever causes nasalization of a

preceding vowel. According to Melchert (1989a: 43), this pronoun occurs fourteen times in addition to the examples in (5.7). In thirteen instances (including *me=ñn(e)* eight times and *se=ñne* three times) it follows a non-nasalized vowel, while in only one instance does it follow a nasalized vowel:

(5.8) TL 27.1-8

Mexisttę=<ñ>n=ę : ep[i] | tuwete : atli : ehbi : Sxxulijah : tideimi : sa=ladi : ehbi Merimawaj[e] | Petęnęneh : tideimi : se=tideimi | ehbi : Sxxulije

"**Mexistte** erected it for himself, the child of Sxxulija, for his wife Merimawa, daughter of Petęnęne, and for his child Sxxulija"

As long as the conditioning for nasal assimilation remains unknown, it is possible that the nasal vowel in *Mexisttę* is the result of assimilation to *ñn*, but it cannot be excluded that Mexisttę is a proper name ending in a nasal vowel, like Xssbezę at TL 25.2. There are thus no secure parallels for the apparent assimilatory nasalization of (5.7).

In short, sentences (5.7a-b) are triply problematic: they present an unexplained nasal vowel; they contradict otherwise well-motivated rules of Lycian clitic-doubling; and their verbal complements appear in a surprising order. I therefore suggest that the sequence *sę* beginning them is (as often) *s=ę*, the conjunction *se* elided before the accusative clitic pronoun *ę*. This pronoun is in each sentence proleptic: in (5.7a) it doubles the direct objects *pddęnehmmis Ijeru se=Natrbbijęmi* and *asaxlazu Erttimeli*, and in (5.7b) it doubles the direct object *Eseimiju ... xuwati=ti*. The direct objects in (5.7a-b) are thus extracted rightward, and in consequence it may be assumed that the benefactive complements *Trmmile* and *Arñna* in (5.7a) and *mahāna ebette* in (5.7b) are also (vacuously) extracted. The resulting word order (Dative + Accusative) differs from the underlying one, and all these NPs are clitic-doubled.

There is a potential objection. On my analysis, (5.7a-b) attest the clitic order *ę=ñne*, Accusative + Dative Plural. The order attested elsewhere is *ñn=ę*, Dative Plural +

Accusative, as in (5.8) above and in (5.9), where *ñn* doubles the vacuously extracted NP *Arñna ... Xadawãti* "to Xanthos, Tlos, Pinara, and Kadyanda":

(5.9) TL 45.1-3

[pijet]e=**ñn**=**ę** Pixe[s]ere Kat[amla]h Arñna se Tlawa se P[inal]e se Xadawãti

"Pixesere, (child) of Katamla, gave **it** to Xanthos and Tlos and Pinara and Kadyanda"

This is likely to be the inherited clitic order, in view of the discovery of Hoffner (1986: 93-94) that Hittite subject and direct object clitics obligatorily precede dative singular clitics but follow dative plural clitics (so *n=aš=mu* "he to me" but *nu=naš=an* "him to us"). But since both proposed instances of the order *ę=ñne*, Accusative + Dative Plural, occur in a single text, they may be the result of innovation, perhaps on the model of the regular clitic order *ed=i*, Absolutive + Dative Singular.

5.1.3. The Syntax of the Topic Construction

5.1.3.1. Definite NP Topics

Because the topic position is unambiguously marked by the sentential particle *me*, topicalized phrases can be identified much more easily than right-extracted ones. I have examined all topicalized phrases in the Lycian corpus and, as I will show in this section, all referentially definite NPs are clitic-doubled. By far the most common class is represented by (5.2) above and (5.10), in both of which the topic *ebęñnę prñnawã* is doubled by the pronoun *ę*:

(5.10) TL 19

ebę:ñnę : prñnawã m=**ę**=ti prñnawatę | Xisterija Xzzbãzeh tideimi | hrppi : ladi ehbi se=tideime

"Xisterija, child of Xzzbãze, built **this building** for his wife and children"

There are over sixty other sentences of this type.[4] Three locative NPs also appear as topics, all clitic-doubled:

(5.11) a TL 49

ebehi : isbazi : mi=**ije** sijęni : Paddrñma

"**In this *isbazi*** lies Paddrñma"

b TL 57.6-7

hrzzi prñnawi : me=**i** : ñtepi=tāti | [Idā Ma]xzzā : se la[dā]

"**In the upper building** they'll inter Ida Maxzza and (his) wife"

c TL 106.1

ebehi xupa : me=**i** sijęni : Sbi:<>:aza

"**In this tomb** lies Sbi<>aza"

Note that *ebehi isbazi* "in this *isbazi*" in (5.11a) is doubled by the strictly locative clitic *ije*, whereas *hrzzi prñnawi* "in the upper building" in (5.11b) and *ebehi xupa* "in this tomb" in (5.11c) are both doubled by *i*, which is formally ambiguous. On the basis of (5.11a) and the type of (5.2) and (5.10), it seems reasonable to assume that locative topics require locative clitics, and that all three sentences are parallel; *i* in (5.11b-c) is therefore the allomorph of *ije* rather than the dative clitic. The latter properly appears when a dative topic is present, as here (the glide *j* is epenthetic before *eseri*):

(5.12) N 320.40-41

Pigesereje : me=**ij** eseri=hhati

"They will leave **to Pigesere** (*sc.* to do what the acropolis orders done)"

There are thus some seventy positive instances of definite topics with clitic-doubling. There are also two large classes of apparent counter-instances—definite topics which

---

[4] They occur in the first lines of TL 1, 3, 5-9, 11-18, 23, 36, 43, 47, 48, 52, 53, 58, 68, 70-73, 75, 78, 80, 81, 85, 86, 88-91, 93, 102, 103, 105, 108, 110, 113, 122, 123, 139, 140, 144, and 149, and N 306, 309a, 310, 317, 308, and 322, and at TL 37.2, 38.2, 48.4, and 143.2, and N 314a.3.

apparently lack doubling. The first class includes almost thirty sentences of the following type[5]:

(5.13) a TL 42.3-4

ebęñnę : xupã : me=ti prñnawatę : Tuwada : hrppi ladi | se t<i>deime

"Tuwada built **this tomb** for (his) wife and children"

b TL 56.1-3

ebęñnę prñnãwu : me=ti prñnawatę | Ixtta : Hlah : tideimi : hrppi ladi : ehbi | se tideime : ehbije

"Ixtta, child of Hla, built **this building** for his wife and his children"

c TL 124.1-8

ebęnę xupu se=i [h]**ri ti ñtipa** me=ti adę U[h]etęi ebehi ñt[a]tā

"**This tomb and the *ñtipa* which is on it,** Uhetęi made as his sarcophagus"

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. However, among the various largely unexplained alternations between nasal and non-nasal vowels, there is one whose conditioning seems fairly clear: nasal vowels are often denasalized before *t*. Thus the historically proper third-person plural endings *-ãti* and *-ęti* (e.g. *alahãti* "they bury"), which occur nearly fifty times, appear in over ten instances denasalized as *-ati* or *-eti* (e.g. *alahati*). In view of this alternation, it would be surprising if the frequent sequence *m=ę=ti* never showed a denasalized variant *m=e=ti*. I propose that sentences like (5.13a-c) exemplify this variant, and that *e* is an allomorph (/___ *t*) of the accusative clitic pronoun.

The other class of apparent exceptions to the generalization that definite topics are obligatorily clitic-doubled includes six sentences of the following type[6]:

---

[5] They are at TL 4.1, 39.1, 57.3, 59.1, 61.1, 66.1, 77.1, 84.1, 87.1, 92.1, 101.1, 109.1, 111.1, 112.1, 118.1, 119.1, 120.1, 121.1, 134.1, 136.1, 137.1, 138.1, and 142, and N 303 and 316.1.

(5.14) a TL 40c.7-8

erawazija : ebe[ij]a : me prñnawaxã

"I built this monument"

b TL 40d.1

ebeija : [xr]uwata : me=ije pijetę : Wat[aprd]ata

"Wataprdata gave these *xruwata* here"

In all six cases, *me* is preceded by a neuter plural direct object and clitic-doubling appears to be absent; no other topicalized neuter plurals are attested. I take this as evidence that Lycian continues the Anatolian neuter plural clitic pronoun **oy* which elsewhere appears only in Hittite and Palaic: the sequence *me* here reflects not simply **mo* but **mo=oy*.[7] This proposal is not vitiated by the possible occurence of a neuter plural clitic pronoun *ede* (= Luvian *ata*) at N 320.12, since in any case Hittite also attests both *e* and *at* (which is *ede/ata* without the secondary prop-vowel). If added to the Lycian pronominal inventory, this clitic is an important archaism of first-millenium Lycian against the older Luvian languages.

There is a final, unfortunately isolated, apparent counter-example to the claim that definite topics must be clitic-doubled:

(5.15) TL 100

ebe xupa me tibeija

"**This grave** (is) Tibeian"

This example is isolated because the phrase *ebe xupa* "this grave" is the only topicalized subject NP at all in Lycian. There are two possible explanations for the apparent failure of

---

[6] The others are at TL 26.1, 117.1, 128.1, and 135.1.

[7] Craig Melchert (p.c.) compares the phonology of the third-person singular *hi*-conjugation desinence *-e* < **-ōy* < **-o-ey*.

clitic-doubling in (5.15). It may be that topicalized subjects do not require clitic-doubling, presumably because although they once required it, Lycian has eliminated the inherited subject clitics by generalizing the phonologically null allomorph which would have characterized many environments, as here. An alternative possibility is that (5.15) actually contains both the particle *me* and the regular reflex of the Common Anatolian nominative singular common-gender subject clitic **os*: **mo=os* > *me*. It would hardly be surprising that such a form had not been noticed previously: in view of its predicted shape, this clitic would be difficult to identify, and in any case it would be expected to appear only with certain intransitive verbs, as throughout Anatolian. I am aware of no instance in the Lycian corpus where an intransitive verb has no lexical subject and a subject clitic *e* can be excluded.

The system of movement and clitic-doubling proposed here may seem unusual for an old Indo-European language, but it is cross-linguistically unremarkable. Chicheŵa, for example, like other Bantu languages, has obligatory verbal subject agreement of the familiar Indo-European type, as well as optional verbal object agreement; hence there is subject agreement in (5.16) between *njuchi* "bees" and the verbal prefix *zi*, and object agreement in (5.17) between *alenje* "hunters" and the verbal prefix *wa*. The presence of object marking in Chichewa is, as shown by Bresnan & Mchombo (1987: 744-45), conditioned by the position of the direct object. When object agreement is omitted, as in (5.16a-b), the word order Verb + Object is obligatory, although the subject may precede or follow the Verb + Object sequence. Thus (5.16c-f), in which the sequence Verb + Object has been interrupted or reversed, are ungrammatical.

(5.16) a **Njuchi zi**-na-lum-a alenje
bees SUBJ-PAST-bite-INDIC hunters
"the bees bit the hunters"

b Zinaluma alenje njuchi

c *Alenje zinaluma njuchi

d *Zinaluma njuchi alenje

e *Njuchi alenje zinaluma

f *Alenje njuchi zinaluma

If object agreement is present, however, the verb, subject, and direct object can occur in any order, and the counterparts of (5.16c-f) are grammatical:

(5.17) a Njuchi zi-na-**wa**-lum-a **alenje**

bees SUBJ-PAST-**OBJ**-bite-INDIC **hunters**

b Zinawaluma alenje njuchi

c Alenje zinawaluma njuchi

d Zinawaluma njuchi alenje

e Njuchi alenje zinawaluma

f Alenje njuchi zinawaluma

Using both syntactic and phonological evidence, Bresnan & Mchombo (1987: 745-52) show that verbal object agreement is not conditioned by linear order but by the extraction of the direct object from the VP. In sentences like (5.17a-b), extraction is vacuous, but in (5.17f), for instance, *alenje* "hunters" has clearly been moved leftward, and because the verbal prefix *wa* is present, the sentence is grammatical (compare [5.16f] without *wa*).

As a parallel but informal characterization, I suggest that Lycian clitic-doubling marks extraction from some sentential sub-constituent, which I will call S, and that whatever the precise structure of the Lycian sentence, both topicalized and right-extracted phrases are outside S, although inside a larger constituent S'. This characterization is obviously tentative in view of our current understanding of Lycian syntax, and I introduce it solely to facilitate certain descriptive statements below.

5.1.3.2. Other Topics

The topicalization and obligatory clitic-doubling of definite NPs is illustrated in (5.2) and (5.10-14) above, but definite NPs are not the only items which can be topicalized in Lycian. Other types of topicalized phrases may be classified in various ways: for instance,

some topicalization—left-dislocation—occurs with clitic-doubling and some occurs without it. This section will be organized as follows: PP topics will be discussed in §5.1.3.2.1, verb and preverb topics in §5.1.3.2.2, indefinite NP topics in §5.1.3.2.3, and a minor topic type in §5.1.3.2.4; the salient features of all topic types will be summarized in §5.1.3.2.5. In §5.1.4 I will turn to some pragmatic features of the Lycian topicalization system, and in §5.1.5 I will begin to address the problem of its origin.

5.1.3.2.1. PP Topics

The apparently extended preverbs or prepositions *hrrpije* and *hrije* "thereon" appear ten times in the topic position and are invariably clitic-doubled. I analyze these as simply the prepositions *hrppi* and *hri* with, as objects, the enclitic locative pronoun *ije*—in other words, as topicalized PPs. The doubling pronoun may be taken as doubling either the topicalized PP or its pronominal object. Examples include the following[8]:

(5.18) a TL 57.8

hrppi=je me=**i** : tadi : tike

"**Thereon** one puts someone"

b N 309a.4

hri=je me=**i** : alahadi : tike

"**Thereon** one buries someone"

Compare sentences like the following, where an untopicalized *hrppi* co-occurs with its notional object *ije*, as in (5.18a), but without a pleonastic *i*:

(5.19) TL 75.3

me=**ije** : ni **hr[ppi]**=tãtu : tike

"They shall not put anyone **thereon**"

There is another very significant feature of topicalized PPs. Whereas the vast majority of topicalized definite NPs are, in those inscriptions where the word-divider is consistently

---

[8] Other examples are at TL 58.4, 75.4, 84.3, 94.2, 109.3, and 150.5.

used, followed by a word-divider, topicalized PPs are consistently not followed by a word-divider.

5.1.3.2.2. Verb and Preverb Topics

The topic constituent can be a verb or preverb: in Lycian, as elsewhere in Indo-European, preverb topicalization is isofunctional with verb topicalization in the case of verbs without preverbs (compare Renou 1933: 54 on Vedic). Verbs are topicalized three times in the Lycian corpus — naturally enough, without clitic-doubling:

(5.20) a TL 89.2-3

adi mej=ę : tik:e : xttbã : tisñke

"If anyone **does** any **harm** whatsoever ..."[9]

b TL 90.4

adi : mẹj=ę tik[e x]tt[bã]

"If anyone **does harm** ..."

c N 320.36-37

xttade mej=ę : tike

"If someone **will have done harm** ..."

In three cases, preverbs or preverb sequences are topicalized:

(5.21) a TL 134.3

hri=ñ[te] : me=**i**=lahadi : tike

"(If) he buries someone **on top of him**"

b N 306.3

hri=ñte=me=**i** : alahadi : tike

"(If) he buries someone **on top of him**"

---

[9] For ę "if", see Melchert (1989a: 19, with earlier references).

c TL 83.10-11

ñte me=**j**=epi : tadi : ti[k]e [tik]e

"(If) someone inters someone **on top of him**"

The otherwise unexplained enclitic pronouns following *me* in these examples—*i* in (5.21a-b) and *j* in (5.21c)—are simply the logical objects of *hri=ñte* and *ñte* "on top of".[10] Neither verb nor preverb topics are, therefore, accompanied by clitic-doubling, and in most cases they are not followed by the word divider.

5.1.3.2.3. Indefinite NP Topics

As stated above, topicalized definite phrases are obligatorily clitic-doubled, but indefinite phrases cannot be clitic-doubled.[11] The next class of non-clitic-doubling topics therefore consists of indefinite NPs:

(5.22) a TL 88.4 = TL 93.3

hlmmi me=i tuweti tike

"Someone puts **tribute** here"

---

[10] I take *j* in (5.21c) as an intervocalic treatment of *i*. Lycian attests other treatments of intervocalic *i*: epenthetic *j*, as in (5.12) above; *i*, in *se=i=agã* at TL 149.13 (although the possible phonological status of the sequence *-eia-* is quite unclear); and elision of the following vowel, as in (5.21a). However, since other sandhi processes, e.g. elision, have variable outcomes in Lycian, the treatment of intervocalic *i* may as well.

[11] I did not present evidence above that indefinite phrases extracted rightward are not clitic-doubled. Relevant evidence is indeed hard to find, perhaps because of whatever pragmatic function right-extraction has in Lycian. A possible instance is at TL 52.2, *se pi[j]etẹ : miñti ñtawãtã*. If *ñtawãtã* (unknown meaning) is the direct object in this sentence, then the word order is Beneficiary + Direct Object and should cause clitic-doubling. Its absence might signal an indefinite interpretation of *ñtawãtã*: "and he gave to the miñti an *ñtawãtã*". Likewise the word order at TL 131.3-4 points to extraction (similarly TL 111.4 and 131.4): *me=ttlidi : ẹni qlahi : ebeijehi nuñtãta | amm[ã]ma : uwa* "he will pay to the mother of this sanctuary nine *ammãma* cattle". Here the direct object is indefinite, and clitic-doubling is presumably absent, but since, as argued above, an absolutive plural clitic e exists in Lycian, the sequence me is formally ambiguous.

b TL 88.3 = TL 93.2

kbi tike me=i nipe ñtepi tãtu

"Let them not inter here **someone else**"

c N 306.2

kbi : tike : me=ñte=ne : hrij=alahadi : tike

"Someone will not bury **someone else** on top (*sc.* of the legal occupant)"

The indefinite direct objects *hlmmi* "(some) tribute" in (5.22a) and *kbi tike* "someone else" in (5.22b-c), and similarly at N 309a.3-4—six occurrences in all—are not doubled by any allomorph of the accusative clitic pronoun *ę*. Like definite NP topics, however, they are regularly followed by the word divider in inscriptions which consistently use it.

A contrast of the general type found in Lycian—between left-dislocation of definite NPs and its impossibility with indefinites—is cross-linguistically widespread. For instance, in colloquial French, sentences like (5.23) occur freely without intonational pauses before the clitic subject pronouns, whereas the type of (5.24) is impossible (see e.g. Lambrecht 1981: 61-62):

(5.23) a **Ces Romains ils** sont fous

b **Le garçon il** attend devant la porte

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

b ***Un garçon il** attend devant la porte

Similar contrasts occur in Italian left-dislocation structures, according to Duranti and Ochs (1979: 391), and in several Bantu languages, in structures cognate to the Chichewa ones discussed above (see the references in Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: 760 n. 25). Of course, the Lycian construction allows a much wider range of topic constituents than is cross-linguistically common; it also differs somewhat in its pragmatic function.

5.1.3.2.4. *Ebeli* "Here"

There is, finally, a minor category of topicalized constituent which does not trigger clitic-doubling:

(5.25) a TL 107a.1

[e]beli : m=ẹti=sijẹni : Tele : se lada : se tideimi : ehbi : < : s=ladãi : ebttehi : |<

"**Here** are laid down Tele, and (his) wife and his five sons and their four wives"

b TL 150.1

ebeli : me sijẹni : Xssẹñzija

"**Here** lies Xssẹñzija"

The adverb *ebeli* "here"—in origin clearly a demonstrative—evidently does not occur with clitic-doubling when topicalized, but is followed by the word divider.

5.1.3.2.5. Summary

It seems reasonable to assume that the word divider used in Lycian inscriptions separates prosodic constituents of some order. The particle *me* which defines the topic construction is thus prosodically ambivalent: it is ordinarily part of the same prosodic constituent as a preceding verb, preverb, or preposition plus clitic pronoun, 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. This may be sketched as follows:

(5.26)

TOPIC CONSTITUENT	*mé* or *me*?	CLITIC-DOUBLING?
Definite NP	*mé* >100x	yes (>100x)
Indefinite NP	*mé* 2x	no (6x)
P + Clitic Pro	*me* 7x	yes (8x)
Verb or Preverb	*me* 4x, *mé* 2x	no (6x)
ebeli "here"	*mé* 2x	no (2x)

In addition to its use in the topic construction, *me* has an independent sentence-connective value, as in (5.27a), and in particular is virtually obligatory in apodoses, as in (5.27b):

(5.27) a TL 84.2-3

me=te : ñta=tāti | ebñnę : hātā : se=ladā

"**And** they will inter him when he is dead with his wife"

b TL 93.3

hlmmi me=i tuweti tike tibe=i ñt[epi] tadi tike **m**=ęne Trqas tubidi se muhāi huwedri

"(If) someone places tribute there or inters someone there, **then** Trqas and all the gods will strike him"

As in both examples, *me* is a clitic host when sentence-introductory and is therefore presumably stressed. To summarize, then, Lycian has the following five constructions with *me*:

(5.28) a *mé* + ...

b Definite NP + *mé* + Resumptive Pronoun + ...

c Indefinite NP + *mé* + ...

d Verb or Preverb + *me* + ...

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

5.1.4. The Pragmatics of the Topic Construction

While the Lycian corpus does not exactly lend itself to a sophisticated discourse analysis, a brief consideration of the topic construction's synchronic function may illuminate its prehistory as well. This construction is attested in two discourse contexts: presentational focus and contrastive focus. The great majority of topicalized phrases are left-dislocated NPs, as in (5.2), (5.10-14), and perhaps (5.15), which invariably refer to funerary monuments and appear at the beginning of sepulchral inscriptions. The topicalized adverb

ebeli in (5.25) above has a similar function, but without clitic-doubling. Sentences with this discourse context would be paraphrased by English sentences like the following:

(5.29) a **This tomb** was built by so-and-so

b **In this sarcophagus** are the mortal remains of so-and-so

c **Here** lies so-and-so

This specific context is one of presentational focus; more generally, it is well-known that fronting to the preverbal position in English verb-second sentences like (5.29a-c) marks functional topichood (in its discourse-analytic rather than syntactic sense). We may therefore assume that Lycian topicalization can function to identify discourse topics.

The Lycian topic construction is also used to mark contrastive focus. The four instances of the topicalized indefinite NP *kbi tike* "someone else" occur in this context:

(5.30) TL 88.2-3

se ęke lati Ddaqasa m=**ene** ñtepi tãti ñtipa tezi **se ladã ehbi kbi tike** me=i nipe ñtepi tãtu

"And when Ddaqasa dies, they will inter **him** in the upper *ñtipa* **with his wife**; let them not inter **anyone else** there"

In these sentences, *kbi tike* is explicitly opposed to the legal tomb occupants. In another set of passages, topicalization of a verb, preverb, or indefinite has the force of English rising intonation with emphasis:

(5.31) a N 306.2-3

kbi : tike : me=ñte=**ne** : hrij=alahadi : tike : atlahi : tibe kbijehi : **hri=ñte** me=i : alahadi : tike

"Someone will **not** bury someone else on top (*sc.* of the legal occupant), (either) his own body or another's; if one **does** bury someone **on top of** him ..."

b TL 57.7-8

[s]e=[ije]=**n**[e hrppi tã]ti tike | kbi : **hrppije** me=**i** : tadi : tike

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

c N 320.34-37

se=we=**ne** : xttadi : tike : ebine ñtewę : mahãna : ebette : ebine : ñtewę : kumazi : ebehi : **xttade** mej=ę : tike

"And nobody will (*lit.* someone will **not**) do harm, either to these gods or to this priest; if someone **will have done harm** ..."

d TL 88.4 (similarly TL 93.2-3)

tibe=i nipe hlmmi tuwetu **hlmmi** me=i tuweti tike

"**Nor** shall they put tribute here; (if) they **do** put **tribute** here ..."

In these passages the contrast is not lexical, of course, but asseverative: in each case a positive is explicitly contrasted with a negative.[12]

To judge from very impoverished evidence, the Lycian topic construction thus appears to identify discourse topics and mark contrastive focus. Clitic-doubling itself has no pragmatic function: it marks topics as definite, but topicalization with clitic-doubling and topicalization without it are isofunctional. This description of the function of Lycian topicalization is supported by comparative evidence. The Hittite particle *ma*, whose Lycian cognate *me* characterizes the topic construction, has among its functions one which precisely matches a function of Lycian topicalization: it marks contrastive focus. For example, the indefinite ÌR-*YA* "a subject of mine" in (5.32), marked with *ma*, contrasts explicitly with

---

[12] As noted above, fronting a preverb has the pragmatic function associated with fronting a verb which lacks preverbs. Verb + Indefinite Object complexes, as in (5.31d), frequently function pragmatically like verbs rather than VPs. In its two remaining Lycian occurrences, the function of topicalization is unclear to me; see (5.20a-b) above.

1-*an* DUMU-*KA* "one of your sons", just as *kbi tike* does with *ene ... se ladã ehbi* "him and his wife" in (5.30) above (see CHD 92-95 for this and further examples of this type).

(5.32) KBo 5.6 iii 10-14

mān=wa=mu **1-an DUMU-KA** paišti man=war=aš=mu ^{LÚ}MUTI-YA

kišari **ÌR-YA=ma**=wa nuwan para dahhi

"If you give me **one of your sons**, he would become my husband; I do not want to take **a subject of mine**"

The pragmatic functions of Lycian topicalization identified here are typologically quite natural. Compare for example the Japanese particle *wa*, which marks "the *theme* [i.e. discourse topic] or the *contrasted element* of the sentence" (Kuno 1972: 270), or the Chichewa extraction process illustrated in (5.17) above. Bresnan & Mchombo (1987: 757-64) explicitly argue that extracted NPs in Chichewa are discourse topics; they may apparently also be used contrastively (see example 78 of Bresnan & Mchombo 1987: 774). Neither Chichewa extraction nor Japanese *wa* marking is precisely comparable to Lycian topicalization, however, since Lycian evidently requires a selectional relation between verb and topic.

5.1.5. The Prehistory of Lycian *me*

The origin of the Lycian topic construction is intimately related to the history of the particle *me* which characterizes it. The comparison with its exact cognate *ma* in Hittite suggests an Anatolian **mo*, since **o* > *e* and **a* > *a* in Lycian (Melchert 1990b). The additional comparison with Thessalian Greek *má*, however, due to Hahn (1942: 100), seems to require specifically an Anatolian **moh*$_2$ on the one hand and a Greek **meh*$_2$ on the other hand, ultimately ablaut variants of the same stem. The Greek comparison is assured not only formally but semantically: *má* has the function of Attic-Ionic *dé* and thus approximately that of Hittite *ma*, as illustrated in (5.33):

(5.33) IG 9.2.517 (Buck 1955: 221)

katthémen **tàm mèn** ían en tò hieròn toî Áplounos ... **tàm mà állan** en tàn akrópolin

"(Two steles are) to be set down, **the one** in the temple of Apollo, **the other** in the acropolis"

An additional important comparison is that between the Hittite and probably Luvian asseverative adverb *imma* and Latin *immo* "rather, on the contrary"; see especially Melchert (1985), with references to earlier literature. Melchert establishes that this comparison makes formal and semantic sense, and that the Anatolian and Latin forms continue an Indo-European form which he reconstructs as **id-mō*, functioning already in Indo-European as an asseverative adverb. This form in turn contains the emphasizing particle reflected in Sanskrit by *íd* (and possibly Hittite and Luvian *it*, according to Melchert 1985: 204-205), followed by the ancestor of Hittite *ma*. I would therefore reconstruct specifically **íd-moh*$_2$; since the form is orthotonic in all daughters it was almost certainly accented in Indo-European. The comparison of Hittite *imma* and Latin *immo* thus indicates that **moh*$_2$ was, at least in some contexts, unaccented in the proto-language. On the other hand, the Lycian evidence discussed above clearly indicates that in some contexts in that language, *me* < **moh*$_2$ was accented. Since phonological clitics rarely or never acquire accent—as would be the case here if **moh*$_2$ had at any stage been exclusively atonic—whereas the loss of accent by an originally tonic particle is a common development, it is necessary to reconstruct both an accented **móh*$_2$ and an unaccented **moh*$_2$ for Indo-European.

The original syntax of **moh*$_2$ presents another problem: it could in principle have been sentence-initial, or sentence-second in some sense, or both. In view of its Lycian syntax the second possibility is unlikely: while the diachronic demotion of sentence-initial particles has well-described parallels (see Hale 1987a: 157-61, 1990a), the promotion of obligatorily second-position particles to sentence-initial position does not, and it is difficult to imagine the mechanism of such a syntactic change. Either of the remaining two possibilities would

be quite natural, but the comparison of Hittite *imma* and Latin *immo* requires the third possibility in particular: Indo-European $*moh_2$ occurred both sentence-initially and in second position. This will prove to be consistent with its subsequent history in Anatolian and with the creation of the topic construction in Lycian.

The development of Indo-European $*moh_2$ conforms to the general diachronic framework elucidated by Hale (1990a) for Indo-European particles of this type. In this framework, such particles originate as ordinary lexical items like adverbs which by reason of their semantic value frequently or obligatorily occupy the TOP position. Like all such particles, these are semantically weakened over time, which ultimately causes the functional basis for their topicalization to become opaque. When it becomes sufficiently opaque, they are reanalyzed as no longer occupying the TOP position. The diachronic input to this reanalysis is a structure with a topicalized particle followed by clitics and the remainder of the sentence, and two reanalyses are common. In the first of these, the semantically weakened item is reanalyzed as a sentence-introductory, null-position element, which Wackernagel's Law clitics follow because their position is phonologically determined. In the other possible reanalysis, the semantically weakened element is reanalyzed as following an empty TOP position, that is, as the head of the Wackernagel's Law chain. These developments are schematized in (5.34):

(5.34)

Source	TOP Particle + Clitics + ...
Reanalysis I	NULL Particle + Clitics (+ Empty TOP) + ...
Reanalysis II	(Empty TOP +) Particle + Clitics + ...

The two possible reanalyses result in different positionings of TOP with respect to the demoted particle, either to its right or to its left. As a final stage in this process, the second reanalysis indicated can be followed by the reanalysis of second-position particles as markers of emphasis on certain topicalized constituents, which can in turn lead them to acquire the distribution of emphatic clitics generally, and to cease to occur always in sentence-second position.

The operation of these diachronic mechanisms can be illustrated by Indo-European **nú* as described by Hale (1987a: 157-60, 1990a). This word originally meant "now" and was common in the sentence-initial TOP position, a meaning and function preserved in Indo-Iranian. Subsequently **nú* was semantically weakened and syntactically demoted via one of the two reanalyses just described: Anatolian reanalyzed **nú* as a null-position sentence-introductory particle, whereas Greek and secondarily Indo-Iranian reanalyzed it as a second-position particle. Since **nú* was originally sentence-initial, its second-position reflexes in Greek and Indo-Iranian precede most other clitics. The final stage in the demotion of this Indo-European adverb is reflected in the Arcado-Cyprian Greek demonstrative *ónu* "this here", the result of univerbation of a particularly frequent sequence of topicalized pronoun and second-position particle.

The prehistory of the Lycian particle *me* is quite similar. Whatever its ultimate source, it had already in Indo-European acquired adverbial semantics as a result of which it was frequently or obligatorily topicalized. Also already in Indo-European, however, its semantic value was weakened to the extent that the functional motivation for its topicalization became opaque enough to cause a syntactic reanalysis. The specific reanalysis chosen was "Reanalysis II" in (5.34). Indo-European therefore had two surface sequences involving this particle: the one in (5.35a) in sentences with topicalization, and the one in (5.35b) in sentences without topicalization.

(5.35) a Topicalized Constituent + *$móh_2$ + clitics + Sentence

b *$móh_2$ + clitics + Sentence

In both positions *$móh_2$ must originally have been stressed. However, as argued above, an unstressed *moh_2 must also be reconstructed for Indo-European. The only natural assumption is therefore is that a sound law operated already in Indo-European, destressing *$móh_2$ in some context—probably in the context given in (5.35a). Thessalian Greek preserves the pattern in (5.35a) more or less intact, while elsewhere various secondary developments are reflected. The comparison of Anatolian *imma* and Latin *immo* indicates

that the final stage in this particle's demotion, in this case univerbation with **id*, had already begun in Indo-European: in Latin the particle survives only in a synchronically opaque compound, while in Hittite, if the analysis suggested for *ma* in chapter 1 is correct, it has become an empatic clitic. Note that Greek and Hittite (and of course Latin) eliminated any trace of the pattern given in (5.35b), and would by themselves lead to the reconstruction only of (5.35a). It is only the late and sparse testimony of Lycian which forces the reconstruction of the pattern in (5.36b) and of a sentence-initial, accented Indo-European particle. This pattern and particle were eliminated in Lycian's older and better-attested relatives.

The Lycian topic construction itself presents a further diachronic puzzle. The construction is typologically unexceptionable, as I have indicated above, but grammaticalized left-dislocation structures are certainly not common in Indo-European generally or Anatolian in particular. There are three possible explanations for the appearance of such a structure in Lycian: first, as suggested by McCone (1979: 475-80), they may somehow continue the clitic-doubling associated with right-dislocated NPs in Lycian and elsewhere in Anatolian (see below); second, they may somehow reflect the topicalization of sentence-internal, clitic-doubled NPs; or third, they may continue some other pre-existing left-dislocation structure. I will argue that only this third explanation can plausibly account for the features of the Lycian construction in question while doing justice to the comparative evidence and to our general understanding of the evolution of clitic-doubling systems. First, however, it will be necessary to review briefly some of the evidence for clitic-doubling in Anatolian.

5.2. Right-Dislocation in Cuneiform Luvian and Hittite

Right dislocation is not uncommon in Cuneiform Luvian and Hittite. I have collected examples systematically in the Old and Middle Hittite corpora listed in chapter 1 (but only sporadically in the later corpora), I have examined the Hittite and Luvian instances

presented by McCone (1979), reporting on his 1979 dissertation, and I have examined the many examples of right dislocation in the Hittite Song of Ullikummi. Based on this examination, it appears that the older cuneiform languages share with Lycian at least the grammatical rule that end-topicalized core verbal arguments—subjects and objects—must be clitic-doubled if possible (of course excluding postverbal elements positioned by Focus Movement processes). By this I mean simply that clitic-doubling of end-topicalized elements is not found with the subjects of transitive or unergative verbs. Examples of end-topicalization follow. First, in the following Hittite sentences, the subjects of unaccusative verbs are right-dislocated:

(5.36) a Bo 86/299 iii 81-82

n=at kutrūēš ašandu ^{d}UTU *ŠAMĒ* ^{d}UTU ^{URU}Arinna ^{d}U *ŠAMĒ* ...

"Let **them** be witnesses, **the Sungod of Heaven, the Sungoddess of Arinna, the Stormgod of Heaven, ...**"

b KUB 33.102+ ii 17

n=**aš** sarā tī[yat ^{d}**Ku**)]**marbiš**

"**He** got up, **Kumarbi**"

c KUB 17.7+ iv 14'

kuiš=war=**aš aši DUMU-aš**

"Who is **he, this child?**"

d KUB 17.7+ iv 22'

šalliškizzi=ya=**aš** ^{NA4}**kunkunuzziš**

"**He** grew up, **the Basalt** (*sc.* monster)"

e KUB 23.102 obv 7-8

n=**at** kuit=ma *ŠA* $^{HUR.SAG}$**Ammana uwauwar**

"But what is **it, the review of Mt. Ammana?**"

In the following sentences, direct objects are right-dislocated:

(5.37) a KBo 5.3+ i 16

pahši=ya=**an** ^{d}**UTU-*ŠI***

"And protect **him, His Majesty**"

b KUB 8.65 i 22

nahmi=**us** ^{MUŠ}**Ill[uyankuš]**

"I fear **them, the serpents**"

c IBoT 2.109 ii 27-28

nu=war=**an** iškišaz karapdu [*IŠT*]*U* EME.HI.A-*ŠU*=ya=war=**an** karapdu

[idāl]u KAxU-iš idālun [(E)]ME-an

"Let him lift **it** from the back, and let him lift **it** from the tongues, **the evil mouth, the evil tongue**"

d KUB 26.1 iv 14

[(n=**an**)] lē šannatti **memian**

"Don't conceal **it, the matter**"

Sentences like those in (5.36-37), with right-dislocated unaccusative subjects or transitive objects, are extremely common. It is somewhat more difficult to find clear cases where the subjects of transitive verbs are end-topicalized, but one example is given in (5.38):

(5.38) KUB 17.7+ iii 33'-34'

l[ē=war=]an aušzi ^{d}**IŠTAR-iš** ^{URU}**Ninuwaš MUNUS.LUGAL-aš**

"Let **her** not see him, **Ištar, queen of Nineveh**"

I have seen no sentence in either Hittite or Luvian where the subject of an unergative verb is unambiguously end-topicalized, with or without clitic-doubling; the reason is probably that such sentences are typically difficult to distinguish from cases of verb topicalization. Still, it cannot be doubted that they lack clitic-doubling if they exist. In view of the frequency of end-topicalization in the Song of Ullikummi, the following sentence might exemplify this pattern, although it is of course formally ambiguous:

(5.39) MGK 12 ii 5'

nù=za išhamiškizzi **^{d}IŠTAR-iš**

"**She** sang, **Ištar**"

Finally, the sentences in (5.40-41), most cited by McCone (1979: 471-72), illustrate right-dislocation and end-topicalization in Cuneiform Luvian: (5.40) illustrates right-dislocated unaccusative subjects; (5.41) presents an end-topicalized transitive subject without clitic-doubling; and (5.42) illustrates right-dislocated transitive objects.

(5.40) a KUB 9.6+ ii 12-13

tāīn=tiy=**ata** malli aiyaru **tapāruwa hīrūta tatarriyamma**

"Let **them** become oil and honey, **the curses, oaths, and maledictions**"

b KUB 35.54 iii 26

a=**ta** halāl āšdu **zā [p]arnanza**

"Let **it** be pure, **this house**"

(5.41) a KUB 9.6+ ii 14-15

âšša=ti ēlhadu **tappasantis tiyammantis**

"Let **them** wash their own mouth, **heaven and earth**"

b KUB 35.54 iii 9-11

a=ta=tta pari patzadu **MÁS.GAL-iš**

"let **it** drive (?) them forth, **the goat**"

(5.42) a KUB 35.45 ii 21-24

kuiš=**an** ippatarrišatta **EN SISKUR.SISKUR-aššin ... maššanallin KASKAL-an**

"Whoever soiled **it, the celebrant ... the gods' route**"

b KUB 35.45 ii 25-27

a=**an** tiyammaššis ^{d}UTU-za darauiddu **tatariyammanaššin hirutaššin EN-an**

"Let the Sungod of the Earth hand **him** over, **the lord of malediction and perjury**"

The same rule clearly operates in both Luvian and Hittite: end-topicalization of an unaccusative subject or a direct object requires clitic-doubling.

5.3. Intrasentential Clitic-Doubling in Hittite

I will show in this section that intrasentential clitic doubling is exceptionally rare in Hittite, although it evidently does exist. First, however, §§5.3.1-3 will discuss several constructions which look like clitic-doubling but are not.

5.3.1. Possessor Raising

The process of possessor raising creates a structure with two NPs, a possessor and a chômeur; on the traditional view that they are in apposition (and not derived via a process like possessor raising), it would be necessary to regard them as clitic-doubled on occasion. As far as I know, however, they do not form a surface constituent in any language where the process exists, as already indicated by the structural representation provided in §2.6.1: the raised possessor functions in all ways like a direct object, while the demoted element is syntactically inert. The raised possessor can thus freely be cliticized, as in the following examples and those in (2.61c), (2.62a), (2.75a), and (3.4-5):

(5.43) a KUB 44.61 iv 25'-26' (Medical ritual, CTH 461, ed. Burde 1974: 20)

n=**an hapurin** EGIR-pa damašzi ... namma=**an hapurin** parā huittiy[azi]

"He presses **his foreskin** back ... Then he draws **his foreskin** forth"

b KUB 44.63 iii 20'-21' (Medical ritual, CTH 461, ed. Burde 1974: 30)

namma=**an** ândaz A-az **[i]šhahru šipanna**(-)x[ ] arha ānašzi

"Then he wipes off **his tears and *šipan*** with warm water"

c KUB 7.1 i 39-40

n=**an tuīkkuš** išgahhi

"I'll anoint **its body-parts**"

Since the two NPs in this construction are not base-generated in the same position—one is an underlying verbal argument, and one is a nominal possessor—and do not have the same thematic interpretation, they do not count as clitic-doubling.

5.3.2. Quantifier Float

The process of quantifier float discussed in §2.6.2 results in a surface structure with a QP headed by a quantifier whose complement is an NP. Cliticization is a process affecting NPs, and therefore the NP complement of a quantifier can freely be cliticized, stranding the quantifier:

(5.44) a KBo 3.22 obv 12

n=**uš hūmanduš**=p[at h]u[llanu]n

"I destroyed **them all**"

b KBo 2.5 i 16

n=**an hūmandan** epta

"He took **it all**"

c KUB 19.39 ii 1

n=**aš humanza** anda w[arreššešta]

"**They all** (sg.) hurried in to help"

d KBo 5.6 i 27

n=**aš**=za **hūmanduš** tarahhir

"They defeated **them all**"

e StBoT 24 ii 27

n=**an hūman**[(**dan** EGIR-pa ašešanunun)]

"I resettled **them all**"

f KUB 9.6 ii 5ff

n=**aš**=kan **hūmandus** *IŠTU* KAxU-*ŠU* ueriškizzi

"He invokes **them all** with his mouth"

The same facts obtain mutatis mutandis in other languages. For example, while intrasentential clitic-doubling is not permitted in English, it does appear to exist with quantifiers:

(5.45) a They defeated '**em all**

b They gave '**em all** their just desserts

In Hittite this process is evidently not restricted to quantifiers per se, but operates more generally for numerals:

(5.46) KUB 13.4 ii 46ff (Instructions to priests and palace servants, CTH 264)

nu=š<ma>š=**at 2-aš=pat** SAG.DU-aš UG_6-tar **2-uš=pat=at** akkandu

"Let **just the two of them** be liable to the death penalty; let **just the two of them** die"

5.3.3. Other Cases of Clitic-Doubling

There are a variety of other configurations in which two coreferential NPs can occur which nevertheless do not amount to doubling. Among these are cases where, because of verbal subcategorization or some other factor, the two NPs have distinct thematic relations. The most obvious configuration of this type is naturally with double-object verbs. If the first object of such a verb cliticizes, this can result in a structure where a clitic is coreferential with a tautosential NP. Examples include the following:

(5.47) a KBo 4.4 iv 27

n=**an**=zan **ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.R[A.HI.A]** iyanun

"I made **them** [grammatically singular] my **soldiers and wagon-fighters**"

b KBo 4.4 iv 57-58

n=**an**=zan *ABU-YA* [^{LÚ}*H*]*ATĀNA* iyat

"My father made **him** his **son-in-law**"

c KUB 19.25: 5

nu=**tta** ^{LÚ}**SANGA** iyau[en]

"We made **you a priest**"

Somewhat similar are the following sentences:

(5.48) a StBoT 24 i 17

nu=**m[(u** *ABU*)]-*YA* **DUMU-an** šarā dāš

"My father took **me** up **when I was a child**"

b KBo 6.29 i 7-8

nu=mu **kappin=pat DUMU-an** ^{d}*IŠTAR* ^{URU}Šamuha *ANA ABU-YA* uēkta

"Ištar of Šamuha requested me of my father **when I was only a small child**"

c KBo 4.12 obv 5-6

ANA PANI ABU-YA=**mu kappin DUMU-an** HUL-lu GIG GIG-at

"In my father's time illness sickened **me** badly **when I was a small child**"

d KBo 6.3 ii 28

n=**an** ^{LÚ}**antiyantan** epzi

"He takes **him** as **a son-in-law**"

e StBoT 24 i 9-11

ABU-YA=**nnaš**=za ^{m}Muršiliš **4 DUMU.HI.A** ^{m}**Halpašulupin**

^{m}**NIR.GÁL-in** ^{m}**Hattušilin** ^{f}**DINGIR.MEŠ.IR-inn=a**

DUMU.[(MUNUS-an)] hašta

"My father Muršili bore **us** as (his) **4 children: Halpašulupi, Muwatalli,**

Hattušili, and a daughter Maššanauzzi"

Here the accusative NPs do not share the thematic roles of their apparently doubling clitics: (5.48a) is not "my father took up me, a/the child"; (5.48b) is not "Istar requested me, a/the small child"; (5.48c) is not "illness sickened me, a/the small child"; (5.48d) is not "he takes

him, a/the son-in-law"; and (5.48e) is arguably not "my father bore us, four children".[13] In (5.48a-c) the accusatives DUMU-*an* "a boy" and *kappin* DUMU-*an* "a small boy" are in fact depictive NPs, and in (5.48d) ^{LÚ}*antiyantan* "a son-in-law" is a resultative NP; all three are predicated of their direct objects. Compare the following English sentences cited by Roberts (1988: 704):

(5.49) a DEPICTIVE: John drank the beer flat

b RESULTATIVE: John hammered the metal flat

In (5.48e), the long noun phrase 4 DUMU.HI.A ... "four children, ..." may plausibly be interpreted, not simply as apposed to the direct object *nnaš* "us", but as a kind of depictive complement predicated of the direct object.

The following sentences also do not contain clitic-doubling:

(5.50) IBoT 1.36 iii 41-50

^{GIŠ}PA.HI.A-uwanteš=ma=**at** EGIR-anda *ŪL* pānzi ... n=**at**

^{GIŠ}PA-uwanteš EGIR-anda ŪL pā[nzi] ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR.HI.A=za tanzi

"But **they** do not walk behind **carrying spears** ... **They** do not walk behind **carrying spears**; they take lances"

Jakob-Rost (1966: 195) translates "die Stabträger gehen nicht hinterher", but in fact the nominative ^{GIŠ}PA(HI.A)-*uwanteš* may instead be interpreted as a circumstantial NP predicated of the subject. Compare the following English sentence cited from Roberts (1988: 704):

(5.51) CIRCUMSTANTIAL: John left the room happy

There are a few miscellaneous classes of non-clitic-doubling which may be identified briefly. In sentences like the following, the clitic (here *an*) and coreferential NP (here the accusative participle *akkantan* "dead") are embedded subject and predicate respectively:

---

[13] Note that all these English translations require emphatic object pronouns.

(5.52) KUB 13.35+ iii 17

ammuk=war=**an akkantan** *IQBI*

"He told me **he was dead**"

In sentences like the following, the clitic (here *mu*) may be interpreted as the direct object and the coreferential NP (here ^{d}UTU-*ŠI BELI-YA* "my lord His Majesty") as a vocative:

(5.53) KUB 14.1+ rev 13

nu=wa=**mu** kuwapi ^{d}**UTU-*ŠI BELI-YA*** lāhha halziššatti

"When you call **me** to war, **O my lord His Majesty** ..."

In some cases, like the following, the appearance of clitic-doubling is presented by what may be taken as a misinterpretation:

(5.54) IBoT 1.36 i 3 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 174)

n=**at** LÚ.MEŠ**Ì.DU$_8$-aš** LÚ.MEŠ**KISAL.LUH-aš** pir[an p]ānzi

"**Die Pförtner** <und> **die Vorhofswäscher** geh[en vor]auf" (Jakob-Rost 1966: 175)

"**They** go in front of **the porters and court cleaners**"

Another possible case of misinterpretation is the following:

(5.55) KBo 27.42 i 29-42 (KI.LAM festival, CTH 627, ed. Singer 1984: 55)

GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL=ma=**an kattaninun** par[ā] ēpzi

nu=za LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL ŠU.HI.A-*ŠUN*[*U*] ānšanzi

"The chief of the palace attendants holds out **the linen cloth,** and the king and queen wipe their hands"

Singer (1984: 124) quite reasonably takes *an* here as the clitic pronoun. The idiom *parā ep-* "hold out" is nowhere else construed with a clitic object in the KI.LAM festival, however, and, as Craig Melchert notes (p.c.), it may be possible to understand *an* as the Old Hittite adverbial clitic of the same shape (see Otten & Souček 1969: 81-82 and Josephson 1972: 340). This particle's apparent directional function would probably be appropriate in

context: "the chief of the palace attendants holds out the linen cloth (*sc.* toward the king and queen)". Compare the following passages cited by Otten and Souček (1969: 81-82):

(5.56) a KBo 17.3+ iii 29-30 (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 16)

ug=**a**[(**n** kē)] hūmanda [a]nda pētahhe

"I bring in all the following ..."

b KBo 17.1+ i 20' (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 6)

[n]=e=**n** kiššari=šmi dāi

"He puts them in their hand"

In one instance a manuscript error may be assumed. Thus Güterbock (1951: 160) notes for ^{d}U-*aš* in the following sentence: "Erasure; in view of *na-aš*, ^{D}U-*aš* might be considered as deleted".

(5.57) KUB 17.7+ iv 55' (Song of Ullikummi, ed. Güterbock 1951)

[n]=**aš** ^{d}**U-aš** ^{d}UTU-i EGIR-pa memiškiuwan dāiš

"**He (the Stormgod)** began to reply to the Sungod"

It is also possible that a textual problem lies behind the following example of clitic-doubling:

(5.58) KBo 6.34+ iii 5-11 (Military oath, ed. Oettinger 1976: 12)

nu=wa=kan [(k)]uiš *ANA* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL HUL-lu takkišz[i] ...

n=**an**=kan **DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU** *QADU* D[AM.MEŠ-*ŠU* DUMU.ME]Š-*ŠU*

pankuršit ištarn[a arha harn]inkandu

"Whoever does evil to the king and queen ... let them (*i.e.* the oath-divinities) destroy **him — the person** — right through, together with his wives, his children, (and his) descendants"

Compare the very similar construction in (4.79c) above, where, however, SAG.DU.MEŠ appears in place of DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU here. The latter ideogram is used a second time in the same text as that of (5.58):

(5.59) KBo 6.34+ 34-35 (Military oath, ed. Oettinger 1976: 12)
nu apel É-*ZU IŠTU* **DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU** GU$_4$.HI.A-*ŠU* UDU.HI.A-*ŠU*
QATAMMA šannapilešdu
"Let his house likewise become empty of **people**, cattle, and sheep"

In view of this parallel I therefore suggest emending (5.58) to read *n=an=kan QADU* DUMU.LÚ.U$_{19}$.LU D[AM.MEŠ-*ŠU* ... "let them destroy him together with his people, (namely) his wives, his children, his descendants". If this proves unsatisfactory, then of course (5.58) can be added to the few apparently genuine cases of clitic-doubling cited below.

There is also one case of apparent clitic-doubling which could perhaps instead be taken as evidence for a new double object construction:

(5.60) KBo 17.1+ i 6' (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 5)
partaunit=**uš LUGAL-un MUNUS.LUGAL-ann=a** ašaškizzi
"With the wing he seats **them, the king and queen**"

The Hittite verb *ašeš-* "seat" is frequently used with the specific meaning "seat (on the throne)", "seat (as king)", "install", and is in this respect somewhat like English *crown*. This meaning of *ašeš-* was noticed by Sommer & Falkenstein (1938: 32-33) in connection with the following:

(5.61) a KUB 1.16+ ii 37-38 (Testament of Hattušili I, CTH 6, ed. Sommer & Falkenstein 1938: 7)
[k]āšma ^{m}Muršiliš DUMU-*Y*[*A* nu=z]a ap[ūn šekten nu=]ššan apun
ašešte[n]
"Behold my son Muršili! Recognize him! '**Seat**' him!"

b KUB 1.16+ iii 44 (Testament of Hattušili I, CTH 6, ed. Sommer & Falkenstein 1938: 14)
[nu=šš]an ^{m}Papahdilmaha **ašešer**
"They '**seated**' Papahdilmaha"

For additional examples see Sommer & Falkenstein (1938: 68) and HW^2 387. I suggest that the verb *ašeš-* is in fact even more like English *crown* in that it optionally occurs with a second object; like *crown*, *ašeš-* would have some originally ceremonial reference but, in addition, a metaphorical use. On this view, (5.60) could be interpreted as "with the wing he 'seats' them as king and queen". Of course, since the ceremonial reference of *ašeš-* would have been different from that of *crown*, its metaphorical significance would be different too; in particular, it might not signify ascension to the throne, as *crown* does, but simply some ceremonial activity or status.

Despite the existence of the preceding types of merely apparent clitic-doubling, there is no obvious way to avoid interpreting sentences like those in (5.62) as sentences with actual clitic-doubling, that is, a coreferential clitic and NP which evidently have the same θ-role and underlying syntactic position. This accords with the observation of Kammenhuber (1969: 200) that proleptic direct objects are occasionally attested from Old Hittite on.

(5.62) a KBo 3.28 ii 19' (Palace chronicle fragments, CTH 9)

š=**an** attaš=miš ^{m}**Kizzuwan** natta huenut

"My father didn't let **him**—**Kizzuwa**—run"

b IBoT 1.36 i 5 (Guard protocol, CTH 262, ed. Jakob-Rost 1966: 174)

[**GÍR.GA**]**L.HI.A-*ŠU***=ma=**at**=kan parā ney[ant]eš

"And **they**—**their swords**—are drawn"

c KBo 16.47 obv 6'-7' (Preimperial treaty, CTH 28, ed. Otten 1967: 56)

mahhan=ma=at=**mu** ***ANA*** ^{d}**UTU-*ŠI*** [āšš]auēš n=uš apiniššan maniyahhiškimi

"As they are good **to me**—**His Majesty**—so I will command them"

d KUB 44.63 ii 7'-8' (Medical ritual, CTH 461, ed. Burde 1974: 28)

nu=šši=kan išhar arha tarnai mahhan=ma=**at**=ši=kan **išhar** arha tarnai

"He lets blood off from him. When he lets **it**—**the blood**—off from him ..."

e KUB 6.41 i 40-41 (Kupanta-^{d}LAMMA treaty, CTH 68, ed. Friedrich 1926: 110)

^{m}PÉŠ.TUR-aš=ma=za=kan wašdul kuit uskizzi nu=**mu**=za=kan namma ^{d}[UTU-*ŠI*] mimmaš n=aš=mu piran arha piddāiš

"But because Mašhuiluwa recognized his transgression, he accordingly rejected **me**—**His Majesty**—and he fled away before me"

If there were only one or two cases of this type, it would be possible to attribute them to scribal error—in other words, to assume that clitic-doubling per se was unacceptable in the ordinary language and that the doubled NP was added in copying to clarify the reference of a clitic pronoun. The number of examples in (5.62) does not seem to permit this, however, and this list could probably be augmented by a more complete collection.

It is nevertheless quite difficult to say anything about this phenomenon. In many languages, including English, prolepsis of this type is completely unacceptable: pronouns can be the hosts or targets of apposition, but must in that case be stressed, while unemphatic pronouns are used only in contexts where their reference is clear and no additional information (like apposition) is added. Since the evidence discussed in §4.2.1.5 suggests that Hittite possessive pronouns behave in just this way, the evidence of (5.62) is quite surprising. It is true that there are other contexts where clitic-doubling clearly exists in Hittite, but they are strikingly different from this one. First, in the Old Hittite pleonastic genitive construction discussed in §4.2.2, possessive NPs are doubled by suffixed possessive pronouns, and second, in the late Neo-Hittite pleonastic construction mentioned in note 1 of chapter 3, subject and object clitics are doubled. Unlike the construction of (5.62), however, both of these other constructions are quite common in texts composed while they were productive, and the pleonastic genitive construction at least has a determinable

function.[14] By contrast, the construction of (5.62) is rare at all stages of Hittite, and it is difficult to see what linguistic function it might have. Nevertheless we must accept it, for the moment, in any descriptive typology of Hittite syntactic phenomena.

5.4. Left-Dislocation in Hittite

Left-dislocation is also quite rare in Hittite: I have again collected evidence systematically only from the Old and Middle Hittite texts in my corpus, as well as anecdotally, and have identified only a few cases of left-dislocation. This construction has a more obvious pragmatic interpretation, however, and I am therefore less reluctant to attribute it to Hittite. Compare the following English sentences:

(5.63) a As for **John, he**'ll be here soon

b **Artichokes,** I don't like '**em** much

I take it that syntactic structures of this type are determined by certain (possibly restricted) discourse contexts; since they are permissable in many languages, there is no reason to expect them to be absent from Hittite.

The first type of left-dislocation attested in Hittite is actually relatively common, and is illustrated in (5.64):

(5.64) a KBo 21.20 i 25'-26' (Medical ritual, ed. Burde 1974: 44)

... Ì.UDU pankur zamankur UN-aš šēhur [... GA.]KIN.AG=pat ^{NA_4}KA nu **kī dapian** šaminuzi

"... sheep fat, milk, beard, human urine ... cheese, KA-stone: **all these** he burns"

---

[14] In the same way clitic-doubling is also quite frequent in modern languages with productive clitic-doubling systems, such as various Romance languages.

b KUB 12.58 iii 12ff

[nu=]kan ^{GIŠ}GA.ZUM.HI.A ^{GIŠ}šarran pittar TÚG.GÚ.È.[A GE_6

^{TÚG}GADA.DA]M GE_6 **kuit**=ši=ššan **kuit** anda ēš[ta]

"The combs, the brush?, the wing, the black shirt, the black gaiters:

anything at all which was due to him ...

c KUB 19.49 i 43ff (Manapa-^{d}U treaty)

[nu=wa N]AM.RA.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}Mirā N[AM.RA.M]EŠ ^{URU}GIŠ.PA-ti

[našma=ka]n NAM.RA.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}Arza[uwa **kuiš**=]wa=mu=kan **kuiš**

[parrand]a uwanza

"The deportees of Mirā, the deportees of Hatti, or the deportees of Arzawa:

any people at all who have come over to me ..."

This type presumably has the pragmatic function of its counterparts in many languages, including English:

(5.65) Raindrops on roses and whiskers on kittens, ..., warm woollen mittens, ...

these are a few of my favorite things

Somewhat less common is left-dislocation involving a single word. This type is plainly determined by different factors from the type in (5.64-65), since it lacks the list-like character of the latter. It may be illustrated by (5.66-68)

(5.66) KBo 6.25 + KBo 13.35 iii 3'-4' (Oracle, CTH 540, ed. Riemschneider 1970: 22)

takku SAL-za hasi n=as taswanza **EN É** [*AN*]*A*? 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)"

b StBoT 24 iv 73-74 (Apology of Hattušili III, CTH 80, ed. Otten 1981: 28)

^{DUG}haršiyali=ya=kan išhuiškanzi ^{d}***IŠTAR*** DINGIR-*LIM*=**aš**=mu nu=šmaš=an ^{d}*IŠTAR* šarlaimmin [š]ipanzakanzi

"... and they will fill the vessel. **As for Ištar,** she is my divinity, and they will make libations to her as Ištar the Exalted"

(5.67) a KBo 20.26+ obv 18' (CTH 649, ed. Neu 1980a: 90)

[**LÚ.MEŠ**]**hāpieš** karū=ma=**aš** tarkuanzi

"**As for the *hāpieš*-people,** already **they** are dancing"

b KUB 23.68+ rev 11-14

^{m}**Ehalteš** LÚ ^{URU}Išmiriga [*INA* KUR ^{U}]^{RU}Kizzuwatni=ma=**šši** EGIR-an ^{URU}Zazlippaš URU-aš ... [... i]š LÚ KUR ^{URU}Išmiriga *INA* KUR ^{URU}Kizzuwatni=ma=**šši** ^{URU}Waššuganaš URU-aš ^{m}**Warlawa-LÚ** [LÚ KUR ^{URU}I]šmiriga URU-aš=ma[=**šš**]**i** ^{URU}Ziyaziyaš

"As for **Ehalte**, a man of Išmiriga, beyond Kizzuwatna **his** city is Zazlippa ... as for **—i**, a man of Išmiriga, in Kizzuwatna **his** city is Waššuganna; as for **Warlawaziti**, a man of Išmiriga, **his** city is Ziyaziya"

(5.68) a KBo 17.3+ iv 25-26 (Ritual for the royal couple, CTH 416, ed. Neu 1980a: 17)

^{GIŠ}**harpa=ma** 1-anta LUGAL-aš GÌR-ši kitta MUNUS.LUGAL-aš 1-anta kitta

"**As for the *harpa***, one set lies at the foot of the king, one set lies at the foot of the queen"

b KBo 17.11+ i 36'-38' (Storm ritual, CTH 631, ed. Neu 1980a: 65)
LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUHALDIM [30 harši(n karpanzi **haršiya)l(li=ma)**] 2-e apiya 15 haršiš GE_6 kitt[(a apiya=ya 15 harši)š GE_6 (kitta ud)]anzi
"The waiters and cooks carry thirty breads. **As for storage vessels**, they bring two—here lie 15 black breads, and here lie 15 black breads"

The sentences in (5.66-68) are arranged as follows: the emphatic clitic *ma* does not occur in those in (5.66); in (5.67), *ma* occurs within the sentence proper; and in (5.68), *ma* marks the left-dislocated NP. The pragmatic function of this construction, incidentally, is rather like that of correlative and relative clauses: the relative clause behaves like the left-dislocated NP in (5.66-68), although in neither case would we want to posit actual syntactic movement from within the sentence to some extraposed position. A typical correlative-relative clause pair is the following:

(5.69) KUB 13.4 i 17-18
kuiēš=za DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ZI-an NÍ.TE-ann=a [šak]kanzi n=aš **apāš** ēššandu
"Whoever knows the gods' soul and body, let **him** prepare them"

I conclude that left-dislocation was a feature of Hittite; since it has a straightforward function and is parallelled in many languages, it was also probably acceptable in Anatolian as well under the appropriate discourse-determined conditions. In fact, I see no reason to doubt that this construction was present in Indo-European, in view of sentences of the following Old Irish type (cited by Watkins 1976: 309):

(5.70) Fergus Mac Léti
Loch Rudraige fil it chrích ní-dechais foí
"**As for Lake Rudraige** which is in your territory, you shall not go under it"

5.5. The Origin of the Lycian Topic Construction

I have now reviewed some of the comparative evidence relevant to determining the source of the Lycian topic construction. The three possible accounts of its origin are, to repeat, first, that it continues right-dislocation in some way, second, that it continues intrasentential topicalization in some way, and third, that it continues left-dislocation in some way. I will argue for the third of these accounts, but I will first briefly discuss my reasons for rejecting the other two.

A version of the first account was presented by McCone (1979: 475-80). It must be assumed on any theory that Lycian inherited a system of right-dislocation like the Hittite and Luvian one, in which end-topicalization of subjects and objects was accompanied by clitic-doubling. This first account, then, must posit a reanalysis in the prehistory of Lycian such that the clitic-doubling associated with end-topicalization was extended to topicalization proper. At least two specific reanalyses could be proposed to this end: first, the rule that end-topicalization required clitic-doubling could have been reanalyzed as a rule that any extraction—topicalization as well as end-topicalization—required clitic-doubling; or second, the rule of topicalization could have been reanalyzed as a rule affecting end-topicalized constituents as well as intrasentential ones. This second reanalysis would have allowed end-topicalized constituents, which were obligatorily clitic-doubled, to be topicalized themselves, resulting in apparent topicalization with clitic-doubling. Subsequently, on this view, some rule levelling would have resulted in the Lycian system as it is attested.

Neither of these particular versions of the first diachronic account of the Lycian topic construction is at all plausible. The first version assumes an innovation such that some (presumably definite) topicalized constituents came to be obligatorily clitic-doubled. However, since the diachronic input to this reanalysis would have included no instances of topicalization with clitic-doubling and many instances of topicalization without

clitic-doubling, it is difficult to see how such an innovation could have occurred. The second version is equally problematic: it assumes an extension of the topicalization process to end-topicalized constituents, but, again, in the absence of any pre-existing left-dislocation, the extreme frequency of topicalization without clitic-doubling would have precluded this extension.

The second diachronic account of the Lycian topic construction does not involve the inherent paradoxes of the first one. As Mark Hale observes (p.c.), this account would assume that Lycian inherited intrasentential clitic-doubling in some function, and that like all other intrasentential NPs, clitic-doubled NPs could be topicalized. Subsequently the pragmatic functions of topicalization and intrasentential clitic-doubling could be assumed to have at least partially collapsed, allowing the two structures ultimately to collapse formally as well. In my view, the disadvantage of this account is that while intrasentential clitic-doubling must, as indicated above, be allowed for in Hittite at least, and perhaps in Luvian too, it is quite rare, and its possible pragmatic function is entirely unclear. Since, as I will argue, there is another source for the Lycian topic construction, which is typologically natural as well, it should not be necessary to appeal to the uncertain construction exemplified in (5.62).

On the third account, the Lycian topic construction originated via the diachronic "capture" of left-dislocated NPs of the type illustrated for Hittite in (5.66-68), for Old Irish and Latin in (5.70), and for English in (5.63). As in many languages, such NPs may have been intonationally marked in some way—for instance, as in English, by an intonational break. Using a comma to indicate this, the set of Indo-European patterns in (5.35) may be expanded as follows:

(5.72) a Left-Dislocated NP, TOP + *$m\acute{o}h_2$ + clitics + Sentence

b TOP + *$m\acute{o}h_2$ + clitics + Sentence

c *$m\acute{o}h_2$ + clitics + Sentence

d Left-Dislocated NP, *$m\acute{o}h_2$ + clitics + Sentence

Assuming, as already indicated to account for the comparison of Anatolian *imma* and Latin *immo*, that **móh$_2$* was destressed in Indo-European in the contexts of (5.72a-b)[15], and putting aside (5.72a), which does not survive, pre-Lycian would have inherited the following constructions:

(5.73) a TOP + **me* + clitics + Sentence (< 5.72b)

b **mé* + clitics + Sentence (< 5.72c)

c Left-Dislocated NP, **mé* + clitics + Sentence (< 5.72d)

The pattern of (5.73b) is straightforwardly continued in Lycian, and is not relevant to the evolution of the topic construction. The patterns in (5.73a) and (5.73c) are continued in Lycian by verb and preverb topicalization and definite NP topicalization respectively: as outlined in (5.28), the former is associated with unstressed *me* and no clitic-doubling, and the latter with stressed *mé* and clitic-doubling.

In other words, on this account, sentences like the Lycian one in (5.74a) and the Hittite one in (5.74b), in which sentence-initial preverbs are followed by unstressed *me* or *ma*, are diachronically both continuations of the pattern in (5.35a) and (5.72b).

(5.74) a N 306.3

hri=ñte=me=i : alahadi : tike

"(If) one does bury someone **on top of** him ..."

b KUB 17.7+ iv 18-19

IGI-anda=ma=wa=[šši (k)]ān ^{NA_4}kunkunuz<zi>n tarpanallin šalla[nut]

"He raised up **against** him this Basalt (*sc.* monster) as a supplanter"

Verb topicalization structures are also cognate in the two languages. The critical step in the development of the Lycian system was the reanalysis of the pattern of (5.73c) as a syntactically-driven topicalization structure rather than a discourse-driven left-dislocation

---

[15] The context in (5.72d) would not have triggered this destressing rule, since the special intonational features associated with left-dislocation would have led **móh$_2$* to be treated as phonologically sentence-initial.

one; this may in turn be attributed either to a loss of the intonational break before **mé*, or to a functional collapse of (5.73c) with ordinary definite NP topicalization around **me*, or to both. Essentially similar developments have been suggested for several Romance languages: they may in general be called "grammaticalization" or "syntacticization" of discourse structures, somewhat like the better-known process of morphologization of syntactic structures. The capture of originally extra-sentential material in this case may also be compared to the widespread process by which originally coordinate relative clauses are captured and syntactically subordinated.

If this account is correct, Lycian must have reanalyzed left-dislocated NPs as topicalized only when they were followed by **mé*. However, this is not surprising given the anaphoric function of *me* in Lycian and its distribution when synchronically sentence-initial: as in (5.27b) and (5.30) above, sentence-initial *me* regularly conjoins two clauses if the first is syntactically or semantically dependent on the second. It is plausible that pre-Lycian sentence-initial **mé* was frequent after left-dislocated NPs, explaining its obligatory presence in Lycian's only grammaticalized left-dislocation structure; an equivalent assumption will in any case be necessary on any account.

Since the discourse phenomenon under discussion is limited to definite NPs, the Lycian topic construction with clitic-doubling will originally have been limited to definite NPs. At some stage, then, Lycian possessed all the following types of fronting around **me*:

(5.75) a Definite NP + **mé* + Resumptive Pronoun + ...

b Definite NP + **me* + ...

c Indefinite NP + **me* + ...

d Other constituents + **me* + ...

The original locus of the topic construction was (5.75a), while (5.75b-d) continue inherited topicalization patterns. Subsequent syntactic levelling created the attested Lycian system: first, the use of stressed *mé* was extended to all NP topics, perhaps in part because of a weak functional contrast between the patterns in (5.75a) and (5.75b); and second, the use of

clitic-doubling was extended to all referentially definite topics. These fairly straightforward changes together eliminated (5.75d), and resulted in the attested Lycian topic construction.

5.6. The Lycian Nasal Preterite

The preceding sections may cast some light on a morphological problem. There is a well-known alternation in the Lycian verbal system between preterites ending in a nasalized vowel and those ending in a non-nasalized vowel, such as *axã* "I made" vs. *axa*, *adę* "s/he made" vs. *ade*, and *prñnawatę* "s/he built" vs. *prñnawate*. Note that whatever its origin, it is not necessary to assume that this alternation was always restricted to the preterite, since virtually all present verbs end in a high vowel, and Lycian has no nasalized high vowels. Several scholars have tried to make sense of the alternation between nasal and non-nasal preterites, but the most successful descriptive account is still that of Imbert (1896: 217). Imbert noticed the contrast between the very common type of (5.2) and (5.10) above and the not infrequent sentences like the following:

(5.76) TL 133

Xñtlapã=ne : prñnawate : Perikleh : mahinaza : Epñtibazah ¦ tideimi

"Xñtlapa, *mahinaza* of Perikle, son of Epñtibaza, built it"

According to "Imbert's Rule" (recast in modern terms), if a sentence has the word order Preterite Verb + Subject, it will have both a nasal preterite and direct object clitic-doubling (as in [5.2], [5.10], and now [5.13] and [5.14b]), while if it has the word order Subject + Preterite Verb, it will have neither clitic-doubling nor a nasal preterite (as in [5.76]). This description is in fact fairly accurate (but see now [5.9], [5.78d-e], and TL 28.1). Its defect is that it does not attempt to describe the conditioning for either clitic-doubling or preterite nasalization, and it therefore cannot possibly lead to an explanation of them. Imbert's Rule describes their conditioning only in sentences with preterite verbs and overt subjects, but clitic-doubling is common in sentences without preterite verbs, while neither clitic-doubling

nor a nasal preterite requires an overt subject. The surface position of the subject therefore cannot be directly relevant to either phenomenon.[16]

I will argue, following a suggestion of Craig Melchert (p.c.), that the nasalization of the Lycian nasal preterites is a reflex of the accusative common-gender clitic pronoun **om* > *ę*. These preterites, in my view, originated as Verb + Clitic sequences which were reanalyzed as complex verbs with optional object agreement somewhat like the object agreement found in Bantu and illustrated above. This is typologically a straightforward mechanism for the creation of such object agreement systems, and if it operated in Lycian, it raises a question with important Indo-European implications. The two possible sources of a Verb + Clitic sequence are verb-initial sentences, in which clitics follow the verb as usual by Wackernagel's Law, and sentences in which pronominal clitics appear cliticized to the verb rather than in second position. Sentences of the latter type are attested in Indo-Iranian, where they are an important archaism, as argued by Hale (1987: chapter 3). It is possible that the Lycian nasal preterites reflect a similar syntactic archaism.

On my account, the original locus of preterite nasalization was verbs with common-gender direct object clitics. After their creation, however, they must have been extended secondarily to their attested distribution, which, as I will show, differs from their original distribution. Synchronically, Lycian preterite nasalization marks all verbs with

---

[16] Meriggi (1928: 151-82) suggested as a historical explanation for Imbert's Rule that the Lycian preterite, somewhat like a Romance past participle, was originally a non-finite form which agreed with a preceding lexical direct object. This account is obviously untenable today, and in any case leaves far too many unexplained preterites (both nasal and non-nasal). Other proposals are no better: there is no support for Thomsen's view (1922: 394 [1899: 33-34]) that the nasal preterite has any aspectual function, while Laroche's statement (1979: 87-88) that the alternation between nasal and non-nasal preterite is purely graphic is clearly an act of desperation. Likewise, Carruba's attempt (1984: 65) to connect Lycian preterite nasalization to other "unmotivated" nasalization in Luvo-Lycian proceeds from the explicit assumption that nasal and non-nasal preterites in Lycian are isofunctional. As I will show, they are not.

non-lexical structural objects—in other words, verbs with clitic or null structural objects (although their understood objects may be lexical, as in [5.2] above). One consequence of this is that only logically transitive verbs—never intransitives—should have nasal preterites.

Since definite phrases extracted from S are obligatorily clitic-doubled, my analysis predicts that the distribution of nasal preterites will approximate closely that of clitic direct object pronouns and (less closely) that of extracted (e.g. topicalized) direct objects. This is of course true; as already noticed by Imbert, extremely many nasal preterites co-occur with direct object clitics. The most obvious instances are of the type illustrated in (5.2), (5.10), and (5.13-14) above. In fact, every preterite with a topicalized direct object is nasalized; there are over a hundred in all. Nasal preterites with clitic direct objects but no topicalization appear in (5.5a) above and in (5.77); note in (5.5a) the secondary extension of the nasal preterite to mark verbs with non-common-gender direct objects.

(5.77) a TL 52.1-2

s=**ę pijętę** Wazijeje sej=ęni

"And they **gave it** to Wazije and (his) mother"

b TL 114.2

se=i=**ne** : epñ : **puñtę**

"And afterwards they **engraved** (?) **it** for him"

There are also, as predicted, many (over forty) non-nasal preterites like the following which occur in sentences without clitic pronouns:

(5.78) a TL 40a = 40b

[P]ajawa : Manax[in]e : **prñn[a]wate** : prñn[aw]ā : ebęñnę

"Pajawa Manaxine **built** this building"

b TL 48.6-8

se=tideimi : Padrmmahe | Xudiwazade : **epenętijatte** | Padrmma

"And Xudiwazade, child of Padrmma, **acted as sales agent** for Padrmma"

c TL 150.3-4

prñnawate=ti : ñtatā : atli : ehbi

"... who **built** the sarcophagus for himself"

d N 320.1-2

ęke : Trmmisñ : **xssaθrapazate** : Pigesere : Katamlah : tideimi

"... when Pigesere, child of Katamla, **ruled** Lycia"

e Arbinas II 3 (Laroche 1979: 71)

ęti atrā **pude** Erb[bina]

"Erbbina **engraved** (?) the image above"

The Object + Verb word order of the last two examples is of course not the same as topicalization around *me*, and does not trigger preterite nasalization. Note in (5.78b) the non-nasal preterite of one of Lycian's few preterite intransitive verbs, *epenętijatte* "acted as sales agent". In addition, although the three present verbs which do not end in a high vowel happen not to display final nasalization, they pattern like non-nasal preterites: at TL 9.3, *pije* "he will pay" is followed by its direct object *alaladahali* "the burial fee"; and *ube* "dedicates" at TL 44c.13-14 and *erije* (meaning unknown) at TL 29.7, both in unclear contexts, lack clitic objects.

There are several sentences in which nasal preterites do not co-occur with clitic object pronouns because of independent rules of Lycian grammar which allow such pronouns to be omitted. These sentences all involve sentential subordination, and they confirm that Lycian preterite nasality marks verbs whose structural objects may be null pronouns rather than overt lexical NPs or clitic pronouns. Most sentences of this type include nasal preterites with postposed or embedded relative clauses:

(5.79) a TL 87.4-5

me=i=pñ : **pudę** : ti=ñte | xahba : [eh]bi : Wazzije : kbatra

"Afterwards his grandchild, daughter of Wazzije, **engraved** (?) here what (is) inside"

b N 320.11-12

se=i=**pijętę** : arawã : ehbiję : esi=ti

"And they **gave** to him freely what is his"

c N 320.14-15

me=**xbaitę** : zã : ese=Xesñtedi : qñtati : se=Pigręi

"They **irrigated** (?) the allotment both Xesñtedi and Pigręi till"[17]

d N 320.22-24

se=waj=**aitę** : kumaha : ęti sttali : ppuweti : kmmę : ebehi : xñtawataha : Xbideñnaha : se RKKazumaha

"And they **made** sacred to the lord of Kaunos and to ArKKazuma however much they engrave (?) on this stele"

The understood object of each verb here is an NP within the relative clause—*ti* "what" in (5.79a-b), *zã* "the allotment" in (5.79c), and *kmmę* "however much" in (5.79d)—but in each instance its structural object, an expected object clitic in the correlative clause, is syntactically gapped.[18] The following example, as well as (5.7b) and N 320.41, confirm that proleptic correlative pronouns may be omitted:

(5.80) N 320.29-30

me kumezidi : Seimija : se=de : Seimijaje : xuwati=ti

"Seimija and whoever succeeds (?) Seimija will sacrifice"

---

[17] I take this sentence to contain either a null relative pronoun (as in the English gloss) or haplology (*qñtati<=ti>*).

[18] A probable additional example of this type appears at TL 83.6-8: *me=i=ñtepi : ta[sñti] epñ=[e]pi ppu[w]ęti tiję [xup]a: eb[ehi] alāma* "they will inter here (those) whose names (?) they afterwards engrave (?) on this tomb". Here, however, *me* is formally ambiguous, since it could contain the plural direct-object clitic *e*.

If this rule is inherited, and if nasal preterites continue Verb + Object Pronoun sequences, such preterites would not originally have been appropriate in this context, and must have been secondarily extended to this function.

There is in addition one nasal preterite whose logical complement is sentential *stricto sensu* rather than embedded in a relative clause. Like the nasal preterites of (5.79), this lacks an object pronoun:

(5.81) N 320.5-7

me=hñti=**tubedę** : Arus : sej=epewętlmmęi : Arñnāi : mmaitę : kumeziyę : *θθ*ę : xñtawati : Xbidęñni : sej=ArKKazuma : xñtawati

"Xanthos and the *perioikoi* of Xanthos **decided** they would make sacred an altar to the lord of Kaunos and lord ArKKazuma"[19]

However, as (5.82) shows, pleonastic pronouns may be omitted if they anticipate sentential complements:

---

[19] The Greek reads: "the Xanthians and the *perioikoi* decided to dedicate an altar to the king of Kaunos and to Arkesima". The verb *tube-* occurs only here and at Arbinas II 13 (Laroche 1979: 62), where it must be transitive, since a clitic direct object *ene* is present. In (5.81), however, the verb lacks an obvious object. I therefore suggest a meaning like "decide" and a subcategorization frame which permits either an accusative direct object ("to decide something") or a sentential complement ("to decide that ..."). In context, the following sentence is clearly what the Xanthians decided. I translate *mmaitę* as "they would make" because, whatever its precise analysis (see Melchert 1989a: 40 with references), it is likely to be a preterite third-person plural verb meaning at least approximately "they made", and it is contextually subordinate. As a parallel to this construction with overt coordination but understood subordination, compare N 320.20-22, *se smmati xddazas epi=de arawa hāti kmmętis me=i pibiti sixlas* "and they shall oblige (?) however many slaves they set free to give shekels" (after Melchert 19xx). A nasal preterite is predicted for *mmaitę* if, as I translate, its direct object *θθę xñtawati Xbidęñni sej=ArKKazuma xñtawati* "an altar to the lord of Kaunos and lord ArKKazuma" has been extracted rightward. (Note that the Greek glosses *mmaitę kumeziyę* as "to dedicate an altar" rather than "to make a sacred altar".) There is no object clitic because the direct object is indefinite.

(5.82) N 320.40-41

Pigesereje : me=ij=eseri=hhati : me=hriqla : asñne : pzziti=ti

"They will leave (it) to Pigesere to do what the acropolis orders done"

There are several classes of sentences in Lycian which seem to counter-exemplify my characterization of the synchronic distribution of the nasal preterites, but which in fact either confirm it or have plausible independent explanations. First, there is the first-person singular preterite middle verb *axagã* "I became" identified by Melchert (1990a):

(5.83) TL 44c.3-4

me=ñ[n]=emu : **axagã** : maraza

"I **became** arbitrator for them"

Since this verb is intransitive, it cannot have a direct object of any kind and therefore should not exhibit a nasal preterite. Calvert Watkins (p.c.) suggests an alternative explanation, however: the ending *-xagã* is simply the iterated form of the Hieroglyphic Luvian first-person preterite middle ending *-han*, shown to be singular by Carruba (1984: 60-62; see further Melchert 1990a). If this is correct, then Lycian [*si*]*xani* "I lie", identified as a present middle by Melchert (1990a), surely contains the expected present of *-han* (unattested in Luvian).

The major class of apparent counter-evidence to my analysis of the Lycian nasal preterite consists of twelve sentences of the following type[20]:

(5.84) a TL 31.1-2

Upazij=ęne : prñnawate | hrppi : prñnezi : ehbi

"Upazi **built it** for his household"

---

[20] The others appear in (5.8) above and TL 27.2, 62.1-3, 98.1-2, 99, 116.1-2, 126.1-2, 127.1-2, 131.1, and 133.1-2.

b N 311

[Erb]binaj=**ẹne ubete** xruwata Ertẹmi

"Erbbina **dedicated it** as an offering to Artemis"

In each of these sentences a non-nasal preterite has a clitic direct object pronoun. However, another feature they all share suggests that they may ultimately confirm rather than disprove my proposal. In all of these sentences the direct object clitic follows a sentence-initial subject. This pattern is systematic: nasal preterites are never preceded immediately by sentence-initial subjects.

As mentioned above, the Verb + Clitic sequence continued (on my account) by the Lycian nasal preterite could in principle reflect a stage when direct object clitics cliticized to the verb rather than to Wackernagel's position. Sentences like those in (5.84) argue strongly against this view, since they can be explained straightforwardly on the alternative view that preterite nasalization continues sentence-initial Verb + Clitic sequences. Unfortunately, this explanation requires an assumption about the prehistory of Lycian for which there is at present no independent confirmation. The assumption is that at some stage of pre-Lycian, a sentence-initial word order Subject + Verb was at least fairly common. The subject would of course have been optional and in most cases omitted. In null-subject sentences of this type, the verb would have been sentence-initial and thus followed by any clitics. Such sentence-initial verbs followed by the accusative clitic **om* > *ẹ* were the original locus for the creation of the nasal preterite. Ultimately, while the complex verb which resulted from this sequence was subsequently extended beyond its original domain, it never spread to one structure where it was historically improper: sentences with initial subjects. In such sentences clitics had always preceded the verb, and they still do in attested Lycian.

A similar apparently problematic sentence appears in (5.9) above, where a non-nasal preterite co-occurs with a clitic direct object pronoun. However, the sequence in question, *pijete=ñn=ẹ* "he gave it to them", is actually expected on my account. If nasal preterites

originated in the sequence Verb + Accusative Clitic, they would have been historically improper whenever another clitic interrupted that sequence. In most cases this was impossible, but as noted above, the dative plural clitic regularly appears before any direct object clitic. The sequence Verb + Dative Plural Clitic + Accusative Clitic, as here, would therefore not have led directly to the nasal preterite, and, as a synchronically unmotivated archaism in Lycian, still does not occur with nasal preterites.

There remain some nasal preterites which are unexpected on my account of this morphological class and for which I have no convincing explanation. Two examples appear in (5.85), where the word order, Direct Object + Beneficiary, shows that the direct object has not been extracted, as does the absence of a direct object clitic, but the nasal preterite *pijetę* appears twice.

(5.85) TL 36.5-6

se **pijetę : hrzzi : ñtatã** : ladi : ehbi : se mñneτeidehe | esedęnnewi se **pijetę : ętri : ñtatã** : prñnezi : atlahi

"And he **gave the upper sarcophagus** to his wife and to the collateral descendents of Mñneτeide, and he **gave the lower sarcophagus** to his own household"

It does not seem likely that these forms are conditioned in the manner I have described above. It is unnecessary to assume that this conditioning must be responsible for all preterites with final nasal vowels, however; for example, as Craig Melchert points out (p.c.), since the nasal associated with some forms of the Indo-European and Anatolian middle survived in Lycian (see above), it is in principle entirely possible that some "nasal preterites" are in fact middles, even if we cannot yet identify them securely. For this reason, and in view of the numerous nasal and non-nasal preterites whose distribution follows precisely from my account in conjunction with independently motivated features of Lycian

and Anatolian grammar, the few cases like (5.85) should not be taken as an indication that this account is essentially incorrect.[21]

It may be possible in conclusion to clarify in part the usage of the problematic Lycian word for "oath". This word has four forms, *tasa*, *tesi*, an ergative *teseẹti*, and an extremely uncertain *tese*, of which the last two are irrelevant here. The form *tasa* occurs five times and *tesi* eleven or twelve times (Melchert 1989a: 64). Of these the contexts cited by Laroche (1979: 117, line 1) and at TL 5.7 are too unclear to be useful, while the phrase *tasa miñtaha* "oaths of the miñti" at TL 75.5 establishes *tasa* (at least once) as an absolutive plural form, but is otherwise irrelevant. At TL 114.3 = 115.2-3, the sentence *me=i awahai tesi aladahali*, followed by a price, is also too unclear to be helpful.

Each of the remaining twelve instances of *tesi* or *tasa* is construed with either *ta-* "put" or *a-* "make", and is immediately postverbal. I will consider these constructions in turn, beginning with a somewhat uncharacteristic instance of the idiom *tasa/tesi ta-* (compare the important treatment of Bryce 1976, especially pp. 187-90):

(5.86) a TL 4.3-5

s=**ed**=i | ñta [t]**adẹ** tesi : miñti : aladehali : **adẹ III**

"And he **has put** here **3 adas** as a pledge to the miñti for the burial fee"

---

[21] I will mention here a few other unexpected nasal preterites. At TL 44c.4, *me ubu hãtẹ kbijẹti*, *ubu* looks like the direct object of *hãtẹ* "they released", but in view of the word order and uncertain meaning, this may contain a compound *ubu-hãtẹ* like *pddẹ-hadẹ* at N 320.3. A second, at TL 44b.51-52, *se=dde tuwetẹ kumezija Tere Tere trqqñti pddãtahi* "and it placed sacred precincts *Tere Tere* to the local Trqqñt", is followed by a list of (right-extracted) precincts, which might motivate the verbal nasalization. Other apparent problems are the following: *se=i=pñ=pudẹ idãxre maxah xahbu xili* "and afterwards Idãxre engraved (??) here the grandchild of Maxa, Xili" (TL 78.5); and *se=i pijẹtẹ pijatu miñti* [ẹ]*tri xupu* [*s*]*ixli aladehxxãne se hrzzi tupmme sixla* "and they gave here, as a gift to the miñti, the lower tomb for a shekel *aladehxxãne* and the upper for two shekels" (TL 57.4-5). In both cases rightward extraction may be possible. Additional problems arise in connection with the already unclear word *hrmmã* at TL 84.3-4, 84.5, and 149.13.

My translation can be justified as follows. This sentence has a clitic pronoun *ed(e)* "it"; if this is not proleptic, then of course there is no other overt direct object. If it is proleptic, however, and if *tesi* is the direct object—with the idiom *ñta ta- tesi* meaning something like "take an oath"—then *ed(e)* must double *tesi*. But since *tesi* is not extracted from S, as it should be if clitic-doubled, it must not be a direct object. (This is confirmed by TL 36.3-4, in which the same formula is used but the word *tasa/tesi* is omitted, as should be impossible for a direct object.) It is possible that *tesi* is dative in this construction: it would then mean "in an oath" or "on oath"; compare Hittite *linkiya kattan dai-* "place under oath". Now (5.86) presents at the same time the only instance in Lycian of the form *adẹ* and the only instance in this formula of the absolutive singular clitic. Craig Melchert (p.c.) suggests that the direct object of *tadẹ* may in fact be the NP *adẹ* III "3 adas" (compare HE §194 on Hittite singular nouns with plural numerals). If so, then the form *adẹ* is absolutive singular, and since it is extracted rightward, it is by rule doubled by *ed(e)*. I therefore interpret the construction *ñta ta-* X *tesi* as "put X as an oath/pledge", and translate as indicated. This interpretation is confirmed by the following[22]:

(5.87) TL 42.4

s=**e**=ije=**ñtadẹ** : tesi : miñti : aladaheli : **ada** : **II**

"And he **has put** here **2 adas** as a pledge to the miñti for the burial fee"

On the assumption that these inscriptions are highly formulaic, (5.87) should parallel (5.86); therefore, if *adẹ* III is the direct object in (5.86), *ada* II "two adas", which occupies the same position in the formula, should be the direct object in (5.87). The form *ada* is absolutive plural, however, and if it too is clitic-doubled, it should be doubled by the absolutive plural clitic *e* discussed in §5.1.3.1 above, a clitic which, as I have indicated, may in fact appear in the sequence *se* in (5.87).

---

[22] Compare TL 38.7-9, 39.7-8, 47.2-3, 50.1-2, 114.1, and 115.1.

The remaining instances of the construction with *ta-* "put" involve a plural *tasa*, which must be either absolutive or dative. Parallelism would again indicate the following interpretation:

(5.88) TL 31.3-6

s=e=ije : ñta **tãtę** : tasa : miñta : meleime | sej=aladahali : **ada : III-**

"And they **have put** here **3 1/2 adas** as the miñti's oaths for *meleime* and for the burial fee"

The other verb with which *tesi/tasa* is construed is *a-* "make": compare precisely Hittite *takšul iya-* "make a treaty". I understand this Lycian idiom as follows:

(5.89) TL 115.1-2 (cf. TL 114.1-2)

Esedep:lęmeje : me=j=**adę** : **tesi** : miñti | awahai : xupa : ebehi

"For Esedeplęmi one **has made an oath** to the miñti *awahai* in this tomb"

The apparent problem with this interpretation is, of course, that *tesi* looks like the direct object of a nasalized preterite verb. This problem is only apparent, however: despite the general sense, verbs meaning "make" are commonly construed with two objects, and it is not certain that *tesi* is syntactically a direct object rather than a second object. I would take (5.89) literally as "... one has made as an oath to the miñti ...", understanding "*awahai* in this tomb" as not only the content of the oath but the logical object of the verb. It may be the syntactic object as well, or it may be anticipated by a null proleptic pronoun: "one has made it as an oath ..."

The other instance of the construction with *a-* is the following:

(5.90) N 320.30-32

s=e=ij=ehbij=**aitę** : tasa : mere : ebette : teteri : Arñnas :

sej=epewętlmmęi : Arñnãi

"And the city of Xanthos and the *perioikoi* of Xanthos **made** oaths to him regarding these laws"

A possible analysis of this sentence is that all three NPs have been extracted rightward: the subject *teteri Arñnas sej=epewętlmmęi Arñnāi* "the city of Xanthos and the *perioikoi* of Xanthos"; the dative complement *mere ebette* "regarding these laws"; and (vacuously) the direct object *tasa* "oaths". The subject of a transitive verb is naturally not clitic-doubled, but both the neuter direct object and the dative complement are clitic-doubled (by *e* and *i(j)* respectively). This analysis is by no means certain, and it should be noted in particular that the NP *ehbi(j)* ... *tasa* "oaths to him" (if this interpretation is correct) is syntactically quite unusual.

References

Abbreviations

AANL = Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche

AnSt = Anatolian Studies

ArOr = Archiv Orientální

BSL = Bulletin de la Societé de linguistique de Paris

HS = Historische Sprachforschung (formerly KZ)

IES = Indo-European Studies

IF = Indogermanische Forschungen

JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies

JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies

KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung

Lg = Language

LI = Linguistic Inquiry

MIO = Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung

MSS = Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft

MVAeG = Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft

NELS = Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society

RHA = Revue hittite et asianique

StBoT = Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

THeth = Texte der Hethiter

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

Aissen, Judith L. 1987. Tzotzil clause structure. (Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory.) Dordrecht.

Alp, Sedat. 1980. "Die hethitischen Tontafelentdeckungen auf dem Maşat-Höyük". Türk Tarih Kurumu Belletin 44/173: 25-59.

Archi, Alfonso. 1979. "L'humanité des hittites". Florilegium Anatolicum: mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche: 37-48. Paris.

Baker, Mark C. 1988. Incorporation. Chicago.

——. 1989. "Object sharing and projection in serial verb constructions". LI 20: 513-53.

Beckman, Gary M. 1982. "The Anatolian myth of Illuyanka". Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society 14: 11-25.

——. 1983. Hittite birth rituals. 2nd ed. (StBoT 29.) Wiesbaden.

Benveniste, Émile. 1962. "Les substantifs en *-ant* du hittite". BSL 57: 44-51.

——. 1969. Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes. 2 vols. Paris.

Brugmann, Karl. 1892. Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, 2/2. Strassburg.

Bresnan, Joan, and Sam Mchombo. 1987. "Topic, pronoun, and agreement in Chichewa". Lg 63: 741-82.

Bryce, Trevor R. 1976. "Burial fees in the Lycian sepulchral inscriptions". AnSt 26: 175-90.

——. 1986. The Lycians in literary and epigraphic sources. (The Lycians, 1.) Copenhagen.

Buck, Carl Darling. 1955. The Greek dialects. Chicago.

Burde, Cornelia. 1974. Hethitische medizinische Texte. (StBoT 19.) Wiesbaden.

Carruba, Onofrio. 1966. Das Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wišurijanza. (StBoT 2.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1969. Die satzeinleitenden Partikeln in den indogermanischen Sprachen Anatoliens. Rome.

——. 1970. Das Palaische: Texte, Grammatik, Lexikon. (StBoT 10.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1971. "Hattusili II". Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici 14 (Incunabula Graeca, 47): 75-94.

——. 1979. "Commento alle nuove iscrizioni di Licia". Studia mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata, ed. Onofrio Carruba: 1.75-95. Aurora.

——. 1982. "Der Kasus auf *-sa* des Luwischen". Investigationes philologicae et comparativae: Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser, ed. Erich Neu: 1-15. Wiesbaden.

——. 1984. "Nasalization im Anatolischen". Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici 24: 57-69.

——. 1986. "Die 3. Per. Sing. des Possessivpronomens im Luwischen". Kaniššuwar: a tribute to Hans G. Güterbock (Assyriological Studies, 23), ed. Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., and Gary M. Beckman: 49-52. Chicago.

——, Vladimir Souček, and Reinhard Sternemann. 1965. "Kleine Bemerkungen zur jüngsten Fassung der hethitischen Gesetze". ArOr 33: 1-18.

Chantraine, Pierre. 1984. Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Paris.

Chomsky, Noam. 1986. Barriers. (Linguistic Inquiry Monograph, 13.) Cambridge, Mass.

Cornil, P., and René Lebrun. 1972. "La restauration de Nérik (*KUB XXI, 8, 9 et 11 = Cat. 75*)". Hethitica 1: 15-30.

Delbrück, Berthold. 1893. Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen. Erster Theil. (Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, 3.) Strassburg.

Disterheft, Dorothy. 1984. "Non-final verbs in Hittite". KZ 97: 221-27.

Duranti, Alessandro, and Elinor Ochs. 1979. "Left-dislocation in Italian conversation". Discourse and syntax (Syntax and semantics, 12), ed. Talmy Givón: 377-416. New York.

Eichner, Heiner. 1971. "Urindogermanisch *k^we 'wenn' im Hethitischen". MSS 29: 27-46.

——. 1979. "Hethitisch *genuššus*, *ginušši*, *ginuššin*". Hethitisch und Indogermanisch (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft), ed. Erich Neu and Wolfgang Meid: 41-61. Innsbruck.

——. 1982-83. "Zur Genese der hethitischen Vokative auf *-i* und *-e*". KZ 96: 233-40.

Forrer, Emil. 1926-1929. Forschungen. 2 vols. Berlin.

Friedrich, Johannes. 1925. "Ein Bruchstück des Vertrages Mattiwaza-Šuppiluliuma in hethitischer Sprache?" Archiv für Keilschriftforschung 2: 119-24.

——. 1926. Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. 1. Teil. (MVAeG 31/1.) Leipzig.

——. 1930. Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. 2. Teil. (MVAeG 34/1.) Leipzig.

——. 1932. Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler. (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 163.) Berlin.

——. 1952. Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg.

——. 1959. Die hethitischen Gesetze. Leiden.

——. 1960. Hethitisches Elementarbuch. 2nd ed. Heidelberg.

——, and Annelies Kammenhuber. 1975ff. Hethitisches Wörterbuch. 2nd ed. Heidelberg.

Freydank, Helmut. 1959-60. "Eine hethitische Fassung des Vertrages zwischen dem Hethiterkönig Šuppiluliuma und Aziru von Amurru". MIO 7: 356-81.

——. 1970. "Zu *para tarna-* und der Deutung von KUB XIII 9+". ArOr 38: (259)

Garrett, Andrew. 1988. "Preposition incorporation in Homeric Greek". Unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America.

——. 1989. "Ergative case assignment, Wackernagel's Law, and the VP Base Hypothesis". NELS 19: 113-26.

——. 1990. "The origin of NP split ergativity". Lg 66: 261-96.

Georgiev, Vladimir. 1965. "Das hethitisch-luwische Deminutivsuffix *-ant-*." ArOr 33: 175-82.

Götze, Albrecht. 1925a. Hattušiliš: Der Bericht über sein Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexten. (MVAeG 29/3.) Leipzig.

——. 1925b. "Das hethitische Fragment des Šunaššura-Vertrags". ZA 36: 11-18.

——. 1928. Madduwattaš. (MVAeG 32/1.) Leipzig.

——. 1929. "Die Pestgebete des Muršiliš". Kleinasiatische Forschungen, ed. Ferdinand Sommer and Hans Ehelof, 1/2: 161-251. Weimar.

——. 1930. Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Text des Hattušiliš und den Paralleltexten. (MVAeG 34/2.) Leipzig.

——. 1933. Die Annalen des Muršiliš. (MVAeG38.) Leipzig.

—— [Albrecht Goetze]. 1940. Kizzuwatna and the problem of Hittite geography. (Yale Oriental Series, Researches, 22.) New Haven.

Grimshaw, Jane. 1987. "Unaccusatives—an overview". NELS 17: 244-58.

Güterbock, Hans Gustav. 1951. "The song of Ullikummi". Part one. JCS 5: 135-61.

——. 1952. "The song of Ullikummi". Part two. JCS 6: 8-42.

——. 1956. "The deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his son, Mursili II". JCS 10: 41-68, 75-130.

——. 1967. "The Hittite conquest of Cyprus reconsidered". JNES 26: 73-81.

——. 1983. "Noch einmal die Formel *parnaššea šuwaizzi*". Orientalia n.s. 52: 73-80.

——, and Harry A. Hoffner. 1980ff. The Hittite dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago.

Haas, Volkert, and Liane Jakob-Rost. 1984. "Das Festritual des Gottes Telipinu in Hanhana und in Kašha". Altorientalische Forschungen 11: 10-91, 204-36.

Hagenbuchner, Albertine. 1989. Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter. 2. Teil. (THeth 16.) Heidelberg.

Hahn, E. Adelaide. 1942. "The indefinite-relative-interrogative stem *sem- sm- smo-*". Lg 18: 83-116.

Hale, Mark. 1987a. "Studies in the comparative syntax of the oldest Indo-Iranian languages". Harvard University dissertation.

——. 1987b. "Notes on Wackernagel's Law in the language of the Rigveda." Studies in memory of Warren Cowgill (1929-1985), ed. Calvert Watkins (Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft, 3): 38-50. Berlin.

——. 1990a. "The revitalization of a movement process in the older Indo-European languages". To appear in IES 5.

——. 1990b. "Studies in Homeric configurational syntax". To appear in IES 5.

Hart, Gillian R. 1971. "The Hittite particle *-PAT*". Transactions of the Philological Society: 94-162.

Hawkins, David. 1970. "Hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions of Commagene." AnSt 20: 69-117.

——. 1980. "The 'Autobiography of Ariyahinas's son': an edition of the Hieroglyphic Luwian stelae *Tell Ahmar* 1 and *Aleppo* 2". AnSt 30: 139-56.

——, A. Morpurgo-Davies, and G. Neumann. 1974. Hittite hieroglyphs and Luwian: new evidence for the connection. (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Nachrichten, 1973/6.) Göttingen.

Held, Warren H., Jr. 1957. The Hittite relative sentence. (Lg Dissertation, 55.) Baltimore.

Hoffner, Harry A., Jr. 1973a. "Studies of the Hittite particles, I". Journal of the American Oriental Society 93: 520-26.

——. 1973b. "The Hittite particle *-PAT*". Festschrift Heinrich Otten, ed. Erich Neu and Christel Rüster: 99-117. Wiesbaden.

——. 1986a. "Studies in Hittite grammar". Kaniššuwar: a tribute to Hans G. Güterbock (Assyriological Studies, 23), ed. Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., and Gary M. Beckman: 83-94. Chicago.

——. 1986b. "The Song of Silver: a member of the Kumarbi cycle of 'songs' ". Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae: Festschrift für Heinrich Otten zum 75. Geburtstag, ed. Erich Neu and Christel Rüster: 143-66. Wiesbaden.

——. 1987. "Paskuwatti's ritual against sexual impotence". Aula Orientalis 5: 271-87.

Houwink ten Cate, Philo H.J. 1966. "The ending *-d* of the Hittite possessive pronoun". RHA 24/79: 123-32.

——. 1973. "The particle *-a* and its usage with respect to the personal pronoun". Festschrift Heinrich Otten, ed. Erich Neu and Christel Rüster: 119-39. Wiesbaden.

——, and Folke Josephson. 1967. "Muwatallis' prayer to the Storm-god of Kummanni (KBo XI 1)". RHA 25/81: 101-40.

Jasanoff, Jay. 1973. "The Hittite ablative in *-anz(a)*." MSS 31: 123-28.

Imbert, J. 1898. "Une epitaphe lycienne (Myra 4)". Mémoires de la Societé de linguistique de Paris 9: 192-232.

Jakob-Rost, Liane. 1966. "Beiträge zum hethitischen Hofzeremoniell (IBoT I 36)". MIO 11: 165-225.

Josephson, Folke. 1972. The function of the sentence particles in Old and Middle Hittite. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Indoeuropaea Upsaliensia, 2). Uppsala.

Kaisse, Ellen. 1985. Connected speech: the interaction of syntax and phonology. Orlando, Florida.

Kalinka, Ernestus. 1901. Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti. (Tituli Asiae Minoris, 1.) Vienna.

Kammenhuber, Annelies. 1969. "Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch, und Hieroglyphenluwisch". Altkleinasiatische Sprachen (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1/2/1-2/2): 119-357, 428-546. Leiden.

——. 1985. "Zum Modus Injunktiv und zum Drei-Genus-System im Ur-Indogermanischen (ca. 3000-2500 v. Chr.)". Studia linguistica diachronica et synchronica Werner Winter sexagenario, ed. Ursula Pieper and Gerhard Stickel: 435-66. Berlin.

Kempinski, Aharon, and Silvin Košak. 1970. "Der Išmeriga-Vertrag". Welt des Orients 5: 191-217.

Krause, Wolfgang. 1956. "Bemerkungen zu dem nominalen *nt*-Suffix im Hethitischen und Tocharischen". Mnēmēs kharin: Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer, ed. Heinz Kronasser: 189-99. Vienna.

Kronasser, Heinz. 1961. "Fünf hethitische Rituale". Sprache 7: 140-67.

——. 1962. "Die *nt*-erweiterten Substantiva des Hethitischen". Sprache 8: 213-19.

——. 1963-66. Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache. Wiesbaden.

Kühne, Cord, and Heinrich Otten. 1971. Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag. (StBoT 16.) Wiesbaden.

Kümmel, Hans Martin. 1967. Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König. (StBoT 3.) Wiesbaden.

Kuno, Susumu. 1972. "Functional sentence perspective: A case study from Japanese and English". LI 3: 269-320.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1981. Topic, antitopic and verb agreement in non-standard French. Amsterdam.

Laroche, Emmanuel. 1951. "Études de vocabulaire IV". RHA 11/53: 62-71.

——. 1959. Dictionnaire de la langue louvite. (Bibliothéque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, 6.) Paris.

——. 1962. "Un 'ergatif' en indo-européen d'Asie Mineure". BSL 57: 23-43.

——. 1968. Textes mythologiques hittites en transcription, 2e partie: Mythologie d'origine étrangère. RHA 26/82.

——. 1969. "Vocatif et cas absolu en anatolien". Athenaeum 47: 173-78.

——. 1970. "Études de linguistique anatolienne, III". RHA 28: 22-71.

——. 1971. Catalogue des textes hittites. 2nd ed. (Études et commentaires, 75.) Paris.

——. 1972. "Catalogue des textes hittites; premier supplément". RHA 30: 94-133.

——. 1979. "L'inscription lycienne". Fouilles de Xanthos 6: 51-129.

Lasnik, Howard, and Juan Uriagereka. 1988. A course in GB syntax: lectures on binding and empty categories. (Current Studies in Linguistics, 17.) Cambridge, Mass.

Lebrun, René. 1976. Samuha. (Publications de l'institut orientaliste de Louvain, 11.) Louvain-la-neuve.

——. 1980. Hymnes et prières hittite. (Homo Religiosus, 4.) Louvain-la-neuve.

——. 1985. "L'aphasie de Mursili II = CTH 486". Hethitica 6: 103-38.

Li, Charles N., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1976. "Subject and topic: a new typology of language". Subject and topic, ed. Charles N. Li: 457-89.

Lindeman, Frederik Otto. 1986. "Anatolien et indo-européen: addendum à *BSL*. 57, 23 sqq." BSL 81: 371-73.

Macdonell, Arthur Anthony. 1916. A Vedic grammar for students. Oxford.

Massam, Diane, and Yves Roberge. 1989. "Recipe context null objects in English". LI 20: 134-39.

McCone, Kim R. 1979. "The diachronic possibilities of the Indo-European 'amplified' sentence: a case history from Anatolian". Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi, ed. B. Brogyanyi, vol. 1: 467-87. Amsterdam.

Melchert, H. Craig. 1977. Ablative and instrumental in Hittite. Harvard University dissertation.

——. 1984a. Studies in Hittite historical phonology. (KZ Ergänzungsheft, 32.) Göttingen.

——. 1984b. "Notes on Palaic". KZ 97: 22-43.

——. 1985. "Hittite *imma* and Latin *immo*". KZ 98: 184-205.

——. 1988. "Luvian lexical notes". HS 101: 211-43.

——. 1989a. Lycian lexicon. (Lexica Anatolica, 1.) Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

——. 1989b. "New Luvo-Lycian isoglosses". HS 102: 23-45.

——. 1990a. "The middle voice in Lycian". To appear in IES 5.

——. 1990b. "Relative chronology and Anatolian: the vowel system". To appear in Proceedings of the VIII. Fachtagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft, ed. R.S.P. Beekes et al.

——. 1990c. "Aspects of Cuneiform Luvian nominal inflection". To appear in Festschrift for Charles Carter, ed. Yoel Arbeitman.

Meriggi, Piero. 1928. "Über einige lykische Pronominal- und Verbalformen". IF 46: 151-82.

——. 1980. Schizzo grammaticale dell'Anatolico. (AANL, Memorie, Serie 8, 24/3.) Rome.

Neu, Erich. 1968. Interpretationen der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen. (StBoT 5.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1974. Der Anitta-Text. (StBoT 18.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1979a. "Zum sprachlichen Alter des Hukkana-Vertrages". KZ 93: 64-84.

——. 1979b. "Hethitisch *kurur* und *taksul* in syntaktischer Sicht". Studia mediterranea 2: 407-427.

——. 1980a. Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift. (StBoT 25.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1980b. Studien zum endungslosen "Lokativ" des Hethitischen. (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften, 23.) Innsbruck.

——. 1983. Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten. (StBoT 26.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1988. "Zur Grammatik des Hurritischen auf den Grundlage der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus der Boğazköy-Grabungskampagne 1983". Hurriter und Hurritisch 2 (Xenia: Konstanzer Althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen, 21), ed. Volkert Haas: 95-115. Konstanz.

——. 1989. "Zum Alter der personifizierenden *-ant*-Bildung des Hethitischen". HS 102: 1-15.

Neumann, Günter. 1962. "Beiträge zum Lykischen II". Sprache 8: 203-12.

——. 1969. "Lykisch". Altkleinasiatische Sprachen (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1/2/1-2/2): 358-96. Leiden.

——. 1978. "Spätluwische Namen". KZ 92: 126-31.

——. 1979. Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 135 = Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris, 7.) Vienna.

Nevis, Joel Ashmore. 1986. Finnish particle clitics and general clitic theory. (Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics, 33.) Columbus, Ohio.

Newmeyer, F.J. 1986. Linguistic theory in America. 2nd ed. Orlando, Florida.

Oettinger, Norbert. 1976. Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter. (StBoT 22.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1979. Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums. (Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, 64.) Nürnberg.

——. 1981. "Hethitisch *ganenant-* 'gebeugt, durstig' ". MSS 40: 143-53.

——. 1982. "Die Dentalerweiterung von *n*-Stämmen und Heteroklitika im Griechischen, Anatolischen, und Altindischen". Serta indogermanica: Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 40), ed. Johann Tischler: 233-45. Innsbruck.

Otten, Heinrich. 1950. Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen, 3.) Berlin.

——. 1951. "Ein althethitischer Vertrag mit Kizzuvatna". JCS 5: 129-32.

——. 1955. "Neue Fragmente zu den Annalen des Muršili". MIO 3: 153-79.

——. 1957. "Zwei althethitische Belege zu den Hapiru (SA.GAZ)". ZA 52: 216-23.

——. 1958. Hethitische Totenrituale. (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen, 37.) Berlin.

——. 1959. "Korrespondenz mit Tukulti-Ninurta I. aus Boğazköy". In Ernst Weidner, Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger: 64-68. (Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 12.) Graz.

——. 1960. "Die Eidesleistung des Ašhapala". RHA 18/66-67: 121-27.

——. 1961. "Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Boğazköy". ZA 54: 114-57.

——. 1967. "Ein hethitischer Vertrag aus dem 15./14. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (KBo XVI 47)". Istanbuler Mitteilungen 17: 55-62.

——. 1969. Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwatta-Textes. (StBoT 11.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1971. Ein hethitisches Festritual (KBo XIX 128). (StBoT 13.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1973. Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa. (StBoT 17.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1981. Die Apologie Hattušiliš III: Das Bild der Überlieferung. (StBoT 24.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1988. Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijaš IV. (StBoT Beiheft, 1.) Wiesbaden.

——, and Christel Rüster. 1972. "Textanschlüsse von Boğazköy-Tafeln (1-10)". ZA 62: 102-107.

——. 1973. "Textanschlüsse von Boğazköy-Tafeln (21-30)". ZA 63: 83-91.

Otten, Heinrich, and Vladimir Souček. 1965. Das Gelübde der Königen Puduhepa an die Göttin Lelwani. (StBoT 1.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1966. "Neue hethitische Gesetzesfragmente aus dem Großen Tempel". Archiv für Orientforschung 21: 1-12.

Perlmutter, David. 1978. "Impersonal passives and the unaccusative hypothesis". Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society 4: 157-89.

Petschow, Herbert. 1963. "Zur Noxalhaftung im hethitischen Recht". ZA 55: 237-50.

Pinault, Georges. 1979. "Instrumental et adverbe prédicatif". Lalies 1.31-33.

Puhvel, Jaan. 1984. Hittite etymological dictionary. Vols. 1-2 [= 1 vol.]. (Trends in Linguistics, Documentation, 1.) Berlin.

Rehg, Kenneth L. 1981. Ponapean reference grammar. (PALI Language Texts, Micronesia.) Honolulu.

Renou, Louis. 1933. "La séparation du préverbe et du verbe en védique". BSL 34: 49-96.

Riemschneider, Kaspar K. 1962. "Hethitische Fragmente historischen Inhalts aus der Zeit Hattušilis III". JCS 16: 110-21.

——. 1970. Babylonische Geburtsomina in hethitischer Übersetzung. (StBoT 9.) Wiesbaden.

Roberts, Ian. 1988. "Predicative APs". LI 19: 703-10.

Rosen, Carol G. 1984. "The interface between semantic roles and initial grammatical relations". Studies in relational grammar 2, ed. David M. Perlmutter and Carol G. Rosen. Chicago.

Rost, Liane. 1953. "Ein hethitisches Ritual gegen Familienzwist". MIO 1: 345-79.

Rumsey, Alan. 1987a. "Was Proto-Indo-European an ergative language?" Journal of Indo-European Studies 15: 19-37.

——. 1987b. "The chimera of Proto-Indo-European ergativity: Lessons for historical syntax". Lingua 71: 297-318.

von Schuler, Einar. 1957. Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte. (Archiv für Orientforschung, Beihefte, 10.) Graz.

——. 1965. Die Kaškäer. (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie, 3.) Berlin.

Siegelová, Jana. 1971. Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus. (StBoT 14.) Wiesbaden.

Singh, Prem. 1978. "The collectives in *-ant-* in Hittite". Indian Linguistics 39: 297-306.

Singer, Itamar. 1984. The Hittite KI.LAM festival. Part Two. (StBoT 28.) Wiesbaden.

Solta, Georg Renatus. 1958. Gedanken über das *nt*-Suffix. (Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 232/1.) Vienna.

Sommer, Ferdinand, and Adam Falkenstein. 1938. Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I. (Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historisch Abteilung, Abhandlungen, Neue Folge, 16.) Munich.

Starke, Frank. 1977. Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen. (StBoT 23.) Wiesbaden.

——. 1985. Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift. (StBoT 30.) Wiesbaden.

Stefanini, Ruggero. 1964 [1965]. "Una lettera della regina Puduhepa al re di Alasija (KUB XXI 38)". Atti e memorie dell'Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere, La Colombaria, 29 (n.s. 15): 1-69.

——. 1965. "KBo IV 14 = VAT 13049". AANL, Rendiconti, Serie Ottavo, 20: 39-79.

Sternemann, Reinhard. 1966. "Temporale und konditionale Nebensätze des Hethitischen (2. Teil)". MIO 11: 377-415.

Tchekhoff, Claude. 1978. "Le double cas-sujet des inanimés: un archaisme de la syntaxe hittite?" BSL 73: 225-41.

Thomsen, Vilhelm. 1922. "Études lyciennes I". Samlede afhandlinger, 3: 355-441. Copenhagen. [Originally published in Bulletin de l'Academie royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark (Det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Oversigt), 1899: 1-77.]

Ünal, Ahmet. 1974. Hattušili III. Teil 1, Band 2. (THeth 4.) Heidelberg.

Van Valin, Robert D., Jr. 1990. "Semantic parameters of split intransitivity". Lg 66: 221-60.

Wackernagel, Jakob. 1892. "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung". IF 1: 333-436.

Watkins, Calvert. 1963. "Preliminaries to a historical and comparative analysis of the Old Irish verb". Celtica 6: 1-49.

——. 1964. "Preliminaries to the reconstruction of Indo-European sentence structure". Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of Linguistics, Cambridge, Mass., 1962: 1035-45.

——. 1968-69. "The Celtic masculine and neuter enclitic pronouns". Études Celtiques 12: 92-95.

——. 1972. "Une désignation indo-européenne de l' 'eau' ". BSL 67: 39-46.

——. 1976. "Towards Proto-Indo-European syntax: problems and pseudo-problems". Papers from the parasession on diachronic syntax, April 22, 1976, Chicago Linguistic Society: 305-26.

——. 1985. "Indo-European *-k^we 'and' in Hittite". Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen: Festschrift für Johann Knobloch, ed. Hermann M. Ölberg and Gernot Schmidt (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, 23): 491-97. Innsbruck.

——. 1986a. "The Indo-European background of a Luvian ritual". Sprache 32: 324-33.

——. 1986b. "The language of the Trojans". Troy and the Trojan War: a symposium held at Bryn Mawr College, October 1984, ed. Machteld J. Mellink: 45-62. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

——. 1990a. "Latin *tarentum Accas*, the ludi Saeculares, and Indo-European eschatology". To appear in IES 5.

——. 1990b. "Mediterranean tales, from Anatolia and points west (Sicily)". Unpublished paper presented at the Ninth East Coast Indo-European Conference, Philadelphia.

Werner, R. 1967. Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle. (StBoT 4.) Wiesbaden.

Yoshida, Daisuke. 1987. Die Syntax des althethitischen substantivischen Genitivs. (THeth 13.) Heidelberg.

Yoshida, Kazuhiko. 1990. The Hittite mediopassive ending in *-ri*. (Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft, 5.) Berlin.