Ha! Linguistic Studies in Honor of Mark R. Hale



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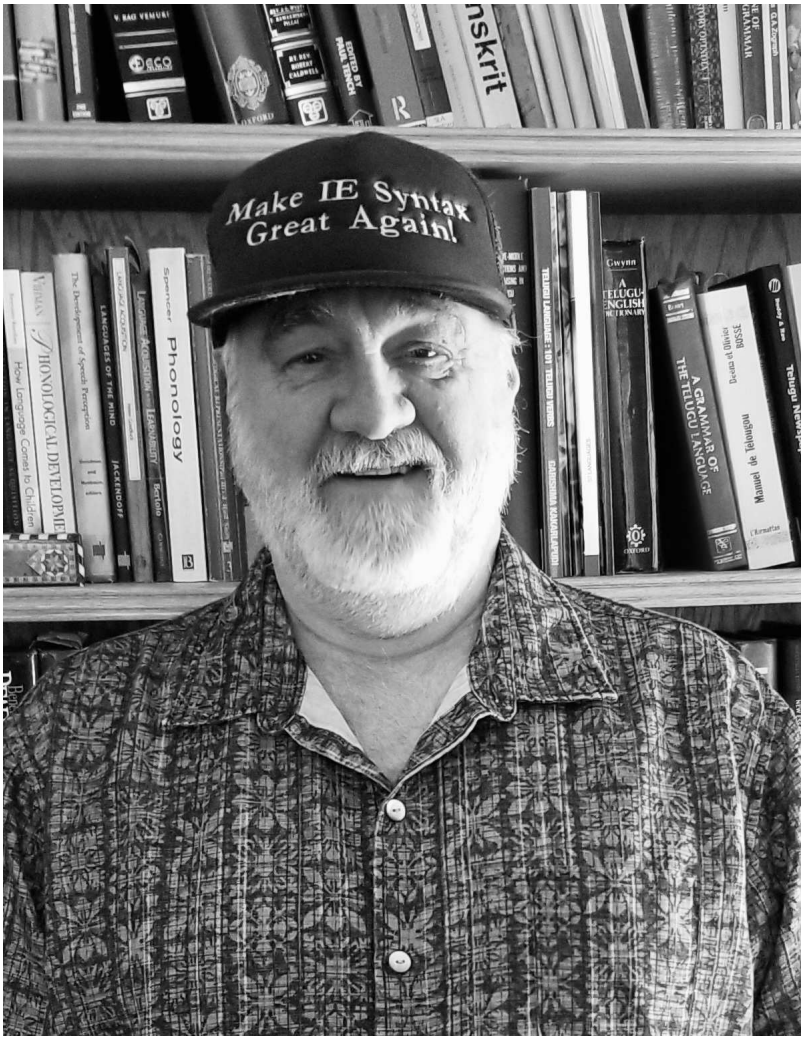
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Non-focused "Fronted" Constituents in Hittite*

H. Craig Melchert

1 Introduction

1.1 The Topic

It is established that constituents in Hittite in "expanding focus" (also known as "additive focus") marked with the particle =*a/ya* "also, even" are regularly "fronted," appearing to the left of full nominal or accented pronominal subjects, unless it is the subject that is itself in such focus.[1] Similarly, those marked with the particle =*a/ma*, indicating contrastive focus, are also overwhelmingly fronted.[2] However, it is well-known that constituents may undergo fronting without being marked with either focus particle. Yet to my knowledge their discourse function has never been systematically investigated. In Melchert Forthcoming I made a first attempt, based on a limited corpus of a dozen relatively long New Hittite compositions. I present here the results of a survey based on a much expanded data set.

1.2 The Corpus

I have collected all examples from my digitized corpora of Old Hittite texts in Old Script, assured Middle Hittite compositions in Middle Script, and assured New Hittite compositions. I have also surveyed all Old Hittite historical texts in later copies, a sampling of Old Hittite festival texts in later copies (CTH 591 and 612), and the narrative portions of more than a dozen therapeutic rituals. To ensure that my data reflects only native Hittite grammar, I have excluded any texts that either definitely or possibly are translations or influenced by foreign models: myths, hymnic prayers based on Mesopotamian models, and the incantation portions of therapeutic rituals

* I welcome the chance to take part in this well-deserved tribute to Mark Hale, a long-time friend and a pioneer in applying modern syntactic theory to ancient Indo-European languages. After more years than he and I care to recall, he remains a vital contributor to this research. I wish him in Hittite fashion continued health and "long years."
I thank Brian Agbayani, Joseph Eska and Chris Golston for invaluable assistance. The usual disclaimer applies.

1 See Goedegebuure 2014: 440–1 following Dik for a definition of this type of focus as correcting and completing incomplete information by means of an additional piece of information and for diagnostic criteria for identifying it. See also her summary for Hittite (2014: 465–7). For a different perspective compare De Cesare and Andorno 2017. I here use "fronted" (subsequently without quotation marks) descriptively, with no claim regarding the theoretical status of syntactic movement.

2 See for the exceptional non-fronted examples Sideltsev and Molina 2015.

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and festival texts.[3] While I have in some instances included them in my data collection, I have also excluded from the basis for my analyses examples that are for various reasons problematic: (1) examples of X (Y) Subject Verb that may represent instances of a subject in preverbal focus position (see Goedegebuure 2014: Chapter 7); (2) possessive sentences and others where clause-initial position for a non-nominative experiencer may be regular; (3) examples involving an indefinite subject, where appearance in [Spec, *v*P] is regular in existential/cardinal readings (see Huggard 2015: 50–61). Finally, I have strictly enforced the requirement of appearance left of a nominal or accented pronominal subject, because our control of the discourse-neutral order of VP constituents other than the verb and any preverb remains weak and because evidence suggests Hittite also employs topic and focus positions above the *v*P. Thus, even if we suspect that some element of the VP has been moved leftward by topicalization of the kinds described below, unless it stands left of a full nominal subject we cannot know that it is in the left periphery. To my own surprise, even with these necessary restrictions the number of examples is robust: in New Hittite compositions alone I found around 200, including three dozen involving fronting of multiple constituents. The numbers for Old and Middle Hittite in contemporary manuscripts were predictably far smaller, but there are enough of all types to conclude that there is no significant change in the syntax of non-focused fronted constituents from Old to New Hittite. Likewise, I found no evidence of any differences across genres.[4] I have therefore not felt it necessary to illustrate every subtype for every period of the language, limiting myself to textual references showing their pan-Hittite distribution.

1.3 Framework

I adopt here a model of the left periphery like that illustrated by Wolfe (2016: 465) that includes a FrameP as well as a TopP* both above and below FocP. Neither my competence nor space allows me to address: (1) proposed restrictions on the occurrence of particular types of topics in the respective TopP*; (2) syntactic versus phonological licensing in "fronting"; (3) how scope is to be treated in derived structures. I can only present the Hittite facts as I have found them and leave the problem of their implications to others.

2 Non-Anaphoric Fronted Constituents

As established in Melchert Forthcoming, the topic status of non-focused fronted constituents is shown by their occurrence in discourse-initial clauses, where neither expanding nor contrastive focus is possible. To extract maximal information from illustrations, I concentrate on those with multiple fronting.[5]

3 My full data collection is available at: `https://linguistics.ucla.edu/people/Melchert/Index.htm` (link HittBareFCs).

4 The numbers are overall relatively low in narrative portions of therapeutic rituals, due to their typical diction. The subject in descriptions of the ritual actions, once established, usually continues unchanged. Thus whether the actor is expressed in the first or third person, there is little occasion for explicit nominal expression of the subject.

5 I use the standard sigla OH, MH, and NH to refer to the date of the text (composition) and OS, MS and NS to refer to the date of the manuscript (tablet). I avoid use of the term "originals."

(1) *KUB* 14.1 Ro 1 (MH/MS; similarly in the inventory texts *HKM* 105:1–7 and *HKM* 106, MH/MS)

[*tuk*=*ka*]*n* ^{m}*Madduwattan* *t*[*ue*]*l* KUR-*yaz* ^{m}*Attarissiyas*
2SG.ACC=PTCL PN.ACC 2SG.GEN land-ABL PN.NOM
LÚ ^{URU}*Ā*[*hhiy*]*ā* *arha* *parhta*
man.NOM.SG GN.GEN away chase.PST.3SG

"Attarissiya, a man of Ahhiya, chased you, Madduwatta, away from your land."

This example is discourse-initial in the strict sense, being the very first clause in the text.

(2) *HKM* 51:2–5 (MH/MS)

UMMA ^{m}*Gasturrahseli* ^{URU}*Galzana* LÚ.KÚR ^{m}*Tippūrruwis*
say.PRS.3SG PN.NOM GN.GEN enemy.ACC.SG PN.NOM
LÚ ^{URU}*Pittalahsuwa* *uwatet*
man.NOM.SG GN.GEN bring.PST.3SG

"Gasturrahseli says: 'Tippuruwi, the man of Pittalahsuwa, has brought an enemy of Galzana'."

This example illustrates topicalization in the first clause of direct speech. Compare *KBo* 3.34 i 1–2 and 3.1 iii 32–33 (both OH/NS).

(3) *KBo* 14.21 i 21–22 (NH; similar ibid. i 42–43 and ii 20–22, ii 55–56, iii 50–51)

[*AN*]*A* ^{d}*Pirwa* MUNUS.LUGAL=*y*[*a*] *ANA* EZEN$_4$ MU.KAM 1
DN.DAT DN.DAT=and festival.DAT.SG year.GEN.SG 1
GU$_4$ 9 UDU.HI.A … ^{LÚ}SANGA *IŠTU* É=*ŠU* *peskezzi*
cow.ACC.SG 9 sheep.ACC.PL priest.NOM.SG house.ABL=his give.PRS.3SG

"(What if) to Pirwa and the Queen for the annual festival the priest gives from his house one cow, nine sheep … ?"

This sentence from an oracular inquiry (like the parallel cases) begins a new paragraph and more importantly an entirely new topic following a paragraph containing an entirely unrelated question and its oracular result. Fronting may also be used for topic shifts within a running discourse. In (4) the sudden topic shift to the starting point for the entering deities (images thereof) versus the preceding scene of cult activities is marked by clausal asyndeton, but topic shift also often occurs with *nu* or *ta* indicating sequentiality, as in (5):

CLL = clause-linker, DN = divine name, GN = geographic name, PN = personal name, PTCL = particle. Square brackets mark restored text, within which parentheses indicate material assured by a duplicate manuscript.

(4) *KBo* 17.9+20.5 ii 17–18 (also *KBo* 20.33 i 16; both OH/OS)

UGULA $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$ALAM[.ZU$_9$ ($^{\text{GIŠ}}$*marāw*)*i*] *ēszi*
chief.NOM.SG performer.GEN.PL *m*.LOC.SG sit.PRS.3SG
kursas É-*erza* DINGIR.MEŠ *uenzi*
hunting.bag.GEN.SG house-ABL god.NOM.PL come.PRES.3PL

"The chief of the performers is sitting on the m. From the house of the hunting bag the gods come."

(5) *HKM* 55:7–8 (MH/MS)

nu=wa NUMUN $^{\text{m}}$*Himu*-DINGIR-*LIM-is* *ŪL* *pāi*
CLL=QUOT seed.ACC.SG PN.NOM not give.PRS.3SG

"(And) Himuili will/does not give the seed."

The reference is to seed needed to plant plowed fields mentioned in the preceding clause. Such topic shifts in running discourse are common at all periods: see *KBo* 3.27 Ro 25–26 and *KBo* 4.9 ii 1–5 (both OH/NS), *KUB* 14.1 Vo 18 and *HKM* 64:24–26 (both MH/MS), and *KUB* 14.8 i 29–30 (multiple fronted topics) and *KBo* 4.14 iii 37–8 (both NH), and further instances.

In Melchert Forthcoming I included contrastive topics as another type of topicalization with no connection to any preceding discourse. However, as established by Goedegebuure (2014: 479, n. 520), these are coordinated structures and pattern quite differently from ordinary fronted topics. I treat these in section 5 below.[6]

3 Anaphoric Fronted Constituents

Non-focused fronted constituents often are used to indicate promotion to topichood of referents introduced in the preceding discourse as new information (in their unmarked position in the clause). These include instances of strict so-called "tail-head linking" (see for the concept and label Rieken 2000: 416), in which the prior mention of the fronted constituent is in the immediately preceding clause, but in other cases a single word refers back to a list or a series of clauses. Furthermore, we also find numerous examples of "resumed mention," where the referent was first introduced several clauses previous to its promotion to topic.

6 In Melchert Forthcoming I added another category of fronted topics without connection to the preceding discourse: inserted epexegetical comments. However, I have found that defining such insertions is subjective, so I now doubt the usefulness of treating them as a separate class. A reasonably certain example appears in (7) below.

(6) *KBo* 4.6 Ro 21–23 (NH)

INA $^{\text{URU}}$*Samūha kuwapi*[7] *tuk* $^{\text{d}}$*Lelwanin* $^{\text{f}}$*Gassuliyawias tuēl*
GN.LOC when 2.SG.ACC DN.ACC PN.NOM 2SG.GEN
GÉME-*TUM* Ù-*az* *austa* *nu* *tuk* *ANA* DINGIR-*LIM*
slave-NOM.SG dream-ABL see.PST.3SG CLL 2SG.DAT goddess.DAT.SG
apēdas UD.KAM.HI.A-*as* [$^{\text{f}}$]*Gassulawias tuēl* GÉME-*TUM*
those.LOC.PL days-LOC.PL PN.NOM 2SG.GEN slave-NOM.SG
SÍSKUR *ŪL kuitki pesta*
ritual.ACC.SG not any give.PST.3SG

"When in Samuha Gassuliyawiya, your servant, saw you, Lelwani, in a dream, to you, the goddess, in those days Gassul(iy)awiya, your servant, did not give any ritual."

In the first clause "in Samuha" is a new topic, while "you, Lelwani" is an imprecise "tail-head-linking" to "you, the goddess" and "your, the goddess's name" in the two preceding clauses not given. The second clause shows a fronted "you, the goddess" linking back to "you, Lelwani" and a locatival time expression "in those days" linking back to "when." This extended example nicely illustrates how Hittite uses topicalization to bind a running discourse together. I should add explicitly that often a mere shift in topic is viewed as contrastive enough that a fronted constituent is in contrastive focus marked by =*a/ma*, but this is *not* obligatory and is left to the discretion of the speaker. Compare Goedegebuure 2014: 497 with note 532. I must insist that the fronting marks topicalization; only the contrast is marked by the contrastive focus particle. The functional difference is confirmed by those instances where a constituent marked by =*a/ma* is not fronted.

However, a referent introduced much earlier in the discourse may also be promoted to topic by fronting. In some instances the prior mention is separated by five or more clauses. The following Old Hittite example over two clauses is less extreme, but shows that other material may intervene:

(7) *KBo* 6.2 ii 58–61 (OH/OS)

kuis $^{\text{URU}}$*A*[*rinna k*]*uis* $^{\text{URU}}$*Ziplanti* $^{\text{LÚ}}$SANGA-*es*
who.NOM.SG GN.LOC who.NOM.SG GN.LOC priest-NOM.SG
INA URU.DIDLI *hūmant*[*i*] É.HI.A=*ŠU-NU* *ELLU* *U*
city.LOC.SG every.LOC.SG house.NOM.PL=their free.NOM.PL CLL
$^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$HA.LA=*ŠUNU* *luzzi* *ka*[*rpianzi*] *mān* $^{\text{URU}}$*Arinna*
associate.NOM.PL=their *l*.service.ACC.SG perform.PRS.3PL when GN.LOC
11.ITU-*as* *tiezzi*
11th.month-NOM.SG arrive.PRS.SG

7 Syntactically, *kuwapi* is in C. Its surface position is phonological, as proven by examples like *KUB* 6.45 iii 45 *nu ammel kuwapi AWATE*$^{\text{MEŠ}}$ . . . "When my words . . . ", where the prosodically weak *kuwapi* must be hosted by an accented constituent, even at the cost of interrupting a DP.

"Whoever (is) priest in Arinna (or) in Ziplanta—in every city their houses are exempt, while their associates perform luzzi-service—when in Arinna the eleventh month arrives . . . "

The situation of a priest's household in Arinna is again taken up following the parenthetical comment about his and another priest's households elsewhere.

4 Co-occurrence of Focus and Topicalization

We have already seen several instances of topicalization of multiple constituents. I call special attention to (3), where the indirect object, an NP expressing purpose, and the direct object all stand left of the subject. This case is indisputable, since the subject cannot be in preverbal focus. It is also far from rare that topicalization of one or more constituents cooccurs with another fronted constituent in either expanding or contrastive focus.

I claimed in Melchert Forthcoming that in such cases the topics always follow the focus phrase. I have now found two exceptions, but they both share a common feature, and they remain exceptional. Before treating them, I must first illustrate the dominant pattern:

(8) *KUB* 22.70 Ro 82 (NH)

kī=ma EGIR-*anda* ^{f}*Nārus* KAxU-*az* *kissan* *IQBI*
this.ACC.SG=PTCL afterwards PN.NOM mouth-ABL as.follows say.PST.3SG

"But afterwards Naru said this from (her own) mouth as follows." (direct quote follows)

I underscore two points: (1) the topic is a new topic, but it stands to the right of the focused constituent, not in the TopP* above FocP; (2) while the temporal adverb represents the "scene" of the action, it cannot possibly be in FrameP. I must insist that Hittite local and temporal adjuncts are fronted from the VP like other topics. Nothing, however, precludes a temporal or local expression being in contrastive focus together with any kind of topic. The order remains the same:

(9) *Bo* 86/299 ii 88–89 (NH)

kinun=ma=za *apūn* MUNUS-*an* $^{m.d}$LAMMA-*as* *mān*
now=PTCL=REFL that.ACC.SG woman-ACC.SG PN-NOM whether
dāi *mān=za=an* *ŪL* *dāi*
take.PRS.3SG or=REFL=her not take.PRS.3SG

"But now whether Kuruntiya takes that woman for himself or he does not take her for himself . . . "

The fronted topic *apūn* MUNUS-*an* "that woman" stands in strict "tail-head linking" with the same phrase in an immediately preceding sentence, but it still follows the temporal adverb "now" in contrastive focus, since the sentence allowing Kuruntiya free choice contrasts with an earlier provision. I emphasize that the adverb "now"

when not topicalized or in focus appears in the VP after any direct or indirect object (as does *appizziyaz*, which itself may be fronted):

(10) *KUB* 14.14 Ro 32–34 (NH; see also *KBo* 11.1 Ro 21–22)

nu=kan uwatten DINGIR.ME[Š EN.MEŠ=*YA*] *apun*
CLL=PTCL come.PST.2PL god.NOM.PL lord.NOM.PL=my that.ACC.SG
AWAT ^{m}*Duthaliya* DUMU-*RI ANA ABI=YA kinun*
matter.ACC.SG PN.GEN son-GEN.SG father.DAT.SG=my now
appizz[*iyaz*] *anda sanhatten*
afterwards avenge.PST.2PL

"You gods, my lords, have now proceeded afterwards to avenge that matter of Tuthaliya the Younger on my father."

The same holds true for all temporal and local adverbs that appear in the Left Periphery: EGIR-*anda* in (8), *karuwiliyaz(a)* in (15) below, and others, including *namma* 'subsequently' and *karū* 'previously' (on their quite different use to demarcate clauses see section 6 below). Hittite determiner phrases in the dative-locative expressing time when or place where, or in the ablative expressing time or place from which, and postpositional phrases expressing time when or place where show the same distribution. Unless they are topicalized, they stand in the VP after any indirect and direct object. Contrast *IŠTU* É=*ŠU* "from his house" in (3) with fronted *tuel* KUR-*yaz* "from your land" in (1). I must therefore insist that they are all fronted topics in Hittite, not "scene-setters" in FrameP, and aside from the rare exceptions now to be discussed they must stand to the right of any focused constituent. Note finally that, as in (1) and the second clause of (6), even when fronted they may stand after other topics, though one also finds them before, as in the first clause of (6). The order of multiple topics seems independent of their normal order in the VP and at the discretion of the speaker.

The only two exceptions to the last statement known to me share the feature that the non-focused topic is anaphoric and that the constituent in contrastive focus likewise has also received prior mention:

(11) *HKM* 72:8–11 (MH/MS)

nu=ssan k[*āsma*] *ANA* GIŠ *huske n=asta* ^{GIŠ}*murta*
CLL=PTCL PTCL wood.DAT.SG wait.IPV.2SG CLL=PTCL *m.*wood.ACC.PL
tuel=ma kar(a)ssandu kar(a)sten
2SG.GEN=PTCL cut.IPV.3PL cut.IPV.2PL

"(You) wait for the wood where you are,[8] but let your people cut the *m.*-wood! (You all) cut (it)!"

My interpretation against others attempts to reconcile the apparent paradox that the singular addressee is first told to wait on the wood (needed to finish a bridge), but then immediately ordered to cut *m.*-wood, which can hardly refer to any other wood

8 See on *kāšma* Rieken 2009.

than that required for the bridge. I thus assume that ^{GIŠ}*murta* is tail-head-linked to the unspecified GIŠ of the preceding clause (in a mass noun the difference between singular and collective plural is negligible). The addressee is admonished to stay where he is, but to have the wood cut by his work crew. Together they are to cut the wood and promptly finish the bridge. I must still point out that in the standard pattern even a tail-head-linked topic stands to the right of anything in focus: see example (9), which represents at least five others.[9] The second example describes a similar situation:

(12) *KUB* 5.24+ i 29–30 (NH; see van den Hout 1995: 248–51 for the context)

nu=za=kan	^{m}*Kur*	DINGIR-LUM=*ma*	*kuit*	*karū*	KASKAL-*si*
CLL=REFL=PTCL	PN.NOM	god-ACC.SG=PTCL	because	already	path-LOC.SG
tiyat	*ANA* MUNUS.L[UGAL]	*kisan*	*meman*	*harta*	
put.PST.3SG	queen.DAT.SG	thus	spoken	have.PST.3SG	

"And since Kurunt(iy)a had already put the goddess on the path (i.e., placated her) (and) had spoken thus to the Queen ..."

Strictly speaking, Kurunt(iy)a is a resumed-mention topic over eighteen clauses, but this person is the theme of the entire lengthy oracular inquiry, thus enabling the promotion to topic at virtually any time (see van den Hout 1995: 84–85 on his identity). The deity is surely the Sun-goddess Kauri mentioned in the immediately preceding paragraph, separated from our sentence only by three clauses of an oracular inquiry and its result. Both topics are thus anaphoric. The goddess is likely marked with contrastive focus vis-à-vis the Hittite queen, the other theme in the preceding paragraph. Absent examples of any other kind of bare topic before a cooccurring focus phrase, I tentatively attribute these two exceptions to a desire to put the non-focused anaphoric topic closer to its previous mention. The rarity and optionality of this configuration argue against these aboutness topics having been placed syntactically in TopP* above FocusP.

5 Potential Confounds: Coordinated Structures

Goedegebuure (2014: 435–41) crucially showed that besides its function of marking expanding focus ('also, even'), Hittite *=a/ya* is used to conjoin clauses. It is paramount to remember that the invariant sense of this morpheme is 'in addition', but the two uses are different in both semantics and syntactic behavior. As she emphasizes, the expanding focus particle displays asymmetrical semantics: the content of the second clause with *=a/ya* is temporally or logically sequential to that of the preceding. Whereas the members of a coordination are semantically symmetrical and may be reordered without changing the meaning. As we would predict, expanding focus *=a/ya* is entirely compatible with the clause-linker *nu* that marks sequentiality, whereas coordinating *=a/ya* is not and stands in complementary distribution with

9 Cp. *HKM* 18:23–28 and *HKM* 19:5–8 (both MH/MS), plus NH examples: *KBo* 3.3+ iii 20–21, *KBo* 4.6 Vo 18–20, *KUB* 14.3 ii 68–69.

nu (Goedegebuure 2014: 439).[10] She does not discuss the relevant structural position, but coordinating =*a/ya* as a clause-linker must stand syntactically in the same position as *nu*. Its surface position differs merely in that, as an enclitic, it must be "hosted" by a fully accented constituent. I follow Agbayani and Golston (2010: 11–16) in assuming that clause-linkers are interclausal, not in the second conjoined clause, but this is not crucial for the present analysis. The essential point is that =*a/ya* and =*a/ma* as clause-linkers are functionally distinct from their use as focus markers, and the former do *not* stand in FocP, but in some higher projection.

Goedegebuure (2014: 437, 444) illustrates coordinated clauses with =*a/ya*: *KBo* 17.11+ i 37'–38' and *KBo* 22.1 Ro 21 (both OH/OS), the first with simple coordination and the second with double =*a/ya* expressing 'both ... and'. In both instances reordering the clauses does not change the sense, since the content of one does not depend on that of the other. As Goedegebuure shows, this is not true for expanding focus =*a/ya*, as we will see in (15) below. Contrastive topics are likewise coordinated structures, and in them =*a/ma* is an adversative clause-linker, not a contrastive focus particle, again whether it occurs only in the second clause or in both:

(13) *KBo* 5.13 Ro 29–30 (NH)

kāzza=tta URU*Maddunnassaza* BÀD.KARAŠ *ŠA* m*Tuthaliya*
this.ABL=2SG.DAT GN.ABL fortress.NOM.SG PN.GEN
ZAG-*as* *ēsdu* *kēz=ma=tta* *ŠA* URU*Wiyanawanda*
boundary-NOM.SG be.IPV.3SG this.ABL=CLL=2SG.DAT GN.GEN
dKASKAL.KUR.HI.A ZAG-*as* *ēsdu*
sinkhole.NOM.PL boundary-NOM.SG be.IPV.3SG

"In the one direction towards Maddunassa let the fortress of Tuthaliya be the boundary for you, but in the other direction let the sinkholes of Wiyanawanda be the boundary for you."

(14) *KUB* 14.4 i 5–7 (NH)

apāt=ma URU*Sanharaz* *hwinut* *apāt=ma*
that.ACC.SG=CLL GN.ABL transfer.PST.3SG that.ACC.SG=CLL
URU*Hattusi* *hūmanti* *antuhsanni* *parā* *pesta*
GN.DAT all.DAT.SG populace.DAT.SG out give.PST.3SG

"On the one hand, she transferred one part to Babylon, on the other she gave the other part to all of Hattusa, to the populace."

10 I thank Thomas Motter for reminding me that we expect the same cooccurrence of *nu* and contrastive focus =*a/ma*, since both mark sequentiality. We do find such cooccurrence—see example (11)—likely not widely recognized due to its rarity. A search of more than 2500 examples of =*ma* in my NH corpus found 41 instances of *nu* ... X=*ma*: 33 in oracular inquiries, 14 in the single text *KUB* 5.1. The figures are similar for MH/MS: of more than 500 examples of =*ma* only 16 cases of *nu* ... X=*ma* (12 in oracular inquiries, and 9 in the single text *KBo* 16.97). Of 130+ instances of =*ma* in OH/OS there is just one of *nu* ... X=*ma*, in the Anitta text (*KBo* 3.22 Ro 3), for which see Neu 1974: 10–11. We must conclude that *nu* ... X=*ma* was grammatical at all stages of Hittite, but it was an option rarely exercised.

Despite the lack of a nominal subject in (14), there can be no doubt that we are dealing with coordinated contrastive topics and thus with adversative clause-linking =*a/ma*. Just as in the case of =*a/ya*, the clauses in (13) and (14) show symmetrical semantics, and their order could be reversed with no effect on the meaning. The status of =*a/ma* as a clause linker is confirmed by the following example, which initially gave me serious concern:

(15) *KBo* 14.12+ iv 35–38 (NH)

[*k*]*aruwiliyaza=wa=kan* URU*Hattusas* [UR]U*Mizrass=a* *istarni=summi*
in.the.past=QUOT=PTCL GN.NOM GN.NOM=and between=3PL.LOC
āssiyantes [*e*]*ser* *kinun=a=wa=nnas* *kī=ya*
amicable.NOM.PL be.PST.3PL now=CLL=QUOT=1PL.DAT this.NOM.SG=PTCL
istarni=su[*mmi* *kis*]*at*
between=1PL.LOC happen.PST.3SG

"In the past Hattusa and Egypt were amicable towards each other, but now even this has happened between us!"

We have in the same clause both an expanding-focus =*ya*, here with the force of 'even', and the second of two contrastive topics. Hittite is typologically unremarkable in allowing multiple fronted topics. However, there should be only one FocP per clause. This prohibition confirms that contrastive topics stand not in FocP, in this case necessarily filled by expanding-focus *kī=ya*, but rather are part of coordinated structures higher in the left periphery. Goedegebuure (2014: 462, 467) recognizes this, citing at least two other clear examples like (15). Note that the order of the two clauses cannot be reversed with preservation of the meaning, showing that *kī=ya* must contain expanding-focus =*ya* 'also', not the clause-coordinating conjunction 'and'.

We would predict that there should likewise be no strict prohibition on the cooccurrence of coordinated contrastive topics, the second marked by the adversative clause-linker =*ma*, and a constituent in contrastive focus. I believe that we in fact have at least three such examples:

(16) *KBo* 6.29 ii 4–8 (NH)

nu=wa=za *mān* *zik* DI-*esnaza* *saraz<z>is* *nu=wa*
CLL=QUOT=REFL if 2SG.NOM lawsuit-ABL superior.NOM.SG CLL=QUOT
tuk *sarazziyahhandu* *mān=ma=wa=za* *ammuk=ma*
2SG.ACC make.superior.IPV.3PL if=CLL=QUOT=REFL 1SG.NOM=PTCL
DI-*esnaza* *sarazzis* *nu=wa* *ammuk* *sarazziahhandu*
lawsuit-ABL superior.NOM.SG CLL=QUOT 1SG.ACC make.superior.IPV.3PL

"If you are superior in the lawsuit, let them (the gods) make you superior, but if I am superior in the lawsuit, let them make me superior!" (i.e., they should make the one who is in the right the winner)

I submit that these clauses meet the criteria for coordinated contrastive topics: if the =*ma* of *ammuk=ma* were not present, the two alternatives could be reordered with no change in sense: *nu=wa=za mān ammuk* ... *mān=ma=wa=za zik* "If I am superior

. . . but if you are superior." It is only the contrastive focus on *ammuk* (versus *zik*) that makes the semantics asymmetrical and thus the attested clauses irreversible.[11]

6 Potential Confounds: Clause-linking *karū* and *namma*

The Hittite adverbs *karū* and *namma* mean respectively 'previously' and 'subsequently, then'.[12] In their basic use as temporal adverbs their syntactic behavior is like that of all others: their discourse-neutral position is in the VP, after any indirect and direct object. For *karū* see *HKM* 2:6–8 and *HKM* 19:5–6 (MH/MS) and the examples collected by Cambi (2005). However, as not recognized by Cambi, like any other temporal adverb it may also be topicalized:

(17) *KUB* 26.1 iv 18 (NH)

nu=wa *karū* *◁halliya* *wēhtat*
CLL=QUOT previously day.NOM.PL turn.PST.3SG

"The days have already turned (passed)."

Note the expected compatibility with the sequential-marking *nu*. The context (an aforementioned perpetrator has died) makes "already" the natural English equivalent. The normal position of *namma* as a temporal adverb is entirely parallel:

(18) *KBo* 19.76 i 24 (NH)

^{d}U NIR.GÁL EN=*YA* *parā handatar* *namma*
DN.NOM.SG mighty.NOM.SG lord.NOM=my providence.ACC.SG then
tetkusnut
show.PST.3SG

"The mighty Storm-god, My Lord, again/then showed his providence."

I reemphasize that 'then' is felicitous for all uses. As expected, *namma* may also be topicalized:

(19) *KBo* 19.76+*KUB* 14.20 i 25–26 (NH)

nu=kan *namma* LÚ.KÚR *ŠA* KARAŠ *pahhur* *ŪL*
CLL=PTCL then enemy.NOM.SG army.camp.GEN.SG fire.ACC.SG/PL not
austa
see.PST.3SG

"The enemy no longer saw the fire(s) of the army camp."

11 For two more examples in New Hittite see *KUB* 6.41 iii 23–27 and *KBo* 12.30 ii 8–15.

12 I stress that renderings such as 'already' for the first and 'again' or '(no) longer' for the second are artifacts of idiomatic translation. Their respective core meanings are unalterable and felicitous in all uses.

The camp is that of the Hittite king. Note that *namma* is clearly in the scope of the negation, as in its normal VP position,[13] however one chooses to account for this in formal terms.

As underscored by Cambi (2005) for *karū* and by Güterbock and Hoffner (1989: 378–91) for *namma*, these adverbs have another quite distinctive use, whose full implications have not been fully appreciated. They regularly occur in absolute clause-initial position—in complementary distribution with *nu* and other clause-linkers—and serve as strong indicators of the temporal sequence of clauses. They are naturally also in *complementary distribution* with each other: *karū* marks that the content of the following clause precedes the reference time of the preceding one, while *namma* indicates that it follows it. I cannot pursue this topic in full here and make no claim as to their structural position in this function, except that it is not that of a fronted topicalized constituent. I mention it here to make clear that one must not confuse this usage with topicalized *karū* and *namma* in their ordinary use as temporal adverbs. This applies especially to formally ambiguous cases where neither *nu* nor a focused constituent is present. One must in those instances examine the overall content of the clause and the full context to determine the function of *karū* and *namma*.

7 Summary

Non-focused constituents in Hittite fronted to the Left Periphery consist of new, newly promoted, or newly returned to topics. These include temporal and local adverbs, which based on their position cannot stand in FrameP, but are fronted from their base position in the verb phrase. With rare exceptions, such topics appear to the right of any focused constituent. Hittite contrastive topics are coordinated structures (section 5). Fronting of an adverb does not affect its scopal relations, at least with respect to negation.

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13 See also *KBo* 3.4+ iv 35–36 (NH).

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