

Toward a prosodic account of Hittite “hyperbaton”

Anthony D. Yates
University of California, Los Angeles
adyates@ucla.edu

H. Craig Melchert
Carrboro, NC
melchert@humnet.ucla.edu

1. Introduction

- Hittite — like other ancient Indo-European (IE) languages — exhibits **HYPERBATON**, i.e.:

“A word order phenomenon in which phrasal or subphrasal material occurs displaced from its base order, often creating discontinuous constituents”

(Agbayani & Golston 2010:134)

- Such discontinuous constituents are well-known in Greek and Latin, e.g., (1) :

- (1) a. Pl. *Resp.* 353b
[[*pántōn pēri tōn álōn*]]_{PP}
all:GEN.PL from the:GEN.PL other:GEN.PL
‘about [[all the other things]]_{NP}’
- b. Caes. *BGall.* 1.2:
[[*una ex parte*]]_{PP}
one:ABL.SG from part:ABL.SG
‘from [[one part]]_{NP}’

- It has been previously observed that Hittite often shows hyperbaton with indefinite pronouns and adjectives (INDF; Huggard 2015:50–82).

- **INDF** splits postposition from its object in postpositional phrase (PP) in (2) :

- (2) KUB 1.16 iii 60 (OH/NS; CTH 6 – Testament of Hattusili I):

nassu [[DINGIR-LIM-ni *kuiški* *peran*]]_{PP} *wašti*
‘Or (if) someone sins [[before the deity]]_{PP}’

- **INDF** splits noun from modifying genitive in noun phrase (NP) in (3) :

- (3) HT 1 obv. ii 18–19 (NS; CTH 410 – Ritual of Uhhamuwa):

n=at mān [[*kururaš kuiški* DINGIR-LUM]]_{NP} *iyan harzi*
‘And if some [[deity of the enemy]]_{NP} has caused it’

- **INDF** splits participle from finite verb in periphrastic perfects in (4) :

- (4) KUB 13.2 iv 13-20 (MH/NS; CTH 261 – Instructions for Frontier Post Governors):

naššu [[*dammišhān kuiški kuitki harzi*]]_{XP} *našma=za* [[*dān kuiški kuitki harzi*]]_{XP}
našma=za [[*happiran kuiški kuitki harzi*]]_{XP} *našma* ÉSAG *kuiški kinuwan harzi*
‘(And you shall inquire regularly into the palaces and noble estates in your province as to) whether someone [[has damaged]]_{XP} something, or someone [[has taken]]_{XP} something for himself, or someone [[has sold]]_{XP} something for his benefit, or someone has broken into a granary...

- How such discontinuous structures arise in the ancient Indo-European languages and cross-linguistically is much debated (see, e.g., Devine & Stephens 2000, Bertrand 2010, Agbayani & Golston 2010 on Greek; Powell 2010, Agbayani & Golston 2016 on Latin).
- Our claims today:
 - Hittite frequently exhibits hyperbaton with relative pronouns and adjectives (and other *wh*-elements; see Appendix I and II.A) in definite relative clauses.
 - Hyperbaton with Hittite relative pronouns and adjectives (like indefinites) is driven by prosodic factors — specifically, they are weakly stressed and thus require a stressed word as a host to their left.
- Roadmap:
 - §2 Hyperbaton in Hittite definite relative clauses
 - §3 A prosodic account of Hittite hyperbaton
 - §4 Conditions on prosodic inversion in Hittite definite relatives
 - §5 Conclusions and discussion

2. Hyperbaton in Hittite definite relative clauses

- In Hittite hyperbaton with relative pronouns or adjectives is confined to a subset of relative clause types.

2.1. Definite vs. indefinite relative clauses in Hittite

- Hittite has a well-known (since Held 1957) semantic contrast between indefinite (traditionally “indeterminate”) and definite (“indeterminate”) relative clauses (RCs), which is associated with differences in word order (cf. Garrett 1994, Huggard 2011).
- (5) is an indefinite RC:

(5) IBoT 1.36 i 23–24 (MH/MS; CTH 262 – Protocol for the Royal Bodyguard)

[[*nu kuiš* LÚ MEŠEDI GAL]]_{CP,REL} *nu-šši-kan* ^{GIŠ}GIDRU *arḫa dāi*

‘Whatever bodyguard is in charge (lit. great), he takes the spear away from him.’

 - Referent of the relative pronoun or adjective (REL) is indefinite and typically non-specific (though specific readings are possible; see Motter 2023a,b).
 - REL typically surfaces **in clause-initial position** in the RC (ignoring sentence connectives like *nu*).
- (6) and (7) are definite RCs:

(6) Bo 86/299 ii 2–3 (NH; CTH 106 – Treaty with Kuruntiya):

[[^m*Maraššantas=ma* *kuit* TUPPU ḫarzi]]_{CP,REL} *n=at wezzi mān udai n=at lē dattari*

‘The tablet that M. holds, if he proceeds to bring it, let it not be accepted!’

(7) KBo 18.54 obv. 9–10 (MH/MS; CTH 188 – Letter):

[[*nu TUPPU kuit MAHAR EN=YA pē ħarda*]]_{CP,REL} *n=at arħa peššiyat*

‘The tablet that he had with him (to present) before my lord, he threw it away.’

- Referent of REL is definite and specific.
- REL is **non-initial** in the RC — it may be preceded by a separate word or phrase, as in (6) ; or by the noun it modifies, as in (7) .

2.2. Hyperbaton with definite relative pronouns in Hittite

- Indefinite RCs never exhibit hyperbaton with REL (see further §3.4 below).
- Definite RCs, however, may exhibit hyperbaton with the relative pronoun, which intervenes between the members of syntactic constituents of different types.

○ REL pronoun splits postposition from its object in PP in (8) :

(8) KUB 19.9 i 14–17 (NH; CTH 83 – Campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I):

[[^{ID}*Mālan=ma=kan kuit tapuša*]]_{PP} *ēšta n=at=za IŠTU* ^{GIŠ}TUKUL *taruħta*

‘On this side he destroyed the land of Irrita (and) the land of Suta, and he made the Mala River the boundary’), but what was [[along the Mala River]]_{NP}, he conquered it by arms.’

○ REL pronoun splits noun from modifying genitive in NP in (9) :

(9) KBo 13.58 iii 18–19 (MH/NS; CTH 257 – Instructions for Mayors):

namma [[*ŠA DINGIR-LIM kuiš luliš*]]_{NP} *kungaliyaš nu=kan* ^{LU}NIMGIR *ħalenzu šer arħa daškezzi*

‘Furthermore, that which (is) [[the pool of a/the deity]]_{NP} for/of *k.*, the herald shall regularly take away the *h.*-plant from on top of it.’

○ REL pronoun splits noun from modifying demonstrative in NP in (10) :

(10) KBo 18.69 Vo 2-5 (MH/MS; CTH 209 – Letter):

[*k*] *āšma* [[*apē kuiš TUPPA*]]^H[^{1.A} GIŠ.ĤUR.ĤI.A[?]]]_{NP} *ANA* ^dUTU-Š[*I BELI=YA* *udaš nu=šši* ^dUTU-Š[*I BELI=YA tet ap*]]_{uš} *memiyanuš memi*

‘The one who has brought [[those tablets [and wooden tablets?]]_{NP} to His M]ajesty, my lord, to him Your Majesty, [my lord, said]: “speak those words (viz., on the tablets)!”’

○ REL pronoun splits participle from finite verb in periphrastic perfect in (11) :

(11) Bo 86/299 iv 18–19 (NH; CTH 106 – Treaty with Kuruntiya):

našma=šši [[*piyan kuit ħarmi*]]_{XP} *nu=šši=kan arħa kuitki dāi*

‘Or, what [[I have given]]_{XP} him (= Kuruntiya), (one) takes any (of it) away from him.’

- Definite relative pronouns thus show a surface distribution similar to indefinites.
 - REL and INDF surface inside syntactic constituents of the same types.
 - REL and INDF surface after the first word of these constituents.

3. A prosodic account of hyperbaton in Hittite

3.1. Prosodically driven hyperbaton with indefinite pronouns

- Per Huggard (2015:66–82) the surface distribution of Hittite indefinite pronouns is influenced by prosodic factors:
 - (i) Indefinite pronouns — like second-position enclitic pronouns/particles — are prosodically deficient, lack word-level stress (cf. AGk. *tis* ‘someone’ vs. *tīs* ‘who?’).
 - (ii) Indefinite pronouns thus must be hosted by a stressed word to their left; when no host is available, they undergo “prosodic inversion” (Halpern 1995, Hale 2007, i.a.), i.e., rightward movement to find a viable host.
- Requirement that indefinite pronouns be hosted by a prosodic word to their left results in deviations from syntactically expected word order — e.g., the postverbal indefinite subject in (12) (vs. unmarked verb-final order; cf. Huggard 2015:79–80).

(12) Bo 86/299 ii 74 (NH; CTH 106 – Treaty with the King of Tarhuntassa):




nu=šši=kan mān kuiitki wakšiyazi kuiitki

 ‘If something is lacking for him’

- When INDF undergoes prosodic version **and** is followed by a multi-word constituent, it surfaces after the first word of this constituent, resulting in hyperbaton:

(13) KUB 1.16 iii 60 (= (2) above)



*nassu kuiiški [[DINGIR-LIM-ni kuiiški]] *peran*]]_{PP} wašti*


 ‘Or (if) someone sins [[before the deity]]_{PP}’

- Hyperbaton is thus an epiphenomenon of the prosodic deficiency of indefinite pronouns.

3.2. Prosodically driven hyperbaton with definite relative pronouns

- **Proposal:** relative pronouns and adjectives — like indefinites and enclitics — lack word-level stress, and thus cannot surface in clause-initial position (ignoring sentence connectives and discourse markers like *namma* ‘furthermore’ or *kāšma*; cf. §4.1 below).
- This proposal (correctly) predicts the characteristically non-initial position of relative pronouns in definite relative clauses (cf. §2.1 above).
 - When structurally clause-initial — e.g., in subject position in (14) — relative pronouns undergo prosodic inversion, surfacing after the first prosodic word.

(14) KUB 19.2+14.14 Vo 21 (NH; CTH 378.1:A – First Plague Prayer of Muršili II)




 [[*nu=kan kuiēš mDuthaliyan kuiēš kuenner*]]_{CP.REL} *nu ēšhar apūš šarni*[*inker*]

 ‘Those who killed Tuthaliya, they have made restitution for the blood(shed)’.

- When structurally clause-initial **and** followed by a multi-word constituent, the relative pronoun surfaces after the first word of this constituent, yielding hyperbaton of the type seen in examples like (8) – (11) above:

(15) KUB 19.9 i 14–17 (≈ (8) above)



 [[^{kuiit} ^{id}Mālan=ma=kan kuiit tapuša]]_{PP} ešta]]_{CP.REL}
 ‘[[What was [[alongside the Mala River]]_{PP}]]_{CP.REL}’

- Note that in (14) and (15) REL is clause-initial because it is the subject; Hittite does not have obligatory *wh*-movement, though REL may move for the purposes of information structure (e.g., topic, focus; Goedegebuure 2009, Huggard 2011).

3.3. Prosodically driven hyperbaton with definite relative adjectives

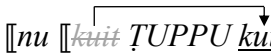
- This proposal likewise correctly predicts the characteristically non-initial position of relative adjectives in definite relative clauses (cf. §2.1 above).
 - When structurally preceded by a prosodic word, definite relative adjectives surface with syntactically expected adjective-noun order:

(16) Bo 86/299 ii 2–3 (≈ (6) above)

[[^mMaraššantas=ma [[kuiit TUPPU]]_{NP.REL} harzi]]_{CP.REL}
 ‘[[[The tablet that]]_{NP.REL} M. holds]]_{CP.REL}’

- When structurally clause-initial, a definite relative adjective undergoes prosodic inversion and is thus hosted by the first prosodic word within the relative NP; this is often the the noun it modifies, as in (17) :

(17) KBo 18.54 obv. 9–10 (≈ (7) above)



 [[nu [[^{kuiit} TUPPU kuiit]]_{NP.REL} MAHAR EN=YA pē harda]]_{CP.REL}
 ‘[[[The tablet that]]_{NP.REL} he had with him (to present) before my lord]]_{CP.REL}’

- That non-initial REL in examples like (17) arises via prosodic inversion (rather than syntactic movement; e.g., Garrett 1992) is supported by cases in which REL exhibits hyperbaton, interrupting multi-word constituents contained within the relative NP.
 - REL adjective splits noun from modifying adjective in NP in (18) :

(18) KUB 5.6 iii 13–14 (NH; CTH 570 – Hepatoscopic oracular inquiry):

nu [[[[parnalliš kuiš ^dZawalliš]]_{NP}]]_{NP.REL} ŠA ^dUTU=ŠI ^mPÉŠ.TUR-aš kuin ^{URU}Arzawa
 harta nu apēdani peran EME-an arḫa tarnan harzi
 ‘[[The [[domestic Z.-deity]]_{NP} that]]_{NP.REL} belongs to (lit. is of) His Majesty, whom
 Mashuiluwa had in Arzawa, has he (= M.) let loose the curse before that one (= Z.)?’

- REL adjective splits noun from modifying genitive in NP in (19) :

(19) HKM 31: 8–10 (NH; CTH 186 – Letter):

[[[ŠA^{URU} *Gašasa=ma=mu kuit ŠA* ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN]]_{NP} *uttar*]]_{NP.REL} *hatrāeš*
 ‘but as to [[the matter [[of the vineyard of Kasasa]] that]]_{NP.REL} you wrote me about...’

- REL adjective splits the NP containing conjoined NP₁ and NP₂ in (20) :

(20) KUB 32.133 iv 2-4 (NH; CTH 482 – Transfer of the Deity of the Night):

[[[[^{LÚ}*šankunniš=a*]]_{N(P)}, *kuiēs* [[^{MUNUS}*katrišš=a*]]<sub>N(P)₂]]_{NP}]]_{NP.REL} *ANA EN SÍSKUR anda weriyanteš eser nu=za apē=ya INA É.MEŠ=ŠUNU arḫa pānzi*
 ‘And [[both [[the priest]]_{NP₁} and [[the *k.* woman]]_{NP₂}]]_{NP} who]]_{NP.REL} are summoned for the ritual client, they too go home (lit. go away to their houses).’</sub>

- Syntactic movement of clause-initial nominal in (18) and (19) would violate the LEFT BRANCH CONDITION and in (20) the COORDINATE STRUCTURE CONSTRAINT (Ross 1967).
- No such issue if word order in (18) – (20) results from prosodic inversion of REL, driven by the requirement that it is hosted by a prosodic word to its left:

(21) KUB 5.6 iii 13-14 (≈ (18) above)

[[[*nu* [[~~*kuišš*~~ [[*parnallis kuiš* ^d*Zawallis*]]_{NP}]]_{NP.REL} *ŠA* ^dUTU=*ŠI*]]_{CP.REL}
 [[The [[domestic Z.-deity]]_{NP} that]]_{NP.REL} belongs to (lit. is of) His Majesty]]_{CP.REL}

3.4. No hyperbaton in indefinite relative clauses

- Why is hyperbaton confined to definite relative clauses? (cf. §2.2 above)
 - ◆ Because **hyperbaton is an epiphenomenon of prosodic inversion**.
- Per Motter (2023b) indefinite pronouns and adjectives are **focused** (cf. Goedgebuure 2009 on interrogative pronouns), which is associated with:
 - Syntactic movement of the relative pronoun or NP to a left-peripheral position (FocP, *vel sim.*), hence strong tendency (but not rule!) to occur initial in the RC.
 - Prosodic prominence (≈ stress), hence no prosodic inversion.
- Examples like (18) – (20) above with hyperbaton strongly support this analysis.

4. Conditions on prosodic inversion in Hittite definite relatives

- Account of word order — and hyperbaton — in Hittite definite RCs advanced in §3 above is complicated by three types of (principled) exceptions.

4.1. Discourse markers do not host relative pronouns/adjectives

- When certain discourse markers structurally precede a definite relative pronoun or adjective, prosodic inversion “overapplies,” in some cases resulting in hyperbaton.
 - Speaker-deictic interjection *kāš(m)a* (Rieken 2009) does not host REL, e.g., in (22) :

(22) HKM 60: 4–6 (MH/MS; CTH 190 – Letter):

kāšašmaš [*kūit* [[*ŠA É^m Tarhunmiya kūit ŠA DI.ĪI.A*]]_{NP} *uttar*]]_{NP.REL} *IŠTU*
 GIŠ.HUR *hatrānun*

‘Look here, as to [[the matter [[of the legal cases of the house of T.]]_{NP} that]]_{NP.REL} I have written about to you about on (lit. with) a wooden tablet...’

- Heterographic spelling likely conceals [*Tarhunmiyaš kūit parnaš haneššnaš uttar*]*, with REL after most deeply embedded genitive, but hyperbaton is any case clear.

- Sentential adverbs like *namma* ‘furthermore’ and *parā=ma* ‘id.’ do not host REL:

(23) KUB 26.12+ ii 12–16 (NH; CTH 255–Instructions for Lord, Princes, and Courtiers):

nammašmaš [*kūiēš* [[*šumeš kūiēš BELU^{HI.A}*]]_{NP}]]_{NP.REL} *hante<z>zi<us> auriuš*
maniyahheškatteni

‘Furthermore, [[you lords]]_{NP} who]]_{NP.REL} are in charge of the frontier posts...’

(24) KUB 1.1 ii 16–17 (NH; CTH 81 – “Apology” of Hattušili III)

[[*parā=ma*]] [*kūedaš* MU.KAM.ĪI.A-*aš kūedaš*]]_{NP.REL} [(*ŠEŠ-YA^m NIR.GÁL-iš INA*
 KUR^{URU} *Hatt*)]*i ēšta*

‘Furthermore, [[in the years in which]]_{NP.REL} my brother, Muwattalli, was in the land of Hatti, (all the Kaska lands (had) become hostile.)’

- See Melchert (2022:185–6) on usage in (23) and *CHD*, P: 122 on (24) .

- The behavior of such discourse markers is syntactically motivated — i.e., as high clausal adjuncts, they are prosodified as separate intonational phrases, thus cannot serve as licit hosts for REL.

4.2. Non-hosting of relative pronouns/adjectives by initial word/phrases

- In some cases a definite relative pronoun or adjective is structurally preceded by a single- or multi-word constituent within the RC, but it still undergoes prosodic inversion, “ignoring” this constituent.
- In most examples of this kind the relative pronoun or adjective is structurally preceded by a multi-word constituent in contrastive focus.

- Focused (=ma) multi-word NP does not host the relative adjective in (25) or (26) :

(25) KUB 14.16+ iii 20–22 (NH; CTH 61 – Annals of Muršili II)

[[^{URU}Hattušaš=ma=za [ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.ME]Š ÉRIN.MEŠ šārikuwašš=a]]_{NP}
 [[~~kuiin~~ NAM.RA *kuiin*]]_{NP,REL} uwatet]]_{CP,REL} nu=š[šan kappūwa]war NU.GÁL ēšta

‘(I brought into my house 15,500 civilian deportees.) But (as for) [[the civilian deportees that]]_{NP,REL} [[the [infantry, chariot]ry, and š.-troops of Hattusha]]_{NP} brought for themselves, thereof there was no counting.’

(26) KBo 4.10 Ro 15 (NH; CTH 106 – Treaty with Ulmi-Teššup):

[[*tukzma ANA* ^mUlmi^dU-up]]_{NP} [[~~kuiit~~ KUR-TUM *kuit*]]_{NP,REL} ADDIN

‘[[The land that]]_{NP,REL} I gave [[to you, Ulmi-Teššup,]]_{NP} (the boundaries that I set for you, protect them!)’

- Rarely, a single word focused constituent fails to host a relative adjective:

(27) KUB 19.29 iv 11-13 (NH; CTH 61 – Annals of Muršili II):

[[*kēzma*]]_{NP} [[~~kuiis~~ ^mHannuttiš *kuiš*]]_{NP,REL} KUR.KUR.MEŠ Š[*APLITI*] maniyahhišket
 nu INA KUR ^{URU}Išhupitta kuwap[*i lahhiyait*?] n=aš apiya BA.ÚŠ

‘[[Hannutti, who]]_{NP,REL} administered the Lo[wer Lands] [[on this side]]_{NP}, when he [campaigned?] in the land of Ishupitta, he died there.’

- Constituents in contrastive focus may be prosodified as separate intonational phrases (Selkirk 2009, i.a.; cf. Devine and Stephens 2000:100–2, Goldstein 2010:121–48 on topics in Ancient Greek).
 - When prosodified as separate intonational phrases, such constituents cannot host relative pronouns or adjectives due to the prosodic boundary between them.

4.3. Phrasal hosting of relative pronouns/adjectives

- In some cases a structurally clause-initial definite relative adjective or pronoun preceding a multi-word constituent undergoes prosodic inversion, but surfaces after the entire constituent rather than after the first word (i.e., no hyperbaton).
 - REL adjective surfaces after NP with demonstrative + head noun in (28) :

(28) KBo 3.40 rev.¹ 6 (OH/NS; CTH 16 – Hurrian Wards; w/ dupl. KBo 13.78 Vo 4):

[[~~kuiin~~ [[[(*uni*)] HURSAG-an]]_{NP} *kuiin*]]_{NP,REL} karšikanzi nu natta SIG5-[]x-ittari

‘[[[That mountain]]_{NP} that]]_{NP,REL} they keep cutting/regularly cut...’

- REL pronoun surfaces after NP with demonstrative + head noun in (29) :

(29) KUB 26.43 Vo (NH; CTH 225 – Landgrant of Tuḥaliya IV to Šaḥurunuwā):

[[*kūit* [[*kīdašma=kan ANA TUPPA^{HI.A}*]]_{NP} *kūit kittari*]]_{CP.REL} *n=ašta DUMU.MEŠ*
^f*Arummur*[a ...]

‘[But (as to) that which is put [[on these tablets]]_{NP}]_{CP.REL}, the sons of A. [...]

- REL adjective surfaces after NP with genitive + head noun in (30) :

(30) HKM 54:4–5 (MH/MS; CTH 190 – Letter):

[[*kūit* [[*ŠA NUMUN.HI.A=mu uttar*]]_{NP} *kūit*]]_{NP.REL} *ḥatrāeš*

‘As to [[the matter of the seeds]]_{NP} that]_{NP.REL} you wrote me about...’

- REL adjective surfaces after NP with coordinated N(P)s in (31) :

(31) KUB 32.133 i 4–7 (NH; CTH 482 – Transfer of the Deity of the Night):

nu=za [[*kue* [[*ḥazziwita*]]_{N(P)₁} [[*išḥiuli^{HI.A}=ya*]]_{N(P)₂}]]_{NP} *kue*]]_{NP.REL} *INA É DINGIR GE₆*
kattan ḥamankatta

‘The rites and obligations that he (Tuḥaliya) had imposed on (lit. bound up with) the temple of the Deity of the Night, (it came to pass that the wooden tablet scribes and the temple personnel had begun to alter them, so I, Mursili, Great King, reedited them from the tablets.)’

- How best to account for this variation requires further investigation.

5. Conclusions and discussion

- Our principal arguments:
 - Surface position of (definite) pronouns and adjectives is determined by a combination of syntax and prosody.
 - Relative adjectives and pronouns (and elements derived from them) are prosodically deficient and thus require a stressed host to their left (similar to indefinites).
 - This requirement drives prosodic inversion, from which hyperbaton can arise epiphenomenally.
- Some questions in need of further investigation:
 - Under what conditions do relative pronouns/adjectives subject to prosodic inversion surface after multi-word constituents (vs. hyperbaton, the dominant pattern)?
 - There are non-trivial differences the syntax of indefinites (see Huggard 2015:50–59) and (definite) relative clauses (see Motter 2023) — just how similar is their prosody?
 - What is the phonological motivation for prosodic inversion of definite relative adjectives and pronouns?

Appendix I – *kuwatqa*

- As an indefinite adverb, *kuwatqa* ‘for some reason’, also ‘somehow, perhaps’ naturally behaves like an indefinite pronoun. It must be hosted by an stressed constituent to its left.
 - In all attested examples the host is a single prosodic word.
 - But small number of attestations and the facts of indefinites in general suggest that the total absence of any hosting by a prosodic phrase is likely accidental.
- Like other predicative adverbs, in functionally unmarked (aka “pattern”) word order *kuwatqa* follows the indirect object and direct object. If one of these is available as host, no “prosodic inversion” is necessary, nor will there be any hyperbaton:

(32) KUB 26.1 i 19 (NH; CTH 255.2.A – Instructions for the ^{LÚ.MEŠ}SAG at Ussa):
 [n]u apāt *kuwatqa* iyatte[ni]
 ‘And you perhaps do that.’

- But if no host is available to its left, it undergoes prosodic inversion, and if a multi-word phrase, the result will be hyperbaton.

- With separation of attributive adjective and head noun:

(33) KBo 4.3 iii 26–28 (NH; CTH 68 – Treaty with Kupanta-Kuruntiya):
memian=ma ANA ^dUTU-ŠI *peran parā hūdāk ŪL hatrāši nuššan* [[apēdaš *kuwatqa*
antuḥšaš]]_{NP} *parā uškeši*
 ‘But you do not at once in advance write about the matter to His Majesty, and perhaps
 look past (overlook) [[those people]]_{NP}.’ (i.e., their enmity)’

(34) KUB 14.8 Vo 38 (NH; CTH 378 – Second Plague Prayer of Muršili II):

[nu mā]n [[kēzza *kuwatqa* uddānaz]]_{NP} *akkiškettari*
 ‘If somehow dying continues [[on account of this matter]]_{NP} ...’

- Space at most for restoration of [nu], thus the same conditions for hyperbaton.

- With separation of adnominal genitive and head noun:

(35) KUB 5.24+16.31 ii 13–14 (NH; CTH 577 – Oracular inquiry of Tuḥaliya IV about Kuruntiya):
kīzwa ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na [[ŠA ^mKur. *kuwatqa* *uttar*]]_{NP} EGIR-*pa* SUD-*at*
 ‘The Sun-goddess of Arinna has somehow brought up (lit. drawn) again *this* [[affair of
 Kuruntiya]]_{NP}.’

- Other than the unusual but paralleled topicalization of just the demonstrative of the object NP, the behavior of *kuwatqa* in (35) is parallel to REL in §4.2 above.

- In combination with head noun and attributive indefinite:

(36) KBo 4.14 iii 1–3 (NH; CTH 123 – but likely Tuthaliya IV):

nu=za [[*uttar kuwatqa kuitki*]]_{NP} *markiyami*

‘([Or?] seeing that I have spoken thus: “I will [take?] you back, I will not abandon you, and it will again [go well] for you,) will I then for some reason repudiate [[any word]]_{NP}?’”

- Thus *CHD L-N* 189, similarly Beckman 2019:131. The adverb has been topicalized, underscoring the improbability of such a possibility.
- Indefinite adjective in the NP *kuitki uttar* must undergo prosodic inversion to be hosted by its head noun. In order to be hosted, adverb must then undergo prosodic inversion to the right of the **first** prosodic word of the NP, unusually but entirely regularly in this case the head noun.

Appendix II – subordinating *kuit*

- Beginning in MH, the NOM/ACC.SG.N relative *kuit* is grammaticalized as a subordinator ‘(as to) the fact that’ (cf. Skt. *yād*), usually ‘seeing that, because’ (though other senses are attested).
- Like other subordinators based on relative-interrogatives (*mān* ‘when, if’, *māhḥan* ‘when, as soon as’, *kuitman* ‘while; until’), *kuit* occupies a syntactic position that is usually clause-initial (aside from connectives like *nu* ± clitics).
- But since *kuit* developed by ellipsis from “definite” relative clauses of the type Noun_[GEN.SG] + *kuit uttar*... ‘the matter of X that...’ where *kuit* was non-focused (see Holland apud Melchert 2016: 206–07), it inherited the prosodic deficiency of its source, and so unlike *māhḥan* (etc.) it must undergo prosodic inversion to be hosted.
- It is often hosted by a single word, e.g., in (37) :

(37) KUB 14.1 Ro 84 (MH/MS; CTH 147 – Indictment of Maduwatta):

[[^m*Partaḥullaš*]]_{NP} *kuit* *TI-anza ēšta*

‘Because [[P.]]_{NP} was alive...’

- But when a multi-word constituent follows the result is usually hyperbaton.
 - Same applies to temporal subordinator *kuwapi* ‘when’, which beginning in MH develops from (mostly non-focused and definite) local relative adverb ‘where’ and likewise inherits its prosodic weakness (exx. in Hoffner and Melchert 2008:§30.39).

A. Hyperbaton with subordinating *kuit* preceding a multi-word constituent:

- With separation of coordinated conjuncts:

(38) KBo 3.3 ii 19–20 = KUB 19.41+ ii 23–24 (NH; CTH 63 – Case of Iyaruwatta):

[[^mHūiyašš=a *kuit* ^mŠummittarašš=a]]_{NP} IŠTU KUR ^{URU}Hatti tiyēr

‘Because both H. and S. came over (lit. stepped) to the side of Hattusha...’

- See also ABoT 1.65 Ro 6-7, KUB 19.10 i 8–10, KBo 4.4 iii 29–30, etc.

- With separation of adnominal genitive from head noun:

(39) HKM 63:12–14 (MH/MS; CTH 190 – Letter):

nu [[*tuel* *kuit* ŠEŠ=KA]]_{NP} uet n=an INA É.GAL-LÌ ŪL ammuk tarkummiyanun

‘Seeing that [[your brother]]_{NP} came, did I not commend him to the palace?’

- See also KBo 4.14 iii 25–26, KUB 14.3 ii 73, KUB 14.8 Vo 15–16, etc.

- With separation of attributive adjective or demonstrative from head noun:

(40) HKM 74:6–8 (MH/MS; CTH 190 – Letter):

nu=wa [[*hantezziš* *kuit* *auriš*]]_{NP} nu=war=aš=ta ZI-it ŪL peḫḫi

‘Because (it, i.e. my district) is [[a frontmost watchpoint]]_{NP}, I will not give them to you on my authority.’

- Thus with Hoffner (2009:235); see also HKM 88:12–13.

(41) KUB 23.103 Vo 20 (NH; CTH 178 – Letter of Tutḫaliya IV to Baba-aḫ-iddina):

[[*kī=pat=mu* *kuit* KUR ^{URU}Babanḫi]]_{NP} *memiškanzi*

‘Because they keep telling me about [[*this* (very) land Babanḫi.]]_{NP}’

- Hoffner (2009:326) and Mora and Giorgieri (2004:171) render as ‘this *about* the land B.’, but we know of no compelling evidence for such a double accusative with *memi/a-*. We take rather as hyperbaton in a single object NP; see also KBo 2.2 iv 22–24 (second clause).

- Interrupting postpositional phrase (which suggests NP object carries main stress in PP):

(42) KUB 14.1 Ro 59 (MH/MS; CTH 147 – Indictment of Madduwatta):

nu=ššan [[ANA ^mMadduwatta *kuit* šer]]_{PP} *zah[ḫi]er [ma]n=kan šēr ANA ^mMadduwatta kuener*

‘Since they (had) fought [[for Madduwatta]]_{PP}, on top of that they would have killed for Madduwatta.’

(43) KUB 5.3+ ii 1 (NH; CTH 563 – Oracular Inquiry about Overwintering of the King)

[[ANA ÚŠ *kuit* šer]]_{PP} ŠA DINGIR-LÌ TUKU.TUKU-za SIxSÁ-at

‘Because anger of a deity was determined [[regarding the plague]]_{PP} (i.e. to be its cause)...’

- Sense with Beal (1997:210), based on following query; see also KBo 18.54 Vo/UpperEdge 22–24.

- Interrupting periphrastic perfects with *ḥark-*:

(44) KBo 5.8 i 23 = KUB 19.36 i 19 (NH; CTH 61 – Annals of Muršili II):

nu=mu [[*ištamaššan kuit ḥarker*]]_{XP}
 ‘Because they had heard about me...’

B. Much less frequently, subordinating *kuit* surfaces after an entire multi-word constituent (5x vs. ca. 60x for hyperbaton).

- Following an NP with coordinated conjuncts:

(45) HKM 47:3–4 (MH/MS; CTH 581 – Letter concerning oracular inquiry):

[[^{URU}*Šipišašin* ^{URU}*Pišatenitišš[an]* KUR ^{URU}*Malazziya*]]_{NP} *kuit ušgawen*
 ‘As to the fact that we were observing (augurally) S., P., (and) the land of Malazziya...’

- Following an NP with attributive adjective or demonstrative + head noun:

(46) KUB 19.37 iii 22–23 (NH; CTH 61 – Annals of Muršili II):

nu=mu=kan [[*ḥantezzi palši*]]_{NP} *kuit* ^{URU}*Timmuḥalaš IŠTU* NAM.RA.ḪI.A GU₄ UDU
išparzašta
 ‘Because T. escaped from me the *first time* with deportees, cattle (and) sheep...’

- Clear hosting by a contrastive topic NP, as position of subject and following context show; contrast (40) above with hyperbaton.

(47) ABoT 1.56 iii 18 (NH; CTH 256 – Decree of Šuppiluliuma II):

nu [[*apāš URU-aš*]]_{NP} *kuit ANA* [...]
 ‘Because that city to/for...’

- Following an entire PP:

(48) KUB 50.6 iii 7 (NH; CTH 569 – Oracular inquiry about enemies of Ḫattušili III):

[[*ANA É-TI=ma=aš šer*]]_{PP} *kuit* SIxSÁ-a[*t*]
 ‘Regarding the fact that she (Danuḫepa) was ascertained on account of the household...’

C. “Postponed” *kuit*

- As discussed, but not entirely solved, by Melchert (2023), *kuit* with some frequency appears farther into the clause than after the first stressed constituent (with or without hyperbaton). See Hoffner and Melchert 2008:§§30.43–30.44 for some examples of the problem, but *kuit* never occurs without a constituent to its left as host.

D. Clause-initial subordinating *kuit* in NH

- Starting in NH *kuit* is attested as a complementizer clause-initially 5x in NH — 1x in a text of Muršili II vs. 4x in texts of Ḫattušili III.

- This distribution suggests that in NH, perhaps beginning in the usually transitional Muršili II, *kuit* as a complementizer came to stand clause-initially in indirect statements, surely on the model of indirect questions, in which *mān* ‘if, whether’ and other interrogatives appear clause-initially.
 - See Hoffner and Melchert 2008:§30.65 for exx., but treatment there requires updating.

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