

Anatolian “Indeterminate” Relative Clauses Revisited: Syntax, Semantics, and the “Held–Garrett Rule”

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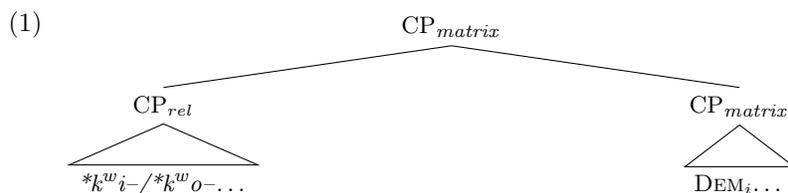
§1 Introduction

§1.1 **Overview:** Three languages of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European (IE) to be discussed:

- **Hittite:** Attested 16th–13th c. BCE in extensive multi-genre administrative texts in a cuneiform syllabic-logographic script (primarily) on clay tablets found across (now) central Turkey and northern Syria, the majority from the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša near modern Boğazkale. Pragmatically-neutral SOV order, subject pro-drop, and *wh*-in-situ (Huggard 2011; cf. §4.3.2 and §6 below).
- **Lycian:** Attested 5th–4th c. BCE in ~200 inscriptions, principally funerary on stone, in a Greek script in classical Lycia in southwest Asia Minor. VSO neutral order is likeliest.
- **Luwian:** Two types, both SOV neutral:
Cuneiform: Attested 16th–13th c. BCE; known primarily from short and often fragmentary (Kizzuwatna) incantations in Hittite ritual texts redacted by Hittite scribes in cuneiform script.
Hieroglyphic: Attested (primarily) 11th–8th c. BCE in a hieroglyphic syllabic-logographic script; mostly monumental inscriptions on stone (~100 of length), some seals, and a few letters/documents on lead strips.

· For RCs, the traditional C(uneiform) vs. H(ieroglyphic) opposition maps directly onto the more precise division of Luwian into Kizzuwatna and Empire (> Iron Age) dialects (Yakubovich 2010), since all CLuw. *exx.* come from Kizzuwatna.

§1.2 **Anatolian correlatives:** Syntactic features common to the Anatolian languages include predominant use of correlatives of the familiar Indo-European type—the relative clause (RC) is left-adjoined to the matrix clause, which (canonically) contains a demonstrative (DEM) coreferential with the relative XP ($*k^w i-/*k^w o-$) (cf. de Vries 2002:145)—schematically, in (1) (cf. Ved. *yá-... sá/tá-*):



- Similarly already Watkins (1976); de Vries (2002:145) distinguishes between correlatives (preposed) and “(right-)extraposed” (or postposed) relative clauses, which cross-linguistically behave more like adnominal relatives than correlatives (cf. Lítak 2009:6). For CP of the matrix clause as the site of adjunction, see Citko (2009); yet it may be lower systematically—cf. Samuels (2005:285–6) and Huggard (2011:92–3), who propose IP as in Hindi (Srivastav 1991; Dayal 1996; Bhatt 2003)—or just in some cases (cf. den Dikken 2009). The correct analysis will depend crucially on the syntactic status of Hitt. *nu*/Luw. *a*.

§1.3 **Anatolian preposed RCs:** Standardly assumed for the Anatolian languages is the complementary distribution between “determinate” and “indeterminate” preposed relative clauses proposed for Hittite by Held (1957:13) and further developed by Garrett (1994:43–56)—hence, the “Held–Garrett rule” in (2), which Garrett (1994:49) has reconstructed for Proto-Anatolian (PA):

(2)

“Held–Garrett rule”:

In “**indeterminate**” RCs, the *wh*-word (REL) stands in clause-initial position (ignoring clausal conjunction and attached clitics), and refers to an entity that is indefinite and non-specific. In “**determinate**” RCs, the *wh*-word (REL) is non-initial, and refers to an entity that is definite and specific.

- Garrett (1994) reconstructs this “rule”—and the syntactic operations by which it is implemented (§4.2.1)—on the basis of apparent agreement between Hittite and Lycian (cf. §§1.4–1.5). For the (problematic) status of the rule in Luwian, cf. §1.6 below. “Indeterminacy” should likely be understood as domain widening (cf. Chierchia 2006).

§1.4 Hittite “determinate” vs. “indeterminate” RCs: The syntactic and semantic contrast between these types in Hittite is evident in “determinate” (3) vs. “indeterminate” (4):

- (3) KUR.KUR.ḪI.A *kuē* *dannatta* *ammuk* EGIR-*pa ašešanun* #
 land-ACC.PL.N. which-ACC.PL.N. empty-ADJ-N.ACC.PL. I-NOM.S.C. re-PRV settle-1S.PRET.ACT.
nu=mu=kan *apē=ya* *ḫūmanda arḫa dāš*
 CONJ=CL-1S.DAT.=PTC-LOC this-ACC.PL.N.=also-ADV all-ACC.PL.N. away-PRV take-3S.PRET.ACT.

‘The **empty lands** which I resettled, all those also he took away from me.’

(Apology of Ḫattušili III iii 57–58, ed. Otten)

- (4) *nu=šši=ššan* *kuīt* *šaḫḫan* LUGAL-*uš dāi* # *nu apāt ēššai*
 CONJ=CL-3S.DAT.=PTC-LOC what-ACC.S.N. service-ACC.S.N. king-NOM.S.C. place-3S.PRES.ACT. CONJ that-ACC.S.N. do-3S.PRES.ACT.

‘**Whatever service** the king imposes on him, he will do that.’

(KBo. 6.4 iv 15–16)

§1.5 “(In)determinate” RCs in Lycian: This same distinction was subsequently observed in Lycian by Gusmani (1962, 1975), e.g. “determinate” (5) vs. “indeterminate” (6):

- (5) *ebēñnē: xupā: m=ēne* [*pr*]ñnawatē: *tettmpe: ḫñtihāmah: tid[ei]mi* #
 this-ACC.S. tomb-ACC.S. PTC-TOP=CL-3S.ACC.C. build-3S.PRET.ACT. T-PN-NOM.S.C. H-PN-GEN.S.C. son-NOM.S.C.
s=ene *ñte: tāti* *tđi* *i[s]bazi: # me=ije: ni hr[ppi]*
 CONJ=CL-3S.ACC.S.C. on-PRV place-3PL.PRES.ACT. what-D-L.S.N. couch-D-L.S.N. CONJ=PTC-LOC NEG above-ADV
tātu: tike: ñmē: ladā
 place-3PL.IMPV.ACT. anyone-C.ACC.S. except wife-ACC.S.C.

‘This tomb, T- son of H- built it. And **on the couch** which they place him, let them not put anything thereupon except (his) wife.’

(TL 75 1–3, ed. Kalinka)

- (6) *ebēñnē prññāwu: m=e=ti* *prññawatē* | *Ixtta: Hlah: tideimi:*
 this-ACC.S.C. house-ACC.S.C. PTC-TOP=CL-ACC.S.C.= PTC-REF build-3S.PRET.ACT. I-PN-NOM.S.C. H-PN-GEN.S.C. son-NOM.S.C.
hrppi ladi: ehbi | *se tideime: ehbije: # se=ije tđi edi:*
 for-PP wife-DAT.S.C. his-ADJ-DAT.S.C. CONJ children-DAT.PL.C. his-ADJ-DAT.PL.C. CONJ=PTC-LOC who-C.NOM.S. do-3S.PRES.ACT.
tike: mētē: | # m=ene qasttu: ēni: qlahi: ebijehi: se
 any-DAT.S. harm-ACC.S.C. CONJ=CL-ACC.S.C. destroy-3S.IMPV.ACT. mother-NOM.S.C. sanctuary-GEN.S.C. this-ADJ-GEN.S.C. CONJ
wedri: wehñtezi |
 watery-NOM.PL.C. of P-ADJ-NOM.PL.C.

‘This (grave-)house, Ixttas son of Hla built it for himself, his wife and his children. **Whoever** does harm to anything therein, let the mother of this courtyard and the Naiads⁷ of Phellos destroy him.’

(TL 56 1–4, ed. Kalinka)

§1.6 “(In)determinate” RCs in Luwian? Generally accepted that the same contrast obtains in Luwian (cf. Melchert 2003:207–8); problematic, however, for this hypothesis are apparent HLuw. counter-examples—e.g. (7), an “indeterminate” RC with non-initial REL:

- (7) *za-ya=pa=wa/i=ta* DOMUS-*na*´ REL-*sa* *a-mi-i* |INFANS-*ni-i*
 this-ACC.PL.N.=PTC-TOP=PTC-QUOT=PTC-LOC house-ACC.PL.N. who-NOM.S.C. my-ADJ.DAT.S.C son-DAT.S.C.
 INFANS.NEPOS-*si* INFANS.NEPOS.REL-*la* [ARHA] [CAPERE-*i*]a-´ # (a)=*wa/i=tu-u*
 grandson-DAT.S.C. great-grandson-DAT.S.C. away-PRV take-3S.PRES.ACT. CONJ=PTC-QUOT=CL-3S.DAT.
 “CAELUM” (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sá-´* || (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa=ha*
 sky-GEN.S.N. Tarhunt-PN-NOM.S.C. Karhuha-PN-NOM.S.C. Kubaba-PN-NOM.S.C.=CONJ
 (DEUS)LUNA+*MI-sa-´* (DEUS)SOL-*sa=[ha-´]* (DEUS)*pa+ra/i-[k]+ra/i-sa=ha-´* |LIS-*la/i/u-sa-tu*
 Moon-PN-NOM.S.C. Sun-PN-NOM.S.C.=CONJ Parkara-PN-NOM.S.C.=CONJ litigate-3PL.IMPV.ACT.
 ‘But **whoever** shall take away these houses from my son, grandson, (or) great-grandson, against him may Tarhunt of the Sky, Karhuha, and Kubaba, (as well as) the Moon-god and the Sun-god and Parkara litigate [and may they destroy his head!]

(KARKAMIŠ A4a §12-13; *CHLI*, ed. Hawkins)

§1.7 Questioning “Held–Garrett”: Such examples problematize the assumed operation of the “Held–Garrett rule” in (at least) Hieroglyphic Luwian and, potentially, its reconstruction for PA; moreover, failure of the “rule” to obtain would entail revisions to previous syntactic analyses of Anatolian “indeterminate” RCs (Garrett 1994; Huggard 2011).

§1.8 Anatolian preposed RCs reconsidered: In view of such issues, the status of the “indeterminate” vs. “determinate” syntactic/semantic contrast in the Anatolian languages and PA must be reevaluated; objectives are thus:

- (i) Assess the Luwian evidence for surface order in “indeterminate” RCs, and demonstrate that the “Held–Garrett rule” as formulated does not obtain (§2).
- (ii) Argue against reconstructing the “Held–Garrett rule” for PA, and attempt to reconcile the surface word orders observed in HLuw. “indeterminate” RCs with previously neglected evidence in Hittite and Lycian (§3).
- (iii) Building on the proposals of Garrett (1994), Samuels (2005), and Huggard (2011), develop a preliminary syntactic analysis of “indeterminate” RCs in the Anatolian languages (§4).

§2 Luwian “indeterminate” relative clauses reconsidered

§2.1 The syntax of Luwian RCs: Melchert (2003:207): “The syntax of relative clauses in Luwian shows the same features as those established for Hittite by Garrett (1994), following Held [(1957)] and Hale [(1987)].”

§2.2 Support for the “Held–Garrett rule”? “Indeterminate” RCs in (8) with clause-initial REL provide apparent support for the “Held–Garrett rule” in Luwian (cf. Melchert 2003:208)—yet is it upheld systematically?

(8) “Indeterminate” RCs in Luwian:

a. *a=wa/i* REL-*i-sa* |OVIS(ANIMAL)-*si* # *a=wa/i* *za-a-ti-i* |STATUA-*ru-ti-i*
 CONJ=PTC-QUOT who-NOM.S.C. sheep-GEN.S.C. CONJ=PTC-QUOT this-DAT.S. statue-DAT.S.
 |OVIS(ANIMAL)-*na* |(LIBARE) *sa₅+ra/i-li-i-tú* # REL-*i-sa*=*pa=wa/i*
 sheep-ACC.S.C. offer-3S.IMPV.ACT. who-NOM.S.=PTC-TOP=PTC-QUOT
 |(PANIS)*tu+ra/i-pa-si-i* # (*a*)=*wa=tú* |(PANIS)*tu+ra/i-pi-na*
 bread-GEN.S. CONJ=PTC-QUOT=CL-3S.DAT. bread-ACC.S.
 |(LIBARE)*sa₅+ra/i-la-ta-za=ha* PES₂(-)*pa*(-)*PES₂-ya-tú*
 libation-ACC.S.N.=CONJ ?-3S.IMPV.ACT.

‘Whoever is (a man) of sheep, let him offer a sheep to this statue. But whoever is (a man) of bread, let him PES₂.PES₂- bread and libation to it.’

(KARKAMIŠ A1a §30-33; *CHLI*, ed. Hawkins)

b. *kuiš=tar* *malhaššaššanzan* EN-*ya* *āduwala* *ānniti* # *a=an*
 who-NOM.S.C.=PTC of ritual-ADJ-DAT.S.C. lord-DAT.S.C. evil-ACC.PL.N. do-3S.PRES.MP. CONJ=CL-ACC.S.C.
 DINGIR.MEŠ-*inzi* *āhha* *nātatta* *tatarhandu*
 god-NOM.PL.C. like reed-ACC.PL. break-3PL.IMPV.ACT.

‘Whoever does evils to the “lord of the ritual”, let the gods break him like reeds.’

(KUB 9.6+ iii 25–27)

§2.3 The (limited) Cuneiform evidence: Very few CLuw. RCs in interpretable contexts; of likely “indeterminate” RCs, all show REL-initial order, but only short S(O)V clauses, e.g. (9–10):

(9) *kuiš=an* *sahhaniššatta* # *kuiš=an* *ipparri<š>šatta* #
 who-NOM.S.C.=CL-ACC.S.C. impose *s*-3S.PRET.ACT. who-NOM.S.C.=CL-ACC.S.C. distract-3S.PRET.ACT.
 EN SÍSKUR-*aššin* ALAM=*ša* *mīšan=za* *haš=ša* *halhalzanin uwarannahi=ša*
 lord of ritual-ADJ-ACC.S.C. statue-ACC.S.N.=PTCL flesh-ACC.S.N.=PTCL bone-ACC.S.N.=PTCL ?-ACC.S.C. ?-ACC.S.N.=PTCL
yunahi=ša *lalpīn* *kuwannanin* *maššanallin* KASKAL-*an*
 wealth-ACC.S.N.=PTCL eyelash-ACC.S.C. eyebrow-ACC.S.C. divine-ADJ-ACC.S.C. path-ACC.S.C.

‘Whoever imposed *sahhan* on it, whoever distrained it, (namely) the “lord of the ritual’s” statue, flesh, bone, *halhalzani*, *uwarannahi*, (mobile) wealth, eyelash, eyebrow, (or) “divine path” . . .’

(KUB 35.45 ii 21–4)

(10) *kuīnzi* *zīnza* *ušanda* # . . . *hattainzi* *hatta* *adandu*
 who-NOM.PL.C. this-ACC.PL.C. ?-3PL.PRET.ACT. violent-ADJ-NOM.PL.C. violence-ACC.COLL.C. eat-3PL.IMPV.ACT.

‘Whoever *uša*-ed these (ones), let (those) . . . violent ones eat violence.’

(KBo 13.260 Rs. III 5–6, 9–10)

- (10) is somewhat more interesting, since the relative pronoun precedes the demonstrative *za-*, which is frequently “fronted” in HLuw. (cf. §§4.6–4.8 below), but is paralleled in the HLuw. ‘positive’ curse formula |REL-*ša* |*zana* |DEUS-*ni-na* |REL-*šà-i* ‘whoever fears this god’ (SULTANHAN §17), which shows that this “fronting” of *za-* is similarly optional in HLuw. RCs.

§2.4 Diagnosing “(in)determinacy”: In some cases—e.g. HLuw. (11)—it is unclear whether the RC has “determinate” or “indeterminate” semantics; such examples cannot be used to assess the status of the “Held–Garrett rule”.

(11) | (“MALUS₂”) *ha-ni-ya-ta=pa=wa/i=ta-* ‘ |REL-*ya* |(TERRA)-*ta-sà-REL+ra/i* |*a-ta*
 evil-ACC.PL.N.=PTC-TOP=PTC-QUOT=PTC-LOC which-ACC.PL.N. land-LOC.S. in-PP
 |*á-sa-ta-* ‘ # |(a)=*w=ata* (“TERRA”) *ta-sà-REL+ra/i-ri+i* |ARHA *501-*ha-há*
 be-3PL.PRET.ACT. CONJ.=ptcl-QUOT.=ptcl.-LOC. land-ABL. out from-PP put-1S.PRET.ACT.

‘And the evils which were in the land, I removed out of the land.’

(KARATEPE 1 (Hu.) §12 - (Ho.) §13; *CHLI*, ed. Hawkins)

§2.5 A “locus of indeterminacy”: “Indeterminate” semantics consistently obtain in formulaic curse clauses of the type commonly found in archaic Greece and the ancient Near East—e.g. (12), where the Lycian proposed RC corresponds to a Greek conditional protasis (ἐάν). All Anatolian proposed RCs in curse formulae thus dependably “indeterminate”:

- (12) *ebēññē prññāwu: m=e=ti prññawatē | Ixtta: Hlah: tideimi:*
 this-ACC.S.C. house-ACC.S.C. PTC-TOP=CL-ACC.S.C.= PTC-REF build-3S.PRET.ACT. I-PN.NOM.S.C. H-PN-GEN.S.C. son-NOM.S.C.
hrppi ladi: ehbi | se tideime: ehbiye: # se=iye ti edi:
 for-PP wife-DAT.S.C. his-ADJ-DAT.S.C. CONJ children-DAT.PL.C. his-ADJ-DAT.PL.C. CONJ=PTC-LOC who-C.NOM.S. do-3S.PRES.ACT.
tike: mētē: | # m=ene qasttu: ēni: qlahi: ebijehi: se
 any-DAT.S. harm-ACC.S.C. CONJ=CL-ACC.S.C. destroy-3S.IMPV.ACT. mother-NOM.S.C. sanctuary-GEN.S.C. this-ADJ-GEN.S.C. CONJ
wedri: wehñtezi | # Ἰκτας Λα Ἄντιφελλιτῆς τουτί τὸ μνήμα
 watery-NOM.PL.C. of P-ADJ-NOM.PL.C. I-PN-NOM.S.M. (H)l-PN-GEN.S.M. from A-NOM.S.M. this-ACC.S.N. DEF=memorial-ACC.S.N.
ἐργάσατο αὐτῶ[ι] | τε καὶ γυνακί καὶ τέχνους · # ἐάν δέ τις
 make-3S.AOR.IND.MP. self-DAT.S.M. CONJ woman-DAT.S.F. CONJ child-DAT.PL.N. if-PTC=PTC-TOP=any-NOM.S.M.
ἀδικήσῃ ἦ ἀγοράσῃ τὸ μνήμα # ἦ Λητώ αὐτὸν
 harm-3S.AOR.SBJ.ACT. or-CONJ sell-3S.AOR.SBJ.ACT. DEF=memorial-ACC.S.N. DEF=L-PN-NOM.S.F. him-ACC.S.M.
ἐπιτ[ρί]ψ[ε]
 destroy-3S.FUT.IND.ACT.

(Lycian:) ‘This (grave-)house, Ixttas son of Hla built it for himself, his wife and his children. **Whoever** does harm to anything therein, let the mother of this courtyard and the Naiads⁷ of Phellos destroy him.’ (Greek:) ‘Iktas (son) of (H)la from Antepellos, built this memorial for himself and his wife and children. **If anyone** should do harm to or sell this memorial, Leto shall destroy him.’

(TL 56, ed. Kalinka)

- (Native) Greek examples of this type, of which there are many, include *JG* 14.865 (Corinthian *aryballos*, ca. 675 BCE), and for (Neo-)Phrygian parallels, see Drew-Bear et al (2008). Yet curse clauses of this type are not restricted to the IE languages of this geographical region; for close parallels in Semitic, see Gevirtz (1961) and Kogan (2010). Gager (1999) is an accessible overview of Near Eastern sources, while Christiansen (2012) is a detailed study of Hittite curse formulae.

§2.6 Hieroglyphic “indeterminate” RCs: HLuw. offers significantly greater (if still limited) “indeterminate” RC data, since curse clauses are (disproportionately) well-represented, e.g. (13):

(13) Hieroglyphic Luwian “indeterminate” RCs:

- a. *za-ya=pa=wa/i=ta DOMUS-na' REL-sa a-mi-i |INFANS-ni-i*
 this-ACC.PL.N.=PTC-TOP=PTC-QUOT=PTC-LOC house-ACC.PL.N. who-NOM.S.C. my-ADJ.DAT.S.C son-DAT.S.C.
 INFANS.NEPOS-*si* INFANS.NEPOS.REL-*la* [ARHA] [CAPERE-*i*]a-´ # (a)=wa/i=tu-u
 grandson-DAT.S.C. great-grandson-DAT.S.C. away-PRV take-3S.PRES.ACT. CONJ=PTC-QUOT=CL-3S.DAT.
 “CAELUM” (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sá-´* || (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa* (DEUS)*ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa=ha*
 sky-GEN.S.N. Tarhunt-NOM.S.C. Karhuha-PN-NOM.S.C. Kubaba-PN-NOM.S.C.=CONJ
 (DEUS)LUNA+*MI-sa-´* (DEUS)SOL-*sa=[ha-´]* (DEUS)*pa+ra/i-[k]+ra/i-sa=ha-´*
 Moon-PN-NOM.S.C. (god) Sun-PN-NOM.S.C.=CONJ Parkara-PN-NOM.S.C.=CONJ
 |LIS-*la/i/u-sa-tu*
 litigate-3PL.IMPV.ACT.

‘But **whoever** shall take away these houses from my son, grandson, (or) great-grandson, against him may Tarhunt of the Sky, Karhuha, and Kubaba, (as well as) the Moon-god and the Sun-god and Parkara litigate [and may they destroy his head!]

(KARKAMIŠ A4a §12-13; *CHLI*, ed. Hawkins) = (7)

- b. *za-ti=pa=wa/i URBS+MI-ni REL-sa MALUS-hi-tà-ri+i VERSUS (PES₂)i+ra/i #*
 this-DAT.S.=PTC-TOP=PTC-QUOT city-DAT.S. who-NOM.S.C. evil-INSTR.N. against-PRV come-3S.PRES.ACT.
 á-*pa-ti=pa=wa/i* CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS (DEUS)*kar-hu-ha-sa*
 that-DAT.S.C.=CONJ=PTC-QUOT sky-GEN.S.N. Tarhunt-NOM.S.C. Karhuha-PN-NOM.S.C.
 (DEUS)*ku-AVIS-pa-pa-sa=ha...* (CRUX)-*wa/i-la* “PES”-*wa/i-tú*
 Kubaba-PN-NOM.S.C.=CONJ ?-ADV come-3S.IMPV.ACT.

‘But **whoever** shall approach this city with malice... against that one may Tarhunt of the Sky, Karhuha, and Kubaba... come fatally?’

(CEKKE §20, 24; *CHLI*, ed. Hawkins)

§2.7 **Exceptions to the “Held–Garrett rule”?** Although the RCs in (13) are clearly “indeterminate”, they show non-initial REL in apparent contradiction to the “Held–Garrett rule”.

§2.8 **Less than exceptional:** Significantly, a survey of HLuw. curse formulae confirms that in the vast majority of cases REL surfaces **non-initially**: 41 out of 42 semantically unambiguous “indeterminate” RCs have at least one maximal XP preceding REL in the RC.

§2.9 **Observable patterns:** The surface word order in (13) in fact reflects the most frequent pattern—viz. [CP_{rel} XP REL ...]; RC data is summarized in (14):

(14)

Surface word order in Hieroglyphic Luwian “indeterminate” RCs:				
#REL...	#XP REL...	#XP YP REL...	#(?)...REL...	Total
1	37	2	2	42

§2.10 **Some real exceptions:** As evident in (14), there are two interesting cases of the order [CP_{rel} XP YP REL ...], e.g. (15):

(15) [DP *za-[tú]=pa=wa/i* (DEUS) *á-tara/i-su-ha* DEUS-*ni-za* [CUM]-*ni*] [DP ANNUS-*sa-li-z[a]-n[a]*
this-DAT.S.C.=PTC-TOP=PTC-QUOT Atrisuha-PN-DAT.S.C. god-DAT.PL.C. with-PP annual-ADJ-ACC.S.C.
(PANIS) *tú+ra/i-p[i]-n[a]* BOS(ANIMAL) 2 OVIS(ANIMAL)] **REL-sa** NEG₂ |[PONERE/DARE]-*i* #
bread-ACC.S.C. ox-ACC.S.C. 2 sheep-ACC.S.C. who-NOM.S.C. NEG offer[?]-3S.PRES.ACT.
(*a*)=*[wa/i]=tú=tá* (DEUS) *á-tara/i-su-ha-sa* | (“CRUX”) *wa/i-la/i/u* | PES-*wa/i-tú*
CONJ=PTC-QUOT=CL-3S.DAT.=PTC-LOC Atrisuha-PN-NOM.S.C. fatally[?]-ADV come-3S.IMPV.ACT.
[DP ‘For this god Atrisuha together with (other) gods], **whoever** does not offer? [DP annual bread, an ox,
and two sheep], against him may Atrisuha come fatally!’

(KARKAMIŠ A4d §1-2; *CHLI*, ed. Hawkins)

§2.11 **The “Held–Garrett rule” in HLuw. reassessed:** The distribution in (14) shows that (H)Luw. “indeterminate” RCs need not (and overwhelmingly do not) have initial REL—thus the ‘Held–Garret rule’ as formulated does not obtain in (H)Luw. (*pace* Melchert 2003:207).

§3 Anatolian “indeterminate” RCs reexamined:

§3.1 **The PA situation:** As noted in §1.7, apparent agreement between Lycian and Hittite with respect to the “Held–Garrett rule’ has led Garrett (1994:49) to reconstruct the same complementary distribution between “indeterminate’ and “determinate” RCs in PA.

- It should be noted that CLuw. at least superficially upholds the traditional formulation of the “Held–Garrett rule”, although the evidence is very limited and consists entirely of short SOV clauses. The significant chronological gap between CLuw. and the (Iron Age) HLuw. evidence could plausibly allow for the diachronic loss of this “rule” if it were rightly reconstructed for PA (cf. §3.2–3.4)

§3.2 **Luwian—a real divergence?** The now-questionable PA status of the ‘Held–Garrett’ rule calls for a reexamination of the Luwian and Hittite evidence—and (preliminary) analysis in fact yields ‘indeterminate’ RCs with non-initial REL, e.g. Hitt. (16) and Lyc. (17):

(16) *namma* ANA ^dUTU-ŠI *kuiš* LÚ.KÚR # [*n=aš=ttā*] LÚ.KÚR *ēšdu* #
furthermore-ADV his Majesty-DAT.S. who-NOM.S.C. enemy CONJ=you-CL-DAT.S.C. enemy be-3S.IMPV.ACT.
tuk=ma *kuiš* LÚ.KÚR # ANA ^dUTU-ŠI=*ya=aš* LÚ.KÚR
you-DAT.S.C.=PTC-TOP who-NOM.S.C. enemy his Majesty-DAT.S.=also=CL-NOM.S.C. enemy
‘Furthermore, **whoever** (is) an enemy to His Majesty shall be an enemy to you, while **whoever** is an enemy to you (is) also an enemy His Majesty.’

(KBo 5.4 Ro 32–3)

(17) *ebēnnē: xupā: m=e=ti: prñnawatē: za[h]ama: ddawāpartah*
 this-ACC.S.C. tomb-ACC.S.C. PTC-TOP=CL-ACC.S.C.=PTC-REFL build-3S.PRET.ACT. Z-PN-NOM.S.C. Dd-PN-GEN.S.C.
tideimi: # me ñtepi tāti: za[h]āmā: se: ladā: se: tideimis:
 son-NOM.S.C. PTC=TOP into-PRV place-3PL.PRES.ACT. Z-PN-ACC.S.C. CONJ wife-ACC.S.C. CONJ child-ACC.PL.C.
ehbi[s] # kbi: tike: ti ñtepi tadi: a[t]la[h]i: tibe:
 his-ADJ.ACC.PL.C. other-ACC.S.C. anyone-ACC.S.C. who-NOM.S.C. into-PRV place-3S.PRES.ACT. self-GEN.S.C. or-CONJ
kbijehi # ... m=ene: mā[h]āi: tubeiti wed[rēñ]ni
 other-GEN.S.C. PTC-TOP=CL-ACC.S.C. god-NOM.PL.C. strike-3PL.PRES.ACT. ?-ADJ.NOM.PL.C.

‘This tomb, Z- son of D- built it for himself. They shall place Z- and (his) wife and his children therein. **Whoever** deposits anyone else, either of himself or of another...him the *w-* gods shall strike.’

(TL 101, ed. Kalinka)

- Garrett (1994:51–3) notes the existence of Lyc. *exx.* like (17), and suggests that the initial XP occupies a Topic position external either to the main clause or (more plausibly) to the RC—viz. it is adjoined to S (=CP) in the same way as preposed RCs adjoin to a matrix clause. This analysis is problematic, however, since in (17), *kbi tike* is a core argument of *tadi* in the RC; more likely is the proposal of Samuels (2005:278–83), who argues that (17) should not be separated from ‘fronting’, and involves movement to a Topic position internal to the RC (cf. §4.5.2 below).

§3.3 Reconciling Luwian: Hitt. (16) and Lyc. (17) establish the **possibility** of the surface order [CP_{rel} XP REL...] frequently observed in HLuw. “indeterminate” RCs in their respective languages, which strongly suggests that this order was also possible in PA “indeterminate” RCs.

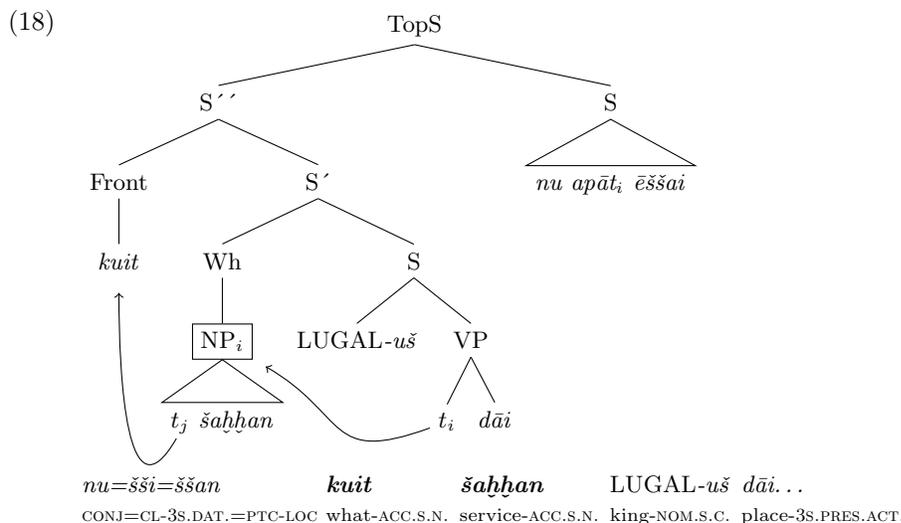
§3.4 The PA consequences: The syntactic complementary distribution between “indeterminate” and “determinate” implicit in the ‘Garrett–Held rule’ cannot be reconstructed for PA; rather, PA permitted both REL-initial and REL-non-initial configurations in “indeterminate” RCs.

§4 The syntax of “indeterminate” RCs in Luwian and PA

§4.1 Synchrony & diachrony A plausible syntactic account of Anatolian “indeterminate” RCs must not only be able to derive the surface order [CP_{rel} XP REL...] synchronically at every stage, but to explain **why** this order is so much more prevalent in (H)Luw.

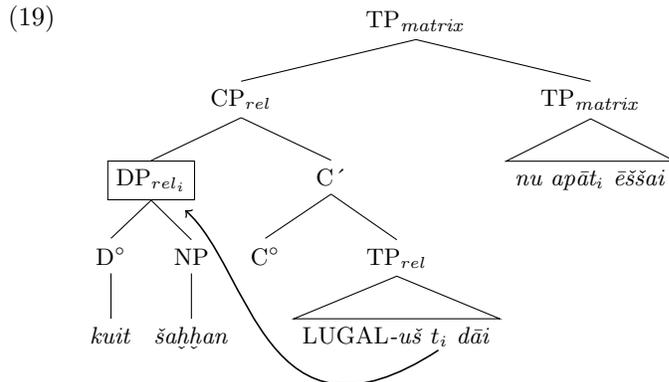
§4.2 Previous proposals: The two proposals that directly address the syntax of Anatolian “indeterminate” RCs are Garrett (1994) and Huggard (2011):

§4.2.1 Garrett (1994): Preposed RCs are Topics adjoined to S (cf. Hale 1987). REL XP undergoes *wh*-movement to a position (Wh) in the left periphery of the RC, then further “fronting” of REL to the highest position internal to the RC, thus predicting absolutely consistent REL-initial surface order:



‘**Whatever service** the king imposes on him, [he will do that.]’ (= (4))

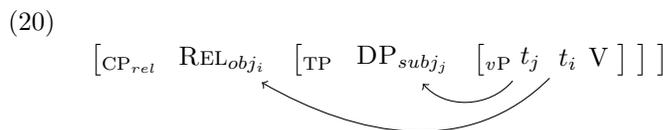
§4.2.2 **Huggard (2011):** “Indeterminate” RCs are derived by focus-driven movement of REL XP to SpecCP; since REL then occupies the highest structural position in CP_{rel} , Huggard’s account similarly predicts consistent REL-initial surface order:



- Huggard (2011) suggests that this position is associated with Goedegebuure’s (2009) “identifying/information focus;” cf. §4.4 below.

§4.3 **Assessing previous proposals:** Primary issue is that neither proposal can account for the surface order [CP_{rel} XP REL. . .]; each, however, has certain important insights which may provide the foundation for a new analysis.

§4.3.1 **An intermediate position:** Garrett’s (1994) hypothesis invokes an initial movement to an intermediate position on the left periphery, which by itself could account for the strong **tendency** for REL to surface clause-initially in Hitt. and Lyc.; this process is important, especially, for REL objects, which show this pattern despite being merged low in vP , i.e. (20):

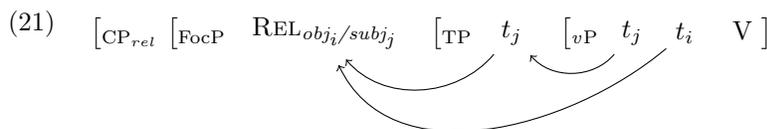


- That subjects in Hittite normally raise to SpecTP has been confirmed by Huggard (2014), who establishes that indefinite subjects do not undergo this movement just as in Turkish (Öztürk 2005) and Vedic (Hale 2014).

§4.3.2 **wh-(non-)movement in Anatolian?** Problematic, however, is Garrett’s (1994) appeal to *wh*-movement in the Anatolian languages, since it has now been demonstrated by Huggard (2011) that Hittite is *wh*-in-situ; more likely, then, is that this movement is motivated by information structure—in particular, Focus (cf. Goedegebuure 2009; Huggard 2011).

- Huggard (2011) builds upon (and formalizes) the analysis of Goedegebuure (2009:962), who argues that Hittite interrogatives “are governed by the same focus assignment rules as [declaratives].” The limited Luwian evidence for interrogatives strongly suggests it parallels Hittite; for examples from both languages and further discussion, see the Appendix (§6).

§4.4 **A new proposal:** “Indeterminate” semantics are realized by movement of REL to the specifier of a Focus projection (FocP) situated above TP in the left periphery; Anatolian “indeterminate” RCs thus have the basic structure in (21):



- Since “indeterminate” RCs always introduce new information in the discourse, the movement of REL in this type may owe to “information focus” (cf. Huggard 2011:98). While É. Kiss (1998) proposes that only “identification focus” (not “information”) involves movement to SpecFocP, Goedegebuure (2009:961) argues that this dichotomy is not relevant to Hittite word order, and identifies both types of focus with clause-initial position.

§4.5 Anatolian topicalization? Assuming an (articulated) left periphery (e.g. Rizzi 1997; cf. Huggard 2011 on Hittite), there is a still higher structural position—viz. TopP—available to host pre-REL XPs, i.e. (22)—but can this be motivated?

$$(22) \left[\text{CP}_{rel} \left[\text{TopP}^* \text{ XP} \left[\text{FocP} \text{ REL} \dots \left[\text{TP} \dots \right. \right. \right. \right. \right. \right. \right.$$

- Similar structures are found in Italian *wh*-questions (Rizzi 1997) and in Gungbe (Kwa, Niger Congo), where both the *wh*-word in SpecFocP and preceding XP in SpecTopP bear overt morphological marking for topic (*yâ*) and focus (*wê*) (Aboh 2004:299–303).

§4.5.1 The syntax of topicalization: Samuels (2005:277–83) has argued for Anatolian topicalization as a movement operation targeting SpecTopP, thereby (partially) collapsing the distinction between “fronting” (movement) and “topicalization” (base-generation) advocated by Garrett (e.g. 1990, 1992) (cf. Hale 1987).

- In Hittite, some of the examples classified by Garrett (1990, 1994) as “topicalization” likely reflect an adjunction operation, viz. “Hanging Topic Left Dislocation” (HTLD) (e.g. Cinque 1977); Hittite HTs are limited to single DPs, which receive “default” nominative case marking rather than agreeing with the clitic and surface external to *nu* (if present)—e.g. ^m*Huidudduwalliš n=an URU Šallašna ašašer* ‘As for **H-**, they settled **him** in the city of S-.’ (HKM 113 Vo 14-15).

§4.5.2 Lycian clitic doubling: Per Samuels (2005), topicalization in Lycian is characterized by clitic doubling; all definite object DPs require a clitic double (cf. Garrett 1992), e.g. *ebēñnē xupā... =e* in (23):

$$(23) \left[\text{TopP} \text{ ebēñnē: xupā:} \quad m \right] = e = t i: \quad \text{prñnawatē:} \quad \text{za[h]ama:} \quad \text{ddawāpartah}$$

this-ACC.S.C. tomb-ACC.S.C. PTC-TOP=CL-ACC.S.C.=PTC-REFL build-3S.PRET.ACT. Z-PN-NOM.S.C. Dd-PN-GEN.S.C.

$$\text{tideimi:} \quad \# \text{ me} \quad \text{ñtepi} \quad \text{tāti:} \quad \text{za[h]āmā:} \quad \text{se:} \quad \text{ladā:} \quad \text{se:} \quad \text{tideimis:} \quad \text{ehbi[s] \#}$$

son-NOM.S.C. PTC=TOP into-PRV place-3PL.PRES.ACT. Z-PN-ACC.S.C. CONJ wife-ACC.S.C. CONJ child-ACC.PL.C. his-ADJ.ACC.PL.C.

$$\left[\text{TopP} \text{ kbi:} \quad \text{tike:} \right] \quad \left[\text{FocP} \text{ ti} \right] \quad \text{ñtepi} \quad \text{tadi:} \quad \text{a[t]la[h]i:} \quad \text{tibe:} \quad \text{kbijehi} \quad \# \dots$$

other-ACC.S.C. anyone-ACC.S.C. who-NOM.S.C. into-PRV place-3S.PRES.ACT. self-GEN.S.C. or-CONJ other-GEN.S.C.

$$m = \text{ene:} \quad \text{mā[h]āi:} \quad \text{tubeiti} \quad \text{wed[rēñ]ni}$$

PTC-TOP=CL-ACC.S.C. god-NOM.PL.C. strike-3PL.PRES.ACT. ?-ADJ.NOM.PL.C.

‘This tomb, Z- son of D- built it for himself. They shall place Z- and (his) wife and his children therein. **Whoever** deposits anyone else, either of himself or of another... him the *w-* gods shall strike.’

(TL 101, ed. Kalinka) = (17)

- As in Spanish, indefinite DPs are not doubled (cf. Arregi 2003)—hence, the absence of a clitic double for *kbi tike* in (23). This absence is strong evidence for a movement account, since assuming base-generation would entail a null resumptive element in object position, which is not regularly licensed in Anatolian. Although *kbi tike* is not overtly marked as a topic in (23), similar contexts (e.g. TL 88.3; 93.2) show it clause-initially with the topic marker, i.e. *#kbi: tike: me...* (cf. TL 149.7 #... *kbi: tike:*).

§4.5.3 Topic marking *mo: Samuels (2005) argues that Lyc. *me* and Hitt. *=ma* (< **mo*)—traditionally treated as conjunctions—function as (optional) topic markers (cf. Jap. *-wa*; Heycock 2008), and XP(s) to its left are in TopP; such marking evident in Lyc. (23) above and Hitt. (24) below:

$$(24) \text{ namma} \quad \left[\text{TopP} \text{ ANA} \text{ } ^d\text{UTU-ŠI} \right] \left[\text{FocP} \text{ kuiš} \right] \text{ LÚ.KÚR} \quad \# \quad [n = aš = tta] \quad \text{LÚ.KÚR} \quad \text{ēšdu} \quad \#$$

furthermore-ADV his Majesty-DAT.S. who-NOM.S.C. enemy CONJ=you-CL-DAT.S.C. enemy be-3S.IMPV.ACT.

$$\left[\text{TopP} \text{ tuk} = \text{ma} \right] \quad \left[\text{FocP} \text{ kuiš} \right] \text{ LÚ.KÚR} \quad \# \quad \text{ANA} \text{ } ^d\text{UTU-ŠI} = \text{ya} = \text{aš} \quad \text{LÚ.KÚR}$$

you-DAT.S.C.=PTC-TOP who-NOM.S.C. enemy his Majesty-DAT.S.=also=CL-NOM.S.C. enemy

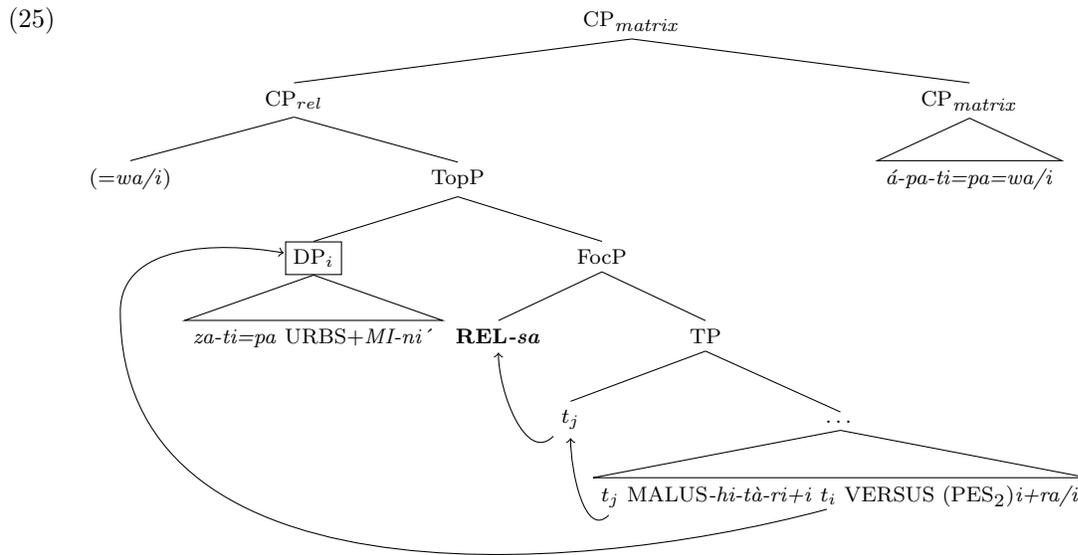
‘Furthermore, **whoever** (is) an enemy to His Majesty shall be an enemy to you, while **whoever** is an enemy to you (is) also an enemy His Majesty.’

(KBo 5.4 Ro 32-3) = (16)

- Hittite *=ma* is generally labelled a conjunction, e.g. *GrHL* (395–9); *CHD* (s.v.), yet both also call significant attention to its topic-marking function. The same analysis is standardly applied to Lycian *me*, e.g. Garrett (1992, 1994) and Melchert (2004), yet Garrett (e.g. 1992:210–11) also associates it with semantic topic-hood in at least some cases. In the case of *me*, this mixed analysis may be warranted: I think we must distinguish (synchronically) between a clause-initial conjunction *me*—e.g. *me ñtepi tāti* in (23), which cannot be a topic construction (VSO, no clitic double!)—and the formally similar topic marker *me* (*pacc* Samuels (2005:283), who attributes its behavior to “prosodic ambiguity”).

§4.5.4 Contrastive topicalization: (23–24) are not only formally compatible with the structure proposed in (22)—i.e. $\left[\text{CP}_{rel} \left[\text{TopP} \text{ XP} \right] \left[\text{FocP} \text{ REL} \right] \dots \right]$ —but also clearly exhibit the semantics of **contrastive topics**.

§4.6 Luwian topicalization: Topics in HLuw. are always clause-initial and (optionally) marked with the particle *=pa*; of “indeterminate” RCs with surface order $[_{CP_{rel}} XP REL \dots]$, the initial XP is a marked Topic (and/or *za-* ‘this’) in 32 of 37 examples (= 86.5%)—e.g. (13b), with the structure in (25):



$[_{TopP} \underline{za-ti=pa=wa/i} \quad \underline{URBS+MI-ni'}] [_{FocP} \mathbf{REL-sa}] \text{MALUS-}hi-tà-ri+i \text{ VERSUS}$
this-DAT.S.=PTC-TOP=PTC-QUOT city-DAT.S. who-NOM.S.C. evil-INSTR.N. against-PRV
 $(PES_2)i+ra/i \# \acute{a-pa-ti=pa=wa/i} \dots$
come-3S.PRES.ACT. that-DAT.S.C.=CONJ=PTC-QUOT

‘But **whoever** shall approach this city with malice...[against] that one [may Tarhunt of the Sky, Karhuha, and Kubaba... come fatally?.]’

(CEKKE §20, 24; *CHLI*, ed. Hawkins) = (13b)

- Like Hitt. *=ma* and Lyc. *me* (cf. §4.5.3), Luw. *(=)pa* has been previously analyzed as a conjunction (e.g. Melchert 1993:161–2; Payne 2010:39–40), but its topicalizing function is emphasized by Melchert (2003:208–9): “It is important to stress, however, that ‘but’ is not an inherent meaning of *-pa*. The contrastive value of *-pa* is also seen in its use to introduce new topics...”.
- The initial XPs in these Luwian curse formulae are perhaps to be understood as “discourse topics”, as in some Lycian tomb inscriptions (cf. Garrett 1992:210–11). It should be noted that the difference between the position of Luw. *=pa* and Hitt. *=ma* (after first ω in TopP) and Lyc. *=me* (after first XP) remains to be explained. On topicalization of *za-*, cf. §4.8 below.

§4.7 Topicalization in PA: Extending Samuels’s (2005) analysis to Luwian allows for a uniform account of the structure of “indeterminate” RCs in the Anatolian languages (thus also, PA): REL obligatorily moves to SpecFocP, and may be preceded by any topicalized XP(s) in SpecTopP:

- Under this account, it is assumed that the surface order in (e.g.) (15) involves multiple Topics, which is unproblematic under Rizzi’s (1997) assumption that TopP (but not FocP) is recursive.

§4.8 Luwic innovation(s)? Hitt. is thereby distinguished from the Luwic languages only by its relatively limited use of topicalization; its more extensive usage in Luw. and Lyc. may owe in part to the nature of the corpus, in part to diachronic development(s).

- (E.g.) in a significant majority of HLuw. cases, the demonstrative *za-* is topicalized—hence clause-initial *za(-)pa* is frequent both in “indeterminate” RCs (23/39) and in ordinary matrix clauses, e.g. KARKAMIŠ A1a §25, TELL AHMAR 5 §16, etc. This usage may reflect the (incipient) grammaticalization of an earlier general tendency for the demonstrative to function as a topic (cf. the development of the “correlative diptych” into Vedic prose).

§5 Conclusions & further questions

§5.1 Anatolian “indeterminate” RCs reevaluated: In §§2–3, it was demonstrated that the surface order $[_{CP_{rel}} XP REL \dots]$ was possible in Anatolian “indeterminate” RCs; in §4, moreover, it was proposed that this order is derived by focus movement of REL and topicalization of the initial XP.

§5.2 Revising ‘Held–Garrett’: While the “Held–Garrett rule” as formulated does not obtain in Anatolian, the more conservative generalization in (26) preserves some of its central insights:

(26)

PA PREPOSED RELATIVE CLAUSE GENERALIZATION (PRCG):

Proposed RCs in which REL is non-initial may be “**determinate**”—viz. REL refers to an entity that is definite and specific—or “**indeterminate**”—REL refers to an entity that is indefinite and non-specific. Proposed RCs in which REL is clause-initial are “**indeterminate**”.

§5.3 Information structure and syntax in Anatolian? More generally, the mapping between information structure and syntactic structure in Luwian and the Anatolian languages calls for much further research.

§5.4 The structure of PIE correlatives? The establishment of the PRCG for PA provides a foundation for more detailed investigations of the syntax/semantics of correlatives in Proto-Indo-European.

§6 Appendix: Anatolian *wh*-in-situ interrogatives

§6.1 Hittite interrogatives: As Huggard (2011) shows, superficial support for *wh*-movement in Hittite comes only from short (S)(O)V clauses, e.g. (27); however, (28a) and esp. (28b), where multiple argument XPs surface to the left of REL, require *wh*-in-situ analysis:

- (27) *nu=wa* *kuiš* *namma* [*za*]*hhiškizzi*
 CONJ.=PTC-QUOT. who-NOM.S.C. still-ADV. fight-ITER.3S.PRES.ACT.
 ‘Who will continue to fight?’

(KUB 36.13 i 32’-33’)

- (28) **Hittite *wh*-in-situ interrogatives:**

a. ^dU URU *Nerik* TUKU *-an* ZI *-an* *kuēzza* KASKAL-*aḫmi*
 StG-PN-GEN.S.C. N-PN-GEN.S.C. angry-ADJ-ACC.S.C. soul-ACC.S.C. what-ABL. appease-1S.PRES.ACT
 ‘By what means can I appease the angry soul of the Stormgod of (the city of) Nerik?’

(KBo 5.1 i 92-3)

b. *zik=wa=kan* *apūn* *anda* *kuwat aušta*
 you-PRON-2S.NOM.=PTC-QUOT=PTC-LOC that-C. ACC. S. at/toward-PRV why look-2S.PRET.ACT.
 ‘Why did you look at that (woman)?’

(KBo 5.3 iii 56)

§6.2 Luwian interrogatives: Only a few assured HLuw. interrogatives. As in Hittite, short S(O)V clauses like (29) appear to support *wh*-movement (cf. Melchert 2003:207); however, longer clauses in (30) suggest that REL remains in situ:

- (29) |**REL-i-sà** =wa/i=sa |á-mi-sa |ha-tu-<ra+>a-sa
 what-NOM.S.C.=PTC-QUOT=CL-3S.NOM.C my-ADJ.C.NOM.S. letter-NOM.S.C.
 ‘What (is) it, my letter?’

(ASSUR letter e §11; *CHLI*, ed. Hawkins)

(30) **Luwian *wh*-in-situ interrogatives:**

- a. ni-pa=w=a/in(a) |á-mu |**REL-za** |i-zi-ya-wa/i |á-mi-na |za-na
 or-CONJ=PTC-QUOT=CL-3S.ACC.C. I-PRON-1S.NOM. why make-1S.PRES.ACT mine-C.ACC.S. this-C.ACC.S.
 | ha-tu-ra/i-na
 letter-C.ACC.S.
 ‘Or why do I make it, this letter of mine?’

(ASSUR letter e §9)

- b. |(a)=wa/i=mu=ta |*187(-)tu-wa/i-i-za |**REL-za** |u-si-ti-sa # |(a)=wa/i=mu
 CONJ.=PTC-QUOT=CL-1S.DAT.=PTC-LOC ?-ACC.PL.C. why bring-2S.PRES.ACT. CONJ.=PTC-QUOT=CL-1S.DAT.
 |10 ha-sà-pi-na |100=ha=wa/i=mu “(*187)sù”-mi-la-a-na |VIA-wa/i-ni
 10 ?=ACC.S.C. 100=CONJ=PTC-QUOT=CL-1S.DAT. ?=ACC.S.C. send-2S.IMPV.ACT.
 ‘Why do you bring me *t*-? Send me 10 *h*- and 100 *s*-!’

(ASSUR letter c §7-8; *CHLI*, ed. Hawkins)

- (30a) is complicated by (poorly understood) “clitic doubling” (cf. (29) above), but if it stands, it shows REL occupying a position beneath the structural subject (in SpecTP).

§6.3 *wh*-non-movement in Luwian and PA: Syntactic agreement between Hittite and Luwian interrogatives allows for safe reconstruction of Proto-Anatolian as a *wh*-in-situ language.

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