Focus in Hittite and the stressed pronoun $ap\bar{a}$-: in search of a method

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1 Introduction

One of the current issues in Indo-European studies is how to use pragmatics as a means of further understanding the often extinct languages of the Indo-European language family. Given the lack of native speakers for our languages and the impossibility to rely on one's own intuition, it is clear that we need to find other ways to get valid judgments with respect to pragmatic categories.

Our first source of information should be the general linguistic literature. However, general linguistics often does not provide the means to recognize and then describe pragmatic categories in corpus languages, let alone reconstruct them. This observation is certainly not new, and may have even caused a rift between general linguistics and Indo-European studies.

In this paper I suggest an approach to recognizing and describing pragmatic categories which has proven to be fruitful for Hittite. I have focused on the category of Focus, an important notion of Information Structure. About the first half of this paper will be spent on a discussion of linguistic models that are current in the study of referential expressions, followed by a search for a method. This search is necessary, for, as said above and as I will show below, these models cannot be applied to Hittite, and by extension probably not to other extinct or corpus languages either. The question is not only how to better describe Hittite, but also how to translate the results and insights from general linguistic theories into research questions and methods for dead languages.

The second half is devoted to the application of the method developed in the first half of this paper to the function of the accented 3rd person singular subject pronoun $ap\bar{a}\check{s}$ 'he, she, it'.

2 Models and Methods

2.1 Introduction

My research on Focus phenomena in Hittite originated in the study of the syntax of the accented 3rd person pronoun $ap\bar{a}$- 'that one, he/she/it'[1] (GOEDEGEBUURE 2003: 242–337)[2].

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1 In its function as a 3rd person anaphoric accented pronoun, $ap\bar{a}$- must be distinguished from its purely demonstrative use as a 2nd person deictic pronoun 'that, near addressee' (GOEDEGEBUURE 2002/03: 3 (with n. 9), 14f., 20f.; 2003: 181–202). The two functions are formally not differentiated (HOFFNER & MELCHERT 2008: 133).

2 Although the categorization of $ap\bar{a}$- as an accented 3rd person pronoun is standard knowledge (see for example FRIEDRICH 1974[3]: 62, 66f.; FRIEDRICH & KAMMENHUBER 1975–1984: 130ff.; HOFFNER & MELCHERT 2008: 133, 143; PUHVEL 1984: 86f.), no attention was paid to its syntax or discourse functions until quite recently (BOLEY 2003: 157f.). In section 2.3 I will evaluate Boley's claim that Old Hittite

Since Hittite has verbal agreement with the subject and furthermore uses the enclitic pronoun -*a*- for the other syntactically central functions[3], I expected the function of the accented pronoun *apā*- to be at least partially similar to the function of accented pronouns in other languages that, like Hittite, count clitic or unaccented pronouns amongst their referential expressions. As a method this does not seem to be unwarranted. There are several important studies on the use of referential expressions in discourse that claim universality for their models, drawing upon evidence from often unrelated languages (see for example ARIEL 1990; CORNISH 1999; GIVÓN 1983; GROSZ et al. 1995[4]; GUNDEL et al. 1993; YAN 2000). The models from these cross-linguistic studies should provide us with enough comparative material to explain the use of the Hittite accented 3rd person pronoun *apā*-. In the next section three of these models will be discussed and tested on Hittite.

2.2 Models of cognitive and discourse topic accessibility

Most models dealing with referential expressions establish a connection between the formal expression of a discourse entity and the degree of cognitive accessibility of that discourse entity in the mind of speaker and addressee[5]. In broad outline, if the speaker estimates that a discourse referent has a low activation state in the mind of the addressee, she will normally use an expression with a heavy information load such as a definite noun phrase to make retrieval of the correct referent easier. On the other hand, if a discourse referent is highly activated, for example through repeated and uninterrupted mention in the discourse, the speaker will use a pronoun.

   One of the major proponents of the cognitive school is ARIEL (1990). Ariel has set up an Accessibility Scale based on statistics collected from texts and psycholinguistic reading-time experiments. The scale ranks referential expressions along a cline from high accessibility through intermediate to low accessibility (1990: 73). Accessibility is explained as the degree of activation of a concept in the brain: a concept may be extremely salient (i. e., highly activated), unactivated or fading away (1990: 16). Accented pronouns are counted among the high accessibility markers (1990: 64), which signal to the addressee that their referents are highly salient and should be retrieved easily from the set of mental representations of discourse referents. Accented pronouns are used to retrieve marked antecedents, i. e., those that are not most immediately thought of (1990: 66). The following hierarchy of High Accessibility markers starts with the lowest marking and ends with the highest Accessibility marking (ARIEL 1990: 73; ARIEL 2008: 44):

   (1)   **stressed pronouns** > full unstressed pronouns > cliticized pronouns > extremely high accessibility markers (such as agreement markers, reflexives, zero morphemes)

The degree of accessibility is influenced by at least four factors, (1) *distance* or *recency of mention* (ARIEL 1990: 22, 28), (2) *saliency* or *topicality* (local topics are less salient than discourse topics (1990: 22–23, 29)), (3) *competition* (the presence of intervening discourse referents lowers accessibility (1990: 28)), and (4) *unity* (i. e., change of scenery or frame

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or passage of time within the discourse world. Accessibility of frame-dependent entities decreases when a change in frame is indicated (1990: 26, 29)).

It seems that the choice for an accented pronoun versus a non-accented form is mostly governed by *saliency*. This can be derived from the preliminary discussion of the use of Hebrew attenuated 3rd person plural pronouns (*h+*) versus their fully pronunciated counterparts (*hem*). The attenuated forms seem to be used for the (discourse) topic, whereas the full forms refer to non-topics that are already highly accessible (Ariel 1990: 61f.).

Another, well-known cross-linguistic study on reference and topic continuity is Givón (1983). The important contribution of this work is that it presents a quantitative analysis of referential continuity in discourse of such diverse languages as Biblical Hebrew, Japanese, Amharic, English, Ute, Hausa, Chamorro and Latin American Spanish. By measuring *referential distance* ("look-back"), *potential interference* ("ambiguity") and *persistence* ("decay"), and combining the results of these measurements for all languages in the volume, Givón has set up a scale of topic continuity/accessibility (1983: 18):

(2)   *more continuous/accessible topics*

   ↑   unstressed/bound pronouns ("agreement")
   | **stressed/independent pronouns**
   ↓   full NPs

   more discontinuous/inaccessible topics
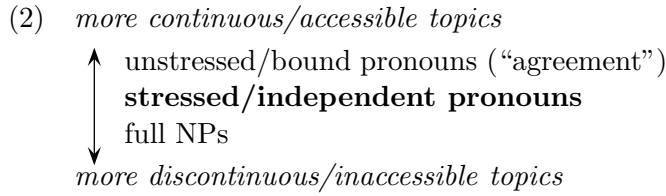
Stressed independent pronouns mark low topic continuity, low theme continuity, have an average referential distance of 1.70–2.00 clauses, and are used when there are competing discourse entities. They are used either contrastively or as topic switchers (Givón 1983: 30; 2001a: 419). The stressed or independent pronouns, marking referential discontinuity, occupy a position that is consistent with Ariel's scale.

Finally, another highly influential study is Gundel et al. (1993). Gundel et al. propose a near-universal Givenness Hierarchy, which contains six cognitive statuses that are relevant to the form of referring expressions. The Hierarchy for English referring expressions is presented in Figure 1 (1993: 275):

in focus > activated >		familiar >	uniquely identifiable	> referential >	type identifiable
(*it*)	*that*	*that* N	*the* N	indef *this* N	*a* N
	this				
	this N				
	stressed pronouns[6]				

Figure 1: The Givenness Hierarchy

As in the other models, the different forms are processing signals for the addressee to identify the correct referent. For example, the demonstrative noun phrase *that* N signals 'you are familiar with this, and therefore can identify it' (1993: 276).

Again we see that accented pronouns are not used for referents that have the highest activation state or level of accessibility. They have the status *activated*, which means that the referent is represented in current short-term memory, but is retrieved from long-term

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6 Stressed pronouns are not listed in the Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel et al. 1993: 275), although they are later said to signal the status "activated" (1993: 278).

memory or accessible from the immediate linguistic or extra-linguistic context (GUNDEL et al. 1993: 278).

2.3 Testing the topicality of the Hittite accented pronoun $apā$-

BOLEY (2003) provides a functional description of Old Hittite accented $apā$- as an indicator of "marked emphasis on topics" (2003: 163). In view of the three models presented above, this seems quite plausible. According to Boley, $apā$- "is in short a grammatical tool to mark the case-form [*sic!*] when it is the topic and cannot be represented by a normal pronoun [i. e., the enclitic pronoun -*a*-, PMG]" (2003: 158). This is the case when the discourse entity is a secondary topic (ex. (66), 2003: 162), when the use of an enclitic pronoun would result in referential ambiguity ("when there might be confusion", 2003: 158[7]), and finally, when the topic needs reinforcement, which is an operation which falls outside the scope of the enclitic pronoun (ex. (56), 2003: 158). The latter is the most important function if we count the times Boley uses this explanation for the occurrence of $apā$-. However, Boley never clarifies what reinforcement stands for and why the topics in her examples need to be reinforced[8]. It therefore remains necessary to study the pronoun $apā$- with respect to topicality.

But, when it comes to accented pronouns, models like those of Ariel, Gundel and Givón may be unreliable or not applicable. I will start with an assessment of the cognitive status of the stressed pronouns in Gundel's article. Gundel et al. discuss the referential expressions of Chinese, English, Russian, Spanish and Japanese and conclude that in each language stressed pronouns have the status *activated* (GUNDEL et al 1993: 285, and see Table 1, p. 284). Besides the fact that the article does not contain any example of a stressed pronoun to illustrate this status, the number of stressed pronouns in the counts, 6 out of 1873 referring expressions (Tables 2–6, 1993: 291–292)[9], is too small to warrant any conclusions. An additional problem was that the material on which these counts were based often did not allow to differentiate between stressed and unstressed pronouns (1993: 292 n. 22). In all, Gundel's model should not be used when studying stressed pronouns.

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7 Ex. (63) probably belongs to this category: "*apas* marks people who have parallel roles in the action that need to be differentiated. It is used in essence to keep them straight as against one another" (2003: 161). Boley never explains though what "keeping things straight" means.

8 Here I will present all remarks about the use of $apā$- that are connected with the idea that this pronoun is used as a topic reinforcer. Ex. (56): The pronoun $apā$- is used "presumably because the topic [...] is in need for strong reinforcement" (2003: 158), but why?; Ex. (57): "But the sequence *apun/kuin* says it all" (2003: 158). Boley does not explain what this means; Ex. (58): "but here obviously there is reason to mark the subject/topic, [...]. *apas* (+ -*a*) is pressed into service for the purpose" (2003: 159). This reason is never given; Ex. (59): "*sas* here would probably have the effect of moving the discourse on: *apas* reinforces the topic" (2003: 159); Ex. (60): "Here *apas* is employed both to mark the main topic and presumably to topicalize the agent" (2003: 159). Both functions are *ad hoc*; Ex. (61a): "*apas* again is used to indicate the continuation of a previously established topic, under circumstances in which one might not be quite clear about who held that status" (2003: 159f.). In this case, the pronoun $apā$- actually refers to both the primary and secondary topics, so how that helps "in keeping things straight" (2003: 163) is not clear to me; Ex. (61b): "let us look at the rest of that story" (2003: 160), which contains two interesting uses of $apā$- that are never discussed by Boley.

9 Chinese accented *ta* 'he' did not occur on a total of 240 referring expressions (Table 2). For English there was only one accented 3rd person pronoun on 655 referring expressions. This pronoun had the status *activated* (Table 3). Russian accented *ono* 'he' occurred once as *activated* on a total of 284 referring expressions (Table 5). Spanish accented *él* was not attested on a total of 331 referring expressions (Table 6; The pronoun *él* in Table 6 is the unaccented form. The accented version would have been listed as *ÉL* (see Table 1, 1993: 284)). The cognitive status of Japanese *kare* 'he' is *activated* according to GUNDEL et al. (1993: 284), but in their material *kare* occurs 4 times *in focus* on a total of 363 referring expressions (Table 4). Thus, we have 4 *in focus* and 2 *activated* accented pronouns on 1873 referring expressions. Any conclusion based on 6 out of 1873 is statistically irrelevant. Assigning the cognitive status *activated* to the accented pronouns based on these counts seems therefore premature.

Ariel's study suffers from the same lack of evidence, and her discussion of the stressed pronouns should be considered preliminary. Ariel's approach however partially coincides with the method described in GIVÓN (1983: 13–15), which I still consider the standard work on text-based quantitative analysis of referential expressions. Following Givón's method, I first performed a quantitative analysis of the non-adnominal singular subject of the 3rd person pronoun *apā-*, without the enclitic particles *-a/-ma*, *-ya* or *-pat*. The files of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary Project currently (i. e., 2008) contain 60 tokens of *apāš* with enough preserved context to allow measuring *referential distance*[10] and *potential interference*[11] (see Table 1). I also applied these measurements to the occurrences of the 3rd person singular enclitic subject pronoun *-aš* and the singular subject pronoun *apāš* in the corpus of three Middle Hittite text-groups studied by BAUER (2009)[12]. Bauer's corpus contains 66 tokens of *-aš*[13] and 14 tokens of *apāš*, with and without enclitic particles. For comparison, I added the figures for Biblical Hebrew (FOX 1983: 230, Table V; p. 232, Table VI (subject of perfect or imperfect)). The results are as follows:

	CHD files	Middle Hittite		Biblical Hebrew	
	apāš (60)	*-aš* (66)	*apāš*(+) (14)	*human subject agreement* (285)	*human subject independent pronoun* (51)
referential distance	1.07	1.21	1.14	1.10	1.76
potential interference	1.12	1.24	1.43	1.03	1.41

Table 1: Averages of referential distance and potential interference for Hittite *-aš* and *apāš*, and Biblical Hebrew agreement and independent subject pronouns.

The most surprising outcome of these counts is that the stressed pronoun *apāš* has an average referential distance (1.07/1.14 clauses) that is lower than that of the enclitic pronoun *-aš* (1.21 clauses), and far lower than Givón's observation that the average referential distance of stressed independent pronouns is 1.70–2.00 clauses. In addition, in the larger corpus of the CHD files the figure for *potential interference* drops from 1.43 to 1.12, which is again lower than the figure for *-aš* (1.24). Within the cognitive models this means that the cognitive accessibility of the referents of *apāš* should actually be *higher* than the accessibility of the referents of *-aš*, countering everything that has been stated about stressed pronouns so far.

It must be concluded that hierarchies of referential expressions relying on cognitive accessibility or attentional states cannot be used to differentiate between the enclitic and stressed pronouns in Hittite. The stressed pronoun *apā-* is not used for discourse topics that are less topical or less accessible and therefore in need of reinforcement. It is not

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10 *Referential distance* assesses the gap between the host clause of the referential expression and its previous occurrence by counting the number of clauses to the left. The minimal value is 1 clause, which means maximal continuity (GIVÓN 1983: 13).

11 *Potential interference* assesses the accessibility lowering effect of interfering discourse entities in the immediately preceding clauses. A discourse entity is only counted as interfering if it is as semantically compatible with the predicate of the clause as the referent under discussion. If there are no interfering referents, the value 1 is assigned. If one or more interfering referents are found, the value 2 is assigned (GIVÓN 1983: 14).

12 These are the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguards (CTH 262), the Maşat-letters and the Madduwatta-text (CTH 147).

13 Ideally, one should also include the counts on agreement on the verb, but since the choice for *-aš* versus agreement is governed by syntax and semantics, and not by discourse factors, a biased count is not expected.

used to mark the secondary topic, or to help resolve referential ambiguity (*contra* BOLEY 2003).

But there is evidence that Hittite is not unique in this respect. An alternative solution to accessibility theories was presented by CORNISH (1999: 123), following a suggestion by Knud Lambrecht that English stressed pronouns are not used to disambiguate between discourse entities with different levels of cognitive accessibility but to indicate *Contrastive Focus* or *Topic*, to be discussed below. But already LAMBRECHT (1994: 286f.) gives an account of contrastiveness as the reason why highly activated discourse referents are sometimes expressed as stressed pronouns. Only lately, however, has the connection between stressed pronouns and contrast found further support in the Optimality Theory framework of DE HOOP (2004), the corpus study of KOTHARI (2007) based on spontaneous conversational dialogues, and the experimental study of VENDITTI et al. (2002).

2.4 Stressed pronouns and contrastive Focus

As noted above, the relationship between stressed pronouns and contrast, in particular Contrastive Focus, has only recently been studied again, by for example DE HOOP (2004: 40):

(3)   [M]eaning effects of stress on pronouns are general pragmatic effects of constituent stress or narrow **focus**. In particular, stressed pronouns indicate the presence of a rhetorical relation of **contrast** between two situations within the discourse.

This connection is therefore highly inaccessible to most non-linguists, or even to linguists who are not specialized in pronouns. In the remainder of this section I will evaluate what methods are available to connect Contrastive Focus with stressed pronouns in a way that is applicable to extinct languages.

The pragmatic category Focus belongs to Information Structure, a sub-field of linguistics that deals with the distribution of information within the sentence. Within the framework of Functional Grammar the category of Focus is defined as follows (DIK 1997: 326):

(4)   The focal information in a linguistic expression is that information which is relatively the most important or salient in the given communicative setting, and considered by S[peaker] to be most essential for A[ddressee] to integrate into his pragmatic information.

For extinct languages a conceptual definition like (4) is not very helpful in identifying the focal information of a linguistic expression. The definition could be made more operational by including that omitting the Focus constituent of an utterance usually strips that utterance of its information value (LAMBRECHT 1994: 224), and by acknowledging the iconic relationship between stress and important information, and thus the Focus. For example, the Focus of the following Hittite clause should at least include the stressed dative sg. pronoun *apēdani* 'to her':

(5)   KUB 21.17 ii 8 (NH, Edict of Ḫattušili III, CTH 86), ed. ÜNAL 1974: 22f.
Then, during the reign of my brother I divided Šaušga in Šamuḫa. I built temples for her in (the city of) Urikina,
nu kī É ^md*SIN*.^dU **apēdani** *ADDIN*
and I donated this estate of Armatarḫunda **to her**.

But how should we proceed beyond this observation? Is *apēdani* the only Focus element in the clause? Did the scribe use *apēdani* to express some kind of contrast? Should we therefore infer that the most important information is that the estate was given to no one

else but Istar, as implied by the stress on the English pronoun *her*? Or does the Focus include "this estate of Armatarhunda" under its scope? And does the omission of this constituent deprive the sentence of some of its information value?

The methodological error with this procedure is twofold. First, we are actually trying to find the Focus of the *English translation* of this Hittite clause. Using translations to find the Information Structure of a source language is not always unwarranted (POLO 2005), and it would approximate native speakers' judgments, a method which is valid for living languages. But with an extinct language like Hittite, which only re-surfaced after 3100 years of oblivion, this method is to be discarded.

Second, this attempt to find the Focus is based on the assumption that Hittite stressed pronouns function like English stressed pronouns. That this assumption cannot yet be supported is clear from section 2.3, where I noted that only lately the function of stressed pronouns in English is studied from a new perspective, with promising but as yet inconclusive results.

At this point, the only remaining option for studying Focus and Hittite pronouns seems language typology. Cross-linguistic studies have shown that the primary focus position in SOV languages, such as Hittite, is most likely immediately preverbal. But it is far from clear that all types of Focus, to be discussed below, prefer the same position in the clause, and the question is which type of Focus elements occurs in preverbal position. KIM (1988: 148) claims that Rhematic Focus (also known as New, Completive or Information Focus) occurs in preverbal position while KISS (1998) opts for the opposite view that Information Focus constituents always occur in pattern position and that only Identificational Focus (or Contrastive Focus) is associated with preverbal position. To these completely contradictory statements we may add GIVÓN (2001b: 244f.), who simply denies the existence of a special preverbal Focus position. Givón suggests that elements in Contrastive Focus are topicalized, that is, placed in clause-initial position. According to him, Contrastive Focus elements are only seemingly in preverbal position. Because all other arguments in such Contrastive Focus clauses are highly topical, they often are omitted in natural discourse. Only the Contrastive Focus element, in clause-initial position, and the following verb remain.

Clearly, the typological literature does not provide unambiguous answers either.

2.5 The onomasiological approach: algorithms of discovery

The application of cognitive theories and typological studies is based on a *semasiological* approach. This approach assigns meaning or function to a form, *in casu* "how does the stressed pronoun *apāš* function". Usually one can resort to the competence of native speakers by devising tests, and in the absence of native speakers one could try to apply theories or models mapping meaning or function on form that are – hopefully – tested on native speakers. But, as described above, this has failed miserably for Hittite.

However, discarding general linguistics and its deductive methods and only relying on the inductive reasoning of philology is premature. There still remains *onomasiology*, the opposite of semasiology. The onomasiological approach[14] maps form on meaning or func-

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14 The onomasiological approach has already shown its validity for Focus phenomena in Hieroglyphic Luwian (GOEDEGEBUURE 1998). By comparing Focus expressions in Phoenician with known Focus expressions in Hieroglyphic Luwian in the Karatepe bilingual, I was able to show that there were a few clauses in Hieroglyphic Luwian that should have some Focus on the truth-value of the proposition of the clause, but which did not seem to contain any known Focus element. What they did have in common, however, was the adverb REL-*(i)-pa* /*kwipa*/ with unclear syntax and semantics. I could thus map a 'new' form on a pragmatic function. For an improved taxonomy of this lexeme as an asseverative adverb 'indeed, in fact, certainly, really, why so it is!, for sure, so!' and its etymology see now MELCHERT 2002.

tion, asking for example "how is the pragmatic function Focus expressed". Descriptions of pragmatic functions are themselves based on semasiological studies, but they have the advantage that direct comparisons of forms in different languages are avoided.

The conceptual definition of Focus (4) can be made operational with the help of Dik's Focus typology (DIK 1997: 332) (see Figure 2 below) and the description of Focus by LAMBRECHT (1994: 217f.):

(6) The focus of a proposition [...] is the balance remaining when one substracts the presupposed component from a given assertion. [...] Like the topic, the focus is an element which stands in a pragmatically construed relation to a proposition. But while the pragmatic relation between a topic and a proposition is assumed to be predictable or recoverable, the relation between the focus element and the proposition is assumed to be unpredictable or non-recoverable for the addressee at the time of the utterance.

Type of Focus	$(P_A)_S$[15]	P_S	Expression type
Non-Contrastive Focus			
Completive	????	X	X!
Contrastive Focus			
Replacing	X	Y	(not X, but) Y!
Expanding	X	X and Y	also Y!
Restricting	X and Y	X	only X!
Selecting	X or Y	X	X!

Figure 2: Dik's Focus Typology

The distinctive features of Restricting and Expanding Focus are the presence of the Focus particles *only* and *also*, *-pat* and *-ya* in Hittite. These two Focus types have to be excluded since this paper only deals with *apāš* without enclitics. We just need to set up an algorithm for Replacing and Selecting Focus, based on (4), (6) and Figure 2 (Completive Focus will be dealt with in section 5).

Replacing Focus is used to correct some information held by the addressee by substituting the wrong information with the correct information (see Figure 2). It is also the proto-typical form of Contrastive Focus:

(7) a. Speaker A: *John* (= X) *went home*
    b. Speaker B: *No, not* John (= not X) *went home,* Mary (= Y) *went home* (= Not X, (but) Y!)
       or
    c. Speaker B': *No,* Mary (= Y) *went home* ((but) Y!)

In general, our method for finding Focus expressions in written texts should be based on an analysis of the preceding context. If a clause contains a noun phrase in Focus, the rest of the clause should to a large extent be presupposed (see (6)). We therefore need to search the preceding discourse for content that matches the presupposed part of the clause containing the Focus. In (7) that would be *someone went home.* The remainder of

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15 $(P_A)_S$ means 'the information that the Addressee takes for granted as estimated by the Speaker'. P_S means 'the information that the Speaker wants to communicate'.

the clause should then be the Focus, which is *Mary* in (7b) and (7c). Since an element in Replacing Focus replaces another element, we would also like to find the replaced element, *John* in (7a), and the rejection of *John* as the one who went home (7b). Abstracting away from (7), we can create an algorithm using the definitions given above and the Focus typology:

1. Find a preceding clause that contains the information that needs to be replaced ("X"), or find the negation of the information that needs to be replaced ("not X").
2. Find the presuppositional part.
3. "Substract" this presuppositional part form the clause hosting the Focus element.
4. The remaining part is the constituent in Replacing Focus ("Y!").
5. Do that for all "not X, but Y" pairs found in your corpus, and you will hopefully find a pattern, whether that be stress, word order, particles, or special constructions.

Selecting Focus can be described as "Not X or Y or Z is the case, but Y is the case", or "nothing else but Y is the case". Selecting Focus is usually found in Question-Answer pairs:

(8)   a. Speaker A: *Would you like coffee or tea* (= X or Y)
       b. Speaker B: *Tea, please* (= Y)

Setting up an algorithm for Selecting Focus in written discourse is more difficult, for several reasons. First, the members of the set from which to choose are usually not listed separately. However, it still may be possible to find the set from which one member is chosen. But the Hittite material shows a more pressing problem. In contrast with dialogues, I found that the presupposition is almost never shared with the preceding discourse. Instead, we often see that the presupposed information in the clause under study is part of general background knowledge, shared by speaker and addressee. The following example deals with the succession to the throne in Amurru, a vassal country of Ḫatti. As everyone will have taken for granted at the time, there will always be someone who will become king. The question is only who that will be. Thus, 'someone will become king' is the presupposition, and the most relevant information, and thus the Focus, is the person that will fill in the information gap.

(9)   KBo 5.9 i 24–26 (NH, Tuppi-Teššub Treaty, CTH 62), ed. Friedrich 1926: 12f.
       maḫḫann=a DAM=*KA tatti*
       [25] *nu=za mān* DUMU.NITA *iyaši*
       nu katta KUR [URU]*Amurri **apāš*** [26] LUGAL-*uš ēšdu*

       And when you choose your wife,
       and if you beget a son,
       then **he** (and no one else) will later become king in Amurru.

In (9), the Focus is 'the son that Tuppi-Teššub will beget', expressed as *apāš*. The set from which this future son is selected is never mentioned, and again we have to rely on our cultural knowledge. Given the "historical law" that there will always be contestants to the throne, the Hittite king promises that from the set of competitors for the throne no one else but the future son of Tuppi-Teššub will receive his support.

Although finding the presupposition in clauses with a Selecting Focus requires a large amount of inferencing from the larger cultural setting, it is still possible to set up an algorithm, similar to the algorithm for Replacing Focus:

1. Find a preceding clause that contains the set from which to choose (X or Y or Z or . . .), although in narrative discourse the individuals of the set are often not mentioned separately.

2. Find the presuppositional part (which might be explicitly mentioned in the preceding discourse or is derivable from shared background knowledge).

3. "Substract" this presuppositional part form the clause hosting the Focus element.

4. The remaining part is the constituent in Selecting Focus ("Y!").

5. Do that for all "X or Y → Y" pairs, and you will hopefully find a pattern, whether that be stress, word order, particles, or special constructions.

3 Hittite *apāš* in Replacing Focus

As noted above, the method for finding an element in Replacing Focus ("not X, but Y" or "Y instead of X") is most straightforward if the information that needs to be corrected is explicitly negated. In that case the presuppositional part shared by the "not X" clause and the "Y!" clause is easiest to detect in the "Y!" clause because it is either often literally repeated or very similar to the shared information in the "not X" clause (step 2). The constituent in the clause under study that is not repeated should then constitute the Replacing Focus (step 4). Clauses with Replacing Focus allow the addition of 'instead' to the translation.

In each of the following examples I have marked the negation, the replaced element X, and the replacing element Y bold-face.

(10)   IBoT 1.36 i 60–63 (MH/MS, Instruction for the Royal Bodyguards, CTH 262), ed. GÜTERBOCK & VAN DEN HOUT 1991: 10f.

§ ⁶⁰ **LÚ.MEŠ*MEŠEDUTI*** =*ma*=*kan* **DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL-*TIM*** GAL-*yaz* KÁ.GAL-*az katta* **ŪL** *paiškanda*
(. . .)
nu=*kan* GAL-*yaz katta* ⁶³ **apaš** *paiškitta*

The guards and the palace attendants shall **not** go down through the main gate; (they shall go down through the postern. The one guard that brings a defendant, (that is,) the one whom the chief-of-messengers dispatches,)
he shall go down through the main (gate) (instead).

(11)   KBo 50.264 + KUB 26.9 i 5–12 (MH/NS, Instruction for the Mayor of Ḫattuša, CTH 257), ed. OTTEN 1983: 134f.

⁵ **2 LÚ.MEŠ M[AŠKIM**=*k*]*an kuiēš* ᵁᴿᵁKÙ.BABBAR-*ši šer*
⁶ *nu šarā*[*zz*]*i kattirri*=*ya k*[*u*]*wapi* ⁷ ᵁᴿᵁḪ*attuši* [L]Ú.MEŠ EN.NU.UN BÀD *tar*[*n*]*anzi*
⁸ *n*=*an*=*kan tuk ANA* ᴸᵁḪ*AZANNI* EGIR-*a*[*n*] *arḫ*[*a*] ⁹ **lē** *tarniškanzi*
DUMU=***KA** *našma* **ARAD**=***KA** ¹⁰ *ḫaddan uiya*
nu=*kan* LÚ.MEŠ EN.NU.UN BÀD ¹¹ BÀD.ḪI.A-*aš šarā kappūēšnaz* ¹² **apāš** *tarniškiddu*

As for the **two deputies** who are up in Ḫattuša:
whenever in Ḫattuša above and below they station wall watchmen,
let **them not** station them (lit. him) without your, the city-governor's knowledge:
send **your son or your trusted servant.**
He shall station the wall watchmen upon the walls/fortresses according to calculations (instead).

(12)   KUB 13.20 obv. 16–17 (MH/NS, Military Instruction of Tudḫaliya I, CTH 259), ed. ALP 1947: 390, 406.
¹⁶ *mān* **ᵈUTU-ŠI**=*ma laḫḫi* **ukila ŪL** *pāimi*
nu tuzziya kuin DUMU.LUGAL *našma BE*[*L* GAL] ¹⁷ *wātarnaḫmi*
nu tuzzin laḫḫi **apāš** *pēḫutezzi*

If **I, My Majesty, myself** do **not** go on campaign,
then the prince or [great] lor[d] that I appoint as commander in the army,
he shall lead the army on campaign (instead of the king).

More often than not, however, the rejection "not X" remains implicit. Nevertheless, the context often provides enough information to detect the piece of information that needs to be corrected ("X"), for example if an alternative is presented that takes the place of a previous piece of information, as in (13) and (14). In (13) the king assists at a ritual, but may decide not to participate and send someone in his place instead.

(13)   KBo 15.1 i 12–14 (NH, ritual of Puliša, CTH 407)
nu=kan ANA LÚ **LUGAL-uš** *anda kišan* ¹³ *memai*
mān LUGAL-*i*=*m*[*a* **ŪL**] *āššu*
nu **tamain** *uyaz*[*i*]
nu EGIR ¹⁴ SÍSKUR **apaš** *tiyazi*
[*nu=kan AN*]*A* LÚ **apāš** *kišan* [*mema*]*i*

And it is **the king** who speaks to the man in this way.
But if it does [**not**] please the king,
he will send **someone else**,
and **that one** will assist at the ritual (instead of the king).
He will [spea]k [to] the man in this way (instead of the king).

(14)   KBo 2.2 ii 25–26 (NH, Oracle, Tudḫaliya IV, CTH 577), ed. VAN DEN HOUT 1998: 130f.
(To find out) which deity was ascertained, we continued the inquiry and the **Sun-goddess of Arinna** was ascertained (...).
§ ²⁵ *nu* **dammaiš kuiški** **DINGIR-LUM** *kardimmiyauanza*
²⁶ *nu aši* INIM GIG **apāš** *iyazi*

Is **some other deity** angry,
does **s/he** cause that matter of the illness (instead)?

Sometimes we already have some background information from other texts allowing us to assess the Replacing Focus clause. The background of (15) is the Bilingual Testament of Ḫattušili I (KUB 1.16, CTH 6), which records how Ḫattušili's nephew Labarna is removed from his position as heir to the throne and replaced by Muršili:

(15)   KBo 3.27 obv. 13–14 (OH/NS, Edict of Ḫattušili I, CTH 5), ed. DE MARTINO 1991: 55f.
¹³ *kašatta*=*šmaš* ᵐ*Muršilin peḫḫun*
¹⁴ ᴳᴵˢŠÚ.A *ABI*=*ŠU* **apaš** *dāu*
DUMU=*miš*=*a* NU.DUMU-*aš*

I have just given you Muršili:
he shall take the throne of his father (instead of Labarna)!
But my son (Labarna) is not a son (anymore!)

Since we are dealing with the succession to the throne, the knowledge that 'someone will take the throne' should be shared by both speaker and addressee. Originally that someone

was the nephew/adopted son Labarna ("X"). Although it is never explicitly stated that Labarna will not take the throne, the phrase 'My son is not my son' (obv. 14) implies the same ("not X"). The Replacing Focus element "Y" is Muršili, referred to by *apaš* in preverbal position.

In (16) the king is riding his chariot. As the Instruction for the Royal Bodyguards (IBoT 1.36, CTH 262) states, the bit of one of the horses is usually held by the bodyguard in charge of "closing"[16]. However, during the festival of Tippuwa the winner of the race ("Y") may hold to the bridle, thus replacing the bodyguard in charge of "closing" ("X"):

(16)   KUB 10.18 i 14–17 (NS, Spring Festival in Tippuwa, CTH 594), ed. HAAS & WÄFLER 1977: 232f.
nu ^LÚ.MEŠ*MEŠEDI pittianzi*
^15 *nu tar(a)ḫzi kuiš*
nu KIR₄.TAB.ANŠE **apāš** ^16 *ēpzi*
n=ašta LUGAL-*uš* ^GIŠGIGIR-*az* ^17 *katta tiyazi*

The bodyguards race.
The one who wins,
he takes the bridle (instead),
and the king steps down from the chariot.

The Laws contain three instances of *apāš* which are more difficult to understand. These pronouns are found in coordinated clauses, as in (16)[17]:

(17)   KBo 6.3 iii 70–71 (OH/NS, Law, CTH 291), ed. HOFFNER 1997: 81
§ ^70 *takku* SI GU₄ *našma* GÌR GU₄ *kuiški duwarnizi*
apūn=za **apāš** *dāi* ^71
Ù GU₄ SIG₅ ⟨ANA⟩ BEL GU₄ *pāi* ...

If anyone breaks the horn or leg of an ox,
that one shall take him (instead of the owner),
and also, he shall give an ox in good condition to the owner of the (injured) ox.

In a case like this one would expect that the owner takes the ox while the offender pays some compensatory money. This type of fine is actually mentioned in the second part of the law (lines iii 71–72): 'If the owner of the ox says: "I will take my own ox," he shall take his ox, and also, he (the offender) shall pay two sheqels of silver'. The formulaic structure of the Laws allows us to treat the taking of the ox by someone as presupposed, as shared information between speaker and addressee. The convention that the owner keeps his damaged property is the piece of information that needs to be replaced ("X"), although that is not made explicit. We only find the Replacing Focus element ("Y!"), the offender, expressed as *apāš* in preverbal position.

Whenever the context allows us to find the Replacing Focus structure "not X, but Y", the element in Replacing Focus appears in preverbal position[18]. That we are dealing with preverbal position is proven by all examples presented thus far, with either one or two constituents to the left of *apāš*, falsifying Givón's claim that there is no such thing as a preverbal Focus position (2001b: 244f.).

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16 "Then the king mounts the chariot. And the guard who is (in charge) of closing holds a staff and grasps the right horse with (his) right hand by the bit." (IBoT 1.36 iii 56–58).

17 The other two instances are KUB 29.23 + KUB 29.21 + KUB 29.22: 19 and KUB 29.24: 4.

18 The Replacing Focus constituent does not break the nexus of compound verbs, that is, verbs combined with a preverb that delimits the meaning of the verb (KBo 4.6 obv. 15' (*a.* **menaḫḫanda** *auš-*); KBo 15.1 i 14 (*a.* **anda** *kišan memai-*); KBo 24.45 obv. 19 (*a.* **arḫa** *aniya-*)). The same seems to be true for adverbs of manner (KBo 15.1 i 14 (*a. anda* **kišan** ('in this way') *memai-*); KUB 5.3 + 18.52 ii 32 (*a.* **kuitki** ('in some way') TUKU.TUKU-*uwant-*)).

There are also a few cases in which there are no other full noun phrases besides *apāš*. In those cases the position of *apāš* could theoretically be clause-initial (that is, in absolute initial position or immediately following the sentence connective with optional clitics), but in view of the examples with additional full noun phrases, they are better classified as preverbal:

(18)   KBo 6.2 iii 23–24 (OH/OS, Laws, CTH 291), ed. HOFFNER 1997: 68f.
takku GU$_4$ *šaudišza*
natta G[U$_4$.MAḪ]-*aš*
^{24} [*takk*]*u* GU$_4$ *iugaš*
natta GU$_4$.MAḪ-*aš*
takku GU$_4$ *tāiugaš*
apaš GU$_4$.MAḪ-*aš*

if it is a weanling calf,
it is **not** a bull,
if it is a yearling calf,
it is **not** a bull,
if it is a two-year-old bovine,
that is a bull.

(19)   IBoT 1.36 iv 18–23 (MH/MS, Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard, CTH 262), ed. GÜTERBOCK & VAN DEN HOUT 1991: 34f.
When the king steps down from the cart, if there stands the chief-of-guards,
nu **GAL MEŠEDI** EGIR-*anta* UŠGEN (. . .)
mān **ta**[**m**]**aiš=ma kuiški BELUM** ^{21} *ḫandāitta kuiš ḫantezzi*[*a*]*nni arta*
nu **apaš** UŠGEN

the **chief-of-guards** prostrates himself behind (the king). (. . .)
But if some other official is available who stands in the front line,
(then) **he** prostrates himself (instead).

The following example shows how the preverbal Replacing Focus position is not restricted to subjects or stressed pronouns.

(20)   KBo 4.6 obv. 13'–16' (NH prayer, Gaššuliyawiya, CTH 380), ed. TISCHLER 1981: 12f.
I have just sent you my adorned substitute. She is better than me.
$^{13'}$ *parkuiš=aš* **apāš**
mišriwanza **apāš**
ḫarkiš=aš **apāš**
$^{14'}$ *n=aš=kan ḫūmandaz ašanuwanza*
nu=kan DINGIR-*LIM* EN=*YA* **apūn** $^{15'}$ *menaḫḫanda uški*
nu PANI DINGIR-*LIM* EN=*YA* **kāš MUNUS-aš** *weḫattaru*

Pure she (is), **she** is (, not me!),
She is shining (, not me!),
fair she is, **she** is (, not me!).
She is endowed with everything.
O god, My Lord, see **her** approaching (instead of me)!
Let **this woman** (instead of me) go back and forth before the god, My Lord.

The accusative *apūn* in obv. 14' is obviously used in Replacing Focus: 'look at *her*, not me!' and the same applies to the preverbal subject *kāš* MUNUS-*aš* 'this woman' in obv.

15'. The function of the three instances of *apāš* in obv. 13' might be different, but I would like to suggest that the speaker, Gaššuliyawiya, simply wants to say: '*She* is pure (not me), *she* is shining (not me), etc.', in order to make the subsitute more attractive to the deity than the speaker. The clitic doubling in *parkuiš=aš apāš* and *ḫarkiš=aš apāš* shows that *apāš* is right-dislocated (HOFFNER & MELCHERT 2008: 409). It is unclear to me if there exists a pragmatic difference between right-dislocated *apāš* and the clause-internal *apāš* in *mišriwanza apāš*.

4 Hittite *apāš* in Selecting Focus

As discussed in section 2.5, finding the elements that allow us to identify Selecting Focus is much more difficult in narrative discourse than in dialogue. The individual members of the set from which to choose are not explicitly specified, at least not in Hittite. In addition, the presupposition often cannot be derived from the context. Thus, both the shared information and the contrast necessary for Selecting Focus have to be accessed in a different way.

When the set is mentioned in the discourse, the member of the set that will be selected to appear as the Focus of a clause is usually introduced by means of a description which already singles it out. Thus, a contrast is established between the set member with a certain property and those which lack that property. With respect to the presupposed information, the clause hosting the referent in Selecting Focus is often not completely unpredictable and relates to common practice. In (21), the boys brought in have to proceed to a table to eat. One can do this in an orderly way, lined up, which means that someone has to go first. We could paraphrase the contents of (21) as follows: 'Given the fact that someone has to go first [= presupposition], which one of the boys will that be [= X or Y or ...]'. The answer is 'the boy who is dressed with the hide of a billy-goat [Y!]'.

(21) KUB 9.31 ii 11–12 (NS, Ritual of Zarpiya, CTH 757), transl. COLLINS 1997: 163.
They bring 8 boys, who have not yet been with a woman.
nu ANA I DUMU.NITA KUŠ.MÁŠ.GAL *waššiyanzi*
nu peran **apāš** [12] *iyatta*

One boy they cloth in the hide of a billy-goat,
and **he** (and no one else) shall march in front.

But once in a while we do find the presupposition in the preceding discourse, either literally or more implicitly phrased. In (22) the city of Parmanna is first singled out from a group of hostile kings as the leader. The next clause, with *apāš*, is asyndetically connected with the preceding clause. According to Hoffner one of the functions of asyndeton is to indicate that the juxtaposed clauses express the same thought in a different form (HOFFNER 2007: 396). Thus, the most salient information is not that Parmanna, being the leader, paves the way for the others, because that is already implied in the preceding clause, but that it is Parmanna, and no other city, that usually takes charge.

(22) (22) KBo 10.2 ii 2–5 (OH/NS, Annals of Ḫattušili I, CTH 4), ed. DE MARTINO 2003: 48f.
[2] *nu INA* ᵁᴿᵁ*Parmanna andan pāun*
[3] ᵁᴿᵁ*Parmannaš=ma=kan apēdaš ANA* LUGAL[.MEŠ] [4] SAG.DU-*aš ēšta*
KASKAL.ḪI.A-*aš=šamaš* **apāš** [ø] [5] *peran takšanniškit*

I went into (the city of) Parmanna.
Now, Parmanna was the leader of those king[s]:
That one (and no other city) always paved the way for them.

In (23) the shared information is easily found. It is the idea that there is some royal privilege that is appropriate for the king of Tarḫuntašša. The question is what privileges this king will receive, and the answer to that question is the Focus. Ideally, for Selecting Focus the set from which to choose should be mentioned, followed by the isolation of the set member with a specific property. In this case however, the larger set 'all possible royal privileges' is not mentioned because the restrictive relative clause by definition already serves to single out one item from a larger set. Furthermore, it is clear that the king of Tarḫuntašša is pronounced equal to the king of Kargamiš: he should not receive other privileges, hence the Selecting Focus ("X or Y or ..." → "Y!").

(23)   Bo 86/299 ii 81–82 (NH, Treaty, Tudḫaliya IV, CTH 106.1), ed. Otten 1988: 18f.
ŠA LUGAL=*ya šaklaiš* [82] *kuiš ANA* LUGAL KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Kargamiš āra*
ANA LUGAL KUR ᵁᴿᵁᵈU-*tašša=ya **apāš** āra ēšdu* §

And what royal privilege is appropriate for the king of Kargamiš,
let **that** (and nothing else) be appropriate also for the king of Tarḫuntašša.

Sometimes we do not know enough of the cultural setting to understand why something is in Selecting Focus. Is the arrangement of the cups in (24) a procedure that is presupposed in a ritual setting? Possibly. Is there a larger set of people that could arrange the cups? Or do we have other texts that specify that someone else usually performs that task. That would make *apāš* in (24) a Replacing Focus. In the end, it is irrelevant because Replacing and Selecting Focus constituents both usually occur in preverbal position.

(24)   ABoT 14 v 17'–19' (NH, Oracle, CTH 568), ed. Lebrun 1994: 54, 67
But when the king returns from battle, and when they release Zithariya into his temple (lit. house), with respect to the festival which they will celebrate for him, they will give 10 billy-goats (and) supplies from the palace of the father of His Majesty.
antuwaḫḫan=ma [18] *kuin IŠTU* É.GAL-*LIM ANA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI* [19] [EG]IR-*an uiyanzi nu=kan* GAL.ḪI.A **apāš** *ašnuzi*

But the man that they send back from the palace to His Majesty,
he (and no one else) will arrange the cups.

5 Hittite *apāš* as Contrastive Topic

As has become apparent in the previous sections, with very few exceptions *apā-* in Replacing or Selecting Focus occurs in preverbal position. There are no other positions in the clause, such as initial position, that show a correlation with these types of Contrastive Focus. But there are still a number of attestations of *apāš* in other than preverbal position that require an explanation. Since the connection between *apāš* and Focus is well established, it remains to be studied whether they can be explained by Completive Focus.

Completive or Information Focus is by definition not contrastive. The element in Completive Focus merely supplies some information in an otherwise presupposed context. In the following Question-Answer pairs, *uk* 'I' and *dandukieš* 'mortal' are in Completive Focus, filling the information gaps expressed in the questions:

(25)   KUB 48.99: 6'–7', 14'–15' (NS, mythological fragment mentioning Pirwa, CTH 337)
[6'] **kuiš**=*war=an ḫaran Pirwa*[*i*] [7'] ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫaššuwaza uwatez*[*zi*] (...)
[14'] [ᵈ]*Ilališ=wa=za walutta*[*t*]
[15'] [**ū**]**k**=*war=an uwate*[*mi*]

"**Who** will bring him, the eagle, [to] Pirwa from (the city of) Ḫassuwa?" (. . .)
(The deity) Ilali promoted himself:
"**I** will bring him!"[19]

(26) KUB 43.60 i 27–28 (OH/NS, Myth, CTH 457), ed. Polvani 2005: 615f.
    [27] **kuel**=wa=kan ZI-anza uriš
    dandukieš=wa=kan [28] ZI-anza uriš

    "**Whose** soul is great?"
    "The **mortal** soul is great!"

But in the example below apāš does not close an information gap. The remainder of
the clause is certainly not presupposed since neither the preceding context nor general
background knowledge give rise to the inference that 'someone gives or should give the
gods defilements to eat'.

(27) KUB 13.4 iii 66–68 (MH?/NS, Instruction for temple personnel, CTH 264), ed.
    Taggar-Cohen 2006: 61f., 80f.
    If a pig (or) a dog somehow touches the wooden (and) ceramic utensils which you
    hold, but the one in charge of the stew does not throw them away,
    nu **apāš** **DINGIR.MEŠ-aš** paprandaza [67] adanna pāi
    apēdani=ma **DINGIR.MEŠ-eš** zakkar ⟨dūr [68] adanna akuwanna pianzi

    and **he** gives the **gods** to eat from the defilement,
    then the **gods** will give **him** excrements (and) urin to eat (and) to drink.

Instead, the subjects apāš and DINGIR.MEŠ-eš are Contrastive Topics in a parallel struc-
ture, as described by Lambrecht (1994: 291) for English (see his ex. (3.20b)):

(28)   I saw Mary and John yesterday. SHE says HELLO, but HE's still ANGRY at you.

There are a few more attestations of apāš in a similarly parallel structure as (27), in which
two Topics are contrasted with each other, such as:

(29) KUB 1.16 iii 23–24 (OH/NS, Political Testament of Ḫattušili I, CTH 6), ed. Som-
    mer & Falkenstein 1938: 12f.
    apāš idālu iēt [24] [ūk idālu āp]pa ŪL iyammi **apāš**=mu=za attan [25] [ŪL ḫalzaiš]
    ug=an=za DUMU.MUNUS-TI ŪL ḫalziḫḫi §

    She did evil, [but I] will not do [evil in ret]urn.
    She [did not call] me father, **I** will not call her daughter!

It seems that these Contrastive Topics prefer clause-initial position, but the number of
attestations (3 in initial, 1 in non-initial position) is too low to warrant any firm conclusions
with respect to position in the clause.

6 Hittite apāš required by morpho-syntax

Finally, the presence of apāš is sometimes not governed by pragmatic principles, but only
required for morpho-syntactic reasons. This is the case when the referent of apāš appears
in a comparison:

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19 See Kloekhorst 2008: 952 for a different translation that is contextually less likely.

(30)   HT 25 + KUB 33.111 ii/iii 7–10 (NH, Myth of the kingship of ^dLAMMA, CTH
       343)
       Ea began to speak to Kumarbi: "Come, let's go back.
       nu aši kuin ^8 LAMMA-*an nepiš* LUGAL-*un iyauen*
       ^9 *nu* **apāš** GIM-*an* ‹*niwaralliš*
       ^10 **KUR.KUR.MEŠ**=*ya QATAMMA* ‹*niwaralla[tta]*

       That LAMMA which we made king in heaven,
       just as **he** is improper (?), **the lands** too are improper (?) in the same way.
       (No one gives any longer bread and libations to the gods.)"

The adverbs of comparison *mān* and *maḫḫan*/GIM-*an* seem to require that the referent
that is governed by them is expressed as a full phrase, either a stressed pronoun or a
noun. This does not exclude the possibility that the syntagm of adverb of comparison and
(pro)noun as a whole may be subjected to the placement rules of the pragmatic functions,
but those pragmatic functions do not require the presence of *apāš*. Therefore they do not
control the position of *apāš* in the clause.

7 Conclusion

The results from the preceding sections are combined in Table 2 on page 110. The number
of attestations is slightly less than those of Table 1 because in a few cases there was enough
context to provide a quantitative analysis, but not enough for using the algorithms.

Hittite *apāš* as a Replacing or Selecting Focus constituent is overwhelmingly found in
immediately preverbal position, confirming the more general study of Kɪss (1998) while fal-
sifying Gɪᴠóɴ's claims (2001b: 244f.) that the preverbal Focus position in SOV languages
does not exist.

Thus, the main function of the stressed pronoun *apāš* is to mark a highly topical referent
as the Contrastive Focus of a clause. This is the only factor that distinguishes *apāš* from
the enclitic pronoun -*a*-, which otherwise has the same degree of discourse topicality or
accessibility. This result was quite surprising in view of the more recent theories on the
use of referential expressions in discourse, which all claim that stressed pronouns select
less topical or cognitively accessible discourse referents.

Relying on these theories for the study of stressed pronouns would have led to partially
invalid results. The underlying problem is that theories in general invite us to try to depart
from a form to find its function, i. e., to use the semasiological approach. This ultimately
requires that we compare forms that are not necessarily comparable.

In order to avoid this, I have used the onomasiological approach, which maps forms on
well-defined meanings or functions. This still requires knowledge of linguistic theory and
typology, but prevents the pitfalls that seem to be inherent to the use of the semasiological
approach for the description of extinct languages.

For the purpose of this paper I restricted the study to the nominative singular *apāš*, but
when the algorithms are applied to the other cases, or to the written corpus as a whole,
all elements in Contrastive Focus can be found. This is a topic for further research.

To conclude, I hope to have shown that not only can linguistic theory and typology be
used to describe extinct languages more accurately, but these languages can also be used
to test and modify those same theories and the claims of typology.

Petra Goedegebuure

Governed by pragmatic principles	Preverbal	Clause-initial	Other	Total
Replacing Focus	26[20] (90%)	—	3[21] (10%)	29 (100%)
Selecting Focus	14[22] (93%)	1[23] (7%)	—	15 (100%)
Contrastive Topic	—	3[24] (75%)	1[25] (25%)	4 (100%)
Pragmatic function unclear	—	3[26] (100%)	—	3 (100%)
	40	7	4	51
Governed by morpho-syntax word order irrelevant				6[27]
Total				57

Table 2: Correlations between pragmatic function of *apāš* and position in the clause

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20 With explicit negation "not X": IBoT 1.36 i 63; KBo 3.1 ii 37', 39'; KBo 6.2 iii 24, 28; KBo 50.264 + KUB 26.9 i 12; KUB 13.20 obv. 17; KUB 14.1 rev. 32. With the rejection implicit but still derivable from the context: IBoT 1.36 iv 21, 23; KBo 2.2 ii 26; KBo 3.34 ii 29; KBo 6.3 iii 70; KBo 6.26 i 40, 45; KBo 15.1 i 14 (2x); KBo 24.45 obv. 19', 21'; KUB 5.3 ii 32; KUB 22.37 obv. 7'; KUB 29.23 + KUB 29.21 + KUB 29.22: 19; KUB 29.24: 4; KUB 30.40 i 25. With rejection inferred from other texts: KBo 3.27 obv. 14; KUB 10.18 i 15.

21 Following nominal predicate: KBo 4.6 i 13; right-dislocated: KBo 4.6 i 13 (2×).

22 ABoT 14 v 19; Bo 86/299 ii 83; KBo 3.22 obv. 25; KBo 5.3 ii 23; KBo 5.9 i 25; KBo 10.2 ii 4; KUB 7.60 ii 19; KUB 9.31 ii 12; KUB 16.32 ii 26; KUB 24.8 i 10; KUB 26.8 i 13; KUB 36.89 rev. 53; KUB 55.28 iii 4; KUB 56.51 i 22.

23 KUB 14.3 ii 76.

24 KUB 1.16 iii 23, 24; KUB 13.4 iii 66.

25 KBo 3.34 ii 30. It is not clear whether *apāš* occurs in preverbal position or whether the object *kūn* 'this one' is fronted, thereby removing *apāš* from clause-initial position.

26 KUB 7.57 i 2; KUB 26.8 iv 14'; KUB 31.127 iii 17'. It seems that the referents of *apāš* are Topics, but it is unclear to me why they are expressed as stressed pronouns.

27 Clauses of comparison: HT 25 + KUB 33.111 ii/iii 9; KUB 30.11 rev. 12'; KUB 36.2c + KUB 33.112 iii 16; KUB 36.2d iii 40; KUB 48.118 i 7, 8.

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