

Focus structure and Q-word questions in Hittite¹

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Abstract

The relationship between question words (Q-words) and focus is far more complex than generally assumed, in FDG or elsewhere. Q-words are not always contrastive, the focus of a Q-word clause can have more elements than the Q-word in its scope, and Q-word clauses may contain another, separate focus besides the Q-word. This becomes apparent when studying languages in which the Q-word seems to be freely distributed across the clause. A clear example is Hittite, an extinct Indo-European SOV language in which the placement of Q-words is not restricted to the preverbal focus position expected for SOV languages. In this article I will show that Hittite uses multiple strategies for the placement of Q-words, depending on the degree of counterexpectancy of the Q-word question. This motivation for the placement of the (always focused) Q-constituent is shared with the placement of focus constituents in Hittite declaratives. We should thus abandon the notion of a special question focus type, and describe the focus structure at the interpersonal level in FDG irrespective of the type of illocutionary act. As a corollary, the existential presupposition of a Q-word question, often taken to be its only pragmatic presupposition, is detached from its focus structure. In this article the existential presupposition is considered an inherent property of the Q-word, not of the question. Another consequence is that an FG-type focus typology as already established for declaratives can be set up for Q-word questions as well.

1. Introduction

The typological literature on SOV languages does not provide an adequate descriptive model for the placement of Q-words. The reason is probably that the relationship between Q-words and focus is more complex than is generally assumed. Typically, Q-words are taken to be

intrinsically focused. Because Q-words generally pattern with identificational (or contrastive) focus elements, it is often claimed that they occur in preverbal position in SOV languages (Givón 2001: 306; Kim 1988; Kiss 1998a: 772, 1998b). On the other hand, Dik (1997b: 285) finds that Q-words in SOV languages prefer pattern position or initial position. If these observations are to be reconciled, we must initially dissolve the ties between the placement of Q-words and special focus positions and refine our typology of focus with respect to interrogatives.

An important step towards the explanation of these contradicting typological observations is the recognition that Q-word questions have fully articulated focus structures (cf. Drubig 2003: 7 on declaratives and Erteschik-Shir 1986: 126–129, 1997: 134; Hajičová 1983; Jacobs 1991: 201–202; Lambrecht 1994: 55, 239; and Rosengren 1991 on other illocution types), including different types of focus that prefer different positions in the clause. The implication is that Q-words are not always in contrastive focus, and there may be other constituents in focus besides the Q-word.

Hittite, an SOV language, has multiple Q-word and focus positions, making it an ideal candidate to investigate the nature of the relationship between focus and Q-words in SOV languages. At present, Hittite Q-words are believed to occur in “a special position” (Hoffner 1995; Hackstein 2004: 351 n. 7). Hoffner, for instance, notes that

the interrogative word sometimes precedes the finite verb as closely as possible. And since the finite verb is usually clause final, the interrogative word gravitates to the end of the clause. In very short clauses, it is usually initial. (1995: 101)

In this article I show that these observations need to be modified: Hittite Q-words, like focus constituents in DECLs, occur in pattern position, initial position or preverbal position. I will suggest a framework to account for the relationship between focus and Q-words at the interpersonal level of FDG (Sections 3 and 4), after providing a description of Hittite Q-word questions (Section 2).

2. Hittite Q-word questions

Hittite has virtually no means to distinguish a yes-no or Q-word question from a DECL. There are no question particles, there is no word order inversion, and although questions are expected to receive special phonological treatment, this is only rarely indicated in the script.² Only in Old Hittite, could a yes-no question be marked by means of an otherwise highly unusual *plene* writing³ of the final syllable of the final word (1). This is

different for the Q-word question in (2), where the final syllable of the nonfinal Q-word is singled out for plene writing (this is the only case I know of where lengthening of the final syllable of a Q-word is indicated in the text):⁴

- (1) *nu kissan AWAT ABI=YA arḥān*
 CONN this way command father=my keep:PTCP.N.ACC.SG
ḥar-ten̄
 have-2PL.NPST
 ‘Is *this* the way you have kept my father’s command?’
 (OH/OS⁵ instruction, #5⁶)
- (2) The War God says:
takku natta=ma kuwatka pai-mi ug=a
 if not=but perhaps go-1SG.NPST I:NOM.SG=but
kuī-t dā-ḥḥi
 what-N.ACC.SG take-1SG.NPST
 ‘“But if I perhaps do *not* go, what will *I* take?”’
 (OH/OS myth, # 50b)

Even the presence of Q-words in a sentence does not always unambiguously indicate the illocution type. The only genuine Q-word is *kuwat* ‘why’, cognate with Latin *quod*. The other Q-words are formally similar to several subordinating conjunctions (*mahḥan* ‘how’, *mān* ‘how’) and relative pronouns (*kui-* ‘who’, *kuwapi* ‘where’). The Q-words studied here are all formed on the interrogative/indefinite/relative stem *ku-*, and will henceforth be referred to as *ku*-words.

My corpus consists of 100 clauses, of which 93 are from Hoffner (1995). I will only discuss direct questions with a verbal predicate. Of the 100 *ku*-word clauses, 46 contain only two constituents. These need to be excluded because it is impossible to determine whether the *ku*-word occurs in preverbal or (modified) initial⁷ position. The remaining 54 *ku*-words show the following distribution (see Table 1):

Table 1. *Relation between linear position and grammatical role of ku-words*

position ↓	S	O	Obl	Adv	Total
initial	6	0	1	12	19
preverbal	1	5	2	27	35
Total	7	5	3	39	54

Table 1 suggests that the position of the Q-word depends on its grammatical role: the subject usually occurs in initial position (3), the object occurs in preverbal position ([2] and [4]) and the oblique forms (5) and the

ku-adverbs (6) are at first sight distributed freely across the clause. This corresponds to the unmarked word order in DECLs, which is SOV, suggesting pattern position for the *ku*-words.

- (3) The Divine Queen said to the companions of the deity Pirwa:
kui-s=war=an *hara-n* ^d*Pirwa[-i]*
 Who-NOM.SG=QUOT=him:ACC.SG eagle-ACC.SG deity Pirwa[-DAT.SG]
^{URU}*Hassuw-aza* *uwate-z[zi]*
 city Hassu-ABL bring-3SG.NPST
 “‘Who will bring the eagle from the city of Hassu [to] Pirwa?’”
 (OH/NS myth, # 38a)
- (4) O my father, you built a house for yourself, and made it as high as a door (?). In width you made it 9 ‘bones’ (= c. 3 m.).
arḫa=ma=kan *kui-t* *da-tti*
 away=but=PTCL what-N.ACC.SG take-2SG.NPST
 ‘But what will you take away (from it)?’⁸ §
 (NH proverbs, #52)
- (5) “Go (and) search for the Stormgod!” ... Thus (said) the father of the Stormgod:
nu=war=an *kuwapi* *pai-mi* *sanḫ-mi*
 CONN=QUOT=him:ACC.SG where go-1SG.NPST search-1SG.NPST
 “‘Where shall I go (and) search for him?’”
 (OH/NS myth, KUB 33.24 + 28 i 47)
- (6) [*t*]*uk=ma* *ŠEŠ-tar* *kuwatta ser* [*ḫ*]*atrā-mi*
 you:DAT.SG=but brother-hood why write-1SG.NPST
 ‘But *why* should I write about ‘brotherhood’ to *you*?’ (Are you and I born to the same mother?)
 (NH letter, #73)

One of the INTERs in the corpus shows a marked OSV word order. In Hittite DECLs this always points at replacing/selecting focus on the subject NP (see Section 4.2). This is indeed also the case in our deviant example:

- (7) The one you conducted to the city Arinna, that contestor of mine, is he not my donkey? I will sit on him! You shall lead *me* (there instead)!
KUR.KUR.ḪI.A[=m]a *ḫūman* *kui-s*
 Country.country.PL=but all:N.ACC.SG. who-NOM.SG
ḫar-zi
 hold-3SG.NPST
 ‘Which one (of us) holds all countries? (Do not *I* fix the rivers, the mountains and the seas in position?)’
 (OH/NS legend, #13)

This question occurs in a context in which the audience has chosen not the speaker but the speaker's enemy as the leader. The notion that a leader typically controls the country can be assumed to be part of general background information, shared by speaker and addressees. The only informationally salient part in this question is '*which one* (of us is the one who holds all the countries)'. The *ku*-phrase therefore constitutes the focus and is moreover selective, one of the contrastive focus types in functional grammar (see Section 3).

The position of the subject *kuis* in (7) might be a statistically irrelevant deviation (2%). The observation however that this Q-word question shows selective focus on the Q-word, combined with the fact that in DECLs this type of focus leads to a preverbal position of the focused constituent, warrants further research into the focus assignment rules of Q-word questions. In Section 3 I will present an overview of the focus model used here, which I then will apply to the Hittite material in Section 4.

3. The focus model, terminology and definitions

The model to be presented here is based on the focus typology in FG and the description of the pragmatic functions indicating saliency in FDG (Dik 1997a: 330–335; Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008; Keizer and van Staden this issue), with some modifications. Focus is understood there as signaling the speaker's strategic selection of new information. However, given information, that is, contextually or situationally available information, can be (contrastively) focused as well, as in (8) (Lambrecht 1994: 211, Ex 5.1'):

- (8) Q: Where did you go last night, to the movies or to the restaurant?
 A: We went to [the *restaurant*]_{ContrFoc}.

Therefore, as already argued by Lambrecht (1994: 46–50, 209), the notion of “newness” should only be applied to the status of the *relationship* between the information contained in the subacts, not to the discourse informational *status* of a certain subact. These considerations lead to the following definitions of *focus* and *presupposition* in this article:

- (9) a. A referential or ascriptive subact stands in a focus relation to the rest of the communicated content when that subact stands in a pragmatically new relation to the remaining subacts of the communicated content (for the addressee, as estimated by the speaker), irrespective of contextual or situational availability of the subacts themselves.
 b. When the speaker assumes that the addressee is already aware of some relation between subacts, that is, the relation between

subacts is contextually or situationally given, focus is not assigned (though topic may be assigned). Such a given relation may not only hold within a communicated content but also between a subact in the communicated content and the preceding discourse or extra-linguistic world. The pragmatically given relations belong to the set of pragmatic presuppositions.

Additionally, focus can be specified for contrast. Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008: 99–100) (see also Keizer and van Staden this issue) do not treat noncontrastive focus and contrastive focus as subtypes of focus but derive the latter by adding the independent function *contrast* to an as yet undifferentiated focus. Contrast indicates a pragmatic relation between subacts of the same category within different acts (whereas focus indicates a pragmatic relation between subacts within one act).

The most important functional distinction within focus typology is between noncontrastive or *information* focus and *contrastive* focus.⁹ Information focus signals that a subact stands in a new pragmatic relation with another subact in a single communicated content, whereas contrastive focus signals that the subact is also related to information contained in the contextual component. The latter type of focus covers *replacing* (“[Not X but] Y”), *restricting* (“[Not X and Y,] only Y”), *selecting* (“Y [out of X or Y]”), *rejecting* (“Not X”) and *expanding* focus (“[Not just X,] also/even Y”) (Dik 1989: 281–284, 1997a: 331–334).

It should be noted that “contrast” in the FDG sense (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008; Keizer and van Staden this issue), as employed here, is different from other uses of this term. Erteschik-Shir (1997) and Kiss (1998a, 1998b), for example, define contrast as a notion that only applies when an element in focus is selected from a closed set of alternative entities provided in the context (see 4.5 for further discussion). Chafe (1976: 34), on the other hand, assigns contrast when the focused element is contradicting an item or selecting the correct item from a set of limited alternatives that is available in the addressee’s mind according to the speaker. These notions of contrast only capture replacing, restricting and selecting focus, because those three types all exhaustively identify a subset for which the proposition holds true, to the exclusion of the complementary subset. In FDG, however, contrast means that there are differences or similarities between a communicated content and contextually available information, without reference to the notion of exclusion. This broad view on contrast allows the inclusion of additive focus adverbs such as *also* or *even* (both expanding focus) in a contrastive focus typology.

Another factor which needs to be incorporated in a focus typology is the degree of counterexpectancy. This notion is necessary in order to dis-

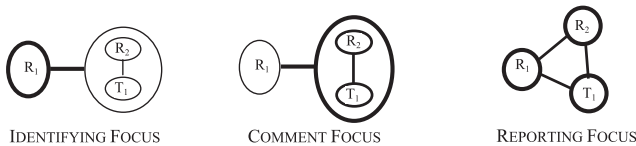


Figure 1. *Three focusing strategies*

tinguish between the two types of expanding focus *also* and *even*, which are both contrastive and nonexhaustive: the focus adverb *even* has a high degree of counterexpectancy whereas *also* has none.

Not every language will need these three factors — exhaustiveness, contrast and counterexpectation — to describe its focus typology. Hittite however makes use of all of them. As I will show in Section 4, only the degree of counterexpectancy governs the position of the focused NP, while exhaustiveness and nonexhaustive contrast receive optional marking by means of clitics. Still, I will use contrast as the cover term, since it captures all noninformation focus.

Contrastive and information focus alike can have scope¹⁰ over a referential subact (R), a combination of subacts which typically includes a nonembedded ascriptive subact (e.g., T, R), or the communicated content itself (C).¹¹ These domains correlate with three communicative goals, identifying a referent, commenting on a topic and reporting an event or presenting a new discourse referent (Lambrecht 1994; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 206). In this article I will use *identifying focus*, *comment focus*, and *reporting focus* to capture these different communicative goals and scope domains.

The three major focusing strategies are graphically represented in Figure 1. The lines indicate the pragmatic relations. The subset of subacts maintaining a focus relation with the subset of subacts that are part of the presupposition, and the focus relation itself are indicated in bold. All presuppositional material including the given relations is represented by thin lines (I have excluded discourse relations).

These graphs can be represented as follows in FDG notation (Table 2). The braces mark the subsets. As with the graphs, boldface indicates that

Table 2. *Representation of pragmatic relations at the interpersonal level in FDG*

Communicative goal	Identifying	Commenting	Reporting
Focus type:	Identifying focus	Comment focus	Reporting focus
FDG	C:[{(R ₁)} _{Foc} {(R ₂)(T ₁)}](C)	C:[{(R ₁)} {(R ₂)(T ₁) _{Foc} }(C)	C:[{(R ₁)(R ₂)(T ₁)](C) _{Foc}
Representation:			

the subset stands in a focus relation to the rest of the C, roman type that the subset is part of the presupposition.

4. Focus and Q-word questions in Hittite

I will use Hittite to illustrate how the focus model presented above is capable of including Q-word questions besides DECLs. For ease of comparison I will use the following set of English Q-word questions with different elements in the scope of the focus:¹²

- (10) a. (RF) Someone notices that the cookies are gone, and says:
 “[*Who* ate the *cookies*?]_{RFoc}”
 b. (CF) With verbalized context: “The cookies are gone!
 [*Who ate*]_{CFoc} [*them*]_{Top}?”
 c. (IdF) speaker: “Someone ate the cookies” — addressee:
 “[*Who*]_{IdFoc} ate them?”

4.1. The presuppositions of Q-word questions

In order to find the focus structure of an INTER we need to divert from the common practice of automatically equating the existential presupposition entertained by just the speaker with the presupposition of an identifying focus structure, and the Q-word with the identifying focus. Instead, we need to concentrate on which presuppositions are shared between speaker and addressee. This ultimately leads to the recognition that other parts of the clause may be in focus besides the Q-word.¹³

Nevertheless, the existential presupposition entertained by the speaker is considered an important property of Q-word questions (Comorovski 1996: 23–24; Dik 1997b: 264; and many others). This existential presupposition is captured in FDG as follows (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008: 122). The Q-word is treated as a nonspecific (–s) and identifiable (+id) referential subact (R) at the interpersonal level, in FDG notation: +id –s R (see Keizer and van Staden this issue). This type of act, also called *attributive* (Dik 1997a: 189; further references in Lyons 1999: 171–172), does not allow cancellation of the existential presupposition it contains.¹⁴ Thus, the existential presupposition is evoked by the representation of the Q-word itself. The presupposition of a focus structure on the other hand requires separate marking at the interpersonal level (see Figure 1 and Table 2).

Because of its communicative saliency the Q-word is always in focus.¹⁵ The full representation of a Q-word is therefore +id –s R.

4.2. *Identifying focus and Q-word questions*

Goedegebuure (2003) has shown for Hittite DECLs that different types of identifying focus, such as expanding and replacing focus, are correlated with different word order patterns. Additionally, focus can be marked by means of the enclitic *-ya* ‘and, also, even’ or the enclitic of specification, limitation and identity *-pat* ‘only, the same, even, etc.’ (Güterbock and Hoffner 1995: 212–230).

The driving force behind the placement of identifying focus elements in Hittite is the degree of counterexpectancy, and not exhaustiveness or contrast in the FDG sense. Absence of counterexpectancy is connected with initial position, presence of counterexpectancy is connected with preverbal position. However, exhaustiveness and contrast still play a subordinate role: only exhaustive focus can and sometimes must be marked by means of the enclitic particle *-pat* (this marking is optional for replacing/selecting focus but obligatory for restricting focus). In that case there do not seem to be any restrictions on placement in the clause (but further study is needed). Nonexhaustive contrastive focus is always marked by means of the enclitic particle *-ya* ‘also, even’.

Table 3 shows how each combination of particle and position uniquely determines a type of focus, with its own template. The only exceptions are replacing and selecting focus, which receive the same expression. Contrastiveness in the FDG sense is indicated by means of $\pm C$, exhaustiveness by means of $\pm E$.

In the remainder of this article I will test whether the placement of *Q*-words conforms to the patterns established for the different types of focus constituents in DECLs.

Although the three instances of oblique *ku*-words seem to be freely distributed through the clause (see Table 1), whether functioning as the indirect object in ditransitives or as the complement of a directional or

Table 3. *Identifying focus in Hittite declaratives*

	Particle	Position in the clause	Template	
Non-counterexpectant				
1. Information ($-C$, $-E$)	\emptyset	initial	(<i>nu</i>) Foc	V
2. Expanding ‘also’ ($+C$, $-E$)	<i>-ya</i>	initial	(<i>nu</i>) Foc= <i>ya</i>	V
Counterexpectant				
3. Expanding ‘even’ ($+C$, $-E$)	<i>-ya</i>	preverbal	X . . .	Foc= <i>ya</i> V
4. Replacing/Selecting ($+C$, $+E$)	\emptyset	preverbal	X . . .	Foc V
	<i>-pat</i>	unrestricted	no template	
5. Restricting ($+C$, $+E$)	<i>-pat</i>	unrestricted	no template	

locative verb, they nicely follow the patterns established for identifying focus constituents in DECLs.

The focus expression *kuwapi* ‘where(to)’ in (5) is found in initial position, even though its position before the verb *pai-* might imply otherwise. Usually the phraseological verbs *pai-* ‘to go’ and *uwa-* ‘to come’ occur in initial position, followed by other constituents and finally the main verb (Van den Hout 2003: 184–188). Here, however, *paimi* ‘I go’ is in preverbal position, pushed aside by *kuwapi* in initial position. According to Table 3, #1 this could point at identifying information focus for *kuwapi*, and this is indeed the case. (5) is a rare example of a reactive move with more than two constituents. As a result the rest of the clause, ‘the going and searching for him’ is part of the common background; because there is only one element in focus, *kuwapi*, we have an *identifying* focus structure. Additionally, *kuwapi* does not occur in a counterexpectant context, which means that we have identifying *information* focus.

The representation of (5), an identifying information focus structure, is:

- (11) (A_I: [(F_I: INTER (F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J)_A (C_I: [{(+id –s R_I)_{Inf} IdFoc} {(R_J) (R_K)(T_I)}] (C_I)))(A_I))

The other instances of *kuwapi* ‘where(to)’ are found in identifying *replacing* focus, without *-pat*. This adverb is accordingly found in preverbal position (Table 3, #4), as (12) illustrates:¹⁶

- (12) § Pulli just wrote me from the city of Kasipura: “It is Himuili who does not give the seed for the plowed fields of Dapikka and Tahasara: there *is* no seed!” § The seeds about which *you* Himuili said to me: “Seeds have now been sown in Dapikka, and some in Anziliya, some in Hariya, and some in Hanikka”,
nu ap-ē NUMUN^{HIA} kuwapi p[ai-]s
 CONN DEM-N.ACC.PL seed^{PL} whereto give-2SG.PST
 ‘where to have you g[iven] those seeds *instead*?’
 (MH/MS letter, HKM 55 obv. 16–17).

The representation of the identifying replacing focus structure of (12) is given in (13); (14) represents the structure of (7) with selecting focus on a Q-word:

- (13) (C_I: [{(R_I)_{Top?} (R_J)(T_I)} {(+id –s R_K)_{Rep/S} IdFoc}] (C_I))
 (14) (C_I: [{(+id –s R_I)_{Rep/S} IdFoc} {(R_J) (T_I)}] (C_I))

In (13) the ‘+id –s R_K’ act is the Q-word, the R_I-act stands for ‘you’, and the R_J-act represents ‘those seeds’. The combination {(R_I)(R_J)(T_I)} ‘you giving those seeds’ forms the presupposition, in this case because it is part of the contextual component (the shared background).¹⁷ In (14) {(R_J)

(T₁)} ‘controlling the countries’ forms the presupposition (see the discussion at [7]).

Whereas Hittite subacts in identifying replacing focus are marked by means of word order, English adds for example the intonationally prominent *instead* to differentiate between identifying replacing focus ([15a] and [15b]) and identifying information focus (10c), repeated here as (16a):

- (15) a. “Mary ate the cookies” — “No she didn’t” — “Then [*who*]_{loc} ate the cookies/them [*instead*]_{loc}?”
 b. (C_I: [{(+id -s R_I)_{Repl IdFoc}} {(R_J) (T_I)}] (C_I))
- (16) a. Speaker: “Someone ate the cookies” — addressee: “[*Who*]_{loc} ate them/did?”
 b. (C_I: [{(+id -s R_I)_{Inf IdFoc}} {(R_J) (T_I)}] (C_I))

The remaining *ku*-words with seemingly free distribution are the two *ku*-adverbs *kuit* and *kuwat*, both ‘why’. They both occur in initial or preverbal position, although preverbal position occurs twice as often as initial position (see Table 1, the *adv* column). In view of the patterns for *ku*-word questions established above, it is not unreasonable to assume that the position of these *ku*-adverbs is governed by focus assignment as well. The *state-of-affairs* (SoA) questioned by a *why*-clause often coincides with the shared background. The SoA is therefore part of the presupposition, and only the Q-adverb is informationally salient: therefore only the Q-word is in focus. If this is the case, there are two options. The SoA is either neutral regarding speaker expectations (the [a] examples in [17] and [18] below) or it is counterexpectational (the [b] examples):

- (17) a. The Council nominated them (the traitors) for the death penalty. But I, the King, said:
 [kuwa]*t=war=e* *akk-anzi*
 why=QUOT=they:3.PL.NOM die-3PL.NPST
 ‘[Wh]y must they die?’
 (OH/NS narration, #82)
- b. Do scribes perform feudal duties?
apiya=ma=at *kuwat issa-i*
 there=but=it:N.ACC.SG why do:ITER-3SG.NPST
 ‘Then *why* is he performing them there (with you)?!’
 (MH/MS letter, #101)
- (18) Mary ate the cookies
- a. *Why* (did she eat them)? *Was she hungry?*
- b. *Why* (did she eat them)?! *She was not supposed to!*

In the (a) examples the speaker accepts the fact that SoA took place, having no prior assumptions. The focus is informational and has only the

why-phrase in its scope because *Mary ate the cookies* is presupposed. In the (b) examples, on the other hand, the presuppositions behind the expressions seem to clash with the speaker's prior assumptions. The speaker cannot endorse them, and the focus type seems therefore to be counterexpectational, i.e., a contrastive focus type. In Hittite the speaker sometimes supports a counterexpectational *ku*-question by adding a rhetorical question emphasizing the normal situation, as in (6) and (17b). The speaker assumes that the SoA of the INTER was not supposed to obtain: X is the case whereas "everyone" knows X should not happen at all, so the speaker wants to know the reason for the rejection of not-X ("why not [not-X]" = "why X"). On the other hand, in (19) the SoA, 'sending the envoys back to me' (= X), was supposed to happen. After all, it is common practice to return one's envoys. Now the speaker asks, "why not X?":

- (19) LÚ.MEŠ *TEMI*=YA=*mu* *kuwat* UL
 man.PL messengers=my=me:1.SG.DAT why not
uie-ski-ttani
 send-ITER-2PL.NPST
 'Why are you not sending my envoys (back) to me?!'
 (MH/MS letter, #95)

In view of my analysis of *why*-questions as either "why not X" or "why not (not-X) = why X", I tentatively classify the focus type of the counterexpectational *why*-phrase as rejecting. The *why*-phrase has scope over the negation, whether expressed or not.

To summarize, in Hittite all counterexpectational *why*-phrases,¹⁸ *kuwat* with or without negation, occur in preverbal position. But without counterexpectation the *ku*-adverb appears in initial position, as in (17a). Clearly, the position of *ku*-adverbs is governed by the identifying focus assignment rules of Table 3. In English the difference in communicative point between (18a) (information focus) and (18b) (counterexpectational focus) is expressed by differences in pitch accent.¹⁹

Although the SoA of a *ku*-adverb clause typically coincides with the shared background, which is nonfocused, in certain contexts focus assignment is not restricted to the *ku*-phrase. In those cases the speaker expresses that only parts of the shared background clash with some prior assumptions. The following two examples show preverbal constituents in replacing focus, while *kuwat* is in initial position. In (20) the princess observes that her own, implicit assumption that she should receive a large amount of goods in view of her status as daughter of the king, is changed for some reason into "receiving this little (*ki tepu*)". She requests an explanation for the replacement of *much* by *this little* by asking a question

with information focus on *kuwat* and replacing focus on *ki tepu* (“Not X, but Y”). In (21) the angry deity should have been seeking to do good for mankind given the honours received by him, as the speaker reminds the angry deity. The noun *idalauwani* ‘for harm’ replaces the expected phrase *assuli* ‘for good’. Initial *kuwat*, in information focus, has scope over the preverbal constituent in replacing focus.²⁰

- (20) She (the princess) said:

[*ku*]wat=*mu* *kī* *tepu* *pai-tta*
 [W]hy=me:DAT.SG this:N.ACC.SG little:N.ACC.SG give-2SG.PST
 ‘[“W]hy have you given me this *little* bit”.’
 (OH/NS narrative, # 81)

- (21) [E]a, King of Wisdom, said to Kumarbi:

*kuwat=pat*²¹=*wa* [*z*]ik ^d*Kumarbis* DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU-*UTTI*
 why=FOC.PTCL=QUOT you:NOM ^{deity}K. mankind
idalauwani *sanḫ-is*[*ki-si*]
 evil:DAT.SG search-ITER-2SG.NPST
 “‘Why are you seeking to *harm* mankind, O Kumarbi? (Does not mankind fetch a heap of grain to promptly honour *you*, Kumarbi?)’
 (NH myth, KUB 33.103 ii 9–10)

In English one could think of the following INTERs with *why* in information focus and with main accent on the constituent in replacing focus.

- (22) a. Why (did) SHE (eat them)? JOHN said he would eat them.
 b. Why (did she eat) the COOKIES? I thought she wanted to eat the CAKE.

The representations of (17a) with only information focus on the *why*-phrase, (17b) with counterexpectational focus on the *why*-phrase and (20) with information focus on the *why*-phrase and replacing focus on the preverbal constituent are (23a), (b) and (c), respectively:

- (23) a. (C_I: [{(R_I)(T_I)}{(+id –s R_J)_{Inf} IdFoc}] (C_I))
 b. (C_I: [{(R_I)(R_J)(R_K)(T_I)}{(+id –s R_L)_{Rej} IdFoc}] (C_I))²²
 c. (C_I: [{(R_I)(R_K)(T_I)}{ (R_J)_{Repl} IdFoc} {(+id –s R_L)_{Inf} IdFoc}] (C_I))²³

4.3. Comment focus and *Q*-word questions

In comment focus clauses one of the subacts is what the other subacts “are about”. This subact is assigned topic function. To find the sentence

topic of an INTER one can apply the “about”-test. If the question, “Ask (something) about X”, can be properly answered by the question, X is the topic of the INTER.²⁴ As in DECLs, at least one other subact is assigned focus function. The difference with identifying focus questions is basically one of focal scope. Whereas an identifying focus question has only one of its referential subacts (R) in focus, the commenting Q-word question at least holds the ascriptive subact (T) in focus.

The word order in Hittite DECL Comment focus clauses is (S)(O)V. Again, this also applies to Q-word clauses with comment focus. There are two Q-word questions in the corpus with contrastive subject-topics in comment focus clauses (# 47 below, and 50b = (2)):

- (24) As for my sons: if a man has been killed, can they restore him to life? And if a cow (or) a sheep has been killed, can they restore it to life?

[*tue*]/*ll*=a DUMU.MEŠ=KA *kui-n*
 you:SG.GEN=and son.PL=your what-ACC.SG
sagai-n *iya-nzi*
 miracle-ACC.SG make-3PL.NPST
 ‘And what kind of miracle can *your* sons perform?’
 (OH/NS myth, # 47)

(24) is an instance of comment information focus, not of identifying replacing/selecting focus on the object-*ku* word, as one might conclude from the preverbal position of the *ku*-word phrase. Had the latter been the case, the common background would have been: “Your (i.e., addressee’s) sons are performing some miracle, against expectations”. Instead, it is the actions of the sons of the speaker himself that are the topic of the previous discussion, so speaker and addressee do not yet share information concerning *addressee’s* sons. In (24) the addressee’s sons are the new sentence topic, in contrast with the preceding sentence topic, the speaker’s sons. The rest of the clause, ‘performing some kind of miracle’ presents the salient information. The interpersonal level representation of (24) is:

- (25) (A_I: [(F_I: INTER (F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J)_A (C_I: [{(+id –s
 R_I)(T_I)}_{InfFoc}(R_J)_{ContrTop}] (C_I)](A_I))

In four of the comment-focus clauses in my corpus (#52, 63, 64, 120) the referent of the subject, which is usually²⁵ only marked on the verb, is what the INTER is about. This referent is therefore the topic of the clause. To show that these clauses are indeed comment focus clauses, we may approach the analysis from a different angle with the help of (4 = #52, *arḫa=ma=kan kuit datti* “But what will you take away (from it)?”). Reporting focus in (4) is excluded because that type of focus re-

quires a lexically expressed subject. Additionally, the verb is not part of the common background: the ‘taking away by father’ is not contextually present or inferable. This excludes identifying focus for the object-*ku* word. Furthermore, regarding communicative point, there is no contrast or counterexpectancy. The FDG representation of Hittite (4) is therefore:

- (26) (A_I: [(F_I: INTER (F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J)_A (C_I: [(R_I)_{Top} {(+id –s R_J)(T_I)_{InfFoc} (C_I)](A_I))

The topic subact usually involves the referent of the subject but this need not be the case (Lambrecht 1994: 146, ex. 3.29):

- (27) *Pat said they called her twice.*

Since the clause is about “Pat”, the referent of *Pat* and *her*, the object pronoun *her* qualifies as the topic subact. This is also the case in the remaining comment-focus INTERs (#38b, 68a, 111a and KUB 33.87+ i 31’, 33’). In each INTER the subject Q-word together with the predicate provides the comment for the object-topic, as in (28):

- (28) (One of the gods of the elder generation, Kumarbi, is creating gods and monsters to dethrone the Storm God Tessub, the supreme deity. Several battles have already taken place, and this time Kumarbi has fathered a Basalt monster. The monster, still a child, is presented to Enlil.)

And Enlil began to say to himself: “Who is he, this child, whom they raised again, the Fate-Goddesses and the Powerful Goddesses?”

<i>kuis=war=as</i>		[<i>namma</i>]	<i>u-ski-zzi</i>
who-NOM.SG=QUOT=them:ACC.PL	longer	watch-ITER-3SG.NPST	
<i>sallay-as</i>	DINGIR.MEŠ- <i>as</i>	<i>dassaw-es</i>	<i>zahḫa-u[s]</i>
great-GEN.PL	god.PL-GEN.PL	strong-ACC.PL	battle-ACC.PL

‘Who can [any longer] watch them, the intense wars of the great gods?’
(NH myth, # 38b)

The battles of the gods are not only part of the pragmatic presupposition, they are also the sentence topic, marked by means of the enclitic pronoun *-as* ‘them’. However, the activation state of the battles in the addressee’s mind is very low at this point in the discourse, even though they are at the center of attention for the speaker. The addition of a full coreferential NP in Afterthought position (Luraghi 1990: 106–107) is the regular Hittite “repair” mechanism to guide the addressee in correctly identifying the referent of an unaccented topic pronoun in Direct Discourse.

In the following example on the other hand, the referent of the object-topic expression is discourse active for both speech participants, allowing easy identifiability:

- (29) “To whom shall I give him, this child?”
kuis=war=an=za=an
 who-NOM.SG=QUOT=him:ACC.SG=REFL=him:ACC.SG
 [dā-i]
 take-3SG.NPST
 ‘Who [shall take] him (and treat him as a gift?)’
 (NH myth, # 68)

In the English comment focus clause (10b: “The cookies are gone! [Who ate]_{foc} [them]_{top}?”), the cookies are discourse active when the question is uttered. The focus of the question is the string “Who ate”²⁶ and is intended to request additional information about the mental representation of *the cookies*. The question is “about” the cookies, which means that they stand in a topic relation to the rest of the clause. Besides being a request for information about the identity of the culprit, the communicative function of this act is to comment on the discourse and sentence topic *the cookies*. The FDG representation of Hittite (28) versus (29) and English (10b) is (30) versus (31), respectively:

- (30) (A_I: [(F_I: INTER (F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J)_A (C_I: [{(+id -s R_I)(T_I)}_{InfFoc} {(R_J)(R_K)}_{Top}] (C_I))](A_I))
 (31) (A_I: [(F_I: INTER (F_I)) (P_I)_S (P_J)_A (C_I: [{(+id -s R_I)(T_I)}_{InfFoc} (R_J)_{Top}] (C_I))](A_I))

In English the ascriptive subact is intonationally prominent, and the referential topic subact is expressed by means of an unaccented pronoun. In Hittite we also find an unaccented pronoun for the topic subact.

4.4. Reporting focus and Q-word questions

When the speaker assumes that none of the information in the INTER is shared with the addressee, the question is out-of-the-blue. There is no shared pragmatic presupposition and the focus has therefore the whole communicated content in its scope (reporting focus). INTERs of this type could be a response to the question “What would you like to ask”. Such an out-of-the-blue INTER is the equivalent of an event-reporting DECL answering “What happened” (Lambrecht 1994: 121, 124). The word order in Hittite event reporting DECLs is SOV/SXV (Luraghi 1990: 85).²⁷ The same word order is observed for Hittite out-of-the-blue Q-word questions.

In (3) the speaker holds the existential presupposition that someone should bring the eagle, but she cannot assume that the addressees hold this presupposition as well. We are therefore dealing with reporting focus.²⁸ Without a contrast that can be derived from the context, the focus type is informational.²⁹ In the few Hittite reporting information focus INTERs we find the Q-word in pattern position, whereas in English this type of question is expressed with an accent on both the initial Q-word and the last accentable constituent (see [10a]). The FDG representations of Hittite (3) and English (10a) are respectively:

- (32) a. $(C_I: [\{ (+id -s R_I)(R_J)(R_K)(R_L)(R_M)(T_I)^{30} \}] (C_I)_{Inf} RFoc)$
 b. $(C_I: [\{ (+id -s R_I)(R_J)(T_I) \}] (C_I)_{Inf} RFoc)$

4.5. Set notion of contrast versus counterexpectancy³¹

In Haan's view (2002: 187–188) the Q-word always carries a focus of contrast. She ties the term focus of contrast to the notion “correct item from a subset”: the speaker brings the comment, i.e., the Q-word, in focus to check whether it is the correct comment vis-a-vis other comments (Haan 2002: 184, also see Erteschik-Shir 1997; Kiss 1998a, 1998b).

However, Q-words do not universally involve a *correct* member or even just a *member* from a subset and therefore do not always carry a focus of contrast by this definition. This claim is borne out by the fact that set membership does not play a role in the focus assignment rules for Hittite INTERs. This also means that the dichotomy of identificational focus and information focus as presented by Kiss (1998b), with preverbal position marking identificational focus, cannot be applied to Hittite.

The set notion of contrast does not explain why the *ku*-words in (3) and (7) are treated differently. Both involve a closed set of contextually (7) or situationally (3) available candidates and should therefore qualify for both exhaustively identifying and contrastive focus as defined by Kiss (1998b: 249, 267) and Haan (2002: 188). In (3) the restricted set consists of the servant deities of the deity Pirwa and in (7) of the contesters and the speaker. However, only the *ku*-word in (7) is placed in preverbal position, the locus for counterexpectational focused constituents. In (5) and (12) we have on the other hand two contextually and situationally unrestricted sets of possible answers from which to choose. This excludes contrastive focus, but the focus type is still exhaustively identifying, which would require preverbal position for both (5) and (12) within the framework of Kiss (1998b). This is not the case, and again the difference in position of the *ku*-word is explained by the degree of counterexpectancy of the INTERs, without any recourse to (closed) set membership.

4.6. Evaluation

We may conclude that Hittite *ku*-word questions are governed by the same focus assignment rules as DECLs, as has been noted for other languages (see Section 1). The correspondence between focus types and patterns discussed above are collected in Table 4 (compare Table 3 for identifying focus in Hittite DECLs):

Table 4. *Focus scopes and focus typology of Hittite Q-word questions*

	Position in the clause	Template		
Identifying focus				
Information	Initial position	(<i>nu</i>) <i>ku</i> - ...	V	(ex. 5, 17a, 20, 21)
Replacing/Selecting/ Rejecting	Preverbal position	...	<i>ku</i> - V	(ex. 6, 7, 12, 17b, 19)
Comment focus				
Information, SubjQ-word	Pattern position S(O)V	(<i>nu</i>) <i>ku</i> - ...	V	(ex. 28, 29)
Information, ObjQ-word	Pattern position (S)OV	...	<i>ku</i> - V	(ex. 2, 4, 24)
Reporting focus				
Information, SubjQ-word	Pattern position SOV	(<i>nu</i>) <i>ku</i> - ...	V	(ex. 3)

Besides the fact that INTERs and DECLs have the same focus scope possibilities, the Hittite material has shown that INTERs and DECLs may also share the same focus typology. It should therefore be possible to set up a focus typology for non-DECLs comparable to the focus typology as described in FG. The INTER column in Table 5 is a modification of the table for DECLs (Dik 1997a: 332, Figure 7).³² The most important distinction between the DECL and INTER columns is that the roles are

Table 5. *Focus types in declaratives and interrogatives*

TYPE OF FOCUS	<i>DECL</i>		<i>INTER</i>		EXPRESSION TYPE
	$P_S \rightarrow (P_A)_S$		$(P_A)_S \rightarrow P_S$		
Noncontrastive					
Information	X	???	X	???	What did Mary buy?
Contrastive					
Replacing	X	Y	X	Y	(If not Y, then) what did Mary buy <i>instead</i> ?
Restricting	X	X and Y	X	X and Y	(If not X <i>and</i> Y, then) <i>which</i> one did Mary buy?
Selecting	X	X or Y	X	X or Y	<i>Which</i> one did Mary buy?
Expanding	X and Y	Y	X and Y	Y	What <i>else</i> did Mary buy?

reversed for the latter. Whereas in the DECL situation the speaker has some information, contrastive or not, to add to the pragmatic information of the addressee (indicated by the arrow: transfer information from (P_S) to $(P_A)_S$), in the INTER situation the speaker assumes that the addressee has some information to add to the speaker's pragmatic information (that is, transfer information from $(P_A)_S$ to (P_S)). Again this information may be contrastive or not.

Since the Q-word questions discussed in this study only showed replacing/selecting, rejecting and information focus, Table 5, which lists more focus and expression types, can only be considered provisional.

5. Conclusion

Hittite belongs to those SOV languages in which the placement of Q-words is not restricted to the preverbal focus position. Instead, Hittite uses multiple strategies for the placement of Q-words, depending on the degree of counterexpectancy of the Q-word question. If the counterexpectancy of the Q-word question is high, the Q-word appears in preverbal position. But if the counterexpectancy of the Q-word question is low or zero, i.e., if there is only a request for completive information, then the Q-word appears in initial position or in pattern position. This motivation for the placement of the (always focused) Q-constituent is shared with the placement of focus constituents in Hittite DECLs.

The observation that the focus assignment rules are the same in INTERs and DECLs naturally raises the issue of the status of the existential presupposition usually connected with Q-word questions. It turned out that the existential presupposition could easily be accounted for in the representation of Q-words at the interpersonal level of FDG. Thus, the existential presupposition was separated from the focus-presupposition structure of the INTER.

Once the existential presupposition is separated from the focus-presupposition structure of the INTER, one should be able to set up a focus typology for INTERs. The focus typology of DECLs as used in FG has been extended, with a few modifications, to a provisional focus typology of INTERs in FDG.

A necessary requirement for the retrieval of the INTER focus structures is to study INTERs in context. Because most studies on INTERs fail to do this, it is often impossible to further qualify INTERs as out-of-the-blue or identificational, as informational or contrastive. This omission could be the cause for the contradictory statements on the placement of Q-words in the typological literature, clouding the fact that Q-words are

not necessarily the only element in focus, and that the focus of the Q-word is not necessarily contrastive.

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Notes

1. Hittite belongs to the extinct Anatolian branch of Indo-European. It is documented in cuneiform script on clay tablets and incidentally on metal from c.1700–c.1200 BC, and is the oldest Indo-European language available to us through contemporaneous documents. Currently 30,000 pieces of clay tablets have been excavated, constituting about 10,000 texts. Most tablets were found in the palace and temple archives of the ancient capital Hattusa, modern Boghazkale in the province of Çorum, Central Anatolia. See Hoffner and Melchert (2008) for the standard reference work on Hittite grammar. Correspondence address: The Oriental Institute, 1155 East 58th Street, Chicago, IL 60637. E-mail: pgoedegebuure@uchicago.edu
2. In three of the 145 questions collected by Hoffner (1995), the first and only large collection of Hittite questions. The Hittite interrogatives are also discussed by Mascheroni (1980, 1981, 1983).
3. Plene writing is the addition of a vowel sign to a syllable of the type CV, that is, CV-V. Plene writing is transcribed with a lengthened vowel.
4. In the Hittite transcriptions CAPS represent Sumerian lexemes or grammatical morphemes, *ITALIC CAPS* represent Akkadian lexemes or grammatical morphemes, and *italics* represent Hittite. Square brackets demarcate sections that are not preserved on the tablet. The glosses follow the Leipzig glossing rules (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html>). In addition to the list of standard abbreviations I use the following glosses: CONN = sentence connective, ITER = iterative and PTCL = particle.
5. Following the conventions of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, the sigla OH, MH, and NH indicate that the date of a composition is Old, Middle, or Neo-Hittite. The sigla OS, MS, and NS indicate that the date of a manuscript belongs to one of these periods. The combination OH/NS therefore indicates that the text is palaeographically dated to Neo-Hittite, but was composed in Old Hittite.
6. The numbers refer to the numbered questions in Hoffner (1995).
7. Initial position is the position of the first accented word, including the basically untranslatable sentence connectives *nu*, *ta*, *su*. Modified initial position is the position of the first accented word which is only preceded by a few sentence adverbs or the sentence connectives, both optionally followed by pronominal and/or local enclitics (Luraghi 1990: 12–13). These structurally different positions are generally considered to be functionally similar. One of the anonymous referees believes that these two positions are actually functionally different, and I do agree with him/her to a certain degree, as defended in my proposal for NWO project 275-70-017. However, I have not (yet) been able to detect a difference between modified initial position and initial position in the corpus studied here, and neither in the extended INTER corpus containing only two constituents. To cite just one example: *ZI-anza=wa=kan uris* *ZI-anza=wa=kan uris* — (Question 1) *kuel=wa=kan ZI-anza uris* — (Answer 1) *dandukēs=wa=kan ZI-anza*

uris — (Question 2) *nu kuin KASKAL-an ħarzi* — (Answer 2) *uran KASKAL-an ħarzi marnuwalan KASKAL-an ħarzi* “The soul is great, the soul is great!” (Question 1) “Whose soul is great?” (Answer 1) “The mortal soul is great!” — (Question 2) “And what road does it travel?” — (Answer 2) “It travels the *Great* Road, it travels the *Invisible* Road!” (OH/NS myth, #66). The Q-word *kuel* in question 1 occurs in initial position, whereas the Q-word *kuin* in question 2 follows the sentence connective *nu*, and is therefore in modified initial position. Alternatively, the constituents to which these Q-words belong could be in preverbal position, but I will disregard this possibility for the present discussion because this position always indicates counterexpectant focus (see Tables 3 and 4). Both Q-words are in identifying information focus (see Section 3 for the terminology). As the context shows, each Q-word is the only part of its clause which is not part of the presupposition, and which therefore is the only element in focus (hence identifying focus). Both questions are also merely asking for information about the person whose soul is mentioned, and the road that soul will travel (hence information focus). Therefore, from an information structural point of view, the presence of *nu* in the second question does not seem to matter: the Q-words in initial position and modified initial position have the same focus scope and meaning.

8. Because Hittite does not have ablative pronominal clitics, unaccented *from it* cannot be expressed.
9. To mention a few other terms for the tandem ‘information focus versus contrastive focus’: focus of assertion versus contrastive focus (Givón 2001a: 343–344, 2001b: 221–223), presentational focus versus operator focus (Drubig 2003), presentational focus versus contrastive focus (Rochemont 1986: 52–53), information focus versus identificational focus (Kiss 1998a, 1998b), plain focus versus contrastive focus (Erteschik-Shir 1997), new information focus versus exhaustive listing focus (Green and Jaggard 2003). Due to differences in definition and theoretical framework a one-to-one mapping of these terms often cannot be achieved.
10. Information focus often has scope over a wide domain, whereas contrastive focus generally has scope over a narrow domain. Although this correlation between domain and communicative function is quite strong, these parameters should still be kept separate. For example, a noncontrastive answer to a Q-word question often contains a focus with narrow scope. The difference between the parameters *scope* of the focus and the *communicative function* of the focus has been observed by e.g., Rochemont (1986: 68–74); Comrie (1989: 62); Dik (1989: 281–285, 1997a: 331–332); Erteschik-Shir (1997: 11–12); and Green and Jaggard (2003). The necessity to distinguish between scope and communicative function is confirmed by experimental studies (see, for example, Toepel and Alter 2004).
11. See Dik (1997a: 330–331) for more focusing strategies.
12. Note that “HE did/ate them/ate the cookies” is an appropriate answer to each question. This shows that the focus structure of a Q-word question does not necessarily correspond with the focus structure of the answer. Also see Kiss (1998b: 249) for Hungarian.
13. For a similar view, see Rosengren (1991: 196, 198), who refers to the context and context availability of information in interrogatives. Also see Jacobs (1991: 201–202) and the studies mentioned in Section 1. A different course is taken by e.g., Haan (2002). Haan (2002: 189) always treats the existential speaker presupposition as part of the common background. The presupposition is therefore the topic of the INTER, while the Q-phrase is the comment and thus the only part of the clause in focus. Still, according to Haan, one may doubt whether the topic is part of the addressee’s background. The speaker can therefore accentuate the topic for (re-)introduction into the discourse. For a similar approach see Lambrecht (1994: 282–283).

14. By separating the representation of the Q-word from the representational level, which deals with the semantics of a speech act, the inferences connected with Q-words are also separated from semantics. This excludes the possibility that we are dealing with a conversational implicature.
15. This is the case even when the Q-word applies to a closed set of salient discourse-entities ("which of ..."). This type of Q-word is used to instruct the addressee to select the appropriate subset from a contextually defined set of entities. In some languages the Q-word phrase that contains or refers to the contextually defined set may be treated as a discourse topic. For example, "which of ..." Q-word phrases receive topic marking in Chinese (topic position, Jianxin Wu 1996), Japanese (-*wa* marking, Kees Hengeveld p.c.) and Bulgarian (clitic doubling of object Q-words, Jaeger 2004). In Hittite on the other hand, "which of ..." Q-words receive focus marking (see [7] and [14]). To conclude, although the closed set may be treated as a discourse topic, the Q-word may not.
16. The remaining instance is, with context: The Storm God sent for the Sun God: "Go (and) bring the Sun God!". Thereupon they searched for the Sun God, but they did not find him. The Storm God says: "So *why* have you not found him?! My own limbs are warm! [*ap*]*ās=a=wa kuwapi ħarkta* "Where else could he have gotten lost?" (OH/NS myth, VBoT 58 obv. 25). The presupposition of this focus structure is that, first of all, the Sun God is lost somewhere (leading to identifying focus in the INTER), and secondly, that he is not found — and therefore was lost — in any of the places they were looking for him, hence the replacing focus ("where else could he be?").
17. I have tentatively assigned topic function to *those seeds* since they are what the INTER is about. For topics in INTERs, see Section 4.3. This example is actually an attestation of a proposition with multiple focus articulations, as described by Lambrecht (1994: 236–237), in this case an identifying focus and comment focus articulation.
18. The other instances of this type are # 70, 73, 76, 80a, 96–98a, b, 99, 100, 102–110, 111c, 113, 114a, 114b, 115.
19. Although I assume that both *why*-s have a H*-L% accent, (18b) probably has a higher pitch rise and fall than (18a). Alternatively, (18b) could have a high-rise (H*-H%) to express disbelief.
20. The other attestations are #61b, 83–85, 87, 88, 90, 92–94. The only exception known to me is: 'I call for mercy! My calf should have four legs! *kun=ma=wa=za ŠA 2 GİR.MEŠ=ŠU kuwat ħasun* 'Why have I borne this two-legged thing?' (NH myth, #113). Not the SoA 'giving birth to something' is counterexpectant, only the fact that the newborn has *two* legs. This would call for identifying replacing focus on the noun phrase *kun ... ŠA 2 GİR.MEŠ=ŠU* "this of two legs", in preverbal position, and with *kuwat* in initial position.
21. None of the meanings of *-pat* listed in Güterbock and Hoffner (1995: 212–230) seems to fit (a selection: "the same, the aforementioned, likewise, -self, own, only, also, rather, even, surely, certainly").
22. $R_I = \text{he}$, $R_J = \text{them}$, $R_K = \text{there}$, $R_L = \text{why}$.
23. $R_I = \text{you}$, $R_J = \text{this little}$, $R_K = \text{me}$, $R_L = \text{why}$.
24. This discourse-contextual approach to recognizing topics in INTERs disregards the requirement in FG and FDG that topic function is only assigned when the subact receives special marking (Keizer and van Staden this issue). Several linguists within FG have argued against such a formal approach to topic function assignment (see Cornish 2004: 132–133, with further references).
25. #120 contains a postverbal subject NP. For discussion see fn. 28.
26. It is important to note that the topic-comment partition of the clause does *not* automatically coincide with the subject NP-VP partition. Especially in INTERs the comment may include subject and verb.

27. In presentational DECLs with the verbs *es-* ‘to be’ or *ki-* ‘to lie’ the preferred word order is LocSV (Luraghi 1990: 105–106).
28. As one anonymous referee suggests, the eagle is apparently thematized via the presence of a coreferential pronoun, suggesting a topic-comment structure rather than reporting focus, with the eagle as object-topic and the rest of the clause in comment focus. An appropriate translation would thus be ‘Who will bring him, the eagle, from the city of Hassu [to] Pirwa?’’. The only reason for not following this otherwise plausible suggestion is that coreferential NPs occur in postverbal, nonpattern position if the referent of a pronoun is the topic of the INTER (exx. #38b, 68a, 111, KUB 33.87+ i 31’, 33’). See #120 for a topic subject pronoun with postverbal coreferential subject NP, and Section 4.3 for further discussion of postverbal coreferential NPs in topic-comment clauses. It should also be noted that event-reporting orthetic DECLs allow topical nonsubject constituents (Lambrecht 1994: 145; Rosengren 1997: 469–470). I assume that event-reporting INTERs allow them as well.
29. The other reporting information focus examples in the corpus are #41 and KUB 8.65 i 27 (both with the subject Q-word in initial position).
30. R_I = who, R_J = *-an* ‘him’, R_K = the eagle, R_L = deity Pirwa, R_M = city Hassu.
31. One anonymous referee addresses the relationship between the adversative connective *-ma* ‘and, but, while’ and the notion of counterexpectation. Although it is true that *-ma* occurs in contexts in which some kind of contrast can be perceived, I do not find any connection between *-ma* and counterexpectant focus. Among the 27 INTERs with counterexpectant focus in the corpus used here, 11 contain *-ma* (#73, 98b, 99–102, 104, 107, 111c, 113, 115). Of these 11, 7 show an accented pronoun (usually a Subject) in initial position followed by *-ma* (#73, 99, 100, 104, 107, 113, 115). This strongly suggests that *-ma* may be used as a contrastive *Topic* marker, as was already shown for Old Hittite DECLs by Rieken (2000). Additional evidence that further weakens a possible connection between *-ma* and counterexpectant focus is that *-ma* may also occur with an information focus in the clause, as is illustrated by (2) and (4). Finally, of the 66 examples of counterexpectant focus in DECLs with 3rd person accented pronouns in Goedegebuure (2003: 283–319), only one example contained *-ma*.
32. Questioning focus as a separate category should be deleted from the focus typology in Dik (1997a: 330–333) since INTERs may also contain the other types of focus mentioned there.

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