

CLAUSE BOUNDARIES IN OLD HITTITE RELATIVE SENTENCES¹

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ABSTRACT

Hittite relative sentences typically take the form ‘CONJUNCTION whichever slaves have run away, CONJUNCTION those we shall recover’. The first part (‘CONJ...away’) is known as the relative clause and the second (‘CONJ...recover’) as the resumptive clause. However, neither part is always introduced by a conjunction, and there is not always an explicit resumption (‘those’). This paper argues that in Old Hittite, and with exceptions under two well-defined conditions, the resumption and the conjunction introducing the resumptive clause are strictly both present or both absent. The distinction between sentences with both and sentences with neither points to a structural distinction between adjoined and embedded relative clauses. After Old Hittite, it is no longer necessary for a resumptive clause to include either both resumption and conjunction or neither of these elements. The new possibilities suggest that the Old Hittite embedded relative clauses have been reanalysed as adjoined.

¹ This paper is respectfully dedicated to the memory of Jill Hart. The paper has its origins in a talk on Hittite relative clauses given in Oxford to the Comparative Philology Graduate Seminar on relative clauses in Indo-European languages in October 2004. I have learned a great deal from the other participants in the seminar, both through discussion of Hittite relative sentences and through papers and discussion on relative clauses in general, in other Indo-European languages, and in Indo-European. Furthermore, I am grateful to Mr P. Barber for several discussions on relative sentences and to Prof. A. Morpurgo Davies, Prof. E. Dickey, Prof. J. D. Hawkins, Ms L. C. S. Delfs, and especially Prof. A. Garrett, for reading this paper in draft form and giving me help on specific points or comments on the overall argument, and to two anonymous referees for extremely careful and insightful comments. Not all of these people agree with my conclusions and of course all mistakes are mine.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate a strict regularity applying to relative sentences in Old Hittite, but not in the later language, and to argue that it has implications for the structures of relative sentences at the earliest stages of the language. Potentially, the results may also be helpful for the dating of texts.

For the purposes of this paper, I consider relative sentences to be those containing a declensional form of *kuiš* in its function as a relative adjective or relative pronoun (cf. the definitions in Held 1957: 9–11); I leave aside relative uses of another stem *ma* (see Hahn 1942, with bibliography) as well as the question whether similar relations between clauses may also be expressed without any relative pronoun or adjective at all (cf. Justus Raman 1973: 126–65; Justus 1976).²

Hittite is written in a cuneiform script that is basically syllabic but makes use of logograms and determiners of Sumerian origin as well as ‘akkadographic’ writings—the Akkadian equivalents of Hittite words used as if they were logograms; logograms and akkadographic writings may or may not be followed by phonetic complements. Transcription, glossing and translation of numbered examples will observe the following conventions. A sign-by-sign transcription is given (although in quotations outside the numbered examples individual signs are not generally separated), with conventional use of non-italic capitals for logograms, italic capitals for akkadographic writings, and superscript capitals for determiners. In the word-by-word glosses some grammatical information has been supplied even though it is not explicitly indicated in the Hittite orthography (e.g. because a logogram is used without a phonetic complement or other indication of features such as case and number); I have done this only where I consider the information to be both helpful and uncontroversial.

² Occasionally, a relative clause appears in a heading that does not make a syntactically complete sentence, as in the headings to ration lists on KBo 16.71 + KBo 17.14 + KBo 20.4 + 16 + 24 + KBo 25.13, of the form ‘Rations of the . . . -men/women who (are) behind the king:’ (see Singer 1983: 152). These too are left out of consideration here, as is the Old Hittite sentence [*ki*]-*ji-wa kuit walkuan ḫāšhun* meaning something like ‘what a *walkuan* I have given birth to’ at KBo 22.2 Vs. 2 (Otten 1973: tablet A, Vs. 2). In the latter sentence *kī kuit* is likely to involve grammaticalisation of an expression with interrogative rather than relative *kuit*; cf. Hackstein (2004, esp. p. 264).

Translations of numbered examples mimic, within reason, relevant aspects of the Hittite syntax. The Hittite clause-initial conjunctions *nu*, *ta* and *šu* and second-position enclitic conjunctions *-ja/-a* and *-ma/-a*³, however, rarely have a good English equivalent. In translating examples I include the symbol ‘#’ to indicate the presence of an overt element signalling a clause boundary; occasionally and where appropriate ‘and’ or (for *-ma/-a*) ‘but’ is also included in translation. The symbol ‘#’ is also used when the beginning of a clause is signalled not by any conjunction but by the placement of second-position enclitics; the symbol ‘=’ in the word-by-word gloss indicates a boundary between host word and enclitic.⁴ Although I shall be concerned with the presence or absence of elements that signal the presence of a clause boundary, I do not wish to imply that the relevant conjunctions have no function other than to indicate clause boundaries; at least at the older stages of the language it is likely that they also have idiosyncratic meanings of their own, but it is their clause-boundary marking function that will interest us here.⁵

³ For *-a* that does not cause doubling of a preceding consonant as an allomorph of *-ma*, see in most detail Rieken (2000).

⁴ One might argue that clause boundaries are also indicated by the placement of the verb in its regular position at the end of a clause. However, I doubt whether the unit that regularly has a verb at its end is the same level unit as may be introduced by a conjunction or have one or more enclitics in second position. In the terms of the analysis presented in section 14 below, it seems possible that constituents of type *S* are regularly verb-final but that only constituents of type *S'* are introduced by conjunctions or have enclitics in second position.

⁵ My use of English relatives ending in *-ever* (*whatever*, *whoever*, etc.) in some sentences and of relatives without *-ever* in others has no significance for the discussion at hand. Purely as a matter of convention, I translate a Hittite relative pronoun or adjective using an English indefinite relative ending in *-ever* if the Hittite relative pronoun or adjective comes first in its clause or follows only a clause-initial conjunction and any ensuing enclitic elements, as well as if an indefinite relative *kuiš* *kuiš* or *kuiša* is used. Held (1957) argued that a relative clause with the relative pronoun or adjective placed first, or only after clause-initial conjunction and enclitics, is ‘indeterminate’, i.e. does not imply that any person or object necessarily fulfils the criteria for being referred to by the relative clause (so, in text example (1), it would not be implied that the king *necessarily* imposes any *sahhan* at all). Held’s claim has been accepted, sometimes with modifications, by most, but not all, subsequent scholars. It will not be discussed here and, as far as I can see, has no bearing on the questions to be discussed, but some convention had to be adopted for the translation of examples. Abbreviations used in glossing examples are mostly self-evident, but note the following: *CONJ*: conjunction; *DIR*: Old Hittite directive case;

The following sentence will serve to illustrate the main elements a Hittite relative sentence may contain:

- (1) RC. nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ku-it ša-aḥ-ḥa-an LUGAL-uš da-a-i
 CONJ=*him*.DAT=PTC REL.ACC *šahhan*.ACC *king*.NOM *impose*.3SG
 Res. nu a-pa-a-at e-eš-ša-i
 CONJ *that*.ACC *do*.3SG
 ‘(RC) # whatever *šahhan* the king imposes on him, (Res) # that he shall perform’ (KBo 6.4 iv 16–7 = Laws ‘Parallel text’ § XXXVII)

The sentence consists of two parts. The first (the ‘relative clause’, abbreviated ‘RC’) is introduced by a clause-initial conjunction (*nu*) and contains a declensional form of *kuiš*. This form modifies a noun (*šahhan*) and therefore functions here as a relative adjective. The second part (the ‘resumptive clause’, abbreviated ‘Res’) is again introduced by a clause-initial conjunction (*nu*) and contains a resumptive element (here the pronoun *apāt* ‘that’).

The relative *kuiš* often stands without a modified noun, in which case it functions as a relative pronoun:

- (2) RC. nu ku-it LUGAL-uš te-ez-zi
 REL REL.ACC *king*.NOM *say*.3SG
 Res. nu a-pa-a-at lu-uz-zi kar-ap-zi
 CONJ *that*.ACC *luzzi*.ACC *perform*.3SG
 ‘(RC) # whatever the king says, (Res) # that *luzzi* he shall perform.’ (KBo 6.4 iv 32–3 = Laws ‘Parallel text’ § XXXIX)

As is well known, variations on this structure are possible:

- (i) One or both parts may lack a clause-initial conjunction (*nu*, *ta*, or *šu*) or second-position enclitic conjunction (*-ma/-a* or *-ja/-a*).
- (ii) There may be no explicit resumptive element.
- (iii) The relative pronoun/adjective may come immediately after any clause-initial conjunction and any ensuing enclitics (as in the examples above), or later in its clause.

IMPERAT: imperative; INSTR: instrumental case; IRREALIS: conjunction introducing hypothetical clauses; PTC: particle; QUOT: quotative particle (second position enclitic marking reported speech); REFL: reflexive particle; REL: relative pronoun or adjective. The dative and locative cases are not morphologically distinct; the labels DAT and LOC are used according to function.

- (iv) Occasionally the relative clause follows the resumptive clause instead of preceding, or even occurs inside the resumptive clause.

The variation in the position of the relative pronoun or adjective (iii), and the semantic and/or structural implications of different placements, have been discussed by Held (1957), Berman (1972: 4–5, 7–8), Justus (Raman) (1973: 36–125; 1976: 223–45), Lehmann (1984: 124), Melchert (1985: 197–201), Hale (1987: 46–9), Garrett (1994: 43–9), and Lühr (2001).⁶ We shall be concerned here primarily with the sorts of variation described under (i) and (ii); in fact, as regards (i), it is particularly the resumptive clause for which we shall be interested in the presence or absence of a conjunction. Most examples discussed will show the canonical ordering of relative clause before resumptive clause, but we shall have occasion further on to discuss briefly one that does not.

The following examples illustrate some of the possible combinations of presence or absence of conjunction and presence or absence of explicit resumption:

Conjunctions for both parts (*-ma* and *n-*); no explicit resumption:

- (3) [If the man has not yet taken the daughter and he refuses her,]
 RC. ku-ú-ša-ta-**ma** ku-it píd-da-a-it
 bride-price.ACC=CONJ REL.ACC gave.3SG
 Res. **na**-aš-kán ša-me-en-zi
 CONJ=*he*.NOM=PTC forfeit.3SG
 ‘(RC) # what bride-price he gave, (Res) # he forfeits (it).’
 (KBo 6.3 ii 14–5 = Laws series one, § 30 (copy B))

Conjunction for the second part only (*nu*); explicit resumption (*apāš-pát*):

- (4) RC. ku-iš pa-ap-[⌈]re-ez-zi[⌋]
 REL.NOM be-impure.3SG
 Res. **nu** **a-pa-a-aš-pát** [⌈]3[?] [⌋] G[ÍN KÙ.BA]BBAR pa-a-i
 CONJ that-one.NOM=PTC 3[?] shekel.ACC silver give.3SG
 ‘(RC) whoever is impure, (Res) # **that very man** gives three(?) shekels of silver.’ (KBo 6.2 i 59 = Laws series one, § 25 (copy A))

⁶ Cf. also Hahn (1946: 71–4; 1949: 354 n. 40).

Conjunction for neither part; no explicit resumption:

- (5) RC. pa-ap-re-ez-zi ku-iš
 be-impure.3SG REL.NOM
 Res. 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i
 3 shekel.ACC silver give.3SG
 ‘(RC) (the one) who is impure, (Res) (he) gives three shekels
 of silver.’ (KBo 6.2 i 57 = Laws series one, § 25 (copy A))

Luraghi (1990b: 61) notes that, in the Hittite Laws, asyndeton (i.e. the lack of a conjunction to connect the resumptive clause to the preceding relative clause) ‘appears to be more frequent if there is no “resumption” in the main clause’, and that otherwise⁷ ‘connectives are used regularly after relative clauses (data from all copies of the Laws)’. In the following sections we shall see that for texts in Old Hittite script, not only the Old Hittite copies of the Laws but also other Old Hittite originals, there is a very clear connection, along the lines Luraghi suggests, between the presence or absence of a conjunction for the resumptive clause and the presence or absence of an explicit resumptive element. With two well-defined classes of exceptions, a resumptive clause has a conjunction if and only if it contains an explicit resumptive element. So resumptive clauses such as those in (4) (with conjunction and explicit resumption) and (5) (with neither the one nor the other) occur in Old Hittite originals, but sentences such as (3) (with one of these elements but not both) do not. Deviations from this pattern occur only when there is the conjunction *ta*, in which case a direct object resumption may be omitted, or when there is an enclitic possessive adjective in resumptive function, in which case there may be no conjunction. For texts written or copied after the Old Hittite period, these rules no longer hold.

In some Hittite relative sentences, the resumptive clause is followed by one or more further clauses that again contain or imply an element co-referential with the relative pronoun or the noun modified by a relative adjective; one might think of these (though

⁷ Except in the sentence quoted as (32) below, for which she attributes the lack of conjunction to the sequence of relative clauses (but see section 7.3 below).

without prejudice as to their structural relations) as further resumptive clauses, and we shall label such resumptive clauses in sequence as ‘Res1’, ‘Res2’, etc.:

(6) RC. ^{LÚ.MEŠ} *Ú-BA-RU* L[^{Ú-a}š] ku-iš ku-iš

UBĀRU-men.NOM man.NOM REL.NOM

LUGAL-wa-aš pé-ra-an e-eš-zi

king.GEN in-front be.3SG

Res1. **ne** ša-ra-a ʔi-e-[e]n-zi

CONJ=they.NOM upwards step.3PL

Res2. **nu** a-ap-pa ti-en-zi

CONJ backwards step.3PL

Res3. **ne** a-ra-an-da

CONJ=they.NOM stand.3PL

‘(RC) *UBĀRU-men*, whatever man is in front of the king,
(Res1) # **they** step upwards, (Res2) # (they) step backwards,
(Res3) # **and they** stand.’ (KBo 20.12 i 5–6 = Neu 1980,
no. 25, i 5–6; Neu 1970, i 5–6)

The rules outlined above for resumptive clauses in Old Hittite originals apply only to the first resumptive clause in a sequence, not to second or subsequent resumptive clauses. Thus sentence (6), from an Old Hittite original, has a second resumptive clause with conjunction but no explicit resumption. In order to provide further illustration of this point as well as to demonstrate the regularities governing the first resumptive clause in a sequence, the Hittite sentences quoted below are quoted with all their ‘resumptive clauses’.

2. OLD HITTITE TEXTS CONSIDERED

The texts in Old Hittite script I have considered are the following:

- (i) Old Hittite copies of the Laws (the manuscripts called A, M, and aa in Hoffner (1997); following Hoffner (1997: 230) not manuscript K (but in any case K preserves no relative sentences)).
- (ii) The Old Hittite ritual texts edited by Neu (1980).
- (iii) KBo 3.22, the Old Hittite copy of the Anitta text, edited by Neu (1974).

- (iv) KBo 22.2, the Old Hittite copy of the narrative about the city of Zalpa, edited by Otten (1973) as manuscript A.
- (v) Other texts listed by Starke (1977: 10–11) as Old Hittite originals of substantial enough compass to be useful for work on syntax, apart from unpublished texts and the texts deleted from this list by Neu (1980: xiv n. 4).

Of these texts, the following yield relative sentences complete enough to be usable here:

- (i) Manuscripts A and aa of the Laws (Hoffner 1997).
- (ii) KBo 17.3 + 4 + KBo 20.15 + KUB 43.32 + 39 (Neu 1980, no. 4; cf. Otten & Souček 1969).
- (iii) KBo 17.11 (+) KBo 20.12 (+) KUB 43.26 (Neu 1980, no. 25; cf. Neu 1970).
- (iv) KBo 17.9 + 20 + KBo 20.5 + KBo 25.12 + ABoT 5 (Neu 1980, no. 12; cf. Singer 1983; 1984).
- (v) KBo 17.21 + 46 + KBo 20.33 + KBo 25.19 (Neu 1980, no. 19; cf. Singer 1983; 1984; late-ish Old Hittite ductus according to Neu (1980: 52); Middle Hittite ductus of fifteenth or early fourteenth century according to Singer (1983: 66–7) with n. 38).
- (vi) KBo 3.22 (Neu 1974).
- (vii) KUB 36.108 (edited by Otten (1951) and treated here because included by Starke (1977: 10) and generally considered a text in ‘old ductus’, but on the dating see further section 10 below).
- (viii) KBo 9.73 (+) KUB 36.106 (Otten 1957).

The (deliberately over-literal) translations given below are indebted to the interpretations, translations and discussions in the editions just mentioned, and freely borrow wording from them. With one exception (as indicated), transcriptions of texts, and supplements, follow (as relevant) Hoffner (1997), Neu (1980), Neu (1974), Otten (1951), or Otten (1957).⁸

⁸ Minor notational adjustments have been made for the sake of consistency of conventions.

3. OLD HITTITE RELATIVE SENTENCES WITH RESUMPTIVE CLAUSES CONTAINING BOTH CONJUNCTION AND EXPLICIT RESUMPTION

The following relative sentences from texts in Old Hittite script include both a conjunction⁹ and an explicit resumptive element in the resumptive clause, or in the first resumptive clause of a sequence:

- (7) [If a male slave runs away and goes to the land of Luwiya,]

RC. ku-i-ša-an a-ap-pa ʽú-waʼ-t[e-ez-zi]

REL.NOM=*him*.ACC *back* *bring.3SG*

Res. **nu-uš-še** 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i
 CONJ=*him*.DAT 6 *shekel*.ACC *silver* give.3SG

‘(RC) # whoever brings him back, (Res) # **to him** he (the owner) shall pay 6 shekels of silver.’ (KBo 6.2 i 51–2 = Laws series one, § 23 (copy A))

- (8) [If a male slave runs away and goes into an enemy country,]

RC. ku-i-ša-an a-ap-pa-ma ú-wa-te-ez-zi

REL.NOM=*him*.ACC *back*=PTC *bring*.3SG

Res. **na-an-za** **a-pa-a-aš-pát** da-⁹ra-i⁷
 CONJ=*him*.ACC=REFL *that-one*.NOM=PTC *take*.3SG

‘(RC) # whoever brings him back, (Res) # **that very man** shall take him for himself.’ (KBo 6.2 i 53 = Laws series one, § 23 (copy A))

- (9) (= (4), but there quoted without the ‘2nd resumptive clause’)

RC. ku-iš pa-ap-¹re-ez-zi²REL.NOM *be-impure.3SG*

Res1. nu a-pa-a-aš-pát ʔ³ ʔ GÍIN
 CONJ *that-one*.NOM=PTC 3[?] *shekel*.ACC
 KÙ.BA]BBAR pa-a-i
silver give.3sg

⁹ Throughout this paper a resumptive clause will be said to include a conjunction if there is a conjunction connecting this clause to what precedes; some resumptive clauses also contain conjoined words or phrases, but the conjunctions found in these contexts are not at issue here.

Res2. pá-r-「na-aš-še-」a šu-wa-i-ez-zi
 house.DIR=*his/it*.DAT=CONJ look.3SG

‘(RC) whoever is impure, (Res1) # **that very man** gives three(?) shekels of silver, (Res2) # **and** one looks to **his**/(his) house for it.’¹⁰ (KBo 6.2 i 59 = Laws series one, § 25 (copy A))

- (10) RC. [ku-i]š-za LÚ ḥi-ip-pa-ri ḥa-a-ap-pár i-ez-zi
 REL.NOM=REFL *hippara-man*.DAT *purchase*.ACC *make*.3SG
 Res. **na-aš-kán** ḥa-a-ap-pa-ra-az [še-me-e]n-zi
 CONJ=*he*.NOM=PTC *purchase-price*.ABL *forfeit*.3SG
 ‘(RC) # whoever makes a purchase from a hippara-man,
 (Res) # **he** shall forfeit the purchase-price.’ (KBo 6.2 ii
 51–2 = Laws series one, § 48 (copy A))

- (11) RC. nu ku-it [LU]GAL-uš te-ez-zi
 CONJ REL.ACC *king*.NOM *says*.3SG
 Res. **nu a-pa-a-at** i-ja-mi
 CONJ *that*.ACC *do*.1SG
 ‘(RC) # whatever the king says, (Res) # **that** I shall do.’ (KBo
 17.4 ii 12–13 = Neu 1980, no. 4, ii 12–13; Otten & Souček
 1969, ii 17–18)

- (12) RC. ka-lu-lu-pi-iš-mi ḥu-la-li-an ku-i-ta(-)¹¹ an-da ḥal-ki-ja-ša
 finger.DAT=*their*.DAT wound.NOM REL.NOM *on* *barley*.GEN=*both*
 ZÍZ^{HLA}-ša ḥar-ša-a-ar-ra
 spelt.GEN=*and* *heads*.NOM=*and*
 Res. **nu a-pa-at-ta** ĜÌR-ŠU-NU ki-it-ta
 CONJ *that*.NOM=*too* *feet*=*their* *lie*.3SG
 ‘(RC) # whatever (is) wound onto their finger, and the heads both of
 barley and of spelt, (Res) # **that** too lies at their feet.’ (KBo 17.3 iv 28–9
 = Neu 1980, no. 4, iv 28–9; Otten & Souček 1969, iv 31–2)

¹⁰ On *párna*=šše=*a* see Starke (1977: 36–7); Hoffner (1997: 168, with bibliography).

¹¹ The *-a* of *kuita* derives historically from the conjunction *-a*, but has become unverbated with the relative pronoun to form an indefinite relative (see Puhvel 1984–: iv. 222–4 and cf. n. 28 below).

- (13) = (6) RC. ^{LÚ.MEŠ} *Ú-BA-RU* ^{L[Ú-a]š} *ku-iš ku-iš*
UBĀRU-men.NOM man.NOM REL.NOM
LUGAL-wa-aš pé-ra-an e-eš-zi
king.GEN in-front be.3SG
 Res1. **ne** *ša-ra-a ți-e[e]n-zi*
CONJ=they.NOM upwards step.3PL
 Res2. **nu** *a-ap-pa ti-en-zi*
CONJ backwards step.3PL
 Res3. **ne** *a-ra-an-da*
CONJ=they.NOM stand.3PL
 ‘(RC) *UBĀRU-men*, whatever man is in front of the king, (Res1) **# they** step upwards, (Res2) **# (they)** step backwards, (Res3) **# and they** stand.’ (KBo 20.12 i 5–6 = Neu 1980, no. 25, i 5–6; Neu 1970, i 5–6)

- (14) Adjunct to sentence. ^{DUTU-az}
sun-god.ABL
 RC. *ut-ne-e [ku-it k]u-it-pát a-ra-iš*
country.NOM whatever.NOM=PTC rose-up.3SG
 Res. **nu-uš** **ḫu-u-ma-an-du-uš-p[át]** *ḫ]u-u[l-la-nu-u]n*
CONJ=them.ACC all.ACC=PTC struck-down.1SG
 ‘(S-adjunct) with the help of the sun-god, (RC) whatever country rose up, (Res) **# I** struck **them all** down.’ (KBo 3.22 Vs. 11–2 = Neu 1974, Vs. 11–2)

- (15) RC. *šar-di-aš-ša-an-na ku-in ú-wa-te-et*
helpers.GEN=his=CONJ REL.ACC brought.3SG
 Res. **šu-uš** ^{URU} *Ša-l[(am-p)]i*
CONJ=them.ACC Šalampa.LOC
 ‘(RC) **#** and whom of his helpers he had brought, (Res) **# those** [I] at Šalampa.’ (KBo 3.22 Vs. 37 = Neu 1974, Vs. 37)

- (16) RC. *ku-iš am-me-el a-ap-pa-an LUGAL-uš ki-i-ša-r[i]*
REL.NOM me.GEN after king.NOM become.3SG
nu ^{URU}Ha-at-tu-ša-an a-ap-pa a-ša-a-š[i]
CONJ Hattuša.ACC again settle.3SG

Res. **na-an** ne-pí-ša-aš ^DIŠKUR-aš ḥa-az-zi-e-e[t-tu]
 CONJ=*him*.ACC *sky*.GEN *weather-god*.NOM *strike*.IMPERAT.3SG
 ‘(RC) whoever becomes king after me # and settles Hattuša
 again, (Res) # **him** the weather god of the sky is to strike.’
 (KBo 3.22 Rs. 49–51 = Neu 1974, Rs. 49–51)

- (17) RC. URU^{HLA}-uš ku-i-ūš []
cities.ACC REL.ACC.PL
 Res. **ne** ŠA ^DUTU^{ŠI}-pát a-ša-an-tu
 CONJ=*they*.NOM *of my-majesty*=PTC *be*.IMPERAT.3PL
 ‘(RC) which cities [Pilliya has taken], (Res) # **they** are to
 belong to my Majesty.’ (KUB 36.108 Vs. 3–4 = Otten 1951,
 Vs. 3–4; on the date of this text see section 10 below.)

- (18) RC. ^Ipi[l-li-ja-] e-ep-pu-un
Pilliya.GEN *took*.1SG
 Res. **ne** ^Ipi[l-li-ja-aš-pát a[-ša-an-tu]
 CONJ=*they* *Pilliya*.GEN=PTC *be*.IMPERAT.3PL
 ‘(RC) those of Pil[liya, which I have] taken, (Res) # **they** are to
 belong to Pilliya.’ (KUB 36.108 Vs. 4–5 = Otten 1951, Vs. 4–5;
 again on the date see section 10 below.)

- (19) RC. nu ku-iš []ja-az-zi
 CONJ REL.NOM ?.PRES.3SG
 Res. **na-an** ke-e da-aš-ša-u-e[-eš] [] NI-IŠ
 CONJ=*him*.ACC *these*.NOM *mighty*.NOM *oaths*.NOM
 DINGIR^{MES} ap-pa-an-t[u]
gods.GEN *seize*.IMPERAT.3PL
 ‘(RC) # whoever do[es], (Res) # **him** these mighty [] oaths
 of the gods are to seize.’ (KUB 36.106 Vs. 8–10 = Otten
 1957: 217)

- (20) [And on it (the soldiery) lies a bronze knife and we carry it in.]
 RC. ERĪN^{MES}-na-an ku-iš an-da pé-e-ta-i
soldiery.ACC=PTC REL.NOM *in* *carry*.3SG

Res1. DUMU.É.GAL-ša pé-e-ra-aš-še-et ^{GIS}zu-pa-a-ri
 palace-servant.NOM=CONJ in-front=his.ACC torch.ACC
 ḫar-zi
 hold.3SG

Res2. ERÍN^{MEŠ}-na-an a-ap-pa-an(-)an-da pé-e-ta-i
 soldiery.ACC=PTC behind bring.3SG

‘(RC) # (the one) who carries in the soldiery, (Res1) # the palace servant holds a torch in front of him, (Res2) # (and) (he) brings the soldiery behind.’ (KBo 17.1 i 32–4 = Neu 1980, no. 3, i 32–4; Otten & Souček 1969, i 32–4)¹²

(No conjunction as such introduces the ‘second resumptive clause’ here, but ERÍN^{MEŠ}-na-an consists of the accusative singular of the noun ‘soldiery’ plus the second-position enclitic local particle -an identified by Otten & Souček (1969: 81–2); the position of this enclitic signals the beginning of the clause.)

¹² It is difficult to be sure which clause should properly be considered the ‘first resumptive clause’ here. Otten & Souček (1969: 21) apparently take DUMU.É.GAL-ša=a pēra=ššet ^{GIS}zupāri ḫarzi to be syntactically parenthetical, so that the proper ‘resumptive clause’ is what I have labelled here ‘2nd resumptive clause’; cf. their translation ‘Wer die Tru[ppe] hineinbringt — und der Hofjunker hält eine Fackel vor ihm — dahinter schafft er die Truppe herbei’. Yet, if āpananda (‘dahinter’) refers back to the torch of the immediately preceding clause, it is not clear to me that this clause can be properly parenthetical. Justus (1976: 236) offers a diametrically opposed translation, assuming all three parts of the sentence to be highly syntactically integrated: ‘The troop (which) is brought in by someone before whom a nobleman holds a torch is brought in afterwards’ (cf. Justus Raman 1973: 133). More simply, Lehmann (1984: 126) quotes the sentence only as far as ^{GIS}zupāri ḫarzi and translates ‘Vor demjenigen, der die Truppe hineinbringt, hält aber der Hofjunker eine Fackel’. It is likely that the enclitic conjunction -a indicates a somewhat different relationship between the relative clause and what I label ‘1st resumptive clause’ than that indicated by nu or šu for the other sentences collected in this section, but it is not obvious that -a need indicate syntactic parenthesis here (even if in some contexts -ma/-a clearly does introduce a parenthesis: see Rieken 2000: 415). Thus I tentatively take the first clause referring back to the relative clause as the structural equivalent of what I am calling the ‘first resumptive clause’ for other sentences.

4. OLD HITTITE RELATIVE SENTENCES WITH RESUMPTIVE CLAUSES
CONTAINING NEITHER CONJUNCTION NOR EXPLICIT RESUMPTION

The following sentences from texts in Old Hittite script include neither a conjunction for the resumptive clause nor an explicit resumptive element. It is striking that in each case there is no marking whatsoever of the boundary between relative clause and resumptive clause: not only is there no conjunction to connect the two parts, but there are also no enclitics dependent on the first word (or tight word-group) of the resumptive clause.

- (21) [If a person (man or woman) dies in another city,]

RC. ku-e-la-aš ar-ḫi a-ki

REL.GEN=*he*.NOM *land*.LOC *die*.3SG

Res. 1 ME ^{GIŠ}gi-pé-eš-šar A.ŠĀ kar!-aš-ši-i-ez-zi
one hundred gipeššar.ACC *land cut-off*.3SG

‘(RC) # whoever’s land he dies on, (Res) he (the heir)
shall cut off 100 *gipeššar* of the land (of that person).’¹³

(KBo 6.2 i 7–8 = Laws series one, § 6 (copy A))

- (22) [If a male or female slave runs away,]

RC. iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-ḫan ku-e⁷-el

master.NOM=*his/her*.NOM=*him/her*.ACC REL.GEN

ḫa-aš-ši-i ú-e-mi-[ez-zi]

hearth.LOC *find*.3SG

Res1. LÚ-na-aš ku-uš-ša-an ITU.1.KAM 12

man.GEN *wage*.ACC *one-month* 12

GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

shekel.ACC *silver* *give*.3SG

¹³ So the interpretation implied by Hoffner’s translation (1997: 20), with the dead man’s heir rather than the man on whose land the death occurs being the implicit subject of *karaššizzi* ‘shall cut off’ and not only of *dāi* ‘shall take’. The subject of *karaššizzi* has otherwise been taken to be the man on whose land the death occurs, with a change of subject for the next clause *n=an=za dāi* ‘and he shall take it for himself’ (so Friedrich 1959: 17; Hoffner 1963: 13; Imparati 1964: 37; Justus Raman 1973: 149–50); see further the end of section 12.

Res2. MUNUS-ša-^{ma} ku-ša-an ITU.1.KAM 6

woman.GEN=CONJ=CONJ wage.ACC one-month 6

GÍN K[Û.BABBAR] pa-a-i

shekel.ACC silver give.3sg

‘(RC) # (the one) at whose hearth his/her master finds him/her, (Res1) (he) shall pay, of a man, one month’s wage, 12 shekels of silver, (Res2) # **but** of a woman (he) shall pay one month’s wage, 6 shekels of silver.’ (KBo 6.2 i 54–5 = Laws series one, § 24 (copy A))¹⁴

(23) = (5) RC. pa-ap-re-ez-zi ku-iš

be-impure.3sg REL.NOM

Res. 3 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-a-i

3 shekel.ACC silver give.3sg

‘(RC) (the one) who is impure, (Res) (he) gives three shekels of silver.’ (KBo 6.2 i 57 = Laws series one, § 25 (copy A))

(24) RC. [AR]AD É NA₄

ARAD DUMU.LUGAL BE-EL

slave.NOM stone-house.GEN slave.NOM prince.GEN lord.NOM

ŠU-UP-PA-TI ku-i-eš LÛ^{MES} GIŠ^{GIŠ} TUKUL [iš-tar-na]

reed-shaped-emblem.GEN REL.NOM.PL men TUKUL among

A.ŠA^{HLA}-an ḥar-kán-zi

land.ACC hold.3pl

Res. lu-uz-zi kar-pí-an-z[i]

luzzi.ACC perform.3pl

‘(RC) a slave of a stone house, a slave of a prince, a lord of the reed-shaped emblem, whoever hold land among TUKUL men, (Res) (they) shall perform *luzzi*.’ (KBo 6.2 iii 5–6 = Laws series one, § 52 (copy A))¹⁵

¹⁴ The ‘second resumptive clause’ appears to include two enclitics that do not normally co-occur; on this problem see Hoffner (1997: 32–3), with discussion of an explanation suggested by Melchert (which would leave unaffected what is essential for present purposes about the ‘second resumptive clause’, namely that this clause has at least one enclitic conjunction and no explicit resumption). On ‘second’ and subsequent resumptive clauses, see further the end of section 7.

¹⁵ Held (1957: 51–2) takes this to be a sentence with parenthetical relative clause and resumption ‘actually in the clause which precedes the parenthetical expression’, but I take the relative clause proper (beginning with *kuieš*) to stand in apposition to the three preceding noun phrases and what I label ‘resumptive clause’ to be the part corresponding structurally to the other ‘resumptive clauses’ (or ‘first resumptive clauses’) of the sentences collected in this section.

- (25) RC. ar-ḥa-an-na ku-iš pá-r-ši-ja
boundary.ACC=CONJ REL.NOM violate.3SG
 Res1. 1 UD[U 10 NINDA^{HI.A} 1 DUG
1 sheep.ACC 10 loaves.ACC 1 jug.ACC
 KA.GAG pa-a-i
 KA.GAG-beer give.3SG
 Res2. ta A.ŠÀ-LA/M a-ap-pa šu-up-pí-ja-aḥ-ḥi
CONJ field.ACC again purify.3SG
 ‘(RC) # (the one) who violates the boundary, (Res1) (he) shall give one sheep, ten loaves, and one jug of KA.GAG beer, (Res2) # and (he) shall purify the field again.’ (KUB 29. 35 iii 3–4 (+) 29. 30 iii 10–1 = Laws series two, § 168/*53 (copy aa); restored from later copies)

- (26) RC. ^{LÚ}K]AŠ₄.E [(tar-ru-uḥ-zi ku-i)]š
runner.NOM win.3SG REL.NOM
 Res. II NINDA^{wa-ga-ta-aš} I MA[.NA KÙ.BABBAR]
2 wagada-bread.ACC 1 mina.ACC silver
 LUĞAŁ-wa-aš [(ki-iš-šar-ra-az-š)]e-et da-a[i]
king.GEN hand.ABL=his.ABL take.3SG
 ‘(RC) which runner wins, (Res) (he) takes two wagada-breads and one mina of silver from the hand of the king.’ (KBo 25.12 ii 10–2 = Neu 1980, no. 12, ii 10–2; Singer 1984, 1.h ii 10–2; supplements following Singer)

- (27) RC. [^{LÚ}KA]Š₄.E tar-AḤ-zi ku-iš
runner.NOM win.3SG REL.NOM
 Res. I MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR Û II NINDA^{wa-ga-da-aš}
1 mina.ACC silver and 2 wagada-bread.ACC
 pí-an-zi
give.3PL
 ‘(RC) which runner wins, (Res) they give (to him) one mina of silver and two wagada-breads.’ (KBo 20.33 Vs. 12 = Neu 1980, no. 19, Vs. 12; Singer 1984, 3.a Vs. 12; on the date of the copy see section 2 above)

- (28) RC. ku-i-ša-at ḫu-ul-li[-iz-zi]
 REL.NOM=*it*.ACC *smashes*.3SG
 Res. ^U[^{RU}Ne-e-š]a-aš ^{LÚ}KÚR-ŠU e[-eš-tu]
 Neša.GEN *enemy*.NOM=*its* *be*.IMPERAT.3SG
 ‘(RC) # whoever smashes it, (Res) (he) is to be the
 enemy of Neša.’ (KBo 3.22 Vs. 35 = Neu 1974, Vs. 35)¹⁶

5. OLD HITTITE RELATIVE SENTENCES WITH RESUMPTIVE CLAUSES
 CONTAINING A CONJUNCTION BUT NO EXPLICIT RESUMPTION

The following are the only two relative sentences in our Old Hittite originals including a conjunction for the resumptive clause but either no explicit resumptive element or not necessarily any explicit resumptive element:

- (29) RC. ^{LÚ}ḫi-ip-pár-aš ku-it ḫa-ap-pa-ra-a-it
 hippara-man.NOM REL.ACC *sold*.3SG
 Res. **ta**-az a-ap-pa da-^Γa-i^Γ
 CONJ=REFL *back* *take*.3SG
 ‘(RC) what the *hippara*-man has sold, (Res) # he takes (it)
 back for himself.’ (KBo 6.2 ii 52 = Laws series one, § 48
 (copy A))

¹⁶ The resumptive clause of this sentence is only just sufficiently well preserved to be usable here, but Neu’s supplement is virtually certain because of the close parallelism between the preserved parts of our clause and ^{URU}Ne-e[-š]a-aš ku-r[u-u]r e-eš-tu ‘(he) is to be the enemy of Neša’ at Vs. 24–5 (also said of any future person who violates Anitta’s demands). Furthermore, there is no space for a clause-initial conjunction such as *nu* in the illegible part at the end of ḫu-ul-li[-iz-zi]; compare Neu’s comment (1974: 27): ‘Nach den Raumverhältnissen scheint in A nicht ḫu-ul-li-e-ez-zi, sondern ḫu-ul-li[-iz-zi] gestanden zu haben...’. It is also worth considering whether ^U[^{RU}Ne-e-š]a-aš could consist of an Old Hittite directive case *Nēša* plus enclitic subject pronoun -aš, instead of being genitive *Nēšaš*. However, it is at least questionable whether the Old Hittite directive case could be used in such a situation; Starke (1977: 64, 85) finds no examples of the directive case in nominal or copula sentences other than those with a verbal adjective as nominal predicate, and takes the directive case to be systematically excluded from such sentences. Furthermore, the presence of the enclitic possessive adjective -ŠU is possible if ^U[^{RU}Ne-e-š]a-aš is genitive (and if an enemy can be considered an ‘inalienable’ possession at least in this context; cf. section 7.3), but the use of a possessive adjective with another case expressing ‘possession’ would be peculiar. I therefore take Neu’s interpretation of ^U[^{RU}Ne-e-š]a-aš as a genitive to be necessary.

- (30) RC. [k]u-iš ša-ga-i-[i]š ki-i-ša-ri
 REL.NOM *sign*.NOM *occur*.3SG
 Res. **ta** LUGAL-i MUNUS.LUGAL-ja ta-ru-e-ni
 CONJ *king*.DAT *queen*.DAT=*and* *tell*.1PL
 ‘(RC) whatever sign occurs, (Res) # we tell (it) to the king
 and queen.’ (KBo 17.1 iv 9 = Neu 1980, no. 3, iv 9; Otten
 & Souček 1969, iv 9)

In sentence (29) it is possible that the sequence < *ta-az* > contains an explicit resumption -*at* ‘it’, since < *ta-az* > could write either *ta=at=ts* (conjunction + ‘it’ (acc.) + reflexive marker) or mere *ta=ts* (conjunction + reflexive marker). Sentence (30), however, quite clearly contains no explicit resumption.

In both of these sentences, and in none of the sentences in section 3, the conjunction introducing the (first) resumptive clause is *ta*. In both cases, the missing or possibly missing resumptive element is the direct object of the resumptive clause. It has been observed more generally that direct objects are omitted in Old Hittite sentences introduced by *ta* more frequently than in other Old Hittite sentences (Friedrich 1935; 1960: 131; Otten & Souček 1969: 90; Luraghi 1990b: 66), probably as a relic of the pronominal origin of *ta* (so Otten & Souček 1969: 90 n. 2; Luraghi 1990b: 66; differently Friedrich 1935). The lack or possible lack of explicit object resumption after *ta* in these examples thus fits into a more general pattern of Old Hittite syntax. A similar example may be cited from a sentence preserved in copy B of the Laws but not in the Old Hittite copy A (although here too it is just possible that < *ta-aš-še* > conceals a sequence *ta=at=še* with enclitic accusative pronoun *at*¹⁷):

¹⁷ Cf. KBo 5.2 iv 12, where *na-aš-ša-an* must be interpreted as *na=at=šan*. One of the anonymous referees, who draws my attention to such cases, points out that sentences with e.g. *ta(=t)=ts* or *ta(=t)=šše* could have been reanalysed with true omission of the pronoun, leading to sentences such as (30). If so, the relatively frequent omission of direct objects after *ta* would be connected in origin to a particular propensity (at some stage) of *ta* to co-occur with an object pronoun such as -*at*.

- (31) RC. nu ḥa-an-te-ez-zi-ja-aš LÚ-aš ku-it ku-ṭit
 CONJ *first.NOM* *man.NOM* REL.ACC
 p[é-eš-ta]
 gave.3SG
 Res. ta-aš-še šar-ni-ik-zi
 CONJ=*him.DAT* *replace.3SG*
 ‘(RC) # whatever the first man gave, (Res) # he shall
 replace (it) for him.’ (KBo 6.3 ii 6–7 = Laws series one,
 § 28 (copy B))

6. OLD HITTITE RELATIVE SENTENCE WITH RESUMPTIVE CLAUSE
 CONTAINING EXPLICIT RESUMPTION BUT NO CONJUNCTION

The following is the only relative sentence in our Old Hittite originals that includes, for the first resumptive clause, an explicit resumptive element but no conjunction:

- (32) RC1. [LÚ] ṭUK[?] ṭ.KI.E ku-iš URU[?]Ne-e-ri-ik-ki ta-ru-uḫ-zi
 UK[?].KI.E-*man.NOM* REL.NOM *Nerik.LOC* *be-powerful.3SG*
 RC2. ku-iš ṭ URU[?]A-[ri-in-ni]
 REL.NOM *Arinna.LOC*
 RC3. ku-ṭ-iš URU[?]Zi-ip-la-an-ti LÚ[?]SANGA-eš
 REL.NOM *Ziplanta.LOC* *priest.NOM*
 Res1. I-NA URU^{DIDL} ḫu-u-ma-an-t[i] ṭÉ^{ḫi.A}-ŠU-NU EL-LU
 in *city.LOC* *every.LOC* *houses.NOM=their* *exempt.NOM*
 Res2. Ṭ LÚ^{MEŠ} HA.LA-ŠU-NU lu-uz-zi ka[r-pi-an-zi]
 CONJ *associates.NOM=their* *luzzi.ACC* *perform.3PL*
 ‘(RC1) what UK[?].KI.E-man is powerful (?) in Nerik, (RC2) whoever
 (is a priest) in Arinna, (RC3) whoever is a priest in Ziplanta, (Res1)
 in every town **their** houses are exempt (Res2) # **and their** associates
 perform *luzzi*.’ (KBo 6.2 ii 58–60 = Laws series one, §50 (copy A))

The resumptive element in the first resumptive clause consists of the (akkadographically written) enclitic possessive adjective -ŠUNU. One of the resumptive elements in section 3, that of sentence (20), is also an enclitic possessive adjective (-šet), though this one is dependent on a postposition rather than a noun. All the other resumptive elements in section 3 are noun phrases (in fact in each

case either an inflectional form of the emphatic pronoun *apāš* or an enclitic pronoun; in sentence (14) an enclitic pronoun, *-uš* ‘them’, with dependent adjective *hūmanduš* ‘all’).

7. STRUCTURE OF OLD HITTITE RELATIVE SENTENCES

We have now seen all the sufficiently complete relative sentences in our texts in Old Hittite script, with the exception of one relative sentence that cannot be straightforwardly divided into a relative clause and a resumptive clause, and two sentences that, while very fragmentary, nevertheless merit discussion. These sentences will be discussed in sections 8 and 10. The current section is devoted to a summary and discussion of the patterns that emerge from the ‘normal’ Old Hittite relative sentences just surveyed.

All the examples we have seen may be considered to have two parts, a relative clause and a resumptive clause, and all have the relative clause preceding the resumptive clause. In general, it appears that the resumptive clause may have (i) both a conjunction and an explicit resumptive element, or (ii) neither a conjunction (or any other marker of clause boundary) nor an explicit resumptive element, but not (iii) one without the other. However, there are two circumstances in which one of these elements may appear without the other. Firstly, a direct object resumption may be omitted after the conjunction *ta*, just as in Old Hittite more generally an otherwise expected direct object may be omitted after *ta*. Secondly — and if one example is sufficient to demonstrate this point — it appears that an enclitic possessive adjective does not, or does not always, count as sufficient resumption to be blocked when there is no conjunction.

Why does a conjunction for the resumptive clause normally appear if and only if there is also an explicit resumptive element? Is one of these elements somehow directly dependent on the other, or is the appearance of both or neither, but not normally one without the other, a sign of some more significant structural difference between the sentences in section 3 and those in section 4? And why the apparently exceptional patterns involving *ta* and no overt direct object resumption, or involving no conjunction and resumption consisting of an enclitic possessive adjective?

It has usually been assumed (under various structural analyses of Hittite relative sentences) that Hittite relative sentences lacking a conjunction for the resumptive clause, or lacking an explicit resumptive element, have essentially the same structure as those containing both these elements, but that neither clause boundary marker nor resumption always appears on the surface. However, the connection between clause boundary markers and resumptive elements makes it worth asking whether there are in fact two types of relative sentence in Old Hittite: one with adjoined relative clause, and one with embedded relative clause, with clause boundary marking and resumption being essentially independent, but both obligatory, features of the type with adjoined relative clause. The examples in section 3 are most straightforwardly analysed as having adjoined relative clauses, and have indeed usually been taken in this way. In sentence (14), repeated here as (33), for example, the relative clause (with internal antecedent or head: see below) *utnē kuit kuit=pat araiš* stands outside the resumptive clause or sentence proper and is resumed (here without precise number and gender agreement) by the object *=uš hūmanduš=pat* of the resumptive clause:

- (33) = (14) Adjunct to sentence. ^DUTU-az
sun-god.ABL
 RC. ut-ne-e [ku-it k]u-it-pát a-ra-iš
country.NOM REL.NOM=PTC rose-up.3SG
 Res. **nu-uš** **hu-u-ma-aṇ-du-uš-p[át** h]u-u[l-la-nu-u]n
CONJ=them.ACC all.ACC=PTC struck-down.1SG
 ‘(S-adjunct) with the help of the sun-god, (RC) whatever
 country rose up, (Res) # I struck **them all** down.’ (KBo 3.22
 Vs. 11–2 = Neu 1974, Vs. 11–2)

The expression *utnē kuit kuit=pat araiš* does not directly occupy the position of object of the resumptive clause, as this object position is filled by *=uš hūmanduš=pat*. In addition, the clause-initial conjunction *nu* intervenes between *utnē kuit kuit=pat araiš* and the verb *hullanun*, and a clause-initial or second-position enclitic conjunction

does not normally intervene between a Hittite verb and one of its syntactic arguments.¹⁸

For the examples in section 4, two analyses are in principle possible. Sentence (23), repeated here as (34), for example, may be taken as having a resumptive clause, 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pāi*, which is syntactically complete in itself:

- (34) = (23) = (5) RC. pa-ap-re-ez-zi ku-iš
 be-impure.3SG REL.NOM
 Res. 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i
 3 *shekel.ACC silver* give.3SG
 ‘(RC) (the one) who is impure, (Res) (he) gives
 three shekels of silver.’ (KBo 6.2 i 57 = Laws
 series one, § 25 (copy A))

Although this resumptive clause is not introduced by a conjunction and does not contain an explicit subject, neither a conjunction nor an explicit subject is obligatory in an Old Hittite sentence. If 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pāi* is taken as a syntactically complete sentence, the (headless: see below) relative clause *paprezzi kuiš* may be taken to stand outside the sentence proper and to be resumed by the implicit subject of *pāi*. However, the lack of both clause boundary marker and explicit resumption makes it possible, alternatively, to take *paprezzi kuiš* as the actual syntactic subject of *pāi*. In this latter case, one might translate the sentence more or less straightforwardly into English using an embedded relative clause: ‘(The one) who is impure gives three shekels of silver’. Lehmann (1984: 127) also notices the potential syntactic ambiguity of such relative sentences in speaking of a possibility of taking the relative clause as a subject of the matrix clause in the case of sentences (21) and (22) (though under the interpretation I follow for (21), the relative clause would not be the subject of the main clause but a possessive dependent on A.ŠÀ ‘land’).

¹⁸ On the occasional Hittite sentences in which a noun phrase precedes the sentence proper (including any clause-initial conjunction or the word to which enclitics are attached) and is resumed by an anaphoric element in the sentence proper, see section 14 below.

A detail of the structure proposed here for the sentences in section 4 should be made explicit. We saw above that sentence (34) can be translated fairly easily into English as '(The one) who is impure gives three shekels of silver'. Nevertheless, Hittite preposed relative clauses do not contain an external antecedent or head ('**The one** who is impure...') but either no antecedent, as in (34), or an internal antecedent, as in (27), repeated here as (35):

(35) = (27) RC. [^{LÜ}KA]š₄.E tar-AH₂-zi ku-iš
runner.NOM win.3SG REL.NOM
 Res. I MA.NA KÜ.BABBAR Ū II ^{NINDA}wa-ga-da-aš
1 mina.ACC silver and 2 wagada-bread.ACC
give.3PL
 ‘(RC) which runner wins, (Res) they give (to him) one
 mina of silver and two wagada-breads.’ (KBo 20.33 Vs.
 12 = Neu 1980, no. 19, Vs. 12; Singer 1984, 3.a Vs. 12)

If the antecedent [^{LÚ}KA]Š₄.E were external to the relative clause it would have dative case, which would normally be indicated (whether by a phonetic complement or by an Akkadian preposition) even for a logographically written word (cf. Starke 1977: 109–20). In discussions of relative clause typology, embedded relative clauses with no overt antecedents have been called ‘free relatives’, and those with internal antecedents have been called ‘internally headed relatives’ (see Garrett 1994: 41–3). As Garrett (1994: 43) points out, adjoined relative clauses are not normally described as internally headed, externally headed or free, but Hittite preposed relative clauses that are adjoined (i.e. according to most analyses all Hittite preposed relative clauses, but under the analysis claimed here for Old Hittite those in section 3 but not those in section 4) are akin to internally headed relative clauses (when there is an overt noun phrase modified by the relative adjective) or to free relative clauses (when *kuiš* functions as a relative pronoun, with no dependent noun phrase). My analysis of the relative sentences in section 4 as containing embedded relative clauses thus agrees with the standard analysis of the antecedent or head of any Hittite relative clause, or at least any preposed relative clause,¹⁹ as internal to the relative clause when there is an overt antecedent at all.

A word should also be said about the second or subsequent ‘resumptive clause’ in a sequence. We have seen that these are simply not subject to the restrictions applying to first or only resumptive clauses. I take the reason to be that, even if second or subsequent ‘resumptive clauses’ are similar in function to ‘first’ resumptive clauses, they stand outside the syntax of the relative sentence altogether: after one resumptive clause, Hittite simply begins a new sentence. The possibility of referring anaphorically to a discourse participant already mentioned does not make such sentences resumptive clauses in a syntactic sense. In the following sections Hittite relative sentences will continue to be quoted together with all the clauses we have been calling ‘resumptive

¹⁹ The vast majority of relative sentences in the texts I have considered have preposed relative clauses. I have little to add to what has been said about sentences with relative clauses in other positions, though the possibility of such sentences already in Old Hittite is of interest and is discussed in section 8 below.

clauses', and these clauses will continue to be labelled as such, not least because we shall see examples where it is difficult to be sure which clause to take as the 'first resumptive clause'. However, in all cases I take the first 'resumptive clause' in a sequence to be the one genuinely belonging to the relative sentence.

7.1. *Distribution of enclitic subject pronouns in Hittite*

In addition to the differences in clause boundary marking and resumption already discussed, a further grammatical difference tends largely, although not absolutely, to divide the sentences in section 3 from those in section 4. Garrett, to whom I owe the observations that follow, has shown (1990; 1996) that at all stages of Hittite enclitic subject pronouns occur only with unaccusative verbs (intransitive verbs whose subjects are themes rather than agents), never with unergative verbs (intransitive verbs whose subjects are agents) or transitive verbs (cf. Watkins 1968–1969: 93). In this connection it is of interest that in five (possibly six: see n. 13 on sentence (21)) of the eight sentences collected in section 4 the function of the relative clause in the 'resumptive' clause is that of the subject of a transitive verb. In other words, Garrett's rule alone would make an *enclitic* resumption impossible for most of the resumptive clauses in this section. By contrast, only two of the fourteen sentences in section 3 (sentences (8) and (9)) include a (necessarily non-enclitic) resumptive element that is the subject of a transitive or unergative verb (in both cases in fact again a transitive verb). It is therefore worth asking whether the sentences in section 4 could, after all, be structurally analogous to those in section 3, with the lack of overt resumption in those in 4 being motivated largely by Garrett's rule, and the lack of clause boundary marking by a tendency for there to be no clause-initial conjunction when there are no enclitics to attach to such a conjunction.

Luraghi (1990a: 51–3) has indeed noted that, in Old Hittite, clause-initial conjunctions such as *nu* occur more commonly when they are needed to support enclitics than when there are no enclitics to be supported. However, the lack of enclitic subject pronouns or other enclitics in the (first or only) resumptive clauses in section 4 is not enough to explain the consistency with which these resumptive

clauses lack either clause-initial or enclitic conjunctions. As noted above, the clauses I call second or subsequent resumptive clauses do not display the strict relationship we have seen for first or only resumptive clauses between presence or absence of clause boundary marking and presence or absence of a resumptive element. Sentences (13), (20), (22), and (25), repeated here as (36)–(39), all contain a ‘second resumptive clause’ in which there is a conjunction or other marker of clause boundary and yet no resumptive element:²⁰

- (36) = (13) = (6) RC. ^{LÚ.MEŠ}Ú-BA-RU L[Ú-a]š ku-iš ku-iš
UBĀRU-men.NOM man.NOM REL.NOM
 LUGAL-wa-aš pē-ra-an e-eš-zi
king.GEN in-front be.3SG
 Res1. **ne** ša-ra-a ti-e-[e]n-zi
CONJ=they.NOM upwards step.3PL
 Res2. **nu** a-ap-pa ti-en-zi
CONJ backwards step.3PL
 Res3. **ne** a-ra-an-da
CONJ=they.NOM stand.3PL
 ‘(RC) *UBĀRU-men*, whatever man is in front of the king, (Res1) **# they** step upwards, (Res2) **# (they)** step backwards, (Res3) **# and they** stand.’ (KBo 20.12 i 5–6 = Neu 1980, no. 25, i 5–6; Neu 1970, i 5–6)

- (37) = (20) [And on it (the soldiery) lies a bronze knife and we carry it in.]

- RC. ERÍN^{MEŠ}-na-an ku-iš an-da pé-e-ta-i
soldiery.ACC=PTC REL.NOM in carry.3SG
 Res1. DUMU.É.GAL-ša pé-e-ra-aš-**še-et**
palace-servant.NOM=CONJ in-front=his.ACC
^{GIŠ}zu-pa-a-ri ḥar-zi
torch.ACC hold.3SG
 Res2. ERÍN^{MEŠ}-na-an a-ap-pa-an(-)an-da pé-e-ta-i
soldiery.ACC=PTC behind bring.3SG
 ‘(RC) **# (the one)** who carries in the soldiery, (Res1) **# the** palace servant holds a torch in front **of him**, (Res2) **# (and)** (he) brings the soldiery behind.’ (KBo 17.1 i 32–4 = Neu 1980, no. 3, i 32–4; Otten & Souček 1969, i 32–4)

²⁰ The same may be true of the ‘second resumptive clause’ in sentence (9), depending on the interpretation of the sequence *parna=šše=a*; see the bibliography cited at n. 10.

(The clause boundary at the beginning of the ‘second resumptive clause’ is signalled by the placement of the second-position enclitic local particle *-an*: see the end of section 3.)

(38) = (22) [If a male or female slave runs away,]

RC. iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-ḫan ku-e¹-el
master.NOM=his/her.NOM=him/her.ACC REL.GEN
 ḫa-aš-ši-i ú-e-mi-[ez-zi]
hearth.LOC find.3SG

Res1. LÚ-na-aš ku-uš-ša-an ITU.1.KAM 12
man.GEN wage.ACC one-month 12
 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i
shekel.ACC silver give.3SG

Res2. MUNUS-ša-ḫa-ma¹ ku-ša-an ITU.1.KAM 6
woman.GEN=CONJ=CONJ wage.ACC one-month 6
 GÍN K[Ù.BABBAR] pa-a-i
shekel.ACC silver give.3SG

‘(RC) # (the one) at whose hearth his/her master finds him/her, (Res1) (he) shall pay, of a man, one month’s wage, 12 shekels of silver, (Res2) # **but** of a woman (he) shall pay one month’s wage, 6 shekels of silver.’ (KBo 6.2 i 54–5 = Laws series one, § 24 (copy A))²¹

(39) = (25) RC. ar-ḫa-an-na ku-iš pá-r-ši-ja
boundary.ACC=CONJ REL.NOM violate.3SG

Res1. 1 UD[U 10 NINDA^{HI.A}

1 *sheep.ACC 10 loaves.ACC*

1 DUG KA.GAG pa-a-i

1 *jug.ACC KA.GAG-beer give.3SG*

Res2. ta A.ŠĀ-LA]M a-ap-pa šu-up-pi-ja-aḫ-ḫi
CONJ field.ACC again purify.3SG

‘(RC) # (the one) who violates the boundary, (Res1) (he) shall give one sheep, ten loaves, and one jug of KA.GAG beer, (Res2) # **and** (he) shall purify the field again.’ (KUB 29. 35 iii 3–4 (+) 29. 30 iii 10–1 = Laws series two, § 168/*53 (copy aa); restored from later copies)

²¹ On the apparent sequence of enclitic conjunctions in the second resumptive clause, see n. 14.

The 'second resumptive clause' of (36) has an unaccusative verb and therefore could have had a 'resumptive element' consisting of an enclitic subject pronoun (compare the 'first resumptive clause' in this sentence), but does not, presumably because the subject can still be understood from the preceding clause. The 'second resumptive clauses' in (37), (38) and (39), by contrast, all have transitive verbs and therefore Garrett's rule prevents them from having 'resumptive elements' consisting of enclitic subject pronouns. In none of these 'second resumptive clauses', however, does the lack of explicit resumption entail a lack of clause boundary marking. The 'second resumptive clauses' in (36) and (39) simply have clause-initial conjunctions even though there are no enclitics to be attached; that in (37) does not have a conjunction but an enclitic in second position marks the clause boundary; and that in (38) has at least one conjunction (see n. 14) that is itself enclitic. If the relative sentences in section 4 are analysed as having adjoined rather than embedded relative clauses (so that their first or only resumptive clauses are syntactically complete in themselves), the first or only resumptive clauses in these sentences ought to be structurally very similar to the second or subsequent 'resumptive clauses' of sentences under either 3 or 4, and it would not be clear why clause boundary marking should appear in some 'second resumptive clauses' with no explicit 'resumptive element' but not (except under the circumstances seen in section 5) in first or only resumptive clauses without explicit resumption.

Furthermore, although Garrett's rule would prevent most of the first or only resumptive clauses in section 4 from having enclitic subject resumption, it would not prevent these sentences from having the accented resumptive pronoun *apāš*. We have seen that two of the sentences in section 3, (8) and (9), do have first or only resumptive clauses with resumption consisting of *apāš* where Garrett's rule would not allow enclitic resumption. Although our Old Hittite texts provide only two such relative sentences, they show that the lack of *any* explicit resumption in the sentences of section 4 is not completely determined by Garrett's rule. The fact that the first or only resumptive clauses in both these sentences are introduced by *nu* (in (9) despite the lack of any enclitics to be attached) also suggests, again, that the lack of an enclitic subject

does not by itself determine the lack of conjunction: the correlation in first or only resumptive clauses seems to be between the presence or absence of explicit resumption, whether enclitic or non-enclitic, and the presence or absence of a conjunction.

It is also worth noticing that the absence of explicit resumption cannot be attributed to Garrett's rule for *every* sentence in section 4. I leave aside here sentence (21), for which the crucial element of interpretation is unclear (see n. 13 and the end of section 12), but the apparently 'missing' resumption of sentence (27), repeated here as (40), would be a dative complement of *pianzi* 'they give', while that of sentence (28), repeated here as (41), would be the subject of the unaccusative expression ^{LÚ}KÚR *ēštu* 'let be an enemy':

- (40) = (35) = (27) RC. [^{LÚ}KA]Š₄.E tar-AḪ-zi ku-iš
 runner.NOM win.3SG REL.NOM
 Res. I MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR Û
 1 mina.ACC silver and
 II ^{NINDA}wa-ga-da-aš pí-an-zi
 2 wagada-bread.ACC give.3PL
 '(RC) which runner wins, (Res) they give (to him) one mina of silver and two wagada-breads.' (KBo 20.33 Vs. 12 = Neu 1980, no. 19, Vs. 12; Singer 1984, 3.a Vs. 12; on the date of the copy see section 2 above)

- (41) = (28) RC. ku-i-ša-at ḫu-ul-li[-iz-zi]
 REL.NOM=*it*.ACC smash.3SG
 Res. ^U[^{RU}Ne-e-š]a-aš ^{LÚ}KÚR-ŠU e[-eš-tu]
 Neša.GEN enemy.NOM=*its* be.IMPERAT.3SG
 '(RC) # whoever smashes it, (Res) (he) is to be the enemy of Neša.' (KBo 3.22 Vs. 35 = Neu 1974, Vs. 35)

(Although the resumptive clause of this sentence is very fragmentary, its restoration and interpretation are virtually certain: see n. 16.)

There are thus two reasons why the lack of both explicit resumption and clause boundary marking in the sentences of section 4 cannot be attributed solely to Garrett's rule: firstly because even where the lack of explicit resumption could result

from Garrett's rule (allowing for a certain reluctance to use a non-enclitic resumptive pronoun) the consistent lack of clause boundary marking in these sentences still requires explanation, and secondly because at least two of the relevant sentences lack a resumptive element even though Garrett's rule does not apply. The consistency with which lack of explicit resumption (enclitic or non-enclitic) and lack of clause boundary marking go together suggests that the sentences in section 4 need to be interpreted as having embedded relative clauses. Nevertheless, Garrett's rule is clearly relevant in some way to the choice between the embedded and adjoined constructions; we turn now to this question of factors influencing the choice of constructions.

7.2. *Factors influencing the choice between adjoined and embedded relative clauses*

We have seen that the choice of an embedded rather than adjoined structure appears to be favoured particularly when the function of the relative clause within the 'resumptive clause' is to be the subject of a transitive (or unergative²²) verb. It is possible that the choice between relativisation structures was influenced by the potential clash of two syntactic principles in Old Hittite. A principle that adjoined relative clauses *have* to be resumed overtly is typologically plausible (so Garrett 1990: 236) and seems to be predicted by other aspects of Old Hittite syntax (see section 14). If, in addition, transitive and unergative verbs may not have enclitic subjects, an adjoined relative clause *must* be resumed by a non-enclitic element if the resumption is to stand as the subject of a transitive or unergative verb (as in sentences (8) and (9)). However, where no particular emphasis was to be placed on the resumption a non-enclitic resumption might have been too emphatic, especially if the need for any resumption at all could be avoided by the choice of an embedded rather than an adjoined relative clause.

²² None of the first or only resumptive clauses of either section 3 or section 4 involves an unergative verb, but it would not be surprising to find that the embedded construction was also favoured in Old Hittite when the function of the relative clause in the main clause was to be the subject of an unergative verb, since the impossibility of an enclitic subject pronoun applies here too.

It is also worth considering possible positive reasons for the choice of the adjoined rather than embedded construction.²³ Four of the fourteen sentences in section 3 have non-enclitic, i.e. emphatic, pronominal resumption; in two of these an enclitic resumption would be possible ((11) and (12)) and in two it would not ((8) and (9)); yet another of these sentences (14) has enclitic resumption qualified by emphatic *hūmanduṣ=pat* ‘all’. The adjoined construction, with its potential for an emphatic resumptive element, may therefore have been favoured when particular emphasis was to be given to the referent of the relative clause.

Other sentences in section 3 would be difficult to process if the embedded construction were used. Without resumption it is inherently difficult to recover the function within the main clause of a free or internally headed relative clause. In five of the eight sentences in section 4 ((23)–(26) and (28)) the relative clause functions as subject of the main clause, and the relative pronoun (or noun plus relative adjective) also functions as the subject of the relative clause. By contrast, in nine of the fourteen sentences of section 3 ((7), (11), (14)–(20)) the relative clause does not refer to the subject of the main clause, and/or the syntactic function of the (resumption of the) relative clause within the main clause is different from that of the relative pronoun (or noun plus relative adjective) within the relative clause.

It is thus likely that the embedded construction was most easily interpretable—and therefore most readily used—when the relative clause functioned as the subject of the main clause, perhaps especially if the relative pronoun (or noun plus relative adjective) was also the subject of the relative clause,²⁴ and that the adjoined

²³ I owe the following suggestions to L. C. S. Delfs.

²⁴ Keenan & Comrie (1977; 1979) show that some syntactic positions are cross-linguistically more accessible to relative clause formation than others, with subjects being the most accessible. Some languages can only relativise more accessible syntactic positions, while others have different strategies for different levels of accessibility (cf. also Maxwell 1979; Comrie & Keenan 1979). They propose for noun phrases a hierarchy of accessibility to relative clause formation and suggest that the same hierarchy is relevant for other syntactic processes too. Although their data from relative clause formation relate only to the possible syntactic functions of a relative pronoun within its relative clause, perhaps similar factors influence the readiness with which free or internally-headed relative clauses can be embedded in different syntactic positions within a main clause.

construction tended to be preferred in other situations for ease of interpretation,²⁵ as well as when a resumptive element was required for particular emphasis.

These considerations do not explain why the adjoined construction was preferred for sentences (10) and (13) but the embedded construction for (28), and it is probably not possible to identify a motivation for every choice between the two constructions. One of the anonymous referees points out, however, that in (10) the main clause with *šemenzi* ‘shall forfeit’ requires the local particle *-kan* but not the reflexive *-za*, while the relative clause requires the reflexive *-za* but excludes *-kan*. Use of the embedded construction would have been awkward, since it would have forced both particles into one clause. In (13), ^{LÜ.MEŠ}*UBARU* ‘*UBĀRU*-men’ would be a ‘left-dislocated’ topic, and such topics require resumption in the sentence proper (see section 14), so that once again the embedded construction would have been problematic.

7.3. *Structure of the sentences with ta and no direct object resumption, or no conjunction and enclitic possessive resumption*

If the Hittite relative sentences of section 3 have adjoined relative clauses and those of section 4 have embedded relative clauses, the synchronic status of the sentences in sections 5 (with resumptive clause introduced by *ta* but no overt direct object resumption) and 6 (with resumptive clause not introduced by a conjunction but with enclitic possessive resumption *-ŠUNU*), and their relationships to the types of relativisation claimed for the sentences of sections 3 and 4, need to be established.

It is clear that, despite its pronominal origins, the conjunction *ta* is treated synchronically as a conjunction already in Old Hittite, not as a pronoun. The position for *ta* is at the beginning of a clause, not the usual object position, and already in Old Hittite originals *ta*

²⁵ Cf. Hahn (1946: 79); Lehmann (1984: 125); but Lehmann suggests incorrectly, in the light of our sentence (27) = (35) = (40), that an explicit resumption is obligatory if the resumption has indirect object function.

(or its allomorph *t-*) may co-occur with an explicit direct object, as in the following sentence:

- (42) *tu-uš tar-ma-e-mi*
 CONJ=*them*.ACC *fix*.1SG
 ‘and I fix them.’ (KBo 17.1 iii 9 = Neu 1980, no. 3, iii 9; Otten & Souček 1969, iii 9)

The rather frequent omission of an otherwise expected direct object after *ta*, even if likely to have resulted historically from the pronominal origin of *ta*, needs to be seen synchronically as simply a syntactic peculiarity of the conjunction *ta*. In other words, our sentences (29) and (30), repeated here as (43) and (44) (as well as (31), from copy B of the Laws), should be analysed synchronically as containing a conjunction but no explicit resumption (or in (43) and (31) at least no unambiguous explicit resumption), but as lacking a resumptive element because of a syntactic peculiarity of *ta*, not because of the presence of a relative clause.

- (43) = (29) RC. ^{LÚ}*hi-ip-pár-aš ku-it ḥa-ap-pa-ra-a-it*
hippara-man.NOM REL.ACC *sold*.3SG
 Res. **ta**-az a-ap-pa da-ṽa-i-ṽ
 CONJ=REFL *back take*.3SG
 ‘(RC) what the *hippara*-man has sold, (Res) # he takes (it) back for himself.’ (KBo 6.2 ii 52 = Laws series one, § 48 (copy A))

- (44) = (30) RC. [k]u-iš ša-ga-i-[i]š ki-i-ša-ri
 REL.NOM *sign*.NOM *occur*.3SG
 Res. **ta** LUGAL-i MUNUS.LUGAL-ja ta-ru-e-ni
 CONJ *king*.DAT *queen*.DAT=*and* *tell*.1PL
 ‘(RC) whatever sign occurs, (Res) # we tell (it) to the king and queen.’ (KBo 17.1 iv 9 = Neu 1980, no. 3, iv 9; Otten & Souček 1969, iv 9)

I therefore take these sentences to have the same structure as those of section 3 as far as the relativisation is concerned, i.e. as having adjoined relative clauses.

The first resumptive clause in sentence (32), repeated here as (45), has no conjunction but the enclitic possessive resumption *-ŠUNU*:

- (45) = (32) RC1. [LÚ]ΓUK[?]Γ.KI.E ku-iš URU^UNe-e-ri-ik-ki
 UK[?].KI.E-*man*.NOM REL.NOM *Nerik*.LOC
 ta-ru-uḫ-zi
 be-powerful.3SG
 RC2. ku-iš ΓURU^UA-[ri-in-ni]
 REL.NOM *Arinna*.LOC
 RC3. ku^Γ-iš URU^UZi-ip-la-an-ti LÚ^USANGA-eš
 REL.NOM *Ziplanta*.LOC *priest*.NOM
 Res1. *I-NA* URU^{DIDLI}ḫu-u-ma-an-t[i]
 in *city*.LOC *every*.LOC
 ΓÉ^{ΓHIA}-ŠU-NU EL-LU
 houses.NOM=*their* *exempt*.NOM
 Res2. Û^U LÚ^U.MEŠ^UḪA.LA-ŠU-NU lu-uz-zi ka[r-pi-an-zi]
 CONJ *associates*.NOM=*their* *luzzi*.ACC *perform*.3PL
 ‘(RC1) what UK[?].KI.E-man is powerful (?) in Nerik, (RC2) whoever (is a priest) in Arinna, (RC3) whoever is a priest in Ziplanta, (Res1) in every town **their** houses are exempt (Res2) **# and their** associates perform *luzzi*.’ (KBo 6.2 ii 58–60 = Laws series one, §50 (copy A))

If this sentence is analysed as having adjoined relative clauses, its analysis is fairly straightforward, but it is not clear why this sentence alone of our adjoined relative sentences in Old Hittite script has no conjunction to introduce the first resumptive clause. If, on the other hand, the relative clauses here are taken as embedded, the appearance of the apparent resumptive element *-ŠUNU* becomes explicable in terms of the Old Hittite ‘split genitive’ construction for inalienable possession described by Garrett (1998). In this construction, possession is expressed by means of an enclitic possessive adjective attached to the possessed noun in addition to genitive case-marking on the possessor. We have seen an example in sentence (26), repeated here as (46):

- (46) = (26) RC. ^{LÚ}K]AŠ₄.E [(tar-ru-uḫ-zi ku-i)]š
 runner.NOM win.3SG REL.NOM
 Res. 2 ^{NINDA}wa-gā-ta-aš I MA[.NA KÙ.BABBAR]
 2 wagada-bread.ACC 1 mina.ACC silver
 LUGAL-wa-aš [(ki-iš-šar-ra-az-š)]e-et da-a-[i]
 king.GEN hand.ABL=his.ABL take.3SG
 ‘(RC) which runner wins, (Res) (he) takes two wagada-breads
 and one mina of silver from the hand of the king.’ (KBo 25.12 ii
 10–2 = Neu 1980, no. 12, ii 10–2; Singer 1984, 1.h ii 10–2;
 supplements following Singer)

The expression LUGAL-*waš kiššarraz=šet*, translated here as ‘from the hand of the king’, more literally says ‘from the king’s his-hand’. A further example was seen in sentence (28) = (41) (cf. n. 16), and there are further occurrences in sentences (49) (twice) and (58).

There are indications that in Old Hittite the notion of ‘inalienable possession’ sometimes (although by no means always) includes immovable property such as a house. Leaving aside the restored *a-pé-Γe*[-[*el É-ŠÚ*] ‘of him his house’ in sentence (49), sentence (49) unmistakably includes the expression ^Γ*kuela*... *āski=šši* ‘of whom at his gate’ (i.e. ‘at whose gate’). Furthermore, the expressions *labarnaš É-er=šet* ‘of the labarna his house’²⁶ and (with virtually certain restoration²⁷) *appaliğallaš=a É[-er=šet]* ‘but of the enemy/fool his house’ occur in a text in Old Hittite script at KUB 36.110 iii 13, 17 (Neu 1980, no. 140). One might also compare the expression *ŠA* ^{LÚ}GAL.GAL ^{TIM}É.ŠU.NU ‘of the powerful their houses’ at KUB 16.1 iii 45 (see Sommer & Falkenstein 1938: 14), in a post-Old Hittite copy of a text attributed to Hattušiliš I. A possible Old

²⁶ Garrett (1998: 159) states that the royal title *labarna* occurs in the split genitive construction whenever it is a possessor in Old Hittite, but this claim is too strong in view of KBo 25.122 ii 5–6 *labarnaš=ša... ḫāššeš ḫanzā[šše]* ‘the labarna’s...children and grandchildren too’ (with genitive of *labarna-* but no possessive adjective). The identity of the possessed noun in the expression ‘of the Labarna his house’ cannot therefore be considered entirely irrelevant to the choice of construction.

²⁷ Because *É* occurs at the same position towards the end of the line as *É* in line 13 (with a genitive preceding in both places), and with exactly the right amount of space left for *-ir-še-et*, as in line 13.

Hittite expression for ‘the house of the man’ ought therefore to be *LÚ-naš per=šet* ‘of the man his house’.

Relativisation of the possessor out of this construction, to give a sentence meaning e.g. ‘The house of the man who is powerful is exempt’, might then be expected (on the hypothesis that Hittite has embedded and adjoined relative clauses) to result in one of the following structures:

(47) which man is powerful his house is exempt.

(48) which man is powerful, # of him his house is exempt.

(47) has an embedded relative clause, ‘which man is powerful’, functioning as the subject of the whole sentence: the noun denoting the possessor necessarily appears in this relative clause, with its case determined by its role there, while the enclitic possessive adjective is left behind, agreeing with the possessed noun. (48) has an adjoined relative clause and a whole split genitive construction in the resumptive clause rather than merely an enclitic possessive adjective, since in the adjoined structure nothing should be syntactically ‘missing’ from the resumptive clause. Our sentence (45) would correspond perfectly to the first of these possibilities. If so, *-ŠUNU* is not a true resumption but merely a possessive adjective left ‘stranded’ by the relativisation of the possessor out of a split genitive construction. I therefore take this sentence to have an embedded relative clause, with the resumptive clause having neither a marked clause boundary nor a genuine resumption.

8. AN OLD HITTITE SENTENCE WITH RELATIVE CLAUSE NOT PREPOSED

Occasionally, Hittite relative clauses are neither preposed nor postposed but surrounded by the main clause. Copy A of the Laws contains one example, showing that this possibility already existed at an Old Hittite date (cf. Lehmann 1984: 127):

- (49) nu a-pé-ṛeṛ-[el É-SÚ] ṛku-e-laṛ GİŠ e-ja-an
 CONJ him.GEN house.NOM=*his* REL.GEN ejan-tree.NOM
 a-aš-ki-iš-ši ša-ṛku-waṛ-a-an ṛaṛ-[pé-ni-iš-ša-an]
 gate.LOC=*his*.LOC visible.NOM likewise
 ‘# of hi[m his house] of **whoever at his gate an ejan-tree is visible** is li[kewise exempt].’ I.e. ‘# [the house of h]im at whose gate an ejan-tree is visible is li[kewise exempt].’ (KBo 6.2 ii 61–2 = Laws series one, § 50 (copy A))²⁸

The following discussion should be regarded as somewhat tentative, since the sentence is restored at the crucial point [-el É-SÚ], but it is difficult to see how the sentence could be restored without the essential point remaining that the relative clause is placed within the main clause.

If the ordering of elements in this sentence were as follows, the sentence would be straightforwardly analysable as having an adjoined relative clause (corresponding, in fact, to the structure of our hypothetical sentence (48)):

- (50) RC. *ṛku-e-laṛ GİŠ e-ja-an a-aš-ki-iš-ši ša-ṛku-waṛ-a-an
 REL.GEN ejan-tree.NOM gate.LOC=*his*.LOC visible.NOM
 Res. nu a-pé-ṛeṛ-[el É-SÚ] ṛaṛ-[pé-ni-iš-ša-an]
 CONJ him.GEN house.NOM=*his* likewise
 ‘(RC) of whoever at his gate an ejan-tree is visible, (Res) # of hi[m his house] is li[kewise exempt]’

However, the actual ordering makes such an analysis well nigh impossible. The conjunction *nu* does not obviously introduce just a ‘resumptive clause’ *nu apēl É=SÚ apeniššan...*, but the whole sentence. It is easiest to see the demonstrative *apēl* as part of the main clause (since it is followed by the subject of the main clause, É=SÚ), and the relative clause as an embedded relative clause with this demonstrative as an external antecedent. If so, externally headed relative clauses (those with an external antecedent)

²⁸ Synchronically speaking the *-a* of *kuela* does not function as a conjunction but makes the relative pronoun indefinite (see n. 11); thus I do not assume any indication of a clause boundary before the relative pronoun.

were also possible in Old Hittite, but such relative clauses were not preposed.²⁹

9. SUMMARY OF OLD HITTITE STRUCTURES

If sentence (49) is taken together with the sentences of sections 4 and 6, at least the following sorts of embedded relative sentences appear to be possible in Old Hittite:

- (51) With non-preposed, externally headed relative clause:

We shall punish him [who has broken this law_{RC}].

- (52) With preposed, internally headed relative clause:

[Whatever man has broken this law_{RC}] we shall punish.

- (53) With preposed, headless relative clause:

[Whoever has broken this law_{RC}] we shall punish.

In addition, the following sorts of sentence with adjoined relative clauses are possible:

- (54) With internally headed relative clause:

[Whatever man has broken this law_{RC}], # we shall punish him.

- (55) With headless relative clause:

[Whoever has broken this law_{RC}], # we shall punish him.

The regular or even obligatory preposing of internally headed or headless embedded relative clauses (types (52) and (53)) seems surprising. Notice, however, that since Hittite normally has SOV order, an embedded relative clause whose function in the main clause was that of subject would be expected to come first in its main clause even if not 'preposed', and that most of the sentences

²⁹ Cf. Garret (1994: 42–3) for the possibility of similar sentences in Hittite more generally.

in section 4 have relative clauses that function as subjects of their main clauses. The externally headed type (51), although it has an embedded relative clause, has affinities with type (55), since the placement of the ‘antecedent’ in the main clause in (51) means that, like (55), (51) has a main clause that is syntactically complete in itself; indeed, (51) and (55) seem derivable from one another (at least in a rather crude way) by a rearrangement of constituents. (53) is a minor variant of (52), with a relative pronoun rather than relative adjective plus noun, and (54) is a minor variant of (55), with relative adjective plus noun rather than just a relative pronoun.

10. FRAGMENTARY RELATIVE SENTENCES IN THE TREATY BETWEEN
ZIDANTA AND PILLIYA OF KIZZUWATNA

Two relative sentences from KUB 36.108, the treaty between a Hittite king, Zidanta, and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna, have been seen in section 3 (sentences (17) and (18)). They are somewhat fragmentary, but complete enough for it to be clear that in each case the resumptive clause contains both a clause-initial conjunction and an explicit resumption. However, there are two further relative sentences, even more fragmentary, in the same text. For these, what survives makes it likely that the resumptive clauses contain the conjunction *nu* but no explicit resumption:

(56) RC1. ^DUTU^{ŠI} ú-i-ta-an-tu-uš URU^{DIDL.HI.A}-uš
my-majesty.NOM built.ACC cities.ACC
 ku-i[-uš]
 REL.ACC.PL

RC2. ku-e ar-ḥa tar-na-an-ta
which.NOM away left.NOM

Res. **nu** ^DUTU^{ŠI} le[-e[?]]
 CONJ *my-majesty.NOM NEG[?]*

‘(RC1) which built cities my Majesty [. . .] (RC2) which have been abandoned, (Res) # my Majesty is n[ot to build (them) up again(?)].’ (KUB 36.108 Vs. 6–7 = Otten 1951, Vs. 6–7)

- (57) RC. *ú-i-ta-an-tu-uš URU^{DIDL.HIA}-uš kú-i-uš ḥar-k[u-un[?]]*
built.ACC cities.ACC REL.ACC.PL held.1SG[?]
 Res. **nu** ¹*pil-li-ja-aš na-at-ta ú-e-t[e-ez-zi[?]]*
CONJ Pilliya.NOM NEG build.3SG
 ‘(RC) which built cities I he[ld[?]], (Res) # Pilliya shall not
 build[?] (them) (again).’ (KUB 36.108 Vs. 8–9 = Otten 1951, Vs.
 8–9)

In sentence (56), it is unlikely that there was a resumptive element postponed until after the subject ^DUTU^{Šr} and likely negation *lē*, since in all the first or only resumptive clauses in section 3, except those of (8) and (20), the resumptive element comes immediately after the clause-initial conjunction, in (8) only enclitic elements intervene, and in (20) the resumption consists of an enclitic possessive adjective (a possibility ruled out by the sense required in (56)). In sentence (57) it is highly unlikely that the resumptive clause ended with anything other than the verb. The only way in which (57) could follow the rules found above would arise if the surviving resumptive clause were not the first but the second resumptive clause in a sequence (since we have seen that a second resumptive clause is not subject to the restrictions applying to a first resumptive clause). But it is unlikely that the gap after *ḥar-k[u-un* contains a resumptive clause, since the structure of the text rather demands a second relative clause meaning something like ‘(and) which have been abandoned’.

Despite the fragmentary state of these two sentences from the same text, then, it is most likely that they do not follow the rules found above. It therefore needs to be asked whether these rules did not, after all, hold absolutely or whether the circumstances of this text are substantially different from those of the others here considered.

There has been a long debate as to which King Zidanta is party to this treaty, Zidanta I or Zidanta II. Zidanta II has generally been favoured on historical grounds (see Götze 1957: 72–3; Gurney 1973: 661, 670–1, with bibliography). On the other hand Neu (1980: xviii), in the context of a discussion about the period at which ‘old ductus’ went out of use, leaves the dating of this ‘old ductus’ text open on

the grounds of doubts about the existence of Zidanta II. But Klinger (1995: 242 with n. 22) claims on the basis of datable land grants of similar ductus that the ductus of our text is compatible with the reign of Zidanta II but not with that of Zidanta I (he regards the term ‘old ductus’ as inappropriate for this text, but on the difficulties of terminology see further Miller (2004: 463–4 n. 773)).

Zidanta II, if he existed (as is more and more generally accepted), reigned very near the borderline between the traditional Old and Middle Hittite periods. It is clear that both Klinger and Miller regard the term ‘Middle Hittite’ as applicable to his reign (although for some scholars, e.g. Houwink ten Cate (1970: 1), ‘Middle Hittite’ refers to the period between Tuthaliyaš II and Šuppiluliumaš I) and the text as an original of his reign. What is of interest in this context is not, of course, the question of when one stops using the term ‘Old Hittite’ and begins to talk about ‘Middle Hittite’, nor whether the term ‘old ductus’ should still be used here, but that comparative material for the ductus of KUB 36.108 now suggests, independently of historical arguments from the content of the text, that this text was written around the reign of Zidanta II, and therefore later than most ‘Old Hittite’ texts, not around the reign of Zidanta I.³⁰

We shall see in sections 12 and 13 that resumptive clauses introduced by the conjunction *nu* and not including an explicit resumption occur in Hittite texts after the Old Hittite period. The complete lack of such resumptive clauses in the other Old Hittite originals considered here suggests that the likely presence of two such resumptive clauses in the Zidanta–Pilliya treaty may be added, if a further argument were needed, to the historical and palaeographical grounds for taking this text as an original from the reign of Zidanta II. Conversely (and even if with an element of circularity), the reign of Zidanta II provides a *terminus ante quem* for the end of the strict operation of the regularities we have found in Old Hittite relative sentences.

³⁰ Of course, this argument from ductus (but not the historical arguments from content) would leave open the possibility that the text was composed during the reign of Zidanta I and copied later; but the appearance on King List E of another king named Zidanta around the time when the text would have been copied would then be pure coincidence.

11. LATER TEXTS COMPARED

For comparison with the relative sentences from Old Hittite originals discussed above, I have collected relative sentences from the following texts:

- (a) Middle Hittite texts in Middle Hittite script:
 - (i) KUB 14.1 (+ KBo 19.38) (Indictment of Madduwattaš, edited by Götze 1928).
 - (ii) KUB 17.21 + 545/u + 577/u + 1619/u. (Middle Hittite copy of the prayer of Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal regarding Nerik, edited by Lebrun 1980: 133–42 as copy A.)
 - (iii) KBo 15.10 + KBo 20.42 (Ziplantawiya text, edited by Szabó 1971; for the dating as an original or contemporary copy of a Middle Hittite text, see Masson 1982).
- (b) Late Hittite texts:
 - (i) Annals of Muršiliš (edited by Götze 1933).
 - (ii) Apology of Hattušiliš III (edited by Otten 1981).
 - (iii) Text of the Bronze Tablet (edited by Otten 1988).

The transliterations given below are those of the editions just mentioned (with minor notational adjustments for the sake of consistency), and the translations are indebted to the interpretations, translations and discussions in these editions, and again freely borrow wording from them.

12. RELATIVE SENTENCES IN MIDDLE HITTITE

There are altogether twenty sufficiently complete relative sentences in the Middle Hittite originals here considered. All mark a boundary between relative clause and resumptive clause, but whereas all but one (20) of the Old Hittite relative sentences in sections 3 and 5 mark this boundary by one of the clause-initial conjunctions *nu*, *šu* or *ta*, some of the Middle Hittite relative sentences use enclitic conjunctions, and some mark the clause boundary by the placement of enclitics but do not use any conjunctions as such. An explicit resumptive element is often present, but not always. It appears, then, that in Middle Hittite the absence of an explicit resumptive element no longer implies the absence of clause-boundary marking, and that there is an increased

diversity in the means of marking the clause boundary. In what follows I do not catalogue examples exhaustively but illustrate this new diversity.

Sentences (58) and (59) are very similar to the Old Hittite sentences of section 3: the resumptive clauses are introduced by the conjunction *nu* and include an explicit resumptive element.

- (58) RC1. nam-ma š[u]-me-en-za-an DINGIR^{MES}-aš ku-e
furthermore you.GEN.PL gods.GEN REL.NOM.PL
 ALAM^{HLA}-KU-NU ŠA KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN
statues.NOM=your of silver gold
 RC2. nu-uš-ša-an [k]u-e-da-ni DINGIR^{LIM}-ni ku-it
CONJ=PTC some.DAT god.DAT REL.NOM
 tu-e-ek-ki-iš-ši an-da ú-iz-z[a-p]a-an
person.DAT=his.DAT ADV old.NOM
 RC3. DINGIR^{MES}-ša ku-e Ú-NU-TE^{MES} ú-iz-za-pa-an-ta
gods.GEN=CONJ REL.NOM.PL utensils.NOM old.NOM
 Res. **na-at** an-z[e]-el i-wa-ar EGIR-pa Ú-UL ku-iš-ki
CONJ=it.ACC us.GEN like again NEG anybody.NOM
 ne-u-wa-aḥ-ḥa-a[n ḥar-t]a
renewed has.3SG
 ‘(RC1) # furthermore, which statues of the gods of yours of silver and gold (there were), (RC2) # what was old for each god, for his person, (RC3) # and which utensils of the gods were old, (Res) # nobody has renewed **it** like us.’ (KUB 17.21 i 14–8 = Lebrun 1980: 134)

- (59) RC. nu-uš-ša-an A-NA ŠEŠ-ŠU [ku]-e ták-ki-iš-ki-it
CONJ=PTC on brother=her REL.NOM.PL kept-inflicting.3SG
 Res. **na-at-kán** A-NA BE-LÍ QA-DU DAM-ŠU
CONJ=them.ACC=PTC for lord with wife=his
 DUMU^{MES}-ŠU ar-ḥa [l]i-la-ri-iš-ki-wa-ni
children=his away relieve.1PL
 ‘(RC) # what (things) she has kept inflicting on her brother, (Res) # **those** we shall relieve for the lord together with his wife and children.’ (KBo 15.10 Vs. i 25–7 = Szabó 1971, Vs. i 25–7)

The resumptive clauses in (60) and (61) again include a conjunction and explicit resumptive element, but the conjunction is the enclitic *-ma*. Although *-ma* tends to indicate adversativity, there is no

adversativity here and *-ma* serves rather to emphasise the word to which it is attached (see Götze 1928: 167).³¹ At least by its placement, however, *-ma* (in both sentences with other enclitics following) serves to mark the boundary between the two clauses:

- (60) RC. KA]RAŠ-za-kán ku-i-e-eš te-pa-u-eš i[š-par]-te-ir
troops=REFL=PTC REL.NOM.PL few.NOM escaped.3PL
 Res. **a-pa-a-at-ma-kán** **ḥu-u-ma-an** a[r-ḥa ḥa]-āš-pi-ir-pát
that.acc=CONJ=PTC all.ACC away destroyed.3PL=PTC
 ‘(RC) # which few troops got away, (Res) # **all** that they destroyed.’ (KUB 14.1 Vs. 48 = Götze 1928, Vs. 48)
- (61) RC. nam-ma-ták-kán ŠÁ KÚR URU^{URU}Ha-at-ti ku-i-e-eš
furthermore=you.DAT.SG=PTC of land Hatti REL.NOM.PL
 LÚ.MEŠ pít-te-ja-an-te-eš an-da i-ja-[an-ta-at]
fugitives.NOM in went.3PL
 Res. ¹Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-āš-**ma-āš**-za da-āš-ki-eš
Madduwattaš.NOM=CONJ=them.ACC=REFL took.2SG
 ‘(RC) # furthermore, which fugitives of the land of Hatti had gone to you, (Res) # Madduwattaš, you took **them**.’ (KUB 14.1 Rs. 34–5 = Götze 1928, Rs. 34–5)

Sentence (62) again includes an explicit resumptive element. This time the initial word *tuk* of the resumptive clause is followed by the enclitic *-(i)a*, which in context is likely to add the notion ‘also’ to the preceding word rather than to relate the whole relative clause to what precedes. However, the boundary between relative clause and resumptive clause is again marked by the placement of this word and other second-position enclitics after the first word of the resumptive clause:

³¹ This is also different from the earliest use of *-ma/-a* to mark a new topic or orientation, on which see Rieken (2000).

- (62) RC. ku-iš-wa A-NA [A-BI ^DUT]U^{ŠT} Û A-[NA KÚR
 REL=QUOT to father my-majesty and to land
 URU]H₄-at-ti me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-ta ku-u-ru-ur
Hatti against enemy.NOM
 Res. [tu-uḫ-ḫa-]wa-ra-**áš** A-NA ¹Ma-[ad-du-wa-]at-ta
 you.DAT=CONJ=QUOT=he.NOM to Madduwattaš.DAT
 ku-u-ru-ur e-eš-tu
enemy.NOM be.IMPERAT.3SG
 ‘“(RC) # whoever (is) an enemy to the [father of m]y Majesty
 and to the land of Hatti, (Res) # he is to be an enemy to you too,
 Madduwattaš.”’ (KUB 14.1 Vs. 28–9 = Götze 1928, Vs. 28–9)

Sentence (63) appears similar, but here it is less clear in context that the enclitic *-(i)a* following the first word of the resumptive clause means ‘also’. Instead, *-(i)a* appears to be used loosely (and not in its oldest function: see Rosenkranz 1973; Rieken 2000: 413) to mark the boundary between the clauses:

- (63) RC. i-da-a-lu-un-na-wa-at-ta me-mi-an [ku-]iš
evil.ACC=CONJ=QUOT=you.DAT.SG word.ACC REL.NOM
 pí-ra-an me-ma-[i] na-áš-šū-wa-at-ta ku-[u-ru-r]a-áš
before speak.3SG whether=QUOT=you.DAT enemy.GEN
 me-mi-an ku-iš-ki pí-ra-an me-ma-*i*
word.ACC somebody.NOM before speak.3SG
 na-áš-ma-wa-kán LUGAL^{MEŠ} DUMU^{MEŠ} LUGAL
or=QUOT=PTC kings.ACC sons.ACC king(s).GEN
 ku-iš-ki za-ām-mu-ra-a-iz-zi
somebody.NOM slanders.3SG
 Res. z[i-iḫ-ka-]wa-ra-**an** li-e [šá-an-]na-āt-ti
 you.NOM=CONJ=QUOT=him.ACC NEG conceal.2SG
 ‘“(RC) # (the one) who speaks an evil word in front of you, # whether
 somebody speaks the word of an enemy in front of you # or
 somebody slanders kings and the sons of kings, (Res) # do not you
 conceal **him**.”’ (KUB 14.1 Vs. 37–8 = Götze 1928, Vs. 37–8)

The resumptive clause in (64) is preceded by a causal clause (labelled CC) subordinate to it and introduced by *nu*. The resumptive clause proper is introduced by the irrealis marker *man* standing in clause-initial position with a dependent enclitic. Neither

the causal clause nor the resumptive clause proper contains an explicit resumptive element:

- (64) RC. X X X [O O]kán ^{URU}Šal-la-u-wa-áš-ši kät-ta-an-tä
 =PTC *Šalawaššaš.DAT* *down*
 LÚ.MEŠ *BE-LU* GAL ^{TIM} ku-e[-eš] ¹Pi-še-ni-in
lords great REL.NOM.PL Pišeniš.ACC
¹Pu-uš-ku-ru-nu-wa-an-na DUMU ¹Aḥ[-]XOOXO-tä-ra
Puškurunuwaš.ACC=CONJ son ?? ??
 CC. **nu**-uš-ša-an *A-NA* ¹Mā-ḍ-du-wa-at-ta ku-it še-ir
CONJ=PTC for Madduwattaš.DAT because ADV
za-aḥ[-ḥi-j]ir
fought.3PL
 Res. [**ma-a**]n-kán še-e-ir *A-NA* ¹Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta ku-e-nir
IRREALIS=PTC ADV for Madduwattaš.DAT killed.3PL
 ‘(RC). . . which great lords. . . [rest of relative clause obscure], (CC) # because (they) fought for Madduwattaš, (Res) # **would** one have killed (them) for Madduwattaš.’ (KUB 14.1 Vs. 58–9 = Götze 1928, Vs. 58–9)

Because there is not always an explicit resumptive element even though the clause boundary is marked, it is not always clear whether a resumption is to be taken as syntactically implied or not. In sentence (65), the clause labelled ‘first resumptive clause’ is introduced by *nu* but has no explicit resumptive element:

- (65) RC. *A-NA* ^{DIM} ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik-wa [ku-jit] SISKUR.SISKUR
to weather-god Nerik=QUOT REL.ACC offerings.ACC
up-pi-ú-e-ni
send.1PL
 Res1. **nu**-wa-az ḥa-an-za-an šu-me-eš ḥar-te-en
CONJ=QUOT=REFL in-peace you.NOM.PL hold.2PL
 Res2. **nu**-[w]a-ra-at KASKAL-ši le-e ku-iš-ki
CONJ=QUOT=them.ACC way.LOC NEG anybody.NOM
wa-al-aḥ-zi
attack.3SG
 ‘“(RC) what offerings we send to the weather-god of Nerik, (Res1) # you leave (them?) in peace, (Res2) # nobody shall attack **them** on the way.”’ (KUB 17.21 iv 12–14 = Lebrun 1980: 140)

Von Schuler (1965: 167) argues that *hanza(n) har(k)-* functions as a transitive verbal expression meaning ‘leave in peace’. If so, there is an implicit direct object (‘them’) here. It is not clear that the expression is always transitive, however; Puhvel (1984-: iii. 91) translates our sentence ‘As for the offering which we send to the storm-god of Nerik, watch out (= leave well alone), you (Gasgas), and let none attack it en route!’. If *hanza(n) har(k)-* is indeed intransitive here, it is not clear that there is anything syntactically ‘missing’ from the clause *nu-wa-az ha-an-za-an šu-me-eš har-te-en*, and yet at least semantically the clause needs to be understood in the context of the preceding relative clause: it is as regards the offerings that the Gasgas are to leave well alone.

A similar ambiguity arises in sentence (66):

- (66) RC. *PÍŠ ga-pár-ta-na-kán ku-in A-NA DÙ EME*
PÍŠ gapart.ACC=CONJ=PTC REL.ACC to made tongue
ši-pa-an-ta-aš
sacrificed.3SG
 Res¹. *nu* ^{UZU}*NÍG.GIG* ^{UZU}*ZAG.UDU* *ha-ap-pí-ni-it*
CONJ intestines.ACC shoulder.ACC flame.INSTR
za-nu-zi
burn.3SG
 Res². *na-at-ša-an* ^{NA}*pí-e-ru-ni-pát da-a-la-i*
CONJ=them.ACC=PTC rock.LOC=PTC leave.3SG
 Res³. *PÍŠ ga-pár-ta-an-na-aš-ša-an ha-aš-ši-i da-a-i*
PÍŠ gapart=CONJ=PTC hearth.LOC place.3SG
 Res4. *na-an ar-ḫa wa-ar-nu-zi*
CONJ=it.ACC away burn.3SG
 ‘(RC) # the *PÍŠ gapart-* (an animal) which he had sacrificed to the artificial tongue, (Res¹) # he roasts intestines and shoulder with the flame, (Res²) # and he leaves them on the very rock, (Res³) # and he places the *PÍŠ gapart-* on the hearth, (Res4) # and he burns it up.’ (KBo 15.10 Rs. iii 58–61 = Szabó 1971, Rs. iii 58–61)

The clause labelled ‘Res¹’ is introduced by the conjunction *nu* but contains no explicit reference to the animal *PÍŠ gapart-* mentioned in the relative clause. Szabó (1971: 45) takes this clause and the

following one to be parenthetical, apparently taking the intestines and shoulders as unconnected to the *PÍŠ gapart-*: ‘The *PÍŠ gapart-* which he had sacrificed to the artificial tongue—he roasts intestines and shoulder with the flame, then he leaves them on the very rock —, but he places the *PÍŠ gapart-* on the hearth, and he burns it up.’³² However, it would also be possible, and perhaps more natural, to take the intestines and shoulder as those of the *PÍŠ gapart-*: ‘The *PÍŠ gapart-* which he had sacrificed to the artificial tongue, # he roasts (its) intestines and shoulder with the flame, # and he leaves them on the very rock, # and he places the *PÍŠ gapart-* on the hearth, # and he burns it up.’ If so, the first resumptive clause in the sequence is *nu*^{UZU} *NÍG.GIG*^{UZU} *ZAG.UDU* *happinit zanuzi*, but the involvement of the *PÍŠ gapart-* as possessor of the intestines and shoulders is left implicit.

The syntactic ambiguity that arises in sentence (65), and the syntactic and semantic ambiguity of sentence (66), do not have close parallels in the sentences from Old Hittite originals. In Old Hittite either there is an explicit resumptive element (or an implicit direct object after *ta*) or the relative clause itself fills a syntactic position in the main clause. If the relative clause itself fills a syntactic position in the main clause, which syntactic position is involved may need to be deduced from context. In sentence (21), repeated here as (67), the decision is not easy and has been made differently by different scholars:

- (67) = (21) [If a person (man or woman) dies in another city,]
 RC. *ku-e-la-aš ar-ḫi a-ki*
 REL.GEN=*he*.NOM *land*.LOC *die*.3SG
 Res. 1 *ME* ^{GIŠ}*gi-pé-eš-šar A.ŠÀ kar!-aš-ši-i-ez-zi*
 one hundred gipeššar.ACC *land cut-off*.3SG
 ‘(RC) # whoever’s land he dies on, (Res) he (the heir)
 shall cut off 100 *gipeššar* of the land (of that person).’
 (KBo 6.2 i 7–8 = Laws series one, § 6 (copy A))

³² In Szabó’s words: ‘Und das *PÍŠ gapart-*, das er der hergestellten(?) Zunge geopfert hat – Gedärme (und) Schulter brät er auf (mit) der Flamme; dann läßt er sie auf eben dem Felsen; – (jenes) *PÍŠ gapart-* (aber) legt er auf den Herd und verbrennt es.’ Cf. her list of materials for sacrifice (1971: 101), in which one or more *PÍŠ gapart-* animals appear as a separate item from the inward parts of animals.

The first resumptive clause has variously been interpreted either as it is taken here (following Hoffner 1997: 20) or as ‘he (the man on whose land he dies) shall cut off 100 *gipeššar* of land’ (see n. 13); either possibility seems to be allowed by the syntax, but in either case the person referred to by the relative clause plays a syntactic role in the resumptive clause: as possessor of A.ŠA ‘land’ or as subject of *karaššizzi* ‘shall cut off’. In Middle Hittite, it is not always necessary for there to be an explicit resumptive element and yet, as the consistent marking of clause boundary suggests, the relative clause does not directly play a syntactic role in the resumptive clause. In some cases it seems that there is no strict syntactic connection between relative clause and resumptive clause, but only a looser semantic connection, as if one would say in English:

- (68) RC. As for the dog which I was telling you about,
 Res. I’ve called the vet.

We are to understand the dog as connected to the call to the vet, but the resumptive clause contains no explicit reference to the dog nor any actual syntactic position in which the dog is to be understood.

13. RELATIVE SENTENCES IN LATE HITTITE

There are about 138 sufficiently complete relative sentences in the texts considered here.³³ The great majority of these (about 102) have a resumptive clause introduced by the conjunction *nu* and containing an explicit resumptive element, as in most of the Old Hittite examples collected in section 3 (but, as one would expect, without the Old Hittite possibility of *šu-* instead of *nu-*). Sentence (69) illustrates this pattern once again:

³³ This figure can only be approximate, because it is not always easy to decide whether a relative sentence is sufficiently complete for conclusions to be drawn about its structure, and in some cases it is less than clear whether a sentence is a relative sentence at all.

- (69) RC. wa-a-tar-ma-kán ku-it I-NA^{HUR.SAG} A-ar-la-an-ta še-er
water.NOM=CONJ=PTC REL.NOM on Arlanta up
 Res. **na-at-kán** A-NA KUR^{ID} Ĥu-u-la-ia Û A-NA KUR
CONJ=it.NOM=PTC to land Hulaya and to land
^{URU}ĤA-AT-TI ták-ša-an a-aš-ša-an
Hatti equally.NOM being.NOM
 ‘(RC) # but what water is up on the Arlanta, (Res) # it belongs equally
 to the land of the Hulaya river and to the land of Hatti.’ (Bronze Tablet,
 i 40–2)

All or almost all of the remaining sentences likewise contain some indication of the boundary between relative clause and first resumptive clause, either in the form of a conjunction or in the placement of second-position enclitics, or both. The only possible exception in the texts considered is sentence (70), with neither any marking of clause boundary nor any explicit resumptive element. This sentence is restored at a crucial point, and nothing excludes the possibility of the first resumptive clause having begun (in the missing part of what I label ‘RC’) with a conjunction such as *-ma*.³⁴ I nevertheless quote this example to show that a resumptive clause with neither marked clause boundary nor resumption may remain at least a marginal possibility in Late Hittite:

- (70) RC. NAM.RA^{MES}-wa-mu-kán ku-i-e-eš pi-ra-an
tenant-farmers.NOM=QUOT=me.DAT=PTC REL.NOM.PL in-front
 ar-ḫa pár-še-ir NAM.RA^{URU} Ĥur[-ša-na-aš-ša-kán
away fled.3PL tenant-farmers.NOM Huršanašša=PTC
 NAM.RA^{URU} Šu-]rū-ta Û NAM.RA^{MES}
tenant-farmers.NOM Šuruta and tenant-farmers.NOM
^{URU}At-ta-ri-ma
Attarima
 Res1. an-da ú-ḫ-ir
in came.3PL
 Res2. **nū-wa-rā-at** ku-w[a-pí . . . -an-ta-a]t
CONJ=QUOT=they.NOM as-soon-as

³⁴ I am grateful to one of the anonymous referees for pointing this out.

Res3. ar-ḥa-wa-ra-at-za šar-ra-an-da-at
 away=QUOT=they.NOM=REFL *divided-themselves*.3PL
 ‘“(RC) # which tenant farmers fled away in front of me, tenant farmers
 of Huršanašša, tenant farmers of Šuruta and tenant farmers of
 Attarima, (Res1) (they) came in. (Res2) # As so[on as] **they** [. . .], (Res3)
 # **they** divided themselves. (Further ‘resumptive clauses’ not quoted
 here.) (KUB 14.15 iii 28–30 = Götze 1933: 52)

In the remaining sentences, all in some way marking the clause boundary between relative clause and resumptive clause (or first resumptive clause), all the possibilities we have seen in Middle Hittite texts are displayed again. Some sentences have a resumptive clause connected to the relative clause by means of an enclitic conjunction rather than *nu*, as in the principal relative sentence (i.e. not the further one embedded in the principal relative clause) of (71), which also has an explicit resumptive element:

- (71) RC. ku-iš-ma-kán A-NA NUMUN ¹ D¹LAMMA ŠA
 REL.NOM=CONJ=PTC *for lineage Kurunta of*
 KUR ^{URU} D¹U-ta-aš-ša LUGAL-iz-na-tar ar-ḥa da-a-i
land Tarhuntašša kingship.ACC away take.3SG
 na-aš-ma-at te-eḫ-nu-zi
or=it.ACC diminish.3SG
 na-aš-ma-at ḥar-ga-an-na ta-pár-ri-ia-iz-zi
or=it.ACC perish.INF designate.3SG
 na-aš-ma-aš-ši A-BU-IA ^{D¹UTU} Š¹I-ia
or=him.DAT father.NOM=my my-majesty.NOM=and
 ku-it pí-ia-an ḥar-u-e-ni
 REL.ACC *given have.3PL*
 nu-uš-ši-kán ar-ḥa ku-it-ki da-a-i
 CONJ=him.DAT=PTC *away anything.ACC take.3SG*
 na-aš-ma-kán ke-e-el tup-pí-aš I-an-na me-mi-ia-an
or=PTC this.GEN tablet.GEN one.ACC=even word.ACC
 wa-aḫ-nu-zi
alter.3SG
 Res. a-pé-e-da-ni-ma-kán ^{D¹UTU} ^{URU}A-ri-in-na ^{D¹U}
him.DAT=CONJ=PTC sun-goddess.NOM Arinna weather-god.NOM
^{URU} ḤA-AT-TI-ia ŠA KUR ^{URU} ḤA-AT-TI LUGAL-iz-na-tar
Hatti=and of land Hatti kingship.ACC

ar-ḥa da-an-du

away take.IMPERAT.3PL

‘(RC) # whoever takes away the kingship of the land of Tarḥuntašša from the lineage of Kurunta # or diminishes it # or designates it for abolition # or takes away from him anything that my father and my Majesty have given him # or alters even one word of this tablet, (Res) # **from him** the sun-goddess of Arinna and the weather god of Hatti are to take away the kingship of the land of Hatti.’ (Bronze Tablet, iii 71–7)

The clause boundary may also be indicated by the placement of one or more enclitics without the use of a conjunction as such, as in (72), which again also has an explicit resumptive element:

- (72) RC. [an-]na-al-la-an ku-it e-eš-ta
 earlier.NOM REL.NOM *was.3SG*
 Res. **a-pa-a-at-ši** pa-ra-a pí-iḥ-ḥu-un
 that.ACC=her.DAT *onward* *gave.1SG*

‘(RC) what was earlier, (Res) # **that** I handed over to her.’
 (Apology of Hattušiliš, iv 68 = Otten 1981: 28)

There may also be an indication of clause boundary but no explicit resumptive element. In most such cases, the clause boundary is indicated by means of the conjunction *nu* (just as *nu* is also the most common conjunction when an explicit resumptive element is present):

- (73) RC. an-tu-ḥḫ-ša-tar-ra-za-kân ku-it te-e-pa-u-wa-az an-da
 manpower.ACC=CONJ=REFL=PTC REL.ACC *in-small-numbers* *thither*
 [ḥu-]u-it-ti-ia-an ḥar-ta
 conveyed *had.3SG*
 Res. **nu** ŠA KUR Pa-la-a A-NA [LU KUR pa-]ra-a Ú-UL
 CONJ *of* *land* *Palā* *to* *enemy* *onward* *NEG*
 ku-it-ki pí-eš-ta
 anything.ACC *gave.3SG*

‘(RC) # and what manpower he had conveyed there in small numbers, (Res) # (that) gave nothing of the land of Palā to the enemy.’ (KBo 5.8 ii 29–31 = Götze 1933: 154)

However, other conjunctions may also appear when there is no explicit resumption:

- (74) RC. *A-NA PA-NI AB-BA^{HI.A} -I^A AB-BA [(AB)-BA^{HI.(A)}]*
in presence fathers=my forefathers
 [(ku-i-e-eš)] ku-u-ru-ur e-šir
 REL.NOM.PL hostile.NOM were.3PL
 Res. am-mu-uk-**ma** ták-šu-la-a[-(i)]r
me.DAT=CONJ made-peace.3PL
 ‘(RC) (those) who were hostile in the time of my fathers and forefathers, (Res) # with me (they) made peace.’ (Apology of Hattušiliš, iv 58–9 = Otten 1981: 26)

The lack of explicit resumption can often, as in sentence (73), be seen to be motivated by Garrett’s rule that enclitic subject pronouns may not appear with a transitive or unergative verb (see section 7.1). The lack of explicit resumption in such sentences is thus not surprising; what needs to be stressed is rather that, as in Middle Hittite examples such as (64) but by contrast with Old Hittite, this lack of explicit resumption does not entail a lack of clause-boundary marking. Finally, there are further examples where there does not appear to be a strict syntactic connection between relative clause and resumptive clause but only a looser semantic connection:

- (75) RC. nu-mu-kán ŠEŠ-*I*A kų-e ki-i
 CONJ=*me*.DAT=PTC brother.NOM=*my* REL.ACC.PL these.ACC
 KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} dan-na-at-ta ŠU-i da-a-iš
lands.ACC unsettled.ACC hand.DAT put.3SG
 CC. nu-mu ^DIŠTAR GAŠAN-*I*A ku-it ŠU-za ħar-ta
 CONJ=*me*.DAT Ištar.NOM lady.NOM=*my* because hand.ABL held.3SG
 Res1. **nu**-za ^{LÚ}KÚR^{MEŠ} ku-i-e-eš tar-aḥ-ḥu-un
 CONJ=REFL enemies.ACC some.ACC conquered.1SG
 Res2. ku-i-e-eš-**ma**-mu ták-šu-la-a-ir
*some=CONJ=*me*.DAT made-peace.3PL*
 ‘(RC) # these lands which my brother put into my hand unsettled,
 (CC) # because Ištar, my lady, held me by the hand, (Res1) # I
 conquered some enemies, (Res2) # but others made peace with me.’
 (Apology of Hattušiliš, ii 63–5 = Otten 1981: 14)

The sequence of clauses in (75) is followed by the sequence in (76), with eventually an explicit reference to the lands mentioned in the relative clause:

- (76) nu-mu ^DIŠ[˘]TAR GAŠAN-IA GAM-an ti-ja-at
 CONJ=*me*.DAT Ištar.NOM lady.NOM=*my* by walked.3sg
 nu-za ke-e KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} >dan-na-at-ta
 CONJ=REFL *these*.ACC *lands*.ACC *unsettled*.ACC
 IŠ-TU NÍ.TE-IA EGIR-pa a-še-ša-nu-nu-un
 from person=my again settled.1sg
 ‘ # Ištar, my lady, walked by me, # and these unsettled
 lands I settled again out of my own resources.’ (Apology of
 Hattušiliš, ii 66–7 = Otten 1981: 14)

However, it is clear from the arrangement of clauses that the clause labelled ‘1st resumptive clause’ (Res1) in (75) needs to be interpreted in the context of the relative clause: that it is in the unsettled lands (despite their ‘unsettled’ circumstances!) that Hattušiliš conquered some enemies (and that he made peace with others); Otten translates the clauses labelled ‘Res1’ and ‘Res2’ with ‘*da* besiegte ich die einen Feinde, die anderen aber schlossen mit mir Frieden’ (my emphasis), and indicates the loose connection between the relative clause and these clauses by his translation of the relative clause: ‘<Was> nun diese Länder <betrifft>, die mein Bruder mir unbesiedelt übergeben <hatte>’ (cf. Hahn 1946: 77).

The observations made here on the basis of three Late Hittite texts may be summarised as follows. The pattern in which a resumptive clause, or first resumptive clause, has the conjunction *nu* and explicit resumption is dominant. Even when this pattern is not found, the clause boundary between relative clause and resumptive clause is usually marked, as in Middle Hittite, but again there may or may not be an explicit resumptive element. Various scholars have made observations about the factors influencing the appearance or non-appearance of a resumptive element in Hittite generally,³⁵ and I do not take up this question here. What is relevant for the present

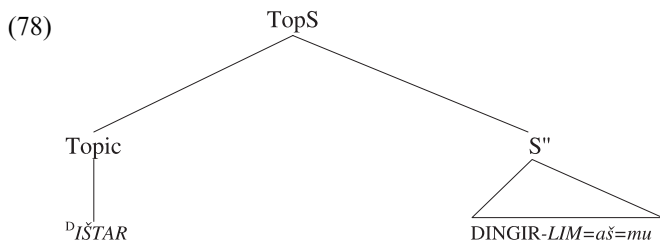
³⁵ See Hahn (1946: 79–80); Held (1957: 24–6, 30–31, 35, 38); Lehmann (1984: 125); Garrett (1990: 236) and, much more generally, Garrett (1990) and (1996).

discussion is that both in Middle and in Late Hittite the strict connection seen in Old Hittite between clause boundary marking and explicit resumptive element no longer applies. The type of sentence in which there is neither an explicit marker of clause boundary nor an explicit resumptive element, seen in the Old Hittite sentences of section 4, has vanished or all but vanished. Our corpus contains one possible but not certain example, sentence (70), to suggest that sentences of this type may not have disappeared altogether. But the reason for analysing this type in Old Hittite as having an embedded relative clause was the overall appearance of clause-boundary marking together with explicit resumption, and lack of clause-boundary marking together with lack of explicit resumption; in the later language the distribution of these elements is no longer thus restricted. The next section is devoted to the structural changes that appear to have taken place around the transition from Old Hittite to Middle Hittite.

14. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Lycian, and occasionally Hittite, make use of a construction in which a noun phrase appears before the sentence proper, before any clause-initial conjunctions or other indications of the beginning of the sentence. Garrett (1992; 1994) describes the syntactic characteristics of these sentences and analyses them structurally as topicalisation constructions in which the topicalised noun phrase occupies an operator position he calls ‘Topic’ (esp. Garrett 1994; Luraghi 1990b: 92). The Hittite sentence (77) is his (1994) example (20b), with a tree diagram (78) corresponding to his syntactic analysis:

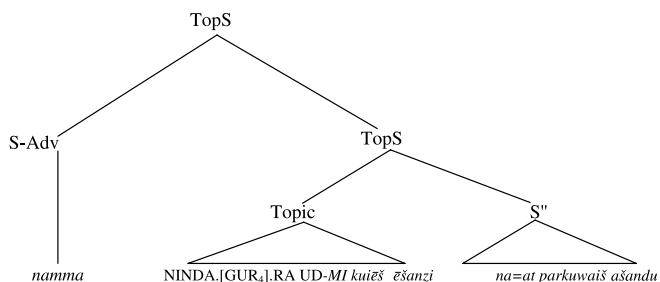
- (77) Topic. D IŠTAR
 Ištar.NOM
 Sentence proper. DINGIR^{LIM}-aš-mu
 divinity.NOM=she.NOM=me.DAT
 ‘(as for) Ištar, # she is my divinity.’ (*Apology of Hattušiliš*, iv
 74 = Otten 1981: 28. Translation Garrett’s with my addition of
 ‘#’; emphasis mine.)



The appearance of a resumptive element in the sentence proper appears to be obligatory in Lycian unless the topicalised noun phrase is indefinite (e.g. ‘**someone else** # let them not inter there’; Garrett 1992; 1994: 36, 38–9). In Hittite there are fewer examples of the construction, but the evidence suggests that a topicalised noun phrase is obligatorily resumed within the sentence proper. In Hittite there does not seem to be evidence for or against the Lycian type of sentence with an indefinite noun phrase in topic position.

Garrett takes Hittite preposed relative clauses to make use of this same topicalisation construction, with the relative clause this time occupying the Topic position. His (1994) example (35b) is reproduced here as (79), with a tree diagram (80) showing his syntactic analysis:

- (79) Adjunct to sentence. nam-ma
 furthermore
 RC. NINDA.[GUR₄].RA UD-*MI* ku-i-e-eš e-eš-ša-an-zi
 loaves.ACC *day.GEN REL.NOM.PL make.3PL*
 Res. **na-at** pâr-ku-wa-iš a-ša-an-du
 CONJ=*they.NOM* *clean.NOM* *be.IMPERAT.3PL*
 ‘(S-adjunct) furthermore, (RC) (those) who make the daily
 loaves, (Res) # let **them** be clean.’ (KUB 13.4 i 14. Translation
 Garrett’s with my addition of ‘#’; emphasis mine.)

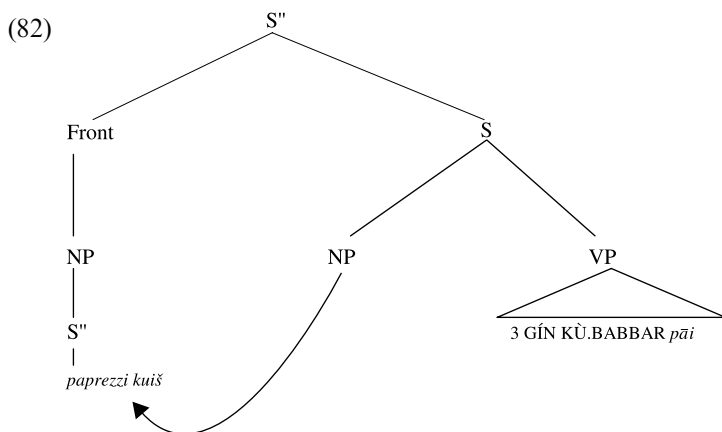
(80)³⁶


I take this to be a correct analysis for the Old Hittite relative sentences of sections 3 and 5 (with the lack or possible lack of resumption in the sentences in 5 being due to a syntactic peculiarity of the conjunction *ta*), but have argued that those of sections 4 and 6 have a different structure, one in which the relative clause itself occupies a syntactic position in the ‘resumptive clause’ or sentence proper: the relative clause stands inside and not outside the sentence proper.

Each of the relative clauses of sections 4 and 6 appears as the first constituent in its sentence, irrespective of its syntactic function within the sentence. Hittite makes use of a syntactic structure Garrett calls ‘fronting’: to highlight some special pragmatic function (e.g. contrastive focus), a constituent may be placed in a special ‘front’ position within the sentence proper but following only the clause-initial conjunction, if any, with any ensuing enclitics (see Garrett 1994: 37–8). The Old Hittite relative sentences of sections 4 and 6 lend themselves to an analysis in which the relative clause is not topicalised but fronted within the sentence proper. Sentence (23) is repeated here as (81) but now with slightly different labels and a slightly different translation to correspond to this structure, and with a corresponding tree diagram (82):

³⁶ This tree diagram is essentially a simplified version of Garrett’s (1994: 46), with the replacement (not crucial in the present context) of his label S for the resumptive clause with S’.

- (81) = (34) = (23) = (5) Fronted RC. pa-ap-re-ez-zi ku-iš
be-impure.3SG REL.NOM
 Rest of sentence proper. 3 GÍN
3 shekel.ACC
 KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i
silver give.3SG
 ‘(the one) who is impure gives three
 shekels of silver.’ (KBo 6.2 i 57 = Laws
 series one, § 25 (copy A))



There is no resumption of a fronted element; hence fronting may be regarded as involving movement of the fronted constituent out of its ‘normal’ syntactic position, but topicalisation may not (see Garrett 1994: 33, 36). Sentence (49), with embedded but not preposed relative clause, suggests that occasionally in Old Hittite a relative clause was embedded but not fronted; but fronting is clearly regular (and the externally headed character of (49) shows that it is not simply an unfronted variant of the regular embedded type). We noted above (section 9) that embedded relative clauses functioning as subjects would be likely to come first in their main clauses whether ‘fronted’ or not, and that most of the sentences in section 4 (all except (27) and possibly (21)) have relative clauses that do function as subjects. The only sentences in which fronting can definitely be

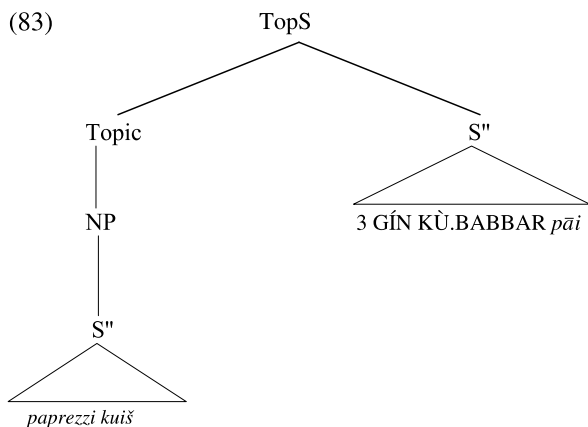
demonstrated are therefore (27) and (in section 6) sentence (32). One might go further and see the clear fronting in (27) and (32) (and perhaps (21)) as motivated by reanalysis of sentences with embedded relative clauses as subjects, syntactically ambiguous as regards fronting, as having fronted relative clauses. Possible reasons why the embedded construction was especially favoured over the adjoined construction under some circumstances involving subject relative clauses were suggested above (section 7.2); in any case, the frequency of this type with subject relative clauses makes possible a reanalysis based on instances with subject relative clauses.³⁷

If adjoined relative clauses in Hittite follow the topicalisation construction illustrated in (78) and (80), one might expect the presence of an overt resumptive element to be obligatory, just as in other examples of this construction (ones not involving a relative clause, as in (78)). For Old Hittite, I have argued that adjoined relative clauses do indeed include an obligatory resumptive element, except in the special case of a non-overt direct object resumption after *ta*.³⁸

³⁷ Other reasons for the tendency for fronting of embedded relative clauses are also worth considering. The pragmatic force of fronting may have tended to be appropriate for relative clauses where they were not topicalised. Alternatively, or in addition, the superficial similarity between the embedded and the adjoined type—with usually ‘preposed’ relative clause in both types—may be due to one of these structures having in some way arisen out of the other in the prehistory of Hittite.

³⁸ Since it is unclear whether Hittite has the Lycian type of structure with an indefinite noun as topic and no resumptive element in the sentence proper (**someone else** #let them not inter there), one might have expected that a resumptive element might appear after an adjoined relative clause just when the relative clause had indefinite semantics (on some definition of indefiniteness). On the assumption that the sentences in section 3 do indeed have their relative clauses in Garrett’s Topic position, the fact that all the (first or only) resumptive clauses of section 3 have an overt resumptive element suggests either that Hittite did not in fact have this Lycian type of structure or that Hittite preposed relative clauses were never indefinite in the sense that would be required for the construction without resumption. Which of these explanations is correct matters little for the questions at hand, but the latter possibility is raised by Garrett’s argument (1994: 47–8) that Hittite relative clauses that are indefinite and non-quantificational (‘a book that I bought’) are never preposed but postposed. In any case, it is clear from the range of examples in sections 3 and 4 that the difference between the structures in 3 and those in 4 has nothing to do with definiteness versus indefiniteness, or with determinacy versus indeterminacy (on which see n. 5).

The regular marking of a boundary between relative clause and resumptive clause in our Middle and Late Hittite texts suggests that these relative sentences have adjoined, not embedded, relative clauses. Yet now there is not always an explicit resumption. Why has the inclusion of a resumptive element after an adjoined relative clause lost its obligatory status, in contradiction to what otherwise happens in the topicalisation construction? And why does this happen around the time that the language appears to lose the type of relative sentence involving an embedded and fronted relative clause? The coincidence of these two changes is explained if embedded and fronted relative clauses were reanalysed around the end of the Old Hittite period as adjoined. Under this new analysis, sentence (81) would have the following structure, with the relative clause now taken to be in topic position and outside the sentence proper:



Under this reanalysis, a clause boundary (or *S''* node) between relative clause and resumptive clause is assumed whether or not it is overtly marked, and the inclusion of an explicit resumptive element is taken as optional. As a consequence, it becomes possible to omit a resumptive element even when the clause boundary is overtly marked, as in (64), repeated here as (84):

- (84)=(64) RC. X X X [O O]kán ^{URU}Šal-la-u-wa-áš-ši kaṭ-ta-an-ta
 =PTC *Šalawaššaš.DAT* down
 LÚ.MEŠ *BE-LU GAL^{TIM}*
lords great
 ku-e[-eš] ¹Pi-šę-ni-in ¹Pu-uš-ku-ru-nu-wa-an-na DUMU
 REL.NOM.PL *Pišeniš.ACC Puškurunuwaš.ACC=CONJ son*
¹Aḥ[] XOXO-ta-ra
 ?? ??
- CC. nu-uš-ša-an A-NA ¹Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta ku-it še-ir
 CONJ=PTC *for Madduwattaš.DAT because ADV*
 za-aḥ[-ḥi-i]r
fought.3PL
- Res. [ma-a]n-kán še-e-ir A-NA ¹Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta
 IRREALIS=PTC ADV *for Madduwattaš.DAT*
 ku-e-nir
killed.3PL
- ‘(RC) . . . which great lords . . . [rest of relative clause
 obscure]. (CC) # because (they) fought for Madduwattaš,
 (Res) # **would** one have killed (them) for Madduwattaš.’
 (KUB 14.1 Vs. 58–9 = Götze 1928: Vs. 58–9)

A further consequence of the fact that the resumptive clause may now fail to include an overt resumptive element, although the relative clause also does not directly occupy a syntactic position in this clause, appears to be that the role which the referent of the relative clause plays in the resumptive clause does not always have a precise syntactic definition; compare sentence (75), repeated here as (85):

- (85) = (75) RC. nu-mu-kán ŠEŠ-IA ku-e ki-i
 CONJ=me.DAT=PTC *brother.NOM=my REL.ACC.PL these.ACC*
 KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} dan-na-at-ta ŠU-i da-a-iš
lands.ACC unsettled.ACC hand.DAT put.3SG
- CC. nu-mu ^DIŠTAR GAŠAN-IA ku-it ŠU-za
 CONJ=me.DAT *Ištar.NOM lady.NOM=my because hand.ABL*
 ḥar-ta
held.3SG
- Res1. nu-za LÚKUR^{MEŠ} ku-i-e-eš tar-aḥ-ḥu-un
 CONJ=REFL *enemies.ACC some.ACC conquered.1SG*
- Res2. ku-i-e-eš-ma-mu ták-šu-la-a-ir
 some=CONJ=me.DAT *made-peace.3PL*
- ‘(RC) # these lands which my brother put into my hand unsettled,
 (CC) # because Ištar, my lady, held me by the hand, (Res1) # I
 conquered some enemies, (Res2) # **but** others made peace with
 me.’ (Apology of Hattušiliš, ii 63–5 = Otten 1981: 14)

In principle, under the reanalysis suggested one might expect also to find further sentences in which the clause boundary was left unmarked, either with or without an explicit resumptive element. One of our Late Hittite sentences, sentence (70), may show that it did indeed remain possible occasionally to leave the clause boundary unmarked, and one would expect to find a few more such sentences (with or, as in (70), without an explicit resumptive element) on consideration of further texts.³⁹ In the language as a whole, however, the marking of clause boundaries is increasingly ubiquitous after the Old Hittite period, and so it is not surprising that the real variation that arises lies in the possibility of leaving the resumptive element implicit.

The range of possible ways of marking the boundary between relative and resumptive clause, and the possibilities of including or not including an overt resumptive element, are very similar in the Late Hittite and in the Middle Hittite sentences we have seen. Further work on Middle and Late Hittite texts may reveal some chronological developments, or variation between different types of text, but more texts would need to be considered for firm conclusions to be drawn. Here we note simply that the Late Hittite texts considered here corroborate the impression provided by the Middle Hittite texts that the early distinction between embedded and adjoined relative sentences has been given up in favour of the structure with adjoined relative clause.

15. TWO CONSEQUENCES

It is often assumed, partly on the basis of Anatolian evidence (see especially Sturtevant 1930; Hahn 1946), that Indo-European had adjoined and not embedded relativisation. If so, the various types of embedded relative clause found in most Indo-European languages arose during the histories or prehistories of those languages. Recently, attention has been devoted to ways in which embedded relativisation may indeed develop out of adjoined

³⁹ Note, for example, KUB 13.2 iii 28: *kuit ḫandan apāt išša* 'whatever is fitting, do that!'.

relativisation (for Anatolian and especially Lycian developments see Garrett 1994).

If the analyses and historical development suggested above are correct, two consequences arise. First, there is a consequence for the diachronic typology of relativisation: reanalysis of embedded relative clauses as adjoined relative clauses, and not only the opposite development, occurs. Secondly, there is a consequence for the use of Anatolian in discussions of relativisation in the Indo-European parent language. Although nothing is proven or disproven about Indo-European, Anatolian becomes a less good example of an Indo-European branch in which relative clauses are always adjoined at an early stage and in which any embedded relativisation is late and arose from reanalysis of adjoined relativisation.

The conclusions drawn here have points of contact with those of Justus Raman (1973), who argues that Hittite relative clauses as a whole were embedded, not adjoined, and who notes the occurrence of relative clauses with neither clause boundary marking nor explicit resumption particularly at the oldest attested stages of Hittite (see esp. Justus Raman 1973: 166). The conclusions I draw here are different, since they involve two synchronically distinct structures for relative sentences in the oldest attested Hittite, one with embedded and the other with adjoined relativisation. For Justus Raman, the sentences with neither clause boundary marker nor explicit resumption represent an archaic survival compared to those with clause boundary marker and/or explicit resumption (see esp. Justus Raman 1973: 166–70; 198–9). The conclusions drawn here leave various possibilities open for the prehistory of Hittite, including this one but including also the possibility (less radical from an Indo-European point of view) that the embedded type is a fairly recent development in Hittite, destined to have only a transitory existence before being absorbed by the adjoined type. I do not have answers to these questions but hope that the curious situation at the earliest stage of Hittite may prompt renewed discussion of the prehistoric developments.

This study has focused on relative sentences, but there are of course other types of complex sentence in Hittite. Investigation of complex sentences more generally for similar or different phenomena

ought to shed further light both on the situation within Hittite and on the prehistory of complex sentence formation.

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