Andrej V. Sideltsev
Towards the diachronic typology of clitic doubling: Hittite data.

Ex. 1. Left dislocation:

<u>karpiš</u>ᵢ#　　　　　　　　　　n　　=**an**ᵢ　　　　　　　　arāit ##

<u>anger</u>ᵢ-NOM.SG.C. #　S.C.PART.=**it**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.C.　she stopped/lifted-3SG.PRET.

　　　　"<u>The anger</u>ᵢ, she stopped/lifted **it**ᵢ".

Ex. 2. Clitic doubling:

n　　　=**an**ᵢ　　　　　　　　=šan　　　　<u>QEMANNAM</u>ᵢ　išhūwāi #

S.C.PART.=**it**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.C.=LOC.PART.　the flourᵢ　　　she scatters-3SG.PRES.

　　"She scatters **it**ᵢ, <u>the flour</u>ᵢ".

Clitic doubling discourse status change:

Ex. 3. NS/OH (CTH 9.6) KBo 3.28 Vs. II 17`-19`

1. attaš　　　=maš　　　　　　　　haršanī　　　　　　　ᴰÍD-ya

of father-GEN.SG.=my-CL.POSS.PRON.3SG.GEN.SG. in the person-LOC.SG. in the river-LOC.SG.

mekkeš　　　　　paprešker #

many-NOM.PL.C. were proven guilty-3PL.PRET.ITER.

2. š　　=uš　　　　　　　　　ABI　　LUGAL　natta huišnuškēt #

S.C.PART.=them-CL.PRON.3PL.ACC.C. father　　of the king　NEG let live-3SG.PRET.CAUS.ITER.

3. ᵐKizzuwaš=pat　　　　　　　ANA SAG<.DU> ABI=YA　　ᴰÍD-ya

　Kizzuwa-NOM.SG.C.=EMPH.PART.　in the person　　of father=my　in the river-LOC.SG.

papritta #

was proven guilty-3SG.PRET.MED.

4. š　　=**an**ᵢ　　　　　　　　　　　attaš　　　　　=miš

S.C.PART.=**him**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.C.　　　　father-NOM.SG.C.=my-CL.POSS.PRON.NOM.SG.C.

<u>ᵐKizzuwan</u>ᵢ　　　　　nat<ta> hue<š>nūt #

<u>Kizzuwa</u>ᵢ-ACC.SG.C. NEG　　let live -3SG.PRET.CAUS.

　　　　"(1) Many were proven guilty in the river ordeal in (the matter of offending) the person of my father. (2) The king's father did not let them live. (3) Kizzuwa in particular was proven guilty by the river ordeal in (the matter of offending) the person of my father. (4) My father did not let **him**ᵢ, <u>Kizzuwa</u>ᵢ, live".

Clitic doubling shift topic: **correlation**:

Ex. 4. MH/MS (CTH 480) KUB 29.7+ KBo 21.41 Rs. 24-30

1. nu　　=šši　　　　　　　　hašuwā[i]ˢᴬᴿ　　pianzi #

S.C.PART.= her-CL.PRON.3SG.DAT. soapwort-ACC.SG.N. give-3PL.PRES.

2. n　　　=at　　　　　　　　anda puššaizzi #

　S.C.PART.=it-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.N.　in　　pounds-3SG.PRES.

3. anda=ma=kan　　　　　kiššan me[mai] #

　then =but =LOC.PART.　thus　speaks-3SG.PRES.

4. mān=wa　　　ANA PA[NI]　DINGIRᴸᴵᴹ kuiški　　　　EN SÍSKUR　idālawanni

　if=DIR.SP.PART. before　　　deity　　some-NOM.SG.C. ritual practitioner evil-LOC.SG.

memian　　　　　　harzi #

spoken-PART.SG.NOM.N. has-AUX.3SG.PRES.PERF.

5. paiddu=wa=kan　　　　　　　edani　　DINGIRᴸᴵᴹ-aš　　parni　　and[a]n

AUX.3SG.IMPER.=DIR.SP.PART.=LOC.PART. that-LOC.SG.　god's-GEN.SG.　house-LOC.SG. inside

hurtaiš　　　ling[a]iš　　　paprātarr =a　　　hāšuwāyaš　iwar kišaru #

curse-NOM.SG.C.perjury-NOM.SG.C. uncleanliness-NOM.SG.N.=and soapwort-GEN.SG. like　become-3SG.IMPER.MED.

6. nu　　=war　　=at　　　　　　　　hāšu[wāy]ašˢᴬᴿ　iwar

S.C.PART.=DIR.SP.PART.=them-CL.PRON.3PL.NOM.N.　soapwort-GEN.SG.　like

miyān　　　　　　ēšdu #

luxuriant-PART.NOM.SG.N. let be-3SG.IMPER.

7. nu　　　=war　　　=**at**ᵢ　　　　　　　　　=za　　namma　<u>iyatnuwan</u>ᵢ

S.C.PART.=DIR.SP.PART.=**it**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.N.=REFL.　further　<u>luxuriant</u>-ACC.SG.N.

<u>hāšuwāi</u>ˢᴬᴿᵢ　　[puš]šuwanzi　[l]ē　　kuiški　　　tarahzi # §

<u>soapwort</u>ᵢ-ACC.SG.N. to crush/pluck-INF. PROHIB no one-NOM.C. let be able-3SG.PRES.

　　　"(1) They give her the soapwort (2) she pounds it (3) and then speaks thus: «(4) If some ritual practitioner has spoken with evil intent befo[re] the deity: (5) "Let curse, perjury and uncleanliness inside that temple become like soapwort. (6) Let them be luxuriant like soapwort. (**7**) Further let no one be able to crush/pluck **it**ᵢ, <u>the luxurious soapwort</u>ᵢ!"§".

Clitic doubling established topic with minimal referential ambiguity:

Ex. 5 OH/OS (CTH 416.A) KBo 17.1+ Vs. I 3`-6`

1. [3-*i*]*š*   LUGAL-*un*   MUNUS.LUGAL-*ann=a*   *huyanzi* #
   three times to the king-ACC.SG.C.   queen-ACC.SG.C.=and   they run-3PL.PRES.

2. *3-kiš*   =*a*   =*šmaš*   *šī*[*na*]*n*   [*pa*]*rā*   *ēpzi* #
  three times=but=to them-CL.PRON.3PL.DAT. a statuette-ACC.SG.   out   (s)he holds-3SG.PRES.

3. GU₄-*n*   (=*a*ʔ)=*šmaš*   *3-iš*   *parā*   *ēpzi* #
   a bull-ACC.SG.C.(=butʔ)=to them-CL.PRON.3PL.DAT. three times out   (s)he holds-3SG.PRES.

4. LUGAL-*uš*   [3-]*iš*   GU₄-*un*   1 *šīnann=a*   *allappahhi* #
   the king-NOM.SG.C. three times (on) the bull-ACC.SG.C.   1 statuette-ACC.SG.C.=and   spits-3SG.PRES.

5. MUNUS.LUGAL-*ašš=a* =*an*   *3-iš*   [*al*]*lappahhi* #
   the queen-NOM.SG.C. =and=(on) it-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.C. three times spits-3SG.PRES.

6. *partaunit*   =*uš*ᵢ   LUGAL-*un*   MUNUS.LUGAL-*ann*ᵢ=*a*   *ašaškizzi* #
with the wing-INSTR.=**them**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3PL.ACC.C. the king-ACC.SG.C. queen-ACC.SG.C.ᵢ =and she seats-3SG.PRES.ITER.

       "(1) They run to the king and queen three times. (2) (S)he holds out a statuette to them three times. (3) (S)he holds out a bull to them three times. (4) The king spits on the bull (and) the statuette three times. (5) And the queen also spits on it three times. (6) With the wing she seats **them**ᵢ, the king and queenᵢ".

       Clitic doubling accessible topic which is coded as established topic:

       Ex. 6. NS/OH (CTH 321.A) KBo 3.7 Rs. III 20'-28'

1. *mān ēšre*   =*šši*   *āppa karuiliatta* SIG₅-*atta* #
   when in body-LOC.SG.=his-CL.POSS.PRON.3SG.LOC.SG. again   as of old   he was sound-3SG.PRET.MED.

2. *n*   =*aš*   *namma aruni*   *za*[*h*]*hiya*   *pait* #
  S.C.PART.=he-CL.PRON.3SG.NOM.C. once more to the sea-LOC.SG. for battle-DAT.SG. went-3SG.PRET.

3. *mān* =*ši*   *zahhain*   *pāiš* #
   when=to him-CL.PRON.3SG.DAT. battle-ACC.SG.C. he gave-3SG.PRES.

4. *n*   =*an*ᵢ   =*za namma* ᴹᵁˢ*illuyanka*[*n*]ᵢ   *tarahhuwan dāiš* #
  S.C.PART.=**him**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.C.=REFL. at last the serpent-ACC.SG.ᵢ to smite-INF. he began-3SG.PRET.

       "(1) When he was again sound in body as of old, (2) then he went once more to the sea for battle. (3) When he gave battle to him (4) and was at last beginning to smite **him**ᵢ, the serpentᵢ, …"

       Clitic doubling continued topic:

       Ex. 7. MH/MS (CTH 443) KBo 15.10+ Vs. II 33-35

1. *nu*   ANA BELI ANA DAM=*ŠU*   DUMUᴹᴱˢ=*ŠU*   *āššu*   *namma ēšt*[*u*] #
  S.C.PART. for   lord   for   wife=his   children=his   good-ACC.SG.N. then.   may be-3SG.IMPER.

2. [*nu*   =]*šši*ᵢ   ᴰUTU-*uš*   ᴰIM-*ašš=a*   ANA BEL[*I*]ᵢ ANA DAM
  S.C.PART.=**him**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3SG.DAT. Sungod-VOC.SG. Stormgod-VOC.SG.=and to lordᵢ to   wife

DUMUᴹᴱˢ=*ŠU āššu*   TI-*tar*   *mayandatar*   ᴳᴵˢTUKUL   *parā*
children=his   weal-ACC.SG.N. life-ACC.SG.N. youthful vigour-ACC.SG.N. weapon   ahead

nēantan   [*na*]*m*[*m*]*a*   *piškatten* #
pointed-ACC.SG.N. then   keep giving-2PL.IMPER.

       "(1) May it then be good for the lord, (his) wife (and) his children. (**2**) But let you, Sungod and Stormgod, then keep giving **to him**ᵢ, the lordᵢ, (his) wife (and) his children weal, life, youthful vigour (and) weapon pointed ahead".

       Clitic doubling inferable topic:

       Ex. 8. MS (CTH 433.2) KBo 17.105+ Rs. III 2-3

1. *nu*   *karaš*   ŠEᴬᴹ   *tepu dāi* #
  S.C.PART. *karaš*-grain barley   a bit she takes-3SG.PRES.

2. *n*   =*at*   =*kan*   *pahhunit*   *šanhuzzi* #
  S.C.PART.=them-CL.PRON.3PL/SG.ACC.N.=LOC.PART. with fire-INSTR. she roasts-3SG.PRES.

3. *n*   =*an*ᵢ   =*šan*   QEMANNAMᵢ   *išhūwāi* #
  S.C.PART.=**it**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.C.=LOC.PART. the flourᵢ   she scatters-3SG.PRES.

       "(1) She takes a bit of *karaš*-grain (and) barley (2) and roasts them on a fire (lit. with fire). (3) She scatters **it**ᵢ, the flourᵢ".

       Left dislocation inferable topic:

       Ex. 9. OH/MS (CTH 324.1.A) KUB 17.10 Vs. II 36–Rs. III 2

1. *n*   =*an*   *ar*[*āit*] ##
   S.C.PART.=him-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.C.   she held in check-3SG.PRET.

2. *karpiš*ᵢ   # *n*   =*an*ᵢ   *arāit* ##
   angerᵢ-NOM.SG.C. # S.C.PART.=**it**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.C. she stopped/lifted-3SG.PRET.

3. *kardimiy*[*az*ᵢ   # *n*   =*an*ᵢ]   *arāit* ##
   wrathᵢ-NOM.SG.C. # S.C.PART.=**it**ᵢ-CL.PRON.3SG.ACC.C. she stopped/lifted.

4. *šāwar*   *arāit* ##

sullenness-ACC.SG.N. she stopped/lifted-3SG.PRET.

"(1) She held him (Telipinu) in check. (2) The anger$_i$, she stopped/lifted **it**$_i$. (3) The wrath$_i$, she stopped/lifted **it**$_i$. (4) She stopped/lifted the sullenness".

Left dislocation shift topic: the new topic is accessible:

Ex. 10. NS/NH (CTH 81.A) KUB 1.1+ Rs. IV 73-5

1. ^{DUG}*haršiyali*   =*ya* =*kan*   *išhuiškanzi* ##
   h.-vessel-ACC.SG.N.=and=LOC.PART. they fill-3PL.PRES.

2. ^{D}*IŠTAR*$_i$ # DINGIR^{LIM}=*aš*$_i$ =*mu* ##
   IŠTAR$_i$ # goddess   **=she**$_i$-CL.PRON.3SG.NOM.C.=to me-CL.PRON.1SG.ACC./DAT.

3. *nu*   =*šmaš*   =*šan* ^{D}*IŠTAR šarlaimmin*   [*š*]*ipanzakanzi* #
S.C.PART.=for themselves=LOC.PART. to *IŠTAR* exalted-ACC.SG.C. they will make libations-3PL.PRES.

"(1) And they fill the *h*.-vessel. (2) (As for) *IŠTAR*$_i$, **she**$_i$ is my goddess. (3) They will make libations for themselves to the exalted *IŠTAR*".

Left dislocation shift topic:

Ex. 11. OH/NS (CTH 19.II.A) KBo 3.1+ Vs. II 13

5 ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}$_i$=*ŠU*   # *nu*   =*šmaš*$_i$ É^{MEŠ} *taggašta* ##
five brothers$_i$=his # S.C.PART.=**them**$_i$-CL.PRON.3PL.DAT. houses he allotted-3SG.PRET.

"(As for) his five brothers, he allotted **them** houses".