

CONTACT, VARIATION AND CHANGE IN ANATOLIAN AND GREEK: THE CONTINUITY OF INDO-EUROPEAN LEXICON AND PHRASEOLOGY

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If a word and/or a construction and/or a phraseme attested in Anatolian is shared, with the same semantics by significant Core Indo-European languages, it may be traced back to Proto-Indo-European, and the same applies if the lexemes involved are synonyms or quasi-synonyms (substitutory continuants, “Ersatzkontinuanten”). This is the case of some collocations of Hitt. *ḫark-* ‘hold, support’ (**h₂erk-* ‘id.’, cf. Lat. *arceo*, *-ēre* “continēre”), which have a perfect match in those of Gk. ἔχω, among others, [HOLD – HAND] (*nu-mu*^DU NIR.GÁL *kuit* EN-YA ŠU-*an ḫarzi* ‘whereas the mighty storm-god my lord holds my hand’ KBo 5.8 iii 41-2, χειρὸς ἔχων Μενέλαον *Il.* 4.154), the intransitive reading with adverbs (OHitt. *mēnahḫ=anda* (: IGI-*an-da*) ‘stay face-to-front’, Eur. *IT* 1226 ἐκποδῶν ... εἶναι), and [HOLD – HEAVEN & EARTH] (Hitt. *zik nu nepiš tekann=a ḫarši* KUB 8.41, ... ὄς ... / ..., ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς / μακράς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι *Od.* 1.52-4 ‘(Atlas) ... who ... himself holds fast the tall pillars which keep earth and heaven apart’ (also Aesch. *Prom.* 351). Further more or less precise parallels are attested in Indo-Iranian (Ved. *dhar*⁽ⁱ⁾ : Av. *dar* ‘hold’ García Ramón 2016), and in Latin (*arcēre* Catsanicos 1986), in Armenian (Kölligan 2015) and in Germanic (ONorse [*DVERGR* – HOLD (*ber*) – HEAVEN (Ginevra 2017). Hitt. *ḫark-* is the continuant (and has absorbed the sense and collocations) of IE **seǵ^h-* and **d^her(h₂)-*, which do not live on in Anatolian. For its part, the formal continuant of **h₂erk-* in Greek, the denominative ἀρκέω ‘to be (strong) enough, suffice’ (Class.) has shifted to ‘succour, ward off’ (Hom.+).

If Anatolian forms basically match those of other Core IE languages, but their semantics are different, they could reflect either the inherited meaning as against a Core-IE innovation (e.g. Hitt. *huwai-* ‘run’ vs Ved. *avⁱ/ū* ‘help, assist’), or inversely a secondary development, understandable only in the light of Core IE, e.g. Hitt. *nakki-* ‘prominent’ (**h₁noḱ-i-* cf. IE **h₁nek-* : ἐνεγκεῖν :: φέρω!, Toch.B *leṅk-* ‘take’) vs. Hom. φέρτερος ‘id.’, Av. *bairišta-* (also in the collocation KBo 26.65 i 25–26 *nakkin memian* ‘important word’, Pind. *Pyth.* 5.49 [...] λόγων φερτάτων μναμήϊ(α) “ein Denkmal von den wichtigsten Wörtern innehat” [Masseti 2016]), or Hitt. *šan(a)ḫ^{mi}-* ‘attempt, seek, try’ vs. Ved. *sanⁱ/sā* ‘reach’, Hom.(^o) ἀνύω ‘reach’, ‘fulfill’ (KUB 14.1 obv. 2 *nu tuēl ŠA^mMa[dduw]att[a ḪUL-lu] ḫinkan šanḫiškit* “He (*scil.* Attariššiya) has always been seeking your [painful] death, Ma[dduwa]tta” vs. *S.Tr.*886 πρὸς θανάτῳ θάνατον ἀνύσσασα ‘who accomplished death’).

When the coincidence is restricted exclusively to Anatolian and Greek as against Core-IE, it may be the result of areal contact and/or an Anatolism in Greek (or, eventually, viceversa). The collocation [MAKE - BLOOD] → [KILL] cf. Hitt. *ēšḫar ija^{bhi}-* (also *išša^{bhi}-*) ‘kill’ (Dardano 2002) : αἷμα ἐργάζεσθαι / ὀρᾶν (and Lat. *sanguinem facere*), which coexists with [POUR (BLOOD)] → ‘kill’ (Gk. αἷμα ... κέχυται Hdt. 7.140, OE *gētan* ‘kill’ *Beow.* 2940) and others, may be understood as an Anatolism in Greek.

The present contribution will focus on the three possibilities exemplified by the terms and collocations mentioned above.