



Graeco-Anatolian isoglosses



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1. Problemstellung.
2. Morphosyntactic isoglosses.
3. Methodological observations.
4. Irrealis.
5. Iterativa.
6. Genitive Absolute.
7. Praeverbia.
8. Conclusion.



Problemstellung



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- Anatolia 2nd - 1st Millennium BC.
- Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages in contact.
- Language contact and borrowings.
- Lexicon, morphology (?) and phonology (?).
- Morpho-syntactic isoglosses?



Graeco-Anatolian isoglosses (1)



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- Greek borrowed from Anatolian/Hittite.
- Discussed in Bianconi 2015 and Romagno 2015: same features, different analyses and conclusions.
- Morpho-syntactic nature addressed here.



Graeco-Anatolian isoglosses (2)



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- Modal particle and indicative to mark non-factual and counterfactual modality ("irrealis").
- "Iterative" forms in *-sk-* for imperfectivity.
- Genitive case in absolute constructions.
- Praeverbia to mark telicity.



Methodological observations (1)



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- Critical observations and questions (Hajnal, Simon, Oreshko, Cotticelli & Giusfredi).
- Inherited, borrowing, language-internal evolution?
- Anatolian or Hittite? Which languages?



Methodological observations (2)



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- Geographical (non-)contiguity.
- Time-depth.
- Dialectal differences within Greek.
- Applies to all isoglosses discussed here.



Methodological observations (3)



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- Modal particle and indicative to mark non-factual and counterfactual modality.
 - Based on Attic Greek, other dialects differ.
 - Never contact between Attic and Hittite, geography.
 - Attic (V - IV BC) versus Hittite (XVII - XII BC), time-depth.



Methodological observations (4)



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- "Iterative" forms in *-sk-* to mark imperfectivity.
 - Hittite has *-š \check{c} k-*, the other Anatolian languages do not.
 - Geography: *-š \check{c} k-* exists in Hittite, but no geographic vicinity.
 - Dialectal problems: iteratives are epic, but Ionic?

Modus operandi

- Analysis is based on Greek data.
- Phenomena can be explained from within Greek.

Issues to be treated

- Irrealis: modal particle as marker of modality.
- Irrealis: indicative as mood.
- "Iterative" forms in *-sk-*: imperfective meaning.
- Absolute constructions: use/origin of the genitive.



Irrealis: overview



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Modal particle (MP) and indicative to mark non-factual and counterfactual modality

(De Decker 2015:221-240, 2021).

- Hittite.
- Potentialis and/or irrealis?
- Aspect and/or tense (past and present).
- Modal particle?
- Indicative?



Irrealis: Hittite



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- *man* and present or preterite, depending on temporal reference.
- MP is used in **all** sentences (e.g. in both conditional and main clause).

man=us=kan Huzziyas kuenta nu uttar išduwāti

"Huzzia would have killed them, but the matter became known" (KBo 3.1 ii 11).

(Melchert & Hoffner 2008: 316 "wanted to kill them")

Irrealis: Greek

- Indicative imperfect with MP for present irrealis, aorist for past.
- MP is **not used** in conditional clauses.
- Attic (!) Greek, but other dialects and epic?
- Time depth.
- Contact between Attic and Hittite?

Irrealis or potentialis?

- Potentialis and/or irrealis: difference?

(255) ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες

(256) ἄλλοι τε Τρῶες μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμῷ

(257) εἰ σφῶϊν τάδε πάντα πυθοίατο μαρναμένοιν.

"Now Priam would feel happiness and his sons and the other Trojans would greatly rejoice in their heart, if they heard all this about the both of you fighting each other." (*Iliad* 1,255-257)



Irrealis: aspect or tense?



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- Aspect and/or tense (past and present).

(713) καί νύ κε δὴ πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα

(714) Ἔκτορα δάκρυ χέοντες **ὀδύροντο** πρὸ πυλάων,

(715) εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἐκ δίφροιο γέρων λαοῖσι **μετηύδα** (*Iliad* 24,713-715).

"And now they would have wailed for Hektor, in front of the gates shedding tears the entire day until the setting of the sun, had not the old man addressed the people from his chariot."



Irrealis: modal particle (1)



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- Modal particle is not needed to mark modality.

ῥεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα **σαώσαι** (*Odyssey* 3,231).

"Easily, a god could save a man even from afar, if he so wishes."

ᾧ γέρον, ἦ ὀλίγου σε κύνες **διεδηλήσαντο**

ἐξαπίνης, καὶ κέν μοι ἐλεγχείην κατέχευας (*Odyssey* 14,37-38).

"Old man, suddenly, the dogs had almost torn you into pieces and you would have brought great shame on me."



Irrealis: modal particle (2)



- Modal particle does not mark modality.

καί νύ τις ὧδ' εἴησι κακώτερος ἀντιβολήσας (*Odyssey* 6,275).

"And now so a lesser character might speak when he meets us:"

ὅς κέν τοι εἴησιν ὁδὸν καὶ μέτρα κελεύθου (*Odyssey* 10,539).

"He will then reveal you the road and the ways to find your way home."



Irrealis: modal particle (3)



- Allan 2013: axes of modality (epistemic, jussive, deontic).
- Modal particle only used with epistemic modality.
- *Elles soulignent un cas particulier, marquent une emphase et s'emploient avec le subjonctif éventuel plutôt qu'avec le subjonctif de volonté* (Chantraine 1953: 211-212).



Irrealis: modal particle (4)



- Avoided, dispreferred, absent in
 - Negative wishes, negative purpose clauses, *verba timendi*, all introduced by μή.
 - Exhortations.
 - Wishes.
 - Optatives in conditional clauses (old wishes).



Irrealis: modal particle (5)



- Avoided, dispreferred, absent in
 - Purpose clauses.
 - Future forms based on IE desiderative.
 - Undefined subject.
 - Negation.
 - Repeated actions.
 - Forms preceded by forms with a modal particle.

Irrealis: indicative? (1)

- Indicative? Optative.

ἦ γὰρ ἂν Ἀτρεΐδῃ νῦν ὕστατα λωβήσαιο. (*Iliad* 1,232)

"Indeed, son of Atreus, you would then have committed your last outrage".

ἦ σ' ἂν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμις γε παρεῖη. (*Iliad* 22,20)

"I would have made / make you pay, if the power had been / were inside me."

Irrealis: indicative? (2)

- Indicative? Optative.

(71) ἐγγύθι λαμπομένης τάχα κεν φεύγοντες ἐναύλους

(72) πλήσειαν νεκύων, εἴ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων

(73) ἦπια εἶδειη: νῦν δὲ στρατὸν ἀμφιμάχονται.

"... of my (helmet) shining nearby. Soon they would have filled the rivers beds in their flight with their corpses, if (only) rules Agamemnon had known (to act) appropriately towards me, but now, they (sc. the Trojans) are pressing on the (Greek) army." (*Iliad* 16,71-73).

Irrealis: indicative? (3)

- Indicative and optative "co-existed" in epic.

(220) εἰ μὲν γάρ τις μ' ἄλλος ἐπιχθονίων ἐκέλευεν,

(221) ἢ οἱ μάντιές εἰσι θυοσκόοι ἢ ἱερῆες,

(222) ψεῦδος κεν φαῖμεν καὶ νοσφιζοίμεθα μᾶλλον:
(*Iliad* 24,220-222).

"If any other man of the mortals had ordered me (to do) this, or the soothsayers, offering-seers or priests, we would have called it a lie and rather rejected it."

Irrealis: indicative? (4)

- Indicative and optative "co-existed" in epic: optative.

(85) Τυδεΐδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνοίης ποτέροισι μετείη

(86) ἢ ἐ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὁμιλέοι ἢ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖς.

"You would not be able to know / you would not have known to whom of both sides the son of Tydeus belonged, whether he was fighting on the side of the Trojans or with the Greeks." (*Iliad* 5,85-86).



Irrealis: indicative? (5)



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- Indicative and optative "co-existed" in epic: indicative.

(438) οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι φράδμων περ ἄνήρ Σαρπηδόνα δῖον

(439) ἔγνω, ἐπεὶ βελέεσσι καὶ αἵματι καὶ κονίησιν.

"A sharpthinking man would not have recognised shining Sarpedon, since he was (covered) with missiles, blood and dust." (*Iliad* 16,438-439)



Irrealis: indicative in Attic?



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οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν **λάβοι**, σαφέστατ' ἂν **λέξειεν**

"The house itself would have said it most clearly, if it had had a voice. (Aiskhylos, *Agamemnon* 37-38).

εὔ γὰρ ἂν **εἰδείην** ὅτι ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἦν καὶ ἐμὲ τιμωρήσασθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς μηνύσασιν ἐλευθέροις γενέσθαι. (Lysias 7,16).

"I should have known very well that it was in their power to enact vengeance on me and obtain their freedom by denouncing me."

 Irrealis: all problems (1).

- All problems in one passage.

(451) ἀλλ' οὐ τις δύνατο Τρώων κλειτῶν τ' ἐπικούρων

(452) δεῖξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τότε ἄρηϊφίλω Μενελάω:

(453) οὐ μὲν γὰρ φιλότητί γ' ἐκεύθανον εἴ τις ἴδοιτο:

"But no-one of the Trojans and the famous companions could show him to Menelaos, loved by Ares, for they would not have hidden him out of love, if someone had seen him." (*Iliad* 3,451-453).

 Irrealis: all problems (2).

- All problems in one passage.

(451) ἀλλ' οὐ τις δύνατο Τρώων κλειτῶν τ' ἐπικούρων

(452) δεῖξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τότε ἄρηϊφίλω Μενελάω:

(453) οὐ μὲν γὰρ φιλότητί γ' ἐκεύθανον εἴ τις ἴδοιτο:

- Aspect, not past/present.

- No MP.

- Indicative and optative in irrealis.



Irrealis: indicative and optative (1)



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- Indicative and optative "co-existed".
- Indicative the rule in Attic (but relics of older use).
- Evidence form other old IE languages: optative oldest.
- Hittite: indicative.
- Coexistence or substitution?



Irrealis: coexistence of the moods (1)



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- Coexistence or substitution: 6 scenarios, 3 each.
- Coexistence 1: indicative more unreal.
- Coexistence 2: 3 particles in PIE (*kem*, *ke* and *án*) linked to different moods, *án* and indicative unreal; Greek mixed everything (Dunkel 1990).
- Coexistence 3: optative more unreal.



Irrealis: coexistence of the moods (2)



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- Scenario 2 variant of scenario 1.
- Scenario 2 unfalsifiable.
- If indicative unreal, how did the optative intrude (scenario 1 and 2)?
- If indicative more real than optative, how did it become the rule in Attic (scenario 3)?
- Difference in meaning difficult to sustain.



Irrealis: coexistence of the moods (3)



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- Difference in meaning difficult to sustain: indicative.

(155) ἔνθά κεν Ἀργείοισιν ὑπέρμορα νόστος **ἐτύχθη**

(156) εἰ μὴ Ἀθηναίην Ἥρη πρὸς μῦθον **ἔειπεν**.

"And then there would have been an homecoming against their fate for the Argives, had Here not spoken a word towards Athene." (*Iliad* 2,155-156)



Irrealis: coexistence of the moods (4)



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- Difference in meaning difficult to sustain: optative.

(311) καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας,

(312) εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυ **νόησε** Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη

"And now there the ruler of men, Aineias would have died there, if Zeus' daughter, Aphrodite, had not sharply noticed." (*Iliad* 5,311-312).



Irrealis: substitution (1)



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- Substitution 1: optative into indicative because clearer past reference.
- Substitution 2: optative via injunctive into indicative.
- Substitution 3: via postposed "if not, had ... not, but ... " clauses in the indicative, also in the main clause.



Irrealis: substitution (2)



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- Scenario 3:
- Main clause optative, followed by *ἀλλά*-clause in indicative.
- Then postposed negative conditional clause with *εἰ μή* with indicative.
- Then postposed affirmative conditional clause.
- Then preposed conditional clauses.
- Motivation: same construction in main and subordinate clauses.



Irrealis : substitution (3)



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- Scenario 3

(311) καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας,

(312) εἰ μή ἄρ' ὄξυ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη (*Iliad* 5,311-312).

"And now there the ruler of men, Aineias would have died there, if Zeus' daughter, Aphrodite, had not sharply noticed."

Indicative/injunctive refers to actual fact.



Irrealis: substitution (4)



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- Past reference with optative is possible, but ambiguous.

(132) ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν δὴ τις ἀν' ὀρσοθύρην ἀναβαίη

(133) καὶ εἴποι λαοῖσι, βοή δ' ὤκιστα γένοιτο;

(134) τῷ κε τάχ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ νῦν ὕστατα τοξάσσαιτο.

"Friends, should not someone go through the door in the wall and inform the people, and should a war cry not be raised as soon as possible? Then that man over there would soon have shot his arrow for the last time now." (*Odyssey* 22,132-134, cf. 22,76-78).



Irrealis: substitution (5)



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- *Odyssey*: 52 of the 750 optatives have exclusively past reference.
- Indicative is more unambiguous.
- Scenario 1 and 3 (or 4 and 6) do not rule each other out.

 Irrealis: substitution (6)

- *Odyssey*: 51 of 90 modal indicatives metrically equivalent to optative, but not vice versa.
- Examples: βάλεν (*Odyssey* 12,71) equivalent to βάλοι, κλαῦσεν (*Odyssey* 3,261) to κλαύσαι.
- See also *Iliad* 5,85 and 16,439 (cf. supra).
- Sometimes even both moods transmitted: *Odyssey* 4,547 (κτεῖνεν / κτείνειν), 21,128 (ἐτάνυσσε / τανύσειε).

 Irrealis: substitution (7)

- Past reference caused also another substitution.
- *Verba timendi* and *verba curandi*: subjunctive initially referred to the past as well, later replaced by the indicative.
- No certain and unambiguous examples of the indicative in Homer in these contexts.

Irrealis : substitution (8)

(299) ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δειλός, τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται;

(300) δείδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν / εἶπη

"Ah, woe me, how wretched I am! What is now to become of me at last? I fear that the goddess has told everything flawlessly." (*Odyssey* 5,299-300).

Almost all codices have the subjunctive εἶπη.

No other examples with indicative attested, but several with the subjunctive.

Irrealis: conclusion

- Hittite: indicative and modal particle.
- Greek: indicative not the original mood.
- Initially only aspect, no temporal reference.
- Optative replaced because of past reference.
- Modal particle does not mark modality.

Iteratives in *-sk-* (1)

- Formations in *-sk-* exist in many languages.
- **prk-sk-* > *prcchati*, *poscit*, *forschen*.
- Greek γ-ι-γνώ-σκω, Latin (*g*)*nō-scō*.
- Suffix used throughout entire paradigm.
- Hittite: *-šk-* forms: entire paradigm.

Iteratives in *-sk-* (2)

- "Ionic-epic" "iteratives" in *-σκ-*
 - of verbs without *-σκ-* in present,
 - only in imperfect and aorist indicative.
- Imperfectivity as isogloss: Hittite, but Greek?
- Epic, but Ionic?
- Other possible origins?
- Contact Hittite - Ionic?



Iteratives in *-sk-*: origin of σκ (1).



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- Verb *-τ* + modal particle *κε* (Schulze, Kluge)
- Active participle + *σκον* (imperfect of *εἰμί*, Brugmann).
- Extension of present *-σκ-*.
- Extension based on *ἔσκε, ἔφασκε, ἔβασκε*.
- Linked to *-c'*- of Armenian (Meillet 1903: 85-86).



Iteratives in *-sk-*: origin of σκ (2).



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- Borrowing from Hittite as Sprachbund-feature (Puhvel 1991).
- Imperfective perfectives needed (Willi 2017), hence suffix added to aorist and then expanded to imperfect.
- Linked to *-c'*- of Armenian (Pisani 1959: 176-177).
- Relic in Kappadokian imperfect in *-šk-*?



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (1).



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- Habitual?
- Durative?
- Iterative?
- Continuous?
- Repetitive?
- Frequentative?



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (2).



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- Imperfective vs perfective (Comrie 1976:16).
- Vendler 1957: nature of the verb.
- Napoli 2006: nature of direct object.
- Aspectual distinctions?



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (3)



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•Data *Iliad*.

	Aorist	Imperfect	Overall
Speech	7	41	48
Narrative	25	47	72
Speech introductions	12	2	14
Total	44	90	134



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (4)



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•Data *Iliad*.

	Aorist	Imperfect	Total
Main clause	41	44	85
Relative Clause	3	40	43
Causal clause	0	2	2
Temporal clause	0	4	4



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (5).



- More imperfects than aorists.
- Imperfects with suffix expected.
- Relative clauses: habits ("who used to be").
- Aorists will be investigated first.



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (6).



- Aorist: *τις-actions*, perfective.
 - Single actions repeated by many characters.
 - *τις-Reden* (speech introductions and conclusions).

ὥς ἄρα τις εἶπεσκε, μένος δ' ὄρσασκεν ἐκάστου.

"So one would speak and he would incite the spirit of each of them." (*Iliad* 17,423)



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (7).



•Aorist: single event, perfective.

(743) ὅς τις δὲ Τρώων κοίλης ἐπὶ νηυσὶ φέροίτο

(744) σὺν πυρὶ κηλείω, χάριν Ἴκτορος ὀτρύναντος,

(745) τὸν δ' Αἴας **οὔτασκε** δεδεδυμένος ἔγχρῃ μακρῶ:

(746) δώδεκα δὲ προπάροιθε νεῶν αὐτοσχεδὸν οὔτα (*Iliad* 15,743-746).

"Whoever from the Trojans rushed against the hollows ship with burning fire, because of the incitements of Hektor, Aias would stab, taking them with his long spear. Twelve he stabbed in man-to-man battle immediately in front of the ships."



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (8).



•Imperfect: continuative.

(490) οὔτε ποτ' εἰς ἀγορὴν **πωλέσκετο** κυδιάνειραν

(491) οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ **φθινύθεσκε** φίλον κῆρ

(492) αὔθι μένων, **ποθέεσκε** δ' αὐτήν τε πτόλεμόν τε. (*Iliad* 1,490-492).

"He would never walk around in the gatherings that bring fame to men, nor into battle, but his beloved heart continued to fade away, staying there and did long for war cry and battle."



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (9).



• Imperfect: habitual.

(59) Πηλεΐδης δ' ἐπὶ θινὶ πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης

(60) κεῖτο βαρὺ στενάχων πολέσιν μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσιν

(61) ἐν καθαρῷ, ὅθι κύματ' ἐπ' ἠϊόνος **κλύζεσκον**: (*Iliad* 23,59-61)

"Peleus' son lay on the coastline of the loud-roaring sea, groaning loudly among many Myrmidons, in an open space, where the waves would wash up onto the shore."



Iteratives: meaning and aspect (10).



• Aorist and imperfect in contrast.

(330) τᾶων ἐκ πασέων κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ

(331) ἐξελόμεν, καὶ πάντα φέρων Ἀγαμέμνονι **δόσκον**

(332) Ἄτρεΐδῃ: ὃ δ' ὄπισθε μένων παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῆσι

(333) δεξάμενος διὰ παῦρα **δασάσκετο**, πολλὰ δ' **ἔχεσκεν**.

(334) ἄλλα δ' ἀριστήεσσι δίδου γέρα καὶ βασιλεῦσι: (*Iliad* 9,330-334).

"Out of all these cities I took much and rich bounty, and gave everything to Agamemnon, son of Atreus, as a gift. He stayed back at the swift ships, received everything, divided little and kept much (to himself). Other gifts he offered to the leaders and the kings."



Iteratives: conclusion.

- If borrowed, where, when and from whom?
- Forms are not imperfective in Greek.
- Aspectual distinctions valid.
- Inner-Greek creation most likely.
- Epic and literary Greek, not Ionic.



Absolute constructions (1)

- Greek: genitive, very common; also accusative and nominative.
- Latin: ablative, very common, later also accusative, nominative and mixed constructions.
- Sanskrit: locative.
- Hittite: genitive (Carruba 1966:41), but contested.



Absolute constructions: examples.



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- Absolute constructions: noun and participle (plus possible extensions).

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡττηθέντων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Πειραιᾶ διέφθειραν.

"After the Athenians were defeated, the Lakedaimonians destroyed Piraeus." (free after Lysias XII, XIII and Xenophon, *Hellenika*)

Gallia capta Caesar Romam reuertit. (free after Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*)

"After Gallia was conquered, Caesar returned to Rome"



Absolute constructions (2).



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- Inherited or individual creations?
- If inherited, which case original?
- If individual creations, how, why and when?
- Greek and Latin: very common (adverbial!) cases used.



Genitivus Absolutus: origin (1)



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- Hittite: not as fully developed as in Latin or Greek.
- Hittite: examples doubted.
- Genitive case borrowed by Greek from Hittite?
- Alternative explanation for genitive possible.



Genitivus Absolutus: origin (2)



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- *Genitivus temporis*: "when ..."
- *Genitivus causae*: "because ..."
- Either inherited construction or new creation.
- Use of genitive can be explained in both scenarios.
- No need to assume borrowing.



Genitivus Absolutus: origin (3)



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- Extension of an existing construction (most scholars, but details differ):
 - *genitivus causae, temporis, qualificationis, circumstantiae* and/or
 - with *verba sentiendi* and *verba affectuum*.
- Inherited construction (Ruppel 2013:ch. 2).
- Extension (in my opinion) more likely.



Genitivus Absolutus: origin (4)



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τοῦ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μάλα θυμὸν ἀποκταμένοιο χολώθη
"Because of his death Odysseus was very much enraged
in his heart." (*Iliad* 4,494).

Genitive with *verba affectuum* (*genitivus causae*).
Noun (pronoun) and *participium coniunctum*.
Reinterpreted as absolute construction.



Genitivus Absolutus: origin (5)



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ὥς ἄρα **φωνήσαντος** Ἐρινύες ἔσχεθον αὐδήν.

"After he had spoken in this way, the Erinyes removed his / the power to speak." (*Iliad* 19,418)

Genitive only in participle.

participium coniunctum with suppressed object of ἔσχεθον (*genitivus separationis*) or absolute construction?

Reinterpreted as absolute construction.



Genitivus Absolutus: origin (6)



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Paradebeispiel existence as AC.

(88) οὐ τις **ἐμεῦ ζώντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο**

(89) σοὶ κοίλης παρὰ νηυσὶ βαρείας χεῖρας ἐποίσει

(90) συμπάντων Δαναῶν, οὐδ' ἦν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἵπης,

(91) ὃς νῦν πολλὸν ἄριστος ἐνὶ στρατῶ εὐχεται εἶναι (*Iliad* 1,88-91).

"No-one from all the Danaans will raise his heavy hands against you at the hollow ships as long as I am alive and look upon the earth, not even when you name Agamemnon who claims by far to the best in the army."

Absolute or *genitivus causae*?



Nominativus absolutus in Latin (1)



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- New AC can arise: NA in Latin.
- Started as anakolouthon.
- Evolved into construction to highlight protagonists beside the subject of the main clause (IV - VI AD).
- Protagonist NA often mentioned in main clause.
- Became alternative to AbA (as of VI - VII AD).



Nominativus absolutus in Latin (2)



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*Eo in conclaue postquam [Flavius] introiuit, adulescentes ibi complures nobiles sedebant. **Hi contemnentis eum**, assurgere ei nemo uoluit.*

"When he (sc. Flavius) entered the chamber, there were several young nobles sitting there. Because they despised him, none of them wanted to rise for him." (Calpurnius Piso, quoted in Aulus Gellius)

- *Nemo* and *hi* are in fact the same subject.
- Anakolouthon.



Nominativus absolutus in Latin (3)



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*Rogauimus episcopum, ut faceret oblationem, sicut et facere[t] dignatus est, et **benedicens nos episcopus** profecti sumus. Communicantes ergo et ibi, gratias agentes Deo semper regressi sumus in Ierusalimam.*
(*Itinerarium Egeriae* 16,7)

"We asked the bishop to make the oblation, which he deigned to do, and the bishop blessing us, we set out. There too we communicated, and always giving thanks to God we returned to Jerusalem."

- Bishop and pilgrims are main protagonists.
- Bishop is part of the faithful celebrating mass.



Genitivus absolutus: conclusion



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- AC exist.
- Probably language-internal creations or extensions.
- Genitive case very common in Greek.
- Interpretation as original nominal genitive + participle possible.
- Hittite: less developed system, how could it have influenced Greek?

 Praeverbia and telicity.

- Not specific to Greek and Anatolian.
- Latin *finīre* "end", *dēfinīre* "end completely".
- Dutch *werken* "work", *afwerken* "finish (the work)".

 Graeco-Anatolian: conclusions (1).

- Contact in Anatolia existed.
- Problems: which languages, when and where.
- Hittite and Greek never in direct contact.
- Time depth: V - IV BC (Attic) vs. XVII - XII BC.
- Internal evolutions / explanations preferred.



Graeco-Anatolian: conclusions (2).



- **Irrealis:**
 - modal particle does not mark modality;
 - indicative not the original mood.
- **Genitive Absolute:**
 - Hittite not fully developed;
 - genitive common case, inner-Greek development.



Graeco-Anatolian: conclusions (3).



- **Iteratives:**
 - not imperfective, but aspect-based;
 - epic, but not Ionic;
 - inner-Greek creation possible.
- **Praeverbia:** not specific to Greek and Anatolian.



Graeco-Anatolian isoglosses



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Graeco-Anatolian isoglosses



Thank you!

Questions?

filipdedecker9 [a t] gmail [dot] com