DR. FILIP DE DECKER

MARIE SKŁODOWSKA-CURIE EUROPEAN FELLOWSHIP HOLDER,
UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI VERONA

»A LOOK AT SOME (ALLEGED) CONTACT-INDUCED GRAECO-ANATOLIAN MORPHO-SYNTACTIC ISOGLOSSES«

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In their 2015 articles, D. Romagno and M. Bianconi mention three (DR) and four (MB) (possibly) contact-induced morpho-syntactic isoglosses between Greek and Anatolian (MB only mentions them and does not state that they are in fact isoglosses, while DR is less hesitant in considering some of them to be isoglosses – for a more sceptical approach to these isoglosses see Cotticelli-Kurras & Giusfredi 2018 and Cotticelli-Kurras ftc, and for the issue of Graeco-Anatolian contact in general, see Hajnal 2014, 2018, Simon 2018 and Oreshko 2018, and already Watkins 2001):

(1) the use of a particle (called "modal particle", MP, in Classical Philology) to distinguish between the realis and counterfactual construction in the indicative (i.e., the particle conveyed counterfactual meaning) (mentioned in MB dubitanter, considered as isogloss by DR),
(2) the use of preverbs to mark perfectivity (mentioned but rejected by MB, not in DR),
(3) the absolute construction with the genitive (mentioned by MB cautissime, accepted by DR),
(4) the use of the so-called "iterative" suffix -sk- in the verbal morphology to mark imperfectivity (mentioned by MB and catalogued as "un problema aperto", not discussed in DR, but accepted in Puhvel 1991).

In this presentation, I will first address the issue of the Graeco-Anatolian isoglosses in general, pointing out that the ones quoted here cannot be sustained on geographical and temporal grounds (Greek and Hittite never having been in direct contact and the Attic features dating from V–IV BC, whereas Hittite dates back to XVII–XII BC). Afterwards, I analyse all four of the alleged isoglosses, using examples from epic Greek, and will show that the Greek data can be explained by inner-Greek evolutions and that the assumption of contact-induced change is unnecessary.

For the first one, I will show that the modal particle in the earliest Greek, where it is attested, had a semantic and deictic function and did neither mark potentiality nor counterfactuality (potential and unreal phrases being attested without an MP), that the use of the indicative in these contexts is an inner-Greek innovation ongoing at the time of the creation of the Homeric poems (Koppin 1878, Gerth 1878, Brugmann 1900: 513–514, Debrunner 1921, Chantraine 1953: 226–228, Krisch 1986, Ruijgh 1992, Hettrich 1998, Willmott 2007: 48–52, De Decker 2015: 221–240, 2021: 150–162,

Polsley 2019, Taylor 2020 offer different scenarios – I will discuss all of them and show that the suggestion first made by Koppin 1878, that the indicative replaced the optative because of its unambiguous past reference, is the simplest and most likely one) and that the use of the particles between Hittite and Greek differs and that even within Greek (in the different stages and dialects) the use is not uniform (for analyses see Hermann 1831, Hartung 1832: 294–297, von Bäumlein 1846: 208–245, Monro 1891: 327–335, Chantraine 1953: 210–211, Ruijgh 1971: 286–302 and *passim*, 1992: 80–82, De Decker 2021, ftc a, ftc b; an overview a critical discussion of the scholarship on this issue can be found in De Mol 2015).

The second isogloss is not specific to Greek and Anatolian (a similar phenomenon occurs in Latin and Germanic, to name two other Indo-European languages, as noted by MB and DR).

The third one is also debated, as it is first uncertain whether Hittite and Anatolian ever had a genitive absolute construction, and second, it is at least as likely that the Greek construction was initially a case complement with a *participium coniunctum* that then evolved into an independent syntagma (already suggested by Classen 1867: 134–188, Kunst 1922, Schwyzer 1942, De Decker 2015: 154–155 – for more detailed investigations, see Keydana 1997 and Ruppel 2013 – a parallel development can be seen in the Late Latin nominative absolute, which started as an anakolouthon, but became a separate absolute construction competing with the ablative absolute, for which I refer to Galdi 2017 and Galdi & De Decker ftc).

The fourth isogloss poses similar problems: first, the suffix can only have been borrowed from Hittite, but Hittite never came into contact with (Ionic-)Greek; second, it is not attested in everyday Ionic (such as inscriptions) and only in poetry and Homer-imitating prose, and third, the suffix may very well mark imperfectivity in Hittite (see different analyses in Bechtel 1936, Giacalone Ramat 1967, Dressler 1968, Lazzeroni 1977, 2017, Cambi 2007, Zerdin 1999, 2002, Daues 2009, Willi 2017, Mattiola & Inglese 2018), it is subject to the same aspectual distinctions as the "normal" verb forms and attested in both imperfect and aorist (see besides the ones quoted above, also Stolpe 1847, Týn 1860, Wathelet 1973, Kimball 1980, 2014).

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