

RECONSTRUCTING INDO-EUROPEAN PHRASEOLOGY: CONTINUITY AND RENEWAL

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A. *Comparanda, Equations, Aequabilia*

(poetic *topoi*, marked expressions: Synonyms, conceptual continuity, formal renewal, ("Ersatzkontinuante").

"Rien ne se crée, ni dans les opérations de l'art ni dans celles de la nature, et l'on peut poser en principe que dans toute opération il y a une égale quantité de matière avant et après l'opération".

ANTOINE LAURENT DE LAVOISIER (*Traité élémentaire de Chimie* (1789, 140f.).

(a) perfect match

[WIDE EARTH] Ved. *kṣām ... pṛthivīm* ~ YAv. *zəm pərəθβīm, pərəθβε ... zəmō*
OHitt. *ištamašta=an=ma palhiš dankuiš daganzipaš* KUB 4.4r12ff. 'wide black earth heard him'

[GOOD FAME]: Ved. *Su-śravas-* : OP. *Huṣavah-* : Εὐκλέης (: IE **h₁su-*, **kléues-*)

(b) Partial match: [CRETE/SET - HEAVEN (and) EARTH] (Catsanicos 1986)

hit. *nepiš tekan dair* : Ap. *imām : būmīm : adā : haya : avam asmānam : adā* (HDNa 1ff).

[TRUE FAME] Ved. *Satya-śravas-* : Έτεο-κλέης, Myc. /*Etewo-klewēs*/*.

(c) Both lexemes are different: [BROAD WATER(S)] (Akkad. *tāmtu rapaštu*)

Hom. *εὐρέα πόντον* Alc *εὐρηαν χ[θόνα] καὶ θάλασσαν*, Gk. *εὐριπος* 'strait' (Myc. ON *e-wi-ri-po* (**euru-h₂po-*))

Ved. *āpāh ... pṛthivīh* (: Av. *āpō ... pərəθβīš*), *pṛthivīr ... ugrāh*

JAv. *zraiiāh-* : OP. *drayah-* 'sea' *'extendend surface' lexicalized) *pərəθu.zraiiāh-*, *zaraiiō vourukašəm*

B. Einzelsprachliches

B1 MN *e-ti-me-de-i* (dat.) PY Fn 324.1 ^h*Enti-mēdēs*/*

1 /^o*mēdēs*/ 'plans': βουλαί (Hom. poetry, Att. βουλευματα)

Hsch. *μήδεα · βουλευματα*.

'ἐμ πυρὶ δὴ βουλαί τε γενοῖατο μήδεά τ' ἀνδρῶν' (B 340)

'let counsels and the meditations of men be given to the flames'

μήδεο · βουλευδου (B 360), *μήδεσθαι · τεχνήσασθαι*. *βουλευσασθαι*, *μήδεται · βουλεύεται*. *τεχνάζεται* (Φ 413).

2 ^h*En-ti-*/ ^h*En**/: **senh₂** (cf. Ved. *sanⁱ*), Hom. ἀνύω 'bring to an end, finish', 'accomplish' (: τελειόω, τελέω)

ἦνυτο δ' ἔργον (*Od.5.243*), ἀνύσσεσθαι τὰδε ἔργα (16.375), ὅπως . . ἔργον ἄνοιτο *Il.18.473*; ἦνετο τὸ ἔργον *Hdt.1.189+*

Nomen agentis ἐντᾶς* (protogr. **en-tā-* : **sen-tā-*): Att. αὐθέντης 'author', 'criminal' (Ved. *sánitar-*, *sanítár-*). Previous to generalisation of ^h*anu-*/ (present), Myc. MN *a₂-nu-me-no* (*a₂-nu-to* : Ἄνυτος).

3 ^h*En-ti*°/ (1) ^h*Enti-mēdēs*/ y de (2) °έντᾶς (que hace suponer mic. */^{oh}*en-tās*/)

(1) /*Erti*°/, Έρσι° :: (2) /^o*er-tās*/, °έρτᾶς . Además, Έρε°, Έρεσι°

(1) /*Orti*°/, Όρσι° :: (2) /^o*or-tās*/, °όρτᾶς.

(1) *ne-ti-ja-no* /*Nesti-ānōr*/ :: (2) *pi-ro-ne-ta* /*P^hilo-nestā-*. Además, *ne-e-ra-wo* /*Ne^he-lāwo-* (cf. Νέστωρ, νέομαι 'go (where one will)').

4 *Il.8.370* νῦν δ' ἐμὲ μὲν στυγέει, Θετίδος δ' ἐξήνυσε βουλᾶς

'yet now Zeus hates me and has brought to fulfillment the plans of Thetis'

5 *Il.1.5* οἰωνοῖσὶ τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλῆ,

'... and the will of Zeus was being accomplished/brought to fulfillment'

Il.18.8 μὴ δὴ μοι τελέσωσι θεοὶ κακὰ κήδεα θυμῷ,
,may the gods not accomplish grievous woes'

Od. 18.389 “ἄ δειλ’, ἦ τάχα τοι **τελέω κακόν**, οἷ ἄγορεύεις ‘soon will I punish you ...’

6 ^h*Enti*^o-*mēdēs*/ ‘who **fulfills** (ἄνυμι/ἀνφεται) his **plans**’ (μῆδεα)

B2 *qe-re-ma-o* (TH,KN) /*K^wēle-ma^ho-*/ ‘who searches (pres. **μαίομαι**) / reaches (aor. **μασσα-**) from afar’

: **τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος ... ἄγραν (Pindar)[τηλόθεν ... μαίεσθαι] [STRETCH HAND – FROM AFAR]**

1 **Τηλε**^o: τῆλε ‘afar’ (Hom. +), τηλοῦ, τηλόθι ‘id.’, ablat. τηλόθε(ν) ‘from after’, direct. τηλόσε ‘far away’, Lesb. πῆλυι, πῆλοθεν, τηλε^o (MN Τηλε^o: Thess. Boeot. Πείλε^o), Proto-Gk. **k^wēle* (probably loc. **k^wēlh₁-Ø* “am Wendepunkt, am Ende” (Hardarson 1995)

2 Equivalent to IE **d₂ueh₂-* (Hitt. *tu₂ma-* ‘far’, *tu₂maz* ‘from afar’): Hom. δῆν, δηρόν ‘(for) a long time’ **du₂ró-*, cf. Ved. *dūrā-* ‘distant, remote’, *dūrād* ‘from afar’, Lat. *dūdum*
Also **local** (cf. ἀλλήλων ἔριδος δῆν ἀπερυκόμενοι *C.Thg.* 494 ‘keeping yourselves away from quarrel’)

3 ^o*ma^ho-*/ (*^o-*mās-o-*: **μαίομαι** (**mas-jo/e-*, aor. ^o**μασσα-**): ^o**μιοσ**, agentive of the type ^o*CóC-o-*, ^o*CVC-o-*.
^o-*mās-o-* from **μαίομαι** ‘to seek after/for’ (**mas-jo/e-*, aor. ^o**μασσα-**)
Hesychius: **μάσσαι· ζητήσαι**, καθαρῖσαι, φυράσαι, μαστήρ· ἐρευνητής, **μαστήρες· ζητοῦντες**, ἐρευνῶντες, also **μαστεύει· ζητεῖ**, ἐρευνᾶ, ψηλαφᾶ, ἐπιζητεῖ

4 **ιαρό-μιοσ** (cf. **ιερόμα**<ο>ς: τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελούμενος Hesch.)
Οινό-μιοσ (Hom.+), **Εὐ-μιοσ**, **Εὐμαίδα**, **Εὐμαῖς** probably Hom. **Μαίων** (*Il.*),
Εὐ-μάστα, **Μάστωρ** (*Il.* 15.439) -- **μαστο**^o in **Μαστοκλῆς**
μαστρεία ‘research’ (cf. **μαστρία**: αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐθυναί Hsch.), **μαστροί** (Elis)

5 **μαίομαι**:

a **mas-jo/e-* : ***ms-jó/é-** (IE **mes-* ‘stretch the hand/arm’, Prellwitz 1901 (“die Arme ausstrecken”), cf. Lith. *māsinù*, *māsinti* ‘attract, seduce’ (secondary formation, continuant of **mos-éjo/e-*, from either the intensive of (b) *‘reach’, *‘touch’ or the causative of (a) ‘search, seek’, i.e. ‘make desirous’, ‘cause desire’, → ‘attract’)

mas-* instead of **as-* (ms-*) secondary syllabification of **mas-* (← **ms-*) on the model of full grade **mes-*, like in Hom. **ναίο/ε-** (: **nas-jo/e-* ← **ns-jo/e-*), aor. **νάσθη**, **ἐνάσασατο** beside **nes-* (: Hom. **νέομαι**).

b **ms-jó/e-*, denominative of **mén-es-* “mind” (*dubitanter* Meier-Brügger 1989: 61 unnecessarily from aor. **mēt-sa-* > **mas(s)a-* (“in Analogie zu **δατέομαι** / **δάσασατο** / **δαίομαι**”, cf. Meier-Brügger 1989: 60s.).

6 Two acceptances:

(a) ‘**seek after/for**’ (**pres.stem**): **μεγάλων δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός** (*Il.* 10.401),

(b) ‘**reach, touch, hit**’ (**aorist**): Eust. *Comm ad Il.* 4, p. 326 (v. 263) **παρὰ τὸ μάσασθαι, τὸ ἄψασθαι**, ..., καὶ τὸ **εἰσεμάσασατο θυμόν**, ἦτοι **ἦψατο**

Il. 17.564 **μάλα γάρ με θανῶν ἐσεμάσασατο θυμόν** ‘since in his death he hurt my heart greatly’ (+),

qe-re-ma-o /*K^wēle-ma^ho-*/ : (a) ‘**who searches from afar**’ (**pres. μαίομαι**), or (b) ‘**who reaches from afar**’ (aor. **μασσα-**)

7 Parallel ὀρέγω ‘stretch (oneself)’ (IE **h₃reg-*: Ved. *rñj* ‘id.’, Toch. B *rās^a-*, A *rās^a-* ‘id.’), med. ‘stretch (oneself)’ (χειρας)

(a) ‘stretch the hand/arm to/till X’ (durative lexeme, +/- telic), pres. ‘try to reach, seek, attain’

Il. 24.506 **ἀνδρὸς παιδοφόνου ποτὶ στόμα χεῖρ’ ὀρέγεσθαι**,

(b) aor. ‘attain’, ‘hit’ through extension (of the hand/arm)’ (momentative lexeme, + telic)

Il. 16.314 ...**ἔφθη ὀρεξάμενος** πρυμνὸν σκέλος ‘... and was too quick with a stab at the base of the leg ...’

8 Pind. *Nem.* 3.81 **ἔστι δ’ αἰετὸς ὠκὺς ἐν ποτανοῖς**,

ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος,

δαφοινὸν ἄγραν ποσίν

‘swift is the **eagle** among birds, which suddenly seizes, as it **stretches from afar**, the bloody **prey** in its talons’

9 **τηλόθεν ... μαίεσθαι** : Phraseology, Onomastics

a *HHCer.* 44 **σεύατο δ’ ὥς τ’ οἰωνὸς ἐπὶ τραφερῆν τε καὶ ὕγρην **μαιομένη**** (Demeter – Persephone)

- b MN Αἰετός (Aegina, a. 470), Αἰετίων (Delos, a. 364/3)
YAv. MN *saēna-* a believer (also plural, a family branch of Uraēsata-).
- c MN Βάρβαξ, Ίέραξ, Χάρωψ/Χαρωπός (Myc. *ka-ro-ḡo /K^harok^wos/ o /K^harok^ws/*), WN Χαρωπίς, : βάρβαξ · ἰέραξ, παρὰ Λίβυσι (Hesch.), ἰέραξ ‘falcon’, χάρωψ, χαρωπός ‘vulture’.
- 10 Hitt. ‘stretch the arm/hand from afar’ (*QATAM/kesseran tuḡaz dāi-*) frequent Old Hittite, e.g. KUB 10. 21 ii 21/2 III *KÁ-AN-NU-UM ti-an-zi LUGAL-uš-ša=-n* (22) *tu-u-ḡa-az QA-TAM da-a-i* ‘the cooks set down three pot stands; the king extends his hand towards them from afar’.
11. Ved. *śyená-* ‘eagle’
IV 38.5cd *nīcāyamānam jásurim ná śyenám śrávaś ca áchā paśumác ca yūthám*
“(And the settled peoples shriek after him (horse Dadhikrā) at his raidings) ... as he makes his way downward like a famished falcon toward fame and a herd full of livestock”.
- I 118.11ab *ā śyenásya jávasā nūtanena asmé yātaḡ nāsatiyā sajóśāḡ*
“Of one accord, Nāsatyas, journey here to us with the fresh speed of a falcon”
IV 26.6ab *ṛjīṛi śyenó dádamāno aṡśúm . parāvátah śakunó mandráḡm mádam sómam bharad dáḡṛhāḡó devānān divó amúśmād úttarād āḡāya*
“Flying straight, the falcon, the bird, hanging onto the plant, brought from afar the gladdening, exhilarating drink, /cd the soma, holding it firmly, having the gods on his side, having taken it from yonder high heaven”.
- C [AWAKE – EVIL] as against [RAISE – EVIL]: opposition also with other referents (Masseti 2016)
- C1 [RAISE – EVIL]**h₃er-*: Vedic *ar¹/r* (res. *iyár^{-ti} /ír^{-ta}*) ‘to rise’ and ‘to whirl’, Gk. ὀρνυ-/ὄρ-, ὀρίνω, Latin *orīrī*, *consurgere* (and transitive *mouēre*), also Hitt *arai-/arija^{-bbi}*.¹
- 1 KUB 12:62 xxii 7 vs. 1 *k]u-u-ru-ri* HI.A *a-ra-iš-kat-ta-ri*
‘enemies rise up repeatedly’.²
KUB 31:66 iv 4 TUKU.TUKU-*an a-ra-a-i* ‘he rouse wrath’ (Accadian *Calque*)
- 2 RV 1.81.3ab *yád udīrata ājāyo dhṛṣṇáve dhīyatedhánā*
‘when fights arise, for the courageous the booty prize stands / has been placed’ (Ved. *ājī-* ‘fight, dispute’, cf. Gk. ἄγων, OIr. *āg* ‘id.’)
- 3 II. 9.353 οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε μάχην ἀπὸ τείχεος ὀρνύμεν Ἑκτώρ,
‘Hector would not drive his attack beyond the wall’s shelter’.
MN Ὀρσίμαχος (Boeotia), ὀρσίμαχος (Athena: Bacch. 15.3 Παλλάδος ὀρσίμαχου).
II. 4.15/6 ἦ ῥ’ αὐτίς πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνήν / ὄρσομεν,...
‘... whether we again stir up grim warfare and the terrible fighting’ (Zeus to Hera)
Athena, ὀρσίμαχος ‘who raises / stirs up the fight’ (Bacch.) and Athena ἐγρεμάχη ‘who awakes the fight’ (HHCer.)
[EVIL] second member μάχη, quasi-synonyms (πόλεμος, φύλοπις, also μῆνις, νεῖκος ‘wrath, strife’, also ἔρις,),
(a) ὄρ- and (b) ὄρνο/ε- stylistically non-marked as against
(c) ἀείρεσθαι / αἴρεσθαι (with persons as the agent) in Classical Greek, cf. Hdt. 7.132.2 οἱ Ἕλληνες ... οἱ τῶ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον αἰεράμενοι
ἀερσίμαχος ‘who rises/stirs battle’ (Bacch. 13.100 υἱᾶς ἀερσιμάχ[ου], of Ajax and Achilles).
(d) κινεο/ε- Classical Greek (cf. Thuc. 6.34.4 δεόμενοι ... τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον κινεῖν, Plat. *Resp.* 566e πρῶτον μὲν πολέμους τινὰς αἰεὶ κινεῖ)
- 4 Verg. *Aen.* 8.637 *addiderat subitoque nouum consurgere bellum*
‘he had added that a new war had suddenly arisen’
Aen. 2.410. *ex alto delubri culmine telis / nostrorum obruimur oriturque miserrima caedes*

¹ Lat. *orīrī* and Ved. *ar / r* are surely to be traced back to **h₃er-* ‘rise up’. Whether this applies to Hitt. *arai-* / *arija-* (with deletion of laryngeal in a De Saussure’s context **h₃or-*) or to **h₃reH-* (Rix, *LIV*²) may remain open at this point.

² Cf. also KBo 5: 4 ii 21f. *ma-an tu-uk-ma ku-iš-ki* ... [LÚKÚR] *a-ra-a-i* ‘when an enemy rises up against you’ (also KBo 17:151, v 4 Rs. 27).

C2 [AWAKE – EVIL (WAR)] stylistically marked

- 1 *Il.* 13.778 ἐξ οὗ γὰρ παρὰ νηυσὶ μάχην ἤγειρας ἐταίρων,
'for since that time when by the ships you [775 Ἑκτορ] wakened the battle of our companions ...' (also *Hsd. Th.* 713 ... μάχην δριμεῖαν ἐγειραν). *Il.* 20.31 πόλεμον δ' ἀλίαστον ἐγειρε, *Il.* 2.440 ἴομεν, ὄφρα κε θάσσον ἐγείρομεν ὄξιν Ἄρηα.
Athena ἐγρεμάχη *HDem.* 2.424 Παλλάς τ' ἐγρεμάχη καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα),
ἐγερσιμάχη (ἐγρεμάχας · ἐγερσιμάχας (Hsch., also in Late Poetry).
- 2 Lat. *citō*, *-āre* 'to put in motion', 'to whirl, agitate' (: *ciēre*) with *caedem*, *iras*, *irarum aestus*, *mollem belli* and in prose with *bellum*, *iras*, *seditionem*): Greek influence? But also in Prose.
Aen. 12.497/8 *terribilis saeuam nullo discrimine caedem / suscitāt, ...*
'he frightful and indiscriminately stirs a terrible slaughter up ...'. Cf. also *Liv.* 21.10.3 ...
obtestans ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum
- 2a °*citāre* vs. IE **h₁ǵer-* (: Gk. ἐγείρειν, Ved. *jár-a^{-te}*, with perf. ἐγρήγορα : Ved. *jāgāra*, YAv. *jayāra*), cf. *expergere* 'to awake', *expergēfacere* 'id.', not attested for [AWAKE – EVIL]:
- 3 PGmc. **wakja-*: OE *weccean*, ONors. *vekja* (with *víg* 'fight /struggle', *hilde* 'id.', *vǫ* 'evil'), also Goth. *us-wakjan* "ἐξυπνίζω", OSax *wekian*, OHG *weckan* "excitare, suscitare" (Gloss.).
Beow. 2044/6 *onginneð geðmor-mōð geongum cempa*
þurh hreðra gehyad, higes cunnian
wīgbealu weccean ...
'he began, sad in mind, through his heart and thought to test the spirit of a young warrior, to awake the evil of war'.
Rp 38.3 *víg nam ... at vekja* 'he began, to awake the fight'.
Akv 15.3 *at vekja gram hilde* 'to awake the thorny struggle'
- 4 Armenian *zart'ean paterazmownk'* (Daniel Kölligan, p.c.).
(Afrahat) *sok'a en dētk' nengawork', glorakamk', paterazma zart'oyc'k'*
'son engañosos observadores con torcida intención, que despiertan la guerra' (*paterazm*
'Krieg', *zart'owc'anem* 'wecken (tr.)'
yor yawowrs mer zart'ean paterazmownk' ič'oric' kolmanč'
'in our days wars awake in all four (heaven) directions' (Aristakes Lastiverc'i, 1st AD).
- D. [POUR / DRINK WORDS] as against [SAY/ HEAR WORDS]
- D1 [POOR - PRAYERS] (**ǵ^heu-*) for 'recitate prayers' (L. Kurke, "Pouring prayers: a formula of IE sacral Poetry", *JIES* 17 (1989), 113-125. (113ff. : "the pouring of a poem or prayer like a libation
- 1 VIII 39.3 *Āgne mánmāni túbhyam kām ghṛtām ná juhva āsāni.*
'Agni, I pour out thoughts to you like ghee in [your] mouth.'
- 2 RV V 72.1ab *ā mitre várune vayāṃ gṛbhír juhumo atrivát*
"To Mitra and Varuna we pour [an offering] with songs of praise in the manner of Atri."
- 4 Greek: The voice flows, cf. *Il.* 1.249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδὴ·
"And from the tongue of this one, speech flowed sweeter than honey",
A. Suppl. 631 κλύοιτ' εὐκταῖα χεούσας
A. Choe. 448-449 χέουσα πολύδακρυν γόον κεκρυμμένα.
'pouring lamentation full of laments in secret'.
Pind. Isth. 8.56a-58) 57 ἐπὶ θρηῖνόν τε πολύφαμον ἔχεαν
- 5 *Od.* 19.521 ἦ τε θαμὰ ... χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν
- 6 Verg. *Aen.* 6,55 *funditque preces rex pectore ab imo*
Tac. An. 14.30.1 *Druidaeque circum, preces diras sublati ad caelum manibus fundentes ...*
- 7 Ir. *feraid fáilte* 'pours welcome' (Watkins 1995:16 (with reference to OIr. *feraid*: *do · fortai* 'pour out' aus **to-uort-éje-*), *fáilte* "gaudium", adj. *fáilid* 'jolly').

8 Hittite: no instance with *lāhu*^{bbi}, but 2x with *šunna*^{bbi} 'fill', (*anda*) *šunna*- 'fill while pouring' in Muwattali's prayer (CTH 381, A 3) (Craig Melchert *per litteras* 2.11.2003): **sunh*₃-de **seuh*₃, besides *šūnije*^{mi} 'submerger (se)' (**sunh*₃-jo/e-), Melchert 1987: 23ss.
37/8 n)=a-(a)jt=kan A-NA PA-NI DINGIR.MEŠ *šu-un-ni nu=za ANA DINGIR.MEŠ* / [] *ar-ku-ua-ari-ja-mi* 'fill (: pour) (the prayers) to/into the gods; I reach my prayer to the gods'

43 *nu=kán* A-WA-TEMEŠ A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ *an-da šu-un-ni nu=[(m)u išt-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-du* 'pour in the words to the gods; they must hear me' /

9 **pelh*₇ 'pour' → 'fill'(1)'a liquid (acc) in (loc.)'→(2)'fill' something (acc.) with a liquid (instr.)RV V.11.5cd *tvám gírah síndhum ivávánīr mahír ā pīṇanti śávasā vardháyanti ca* "en toi les chants, comme les grandes rivières l'océan, déversent la force et ils l'accroissent" → 'fill the ocean with their force' (Haudry 1977 :233f.)
'the songs fill you like the great rivers (fill) the ocean, and make grow with their force'

D2. OIr. *guth* 'voice' (-u- masc.), perhaps Gall. *Gutu*^o: gall. *Gutuater*.

1 IE **ǵ^heuH-* 'call, invoke': **ǵ^huH-tu-* 'invocation' (also metaphoric e.g. Gl. *guth an cluig/c* 'the voice of the bell', perhaps Gall. GN *Gutuater* 'father of the invocation'?).

Alternative: **ǵ^hh₂u-tu-* (OIr. *ū* < **Hu*) Schrijver 1991: 527 (**ǵ^heh₂u-*)

On **ǵ^huH-tu-* > *guth* instead of **ǵúth*, cf. *bith* 1 'world, life' < **ǵ^hi(h₃)-tu-*, *suth* 1 'fruit, result' < **su(H)tu-* (**seuH-* 'give birth') (Irslinger 2002: 26f., 29ff.).

2 IE **ǵ^heu-* 'pour out' (Vendryes 1918 : 268f.): **ǵ^hu(H)tu-* 'outpour(ing)' → voice

Od. 19.521 ἦ τε θαμά ... χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν

Pace Irslinger 2000: 108s. ("die semantische Entwicklung von **ǵ^hu-tu-* '(Opfer)guß' zu air. *guth* 'Stimme' doch schwerer nachzuvollziehen").

3 Engl. *gush(es)*, also *outpourings*; Germ. *Erguss*, Span. *un chorro de voz*.

D3 [DRINK – VOICES]

(Hor. *Ep.* 17.53 *quid fundis obseratis auribus preces* ?)

1 Skr. *śrotra-peya-* 'worth being drunk by your hear' (Kalid. Meghaduta; Kathas. 19,10 "Mit den Ohren einzuschlüpfen, hörenswerth" (Bothling): p.c.J.V. García Trabazo)Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta* 1.13:

margaṃ tāvac chīṇu kathayatas tvatprayāṇānukūla

saṃdeśaṃ me tadanu jalada śroṣyasi śrotrapeyaṃ /

khinnaḥ khinnaḥ śikhariṣu padaṃ nyasya gantāsi yatra

kṣṇāṇaḥ kṣṇāṇaḥ parilaghu paya srotasāṃ copayujya // 1.13 //

vv.ll.: 1.13.a: *mattaḥ śṇu ; tvatprayāṇ ānurūpaṃ* • 1.13.b: *śravyabandham*

(*śrāvyabandham*) / • 1.13.d: *copabhujya //*

„First hear from me the path suited to your journey as I describe it to you, and then, O cloud (giver of water), you will hear my message, agreeable to the ear (***worth being drunk by your hear**): — the path which you are to pursue after setting foot (resting) on mountains, whenever fatigued, and also after drinking the wholesome water of streams, whenever you find yourself exhausted" (M.R. Kale 1969)

Comm. of Mallinātha a [*śrotrapeyaṃ*] (ed. de Kale 1969, *op.cit.*, p. 21): *śrotrābhyāṃ peyaṃ pānārham / atitṛṣṇayā śrotavyam ity arthaḥ // peyagrahaṇāt saṃdeśasyāṃṛtasāmyaṃ gamyate* 'which must be drunk by the ears, worth of being drunk. Which must be listen to with much thirst: this is the meaning. The use of *peya* implies the identification with nectar'

2 [EAR AS MOUTH] (Meissner 1921: 130, Riccardo Ginevra p.c.)

Haukr Valdísarson, *Íslendingadrápa* 1.5–8 [...] *biðk at* [...] / *hlustar munnum* / [...] / [...] *mjóð drekki*

'I beg/request that (those who are present) **kindly drink the mead** (from the gods, poetry) **with the mouth of their ears**'

Egill Skallagrímsson, *Arinbjarnarkviða* 6.5–8 *svát Yggs full / ýranda kom / at hvers manns / hlustamunnum*

'so that the cup of Ygg [**poetry**] join skimming **the mouths of the ear** of every man'

E1. Anatolian = Core IE : PIE

1 [BROAD EARTH] (: Akkad. *eršetu suddultu, eršetu rapaštu*)

Hitt. *palhi-*: *palhiš dankuiš daganzipaš*: KUB 4.4 Rs. 12ff. *ištamašta=an=ma palhiš dankuiš daganzipaš* 'the broad dark earth heard him'.

Ved. *kṣām ... pṛthivīm* (RV I 67.5 *ajó ná kṣām dādhāra pṛthivīm* ,wie der Ungeborene befestigt er die weite Erde’, YAv. *zəm pərəθβīm*, Vok. *pərəθβε ... zəmə* (Y. 10.4 *staomi zəm pərəθβīm paθanəm* ‘I praise die broad, wide Earth’

Ved. *kṣām ... urvīm* (RV VI.17.7 *paprātha kṣām ... vy ūrvīm* ‘he spreads out the wide Earth’).
εὐρεῖα χθών (Il. 4.182+),

Transferred epithets: Ved. *pṛthivī-* f., av. fem. *pərəθβī-* (RV +), ON. *fold* ‘Floor’, OE *folde* ,Earth’, PN Πλάταια, Πλαταιαί),

2 [BROAD HEAVEN] (:Akkad. *sāme rapašūti*)

Heth. AN-*iš* (: *nepiš*) *palḫa-* ‘breadth of the heaven’: KUB 44.4 Rs. 30 + KBo 13.241 AN-*iš palḫam=ma* <an> *aušdu* ‘he should see the breadth of the heaven’ (NH).

Hom. οὐρανὸν εὐρύν (Il. 3.364) Ἀτρεΐδης δ’ ὄμωξεν ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν

Ved. *urū-* (RV, im Du. *urvī*, elliptic dual ‘earth and heaven’ (* ‘both broad halves’, cf. Lat. *caeli* Weiss 2017):

X 12.3a *gór áto jātāso dhārayanta urvī*

“... so erhalten die aus dieser (Kuh) geborenen (Marut) die beiden Weiten (Welthäften)”,
,the broad spaces’ (*urū várāmsi*), Ved. *urū ... antarikša-* ‘the broad space’

E2. Anatolian vs. Core IE : Anatolian only understandable in the light of IE

1 Hitt. *šan(a)ḫ^{mi}* ‘try, attempt’, ‘look for, search’ vs. (and 2. ‘wipe’), *sanḫe/isk-*

KBo 5.13 ii 17-18 *kuiški ṽaggarijaūšaš uttar ... šanḫazi*

“... (if) someone **plans an affair** of rebellion ...”

KUB 14.1 obv. 2 (Madd., MH/MS): *nu tuēl ŠA^m Ma[dduw]at[a ḪUL-lu] ḫinkan šanḫiškit*

“He (i.e., Attariššiya) has always been seeking your [painful] death, Ma[dduwa]tta”

vs.

2 Hitt. *šanḫu^{mi}* ‘roast’ (PIE*‘effect throughly’ (Eichner 1979: 55) (grains and seeds, barley), *ša(n)ḫant-* ‘roasted’, also substantivized transferred epithet ‘the (roasted) grain’

KBo 17.150 iii 2-3 *nu-kar-aš SE’AM tēpu dāi n=at=kan paḫḫunit sanḫūzzi*

‘she takes a bit of *karasḫ*-grain and barley, and **roasts** them on/with a fire” (MH/MS)

*‘finish’ matches Greek (and Celtic)

3 *šan(a)ḫ^{mi}* (non telic sense) may reflect **sq-n-(e)h₂-* (no root present?? **sénh₂-ti* ‘searches, attempts’ not *‘obtiene’): lexicalization of the [conative] realisation of present stem *[(s)he is trying/about to reach], , whence ‘search’

Infixe, formally and sematically like PGm. **sq-n-h₂-o/e-* (→) **sennan* (subjunctive **senh₂-o/e-* also possible) -- formally like the basic form PCelt. **sanna-* ‘reaches’, but not semantically

4 KUB 11.1 ii 4-5(Telip.OH/NS) *n=apa DINGIR.MEŠ at[taš=šaš^m Zidantas]* *ēšhar=šet sanḫēr*
‘the gods **avenged the death** of Zidanta, his father’

S. Tr.886 πρὸς θανάτῳ θάνατον ἀνόσσα ‘who accomplishes death’

5 *šanḫ(ṽai)*- ‘roast’: **sqh₂-éu/u-* (Ved. *sanóti*, ἀνώω)

Semantically matches the former aorist **sénh₂-t* ‘reached’.

E3. Anatolian vs. Core IE : Anatolian only understandable in the light of IE

[HIGH-WORD] Ved. *bṛhánt- vácas-* - bhar :: YAv. *bərəzəm barəṭ vācim*

[STRONG-WORD] Hitt. *daššauṽa-* INIM^{MES}

KUB 17.7 + iii 42’ *nu-ki-i da-aš-ša[-u-ṽa]INIM^{MES}-AR^D Ir-ši-ra-aš pí-ra-an me-mi*

“e pronuncia queste **parole forti** davanti agli di Irširra” (Dardano 2012:62)

[PROMINENT-WORD]

1 *nakki-* ‘important, prominent’ **h₁noḱ-i-* (or **h₁noḱih₁-*) IE **h₁nek-* : ἐνεγκεῖν :: φέρω!, Toch.B /*eñk-* ‘take’)

1 KBo 26.65 i 25–26(Ullikummi) *[kuṽ]at =ua ŠA^dU EN[-YA] nakkin memian UL išt[amašmi]*
‘why do I not hear the important word oft he Storm God, of my Lord?’

- 2 Pind. *Pyth.* 5.46–49 [...] ὃς ἔχεις καὶ πεδὰ μέγαν κάματον **λόγων φερτάτων** μναμήϊ' (α)
“(Der) du nach großer Mühsal ein Denkmal von den wichtigsten Wörtern innehast”
- 3 Ba. 19.12–18 ... φεῦγε χρυσέα βοῦς, / εὐρυσθενέος **φραδαῖσι φερτάτου Διός** / ... κόρα
“... fleeen musste die goldene Kuh nach den Weisungen des weithin mächtigen, höchsten Zeus, ...”
(Masseti 2016)
- 4 **FERTER RESIUS** | *REX AEQUEICOLUS*. | (Elogium CIL I² p. 202, Claudius’s times)
- 5 Referents of **nakki-**, **φέρτερος** (: OLat. **FERTER**) φέριστος YAv. *bairišta-* are the same.
Hom. φέρτερος (34x), φέρτατος (34x): πολὺ φέρτερος *Il.* 4.56 +, πολὺ φέρτατος 1.581 ...
φέρτατος ἄγαθώτατος Hsch. (on *Il.* 17.104f. εἶ πως ἐρυσσάμεθα νεκρὸν / Πηλεΐδῃ Ἀχιλλῆϊ
κακῶν δὲ κε φέρτατον εἶη).
φέριστος (7x) : JAv. (°)*bairišta-* (3x) ‘prominent’ (MN Φέριστος Plut.).
- 6 (a) φέρειν intransitive, cf. προφερής ‘che sporge’ (con προφερέστερος, -τατος), προφέρειν ‘stand out, ‘be distinguished’
(b) with elliptic object, cf. Fr. *l'emporter sur*, Germ. ‘es bringen’, bringt's nicht’
κράτος (*Il.* 18.308 στήσομαι, ἧ κε φέρησι μέγα κράτος, ἧ κε φεροίμην), κλέος (*Od.* 3.204 οἴσουσι κλέος εὐρὸν καὶ ἔσσομένοισιν αἰοδῆν), ἀέθλια / ἄεθλον (*Il.* 9.127), τὰ πρῶτα ‘first price’ (*Il.* 23.275), τιμὴν (Ar. *Av.* 1278), τὰ πινίκια (Soph. *El.* 692), τὰ ριστεῖα, τὰ νικητήρια (Plat. *Rep.* 468c).
φέρτερος ‘qui l’emporte’, φέρτατος ‘der im Tragen leistungsfähigste’, daher “der stärkste” (Seiler 1954); Dieu 2011: 131ff., after Osthoff 1910: 169ff. (“davon tragend”).
- 7 Hitt. *nakki-* ‘important’ and ‘powerful’ (**h₁nok-i-*, also ‘onerous’ (*‘weighty’) in negative sense, cf. Lith. *naštà* ‘charge, burden’, and Gk. ὄγκος ‘id.’, φορτικός ‘onerous’).
IE **h₁nek-* / **h₁enk-* (Gk. ἐνεγκ-ο/ε-, perf. ἐνήνοχα).
- 6 **FERTER** : Hom. φέρτερος ‘better, prominent’ (**b^hér-tero-*) “erstrangig”
Semantics: *Melior*(G), *Optu/imus*, *Bonus*, also *Excelens*, *Egregius*.
- 7 OAv. *aibī.bairistəm* YAv. *nižbairišto* with accusative object:
Y. 51.1a *vohū xšaθrəm vairīm bāgəm aibī.bairištəm*
„The desirable good power, (which is) an excellent bringer of wealth (*bāgəm*)...“
(Humbach), „the good power ... which brings **most** share(s)“ (Humbach-Ichaporria).
- 8 Hom. φέριστος, φέρτατος Heth. *nakki-* reflex of an inherited suppletive pair **bher-* :
**h₁nek-* (originally ‘take, get, obtain’, secondarily ‘bear, take’ (: **b^her-*)).
φέρειν :: ἐνεγκεῖν, OAv. *bar* :: *nāš*, → BS **nes-* ‘take, bring’
- 9a Y. 70.4 *yaθa īza vācīm nāšīma yaθa vā dahiiunəm suiāmna vācīm barənti*
‘weil wir mit Eifer **unsere Stimme erheben**, möchten wie die Saošyant's der Länder, (die) den
Vorteil erwirkend (ihre) **Stimme erheben**’.
- 9b Y. 50.6 *yə māθrā vācəm mazdā baratī*
“der Schüler/Dichter, der die **Stimme erhebt**, o Kundiger”
- 10 Lith. *nešti*, auch *nešiótī* ‘bear, bring’ / *ber̃ti* [*beriũ*] ‘strew’ (intens. *barstýti*), but OLith. *bernas*
‘child’, *bernulis* ‘ds.’, Latv. *bērns* ‘id.’, also *birums* ‘earning’.
OCS. *nesti* ‘φέρειν, βαστάζειν’ / *brati* (*berq*) ‘put together’ “τρογᾶσθαι”
- E4 Anatolian = Greek vs. Core IE: languages in contact**
- 1 [MAKE - BLOOD] = ‘kill’ cf. Hitt. *ēšhar iia-^{hhi}* (also *išša-^{hhi}*) ‘kill’ (Dardano 2002:34ff.) : αἵμα
ἐργάζεσθαι / δρᾶν : *sanguinem facere*
KBo III 1++ Vs I 32’-33’^m *Mur-ši-li-in ku-e[(n-nir)]/[nu]* *ē-eš-har i-e-ir* ‘they kill
Muršili’(OH/NH)
Eur. *Or.* 284/5 εἶργασται δ’ ἔμοι / **μητρῶον αἷμα**
Ov. *Her.* 14, 82 *queritur facti sanguinis esse parum*.

E5 Anatolian = Greek vs. Core IE: languages in contact

A phraseological pattern: Anatolia → Ionic Ἐπιούσιος

[_{ABOVE} RUN] → *[ASSIST]? → [SUPERVISE, OBSERVE]

**śér(-i)* **h₂eu_h₁-*

[run above] → ‘be a supervisor’, with preverb Hitt. *śer*, Lyc. *hri* ‘above’

1 Lyc. *hrf* ‘on, above’ : Gk. ἐπὶ ‘high, highly’ (Loc. **ser-i*, cf. Willi 1999:86ff.), Gr. πῖον “promonturium”, Myc. PN *ri-jo* (**srjio-*)

Hitt. *ser* (**śér-ø*)

2 Hitt. *śer huḫanza eštu* (“let (the commander) ... supervise” (‘(be) run(ning) above’ Melchert), (KUB 31.84 III 60-4 (service instructions)

3 Lyc. Malija *hri-xuḡama* ‘Supervisor’, ‘Over-observer (← *‘who stands closer / at closest’).

TL 80.2f. *se=i=ni ṅtepi tātu tike ne=de xuḡati=ti ne me=i m=ene* / [Trq]as tubidi se Malija *hrixuḡama* ‘... and one may not put into /bury (*ṅtepi tātu*) someone, who **does not xuḡati**. If (this is) not, so will the God Trqnt- punish him, and Malija (: Athena) *hrixuḡat* ‘the supervisor’.

Athena Πόντι' Ἀθηνάων ἐπιήρανε (*Ant. Gr.*), ἐπίκουρος (Nonno), ἐπισκοπος (Solo)

4 Lyc. *xuḡa-*: Denominative from an *-a*-substantive (**CoC-eh₂*) Lyc. /-atil/ (← /-āntil/ < **-ājón̄ti* : Hajnal 1995: 130f)

Lyc. *kumaza*^{mi} ‘be priest’ : *kumaza-* ‘priest’

la^{mi} ‘be dead’ : *la-* ‘dead’

siṃma^{mi} ‘bind, enjoin’ : **siṃma-* ‘command, prohibition’ (**sHimn-ā* < **sh₂i-mn-eh₂*)

prṇnawa^{mi} ‘construct’ : *prṇnawa-* ‘(grave)house’

5 Parallels: Denom. (*anda*)*uarrāi-* ‘help, support’, Luv. *uarrah-* (: noun *uarrah-it-* ,help’) neben *uarr-* (Starke 1990: 154ff.).

Lat. *suppetiā-rī* ‘help’ beside *suppetias ire* .

6 **h₂(o)u_h₁-éh₂-*. No direct evidence, but

**h₂ou_h(h₁)-no* → denom. Arc. οὔνημι*, Hom. ἐρι-ούσιος, ἐρι-ούνης (-ās: **ou_hnā* < **h₂ou_h₁-néh₂?*)

**h₂ou_h₁-éh₂-*: “préférence”, whence → Lat. *auā-rus* (R. Garnier *per litteras*)

7 Gloss. οὔνον· Κύπριοι δρόμον, οὔσιος, οὔνης· δρομεύς· κλέπτης,

Arc. οὔνημι* (Gloss. οὔνη· δεῦρο· δράμε) (Langella 2015 on Hermes as helper and runner)

8 Hom. ἐρι-ούσιος, ἐρι-ούνης

→ PGk. **h^heri-μῆrH-(o)-* (ἐπι-ήρανος!)

Hom. ἐρί-ηρος, -ov : Myc. MN *e-ri-we-ro* /*Eriwēro-*

(Gusmani 1968: 19 "che dà molto aiuto, che viene in valido soccorso ")

F[COME] – ([FAST]) – [(for/to) HELP] vs. [CALL] – [(for) HELP].

F1 [COME] – ([FAST]) – [(for/to) HELP]³

1 RV IV 21.3ac *ā yātv indro divā ā pṛthivyāḥ makṣū samudrād utā vā pūrīṣāt / svāmarād āvase no marútvān ...*

‘Indra soll alsbald vom Himmel, von der Erde **kommen** vom Meere or vom Urquell, von Svarṇara **uns zum Beistand** mit den Marut ...’

³ Also [BE - FOR HELP]

1 Y. 50, 7d ... *mahmāi xiiātā + auvaḡhē*

‘may you be ready to help’

2 RV X 61. 27ab *tā ū śú ṇo mahó yajatrā bhūtā devāsa ūtāye sajoṣāḥ*

‘Ihr verehrungswürdigen Götter, **seid ihr uns** fein einmütig **zu großer Gnade**’

3 Plaut. *Epid.* 36 *nec mihi plus adiumento ades quam ille qui nunquam etiam natust*

‘and for **me** you are not more of help that one who has still not born’

4 KUB 21. 1 Rs. III 43-4 *nu I-aš I, -e-da-ni u a-ar-ri šar-dī-ja-aš GÉŠPU-aš-ša e-eš-du*

‘and **may** the Majesty (*scil.* of the Sun) **of help (a help)** and protection against violence’

2 RV VIII 63,4cd *śívó arkásya hómany asmatrá gantv ávase*
 '(Indra) soll freundlich bei der Darbringung des Preisliedes zu uns **zum Beistand kommen**'
 Also with instr.: RV I 135.5e *á no gantam ihótyā* "kommt hierher zu uns mit Gunst (*ūtyā*)!".

3 Yt. 5,63bc *mošu mē jauua* auuaṅhe / nūrəm mē bara upastam*
 'come / hasten immediatly to me to help! Bring me protection'

Hss. <*jauua*> (wrong reading of a damaged < s>, to be emended in *jasa* (all Hss.) indicates indirectly that the situation is that of a hurrying motion (ved. *jav / ju* ,eilen', cf. Ved. *makṣújavastama*- VI 45.4). No ²*gav* 'hurry' in Avestan (Hoffmann 1969: 20f. *Aufs.* 260f.; *aliter* Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 504 („eilt mir rasch zu Hilfe“).

4 Yt. 13.146 *upa tū nō ida yā aṣaonaṃ mošu isṃtu frauuaṣaiiō tā nō jasan tu auuaṅhe*
 „alsbald sollen sie, die Fravāsay's der Aṣagläubigen, uns hier besuchen: sie sollen uns zu Hilfe kommen“ (Wolff)

4a Y. 72.9 *jasa mē auuaṅhe mazdā*

Comparison:

4 Sal. *Iug.* 81,3 *si Romanus auxilio suis uenisset*

5 KUB 31.47 Vs. 10' *zi-ik-ma-aš-ši' u-a-a[r-r]i ku-ua-at ú-it*
 'Why did you **come** to ihm **for help**?' (also with *pāi-*, *ār-*)

6 *Il.* 10/1 *ὄν δ' ἄν νοήσω / ἐλθόντ' ἢ Τρώεσσιν ἄρηγέμεν ἢ Δαναοῖσιν (= Il. 13.8/9)*
 ,whom I would see coming to help the Trojans or the Danaeans'

F2 [CALL - (for) HELP (with dative_{HELP}, accusative_{ANIM})

1 RV I 35.1cd *hváyāmi rátrīm jágato nivésanīm hváyāmi devám savitáram útáye*
 „ich rufe zuerst den Agni zum Heil, ... ich rufe die Nacht ... ich **rufe** den Gott Savitṛ **zur Hilfe**“

2 III 26.1c *sudánuṃ devám rathirám vasūyávo gīrbhíraṇvám kuśikáso havāmahe*
 .2a *tám śubhrám agním ávase havāmahe*

„den Agni Vaiśvánara ... den Wagenfahrer ... rufen wir herbei. Den schmucken Agni rufen wir zum Beistand, ...“

3 Yt. 13.28 *tā mazdā zbaiiaṭ auuaṅhe*

Comparison (on Greek, Latin s. below)

4 *KBo* 3. 41 + *KUB* 31.4 Vs.3 *nu-ú-ua-a-ar-ra ḥal-za-iš ku-it i-ua-nu-un ku-it*
 "he called for help: 'What did I do? What?'" (Dupl. *KBo* XIII 78 Vs.3 *u]a-a-ar-ri ḥal-za-iš*)

(F1), (F2): Common lexemes, close pragmatic correlation between both sentence structures

1 Identical lexemes, namely
 Ved. *avas-* (: Av. *auuah-*) 'help, assistance', Ved. *ūtí-*, *óman-* (: YAv. *aoman*)
 Ved. *hav' / hvā' / hū* : Av. *zauu / zbā / zū* 'to call/evoked'
 Ved. *gam* : Av. *jam* (Vedic also *ay/i*, *yā*, periphrasis *gántar- as*).

2 **h₂euhr-*

(a) Hitt. *ḫuui-^{hhi}* 'run' (and Luw.), Lyc. *ḫuwa-^{mi}* 'assist')

(b) Ved. *av' / ū* 'help', also 'be glad with, enjoy' (Pres. *áv⁽ⁱ⁾-a-^{ti}*), Av. *auu / ū*

Lat. (*ad*)*iuuāre* 'id.' (°)*i-uuā-* (*i-*: redupl. **Hi-HeuH-*)

άίτας 'friend' : Hom. ^{TMnh}»j (**au-i-tā-* :: **áuo/es-*, *Θερόιτης* : *θέροος* : surely **h₂*

oñvon· *Κύπριοι δρόμον, ούνιος, ούνης*· *δρομεύς, κλέπτης*, Arc. *oñnιm** (Gloss. *oñnι*· *δεῦρο, δράμε*), Hom. *Ἐπι-ούνιος* (E. Langella, HS forthcoming)

Lat. *auēre* 'to be eager, long (for)' < *,run for/to x' (intens. **h₂ouh₁-éje-*: OIr. *con·óí* 'protects' < **kom-h₂ouh₁-éje-ti*)

3 **ḡ^heuH-* 'to call, invoke': Ved. *hav' / hvā' / hū* 'to call, invoke (ritually), Av. *zauu / zū*, Ved. *hv-áya-^{ti}*: OAv. *zbaia-^{ti}* (also OP *patí(y)-azbayam* 'I ordered'),

Ved. *háv-a-^{ti}*: YAv. *zauua-^{ti}* (also OCS *zovq (zъvatí)* "καλεῖν"), "intensive" Ved. *jóhavi-^{ti}*: Av. *zaozaauu-^{ti}* Toch. *kwā-*

? βοάω (root structure like γοάω [*gouh₂-éjo/e-], semantics and collocations like Ved. hváya-^{ti}: Av. zbaiaa-^{ti} [*g^huh₂-éjo/e-]): not lautgesetzlich.

Close pragmatic correlation

4 V 43.13ab *ā dhamasír bṛháddivo rárāṇo víśvebhir gantu ómabhir huvānāḥ*
 „der Dauerhafte (Agni), der vom hohen Himmel abstammt, soll freigiebig mit allen Schützen kommen, wenn er gerufen wird“

5 Yt.10.77ab *āca-θβā zbaiaī auuaḡhe āca-nō jamiiāt auuaḡhe*
 'I shall call you for help, may he come to us for help' (also 78fg *auuahiiāi*).

6 Yt. 17.2hi *uta hē āsnaēca zbaiaiantūi / dūraēca zbaiaiantūi / jasaiti auuaḡhe*
 ‚... und dem kommt sie zu Hilfe, (der sie) in der Nähe anruft (*zbaiaiantūi*) und in der Ferne anruft‘.

7 (*ad*)*iuuāre ad-uocāre*
 Liv. 2.55.6 *adiuantibus aduocatis repulso lictore*
aduocātus 'Helper' Plaut. *Mil.* 1419 *dī tibi bene faciunt semper, quom aduocatus mihi bene's*

8 Cic. *Verr.* 5.106 *nauarchos uocari iubet .. statim accurrunt*
 Tac. *Hist.* 2.41 *incertus undique clamor accurrentium, uocantium*

9 Some contextual peculiarities (in connection with Ved. *makṣú* (: YAv. *mošu*, cf. Lat. *mox*)

(a) the help is direct or directly expected:

epithets of *ūtí-* with first member *makṣú*^o ‘immediately, quickly’

second member °*javá-* ‘hurrying’, °*gamá-* ‘coming’: RV VI 45.14 (*makṣújavastama-*), VIII

22.16 (*ūtí- makṣumgamá-*) ‘immediately hurrying’. *avas-* is expected at the same time (*sam*) as a present (VIII 73.2).

VIII 22.16ac *mánojavasā ... makṣumgamābhir ūtibhiḥ*

6c *ārāttac cid bhūtam asmé avase pūrvībhiḥ ... ||*

„auf den gedankenschnellen (Wagen) erscheint uns, ..., auch aus der Ferne zum Beistand mit euren vielen pünktlichsten Hilfen (*makṣumgamābhiḥ ūtibhiḥ*), ihr Vielnützende!“

(b) adverbials pointing to an immediate action, to the promptness of coming to the aid
áthā ‘now’ (I 81.8), *ádha* ‘id.’ (I 122.11), *adyá* ‘today’ (I 36.2, X 35.13).

(c) the helper runs fast (III 26.1-2 Bṛhaspati *raghu-syád-* ‘the fast runner’) or with hustling carriage (V 73.5 *rátham...raghuśyádam*, VI 45.14-15, VIII 73.1-2 (*jávīyasā rathenā*)).

F3	[GO/COME]	-	[to the CALL/INVOCATION_{HELP}] [jdm.]
RV	<i>gam (ai/i, yā)</i>		<i>hávam, hávanam (+/- avase)</i>
Av.	<i>jam</i>		<i>zauuāṅg</i>

1 X 66.10d *...vājino yantu me hávam*
 'die siegreichen (Renner) sollen auf meinen Ruf kommen'

VIII 85.1ab *ā me hávaṇi nāsatiyā áśvinā gáchatam yuvám*

“Kommet ihr beiden Nāsatiya Áśvin auf meinen Ruf ...!”

2 I 17.2ab *gántārā hí sthó 'vase hávaṇi víprasya mávataḥ*

"denn ihr pflegt zur Hilfe zu kommen, auf den Ruf eines erregten (Dichters) gleich mir" (W.-G.)

3 Y. 28.3c *varādaitī ārmaitiṣ ā.mōi rafādrāi zauuāṅg jasatā*

“increases unfading power ... “Come to my calls of support !” (Humbach).

F4	[RUN (→HELP)]	-	[to the CALL/INVOCATION]
	<i>*h₂euh₁-</i>		<i>*g^houHo-</i>
	<i>aví</i>		<i>hávam, hávanam</i>

1 VIII 54.4ab *pūṣá viṣṇur hávanam me sárasvaty ávantu saptá síndhavaḥ*

"Pūṣan, Viṣṇu Sarasvatī, die sieben Ströme sollen meinen Ruf bevorzugen"(G.)

2 X 70.10d *ávatāṃ dyāvāpṛthivī hávam me*
"Himmel und Erde mögen **meinen Ruf bevorzugen**" (G.)

F5 [RUN_{for HELP}] (→) [to the CALL_{for HELP}] (like A CHARIOT)
1RV *syand* *hāvanam* : Ved. *havanasyádam rátham*
2 *θέω* *βοήν* : Hom. βοηθόον ἄρμα

βοηθόον ἄρμα : Ved. *havanasyádam rátham* "den (unserem) Ruf zueilenden Wagen" (Schulze)

1 RV I 52.1cd *átyam ná vājāṃ havanasyádam rátham*
éndram vavṛtyām ávase suvṛktībhiḥ //
"wie ein Rennpferd zum Siegespreis möchte ich den **auf Anruf dahineilenden Streitwagen**, den Indra, mit schönen Hymnen **zur Unterstützung** herwenden" (Witzel-Gotō).
"(Might I turn) his chariot, rushing to the summons, like a steed (rushing to) the prize; with my well-twisted (hymns) might I turn Indra here for help." (Jamison-Brereton)
"wie einen zum Siegespreis [eilenden] Renner möchte ich den zur Anrufung eilenden Wagen, den Indra, [möchte ich] zur Unterstützung mit meinen Lobliedern herbeiwenden" (M. Albino, *Die Sprache* 38:2, 1996[1999], 133ff., 146)

1b *avana*^o matches an accusative of direction, like *vāja* in *vāja-sṛt-* 'running to the prize' (IX 43.5a)
IX 110.4c *sádāsarat vājāṃ áchā saniṣyadat*
"stets bist du eilend (^o*syadat*) zum Siegespreis hin losgelaufen (*asarat*)"

2 *Il.* 17.481 Ὠς ἔφατ' Ἀλκιμέδων δὲ βοηθόον ἄρμ' ἐπορούσας
'after leaping on the chariot **which hastened to the call (for help)**', not "swift in battle"/"auf dem kampfschnellen Wagen"

a *Il.* 13.477 Αἰνεάν ἐπιόντα βοηθόον ([HELP] is already incorporated in βοηθόον)
βοη^o matches an accusative of direction of θέο/ε- (*Il.* 14.354 βῆ δὲ θέειν ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν)

b Formula /βοήν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος #/ bzw. /βοήν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης #/ (21x) after the bucolic diaeresis (25x respectively 21x)
Formulaic θοὸν ἄρμα (*Il.* 11.533[=17.458] ῥίμφ' ἔφερον θοὸν ἄρμα μετὰ Τρῶας καὶ Ἀχαιούς).
HHDem. 89, Hsd.fr. 30.6 [...]θοοον ἄρμα [καὶ] ἵππους, *Mimn.* 12.9.
ἄρμα θοὸν: *Pind. Ol.* 8.48 Ὀρσοτρίαινα δ' ἐπ' Ἴσθμῶ ποντία / ἄρμα θοὸν τάνυεν).

F6 Inversely [HELP (*COURSE)] ← CALL/INVOKE
ūtīm, ávas *hav/hvā/hū*

1 RV I 10.10cd *vṛsantamasya hūmaha ūtīm sahasrasātāmām*
"wir rufen ... nach des besten Stieres **Gunst**, die Tausend (Kühe uns) gewinnt" (W.-G.),

2 V 35.3ab *á té 'vo vareṇyam vṛsantamasya hūmahe.*
"Deinen, des Bullenhaftesten, begehrenswerten **Beistand (ávas)- rufen wir an**" (G.)

3 Verg. *Aen.* 7.504 *Silvia auxilium uocat et duros conclamat agrestis.*

G [UPHELD – GOOD / RIGHT, TRUE]: Indo-Iranian, Greek...

G1 OP *Dārayavauš* 'Dareios' (*D^hāraja-ua(h)u-)

Ved. *dhārāyati* 'upheld' : Av. *dāraia-* : OP *dāraya-*, verbal adjective *dhṛtá-* : Av. *dārata-* 'supported?'

**h₁uosu-* : Av. *vohu-/vaṅhu-* 'excellent'

OAv. *dāraiaṣ vahištəm* (Schlerath II 155b), Ved. *vásūni dhāraya-*

2 Y.31.7b *huuō xraθβā dāmiš ašəm yā dāraiaṣ vahištəm manō*
"(as) creator He (conceived) **truth** by means of the spirit with which one **upholds best thought**..."

3 RV IX 63.30 *asmé vásūni dhāraya sóma divyāni pāṛthivā indo vísvāni vārṣyā*
"In us, o Soma drop, **secure goods**---heavenly, earthly, all that are choice".

- 4 **Av. *vohu-***, two concepts:
 (1) ‘Good in itself’ (‘better than good’ : *vahiiō vayhāuš* (51.6a, 43.a ...)
 (2) all abstracts referred to as *vohu-*: *aša-* ‘Truth’, *manah-*, *xšaθra-* ‘power’, *ašī-* ‘reward’,
ārmaiti- ‘right-mindedness’, *daēnā-* ‘religion, religious vision’, *cišti-* ‘insight’ ...

Y.37.5 **vohucā manō yazamaidē vohucā xšaθrəm van^hhīmcā daēnam van^hhīmcā
 fsəratūm van^hhīmcā ārmaitīm**

“we worship good thought and good power and the good Mazdayasian religion and good joy
 and good right-mindedness, ...”

- 5 OAv. *ašəm dāraya-* : Ved. *ṛténa ... dhāraya-* (Schlerath II 152b),
 Y. 43.1d *ašəm dərədiīāi # taṭ mōi dā*
 ‘grant me truth... to seize/uphold it’

G2. ~ **Gk. ἐν°**, collocations: with **ἔχω ‘keep’, ‘(up)hold’, ἀνέχω ‘hold up, prop, sustain’**

- 1 *Od.19.110f.* [ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνάσσων]
εὐδικίας ἀνέχησι,
 ‘and ruling as lord ... **upholds the way of good government**’

- 2 *Ar.Ach.* 661 **Τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον** / ζύμμαχον ἔσται,

- 3 MN **Σωσί-δικος** (Telos,275+) ‘saves’, **Στασι-δίκα** (Creta,iii+) ‘puts upright’,
 Ἐχέδικος (Nesos iii: ἀνέχει?)

H.	[UPHELD – HEAVEN & EARTH] &...	[+ ...]	[PILLAR]	[RIGHT]	[GOOD]
1.Hitt. <i>ḫark-</i>	+	--	--	--	--
2.Lat. <i>arcēre</i>	+	+(mare)	--	--	--
3.Ved. <i>dhār^(d)</i>	+	+ <i>vīśvā bhūvanāni</i>	+	+	+
4.Iran. <i>dar</i>	+	+	+	+	+
5.Gk. (°)ἔχω	+	--	+	+	+
6.Arm. <i>hastaten</i>	+				

H1 Hittite

(1) *nepiš tekann=a ḫarši* ‘you hold heaven and earth’ (invocation to Hattic gods)

- 1 KUB 8.41 DINGIR^{MEŠ} *na-šq [iš-tar-na]* (6’) UR.MAH LUGAL-*uš zik nu nepiš tekann=a*
 [*ḫar-ši*]

‘... , among gods (you are) a lion-god and you **keep heaven and earth**’ (= *StBoT* 25 n1 109)

- 2 KUB 34.77 obv.9-10 (ritual, MH?/NS) *nu^dU-ni GIM-an nepiši AN.BAR-a[s ...] / aranda nu*
nepiš karpan ḫar[kanzi]

‘just as [the pillars (?)] of iron (belonging) to the Stormgod stand **in the sky and support the sky**’

(2) *šuhmiliš (dankuiš) taganzipaš* (OH: 3 x) ‘the black earth, the one (which is) **well-supported**’

(M. Catsanicos 1986: „À propos des adjectifs hitt. *šu-hmili-* et véd. *sū-māya-*: quelques remarques sur le traitement du groupe °V-HC° à la jointure des composés”. BSL 81, 121-180).

- 3 KBo 10.37 v. 3.6... 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA (7) *šuhmili* GE₆-i KI-pí *pāršija* ...
 „one breaks a big bread ... for the dark earth, **the well supported**’

4 **Hitt. *šu-hmili-* ,well supported‘** : Ved. *sū-mita-* ‘well installed, supported’

du. *ródasi ... suméke* : Hitt. *šu-hmili-* ‘gut festgehalten’ (Hitt. *mitae-* : Ved. *mínoti* (**h_{2/3}mei-*))

šuhmili(a)n genu ‘knee’ : Ved. *mitá-jñava-* ‘having solid knees’ (RV VII 82.4)

sū-miti-, good foundation’, *suméka-*, well hold fast’, *sū-māya-* „ayant un bon ajustement”
 (Catsanicos)

- 5 Opposite: *katkattinu-* ‘strike’

KBo 6.29 ii 12-3[n]u *nepiš tekann=a katkattenut*

‘(Istar) ... strook heaven and earth’ (Hattusilis)

Only with ‘heaven,sky’:KBo 26.25 i 5-6 [nu] nepiš katkattinu[t nepiš GU]L? -aḫta (Ullikummi, NS)
‘and he struck the sky, and he hook the sky (?)’,

6 KUB 33.103 iii 4 **ginūa**=nnaš=kan [...] katkattiškizzi

‘our **knees** quake’ (.106 i 15 [n]u nepiš katkattinu[t ‘he strook heaven’)

H2. Latin arceō,-ēre (OLat. *terram mare caelum*, → *contineo,-ēre*) (Catsanicos; M.J. Falcone)

1 Enn. Ann. 542-3 *qui fulmine claro / omnia per sonitus arcet, terram mare caelum*

“Jupiter, who **holds all** with his bright lightning, with sounds: **earth, sea, heaven**”

2 Cic. *De resp.* 6.17 **nouem ... orbibus** uel potius **globis conexas sunt omnia**, quorum unus est **caelestis**, extumus, qui reliquos omnes complectitur, **summus ipse deus arcens et continens ceteros**

‘...**all** is connected with the bow of heaven, the outermost, which contains all others, the highest divinity herself, who **holds and keeps all others**’

3 Enn. fr. XVI, 284-286 Vahl.²

Iuppiter tuque adeo summe Sol, qui res omnis spicis,/quique tuo <cum> lumine mare terram caelum contines,

„Giove, e tu sommo Sole, che vedi ogni cosa, e comprendi con la tua luce **mare, terra e cielo**, osserva questo misfatto!” (Falcone)

4 Prob. in *Verg. ecl.* 6,31: *Homerum ipso hoc loco (scil. Il. 18, 483) possumus probare quattuor elementorum mentionem fecisse ... similiter et Ennius in Medea exule in his uersibus: Iuppiter ... scelus. Nam et hic Iuppiter et Sol pro igni, qui mare et terram et caelum continet.*

Cic. fin. 5, 4, 9: *ut nulla pars caelo mari terra, ut poetice loquar, praetermissa sit.*

5 “Ennius creatively translates Eur. *Med.* (1251-60) the asyndetic junction ‘*mare terram caelum*’, a poetic *tricolon* meaningfully dismembered by the metrical incision (*continens* matching *arceo*, cf. Enn. *ann.* 543)”(M.J. Falcone, “Poetic and religious language in Roman Tragic fragments concernin *Medea*” *Coloquio Lengua poética y religión en Grecia y Roma* (Santiago de Compostela, 2012 [2014]); *Il mito di Medea nei tragici latini arcaici*, Diss. Padova-Freiburg i.B. 2012, fthc)

H3 Vedic

Ved. *dhar*⁽ⁱ⁾ (I 154.4c) [*dharh / dhṛh, stambh / stabh* ‘heave up’] vs. *rejāya-* ‘shuttles, agitates’ (IV 22.3d)

1 I 154.4c *yá u tridhātu pṛthivīm utá dyām*⁴ *éko dādhāra bhúvanāni vísvā*

“der die dreiteilige (Welt), **Erde and Himmel**, and **alle Lebewesen** allein unterstützt“

2 II 17.5cd *ádharayat pṛthivīm ... ástabhnāt ... dyām avasrásaḥ*

‘he supported the earth, he wove up/supported the heaven (to prevent it) from falling’

3 IV 22.3d *dyām ámena rejayat prá bhūma |*

‘machte Himmel and Erde durch sein Ungestüm erbeben ...’

4 IV 42.3b-d · *urvī gabhīré ... vísvā bhúvanāni ... ródasī dhārayam ca*

“diese beiden festgegründeten Räume kenne ich in ganzer Größe ... ich habe die beiden Welten zustande gebracht und erhalte sie”.

The pillar(s) of Earth and Heaven (Sadovski 2017:720,731f.)

5 X 18.13a.c *út te stabhnāmi pṛthivīm t_uuvát pári //c... etām sthūṇām pitáro dhārayantu te ...*
“**I prop up the earth** from you ... Let the forefathers **uphold this pillar** for you”⁵

6 AV 18.3.51ab ...*pṛthivī su tiṣṭhatu sahasraṃ mīta úpa hí śráyantām*

⁴ Also III 32.8cd *dādhāra yaḥ pṛthivīm dyām utémām*, III 59.1b *mitró dādhāra pṛthivīm utá dyām*, V 62.3ab, VI 51.8b, 10.121.1c).

⁵ 18.52a.c *út te stabhnāmi pṛthivīm tvát ...ethām sthūṇām pitháro dhārayanti te* ‘I fix the earth up (around / apart) from you ... c **this pillar** do the Fathers **hold/maintain** for thee’.

“let the **earth** stay well (there), for let a **thousand supporting beams/props support** (her/it)

7 V 45. 2d *sthūṇā iva sūmitā dṛṃhata dyaúh*
‘**Heaven** becomes **firm** like a **well-fixed pillar**’

8 Two World halves (*ródasī*), Varuna as a pillar
RV 8.41.10d-f *yá skambhéna ví ródasī ajó ná dyām ádhārayan*
“he who with his **prop** held apart the two world-halves, as Aja (Ekapad)held up heaven”.

[EARTH AND HEAVEN] [PILLAR – of RIGHT/JUSTICE]

9 AVP 7.6.1 *ṛtayasya sthūṇā pṛthivīm dādhāra ṛtena devā amṛtam anv avindan / dhruveṇa tvā haviṣā dhārayām.y abhi tad dyāvāpṛthivī gṛñītām*
“**the pillar of the True holds the earth**; with **Right(ness)** the gods discovered (the drink of) Immortality – with a steadfast oblation **I hold you** – let **heaven-and-earth** welcome it”

10 AVP. 7,6.1 *satyasya sthūṇā pṛthivīm dādhāra ṛtena devā amṛtam anv avindan | dhruveṇa tvā haviṣā dhārayām.y...*
“The **pillar of the True / of Truth(fulness) holds the earth**; with **Right(ness)** the gods discovered (the drink of) Immortality. With a **steadfast** oblation **I hold you**’.
... *tebhiṣ tvā homair iha dhārayām.y ṛtaṃ satyam anu carantu homāh*
‘... with those oblations do I steady you here: in accordance with **Right(ness)**, (with) **the True / Truth(fulness)**, let the oblations move’ (Sadovski 2017:720)

11 V 15.2 *ṛtena rtāṃ dharúnam dhārayanta yajñāsya śáké paramé víoman divó dhárman dharúne sedúšo ṇñ*
‘By **truth** they [=the priests] **upheld truth, the support**, on the powerful (support) of the sacrifice **in the highest heaven**, and (support) the superior men [=the gods], who have sat down on the support at the foundation of heaven...’.

H4 Avestan

1 Yt. 13.2 *vīdāraēm ... aom asmanəm yō usca raoxšnō frādərəsrō yō imqm zqm ā ca pairica buuāuuā ...* (Frawardin Yast)
‘**I hold this heaven**, above, shining and visible afar, who embraces this **earth**’

2 Y. 44.4 *taṭ θβā pərəsā # əraš mōi vaocā ahurā kasnā dərətā # zqm cā adō nabāscā auuapastōiš # kē apō uruuarāscā ...*
“This I ask Thee, tell me plainly, O Ahura: **Who holds the earth down below, and the heavens (above)** (to prevent them) from falling, who (holds) the waters and plants?” (Humbach)

3 Y. 23.1d-g *yā asmanəm vīdāraiiən yā āpəm vīdāraiiən yā zqm vīdāraiiən yā gqm vīdāraiiən*
“(die Fravašay’s) ... die den **Himmel** gestützt, die das **Wasser** gestützt, die die **Erde** gestützt, die das **Rind** erhalten haben ...”

4 Yt. 13.28 *yaṭ spəntō mainiiuš vīdāraiiat asmanəm ... āpəm ... zqm ... gqm ... urvarqm*
‘...damit der heilige Geist den Himmel stütze, damit er das Wasser, damit er die Erde, damit er das Rind, damit er die Pflanze ...’

5 YAv. *vi-dar stūnā-*:
Yt. 10.28g *yō stunā vīdāraieiti bərəzimitahe. nmānahe*
‘the one who protects the columns of the high house’

(V.Sadovski 2017. The Collumns of ‘Rta’: Indo-Iranian exique and Phraseology in the Poetry of Avesta, Veda and beyond. *Miscellanea Indogermanica*. Innsbruck, 715-43.

6 **ṛta-stūnā*- “mit *Ṛta*- als Säule” or “Säule des *Ṛta*”, f. and (Schmitt 2011:129 n°90), ‘whose pillar(s) is/are (by/with/of/in) *Ṛta*’ or ‘Pillar of *Rta*’ (Sadovski 2014) type ῥοδοδάκτυλος → WN Ἀρτυστώνη Hdt.+; Elam. *Ir-taš/Ir-da-iš-du-na* (Persepolis Fortification Tablets)
Cf. AV 3.12.6 *ṛtēna sthūnām*

H5 → Homer (ἀμφίς) ἔχειν ‘apart’ -- earth and heaven -- pillar

1 *Od.* 1.52-4 ... ὅς τε θαλάσσης
πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς
μακράς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι.

‘(Atlas) ... who knows the depth of every sea, and himself holds fast the tall pillars which keep earth and heaven apart’

Paus. 9.20.3 ... ἐνταῦθα Ἄτλαντα καθήμενον πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ τε ὑπὸ γῆς φασὶ καὶ τὰ οὐράνια, πεποιῆσθαι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ περὶ τούτου, Ἄτλαντος θυγάτηρ ὀλοόφρονος, ὅστε θαλάσσης πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς μακράς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι.

Paus.5.11.5 γραφάς. ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς ἔστι μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν Ἄτλας ἀνέχων
2 *Aesch. Prom.* 351 ... Ἄτλαντος, ὃς πρὸς ἑσπέρους τόπους
ἔστηκε κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς
ᾧμοις ἐρείδων, ...

‘who stands towards the western regions, holding fast the pillar of Heaven and Earth on his shoulders’

3 *Hes.Th.*517 Ἄτλας δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
πεῖρασιν ἐν γαίης πρόπαρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων
ἑστηώς, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτησι χέρεσσι (cf.746)

4 Hdt. 4.184 ... ὄρος τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Ἄτλας· ... οὐδέκοτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χειμῶνος· τοῦτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι.

5 New Testament γῦρος ‘ring, circle’ (I.Tinti, “Il lessico astronomico-cosmologico nella Settanta e nel Nuovo Testamento greco”. *SSL* 48, 2010, 109-238)

γῦρον οὐρανοῦ LXXJb.22.14

Is. 40.22 ὁ κατέχων τὸν γῦρον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ὡς ἀκρίδες, ὁ στήσας ὡς καμάραν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ διατείνας ὡς σκηνὴν κατοικεῖν,

G6 Armenian (D. Kölligan)

1 *Eghiš ê* p. 31 *jerk' or zerkins ew zerkir hastatec'in* (Daniel Kölligan)
,the hands which hold fast (*hastatec'in*) heaven and earth (*zerkins ew zerkir*)’.

2 *Buzandaran* 4.5 *or i skzbanēn arar ew hastateac' zhimowns erkri, ... oroy jerk'n ararin ew hastatec'in zamenayn eress erknic'*
„der am Anfang die Fundamente (*zhimowns*) der Erde (*erkri* gen.sg) schuf (*arar*) und machte fest (*hastateac'*), ... dessen Hände die ganze Ausdehnung („Gesicht“) des Himmels (*erknic'* gen.pl.) schufen (*ararin*) und machten fest (*hastatec'in*)“ (cf. *Is.* 40.21; *Ps.* 103.2).

3 *novaw hastatec'an amenayn or inč' yerkins ew or inč' yerkri*
„Durch ihn wurde alles befestigt (*hastatec'an*), was im Himmel (*yerkins* loc.pl.) und was auf Erden (*yerkri* loc.sg.) ist.“

H7. Artemis **Θροσία** (Atrax, Larisa : 3rd/2nd C.) (Hatzopoulos 1994: 25ff.):

Ἀρτεμιδι Θροσια Ἰππολοχος υπ[ερ] / Ευβοιας Αλεξιππειας νεβευσανσ[α]ς / λυτρα (Larisa, 2ndC)

(b) SEG 34: 481 (Atrax, 3rd s.): Αλεξάνδρα Λαοδικεα / ταγευσανσα Ἀρτεμιδι / Θροσια.

(c) SEG 35: 615 (Larisa?, ca. 200): Ἀρτεμιδι Θροσια Ευπατρα Πασιμεδοντεια τελευουμα

(d) SEG 35: 500 (Atrax, 300/250): Ἀρτεμιδι Θροσία Επ[ικρα]τα ---.

(a) payment of a λύτρα ‘ransom’ by a man to Artemis Throsia for a νεβευσανσα

(b) the offerent is ταγεύσανσα;

(c) a woman pays a τελέουμα ‘sacrificial offering’

- 2 νεβευσανσα, επινεβευσανσα (**neu-émo/e-*, *epi-neu-émo/e-* (with /w/ noted <β>), ταγευσανσα:
phases of an initiatic rite : νέος, ἐπίνεος, →ταγεύω `be chef' (a woman) **under the protection of**
Artemis Θροσία.
- 3 Etymology of Θροσία? No connection with θρασύς (local variant of Θρασεῖα? but
Θράσυς and Θόρσυς (also Θορσύ-λοχος) in Achaia, Myc. *to-si-ta /T^horsītās/*
θερσύς ου θέρσυς epithet of Athena in Larisa (gen. Αθαναϝ Θερσυος : 2nd C.), even less with
θρώσκω `spring, mount' (**d^hrh₃-*whence †Θρωσία on **d^hrh₃-ti-*).
- 4 Θροσία derivative in **-iā-* (masc. **-iō-*) implying an abstract in *-si-* (**-ti-*) *θρόσις.
Θροσία : *θρόσις like γενέσιος, -ία : γένεσις, καθάρσιος, -ία : κάθαρσις ου κτήσιος, -ία : κτήσις.
**d^hrh₃-ti-* with **r* > *ro* /C__C, cf. Thess. Βρόχυς, Μρῶχῶ or πετρο^ο de **k^het(y)r^ο*.
- 5 **d^her(H)-*/**d^hrh(H)-* `support, upheld, hold (fast)': Gk. θρόνος `throne' (: `which supports, holds').
Ved. **dhartár-** `protector' (RV +) **diváh** `of Heaven' (passim), abstract **dhartári** with **ṛtásya**
II 23.17cd *sá ṛṇacid ṛṇayā bráhmaṇas pátir druhó hantá mahá ṛtásya dhartári*
`so then (you), as the lord of the sacred formulation, are the collector of debts and
redeemer of debts, and the smasher of deceit in your upholding of the great truth".
- 6 **dhárman-** `support, universal norm'
1.159.03cd *sthātús ca satyám jágataś ca dhármaṇi*
`You two protect what is real in upholding the standing and the moving"
- 7 **vi-dhṛti-** `separation' (matching Gk. *θρόσις,)
AV 4.35.1c *lokánām vídhṛtir* `separation of the worlds',
AV 19.54.5cd *imám ca lokám paramám ca lokám púnyāms ca lokán vídhṛtīs ca púnyāh.*
`both this world and the the pure worlds and pure separation
- 8 `to support, protect', `to assign X (acc.) to Y (dat.)'
RV VII 66,2 *yá dhāyanta devāḥ sudákṣā daksapitarā asuryāya...*
`Whom the gods uphold, the two of good skill whose father is Skill, ... **to lordship**"
- 9 Artemis **Θροσία** **the one of *θρόσις** (: Ved. *dhṛti-* : **d^hrh₃-ti-*)
either the goddess of support, protection (θρόσις) of a religious microcosmos.
Or the goddess of the assignment of young girls to a new phase (puberty) .