

“Trust me, I’m a Hittite”: Anatolian echoes of Indo-European phraseology

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1. Anatolian in *Indogermanische Dichtersprache* studies

- SCHMITT 1967: three Hittite words (*mekki-*, p. 79, fn. 484; *aššuš*, p. 83, fn. 510; *keššar*, p. 197) mentioned uniquely for reconstruction of PIE forms.
- WATKINS 1979, p. 269: «there was no immediate impetus to look in Hittite for traces of Indo-European ‘poetics’, because unlike virtually all the earliest literary monuments of the other old branches of the family, Hittite texts are nearly all in prose».
- WATKINS 1979, p. 269: «Hittite had from the beginning its assured place in the study of Indo-European phonology, morphology, and syntax; it remains to bring Hittite into the Indo-European comparative *Dichtersprache* tradition».
- Anatolian is much better represented today (cf. e.g. WATKINS 1981, 1995, PUHVEL 1981, WEST 2007, GARCÍA RAMÓN 2006, 2011, speakers at this conference, etc.).
- CLACKSON 2007, p. 184: «systematic phrasal comparison of the PIE daughter languages is still very much in its infancy. As our understanding of early IE languages beyond the Classical languages and Sanskrit improves, it is certain that our stock of phrasal reconstruction will increase, and close reading of texts may reveal better contextual correspondences».

1.1. Towards a taxonomy of case-studies

Similarities in languages → inheritance, contact, and independent creations (either due to typological frequency [and drift] or chance)

Similarities in culture, ideology, and phraseology → similar criteria, but need for further *caveats* (correspondences are not always systematic; language contact ≠ cultural contact)

1.1.1. “Becoming a wolf”: an IE motif?

KBo VI, 2 ii 10-12 = Law §37 (ed. HOFFNER 1997)

ták-ku MUNUS-*na-an ku-iš-ki pít-ti-nu-uz-zi n[u-kán šar-d]i-i-eš a-ap-pa-an-an-da pa-¹a¹-[an-zi]*

ták-ku 3 LÚ.MEŠ *na-aš-ma* 2 LÚ.MEŠ *ak-[kán-zi] šar-ni-ik-zi-il* NU.¹GÁL¹

zi-ik-wa UR.BAR.RA-*aš ki-iš-ta-at*

«If anyone runs off with a woman and helps g[o] after (them),

if three men or two men d[ie], there shall be no compensation.

“You have become a wolf”»

HAASE 1958: 34-5: parallels in the *Lex Salica* (6th c. CE; tit. 57) *si quis corpus iam sepultum effoderit, aut expoliaverit, wargus sit, hoc est expulsus de eodem pago* «if anyone had dug up or despoiled a body which was already buried, let him be a warg, that is expelled from the same village»

→ Cf. also *Lex Ripuaria* (7th c. CE; tit. 88, 2, 132): *wargus sit (hoc est expulsus)*

GAMKRELIDZE – IVANOV 1995, p. 414: «parallels [...] can be found in a number of other early Indo-European traditions, which testifies to their Proto-Indo-European character and reconstructibility.»

RV VI, 51, 14 (hymn to all gods):

grāvāṇaḥ soma no hi kaṃ sakhitvatnāya vāvaśuḥ
jahī ny atriṇam paṇiṇ vrko hi saḥ

«Surely our pressing stones have bellowed for your companionship, Soma.
Smash down the rapacious niggard. For he is a wolf!» (transl. Jamison-Brereton)

RV II, 23, 7 (hymn to Bṛhaspati):

uta vā yo no marcayād anāgasō rātīvā martaḥ sānuko vrkaḥ

«Or if a hostile mortal, a lone wolf, is about to injure us who are without offense, Bṛhaspati, turn him away from our path.» (transl. Jamison-Brereton)

RV IX, 79, 3 (hymn to Soma Pavamāna)

utā svasyā arātyā arir hi sa utānyasyā arātyā vrko hi saḥ

«Now, in the case of the hostility of one of our own, (we proclaim:) “he, indeed, is a stranger!” And, in the case of the hostility belonging to the other (side), (we proclaim:) “he, indeed, is a wolf!”» (transl. Jamison-Brereton)

Pl. *Resp.* 565d-566a

τίς ἀρχή οὖν μεταβολῆς ἐκ προστάτου ἐπὶ τύραννον; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἐπειδὴν ταῦτόν ἀρξῆται δρᾶν ὁ προστάτης τῷ ἐν τῷ μύθῳ ὅς περὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου ἱερόν λέγεται; τίς; ἔφη. ὡς ἄρα ὁ γευσάμενος τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπλάγχνου, ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλων ἱερείων ἐνὸς ἐγκατατετμημένου, ἀνάγκη δὴ τοῦτω λύκῳ γενέσθαι. ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας τὸν λόγον; ἔγωγε. ἄρ' οὖν οὕτω καὶ ὅς ἂν δήμου προεστῶς, λαβῶν σφόδρα πειθόμενον ὄχλον, μὴ ἀπόσχηται ἐμφυλίου αἵματος, ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἐπαιτιώμενος, οἷα δὴ φιλοῦσιν, εἰς δικαστήρια ἄγων μαιφονῆ, βίον ἀνδρὸς ἀφανίζων, γλώττη τε καὶ στόματι ἀνοσίῳ γεύόμενος φόνου συγγενοῦς, καὶ ἀνδρηλατῆ καὶ ἄρα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἀνάγκη δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἴμαρται ἢ ἀπολωλέναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ τυραννεῖν καὶ λύκῳ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι;

«“What, then, is the starting-point of the transformation of a protector into a tyrant? Is it not obviously when the protector's acts begin to reproduce the legend that is told of the shrine of Lycaean Zeus in Arcadia?” “What is that?” he said. “The story goes that he who tastes of the one bit of human entrails minced up with those of other victims is inevitably transformed into a wolf. Have you not heard the tale?” “I have.” “And is it not true that in like manner a leader of the people who, getting control of a docile mob, does not withhold his hand from the shedding of tribal blood, but by the customary unjust accusations brings a citizen into court and assassinates him, blotting out a human life, and with unhallowed tongue and lips that have tasted kindred blood, banishes and slays and hints at the abolition of debts and the partition of lands – is it not the inevitable consequence and a decree of fate that such a one be either slain by his enemies or become a tyrant and be transformed from a man into a wolf?”» (transl. Shorey)

1.1.2. Gods as oath witnesses: an areal motif?

Bo 86/299 iv 3-4 (Hittite Bronze Tablet, ed. OTTEN 1988)

AN KI *šal-li-iš a-ru-na-aš* HUR.SAG^{MEŠ} ID^{MEŠ} PU^{MEŠ} ŠA KUR^{URU} HA-AT-TI U ŠA KUR^{URU D} U-ta-aš-ša

«heaven, earth, the great sea, the mountains, rivers, and springs of Hatti and of the land of Tarḫuntašša»

NENCI 1961: a Greek parallel (cf. also LAZZERONI 1989, PUHVEL 1991, DARDANO *forthcoming*)

Γ 276-280

Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰδηθεν μεδέων κύδιστε μέγιστε,
Ἡέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις,
καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας
ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση,
ὑμεῖς μάρτυροι ἔσθε, φυλάσσετε δ' ὄρκια πιστά

«Father Zeus, ruling from Ida, most lordly, greatest,
and Helios, you who look upon everything, who listen to everything,
and rivers, and earth, and you (two) who under the earth
punish suffering men, whoever has sworn false oaths,
you (pl.), be witnesses! (and) protect the trustworthy oaths»

TELL AHMAR 6 § 2 (late 10th– early 9th c. BCE, ed. HAWKINS 2006: 12ff.)

CAELUM (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa (DEUS)ia-[...] (DEUS)BONUS (DEUS)LUNA-sa |á-ta-na |(PES₂)tara/i-za-mi-i-sa
(DEUS)SOL-sa (DEUS)CERVUS-sa ||(DEUS)kar-hu-ha-sa (DEUS)ku+AVIS (DEUS)hi-pu-da-sa |EXERCITUS-la/i/u-
na-si-ha (DEUS)sà-us-ka-sa [(DEUS)]FORTIS-sa (DEUS)SARMA-sa |“CAELUM”-ti-sa |“TERRA”-REL+ra/i-ti-sa-ha
(DEUS)AVIS-ti-zi (DEUS)*30-da-ti-zi a-tá |ta-sa²-mi-zi DEUS-ní-zi |(LITUUS)á-za-ta

«Celestial Tarhunt, Ea, the Graingod, the Moongod, the benevolently inclined Sun-God, Runtiya, Karhuha, Kubaba, Hipuda (= Hebat) and Šauska of the Army, Teššub, Šarruma, Heaven and Earth, the divine AVIS-ti-zi, the divine *30-da-ti-zi, the ... gods loved me, the first-born child.»

GOEDEGEBUURE 2014:  (*128 = AVIS) = /wa/ and  (*30) = /hapa/.

(DEUS)AVIS-ti-zi = (DEUS)wa_x-ti-zi /wattinzi/ ‘mountains’

*30-da-ti-zi = /hapadaⁿtiⁿzi/ < personifying -ant- derivation of (FLUMEN.REGIO)hapada/i- (c.) ‘riverland’, ‘valley’.

→ «[...] Heaven and Earth, the divine mountains, the divine riverlands»

2. A new case study: Hittite *kāri tija-*

2.1. The *communis opinio*

kāri tija-: ‘to be gracious towards’, ‘to comply’, ‘to go along with’, ‘to accommodate’. Literally ‘step to graciousness’. Cf. also *karija-* (same meaning).

tija- ‘to step’ < (but cf. *infra*); *kāri* < PIE *ǵ^hér- (cf. Skt. *hāryati* ‘desire, covet’, Gk. *χαίρω*, OHG *ger* ‘covetous’), not **ker-h-* (cf. Gk. *κορέννυμι* ‘satiare’, Lith. *šeriu* ‘feed’); cf. *HED*: IV, 80-1.

Ex.: *KBo* 5.6 iv 13-15 = *CTH* 40 IV (The Deeds of Šuppiliuma I as told by his son Muršili II)

nu A-BU-IA ge-en-zu-ša-la-as ku-it e-eš-ta
na-aš šA MUNUS⁷⁷ me-mi-ia-ni ka-a-ri ti-ia-at
nu šA DUMU-RI kat-ta-an IŠ-BAT

«My father, since he was kind-hearted, was **gracious towards** the word/matter of the woman and he dealt with the matter of the son»

But what if *kāri tiia-* < PIE **kre(d)-d^heh₁-*?

2.2. PIE **kre(d)-d^heh₁-*

An Indo-European expression (FORTSON 2010: 337, BEEKES 2011: 41, 210, MEIER-BRÜGGER 2010: 321, NIL: 418):

RV II, 12, 5

yaṃ smā pṛchanti kuha seti ghoram utem āhur naišo astīty indraḥ
so ayaḥ puṣṭīr vija ivā mināti śrad asmai dhatta sa janāsa indraḥ

«The terrifying one about whom they always ask, “Where is he?” – and they say of him, “He does not exist!” He diminishes the riches of the stranger like the stakes. Put trust in him! – he, o peoples, is Indra» (transl. Jamison-Brereton)

Y 31.1

tā vā uruuātā marəntō, aguštā vacā səṅghāmahī
aēibiū yōi uruuātāiš drūjō, ašahiā gaēḡā
vīmərəṇcaitēaṭcīṭ aēibiū vahištā, yōi zarazdā aṅhən mazdāi

«Vos traités que nous murmurons, nous les définissons comme des paroles que ne peuvent entendre ceux qui, conformément aux traités de la Tromperie, détruisent les êtres-vivants de l’Agencement, mais comme (des paroles) très bonnes pour ceux qui ont confiance en Mazdā» (transl. Kellens)

Plaut. *Amph.* 436-7

At ego per Mercurium iuro, tibi Iovem non credere
nam iniurato scio plus credit mihi quam iurato tibi

«But I swear by Mercury that Jupiter doesn’t believe you;
I know he’ll believe me even without taking an oath more than he’ll believe you after taking one» (transl. De Melo)

BENVENISTE 1969, pp. 177-9:

«Qu’est-ce que **kred*? L’analyse que nous venons de faire autorise-t-elle à conclure, comme Kohler l’a fait, qu’il faut revenir à **kred* « cœur » ? L’ancienne objection contre cette interprétation subsiste. La forme **kred* ne coïncide pas avec le nom du cœur en indo-iranien : c’est un fait étrange, mais indiscutable.

En face de lat. *cor(d)*, gr. *kér kardía* got. *hairtō*, sl. *srūdice*, nous avons à l’initiale la sonore aspirée en indo-iranien : *hṛd-*, *hārdi* en sanskrit, *zared-* en avestique. Quelle que soit l’explication, il n’y a jamais la moindre trace en indo-iranien de la gutturale sourde initiale attestée partout ailleurs. Ainsi la forme **kred* ne s’identifie pas au nom du cœur. Même dans le groupe occidental où la forme se présente avec initiale *k-*, nous trouvons pour « cœur » **kerd*, **kord*, **kṛd* (degré zéro), mais jamais **kred*. De plus il y a – ce qui me paraît plus grave encore – une difficulté de

sens ; c'est l'aspect de la question que l'on évoque le moins. Que représente en indo-européen le « cœur »? C'est d'abord le viscère comme tel: on jette le cœur d'un homme aux chiens. En second lieu, le cœur est le siège d'un certain nombre d'affections [...] Ce qu'on n'a *jamais*, en aucune langue indo-européenne ancienne, c'est une locution analytique telle que « * mettre son cœur en quelqu'un ». Pour qui est habitué à la phraséologie, au style, aux manières de penser des anciens, ce serait une expression aussi étrange que « placer son foie »; il n'y a pas de différence à cet égard entre le cœur et le nom de tout autre organe. Seule une illusion née des métaphores modernes a pu faire imaginer un tour indo-européen comme « placer son cœur en quel- qu'un ». On chercherait en vain dans les textes anciens la moindre trace d'une telle locution. Il faut écarter définitivement cette interprétation. Malheureusement, on ne voit rien de précis à lui substituer ; * *kred* reste obscur : il n'apparaît que dans cette liaison, jamais comme mot indépendant; et au point de vue étymologique, le mot est complètement isolé. On ne peut donc que proposer une conjecture : * *kred* serait une sorte de « gage », « d'enjeu »; quelque chose de matériel, mais qui engage aussi le sentiment personnel, une notion investie d'une force magique appartenant à tout homme et qu'on place en un être supérieur. Il n'y a pas d'espoir de mieux définir ce terme, mais nous pouvons au moins restituer le contexte où est née cette relation qui s'établit d'abord entre les hommes et les dieux, pour se réaliser ensuite entre les hommes.»

KEWA, p. 387: «idg. **kred* statt *kerd* ist wohl nicht ‚Schwebeablaut‘, sondern sekundäre Umformung in **kerd-dhē-*, zur Vermeidung der Konsonantenhäufung *rd^hdh*, möglicherweise auch durch Verhüllungsstrebung begünstigt; es ist unnötig, ein anderes Etymon für * *kred^o* zu suchen»

EDLIL, s.v. *credō*: «PIE **kred-d^heh-* ‘to place (in?) the heart’ > ‘believe’. IE cognates: OIr. *creitid**, *creiti*, W. *credo*, Co *krysi*, *cregy*, OBret *critim*, Bret. *Critim*, Bret. *crediff* < PCl. **kred-dī-* ‘believe’; Skt- *śraddhā* [f.] ‘confidence, devotion’, Av. *zrazdāiti-* [f] ‘trust, confidence, belief’, OAv. *zrazdā-* [adj.] ‘affectionate, trusting, believing’; YAv. *zras-ca dāt*, ‘[and] may she believe’.

2.3. Back to *kāri tija-*

Ex. *supra* (2.1.): «My father, since he was kind-hearted, **believed/trusted** the words of the woman and he dealt with the matter of the son»

Semantics: *kāri tija-* as ‘trust’ / ‘believe’

KUB XIV 3 ii 13-20 (“Tawagalawa Letter”, CTH 181)

ki¹-nu-na-wa-mu ŠEŠ-IA¹ LUGAL.GAL *am-me-el¹*
an-na-ú¹-li-iš IŠ-PUR *nu-ua am-me-e*[*l an-na-ú¹-li-ia-aš*]
me-mi-an Ú-UL *iš-ta-ma-aš-mi nu¹*[-*ki*]-*la* [...] x
pé-en-na-aḥ-ḥu-un ma-a-an ma-a-an x [...] x
ma-an ŠEŠ-IA *nam-ma IQ-BI¹ am¹-m*[*e-el-wa me-mi-a*]n Ú-¹ UL¹ IŠ-MÉ
 Ú-¹ UL¹-*wa-ra-aš-mu ka-a-ri t*[*i*]-¹*ya-at¹* x x x¹ EGIR¹-*an UL*
pu-nu-šú-un-ma-an UL ŠEŠ-IA *ki¹-i* [...] *ka-a-ri*^{erasure}
ti-ya-at

«“But now my brother, a Great King, my peer, has written to me – should I not listen to the word of my [peer]?” And I myself drove out to [...] if [...], my brother would once more have said: “He hasn’t listened to my [message]; **he hasn’t k. t.-ed me.**” Would I have not in reply asked my brother this: “**Did** [...] **k. t.?**» (transl. Beckman – Bryce – Cline).

KUB XXI, 27 ii 11-14 (Puduhepa's Prayer to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, CTH 384)

nu-za ki-i ut-tar A-NA^DUTU^{URU}TÚL-na GAŠAN-IA
GAŠAN KUR.KUR^{MES URU}PA-ti SAL.LUGAL ŠA-ME-E ÛER-ŠI-TIM
am-mu-uk^{MUNUS}*Pu-du-ḫé-pa-aš* GEME-KA *ar-ku-wa-ar i-ya-nu-un*
nu-mu^DUTU^{URU}TÚL-na GAŠAN-IA **ka-a-ri ti-ya nu-mu iš-ta-maš**

«This matter I, Puduhepa, your maid, made into a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, lady of the Hatti lands, queen of heaven and earth. **K. t.**, O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and hear me!» (transl. Singer).

KUB XXI, 27 iv 27-37

^DU^{URU}*Zi-ip-]pa-la-an-da* EN-IA
[A-NA^DIM-za ÛA-]NA^DUTU^{URU}TÚL-na a-aš-ši-ia-an-za DUMU-aš
[ki-i? A-NA^DIM A-BI-K]A ÛA-NA^DUTU TÚL-na AMA-KA
tar-kum-m[a-a-i nu^DIM] A-BU-KA^DUTU^{URU}TÚL-na AMA-KA
tu-el me-m[i-an Ú-UL wa-]aḫ-nu-ua-an-zi iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-an-zi-ta
nu-za ku-u-un ku-i[t me-mi-an] am-mu-uk^{MUNUS}*Pu-du-ḫé-pa-aš* GEME-KA
ar-ku-ua-ar i[ḫ-ia-nu-un] nu-mu zi-ik^DIM^{URU}*Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da* EN-IA
tar-kum-ma-a-i na-an [zi-ik p]a-ra-a ar-nu-ut DINGIR^{LUM}-mu EN-IA
ke-e-da-ni me-mi-ni^r ka^r-ri ti-ya ḫar-na-a-u-aš-za ku-it SAL-za
A-NA DINGIR^{LUM} EN-IA S[AG.]DU-za šar-ni-in-kán ḫar-mi
nu-mu-kán DINGIR^{LUM} EN-IA A-NA^D[IM] A-BI-KA ÛA-NA^DUTU TÚL-na

«[O Storm-god] of Zippalanda, my lord, you are the beloved son [of the Storm-god and] the Sun-goddess of Arinna. [What- ever you] announce [to the Storm-god, your father,] and to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your mother, [the Storm-god], your father, and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your mother, will [not] refuse your word. They will hear you. This [word] which I, Puduhepa, your maid, [made] into a prayer, announce it for me, O Storm-god of Zippalanda, my lord, and pass it on. **K. t.**, O god, my lord! Since I am a woman of the birthstool, and I have personally made restitution to the god, my lord, intercede on my behalf, O god, my lord, with [the Storm-god], your father, and with the Sun-goddess of Arinna» (transl. Singer)

KUB XV, 22 3-5 (ed. DE ROOS 2007:183-4)

[
]x I-NA^{URU}TÚL-na ar-ku-ua-ar ti-ia-u-ua-an-^rzi^r [
kiš-a]n IR-RU-UB^DWa-an-za-aš GAŠAN-IA **ka-a-ri ti-ia-u-ua-aš** [
k]a-a-ri ti-iš-ki-iz-zi

«in order to address a prayer in Arinna [...] [made the fol]lowing vow: Wanza, my lady ...of indulgence [...] forebears» (transl. De Roos)

DE ROOS 2007, p. 184, fn. 429: «now that KAR in for example *kitkar* (adv. “at the head”) has been identified as a subst. meaning “head” (most recently in HEG K, 496), *kari tiya-* (*sic!*) could perhaps be translated as “post oneself in someone’s head” > assist. The meaning “indulge” was first suggested by J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge... II*, MVAeG 34/1, 1930, 28⁺²».

→ But [INDULGE]/[ASSIST] < [POST ONESELF IN SOMEONE’S HEAD] is much less plausible than [INDULGE]/[ASSIST]/[BE KIND] < [PUT (IN) THE HEART] or even – more simply – [TRUST].

→ **compatible**

Syntax: cf. Latin and Indo-Iranian, where the expression is followed by a dative: Hitt. *me-mi-ja-ni ka-a-ri ti-ja-at* resembles Lat. *credere* + dative (*credere alicui*) and *śrad...dha-* + dative (*śrad asmai dha-*).

→ compatible.

Form: more problematic.

1. Etymology of *tija-*
2. Absence of the dental in *kāri-*

Re 1.: *tija-* < **d^heh₁*?

tija- 'to step' < **d^heh₁*- 'to put' (cf. Gk. τῖθημι) or **steh₂*- 'to stand' (cf. Gk. ἵστανμι)? Debated, but many now trace it back to **steh₂*.

However, the verb *dai-* (< **d^heh₁*.) shows «generalization of the thematic stem *tije/a^{-zi}* in younger times» (EDHIL: 808). Since some inflected forms of *dai-* «formally merged with the verb *tije/a^{-zi}* 'to step', it is not always easy to decide whether a form belongs here or with 'to step'» (EDHIL: 808).

→ *tija-* does not contradict the current hypothesis.

Re 2.: *kāri* < 'heart'-word?

“Standard” etymology: «*kari* (dat. *ka-a-ri*) 'concession', *kariya-* (midd. Pret. 1 s. *ka-ri-ya-aḥ-ḥa-at*) 'yield, concede': Skt. *haryati, haryate* 'is gratified', Gk. χαίρω 'be glad', χάρις 'grace, favor', Lat *horior, hortor* 'urge', Osc. *herest* 'volet'» (STURTEVANT 1933: 118). Cf. also *karija-*.

≠ Hitt. *ker* / *kard(i)-* (n.) 'heart'

But alternative explanation: *kāri* could come «vielleicht aus urheth. endungslosem Lok. **kār* + *i* < *kārd* < **kērd*» (OETTINGER 1979: 552).

Puhvel's objection: «Oettinger's (*Stammbildung* 552) assumption for *kāri* of a suffixless locative **kar* + *i* (< **kard* 'in the heart') makes no sense vis-à-vis the normal dat-loc. *karti* from *kir(ti)-* (q.v.) and took no account of the verb *kari(ya)-*» (HED IV: 80-1)

- Not compelling:
- (1) Endless locatives are found elsewhere in Hittite
 - (2) Hitt. *ka-a-ri* (with presumably long *ā*!) vs. Gk. χάρις, Skt. *haryati, etc.* (with short *a*!)
 - (3) most attestations of *kāri* have *plene* spelling (possibly even *KUB XXI 27 iv 27-37 supra*, judging from the ms.); *karija-* never has *plene* spelling.

Additional evidence: (KBo III 7 i 2) *kar-di-aš-ta-aš i-ja-mi* 'ich willfahre dir' ("tue das deines Herzens"); cf. Skt. *śrād* + *KAR*: «Idg. **kred- d^heh₁* (~ *DHĀ*; vgl. auch RV *śrād* mit *KAR*, 8, 75, 2 *śrād...kṛdhi* 'gewähre, sichere zu!')» (EWA: 663).

→ *kāri* supports the current hypothesis.

Not necessarily in contradiction with GARCÍA RAMÓN 2006: the Hittite outcomes of **kre(d)- d^heh₁*- could have been later associated to the verb *kari(ja)-* and to other constructions with *tija-* 'to step'. Both *kāri tija-* and *karija-* are predominantly attested in NH texts.

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