International Colloquium on Ancient Greek Linguistics
August 30th - September 1st 2018
University of Helsinki
Francesco Dedè - The Greek suffix -ινδα within the Micro-Asiatic multilingual context

The Greek suffix -ινδα within the Micro-Asiatic multilingual context

Francesco Dedè
Università degli Studi di Milano

1. The Greek adverbs in -ινδα referring to games

1.1 Greek adverbs ending in -ινδα referring to games (ludonyms):

- examples: κρυπτίνδα "hide-and-seek" (< κρύπτω "hide"), ἀκινητίνδα "who stirs first" (< ἀκίνητος "motionless, still"), ποσίνδα "(a kind of) morra" (< πόσος "how much?").
- non prototypical status of these adverbs (see Dedè 2016).

1.2 Difficulty to explain the sequence -νδ- within Greek morphology:

- Chantraine 1933:278: «Le groupe se dénonce comme technique et populaire», «rien n'explique la combinaison -νδ- qui caractérise le groupe. Nous avons affaire à des procédés semi-argotiques dont l'origine reste, par définition, une énigme».

2. Adverbs in -ινδα and adverbs in -δόν/-δήν/-δα

2.1 Greek adverbs in -ινδα interpreted as complex formations built with the adverbial suffix -δα (parallel to those in -δήν and -δόν):

- widespread view in the XIX century, see Schmidt 1846 and Frohwein 1868.
- Chantraine 1933 says that the two series are synchronically connected, but believes in the foreign (Lydian) origin of the -ινδα type.
- More recent studies on the adverbs in -δόν/-δήν/-δα do not discuss game adverbs in -ινδα, see Rau 2006 and Mathys 2016.

2.2 Difficulty to find the bases in -ιν- which the suffix -δα would have been attached to:

- none of the -ινδα adverbs is built on a veritable *-i-* stem
- typological parallel in Latin: *datatim ludere* (and *pilā datatim ludere*, *hapax* in Novius, *Exodium*, fr. 24, cp. Nuti 1998:37) parallel to Greek φαινίνδα (< φαίνω "appear", for this game see Carbone 2005:412-413 and the entry *Spiele* in *RE*).
- parallel with Lat. *-tim* adverbs holds on the typological, not on the etymological level.

2.3 Problems with the adverbial suffix -δα itself: adverbs in -δα are the less frequent type and appear only as doublets of forms in -δόν or -δήν created for metric reasons, while there are no game adverbs ending in -ίνδην or -ινδον.

2.4 The puzzling 'juridical' adverbs in -ίνδην:

- ἀριστίνδην "according to birth or merit", πλουτίνδην "according to wealth", κρατιστίνδην "by choosing the best", ἀγχιστίνδην "within the near kin", (ὀστρακίνδην "as in the ὀστρακίνδα game" is a *hapax* in an oration of Niketas Choniates, 12th-13th century AD).

2.5 -ίνδην = -ιν + -δην as -ινδα = -ιν + -δα?

- adverbs in -δην and -ίνδην show distributive value, adverbs in -ινδα do not.
- adverbs in -δην are built from verbs (e.g. στάδην "standing still" < στα-, κλήδην "by name" < καλέω), those in -ίνδην from substantivised adjectives
- same problem as for -ινδα to find a base form in -ιν.

2.6 Other facts:

- juridical formula πλουτίνδην καὶ ἀριστίνδην "by wealth and birth" comes in the shape πλουτίνδα καὶ ἀριστίνδα in an inscription from Pagai in Megaris (IG VII.188.9).
- The noun ἀριστίνδᾱς is attested in an inscription from Sparta (IG V,1.680.6-7) and denotes a title.

3. Adverbs in -ινδα as a contact induced phenomenon?

3.1 Already Chantraine (1933:281) drew attention on the presence of linking elements between adverbs in -ινδα and Asia Minor:

- toponyms ending in -ινδα (e.g. Ἄλινδα, Πίγινδα, Κάλινδα)
- Herodotus' testimony (1.94.2-3): «Φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεῶσας ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι […] Ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὦν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἴδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν» ("And, according to what they themselves say, the games now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians […]Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and ball and all other forms of game except dice").

3.2 Lydian origin of the adverbs in -ινδα. Some relevant facts:

- I.-E. Anatolian languages make extensive use of relational adjectives, often in substitution of nouns inflected in the genitive case (see Melchert 1990).
- one of the suffixes used to derive such adjectives is Pr.-Anat. *-iyo- (< PIE *-ijo-), see Melchert 1990, 2012, Dardano 2011:54-55.
- Pr.-Anat. *-y- > Lyd. -(i)d- (Melchert 1994, 2004), so Pr.-Anat. *-iyo- > Lyd. -(i)da-, cp. śfarda- "inhabitant of Sardis" < śfar- "Sardis".

3.3 Lydian origin of the adverbs in -ινδα. The hypothesis:

- Greek adverbs in -ινδα originated from substantivised relational adjectives (in the nom.-acc. sg. neut. form) built on stems in -in-, with semantic specialisation in Greek ("the game relating to X") and subsequent reanalysis of the whole termination -inda as a stem formant.

3.4 Problems and open questions:

- no word ending in -inda in the Lydian corpus.
- no derived word denoting a game parallel to the Greek formations in -ινδα.
- we do not know whether -in- stems were common in Lydian or not.
- we must posit a semantic specialisation as a consequence of the importation in Greek of the morpheme -ινδα.

3.5 (Partial) answers:

- Lydian is poorly attested and we have a very restricted variety of texts.
- the forms *mλvẽnda* "part" and *śfẽnda* "property" seem to prove that a sequence **-enijo-* would give *-enda-* in Lydian, so it is fairly possible that a sequence **-inija-* would evolve to *-inda-*.
- *istaminli-* "belonging to the family" is built on an *-in-* stem, *istamin-* "family", and shows the suffix *-li-* wich in Lydian is parallel to *-da-*.
- semantic specialisation is quite common in contact induced importation of derivational morphemes, cp. P. Dardano's hypothesis of the origin of Greek suffix -ίδᾱς from Lydian *-ida < *-ijo-* (Dardano 2011).

Bibliography

G. Carbone, *Tabliope. Ricerche su gioco e letteratura nel mondo greco-romano*, Napoli, 2005.

P. Chantraine, *Note sur les adverbes en -ινδην, -ινδα, -ινδον désignant des jeux*, «REG» 46, 1933, pp. 277-283.

P. Dardano, *I patronimici in -ίδᾱς del greco antico tra conservazione e innovazione*, «RAnt» 8, 2011, pp. 41-62.

F. Dedè, *Ludonimia e classi lessicali: lo statuto defli avverbi di gioco in -ινδα del greco*, in F. Dedè (ed.), *Categorie grammaticali e classi di parole: statuto e riflessi metalinguistici*, Roma, 2016, pp. 139-156.

E. Frohwein, *De adverbiis graecis*, in *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik. Erster Band*, hrsg. von Georg Curtius, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 63-132.

R. Gérard, *Phonétique et morphologie de la langue lydienne*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2005.

R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch : mit grammatischer Skizzen und Inschriftensammlung*, Heidelberg, 1964.

A. Mathys, *À propos des adverbes en -δην -δόν -δα -δά du grec ancien : problèmes morphologiques et syntaxiques*, in A. Blanc, D. Petit (eds.), *Nouveaux acquis sur la formation des noms en grec ancien. Actes du colloque international, Université de Rouen, ERIAC, 17-18 octobre 2013*, Leuven-Paris, 2016, pp. 243-279.

H. C. Melchert, *Adjectives in *-iyo- in Anatolian*, «HS» 103, 1990, pp. 198-207.

H. C. Melchert, *PIE *y > Lydian* d, in P. Vavroušek (ed.), *Iranian and Indo-European Studies. Memorial Volume of Otakar Klíma*, Praha, 1994, pp. 181-187.

H. C. Melchert, *Second thoughts on *y and* H_2 *in Lydian*, in M. Mazoyer, O. Casabonne (eds.), *Studia anatolica et varia. Mélanges offerts au professeur René Lebrun (volume II)*, Paris, 2004.

H. C. Melchert, *Genitive Case and Possessive Adjective in Anatolian*, in V. Orioles (ed.), *Per Roberto Gusmani. Studi in ricordo. Linguistica storica e teorica*, vol. II, tomo 1, Udine, 2012, pp. 273-286.

A. Nuti, *Ludus e iocus. Percorsi di ludicità nella lingua latina*, Viella-Treviso-Roma, 1998.

J. Rau, *The Greek Adverbs in -δην -δον -δα*, «Glotta» 82, 2006, pp. 211-220.

RE = G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Witte, K. Mittelhaus, K, Ziegler (eds.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart (München), 1893-1978.

? Schmidt, *Ueber die griechischen Wörter in ίνδα, welche zur Bezeichnung von Spielen dienen*, «Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache» 1, 1846, pp. 264-275.

E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik. Erster Band. Allgemeiner Teil, Lautlehre, Wortbildung, Flexion*, München, 1939.