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
- 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 -ινδήν or -ινδόν.

2.4 The puzzling ‘juridical’ adverbs in -ινδην:

- 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 = -ἀν + -δην as -ινδα = -legate + -da?

- adverbs in -δην and -ινδην 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 -ινδην from substantivised adjectives
- same problem as for -ινδα to find a base form in -α.

2.6 Other facts:

- juridical formula πλουτίνδην και ἄριστινδην “by wealth and birth” comes in the shape πλουτίνδα και ἄριστινδα in an inscription from Pagai in Megaris (IG VII.188.9).
- The noun ἄριστινδας 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. Ἀλινδα, Πίγινδα, Κάλινδα)
- Herodotus’ testimony (1.94.2-3): «Οι Βασίλεις τις μεγάλης καὶ τὰς παγνίνς τὰς νῦν σφίς τε καὶ Ἑλλησ πατησίτων έωσυν έξερθήσας ἄνευ τοῦ τότε καὶ τῶν κύριων καὶ τῶν ἀστεραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν πασέων παγνίνων τὰ εἴδες, πλήρως πεσσόν» (“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. *-iyor- (< PIE *-ijo-), see Melchert 1990, 2012, Dardano 2011:54-55.

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 format.

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 *meloenda* “part” and *sfenda* “property” seem to prove that a sequence *-enijo-* would give *-enda-* in Lydian, so it is fairly possible that a sequence *-imija-* would evolve to *-inda-*.
- *istaminli-* “belonging to the family” is built on an *-in-* stem, *istamin-* “family”, and shows the suffix *-li-* which 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 *-iða-* from Lydian *-ida-* < *-ijo-* (Dardano 2011).

Bibliography

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