

# Papers on Ancient Greek Linguistics

Proceedings of the Ninth International Colloquium on  
Ancient Greek Linguistics  
(ICAGL 9)

30 August – 1 September 2018, Helsinki

# Societas Scientiarum Fennica

The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters

Address:

Pohjoinen Makasiinikatu 7 A 6, FI – 00130 Helsinki

In Swedish:

Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, Norra Magasinsgatan 7 A 6, FI – 00130 Helsingfors

In Finnish:

Suomen Tiedeseura, Pohjoinen Makasiinikatu 7 A 6, FI – 00130 Helsinki

## Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum

The series, founded in 1923, publishes monographs or other studies on antiquity and its tradition.

*Editor:*

Prof. Mika Kajava

Address: Department of Languages, P. O. Box 24, FI – 00014 University of Helsinki.

*Requests for Exchange:*

Exchange Centre for Scientific Literature, Snellmaninkatu 13, FI – 00170 Helsinki, or at the Secretary of the Society.

*Distribution and Sale:*

Tiedekirja, Snellmaninkatu 13, FI – 00170 Helsinki; tiedekirja@tsv.fi, www.tsv.fi.

*Other series published by the Society:*

Commentationes Physico-Mathematicae

Commentationes Scientiarum Socialium

Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk

The History of Learning and Science in Finland 1828-1918

Årsbok – Vuosikirja (Yearbook), serie A sarja

Sphinx (Årsbok – Vuosikirja, serie B sarja)

Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum  
139 2020

Papers on Ancient Greek Linguistics

Proceedings of the Ninth International Colloquium on  
Ancient Greek Linguistics  
(ICAGL 9)

30 August – 1 September 2018, Helsinki

Edited by  
MARTTI LEIWO, MARJA VIERROS & SONJA DAHLGREN

**Societas Scientiarum Fennica**

The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters

*Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*  
is part of the publishing cooperation between  
the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters and  
the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters

This book has received a subsidy granted by the Ministry of Education and Culture  
distributed by the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies

ISSN 0069-6587 (print)  
ISSN 2736-9374 (online)  
ISBN 978-951-653-443-8 (print)  
ISBN 978-951-653-444-5 (online)

Layout by Vesa Vahtikari

Copyright © 2020 by  
Societas Scientiarum Fennica

Printed by Grano Oy, Vaasa 2020

# Contents

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Introduction  | i   |
| MARTTI LEIWO, MARJA VIERROS & SONJA DAHLDRÉN  |     |
| I Greek in contact  |     |
| The accusative of respect in Homeric Greek as evidence for language contact   | 1   |
| PAOLA DARDANO   |     |
| The Greek suffix <i>-ιδά</i> within the Micro-Asiatic multilingual context  | 31  |
| FRANCESCO DEDÈ  |     |
| Not overstrong in his Greek: modern interpretation of ‘Egyptian’ Greek texts in the Zenon Archive   | 43  |
| TREVOR EVANS  |     |
| Phrasal verbs in a corpus of post-classical Greek letters from Egypt  | 63  |
| VICTORIA FENDEL   |     |
| Foamy rivers and the wife of the Ocean: Greek ποταμός ‘river’, Τηθύς ‘mother of all rivers’, and Proto-Indo-European <i>*k<sub>u</sub>eth<sub>2</sub>-</i> ‘foam, seethe’ (Vedic <i>kváth-ant-</i> ‘foaming, seething’; Gothic <i>hvaþjan*</i> ‘to foam, ἀφρίζειν’) | 99  |
| RICCARDO GINEVRA  |     |
| Greek loanwords in post-Biblical Hebrew/Aramaic: some case studies from the midrash Genesis Rabbah  | 111 |
| CHRISTINA KATSIKADELI & VLADISLAV SLEPOV  |     |
| Notes on Greek loanwords in Classical Armenian  | 133 |
| DANIEL KÖLLIGAN   |     |
| Interaction between Greek and Neo-Phrygian in funerary epigrams from Eastern Phrygia under the Roman Empire   | 157 |
| ELISA NURIA MERISIO   |     |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Contact-induced change and language-internal factors:<br>the καὶ ἐγένετο type as a case-study<br>LIANA TRONCI  | 177 |
| <br>II Discourse analysis  |     |
| Focus of attention and common ground. The function of the<br>particle δὴ in Thucydides<br>RUTGER J. ALLAN  | 207 |
| Degrés et nuances de l'acquiescement dans les dialogues de Platon<br>FRÉDÉRIC LAMBERT  | 235 |
| Discourse markers and text type: γάρ in Thucydides' narrative and<br>non-narrative text sequences<br>RAFAEL MARTÍNEZ                                   | 259 |
| Im/politeness strategies in Euripides: an approach to linguistic<br>characterisation through qualitative data analysis<br>SANDRA RODRÍGUEZ PIEDRABUENA | 271 |
| <br>III Morphology and syntax  |     |
| Die Anwendung des Duals bei Hesiod: Beobachtungen über seinen<br>graduellen Schwund anhand der <i>Theogonie</i> und der <i>Erga</i><br>SARA AGLIARDI   | 301 |
| Exclamative nominatives and nominatives <i>pro</i> vocatives in Greek<br>and Latin: a possible distinction?<br>GIULIA BUCCI                            | 323 |
| Reduplicated and non-reduplicated imperatives: κλύθι and κλύτε vs<br>κέκλυθι and κέκλυτε<br>LUCIO MELAZZO  | 337 |
| The preverb μετα-: a cognitive and constructionist analysis<br>ANTONIO R. REVUELTA PUIGDOLLERS   | 353 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Insubordination in Ancient Greek? The case of ὥστε sentences<br>EMILIA RUIZ YAMUZA   | 383 |
| Lexical and syntactic constrictions for the derivation of verbal nouns<br>in -τις / -σις<br>JESÚS DE LA VILLA  | 403 |
| IV Modality, semantics, and pragmatics   |     |
| Modality and Injunctive in Homeric Greek: The role of epistemic<br>particles and adverbs in counterfactual constructions<br>ANNAMARIA BARTOLOTTA & DANIEL KÖLLIGAN | 417 |
| A semantic-pragmatic analysis of the augment in epic Greek,<br>applied to some longer passages<br>FILIP DE DECKER  | 447 |
| Oblique optative and inferential evidentiality in Homer<br>ANTONIO LILLO   | 479 |
| A usage-based approach to prosody and second argument realization<br>ALBERTO PARDAL PADÍN  | 495 |
| The augment in Homeric narration from a temporal perspective<br>SIRA RODEGHIERO  | 509 |
| Present counterfactuals and verbal mood in the Homeric poems<br>ROXANNE TAYLOR   | 529 |
| Committal verbs in Greek aggressive magic: a pragmatic analysis<br>MARIAROSARIA ZINZI  | 545 |
| Indices  | 567 |
| List of contributors   | 577 |

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

FRANCESCO DEDÈ

## 1 Introduction

In this paper I am going to discuss some issues relating to a peculiar class of words of Ancient Greek, namely the adverbs ending in *-ινδα* which refer to games; in particular, I will address the topic of their problematic origin in the wider context of language contact between Greek and the languages of ancient Anatolia.

## 2 Greek adverbs in *-ινδα* referring to games

The class of Greek adverbs ending in *-ινδα* is very peculiar within the Greek lexicon, both from the formal and the semantic point of view. From the formal point of view, the sound sequence /nd/ with voiced stop is found in many Proto-Indo-European roots, but it is not common in grammatical morphemes, neither derivational nor inflectional. Formations of the Indo-European languages showing this sequence as part of a formant are usually monoglotic innovations, the most famous of which are probably the Latin gerunds and gerundives, whose origin is still a matter of debate.<sup>1</sup>

The most peculiar feature of Greek *-ινδα* formations, however, is the fact that they all are ludonyms, that is words denoting games, especially extemporaneous games played by children, such as κρυπτινδα ‘hide and seek’, ακινητινδα ‘who stirs first’ and so on. The presence within a given language of a suffix entirely specialised in deriving ludonyms is in itself noteworthy, because it does not seem to have any typological parallels in other languages.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> See Weiss (2009: 443–444).

<sup>2</sup> Other languages indeed have suffixes which are productive for deriving game names (e.g. It. *-ino* and *-ella* in *nascond-ino* ‘hide-and-see’ [*< nascondersi* ‘hide’] and *acchiappar-ella* ‘tag game’ [*< acchiappare* ‘catch’]), but it is a specialised meaning that is added to the suffix’s primary meaning (in the above Italian examples, the suffixes *-ino* and *-ella* are both diminutives).



The corpus of the Greek ludonyms ending in *-ινδα* is not very large, as it consists of about 28 forms, which for the most part are attested only by grammarians and lexicographers within word lists. This attestation deprives us of important information about the syntactic behaviour of these formations.<sup>3</sup> These ludonyms are formed both from nouns and from verbs, and there is also the interesting form *ποσίνδα*, built on the adjective *πόσος* ‘how much?’, which refers to a game similar to morra. The classification of all of these forms as adverbs goes back to Greek grammarians and is based almost exclusively on the relevant fact that they are uninflected. To this we may add that these words usually appear in the sentence as modifiers of a verbal phrase, which is also a typical adverbial feature. In a previous paper I pointed out the non prototypical adverbial status of these formations. On the one hand, unlike normal manner adverbs, these formations have a very specific and well clearly defined lexical meaning, and not surprisingly they are often given the definite article and treated as nouns. On the other hand, while manner adverbs may modify a wide range of verbs, precisely because of their more general meaning, adverbs in *-ινδα* may only appear as modifiers of verbs meaning ‘to play’.<sup>4</sup>

Besides these peculiarities at the lexical and semantic levels, the morphological shape of these adverbs, namely the sequence /nd/ which characterises the formant *-ινδα*, is difficult to explain within the context of Greek word formation processes. Back in 1933, Pierre Chantraine observed: “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 [nothing can explain the combination *-νδ-* which characterises the group. We have to do with semi-slang formation patterns whose origin remains, by definition, an enigma]” (Chantraine 1933: 278). Hence came the hypothesis of a foreign origin of the suffix *-ινδα*; however, looking at the Greek lexicon, there seems to be an obvious link between the forms in *-ινδα* and the well-known series of adverbs ending in *-δόν*, *-δήν*, and *-δα*, such as *ἀναφανδόν* ‘visibly, openly, before the eyes of all’, *κρύβδην* ‘secretly’, *μίγδα* ‘promiscuously, confusedly’. Therefore, before any other attempt can be made to explain the origin of the ludonyms in *-ινδα*, it is necessary to check whether the two series are etymologically related or not.

<sup>3</sup> Given the small number of these forms and their isolation within the Greek lexicon, very few has been written on them: some information on single *-ινδα* forms is found under the entry *Spiele* of the *RE* and in Carbone (2005). Works on the ludonyms in *-ινδα* as a class are Schmidt (1846), Frohwein (1868: 129–132), Chantraine (1933) and Dedè (2016).

<sup>4</sup> See Dedè (2016: 147–152).

### 3 Adverbs in -tvδa and adverbs in -δόν/-δήν/-δα

Many scholars in the past interpreted -tvδa as a complex suffix made through the addition of the adverbial termination -δα to pre-existing forms; this line of thought was very widespread in the studies on the topic in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see e.g. Frohwein 1868: 127). Chantraine, however, in his aforementioned paper of 1933, while recognising the phonetic similarity between these adverbs and the series of adverbs in -δόν/-δήν/-δα, did not consider the two series as etymologically connected and believed the adverbs in -tvδa to be of foreign origin, namely from Lydia.<sup>5</sup>

Given the phonetic identity of the ending of the adverbs in -δα and in -tvδa, connecting the two series would seem to be the easiest and best choice; yet, two facts make this choice less reasonable than it appears. First of all, with the adverbs in -tvδa it is difficult to find the forms on which the ending -δα would have been attached: they were likely forms ending in -tv, but none of the adverbs in -tvδa of our corpus is built upon a veritable *-i-* stem. However, looking outside of ancient Greek, we could comparatively look at the Latin adverbs ending in *-im* or *-tim*, such as *cursim* ‘quickly, swiftly’ or *raptim* ‘violently, greedily’. The importance of this comparison is reinforced by the existence of a typological parallel between Greek and Latin: in Greek we find the adverb φατίνvδα, which is built on the verb φαίνω ‘appear’ and denotes a game in which players played with a ball pretending – and so, ‘appearing’ – to throw it in a certain direction, but actually throwing it in another direction. In Latin we have the phrase *datatim ludere*, literally ‘to play giving to each other’ (or *pilā datatim ludere* in its more complete form) which denotes a kind of ball-game.<sup>6</sup> This parallel between a Greek adverb in -tvδa and a Latin adverb in *-tim* somehow invites to establish an etymological connection between these two derivational classes, but, regardless of the origin of the Latin adverbs in *-tim* – which are most probably grammaticalised accusatives of *-ti-* stems –<sup>7</sup> we do not have positive evidence of Greek adverbs ending in -(τ/σ)tv, so the parallel must remain at the syntactic and semantic level, and the problem of the base which Greek adverbs in -tvδa are built upon is left unsolved.

The second problem is related to the adverbial suffix -δα itself: the Greek adverbs ending in -δόν, -δήν, and -δα have recently received great attention, as proved by the recent contributions by Jeremy Rau (2009) and Audrey Mathys

<sup>5</sup> Chantraine (1933: 281–282).

<sup>6</sup> *hapax* in Novius, *Exodium*, fr. 24, cf. Nuti (1998: 37).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Weiss (2009: 362), Ricca (2010: 115–116, with further references).

(2016). Even though these two papers do not agree in all respects, they do it on an important point: the forms ending in -δα are by far the less frequent type, and their distribution and frequency in the texts clearly show that this ending is a variant of the -δόν type created in the context of epic poetry for purely metrical reasons. The adverbs ending in -δα are increasingly less attested in the classical and hellenistic periods and are found almost exclusively in the Homeric and archaic poetry, where adverbs in -ινδα are totally absent. Of course, the absence of adverbs in -ινδα from the archaic poetry is not significant in itself, since their reference to children games makes them almost incompatible with the topics of the elevated epic style. What is indeed relevant is the fact that while adverbs in -δα are in most of the cases regarded as doublets of adverbs ending in -δόν (or in some cases ending in -δήν), there are no such doublets for our adverbs in -ινδα, nor is the presence of such doublets hinted at anywhere in the Greek grammatical tradition. These two facts, namely the difficulty of finding a proper base ending in -iv to which the termination -δα would be attached and the lack of adverbs ending in -ινδον parallel to those ending in -ινδα, make the hypothesis of a common origin of the two series of adverbs very unlikely.<sup>8</sup>

### 3.1 Adverbs in -ινδα and adverbs in -ίνδην

There is one more problem which needs to be addressed, because in Greek there is a very small group of adverbs ending in -ίνδην, which seem to be an exact parallel to the adverbs in -ινδα. This group is composed of six members: ἀριστίνδην ‘according to excellence’, πλουτίνδην ‘according to wealth’, κρατιστίνδην ‘by choosing the best’, ἀγχιστίνδην ‘within the near kin’, φαρυ(γ)γίνδην ‘like a glutton’ and ὀστρακίνδην ‘as in the ὀστρακίνδα game’. Φαρυ(γ)γίνδην is a word typical of Attic comedy, attested only by lexicographers,<sup>9</sup> which is very likely built on the same pattern of the more serious forms to achieve a comical effect; ὀστρακίνδην is a *hapax legomenon* built directly on the adverb ὀστρακίνδα and attested very late in an oration by Niketas Choniates (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century AD),<sup>10</sup> so it tells us nothing about the original formations in -ίνδην. The other four

<sup>8</sup> The fact that recent scholarship tends not to consider the adverbs in -ινδα as etymologically related to the series of adverbs in -δόν/-δήν/-δα is confirmed by the fact that neither in the recent papers by Rau and Mathys, nor in the older paper by Otto Haas (1956) there is any mention of the adverbs in -ινδα.

<sup>9</sup> *Com. Adesp.* 1185.1. This adverb is built on the noun φάρυ(γ)ξ ‘throat’, which in Attic comedy is used also metonymically to refer to the ‘glutton’ (cf. *Ar. Ra.* 571).

<sup>10</sup> *Nik. Chon.* 59.8.

adverbs form a very coherent group of technical terms of the juridical vocabulary and can be considered as the core elements of the group.

The striking similarity between the adverbs ending in *-ίνδην* and those in *-ινδα* seems to point to a common origin of these two complex terminations and invites to interpret the former as adverbs formed by the adverbial suffix *-δην*, as we see for instance in *στάδην* ‘standing still’ or *κλήδην/ὄνομακλήδην* ‘by name’. However, here again the picture is complicated by some disturbing factors. On the one hand, many adverbs ending in *-δην* and all the adverbs ending in *-ίνδην* clearly show a distributive semantic value that is completely absent from the adverbs ending in *-ινδα*. On the other hand, the adverbs ending in *-δην* are built from verbs, while those ending in *-ίνδην* are built on nouns or substantivised adjectives, in three cases even in the superlative form. In the third place, as in the case of the adverbs in *-ινδα*, there is no form ending in *-ιν* which could justify the phonological shape of the termination *-ίνδην*.

It can also be noticed that in all the four ‘core’ forms the stem to which the termination *-ίνδην* is added ends in a dental stop, which in three cases is preceded by a consonant */s/*. As a result of this complex puzzle, in the attempt to form adverbs in *-δην* of the type *ὄνομακλήδην* with the usual distributive value, and in light of the difficulty raised by purely phonological reasons, the word formation pattern somehow crossed with that of the adverbs in *-ινδα*. This is just a hypothesis that leaves some important questions open, the most relevant of which is why a phonological difficulty (the rise of a consonant cluster *T+δην*) should have been solved by resorting to a non productive, very idiosyncratic derivational type, thus giving rise to a more idiosyncratic and even less productive derivational type. Given the presence of deverbative/denominal adverbs showing the allomorphic termination *-άδην*, such as *λογάδην* ‘by picking out’, or *ἀμβολάδην* ‘bubbling up’, one may argue that the shaping of adverbs like *\*ἀγχιστάδην* or *\*ἀριστάδην* would have been a better and more economic choice. It is very difficult to answer to these questions; however, the key point here is that the peculiar adverbs ending in *-ίνδην* can at most be viewed as parallel formations to the adverbs ending in *-ινδα*, but not as their source.

Lastly, two further elements complicate the picture. In one inscription from Pagai in Megaris, the well-known juridical formula *πλουτίνδην καὶ ἀριστίνδην* ‘by wealth and excellence’ comes in the shape *πλουτίνδα καὶ ἀριστίνδα*,<sup>11</sup> while the usual Doric forms of these adverbs are *πλουτίνδαν* and *ἀριστίνδαν*. As interesting as this fact may be, this is too weak of a proof to make these forms the

<sup>11</sup> IG VII.188.9.

source of the adverbs denoting games; instead, the shape of the formula in the Pagai's inscription could be simply due to the influence of the -ινδα type over the -ίνδην type. The same observation applies also to the noun ἀριστίνδᾶς, which denotes a title in Sparta and is attested in two inscriptions of the Roman period from that polis.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4 Adverbs in -ινδα as a contact induced phenomenon?

Given the difficulty of finding an inner-Greek explanation for the ινδα-adverbs,<sup>13</sup> the hypothesis of their foreign origin comes back into play.

Chantraine on the one hand noticed that in Asia Minor the termination -ινδα is quite common among toponyms,<sup>14</sup> on the other side he drew attention to the following passage by Herodotus in which the Lydians claimed to have invented most of the games which at the time were in use among both themselves and the Greeks:

Φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἑλλησι κατεστεῶσας ἐουτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι [...] Ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν (Hdt. 1.94.2–3).

‘And, according to what they themselves say, the pastimes now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians [...] Then it was that they

<sup>12</sup> IG V,1.679.6–7, V,1.680.6–7. Not much is known about this title: Lafond (2018: 410) says that this term “may mean, to judge by the related adverb *aristindēn* [‘according to rank, merit’], a person chosen from the best. In the context of the inscriptions which use this term, it denotes those who distinguished themselves in the *agōgē*, Sparta’s supposedly traditional education system”. Given the morphological and semantic connection between ἀριστίνδᾶς and ἀριστίνδην it is highly probable that the former is a deadverbial derivative built directly on the latter.

<sup>13</sup> Among the proposals made to explain the -ινδα adverbs within Greek, the most fascinating was made by Jean Taillardat, who saw in the formant -ινδα the result of a resegmentation of the two adverbs ὀστρακίνδα and χαλκίνδα: according to Taillardat, these adverbs were originally compounds (\*ὀστρακο-κίνδα ‘throwing potsherds’ and \*χαλκο-κίνδα ‘spinning copper [coins]’) whose second member was the stem of the verb \*κίνδω ‘set in motion’, not attested in Greek but reconstructable on the basis of forms such ὄνοκίνδιος, ὄνοκίνδας ‘donkey-driver’ (cf. Taillardat 1956: 191–192). As fascinating as this hypothesis may be, it requires too many uncertain reconstructive steps to be fully persuasive.

<sup>14</sup> See for instance Ἄλινδα and Πίγινδα in Caria, Κάλινδα and Πισίνδα in Lycia, quoted by Claudius Ptolemy in his *Geography*.

invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and ball, and all other forms of pastime except only draughts' (transl. A. D. Godley).

It is true that the importance of this quotation should not be overestimated and that, as observed for instance by Schwyzer (1939: 627), none of the games quoted by the historian, that is, κύβοι 'dice', ἀστράγαλοι 'knucklebones' and σφαῖρα 'ball' has a correspondent adverb in -ινδα. However, Herodotus' testimony clearly points to a close link between Lydians and Greeks with reference to games, and, since intense cultural contacts between these two populations are clearly attested, the possibility that the -ινδα derivational type originated and spread from Asia Minor is far from impossible.

Accordingly, my proposal is to follow Chantraine's idea of a Lydian origin of Greek's -ινδα adverbs, trying to improve it as to the linguistic details. Given the scarcity of data available both on the Greek and on the Anatolian side, this proposal will have to remain hypothetical.

First of all, there are some important facts which must be briefly recalled: 1) the Indo-European languages of the Anatolian branch are known to make extensive use of relational adjectives, often in substitution of nouns inflected in the genitive case;<sup>15</sup> 2) one of the suffixes used to derive such adjectives is the well-known \*-ijo- inherited from Proto-Indo-European;<sup>16</sup> 3) it is nowadays accepted by scholars that in Lydian the intervocalic palatal glide gave -d- as outcome, with the preceding vowel often being subject to syncope, so that the sequence \*-ijo- evolved into Lydian -da-,<sup>17</sup> as is proved by forms such as *taacda*, *śfenda*, *mlvēnda*,<sup>18</sup> and perhaps by the name of the inhabitants of Sardis, *śfarda* (< *śfar* 'Sardis').<sup>19</sup>

So, what I propose is in itself very simple: Greek adverbs in -ινδα denoting games may be viewed as the result of the borrowing of Lydian substantivised relational adjectives in turn referring to games and built with the morpheme -da- (itself coming from Proto-Indo-European \*-ijo-) attached to stems ending in -in. The regular outcome of the neuter nominative-accusative plural form

<sup>15</sup> Melchert (2012: 273), Dardano (2011: 54).

<sup>16</sup> Melchert (1990: 198), Dardano (2011: 54–55).

<sup>17</sup> Melchert (1994: 206), Melchert (2004: 139–142).

<sup>18</sup> Melchert (1990: 206).

<sup>19</sup> Gusmani (1964: 201–203); however, here Gusmani expresses uncertainty whether the -d- in *śfarda* is part of the formant or part of the stem of the name 'Sardis', since this name is unfortunately attested only in the dative-locative form *śfarλ*; Melchert (1990: 206) states that the presence of the suffix -da- in this word is impossible to determine, while Gérard (2005: 89) deems it likely.

of such formations would in fact have been *-inda* and, in a second step, Greek speakers would have reinterpreted the entire termination *-inda* as a derivational morpheme attached to Greek stems.

This proposal is highly satisfactory in regards to the explanation of the phonetic shape of the Greek formant -ivδᾱ and is also reasonable on the morpho-semantic level. Generic relational adjectives could easily be employed to denote games as ‘the game relating to something’ or the like. However, it must be clearly stated that this hypothesis rests on some points which, given the data currently available, cannot be positively demonstrated. The main open problems are: 1) there is no extant Lydian word form ending in *-inda*; 2) in the Lydian lexicon there is no word, either noun, adjective or adverb, which denotes a game or a manner of playing and which could provide us with a parallel with the Greek adverbs in -ivδᾱ; 3) we do not know if in Lydian there were many nominal stems ending in *-in*; 4) we must make the hypothesis that a formant, which was in Lydian a generic derivational morpheme, underwent a semantic specialisation as it was incorporated in the Greek derivational system.

The first three problems are clearly linked to each other and are due to the fact that Lydian is a poorly attested language; however, we can bring in some data, which partially corroborates our hypothesis. The forms *mlvēnda* ‘part’ and *šfēnda* ‘property’ seem to prove that a sequence *\*-enijo-* would give *-enda-* in Lydian, so it is fairly possible that a sequence *\*-inijo-* would evolve to *-inda-*; as for the third remark, in Lydian we find the relational adjective *istaminli-* ‘belonging to the family’ which is built on an *-in-* stem, *istamin-* ‘family’, and shows the suffix *-l(i)-*, whose function is similar to that of the suffix *-da-*.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, we know too little about the distribution of the various Lydian suffixes used to derive relational adjectives. However, if the suffix used were *-da-*, the resulting form would probably have been *\*istaminda*, showing the sequence *-inda-*.

Regarding the fourth remark, we see that in the cases of contact-induced acquisition of a derivational morpheme, the morphological and/or semantic specialisations are fairly normal, and in our case there may be a very interesting parallel. In a paper about the Greek suffix -ιδᾶς, Paola Dardano (2011) made the very fascinating and convincing hypothesis that this suffix, used in the first place to derive patronyms and subsequently anthroponyms, was imported in Greek from Lydian, where in turn it was the outcome of the Proto-Indo-European suffix *\*-ijo-*. If that hypothesis were correct, we would have a parallel case of importation,

<sup>20</sup> To our knowledge *-l(i)-* is the suffix for deriving relational adjectives most attested in Lydian. In particular, it is used to express possession (see Melchert 2012: 276).

involving the same suffix in a different environment, and again showing semantic specialisation (that is, from generic relational adjectives to patronyms).

In conclusion, if my hypothesis were correct, we would have to do with another phenomenon attesting to the depth of the cultural and linguistic contact between Greeks and Lydians. This phenomenon would be parallel to the creation of the morpheme *-íδᾱς*, this time not at the high level of epic diction, but rather at the popular level of children games, and to this respect we must not forget the cultural and historical value of Herodotus' testimony. So, although this hypothesis cannot be fully proved with the linguistic material available to us, the data we have at our disposal make it fairly reasonable.



## References

- Carbone, Gabriella. 2005. *Tabliope: Ricerche su gioco e letteratura nel mondo greco-romano*. Napoli: Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di Filologia Classica dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli.
- Chantraine, Pierre. 1933. Note sur les adverbes en -ivδiv, -ivδa, -ivδov désignant des jeux. *Revue des Études Grecques* 46. 277–283.
- Dardano, Paola. 2011. I patronimici in -ivδa del greco antico tra conservazione e innovazione. *Res Antiquae* 8. 41–62.
- Dedè, Francesco. 2016. Ludonimia e classi lessicali: lo statuto degli avverbi di gioco in -ivδa del greco. In Francesco Dedè (ed.), *Categorie grammaticali e classi di parole: statuto e riflessi metalinguistici* (Lingue, Linguaggi, Metalinguaggio 13), 139–156. Roma: Il Calamo.
- Frohwein, Eugenius. 1868. De adverbii graecis. In Georg Curtius (ed.), *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*. Erster Band, 63–132. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel.
- Gérard, Raphael. 2005. *Phonétique et morphologie de la langue lydienne* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique de Louvain 114). Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- Gusmani, Roberto. 1964. *Lydisches Wörterbuch: mit grammatischer Skizzen und Inschriftensammlung*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsbuchhandlung.
- Haas, Otto. 1956. Die griechischen Absolutiva auf -δa, -δiv, -δov. In Heinz Kronasser (ed.), MNHMHΞ XAPIN. *Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer, 2 Mai 1866–9 März 1956*, 130–145. Wien: Verlag der Wiener Sprachgesellschaft.
- Lafond, Yves. 2018. Sparta in the Roman Period. In Anton Powell (ed.), *A companion to Sparta*. Vol. 1, 403–422. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell.
- Mathys, Audrey. 2013. À propos des adverbes en -δiv -δov -δa ov -δa du grec ancien : problèmes morphologiques et syntaxiques. In Alain Blanc & Daniel Petit (eds.), *Nouveaux acquis sur la formation des noms en grec ancien : Actes du colloque international, Université de Rouen, ERLAC, 17-18 octobre 2013* (Collection linguistique de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 101), 243–279. Leuven & Paris: Peeters.
- Melchert, Harold Craig. 1990. Adjectives in \*-iyv- in Anatolian. *Historische Sprachforschung* 103. 198–207.
- Melchert, Harold Craig. 1994. PIE \*y > Lydian d. In Petr Vavroušek (ed.), *Iranian and Indo-European studies: Memorial volume of Otakar Klíma*, 181–187. Praha: Enigma Corporation.

- Melchert, Harold Craig. 2004. Second thoughts on \*y and  $H_2$  in Lydian. In Michel Mazoyer & Olivier Casabonne (eds.), *Studia anatolica et varia. Mélanges offerts au professeur René Lebrun*. Vol. 2, 139–150. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Melchert, Harold Craig. 2012. Genitive case and possessive adjective in Anatolian. In Vincenzo Orioles (ed.), *Per Roberto Gusmani. Studi in ricordo. Linguistica storica e teorica*. Vol. II, tomo 1, 273–286. Udine: Forum.
- Nuti, Andrea. 1998. *Ludus e iocus: Percorsi di ludicità nella lingua latina* (Ludica 4). Treviso, Viella & Roma: Fondazione Benetton studi ricerche.
- Rau, Jeremy. 2006. The Greek adverbs in -δην -δον -δα. *Glotta* 82. 211–220.
- RE = Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, Kurt Witte, Karl Mittelhaus, Konrat Ziegler, Hans Gärtner (eds.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 1893–1978.
- Ricca, Davide. 2010. Adverbs. In Philip Baldi & Pierluigi Cuzzolin (eds.), *New perspectives on historical Latin syntax*. Vol. 2: *Constituent Syntax: Adverbial Phrases, Adverbs, Mood, Tense*, 109–191. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Schmidt, Karl Ernst August. 1846. Ueber die griechischen Wörter in ἴνδα, welche zur Bezeichnung von Spielen dienen. *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* 1. 264–275.
- Schwyzler, Eduard. 1939. *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik*. Erster Band. Allgemeiner Teil: *Lautlehre, Wortbildung, Flexion*. München: Beck.
- Taillardat, Jean. 1956. Le groupe familial grec: χινδάνω, (σ)χίνδαρος, ὀστρακίνδα, κίνδυος. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 58. 189–194.
- Weiss, Michael. 2009. *Outline of the historical and comparative grammar of Latin*. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.