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UDC 811.14'02'373.611

ΔΙΑΙΤΑ, A WAY OF LIFE

Abstract: With most feminine nouns and adjectives in (nom. sg.) -ά the earlier presence of the suffix *-¹ά is evident; in a number of further instances, however, the one-time presence of *-y- in the suffix is less clear, but can still be assumed. In this paper, I present the development of both clear and opaque instances of feminine forms in *-¹ά.

1. Greek feminine nouns and adjectives belonging to the first declension can be divided into two groups, (a) those ending in nom./acc. sg. -ᾶ(v) (Att. -η(v), but -ᾶ(v) after ε, ι, ρ, ἄ < αι; Ion. -η(v)), and (b) those ending in nom./acc. sg. -ά(v). To group (a) belong, *inter alia*, feminines going together with (or: derived from) masculine *o*-stems (including pronouns), group (b) comprises, *inter alia*, feminine forms derived from masculine consonant stems¹.

It is the group (b) which concerns us here. Proto-Greek had a suffix -yā, corresponding with Sanskrit -ī. The Indo-European shape of this suffix was *-ih₂, which became -yā in Greek²; apart from a small number of words (μίā < *sm-ih₂, πότνια³, probably Myc. *e-ru-mi-ni-ja*: *elumniai* ‘beams’, cf. Hesychius ἐλύμνιαι· δοκοὶ

¹ In Sanskrit, we find instances of feminine -ī (gen. sg. -yāh, etc.) alongside masculines in -ah (*-o-s), e.g. *devī* ‘goddess’ ~ *devah* ‘god’, etc. (Another type has sigmatic nom. sg. -ī-h, gen. sg. Vedic -iyah, later -yāh, e.g. *vṛkīh* ‘she-wolf’ ~ *vṛkāh* ‘wolf’.) There are no Greek examples of *-yā beside -ος, to my knowledge; be we do find -ις (-iδ-) beside -ος (e.g. Ἀχαιιδες ~ Ἀχαιοί, Δαρδανίδες ~ Δάρδανοι; see Meier 1975: 27, 36).

² Cf. Ruijgh (1987: 301 n. 14; 1988: 450): *-ih₂ > *-ih₂^a > -iā.

³ *pot- + extension -n- (Charntraine 1933: 107); *po-ti-ni-ja* in Mycenaean.—In δέσποινα, there seems to be loss of -t-; the number of syllables may be responsible (*despotnyā with *y > *desponyā > δέσποινα, as against πότνια with i). The number of syllables is certainly decisive for the unwanted contraction in Attic νομηνια, ον (ō) < εο < ewo (as against ταχέος etc. with uncontracted εο < ewo), and perhaps also for -κλῆς < -κλέης < -κλέης in compounded names (which, as a rule, count four syllables or more).

όροφῆναι⁴—note the recessive accent of ἐλύμνιαι, and nouns in -τριǎ⁵), -iǎ appears to have been replaced by -yǎ after the inflected forms gen. sg. -yās, dat. sg. -yāi etc., where the -y- is regular (< *-yeh₂-os, *-yeh₂-ei)⁶.

A few combinations of consonant + y may survive into Mycenaean Greek (*ry*, *ly*⁷; *wy*; I suppose also *ny*, though I have not found any clear example⁸), whereas other combinations have visibly changed by then (*p^(h)y* > *pt*; *t^(h)y* > *šš* or *ss*⁹; *k^(h)y* > *tš* or *ts*; *dy* and *gy* > *dž* or *dz*).

2. In classical Attic and other dialects we find, from forms with the suffix *-yǎ:

• -vǎ, -pǎ preceded by αι, οι, ε {ει}, ī, ī (metathesis in the case of *a/o + n/r + y*, compensatory lengthening in the case of *e/i/u + n/r + y*) (e.g. *τάλαινα*, cf. m./n. stem *ταλαν-*; *μοῖρα* < **smor-yǎ*; Hom. *κυδιάνειρα* < *-aner-yǎ; *Αἴγινα* < **Aig-in-yǎ* (cf. αϊξ?); *εὐθῦνα* < *-un-yǎ, unless substituted for original *εὐθῦνā*¹⁰; etc.);

• -λλǎ < *-lyǎ (e.g. *ἄελλα*, *θύελλα* < **aw-el-yǎ*¹¹, cf. ḍ(F)ησι, *thu-el-yǎ*, cf. *θύειν*);

⁴ I wonder whether ὄροφῆναι is correct. There seems to be no such adjective as ὄροφῆνος (and the accent would be peculiar); perhaps the original text had ὄροφῆς, but I do not know how to explain the corruption which must then be assumed.

⁵ -ti-ri-ja/-ti-ra₂ in Mycenaean (rather *-triǎ* than anything else; cf. Waanders 2005).—Cf., with extension -k-, the Latin suffix *-tr-ī-c-*, as in *vic-trīx*.

⁶ Except after ‘heavy bases’ (Sievers-Edgerton’s rule); usually, though, Sievers-Edgerton’s rule is violated in the case of -yǎ/-yā- feminines. See Ruijgh 1987: 301 n. 14.

⁷ Cf. recently Waanders 2005: xxx for *ra₂*, *ro₂* probably = *r(i)ya/l(i)ya*, *r(i)yo/l(i)yo* [the acta Austin 2000 are due any moment now].

⁸ Ruipérez long ago proposed *te-ra-ni-ja* = acc. pl. Θεράπνιας (1956: 156); with slight modification, we might assume a form *t^heranyǎ*, with loss of -p-, similar to the loss of -t- in *δέσποινα* (fn. 3), which would provide us with an instance of *ny*. Unfortunately, however, we do not know what the subjects of PY Aq 64 will take, get, or whatever *a-ke-re-se* exactly means.—Alphabetic Greek has Θεράπτινα and Θεράπνη.

⁹ Apparently different from the result of **k^(h)y*, to judge by spellings like -we-sa, not †-we-za. Cf. Lejeune 1972: 104. Therefore, *wa-na-sa* may represent *wanassā* < **wanatyǎ*, with simplification **kty* > **ty* (rather than **ky*). Ruijgh (1985: 63 f.) offers a different interpretation of the phonemic-graphemic correlation, and assumes the same development for *t^(h)|y* (with synchronically active morpheme boundary) as for *k^(h)y*. In the end, as one can see, the two developments converged into one end result.

¹⁰ εὐθῦνη in the MSS of Lysias. However, the long υ may plead for older *-un-yǎ.

¹¹ From a base **h₂wh₁-el-*, likewise **thu-el-yǎ* < **d^huH-el-* (for **d^hewH-*, see LIP²: 149 f.).

• -αῑă < (*-asyă—theoretically—or) -awyă (e.g. γραῖα, Myc. *ka-ra-wi-ja/ka-ra-u-ja* < *graw-yă/grau-yă cf. γραῦ-ς);

• -εῑă < *-esyă (e.g. Ἡριγένεια, Τριτογένεια < *-genes-yă) or *-ewyă (e.g. ταχεῖα < *tʰakʰew-yă¹²);

• -īă in δīā < *diw-yă* (derived from the name of Zeus), Mycenaean *di-wi-ja/di-u-ja Diwyāl Diuyā*;

• -oīă < (*-osyă—theoretically—or) *-owyă (e.g. Εῦβοια < *Ehu-gʷow-yă; perhaps Myc. *qo-wi-ja* [dat. of] *Gʷowyā*¹³ ‘Cow’, instead of the commonly assumed *Gʷowyā*, or *gʷowyā*, see *DMic. s.v.*);

• -uīă < *-usyă (e.g. μυῖα < *mus-yă, cf. Lat. *mus-ca* etc.; perfect participles in -vīā < *-us-yă, Myc. -u-ja: *a-ra-ru-ja, Jde-di-ku-ja*¹⁴, with zero grade -us- beside masculine/neuter stems in -wos-: -ώς, -ός¹⁵);

• -σσă (Att. -ττă) with intervocalic σσ/ττ < *-t^(h)yă (e.g. μέλισσα/μέλιττα < *melit-yă; and the feminine forms of -(F)εντ-adjectives in -εσσα¹⁶, Myc. -we-sa: -wessă, with -e-analogically after the full grade in m./n. -went-, for -wassă < *-wnt-yă), or *-k^(h)yă (e.g. ἕσσα/ἵττα < *hēk-yă¹⁶; vāσσα/vāττα/vῆσσα/vῆττα may derive from the verbal stem vāχ- ‘swim’, i.e. < *snāk^h-yă, rather than being cognate with Latin *anas* etc.; Myc. su-za probably σῦσσα, Ruijgh 1985: 52), or *-kʷ^(h)yă (e.g. ὄσσă < *wokʷ-yă);

• the numerous feminine participles ending in -νσă < *-nt-yă, with postconsonantal σ < *ty (-νσ- preserved in, a.o., Arcadian¹⁷; Att. -Ion. and other dialects -āσă, -ēσă, -ōσă, -ōσă with loss of -v- and compensatory lengthening; Lesbian -αισă etc.)¹⁸

• -ζă < *-dyă (e.g. ἀργυρόπεζα < *-ped-yă; Myc. *to-pe-za, we-pe-za, e-ne-wo-pe-za: torpedză, wʰespedză, enewopedză* (or -džă)), or

¹² Not the feminine counterparts of nouns in -εύς: these have -e-ja, not †-e-wi-ja in Mycenaean.

¹³ Feminine forms of nouns and adjectives otherwise *communis* (m./f.) *generis* occur when they are proper names (including ἐπικλήσεις), cf. Ἰφιγένεια, Ἡριγένεια, Ξανθίππη, etc.

¹⁴ A specialized sense of δείκνυμι, ‘instruct’, seems acceptable to me. Alternatively, scholars assume scribal error: *de-di-_{<da}-ku-ja*, from διδάσκω.

¹⁵ -wos- (-woh-) is still the form of the suffix in Mycenaean, but afterwards it is replaced by -(w)o- (leaving the nominative singular form n. -ός untouched—m. -ώς, actually also the old form, could be reinterpreted as underlyingly /-ōts/).

¹⁶ Back formation from ἱττάσθαι, according to Wackernagel; I am not so sure.

¹⁷ -ns- is also assumed for Mycenaean (*o-pe-ro-sa: opʰēlonsă* or *opʰelonsă*), although the spelling rules do not allow to prove the presence of *n* before *s*.

¹⁸ Athematic forms in -aσσă occur in some dialects, e.g. Myc. *a-pe-a-sa* nom. pl. *ap-ehassai*, with -ehassă < *-h₁sŋt-ih₂.

*-gyā (e.g. μᾶζα/μάζᾰ < *mag-yā¹⁹; φύζᾰ < *p^hug-yā; probably Myc. αζ-ζα αῑδζζα, Ruijgh 1985: 54).

A number of feminines in -ᾰ obviously resist interpretation as original -yā derivatives, namely those where -ᾰ is preceded by β²⁰ (πρέσβᾰ), θ (ἄκανθᾰ), μ²¹ (e.g. τόλμᾰ; Att., apparently replacing *τόλμη: Pindar has τόλμᾰ²²), φ (a number of words in Hesychius: κέρκαφᾰ· ἐγγύη²³, λαῖφᾰ· ἀσπίς, σεῖφᾰ· σκοτία), χ (again some Hesychian glosses: ἀσκόλαχᾰ· ἀσκαλαβώτης, ὕρραχᾰ· πρίσχη). I have not found any examples of feminines ending in -γᾰ, -κᾰ, -πᾰ, which if they occurred would also be excluded as candidates for the group with suffix *-yā.

3. Some feminines in -ᾰ are not as perspicuous as those in the preceding section; moreover, among them are refections of nouns earlier belonging to the other group (-ā/-η), and others are of unknown origin.

Theoretically, we could expect forms in -πτᾰ < *-p^(h)yā, and -ψᾰ < *-p^(h)t^(h)yā. Hesychius has one or two words in -πτᾰ which might belong here: θάπτᾰ· μυῖα (Cretan), ἵπτᾰ(?)· ὁ δρυοκόλαψ ἐθνικῶς, but the etymologies are unknown, and we cannot be sure that the -ᾰ is short. The voiced combination βδ in ἔπιβδᾰ (containing ἔπι- and -βδ-, zero grade of *ped-/pod- with voice assimilation) may well be the regular development of *bdy: *-bd-yā > *-bdžā > *-bdzā

¹⁹ The long α must be secondary.

²⁰ Inherited *b* (i.e., Indo-European/Proto-Greek) is an oddity; the β- of βέλτερος etc. may be of Indo-European origin, cf. Lat. *de-bil-is*. Skt *balam* (?—a loan-word from Dravidian, according to Burrow (1973: 384)). Slavic *bol-* (Russian *бо́льшо́й* etc.). Greek β typically occurs in a number of loan-words, in the combinations (μ)βρ and (μ)βλ < *mr, *ml, and in post-Mycenaean Greek as the reflex of earlier *g^w* (still preserved in Mycenaean). Furthermore, *b* can be an allophone of *p* before a voiced stop.—For hypothetical *bj, I would expect > **βδ (parallel with *py > πτ), whereas *g^wv first became *gv, which developed along the same lines as original *gv (over ζ). The very few *vod*-presents from verb stems in (usually recent) β have πτ, e.g. βλάπτω ~ βλάψη (*mlag^w).? Cretan has forms with βλοπ, the π whereof is commonly considered to be more original, viz. the reflex of PIE *k^w—cf. Skt *marcāvati* ‘damages’, *mrktāh* ‘damaged’ etc., PIE root *merk^w—cf. Lejeune 1972: 67, 79 n. § 68-6): note that νιβ- (cf. χέρνιβον) < *nig^w- has an old present νιζω (with ζ < *gv < *g^wv according to sound law), eventually rivalled by analogical νιπτω.

²¹ *my develops into ny, as in *g^wam-νδ > *g^wanyδ > βαίνω, *k^hlam-yā > *k^hlanyā > χλαίνω (cf. χλαμ-ύς).

²² Cf. GG I: 476.

²³ The semantics of κέρκαφᾰ allows us to suspect a neuter plural (< *χέρ-χαφ-α, cf. χείρ and Latin *habere* < *g^hh₂-*e*₁b^h-?—rejected *LII*²: 196, on account of Sabellian data—*per* Grassmann’s rule?).

> *-*bzdă* (post-Mycenaean) > -*βδă* (loss of interconsonantal sibilant); there is no need to assume loss of -*y*- with Schwyzer (GG I: 475). With -*ψă*, on the other hand, we have *δίψă* (from Homer onwards, so Aeschylean *δίψη* may be a younger form elicited by the verb *διψήν*²⁴), but again the etymology is unknown. One gains the impression that postconsonantal *-*syă* develops through *-*šă* to -*σă*²⁵, so that *δίψă* could as well go back to **dip-s-yă*; Mycenaean *di-pi-si-jo(-i)*: *Dipsioi(hi)* and *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo*: *dipsiēwion* (adj. referring to oil, derived from **dipsieus* ‘priest of the Dipsioi?’) do not answer the question. The -*s*- in the combination *-*s-y*- may be ‘desiderative’²⁶.

Words with -*ξă* like *δόξă*, *ἄμαξα*, *μύξă* might go back to forms in *-*kt-yă*. A problem is caused by Mycenaean **Wanassa* ‘Mistress’ (dat. du. *wa-na-so-i*), if simplification of **kty* to **ty* (cf. fn. 9) is the regular development; this may appear very doubtful, however: *διξός* ‘double’ (beside *δισσός/διττός* < **dik^hyo_s*, cf. *δίχα*) is commonly explained as going back on **dik^ht^hyo_s* (cf. *δίχθα*), with *k^h + s < t^hy*, and not simplification of *k^ht^hy* to *t^hy*. If **k^ht^hy* > *ξ* is the normal development, Mycenaean **wanassă* must be a special case, probably due to the foreign origin of the word *wanax*, from which it is derived (note also the Doric name *Ὕάνακες* for the Dioscuri, without -*τ*-). Nevertheless, -*ξă* need not in *all* instances derive from *-*k^ht^hy*: in the case of *ἄμαξα*, for instance, a development **ham-aks-yă* > **hamakšă* > *ἄμοξα* is likelier, to my mind, in view of *ἄξων* (cf. Latin *ax-is*). *Δόξă* has been explained in several ways: < **dok-t-yă*, or < **dok-să* (→ *δόξă*; however, a doublet *†δόξă/δόξη* is not found), or, one might add, **dok-s-yă* (‘desiderative’ *s*, cf. fn. 26); Leumann (1950: 173 ff.) suspects reinterpretation of *δόξαν*, originally the neuter participle of the aorist *δόξω* in the expression *παρὰ/ κατὰ δόξαν*, as a feminine. *Μύξă* could be the result of either **muk-t-yă* or **muk-s-yă* (cf. Lat. *mūc-us*, with full grade **mouk-* or **meuk-*).

4. Without much ado, *αῖσα* (Myc. *a₃-sa*) and *πεῖσα*²⁷ are derived from **ait-yă*, **p^heit^h-yă* in the handbooks. There are two options

²⁴ *Δίψă* may have triggered the replacement of *πείνη* (Homer, Plato) by *πείνα* (Plato, Plutarch, etc.), ‘hunger’ and ‘thirst’ being semantically connected.

²⁵ Cf. *ἔχιδνα*, probably with *-*ηνă* > *-*ῆă* > -*ă*. Cf. Chantraine 1933: 109. Differently GG I: 475 (“Spurlos geschwunden ist *j* ...”)

²⁶ Cf. Chantraine 1933: 100. Desiderative -*s*- is best known from the sigmatic future.

²⁷ With analogical *π-*, after *praes. πείθω*; the same analogical *π-* in aor. *ἔπεισα*, fut. *πείσω*, noun *πιστις*. As a matter of fact, alternation of voiceless stops as between aspirated (non-Grassmann context) and non-aspirated (Grassmann context) has been preserved only with *θ/τ*: nom. sg. *θρίξ*, gen. sg. *τριχός*; act. aor. *ἔθρεψα*, fut. *θρέψω*, noun *θρέμμα*, *praes. τρέψω*, pass. aor. *ἔτράψην*, etc.

to explain the single -σ-, I believe: either $*t^{(h)}y$ after a diphthong developed in the same way as postconsonantal $*t^{(h)}y$, or the development was $*t^{(h)}y > *t\check{s} > *ts > *ss$ (*Att. *tt*) > σ (*Att. *τ*) (simplification of a geminate after a diphthong, specifically). I think a case can be made for the second option, although there is not much to go on. However, it stands to reason that *simplification of a geminate after a diphthong* took place in *αἰπόλος* ‘goat-herd’: $*aig+k^wolos > *aik^wk^wolos$ (assimilation) > $*aik^wolos$ (simplification of k^wk^w)²⁸ > *αἰπόλος*. The same rationale may be assumed for *παῦλα*: $*pau-l-yā$ ²⁹ > $*paullā > παῦλα$. Hesitantly, I also propose simplification (of *tt*) in *δίαιτα* (**diait-yā*)—which makes it a word of Attic origin³⁰, to be sure; some scholars, on the other hand, assume dissimilatory loss of *y* (Charntraine 1933: 99 “peut-être de διαιτ ²α le *y* étant dissimilé par les deux *i* précédents”), whereas others consider back formation from the verb *διαιτάω/-ομαι* (cf. *GEW* s.v. *δίαιτα*). Further evidence for simplification may be offered by *λεύσω* (found in MSS, and in a few inscriptions) instead of *λεύσσω*; geminate -σσ- of *λεύσσω*³¹ may be, not the regular result of sound law, but due to analogical pressure, graphic or otherwise, exercised by the large group of -σσ- (Att. -ττ-) presents.

Conclusion

With the preceding phonological considerations, I hope to have made it plausible that not only the usual examples like *τάλαινα*, *μοῖρα*, *θύελλα*, *πᾶσα*, participles like *φέρουσα*, *στάσα*, *θεῖσα*, *δούια*, etc. etc., but also (i) *ἐπιβδα*, (ii) words ending in -ψά, -ξά, (iii) words like *ἐχιδνα*, and (iv) *αῖσα*, *πεῖσα*, *παῦλα*, and *δίαιτα*, can all be accounted for within the framework of regular -yā derivatives: (i) loss of interconsonantal sibilant in *βδ* < **bzd* < **bdz/bdž* < **bdy*, (ii) postconsonantal σ < **š* < **t^(h)y* or **sy*, (iii) postconsonantal ν < **ň* < **ny*, and (iv) postdiphthongal simplification of a geminate.

²⁸ *k^wk^w* > *pp* > π cannot be excluded; I feel, however, that simplification occurred rather early, whereas the change of labiovelars to labials/dentals is post-Mycenaean.

²⁹ For the -*l*-, cf. *ἄελλα*, *θύελλα* (§ 1).

³⁰ Theoretically, one or two other dialects would qualify, *i.a.* Boeotian.

³¹ *Λεύσσω* is a poetic word in Attic, without a prose form *λεύτ(τ)ω* to match it. Oddly, the Arcadian inscriptions *IG* 5(2).3 and *IG* 5(2).16 offer examples of *λεύτω* (participles: *λεύτων*, *λεύτοντες*).

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