Studies in Greek Lexicography

Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes

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Volume 72

Studies in Greek Lexicography

Edited by
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in honor of John N. Kazazis

DE GRUYTER

Preface

This collective volume is a tribute to the eminent Greek classical philologist John N. Kazazis, Professor emeritus of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and President of the Center for the Greek Language. It consists of nineteen studies by specialists in the field of Greek lexicography, a field that Professor Kazazis served and cultivated with fervor throughout his scholarly career with a large number of contributions and original work, and to which he continues to invest much of his time and energy. We thank him for that and wish him health and strength to continue to offer in this important field of study of the Greek language.

The papers have been arranged in three thematic units, namely (i) history of Greek lexicography, (ii) etymology, and (iii) formal and practical issues of Greek lexicography: morphology, syntax and semantics. All studies apply a philological approach in the broad sense of the term, be it on matters of a more general hermeneutical and historico-philological nature or on rather formal and technical ones such as etymology, semantics or morphosyntactic issues. A number of papers deal with historical aspects of Greek lexicography covering all phases of the language, i.e. ancient, medieval and modern, as well as the interrelations of Greek to neighboring languages. In addition, some papers address more formal issues, such as morphological, semantic and syntactic problems that are relevant to the study of Greek lexicography, still others deal with the study of individual words or with linguistic terminology along with methodological, epistemological and technical issues relating to the particular problem.

There has been an effort to keep some general guidelines for all studies, but also some degree of flexibility was applied so as to keep the character and predilections of the individual authors (e.g. in terms of language style, citation format, etc.). In the same spirit, it was decided to have the bibliographical references follow the individual contribution rather than add a comprehensive bibliography at the end of the volume.

The collection may be of special interest to scholars on the long standing problems of diachronic semantics, historical morphology and word formation, and to all those who are interested in etymology and the study of the lexicon of the Greek language. The editors would like to take the opportunity and thank all contributors for submitting on time their texts and participating in the honor to our colleague. Thanks are also due to Walter de Gruyter for accepting this volume in the series *Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes*.

Thessaloniki – Genoa – Athens, September 2018
The Editors

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Morphology, Syntax and Semantics

Brian D. Joseph
On some related προ-forms for generational distance in Modern Greek

Greek shows several different patterns for deriving lexical items that mark genera-
tional distance, giving meanings that indicate displacement from a given genera-
tion as a reference point. There are forms with a prepositional/preverbal prefix
and there are numerically based forms; these are illustrated with examples from
Ancient Greek in (1) and (2), respectively, (1ab) and (2a) being based on πάππος
'grandfather', (1c) on τήθη 'grandmother', and (2b) on πατήρ 'father':

(1)   a. ἔκπαππος 'great-great-grandfather'
        b. ἐπίπαππος 'grandfather, great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather'
        c. ἐπιτήθη 'great-grandmother, great-great-grandmother'
(2)   a. τρίπαππος 'ancestor in the sixth generation'
        b. τριτοπάτωρ 'great-grandfather'

These appear to be inherited patterns, as there are parallels in other Indo-
European languages, for instance those in (3) from Latin:

(3)   a. *ab-avus* 'great-great-grandfather'
        b. *ad-nepos* 'great-great-great-grandson'
        c. *triauus/tritauus* 'great-great-great-great-grandfather'

There is also a type in Greek with the specific prepositional/preverbal prefix προ-, as
seen in Ancient Greek πρόπαππος 'great-grandfather', built on πάππος. This type too
has an Indo-European pedigree, being a well-attested formation involving prefixal
forms of variants of a basic root **per-*, e.g. **pr-o*, **pr-ō*, or **pr̥-* among others, in
diverse branches of the family that are geographically widely separated, taking in
both eastern and western branches; relevant forms are given in 4:

(4)   a. Latin (Italic): *pro-auus* 'great-grandfather' (cf. *auus* 'grandfather')
        b. Sanskrit (Indo-Iranian): *pra-pitāmaha-* 'great-grandfather' (cf. *pitā-maha-*
        'grandfather')
        c. Russian (Slavic): *pra-ded* 'great-grandfather' *(*prō-* added to *ded*
        'grandfather'

     d. German (Germanic): *Vorvater* 'forefather' (cf. *Vater* 'father')[1]

This Ancient Greek word πρόπαππος has given rise to a number of forms in Modern Greek, specifically:

(5)   a. προπάππος
       b. προπάππους
       c. προπαππούς

They all have the same meaning of 'great-grandfather' and all show the derivational pattern of (4) involving προ-, though with some wrinkles as far as accent and vocalism are concerned. In particular, (5a) shows an accent shift onto the penultimate syllable rightward from the Ancient Greek antepenultimate accent placement, (5b) shows the same accent shift and -ου- vocalism in the final syllable, and (5c) shows the same -ου- vocalism and a further rightward accent shift to the final syllable.

    It is interesting to survey the four largest dictionaries of Modern Greek, the multi-volume Dimitrakos (1949) and the three more recent ones, the Triandafyllidis Foundation dictionary (1998), the large dictionary of Babiniotis (1998), and the Academy of Athens dictionary, Charalambakis (2014), to see what they have to say about these forms. All of these forms are to be found in the Triandafyllidis dictionary and the Academy dictionary, but in the other two, only (5a) is given. Moreover, the Triandafyllidis dictionary offers an account of the parameters of variation for these forms, claiming for (5a) that προπάππος shows its accent shift based on the inherited genitive, i.e. the continuation of the Ancient Greek form, προπάππου, for (5c) that προπαππούς has the form it does by virtue of a derivation from the prefix προ- added onto the most usual word in Modern Greek for 'grandfather', παππούς, and for (5b) that προπάππους has the accentuation it does due to it being based on προπαππούς but with influence from προπάππος. These are reasonable accounts of the variants in question, but at least with regard to the first, there is an equally reasonable alternative that should be considered. In particular, προπάππος could very well at some point have taken on the accentuation of its base form πάππος (before πάππος gave

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1 English *forefather* may not be a relevant comparandum here since it may represent a development within English from Old English *forðfæder* (or a related formation, such as (the now obsolete) *formefader* or *fornfather*, possibly due to Norse influence (so "Online Etymology Dictionary", http://etymonline.com/index.php?term=forefather, accessed 14 December 2016).

way to παππούς), much as προπαππούς has the accent placement of its base form.

Thus, the Triandafyllides dictionary accounts fairly well for these variants. There is, however, a further variant of these πρo-forms for generational distance that occurs in Modern Greek, namely πρόσπαππος. It is given in Dimitrakos (1949, 6242) and in the Triandafyllides dictionary (1998, 1147), but does not occur in Babiniotis (1998) nor in the Academy dictionary; it is rare in general today and not really a part of contemporary κοινή νεοελληνική. Nonetheless, it is attested in various dialects; I have heard it, for instance, from several speakers of Greek in southern Albania.

This variant form raises some interesting questions (see also Joseph 2016 for discussion). As far as Greek is concerned, this form with προσ- is not an otherwise attested pattern; composite nouns with προσ- are mostly deverbal formations (e.g. προσανατολισμός 'orientation' from προσανατολίζω 'turn towards the east', or πρόσταγμα 'ordinance' from προστάζω (earlier προστάσσω 'command'), or typically have meanings involving proximity (e.g. προσοφθάλμιος (φακός) 'lens near the eye, contact lens') or direction (e.g. προσκάλεσμα 'a calling-to, an invitation')) reflecting senses found with the preposition/prefix προς/προσ-. Still, it does have one parallel within Indo-European in Sanskrit *prati-naptṛ-* 'great-grandson',[2] given in Monier-Williams (1851), an English-to-Sanskrit dictionary. However, there is reason to discount this parallel: the word does not occur in any of the large Sanskrit-to-English dictionaries (e.g. Apte 1912, Monier-Williams 1899, or Macdonnell 1924) and thus may be a "neo-Sanskrit" term that Monier-Williams knew of and chose to include in his lexicon; as such, it would not be a significant comparandum for the Greek form, so it is hard to support the Greek term by reference to the Sanskrit alone.[3] Moreo-

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2 Sanskrit *prati-* is the direct cognate of Greek πρός, from *proti (cf. Argive προτί, Cretan πορτί).

3 Nonetheless, my colleague Dr. George Giannakis has brought to my attention the very interesting fact that the Sanskrit dictionary of Δημήτριος Γαλανός (*Λεξικό Σανσκριτικής-Αγγλικής-Ελληνικής*), published in Greece in 2001 in a photomechanical reproduction of his original worksheets as deposited in the Academy of Athens and University of Athens Library), contains this very word, *pratinaptā*, glossed as 'of son's grandson; υἱωνός υἱοῦ'. Dr. Giannakis further points out that Catholic University professor Siegfried A. Schutz notes in his preface to this dictionary that various "unusual" words are listed in Galanos' manuscripts but unfortunately did not reach Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, the compilers of the great Sanskrit dictionary of St. Petersburg, in time to be incorporated in their *magnum opus*. The authors regretted the fact that Galanos' death prevented him from completing this work, but we can see that his information is invaluable in preserving lemmata that are otherwise unknown, based on other dictionaries.

ver, one has to ask what the προσ- is doing in this form at all, as it does not seem to be logical to have this preverb/preposition occurring in a composite form for generational distance. That is, the form προπάππος (like its Ancient Greek counterpart, πρόπαππος) "parses" well and has compositional semantics, based on προ- 'before' and παππο-, as a stem for 'grandfather', thus meaning 'one (generation) before the grandfather", i.e., 'great-grandfather'. By contrast, however, the variant form πρόσπαππος does not parse well with comparable compositional semantics, given the usual sense of προσ- as indicating direction towards or proximity (as above).

Thus, it is fair to ask where this form with προσ- comes from, or, to ask the question in a more pointed way, where does the extra -σ- that is added to προ- + παππο- to give πρόσπαππος come from? Viewed this way, the issue is not so much why προσ- is involved in a term marking generational distance, but rather why in this variant form there is an -σ- that is otherwise unmotivated and unaccounted for.

It is well known that synchronic anomalies in a language are sometimes the result of language contact. For instance, in English, the anomalous syntax of the expression *It goes without saying* – anomalous in that either it is an apparent intransitive use of an active form of *say* that is interpreted passively (i.e., 'some statement ("it") holds without being said') or else it is missing a subject with *saying* (i.e., 'it holds without someone saying it') – can be accounted for if it is understood to be a direct calquing on the French phrase *ça va sans dire*. Similarly, the unusual intransitive use of *give* in the expression *What gives?* (meaning 'what's going on?') is understandable if the expression is calqued on the German use of *geben* 'give' in the existential construction *es gibt* 'there is'.[4] And, somewhat closer to home as far as Greek is concerned, one can cite *ki*- complements in Turkish, which are anomalous in that they are positioned post-verbally and contain a finite verb, whereas other complements in the language are preverbal and contain nonfinite verbs, but have properties explained historically by the *ki*-type being a borrowing from Persian.

It is reasonable to wonder therefore if there is a possible contact language source here that could explain the anomaly of πρόσπαππος. The answer is yes, and the language in question is Albanian.

In particular, in Albanian there are two terms for generational displacement that have variants that are highly relevant to the issue at hand with Greek πρόσπαππος. Meyer (1891), in his lemma for *gjysh* (for him: *ǵüš*) 'grandfather', gives

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4 See Joseph (2000) for discussion of these expressions; the English could in principle be a cognate construction to the German, and not a calque.

some terms of further generational distance and some variants of them with an extra *s* or a sound that derives from an *s*. That is, there is *treĝüš* alongside of *štɛrĝüš* for 'great-grandfather' as well as, for 'Ururgr.', i.e. 'great-great-grandfather', what he cites as *katrɛĝüš* (equivalent to what would now be spelled *katrëgjysh*), and a form with an extra initial *s*-, *skatraĝüš*. The forms in the first pair, *treĝüš* and *štɛrĝüš*, appear to parallel Latin *tritavus* (see (3c) above) and a variant *strittavus* that is attested in Paulus ex Festo (see Joseph 2010); the initial *š*- of Meyer's *štɛrĝüš* represents the expected outcome in Albanian of a borrowed Latin *s*- (cf. *shumë* 'very; much' from Latin *summus*) or alternatively, if the *s*- reflects an Indo-European inheritance here, also the expected outcome of PIE **s* before a -*t*-, as in *shteg* 'path, road' from **stoigh*- (cf. Greek στοῖχος 'row, line', Gothic *staig* 'way').[5] And the second pair, *katrɛĝüš* and *skatraĝüš*, would offer a direct parallel to the possibility of there being an extra *s* in such a word. Thus these pairs provide the basis for an account of the variant form πρόσπαππος.

An explanation has been offered for this variant in Triandafyllidis' dictionary (1998, 1147), namely that it is due to folk etymology ("παρετυμ(ολογία)") based on phrase πάππου προς πάππου '(handed down) by tradition', literally "of-grandfather from grandfather", an alternative form of which is από πάππου προς πάππον 'from grandfather to grandfather'. The phrase in both instances refers to transfer across generations. It may well be that this phrase somehow plays a role here, but it is not obvious how to get from such a phrase to the noun in question, πρόσπαππος. In particular, the phrase is about traditional transmission, whereas the noun refers to a further degree of generational displacement; thus, although admittedly in the same *general* semantic sphere of talk about generations, the phrase and the noun are not really all that similar in meaning. Folk etymology would have to work very hard, so to speak, to generate a noun with the appropriate meaning from either form of the phrase.

There is, however, a much more straightforward way of invoking folk etymology, once the possibility of influence from Albanian kin terms of generational distance with an extra -*s*- is entertained. That is, since, according to Meyer, both *katr*... and *skatr*... occur in these generational kin terms in Albanian, and since there are also *treĝüš* and *štɛrĝüš*, we can surmise that these Albanian terms could have led to the affixation of an extra *s* initially in a parallel word in the same semantic sphere in Greek, thus giving a **σπρόπαππος* built to πρόπαππος just like the Albanian pairs. At that point, then, folk etymology can

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5 Modern Albanian has an initial *s*- in this word, *stërgjysh*, but that is likely to be the result of influence of the semantically similar Italian prefix *stra*-, from Latin *extra* (see Joseph 2012 for some discussion).

be invoked,[6] though not in so drastic a way as the derivation from πάππου προς πάππου would entail. That is, since *spro- (σπρο-) has no basis in any prefix in Greek, we can hypothesize that it was remade, in what amounts to a folk-etymological way, so as to preserve the προ-, as a prefix that was meaningful in the marking of generational distance, and at the same time to preserve the added -σ-, which we have to assume was added for *some* reason by speakers of Albanian in using Greek or speakers of Greek familiar with the Albanian forms; the only difference is that the elements ended up in a different order relative to one another. The form that resulted from this reordering was a prefix προσ- that made somewhat more sense within the context of Greek and Greek prefixes in that it matched an already-existing prefix and thus gave the form πρόσπαππος with the same meaning as πρόπαππος.

This account of πρόσπαππος that draws on Albanian influence gains some support from an accentual variant of the Greek form, cited by Dimitrakos (1949, 6242), namely προσπάπποι (given as such, in the nominative plural, presumably to a nominative singular προσπάππος). While this accent placement on the pre-desinential root syllable, -πάππ-, i.e. on the second member of composite form, may simply reflect the accentuation of the more widespread form προπάππος, or the earlier base form πάππος, it is tempting to attribute it too to Albanian influence. That is, this accent placement accords exactly with the occurrence of the Albanian stress on the pre-desinential root syllable of the second member of the composite form (indicated in bold): *(s)katrë-***'gjysh***. Thus it is possible not only that Albanian contributed the additional -s- to the innovative Greek form, but also that the accent placement was adjusted in the direction of the Albanian form; this is to be expected if the new form arose in the mouths of speakers of Greek who were very familiar with Albanian or speakers of Albanian whose Greek was colored by their native Albanian. While the Greek speakers of southern Albania would be a natural locus for such an innovation, given the broad swath of Albanian (Αρβανίτικα) speakers in central Greece, Attica, and even parts of the Peloponnesos, influence within Greece itself cannot be ruled out. This is admittedly speculative, and the simpler solution noted above may well be preferable simply because it invokes inner-Greek influence that seems to have been operative anyway.

Admittedly, it is not entirely clear what this extra *s* is doing in these forms, and it too has parallels in other languages and other forms; that is, not only is there the Latin *strittavus*, the apparent variant of *tritavus*, mentioned earlier, but

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6 I would like to thank Bethany Christiansen of The Ohio State University for her insights on this very point.

also in Greek itself there is a dialectal form στρίποδο attested as a variant of τρίποδο 'tripod' (cited in Floros 1980, 620), thus with an extra σ- in a numerically based form. Nonetheless, positing involvement of Albanian in the emergence of the otherwise unusual form of the Greek lexical item πρόσπαππος provides a ready account of its compositional properties and possibly its accentual properties, and thus cannot be dismissed out of hand.

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