

ΑΠΟΔΙΔΩΜΙ

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The verb ἀποδίδωμι has a basic meaning ‘give back’.¹ Greek lexica also list a host of other uses such as ‘assign’, ‘render’, ‘concede’, ‘deliver’, ‘define’ and ‘return’,² but none of these matches the way this word is used in the school scenes of the Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana, a bilingually-composed text originally designed as an easy reader to help Roman schoolchildren learn Greek.³ In these texts ἀποδίδωμι, consistently paired with *reddo* in the Latin, usually refers to recitation from memory, as in passages 1 and 2:

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| 1. ἐκμανθάνω | edisco | I learn thoroughly |
| τὰ γραπτὰ μου. | scripta mea. | my [assigned] writings. |
| εἰ ἐτοιμός εἰμι, | si paratus sum, | If I am ready, |
| εὐθὺς <u>ἀποδίδωμι</u> . | statim <u>reddo</u> ; | I <u>recite</u> at once; |
| εἰ δὲ μή, | sin autem, | but if not, |
| πάλιν ἀναγινώσκω. | iterum lego. | I read [them] again. (C 30b) |
| 2. ἐκμανθάνω | edisco | I learn thoroughly |
| ἐρμηνεύματα, | interpretamenta, | the bilingual texts, |
| <u>ἀπέδωκα</u> . | <u>reddidi</u> . | I <u>recited</u> [them]. (ME 2j) |

The verb cannot, however, simply mean ‘recite from memory’, for in a few passages that meaning does not work. In passage 3, the third example of this verb appears to refer to handing in a tablet containing a written assignment:

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| 3. καὶ οὕτως ἤρξάμην | et sic coepi | And thus I began |
| <u>ἀποδοῦναι</u> | <u>reddere</u> | to <u>recite</u> , |
| καθὼς εἰλήφειν | quomodo acceperam | just as I had received [the |
| | | following] |
| ἀναλήμματα· | ediscenda: | to be learned: |
| στίχους | versus | verses |
| πρὸς ἀριθμὸν | ad numerum | rhythmically |

καὶ στιγμὸν	et distinctum	and with proper pauses for full stops
καὶ ὑποστιγμὴν,	et clausulam,	and for commas/ends of sentences,
μετὰ προσπνεύσεως	cum aspiratione	with the sound <i>h</i> pro- nounced
ὅπου συνέφερε, καὶ μετάφρασιν. ἐν ὅσῳ <u>ἀποδίδωμι</u> <ἐδιορθώθην>	ubi oportebat, et metafrasin. dum <u>reddo</u> <emendatus sum>	where it should be, and [giving] a paraphrase. While I was <u>reciting</u> , <I was corrected>
ὑπὸ τοῦ καθηγητοῦ, ἵνα καὶ φωνὴν ἐτοιμασαίμην ἐγγυτέραν. προσῆλθον, ὑποτεθείσης χειρὸς	a praeceptore, ut et vocem praeparem propiore. accessi, et posita manu	by the teacher, so that I would also develop a faculty of speaking closer [to the standard]. I came forward, and having put down [my] hand
δέλτον <u>ἀπέδωκα</u> , <καὶ ἀπέδωκα> μνήμη ὑπογραφήν αὐτῶν ὅπου ἔπραξα.	tabulam <u>reddidi</u> , <et reddidi> memoria subscriptionem eorum ubi egeram.	I <u>handed over</u> my tablet <and I recited> from memory an outline of the things I had done. (S 13a–15b)

In passage 4, *ἀποδίδωμι/reddo* appears to refer simultaneously to two groups of students: one group that engages extemporaneously in the activity it designates and another group that does the same thing after careful preparation. (The Greek offers two alternative ways of phrasing both these situations: *σημερινόν* ‘of today’ and the *hapax legomenon* *ἀποχρονισμόν* both equated with Latin *extemporalem* ‘unpremeditated’, and the two *hapax legomena* *ἀποφροντισμένον* and *ἐπιμελήτατον* both equated with Latin *accuratum* ‘carefully performed or prepared’.) Corruption is possible; a line could be missing between the first four lines and the last four, containing a different verb for the first half. But if the text is correct as it stands, our verb must refer here to reading aloud, translation, or explanation of the passage.

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| 4. λαμβάνω τόπον, | accipio locum, | I receive a passage, |
| καὶ ἄλλοι μετ’ ἐμοῦ | et alii mecum | and others along with me |

σημερινόν	extemporalem	<u>read/translate/explain(?)</u> it
(ἀποχρονισμόν),	(extemporalem),	extemporaneously
οἱ λοιποὶ	ceteri	(extemporaneously);
		the rest <u>read/translate/ex-</u>
		<u>plain(?)</u> it
ἀποφροντισμένον	accuratum	after careful preparation
(ἐπιμελήτατον)	(accuratum)	(after careful preparation).
<u>ἀποδιδούσι.</u>	<u>reddunt.</u>	(C 33a–b)

In many other passages the exact meaning of ἀποδίδωμι is not clear; it could be recitation from memory, reading aloud, or some other task. Passages 5, 6 and 7 are examples.

5. ἀποδιδούσιν <ὀνόματα> reddunt nomina They recite/read(?) names/
nouns
καὶ ἑρμηνεύματα, et interpretamenta, and bilingual texts,
γράφουσιν scribunt lectionem. they write a lesson. (C 40c)
<ἀνάγνωσιν>.
6. ἔλαβον accepi I received [an assignment]
καὶ ἔπέδωκα et reddidi and handed it in(?)
πάλιν. iterum. again. (LS 6a)
7. εἶπον αὐτῷ· dixi ei: I said to him,
Ἀπόδος πρῶτον. Redde primo. ‘You recite/read/translate/
explain(?) first!’
καὶ εἶπέν μοι· et dixit mihi: And he said to me,
Οὐκ εἶδες, Non vidisti, ‘Didn’t you see,
ὅτε ἔπεδίδουν cum redderem when I recited/read/trans-
lated/explained(?)
πρότερόν σου; prior te? before you did?
καὶ εἶπον· et dixi: And I said,
Ψεύδη, Mentiris, ‘You’re lying;
οὐκ ἔπέδωκας. non reddidisti. you did not recite/read/
translate/explain(?)’
Οὐ ψεύδομαι. Non mentior. ‘I’m not lying!’ (ME 2k–l)

Putting all these passages together, it is likely that the meaning of ἀποδίδωμι/*reddo* in school contexts was ‘demonstrate that one has

successfully completed a school assignment'.⁴ Memorization was a very common school task in antiquity, hence the predominance of passages in which the verbs seem to refer to recitation from memory, but the meaning of ἀποδίδωμι/*reddo* was more general than that of the verb used specifically of recitation, ἀναγορεύω/*recito*.⁵

How did this meaning arise? It is not an obvious development of the other meanings of ἀποδίδωμι, but it fits very well with some other meanings of *reddo*, which the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* defines with 'reproduce, repeat' (7, cf. 5b), 'utter in reply' (6), 'pay, render (any other thing considered as a debt, obligation, compensation, etc.)' (9), and 'hand over, deliver (a letter, parcel, etc.)' (12) as well as the basic meaning 'give back'. This suggests that the development of ἀποδίδωμι as a technical school term was a contact-induced semantic extension caused by *reddo*.⁶ Semantic extensions are common in ancient scholarly terminology, but usually the influence goes from Greek to Latin, as for example when *casus* 'fall' came to mean 'grammatical case' under the influence of πτώσις, which meant both 'fall' and 'grammatical case'.⁷ In this case, however, the influence is more likely to have gone from Latin to Greek, not only because *reddo* offers a more plausible source for the school meaning, but because in Greek that meaning seems to be confined to the bilingually-composed texts of the Colloquia, whereas in Latin it also occurs in monolingual texts, such as passages 8 and 9.⁸

8. alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus et imi
derisor lecti sic nutum divitis horret,
sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit,
ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro
reddere vel partis mimum tractare secundas. (Horace, *Epistle* 1.18.10–14)
'The one, too prone to obsequiousness and like a jester on the lowest-ranked dining couch, so trembles at the rich man's nod, so repeats his sayings and collects his words as they fall, that you would think him a boy reciting lessons to a harsh teacher, or a mime actor practising the second part.'
9. In praelegendo grammaticus et illa quidem minora praestare debebit, ut partes orationis reddi sibi soluto versu desideret et pedum proprietates, quae adeo debent esse notae in carminibus ut etiam in oratoria compositione desiderentur. (Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.8.13)
'In teaching particular texts, the grammarian will also need to handle less advanced matters: he should ask the pupils to parse the verse and explain (?)

to him the parts of speech and the features of the metre, for metrical features should be observed in poetry to such an extent that the pupil also feels the need for them in rhetorical composition.’

Most of the language of the Colloquia belongs to the imperial period, when the different versions were rewritten and expanded, usually in the Greek East. Very few actual words can be shown to go back to the original composition of the Colloquia in Republican Rome – but ἀποδίδωμι/*reddo* is one of them, for it occurs in one of the rare passages for which the original version can be reconstructed.⁹

10. ἄλλοι	alii	Others,
πρὸς τὸν ὑποδιδασκτὴν	ad subdoctorem	in front of the teaching assistant,
τάξει	ordine	
<u>ἀποδιδούσιν,</u>	<u>reddunt,</u>	<u>recite/read/translate/explain(?)</u> in order;
ὀνόματα	nomina	names
καὶ ἑρμηνεύματα	et interpretamenta	and bilingual translations
γράφουσιν,	scribunt,	they write,
ἀνάγνωσιν	lectionem	a lesson
ἢ στίχους ἔγραψαν.	aut versus scrips- erunt.	or verses they wrote.

It is likely, therefore, that the semantic extension creating the school meaning of ἀποδίδωμι comes from the schoolrooms of Republican Rome. The new meaning may have been created specifically for the Colloquia, whose bilingual format must have made it very tempting to create a Greek equivalent of *reddo*, but it may also have had a previous existence of which the Colloquia now provide the earliest evidence. In either case it offers a rare glimpse into the world of Republican schooling and to a more flexible and less puristic attitude to Greek than is often visible in the educational materials of later periods.

NOTES

1 I offer this morsel to Ruedi with affection and admiration.

2 See s.v. in H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn (Oxford 1940); P. G. W. Glare and A. A. Thompson, *Greek-English Lexicon: Revised Supplement* (Oxford 1996); F. R. Adrados, *Diccionario griego-español* (Madrid 1980–); F. Montanari, M. Goh, and C. Schroeder, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* (Leiden 2015).

3 See E. Dickey, *The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana* (Cambridge 2012–2015).

4 Dickey (*op. cit.* n. 3) vol. 1 p. 144, cf. vol. 2 p. 217.

5 This pair ἀναγορεύω/*recito* occurs in school contexts in Colloquium Stephani 20a and 39a, and in Colloquium Celtis 28a, 31b, 39c, 39d, 40b; cf. ἀναγορεύσις/*recitatio* for ‘recitation’ in Colloquium Celtis 25a, 37d, 70f.

6 Semantic extension is a common contact phenomenon, in which a word in one language extends its meaning under the influence of a word in another language that already matches some of its meanings; see e.g. D.R. Langslow, *Medical Latin in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 2000) 140–205. The same phenomenon is sometimes called ‘semantic loan’; see e.g. P. Durkin, *The Oxford Guide to Etymology* (Oxford 2009) 136–137. The most complete treatment

of this phenomenon in Greek and Latin is that of C. Nicolas, *Utraque lingua: le calque sémantique: domaine gréco-latin* (Louvain 1996), who uses the term *calque sémantique*.

7 See e.g. Nicolas (*op. cit.* n. 6) 93–117.

8 See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig 1900–) s.v. *reddo* 11.2.493.23–32, *reddunt discipuli magistro* (though the *TLL* has a different classification of our passage 9: see 492.38–39).

9 See Dickey (*op. cit.* n. 3) vol. 1 pp. 145–146. The reconstruction is based on passages in three different colloquia (ME 2n, LS 8b, C 40b–c), all of which contain both ἀποδιδούσιν and *reddunt*.