Chronology, Dialect and Style: Studies in the Distribution of Linguistic Archaisms in Early Greek Hexameter Poetry

Tom McConnell

Oriel College

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Abstract

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Tom McConnell, Oriel College

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The chronology of early Greek hexameter poetry is obscure. Some scholars have attempted to make arguments about the relative chronology of the texts based on their differing use of certain linguistic forms. In the introductory chapter the history of the question is surveyed, and statistical arguments are used to establish which of the previously studied linguistic forms are most worthy of further study. The next three chapters are each concerned with one linguistic form – thematic genitives in -οιο and -ου; the observance and neglect of digamma; and the use of different kinds of tmesis, 'initial' and 'non-initial'. In each chapter, possibly underlying factors are analysed.

I argue that for each feature the factor of formularity or repetition needs to be taken into account, since repeated phrases distort the statistics. For the thematic genitives, it was found that the ending chosen is highly determined by the metrical structure of the words in question, and that each metrical structure differs in its use of the ending. I also argue that the -οιο ending is stylistically marked as appropriate for heroic hexameter texts. For the digamma, it is argued that issues of dialect play a particularly important role, and a parallel with the similar phenomenon of resonant lengthening is drawn out. It is also shown that different words treat digamma differently. Lastly, it is found that the distribution of different types of tmesis is dependent on whether they are found in speech and narrative. In each case, it is argued that chronology is relatively unlikely to be a factor in the distribution.

In the last chapter, it is argued that there might be a significant stylistic element in the distribution of all three factors, where the more archaic linguistic forms became stylistically marked through their association with certain registers or kinds of poetries. A model for this process is sketched out, according to which, the more likely a kind of hexameter performance was to remain conservative as across generations, the more likely it was to have the archaic forms associated with it, thus producing stylistic marking.

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Preface

This thesis grew out of an interest in Homer which began when I was an undergraduate at the University of Exeter, when I was first exposed to the engaging problems surrounding the prehistory and composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by Prof. Karen Ni-Mheallaigh. Eventually I decided that I wanted to understand the prehistory of the poems through their language, inspired, at least partly, by Richard Janko's work on the topic. During my MSt at Oxford, under the supervision of Dr. Bruno Currie, I was able to view the problems with greater clarity and appreciate that Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns were as much a part of the answer as Homer.

I was fortunate enough to have Prof. Andreas Willi as my doctoral supervisor and to be granted funding by the Arts and Humanities Research Council – this project would not be possible without them, and to them both must go first thanks. Andreas has always provided searching questions and a steady guiding hand throughout the three years, with the patience of a saint as he read through painfully worded early drafts of my work. My thanks also go to other Faculty members who have read parts of the thesis, either in an official capacity or unofficially through their own kindness: Dr. Peter Barber, Prof. Felix Budelmann, Dr. Adrian Kelly, Prof. Jane Lightfoot, Dr. Alessandro Vatri. Among others who have contributed ideas or helped me develop my own through conversation, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Theodore Hill and Il-Kweon Sir, as well as Martina Astrid Rodda. My thanks also go to the graduate community of the Language and Literature Work-in-Progress Seminar, who have heard more or less every part of this thesis at some point or another and who have helped me shape and refine my ideas.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family, especially my parents, and Alice, for her constant love and support.

Front Matter

Translations

Translations which have been provided are my own, unless stated otherwise. The quoted Greek which illustrates untranslatable allomorphs or allophones, as in the case of the digamma and thematic genitives, has been left untranslated, since the quotations serve to exemplify these linguistic features. When the meaning is relevant to the discussion, though, as is often the case in the chapter on tmesis, translations have been provided. Translations have also been provided when larger bodies of Greek have been quoted, or when smaller sections have been quoted for any other reason.

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1. Introduction

1.1. The Problem and its Relevance

> περὶ δὲ Ἡσιόδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὁμήρου πολυπραγμονήσαντι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὔ μοι γράφειν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ φιλαίτιον ἄλλων τε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅσοι κατ᾽ ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει τῶν ἐπῶν καθεστήκεσαν.
>
> 'And as for the age of Hesiod and Homer, having inquired closely into the matter in some considerable detail, I do not like to write about it, seeing the quarrelsome nature of other writers, not least those who have expounded on the creation of the epics in my time.'
>
> Pausanias 9.30.3

Pausanias' words ring as true now as they surely did in the 2nd century AD. The date of the Homeric poems, both in absolute terms and relative to the other early Greek hexameter texts, is one of the oldest questions of Classical scholarship. Numerous investigative methods and approaches have been proposed and defended, and yet there remains no general consensus.[1] One such method is based on the state of the artificial language (*Kunstsprache*) used to compose the texts – generally speaking, it has been argued that if text A contains a greater proportion of later linguistic forms than text B, we can infer that text A is later than text B. Moreover, if a text contains linguistic forms which originated after a certain time, we may reliably infer that this text was composed after that time. However, such approaches are complicated severely by the observations, stemming from oral theory, that the texts are all ultimately products of a tradition which preserves linguistic phenomena over many generations.

This thesis focuses on elements of the *Kunstsprache* which are pervasive and usually binary – that is, features where there is a choice between one allomorph or another. Such linguistic elements were the subject of the most comprehensive attempt yet to date the

[1] For a summary discussion, see Andersen and Haug (2012), 8-19.

hexameter corpus, that of Janko. Janko argued that the factor of chronology was the most important one in the distribution of these linguistic features, and therefore that the distribution of the linguistic features can be measured to infer chronology.[2]

Janko's work has been widely accepted. However, although there has been some criticism of his methods and conclusions (explored further below) this has arguably failed to engage fully with the key aspects of his argument.[3] The starting point of this thesis is therefore to provide more detailed criticism of Janko's methods than has been attempted by others. I then move on to engage with his underlying assumptions, to explore whether other factors are at least as important as chronology (if not more so) in determining the distribution of some linguistic archaisms, and to present some alternative explanations, which I believe provide a constructive avenue for further research.

In this introductory chapter, having outlined key aspects of the history and context of the problem, I assess Janko's methodology, and provide a response to his most powerful argument, the argument from clusters. I then set out the plan for the rest of the thesis and also discuss my assumptions on certain methodological issues. I conclude the chapter with an explanatory note on the use made of statistics throughout my work, for those unfamiliar with the relevant terminology.

1.2. Previous Scholarship on the Language and Chronology of Early Greek Hexameter Poetry

Many scholars have tried to make inferences about the chronology of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, and sometimes the Homeric hymns, on the basis of their language, in various ways.[4] Originally the debate was focussed on issues of unity and authorship; scholars argued that the use of linguistic features in the *Iliad* and/or the *Odyssey* proved or disproved "Analyst" or "Unitarian" positions, based on the ideological persuasion of the author.[5] After the insights of Parry and Lord became generally accepted, the study of linguistic features to make

[2] Janko (1982); (2012).
[3] Perhaps the most substantial response to Janko comes from the work of Brandtly Jones, whose doctoral thesis remains unpublished: Jones (2010); (2012).
[4] See Andersen and Haug (2012), 9-13.
[5] For treatments of 'the Homeric Question' see Turner (1997) and West (2011a).

inferences about chronology became less popular and gave way to scholarship dedicated to understanding the complexities of the oral formulaic system.

Some of the most important exceptions, however, include A. Hoekstra and M. Edwards, both of whom influenced Janko's methodological assumptions.[6] Hoekstra studied digamma, quantitative metathesis, and moveable nu within Homeric formulae, and argued that we could make inferences about the chronology of the formulae depending on the degree to which they have been constructed around the later linguistic form (subsequently applying the same type of analysis to the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, *Hymn to Demeter*, and *Hymn to Apollo*). The fact that barely any Homeric formulae which have been constructed around the outcome of quantitative metathesis occur suggests that the sound change occurred, or at least was incorporated into epic diction, shortly before the creation of our texts. Edwards, on the other hand, studied elements such as digamma, quantitative metathesis, and the use of short accusative plural forms in Hesiod, and reached various conclusions, including that Hesiod's use of the *Kunstsprache* was post-Homeric, with some additional non-Homeric elements (mostly from the mainland or Eastern Aeolic).

Studies such as these were important predecessors to the work of Janko, both in terms of detail regarding the required counts, but also in terms of wider methodological points – the use of a greater proportion of later linguistic forms, whether in formulae or in Hesiod, seemed to be indicative of the relative chronology of the poetry involved. Janko's study, with the intention initially to study these linguistic forms throughout Homer in order to confirm Analyst thinking regarding 'late' passages, was a natural next step.[7] Instead, the outcome was the most powerful linguistic argument for the establishment of relative chronology for the early Greek hexameter corpus produced by scholarship so far. Therefore, I will start by assessing his methods and results.

1.2.1. Summary of Janko's General Methodology

Janko's most important step was to survey several linguistic criteria together and to combine the results within a single framework (his 'common scale'), as well as to apply

[6] Hoekstra (1957), (1965), (1969); Edwards (1971); see also Severyns (1946), Krafft (1963), and Garbrah (1969).
[7] Janko (2012), 25-6.

statistical rigour to the count.[8] In his original, 1982 book *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, Janko identified 10 linguistic criteria which alternated between two forms, which he then counted.[9] The criteria were as follows:

1. Digamma ('observance' of digamma vs. 'neglect' of digamma).
2. A-stem genitive singulars (-αο vs. -εω by quantitative metathesis).
3. A-stem genitive plurals (-άων vs. -έων)
4. O-stem genitive singulars #1 (-οιο vs. any o-stem genitive which is not -οιο).
5. O-stem genitive singulars #2 (metrically guaranteed -ου vs. -ου which could be resolved).
6. 'Long' dative plurals (all 'long' -οισι/-ηισι/-αισι vs. all 'short' -οις/-ηις/-αις).
7. 'Short' dative plurals (guaranteed 'short' -οις/-ηις/-αις before a consonant vs. -οις/-ηις/-αις before a vowel).
8. A-stem accusative plurals (long -ας vs. short -ας).
9. O-stem accusative plurals (-ους followed by a consonant vs. -ους followed by a vowel).
10. Zeus forms (forms of Zeus with Z- vs. forms of Zeus with Δ-, excluding the accusative).

Later, Janko included three other criteria:[10]

11. γαῖα vs. γῆ
12. ἐυ uncontracted vs. εὐ contracted
13. τέκος vs. τέκνον

Janko also calculated the rate at which moveable nu was employed to make position per 1000 lines, but since this criterion operates on a different mathematical basis (per 1000 lines, rather than as a percentage), it has limited comparative value and will be set aside here.. Similarly, the last three criteria have received less scrutiny, have smaller sample sizes and two of them are lexical items rather than morphological or phonological alternatives, and so they too will be set aside in the present study. Janko assumed that over time each of the older alternatives would

[8] For other detailed summaries of Janko's work, see Cantilena (1986), 91-4, Jones (2010), 289-296, Janko (2012) and Olson (2012), 12-15.
[9] Left out here is the method by which Janko establishes that one allomorph/allophone is older than the other; see Janko (1982), 42-46 for the general method.
[10] Janko (1992), 12-14; Janko (2012).

give way to the younger, taking his theoretical stance from Parry's opinion that epic diction changed at the same rate as diction in the vernacular.[11]

Once Janko had performed his counts, he was able to plot his data and find a way of merging all of them into one meaningful graph. Attempting to plot them all on the same graph which measured the percentage of one form relative to another posed the problem that each criterion would begin at a different point, and there would be no cohesion. For example, by Janko's calculation the *Iliad* neglects digamma at 17.2%, whereas the *Theogony* neglects it at 33.7%, with a difference of +16.5%. How could this be compared meaningfully to, say, genitives in -οιο, which the *Iliad* employs 51.9% of the time, but which the *Theogony* uses 38.8% of the time, with a difference of -13.1%? Janko's solution to this problem was to take two texts as a baseline and place them on the arbitrary units of 0 and 3 on a common scale (Janko chose the *Iliad* and the *Theogony*). Then, for each criterion, it was possible to calculate what percentage of change was represented by these three units. When plotting the results for the *Odyssey*, for example, it was possible to calculate that its digamma percentage of 17.9% is 0.7% greater than the *Iliad*, and therefore, if the gap of three units between the *Iliad* and *Theogony* for digamma represented 16.5%, a score 0.7% higher than the *Iliad* would fall at 0.127 on the common scale, with the *Iliad* at 0. Such a process was repeated for every text, and every criterion save those where the raw numbers were too small, with the following result:

[11] Janko (1982), 93.

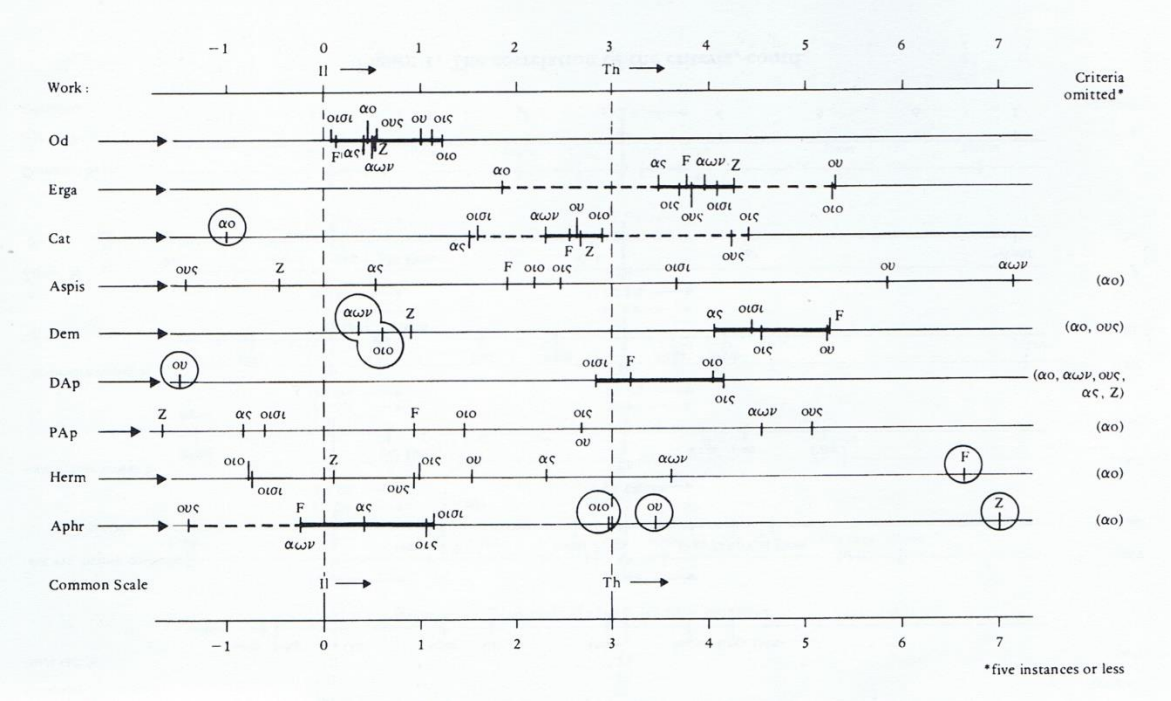


Figure 1.1: Reproduced from Janko (1982), 74.

This method produces clusters, which are visible in Figure 1.1. Janko circles features which fall a long way from their cluster. This method, then, allowed Janko to categorise the texts into three groups: the archaic group (*Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Hymn to Aphrodite*), the more advanced group (*Theogony, Works and Days, Catalogue, Hymn to Demeter,* and the Delian half of the *Hymn to Apollo*), and the non-clustering group (*Aspis*, the Pythian half of the *Hymn to Apollo*, the *Hymn to Hermes*). Janko suggested that these groupings broadly corresponded to chronology, with other factors occasionally being involved. He interpreted his findings as confirming the relative chronology of *Iliad* – *Odyssey* – *Theogony* – *Works and Days*, with the Hymns each a little more problematic. In an appendix, he also suggested tentative ways in which his relative chronology might map on to absolute chronology, but these are not my concern to discuss here.

1.2.2. The Response to Janko

As Rutherford has put it, 'the field divides between those who treat Janko's linguistic arguments with particular respect and those who prefer to give greater weight to other criteria of dating'.[12] A number of scholars consider Janko's approach, informed as it is by statistics and

[12] Rutherford (2013), 22.

counting, to be in some sense more objective than other philological approaches to the problem.[13] Finkelberg, for example, describes Janko's method as 'tie-breaking', in as much as it would seem to her to make certain a mid-eighth century date.[14] There has also been, however, a substantial body of criticism levelled at Janko's methodology and the details of his analysis. It is necessary to review these criticisms in order to see what is necessary to take into account in my own treatment of the topic.

The most common criticism of Janko in the scholarly literature is that his analysis does not take account of the various other factors that may be involved in the distribution of the linguistic features: such factors might include, for example, the geographical location of the composition/poet, the poet's skill, age, or the content of the poems themselves. The following, as articulated by West, is typical of such criticism:

> 'It has to be borne in mind that what are being measured are the choices consciously or unconsciously made by different poets, working in different local traditions, speaking different local dialects, and with different degrees of training and differing personal sensitivities, between alternative forms available within the current Ionic poetic language… The major determinant of the quantity of younger forms in a given poet is the extent to which his language diverges from the formulaic, and this depends on many other factors apart from his date'.[15]

Put another way, Janko's model requires that the language of early Greek hexameter poetry be sufficiently uniform that the process of change, whereby the use of one allomorph or allophone yielded to the other, happened at the same rate both everywhere in the Greek world and that this rate of change was constant. Yet this assumption has been widely criticised.[16] Defending his thesis, Janko points out that he does take account of these other factors when it comes to the

[13] See, for example, Rosen (1997), 472-3; Cairns (2001), 2; Morris (2001), 66. For warnings against such considerations, see Kahane (1997) and Janko (2012), 22.

[14] Finkelberg (2017a), 32. For other positive assessments, see Bowie (1985), Fowler (1983) and Haslam (1997), 80. Koning (2018), 23-4 treats Janko's arguments as final with regard to the dating of the Hesiodic poems, stating that his results are 'remarkable in terms of consistency and, hence, reliability' (23).

[15] West (1995), 205; cf. West (2012), 227-8. See also Burgess (2001), 52-3 and Graziosi (2002), 91-2 for very similar remarks.

[16] Bozzone (2014), 145 describes this assumption as 'trivially untrue'. See also Jones (2010), 306-9; Olson (2012), 13-15; Rodda (2016), 86-7. Cf. Martin (2005), 167.

Homeric Hymns – it is by referring to features like dialect and his concept of 'false archaism' that he can explain the outlying results, and also the peculiar features of the *Aspis*.[17] Janko's concept of 'false archaism' – to which I shall return in section 2.7.2 – is that certain post-Homeric poets, operating within a culture characterised relatively more by fixed texts, would use more archaic forms more frequently than their predecessors, since they had learned that this was how epic was composed.[18] Examples of such 'false archaism' include the unusually frequent use of -οιο in the *Hymn to Demeter*.

It may seem unsettling that Janko is happy to posit that the other factors mentioned above can play a role in the distribution of the linguistic features, yet also base his analysis on the premise that epic language must have changed at the same, steady rate everywhere. Yet the reason why Janko can maintain this position is precisely because of the argument from clusters. The reason why the *Hymn to Demeter* can be said to display "false archaism" in two particular linguistic features is that its use of those features is removed from the cluster of the results for that poem by a statistically significant degree, as can be seen in Figure 1.1; thus, he argues that the position of the cluster represents the true place of the poem in the evolution of the diction, and the outliers are exactly that – outliers. Janko's way of phrasing this is to say that 'the consistency of the results that I obtained for Homer and Hesiod shows that their poems are not subject to 'false archaism' but are genuinely archaic compositions' – there are no statistically significant outliers separated from the main clusters of the Homeric or Hesiodic poems.[19]

Thus, Janko's position may be summarised as follows: there was a general change in the use of certain linguistic features over time, but certain poems/poets which have particular geographical or aesthetic influences used particular features more or less than they "should" have had these features exhibited their natural rate of change. This formulation is much more reasonable and palatable than the majority of Janko's critics would have it, critics who do not

[17] Janko (2012), 36; see also Janko (1986), 42-3.
[18] This concept is introduced at Janko (1982), 53 and referred to *passim*; see also Janko (2012), 32ff.: 'Once we are dealing with poems from a very late stage in the tradition, the poets are no longer learning their diction exclusively from their oral living contemporaries. They are also hearing renditions of texts fixed at much earlier stages of the tradition, from which they are learning to adopt certain archaisms, i.e. those which are immediately noticeable to a listener. These poets did not care whether they put a formerly uncontracted disyllable in heavy or light position in the hexameter, but they felt passionately about producing a grand-sounding poem, packed with euphonious polysyllables like -άων and -οιο' (32).
[19] Janko (2012), 33 n.18.

seem to take account of the important argument from clusters. This argument, as has been pointed out, is vital to Janko's methodology – I shall discuss this in more detail in the next section.[20]

Although he does not present it in terms antithetical to Janko, the work of L. van Beek constitutes a challenge to Janko's assumptions.[21] Key to Janko's method, as mentioned above, is Parry's notion that the diction of epic changes at the same rate as the diction of the vernacular. This assumption is so important because it is the basis on which one can construe a meaningful change in use of forms over time. Van Beek, however, on the basis of a detailed study of syllabic consonants, has suggested the following:

> '[that] Epic Greek generally conserved a more archaic pronunciation in comparison with the Ionic vernaculars, and that it could resist innovative phonetic tendencies for a certain amount of time. The decisive point of this change of paradigm is that the results of vernacular sound changes, much like morphological innovations, generally penetrated into Epic Greek by lexical diffusion, on a word-for-word basis. Archaic pronunciations and formations were preserved when a word was not current in the vernacular or when there was some metrical motivation not to introduce the vernacular form'.[22]

If van Beek's argument is accepted, epic Greek cannot be judged by the standards applied to a normal idiolect. It will be argued in Chapter 2 that there is evidence which points in the same direction for the thematic genitives at least. But the most important point to take away from van Beek's work, in this regard, is that we cannot accept uncritically the main assumption on which Janko's work was based.

1.3. The Argument from Clusters and the Outline of the Present Thesis

Since it is so important, it is essential to scrutinise Janko's argument from clusters. The following discussion presupposes some statistical knowledge; readers without a background in the subject may wish to refer to section 1.5 below, which contains a description of the key

[20] Fowler (2003), 8.
[21] van Beek (2013).
[22] van Beek (2013), 328. Van Beek here is referring to words which contain the outcome of syllabic liquids, and some words which have a labial reflex of labio-velars.

concepts, including the appropriate 'null hypothesis' in this context, and the various statistical tests concerned.

The weakness of Janko's position is that his graph, reproduced in Figure 1.1, does not put any emphasis on the statistical significance of his data. Janko does test which results are significantly far removed from the main cluster of results for each text, but this is not sufficient statistical rigour to make the wider claim supported by the graph. The graph paints a very attractive picture, showing that in every criterion the *Odyssey* is more advanced than the *Iliad*, that the *Works and Days* is more advanced than the *Theogony*, and so on. Yet Janko has not tested the significance of how the *Odyssey* results differ specifically from those of the *Iliad*, nor any other of the texts. Indeed, his graph depicts the relationship between all the criteria of all the texts and all the other criteria of all the other texts simultaneously with equal validity and with the same emphasis inherently put on each relationship. But which of the relationships are most pronounced or surprising?

The need for statistical testing arises essentially from the nature of Janko's hypothesis. He argued that epic diction evolved uniformly at a constant rate (with some obviously noticeable exceptions explicable through geography or his concept of 'false archaism'). As he put it, each poet 'is using the traditional diction 'naturally', at more or less the stage at which he found it'.[23] Thus, each poem is a 'snapshot' of the state of epic diction at the time of recording. To couch the issue in statistical terminology, each text may be construed as a 'sample' of the wider 'population', where the 'population' is the state of epic diction found, in effect, in countless compositions now lost.

Therefore, where differences in linguistic behaviour occur across the texts, it is necessary to establish whether these differences are attributable to chance, or whether they provide evidence that each poem is truly representative of a distinct stage in the evolution of the 'traditional diction'. Janko's results must be tested against a 'null hypothesis', the hypothesis that there is no relationship of the kind he presupposes – specifically, that any two texts compared make the same use of a given linguistic feature, and that any observed differences

[23] Janko (1982), 81. Cf. Janko (2012), 34: the epics' 'linguistic form accurately reflects the different stages during the tradition when they were taken down', phrased in terms of a dictation theory.

therefore reflect random variation rather than the phenomenon he asserts – namely, the influence of chronology. If the 'p-values' indicate that differences are statistically significant, the hypothesis can be rejected – one possible conclusion could then be that the poems compared do indeed represent stages in the way epic diction has evolved. If the differences are not statistically significant, then less confidence can be placed in the differences highlighted – they may have occurred by chance, and therefore no reliable conclusion can be sustained from the data about the state of epic diction and relative chronology across the corpus. For further discussion of the method, a definition of 'p-values' and how they are calculated, discussing some of the issues involved, see section 1.5.

I tested Janko's data for the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, *Hymn to Aphrodite*, *Hymn to Demeter*, both halves of the *Hymn to Apollo*, and the *Hymn to Hermes* against each other (in every possible pairing), within each criterion, using the Chi Squared Test. Where this was not possible due to a dearth of forms, Fisher's Exact test was used instead. The criterion of 'Zeus forms' was left out, since the sample size was too small, and Janko himself concluded that this was motivated particularly by dialect.[24] This left 324 different p-values – 36 different pairings of texts, each with 9 p-values.

However, it is necessary to be careful when interpreting the 'p-values' obtained. The most commonly used threshold of significance is 5%, or 0.05 (see section 1.5 below). But at this level, approximately 1 in 20 results will provide false positives – with 324 tests, approximately 16 apparently significant results will be misleading, but it is impossible to know which.[25] A possible answer is to use a technique known as the Bonferroni correction.[26] In simplified terms, the Bonferroni correction derives a significance threshold from the standard threshold of 0.05, divided by the number of tests – in this case, 324. This produces a significance threshold for p-

[24] Janko (1982), 79.

[25] In statistical terminology, this is called a 'Type 1 Error' – that is, the risk that a statistical test may suggest that there is a significant difference in the data when in fact there is none. A 'Type 2 Error', on the other hand, is the risk that a statistical test may suggest that there is no significant difference in the data when in fact there is some. See further discussion in Johnson (2008), 53-57.

[26] The use of the Bonferroni correction within quantitative linguistics has become more common in similar kinds of analysis to the one performed here. For example, Egan (2012), in his analysis of how (that is, in what sense) the lexeme 'through' is translated into Norwegian, employs a very similar analysis to the one employed here – a series of chi squared tests used on the same dataset. Egan does not use a correction and is criticised by Gries (2015), 70-1, who recommends it as best practise – see further Gries (2013), 273-4.

values of 0.000154.[27] In other words, the result will only be significant enough to reject the null hypothesis if the test shows that the null hypothesis is extremely unlikely to have produced the observed data.[28]

However, this runs the opposite risk that this very low threshold excludes results which are in fact significant – indeed, this has been the main criticism levelled against the Bonferroni correction.[29] But, in any case, the argument in this thesis does not rely on the precise categorisation of results as 'significant' or 'not significant'. While any individual threshold is, to some extent, arbitrary, the use of a range of significance thresholds throws up some interesting comparative results, prompting further questions about the relationships between the texts. Accordingly, I have used three different thresholds, to see how the results change each time:

0.05 – standard significance level;

0.01 – more stringent significance level;

0.000154 – significance level arising from use of Bonferroni correction.

As will be demonstrated, this approach provides a powerful guide as to which features are worthy of further study (this was actually the original use of the term 'statistically significant' intended by Francis Edgeworth). The number of significant relationships (out of a maximum of 9 in each case) between the texts is presented at each level of significance testing respectively in Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3.

[27] For more information about the Bonferroni correction, see Cabin and Mitchell (2000).

[28] There is an emerging debate, indeed almost a revolution, among statisticians concerning the validity of the 0.05 significance threshold – it has been argued that the use of this, or any, threshold should be abandoned altogether, since it is overly schematic and arbitrary. See Wasserstein, Schirm and Lazar (2019)..

[29] This would be an example of a 'Type 2 Error', described above in note 25; for further discussion, see Nakagawa (2004).

Text	*Il.*	*Od.*	*Th.*	*Works*	*Dem.*	*DAp.*	*PAp.*	*Herm.*	
Il.	#								
Od.	3	#							
Th.	9	9	#						
Works	8	7	0	#					
Dem.	5	5	0	1	#				
DAp.	3	0	1	1	1	#			
PAp.	2	0	1	4	3	0	#		
Herm.	2	1	3	4	2	1	1	#	
Aphr.	0	0	2	4	3	0	0	1	
									Total:
Total:	32	22	7	14	9	1	1	1	87

Table 1.1: The number of statistically significant relationships between the texts at the 0.05 significance level.

Text	*Il.*	*Od.*	*Th.*	*Works*	*Dem.*	*DAp.*	*PAp.*	*Herm.*	
Il.	#								
Od.	2	#							
Th.	8	4	#						
Works	6	5	0	#					
Dem.	5	5	0	1	#				
DAp.	1	0	0	1	1	#			
PAp.	0	0	0	1	2	0	#		
Herm.	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	#	
Aphr.	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	
									Total:
Total:	23	15	1	6	5	0	1	1	52

Table 1.2: The number of statistically significant relationships between the texts at the 0.01 significance level.

Text	*Il.*	*Od.*	*Th.*	*Works*	*Dem.*	*DAp.*	*PAp.*	*Herm.*	
Il.	#								
Od.	0	#							
Th.	3	1	#						
Works	5	5	0	#					
Dem.	3	3	0	0	#				
DAp.	0	0	0	0	0	#			
PAp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	#		
Herm.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	#	
Aphr.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
									Total:
Total:	12	10	0	0	0	0	0	1	23

Table 1.3: The number of statistically significant relationships between the texts at the 0.000154 significance level.

Table 1.1 presents the largest number of 'significant' differences (87), because it has the highest significance threshold (0.05), and Table 1.3 correspondingly the smallest number (23). However, all three tables show a similar pattern of difference overall – differences which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have with the other texts make up the majority of overall differences, and this is most pronounced in Table 1.3. This shows that the most significant differences (even at the most stringent level of testing) occur between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the other texts, especially Hesiod. The low figures for the comparisons with and among the shorter texts could be because the sample sizes in these texts are too small to indicate significant differences, or because there are no significant differences.

Like Janko's, this presentation groups all linguistic features together, and shows all texts in relation to all other texts. But it is also more revealing. For example, when looking at Janko's Figure 1.1, it is not really possible to tell whether the small differences between the Iliad at '0' on Janko's common scale, and the Odyssey cluster, are significant – but comparison of the three Tables above clearly shows that, at the most stringent level of significance testing (0.000154) none of the differences is significant, although three differences are shown at the level of the standard significance test. The three tests are unanimous, however, when it comes to the difference between the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* – by all three, there are no significant differences between these two poems.

Furthermore, no matter what threshold is used, many of the differences presented by Janko are not sufficiently pronounced to reject the 'null hypothesis', suggesting that he has in

fact measured random variation in many of his results, and that only a few of his criteria are significant. Differences likely to have been produced by chance are excluded from the three Tables, while the use of the different thresholds enables a much clearer picture to emerge about which differences are most worthy of further analysis. Even if the use of the most stringent level of testing underestimates the total number of significant results, the 23 relationships thereby highlighted indicate that these differences are highly significant. Of these, 11 are in Janko's 'long' and 'short' datives, 8 are in the digamma, and 4 are in the thematic genitives. Even when not using this level, these criteria are still most frequently the source of significant relationships between the texts. The approach thus clearly identifies priorities for further examination.

In a recent case study of the Hymn to Aphrodite, Rodda has also shown that statistical rigour is essential when making an argument from numbers like Janko's.[30] Rodda argues that an argument based on chronology should be made as follows. First, demonstrate that the linguistic criteria being measured are indicators of chronology; second, compare the use of these linguistic criteria in different texts, and use statistical tests to make sure that there are statistically significant differences in their use. The use of multiple criteria adds force to the argument.

The results set out in Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 above indicate that only the most significant differences potentially enable conclusions to be drawn about relative chronology across the corpus – but, accepting Rodda's methodological argument, before being able to draw such a conclusion, it is first necessary to demonstrate that these criteria really are indicators of chronology. This is the aim of the remaining chapters of this thesis.

Jones has recently addressed the 'long' and 'short' datives, and has argued that in this criterion specifically the content of the poetry affects the statistics to a highly significant degree: 'the two Homeric words that show the short ending with any frequency, Ἀχαιοῖς and ἐρετμοῖς, simply do not occur outside Homer'. This fact seems to undermine the usefulness of the distinction between 'long' and 'short' datives as a criterion for differentiating between the language of different poems.[31] It would be interesting to explore 'long' and 'short' datives further, but since substantial work has already been undertaken on them, it is more productive at this

[30] Rodda (2016).
[31] Jones (2010), 305.

stage to consider the other two criteria which produced the most significant relationships in my analysis of Janko's data, namely the digamma and thematic genitives. The first part of the analysis of this thesis therefore considers these two criteria in depth – Chapter 2 addresses thematic genitives and Chapter 3, the digamma. In each of these chapters, the question to be addressed will be whether the distribution of the linguistic feature in question is likely to be indicative of chronology, or whether it is more determined or influenced by other factors. In each case, there will be an examination of the factors affecting each linguistic feature; a new count of the feature will be carried out; and an assessment made of whether the overall distribution of the feature across the different texts can be ascribed to chronology, dialect or style.

Chapter 4 then introduces a feature not considered by Janko, that of tmesis. This provides an interesting comparison because it is a syntactical, rather than phonological or morphological, phenomenon, and further illuminates considerations of style. Other reasons for studying it will be discussed in that chapter. Chapter 5 will then bring together data for all three linguistic features and use it to argue that poetic register may play a more important role than previously considered in determining their distribution. A concluding chapter will present a summary of my argument and consider the impact of the thesis on possible avenues of further research.

Lastly, it is worth noting that alongside the considerations just mentioned, another valuable output of this thesis will be the accompanying database which catalogues the instances of digamma, thematic genitives, and tmesis in the early Greek hexameter corpus, and tags each instance with some relevant information. This database is essential not only for the evaluation of the claims made in this thesis, but also because it provides a resource for other researchers to use. It is hoped therefore that other scholars would not have to perform counts of their own, but instead that they could use the database, and add their own tags. Appendix 1 of the thesis contains more detailed information about what the database contains and how best to use it. Before embarking on the discussion, however, it is necessary to discuss some first order issues.

1.4. Methodological Issues Around the History of the Texts

The textual history of early Greek hexameter epic poetry, and in particular the Homeric poems, is possibly the most controversial of any Classical genre. In the absence of any tangible author in a clear location or period, we are fundamentally in the dark when it comes to making assumptions about the genesis and early transmission of the poems. Seemingly countless hypotheses have been proposed, and some of these hypotheses might be seen to undermine assumptions potentially relevant to the argument of this thesis.[32]

For example, proponents of the 'Evolutionary Model', championed by Gregory Nagy, would hold that there never existed a fixed text of Homer until very late. Equally, 'Analytically' minded scholars in the 20th century generally argued that the Homeric poems are entities made up of smaller poetic compositions stitched together. If either of these hypotheses were accepted, studying the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as a whole (or indeed, just a sample of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as was done for each of the criteria in the thesis) would be undermined in this regard, since we could not guarantee the unity of the behaviour of either text.

Janko, in support of his methodology, says the following:

> '[t]he method presupposes the general integrity of the transmitted texts of the early epic. But so do most scholars, except for a few diehard analysts and the surprising number of those who think there never was a fixed text. The work of the unitarians and neoanalysts seems to me decisively to support the literary integrity of the bulk of the Homeric epics'.[33]

There is much at stake for Janko, whose overall position necessitates definite and concrete times of composition for the poems, a situation incompatible with the evolutionary model. Moreover, there is arguably a more pressing issue, one which potentially affects the assumptions of this thesis – the issue that both the Analyst and Evolutionist positions throw the texts' unitary status

[32] Amid these countless hypotheses, this discussion will only address those which present a serious challenge to some of the assumptions of the thesis. The view of Wachter, as articulated in, for example, Wachter (2011), will not be addressed here. It would be impossible to discuss at length all possible views, and it is hoped that the reader will be content with a basic acknowledgement of the diversity of existing views regarding origin and early transmission. For some of the most important and influential opinions and arguments, see, for example, West (2011c), Janko (1998), Nagy (2004, etc.), Jensen (2011), and summary discussion in Haslam (2011).
[33] Janko (2012), 25.

into doubt, these positions might seem to undermine the notion that one can date or perform any quantitative analysis on the texts regarding their use of pervasive linguistic features. If it were accepted that the Homeric texts were never fixed, or made up of smaller elements composed at different times, it could be argued that no valid claim could be made about, for example, the *Iliad*'s use of digamma, since such a claim presupposes that the whole of the *Iliad* uses the digamma in the same way.

It is therefore necessary to address these issues here briefly. Firstly, it does in fact seem that each of the texts is broadly speaking unitary in how they behave linguistically. Even if it were posited that the poems were composed/performed by different poets, whether we envision this to have happened in the 9th, 7th or even 4th centuries, we may suppose that their use of language was so similar that it is very difficult to find traces of plural authorship or absence of fixity. The primary example in favour of this point is the language of *Iliad* 10 (the Doloneia). *Iliad* 10 is believed by the majority of critics to be in some sense inorganic to the rest of the *Iliad*, whether interpreted in terms of 'interpolation', plural authorship, etc.[34] Yet as far as concerns the criteria that Janko counted, and other easily quantifiable measures like particles, *Iliad* 10 seems to be identical to the other books of the poem.[35]

This fact has the consequence that, if it is agreed that *Iliad* 10 is indeed inorganic to the rest of the poem, it must be accepted that different poets were capable of composing in extremely similar language, at least in terms of the criteria that have been measured by critics.[36] Moreover, Janko's data for each book of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* suggest further homogeneity – across both poems and the 8 criteria listed above, there is only one combination which shows significant variation: the use of the digamma in the *Odyssey*.[37] The raw data can be found in

[34] It is worth noting that some of the traditional arguments for the inauthenticity of the Doloneia can effectively be explained through its unique content: a night raid. Yet other facts, such as the Doloneia's breach of 'Zielinski's Law', cannot be so readily explained. For discussion of some of the relevant concerns, see for example Hainsworth (1993), 151-155; Dué and Ebbott (2010), esp. 3-29; Danek (1988), (2012a).

[35] Danek (2012a), 107-8.

[36] In fact, it will be argued later that particular fine-grained analysis of the criteria being discussed could be indicative of authorship. See p.69.

[37] *Iliad*: Digamma, p-value of 0.259; Genitives in -οιο, p-value of 0.866; Genitives in -ου, p-value of 0.485; 'Long Datives', p-value of 0.105; Accusatives in -ους, p-value of 0.114. *Odyssey*: Digamma, p-value of 0.0117; Genitives in -οιο, p-value of 0.179; Genitives in -ου, p-value of 0.177; 'Long Datives', p-value of 0.175. The fact that the *Odyssey* has significant variation in its use of digamma further strengthens the need to investigate the factors which may be operant in its distribution.

Appendix A of Janko (1982). Thus, with regard to the criteria that Janko counted, and regardless of the positions adopted by various scholars on the genesis and transmission of the poems, it seems that each poem is essentially unitary in its use of language. As such, the assumption that each text can be characterised as a unity in this way seems justified independently of the question whether the arguments of Analysts or proponents of the evolutionary model are to be accepted.

It would be beneficial, for the sake of clarity, to set out in the briefest possible terms my relevant assumptions, or lack of them, regarding the genesis and transmission of the poems and the prehistory of the tradition. These assumptions have most bearing in Chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis. Firstly, regarding dialect, neither the existence of an Aeolic phase nor the correctness of the alternative, the diffusion hypothesis, is assumed.[38] This issue is not particularly pressing for most of the questions raised in this thesis, but it is occasionally referred to. What is assumed, however, is that Ionic poets were engaged in reperformance-in-composition of various genres of hexameter poetry, and that during the archaic period the Ionic dialect became so associated with hexameter performance that it became the preferred literary dialect (in much the same way that Doric became associated with choral lyric) for compositions of this kind.[39] It also seems likely that a form of the Homeric poems, very close to the form which we have, achieved fixity relatively early on, and it also seems likely that this fixity correlates with the poems being textualized (either by dictation or autography), although formulaic and other repeated, traditional passages would surely have been recomposed with a high degree of continuity before textualisation.[40] It is also therefore assumed that the texts as we have them, and as edited in

[38] For recent discussions of the Aeolic phase, see, for example, Haug (2011) and Jones (2012).
[39] West (1988), 165ff.; for literary dialects, see Tribulato (2010).
[40] It is not insisted here that this textualization ended the oral tradition; if oral poetic composition and performance continued, as according to the Evolutionary Model, its effect on the inherited text is assumed to be minimal. Perhaps the 'plus verses' of the papyri and in other literature attest to this. For a balanced discussion of the genesis and early transmission of the Homeric poems, see Haslam (2011). The popular view that the history of the texts can be understood within an 'Evolutionary Model' has not been followed, due to the strength of the arguments found in the following: Janko (1998), 12 n.63; Finkelberg (2000); Reece (2005), 66ff.; Fowler (2004), 224-5; Jensen (2011), 224, etc. The case against Nagy constructed on reported references to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* in other poetry or artwork, as articulated by Cairns (2001), 5-8 with further literature, however, is not accepted, since one cannot logically conclude that the poems existed as fixed entities, possibly written, on this basis alone. In order for Nagy's argument to stand, one would need to accept that performance of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* at the Panathenaea in Athens year in and year out was sufficient to create a 'bottleneck' through which the poems achieved a late, oral fixity – such a scenario is too potentially problematic to be adopted as likely here.

accessible, good editions, are sufficiently similar to the first texts to be a good basis for linguistic analysis. At the very least, it is assumed that the above statements are true with respect to the digamma, thematic genitives and tmesis – of these, digamma is by far the most problematic, and those concerns are addressed in Chapter 3.

On the topics of texts, it may be objected that counting forms relies too much on the texts used by the *TLG* (the texts available online used for the retrieval of forms, indispensable for a quantitative analysis of this kind). To this, it may be responded that there is relative stability in the texts printed in different editions. The main text used by the *TLG* is Allen's OCT, and there is little difference between the readings of the OCT and West's edition, for example, both in general and in the features being counted in this thesis. There are, of course, some pervasive differences between the OCT and West's edition, including for example West's preference for reading the augment, moveable nu, and uncontracted forms.[41] Using the 'compare editions' function of the *TLG*, it was possible to establish that in book 1 of the *Iliad*, there are 70 differences between West's and Allen's texts, 40 of which are examples of West's general editorial preferences just mentioned, and only one of the remaining 30 involved one of the features we are discussing (different readings for 1.97).[42] Since such significant differences are rare, it would seem that the use of the *TLG* text is unproblematic. Indeed, the counts themselves confirmed that only very rarely was there an important difference in the readings of whole lines which affects the statistics.[43]

1.5. A Note on Statistics

Classicists traditionally have a mixed relationship with numbers and quantitative arguments. On the one hand, as McLeod put it, 'there is something awe-inspiring about columns of well-ordered ciphers marching neatly to an irrefutable conclusion; resistance seems futile'.[44] Yet at the same time, such arguments are sometimes seen as untrustworthy – the critic who has recourse to such quantitative methods is all too likely to leave out a qualitative or literary

[41] West (1998), xxii-xxviii.
[42] The 'Compare Editions' function of the *TLG* highlights every difference of every nature, including the likes of full stops and capital letters, in two editions of the same text. In order to get the figures, it was necessary to manually compare every highlighted word or phrase and analyse whether the difference was anything significant. The results of the comparison are set out in Appendix II.
[43] The exception here, again, is the digamma.
[44] McLeod (1966), 337.

interpretation of a text – the desire for the 'objective' use of statistics will, inevitably, be oversimplified and problematic. This attitude is exacerbated by the fact that the majority of Classicists are, understandably, not even remotely versed in statistical theory. As Forderer said, 'Statistics capture matters of fact, but whether they are necessary, that is always the question'.[45] This thesis makes substantial use of statistics, since many of the issues are fundamentally based on assessing numbers and distributions of linguistic features. This section briefly discusses some aspects of their use and explains the chief use to which statistical tests are put.

In a stimulating piece on the topic, Ahuvia Kahane has discussed the particular appeal that Homer has to the statistically-minded critic, yet emphasised the following:

> 'Mathematics apart, quantified data can only be made significant through an interpretive process. Before counting we must, for example, decide what to count (and what not to count). After counting we must decide what the figures mean. Such decisions affect our results profoundly, but they are not "numerical"'.[46]

The 'non-numerical' interpretative process thus pervades this thesis, as will become clear. The use of statistical tests is just like any other philological analysis in evaluating data – it simply provides a framework which has been crafted specifically to deal with some of the relevant concerns in a mathematically sound way. A good understanding of the nature of the data is vital for the selection of one particular statistical test over the other.

The statistical test which is appropriate on almost every occasion in this thesis is the Chi Squared Test; this test is one of the most commonly used in linguistics.[47] Due to many Classicists' scepticism about statistics, this section will attempt to explain how the Chi Squared Test works in a way which is intelligible to the non-initiated, primarily from the following examples. The *Iliad*, according to Janko, features the genitive ending -οιο 1094 times, and the ending -ου 1012 times, whereas the *Works and Days* uses -οιο 36 times, and -ου 89 times. We may look at the data and make the inference that the *Works and Days* has a strongly marked preference for -ου, whereas the *Iliad* does not, and that would be a reasonable inference to make.

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[45] Forderer (1958), 99: '[die Statistik] erfaßt […] Tatsächliches - ob aber Notwendiges, das ist jeweils die Frage'.
[46] Kahane (1997), 327.
[47] See Gries (2013). For further information, including detailed descriptions of the Chi Squared Test's assumptions not mentioned here, see McHugh (2013).

But suppose we compare the *Iliad* data to the data of the *Hymn to Demeter*, which features -οιο 37 times and -ου 38 times – here a difference is less obvious to the 'naked eye', but is there a difference which is significant? The data may be presented in the following two tables, Table 1.4 and Table 1.5:

	Iliad	*Works and Days*
-οιο	1094	36
-ου	1012	89

Table 1.4: The use of -οιο and -ου in the *Iliad* and the *Works and Days*.

	Iliad	*Hymn to Demeter*
-οιο	1094	37
-ου	1012	38

Table 1.5: The use of -οιο and -ου in the *Iliad* and the *Hymn to Demeter*.

The "null hypothesis" is that both the *Iliad* and *Works and Days* use these genitive endings in the same proportions. When one feeds the data from Table 1.4 into a software tool (such as R or MS Excel) which performs the Chi Squared Test, the tool calculates the average results to be expected under the null hypothesis as follows: *Iliad*: -οιο 1067, -ου 1039; *Works and Days*: -οιο 63, -ου 62. As can be seen, the expected results for the *Iliad* are very similar to the actual ones, but the same cannot be said for the *Works and Days*, which are quite different. The tool then calculates what is known as a 'p-value', a figure which, simplifying somewhat, represents the probability that the difference between the actual and expected results is due to chance.[48] In

[48] In reality, the p-value is a figure describing the relationship between the data and an assumed hypothesis. Therefore, a low p-value tells you the probability of an outcome given a true, assumed hypothesis – if the value is sufficiently low, and therefore the probability that the data would have been produced given the assumed hypothesis is low, we may reject the hypothesis, and accept an alternative one. It is worth quoting the 'Statement on *p*-Values' by the American Statistical Association, as quoted in Wasserstein and Lazar (2016): 'A p-value provides one approach to summarizing the incompatibility between a particular set of data and a proposed model for the data. The most common context is a model, constructed under a set of assumptions, together with a so-called "null hypothesis." Often the null hypothesis postulates the absence of an effect, such as no difference between two groups, or the absence of a relationship between a factor and an outcome. The smaller the p-value, the greater the statistical incompatibility of the data with the null hypothesis, if the underlying assumptions used to calculate the p-value hold. This incompatibility can be interpreted as casting doubt on or providing evidence against the null hypothesis or the underlying assumptions.'

this case, it calculates the p-value to be tiny: 0.000000493, indicating very strongly that the differences between the *Iliad* and *Works and Days* are not due to chance.

Feeding the data from Table 1.5 into the same software tool, it generates a much larger p-value: 0.656, indicating a much greater likelihood that the differences between actual and expected in the case of the *Iliad* and *Hymn to Demeter* are due to chance.

Exactly how should these p-values be interpreted? The standard procedure is to apply quite an exacting standard – that is, one only accepts a difference as significant when the calculated p-value is less than 0.05, or 5%. In simplified terms, this means that a difference is only accepted as significant when there is a 95% or greater probability that the difference is not due to chance. The difference between the *Iliad* and *Works and Days* is therefore deemed 'significant', and very much so, since the p-value is much less than 0.05 (or indeed 0.01, the next most commonly used significance threshold), whereas the difference between the *Iliad* and *Hymn to Demeter* is deemed 'not significant', given that the p-value is far above 0.05. It is a fundamental characteristic of the Chi Squared Test that the p-values it produces take account of the sample size in a mathematically rigorous way – it "understands" how to quantify the fact that with a larger sample size, more reliance can placed on any differences identified. It is important to understand that statistics can help identify whether or not a difference is significant, but cannot help us answer the question "why?".

The Chi Squared Test is a useful tool, but it cannot always be used. The Chi Squared Test, in its simplest form, is only suitable when 80% of the expected values are greater than or equal to five. When these conditions are not met, a variant of the Chi Squared Test can be used, called Fisher's Exact test. This test has the advantage that it can be used for small sample sizes, but it is also more computationally complex – it will be used as and when my sample sizes are not large enough for the Chi Squared Test, as is sometimes the case for the Homeric hymns, or in instances where counts have been made with various qualifications which decrease the number of relevant results. Throughout this thesis, the claim that the difference in behaviour in

two (or more) texts is statistically significant will be made in the main body of the text, with footnotes specifying the text used and providing the p-value.[49]

Finally, it is worth noting in this section that there is an emerging debate amongst statisticians about the use of significance thresholds. In particular it has been argued that the use of the 0.05 threshold should be abandoned as standard practice since it is overly schematic and arbitrary.[50] Clearly it is important not to adhere unthinkingly to any arbitrary level for a significance threshold. Indeed, in the discussion of Janko's results set out in section 1.3, three significance thresholds were used to explore relationships between the texts, and in effect, to rank these relationships in terms of significance to determine priorities for further examination of the features being considered and of the overall phenomenon under study – that is, what determines the distribution of linguistic archaisms across the corpus of early Greek hexameter poetry. Elsewhere in the thesis the 0.05 threshold will be used where appropriate, following normal conventions in linguistics, recognising that setting any specific value must intrinsically be arbitrary.

[49] The p-values were calculated in MS Excel; these methods produced identical p-values to R (The R Project for Statistical Computing), and were therefore deemed sufficient for the purposes of this thesis.
[50] See Wasserstein, Schirm and Lazar (2019).

2. Thematic Genitives in Early Greek Hexameter Poetry

2.1. Introduction

Thematic genitives in Homer, Hesiod and other Greek hexameter poetry have two main forms: -οιο and -ου. Given that the standard Attic-Ionic genitive singular is -ου (/ō/, written with a spurious diphthong), and that Mycenaean Greek appears to have had -οιο, it is commonly supposed that -οιο is the more archaic form, and -ου the more innovative form. While the exact relationship between the two is contested, and will be discussed later, this much is accepted by all. This alternation has suggested to critics that the relative date of some of the hexameter texts can be gauged by the ratio of the older form to the newer; the more of the older, the older the text.

Janko, as part of his overall project to map the alternative forms of 10 (later 13) linguistic features, accordingly analysed the relationship between -οιο and -ου. In the Introduction, we noted that Janko's two criteria of the thematic genitives provided some of his most striking results, with the different texts using the forms to highly statistically significant degrees. In this chapter, I will attempt to unpack how the distribution of -οιο and -ου is motivated in the early Greek hexameter corpus and assess whether chronology is likely to be an operant factor. As a starting point, it is beneficial to explore how Janko counted the forms.

2.2. Janko's Treatment of the Thematic Genitives

Janko's approach was based on the premise that -οιο is the older form and was replaced by *-οο, which then contracted to -ου. In this understanding of -ου < *-οο, there are some cases where it is possible to resolve -ου into *-οο: for example, in the thesis of the hexameter foot (case A); or alternatively prevocalically, where -ου could stand for -οιο with the final -ο elided (case B); or where -ου could stand for -οο but with the final -ο elided (case C).

A) - u u ¦ - u u ¦ - u u ¦ - - ¦ - u u ¦ - x

Il. 1.591 ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο

- u u ¦ - u u ¦ - u u ¦ - uu ¦ - u u ¦ - x
*ῥῖψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοο θεσπεσίοιο

B) *Il.* 1.381 εὐξαμένου ἤκουσεν, ἐπεὶ μάλα οἱ φίλος ἦεν

*εὐξαμένοι᾽ ἤκουσεν, ἐπεὶ μάλα οἱ φίλος ἦεν

C) *Il.* 1.14 στέμματ᾽ ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος

*στέμματ᾽ ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλο᾽ Ἀπόλλωνος

Therefore there are three potential endings: -οιο, *-οο, or -ου. Within this understanding of the history of -ου, all cases of -ου (as it were) came from *-οο, but it is sometimes possible to tell when a line *might* have been composed with *-οο, as opposed to some other line which *cannot* have been composed with *-οο (that is, all -ου in cases A and C). A line or phrase with unresolvable -ου cannot have been composed before *-οο underwent contraction.

Janko accordingly split the thematic genitives into two categories; the first category is the percentage of -οιο vs anything that is not -οιο, and the second is the percentage of -ου guaranteed vs. -ου which could be resolved into *-οο, *-οι᾽, or *-ο᾽. This step was taken because we have two chronological juxtapositions; the juxtaposition between -οιο and what came after (*-οο), and the juxtaposition between *-οο and its contracted product -ου. Janko was therefore able to measure the relative advancement of the poetic diction in two ways.

It is also worthwhile explaining Janko's understanding of what change is actually happening here. Janko holds that as time passes and the ending -ου becomes more settled as the only ending in spoken Greek, poets are less and less inclined to use the more archaic form (-οιο), preserved in the poetic language. In his words, 'one expects old formulae and archaisms to diminish in frequency through the generations, as innovative phraseology and language creeps in'.[51] This effectively constitutes a case of language contact; the poets are increasingly likely to let their vernacular affect the *Kunstsprache*, the artificial language which they use in poetic/performative contexts.

These, then, constitute the main aspects of Janko's analysis of the thematic genitives. In what follows, I highlight some of the relevant factors which motivate the choice of -οιο and -ου, and suggest that adjustment for these factors needs to be included in the methodology when undertaking a count of this kind.

[51] Janko (1982), 189.

2.3. Formulae and Repetitions

The first refinement proposed here concerns repetitions and formulae within the epic corpus. Janko follows Parry's general maxim, now often quoted:

> '[T]he language of oral poetry changes as a whole neither faster nor slower than the spoken language, but in its parts it changes readily when no loss of formulas is called for, belatedly when there must be such a loss, so that the traditional diction has in it words and forms of everyday use side by side with others that belong to earlier stages of the language'.[52]

It is important to remember here that Parry considered formulae (at least by his definition) to constitute the majority of Homeric verse; this view is no longer considered tenable by modern scholars.[53] Janko, however, does not seem to differentiate *when it comes to counting the genitives* between formulae and non-formulaic verses, or even take account of simple repetition.

He does, however, take account of formulae when attempting to demonstrate that the -ου ending is more common in innovatory contexts.[54] For these purposes he sets out definitions and ways to categorise different phrases as formulaic or not, and successfully demonstrates that, in both the *Hymn to Demeter* and *Hymn to Aphrodite*, phrases which he categorises as formulaic have a higher percentage of -οιο than those he does not. He takes this fact as validating his assumption that -οιο is more traditional, and -ου less so (which it does). However, it also raises the question of whether formulae should be included in the overall count, if they are prone to have one ending more than the other. Janko's choice here is possibly to be explained through his assumption, quoted above, that older formulaic expressions will be used less frequently as time passes, and thus, are valid data points in a question of -οιο vs. -ου.

This assumption, however, is open to challenge; the choice to use or not use formulae depends surely on the content of the poems rather than the time involved. Let us look at two examples, as set out in Tables 2.1 and 2.2:

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[52] Parry (1971b), 333.
[53] Bibliography is large; for summaries of the main positions and changing scholarly landscape since Parry, see Russo (1997); (2011).
[54] Janko (1982), 51-2.

a) ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο:

Text		Formula	u ¦- x
Od. 3.107	ἠδ' ὅσα καὶ περὶ	ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο	(ϝ)ἄνακτος
Il. 17.160	εἰ δ' οὗτος προτὶ	ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο	(ϝ)ἄνακτος
Il. 21.309	σχῶμεν, ἐπεὶ τάχα	ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο	(ϝ)ἄνακτος
Il. 7.296	αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κατὰ	ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο	(ϝ)ἄνακτος
Il. 2.332	αὐτοῦ εἰς ὅ κεν	ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο	(ϝ)ἔλωμεν.
			u ¦- - ¦ ...
Il. 9.136		ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο	θεοὶ δώωσ' ἀλαπάξαι,
Il. 9.278		ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο	θεοὶ δώωσ' ἀλαπάξαι,
			u u ¦- ...
Il. 2.803	πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ	ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου	ἐπίκουροι
Il. 22.251	τρὶς περὶ	ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου	δίον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἔτλην
Cf.			
(*Od.* 5.106	τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ	ἄστυ πέρι Πριάμοιο	μάχοντο)
(*Il.* 22.173		ἄστυ πέρι Πριάμοιο	ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκει.)
(*Il.* 22.230		ἄστυ πέρι Πριάμοιο	ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκων·)

Table 2.1: The formulaic constructions around ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμ- separated by metrical structure.

b) Διὸς μεγάλοιο:

Text		Formula	u ¦- x
Od. 4.27	ἄνδρε δύω, γενεῇ δὲ	Διὸς μεγάλοιο	(ϝ)ἔ(ϝ)ϊκτον.
Il. 5.907	Αἳ δ' αὖτις πρὸς δῶμα	Διὸς μεγάλοιο	νέοντο
Il. 14.417	ἐγγὺς ἐών, χαλεπὸς δὲ	Διὸς μεγάλοιο	κεραυνός,
Il. 17.409	ἦ οἱ ἀπαγγέλλεσκε	Διὸς μεγάλοιο	νόημα
Il. 21.198	ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς δείδοικε	Διὸς μεγάλοιο	κεραυνὸν
Od. 11.255	τὼ κρατερὼ θεράποντε	Διὸς μεγάλοιο	γενέσθην
Od. 11.268	γείνατ' ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσι	Διὸς μεγάλοιο	μιγεῖσα·
Od. 16.403	εἰ μέν κ' αἰνήσωσι	Διὸς μεγάλοιο	θέμιστες,
			u ¦- - ¦ ...
Od. 11.604	παῖδα	Διὸς μεγάλοιο	καὶ Ἥρης χρυσοπεδίλου
			u u ¦- x
Il. 2.134	ἐννέα δὴ βεβάασι	Διὸς μεγάλου	ἐνιαυτοί,
Od. 9.411	νοῦσόν γ' οὔ πως ἔστι	Διὸς μεγάλου	ἀλέασθαι,
Od. 19.179	ἐννέωρος βασίλευε	Διὸς μεγάλου	ὀαριστής
Od. 8.82	Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι	Διὸς μεγάλου	διὰ βουλάς
Od. 22.334	ἢ ἐκδὺς μεγάροιο	Διὸς μεγάλου	ποτὶ βωμὸν
Od. 22.379	ἐζέσθην δ' ἄρα τώ γε	Διὸς μεγάλου	ποτὶ βωμόν,
Cf.			
(*Il.* 12.241	ἡμεῖς δὲ	μεγάλοιο Διὸς	πειθώμεθα βουλῇ)
(*Il.* 21.187	αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γενεὴν	μεγάλου Διὸς	εὔχομαι εἶναι.)

Table 2.2: The formulaic constructions around Διὸς μεγάλ- separated by metrical structure.

Both of these formulae seem old; indeed, the frequent association of ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο with the observed digamma of (ϝ)ἄνακτος supports this inference. Moreover, ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο (with variations) is more common in the *Iliad* than the *Odyssey* (10 vs. 2). However, it seems less likely that this is due to the 'diminishing' of old formulae; rather, it seems that in a poem about the fighting around Troy, the 'great city of Priam' is likely to be mentioned more, and hence the poet will call upon the formula more often. One might expect a formula concerning Zeus, whose presence is felt strongly in both poems, to be attested more evenly, and this is indeed what occurs in the second example (*Iliad* x7 vs. *Odyssey* x10, not to mention its frequency in Hesiod).

One may, however, suggest that the variation between Πριάμοιο/Πριάμου and μεγάλοιο/μεγάλου is relevant to this question. Is it important that the later form is found comparatively more frequently in the *Odyssey* than the *Iliad*? It is true that, when the *Odyssey* uses this formula, it uses Διὸς μεγάλου with its less archaic ending 5 out of 9 times, whereas the *Iliad* uses it 1 out of 5. However, the difference here is not statistically significant. Moreover, Homer (virtually always) uses -ου before a vowel, possibly disguising an older -οι', and this accounts for two of the *Odyssey* instances. The others are matched by the *Iliad*'s use of ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμ<u>ου</u> before a consonant. Perhaps the best explanation for this behaviour in both poems is that the variants in -ου, used before a vowel, were generalised as alternatives which can be followed by u u ¦ rather than just u ¦. This would accommodate the use of, for example, prepositions like διὰ or ποτὶ, and would provide greater flexibility for the oral poet.

What approach should be taken to formulaic cases of -οιο or -ου? When examining how often oral poets were using one over the other, it seems best to consider all cases where the use was as free as possible; that is, where the choice was not influenced by the existence of ready or partially made phrases featuring the ending. Formulae of this nature would surely have had a considerable effect on choosing which ending to use, and they would accordingly distort the results. It is for this reason that in my count 'formulae' were identified as such and discounted.[55]

[55] Formulae/repetitions were identified according to *A Complete Formular Analysis of the Homeric Poems: Vols. 2-3* (2003) by Pavese and Boschetti, which details the location of any formulaic/repeated phrases in Homer. I was accordingly subject to their understanding and definition of a formula; see 24ff. in *Vol. 1*. For the sake of consistency, Pavese and Venti (2000) was used for Hesiod, but their methods were replicated for the Homeric Hymns, with reference also made to commentaries where useful (most useful in this regard is Richardson (1974)

What, however, is the difference between an underrepresented formula and a simple repetition? Can a distinction between 'formulaic' and 'non-formulaic' diction be drawn at all? This is a controversial topic among Homeric scholars, and this is not the place for a lengthy discussion. But perhaps the distinction is irrelevant for our purposes: whether a verse is part of a formulaic network within the oral tradition, or whether it was repeated by the poet, the choice of -οιο vs -ου has still been affected, and has become less free. For this reason, verses or phrases which were repeated elsewhere just once were marked as 'repeated' rather than as 'formulaic', but in the analysis these two groups are combined as separate from non-repeated, non-formulaic verses or phrases, which are taken to show the poet with least restrictions. A verse was considered a 'formula' for the sake of this analysis if it occurred elsewhere more than twice (i.e. occurred overall at least three times), but if it reoccurred just once it was called a repetition. This choice is arbitrary but applied consistently.

It should be stressed that it is not the intention of the present argument to insist on the definition of 'formulae', 'formulaic networks', 'constructions', or the like. The broad distinction between repeated/formulaic language and non-repeated/formulaic language is simply intended to narrow the data such that it includes instances where the choice between the two forms was as free as possible – in the incredibly complex system of associative processes that would have been operant in Homeric composition, it is impossible to identify verses which were composed totally freely, but removing the obviously repeated or formulaic instances of the relevant linguistic features gets as close as possible.

It is worth noting that a refinement of this system was required for the Homeric Hymns, which contain both clear formulae and repetitions of individual phrases from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Given that there is a scholarly consensus on the dependence of the Homeric Hymns upon the *Iliad* and/or the *Odyssey*, phrases found in the Hymns which also occurred in the *Iliad*

with his formulaic apparatus. Despite different opinions about formulae, one cannot object to the basic principle of counting and cataloguing groups of words 'composed of at least two lexemes, used at least twice to express a certain meaning' (24), and one is reassured by a high degree of similarity between Pavese-Boschetti's analysis of *Il.* 1.1-15 and that by Lord (1960), 143; the main difference is Lord's inclusion of 'formulaic' single words repeated in the same position in the line; for which see Russo (1997) 244 n.16 on the requirement of strong localization, ideally filling one of the cola, to establish single-word formulae. In the vast majority of cases, excluding -οιο or -ου genitives as formulaic was unproblematic, as they clearly constituted a repeated formula. Cf. Janko (1982), 43-4 for his similar definitions.

or *Odyssey* were discounted also, as they were likely dependent upon and influenced by these texts. This choice is consistent with the aim to count instances of -οιο or -ου where the choice was as free as possible. It is also true, however, that we are unable to tell whether the hymns have borrowed from the Homeric or Hesiodic texts, or whether all the texts are using formulae. For the purposes of the present discussion, this distinction does not matter, since 'repeated', 'influenced' and 'formulaic' verses are grouped together as separate from verses which only occur once.[56]

In sum, Janko makes it clear that he is operating under the following assumption: 'In a tradition that consists of oral improvisation rather than accurate memorisation, it is inevitable that, in those fields where the tradition hands down no ready-made diction, the improviser will draw on the only other diction he knows, that of his vernacular'.[57] By contrast, I will be working on the assumption that the oral poets had access to:

1) 'Homeric' diction (with archaic, artificial and dialectal forms);

1b) 'Ready-made diction' in the shape of formulae and formulaic networks;[58]

2) The diction of their own vernacular.

This distinction is made on the assumption that the poetic diction discussed here is not solely created by improvisation, but rather a complex mixture of memorised passages, memorised phrases, composition according to type-scenes, and others, where the preserved archaisms act as useful metrical aids, which can still be used for untraditional content or in untraditional phrases. Evidence for this claim is provided by, for example, the phrase Ζηνὸς [...] ἐριγδούποιο

[56] One might object that this treatment oversimplifies the matter: what of cases like *Dem.* 302: βάν ῥ' ἴμεν οἴκαδ' ἕκαστος, which occurs just once, but as Hoekstra (1969), 52, has shown, is a reworking of formulaic material in Homer? For the sake of my purposes, such lines in the Hymns are treated as 'non-formulaic', because they satisfy the definition that they only occur once. The fact that the poet has chosen to create this line which merges two formulae into one, and accordingly neglects the digamma, might suggest that a preference to neglect the digamma has played a role in the choice of abandoning the traditional formula, and this preference should be reflected in the count. Whether this hybrid creation satisfies the definition of a formula in the abstract is not the concern of the present argument. See pp. 97-8 for further discussion.

[57] Janko (1982), 16.

[58] It is assumed here that by 'in those fields where the tradition hands down no ready-made diction' Janko does not mean, for example, genitives in -οιο – it seems unclear exactly what 'fields' require this ending, other than some formulae. Thus, I emphasise the distinction between formulaic and non-formulaic diction.

(*Il.* 12.235, *Theog.* 41), which combines the later Ionic declension of Ζεύς with the -οιο genitive form, showing the latter's free combination of archaisms and neologisms.[59]

Moreover, it is worth acknowledging that verses which are attested only once are not necessarily easily describable as untraditional or non-formulaic. Lord suggested that '[t]here are two ways by which a phrase is produced; one is by remembering it, the other is through creating it by analogy with other phrases'.[60] Kahane summarises the situation by emphasising that 'these polarities [i.e. between traditional/formulaic/antiquity and individual/non-formulaic/novelty] are part of a single continuum'.[61] That is, the poets were capable of producing a verse *ex tempore* which, for example, featured one or two lexical items in their highly localised positions, had a hiatus at a position 'justifiable' from the perspective of Homeric metrics,[62] was built around a syntactic structure repeated from elsewhere, uses terms which, by means of their traditional referentiality, invoke other passages, and so on. These lines are in many ways part of a nexus of traditional patterns and techniques without being 'formulaic' in the simple sense. Nevertheless, lines such as these, for the sake of this study, were described as 'non-formulaic' as a convenient shorthand due to the fact that they are not repeated, and therefore that the poet was 'free' in the choice of the genitive ending – the description of 'non-formulaic' is an over-simplification, but a necessary and useful one.[63]

2.4. The Importance of Metre

The second refinement suggested here concerns the importance of the metre in deciding what ending is used. Chantraine, discussing the yod involved in **-osyo*, notes the following:

> 'Among words where the thematic vowel is preceded by two shorts (of the type ἀγαθός), or by a dactyl (of the type ἀθάνατος, καλλιπλόκαμος), or among those where it is preceded by two longs (of the type ἄνθρωπος or Ἀλέξανδρος),

[59] Gainsford (2016), 66-7.
[60] Lord (1960), 43.
[61] Kahane (2018), 108.
[62] See Chantraine (2013), 90; cf. Kahane (2018), 108-9.
[63] For the creation of new formulae as a part of their life cycle, see Bozzone (2014).

the usual genitive is in -οιο; Homer normally employs ἀγαθοῖο, ἁλίοιο, ἀλόχοιο, ἀνέμοιο etc; likewise ἀθανάτοιο, αἰθομένοιο or even ἀγραύλοιο, ὑψηλοῖο, etc...

On the other hand, it is the ending -ου which predominates when the group preceding the thematic vowel creates the rhythm u -, u u – or – u: thus ἀγαυοῦ, ἀέθλου, φαινοῦ; ἀσαμίνθου βροτολοιγοῦ, Διονύσου, ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἀργυροήλου; ἀγρίου, ἀλφίτου, φασγάνου; finally in the cases of monosyllables or disyllables like ἀγροῦ (a long before the thematic vowel) or βροτοῦ, γάμου (a short before the thematic vowel)'.[64]

This is extremely significant, and introduces an important factor into the mixture, which needs to be taken into account. The importance of this factor can be highlighted by the statistic that, if one knows the metrical structure of a word before the thematic vowel (for example, - u u) and whether the ending is followed by a consonant (+C), vowel (+V) or line end (+x), one can predict the ending of all the genitives in, for example, *Iliad* 1-4 with a 75% accuracy rate.

This is because some words of certain structures take one ending and one ending only; in this way, the metre limits the free choice of the poet, which I prioritised above when discussing formulae. The following example takes genitive forms of the type u u +x (that is, of a stem like πολεμ- at the end of the line):

Il. 1.225: οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο,

Il. 1.385: εὖ εἰδὼς ἀγόρευε θεοπροπίας ἑκάτοιο.

Il. 2.368: ἦ ἀνδρῶν κακότητι καὶ ἀφραδίῃ πολέμοιο.

Il. 3.112: ἐλπόμενοι παύσασθαι ὀϊζυροῦ πολέμοιο.

Il. 3.333: ἐν πεδίῳ ὀλοοῖο λιλαιόμενοι πολέμοιο·

Il. 3.375: ἥ οἱ ῥῆξεν ἱμάντα βοὸς ἶφι κταμένοιο·

Il. 4.70: αἴ κε θάνῃς καὶ πότμον ἀναπλήσῃς βιότοιο.

[64] 'Dans les mots où la voyelle thématique est précédée de deux brèves (type ἀγαθός), ou d'un dactyle (type ἀθάνατος, καλλιπλόκαμος), dans ceux enfin où elle est précédée de deux longues (type ἄνθρωπος ou Ἀλέξανδρος) le génitif usuel est en -οιο; Homère emploie normalement ἀγαθοῖο, ἁλίοιο, ἀλόχοιο, ἀνέμοιο etc; de même ἀθανάτοιο, αἰθομένοιο ou encore ἀγραύλοιο, ὑψηλοῖο, etc. Au contraire, c'est la désinence -ου qui prédomine lorsque le groupe que precede la voyelle thématique présente le rythme u -, u u – ou – u: ainsi ἀγαυοῦ, ἀέλθου, φαεινοῦ; ἀσαμίνθου βροτολοιγοῦ, Διονύσου, ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἀργυροήλου; ἀγρίου, ἀλφίτου, φασγάνου; enfin dans les monosyllabes ou dans les dissyllables comme ἀγροῦ (une longue devant la voyelle thématique) ou βροτοῦ, γάμου (un brève devant la voyelle thématique)'. Chantraine (2013), 161-2.

Il. 4.240: οὕς τινας αὖ μεθιέντας ἴδοι στυγεροῦ πολέμοιο,

Il. 4.335: Τρώων ὁρμήσειε καὶ ἄρξειαν πολέμοιο.

One can see that all words with the stem-structure u u at line end take the -οιο ending. To a degree, there is a "chicken-and-egg" situation here: which came first, the choice to use -οιο (which would mean putting some words at line-end) or the choice to put words at line-end (which would mean using the -οιο ending)? Is it right to pose the issue in terms of 'choice', given that the term suggests 'conscious choice', which may not seem likely in free-flowing composition of this nature? These questions are very difficult to answer without making assumptions about the compositional habits of oral poets (although my personal instinct would be to suggest that the poet would more naturally place words and use different endings to make them fit the metre). Without going into this question, the issue may be addressed on practical grounds: if these -οιο genitives at line end were included in the count, then there is a risk of including cases where the choice between -οιο and -ου *might* not have been free. If such cases are excluded, however, the sample size has been restricted, and focus has been placed on cases where the choice between the endings was as free as possible. Instead, I have only looked at words of this structure when they occur before a consonant. Another example has the structure u +V:

Il. 1.269: καὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἐγὼ μεθομίλεον ἐκ Πύλου ἐλθὼν

Il. 2.380 Τρωσὶν ἀνάβλησις κακοῦ ἔσσεται οὐδ' ἠβαιόν.

Il. 2.654 ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννέα νῆας ἄγεν Ῥοδίων ἀγερώχων,

Il. 2.748 Γουνεὺς δ' ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας:

In these cases, the stem's lone syllable is short by nature, and the ending is followed by a vowel. Here, the ending is always -ου, because -οιο could not fit the metre; -ου must be used, and scanned with correption. Thus, these instances of -ου also tell us nothing about how free the choice of the poet was.

This leaves only five categories of words where there is any genuine, meaningful variation. These are set out in the following, Table 2.3:

Category	Example with -οιο:	Example with -ου:
- +C	στρουθοῖο (*Il.* 2.311)	δήμου (*Il.* 2.198)
- - +C	Ἀλφειοῖο (*Il.* 2.592)	Μαιάνδρου (*Il.* 2.869)
- u u +C	Τηλεμάχοιο (*Il.* 2.260)	ἀμβροσίου (*Il.* 5.328)
u +C	Πίθοιο (*Il.* 4.93)	θεοῦ (*Il.* 5.185)
u u +C	κολεοῖο (*Il.* 194)	Προτέρου (*Il.* 3.140)

Table 2.3: The variation in genitive ending according to metrical shape.

All other categories failed to give a true measure of the free choice available to the poet.[65] Naturally, this restricts the sample sizes by excluding many data points, but it is a necessary step in order to measure the freest possible variation between the two choices. It may be noted that this also has the effect of excluding forms which, by some definitions of formulae and formulaic structures, are formulaic. Take, for example, verse-ending middle participles like ἐρχομένοιο, which could be grouped together with ἐρχομενάων, κηδομένη περ, ἀχνύμενός περ, περθομένη τε under the overall structure '(pcp.) – u u – x' at line end:[66] ἐρχομέν- must have the -οιο ending here to qualify, and thus the choice cannot have been free. This means, then, that the forms which are counted are less likely to be considered formulaic by *any* understanding of formulae or formulaic structures.

2.5. The Relationship Between -οιο, *-οο, and -ου

The third refinement proposed here relates to the understanding of the potential ending of *-οο, and how this affects the results. It has already been described above how Janko, in order to measure relative chronology, separated the genitives into two 'criteria'; -οιο vs. anything that is not -οιο; -ου which was certain vs. -ου which could be resolved into *-οο. This division revolves around the existence of the form *-οο, since without it there would be a straight, binary choice between the older and newer alternatives. Recently, however, the existence of such a form has been called into question. In what follows I will extend this line of argument, suggesting that we can only measure one alternation: that between -οιο and -ου.

[65] Words like Κορώνου (u - +C) or μεγαθύμου (u u - +C) were left out of the - +C category, because the ending must fall in the thesis of the hexameter foot, and is therefore by necessity -ου, by the (almost total) rule in Homer that -οιο can only begin a foot, not end it. In order to keep the comparison as fair as possible, other 'expansions' into the categories (e.g. u - - +C into - - +C) were left out, although the results may be a useful *comparandum*.

[66] This is the structuralist approach taken by Russo (1963); (1966), following O'Neill (1942) and Porter (1951).

2.5.1. The Reconstruction of *-οο > -ου

Scholars have long suspected the existence of *-οο as it would explain the Attic-Ionic ending -ου as a contraction. Where *-οο came from, however, is less clear. At this stage, it would be sensible to review how Greek inherited the thematic genitive singulars from Proto-Indo-European, and what sound changes affected the ending.

It seems clear that we should reconstruct the ending *-*osyo* for PIE thematic nominal forms (Old Latin -*osio*, Sanskrit -*asya*, Armenian -*oy*). The form resurfaces in Mycenaean texts represented by -*o-jo*. The earliest such an ending is seen is in Homer; but also Thessalian, in the forms -οιο and -οι (a generalised, apocopated form of -οιο).[67] Given that we can explain the ending of the other Aeolic dialects (e.g. Lesbian, which has -ω) through influence of neighbouring dialects, we can reconstruct an original Aeolic ending of -οιο.[68] This allows for the following conventional reconstruction:

1) PIE *-*osyo*
2) > *-*oyyo* (Myc. -*o-jo*; Hom., Proto-Aeol. -οιο)
3) > *-*oyo*
4) > *-*oo*
5) > *-ō (-ου)

This might seem to be satisfactory if it were not for the jump from stage 2 to 3, which has been seen as problematic; single intervocalic -*y*- is commonly lost in Greek, whereas the situation with -*yy*- is more complex.[69] While there are parallels in the history of Greek for the loss of intervocalic <ι> (which presumably reflects -*yy*-, a gemination from -*wy*- or -*yw*-), these are associated in particular with Attic and are usually late. The two variants are often both attested (e.g. Attic στοά : στοιά, ποῶ : ποιῶ), unlike the genitives where -ου occurs unanimously in all non-Aeolic dialects. This suggests that the issue of the genitives being discussed here should be

[67] The -οι form has become the most common, with -οιο reduced to a variant, albeit one which survives for quite a long time, into the 3rd century BC; e.g. *DGE* 577.11-2; 598 *apud* Willi (2008), 248.
[68] Cf. Bowie (1981), 112.
[69] See, for example, Meier-Brügger (1996), who posits that the second yod was interpreted by speakers as a glide between /oi/ and /o/, which acted as a catalyst for its loss. The assumption that whatever phonetic reality underlies the spelling of -οιο develops naturally and unproblematically to that behind -ου underlies also the arguments of West (1988), 22-3; (1992), 174.

treated separately from these later cases, which represent a separate, more specific development.[70] How, then, might the development between -οιο and -ου be explained?

One way of sidestepping such an obscure development is to argue that the nominal ending *-oo has been transferred from the pronouns by analogy; this would make -οιο the older, nominal form, and *-oo the younger, pronominal form which was taken over by the nouns. It seems likely that the genitive singular of the interrogative pronoun had a *-*so* ending in PIE; **k*^{w}*eso* 'of whom?'. Old Church Slavonic continues this in *česo* 'of what', and Homeric (and Ionic) τέο/τεο (later Attic τοῦ/του) might also descend from it.[71]

An argument has been made to see this *-*so* ending in the genitive singular of the masculine and neuter demonstrative pronoun (later definite article) ὁ, ἁ, τό. This argument is made on the basis of statistics in the *Iliad*, gathered by Ruipérez, which show to a (statistically) significant degree that the -ου ending of pronouns can be resolved into *-oo far more often than the -ου endings of nouns.[72] Moreover, nouns are far more inclined to take the -οιο ending than pronouns. Lillo takes these two facts together and argues that Proto-Greek had a pronominal ending *-*so*, accounting for **too* > **tō* by regular developments.[73]

Relevant to this question is the factor of the metre as discussed in the previous section: one should compare like for like. The pronouns being discussed have three main metrical structures (using the terminology introduced previously): long +C (e.g. αὐτοῦ), short +C (ἑοῦ only), or 1+C (where 1 signifies that the ending is the peak of sonority itself; e.g. τοῦ). To clarify, 'long +C' means that the stem of the word in question is made up of one, long syllable, and that the word which follows the ending starts with a consonant. These metrical considerations should be incorporated into the comparison. There are barely any cases of short +C, nor is it

[70] The occasional loss of intervocalic <ι> (often reflecting *-yy-* < *-wy-*, but not always, as in υἱός : ὑός which shows no evidence of *-w-*) is an issue that requires a comprehensive overview: the conditions for the loss are obscure and confusing, span various morphological categories across various dialects, and the problems extend further than implied here. Homer shows variations in some formations which possibly indicate different reflexes of *-es.yō* (> *-ey.yō* > *-eyō* > *-eō* ? e.g. τελείω : τελέω), and which therefore might still be related to the wider problem, although this seems less likely given the reasons stated above. Such an overview would have to explain why this cluster, occurring as it does at a morpheme boundary, does not produce the -είω (*-eyyō*) ending in Attic, as it should do according to Kiparsky (1967), on which see below. For the most recent discussion, see Barber (2013), 110-23.

[71] This is doubted by Szemerenyi (1956), 198 and Haug (2002), 96-100.

[72] Ruipérez (1979).

[73] Lillo (1985); (1987), 90-1.

possible to compare 1+C as this structure does not exist for nouns (the 1+C cases will be addressed shortly). The results are as follows, comparing genitive nominals and genitive pronouns in the long +C category (e.g. αὐτοῦ), as set out in Table 2.4:[74]

	Genitival Nominals		Genitival Pronouns	
	Resolvable to *-oo	Other	Resolvable to *-oo	Other
Iliad 1-12	13 (26.5%)	36 (73.5%)	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)
Odyssey 1-12	17 (39.5%)	26 (60.5%)	14 (73.7%)	5 (26.3%)
Total	30 (32.6%)	62 (67.4%)	24 (70.6%)	10 (29.4%)

Table 2.4: The number of resolvable genitive endings in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* 1-12 in nominal and pronominal forms.

The difference between nominal forms and pronouns is highly statistically significant.[75] It is important to understand, however, that the data show that long +C pronouns are more resolvable than long +C nouns; that is, that the ending of these genitival pronouns occurs in the thesis of the hexameter foot much more often than those of nominal forms. This is the objective fact that is measured in these statistics. As a consequence, the question becomes one of metrics and versification, raising the question of how pronouns in other cases act when treated in a similar manner. One finds the following data, as displayed in Table 2.5:[76]

	Non-Genitival Nominals		Non-Genitival Pronouns	
	Ending in thesis	Other	Ending in thesis	Other
Iliad	14 (29.8%)	33 (70.2%)	25 (71.4%)	10 (28.6%)
Odyssey	12 (38.7%)	19 (61.3%)	*20 (62.5%)*	*12 (37.5%)*
Total	26 (33.3%)	52 (66.7%)	45 (67.2%)	22 (32.8%)

Table 2.5: The number of non-genitive endings in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* 1-12 with their ending in the thesis in nominal and pronominal forms.

[74] These data also disregard formulae: thus, the potential objection to Ruipérez's data articulated in Haug (2002), 76 that pronouns have a different status in formulae to nominals cannot stand.

[75] Using the Chi Squared Test, the p-value for the 'Total' of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* = 0.000131.

[76] In order to make the comparison as fair as possible, the following was done: all forms are of the structure long +C, where the ending was, like -ου, naturally long, instead of naturally short but followed by two consonants (αὐτῷ, αὐτοί, αὐτούς, αὐτῶν, αὐτῶ, αὐτή, αὐτήν, αὐτῆς, αὐτῇ, αὐταί, αὐτάς. The diphthongs αὐτοῖς and αὐταῖς were left out because sometimes it is uncertain whether they reflect αὐτοῖσι and αὐταῖσι with an elided iota: this alternation is another of Janko's criteria by which to measure relative chronology). The pronouns counted were αὐτός, ἄλλος, and (ἐ)κεῖνος. All countable instances of these words were gathered until a reasonable sample size was established; in this case, in *Il.* and *Od.* books 1-3. As for the nominals, a list was generated of all the words which appeared in the long +C category for the genitives, and all relevant non-genitival instances of these words were collected and counted wherever they were found (throughout all 24 books of each poem).

Essentially the same pattern is shown: whether in genitival or non-genitival forms, pronouns have their ending in the thesis of the metrical foot much more often than nouns. It is interesting to see that, overall, both genitival and non-genitival nominal forms have the same distribution. There is not quite the same neat correspondence between the two sets of pronouns; the difference is far from statistically significant, and might be explained through the Odyssean non-genitival pronoun statistics being a little low, italicised in the table. This suggests quite strongly, therefore, that the pattern noted by Ruipérez and Lillo in genitival nominal and pronominal forms is part of a wider pattern exhibited by all nominal and pronominal forms; in short, it is not a genitive 'thing' but a pronoun 'thing'. This highlights that *-oo can only be reconstructed when it would happen to fall in the thesis of the hexameter foot, and cannot be measured itself; measuring non-genitival forms in this way indicates that reconstructing *-oo for such genitives is illusory.

These data account for the long +C pronouns in the genitive, but not the 1+C ones, which Ruipérez included in his study. It is true that many 1+C pronouns do fall in the thesis in hexameter, but as Willi has pointed out, there are also many which do not, and some of these occur in the presumably old speech introduction formula.[77] Again, it seems that reconstructing *-oo on the basis of these statistics is illusory.

What is more, it is worth remembering that the comparative and early evidence speaks against *-oo; various Mycenaean forms seem to reflect -οιο in pronouns unambiguously, whereas *-oo is decidedly unclear.[78] Moreover, whereas there is comparative evidence for the interrogative pronoun *$k^{w}eso$, Sanskrit *tasya* suggests that -οιο < *-osyo is the original ending for the Proto-Indo-European demonstrative pronoun. It seems therefore best to avoid the reconstruction of *-oo for pronouns, which cannot then have transferred this ending to the nominal forms.

If -ου cannot easily come from -οιο directly, nor be traced to a pronominal origin, how can it best be explained? Scholarship has begun to move away from *-oo and seek an

[77] Willi (2008), 263. By my count, pronouns of this type (mostly the article), when ending in -ου, are actually placed in the arsis more commonly than the thesis (62% vs. 38%).
[78] PY Eb 156.2 *au-to-jo* (αὐτοῖο) and PY Er 312 *to-so-jo* (τόσοιο) vs. PY Un 1321.3 *to-o* and OY Xn 1342.1 and KN Od 666.a *to-so-o* (?).

explanation in phonological developments directly from PIE *-*osyo*. In particular, Kiparsky's arguments about the different development of -VsR- (a vowel + s + a resonant) in Aeolic and other Greek dialects have won some favour.[79] Kiparsky posited the following developments, presented in Table 2.6:

Stage	Notation	Example	Description
1	*-VsR-	**swelasnā*	
2	*-VhR-	**swelahnā*	Regular loss of -s-.
3	> Aeolic *-VRR-	> Aeolic *selannā* (Lesb. σελάννᾱ)	Gemination of resonant.
	> Non-Aeolic *-V̄R-	> Non-Aeolic *selānā* (Att.-Ion. σελήνη)	Lengthening of vowel.

Table 2.6: The phonological developments of *-VsR- according to Kiparsky (1967).

The PIE genitive *-*osyo* can be understood in exactly the same way; Kiparsky's development takes PIE *-*osyo* to non-Aeolic *-*ōyo*, and regular developments would take it to *-*ōo*.[80]

Stage	Notation	Example	Description
1	*-VsR-	**-osyo*	
2	*-VhR-	**-ohyo*	Regular loss of -s-.
3	> Aeolic *-VRR-	> Aeolic *-oyyo*, <οιο>	Gemination of resonant.
	> Non-Aeolic *-V̄R-	> Non-Aeolic **-ōyo*	Lengthening of vowel.
4	> Non-Aeolic *-V̄h-	> **-ōho*	Regular loss of -y- (?)
5	> Non-Aeolic *-V̄-	> **-ōo*	
6		> *-ō (-ου)	Contraction (?)

Table 2.7: The phonological development of *-*osyo* following Kiparsky's model.

[79] Kiparsky (1967); Haug (2002), 70-106; Willi (2008). This argument from Kiparsky has been challenged by the claim that Mycenaean, as well as Aeolic, geminated -VsRV- into -VRRV-, and therefore that Myc. *-o-jo* reflects **-oyyo* rather than **-ōyo* or **-ōho*: see most recently Miller (2014), 256-7; 317 n.131; 338-9. The Mycenaean evidence hinges around the interpretations of the spelling conventions: whether *-o-jo* might reflect **-ōho* (as Willi suggests) or **-oyyo* (as e.g. Hellemans (2005), 76ff. maintains), and whether cases like *a-ke-ra₂-te* reflect *agerrantes* or *agerhantes* (< **agersantes*: see Thompson (2010), 192-3) and are sufficient to say that Mycenaean *in toto* geminated such resonants. The most reasonable conclusion is to say that both interpretations are possible, and that Mycenaean thematic genitives *might* have been **-oyyo*. If this were the case, however, it should not be said that they must have been the ancestors of the -ου endings attested in the historical period: rather, it would be more economical to say that Aeolic and Mycenaean geminated the original **-osyo* cluster, whereas the other dialects did not, *a la* Kiparsky's theory. To draw a development from **-oyyo* to *-ō* (<-ου>), on the other hand, would be problematic in terms of phonology, and simply unnecessary, given that there is no attestation of an earlier version of a particular dialect using *-oyyo*, whereas the younger version uses *-ō* (<-ου>).

[80] As noted by Kiparsky and others, this development must have been different at morpheme boundary; otherwise **teles.yos* would not yield *teleyyos* (Gk. τέλειος) but in Attic-Ionic **telēyos* > **telēos* (cf. feminine perfect participles in **-usya* > Gk. -υια). In such environments, there was a secondary gemination of the resonant; cf. PIE **wes.nūmi* 'I clothe', which by Kiparsky's development should yield Attic †εἵνυμι. Instead we get ἕννυμι, which shows -Vs.RV- > -VR.RV- at morpheme boundary. Adjectives of material show that a single resonant must have been geminated in these environments: the **-yos* ending inherited by adjectives of material has, intervocalically, lost the lone yod and become Ionic -εος, Attic -ους, just as the lone intervocalic yod would be lost from non-Aeolic **-ōyo*. See most recently Willi (2008), 250-1.

The development from stages 3 to 5 might be a simple case of loss of *-y- followed by contraction.[81] It might also, however, be a case of elision before a vowel, creating the alternation *-ōho*/*-ōo* vs. *-ōh*/*-ō*; this would match Thessalian -οι vs. -οιο, and more generally the situation with the dative plural alternation in Old Attic between -οισι and -οις.[82] Either way, there is a natural process by which non-Aeolic speakers would lose the disyllabic nature of the genitive ending, which would threaten formulae and habits of versification; oral poets might well have resorted to -οιο as an intelligible dialect form synchronically preferable to the now archaic *-*ōho* or -*ōo*. This, then, may be how the two forms came to be used side by side, in both formulae and freer composition. This point is very important, because Janko based his arguments on the assumption that -ου follows on as a direct descendent of -οιο and is thus unproblematically later. However, it is now generally accepted that this is not the case – the two forms are better characterised as 'cousins'.[83]

2.5.2. A Lesbian *-oo?

What other evidence is there for an ending in *-oo? I noted that the non-Aeolic dialects should never have had *-oo. An argument has been made recently by Haug, however, that *-oo is specifically a Lesbian Aeolic development. Haug argues that the regular Lesbian development of prevocalic αι > α also affected οι diphthongs, citing Sappho fr. 94.17 (Voigt) πεποημεναις, which is guaranteed by the metre.[84] Hamm adduces more cases where this reduction is sometimes achieved, and sometimes not.[85] When the reduction does occur, Haug argues, we are left with a short ο. In the genitive ending -οιο, Haug continues, we would expect this development to leave

[81] Haug (2002), 85-7.
[82] Willi (2008), 264ff.
[83] Jones (2008), 94-8 argues the same position, although he posits a different relationship between the two endings: he argues that -οιο is a specifically Thessalian ending, and that Thessalian was unusual among the Greek dialects in taking the ending *-*osyo* as -*os.yo*, that is, as if there was a morpheme boundary. Other Greek dialects, he argues, underwent a change of *-*osyo* > *-*ohyo* > *-*ohho* > *-*oho* > *-*oo* > -*ō* (ου). Jones argues this because the o-stem genitive 'is essentially the only sequence in Greek of -s+y- which is not at a morpheme boundary, and so we are forced to speculate about the treatment' (96). Although the first statement is true, the second is not – the parallel treatment of other -VsRV- clusters, *à la* Kiparsky's arguments, is good evidence about the treatment of the ending. Jones rejects Kiparsky's development because 'the loss of yod requires an *ad hoc* deletion rule' (96 n.202), but there is nothing *ad hoc* about the loss of *single* intervocalic yod.
[84] Haug (2002), 89. Haug rejects Blümel (1982), 72-3, who posits οι > ω, as there are insufficient valid examples for this.
[85] Hamm (1957), 27.

*-oo, which would then contract to -ō, rendered by the Lesbian <ω>. Thus Haug rejects the traditional explanation for the Lesbian -ω ending - that it was borrowed from Ionic - on the grounds that 'morphology is particularly resistant to borrowings, and Lesbian is not imbibed with Ionian elements to such a degree that one would expect to find a morphological borrowing'.[86] One could *a priori* question either of these reasons, and one might also take issue with the Lesbian forms: Homer also has forms alternating in οι and ο (e.g. ὀλοιός : ὀλοός), a versification technique which Sappho and Alcaeus might well also use, in accordance with many other epic borrowings in their verse.[87]

Haug's suggestion nevertheless remains possible, and is worth investigating. Following Haug in rejecting the traditional explanation, and supposing that *-oo would have been uncontracted when epic poetry was transferred to Ionian poets, what kind of presence might this ending have had in Homeric diction? It would be necessary to accept for the sake of the argument an Aeolic phase (as according to Haug's purpose in making the argument), in which Aeolic diction was passed onto Ionic poets when they took up the tradition. Operating with a phase model, the situation can only be understood like this:

Lesbian		Ionic Equivalent		Ionic Epic
-οιο	>	Ø	>	-οιο
*-oo/ō	>	-ō (<ου>)	>	-ου

This is the result when one follows the normal model for such transformations/borrowings, as articulated by Nagy: 'In Homeric diction, if an Ionic form is available to fit into a metrical position that is already occupied by an Aeolic form, *then the Aeolic form is replaced by the corresponding Ionic form*, but the Aeolic form is preserved wherever no metrically equivalent Ionic form is available'.[88] On this understanding, -οιο was preserved, as Ionic had no form which corresponded to it. Ionic, however, did have a metrical equivalent to *-oo in -ō (<ου>), and we would expect *-oo as a result to be replaced with -ου.[89] This, then, is

[86] 'La morphologie est particulièrement résistante aux emprunts, et le lesbien n'est pas à un tel degreé imbibé d'elements ioniens que l'on s'attende à trouver une désinence empruntée.' Haug (2002), 89.

[87] See Wyatt (1969), 167-180 for the οι : ο alternation; see Bowie (1981) for the epicisms in Lesbian poetry.

[88] Nagy (2010), 144; italics are mine. See Witte (1913) and Parry (1971b), who are usually credited with the establishment of this orthodoxy. It is worth noting that this is a general rule and that there are occasional exceptions; e.g. the variation in use of ἄμμι and ἡμῖν at line end, or αἰ and εἰ.

[89] An assumption here is that, when/if Ionic poets inherited an Aeolic tradition, they inherited *diction* and *formula* rather than *fixed verses*, which were then mechanically converted into Ionic wherever possible. Thus, -ου in the

the reason why *-oo in Ionic texts inherited from Aeolic should not be expected. Moreover, an additional, important argument to this end is the fact that there is only one genitive in -ō in the 5th foot of the hexameter (*Od.* 13.239), indicating that barely any verses *depend* on a *-oo structure, even ones in which we would expect to find *-oo.

If, on the other hand, Lesbian contracted *-oo to -ō quite quickly, as Haug suggests, it would seem more likely that Ionic poets would have inherited this -ō or equated it with their own. Thus, whether Lesbian *-oo is understood as having contracted early or not, it does not seem likely that Homeric -ō genitives in the thesis could stand in its place. Overall, it therefore seems that the evidence from Lesbian cannot be used to reliably reconstruct *-oo for Homer.

2.5.3. A Necessary *-oo in Homer?

There are some formations in Homer which scholars have argued do depend on an *-oo ending, hitherto unaddressed in this thesis.[90] All of them, however, can be explained otherwise. The problematic forms are as follows, presented in Table 2.8:

No.	Reference	Line	Type
1	*Il.* 22.313	ἀγρίου, πρόσθεν δὲ σάκος στέρνοιο κάλυψε	-ιου
2	*Il.* 15.554	ἐντρέπεται φίλον ἦτορ ἀνεψιοῦ κταμένοιο;	
3	*Il.* 15.66; 21.104; 22.6	Ἰλίου προπάροιθε πολέας ὀλέσαντ᾽ αἰζηοὺς	
4	*Il.* 2.731	τῶν αὖθ᾽ ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε	
5	*Il.* 9.440 and *passim*	νήπιον οὔ πω εἰδόθ᾽ ὁμοιΐου π(τ)ολέμοιο	
6	*Il.* 2.518	υἱες Ἰφίτου μεγαθύμου Ναυβολίδαο,	Ἰφίτου
7	*Il.* 5.21	οὐδ᾽ ἔτλη περιβῆναι ἀδελφειοῦ κταμένοιο·	ἀδελφειοῦ
8	*Il.* 6.61; 7.120; 13.788	ὣς εἰπὼν παρέπεισεν ἀδελφειοῦ φρένας ἥρως	
9	*Od.* 10.36	δῶρα παρ᾽ Αἰόλου μεγαλήτορος Ἱπποτάδαο.	Αἰόλου
10	*Od.* 10.60	βῆν εἰς Αἰόλου κλυτὰ δώματα· τὸν δ᾽ ἐκίχανον	

Table 2.8: The problematic genitive endings which possibly reflect *-oo.

thesis of hexameter feet in non-formulaic lines such as, for example, θυμοῦ δευομένους· ἀπὸ γὰρ μένος εἵλετο χαλκός (*Il.* 3.294) does not stand for an original Aeolic line starting in *θυμοο δευομένους (…). The inheritance happened instead at the level of diction: when/if an Ionic poet heard an Aeolic one compose *-oo in the thesis, he would have replaced this ending with his own in -ου, and used it in the thesis.

[90] E.g. West (1998), xxxiii. See Hackstein (2010), 406 for a brief discussion of the problem posed by these verses.

In cases 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 10 and possibly 5 (πτολέμοιο appears in half of the mss. attestations) the lines would scan better if *-oo were restored, where the second -o has been lengthened before two consonants which make position.[91] Case 4, however, would require metrical lengthening of the second *-o-* in *-oo, as the text stands, and reconstructing *-oo is hence less neat here. Cases 7 and 8 have come down as metrically sound, but it is thought that the -ει- of ἀδελφειοῦ has been metrically lengthened from the normal ἀδελφεοῦ after loss of *-oo.[92]

On the other hand, resolving these cases with *-oo is just one possibility. It cannot be a coincidence that so many of these words (all except Ἰφίτου and Αἰόλου) have *-i-* before the thematic vowel. This *-i-* is normally scanned as short, but these lines can work if it is scanned as long. As Willi notes, this would parallel the lengthening often seen of the *-i-* in abstract nouns in -ίη.[93] Such abstract nouns (such as ὑπεροπλίῃσι, προθυμίῃσι, ἱστίη, κακοεργίην, ὑποδεξίη, ἀτιμίῃσι, ἀκομιστίη) contain a cretic structure which would not otherwise fit into the hexameter (- u -). It is notable that the exact same structure is seen in these genitival forms: ἀγρίου, ἀνεψιοῦ, Ἰλίου, Ἀσκληπιοῦ and ὁμοιΐου all have the final three syllables as (- u -). These forms could have been used normally in prevocalic position (cf. particularly Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε *Il.* 5.642) with epic correption, and this may be what happens when they are used before a consonant. In this way, the forms handed down in cases 7 and 8 are parallel to the other forms in question here; the metrical lengthening has been marked with -ει-, but this is not possible with -ι-. Thus, these cases can be explained satisfactorily through metrical lengthening of the *-i-*, with a parallel treatment in similar environments. This is a more economical explanation than invoking an underlying form, the existence of which can be doubted on phonetic grounds.[94]

Moreover, when it comes to ὁμοιΐου π(τ)ολέμοιο, it is notable that if, as is commonly thought, ὁμοΐϊος comes from ὅμοιος with a metrical extension, an old *homoiōo ptolemōo, with the form expected from the developments sketched above, would also be plausible. In such a scenario, after the change of *-ōo > ō, the only way in which the formula could remain metrical

[91] One would have to rely on the optional lengthening before μ- (in analogy to older **sm-* forms) for cases 6 and 9, but this is not too problematic. On πτο- vs πο- see Hackstein (2010), 406.
[92] West (1998), xxxiii.
[93] Willi (2008), 249; examples from Chantraine (2013), 101. See further Wyatt (1969), 160ff.
[94] Metrical lengthening for these words has been advocated by Wachter (2015), 84-5 n.24.

while avoiding scanning the second syllable of οιο long would be to employ the alternate form ὁμοΐϊ- (cf. γελοΐϊος at *Il.* 2.215).[95] It is therefore not necessary to postulate *-οο to explain the irregularity of the phrase.

What, then, of Ἰφίτου and Αἰόλου? Both words can be scanned with the second syllable long (similarly but not identically to the cases just discussed), but this is less easy for Αἰόλου, as one might expect such a lengthening to be reflected in the orthography by a spurious diphthong or geminated lambda. The name in the genitive is an awkward metrical shape, and could normally only be used before a vowel. The bards were clearly capable of adjusting the metrical shape of names, given the common variation between Ὀδυσεύς : Ὀδυσσεύς and Ἀχιλεύς : Ἀχιλλεύς. Perhaps a similar metrical lengthening occurred here, but the geminate consonant does not survive in our manuscripts. Such a scenario has a parallel in the occasional case where ἐπεί occurs in the initial position in the verse, and appears to have been lengthened by analogy to another alternation in π : ππ (e.g. ὁποῖος: ὁππoῖος), without the double ππ being marked in our texts.[96] Moreover, a metrical lengthening may have been aided by the geminate lambdas in the verb form αἰόλλω 'to shift rapidly to and fro' (*Od.* 20.27; Hes. *Sc.* 399), and/or ἄελλα 'storm, whirlwind' and its derivatives (cf. ἀολλής 'all together, in throngs') – these words are semantically similar, which would aid the analogical lengthening.,

Wyatt proposed another explanation for (most of) these forms, rejecting a necessarily reconstructed *-οο genitive ending here.[97] Wyatt argued that the second *-i-* of the stem could be treated consonantally: in *Il.* 15.66, 21.104 and 22.6 (Ἰλίου προπάροιθε πολέας ὀλέσαντ' αἰζηοὺς) he thus takes a reconstructed Ἴλιοιο as [ilyoiyo] scanned as (- - u), the last syllable then being lengthened by προπάροιθε. This explanation has the downside of necessitating that the second *-o-* of -οιο is lengthened by two consonants, which is very rare indeed in Homer.[98] In support of

[95] See Beekes *s.v.* ὁμοΐϊος. It might be conjectured that the form was created in this formula, a formula which makes up 8 of the 11 instances of the word, a distribution to be expected if the word were thence generalised with the less specific meaning of 'bad' and applied to νεῖκος (quarrel), θάνατος (death) and γῆρας (old age).

[96] Wyatt (1969), 220.

[97] Wyatt (1969), 176-7. Wyatt also considers briefly explanations that *Ἰλίοιο would have dissimilated into *Ἴλοιο, but dismisses this as unlikely on phonetic grounds. Noting the fact that many of these cases occur before an -i-, he also suggests, these genitives might have once been *-οιο but the second -i- was lost due to dissimilation with the first, since the form would be unmetrical. This would create, for example *Ἰλίοο < *Ἰλίοιο.

[98] In my count of *Il.* and *Od.* 1-12 I found only one verse where this happens: οὐδέ κεν ἀκτήμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο (*Il.* 9.126 = 9.268). In all other cases the -οιο ending starts a new foot.

the theory, however, one might adduce *CEG* 47.3 Γναθίο, τ□ σφυχὲ ὄλετ' ἐν [δαί] ηιερός εἰμι. The name is completely unmetrical unless the *-i-* is taken as a consonantal yod; there is no scope at all here for an older *-oo. Nevertheless, both suggestions are reasonable explanations for these forms, and have the strength of taking into account the fact that many of them occur after *-i-*.

Moreover, these forms could also be explained by a type of diectasis, whereby -ō is stretched out into -oo or possibly -oō. There is Homeric precedence for both; σά(ϝ)ος > σῶς > σόος alongside ὁράω > ὁρῶ > ὁρόω.[99] In the framework sketched above, when *-ōo contracted into -ō, it could be decontracted into either of the two forms. This explanation has the strength of not requiring metrical lengthening in a case like *Il.* 2.731 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε, and it might also explain in particular ὅου at *Il.* 2.325 ὄψιμον ὀψιτέλεστον, ὅου κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλεῖται and *Od.* 1.70 ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον, ὅου κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.

All these explanations (metrical lengthening, dissimilation, consonantal *-i-*, and diectasis) are essentially different ways by which the Ionic bards could get around the otherwise unmetrical forms. Each has its merits, and each one (or a combination of several) stands as a credible explanation. Given that there are so many other possibilities, these forms cannot be used to argue unambiguously for an old, wide-spread genitive in *-oo.

There is one final irregular form, the explanation for which is usually found in an *-oo genitive: ὀκρυόεις next to κρυόεις, both meaning 'chilling, horrible', the former of which has an irregular prothetic vowel. ὀκρυόεις is attested as follows:

Il. 6.344: 'δᾶερ ἐμεῖο κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης,
'brother of mine, evil-plotting and horrible dog that I am'

Il. 9.64: ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος.
'who loves horrible civil war'.

The standard explanation is to see κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης and ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος as hiding *κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης and *ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος, from which there was a mis-division and resegmentation, creating ὀκρυόεις, possibly influenced by the phonologically similar ὀκριόεις.[100]

[99] Willi (2008), 249-50; Haug (2002), 86. For diectasis in general, see Chantraine (2013), 77ff.
[100] See Beekes *s.v.* 'ὀκρυόεις'.

Leumann, starting from ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος, argues that the resegmentation happened in two stages:[101]

> 1) *ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος was taken as elided *ἐπιδημίο' ὀκρυόεντος.
>
> 2) This was then taken as a 'Wortgruppe' with a hiatus: ἐπιδημίο(υ) ὀκρυόεντος. The final o of ἐπιδημίο is taken as a contracted product of *-oo, but at the same time as a long ō shortened before a vowel in correption.

From this point, the new word was understood as a stronger form of the original, with a more emphatic meaning, and used thus by Nestor at *Il.* 9.64. This is a neat explanation, but one wonders why in stage 1 the new word was created at all: Leumann does not explain *why* stage 1 happened. One would assume that a bard would take ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος correctly as ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος. This problem is circumvented if the two stages are taken as happening essentially concurrently: the contraction of *-oo into -ō would mean that, when an oral poet heard this phrase performed by another oral poet, he must have thought that this was ἐπιδημίο with a long -ō shortened by correption, in front of an adjective ὀκρυόεντος.

There are, however, other explanations possible which do not necessitate an ending in *-oo underlying our Homeric text. For example, the explanation from contraction of *-oo can also be deployed for *-ōo, although such a misinterpretation could not have taken place in earlier forms of the lines of our texts, as that would make them unmetrical. When this process of contraction started to occur, and the poets were expecting to use a single long vowel for the ending, formations like *-ōo κρυόεις could well have been reanalysed into *-o ὀκρυόεις, again with the first vowel thus shortened by epic correption, by way of the brief but logically necessary intermediate stage of *-ō' ὀκρυόεις. This could have led to the new form used as in the lines quoted above. As Dihle notes, this form is always at line end: once the form was created, situated and fixed in the 5th and 6th foot (- u u | – x), its chances of survival were greatly increased, which is why it is found in these lines, as part of a formulaic network which associates the form with a thematic genitive preceding it.[102] This explanation seems quite attractive, since the presence of

[101] Leumann (1950), 49-50. Also see Reece (2009), 81ff.
[102] Dihle (1970), 3.

the new form in the formulaic network explains its presence in the same position in both lines, and means that it is not necessary to follow Leumann in seeing ἐπιδημίου as the primary form.

Moreover, if Haug's understanding of *-oo is accepted, yet another explanation might be that ὀκρυόεις entered the tradition *at an unspecified point*, rather than around the time of a contraction in Ionic and/or epic diction (as described above), and the poets were able to use it as a simple alternative to κρυόεις. Thus, alongside the lines quoted above, poets could compose, for example, *Il.* 9.2 θεσπεσίη ἔχε φύζα φόβου κρυόεντος ἑταίρη. In this way ὀκρυόεις might have entered epic diction from Aeolic, when such a mis-division took place when the genitive was still *-oo, as per Haug's arguments above. It may have been interpreted by Ionic poets alongside other Aeolic forms like ὄπατρος, ὄτριχες, οἰέτεας as a type of doublet, influenced further by ὀκριόεις as mentioned above.[103]

A final potential explanation is now familiar, and concerns metrical lengthening, rooting the crux of the problem in the textual tradition, rather than an artificially created form.[104] Assuming that the performed lines had been κακομηχάνου κρυοέσσης and ἐπιδημίου κρυόεντος, which would both scan, it is notable that one of these forms ends in -ιος, which as was noted above is prone to such lengthening. Such a treatment would again be necessary, as the last three syllables of both κακομηχάνου and ἐπιδημίου are of a cretic (- u -) structure. If this were the case, they would have been written down as <ΚΑΚΟΜΗΧΑΝΟΚΡΥΟΕΣΗΣ> and <ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΟΚΡΥΟΕΝΤΟΣ>. In such cases, the lengthening might not have been noticed, and the lines seemed to be missing a syllable. Then, in the knowledge that <O> could stand for <OO>, a scribe working on later texts restoring <OO> (along with other geminated letters) would add the desired syllable, and the resulting <κακομηχανοοκρυοεσσης> and <επιδημιοοκρυοεντος> would then be re-analysed as the lines which came down to us. The appearance of a missing syllable would be sufficient motivation for the scribes to change the lines, despite creating a *dis legomenon* (a lack of such a reason is why a textual explanation has not seemed likely to previous critics).[105]

[103] Ruijgh (1957), 103. See further Bowie (1981), 50-1.
[104] Such an explanation has some pedigree: see Reece (2009), 85; Chantraine (2013), 19.
[105] See, for example, the arguments against a textual solution in Webster (1958), 96-7; Goold (1960), 278-9; Dihle (1970), 2; Janko (1994), 15 n.23.

Although this last explanation seems less likely than the others, together they all form cumulative weight against a solution which requires a genitive in *-oo. It thus seems again that this piece of evidence for an *-oo genitive ending is relatively weak, with it being possible to explain the forms differently without having to circumvent the phonological difficulties associated with *-oo.

2.5.4. But What if *-oo Did Exist?

The above argument attempts to present a case against the existence of *-oo. However, if some critics are unconvinced, it is still the case that Janko's second thematic genitive metric (the number of guaranteed -ου compared to the number of -ου resolvable into *-οι', *-oo and *-o') is not a good metric by which to measure the texts, as Jones has demonstrated.[106] Firstly, the cases which possibly betray *-οι'(ο) are simply ambiguous, since they might be indicative of -οιο rather than -ου, and should be removed from the analysis.[107] Secondly, there is no way to know how many of the possible *-oo and *-o' forms were composed after contraction occurred but with the ending simply placed in the thesis of the foot or with correption respectively – in other words, there is no way of knowing how many of the -ου forms that could be resolved into *-oo and *o' actually should actually be counted as resolved. It is worth mentioning again the fact that there is only one case of the -ου in the fifth foot, contrary to what might be expected if it indicated an earlier *-oo. Therefore, differences in the behaviour of the texts regarding putative *-oo and *-o' indicate the versification habits of the poets, and how often the genitive ending was placed in the thesis of the foot, rather than the use of early forms. Ultimately, then, it seems that the best metric when it comes to measuring the variability in genitive ending is measuring -οιο against -ου, and breaking down the results by metrical structure.

2.5.5. Conclusion

The phonological development posited by Kiparsky seems to explain perfectly the situation of the thematic genitives in Homer; but it leaves no room for *-oo. I have also adduced compelling arguments against the claim that the ending *-oo was borrowed from pronouns. Moreover, the evidence for *-oo in a few isolated forms in our texts is slim and marginal. Even

[106] Jones (2008), 100-2.

[107] It may seem likely that these forms do indeed betray a hidden -οιο ending on the basis of the following inscription: *CEG* 16.2: ἔστησ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖ' ἀγαθοῦ καὶ [σώφρονος ἀνδρός.].

if the form *-oo existed in Lesbian, it would have been replaced by Ionic -ō as soon as the epic tradition was imported to Ionia. The few forms that scholars have identified as potentially requiring *-oo are all metrically difficult, and can be explained in a variety of different ways. These forms cannot therefore be used to argue that *-oo *must* have existed, especially as this would require rejecting the regular phonological developments posited by Kiparsky. Hence, I conclude that it is appropriate to oppose only -οιο and -ου, instead of treating them two-dimensionally (-οιο vs. anything that is not οιο, and *-oo vs. -ου) as Janko did.

2.6. Summary

Thus far, I have proposed three refinements of Janko's methodology used when quantitatively assessing the thematic genitives in Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns, around the principle of measuring the choice when it was maximally free. Firstly, I have suggested excluding repetitions, including formulaic cases, as long as the exclusions are made with care. Secondly, I have taken the metre into account, including only those forms where there is genuine variation, excluding all those cases where the ending is fixed and thus not free. Thirdly, I have reunited the genitives into one dimension (-οιο vs. -ου, or if we prefer, *-*ō*(*h*)*o* vs. -*ō*), excluding the weak evidence for *-*oo*. In what follows, I will now present the results and embark on explaining them.

2.7. Results and Analysis

The new count was carried out according to the methods described above. The results, presented in Table 2.9, present the raw numbers of -οιο and -ου endings, along with their percentages, for every category (as defined above) for the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, and the four major Homeric Hymns (*Hymn to Aphrodite, Hymn to Demeter, Hymn to Apollo, Hymn to Hermes*), and a collection of early epigraphic hexameters which contain thematic genitives, labelled 'Inscriptions'.[108] Given the near complete scholarly consensus on the single authorship of the two Hesiodic poems, a separate row named 'Hesiod' has been

[108] The sample size for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is the first 12 books of each, as this was the maximum possible that could be counted and analysed in the time available. No attempt has been made to distinguish between the two halves of the *Hymn to Apollo*. The corpus of inscriptions is that gathered by Gainsford (2016), 31-3, comprised mostly of Hansen's *CEG* and Wachter's (2001) *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions*.

added; this provides the advantage of combining the sample sizes into a larger, more reliable total. The totals for each ending for each poem are presented as a separate category.

Category	- +C				- - +C				- u u +C		
	οιο	ου	%οιο		οιο	ου	%οιο		οιο	ου	%οιο
Iliad	26	26	50.0%		8	7	53.3%		20	3	87.0%
Odyssey	18	23	43.9%		7	9	43.8%		8	14	36.4%
Theogony	2	3	40.0%		4	3	57.1%		6	8	42.9%
Works	3	13	18.8%		2	6	25.0%		2	6	25.0%
Hesiod	*5*	*16*	*23.8%*		*6*	*9*	*40.0%*		*8*	*14*	*36.4%*
H.Aphr	2	1	66.7%		0	0	0.0%		0	2	0.0%
H.Dem	3	1	75.0%		0	1	0.0%		0	3	0.0%
H.Apo	4	2	66.7%		3	3	50.0%		1	0	100.0%
H.Herm	1	4	20.0%		1	2	33.3%		1	1	50.0%
Inscriptions	0	3	0.0%		1	6	14.3%		0	4	0.0%
Category	u + C				u u +C				Totals		
	οιο	ου	%οιο		οιο	ου	%οιο		οιο	ου	%οιο
Iliad	4	3	57.1%		36	9	80.0%		94	50	65.3%
Odyssey	4	7	36.4%		25	11	69.4%		62	65	48.8%
Theogony	0	4	0.0%		3	5	37.5%		15	23	39.5%
Works	2	5	28.6%		6	13	31.6%		15	43	25.9%
Hesiod	*2*	*9*	*18.2%*		*9*	*18*	*33.3%*		*30*	*66*	*31.3%*
H.Aphr	0	0	0.0%		0	2	0.0%		2	5	28.6%
H.Dem	1	1	50.0%		0	1	0.0%		4	7	36.4%
H.Apo	0	1	0.0%		3	1	75.0%		11	7	61.1%
H.Herm	1	1	50.0%		5	1	83.3%		9	9	50.0%
Inscriptions	0	2	0.0%		0	1	0.0%		1	16	5.9%

Table 2.9: The numbers of -οιο and -ου genitives in each text(s) by metical category.

2.7.1. Some Observations Concerning the Data

Firstly, considering the 'Totals' table, incorporating these changes exaggerates the findings of Janko, in that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* apparently become more 'archaic', as depicted in Table 2.10 below:

	%οιο	%οιο acc. to Janko[109]
Iliad	65.3%	51.9%

[109] These data are from his category of -οιο vs. anything that is not -οιο, as opposed to definite -ου vs resolvable -ου.

Odyssey	48.8%	46.6%
Theogony	39.5%	38.8%
Works and Days	25.9%	28.8%
HAphr	28.6%	39.0%
HDem	36.4%	49.3%
HAp	61.1%	41.0%
HHerm	50.0%	55.4%

Table 2.10: The overall percentage of the -οιο ending by my count and that of Janko.

The statistics for the two Hesiodic poems, on the other hand, are more or less identical to those found by Janko. What, then, of the Hymns? Unfortunately, once formulaic/Homeric phrases and metrical structure have been taken into account, there are not many genitives left from which to draw conclusions. The *Hymn to Aphrodite*, for example, only has three. Nevertheless, using this data, there are some striking differences from what Janko found: the *Hymn to Demeter* becomes much less 'archaic', and the *Hymn to Apollo* much more so.

Do the data support combining all the five categories together, though? If the results are grouped by text rather than by category (as in Table 2.11 below), the variation between them becomes clearer. Table 2.11 shows the results for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*:

	Iliad 1-12		*Odyssey* 1-12	
	-οιο	-ου	-οιο	-ου
Long +C	26	26	18	23
	50.0%	50.0%	43.9%	56.1%
Long - +C	8	7	7	9
	53.3%	46.7%	43.8%	56.2%
Long u u +C	20	5	8	14
	80.0%	20.0%	36.4%	63.6%
u +C	4	3	4	7
	57.1%	42.9%	36.4%	63.6%
u u +C	36	9	25	11
	80.0%	20.0%	69.4%	30.6%

Table 2.11: The numbers of -οιο and -ου endings in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* 1-12 by metrical category.

We can see here that the percentage of -οιο varies greatly within the categories in both poems (in the *Iliad*, from 50.0% to 80.0%). When significance testing is applied to the data, it

emerges for both poems that the difference between the five categories is statistically significant.[110] This adds further weight to the choice of splitting the data up into these categories, as the poets' choice between -οιο and -ου appears to be heavily correlated to the metrical structure of the word. The statistics for the categories combined do, however, provide a general overview about a poem's preference for one form over the other. It is also worth noting that splitting the Hymns into different categories reduces the reliability of the data as the numbers become so small. Accordingly, one should, when considering the Hymns as a whole, fall back on the 'Total' table, accepting the caveat that these data do not take into account metrical structure, and are therefore less precise.

Indeed, the data for the genitives illustrate a potential danger in the use of statistics. If one were to perform significance testing on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* results in the 'Totals' column, one would find that there is a strongly marked difference between the two.[111] However, when the data for each metrical category are tested, there is only one category in which there is a significant difference, - u u +C, and it is the difference in this category that the test on the results in the 'Totals' column picks up as significant.[112] Thus, while the 'Totals' column may provide larger numbers which make for more reliable tests, it should be stressed that it considerably oversimplifies the data.

2.7.2. Different Interpretations: Chronology

Now that I have set out some of the relevant factors – formulae and metre – and argued that the genitive endings should be measured in one criterion rather than two, it is necessary to turn to the question of whether we can truly posit that chronology is an operant factor in the distribution of the forms.

As noted before, Janko posited that, as time passed, poets became less and less likely to use 'archaisms' in the artificial, poetic language, and that they were increasingly influenced by their spoken dialect. The results found here do not seem to be completely consistent with such

[110] These results were obtained by using the Chi Squared Test, which establishes whether the variation between the results of the five categories, when taken as a group, is statistically significant. The p-value for the *Iliad* is 0.0104, and for the *Odyssey* 0.0682. Although the *Odyssey* result is slightly above the standard 0.05 threshold, given the arbitrariness of this threshold it would be foolish to consider the result insignificant.
[111] Using the Chi Squared Test, a p-value of 0.00622 is obtained.
[112] Using Fisher's Exact Test, a p-value of 0.00235 is obtained.

an explanation, as such a process might be expected to occur regardless of the metrical structure of any given word. Instead, the decrease in the use of -οιο is uneven between the metrical categories. Table 2.12 summaries the percentage changes for three categories, but the - - +C and u +C categories are excluded since their sample sizes are quite small.

Category	% Change in -οιο from *Il.* to *Od.*	% Change in -οιο from *Od.* to Hesiod
- +C	6.1%	20.1%
- u u +C	43.6%	0%
u u +C	10.6%	35.9%

Table 2.12: The percentage change across different texts by metrical category.

One might have expected a proportional change in the percentage of -οιο within each category, but this does not occur. If Janko's explanation is accepted, it must be assumed that poets became less inclined to one form over the other and did so relatively more or less depending on the structure of the word which they were using.

Such an assumption seems challenging. Comparing the – u u +C and u u +C categories, the data show that while both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* strongly favour -οιο in the u u +C category, in the – u u +C category the *Odyssey* has a marginal preference for -ου, in contrast to the *Iliad*'s strong preference for -οιο. The structure of these words is very similar – in both cases, the genitive ending begins a new foot, as the previous foot has been completed by the two shorts of the stem of the word (the only difference being the source of the long in the thesis). It is difficult, therefore, to find an explanation for the difference along these lines, as one would expect this sort of metrical conditioning to affect both categories of words.

This evidence thus shows that a purely chronological explanation does not account fully for the differences between the Homeric and Hesiodic poems; there must be additional, potent factors in play as well, for otherwise the small discrepancies in the data do not make sense. As for the Hymns, the *Hymn to Demeter* no longer needs to be explained by 'false archaism', as per Janko, since the data suggest that it actually prefers -οιο much less than Janko found. However, this analysis also illustrates the problems in using statistics for the hymns because of small sample sizes. The fact that simply restricting the analysis to non-formulaic/repeated instances,

and to certain metrical category of words, changes whether a poem is displaying 'false archaism', highlights the dangers involved. Moreover, in general, using the 'Totals' figures for the Hymns does not tell us much about chronology; the *Hymn to Apollo*'s preference for -οιο, which surpasses all but the *Iliad*, cannot be used in isolation as an argument for its age, as other linguistic criteria need also to be considered.

2.7.3. Different Interpretations: Geography

Another argument considered by Janko in his overall discussion is the geographical situation of the poems' composition, and how this might have affected the diction. This is not something that he considers for the thematic genitives, as he assumes a linear and widespread change from -οιο to -ου.[113] The development of the genitives according to Kiparsky, however, as set out and defended as the best explanation above, changes this; the -οιο ending would be a feature of Aeolic, while -ου (however exactly *-ōo became *-ō, by contraction or elision) would be a non-Aeolic feature. This would make the two forms cousins of sorts, and would open up the possibility of regional variation.[114]

There are, however, pitfalls when trying to understand the relationship between a poet's geographical location and the dialect in which he composes his verses. Hesiod is a good example of such a difficulty: scholars have long noted and puzzled over why Hesiod, despite his Aeolic parentage and Boeotian home, composes in a dialect seemingly more Ionic than Homer's.[115] For example, Hesiod neglects the digamma more than Homer, despite the fact that Boeotian retained the digamma into the Classical period, and he also clearly shows other Ionicisms.[116] This appears to reflect Hesiod's conscious and deliberate attempt to compose in Ionic. Importantly, however, Hesiod simultaneously uses some other important forms (unconsciously?). For example, he frequently uses the forms -εμεν and -οις, both of which are Boeotianisms.[117] He also appears to have slipped in the Attic formula λαμπράν τε Σελήνην (*Th.* 17, 371) which, unlike other

[113] Janko (1982), 70ff.
[114] This may be an oversimplification. It is possible that Aeolic -οιο stands in for the old Ionic form *-ōo before it became -ō; this would mean that although -οιο is not itself particularly older than -ου, it may stand for such forms. This is only likely, however, to be relevant in formulae, which have been discounted. The forms included in this count are likely just alternative forms, used for metrical convenience.
[115] For Hesiod's language, see most extensively Cassio (2009); Edwards (1971), with further literature.
[116] Cassio (2009), 193.
[117] Troxler (1964), 62-8 and 101f.; Cassio (2009), 193-4.

like cases of original -ā after ι ε and ρ, has not remained λαμπρήν (cf. *Ilias Parva* fr. 9.1 νὺξ μὲν ἔην μεσάτη, λαμπρὴ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη). He must have been familiar with this formula from local Attic poetry, and the formula has not been changed by the manuscript tradition, or editors.[118] These examples indicate that a poet, even when using an artificial language to compose in a foreign dialect, can still leave traces of, or somehow reflect, poetry from a local area.

With geographical variation in mind, Janko's statistics for use of the moveable nu (νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν) seem to make sense. Janko found that the use of moveable nu, a clear Attic-Ionic feature, is preferred by Attic-Ionic poems (*Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Hymn to Demeter*, *Delian Hymn to Apollo*).[119] Moreover, he also found that the Hymn to Aphrodite has a high use of moveable nu, which perhaps with its attested use in Sappho and Alcaeus suggests that Aeolic poetry also used it. The other poems still use the form, but less often, presumably due to their association with the mainland.

There is an important difference, however, between the -οιο genitive ending and moveable nu: from the earliest period (apart from some exceptions to be discussed below) all non-Thessalian Aeolic used the genitive in -ō. This means that, despite the Aeolic heritage of -οιο (according to Kiparsky), poets were quite unlikely to associate it with Aeolia. Indeed, the evidence to be discussed in the next section suggests that it was more associated with epic poetry itself as a genre (although the two need not be mutually exclusive, if it is assumed that heroic poetry has a particularly strong link with the Aeolic people).

2.7.4. Different Interpretations: Genre and Style

There are indications throughout Classical Antiquity that the -οιο genitive ending was associated with heroic epic as a genre.[120] Starting from later times and working our way back: it

[118] Cf. Eumelus of Corinth, whose epic fragments have come down to us in (mostly) Ionic; note that in fr. 8 *PEG* = 12 *EGF* we have both κούρης (Ionic) and Λαμίᾶς (non-Ionic), which Bernabé regularises to Λαμίης; Wachter (2001), 311 n.1252.

[119] Janko (1982), 66-8.

[120] 'Genre' is a complex concept within Classics, with much theoretical work behind it – it is discussed in more detail in pp. 196-7. For now, we may understand that within the "super-genre" of hexameter(/epic) poetry, there exist different modes/traditions/sub-genres/contents/registers such as heroic, theogonic, didactic ('wisdom poetry'), hymnic, catalogic, etc. poetry, although the boundaries are not firm, and there can be much interplay, borrowing, and structural allusion between them. In the following discussion, the term 'genre' will be used to refer to these different sub-categories. See Gainsford (2016), 34-56 for a detailed discussion of the different hexameter genres and their constituents.

is generally thought that the ending *-oeo* used by Ennius (*Mettoeo*[*que*] *Fufetioeo*; *Ann.* 120 Skutsch) is a Latin version of the epic -οιο ending, not inherited (the enigmatic -ī replaced the older -osio attested in the Lapis Satricanus), but rather copied for its characteristic sound.[121] In the Hellenistic period, Apollonius of Rhodes uses -οιο in general more than even the *Iliad*, imbuing his verses with a particularly epic flavour.[122] Lyric poets also use the form regardless of their local dialect when such a resonance is called for; see especially the 'epicising' fr. 44 of Sappho.[123]

With regard to Hesiod, the data seem to be consistent with the hypothesis that -οιο was used more by poets who were trying to invoke heroic epic. Both of Hesiod's poems, however, are explicitly non-Homeric in their content: neither the *Theogony* nor the *Works and Days* contain real heroic narrative, and both continue theogonic and didactic narrative traditions that reach back a very long way into the Near East.[124] Greek theogonic poems should, as West says, 'be regarded as separate representatives of a traditional poetic genre', in some sense separate from heroic epic.[125] It is striking that Hesiod, while sounding more Ionic than Homer, has -οιο far less often. This suggests both that he is avoiding it because it has such an epic ring to it, and that there is a divide between sounding 'Ionic' and sounding 'epic'.[126]

This divide also seems to be present in the inscriptions, addressed for the first time here. The inscriptions do not represent a temporal or geographic unity, coming from different places across the Greek world, from as far West as Pithecusae to Ionia, from c.750-500 BC, in Doric, Attic, and Ionic, but they do represent a generic unity. As such, they are relevant to the question

[121] See Skutsch (1985) *ad loc.* for other parallels in later Latin literature.
[122] Overall, Apollonius uses -οιο 71% of the time; he also uses it more frequently in three out of five of the metrical categories identified above. Janko (1982) found the same thing, and ascribed it to 'false archaism' as described above; his concept of 'false archaism' is linked to the notion of 'style' advocated here.
[123] See on this poem most recently Spelman (2017), esp. n. 3 regarding epicisms. One may point to Alcaeus fr. 367.1 (Voigt) for a counter-case of a non-epicising -οιο ending: ἦρος ἀνθεμόεντος ἐπάιον ἐρχομένοιο [...] / ἐν δὲ κέρνατε τὠ μελιάδεος ὄττι τάχιστα. There may be an Iliadic allusion here, though: cf. 17.740-741 ὣς μὲν τοῖς ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητάων / ἀζηχὴς ὀρυμαγδὸς ἐπήϊεν ἐρχομένοισιν. The similarity of sound between ἐπάιον ἐρχομένοιο and ἐπήϊεν ἐρχομένοισιν is striking, and would constitute a twisting of the battle scene in the *Iliad* with the symposiastic scene in the fragment. Moreover, Hamm (1957), 148 points out that the metre is heavily dactylic (i.e. pherecratean with 3 dactylic expansions: xx-uu-uu-uu-uu-x), which further supports epic resonance. I owe these observations and arguments to Il-Kweon Sir.
[124] See most importantly West (1966), 1-31; (1978), 3-30; Rutherford (2009).
[125] West (1966), 12.
[126] Cf. Martin (1992), 27, who makes a very similar argument, although it is linked to his concept of Hesiod as a 'metanastic' poet appealing to his audience with his dialect.

of genre and style. It is not helpful to think in terms of content for the inscriptions in the same way that we do for the other texts, as the inscriptions are usually two or three lines long, and mostly dedications or grave epitaphs.[127]

What sort of Greek, then, do the inscriptions tend to use? Unlike Hesiod, the epichoric hexameter verses do not usually make an effort to appear Ionic, instead presenting themselves with local phonology and morphology, in their local alphabets.[128] Nevertheless, local inscriptions do not appear to have been making an effort to appear *especially* local, as they do admit the occasional 'foreign' (not necessarily Ionic) or archaic feature.[129] There are some exceptional cases, however, where the inscriptions are clearly epicising, but without making an effort to appear Ionic when they do so. This is the inverse situation to Hesiod who makes an effort to sound Ionic but not 'epic' and further suggests that a distinction between the two must exist.

What, then, is the status of -οιο genitives in the inscriptions? There are only 4 cases of preconsonantal -οιο in the corpus; this is only 18% compared to the 18 cases in -ου. I will discuss each exceptional case in turn:[130]

> hυιοῦ Τλασίαϝο Μενεκράτεος τόδε σᾶμα,
> Οἰανθέος γενεάν. τόδε δ' αὐτοῖ δᾶμος ἐποίει.
> □ς γὰρ πρόξενϝος δάμου φίλος· ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντοι
> ὄλετο, δαμόσιον δὲ καϙὸν ϙο[u – u u - -].
> Πραξιμένες δ' αὐτοῖ γ[αία]ς ἄπο πατρίδος ἐνθὸν
> σὺν δάμ[ο]ι τόδε σᾶμα κασιγνέτοιο πονέθε. (*CEG* 143, Corcyra, c.625-600?)
>
> 'This is the tomb of Menekrates, son of Tlesias,
> born in Oeanthea. The people made this for him,
> for he was a dear *proxenos* of the people: but on the sea

[127] For an overview of the hexameter inscriptions within the context of early Greek hexameter poetry, see Gainsford (2016), 31-3.

[128] Mickey (1981); Wachter (2001), 331-2. Wachter notes that 'the opposite is true for the labels to heroic scenes', which often show influence from East Ionic (and/or epic texts); see Wachter's §503. Cf. Kaczko (2016), 43: 'In Attic epigrams, it was customary, when allowed/required by the metre, to "translate" epic forms into the epichoric dialect'.

[129] Mickey (1981), esp. 52ff..

[130] There is also Καλλία Αἰγίτθοιο· τὺ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ', [..] παροδ□τα (*CEG* 110, Boeotia, c.500?) and ἀνδρὸς ἀπ[οφθιμ]ένοιο κάρε κα[λ]ὸν ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι. (*CEG* 438, Attica, c.500?). In the former, however, an inconsistent effort has been made to sound generally 'poetic', with the non-Boeotian (and also non-Ionic) Καλλία and πρᾶσ', but it also features the Boeotian τὺ. The latter verse has the epic formula '– u ἀποφθιμένοιο', with ἀνδρὸς in the place of the Iliadic παῖδος or πατρός (18.89; 19.322).

he perished, and … public evil.
Praximenes, having come from his fatherland
toiled on this tomb of his brother, with the people.'

This inscription tells a more fleshed-out story of an Oeanthean *proxenos* on Corcyra, and it contains various reminiscences of epic language. See in particular ἐνὶ πόντοι, at line end, numerous times in the *Odyssey* (without epithets 4.354; 4.821; 6.204; 10.51; 13.168; 16.367; 19.277; 23.234); ὄλετο, a common epic word, often used to describe a violent death; γ[αία]ς ἄπο πατρίδος, a characteristic Homeric phrase (*Il.* 13.696; 15.335; *Od.* 10.49; used by Apollonius of Rhodes in a similar way at 1.535; 3.1136); κασιγνέτοιο is often found in this position in Homer (*Il.* 5.357; 8.330; 9.567; 9.632; 11.250; 14.483; 16.320; *Od.* 8.585).[131] Moreover, πονέθε is missing its augment in Homeric fashion, although an augment would cause the ending of κασιγνέτοιο to elide, which elision, as was noted above, would be un-Homeric. Lastly, the verb πονέω is used to describe the creation of a tomb (τύμβος) also at *Il.* 23.245.

σᾶμα τόδε Ἀρνιάδα. χαροπὸς τόνδ' ὄλεσεν Ἄρες
βαρνάμενον παρὰ ναυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀράθθοιο ϱhoϝαῖσι
πολλὸν ἀριστεύϝοντα κατὰ στονόϝεσσαν ἀϝυτάν. (*CEG* 145, Corcyra, c.600?)

'This is the tomb of Arniadas. Grim Ares slew him
battling beside the ships on the waters of Arassos
very much the best throughout the dread battle-cry.'

This three-line inscription is, as Gainsford says, 'in full-blown epic style': Arnidas' death in battle has been explained with reference to a god, named at line end (as many divine names are in Homer), and is expressed by ὄλλυμι, as frequently is the case in Homer.[132] The second line begins with βαρνάμενον, the epichoric version of epic μάρναμαι, an extremely Homeric verb. There has been a conflation of the 'dying by the ships' theme in Homer (e.g. ὀλέσῃς δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν *Il.* 1.559; cf. 2.4; 16.546; *Od.* 4.489), usually with ἐπί, with the phrase παρὰ ναυσὶ(ν), also a common Homeric phrase (*Il.* 1.26; 1.89; 1.305; 1.344; *passim.*). For ἐπ' Ἀράθθοιο ϱhoϝαῖσι, compare *Iliad* 3.5 ἐπ' ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων; *Il.* 16.719 ῥοῇς ἔπι Σαγγαρίοιο; *Il.* 18.240 ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοὰς, each with the -οιο ending of the body of water. For ἀριστεύϝοντα, compare the same form in the

[131] Note the use of the spurious diphthongs for secondary long [ē] and [ō], which Wachter (2001), 336 takes as optional (cf. *CEG* 144 […]τίμου… Πōλυνόϝᾱς) spelling to aid recitation.
[132] Gainsford (2016), 33.

same position in the line at *Il.* 7.90; 11.506; 15.460. Moreover, στονόϝεσσαν ἀϝυτάν is a Homeric phrase, attested in *Il.* 8.159 and *Od.* 11.383.

In contrast to these highly epicising verses with the -οιο ending, we have cases like the following:

> Αἰσιμ[ίδο τό]δε [σ□]μα φίλε μέτερ κα[τέ]θεκεν. (*CEG* 35)
>
> 'This is the tomb of Aisimidos; his dear mother set it up.'
>
> Εὐμαρες με πατὲρ Ἀνδροκλέος ἐντάδε σᾶμα
> ποιϝέσανς καταέθεκε φίλο μνᾶμα hυιέος □μεν (*CEG* 137)
>
> 'Eumares, the father of Androkles, having made
> me, the tomb, here, set me up to be a monument of his dear son.'
>
> [ ]τίμου ματρὸς ἐγὸ hέσταk' ἐπὶ τύμοι,
> Πολυνόϝας, σ[ ]πετο ματρ[ός.] (*CEG* 144)
>
> 'I stand on the tomb of the Mother of ...timos,
> Polynoe, ... mother.'

These latter cases are quite typical in featuring the -ου ending without any particular epic resonance. This suggests a situation where whenever -οιο is used, epic poetry is being recalled and invoked in these inscriptions, either by the content, style, or further unusual epicisms.[133] This adds further evidence to the idea that the -οιο ending recalled heroic, epic poetry rather than a particular dialect, which helps us to interpret these results as a whole.[134]

The above discussion has presented evidence that the -οιο ending was seen by Greek (and later) authors as a particularly 'epic' rather than Ionic feature, as it was sought out for stylistic purposes by Apollonius of Rhodes, Sappho, and occasionally by the composers of inscriptional hexameters when they had this agenda. Hesiod, on the other hand, uses it less frequently than Homer, and it is argued that this is consistent with a desire to sound Ionic but

[133] Epic poetry can be invoked, of course, without using -οιο; see for example *CEG* 326 the 'The Mantiklos Inscription' or *CEG* 334, neither of which feature thematic genitives. One might well adduce *CEG* 47 to indicate epic resonance, and it has a genitive in –ου (Γναθίο). This form, however, does not accommodate the –οιο ending metrically (- u +C). One also finds the –οιο ending in Zeus-formulae, which also recall epic, in *CEG* 297, 375, 377, 391

[134] This statement appears to be untrue in the Thessalian region of Pelasgiotis, where –οιο is the normal form. In this region, hexametrical inscriptions happen to feature only three thematic genitives, but they are all –ου – it appears that, for this region, the –ου ending is the marked ending, but it is not clear how much epic resonance it had. The same situation characterises this region's use of patronymics – the non-local form is preferred. See Mickey (1981), 50-2.

not epic. This then provides an axis by which to judge the results; particularly those of Hesiod and the inscriptions. Each type of hexametrical performance (heroic, didactic, etc.) constitutes a 'recognisable pattern [...] that unfolds in a certain way through certain distinctive forms';[135] one such form might be the linguistic form, and -οιο appears to have been an ending marked by heroic resonance.

This interpretation might also provide explanations for some of the Hymns: while the sample of the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is too small, it may provide a clue to the high percentages of the *Hymn to Apollo* and *Hymn to Hermes*. It must be noted however that this is not an explanation for all percentages of all the poems, merely a potential insight into how their composition might have worked. It may simply be the case that the poets of the Hymns knew that they should include at least a reasonable number of -οιο endings, not too many but not too few, befitting the Hymns' quasi-epic and quasi-theogonic nature, and the different percentages reflect the different individuals' attempts and/or preferences.[136]

Indeed, there are further hints within the data that the -οιο genitives can tell us about poets' individual preferences. It would be especially desirable to explain how in the category – u u +C there is a significant difference between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in contrast to the rest of the categories where there is no real difference. It seems unlikely that chronology, geography or genre can explain such a significant shift in one category alone; any change for those reasons would presumably affect a shift in all the categories, such as we see between the Homeric poems and Hesiod. The most likely interpretation here seems that the different percentages within one category reflect the instinctive compositional preferences of two different poets. One would expect two poets, working within the same tradition, composing about similar themes, working at roughly similar times, to use broadly similar language but also reveal their differences in small but important details – this is the scenario indicated by the thematic genitives. Within this explanation, the difference could simply be due to two speakers using language differently; the *Odyssey* poet prefers -ου, and subconsciously acts upon it especially strongly in one particular category of words, presumably at random. This seems more likely than the diction of one poet

[135] Canevaro (2014), 28.

[136] For the Homeric Hymns as bridging the gap between Hesiodic and Homeric narrative in terms of content, see Clay (1989), 212-64, esp. 252, 261-4; Clay (2011). Janko (1981) shows that the Hymns had their own typical structure, and existed as a generic category of composition; Gainsford (2016), 40ff.

changing in just one category of words. This last argument is the 'fine grained' kind of analysis referred to in the Introduction – a kind of analysis which uses the linguistic features being counted to make inferences about authorship, but without simply comparing the relative use of one form over the other.[137]

2.8. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented several arguments. Firstly, I have argued that there are important factors at play in the distribution of the linguistic features which Janko did not take into account: formulaic and repeated instances, and the metrical shape of the words in question. Moreover, I have argued that due to doubts surrounding the existence of *-oo, one should not create two criteria out of the data, as Janko does, but rather just count -οιο and -ου. Once these factors have been taken into account, it seems that the distribution of thematic genitives reflects issues of genre and register, and perhaps even authorial preferences, rather than simple chronology, as Janko proposed. I will return to this particular argument, and expand it with further discussion around genre and register, in Chapter 5. In the next chapter I shall apply a similar kind of analysis to another linguistic feature: the digamma.

[137] See p. 16.

3. The Digamma in Early Greek Hexameter Poetry

3.1. Introduction

This chapter turns to a phonological feature – the digamma – and investigates specifically the various factors which might influence the poets' choice to respect digamma. Since its 'discovery' by Bentley, scholarly interest has long focussed on the status of the digamma in Homer and other early hexameter texts, often with respect to its chronological significance – it was in this light that Janko studied its distribution. Fortunately, an additional count has been made recently by Brandtly Jones, which provides some valuable insights.[138] This chapter will assess to what degree the digamma can be considered to be a good indicator of chronology, and aims to demonstrate the factors involved in its distribution.

As in the previous chapter, I will argue that formulaic verses make a big difference to the distribution. It will also be argued that personal idiolect seems to play a particularly important role, and that there may well be an additional dialectal influence. Moreover, it will be suggested that a chronological interpretation is undermined through comparison with a similar phenomenon, resonant lengthening (the lengthening that sometimes occurs before μ-, ν-, ρ- or λ-). Firstly, however, a substantial amount of groundwork is required in order to set out the assumptions and the specific details used in assessing the potential attestations of digamma. In Janko's treatment, such assumptions and details are not given much space, and a partial aim of this work is to make the quantitative study as transparent as possible, so that its conclusions can be assessed in proper detail.

3.2. The History of the Digamma in Greek

Greek inherited from Proto-Indo-European the phoneme *w*, which traditional scholarship calls the 'digamma', since this phoneme, when written in Greek, was represented by <ϝ>, and thus named 'digamma' after the shape – this terminology will be employed here. This phoneme was eventually lost in virtually all Greek dialects, and disappeared in different environments, in different places at different times. Early in the history of Greek, initial digamma seems to have been lost when it preceded [o] or [o:] but not [oi] – words which we

[138] Jones (2008), 109-153.

know from the comparative evidence must have had the ending fail to attest it in this environment even in Mycenaean.[139] The only exception to this, however, is ὄψ, ὀπός ('voice'), which is treated identically to other digammated words in Homer – perhaps this was due to analogy with other words of the same root.[140]

In other environments, however, different Greek dialects lost the digamma at different times: it is attested in Mycenaean, and widely in Doric and some Aeolic dialects. There is no real trace of the phonetic reality of the digamma in any position in either Attic or Ionic. It seems likely that the digamma was lost after the split between Attic and Ionic, since the loss of postconsonantal digamma causes compensatory lengthening in Ionic yet not in Attic. Moreover, it appears likely that intervocalic digamma was lost first, then postconsonantal digamma, and finally digamma in word-initial position.[141] This means that the phoneme was lost in initial position after a reasonable amount of time had passed since the split, but before our earliest inscriptions (somewhere between c.1100-c.700 BC?).[142] While the digamma also was retained in the Aeolic dialects of the mainland, it had been lost in Lesbian by the time of Sappho and Alcaeus (approximately 600 BC) – presumably this loss occurred after speakers of Lesbian migrated to the east and came into contact with Ionic speaking Greeks of Asia Minor.[143] Therefore, whether an early older Aeolic or continuous Ionic phase for hexameter poetry is posited, the traces of digamma in Homer clearly represent an archaism.[144]

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[139] On this topic see Chadwick (1972).

[140] Cf. the verb form ἐπιόψομαι, which would seem to feature an observed digamma in a compound verb, as with ἀποειπ- commonly in Homer.

[141] For a discussion of this, related sound changes, and their relative chronology, see Szemerenyi (1987), 1339ff.; Gates (1976); Sihler (1995), 51.

[142] Risch (1955), 68.

[143] For a review of the question of Lesbian's relation to the other Aeolic dialects, and issues such as whether there really was a migration, see most recently Finkelberg (2017b).

[144] The view of Hoekstra (1965), that the digamma was lost only one or two generations before Homer, should be rejected. This view is principally based on the irregular lengthening at the start of the line in *Il.* 24.154: ὃς ἄξει, given the existence of ὅς σ' ἄξει (*Il.* 24.183) in the otherwise identical repetition of the speech a few lines later - Hoekstra inferred from this that the loss of the digamma in an original *ὃς ϝ(ε) ἄξει caused the lengthening, and that such a substantial change would not survive long (pp. 43-4). It has been pointed out, however, by Russo (1967), 342, that the very fact that the two speeches exist as repetitions of each other suggests that the poets were motivated to keep the metrical irregularity intact. Moreover, there are parallels in Homer for lengthening of the first syllable in the line where there is no recourse to digamma; see Wyatt (1969), 220. Hoekstra also underestimates the number of formulae which require a neglect of digamma, on which see below pp.100-1.

In order to measure the degree to which the presence of digamma is felt in Homer, it is necessary to undertake a count of some sort. In the following section, I will set out the principles by which such a count has been undertaken by other scholars, and how mine differs. The most important and influential count is that of Janko, whereas the most recent count is that of Jones – reference will be made to both throughout.[145]

3.2.1. 'Neglects' and 'Observances' of Digamma

Firstly, mostly on the basis of Edwards, Janko sets out what he understands by the 'neglect' and 'observances' of digamma: the same terminology is used here.[146] By 'observance', it is meant that words known or reasonably certain to have begun with the consonant *w* are treated in the context of epic metrics as still beginning with the consonant *w*. By 'neglect', on the other hand, it is meant that such words are *not* treated in the context of epic metrics as still beginning with the consonant *w*. In Janko's words, neglect can be diagnosed when there is 'elision, epic correption of a long vowel of diphthong, or the maintenance of a light closed syllable', whereas observance is clear 'where hiatus (whether of a short vowel, long vowel, or diphthong) occurs before once-digammated words, and where an initial consonant or double consonant seems to be needed to make a naturally light syllable heavy'.[147] This is uncontroversial, and I follow these terms, although there are some further considerations to be discussed later, with some examples.

3.2.2. Which Words are Counted?

When deciding which words began with a digamma (or **sw*-, but not **dw*- or **wr*-), Janko takes his lead from Chantraine, with some modifications.[148] Firstly, no words starting with ὀ- or ὠ- are counted, but those starting with οἰ- are, in accordance with what was described above. Moreover, Janko also does not count ὄψ, ὀπός ('voice'), despite the fact that it appears to be exceptional, often treated as digammated. Moreover, due to ambiguities in the reconstructions, the following are not counted: ἀρνειός, ἑανός, ἐλέλιξεν, εἰλίποδας, ἔρυμαι, ἴφθιμος

[145] These treatments largely supersede that of Solmsen (1901).
[146] Edwards (1971).
[147] Janko (1984), 42-3.
[148] Chantraine (2013), 117-154

– there is only weak evidence for the digammas in these cases.[149] The alternation of εἰδυῖα/ἰδυῖα is counted, but labelled as ambiguous, since editors both ancient and modern have had their effect, and it is unclear whether these formulaic verses originally had an observed digamma on ἰδυῖα or a neglected one on εἰδυῖα. See, for example:

(OCT) *Od.* 11.432: οἵκαδ᾽ ἐλεύσεσθαι· ἡ δ᾽ ἔξοχα λυγρὰ ἰδυῖα

(West) *Od.* 11.432: οἵκαδ᾽ ἐλεύσεσθαι· ἡ δ᾽ ἔξοχα λύγρ᾽ εἰδυῖα

Jones, on the other hand, includes ὄψ, ὀπός ('voice'), as well as several other words which Chantraine does not mention explicitly, and therefore Janko probably did not use either.[150] Both lists were used for my count.

Moreover, ἐπέεσσι specifically is excluded by both Janko and Jones, since there appears to have been the addition of an epenthetic -ε- to compensate for the loss of the initial consonant, causing an elision, and thus the loss of a syllable in certain contexts. For example:

Il. 6.337: νῦν δέ με παρειποῦσ᾽ ἄλοχος μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσιν.

*νῦν δέ με παρειποῦσ᾽ ἄλοχος μαλακοῖσι (ϝ)ἔπεσσιν.

From this point, the form appears to have been generalised, and used in other contexts. Included, on the other hand, are many personal names, whose etymology could possibly have had a digamma: for example, Ἑλένη. One possibly etymology for her name has a root in **suel-* ('light'),[151] and there is one old-looking Homeric formula which seems to require a consonant at the start of her name:

Il. 7.355 etc: δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένης πόσις ἠϋκόμοιο.

Yet the reconstructions are often controversial, and formulaic constructions play an especially important role with names. Indeed, in the case of Helen, the only instance where a digamma is possible is the above quoted formulae, whereas in every other non-formulaic or repeated

[149] In each case see Beekes *ad loc.* for the most recent discussion of the evidence. Janko originally counted ἐρύκω in Janko (1982), but after the criticism of Hoekstra (1986), 161, provides updated statistics where the word is, rightly, discounted.

[150] See Jones (2008), 143-5.

[151] De Simone (1978), 40-2.

attestation, there is no trace of the digamma. For these reasons, names were left out of my count. At best, this avoids an additional complication, and at worst, simply reduces the sample size.

These, then, are the details of previous scholars' approaches. In a similar way to the thematic genitives discussed in the previous chapter, on these principles, Janko counted the occurrences of neglect and observance of digamma, in order to create a binary opposition. The proportion of neglects, according to his methodology, thus provided a yardstick by which to measure chronology – as with the genitives, Janko assumed that as time goes by the rhapsodes would become less likely to observe digammas and accordingly more likely to neglect them. There are, however, several problems with this approach, which I will now discuss in detail, and which I will attempt to solve in my own count of the corpus.

3.3. Problems in the Counting

3.3.1. The Status of 'Ambiguous' Cases and 'Exclusions'

The first problem to discuss is the absence of 'ambiguous' cases in Janko's treatment: by 'ambiguous', I mean instances where it is simply unclear whether a digamma was observed or neglected. Janko does impose some 'exclusions' (I noted above that he excluded some words on the grounds that they probably did not begin with a digamma, and he also excluded digammated words when they appear in certain contexts, to be discussed below), but aside from these excluded instances, 'in each case, digamma is observed or it is not'. Janko continues (arguing for the importance of treating the ratio of neglects to observances, as opposed to the number of neglects per thousand lines): 'each time the poets wish to use a word beginning with digamma, they must choose whether to observe it (probably, for them, to admit a metrical or prosodic irregularity) or not, often forfeiting the convenience of a ready-made formula'.[152]

This seems like an oversimplification; in fact, there are many, many environments in which the treatment of the digamma is ambiguous. Some of these are probably due to the transmission of the text, and have nothing to do with the compositional choices of the oral poets themselves. Others, however, are simply due to the placement of the digammated word in the line. The full list is set out in Table 3.1:

[152] Janko (1984), 47.

	Tag	Description	Example
1	Beginning	The digammated word (DW) begins a line.	*Il.* 6.329: ἄστυ τόδ' ἀμφιδέδηε· σὺ δ' ἂν μαχέσαιο καὶ ἄλλῳ,
2	Arsis	The DW is preceded by a long syllable in the arsis.	*Il.* 1.68: ἤτοι ὅ γ' ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετο· τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη
3	Thesis	The DW is preceded by a long syllable in the thesis.	*Il.* 1.71: καὶ νήεσσ' ἠγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον εἴσω
4	Iota	The DW is preceded by an iota which appears to resist elision.	*Il.* 7.194: τόφρ' ὑμεῖς εὔχεσθε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι
5	Upsilon	The DW is preceded by an upsilon which appears to resist elision.	*Il.* 6.438: ἦ πού τίς σφιν ἔνισπε θεοπροπίων ἐῢ εἰδώς,
6	Doesn't Elide	The DW is preceded by a word which appears to not elide.[153]	*Il.* 7.220: χάλκεον ἑπταβόειον, ὅ οἱ Τυχίος κάμε τεύχων
7	Prothetic Vowel	The DW has a prothetic vowel, apparently to compensate for the loss of the initial consonant.	*Il.* 2.795: τῷ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις· *τῷ μιν ϝεισαμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις·
8	Epenthetic Vowel?	A DW with an extra vowel is preceded by a word whose final vowel could have elided.	*Il.* 1.519: Ἥρῃ ὅτ' ἄν μ' ἐρέθῃσιν ὀνειδείοις ἐπέεσσιν· *Ἥρῃ ὅτ' ἄν μ' ἐρέθῃσιν ὀνειδείοισι ϝεπέσσιν·
9	1st/3rd Troc Caes/Buc Dia	The DW is preceded by a hiatus which is justifiable (see below).	*Il.* 2.434 Ἀτρεΐδη κύδιστε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,
10	Text: Moveable Nu/Kappa	The DW is preceded by a word which has a moveable nu/kappa.	*Il.* 1.442: ὦ Χρύση, πρό μ' ἔπεμψεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων *Il.* 5.183 ἵππους τ' εἰσορόων· σάφα δ' οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ θεός ἐστιν.

[153] The neuter nom./acc. article does not elide, but its presence before a once digammated word, and not at any of the positions in the line where hiatus is 'justified', is indicative of an observed digamma. This is because it is only ever used before vowels at those positions where hiatus is 'justified', otherwise it precedes consonants; thus, its presence before a once digammated word, not at a position where hiatus is 'justified', confirms an observed digamma.

11	Text: Particle	The DW is preceded by a particle with elided vowel.	*Il.* 3.103: οἵσετε δ' ἄρν', ἕτερον λευκόν, ἑτέρην δὲ μέλαιναν,

Table 3.1: The instances of ambiguous digamma.

The details around these ambiguous cases will be discussed further below. For now, it should be noted that some cases of ambiguity are apparently ambiguous no matter what: 'Beginning', 'Arsis', and 'Thesis', 'Upsilon', etc. The textual issues, however, are potentially more controversial. The issue lies in the fact that it is not clear whether the moveable nus or particles are original, with the digammas being neglected, or whether they were added in the later textual tradition, with the digammas being originally observed.[154] Although it may be suspected that the digammas were originally observed (for example, the moveable nus often occur at the trochaic caesura, in front of a common formula, as in the example above, and there are occasionally variant readings, on which see below), it cannot be proven either way, and thus the most conservative assessment is to count such instances as ambiguous.

Janko does discuss issues of this sort briefly. His approach is to 'exclude' from the count digammated words which appear after other words which he believes do not elide, on the basis that they are indeed ambiguous (he does not explicitly discuss instances where the digammated words occurs at the start of the line, but he presumably excludes them as well). The details will be set out below, but the important point here is the methodology: Janko picks criteria by which to 'exclude' cases, and once they are excluded, they play no part in the analysis. My approach, on the other hand, is to retain such cases as potentially relevant, since it is theoretically possible that poets may have been ambiguous on purpose: the choice was not just between observing and neglecting the digamma. Because of this possibility, my approach was simply to count anything which might be relevant, and tag the data as 'ambiguous', 'observed', or 'neglected'. This is important, because in my *Iliad* sample alone, compared to 363 observed and 92 neglected cases, there are 629 ambiguous cases. Although it seems likely that Janko simply excluded these instances, it is best to be as clear as possible. Moreover, this approach provides the benefit that

[154] The 'moveable kappa/chi' is theoretically also problematic, but it too rare to be relevant, whereas moveable nu is very common. Moreover, it is impossible to *prove* whether a poet needed to have a τε, δε or γε to complete the sense, or whether it was added later to fill a hiatus. For an example of a case where the poet did seem to need to insert a τε into a pre-existing or already used phrase, see *Hymn to Aphrodite* 67 and 163.

others can examine my Database themselves, in order to interrogate my arguments when undertaking their own analyses.

Lastly, the status of ambiguous cases raises the question of how the statistics should be understood. Should more importance be placed on the proportion of ambiguous to observed to neglected cases, or is the appropriate indicator the proportion of observed to neglected? Given that some words by their nature are more prone to being classed as ambiguous, the rate at which these words are used would distort the statistics if the ambiguous cases were included. Moreover, even if the poets were sometimes being ambiguous on purpose, the 'ambiguous' statistic would be distorted by the cases which are ambiguous because of the textual tradition, as opposed to something simpler like placement at the beginning of the line. For these reasons, the proportion of neglects to observances is the more relevant statistic, but when the overall results are presented below, they will include a separate statistic which includes the ambiguous cases, for the sake of completeness.

3.3.2 The Status of ἑ, ἕθεν, and οἱ

Both Janko and Jones excluded ἑ, ἕθεν, and οἱ from their count, on the basis that these words are almost always observed, and the fact that the digamma may have been internal, due to the fact that these words are enclitic.[155] Thus, a case like γάρ οἱ should be understood as similar to instances like κᾱλος (< **kalwos*), where the digamma is postconsonantal. My count included ἑ, ἕθεν, and οἱ for the sake of completeness, but in the database they are tagged as 'Enclitic', and are excluded from the analysis, since one cannot compare them to other digammated words.

3.4. Further Considerations on Observances, Neglects and Ambiguous Cases

3.4.1 Observances and Neglects

In this section, I will set out examples and discuss any problems around the typical environments when we could diagnose a digamma as 'observed', 'neglected', or 'ambiguous'. The conditions by which we can diagnose observed digamma are mostly unproblematic: firstly, when there is a failure of elision; and secondly, when the would-be consonant lengthens the preceding syllable:

[155] Janko (1982), 44; Jones (2008), 141. See West (1967), 145-6 for the phonological argument.

1) Blocks Elision: *Il.* 1.502: λισσομένη προσέειπε Δία Κρονίωνα ἄνακτα·

2) Makes Position: *Il.* 5.871: καί ῥ' ὀλοφυρόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

Occasionally, a digamma can make position with the force of two additional consonants, rather than one:

Il. 2.832 ἤδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὓς παῖδας ἔασκε

This occurs frequently with words which originally began with **sw-*, and occasionally other words not beginning with **sw-*, to which this metrical licence has been extended, which explains cases like the following:[156]

Od. 24.494: αἶψα δ' Ὀδυσσῆα ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα

Theogony 819: δῶκε δὲ Κυμοπόλειαν ὀπυίειν, θυγατέρα ἧν.

Moreover, when words ending in long vowels or diphthongs occur in the thesis and before a digammated word, it is almost certain that the digamma has been observed, for example:

Il. 3.140: ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ τοκήων·

By far the most common word that fits this category is καί, and καί always undergoes epic correption when it occurs before vowels (most commonly in τε καί, forming a dactyl), except for when these words beginning with vowels are words which used to have a digamma – the conclusion to be drawn is that καί is being treated as occurring before a consonant, and we can therefore label such cases as 'observed'. This extends to words other than καί, such as in the following example:

Il. 6.096: ὥς κεν Τυδέος υἱὸν ἀπόσχῃ Ἰλίου ἱρῆς.

Thus far, Janko and I have counted in the same manner.

There are some environments, however, where the absence of elision of the preceding vowel may be justified and explicable without recourse to the digamma: specifically, these occur

[156] In this sense also I differ from Jones (2008), who says (143) that 'a single digamma cannot have truly made position… [such examples are] owed to the exigencies of the meter… rather than historical phonology', but geminating resonants is a reasonably common Homeric metrical technique.

at the end of the first foot; at the trochaic caesura of the third foot; and at the 'bucolic' diaeresis.[157] There are many instances where hiatus occurs at these parts of the line, where there is no phonological explanation, as has been noted by earlier scholars:[158]

1) After the 1st foot:

Il. 9.247: ἀλλ᾽ ἄνα εἰ μέμονάς γε καὶ ὀψέ περ υἷας Ἀχαιῶν

2) At the trochaic caesura of the third foot:

Il. 1.569: καί ῥ᾽ ἀκέουσα καθῆστο ἐπιγνάμψασα φίλον κῆρ

3) After the bucolic diaeresis:

Il. 8.66: ὄφρα μὲν ἠὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ

When considering hiatus in these positions which occur before a digamma, it is not possible to tell whether the hiatus is caused by an observed digamma, or whether the hiatus has occurred 'naturally' at one of these common environments, with the digamma neglected.

Similar to verses of this kind, however, are verses where a hiatus occurs in other positions, like in the example below. These instances are discussed in Jones' treatment of the importance of the metre – he claims that 'the singer [in these instances] paradoxically neglects digamma, even though he observes it', and this needs some explanation.[159] Take the following example:

Od. 24.494: αἶψα δ᾽ Ὀδυσσῆα ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα.

---

[157] Metrical notation is sometimes varied and confused: for the sake of clarity, by 'caesura' I mean 'word end that occurs within a metrical foot', whereas by 'diaeresis' I mean 'word end that occurs at the end of the foot'. By 'hiatus', I mean 'the avoidance of elision'.

[158] See Chantraine (2013), 90, 118. For a list of hiatuses at these positions, see Knös (1872) 35-48. See further the discussion and examples at Jones (2008), 132. This step was also taken by Garbrah (1969), 152, but only for the trochaic caesura of the third foot and the bucolic diaeresis. Parry (1971a), 191-221 disagreed, maintaining that that hiatus in Homer is never 'justified' as such. In this regard, Parry argues that many instances of hiatus at the trochaic caesura of the third foot, and at the bucolic diaeresis, are the result of the combination of formulae. While this is undoubtedly true sometimes, Parry downplays the examples where there is no apparent formulaic diction surrounding the hiatus, taking his characteristic stance that Homeric poetry is almost entirely formula - 'there are also many formulae which occur just once' (217). Cf. Parry (1971c), 393: 'The technique of all oral poetries is more or less simply that of grouping together whole formulaic phrases'. This position is not accepted by modern scholarship, and it seems clear and reasonable that in verses which do not appear to be formulaic, a hiatus could be possible at certain positions in the line – possibly a rule learned by analogy to verses which combine formulae, as Parry describes.

[159] Jones (2008), 126.

Jones compares this line to the following two, suggesting that it is a product of a combining the following:

> *Od.* 23.122: αἶψα δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα;
>
> *Il.* 11.364: αἶψα δ᾽ Ὀδυσσῆα προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἐόντα.

Jones argues that this may not be an observed digamma, 'since there is every chance that the sequence results from the juxtaposition of long-standing phrases with no regard for the phonological reality of digamma', suggesting that the archaism is only apparent.[160] To a degree, this is true, since it seems that there was no phonological reality of the digamma in an instance like this. However, it does not follow that such verses cannot be classed as observed digamma, since a combination of this sort is made possible specifically because of the once-digammated nature of ἔπεα – in this sense, the digamma is being observed. This situation contrasts with that just discussed for cases of hiatus at the end of the first foot, at the trochaic caesura of the third foot, and at the bucolic diaeresis, where there are plenty of parallels to be found where no digamma is involved. Jones' discussion of hiatus at other positions, however, which seem to involve the combination of two formulae, features no parallels involving non-digammated examples.[161] It is for this reason, then, that (*pace* Jones) I consider digamma in these environments as observed, unless they fall at the three places described above.

These, then, are the observed cases. What of the neglects? There are three main types of neglect, all of which are the 'opposite' of the observed equivalents:

> 1) Failure to make position: *Il.* 1.106: μάντι κακῶν οὐ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας·
>
> 2) Elision: *Il.* 7.345: Τρώων αὖτ᾽ ἀγορὴ γένετ᾽ Ἰλίου ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ.
>
> 3) Correption: *Il.* 1.395: ἢ ἔπει ὤνησας κραδίην Διὸς ἠὲ καὶ ἔργῳ.

Across my sample of the *Iliad*, most cases of neglect are of the first kind, where the digamma has not made position, with elision coming in second, and finally there are a few cases of correption.

[160] Jones (2008), 125.
[161] Jones (2008), 125-133.

It is thus apparent that, while it is possible to condemn otherwise observed cases as ambiguous (when they occur at the points in the line discussed above), it is not possible to exclude neglected cases in a similar way – in other words, neglected cases are always neglected, whereas my analysis reduces the number of observed cases from that of Janko and others. This highlights further the potential value in *not* measuring neglects against both observances and neglects (in other words, neglects vs. anything that is not a neglect), since such a measure would effectively ignore the fact that some of the observed cases are actually ambiguous. By way of illustration, if there were 33 neglects, 33 observations, and 33 ambiguous cases, the measure of neglect vs. anything that is not neglect would be 33%, and re-categorising (say) 5 observations as ambiguous cases would not affect the percentage. By contrast, if the measure is neglected vs. observed, re-categorising 5 observations as ambiguous cases would increase the percentage of neglected cases. This is another reason why I prefer to count neglected vs. observed digamma.

3.4.2 Further Detail on the Ambiguous Cases

So much for the environments where digamma is observed or neglected. I will now discuss in more detail the ambiguous cases introduced above. The discussion starts with a short exploration of smaller issues, and concludes with an extended treatment of apparent cases of the 'Prothetic Vowel' and 'Epenthetic Vowel?'.

Some of the ways in which a digammated word can be called ambiguous are clear and self-explanatory: one thinks here of the cases where the digammated word begins the line, or when the preceding syllable is naturally long, whether in the arsis or thesis (although care must be taken to distinguish between cases like *Il.* 6.490 ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε and those like *Il.* 6.96 ὥς κεν Τυδέος υἱὸν ἀπόσχῃ Ἰλίου ἱρῆς, referenced above. Both cases have a naturally long vowel in the thesis of the foot, but the latter differs from the former in being susceptible to correption, and thus counts as an observed case, as discussed above).

There are, however, several comments that should be made about the other cases. Firstly, there are some cases where elision *appears* to have been blocked, but for one reason or another such cases cannot be counted as observed. Janko's approach to this is based on that of Garbrah's earlier count. Garbrah excluded digammated words which occurred after τί, τι, νῶι,

περί, ὁ, τό, τά, πρό, ἀντί, ὅτι, on the basis that elision was not possible here.[162] Janko adopts an inclusive policy, rejecting Garbrah's decision on the basis that 'in fact very few cases exist where words with initial vowels follow these'.[163] The logic must be that while these words in fact do not elide, according to Janko, the poets avoided using them before words beginning with vowels, and that, therefore, if they occur before digammated words, such words must have been treated as beginning with consonants. There is too much speculation here; my policy is simply to count digammated words which occurred after τί, τι, ὁ, τό, τά, πρό as ambiguous, as these under no circumstances elide, unlike ἀντί, which elides frequently. On the other hand, περί is more complex. It occurs before consonants; occasionally before once-digammated words; and lastly, in one case, before a normal vowel, and it elides in this case (*Il.* 15.399). It may be inferred from this that, except for one exceptional case, it was felt that περί could only be used in front of consonants, and therefore that the once-digammated words after περί are treated as observed. Moreover, disyllabic νῶι occurs only once before a vowel, the once-digammated ἔολπα in *Il.* 22.216 (νῦν δὴ νῶι ἔολπα Διῒ φίλε φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ), which does in fact attest to the observation of the digamma (at any rate, this does not fall in my sample). Moreover, ὅτι never occurs before a vowel, potentially digammated or not. Although these cases are very rare, they are included in this discussion for the sake of completeness.[164]

The treatment of iota, and whether it elides or not, is a problem in this regard. In non-digammated contexts, the dative singular of third declension nouns sometimes elides, and sometimes not, and it is impossible to tell whether an observed digamma has blocked elision, or whether the iota has resisted elision before a neglected digamma. There are, however, some iotas which can elide. These include the final -ι of prepositions like ἐπί, the final -ι of -μί verbs, the -θι suffix (e.g. οἴκοθι), etc., and these iotas were treated the same as other vowels.[165]

[162] Garbrah (1969), 151-3.
[163] Janko (1984), 45.
[164] Janko is right to maintain Garbrah's exclusion of πρίν, since the vowel length is ambiguous. In the *Iliad*, it appears long in front of both once-digammated words (*Il.* 17.5, 22.17), but also other words or at the start of the line (*Il.* 2.346, 6.81, 7.390, 8.474, 9.403, 9.488, 13.257, 16.322, 22.156, 24.245), although elsewhere it is short by nature. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, it occurs frequently at the start of the line, possibly indicating that the poet considered it long by nature. Again, it is too infrequent to be truly relevant. Janko is also right to reject Garbrah's exclusion of various morphological categories which end in -αι, since we lack sufficient evidence to consider them different from other diphthongs.
[165] See Chantraine (2013), 86-7 for full details on the elision, or lack of it, of iota.

Similarly, there are some problems around the treatment of upsilon. Normally, upsilon does not elide, and thus digammated words that occur after final upsilons must be ambiguous. The majority of such words are ἐϋ/εὖ, which has the further problem of its flexible status as sometimes a true diphthong yet at other times still disyllabic. If taken as a diphthong, one could potentially categorise it as an example of the 'Thesis' category, but this is immaterial for our purposes as both are ambiguous, and the convention in most modern editions of taking it as disyllabic in the arsis was followed. In this sense only my principles of the count differ from those of Jones, who counts such cases as observed. His justification for this is that the majority of cases, being ἐϋ εἰδώς, 'are likely traditional. As such, it is more likely than not that these phrases, or at least some of them, entered the tradition while initial *w*- still had consonantal force, and so some of the examples are preservations'. He continues: 'The occurrence of [other instances of ἐϋ] with clear hiatus raises suspicion that the many examples of ἐϋ εἰδώς and its related forms do not really provide evidence for the working of digamma, but the same argument obtains for a great many phrases in the epics showing digamma for which related lines can be compared which show real hiatus'.[166] Jones seems here to be hinting at the importance of distinguishing between formulaic and non-formulaic (or at least repeated and non-repeated) verses, which is addressed in detail below. Since the case cannot be clearly made either way, I have categorised such instances as 'ambiguous'.

The last category of cases which I have treated as ambiguous have the general tag of 'Text', with an extra description: either 'Text: Moveable Nu/Kappa' or 'Text: Particle'. I have categorised these as 'textual' problems because the ambiguity of the status of the digamma is not inherent, as it is if the word occurs at the beginning of the line, for example. Instead, cases tagged as textually ambiguous have ambiguity which could have arisen through the textual tradition: in this sense, both the transmission of an actual, written text and the (re)composition of verses in an oral context, are meant by 'textual tradition'. Take, for example, the following, which serves as an example of 'Text: Particle':

Il. 4.140: αὐτίκα δ' ἔρρεεν αἷμα κελαινεφὲς ἐξ ὠτειλῆς

[166] Jones (2008), 142.

It is possible that either an oral poet late in the tradition or a scribe operating in a textual context might have added this particle to remove the hiatus. It is necessary to posit an original verse without a connecting particle, and although this is rare, it is not without parallels.[167]

Similarly, once-digammated words which occur after moveable nu or kappa I have treated as ambiguous for much the same reason: it is difficult to know whether an oral poet or scribe inserted the consonant, or whether it was composed organically alongside a neglected digamma. For example:

Il. 8.408 (etc.): αἰεὶ γάρ μοι ἔωθεν ἐνικλᾶν ὅττί κεν εἴπω.

Od. 8.28: ξεῖνος ὅδ', οὐκ οἶδ' ὅς τις, ἀλώμενος ἵκετ' ἐμὸν δῶ.

While some attestations of moveable nu or kappa might have arisen through the written, textual tradition, it seems fairly certain that the process of substituting these consonants was active in oral composition and transmission, since the word νήδυμος seems to have been coined through a reinterpretation of ἥδυμος when preceded by moveable nu, which must have been inserted to remove the hiatus after digamma was lost: e.g. *Il.* 2.2 *ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος > ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος.[168] Since moveable nu can therefore never prove anything, I follow both Janko and Garbrah in downplaying its significance.

There are also a few cases which I have classed under the heading 'Prothetic Vowel'. For some cases this refers to a real prothetic vowel, but for others it was a convenient yet inaccurate heading; I will discuss each instance in detail. The unifying element is that some forms of the words occur with an ἐ-, and in many of these cases, it appears as if an old initial ϝ-, which had lengthened the preceding syllable, has been lost, and to compensate, an extra syllable has been added. For example:

Il. 5.219: *τῷ μιν ϝεισάμενος προσεφώνεε θεῖος ὄνειρος·

Il. 2.022: τῷ μιν ἐεισάμενος προσεφώνεε θεῖος ὄνειρος·

[167] Chantraine (2015), 315. Cf. Jones (2008), 140.
[168] Leumann (1950), 44; Reece (2009) 178. Although this line is often quoted in discussing the form, it should not necessarily be taken as the example from which all other instances of νήδυμος are derived.

This change has been seen as further motivated by sequences of *εϝε- > εε- which occurred naturally, either as a possible reflex of **Hwe-*, or with an augment in past tense verb formations, which could then be applied elsewhere with the loss of digamma.[169] This phenomenon only occurs with a few words, which will be discussed in turn. The discussion may be summarised by saying that in every case, to avoid contentious assumptions, I counted and labelled the relevant instances as ambiguous; the interested reader is nevertheless able to review the details in the following paragraphs.

It is necessary first to answer this preliminary question: what motivated the intrusion of a prothetic vowel for these words, instead of leaving the observed digamma to lengthen the preceding vowel, as is the case for many other observed digamma in formulaic constructions? In other words, using the same example as in the previous paragraph, why are there not lines like the following, where it would simply be said that the digamma has been observed?

Il. 5.219: *τῷ μιν εἰσάμενος προσεφώνεε θεῖος ὄνειρος·

Moreover, why are there not prothetic vowels on any of the formulaic instances of ἔπεα, for example? In all of the *Iliad*, when one studies the lines which are tagged in the accompanying database as 'Formula', 'Observed', and 'Makes Position' – that is, cases equivalent to these ones with prothetic vowels - cases like these are found:

1) *Il.* 2.7 (et al.): καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

2) *Il.* 7.178 (et al.): ὣδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν·

3) *Il.* 1.606 (et al.): οἳ μὲν κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἶκον δὲ ἕκαστος,

In all such cases, the digamma needs to be observed in order to make long the *initial syllable* of the relevant foot. On the other hand, there are virtually no cases where there is an observed digamma lengthening a syllable in the thesis of the foot, but only the arsis of the foot.[170] Once a formulaic phrase is compromised by the loss of digamma, observing the digamma when it makes position in the arsis is the only choice. Alternatively, when a formulaic phrase such as *κρήηνον ϝέλδωρ (on which see further below), where the syllable in the thesis is lengthened, is

[169] Beekes (1969), 77.

[170] Jones (2008), 114-119 surveys the lines. He finds in total 9 secure examples in Homer, indicating that lengthening the thesis is done exceptionally rarely.

compromised by the loss of digamma, it appears to have been preferable to use some sort of artificial solution – such as inserting a prothetic vowel – especially when it creates a fifth-foot dactyl. This explains many of the cases studied below: the form with the prothetic vowel has been generated to avoid observing the digamma to lengthen the syllable in the thesis, in a formulaic construction. Many of the remaining forms for which this is not the case can be explained through the influence of the formulaic occurrences. This, then, will be the primary explanation proposed in the following discussion, which deals with each word in turn occurring with a prothetic vowel: this would make cases like this effectively instances of 'neglect', and could arguably be treated as such. But because it is possible that the prothetic vowel has another explanation, these instances have been tagged as 'ambiguous'. What follows is a review of the possible instances of prothetic vowel, starting with cases for which a compensatory (rather than original) prothetic vowel are strongest.

1) εἴδομαι (with prothetic vowel *Il.* x3, *Od.* x7). It is clearly part of at least one formulaic construction, such as the following speech introduction formula:

> *Il.* 2.022: τῷ μιν ἐεισάμενος προσεφώνεε θεῖος ὄνειρος·
>
> *Il.* 2.795: τῷ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἶρις·
>
> *Il.* 3.389: τῇ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσεφώνεε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη·
>
> *Od.* 6.204: τῇ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·

Most, but not all, of the other Odyssean attestations also seem to be formulaic:

> *Od.* 5.442: ἶξε νέων, τῇ δή οἱ ἐείσατο χῶρος ἄριστος,
>
> *Od.* 7.281: ἐς ποταμόν, τῇ δή μοι ἐείσατο χῶρος ἄριστος,
>
> *Od.* 5.398: ὣς Ὀδυσῆ' ἀσπαστὸν ἐείσατο γαῖα καὶ ὕλη,
>
> *Od.* 7.343: ὣς φάν· τῷ δ' ἀσπαστὸν ἐείσατο κοιμηθῆναι.
>
> *Od.* 8.295: ὣς φάτο, τῇ δ' ἀσπαστὸν ἐείσατο κοιμηθῆναι.
>
> *Od.* 2.320: γίνομαι· ὥς νύ που ὔμμιν ἐείσατο κέρδιον εἶναι."

From the comparative evidence and dialectal forms, it is clear that the original form would be ϝείδομαι, with an s-aorist ἐϝείσ-. This possibly explains ἐείσατο in Homer: if the verb were augmented, the digamma could be effectively internal, and therefore not relevant for our study.

However, it occurs in the exact circumstances in which a prothetic vowel would be expected to appear – the possibility cannot be ruled out that the first vowel is a genuine prothetic vowel, rather than an augment (which is, of course, often missing in Homer).

The ἐεισάμεν- forms have also been seen as problematic. One explanation, privileging ἐεισάμεν- in the reconstruction, has been to pose an initial laryngeal for the root, on the basis of forms like νῆϊς (**n-Hwi-s*). However, the laryngeal would be expected to appear elsewhere in the root, whereas νῆϊς, for example, can be explained as an analogical creation, given that the privative prefix νη- was spread beyond words with an initial laryngeal.[171] Beekes' explanation, on the other hand, based on the fact that the participle occurs exclusively in the speech introduction formula, is that 'an accident led to this unusual form: the formula must have had τῷ δέ ϝε ϝεισάμενος'.[172] This explanation does seem possible. However, what motivated the change? Once digamma was lost from Ionic, such a line would become * τῷ δέ ἑ εἰσάμενος, which, once reanalysed, would become *τῷ δέ ἐεισάμενος, with δέ replaced with μιν. According to this logic, the jump from ἑ εἰσάμενος to ἐεισάμενος would presumably be based on analogy of the historically justified ἐείσ- forms quoted above. A different explanation might be that proposed here: the fact that the loss of digamma compromised the lengthening of a syllable in the thesis (rather than the arsis) seems like a simpler and more persuasive explanation. At any rate, the form is ambiguous.

2) ἔλδομαι/ἔλδωρ (with prothetic vowel, *Il.* x6, *Od.* x3 in my sample, compared to 1 in the *Iliad* without). In Homer, the form with the prothetic vowel dominates, with only three forms without (*Il.* 5.481, 23.122, *Od.* 23.6). Moreover, in later authors the form without prothetic vowel almost exclusively occurs: this led Beekes to infer that the prothetic form was original, and underwent influence from ἔλπω (on which see further below).[173] This would make the reconstructed root **H₁wel-* 'wish, desire', but ultimately the initial laryngeal is not well matched to the possible Greek cognate word λῶ ('I want, wish' < zero grade **wl̥H₁-i/o* ?), which would point to **wel-*. Thus, I view the Homeric forms with the prothetic vowel as the exception rather than the rule: the artificial form seems to have been created within the Homeric *Kuntsprache*.

[171] *DELG s.v.* 'εἴδομαι'.
[172] Beekes *s.v.* 'εἴδομαι'.
[173] Beekes (1969), 63-4.

The nominal form ἔλδωρ seems to provide the key, which occurs almost exclusively at line end in the formula κρήηνον ἐέλδωρ (*Il.* 1.41, 1.455, 1.504, 8.242, 16.238). Thus, in a hypothetical pre-line of *κρήηνον ϝέλδωρ, after the loss of digamma, the addition of the extra prothetic vowel would create the dactylic rhythm particularly fitting for the fifth foot, and this new addition to the root could be used elsewhere.

3) ἔλπομαι (with prothetic vowel, in my corpus only at *Iliad* 8.196, but elsewhere *Il.* x6, *Od.* x1, whereas the form without prothetic vowel dominates). There is a particularly strong case for seeing the prothetic vowel as artificial here and generated by the loss of digamma: firstly, as Beekes has shown, there is no hint of a prothetic vowel in other formations of the root,[174] and secondly, there is a formulaic phrase which contains a once-digammated word after the thesis of a foot:

> *Il.* 12.407: χάζετ', ἐπεί οἱ θυμὸς ἐέλπετο κῦδος ἀρέσθαι.
>
> *Il.* 13.813: ἦ θήν πού τοι θυμὸς ἐέλπεται ἐξαλαπάξειν

A pre-form could be imagined here *(-οι) θυμὸς ϝέλπετ- where, after the loss of digamma, the insertion of a prothetic vowel was a solution preferable to leaving the word with the digamma observed in the thesis. This seems a solution more preferable than resorting to analogy with ἔλδομαι, as Beekes maintains.[175]

4) ἴσος (with prothetic vowel *Il.* x8, *Od.* x4). The prothetic vowel is etymologically unjustified: *ϝῑσϝος is the certain reconstruction. The ἐῖσ- forms occur in collocation with certain feminine nouns, and only ever meaning 'well balanced'.[176] These particular contexts manifest themselves in three very common Homeric formulae, and one other seemingly non-formulaic phrase, each modified and expressed in other cases: νῆες ἐΐσαι; φρένας ἔνδον ἐΐσας; ἀσπίδα (…) πάντοσ' ἐΐσην; δαιτὸς (…) ἐΐσης. The apparently non-formulaic case occurs in a simile:

> *Il.* 2.763-5: ἵπποι μὲν μέγ' ἄρισται ἔσαν Φηρητιάδαο,
> τὰς Εὔμηλος ἔλαυνε ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας ὡς
> ὄτριχας οἰέτεας σταφύλῃ ἐπὶ νῶτον ἐΐσας:

[174] Beekes (1969), 64.
[175] Beekes s.v. 'ἔλπομαι'
[176] See Cunliffe *s.v.* 'ἴσος'.

Moreover, semantically speaking, this sense of ἐΐσας is unlike the others: 'equal in height' (that is, the horses were exactly as high as each other). On the other hand, ἴσος without the prothetic vowel frequently occurs with feminine referents, also in one formulaic construction (*Il.* 11.705 = *Il.* 9.42 = *Il.* 9.549, otherwise *Il.* 20.282, 20.294, 9.318, 22.460, 11.72, 7.205, 12.423).

What, then, is the origin of the form with the prothetic vowel? Beekes, taking into account that the forms occur only in epic, concludes that it is an artificial form, stemming from a metanalysis of a pre-form of πάντοσ' ἐΐσην (*πάντοσε ϝίσϝην) which was then used elsewhere to avoid fifth-foot spondees.[177] This is possible, but the reason why the metanalysis took place is obscure, without a sufficiently similar parallel or original form.[178] Beekes also does not take into account the semantic distribution that was mentioned above: in his explanation, this would be coincidental, which seems unlikely. Relevant here are some difficult Mycenaean forms: attested are *wiso-wopana* (PY Sh 740), alongside *ewisu-zoko* (KN S3 1007. 100*) and *ewisu*79ko* (PY Va 404+), which could possibly reflect an old alternation between *ἐϝίσϝ- and *ϝίσϝ-, but the interpretation of the evidence is controversial.[179] It thus seems possible that there may have been an alternative *ἐϝίσϝ- formation, which was assigned a specialised meaning (possibly only in Homer), which would make the digamma internal. On the other hand, after the loss of digamma, a compensatory prothetic vowel in certain formulaic contexts, with a particular meaning, could have later been reanalysed as an alternate form suitable for specialised senses, and convenient for use at line-end. Ultimately this seems more likely than a re-analysis of one specific form, as Beekes argued. It is impossible, however, to be certain, and I have tagged these forms as 'ambiguous'.

5) ἔργω (with prothetic vowel *Il.* x6, *Od.* x1 in my sample).

Il. 2.617: πέτρη τ' Ὠλενίη καὶ Ἀλήσιον ἐντὸς ἐέργει,

Il. 2.845: ὅσσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἐέργει.

Od. 7.88: χρύσειαι δὲ θύραι πυκινὸν δόμον ἐντὸς ἔεργον·

[177] Beekes (1969), 65-6.

[178] Beekes (1969), 66 n.24 suggests that the metanalysis might have occurred by analogy of ἐντὸς ἐέργ-, but this seems too remote.

[179] Beekes (1969), 66.

Il. 8.213: τῶν δ' ὅσον ἐκ νηῶν ἀπὸ πύργου τάφρος ἔεργε

Il. 4.131: παιδὸς ἐέργῃ μυῖαν ὅθ' ἡδέϊ λέξεται ὕπνῳ,

Il. 5.89: τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ τε γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι ἰσχανόωσιν,

Il. 4.130: ἣ δὲ τόσον μὲν ἔεργεν ἀπὸ χροὸς ὡς ὅτε μήτηρ

This word is attested in a formulaic pattern, ἐντὸς ἐέργ-, possibly extending to -ος ἐέργ- in two other attestations. The prothetic vowel has caused some problems, given that it exists in forms other than the past tense forms, where it could be explicable as an uncontracted augment. Mycenaean (*we-re-ke* /wreges/ 'fences' ?) suggests that the reconstructed root might begin with **w*-, which would mean that the prothetic vowel is a Greek innovation, and one which appears only sporadically.[180] Yet the prothetic vowel is not restricted to Homer, since *ἐϝέργω seems to underlie Attic εἴργω. Homer uses both *ἐϝέργω and *ϝέργω: see, for example, *Od.* 14.411 (τὰς μὲν ἄρα ἔρξαν κατὰ ἤθεα κοιμηθῆναι), which appears to have an observed digamma in the unaugmented aorist *ϝέρξαν. Beekes' solution is to reconstruct two separate stems, **H₁weǵ-* and **sergh-*, originally with two different meanings, which became subsumed into the same paradigm, and exerted influence over each other at various points.[181] This is possible, but as Beekes himself says, there can be no definite conclusion. The question is whether the cases in Homer with the prothetic vowel could possibly represent a neglected digamma of *ϝέργω, with the extra vowel to compensate, or whether they represent *ἐϝέργω, where the digamma is internal. The fact that the formulaic ἐντὸς ἐέργ- occurs at line end, and would thus need the prothetic vowel in order to make a fifth-foot dactyl is suggestive, but fundamentally, since it seems impossible to be sure about the answer, the instances have been tagged as ambiguous.

6) εἶπον (in my corpus, *Il.* x94, *Od.* x95 overall, with vowel *Il.* x19, *Od.* x15). On the face of it, this is a non-issue, since the only forms with prothetic vowel are easily explicable as augmented forms. The form is conventionally analysed as an inherited aorist, and corresponds seemingly exactly to Skt. *ávocam*. This suggests a reconstruction of **H₁e-we-uk*^{w}-, which by dissimilation yields in Greek **eweik*^{w}-, which by regular sound change would result in Classical Greek εἶπ-,

[180] Beekes *s.v.* 'ἔργω'.; *DELG s.v.* 'ἔργω'.
[181] Beekes (1969), 62-3.

with the pre-contracted form ἔ(ϝ)ειπ- still preserved in Homer. By far the most common attestation of the form with 'prothetic vowel' is in a formulaic expression at line end thus:

Il. 1.286: ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα γέρον κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες·

Il. 4.24: αἰνότατε Κρονίδη ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες·

Il. 2.156: εἰ μὴ Ἀθηναίην Ἥρη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·

In this framework, the digamma would essentially be internal. However, it may seem suspicious that the augment, in the simplex at least, only occurs in these forms (compound verbs will be addressed below). Elsewhere in Homer, other verbs in past tenses (in non-formulaic context) display significant variation in their use of the augment, as has long been noted. On the other hand, in other aorist or imperfect forms of εἶπον, in my *Iliad* corpus the form is only found seemingly without an augment:

Il. 2.271 (etc. x6): ὣδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν…

Il. 5.600: ὣς τότε Τυδεΐδης ἀνεχάζετο, εἶπέ τε λαῷ·

Il. 6.86: Ἕκτορ ἀτὰρ σὺ πόλιν δὲ μετέρχεο, εἰπὲ δ' ἔπειτα

Il. 7.277: μέσσῳ δ' ἀμφοτέρων σκῆπτρα σχέθον, εἶπέ τε μῦθον

Il. 6.475: εἶπε δ' ἐπευξάμενος Διί τ' ἄλλοισίν τε θεοῖσι

Il. 1.106: μάντι κακῶν οὐ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας·

Il. 1.108: ἐσθλὸν δ' οὔτέ τί πω εἶπας ἔπος οὔτ' ἐτέλεσσας·

This is suspicious because, given that the augment is used freely in Homer, more instances of εἶπον might be expected with the augment than the formulaic verses addressed above. Moreover, occurring as it does most commonly at line end, the verb is exactly where, after the loss of digamma, a prothetic vowel would be added (κατὰ μοῖραν ϝείπες could not be left as κατὰ μοῖραν εἶπες, since the lengthening of the syllable in thesis was unacceptable, and the prothetic vowel was thus added). The main obstacle to such an interpretation consists of compounds of εἶπον, many of which feature augments:

Il. 1.105: Κάλχαντα πρώτιστα κάκ' ὀσσόμενος προσέειπε

Il. 1.253: ὅ σφιν ἐὺ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·

These compound verbs often occur at line end, and thus a similar desire to produce a fifth-foot dactyl might be responsible, but this does not account for the many other attestations elsewhere in the line. Ultimately, an original *μετάϝειπε(ν) and *π(ρ)οτίϝειπε(ν) might be posited which, after loss of digamma, were influenced by the simplex form, but this is not provable either. Ultimately, since there is a case (although not a definitive one) for seeing ἔειπ- forms as with an artificial prothetic vowel, like the other cases discussed here, I included them but counted them as 'ambiguous'.

7) ἔδνον (in my corpus, *Od.* x4, but it occurs a few times in the *Iliad*, by chance not in my sample). This word may be compared to the compounds ἐεδνόομαι/ἐδνόομαι (*Od.* 2.53) and ἐεδνωτής/ἐδνωτής (*Il.* 13.382). In later Greek, the form without prothetic vowel dominates, although the word is fairly rare. Unlike other words discussed in this section, however, it is the seemingly formulaic constructions which feature more heavily the form without the prothetic vowel:

Il. 16.190, 22.472, *Od.* 11.282: ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἔδνα,

Il. 16.178, 19.529: πορὼν ἀπερείσια ἔδνα.

Od. 11.117, 13.378: μνώμενοι ἀντιθέην ἄλοχον καὶ ἔδνα διδόντες:

These may be compared to the forms with prothetic vowel:

Od. 1.277, 2.196: οἱ δὲ γάμον τεύξουσι καὶ ἀρτυνέουσιν ἔεδνα

Od. 16.391, 21.161: μνάσθω ἐέδνοισιν διζήμενος: ἡ δέ κ' ἔπειτα

Od. 6.159: ὅς κέ σ' ἐέδνοισι βρίσας οἶκόνδ' ἀγάγηται (assuming one does not read σε ἔδνοισι).

Od. 8.318: εἰς ὅ κέ μοι μάλα πάντα πατὴρ ἀποδῷσιν ἔεδνα,

Od. 15.18: μνηστῆρας δώροισι καὶ ἐξώφελλεν ἔεδνα:

It is therefore difficult to argue that the form with prothetic vowel, generated in a formulaic construction, influenced the use of other forms. Moreover, it is also possible to have either ἔεδνα or ἔδνα in each of the lines quoted above, although it would be necessary to have moveable nu being used to lengthen by position in some cases. Moreover, both forms can be reconstructed for the two compounds, although the case in *Od.* 2.53 is also the exact circumstance in which the artificial prothetic vowel would be expected as described above:

Od. 2.53: Ἰκαρίου, ὥς κ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιτο θύγατρα

Il. 13.382: ἀμφὶ γάμῳ, ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι ἐεδνωταὶ κακοί εἰμεν.

Beekes reconstructs a laryngeal at the start of the root (**H₁wed-* 'dowry'), yet once again the only real evidence for the laryngeal comes from these Homeric forms and is not supported well by the comparative evidence.[182] It is therefore ultimately unclear what to do with these forms, and they were tagged as 'ambiguous'.

8) ἔρση (in my corpus only once, at *Od.* 5.467, but elsewhere *Il.* x4, *Od.* x1, always with prothetic vowel except possibly at *Od.* 9.222, but this seems to be a different word). This is perhaps the strongest case for reconstructing a laryngeal (**H₁wers-*), since the form with prothetic vowel occurs very frequently elsewhere (e.g. Sappho fr. 73(a)9 Voigt, Pindar *N.* 3.79, Theocr. 2.107, vs. the form without prothetic vowel, e.g., at Theocr. 20.16). This fact shows that the prothetic vowel is not restricted to Homer.[183] Nevertheless, I counted it as ambiguous, and as it only occurs once in my corpus, it does not affect any statistics.

Lastly, in a similar way to these cases with prothetic vowel, many cases of ἔπος can only be treated as ambiguous, when there is an extra, epenthetic vowel in the dative plural form (ἐπέεσσι), and the preceding word has either a vowel which has elided, or could have had such a vowel which was susceptible to elision, such as that of the dative plural ending -οισι, as in the following examples:

Il. 1.159: Ἥρῃ ὅτ᾽ ἄν μ᾽ ἐρέθῃσιν ὀνειδείοις ἐπέεσσιν·

Il. 5.893: Ἥρης· τὴν μὲν ἐγὼ σπουδῇ δάμνημ᾽ ἐπέεσσι·

Od. 8.91: Φαιήκων οἱ ἄριστοι, ἐπεὶ τέρποντ᾽ ἐπέεσσιν,

Cases like these are ambiguous since it is unclear whether the fairly common form of ἐπέεσσι(ν) is being used with a neglected digamma, or whether, after the loss of digamma, the poets found themselves naturally eliding the preceding vowel, and compensated for the missing vowel by adding one into the dative form, given the influence of the -εσσι(ν) ending generally.[184]

[182] Beekes (1969), 58-9; Beekes *s.v.* 'ἔδνον'; Chantraine *s.v.* 'ἔδνον'.

[183] For problematic forms where the prothetic vowel is ἀ-, see Beekes *s.v.* 'ἔρση'.

[184] Cf. Jones (2008), 146. For a recent survey of the problem see Cassio (2017).

Having discussed how to quantify the digamma, what factors affect its distribution?

3.5. The Importance of Metre?

In his study of the digamma, Jones furthered the work of Solmsen, and found that there is a significant degree of variation in the proportion of observed to neglected digamma based on the position in the line of the once digammated word.[185] In this section I will discuss his findings and assess their significance.

Jones broke down the so-called "outer metrical" scheme of the hexameter line according to the positions where digamma can either be observed or neglected, and the schematic by which he did so is recreated below:

1	1.5	2	3	3.5	4	5	5.5	6	10	11
-	u	u	-	u	u	-	u	u	... etc. ...	- X

Each of the numbers is a label for a specific position at which digamma can be observed or neglected. See the following examples:

Position 1 *Il.* 6.351: ὃς ϝῇδη νέμεσίν τε καὶ αἴσχεα πόλλ' ἀνθρώπων.

Position 1.5 *Il.* 8.406: ἄφρα ἰδϝῇ γλαυκῶπις ὅτ' ἂν ϝῷ πατρὶ μάχηται.

Etc.

Since it is not necessarily immediately clear in Jones' schematic, it is worth noting that if a digamma is observed by lengthening the preceding syllable in the thesis of the foot – which it does only rarely – this is counted as an example of position 2, 4, 6, 8 or 10, depending on which foot the word occurs in. This means that both of the following lines were classified under 'Position 2':

Il. 8.559: πάντα δὲ εἴδεται ἄστρα, γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν·

Il. 17.142: Ἕκτορ εἶδος ἄριστε μάχης ἄρα πολλὸν ἐδεύεο.

Jones tagged the results of his count according to the position of the observance or neglect, and displayed his data broken down by this position, as illustrated in Table 3.2:

[185] Solmsen (1901); Jones (2008), 105-153.

	Iliad			*Odyssey*			*Theogony*			*Works and Days*		
	Obs.	Neg.	**%Neg.**	Obs.	Neg.	**%Neg.**	Obs.	Neg.	**%Neg.**	Obs.	Neg.	**%Neg.**
Pos 1	17	22	**65.4%**	9	22	**71%**	0	5	**100%**	1	6	**85.7%**
Pos 1.5	45	6	**11.8%**	20	11	**35.5%**	1	0	**0%**	3	0	**0%**
Pos 2	45	24	**34.8%**	37	24	**39.3%**	2	2	**50%**	5	5	**50%**
Pos 3	119	32	**21.2%**	114	19	**14.3%**	4	2	**33.3%**	5	4	**44.4%**
Pos 3.5	76	12	**13.6%**	68	17	**20%**	3	2	**40%**	4	2	**33.3%**
Pos 4	102	5	**4.7%**	129	10	**7.2%**	3	0	**0%**	3	2	**40%**
Pos 5	109	15	**12.1%**	86	15	**14.9%**	2	1	**33.3%**	11	1	**8.3%**
Pos 5.5	103	45	**30.4%**	94	34	**26.6%**	6	2	**25%**	2	3	**60%**
Pos 6	53	28	**34.6%**	26	12	**32.4%**	0	9	**100%**	5	8	**61.5%**
Pos 7	73	5	**6.4%**	69	8	**10.4%**	0	1	**100%**	4	0	**0%**
Pos 7.5	0	0	-	0	3	**100%**	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pos 8	202	31	**13.7%**	193	37	**16.1%**	14	7	**33.3%**	15	5	**25%**
Pos 9	32	8	**20%**	42	10	**19.2%**	2	0	**0%**	2	0	**0%**
Pos 9.5	196	51	**20.6%**	175	44	**20.1%**	10	4	**28.6%**	5	3	**37.5%**
Pos 10	156	16	**8.8%**	204	18	**8.1%**	11	4	**26.7%**	20	10	**33.3%**

Table 3.2: The results of Jones' count of digamma, according to position in the line.[186]

As Jones remarks, the position of the once digammated word in the line clearly has an effect on our ability to predict whether a digamma is likely to be observed or neglected. Jones also sets out in detail how some of the positions which he marked correspond to "inner" metrics: Position 5.5, for example, corresponds with the trochaic caesura of the third foot, which was discussed above.[187]

What, then, is the significance of this finding? Jones argues that this finding shows that 'the deployment of digamma is not simply conditioned by phonology and preservation'.[188] He therefore suggests that Janko's principal assumption about the development of epic diction 'suffers a serious blow'.[189] While it is true that Janko's notion of steady, chronological change is

[186] Recreated from Jones (2008), 110-1 and 151. Jones offers no data for Pos 7.5 for Hesiod.
[187] *Ibid.*, 119ff.
[188] *Ibid.*, 122.
[189] *Ibid..*, 109. To be precise, Jones suggests that Janko's methods are undercut by the discovery of other factors, and then performs his analysis of the metrical placement of once-digammated words, without explicitly saying that this analysis complicates Janko's findings, but this belief is implied.

undermined by demonstrations that other factors are at play, it is not clear that this finding is such a demonstration. Rather, Jones' important work shows that, when it comes to observing or neglecting digamma, different positions in the line show different tendencies *to each other*, but it does not show that the choice of observing or neglecting digamma is necessarily constant over time. Indeed, observance and neglect of digamma is attested in each of the positions of the line – the positions merely differ from each other in which way they are inclined to swing. Defending Janko's argument (and therefore accepting his assumptions), in 9/14 of the positions studied, the *Odyssey* shows a greater neglect of digamma than the *Iliad*. Moreover, the statistics for most of the positions for the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* are too small to be compared to those for the Homeric poems, but those which are sufficiently large or different all show a greater proportion of neglect.[190] Therefore, it could be argued that, as time passed, the different poets became more inclined to neglect digamma overall, and this increasing preference for neglect was realised in most of the positions. If Jones' work had found that, for example, digamma was observed 100% of the time at a given position in each of the texts – in an analogous way to the discovery in the previous chapter that the metrical structure of the word in most cases dictates whether it takes the -οιο or -ου genitive ending – then this would need to be taken into account.

Jones notes that much of the variation in the position of the line is explained both by the tendency to have hiatus at certain points and by the fact that formulaic expressions frequently observe the digamma at certain points in the line.[191] Yet Jones does not fully explore the effect that these factors have on an overall statistic for each poem, nor does he differentiate between formulaic and non-formulaic diction in order to assess the poets' preferences at each position. The next section of this discussion, therefore, will focus on formulae.

Before we move on, however, it is necessary to address briefly Jones' arguments that a digamma which seems to be observed by lengthening a short syllable in the thesis should not be counted as a genuine observance.[192] Jones discusses the following example:

Il. 17.142: "Εκτορ εἶδος ἄριστε μάχης ἄρα πολλὸν ἐδεύεο.

[190] Positions 3, and 10 show significant differences.
[191] See pp.78-9.
[192] *Ibid.*, 114-5.

He argues that this should be considered a *brevis in longo*, rather than an observed digamma, given that: the phrase is not traditional, and therefore probably a one-off; the line is doubtless ironic, given that Hector himself calls Paris in the vocative with this same formation (*Il.* 3.39 (+ 13.769) Δύσπαρι εἶδος ἄριστε); Hector's name in the vocative is frequently in this position, either lengthened by a consonant, or creating a dactyl with a vowel; and, lastly, that it is very rare to have lengthening in this position. Yet this does not follow – if in another example the name were lengthened when followed by a vowel, then the argument would stand. A search of the *TLG* reveals that Ἕκτορ in this position is followed only by consonants forming spondees or vowels forming dactyls (and the example in question). This leaves the impression that this line was only possible thanks to the digamma causing lengthening, and therefore it may be taken as an observed case. This same reasoning applies to the other instances that Jones discusses – these instances, however, are few, and thus have limited importance.[193]

3.6. The Importance of Formulae

The study of the thematic genitives showed that formulaic verses need to be taken into account. Jones has already observed that this was relevant although he does not take this factor into account when he discusses chronological change in the use of the digamma.[194] In accordance with the discussion in the previous section, Jones found that digamma was particularly likely to be observed at positions 4 and 10, and he suggests that this fact can be explained through the frequent occurrences of formulae in these positions. This is surely right, but the implications of this fact need to be analysed in detail. In this section, I will first discuss how formulaic verses were identified, and then demonstrate statistics to support their exclusion.

3.6.1 Tagging Formulaic Verses

Fundamentally, the method I employed here is the same I have employed for the genitives (Chapter 2) and tmesis (Chapter 4): reference was made to the formulaic commentary, and when a combination of words occurred four times or more, it was counted as formulaic.[195] If it occurred one or two other times, then it was called a 'repetition', a third category in addition

[193] *Ibid.,* 115-9.
[194] *Ibid.*, 120-123.
[195] See n. 55 above.

to 'formulaic' and 'non-formulaic'. One difference from the genitives analysis is that reference had to be made to what preceded the digammated word, as opposed to what followed it. This led to apparently confusing situations where formulaic phrases starting with digamma are labelled in the database as 'non-formulaic', since there is always variation in what preceded the formula. The important point was establishing whether the repetition exerted influence over the poet's choice of observe or neglect, and the choice clearly was affected if the once-digammated word occurred within a formulaic phrase, but not if it occurred at the start of the phrase. For example:

Il. 3.398: θάμβησέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·

Il. 1.361 (etc.): χειρί τέ μιν κατέρεξεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·

The phrase ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε is clearly formulaic, and occurs very frequently in Homer. It only occurs once, however, after ἔπειτα, whereas it occurs six times after κατέρεξεν. For this reason, I counted the first example as non-formulaic, whereas the second is counted as formulaic. As it happens, neither of these two cases is especially relevant for the overall picture, as the status of the digamma is ambiguous in both (in the former, because the hiatus occurs at the trochaic caesura in the third foot, and in the latter, because there is a moveable nu), but they demonstrate the point well.

Furthermore, the status of formulaic verses in the Homeric Hymns is, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis, problematic. Verses which occur in the hymns and only once (or twice) in Homer were counted as 'influenced', whereas verses which occur commonly across all the texts were tagged as 'formulaic'. This approach was taken because we cannot rule out the possibility that such phrases are underrepresented formulae, but the opposite cannot be proven either, that they were used in the hymns through knowledge of the Homeric poems. As such, they are tagged separately from formulae, but are not included in the main analysis, which prioritises non-formulaic verses. This approach restricts the sample size, but makes the fewest possible assumptions. Moreover, verses repeated within an individual hymn but not attested elsewhere are tagged as 'repetitions', and are thus similarly distinguished from non-formulaic cases, which are the focus of the discussion. Lastly, instances where Homeric formulae have been combined or rearranged – as has been long noticed by previous scholars – have been

categorised as 'non-formulaic', due to the fact that these lines seem to be inventions of hymns' authors, and are not sufficiently influenced by traditional diction to make the results meaningless.[196] Take, for example, the following:

Dem. 302: βάν ῥ' ἴμεν οἶκαδ' ἕκαστος· ἀτὰρ ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ

This line features not one but two neglected digammas. As Hoekstra says, 'the *language* of this line is thoroughly epic, its *diction* is not'.[197] The notion here is that 'each one went to his home', and this notion is expressed in Homer usually by ἔβαν οἶκονδὲ ἕκαστος (*Il.* 1.606, etc.), with two observed digammas. Moreover, the poet of the hymn has also been influenced by a second Homeric formula, βάν/βῆ ῥ΄ (δ') ἴμεν. Although the compositional decisions and processes of the poet can never be known to us, the following line would have constituted a viable option:

*βάν ῥ' οἶκονδὲ ἕκαστος· ἀτὰρ ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ

Such a line would have preserved the Homeric formula more closely, simply removing the augment from the verb, while preserving the two digammas. Yet this seemingly easy option has been passed over in favour of a more complex line which merges multiple formulaic elements and neglects digamma, but which must have been in some sense the more natural option. Therefore, although one could call the original line 'formulaic', for the sake of this study it was not counted as such, since the pressures of the formulaic tradition have not been felt sufficiently to dictate the status of the digammas (indeed, the opposite is the case).

3.6.2. The Distribution Comparing Formulaic to Non-Formulaic Verses

What, then, is the distribution of observed to neglected digamma when comparing formulaic to non-formulaic verses in the *Iliad*, *Odyssey, Theogony* and *Works and Days*?[198] The results can be summarised in Table 3.3:

[196] For discussion of lines of this type see Hoekstra (1965); (1969).

[197] Hoekstra (1969), 52.

[198] This count excludes enclitic cases, and 'repeated' cases, due to the fact that 'repeated' cases are not clearly identifiable as formulae: they could simply be repeated lines, or they could be underrepresented formulae.

	(Ambiguous)	Observed	Neglected	%Neglected[199]
Iliad (1-8)				
Formula	(196)	129	11	7.9%
Non-formula	(248)	97	55	36.2%
Odyssey (1-8)				
Formula	(140)	82	18	18.0%
Non-formula	(249)	86	53	38.1%
Theogony				
Formula	(19)	19	2	9.5%
Non-formula	(45)	6	15	71.4%
Works and Days				
Formula	(20)	14	1	6.7%
Non-formula	(62)	33	30	47.6%

Table 3.3: The treatment of digamma in Homer and Hesiod according to formulaic instances.

The significance of these results is clear, with no need for statistics: if a digammated word appears in a formulaic line, it is much more likely to be observed than if it appears in a non-formulaic line. This is especially so in the Hesiodic poems, where the difference is particularly striking.

This has two important implications: firstly, that an overall statistic, such as one provided by Janko, is most meaningful when it is comprised of non-formulaic data, since the factor of formularity has a very significant effect. If the poet chooses to use a particular formula which observes digamma (as most formulae do), each and every use of that formula will distort the statistics in favour of observing the digamma. The same goes for formulae with neglected digamma, but these are much less common. For example, whenever the *Odyssey* poet chooses to use the following typical speech introduction formula for women, the statistics are skewed in favour of neglect:

Od. 2.269 (and elsewhere x6): καί μιν φωνήσασ' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

We can thus see how the 'vagaries of content', to use Janko's own phrase, can affect the distribution of digamma.[200]

[199] The percentage of neglect compared to only the observed cases, not the sum of the observed and ambiguous cases; cf. the above discussion about this particular statistic.
[200] Janko (2012), 24; Janko (1982), 260.

Moreover, the second implication is that we can get a non-specific yet important sense of the relative chronology of the loss of digamma. Formulae, if preserved faithfully, retain phonological and morphological archaisms of the time of their creation, which explains why they contain so many observed cases of digamma.[201] On the other hand, the few formulae with neglected digamma appear to be well fixed in the hexameter tradition, and make it seem likely that a substantial amount of time has passed since the digamma fell out of use: enough time for these verses to have been composed and eventually incorporated into the stock of formulae. In my sample of the *Iliad*, these are the formulaic expressions with a neglected digamma:

1) *Il.* 2.471: ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει,

'in the season of spring when the milk wets the buckets'.

2) *Il.* 7.68: ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.

'so that I can say what my heart bids in my chest'.

3) *Il.* 5.470 etc.: ὣς εἰπ- (…) ὄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἑκάστου.

'Thus spoke … and he stirred up the might and heart of each man'.

4) *Il.* 1.141: νῦν δ' ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν,

'but now, come, let us drag a dark ship into the divine sea'.

Nothing else about these formulae appears decidedly 'late' or otherwise exceptional. Indeed, formulae like numbers 2 and 3 in particular might be expected to be ancient, because their content seems like a typical epic motif. These lines and others like them confirm that observing the digamma had not been a mandatory feature of epic composition for a long time, which makes it more significant that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* seem to favour observing the digamma so heavily.

3.7. The Distribution of Observed and Neglected Digamma in Non-Formulaic Contexts

If the analysis is restricted to cases of digamma in non-formulaic (or simply repeated) contexts, how does this affect the results? The findings are summarised in Table 3.4 below:

[201] Perhaps the most famous case of this is ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην, for which see van Beek (2013), 320-323, but see also the alternative explanation put forward by Bozzone (2014), 94-113.

	(Ambiguous)	Observed	Neglected	%Neglect[202]
Iliad 1-8	(248)	97	55	36.2%
Odyssey 1-8	(249)	86	53	38.1%
Theogony	(45)	6	15	71.4%
Works	(62)	33	30	47.5%
Shield	(17)	5	3	37.5%
H. Dem	(23)	1	13	92.0%
H. Aphr	(19)	9	3	25.0%
H. Herm	(44)	3	21	87.5%
H. Apollo	(42)	5	13	72.2%

Table 3.4: The number of observed and neglected digamma in my corpus.

These results look quite different from those of Janko, reproduced here in Table 3.5:[203]

	Observed	Neglected	%Neglect
Iliad[204]	1498	312	17.2%
Odyssey	1391	303	17.9%
Theogony	59	30	33.7%
Works	90	55	37.9%
Shield	47	18	27.7%
H. Dem	33	28	45.9%
H. Aphr	37	7	15.9%
H. Herm	26	30	53.6%
H. Apollo[205]	55	20	36.4%

Table 3.5: The number of observed and neglected digamma in Janko's corpus.

One may well wonder what has caused such different results. Primarily, the fact that Janko's data include formulaic instances goes some way to explaining why, overall, my count finds that neglect is much more common. An extended comparison is impossible since Janko has not published his data. The one result that seems similar is that for the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, although I cannot account for the 7 neglected digammas which Janko reports. As for the other hymns, my

[202] The percentage of neglect compared to only the observed cases, not the sum of the observed and ambiguous cases.

[203] Janko (1982), 47.

[204] The sample size for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is the first 8 books of each, since this was the maximum possible within the timeframe of the research. Counting digamma is a more time consuming process than genitives or tmesis.

[205] Janko separated the two supposed halves of the *Hymn to Apollo*: since I was dealing with smaller numbers, such a division became meaningless, but in reproducing Janko's results I have merged the two. Individually, he found that the Delian half had 17 observances compared to 9 neglects (34.6% neglect), whereas the Pythian half had 38 observances compared to 11 neglects (22.4% neglect).

results indicate a much higher preference for neglecting digamma. Moreover, whereas Janko's results for the two Hesiodic poems were quite close, I found that the difference was quite large – approximately 24%. This is because digammated words occur relatively more frequently in formulaic environments in the *Theogony*, as demonstrated in Table 36:

	Observed	Neglected	%Neglect
Theogony			
Formula	19	2	9.5%
Non-Formula	6	15	71.4%
Both	25	17	40.5%
Works and Days			
Formula	14	1	6.7%
Non-Formula	33	30	47.6%
Both	47	31	39.7%

Table 3.6: The statistics for the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* including the total of Formulaic and Non-Formulaic results.

The statistics which combine formulaic and non-formulaic cases (the "Both" rows in Table 3.6) are very similar, with a difference of approximately 0.8%, and resemble Janko's results reasonably closely. But when formulae are removed the resulting difference can be explained by the fact that, of the total occurrences of digamma, the *Theogony* has more formulaic digamma (21 out of an overall 42), whereas the *Works and Days* has proportionally fewer (15 out of an overall 78). In this context, Edwards has observed that 'where Hesiod 'observes' an initial F, the phrase often appears, from comparison with the Homeric evidence, to be traditional'.[206] Although it is important not to conflate 'Homeric' with 'traditional', and to refer as much as possible to elsewhere in Hesiod or the Hymns, Edwards' comment to a degree anticipates the analysis performed here.

Therefore, removing the formulaic instances (which as described above are much more likely to observe digamma) has a much greater effect on the statistics for the *Theogony*.

[206] Edwards (1971), 133-4.

Nevertheless, it is the non-formulaic instances in which we are interested, given the assumption that they most accurately reflect the freest possible compositional habits of the poets.

What, then, are the most important results? Many, but not all, of the differences between the texts are significant on a statistical basis. For example, the difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as well as the difference between the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, are both insignificant. Both Hesiodic texts, however, are significantly different from the *Iliad*, although not the *Odyssey*. Moreover, all the Hymns are significantly different from the Homeric poems – except for the *Hymn to Aphrodite* (due to its small sample size). However, this hymn *does* differ significantly from the other hymns (as well as the *Theogony*). The different relationships may be represented between the texts in the following diagram, where poems are grouped together if the differences in their proportions of neglect of digamma are *not* statistically significant, as in Figure 3.1:

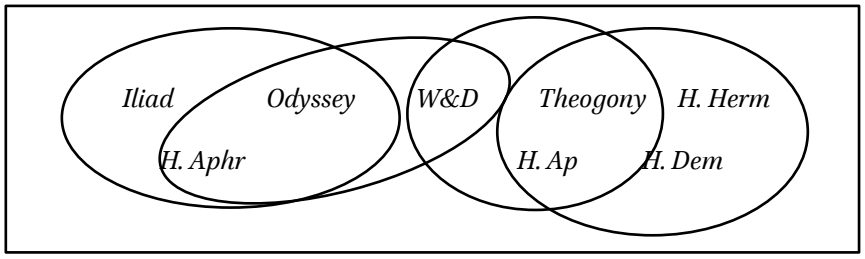


Figure 3.1: The significant relationships between the texts, based on neglect of digamma.

In this representation, texts in the same oval do not differ significantly, whereas texts in different ovals do differ significantly. Representing the data in this format is useful because it focuses only on the relationships that matter: for example, based on the numbers alone someone seeking a chronological explanation may be inclined to see the *Hymn to Aphrodite* as the oldest text, given that it has the lowest proportion of neglected digamma. However, if one wanted to make such an argument, it could only be argued with any real confidence that the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is older than the other hymns and the *Theogony*. Instead, it could be argued that the hymn was approximately the same age as the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, or *Works and Days*. Moreover, the results broadly cluster into two groups – firstly: the *Hymn to Apollo, Hymn to Hermes, Hymn to Demeter*, and *Theogony* – and secondly: the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and the *Hymn to*

Aphrodite. The *Works and Days* seems to bridge the gap.[207] The data do not enable any more precise conclusions, given the relationships which Figure 3.1 highlights.

The data may seem surprising given that the *Theogony* is more or less universally accepted as the older Hesiodic composition. It should be remembered, however, that the data do not allow for precise chronological relationships to be drawn between all the texts. The difference between the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* is not statistically significant and so is easily explicable due to chance. Although it may be dissatisfying, applying this sort of rigour is important when basing a chronological argument purely on statistics.

3.8. Explaining the Distribution of the Results

How, then, are the differences that the different poems exhibit to be explained? For Janko, chronology is the primary factor. As discussed in relation to thematic genitives, Janko must here be positing that the phonological realities of Ionic, as time passed, gradually came to influence poets' compositional choices and decisions (that is, whether to treat certain words as beginning with a vowel or consonant for the sake of the metre). Accordingly, such a model would allow chronological relationships to be traced between the different texts, although – importantly – these relationships would be imprecise.

3.8.1. Additional Factors?

Before turning to this discussion, however, it is necessary to consider other factors which might have influenced the poets' choice to observe or neglect digamma. In this section, I will briefly discuss a stylistic element which underlies the result and also the possible influence of dialect.

3.8.2. A Stylistic Element - The Distribution of Individual Words

One assumption that underlies Janko's study is that each word has the same probability of having an observed or neglected digamma (apart from the enclitics ἑ, ἕθεν and οἱ which almost always observe the digamma, which were excluded from his count). Only if this is true can overall judgements about the texts' rate of observed to neglected digamma be valid. An

[207] Not included in Figure 3.1 is the *Shield*, which differs significantly only from the *Hymn to Hermes* and the *Hymn to Demeter*, since its numbers are quite balanced and the sample size is small.

interesting result of this analysis, however, is that I found that in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* different words have, to a statistically significant degree, different ratios of observed to neglected digamma.

In order to establish if different words have different rates of observed to neglected, the sample sizes needed to be relatively large. Therefore, once the formulaic and ambiguous cases had been filtered out, I selected the most common remaining words across both poems and performed an overall count across the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The chosen words were the following: εἶπον, οἶδα, οἶκος (and derived terms), ἔργον, ἕκαστος, ἄναξ, ἔοικα, οἶνος, εἶδον. Eventually I found, however, that οἶκος (and derived terms) and οἶνος were sufficiently infrequent in the *Iliad* that statistics could not be used, and so the list of words was restricted for that poem. It is worth noting that the numbers encountered are still quite small, as many of the instances of such words are ambiguous or formulaic, and these cases had to be excluded. Once the count had been completed, I employed Chi Squared significance testing to see whether the variation in the results was statistically significant. The results are as follows in Tables 3.7 and 3.8:

Iliad	Observed	Neglected	% Neglect
εἶδον	14	8	36%
εἶπον	5	10	67%
οἶδα	20	4	17%
ἔργον	12	6	33%
ἕκαστος	20	9	31%
ἄναξ	22	3	12%
ἔοικα	6	6	50%

Table 3.7: The statistics for the most common once-digammated words in the *Iliad*.

Odyssey	Observed	Neglected	% Neglect
εἶπον	15	6	29%
οἶδα	17	7	29%
οἶκος etc.	17	18	51%
ἔργον	13	4	24%
ἕκαστος	10	18	64%
ἄναξ	14	3	18%
ἔοικα	10	3	23%
οἶνος	10	4	29%
εἶδον	14	17	55%

Table 3.8: The statistics for the most common once-digammated words in the *Odyssey*.

In general, as is to be expected, in most cases the digamma is observed. However, in the *Iliad* εἶπον is neglected more than observed, whereas ἄναξ has a significant preference for being observed. Similarly, in the *Odyssey* ἕκαστος has a very unusually strong preference to be neglected, and οἶκος and its derived words are approximately just as likely to be observed than neglected. When significance testing is applied to each dataset, it can very reliably inferred that the variation is not down to chance.[208]

What is the significance of these findings? Firstly, this variation shows that it should not be assumed that the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* or any hexameter poem has a singular rate of observed vs. neglects – rather, it appears that, for some reason, the poets felt that certain words were more or less appropriate to have observed or neglected digamma. Accordingly, this means that, once again though in a different way, the 'vagaries of content' affect the statistics when presented as Janko does. For example, ἄναξ occurs more frequently in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey* (*Iliad* x154, *Odyssey* x83), and is more likely to be observed than neglected, as demonstrated above. For the sake of this point alone, when one takes an overall statistic (one which includes formulaic cases) over the whole *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, exactly as Janko did, one finds (from my data) that the *Iliad* observes the digamma 76.2% of the time, whereas the *Odyssey* observes the digamma 74.4% of the time – a small difference of approximately 2%. When ἄναξ is excluded arbitrarily, however, the *Iliad* statistic drops to 73.5%, and that of the *Odyssey* to 73.9%, and thus the *Odyssey* observes digamma 0.4% more than the *Iliad*, undermining the significance that Janko describes from the *Iliad*'s preference for observing the digamma. It therefore seems clear that a singular statistic for each poem is inappropriate: the variance between different words must be taken into account.

Moreover, in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the digamma of ἄναξ is observed most frequently out of all the most common words, suggesting that, for some reason, this particular word was one for which observing digamma seemed to be especially appropriate. One possible explanation is that the word was stylistically marked as a higher register, poetic word – such a possibility would seem to match with the special semantics of this word.[209] Another possibility, however, is that the poets operated by analogy to the formulaic instances of the word, which

[208] For the *Iliad* dataset, when using the Chi Squared Test, the p-value is 0.0074, and for the *Odyssey* dataset, it is 0.0059.
[209] See Schmidt (2006).

always observe the digamma. These two possibilities are not mutually exclusive, however, and indeed if the poets did observe the digamma of ἄναξ more because it was observed more in formulae, then they must have considered it as a stylistically marked word. This indicates that stylistic considerations may have influenced the poets' choices whether to observe or neglect digamma.

What of the other words, and the varying degrees to which they neglect digamma? It seems that this distribution is random – it would be arbitrary to regard the verb 'to know' as any more marked than the verb 'to speak'. The statistics nevertheless underline the fact the distribution is influenced to a high degree by non-random variation – even when the most marked word, ἄναξ, is left out, the variation between the rest of the words is statistically significant.[210] This non-random variation is most easily explained as a consequence of each poet's unique idiolect.

What is the relationship between this analysis and that performed by Jones, described above, about the metrical position of the words? Firstly, the arguments may be two sides of the same coin, given the tendency for particular words to be localised in Homeric verse, although to a lesser extent in non-formulaic verse. Secondly, the argument about different words is not liable to the same criticisms that were levelled against the importance of the metre, because the observance or neglect of digamma varies significantly across different words in different texts, *as well as* internally within each text (only the latter was true for the argument from metre). For example, in the *Odyssey* the word ἔοικα is neglected 23% of the time, whereas in the *Iliad* it is neglected 50% of the time; in the *Odyssey* the word εἶπον is neglected 29% of the time, whereas in the *Iliad* it is neglected 67% of the time; lastly, and in contrast to these two examples, in the *Odyssey* ἕκαστος is neglected 64% of the time, whereas in the *Iliad* it is neglected 31% of the time. Thus, it seems that there is variation here which varies 'randomly' for each text, whereas for the metre each text seems to behave relatively similarly.

3.8.3. The Influence of Dialect?

It stands to reason that a poet whose native dialect still had the digamma might have been more likely to utilise the metrical license of observing digamma when composing

[210] For the *Iliad* dataset, the p-value is 0.044, and for the *Odyssey* dataset, it is 0.013.

hexameter verse. Various archaic hexameter inscriptions featuring the digamma from areas of Greece where the regional dialect still had digamma support this hypothesis:

A) *CEG* 326 (Boeotian – Aeolic)

Μάντικλός μ' ἀνέθεκε ϝεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόχσοι
'Mantiklos set me up for the far-shooting silver-bow lord'.

B) *CEG* 338 (Boeotian – Aeolic)

[μ'] ἀνέθεκε ϝεκαβόλ[οι Ἀπόλλονι]
'... set me up for the far-shooting silver-bow lord'.

C) *CEG* 334 (Boeotian – Aeolic)

καλϝὸν ἄγαλμα ϝάνακτι ϝ[εκαβόλοι Ἀπόλλονι]
'A beautiful statue for the far-shooting lord Apollo'.

D) *CEG* 370 (Phocis – Doric)

Αἰγαιεύς Θαῦμις μ' ἀνέθεκε ϝεκαβόλοι Ἀπέλονι.
'Aigaian Thaumis set me up for far-shooting Apollo'.

E) *CEG* 139 (Troezen – Doric)

Πραξιτέλει τόδε μνᾶμα ϝίσον ποίϝεσε θανό[ντι],
[τ]οῦτο δ' ἑταῖροι σᾶμα χέαν, βαρέα στενάχοντες,
ϝέργον ἀντ' ἀγ[α]θ□ν, κἐπάμερον ἐξετέλεσα[ν].
'He made this fair memorial for dead Praxiteles,
and his companions constructed this mount, groaning heavily,
a deed in return for his good qualities, and they completed it in one day'.

In contrast, those written in Ionic neglect the digamma or employ a device to avoid using it:

F) *CEG* 425 (Delos – Ionic)

Μικκι[άδηι τόδ' ἄγαλ]μα καλ[ὸν ἐργασμένον hυι□?]
Ἀρχέρμο σο[φ]ίεισιν, hκηβό[λε δέξαι ἄνασσα]
...
'Receive this beautiful statue made ...
by the skills of Archermos, far-shooting lord.
...'.

G) *CEG* 403 (Delos – Ionic) – The 'Dedication of Nikandre'

Νικάνδρη μ' <u>ἀνέθεκεν hκηβόλοι</u> ἰοχεαίρηι,
ϙόρη Δεινοδίκηο τ□ Ναhσίο, ἔhσοχος ἀλλήον,
Δεινομένεος δὲ κασιγνέτη, Φhράhσο δ' ἄλοχος νῦν.
Nikandre set me up for the far-shooting archer goddess,

the daughter of Deinodikos the Naxian, eminent among others,
the sister of Deinomenes and the wife of Phraxos.

The sample size is very small, and so the conclusions to be drawn from the language of these inscriptions must be limited, but they do suggest that, in a general sense, poets would be more inclined to observe digamma if their dialect still had it, and to neglect digamma if their dialect had lost it, unless their compositional preferences are being affected by some other factor (as will be suggested below with Hesiod). This situation continued throughout the archaic period, and the use of digamma in inscriptions generally matches that in prose: 'omission [of digamma] for stylistic purposes does not seem to appear until absence of digamma (in whatever particular environment) ceases to be characterizable as (Attic-)Ionic'; that is, in verse inscriptions, neglect of digamma occurs in dialects at the time when [w] had less consonantal force in those dialects, during the period of loss, and that the inscriptions are not stylistically neglecting digamma to appear Ionic.[211]

This hypothesis is also supported by the language of Sappho and Alcaeus. Digamma was no longer a feature of Lesbian by their time, and their texts reflect this; although <ϝ> is actually sometimes written in the literary source or papyrus, it is restricted to the third person pronoun and possessive adjective:[212]

Alc. fr. 349b.2 (Voigt): ἄτερ ϝέθεν
Alc. fr. 358.4-5 (Voigt): κάτω γὰρ κεφάλαν κατίσχε[ι] τὸν ϝὸν θάμα θῦμον αἰτιάμενος
Sappho fr. 5.6 (Voigt): καὶ φίλοισ]ι ϝοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι
Sappho fr. 164.1 (Voigt): τὸν ϝὸν παῖδα κάλει
Sappho fr. 165.1 (Voigt): φαίνεταί ϝοι κῆνος

This is most likely due to the enclitic nature of these words, and as such, these words are best left as exceptions.[213] In all other cases, the digamma is not written and (in cases where the metre is known or likely) neglected, except for the following:

[211] Mickey (1981), 48.
[212] Bowie (1981), 74-7.
[213] Although it is tempting to link the almost total observance of digamma in Homer to the preserved digamma of these enclitic words in Lesbian within the context of an Aeolic phase argument, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that both set of texts reflect the same phenomenon – the general treatment of enclitics.

Alc. fr. 347a.1 (Voigt): πλεύμονας οἴνωι (see below)
Alc. fr. 140.15 (Voigt): πρώτιστ' ὑπα τῶργον (see below)
Sappho fr. 31.9 (Voigt): ἀλλὰ †καμ† μὲν γλῶσσα †ἔαγε†

These two examples from Alcaeus require some unpacking. Although Voigt prints πλεύμονας, there is a very strong case for reading πλεύμονα, which would create a hiatus explicable only though an observed digamma.[214] Similarly, for the second instance, Athenaeus (14.23) reports ὑπὸ ἔργον, the difficult hiatus of which has caused Voigt to print ὑπα τῶργον. Although the readings are not secure, it seems likely that observed digamma has caused the hiatuses in these instances.[215] Thus we are left with a situation similar to the Homeric one – beside these three apparently observed digammas, we have 31 examples of neglect (excluding of course ἑ/ἕθεν/οἱ/ἑός).[216] This suggests that for the Lesbian lyric poets, who had no digamma in their dialect, digamma was neglected most of the time, but nonetheless remained as a rare metrical device.[217]

In later literature the observance of digamma seems to have been associated primarily with dialects rather than literary registers. Apollonius employs the observance of digamma only very rarely; of 68 non-ambiguous and non-enclitic instances, the digamma is observed 10 times, and only two of these cases are not in a formulaic phrase or preceded by a genitive in -οιο, which Apollonius favours.[218] Yet, in Aristophanes, the digamma is one of the distinguishing factors of the Spartans' Laconian dialect.[219] It therefore seems a reasonable inference that to Greeks in Classical and Hellenistic times, the digamma was a marker primarily of dialects other than Attic and Ionic rather than anything particularly epic (although the poets knew that hiatus with some words was permissible by analogy with Homer). A similar situation may have existed for the archaic poets, who would easily have been able to observe the variation between different dialects in their use of the digamma.

[214] Parry (1971c), 400-3; Bowie (1981), 86.
[215] See the discussion and further references in Bowie (1981), 85-6.
[216] Parry (1971c), 403.
[217] This argument assumes that the observance of digamma in Sappho and Alcaeus is not due to epic influence, and in this regard follows Bowie (1981).
[218] These two instances are 1.884 and 1.1153.
[219] See Colvin (1999), 177.

While of course nothing is known for certain about the poets of any of the early Greek hexameter texts, it is possible to extrapolate origins based on the most likely performance contexts, or in the case of Hesiod, the scraps of biographical information that have been passed down.

The Homeric hymns have long been understood by scholars as poems which, unlike the truly panhellenic *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, are characterised to a greater degree by local detail, and are more closely linked to particular locations. For example, the *Hymn to Demeter* is likely to have been composed in or around Eleusis, possibly by a poet who knew the details of the Eleusinian Mysteries. It contains only one (non-formulaic) observed digamma:[220]

H.Dem. 121: ὑμῖν εἰρομένῃσιν ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι[221]

By contrast, the *Hymn to Aphrodite* likely has links to the Lesbian regions of North-Western Asian Minor, and only neglects digamma twice:[222]

H.Aphr. 136: οὔ σφιν ἀεικελίη νυὸς ἔσσομαι, ἀλλ' εἰκυῖα.

H.Aphr. 169: βοῦς τε καὶ ἴφια μῆλα νομῶν ἐξ ἀνθεμοέντων

Although we do not know when the digamma was lost in Lesbian, it is possible that the hymn reflects a period earlier than Sappho and Alcaeus when digamma still had consonantal force. Moreover, the *Hymn to Apollo* likely has links to the Ionic speaking islands of Asia Minor, in particular Delos.[223] This hymn is less one-sided than the others in its treatment of digamma, but it is interesting to look in more detail at the five observances:

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[220] There has been significant scholarly contention on whether the *Hymn to Demeter* faithfully refers to aspects of the Eleusinian Mysteries; see Richardson (1974), 211-17; (2011), 50-1; Parker (1991), 8; Foley (1994), 45-8. An alternative view, proposed by Clinton (1986); (1992), 13-4, 28-35; (1993), is that the poem refers to the Thesmophoria. For the sake of the present discussion, the precise local reference is not necessary, but the relevant fact remains that local rituals are being referred to. Moreover, the hymn also betrays topographical details specific to Eleusis (98-100; cf. 272).

[221] Since the quantity of the ending of ὑμῖν is short, the verse only scans with digamma and moveable nu making position.

[222] See the discussion in Faulkner (2008), 48-9.

[223] This supposition stems from the fact that a scholion to Pindar *Nemean* 2 tells us that a Chian poet called Cynaethus composed the poem at the festival of Apollo on Delos – it is also often held that this Cynaethus might have combined the 'Delian' and 'Pythian' halves (if an original division between the two is accepted), or that he himself composed the 'Delian' half. An original division between the two supposed halves of the poem, however, is not accepted by all, including Janko himself, for example – see Janko (1991), where he reverses his earlier opinion which informed his stylometric arguments. See further discussion in Faulkner (2011), 11-12.

H.Ap. 257: Φοῖβε ἄναξ ἑκάεργε ἔπος τί τοι ἐν φρεσὶ θήσω,

H.Ap. 285: τρηχεῖ'· ἔνθα ἄναξ τεκμήρατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων

H.Ap. 413: Ἠελίοιο ἄνακτος, ἔχει δ' ἐπιτερπέα χῶρον.

H.Ap. 477: ἔς τε πόλιν ἐρατὴν καὶ δώματα καλὰ ἕκαστος

H.Ap. 534: ῥηΐδιον ἔπος ὔμμ' ἐρέω καὶ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήσω.

Three are with ἄναξ, which has already been noted as a word particularly prone to having observed digamma.[224] The *Hymn to Apollo* provides additional evidence in support of the hypothesis advanced above that this word was marked as having a particular 'archaic' feeling. But with regard to the current argument, it will be seen that the poet only observes digamma twice in non-ἄναξ, words, further suggesting that the poet was particularly inclined to neglect digamma.

It is therefore possible that the distribution of observed and neglected digamma in the hymns is due to the influence of the poets' dialect, in so far as this may be inferred from local references.[225] While it is far from proven that the poets were from the same locale as the likely performance context of the hymns – and indeed, we know that poets travelled – it nevertheless remains a reasonably likely source of influence on their compositional preferences.

What of Hesiod? It is a long-standing problem that a poet who lived in Boeotia, with parents from Cyme (an Aeolic speaking region), neglects digamma more than Homer – if my hypothesis is correct and applied consistently, Hesiod would surely be observing digamma more than Homer. I have already addressed the dialect mixture in Hesiod in my discussion of the thematic genitives, however, and concluded that Hesiod is noticeably Ionicising his poetry, possibly in response to the emerging status of Ionic as the prominent dialect of literary (as opposed to epigraphic) hexameter. This view of Hesiod, specifically with relation to the

[224] The same phenomenon is also noted in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield*, which has five non-formulaic, non-enclitic observances of digamma, four of which are with ἄναξ: 179 Καινέα τ' ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα Δρύαντά τε Πειρίθοόν τε; 226 χρύσειοι· δεινὴ δὲ περὶ κροτάφοισι ἄνακτος; 354 ἐς Κήυκα ἄνακτα· ὃ γὰρ δυνάμει τε καὶ αἰδοῖ; 371 παῖς τε Διὸς μεγάλου καὶ Ἐνυαλίοιο ἄνακτος·; 116 θυμῷ γηθήσας· μάλα γάρ νύ οἱ ἅρμενα εἶπεν·.

[225] It must be admitted that this argument cannot be made for the *Hymn to Hermes*, which betrays no particular local references. The only real local reference is to the temple of Apollo at Delphi (177–81), which would have been sufficiently panhellenic to exclude any specific local knowledge, even at an early date.

digamma, has had some support in scholarship: West suggested that Hesiod 'neglected the digamma […] in conscious imitation of the traditional poetic language'.[226]

Lastly, what of the Homeric poems themselves? The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are predominantly Ionic – why is it that they should still observe digamma to such a high degree? In order to answer this question, I have examined a comparandum – that of 'resonant lengthening'. This thesis will term 'resonant lengthening' the lengthening that sometimes occurs before μ-, ν-, ρ- or λ- in the hexameter texts. I will argue that this parallel argues against a chronological answer to the question.

3.9. Resonant Lengthening

3.9.1. Introduction

In order to assess the relevance of resonant lengthening to the digamma, and issues of chronology, it is first necessary to describe the phenomenon in some detail. Occasionally there exists a metrical lengthening before words starting with μ-, ν-, ρ- or λ-. In many cases, this lengthening is the consequence of old clusters of **sm-*, **sn-*, **sr-* or **sl-*. This would seem to account for cases of the following kind:[227]

Il. 16.367: οὐδὲ κατὰ μοῖραν πέραον πάλιν. Ἕκτορα δ' ἵπποι

*οὐδὲ κατὰ σμοῖραν πέραον πάλιν. Ἕκτορα δ' ἵπποι

vs. *Il.* 1.286 (etc.): ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα γέρον κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες·

Od. 5.327: τὴν δ' ἐφόρει μέγα κῦμα κατὰ ῥόον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα

*τὴν δ' ἐφόρει μέγα κῦμα κατὰ σρόον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα

vs. *Il.* 21.16: πλῆτο ῥόος κελάδων ἐπιμὶξ ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

After the loss of the initial **s-* in these environments, however, the poets must have learned a rule that when they composed hexameters they could treat certain words beginning with μ-, ν-, ρ- or λ- as lengthening the preceding syllable. Moreover, there were also verses where

[226] West (1966), 91. Cf. Jones (2008), 148-9, who suggests that to Hesiod the neglect of digamma would have been 'marked as foreign, or even [+epic], as specific to the Ionian singing tradition in which he was participating', although it seems unlikely that neglect of digamma would sound particularly 'epic' to Hesiod.

[227] Examples from West (1997), 228. I leave out from this discussion **wr-*, since it contains digamma, which should not figure on both sides of the equation.

other words beginning with these consonants, which did not have the pre-forms with **s-*, lengthen the preceding syllable. This appears to be the result of an over-generalisation of the rule:

Il. 1.233: ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμοῦμαι.

This phenomenon provides a salient point of comparison with the digamma – in both cases, a phonological change has occurred, and the poets have learned that certain words could be treated in a certain way for the sake of the metre (that is, in the case of digamma, that certain words could justifiably have a hiatus, block correption, or together with a final consonant of the preceding word lengthen the preceding syllable). What the texts show is the degree to which such rules are followed (or not). It is therefore interesting to examine whether the distribution of cases where resonant lengthening occurs, compared to cases where it does not occur, corresponds with the pattern found for the digamma.

Resonant lengthening has not been subject to much study, and this is especially true of the rates at which different texts exhibit this lengthening.[228] Before considering how this phenomenon can be quantified, however, it is necessary to address the case, made by Eric Eben, that it is in a sense illusory, at least as it has been traditionally understood.[229]

3.9.2. Does Resonant Lengthening Actually Exist?

Eben has argued at length that lengthening was never generalised to non-etymologically justified cases (that is, cases where there was no original **s-*), except for μεγ- or νεφ- words. The following is an example of his argument:

Il. 17.17: μή σε βάλω, ἀπὸ δὲ μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἕλωμαι.

Od. 19.551: ὣς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ μελιηδὴς ὕπνος ἀνῆκε·

These two lines do not show resonant lengthening, he argues, but rather have been influenced by cases such as the following:

[228] See Chantraine (2013), 171, and Magnien (1922), 76ff. but the most detailed treatment is Hartel (1873). See also Eben (2004).
[229] Eben (2004).

Il. 10.495: τὸν τρισκαιδέκατον μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα

Od. 11.203: σή τ᾽ ἀγανοφροσύνη μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα.

etc.

Thus, such lines are best understood as examples of juxtaposition of formula, in accordance with the widely documented practise of using formulaic units at the expense of the metre, as Parry first set out at length.[230] In what follows, I will argue that Eben's arguments are insufficient to support his conclusion, and I will demonstrate that the phenomenon has in fact been extended to more words than just μεγ- or νεφ- words.

Before addressing the more obviously formulaic instances, such as the one described immediately above, I will look at another word investigated by Eben, μέλος, which is a representative example of his argument. The lengthened cases are as follows:

Il. 7.131: θυμὸν ἀπὸ μελέων δῦναι δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω.

Od. 15.354: θυμὸν ἀπὸ μελέων φθίσθαι οἷσ᾽ ἐν μεγάροισιν

Il. 13.672: ᾤχετ᾽ ἀπὸ μελέων, στυγερὸς δ᾽ ἄρα μιν σκότος εἶλεν.

Il. 16.607: ᾤχετ᾽ ἀπὸ μελέων, στυγερὸς δ᾽ ἄρα μιν σκότος εἶλεν.

Eben, finding no comparative data here, concludes that 'we can merely note […] that a word beginning in two short syllables must be preceded by a long'.[231] This is a true statement, but it is insufficient to prove Eben's case. It seems that the poets could have used ἐκ in place of ἀπο in cases like these, given the existence of lines such as the following:

Il. 23.880: ὠκὺς δ᾽ ἐκ μελέων θυμὸς πτάτο, τῆλε δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ

This becomes apparent when compared with the very similar case of *Il.* 16.606-7 (τὸν βάλ᾽ ὑπὸ γναθμοῖο καὶ οὔατος· ὦκα δὲ θυμὸς / ᾤχετ᾽ ἀπὸ μελέων, στυγερὸς δ᾽ ἄρα μιν σκότος εἶλεν). If it is accepted, therefore, that the poets had a choice between ἐκ lengthened by position and ἀπο with the final vowel lengthened before the resonant, another such situation is in βέλος. The genitive form βελέων, metrically equivalent to μελέων, occurs in Homer with a preposition eight times, and each of those times the preposition is with ἐκ or ὑπὲκ (*Il.* 4.465, 11.163, 14.130, 16.122,

[230] Parry (1971a), 213-221.
[231] Eben (2004), 76.

16.668, 16.678, 18.152, 18.232) – this seems to be because the poets that knew they could compose ἀπὸ μελέων but not ἀπὸ βελέων, since the licence of lengthening before a resonant was available to them.

Eben's best cases are when there are clear formulaic parallels. See again the above example:

Il. 17.17: μή σε βάλω, ἀπὸ δὲ μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἕλωμαι.

Od. 19.551: ὣς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ μελιηδὴς ὕπνος ἀνῆκε:

To these, Eben compares the multiple instances of μελιηδής in the same position in the line, and in each of these it is preceded by a consonant, long vowel, or diphthong (*Il.* 4.346, 6.258, 10.495, 10.569, 12.320, *Od.* 9.208, 6.90, 11.100, 11.203, 12.48, 21.293; twice with θυμός). These examples would seem to suggest that the two cases of 'lengthening' are in fact cases where the poet, accustomed to using μελιηδής in this position after a long syllable, has composed a line with a *brevis in longo*, since this was easier than sacrificing the formulaic unit. Eben compares these lines to cases of *brevis in longo* of the kind Parry highlighted:[232]

Il. 8.144: οὐδὲ μάλ' ἴφθιμος, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι.

Il. 20.368: ἔγχεϊ δ' ἀργαλέον, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν.

To these may be compared:

Il. 22.40: Πηλεΐωνι δαμείς, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι

Il. 8.211: ἡμέας τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστιν.

etc.

The formulaic verse end has been used in *Il.* 8.144 and *Il.* 20.368 despite the fact that it is metrically aberrant, through the influence from other contexts. This parallel seems to constitute a convincing argument in favour of seeing lengthening before μελιηδής in *Il.* 17.17 and *Od.* 19.551 as the result not (just) of metrical licence but the convenient use of a formulaic unit. However, this does not prove that the phenomenon is illusory – that is, that these verses were only possible because of the licence. Indeed, a more detailed review of the cases that Parry discussed

[232] Parry (1971a), 214-5. Cf. Eben (2004), 8-9.

reveals that all of the 'offending' formulaic units (that is, the formulaic phrases which are preceded by a *brevis in longo*), begin with a vowel.[233] See, for example, the following (where the start of the formulaic unit is marked by a broken bar):

Il. 2.734: οἵ δ' ἔχον Ὀρμένιον, ¦ οἵ τε κρήνην Ὑπέρειαν,

Il. 2.500: οἵ τ' Ἐλεῶν' εἶχον ¦ ἠδ' Ὕλην καὶ Πετεῶνα,

Il. 6.299: Κισσηΐς ἄλοχος ¦ Ἀντήνορος ἱπποδάμοιο:

Il. 11.219: ὅς τις δὴ πρῶτος ¦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀντίον ἦλθεν

Il. 20.368: ἔγχεϊ δ' ἀργαλέον, ¦ ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν.

etc.

It is not clear why the poets seem to have a preference for using *brevis in longo* before a vowel, but it does appear to be the case. Eben is aware of this, and in the quantitative section of his argument, he cites the existence of 291 and 298 instances of *brevis in longo* before vowels in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* respectively, compared to only 66 and 47 before stops.[234] In order to make a valid point, the number of instances of *brevis in longo* before stops should be the primary point of comparison. These numbers, however, need some adjustment. Eben notes that 127 and 120 of the cases before vowels are the consequence of the digamma – eliminating these would reduce the total of meaningful examples to 164 and 178 respectively. Moreover, the total before stops is also in need of modification: Eben's count includes cases of lengthening before δείδω (and derivatives) and δήν, where the lengthening is also the result of the digamma, in the cluster **dw*-. These cases distort the comparison, and once they are removed, the total number of lengthenings before stops drops to 45 and 31 in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

It is crucial to Eben's argument to show that lengthening before resonants (when not etymologically justified) is rare when juxtaposed to other comparable cases of *brevis in longo* (that is, those before stops), and that this lengthening is therefore best taken as an example of these other cases, rather than as a result of the metrical licence in and of itself. However, once the numbers have been properly adjusted, the 34 lengthenings in the *Iliad* and the 25 in the *Odyssey* (by Eben's count), are quite close to the other instances of *brevis in longo* (45 and 31).

[233] Parry (1971a), 213-221.
[234] Eben (2004), 69-70.

Moreover, Eben had excluded μεγ- or νεφ- words, as well as words where the etymology is not entirely clear (that is, words which could conceivably be counted as having an etymologically justified lengthening). If these two categories are included, there is a grand total of (non-etymologically justified) 380 resonant lengthenings across both poems, compared to just 113 other cases of *brevis in longo* before stops.

The conclusion from this seems clear – rather than subsuming these resonant lengthening within other cases of *brevis in longo*, sometimes possibly motivated by formulaic parallels, the existence of the phenomenon of resonant lengthening should not be denied. We can therefore account for individual cases, such as that described above involving μελέων, without having to explain them away, which can only be done with difficulty.

3.9.3. Further Details on the Nature of the Phenomenon

What, then, is the source of the phenomenon? As mentioned above, it is commonly assumed that after the loss of **s-* in these clusters, certain lexical items could be treated as having a geminate initial consonant in verse, and that this metrical licence was extended to other words.[235] However, this is unprovable, and not necessarily the only option – it may be the case that the phenomenon is not a metrical one, but one rooted in the phonology of the poets' spoken language. Moreover, what is the chronological timeframe here, and how does it relate to the epic tradition?

To answer the second question first, it seems that the loss of **s-* in initial position is a feature of proto-Greek – it is absent in Mycenaean. Since the change must have happened so much earlier than the composition of the texts, it is tempting to conclude that there was no phonological reality to the lengthening, since by then the geminated resonants would surely have simplified. However, it may be the case that this alternation between geminating and not geminating the consonant has some basis in Greek of the historical period, which would complicate the issue, if this hypothesis were correct.

It seems likely that the phonological developments happened in the following way:

[235] See, for example, Miller (1977), 35-6.

Stage	1		2		3		4
Original *sR- Words	*sR-	>	*hR-	>	*RR-	>	R-
Original *R- Words	R-	>	R-	>	R-	>	R-

In the period between stages 3 and 4, some confusion may have taken place: speakers knew that certain lexical items (original *sR- words) could be articulated with RR- or R-, and accordingly other words beginning with R- could be treated in the same way. There may be evidence for this in a handful of epigraphic spellings of words which originally began with **m-* as <μh>; it seems that the additional <h> has metathesised with the consonant after a stage of **hm* < **sm*.[236] These spellings are marginal, but they might attest to the alternation of RR- and R- into the alphabetic period, but only weakly, with it eventually being lost. Such a development would suggest that the alternation between lengthened and non-lengthened forms before resonants in the hexameter texts could be given chronological significance within the timeframe of the composition of the hexameter texts.

So there are (at least) two potential hypotheses: the traditional view, that this lengthening before resonants was a purely metrical phenomenon, and a possible alternative, that the lengthening before resonants was an alternation in the spoken language of the poets which continued for a long time, eventually declining with very little trace left in the early period.[237] Neither hypothesis can be proved or disproved, but it will be argued that the traditional view is more likely.

Firstly, the view that lengthening was a feature of the spoken language rests on quite shaky grounds: the evidence is meagre and only reliable for the few inscriptions which feature <μh> (papyri featuring geminated consonants in Homeric lines are probably just indicating that lengthening has taken place). Secondly, from the point of view of phonetics, how likely is it that word initial geminate resonants would have been preserved for a long time? Word initial geminates are, cross linguistically, a very rare feature, but this is not sufficient to say that they could not have existed in the early history of Greek.[238] This rarity is likely due to the fact that, it has been argued, speakers often struggle to perceive the difference in the duration of geminate

[236] Schwyzer (1939), 310-1.

[237] It is also possible that the alternation continued in the spoken language until quite late but was on the way out around the time of the composition of our texts, and remained as a mostly metrical license.

[238] See, for example, Ridouane and Hallé (2017); Pajak (2013); Kawahara (2007); Muller (2001).

resonants as opposed to their single counterparts due to their sonority.[239] This has also been found to be especially true in non-intervocalic environments, a fact which is particularly salient for Greek, which has strongly marked distinctions between geminate and simple consonants intervocalically.[240] Moreover, it may be noted that, of the studied languages which feature word-initial geminate consonants, only one (Micronesian Pohnpeian/Ponapean) features solely word-initial geminate resonants; that is, within the few languages with word-initial geminate resonants, the majority of languages also have, for example, geminate stops or fricatives as well as resonants.[241] The hypothesis that lengthening was a feature of the spoken language, then, would make ancient Greek (at this stage in its development) very unusual in having only word-initial geminate resonants. Lastly, hints of resonant lengthening might be expected in other early poetry, but there is no trace of it in the earliest surviving lyric poetry.[242]

It is for all of these reasons, therefore, that it seems most likely that the development *sR- >*hR- > *RR- > R took place relatively quickly, or was at least complete before the composition of the hexameter poems. The full ramifications of this conclusion will be brought out later when discussing the data. Firstly, however, it is necessary to address the practicalities of how resonant lengthening can be quantified across the different texts.

3.9.4. Measuring the Use of Resonant Lengthening

In order to measure the degree to which resonant lengthening is used in the poems, there are a number of problems that need to be overcome. Firstly, it is clear that sometimes the lengthening was guaranteed to occur, when the metrical shape of the word was u u +E, where E represents the declinable ending. For example:

Il. 22.307: τό οἱ ὑπὸ λαπάρῃν τέτατο μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε.

Il. 1.396: πολλάκι γάρ σεο πατρὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἄκουσα

The metrical shapes of λαπάρην and μεγάροισιν necessitate that the preceding syllable must be long in order to fit the metre. Accordingly, the poet, when placing a word ending in a short vowel

[239] Kawahara (2007).
[240] Pajak (2013).
[241] See the catalogue in Appendix A of Muller (2001), 204-235.
[242] The evidence for this claim lies in the fact that the phenomenon is not mentioned in grammatical discussions of Alcman, Sappho or Alcaeus: Hinge (2006); Hamm (1957).

before the resonant, has no choice but to use the lengthening (or, of course, to use a word ending in a consonant before the resonant). The same metrical constraints also operate the other way, albeit less commonly: alongside forms of μέγας like μεγάλῳ (as in *Il.* 20.459 οὐτάζων ξίφεϊ μεγάλῳ ἐξαίνυτο θυμόν) which must be lengthened in these environments, forms like μέγιστος (as in *Il.* 17.21 οὔτε συὸς κάπρου ὀλοόφρονος, οὗ τε μέγιστος) with a metrical structure of u - +E can never have the lengthening, lest a cretic sequence was created. Accordingly, such instances were tagged as 'guaranteed' and differentiated in the count.

Secondly, it is necessary to distinguish between words which originally began with sR- clusters, and those which did not, since this may have been an influencing factor. Table 3.9 sets out the relevant data in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[243]

	sR- Words		Non sR- Words	
	Iliad		*Iliad*	
Lengthened	13	32.5%	38	30.0%
Not Lengthened	27	67.5%	89	70.0%
	Odyssey		*Odyssey*	
Lengthened	6	28.6%	23	33.8%
Not Lengthened	15	71.4%	45	66.2%

Table 3.9: The statistics for lengthening of resonants in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* according to whether or not the word originally began with sR-.

It is clear from Table 3.9 that there is in fact little difference in the treatments of words that were originally sR- and those that were not: in the *Iliad*, the difference is 3%, whereas in the *Odyssey* it is 6.2%. This difference is far from statistically significant.[244] Moreover, the results are surprising in that for both poems, words originally beginning with R- are slightly more prone to lengthening than those that began with *sR-: this result is the opposite to what might be expected, which suggests random variation. Therefore, the overall analysis treats original sR- words together with the others. This makes sense, given that by the time of the composition of the poems, the only possible sense that the poets would have had about which words originally

[243] The data in this table are excluding 'guaranteed' cases, as well as formula.
[244] Taking the data for the two Homeric poems together, the p-value is 0.98.

began with what clusters would be through an understanding that certain words are lengthened more often in formulae, which is not the case.[245]

Moreover, it is not necessarily clear how best to measure the rate at which different poems employed this kind of lengthening. There are three possible metrics:

> Metric 1. In the correct conditions (that is, when the resonant comes after a short vowel), the percentage of instances of lengthening compared to instances without lengthening. This excludes formulaic/repeated and guaranteed cases, but, as argued above, includes both definite and ambiguous sR- cases.
>
> E.g. V̄ νέφος (x10) vs. V νέφος (x20) [V̄ represents a naturally short vowel lengthened by the resonant, V a naturally short vowel not lengthened by the resonant].
>
> Metric 2. The percentage of the instances of lengthening compared to all other instances of the relevant words, in all conditions. This does not exclude formulaic or guaranteed cases.
>
> E.g. V̄ νέφος (x10) vs. νέφος (x20).
>
> Metric 3. The number of times the lengthening occurs per 1000 lines. This excludes formulae and cases where the lengthening is guaranteed.

Each of these three metrics has their own advantages and shortcomings, and none is perfect. For example, Metric 1 has the advantage that it is the closest comparison to the rates of observed vs. neglected digamma, but it has the drawback that it does not take into account other instances of the relevant words which are *not* in the necessary environment. That is to say, if a poet is disinclined towards the lengthening, he might be less inclined to use the relevant words after short vowels, and accordingly, Metric 1 would not reflect this. Metric 2, on the other hand, does take this possibility into account, but it is also subject to distortion if the relevant words happen to be used particularly frequently without lengthening, in formulae, for example. Ideally, this metric would also exclude formulaic cases, but in order to have a fair comparison,

[245] In the *Iliad*, in formulaic contexts, sR- words exhibit lengthening 46.4% of the time, whereas in non-formulaic contexts, sR- words exhibit lengthening 42.6% of the time, which is an insignificant difference. Therefore, there is no evidence that sR- words are more likely to be lengthened in formulae.

one would also need to account for formularity in all instances of all the relevant words, and such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis. Metric 3 takes a different approach, illustrating the degree to which lengthening is used per 1000 lines of the text. Once formula and guaranteed cases are removed, however, there is not much data left to work with - this drawback also affects Metric 1. Moreover, Metric 3 also ignores the degree to which lengthening is not employed, which is also important. For example, take the case of two hypothetical texts, 1000 lines long, which both have 5 cases of lengthening. By Metric 3, the two texts are identical, but the first text could have an additional 45 instances where lengthening does not occur, whereas the second text could have none – when these facts are taken into account, the first text clearly would be using lengthening before resonants less than the second.

Therefore, the best way to get a general sense of the degree to which the texts differ in their use of lengthening before resonants is to use all three metrics, as set out in Table 3.10.

	Metric 1	**Metric 2**	**Metric 3**
Iliad	31.1%	16.0%	3.50
Odyssey	29.2%	17.6%	2.48
Theogony	11.8%	8.9%	3.91
Works and Days	11.1%	3.4%	1.21
Shield	14.3%	17.0%	2.08
HHerm	11.1%	10.4%	1.72
HApollo	12.5%	11.5%	1.83
HDem	12.5%	8.9%	2.02
HAphr	100% (1 lengthening)	17.9%	3.41

Table 3.10: The corpus measured against the three metrics for resonant lengthening.

The general picture which emerges from the statistics as presented in Table 3.10 is that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* employ this kind of lengthening significantly more often than the other texts.[246] There are some exceptions to this, however: for example, the *Theogony* according to Metric 3 is on the same level as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but not according to the other metrics. The explanation for this likely lies in the nature of Metric 3, in that it does not take into account

[246] The only Metric for which statistical significance testing was possible or appropriate is Metric 2; the p-value using the Chi Squared Test is 0.024.

instances where lengthening does not occur. The *Theogony* does lengthen very frequently for its size, but this is offset by the fact that it also fails to lengthen very frequently – in other words, the words for which this lengthening is possible occur particularly frequently in the text, and this fact distorts Metric 3 (specifically, the *Theogony* has many instances of μέγας, which makes up 58% of the results). Moreover, in all three Metrics, the *Hymn to Aphrodite* has statistics comparable to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Although it is tempting to link this result to the statistics for the digamma, which also showed a similarity between the *Hymn to Aphrodite* and the Homeric poems, the statistics for the hymn are misleading in this case. Firstly, the statistic for Metric 1 is useless, since by the time formulaic/repeated and guaranteed instances have been discounted, only one relevant word remains, and it is not possible to draw meaningful conclusions from such a small sample size. The same caveat also applies to Metrics 2 and 3, especially given that the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is the shortest text, at only 293 lines long (more than 200 lines shorter than all the other hymns), which distorts Metric 3. These same concerns do not apply as much to the hymn's use of digamma, which has a much more useful sample size. Thus, the most meaningful conclusion to draw from the data is that the Homeric poems employ lengthening before resonants more than the other poems, whereas the latter all behave similarly.

3.9.5. Analysis and Preliminary Conclusions

I will now return to the question posed above, regarding the status and chronological timeframe of the development *sR- > *hR- > *RR- > *R-. The two main hypotheses suggested were as follows: firstly, that after the prehistoric loss of **s-* in Greek (a loss attested as early as the Linear B tablets), the geminate resonants simplified relatively quickly, long before the composition of the hexameter texts as we have them, but with the earlier stage reflected in the metrical licence; secondly, that the word-initial geminate resonants remained phonologically distinct from their singleton counterparts for an extended period of time, eventually declining virtually without trace in our earliest texts, except for early hexameter. Within this latter hypothesis, earlier hexameter texts might be expected to use the licence more, and the later texts to use it less. Further, it was argued above that the former hypothesis is more likely. Do the data provide an answer?

The data show that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* employ the lengthening more than both the Hesiodic poems and the hymns. This observation does not cohere totally with the second of the two proposed hypotheses: in a typical Janko-style interpretation, a gradual decline might be expected, from Homer to Hesiod to the hymns. The influence of dialect cannot explain one particular result, given that, as far as we know, there is no dialect of Greek which featured geminate word-initial resonants (in this sense, the comparison with the digamma is not exact). Moreover, the data do not seem to cohere totally with the first hypothesis either, since the texts, very far removed from the influence of geminate resonants in the spoken language, might be expected to employ resonant lengthening at roughly the same rate.

As the data do not lend support to either hypothesis, the first hypothesis is assumed *a priori* to be correct. The data would therefore be telling us something potentially very interesting: despite the fact that the phonological reality underlying the metrical licence was lost long before the composition of the texts, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* exhibit resonant lengthening more than other poems, when there is no chronological reason for them to have done so. If this scenario were accepted, it would constitute an example of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* employing a linguistic archaism when there seem to be no particular factors potentially influencing it. This example might in turn influence how we interpret the results of the digamma – the choice that the poets faced to observe or neglect the digamma is in principle the same sort of choice as to whether they employ resonant lengthening. In both cases, an old sound change provided a useful alternation in whether certain lexical items could be treated as beginning with one or two consonants for the sake of the metre. Thus, in both cases, what could be seen as a phonological issue is actually better characterised as a compositional issue.

That is not to say that there may have been some phonological reality to the observance of digamma or use of resonant lengthening. I argued above that it is unlikely that the poets were pronouncing once-digammated words with [w] when the digamma was observed. It is more possible, however, that the poets were actually geminating the resonants when they employed resonant lengthening – West suggested that this was the case, since the Ptolemaic papyri regularly write the consonants as geminate in these environments.[247] This, however, may just

[247] West (1997), 229.

reflect orthographically that the lengthening was operant here. If it is supposed that the poets never pronounced the digamma, then it does not seem unreasonable to suppose also that they did not pronounce the resonants as geminated either. The question is difficult to answer definitively. It is worth stressing, however: whether the poets were pronouncing [w] and/or geminating resonants in oral delivery or not, both phenomena are better characterised as metrical/compositional, rather than phonological.

Is it necessary to see the distribution of the neglect and observation of digamma in a chronological framework, given that the phenomenon – like that of lengthening before resonants – is better characterised as a compositional rather than phonological feature? The fact that the two distributions roughly match each other undermines a chronological explanation for the digamma. Just as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* utilise the reflex of a prehistoric sound change to a greater degree than the other poems, long after the sound change itself, rather than the effects of the sound change being felt less over time, in the same way, after the loss of digamma (which was, after all, a prehistoric loss for Attic-Ionic) might not the same poets have employed the outcome of the process differently in different performance traditions?

However, the parallel drawn between the digamma and lengthening before resonants is not exact. For example, a poet who spoke a dialect which observed the digamma might well be subconsciously inclined to observe it more frequently, whereas no historical dialect of Greek had geminated resonants in initial position. Therefore, whereas in the case of digamma some poets may have been influenced by their own dialects (where these preserved digamma as a proper phoneme), this does not apply to geminated resonants. Therefore a chronological explanation of the use of digamma cannot be excluded (and it is important not to exclude explanations for the digamma which remain possible), but the fact that the employment of resonant lengthening in the poems appears to be non-chronological speaks against a chronological explanation of the use of digamma too. This then raises the question of why the Homeric poems should be so much more conservative in their diction than contemporary dialects. An answer to this question will be proposed in Chapter 5.

To sum up this discussion: the frequency at which lengthening occurs before resonants is conceptually similar to the frequency at which the digamma is observed, since in both cases

a prehistoric sound change allowed the poets to employ a certain flexibility in their compositional habits (for digammated words, the possibility of elision, blocking of correption, or lengthening a preceding light syllable, whereas for some words beginning with μ-, ν-, ρ- or λ-, the possibility of treating the words as beginning with geminate μμ-, νν-, ρρ- or λλ-, thus lengthening the preceding short vowel). I have found that the rate at which this lengthening before resonants occurred is similar to the rate at which digamma is neglected and observed. Since the rate at which the use of the former licence is used in our texts is unlikely to be chronologically motivated, this calls into question a chronological cause for digamma. The reason why the Homeric texts behave in this way will be suggested in Chapter 5.

3.10. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have set out at length the principles and assumptions for a count of digamma in early Greek hexameter poetry. I suggested that formulaic instances need to be taken into account, in order to isolate the most natural compositional preferences of the poets. I then analysed the resulting distribution in detail. I argue that only very few claims can be made reliably on the basis of the statistics – principally, that the *Iliad and Odyssey* differ from the rest of the texts, except for the *Hymn to Aphrodite*. I stressed that we should view the digamma more as a compositional rather than phonological feature, since the Ionic poets seemed to be faced with a choice of when to employ certain metrical licenses (such as tolerating elision, blocking correption, or lengthening before certain words), and when not to do so.

I have called into question a chronological explanation of the distribution of digamma by considering the parallel of the phenomenon of lengthening before resonants, which I found to match the distribution of observed and neglected digamma quite closely, and which cannot be ascribed easily to chronological change. Furthermore, I investigated additional factors: I found that not all words had the same chance of the digamma being observed or neglected in Homer and that this might be due to the stylistic marking of some words, and also the random compositional preferences of the poets. On top of this, I argued both that the poets' dialect could be an extra factor, such as in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, and also that the poets may have employed certain strategies, for example, Hesiod's Ionicising of his poetry, which complicate the statistics.

Above all, this chapter makes two points of particular importance. Firstly, there are many factors involved in the distribution of digamma which complicate an attempt to draw precise, chronological relationships between the texts. Most importantly, though, the only really significant difference indicated by use of this linguistic feature within the corpus is that between the Homeric poems as a whole and the rest of the texts (which are broadly similar to each other).

4. Tmesis in Early Greek Hexameter Poetry

4.1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter – the phenomenon known as 'tmesis' – stands in contrast to features such as the digamma or the thematic genitives in that it is a syntactic rather than a phonological or morphological phenomenon. But there is no reason why the same questions cannot be asked of tmesis that have not been asked of features like the digamma. Indeed, considering the degree to which the texts feature this syntactic phenomenon provides a particularly interesting contrast to the other commonly studied features, precisely because of its different nature. Do the different texts employ tmesis differently from each other, and does the use of tmesis vary within Homer? This chapter will address these questions, and provide answers which fit into the overall analysis of the thesis.

The word 'tmesis' itself was used by Greek grammarians to describe the phenomenon of 'splitting' or 'cutting' a compound word into smaller parts.[248] The term is used by modern scholarship specifically to describe the splitting of compound verbs into a preposition and simple verb, in Greek poetry in general, but mostly in epic hexameter. The following serves as a typical example:

> *Il.* 5.632: τὸν καὶ Τληπόλεμος πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε
> 'and Tlepolemos first addressed him with a speech'

Tmesis has a marginal status in Classical Greek, by which time the language had completed the trend towards univerbation, with tmesis being used exceptionally as a poetic device or, occasionally and in a specific form, as a colloquialism.[249] The hexameter poets, however, used tmesis with relative freedom. Scholars have long noted the difficulty in identifying tmesis, however, due to the fact that adverbial particles can function as prepositions, postpositions, or simply as adverbs.[250] Moreover, it is not obviously clear what exactly should be counted – the

[248] See, for example, Tryphon, *Περὶ παθῶν* 1.6.
[249] Plato uses tmesis as a poeticism (*Phaedrus* 237a: ξύμ μοι λάβεσθε), and Herodotus and Aristophanes occasionally employ tmesis where a particle has intervened between the verb and preverb; see, for example, *Clouds* 792: ἀπὸ γὰρ ὀλοῦμαι. See Wackernagel (1926-8), 2.173; Willi (2003), 250; Priestley (2009), 165-70 (on Herodotus).
[250] See, for example, Haug (2009).

poets could either observe or neglect the digamma, but what is the equivalent alternation for tmesis? The next section will address these issues, and set out the relevant background of scholarly work on tmesis.

4.2. The History and Status of Tmesis in Greek and the *Kunstsprache*

4.2.1. Tmesis from Indo-European to Greek

Philologists have compared tmesis in Homer to tmesis in early texts in the other Indo-European languages, particularly Latin, Vedic Sanskrit, Hittite and Old Irish, and argued that tmesis provides a trace of the syntactical flexibility which seems to have characterised P-words (that is, the words which in the IE daughter languages can function as prepositions, postpositions or adverbs) in Proto-Indo-European.[251] In particular, it seems likely that PIE had a preference for placing P-words in initial position. For Hittite, for example, see the following (*StBoT* 8 = Luraghi 403 #h):[252]

anda	*=kan*	*halīnas*	*tessummius*	*tarlipit*	*sūwamus*	*Il-ki*	*pētumini*
inside	PTC	clay-GEN.	vessel-ACC.PL.	*t.*-INSTR	full-ACC.PL	twice	we carry

'twice we carry inside the clay vessels full of *t.*'

Horrocks has suggested that the Sanskrit evidence points to a possible pattern in Indo-European with the P-word not in the initial position, but closer to the verb with a single element intervening:[253]

Rig Veda 10.34, 2d:	*ánuvratām*	*ápa*	*jāyắm*	*arodham*
	devoted	away	wife	I have driven

This suggestion is plausible, but it should also be stressed that, when it comes to reconstructing Proto-Indo-European syntax, there exists no properly established methodology, and a singular syntactical similarity in two languages is probably not sufficient to make a convincing case.[254] Due to the frequency of P-words in initial position across several Indo-European languages,

[251] See principally Watkins (1964) and Boley (2004). Cf. Hajnal (2004), 148; Hewson (2009), 85; Haug (2012), 98; Hale (1993); Coleman (1991).
[252] Luraghi (1990).
[253] Horrocks (1980), 2-3.
[254] For an attempt to perform extensive reconstruction of Indo-European syntax, see Hewson and Bubenik (2006).

however, the case for reconstructing a predominant (but not mandatory) pattern of placing P-words in initial position is stronger.

If Proto-Indo-European featured "tmesis", with the P-word at the start of the sentence, and Classical Greek had a fully developed system of compound verbs, it might seem reasonable to conclude that Homer might represent a mid-way point of sorts. Once Linear B was deciphered, however, the picture became more complex, as it was found that Mycenaean Greek seemed to have no tmesis. Horrocks therefore argued that the language of epic hexameter represents a stage of Greek older than Mycenaean.[255] This view has not gone unchallenged: various scholars have argued that the lack of tmesis in the Linear B tablets is explicable in other ways. In particular, Morpurgo Davies suggested that the issue might have something to do with style and register, though this possibility was not investigated at length.[256] Haug took this line of argument further; he argued that the absence of tmesis in the Linear B tablets might be a consequence of the sparsity of the evidence, and that the prose of the Linear B tablets was not in a register or style where tmesis would be suitable.[257]

It is not possible within the scope of this thesis to review the full details of the question of tmesis in Mycenaean. Hajnal, however, in his analysis of the material, concluded that 'Mycenaean shows, regarding the combination of the preverb and verb no further developed state than epic'.[258] More important, however, are Hajnal's arguments concerning the different types of tmesis, because it is these different types which will be quantified and studied in this chapter.

4.2.2. Different Types of Tmesis

Haug, in his entry *sub voce* 'tmesis' in *The Homer Encyclopedia* states that '[the preverb] must occur before the verb (most often sentence-initially or in front of the direct object), or else directly behind it, in which case it is accentuated in our texts'.[259] This is potentially problematic,

[255] Horrocks (1980). This view was suggested beforehand by Ventris and Chadwick (1973), 95, and cited with favour by West (1988), 156.
[256] Morpurgo Davies (1985). Cf. Duhoux (1998), whose suggestion that different Greek dialects may have used tmesis differently is, as the author himself accepted, unverifiable.
[257] Haug (2012).
[258] Hajnal (2004), 173. '[d]as Mykenische zeigt bezüglich der Kombination von Präverb und Verb keinen weiter entwickelten Zustand als das Epos'.
[259] Haug (2012). For similar distinctions see also Horrocks (1980), 2; Hajnal (2004), 152; Bertrand (2014), 11-16.

since some traditional grammarians would describe 'postverbal tmesis' as a type of anastrophe. This will be discussed in more detail below, but I will first explore the other two possible types of tmesis.

As Haug described, tmesis usually occurs with the P-word at the start of the sentence, or before another lexical item (usually the direct object of the verb, but not always), one 'space' away from the verb. In this discussion, tmesis with the P-word at the start of the sentence will be called 'initial' tmesis, whereas the other kind will be called 'non-initial' tmesis.[260] See, for example:

Initial:	*Od.* 11.4: ἐν δὲ τὰ μῆλα λαβόντες ἐβήσαμεν 'we embarked taking the sheep'
Non-initial:	*Od.* 1.51: θεὰ δ' ἐν δώματα ναίει 'and a goddess inhabits a house'

To these cases of tmesis, we may compare the compound verbs ἐμβαίνω ('I embark [a ship]') and ἐνναίω (+ acc 'I inhabit'), which have been 'split'.

Scholars have made further distinctions regarding the lexical item(s) which are 'sandwiched' by the verb and P-word: principally, whether the intervening item is the subject, object, or a particle.[261] In the sample collected by Bertrand, instances of tmesis where the intervening word is a particle (henceforth 'particle tmesis') make up 11.11% of all cases of non-initial tmesis.[262] Examples include:

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[260] Compare the definitions by Bertrand (2014) of 'internal' and 'external' tmesis. These two categories are highly consistent with 'non-initial' and 'initial' respectively, since 'internal' tmesis refers to cases of tmesis where only one word intervenes between the P-word and the verb, whereas 'external' tmesis refers to when more than one word intervenes between the P-word and the verb. Naturally, when only one word intervenes between the P-word and the verb, the P-word is highly likely to be 'non-initial', whereas if several words intervene, the P-word is likely to be 'initial'. This is not always the case, however; see, for example, *Il.* 2.261
(εἰ μὴ ἐγώ σε λαβὼν ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἵματα δύσω), which is in the minority of cases. For this reason, Bertrand's terminology was not adopted here.

[261] See Horrocks (1997), 201. Tmesis with the 'sandwiched' word being the subject of the verb occurs in Aeolic poetry, and this fact might suggest that the hexameter tradition acquired such tmesis during an 'Aeolic phase'. Hewson (2009) is not taken into account since he puts emphasis on the accent of the particle in tmesis, which is potentially misleading, and therefore inconclusive for categorisation.

[262] Bertrand (2014), 21. Bertrand did not count cases of particle tmesis which was also initial tmesis, but he only counted particle tmesis with respect to non-initial tmesis. This was because the fuller count was not in accord with the purpose of his analysis. Across my sample, in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* 1-12, including both initial and non-initial tmesis, there are 154 cases of particle tmesis, and 515 cases of lexical tmesis; accordingly, my sample

Il. 1.101: ἤτοι ὅ γ᾽ ὡς εἰπὼν κατ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἕζετο.
'and having spoken thus, he sat down'

Il. 10.320: νηῶν ὠκυπόρων σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔκ τε πυθέσθαι.
'[my heart tells me] to go close to the swift-prowed ships and enquire'

As far as the present analysis goes, however, this distinction regarding the intervening material seems relatively unimportant: scholars have not identified an intervening particle as having more or less significance than an intervening nominal form, whereas they have found a significant difference between initial and non-initial positions of the P-word (on which see further below). Therefore, the distinction between particle and lexical tmesis is not addressed in this thesis.[263]

What, then, of postverbal tmesis? Does it exist? The following may constitute an example:

Il. 12.195: ὄφρ᾽ οἳ τοὺς ἐνάριζον ἀπ᾽ ἔντεα μαρμαίροντα
'While they were stripping them of their shining armour'

Of the scholars who have discussed the issue, only Haug argues that 'postverbal' is a separate type of tmesis. This particular example given by Haug is problematic: the verb ἐναρίζω does not exist in a form compounded with ἀπό in any Greek text. On the other hand, ἐξεναρίζω is quite common in Homer, and κατεναρίζω is attested in tragedy. It should also be considered, however, that the compound form would not fit in the hexameter; so if the compound were to be used, tmesis of some sort would be necessary. Yet, this fact does not mean that ἐνάριζον ἀπ᾽ must be taken as a form of postverbal tmesis – instead, we could take it as a sort of free-floating adverbial. A possible parallel for such a free-floating adverbial modifier can be found in the following use of περί:

suggests that the more accurate figure is 20.6% particle tmesis and 79.4% lexical tmesis (670 lexical, 174 particle, across both Homeric poems).

[263] This is not to say that there is not more work that could be done here. The principal difference between an initial particle tmesis (such as *Il.* 1.195 πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη) and an initial lexical tmesis (such as *Il.* 1.246 περὶ γάρ ῥά ἑ χαλκὸς ἔλεψεν) seems to be the position of the verb. In the first example, for instance, the fact that the verb is promoted to the start of the sentence seems to be a consequence of the standard line-end position of the noun-epithet formula. Accordingly, the most interesting thing about both of these lines is that tmesis has occurred, with the P-word at the start of the sentence; the position of the verb seems to be affected by further factors.

Il. 19.362: γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθὼν

'and the whole earth laughed round about'

In this instance too one cannot easily propose a case of postverbal tmesis, since the compound verb *περιγελάω does not exist. These problematic examples do not mean, however, that postverbal tmesis does not exist. In our corpus, I have found several possible cases. See, for example, the following:[264]

Il. 5.505: χώρησαν δ' ὑπό τε πρόμαχοι καὶ φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ

'Shining Hektor and the front fighters withdrew'[265]

This is a more promising case of postverbal tmesis: the verb ὑποχωρέω occurs, with the same meaning of 'withdraw', elsewhere in Homer (*Il.* 6.107; *Il.* 22.96). A difficulty lies, however, in the fact that the simple verb χωρέω may also mean 'withdraw', and ὑπό may therefore be functioning as an adverb ('below', 'beneath', as in, 'below the city walls', the implicit destination/location of the movement). It therefore seems to be the case that postverbal tmesis, if it does exist, is at best a minimal category, and I have therefore excluded it from the quantitative count.

What, then, is the main significance in the distinction between initial and non-initial tmesis? Hajnal argued that initial tmesis was the inherited pattern, in agreement with the arguments adduced above concerning the possible reconstructed syntax of Proto-Indo-European. The non-initial pattern, on the other hand, Hajnal argued to be an analogical creation of the *Kunstsprache*. What follows is an argument largely based on that of Hajnal, though differing in detail.[266]

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[264] Further examples are tagged as 'postverbal' in the Database.

[265] Despite first appearances, it is best to take χώρησαν δ' ὑπό as a unit, even though τε is enclitic upon ὑπο; this seems to be an example of the reasonably common δέ τε sequence, with an interrupting, postponed ὑπο. τε and καὶ here seems to admit an interpretation of 'both… and', cf. *Il.* 5.118: δὸς δέ τέ μ' ἄνδρα ἑλεῖν καὶ ἐς ὁρμὴν ἔγχεος ἐλθεῖν, where τε is enclitic upon the word before it (δέ) yet does not encompass that word within the 'both… and' meaning. The meaning is '(and) grant that both I slay the man and that he comes within the reach of my spear'. See Chantraine (2015), 389-94.

[266] Hajnal (2004), 153-160. Note that Hajnal's argument is more complex and set out in different terms. According to him, some compound verbs were generated analogically (his D.1 category), due to the influence of other compound verbs (his A.2 category) which did not have a noun for a preposition to refer to (e.g. *Il.* 3.405). If such a syntagma also had no direct object, the preposition and the verb univerbated (e.g. ἔνθα τότ' ἐκβάντες in *Od.* 10.142). This act of univerbation, Hajnal continues, then influenced instances like [νέα] πρὸς πέτρῃσι βαλὼν ὑμῆς ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης (*Od.* 9.284) so that one could compose ταύτην δ' οὔτ' ἔπειϊ προτιβάλλεαι οὔτέ τι ἔργῳ (*Il.* 5.879). This specific example is not particularly clear, however, since the compound verb προσβάλλω is being used in its

As a starting point, it is accepted that there must have been a period of flexibility and ambiguity in the spoken language, during which the tendency towards univerbation was having an effect. Such a stage must have existed to result in the strong preference for compound verbs in Classical Greek. As a result, the poets would have been in a situation where the following two structures were possible:

Il. 18.338: τόφρα δέ μοι παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσι κείσεαι αὖτως
'and until then you will lie beside the beaked ships as you are'

Od. 21.416:[267] εἵλετο δ' ὠκὺν ὀϊστόν, ὅ οἱ παρέκειτο τραπέζῃ
'he took up a sharp arrow, which lay beside him on a table'

In the first structure, the P-word governs a nominal phrase (dative νηυσὶ κορωνίσι) yet is not joined to the verb, whereas in the second, the P-word also governs a nominal (the dative pronoun οἱ), yet is joined to the verb – in both cases, the meaning is identical ('lie beside').

When the non-univerbated forms were used, a noun phrase governed by the preposition seems to intervene between the preposition and the verb (to use the above example: a poet could have construed νηυσὶ κορωνίσι as interrupting a compound verb, rather than construing παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσι as an 'optional' element of the sentence). Accordingly, due to the apparent flexibility in the position of the preposition, other noun phrases such as a direct object could be inserted between a P-word compounded to a transitive verb. Thus, the poets could then create new positional patterns which still existed alongside the univerbated forms:

Il. 18.387: ἀλλ' ἕπεο προτέρω, ἵνα τοι πὰρ ξείνια θείω.
'but follow onwards, so that I may place beside/provide you entertainment'

Il. 23.810: καί σφιν δαῖτ' ἀγαθὴν παραθήσομεν ἐν κλισίῃσιν
'and we will place beside/provide them a good feast in the camps'

middle sense of 'direct attention towards'. Moreover, the explanation as a whole seems unnecessarily complicated: rather, the natural development in the spoken language towards compound verbs may have influenced the compositional habits of the poets, as described above. The rest of Hajnal's argumentation about the creation of non-initial tmesis, however, has been accepted here.

[267] Hajnal quotes *Od.* 21.416 as an example of his category A.2 (that is, a type which consists of # … [PrepPart] (NP^v) [V]) but it seems rather to admit an analysis of # … [NP^p] (NP^V) [$PrepPart^P$] [V], which is his type D.1.

In both of these examples, παρά governs a pronoun in the dative (τοι and σφιν). Finally, since such a practice of inserting material between P-word and verb might have been becoming a habitual compositional practise with particles acting as prepositions, the same act of splitting could be done when the particle was acting as an adverb:

> *Il.* 8.90: καί νύ κεν ἔνθ᾽ ὁ γέρων <u>ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσεν</u>…
>
> 'and the old man <u>would now have lost his life</u>…'

In contrast to the previous two examples, ἀπὸ is not governing anything, and it is therefore best taken as an adverb. Overall, then, non-initial tmesis should be seen as analogically generated, and as reflecting a more recent development than initial tmesis. Thus there are two different forms, one older, and one newer, and it is primarily these two forms which should be measured to understand how the texts vary in their use of tmesis.

Having said that, however, the question arises whether it is sensible to treat the two types of tmesis like other alternating features in Homer, such as the presence vs. absence of the digamma, or the use of thematic genitives in -οιο vs. -ου. In the case of the thematic genitives, there is an alternation between an older form that is 'fossilised' in Homer and a younger one that must have been current in spoken (Ionic) Greek at the time when the poems were composed. It is true that non-initial tmesis remained in use in later Greek, but only in a limited form with just a particle intervening ('particle tmesis' mentioned above), and only in Herodotus or as a colloquialism in Aristophanes.[268] By contrast, there are no surviving Greek texts other than early hexameter poetry and imitations of it which permit the type of tmesis most commonly seen in Homer: that is, with a proper lexical item intervening between the verb and the preverb. It is not possible therefore to treat the two main types of tmesis identified above in the same way as scholars have treated, say, the observance and neglect of digamma: an analysis could only be conducted on such terms by comparing the frequency of tmesis in general to the frequency of compound verbs in Homer (the latter being the all-pervasive feature of the spoken dialect, unlike either initial or non-initial tmesis).

[268] See Bertrand (2014) and note 262 for the statistics of lexical vs. particle tmesis, which do not show any significant variation.

Instead, the proportion of initial to non-initial tmesis should be discussed in stylistic terms. Before the results of such a statistical analysis are presented, it is therefore necessary to set out some preliminary remarks regarding the status of tmesis in the *Kunstsprache*, and to show how tmesis was actively deployed as an archaism precisely because it did not appear in the spoken vernacular.

4.2.3. Tmesis as a Stylistic Phenomenon

It is commonly said that tmesis is something of a misnomer – it is not so much a 'cutting', since the inherited pattern is to keep the P-word and the verb separate. Within this perspective, it is compound verbs rather than verbs in tmesis which are the special cases. While such a claim may be true from a historical perspective, it is not necessarily true from the perspective of the oral poets. If it can be shown that tmesis was no longer current in the spoken dialect of the oral poets, then it must follow that their use of tmesis is marked since, from their perspective, they really are splitting or cutting something which is naturally unified.

How, then, can it be shown that tmesis was no longer current in the spoken language of the oral poets? Such an idea has been entertained by some scholars, but it has only recently been substantiated by Haug, who counted in Homer 171 cases of tmesis with ἐν, yet only 13 with εἰς.[269] This fact suggests that tmesis was not common – or in other words, that the trend towards univerbation was more or less complete – at the time of the innovation of ἐν → **en-s* > εἰς. Moreover, Chantraine found that Attic compound verbs prefer ἐν over εἰς, which attests to the same thing.[270] Given that it is certain that the language of the oral poets had undergone the development of ἐν → **en-s* > εἰς, it must logically follow that the poets' language had more or less completed its trend towards univerbation, and that tmesis of the sorts typically found in Homer was an archaic and stylistic phenomenon of syntax.[271]

Secondly, Haug noticed that the epic poets must have actively sought out tmesis, prioritising it in what he terms 'preference hierarchies'. A 'preference hierarchy' is a way of indicating how a poet chose between two possible constructions of a verse. The most famous

[269] Hajnal (2004), 151; Haug (2012), 99-101. The opinion of Kühner-Gerth (1890), 1.530, that all tmesis is based on the structure of Homer's contemporary language, should be rejected.
[270] Chantraine (1942).
[271] The exception to this is the colloquial form of tmesis with particles discussed above.

preference in the epic language, for example, is for Ionic over Aeolic forms when both are possible, although it should be remembered that this preference is not absolute. Haug notes that some sentences with tmesis also neglect the digamma, as in the following example:

> *Od.* 6.77-8: ἐν δ᾽ ὄψα τίθει, ἐν δ᾽ οἶνον ἔχευεν | ἀσκῷ ἐν αἰγείῳ
> 'and he placed in it meat, and poured in wine | into a goatskin hide'

In principle, the neglect of the digamma is unnecessary here, as the first line could equally well observe it, at the cost of the tmesis:

> *(- -| -) ἐν δ᾽ ὄψα τίθει, ἐνέχευε δὲ (ϝ)οἶνον

It seems, therefore, that the poet preferred to have the compound verb in tmesis, rather than observing the digamma. Perhaps the aesthetic value of the syntactical phenomenon was prioritised over the observance of digamma, which would be manifested by a hiatus, which is usually avoided. There exists an indirect clue that the syntax of prepositions might have been considered to have a particular aesthetic markedness – Aristotle (*Poetics* 1458b 31-1459a 1) tells us the following:

> ἔτι δὲ Ἀριφράδης τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς ἐκωμῴδει ὅτι ἃ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴπειεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τούτοις χρῶνται, οἷον τὸ δωμάτων ἄπο ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπὸ δωμάτων, καὶ τὸ σέθεν καὶ τὸ ἐγὼ δέ νιν καὶ τὸ Ἀχιλλέως πέρι ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ποιεῖ τὸ μὴ ἰδιωτικὸν ἐν τῇ λέξει ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα: ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦτο ἠγνόει.
>
> 'And what's more, Ariphrades mocked the tragic poets, since they use things which no one would say in regular conversation, such as 'δωμάτων ἄπο' but not 'ἀπὸ δωμάτων', as well as 'σέθεν', 'ἐγὼ δέ νιν' and 'Ἀχιλλέως πέρι' but not 'περὶ Ἀχιλλέως', and so on. For such things, not being in common parlance, make speech rarefied: Ariphrades did not realise this.'

Here Aristotle seems to testify that Ariphrades, likely a comic poet, and possibly the individual who is named and ridiculed occasionally by Aristophanes (*Knights* 1281, *Wasps* 1280–83, and *Peace* 883–85), parodied poetic register, and did so through the use of certain

morphological/lexical features ('σέθεν', 'νιν'), but also anastrophe.[272] Ancient commentators on Homer's language typically comment on his marked lexicon, so this testimonium from Aristotle may suggest that the syntax of prepositions could have been considered in a similar way. Given that tmesis was not a productive feature of Greek around the time of the poems' composition, it seems perfectly possible that unusual syntax of prepositions had a particularly marked status, that this marked effect may have existed before the 5th century, and might have been an active compositional consideration of the epic poets.

Returning to Homer, tmesis might also contribute to another preference hierarchy. In his analysis of speech introductions in Homer, De Decker notes two correlations: firstly, between the use of the common formula πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν in final position and a normal nominative name of the character elsewhere in the line; and secondly, between the compound form προσέειπεν and a traditional noun-epithet formula in final position.[273] These two correlations indicate that, where possible, the noun-epithet formula was used at the end of the line, without tmesis of the verb. Such a decision would make sense if the noun-epithet formula provided the line with such a sufficiently 'epic' flavour that tmesis was not needed. In this case, then, tmesis is second in the hierarchy, and the correlation still provides more evidence that the use of tmesis was a matter of style.

Lastly, not only has innovation taken place to produce non-initial tmesis, but there is evidence that this syntax was then itself innovated upon. De Decker also notes that πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν has undergone innovation:

> *Il.* 10.318: ὅς ῥα τότε Τρωσίν τε καὶ Ἕκτορι μῦθον ἔειπεν
> 'he then spoke a speech to the Trojans and Hektor'
>
> *Od.* 22.207: τὴν δ' Ὀδυσεὺς γήθησεν ἰδὼν καὶ μῦθον ἔειπε
> 'Odysseus was glad upon seeing her, and spoke a speech'

As can be seen in both of these lines, πρός has gone. Because the structure in which πρός was originally required, in tmesis with the verb, has become so common, it may be modified without

[272] On the topic of markers of epic in Old Comedy, see Novokhatko (2018).
[273] For the former: e.g. *Il.* 3.303; 5.632 and 6.381; for the latter: e.g. *Il.* 13.774; *Od.* 8.334 and *Od.* 3.13; De Decker (2015), 65-6.

substantial change to the meaning. De Decker's views here diverge from those of Hajnal, since Hajnal's analysis regards the formula πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν as a late innovation, whereas De Decker sees it as archaic, because of factors that are external to the formula itself, yet tend to accompany it.[274] Ultimately, however, there is no reason why Hajnal and De Decker may not simply have identified different strata of innovation. After all, the linguistic form of the Homeric poems is highly characterised by such layering.

4.2.4. Are Initial and Preverbal Tmesis Truly Interchangeable?

In order for a binary analysis of initial and non-initial tmesis to be valid, it must be the case that the poets' choice between the two was free, in the sense that the choice was not subject to influence from other factors.[275] Before turning to the details of the count, it is necessary to justify that these two types of tmesis are indeed interchangeable.

Such a justification is particularly necessary in the light of Boley's argument that initial tmesis is preferred when the poet wants to refer to a 'change of venue' of the action.[276] If this argument were correct, the assumptions which underlie our count would be invalidated. I will show, however, that this argument is invalid.[277] Boley argues that '[w]hen there is no special attention paid to the shift from one venue to another, i.e. no special local implications in the action, we do not find ἐν at all, initial or otherwise, as in [*Od.* 10.356-7]':[278]

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[274] Hajnal (2004), 161; De Decker (2015), 64. Examples of features which De Decker considers archaic are instances of a speech introduction alongside a verb of the root *$steH_2$- (στῆ); a lack of an augment on στῆ; a double accusative of person addressed and the object of the verb, etc..

[275] This assumption also underlies the other chapters in this thesis, but there is no good reason for assuming a semantic difference between an observed or neglected digamma.

[276] Boley (2004), 56-8.

[277] Boley also argues that initial tmesis is used when the poet wants to use the P-word to refer to a previously expressed referent. In order to support this claim, she quotes *Od.* 5.265 (ἐν δέ οἱ ἀσκὸν ἔθηκε), suggesting that ἐν refers to the previously expressed raft, but here ἐν is surely best taken as referring to οἱ, a pronoun substituting the actual indirect object (here, the raft). Even if it is assumed that Boley's interpretation of this line is correct, however, it is also the case that P-words in non-initial tmesis can have non-expressed complements (i.e. nominal forms which they govern). See, for example, μετεῖπον ('I speak among'). This verb, in tmesis, can have a complement for μετά (see, e.g., *Il.* 3.303: τοῖσι δὲ Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπε), but such a complement can also be implied (see, e.g., *Il.* 2.114: ἣ δ' ἄμυδις στήσασα θεοὺς μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπε). Another example would be ἐπιτέλλω, which can be used with the dative of the person addressed (e.g. *Od.* 23.349: ἀλόχῳ δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν), but is usually used absolutely (e.g. *Il.* 1.25: κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.). It would therefore be the case that both initial and non-initial tmesis can be used when the poet wanted to have the P-word governing a previously expressed complement, and in this sense they are interchangeable.

[278] *Ibid.,* 57. It is assumed here that Boley means that ἐν is found neither initially nor non-initially, since it is in fact found in 10.357.

ἡ δὲ τρίτη κρητῆρι μελίφρονα οἶνον ἐκίρνα
ἡδὺν ἐν ἀργυρέῳ.
'and the third [handmaid] mixed delicious, sweet wine
in a silver mixing bowl'

These lines differ, Boley claims, from *Od.* 20.252-3:

σπλάγχνα δ' ἄρ' ὀπτήσαντες ἐνώμων, ἐν δέ τε οἶνον
κρητῆρσιν κερόωντο· κύπελλα δὲ νεῖμε συβώτης.
'They roasted and served out the entrails, and mixed
wine in the bowls: and the swineherd handed out cups'.

Here, Boley claims that 'ἐν has no reference at all to previous material, but there is some reason why the fact that something is "inside" the bowls (here presumably opposed to the previous action which deals with the business on the tables) is highlighted'.[279] The argument, then, is that the initial position of the P-word marks an emphatic shift to a 'change of venue'; that is, away from the business of setting up the table.

This argument collapses when the context for *Od.* 10.356-7 is taken into account:

Od. 10.354-7: ἡ δ' ἑτέρη προπάροιθε θρόνων ἐτίταινε τραπέζας
ἀργυρέας, ἐπὶ δέ σφι τίθει χρύσεια κάνεια·
ἡ δὲ τρίτη κρητῆρι μελίφρονα οἶνον ἐκίρνα
ἡδὺν ἐν ἀργυρέῳ.

'The second [handmaid] drew up silver tables in front of
the thrones, and upon them she placed golden bread-baskets:
and the third mixed delicious, sweet wine
in a silver mixing bowl'

This context reveals that, in both examples, the tables are being laid and the feast is being prepared, and as the narrative switches to describe the mixing of the wine, there is one instance with initial tmesis, and one without. The best interpretation of the facts, therefore, is that there is no special semantic value attached to initial tmesis (that is, that initial tmesis is not used in particular when the poet wants to mark a 'change of venue'). Thus, it is justified to compare

[279] *Ibid.*, 57.

initial and non-initial tmesis, and assume that the poets were not influenced by any particular semantic factors in choosing to use one or the other.

4.3. Problems in Quantifying Tmesis

4.3.1. Ambiguous Cases

Although tmesis is clearly identifiable most of the time, there are certain ambiguities which need addressing. See, for example, the following:

> *Il.* 2.45: ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὤμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον
> 'and around his shoulders he slung a silver-studded blade'

Here ἀμφί might go with either ὤμοισιν or βάλετο, without there being a clear criterion to decide the matter. One approach to the problem is to construct rules for situations like this. Bertrand sets out the following:[280]

1. For an occurrence to count as an instance of tmesis, the gap between verb and P-word cannot contain a word which could be governed by the particle (e.g. *Il.* 1.249: τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή 'from whose tongue speech flowed sweeter than honey').
2. There is no tmesis if the meaning of P-word and non-compounded verb is different from the hypothetical compound verb (e.g. *Od.* 1.116: [εἴ] μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν σκέδασιν κατὰ δώματα θείη 'if he [Odysseus] might make a scattering of the suitors throughout the house'. The meaning of the compound verb κατατίθημι is 'place, put down, deposit (etc.)'; in this case, however, the meaning is clearly 'place a scattering throughout'.
3. If the same verb can be found in a compound form, tmesis is likely (in particular if the compound form can be found within the same text).
4. The P-words must be unlikely to be a preposition in anastrophe.
5. Free adverbials should be discounted.

These rules are sometimes contradictory, as in the above example (*Il.* 2.45). The gap between ἀμφί and βάλετο is filled by ὤμοισιν, which ἀμφὶ might be governing, so that this is not a case of tmesis according to rule 1. However, the existence of the compound ἀμφιβάλλω (*Od.* 22.103),

[280] Bertrand (2014), 12. Haug (2012), 101-3 also uses the rules numbered here as 1 and 3.

together with the fact that the verb is found in tmesis in numerous other places (e.g. *Od.* 10.365; 13.434), speaks in favour of tmesis according to rule 3. Haug resolves the conflict by suggesting a preference for rule 1, which is a sensible approach since rule 1 makes it possible to exclude one of two possible interpretations, whereas rule 3 only makes one alternative more likely than the other.

As an alternative solution, however, Haug counts all ambiguous instances of tmesis together with the definite ones, assuming that the poets would have mentally classified them in the same way, as containing linguistically marked particles. Haug's approach could be characterised as 'all inclusive'. An opposite, 'non inclusive' approach, on the other hand, would be to exclude all of the potentially ambiguous cases. Since the ambiguous cases are quite numerous, the 'non inclusive' approach might run the risk of excluding too much data, whereas the 'all inclusive' approach could be attacked for the assumptions underlying it. I have found, however, that the data give the same results regardless of which approach is taken; that is, that statistically significant results are obtained regardless of whether the ambiguous cases are included, and that their inclusion does not affect the results.[281] The sample size of this study is larger than that behind the finding just mentioned; the best solution is therefore to include ambiguous cases in the count, but tag them as such, and not include them in the analysis. Since the sample size is sufficiently large without them, it is sensible to include only definite tmesis in the analysis, but the inclusion of the ambiguous cases in the database allows for other scholars to use them, should they wish to do so, without undertaking a separate count themselves. Many, but not all, of the ambiguous cases in the Database are accompanied by a brief description of the ambiguity; when there is none, no special comment is required because the ambiguity is obvious.

4.4. Tmesis and Formulae

As with the other linguistic features discussed in this thesis, it is necessary to distinguish between formulaic and non-formulaic instances of tmesis, since my interest is in tmesis when the poets were not influenced by the content of the poetry to reuse stock lines which would distort the statistics. The methods employed in order to classify cases of tmesis as formulaic or

[281] McConnell (forthcoming).

non-formulaic are the same as in other chapters. There are, however, some minor issues that need addressing.

It is often the case, for example, that a tmetic construction is paralleled by the same phrase except without the P-word. See, for example, the following two verses:

Il. 7.6: καμάτῳ δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα λέλυνται
'and their knees buckled beneath them from the toil'

cf. *Il.* 13.85: τῶν ῥ' ἅμα τ' ἀργαλέῳ καμάτῳ φίλα γυῖα λέλυντο,
cf. *Od.* 8.233: ἦεν ἐπηετανός· τῷ μοι φίλα γυῖα λέλυνται
cf. *Od.* 18.242: οἴκαδ', ὅπῃ οἱ νόστος, ἐπεὶ φίλα γυῖα λέλυνται.

Should the phraseology of *Il.* 13.85 influence the categorisation of *Il.* 7.6? Without *Il.* 13.85, the situation would be clear: the poet uses the compound verb ὑπολύω in this sense both as a compound (see, for example, *Il.* 15.581) and in tmesis (see, for example, *Od.* 14.236), and *Il.* 7.6 would easily be taken as another example of use in tmesis. However, given the formulation in *Il.* 13.85, it might be justifiable to categorise this particular phrase as part of a formulaic construction, where the addition of a P-word is a possible additional element. If this was a formulaic construction, however, it would seem that the poet is choosing to use ὑπὸ in tmesis, despite the influence of the formula without the P-word. For the sake of this study, it seems sufficient to categorise this case (and cases like it) as 'non-formulaic', in the sense that the poet's choice to use tmesis was not influenced by formulae. Indeed, it seems likely that the use of tmesis was motivated by the fact that in *Il.* 7.6, the poet had used the formula after a consonant. In the other example, the formula is used after a diphthong, and it seems that φίλα was used to avoid the hiatus that would be caused by ὑπὸ. Incidentally, this formulaic network suggests that although a vowel could be used after a diphthong, when the diphthong constituted the long syllable in the arsis, it was avoided where possible. Moreover, cases like these clearly differ from ubiquitous phrases like πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν, whose repetition should be discounted lest the statistics are distorted.

This situation may be compared to a similar one involving initial tmesis, which occurs occasionally:

Od. 2.345-6: ἐν δὲ γυνὴ ταμίη νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ / ἔσχ'...

'and a housekeeper was in there both day and night...'.

Od. 3.479: ἐν δὲ γυνὴ ταμίη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον ἔθηκεν

'and on it [the table] a housekeeper placed bread and wine'.

One approach would be to categorise both lines as unrelated non-formulaic instances of initial tmesis. Such an approach, however, would not seem to take into account the formulaic hemistich ἐν δὲ γυνὴ ταμίη, and the fact that the P-word occurs within it. If the poet chose to use that formula, perhaps he would then be more inclined to 'complete' the tmesis by the use of a verb. Thus, perhaps we should best take them together as different versions of the same formulaic construction, and mark them in this way. I have adopted this latter approach , but do not insist that it is the correct approach – instances such as these are so rare within the data that they do not change the statistics significantly.

Lastly, another similar problem occurs when it comes to instances where a tmetic construction occasionally seems to substitute one P-word for another. See, for example:

Od. 3.12: ἐκ δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος νηὸς βαῖν', ἦρχε δ' Ἀθήνη.
'then Telemachus disembarked from the ship, and Athene came'

Od. 13.116: οἱ δ' ἐκ νηὸς βάντες ἐϋζύγου ἠπειρόνδε
'and they disembarked from the well-benched ships onto land'

cf. *Od.* 2.416: ἂν δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος νηὸς βαῖν', ἦρχε δ' Ἀθήνη,
cf. *Od.* 9.177: ὣς εἰπὼν ἀνὰ νηὸς ἔβην, ἐκέλευσα δ᾽ ἑταίρους
cf. *Od.* 18.284: ἂν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς νηὸς ἐβήσετο ποντοπόροιο.

Given that in the first two examples ἐκ could be governing the following genitive νηὸς, it is tempting to conclude that these are not cases of tmesis, based on the first rule of categorisation described above. This conclusion may change, however, given the seemingly formulaic construction which alternates between ἐκ and ἀν(ὰ), as demonstrated in the other references from the *Odyssey*. It is highly unusual that ἀνὰ should govern the genitive νηὸς, and it is tempting to infer that these formations have been influenced by similar, if not identical, formations using ἐκ. The consequence would be a system where a formation best analysed as non-tmetic (the

lines with ἐκ) seems to have influenced the creation of a formation where tmesis is really the only option of analysis (that is, a tmesis of ἀναβαίνω).[282] I have therefore considered whether these cases with ἐκ should be included, and whether the cases with ἀνὰ should be considered formulaic. The most prudent approach seems to be to include the instances with ἐκ among the 'ambiguous' cases, and those with ἀνά among the 'formulaic' instances: regardless of the potential relationship to the lines with ἐκ, there is enough evidence to suppose that their formulaic nature affected the poets' choice to use tmesis. Once again, in this regard, it should be stressed that this analysis seeks not to categorise lines as 'formulaic' or 'non-formulaic' based on theoretical grounds, but rather on the practical grounds of whether the poets' compositions were likely to have been influenced by the stock phrases, as seems to have been the case in the lines quoted above.

4.5. A Final Methodological Point

Before turning to the results of the statistical analysis, it is worth setting out how I obtained the data. The method chosen was to use the 'Structural Search' function of the Ancient Greek Dependency Treebank, maintained by the Perseus Digital Library. The search term ':preposition[relation=AuxZ]' was entered, which returned whatever prepositions the annotators of the texts had categorised as standing in tmesis. Technically speaking, this search returned whatever words were considered to be 'emphasising particles', with everything but prepositions filtered out (the annotators were instructed to tag P-words in tmesis by 'AuxZ').[283] I then checked the results by hand, and some were left out (that is, deemed to be not even ambiguous cases of tmesis), while I added others, which the original annotators had apparently missed. Overall, the analysis of the annotators of the text substantially agrees with mine, with typically only one or two modifications being made for each book of the Homeric poems.

4.6. Analysis: Comparing Tmesis Across Texts

How, then, do the different texts use initial and non-initial tmesis? In a previous study, I found that the Homeric poems use initial tmesis significantly more often than the other early hexameter texts.[284] Unfortunately, at the time of that study, it was not possible to take into

[282] Compare instances involving ἐπὶ like *Il.* 13.665 (ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινε·), *Od.* 11.534 (ἐπὶ νηὸς ἔβαινεν) etc..
[283] See Bamman and Crane (2008), 41.
[284] McConnell (forthcoming).

account repeated or formulaic instances of tmesis, and so the conclusions from that study cannot be transferred exactly to this one. Accordingly, it is necessary to take account of formularity and repeat the analysis, resulting in the data set out below in Table 4.1:

	Iliad 1-12		*Odyssey* 1-12		*Theogony*		*Works & Days*		Homeric Hymns	
Initial	98	62.4%	77	60.2%	3	27.3%	8	34.8%	13	34.2%
Non-initial	59	37.5%	51	39.8%	8	72.7%	15	65.2%	25	65.8%

Table 4.1: The use of initial and non-initial tmesis across early Greek hexameter poetry, with formulae and repeated verses taken into account.

The data in Table 4.1 require explanation, before the results are interpreted. Firstly, the data for *Iliad* 1-12, *Odyssey* 1-12, *Theogony* and *Works and Days* are based on the (non-formulaic) definite (that is, not ambiguous) cases.[285] Since the sample size is so large, it seemed most prudent to use instances where tmesis was the only interpretation. Such a treatment, however, was not possible for the Homeric hymns, since their sample sizes were much smaller. Once repeated or formulaic instances had been removed, very few non-ambiguous cases remained. Accordingly, it was necessary to use the combined data of ambiguous and non-ambiguous cases in order to get an overall sense of the use of tmesis in these texts. This decision is justified by the finding that in fact it makes very little difference whether the ambiguous cases are counted: the statistics are very similar either way, and therefore the ambiguous cases are avoided unless they need to make up for a small sample size.[286]

The data for the Homeric Hymns thus include both ambiguous and non-ambiguous instances. The data for each individual hymn are set out below in Table 4.2:

[285] The sample size for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is the first 12 books of each, since this was all that time allowed for.

[286] McConnell (forthcoming).

	Hymn to Demeter	*Hymn to Aphrodite*	*Hymn to Apollo*[287]	*Hymn to Hermes*
Initial	2	0	3	8
Non-initial	6	2	6	11

Table 4.2: The use of initial and non-initial tmesis in each of the four major Homeric Hymns, with formulae and repeated verses taken into account.

As can be seen from Table 4.2, the numbers for each of the hymns are too small to enable any direct comparison with the other texts, so we must rely on an overall statistic for the hymns taken together. This at least provides an overall sense of how these poems treat tmesis as a whole.

Given these premises, how should the data in Table 4.1 be interpreted? The most important observation is that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* both have a preference for initial tmesis, using it proportionally more often than non-initial tmesis, approximately 62% of the time (in fact, the two poems use non-initial tmesis at almost the same rate). The Hesiodic poems and Homeric hymns, on the other hand, use initial tmesis far less often, approximately 30% of the time. The use of initial tmesis in each of the *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, and the Homeric hymns differs to a statistically significant degree to the use of tmesis in Homer.[288] I argued previously that the reason for this is predominately stylistic – that is, that initial tmesis had a particular quality that made it suitable to 'heroic' hexameter poetry, as opposed to theogonic, didactic, or hymnic poetry.[289]

Scholars have seen this non-Homeric early hexameter poetry as later than the Homeric poems, or reflecting types or manners of composition which are post-Homeric. Similarly

[287] The *Hymn to Apollo* has an important theme of deities traveling around the world, and as such, has 8 examples of verbs of motion with prepositions specifying the direction or nature of the motion; e.g. 115 εὖτ' ἐπὶ Δήλου ἔβαινε μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια (cf. 45; 141; 215; 218; 243; 344; 442). Although these cases should technically be classed as 'ambiguous' (in the present example, ἐπιβαίνω with a city in the genitive is attested at *Od.* 14.229), one strongly suspects that they are examples of the regular use of verbs of motion + preposition + destination. All of these 8 cases have the preposition in the non-initial position. Since these ambiguous cases are different from the other ambiguous cases in that they are even less likely to be tmesis, since they are so common in this poem, and since all of them are non-initial, these 8 cases have been excluded from the totals in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 lest they skew the results in favour of non-initial, but they are still in the Database.

[288] Each of the *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, and the Homeric Hymns differs significantly from the two Homeric poems taken together (i.e. with 175 cases of initial tmesis, and 110 cases of non-initial tmesis). Using Fisher's Exact Chi Squared test, the p-value for the *Theogony* is 0.0296; for the *Works and Days* it is 0.0152; for the Homeric Hymns it is 0.00251.

[289] McConnell (forthcoming).

scholars have also regarded the speeches of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as reflecting a later strand or layer of composition. Therefore, it is interesting to compare the use of tmesis in these two kinds of poetry which have commonly been seen as in some sense 'later' or at least different to Homeric narrative. I have therefore investigated the difference between speech and narrative in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[290]

4.6.1. Speech and Narrative

What, then, are the statistics for different types of tmesis in speech and narrative in the Homeric poems? Firstly, it is necessary to set out how exactly such a count was made – fortunately, the principles are relatively simple. I tagged the data according to whether the constructions fall in speech or in narrative, without further specification as to what type of speech or narrative. For example, Odysseus' *apologoi* were treated as narrative, given that Odysseus himself becomes the narrator as opposed to an interlocutor (as he is, for example, within his own narrative). On the other hand, smaller sections of narrative within speech (for example, Nestor's typical "digressions", such as his account of an old conflict at Pylos at *Il.* 11.670-695) were still counted as 'speech'. In this regard, the scope of Odysseus' *apologoi* was far greater than other narratives within speech, since no others come close.[291]

There was no specification within narrative of, for example, similes or ekphrasis – such sections are sufficiently infrequent or small that they do not distort the statistics, and such differentiation would run the risk of being overly schematic. In making these decisions, simplicity of the analysis was prioritised over strict standards of classification, especially because we are interested in providing an overall picture of the data.

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[290] For a fuller discussion of the definitions of speech and narrative, see pp.167-9.

[291] This position is maintained here despite the argument of Griffin (1986), 36, that Odysseus' *apologoi* should count as speech, on the grounds that 'Odysseus' style of narration is not the same as that of the poet himself (to use a convenient shorthand for the manner of the narrative portions of the text)'. Although Odysseus' style of narration is doubtless different, in as much as he lacks authorial awareness of divine action (ascribing remarkable events to an anonymous θεός or δαίμων), etc., these books contain a large narrative, made up of both 1st person narration and interlocution. It made most sense for the present analysis to treat these two categories separately. Practically speaking, Odysseus' response to Alcinous at *Od.* 9.1-38 was counted as 'speech', but his narrative from 9.39ff. was counted as 'narrative' – the line had to be drawn somewhere, and this seemed the most fitting point to begin, given that at that point Odysseus turns from a summary of the whole story to its beginning. This 'narrative' continues until the end of book 12, except for the brief respite at 11.333-84 (Odysseus and the Phaeacians consider going to bed) where the conventional split between speech and narrative is most useful.

On this basis, the data for initial and non-initial tmesis, when differentiated between speech and narrative, and with formulae discounted, are as follows in Tables 4.3 and 4.4:

Book:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**Total:**	
Narrative:														
Initial	8	7	4	7	10	0	5	3	5	7	13	7	76	69.1%
Non-initial	1	2	1	1	7	0	1	2	1	4	8	6	34	30.9%
Speech:														
Initial	5	0	2	3	2	3	2	0	2	0	3	0	22	46.8%
Non-initial	2	4	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	2	2	1	25	53.2%

Table 4.3: The numbers of Initial and Non-initial Tmesis in *Iliad* 1-12 according to speech and narrative.

Book:	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**Total:**	
Narrative:														
Initial	4	2	4	6	8	2	0	12	4	9	3	2	56	67.5%
Non-initial	0	1	5	2	2	2	0	1	3	4	3	4	27	32.5%
Speech:														
Initial	1	1	3	8	0	1	2	1	2	0	0	2	21	46.7%
Non-initial	1	3	3	2	2	1	2	1	0	1	5	3	24	53.3%

Table 4.4: The numbers of Initial and Non-initial Tmesis in *Odyssey* 1-12 according to speech and narrative.

The 'Total' column in Tables 4.3 and 4.4 shows that there is a difference in the use of tmesis depending on speech vs. narrative – the difference is in both cases statistically significant.[292] In both poems, sections of speech tend to use both types at a roughly equal rate, with a slight preference to non-initial tmesis. Narrative sections, on the other hand, are characterised to a greater degree by initial tmesis.[293] Why might this be?

[292] Using the Chi-Squared test, the p-value for the *Iliad* data is 0.0082, and for the *Odyssey* data, it is 0.022. These p-values are sufficiently small to reject the hypothesis that narrative and speech behave similarly in their deployment of initial and non-initial tmesis.

[293] The Hesiodic poems are almost entirely narrative. The Homeric hymns, on the other hand, are made up of both kinds of composition in a similar way to the Homeric poems. Yet when the hymns are taken together, and with ambiguous examples included and formulae/repetitions excluded, speech and narrative do not behave very differently: across all four of the major hymns, speech has 3 instances of initial tmesis against 6 non-initial, whereas narrative has 11 instances of initial tmesis against 19 non-initial. Using the Fisher's Exact test, the p-value here is 1.

The basic hypothesis advanced here is that the poets were using initial tmesis for a stylistic, archaising effect. This hypothesis would fit with the conclusion above that initial tmesis is likely the inherited, older pattern, whereas non-initial tmesis is an invention of the poetic language – the poets might accordingly have felt that initial tmesis had a particularly archaic quality and used it more frequently in narrative portions of the text. It is important that the data presented here exclude formulae – so the difference cannot be attributed to the frequency of particular formulae which might occur, for example, in narrative rather than speech. Instead, there were different kinds of verses which the poets were composing with different language.

What kinds of verses are these? Narrative in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* differs significantly from speeches in its typical content: although the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are 45% and 67% direct speech respectively, the majority of type scenes occur in narrative.[294] One might well expect therefore that narrative sections of the text contain the most kind of traditional material. An explanation of this sort was offered by Griffin, when discussing the difference between speech and narrative in the lexicon:

> '[One] explanation, it might be urged, and one which makes less in the way of assumptions, would be to suppose that the narrative scenes and passages - the journeys, meals, duels, battles - were in their general character and also in their verbal detail much more traditional, the speeches much more innovative. Consequently the tendency to abstraction and analysis [the subject of Griffin's analysis] in the speeches would simply be an instance of the general development of thought and language, visible in the speeches because their composition was later'.[295]

It is important to understand that Griffin is operating under the assumption that narrative portions of the text are earlier than speech – accordingly, following a hypothesised 'general development of thought and language', the speeches contain more developed notions such as

[294] Griffin (1986), 37.

[295] Griffin (1986), 37. It should be noted that Griffin goes on immediately to say: 'There is some truth in this [i.e. this explanation], although not as much (as we shall see) as might be thought; but I should still want to press the point that the Homeric singers can be seen to be well aware of the problem of stylisation and of different modes of conduct within the epics [Griffin's preferred explanation]'. It is not clear from the rest of Griffin's argument exactly what is meant by the expression of doubt (other than his arguing the strengths of his preferred view). The two explanations are not mutually exclusive – as certain linguistic features became associated with certain kinds of poetry, these features could be actively deployed by the poets for stylistic effect.

abstraction and analysis. These assumptions are not shared here. Instead, I suggest that narrative portions of the text underwent a greater fixity as they were recomposed by different generations of oral poets, while speeches did not. Thus, a narrative portion of the text was not composed any earlier than a portion of speech, but narrative was composed in a more archaic style than speech, since the content of speech varied, and was less traditional.

Such explanations do not attempt to downplay the role of traditional elements in Homer's speeches: in particular, speeches are characterised by ring composition, a highly traditional weapon in the arsenal of the oral poet.[296] Be this as it may, it seems likely on an *a priori* basis that each poet, as they learned the craft from other oral poets, would compose different speeches, with variation of theme, characterisation, etc. It also seems that, when it comes to type scenes of the sort being discussed here, such variation is less likely to occur. Finkelberg has also argued for such a claim, saying that '[w]hile the plot is fixed in tradition, the content of the speeches is not'.[297] I would not follow this sentiment exactly, since it is not clear that the plot *per se* is fixed in tradition, but it seems likely that the speeches are more likely to be varied with each performance than the narrative sections are. Scholars have also noted that speeches tend to be characterised by significantly less formulaic content than narrative.[298] Formulaic content does not necessarily equate directly to more traditional content. But it is suggestive that on both the levels of language and structure, the content of narrative is more fixed than in speeches. These issues will be discussed in more depth in the next chapter, but the brevity of the present comments is sufficient for the current argument, which concerns the relationship between tmesis, speech and narrative.

Once again, emphasis on the traditional nature of narrative and type-scenes is not to downplay the subtle, sophisticated and untraditional ways in which type-scenes can be modified, adapted, interrupted or replaced according to the desire of the poet. As Richardson says, commenting on the *Hymn to Demeter*, type-scenes 'preserve an individual character, and sometimes a traditional *schema* is used for a very particular purpose, the representation of the *aitia* for Eleusinian ritual. This reuse of traditional patterns is more skilful, and suggests a poet

[296] Lohmann (1970).
[297] Finkelberg (2012), 93.
[298] Hainsworth (1968); Russo (1976); Finkelberg (1989).

who was to a great extent in control of his technique'.[299] Nevertheless, both the underlying structure and the content of these narrative sections is less likely than that of speeches to be subjected to variation.

It is important to stress again that my data here does not include formulaic diction, which may also characterise type scenes. Such repeated, formulaic phrases, if they existed, were excluded from this count. Consequently, the preference of narrative verses for initial tmesis suggests that the poets were aware, on some level at least, that certain types of poetry were suited to certain forms of expression. It would be for this reason, then, that the poets preferred to use initial tmesis in narrative, whereas in speeches the distribution between the two types of tmesis points to no such preference.

There is one type of narrative not typically seen as a type-scene, but which is no less traditional, namely ekphrastic descriptions. It is notable that ekphrastic descriptions are characterised in early Greek hexameter by the frequency with which they make use of initial tmesis.[300] See, for example, the small *ekphrasis* of Agamemnon's shield in *Il.* 11.32-7:

> ἂν δ' ἕλετ' ἀμφιβρότην πολυδαίδαλον ἀσπίδα θοῦριν
> καλήν, ἣν πέρι μὲν κύκλοι δέκα χάλκεοι ἦσαν,
> ἐν δέ οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ ἦσαν ἐείκοσι κασσιτέροιο
> λευκοί, ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν ἔην μέλανος κυάνοιο.
> τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργὼ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο
> δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε.[301]
>
> 'and he took up his man-covering, rushing shield,
> - beautiful, around which ran ten circles of bronze,
> and on it were twenty tin bosses,
> and on it was in the middle another twenty of dark blue enamel.
> And upon it was encircled grim-eyed Gorgo
> terrible in her gaze, and around her Terror and Fear.'

[299] Richardson (1974), 58-9 quoted in Edwards (1992), 288.

[300] See Becker (1995), 51-78 for *ekphrases* in the *Iliad*.

[301] Despite appearances, neither ἣν πέρι μὲν κύκλοι δέκα χάλκεοι ἦσαν nor τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργὼ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο can easily be counted as tmeses: περίειμι is occasionally attested with a literal meaning 'to be around', but is much more commonly used metaphorically (e.g. 'to be superior'; this meaning is especially common in Homer); ἐπιστεφανόω is attested only once, in Pindar *O.* 9.122 (Αἰάντειόν τ' ἐν δαιτὶ Ἰλιάδα νικῶν ἐπεστεφάνωσε βωμόν), where it is transitive and appears to mean something like 'to place a crown upon'. Both P-words are much more naturally taken as simple prepositions/adverbs.

Also notable here is the promoted position of περί in 11.37, although there is no accompanying verb from which this may be split, as well as ἐπί (11.36) and πέρι (11.33) being as far to the left as they can get without going before τῇ and ἣν respectively. See also the description of the chariot of Hera (*Il.* 5.722-32):

> Ἥβη δ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ ὀχέεσσι θοῶς βάλε καμπύλα κύκλα
> χάλκεα ὀκτάκνημα σιδηρέῳ ἄξονι ἀμφίς.
> τῶν ἧτοι χρυσέη ἴτυς ἄφθιτος, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
> χάλκε᾽ ἐπίσσωτρα προσαρηρότα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι·
> πλῆμναι δ᾽ ἀργύρου εἰσὶ περίδρομοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν·
> δίφρος δὲ χρυσέοισι καὶ ἀργυρέοισιν ἱμᾶσιν
> ἐντέταται, δοιαὶ δὲ περίδρομοι ἄντυγές εἰσι.
> τοῦ δ᾽ ἐξ ἀργύρεος ῥυμὸς πέλεν: αὐτὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἄκρῳ
> δῆσε χρύσειον καλὸν ζυγόν, ἐν δὲ λέπαδνα
> κάλ᾽ ἔβαλε χρύσει᾽: ὑπὸ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν Ἥρη
> ἵππους ὠκύποδας, μεμαυῖ᾽ ἔριδος καὶ ἀϋτῆς.
>
> ‘And Hebe placed curved wheels around the chariot,
> bronze and with eight spokes, around the iron axle.
> Of these, the felloe is imperishable and golden, but on top
> were fitted the bronze tyres, a wonder to behold:
> the naves are of silver, revolving all around:
> the chariot-board is hung on tight-stretched gold and silver straps,
> and the two rails are encircling.
> From here stood the pole, made of silver: but on the end
> she bound the beautiful golden yoke, and on there she threw
> the fine golden reins: and under the yoke Hera lead the
> swift-footed horses, keen on strife and the battle-cry.

After the description of the structural makeup and materials from which the chariot has been fashioned, the verbal action is expressed with verbs in initial tmesis.

There is a similar use of initial tmesis in the most famous hexameter *ekphrasis*, that of the Shield of Achilles in *Il.* 18.478-608.[302] The passage features phrases such as:

> 479: περὶ δ᾽ ἄντυγα βάλλε φαεινὴν
> 483: ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ᾽, ἐν δ᾽ οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν (cf. 485: ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ᾽ οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται, although not with a proper tmesis)

[302] Note, however, that there are also two cases of non-initial tmesis: 570: λίνον δ᾽ ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδε (‘and he sang a beautiful song in accompaniment’); 586: ἱστάμενοι δὲ μάλ᾽ ἐγγὺς ὑλάκτεον ἔκ τ᾽ ἀλέοντο (‘[the dogs] standing quite close barked and hung back’).

490: ἐν δὲ δύω ποίησε πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
573: ἐν δ᾽ ἀγέλην ποίησε βοῶν ὀρθοκραιράων·
587: ἐν δὲ νομὸν ποίησε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις

541: ἐν δ᾽ ἐτίθει νειὸν μαλακὴν πίειραν ἄρουραν
550: ἐν δ᾽ ἐτίθει τέμενος βασιλήϊον: ἔνθα δ᾽ ἔριθοι
561: ἐν δ᾽ ἐτίθει σταφυλῇσι μέγα βρίθουσαν ἀλωὴν
607: ἐν δ᾽ ἐτίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο

590: ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις,

Lastly, this pattern pervades the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*. See, for example, the following:

161: ἐν δ᾽ ὀφίων κεφαλαὶ δεινῶν ἔσαν, οὔ τι φατειῶν,

Many phrases like this one are clearly formulaic, but taken as a whole, they attest to the archaic style of passages of this sort. The ultimate cause for this may be that passages of this highly traditional nature were being composed before the creation of non-initial tmesis, or before the trend towards univerbation had started. This is not to suggest that the specific passages in the texts as we have them are older than the rest of the poetry, as an Analyst scholar might have argued. Instead, it seems that oral poets learned that certain types of their hexameter poetry could be composed in different styles resorting to certain marked linguistic features: including, in the present case, the marked feature of initial tmesis.

It is tempting to undertake a more detailed analysis, where each of the instances of initial tmesis in the narrative portions of the text is tagged according to its narrative context. Unfortunately, not only is such an analysis beyond the scope of this study, it runs the risk of being an overly schematic approach. It seems likely that the poets were not as attuned as this (and why should they be?), but rather they had a sense that initial tmesis was especially well suited to verses with a particular archaic quality, most of which fall in narrative.[303] The hypothesis raised to explain the data is part of the broader question of archaism within the linguistic strata of the text, which will be the focus of the following discussion.

[303] To this may be compared the assessment of Griffin (1986), 38, regarding types of language often connected with notions of morality: 'It therefore seems appropriate to expect that the later stages of the tradition will not simply have been introducing more contemporary linguistic modes into the speeches without reflection, but on the contrary allowing them into the speeches, and excluding them from such narrative as they composed themselves, in accordance with a feeling that they were more appropriate there'.

4.6.2. Speech, Narrative and Linguistic Archaism

The differences between the language of speeches and narrative in Homer have been a subject of study for a long time, but these studies have not focussed on the sort of linguistic features discussed here. Most scholars have noted that speeches tend to contain more abstract nouns, and treat the gods in different terms to the narrator – these are effectively studies in vocabulary, and it is natural that characters should use different words to those of the narrator.[304] Webster lists passages which have clusters of features which he regards as late, and notes that these clusters are often in speeches.[305] Shipp, in the preface to the second edition of his *Studies in the Language of Homer*, notes that after the first edition of the book, readers pointed out to him that the late features which he highlighted tended to occur in speeches, and recommends a more systematic treatment.[306] Both Webster and Shipp take an Analyst-style approach, suggesting that clusters of late linguistic features point to lateness of the passage itself (possibly through certain degrees of re-working). Finkelberg more recently took a similar approach, analysing passages in three speeches which featured the clustering of formulae used innovatively or featured linguistically late forms.[307]

Finkelberg understands this phenomenon in terms of the linguistic strata of the Homeric poems, akin to an archaeological excavation. Within this metaphor, she argues that the speeches in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* belong to the upper stratum and were therefore more 'prone to preserve the realia, the language, the institutions and the mores as they existed at the moment when the poems were fixed in writing'.[308] The important aspect for the present discussion is the point about language. In support of her framework of understanding, Finkelberg quotes Janko, as follows:

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[304] For a summary of the history of the question see the discussion in Finkelberg (2012), 80-2. The most notable recent treatment along these lines is Griffin (1986). See also Friedrich and Redfield (1978). Probert (2015) found that Homeric speech featured inherently maximalizing relative clauses much more than narrative, but she argued that this difference is due to subject matter and content, as opposed to any chronological significance. Her work reminds us that a linguistic feature must be established, all other things being equal, to be as likely to occur in speech and narrative with regard to the content, as I attempted above (pp.140-2) for tmesis.

[305] Webster (1956).

[306] Shipp (1972), vii.

[307] Finkelberg (2012).

[308] Finkelberg (2012), 94-5.

> 'In a tradition that consists of oral improvisation rather than accurate memorisation, it is inevitable that, in those fields where the tradition hands down no ready-made diction, the improvisor will draw on the only other diction he knows, that of his vernacular'.[309]

I commented upon this same passage with regard to the assumptions it makes about formulaic diction.[310] With respect to the current topic, however, Janko's approach seems to be flawed, because it characterises Homeric composition as 'improvisation' over 'memorisation'. This characterisation seems unlikely, since careful study of formulae, formulaic construction networks, type-scenes and story patterns reveal that the poets were capable of using some memorised passages, memorised phrases, composition according to type-scenes, etc. – in other words, the poets were able to compose verses which were for all intents and purposes memorised, but they were also able to adapt learned, flexible structures to create new expressions and stories, as well as create new verses with no particular precedent (this might be called 'improvisation').

To return to the issue at hand – the contrast between speech and narrative – the poets were probably able to compose freely in the Homeric dialect in speeches, as opposed to being forced into using their vernacular. If Janko's statement quoted above were true, speech should contain linguistic features of the poets' dialect significantly more than narrative. In fact there is no correlation between narrative sections of the text and the observance of digamma, and the same is true of the use of -οιο genitives (nor indeed is there a correlation between speech and neglect of digamma or speech and the use of -ου genitives).[311] How does such a finding agree with

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[309] Janko (1982), 16.

[310] See p. 39.

[311] To make the analyses as close as possible, formulae and repeated verses were also excluded from this count, and other factors have been taken into account as described in the relevant chapters (e.g. excluding the digamma of enclitic words, or the genitive ending of pronouns).
Digamma: in *Iliad* 1-12, narrative portions of the text contain 26 neglected digamma, and 39 observed digamma, whereas speeches contain 29 neglected digamma and 58 observed digamma. The percentages of observed digamma are 60.0% and 66.7% respectively. In the *Odyssey*, narrative portions of the text contain 16 neglected digamma and 31 observed digamma. Speeches on the other hand contain 37 neglected digamma and 55 observed digamma. The percentages of observed digamma are 66.0% and 59.8% respectively. The differences between speech and narrative are, in both cases, not statistically significant (*Iliad* p-value is 0.397, *Odyssey* p-value is 0.478).
Thematic genitives: in *Iliad* 1-12, narrative portions of the text contain 123 -οιο genitives and 128 -ου, whereas speeches contain 69 -οιο genitives and 69 -ου. The percentage of -ου genitives is 51.0% and 50.0% respectively, and therefore statistically insignificant. For *Odyssey* 1-12, narrative contains 73 -οιο genitives and 83 -ου, whereas

the findings of other scholars, such as Webster, Shipp and Finkelberg, that speeches are characterised by linguistically late features? The issue deserves a look at their findings in greater depth.

To begin with Webster: his approach was closest to that which Janko later adopted, in that Webster counted pervasive as well as occasional one-off linguistic features.[312] Specifically, Webster counted thematic genitives in -ου which he reckoned must stand for *-οο, a-stem genitives in -εω or -ω, neglect of digamma, and the use of the -φι suffix for the singular.[313] Similarly, Webster also counted vowel contraction and synizesis. With these criteria, Webster lists various clusters of late forms in certain passages (for example, *Il.* 1.1-20, *Il.* 9.60-78, etc.; 23 in all), regarding which he notes '[m]any of these [passages] are contained in or include speeches'.[314] These passages are not very long, averaging roughly 15 lines each, and Webster does not note in each case how many late features are sufficient to qualify a cluster, which makes it difficult to assess how far to take his reported findings.

One example is given, however; that of *Il.* 1.1-20 (as it happens, one of the passages with no speech, but one can only assume that it is representative of the other passages), which Webster claims contains 5 late linguistic features: Λητοῦς (1.9); θεοὶ (1.18); πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους (3); εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι (19); χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ (1.15). The third example, the supposed neglected digamma of δ' ἰφθίμους, is doubtful, and most authorities do not include ἴφθιμος among once-digammated words.[315] These 4 or 5 late features, however, can only ever be half of the picture. Webster does not, for example, mention the two observed digammas of αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν (1.4) and Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν (1.7). It is therefore hard to take seriously the one or two instances of neglected digamma as supporting the inference that there is a cluster of late features – such instances could easily occur by chance. The clustering of other features (such as contraction or synizesis), however, is another matter. But for now, it seems that Webster's

speeches contain 58 -οιο genitives and 92 -ου. The percentage of -ου genitives is 53.2% and 61.3%, and the difference is not statistically significant (using Chi Squared test, the p-value is 0.151).

[312] Webster (1956). An example of a one-off feature which Webster includes is the synizesis in θεοὶ in *Il.* 1.18.

[313] Webster (1956), 35-8.

[314] Webster (1956), 44.

[315] The semantic similarity to ἴς, ἶφι makes a digamma seem likely at first appearance, but the lack of any trace of a digamma in Homer (or elsewhere) makes an etymological connection unlikely. See, for example, Beekes *s. v.* 'ἴφθιμος'.

findings are in fact in accordance with mine; the 'late' allomorphs or allophones of all-pervasive linguistic features (such as neglect of digamma, or genitives in -ου) do not occur especially often in speeches, even though one-off or less pervasive 'late' features or irregularities do occur more often in speech.

The same picture emerges from Shipp's work.[316] Shipp is best known for showing that the similes in Homer contain 'late' or unusual linguistic features or usages, but as mentioned above, these instances often occur in speeches too. In contrast to Webster, the forms in which Shipp is interested are better characterised as 'one-off' forms. To provide a clear comparison with Webster, I will demonstrate Shipp's methods by quoting some of his results for the beginning of the *Iliad* (1-420):

Λητοῦς (1.9 - contracted); θεοὶ (1.18 - monosyllabic); χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ (1.15 – synizesis and correption of -έῳ); ἠρᾶθ' (1.35 - contracted); αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος (1.47 – genitive absolute); ἑκατηβελέταο (1.75 'no doubt secondary'); κρατέω + gen. (1.75, late?); δαμᾷ (1.61 - contracted); ζῶντος (1.88 - contracted); -ῃς (1.89 – 'short' dative); οἶδα + participle (1.24); δῷσι (1.129 – unusual 3rd sg. form); syntax of ὅπως (1.136); σῇς (1.179 – 'short' dative); προθέουσι (1.291); μαχέοιντο (1.344 - -ντο for -ατο, unusual stem); ὅπως (1.142 – unusual syntax).[317]

The first three in this list are the same three that Webster identified, and almost all the rest are not the sort of linguistic features that Janko counted (the exceptions are the dative plurals in -ῃς). The other features, however, are generally sufficiently rare that a quantitative approach which counts each type of feature individually would not be appropriate. Two previous scholars, then, who have found or suggested that speeches contain later linguistic material are not talking about the pervasive features which Janko counted, but other features which are better characterised as 'one-off'.

This observation is also valid for Finkelberg, who performs a similar analysis.[318] Finkelberg analyses three speeches which she claims feature clusters of 'non-formulaic and

[316] Shipp (1972).
[317] Shipp (1972), 226. Shipp usually but not always includes references to his discussion of the forms and why they were included. See *ibid*. 227 for an additional list of features which includes some not strictly linguistic (e.g. διίφιλος (1.86) 'strangely of Apollo').
[318] Finkelberg (2012).

metrically faulty expressions, linguistic innovations and the like'.[319] All of Finkelberg's examples, however, concern formulaic innovation, some of which feature later linguistic forms. Finkelberg refrains from commenting in detail upon linguistically late forms, as previous scholars had already done so. Take, for example, her treatment of *Il.* 13.620-5, a passage which features contraction, and two relatively recent Ionic forms and one instance of quantitative metathesis, all of which are mentioned in passing. This is therefore another treatment of the topic which focusses on 'one-off' or unusual linguistic features, as well as modified or otherwise remarkable usage of formulae, with 'late' allomorphs or allophones of pervasive linguistic features being referred to if they are present.

How are the studies relevant to tmesis? I have shown that previous scholarly treatments of the difference between speech and narrative in Homer have demonstrated that speeches are more likely to contain unusual formulae and one-off or less pervasive linguistic oddities. These treatments have not shown, however, that speeches contained, for example, more neglects than observances of digamma. Another way of phrasing this state of affairs is to say that *narrative* portions of the texts contain *fewer* unusual linguistic or formulaic oddities.

How are we to explain these facts? The suggestions I offered above for the differing uses of tmesis in speech and narrative can be applied here to posit a holistic explanation. Speeches were inherently much more likely than narrative to be changed or updated, with different content, depending on what innovations had been made. Narrative sections, on the other hand, were more likely to be more traditional, with the poet being more likely to use a greater density of formulae and inherited structures or patterns when composing elements such as type scenes. This explanation would account for why initial tmesis is more common in narrative. When poets passed on the craft to new poets, some of these patterns would have been learned as well, with the result that it became stylistically proper to use initial tmesis for narrative portions of the texts (whereas for speeches the ratio was essentially 50 : 50). This explanation will be developed further in the next chapter.

[319] Finkelberg (2012), 93.

This explanation would also concur with the findings that speeches (and similes) tend to feature epic correption significantly more than narrative portions of the text.[320] Specifically, in the *Iliad*, 20% of lines in narrative feature correption, whereas this statistic rises to 40% for speeches (34% for similes). In the *Odyssey*, 20.6% of lines in narrative feature correption, and this statistic rises to 42.4% in speeches (30.1% for similes).[321] It seems likely that correption is not an archaic remnant of an earlier linguistic state, but rather (given its treatment in inscriptions and other early poetry), that it 'played a prominent and dynamic role in the flexible adaptation of traditional phraseology within the Homeric hexameter'.[322] The distribution of correption would therefore accord with the findings here: speeches are compositional contexts in which adapting traditional material was more appropriate or common, whereas in narrative such adaptation was relatively less appropriate or common. Such an inference would fit nicely with the overall picture constructed here of the linguistic and compositional state of speeches and narrative.

A logical inference from this explanation of the state of tmesis would be that the use of other features (genitives in -ου, neglect of digamma, etc.) might differ substantially. Why might this be so? There are (at least) two possible answers, which are not mutually exclusive. As was noted above, the contrast which was drawn between initial and non-initial tmesis operates differently from that between, for example, neglected and observed digamma. The difference is that Ionic Greek neglected digamma – for an Ionic poet, the choice was between accordance or discordance with their idiolect. This was not the case for tmesis, since, as noted above, tmesis of the kind most commonly found in Homer was not a part of any Greek dialect (at least, in terms of prose or ordinary speech). The second possible answer is that tmesis is fundamentally different from morphological or phonological phenomena in that it is a syntactic phenomenon. The fact that tmesis was treated so stylistically is possibly indicative that syntax played a greater part in the aesthetic of archaism than morphology or phonology. Here may be a good time to

[320] The data were first gathered by Kelly (1990), but it was used to argue that speeches were older than narrative, as Kelly argued for correption being a conservative feature of composition. However, the arguments to the contrary from Garner (2010) are more convincing, and it is therefore best to conclude that correption acts like other linguistic features – it is a marker of freer, less traditional compositional practice, and is found more frequently in speeches than narrative.

[321] Garner (2010), 49-50.

[322] Garner (2010), 74.

recall the instance, noted by Haug, where a poet seems to have chosen tmesis over observed digamma (*Od.* 6.77: ἐν δ᾽ ὄψα τίθει, ἐν δ᾽ οἶνον ἔχευεν, as opposed to the theoretically possible *(- -| -) ἐν δ᾽ ὄψα τίθει, ἐνέχευε δὲ (ϝ)οἶνον) – this observation may attest further to the idea that the syntactical phenomenon of tmesis was more stylistically marked than the phonological feature of observing the digamma.[323]

4.7. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have suggested that we can quantify the use of tmesis in Homer, to provide comparable statistics to those for the other linguistic features discussed in the thesis. I have suggested that the most appropriate contrast to draw is between the inherited version (initial tmesis) and the version which seems to have been an artificial construction within the *Kunstsprache* (non-initial tmesis). I have also argued that the use of tmesis in Homer is stylistically motivated. Moreover, I found that narrative sections in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have a preference for initial tmesis. I then situated this finding within earlier studies in the linguistic differences between speech and narrative, and put forward an overarching explanation: that the poets were more likely to compose more traditional, narrative portions of the text with inherited patterns (such as initial tmesis) which were seen as aesthetically appropriate to use in that context, whereas speeches were more likely to be innovated and updated, with fewer inherited features as poets learned the craft of oral verse making from experiencing each other's compositions-in-performance.

Overall, then, it seems that there is another pervasive linguistic feature, the distribution of which cannot be ascribed to chronology, but rather to what might be called 'register'. The next chapter will develop this notion, relate it to the performance traditions of the other poems, and present an overall explanation which takes into account all three linguistic features.

[323] Haug (2012), 97.

5. Interpreting the Data

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters, I have discussed three linguistic features – thematic genitives, digamma, and tmesis. In each chapter I argued that the distribution of these features is influenced by several important factors, and that there are substantial difficulties in including chronology among these factors. These factors may be categorised into two groups: 'internal' factors and 'external' factors. 'External' describes factors which are not inherent to the linguistic features, stemming from outside of the individual singer: for example, the influence of genre or register – or, put another way – the influence of the performance traditions or even 'schools' from which the individual poet came. 'Internal', however, describes factors which do originate within the individual singer, or are inherent to the linguistic feature itself (such as the metrical shape of the stem of the genitival forms).

Both kinds of factors have been addressed at various points in the preceding chapters with respect to individual linguistic features. This interpretative chapter attempts to identify some of the mechanisms which underlie these external factors, and to discuss the distributions of the different features together and as a whole. In this regard, the present chapter goes beyond the brief suggestions of previous scholars in proposing why certain features may have become associated with certain genres.

Specifically, in this chapter I will argue that recomposition-in-performance plays an important role in the creation of certain registers within hexameter poetry. In essence, I will argue that the degree to which certain linguistic features may have become associated with different genres is closely related to the degree to which those genres featured poems which were recomposed relatively more conservatively or relatively more innovatively – that is, the degree to which the diction and content of the poems were repeated from performance to performance. I argue that heroic poetry, and in particular Homeric narrative (as opposed to Homeric speech), was relatively more conservative, whereas, for example, didactic poetry was relatively more innovative.

There are various issues that need addressing here, such as the concept of 'genre', its relation to register, and – possibly the most controversial issue – the degree to which some

poetic traditions might have been characterised by continuity of content and diction, whereas others were more inclined towards innovative content. I will argue that recomposition-in-performance acted as an important mechanism for conservation – but first, it is necessary to define this term.

5.2. Recomposition-in-performance

5.2.1. Introduction

The term 'recomposition-in-performance' (henceforward RIP) is commonly used to describe the compositional and performative situation of hexameter poetry in archaic Greece, based on the observation of Albert Lord that, in the South Slavic oral tradition, no poet (re)composed a song without performing it, and that no poet performed a song without (re)composing it anew, to some degree at least.[324] As Lord himself put it, '[s]inger, performer, composer, and poet are one under different aspects *but at the same time*. Singing, performing, composing are facets of the same act'.[325] Although it is not necessarily a given that this phenomenon, observed for some living oral traditions, underlies the reality behind the texts of Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric hymns, it seems overwhelmingly likely from their language, structure, and typological elements that RIP was a central feature of the Greek oral poetic tradition, and this is generally accepted.[326] RIP seems to have been the process by which oral poetry was learned and performed by the poets; one poet would learn formulae, verses and compositional techniques through listening to other compositions/performances, and then he himself performed his version of the poems in a mixture of 'improvised' and 'memorised' verses, governed by the formulaic system and other typological models, such as type-scenes.

RIP has therefore been a central concept in Homeric studies for the last 60 years and has been implicit in many aspects of linguistic study of the poetry. One could cite here, for example, the phenomenon of 'junctural metanalysis' (also known by 'reanalysis' or 'misdivision'), in which artificial words or forms have been created through the misdivision of

[324] Lord (1960), 3-29; this concept underpins in particular the chapter 'Songs and the Song', 99-123. Possibly in a separate category are the poems which were composed while being practised by the *guslari* in isolation – these are still performances in some sense of the word.
[325] *Ibid*., 13, emphasis is original.
[326] Martin (2011).

word boundaries: see, for example, νήδυμος, attested in the formula νήδυμος ὕπνος (in the nominative, 7x in Homer, in the accusative, 1x).[327] Three of the attestations occur after a verb which could have taken moveable nu: *Il.* 2.2: Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος; *Il.* 4.793: τόσσα μιν ὁρμαίνουσαν ἐπήλυθε νήδυμος ὕπνος; *Il.* 12.311 κλαιόντεσσι δὲ τοῖσιν ἐπήλυθε νήδυμος ὕπνος (cf. *Il.* 10.91: πλάζομαι ὧδ' ἐπεὶ οὔ μοι ἐπ' ὄμμασι νήδυμος ὕπνος, where ὄμμασι could also have moveable nu). This fact, combined with the existence of ἥδυμος ὕπνος, with the same meaning and attested twice in early hexameters (*Hymn to Hermes* 241, 449; cf. Apollonius *Argonautica* 2.407), suggests that a formula *Vν ἥδυμος ὕπνος (where V represents a verb form which can have moveable nu), thanks to the inherent instability of moveable nu, was reanalysed by the poets as V νήδυμος ὕπνος. Although ἥδυμος is often a variant reading for νήδυμος in our manuscripts, it seems clear that this example of junctural metanalysis must have taken place within an oral rather than a written context, given that half of the instances of νήδυμος ὕπνος in Homer occur in environments where an original form with moveable nu is impossible (*Il.* 10.187; *Il.* 16.454; *Od.* 12.366; *Od.* 13.79; cf. Moschus *Megara* 120).[328]

Such an example demonstrates how RIP is inherent in the evolution of the epic language – the reanalysis which must have taken place is only possible if an oral poet heard the performance of another, and in the process of learning his own craft, created the new word.[329] A similar process seems to have occurred regarding the meaning of 'Αἴαντε'; it seems that this dual, following an old Indo-European usage, originally meant 'Ajax and his brother', i.e. Ajax and Teucros.[330] The word 'Αἴαντε', however, when it was performed and heard by different oral

[327] See Reece (2009) generally for the phenomenon, first described at length by Leumann (1950). The example of νήδυμος ὕπνος is discussed at Leumann (1950), 44ff.

[328] What motivated the reanalysis is unclear. Beekes *s.v.* 'νήδυμος' argues that the nu was included to make up for the hiatus after the loss of digamma in *Fήδυμος, but it is not clear why a similar process did not occur when moveable nu is used to compensate for loss of digamma elsewhere. Perhaps the reanalysis was motivated by analogy of the νη- class of adjectives in Homer, e.g. νήγρετος, νηκερδής, although these are of course negative in meaning.

[329] It is possible that, in the case of νήδυμος, there are two different traditions using two different forms, since Tzetzes tells us that Homer used νήδυμος, whereas Hesiod used ἥδυμος (Hesiod fr. 280 Most, 330 MW), although no ἥδυμος is attested in our texts of Hesiod. Nikolaev (2013), 86 n.32 calls this an 'isogloss', which suggests that it is an important distinguishing feature between the languages of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, but such a suggestion may seem unwarranted given, firstly, that we are relying on the indirect testimony of Tzetzes, and, secondly, that ἥδυμος is attested twice also in the *Hymn to Hermes* (241, 449), which suggests that it may not be tightly restricted to Hesiod or a 'Hesiodic' tradition.

[330] For the original argument, see Wackernagel (1953), 542; but see most recently West (2011c), 144, 270. West discusses the issue in terms of the poet of the *Iliad* possibly deciding to change the meaning himself, but this seems unlikely.

poets, seems to have had its meaning confused, when, in accordance with normal Greek duals, it was understood as 'the two Ajaxes', i.e. Ajax son of Telamon and Ajax son of Oileus. 'Αἴαντε' is used in this 'updated' meaning regularly in the *Iliad*. Moreover, instances in the Homeric texts where the poet seems to be explaining obscure and vaguely understood vocabulary items further attest to the workings of RIP: as words were repeated by different poets in the same contexts, the specific meaning became lost and fuzzy both to the poets and the audience, hence necessitating further expansion or explanation.[331] Similarly, it is possible to trace out and map the process of semantic reanalysis relatively easily.[332]

It seems clear, then, that RIP is a defining feature in the history of early Greek hexameter poetry, and furthermore that it had a profound effect on poetic language. I will argue next that RIP may be able to explain some of the differences between Homeric speech and narrative long noted by scholars.

5.2.2. Recomposition-in-Performance and Speech vs. Narrative

It has been observed many times that Homeric speech differs from Homeric narrative in a number of ways, although there has been no extensive discussion of these differences. The present discussion goes some way to addressing this lack, although a more extensive treatment is a desideratum. How does RIP relate to the issue of speech vs. narrative? This section sets out how different poems can end up having a different linguistic makeup according to the degrees to which they have been recomposed in performance. Once this model has been established, it will serve to illuminate the differences between heroic poetry on the one hand, and non-heroic poetry on the other.

5.2.3. Definitions and Preliminaries

We should start by defining what exactly we mean by 'speech' and 'narrative'. So far, in Section 4.6.1, these terms have been employed in line with what we might term the 'Classical' model; 'Classical' in the sense of how narration and speech were understood by Plato and Aristotle. Both philosophers, as shown by, inter alia, *Republic* 392d and *Poetics* 1460a,

[331] See Leumann (1950), and more recently Graziosi and Haubold (2015), 7-10. Cf. the concept of Kirk (1962), 203-4, of 'anti-traditional diction'.
[332] Kahane (2018), 103-107.

differentiate in poetry between simple narration (Platonic ἁπλῆ διήγησις) and speech (Platonic μίμησις).[333] The usefulness of such a model has been called into question in particular by the work of Irene De Jong, who has suggested that a more fruitful approach is to differentiate between 'character-text' and 'narrator-text'.[334] One important difference here is that 'narrator-text' explicitly includes embedded focalisation, i.e. sections of the text where the character is not speaking, but where the narrative has been focalised around the character or their perspective. Importantly, in instances of this embedded focalisation, the language more typical of speeches is used.[335] This mode of analysis we may term the 'narratological' model.

At first sight, especially with regard to linguistic analysis, the narratological model may seem more useful. However, differentiating further to take into account embedded focalisation seems to have an effect only on the Homeric lexicon. That is to say, the narratological model explains why some words, such as φίλος, occur in the majority of cases in speech, but sometimes too in narrative – their occurrences in narrative are in sections of the text where embedded focalisation is being employed.[336] It seems that the narratological model provides fruitful results when it comes to some aspects of Homeric linguistics, but not the phonological or morphological features discussed here. Moreover, it is substantially easier to use the Classical model when it comes to a quantitative approach, since differentiating between simple narrative and speech is easy and clear, whereas deciding what counts as embedded focalisation is more complex and subjective.

The next issue to consider is just how much narrative and speech there is in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[337] Depending on the definitions employed, assessments vary quite significantly among scholars. Griffin, for example, quoting Schmid-Stählin, states that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are 45% and 67% direct speech respectively.[338] Other authorities, however, such as Richardson,

[333] Aristotle's analysis is slightly different from Plato's, since he considers both speech and narrative to be mimesis, just different kinds. For a fuller discussion of the Platonic and Aristotelian understanding of Homeric speech vs. narrative, see De Jong (1987a), 2-8.
[334] See De Jong (1987a), esp. 36-8.
[335] See in particular De Jong (1987b); De Jong (1992); De Jong (1997).
[336] For this particular point, see De Jong (1997), 299-302.
[337] See Richardson (1990), 70-88 for a general survey of the different kinds of speech and their interaction with narrative.
[338] Griffin (1986), 37; Griffin (2004), 156.

claim that the *Iliad* is about two-thirds direct speech.[339] It is often not clear on what basis these claims are made. Moreover, the figures for the *Odyssey* vary depending on whether books 9-12 are included – Griffin's figure of 67% stands if these books are included, but the average for the rest of the poem is 60% direct speech.[340] Instead of insisting on a correct figure, it may be best simply to proceed with the understanding that both poems contain much speech and narrative, without a particular dominance of one over the other.

5.2.4. RIP and the language of Homeric Speech and Narrative

In the previous chapter, I set out the various ways in which Homeric speech differs from narrative linguistically.[341] I discussed how speech tends to feature many kinds of linguistic one-off oddities, such as isolated archaisms or an unusual use of formulae. Moreover, speeches seem to have been composed according to different compositional and syntactic habits; for example, epic correption is much more common in speech, and – as was demonstrated in that chapter – non-initial and initial tmesis occur at a rate of about 50:50 in speech, whereas in narrative initial tmesis is much more common. The explanation I advanced there, however, was brief, and will be expanded here.

I argue here that RIP acts as a mechanism for preserving compositional features in certain kinds of hexameter texts, as well as the mechanism by which these features develop associations of genre or register. Speech and narrative in Homer constitute an excellent example of how the phenomenon has an effect on language. In the following section, I will argue that speech was recomposed (that is, recomposed anew) much more than narrative, which maintained a greater degree of fixity. As a consequence, this fixity in narrative meant that the poets associated certain kinds of linguistic features with narrative, which meant that newly composed sections of narrative were composed differently from speeches.

In order to make this argument, it is necessary to take account of various features of speech and narrative. Firstly, it is notable that many scholars have shown that Homeric narrative features formulae and type scenes much more than speech. Although their definitions

[339] Richardson (1990), 70; See further De Jong (1987a), 276 n.1. De Jong's figures are the same as those of Griffin.
[340] This figure was reached by consulting 'Appendix I' in Beck (2005), who also counts the whole of *Od.* 9-12 as 'direct speech'.
[341] See pp 156-62. quite late.

of 'formulaic' differ, it is interesting that Hainsworth, Russo and Finkelberg have all argued that speeches have a lesser degree of formulaic density than narrative.[342] In essence, what is meant here is that speeches do not tend to have their content repeated (exceptions are instances where speeches are repeated almost verbatim, but this is surely down to the poet choosing to repeat the verses when a speech is being reported, and is a separate issue to the one being discussed), whereas such repetition is much more common for narrative. To spell out the underlying assumption, it is likely that frequent repetition of phrases which is synchronic (that is, repetition throughout Homer and the other texts) indicates that the repetition is also likely diachronic (that is, that the phrases were repeated from earlier poetry on the same or similar themes). Although this is probably not the case for every repeated phrase in Homer, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the most common formulae are traditional, and the fact that these formulae are much more common in narrative attests to a sort of continuity that speeches lack, whether this was intended by the poets or not.

Moreover, the many kinds of type-scenes in Homer all occur in narrative. Relevant here is almost every aspect of action, catalogued by Edwards: battle (general structure, aristeiae/duels, arming, catalogues etc.); social interaction (hospitality, dreams, assemblies, dressing, seduction etc.); travel (by sea or land), and sacrifice/ritual.[343] Edwards also comments that 'it is questionable whether [speeches] may properly be considered a form of type-scene', although he also notes that 'deliberation speeches' appear closest to narrative type scenes.[344] The overall picture, however, is that narrative is much more likely to have its content repeated from one performance to another, on the levels both of repeated diction (formulae) and the typological models by which the narrative is constructed (type-scenes).

Before accepting these premises, however, it is necessary to challenge them. Is it really the case that speeches are not characterised by formulae? What are the commonalities in different kinds of speeches, and are these commonalities sufficient to talk about them in the same terms as type-scenes in narrative? Lastly, are there any indications that narrative portions of the text were subject to the same kind of variation as speeches?

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[342] Hainsworth (1968); Russo (1976); Finkelberg (1989).

[343] This list is an abbreviated form of the 'Plan' in Edwards (1992).

[344] See Edwards (1992), 316.

I will deal initially with the degree to which speeches are characterised by formulae. Speeches do have some recurring phrases which do not occur in narrative. Take, for example, the common formula ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσι ('I will tell you another thing, and you consider it in your mind', 14x in Homer) – this is clearly formulaic, by any definition, and seems to have been a traditional component in speeches of this kind. Similarly, but less obviously, εἴξας (᾽) θυμῷ (or with variation in order) appears four times in Homer, each time in speech (*Il.* 9.109; 9.598; 24.42; *Od.* 5.126). Kelly demonstrates that this phrase has traditional referentiality/resonance, and may therefore be taken as an example of formula.[345] These examples illustrate that, although they are not as common as in narrative, speech certainly does contain some formulaic phrases.

A more vigorous challenge was made by Martin, who attempted to argue that speeches are in fact as formulaic as narrative, and specifically that many formulae are particular only to speech: '[speeches] employ a distinct set of formulas, showing the same sorts of ossification and flexibility as the narrative portions of the text'.[346] This is a potentially very important point, and it is worth investigating in some detail.

Martin is able to make this claim by adopting the position that words should only be counted as formulaic which are only or mostly found in the same position in the line, even if they do not form a proper semantic unit.[347] Martin also includes the collocation of particles as part of his analysis, which is a potentially untenable step. To demonstrate his point, Martin quotes *Od.* 2.40-54, and emboldens anything which is formulaic by his definition and occurs in speeches, and underlines anything that is formulaic by his definition and occurs both in narrative and speeches.[348] Lastly, the words which occur at the same positions in the line elsewhere but never together are emboldened and italicised (for example, by Martin's analysis, οὗτος, ἀνήρ and τάχα all occur elsewhere in the same position in the line, but the combination of οὗτος, ἀνήρ, and τάχα is never elsewhere found). The result is as follows:

[345] Kelly (2007), 6-8.
[346] Martin (1997), 269.
[347] This step is taken due to the work of O'Neill (1942), who demonstrated that certain words are highly localised to certain points in the lines.
[348] Martin also 'outlines' some words which are ambiguous as to whether they form a unit or not; for the sake of this summary they are emboldened.

‘ὦ γέρον, *οὐχ* ἑκὰς *οὗτος ἀνήρ, τάχα* δ᾽ **εἴσεαι αὐτός,
ὃς λαὸν ἄγειρα· **μάλιστα** δέ μ᾽ **ἄλγος ἱκάνει.**
οὔτε τιν᾽* ἀγγελίην** στρατοῦ ***ἔκλυον ἐρχομένοιο,
ἧν χ᾽ ὑμῖν **σάφα εἴπω,** ὅτε πρότερός γε ***πυθοίμην,***
οὔτε τι δήμιον ἄλλο **πιφαύσκομαι οὐδ᾽ ἀγορεύω,**
ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος, ***ὅ μοι κακὰ ἔμπεσεν οἴκῳ***
δοιά: τὸ μὲν πατέρ᾽ **ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσα,** ὅς ποτ᾽ ἐν ***ὑμῖν***
τοίσδεσσιν ***βασίλευε, πατὴρ δ᾽ ὡς ἤπιος ἦεν·***
νῦν δ᾽ αὖ καὶ **πολὺ μεῖζον, ὃ δὴ *τάχα* οἶκον ἅπαντα**
πάγχυ διαρραίσει, **βίοτον *δ᾽* ἀπὸ** πάμπαν **ὀλέσ**σει.
μητέρι μοι μνηστῆρες ἐπέχραον **οὐκ ἐθελούσῃ,**
τῶν ἀνδρῶν φίλοι υἷες, ***οἳ ἐνθάδε* γ᾽ εἰσὶν ἄριστοι,**
οἳ πατρὸς μὲν ἐς **οἶκον** ἀπερρίγασι **νέεσθαι**
Ἰκαρίου, ***ὥς κ᾽ αὐτὸς*** ἐεδνώσαιτο ***θύγατρα,***
δοίη δ᾽ ᾧ κ᾽ ἐθέλοι καί οἱ κεχαρισμένος ἔλθοι·

‘Old man, not far off, as you shall soon learn yourself, is that man who has called the host together—even I; for on me above all others has sorrow come. I have neither heard any tidings of the army’s return, of which I might give you a sure report, having been the first to learn of it, nor is there any other public matter on which I am to speak and address you. No, it is my own need, seeing that evil has fallen upon my house in a double form. First, I have lost my noble father who was once king among you here, and was gentle as a father; and now there has come a far greater evil, which will presently altogether destroy my house and ruin all my livelihood. Upon my mother suitors have fastened against her will, own sons of those men who are here the noblest. They shrink from going to the house of her father, Icarius, that he may himself see to his daughter’s bride-gifts, and give her to whom he will, that is, to him who meets his favor’ (Tr. Murray).

As Martin says, ‘[o]ne should notice […] the large amount of boldfaced text’, which is by his definition formulaic; his argument is thus an argument from quantity presented visually.[349] It is important to remember that Martin is arguing that speeches have a separate set of formulae from narrative, which is why he differentiates between formulae which occur only in speech (emboldened) and formulae which occur in both (underlined). One could challenge his categorisation (for example, σάφα εἴπω in this specific form occurs only in speech – naturally given the 1st person verb form – but it appears in narrative in other shapes). For my purposes, however, what is important is that this argument would imply that speeches contain as much formulaic material as narrative. However, using Martin’s text sample, reducing the definition of

[349] Martin (1997), 268.

'formula' to a less controversial level (that is, counting only instances of two lexical items, i.e. not particles, which occur together more than once), leaving out single words and the collocations of words which do not form a proper unit of meaning, and combining the underlined and emboldened formulae, leaves the following:

> **'ὦ γέρον,** οὐχ ἑκὰς οὗτος ἀνήρ, τάχα δ' **εἴσεαι αὐτός,**
> ὃς **λαὸν ἤγειρα**· μάλιστα δέ μ' **ἄλγος ἱκάνει**.
> οὔτε τιν' ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἔκλυον ἐρχομένοιο,
> ἤν χ' ὑμῖν **σάφα εἴπω**, ὅτε πρότερός γε πυθοίμην,
> οὔτε τι δήμιον ἄλλο **πιφαύσκομαι οὐδ' ἀγορεύω**,
> ἀλλ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος, ὅ μοι **κακὰ ἔμπεσεν οἴκῳ**
> δοιά: τὸ μὲν **πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσα**, ὅς ποτ' ἐν ὑμῖν
> τοίσδεσσιν βασίλευε, **πατὴρ δ' ὣς ἤπιος ἦεν**·
> νῦν δ' αὖ καὶ **πολὺ μεῖζον**, ὃ δὴ τάχα **οἶκον ἅπαντα**
> πάγχυ διαρραίσει, βίοτον δ' ἀπὸ πάμπαν ὀλέσσει.
> **μητέρι μοι μνηστῆρες** ἐπέχραον **οὐκ ἐθελούσῃ**,
> τῶν ἀνδρῶν **φίλοι υἷες**, οἳ ἐνθάδε γ' **εἰσὶν ἄριστοι**,
> οἳ πατρὸς μὲν ἐς οἶκον ἀπερρίγασι νέεσθαι
> Ἰκαρίου, ὅς κ' αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιτο θύγατρα,
> δοίη δ' **ᾧ κ' ἐθέλοι** καί οἱ κεχαρισμένος ἔλθοι·

Immediately, the visual argument becomes less strong, though it is still considerable. What of the rest of Telemachus' speech? This section cuts off in the middle, with the rest of the speech, *Od.* 2.55-79, omitted. The next five lines are repeated wholesale from *Od.* 17.534-8, but leaving out the latter passage (to avoid questions of primacy), and treating the rest of the lines (*Od.* 2.60-9) in the same way as the last quoted section, leaves the following:[350]

> ἡμεῖς δ' οὔ νύ τι τοῖοι ἀμυνέμεν: ἦ καὶ ἔπειτα
> λευγαλέοι τ' ἐσόμεσθα καὶ οὐ δεδαηκότες ἀλκήν.
> ἦ τ' ἂν ἀμυναίμην, εἴ μοι **δύναμίς γε παρείη**.
> οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀνσχετὰ **ἔργα τετεύχαται**, οὐδ' ἔτι καλῶς
> οἶκος ἐμὸς διόλωλε. νεμεσσήθητε καὶ αὐτοί,
> ἄλλους τ' αἰδέσθητε περικτίονας ἀνθρώπους,
> οἳ περιναιετάουσι: θεῶν δ' ὑποδείσατε μῆνιν,
> μή τι μεταστρέψωσιν ἀγασσάμενοι **κακὰ ἔργα**.
> λίσσομαι ἡμὲν **Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου** ἠδὲ Θέμιστος,
> ἥ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἠμὲν λύει ἠδὲ καθίζει·
> **σχέσθε, φίλοι, καί μ' οἷον ἐάσατε | πένθεϊ λυγρῷ**

[350] The formulae here were derived from Pavese and Boscetti (2003), in the same manner that all the presence of absence of formularity was established for the data in the Database.

τείρεσθ', εἰ μή πού τι **πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐσθλὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς**
δυσμενέων **κάκ' ἔρεξεν | ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς**,
τῶν μ' ἀποτινύμενοι **κακὰ ῥέζετε** δυσμενέοντες,
τούτους ὀτρύνοντες. **ἐμοὶ δέ κε κέρδιον εἴη**
ὑμέας ἐσθέμεναι κειμήλιά τε πρόβασίν τε.
εἴ χ' ὑμεῖς γε φάγοιτε, τάχ' ἄν ποτε καὶ τίσις εἴη·
τόφρα γὰρ ἂν κατὰ ἄστυ ποτιπτυσσοίμεθα μύθῳ
χρήματ' ἀπαιτίζοντες, ἕως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθείη·
νῦν δέ μοι ἀπρήκτους ὀδύνας ἐμβάλλετε θυμῷ'

'We ourselves in no way have the strength for it: in the event we would only prove how feeble we are and how ignorant of battle. Yet truly I would defend myself, if I had but the power; for now deeds past all enduring have been done, and my house has been destroyed beyond all show of fairness. Be ashamed yourselves, and feel shame before your neighbors who dwell round about, and fear the wrath of the gods, lest it happen that they turn against you in anger at evil deeds. I pray you by Olympian Zeus and by Themis who dissolves and gathers the assemblies of men, stop this, my fellow Ithacans, and leave me alone to pine in bitter grief—unless indeed my father, noble Odysseus, in his hostility did evil to the well-greaved Achaeans, in requital whereof you do me evil in your hostility, urging these suitors on. For me it would be better that you should yourselves eat up my treasures and my flocks. If you were to devour them, some day there might be recompense; we should go up and down the city pressing our suit and asking back our goods, until all was given back. But now past cure are the woes you put upon my heart.'" (Tr. Murray).

A vertical bar indicates that there are two separate formulae, with the bar separating the two. This latter section of the speech seems to have many fewer formulae; indeed, it would have even fewer phrases repeated only in one other place in Homer were discounted. To put the argument in quantitative rather than visual terms, the first section of the speech, which Martin quoted, has 16 formulae across 14 lines of text, whereas this second section has 11 formulae over 20 lines. Ultimately, it seems that Martin's *pars pro toto* and inductive reasoning is called into question relatively easily – he has used an example which is not truly representative.[351] Without a full analysis of many or all the Homeric speeches in this regard, Martin's argument does not seem sufficient to overturn the consensus that speech is less formulaic than narrative.

What, then, of the structural elements which characterise speeches in Homer? Beck has produced two extensive studies of Homeric 'conversation', a subtype of general speech, where

[351] To be as fair as possible to Martin, he does describe his conclusions as 'tentative', and says that '[c]onclusive proof will have to await a jointly undertaken, full-scale analysis of the speeches in Homer' (268).

characters exchange dialogue.[352] Beck argues that many instances of conversation can indeed be considered examples of a type-scene, but it is important to distinguish between form and content. As Beck herself says, '[w]hile the contents of the speeches in a conversation are generally not repeated between one conversation and another, the formulas that link the speeches together are among the most repetitive and regular parts of the Homeric epics'.[353] The fact that the contents of conversation always vary, but that specific, conversation-introducing speech introductory formula do not, suggests that while conversations themselves were a traditional part of Homeric/heroic poetry, their contents were subject to significantly more variation (and this conclusion may readily be extended to speech in general, as well as conversation). To use the terminology employed above, the lack of synchronic repetition of speech content suggests that there was also a lack of diachronic repetition of speech content.

Thus far I have argued that it is significant that the content of speeches is not repeated, since this fact makes it likely that speeches were subject to recomposition more than narrative. What about structural elements that underlie speeches? Lohmann was the first to demonstrate the structural principles that underlie Homeric speech.[354] Lohmann identified three basic patterns that characterise speech in Homer: ring composition; parallelism; and linear sequence. Not only do these patterns operate within speeches ('inner composition': i.e. there are speeches whose contents are arranged in terms of ring composition), but Lohmann argued that they can operate across multiple speeches ('outer composition': i.e. there are sets of speeches which can be seen together to form a linear sequence, or set of parallels). The important difference between this sort of structure and the structure of type-scenes is that the use of a type-scene has a strong effect on the sort of content of the verses. By contrast, any idea or thought can be expressed in, for example, a chiastic, paralleling structure – for an example, see the second half of Polydamas' speech in *Il.* 18.267-83 (quoted below).

It is necessary to be careful with terminology here. Willcock, discussing the similarities between speeches across the *Iliad*, suggests that apparent similarities are to be explained by

[352] Beck (2005); Beck (2012).
[353] Beck (2005), 9.
[354] Lohmann (1970). See Lohmann (1997) for a translation into English of his arguments concerning ring composition.

'typical motifs and type scenes'.[355] He goes on: '[t]he poet has a *pattern* for such scenes and type-speeches; parallelism of structure and content is therefore not surprising'.[356] In order to investigate this claim, it is interesting to look at four separate speeches of Polydamas (*Il.* 12.61-79, 12.211-29, 13.726-47, 18.254-83), mentioned by Willcock.[357]

Il. 12.61-79:

"Ἕκτορ τ᾽ ἠδ᾽ ἄλλοι Τρώων ἀγοὶ ἠδ᾽ ἐπικούρων
ἀφραδέως διὰ τάφρον ἐλαύνομεν ὠκέας ἵππους·
ἣ δὲ μάλ᾽ ἀργαλέη περάαν· σκόλοπες γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ
ὀξέες ἑστᾶσιν, ποτὶ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν,
ἔνθ᾽ οὔ πως ἔστιν καταβήμεναι οὐδὲ μάχεσθαι
ἱππεῦσι· στεῖνος γάρ, ὅθι τρώσεσθαι ὀΐω.
εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πάγχυ κακὰ φρονέων ἀλαπάζει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, Τρώεσσι δὲ ἴετ᾽ ἀρήγειν,
ἦ τ᾽ ἂν ἔγωγ᾽ ἐθέλοιμι καὶ αὐτίκα τοῦτο γενέσθαι,
νωνύμνους ἀπολέσθαι ἀπ᾽ Ἄργεος ἐνθάδ᾽ Ἀχαιούς·
εἰ δέ χ᾽ ὑποστρέψωσι, παλίωξις δὲ γένηται
ἐκ νηῶν καὶ τάφρῳ ἐνιπλήξωμεν ὀρυκτῇ,
οὐκέτ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ ὀΐω οὐδ᾽ ἄγγελον ἀπονέεσθαι
ἄψορρον προτὶ ἄστυ ἑλιχθέντων ὑπ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν.
ἀλλ᾽ ἄγεθ᾽ ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω πειθώμεθα πάντες·
ἵππους μὲν θεράποντες ἐρυκόντων ἐπὶ τάφρῳ,
αὐτοὶ δὲ πρυλέες σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες
Ἕκτορι πάντες ἑπώμεθ᾽ ἀολλέες· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ
οὐ μενέουσ᾽ εἰ δή σφιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ᾽ ἐφῆπται.'

"Hector, and you other leaders of the Trojans and allies, it is folly to seek to drive our swift horses across the trench; very hard is it to cross, for sharp stakes are set in it, and close by them is the wall of the Achaeans. There it is not at all possible for charioteers to descend and fight; for the space is narrow, and then I think we shall suffer hurt. For if Zeus, who thunders on high, is utterly to crush our foe in his wrath, and is minded to give aid to the Trojans, then of course I too would be eager that this might immediately come to pass, that the Achaeans should perish here far from Argos, and have no name; but if they turn on us and we are driven back from the ships and become entangled in the trench they have dug, then I think that not one man of us will return back to the city from before the Achaeans when they rally, even to bear the tidings. But come, just as I shall say, let us all obey. As for the horses, let the attendants hold them back by the trench, but ourselves on foot, arrayed in our armor, let us follow all in one throng after Hector; and the Achaeans will not withstand us, if the coils of destruction have been fastened on them."

Il. 12.211-29:

Ἕκτορ ἀεὶ μέν πώς μοι ἐπιπλήσσεις ἀγορῇσιν
ἐσθλὰ φραζομένῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ ἔοικε
δῆμον ἐόντα παρὲξ ἀγορευέμεν, οὔτ᾽ ἐνὶ βουλῇ
οὔτέ ποτ᾽ ἐν πολέμῳ, σὸν δὲ κράτος αἰὲν ἀέξειν·
νῦν αὖτ᾽ ἐξερέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.
μὴ ἴομεν Δαναοῖσι μαχησόμενοι περὶ νηῶν.
ὧδε γὰρ ἐκτελέεσθαι ὀΐομαι, εἰ ἐτεόν γε
Τρωσὶν ὅδ᾽ ὄρνις ἦλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν
αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἐέργων
φοινήεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον

what seems to me to be best. Let us not go forward to fight with the Danaans for the ships. For so, I think, will the issue be, since in fact this omen has come on the Trojans as they were eager to cross over, an eagle of lofty flight, skirting the army on the left, carrying in his talons a blood-red, huge snake, still living, yet suddenly let it fall before he reached his dear nest, and did not finish his course, to bring and give it to his little ones; so shall we, though we break the gates and the wall of the Achaeans by our great might and the Achaeans give way, come back over the same road from the ships in disarray; many of the Trojans will we leave behind whom the Achaeans will slaughter with the bronze in defense of the ships. This is the way a soothsayer would interpret, one who in his mind had clear knowledge of omens, and to whom the people gave ear."

[355] Willcock (1973), 17.
[356] *Ibid.*, 17. Emphasis is original.
[357] The following long translations are from the Loeb edition

ζωόν· ἄφαρ δ᾽ ἀφέηκε πάρος φίλα οἰκί᾽ ἱκέσθαι,
οὐδ᾽ ἐτέλεσσε φέρων δόμεναι τεκέεσσιν ἑοῖσιν.
ὣς ἡμεῖς, εἴ πέρ τε πύλας καὶ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν
ῥηξόμεθα σθένεϊ μεγάλῳ, εἴξωσι δ᾽ Ἀχαιοί,
οὐ κόσμῳ παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ᾽ αὐτὰ κέλευθα·
πολλοὺς γὰρ Τρώων καταλείψομεν, οὕς κεν Ἀχαιοὶ
χαλκῷ δῃώσωσιν ἀμυνόμενοι περὶ νηῶν.
ὧδέ χ᾽ ὑποκρίναιτο θεοπρόπος, ὃς σάφα θυμῷ
εἰδείη τεράων καί οἱ πειθοίατο λαοί.’

Il. 13.726-47:

Ἕκτορ ἀμήχανός ἐσσι παραρρητοῖσι πιθέσθαι.
οὕνεκά τοι περὶ δῶκε θεὸς πολεμήϊα ἔργα
τοὔνεκα καὶ βουλῇ ἐθέλεις περιίδμεναι ἄλλων·
ἀλλ᾽ οὔ πως ἅμα πάντα δυνήσεαι αὐτὸς ἑλέσθαι.
ἄλλῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκε θεὸς πολεμήϊα ἔργα,
ἄλλῳ δ᾽ ὀρχηστύν, ἑτέρῳ κίθαριν καὶ ἀοιδήν,
ἄλλῳ δ᾽ ἐν στήθεσσι τιθεῖ νόον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
ἐσθλόν, τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἐπαυρίσκοντ᾽ ἄνθρωποι,
καί τε πολέας ἐσάωσε, μάλιστα δὲ καὐτὸς ἀνέγνω.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα·
πάντῃ γάρ σε περὶ στέφανος πολέμοιο δέδηε·
Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ἐπεὶ κατὰ τεῖχος ἔβησαν
οἳ μὲν ἀφεστᾶσιν σὺν τεύχεσιν, οἳ δὲ μάχονται
παυρότεροι πλεόνεσσι κεδασθέντες κατὰ νῆας.
ἀλλ᾽ ἀναχασσάμενος κάλει ἐνθάδε πάντας ἀρίστους·
ἔνθεν δ᾽ ἂν μάλα πᾶσαν ἐπιφρασσαίμεθα βουλὴν
ἤ κεν ἐνὶ νήεσσι πολυκλήϊσι πέσωμεν
αἴ κ᾽ ἐθέλῃσι θεὸς δόμεναι κράτος, ἦ κεν ἔπειτα
πὰρ νηῶν ἔλθωμεν ἀπήμονες. ἦ γὰρ ἔγωγε
δείδω μὴ τὸ χθιζὸν ἀποστήσωνται Ἀχαιοὶ
χρεῖος, ἐπεὶ παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀνὴρ ἆτος πολέμοιο
μίμνει, ὃν οὐκέτι πάγχυ μάχης σχήσεσθαι ὀΐω.’

“Hector, you are a hard man to convince with words of persuasion. Because a god has given you deeds of war as to no other, for that reason in counsel too you are minded to have wisdom beyond all; but there is no way you will be able by yourself to compass all things. To one man has god given deeds of war, to another the dance, to another the lyre and song, and in the breast of another man Zeus, whose voice resounds afar, puts an understanding mind from which many men get profit, and many he saves; but he realizes it best himself. So I will speak what seems to me to be best. For all about you blazes a ring of war, and the great-hearted Trojans, now that they have passed over the wall, are some of them standing aside with their arms, and others are fighting, fewer men against more, scattered among the ships. But draw back, and call here all the best men. Then we shall take thought of all manner of counsel, whether we shall fall on the many-benched ships, to see if the god wills to give us victory, or shall then return unscathed back from the ships. For I myself, at least, fear that the Achaeans may pay back the debt of yesterday, since there remains by the ships a man insatiate of war, who no longer, I suspect, will hold back utterly from battle.”

Il. 18.254-83:

‘ἀμφὶ μάλα φράζεσθε φίλοι· κέλομαι γὰρ ἔγωγε
ἄστυδε νῦν ἰέναι, μὴ μίμνειν ἠῶ δῖαν
ἐν πεδίῳ παρὰ νηυσίν· ἑκὰς δ᾽ ἀπὸ τείχεός εἰμεν.
ὄφρα μὲν οὗτος ἀνὴρ Ἀγαμέμνονι μήνιε δίῳ

“On both sides, my friends, take thought well. For my own part I urge you to return now to the city and not to await bright Dawn on the plain beside the ships, for far from the wall are we. As long as this man continued in wrath against noble Agamemnon, so long were the Achaeans easier to fight against; for I too was glad, when hard by the swift ships I spent the night, hoping to take the curved ships. But now I dreadfully fear the swift-footed son of Peleus; so impetuous is his heart, he will not be minded to remain in the plain, in the

τόφρα δὲ ῥηΐτεροι πολεμίζειν ἦσαν Ἀχαιοί·
χαίρεσκον γὰρ ἔγωγε θοῇς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἰαύων
ἐλπόμενος νῆας αἱρησέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας.
νῦν δ᾽ αἰνῶς δείδοικα ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα·
οἷος κείνου θυμὸς ὑπέρβιος, οὐκ ἐθελήσει
μίμνειν ἐν πεδίῳ, ὅθι περ Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ
ἐν μέσῳ ἀμφότεροι μένος Ἄρηος δατέονται,
ἀλλὰ περὶ πτόλιός τε μαχήσεται ἠδὲ γυναικῶν.
ἀλλ᾽ ἴομεν προτὶ ἄστυ, πίθεσθέ μοι· ὧδε γὰρ ἔσται·
νῦν μὲν νὺξ ἀπέπαυσε ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα
ἀμβροσίη· εἰ δ᾽ ἄμμε κιχήσεται ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐόντας
αὔριον ὁρμηθεὶς σὺν τεύχεσιν, εὖ νύ τις αὐτὸν
γνώσεται· ἀσπασίως γὰρ ἀφίξεται Ἴλιον ἱρὴν
ὅς κε φύγῃ, πολλοὺς δὲ κύνες καὶ γῦπες ἔδονται
Τρώων· αἴ γὰρ δή μοι ἀπ᾽ οὔατος ὧδε γένοιτο.
εἰ δ᾽ ἂν ἐμοῖς ἐπέεσσι πιθώμεθα κηδόμενοί περ,
νύκτα μὲν εἰν ἀγορῇ σθένος ἔξομεν, ἄστυ δὲ πύργοι
ὑψηλαί τε πύλαι σανίδες τ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇς ἀραρυῖαι
μακραὶ ἐΰξεστοι ἐζευγμέναι εἰρύσσονται·
πρῶϊ δ᾽ ὑπηοῖοι <u>σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες</u>
στησόμεθ᾽ ἂμ πύργους· τῷ δ᾽ ἄλγιον, αἴ κ᾽ ἐθέλῃσιν
ἐλθὼν ἐκ νηῶν περὶ τείχεος ἄμμι μάχεσθαι.
ἂψ πάλιν εἶσ᾽ ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπεί κ᾽ ἐριαύχενας ἵππους
παντοίου δρόμου ἄσῃ ὑπὸ πτόλιν ἠλασκάζων·
εἴσω δ᾽ οὔ μιν θυμὸς ἐφορμηθῆναι ἐάσει,
οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἐκπέρσει: πρίν μιν κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔδονται.’

Any phraseology repeated across the speeches has been underlined, as has the vocative address to Hector at the start of the first three speeches. There most certainly is a pattern here: Polydamas addresses the Trojans, in particular Hector, and he gives sound advice to avoid battle in some sense. As it happens, this advice is rejected three out of four times, and Hector rebukes him with stern anger twice (*Il.* 12.230, 18.284: τὸν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ, ‘and him Hector with the gleaming helmet addressed, glaring angrily’). The content of the advice is also broadly similar, as each time Polydamas argues against pressing too hard, or continuing the fight. It seems reasonably clear that this situation – where Polydamas advises Hector to avoid combat in some way – is a traditional one. Polydamas even seems to allude to this when he says that Hector *always* rebukes him (*Il.* 12.211-2). Yet the four speeches are almost completely

devoid of repeated content. This same conclusion applies for other kinds of speeches, such as paraenesis ('the call to battle'). One might expect such calls to battle to be highly formulaic, given that they are found within highly repetitive battle narratives. The opposite, however, seems to be the case: 'each paraenesis is different and most add significantly to the effect of their immediate surrounding'.[358]

In this limited sense, I agree with Willcock that speeches of these kinds, within their specific contexts, could be called 'type-speeches'. Yet the similarity between the speeches does not extend beyond general aspects. It is clear that there is very little shared phraseology in the speeches, even though some sentiments are similar (for example, Polydamas' feeling the need to justify himself in 12.211-29 and 13.726-47). The inference to be made here is that if these speeches were to be called 'type-speeches', it is important to note that they are nonetheless different from the usual Homeric type-scenes found in narrative, such as arming or feasting, which are much more formulaic and have much more repeated content. This difference is crucial to the present argument: speeches, even when they have been constructed on similar premises or with similar rhetorical structures, vary their content much more than narrative. To rephrase what we have just said in terms of RIP: as narrative sections of the text were recomposed-in-performance, there was a high degree of continuity in each performance, resulting in a greater fixity on each occasion. For speeches, on the other hand, the opportunity to innovate was greater, and speeches were recomposed anew, with less continuity, relatively more often.

Why should speeches have provided a greater opportunity to innovate? Firstly, it seems *a priori* more likely that if a poet reperformed versions of poems like our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the scope for interesting poetic content was greater in speeches than in narrative. In some of the most memorable episodes from the *Iliad*, 'the entire weight of the meaning' (as Edwards put it) is created by means of speeches – one thinks of the exchange between Hector and Adromache in *Iliad* 6, the various speeches to Achilles in the embassy in *Iliad* 9, and of course the exchange between Priam and Achilles in *Iliad* 24.[359] It seems reasonable to conclude that different poets

[358] See Edwards (1987), 89, with further literature.

[359] Edwards (1987), 89. In this regard see the discussion of Griffin (2004), 163-5 who brings out the effect of having the *Iliad* start with speech exchanges between Achilles and Agamemnon.

would, or at least could, have made their characters say different things, within stories that were relatively similar.

As a case in point, we may refer to four soliloquies in the *Iliad*: those of Odysseus (*Il.* 11.404-410), Menelaus (*Il.* 17.91-105), Agenor (*Il.* 21.553-570) and Hector (*Il.* 22.99-110). In each of these occasions, the hero is presented with an impending danger, and deliberates on whether to fight or withdraw – presumably a traditional thing for heroes to do. In his analysis of these soliloquies, Fenik showed that, not only was the content of each internal deliberation different, but each was also very well suited to its context and provided important characterisation for the speakers (Hector's most of all is poignant, almost tragic, given the importance of the impending fight).[360] Overall, speeches are the vehicle for much of the poems' meaning and significance. It is worth quoting Edwards in full on this matter:

> 'That the mighty commander-in-chief of the greatest legendary exploit of the Greek race should be a weak leader, insecure and the first to give up hope; that the unfaithful wife who caused all the suffering should be a remorseful and grief-stricken woman, as well as one who yields too easily to her passion for a man she despises: this seems unlikely to be a traditional portrayal, and is very probably due to the imagination of the poet'.[361]

It thus seems reasonable to suppose that speeches were recomposed anew relatively much more often than narrative.

Before turning to discuss the implications that such a conclusion has for my study, it is necessary to address one more issue: how fixed was narrative? In the previous chapter I quoted Finkelberg, who was arguing a similar case to the one set out here, when she said that '[w]hile the plot is fixed in tradition, the content of the speeches is not'.[362] This statement could be true when applied to an oral poet at the very end of the period before the poems seem to have reached a relative degree of fixity: once the *Odyssey* or the *Iliad* – with emphasis on the definite article – were established as having their fixed plots, only the speeches could vary.[363] Yet in

[360] Fenik (1978). See also Edwards (1987), 95-6 on these soliloquies.
[361] Edwards (1987), 96.
[362] Finkelberg (2012), 93. See p.153.
[363] To reiterate a point made in the Introduction: although it is not clear exactly how it happened, it does appear that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* achieved a relative degree of fixity at some point before the 5th century – they do not remain multiform poems down to the Alexandrian period.

earlier stages, variation in narrative would have been completely reasonable, and must have happened very frequently. Indeed, there have been many arguments that various vestiges of earlier plots/poems are still traceable within our texts.

One such argument centres around the notorious dual forms of *Iliad* 9.[364] Although there have been many proposed explanations of these forms, the most likely proposition is that the dual forms were retained from an earlier performance in which only two individuals went on the embassy to Achilles.[365] The 'failure' of the poet to adjust the text, once he had decided to have three people go on the embassy to Achilles, has rightly been seen as the most problematic part of the explanation – why would the poet simply not update the lines? Perhaps the concepts being discussed here might shed some light on the matter. The situation makes perfect sense when thought about within the context of different degrees of recomposition, within the process of RIP, and constitutes further evidence for the overall argument advanced here. The poet of the version which we have presumably had heard or knew a version of the episode with the embassy to Achilles consisting of two important characters, and updated it to include a third (which characters were the original two is up for debate).[366] This innovation is reflected in the deliberation scene before the embassy is sent, and of course in the speeches to Achilles. Yet this innovation was placed side by side with the learned (could it be said, fixed?) section of narrative, since it was typical for poets to keep relatively stable narrative alongside more commonly updated speeches. The explanation – that the dual forms are simply a relic of an older performance – is not new, but it is elucidated and extended further by the present argument, since we now might have a clearer sense of why the poet did not change the dual forms. The reason given for this failure is typically that the pressure of the tradition was sufficiently strong

[364] The main problem being that, once it is decided that Odysseus, Ajax, and Phoenix and two heralds (Odios and Eurybates) will go to see Achilles, the narrative and the introduction to Achilles' speech use dual forms to refer to the three (or five, if the heralds are counted) men. Other problems include the fact that there are plural forms alongside the dual forms, and that Phoenix is introduced unexpectedly by Nestor for the first time in the narrative as if he were known to us.

[365] For the immense bibliography on the subject, see in particular Segal (1968) and Scodel (2002), 160-72, with further literature. The present discussion of necessity simplifies the issue, but the strength of the parallel of *Il.* 1.327-34 effectively rules out the position that the existence of the plural forms alongside the duals means that the dual forms were intended and refer to some subgrouping of the three/five men – whether *Il.* 1.327ff. is taken as a manifestation of a type-scene or not, its existence provides a potential model or source for the plural forms alongside the previous version of the embassy scene.

[366] Nagy (1979) 49-55 argues that Odysseus is the addition, whereas it is typically proposed that Phoenix is the addition.

for the poet to keep the old verses, which now might, in light of RIP, be seen to make more sense.[367]

By way of concluding this section, it is worth clarifying that the argument here is that speech was much more prone to being recomposed anew with each performance than narrative was – not that narrative was always fixed. It seems *a priori* very likely that there would have been many versions of the homecoming of Odysseus, or Achilles and his actions and interactions around Troy: scholars have argued at length that their traces are still visible in our texts.[368] For example, it has been argued that Achilles was a relatively late addition into the Trojan war saga – his mythological-geographical ties to the war are not strong, and it does seem as if Ajax has been rather ousted as the traditional, best Greek warrior.[369] Similarly, scholars have detected traces in the *Odyssey* of variants referred to and rejected, where the homecoming and reunion of Odysseus and Penelope was told differently: Penelope herself may have recognised Odysseus and plotted the destruction of the suitors with him, or Odysseus might have actually descended to the underworld himself.[370] It seems very likely that these or similar earlier versions of the stories existed, and that the narrative sections of the text were mutable – but not to the same degree as the speeches, the variability of which seems to have been an important part of the epic tradition.[371]

Lastly, it is worth re-emphasising that the situation is not so simple as to say that verses were either traditional, repeated and formulaic or new, non-formulaic, completely

[367] It is worth noting that the dual forms at the beginning of Achilles' speech are not problematic to the position put forward here. It is not suggested that all parts of speech were new or that all parts of narrative were pre-existing; there were doubtless innovated parts of narrative, and older phraseology in speeches. Achilles' use of the duals, at the start of his speech (i.e. immediately next to the narrative) would be one such case.

[368] Much of the work was done by old, Analyst scholars, such as Schwartz (1924), Merkelbach (1951) and Page (1955), but has since been seen in a more productive light by the Neo-Analytic scholars, who have attempted to reconstruct earlier poems to which our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* refer (for which see the following notes).

[369] See West (2011c), 42-8, and Scafoglio (2014) for the two arguments respectively. Without wanting to get into an Analyst-style discussion of a 'core' of the *Iliad* focussing around Achilles, it is worth saying that Achilles is deeply ensconced within the *Iliad* as we have it. If Achilles were a relatively recent addition, he must still have been a part of the tradition for a very substantial period of time before our *Iliad* was composed.

[370] See in particular Danek (1998); Marks (2003); Reece (2011); Burgess (2017).

[371] One may note here the importance that speech has for a good Homeric hero; this is emphasised at various points, such as *Il.* 9.438-43, *Il.* 1.490, and *Od.* 8.171-3. See Griffin (2004), esp. 160-1 and Edwards (1987), 89.

exceptional.[372] Scholarship has made clear that verses which are seemingly unrepeated can be part of very many patterns of composition which pervade hexameter poetry. To quote Kahane:

> 'Homeric diction is replete with patterns of every sort and thus also with many sorts of exception. Metrical pauses and metrical sequences are highly regularized; individual lexical items are highly localized in particular parts of the verse, often independently and not necessarily as part of a group of words; syntactic structures tend to be repeated, often with a variety of individual lexical items; we can identify phonetic patterns, theme based patterns, patterns that are restricted to specific parts of the narrative (clustering), or to discursive functions, patterns that involve scenes, actions, grammatical, lexical, or poetic categories, and so on. Such patterns almost inevitably overlap with each other, creating multiple levels of interaction, interference, and change, creating language that is *traditional but often hybrid*.'.[373]

In Kahane's terminology, speeches might be said to be more likely to contain verses which are 'traditional but hybrid' – this kind of description differs from the sort employed so far in the discussion, where, broadly speaking, narrative was described as 'more traditional' and speeches 'more innovative'. It is therefore worth acknowledging that the terms used so far in the discussion were employed in a simplified yet still basically valid way – the content of speeches is demonstrably different from narrative, and we can characterise this difference by saying that speeches are 'more innovative' or 'traditional but hybrid', but both mark the same important difference from narrative.

5.2.5. Speech and Narrative in Avdo Međedović and Mumin Vlahovljak's Versions of 'Bećiragić Meho' (Parry No.s 12471, 12468)

Before turning to the next stage of the argument, it is worth briefly discussing speech and narrative from a comparative perspective. During his fieldwork, Parry was able to encounter multiple poets performing the 'same' song, and he was able to record the performances. One such case is constituted by the two performances of 'Bećiragić Meho', the eponymous hero, by Avdo Međedović and Mumin Vlahovljak, the pupil and teacher respectively. Avdo's version is a

[372] See p.39.
[373] Kahane (2018), 108, emphasis mine.

quite remarkable example of the technique of 'expansion', which Parry observed to be an important part of the process of poems being passed down via RIP – for our purposes, it is particularly noteworthy that one of the most important areas in which expansion occurred was in the field of speech.[374] An interesting example occurs in Lord's summary of two corresponding parts of the poem, 'the arrival of the messenger', in the opening parts of each song:[375]

> Mumin's version (ll. 48-76; 28 lines): 'When the aghas had drunk their fill, there was a creaking of the door of the tavern and a messenger arrived, gave greetings, which were accepted, and then asked if he had arrived at Udbina. Halil told the Latin that he had. Then the Latin asked for Mustajbey, and Halil pointed him out. The messenger did obeisance to Mustajbey and then stood before him to speak'.
>
> Avdo's version (ll. 172-272; 100 lines): 'The beys looked out over the plain and saw a cloud from which a rider emerged on a black horse, carrying a letter on a branch. He was a Latin. The beys pondered in fear as to what the message might be. Mustajbey called his standard-bearers Desnić and Memić to go down to meet the messenger. The messenger approached them, gave greetings which were accepted, dismounted, and entered the loggia and greeted the aghas and beys. He asked them if he had arrived at Unđurovina and Kanidža. Mustajbey said that he had. The messenger noted that Mustajbey was the most honored man in the assembly and asked his name and rank. Mustajbey told his name and listed the places over which he ruled. The messenger did obeisance before Mustajbey and then stood before him to speak'.

The original version was only 28 lines long in total, whereas Avdo's version is expanded into 100 lines, which includes 41 lines of speech.[376] The preliminary exchange between the messenger and Mustajbey, missing in Mumin's version, is an innovation whose content could easily vary from performance to performance, where the poet could choose how best to set the tone of the meeting or characterise the individuals. Yet the basic narrative progression in both versions is

[374] See Lord (1960), 102ff.

[375] *Ibid.*, 224.

[376] Unfortunately there do not exist to my knowledge published editions or translations of the two songs; these numbers for Avdo's performance were derived from consulting the original transcription, accessible online in the Milman Parry Collection, with speech marked. Mumin's version, however, is not accessible, and so a direct comparison between the number of lines of speech in both versions is not possible.

the same; the messenger arrives, asks to speak to Mustajbey, and stands before him to speak. This example illustrates that speech was particularly well suited to innovation on the part of the poet, and while this comparison with the Serbo-Croat material cannot be probative when it comes to the Homeric poems, it is nevertheless suggestive evidence of the role of speeches in expansion between different versions of the same poem. It would not be difficult to imagine such a situation in previous versions of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

In summary, there is a strong case that RIP was different for narrative and speeches: narrative was likely altered relatively less often, whereas speeches were likely altered relatively more often.[377] If this premise is accepted, it may explain the various linguistic differences between the two. In particular, it seems that not only on the basic level are archaisms conserved in narrative and neologisms more common in speeches, but also that certain kinds of compositional habits or preferences became marked as more suiting narrative or speech. In the following section, I will argue that RIP also played an important role for other hexameter traditions, and that the language is affected as a result.

5.3. Genre and Performance History in the Early Greek Hexameter Corpus

In the previous chapter and section, I argued that the linguistic differences between narrative and speech can be accounted for by their compositional/performative histories – narrative sections of the text were more likely to be conserved, and this conservatism led to certain features (such as initial tmesis) becoming marked as suiting narrative. In this section, I make the case that similar processes occurred for other kinds of hexameter performances, specifically theogonic, didactic and hymnic poetry, as represented by the Hesiodic *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, and the Homeric Hymns.

The following argument suggests that the genre of the poem had a significant effect on the use of the linguistic features discussed in this thesis. A similar position was suggested by Pavese, who proposed that the linguistic differences between Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns

[377] One issue which has not been discussed is the relevance of the concept of the 'post-traditional' singer/poet: i.e. a singer who outshines other singers through the combination of lots of different songs or traditions into one, larger song, but still using traditional techniques. See, for example, Danek (2012b), 120. Typically, such a singer is contrasted with a normal singer, whose ambitions are more modest. The composers of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may have been 'post-traditional' in this sense. Yet any singer, 'post-traditional' or not, will have been recomposing-in-performance, simply to a different degree.

could be explained by their different subject matter ('tema').[378] Themes of war, peace, theogonic description, and others all, according to Pavese, had an effect on the use of the linguistic features; warlike themes, he suggested, were the most conservative:[379]

> 'The most conservative diction is that of the broad and detailed narration of the heroic poem, which aims to represent deeds as they develop. Within the scope of this diction the themes of battle are more conservative than the other themes. The themes of warlike exploits (duel, battle, assembly, preparation, catalogue, fight over the fallen, etc.) contain detailed narratives of martial deeds that date back to the heroic era, which for the Greeks was the Mycenaean era. It is therefore natural that the old elements have been preserved in greater number with old formulas'.

Pavese here is in an awkward position as the diction of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, by both his count and those of others, is not much different, yet the *Odyssey* is not primarily a poem of battle or war.[380] Moreover, Janko admits that subject matter might be an operant factor in some sense, but dismisses the possibility given that the first 200 lines of the *Works and Days* are not significantly different from the rest of the poem – these first 200 lines contain mythic material, whereas the rest of the poem does not (within Pavese's terminology, the rest of the *Works and Days* is 'rustic' and 'gnomic').[381]

These concerns are circumvented by shifting the emphasis from 'theme' or 'subject matter' to the related concept of genre. Such an approach has the advantage that the similar behaviour of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is more understandable when they were considered to be within the same genre, a genre which itself might contain different 'themes'. The same applies

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[378] Pavese (1974), 111-24.

[379] Pavese (1974), 119: 'La dizione più conservativa è quella della narrazaione ampia e particolareggiata propria del poema eroico, la quale mira a rappresentare i fatti così come si sono svolti. Nell'ambito di questa dizione i temi di battaglia sono più conservatori che non gli altri temi. I temi che naranno le imprese guerresche (duello, battaglia, assemblea, preparazione, rassegna, combattimento su un caduto, etc.) contengono narrazioni particolareggiate di gesta marziali che risalgono ultimamente all'epoca eroica, che per i Greci fu l'epoca micenea. È naturale perciò che con le vecchie formule siano stati conservati in maggior numero gli elementi antichi.'

[380] Pavese (1974), 116, 119 actually argues that this difference in content explains why the *Odyssey* is slightly different from the *Iliad*, but this is unconvincing: surely such a large difference in content, under Pavese's logic, would lead to a similarly large difference in statistics?

[381] Janko (1982), 15-6. Within the context of the rest of my argument, theogonic and didactic hexameter are presented as very similar, so that the homogeneity between *Works and Days* 1-200 and the rest of the poem would not be surprising anyway. Compare the argument of Blümer (2001), 136 who argues that the difference between *Works and Days* 1-200 and the *Theogony* is not significant given that the sample size is so small.

for the *Works and Days*; if the whole poem is construed broadly as an example of the didactic genre, its homogeneity is not surprising. But how should genre be conceptualised?

5.3.1. Some Theoretical Concerns Regarding 'Genre'

The most sophisticated approach to genre in the early Greek hexameter corpus is that of Gainsford.[382] Gainsford sets out that all the texts operate within the 'superordinate genre' of hexameter poetry, with further differentiation into 'overarching topics and themes'.[383] This first sub-categorisation puts the texts into different sub-genres: heroic narrative, wisdom poetry, and cosmogony/theogony. Furthermore, there also exist 'sub-themes and structural elements', among which Gainsford cites the hymn, catalogue, genealogy, and type-scenes. Finally, there are 'tropes and stylistic features', which include proems, similes, *ekphrasis*, *sphragis*, route descriptions, etc.

Gainsford's categorisation has the benefit of allowing us to understand how both heroic narrative and, for example, cosmogony can contain common elements such as proems. However, the way in which he distinguishes between 'sub-themes and structural elements' and 'tropes and stylistic features' might be criticised. It is not clear why, for example, a type-scene is considered a structural element (alongside, say, catalogue) rather than a trope (alongside, say, an *ekphrasis*). Moreover, it is worth stressing that instances of both 'overarching topics' and 'sub-themes' can exist as independent poetic compositions: that is, heroic narrative can constitute a whole poem, but so can hymns, catalogues, and genealogies. (In this respect, too, type-scenes stand out in this stratum, since we have no poems which consist wholly of a single or multiple type-scenes, but we do have, for example, hymns which contain type-scenes.) Another potential ambiguity is the relationship between 'hymn' as a 'sub-theme' and a proem as a 'trope and stylistic feature'.[384]

Nevertheless, Gainsford's schematic is particularly useful in highlighting how each overarching topic/theme (e.g. heroic narrative, didactic, etc.) exists as a separate entity with its own tradition within hexameter poetry, and also how each can use the same sub-themes, tropes,

[382] Gainsford (2016), 34-56. For a discussion of Homer in terms of genre from a comparative perspective, see Foley (2004).
[383] Cf. Hutchinson (2013), 1-20.
[384] See Harden and Kelly (2013) for a discussion of some of the issues involved.

and stylistic features. Where, then, does the speech/narrative distinction fit into the picture? The different kinds of speeches that we have discussed so far are all clearly a traditional part of heroic narrative, but how do they relate to didactic, theogonic, and also hymnic poetry? 'Speech' is itself not a (sub)category in the same way that a type-scene or trope is, since 'speech' is a useful umbrella term for different kinds of elements which are uttered by characters rather than the narrator (in the same manner, 'narrative' is not itself a (sub)category). Speech-elements which do constitute (sub)categories, however, might include rebukes, conversation or paraenesis, and they may perhaps be situated within Gainsford's schematic at the 'tropes' level. As I have argued, Homeric speech is much more likely to vary in its contents than narrative, from performance to performance. The next section will consider whether each of the major (sub-)genres is more likely to behave like Homeric speech or Homeric narrative in this regard.

5.3.2. The Re-Performance History of Theogonic, Didactic, and Hymnic Hexameters

When a distinction is being made between speech and narrative, it is possible to suggest that content is more likely to be traditional - i.e. repeated diachronically - the more it was repeated synchronically. This observation was only possible because of the extremely large body of heroic hexameter poetry that survives. The same observation is not so readily useful when it comes to the other (sub-)genres of hexameter poetry, since our evidence is far more restricted. Since it is much harder to establish synchronic repetition, other kinds of argument must be employed. The following analysis attempts to establish the degree to which our surviving examples of each (sub-)genre match the reconstructed norms for that (sub-)genre, and whether the content of the poems seems to be innovative or traditional.[385]

Before turning to the texts, it is necessary to address an issue which has been latent in the discussion so far: the relationship between innovation and tradition. So far, I have painted

[385] If there existed a widely accepted and methodologically uncomplicated study of the formulaic density of each poem in the corpus, such statistics would be helpful, but it is not possible to rely on the limited and varying calculations that have been made. See, for example, Milton (1975), who uses both a method of establishing formulaic density, and the relevant definitions, derived from the method employed by Lord (1968). He finds that the *Theogony* is 36.6% 'straight formula', and the *Works and Days* 'somewhat over 22 percent' (p. 30), in contrast to 57.5% for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined as calculated by Schmidt (1885), using a different method. While these figures could be suggestive, under the principle that a higher percentage of formulaic usage correlates to more conservative and traditional poetry (a principle which is questionable anyway), the lack of consistency in method and definition between these scholars limits the use of the evidence. For further general concerns on this topic, see Kahane (1997), 328.

a relatively simple picture: Homeric narrative, for example, has been suggested to be more traditional, whereas Homeric speech has been suggested to be more innovative (and the same kind of terminology will be used for the other texts too). Yet it is perfectly possible to tell an innovative story in a traditional manner: take, for example, the opening of Hesiod's *Theogony*, which is composed in conservative and traditional language yet narrates his encounter with the Muses on Mt. Helicon, presumably an innovation made by the poet.[386] Equally, the language used to compose the titanomachy in the *Theogony* has much in common with Homeric poetry: '[m]uch of [Hesiod's] use of the hexameter and its traditional language was distinct'.[387] Such an understanding, however, does not change the fact that Homeric narrative is far more likely to contain traditional language, whereas speech is much less likely to contain it, since as I have argued the latter was more likely to be recomposed anew in reperformance. Thanks to the very large amount of heroic poetry preserved, a quantitative approach is not severely compromised by exceptional passages where innovative content is composed in traditional language (or by the rarer inverse, where traditional content is composed in non-traditional language), since such passages constitute a small proportion of the texts. Such a quantitative approach, however, does not work for Hesiod or the hymns, since they are a fraction of the length of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Having acknowledged these concerns, then, I now turn to the different (sub-)genres and the poems which represent them.

The *Theogony* is almost entirely narrative, with only a handful of lines of dialogue. This seems a typical feature of the sub-genre; poetry concerned with the telling of the creation of the universe and establishment of the divine order is not so interested in issues important to epic, such as direct characterisation. On this basic level, the *Theogony* might be expected to be more like Homeric narrative. But what might be the re-performative history of Hesiod's *Theogony*? Is it possible to do better than speculation when it comes to pre-existing theogonies?

Unfortunately, there is little evidence of pre-existing material; in this regard, it is impossible to avoid discussing the 'Orphic' theogonies – but due to their notorious difficulty,

[386] See Minton (1975), 40.

[387] *Ibid.*, 45. For a general treatment of tradition and innovation, and their relationship to each other in Hesiod, especially with relation to the titanomachy, see Mondi (1986); he describes the titanomachy as 'a melding of traditional narrative and Hesiodic special pleading' (27).

their treatment will be relatively brief.[388] There are parts of Homer which seem to reflect cosmological and theogonic traditions different to Hesiod's: famously, the *Iliad* presents Oceanos/Acheloios as the origin of the gods, and ultimately of all things (e.g. 14.201 = 14.302; 14.246; 21.194-97).[389] There seem to be links here with the 'Orphic' theogonies, attested later in the archaic period, some of which also ascribe an important role to water.[390] Yet other theogonies seem to place their emphasis elsewhere in terms of the important, primordial powers, and vary significantly. As D'Alessio put it, '[i]t is clear on the basis of the available evidence that such poems were 'recreated' several times, every time making large use of material from their predecessors', each time with different content.[391] Although the evidence is severely limited when it comes to the cosmological/theogonic sub-genre of hexameter poetry, the picture that emerges is that there was quite significant variation in terms of content.

Moreover, literary analysis of the *Theogony* (as well as the *Works and Days*) has found much which can be characterised as distinctly Hesiodic: a concern for Zeus' prominence and dominance, for justice, and the moral and divine nature of work, *et cetera*. Tsagalis comments that the *Theogony*, *Works and Days* and *Catalogue of Women* share many features, including 'prismatic, sophisticated narrative with multiple temporalities, voices and registers and a distinct and recognisable Hesiodic tone'.[392] If one believes, as many do, that Hesiod was a real, historical individual, it would be tempting to see these guiding structural principles as the novel elements around which he deployed the traditional hexameter language in the theogonic and didactic (sub-)genres, which might in turn imply a degree of composition *ex nihil* for the poems (the alternative viewpoint would be that these concerns were traditional traits of the poetic persona 'Hesiod').[393] Regarding the *Theogony* specifically, Gainsford speaks of 'the extraordinary

[388] See West (1983) for a systematic treatment of these problems.

[389] Of the many thorny issues around Orphic theogony, one particular problem here is that there is a strong case for seeing the line ascribing the origin of all waters to Oceanos as inorganic, with the original referent of the relative clause being the river Acheloios. See D'Alessio (2004).

[390] Nagy (2011), 53 goes as far as to say that the evidence, which goes beyond what is presented here, reflects 'an Orphic phase in the evolution of the Homeric tradition'.

[391] D'Alessio (2004), 22. See also Meisner (2018), 17 who speaks of the 'likely diversity of Orphic poetry that emerged out of archaic oral traditions'.

[392] Tsagalis (2009), 175.

[393] See, for example, Lamberton (1988); Nagy (1990), 36-82; Martin (1992); Tsagalis (2009); and Gainsford (2016). Such a view might imply that there was a real, historical figure whose persona became 'appropriated' by the tradition; Nagy says that this might 'potentially' (48 n.40) have been the case. If Hesiod were considered to be primarily a persona adopted by poets, it might seem strange that this persona existed across the generic

originality of its pan-Hellenic perspective', discussing the ways in which the poet has employed various different stories, some of which are unattested in other ancient sources, to fulfil his specific agenda.[394] Ultimately, although it is still possible that earlier versions of the *Theogony* were recomposed with a high degree of conservatism, it seems more likely that its content was not characterised by the same degree of continuity that we find in heroic narrative. In this regard, the (sub-)genre appears to be characterised by conservatism and repetition less than, say, heroic narrative.[395]

Overall, the same conclusion seems to stand for didactic poetry, at least as represented by Hesiod's *Works and Days*, although the fragments of other 'Hesiodic' poems, such as the *Precepts of Chiron* (a didactic poem, addressed to Achilles, by his traditional tutor Chiron) are important as well. The same genre is also represented by the later, hexametrical poems of Empedocles, Parmenides and Xenophanes. Many of these texts exhibit the generic feature of adopting a specific, advisor persona (Hesiod in the *Works and Days*, Chiron in the *Precepts of Chiron*, etc.) giving advice to a specific recipient (Perses in the *Works and Days*, Achilles in the *Precepts of Chiron*; Empedocles addresses Pausanias in *On Nature*, and the people of Acragas in fr. B112). This fact alone aligns didactic poetry with Homeric speech, since the whole poem is conceived as a sort of speech act; different authorial personas allow scope for significant innovation. Lardinois has been the most recent scholar to develop this interpretation, finding distinct structural and rhetorical similarities between Iliadic speeches of blame and censure (such as Menelaus' speech to Euphorbus at *Il.* 17.18-32) and the kind of advisory content in *Works and Days* - yet like Iliadic speeches, which may have similar structural features, the content of this didactic poetry differs significantly.[396]

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boundaries and could be employed in theogonic, didactic and catalogue poetry; this does not seem strange to Tsagalis (2009), however, who comments that 'Hesiodic song lays great emphasis on its own special intra-genetic identity' (175).

[394] Gainsford (2016), 10-11, emphasis mine. For the contrary view that Hesiod had no didactic or instructive aims, see Heath (1985).

[395] This is not to say that the theogonic sub-genre was somehow less traditional; on the contrary, the well-recognised Near Eastern parallels of much Greek theogonic material suggests that it is very old indeed; see, for example, Rutherford (2009).

[396] Lardinois (2003); it was discovered that both share 'an opening invocation of a god, a switch from indirect to direct address, the use of the imperfect with the particle [ἄρα], insults, declarations of command ([κέλομαι, κελεύω]), direct gnomic addresses, and paradigmatic tales' (16). For earlier remarks, see West (1978), 27 with further lit. Cf. Martin (1992), esp. 20, who compares the rhetorical strategies of Hesiod to those of Phoenix and Thersites in the *Iliad*.

Is there any sense of antecedent Greek poetry of a similar kind? Evidence is lacking: West notes that Hesiod uses the Ionian month name Ληναιών, which is interesting given his non-Ionic heritage, and infers that Hesiod would only have used this name if it were a traditional feature of Ionic didactic poetry, and that 'the most likely source would seem to be didactic poetry on farming or sailing'.[397] It is also very plausible that elements such as the 'Myth of Ages' (*Works and Days* 106-201) existed in the Greek hexameter tradition before Hesiod but after it had been passed on from its various possible Near Eastern sources.[398] The overall picture which emerges, then, is that similar themes and elements of didactic hexameter must have existed as antecedents to Hesiod, but it seems likely from the comparisons with Homeric speech that such poems would have been characterised by substantial variation – or, at least, more variation than Homeric narrative – and that these innovations were carried out in line with specific 'Hesiodic' concerns and characteristics.[399] It is worth stressing once again the important point that this is arguing not that Hesiod is in some sense less traditional or 'derivative from the collective, traditional Homeric poetry, something secondary, marked by the imposition of an individual poetic identity and other earmarks of literate creativity'.[400] The point is that the genres represented by the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* are characterised by diachronic repetition to a much lesser degree than the narrative sections of heroic poetry and exhibit greater individuality, because such poetry appears to have been, like Homeric speeches, recomposed in performance to a greater extent than Homeric narrative.

Is the content of the Homeric hymns more like Homeric narrative or Homeric speech? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to establish what kind of poetry these texts are. The whole corpus of Homeric hymns, both the longer, 'major' hymns and the shorter ones, contains many common elements. Janko demonstrated that across this (sub-)genre, hymns could contain material which was 'purely mythic', 'attributive' (meaning they set out the god's attributes), 'composite' (a combination of the former two), and finally 'composite prolonged',

[397] West (1978), 26-7. Cf. Clay (2009), 72-3. The *locus amoenus* in *Works* 589-96 has a parallel in Alcaeus fr. 347 (Voigt), which might both share a common source, but both images are sufficiently generic that they could still be independent, as similar motifs in other European song traditions show; see Martin (1992), 23-4.
[398] For the Near Eastern sources of the 'Myth of Ages' see West (1978), *ad* 106-201.
[399] Tsagalis (2009), 175-6, in his treatment of the poetics of the *Works and Days*, says that the poem bears 'the dictional armature of didactic epic but not necessarily its limited scope'; however, this is not necessarily a fair comparison given the scanty evidence for other didactic poetry.
[400] Lamberton (1988), 19.

an extended version of 'composite'.[401] The fact that all of this material was available to the composers of the hymns indicate that these texts could in theory be very formulaic and similar to one another. The shorter hymns may well have been memorised and performed as brief proems, prefacing performances of heroic hexameter poetry.[402] What, though, of the longer hymns? Was their content traditional, or put another way, did different performances of the hymns over time have a significant degree of continuity?

Again, the evidence available to answer this question is limited.[403] Turning first to the *Hymn to Hermes*, Alcaeus seems to have composed a hymn, the first stanza of which is extant (fr. 308 Voigt), in which he told how Hermes, as an infant, stole Apollo's cattle.[404] The similarity between this and the story of the *Hymn to Hermes*, given that the *Hymn to Hermes* is likely to be significantly later than Alcaeus, has led scholars to conclude that both poems are continuing a story from a pre-existing hexameter model.[405] While this is possible, we cannot rule out a common mythical source, given that the similarity extends only to an inference about plot, not common phrasing, and given the popularity of the story of the cow theft as well as the invention of the lyre in other Greek literature and art.[406] As for the rest of the story, the *Hymn to Hermes* appears to be unique, although absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

The *Hymn to Demeter* is more fruitful territory. Other hexameter hymns to Demeter are said to have existed, ascribed to Orpheus, Musaeus, Eumolpus, and Pamphos, and the parallels between *Theogony* 912-14 and *Hymn to Demeter* 1-3 are telling:

Theogony 912-4: αὐτὰρ ὁ Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν,
ἣ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀιδωνεὺς
ἥρπασε ἧς παρὰ μητρός· ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεύς.

But he came to the bed of much-nourishing Demeter,
who bore white-armed Penelope, whom Hades
snatched away from her mother: all-wise Zeus gave her (to him).

[401] Janko (1981).
[402] For the problems which surround the use of the terms 'proem', 'prooimion', and even 'hymn', see, for example, Faulkner (2011a), 18-9.
[403] There is no evidence at all one way or the other for the *Hymn to Apollo* or *Hymn to Aphrodite.*
[404] See Richardson (2010), 25 for a summary of the possible relationships between the *Hymn to Hermes* and other literature, both antecedents and descendants.
[405] See, for example, West (2011b), 40 n.22; Faulkner (2011b), 200-1.
[406] See Vergados (2013), 76-110.

Hymn to Demeter 1-3: Δήμητρ᾽ ἠύκομον, σεμνὴν θεόν, ἄρχομ᾽ ἀείδειν,
αὐτὴν ἠδὲ θύγατρα τανύσφυρον, ἣν Ἀιδωνεὺς
ἥρπαξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεύς,

I start to sing of lovely-haired Demeter, the holy goddess,
and her daughter of the slender ankles, whom Hades
snatched, loud-thundering, wide-eyed Zeus gave her (to him).

This evidence strongly suggests that the rape of Persephone and Demeter's search for her were traditional topics of hexameter poetry, and that there was a degree of fixity in the phraseology which summarised the topic, appropriate both for the beginning of the narrative (as in the *Hymn to Demeter*) and also as a brief reference to the story as a whole (as in the *Theogony*).[407] This provides a useful starting point, and invites the question how the *Hymn to Demeter* may have interacted with these other, traditional antecedents of the story.

There is some evidence available to answer this question, although it is controversial. There exists a fragmentary papyrus which contains a commentary on a hymn to Demeter, ascribed to Orpheus, made up of a prose summary and a few quotations (Bernabé frr. 386-97). The complexity here is that, while the prose summary tells a very different story to the one in our *Hymn to Demeter*, the verses quoted (26 in total) are identical to or present only small variations from those from our *Hymn to Demeter*. This has led some to argue that the two poems were practically identical, and that the prose summary is somehow mistaken or misleading. However this view has been effectively criticised by Currie,[408] who has argued that the original poem was in fact different, chronologically anterior to our *Hymn to Demeter*, and that our poem in fact alludes and reacts to the older version.[409] As far as our purposes go, it would be very interesting to have a different version of the story, in a hexameter hymn, which predates the *Hymn to Demeter*, leaving the question of allusion to one side. The key point in favour of seeing the *Hymn to Demeter* as a later version of an earlier poem preserved in the papyrus is the fact that our *Hymn to Demeter* bears tell-tale signs of adapting lines which were originally from another context:

[407] Currie (2016), 79-80. Cf. Currie (2012).
[408] See most recently and in most detail Currie (2016), 82-4.
[409] *Ibid.,* 80-104.

Hymn to Demeter 54-6: <u>πότνια Δημήτηρ, ὡρηφόρε ἀγλαόδωρε</u>,
τίς θεῶν οὐρανίων ἠὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἥρπασε Περσεφόνην καὶ σὸν φίλον ἤκαχε θυμόν;

'lady Demeter, season-bringer and gift-giver,
who among the heavenly gods or mortal men
has snatched Persephone and grieved your dear heart?'

Bernabé fr.396.22-4: <u>εἰμὶ δὲ Δη[μ]ήτηρ ὡρηφόρ[ος ἀγλαό]δωρος</u>.
τίς θεὸς οὐράνιος ἠὲ θν[η]τῶ[ν ἀνθρώ]πων
ἥρπασε Περσεφ[ό]νην καὶ [ἑὸν φίλον ἦπα]φε θυμόν;

'I am Demeter the season-bringer and gift-giver.
What heavenly god or who among mortal men
has snatched Persephone and deceived her dear heart?'

The use of the nominative form Δημήτηρ for the vocative (instead of Δήμητερ, used elsewhere in the poem, lines 75 and 321), and the hiatus in ὡρηφόρε ἀγλαόδωρε, strongly suggest adaptation from an original verse, as in the papyrus fragment.[410] If this argument is accepted, then the other verses which are identical to, or present only very minor differences from, the *Hymn to Demeter* indicate that the poem being commented on in the papyrus must have had a different plot to our poem yet some similar phraseology; of the similar verses 6 come together as a traditional-looking catalogue of Oceanids who were accompanying Persephone at the time of her rape.[411] It is worth noting that it is also possible that the *Hymn to Demeter* is adapting and using verses from a source shared with the Orphic hymn, or simply verses which were traditional.

How should this situation be interpreted? The phenomenon of recomposition-in-performance, as outlined in this chapter, would seem to provide a realistic context for the poet of the *Hymn to Demeter* to have composed the text. The poet may have known the earlier versions and when telling his own, new version chose to tell a different story, but did so while keeping at least some of the lines and diction from the older version.[412] It is not possible to make

[410] *Ibid.*, 87-8.

[411] The only way in which this could not be true was that the commentator had somehow got confused and presented the plot summary of one poem interwoven with quotations, many slightly altered, from another – such a scenario would be very difficult to imagine. The only potential difficulty with the position adopted here, however, is that it has to be coincidence that, of the 26 verses quoted from the 'Orphic' hymn to Demeter, all 26 happen to be verses which are (more or less) shared by our *Hymn to Demeter*.

[412] One could interpret this as an *alternative* scenario to the one posited by Currie, who is trying to argue that the poet of the *Hymn to Demeter* is alluding to an earlier version while making these changes. In fact, the two arguments are far from incompatible, and the present scenario provides a useful, realistic context for the poet of the *Hymn to Demeter* to have been operating within.

quantitative arguments based on just how much difference there was from the last version, since only the few, select quotes in the commentary have survived, but it seems that there must have been significant differences based on the plot summary.[413] Leaving aside points of detail, which are often difficult given the fragmentary state of the text, the major clear plot differences include the following: Athena and Artemis are present at the Rape, with Artemis even firing her arrows at Hades' horses (ll. 40-1); Demeter hears Persephone's shouting (ll. 45); Demeter kills Demophon instead of granting him immortality (ll. 100-1); Demeter asks the Eleusinians who took Persephone (ll. 101-105), whereas in the *Hymn to Demeter* (54-6) the modified lines are addressed to Demeter by Hecate at a different stage in the story. Moreover, Persephone seems to have been seized in the environs of Eleusis (ll. 48-9), which is why Demeter comes to the city, whereas in the *Hymn to Demeter*, Persephone is seized at the plain of Nysa, and Demeter's visit is notoriously lacking in motivation. There are also elements which are not attested in the Orphic hymn plot summary but were likely part of it and the local Attic myth, such as the piglets which fell into the chasm created by Hades' descent (Clement *Protrept*. 2.17). Richardson, at the end of his summary and tentative reconstruction of the Orphic versions, notes that there are 'significant variations' between the different hexameter versions of the story.[414] This, then, is the situation for the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* and other versions – it seems that the surviving version of the *Hymn to Demeter* was composed by its poet in such a way that it possesses a rather limited degree of continuity with its antecedents. He changed the story quite significantly, but maintained some lines unmodified, and changed others in some small ways.

What conclusions can be drawn concerning the Homeric hymns? It is worth re-emphasising that the paucity of the evidence limits any conclusion that may be drawn – the evidence which exists for the *Hymn to Demeter* has to stand for the treatment of the whole (sub-)genre. But even allowing for this, it seems that the (sub-)genre of hexameter hymn is more

[413] It is possible, but far from certain, that the 'Orphic' lines on the topic of the rape of Persephone cited by Clement and Justin (Bernabé frr. 395 and 386) come from this Orphic text; Bernabé includes them together as if they are part of the same text; but this is essentially guesswork.

[414] Richardson (1974), 84; across pp. 74-86 Richardson attempts to reconstruct different versions of the poems and is forced to refer to non-hexametrical sources. Such an attempt is completely valid, but given the emphasis on recomposition within the hexameter tradition the comparison made here is simply between the extant verses of the *Hymn to Demeter* and the summary of the Orphic hymn. Cf. the similar reconstruction by Currie (2016), 91-3.

similar to Homeric speech than narrative, in that the hymns were more likely to be recomposed anew when they were performed, with apparently limited continuity of content.

It is time to take stock of what has been argued so far concerning the other (sub-)genres of hexameter poetry. I have suggested that theogonic, didactic, and hymnic hexameter – each traditional in their own way – were recomposed-in-performance without much continuity, unlike heroic narrative, whose frequent repeated sequences and high formulaic density encouraged substantial repetition and conservatism. When poets were performing non-heroic poems, there was significantly more scope for innovation, which led to relatively less diachronic repetition. The effect of this phenomenon, I will continue to argue, is that certain linguistic features or compositional habits became associated with certain (sub-)genres, which meant that even when new verses were being composed in a particular (sub-)genre, those linguistic features were more likely to be used. As we will see in Section 5.4, this hypothesis would make good sense of the data. But before we turn to the data, it is necessary to deal briefly with some concepts which are related to the issue of genre and which are important to the thesis overall.

5.3.3. Genre, Register and "Markedness"

The term 'register' has been used so far without an attempt to define it or make clear exactly how it relates to the issue of genre. If it were accepted that recomposition-in-performance was an important factor in the association of, say, the -οιο genitive ending with heroic hexameter, it might be said that the ending became 'marked' as befitting the heroic 'register', instead of the '(sub-)genre'. The concept of 'markedness' is also complex and difficult; only a basic sense is meant here, in accordance with the following:

> 'Following the Prague School linguists, Greenberg (1966) assigns the designations "marked" and "unmarked" to opposing structural entities that exhibit a consistently asymmetric relationship in terms of distribution and or/syntagmatic structure and/or paradigmatic complexity. The one of the two entities that is consistently more widely distributed and/or simpler and/or more richly elaborated is called "unmarked"; its complement is the "marked" members of the opposition'.[415]

[415] Moravcsik and Wirth (1986), 3.

In the example of the thematic genitives, the -ου ending is 'unmarked' since it is more widely distributed and simpler in almost all Greek dialects; the once unmarked ending -οιο continued to be used in hexameter performance, in particular heroic hexameter, and after -ου became the standard genitive ending, the continued use of -οιο only or mostly in that particular context left it 'marked' as appropriate for that particular context.[416] At this point, the increased use of the -οιο ending indicated the use of a heroic 'register', where 'register' essentially means a variety of language appropriate for a particular, user-defined, linguistic context.[417] Register, then, makes up just one part of how different genres might be identified (one would need, for example, narrative concerning the deeds of heroes of myth, as well as appropriate language, to compose in the heroic (sub-)genre). These concepts are important for the argument presented in this thesis, since the argument depends on recomposition-in-performance acting as a catalyst for certain linguistic forms becoming marked as appropriate for particular registers.

5.4. Making Sense of the Data

When I discussed the view of Pavese, quoted above, that the subject matter of the poetry might be a relevant factor, I did not address the 'why' of his explanation; that is, that heroic poetry is the most conservative type. Indeed, Pavese himself was criticised for not adequately explaining why it is the case that heroic poetry is the most conservative – he seems only to suggest that linguistic conservatism is a function of the amplitude or broadness of the story, whatever exactly this means.[418] It seems that the argument can be framed better within the terms of recomposition-in-performance, genre and register: within the heroic (sub-)genre, heroic narrative was reperformed with a higher degree of continuity than heroic speech, didactic, theogonic or hymnic poetry since there was more scope for innovation. Consequently, certain linguistic features or compositional habits gradually became associated with heroic poetry and became a discernible part of its register. In this sense, it is Homeric narrative which stands out as the exception. This final section of the argument sets out the data and discusses it in light of the issues raised in this chapter.

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[416] On certain linguistic features being marked for particular registers, see Biber (1995), 27-31.

[417] See Trosborg (1997); more generally Biber (1988). For a discussion of register within ancient Greek, see Willi (2010).

[418] Cantilena (1986), 109.

Tmesis:

	Il. 1.-12 + *Od.* 1-12 Narrative		*Il.* 1.-12 + *Od.* 1-12 Speech		*Theogony*		*Works & Days*		Homeric[419] Hymns	
Initial	132	68.4%	43	46.7%	3	27.3%	8	34.8%	13	34.2%
Non-Initial	61	31.6%	49	53.3%	8	72.7%	15	65.2%	25	65.8%

Table 5.1: The use of initial and non-initial tmesis in the hexameter texts summarised.

Thematic Genitives:[420]

	Il. 1.-12 + *Od.* 1-12 Narrative		*Il.* 1.-12 + *Od.* 1-12 Speech		*Theogony*		*Works & Days*		Homeric[421] Hymns	
-οιο	103	58.5%	53	55.8%	15	39.5%	15	25.9%	26	48.1%
-ου	73	41.5%	42	44.1%	23	60.5%	43	74.1%	28	51.9%

Table 5.2: The variation in thematic genitive ending across the hexameter texts summarised.

Digamma:

	Il. 1.-8 + *Od.* 1-8 Narrative		*Il.* 1.-8 + *Od.* 1-8 Speech		*Theogony*		*Works & Days*		Homeric[422] Hymns	
Observed	70	62.5%	113	63.1%	6	28.5%	33	47.5%	18	26.5%
Neglected	42	37.5%	66	36.9%	15	71.5%	30	52.5%	50	73.5%

Table 5.3: The treatment of the digamma across the hexameter texts summarised.

The data are again presented above in Tables 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3, but this time attempting to compare (sub)genres rather than texts as such. The data for *Iliad* 1-12 and *Odyssey* 1-12 for tmesis and genitives, but *Iliad* 1-8 and *Odyssey* 1-8 for the digamma) have been grouped by speech and narrative rather than by individual poem. The results for the hymns are grouped together, in an attempt to get a general sense of how the (sub-)genre of hymn behaves – statistics for each hymn are given in footnotes as numbers are often too small to enable any

[419] *Hymn to Aphrodite*: initial 0, non-initial 2; *Hymn to Demeter*: initial 2, non-initial 6; *Hymn to Apollo*: initial 3, non-initial 6; *Hymn to Hermes*: initial 8, non-initial 11. All of the hymns show a preference for non-initial tmesis.
[420] It is worth repeating, for the sake of clarity, that the count as expressed here excludes formulaic/repeated cases, pronouns in the genitive, and the different metrical categories of word where there is no variation.
[421] *Hymn to Aphrodite*: -οιο 1, -ου 2 (the statistics here are not useful, since they are too small); *Hymn to Demeter*: -οιο 5, -ου 11; *Hymn to Apollo*: -οιο 13, -ου 7; *Hymn to Hermes*: -οιο 10, -ου 9. The *Hymn to Demeter* seems to have a preference for -ου, whereas the *Hymn to Apollo* has a preference for -οιο and *Hymn to Hermes* is more balanced.
[422] *Hymn to Aphrodite*: observed 9, neglected 3; *Hymn to Demeter*: obs. 1, neg. 13; *Hymn to Apollo*: obs. 5, neg. 13; *Hymn to Hermes*: obs. 3, neg. 21.

conclusion to be drawn. The *Theogony* and *Works and Days* stand as sole representatives of their genres.

It was not possible to undertake a full analysis of thematic genitives by metrical category, nor a full analysis of the digamma by words more likely to have an observed or neglected digamma. Accordingly, it should be recognised that there is some risk of distortion of the results from different texts using different metrical categories, or different words, more or less often. Nonetheless, presenting the aggregated data in this way provides a useful general picture of how different types of text use the linguistic features concerned, at this stage of the analysis.

The data provide some interesting results. In the case of tmesis, 'heroic speech' behaves neither like 'heroic narrative', nor like the other genres represented. However, in the case of thematic genitives and the digamma, the results for 'heroic speech' and 'heroic narrative' are very similar. It is also noticeable that although the use of thematic genitive ending varies greatly within the Homeric hymns, overall the ratio is close to 50:50.

A possible interpretation for the various results for the (sub-)genre 'heroic speech' is that, although the degree to which it was (likely) recomposed anew aligns it to some extent with the other genres, it still nonetheless remains within the (sub-)genre of heroic poetry. As was argued in previous chapters, the use of -οιο and observed digamma are marked as appropriate for heroic hexameter (although digamma in particular is also subject to dialectal pressures). What explanation might there be which accounts for the different results shown in terms of the three linguistic features for Homeric speech and narrative?

To provide an answer to this question, perhaps it is best to think about heroic hexameter poetry beyond Homer, and about the influence of genre. Although there is very little evidence what does exist shows that Homer is actually quite exceptional when it comes to archaic, heroic hexameter, and not the rule. Aristotle, for example, gives this impression generally, but he seems to suggest specifically that the Homeric poems use direct speech a lot more than the authors of other epic, such as the Epic Cycle.[423] Moreover, it might be the case that the pseudo-

[423] *Poetics* 1460a5-12. The issue is complicated by the fact that our fragments of the Epic Cycle do include some that are clearly identifiable as speech through 1st and 2nd person verbs and pronouns, and the fact that Proclus'

Hesiodic *Shield*, with its over-the-top descriptions and less-than-Homeric stylistic effects, is more representative of other early hexameter epic.[424]

The *Shield* has not appeared much in the analysis so far. It is notable that the statistics for the *Shield*, as presented in Table 5.4 below, put it closer to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* than the Hesiodic poems, as presented in Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 above, although some of the numbers are quite small:

Genitives			Digamma			Tmesis		
-οιο	9	50%	Observed	5	62.5%	Initial	25	48.1%
-ου	9	50%	Neglected	3	37.5%	Non-initial	27	51.9%

Table 5.4: Genitives, Digamma and Tmesis in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield*.

This similarity between the *Shield* and the Homeric poems can perhaps be best explained through its genre. It should be remembered that this analysis focussed only on the linguistic features which were not repeated in other texts (either once or in formulae) – this fact means that an explanation cannot easily be found in the often-discussed borrowing of lines or phrases from the *Iliad*.[425] General consensus on the *Shield* is that it is post-Homeric and explicitly draws on Homeric diction - the argument proposed here, if accepted, would indicate that the register of the poetry continued to have an influence on the distribution of the pervasive linguistic features studied here even into this later stage.[426]

Heroic narrative concerning the deeds of great men of the past, deeds which create wonder and amazement in the listener, should be told most appropriately in especially marked language which harkens back to an earlier time.[427] One element of the work of Leumann which seems to have gone largely neglected is his arguments about the nature and purpose of poetic

summary of the *Cypria*, for example, includes many references to speech (although it is also possible that the text which Proclus is summarising had indirect rather than direct speech). This particular problem is compounded by the fact that the *Cypria* may in fact be a multiform poem, and Aristotle may have had access to something different to what our evidence suggests, although the issue is complex; see Finkelberg (2000) and Burgess (2002).

[424] Cf. Martin (2005).

[425] See most recently Mason (2015), 96-117.

[426] Mason (2015), 1-5.

[427] Compare here the famously epicising introduction to Herodotus' *History*, in which he says that he writes so that 'great deeds and wonders, both those shown by Greeks and barbarians, may not go without glory' (Hdt. 1.1 ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται) – his account is, of course, characterised by language which is in many ways Homeric (or 'heroic'?). See, for example, Griffiths (2006), 135-6 and Marincola (2006), 14, with further literature.

words within the language. In stories otherwise narrated clearly, why would the poet use kinds of language which were obscure or otherwise marked? The answer, he suggests, is in the effect that such language has on the listener of the poetry:

> 'Clearly they [poetic words] are more about feeling and fantasy than understanding; only thus was it possible that their strangeness did not arouse rejection or avoidance; they should strengthen the impression of the unusual, which was already striven for in the content. … Rousing of the emotions, raising of excitement, transfer to an atmosphere far removed from the quotidian, that is what the poet sought to achieve with poetic words'.[428]

Leumann was concerned with items of the lexicon, but there is no reason why this kind of understanding cannot be expanded to other aspects of the *Kunstsprache*.[429] The psychological process that Leumann highlights is surely that which underlies the process by which elements of the language became associated with the content. Once it had become established that such language was appropriate for the heroic register, anything that fell within that – including speeches, with all their differences to narrative – would have been composed in the same way. It is in this way that the data seem to make most sense: Homeric speeches fit the generic demands of the (sub-)genre, yet also bear the effects of being recomposed anew much more often than narrative.

Such an explanation also makes sense of the data that were compiled for 'resonant lengthening'.[430] Due to the difficulties in quantifying the use of resonant lengthening, the data are not presented above in the same way as for the other linguistic features, but it is worth stating again that the use of resonant lengthening largely matched that of the digamma – that is, the Homeric poems used it significantly more than the other texts. I have argued that this

[428] Leumann (1950), 34-5. 'Offenbar wenden sie sich mehr an Gefühl und Phantasie als an den Verstand; nur so war es möglich, daß möglich ihre Fremdheit nicht Ablehnung und Abwendung erweckte; sie sollten den Eindruck des Ungewöhnlichen verstärken, der schon com Inhalt her erstrebt war. … Erregung der Gefühle, Erweckung einer Spannung, Versetzung in eine vom Alltag ferne Atmosphäre, das is es, was der Dicther mit den poetischen Wörtern zu erreichen sucht.' Leumann also speaks of the divine nature of this strangeness, and suggests that it is aroused most easily through the use of intelligible yet unfamiliar vocabulary.

[429] Pulleyn (2019), 19 makes a similar point with regards to the use of obscure Homeric vocabulary: 'Just as Nestor bemoans the loss of an era when men were real men, so the bard might hark back to a time when the tradition could deploy words that nobody in his own day understands'.

[430] See pp.121-5.

observation is strange given that the relevant sound changes are likely to be very old indeed, considerably predating the composition of our texts. Recomposition-in-performance as a mechanism for the preservation of certain linguistic features or compositional habits could provide an explanation for the situation: the high degree of continuity between performances of heroic hexameter resulted in it becoming a feature of that register in particular. As each poet heard other poets performing heroic hexameter, which tended to be relatively more conservative and repetitive, the use of resonant lengthening was reanalysed as appropriate for that register. If this explanation were accepted, it would demonstrate how recomposition-in-performance acted not only to associate certain tangible and obvious forms (such as a genitive in -οιο) with heroic hexameter, leading poets to actively call upon these forms when (re)composing in this genre, but also how less obvious compositional habits could be preserved in specific compositional/performative contexts.

5.4.1. Salience within the *Kunstsprache*

At this stage in the argument, it would make sense to frame the discussion in terms of sociolinguistic theory. In particular, an often-discussed concept which is relevant to the present discussion is that of 'salience'.[431] A linguistic feature is described as having high 'salience' if it can be perceived easily by non-trained users of the language, whereas a low 'salience' linguistic feature can only be perceived by trained linguists. For example, in his now famous study, Labov was able to show that post-vocalic /r/ dropping, which previously had been happening everywhere in New York City, was happening less among young, middle class speakers, who were perceiving the presence of post-vocalic /r/ as a feature of prestige – that is, this particular feature was a particularly salient one, and could be noticed by normal speakers.[432] In Labov's terminology, some linguistic features can be 'indicators', in that they are normally only noticed by trained linguists. Features which have more salience, however, are 'markers', which can be noticed by anyone. Lastly, the features with the most salience can be described as 'stereotypes', and are most readily copied for the sake of parody. Moreover, linguistic features with high salience are more likely to undergo change 'from above', i.e. change carried out purposefully by

[431] See, for example, Trudgill (1986), Kerswill and Williams (2002), Levon and Fox (2004).
[432] Labov (1972).

speakers, whereas linguistic features with low salience are more likely to undergo changes 'from below', a process which occurs subconsciously.[433]

This sociolinguistic theory can be applied to this study with relative ease. Janko observed that Apollonius of Rhodes used the -οιο especially frequently, and attributed this to 'false archaism', which I discussed in the Introduction. In later publications, when he was discussing how some hexameter texts use certain linguistic features more often than they perhaps should, Janko commented that '[t]hese poets did not care whether they put a formerly uncontracted disyllable in heavy or light position in the hexameter, but they felt passionately about producing a grand-sounding poem, packed with euphonious polysyllables like -αων and -οιο'.[434]

Reframing this statement in terms of 'salience', I suggest that polysyllabic features like -αων and -οιο had very high salience and became markers with respect to 'epic'. Their salience was so high that their use became 'stereotyped' by later writers such as Apollonius. Yet, as was discussed in the introduction, it is worthwhile considering whether the linguistic features were sufficiently salient to have been marked as especially appropriate for the heroic register by the archaic poets as well.

A possible interpretation is as follows. Due to its syntactic nature, initial tmesis was a particularly salient feature, and became marked as appropriate for heroic hexameter. The greater the gap between the preverb and the verb, the more archaic-sounding and marked the construction. Conversely, tmesis with only a particle between the preverb and the verb was marked in the opposite direction, and became a colloquialism. This marking was so strong that, within heroic hexameter poetry, initial tmesis was preferred in narrative sections of the text, due to the associations of repeated narrative sections which featured initial tmesis strongly. Thematic genitives in -οιο were also a highly salient feature, a marker of heroic hexameter – this would account for its increased use in heroic hexameter in general, but since the use of the ending was not primarily associated with narrative or speech, both kinds of composition used

[433] Labov (1972), 178–180.
[434] Janko (2012), 32.

it equally. These kinds of usage for initial tmesis and genitives in -οιο can be described as 'changes from above', in Labov's terminology, because they were actively sought out by poets.

When it comes to digamma and resonant lengthening, on the other hand, the evidence discussed elsewhere in this thesis suggests that there was only limited salience. I noted that the word ἄναξ ('lord'), which is itself marked within the lexicon, is much more likely to observe digamma than other words, even outside formulaic contexts. It might therefore seem likely that an observed digamma's markedness adds to the markedness of salient items of the lexicon. I have argued, however, that the digamma was likely to have salience when it comes to dialect.

The parallel of resonant lengthening, probably another feature which lacked explicit salience with respect to epic marking, suggests that the conservatism of heroic hexameter was a strongly operant factor in the register. As one poet taught another, it became a learned, compositional habit that heroic hexameter was performed with certain, once-digammated words having a propensity to be used in hiatus or make position, in the same way that it became a learned, compositional habit that certain words beginning with μ-, ν-, ρ- and λ- could also make position, and that doing so was the norm for heroic hexameter. Digamma and resonant lengthening were thus 'changes from below' in Labov's terminology, because they had low salience and were not used purposefully.

5.4.2. Formulae and Register

Thus far, the arguments put forward have been made on the basis of the counts presented in the previous chapters, which privileged non-formulaic forms. This was done in an attempt to quantify the behaviour of the poets when they were as 'free' as possible. Yet, when it comes to issues such as register, the repeated and formulaic phrases are also highly relevant – from the perspective of the poets as language-users, the evaluation of what kinds of forms were markers of certain kinds of composition would have been strongly influenced by the repeated phrases (in linguistic terminology, the influence of a high token count is, if anything, more important than a high type count). As such, it is relevant to repeat the observation, made in Chapter 2, that formulae and repeated verses were found to feature genitives in -οιο much more than non-formulaic or repeated phrases.

How should this be quantified in terms which are relevant to the present discussion? There are two potentially relevant questions. Firstly, when it comes to formulaic instances of the linguistic features, do Homeric and Hesiodic poetry differ in their use of -οιο, observed digamma, and initial tmesis? Secondly, does Homeric poetry contain more formulaic -οιο, observed digamma, and initial tmesis per 1000 lines than Hesiodic poetry? This latter, non-binomial metric has not previously been employed in this thesis, but it is appropriate in this context, since it privileges the relationship between the number of marked forms and the size of the texts, as opposed to the relationship between the number of marked and unmarked forms. Accordingly, it captures how often throughout the poems a listener or composer would hear or use the relevant forms in formulae when listening to or composing the different (sub-)genres. The results are set out in Table 5.5.[435]

	Genitives		Tmesis			Digamma	
	-οιο	-ου	Initial	Non-Initial		Observ.	Negl.
Homer (*Il.* 1-12 and *Od.* 1-12)	561	367	161	204	Homer (*Il.* 1-8 and *Od.* 1-8)	317	79
	60.5%	**39.5%**	**44.1%**	**55.9%**		**80.1%**	**19.9%**
Lines: 13798					Lines: 8957		
Per 1000 lines:	**40.7**	**26.6**	**11.7**	**14.8**	Per 1000 lines:	**35.4**	**8.8**
Hesiod (*Th.* and *Works*)	55	62	6	20	Hesiod (*Th.* and *Works*)	38	13
	47.0%	**53.0%**	**23.1%**	**76.9%**		**74.5%**	**25.5%**
Lines: 1850					Lines: 1850		
Per 1000 lines:	**29.7**	**33.5**	**3.2**	**10.8**	Per 1000 lines:	**20.5**	**7.0**

Table 5.5: Formulaic Thematic Genitives, Digamma, and Tmesis in Homer and Hesiod.

It is important to state again that the different behaviours of formulae and repeated verses in different texts, when depicted purely by tokens, should not be analysed in terms of chronology, because such verses are too prone to the 'vagaries of content', as Janko put it (e.g. the fact that Homer has πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε 33 times tells us nothing about the productivity of non-initial tmesis, but rather the frequency with which characters address each other).[436] With that

[435] Because this analysis concerns the general presence of the linguistic features, it was not necessary to refine the analysis with high levels of differentiation. Accordingly, the count for the genitives simply counts all repeated/formulaic instances of the endings, rather than differentiating by metrical category of word. The digamma count, however, does leave out enclitic forms, but includes both repeated and formulaic forms.

[436] Janko (2012), 24. For the most recent attempt to analyse formulae with respect to chronology in terms of both types and tokens, see Bozzone (2014).

in mind, it should be noted that *Iliad* and *Odyssey* 1-12 have a higher proportion of -οιο and initial tmesis in formulae than the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, with a statistically significant difference.[437] The occurrence of both features per 1000 lines is also much higher in Homer than Hesiod.

Interestingly, however, the same cannot be said for digamma. The Homeric poems (*Iliad* and *Odyssey* 1-8 at least) display a small increase in the frequency of observed digamma against neglected digamma in formulae, but the difference is far from statistically significant.[438] However, formulaic lines with observed digamma are more common in the Homeric poems than Hesiod when measured per 1000 lines – this fact puts the digamma more in line with the other two linguistic features because it is more likely to be found in repeated phrases in heroic poetry. Consequently, the poets might have been more likely to associate these features with heroic poetry as they became marked with that particular sub-genre.

Yet the fact that, when measured against the instances of neglect, observed digamma behaves quite similarly in Homer and Hesiod is an interesting finding because it correlates with the hypothesis that observed digamma is perhaps less salient than the other two features in terms of its marked status as appropriate for heroic poetry. The most important point to take away from this analysis is that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are more likely to contain memorable phrases like Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο ('divine Odysseus'), Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο ('Diomedes tamer of horses'), ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος ('the great city of lord Priam'), ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης ('and they went off [the ships] onto the sea's edge'), etc.. For precisely the same reason that formulae should be discounted from the wider count, because they reveal more about the content of the poetry than its diction, the evidence of formulae may be used in support of the wider argument being made here, that the content of the different (sub-)genres played an important role in the creation of their respective registers.

The greater frequency with which formulae with observed digamma, initial tmesis genitives in -οιο appear in heroic hexameter, as opposed to in Hesiod, would have contributed to the processes being described. To clarify – what is meant here is not that formulaic verses

[437] For thematic genitives, using the Chi-Squared Test, the p-value is 0.00534, whereas for tmesis, the p-value is 0.0362, both below the 0.05 threshold.
[438] Using the Chi-Square Test, the p-value is 0.357, far above the 0.05 threshold.

with these features are necessarily more likely to display the more archaic feature (tmesis, for example, does not: as was noted above, according to Table 5.5, formulaic tmesis is more likely to be non-initial), but rather, that heroic hexameter is much more likely than other (sub-)genres to contain formulae with the more archaic feature. This greater frequency of such formulae would have helped in the process of stylisation. In the case of genitives in -οιο and initial tmesis, the forms would have become even more salient, whereas the observance of digamma, although less noticeable, would have still exerted analogical pressure on the poets when they were composing non-formulaic verses.

Overall, there is a convincing case that the (sub-)genre of the hexameter poem has an effect on the distribution of the linguistic features, due to the register employed. It is not desirable to put all the texts on a strict spectrum, with 'heroic' on one end and 'non-heroic' at the other. Rather, there is a broad tendency in heroic poetry to use the forms which are marked as 'heroic', and this tendency acts as an external factor upon the poet's choices of what forms to use. One might well ask about the Homeric hymns – Jenny Straus Clay has influentially argued that they, in terms of their content, occupy a position between the order-establishing world of the *Theogony* and the complete, heroic world of the Homeric poems.[439] But we should not expect the statistics for the Hymns to occupy a neat position consistently in between those for the Hesiodic and Homeric poems. Indeed, on average, the hymns observe the digamma less than any of the other genres. At this point, however, it is more fruitful to think about the hymns on an individual basis. The conclusion to be drawn regarding the influence of the external factor of genre, then, is that when it came to composing hymns, the oral poets had some sense that the use of the marked forms was appropriate, but not as appropriate as when composing heroic poems. The consequence of this appears to be that that the forms were used less than in Homer (with some exceptions, such as the strong frequency of observed digamma in the *Hymn to Aphrodite*), but just by how much was dictated further by internal factors, or chance given the small size of the text.

[439] See, for example, Clay (1989) and Clay (2011).

5.4.3. Poetic Schools?

The argument presented so far provides a possible explanation for the distribution of the linguistic features studied which, unlike Janko's, is not rooted in chronology. There are other alternatives, however, such as the concept of alternative poetic 'schools'. The premises of such an argument might be that there existed different groups of singers, whose compositional and linguistic habits were influenced by the work of particularly important but anonymous individuals who operated within that group. In terms of parallels, one could consider the continuity which existed between some students and teachers of music (one thinks of, for example, famous violin teachers such as Abram Yampolsky, who taught Yuri Yankelevich, who in turn taught Felix Andrievsky (among others), with a significant degree of recognisable style existing within this discernible 'school').[440] This sort of argument has not won much recent support when it comes to the early Greek hexameter tradition; it was argued for most fervently by Pavese, who was influenced by Notopoulos, with the view traceable back to Evelyn-White.[441] Pavese argued that the various linguistic and formulaic differences that exist between Homer on the one hand, and Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns on the other, indicate that after the Ionian migration a common poetic source split with minimal subsequent contact. This argument has not been widely accepted because it assumes a lack of contact across the Aegean which seems unlikely given the many and various indications of poetic and linguistic interaction, and also given the old features shared by the supposed separate streams (such as, for example, the similar or identical use of formulae concerning key mythological figures).[442]

It seems therefore that if there were poetic schools, there would have been a significant degree of contact between them; so much so, that it becomes difficult to make a meaningful distinction between poetic schools and poetic traditions or genres. An emphasis on poetic schools would put emphasis on individuals, which might seem to accord with the situation in Classical Greece as represented in Plato's *Ion*, in which the reader is presented with the rhapsode Ion who only performs Homer, but it is unclear whether such an emphasis would be

[440] The desired relevance of this parallel is that individual styles could influence groups of individuals who made up their pupils. I owe this comparison to my friend and colleague Il-Kweon Sir.
[441] Evelyn-White (1914), xi-xxxiii; Notopoulos (1960); Pavese (1972); (1974); (1981). See also Cantilena (1982) in support of Pavese, but see also the criticism in Janko (1982), 12-13.
[442] See, for example, Mureddu (1983). See further criticism in Cantilena (1986), 109-110.

appropriate for the archaic period. It is perfectly possible that poets could have performed heroic poetry with a hymnic prelude one day, and a didactic poem the next.[443] If 'schools' did exist, however, and were made up of individuals who composed-in-performance exclusively heroic poetry, then the explanation would essentially be the same explanation as that advanced above but with the restriction that the 'heroic' register was the register used by a select group of individuals whose poetry has come down to us, as opposed to being the register that any oral poet could have used.[444] Since the existence of such schools is so speculative, it seems best to leave this specific form of the interpretation to one side, without totally disregarding it. It could be envisaged, for example, that a particular group of rhapsodes existed whose diction was particularly characterised by archaism; such a group could have used resonant lengthening, for example, more frequently than other poets. The evidence does not point one way or the other, and the strength of the 'schools' interpretation rests on its *a priori* plausibility.

5.5. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that issues pertinent to register variation were quite likely operant when it comes to the distribution of linguistic features throughout the early Greek hexameter corpus, based on the different (sub-)genres which exist within the larger hexameter genre. These registers were created via recomposition-in-performance, where the continuity from performance to performance allowed for repeated kinds of passages to be associated with certain kinds of linguistic features. In particular, linguistic features with high salience became markers of heroic poetry, and initial tmesis was so marked that it even became marked for heroic narrative in particular. Other features which had less salience, however, were not sought out as actively by the poets, and accordingly were more liable to be subject to other factors – in

[443] The most convincing argument for envisioning some poets performing mainly one kind of poetry, and other poets performing another, is the metapoetic reading of *Works and Days* 618-94, in which Hesiod describes how he has only very little experience in sea-faring, only a one-time trip from Aulis to Euboea, reminding us explicitly that Aulis was the origin of the Greek expedition against Troy. This passage has been read as a metapoetic comment on the author's only very marginal experience of performing heroic epic; see Koning (2018), 20. It also seems, however, that the substantial overlap in formulaic diction between the two kinds of performance would suggest substantial contact. Perhaps the metapoetic argument, if it were accepted, could be seen in the light of antagonistic generic opposition, rather than a direct comment on the author's experience.

[444] Under one interpretation of the term, one such school might be that of the 'Homeridae', although it should be emphasised that we know very little indeed about them; for the difficulties involved see recently Andersen (2011). Moreover, although the Homeridae and the interest of Peisistratus (and/or his sons) in Homer may be seen as indicative of some early, eastern 'school', no such evidence exists for Hesiod, as stressed by Cingano (2009), 98.

the case of digamma, dialect was an important factor. Overall, I suggest that this element - which might broadly be called stylistic - has not been taken into account sufficiently in previous scholarship.

6. Concluding Remarks

This thesis has concerned the factors influencing the distribution of linguistic archaisms in Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric hymns, and specifically, whether, as Janko argued, chronology is the primary factor determining the outcome. My aim has been to reassess the presumed relationship between so-called "older" and "younger" allomorphs and allophones – does a greater use of one over the other in any particular hexameter text indicate that a text is older or younger than others? In a linguistic system as complex as the 'Homeric' dialect, might not other factors be at work?

In this concluding section, I discuss whether these questions have been satisfactorily answered. I also situate this thesis within a wider context and identify some avenues for further research, building on the work undertaken so far.

I begin with a summary of the most important arguments from each chapter.

6.1. Summary and Discussion

My starting point was to assess Janko's methodology and to re-analyse his data using a range of statistical significance thresholds. This produced some interesting results. For example, differences which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have with the other texts, especially Hesiod, made up the majority of overall differences; by all three tests, there were no significant differences between the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*; and at the most stringent level of significance testing, there were no significant differences between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Furthermore, the analysis identified that many of the differences presented by Janko were not statistically significant, suggesting that he had in fact measured random variation in many of his results, and that only a few of his criteria might have the potential to reveal relative chronology. The use of the different thresholds provided a powerful guide as to which features were worthy of further study, and identified priorities for further examination, both in this thesis, and potentially in further research.

I then examined in depth two features counted by Janko which produced several highly significant relationships in my re-analysis of his data – thematic genitives and use of the

digamma. I also wanted to explore how such features should be counted, and whether further refinements of Janko's approach were necessary to obtain a meaningful count.

In the case of thematic genitives, I identified several important factors affecting distribution which Janko did not take into account – for example, formulaic and repeated instances, and the metrical shape of the words in question. I also argued that only one alternation should be measured, that between -οιο and -ου. When these refinements and adjustments were applied, and a new count carried out, it appeared that the distribution of these features was influenced much more by issues of genre and register, and perhaps even author's preference, than chronology.

With regard to the use of the digamma, I defined a set of detailed principles and assumptions for a new count, in particular, taking full account of formulaic instances. When the new count was carried out, the data showed that the only really significant difference within the corpus was between the Homeric poems as a whole and all the other texts. However, study of the parallel phenomenon of resonant lengthening, which matched the distribution of observed and neglected digamma quite closely, suggested that what could be seen as a phonological issue (with implications for relative chronology) might actually be better characterised as a compositional issue. Further analysis also showed that certain words were more likely to observe or neglect the digamma, perhaps due to stylistic marking and compositional preference. Finally, poets' dialects were an extra external factor, influencing a complex and multi-faceted picture.

I then considered tmesis. Though it was not studied by Janko, it provides an interesting comparison with thematic genitives and the digamma, because it is a syntactical, rather than phonological or morphological phenomenon. However, the same issues and questions arise – do different texts use the phenomenon in different ways, and why might this be?

I suggested that the most appropriate contrast was between initial tmesis and non-initial tmesis, and defined a set of principles and assumptions for a count comparable to the other two features, and again taking full account of formulaic instances. I found that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have a strong preference for initial tmesis, using it far more often than the Hesiodic poems and Homeric hymns. Furthermore, an analysis of the use of tmesis in speech or

narrative showed that narrative sections in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were characterised by initial tmesis to a significantly greater degree than speech sections. I argued that this was because poets chose inherited patterns of language, such as initial tmesis, as more aesthetically appropriate to traditional, narrative portions of the poem, for a stylistic archaising effect.

I next considered the common themes and issues which emerged from my research. The study of all three pervasive linguistic features indicated that their distribution cannot be ascribed simply to chronology but rather was influenced by a complex mix of factors. I suggested that it is helpful to distinguish between 'internal' and 'external' factors. 'Internal' describes factors originating within the poet himself or inherent to the linguistic feature – such as whether it is used in formulaic contexts, or the metrical structure of the words affected. 'External' factors are factors such as chronology, dialect and register, and the performance tradition from which the poet came.

First, 'internal' features play a very important role. I found that, across all three features studied, the formulaic nature of the lines in question had a major impact on which form was chosen. Formulaic sections of the text were more likely to feature genitives in -οιο and observe digamma. The distinction is important since whether a particular formula is used has far more to do with the content of the poetry than any diachronic process of sound change. In the case of thematic genitives, I found that the metrical structure of the word in question was highly significant, and that there were only five structures of word where there is any genuine variation. Hence, analysis needs to be restricted to words with those structures. In a similar way, in the case of the digamma, I found that different words, even in non-formulaic contexts, observe and neglect the digamma at different rates. The 'vagaries of content', as Janko himself put it, are far from insignificant in their impact, and very careful attention needs to be paid to such issues when comparing the distribution of linguistic features across texts with such different subject matter.

So far as 'external' factors are concerned, the study of thematic genitives and the digamma indicated that chronology was unlikely to have had much influence on their distribution. This conclusion is based partly upon external evidence regarding the status of the features in the language as a whole (for example, evidence showing that the -οιο genitive ending

was associated with the genre of heroic epic throughout antiquity); and partly upon the internal factors already referred to. For example, when thematic genitives were analysed according to metrical structure, there was no indication of the gradual and consistent change that would be expected from a diachronic process of evolution. With regard to the digamma, I argued there was a strong parallel with resonant lengthening, a phenomenon unlikely to be subject to a diachronic process, and that this cast further doubt upon such an explanation for the digamma.

But if chronology is not a primary 'external' factor, what is? In the rest of Chapter 5 I argued that the distribution of the three linguistic features studied should be ascribed to 'register', and thus was predominantly determined by issues of genre and style. I proposed that the context for this was recomposition in performance, which acted as a catalyst for certain linguistic forms becoming 'marked' as appropriate for particular 'registers', where 'register' essentially means a variety of language appropriate for a particular, user-defined, linguistic context, namely the genre of the poetry in question. Moreover, I suggested that these registers were created through the unique interplay between tradition and innovation which characterises the *Kunstsprache*.

The study of tmesis provides a particularly strong example of this, in that there is a strong association of initial tmesis with Homeric narrative, whereas Homeric speech is more balanced, with a slight preference for non-initial tmesis. It seems likely that initial tmesis became marked as befitting heroic narrative through the conservatism of typological elements such as type-scenes common in narrative but non-existent in speech. I then suggested that a similar kind of process may have occurred across the corpus of early Greek hexameter poetry; certain genres were more or less characterised by diachronic repetition and higher continuity - heroic narrative more so, heroic speech, didactic poetry and hymnic hexameter less so. I suggested that the differing degrees of recomposition-in-performance, and greater scope for innovation experienced in different genres, played an important role in the creation of 'registers' which came to be seen as appropriate. Certain linguistic features or compositional habits became associated with certain (sub-) genres, so when composing new verses in a particular (sub-)genre, those linguistic features were more likely to be used. In this context, linguistic features with high salience, such as initial tmesis and genitives in -οιο, became markers of heroic poetry – indeed, initial tmesis was so marked that it came to characterise heroic narrative in

particular. Other features with less salience, of which the digamma would appear to be an example, were not so actively sought out, and thus were impacted by other factors – in the case of digamma, dialect was an important influence.

Overall, therefore, my research shows that greater use of linguistic archaisms may not indicate, in the terms set out above, that one text is older or younger than another, as has conventionally been assumed; and that considerations of genre and style should be taken much more into account in understanding the distribution of these features across the corpus of early Greek hexameter poetry, since these appear to be powerful influences on the use of language.

The argument developed throughout this thesis may help to provide another explanation for the consistency which Janko found in his results. When he was discussing potential factors underlying his results, he commented:

> 'How could poets manage to sprinkle their verses with just the right amount of archaism and innovation in so many disparate criteria of such high incidence? Can we suppose that they could deliberately weigh out the proper quantities of ingredients again and again? Surely this is unacceptable. The epic poet may use artificial diction, but the purposeful concoction of consistent and imperceptible shifts of language is far from his spirit. Such shifts must be unconscious'.[445]

I agree that it is unlikely that poets archaised in quite the way Janko implies. However, reframing the discussion in terms of register, markedness and genre provides a substantial benefit, because it is possible to consider poets deploying linguistic features not in a 'purposeful concoction' of archaic features (to use Janko's words), but rather with a strong unconscious sense of the markedness of artificial forms in the *Kunstsprache*. It is possible to envisage that, working within a context and tradition melding continuity and innovation from performance to performance, poets readily developed the skill and experience to use each form more or less according to the register appropriate to each poem, when composing and recomposing their verses.

[445] Janko (1982), 81.

However, the issue of the consistency of Janko's results must also be seen against the background of the problems my research identified with his count. As noted above, very careful attention needs to be paid to issues of content and the way in which this influences the distribution of linguistic features, when comparing texts with such different subject matter. Another example is Jones' work, which found that the contents of the poetry had a strong effect on which dative plural ending is used: 'the two Homeric words that show the short ending with any frequency, Ἀχαιοῖς and ἐρετμοῖς, simply do not occur outside Homer'.[446]

This thesis has engaged fully with key aspects of Janko's argument, but there has only been scope in this thesis to consider fully two of the criteria he studied; an extended treatment of all the criteria he examined would therefore be a desideratum, guided also by the reanalysis of his data carried out in my research. Although I have provided detailed criticism of his assumptions and methods, and posed a significant challenge to his results, his work has certainly not been refuted – comprehensive refutation would require a similarly detailed examination of all his criteria.

There is also potentially much to be gained from careful, discriminating and fine-grained analysis of linguistic criteria. In chapter 2, for example, when discussing -οιο genitives, I observed that there were hints within the data that differences in distribution in a single metrical category between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reflected the compositional preferences of two different poets, though working within the same tradition at roughly similar times. Detailed analysis of other criteria could help to build a fuller picture along these lines.

6.2. Looking Forward: Potential Impacts of the Present Thesis

This study has demonstrated that there is additional, important work to be carried out on individual linguistic features and their behaviour in Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns. My research and analysis strongly suggest that chronology is less of an operant factor than previously thought, and that the issue could instead be most productively addressed in terms of different genres and registers of hexameter poetry. However, this is clearly controversial, and would benefit from further work to develop and build the argument in both breadth and depth. Three pervasive linguistic features have been considered in detail so far – what other differences

[446] Jones (2010), 305.

in the use of 'Homeric' language across the hexameter corpus could be understood better in terms of genre and register? For example, work similar to that which has been carried out for this thesis could be undertaken in connection with different kinds of infinitives, vowel contractions, etc.

Further in-depth study within the field of stylistics could help to reframe current approaches to the texts, and thereby provide significant advances in the understanding of the Homeric Question. If Janko's findings on relative chronology were to be overturned, the implications could be quite far-reaching. For example, Haslam claims that Janko's conclusions constitute the best case for a fixed text of Homer before the 6th century – but, if the consistency of Janko's results could be explained otherwise, one might be inclined to take more seriously the notion of a later fixation of Homer's text.[447]

There are also opportunities for further refinement in terms of the contextual tags in the database – our analysis was quite broad, and did not, for example, go into any further detail than 'speech' and 'narrative' (it was thought that further detailed tags ran the risk of being overly schematic, but perhaps this could be circumvented by careful analysis – one could include, for example, 'simile', 'speech-narrative' where a narrative is told in a speech by a character like Nestor, etc.). In this regard, the accompanying database will hopefully provide a substantial benefit for further research.

To what other aspects of research on the 'Homeric' language might this thesis be relevant? Much exciting and currently unpublished work in computerised stylometric analysis of the early hexameter corpus is emerging.[448] Such work, based as it is on measurables like n-grams (a continuous sequence of any number of items such as letters, phonemes, etc.), must be extremely careful in the applicability of such measurables to the complex phenomenon of the *Kunstsprache*, and analysis of this kind must be informed by the kinds of 'internal' factors which I discussed in this thesis.

[447] Haslam (1997), 80. I do not necessarily want to advocate this particular point.

[448] Chiara Bozzone has undertaken such work, but it is not yet published; see Bozzone and Sandell (2017). Peter Gainsford has also disseminated on Twitter the results of some stylometric analysis of the corpus; see Gainsford (2018).

For now, this thesis has been able to reconsider three pervasive linguistic features of the hexameter corpus. Through a detailed study of these features, I have found the there are many previously overlooked features which need to be taken into account and I have argued that these are probably more important than chronology in explaining the distribution of the linguistic features considered.

Appendix 1: Instructions for the Access and Use of the Database

The database associated with this thesis is a useful tool for the counting of linguistic features which allows for contextual or descriptive tags. Any quantitative claim made in the thesis regarding the data is made on the basis of the database; it is important that the spreadsheets be accessible to readers, so that they can interrogate such claims. Moreover, it also constitutes a basis on which other researchers can build, by downloading and adding further tags. Lastly, making the database available for use maximises openness and accessibility, so that readers can see exactly how certain counts were made, instead of just trusting the numbers quoted in the main text. The database can be accessed on the Oxford Research Archive as a dataset related to this thesis.

In its current state, the abstract entity known as the Database is made up of four MS Excel spreadsheets, one for each of the main three linguistic features studied in this thesis, and a smaller one for resonant lengthening. The basics of each spreadsheet are essentially the same, although there is some variation. On the left-hand side is the textual reference, to the right of this is the line of poetry itself (for tmesis, sometimes a quotation of two lines was necessary). The columns to the right of the text quotation include the various relevant contextual or descriptive tags, deemed relevant for the analysis. Take, for example, the digamma spreadsheet. In this spreadsheet, it was necessary to take account of the following: what the digammated word is in the line; whether the digammated word was an enclitic; whether the digammated word occurred in speech or narrative; whether the word occurred in a formulaic context (if the line or phrase were repeated from elsewhere, the next column contains the reference); whether the digamma was observed, neglected, or ambiguous; what justified the decision to mark the line as observed, neglected, or ambiguous (i.e. a comment noting whether an observed digamma was observed by making of position, a caesura, etc.); and lastly whether there was a textual complication associated with the line.

Excel is able to sort the data, but it is not necessarily a straightforward process. A dropdown arrow located at the head of every column allows for a relatively basic sorting function, but this dropdown arrow cannot sort through multiple tags automatically. It is

possible to do this manually: let's say that a reader wants to view or count all the instances of ἄναξ in a text both in non-formulaic or repeated contexts, and in narrative sections of the text. In order to do this, it is necessary to use the dropdown arrows for each of these three columns, but the order that the data are presented changes with the order in which the arrows were used. If the user sorts firstly by word, then by speech/narrative, and then by formulae, Excel will stack each sorting request: so, in the current example, it will first split up the data according to the word, then by whether it is in speech or narrative, and then by formula – this last sort will be the order in which the data are presented. If, on the other hand, the user sorts the data in reverse (first by formula, then by speech/narrative, then by word), accordingly, the reverse process will happen, and the data will be presented ultimately sorted by word, with sub-sorting of speech/narrative, and then within speech/narrative, finally, by formulaic status.

Alternatively, the user can highlight either the whole database or part of it, find the 'Sort and Edit' sub-menu under 'Editing', and select 'Custom Sort', as displayed in Images 1 and 2.

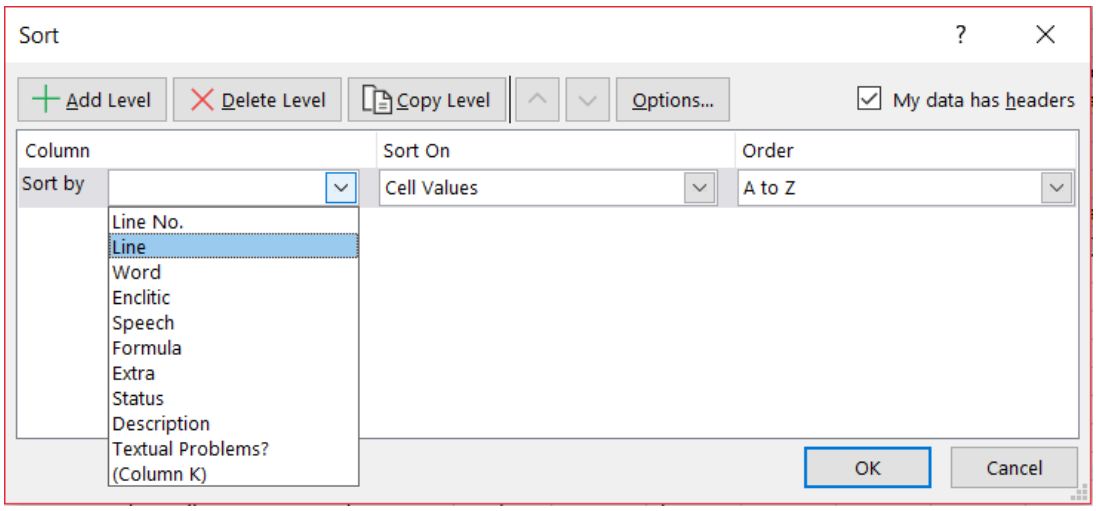


Image 1: MS Excel's 'Custom Sort' Function

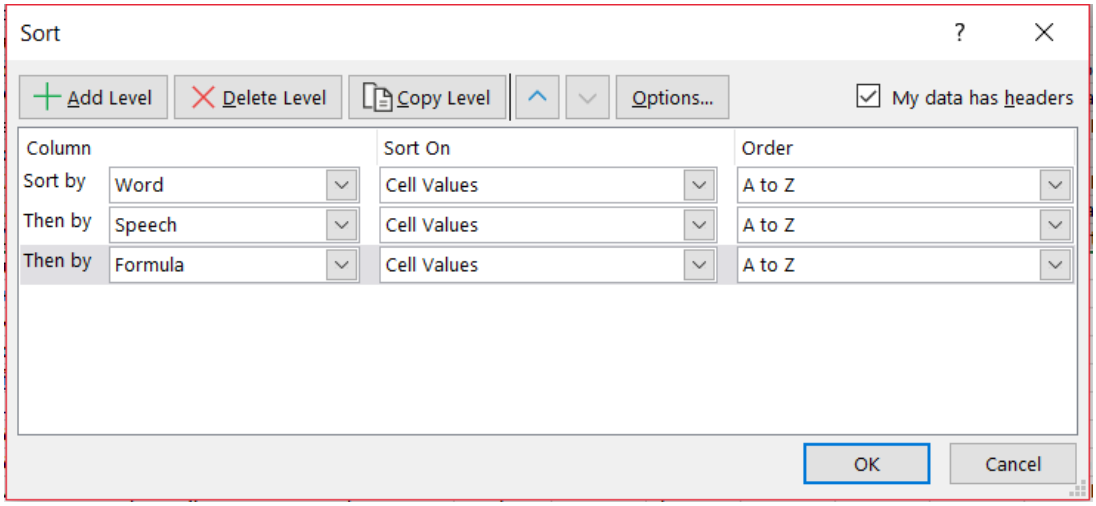


Image 2: MS Excel's 'Custom Sort' Function

This more powerful automated process allows for sorting and sub-sorting with relative ease. The user is able to add as many levels of sorting as they want, and for each level to specify by which column the data are sequentially sorted. This automated process is easier to manage when the user wants to sort the data by multiple different columns, but the dropdown arrow is sufficient for easy sorting requests.

Appendix 2: Comparing Editions of the *Iliad*

In the Introduction to this thesis, it is suggested that the differences in the texts of the hexameter poems are insufficiently small to problematise the use of the OCT, the default edition for the digital searches of the texts on the *TLG*. This point was made to reassure the reader that the quantitative arguments throughout this thesis are not undermined by textual issues. The 'Compare Editions' function of the *TLG* made possible a comparison of the significant differences between the OCT and West's edition, displayed in the table below. Differences deemed not significant enough to be listed here, in the context of the topic of the thesis, includes issues such as punctuation and capitalisation, accentuation, and the occasional case of what we might call univerbation, such as in 1.59 παλιμπλαγχθέντας (Allen) vs. πάλιν πλαγχθέντας (West).

Line	Allen (OCT)	West	Comment?
1.1	ὄρσε	ὦρσε	Augment
1.2	ἔθηκε,	ἔθηκεν,	Nu
1.25	ἔτελλε	ἔτελλεν·	Nu
1.33	ἔδεισεν	ἔδδεισεν	
1.37	μευ	μοι	Pronoun
1.42	τίσειαν	τείσειαν	
1.48	ἔηκε	ἔηκεν	Nu
1.57	τε γένοντο,	τ' ἐγένοντο,	Augment
1.67	βούλεται	βούλητ'	
1.70	ᾔδη	εἴδη	
1.80	κρείσσων	κρέσσων	
1.88	ἐμεῦ	ἐμέο	Pronoun
1.93	οὔ ταρ	οὔτ' ἄρ'	
1.97	Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει	λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει,	
1.105	προσέειπε·	προσέειπεν·	Nu
1.106	εἶπας·	εἶπες·	
1.108	εἶπας·	εἶπες·	
1.117	σῶν	σόον	Contraction
1.119	ἔοικε	ἔοικεν·	Nu
1.123	γάρ	τάρ	
1.131	δ'	δὴ	
1.161	μετατρέπῃ	μετατρέπε'	Contraction
1.162	πολλὰ μόγησα	πόλλ' ἐμόγησα	Augment
1.167	μεῖζον	μέζον	
1.179	ἑτάροισι	ἑτάροισιν	Nu
1.183	ἑτάροισι	ἑτάροισιν	Nu
1.185	τὸ σὸν	τεὸν	

1.193	ἦος	ἔως	
1.194	ἔλκετο	εἵλκετο	Augment
1.207	τὸ σὸν	τεὸν	
1.220	ἀπίθησε	ἀπίθησεν	Nu
1.236	ἔλεψε	ἔλεψεν	Nu
1.251	τράφεν	τράφον	
1.265	present	absent	
1.266	τράφεν	τράφον	
1.273	μευ	εο	Pronoun
1.276	Πηλείδη 'θελ'	Πηλείδη, ἔθελ'	Augment
1.281	ὅ γε	ὅδε	
1.314	λύματα βάλλον,	λύματ' ἔβαλλον,	Augment
1.320	προσέειπε,	προσέειπεν,	Nu
1.326	ἔτελλε·	ἔτελλεν.	Nu
1.329	εὗρον	ηὗρον	Augment
1.337	Πατρόκλεες	Πατρόκλεις,	
1.340	δ'	δὴ	
1.342	θύει,	θυίει,	
1.344	μαχέοιντο	μαχεοίατ'	
1.350	ἐπ' ἀπείρονα	ἐπὶ οἶνοπα	
1.361	ὀνόμαζε·	ὀνόμαζεν·	Nu
1.379	ἔτελλε·	ἔτελλεν.	Nu
1.388	ἐστί·	ἐστίν.	Nu
1.418	μεγάροισι.	μεγάροισιν.	Nu
1.428	δὲ λίπ'	δ' ἔλιπ'	Augment
1.447	ἱερὴν	κλειτὴν	
1.450	εὔχετο	ηὔχετο	Augment
1.451	μευ	μοι	Pronoun
1.453	ἐμεῦ	ἐμέο	Pronoun
1.458	εὔξαντο	ηὔξαντο	Augment
1.464	μῆρε κάη	μῆρ' ἐκάη	Augment
1.464	σπλάγχνα πάσαντο,	σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντο,	Augment
1.475	ἦλθε,	ἦλθεν,	Nu
1.488	ὠκυπόροισι	ὠκυπόροισιν	Nu
1.498	εὗρεν	ηὗρεν	Augment
1.515	ἐὺ εἰδέω	εὖ εἴδω	
1.540	δ'	δὴ	
1.541	ἐμεῦ	ἐμεῖ'	Pronoun
1.559	πολέας	πολὺς	
1.568	ἔδεισεν	ἔδδεισεν	
1.585	προσέειπε·	προσέειπεν·	Nu
1.585	χειρὶ	χερσὶ	
1.608	πραπίδεσσι·	πραπίδεσσιν·	Nu

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Murray = Murray A. T., *Homer* Iliad, Revised by William F. Wyatt, 2 Vols. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard.

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