STUDIES IN THE ANCIENT GREEK VERBS IN *-SKŌ*

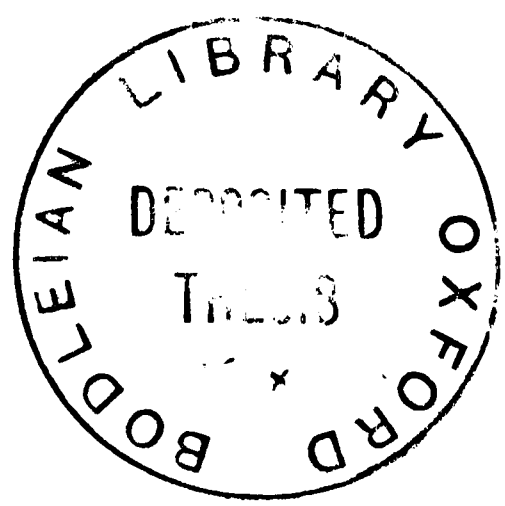
Jason R. Zerdin

Somerville College

University of Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity Term 1999



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Abstract

This thesis examines Ancient Greek verbs such as βάσκω, which are suffixed (mainly in the present tense) with - σκω. They present both morphological and semantic problems. Firstly, it is not clear why, beside simple - σκω, we have formations with reduplication such as γι- γνώ- σκω, and in - ίσκω as εὑρ- ίσκω. Secondly, the presents in - σκω have been attributed four different meanings: causative, inchoative, iterative and zero. These functions are found separately for descendants of *-*ske/o*- in other Indo-European languages, but Greek seems unique in showing all four at the same time.

After a brief review of earlier scholarship (Chapter 1) and a summary account of the evidence for *-*ske/o*- in other Indo-European languages (Chapter 2), this thesis offers a thorough examination of Greek verbs in - σκω in two well-defined corpora: Homer and Plato. Chapters 3 and 4 concentrate on the morphology and semantics of - σκω in Homer, and Chapters 7 and 8 concern these subjects in Plato. Chapter 5 discusses the so-called 'iteratives' in - (ε)σκον, found mainly in Homer and Herodotus. Two short sections (Chapters 6 and 9) summarise the situation in early and Classical Greek respectively. The detailed analysis highlights the distinctions between the early and Classical period. Although the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* preserve features of the original formations, they also provide evidence for specific innovations, most notably presents with reduplication and in - ίσκω. It is possible, and even likely, that the iteratives in - (ε)σκον have a common origin with presents in - σκω; but even in Homer they must be treated as a separate class. It emerges that semantically the forms in -(ε)σκον form a coherent category, probably marked by the feature '+REPEATED'; apparent contrasts in meaning are largely lexically determined. However, the main function of - σκω in Homer is that of creating presents from roots which originally yielded root aorists; the apparent causative / inchoative value is in fact based on the active / medio-passive contrast. In the Classical period, morphology and semantics move towards more regular patterns. The choice between reduplication, - ίσκω and - σκω is determined by stem-type, and we find two classes of minimal pairs: those of the form causative active μεθύσκω 'make drunk' : inchoative medio-passive μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk' : unmarked stative μεθύω 'be drunk', where the action is 'externally caused'; and those of the type inchoative active γενειάσκω 'become bearded' : stative γενειάω 'be bearded', where these is no causative alternant and the action is 'internally caused'.

Preface

The writing of this thesis has taken many years, and I should very much like to thank all those who have been supportive during this time. Most of all, I am grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Anna Morpurgo Davies; without her knowledge, perspicacity and untiring support this thesis would not have been written. I am also indebted to Ms. Philomen Probert and Dr. Elizabeth Tucker, both of whom read through earlier versions of several chapters and made many helpful comments, and to Dr. John Penney and Prof. David Langslow.

I am hugely grateful to many others, many of whom have not only been supportive but have also read my work: most of all to Dr. Matthew McFall, Mrs. Helene Zerdin and Ms. Rebecca Zerdin, and also to Ms. Alix Bunyan, Ms. Lindsey Chadwick, Ms. Ina Hartmann, Ms. Kerstin Hoge, Ms. Sonja Marzinzik, Ms. Mariam Rosser-Owen and Mr. Jan Onoszko. Scholarships from the British Academy, Corpus Christi College and Somerville College have been invaluable; in particular, I should like to thank Mrs. Jenny Teichman for her role in setting up the Levick Sisters' Scholarship at Somerville, without which I would not have been able to complete my work.

While friends, teachers and colleagues have shown reluctance to embark on long discussions concerning Greek -σκω, they have not hesitated to try to increase the corpus of forms. I have thus been asked to analyse a variety of verbs, often supplied with glosses, such as τέσκω 'shop', φιάσκω 'confound' and σανφρανσίσκω. Indeed, it is due to the typically obsessive nature of doctoral work that I have come to gloss the name Vasco da Gama as 'I go, I go', attempting to derive it from a combination of late Greek (βάσκω) and Vedic Sanskrit (subjunctive form *gamánti*). I have even seen *-*ske/o*- in science fiction, finding the Klingon inceptive form *ghoSchoH* 'he/she is beginning to go (somewhere)' oddly reminiscent of Proto-Indo-European *$g^{w}\mu$-*ske/o*-. It now seems very unlikely that I shall ever be able to take any sequence -*sk*- in my stride.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

Verbs in - σκω and its variant - ίσκω, such as βόσκω, γιγνώσκω, μιμνήσκω and εὑρίσκω, are part of the basic vocabulary of Greek. They are characterised by a present stem in - σκ- beside non-present forms which are almost always without this suffix. Yet, despite their prominence, in-depth scholarship into Greek presents in - σκω is remarkably scarce. This is presumably because the suffix is not especially productive; yet the problems it presents mean that a study is very much required. Whilst much work has been done on cognate productive suffixes in Hittite, Latin and Tocharian, and to a lesser extent on the more disputed relatives in Armenian,[1] that relating to Greek - σκ- has been almost entirely restricted to the dialectally productive 'iterative' suffix -(ε)σκον, a formation apparently quite separate from the presents in -σκω.[2] On the function of Greek - σκ- , only one work (Giacalone Ramat 1967) exists; the same can be said of work on the morphology of verbs in - ίσκω (Schmidt 1904), and no single article or monograph concerns the general subject of Greek presents in - σκω at all, bar Tsiapera's (1988 [1989]) very brief history of these forms from Ancient to Modern Greek. And yet the presents in - σκω are consistently mentioned in Indo-European and Greek grammars, and also in various monographs and articles.[3]

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[1]For bibliography on these see Chapter 2 §§ 2.1, 2.4, 2.5 and 2.3 respectively.

[2]Such material is reviewed in Chapter 5, with bibliography listed at § 1 n. 1.

[3]The earliest studies on Greek presents in - σκω are to be found in Curtius 1846: 113-18, 1877-80: I.271-91; and Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.356-7, 361; in addition, Stolpe (1849: 11-26) gives an early account of Homeric forms in - σκω. In historical grammars, cf. now Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.707-10; Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 241-2; Risch 1974: 272, 274-6; Chantraine 1986-8: I.316-18 (and on this Shipp 1972: 86-7), 1991: 223-5; Rix 1992: 213-14; and Meier-Brügger 1992: II.59. In works on the Greek verb, cf. Ruipérez 1954: 130-5; Kujoręˆ 1970: 70-1, 1973: 7-8, 92-7 (Homer), 251-9 (Classical), 296-7 (post-Classical); and Duhoux 1992: 335-7. Further useful

Greek present-forming - σκω is held to be inherited from Proto-Indo-European *-*ske/o*- (see Chapter 2), and several Greek forms seem to have been inherited. From here, the suffix continues to be used; and we might expect, from its antiquity, that it could go on in Ancient Greek either to be highly productive or to fall out of use. The former situation occurs for the inherited - σις / - τις suffix, which comes to be the standard way of forming abstract nouns in Ancient Greek; the latter is almost the case for - εις (as ῥοδόεις 'of roses'[4]), used in Homer and Mycenaean but thereafter almost entirely restricted to the isolated adjective χαρίεις 'graceful' and to use in poetic vocabulary.[5] But neither of these is the case with present-forming - σκω, which continues to be used only moderately frequently.[6]

From Homer to Aristotle we find 62 verbs in - σκω;[7] this thesis tries to reconstruct the suffix's development. Rather than attempt to examine all the data from Ancient Greek, however, I have examined two cross-sections of Ancient Greek. These two limited corpora, taken synchronically, are as follows. Firstly, there is Homer, which we may take to represent early Greek,[8] despite the problems which the epic dialect raises. Secondly, Plato is taken as representative of Classical Greek, presenting as he does a large corpus of Greek prose, almost all in the form of

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summaries are found at Wathelet 1973: 384-5; Ruijgh 1985: 141-5; and Keller 1992: 179-84 (- σκ-), 282-3 (- ισκ-). On Herodotean usage see Rosén 1962: 126. For works on Proto-Indo-European *-*ske/o*- and its reflexes, which often mention Greek - σκ- , see Chapter 2 § 1 and n. 2.

[4]Glosses in this chapter are adapted from LSJ.

[5]Cf. the respective entries in e.g. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.504-6, 526-8; Chantraine 1968: 275-89, 270-4; and Buck and Petersen 1944: 574-608, 460-3. On - σις / - τις see also Long 1968: 14-18, with further bibliography.

[6]Cf. Puhvel's (1991: 16) remarks that, unlike the preterites in -(ε)σκον (frequent in Homer), 'in Greek - σκε- verbs are notoriously limited, having never advanced beyond an embryonic and tentative productivity', a 'stunted state' that was also the case for *-*ske/o*-; Rix (1992: 214) makes a similar comparison, but Meillet and Vendryes (1948: 241; cf. Vendryes 1911: 173-4) rather have Greek - σκω as productive.

[7]This total is made up of 28 verbs from Homer (Chapter 3 § 1.1.2), twelve new to Plato, including φάσκω (Chapter 7 § 1.1.2) and 22 more in Classical Greek (Chapter 9 § 1).

[8]Mycenaean yields little evidence: cf. Chapter 6 § 2.

philosophical dialogues; other Classical verbs in - σκω are given after examination of Plato has been completed (Chapter 9 § 2).

The structure of this thesis is therefore as follows. This chapter forms an introduction to the study of Greek - σκω, briefly detailing the scholarship produced so far and the problems which the suffix poses. Thereafter the background to the Indo-European origins of *-*ske/o*- is given (Chapter 2), after which analysis of the Greek data proper begins.[9] Firstly, there are four chapters on early Greek: Chapters 3 and 4 concern respectively the morphology and semantics of Greek presents in - σκω in Homer; Chapter 5 examines the so-called iteratives in -(ε)σκον, which are almost exclusive to Homer and Herodotus; and Chapter 6 gives a summary of the use of - σκ- in early Greek, with reference also to Mycenaean. Chapters 7 and 8 are the Classical counterparts to Chapters 3 and 4, detailing the morphology and semantics respectively of Greek verbs in - σκω in Plato; Chapter 9 summarises and concludes the subject of Classical Greek - σκω. Chapter 10 concludes the thesis.

2. Morphology

2.1. Outline: towards a categorisation of presents in - σκω

The suffix - σκω, also found as - ίσκω, is almost entirely confined to the present stem.[10] Several scholars give detailed morphological categorisations of different types of verbs in - σκω;[11] none of these attempts are recent, and new work is

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[9]Although it is a matter of some relevance and no little interest, there is unfortunately no room here to deal with the tense-aspect system of Greek. This has been much discussed of late: cf. most recently, with further bibliography, Binnick 1991: 158-69; Rijksbaron 1994: 1-6; Giannakis 1997: 30-4; and Hewson and Bubeník 1997: 24-45.

[10]Apart from the extension of the stems from ἁλύσκ- ω 'escape' (Chapter 3 § 3.1.1), βόσκ- ω 'feed' (Chapters 3 § 3.1.2, 7 § 5.1), διδάσκ- ω 'teach' (Chapters 3 § 4.2.1, 7 § 5.2) and μίσγ- ω 'mix' (Chapter 3 § 2.3), there is also the Doric perfect πέποσχα, formed after present πάσχω 'suffer' (cf. LSJ s.v. πάσχω).

[11]Cf. Curtius 1846: 113-18, 1877-80: I.271-91; Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.356-7, 361; and Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.707-10.

evidently required. A fault more noticeable in the earlier attempts is that these classifications place too great an emphasis on the final element of the verbal stem before - σκ- ; hence, for example, Curtius' (1846: 117) category of verbs with velar stems, which involves grouping reduplicated τιτύσκομαι 'make ready; aim' (from τυκ- /τυχ-) with unreduplicated λάσκω 'shout, scream' (from λακ-). A second problem is that in all cases too wide a chronological range of verbs in - σκω is brought together; thus Schwyzer (Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.708) groups inherited βάσκω 'go, come' in the same class as Hesychius' κλώσκω· κλώθω.

Nonetheless, it is evident from such work, as it is indeed from more recent but much less detailed accounts,[12] that there are three common types of these verbs: verbs in - σκω (βά- σκω 'go, come', ἀρέ- σκω 'please'), verbs in - ίσκω (εὑρ- ίσκω 'find, find out', ἀμβλ- ίσκω 'cause to miscarry'), and verbs in - σκω with reduplication in - ι- (γι- γνώ- σκω 'come to know, know', τι- τρώ- σκω 'wound'). Such an analysis ignores peculiarities such as other types of reduplication – for example, the difficult δει- δί- σκομαι 'greet, welcome'; ἀρ- αρ- ίσκω 'fit together', with 'Attic reduplication'; and ἐΐσκω 'make like, etc.', apparently from *ϝε- ϝί- σκω. It also ignores combinations of features, as with μι- μνήσκω 'remind' and ἀρ- αρ- ίσκω 'fit together', both with - ίσκω combined with different types of reduplication.

Nothing has yet been said here about the evolution of verbs in - σκω. The various accounts referred to above list to a greater or lesser degree which forms seem to have been inherited in Greek: the pattern of zero-grade of the root followed by *-*ske/o*- is that generally cited, as in βάσκω 'go, come'.[13] For the history of Greek itself, we might like to know which types of verbs in - σκω occur in the various periods, making divisions such as Homeric Greek, Classical Greek, and post-Classical

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[12]Cf. the list of further works on - σκω given at § 1 n. 3 above.

[13]Cf. Vedic *gácchati*. See further Chapter 2 § 3.3.

Greek; and in what proportion they are found. Here the only account of help is that of Kujoŗe (1973), who does have these three chronological categories; but he only deals with forms in - σκω which show collateral presents.

2.2. Current morphological problems

We thus stand very much in need of a detailed, diachronic, morphological analysis of Greek verbs in - σκω. It is clear that, as the ancient pattern of zero-grade of the root with *-*ske/o*- fell out of use, - σκ- came to be used to derive presents from other stems: cf. e.g. Koine κορέσκω 'satiate', apparently from aorist ἐκόρεσα, as cited by Chantraine (1991: 224). It is unclear from the literature whether denominative verbs were also formed: Ruijgh (1985: 140) states that - σκω 's'ajoute normalement à un thème verbal', but Duhoux (1992: 336) derives γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard' from γενειάς 'beard' and γηράσκω 'grow old' from γῆρας 'old age', not the method of derivation normally given for these forms.[14] Leaving this aside, and also the difficulties raised by such aberrant forms as δειδίσκομαι, our two major problems are the morphological categories of forms with reduplication in - ι- and those in - ίσκω. Nor are they mutually exclusive: μιμνήσκω 'remind' apparently shows both these features.

2.2.1. Reduplication

A small group of forms in Homer show both - σκω and reduplication in - ι- , and this type of formation may in fact go back at least to Mycenaean.[15] The problem is twofold: we do not know the origin of this set of verbs, and no convincing

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[14]Scholars tend to derive γενειάσκω from γενειάω 'get a beard; have a beard' (§ 3.3 below) and γηράσκω from aorist ἐγήρᾱ (Chapter 3 § 7.2). Another possible example is μεθύσκω 'make drunk', from either μεθύω 'be drunk' or μέθυ 'wine'.

[15]On the Mycenaean forms *di-da-ka-re* and *de-di-<da>-ku-ja* see Chapter 6 § 2.1.

explanation has yet been offered which accounts for the group as a coherent synchronic whole within Greek.

The problem of the origin will probably never be solved. It is generally said that this type may have begun with γιγνώσκω 'come to know, know' arising from a combination of two older forms, **gn̂ōskō* and **gi̯gn̂ōmi*,[16] a theory which may perhaps also be extended to further forms such as διδάσκω 'teach' and ἱλάσκομαι 'appease' (cf. Chapter 3 § 4.3).

Prehistoric developments aside, however, we are still left with the problem of Classical Greek. Here we find seven new formations, such as ἐμ-πιπᾱ́σκομαι 'acquire' and πιπίσκω 'make drink'. The type is still productive, therefore. What connects all these forms – some morphological or semantic factor?

Debrunner (1937: 261-3) argued that similarity in meaning between reduplication and -σκω was responsible for these creations.[17] Similarly, Chantraine (1991: 224) says that 'ces présents à redoublement sont expressifs et soulignent la valeur du suffixe: ils semblent exprimer une action que l'on répète pour réussir'; examples include διδάσκω 'enseigner par les leçons répétées'.[18] Yet this view is hardly acceptable. The interpretations of the forms given seem forced;[19] moreover, as Niepokuj (1997: 191) notes in her criticism of Chantraine, such verbs as γιγνώσκω 'come to know, know' and διδάσκω 'teach' are not in contrast with any other (unmarked) forms: as she says, 'it is difficult to see what other meaning a verb like *didásko* [sic] "teach" might have which did not involve some notion of repetition'.

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[16]First of all at Leumann and Hofmann 1928: 314; see further Chapter 3 § 4.1.1.

[17]For this view cf. also Porzig 1927: 164; Kujọrẹ 1970: 72; and Bendahman 1993: 69. Debrunner has both markers as indicating iterative-intensive meaning; on this interpretation of reduplication, see Giannakis 1997: 12-14, with bibliography.

[18]Cf. also e.g. Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 189; and Chantraine 1968-80 s.v μιμνήσκω, 1986-8: I.318.

[19]Cf. e.g. Debrunner's (1937: 262) translation of οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ γε / εὖ διαγιγνώσκω (*Il.* 23. 469-70) as 'ich vermag ihn trotz wiederholter Anläufe nicht genau zu erkennen', where Idomeneus is saying of Diomedes 'I do not discern him clearly'.

Hence, διδάσκω apart, such forms do not have reduplication or - σκ- in non-present tense stems. Lastly, what of those verbs in - σκ- which show no such reduplication? Are they somehow less 'iterative-intensive' than those which do, so that we must gloss μεθύσκω as 'make drunk with repeated attempts, but not as many as we would mean if we had said **μιμεθύσκω instead'?

Nor does the view that reduplicated verbs in - σκω tend to be causatives seem to hold much water. Although often mentioned,[20] it clearly fails on several levels: neither does it explain reduplicated forms that are not causative (as γιγνώσκω 'come to know, know'), nor does it account for apparently causative unreduplicated forms (cf. μεθύσκω 'make drunk'). Leumann (1957: 79-80) deals with reduplicated causative forms by reconstructing a model *ιστάσκω : ἔστησα : ἔστην, thus explaining the causative value of -βιβάσκω 'make go', ἐνδιδύσκω 'put on' / ἐκδιδύσκω 'strip' and πιπίσκω 'make drink' beside aorists ἔβησα : ἔβην, ἔδῡσα : ἔδῡν, ἔπῑσα : *ἔπῑν (see further § 3.2 below).[21]

Two recent works on reduplication have not brought us closer to a solution. Niepokuj (1997), studying verbal reduplication in Indo-European, claims that, in Greek as in Sanskrit, present reduplication 'seems to have little or no effect on meaning' (1997: 9), being 'a formal device with little or no semantic value' (1997: 217); her solution is to try to link its original use with roots which ended in laryngeals in the parent language (cf. Niepokuj 1997: 165-97, especially 184-95). Whilst it is true that four of the seven forms in Homer which show both reduplication in - ι- and

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[20]Cf. Curtius 1846: 117; Wackernagel 1916: 18-19 n. 2; Debrunner 1937: 263; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.710; Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.576; Klingenschmitt 1970: 77 and 84 n. 5; Chantraine 1991: 224-5; Puhvel 1991: 17; and also Rix 1998: 480 n. 3, where the causative meaning of ἱλάσκομαι 'appease' is said to be either from the aorist or the reduplication. Kujọrẹ (1970) and Keller (1992: 117) are critical of this view.

[21]These two theories, of reduplicated verbs in - σκω as either iterative-intensives or causatives, are brought together by Giacalone Ramat (1967: 107-9), who attempts to link the two meanings.

- σκ- do derive from *set* roots,[22] it must be noted that Niepokuj's account of reduplicated verbs in - σκω (1997: 188-91) takes no note of which forms are inherited: she discusses Homeric and Classical Greek data together. In fact, the only inherited reduplicated *set* forms are apparently γιγνώσκω from *$*g̑ n̥h_3$-sḱe/o-* and perhaps ἵλάσκομαι from *$*s l̥h_2$-sḱe/o-*, which only show reduplication in Greek; little evidence, then, for an inherited pattern, as she herself notes – the reduplication is 'possibly... a way of hypercharacterizing the forms' (1997: 191). There are further problems for her theory due to thematic reduplicated presents, which tend not to be derived from laryngeal roots (cf. Niepokuj 1997: 188-9).

Giannakis (1997), on the other hand, examining the syntax and semantics of reduplication in Homer and Indo-European, comes to a different conclusion: present reduplication, he argues, indicates perfectivity in Homeric Greek. He deals in detail with the reduplicated forms in - σκω (1997: 229-254), concluding that 'no single meaning can be established for the verbs of the - σκω class' (1997: 290), some being perfective (as γιγνώσκω), others causative (διδάσκω). He adds that the transitive nature of some of the verbs may be due to the reduplication but that 'intensive, conative, and habitual meanings are also seen'. He suggests that inherited iterative meaning, as is commonly reconstructed for *-*sḱe/o*- (Chapter 2 § 4.2), became 'neutralized' in the majority of these verbs which 'tend to express mental or spiritual activities'. This account is however lacking on several levels. It apparently treats perfectivity and causativity as mutually exclusive phenomena, which they are not: one involves aspect, the other lexical Aktionsart and argument structure.[23] Secondly, the list of various meanings is similar to that generally given for - σκω itself, meaning that the reduplication seems to have no role at all – which is intuitively unsatisfying. Lastly, the view that Homeric presents in - σκω showing reduplication in - ι- indicate

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[22]That is, γιγνώσκω, ἵλάσκομαι, κικλήσκω and μιμνήσκω; cf. Chapter 3 § 4.1.

[23]On causativity, see § 3.2 below, and on aspect and Aktionsart Chapter 5 § 5.1.

mental activities, also expressed by Risch (1974: 276), accounts for γιγνώσκω 'come to know, know', μιμνήσκω 'remind' and perhaps διδάσκω 'teach', but surely not ἱλάσκομαι 'appease', κικλήσκω 'call, summon', πιφαύσκω 'make manifest, declare' or τιτύσκομαι 'make ready; aim'; nor does it hold for Classical Greek (cf. e.g. ἀπο- διδρᾱ́σκω 'run away').[24] And in any case, could reduplication actually indicate mental activity in a verb? The reason for the combination of the two formants in reduplicated presents in - σκω therefore remains obscure.

2.2.2. The alternant - ίσκω

As with reduplication combined with - σκω, two problems plague - ίσκω:[25] we do not know its origin and cannot yet explain its use within Greek.

On the one hand, this suffix has been of especial interest in the comparative field because, apparently inexplicable within Greek itself, - ίσκω is often taken as evidence (along with data from Hittite, Avestan, Armenian and Latin) of a proto-form *-*iśke/o*-. Yet, as we shall see, such reconstruction is far from assured, with the only possibly inherited correspondence uncertain (cf. Chapter 2 § 3.4). Are we therefore to explain - ίσκω as an innovation within Greek? Three explanations have been offered in this field. Two rely on the fact that three of the four Homeric presents in - ίσκω show thematic presents in - ρ- as the last element of the verbal stem (as ἀραρ- ίσκω : ἤραρ- ον): Klingenschmitt (1982: 73-7) explains the suffix's origin via a pre-Greek form **egrīške/o*-;[26] and Vine (1993) uses controversial reflexes of

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[24]Nonetheless, Giannakis attempts to extend this theory to κικλήσκω (1997: 244-5) and πιφαύσκω, glossed as 'illuminate' (1997: 250) as well as ἐΐσκω 'make like; think' (1997: 242). The latter is especially unconvincing, not on morphological grounds (a preform *ϝιϝίσκω is possible; cf. Chapter 3 § 5.2), but semantic: the oldest meaning is surely 'make like' (cf. Chapter 4 § 3.2.3).

[25]We cannot know whether we are dealing with ῑ or ĭ: cf. further Klingenschmitt 1982: 75-6 n. 17.

[26]This would be from h_1*griśke/o*- or *h_1*grihśke/o*-, found in Avestan *fraγrisəmnō* 'awakening' (intransitive), Latin *expergiscor* 'awaken' (intransitive) and perhaps Albanian *ngrihem* 'rise up'; but on this correspondence see Chapter 2 § 3.4.

laryngeals to explain the origin of the - ι- , involving Strunk's (1969 [1970], 1970) suggested change of *TRh_1C to $ToRιC$. Thirdly, Ruijgh (1985: 140, 148-9) has verbs that are already suffixed with *-*ye/o*- acquiring iterative *-*ske/o*-, leading to the peculiarly Greek - ίσκω from *-*i-ske/o*-.[27] All three theories are, however, very dubious: see Chapters 2 § 3.4, 3 § 6.5 for discussion.

It is therefore not unusual for scholars to remark that the origin of - ίσκω is obscure.[28] The obvious solution would surely be that it is a post-consonantal variant of - σκω. This was however not always the case in Homeric Greek (cf. πάσχω, not **παθίσκω) nor in the Classical period (cf. κυΐσκομαι, not **κύσκομαι). In addition to the aforementioned pattern of present in - ίσκω beside thematic present, there is also a noticeable tendency for the former to appear beside non-present forms in - η- and - ω- : hence Homeric ἐπαυρ- ίσκομαι : ἐπαυρ- ήσομαι 'partake of, etc.', Classical ἁλ- ίσκομαι : ἁλ- ώσομαι 'be taken'.[29] If the type of present in - ίσκω beside thematic aorist is ancient, however, as Klingenschmitt and Vine argue, then the occurrence beside - η- and - ω- presumably began later. Can we then chart its development? And what can the results of such study tell us about -ίσκω?

Lastly, there is the frequently noted extension of - ίσκω to verbs whose stems end in a long vowel: hence for example θνήσκω and μιμνήσκω rather than θνήσκω and μιμνήσκω.[30] Since Schmidt's (1904) theory concerning such forms is out-of-date and unsupportable (cf. Chapter 2 § 3.4), the reason for the extension of this suffix to certain forms remains unexplained.

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[27]Hence e.g. *$wr̥\hat{g}$-*ye/o*- 'be at work, work' would give iterative *$wr̥\hat{g}$-*i-ske/o*- 'work from time to time, habitually'.

[28]Cf. e.g. Chantraine 1991: 225; Duhoux 1992: 337; and Sihler 1995: 507.

[29]For data and discussion cf. Schmidt 1904, especially 26-33; Chantraine 1928: 17-19; and also e.g. Keller 1992: 282-3.

[30]Cf. e.g. Brugmann 1904: 520; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.709-10; and Chantraine 1991: 225.

3. Semantics

3.1. Outline: the many meanings of - σκω

The problem of the semantics of - σκω is that no satisfactory value has yet been found which accounts for all the data; nor, despite work most notably by Ruipérez (1954: 130-5) and Giacalone Ramat (1967) on the function of - σκ- , has any detailed analysis yet been performed to discover what the solution might be. At first sight, we seem to be dealing with four different meanings for our suffix: causative, inchoative, iterative and zero. A further option is that - σκω actually shows none of these; the scholars who advocate this view have a reconstructed meaning for Indo-European *-*ske/o*- which they claim also to be that of Greek - σκω.[31]

3.2. Causative

Several scholars cite causative meaning[32] for certain forms of Greek - σκω, such as μεθύσκω 'make drunk' (beside μεθύω 'be drunk') and πιπίσκω 'make drink' (beside πῑ́νω 'drink');[33] there seems, however, to be good evidence that - σκω did not actually have this meaning. As noted above (§ 2.2.1), Leumann (1957: 79-80) argues that such reduplicated causative forms as - βιβάσκω 'make go', πιπίσκω

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[31]Two further suggestions have not gained acceptance. Firstly, Curtius (1846: 116) argued for desiderative meaning for certain forms, because he linked Latin *-sc-* and Greek - σκ- with the Sanskrit desiderative suffix (Curtius 1846: 115-16) rather than the later accepted *-ccha-* (cf. e.g. Curtius 1877-80: I.271-3, and in general Chapter 2 § 2.2). Secondly, Puhvel (1991: 16) suggests that some cases 'may have a durative tinge beside alternative present stems': he cites χάσκω 'be agape' : χαίνω 'yawn'; and γανύσκομαι 'be glad' : γάνυμαι 'rejoice'. However, χαίνω seems to be a post-Classical replacement of the earlier χάσκω (cf. Veitch 1887 s.v. χάσκω; Kujo̯re̯ 1973: 212 n. 10; and LSJ s.v. χάσκω); and, conversely, γανύσκομαι is apparently a late variant of Homeric and Classical γάνυμαι (cf. Veitch 1887 s.v. γάνῡμαι; LSJ s.vv. γάνῡμαι, γᾰνύσκομαι).

[32]A causative is said to denote that someone is caused to perform an action: an extra argument is added as causer, and placed in subject position; cf. e.g. Comrie 1992; and Palmer 1994: 214.

[33]Cf. Curtius 1846: 114, 1877-80: I.290; Frisk 1945: 218; Krause 1952: 82-3, followed by Hiersche 1960: 38; Popescu 1962: 30, 34; Berrettoni 1971: 99; Wathelet 1973: 385; Puhvel 1991: 16; Duhoux 1992: 336; and, more doubtfully, Clackson 1994: 215 n. 74.

'make drink', and ἐνδιδύσκω 'put on' / ἐκδιδύσκω 'strip' derive their meaning from their respective causative sigmatic aorists. He is followed by Szemerényi (1964: 67-8), who in turn derives unreduplicated causative actives in - σκω from their medio-passive[34] counterparts in - σκομαι: hence μεθύσκω 'make drunk' from μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk'. Kujọrẹ (1970: 73-4) notes both these possibilities, and adds that some verbs in Greek are both transitive and intransitive, as ἵζω, ἱζάνω, both 'sit' and 'make to sit', claiming this as the reason for the double use of βάσκω, apparently both 'go' and 'make go'.[35]

Leumann's postulated model of *ιστάσκω (§ 2.2.1 above) is required on morphological grounds, because we cannot explain the reduplication: from aorist ἔπῑσα we would expect a present in - σκω to be **πίσκω. Szemerényi's method of derivation is also semantically acceptable, although the reason for forming medio-passives in certain contexts is left unclear: κυΐσκομαι 'conceive, become pregnant' and various other forms in - σκομαι are said to be linked with 'the notion of personal involvement' (1964: 67-8), whence the formation of causative actives.[36] In fact, these are instances of the so-called 'causative alternation', where we find pairs of the form 'cause to become X' : 'become X', as in English *he broke the vase* : *the vase broke.* In English, the two verbs in such pairs are often formally identical, as in the latter example.[37] In Greek, voice is used to distinguish the alternants, so that we find

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[34]The term 'medio-passive' is used throughout this thesis to indicate jointly the (traditionally differentiated) middle and passive; the terms 'middle' and 'passive' are retained to indicate morphological distinctions, as between aorists in - σάμην and - (θ)ην and futures in - σομαι and - (θ)ήσομαι, following Rijksbaron (1994: 131-2). On the problems of the middle / passive distinction see also Duhoux 1992: 103-4.

[35]On causativity as secondary for - σκω cf. also Kujọrẹ 1973: 258; and Keller 1992: 184.

[36]For the observation that causative actives may be formed off intransitive medio-passives, see Benveniste 1950, followed by e.g. Bader 1968: 50; Jacquinod 1989: 197; and Keller 1992: 118-19.

[37]For an introduction to the subject of the causative alternation, see e.g. Parsons 1990: 105-7; Haspelmath 1993, especially 90-96; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: 79-80; and also Palmer 1994: 143. English is often ambiguous between stative and inchoative interpretations: so, although *the*

causative active beside medio-passive inchoative, the latter having a morphologically passive aorist; examples include causative τήκω 'melt, make molten' : inchoative τήκομαι, ἐτάκην 'melt, become molten'; and ῥήγνῡμι 'break, make broken' : ῥήγνυμαι, ἐρράγην 'break, become broken'.[38] Hence it is not surprising to find causative actives in - σκω beside inchoatives in - σκομαι, as μεθύσκω 'make drunk' : μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk'. Yet this observation has never been mentioned in the context of verbs in - σκω, and although there is abundant evidence for this pattern it leaves unexplained such anomalies as ἀναβιώσκομαι (which means both inchoative 'come back to life' and causative 'bring back to life') and inchoative actives such as γηράσκω 'grow old'.

3.3. Inchoative

Inchoative meaning[39] is most commonly cited for - σκω regarding the three forms γηράσκω 'grow old', ἡβάσκω 'come to puberty' and γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard'; the first of these, found since Homer, is said to be the source of the others, which occur beside the stative ἡβάω 'be in the prime of youth' and γενειάω 'get a beard; have a beard'.[40] There are, in fact, more cases than these: also quite

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door is open is clearly stative and *the door is opened* inchoative, *the vase is broken* can mean either 'the vase becomes broken' or 'the vase is in the state resulting from getting broken'.

[38]In the aorist, where morphologically 'middle' and 'passive' forms are formally distinct, inchoatives therefore take the latter form, being in - (θ)ην; aorists in - σάμην tend to be transitive. For earlier discussions cf. e.g. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: II.230, 233-4; Popescu 1962: 30-1; and more recently Klaiman 1991: 92-5; Duhoux 1992: 109-10; Bakker 1994: 30-2, 38-9; and Rijksbaron 1994: 148-52. The matter is connected with the function of the medio-passive, which may be to indicate that the event denoted by the verb affects its subject in some way: cf. Klaiman 1991: 92, 315; Bakker 1994: 24; Palmer 1994: 150; and Rijksbaron 1994: 150.

[39]Inchoativity involves entrance into a state for the subject: cf. Bybee 1992: 145, who opposes it to inceptivity (onset of a dynamic rather than stative situation), and § 3.2 above on the causative-inchoative alternation.

[40]Cf. e.g. Curtius 1846: 114; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.708; Giacalone Ramat 1967: 114-15; Berrettoni 1971: 95-6; Kujoṛe 1973: 254, 258-9; Wathelet 1973: 385; Ruijgh 1985: 145; Chantraine

commonly cited are κυΐσκομαι 'conceive, become pregnant' and μεθύσκομαι 'make drunk';[41] Kujọrẹ (1973: 259) adds ἀναβιώσκομαι 'come back to life', -φαύσκω / -φώσκω 'shine', and less certainly οἰδίσκομαι 'swell'.

As with the causatives, the inchoatives in -σκω seem to form a rather small set, and the meaning can in some cases at least be ascribed to voice. Despite inchoative meanings for reflexes of *-*ske/o*- in Latin and Avestan, it does not seem that the meaning was inherited;[42] hence the occasional attempts to ascribe inchoative value to Greek -σκω[43] have not been accepted.[44]

3.4. Iterative

Iterative meaning[45] is usually claimed for the set of forms in -(ε)σκον, as in θέεσκον 'ran repeatedly' (*Il.* 20.229). Forms showing it count as part of another verb's paradigm rather than verbs in their own right: that is, θέεσκον is the 'iterative' of θέω 'run' (*Il.* 13.141, etc.). The suffix -(ε)σκον is productive in Homer and also Herodotus, and hence is normally said to be of Ionic provenance.[46] Some scholars have attempted to extend iterative meaning to present-forming -σκω, most notably Giacalone Ramat (1967), who has -σκω denoting 'un'azione intensiva ed iterativa' (1967: 106-7).[47] However, the presents in -σκω and the preterites in -(ε)σκον differ

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1991: 225; and Rix 1992: 213. Giacalone Ramat (1967: 114), however, rather interprets these forms as progressives, which concern 'non tanto l'inizio quanto il procedere lento e graduale del processo'.

[41]Scholars who cite either of these are Vendryes 1911: 173-4; Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 290; Allen 1980: 34; Ruijgh 1985: 145; Chantraine 1991: 225; and Puhvel 1991: 16.

[42]The difficulty is that, in languages where inchoative meaning is found for reflexes of *-*ske/o*-, the oldest forms never show it: cf. Chapter 2 § 4.2.

[43]Cf. Curtius 1877-80: I.271, 289-91; Vendryes 1911: 173-4; Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 241; and Negri 1976: 233 n. 122.

[44]Cf. Stolpe 1849: 9; Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.61; and Allen 1980: 34.

[45]An iterative indicates that 'the action of the verb is repeated' (Bybee 1992: 145), so that the iterative of 'do X' is 'do X repeatedly'.

[46]On these forms see further Chapter 5.

[47]Cf. also Stolpe 1849; and, following Giacalone Ramat, Berrettoni 1971: 96-7 n. 10, 98 and n. 13.

markedly in form (-(ί)σκ- beside -(ε)σκ-); in function (the latter are very clearly 'iterative-(intensive)'); and in level of productivity (so that presents in - σκω may acquire their own iteratives, as βοσκέσκονθ' 'they used to graze' (*Od.* 12.355)). The preterites are therefore a very different phenomenon, and it seems inadvisable to ascribe iterative meaning to - σκω on their account.

3.5. Zero meaning

Zero value is also said to occur for - σκω, when it appears to function merely as a present formant. Scholars who cite this function as occurring for a subset of forms, however, include, along with such instances as φάσκω 'say' and εὑρίσκω 'find, find out', others where - σκω could be argued to have some meaning: hence Curtius (1846: 114) cites τιτρώσκω 'wound' (causative), and Puhvel (1991: 16-17) ἐΐσκω 'make like, etc.' (causative) and θνήσκω 'die' (inchoative) as examples of 'zero' - σκω.

One school of thought, begun by Ruipérez (1954: 130-5), assigns 'zero' present-forming value to - σκ- in all its forms. He argues that the meaning of - σκ- is 'claramente durativo' (1954: 135), for both presents in - σκω and 'iteratives' in - (ε)σκον. He comes to this conclusion after a brief discussion of four minimal pairs where a present with - σκ- is found beside a present without it: γενειάσκω : γενειάω; γηράσκω : γηράω; ἡβάσκω : ἡβάω; and στερίσκω, στερίσκομαι : στερέω, στέρομαι. Regarding the forms in - (ε)σκον, Ruipérez argues that the frequent iterative meaning is a realisation of the durative meaning, emphasising the so-called 'intensives' such as ναίεσκον 'used to live'. A similar claim for durative meaning for - σκ- is made by Duhoux (1992: 336), and Ruipérez is followed by Keller (1992: 184-5).

This account is, however, unsatisfactory. Giacalone Ramat (1967: 114-15) criticises Ruipérez's analysis of the minimal pairs for not taking account of changes

which took place in Greek from Homer to the Hellenistic period: γηράσκω, she claims, meant (inchoative) 'become old' not (stative) 'be old' in Homer, whereas in the same period ἡβάω was (stative) 'be young'. Berrettoni (1971: 96-7 n. 10), following Giacalone Ramat, claims in addition that Greek did not show the same stative / inchoative pairs as Latin examples such as *seneō* 'be old' : *senēscō* 'grow old', so that γηράω could show both meanings. Yet it was noted above that many cite ἡβάσκω as the inchoative of ἡβάω (§ 3.3). Ruipérez's conclusion that -(ε)σκον is a marker of durativity is also unconvincing, based as it is on the small number of so-called 'intensive' forms – which are, conversely, usually explained as a subset of the 'iteratives'.[48] Further examination, especially of the minimal pairs, is therefore required.[49]

3.6. Other suggestions: -σκω from *-*ske/o*-

We have seen that some scholars ascribe inchoative meaning to -σκω on the basis of Latin; others have similarly used external data in their reconstructions, giving the same value to -σκω as they do for their version of reconstructed *-*ske/o*-. In this vein, Delbrück (Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.61) has inherited forms βάσκω and ἔρχομαι as 'terminative', but he cannot extend this meaning to all other forms in -σκω. Similarly, Chantraine (1986-8: I.318) claims that older forms in Homer show 'déterminé' meaning, which he regards as inherited, as in βάσκω 'se mettre en route'; he elsewhere cites this form in connection with the statement that *-*ske/o*- 'souligne la durée de l'action, en même temps qu'il en envisage l'aboutissement' (Chantraine 1991: 223).

On the other hand, Porzig (1927: 161-4) extended his definition that 'das verbale *skō*-Formans meint Handlungen oder Vorgänge als sich ruckweise in

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[48]Cf. e.g. Giacalone Ramat 1967: 117, and further Chapter 5 § 5, especially 5.2.2.

[49]For not dissimilar criticisms of Ruipérez's treatment of the pairs μίμνω : μένω and ἴσχω : ἔχω, see Giannakis 1997: 16-17.

einzelnen Absätzen vollziehende' (1927: 159) to Greek forms such as - βλώσκω in καταβλώσκοντα 'umhergehend' (*Od.* 16.465).

The lack of a recent overview of the possible functions of Proto-Indo-European *-*ske/o*- makes it difficult to comment on these proposals: are such claims concerning inherited meaning justified? In fact, as we shall see (Chapter 2 § 4), the problem of the semantics of *-*ske/o*- is fraught with difficulty: many different suggestions have been made, but we can be certain of none. To ascribe a value to Greek - σκω on account of a doubtful reconstructed value of *-*ske/o*- is therefore a methodologically unsound procedure; to back up this conclusion, detailed evidence from Greek would be required.

3.7. Summary: the meaning of - σκω

Given four apparently attested meanings and further suggestions owing to reconstruction, it is no surprise that there is much confusion concerning the function of - σκω. Some scholars simply say that no one overall meaning can be discerned.[50] It is often implied that we must accept them all: so, for example, Szemerényi (1964: 67) states that 'The suffix - σκ- was exploited with an intensive, frequentative and even inchoative function'; Kujoŗe (1970: 72, 1973: 96) lists iterative, intensive and inchoative functions; and Allen (1980: 3) has iterative-intensives and a few inchoatives. Also comparable is Giannakis' (1997: 290) remark that reduplicated verbs in - σκω are causative, intensive, conative and habitual. As Kujoŗe (1973: 96) notes, the meanings which Greek - σκ- shows occur in the other Indo-European languages for reflexes of *-*ske/o*-; in fact, if we take the four main meanings listed above, we see that each occurs in a language where *-*ske/o*- becomes productive: causative in Tocharian, inchoative-progressive in Latin, iterative-durative in Hittite

[50]Cf. Curtius 1846: 114; Risch 1974: 276; Puhvel 1991: 17, who refers to 'tentative semantic nuances'; and Sihler 1995: 506, who compares the problem to that of Sanskrit *-ccha-*.

and zero in Armenian. Are we then dealing with an inherited variety, or has Greek innovated? If the latter, then to what extent can we trace the developments?

4. Conclusion: the problem of - σκω

We may summarise as follows. There has been little work on Greek presents in - σκω, a fact which seems all the more remarkable when one considers the formidable series of both morphological and semantic problems set out here: on neither level does the suffix seem to be at all predictable.

Regarding form, there are two evident added factors, reduplication and pre-suffixal - ι- . Hence, while our Indo-European data lead us to expect βάσκω (Vedic *gácchati*, etc.), we should be surprised to find that *γνώσκω (Latin (*g*)*nōscō*, etc.) has been reformed to γιγνώσκω, a member of a sub-group of other reduplicated verbs in - σκω found from Homer (and apparently Mycenaean) onwards. Nor is the addition of - ι- into a new form - ίσκω explicable, since the positing of Indo-European *-*iske/o*- is quite a dubious proposition (Chapter 2 § 3.4), and it seems that we cannot claim that - ίσκω was a postconsonantal variant. The combination of both perplexing factors in μιμνήσκομαι can only make matters worse, even if the further reduplicated forms in - ίσκω ἀπαφίσκω 'cheat' and ἀραρίσκω 'fit together' are simply derived from their own reduplicated aorists (cf. e.g. Chantraine 1991: 225).

The semantic problems seem even more perplexing. Broadly speaking, Hittite, Latin, Tocharian and Armenian show *-*ske/o*- as a productive formant with the prevalent meanings respectively of iterative-durative, inchoative-progressive, causative and zero – that is, one each. Yet Ancient Greek - σκ- shows all four meanings: for example, Homeric iterative preterite θέεσκον 'used to run' (*Il.* 20.229; cf. θέω 'run'); inchoative γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard' (γενειάω 'get a beard; have a beard'); causative μεθύσκω 'make drunk' (μεθύω 'be drunk'); and zero εὑρίσκω 'find' (future εὑρήσω 'will find'). Can it be reasonable to assume that all

these meanings existed for *-*ske/o*- in the parent language, and that only Greek has continued the situation? Or has Greek innovated? Iterative meaning seems restricted to an apparently dialectal phenomenon (the Ionic iterative preterites), unless we accept it for the reduplicated formations also (διδάσκω 'teach'); the other three occur for -σκ- as present suffix (cf. γηράσκω 'grow old', μεθύσκω 'make drunk' and εὑρίσκω 'find').

A detailed historical account is therefore clearly required, both for the morphology and the semantics of -σκω.

Chapter 2

The Indo-European Background

1. Introduction

Before proceeding to an examination of the Greek data, it is first of all necessary to review the role of the ancestor of -σκω, Proto-Indo-European *-*sḱe/o*-. In this chapter, I shall first of all give a brief overview of the evidence for *-*sḱe/o*- outside Greek (§ 2). Due to the recent in-depth morphological study of pre-classical Latin verbs in -*scō* by Keller (1992), a full analytical review of Indo-European *-*sḱe/o*- is not needed. She gives a thorough account of reflexes of the inherited suffix outside Latin (1992: 169-90),[1] also dealing with the evidence for the less certain suffix *-*isḱe/o*- in Armenian, Avestan, Greek and Hittite (1992: 279-87); for further research, reference may also be made to her copious bibliography (1992: 450-78).[2] (General views of the Greek data have already been given in Chapter 1, and will be further discussed in the remainder of this thesis.) Thereafter, I shall turn to the subject of the morphology of *-*sḱe/o*- (§ 3), with details of possible reconstructions, the internal morphology of *-*sḱe/o*- and the controversial subject of *-*isḱe/o*-; here again, Keller's summaries are invaluable. Lastly (§ 4), I shall review the subject of the meaning of *-*sḱe/o*-, a detailed account of which has not lately been given.

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[1]Occasional items are omitted, and there has of course been further research since Keller; these will be referred to as they arise.

[2]For earlier work on *-*sḱe/o*- see Bopp 1857-61: III.132-4; Curtius 1877-80: I.271-5, 279; Hoffmann 1889: 56-7; Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.350-361, IV.59-64; Brugmann 1904: 519-20; Hirt 1921-37: IV.232-3, 238-9; Porzig 1927: 154-67; Meillet 1937: 220-2; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.707 and n. 1; Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 189-90; Kuryłowicz 1964: 106-7; Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.575-6, 580-2; Giacalone Ramat 1967: 109-12; Watkins in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: III/1.56-8, 70, 111; Berrettoni 1971: 91-102, followed by Allen 1980: 2-3; Wathelet 1973: 379-85; Lehmann 1974: 106, 147-9; Klingenschmitt 1982: 64-7; and Rix 1986: 8. The most recent summaries are Puhvel 1991: 16; Clackson 1994: 75; Beekes 1995: 230; Sihler 1995: 505-7; Szemerényi 1996: 273-4; and Rix 1998: 19.

This chapter therefore consists of a review of what is currently assumed. Although it thus contains nothing new, it is a necessary precursor to the study of the Greek evidence. On the other hand, as will be seen from the examination of Greek data offered in Chapters 3-9, it is clear that any attempt at a thorough analysis of Indo-European is premature: even in a language such as Ancient Greek, which is among the most studied ancient languages, a number of facts are unknown and a number of currently held assumptions wrong. Consequently, although it is necessary to have some idea of the possible background, not much faith can be put in any set of data which have not been freshly explored.

2. The data: reflexes of *-*ske*/*o*- outside Greek, and their usage

Reflexes of the deverbative suffix *-*ske*/*o*- are to be found in all well-preserved branches of the Indo-European language family. Apart from its use in Greek, it is productive in Hittite, Armenian, Latin and Tocharian, and to a more limited degree in Iranian. A few verbs use the suffix to form presents in Old Indic. Traces of the suffix also appear to occur in Albanian, Baltic, Slavic, Celtic, Germanic and further Anatolian and Italic languages; in all such cases, reflexes of *-*ske*/*o*- occur rarely and show no specific function, generally becoming extended to the whole conjugation of the verbs on which they are found.[3]

In order to assess in what way Ancient Greek -σκω relates to Indo-European *-*ske*/*o*-, an overview of this suffix's reflexes within the individual languages is required. As mentioned above, the following account will make reference most of all to the overviews already made by Keller (1992) of *-*ske*/*o*- and *-*iske*/*o*-. I deal firstly with those branches where *-*ske*/*o*- becomes a productive suffix (Anatolian,

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[3]Cf. Keller 1992: 169. This situation appears to have a parallel in the descendants of Latin *-sc-* in Romance: Allen (1980: 5) notes that they are used to indicate present, durative and inchoative when restricted to the present system, whereas in Spanish the suffix has spread throughout the paradigm and tends to lack these meanings.

Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Latin and Tocharian); and then, more briefly, with languages where traces of *-*sḱe/o*- are found. Evidence for *-*iseḱe/o*- is considered under the relevant group.

2.1. Anatolian[4]

Hittite shows a deverbative and denominative thematic suffix of the form -*šk*i/*a*-, also occurring as -*iški/a*-. This may be added to almost any verb,[5] often on the zero-grade. Hence we find *azzik*(*k*)*i/a*- (via **ad-ški/a*-) from *ed*- 'eat' and *akkuški/a*- from *eku-/aku*- 'drink'; the suffix is used in both the present and the preterite. The literature on this productive formation is very large, with several individual studies and all grammars of Hittite discussing the formation.[6] Inherited verbs are hard to detect: possibly of such antiquity are *āraskizzi* 'arrive repeatedly' (perhaps related to Vedic *ṛcchá*ti, Greek ἔρχομαι, etc.) and *uški/a*- 'see' (perhaps related to Vedic *ucchá*ti 'shine', etc.).[7]

A notable morphological feature is the association of -*šk*- with reduplication, which at first sight appears to indicate a connection with similar formations in Greek. In Hittite, however, it seems that the suffix was used to recharacterise already reduplicated forms, where the old affix had lost its meaning; hence such forms as *memiški/a*- from *mema-/-iya*- 'say', both found in Old Hittite.[8]

According to some, Hittite shows evidence for a related suffix *-*iseḱe/o*-.[9] Here the situation is complicated by the fact that it is often impossible to know where we should read /-*esk*-/ and where /-*isk*-/. Most forms in -*iški/a*- are formed off stems in

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[4]Cf. further Keller 1992: 186-9 (on *-*sḱe/o*-), 285-7 (*-*iseḱe/o*-).

[5]For exceptions see Oettinger 1979: 329.

[6]Cf. especially Bechtel 1936; Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: 575-88; Dressler 1968: 157-236; and Oettinger 1979: 315-29. For further references see Keller 1992: 187-8.

[7]On these etymologies see further § 3.1 below.

[8]Cf. Güterbock and Hoffner 1989- s.v. *mema*-; and Keller 1992: 188.

[9]Cf. in general Keller 1992: 285-7, with further bibliography.

-(*i*)*ye*- (Old Hittite) and -(*i*)*ya*- (New Hittite), such as *anniški/a*- (as well as *anneški/a*- and *annieški/a*-) from *an*(*n*)*iya*- 'work, perform', with forms in -*anniški/a*- deriving from duratives in -*anna*-; the same type of formation occurs in Latin, where forms in -*isco*(*r*) are formed off ones in -*io*(*r*), as *scīscō* from *sciō*. Other forms show -*i*-, however, where the stem before the suffix ends in a velar, labial or laryngeal, such as *appiški/a*- from *ep*(*p*)-/*ap*(*p*)- 'take, seize'. There have been several suggestions as to the origin of -*iški/a*-: that it arose due to spelling problems, that it included an anaptyctic vowel, and that it began with those forms derived from ones in -*iya*-. Melchert (1984) has argued, however, that these data are to be explained within Hittite, via three phonological developments: *ai* became *e*, and *ye* was syncopated to *i* before -*šk*- (i.e. -*aišk*- > -*ešk*- (*hatrai-šk*- > *hatrešk*-), -*yešk*- > -*išk*-, 1984: 102), and an anaptyctic vowel *i* arose between a consonant and following -*šk*- (*-*C-šk*- > -*Cišk*-, 1984: 133). The differences were still felt in Old Hittite, but in New Hittite -*ešk*- and -*išk*- were confused, so that there verbs in -*ye*- can show -*ešk*- as well as -*išk*- (1984: 147-8).[10]

The Hittite forms are usually referred to as iteratives, although in fact the situation is much more complicated than this: scholars are principally divided between ascribing the Hittite suffix durative or iterative meaning, and dissent has also been expressed over these.[11] This difference of opinion is parallel to the debate over the Ionic Greek preterites in -(ε)σκον.[12] Puhvel (1991: 16), however, notes that there also seem to be relics of non-iterative-durative meaning in Hittite, such as *išk*i- 'salve' (**is-ske*-) and *duški*- 'be glad (**tus-ske*-).

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[10]Keller (1992: 286-7), however, is in favour of linking Hittite -*išk*- with possible relics of *-*iśke/o*- found in other languages.

[11]For the former cf. e.g. Bechtel 1936, and for the latter Dressler 1968; see further the summary at Keller 1992: 187-8, with bibliography; and also Szemerényi 1996: 274 n. 6.

[12]On the possible connection between these formations, see further Chapter 5 § 7.

Apparently related iterative formations also occur in other Anatolian languages. Keller (1992: 188-9) states that Palaic shows *-šk-*, but Luvian *-s(s)-* and Lycian *-s-*, and that the latter two suffixes may not be descendants of **-sḱe/o-* but instead related to a separate suffix, realised as *-šš-* in Hittite (as in *iššš(a)-*, *eššš(a)-* from *iya-/i-*'make').[13] The matter is disputed: Oettinger (1979: 507-511) links *-šš-* with desiderative **-se/o-*.[14] There may be further evidence for the former view in Melchert's (1987) observation that inherited **ḱ* gives, at least before a front vowel, Luvian *z*, so equating Luvian *-za-* with Hittite *-šḱe-*, and Luvian *-s(s)-* with Hittite *-šš-*; Melchert (1987: 198-201) also suggests that the Tocharian suffixes show a parallel. In this case, Hieroglyphic Luvian verbs such as IRA-*laza-* '(be)come angry' and *asaza-* 'speak', and Cuneiform Luvian *kappilazza-* 'become angry', would show *-za-* via **-sza-* from **-sḱe/o-*.

2.2. Indo-Iranian[15]

Indo-European **-sḱe/o-* gives Old Indic *-(c)cha-*[16] and Old Iranian *-sa-*. Six forms are shared by both branches, occurring in Vedic Sanskrit and at least one Iranian language: Vedic *pṛccháti*, Old Avestan *pərəsa-* 'ask', Old Persian *pṛsāmiy* 'punish'; Vedic *iccháti*, Young Avestan *isaiti* 'seek'; Vedic *gácchati*, Young Avestan *jasaiti* 'come'; Vedic *ṛccháti*, Old Persian *-ṛsatiy* 'come'; Vedic *uccháti* 'shine', Young Avestan *usaitī-* 'the shining one'; and Vedic *yácchati*, Young Avestan *-yasaiti* 'hold', Old Persian *āyasatā* 'take for oneself'. Of these, all are deverbatives and all

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[13]We also find forms such as *eššišk-*, where the productive suffix *-šk-* is added to the non-productive *-šš-*.

[14]On the postulated link between **-s-* and **-sḱ-*, see further § 3.2 below.

[15]For further bibliography and discussion of **-sḱe/o-* in Indo-Iranian see Keller 1992: 176-9; on **-iskḱe/o-* in Avestan see Keller 1992: 281-2.

[16]On the two variants *-cha-* and *-ccha-* see Burrow 1973: 94; and also Keller 1992: 176 n. 56.

but the last appear to be Indo-European formations.[17] In addition, we find the inherited Old Persian *xšnāsa-* (Greek γιγνώσκω, etc.); the Iranian pair of Young Avestan *tərəsaiti* and Old Persian *tarsatiy*;[18] and lastly the Vedic participle *micchamāna-*, of uncertain meaning but perhaps cognate with Greek μίσγω, etc.[19] It has also been claimed that Young Avestan shows evidence for inherited **-iśke/o-*in the form *fraγrisəmnō* 'awakening' (intransitive) beside Latin *expergiscor* 'awaken' (intransitive) from **$h_1$gr-śke/o-*.[20]

Sanskrit only shows half a dozen verbs in -(*c*)*cha-* in addition to those already listed.[21] The Indic forms are split between two of the ten Sanskrit verb classes: only some have the accent on the suffix, as expected, others showing it, apparently by analogy, on the root instead.[22] Hence for example *pṛcchắti* 'ask' (Class VI) but *gắcchati* 'go' (Class I). The suffix -(*c*)*cha-* is sometimes extended to other parts of the verb (as with *pṛcchắti*, perfect *papraccha*).[23]

Some scholars have ascribed a specific function to Indic -(*c*)*cha-*: Thumb and Hauschild refer to the forms as 'Inchoativbildungen' (1953-9: I/1.308; cf. also I/2.232-3), while Renou (1952: 271) and Gonda (1971: 89-90) have them as iterative-intensive.[24] On the other hand, several other scholars find no semantic link between these verbs at all.[25]

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[17]On the five inherited formations, see § 3.1 below, and on *yắcchati* and *-yasaiti* see Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *YAM*; and Rix 1998: 276.

[18]On the former, see § 3.1; on the latter, § 3.1 n. 111.

[19]Cf. Chapter 3 § 2.3.

[20]Cf. Keller 1992: 281-2; on this etymology see further §§ 3.1, 3.4 below.

[21]See further Keller 1992: 178, and 178 n. 84 for other possibly connected forms.

[22]Cf. especially Bartholomae 1907: 162-4 and Gotō 1987: 73 n. 45, as well as e.g. Renou 1952: 271; Gonda 1971: 89; Burrow 1973: 329, 330; and Keller 1992: 195 n. 188.

[23]Cf. further Keller 1992: 179.

[24]For these and other opinions on **-śke/o-* see § 4.2 below.

[25]Cf. Vendryes 1911: 181-2; Keller 1992: 179; and Sihler 1995: 506.

Common Indo-Iranian verbs have been mentioned above; also notable in the Iranian branch is a set of mostly later Avestan verbs in the suffix *-sa-*, usually derived from statives;[26] these are (usually active) inchoatives. Hence from *tap-* 'be hot', *tafsaiti* 'become hot'; in this case, as often, there is a contrast with a causative form (*tāpaiia-*). From this set, there later occurred an extension of the inchoative suffix *-sa-* in Middle Iranian.[27]

2.3. Armenian[28]

The situation in Armenian is complicated. Here, the expected continuation of *-sḱ- and *-sk-* is generally acknowledged as *-c'-*,[29] and *-ske/o-* and *-iske/o-* have been suggested as responsible for a variety of supposed Armenian reflexes: present indicative suffixes *-c'-* and *-č'-*, the aorist indicative suffix *-c'-*, the causative suffix *-oyc'-* and the present and aorist subjunctive formant *-ic'-*.

In the present, the only correspondence with a form in *-ske/o-* is *hayc'em* 'seek, ask, demand, want', cognate with Vedic *icchắti*, etc., apparently with secondary full-grade and ultimately from *$h_2$is-ske/o-*;[30] we also find *harc'anem* 'ask', aorist (from the imperfect) *eharc'* (Rix 1998: 442 and n. 5), related to *poscō* from *p$_{\text{r̥}}$k-ske/o-*; *luc'anem* 'ignite, burn' may also be connected with an inherited present in *-ske/o-*.[31] The type in *-c'anem* is apparently continued by further forms in Armenian, but the similarity to Greek - σκάνω seems to be a coincidence.[32]

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[26]Cf. further Kellens 1984: 156-60; Keller 1992: 179; and Hoffmann and Forssman 1996: 188.

[27]Cf. Keller 1992: 179 n. 88, with further bibliography. According to Kellens (1984: 150), there is also a small class of verbs expressing the notion of exchanging, e.g. *rā-* 'offer', present *rāsa-*.

[28]Cf. further Keller 1992: 185-6 (on *-ske/o-*), 284 (*-iske/o-*).

[29]Cf. Godel 1975: 80-1.

[30]On the problem of the root-grade here see § 3.3 below.

[31]On this form, however, see § 3.1 n. 111 below.

[32]Cf. Keller 1992: 185-6. For details of reconstructions see § 3.1 below, and on the possible combinatory uses of *-ske/o-* § 3.3 below.

It has also been suggested that another present-forming suffix, *-č'-*, is a realisation of a combination of **-sḱe/o-* and **-ye/o-*, or perhaps of **-sḱ-* alone;[33] in this case, present *čanač'em* 'know' would ultimately be, via assimilation from **canač'em*, from **gn̥h₃-sḱe/o-*, and *ałač'em* 'supplicate, pray' might be from **sl̥h₂-sḱe/o-*.[34] Middle suffix *-č'i-* is taken by Klingenschmitt (1982: 69-83) from **-ičʰi-*, in turn derived from **-ē-sḱe/o-* – that is, the stative suffix **-ē-* followed by **-sḱe/o-* – in preference to an Indo-European **-isḱe/o-*.[35] He links middle form *hangč'i-* 'rest' with Latin *quiēscō*, deriving the former from **kʷih₁-sḱe/o-* (1982: 69-70), but the etymology is not accepted by Keller (1992: 138-9).

The suffix **-sḱe/o-* is also usually linked with the aorist formant *-c'-*, the only type of suffixed aorist in Armenian,[36] comparison often also being made with the Ionic Greek iterative preterites in -(ε)σκον.[37] The only dissenter has been Klingenschmitt (1982: 286-7), who derives this use of *-c'-* from **-ss-*, a form of the sigmatic aorist suffix **-s-*; but this is not at all certain.[38]

It has also been argued that the productive Armenian causative suffixes *-uc'anem* (present), *-uc'i* (aorist, with third person singular *-oyc'*) are connected with **-sḱe/o-*,[39] but this has been disputed.[40] Therefore, despite the fact that reflexes of **-sḱe/o-* sometimes show causative sense (most notably in Tocharian, and perhaps also in Greek), no link with Armenian can be established here.

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[33]Cf. Keller 1992: 21, 185 nn. 130, 132: the former suggestion is that of Meillet, the latter that of Klingenschmitt. Cf. also now Clackson 1994: 173-4, supporting Meillet rather than Klingenschmitt.

[34]For the former, cf. § 3.1 below; for the latter, perhaps ultimately the source of Greek ἰλάσκομαι, see further Chapter 3 § 4.1.5.

[35]On **-ē-sḱe/o-* see further § 3.3 below.

[36]Cf. Keller 1992: 186.

[37]The most recent work on this subject is by Clackson (1994: 75-83), who argues strongly against it; see further Chapter 5 § 3.

[38]Cf. Rix 1986: 19; and Clackson 1994: 83.

[39]Cf. Meillet 1936: 116; Keller 1992: 186 n. 137.

[40]Cf. Klingenschmitt 1982: 261-6.

Lastly, there is the Armenian subjunctive, which almost always shows the suffix *-ic'-* (*-yc'-*); cf. *berem* 'bear', aorist subjunctive *beric'*, present *beric'em*.[41] Keller (1992: 284) follows Godel in finding the origin of the aorist subjunctive in present suffix *-*$is\hat{k}e/o$*-*, and de Lamberterie in forming the present subjunctive off the latter by analogy with the present indicative, with the suffix acquiring modal force. Other suggestions to account for the data do exist, however: Meillet (1936: 122) has the Armenian subjunctive created from the athematic form of the Indo-European optative marker *-*$\bar{\imath}$*-* followed by *-*$s\hat{k}e/o$*-*;[42] and, more recently, Klingenschmitt (1982: 42-4) has suggested a derivation from *-*se/o*-*, again with a doubled *-*ss*-*, which he extends to the present subjunctive to explain *-c'-* there also.

2.4. Italic

In Latin, the inherited suffix *-*$s\hat{k}e/o$*-* also becomes productive. A thorough and largely morphological study of Latin verbs in *-*$sc\bar{o}$ up to 100 BC was undertaken by Keller (1992); there is also further recent work on the subject, and in addition she omits a doctoral thesis by Allen (1980), which details the development of Latin *-*$\bar{\imath}sc$*-/-*$\bar{e}sc$*-* into Romance.[43]

The Latin suffix *-sc-* is almost always restricted to the infectum, with only rare occurrences in the perfectum (*peposcī* / *poposcī* from *poscō* and *compescuī* from *compescō*); indeed, some verbs, such as *glīscō*, show no perfectum at all.[44] Scholars have hence debated whether Latin verbs in *-sc-* therefore either share the perfectum of

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[41]Cf. Keller 1992: 284.

[42]Cf. also Keller 1992: 284 n. 26.

[43]For earlier brief accounts see Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 280-1; Ernout 1953: 132-3; and Leumann et al. 1965-79: I.535-539, II.298, with bibliography; on denominatives in *-sc-* see Mignot 1969: 145-228.

[44]On these rare types see Keller 1992: VII-VIII, 439-40. Allen (1980: 11) also cites perfect *callīscērunt* from *callēscō* 'get thick skin, become insensitive'.

their base or simply do not have perfectum forms.[45] In one case, a verb in *-scō* comes to be in *-sceō*, the 'regular' *misceō*, *miscuī*.[46]

Latin shows at least four forms in *-sc-* which seem to be the descendants of inherited forms: *(g)nōscō* 'get to know', *misceō* 'mix', *escit / escunt* from *sum* 'be', *pāscor / pāscō* 'feed' and *poscō* 'demand'.[47] A few further forms show *-scō* added directly to the stem.[48]

It has also been claimed that there is evidence for a suffix **-iske/o-* in Latin. Here the most important form is *expergiscor* 'awaken' (intransitive), which has been linked to Young Avestan *fraγrisəmnō* 'awakening' (intransitive); see further §§ 3.1, 3.4 below. There are many more Latin forms in *-isc-*.[49] According to Keller (and contrary to the general view), the *-i-* of *-isc-* is not uniformly long; rather, the forms of this set seem to come from various sources (Keller 1992: 202-4). They are only sometimes evidently derived from other Latin form in *-ī̆-*, as *scīscō* from *sciō* (1992: 205-27); more usually, they apparently do not have such a base, as *ulcīscor* from **ulc-tus* (which gives *ultus*) (1992: 229-65). Lastly, some verbs apparently show a suffix *-nīsk-*.[50]

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[45]Hence e.g. *scīscō* and *sciō* beside *scīuī*, but *nancīscor*, with no non-*sc*-present beside it, has its own perfect *nactus*, *nānctus sum*. On the relationship between forms in *-sc-* and the perfectum, see Keller 1992: 439-42. Haverling (1994: 41-2) gives a review of the debate, with bibliography.

[46]We expect inherited **miscō*: see § 3.1 below.

[47]On inherited forms see § 3.1 below. For Keller's conclusions on the less certain forms *hiscō* 'gape', *uescor* 'feed on, enjoy, etc.', *gliscō / gliscor* 'swell' and *discō* 'learn', see Keller 1992: 167-8, and for further details the individual chapters (1992: 95-101, 103-107, 109-16). On the relationship between *discō* and διδάσκω see Chapter 3 § 4.2.1; on *quiēscō* 'rest', which Klingenschmitt argued was inherited, see § 2.3 above.

[48]On these see Keller 1992: 121-65; there is also *oblīscor* 'forget', on which see Keller 1992: 250-5. Cf. also her conclusion, 1992: 421-4.

[49]Cf. in general Keller 1992: 199-298.

[50]On these forms, *-quinīscō* 'crouch down, stoop' (from *-quec/g-nīscō*) and *frūnīscor* 'enjoy' (from *frū(g)-nīscor*), see Keller 1992: 267-77, 424-6.

The remaining Latin formations are in *-āscō* and *-ēscō*.[51] The former make up a small group of forms largely derived from verbs in *-ā-*; from such derivations as *grauis* → *grauō* → *adgrauāscō*, however, directly denominal forms came to be possible (such as *repuerāscō* 'become a boy again' from *puer* 'boy'). In such formations the last vowel in the stem before *-āsc-* was always *-e-*; but the productivity of *-ēsc-* often brought about the substitution of *-ēsc-* for *-āsc-* in manuscripts.[52]

The suffix *-ēscō* produced fifty presents before 100 BC, and Keller devotes a large section of her monograph to this extensive set of forms, which are generally active and intransitive.[53]

Most forms in *-ēscō* can be easily classified into one of two groups.[54] The greater part is made up of deverbatives, of which most are derived from verbs in stative *-ē-*: hence, for example, *flaccēscō* 'languish, droop, flag' from *flacceō* 'be faint, languid, weak' (in turn derived from *flaccus* 'drooping') and *calēscō* 'grow warm, hot' from *caleō* 'be warm, hot'. This formation continues to be productive after the pre-classical era. The second class, of at least fifteen forms, is of denominatives, formed by the same pattern of analogy as those denominatives in *-āscō*: hence a progression such as *flaccus* → *flacceō* → *flaccēscō* gives rise to such forms as *mītēscēre* 'become soft, mild' from adjective *mītis* 'soft, mild' (the more usual type) and *remorbēscō* 'fall ill again' from noun *morbus* 'illness'.[55] The forms *fragēscō* 'become subdued' and *dispālēscō* 'be spread abroad', only found in the pre-

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[51]On the evidence for the length of the pre-suffixal vowel in these types see Keller 1992: 301 n.1 and 335 n. 1 respectively.

[52]For more detail on forms in *-āsc-* see Keller 1992: 299-332, concluded at 426-7.

[53]See in general Keller 1992: 333-410, summarised at 411-18 and concluded at 427-9.

[54]Cf. especially Keller 1992: 411.

[55]Following Watkins (1971), Keller (1992: 381-2, 412) compares this to a similar method of derivation found in Hittite; this would give the prehistoric derivation of nominal **leuk(o)-* → stative **leuk-ē-* (Latin *lūcē-*) → **leuk-ēs(k̂)-* (Hittite *lukkeš-*, Latin *lūcēsc-*).

classical era, are the most certain primary formations showing a compound suffix *-ēsc-*, connected with the complex question of the origins of the set of forms in *-ēscō*.[56] Although the formation in *-ēscō* is clearly the most productive in the pre-Classical era, there is later influence on these forms from *-īscō*.[57] Forms in *-ēscō* are active without deponent alternants (cf. *misereō* / *misereor* beside *miserēscō*); they often have preverbs; and they show less of a tendency to be transitive than their bases.[58]

The next stages of evolution after 100 BC involved a greater use of *-sc-* on adjectival and then nominal stems; the largest proportion of forms is made up of active inchoatives in *-ēscō*, but transitive uses also begin to arise.[59] From here, the suffixes *-ĭ̄sc-* and *-ēsc-* survive as formative elements into Romance languages, spreading to different parts of the verbal conjugation in different languages; these developments have been studied by Allen (1980).[60] Hence, for example, beside Latin *flōr-ēsc-it* we find Old French *flor-ist* (Modern *fleur-it*, but cf. plural *fleur-iss-ent*), Spanish *flor-ec-e*, Italian *fior-isc-e*, Portuguese *flor-esc-e*, and so on.[61]

Keller prefers to describe *-sc-* as 'transformatif', rather than the more traditional 'progressif'; it is said to denote 'l'instauration (progressive) d'un état'.[62] Hence such minimal pairs as *sciō* 'know' : *scīscō* 'get to know, ascertain', *hiō* 'be

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[56]See especially Keller 1992: 412-13, 427-8.

[57]Cf. Keller 1992: 338-45, concluded at 425-6, 429.

[58]Cf. Keller 1992: 415-18.

[59]Cf. Allen 1980: 57-85. His first two appendices list Latin forms in *-sc-* chronologically and by derivation respectively (1980: 280-8 and 289-308). Haverling (1994: 42) states that there were around 700 Latin verbs in *-scō* in all, of which about half were already found in Early and Classical Latin.

[60]Older bibliography on the subject of the Romance descendants of *-sc-* is cited by Keller (1992: IX n. 16), and more recent work is given by Allen 1980. For an introduction to the subject see especially Allen 1980: 11-28.

[61]Data are from Allen 1980: 16.

[62]See Keller 1992: 320-2, 432-3, with bibliography at 433 n. 54; on the semantics of *-āsc-* see 328-30 and on *-ēsc-* 336-8, 414. For further bibliography on the semantics of Latin *-sc-* see Keller 1992: X-XI.

wide open' : *hiāscō* 'open out' and *āreō* 'be dry' : *ārēscō* 'become dry' (cf. Keller 1992: 432-5). Keller attempts to extend this meaning to account for other forms, claiming that some earlier cases indicate not so much a transformation as a process (*poscō*, *misceō*, *-pescō*, *apĭscor*, *nancīscor*, *pacĭscor*, *ercīsc-*, *frūnīscor*), with only *escit* not fitting at all.[63]

Such an interpretation seems forced, however; as Haverling (1994: 41) notes, such verbs do not indicate the beginning of an action.[64] Given the tendency of verbs in *-scō* to show preverbs (cf. Keller 1992: 435-9), Haverling (1994, 1996a, 1996b, forthcoming) has suggested the following semantic pattern for those verbs which indicate a change of state: Latin verbs in *-scō* without preverbs once only had progressive meaning (*albēscō* 'grow white gradually, get more and more white'), while those with them were inchoative (*exalbēscō* 'turn white (from fear)'); in later times, the distinction became blurred.

Forms in *-sc-* thus most commonly denote entrance into a state or acquisition of a quality.[65] Keller (1992: 383-4, 386, 416-17) notes the tendency for causatives to occur beside forms in *-ēscō* (e.g. *calēscō*, *cal(e)fīō* 'become hot', *cal(e)faciō* 'heat', *calefactō* 'heat, warm'). In these cases we are presumably dealing with the causative alternation, where one stem is used to form both a causative and an inchoative;[66] it is thus no surprise that we later find Latin forms in *-scō* with causative meaning, such as *dulcēscō* 'make soft' (cf. Ernout 1953: 133; Mignot 1969: 211; and Keller 1992: 146

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[63]Cf. Keller 1992: 433-4.

[64]Cf. in addition Allen 1980: 6, who also remarks on these relics. Haverling (1994) does not comment on Keller's theory because her paper was given (orally) in 1991, before Keller 1992 was published.

[65]Allen uses the term inchoative morphologically, to denote Latin *-sc-* even where no such meaning is shown; cf. Allen 1980: 1.

[66]See Chapter 1 § 3.2, with further discussion and bibliography especially with reference to this phenomenon in Greek.

n. 38, with further bibliography). The origin of the 'inchoative' meaning of Latin *-sc-* has often been ascribed to *crēscō* 'increase' (intransitive).[67]

Other Italic languages show fragmentary reflexes of **-ske/o-* that are often hard to interpret. Keller (1992: 174-5) cites as most notable Venetic *vesk-* (apparently connected with Latin *uescor*), Oscan future perfect *comparascuster* (Latin *poscō*, etc.) and the difficult Umbrian future perfect *eiscurent* (Vedic *icchắti*, etc.). The instances outside the present lead her to suppose that, as in other languages where evidence for **-ske/o-* is only fragmentary (see § 2.8 below), the suffix has no specific semantic function in these languages.[68]

2.5. Tocharian[69]

Tocharian shows **-ske/o-* as a productive suffix. In Tocharian B this takes the form *-sk-* (palatalised *-ṣṣ-*), the most frequently found present-forming suffix in the language; it is also found on preterites.[70] In Tocharian A, lexicalised instances aside,[71] we find *-s-* (*-ṣ-*) rather than *-sk-* (*-ṣṣ-*). It could be that the reason for the difference is morphological, with the suffix *-s-* spreading at the expense of *-sk-* in Tocharian A,[72] but it seems rather that a phonological merger of **-ske/o-* and desiderative **-se/o-* took place in the latter language.[73] Here gemination was lost, resulting in the merging of Proto-Tocharian *-ṣä-* and *-ṣṣä-* (from Proto-Indo-European **-se-* and **-ske-*

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[67]Cf. Leumann et al. 1965-79: II.298; Giacalone Ramat 1967: 111; Allen 1980: 4-5, 7-9, 39-56; Haverling 1994: 41; Sihler 1995: 507; and Szemerényi 1996: 273.

[68]Cf. further Keller 1992: 174-5.

[69]Cf., for a general summary, Keller 1992: 189-90, and in addition Adams 1988: 75-7; and Pinault 1989: 125-6, 139-41. A recent study was performed by Hackstein (1995, especially 2-4, 167-353), reviewed by Penney (1998).

[70]Cf. Keller 1992: 189, and now Clackson 1994: 216 n. 104, who emphasises the difference between these forms and the Greek and Armenian preterite use of **-ske/o-*.

[71]For these see Hackstein 1995: 210.

[72]Cf. Keller 1992: 189-90.

[73]Cf. especially Hackstein 1995: 209-10, and also Adams 1988: 76-7; and Pinault 1989: 126, 140.

respectively); also, *-*s*- and *-*ṣ*- (from *-*ske*-) merged before -*t*- into -*ṣ*-. This led to the generalisation of -*s*- for expected *-*sk*-.[74]

In some Tocharian verbs, the suffix descended from *-*ske/o*- is lexicalised, becoming part of the verbal root; these forms seem to follow an inherited formation which shows zero-grade of the root. The most likely inherited forms from this group are A *pās*- B *pask*- 'protect' from *ph_2-*ske/o*-, with palatalisation of -*sk*- in certain forms showing the ancient thematic vowel alternation (as in third person singular middle *pāṣtär*), and B *star*-, *skentar*- 'be';[75] whether the place of the accent is inherited is more problematic.[76] Tocharian developments give rise to three classes of forms: in -*äsk*-, -*āsk*-, -*sk*- (Hackstein 1995: 203-84); in -*näsk*-, -*näsk*- (Hackstein 1995: 285-326); and in -*säsk*-, -*sāsk*- (Hackstein 1995: 327-54).

It is normally stated that the Tocharian descendants of *-*ske/o*- are causative-forming.[77] So, for example, in the case of the root A *ritw*-, B *ritt*-, we have, beside present middle intransitive-passive A *ritwatär* B *rittetär* 'be joined', the present active causative A *ritwäṣ*, B *rittäṣṣäṃ* 'join'. When the base form is transitive, the 'causative' has the same meaning: so, from *täl*-, Tocharian B *tallaṃ* 'lift' has a 'causative' *taläṣṣäṃ* 'id.'. In some cases, a verb has both types of present, which is possible since the non-causative and causative forms are distinguished by the placing of the accent: hence from *kälp*- 'obtain' we find both non-causative presents *kälp-n-ā-tär* (from *kälp-ā*-) and *kälpāskau* (from **kälp-ā-sk*-), and the causative *kalpäskau* (from **kälp-äsk*-).[78] According to Hackstein (1995: 3-4), it is the initial

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[74]Keller (1992: 190), however, compares Anatolian iterative formations in *-*s*-, implying an inherited pair of suffixes *-*se/o*-/*-*ske/o*-. On this see further § 3.2 below.

[75]On these etymologies see further § 3.1 below. Keller (1992: 190 n. 167) cites also A *mlusk*-, *mlosk*- (βλώσκω) and A *kumäs*, B *känmaṣṣäṃ* (*$g^w\underset{\circ}{m}$-*ske/o*-), but both are controversial: see Chapter 3 §§ 3.2.1 and 2.1 respectively.

[76]On such lexicalised forms in -*sk*- see in general Hackstein 1995: 167-202; on the problem of accentuation see further Penney 1998: 94, 95.

[77]Cf. Keller 1992: 189, and also the bibliography cited at Hackstein 1995: 3 n. 5.

[78]Cf. Adams 1988: 76; and Pinault 1989: 140.

accent which indicates causativity, not *-sk-*, the latter being merely a present marker. These presents may be formed from existing stems, or are alternative or replacement forms; in these cases, the older form often remains as a subjunctive (cf. Hackstein 1995: 282-4). The oldest class of forms, the lexicalised verbs in *-sk-*, do not show causative meaning, but are perhaps rather iteratives;[79] hence Tocharian is not to be taken as evidence for causative meaning for **-sḱe/o-*, since the existence of non-causative forms in *-sk-*/*-s-* surely indicates that this use is secondary (cf. Keller 1992: 189). The suffix is apparently the only causative formant in Tocharian, but Hackstein does not discuss the origin of the use, which he believes was an innovation of Tocharian.[80]

2.6. Other traces of **-sḱe/o-*

Albanian appears to show **-sḱ-* as *-h-*, most notably in the form *njoh* 'I know'; other forms have also been compared.[81]

In Baltic, we find **-st-* rather than **-sk-*. Despite such apparent correspondences as Lithuanian *-žįstu* and Lettish *-zîstu* with Greek γι-γνώσκω, etc., there is much doubt concerning whether **-sḱ-* evolved into **-st-* or **-šk-*.[82] The only possible inherited formation is that which gives Lithuanian *ieškau*, *ieškójau*, *ieškóti*, comparable to Slavic *iskǫ*, *iskati* 'ask'.[83] In the latter branch the suffix comes to be used to form verbs in *-šte-*, *-skati* and those in *-s(k)nǫti*.[84]

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[79]Different scholars cite iterative, iterative-durative or iterative-intensive meaning here: cf. Benveniste 1936: 231; Krause 1952: 83; Pinault 1989: 125; Hackstein 1995: 201-2; and Szemerényi 1996: 273.

[80]Cf. Hackstein 1995: 3, criticised by Penney 1998: 95-6.

[81]Cf. further Keller 1992: 175.

[82]The argument is summarised by Keller (1992: 170); but cf. also Hamp 1973, with further bibliography at 177 n. 5.

[83]Cf. Keller's (1992) table between pages 168-9; on the difficulties with the forms, however, see Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.581.

[84]On Baltic and Slavic see further Keller 1992: 169-71.

Celtic shows cognates of at least Latin *poscō* and Greek μίσγω, Latin *misceō*; reflexes of *$*h_2is$-sḱe/o-* in Old Irish *escaid* 'search for lice', and less certainly of an ancient **luk*-sḱe/o-*, may also be apparent.[85] A handful more verbs show the suffix, and loans from Latin are also to be found.[86] Celtic data for the existence of *-*iske/o-* (Welsh -*ych*-) are questionable.[87]

Germanic may also show correspondents of various verbs in *-*ske/o-*, although these present problems. For example, Old High German *miskan* may be cognate with Latin *misceō* if the former is not the result of a borrowing of the latter; another type of difficulty arises with such cases as *eiscōn* and *forscōn*, which may be derived from the nouns *eisca* and *forsca* respectively, and so may not be the direct descendants of inherited verbal forms.[88]

2.7. Nominal *-*ske/o-* and *-*iske/o-*

Some have argued for a common origin for nominal and verbal *-*ske/o-*, which may mean that the ancient set of verbs showing this suffix was in fact once a group of denominatives;[89] others are non-committal,[90] or have argued against it.[91] Even if there were once such a link, however, it must have been lost too early to be of any relevance to Ancient Greek.

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[85]On the etymologies of these forms see further § 3.1 below; on **luk-ske/o-* see § 3.1 n. 111.

[86]Cf. Keller 1992: 173-4, with further bibliography.

[87]Cf. Keller 1992: 279 and n. 2.

[88]On these particular instances see Rix 1998: 385 n. 8, 231 n. 1 and 442 n. 4 respectively; in general, see further Keller 1992: 171-2.

[89]Cf. e.g. Bopp 1857-61: III.132-3; and Curtius 1877-80: I.274-5, followed by Benveniste 1962: 167, Kuryłowicz 1964: 105 and Mignot 1969: 180-1, who is in turn followed by Wathelet 1973: 380-1. Vendryes (1911: 180-1) and Keller (1992: 193-4) have the suffix as once both nominal and verbal.

[90]Cf. Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/1.477, II/3.351 and Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.707 n. 1, who do not say either way; and Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.581, who state that the relative chronology of the situation is quite impossible to work out. Cf. also Giacalone Ramat 1967: 110-11.

[91]Cf. Porzig 1927: 164-6; and Vine 1993: 53.

Evidence for nominal *-*ske/o*- is in any case not very common, and the suffix is often found on nouns related to verbs in *-*ske/o*-.[92] Such nominal-verbal pairs as Sanskrit *icchā* : *iccháti* could result from the later derivation of deverbal nouns, as Greek forms such as βοσκή 'food' from βόσκω 'feed'.[93] Also, some forms even point to **k* rather than the expected **k̂*.[94] There is on the other hand a greater range of evidence for an inherited suffix *-*iske/o*-, apparently found in Celtic, Greek, Latin, Germanic, perhaps Balto-Slavic[95] and more debatably Anatolian;[96] nonetheless, although some reconstruct it for the proto-language, others have doubts concerning whether even this nominal suffix was in fact inherited.[97] In Greek, nominal -ισκο- can apparently be traced back to Mycenaean times.[98]

2.8. Summary: reflexes of *-*ske/o*- outside Greek

To sum up, it follows from the evidence collected above that *-*ske/o*- is productive in a limited number of languages: iterative-durative -*šk*- in Hittite; apparently aorist and subjunctive marker -*c'*- in Armenian, also found in the present indicative as -*c'*- and also perhaps -*č'*-; causative -*sk*- in Tocharian B and, merged

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[92]On nominal *-*ske/o*- see Brugmann 1893-1916: II/1.477-80; Persson 1912: I.315-16; Porzig 1927: 164-6; Chantraine 1968: 405; and Keller 1992: 194 and n. 184.

[93]Cf. Hirt 1921-37: IV.233; Porzig 1927: 164-6; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.541; and Keller 1992: 193. For examples from Greek, cf. as well as extended βοσκ- (Chapter 7 § 5.1) the examples of μισγ- (Chapter 3 § 2.3) and διδασκ- (Chapter 3 § 4.2.1, 7 § 5.1).

[94]Cf. Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/1.477, II/3.351; and Porzig 1927: 165-6. On the possibility of *-*ske/o*- with a non-palatal velar see § 3.2 below.

[95]On nominal *-*iske/o*- in general see Brugmann 1893-1916: II/1.501-3; and Petersen 1913: 141. On the suffix in Greek see especially Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.541-2; and Chantraine 1968: 406-13, with further bibliography at 405 n. 1.

[96]Cf. Melchert 1987: 201, who argues that *-*iske/o*- could give Luvian -*iza*- via *-*isza*-.

[97]For the former, see Chantraine (1968: 406), who reconstructs the meaning 'du genre à, qui ressemble à'; and Petersen (1913: 141-7, with bibliography), who derives the suffix from comparative *-*is*- followed by adjectival / substantival *-*k̂o*-. For the latter view, see Vine 1993: 52-3.

[98]Hence *ti-ri-po-di-ko* = τριποδίσκος 'small tripod', as cited by Ruijgh (1985: 139) and Vine (1993: 57 n. 36); for bibliography see Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v. *ti-ri-po-di-ko*.

with *-*se/o*-, A -*s*-; Latin inchoative-progressive -*sc*-; and inchoative -*sa*- in Middle Iranian. Certain relics also occur in Sanskrit, where there is a rare present-forming suffix -(*c*)*cha*-. There are also a few attestations in Albanian, Baltic, Slavic, Celtic and Germanic, as well as further Anatolian and Italic languages. In a number of these languages, reflexes of *-*ske/o*- are linked with the present stem: Latin, Indo-Iranian, Tocharian. There is therefore no doubt that *-*ske/o*- is a common Indo-European feature. The existence of an Indo-European suffix *-*iske/o*- is more doubtful; it may appear in Armenian, Hittite, Latin and also Avestan, less certainly in Celtic; there is also apparently Greek evidence for this suffix (cf. § 3.4 below). In the languages where *-*ske/o*- becomes productive, it shows a particular meaning; where it is merely a relic, the suffix appears usually to have become part of the verbal stem concerned.

3. Verbs in *-*ske/o*-: the forms

3.1. Reconstructed forms

The precise number of forms in *-*ske/o*- which may be reconstructed for the parent language is by its very nature debatable, and indeed two recent attempts[99] seem at first sight to differ quite wildly concerning the inherited data. The earlier, part of Keller's work on Latin -*scō* (1992: tableau I, between pages 168 and 169), lists fifteen correspondences. Among these, however, many forms are marked with a question mark; also, two correspondences only show reflexes in one language branch,[100] leaving only thirteen likely reconstructions. There are on the other hand a few further possibly inherited forms, mentioned elsewhere in her work.[101]

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[99]Cf. also the analysis at Klingenschmitt 1982: 64-5.

[100]Vedic *yácchati*, Young Avestan -*yasaiti* and Old Persian *āyasatā*; and Latin *uescor*, Venetic *vesk*-.

[101]Such as Greek ἰλάσκομαι with Armenian *ałač'em* and the unlikely Greek βλώσκω with Tocharian A *mlosk*-, *mlusk*- (Keller 1992: 180 nn. 94, n. 93 respectively; see further Chapter 3 §§ 4.1.5 and 3.2.1).

More recent is the *Lexicon der indogermanischen Verben* (Rix 1998). Here, apparently independently of Keller's work, there is a list of 70 possible reconstructed presents in *-*sḱe/o*-, of which 21 are listed as doubtful.[102] Of all these forms, however, only sixteen can be shown to have reflexes in more than one branch of the daughter languages.

Assuming a zero-grade root for the inherited forms (cf. § 3.3 below), the most likely reconstructions are the following six; as in Rix, the symbol '[' indicates that a form is not a direct reflex of the reconstruction. Forms and glosses are adapted from Rix 1998.[103]

*$g\hat{n}h_3$-*sḱe/o*- > [Old Persian subjunctive *xšnāsātiy* 'recognise'; Armenian *čanač'em* 'recognise'; [Greek γιγνώσκω 'recognise'; [Latin (*g*)*nōscō* 'recognise'; and Albanian *njoh* 'know'.

*$g^w\hat{m}$-*sḱe/o*- > Vedic *gácchati* 'go, come', [Young Avestan *jasaiti* 'go, come'; Greek βάσκω 'go'; and perhaps also [Tocharian A *kumnäṣ*, B *känmaṣṣäm* 'come'.

*h_2*is-sḱe/o*- > Vedic *iccháti* 'seek', Young Avestan *isaiti* 'seek'; [Armenian *hayc'em* 'seek, beseech, ask for'; Umbrian future perfect *eiscurent* 'call for, get'; [Old Irish *escaid* 'search for lice'; [Old Lithuanian *ieszku* 'seek'; [Old Church Slavonic *iskǫ* 'seek'; and also Germanic forms such as [Old High German *eiscōn* 'demand, beseech, ask'.[104]

**mik̂-sḱe/o*- > ?Vedic middle participle *micchamāna*- ?'nimble / in turmoil'; Greek μίσγομαι 'be mixed'; Praenestine Latin imperative *misc* 'mix', [Latin *misceō*

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[102]Cf. Rix 1998: 19, with list at 653-4. In both these locations there are only 20 dubious forms mentioned, but also doubtful is ?**wr̥-sḱe/o*-, listed thus in the body of the dictionary (1998: 626). The figures for Rix include the one possible present in *-*isḱe/o*-; those for Keller do not, as it is not included on her table.

[103]For further discussion of and bibliography on *$g\hat{n}h_3$-*sḱe/o*-, *$g^w\hat{m}$-*sḱe/o*- and **mik̂-sḱe/o*-, which all show reflexes in Greek, see further Chapter 3 §§ 4.1.1, 2.1 and 2.3 respectively.

[104]On the root here see further Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *EṢ*[1]; and Rix 1998: 231-2.

'mix'; [Old Irish *mescaid* 'mix, confuse', Welsh (*cy-*)*mysgaf* 'mix', and other Celtic forms; and also [Old English *miscian*, Old High German *miscen* 'mix'.

*ph_2-sk̂e/o- > [Latin *pāsco*(*r*)[105] 'let pasture, feed'; and Tocharian B *paskenträ*, [A *pāsantär* 'be protected/protect oneself'.[106]

*p$_{\text{o}}^{\text{r}}$k̂-sk̂e/o- > Vedic *pṛcchắti* 'ask', Old Avestan *pərəsa-* 'ask', Old Persian *pṛsāmiy* 'punish'; Armenian aorist *eharc'* 'ask', whence new present *harc'anem*; Latin *poscō* 'demand, ask', [Oscan future perfect *comparascuster* 'consulta erit'; Old Irish *-airc*, Middle Welsh *eirch* 'beseech, ask'; and also perhaps [Old High German *forscōn* 'search'.[107]

One must note, however, that even on these most certain forms opinion varies: the two reflexes of *$\hat{g}_{\text{o}}^{\text{n}}h_3$-sk̂e/o- which Keller in her table finds doubtful, Albanian *njoh* and Armenian *čanač'em*, are to Rix the only reflexes which show no remodelling of the stem.

More debated are the following three reconstructions, the first two of which are often cited:[108]

*$h_1\underset{\text{o}}{\text{r}}$-sk̂e/o- > Hittite *āraškizzi* 'arrive repeatedly'; Vedic *ṛcchắti* 'reach, meet'; Old Persian *-ṛsatiy* 'come'; and Greek ἔρχομαι 'go, come'.

*h_1s-sk̂e/o- > Palaic imperative *iska* 'be'; Ionic Greek ἔσκον 'repeatedly was, used to be'; [Old Latin *escit* 'be'; and Tocharian B *star-*, *skentar-* 'be'.

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[105]On the problem of the root vocalism of this form see § 3.3 below.

[106]On the phonology of the Tocharian forms see Klingenschmitt 1982: 64-5 n. 4. Keller (1992: 40) has Old Church Slavonic *pasǫ* as perhaps connected; this is however linked by Rix (1998: 415) with Hittite *paḫḫasmi*, derived from an inherited desiderative. On the root in general see further Rix 1998: 415.

[107]On the root see further Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *PRAŚ*; and Rix 1998: 442-3.

[108]For more on these first two forms (and so ἔρχομαι and ἔσκον), see Chapters 3 § 2.2 and 5 § 6.1.1 respectively.

*$h_2$us-sḱe/o- > Vedic *uccháti*, Young Avestan participle *usaitī-* (f.) 'the shining one'; ?[Lithuanian *aûšta* (*aûšti*); and Hittite *uški/a-*.[109]

These nine formations are the most notable ones.[110] This leaves four possible cases in Keller (1992) and seven in Rix (1998), all of which bar one are different and all of which show a reflex in more than one language branch.[111]

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[109]Cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *VAS*^{2}; and Rix 1998: 260-1. Puhvel (1984- s.v. *au(s)-*) argues against the comparison of the Hittite and Vedic forms.

[110]It is no surprise, therefore, that Puhvel (1991: 16) comments on the 'stunted state' of the productivity of verbs in *-sḱe/o-, comparing its frequency to that of Greek presents in -σκω, in contrast to that of iteratives in -(ε)σκον. Nonetheless, comparison with the number of forms which Rix (1998: 14-20) reconstructs for the other various present formants do make *-sḱe/o- look productive: only four of his remaining twenty categories show more than *-sḱe/o-'s number of seventy forms, and of these two are remarkably productive (full-grade root plus *-e/o- with 425 forms (1n), nasal infix with 237 (1k)).

[111]Three of the four listed by Keller in her table (1992, between pages 168 and 169), do appear in Rix 1998; but for these he does not list as many possible reflexes as she does, so that his data have the forms as occurring only in one language branch. These are Latin *hiscō* beside various Germanic forms (such as Old High German *gischen*) (the former at Rix 1998: 153-4); Old Indic *vā́ñchati* 'desire, wish' with Old High German *wunscen* 'wish, desire' (the former at Rix 1998: 623-4; cf. also Klingenschmitt 1982: 64, and on the problem of the root vocalism Jasanoff 1988: 237 n. 22); and Young Avestan *tarəsaiti* 'be afraid', Old Persian *tarsatiy* 'be afraid' beside Lithuanian *trišù* 'tremble' (the former pair at Rix 1998: 590-1). Keller's one remaining possibly inherited form is Armenian *luc'anem* 'ignite, burn' and Old Church Slavonic *lŭštati* (*sę*) 'shine' beside such Celtic forms as Old Irish *losc-* 'burn', but here it seems that *-c'-* may well be from *-ky- (cf. Godel 1975: 82; Klingenschmitt 1982: 194; and Rix 1998: 376; but on the other hand cf. Meillet 1936: 107). Of all these, there are many doubtful forms; see further her table.

The six remaining possible forms in *-sḱe/o- listed by Rix which may have reflexes in more than one language branch are to be found at Rix 1998: 76-7 (Lithuanian *brėkšta* (*brėkšti*) 'dawn'; Polish *o-brzasknąć* 'become light'); 117-19 (Hittite *zikkizzi* 'put repeatedly', Tocharian A middle participle *tāskmāṃ* 'being like'); 274-5 (?[Young Avestan *yāsaiti* 'ask', ?[Tocharian B subjunctive *yāṣtär* 'will/should beg, request'); 352-3 ([Armenian *hangč'im* 'have a rest', [Latin *quiēscō* 'rest'); 480 ([Greek ἱλάσκομαι 'propitiate', ?[Armenian *ałač'em* 'supplicate, pray'); and 552 (Young Avestan *x^{v}isaṯ* 'break into a sweat', ?[Lettish *svîstu* (*svîst*) 'sweat'). On the last two pairs cf. also Klingenschmitt 1982: 65, and on Greek ἱλάσκομαι beside Armenian *ałač'em* see further Chapter 3 § 4.1.5. In addition, Klingenschmitt (1982: 64) cites Greek θνῄσκω 'die' along with Avestan *duuąsa-* 'fly', on which see further Chapter 3 § 3.2.2.

Finally, there is one possible form in *-*iśke/o*-, listed with reservations as an 'ungewöhnlicher Stammbildungstyp' in Rix (1998: 219), who gives no reconstruction for what would be *h_1*gr-iśke/o*-:[112]

Young Avestan *fra-γrisəmnō* 'awakening' (intransitive); Latin *ex-per-giscor* 'awaken' (intransitive) (< *-*per-griske*-); and Albanian *ngrihet* 'get up'.

3.2. The internal morphology of *-*śke/o*-

The suffix is to be reconstructed as *-*śke/o*- if we hold that there were three sets of velars in the parent language.[113] There is apparently no evidence for a by-form *-*śkh*- (cf. Keller 1992: 190 n. 168, with bibliography).

The suffix *-*śke/o*- has in turn often been broken down into its constituents *-*s*- and *-*ḱ*-; this would mean that it was once related to other Indo-European suffixes in *-*s*-.[114] The most recent proponent of this view has been Keller (1992: 191-93), who began her explanation with such base forms as **gnō-t* (Greek ἔ-γνω). From these, tense stems came to be formed with various 'élargissements' or

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[112]On the root see further Rix 1998: 218-19; on the etymology, and on Latin *expergiscor* in general, see Keller 1980, 1992: 238-41; and also Klingenschmitt 1982: 73-7 and nn. 17, 18. On the problem of the correspondence see § 3.4 below.

[113]If we only reconstruct two (*k, *k^w) rather than three (*k, *$\hat{k}$, *k^w) then the suffix is instead *-*ske/o*-. For the former view see Meillet 1937: 91-5, and for the latter Brugmann at Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: I/1.542-622; and Mayrhofer at Kuryłowicz 1968-86: I.102-6. A problem is that Balto-Slavic data could indicate *-*ske/o*- rather than *-*śke/o*-, although the forms concerned could be otherwise explained; see further Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.581. For older bibliography on this subject see Mignot 1969: 180 n. 2.

[114]This possibility has been frequently observed: cf. Curtius 1877-80: I.274; Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: I.477, II/3.350-1; Brugmann 1904: 518; Persson 1912: I.315-16, 340; Bader 1968: 49; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.707 n. 1; Benveniste 1962: 167; Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.581; Shields 1984, 1992: 38; Back 1991: 295; Keller 1992: 190-1; and Szemerényi 1996: 273. For further discussion see especially Watkins in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: III/1.56-8; Jasanoff 1988: 234-6; and most recently Keller 1992: 190-1, with further bibliography. The older view was that *-*śke/o*- was once a separate word which became a suffix: cf. Bopp 1857-61: III.132-3; and Hirt 1921-37: IV.233.

extensions (**w*, **s*, **k* [sic], **t*, **dh*, **p*), such as **gnō-w* (Vedic *(ja)jñau*). Relics of such forms, which had no personal endings, are said to be seen within the old Latin paradigm *gnōu(ī)* : *gnōs(tī)*. Some forms in **-s-* acquired an extra **-k-* or **-t-* (whence Baltic *-st-*), whilst **-s-* came to be used to denote past time.[115] Keller's examples thus include **gnēs-* (Hittite, Tocharian A) beside **gnōsḱ-* (in at least Latin, Greek, Old Persian), and **pās-* (Hittite, Tocharian A) beside **pasḱ-* (Latin, Tocharian B). Within each language, however, the use in relation to other tense stems is very different. Indeed, as Keller notes, sometimes languages within a family alternate between the two suffixes: Hittite and Palaic **-ske/o-* beside Luvian **-se/o-*,[116] Tocharian B **-ske/o-* beside A **-se/o-*.

On the other hand, there is no conclusive evidence that the suffix is made up of other morphs,[117] and one must remember that all that we can say about this stage of the parent language is necessarily hypothetical. Hence, far from emphasising the importance of **-se/o-* and **-ste/o-*, as Keller does, Rix only reconstructs one form for the former, and does not mention the latter at all.[118] A very different suggestion concerning the evolution and function of **-ske/o-* will be discussed in § 4.3 below.

3.3. The morphology of presents in **-ske/o-*

The form generally reconstructed for inherited presents in **-ske/o-* is that of zero-grade of root plus suffix **-ske/o-*, with latter's vowel accented.[119] This would

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[115]In this schema **-ye/o-* is not an *élargissement*: cf. Keller 1992: 191-2 n. 174, with bibliography.

[116]On a possible relic of Luvian **-ske/o-*, however, see § 2.1 above.

[117]Most notably against the proposal is Porzig (1927: 166).

[118]The one form is **gnēh₃-s-/*gnéh₃-s-* (Rix 1998: 149): cf. Rix 1998: 16, and his index at 1998: 650. Others reconstruct no present formant **-se/o-*: cf. Hackstein 1995: 1, 159-65 and Penney 1998: 93; and also Adams 1988: 102 n. 48. On the other hand, Beekes (1995: 231) reconstructs a perhaps originally athematic suffix **-(e)s-*, apparently used for present, desiderative and future formations.

[119]The number of scholars who have commented on the zero-grade of the root is numerous: Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.352; Schmidt 1904: 31; Hirt 1921-37: IV.232; Bechtel 1936: 10-11; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.707 and n. 4; Schmitt 1964-5: 275, 281; Leumann et al. 1965-79:

therefore accord with the accepted patterns of accentuation generally reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European, where the thematic vowel is stressed.[120]

Other interpretations have been offered, however. Klingenschmitt (1982: 66-7) argues that presents in *-*ske/o*- with an accented full-grade root would be theoretically possible; he claims that, in parallel, one can find beside the usual hysterotonic causative type (such as **wortéye/o*-) rhizotonic ones (as **swōpye/o*- from pre-Proto-Indo-European **swōpeye/o*-) as well. A possible case would be Armenian *hayc'e*- 'seek', if it is from **h₂ais-ske/o*-; but in the absence of further evidence for this stem, he acknowledges that it is more likely that the form which we find is either denominative or a remodelling of the zero-grade present **h₂is-ske/o*- (Vedic *icchắti*, Young Avestan *isaiti*).[121] More recently, Keller (1992: 194-6) has argued that, if forms in *-*ske/o*- began in the way she suggests, then the formation in *-*ske/o*- is secondary and deverbative and did not show a particular grade of the root; they merely continued the form of the root from which they were derived. She claims that divergences from the commonly postulated pattern are numerous, but only cites the problem of Vedic forms which show accented roots.[122] Apart from the difficult case of Greek γιγνώσκω, Latin (*g*)*nōscō*, etc. (on which see Chapter 3 § 4.1.1), the only problem case among forms which may be reconstructed with certainty appears to be

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I.535; Risch 1965: 239, 1974: 276; Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.581-2; Ruijgh 1972: 230; Kujoręs 1970: 70, 1973: 7; Wathelet 1973: 379-80; Klingenschmitt 1982: 64-6; Kellens 1984: 156 and 157 n. 1; Szemerényi 1964: 5, 1996: 273; Chantraine 1986-8: I.316, 1991: 224; Back 1991: 281; Rix 1992: 213, 229, 1998: 19; Clackson 1994: 75; Beekes 1995: 230; and Sihler 1995: 505. In some of the older literature, this rule is restricted to 'monosyllabic' roots; it now seems, however, that it may be extended to all: on the problem of **gn̥h₃-ske/o*- / ?**gnō-ske/o*-, see Chapter 3 § 4.1.1. Many of these scholars in addition note that the suffix, not the root, would have been stressed at this stage (giving **g^wm̥-ské/ó*-, etc.), as also does Watkins in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: III/1.56.

[120]Cf. Szemerényi 1996: 111-13, and on the verb 250-2, with bibliography.

[121]Cf. also now Rix 1998: 231 n. 2, following Klingenschmitt. On the other hand, Jasanoff (1988: 237 n. 22) suggests explaining related Germanic and Balto-Slavic data via contamination from an *s*-present **h₂ēis-s*- / **h₂eis-s*-.

[122]On these forms see § 2.2 above.

Latin *pāscō*, where we would expect ****pascō* from **ph_2-sḱe/o-*; for this, various explanations have been offered.[123] Rather, it is forms in **-se/o-* which do not consistently show zero-grade. Criticisms of the standard theory therefore appear to have little foundation; moreover, if we accept zero-grade for the Proto-Indo-European formation, then the case for Keller's theory of the origin of presents in **-sḱe/o-* is weakened: if forms in **-sḱe/o-* are extensions in **-ḱ-* based on ones in **-se/o-,* then why do they show different grades of the root?[124]

Risch (1965) emphasises the importance of **-sḱe/o-* in the origin of the thematic conjugation. He states that the latter was secondary in Proto-Indo-European; its gradual replacement of the athematic one is clearly visible in the descendants of the parent language. He argues that in the conjugation of a verb in **-sḱe/o-*, the first and second persons plural, with the suffix in the zero-grade, would once have been effectively athematic: hence (in the case of **g^{w}em-*) **g^{w}m̥-sḱ-més*, **g^{w}m̥-sḱ-té*. Such forms would have developed vowels for ease of pronunciation (**g^{w}m̥-sḱ^{o}-més*, **g^{w}m̥-sḱ^{e}-té*); according to Risch, such a progression, combined with a first person singular voluntative in **-ō*, led to the creation of the thematic conjugation. All this is of course uncertain; but it is interesting to note that the *-šk-* forms of Hittite are among the most frequent source of thematic verbs.

Concerning the original voice of the inherited formations, there is little agreement. Watkins (Kuryłowicz 1968-86: III/1.74) has claimed that there is a link between forms in **-sḱe/o-* and the middle voice. Keller, however, has criticised Watkins' view; following Meillet's (1900: 311-12, 1937: 221) statement that **-sḱe/o-* and **-ye/o-* are secondary, she gives the same description of voice as she gives for

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[123]For these suggestions, with further bibliography, see Hackstein 1995: 177.

[124]On Keller's theory see further § 3.2 above.

grade of the root: the voice of a form in *-*ske/o*- merely matches that of the form from which it was derived.[125]

Mention should also be made of comparative evidence for the claimed combinatory use of *-*ske/o*- with other affixes.[126] It has already been seen that the use of reflexes of *-*ske/o*- together with reduplication in both Hittite and Greek appears to be a coincidence (see § 2.1 above). The same, it seems, may be said of the use of *-*ske/o*- and nasal suffixes, which occurs in both Armenian and Greek: the occurrence of -*c'anem* in the former and -σκάνω in the latter is due to the productivity of nasal formations in both, but in quite different conditions.[127]

More controversial is the case of *-*iske/o*- which, if indeed it is to be reconstructed, may be made up of a combination of *-*ye/o*- and *-*ske/o*- (cf. § 3.4 below); in addition, Keller adds a combination with the nasal infix, *-*nīšk*-. It has also been argued that *-*ske/o*- was combined with the stative suffix *-*ē*- (*-*eh*$_1$-) to give *-*ēsk*- beside *-*ēs*-, the latter giving Hittite -*eš*- and Greek - ησ- ;[128] indeed, a suffix *-*ē-ske/o*- could, as Klingenschmitt (1982: 69-83) argues, be the source of Armenian -*č'i*- (cf. § 2.3 above). Lastly, there is the possible suffix *-*esk*-; although advocated by some, it does not seem supportable.[129]

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[125]Cf. Keller 1992: 194-6, esp. 195 n. 189, on *-*ske/o*-, and also 296-8 on *-*iske/o*-, concluded at 431-2.

[126]That is, Keller's 'aptitudes combinatoires': cf. further her discussion at Keller 1992: 196-7, concluded at 430-1.

[127]Cf. further Keller 1992: 197.

[128]Cf. Watkins in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: III/1.56-8; Keller 1992: 197 n. 195, 381 n. 137, concluded at 431; and Sihler 1995: 506, 507.

[129]Cf. Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.351; and Wathelet 1973: 379-385, 403-5,who reconstructs a suffix parallel to Greek - εθ- (as in φλεγ- έθω : φλέγ- ω). For criticisms of *-*esk*-, however, see Schmitt 1964-5: 275-9; Keller 1992: 197 n. 195; and Clackson 1994: 79, 81-2. See further Chapter 5 § 3.

3.4. Inherited *-*iśke/o*-?

There has been much debate over whether a suffix *-*iśke/o*- may also be reconstructed for the parent language. Keller (1992: 279 n. 1, 280 n.3) is against Osthoff's and Kronasser's assertions that suffixes of the form *-*isk*- spread as innovations in Latin and Hittite respectively; she claims that *-*iśke/o*- is especially required to explain the Greek data (1992: 280 n. 3), and that it is not a postconsonantal variant of *-*śke/o*- (1992: 280 n. 4). The suffix is used as a functionally identical form of *-*śke/o*- in Hittite, Avestan, Latin and Greek, but the length of the **i* cannot be determined (1992: 279-80).

Keller (1992: 287-92) summarises three influential theories. Schmidt (1904) postulated an alternance of -ῑ- with -η- and -ω-.[130] This is found in Greek in such present : non-present pairs as ἁλί-σκ-ομαι : ἁλω- and would continue an ancient long diphthong alternation of the form **ī* : **ēi* / **ōi*; the second element of the diphthong was lost in Greek before all consonants bar -σ-. Greek forms in -᾽άσκω, -ήσκω and -ώσκω are thus claimed to show the old diphthong, with links being made between Greek μιμνᾱ́σκω and Latin *-minīscor*; the only parallel for the postulated vocalic pattern outside Greek is Young Avestan *fraγrisaṃnō* 'awakening' (intransitive), which indicated to Schmidt an alternation between present *fra-γrīsa-* and non-present *fra-γrā-*, from a stem **γrāi-*. The theory is, however, no longer tenable, not only because it involves long diphthongs, which are no longer postulated for the parent language, but also because the data are not easily accounted for by Schmidt's theory: forms in -᾽άσκω etc. seem to be due to the extension of -ίσκω; the alternation -ισκ- : -η- / -ω- does not seem to be ancient; and μιμνήσκω and *-miniscor* do not seem to be linked.[131]

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[130]For scholars who have followed Schmidt's account, see Keller 1992: 283 n. 19, 287 n. 46; the most recent is apparently Allen (1980: 18, via Leumann et al. 1965-79: I.539).

[131]On all these points see Keller 1992: 288; cf. also Keller 1980: 318-19; and Vine 1993: 53. For further discussion of the Greek data, see Chapter 3 § 6, 7 § 3.

Secondly, Watkins (Kuryłowicz 1968-86: III/1.56-7) parallels *-*s-k̂*- with *-*is-k̂*- (here with short -*ĭ*-), finding the same *-*is*- in the Latin perfect (as in *ēgistī*) and the Hittite preterite ending -*iš* (Kuryłowicz 1968-86: III/1.55-6, 155-6). There seems to be little likelihood, however, that the element *-*is*- ever existed, and the division *-*is-k̂*- is far from certain. Nor is Keller (1992: 289) satisfied with Watkins' supposed parallels (e.g. Armenian *dic'*- from **dhē-isk̂*- beside Hittite *dāiš* from **dhē-is*, from **dhē*- 'put, place'), especially that of the Armenian aorist subjunctive in *-*isk̂e/o*- beside the comparatively late Latin future perfect in -*ise/o*-.

Lastly, Meillet derived *-*isk̂e/o*-, which he used to account for Greek -ίσκω, Latin -*iscō* and Young Avestan *fraγrisaṃnō*, from the stative suffix *-*ī̆*-, said to be found in Baltic and Slavic, together with *-*sk̂e/o*-.[132] Forms where a non-present was found in -η- or -ω- in Greek seemed to him to be particularly close to the Balto-Slavic data, where the present shows *-*ī̆*- and the infinitive and the aorist *-*ē*-. Where Greek showed *-*yε/o*- and *-ισκε/ο-, Baltic and Slavic seem to show *-*ī̆*-, so that the former appears to be a thematicisation of *-*ī̆*-, and the latter a combination of *-*ī̆*- and *-*sk̂e/o*-.[133] Keller (1992: 291, 293) notes that -*miniscor* could in this case show the same suffixed zero-grade stem **m°n-ī̆*- which is found in Baltic (Lithuanian *mìni*) and Slavic (Old Church Slavonic *mĭnitŭ*), and which is thematicised in Celtic (Old Irish *do-muiniur*), Greek (μαίνομαι) and Indo-Iranian (Vedic *mányate*, Old Avestan *mainyete*).

However, Keller (1992: 291-2) does not accept that the suffix *-*isk̂e/o*- could have been linked to statives in *-*ī̆*-, pointing out that Meillet's supposed connection of the former with states is due to the voice of the form concerned. Moreover, she follows Kuryłowicz (1964: 79-84, followed by Watkins in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: III/1.222-3) in deriving the Balto-Slavic stative suffix *-*ī̆*- ultimately from the old

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[132]Cf. Meillet 1900, esp. 311-12; and also 1908: 109-113, esp. 110; 1937: 221; and Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 241-2.

[133]For further details, and more bibliography, see Keller 1992: 289-91.

perfect ending *-*ei* from *-*e-i*. She therefore adapts Meillet's theory into one in which *-*iske/o*- is made up of *-*ye/o*- and *-*ske/o*-, the former taking the athematic form of *-*ĭ*- or *-*ī*-. She notes the tendency of *-*ye/o*- to combine with the nasal infix, as in Lithuanian *jùngiu* beside Latin *iungō* and in Latin *nancior* (-*iō*) beside *nactus*, and uses a suffix *-*nīšk*- (said to be common in Hittite) to explain the difficult Latin forms -*quinīscō* and *frūnīscor* (Keller 1992: 292, 293-4). In fact, this theory of *-*ye/o*- and *-*ske/o*- coming to be combined, albeit for Greek rather than Proto-Indo-European, has also been suggested by Ruijgh (1985: 140, 148-9).

Noting the convenience of this suffix in preserving final consonants of roots (1992: 197), Keller (1992: 293) reconstructs *-*īšske/o*- as a suffix that is continued by Latin -*isc*-, Hittite -*išk*-, Greek - ισκ- and the Armenian subjunctive formant -*ic'*-, as well as being found in the one cognate pair of Young Avestan *fraγrisəmnō* and Latin (*ex*)*perg*(*r*)*iscor*. This inherited situation then becomes complicated by the fact that Latin and Hittite also produce forms in -*sc*- off those in -*ī*-, a productivity which may mean that the apparent correspondences *apiscor* / *appiški/a*- and *ercīsc*- / *arkiški/a*- are in fact coincidental (cf. Keller 1992: 294-5).

Keller is not alone in reconstructing inherited *-*iske/o*-: Hackstein (1995: 301, following Rix 1992: 74, 213) has ἁλίσκομαι from *$w\dot{l}h_3$-*iske/o*- (found beside Hittite *hulliški*- from *hulla*), although he says the Greek form could be from the aorist ἥλων. Not all agree, however, that *-*iske/o*- is to be postulated: Klingenschmitt (1982: 73-7) sheds doubt on the reliability of such a reconstruction, and his work was more recently continued by Vine (1993). The one supposed correspondence of *fraγrisəmnō* and *expergiscor* is doubtful for several reasons (1993: 49-50),[134] and the various languages could easily show individual innovations which resulted in an apparent correspondence. Hence the Latin forms are said to arise from verbs in

[134]Cf. also Porzig 1927: 160; and Kellens 1984: 157 n. 8, 324 n. 2, who suggests that the Avestan form is a mistake for **fra γrāsəmnō* or **fra γ(ə)rəsəmnō*; he has more recently changed his view, however (cf. Kellens 1995: 19 and n. 2).

*-*ye/o*-; Armenian presents in *-*ic*^{h}- are, with Klingenschmitt, taken from *-*eh*$_1$-*ske/o*-, subjunctives in *-*ic*^{h}*e/i*- perhaps (after Meillet/Mariès rather than Klingenschmitt) from optative *-*o-ih*$_1$- giving *-*oi*- recharacterised with a '*-*ske*-preterite'; the Hittite formation, following Melchert, can be the result of anaptyxis and of syncope (1993: 50-2; and § 2.1 above). This leaves Greek -ίσκω, for which Klingenschmitt, Vine and Ruijgh have all offered solutions; these will be discussed when the Homeric data for -ίσκω have been reviewed (Chapter 3 § 6.5). Regarding inherited *-*iske/o*-, therefore, we may note that scholars are divided, and the proposition in doubt.[135]

4. The function of *-*ske/o*-

The role of *-*ske/o*- in the parent language is of fundamental importance to a study of one of its reflexes, but at the same time impossible to visualise with any certainty. In this section, I shall first review the role which the descendants of *-*ske/o*- had in the daughter languages, and then discuss the suggestions of scholars which have been put forward to account for these facts.

4.1. The reflexes of *-*ske/o*-

In those languages where *-*ske/o*- is not lexicalised but becomes productive, we have seen that the use of the suffix is as follows: iterative-durative in Hittite; present- and perhaps also aorist- and subjunctive-forming in Armenian; inchoative in Iranian; inchoative-progressive in Latin; and present- and causative-forming in Tocharian. There is good evidence, however, that the earliest role of *-*ske/o*- in Iranian, Latin and Tocharian was not what it later became in its productive form: the oldest evidence in all these languages does not show these causative-inchoative uses.

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[135]Cf. also Clackson 1994: 215 n. 76 and Rix 1998: 219 n. 7, who cite Klingenschmitt's discussion (1982: 73-7) against reconstruction of *-*iske/o*-.

As already seen, Greek at first blush seems to reflect all the data from other languages at once (Chapter 1 § 3), although there causativity is most likely secondary and the iteratives in -(ε)σκον seem isolated.

4.2. Suggested reconstructions

Reconstruction of the original sense of *-*ske/o*- is therefore far from certain; but it will be useful briefly to review the different opinions of various scholars on this subject, whilst bearing in mind that these are all necessarily hypothetical.

It now seems to be most common to believe that *-*ske/o*- was once linked in some way to iterative meaning; other views are varied. French scholars used to say that *-*ske/o*- gives an emphasis to the development of the action and/or has 'déterminé' meaning. This is the view of Meillet;[136] one may also compare Delbrück,[137] followed by Kujọrẹ (1970: 71) and Barton (1982: 38), who have *-*ske/o*- as perhaps originally punctual. Iterative meaning may also be linked with this idea, however: Meillet (1937: 221) adds that the Hittite meaning of 'un procès accompli avec force ou répété' would have been the inherited sense, comparing Latin *poscō*.

Also quite popular as a reconstruction is inchoative or progressive meaning.[138] Keller (1992: 435) does consider this possibility, noting the 'transformatif' sense found in Avestan and Latin, as well as the Tocharian factitives (causatives);[139] as just noted (§ 4.1 above), however, the oldest formations in each language do not speak for this interpretation.[140]

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[136]Cf. Meillet 1900: 311, 1937: 221; and also Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 189; and Chantraine 1986-8: I.316, 1991: 223.

[137]Cf. Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.59; and Brugmann 1904: 520.

[138]For the former, cf. Vendryes 1911; Burrow 1973: 329; and also Curtius 1846: 114; 1877-80: I.271, 289-91; for the latter, Létoublon 1985: 257 n. 64.

[139]On the relatedness of these meanings, see Chapter 1 § 3.2.

[140]Cf. Keller 1992: 442-3, and also the remarks made at Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.353-4; Allen 1980: 1-3; and Kellens 1984: 160.

Another alternative is that we cannot tell what meaning to ascribe to the suffix: Brugmann (Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.353-4) simply says that it was not inchoative; Keller (1992: 442-3) and Beekes (1995: 230) also give no set meaning. Occasionally, future meaning is ascribed to *-*ske/o*-, but the view is founded on little evidence and does not seem supportable.[141]

Some acknowledge the existence of iterative meaning for *-*ske/o*- without wishing to say that this was the only possibility. Couvreur (1938: 90) has iterative-causative meaning; less certainly, Krause (1952: 82-3) is uncertain whether causative, iterative, durative and inchoative meanings should all be ascribed to *-*ske/o*-. Leumann (1941: 1; cf. also Leumann et al. 1965-79: I.536) is undecided between two basically iterative meanings: 'einen allmählichen Übergang, ein aktweise oder stoßweise vor sich gehendes Geschehen zu bezeichnen' (following Porzig 1927); and 'iterativ-intensiv' (following Benveniste 1936: 231). Not dissimilarly, Haverling (1994: 51 n. 3) emphasises the iterative, intensive and durative meanings in the reflexes of *-*ske/o*-. Giacalone Ramat (1967: 110-11, 123) has some forms as apparently having no specific meaning for *-*ske/o*-, while others show 'l'insistenza sull'intensità', as *pṛccháti*, *poscō*, glossed as 'prego insistentemente'; not dissimilarly, Puhvel (1991: 16-17) plays down the role of iterative meaning, which in his account is secondary in Hittite, implying that the meaning of the suffix is intensive: **pr̥k-ske/o*- is glossed as perhaps 'ask insistently' or 'be inquisitive'. To Ruijgh (1985: 143), 'La valeur originale du suffixe *-sk-é/ó-* consistait sans doute à exprimer que le procès désigné par le thème verbal se réalise *pas à pas, peu à peu*' (italics thus).

Some scholars have tried to link the inchoative and iterative meanings, often attempting to derive the former from the latter without detailing how. Hence Couvreur (1938: 90) explains matters from his postulated iterative-causative meaning

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[141]For this view cf. Bopp 1857-61: III.133; and Pisani 1957: 552-3, followed by Hiersche 1960. For criticism see Keller 1985: 31.

by simply saying that 'Du sens itératif résulte le sens inchoatif'; in contrast, Adams (1988: 76) says 'What the mechanism was that led some at least of the early Tocharian iterative-intensives to be interpreted as causatives is not clear'. Kronasser (Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.575-6) has iterative become inchoative and then causative, but produces little evidence for the first development. Wathelet (1973: 381-3) also attempts this method: he says, 'Le sens originel du suffixe *-ske/o-* dans les verbes reste matière à discussion, il semble néanmoins que la valeur itérative y soit essentielle' (1973: 381) and claims that causative was close to iterative in the Indo-European languages,[142] as was iterative to inchoative (1973: 383-4 n. 32); his tentative proto-meaning is '"tension avec répétition vers une réalité"'. Similarly, Risch (1974: 272) claims that **-ske/o-* first of all expressed 'ein schrittweises Vorwärtskommen', whence its inchoative uses in Latin and Iranian, and the iterative ones in Greek and Hittite. Rix (1992: 214) derives inchoative meaning from iterative, glossing *adolēscit* as 'wächst Schritt für Schritt heran'; Sihler (1995: 507) has an original meaning of perhaps iterative-durative, with the Latin inchoative perhaps deriving from forms in **-eh$_1$-ske/o-*: *calēscō* 'keep getting warm' becomes 'become warm'. Hackstein (1995: 2-3) cites iterative Aktionsart for **-ske/o-*, whence duratives and then presents; inchoative meaning is said to be late Indo-European or an independent development. Most recently, Bubeník (Hewson and Bubeník 1997: 242) reconstructs 'iterative (-inchoative)' meaning.

On the other hand, there is also well-considered work in the 'iterative-inchoative' school, firstly by Kuryłowicz (1964: 106-9). Although he refers to the original meaning of **-ske/o-* as iterative (along with the nasal affix and reduplication), used to form denominal verbs, he explains the inchoative and durative meanings as 'semantic variants depending on the opposition of the new present form as against the

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[142]On this point Wathelet cites Pedersen 1941: 168, whose one example is Greek φορέω ('bear along; bear constantly, wear') beside σοβέω ('scare away; drive away').

old ones' (1964: 107; see further § 4.3 below). This method of integration of the two meanings does not seem distant from that of Back (1991): he has *-*ske/o*- (reconstructed as iterative or inchoative at 1991: 282) related to an ancient telic suffix *-*s*- which gives inchoatives on atelic roots and iteratives on telic ones. Jasanoff (1988: 235), on the other hand, links inchoative meaning to desiderative (comparing the expressions 'the sun is wanting to come out' and 'es will Nacht werden' to Latin *lūcēscit* and Hittite *nanakušzi* respectively), and then the latter to iterative (citing Modern English *will* beside *would*).

A further variant is to join iterativity with intensive meaning.[143] Also frequent is iterative-durative, as claimed by many scholars.[144] This latter definition is hardly to be distinguished, it seems, from 'straight' iterativity: scholars such as Kuryłowicz (1964: 106-9) and Cowgill (1979: 36) seem to use the terms interchangeably. Although he avoids the term (1927: 159 n. 1), Porzig's famous definition that 'das verbale *skō*-Formans meint Handlungen oder Vorgänge als sich ruckweise in einzelnen Absätzen vollziehende' (1927: 159) is generally cited by exponents of the view that *-*ske/o*- indicated iterativity.[145] Kronasser (Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.575) thinks iterativity the most probable reconstruction; Lehmann (1974: 188) claims that the inherited suffix had the same various functions which it shows in Hittite, probably with iterative meaning; and Rix (1992: 213-14) makes a similar comparison between iterative *-*ske/o*- and the Ionic Greek preterites in -(ε)σκον,

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[143]For intensive-iterative, see Benveniste 1936: 231, 1962: 167; for iterative-intensive, Adams 1988: 75-6; and Debrunner 1937: 261-2. Giacalone Ramat (1967: 122-3) emphasises the intensive element. For criticism of this concept regarding Greek -(ε)σκον, see Chapter 5 § 5.

[144]Cf. Scheftelowitz 1929: 161-5; Gonda 1971: 89-90; Cowgill 1974: 565; Clackson 1994: 75; Sihler 1995: 507; and Szemerényi 1996: 273. On the supposed union 'iterative-durative', especially regarding -(ε)σκον, see Chapter 5 §§ 5, 7.

[145]Cf. e.g. Kronasser and Neu 1966-87: I.575, or Szemerényi's (1996: 274 n. 8) translation of Porzig's words as 'iteration proceeding by fits and starts or act by act'. Porzig is also followed by e.g. Debrunner 1937: 261, Kujoŗe 1970: 71 and Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I. 707 n. 1, but criticised by Giacalone Ramat 1967: 110.

citing iterative meaning for the suffix elsewhere (Rix 1986: 8, 13). On the other hand, Kujoŗe (1973: 92 n. 1) cites Porzig as having *-*ske/o*- 'denoting a process of intermittent or jerky actions'; similar is Risch's (1974: 272) 'ein schrittweises Vorwärtskommen', cited above.

It is therefore popular opinion that *-*ske/o*- was at a prehistoric stage in some way linked with iterative meaning. Hittite and the Greek iteratives in -(ε)σκον seem to be the major reasons for this view; morphological reconstruction of the individual forms explained above (§ 3.1) tells us little about their meaning. The point is reasonable enough: is it merely a coincidence that the oldest attested Indo-European language shows the same meaning for *-*ske/o*- as that shown by a notably peculiar phenomenon of Homeric Greek? This question, particularly regarding the latter formation, will be taken up in Chapter 5;[146] for now, it will suffice to review the role that *-*ske/o*- may have had in the Indo-European verbal system.

4.3. The role of *-*ske/o*- in Proto-Indo-European

Many languages show *-*ske/o*- as a present formant; it seems therefore to have had this role in the parent language,[147] accompanied by several other present-forming affixes (of which reduplication, the nasal formations and *-*ye/o*- were the most notable);[148] by contrast, the only major aorist formant seems to have been *-*s*-.[149] Yet the parent language could also form presents and aorists without the addition of any affix at all to the root.[150]

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[146]See especially Chapter 5 § 7.

[147]For some recent general discussions of the very complicated subject of the Indo-European verb, with further bibliography, see Barton 1982: 35 and n. 12; Rix 1986; Back 1991; Szemerényi 1996: 230-2; and Giannakis 1997: 22-30.

[148]Cf. e.g. Rix 1998: 15-20.

[149]Cf. e.g. Rix 1998: 20-1.

[150]Cf. e.g. Rix 1998: 14-15 (present), 20 (aorist).

There are two possibilities which may account for this state of affairs. The major question is, in the oldest situation that we can reconstruct, was the major verbal distinction temporal or aspectual? Opinion is divided. Kuryłowicz (1964: 90-135) has argued that the present stem of ancient pairs of the type present **dhēti* : imperfect **(e)dhēt* acquired 'a semantic shade of *punctuality*' (1964: 98), so that they are replaced with earlier iterative forms such as **didhēti* (or **dedhēti*) : **(e)didhēt*; the old ousted imperfect **(e)dhēt* then becomes an aorist (1964: 104-5). In this schema, **-ske/o-* is said to join certain other affixes (such as the dental formant found in Latin *fundō*, Gothic *giutan*, and the guttural in βρῡ́χω, Slavic *gryzǫ*) in being originally denominative, and only secondarily deverbative (Kuryłowicz 1964: 105). Like the nasal affix and reduplication, **-ske/o-* was once an iterative-forming affix, which came to be understood as durative beside an ousted punctual present or inchoative beside a stative one — whence the various meanings in the daughter languages (1964: 106-9). The various different present-forming affixes pertain to different renovations of the ancient verbal system.[151]

According to Szemerényi (1996: 302-5), however, present : aorist pairs such as **bhéugeti* 'flees' : **(é)bhugét* 'fled' acquire an imperfect **(é)bhéuget*, so that an aspectual distinction arises in the past; competing paradigms of the form **yunég-ti* 'yokes' : **yuneg-t* beside **yeug-s-ti* : **yeug-s-t* merged into **yunégti* : **yeugst*.

Another possibility takes into account the fact that the parent language seemed to show either a root present or a root aorist for a given verb, but never both: perhaps there were two classes of roots, one aorist-forming and the other present-forming, with affixes required to fill the gaps.[152] In this case, aorist-forming roots might have been originally 'telic' in meaning (**deh*$_3$- 'give', **dheh*$_1$- 'place') and present-forming ones 'atelic' (**es-* 'be', **ey-* 'go'); affixes were used to create the required missing

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[151]This latter idea seems first to have been put forward by Brunel: cf. Giannakis 1997: 15.

[152]Cf. Hoffmann 1970, especially 27 ff., followed by Cowgill 1974: 562-3; and now also Rix 1998: 9.

'imperfective' and 'perfective' forms respectively.[153] So from the root aorist of *deh_3- 'give', which produced Vedic *á-dā-t* and Greek ἔ- δο- μεν 'gave', came a reduplicated present (whence Vedic *dá-dā-ti* and Greek δί- δω- σι 'gives'); whereas *$wegh$- 'convey' gave a root present (Vedic *váh-ati* 'conveys'), from which there was formed a suffixed aorist (Vedic *á-vāk-ṣ-ur* 'they have conveyed'). This means that some forms must be reinterpreted: *peh_3-, which gives Vedic *á-pāt*, must then mean 'take a swallow/sip' rather than 'drink', and *g^weh_2-/*g^wem- 'take a step' and not 'go'. The affix *-*ske/o*- would thus have been one of several present-forming affixes, all presumably with different meanings. This reconstructed system has typological support from Russian and also from child language.[154]

Cowgill (1974, 1979), arguing in favour of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis,[155] proposes a role for the present-forming affixes which might explain their function. In his view (Cowgill 1979: 33-6), the parent language once had two types of verbs, which he defines as 'verbs proper' and 'nominal verbs'; there was only tense distinction, not aspect. When Proto-Indo-Hittite split up, the former type of verbs gave Proto-Indo-European present and aorist forms in both voices, and Anatolian the *mi*-conjugation and the medio-passives; the latter gave the Indo-European perfect and the Anatolian *ḫi*-conjugation.[156] At about the time that the split occurred, two events must have happened: aspect was introduced, and the present tense forms of telic stems were lost. The result was that aorists were left behind, which were used as perfective forms. In this way a contrast in aspect was created, and to fill the gap in Proto-Indo-

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[153]The terminology used here is that of Cowgill, which does not seem consonant with Binnick's (1991) explanation of the various terms and their role in the different types of aspect, distinguishing as he does between grammatical and lexical aspect (Chapter 5 § 5.1 and n. 50); see further Chapter 5 § 8.

[154]Cf. Hewson and Bubeník 1997: 30 and 33-4 respectively.

[155]According to this theory, Pre-Anatolian and Proto-Indo-European both came from a common ancestor, Proto-Indo-Hittite. On the history of the question, see especially Cowgill 1974: 557-8, 1979: 25-8; and Back 1991: 280.

[156]For more details on Cowgill's class of nominal verbs, which find a good typological parallel in Semitic, see Cowgill 1979: 34.

European, imperfectives were formed on telic roots by means of such affixes outlined above (most notably reduplication, the nasal infix, *-*ske/o*- and *-*ye/o*-). In Proto-Indo-Hittite these had had mutually distinct meanings, rather than being mere imperfective markers, as they became in Proto-Indo-European. Hence we find such pairs as the Vedic root aorist *ádhāt* beside present *dádhāti* (reduplication), and Greek root aorist βλῆτο beside present βάλλω (either nasal infix, where λλ comes from *λν, or suffixed with *-*ye/o*-, in which case λλ derives from *λ*y*).[157] At this stage too, perfectives of atelic roots were formed from the lengthened grade of the root suffixed by the morpheme *-*s*-, as in the case of Vedic *ávākṣur* beside *váhati*. In pre-Anatolian, however, it was the nominal verb formations that were used as imperfectives for telic verbs: hence *$dhóh_1$-*e* gave Hittite *da-a-i* 'places'. Later, Anatolian lost its aspectual distinctions, and so its perfective stems of both atelic and telic formations.

Hence, according to Cowgill's account, we find affixes which are used only to mark imperfective aspect in Indo-European languages but which have a more clearly distinct function in Anatolian: in this way the nasal infix has transitive function, and *-*ske/o*- an iterative one, in Hittite. If this theory is correct, it also explains why *-*ske/o*- seems to have such a wide range of meanings in languages other than Hittite, which preserves its meaning best: in which case, the sense of *-*ske/o*- found in Hittite, iterative-durative, is closest to the earliest meaning that can be reconstructed for our suffix.[158]

Although we shall probably never be able to discern the true meaning of *-*ske/o*-, the multiplicity of present formants which we may reconstruct for Proto-Indo-European – Rix lists as many as twenty-one (1998: 14-20) – implies that there

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[157]For the former interpretation of the suffixation here see Cowgill 1979: 35 and Rix 1998: 185, 186 n. 4; and for the latter Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. βάλλω and Lejeune 1972: 208 n. 5.

[158]For a recent different view of the development of tense and aspect in the Indo-European verbal system, with bibliography, see Hewson and Bubeník 1997: 46-7, 229-48.

were once many roles to be filled. The Hittite and Homeric Greek iterative-durative may, therefore, be the answer for *-*ske/o*-.

5. Conclusion: Proto-Indo-European *-*ske/o*-

These, therefore, are the matters about which we can be reasonably certain concerning *-*ske/o*-. It is an inherited Indo-European present-forming suffix which once took the zero-grade of the root; not only can we reconstruct the suffix itself, but also several of the verbal stems in which it was used.

Other matters are more open to discussion. Morphologically, further analysis of the suffix itself must remain doubtful, although it has been argued for by several scholars. The validity of the reconstruction of a further suffix *-*iske/o*-, which would have occurred in complementary distribution with *-*ske/o*-, is also debatable. Nor is a connection with formally similar nominal suffixes certain. Semantically, the situation is complicated. There are numerous theories, and it is tempting to say that *-*ske/o*- was iterative-durative, but it is advisable to remain sceptical: one needs to have a particular theory of the Indo-European verb to ascribe to, and to know what period of the proto-language one is referring to, in order to place *-*ske/o*- in context. This whole analysis is of course affected by the fact that the data from Greek have been omitted – to which we now shall turn, beginning with four chapters on -σκ- in early Greek, largely that of Homer.

Chapter 3

The Morphology of Verbs in - σκω in Homer

1. Introduction

The earliest form of Greek which gives sufficient data to analyse verbs in -σκω is that of Homer.[1] This is not to say that the language of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is to be viewed as an unquestionably coherent whole; but we may say that it dates roughly to the eighth-seventh centuries BC, and it is therefore of undoubted philological importance. Different layers of composition in Homer can result in confused and confusing data; but the epic language is a necessary bridge between the Indo-European reconstructions already discussed and the more easily interpretable patterns of Classical Greek yet to come.

Four chapters on the analysis of - σκ- in early Greek begin here with an examination of the morphology of presents in - σκω in Homeric Greek. Chapter Four will concern the semantics of these same forms, and the iteratives in -(ε)σκον will be dealt with in Chapter Five. In conclusion to this part of the thesis, Chapter Six will summarise what can be said about - σκ- in early Greek.

1.1. Homer's works: corpus and data

1.1.1. The corpus

The corpus to be used comprises the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the two Ancient Greek epics generally referred to as Homeric. The text used throughout is that of the Oxford Classical Text of Homer's works: for the *Iliad*, Monro and Allen 1920, and for the *Odyssey*, Allen 1917-19. Use was also made of the recent editions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by van Thiel (1996, 1991), and of West's (1998) new Teubner edition of *Iliad* 1-12. Data were collected from Gehring 1891, and checks were made with the

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[1]On the scanty evidence to be found in Mycenaean Greek, see Chapter 6.

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae CD-ROM #D (1992).[2] Glosses are taken (and sometimes adapted for the sake of brevity) from Cunliffe 1924.[3]

1.1.2. The data

Twenty-three verbs are found in the work of Homer which clearly end in the suffix - σκω: ἀλδήσκω 'grow, increase'; ἀλύσκω 'escape' (with variants ἀλυσκάζω 'escape; play the shirker' and ἀλυσκάνω 'escape'); ἀπαφίσκω 'trick'; ἀραρίσκω 'fit together'; ἐπ- αυρίσκομαι 'touch; incur'; βάσκω 'come, go'; - βλώσκω 'go, come'; βόσκω 'feed'; γηράσκω 'grow old'; γιγνώσκω 'know, perceive'; δειδίσκομαι 'welcome, greet'; διδάσκω 'teach, instruct'; ἐΐσκω 'make like; compare with; think'; εὑρίσκω 'find; find out; incur'; ἡλάσκω 'rove, flit about' (with variant ἡλασκάζω 'wander aimlessly about; skulk'); θνήσκω 'die'; θρῴσκω 'leap, spring'; ἱλάσκομαι 'propitiate'; ἴσκω 'make like; liken to; speak feigningly; guess'; κικλήσκω 'summon; call'; μιμνήσκω 'remind'; πιφαύσκω 'make manifest; declare'; and τιτύσκομαι 'make ready; take aim'.[4]

In addition to these forms, there are five further verbs which need to be studied here. Firstly, there are those presents which may show the reflex of Indo-European *-*ske/o*- in a different form due to phonological change. Two of these are generally held to have been formed in this way, and are uncontroversial: μίσγω 'mix together; bring together' and πάσχω 'suffer; encounter'. The origins of ἔρχομαι 'go; come'

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[2]The latter, however, uses Monro and Allen's (1920) text for the *Iliad* and Von der Mühll's (1962) for the *Odyssey*, which do not always agree with Gehring's readings (from La Roche's editions). Spot checks have been made to verify that this makes little difference to this study.

[3]Figures do not include the Homeric Hymns, but material from both these poems and also Hesiod is discussed where relevant; they contain no presents in - σκω which do not also occur in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, apart from ἐβίβασκε at *h.Ap.* 133 (on which see § 4.3 and n. 166 below).

[4]I have adopted the practice in this thesis of citing forms which may show - ι- added to long vowel stem as follows: θνήσκω, θρῴσκω, but γιγνώσκω, κικλήσκω, μιμνήσκω. This is also done by e.g. LSJ (s.vv.) and Chantraine (1986: I. 317, although the headword for θρῴσκω in his etymological dictionary is θρώσκω (1968-80)), but is necessarily arbitrary: see further § 3.2.5 below.

and ὀρχέομαι 'dance' as verbs in - σκω rest on less certain phonological grounds. One further verb, πτωσκάζω 'cower', shows the suffix - σκάζω but apparently never - σκω. There are thus twenty-eight forms to be analysed here. Two further instances which could arguably have been included will be discussed in Chapter 5, because in Homer they are apparently iterative preterites: ἔσκον 'be' (perhaps inherited; cf. Chapter 5 § 6.1) and (ἔ)φασκον 'say, assert' (later the imperfect of φάσκω; cf. Chapter 5 § 6.2).

1.2. Morphological Classification

These verbs may be classed into six different morphological groups as follows. Firstly, there is the set which shows the ancient formation of zero-grade root with *-*ske/o*-: here we find three presents in original - σκω which may have cognates in *-*ske/o*- elsewhere (βάσκω, μίσγω, ἔρχομαι); the iterative preterite ἔσκον might also fall here. The second class will be divided in two. Firstly, there are five verbs which appear to follow the same pattern as the inherited forms (ἀλύσκω, βόσκω, ἴσκω, ὀρχέομαι, πάσχω); (ἔ)φασκον, if not an iterative, would belong in this category. Secondly in this class, there occur the only other verbs in Homer which also have a monosyllabic root followed by - σκω; these show a long vowel before the suffix and appear to have *seṛ* roots (- βλώσκω, θνῄσκω, θρῴσκω). The third class is the largest, and comprises those verbs in - σκω which show reduplication in - ι- ; I shall deal first of all with those derived from *seṛ* roots (the apparently inherited γιγνώσκω, the perhaps inherited ἰλάσκομαι, κικλήσκω, μιμνήσκω) and then with the remaining three, which show originally non-vocalic stems (διδάσκω, πιφαύσκω, τιτύσκομαι). There are also two verbs which apparently have reduplication in - ε- (δειδίσκομαι, ἐΐσκω), and these form the fourth class. The fifth is comprised of four verbs which show the suffix - ίσκω where the - ι- does not belong to the root (ἀπαφίσκω, ἀραρίσκω, ἐπαυρίσκομαι, εὑρίσκω). Lastly,

there is a miscellaneous group of three further verbs in - σκω which do not fit with the others (ἀλδήσκω, γηράσκω, ἠλάσκω); the one form found only in - σκάζω (πτωσκάζω) will also be classed in this category.[5]

In the following six sections of this chapter I shall examine these six classes of twenty-eight verbs, from the presents derived from zero-grade roots, as reconstructed

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[5]There are a few further possible relics of Indo-European -*ske/o*- in Homeric Greek. A possible loan which shows - σκ- is ἀσκέω 'work on, etc.'; this occurs with present stem only as third person singular imperfect ἤσκειν at *Il.* 3.388, but has an aorist ἤσκησα (five times in the *Iliad*, three in the *Odyssey*) and perfect medio-passive ἤσκηται (*Il.* 10.438), also appearing once as ἐπήσκηται 'it was finished with' (*Od.* 17.266); there is also ἀσκητός 'prepared or fashioned with art' (*Od.* 4.134, 23.189). Chantraine (1968-80 s.v.) gives no likely etymology, but Szemerényi (1972: 252-3) has suggested that this present shows *-*ske/o*-, as a borrowing from Hittite *anišk*-, iterative of *aniya*- 'work' via **ansk*-. The non-present stem ἀσκη- probably occurs in Mycenaean, in the form *a-ke*-: cf. Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.vv. *a-ke-te*, *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$.

There are also three possible instances of nominal relics of old presents in - σκω in Homer. Firstly, there is λέσχη 'public lounge or gathering place' (gloss from Heubeck et al. 1988-92: III.69), found at *Od.* 18.329; this form, from *λεχ- σκᾱ, may come from a present *λέχ- σκομαι (as βοσκή : βόσκω; cf. Frisk 1960-72 s.v. λέσχη; and Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. λέσχη); the root would be **legh*- 'lie down' (cf. Rix 1998: 357-8). Secondly, φάσγανον 'sword' (fifteen times in the *Iliad*, ten in the *Odyssey*; cf. Mycenaean *pa-ka-na*, Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v.) may show, according to Isebaert (1985), that there was once a present *φάσγω or *φάσγομαι from **bhag-ske/o*-, beside the aorist ἔφαγον 'ate; devoured' (suppletive to the present ἐσθίω, and found four times in the *Iliad* and twenty in the *Odyssey*); on the root cf. Rix 1998: 51. Although there is no other evidence for a Proto-Indo-European form, a present *φάσγω is morphologically possible in Greek, since it could well have been derived from the thematic aorist ἔφαγον (cf. e.g. ἀραρίσκω from ἤραρον, and further § 8 below); on these forms see further Frisk 1960-72 s.vv. φαγεῖν, φάσγανον; and Chantraine 1968-80 s.vv. φαγεῖν, φάσγανον. Lastly, in δίσκος 'quoit' (twice in the *Iliad*, four times in the *Odyssey*), we may have a derivative from *δι[κ]σκω; on the other hand, the noun could represent an earlier *δικσκος from δικεῖν 'throw', found in Pindar, Aeschylus and Euripides (cf. Porzig 1927: 165; Frisk 1960-72 s.v. δίσκος; and Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. δικεῖν).

A further lost present in - σκω may be *ἀκαχίσκω, which Schulze (1910: 186), followed by Risch (1974: 299), expected to find rather than attested ἀκαχίζω (aorist ἀκαχεῖν), on account of the Homeric pattern of present in - ίσκω beside thematic aorist, as ἀραρίσκω : ἀραρεῖν (cf. § 6.5 below); the form in - ίσκω would have been avoided to prevent a series of three gutturals. Indeed, non-present forms also occur in ἀκαχ- η- , showing the expected later pattern beside a present in -ίσκω (cf. Homeric ἐπαυρ- ίσκομαι : ἐπαυρ- ήσομαι, and further Chapter 7 § 3, especially 3.1). For a list of forms see Gehring 1891 s.v. ἀκαχίζεις, and for discussion of the reduplicated aorist see Bendahman 1993: 84-7.

for the proto-language, to all the uses of this suffix as present formant in Homeric Greek.

2. Inherited formations

Inherited presents in *-*sḱe/o*- in Greek should, according to the evidence presented above (Chapter 2 § 3.3), show a zero-grade root before an original suffix *-*sḱe/o*-, with the accent once on the thematic vowel. There are at most six verbs inherited from such forms in Ancient Greek: most clearly, βάσκω and μίσγω; ἔρχομαι, which may or may not show a reflex of *-*sḱe/o*-; ἔσκον, which may be inherited; γιγνώσκω, the Greek form of Proto-Indo-European *$g\hat{\eta}h_3$-*sḱe/o*-; and in addition ἰλάσκομαι, perhaps from *$sl̥h_2$-*sḱe/o*-. Only the first three of these forms will be discussed in this section.[6]

2.1. βάσκω

βάσκω 'come, go' is found eight times in the *Iliad* and never in the *Odyssey*.[7] Of these, six are instances of the imperative, and the other two are problematic: ἐπιβασκέμεν (*Il.* 2.234) 'bring within the pale of, involve in' and παρέβασκε (*Il.* 11.104) 'act as παραιβάτης, go beside'. The former, oddly, shows causative meaning; the latter is morphologically ambiguous, thought by some to be an iterative preterite in -(ε)σκον, and not part of βάσκω: for both, see further Chapter 4 § 2.1.1.

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[6]For reconstructions see also Chapter 2 § 3.1. On ἔσκον, which presents morphological and semantic difficulties, see Chapter 5 § 6.1; on γιγνώσκω and ἰλάσκομαι, whose expected Greek reflexes are not found, see §§ 4.1.1 and 4.1.5 below respectively.

[7]It will be noted that, in many cases, many of the figures used in this thesis for verbs of movement do not agree with those of Létoublon (1985). It has proven impossible to reconcile the data, not least because she is herself inconsistent in this matter (listing 117 instances for ἔρχομαι at p. 22, but 111 at p. 60). Differences would also be due to her inclusion of the *Homeric Hymns*, which she does refer to and cite (as at e.g. pp. 10, 124, 135), although she elsewhere implies they are not included (p. 17).

Βάσκω is in competition with βαίνω 'go', which occurs frequently in Homer: the latter's stem, in both present and imperfect tenses, in simple and compound forms, is found 44 times in the *Iliad* and 64 in the *Odyssey*. Non-present forms of this verb are mostly in βη- , but forms showing the old zero-grade βᾰ- also appear. The future occurs in the active once as causative in the compound ἐπιβήσω 'cause to embark' (*Il.* 8.197), but more usually as intransitive βήσομαι (simple at *Il.* 2.339, and in compound form six times in the *Iliad*). There are several different aorists. A sigmatic causative ἔβησα exists (simple six times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*, with preverbs four times and twice in the respective epics) beside the intransitive ἔβην,[8] with causative middle ἀναβησάμην 'cause to embark' (*Od.* 15.475). There is also a 'mixed' aorist[9] ἐβησόμην (five times in each epic in simple form, and, with various preverbs, twenty and ten times in compound form respectively). The root aorist ἔβην is most frequent of all: in simple form alone it occurs 163 times in the *Iliad* and 136 in the *Odyssey*; the wide variety of compounds of this aorist occur 67 and 87 times respectively. It also shows the widest range of archaic forms, with third person plural occurring as both ἔβησαν and ἔβαν, and also with subjunctive βείω, optative βαίην and participle βάς. The perfect βέβηκα, first person plural βέβαμεν, participle βεβαώς, βεβαυῖα, is found seven times in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*, with compounds occurring thirteen and three times respectively; there is also a pluperfect found as third person singular ἐβεβήκει, plural βέβασαν (seventeen times in the *Iliad* and eighteen in the *Odyssey*, with occasional compounds three times and once in the respective epics).

Verbal forms in βᾰ- are not restricted to the few given above. There are occasional reduplicated participial forms: βιβάσθων 'striding, striding along' (*Il.* 13.809, 15.676, 16.534); from *βίβημι, βιβάς 'id.' (*Il.* 3.22, 7.213, 13. 371,

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[8]Cf. Létoublon 1985: 255 n. 15.

[9]On this type of formation see Chantraine 1986-8: I.416-17.

15.307, 686, *Od.* 9.450, 11.539), sometimes found in the manuscripts as βιβῶν;[10] there are also compound forms προβιβάς 'striding along forwards' (*Il.* 13.18, 158, *Od.* 17.27, 15.555); and προβιβῶν 'advancing' (*Il.* 13.807, 16.609).[11] Nominal forms mostly show βᾰ́- , but βη- is also found.[12]

The verb βάσκω is generally held to be cognate with Vedic *gácchati* and Old, Young Avestan *jasaiti*; it would thus be derived from the stem *g^{w} m̥-ske/o-,[13] from the root *g^{w}em-. The latter base is found in a variety of forms in a range of languages (cf. Rix 1998: 187-8); it is very common in Sanskrit, from Vedic onwards[14] but in Greek is only elsewhere certain in βαίνω, and at that only if this form is directly cognate with Latin *veniō* from *g^{w} m̥-ye/o-.[15] The alternative is to derive βάσκω

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[10]Cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.300.

[11]On these forms see further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. βαίνω; and Létoublon 1985: 124.

[12]In βᾰ́- we find ἀμβατός 'capable of being scaled' (*Il.* 6.434, *Od.* 11.316) and καταιβατός 'affording access for descent' (*Od.* 13.110); ἀμφίβασις 'defence of a fallen body' (*Il.* 5.623) and ἔκβασις 'a means of escape from' (*Od.* 5.410); παραιβάτης 'he that goes beside [i.e., the fighter] (in a chariot)' (*Il.* 23.132); χαλκοβατής 'based on, with floor of, bronze' (four times in the *Iliad*, twice in the *Odyssey*); ὑπερβασίη 'trespass; wrongdoing' (three times in the *Iliad*, four in the *Odyssey*); ἐπίβαθρον 'return made for a passage in a ship' (*Od.* 15.449); and 'absolutives' βάδην 'step by step' (*Il.* 13.516) and ἐμβαδόν 'by stepping, by land' (*Il.* 15.505). In βη- , Homer has apparently only ἐπιβήτωρ 'one who mounts' (three times in the *Odyssey*), ἐμπυριβήτης 'made to go or stand upon the fire' (*Il.* 23.702) and βηλός 'threshold' (*Il.* 1.591, 15.23, 23.202). Also related are πρόβατα 'cattle, flocks and herds' (*Il.* 14.124, 23.550; cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. πρόβατα) and πρόβασις 'id.' (*Od.* 2.75). On the perhaps related ἠλίβατος (three times in each epic), see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. A related proper noun is the Phaeacian 'Αναβησίνεως (*Od.* 8.113); there is also Εὐρυβάτης (three times in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*).

[13]Whether Tocharian A *kumnäṣ*, B *känmaṣṣäṃ* 'come' is also connected is controversial: see Klingenschmitt 1982: 64 and n. 3; and Hackstein 1995: 306-7.

[14]Cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *GAM*.

[15]This depends on the change of **my* to **ny* in Greek, for which there are apparently only two possible further examples: that of κοινός 'common', perhaps derived from an earlier **kom-yos* – although Lejeune (1972: 155-6) states that this is doubtful since **kom* (Latin *cum*) shows no other possible reflexes in Greek; and that of βαμβαίνω 'chatter with one's teeth' (*Il.* 10.375), which may derive from an earlier *βαμ- βαμ-*yω* (cf. Hock 1984: 92). On the etymology of βαίνω and its link with *veniō* see also Létoublon 1985: 142-3. Hackstein (1995: 306) finds it unlikely that a root would have presents in both *-ske/o- and *-ye/o- in the proto-language, and suggests that the latter pair results from a common innovation of Latin and Greek.

from *g^wh_2-sḱe/o-, with the zero-grade of the by-form *g^weh_2-, which is also found in Vedic, among other languages (cf. Rix 1998: 183). This is is the preform reconstructed by Ruijgh (1985: 141), but it calls into question the equation with *gácchati*, leading us to expect ***jicchati*. Hence, beside the many forms in Greek showing βη- from full-grade *g^weh_2-, the cases of βᾰ- are ambiguous between *g^wh_2- and *$g^w\mathring{m}$-; Mycenaean *a-pi-qo-to*, however, seems to imply a base containing a vocalic nasal.[16]

2.2. ἔρχομαι

If it is indeed derived from a verb in *-sḱe/o-, then ἔρχομαι 'go, proceed; etc.' is by far the most common of all these verbs to be found in Homer; it is also the only verb from this first category which was common in later Greek. The simple present occurs 51 times in the *Iliad* and 64 in the *Odyssey*; eight different compound forms occur,[17] totalling fifteen and eighteen instances for the respective epics. It shows no imperfect, although all other parts of the present system occur bar the optative; the gap for the former is filled by ἦια (including compound forms, over 100 times in both epics combined), the imperfect of εἶμι 'go, proceed; depart; come, etc.' (over 400 times).[18]

No related non-present forms occur for ἔρχομαι. Several suppletive forms are found instead, apparently from a root *h_1*leudh*-, glossed by Rix as 'steigen, wachsen' (cf. Rix 1998: 221-2).[19] The future is ἐλεύσομαι, found in simple form

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[16]Cf. Lejeune 1972: 192 n. 6; and Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v. *a-pi-qo-to*, with further bibliography.

[17]These are: ἀνέρχομαι 'go up; come back'; ἀπέρχομαι 'depart'; διέρχομαι 'pierce; pass through'; εἰσέρχομαι 'go to; enter; etc.'; ἐπέρχομαι 'approach; come to; etc.'; κατέρχομαι 'go or come down; put in'; μετέρχομαι 'go to see, etc.'; and παρέρχομαι 'pass; outwit'.

[18]For the etymology of this verb, see Rix 1998: 207-8; for related forms, see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. εἶμι.

[19]Cf. also Létoublon 1985: 251 n. 116 (root *h_1*el*-, with various extensions). For bibliography on the possibly connected ἐλεύθερος, Ἐλευσίς and Ἐλείθυια, see Létoublon 1985: 248 n. 44.

ten times in the *Iliad* and 30 in the *Odyssey*, and in various compound forms four times in the former and twice in the latter. The extremely frequent aorist ἦλθον, also found as ἤλυθον, in all occurs over 250 times in the *Iliad* and over 300 in the *Odyssey* as a simple verb, and 54 and 85 times respectively in its many compound versions. Lastly, there is a perfect εἰλήλουθα, also occurring as the usually compounded ἐλήλουθα, found as simple eleven times in the *Iliad* and fifteen in the *Odyssey*, with occasional compounds ἀπελήλυθα (*Il.* 24.766, *Od.* 19.223, 24.310) and ἐπελήλυθα (*Od.* 4.268); the pluperfect is εἰληλούθει (six times in the *Iliad*).

Further forms are also linked with ἔρχομαι semantically.[20] There is a future ἔσομαι (including compound forms, four times in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*), with aorist εἰσάμην (eleven, twice);[21] imperfect ἔκιον 'go, come, etc.' (twelve times in the *Odyssey*);[22]and stative present οἶχομαι 'go, come, etc.' (34 and 62 times in the respective epics, with compounds in ἀπο- , ἐπι- , ἐκ- , μετα- and παρα- totalling 27 and 29 occurrences respectively).[23]

The origin of the present ἔρχομαι is still controversial, there being two possibilities.[24] Firstly, as Meillet (1929) argued, this form may have come from **ser-gh*-, being then linked with such forms as Vedic *sísarti* 'rush',[25] Armenian *ert'am* 'come' and Greek ἔρπω 'move'; the aspirate in the suffix could have caused the loss of the old initial **s*- by dissimilation after it became **h*, with *ἑρ- χε/ο- becoming

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[20]See further Chapter 4 § 2.1.3.

[21]These forms are not etymologically related to εἶμι, although they were felt to have been; hence Gehring (1891) lists them s.v. εἶμι, but Cunliffe 1924 s.v. ἴημι[2]. See further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἔσομαι, 1986-8: I.293-4, 412; Létoublon 1985: 80-1; and Rix 1998: 609-10.

[22]On this form see further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. κίω; Létoublon 1985: 88; and Rix 1998: 309.

[23]On the etymology of οἶχομαι see Létoublon 1985: 97-8; and Rix 1998: 263-4.

[24]For criticism of the further view that a form *ἑρθ- σκομαι led to ἔρχομαι, see Szemerényi 1964: 4-5.

[25]On this form see Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *SAR*.

ἐρχε/ο-.[26] An alternative view which goes back to Fick (1874-6: I.20) is that it shows an earlier *ἔρσκομαι; in this case it is to be compared with Vedic *ṛcchắti* 'reach, meet', Old Persian *-ṛsatiy* and Hittite *āraškizzi* 'arrive repeatedly'.[27] This requires that we accept Rix's Law, by which initial laryngeals h_1, h_2 and h_3 are vocalised before a directly following liquid or nasal as ἐ- , ἀ- and ὀ- respectively, and derive ἐρχ- from *h_1r̥sk-.[28]

Even if Rix's Law is accepted, however, it is debatable whether or not the change of the inherited cluster *-*rsk*- to -ρχ- is phonologically plausible. Rix's only example of this development is ὀρχέομαι from *h_3r̥ske/o-, which is equally doubtful (cf.§ 3.1.4 below); there are, however, several examples of *s* aspirating a previous consonant when followed by a further one (cf. Rix 1970: 98-9). Such are, with velar, πλοχμός from *πλοκσμος, λύχνος from *λυκσνος and ἐχθρός from **ekstros*; and, with labial, ἐφθός from *ἔπστός. The phoneme *s* is apparently retained after a nasal or dental (as in e.g. πάσχω from *παθσκω, δεσπότης from *δεμσ- πότης), but after a liquid the same change seems to take place as that after a labial or velar: the loss of *s* in πτέρνη from **pĕ̄rsnā* (Gothic *fairzna*, Vedic *pā́rṣṇi-*)[29] occurs by way of *h*, since we also find ὁρμή beside ὄρνυμι and ἁρμός, ἅρμα beside ἁραρίσκω – thus showing that the combination -ρ- σμο- became first *-ρhμο- before then -ρμο- . Hence Rix believes that the aspiration could have been carried over in the

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[26]The connection with Armenian *ert'am* is however apparently doubtful: cf. Clackson 1994: 181, with bibliography.

[27]Cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *AR*^{2} on the Indo-Iranian forms and Puhvel 1984- s.v. *ar-*, *er-* on the Hittite. How the Old Persian datum should be read has been debated: Schmitt (1964-5, followed by Rix 1970: 98 and 109 n. 88) argued for *ṛsatiy*, but this has since been disputed: in his criticism of Weber's view that *rasatiy* was modelled on *jasatiy*, Schmitt (1975 [1977]: 47) was not followed by Szemerényi (1996: 273 n. 2).

[28]Cf. Rix 1970, especially 98-100; Mayrhofer in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: I/1.129-130, both with further bibliography; and Hoenigswald 1993: 462.

[29]On the latter cf. now Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *pā́rṣṇi-*.

cases of ἔρχομαι and ὀρχέομαι, even though here the aspirated velar follows, rather than precedes, *s*: thus *ρσκ > *ρhκ > ρχ.[30]

The most recent suggestion for the etymology of ἔρχομαι is to be found in a work edited by Rix himself (Rix 1998: 212 n. 8): ἔρχομαι could have come from a thematicisation of the root present from *$h_1 erg\hat{h}$- 'ascend' (on which cf. Rix 1998: 212), and the Greek form could therefore be a result of *$h_1 erg\hat{h}$-*e/o*- and *$h_1 r̥sk\hat{e}$/*o*- falling together.

Létoublon (1985: 71-2) comes to a mixed conclusion as to the correct origin of ἔρχομαι. Her analysis of the use of ἔρχομαι in Homer as durative (on which see Chapter 4 § 2.1.3) favours a link with the same root as that of ἔρπω and *sísarti*, and more distantly that of forms in **sr-ew*- (ῥέω 'flow, run' and *srávati* 'flow'). On the other hand, she feels that the durative and sometimes iterative value of the form could well come from *-*sk̂e/o*-. Therefore no morphological, phonological or semantic argument has been adduced to show conclusively that ἔρχομαι does or does not continue an inherited present in *-*sk̂e/o*-; it is not unconventional, however, to believe that it does.[31]

2.3. μίσγω

The simple verb μίσγω 'mix together; mix with; bring together (in fight)', medio-passive 'mingle with, join, reach; associate with; have sexual intercourse, etc.' is rarely found in the active (infinitive at *Od.* 20.203, imperfect at *Il.* 3.270, *Od.*

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[30]In his section on the consonant combination of stop plus **s*, Lejeune states that, except in cases where dissimilation occurs, a labial or guttural stop followed by **s* became φ or χ respectively before a consonant (1972: 74). Especially notable in this connection is αἰχμή, which is attested in Mycenaean as a_3-*ka-sa-ma*: this reveals an earlier form *αἰκσμᾱ́ (cf. Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v. a_3-*ka-sa-ma*). Further details on the possible combinations are given under the subject of **s* between consonants (1972: 137-8). Lejeune does not mention ἔρχομαι in this connection, however, deriving it from **ser-gh*- (1972: 93).

[31]Cf. e.g. Oettinger 1979: 329; and Sihler 1995: 505-6.

1.110). The simple medio-passive μίσγομαι occurs six times in the *Iliad* and four in the *Odyssey*, with imperfect twice and four times respectively. Non-present forms show - γ- , devoiced - κ- , and the combinatory - ξ- . The aorist in the active is thus ἔμειξα[32] (*Il.* 15.510, *Od.* 4.41), in the medio-passive μίκτο (*Il.* 11.354, 16.813), ἔμικτο (*Od.* 1.433) and in the morphological passive ἐμίχθην (eleven times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*) and ἐμίγην (seventeen each in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*). The perfect is only found as medio-passive participle μεμιγμένος (once in the *Iliad* and five times in the *Odyssey*), with pluperfect ἐμέμικτο (*Il.* 4.438). Future passive meaning is found both for μιγήσομαι (*Il.* 10.365) and for the morphological middle μείξομαι (*Od.* 6.136, 24.314). There are also the iterative forms μισγέσκετο (*Od.* 18.325) and ἐμισγέσκοντο (*Od.* 20.7). Compounds are ἀναμίσγω 'mix up' (*Od.* 10.235), aorist participle ἀμμείξας (*Il.* 24.529); ἐπιμίσγομαι 'mingle with, have dealings or intercourse with' (twice in each epic); μεταμίσγω 'lump with; set or place among' (*Od.* 18.310), future active μεταμείξω (*Od.* 22.221); aorist passive προμιγῆναι 'have sexual intercourse with in anticipation of another' (*Il.* 9.452); and συμμίσγομαι 'mingle with' (*Il.* 2.753). A nominal derivative from μίσγω itself is seen in μισγ-άγκεια 'place where two glens join their streams' (*Il.* 4.453);[33] there is also a further present μιγάζομαι 'have sexual intercourse' (*Od.* 8.271).[34]

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[32]For the aorist and future forms with stem ending in - ξ- , the Oxford Classical Text is inconsistent regarding whether to read μιξ- (Allen's (1917-19) text of the *Odyssey*) or μειξ- (Monro and Allen's (1920) text of the *Iliad*); I follow Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. μείγνυμι, 1986-8: I.13) in writing μειξ- here.

[33]The second element of the compound is ἄγκος 'bend; glen, valley' (three times in the *Iliad*, twice in the *Odyssey*); Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. μείγνυμι) supposes an earlier *μισγ-αγκής.

[34]Also related are the adverbs μίγδα 'mingled, in one mass, with' (*Il.* 8.437, *Od.* 24.77) and ἐπιμίξ 'mingled together, etc.' (four times in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*); cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. μείγνυμι. On the perhaps related feminine adjective ἀμιχθαλοέσσα (*Il.* 24.753), see his entry s.v. ἀμιχθαλόεις.

Although μίσγω appears to have come from *μιγ- σκω,[35] other languages show relics of a present *$mi\hat{k}$-ske/o-, with zero-grade of a root *$mei\hat{k}$- (cf. Rix 1998: 385).[36] In Italic we apparently find Praenestine Latin *misc* (*CIL* 560) and Latin *misceō*,[37] as well as various Celtic forms[38] and several Germanic ones.[39] There may also be a correspondent in Vedic, the middle participle *micchamāna-*.[40] According to Keller (1992: 69-71), Sanskrit forms from this root in *-*s*- and Baltic ones in *-*st*- are also to be connected. The root aorist whose present was *$mi\hat{k}$-ske/o- is preserved in (ἔ)μικτο, reformed in ἔμειξα (cf. Rix 1998: 385 and n. 2).

Regarding the problematic phonological development within Greek from earlier μίγ- σκω, there are two possibilities. It could be that root μιγ- (as found in other Greek forms) gave *μιγσκ- , with the γ voicing the following group and then becoming lost. On the other hand, perhaps first of all devoicing occurred, so that *μίγ- σκω > *μίκσκω > *μίσκω; the form μίσγω would then result from the influence of other forms in μιγ- .[41]

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[35]Cf. e.g. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. μείγνυμι, 1991: 224; and Rix 1998: 385 and n. 4. The old suggestion made by Wackernagel of a connection with Latin *mergō* is no longer accepted: cf. Keller 1992: 72 n. 53.

[36]Rix (1998: 385 n. 1) explains Greek μιγ- as deriving from a voiced variant *$mei\hat{g}$- / *meig-, generalised at the expense of *$mi\hat{k}$-; Keller (1992: 68-9), on the other hand, reconstructs *mei-k/g-, an extended form of a root *mei-, which expresses the notion of contact.

[37]Exceptionally, the verb has become part of the *-eō, -ēre* conjugation; the one instance of *misc*, if it is not short for *miscē*, is the only relic of the older form. On this verb in Latin see Keller 1992: 65-8, 74-7; for bibliography on the form *misc* see also Rix 1998: 385 n. 5.

[38]These include Welsh *(cy)msgaf* 'mix' and Old Irish *mescaid* 'mix, confuse', although the latter is problematic; see further Keller 1992: 72-3.

[39]Such as Old English *miscian*, Old High German *miscen*, which however may be the result of the loaning of Latin *misceō* into western Germanic *miskan*; see further Keller 1992: 73-4.

[40]Cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *MEKṢ*; and Rix 1998: 385 and n. 3, with bibliography; the former glosses 'rührig', the latter 'aufgewühlt (?)'. The form is used descriptively, in praise of snakes: cf. further Scheftelowitz 1906: 87, 1928: 95-6.

[41]For the former view, cf. Kretschmer 1909: 16 and Wathelet 1973: 380; for the latter, Lejeune 1972: 118 and n. 1 and Keller 1992: 72 n. 54, citing an observation made by Monteil.

Although historically a form in - σκ- , it would seem that μίσγω was no longer understood as such by the time of the later epic. An interesting parallel for the forms in μισγεσκ- , also from the *Odyssey*, is afforded by the only other instance of - (ε)σκ- added to a stem already in - σκω or *-*ske/o*-: for we find from βόσκω the form βοσκέσκονθ' (*Od.* 12.355).[42] In the case of μίσγω, this lack of recognition of *-*ske/o*- is shown both by nominal μισγάγκεια and by the change of *- σκω to - σγω; in βόσκω, it is clear that -σκω was no longer seen as a present formant since it is found in the future βοσκήσω, first at *Od.* 17.559.[43]

2.4. Summary: inherited formations

Homeric Greek therefore shows good evidence for *$g^{w}\underset{\circ}{m}$-*ske/o*- (βάσκω), probably *mik-*ske/o*- (μίσγω) and quite possibly *$h_1\underset{\circ}{r}$-*ske/o*- (ἔρχομαι), all with the expected zero-grade of the root. In addition to the reformed *$\hat{g}\underset{\circ}{n}h_3$-*ske/o*- apparently found in γιγνώσκω (§ 4.1.1 below), there may also be relics of *h_1s-*ske/o*- (ἔσκον, Chapter 5 § 6.1) and *$s\underset{\circ}{l}h_2$-*ske/o*- (ἰλάσκομαι, § 4.1.5 below).

3. Formations which continue the ancient pattern

In addition to these perhaps inherited forms, the Indo-European pattern of zero-grade root with *-*ske/o*- is continued in Greek in two further ways, which will be dealt with separately in this section. In the first place, four verbs seem to show the zero-grade in exactly the same way as those listed in § 2 above. These are ἀλύσκω, βόσκω, ἴσκω and πάσχω; the roots of all four show vocalic alternations which imply that they are ancient, but there are no corresponding forms in other languages.

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[42]Cf. similarly Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I. 710.

[43]On βοσκήσω, and later noun βόσκημα, see below, § 3.1.2. The formation of a non-present stem from the present without removal of the latter's distinctive formant(s) seems to indicate misinterpretation of that stem, as is clearly the case with διδάσκω (giving adjective αὐτοδίδακτος 'self-taught' and various verbal forms: cf. § 4.2.1 below).

Additionally, (ἔ)φασκον could be classed here, apparently an iterative preterite which later shows a present (cf. Chapter 5 § 6.2). None of these five bar the latter, however, has a good Indo-European etymology.

Secondly, there are three verbs which show presents in - σκω of a form that is regular for *seṭ* roots, but none of which has a certain etymology. These are - βλώσκω, θνήσκω and θρώσκω, which show the same phonological development as the expected *γνώσκω[44] from *$g\hat{\text{e}}nh_3$-*ske/o*-.

3.1. Formations with zero-grade of the root

3.1.1. ἀλύσκω

'Αλύσκω 'escape' is found only at *Od.* 22.363, 382; it also has the collateral suffixed presents ἀλυσκάζω 'escape; play the shirker' (*Il.* 5.253, 6.443, *Od.* 17.581) and imperfect ἀλύσκανε 'escape' (*Od.* 22.330).[45] There is a rare future ἀλύξω (*Il.* 10.371, *Od.* 17.547, 19.558) and a quite common aorist ἤλυξα (eight times in the *Iliad*, sixteen in the *Odyssey*), also found in the compound form ὑπ- ήλυξα 'keep away from; get away; escape' (twice and three times respectively); this same stem is found in nominal ὑπάλυξις 'a possibility or the means of escape' (*Il.* 22.270, *Od.* 23.287). Related are the present ἀλέομαι 'escape, avoid' (*Il.* 18.586), also ἀλεύομαι (*Od.* 24.29), which has an aorist ἀλέασθαι, ἀλεύασθαι (25 times in the *Iliad*, sixteen in the *Odyssey*); there are also compound aorist forms ὑπαλευάμενος 'escape (from the power of)' (*Od.* 15.275) and ὑπεξαλέασθαι 'keep away from the reach of' (*Il.* 15.180).[46]

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[44]On the authenticity of this form, see § 4.1.1 below.

[45]On the use of the suffixes - άζω and - άνω to create collateral forms in Homer, cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.315-16 and 337-8 respectively; cf. also ἠλάσκω / ἠλασκάζω (§ 7.3 below), and further Chapter 4 § 2.2.

[46]Connected forms are ἀλέη 'means of escape' (*Il.* 22.301), ἀλεωρή 'shrinking from the foe; means of defence' (three times in the *Iliad*) and present ἀλεείνω 'escape, etc.' (eighteen times in the *Iliad*,

The present ἀλύσκω, although apparently a formation peculiar to Greek, could have been derived via the ancient pattern from an earlier *h_2*lu-ske/o-*; hence one can reconstruct a root *h_2*lew-*, which also occurs in Tocharian (cf. Rix 1998: 248). In this case, the non-present forms in ἀλυξ- are from *ἀλυσκ- σ- , a result of the extension of the present stem; this also occurs in Homer with forms in διδαξ- , which seems to be from διδασκ- σ- .[47]

The present ἀλέομαι can be derived from the same root, via *ἀλέϝομαι from an ancient thematic present *h_2*léw-e/o-*. Rix (1998: 248) has ἀλεύομαι as possibly due to the aorist ἀλεύασθαι, itself perhaps from ?*h_2*lḗw-s- / *h_2*léw-s-*.[48] Hackstein (1995: 216) notes that Tocharian B *alāsk-*, A *āläs-* 'keep away, ward off' could be cognate with ἀλύσκω, but argues against this possibility on morphological grounds. Given the lack of correspondences outside Greek, therefore, inherited origin for this present in - σκω is doubtful.

3.1.2. βόσκω

The present active βόσκω 'feed, tend; nourish, support' is found eight times in the *Odyssey*, with the imperfect occurring once in the *Iliad*; the medio-passive βόσκομαι 'feed, graze' occurs five times in the earlier epic and six in the later one, nearly all instances being participial. Two forms occur in the *Odyssey* which imply that by this time the stem βοσκ- has been misinterpreted as not showing the present formant - σκ- : one case of an iterative imperfect in - σκ- , βοσκέσκονθ' (*Od.* 12.355);[49] and a future which retains the - σκ- of the present, βοσκ- ήσω (*Od.* 17.559). The latter is formed by addition of the suffix - ήσω to the present stem, as

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eight in the *Odyssey*). On the perhaps related group of forms in ἀλυ- , such as ἀλύω 'be beside oneself from pain or grief', see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἀλύω.

[47]See § 4.2.1 below, and cf. also the extension of present μισγ- and βοσκ- (§§ 2.3, 3.1.2 respectively).

[48]Alternatively, the aorist could be a root formation: cf. Hackstein 1995: 215-16.

[49]Cf. iteratives μισγέσκετο and ἐμισγέσκοντο beside μίσγω, § 2.3 above.

also occurs for e.g. future ἀλεξ- ήσω from present ἀλέξω;[50] a closer morphological parallel, but one from outside Homer, is aorist διδασκ- ῆ- σαι (cf. § 4.2.1 below). The stem βοσκη- is extended to form the noun βόσκη- μα 'beast, food' by the time of Aeschylus.[51]

Most related forms in Homer, however, show the stem βω- / βο- ,[52] apparently found first of all as second element in Mycenaean forms such as *qo-u-qo-ta* = *Γ^{w}ουγ^{w}οτᾱς (cf. βουβότας 'herdsman', Pindar *I.* 6.32) and *su-qo-ta* = *συγ^{w}ώ/ότᾱς = συβώτης, συβότης.[53] In the pair βω- / βο- we appear to have an ancient vocalic alternation of a full-grade *$g^{w}eh_3$- beside zero-grade *$g^{w}h_3$-.[54]

3.1.3. ἴσκω

The verb ἴσκω 'make like; liken to, deem like, take for; speak feigningly; conjecture, guess' occurs in Homer in participial form at *Il.* 11.799, 16.41 and *Od.* 4.279; the imperfect is found at *Od.* 19.203 and 22.31. It is generally accepted as

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[50]Cf. further Chantraine 1986-8: I.446-7.

[51]On the later use of the stem βοσκη- in verbs and nouns, see Moussy 1969: 14, 21-2 respectively. We also find nominal forms in - βοσκός and verbs in - βοσκέω: cf. Moussy 1969: 19-20. On the stem in Plato see Chapter 7 § 5.1.

[52]Simple nominal forms found in βο- in Homer are βοτά (plural) 'grazing beasts, beasts of the herd' (*Il.* 18.521), βόσις 'food' (*Il.* 19.268), βοτάνη 'food; feeding-place' (*Il.* 13.493, *Od.* 10.411) and βοτήρ 'herdsman' (*Od.* 15.504), with compound nouns μηλοβοτήρ 'shepherd' (*Il.* 18.529) and συβόσιον 'herd of swine' (*Il.* 11.679=*Od.* 14.101). Compound adjectives are αἰγίβοτος 'browsed on by goats' (*Od.* 4.606, 13.246), βούβοτος 'grazed by cattle' (*Od.* 13.246), εὔβοτος 'having goodly cattle' (*Od.* 15. 406), ἱππόβοτος 'grazed by horses' (eight times in the *Iliad*, seven in the *Odyssey*) and πουλυβότειρα 'that feeds many' (fourteen times in the *Iliad*, three in the *Odyssey*). Forms in βω- are rarer: nouns βώ- τωρ 'herdsman' (*Il.* 12.302, *Od.* 14.102, 17.200), ἐπιβώτωρ 'shepherd or goatherd' (*Od.* 13.222) and συβώτης 'swineherd' (70 times in the *Odyssey*), with adjective βωτιάνειρα 'feeding men, rich in food' (*Il.* 1.155). On related nominal forms in βο / βω- in general, see Moussy 1969: 21-5.

[53]Cf. Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.vv. *qo-u-qo-ta*, *su-qo-ta* respectively.

[54]Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. βόσκω) uncertainly links Lithuanian *gúotas* 'herd' and *gaujà* 'herd, horde' (and perhaps also βοῦς); cf. also Frisk 1960-72 s.v. βόσκω; and Moussy 1969: 11-13. A root *$g^{w}eh_3$- is not listed in Rix 1998. βόσκω is no longer thought to be related to Latin *uescor* 'feed on': cf. Keller 1982: 86-7.

having come from an earlier *ϝικσκω,[55] the phonology of the change *- κσκ- to - σκ- between vowels being in little doubt.[56] For the parallel form ἐΐσκω, seemingly reduplicated in - ε- from *ϝε- ϝικ- ,[57] and the imperfect ἤϊσκον, see § 5.2 below.

᾽Ισκω therefore comes from the root *ϝεικ-, perhaps ultimately from **weik*-, if an inherited root is to be reconstructed (cf. Rix 1998: 612). It is thus related to the perfect ἔοικα 'seem to be; resemble; be fit, etc.', from *ϝε- ϝοικ- ; this form occurs 70 times in the *Iliad* and 62 in the *Odyssey* in simple form, along with pluperfects active ἐώκειν (nine times and eight respectively); also traditionally[58] pluperfect is medio-passive ἤϊκτο (four times in the *Odyssey*),[59] ἔϊκτο (*Il.* 23.107). There is in addition a compound perfect, the third person singular ἐπέοικε 'be fitting, beseem' (six times, five), with pluperfect also (*Od.* 24.295). There is therefore an ancient vocalic alternation present in these forms: ἐοικ- is from *o*-grade *ϝε- ϝοικ- , with ἐϊκ- from zero-grade *ϝε- ϝικ-.[60]

The form εἶκε 'seemed likely' (*Il.* 18.520) is taken by some as also related, being from a present *ϝείκω (cf. Bechtel 1914: 182, followed by Kujoṛe 1973: 93).[61]

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[55]On the old suggestion that ἴσκω is a reduplicated form from **sek*^{w}- 'say', see Giannakis 1997: 241.

[56]Cf. Lejeune 1972: 67.

[57]This reconstruction does not take account of certain occasions when the text implies there is no initial ϝ- in this form. See § 5.2 below.

[58]Schulze (1910) took ἤϊκτο to be an aorist; cf. Chapter 4 § 3.2.3.

[59]Chantraine notes that this form could be from either *ἤϝικτο or *ἐϝέϝικτο (1986-8: I.479; 1991: 190). On the sequence *ἐϝεϝι- , however, see further § 5.2 below. Hoekstra (Heubeck et al. 1988-92: II.181) prefers to take δ' ἤϊκτο (as it always occurs) from *δε ϝέϝικτο.

[60]Cf. the pluperfect medio-passive, perfect active dual ἔϊκτον (*Od.* 4.27), pluperfect ἐΐκτην (*Il.* 1.104, 21.285, 23.379, *Od.* 4.662) and the participial forms εἰκώς (*Il.* 21.254) and εἰκυῖα (eleven times in the *Iliad*, nine in the *Odyssey*). One instance of εἰοικυῖαι (*Il.* 18.418) is apparently to be corrected (cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.129). For further discussion in general see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἔοικα; and Bader 1969.

[61]Εἶκε is listed by Gehring (1891 s.v. εἴκουσι) together with other forms which come under Cunliffe's (1924) heading of εἴκω^{2} 'retire, give way; yield; etc.' (from root **weig*-; cf. Rix 1998: 608-9). Cunliffe (1924 s.v. εἴκω^{1}), however, classes the one instance of present stem (εἶκε) and one instance of the aorist optative εἴξειε (*Il.* 22.321) together with ἔοικα; see further Chapter 4 § 3.2.3.

Chantraine (1968-80 s.vv. εἴκω, ἔοικα) is not certain of the link of εἶκε with ἔοικα, although the index to volume I of his *Grammaire homérique* lists the former as the latter's headword (1986-8: I.525).[62]

3.1.4. ὀρχέομαι

The case of ὀρχέομαι is a controversial one. Using the same phonological assumptions as he does in deriving ἔρχομαι from *$h_1\underset{\circ}{r}$*ske/o*- (§ 2.2 above), Rix (1970: 98) has suggested that ὀρχέομαι 'dance' was connected with ὄρνυμαι 'stir, stir up' from root *h_3*er*- 'move' (on which cf. Rix 1998: 266-7) and was an intensive from a lost present *$h_3\underset{\circ}{r}$*-ske/o*-. The imperfect of this verb occurs at *Il.* 18.594 and *Od.* 8.379, with aorist ὀρχήσασθαι at *Od.* 8.371, 14.465; there are several related nominal forms, all in ὀρχη-.[63] There are other possibilities, however: some link ὀρχέομαι with Vedic *ṛghāya*- 'quiver, rage', although Germanic data do point to *-*gʰ*- (cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *ṛghāya°*-). Alternatively, the Greek form could derive from *h_1*orgʰ-éye/o*-, iterative of *h_1*ergʰ*- 'ascend' (cf. Rix 1998: 212), which could mean a connection with ἔρχομαι (§ 2.2 above).

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[62]Further related forms are as follows. Also with zero-grade is the nominal form ἶκελος 'like, resembling' (ten times in the *Iliad*, seven in the *Odyssey*), with the secondary doublet εἴκελος (ten times in the *Iliad*, six in the *Odyssey*), ἐπιείκελος 'id.' (eight, four); there is also θεοείκελος 'godlike' (two, three). A further group shows an *s*-stem: ἐπιεικής 'fitting, suitable' (seven times in the *Iliad*, three in the *Odyssey*), ἀεικής 'unseemly; grievous; etc.' (21 and 28 times respectively) and μενοεικής 'satisfying, etc.' (six, nine). Lastly, there is ἀϊκῶς 'in unseemly wise' (*Il.* 22.336), along with ἀεικέλιος 'shabby; grievous; etc.' (once, nine times), also found as ἀεκήλιος 'baneful' (*Il.* 18.577), with adverb ἀεικελίως (three times in the *Odyssey*), ἀεικείην 'causing marring, etc.' (*Il.* 24.19, *Od.* 20.308), ἀεικίζω 'treat in unseemly wise' (seven times in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*) and perfect medio-passive κατήκισται 'has been marred, spoiled' (*Od.* 16.290=19.9). On the complicated vocalic alternations found in these forms, see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἔοικα.

[63]These are ὀρχηθμός 'dancing, the dance' (once in the *Iliad*, four times in the *Odyssey*), ὀρχηστής 'dancer' (*Il.* 16.617, 24. 261), ὀρχηστήρ 'id.' (*Il.* 18.494) and ὀρχηστύς 'the dance; skill in the dance' (once in the *Iliad*, four times in the *Odyssey*).

3.1.5. πάσχω

Πάσχω 'suffer; encounter, etc.' also shows clear vocalic alternations. Its present tense occurs five times in the *Iliad* and 31 in the *Odyssey*, with the imperfect being found three and five times respectively. The future πείσομαι (once in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey*) shows an old *e*-grade, coming from the earlier stem *πεν(θ)σε/ο- . The thematic aorist ἔπαθον (28 times in the *Iliad* and 36 in the *Odyssey*), on the other hand, can be derived from an old zero-grade παθ- . Lastly, the perfect πέπονθα (once, five times) shows the *o*-grade in its indicative forms, as also seen in the pluperfect form ἐπεπόνθει (*Od.* 13.92); in the one instance of the feminine perfect participle we find the zero-grade form πεπαθυῖα (*Od.* 17.555). The second person plural perfect form is read as both πέπασθε (*Il.* 3.99, *Od.* 10.465) and πέποσθε (*Od.* 23.53) in Monro and Allen 1917-19 and Allen 1920; cf. further Chantraine 1986-8: I.25. Nominal formations usually show (-)πενθ- , and once - παθ- .[64]

The present πάσχω may therefore be derived from *παθ- σκω. According to Lejeune (1972: 75 and § 64 n. 1), the aspiration must have spread to the guttural first, so that θσκ became θσχ, and then the cluster was simplified to σχ.[65] Miller (1977: 368-9), however, argues that there is a second possibility: he takes πάσχω, among other forms, as evidence of Bartholomae's Law in Indo-European.

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[64]There is an *s*-stem noun πένθος 'sorrow, grief; cause of sorrow or grief' (twenty times in the *Iliad*, fifteen in the *Odyssey*), also found as the second element of compounds Μεγαπένθης (four times in the *Odyssey*), νεοπενθής 'in new sorrow, fresh-mourning' (*Od.* 11.39), νηπενθής 'banishing pain or sorrow' (*Od.* 4.221), πολυπενθής 'full of sorrows, sorrowful' (*Il.* 9.563, *Od.* 14.386, 23.15) and ταλαπενθής 'bearing up against trouble' (*Od.* 5.222). There is in addition a verb πενθέω 'mourn, grieve', found twice in each epic in the present tense and in the aorist at *Il.* 19.225. The one form in παθ- is αἰνοπαθής 'suffering dire ills' (*Od.* 18.201).

[65]Cf. similarly Rix 1992: 78.

The root from which these forms originated may have been ultimately *k^w*endh-* (cf. Rix 1998: 349-50).[66] Such a root violates the Indo-European root structure constraints, which disallow, among others, roots beginning in a voiceless stop (without preceding **s*) and ending in a voiced aspirate: **steigh-* is permitted, but not ***tegh-*.[67] The root for πάσχω may perhaps then be *k^w*enth-*, with voiceless aspirate (cf. Rix 1998: 349 n. 1); the problem is avoided differently if we postulate a root **bhendh-* 'bind', linking πενθερός 'father-in-law' (cf. Frisk 1960-72 s.v. πάσχω).

The form πάσχω could also have been derived from its thematic aorist ἔπαθον; and this is especially worthy of note given the tendency for presents in -σκω to occur beside thematic aorists in Homer, both for forms in -ίσκω (ἀραρίσκω : ἤραρον) and for present : aorist pairs with reduplication on both parts (διδάσκω : δέδαε); cf. further § 8 below. Alternatively, the pair *παθσκω : ἔπαθον could in fact have been used as a model for further such formations.

3.1.6. Origin and development: formations with zero-grade of the root

The origins of these five presents are therefore difficult to ascertain. They appear to have been formed on the old Indo-European ablaut rules, but there are no Indo-European parallels for them. Thus all that can be said is that these forms were probably created early, on the old pattern of zero-grade root + **-ske/o-* → **-ske/o-* present; whether they are very early Greek or in fact Indo-European remains uncertain.

3.2. *Set* formations

The forms -βλώσκω, θνήσκω and θρώσκω, apart from the added -ι- apparently found in the last two forms, seem to have been created in the same way as

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[66]Instances of the sequence *k^w*e-*, however, must have been altered or replaced, from earlier *τε- to πε- : cf. Rix 1998: 349-50 nn. 5, 6.

[67]Cf. e.g. Miller 1977; and in general Szemerényi 1996: 99-100, with further bibliography at nn. 1 and 3.

the verbs of § 3.1: they appear to represent ancient zero-grade forms, although no other languages show cognate presents.[68]

3.2.1. -βλώσκω

The present - βλώσκω 'go, come' is only ever found in compound form, and only in the *Odyssey*: three times as προ- βλώσκω 'go or come forward or forth' (*Od.* 19.25, 21.239=21.385) and once as κατα- βλώσκω 'go down through' (16.466). It has a thematic aorist, μόλον, not found with augment (four times in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*), with compounds ἔκμολον 'came out' (*Il.* 11.604) and πρόμολον 'went or came forward or forth' (three times in each epic). This gives, in all, eight instances of this aorist in the *Iliad* and five in the *Odyssey*. A perfect μέμβλωκα is found (*Od.* 17.190), with compound παρμέμβλωκα 'go beside' (*Il.* 4.11, 24.73). The only other related form in Homer is ἀγχίμολον 'near; closely following', which clearly shows the same stem as the aorist; it is generally held to be an old absolutive.[69] In fact, few other forms from this root are to be found in Greek; there are occasional nominal derivatives in the classical era, such as ἐπίμολος

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[68]To use standard notation (where *C* denotes any consonant, *R* any liquid or nasal, *H* any laryngeal and *V* any vowel; cf. Mayrhofer in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: I/1.178-9), the view of the phonology here can be described as follows: the sequence $C\underset{\circ}{R}H$ before a consonant develops to $CR\bar{V}$, where the resulting long vowel depends on the colour of the laryngeal. Thus $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_1$ gives *CR*η (*γνητός '(legitimately) born', as in κασίγνητος 'brother', from $*\widetilde{g_{\circ}^{n}}h_1$-*tó*-), $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_2$ gives *CR*ᾱ (Doric τλᾱτός 'patient, to be endured' from $*t\underset{\circ}{l}h_2$-*tó*-) and $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_3$ gives *CR*ω (στρωτός 'spread' from $*st\underset{\circ}{r}h_3$-*tó*-); cf. further Beekes 1969: 203-5, 210-16 and 218-20; and Mayrhofer in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: I/1.128, 139 and 144-5. In the case of secondary stress on the syllable in question, however, there is evidence that at least $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_1$ here gives *C*ε*R*ε and $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_2$ gives *C*α*R*α (γένεσις, θάνατος). Cf. Mayrhofer in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: I/1.129; and Harðarson 1993: 164-5.

[69]This form is found thus three times in the *Iliad* and thirteen in the *Odyssey*, with one instance of the phrase ἐξ ἀγχιμόλοιο 'from close at hand' at *Il.* 24.352. Cf. further Wackernagel 1944: 226-229; and Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἄγχι.

'stranger' or 'invader' and αὐτόμολος 'deserter'; we also find a future μολοῦμαι occasionally in Classical tragedy.[70]

We are dealing, therefore, with a root beginning *μλ-, βλώσκω having developed from *μλώσκω via *μβλώσκω (cf. Lejeune 1972: 154). Létoublon (1985: 116, 117) argues that the form belonged to the Achaean element of Homer, and was later adapted in Doric poetry; a possible cognate within Greek is μέλλω 'be about to; be destined to, etc.'.[71] Rix (1998: 390), reconstructing a root *$melh_3$-, lists Serbo-Croatian and Slovene cognates; he reconstructs an ancient desiderative *$mélh_3$-*s*- / *$m̥lh_3$-*s*-, which (following Ruipérez 1950: 403-4) gives future μολοῦμαι via **molesomai*, with metathesis from **melosomai*. We may thus derive -βλώσκω ultimately from *$m̥lh_3$-*sḱe/o*-. There does not, however, seem to have been a link with Tocharian A *mlosk*-, *mlusk*- 'escape'.[72]

3.2.2. θνήσκω

The present θνήσκω 'die' occurs in simple form four times in the *Iliad*, and twice in the *Odyssey*; there is also an instance of the imperfect at *Il.* 1.383. Other tenses are formed from the stems θνη- and θαν-. The future is the uncommon θανεῖσθαι (*Il.* 4.12, 15.728, *Od.* 20.21), the aorist the thematic ἔθανον (35 times in the *Iliad*, 36 in the *Odyssey*). In θνη- we find perfect τέθνηκα (33 times in the *Iliad*, 25 in the *Odyssey*). Of the compound forms, ἀποθνήσκω 'die' is found in the present (*Od.* 11.424, 21.33) and perfect (*Il.* 22.432); this verb shows the one instance of a pluperfect form: ἀποτέθνασαν (*Od.* 12.393). καταθνήσκω 'die' occurs in

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[70]On related forms see further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. βλώσκω, and also Veitch's (1887 s.v. βλώσκω) list. Hesychius gives the gloss ἔβλω· ἐφάνη. ᾤχετο. ἔστη, where a link with the stem of βλώσκω and μέμβλωκα seems certain; whether the form is of any antiquity, however, is doubtful (cf. Strunk 1970: 113 and Peters 1980: 30 (n. 19); but nonetheless Harðarson 1993: 162-3).

[71]Cf. Létoublon 1985: 117, with bibliography.

[72]Cf. Frisk 1960-72 s.v. βλώσκω; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. βλώσκω; and Keller 1992: 180 and n. 93, with bibliography.

the present (*Il.* 22.355), aorist (*Il.* 9.320, 21.107) and perfect (eleven times in the *Iliad*, ten in the *Odyssey*); there is also a form ἔκθανον 'died' (*Od.* 18.100). Except for the imperfect instance, and the one case of the present indicative (*Od.* 12.22), the present stem is on all occasions only found in the participle. Related nominal forms show stems θνη- and θαν(α)-.[73]

This alternation θνη- : θανα- indicates a *seṭ* root,[74] but again there is no good Indo-European etymology. Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. θάνατος) compared Vedic *ádhvanīt* and *dhvāntá-*, which he glossed respectively as 'il s'éteignit, disparut' and 'sombre'. However, Narten (1964: 155-7) has shown that the basic meaning of the Vedic root is 'give off smoke, fume'.[75] Hence Hollifield (1978: 182, with bibliography), rejected the connection both on grounds of meaning, and because a present in *-*ske/o-* on this root would rather be expected to yield **θυνάσκω.

A second suggested comparison is between θνήσκω and the Avestan *-sa*-present *duuąsa-*, from the Iranian root *dvan-* 'fly': both have been supposed to continue a zero-grade formation *$dhw\underset{\circ}{n}h_2$-ske/o-*. But there are phonological problems with this comparison, in that it is necessary to assume remodelling of the zero-grade form of the root in Avestan,[76] and it is impossible to be sure (in the absence of Sanskrit cognates) that Iranian *dvan-* continues an Indo-Iranian root **dhvan-* rather than **dvan-*.[77]

A third alternative is to compare the root of the Vedic *u*-present *dhánvati* 'run, flow', causative present *dhanáyan* 'make run' (injunctive), with *dhanáya-* from

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[73]With the former, there are θνητός 'mortal' (28 times in the *Iliad*, sixteen in the *Odyssey*) and καταθνητός 'id.' (four and six times respectively); in the latter, θάνατος 'death; kind or mode of death' (78 times in the *Iliad*, 59 in the *Odyssey*), ἀθάνατος 'immortal' (106 times in the *Iliad*, 92 in the *Odyssey*) and δισθανής 'dying twice' (*Od.* 12.22).

[74]On the development of the laryngeals here see § 3.2 n. 68 above.

[75]Cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *DHVAN*^{I}-.

[76]Cf. Klingenschmitt 1982: 64.

[77]Unless it is identical with *dhvan-* 'give off smoke': Kellens (1984: 157 n. 12) suggests a popular etymology.

*$dhonh_2$-éye/o-.[78] According to Hollifield (1978) and Rix (1998: 125), Greek θνήσκω therefore derives from *$dh_ənh_2$-sḱe/o-.[79] This comparison has the advantage that the Greek perfect stem seen in τέθναμεν may find a correspondent in the Vedic participle *dadhanvā́m̆s-*.[80]

This present is one of several forms which are often found with added - ι- before the - σκω suffix; see further § 3.2.5 below.

3.2.3. θρώσκω

Nearly half the instances of the verb θρώσκω 'leap, spring, bound, dart' are of its various compound forms. Its distributional pattern is similar to that of θνήσκω. The simple present occurs four times in the *Iliad*, and there is one instance of the imperfect (*Il.* 15.314); the only other tense occurring in simple form is aorist ἔθορον (seventeen times in the *Iliad*, three in the *Odyssey*). As well as these 25 cases of the verb, there are 22 instances of eight different compound forms. Only occurring in the present are ἀναθρώσκω 'leap or bound up' (*Il.* 13.140), ἀποθρώσκω 'leap from, rise from' (*Il.* 2.702, 16.748, *Od.* 1.58) and ἐπιθρώσκω 'leap upon; leap or bound over' (*Il.* 4.177, 5.772, 8.515); aorist only are ἔσθορον 'leap or spring at, into' (*Il.* 12.462, 21.18), ἔνθορον 'leap into, in among, against' (three times in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*) and πρόθορον 'leap or spring forward' (*Il.* 14.363, 17.522, 523). The remaining two are ἐκθρώσκω 'leap or spring forth; jump out of' (present at *Il.* 10.95, aorist at *Il.* 16.427, 21.539) and aorist ὑπέρθορον 'leap or spring over' (*Il.* 9.476, 12.53, 16.380), the verb which gives us our one instance of the future stem in ὑπερθορέομαι (*Il.* 8.179). Of our total 48 instances, only four occur in the *Odyssey*.

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[78]Cf. in Iranian perhaps Old Persian *danu*[*vatiy* 'flows', Modern Persian *dan-* 'run, rush'.

[79]The connection proposed by Hollifield with Vedic *dhā́vati* 'run, flow; rinse' and Tocharian A *tsnän-* 'flow' is more difficult, however: see Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *DHĀV*; and Rix 1998: 125 and n. 2.

[80]Assuming that - θνᾰ́- is analogical for - θνᾱ́- : cf. Rix 1998: 126 n. 7. On the Indo-Aryan forms see further Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *DHAN*[I].

The only cognate in θρω- found in Homer is the noun θρωσμός, which occurs only in the phrase ἐπὶ θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο, glossed by Cunliffe as 'a piece of ground rising from, and somewhat above the general level of, the plain' (*Il.* 10.160, 11.56=20.3). In θορ- we find the adjective which has masculine θοῦρος (always of Ares), feminine θοῦρις, 'rushing, impetuous, eager for the fray' (38 times in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*), perhaps from *θορ- ϝος – that is, from a secondary formation either rebuilt on the aorist or on a reconstructed noun *θόρ- υ- ς.[81]

We may reconstruct a *seṭ* root *$dherh_3$- with Rix (1998: 127), who has as perhaps cognate Old Irish *-*dair* 'mount' (attested as *no-daired*). As with μολοῦμαι, he postulates for the future form a possible ancient desiderative - θορέομαι, which would be *$dhérh_3$-s- / *$dh_{\text{o}}rh_3$-s-; although he ascribes the vocalism of the Greek form here to ἔθορον, - θορέομαι could equally come from *therosomai* as μολέομαι may have from *melosomai.*[82] As with θνῄσκω, we find this present form with added - ι- , as θρῴσκω; on this phenomenon, see § 3.2.5 below.

3.2.4. Origin and development: *seṭ* formations

The occurrence of forms is summarised in the following table, where simple and compound instances have been added together; in each case, the first figure refers to the number of occurrences in the *Iliad* and the second to those in the *Odyssey*. The one bracketed form is not found until after Homer.

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[81]Cf. Frisk 1960-72 s.v. θοῦρος.

[82]Cf. Ruipérez 1950: 403-4, and § 3.2.1 above.

Present	Future	Aorist	Perfect
- βλώσκω (0, 3)	(μολοῦμαι)	(-)μόλον (8, 5)	(-)μέμβλωκα (2, 1)
(-)θνήσκω (6, 4)	θανέομαι (2, 1)	(-)ἔθανον (37, 37)	(-)τέθνηκα (45, 36)
(-)θρώσκω (12, 1)	-θορέομαι (1, 0)	(-)ἔθορον (30, 3)	–

In these verbs we find, in each case, two basic stems: βλω- : μολ- ; θνη- : θαν- ; θρω- : θορ- . In each case, the *CRV̄-* variant is used for the present and the perfect, and the *CVR-* alternant forms future and aorist stems. Future forms are very rare, as would perfect forms be were it not for the frequency of τέθνηκα. With the latter excepted again, the aorist is the most frequently found part of each verb.

- βλώσκω is rare and θρώσκω gives the impression of being radically in decline; hence, it seems, it is only θνήσκω which has both a future and a perfect in Homer.

These data imply that the aorists are well-established and presumably ancient. The presents were not formed from them in the historical period – rather, the vocalic alternations seen in these stems are unusual and seem archaic. Their interpretation, however, is beset by problems. Since we find suffixed presents, we would expect that in each case a root aorist was once formed from each root, with later thematicisation of the old athematic forms.[83] An example of this phenomenon is shown by the third person plural thematic aorist form ἔβαλον, which seems to continue an older **e-g^{w}l̥h$_1$-ónt* (earlier **e-g^{w}l̥h$_1$-ént*);[84] the *o* of the ending is interpreted as the thematic vowel and extended to other forms, so that the old full-grade singular form

[83]On the subject of affixed present forms beside root aorist ones see Chapter 2 § 4.3. The thematic forms we find here certainly cannot be inherited as such if the usual view of such formations is accepted, whereby the thematic aorist is a fairly late formation: cf. Harðarson 1993: 155; and Rix 1998: 20.

[84]Cf. Harðarson 1993: 43.

*e-$g^{w}élh_1$-t, whose stem is found in the Arcadian gloss ἔζελε,[85] is lost in favour of ἔβαλε. It is already accepted that $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_2$[86] before a vowel became $C\alpha R$;[87] this derivation of ἔβαλον also requires that we accept Peters' argument (1980: 27-31 n. 19) that the sequence $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_1$ before a vowel also gives $C\alpha R$, and indeed his evidence seems conclusive.

Thus the zero-grade of the plural is generalised throughout the paradigm.[88] Since the three verbs we are dealing with here are also *seṭ* roots, we might therefore expect the zero-grades of our roots to be respectively *$m\underset{\circ}{l}h_3$-, *$dh\underset{\circ}{n}h_2$- and *$dh\underset{\circ}{r}h_3$-, so that we could reconstruct the following third person plural forms: *$(e)m\underset{\circ}{l}h_3$-*ónt*, *$(e)dh\underset{\circ}{n}h_2$-*ónt*, and *$(e)dh\underset{\circ}{r}h_3$-*ónt*. Here at least the form (ἔ)θανον, and so by thematicisation (ἔ)θανε, is easily explained by the rule that $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_2V$ gives $C\alpha R$.

If the α had been due to the colour of the laryngeal in the cases of θάνον, then we might expect the ο in (ἔ)μολε / (ἔ)μολον and (ἔ)θορε / (ἔ)θορον to be due to h_3; this was indeed the view of Strunk (1969 [1970], 1970), who believed that $C\text{o}R$ was also the result of both $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_1$ and $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_3$ before a vowel. This view has been rightly criticised by Peters, however, who, in view of his opinion that $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_1$ before a vowel also gives $C\alpha R$, has argued for this result from $C\underset{\circ}{R}h_3$; thus we would now expect $C\underset{\circ}{R}H$ before a vowel always to become $C\alpha R$ in Greek, no matter which laryngeal occurs in the sequence.[89] This therefore raises the problem that we would expect inherited forms of our *seṭ* roots in -h_3, *$m\underset{\circ}{l}h_3$*ónt* and *$dh\underset{\circ}{r}h_3$*ónt*, to give thematicised stems in *μαλε/ο- and *θαρε/ ο- respectively. Since it is morphologically unlikely

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[85]This form is found, for example, in Hesychius' ἔζελεν· ἔβαλεν; for further forms showing this stem see Harðarson 1993: 157 nn. 48, 50. A comparable pair of thematic aorist forms showing zero-grade beside full-grade is that of Attic ἔτεμε beside non-Attic ἔταμε: cf. further Harðarson 1993: 155-157.

[86]For the notation cf. § 3.2 n. 68 above.

[87]Cf. Peters 1980: 27 n. 19, with bibliography; and Mayrhofer in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: I/1.139-40.

[88]On thematicisation and associated problems cf. in general Harðarson 1993: 155-8.

[89]Cf. further Harðarson 1993: 158-60; and, with further examples, Peters 1980: 30-1 n. 19.

that we have *o*-grade aorists here, these forms are usually accounted for by postulating full grades *$melh_3$- and *$dherh_3$- which, in athematic third person singular forms *$mélh_3$-*t* and *$dhérh_3$-*t*, underwent a metathesis of *- ελο- into - ολε- and *- ερο- into - ορε- ; hence the resulting *ἐμελο and *ἐθερο became ἔμολε and ἔθορε respectively.[90] This change is also valid in the second person singular, where we would expect ἔμολες and ἔθορες from *ἐμελος and *ἐθερος in turn.[91] The suggestion is supported by the parallel of ἐστόρεσα, which surely derives from an older *e*-grade *ἐ- στέρο- σα from *e-$sterh_3$-s-; and by that of λοετρόν 'bath' from *λοϝετρον, beside Mycenaean *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* = *λεϝοτροχοϝοι (cf. Homeric λοετροχόος), *re-wo-te-re-jo* = *λεϝοτρειω/- οι.[92] A further point in this regard has been made by Harðarson (1993: 169-170), who argues that the metathesis must have been helped in these forms (in the case of the root *$terh_3$-, which gave Greek ἔτορον) by the change of the first and second person plural forms *$t\r{r}h_3$-*me*(*m*) and *$t\r{r}h_3$-*te* into **tóro-men* and **tóro-te*:[93] for this makes the change of the stem **tero*- (from *$terh_3$-) into **tore*- more likely.

According to the rule given in § 3.2 n. 68 above, the presents from these roots are regular: *$m\r{l}h_3$-*sḱé/ó*- gives **mlōsḱé/ó*-, *$dh\r{n}h_2$-*sḱé/ó*- **dhnāsḱé/ó*- and *$dh\r{r}h_3$-*sḱé/ó*- **dhrōsḱé/ó*- — this requires us to assume with Harðarson (1993: 166-7) that the accent did not move back from the suffix to the root in these forms until the

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[90]On this metathesis in future forms μολοῦμαι and - θορέομαι, as first suggested by Ruipérez (1950), see §§ 3.2.1, 3.2.3 above. The same explanation is also used for aorists ἔπορον and ἔτορον; on their roots, *$perh_3$- and *$terh_3$-, cf. Rix 1998: 427-8 and 577 respectively.

[91]Cf. Peters 1980: 30-1 n. 19; and Harðarson 1993: 169.

[92]On ἐστόρεσα, see Ruipérez 1950: 389-99 and also Mayrhofer in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: III/1.142, 144; on the Mycenaean forms, see Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 160; and Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.vv. *re-wo-te-re-jo*, *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*. For general discussion see Ruipérez 1950, and more recently Beekes 1969: 231-3; and Peters 1980: 30 n. 19.

[93]This development takes into account the rule that secondarily stressed $C\r{R}h_1$ before a consonant gave *CεRε* and $C\r{R}h_2$ gave *CαRα*, not $CR\bar{V}$, as described in § 3.2 n. 68 above. Here it is extended by Harðarson to the case of $C\r{R}h_3$, for which Aeolic ἐστόροται has also been taken as evidence (cf. Harðarson 1993: 169-170 and n. 104; and also Rix 1992: 73).

change of *C̥RH* to *CRV̄* before a consonant in an unstressed syllable had taken place, giving θνᾰ́σκω via *θνᾱσκώ and βλώσκω via *βλωσκώ (or *μβλωσκώ or *μλωσκώ).

3.2.5. The orthography of verbs in - η(ι)σκω and - ω(ι)σκω

There is in addition an orthographic problem in connection with the forms θνῄσκω and θρῴσκω, in that they are often written with an added - ι- , when we rather expect θνήσκω and θρώσκω. Also similarly disputed are γιγνώσκω, κικλήσκω and μιμνήσκω.

The only thorough attempt to ascertain why the unexpected ι is found in these forms was undertaken by Schmidt as part of his study of verbs in - ίσκω (1904: 36-51). He begins his enquiry (Schmidt 1904: 36-9) by listing evidence from grammarians and manuscripts for the forms θνῄσκω, θρῴσκω and μιμνῄσκω, and manuscript evidence for κικλῄσκω. The further example of Delphic συμπρηΐσκεν 'burn together' was already in Schmidt's time recognised as a false reading of συμπιπίσκεν; there are in addition the unexplained χρηΐσκομαι 'need' (Herodotus 3.117) and κλῃΐσκομαι 'be called' (Hippocrates *Cord.* 8).[94] Also of interest are the Aeolic forms θναίσκω and μιμναίσκω,[95] and there is some evidence as well for a form γιγνῴσκω (Herodas 5.21).[96]

We have already seen that Schmidt's theory concerning the origins of - ίσκω is no longer to be accepted (Chapter 2 § 3.4). His view affects his examination: for example, it suits him to reject the form θρῴσκω because he wished to have the - ι- spread from the sigmatic aorist, a stem which θρῴσκω did not have (1904: 48). He

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[94]On these forms see also Chapter 9 § 2.1.

[95]Schmidt cites these forms from Herodian; cf. also the citations at Hoffmann 1891-8: II.421 and LSJ s.v. θνῄσκω.

[96]Cf. Hoffmann 1891-8: III.444; and Schmidt 1904: 48-50.

could explain θνῄσκω by analogy, however (1904: 47), and so found this form acceptable.

Much more important is the fact that Schmidt's enquiry rests largely on evidence from manuscripts and grammarians. Since - ήσκω and - ώσκω could have come to be written as - ῆσκω and - ῶσκω at any period without any metrical problems resulting, data found by this means are of little use; and what the grammarians tell us is necessarily late. Scholars and texts tacitly disagree with each other, without discussion: hence, as Keller (1992: 283 n. 20) notes, Chantraine (1986-8: I.317) and Risch (1974: 274) diverge over whether to write θνῄσκω and θρῴσκω with or without the - ι- , as do Bergk and Diehl's respective versions of Anacreon's μνήσκεται / μνήισκεται (Anacreon 94 Bergk = 96 Diehl). The recent editions of Homer's works by van Thiel (1991, 1996) and West (1998) show a parallel discrepancy.[97] What we need is the latest evidence from inscriptions and papyri, much more of which is available to us now than was to Schmidt. Can we now say more about these forms than Schmidt could?

There are several secondary sources for such data. Meisterhans (1900: 177) lists γιγνώσκω but θνῄσκω as occurring in Attic inscriptions (fourth century BC onwards). In Ptolemaic papyri, Mayser (1926-70: I/1.99, 103 respectively) has parts of θνήισκω (three times in the third century BC) and later θνήσκω (once in the third century, three in the second and first together) but never finds Attic θνείσκω (1926-70: I/1.100); he also cites parts of μιμνήσκω (third century BC once, second-first once) and the form μεμνησκόμενος [sic] (first century BC) (1926-70: I/1.103). Much more recently, Threatte (1980-96: I.372, II.739) gives θνήισκω as usual in Attic inscriptions in the fourth century BC, beside Attic θνέισκω (with change of ηι

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[97]West reads θνήισκω (e.g. *Il.* 2.106) and θρώισκω (e.g. *Il.* 5.772, with preverb ἐπι-) but γινώσκω (*Il.* 5.815) and κικλήσκω (*Il.* 11.606); there is no instance of μιμνή(ι)σκω in his edition because this stem does not occur in the first half of the *Iliad.* Van Thiel, on the other hand, in all these cases reads forms without iota.

to ει); he also cites μνήσκεσθαι (end of second century AD) as probably an error for μνηϊσκεσθαι beside μιμνήισκε[το (Roman era) (1980-96: I.412). The later data of the Roman and Byzantine periods given by Gignac (1976-81: I. 184, II.277) are for the stems θνη- and μιμνη- without - ι- . Some citations are also given by LSJ (s.vv.) which take the forms θνήσκω and μιμνήσκω back to the third century BC.

A thorough search of inscriptions could produce a wealth of data which might help solve the problem of the added - ι- . A brief search using the Packard Humanities Institute CD-ROM #7 (Greek Documentary Texts; 1991-6) found 84 instances of θνήσκω and seven of θνάσκω beside eighteen of θνηίσκω. No other forms with added - ι- were as common: forms in (μι)μνησκ- occur 21 times and (μι)μνασκ- twice, with only one instance of a form with an iota, which is the same attestation as Threatte's one instance (IG II^2 13173.30). Nine cases of κικλήσκω occur; a search for the stem - κλησκ- produced six citations, but these appear to indicate only three separate instances of a form κικληίσκω. There is one case of ἀποθρώσκω in Caria and one of παραθρωίσκω in Macedonia, too little information from which to draw any conclusion.[98] No instances were found for a stem γνωισκ- , although there were seventeen instances of γιγνώσκω (and none of *γνώσκω).

In sum, it seems that Classical forms in - ηι- gave way to ones in - η- in the case of θνήσκω, but there is litte data for any other verbs with added - ι- . This is presumably because the combination of a long vowel followed by ι came to be pronounced the same as the vowel itself at some stage in Ancient Greek – a change which could also have been responsible for earlier θνήσκω and θρώσκω coming to be written as θνῆσκω and θρῴσκω in the first place. Yet we cannot be certain when any of this occurred. Teodorsson (1974: 187-91) has [ε:i] first coming to be monophthongised to [ε:] around 500 BC, with the development complete in the fifth

[98]No examples were found for θναισκ- or μναισκ- .

century; accompanying this or following it, there occurred a narrowing of the first part of the diphthong, so that [ɛ:i] ultimately became [e:], probably before 400 BC. A further development is that ηι may perhaps have come to be pronounced as [i:] as early as 400 BC (1974: 189-91, 288). ηι would therefore have been confused with η, which according to Teodorsson (1974: 183-6) probably underwent the change from [ɛ:] to [e:] during the sixth century BC, then on to [i:] from around 350. Regarding ωι for ω, he concludes (1974: 215-16) that [ɔ:i] first became monophthongised to [ɔ:] in the fifth century, the change probably being complete before the middle of the fourth.[99]

Threatte, however, has developments happening later. As he says, the tendency with long diphthongs is to 'delete the second and shorter element' (1980-96: I.352), and this occurs for ᾱι, ηι and ωι by the end of the Hellenistic period. Hence ηι, originally pronounced [ɛ:i], passes via [ei] (with shortening of first member) to [e:] by early in the fourth century, wherever not an inflectional ending or augment, and perhaps even in those cases too by around 350 BC (1980-96: I.369).[100] Here, the sound represented by η moves from [ɛ:] to [e:] after 370 BC in 'fairly crude texts' (1980-96: I.159), and then to [i:] only after 150 AD (1980-96: I.159-71). The monophthongisation of ωι is said to have occurred not much before 150-100 BC (1980-96: I.358-62).

Duhoux (1987) summarises these different versions, and points out that the two authors are not attempting to study the same group: Teodorsson is dealing with the unrefined majority, Threatte the cultivated elite (1987: 179-88). Duhoux's own version of events involves hypercorrection following on from [ɛ:] becoming [i:] –

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[99]For data detailing the confusion in Attic both between η and ηι and between ω and ωι, see Teodorsson 1974: 92-3 and 123-4 respectively.

[100]Cf. also Mayser (1926-70: I/1.99, 103-8), who has many examples of η being found for ηι, and ηι for η, at first in the third century BC and increasingly in the second and first; on ω for ωι and ωι for ω see 1926-70: I/1.111-14.

surely an unnecessary extra complication, and one which relies on dubious evidence (1987: 188-98).[101]

A possible conclusion, therefore, is that ῃ was written for η in certain instances due to confusion between the two. We may, as is traditional and also current, ascribe this to the influence of -ίσκω.[102] But why did it appear on only certain verbs, and which?

The evidence given above indicates that the addition of ι could be due to the increasing similarity of ῃ with η and of ῳ with ω in ancient times. Perhaps, especially in the case of θνήσκω, this combined with the spread of the new suffix -ίσκω to create a new form. Even given this added factor, however, a problem remains: it is still unclear why this occurred only for certain verbs, but not for others which showed - η- and - ω- before - σκ- , such as ἀλδήσκω and γιγνώσκω. A perhaps related phenomenon, outside the scope of this thesis, is that of Homeric σώζω or σῴζω 'preserve, keep' (*Od.* 5.490).[103] Here we might perhaps be able to ascribe the added - ι- to the influence of the suffix - ίζω; but in this case non-present forms occur in both σω- and σωι- .[104] We should also note that both the confusion of sounds and the spread of - ίσκω are post-Homeric developments; in this case, our manuscripts of Homer should show forms without the iota, such as θνήσκω rather than θνῄσκω.

To conclude, therefore, we may say that, against the most sceptical view, forms in - ησκω and - ώισκω had some reality: they were not merely a late

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[101]For criticisms, see the discussion at Duhoux 1987: 198.

[102]Cf. Hoffmann 1891-8: III.444; Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.357; Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 242; Lejeune 1972: 249 n. 1 (§ 270); and Chantraine 1991: 225.

[103]For σώζω, cf. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.736; and Threatte 1980-96: II.507; for σῴζω, Frisk 1960-72 s.v. σῶς; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. σῶς; Risch 1974: 299, 307; van Thiel (1991 (*Od.* 5.490)); and LSJ s.v.

[104]Cf. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.736; Threatte 1980-96: II.508, 528, 581; and LSJ s.v. σῴζω.

invention only to be found in manuscripts. On the other hand, the number of such forms was probably very limited, and the exact distribution remains obscure. It is thus almost impossible to recover the various stages of development.

4. Formations with reduplication in -ι-

This class will also be divided into two sections. Here, as has already been mentioned above, we find at least one more inherited present, the reflex of Indo-European *$g\hat{\underset{\circ}{n}}h_3$-$s\acute{k}e/o$-, but with added reduplication: γιγνώσκω. This verb will be analysed beside two others which are based on inherited *set* roots and which show similar patterns of related forms (κικλήσκω, μιμνήσκω); also to be classed with these is ἴλάσκομαι, possibly inherited from a proto-form *$s\underset{\circ}{l}h_2$-$s\acute{k}e/o$-. These four forms will be examined as a first group. The remaining three verbs will be analysed next; of these, one is probably based on an *s*-final root (διδάσκω), one apparently on a *w*-final one (πιφαύσκω) and one on a *k*(*h*)-final one (τιτύσκομαι).[105]

4.1. *Set* formations

4.1.1. γιγνώσκω

Γιγνώσκω[106] 'perceive, know, etc.' is the most commonly found reduplicated present in - σκω in Homer. In the *Iliad*, it is found nineteen times, and twice in the imperfect; in the *Odyssey* it occurs nine times, and four in the imperfect.[107] Non-present parts of this verb are found in γνω- : future γνώσομαι (seven times in the *Iliad*, twice in the *Odyssey*) and root aorist ἔγνων (41 times in

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[105]For the added - ι- in μιμνήσκω and perhaps γιγνώσκω and κιλκήσκω, cf. § 3.2.5 above.

[106]The form γῑνώσκω, found in most dialects in the historical period, is the result of the change of *gigno-* via **gi̯no-* and then **giyno-*, whence *gīno-*. This is also seen in γῑ́νομαι from γίγνομαι: see further Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.215; and Lejeune 1972: 78-9.

[107]Giannakis (1997: 233-4) apparently misses one instance of the imperfect (*Od.* 8.299) and counts another as present (*Od.* 22.501), coming to a total of 34 instances including that of διαγιγνώσκω at *Il.* 23.470 (missing that at *Il.* 23.240).

each epic). Compound forms are infrequent: present διαγιγνώσκω 'distinguish, discern' (*Il.* 23.240, 470), aorist διέγνων (*Il.* 7.424); and aorists ἀνέγνων 'recognised; knew well' (once in the *Iliad*, seven times in the *Odyssey*) and ἐπέγνων 'looked upon, watched, saw; recognised' (*Od.* 18.30, 24.217). Various adjectival forms are also based on the stem γνω- .[108] A stem γνο- also appears in the aorist ἠγνοίησα 'failed to know or recognise, etc.' (three times in each epic),[109] with iterative ἀγνώσασκε (*Od.* 23.95).

The present γιγνώσκω derives ultimately from the root *$\hat{g}neh_3$-, which is found in an exceptionally wide range of languages (cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *JÑA*; Rix 1998: 149-50). Moreover, it is one of the few forms in -σκω which Greek has in common with another Indo-European language:[110] apparently Albanian *njoh* 'know',[111] and Armenian *čanač'em* 'recognise',[112] and more certainly Latin (*g*)*nōscō* 'recognise'[113] and Old Persian subjunctive *xšnāsātiy* 'recognise'.[114]

The correspondence between these forms is problematic for Greek γιγνώσκω for two reasons, however. Firstly, we expect inherited presents in *-*ske/o*- to show the zero-grade of the root (cf. Chapter 2 § 3.3); we then require *$\hat{g}\underset{\circ}{n}h_3$-*ske/o*-, not

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[108]These are: γνωτός 'easy to know' (*Il.* 7.401, *Od.* 24.182), with γνωτός 'kinsman; brother' (eight times in the *Iliad*), unless the latter is rather related to γίγνομαι 'be born, etc.' (cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. γίγνομαι), ἀγνώς 'unknown' (*Od.* 5.79), ἄγνωστος 'unknown; not to be known' (*Od.* 2.175, 13.191, 397), ἀλλόγνωτος 'known to be other: strange, foreign' (*Od.* 2.366), ἀρίγνωτος 'easy to be known or recognised; notorious, infamous' (twice, five times) and γνώριμος '(well-)known; a friend or acquaintance' (*Od.* 16.9).

[109]On this problematic form see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. γιγνώσκω, 1986-8: I.99.

[110]Baltic data are, however, apparently not to be compared; cf. Keller 1992: 19-20.

[111]On this difficult form, see Keller 1992: 20, with bibliography.

[112]This form derives by assimilation from an earlier **canač'em*, but the development of *-č'-* from *-*sk*- is controversial: see Chapter 2 § 2.3.

[113]On the simplification of the initial *gn*- to *n*- see Keller 1992: 7-8, with further bibliography. On the morphology, syntax and semantics of (*g*)*nōscō* and its preverbs see Keller 1992: 7-18.

[114]Apparently with full-grade after the aorist (cf. Rix 1998: 150 n. 11); cf. Keller 1992: 23 for the phonological developments involved, and also for the use of the forms in context, with further bibliography.

$\hat{g}neh_3$-s$\hat{k}$e/o- ($\hat{g}n\bar{o}$-s$\hat{k}$e/o-).[115] The usual explanation is that the expected Latin *gnāscō was reformed to (g)nōscō to differentiate it from nāscor 'be born', which derived from zero-grade root *$\hat{g}_{\text{o}}nh_1$-.[116] Further, there is also evidence for an ancient present *$\hat{g}n\bar{e}h_3$-s- / *$\hat{g}neh_3$-s-:[117] Jasanoff (1988) argued that this preform shows relics in Germanic *knējan 'know', Hittite ganeš- 'find, recognise, identify' and Tocharian A kñasäṣtu (= kñasäṣt tu) 'du kennst dich aus', as well as perhaps the Armenian aorist caneay 'I knew' and more debatably Albanian njoh 'I know' (if not from *$\hat{g}_{\text{o}}nh_3$-s$\hat{k}$e/o-).[118]

The second difficulty here is the presence of the reduplication in Greek; and in this connection the Epirotic form γνώσκω is usually cited, also sometimes (apparently due to a misunderstanding of an abbreviation) referred to instead as Epidaurian;[119] it is said to be evidence of a dialectal form in Greek which shows the earlier formation without the added initial syllable. This form, however, was probably never in use; it has been shown by Forssman (1968: 14-18) that it was used by grammarians as a link in a pseudo-etymological route intended to explain how γινώσκω was derived from νοῶ, on account of a supposedly Epirotic tendency to add prothetic γ- . It is thus merely a grammarian's invention and not the direct

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[115]On the phonology involved for the former explanation for Greek, see § 3.2 n. 68 above.

[116]Cf. Schmitt 1964-5: 279-81; Klingenschmitt 1982: 68 n. 9; Ernout and Meillet 1959 s.v. *nōscō*; and Rix 1998: 150 n. 14. On the other hand, Insler (1968: 61 n. 5) and Sihler (1995: 507) reconstruct a full-grade preform *$\hat{g}neh_3$-s$\hat{k}$e/o-, and Szemerényi (1996: 273) postulates *gnō-sk-ō, a full-grade form produced by analogy.

[117]In this case, *$\bar{e}$ must have resisted laryngeal colouration not only before *h_2 (by Eichner's Law), but also before *h_3; cf. further Jasanoff 1988: 227-9.

[118]Cf. also Keller 1992: 24-5, with bibliography; and, most recently, Harðarson 1993: 76-82. On the question of the relationship between *$\hat{g}enh_3$- 'know' and *$\hat{g}enh_1$- 'be born', with bibliography, see Keller 1992: 25-7. On Hittite ganeš- see further Puhvel 1984- s.v. ganes(s)-.

[119]For the former, cf. e.g. Curtius 1877-80: I.275; Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.353; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.707; Giacalone Ramat 1967: 107; Ruijgh 1985: 143 n. 135; and Szemerényi 1996: 273; for the latter, Frisk 1960-72 s.v. γιγνώσκω; Schmitt 1964-5: 279 n. 20; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. γιγνώσκω (*bis*), later removed (p. 1365 B). Klingenschmitt (1970: 88 n. 16), Leumann et al. (1965-79: I.537) and Keller (1992: 21-2) acknowledge Forssman's findings.

descendant of an Indo-European *$g\hat{\underset{\circ}{n}}h_3$-*sk̂e/o*-. Even without this direct evidence, however, we might still reasonably reconstruct a pre-Greek form *γνώσκω on the strength of the Latin and Old Persian evidence.

Whether we have attestations of *γνώσκω or not does not solve the problem of how the reduplication came about. It is often said that *$g\hat{n}\bar{o}sk\hat{\bar{o}}$ came to be 'crossed' with a form *$g\hat{i}g\hat{n}\bar{o}mi$.[120] This theory has been criticised, however,[121] and there have been other suggestions. Hence, to Giacalone Ramat (1967: 107-8), γιγνώσκω is a hypercharacterisation of *γνώσκω; similarly, Rix (1992: 213; 1998: 149 and 150 n. 13) merely has the reduplication as secondary. Keller (1992: 22) suggests that both γιγνώσκω and βιβάσκω were formed by the addition of reduplication to older stems, the inverse of the process by which reduplicated forms in Hittite were recharacterised by -(*i*)*šk*-.

4.1.2. κικλήσκω

The present tense form κικλήσκω 'summon; call by such and such a name, name so and so' occurs in the present active seven times in the *Iliad* and three in the *Odyssey*, with imperfect twice and once respectively. There are also instances of a medio-passive present (*Od.* 15.403) and imperfect (*Il.* 10.300). It has a collateral present, active καλέω 'call, summon, etc.; invite to one's house, etc., call, name, etc.' (fourteen times in the *Iliad*, eleven in the *Odyssey*), with imperfect also (four times and six respectively); there is a medio-passive καλέομαι 'bear the name of, be known as, etc.' (four times in the *Iliad*[122] and six in the *Odyssey*, with imperfect once

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[120]First of all in Leumann and Hofmann (1928: 314); cf. now Leumann et al. 1965-79: I.537; Kujoṛe 1970: 71, 1973: 8; Risch 1974: 276; Sihler 1995: 507; and Szemerényi 1996: 273. The reduplicated pre-form could be the basis of the Indo-Iranian desiderative found in Indic *jijñāsati* and Young Avestan *zixšnå̊ŋhəmna-*: cf. Leumann et al. 1965-79: I.537.

[121]Cf. e.g. Sihler 1995: 507.

[122]Not including the instance of καλεοίμην at *Il.* 9.461: on the passage concerned see Hainsworth in Kirk et al. 1985-93: III.123.

in the former). The future καλέω occurs in participial form only (once in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey*). Also in καλε- is the aorist active ἐκάλεσσα (seventeen times in the *Iliad* and twenty in the *Odyssey*), transitive middle ἐκαλεσσάμην (eight times in the *Iliad* and five in the *Odyssey*). Perfect forms are, like present κικλήσκω, in -κλη- : medio-passive κέκλημαι (six times and once); pluperfect form κεκλήατο (*Il.* 10.195); and future perfect κεκλήσομαι (*Il.* 3.138). There is also an iterative preterite active καλέεσκε, - ον (*Il.* 6.402, 9.562), medio-passive καλέσκετο (*Il.* 15.338). The occasional compound forms are: aorist active ἐκκάλεσα 'call forth, summon' (*Il.* 24.582, *Od.* 10.471) and imperfect medio-passive ἐξεκαλεόμην (*Od.* 24.1); aorist middle προκαλεσσάμην 'summon or invite to a fight or contest, challenge, defy, dare' (six times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*), and also ἐκπροκαλεσσάμην 'summon and cause to come forward out of' (*Od.* 2.400); and aorist συγκάλεσα 'call together, invoke' (*Il.* 2.55=10.302). A further present, προκαλίζομαι (four times in the *Iliad*, twice in the *Odyssey*) apparently acts as the present of προκαλεσσάμην. Also in κλη- is an 'absolutive' in - δην, found both as κλήδην 'by name' (*Il.* 9.11) and in ὀνομακλήδην 'by name' (*Od.* 4.278) and ἐξονομακλήδην 'id.' (*Il.* 22.415, *Od.* 12.250). There are nominal forms in κλη- and καλη- besides,[123] as well as further, less certainly related forms.[124]

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[123]In κλη- we find verbal adjective κλητός 'invited, made welcome; called or chosen for a mission' (*Il.* 9.165, *Od.* 17.386), with compound πολύκλητος 'called together from many quarters' (*Il.* 4.438, 10.420); and ἐπίκλησις 'second name; by name, nominally' (five times in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*). In καλη- there is καλήτωρ 'one who summons, a crier' (*Il.* 24.577), also found as a proper noun (*Il.*15.419), and the further names Καλητορίδης (*Il.* 13.541) and Καλήσιος (*Il.* 6.18).

[124]On κλαγγή 'cry' (for the meaning cf. Cunliffe 1924 s.v.) and related forms, see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v.; for ὁμοκλή 'rebuke, etc.' and its cognates, see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. Less certainly related is the group of forms in κελα- : beside κέλαδος 'noise, din, disturbance' (*Il.* 9. 547, 18.530, *Od.* 18.402), we also find κελαδεινός 'blustering', aorist κελάδησα 'shouted in approval or applause' and κελάδων 'blustering', the latter also as proper noun. Cf. further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. κέλαδος; and Beekes 1969: 192.

In addition, there is the aorist ἐκέκλετο 'call to' (36 times in the *Iliad*, six in the *Odyssey*), also found once in compound form ἐπεκέκλετ' 'call upon, summon, invoke' (*Il.* 9.454).[125] This is generally cited under κέλομαι 'command; exhort; call' (27 times in each epic), which also has a future κελήσομαι (*Od.* 10.296).[126] According to Bendahman (1993: 110), however, there is a semantic difference between the aorist and other parts, and it should rather be linked to the forms listed above; see further Chapter 4 § 4.4.

We can reconstruct a root *$kleh_1$- for these forms, also found in Germanic and Italic (cf. Rix 1998: 321-2). According to Rix (1998: 321), καλέω derives from an ancient present *$k\underset{\circ}{l}h_1$-*éye/o*- along with Umbrian *kařetu* 'he must call'. We may perhaps take ἐκέκλετο as ultimately from ?*$ké$-$k\underset{\circ}{l}h_1$-*e/o*-, with loss of *h_1 before a vowel.[127] The present κέλομαι may then derive from earlier *$kelh_1$-*e/o*- (Bendahman 1993: 115); alternatively, it could come from a separate root **kel*- 'urge' (cf. Rix 1998: 311-12).

The origin of κικλήσκω itself is uncertain. There is no other evidence for a preform *$k\underset{\circ}{l}h_1$-*sk̂e/o*-, and the reduplication also implies that the form is not so ancient. On the other hand, the Hittite form *kalleš*- 'lure, summon up' gives a pattern of κικλήσκω : *kalleš*- :: γιγνώσκω :: *ganeš*-, which could well speak for the possible link between *-*s*- and *-*sk̂*- (cf. Chapter 2 § 3.2); on these forms see further Puhvel 1984- s.vv. *kalles*(*s*)-, *ganes*(*s*)-.

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[125]On this reduplicated aorist see further Bendahman 1993: 110-15.

[126]Further apparently related forms in κελ- include κελεύω 'command, order, etc.', aorist form ἔκελσα 'bring (a ship) to shore; come to shore' and κέλης 'riding (horse)': see further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. κέλλω; and Bendahman 1993: 112.

[127]Cf. Rix 1998: 321 and 322 n. 5, following Bendahman 1993: 113-14.

4.1.3. μιμνήσκω

The simple active μιμνήσκω 'remind' is found once in the imperative form μίμνησκ'(ε) at *Od.* 14.169; the present medio-passive μιμνήσκομαι occurs three times in the *Iliad* and four in the *Odyssey*, with one instance of an imperfect (*Il.* 13.722). Other tenses are formed with the stem μνη- . There is a transitive future μνήσω (*Il.*15.31, *Od.* 12.38), intransitive μνήσομαι (four and three times in the respective epics); a transitive aorist ἔμνησα (*Il.* 1.407, *Od.* 3.103, 14.170), intransitive ἐμνησάμην (31 times in the *Iliad* and 20 in the *Odyssey*); perfect μέμνημαι 'recall or bear in mind, remember, etc.; tell or speak about' (seventeen and fourteen), with occasional pluperfect (*Il.* 17.364, *Od.* 24.195); future perfect μεμνήσομαι (*Il.* 22.390, *Od.* 19.581, 21.79); and, lastly, a rare aorist passive ἐμνήσθην 'told or spoke about' (*Od.* 4.118). An iterative occurs for the aorist middle in the form μνησάσκετο (*Il.* 11.566). Compound forms are rare: we find aorist active ἀνέμνησα 'reminded' (*Od.* 3.211); aorist middle ἀπεμνησάμην 'remembered a favour' (*Il.* 24.428); aorist middle ἐπεμνησάμην 'remembered; spoke about' (*Il.* 17.103, *Od.* 4.191), with passive ἐπεμνήσθην 'remembered, thought of' (*Od.* 1.31, 4.189); and future ὑπομνήσω 'will remind' (*Od.* 15.3), with aorist also (*Od.* 1.321). Active forms therefore make up a tiny proportion of this verb's instances.

There is also a related present μνάομαι 'recall, remember; turn one's mind to, etc.' and, via specialisation,[128] 'woo, court, seek to debauch', which by diectasis appears to have a stem μνωε/ο- ; in present and imperfect together it is found four times in the *Iliad* and twenty in the *Odyssey*, with aorist stem iterative μνάσκετ'(ο) at *Od.* 20.290.

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[128]Cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. μιμνήσκω, with bibliography.

Nominal forms from this root are in μνη- : most relating to the notion of remembrance show the stem μνημ-,[129] whereas those without - μ- are related to 'woo'.[130] The root occurs in Greek first in Mycenaean *ma-na-si-we-ko* = *Μνᾱσίϝεργος (Attic Μνησίεργος; cf. Auro Jorro 1985-93 s.v. *ma-na-si-we-ko*).

We may reconstruct a root *$*mneh_2$*- (cf. Rix 1998: 403), also found in many Sanskrit forms, from Vedic onwards,[131] and perhaps in Cuneiform Luvian; as in the case of κικλήσκω, however, some other analogy must have played its part for the reduplication to have arisen. Gignac (1976-81: II.277 n. 2) cites several instances of unreduplicated μνήσκομαι, the earliest of which occurs in Anacreon (94.4). A search of Classical inscriptions on the Packard Humanities Institute CD-ROM #7 produces eight different attestations, but none are early, and it seems that μνήσκομαι developed from μιμνήσκομαι rather than the reverse; a search of Christian inscriptions gives eight instances of μνησκ- but only one of μιμνησκ- .[132] Giannakis (1997: 247) has μνήσκομαι as secondary, and derives μιμνήσκομαι from perfect μέμνημαι, via such a parallel as κικλήσκω : κέκλημαι. Further evidence that this affixed present in - σκ- is secondary is that, according to Rix (1998: 403), *$*mneh_2$*- formed a root present *$*mnéh_2$*- / *$m\underset{\circ}{n}h_2$*- (whence ultimately μνάομαι, late Vedic *ā-manati* 'mention' and perhaps Cuneiform Luvian *manāti* 'sees') and affixed aorist *$*mnēh_2$*-*s*- / *$mnéh_2$*-*s*- (Doric ἔμνᾱσα, perhaps Sanskrit -*mnāsiṣur*); this is the opposite of the expected pattern of root aorist beside affixed present which we would normally have for a present in *-*ske/o*- (cf. Chapter 1 § 4.3).

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[129]Cf. μνῆμα 'memento, remembrancer' (*Il.* 23.619, *Od.* 15.126, 21.40), μνημοσύνη 'thought or care for' (*Il.* 8.181) and μνήμων 'having a good memory, mindful' (*Od.* 8.163, 21.95). The one exception is μνῆστις 'thought or care for' (*Od.* 13.280).

[130]Hence μνηστή (of ἄλοχος) 'wooed (and won), wedded' (four times, twice), πολυμνήστη 'wooed by many' (three times in the *Odyssey*), μνηστεύω 'court, etc.' (*Od.* 4.684, 18.277), μνηστήρ 'wooer, suitor' (232 times, only in the *Odyssey*) and μνηστύς 'wooing, courting' (three times in the *Odyssey*).

[131]Cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *MAN*[1].

[132]For bibliography see Gignac 1976-81: II.277 n. 2. On the other hand, Rix (1998: 403 and n. 5) seems to count the attestation from Anacreon as evidence of an earlier unreduplicated form.

As noted above (§ 3.2.5), a further - ι- was in some cases added to the η of the stem of this form.

4.1.4. Origin and development: γιγνώσκω, κικλήσκω and μιμνήσκω

The forms discussed so far in this section show interesting morphological patterning. Including compound forms together with simple ones, and putting imperfects together with presents and pluperfects with perfects, the data can be displayed as follows:

Present	**Future**	**Aorist**	**Perfect**	**Future Perfect**	**Contracted Verb**	**Iterative Preterite**	**Verbal Adjective**
(-)γιγνώσκω (23, 13)	γνώσομαι (7, 2)	(-)ἔγνων (43, 50)			ἠγνοίησα (3, 3) ἀγνώσκασκε (0, 1)		(-)γνωτός (8, 11)
κικλήσκω (9, 4) κικλήσκομαι (1, 1) καλέω (18, 17) (-)καλέομαι (5, 7)	καλέω (1, 3)	(-)ἐκέκλετο (37, 6) (-)ἐκάλεσσα (20, 21) (-)ἐκαλεσσάμην (14, 7)	κέκλημαι (7, 1)	κεκλήσομαι (1, 0)		καλέεσκε (2, 0) καλέσκετο (1, 0)	(-)κλητός (3, 1)
μιμνήσκω (0, 1) μιμνήσκομαι (4, 4)	(-)μνήσω (1, 2) μνήσομαι (4, 3)	(-)ἔμνησα (1, 4) (-)ἐμνήσαμην (33, 21) (-)ἐμνήσθην (0, 3)	μέμνημαι (18, 15)	μεμνήσομαι (1, 2)	μνάομαι (4, 20) μνάσκετο (0, 1)	μνησάσκετο (1, 0)	

It is thus apparent that a conjugation has arisen for forms in *CRV̄*-, where presents show both reduplication and the suffix - σκω; hence - ησκω alternates with non-present forms which end in -η- , and - ωσκω with ones in - ω-. The most

frequently found form is the ancient root aorist ἔγνων, where one would expect sigmatic ἔγνωσα (parallel to ἔμνησα beside μιμνήσκω); in fact, this form only occurs, with causative meaning, in the Classical period in the Ionic compound form ἀνέγνωσα.[133] For one verb there are two stems, κλη- and καλε-, both from the root *$kleh_1$-; the latter of the two gives present καλέω, future καλέω and aorist ἐκάλεσσα. There is also aorist ἐκέκλετο. The present κικλήσκω could be an ancient formation involving this stem before the laryngeal was lost, or could equally have been created from an analogy such as γνωτός : γιγνώσκω :: κλητός : X, or even μέμνημαι : μιμνήσκομαι :: κέκλημαι : X. It is frustrating that the frequencies of the data here are not sufficient to tell us which of these forms was certainly oldest. The present γιγνώσκω seems to have been inherited in some form, but even if it did acquire its reduplication first out of this set in the way described above, we cannot be sure how this feature spread.

Also of interest are the iterative formations: we find the sets κικλησκ- : καλε(σ)- : καλε(ε)σκ- and μιμνησκ- : μνη(σ)- : μνησασκ-, which demonstrate the independence of -σκω and -(ε)σκον.

4.1.5. ἱλάσκομαι

Also apparently from a *set* root is ἱλάσκομαι 'propitiate, seek to win favour or grace from (a divinity)'. At first glance this present differs to a very great extent from the three forms just discussed. It is found four times, all in the *Iliad*, where the alternative form ἱλάονται 'id.' also occurs (*Il.* 2.550). The aorist is ἱλασσάμην, found three times in *Iliad* I and once in the *Odyssey*; its initial vowel is twice short (*Il.* 1.100, 147) but otherwise long.[134] Other verbal forms are the imperative ἵληθι (*Od.* 3.380, 16.184) and the perfect subjunctive ἱλήκῃσι (*Od.* 21.365), both defined by

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[133]Cf. Veitch 1887 s.v. ἀναγιγνώσκω.

[134]That is, at *Il.* 1.444 and *Od.* 3.419, and in its rare occurrences in later Greek: cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἱλάσκομαι.

Cunliffe as 'be propitious, lend a gracious ear' (1924 s.vv. ἰλήκω, ἵλημι). The one nominal form found in Homer is the adjective ἵλᾱος 'propitious, gracious, benign' (*Il.* 1.583, 9.639, 19.178). Further early forms are a present ἵλᾰμαι, with the same meaning as ἱλάσκομαι and ἱλάονται (*h.Hom.*19.48=21.5), and stative perfect optative ἱλήκοι (*h.Ap.* 165).[135]

A thorough study of these and other forms from this root was undertaken by Klingenschmitt (1970, with much discussion and further bibliography), whose explanation is as follows. It had already been observed that the Aeolic imperatives ἔλλᾱθι (Bacchylides 11.8 S.-M.) and ἔλλᾰτε (Callimachus *Fr.* 7.13 Pf.), both meaning 'be propitious', show the regular Aeolic development from of ἑλλ- from **he-hl-* with perfect reduplication; also perfect are ἱλήκῃσι and ἱλήκοι, which must represent forms in εἱλ- , similarly from **he-hl-*. The stem of ἱλάσκομαι thus comes from earlier **hihlá-ske/o-*, while the aorist ἱλασσάμην from earlier **hela-s(s)-* shows the influence of the present in its root vocalism; later, when the initial *-i-* in the present became long due to the loss of the following *-h-*, the aorist was also sometimes found with the same initial quantity. The forms ἱλάονται and ἵλᾰμαι are perhaps secondary on the aorist in ἱλασσ- after a parallel such as ἀγασσ- : ἀγα- ; the imperative ἵληθι represents an old perfect. In this way Klingenschmitt derived all the above forms as ultimately from **selh*$_2$-, which he thought was causative 'gnädig machen', i.e. 'propitiate'; he postulated a link with Armenian *ałač'em* 'propitiate' which he derived from **s̥lh*$_2$*-ske/o-* (1970: 79-82). We may therefore derive all these forms from a root **selh*$_2$- (cf. Rix 1998: 480).

On the evidence of the adjective ἵλᾱος, derived from **híhlāwos*, Klingenschmitt also postulated a reduplicated present from this root in Greek,

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[135]For these forms and later developments see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἱλάσκομαι; and Klingenschmitt 1970: 75, with both a list of attestations and citations of relevant passages from Hesychius and Herodian.

**hi-hlā-*.[136] The Greek present ἵλάσκομαι, from **hihlásḱe/o-*, could thus, via **si-sl̥h₂-sḱe/o-*, be an amalgamation of the Indo-European present **sl̥h₂-sḱe/o-* and a further form **si-sl̥h₂-*. Klingenschmitt (1970: 82) compares this derivation of ἵλάσκομαι with that of γιγνώσκω from **gi̯gn̂ōmi* beside **gn̂ōsḱō*; and if he is correct, then there is a good explanation for two of the cases of *seṭ*-root reduplicated presents in -σκω in Greek. Klingenschmitt points out that more reduplicated presents in -σκω could have been created on this model, and cites the same origin as possible for διδάσκω (cf. § 4.2.1 below). The difference between the root vowel lengths is problematic: why do we have **gnō-* but **hlă-*? The answer is perhaps that the *ă* in **hihlăskomai* is due to the aorist **helas*(*s*)-.

Clackson (1994: 173-4) has criticised Klingenschmitt's interpretation, claiming that his etymology of *ałač'em* is dubious both in the treatment of *-č'-* from **-sḱ-* and also in having *ała-* supposedly from **l̥h₂-*.[137] Less compellingly, Clackson notes that the semantic link between the two words is not quite as sound as it might seem, since in its earliest use ἵλάσκομαι refers to a god, but this is only a derived sense in Armenian, where *ałač'em* is first used of people. He thus prefers to state that there is no certain direct connection between the two forms, one between the roots being more likely.

Nonetheless, Klingenschmitt's interpretation of the Greek data is persuasive. Moreover, it shows that ἵλάσκομαι was once close in form to the other Homeric reduplicated verbs in -σκω from *seṭ* roots: beside present : perfect pairs κικλησκ- : κεκλη- and μιμνησκ- : μεμνη- there was once **hιhλᾱσκ- : **hεhλᾱ-*.

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[136]There is further evidence for this reconstruction if ἴλαμαι represents an ancient reduplicated present **si-sélh₂- / si-sl̥h₂-*, although the Greek form's short vowels are unexpected and must be ascribed to analogy (cf. Rix 1998: 480 and n. 2).

[137]He is followed by Giannakis (1997: 244). A slightly different view of events is held by Rix (1998: 480), who largely follows Klingenschmitt but has **selh₂-* as inchoative 'gnädig werden'.

4.2. Consonant-stem formations

4.2.1. διδάσκω

The present form διδάσκω 'teach, instruct' is found in the active infinitive (*Il.* 9.442, 23.308) and also the indicative (*Od.* 1.384); as medio-passive participle, meaning 'gain knowledge of, learn', it is found at *Il.* 16.811. Non-present forms are aorist ἐδίδαξα (three times in each epic) and perfect medio-passive δεδιδάχθαι (*Il.* 11.831);[138] with the same stem is αὐτοδίδακτος 'self-taught' (*Od.* 22.347).

Two possible origins have been argued for these forms. It was once thought that διδάσκω derived from an earlier *δι- δακ- σκω;[139] this form, together with Latin *discō* 'I learn', was then derived from **di-d^{o}k-ske/o-*, despite the phonological problem which arises from the Greek - α- . In this theory, the future and aorist stem διδαξ- is formed from *διδακ- σ- : ἐδίδαξα comes from *ἐ- διδακ- σα, διδάξω from *διδακ- σω.

The alternative theory links διδάσκω not with *discō*, but with Homeric forms of the verb 'get to know, know, learn' from *δασ- ; in all, there are 25 verbal parts from this stem in Homer. These are future δαήσεαι (*Od.* 3.187, 19.325); aorist indicative ἐδάην, subjunctive δαείω, δαῶμεν, infinitive δαήμεναι, δαῆναι (in simple form eight times in the *Iliad* and five in the *Odyssey*), with compound participle προ- δαείς 'having known beforehand' (*Od.* 4.396); reduplicated causative thematic aorist active δέδαε(ν) 'taught' (four times in the *Odyssey*), medio-passive δεδάασθαι[140] 'have oneself taught; get to know, acquire knowledge of' (*Od.* 16.316);[141] and perfect indicative δεδάηκα 'have practical knowledge or skill in' (*Od.* 8.134, 146), participle δεδαώς, δεδαηκότες (*Od.* 2.61, 17.519), with medio-

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[138]On the alternative reading δεδάασθαι for this form see Chapter 4 § 3.1.2 n. 37.

[139]For bibliography concerning this derivation, see Debrunner 1937: 251-2.

[140]The form is apparently for *δεδάεσθαι: cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.82; and Bendahman 1993: 71.

[141]On these reduplicated aorist forms, see further Bendahman 1993: 69-71.

passive δεδαημένος at *h.Merc.* 483. Occasional nominal forms also occur.[142] There are only a few later derivatives from this stem in Greek, which falls radically into decline. The productive διδασκ- , on the other hand, is in this theory responsible for non-present forms in διδαξ- (from *διδασκ- σ-)[143] and also many other derivatives besides: perfect medio-passive δεδιδάχθαι, nominal - διδακτος and, later, the rare aorist διδασκῆσαι (Hesiod *Op.* 64, Pindar *P.* 4.217) and many nominal forms in διδασκ- , such as διδάσκαλος.[144]

Debrunner, in a thorough study of the evidence (1937, with further bibliography at 1937: 251-2) showed that derivation of διδάσκω from the Greek root δα(σ)- is more reasonable both morphologically and semantically.[145] The latter derives from a Proto-Indo-European root **dens*-, which may also be found in Greek δήνεα (plural) 'wiles; thoughts' (*Il.* 4.361, *Od.* 10.289, 23.82), apparently ultimately from *δενσος and inherited beside Vedic *dáṃsas*- 'miraculous power' and Young Avestan *daŋhah*- 'skilfulness'.[146] Debrunner (1937: 261) thus derives διδάσκω from δι- δασ- σκω, although in fact we could equally well be dealing with *δι- δα- σκω; as Giannakis (1997: 238) notes, this brings the pair δι- δα- σκω : non-present δα- neatly in line with γιγνώσκω : γνω- and μιμνήσκω : μνη- . Since our earliest

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[142]These are δαήμων 'skilled, experienced' (twice in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey*), ἀδαήμων 'ignorant of, not experienced or versed in' (twice in each epic) and ἀδαημονίη 'ignorance, want of experience or skill' (*Od.* 24.244). Also connected perhaps is δαΐφρων (38 times in the *Iliad*, 21 in the *Odyssey*) in some of its occurrences: cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v.

[143]Cf. also ἀλύσκω : ἀλυξ- , and further § 3.1.1 above.

[144]For further data detailing the history of δα- and διδάσκω from Homer to Classical Greek, see Debrunner 1937: 257-61; and also Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. διδάσκω. On forms in Plato see Chapter 7 § 5.2.

[145]Hence there is no longer any need to postulate an inherited reduplicated form in *-*ske/o*- for Latin *discō*. This is an advantage, since reduplicated presents in - σκω do not seem to have been an inherited formation; cf. Chapter 2 § 2.1 on this type in Greek and Hittite. On the Latin form, cf. Keller 1992: 109-16, with bibliography.

[146]Cf. Debrunner 1937: 261; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. δήνεα; Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *DAMS*; and Rix 1998: 102 n. 1.

texts, the forms in δα(σ)- fell into decline; hence they came to be replaced by a new stem, taken from the present διδάσκω.

It is thus still current to believe that διδάσκω is derived from the same root as the other forms in δα-, ultimately from a root **dens*-, which also occurs in Indo-Iranian (Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *DAMS*; Rix 1998: 102).[147] Given the sense of διδάσκω as opposed to that of the other forms, it seems best to suppose that it was derived from the causative reduplicated aorist δέδαε, as was noted by Jacquinod (1989: 197). The reduplication in the present may therefore have been felt to be the 'complement' of that found in the form from which it was derived, as Tichy (1976: 76 n. 11) implies. A morphologically similar case could be ἵζω from *σιzδω beside ἕζετο from *σεzδετο (cf. Risch 1974: 243), although the latter derivation may not go back far in time (cf. Rix 1998: 465 and 466 n. 4). One may also compare κικλήσκω : ἐκέκλετο, if from **ki-kl̥h₁-ske/o-* : **ke-kl̥h₁-e/o-*.[148] On the other hand, Klingenschmitt (1970: 84 n. 5) suggests that there was an inherited reduplicated present, which he reconstructs on the basis of διδάσκω beside the Old Avestan reduplicated present stem found in active injunctive *didąs* (**di-dans-t*) 'he teaches, he professes' and present middle *dīdaŋ́hē* (**di-dn̥s-ai*) 'I learn';[149] if he is correct, the

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[147]Cf. also Frisk 1960-72 s.v. διδάσκω; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. διδάσκω; Kujoŗę 1970: 71 n. 4; Lejeune 1972: 118 and n. 4, 208 n. 1; Jacquinod 1989: 194-5; and Keller 1992: 113-15. Hamp (1968: 286-7) apparently attempts a cross between the two theories, where διδάσκω from base δα(σ)- comes to replace earlier *δίσκω or *δίχθω, which he finds are the possible reflexes of inherited **di-dk-ske/o-*. A further suggestion was made by Lejeune (1976), who wished to link *discō* and διδάσκω by postulating a root **de(n)k-* rather than **dens*-, but this theory does not seem to have been accepted: cf. Rix 1998: 101-2, who lists only **denḱ-* 'bite', and διδάσκω under **dens*-; and also the criticism at Keller 1992: 115.

[148]Keller's (1992: 117-18 n. 5) criticism that we would expect **(δι)δεδάσκω is unfounded: cf. also the parallel of τιτύσκομαι : τετυκέσθαι, §§ 4.2.3, 4.3 below.

[149]On this interpretation of these forms cf. similarly Kellens 1984: 185; Kellens and Pirart 1988: 146; Humbach 1991: II.141; and also Bendahman 1993: 70. Insler's (1975: 237) emendation to perfect middle **dadaiŋ́he* 'I was instructed' is more controversial.

present διδάσκω could have been formed by the analogy of such a pair as **si-s̥lh₂-ské/ó-* beside **si-s̥lh₂-* (cf. § 4.1.5 above).

It is also worthy of note that διδάσκω is probably our oldest attested present in -σκω:[150] Mycenaean gives us the forms *di-da-ka-re* and *de-di-ku-ja* (*de-di-<da>-ku-ja*), at least the former of which probably includes some form of (-)διδασκ- .[151]

4.2.2. πιφαύσκω

The present active πιφαύσκω 'make manifest, display; tell of; give a signal; bring forward; set forth, etc.' occurs twice in the *Iliad* and three times in the *Odyssey*; the imperfect is found at *Il.* 10.202, 478 and *Od.* 12.165. The medio-passive 'id.' is found five times in the *Iliad* and seven in the *Odyssey*. The ι of the reduplicatory syllable is lengthened when the form occurs in the first half of the hexameter, all active voice instances (*Il.* 10.478, 502, 18.500); the same is true in the Homeric Hymns (πῑ- at *h.Merc.* 500, πῐ- at *h.Ap.* 444).[152] A related verbal form is the aorist φάε (*Od.* 14.502), glossed as 'broke' (of the dawn) by Cunliffe (1924 s.v. φάον) and as '"briller" ou "apparaître"' by Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. φάε); the stem must have ended in a ϝ, with this form deriving from earlier *(ἐ)φαϝον. Kujoṛe (1973: 60), however, cites φάε as an imperfect from a present *φάω, comparing Aeolic φαύω = φάϝω. The latter is cited by grammarians and apparently existed in Cypriot also (*Kafizin* 47);[153] its relation to πιφαύσκω is obscure. The range of related forms in Ancient Greek is very large, with several different types occurring in Homer.[154]

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[150]This does not include the dubious *te-ra-pi-ke* = *θεραπισκει, for which see Chapter 6 § 2.2.

[151]On these forms see Chapter 6 § 2.1.

[152]Cf. LSJ s.v. πιφαύσκω, and also Giannakis 1997: 250.

[153]Cf. LSJ s.vv. φαύω, ὑφαύω .

[154]There is the participle φαέθων 'bright, resplendent' (once in the *Iliad* and four times in the *Odyssey*), also as masculine and feminine proper noun (*Od.* 23.246, 12.132 respectively). An important nominal form is φάος 'light of the day, etc.', with diectasis and before a consonant φόως (in

The etymology of πιφαύσκω is problematic. Rix (1998: 54-5) lists two homonymous roots of the form *$bheh_2$-. One, meaning 'speak, say' gives such derivatives as Greek φημί 'say', Latin *for*, *fārī* 'speak' and Vedic *bhánati* 'speaks', as well as occurring in other languages besides. The other means 'gleam, flash, shine': its root present is the source of Vedic *bhā́ti* 'gleam, shine' (cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *BHĀ*) and Hesychius' φάντα· λάμποντα among other formations. Greek φαίνω 'cause to appear, etc.' and πεφήσεται 'will appear' (*Il.* 17.155) also come from this root, and other languages show further reflexes.

Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. φάε) links the forms from the latter root with our forms in φαυ- / φαϝ-, which therefore appear to derive from a zero-grade stem *bhh_2-*w*-; hence also φάος 'light of the day, etc.' from φάϝος. He cites as possibly connected Vedic *vi-bhā́v-a-* and *vi-bhā́v-an-* 'shining, brilliant'; however, these examples are ambiguous, and could actually be instances of suffixes beginning with *-v-*. We could reconstruct a pre-form *(*bhi-*)bhh_2*u-sḱe/o-*, but this would give **(πι-)φύσκω, through loss of the laryngeal before vocalic **u*. If, with Beekes (1969: 178), we derive φαυ- / φαϝ- from the extended root *bhh_2-*eu*-, then we may derive πιφαύσκω from *(*bhi-*)bhh_2-*eu-sḱe/o-*.

There are two further possibilities. The easier is that πιφαύσκω was simply derived from the aorist *(ἐ)φαϝον, although there is admittedly neither any direct analogy nor direct evidence that the aorist ever had a digamma. Alternatively, we could reconstruct the same method of derivation for πιφαύσκω as was given above

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all 30 times in the *Iliad*, 27 in the *Odyssey*; cf. further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. φάε C.5). From this comes φαεινός 'bright, shining' (64 times in the *Iliad* and eighteen in the *Odyssey*, frequently in formulae) and verb φαείνω 'give light, shine' (five times in the *Odyssey*) with intransitive aorist φαάνθη, φάανθεν (*Il.* 1.200, 17.650), also found compounded with ἐξ- (three times in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*); on the derivation of this verb, see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. φάε C.5.b. There is also φαάντατος 'very bright' (*Od.* 13.93), proper noun Φαυσιάδης (*Il.* 11.578) and adjective φαεσίμβροτος (*Il.* 24.785, *Od.* 10.138, 191), meaning 'that brings or gives light to men', or perhaps 'looking at men': cf. further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. φάε D.3; and von Kamptz 1982: 117.

for γιγνώσκω and (more debatably) for διδάσκω and ἰλάσκομαι. The full-grade part of a reduplicated present *bhi-$bheh_2u$- / *bhi-$bheh_2w$- would give πιφαυ- / πιφᾱϝ- (the former before a consonant, the latter before a vowel), whilst the expected present in *-ske/o- would be, as just seen, *φύσκω. If these two presents came to be mixed in the same way as is assumed for *γίγνωμι and *γνώσκω, then *πίφαυμι and *φύσκω could give πιφαύσκω. Yet matters are confused further by the existence of Classical unreduplicated intransitive - φαύσκω, first found in Herodotus as διαφώσκω 'dawn'.[155] Giannakis (1997: 249) points out that reduction could have occurred in composition,[156] or that πιφαύσκω could have been built on *φαύσκω. In this case, however, from where could the latter have originated, and what was the model?

4.2.3. τιτύσκομαι

Τιτύσκομαι 'make ready; take aim; thrust; be eager' is found eleven times in the *Iliad* and six in the *Odyssey*. Cognate with it is a large group of words which derive from a stem *τευχε/ο- / *τυχε/ο-, comprising two senses: 'make ready' (τεύχω) and 'aim at' (τυγχάνω). Τεύχω 'construct; make ready; plan, etc.' is found thirteen times in the present and imperfect in the *Iliad*, five in the *Odyssey*, with medio-passive imperfect τεύχοντ'(ο) at *Od.* 10.182. It also shows futures τεύξω (once, eight times) and τεύξομαι (*Il.* 5.653, 19.208); aorists ἔτευξα (ten times, twelve) and, oddly with unaspirated κ, reduplicated thematic aorist τετυκεῖν (*Od.* 15.77=94), more usually medio-passive τετυκέσθαι (three times in the *Iliad*, eight in the *Odyssey*).[157] There is also a perfect τετευχώς (*Od.* 12.423), comparable to

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[155]On the Classical forms see further Kujọrẹ 1973: 251; and Giannakis 1997: 249.

[156]Cf. e.g. Latin *didō* : *condō*.

[157]On these reduplicated aorist forms, see further Bendahman 1993: 74-8.

Mycenaean *te-tu-ko-wo-a*, *te-tu-ko-wo-a*$_2$ = *τετυχϝοhα;[158] more usual is the medio-passive τετύχθαι 'be' (26 times in the *Iliad*, 27 in the *Odyssey*), with pluperfect τετύγμην (nineteen times in the former, fourteen in the latter) and future perfect τετεύξομαι (four times in the *Iliad*). There is also an aorist passive ἐτύχθην (ten times in the former, seven in the latter). The only compound is the perfect medio-passive προτετύχθαι 'be gone forth' (*Il.* 16.60, 18.112=19.65). Related nominal forms occur both with zero-grade τυχ- and full-grade τευχ- .[159] There is also a perfect medio-passive τετευχῆ- σθαι 'have one's harness on' (*Od.* 22.104).[160]

Τυγχάνω 'light or fall upon; reach, hit; have success in; get; fall to one's lot; chance to, etc.', though showing fewer forms, has nonetheless quite a wide range of tense stems. The present simple stem is only found in the imperfect, at *Od.* 14.231. The future to this verb too is τεύξομαι (*Il.* 16.609, *Od.* 19.314), and it also has both thematic and sigmatic aorists: more usually ἔτυχον (fifteen times in the *Iliad*, five in the *Odyssey*), but also ἐτύχησα (six times, three). The perfect, similarly with stem extension - η- , is τετύχηκα (*Il.* 17.748, *Od.* 10.88). The one compound form is an imperfect of παρατυγχάνω 'be present with' (*Il.* 11.74).

The ultimate root for all these forms is **dheugh*-, glossed by Rix as 'nutzbar machen, (Ertrag) produzieren'; it is also found in Vedic, Germanic and perhaps Celtic (cf. Rix 1998: 129-30). It is usual to state that τιτύσκομαι is derived from either

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[158]Cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. τεύχω; and Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v. *te-tu-ko-wo-a*. For further related Mycenaean derivatives see Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.vv. *a-te-u-ke* (= ἀτευχής 'unequipped, unarmed'), *to-u-ka* (which perhaps = *τουχά).

[159]Forms in τυχ- are τυκτός, identical in meaning to perfect participle τετυγμένος 'wrought' and so 'thorough, perfect' (twice in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey*), εὔτυκτος 'well made or constructed' (four times in the *Iliad*, three in the *Odyssey*) and proper noun Τυχίος (*Il.* 7.220). Those in τευχ- are νεότευκτος 'newly wrought' (*Il.* 21.592), νεοτευχής 'newly made or constructed, new' (*Il.* 5.194) and τεῦχος, usually plural τεύχεα 'armour, etc.' (161 times in the *Iliad*, 31 in the *Odyssey*).

[160]On this form see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. τεύχω 4.

*τι- τυχ- σκο- μαι or *τι- τυκ- σκο- μαι.[161] The latter is surely preferable, however, since, on the evidence of πάσχω from *παθσκω, we might rather expect a preform *τι- τυχ- σκο- μαι to give rise to **τιτύσχομαι.[162] The obvious origins for this form are thus the parts of the root which show τυκ- — that is, the reduplicated thematic aorist forms τετυκεῖν and τετύκοντο. Indeed, semantic evidence is also in favour of this derivation;[163] in addition, forms in τετυσκ- found in Hesychius point to a connection being felt between τιτύσκομαι and τετυκεῖν.[164]

However, the existence of the aorist forms in unaspirated - κ- itself requires explanation. Bendahman (1993: 76-7), discussing and rejecting the earlier suggestions of Osthoff and Tichy, favours the influence of unaspirated forms such as as τυκτός, τεῦξαι and τιτύσκομαι as responsible for the change of - τυχ- to - τυκ- ; we must discount the role of the latter, however, if we wish to say, conversely, that τετυκεῖν / τετυκέσθαι was its very source.[165] Despite the problems involved, however, we may nonetheless say at the very least that we have a pair of present and aorist forms showing reduplication in - ι- and - ε- respectively, as we do with διδάσκω : δέδαε and κικλήσκω : ἐκέκλετο.

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[161]Cf. Frisk 1960-72 s.v. τιτύσκομαι; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. τιτύσκομαι; Kujoręˊ 1973: 94; and Risch 1974: 276.

[162]Ruijgh (1985: 143 n. 138) expects *τιτύσχομαι or *τιθύσκομαι, the latter on account of Hesychius' ἐνθύσκει (on which see e.g. Kujoręˊ 1973: 252). Giannakis (1997: 251), however, derives τιτύσκομαι from ἔτυχον.

[163]See Chapter 4 § 3.1.5.

[164]The glosses are τετύσκετο· κατεσκευάζετο and τετύσκων· ἐμφανίζων. On the other hand, dissimilation of - ι- υ- to - ε- υ- could also be the reason for the *e*-reduplication: cf. Giannakis 1997: 251.

[165]Cf. also Ruijgh's (1985: 143 n. 138) suggestion that expected *τιτύσχομαι was substituted with τιτύσκομαι, which led to *τετυχεῖν being replaced by τετυκεῖν.

4.2.4. Origin and development: consonant-stem formations

There are thus three Homeric verbs in - σκω which have reduplication in - ι- and consonantal stems. Of these, two also have a reduplicated thematic aorist (διδάσκω: δέδαε, τιτύσκομαι : τέτυκεῖν, τετυκέσθαι); it would be reasonable to suppose that the presents are built directly off these aorists, although the only possible parallel for such 'morpheme replacement' of reduplication in Greek seems to be *σιzδω : *σεzδετο (cf. § 4.2.1 above). The problem of πιφαύσκω remains open: aorist φάε may come from *(ἐ)φαϝον, but there is no evidence of *πέφαϝον. Could perhaps an analogy of the form ἔτυχον : τιτύσκομαι 'aim' : *(ἐ)φαϝον : X give rise to inchoative *πιφαύσκομαι 'become light', whence causative πιφαύσκω?

4.3. Summary: formations with reduplication in - ι-

In conclusion, we may say that the two subsets of verbs in - σκω which show reduplication in - ι- have some common features: indeed, in both sets, one verb is reinterpreted, so that reduplication in - ι- occurs in tenses other than the present (ἰλάσκομαι, διδάσκω). The difficult question, of course, is the origin of the reduplication. As we have seen, a standard theory is that there is some sort of contamination between a reduplicated present and a present in - σκω: this could be the case with γιγνώσκω, διδάσκω, ἰλάσκομαι and πιφαύσκω, and has in fact also been suggested for the form βιβάσκω (*h.Ap.* 133).[166] We may note, incidentally, that this theory works best for *set* roots: *$\hat{gi}$-$\hat{gneh_3}$-*mi* and *$\hat{g}_{\mathring{}}nh_3$-*sk$\hat{o}$* both result in Greek forms with stem (-)γνω- , because the groups *$CReh_3C$ and *$C_{\mathring{}}Rh_3C$ both result in *CRωC*.[167] An alternative hypothesis is that the starting-point of the

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[166]Cf. Ruijgh (1985: 143), who derives βιβάσκω from *βίβημι (cf. βιβάς) and βάσκω. On the other hand, in this instance βιβάσκω could be an iterative formation: cf. Kujoṛe 1973: 95, and further on this form Chapter 4 § 2.1.1.

[167]Cf. § 3.2 n. 68 above.

reduplication is a reduplicated aorist in - ε- which would be matched with a reduplicated present in - ι- : there is evidence for this for διδάσκω and τιτύσκομαι. Beside these instances, κικλήσκω : ἐκέκλετο could also provide a parallel at a very early stage: we would have **ki-kl̥h₁-ske/o-* : **ke-kl̥h₁-e/o-*. There is in addition the possibility that the reduplicated perfect (frequent for κικλήσκω and μιμνήσκω, and also found for ἵλάσκομαι) played a similar role. It would seem to be impossible to decide between these options.

5. Formations with reduplication in -ε-

The pattern of reduplication in - ε- only gives two forms, neither of which occurs very frequently; both are morphologically problematic.

5.1. δειδίσκομαι

Δειδίσκομαι 'pledge in drinking; welcome, greet' is found three times in the *Odyssey*: twice in the imperfect form δειδίσκετο (18.121, 20.197) and once as the participle δειδισκόμενος (3.41). It is also found with different reduplication in the form δεδισκόμενος (*Od.* 15.150). It is related to the present forms δεικανόωντο 'id.' (*Il.* 15.86, *Od.* 18.111, 24.410) and δεικνύμενος 'pledge in drinking (app. from a custom of pointing to the person whose health was to be drunk); welcome, greet' (*Il.* 9.196, *Od.*4.59) and also to δειδέχαται (*Od.* 7.72), δείδεκτο (*Il.* 9.224) and δειδέχατο (*Il.* 4.4, 9.671 and 22.435).

There is no doubt that these forms belong together; problems arise, however, when we try to understand their exact structure and their links with other verbal roots. Firstly, why do we have two different types of reduplication, δε- and δει- , and how do we explain the latter? Secondly, on what root are these forms built – should we think of *deikh-*, *dikh-*, *dek-* or *dekh-*?

The various hypotheses try to establish a link with one of two other sets of verbs, both of which are well-attested in Homer: firstly δείκνῡμι 'manifest, show', and secondly δέχομαι 'receive'.

The attestations for the first group are as follows. There is a present active δεικνύς 'manifest, show, etc.' (*Il.* 13. 244), medio-passive δεικνύμενος (23.701), with future δείξω (five times in the *Odyssey*), aorist ἔδειξα (six times in the *Iliad*, eight in the *Odyssey*) and compound future ἐνδείξομαι 'will open one's mind, declare oneself' (*Il.* 19.83). There is also the apparently connected ἀριδείκετος 'distinguished, renowned; conspicuous, exalted' (twice in the *Iliad*, seven times in the *Odyssey*).[168]

In the second group, we have present δέχομαι 'receive, etc.' (five times in the *Iliad*, three in the *Odyssey*), with future δέξομαι (four times in the *Odyssey*) and sigmatic aorist ἐδεξάμην (24 times in the *Iliad*, eighteen in the *Odyssey*). There are problematic athematic forms: δέχαται (*Il.* 12.147), ἐδέγμην (*Od.* 9.513, 12.230), δέκτο (*Il.* 2.420, 15.88, *Od.* 9.353), with imperative δέξο (*Il.* 19.10), infinitive δέχθαι (*Il.* 1.23, 377) and participle δέγμενος (three times and once respectively).[169] Perfect forms are imperative δέδεξο (*Il.* 5.228, 20.377, 22.340), participle δεδεγμένος (six times in the *Iliad*) and future perfect δεδέξομαι (*Il.* 5.238). Cunliffe also lists a perfect participle δεδοκήμενος here (*Il.* 15.730). Several different compound forms occur.[170]

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[168]On this form see Frisk 1960-72 s.v.; and Chantraine 1968-80 s.v.

[169]On these forms see Chantraine 1986-8: I.296.

[170]We find aorists ἀνεδεξάμην (*Il.* 5.619) and ἀνεδέγμεθα (*Od.* 17.563) 'receive, etc.'; aorist ἀπεδεξάμην (*Il.* 1.95) 'accept'; imperfect ἐξεδέχοντο (*Il.* 13.710) 'receive from one, relieve one of'; παρεδεξάμην (*Il.* 6.178) 'receive from another'; participle ποτιδέγμενος (six times in the *Iliad*, nine in the *Odyssey*) 'wait for, etc.'; and lastly future ὑποδέξομαι (*Il.* 18.59, 89, 440, *Od.*19.257), with aorists ὑπεδεξάμην (*Il.* 7.136, 18.398, *Od.* 22.140, 16.70) and ὑπέδεξο, ὑπέδεκτο, ὑποδέχθαι (in all twice in the *Iliad* and five times in the *Odyssey*), meaning 'receive, etc.', with participle ὑποδέγμενος (*Od.* 13.310, 16.189) and pluperfect ὑπέδεκτο (*Od.* 14.275) 'submit to, etc.'.

For the first group, the comparative evidence clearly supports an inherited root **deiḱ-*, which gives Vedic *diś-*, Latin *dīcō* and also further Iranian, Sabellic and Germanic forms (cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *DEŚ*; and Rix 1998: 92-3); Rix (1998: 92) glosses this as 'zeigen, weisen'. For the second, we may reconstruct a root **dek-* (where the *-kh-* is an innovation within Greek), meaning '(an-, auf-)nehmen, wahrnehmen', also attested in a number of other languages (Rix 1998: 93-5), which yields in Vedic an acrostatic root present *dāṣṭi* (cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *DĀŚ*).

Within Greek, it is difficult to decide on a semantic basis to which of these groups our verbs belong; and it seems impossible to reduce one to the other on phonological grounds. The question posed by the reduplication may perhaps be relevant, however. The older view is that we have here metrical lengthening from δε- to δει- , as first suggested by Meyer (1878: 262-3) and also argued for by Tichy (1976); this was rejected by Wackernagel (1878: 268-9) and more recently by Forssman (1978). Indeed, it is not clear why there should be metrical lengthening here at all, since the forms in question do not have a series of short syllables.

The alternative view is that the length of the reduplication is inherited. Forssman attempts to start with a root *deiḱ-* 'show' and a reduplicated *dei-diḱ-*, later altered to *deidek(h)-*; the short syllable of δεδισκόμενος would be due to metrical shortening. This would clinch the question in favour of *deiḱ-*, but in fact the whole hypothesis has flaws which were brought out by Harðarson (1993: 63 n. 19); above all, why should we have a *dei-* reduplication, and why if we had it would it shorten to *de-*?

We are left with the possibility that our verb is based on a *dek-* root. This was argued as early as 1878 by Wackernagel, who believed that we ought to restore δηδ(ε)ικ- in the tradition, while attributing the -ει- spelling to confusion with δείκνῡμι. If this is possible, then we can compare this long reduplication with that of the Vedic intensive found in e.g. *bābhade* (where the short *ă* of the root syllable is

secondary) from *bādh-* 'oppress' (cf. Wackernagel 1878: 269); indeed, this view seems to be that currently accepted by most scholars.[171] The level of uncertainty, however, is such that we are unlikely to learn much from these forms about the -ε- reduplication or about the final suffixation. The forms in δειδισκ- and δεδισκ-, if from **dek-*, presumably have a secondary -ι- after verbs in -ίσκω, as indeed is usually said.[172]

5.2. ἐΐσκω

Rather more common is ἐΐσκω 'cause to take the likeness of, make like; liken to, deem like, compare with; think, fancy, suppose, conjecture' (four times in the *Iliad*, eight in the *Odyssey*). This would appear to be a reduplicated from of ἴσκω (§ 3.1.3 above), from *ϝε- ϝίκ- σκω.[173] In some cases, however, ἐΐσκω seems to be from ἴσκω with a prothetic vowel, unless conversely ἴσκω represents ἐΐσκω with aphaeresis of initial ε-.[174] This is because, on two occasions, the metre will not allow for an initial ϝ- : hence ἄμμες ἐΐσκομεν at *Od.* 9.321 and οὔ τί σ' ἐΐσκομεν at 11.363 (cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.129). On the other hand, at e.g. *Il.* 5.181 the ϝ- is required by the metre. The two problematic cases may be in late passages, where the digamma fails to make position; alternatively, as Kujoreˇ (1973: 93 n. 5) suggests, in

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[171]Cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. δηδέχαται; Kujoreˇ 1973: 94; West and Russo (Heubeck et al. 1988-92: I.162, III.54 respectively); Harðarson 1993: 62-3 n. 19; Giannakis 1997: 237-8; and Rix 1998: 93-5.

[172]Cf. Meyer 1878: 263; Bechtel 1914: 96; and more recently Kujoreˇ 1973: 94 n. 10; Chantraine 1986-8: I.303 n. 3, 317-18; and Giannakis 1997: 237.

[173]Cf. e.g. Ruijgh 1972: 229, who cites only this case as evidence for present reduplication in -ε- in Greek.

[174]For the former, cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.182; and Kujoreˇ 1973: 93; for the latter, Giannakis 1997: 241.

the former case of ἐΐσκω we may have an augmented imperfect of ἴσκω, and in the latter we could read σε ϝίσκομεν.[175]

One possible explanation for the origin of ϝεϝίσκω is that it results from dissimilation of earlier *ϝι- ϝίκ- σκω.[176] Another is Bader's (1969: 79-80) suggestion that the present reduplication in - ε- is to be ascribed to the influence of the frequent perfect (ϝ)έ(ϝ)οικα;[177] she cites several parallel passages, of the type πάντα ἐΐσκω beside πάντα ἐοικώς (*Il.* 5.181, 21.600).[178] Tichy (1983: 232) cites both factors together: she compares Homeric δειδίσσε/ο- from **de-dwik-ye/o-*, 'das aus dissimilatorischen Gründen die *e*-vokalische Reduplikation des Perfektstamms δείδοικ(α)- übernommen hat'.

The imperfect ἤϊσκον (*Il.* 21.332, *Od.* 4.247) is listed under ἐΐσκω both by Gehring (1891 s.v.) and Cunliffe (1924 s.v.); this assumes that it is descended from *ἐ- ϝέ- ϝισκ- ον.[179] Given that from *(*e-*)*we-wk*^{w}*-e/o-* we have ἔειπον and then εἶπον,[180] however, we might rather expect ἐ- ϝε- ϝισκ- to result in imperfect stem **ἐϊσκ- . Two alternatives are that ἤϊσκον could have been formed with a long augment from ἴσκω, as *ἤ- ϝισκον; or from ἐ- έ(ϝ)ισκον, with augment preceding prothetic ἐ- .[181]

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[175]Cf. similarly Bader (1969: 79-80), who also explains the two instances of apparent ἐϝίσκω as representing *ϝίσκω.

[176]Cf. Schulze 1910: 185, followed by e.g. Kujoŗę 1973: 95 n. 11.

[177]Cf., independently, Ruijgh 1985: 143 n. 136.

[178]In addition, Giannakis (1997: 241) suggests the development of a reduplicated full grade stem **wi-weik-sk-* > **i-eik-sk-* > ἐΐσκω, but himself rejects it as unparalleled.

[179]For this cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἔοικα, 1986-8: I.317; and Giannakis 1997: 241.

[180]Cf. e.g. Rix 1998: 614.

[181]For the former possibility see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἔοικα; and Giannakis 1997: 241; and for the latter Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I. 653 n. 8; and Chantraine 1986-8: I.317 n. 2.

5.3. Summary: formations with reduplication in -ε-

We cannot be certain about the origin of reduplication in - ε- in these two forms. The only certain evidence for reduplicated verbs in - σκω in Homer is, in fact, for those with - ι- ; the cases of so-called Attic reduplication only occur with - ίσκω (ἀραρίσκω, probably ἀπαφίσκω and perhaps εὑρίσκω), and appear to be taken over from the aorists concerned (cf. § 6.1 below).

6. Formations in - ίσκω

In Homer, only four verbs are found in - ίσκω.[182] All are uncommon, and all have thematic aorists. Two seem to show Attic reduplication (ἀπαφίσκω and ἀραρίσκω), but no division of the group will be made on this account because the origin of ἀπαφίσκω is too uncertain, and because we do not know whether εὑρίσκω is also derived from a reduplicated form.

6.1. ἀπαφίσκω

Ἀπαφίσκω 'trick, cheat, beguile' is only found once in the present in Homer, at *Od.* 11.217. The thematic aorist ἤπαφον occurs both in the active (*Od.* 14.488) and the medio-passive (*Od.* 23.216). There is a compound aorist ἐξήπαφον 'trick, cheat, beguile, deceive' in the active (*Od.* 14.379, 23.79) and the medio-passive (*Il.* 9.376, 14.160), as well as παρήπαφον 'beguile, trick' (*Il.* 14.360). Found in the *Homeric Hymns* is a non-present stem ἀπαφη- (first in *h.Ap.* 376 in the form ἐξαπάφησε 'deceived'), which is to be expected of a verb in - ίσκω in post-Homeric Greek (see Chapter 7 §§ 3.1, 6).

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[182]This does not include δειδίσκομαι or ἴσκω and ἐΐσκω, where the - ι- is not part of the suffix; nor those cases where the - ι- has been added later, on which see § 3.2.5 above.

The ultimate etymology of ἀπαφίσκω is uncertain, though it may be related to the Homeric adjective ἀποφώλιος[183] (four times in the *Odyssey*). It is common to derive ἀπαφίσκω from its thematic aorist, as is also done with ἀραρίσκω.[184] Dunkel (1981: 228-9), however, suggests that ἀπαφίσκω derives from *ἀπ- απ- ίσχω 'keep off, keep away (repeatedly)', with 'preverbal āmreḍita' and metathesis of aspiration; Vine (1993: 58-60) has criticised this view, which makes ἀπαφίσκω the archaic form beside the supposedly innovatory aorist ἤπαφον – the opposite of what the Homeric data imply. Rather, Vine argues that ἀποφεῖν may in fact show an old present *ἀποφέω (as found in Hesychius' ἀποφεῖν), which was assimilated to *ἀπαφέω, and this gave the aorist we find first in ἐξαπάφησα at *h.Ap.* 376. The old present *ἀπαφεῖν was reanalysed as reduplicated aorist ἀπαφεῖν, and a new present ἀπαφίσκω created. In this case the aorist in - η- is in fact ancient, and it is of great interest for Classical developments that we have a very old pair of forms showing present - ίσκω beside non-present - η- ;[185] but Vine's suggested etymology is far from certain.

6.2. ἀραρίσκω

The form ἀραρίσκω 'fit together; provide, etc.' is also found only once in Homer, at *Od.* 14.23. This apparently only occurs on one other occasion in Greek literature: at Theocritus 25.103, written in imitation of the *Odyssey* passage where it is first found.[186] In both cases it is in the imperfect. Other forms either show the above

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[183]Cunliffe's (1924) glosses for this word include 'ineffectual' and 'not sagacious'; Hoekstra (Heubeck et al. 1988-92: II.208), however, states that ἀποφώλιος is unrelated to verbal forms in ἀπαφ- , and rather means 'unsound, sans valeur, untauglich', being probably from ἀπο- and ὀφελ- ; cf. also Frisk 1960-72 s.v. ἀποφώλιος (I.126, III.35).

[184]Cf. e.g. Frisk 1960-72 s.v. ἀπαφίσκω; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἀπαφίσκω, 1986-8: I.317, 398, 1991: 225; Ruijgh 1972: 230; Klingenschmitt 1982: 73; and Keller 1992: 183.

[185]Cf. Chapter 7 §§ 3.1, 6.

[186]Cf. Schmidt 1904: 35; and Hoekstra in Heubeck et al. 1988-92: II.194.

transitive meaning, or are intransitive 'be fitted, etc.', and most are not much more frequent: transitive are sigmatic aorist ἦρσα (once in the *Iliad* and four times in the *Odyssey*) and most instances of the thematic aorist ἤραρον (five times in each epic),[187] in two cases intransitive (*Il.* 16.214, *Od.* 4.777), as are aorist passive ἤρθην (*Il.* 16.211 only) and aorist participle ἄρμενος (*Il.* 18.600, *Od.* 5.234, 254).[188] The intransitive perfect ἄρηρα, however, is rather more common. In finite form it only occurs at *Od.* 5.361; participle ἀρηρώς is found, in masculine and neuter together, seven and three times in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* respectively; there is a pluperfect also (four times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*). The feminine of the perfect participle, ἀραρυῖα, is quite frequent (twenty times in the *Iliad* and fourteen in the *Odyssey*). Compound forms are rare: there is an aorist ἐπῆρσα 'fit to' (*Il.* 14. 167, 339), with pluperfect ἐπαρήρει 'be fitted on' (*Il.* 12.456), and two more instances of perfect participles: ἐναρηρώς 'being fitted into its place' (*Od.* 5.236) and προσαρηρώς 'being fitted to' (*Il.* 5.725).[189]

Further evidence for the great antiquity of the perfect comes from Mycenaean, where we find it as *a-ra-ru-ja* (ἀραρυῖα), and also as *a-ra-ru-wo-ja* (*ἀραρϝοια) and *a-ra-ru-wo-a* (*ἀραρϝοhα); all mean 'provided with'.[190] Unlike the other three verbs in this group, ἀραρίσκω does not show non-present forms in - η- in later

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[187]On this reduplicated aorist, see further Bendahman 1993: 79-84.

[188]On this form see Chantraine 1986-8: I.383; and Harðarson 1993: 199-200.

[189]Nominal forms are πυλάρτης 'gate-fastener, gate-keeper', also as a proper noun (in all, four times in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*); and, from ἀρθμός 'bond, league, friendship' (first at *h.Merc.* 524), ἄρθμιος 'joined in friendship or alliance' (*Od.* 16.427) and ἀρθμήσας 'having formed a friendship or alliance' (*Il.* 7.302). From ἀρτύς, only found in glosses in Greek but occurring in other Indo-European languages as e.g. Latin *artus* 'joint, limb', Vedic *ṛtú-* 'fixed time, right time, etc.' (cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἀραρίσκω; Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *ṛtú-*) we find ἀρτύω 'fashion, form; make ready, prepare' (once in the *Iliad*, five times in the *Odyssey*), ἐπαρτύω 'fit or fix on' (*Od.* 8.447) and ἀρτῡ́νω 'make ready, prepare; set in order; etc.' (found in various tenses, in all seven times in each epic); hence also ἐπαρτής 'equipped, ready' (three times in the *Odyssey*). Further possibly related forms are listed by Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἀραρίσκω.

[190]See further Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v. *ar-ar-u-ja*.

Greek: this may be both because it is effectively a nonce-formation, and also as it has a well-established conjugation comprising many other forms already in the pre-Classical period.

This verb is built on an inherited root *h_2er- 'fit (together)', also found in Armenian and perhaps Vedic and Young Avestan (cf. Rix 1998: 240-1). The so-called Attic reduplication is striking, but it is highly unlikely that it arose in the present in -ίσκω. Rather, the latter is built on the aorist ἤραρον,[191] which is generally linked with Armenian *arari* 'I made' (cf. Clackson 1994: 101-2); Rix (1998: 241 n. 7) has it as either a Graeco-Armenian innovation or a renewing of inherited *$h_2é$-h_2r-*e/o*- into *ar-ar-*.[192] Hence it is not generally held that ἀραρίσκω is cognate with Armenian *araric'*.[193]

6.3. ἐπαυρίσκομαι

The present ἐπαυρίσκομαι 'touch; incur, have benefit from' is only found once in Homer, at *Il.* 13.733. Its future is ἐπαυρήσομαι (*Il.* 6.353 only) and it also shows thematic aorists active ἐπαῦρον (six times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*) and middle ἐπαυρόμην (*Il.* 1.410, 15.17, *Od.* 18.107). The form ἐπαυρεῖ, apparently indicating a present ἐπαυρέω, is found at Hesiod *Op.* 419, and probably at *Op.* 240 as well.[194] The future in -ησ- is, according to Chantraine (1986-8: 446), derived from the thematic aorist: some of the parallels he cites are ἁμαρτ-ήσω from ἥμαρτ-ον and κιχ-ήσομαι from ἔκιχ-εν.

The etymology of ἐπαυρίσκομαι is problematic: the form is not listed in Pokorny (1959-69) or Rix (1998); Frisk (1960-72 s.v. ἐπαυρίσκω), though he cites

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[191]Cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἀραρίσκω, 1986-8: I.317; Klingenschmitt 1982: 73; Duhoux 1992: 337; Keller 1992: 183; and Clackson 1994: 101.

[192]For further discussion on the origins of this form, see Bendahman 1993: 83-4.

[193]Cf., on the other hand, Godel 1975: 117.

[194]On the alternative reading ἀπηύρα for the latter line, see Chantraine 1968-1980 s.v. ἀπούρᾱς; and West 1978: 217.

Schwyzer's (Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.709 n. 3) suggestion of a link with εὑρίσκω (via *ἐπ- ᾱ- ϝρ-) describes it as 'ohne Etymologie'. Peters (1980: 21-31) begins by deriving this present from its thematic aorist, but finds further reconstruction less certain. He points out that -αυρέω could be formed from the aorist -αυρον after the pair στυγέω : ἔστυγον, but could equally be from an ancient *h_2*uréye/o*-. Indeed, back-formation of present ἐπαυρεῖ from the future in -ησ- would surely also be possible, and indeed seems more likely than West's (1978: 263) suggestion that the former is secondary after aorist ἐπαυρεῖν. Peters concludes that both ἐπαυρίσκομαι and εὑρίσκω could indeed come from the one root *(*h*)*werh*$_1$-, although such a connection would be very far back in time; since both the Greek forms in -ίσκω seem fairly recent in Homer, this would then imply that their similarity in the present is coincidental.

6.4. εὑρίσκω

Εὑρίσκω 'find, light or come upon; find out, discover; incur, etc.' is only found in Homer at *Od.* 19.158, but its thematic aorist εὗρον is very frequent. The latter occurs, in the simple active, 32 times in the *Iliad* and 44 in the *Odyssey*; there is an aorist middle εὑρόμην also (once in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey*). Compound forms are aorists ἐξεῦρον 'found, discovered' (*Il.* 18.322) and ἐφεῦρον 'found, etc.' (four and five times respectively). The earliest non-present form in εὑρη- is an instance of εὑρήσω at *h.Merc.* 302. This present in -ίσκω also appears to have been derived from its thematic aorist, as Taillardat (1960: 232) notes.

The aorist would appear to be ancient, although the exact nature of its etymology is contested. Taillardat (1960) argued against earlier theories that εὗρον came from a root *_wer_-, and instead postulated *_swer_-, which would give reduplicated *_se-su-re/o_-. More recently, Peters (1980: 52), whilst acknowledging this possibility, suggests that alternatively third person singular εὗρε could derive from *$werh_1$-_t_, or

ultimately from *h_1*ur-e* from the root *$werh_1$- by metathesis of *$wr̥h_1$ to *h_1ur.[195] The latter is the etymology given by Rix (1998: 637) under the root *$wreh_1$- 'find', which is also found in Armenian and Old Irish. In this case the aspiration might come by analogy from ἑλεῖν. Rix also lists as possible not **se-sur-* but **we-wr̥*(h_1)-, ultimately an old suggestion which works if we say that perfect εὕρηται / *εὔρηται 'has been found' was differentiated from εἴρηται 'has been said':[196] both derive ultimately from *ϝε- ϝρ- , but *ϝευ- apparently gave *ϝει- .[197] Given the fact that ἀραρίσκω and perhaps ἀπαφίσκω (as well as — less immediately relevant and less certain — such reduplicated presents as διδάσκω) seem to have been derived from reduplicated thematic aorists, a similar origin for εὑρίσκω is especially tempting.

6.5. Origin and development: formations in -ίσκω

The origin of the suffix -ίσκω, which becomes quite productive in later Greek, is entirely uncertain. It has been shown that it is doubtful whether there ever was an Indo-European suffix **-iske/o-* (Chapter 2 § 3.4). Yet if we do not subscribe to the theory that -ίσκω is an inherited suffix, the only option left is that it developed within Greek. This problem, however, admits of no easy solution. The first attempted explanation was that of Klingenschmitt (1982: 73-7), who notes the pattern of Homeric Greek presents in -ίσκω beside thematic aorists, where the stem is usually in -ρ: ἀραρ-ίσκω : ἀραρ-ον, εὑρ-ίσκω : εὗρ-ον, ἐπαυρ-ίσκομαι : ἐπαῦρ-ον beside the one exception of ἀπαφ-ίσκω : ἤπαφ-ον. He suggests that this pattern may be due to an inherited form *h_1*griske/o-* or *h_1*grihske/o-*, found in Avestan *fraγrisaṃnō* 'awakening' (intransitive), Latin *expergiscor* 'awaken' (intransitive) and perhaps Albanian *ngrihet* 'get up', as opposed to a thematic stem in

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[195]As εὐρύς from *$wr̥h_1u$-: cf. further Peters 1980: 31.

[196]Cf. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.709 n. 2.

[197]Hence also εἶπον from *e-$weuk^w$-, albeit a case of 'triple' **w* / **u*; cf. Lejeune 1972: 228.

Old Indic *jára-* 'awaken' (intransitive middle) and Greek ἐγειρε/ο- 'awaken'.[198] In this case we are dealing with a root *$*h_1ger$-* (cf. Rix 1998: 218-19), perhaps in the extended form *$*h_1gr$-ey-* or *$*h_1gr$-eyh-* (cf. Klingenschmitt 1982: 77 n. 18). The parallel of ἐγρε/ο- : **egrī̆ske/o-* then gives rise to εὑρίσκω beside εὗρον, and so on.

Such reconstruction is very dubious: the lack of evidence for an -ίσκω form of this type in Greek does not speak well for Klingenschmitt's view, and in addition Vine (1993: 54) has criticised this theory on the grounds that a phonetic restriction could hardly be imposed in such a way. In his version of events (Vine 1993: 52-6), he does nonetheless follow Klingenschmitt in noting a 'predilection for liquids' (1993: 54) as the stem-final element both in Homeric verbs in -ίσκω and also in Classical Greek (such as ἁλ-ίσκομαι and στερ-ίσκω). Vine attempts to use Strunk's (1969 [1970], 1970) suggestion that there were certain cases where *-$\underset{\circ}{l}h_1$- after a stop gave Greek -ολι- before a consonant but -ολ- elsewhere: hence πολις from *$p\underset{\circ}{l}h_1$-s*, δολιχός from *$d\underset{\circ}{l}h_1ghó$- and ἀμβολι(ϝ)εργός showing *-$g^w\underset{\circ}{l}h_1$-, but πολυ- from *$p\underset{\circ}{l}h_1$-ú-*.[199] Given the postulated rules concerning secondary stress on sequences of the form *C$\underset{\circ}{R}$HC*,[200] we would therefore expect two different realisations of the laryngeal depending on where the stress was on the form concerned: for in the case of *$T\underset{\circ}{R}h_1$-sḱé/ó-*, *-$k\underset{\circ}{l}h_1$-sḱé/ó-* would give the -κλη-σκε/ο- of κικλήσκω, but secondarily stressed, *$T\underset{\circ}{R}\acute{h}_1$-sḱe/o-* could give **ToRisḱe/o-*, then remodelled to *TaRisḱe/o-* due to the thematic aorist in *TaRe/o-* from *$T\underset{\circ}{R}h_1$-é/ó-*. In this way, according to Vine, the resegmented present *TaR-iske/o-* appears as counterpart to thematic aorist *TaR-e/o-*, whence the Homeric forms. It is difficult to accept this explanation in toto, however, not least because Strunk's proposals have not found much acceptance.

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[198]On this etymology see further Chapter 2 §§ 3.1, 3.4.

[199]For further bibliography on this subject see Vine 1993: 55 n. 25.

[200]Cf. § 3.2 n. 68 above.

A very different theory has been put forward by Ruijgh (1985: 140, 148-9), which involves - ισκε/ο- being derived from a combination of *-*ye/o*- and *-*ske/o*-.[201] Here, verbs already suffixed with the former (as *$w\underset{\circ}{r}\widehat{g}$-*ye/o*- 'be at work, work') also acquired the latter as iterative suffix (*$w\underset{\circ}{r}\widehat{g}$-*i-ske/o*- 'work from time to time, habitually'), resulting in a suffix found to be convenient on consonant stems in general (hence ἀμβλακίσκω, etc.). Ruijgh finds relics in Classical χρη- ῖ- σκο- νται (Herodotus 3.117.4, said to be an iterative of χρέωνται from *χρή- *yo*- νται) and κυΐσκομαι (beside κύω from *κύ*y*ω 'be pregnant'); he uses this theory to explain Mycenaean *te-ra-pi-ke* as θεραπίσκει, which he glosses as 'il fonctionne habituellement (de temps en temps) comme θέραψ'. The last example is of very dubious interpretation (cf. Chapter 6 § 2.2), and we shall see that κυΐσκομαι is in fact an inchoative best explained as deriving from non-present forms in κυη- (cf. Chapter 7 § 3, especially 3.1.3, 8 § 2.2.2). Ruijgh's proposal sets out a pattern for iteratives in -(ε)σκον which we do not find in Homer despite their prolific use there; this theory is therefore highly conjectural, and the problem of Greek - ίσκω remains decidedly open.

We are therefore left with four single instances of verbs in - ίσκω beside four much more common thematic aorists, of which three have stems in - ρ- . Is all this due to chance? If not, then, as Vine notes, the facts require a phonological explanation. A solution could perhaps begin with Ruijgh's observation (1985: 142) that - ίσκω was used to prevent the verbal stem being obscured when merged with - σκω. To say that - ίσκω is the postconsonantal variant of - σκω[202] is in itself inaccurate not only in Homeric Greek, where the suffix - ίσκω was obviously rare (cf. for example πάσχω, not **παθίσκω), but also in the classical era, where we find such forms as κυΐσκομαι, not **κύσκομαι. Yet the Homeric evidence points

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[201]On Keller's similar theory of inherited *-*iske/o*- as a combination of these suffixes, see Chapter 2 § 3.4.

[202]As Tsiapera (1988 [1989]) and Brooks and Winbery (1995: 170).

to the conclusion that - ἰσκω began as a variant of - σκω after certain consonants, it being used three times after - ρ- and once after - φ- .

Taking εὗρον as an example, it being the only frequent form discussed in this class of presents, we might say that if one derived a present in - σκω from aorist εὗρον, the result would be *εὑρσκω. The consonant cluster -ρσκ- would not be tolerated in Greek, and a solution for the problem might well have taken the form of an anaptyctic vowel. Such an insertion would be unusual, but not unparalleled. Firstly, one should note forms such as ἴσθι 'be!', ἰκτῖνος 'kite' and ἰχθῦς 'fish', which indicate that the standard supporting vowel in Greek is ι (cf. Lejeune 1972: 211 and n. 5). Secondly, we may also observe that initial clusters of σ- followed by a consonant tend to develop initial ἰ- (cf. ἴσθι, and also late Greek ἰστρατιώτης).[203] It is thus quite possible that the - ι- of - ἰσκω also developed as a supporting vowel, to prevent the sequence of resonant plus -σκ-, which would presumably have resulted in loss of - σ- .

Of course, other forms from pre-Classical times show a consonant before - σκ- : instances such as διδάσκω, πάσχω, πιφαύσκω and τιτύσκομαι, all of which seem to have been formed within Greek. Yet none of these cases has a stem in - ρ- . That we do not find **ἀπασχω (or **ἀπάσκω?) from an earlier *ἀπαφ- σκω should not concern us: if *εὑρ- σκω gives εὑρίσκω, then ἀπαφίσκω could be formed on the analogy εὗρ- ον : εὑρ- ίσκω :: ἧπαφ- ον :: X.

The new suffix - ἰσκω then later came to be used on other stems where there were no difficulties in forming a present in simple - σκω: hence in the Classical period we find, as mentioned above, κυΐσκομαι; yet that **κύ- σκομαι would be a possible form is evidenced by the formation of μεθύ- σκομαι in the same period.[204] If this suggestion is correct, Klingenschmitt and Vine are right in noting the relevance

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[203]Cf. Grammont 1956: 360-1.

[204]The solution to this problem is to be found in Classical Greek: see Chapter 7 § 6.

of the fact that all but one of the presents in -ίσκω in Homer have stems in -ρ-, but wrong in the conclusions they draw from it: this feature *was* responsible for the added -ι-, but it is not ancient. Rather, it is a Greek innovation, without which stems in certain consonants could not have formed presents in -σκω.

7. Miscellaneous cases

7.1. ἀλδήσκω

Ἀλδήσκω 'grow, increase' is found in Homer only at *Il.* 23.599. A related causative form ἤλδανε 'cause to wax or fill out' occurs also (*Od.* 18.70=24.368), which may be an imperfect of a present ἀλδάνω or a thematic aorist.[205] There are also two forms in ἀλθ-: aorist ἄλθετο 'became whole or sound' (*Il.* 5.417) and future ἀπαλθήσεσθον 'will be healed or cured' (*Il.* 8.405=419). A related nominal form is ἄναλτος 'not to be filled out, insatiable, greedy' (*Od.* 17.228, 19.114, 364).

The ultimate root for forms in ἀλ- is *h_2el- 'feed, bring up', also found in Latin, Old Irish and Germanic (cf. Rix 1998: 233-4). Rix (1998: 234) lists ἄλθετο under *h_2eldh- 'achieve successfully', but acknowledges that it may represent an extension in *-*dh*- of *h_2el- (1998: 234 n. 3).[206] Hence both ἀλθ- and ἀλδ- could be extended forms of one root; if so, we could segment the present in -σκω as ἀλ- δ- ήσκω. This is the only early Greek evidence for a possible Indo-European suffix *-$\bar{e}$-$\hat{ske}$/*o*- (cf. Chapter 2 § 3.3). On the other hand, Ruijgh (1985: 144) suggests deriving ἀλδήσκω from stative *ἄλδ- η- μι 'be well nourished', with the same ultimate etymology of ἀλ- δ- as extended form of *h_2el-.

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[205]For the former, cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἀλδαίνω, and also Shipp 1972: 85; Risch (1974: 271, 276) tentatively favours the latter.

[206]Cf. similarly Keller 1992: 407-8.

7.2. γηράσκω

The only easily explicable verb from this group is present γηράσκω 'grow old, (of fruit) mellow' (three times in each epic); its aorist is ἐγήρᾱ (*Il.* 7.148, 17.197 (twice), *Od.* 14.67). A compound form καταγηράσκω 'pass one's days and reach old age; show signs of age' occurs once (*Od.* 19.360), with aorist κατεγήρᾱ (*Od.* 9.510). Other cognate forms in Homer show the stems γηρ- and γερ- .[207] There seems to be at least one related Mycenaean form, *ke-ro-si-ja* = *γερονσια (Classical γερουσία 'Council of Elders').[208]

It has been held for some time that γηράσκω was probably derived from ἐγήρᾱ.[209] This form has been explained by Barton (1982) as ultimately from the old inherited *s*-aorist **e-ĝērh*$_2$-*s-t*, also found in Vedic *jāri-ṣ-*: after replacement of **-s-t* by pre-Greek *-s-e*(*t*), we would then have **egērase*(*t*) > **egērahe* > **egērae* > ἐγήρᾱ (Barton 1982: 43). It therefore shows the lengthened grade of a root **ĝerh*$_2$-, which is found in several languages, most notably Vedic (cf. Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *JAR*^{I}; Rix 1998: 146-7). Barton pairs this inherited derived aorist with a thematic root present **ĝerh*$_2$-*e/o*-;[210] we thus expect *γέρω, as found in the preserved participle γέρων,

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[207]In γηρ- are γῆρας 'the period of old age' (seventeen times in the *Iliad*, eighteen in the *Odyssey*) and the adjective ἀγήρως, contracted from ἀγήραος, 'not subject to old age' (four and five times respectively). Γῆρας is a doublet of the specialised γέρας 'meed of honour, etc.' (30 times in the *Iliad*, eleven in the *Odyssey*), whence ἀγέραστος 'meedless' (*Il.* 1.119); and we also find in γερ- γεραιός 'old man, etc.' (28 times in the *Iliad*, six in the *Odyssey*); γέρων 'old man, etc.' (132 times in the *Iliad*, 84 in the *Odyssey*) and γερούσιος, meaning (of an oath) 'taken by the elders or councillors' (*Il.* 22.119) and (of wine) 'such as is served at assemblies of councillors' (*Il.* 4.259, *Od.* 13.8). Apparently from *γέραρ is γεραρός 'of dignified bearing, majestic' (*Il.* 3.170, 211, with feminine γέραιρα apparently to be read at *Il.* 6.87, 270) and the denominative verb γεραίρω 'honour' (*Il.* 7.321, *Od.* 14.437, 441). Compounds are δημογέρων = γέρων (4) 'councillor, etc.' (*Il.* 3.149, 11.372), ὠμογέρων 'in green or lusty old age' (*Il.* 23.791). On these forms in general, see further Chantraine 1968-80 s.vv. γέρας, γέρων and γῆρας.

[208]Cf. Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v. *ke-ro-si-ja*. Also apparently connected is γρηῦς 'old woman'; for more on related forms in general, see Barton 1982: 32-3.

[209]Cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. γῆρας, 1991: 223; and Kujoṛẹ 1973: 254 n. 6.

[210]That is, the expected Indo-European pattern of root present beside derived aorist, and vice versa; cf. Chapter 2 § 4.3.

γέροντος 'old man, etc.' and Vedic *jára-* 'old, aged' and *járant-* 'old, frail'.[211] The old aorist underwent a change of Aktionsart from durative to punctual, the root shifted from durative 'age' to stative 'be old', and a new present γηράσκω 'become old' was created (1982: 37-43). With ἐγήρᾱ reinterpreted as a root aorist akin to ἔβη, new forms were created in γηρᾱ- (1982: 43-5).[212]

This is the only case so far encountered where it seems certain that a present in -σκω has been formed from an aorist in -σα. Formation of a sigmatic aorist from a present is in fact an already productive type in Homeric Greek, as in ἐδίδαξα (*ἐδιδασκ-σα) from διδάσκω and ἔκλῑνα (*ἐκλιν-σα) from κλῑ́νω.[213] Here the aorist stem appears to have formed a present in -σκω: γηράσκω could have been derived from *ἐ-γηρα-σα / *ἐ-γηρα-hα (before it contracted into ἐγήρᾱ), or created on the analogy of βάσκω : ἔβᾱ.[214] This type of formation of verbs in -σκω is in fact much more productive in Classical Greek:[215] all Barton's (1982: 39) examples for formation of such a present from a sigmatic aorist come from this period or later.

7.3. ἠλάσκω

The present ἠλάσκω 'rove, flit about' is found twice in Homer (*Il.* 2.470, 13.104); there is an additional collateral present ἠλασκάζω 'wander aimlessly

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[211]Cf. Barton 1982: 34. There is also Armenian *cerown* 'old, old man' (cf. Harðarson 1993: 73) and Avestan thematic present **zara-* (Mayrhofer 1986- s.v. *járant-*; Harðarson 1993: 73 n. 50).

[212]Other suggestions have been made to explain these data: Ruijgh (1985: 145) has prehistoric Greek *γρᾱ́σκω 'become old' reformed to γηράσκω after γῆρας; and Jasanoff (1988: 232) cites Nussbaum's suggestion that ἐγήρᾱ is analogical on γηράσκω after the pair βάσκω : ἔβᾱ. For criticism of Peters' (1980: 314) view that ἐγήρᾱ derived from an acrodynamic root aorist *$g\bar{e}rh_2$-*t*, see Harðarson 1993: 72-3. Barton's view of ἐγήρᾱ's origin is largely followed by Harðarson (1993: 72-6) and Rix (1998: 146 and 147 n. 8); but Rix reconstructs a tentative root aorist (found in Vedic *jurátam*) and has *jāriṣ-* and ἐγήρᾱ as separate innovations.

[213]See further Barton 1982: 35-6 and n. 14.

[214]That is, the opposite of Nussbaum's method of deriving ἐγήρᾱ from γηράσκω: see n. 212 above.

[215]Cf. Chapter 7 § 4.

about; go about, skulk in order to avoid (danger)' (*Il.* 18.281, *Od.* 9.457). These forms seem to be related to ἀλάομαι 'wander, rove', found in the present especially in the participle (in all, three times in the *Iliad* and sixteen in the *Odyssey*), along with imperfect ἠλώμην (once and three times respectively), aorist ἀλήθην (four times in simple form in the *Odyssey*, and another four as ἐπαλήθην 'wandered or roved over or among') and perfect ἀλάλημαι (once in the *Iliad*, fifteen times in the *Odyssey*). As well as the related noun ἄλη '(incessant) wandering' (four times in the *Odyssey*), there are further derivatives in ἀλη- .[216] The root may be **h*$_2$*elh*$_2$- 'wander aimlessly', with ἀλάομαι perhaps ultimately deriving from an ancient thematic present also found in Italic (cf. Rix 1998: 235).

Also apparently cognate is the adjective ἠλεός 'crazed, distraught; that takes away one's wits or discretion' (*Il.* 15.128, *Od.* 2.243, 14.464).[217] Later on, we see the same initial vocalic alternation in the forms ἀλαίνω 'wander about' (Aeschylus, Euripides) and ἠλαίνω 'wander, stray' (Theocritus, Callimachus), perhaps due to contamination from ἠλάσκω. [218]

The reason for the difference in length of the initial vowels is disputed: Risch (1974: 276) and Shipp (1972: 87) suggest that it is perhaps due to metrical lengthening; Kujoṛe (1973: 94) and Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. ἠλεός) cite the parallel of the alternation in Lettish *âl'a* 'half-mad' and *aluôt* 'wander, roam'.

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[216]These are nouns ἀλήμων 'vagrant' (*Od.* 17.376, 19.74) and ἀλήτης 'wanderer, vagrant' (once in the *Iliad*, twelve times in the *Odyssey*), and also denominative verb ἀλητεύω 'wander, rove; go to and fro' (six times in the *Odyssey*).

[217]Cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.vv. ἀλάομαι, ἠλεός.

[218] Cf. Frisk 1960-72 s.v. ἠλάσκω; and Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἠλάσκω. Perhaps also related to ἠλεός are ἀλλοφρονέων 'dazed, "silly"' (*Il.* 23.698) and 'troubled or dashed in spirit' (*Od.* 10.374); and ἤλιθα, found in the expression ἤλιθα πολλός 'follement grande' (once in the *Iliad*, four times in the *Odyssey*). The latter gloss is from Chantraine. On these two unusual forms, see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἠλεός; and Frisk 1960-72 s.v. ἠλεός.

7.4. πτωσκάζω

Πτωσκάζω 'cower or crouch in fear or in cowardice, shrink from the fray' is found only in the infinitive πτωσκαζέμεν at *Il.* 4.372.[219] A related present πτώσσω has the same meaning, as well as 'cringe in humility, go about begging' (five times in the *Iliad*, once in the imperfect, and three times in the *Odyssey*); there is also a compound present κατα- πτώσσω 'crouch down, cower in fear' (four times in the *Iliad*). Unlike πτωσκάζω, πτώσσω is also used in Classical Greek.[220]

Non-present forms of this verb in Homer show stem πτη- . There is aorist ἔπτηξα 'crouch, cower; strike with dismay' first in Homer (*Il.* 14.40), also with preverb κατα- 'crouch down or cower in fear' (*Il.* 8.136 (dual καταπτήτην), 22.191, *Od.* 8.190); and perfect participle πεπτηώς (three times in the *Odyssey*), also found compounded with ὑπο- 'cower under' (*Il.* 2.312) and perhaps as feminine ποτιπεπτηυῖα 'crouching down towards' (*Od.* 13.98), unless in the latter case we are dealing with the perfect of πίπτω 'fall'. A related noun πτώξ is used as the adjective 'cowering, timid' to describe a hare (*Il.* 22.310), and meaning 'hare' itself (*Il.* 17.676); we also find πτωχός 'beggar' (22 times in the *Odyssey*), with denominative πτωχεύω 'go about begging, beg (one's bread)' (in all five times in the *Odyssey*).

Chantraine (1931: 125, 1968-80 s.v. πτήσσω, 1986-8: I.338) compares the pair ἀλύσκω : ἀλυσκάζω, suggesting that πτωσκάζω implies an earlier *πτώσκω. This form is perhaps indirectly attested, if πτώσσω is from *πτωσκ*y*ω rather than *πτωκ*y*ω.[221] On the other hand, Rix (1998: 446-7) derives πτώσσω either from a possible iterative ?*$pt\bar{o}\acute{h}_2k$-*ye*/*o*-, or from πτήσσω with secondary - ω-

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[219]The variant reading πτωκαζέμεν is mentioned by Chantraine (1931: 125), but is not listed in the editions of Monro and Allen (1920), van Thiel (1996) and West (1998).

[220]Cf. LSJ s.v. πτώσσω. None of the compounds listed by Kretschmer and Locker (1944 s.v.) appear to have been used as early as the Classical period.

[221]For the former, cf. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I. 709 n. 2; for the latter, Kujoṛẹ 1973: 78.

after πτώξ *'who cowers', or as a denominative of the latter. He reconstructs a root *$pteh_2k$- 'cower', also present in Armenian, Latin and Old High German: in this case, ἔπτηξα (Doric ἔπτᾱξα) might derive from an aorist ?*$pt\bar{e}\acute{h}_2k$-*s*- / *$pt\acute{e}h_2k$-*s*-.

8. Conclusion: the morphology of verbs in -σκω in Homer

It is now clear that, by the time the epic language was fixed, the old system of verbs in *-*ske/o*- built on the zero-grade of the root had been widely extended. Homer preserved two types which reflect either old forms or at least the old pattern. βάσκω,μίσγω seem to be inherited, and so may ἔρχομαι; γιγνώσκω and (if inherited) ἰλάσκομαι have been recharacterised, and there is also ἔσκον (Chapter 5 § 6.1.1). Although we lack exact pairs to guarantee the Indo-European origin of βόσκω, ἴσκω and πάσχω, these forms too follow the old pattern; ὀρχέομαι may also fall here. Nor can we produce adequate evidence to suggest that βλώσκω, θνήσκω and θρῴσκω are inherited (the added -ι- apart); but these also appear to go back to zero-grade stems, provided we accept the view that the colour of the vowel is determined by the laryngeal that follows the resonant (whence *$m\underset{\circ}{l}h_3$- gives *$ml\bar{o}$-, *$dh\underset{\circ}{n}h_2$- *$dhn\bar{a}$- and *$dh\underset{\circ}{r}h_3$- *$dhr\bar{o}$-). The main point is that these presents differ from their corresponding aorists in such a way that it is impossible to derive one form from the other; in itself this speaks either for inherited forms or for an inherited pattern. The pattern obviously cannot simply be zero-grade root plus -σκω, because synchronically βάσκω and βλώσκω seem to have little in common. In other words, the forms in -σκω of the *set* roots can only imitate the pattern of other *set* roots, and some of these must have been inherited.

Not everything is ancient, however. It seems likely that the variant -ίσκω which appears in θνήσκω, θρῴσκω and also perhaps γιγνῴσκω, κικλήσκω and μιμνήσκω was not Homeric. When the -ι- really appears in these forms is obscure, but the Attic inscriptions have θνήσκω from the fourth century BC; the only

clinching evidence for an earlier innovation would be epigraphical, but does not seem to be available. Nor is it entirely clear in which verbs this intrusive - ι- appeared.

Another type of innovation is the Greek type of presents in - σκω with reduplication in - ι- . In addition, there are two verbs which appear to have reduplication in - ε- , but which are difficult to analyse; and several presents in - ίσκω, a variant of - σκω found on stems in - ρ- and, on one occasion, - φ- . There are also four verbs with disyllabic stems, of which three are problematic; lastly, there is one form which is found only in - σκάζω. Especially notable is the tendency to form presents in - σκω from thematic aorists. The best examples of this formation encountered so far are those in - ίσκω: probably ἀπαφίσκω from ἤπαφον, and also ἀραρίσκω from ἤραρον, ἐπαυρίσκομαι from ἐπαῦρον and εὑρίσκω from εὗρον. Other possible such formations are διδάσκω from δέδαε and τιτύσκομαι from τετυκεῖν, beside in addition κικλήσκω : ἐκέκλετο; *παθσκω beside ἔπαθον may also be parallel.

This chapter has been devoted to a diachronic analysis of presents in - σκω found in Homer, and so has differed greatly from the accounts given by Curtius, Brugmann and Schwyzer.[222] A synchronic analysis of the Homeric data would give a different pattern. Here a first category might be verbs built on monosyllabic stems with - σκω, first of all with a short vowel (βάσκω, βόσκω, ἴσκω, μίσγω, πάσχω, φάσκω)[223] and then with a long one (βλώσκω, θνῄσκω, θρῴσκω). Presents in - σκω with disyllabic stems might come next (ἀλδήσκω, ἀλύσκω, γηράσκω, ἠλάσκω), since from this point of view they seem similar to the monosyllabic ones. The reduplicated verbs in - ι- (γιγνώσκω, διδάσκω, ἰλάσκομαι, κικλήσκω, μιμνήσκομαι, πιφαύσκω, τιτύσκομαι) and - ε- (δειδίσκομαι, ἐΐσκω) would form a further set, as would those in - ίσκω

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[222]Cf. Chapter 1 § 2.1.

[223]' Εφασκον would here be included as φάσκω on the grounds that it appears later with other forms, and so synchronically does not appear to have been a preterite in - (ε)σκον first of all.

(ἀπαφίσκω, ἀραρίσκω, ἐπαυρίσκομαι, εὑρίσκω). Such an analysis, however, would omit certain forms (ἔρχομαι, ἔσκον, πτωσκάζω) and fails to distinguish inherited and non-inherited forms; additionally, it seems to give excessive prominence to the disyllabic stems, which are historically a miscellaneous set of verbs.

Chapter 4

The Semantics of Verbs in - σκω in Homer

1. Introduction

We have seen that Homer shows twenty-eight verbs with either - σκω or (more or less certainly) relics of *-*ske/o*-, and that these fall into six morphological categories. It is, however, difficult if not impossible to classify these forms semantically. In what follows, therefore, the intuitive groups used are not entirely comparable. For each verb, I have deliberately chosen to report Cunliffe's (1924) glosses, even when they initially appear to contradict the facts, in order to prevent yielding to subjective reactions.

Firstly, there is a class of verbs whose stems indicate movement. A first subclass of this set is those verbs which simply mean 'come' and 'go': these are βάσκω 'come, go'; -βλώσκω 'go, come'; and ἔρχομαι 'go; come'. A second (morphological) subgroup is formed by verbs in -σκω with what we shall see are apparently frequentatives in - σκάζω:[1] ἀλύσκω / ἀλυσκάνω 'escape' beside ἀλυσκάζω 'escape; play the shirker'; and ἠλάσκω 'rove, flit about' beside ἠλασκάζω 'wander aimlessly about; skulk'. In addition to these, there is πτωσκάζω 'cower'. Thirdly, there are verbs of fast movement: θρῴσκω 'leap, spring' and ὀρχέομαι 'dance'.

Secondly, there is a class where forms in - σκω are used with a causative-inchoative contrast. Most verbs which show both meanings follow the pattern of causative in - ω and inchoative in - ομαι, with occasional causatives in - ομαι also being found. These are βόσκω 'feed' / βόσκομαι 'get fed'; διδάσκω 'teach,

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[1]The 'frequentative' appears to emphasise the continuation of the action involved: cf. also the pairs μίμνω 'remain, stay' (*Il.* 13.747, etc.) : μιμνάζω 'tarry, loiter' (*Il.* 2.392, 10.549) and ῥίπτω 'throw' (with preverb ἀνα- , *Od.* 7.328, etc.) : ῥιπτάζω 'throw to and fro' (*Il.* 14.257). Cf. Kujọrẹ 1973: 77-8, who however only finds frequentative meaning in the latter case.

instruct' / διδάσκομαι 'learn'; μιμνήσκω 'remind' / μιμνήσκομαι 'remember'; μίσγω 'mix together' / μίσγομαι 'get mixed, mingle'; and also τιτύσκομαι, causative 'make ready', inchoative '[get ready,] take aim'.

Slightly more numerous are those verbs whose presents in - σκ- only have causative meaning. Here we find causative actives ἀπαφίσκω 'trick'; ἀραρίσκω 'fit together'; ἐΐσκω 'make like; compare with; think'; ἴσκω 'make like; liken to; speak feigningly; guess'; πιφαύσκω 'make manifest; declare'. In one instance there is a benefactive[2] causative medio-passive with no active: ἱλάσκομαι 'propitiate'.

A small number of verbs have inchoative meaning alone. One of these is medio-passive: ἐπαυρίσκομαι 'touch; incur'. Most, however, are active: ἀλδήσκω 'grow, increase'; γηράσκω 'grow old'; γιγνώσκω 'perceive, know, etc.'; θνήσκω 'die'.

Thirdly, some forms are covered by neither of these groups. These are δειδίσκομαι 'welcome, greet'; εὑρίσκω 'find; find out; incur'; κικλήσκω 'summon; call'; and πάσχω 'suffer; encounter'.[3]

This grouping is, therefore, necessarily intuitive; it is merely used here in order to be able to examine these forms in a thorough manner.

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[2]In the benefactive use of the medio-passive, the agent of the action denoted by the verb is what Riksbaron (1994: 132) calls the 'Beneficiary': he/she in some way benefits from the action denoted by the verb. Future and aorist forms of such medio-passives tend to be morphologically middle forms in - σομαι and - σάμην; in general, see further Rijksbaron 1994: 144-7, who terms this use 'indirect-reflexive'.

[3]For the semantics of ἔσκον 'be' and (ἔ)φασκον 'say; assert', morphologically ambiguous between imperfects of presents in - σκω and iteratives in -(ε)σκον, see Chapter 5 §§ 6.1.2 and 6.2.2 respectively.

2. Verbs of movement

2.1. Verbs of coming and going

2.1.1. βάσκω

Of the eight occurrences of βάσκω 'come, go', all in the *Iliad*, six are found in the phrase βάσκ' ἴθι, 'go! away!'. Four such instances are found in the formula βάσκ' ἴθι Ἶρι ταχεῖα 'go, swift Iris!', always said by Zeus (*Il.* 8.399, 11.186, 15.158, 24.144). The other two occurrences of βάσκ' ἴθι are also at the command of Zeus: to a dream sent to Agamemnon (*Il.* 2.8) and to Hermes (*Il.* 24.336). In contrast, the second person imperative of the alternative present βαίνω is not found in simple form, although there is one instance of ἀνάβαινε 'go up; embark, etc.'. This occurs when Nestor says to Telemachus:

> σπουδῇ νῦν ἀνάβαινε κέλευέ τε πάντας ἑταίρους (*Od.* 15.209)
> In haste now go on board, and order all your comrades [to do the same].

Létoublon (1985: 135) says that in the expression βασκ' ἴθι, ἴθι probably shows 'un sens vide d'exhortation', like French 'allons', and that βάσκ' is used as an iterative; she glosses the expression 'allons, marche!'. It has also been claimed that the expression βάσκ' ἴθι may reflect an inherited formula, found in e.g. Sanskrit *ehi...gaccha*.[4] Létoublon also claims iterative meaning for the reduplicated participial forms βιβάσθων, βιβάς and βιβῶν 'striding, striding along', compounds προβιβάς 'striding along forwards' and προβιβῶν 'advancing' (Létoublon 1985: 135-6).[5] These, however, are of a different nature to the form in -σκω: it is their frequent use with accusative plurals such as μακρά (whence 'marcher à grands pas') that brings Létoublon to the conclusion that 'faire des pas, marcher' is the iterative of

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[4]Cf. Pisani 1962: 7; and Giacalone Ramat 1967: 113 n. 19, with further bibliography.

[5]Létoublon's data are different, since she does not cite the compound forms at *Il.* 13.807, 16.609, *Od.* 15.555, but does also take into account instances from the *Homeric Hymns*.

'faire un pas', the meaning she ascribes to βαίνω (Létoublon 1985: 123-43). She has βῆ as an 'aorist inchoatif renvoyant à l'instant de départ' (Létoublon 1985: 136-8), so that the source root *$g^{w}\bar{a}$- is 'se mettre en marche, partir', 'faire un pas' (1985: 140-3).

Other occurrences of the stem βασκ- in the *Iliad* are more controversial. The form ἐπιβασκέμεν 'bring within the pale of, involve in' is causative in sense, being an extension of the meaning 'make go'; it is used when Thersites shouts at Agamemnon:

> οὐ μὲν ἔοικεν
> ἀρχὸν ἐόντα κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν. (*Il.* 2.233-4)
> It is not becoming for one who is leader to involve the sons of the Achaeans in evils.

On account of this causativity, Wackernagel (1916: 18-19 n. 2) claimed that the stem ἐπιβασκ- was here dissimilated from ἐπ- ιβ- ιβασκ-. This is based on the assumption that βιβάσκω is the causative form of βάσκω, and required Wackernagel, who did not accept that βάσκω could be causative in sense, to read Erotian's gloss (64.4) διέβασκον· διεβίβαζον as δι<ε<βί>βασκον.[6] It has already been seen that the often quoted theory that reduplicated verbs in -σκω tend to show causative meaning does not adequately explain the data (Chapter 1 § 2.2.1). Moreover, as scholars have noted, βιβάσκω is not always causative; and there are no parallels for the derivation of an Ancient Greek causative merely by adding reduplication to an earlier non-causative form.[7] Why, therefore, should βάσκω on

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[6]Wackernagel is followed by Schwyzer (Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I. 707 n. 2) and Giacalone Ramat (1967: 109 n. 9).

[7]Cf. Leumann 1957: 79-80; Kujoṛe 1970: 70-74, 1973: 92 n. 2, 255-6; Shipp 1972: 86-7; and Létoublon 1985: 123, 125, 255 n. 7. The problem of Homeric causative πιφαύσκω beside Classical non-causative -φαύσκω, -φώσκω is the reverse, in that there it is the causative form which is earlier; on the latter see Chapter 3 § 4.2.2.

one occasion be causative? Leumann (1957: 79-80) explained causative βιβάσκω as derived from ἔβησα and ἔβην on the same model as - διδύσκω : ἔδῡσα : ἔδῡν (cf. further Chapter 1 §§ 2.2.1, 3.2), in which case it is not connected to βάσκω. Kujoṛẹ (1970: 74) suggests that βάσκω was both transitive and intransitive, as ἵζω, ἰζάνω, both 'sit' and 'make to sit'.

A possible solution for the problem involves Létoublon's (1985: 125) observation that the same metaphorical sense that we find here in ἐπιβάσκω, with complement of 'place', is shown in two instances of the aorist ἐπέβησα. Firstly, when Agamemnon says to Teucer, encouraging him:

> τὸν καὶ τηλόθ' ἐόντα ἐϋκλείης ἐπίβησον. (*Il.* 8.285)
> bring him [your father] to honour, although he is far away.

And when Penelope tells her nurse, who has just revealed that Odysseus has come back and killed the suitors:

> μαῖα φίλη, μάργην σε θεοὶ θέσαν, οἵ τε δύνανται
> ἄφρονα ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐπίφρονά περ μάλ' ἐόντα,
> καί τε χαλιφρονέοντα σαοφροσύνης ἐπέβησαν (*Od.* 23.11-13)
> Dear nurse, the gods have made you mad, they who can make foolish even one who is very wise, and who involve the simple-minded in good sense.

It therefore seems that causative ἐπιβάσκω is present to aorist ἐπέβησα, both meaning 'make go, bring within the pale of, involve' (Cunliffe 1924 s.v. ἐπιβαίνω). Further causative forms in ἐπι- are literal in meaning: future ἐπιβήσω 'cause to embark (upon a ship)' (*Il.* 8.197) and aorist ἐπέβησα 'set on shore, cause to mount [a chariot], etc.' (twice in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*). There are also other non-

present causative forms in (-)βησ- : ἔβησα 'made go, made embark' (six times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*), ἐκβήσαντες 'set on shore' (*Od.* 24.301) and middle ἀναβησάμην 'caused to embark' (*Od.* 15.475). Although Cunliffe lists ἐπέβησα under ἐπιβαίνω, not ἐπιβάσκω, it is clear from his gloss (1924 s.v. ἐπιβαίνω II.2), as cited a few lines above, that this aorist is used like the σκω-present. It would therefore seem that causative ἐπιβάσκω is simply the present of causative ἐπέβησα. As Létoublon (1985: 126) notes, further related causative forms in βη-/βᾰ- are found in Classical Greek, most notably βιβάζω, given as the causative of βαίνω by LSJ s.v.[8]

The final instance of βάσκω occurs in the form παρέβασκε 'acted as παραιβάτης, went beside'. It is used when Agamemnon goes to kill Isus and Antiphus,

> υἷε δύω Πριάμοιο, νόθον καὶ γνήσιον, ἄμφω
> εἰν ἑνὶ δίφρῳ ἐόντας· ὁ μὲν νόθος ἡνιόχευεν,
> ᾽Αντιφος αὖ παρέβασκε περικλυτός· (*Il.* 11.102-4)
>
> two sons of Priam, one a bastard and one legitimate, both being in the one chariot; the bastard was holding the reins, and on the other hand glorious Antiphus was going / used to go beside him [as fighter].

This form is held by some scholars to be an imperfect iterative in -(ε)σκον;[9] as in other cases, we could read an augmentless form here and the line would still scan.[10] Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. βαίνω) and Kujoṛẹ (1973: 92), however, analyse the form

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[8]For occurrences of βιβάζω cf. Veitch 1887 s.v.; on Homeric causative forms related to βαίνω in general, see Létoublon 1985: 124-6.

[9]Cf. Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.63; Wathelet 1973: 390; Clackson 1994: 77; and LSJ s.v. παραβαίνω.

[10]That is, reading παράβασκε; on the occasional use of augmented iteratives in -(ε)σκον see Chapter 5 § 2 n. 6.

as a compound of βάσκω. From the same compound verb in Homer we twice find perfect participle παρβεβαώς; Cunliffe glosses its assumed present παραβαίνω (1924 s.v.) as 'take one's way beside', whence the stative meaning for this participle of 'standing by': so Ἕκτορι παρβεβαώς 'standing [being] by Hector's side' (*Il.* 11.522), and:

> ὣς τὼ παρβεβαῶτε μάλ' ἔστασαν ἀλλήλοιιν. (13.708)
> Thus they [they two Ajaxes], standing [being] beside, stood by each other.

If παρέβασκε is indeed a finite form of βάσκω it is one of few: for it is obvious that βάσκω was in decline already in Homer's time, and in later literature also it is almost exclusively the imperative forms that are found.[11] The 'iterative' meaning 'used to stand beside' fits well here, as has been argued by Delbrück (Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.63); on the other hand, the form could simply be an imperfect.[12]

In all, we are dealing with a diverse set of forms. The imperative βάσκε only occurs in formulae. Present infinitive ἐπιβασκέμεν is a nonce-formation used as a causative present to aorist ἐπέβησα. With imperfect παρέβασκε we cannot be sure if we have an iterative preterite of a present which we do not find (presumably παραβαίνω) or an imperfect of a present παραβάσκω – which we also do not find.

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[11]Hence βάσκε in a lyric refrain at Aeschylus *Pers.* 663, 671, and βάσκετ' in a lyric passage at Aristophanes *Thes.* 783. It is finite in the form διαβάσκει 'strut about' (Aristophanes *Av.* 486); cf. διαβαίνω 'stride'.

[12]If iterative, then the form represents a rare instance of the 'serial' type derived from an aorist stem but used without defining circumstances: cf. further on αὐδήσασκε, Chapter 5 § 5.2.1.

2.1.2. -βλώσκω

The present - βλώσκω 'go, come' (Cunliffe 1924) is only ever found in Homer in compound form, and only in the *Odyssey*. It occurs three times as προ- βλώσκω 'go or come forward or forth'. Eurycleia says to Telemachus:

> ἀλλ' ἄγε, τίς τοι ἔπειτα μετοιχομένη φάος οἴσει;
> δμῳὰς δ' οὐκ εἴας προβλωσκέμεν, αἵ κεν ἔφαινον. (*Od.* 19.24-5)
> But come, who then, going to get a light, will carry it for you? For you did not allow the female servants, who would have given light, to go in front of you.

The other two instances are in a repeated passage of Odysseus' instructions on what to do as the suitors are being killed:

> ἤν δέ τις ἢ στοναχῆς ἠὲ κτύπου ἔνδον ἀκούσῃ
> ἀνδρῶν ἡμετέροισιν ἐν ἕρκεσι, μή τι θύραζε
> προβλώσκειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀκὴν ἔμεναι παρὰ ἔργῳ.
>
> (*Od.* 21.237-9=383-5)
>
> And if anyone hears groaning or the din of men within the walls, do not let them come out, but remain in silence there at work.

Lastly, there is one case of κατα- βλώσκω 'go down through'. This occurs when Telemachus asks Eumaeus if there is news from the city, and the latter replies:

> οὐκ ἔμελέν μοι ταῦτα μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι
> ἄστυ καταβλώσκοντα· (*Od.* 16.465-6)
> I did not take the trouble to ask and inquire this, as I was going down through the city.

On the other hand, the thematic aorist μόλον does occur in simple form, four times in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*. All simple instances are participial bar one. Létoublon (1985: 114) notes that, of these five participial examples, one at least is clearly translatable with the idiomatic expression 'go and do (something)', as when Hector has just spoken to his mother:

> ὣς ἔφαθ', ἡ δὲ μολοῦσα ποτὶ μέγαρ' ἀμφιπόλοισι
> κέκλετο· (*Il.* 6.286-7)
> He spoke thus, and she, having gone to the hall, called to her handmaidens.

The other four may also be interpreted this way.[13] She notes that the usage is just like that of ἐλθών, although the rare - βλώσκω is never found to be used in the same way as the equivalent present participle of εἶμι.

The finite instance pertains to the passage of time, again a use of ἦλθον (cf. Létoublon 1985: 114). Here, Priam says to the Trojans, on ordering them to collect wood for Hector's funeral pyre and informing them that they should fear no attack:

> ἦ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
> πέμπων μ' ὧδ' ἐπέτελλε μελαινάων ἀπὸ νηῶν,
> μὴ πρὶν πημανέειν, πρὶν δωδεκάτη μόλῃ ἠώς. (*Il.* 24.779-81)
> For indeed Achilles promised thus, when he sent me from the black ships, that he would not attack us, before the twelfth dawn comes.

[13]These are *Il.* 11.173, 15.720, *Od.* 3.44, 24.335.

Also common is πρόμολον 'went or came forward or forth' (three times in each epic), aorist to προβλώσκω; and there is as well the aorist ἔκμολον 'came out', used when Achilles calls Patroclus:

ὸ δὲ κλισίηθεν ἀκούσας

ἔκμολεν ἶσος ᾽ Αρηϊ, κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή. (*Il.* 11.603-4)

And having heard, he came out from his hut, equal to Ares, and for him it was the beginning of woe.

A simple perfect μέμβλωκα is found once, when Eumaeus says to Odysseus:

δὴ γὰρ μέμβλωκε μάλιστα

ἦμαρ, ἀτὰρ τάχα τοι ποτὶ ἕσπερα ῥίγιον ἔσται. (*Od.* 17.190-1)

For now the day has mostly gone, and soon you will find it cold towards evening.

There is also a compound form παρμέμβλωκα; this means 'have gone beside' and so 'stand by', being used of Aphrodite helping Agamemnon at *Il.* 4.11 and similarly of Hector being assisted by his mother at *Il.* 24.73.

Despite Cunliffe's occasional use of 'go' in glossing these forms there is, as Létoublon (1985: 114-15) notes, only one instance of a part of simple -βλώσκω showing centrifugal ('centrifuge') movement rather than the centripetal ('centripète') or neutralised kinds:[14] that of the perfect μέμβλωκα at *Od.* 17.190. This, she notes, is probably because when a point in time (unlike a person) has arrived, it then becomes the past, and so has gone; the use of παρμέμβλωκα 'have come, stand by,

[14]Centrifugal movement implies movement away from the place of the speech-act ('un mouvement s'éloignant du lieu-repère de l'énonciation'), centripetal towards it ('un rapprochement par rapport au même repère'): cf. Létoublon 1985: 47 and, on these concepts in general, Létoublon 1985: 42 ff.

be present for', which she apparently does not notice, seems to confirm her thesis. She suggests (1985: 115-16) that the present from the same root is only available with preverb because durative 'come' is hardly needed, the addition being used to neutralise the form or render it centrifugal; and it is rare because it is so unnecessary. Preverbs are used with aorist forms in the same way. Other verbs with similar problems simply acquire suppletive presents, such as ἦλθον (εἶμι) and ἔδραμον (θέω).

In short, ἔμολον seems to have been synonymous with ἦλθον, its present -βλώσκω being equivalent to -ειμι.[15]

2.1.3. ἔρχομαι

The frequent ἔρχομαι is given a range of glosses by Cunliffe (1924): 'go, proceed; move; depart; come; approach, present oneself; return; etc.'.[16] It has been most recently studied by Létoublon, who contrasts its use in Homer with that of εἶμι (1985: 59-72). Her examination begins with a syntactic analysis, which shows the forms to be almost identical; hence, most remarkably, we find εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης 'I am going to see the limits of the all-nurturing earth' (*Il.* 14.200), and also τοὺς εἶμ' ὀψομένη... (*Il.* 14.205=304), beside ἔρχομαι ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης (*Il.* 14.301).

Next, deictic divisions are attempted (Létoublon 1985: 63-5), firstly for place and secondly for time. For the former, Létoublon's criteria concern whether a verb of movement is centrifugal or centripetal.[17] She had already shown that εἶμι was normally neutral as regards spatial deixis, indicating motion away when marked

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[15]The use of ἀγχίμολον with ἦλθον, as well as the later αὐτόμολος, give further strength to this view: cf. Létoublon 1985: 117-18.

[16]For details of compounds see Chapter 3 § 2.2 and n. 17.

[17]On these terms cf. § 2.1.2 n. 14 above.

(1985: 42-58). ἔρχομαι is very similar, but may be used for either direction. Hence Eurypylus says, when explaining to Patroclus that he is rushing to Achilles with a message:

> ἔρχομαι, ὄφρ' Ἀχιλῆϊ δαΐφρονι μῦθον ἐνίσπω,
> ὃν Νέστωρ ἐπέτελλε Γερήνιος, οὖρος Ἀχαιῶν· (*Il.* 11.839-40)
> I am going [there] to tell valiant Achilles a message which Gerenian Nestor, guardian of the Achaeans, charged me with.

On the other hand Meriones, caught by Idomeneus away from the battle and by the huts, explains to him:

> ἔρχομαι, εἴ τί τοι ἔγχος ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι λέλειπται,
> οἰσόμενος· (*Il.* 13.256-7)
> I am coming to get a spear, if by chance one has been left in the huts.

Létoublon's argument is backed up by two more facts: Meriones clearly got near the hut (ἐγγύς 'near', v. 247); and Idomeneus asked τίπτ' ἦλθες; 'why did you come?' (v. 250), with ἦλθον indicating motion towards the location of the speech-act.[18]

Regarding time, there would seem to be something of a difference. εἶμι has, according to Létoublon (1985: 64-5), 'une orientation temporelle vers l'avenir', as when Patroclus says:

> νῦν δὲ ἔπος ἐρέων πάλιν ἄγγελος εἶμ' Ἀχιλῆϊ. (*Il.* 11.652)
> And now I shall go back again as a messenger, to tell Achilles.

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[18]Cf. Létoublon 1985: 42-58 for the use of ἦλθον in Homer.

On the other hand, ἔρχομαι 'prolonge et clôt le passé' (and, in theory, the future too);[19] hence Andromache says of Hector:

> νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν Ἄϊδαο δόμους ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
> ἔρχεαι, αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ στυγερῷ ἐνὶ πένθεϊ λείπεις
> χήρην ἐν μεγάροισι· (*Il.* 22.482-4)
> Now you are departing to the house of Hades beneath the depths of earth, but you leave me in bitter grief, a widow in my halls.

Therefore εἶμι pertains to the time which runs from νῦν to ἔπειτα, whereas ἔρχομαι goes from πάρος to νῦν.

Létoublon turns next to the pragmatics of ἔρχομαι and εἶμι. She begins with the first and second persons [singular] (1985: 65-8), though comparisons of the latter turn out not to be possible. With the one exception of *Il.* 18.333, the first person form εἶμι 'exprime une décision de se mouvoir vers l'ailleurs, valable à partir de l'instant où elle est énoncée' (1985: 66); it is 'modalement marqué' (1985: 67). On the other hand, the first and second persons singular of ἔρχομαι express the opposite ('je suis en train d'aller', 1985: 68). This may involve habitual movement, as when Achilles says to Agamemnon:

> ἀτὰρ ἤν ποτε δασμὸς ἵκηται,
> σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μεῖζον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε
> ἔρχομ' ἔχων ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπεί κε κάμω πολεμίζων. (*Il.* 1.166-8)
> But if ever an apportionment comes, your prize is much greater, and I go to my ships with some small thing of my own, when I have grown weary with fighting.

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[19]Cf. Létoublon 1985: 247 n. 16.

Alternatively, it may be a movement in progress; hence Telemachus says:

> αἲ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὡς
> νοστήσας Ἰθάκηνδε, κιχὼν Ὀδυσῆ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,
> εἴποιμ' ὡς παρὰ σεῖο τυχὼν φιλότητος ἀπάσης
> ἔρχομαι, ... (*Od.* 15.156-9)
>
> And would that I, having returned to Ithaca, might find Odysseus in his house, to tell him how I came having met with every hospitality from you.

The former of the above two passages is also used to illustrate the contrast between ἔρχομαι and εἶμι in context: for Achilles goes on to say:

> νῦν δ' εἶμι Φθίηνδ', ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερόν ἐστιν
> οἴκαδ' ἴμεν σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, ... (*Il.* 1.169-70)
>
> And now I [shall] go back to Phthia, since it is much better to go home with my beaked ships.

The only other passage Létoublon finds where both verbs appear involves contrasting the following verse (which contains the one instance of first person εἶμι not expressing the decision to move), when Achilles says:

> νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν, Πάτροκλε, σεῦ ὕστερος εἶμ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν, ...
>
> (*Il.* 18.333)
>
> And now therefore since I, Patroclus, shall go after you beneath the earth...

with the above-quoted passage of Andromache saying of Hector:

νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν Ἄϊδαο δόμους ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης

ἔρχεαι... (*Il.* 22.481-2)

Now you depart to the house of Hades beneath the depths of the earth...

In these passages regarding the journey to Hades, εἶμι seems to act as future to ἔρχομαι, which Létoublon (1985: 66, 68-70) finds is the beginning of its evolution into a future tense form.

Létoublon also deals with the use of negatives with the two presents (1985: 67-8). She notes that εἶμι with οὐ indicates refusal, as when the suitors will not leave until Penelope chooses one of them:

ἡμεῖς δ' οὔτ' ἐπὶ ἔργα πάρος γ' ἴμεν οὔτε πῃ ἄλλῃ, ...

(*Od.* 2.127=18.288)

And we will not go either to our [own] lands or elsewhere...

But ἔρχομαι with οὐ indicates that one is not in the process of going, usually realised as habituality; hence Eumaeus says:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ παρ' ὕεσσιν ἀπότροπος· οὐδὲ πόλινδε

ἔρχομαι, εἰ μή πού τι περίφρων Πηνελόπεια

ἐλθέμεν ὀτρύνῃσιν, ... (*Od.* 14.372-4)

But I live apart with the pigs; and I do not go to the city, unless by chance prudent Penelope calls upon me to come...

Létoublon claims that the only case of a durative use of ἔρχομαι with a negative is when the suitors say οὐδὲ μετ' ἄλλας / ἐρχόμεθ' 'we do not go after other

women [than Penelope]' (*Od.* 2.206-7); yet iterative interpretation of this sentence seems quite acceptable.

Hence, returning to the passage cited above where εἶμι and ἔρχομαι seemed identical, Létoublon (1985: 68) finds an interpretation: Hera expresses her intention when she says to Aphrodite:

> εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης...
> τοὺς εἶμ' ὀψομένη, καί σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω· (*Il.* 14.200, 205)
> I am going to see [intending to go and see, shall go and see] the limits of the all-nurturing earth... I am going to see them [Oceanus and Tethys] and I shall settle their endless strife for them.

On the other hand, she is already en route when she answers Zeus' question of why she is coming down from Olympus:

> ἔρχομαι ὀψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης...
> τοὺς εἶμ' ὀψομένη, καί σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω· (*Il.* 14.301, 304)
> I am on my way to see the limits of the all-nurturing earth... I am going to see them [Oceanus and Tethys] and I shall settle their endless strife for them.

In the third person, Létoublon (1985: 68-9) finds that εἶμι still shows its origin as an old Indo-European present: this is the meaning that, in simple form, it shows in similes and four further locations (*Il.* 7.98, 23.226, *Od.* 4.401, 10.191) and, for compound forms, at *Il.* 13.482. The last of these instances is said to be analogical, the remainder isolated cases of the old present **eiti*. Use in non-indicative moods is slightly different (1985: 70): parts of ἔρχομαι appear as marked beside those of εἶμι (without modal meaning now that it is not in the indicative), sometimes used for their

durativity and sometimes just stylistically. The participle ἐρχόμενος seems to show the expected durative meaning, but is rare in the nominative, apparently for stylistic reasons; the infinitive ἔρχεσθαι is rare, no equivalent of the phrase βῆ δ' ἰέναι being found; and imperative ἔρχεο is quite frequent, perhaps owing to the 'weakness' of ἴθι (as in such uses as βάσκ' ἴθι).

Regarding the other tense stems, Létoublon's study basically holds that the future ἐλεύσομαι, aorist ἦλθον and perfect εἰλήλουθα are to be regarded as the non-present forms of ἔρχομαι[20] – in the sense that all these involve 'rapprochement par rapport à ici'.[21] Indeed, ἐλεύσομαι and ἦλθον are usually centripetal, therefore normally being translatable 'I will come (here)', 'I came (here)' respectively; and εἰλήλουθα only ever means 'I have come (here and am present here now)', never being centrifugal. An example of each is as follows: for the future, when Telamonian Ajax says:

> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κεῖσ' εἶμι καὶ ἀντιόω πολέμοιο·
> αἶψα δ' ἐλεύσομαι αὖτις, ἐπὴν εὖ τοῖς ἐπαμύνω. (*Il.* 12.368-9)
> But I shall go there and confront the war; and I shall come back again quickly, when I have fully come to their rescue.

An example of the aorist ἦλθον occurs when Odysseus says to Polyphemus:

> ἡμεῖς τοι Τροίηθεν ἀποπλαγχθέντες Ἀχαιοὶ
> παντοίοις ἀνέμοισιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης,

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[20]For comparison between ἐλεύσομαι and 'future' εἶμι, as well as εἴσομαι and εἰσάμην, see Létoublon 1985: 73-81; on ἦλθον and imperfect ἤϊα, as well as κίον, 81-8; and on εἰλήλουθα and present οἴχομαι, 88-108. For the difference between ἔρχομαι, εἶμι and ἐλεύσομαι see in particular Létoublon 1985: 77-8.

[21]Cf. her conclusion, 1985: 108-9.

οἴκαδε ἱέμενοι, ἄλλην ὁδόν, ἄλλα κέλευθα
ἤλθομεν· (*Od.* 9.259-62)

We are from Troy, Achaeans, driven from our course by all the winds over the great gulf of the sea; heading for home, we came by another way, by other paths.

Lastly, Achilles uses the perfect when he says to Athene:

τίπτ' αὖτ', αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, εἰλήλουθας; (*Il.* 1.202)

Why have you come again, daughter of Zeus who bears the aegis?

Whether any of this discussion can help us with the semantics of -σκω, or indeed even to decide whether ἔρχομαι was ever a verb in *-*ske/o*-/-σκ-, is however debatable. For even if we are dealing with the relics of a verb once synchronically felt as a verb in -σκω within Greek, there is no evidence that it was felt as such in Homer's time.

2.2. Verbs with frequentatives

2.2.1. ἀλύσκω

The present ἀλύσκω 'escape' occurs twice; both instances are in *Od.* 22, in close proximity to the one of the imperfect ἀλύσκανε 'escaped'. On all three occasions, the verb has κῆρα μέλαιναν as object. Firstly, when Odysseus has killed Leiodes, Homer says:

Τερπιάδης δ' ἔτ' ἀοιδὸς ἀλύσκανε κῆρα μέλαιναν,
Φήμιος, ὅς ῥ' ἤειδε μετὰ μνηστῆρσιν ἀνάγκῃ. (*Od.* 22.330-1)

And the son of Terpes, the bard, still tried to escape black fate – Phemius, who sang by force amongst the suitors.

Telemachus advises Odysseus to spare Phemius; and he also says that Medon the herald should not be killed. We then learn that the latter is in hiding:

πεπτηὼς γὰρ ἔκειτο ὑπὸ θρόνον, ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα
ἔστο βοὸς νεόδαρτον, ἀλύσκων κῆρα μέλαιναν. (*Od.* 22.362-3)
For he lay crouching under a chair, and had clothed himself in the newly stripped skin of an ox, escaping black fate.

He is indeed spared. They leave the hall, and then the phrase recurs:

πάπτηνεν δ' Ὀδυσεὺς καθ' ἑὸν δόμον, εἴ τις ἔτ' ἀνδρῶν
ζωὸς ὑποκλοπέοιτο, ἀλύσκων κῆρα μέλαιναν. (*Od.* 22.381-2)
And Odysseus looked about throughout his house, to see if anyone living was hiding, escaping black fate.

The suffix - άνω seems to add nothing to the meaning, therefore; but the same may not be said of - άζω in the present ἀλυσκάζω. This verb is found three times. Cunliffe (1924 s.v.) gives two meanings: 'escape', once in the *Odyssey*, and 'play the shirker', twice in the *Iliad*. Firstly, the form occurs when Diomedes, in response to Sthenelus' suggestion to leave their chariot, says that he will not:

οὐ γάρ μοι γενναῖον ἀλυσκάζοντι μάχεσθαι
οὐδὲ καταπτώσσειν· ἔτι μοι μένος ἔμπεδόν ἐστιν· (*Il.* 5.252-3)

For it is not honourable for me to fight skulking or to cower down: my strength is still steadfast.

The second instance in the *Iliad* occurs when Hector says to Andromache that he cannot stay in the city, but must fight:

ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους,
αἴ κε κακὸς ὣς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο· (*Il.* 6.441-3)
But I very deeply have the shame of the Trojan men and the Trojan women with trailing robes, if like a coward I skulk apart from the battle.

Presumably, therefore, the form in -άζω is a frequentative: 'to avoid repeatedly' is 'to skulk'. In the *Odyssey* we have the meaning 'keep from, shun', found when Eumaeus says of the unrecognised Odysseus, who has just spoken to him against the suitors:

μυθεῖται κατὰ μοῖραν, ἅ πέρ κ' οἴοιτο καὶ ἄλλος,
ὕβριν ἀλυσκάζων ἀνδρῶν ὑπερηνορεόντων. (*Od.* 17.580-1)
He speaks rightly – things which any other man would also think – in keeping from the insolence of arrogant men.

Again, the meaning is frequentative.

There is a future ἀλύξω, found three times in all, as when Diomedes calls to Dolon:

ἠὲ μέν', ἠέ σε δουρὶ κιχήσομαι, οὐδέ σέ φημι

δηρὸν ἐμῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἀλύξειν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον. (*Il.* 10.370-1)

Stand, or I shall reach you with my spear, and I do not think you will long escape sheer destruction at my hand.

In the two occasions in the *Odyssey*, ἀλύξω is used concerning the suitors in the phrase οὐδέ κέ τις θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξει 'not even one will escape death and the fates' (*Od.* 17.547=19.558).

The aorist ἤλυξα occurs eight times in the *Iliad* and fifteen in the *Odyssey*. In the earlier epic, most instances are of the infinitive or the participle, although the indicative occurs once, as does the subjunctive. Hence, when Menelaus and Ajax go to rescue Odysseus, attacked by Trojans:

εὖρον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα Διῒ φίλον· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν
Τρῶες ἔπονθ' ὡς εἴ τε δαφοινοὶ θῶες ὄρεσφιν
ἀμφ' ἔλαφον κεραὸν βεβλημένον, ὅν τ' ἔβαλ' ἀνὴρ
ἰῷ ἀπὸ νευρῆς· τὸν μέν τ' ἤλυξε πόδεσσι
φεύγων, ὄφρ' αἷμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ· (*Il.* 11.473-7)

Then they found Odysseus, dear to Zeus; and round about the Trojans set upon him, like tawny jackals in the mountains around a horned stag that has been wounded, whom a man struck with an arrow from his string; fleeing from him on his feet the stag escaped, as long as the blood is warm and his knees move quickly.

Similarly, Odysseus says to Diomedes, having spotted Dolon:

εἰ δ' ἄμμε παραφθαίησι πόδεσσιν,
αἰεί μιν ἐπὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατόφι προτιειλεῖν,

ἔγχει ἐπαΐσσων, μή πως προτὶ ἄστυ ἀλύξῃ. (*Il.* 10.346-8)

And if he gets ahead of us by [speed of] foot, always drive him in towards the ships away [and] from the army, darting with your spear, in case he in any way escapes towards the city.

The other instances in the *Iliad* are also all of escaping from danger: infinitive three times[22] and participle ἀλύξας three times.[23]

In the *Odyssey*, the aorist shows the same meaning of 'avoid, escape from'. We also have there the only two instances of this verb used figuratively in Homer: χρέος καὶ δεσμὸν ἀλύξας 'having avoided the debt and the bond' (*Od.* 8.353); and ἤλυξα ἑταίρους 'I had got away from my comrades' (*Od.* 12.335). There is also a compound form ὑπ- ήλυξα 'keep away from; get away; escape' (twice and four times).

The present ἀλε(ύ)ομαι 'escape, avoid' occurs only twice; it is not found in repeated expressions or in similes, unlike ἀλύσκω. In the *Iliad*, it is used in a description of herdsmen's dogs witnessing their bull being eaten by lions:

οἱ δ' ἦτοι δακέειν μὲν ἀπετρωπῶντο λεόντων,
ἱστάμενοι δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ὑλάκτεον ἔκ τ' ἀλέοντο. (*Il.* 18.585-6)

But they [the dogs] shrank from biting the lions, but standing nearby they barked and avoided them.

It is also found in the *Odyssey*, when the dead Achilles says to the dead Agamemnon:

ἦ τ' ἄρα καὶ σοὶ πρῶϊ παραστήσεσθαι ἔμελλε

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[22] *Il.* 8.243, 21.565, 22.201.

[23] *Il.* 12.113, 13.395, 15.287.

μοῖρ' ὀλοή, τὴν οὔ τις ἀλεύεται ὅς κε γένηται. (*Od.* 24.28-9)

And indeed deadly fate was to come early on you also, which no one who is born avoids.

Like ἀλύσκω, therefore, ἀλε(ύ)ομαι is used of escaping fate and death.

The aorist form ἀλε(ύ)ασθαι (25 times in the *Iliad*, sixteen in the *Odyssey*) is, as ἀλύσκω and ἀλυσκάνω, used with the formula κῆρα μέλαιναν (four times), as in:[24]

... Ἕκτωρ ἔμπνυτο, καὶ ἂψ ἐς δίφρον ὀρούσας
ἐξέλασ' ἐς πληθύν, καὶ ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν. (*Il.* 11.359-60)

Hector came to, and having leapt back into his chariot drove into the throng, and escaped black fate.

It therefore seems that ἀλύσκω (non-present ἀλυξ-) acts as collateral to ἀλε(ύ)ομαι (aorist ἀλε(ύ)ασθαι): there seems to be no distinction between the two sets.

2.2.2. ἠλάσκω

The present ἠλάσκω 'rove, flit about' is found twice, on both occasions of animals in similes. Firstly, of the Greeks, Homer compares:

ἠΰτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλά,
αἵ τε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊον ἠλάσκουσιν
ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ... (*Il.* 2.469-71)

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[24]Cf. also *Il.* 3.360=7.254, 14.462; compound form ὑπαλευάμενος 'escape (from the power of)' is also used in this way (*Od.* 15.275).

Just as the many tribes of swarming flies that wander about throughout the herdsman's farmstead in the season of spring...

And secondly, in a speech made by Poseidon, ἠλάσκω is used of the Trojans:

Τρῶας ἐφ' ἡμετέρας ἰέναι νέας, οἵ τὸ πάρος περ
φυζακινῇς ἐλάφοισιν ἐοίκεσαν, αἵ τε καθ' ὕλην
θώων παρδαλίων τε λύκων τ' ἤϊα πέλονται
αὔτως ἠλάσκουσαι ἀνάλκιδες, οὐδ' ἔπι χάρμη· (*Il.* 13.101-4)
[And it is a marvel that] the Trojans are moving against our ships, who formerly were like panic-stricken hinds which throughout the wood become the prey of jackals, leopards and wolves, merely wandering cowards, and there is no fight in them.

The collateral present ἠλασκάζω, glossed by Cunliffe as 'wander aimlessly about; go about, skulk in order to avoid (danger)', occurs once in each epic. As with ἀλυσκάζω, the extra suffix gives a frequentative meaning: 'wander about', in effect. In the earlier instance, Polydamas says that Achilles will not last in the next day's fighting:

ἄψ πάλιν εἶσ' ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπεί κ' ἐριαύχενας ἵππους
παντοίου δρόμου ἄσῃ ὑπὸ πτόλιν ἠλασκάζων· (*Il.* 18.280-1)
Back again to his ships will he go, when he has given his horses, with high-arched necks, their fill of running in every way, as he wanders about beneath the city.

The other instance is used by Polyphemus to the ram that in fact bears Odysseus; it is here that it is glossed as 'skulk':[25]

> εἰ δὴ ὁμοφρονέοις ποτιφωνήεις τε γένοιο
> εἰπεῖν ὅππῃ κεῖνος ἐμὸν μένος ἠλασκάζει· (*Od.* 9.456-7)
> If only you could feel as I do, and could become endowed with speech to tell me where he skulks away from my wrath.

These forms are related to ἀλάομαι 'wander, rove', found three times in the *Iliad* and sixteen in the *Odyssey*.[26] An example occurs when Odysseus, awakened by Nestor, says:

> τίφθ' οὕτω κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ στρατὸν οἷοι ἀλᾶσθε
> νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην, ὅ τι δὴ χρειὼ τόσον ἵκει; (*Il.* 10.141-2)
> Why do you thus wander alone by the ships throughout the camp through the immortal night? What need so great has come upon you?

The perfect ἀλάλημαι apparently also has present meaning; Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. ἀλάομαι) says that it 'équivaut à un présent intensif'. Hence Patroclus' ghost says to Achilles:

> ἀλλ' αὕτως ἀλάλημαι ἀν' εὐρυπυλὲς Ἄϊδος δῶ. (*Il.* 23.74)

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[25]The reading ἠλασκάζει is accepted by Allen (1917-19) and van Thiel (1991). Chantraine prefers the variant ἠλυσκάζει in his etymological dictionary (1968-80 s.v.), although he accepts it at 1986-8: I.338.

[26]Of these occurrences, two and thirteen instances respectively are found in the participle, which is always used to complete the third foot and fill the fourth foot of its verse. This present has beside it past tense forms: imperfect ἠλώμην, aorist ἀλήθην 'wandered' and ἐπαλήθην 'wandered or roved over or among'; hence, for example, ἐπὶ πολλὰ δ' ἀλήθην 'and I wandered far' (*Od.* 14.120).

But I vainly wander through the wide-gated house of Hades.

We therefore find four forms for 'wander' here: ἠλάσκω, ἠλασκάζω beside ἀλάομαι and ἀλάλημαι. ἠλασκάζω is the frequentative to ἠλάσκω, which itself only occurs in similes; these facts aside, there seems to be little difference between these forms.

2.2.3. πτωσκάζω

Πτωσκάζω 'cower or crouch in fear or in cowardice, shrink from the fray' is in its one occurrence found in close proximity to an instance of the related πτώσσω:

ὤ μοι, Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο,
τί πτώσσεις, τί δ' ὀπιπεύεις πολέμοιο γεφύρας;
οὐ μὲν Τυδέϊ γ' ὧδε φίλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἦεν, ... (*Il.* 4.370-2)

Ah me, son of valiant Tydeus, tamer of horses, why do you cower, and why do you [only] gaze at the bridges of war? It was not customary for Tydeus to cower thus...

If there is any difference between the two verbs, it is presumably that πτωσκάζω is the frequentative of πτώσσω: 'cower around'. Chantraine's (1931: 125, 1968-80 s.v. πτήσσω) statement that πτωσκάζω is an expressive form created after ἀλυσκάζω (cf. Chapter 3 § 7.4) supports this suggestion.

The meaning of πτώσσω seen above is also found in all its other occurrences in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 5.634, 7.129, 20.427, 21.14 and imperfect at *Il.* 21.26) and at *Od.* 22.304. It is not only used of people; hence, for example, in a simile used of the Trojans in the Xanthus:

ὡς δ' ὅθ' ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς πυρὸς ἀκρίδες ἠερέθονται
φευγέμεναι ποταμόνδε· τὸ δὲ φλέγει ἀκάματον πῦρ
ὄρμενον ἐξαίφνης, ταὶ δὲ πτώσσουσι καθ' ὕδωρ· (*Il.* 21.12-14)
And as when, beneath the onrush of fire, locusts take wing to flee to a river;
and the unwearied fire burns them, rising suddenly, and they shrink down into
the water.

An extended meaning of 'cringe in humility, go about begging' is found twice for πτώσσω, on both occasions in the *Odyssey*. It occurs when Melanthius the goatherd meets and insults the stranger – who is, in fact, Odysseus:

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δὴ ἔργα κάκ' ἔμμαθεν, οὐκ ἐθελήσει
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πτώσσων κατὰ δῆμον
βούλεται αἰτίζων βόσκειν ἣν γαστέρ' ἄναλτον. (*Od.* 17.226-8)
But since he has learned bad things, he will not wish to do work, but rather
wants, going skulking through the land, to feed his insatiable stomach.

These lines are repeated in slightly different form and in the second person by Eurymachus to Odysseus at *Od.* 18.362-4. We also find a compound present κατα-πτώσσω, which only shows the literal meaning 'crouch down, cower in fear' (four times in *Iliad* 4-5).

Beside the present forms in πτωσσ- and πτωσκ-, there are non-present ones in πτη-. It is a moot point whether we are entitled to attribute to the same verbal paradigm the forms in πτω- and the other verbal forms with similar or identical meanings built on a stem πτηκ-. In any case, there is little doubt that the roots belong together; we should thus mention the aorist ἔπτηξα, which is used in simple

form transitively in the one passage where it occurs in the *Iliad*, meaning 'strike with dismay'. Hence:

> ὸ δὲ ξύμβλητο γεραιός,
> Νέστωρ, πτῆξε δὲ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν. (*Il.* 14.39-40)
> And the old man, Nestor, met them, and made the spirits cower in the breasts of the Achaeans.

Elsewhere it is intransitive 'crouch, cower, etc.' (Cunliffe 1924 s.v. †πτήσσω). So, with preverb κατα- , 'crouched down, cowered in fear': κατὰ δ' ἔπτηξαν ποτὶ γαίῃ 'and they [the Phaeacians] crouched down to the earth' (*Od.* 8.190); two further instances of this compound aorist occur at *Il.* 8.136 and 22.191. The perfect, found only in the participle, is stative: so ὑπὸ τεύχεσι πεπτηῶτες / κείμεθα 'we lay crouching beneath our arms' (*Od.* 13.474-5). There are two more instances of the perfect in simple form (*Od.* 13.354, 22.362); with preverb we find πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες 'cowering under the leaves' (*Il.* 2.312) and perhaps also λιμένος ποτιπεπτηυῖα 'sloping down towards the harbour' (*Od.* 13.98).[27]

There is a parallelism with the use of βάσκω, where we also find a contrast of intransitive (βάσκ' ἴθι, παρέβασκε) and transitive (παραβασκέμεν). However, the similarity is very superficial, since in this case the transitive form is simple, not a compound. It could therefore be that the sigmatic aorist is responsible for transitivity here, although this is not true for the compound form.

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[27]Unless this form is from πίπτω: see Chapter 3 § 7.4 above.

2.3. Verbs of quick movement

2.3.1. θρῴσκω

Nearly half the instances of the verb θρῴσκω 'leap, spring, bound, dart' are of its various compound forms. The simple present occurs four times in the *Iliad*. When Helenus' arrow bounces off Menelaus' armour, the following simile occurs:

> ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀπὸ πλατέος πτυόφιν μεγάλην κατ' ἀλωὴν
> θρῴσκωσιν κύαμοι μελανόχροες ἢ ἐρέβινθοι,
> πνοιῇ ὕπο λιγυρῇ καὶ λικμητῆρος ἐρωῇ, ... (*Il.* 13.588-90)
> And as when dark-skinned beans or pulses leap from a broad shovel across a great threshing-floor, before the shrill wind and the winnower's effort, ...

Similarly, Teucer speaks of his arrow's string bearing θαμὰ θρῴσκοντας ὀϊστούς 'quickly leaping arrows' (*Il.* 15.470). Ajax, striding up and down the decks of the ships as he calls out to the Greeks, is compared to a man driving four horses to a city,

> ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
> θρῴσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, οἱ δὲ πέτονται.
> (*Il.* 15.683-4)
> And, always leaping without stumbling, he passes from one [horse] to another, and they fly on.

Lastly, when Achilles has killed Priam's son Lycaon:

> θρῴσκων τις κατὰ κῦμα μέλαιναν φρῖχ' ὑπαΐξει
> ἰχθύς, ὅς κε φάγῃσι Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν. (*Il.* 21.126-7)

Many a fish, leaping among the waves, will dart up from under the black ripple [on the water] to eat the white fat of Lycaon.

There is also one instance of the imperfect: ἀπὸ νευρῆφι δ' ὀϊστοὶ / θρῴσκον 'and the arrows leapt from the bow-string' (*Il.* 15.312-13).

The only other tense occurring in simple form is the aorist ἔθορον (seventeen times in the *Iliad* and three in the *Odyssey*). Of these, eight and one occasions respectively are in the participle, and three are repetitions (*Il.* 8.320=23.509; *Il.* 8.252=14.441; *Il.* 11.70=16.770). For example:

ὣς Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες
δῄουν, οὐδ' ἕτεροι μνώοντ' ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο. (*Il.* 11.70-1=16.770-1)
Thus the Trojans and Achaeans, having leapt on each other, were killing [each other], and neither of the two took thought of ruinous flight.

We also find 22 instances of eight different compound forms;[28] these all show the addition of a preverb with spatial meaning, as e.g. when Hector is compared to a rolling stone of which it is said ὕψι δ' ἀναθρῴσκων πέτεται 'and it flies leaping up high above' (*Il.* 13.140). The one case of the future tense of θρῴσκω in Homer is a compound form: ὑπερ- θορέομαι 'will leap or spring over', which occurs when Hector calls out that he will reach the Greek ships:

τὰ δ' οὐ μένος ἀμὸν ἐρύξει·
ἵπποι δὲ ῥέα τάφρον ὑπερθορέονται ὀρυκτήν. (*Il.* 8.178-9)
And they [the walls] will not withhold our might; and our horses will lightly leap over the dug ditch.

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[28]Cf. Chapter 3 § 3.2.3.

We therefore here have a paradigm θρῴσκω 'leap', future - θορέομαι 'will leap' and aorist ἔθορον 'leapt'.

2.3.2. ὀρχέομαι

The imperfect of ὀρχέομαι 'dance' occurs twice in Homer. In the *Iliad*, it is found when the dancing-floor on the shield of Achilles is described:

> ἔνθα μὲν ἠΐθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
> ὠρχεῦντ', ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες. (*Il.* 18.593-4)
> There young men, and maidens bringing their parents many cattle, were dancing, holding their hands on each others' wrists.

In the later epic, we find:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σφαίρῃ ἀν' ἰθὺν πειρήσαντο,
> ὀρχείσθην δὴ ἔπειτα ποτὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
> ταρφέ' ἀμειβομένω· (*Od.* 8.377-9)
> But when they [Halius and Laodamas] had tried their skill in throwing the ball straight up, then they danced on the earth that feeds many, constantly throwing to and fro.

In the *Odyssey* we also find the aorist ὀρχήσασθαι, directly before the above passage:

> Ἀλκίνοος δ' Ἅλιον καὶ Λαοδάμαντα κέλευσε
> μουνάξ ὀρχήσασθαι, ἐπεί σφισιν οὔ τις ἔριζεν. (*Od.* 8.370-1)

And Alcinous told Halius and Laodamas to dance alone, since no one could compete with them.

This also occurs when Odysseus, as beggar, says the following before he tells the story of how Odysseus supposedly got him a cloak when he was cold:

οἶνος γὰρ ἀνώγει
ἠλεός, ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ μάλ' ἀεῖσαι
καί θ' ἁπαλὸν γελάσαι, καί τ' ὀρχήσασθαι ἀνῆκε,
καί τι ἔπος προέηκεν ὅ πέρ τ' ἄρρητον ἄμεινον. (*Od.* 14.463-6)
For wine, that takes away one's wits, bids me – wine which sets even a very wise man to singing and laughing for little reason, and urges him to dance, and brings out a word which is better unsaid.

The paradigm of this verb is therefore ὀρχέομαι 'dance', aorist ὀρχήσασθαι 'danced'.

2.4. Summary: verbs of movement

It is not at first sight easy, from the above analysis, to find any internal consistency in Homer's use of verbs of movement in -σκω. A historical point which is of interest, however, is that several of these verbs appear to be ancient formations: βάσκω and (if it does show a reflex of *-*ske/o*-) ἔρχομαι are inherited;[29] ἀλύσκω, -βλώσκω, θρῴσκω and ὀρχέομαι (if in *-*ske/o*-) are surely to be interpreted as ancient formations;[30] and the remaining forms, ἠλάσκω and πτωσκάζω, are unexplained and therefore could be of some antiquity also.[31]

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[29]Cf. Chapter 3 §§ 2.1 and 2.2 respectively.

[30]Cf. Chapter 3 §§ 3.1.1, 3.2.1 and 3.2.3 respectively.

[31]Cf. Chapter 3 §§ 3.1.4, 7.3 and 7.4 respectively.

3. Causatives and inchoatives

The causatives and inchoatives in - σκω and - σκομαι represent a large group of Homeric forms. As already seen, however, their existence could rather be a feature of Greek voice than of the meaning of - σκ- (Chapter 1 § 3.2). The important question, therefore, is this: is the suffix responsible, or is the meaning of these presents rather a feature of the verbs themselves, no matter what suffix they show? It would be possible to compare other types of verbs in Homer, to see if other presents (whether suffixed or not) were used in this way; the alternative, followed in this section, is to compare presents in - σκω with the non-present forms found beside them.

3.1. Causative-inchoative pairs

3.1.1. βόσκω / βόσκομαι

Active βόσκω beside medio-passive βόσκομαι form a causative-inchoative pair in Homer (cf. Moussy 1969: 14-16). In the active, which is transitive, we can distinguish, following Cunliffe (1924 s.v.), a first meaning of the type 'feed, tend, pasture'. Used of animals, this is found twice: once in the *Iliad* (the only occurrence of active βόσκω in this epic) when Hector is telling off Melanippus, a man of whom it is said that

> ὸ δ' ὄφρα μὲν εἰλίποδας βοῦς
> βόσκ' ἐν Περκώτῃ, δηΐων ἀπονόσφιν ἐόντων· (*Il.* 15.547-8)
> he for a time had been feeding his shambling[32] cattle in Percote, while the enemy were far away.

A similar construction occurs in the *Odyssey*, when Eumaeus says of Odysseus:

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[32]On the word εἰλίπους see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v.

δώδεκ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ ἀγέλαι· τόσα πώεα οἰῶν,
τόσσα συῶν συβόσια, τόσ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν
βόσκουσι ξεῖνοί τε καὶ αὐτοῦ βώτορες ἄνδρες. (*Od.* 14.100-2)
He has twelve herds [of cattle] on the mainland; as many flocks of sheep, as many herds of swine, as many huge herds of goats do herdsmen, both foreigners and from his own people, tend.

There are, however, seven more instances of present active βόσκω in the *Odyssey*, where the verb can refer to humans and the meaning must be 'feed, nourish, support' (Cunliffe 1924 s.v. (2)); that is to say, the verb may now be used of humans. For example, it is said of Odysseus' wealth that it is so great that:

καί νύ κεν ἐς δεκάτην γενεὴν ἕτερόν γ' ἔτι βόσκοι·
(*Od.* 14.325=19.294)
it would indeed still feed another [owner, and then another] for ten generations.

The medio-passive βόσκομαι (five times in the *Iliad*, six in the *Odyssey*) is intransitive and used of animals only. Moreover, the meaning 'feed, graze' is really inchoative 'get fed' beside βόσκω 'make fed'. For example, immediately after the instance of βόσκω quoted above from *Odyssey* 14 we find:

ἐνθάδε δ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν ἕνδεκα πάντα
ἐσχατιῇ βόσκοντ', ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρες ἐσθλοὶ ὄρονται. (*Od.* 14.103-4)
And eleven roving herds of goats all graze there in the most remote part [of the island], and good men keep watch over them.

Apart from one further instance of βόσκονται (*Od.* 12.128), this medio-passive is always participial; and it is always used of cattle, except when Hector is compared to an eagle attacking a flock of birds ποταμὸν πάρα βοσκομενάων 'feeding by a river' (*Il.* 15.691).

Also in the medio-passive is the one case of an iterative in -(ε)σκον of this verb, seen when Odysseus narrates how his men took the cattle of Helios, which were nearby:

> οὐ γὰρ τῆλε νεὸς κυανοπρῴροιο
> βοσκέσκονθ' ἕλικες καλαὶ βόες εὐρυμέτωποι (*Od.* 12.354-5)
> for the fair cattle, with twisted horns and broad brows, used to graze not far from our dark-prowed ship.

A further tense-stem is found in the future βοσκήσω 'will feed'. This occurs when Eumaeus says to Odysseus that he will be allowed to beg as he pleases if Penelope finds he is telling the truth: σῖτον δὲ καὶ αἰτίζων κατὰ δῆμον / γαστέρα βοσκήσεις 'and as for food, going begging throughout the land you will feed your stomach' (*Od.* 17.558-9).

It would in theory be possible to translate the active as 'feed' or 'graze', and the medio-passive as 'be fed, be grazed' with a 'passive' meaning, but this becomes more difficult when the verb is used of birds in *Il.* 15.691. The obvious interpretation is therefore that the basic meaning is 'graze, eat' (originally of animals), and that, next to the medio-passive, an active was created with the causative meaning 'cause to graze, pasture, cause to eat, feed'. The inchoative value which may originally have been characteristic of the verb ('get fed, get to eat'?) seems to be yielding to a straight durative value, but the active is certainly causative. The future βοσκήσω must thus

have been built on the present βόσκω with the developed meaning 'tend to, nourish'. The important point to retain is the contrast between active and medio-passive, which is to be taken as a contrast between causative and inchoative or durative.[33]

3.1.2. διδάσκω / διδάσκομαι

The present tense διδάσκω is given four meanings by Cunliffe (1924 s.v.).[34] The first three differ only in the objects they take. We have firstly (1) 'teach, instruct (a person)' (present at *Il.* 23.308, aorist at *Il.* 11.832, *Od.* 8.488), and then (2) 'teach, impart knowledge of (something)' (present at *Il.* 9.442 and 23.307, aorist at *Od.* 22.422). The two are supposedly combined in one passage when Nestor says to his son:

> 'Αντίλοχ', ἦτοι μέν σε νέον περ ἐόντα φίλησαν
> Ζεύς τε Ποσειδάων τε, καὶ ἱπποσύνας ἐδίδαξαν
> παντοίας· τῷ καί σε διδασκέμεν οὔ τι μάλα χρεώ· (*Il.* 23.306-8)
> Antilochus, although you are young, Zeus and Poseidon indeed loved you and taught [you] all about horsemanship; and there is therefore not much need to teach you anything.[35]

Clearly, both are variants (with one of the two objects understood) of (3), where διδάσκω is used 'with double acc. of person and thing' (aorist at *Od.* 8.481) and 'with infin. of what is taught' (present at *Od.* 1.384, aorist at *Il.* 5.51). Hence Antinous says to Telemachus:

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[33]On the use of βόσκω in later Greek, see Moussy 1969: 16-18, and also on Plato Chapter 8 § 3.1.3.1.

[34]On the syntax of διδάσκω and related forms, see Jacquinod 1989: 185-96; and Giannakis 1997: 240.

[35]On the problem of τι here, see Jacquinod 1989: 185.

Τηλέμαχ', ἦ μάλα δή σε διδάσκουσιν θεοὶ αὐτοὶ
ὑψαγόρην τ' ἔμεναι καὶ θαρσαλέως ἀγορεύειν· (*Od.* 1.384-5)
Truly, Telemachus, do the gods themselves teach you to talk boldly and to speak bravely.

The fourth meaning is reserved for the two medio-passive instances; it is given as 'gain knowledge of, learn'. This occurs once in the present:

καὶ γὰρ δὴ τότε φῶτας ἐείκοσι βῆσεν ἀφ' ἵππων,
πρῶτ' ἐλθὼν σὺν ὄχεσφι, διδασκόμενος πολέμοιο· (*Il.* 16.810-11)
For indeed he [Euphorbus] had by then sent twenty men from their horses [i.e., their chariots], having come for the first time with his chariot, learning of war.

We thus have an inchoative present διδάσκομαι 'learn, come to know' beside causative διδάσκω 'make learn, teach'. In the other medio-passive instance for this verb, there is an agent: it is the one example of the perfect δεδιδάχθαι in Homer, used with an unusual instance of προτί.[36] This occurs when Eurypylus asks Patroclus to help him:

ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν σὺ σάωσον ἄγων ἐπὶ νῆα μέλαιναν,
μηροῦ δ' ἔκταμ' ὀϊστόν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δ' αἷμα κελαινὸν
νίζ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ, ἐπὶ δ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσε,
ἐσθλά, τά σε προτί φασιν Ἀχιλλῆος δεδιδάχθαι,
ὃν Χείρων ἐδίδαξε, δικαιότατος Κενταύρων. (*Il.* 11.828-32).

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[36]As is noted by Hainsworth (Kirk et al. 1985-93: III.310), the use of προτί with genitive is exceptional (Cunliffe (1924 s.v. (II)(3)) only notes this one instance), as is the occurrence of the form where πρός could stand instead.

But help me, leading me to my black ship, and cut the arrow from my thigh, and wash the black blood from it with warm water, and sprinkle on it good, kindly drugs, which they say you know from [have learnt from, have been taught by] Achilles, whom Cheiron, the most righteous of Centaurs, taught.

The meaning of this perfect is therefore stative 'know, have been taught'.[37]

Homeric forms of the verb 'get to know, know, learn' from *δασ- number 25 in all.[38] Cunliffe (s.v. *†δάω) has three meanings for the simple forms, divided by tense stems. Firstly there is 'get to know, know, learn', which applies to the two instances of the future δαήσεαι 'will learn' and the thirteen of the aorist ἐδάην. In fact, however, there are no instances where we must understand the stative meaning 'know'; rather, the forms are inchoative 'get to know, learn'. Hence, for the future stem, we find Nestor saying to Telemachus:

ὅσσα δ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι καθήμενος ἡμετέροισι
πεύθομαι, ἢ θέμις ἐστί, δαήσεαι, οὐδέ σε κεύσω. (*Od.* 3.186-7)
But you will learn all the things which I have heard while sitting in our halls, which is right, nor shall I hide [anything] from you.

And so the aorist indicative ἐδάην means 'came to know, learnt':

εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι, ὄφρ' ἐῢ εἰδῇς
ἡμετέρην γενεήν, πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἴσασιν·
(*Il.* 6.150-1=20.213-4)

[37]If we read δεδάασθαι for δεδιδάχθαι here with West (1998) following Zenodotus' reading, then we have an aorist 'learnt, got taught'. Van Thiel (1996), however, also reads the perfect form.
[38]On this root and its connection with διδάσκω, see Chapter 3 § 4.2.1.

But if you wish to learn also these things, so that you may know my lineage well; and many men do know it.

Secondly, Cunliffe has 'acquire practical knowledge of or skill in'. Under this heading he has only the perfect δεδάηκα, which he glosses (in all four instances from the *Odyssey*) as 'have such knowledge of or skill in'. In our terminology, this means that the perfect δεδάηκα has the expected stative meaning 'be in a state of having learnt, know' . Hence Alcinous invites Odysseus: πείρησαι ἀέθλων, / εἴ τινά που δεδάηκας 'make trial of the contests, if you know any' (*Od.* 8.146).[39]

Lastly, there is, for the reduplicated thematic aorist active δέδαε(ν), the causative meaning (3) 'teach (something)' (four times in the *Odyssey*), as for example said by Penelope concerning the daughters of Pandareus, tended by the gods:

ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίη δέδαε κλυτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι. (*Od.* 20.72)

And Athene taught them to do excellent handiwork.

The other occurrences are all of the form ὅν...δέδαε(ν), and take a double object of the person and the thing taught. Also under this heading comes the medio-passive δεδάασθαι, which Cunliffe has as 'have oneself taught; hence, get to know, acquire knowledge of'. It is used when Telemachus says to Odysseus, regarding what they are to do with the suitors and others in his palace and the farms:

ἀλλ' ἦ τοί σε γυναῖκας ἐγὼ δεδάασθαι ἄνωγα,
αἵ τέ σ' ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ αἳ νηλίτιδές εἰσιν· (*Od.* 16.316-17)

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[39]A medio-passive perfect form occurs in the *Homeric Hymns* in τέχνῃ καὶ σοφίῃ δεδαημένος 'having learnt / knowing with skill and wisdom' (*h.Merc.* 483).

But indeed, regarding the women, I urge you to learn who dishonour you and who are guiltless.

This form can therefore be interpreted as simply the inchoative counterpart ('learn') to causative δέδαε ('made learn, taught'). It is the same in meaning as the inchoative aorist δαῆναι 'learn'.[40]

The compound form προδαείς is given by Cunliffe (1924 s.v. †προδάω) as meaning 'know beforehand'. It occurs when Menelaus, recounting how Eidothea advised him to catch Proteus, says to her:

αὐτὴ νῦν φράζευ σὺ λόχον θείοιο γέροντος,
μή πώς με προϊδὼν ἠὲ προδαεὶς ἀλέηται· (*Od.* 4.395-6)
You yourself devise an ambush for the divine old man, in case, having by chance seen me beforehand and learnt beforehand, he avoids me.

This form also, therefore, fits our pattern if taken as 'learn'.

The meanings of all these different formations, along with their respective frequencies, form an interesting pattern. The old forms in δα- η- with the inchoative meaning 'come to know, learn' (δαήσεαι 'will learn', ἐδάην 'came to know, learnt', with προ- δαείς 'having learnt beforehand', and δεδάηκα 'have learnt, know') account for eight occasions in the *Iliad* and ten in the *Odyssey*. A causative reduplicated aorist δέδαε(ν) 'taught' (four times in the *Odyssey*) is also formed, and this once shows an inchoative medio-passive δεδάασθαι 'get taught, learn'. It is presumably from here that our present in - σκω is formed – δι- δά- σκω (or

[40]Bendahman (1993: 71), however, argues that δεδάασθαι is an active 'sich in Erfahrung bringen, sich kundig machen' and δαῆναι a passive 'erkennen, erfahren'.

*δι- δάσ- σκω) 'make learn, teach, instruct' (twice in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*).[41] This too once has its own inchoative medio-passive, διδάσκομαι 'come to learn, get taught'. Reinterpreted as διδασκ- ω, it is used to form a new aorist ἐδίδαξα 'taught' (meaning the same as δέδαε(ν)) and stative perfect medio-passive δεδιδάχθαι 'have been taught' (meaning the same as δεδάηκα).[42] In this way derivations from διδάσκω come to take over from all the forms in δα- , which almost never occur in Ancient Greek prose.[43]

3.1.3. μιμνήσκω / μιμνήσκομαι

The parts of this verb are divided by Cunliffe (1924 s.v. μιμνήσκω) into active and medio-passive.[44] The six active instances all come under (1) 'remind'. The active μιμνήσκω is found once in Homer, when Eumaeus says to Odysseus concerning the possibility of the latter's return (of which he is not yet aware):

ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος
πῖνε, καὶ ἄλλα παρὲξ μεμνώμεθα, μηδέ με τούτων
μίμνησκ'· ἦ γὰρ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐμοῖσιν
ἄχνυται, ὁππότε τις μνήσῃ κεδνοῖο ἄνακτος. (*Od.* 14.167-70)
But drink in peace, and let us turn our thoughts aside to other things, and do not remind me of these ones; for the heart in my breast is grieved whenever anyone reminds me of my good master.

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[41]Cf. Chapter 3 § 4.2.1

[42]For parallelism between forms in δα- and forms in διδασκ- / διδαξ- , see especially the examples given by Jacquinod (1989: 191).

[43]According to Veitch (1887 s.v. (δάω)), in Classical prose, we only find one instance of any of these forms (δεδάηκα at Herodotus 2.165).

[44]On the syntax of μιμνήσκω see Bader 1968; Jacquinod 1989: 196-8; and Giannakis 1997: 247-9.

Other active forms are rare. We find the future μνήσω 'will remind' (once in each epic), as in τῶν σ' αὖτις μνήσω 'I shall remind you of these things again' (*Il.* 15.31). For the aorist active ἔμνησα 'reminded' (once in the *Iliad*, twice in the *Odyssey*), the Iliadic example occurs when Achilles tells Thetis to remind Zeus how she had helped him before, when the other gods wanted to tie him up:

> τῶν νῦν μιν μνήσασα παρέζεο καὶ λαβὲ γούνων, ... (*Il.* 1.407)
> Having reminded him of these things, sit by his side and take hold of his knees...

Cunliffe's second heading accounts for all other parts of this verb; it has three subdivisions: (a) 'recall or bear in mind, remember, recollect, bethink oneself of'; (b) 'remember or bear in mind so as to put in practice or use or bring about, not to neglect, bethink oneself of, turn one's mind to'; and (c) 'tell or speak about'. The first two are frequently found and occur for a wide range of tense stems: present μιμνήσκομαι (three times in the *Iliad* and four in the *Odyssey*, with imperfect at *Il.* 13.722), future μνήσομαι (four and three times in the respective epics), aorist ἐμνησάμην (31 times in the *Iliad* and 20 in the *Odyssey*), perfect μέμνημαι (seventeen and fourteen times), pluperfect μέμνητο (once in each epic) and future perfect μεμνήσομαι (three times in all). It is clear that there is overlap between meanings (a) and (b) from the fact that 'bethink oneself of' is listed under both meanings.

Hence for μιμνήσκομαι 'remember, recollect; turn one's mind to, etc.' we find, for the first meaning, τῶν μιμνησκόμενος θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβεν 'as he remembered these things [concerning Patroclus] he [Achilles] would shed great tears' (*Il.* 24.9); and, for the second, Achilles saying to Hector, παντοίης ἀρετῆς μιμνήσκεο 'turn your thoughts to every kind of valour' (*Il.* 22.268). The verb is

inchoative, indicating entrance into the state of remembering, and so too of changing the subject of one's thoughts.

For future μνήσομαι, we find for example, for meaning (a), Achilles saying to Ajax:

> ἀλλά μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλῳ, ὁππότε κείνων
> μνήσομαι, ὥς μ' ἀσύφηλον ἐν 'Αργείοισιν ἔρεξεν
> 'Ατρεΐδης, ὡς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην. (*Il.* 9. 646-8)
> But my heart swells with anger whenever I remember how the son of Atreus did me an indignity among the Argives, as if [I were] a refugee with no rights.

For the second meaning, one can compare when Alcinous says, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ περὶ πομπῆς / μνησόμεθ'(α) 'and then we shall turn our thoughts to his [Odysseus'] sending' (*Od.* 7.191-2).

For the common aorist ἐμνησάμην, an example for the meaning 'remembered' is when Nestor cries,

> μνήσατο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονος 'Αντιλόχοιο, ... (*Od.* 4.187)
> for he remembered in his heart illustrious Antilochus.

The similar second meaning is found in the phrase μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης 'and they thought of war' (*Il.* 4.222, 8.252=14.441, 15.380, 16.357).

The perfect μέμνημαι is stative: beside μιμνήσκομαι 'come to remember, be in the act of recalling; turn one's thoughts to', it means 'have remembered, [now] have in mind; have turned one's thoughts to, be mindful of'. When Hera and Athene are saying that Hector must be stopped in his successes against the Greeks, the latter of the two says of Zeus:

οὐδέ τι τῶν μέμνηται, ὅ οἱ μάλα πολλάκις υἱὸν
τειρόμενον σώεσκον ὑπ' Εὐρυσθῆος ἀέθλων. (*Il.* 8.362-3)
And he does not remember that I very often used to save his son when he was exhausted by Eurystheus' tasks.

An example of the second meaning occurs when Diomedes says to Athene:

οὔτε τί με δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον οὔτε τις ὄκνος,
ἀλλ' ἔτι σέων μέμνημαι ἐφετμέων, ἃς ἐπέτειλας· (*Il.* 5.817-8)
Neither at all does spiritless terror nor any hesitation restrain me, but I am still mindful of your charge, which you laid upon me.

The pluperfect acts as the past of μέμνημαι; found twice in all, it only ever means 'was mindful of', as when Agamemnon's ghost says: ὡς εὖ μέμνητ' Ὀδυσῆος, / ἀνδρὸς κουριδίου 'thus was she [Penelope] very mindful of Odysseus, her wedded husband' (*Od.* 24.195-6).

The future perfect μεμνήσομαι shows meaning (a) 'remember'. As future of μέμνημαι, it means in its three instances 'will remember, will be in the state of remembering'; so Penelope says of her house, if she should lose it:

τοῦ ποτε μεμνήσεσθαι ὀΐομαι ἔν περ ὀνείρῳ. (*Od.* 19.581=21.79)
I think I shall remember it even in my dreams.

There is no implication of forgetting and remembering again later; rather, μεμνήσομαι indicates that what the speaker has in mind now will be remembered in future.[45]

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[45]In the other instance, Achilles uses it of remembering Patroclus (*Il.* 22.390).

In addition, we find an iterative of the aorist middle in the form μνησάσκετο 'would be mindful':[46]

> Αἴας δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν μνησάσκετο θούριδος ἀλκῆς
> αὖτις ὑποστρεφθείς, καὶ ἐρητύσασκε φάλαγγας
> Τρώων ἱπποδάμων· ὀτὲ δὲ τρωπάσκετο φεύγειν. (*Il.* 11.566-8)
> And Ajax would at one time be mindful of his furious valour, and having turned round upon them would hold back the ranks of the horse-taming Trojans; but at another he would turn to flee.

Lastly, there is Cunliffe's meaning 2(c) 'tell or speak about'. This occurs for the one instance of the aorist passive ἐμνήσθην 'told or spoke about', found when Menelaus sees that Telemachus starts to cry when his father is praised,

> μερμήριξε δ' ἔπειτα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν
> ἠέ μιν αὐτὸν πατρὸς ἐάσειε μνησθῆναι,
> ἢ πρῶτ' ἐξερέοιτο ἕκαστά τε πειρήσαιτο. (*Od.* 4.117-9)
> and then he considered in his mind and heart whether he should let him speak of his father himself, or first question him and test him in each thing.

The meaning 'speak about' is also given by Cunliffe (1924 s.v. μιμνήσκω (2)(c)) for three more instances of parts of μιμνήσκω in Homer (*Il.* 2.492, *Od.* 8.244, 14.168); but his examples are ambiguous at best, and in these cases we may equally read 'remind'.[47] From the *Iliad* he lists the following usage, when Homer says:

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[46]On this use of the iterative, which falls into the syntactic class 'at one time X would happen, at another time Y would happen', see Chapter 5 § 5.2.1.

[47]LSJ cite in addition μνῆσαι at *Od.* 4.331, which is also ambiguous.

πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,
οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,
φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη,
εἰ μὴ 'Ολυμπιάδες Μοῦσαι, Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
θυγατέρες, μνησαίαθ' ὅσοι ὑπὸ ΄Ιλιον ἦλθον· (*Il.* 2.488-92)
But I would not tell or name the common people, not if I had ten tongues, and ten mouths, and not if I had in me an unwearying voice, and a heart of bronze, if the Muses of Olympus, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus, would not tell / remind me of all those who came below Ilium.

Here, either 'remind' or 'tell' makes sense. Secondly, when Alcinous says to Odysseus, we find:

ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐμέθεν ξυνίει ἔπος, ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλῳ
εἴπῃς ἡρώων, ὅτε κεν σοῖς ἐν μεγάροισι
δαινύῃ παρὰ σῇ τ' ἀλόχῳ καὶ σοῖσι τέκεσσιν,
ἡμετέρης ἀρετῆς μεμνημένος, οἷα καὶ ἡμῖν
Ζεὺς ἐπὶ ἔργα τίθησι διαμπερὲς ἐξέτι πατρῶν. (*Od.* 8.241-5)
But come now, hear my words, so that you may tell another hero, when you are feasting in your halls with your wife and children, remembering our skill, what feats Zeus has continually bestowed on us even from the time of our fathers.

Here 'remembering' seems better than 'having spoken of'; but in this case the act of remembering involves telling others, so that either meaning works. Cunliffe's final passage has already been quoted above for μιμνήσκω: there we find a case of μεμνώμεθα, which I gloss as 'let us turn our thoughts', but Cunliffe has as 'change

our discourse'. The meaning 'speak about, tell of' is therefore for the simple verb only certainly found once in Homeric Greek: for the aorist μνησθῆναι. A further instance, however, occurs for a compound sigmatic aorist middle form, ἐπεμνησάμην, 'spoke about' in ὅτ' ἐπιμνησαίμεθα σεῖο 'whenever we spoke about you [Nestor]' (*Od.* 4.191).[48] This then fits in with later Greek usage: for it is clear from LSJ (s.v. μιμνήσκω B.II) that this meaning is almost entirely restricted to the aorists middle and passive in Ancient Greek. The meaning presumably evolved because to remind someone of something is to mention it; ἐμνήσθην appears to be the later Classical equivalent of Homeric ἐμνησάμην.[49]

There is also a related present μνάομαι (four times in the *Iliad* and twenty in the *Odyssey*). This form shows the two main meanings of intransitive μιμνήσκομαι, 'remember, recollect, etc.' and 'turn one's mind to, etc.'; most frequently, however, it has the specialised meaning 'woo, court, seek to debauch'.[50] In the *Iliad*, however, only the meaning 'turn one's mind to' (four times) is attributed to this verb. Hence, for example:[51]

> ἀλλ' οἵ γ' οὐ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος ἐμνώοντο·
> οὐ γὰρ ἔην ὅς τίς σφιν ἐπὶ στίχας ἡγήσαιτο. (*Il.* 2.686-7)
> But they [Achilles' men] did not turn their thoughts to woe-bringing war, for there was no one to lead them into the ranks.

μνάομαι means 'remember, think of' twice in the *Odyssey*, as when Menelaus says of Odysseus:[52]

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[48]All other compound forms show the meaning 'remember', including those of the aorist passive; for forms see Chapter 3 § 4.1.3.

[49]Cf. the use in Plato, where ἐμνησάμην only appears in quotation (Chapter 7 § 2.3, 8 § 3.1.1.3).

[50]Cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. μιμνήσκω.

[51]Cf. also *Il.* 11.71=16.771, 16.697.

[52]The other instance is at *Od.* 15.400.

τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι, ἀχνύμενός περ,
ὡς ἑνός, ὅς τέ μοι ὕπνον ἀπεχθαίρει καὶ ἐδωδὴν
μνωομένῳ, ... (*Od.* 4.104-6)
Out of all the men I do not mourn so much, although I do grieve, as for one man who makes both sleep and food hateful for me when I think of him...

The meaning of this present is in these six cases therefore like μιμνήσκομαι 'come to remember; turn one's thoughts to'. On all other occasions, however, the meaning is 'woo',[53] as where Nausicaa recounts what local people will say when they see her with Odysseus and assume she is to marry him:[54]

ἦ γὰρ τούσδε γ' ἀτιμάζει κατὰ δῆμον
Φαίηκας, τοί μιν μνῶνται πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοί. (*Od.* 6.283-4)
For indeed she scorns the Phaeacians here throughout the land – who, many and noble, woo her.

There is also an iterative aorist μνάσκετ'(ο), used of Ctesippus, a suitor,[55]

ὅς δή τοι κτεάτεσσι πεποιθὼς θεσπεσίοισι
μνάσκετ' Ὀδυσσῆος δὴν οἰχομένοιο δάμαρτα. (*Od.* 20.289-90)
who, trusting in his abundant wealth, used to woo the wife of Odysseus, who had been gone for a long time.

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[53]In one instance, Cunliffe has rather 'make illicit suit to' (*Od.* 1.39); but this too can be taken as 'woo'.

[54]A compound ὑπομνάομαι 'woo, court' (*Od.* 22.38) is also found.

[55]Here a situation ('wooing') takes place repeatedly over an undefined length of time: see further on this type Chapter 5 § 5.2.1.

Here we have a very full system of causative, inchoative and stative, with each type having a present, past and future form available. Causatives are infrequent: present μιμνήσκω 'remind', future μνήσω and aorist ἔμνησα are all quite rare. More common is the inchoative μιμνήσκομαι 'come to remember', μνήσομαι, ἐμνησάμην; and lastly there is the stative, represented by perfect μέμνημαι 'have remembered, be in the state of remembering', pluperfect μέμνητο, future perfect μεμνήσομαι. Aorist passive μνησθῆναι 'tell or speak about', to judge from the similar meaning found in ἐπεμνησάμην 'spoke about' and also the aorist ἐπεμνήσθην 'remembered, thought of', is merely an alternant for ἐμνησάμην. The present μνάομαι appears once to have had the same meaning as μιμνήσκομαι, but then to have been specialised in a very different sense. To generalise, it is a pattern of causative active and inchoative medio-passive in all tenses, bar the stative perfect forms.

3.1.4. μίσγω / μίσγομαι

Μίσγω is given seven meanings by Cunliffe (1924 s.v.). The first three, which are all active uses, are variants on 'mix', both literally and metaphorically: (1) 'mix together'; (2) 'mix with'; (3) 'mix together in confusion or without distinction'. There is the apparently also active (4) 'bring together (in fight)' – in fact only found once in this voice, and more usually occurring as the medio-passive 'come together in fight'. The remaining meanings, which he gives as found in the 'passive' only, are more metaphorical: (5) 'mingle with, take one's place or stand, join, reach, etc.'; (6) 'associate or be intimate with'; (7) 'have sexual intercourse'.

Cunliffe only gives one instance for his first meaning – one of only three instances of the simple present active stem of μίσγω. It occurs in the following description of Athene's visit to Odysseus' palace:

κήρυκες δ' αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὀτρηροὶ θεράποντες
οἱ μὲν ἄρ' οἶνον ἔμισγον ἐνὶ κρητῆρσι καὶ ὕδωρ, ... (*Od.* 1.109-10)
And some of the heralds and the deft servants were mixing together wine and water for them [the suitors] in bowls...

The other two instances of this form are ascribed to meaning (2) 'mix with'. In the earlier instance, Cunliffe has the phrase 'with water' understood:

ἀτὰρ κήρυκες ἀγαυοὶ
ὅρκια πιστὰ θεῶν σύναγον, κρητῆρι δὲ οἶνον
μίσγον, ἀτὰρ βασιλεῦσιν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν. (*Il.* 3.268-70)
And the noble heralds brought together the sure oath-offerings for the gods, and mixed the wine in a bowl, and poured water on the hands of the kings.

In the last case we have a metaphorical 'mix with' – found when Philoetius, on first seeing Odysseus, says of Zeus:

οὐκ ἐλεαίρεις ἄνδρας, ἐπὴν δὴ γείνεαι αὐτός,
μισγέμεναι κακότητι καὶ ἄλγεσι λευγαλέοισιν. (*Od.* 20.202-3)
You do not pity men when you yourself begat them, so as not to mix them with misery and wretched pains.

Further forms also come under this meaning. So, for one of our two instances of aorist ἔμειξα:

πὰρ δ' ἔβαλον ζειάς, ἀνὰ δὲ κρῖ λευκὸν ἔμιξαν (*Od.* 4.41)

> And they [Menelaus' servants] threw grain before [the horses], and mixed white barley with it.

Similarly, the frequent aorist passive ἐμίγην means 'get mixed with', although in this instance no dative of the object being mixed in is found; it occurs when Helen puts a drug in the wine:

> ὃς τὸ καταβρόξειεν, ἐπεὶ κρητῆρι μιγείη,
> οὔ κεν ἐφημέριός γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρειῶν, ... (*Od.* 4.222-3)
> ... whoever drinks it down, when it gets mixed in the bowl, will not let a tear fall down his cheeks for that day, ...

So far we have therefore seen causatives μίσγω and ἔμειξα 'make mixed' beside inchoative aorist ἐμίγην 'got mixed'. The remaining instances listed by Cunliffe under this meaning are of perfect medio-passive μεμιγμένος (*Il.* 10.424, *Od.* 8.196, 11.123=23.270); this has the stative meaning 'having been mixed in, being in the state of having been mixed'. Hence, for example, Τρώεσσι μεμιγμένοι ἱπποδάμοισιν 'mixed with the horse-taming Trojans' (*Il.* 10.424). In effect, the division between Cunliffe's first and second meanings is slight: μίσγω, ἔμειξα means causative 'mix (with), make mixed (with)', with inchoative ἐμίγην 'got mixed (with)', stative μεμιγμένος 'having been mixed (with)'.

Similar meanings are found for (3) 'mix together in confusion': here we see ἐμίγην (*Il.* 2.475); the remaining occurrences of the perfect μεμιγμένος (*Od.* 4.230, 19.175); and the one instance of the pluperfect ἐμέμικτο 'had got mixed together, was mixed':

> οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμὸς θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς,

ἀλλὰ γλῶσσ' ἐμέμικτο, πολύκλητοι δ' ἔσαν ἄνδρες. (*Il.* 4.437-8)

For they [the Trojans] did not all have one speech the same or one voice, but their language was mixed, and the men were called from many lands.

The fourth meaning 'bring together (in fight)' (only in the *Iliad*) is only found in the active once, in the one remaining case of aorist ἔμειξα:

ἡμῖν δ' οὔ τις τοῦδε νόος καὶ μῆτις ἀμείνων,
ἢ αὐτοσχεδίῃ μεῖξαι χεῖράς τε μένος τε. (*Il.* 15.509-10)

And for us there is no plan or device better than this – than to bring [mix] our hands and might [together with theirs] in close combat.

All other instances are medio-passive 'come together in fight': present μίσγομαι and aorists ἐμίχθην and ἐμίγην occur twice each. Hence, after a simile in which the clashing Greeks and Trojans are compared to winter torrents in flood, Homer says:

ὣς τῶν μισγομένων γένετο ἰαχή τε πόνος τε. (*Il.* 4.456)

Thus did shouting and toil arise from them coming [getting mixed] together.

The other instance is more metaphorical; when Odysseus is about to be shipwrecked, Homer says:

μέσον δέ οἱ ἱστὸν ἔαξε
δεινὴ μισγομένων ἀνέμων ἐλθοῦσα θύελλα, ... (*Od.* 5.316-7)

And the fierce storm of winds coming together came and broke the mast in the middle...

The aorist ἐμίχθην means the same as ἐμίγην 'got mixed':

ὣς φάτ' ἐποτρύνων, οἱ δ' ἀντίοι ἔγχε' ἄειραν
Τρῶες· τῶν δ' ἄμυδις μίχθη μένος, ὦρτο δ' ἀϋτή. (*Il.* 20.373-4)
He [Hector], urging [them] on, spoke thus, and the Trojans, facing [the enemy], lifted their spears; and their fury came [got mixed] together, and the battle cry arose.

Cunliffe's fifth meaning shows a wide range: 'mingle with, set oneself, take one's place or stand, find or get oneself among, visit, join, reach'. For this he cites references to μίσγομαι (*Il.* 13.797, 24.91, *Od.* 18.49; the uncited *Il.* 18.216 and 23.73 would appear to belong here as well); futures μείξομαι (*Od.*6.136) and μιγήσομαι (*Il.* 10.365), and aorists μίκτο (*Il.* 11.354, 16.813), ἐμίχθην (nine of its eleven occasions in the *Iliad* and its only one in the *Odyssey*) and ἐμίγην (five times in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* each). Hence, for the present:

οἱ δ' ἴσαν ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἀτάλαντοι ἀέλλῃ,
ἥ ῥά θ' ὑπὸ βροντῆς πατρὸς Διὸς εἶσι πέδονδε,
θεσπεσίῳ δ' ὁμάδῳ ἁλὶ μίσγεται, ... (*Il.* 13.795-7)
And they [Hector and Paris] came on like the blast of destructive winds that go down to the ground beneath the thunder of father Zeus, and which, with a deafening roar, mingles with [gets mixed with] the sea, ...

The one instance of the future 'passive' μιγήσομαι in Homer occurs when Diomedes and Odysseus are chasing Dolon, and the former catches up ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλε μιγήσεσθαι φυλάκεσσι / φεύγων ἐς νῆας 'when he [Dolon] was now about to reach [get mixed with] the guards, fleeing towards the ships' (*Il.* 10.365-6). The future 'middle' μείξομαι is the Odyssean equivalent, showing the same meaning:

ὣς ᾽Οδυσεὺς κούρῃσιν ἐϋπλοκάμοισιν ἔμελλε

μίξεσθαι, γυμνός περ ἐών· (*Od.* 6.135-6).

Thus Odysseus was about to mingle with the fair-tressed young women, although he was naked...

The three aorists are also equivalent to each other in meaning. Both instances of μίκτο occur in the phrase ἀνέδραμε, μίκτο δ᾽ ὁμίλῳ 'he ran back and mingled with the crowd', of someone who has thrown a spear. The aorist ἐμίχθην most often occurs at the end of a verse, in the phrase προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη 'he mingled with the foremost fighters' (*Il.* 5.134, 8.99, 13.642, 15.457). For ἐμίγην one can compare the phrase προμάχοισι μιγέντα 'mingled with the foremost fighters' (*Il.* 4.354).

The sixth meaning 'associate or be intimate with' is a further extension of 'mingle with', found only in the *Odyssey*. It usually occurs for μίσγομαι (*Od.* 1.209, 4.178, 6.288, 7.247) – as when Menelaus says, while expressing his hope that Odysseus could have come and lived in Argos, καί κε θάμ᾽ ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐόντες ἐμισγόμεθ᾽ 'and being there we would have met together often' (*Od.* 4.178). It is also found for the second of the two instances of μείξομαι, when Odysseus, pretending he is someone else, is claiming to Laertes that he had hoped to visit Odysseus:

θυμὸς δ᾽ ἔτι νῶϊν ἐώλπει

μίξεσθαι ξενίῃ ἠδ᾽ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδώσειν. (*Od.* 24.313-14)

And our hearts yet hoped that we two would meet as host and guest and give [each other] fine gifts.

The seventh and final meaning given by Cunliffe is 'have sexual intercourse'. This is found mostly for μίσγομαι (*Il.* 2.232, 14.295, 24.91, *Od.* 15.430, 22.445) and

aorist ἐμίγην (never ἐμίχθην) (nine times in the *Iliad* and eleven in the *Odyssey*, out of seventeen in each in all). So, for example, we have ὃς ἐμίσγετο λάθρῃ 'who had had intercourse [got mixed] [with her] in secret' (*Od.* 15.430); and φιλότητι μιγήμεναι 'to have intercourse [get mixed in love]' (*Il.* 6.161, 165). A few further forms occur with this meaning. There is the one Odyssean instance of ἔμικτο – when, in the *Odyssey*, it said of Laertes and Eurycleia:

> εὐνῇ δ' οὔ ποτ' ἔμικτο, χόλον δ' ἀλέεινε γυναικός· (*Od.* 1.433)
> but he never had intercourse in bed [with her], and he escaped the anger of his wife.

Lastly, there are the two iterative forms. One occurs when the handmaid Melantho Εὐρυμάχῳ μισγέσκετο καὶ φιλέεσκεν 'used to have intercourse and sex with Eurymachus' (*Od.* 18.325); the other is found when Odysseus sees the women αἳ μνηστῆρσιν ἐμισγέσκοντο πάρος περ 'who used to have intercourse with the suitors' (*Od.* 20.7).[56] In its one instance, the related μιγάζομαι shows the same meaning as μίσγομαι here, in μιγαζομένους φιλότητι 'having sexual intercourse [getting mixed in love]' (*Od.* 8.271).

Hence this verb also shows the causative alternation. We have an infrequent causative active μίσγω, ἔμειξα 'mix, make mixed'; and beside it an inchoative medio-passive μίσγομαι (apparently also μιγάζομαι), μισγέσκετο, μίξομαι / μιγήσομαι, ἐμίγην / ἐμίχθην / ἔμικτο 'get mixed, mingle (with)'; the perfect medio-passive forms μεμιγμένος, ἐμέμικτο are thus statives 'having been mixed,

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[56]In these iteratives, the action is repeated over a non-specific period of time: see further Chapter 5 § 5.2.1.

being in a mixed state'.[57] The only unexpected factor – apart from the fact that there are three medio-passive aorists – is the use of future 'middle' μείξομαι with inchoative rather than causative meaning; it is therefore identical in meaning to the morphologically passive μιγήσομαι, which as expected is inchoative. Comparable is the use of ἐμνησάμην beside ἐμνήσθην (§ 3.1.3 above).

3.1.5. τιτύσκομαι

Τιτύσκομαι, found eleven times in the *Iliad* and six in the *Odyssey*, appears to show two different sets of meanings: 'make ready' (as the related τεύχω) and 'take aim' (as τυγχάνω).[58]

The former set is the rarer, occurring only three times, always in the *Iliad*; it is glossed by Cunliffe (1924 s.v.) as (1) 'make ready, prepare'. Its object is once fire, in Ἥφαιστος δὲ τιτύσκετο θεσπιδαὲς πῦρ 'and Hephaestus made ready god-lit[59] fire' (*Il.* 21.342), said when the god is about to burn the trees on the banks of the Scamander. The other two instances concern the harnessing of horses: we find the phrase ὑπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ' ἵππω 'he made ready [harnessed] his bronze-footed horses beneath his chariot', first of Zeus (*Il.* 8.41) and later of Poseidon (*Il.* 13.23). In all these cases, therefore, we may understand benefactive 'make ready for oneself'.

All other instances show a meaning related to what Cunliffe gives as (2) 'take aim, direct one's weapon, shoot, throw'. Of the latter, he lists eleven instances.[60] In the *Iliad* we find two examples of the verb used absolutely:

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[57]The compound forms already listed (Chapter 3 § 2.3) show the same active / medio-passive alternations as the simple forms.

[58]Cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.317.

[59]That is, what Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. θεσπέσιος) glosses as 'allumé par les dieux (comme présage)'.

[60]Giannakis (1997: 252) has 12; but there is no instance at *Il.* 21.591.

τῷ δ' ἐπετοξάζοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ
ἰοῖσίν τε τιτυσκόμενοι λάεσσί τ' ἔβαλλον· (*Il.* 3.79-80)
But the long-haired Achaeans tried to shoot him [Hector], aiming with their arrows, and to strike him with stones.[61]

ἀλλ' οὐ λῆθ' Ἀδάμαντα τιτυσκόμενος καθ' ὅμιλον,
Ἀσιάδην, ὅ οἱ οὖτα μέσον σάκος ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ (*Il.* 13.560-1)
But he [Antilochus], aiming amongst the battle-throng, did not fail to notice Adamas, son of Asius, who struck him in the middle of his shield with his sharp bronze.

More frequently, it occurs with the genitive of what is being aimed at, and with various verbs of striking[62] as in e.g. ἐγχείῃ δ' αὐτοῖο τιτύσκετο 'and he [Agenor] aimed at him [Achilles] with his spear' (*Il.* 21.582); this occurs four times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*.[63] Lastly under this heading, we find in the *Odyssey* on three occasions a new expression, with the participle τιτυσκόμενος 'aiming' being used with ἄντα 'straight'; hence ἧκε δ' ὀϊστὸν / ἄντα τιτυσκόμενος 'he let the shaft fly, aiming straight' (*Od.* 21.420-1).[64]

For a use that is clearly an extension of (2), Cunliffe creates a meaning (3) 'direct the course of something, thrust it in a specified direction'; this is to account for θυρέων δ' ἀνέκοπτεν ὀχῆας / ἄντα τιτυσκομένη· 'and she [Penelope], aiming straight, thrust back the bolts of the doors' (*Od.* 21.48).[65]

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[61]Giannakis (1997: 252) seems rather to ascribe the conative meaning here to the participle τιτυσκόμενοι.

[62]Cf. Giannakis 1997: 252.

[63]Cf. also *Il.* 11.350, 13.370, 498-9, *Od.* 22.118.

[64]Cf. also *Od.* 22.266, 24.181.

[65]Giannakis (1997: 253) unnecessarily suggests rather that τιτύσκομαι is acting here as an inchoative or desiderative of τεύχω, meaning 'seek to find or attain'.

Lastly, a further extension is to be found in (4), given by Cunliffe as 'be set [on doing something], be eager [to do it]', found once in each epic. This is really just a metaphorical use of 'aim' – indeed, the first occurrence comes two lines before the literal use of the same verb (*Il.* 13.560, quoted above):[66]

τιτύσκετο δὲ φρεσὶν ἦσιν
ἤ τευ ἀκοντίσσαι, ἠὲ σχεδὸν ὁρμηθῆναι. (*Il.* 13.558-9)
and he [Antilochus] ever aimed [intended] in his heart either to throw his spear at some [enemy], or attack him at close quarters.

On a second occasion, this meaning occurs when Alcinous says, before explaining that Phaeacian ships make their own way, on autopilot:

εἰπὲ δέ μοι γαῖάν τε τεὴν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε,
ὄφρα σε τῇ πέμπωσι τιτυσκόμεναι φρεσὶ νῆες· (*Od.* 8.555-6)
And tell me your country and people and city, so that our ships, aiming [their course] through knowledge, may take you there.

Trümpy (1950: 110-11) summaries the uses of τιτύσκομαι as intellectual (i.e., 'intend'), for war (literal 'aim') and 'make ready'. Since he cannot see that 'make ready' can come from 'aim' as a metaphor, he concludes that this present had first of all what he terms an 'indirect' middle 'I make ready for myself (repeatedly)' and a direct 'I make myself ready (repeatedly)'; from these, he says, came the use of 'aim' in war.[67] In the terminology used here, we recognise a case of benefactive causative τιτύσκομαι 'I make ready' beside inchoative τιτύσκομαι (*)'I get

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[66]Cf. Janko in Kirk et al. 1985-93: IV.115.

[67]He inserts '(repeatedly)' in his glosses because he follows Debrunner (1937: 261-3) in ascribing iterative meaning to Greek - σκω; on Debrunner's view see further Chapter 1 § 2.2.1.

ready' and so 'I aim'. The peculiarity in this case is that we do not have the usual contrast of medio-passive inchoatives beside causative actives.[68]

What of this verb's origin? As we have seen, there is a large group of cognate forms which derive from a stem *τευχε/ο- / *τυχε/ο-, each of which shows one of the two senses of τιτύσκομαι: for 'make ready, prepare' there is τεύχω and for 'aim at' τυγχάνω. Presumably τιτύσκομαι is more closely related to the former, if it was once a causative-inchoative verb meaning 'make ready' / 'get ready'; moreover, as we have already seen,[69] deriving τιτύσκομαι from τεύχω's causative thematic aorist (τετυκεῖν / τετυκέσθαι) is a phonologically and perhaps morphologically sound option. Hence of especial interest are the forms given by Cunliffe (1924 s.v. τεύχω) as occurring for the fourth of his eight meanings of τεύχω: 'make ready, prepare (a meal or the like)': under this heading, most of the instances are of the reduplicated aorists of τεύχω, τετυκεῖν (twice in the *Odyssey*) and τετυκέσθαι (three times in the *Iliad* and eight in the *Odyssey*). Indeed, all Homeric instances of these aorists are accounted for by this meaning.

The aorist τετυκεῖν occurs in one repeated line. Menelaus says:

> ἀλλὰ μέν' εἰς ὅ κε δῶρα φέρων ἐπιδίφρια θείω
> καλά, σὺ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδῃς, εἴπω δὲ γυναιξὶ
> δεῖπνον ἐνὶ μεγάροις τετυκεῖν ἄλις ἔνδον ἐόντων. (*Od.* 15.75-7)
> But stay, until I, bringing fine gifts, put them on my chariot, and you see them with your eyes, and until I tell the women to make a meal ready in the halls from what is abundant within.

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[68]On the syntax of τιτύσκομαι, cf. Giannakis 1997: 253-4.

[69]Cf. Chapter 3 §§ 4.2.3, 4.3.

And when he does do this, the last of these lines is repeated (*Od.* 15.94). The more common medio-passive τετυκέσθαι shows a similar, but not the same, meaning: usually, the difference is that the latter is benefactive. In the *Iliad*, this verb is only used as part of a passage that is repeated (*Il.* 1.464-9=*Il.* 2.427-432) and later adapted (cf. *Il.* 7.318-20). Hence we find:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα, ...
>
> (*Il.* 1.467=2.430=7.319)
>
> Then when they had ceased from their labour and had made the meal ready, ...

Another version of this line – beginning οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν rather than αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ – is to be found at *Od.* 16.478=24.384. In all cases but the very last, the next line always begins δαίνυντ'(ο) 'they feasted'. The form τετύκοντο is also found with δαῖτα as object at *Od.* 8.61, and with δεῖπνον (as τετυκεῖν was in the *Iliad*) at *Od.* 20.390. In the remaining four instances (*Od.* 12.283, 307, 14.408, 21.428) the object is always (λαρὸν) δόρπον '(pleasant) supper'.

In summary, therefore, the causative aorist τετυκεῖν, τετυκέσθαι means 'make ready', always of a meal. As Fernández-Galiano notes (Heubeck et al. 1988-92: III.205), we only ever find τετυκεῖν used of ordering servants to make a meal and τετυκέσθαι of making one's own meal,[70] except in one instance. Here, Odysseus, just before he kills Antinous, says to Telemachus:

> νῦν δ' ὥρη καὶ δόρπον Ἀχαιοῖσιν τετυκέσθαι
> ἐν φάει, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλως ἐψιάασθαι
> μολπῇ καὶ φόρμιγγι· τὰ γάρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτός. (*Od.* 21.428-30)

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[70]Comparable is the use of ἐντύνω, once 'make ready, prepare', of a δέπας for others (*Il.* 9.203), but more usually in the medio-passive of preparing a meal for oneself: see further Cunliffe 1924 s.v.

> But now it is time ... [?] while there is light, and then to play otherwise, with song and the lyre; for these are the accompaniments of the feast.

There are several possible interpretations of δόρπον Ἀχαιοῖσιν τετυκέσθαι here, and Fernández-Galiano (Heubeck et al. 1988-92: III.205) gives two: Odysseus could mean that it is time either 'for the Achaeans to get their dinner prepared' (which he calls the 'factitive middle'); or, alternatively, the ironic 'to prepare dinner for the Achaeans'. The latter is possible if the usually benefactive τετυκέσθαι 'prepare for oneself' is here used for active τετυκεῖν 'prepare', of which this would therefore be the only instance; the former interpretation is a change from the usual benefactive causative meaning of 'make ready (for oneself)' to 'get (someone else) to prepare' – also not found elsewhere. There is another option: a third interpretation, 'for dinner to get prepared for the Achaeans'. There is no other evidence for this either, but it is backed up by the fact that τιτύσκομαι 'aim' must, as noted above, have developed from 'get ready'; thus τετυκέσθαι could, in this instance, be its inchoative aorist 'got ready' rather than the usual benefactive causative 'made ready (for oneself)'. On the other hand, the thematic aorist is morphologically middle, and would be unusual as a 'passive' inchoative. We in any case have a system as follows: causative present τιτύσκομαι 'make (horses, fire) ready', with aorists active τετυκεῖν 'made (food) ready (for others)' and benefactive medio-passive τετυκέσθαι 'made (food) ready for oneself'; inchoative present τιτύσκομαι '[get ready,] aim'.

There are seven more examples of this meaning listed by Cunliffe, found for presents τεύχω and τεύχομαι and futures τεύξω and τεύξομαι. The difference in meaning between forms of different voice, as already seen between τετυκεῖν and τετυκέσθαι, is again clear. Hence we find active forms used three times of a κυκεών, roughly translatable as 'potion',[71] being prepared for another – as in:[72]

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[71]See further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. κυκάω.

[72]Cf. also *Od.* 10.290, 316. On two further occasions, the verb is found meaning 'prepare' with reference to servants grinding grain; cf. *Od.* 20.108, 119.

τοῖσι δὲ τεῦχε κυκειῶ ἐϋπλόκαμος Ἑκαμήδη, ... (*Il.* 11.624)

And lovely-haired Hecamede prepared a potion for them, ...

In the remaining examples, we find the use of a medio-passive form with the causative meaning 'make ready, prepare'. As with τετυκέσθαι, the meaning is 'prepare oneself (a meal)'; in the active, there was no benefactive implication in the use of the verb. The present medio-passive τεύχομαι, only found once in Homer, is used in this way when Odysseus says of his men after seeing the great stag he had caught:

χεῖρας νιψάμενοι τεύχοντ' ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα. (*Od.* 10.182)

Having washed their hands, they prepared themselves a splendid feast.

Similarly, one of only two[73] instances of the future middle τεύξομαι in Homer occurs with this meaning when used in the phrase τεύξεσθαι μέγα δόρπον 'to prepare themselves a great meal' (*Il.* 19.208).

It seems odd that, in the three occasions on which τιτύσκομαι means 'make ready', it is only used of fire and of horses, never of food. Nonetheless, it seems that beside a system active τεύχω : τεύξω : τετυκεῖν 'make ready (for someone else)', benefactive medio-passive τεύχομαι : τεύξομαι : τετυκέσθαι 'prepare for oneself', a further specialised present τιτύσκομαι was formed from the latter, apparently equivalent to τεύχομαι 'make ready for oneself' in meaning.

A factor that does not come out of this analysis, however, is the role of the perfect forms of τεύχω. We find in Homer an active τετευχώς (*Od.* 12.423; cf.

[73]In the other instance, at *Il.* 5.653, it acts as a 'passive', meaning 'will occur' (Cunliffe's meaning (6)).

Mycenaean *te-tu-ko-wo-a*), used like the passive τετυγμένος 'made, fashioned'.[74] But it is the simple perfect medio-passive which is frequent: the perfect τετύχθαι occurs 26 times in the *Iliad* and 27 in the *Odyssey*, the pluperfect τετύγμην nineteen and fourteen times respectively, making 86 in all. Of these, 54 are listed by Cunliffe under meaning (8), where the perfect basically means 'be'. But since it is effectively 'have been built, have been made', it may also mean 'be ready'. In the following quotation, the verb is classed by Cunliffe as coming under (7) 'plan, contrive, plot', where a suitor says of Penelope: οὐδέ τι οἶδεν ὅ οἱ φόνος υἱῖ τέτυκται 'but she does not know at all that death has been contrived / is ready for her son' (*Od.* 4.770-1). We therefore have a stative perfect τετύχθαι which may mean 'be ready'.

But what of the occasions when τιτύσκομαι does not mean 'make ready'? Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. τιτύσκομαι) states that 'les deux sens franchement différents que présente ce verbe confirment le lien étymologique que l'on admet entre τεύχω et τυγχάνω'. It has been argued here that the evidence favours a link with τεύχω (cf. also Chapter 3 § 4.2.3). Is there a connection with τυγχάνω too? This verb is much less frequently found than τεύχω: most of the various tense-stems – present active, future middle and perfect active – only occur once or twice each, with the two aorists the only at all commonly found parts: these are ἔτυχον (fifteen times in the *Iliad*, five in the *Odyssey*) and ἐτύχησα (six times, three). Cunliffe gives this verb seven meanings, most of them very infrequently found: (1) 'light or fall upon, come into contact with; fall in with or encounter' (ἔτυχον in the *Iliad*, ἐτύχησα in the *Odyssey*); (2) 'reach, hit, strike' (τεύξομαι, ἔτυχον, once each in the *Iliad*); (4) 'have success in doing something, do it successfully' (ἐτύχησα once in the *Iliad*); (5) 'get, obtain, have granted to or bestowed on one' (τεύξομαι once, and ἔτυχον

[74]There is also a future perfect τετεύξομαι (four times in the *Iliad*), 'will build' at *Il.* 21.322 and three times 'will occur' (*Il.* 12.345, 358, 21.585).

twice, in the *Odyssey*); (6) 'fall to one's lot' (ἔτυχον once in the *Iliad*, τυγχάνω once in the *Odyssey*); (7) 'chance or happen to be somewhere or to be doing something' (ἔτυχον twice in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*, ἐτύχησα twice in the *Odyssey*), perfect τετύχηκα 'be, lie, be set, in a specified position' (once in each epic). There is also one compound form, an imperfect of παρατυγχάνω 'be present with' (*Il.* 11.74). One meaning of the simple verb, however – (3) 'hit one's mark, make good one's aim, get one's blow or thrust home' – occurs in the thematic aorist ten times in the *Iliad* (of which seven are participial) and twice in the *Odyssey* (once participial) and in the sigmatic aorist five times in the *Iliad* (of which four are participial). It is this meaning that seems closest to that of τιτύσκομαι: for in many of the twelve participial instances we may read 'having aimed' as well as 'having hit home'. Especially notable is one instance where τυχών follows τιτύσκετο 'he aimed':

> Ἰδομενεὺς δ' αὐτοῖο τιτύσκετο δουρὶ φαεινῷ,
> καὶ βάλεν ὕψι βιβάντα τυχών· οὐδ' ἤρκεσε θώρηξ
> χάλκεος, ὃν φορέεσκε, μέσῃ δ' ἐν γαστέρι πῆξε. (*Il.* 13.370-2)
> And Idomeneus aimed at him with his shining spear, and, having hit home / having aimed, struck him as he strode proudly along; nor was the bronze breastplate that he used to wear sufficient, but the spear became fixed in the middle of his belly.

But a connection is not always so clear. For example, in the following passage it is hard to read 'having aimed' because Athene has already apparently already aimed Diomedes' spear for him before we reach τυχών:

> ἐπέρεισε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη

νείατον ἐς κενεῶνα, ὅθι ζωννύσκετο μίτρῃ·
τῇ ῥά μιν οὗτα τυχών, διὰ δὲ χρόα καλὸν ἔδαψεν,
ἐκ δὲ δόρυ σπάσεν αὖτις· (*Il.* 5.856-9)
And Pallas Athene thrust it [Diomedes' spear] against the lowest part of his [Ares'] flank, where he was girdled with his *mitra*;[75] having hit home he struck him there, and he tore his fair skin, and he drew the spear back out.

The link between τιτύσκομαι 'aim' and ἔτυχον / ἐτύχησα 'hit home' (i.e. τυγχάνω) is therefore not as strong as the morphological and semantic connection between τιτύσκομαι 'make ready; get ready, aim' and τετυκεῖν 'make ready (for someone else)', τετυκέσθαι 'make ready for oneself'. If τιτύσκομαι derives from one of these forms in τετυκ- , then what is the link with ἔτυχον / ἐτύχησα? There are two possibilities, not mutually exclusive: perhaps these two aorist forms meaning 'hit home' did genuinely influence τιτύσκομαι into meaning 'aim'; and perhaps a secondary synchronic link was established between the two verbs. Chantraine, cited above, seems to imply an etymological link between this τιτύσκομαι 'aim' and τυγχάνω 'hit home', but in fact there is no need for this: the influence of the latter could have been enough. The meaning 'aim' surely merely developed from 'get ready'.

In summary, the data are as follows. We have τιτύσκομαι 'make ready (for oneself); take aim' and aorists τετυκεῖν 'make ready (for another)', τετυκέσθαι 'make ready (for oneself)'; stative perfect is τετύχθαι 'be ready' (as early as Mycenaean). There is also the possible influence of the aorist ἔτυχον / ἐτύχησα 'aimed, hit home'. Although at first this seems an odd system, a combination of morphological and semantic analysis sheds light on the relationship between these

[75]See Kirk 1985-93: I.345 for this word.

forms. Present τιτύσκομαι 'make ready (for oneself)' could well have been formed from aorist τετυκέσθαι 'made ready (for oneself)'. The meaning of such a medio-passive present may be not only a benefactive causative 'middle', as we have here, but also an inchoative 'get prepared, get ready';[76] this accords with Trümpy's view that this verb's original meaning was not the literal 'aim'. And, since 'get ready' and 'take aim' are so semantically close, it would have been an easy step for this present to be viewed also as related to ἔτυχον and ἐτύχησα 'aimed, hit home', as is implied by *Il.* 13.370-1. The actual fact that they really are cognate could be a coincidence. We do indeed find active τιτύσκω, meaning 'make, make ready', in later Greek (though rarely in the Classical period):[77] it occurs first in Bacchylides, meaning 'make' in ἵεται νεόκροτον / νίκαν Ἱέρωνι φιλοξείνωνι τιτύσκων 'he darts [onward], making a victory greeted by new applause for hospitable Hieron' (5.48-9).

3.2. Causatives

3.2.1. ἀπαφίσκω

Ἀπαφίσκω 'trick, cheat, beguile' is only found once in the present in Homer. This occurs when Odysseus cannot hug his mother in the Underworld, and she explains:

> οὔ τί σε Περσεφόνεια, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ἀπαφίσκει,
> ἀλλ' αὕτη δίκη ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὅτε τίς κε θάνῃσιν· (*Od.* 11.217-8)
> In no way is Persephone, daughter of Zeus, deceiving you, but this is the way for mortals when one dies.

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[76]The same is true of Classical ἀναβιώσκομαι: cf. Chapter 8 § 2.2.1.

[77]Cf. further Veitch 1887 s.v. τιτύσκω; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. τιτύσκομαι; LSJ s.v. τιτύσκομαι I, s.v. προτιτύσκω.

The thematic aorist active ἤπαφον is found in simple active form once, when Odysseus, posing as a beggar, is telling the story of how he supposedly said to Odysseus:

οὐ γὰρ ἔχω χλαῖναν· παρά μ' ἤπαφε δαίμων
οἰοχίτων' ἔμεναι· (*Od.* 14.488-9)
For I have no cloak; some god deceived me to be only in my tunic.

Its middle occurs once too, with benefactive sense. Penelope, on recognising Odysseus, says:

αἰεὶ γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν
ἐρρίγει μή τίς με βροτῶν ἀπάφοιτο ἔπεσσιν
ἐλθών· (*Od.* 23.215-17)
For the heart in my breast always dreaded that someone of mortals might come and beguile me with words.

There is a compound aorist ἐξήπαφον 'trick, cheat, beguile, deceive' found in the active twice. So Eumaeus, untrustingly to Odysseus as beggar, speaks of a time when μ' Αἰτωλὸς ἀνὴρ ἐξήπαφε μύθῳ 'an Aetolian deceived me with his story' (*Od.* 14.379). Similarly, Odysseus says to Penelope:

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐμέθεν περιδώσομαι αὐτῆς,
αἴ κέν σ' ἐξαπάφω, κτεῖναί μ' οἰκτίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ. (*Od.* 23.78-9)
But I will stake my life that, if I deceive you, you slay me with a most pitiful death.

The middle form ἐξαπάφοιτο is found twice; and, as with the simple ἀπάφοιτο, it is only found in the optative. The meaning again seems to be benefactive; hence:[78]

μερμήριξε δ' ἔπειτα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη
ὅππως ἐξαπάφοιτο Διὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο· (*Il.* 14.159-60)
And then ox-eyed lady Hera considered how she might deceive the mind of aegis-bearing Zeus [for her own purposes].

On the other hand, a second compound παρήπαφον 'beguile, trick' is used in the active in reference to the same event of Hera tricking Zeus – despite the fact that, just above, the medio-passive was used. Hera says to Poseidon:

Ἥρη δ' ἐν φιλότητι παρήπαφεν εὐνηθῆναι. (*Il.* 14.360)
And Hera has tricked Zeus to lie down [with her] in love.

It therefore seems that there does not need to be a distinction between active and medio-passive here: both are causative 'deceive'.

In conclusion: we might expect to find here causative ἀπαφίσκω 'deceive' beside inchoative ἀπαφίσκομαι *'get deceived'; but in fact the medio-passive present is only used transitively in Homer. Aorists active and middle show the same meaning as the present forms.

[78]Cf. also ἐξαπάφοιτ'(ο) at *Il.* 9.376.

3.2.2. ἀραρίσκω

Cunliffe (1924 s.v.) has two main subdivisions for the uses of ἀραρίσκω. Firstly, under (I), come all the transitive parts, which show a range of seven meanings – basically 'fit together, supply, contrive' – and these are present ἀραρίσκω (once only), aorists active ἦρσα (once in the *Iliad*, four times in the *Odyssey*) and ἤραρον (four times in each epic) and aorist passive ἤρθην (once in the *Iliad*). Secondly, there is (II), made up of the nine meanings of the intransitive forms, which may be summarised as 'be fitted, be supplied, be pleasing': two instances of aorist ἤραρον, the three occurrences of the aorist 'middle' participle ἄρμενος and all those of the frequent perfect and pluperfect 'active'.

The transitive present ἀραρίσκω occurs with causative meaning, as follows:

> αὐτὸς δ' ἀμφὶ πόδεσσιν ἑοῖς ἀράρισκε πέδιλα
> τάμνων δέρμα βόειον ἐϋχροές· (*Od.* 14.23-4)
> And he himself [Eumaeus] was making sandals fit onto his feet, cutting an ox-hide that was of fresh colour.

Cunliffe classes this occurrence under (4) 'make fitting or suitable', a meaning which only occurs once more, for aorist ἦρσα, when Agamemnon says to Achilles:

> ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί,
> ἄρσαντες κατὰ θυμόν, ὅπως ἀντάξιον ἔσται· (*Il.* 1.135-6)
> But if the great-hearted Achaeans give me a special prize, having made it fit, to my mind, so that it is of equal worth...

The other aorist, ἤραρον, usually shows causative meaning, like ἦρσα. In describing how Pandarus acquired his bow, Homer says:

τοῦ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαιδεκάδωρα πεφύκει·
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κεραοξόος ἤραρε τέκτων,
πᾶν δ' εὖ λειήνας χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κορώνην. (*Il.* 4.109-11)
And from its [the goat's] head the horns grew to a length of sixteen palms; and the craftsman working in horn, having wrought them, fitted them [made them fit] together, and skilfully smoothed all and set a golden tip on top.

On one occasion, transitive ἤραρον is closely followed by an example of its intransitive use, when we find Homer saying of the Greeks:

ὡς δ' ὅτε τοῖχον ἀνὴρ ἁράρῃ πυκινοῖσι λίθοισι
δώματος ὑψηλοῖο, βίας ἀνέμων ἀλεείνων,
ὣς ἄραρον κόρυθές τε καὶ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι. (*Il.* 16.212-14)
And as when a man puts [makes fit] together the wall of a tall house with close-set stones, avoiding the strength of the winds – thus the helmets and bossed shields became fitted together.

Bendahman (1993: 80-1) discusses other scholars' interpretations of this passage: we could be dealing with an unusual pluperfect form, or a transitive form in an elliptical construction. On the other hand, Janko (Kirk et al. 1985-93: IV.346) suggests that influence of the intransitive perfect has led to this unusual use of the aorist; after all, the transitive ἦρσα was replacing the thematic form. The other intransitive instance, given by Cunliffe as the only place where the verb means 'be pleasing' (1924 s.v. ἀραρίσκω (II)(6)), occurs when Antinous says to the other suitors:

ἀλλ' ἄγε σιγῇ τοῖον ἀναστάντες τελέωμεν
μῦθον, ὃ δὴ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἤραρεν ἡμῖν. (*Od.* 4.776-7)

But come, let us arise in silence and accomplish our plan, which pleased us all in our hearts.

Noting the unusual sense, West (Heubeck et al. 1988-92: I.241) here suggests that perhaps a form of ἀρέσκω was intended. This present stem is never found in Homer; but the sense seems to require an imperfect if intransitive aorist forms of this verb are, as is expected, inchoative in meaning. Bendahman (1993: 81-2) suggests emendation of ἤραρεν ἡμῖν to ἤραρετ' ἡμῖν.

The aorist passive ἤρθην is classed as the one instance of the meaning (I)(7) 'be formed into close array'. After Achilles has made a speech to the Myrmidons (and directly before the simile of the wall and the troops quoted above), it is said:

μᾶλλον δὲ στίχες ἄρθεν, ἐπεὶ βασιλῆος ἄκουσαν. (*Il.* 16.211)
... and their ranks became serried closer when they heard their leader.

Although Cunliffe classes this as a passive form of an active, we might also categorise it as inchoative 'became fitted'.

In Cunliffe's intransitive use (II), we find the expected stative meaning for the perfect ἄρηρα. So, in the one instance of the simple perfect in finite form, we find Odysseus on his raft saying:

ὄφρ' ἂν μέν κεν δούρατ' ἐν ἁρμονίῃσιν ἀρήρῃ,
τόφρ' αὐτοῦ μενέω καὶ τλήσομαι ἄλγεα πάσχων· (*Od.* 5.361-2)
As long as the timbers are fitted in their fastenings, I shall remain here and endure suffering distress.

One would expect the medio-passive aorist participle ἄρμενος to have the inchoative meaning 'having got fitted'; but the sense appears ambiguous between this and 'being well-fitted'. It is used of a potter's wheel in a simile, ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσιν 'fitted in his hands' (*Il.* 18.600), as he tries it out. The same phrase is later used of an axe that Calypso gives to Odysseus to use (*Od.* 5.234); and, lastly, the form occurs in the description of his raft:

> ἐν δ' ἱστὸν ποίει καὶ ἐπίκριον ἄρμενον αὐτῷ. (*Od.* 5.254)
> And on it he made a mast and a yard-arm fitted to it.

For this verb we thus have the causative present ἀραρίσκω, aorists ἤραρον and ἦρσα 'make fitted'; beside these there are infrequent inchoative aorists ἤραρον (once or twice), ἤρθην (once) and ἄρμενος (three times) 'got fitted'; and lastly there is the stative perfect ἄρηρα 'be fitted'.[79]

3.2.3. ἴσκω and ἐΐσκω

These two verbs show interesting semantic developments. Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. ἔοικα) notes that ἴσκω (found twice in the *Iliad* and three times in the *Odyssey*) originally meant 'rendre semblable, juger semblable, confondre'; that is to say, it must have been a causative 'make like', which indeed Cunliffe (1924 s.v. ἴσκω) gives as the first meaning of this verb. He cites the following passage, where Menelaus says to Helen:

> τρὶς δὲ περίστειξας κοῖλον λόχον ἀμφαφόωσα,

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[79] The occasional compound forms in ἐν-, ἐπι- and προσ- also fit this pattern: for forms see Chapter 3 § 6.2 above.

ἐκ δ' ὀνομακλήδην Δαναῶν ὀνόμαζες ἀρίστους,
πάντων 'Αργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ' ἀλόχοισιν. (*Od.* 4.277-9)
And having walked round the hollow ambush three times, putting your hands on it, you called by name the chiefs of the Danaans, making your voice like the wives of all the Argives.

In the *Iliad* we see a progression to Cunliffe's (2) 'liken to, deem like, take for' (found twice), when Nestor says to Patroclus:

καί τοι τεύχεα καλὰ δότω πόλεμόνδε φέρεσθαι,
αἴ κέ σε τῷ ἴσκοντες ἀπόσχωνται πολέμοιο
Τρῶες, ... (*Il.* 11.798-800)[80]
And let him give you his fine armour to bear to the war, in the hope that the Trojans, taking you for him, might cease from battle...

At *Il.* 16.41-2 we find an almost exact repetition of 11.799-800, in the scene where Patroclus says these words about himself to Achilles.

In the next stage, we have the one instance of the meaning which Cunliffe (1924 s.v.) gives as 'speak feigningly'; Chantraine has it as 'imaginer, inventer', in conjunction with λέγων. After Odysseus, posing as a beggar, has told Penelope the untrue story of how he met Odysseus:

ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα· (*Od.* 19.203)
Speaking, he made false things [seem] like true ones.

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[80]I here read ἴσκοντες with van Thiel (1996) and West (1998) rather than εἴσκοντες with Monro and Allen (1920); the latter themselves have ἴσκοντες at the parallel passage at *Iliad* 16.41. As Hainsworth (Kirk et al. 1985-93: III.309) notes, we expect the trisyllabic form ἐΐσκω , not *εἴσκω.

The last stage is the reinterpretation of this passage, since the syntax is ambiguous. Re-reading the above verse and taking ἴσκε as intransitive, we may understand it as 'he spoke feigningly (ἴσκε), uttering (λέγων) false things like true ones'; one can thus understand why Cunliffe gives his gloss of 'speak feigningly' for this verse.

For the remaining instance, Cunliffe glosses 'conjecture, guess'; Chantraine has it as 'conjecturer faussement'. Odysseus has killed Antinous, and the suitors curse him; after they have spoken, Homer says:

> ἴσκεν ἕκαστος ἀνήρ, ἐπεὶ ἦ φάσαν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα
> ἄνδρα κατακτεῖναι· (*Od.* 22.31-2)
> Each man spoke wrongly / guessed wrongly, since they thought that he had not wilfully killed the man.

In this passage, however, ἴσκω can be reinterpreted as meaning 'say', referring to the previous speech; hence, in such forms as imperfect ἴσκον and participle ἴσκων, we find this verb meaning 'conjecture' in Simonides and 'say' in Alexandrian poetry.[81] On the other hand, Russo (Heubeck et al. 1988-1992: III.87) interprets the data slightly differently. For him, the last two occurrences show the development in the opposite order. The cross-over of meaning occurs at *Od.* 22.31, where ἴσκεν meant 'conjectured' (an extension from 'thought like', as seen below with ἐΐσκω at *Od.* 4.148) but was instead taken as equivalent to ὡς φάτο due to its position after a speech.

The present ἐΐσκω, found five times in the *Iliad* and nine in the *Odyssey*, undergoes a similar development. The first meaning ascribed to it by Cunliffe (1924 s.v.) is 'cause to take the likeness of, make like', Chantraine's 'rendre semblable'

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[81]Cf. Bechtel 1914: 182; and now similarly Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.708 n. 4; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἔοικα, 1986-8: I.317 n. 1; Kujoreę1973: 93 n. 4; Risch 1974: 276 n. 44; and Giannakis 1997: 241-2.

(1968-80 s.v. ἔοικα), which it means on two occasions. In one instance it is close in location to the one place where ἴσκω has this meaning (*Od.* 4.279). Helen, describing Odysseus secretly entering Troy, says of him:

> ἄλλῳ δ' αὐτὸν φωτὶ κατακρύπτων ἤϊσκε
> δέκτῃ, ὃς οὐδὲν τοῖος ἔην ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν. (*Od.* 4.247-8)
> And he, hiding, made himself like another man, a beggar, who was not at all such as he was at the ships of the Achaeans.

Similarly, Odysseus says to Athene later on in the same epic: σὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παντὶ ἐΐσκεις 'for you [can] make yourself like everything [i.e., anything]' (*Od.* 13.313).

Again as with ἴσκω, ἐΐσκω means (2) 'liken to, deem like, compare with' ('comparer à' in Chantraine), but much more frequently: this occurs three times in the *Iliad* and four in the *Odyssey*. Hence, for example, Priam, seeing Odysseus from the wall, says to Helen:

> ἀρνειῷ μιν ἔγωγε ἐΐσκω πηγεσιμάλλῳ,
> ὅς τ' οἰῶν μέγα πῶϋ διέρχεται ἀργεννάων. (*Il.* 3.197-8)
> I deem him like a thick-fleeced ram, who passes through a great flock of white ewes.

Lastly, there is the meaning given in Cunliffe's third gloss, 'think, fancy, suppose, conjecture' (twice in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey*), which Chantraine gives as 'supposer que, penser que'. Idomeneus, after killing three Trojans when Deiphobus has killed only one Greek, taunts his enemy:

> Δηΐφοβ', ἦ ἄρα δή τι εἴσκομεν ἄξιον εἶναι

τρεῖς ἑνὸς ἀντὶ πεφάσθαι; (*Il.* 13.446-7)

Deiphobus, do we now think perhaps that it is fair that three men have been killed for one?

Russo (Heubeck et al. 1988-1992: III.87), supporting his argument that ἴσκω at *Od.* 22.31 meant 'conjectured', points out that the change of meaning in ἐΐσκω from 'deem like' to just 'deem' can apparently be seen in one particular passage in the *Odyssey*. Helen says of Telemachus:

οὐ γάρ πώ τινά φημι ἐοικότα ὧδε ἰδέσθαι
οὔτ' ἄνδρ' οὔτε γυναῖκα, σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰορόωσαν,
ὡς ὅδ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγαλήτορος υἷϊ ἔοικε, ... (*Od.* 4.141-3)

For I declare that I have never yet seen either a man or a woman to be so like [another] – amazement holds me as I look – as this man is like the son of great-hearted Odysseus...

Menelaus begins his reply with:

οὕτω νῦν καὶ ἐγὼ νοέω, γύναι, ὡς σὺ ἐΐσκεις· (*Od.* 4.148)

I thus also observe it myself, my wife, as you deem him like / as you conjecture.

In this case, the developments of ἴσκω and ἐΐσκω would be almost exactly parallel.[82]

The related and very frequent simple perfect ἔοικα (70 times in the *Iliad* and 62 in the *Odyssey* in simple form), pluperfect active ἐῴκειν (nine times and eight

[82]On the syntax of ἐΐσκω see Giannakis 1997: 242-3.

respectively) is given four meanings by Cunliffe (1924 s.v. ἔικω[1] (II)): (1) 'seem (to be)', only at *Il.* 24.258; (2) 'resemble, be like'; (3) 'be fit or worthy (to do something)'; (4) impersonal ἔοικε 'it is fitting, right, seemly'. The verb thus has two main meanings: 'be like' and 'be fit'. For the former of these, one may compare the following line, spoken by Diomedes:

> καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κεῖνος ᾽Αρης, βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς. (*Il.* 5.604)
> And now beside him [Hector] there is Ares, resembling a mortal man.

For the other meaning, there is the passage where Athene says to Zeus concerning Aegisthus:

> καὶ λίην κεῖνός γε ἐοικότι κεῖται ὀλέθρῳ· (*Od.* 1.46)
> and truly does that man lie in fitting destruction.

Cunliffe's one instance of this verb meaning 'seem [to be]' is surely an extension of 'be fit to'; it occurs when Priam describes Hector as a man

> ὃς θεὸς ἔσκε μετ' ἀνδράσιν, οὐδὲ ἐῴκει
> ἀνδρός γε θνητοῦ πάϊς ἔμμεναι, ἀλλὰ θεοῖο. (*Il.* 24.258-9)
> ... who was a god among men, and he did not seem to be [was not fit to be] the son of a mortal man, but of a god.

Indeed, the pluperfect active ἐῴκειν always means 'was like, was fit' in Homer, acting as preterite of ἔοικα; thus, after Achilles has called out to Zeus, overpowered by the Scamander:

ὣς φάτο, τῷ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀθήνη
στήτην ἐγγὺς ἰόντε, δέμας δ' ἀνδρεσσιν ἐΐκτην,
χειρὶ δὲ χεῖρα λαβόντες ἐπιστώσαντ' ἐπέεσσι. (*Il.* 21.284-6)
He spoke thus, and straightaway Poseidon and Athene came and stood near him, and they were like men in form, and having taken his hand in their hands they gave pledges.

The compound perfect third person singular, ἐπέοικε 'be fitting, beseem' (six times in the *Iliad*, five in the *Odyssey*), is used like ἔοικα; it has a pluperfect active too in ὡς ἐπεῴκει 'as was fitting' (*Od.* 24.295).

There are also the forms ἔϊκτο and ἧϊκτο. The former, occurring in the *Iliad*, seems to be a pluperfect meaning the same as ἐῴκειν, 'was like', when Achilles says:

παννυχίη γάρ μοι Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο
ψυχὴ ἐφεστήκει γοόωσά τε μυρομένη τε,
καί μοι ἕκαστ' ἐπέτελλεν, ἔϊκτο δὲ θέσκελον αὐτῷ. (*Il.* 23.105-7)
For the whole night long the spirit of wretched Patroclus stood over me, weeping and wailing, and gave me instructions concerning each thing, and he was marvellously like his very self.

In the *Odyssey* we have instead ἧϊκτο (four times), whose meaning seems to vary. It always occurs in the line-final phrase δέμας δ' ἧϊκτο γυναικί, and always involves Athene; it hence seems related to the use of active pluperfect ἐΐκτην with δέμας at *Il.* 21.285 quoted above. In one case, we find Athene changing from a man to a woman:

δέμας δ' ἴϊκτο γυναικὶ
καλῇ τε μεγάλῃ τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα ἰδυίῃ· (*Od.* 13.288-9)
she [Athene] became like a woman in form, comely and tall, and skilled in glorious handiwork.

The meaning is surprising: a supposed pluperfect, acting as imperfect and supposedly stative, with inchoative meaning. This passage also appears at *Od.* 16.157-8, where the verb may be interpreted either as inchoative or alternatively as a stative, in the description 'and she was like a woman...'; the same may be said of the occurrence at *Od.* 20.31. To further complicate matters, it is, on one last occasion, not even Athene who changes; the line is as follows:

εἴδωλον ποίησε, δέμας δ' ἴϊκτο γυναικί (*Od.* 4.796)

If Athene is the subject of ἴϊκτο, then the latter is a medio-passive causative, and the line means 'she made a phantom, and made [it] like a woman in form'; this could be through re-analysis of the above δέμας δ' ἴϊκτο γυναικί from 'and she became like a woman in form' to 'and she made her form like a woman'. Alternatively, the subject has changed for the second verb and the meaning is either inchoative 'and it became like a woman in form' or stative 'and it was like a woman in form'.

But even with the latter interpretation, we still have one case of an 'inchoative' pluperfect at *Od.* 13.288; as Schulze (1910: 185 n. 2) notes, Athene resembled a man at *Il.* 13.222, and line 288 describes her change. He therefore takes ἴϊκτο as an aorist, glossed 'machte sich ähnlich', from ἐϝέϝικτο, and compares the further reduplicated aorists τετυκεῖν, τετυκέσθαι and δέδαεν, δεδάασθαι; also comparable is κικλήσκω : ἐκέκλετο (Chapter 3 § 4.3). All have corresponding reduplicated presents in - ι- , since he takes ἔϊσκω from, ultimately, *ϝιϝίσκω (cf.

Chapter 3 § 5.2 above); Chantraine (1986-8: I.384), however, insists that these forms are pluperfects. But the problem is the same as Tichy's (1976) derivation of δειδίσκομαι from a postulated *δεδέχθαι:[83] we expect a reduplicated causative aorist to be thematic, meaning that here we need **ἐϝεϝίκετο. A further possibility is that ἧϊκτο is an intransitive root aorist like ἔμικτο 'became mixed'; or that it was an old pluperfect reanalysed as an aorist after such a pair as μίσγω 'make mixed' : ἔμικτο 'became mixed'.

Εἶκε 'seemed likely' may also be connected to these forms.[84] It occurs when, on the shield Hephaestus makes for Achilles, Ares and Athene are leading a group of men from a besieged town to make an ambush:

> οἱ δ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἵκανον ὅθι σφίσιν εἶκε λοχῆσαι,
> ἐν ποταμῷ, ὅθι τ' ἀρδμὸς ἦεν πάντεσσι βοτοῖσιν,
> ἔνθ' ἄρα τοί γ' ἵζοντ' εἰλυμένοι αἴθοπι χαλκῷ. (*Il.* 18.520-2)
>
> But when they came to the place where it seemed good to them to set their ambush, in a river-bed where there was a watering-place for all herds, they sat down there, covered in gleaming bronze.

The relationship between these forms is controversial; in ἴκω, we could have a collateral present to causatives ἴσκω and ἐΐσκω. It has also been argued that one instance of aorist ἔῐξειε fits here also.[85]

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[83]For criticisms of this latter theory see Forssman 1978; and Harðarson 1993: 62-3 n. 19.

[84]See Chapter 3 § 3.1.3 above.

[85]See further Leaf (1900-2: II.307), who states that ϝείκω was indeed the present of ϝέϝοικα, and compares two passages where it is more usual to read εἶχε(ν) (*Il.* 7.217, 17.354), ἔῐξειε at *Il.* 22.321 and Attic παρείκει 'it is practicable'. Cunliffe also connets ἔῐξειε, but it is more usually linked with εἴκω 'retire, give way; yield; etc.'; cf. Richardson in Kirk et al. 1985-93: VI.138, who only gives the latter interpretation.

We therefore have here two presents, ἴσκω and ἐΐσκω, which are extended from their meaning 'make like' to 'deem like', 'think' and, in the former case, to 'conjecture, say'. Beside them there is a related stative perfect ἔοικα 'be like; be fit';[86] this has pluperfects active ἐῴκειν and medio-passive ἔϊκτο, ἧϊκτο. The latter seems at some point to have been reinterpreted as an aorist to ἴσκω / ἐΐσκω, giving it the meaning 'became like'. There are therefore no forms for aorist causative 'made like' and present inchoative 'become like', leaving us with a very incomplete system. How a possible present : aorist pair ἔϊκω : ἔῐξα 'seem likely, be opportune' might fit into this causative : stative : inchoative set is most uncertain.

3.2.4. ἱλάσκομαι

The verb ἱλάσκομαι is defined by Cunliffe (1924 s.v.) as 'propitiate, seek to win favour or grace from (a divinity)' and by Chantraine (1968-80 s.v.) as 'chercher à se rendre favorable, à se concilier', in Homer always of a god.[87] The present is found four times in Homer, all in the *Iliad*, in two pairs of instances. Firstly, Achilles tells Thetis that, after Apollo had started to kill the Greeks,

> αὐτίκ' ἐγὼ πρῶτος κελόμην θεὸν ἱλάσκεσθαι· (*Il.* 1.386)
> Straightaway I was first to bid propitiate the god.

Later all the Greeks do so, when Chryses' daughter has been returned:

> οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο
> καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,

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[86]Giannakis (1997: 242-3) produces a good example to show the contrast between present and perfect: οὐ γάρ σ' οὐδέ, ξεῖνε, δαήμονι φωτὶ ἔϊσκω / ἄθλων 'no, stranger, for I do not liken you to a person skilled in contests' (*Od.* 8.159-60) beside οὐδ' ἀλθητῆρι ἔοικας 'but you do not look like an athlete' (*Od.* 8.164).

[87]This is not always the case in later Greek: cf. Giannakis 1997: 244.

μέλποντες ἑκάεργον· ὁ δὲ φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων. (*Il.* 1.472-4)

And all day long the sons of the Achaeans were appeasing the god with song, singing the beautiful paean, honouring the god that works afar; and he was glad in his heart as he heard.

The second pair of occurrences involves a conversation begun when Hector comes home to find Andromache not there and asks:

ἠέ πῃ ἐς γαλόων ἢ εἰνατέρων ἐϋπέπλων,
ἢ ἐς Ἀθηναίης ἐξοίχεται, ἔνθα περ ἄλλαι
Τρῳαὶ ἐϋπλόκαμοι δεινὴν θεὸν ἱλάσκονται; (*Il.* 6.378-80)

Is she gone to the house of [one of] her sisters or her brothers' fair-robed wives, or to the temple of Athene, where the other fair-tressed women of Troy are propitiating the terrible goddess?

In reply (from a ταμίη), Hector is told he is wrong, and v. 380 is repeated as v. 385.

The present ἱλάσκομαι therefore clearly means 'propitiate, make propitious', and is a benefactive causative medio-passive. In the first pair of instances, this is obvious; in the latter, one could read the less obviously causative 'seek the favour of'. In this connection it is worth noting that Athene is δεινή 'terrible' and known to be on the Greek, not the Trojan, side: indeed, this passage comes shortly after her refusal to grant the prayer of the old Trojan women for Diomedes to die (*Il.* 6.311). In these instances, therefore, ἱλάσκομαι is a causative 'make peaceful'; hence Klingenschmitt's (1970: 75) gloss of 'gnädig machen, gnädig stimmen'.

The alternative present found as ἴλάονται 'id.' (Cunliffe 1924 s.v. ἱλάομαι) occurs when Athene is described as having nurtured Erechtheus in her temple:

> ἔνθα δέ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἀρνειοῖς ἱλάονται
> κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν· (*Il.* 2.550-1)
> and there the youths of the Athenians propitiate him with bulls and rams as the years roll on in their courses.

The aorist ἴλασσάμην occurs four times, of which three concern the events involving Chryse's return. For example, Calchas prophesies that the deaths will continue,[88]

> πρίν γ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳ δόμεναι ἑλικώπιδα κούρην
> ἀπριάτην ἀνάποινον, ἄγειν θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην
> ἐς Χρύσην· τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν. (*Il.* 1.98-100)
> ... until we give the quick-glancing maiden back to her father, without payment, without ransom, and lead a sacred hecatomb to Chryse; then we, having propitiated him, might persuade him.

We also find this form once in the *Odyssey* when, in the morning, Nestor says:

> καρπαλίμως μοι, τέκνα φίλα, κρηήνατ' ἐέλδωρ,
> ὄφρ' ἤ τοι πρώτιστα θεῶν ἱλάσσομ' Ἀθήνην,
> ἥ μοι ἐναργὴς ἦλθε θεοῦ ἐς δαῖτα θάλειαν. (*Od.* 3.418-20)

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[88]Cf. similarly *Il.* 1.147, 444.

Quickly, my dear children, fulfil my desire, so that first of all the gods I may propitiate Athene, who came to me in visible presence to the rich feast of the god.

Imperative ἵληθι (twice in the *Odyssey*) and subjunctive ἱλήκῃσι (once) mean 'be propitious, lend a gracious ear' (cf. Cunliffe s.vv. ἱλήκω, ἵλημι); they all represent old perfect forms.[89] For example, ἵληθι is used when, after Athene has left, Nestor says:[90]

ἀλλά, ἄνασσ', ἵληθι, δίδωθι δέ μοι κλέος ἐσθλὸν,
αὐτῷ καὶ παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι· (*Od.* 3.380-1)
But, queen, be gracious, and grant me fair renown, to me and my sons and my honoured wife.

The form ἱλήκῃσι occurs when the suitors try to stop Eumaeus taking the bow from the hall:

τάχ' αὖ σ' ἐφ' ὕεσσι κύνες ταχέες κατέδονται
οἷον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὓς ἔτρεφες, εἴ κεν Ἀπόλλων
ἡμῖν ἱλήκῃσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι. (*Od.* 21.363-5)
Soon the swift dogs you reared will devour you by the swine, alone from men, if Apollo is gracious to us, and the other immortal gods.

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[89]See further Chapter 3 § 4.1.5.

[90]Cf. similarly *Od.* 16.184.

We therefore have causative medio-passive present ἱλάσκομαι, aorist ἱλασσάμην 'make propitious', beside stative perfect forms ἵληθι and ἱλήκῃσι 'be propitious'. An alternative present ἱλάονται is also causative. The *Homeric Hymns* show a further causative present ἵλαμαι (*h.Hom.*19.48=21.5) and stative perfect optative form ἱλήκοι (*h.Ap.* 165). Much later, there is an instance of an aorist inchoative form: ἐξιλασθέν 'having been atoned for, having been made right' (Plato *Lg.* IX 862c).

3.2.5. πιφαύσκω

The present πιφαύσκω (nine times in the *Iliad*, eleven in the *Odyssey*) occurs in both active and medio-passive forms, but is always causative in sense. Cunliffe (1924 s.v.) gives seven meanings: (1) 'make manifest to the sight, display, show'; (2) 'tell of, indicate, point out'; (3) 'give a signal'; (4) 'bring forward, propose, tender'; (5) 'set forth, communicate, disclose, make known, declare'; (6) 'set forth or utter'; (7) 'make declaration, state one's case, one's wishes, what one sees or knows'.

Of these, only the first does not necessarily involve making a sound, and this is also the most obviously causative meaning: 'make manifest' is said to occur three times, always in the medio-passive and always in the *Iliad*. Hence ἀνθρώποισι πιφαυσκόμενος τὰ ἃ κῆλα '[Zeus] showing to men the arrows which he has' (*Il.* 12.280); and when Hera tells Hephaestus, πιφαύσκεο δὲ φλόγα πολλήν 'and show much flame' (*Il.* 21. 333). For the third instance, Cunliffe cites οἷα Ζεὺς κακὰ ἔργα πιφαύσκεται (*Il.* 15.97), which seems rather to indicate a verb of speaking; this would give the translation 'what sort of evil deeds Zeus declares'.

Cunliffe's third meaning may or may not imply a sound is made: he has it as 'give a signal', since there is no direct object.[91] It occurs only once:

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[91]Cf. Giannakis 1997: 250.

ῥοίζησεν δ' ἄρα πιφαύσκων Διομήδεϊ δίῳ. (*Il.* 10.502)

And [Odysseus] whistled, making a sign to illustrious Diomedes.

In all other cases, πιφαύσκω means, in some way, 'make known, speak'; this accounts for the five remaining meanings. Perhaps on the borderline is (4), given as 'bring forward, propose, tender' (once), perhaps rather 'mention, speak of'; this is found when Achilles says to the suppliant Lycaon:

νήπιε, μή μοι ἄποινα πιφαύσκεο μηδ' ἀγόρευε· (*Il.* 21.99)

Fool, do not tender / do not mention or speak of ransom to me.

Clearer is (2) 'tell of, indicate, point out', found once in the active and once in the medio-passive in the two epics. In the earlier, active instance, Odysseus says:

οὗτός τοι, Διόμηδες, ἀνήρ, οὗτοι δέ τοι ἵπποι,
οὓς νῶϊν πίφαυσκε Δόλων, ὃν ἐπέφνομεν ἡμεῖς. (*Il.* 10.477-8)

Here, Diomedes, is the man, and here are the horses which Dolon, whom we killed, told us of.

Secondly, Telemachus uses the medio-passive when he says to Theoclymenus:

ἀλλά τοι ἄλλον φῶτα πιφαύσκομαι ὅν κεν ἵκοιο, ... (*Od.* 15.518)

But I tell you of another man to whom you may go.

A similar meaning is to be found in (5) 'set forth, communicate, disclose, make known, declare' (six times). This only occurs in the active when, in Odysseus' story to the Phaeacians, Agamemnon advises him:

μήδ' οἱ μῦθον ἅπαντα πιφαυσκέμεν, ὅν κ' ἐῢ εἰδῇς,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν φάσθαι, τὸ δὲ καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἶναι. (*Od.* 11.442-3)
And do not declare to her [your wife] every thought which you really perceive, but tell some, and let some be hidden.

The remaining five instances are found in the medio-passive (one in the *Iliad*, four in the *Odyssey*). So, for example, ἠέ τι Μυρμιδόνεσσι πιφαύσκεαι 'Do you [Patroclus] have something to declare to the Myrmidons...?' (*Il.* 16.12).

There seems to be hardly any distinction between this meaning and (6) 'set forth or utter', which is said to occur three times in the active. Hence:

ἔνθα καθεζόμενοι ἔπε' ἀλλήλοισι πίφαυσκον· (*Il.* 10.202)
Sitting down there, they spoke words to each other.

Elsewhere, it could as well be 'declare' as 'utter':

τοῖς δ' Ἀγέλεως μετέειπεν, ἔπος πάντεσσι πιφαύσκων· (*Od.* 22.131=247)
And Agelaus spoke among them [the suitors], uttering his word to all.

Lastly, there is (7) 'make declaration, state one's case, etc.'. This, according to Cunliffe, is found four times, once in the *Iliad* and three times in the *Odyssey*; in fact, the difference between this meaning and (5) 'make known, declare' is again slight. First of all, it occurs in a passage describing how, on Ares' shield for Achilles,

... δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποινῆς
ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου· ὁ μὲν εὔχετο πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι

δήμῳ πιφαύσκων, ... (*Il.* 18.498-500)

... and two men were arguing about the blood-price of a dead man: one was claiming [to be able] to pay everything, declaring to the people...[92]

So, as Odysseus is about to make his leaving speech to the Phaeacians, Homer says:

Ἀλκινόῳ δὲ μάλιστα πιφαυσκόμενος φάτο μῦθον· (*Od.* 13.37)

and declaring to Alcinous especially he said [this] speech: ...

In the other two instances, the translation 'make known' is equally appropriate. Hence Halitherses the seer, after the omen of the eagles, says:

κέκλυτε δὴ νῦν μευ, Ἰθακήσιοι, ὅττι κεν εἴπω·
μνηστῆρσιν δὲ μάλιστα πιφαυσκόμενος τάδε εἴρω (*Od.* 2.161-2)

Listen now to me, Ithacans, in what I am to say; and to the suitors especially do I declare / make known and announce these things.

Similarly, Odysseus, telling his men the things that Circe had told him about the next part of their journey, says:

ἦ τοι ἐγὼ τὰ ἕκαστα λέγων ἑτάροισι πίφαυσκον· (*Od.* 12.165)

Stating all these things, I declared them / made them known to my companions.

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[92]On this important passage, see the commentary by Edwards (Kirk et al. 1985-93: V.214-16), who indirectly refers to Linear B parallels.

The meaning of both active πιφαύσκω and medio-passive πιφαύσκομαι in Homer is therefore basically 'make known; make known by sound; speak, declare';[93] active and medio-passive are not always to be differentiated in Homer.[94]

The apparently related aorist φάε 'broke' (of the dawn) – translated '"briller" ou "apparaître"' by Chantraine (1968-80 s.v.), only occurs once in Homer:

> ἐγὼ δ' ἐνὶ εἵματι κείνου
> κείμην ἀσπασίως, φάε δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἠώς. (*Od.* 14.501-2)
> And I gladly lay in his [Thoas'] garment, and golden-throned Dawn broke / appeared.

This is an inchoative aorist, therefore, meaning 'come to light', beside πιφαύσκω '[bring to light], make known'; one might rather expect *(ἔ-)φαϝ-ον 'came to light' beside inchoative present *πι-φαύ-σκομαι 'come to light', whence causative πιφαύσκω 'bring to light'; but the inchoative present is not found.[95]

Other related verbal forms in Homer are also of interest. As already mentioned (Chapter 3 § 4.2.2), we only find the verb *φαέθω in the form of the adjective φαέθων 'bright, resplendent', and as a proper noun; hence e.g. ἠέλιος φαέθων 'the bright sun' (*Il.* 11.735, *Od.* 5.479, 19.441, 22.388). The denominative verb φαείνω 'give light, shine' (active only, found five times in the *Odyssey*) does

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[93]Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. φάε) has the expected literal sense of 'bring to light' ('faire luire') occurring in Aeschylus; he is presumably referring to ἡμερήσιον / φάος πιφαύσκων '[signal-fire] making the light of day shine' (*Ag.* 23). Italie (1964 s.v. πιφαύσκω) and LSJ (s.v. πιφαύσκω) disagree, translating here 'ostendere' and 'shewing forth' respectively.

[94]Cf. further on this use of voice Chantraine 1986-8: II. 175.

[95]There is some further use in (especially hexametric) poetry (see Veitch 1887 s.v. πῐφαύσκω), but apparently the only instances of intransitive πιφαύσκομαι in Ancient Greek are in Nicander (*Th.* 411, 637, 725), always in the form πιφαύσκεο 'learn of'. Classical Greek has unreduplicated inchoative -φαύσκω: cf. Chapter 3 § 4.2.2.

have finite forms: hence Helios says to Zeus, on learning that his cattle have been slaughtered:

> εἰ δέ μοι οὐ τίσουσι βοῶν ἐπιεικέ' ἀμοιβήν,
> δύσομαι εἰς 'Αίδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω. (*Od.* 12.382-3)
> And if they [Odysseus' companions] do not pay me adequate atonement for the cattle, I shall go to Hades' [home] and shine among the dead.

There is also the intransitive aorist φαάνθη, φάανθεν (twice in the *Iliad*); these forms are listed by Cunliffe under φαίνω, although they are now thought to be related to φαείνω.[96] The meaning can be 'shone, came to shine' but, taking the simple forms together with the four found with the preverb ἐξ- , it is more usually 'became apparent'.[97] Hence, when Athene catches Achilles by the hair before he can attack Agamemnon, he turns round and recognises her, δεινὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν 'and her eyes shone [appeared] terrible at him' (*Il.* 1.200). The other occasion of the simple form is found when Zeus answers Ajax's prayer for a clear sky, and we have:

> ἠέλιος δ' ἐπέλαμψε, μάχη δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσα φαάνθη. (*Il.* 17.650)
> And the sun shone upon them, and then all the battle shone / became apparent.

We therefore have a stative active present with an inchoative aorist 'passive'; this is expected, although the difference in voice seems odd.[98]

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[96]See Chapter 3 § 4.2.2 n. 154.

[97]See further Prévot 1935: 39-42.

[98]But cf. the comparable pair of μεθύω / ἐμεθύσθην, Chapter 8 § 2.2.3. φαείνω and φαείνομαι are both used intransitively by later authors (such as Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus, Aratus), with the exception of apparently only one instance of causative φαείνω 'bring to light' (Nicander *Th.* 390).

To sum up: we have a causative present πιφαύσκω / πιφαύσκομαι 'make known', with inchoative aorist φάε 'came to light, began to shine, appeared'. A related stative is found in the denominative present φαείνω 'shine, be shining', whose inchoative aorist passive φαάνθην 'came to shine, became apparent' overlaps in meaning with φάε. In both verbs, the use of voice is unusual: πιφαύσκω apparently shows no difference in meaning between its active and medio-passive forms, with both voices being found for meanings (2), (5) and (7); and the stative active φαείνω has its inchoative in the medio-passive.

3.3. Inchoative medio-passives

3.3.1. ἐπαυρίσκομαι

For ἐπαυρίσκομαι, Cunliffe (1924 s.v. †ἐπαυρίσκω) gives two main meanings. Firstly there is 'touch or graze', which is found absolutely, with the accusative and with the genitive. This meaning accounts for all but one of the six Iliadic occurrences of the aorist active ἐπαῦρον (the only active tense form of this verb found in Homer) and no other forms. Three times it is used with χρόα 'skin' as object: hence, for example, μή τις χρόα χαλκῷ ἐπαύρῃ 'in case someone should graze his [Pylaemenes'] skin with bronze' (*Il.* 13.649).[99] With the genitive we have, before the chariot race, the phrase λίθου δ' ἀλέασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν 'avoid touching the stone' (*Il.* 23.340). The absolute use is found when Diomedes is hit by an arrow from Paris and says to him: καὶ εἴ κ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπαύρῃ, / ὀξὺ βέλος πέλεται 'even if it [only] touches slightly, the spear is sharp' (*Il.* 11.391-2).

The remaining instances of parts of this verb come under (2), given by Cunliffe initially as 'with notion of deriving from contact'; then, with various examples, different, more exact meanings are listed. One would expect all such forms to be in the medio-passive – a benefactive 'touch for one's own gain' – but there are

[99]Cf. also *Il.* 11.573=15.316.

still two more examples of the active aorist ἐπαῦρον, in the form ἐπαυρέμεν (one in each epic), to be found under this heading. It means 'have benefit or profit from'. Hence Hector, disagreeing with Polydamas, says:

> Τρώων δ' ὃς κτεάτεσσιν ὑπερφιάλως ἀνιάζει,
> συλλέξας λαοῖσι δότω καταδημοβορῆσαι,
> τῶν τινὰ βέλτερόν ἐστιν ἐπαυρέμεν ἤ περ 'Αχαιούς. (*Il.* 18.300-2)
> And let whoever of the Trojans feels excessively worried about his possessions gather them together and give them to the people to consume in common; it is better for someone of them to benefit [from them] than for the Achaeans to!

Secondly, when Peiraeus asks Telemachus for women so that he can send on Menelaus' gifts, the latter replies that he may be killed by the suitors before he receives them:

> αὐτὸν ἔχοντά σε βούλομ' ἐπαυρέμεν, ἤ τινα τῶνδε· (*Od.* 17.81)
> I would wish you yourself to benefit [from them] rather than one of these men.

LSJ (s.v. ἐπαυρέω 1) gloss both these two instances of ἐπαυρέμεν as 'share', and indeed this meaning is possible here — although it seems to fit with the former instance better than with the latter.

The present ἐπαυρίσκομαι shows the same meaning as ἐπαυρέμεν in its one occurrence in Homer, when Polydamas, advising Hector, says that one cannot be good at everything:

> ἄλλῳ μὲν γὰρ δῶκε 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,
καὶ τε πολέας ἐσάωσε, μάλιστα δὲ καὐτὸς ἀνέγνω. (*Il.* 13.730-4)
For to one man does the god give the deeds of war, to another the dance, to another the lyre and song, and to another does far-sounding[100] Zeus place understanding in his breast, which many men benefit from, and he saves many men, and also he realises it especially himself.

The concept of 'benefit from' may also be rendered as 'become better off' or, in worse English, 'become profited, become benefited'. We thus seem to be dealing with an inchoative present here as well.

The one occurrence of the future ἐπαυρήσομαι is better translated in context as 'will reap the fruits of', as Cunliffe has it; it is found when Helen says to Hector:

τούτῳ δ' οὔτ' ἄρ νῦν φρένες ἔμπεδοι οὔτ' ἄρ' ὀπίσσω
ἔσσονται· τῶ καί μιν ἐπαυρήσεσθαι ὀΐω. (*Il.* 6.352-3)
But this man's [Paris'] understanding is not stable now, and it will not be thus in future either; and so I think that he will reap the fruit [of this].

The aorist middle ἐπαυρόμην is found twice in the *Iliad*: firstly when Achilles, in his message to Zeus via Thetis, asks for the Greeks to be caught and killed beside their ships, ἵνα πάντες ἐπαύρωνται βασιλῆος 'so that all [the Greeks] may benefit from their king [Agamemnon]' (*Il.* 1.410). Secondly, Zeus says to Hera:

οὐ μὰν οἶδ' εἰ αὖτε κακορραφίης ἀλεγεινῆς

[100]For the meaning of εὐρύοπα see Chantraine 1968-80 s.v.

πρώτη ἐπαύρηαι καί σε πληγῇσιν ἰμάσσω. (*Il.* 15.16-17)

Indeed I do not know if, in the future, you are to be the first to reap the fruits of your pain-causing contriving of evil, and I shall lash you with blows.

There is a possible third instance in Homer, depending on our reading of the text; Cunliffe glosses it as 'bring on oneself, incur', and it thus means 'reap the fruit of'. Odysseus, after defeating Irus, says to him:

ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν ἧσο σύας τε κύνας τ' ἀπερύκων,
μηδὲ σύ γε ξείνων καὶ πτυχῶν κοίρανος εἶναι
λυγρὸς ἐών, μή πού τι κακὸν καὶ μεῖζον ἐπαύρῃ. (*Od.* 18.105-7)

Now sit there and, scaring pigs and dogs away, do not be lord of strangers and beggars, being pitiful, in case you by chance reap something bad and greater.

Following the texts of Allen (1917-19) and van Thiel (1991), and also on semantic grounds, it seems preferable to read benefactive medio-passive ἐπαύρῃ than active ἐπαύρῃς; nor does the contraction in the final syllable present a problem. On the other hand, the accusative object in this case is unusual.

For this verb we thus have active aorist ἐπαυρεῖν, ἐπαύρῃ 'touch, graze' beside medio-passive present ἐπαυρίσκομαι 'benefit from, reap the fruit of', the latter with future ἐπαυρήσομαι, and aorist middle ἐπαυρόμην, but oddly with active infinitive ἐπαυρέμεν. There are two ways of interpreting these data. One is the traditional view: the active forms usually mean 'touch, graze', the medio-passive (and the two remaining active) ones being their benefactive 'touch for one's own profit / loss'. The alternative is that ἐπαυρίσκομαι and the other medio-passive forms represent an inchoative 'get affected by (for good or ill), get better off, become

profited'. This, however, leaves the problem of the two cases of ἐπαυρέμεν — as well as the use of this form in later Greek, where it seems to mean 'share in'.[101] Here we would have to understand that the older meaning of the active of this verb moved from causative 'affect' via 'touch, graze' to the Classical meaning 'share', perhaps with medio-passive forms reinterpreted as benefactive; and that this phenomenon began with the aorist infinitive in Homer.[102]

3.4. Inchoative actives

3.4.1. ἀλδήσκω

'Αλδήσκω 'grow, increase' is found once, in a simile concerning Menelaus:

τοῖο δὲ θυμὸς
ἰάνθη ὡς εἴ τε περὶ σταχύεσσιν ἐέρση
ληΐου ἀλδήσκοντος, ὅτε φρίσσουσιν ἄρουραι· (*Il.* 23.597-9)
And his heart was gladdened like dew on the ears of corn as it grows, when the fields are bristling.

Richardson (Kirk et al. 1985-93: VI.234) has ἀλδήσκοντος here rather as 'ripening', since 'the early morning dew on the corn is warmed and evaporated by the increasing force of the sun'; the form is, in any case, inchoative. This present apparently does not recur until Theocritus, where it is a causative:

μυρίαι ἄπειροί τε καὶ ἔθνεα μυρία φωτῶν

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[101]Of the active examples cited by LSJ which show the meaning 'partake, share', only the earliest (πλεῖον δέ τε νυκτὸς ἐπαύρει '[Sirius] enjoys a greater share of the night', Hesiod *Op.* 419) is open to reinterpretation as 'affect'.

[102]In this case, a comparable verb would be ὀνίνημι: in the active this verb means 'to be of service to, confer benefit upon, benefit, profit, help', and in the medio-passive 'get good, benefit, profit, help or enjoyment from something, be the better for it'; cf. Cunliffe 1924 s.v.

λήϊον ἀλδήσκουσιν ὀφελλόμεναι Διὸς ὄμβρῳ (Theocritus 17.77-8)

Countless are the lands and countless the nations that make the crops grow under aid of the rain of Zeus.

In Homer, a related causative form ἤλδανε 'cause to wax or fill out', of uncertain tense,[103] is found in one passage, which occurs twice:

αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη
ἄγχι παρισταμένη μέλε' ἤλδανε ποιμένι λαῶν.

(*Od.* 18.69-70=24.367-8)

But Athene, standing nearby, made the limbs of the shepherd of the people [i.e., Odysseus] greater.

With the same base ἀλ- we also find two related verbal forms in ἀλθ- : firstly, aorist ἄλθετο, listed under †ἄλθομαι 'become whole or sound' by Cunliffe (1924 s.v.):

ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀμφοτέρῃσιν ἀπ' ἰχῶ χειρὸς ὀμόργνυ·
ἄλθετο χείρ, ὀδύναι δὲ κατηπιόωντο βαρεῖαι. (*Il.* 5.416-7)

She [Dione] spoke, and with both [her hands] wiped the ichor from her [Aphrodite's] hand; the hand became healed, and the dire pain was assuaged.

Secondly, there is the future ἀπαλθήσεσθον 'will be healed or cured'. Zeus sees Hera and Athene leaving for the war, and says that he will throw a thunderbolt at their chariot,

[103]Cf. Chapter 3 § 7.1.

οὐδέ κεν ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτοὺς
ἕλκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον, ἅ κεν μάρπτῃσι κεραυνός·

(*Il.* 8.404-5=418-9)

and not for ten circling years will they become healed of the wounds which the thunderbolt will make by seizing them.

These forms therefore present an unusual system: the present in - σκω is inchoative ἀλδήσκω 'grow, become bigger', and beside it there is a causative form ἤλδανε 'caused to grow, made bigger'. Related non-present forms, in ἀλθ- , show a slightly different sense, both inchoative: these are aorist ἄλθομην 'became whole, became healed' and future - αλθήσομαι 'will become whole, healed'.

3.4.2. γηράσκω

The simple present γηράσκω 'grow old' is found three times in the *Iliad* and three in the *Odyssey*. Hence:

Τληπόλεμος δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τράφ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπήκτῳ,
αὐτίκα πατρὸς ἑοῖο φίλον μήτρωα κατέκτα
ἤδη γηράσκοντα Λικύμνιον, ὄζον Ἄρηος· (*Il.* 2.661-3)

And therefore when Tlepolemus had grown up in the well-built palace, he straightaway killed his own father's dear uncle, Licymnius, companion of Ares, then growing old.

We also find the participle when Achilles says to Priam about his father, who is so far away: οὐδέ νυ τόν γε / γηράσκοντα κομίζω 'and I cannot take care of him as he grows old' (*Il.* 24.540-1). The imperfect occurs when Apollo goes to Aeneas in the form of Periphas,

κήρυκι Ἠπυτίδῃ, ὅς οἱ παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι
κηρύσσων γήρασκε, φίλα φρεσὶ μήδεα εἰδώς· (*Il.* 17.324-5)
a herald, the son of Epytos, who had been growing old while being a herald in the house of his old father, knowing kindly counsels [i.e., being of kindly mind] towards him.

In the Odyssey, we find Menelaus saying:

ὡς νῦν Νέστορι δῶκε διαμπερὲς ἤματα πάντα
αὐτὸν μὲν λιπαρῶς γηρασκέμεν ἐν μεγάροισιν (*Od.* 4.209-10)
... since he [Zeus] granted to Nestor continuously throughout all his days gently to become old in his halls.

Eumaeus says that, on the island of Syria, there is no famine or illness;

ἀλλ' ὅτε γηράσκωσι πόλιν κάτα φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων,
ἐλθὼν ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξὺν
οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν. (*Od.* 15.409-11)
... but when the tribes of men grow old throughout the city, Apollo of the silver bow, coming with Artemis, attacking them with shafts that bring a painless death, kills them.

In one instance, when Odysseus is at Alcinous' palace, Cunliffe (1924 s.v.) has γηράσκω mean 'mellow' of fruit, as indeed seems to be the case:

τάων οὔ ποτε καρπὸς ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ἀπολείπει
χείματος οὐδὲ θέρευς, ἐπετήσιος· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰεὶ

Ζεφυρίη πνείουσα τὰ μὲν φύει, ἄλλα δὲ πέσσει.
ὄγχνη ἐπ' ὄγχνῃ γηράσκει, μῆλον δ' ἐπὶ μήλῳ,
αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ σταφυλῇ σταφυλή, σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ. (*Od.* 7.117-21)
The fruit of these [trees] never perishes nor fails in winter or summer, lasting throughout the year; but indeed the west wind, always blowing, makes some fruits grow, and others ripen. Pear upon pear mellows [becomes ripe], apple upon apple, cluster of grape upon cluster, fig upon fig.

We thus have an inchoative present meaning 'become old, enter the state of old age'. The aorist ἐγήρᾱ is found three times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*, and also has inchoative meaning. After Nestor has recounted how Lycurgus acquired Areïthous' armour, he proceeds to say:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Λυκόοργος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐγήρα,
δῶκε δ' Ἐρευθαλίωνι φίλῳ θεράποντι φορῆναι. (*Il.* 7.148-9)
But when Lycurgus had grown old in his halls, he gave it to his dear squire Ereuthalion to wear.

The other two instances in the *Iliad* occur in the same line. When Hector changes his own armour for that which used to belong to Achilles, Homer says:

ἦτοι ὁ μὲν τὰ ἃ δῶκε φέρειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρὴν
Τρωσὶ φιλοπτολέμοισιν, ὁ δ' ἄμβροτα τεύχεα δῦνε
Πηλεΐδεω Ἀχιλῆος, ἃ οἱ θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες
πατρὶ φίλῳ ἔπορον· ὁ δ' ἄρα ᾧ παιδὶ ὄπασσε
γηράς· ἀλλ' οὐχ υἱὸς ἐν ἔντεσι πατρὸς ἐγήρα. (*Il.* 17.193-7)

He, indeed, gave his own to the warlike Trojans to carry to sacred Ilium, and put on the immortal armour of Achilles, the son of Peleus, which the heavenly gods had given to his father; and he, having grown old, had presented it to his son; but the son did not become old in his father's armour.

The Odyssean example of this aorist occurs when Eumaeus says about – and unknowingly to – Odysseus:

τῷ κέ με πόλλ' ὤνησεν ἄναξ, εἰ αὐτόθι γήρα·
ἀλλ' ὄλεθ'– (*Od.* 14.67-8)
Therefore my master would have rewarded me well, if he had grown old here; but he perished.

The compound καταγηράσκω is given two meanings by Cunliffe, although in fact it does not differ semantically from the simple form. For the one instance of the present, we have (2) 'show signs of age, age', which occurs when Penelope compares the stranger who she does not know to be Odysseus with Odysseus himself:

αἶψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγηράσκουσιν. (*Od.* 19.360)
For quickly do mortals grow old in bad fortune.

Cunliffe's gloss gives a slightly different emphasis to the sentence; but in fact there is no reason not to read inchoative 'grow old' here, as we shall also see when we encounter this verb again in Plato (Chapter 8 § 2.3.2). Secondly, there is aorist κατεγήρᾱ, classed as (1) 'pass one's days and reach old age'. This is found when the Cyclops Polyphemus, on discovering Odysseus' identity, recounts a prophecy of his blinding given by one Telemus,

ὃς μαντοσύνῃ ἐκέκαστο

καὶ μαντευόμενος κατεγήρα Κυκλώπεσσιν· (*Od.* 9.509-10)

... who excelled in the art of prophecy, and grew old prophesying among the Cyclopes.

The meaning is as for ἐγήρᾱ: for to have passed one's days and reached old age is the same as to have (inchoatively) grown old.

Homer therefore in this case presents us with an active inchoative verb: (κατα-)γηράσκω 'become old', with inchoative aorist (κατ-)εγήρᾱ.

3.4.3. γιγνώσκω

Γιγνώσκω has six meanings in Cunliffe's lexicon (1924 s.v.): (1) 'perceive, mark, remark, note, find, see, know'; (2) 'gain knowledge of, get to know, learn'; (3)(a) 'have knowledge of, know', (b) in the aorist, 'know'; (4) 'distinguish, discern'; (5) 'know (a person or thing) for what he or it is, know the nature of, know' (6) 'know again, recognise, know'. Yet these glosses do not show that we are dealing with momentaneous 'perceive' rather than stative 'know' for this present.

In the *Iliad*, the present γιγνώσκω is found nineteen times, and twice in the imperfect; in the *Odyssey* it occurs nine times, and four in the imperfect. Of these, nine instances in each epic show the meaning (1) 'perceive, mark, remark, note, find, see, know' as when, after Bellerophon has performed many deeds for him, the King of Lycia comes to a realisation:[104]

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ γίγνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἠῢν ἐόντα, ... (*Il.* 6.191)

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[104]Cf. also *Il.* 5.824, 6.191, 8.140, 8.175, 12.272, 16.362, 17.623, 17.688, 24.563; *Od.* 3.166, 8.299, 12.295, 16.136=17.193=281, 269, 19.160, 20.228.

But when he [the King of Lycia] perceived that he [Bellerophon] was the noble child of a god...

There are three and one instances respectively of (3)(a) 'have knowledge of, know'; although this gloss implies stative use, we may in fact always read the momentaneous 'perceive' – as when Diomedes chases after Aphrodite:[105]

ὁ δὲ Κύπριν ἐπώχετο νηλέϊ χαλκῷ,
γιγνώσκων ὅ τ' ἄναλκις ἔην θεός, ... (*Il.* 5.330-1)
and he had gone after Cypris with his pitiless bronze, perceiving that she was a cowardly goddess...

Once we find (4) 'distinguish, discern', when Athene says to Diomedes:

ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἣ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,
ὄφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκῃς ἠμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα. (*Il.* 5.127-8)
And I have taken the mist from your eyes, which was there previously, so that you can distinguish well both god and man.

The meaning (5) 'know (a person or thing) for what he or it is, know the nature of, know' is deemed to occur for the present once in each epic; but here too we are simply dealing with 'perceive'. So, when Odysseus tells Eumaeus that he came from Crete, saying that once he had a wife, property and ἀρετή:

νῦν δ' ἤδη πάντα λέλοιπεν·
ἀλλ' ἔμπης καλάμην γέ σ' ὀΐομαι εἰσορόωντα

[105]Cf. also *Il.* 5.433, 13.223, *Od.* 21.209.

γιγνώσκειν· ἦ γάρ με δύη ἔχει ἤλιθα πολλή. (*Od.* 14.213-15)

Now all these things have left; but even so I think that you, in seeing the straw after its reaping, may judge (perceive) [it]; for indeed very much misery holds me.

Thus too, apparently, when the dying Hector prophesies to Achilles, who has denied his request not to be left out to be eaten by dogs:

ἦ σ' εὖ γιγνώσκων προτιόσσομαι, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλον
πείσειν· (*Il.* 22.356-7)

Truly, perceiving you well, I saw my fate in advance, and I was not destined to persuade you.

Lastly, there is (6) 'know again, recognise, know', which is found for the present tense seven times in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*. Hence, for example, Diomedes begins a speech to Athene:[106]

γιγνώσκω σε, θεά, θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο· (*Il.* 5.815)

I recognise you, goddess, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus.

Giannakis (1997: 234-5) claims 'perfective' meaning for 27 instances of γιγνώσκω, with three further cases having added 'intensive' meaning (probably due to εὖ) at *Il.* 14.475, 22.356 and 23.470 (for διαγιγνώσκω). Four instances he finds problematic. At *Il.* 13.223 and *Od.* 14.215 he ascribes the difficulty to uncertainty on the part of the speaker, who uses οἶομαι 'I think'. At *Od.* 3.166 and the similar 12.295, the meaning may in fact be inchoative: the former passage is φεῦγον, ἐπεὶ

[106]Cf. also *Il.* 5.182, 815, 7.185, 11.111, 651, 14.475, 15.241; *Od.* 20.94, 22.501.

γίγνωσκον, ὃ δὴ κακὰ μήδετο δαίμων 'I fled, when I realised that the god was devising evils'. The total of instances of the stem - γιγνωσκ- is however 36, not 34; and the two instances he omits fit his meaning also (imperfect at *Od.* 8.299 and διαγιγνώσκω at *Il.* 23.240).

Out of Cunliffe's glosses, this leaves one full meaning and one sub-meaning unaccounted for; both only occur for the aorist. One is inchoative (2) 'gain knowledge of, get to know, learn' (four times in the *Iliad*, seven in the *Odyssey*). Sometimes this merely seems to represent further cases of 'perceive', or 'notice', however: hence Hermes says to Priam, wondering how he will get him out of the Greek camp:

> καὶ νῦν μὲν φίλον υἱὸν ἐλύσαο, πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκας·
> σεῖο δέ κε ζωοῦ καὶ τρὶς τόσα δοῖεν ἄποινα
> παῖδες τοὶ μετόπισθε λελειμμένοι, αἴ κ' Ἀγαμέμνων
> γνώῃ σ' Ἀτρεΐδης, γνώωσι δὲ πάντες Ἀχαιοί. (*Il.* 24.685-8)
>
> And now indeed you have ransomed your dear son, and you gave much [for him]. But your sons, those left behind by you, would [have to] give three times as great a ransom for your life, if Agamemnon, Atreus' son, perceives / notices you, or [if] all the Achaeans perceive / notice you.

And, as they do leave, Hermes drives quickly (ῥίμφα), οὐδέ τις ἔγνω 'and nobody perceived / noticed (them)' (*Il.* 24.691).

On the other hand, there is more of an inchoative meaning when Odysseus says to Telemachus:

> ἀλλ' οἷοι σύ τ' ἐγώ τε γυναικῶν γνώομεν ἰθύν· (*Od.* 16.304)

but by ourselves you and I will learn (come to know) the disposition of the women.

One may similarly compare when it is said of Iphitus and Odysseus: οὐδὲ τραπέζῃ / γνώτων ἀλλήλων 'but they did not get to know one another at the table' (*Od.* 21.36).[107]

The other meaning not found for the present is (3)(b) 'know' (once in each epic), where the aorist apparently acts as a stative. This first instance occurs when Zeus says to Poseidon:

ἔγνως, ἐννοσίγαιε, ἐμὴν ἐν στήθεσι βουλήν, ... (*Il.* 20.20)

You know, earth-shaker, the intention in my breast...

Secondly, it is found when the disguised Odysseus asks Eumaeus about himself:

εἰπέ μοι, αἴ κέ ποθι γνώω τοιοῦτον ἐόντα. (*Od.* 14.118)

Tell me, in case perhaps I know him, a man like that.

This use of ἔγνων seems odd, although the phenomenon of aorist for present does occur in Homer;[108] but then, the present γιγνώσκω does not have stative meaning, and we rather expect perfect forms here.

The remaining instances of the root aorist ἔγνων (41 times in the *Iliad*, 41 in the *Odyssey*), and all those of the future γνώσομαι (seven times in the *Iliad*, twice in the *Odyssey*) show the same range of meanings as the present, except that the future is never listed as showing meaning (3)(a) 'have knowledge of, know, [perceive]'. So,

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[107]For this meaning cf. also *Il.* 22.382, *Od.* 1.3, 411, 15.537=17.164=19.310.

[108]For this use of the aorist, cf. Chantraine 1986-8: II.184.

for example, with (4) 'distinguish, discern', we find Achilles telling Ajax and Idomeneus to wait for the horses,

τότε δὲ γνώσεσθε ἕκαστος
ἵππους Ἀργείων, οἳ δεύτεροι οἵ τε πάροιθεν. (*Il.* 23.497-8)
And then you will each discern the horses of the Argives, which are behind and which in front.

In summary, it seems that Homer usually uses the present γιγνώσκω with telic meaning ('perceive; recognise'); although one could argue that stative meaning is used in occasional instances, I can find no instance where it is certain. For example, the imperfect seems to mean 'perceived' in the following example, when Ares and Aphrodite go to bed:

ἀμφὶ δὲ δεσμοὶ
τεχνήεντες ἔχυντο πολύφρονος Ἡφαίστοιο,
οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων ἦν οὐδ' ἀναεῖραι.
καὶ τότε δὴ γίγνωσκον, ὅ τ' οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλοντο. (*Od.* 8.296-9)
And the skilfully fashioned bonds of ingenious Hephaestus spread around [over] them, and they could not in any way move or raise any of their limbs. And then at length they perceived that there was no longer any means of escape.

On the other hand, in the following passage, interpretation is more open. Here, Polydamas has killed Prothoënor; Ajax tries to kill him, but accidentally slays Archelochus, and calls out to Polydamas that it was a fair exchange.

φράζεο, Πουλυδάμα, καί μοι νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες,
ἦ ῥ' οὐχ οὗτος ἀνὴρ Προθοήνορος ἀντὶ πεφάσθαι
ἄξιος; οὐ μέν μοι κακὸς εἴδεται οὐδὲ κακῶν ἔξ,
ἀλλὰ κασίγνητος Ἀντήνορος ἱπποδάμοιο,
ἢ πάϊς· αὐτῷ γὰρ γενεὴν ἄγχιστα ἐῴκει.
ἦ ῥ' εὖ γιγνώσκων, Τρῶας δ' ἄχος ἔλλαβε θυμόν. (*Il.* 14.470-5)
'Consider, Polydamas, and tell me truly, was this man not worthy to be slain in requital for Prothoënor? He did not seem to me to be of mean birth, nor from mean [ancestors], but a brother of horse-taming Antenor, or a son; for he is very closely like him in family.'[109] He spoke [thus], perceiving well, and sorrow seized the Trojans in their hearts.

Here Janko (Kirk et al. 1985-93: IV. 219) says that Ajax '"knew full well"', giving the verb stative meaning; but, given the use of γιγνώσκω in Homer, it seems more likely that we should rather translate the above with 'perceiving well'.

The momentaneous nature of this verb is even clearer in the compound forms. So, for example, Helen says: ἐγὼ δέ μιν οἴη ἀνέγνων τοῖον ἐόντα 'I alone recognised him as being such [i.e., in this disguise]' (*Od.* 4.250). An interesting contrast between this verb and the stative οἶδα is shown by the following example, when Telemachus says:[110]

μήτηρ μέν τ' ἐμέ φησι τοῦ ἔμμεναι, αὐτὰρ ἐγώ γε
οὐκ οἶδ'· οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἐὸν γόνον αὐτὸς ἀνέγνω. (*Od.* 1.215-16)
My mother says that I am his [Odysseus'] [child], but I do not know this; for never yet did any man [come to] know his parentage of his own knowledge.

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[109]I.e. in looks: cf. Janko in Kirk et al. 1985-93: IV. 219.

[110]For these two verbs together elsewhere cf. *Il.* 5.182-3 and *Od.* 14.118-19.

In this case, therefore, we have γιγνώσκω 'perceive', future γνώσομαι 'will perceive' and aorist ἔγνων 'perceived' but also twice stative 'know'. It can be argued that, as 'perceive' is close to 'come to know', we have an inchoative verb here; unlike in many other cases, however, there is no stative perfect for this verb in the Homeric period, the aorist ἔγνων occasionally being used with this meaning.

3.4.4. θνήσκω

The present θνῄσκω has four main meanings in Cunliffe (1924 s.v.). Firstly, it is simply 'die'; this is listed as occurring for all but one of the seven instances of the present, all three of the future and eighteen of the 71 occasions that the aorist appears. For example, we find participle θνῄσκων after a verb of seeing in:[111]

> κήδετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, ὅτι ῥα θνῄσκοντας ὁρᾶτο. (*Il.* 1.56)
>
> For she [Hera] felt troubled for the Danaans, because she saw them dying.

Another example of the participle occurs, for example, when Homer details how Agamemnon's sceptre, made by Hephaestus, reached the Greek leader, at one point saying:[112]

> Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνῄσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ, ... (*Il.* 2.106)
>
> ... and Atreus, on dying, left it to Thyestes rich in sheep...

The indicative occurs when Circe says to Odysseus and his men, just back from the Underworld:

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[111]Cf. similarly *Od.* 8.526.

[112]Cf. also *Il.* 24.743.

σχέτλιοι, οἳ ζώοντες ὑπήλθετε δῶμ' Ἄϊδαο,
δισθανέες, ὅτε τ' ἄλλοι ἅπαξ θνῄσκουσ' ἄνθρωποι. (*Od.* 12.21-2)
Foolhardy men, who have gone down alive to the house of Hades – twice dead, when other men die once!

This is the only time the present θνῄσκω, simple or compounded, is found in non-participial form in Homer. There is, however, also the imperfect, used when Achilles is recounting events to Thetis, concerning the Greeks' problems:

τοῖο δ' Ἀπόλλων
εὐξαμένου ἤκουσεν, ἐπεὶ μάλα οἱ φίλος ἦεν,
ἧκε δ' ἐπ' Ἀργείοισι κακὸν βέλος· οἱ δέ νυ λαοὶ
θνῄσκον ἐπασσύτεροι, τὰ δ' ἐπῴχετο κῆλα θεοῖο
πάντῃ ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν· (*Il.* 1.380-4)
... and Apollo heard him [Chryses] praying, since he was very dear to him, and he sent a baneful shaft against the Argives; and the men were dying (began to die) one after another, and the god's missiles ranged on every side throughout the wide camp of the Achaeans.

The future θανέομαι 'will die' is only ever found in the expression ὀϊόμενος θανέεσθαι 'thinking he would die'. Hence, Zeus says to Hera:[113]

καὶ νῦν ἐξεσάωσεν ὀϊόμενον θανέεσθαι. (*Il.* 4.12)
And just now she [Aphrodite] saved him [Menelaus], when he thought he would die.

[113]The other two instances are at *Il.* 15.728 and *Od.* 20.21.

For the aorist ἔθανον with this meaning, we have, for example, Helenus saying to Hector:

οὐ γάρ πώ τοι μοῖρα θανεῖν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν· (*Il.* 7.52)
For it is not yet your fate to die and meet your doom.

Meaning (2) is simply the use of the first meaning 'in a *quasi*-passive sense of being slain in battle', found once in the present and twice in the aorist. So Achilles says to Agamemnon:

ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ἵξεται υἷας Ἀχαιῶν
σύμπαντας· τότε δ' οὔ τι δυνήσεαι ἀχνύμενός περ
χραισμεῖν, εὖτ' ἂν πολλοὶ ὑφ' Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
θνήσκοντες πίπτωσι· (*Il.* 1.240-3)
Indeed, a longing for Achilles shall come upon all the sons of the Achaeans together; and then you will in no way be able to protect [them] even though you will be grieved, when many fall dying at the hands of man-slaying Hector.

So too Thoas says of Hector:

ἦ θήν μιν μάλα ἔλπετο θυμὸς ἑκάστου
χερσὶν ὑπ' Αἴαντος θανέειν Τελαμωνιάδαο. (*Il.* 15.288-9)
Indeed each man's heart very much hoped that he had died at the hands of Ajax, the son of Telamon.

Listed last for this meaning is the occasion when we find Priam saying of Hector, ὡς ὄφελεν θανέειν ἐν χερσὶν ἐμῇσι 'would he had died in my arms' (*Il.* 22.426). It

seems odd that this instance is classed here; in the other two, it is clear that we have 'die at the hands of', which is equivalent to 'be killed by'.

The third heading is given as 'in aor. indic.', and accounts for all remaining 51 instances of ἔθανον. It is divided into two parts. Firstly, there is (a) 'in strict aor. sense', found nine times, all in the *Odyssey* and always in the indicative; here Cunliffe means the momentaneous 'did die', as when Telemachus says to Nestor:

> πῶς ἔθαν' Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων; (*Od.* 3.248)
> How did wide-ruling Agamemnon, the son of Atreus, die?

The difference between the two different meanings given so far for the aorist therefore seems minimal.

Thus far, we have had θνήσκω 'die, become dead' and ἔθανον 'died, became dead' – clearly an inchoative verb, where the new state entered is that of death. In its remaining 42 occurrences (25 in the *Iliad* and seventeen in the *Odyssey*), however, ἔθανον is used rather differently; Cunliffe's heading is (3)(b) 'have died, be dead'. So, we learn that the Aetolians were led by Thoas, the son of Andraemon:

> οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος υἱέες ἦσαν,
> οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος. (*Il.* 2.641-2)
> For the sons of great-hearted Oeneus were no more, nor did he still live, and fair-haired Meleager was dead.

Here we may also read 'had died', an expected use for the aorist; but in many other cases there is no ambiguity. Nearly all instances of this use of ἔθανον are participial – 21 and twelve of them in the respective epics. For example, Patroclus' ghost begins his speech to Achilles as follows:

εὕδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο λελασμένος ἔπλευ, Ἀχιλλεῦ.
οὐ μέν μευ ζώοντος ἀκήδεις, ἀλλὰ θανόντος· (*Il.* 23.69-70)
You are sleeping, and have forgotten me, Achilles. You were not unmindful of me while [I was] alive, but now [you are] while [I am] dead!

On five occasions we find the plural of the participle used absolutely to mean 'the dead', always in the expression ὃ (or τὸ) γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων 'for this is the honour of the dead' (*Il.* 16.457=675, 23.9, *Od.* 24.190, 296).

This use of the aorist is unexpectedly frequent for this form. We have already seen ἔγνων acting as stative perfect (§ 3.4.3 above). Rather than the present stem 'dying', we here have the aorist denoting the perfect 'being dead'.

This leaves the perfect τέθνηκα, of whose 58 occurrences Cunliffe places all but two under (4)(a) 'be dead'; it thus shows stative sense. Hence, before Achilles knows of Patroclus' death, it is said:

τό μιν οὔ ποτε ἔλπετο θυμῷ
τεθνάμεν, ἀλλὰ ζωὸν ἐνιχριμφθέντα πύλῃσιν
ἆψ ἀπονοστήσειν, ... (*Il.* 17.404-6)
And so he [Achilles] never thought in his mind that he [Patroclus] was dead, but that he would come back alive after coming near to the gates...

The other two instances come under (4)(b) 'in strict pf. sense' – that is, where τέθνηκα means 'have died'. So a disguised Athene says to Telemachus:

οὐ γάρ πω τέθνηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς (*Od.* 1.196)
For illustrious Odysseus has not yet died on the earth...

The same words are said by Agamemnon of Orestes at *Od.* 11.461. The supposed distinction between the two types of perfect is slight, since to have become dead is to be dead.

Compounds of θνήσκω show parallel meanings to the simple forms, except that compound parts of ἔθανον never mean stative 'be dead'.[114] We have here an inchoative active verb θνήσκω 'die, become dead', future θανοῦμαι 'will die' and aorist ἔθανον 'died, became dead', with unexpected stative meaning also found for the latter. The perfect denotes the state 'be dead'.

3.5. Summary: causatives and inchoatives

Verbs discussed in this class fall into several groups. In four cases we clearly have causative actives beside inchoative medio-passives (βόσκω 'feed' / βόσκομαι 'get fed'; διδάσκω 'teach, instruct' / διδάσκομαι 'learn'; μιμνήσκω 'remind' / μιμνήσκομαι 'remember'; μίσγω 'mix together' / μίσγομαι 'get mixed, mingle'). In one further instance, an inchoative medio-passive appears to be found beside a causative medio-passive (τιτύσκομαι 'make ready; [get ready,] take aim'). In all cases but βόσκω, there is a stative perfect found beside these forms. There are also apparently causatives in - σκω and - σκομαι (ἀπαφίσκω, ἀπαφίσκομαι 'trick'; ἁραρίσκω 'fit together'; ἐΐσκω and ἴσκω 'make like, etc.'; ἱλάσκομαι 'propitiate'; πιφαύσκω, πιφαύσκομαι 'make manifest; declare'). We may have one inchoative in the medio-passive (ἐπαυρίσκομαι 'get profited'), but others are in

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[114]The present participle ἀποθνήσκων has the expected meaning 'dying' (*Od.* 11.424, 21.33), and the perfect participle means 'having died, being dead' (*Il.* 22.432); this compound also shows the one instance of a pluperfect form, found when Odysseus says of Helios' cattle βόες δ' ἀποτέθνασαν ἤδη 'the cattle had already died' (*Od.* 12.393). The parts found of καταθνήσκω 'die' and also aorist ἔκθανον 'died' (*Od.* 18.100) similarly show meanings parallel to those of the simple forms.

the active, without causative alternants (ἀλδήσκω 'grow, increase'; γηράσκω 'grow old'; γιγνώσκω 'perceive'; θνῄσκω 'die').

In all these cases of apparently causative-inchoative - σκ- , however, non-present stems are also found with the same meaning as the present: for example, ἀπαφίσκω and ἤπαφον both mean 'deceive', and μίσγω and ἔμειξα both 'mix, make mixed'; so too μίσγομαι is as inchoative as its morphologically passive aorists, and γηράσκω and ἐγήρᾱ are both inchoative. It would therefore seem that, in these cases at least, Homeric - σκω / - σκομαι does not 'make' a verb causative or inchoative. In the case of the causative actives beside inchoative medio-passives, the contrast depends on a feature of voice; admittedly we find inchoative actives, but these pertain to a peculiarity of Greek voice, the unexpected set of intransitive actives, which will be discussed further in Chapter 8 §§ 2.3, 2.6-2.7.

4. Remaining forms

4.1. εὑρίσκω

Εὑρίσκω has four meanings according to Cunliffe (1924 s.v.): (1) 'find, light or come upon'; (2) 'find or come upon in a specified place or condition or doing something specified'; (3) 'find out, discover, hit upon, devise, contrive, etc.'; and (4) 'bring upon oneself, incur'. It is the second meaning that is by far the most frequent: since Cunliffe's citations for meanings (1), (3) and (4) number respectively seventeen, eleven and two occasions, and parts of simple εὑρίσκω occur 81 times in Homer in all, this meaning must occur 51 times in the epics. These are all instances of the aorist εὗρον, since the other parts of εὑρίσκω are scarce and are all cited as occurring for the last two meanings alone. Hence, when Penelope is forced to finish her web, the only use of present εὑρίσκω in Homer means (3) 'devise':

νῦν δ' οὔτ' ἐκφυγέειν δύναμαι γάμον οὔτε τιν' ἄλλην

μῆτιν ἔθ' εὑρίσκω· (*Od.* 19.157-8)

And now neither can I escape marriage nor do I yet devise any other skilful device.

Three of the four instances of the aorist middle εὑρόμην also show this meaning, as when Odysseus says:[115]

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ βούλευον, ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα γένοιτο,
εἴ τιν' ἑταίροισιν θανάτου λύσιν ἠδ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ
εὑροίμην· (*Od.* 9.420-2)

But I considered how all might be [for] the very best, if I might devise some way of escape from death for my comrades and for myself.

One can compare the use of aorist εὗρον with this same meaning (seven times), when Eidothea says to Odysseus:

ὡς δὴ δήθ' ἐνὶ νήσῳ ἐρύκεαι, οὐδέ τι τέκμωρ
εὑρέμεναι δύνασαι, μινύθει δέ τοι ἦτορ ἑταίρων. (*Od.* 4.373-4)

You have been kept on this island for such a long time, and cannot devise an end [to it], and the spirit of your companions has become weak.

The difference between the active and middle seems slight, especially given the similar sentiment expressed by by the active aorist here and the middle aorist at *Od.* 9.422 above.[116]

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[115]Cf. also *Il.* 16.472, *Od.* 19.403.

[116]The active with this meaning is also listed as occurring at *Il.* 2.343, 7.31, 9.49, 9.250, *Od.* 4.466-7, 12.393.

Εὑρόμην occurs again on one last occasion, in one of the two instances of Cunliffe's fourth meaning 'bring upon oneself, incur'. Antinous says to Odysseus, on how the Centaur Eurytion's drunkenness was responsible for the feud between the Lapiths and the Centaurs:

> ἐξ οὗ Κενταύροισι καὶ ἀνδράσι νεῖκος ἐτύχθη,
> οἳ δ' αὐτῷ πρώτῳ κακὸν εὕρετο οἰνοβαρείων. (*Od.* 21.303-4)
> And from this the feud between Centaurs and men began, but he [Eurytion] brought evil on himself first, being heavy with wine.

The other instance of this meaning occurs for εὗρον, when Halitherses advises the Ithacans not to try to avenge the deaths of the suitors:

> μὴ ἴομεν, μή πού τις ἐπίσπαστον κακὸν εὕρῃ. (*Od.* 24.462)
> Let us not go, in case someone incurs a bane which he has brought on himself.

The use of active εὗρον here, where the subject is obviously affected by the action, again implies that the difference between the two aorists is negligible.

Cunliffe's very frequent first two meanings for εὑρίσκω, all for cases of the thematic aorist εὗρον, are very similar: both basically mean 'find'. Hence, for example:

> εὗρ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἕκτορα δῖον,
> ἑσταότ' ἔν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι κολλητοῖσιν· (*Il.* 11.197-8)
> She [Iris] found illustrious Hector, son of valiant Priam, standing in his horse and jointed chariot.

The earliest non-present form in εὑρη- is an instance of εὑρήσω in εὑρήσω καὶ ἔπειτα βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα / τούτοις οἰωνοῖσι 'I shall find the strong cattle presently by these omens' (*h.Merc.* 302-3).[117]

In summary, we have present εὑρίσκω 'devise' and aorists εὗρον 'found, devised, incurred', εὑρόμην 'devised, incurred'.

4.2. δειδίσκομαι

Δειδίσκομαι is given two meanings by Cunliffe. Firstly there is (1) 'pledge in drinking = δείκνυμι (5)', found once, after Odysseus has defeated Irus:

> 'Αντίνοος δ' ἄρα οἱ μεγάλην παρὰ γαστέρα θῆκεν,
> ἐμπλείην κνίσης τε καὶ αἵματος· 'Αμφίνομος δὲ
> ἄρτους ἐκ κανέοιο δύω παρέθηκεν ἀείρας
> καὶ δέπαϊ χρυσέῳ δειδίσκετο φώνησέν τε·
> "χαῖρε, πάτερ ὦ ξεῖνε· ... " (*Od.* 18.118-22)
>
> And Antinous set in front of him the great stomach, filled with fat and blood; and Amphinomus took two wheat cakes from the basket and set them in front of him, and pledged him with a gold cup, and said: 'Hail, sir, stranger...'

The differently reduplicated δεδισκόμενος is said to mean the same. So Menelaus is described as:

> οἶνον ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μελίφρονα δεξιτερῇφι,
> ἐν δέπαϊ χρυσέῳ, ὄφρα λείψαντε κιοίτην.

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[117]The compound aorists ἐξεῦρον 'find, discover' and ἐφεῦρον 'find, light upon, etc.' show meanings parallel to those of the simple forms.

στῆ δ' ἵππων προπάροιθε, δεδισκόμενος δὲ προσηύδα·
"χαίρετον, ὦ κούρω, ..." (*Od.* 15.148-51)
holding in his right hand honey-hearted wine in a gold cup, so that they might proceed [only] after having made libations. And he stood in front of the horses, and pledging them [Telemachus and Peisistratus] he said:
'Farewell/hail, young men...'

Secondly, Cunliffe has (2) 'welcome, greet'; Peisistratus takes Athene and Telemachus by the hand and sits them down,

δῶκε δ' ἄρα σπλάγχνων μοίρας, ἐν δ' οἶνον ἔχευε
χρυσείῳ δέπαϊ· δειδισκόμενος δὲ προσηύδα
Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην, κούρην Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο· (*Od.* 3.40-2)
and he gave them portions of the entrails, and poured wine in a gold cup; and, pledging / greeting her, he addressed Pallas Athene, the daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus: ...

From this example it is evident that there is some overlap between the two meanings: a gold cup has been involved in all three examples so far cited, and a speech always follows the passage quoted. No cup is however present for Cunliffe's second example of the latter meaning, although a speech does occur after the following lines. Here, Philoetius, after asking Eumaeus who the stranger is, says:

ἦ καὶ δεξιτερῇ δειδίσκετο χειρὶ παραστάς,
καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
"χαῖρε, πάτερ ὦ ξεῖνε· ..." (*Od.* 20.197-9)

And, having come and stood by him [Odysseus], he greeted him with his right hand, and having spoken uttered winged words: 'Hail, sir, stranger...'

The related present form δεικανόωντο is glossed once as (1) 'pledge in drinking = δείκνυμι (5)' (Cunliffe 1924 s.v. †δεικανάομαι), when Hera says:

ἵκετο δ' αἰπὺν ἴ Ολυμπον, ὁμηγερέεσσι δ' ἐπῆλθεν
ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι Διὸς δόμῳ· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες
πάντες ἀνήϊξαν καὶ δεικανόωντο δέπασσιν. (*Il.* 15.84-6)
And she came to steep Olympus, and went to the immortal gods gathered together in the house of Zeus; and having seen her they all quickly got up and pledged / greeted her with cups of welcome.

On two further occasions the verb is given by Cunliffe as meaning (2) 'welcome, greet'. Firstly, Odysseus leaves Irus outside,

ἂψ δ' ὅ γ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετο· τοὶ δ' ἴσαν εἴσω
ἡδὺ γελώωντες καὶ δεικανόωντο ἐπέεσσι· (*Od.* 18.110-11)
and, going back to the threshold, he sat down; and they [the suitors] went inside, laughing merrily, and they greeted him with words: ...

Secondly, after Dolius has welcomed Odysseus home, his sons follow suit:

ὣς δ' αὔτως παῖδες Δολίου κλυτὸν ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆα
δεικανόωντ' ἐπέεσσι καὶ ἐν χείρεσσι φύοντο,
ἐξείης δ' ἕζοντο παραὶ Δολίον, πατέρα σφόν. (*Od.* 24.409-11)

And so in the same way the sons of Dolius, [gathered] around renowned Odysseus, greeted him with words and clasped [his hands] in their hands, and sat down in order beside Dolius, their father.

There are also certain forms listed by Cunliffe as part of the medio-passive of δείκνῡμι which show the same meaning (1924 s.v. †δείκνῡμι).[118] With this sense we find present δεικνύμενος once in each epic, as well as δειδέχαται (once in the *Odyssey*) and δείδεκτο (once in the *Iliad*), δειδέχατο (three times in the *Iliad*). Cunliffe splits the forms into two. Three Iliadic examples of the forms in δειδεκ- / δειδεχ- are cited as meaning (5) 'pledge in drinking (app. from a custom of pointing to the person whose health was to be drunk)':

... μετὰ δέ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη
νέκταρ ἐῴνοχόει· τοὶ δὲ χρυσέοις δεπάεσσι
δειδέχατ' ἀλλήλους, Τρώων πόλιν εἰορόωντες. (*Il.* 4.2-4)
... and among them [the gods] lady Hebe poured them nectar; and they pledged one another with golden cups, looking upon the city of the Trojans.

When Phoenix, Ajax and Odysseus have eaten with Achilles and Patroclus:

νεῦσ' Αἴας Φοίνικι· νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλῆα·
"χαῖρ', Ἀχιλεῦ· ..." (*Il.* 9.223-5)
Ajax nodded to Phoenix; and illustrious Odysseus noticed, and having filled a cup with wine he pledged Achilles: 'Hail, Achilles...'

[118]Cf. Chapter 3 § 5.1.

Later, when they return, Homer says:

> τοὺς μὲν ἄρα χρυσέοισι κυπέλλοις υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
> δειδέχατ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἀνασταδόν, ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο·
> πρῶτος δ' ἐξερέεινεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων· (*Il.* 9.670-2)
> the sons of the Achaeans stood up, some from one side, others from another, and pledged them with gold cups, and questioned them; and Agamemnon, king of men, was the first to inquire: ...

Cunliffe's meaning for the remaining four forms is (6) 'welcome, greet'. So, when Ajax and Odysseus arrive at Achilles' hut:

> τὼ καὶ δεικνύμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
> "χαίρετον· ..." (*Il.* 9.196-7)
> And swift-footed Achilles, greeting them, addressed them. 'Hail, ...'

Secondly, when Hecabe speaks of Hector after his death:

> ὅ μοι νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ
> εὐχωλὴ κατὰ ἄστυ πελέσκεο, πᾶσί τ' ὄνειαρ
> Τρωσί τε καὶ Τρῳῇσι κατὰ πτόλιν, οἵ σε θεὸν ὡς
> δειδέχατ'· (*Il.* 22.432-5)
> You who were my boast night and day throughout the city, a benefit to all the Trojan men and women throughout the town, who greeted you as a god.

The third instance occurs when Telemachus and Peisistratus enter Menelaus' palace and are served with food:

δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν ἀείρας
παντοίων, παρὰ δέ σφι τίθει χρύσεια κύπελλα.
τὼ καὶ δεικνύμενος προσέφη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος·
"σίτου θ' ἅπτεσθον καὶ χαίρετον...." (*Od.* 4.57-60)
and a carver lifted up and placed before them platters of all kinds of meats, and before them placed gold cups. And fair-haired Menelaus, greeting the two, addressed them: 'Take food, and rejoice/hail.'

Lastly, Athene says of Alcinous' wife Arete:

ὣς κείνη περὶ κῆρι τετίμηταί τε καὶ ἔστιν
ἔκ τε φίλων παίδων ἔκ τ' αὐτοῦ 'Αλκινόοιο
καὶ λαῶν, οἵ μίν ῥα θεὸν ὡς εἰορόωντες
δειδέχαται μύθοισιν, ὅτε στείχῃσ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ. (*Od.* 7.69-72)
Thus she has been and is honoured, by her children and by Alcinous himself and by the people in their hearts, who, looking upon her as a goddess, greet her with words when she goes through the city.

As has been already discussed, the relationship between the various forms given in the above fourteen passages is obscure (Chapter 3 § 5.1). It is evident from examining them in context, however, that various elements are repeated in various passages, as was noticed by Forssman (1978: 8). These are cups (δέπας, κύπελλον, usually golden); words (μῦθος, ἔπος); a verb of speaking (προσέφη, προσηύδα), a part of χαίρω 'hail, farewell' (χαῖρε, χαίρετον) and lastly a situation in which wine is being drunk.[119] It is thus clear that Cunliffe's division of forms is arbitrary.

[119]Cf. further Forssman 1978: 8, with index to his list of passages (1978: 4-5).

As Russo (Heubeck et al 1988-92: III.54) notes, the idea expressed by these verbal forms does not translate well into English, since they 'share an idea that extends from offering formal greeting with words to doing so with a cup of wine in hand (15.50), like our own ritual toasts, or simply with a hand gesture, as at 20.197'.[120] The etymological problems are such, however, that the role of -σκ- in these forms remains obscure.

4.3. πάσχω

Πάσχω is given three meanings by Cunliffe (1924 s.v.), all very similar. It is only the first, 'suffer, endure, undergo, have laid upon one, be called upon to bear' that is very frequently found. Here we find cited all eight Iliadic instances of the present stem and all but one of the 31 cases found in the *Odyssey*. So the Trojan leaders, on seeing Helen, say:

> οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
> τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν· (*Il.* 3.156-7)
> Small blame [to them] that the Trojans and the well-greaved Achaeans suffer troubles for a long time on account of such a woman.

And thus Eurymachus says to Halitherses, after the latter has foretold Odysseus' return:

> ὦ γέρον, εἰ δ' ἄγε δὴ μαντεύεο σοῖσι τέκεσσιν
> οἴκαδ' ἰών, μή πού τι κακὸν πάσχωσιν ὀπίσσω· (*Od.* 2.178-9)
> Come now, old man, go home and prophesy to your children, in case perhaps in time to come they suffer something ill.

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[120]See further Russo in Heubeck et al 1988-92: III.54, with bibliography.

All instances of the future πείσομαι (once in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey*) also come under this heading, the form meaning 'will suffer':[121]

πάντες δ' Οὐλύμποιο κατήλθομεν ἀντιόωντες
τῆσδε μάχης, ἵνα μή τι μετὰ Τρώεσσι πάθῃσι
σήμερον· ὕστερον αὖτε τὰ πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ Αἶσα
γιγνομένῳ ἐπέννησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ. (*Il.* 20.125-8)
And we all came down from Olympus to take part in this battle, so that he [Achilles] may not suffer anything among the Trojans today; but in future he will suffer whatever fate spun for him with her thread as he was born, when his mother bore him.

The thematic aorist ἔπαθον occurs for this meaning eighteen times in the *Iliad* and 28 in the *Odyssey*.[122] So Phoenix says to Achilles:

ὣς ἐπὶ σοὶ μάλα πόλλ' ἔπαθον καὶ πόλλ' ἐμόγησα (*Il.* 9.492)
Thus it was for you that I suffered very many things and toiled much.

So too do all instances of the perfect πέπονθα (once in the *Iliad*, five times in the *Odyssey*). This form is usually used of the μάλα πολλά 'very many things' or κακὰ πολλά 'many ills' that Odysseus and those connected with him have suffered. Hence Circe says to Odysseus' men:[123]

νῦν δ' ἀσκελέες καὶ ἄθυμοι,

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[121]Cf. also *Od.* 2.134, 7.197, 18.132.

[122]This is because there are 28 and 36 occurrences in the respective epics, of which two in the *Iliad* and three in the *Odyssey* are accounted for by meaning (2), and eight and five by meaning (3).

[123]Other examples of this perfect occur at *Il.* 3.99, *Od.* 13.6, 17.284, 555, 23.53.

αἰὲν ἄλης χαλεπῆς μεμνημένοι· οὐδέ ποθ' ὔμιν
θυμὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ, ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ πέποσθε. (*Od.* 10.463-5)
... but now you are worn out and spiritless, always mindful of your difficult wandering; and your hearts are never joyful, since you have truly suffered very many things.

There is also a pluperfect, also of Odysseus, used when he sleeps, λελασμένος ὅσσ' ἐπεπόνθει 'having forgotten all the things he had suffered' (*Od.* 13.92).

The second meaning is given as (2) 'have (something) come upon, happen to, or befall one'. It is listed as occurring five times; only one instance is in the present, which occurs when Theoclymenus, narrating his vision to the suitors, says: ἆ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; 'ah, wretched men, what ill is this that you suffer?' (*Od.* 20.351). The others are in the aorist, as when Odysseus has to explain his wound from the boar:[124]

τῷ μέν ῥα πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
χαῖρον νοστήσαντι καὶ ἐξερέεινον ἅπαντα,
οὐλὴν ὅττι πάθοι· (*Od.* 19.462-4)
Then his father and lady mother rejoiced at him when he had returned, and asked him everything [about] how he got [suffered] his scar.

Lastly, there is (3) 'with indefinite object, to have (something evil) come upon one, encounter (mischance), meet (one's death)'; this is only found in the aorist, eight times in the *Iliad* and five in the *Odyssey*. So Menelaus says, on hearing the shouts of the trapped Odysseus:

[124]It is also found at *Il.* 11.313, 404, *Od.* 19.464, 24.106.

δείδω μή τι πάθῃσιν ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι μονωθείς,
ἐσθλὸς ἐών, μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ Δαναοῖσι γένηται. (*Il.* 11.470-1)
I fear in case he should suffer something while left alone amongst the Trojans, although he is skilful [i.e. at fighting], and a great longing should come upon him for the Danaans.

Here we have πάσχω 'suffer, undergo', future πείσομαι 'will suffer', aorist ἔπαθον 'suffered' and perfect πέπονθα 'have suffered, be in the state resulting from having suffered'. The same meaning of 'suffer' is thus found throughout the verb, but without any causative or inchoative meaning.

4.4. κικλήσκω

The present active κικλήσκω is given two meanings by Cunliffe: 'summon (=καλέω (1))', which occurs six times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*; and 'call by such and such a name, name so and so (=καλέω (3))', found three times each in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This gives nine instances of this verb in the earlier epic and four in the later one, of which two and one cases respectively are imperfects.

The first of these meanings occurs, for example, when Agamemnon

φοίτα κηρύκεσσι λιγυφθόγγοισι κελεύων
κλήδην εἰς ἀγορὴν κικλήσκειν ἄνδρα ἕκαστον,
μηδὲ βοᾶν· (*Il.* 9.10-12)
went this way and that, ordering the clear-voiced heralds to summon each man by name to the assembly-place, but not to shout.

For the meaning 'call, name', there is:

νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ
Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε, Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσι (*Od.* 4.354-5)
Now, there is a certain island in the much-surging sea in front of Egypt, and men call it Pharos.

There are two instances of the medio-passive present, which show two uses of the medio-passive – and the two different meanings of κικλήσκω. In the earlier case, we have what is traditionally termed a 'middle': here, the difference from the active meaning 'summon' is minimal.

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ Τρῶας ἀγήνορας εἴασεν Ἕκτωρ
εὕδειν, ἀλλ' ἄμυδις κικλήσκετο πάντας ἀρίστους,
ὅσσοι ἔσαν Τρώων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες·
τοὺς ὅ γε συγκαλέσας πυκινὴν ἀρτύνετο βουλήν· (*Il.* 10.299-302)
Nor did Hector allow the bold Trojans to sleep, but he summoned all the noblest together, as many as were leaders and rulers among the Trojans; and having called them all together he devised a cunning plan: ...

Giannakis (1997: 245) suggests that both κικλήσκετο and ἀρτύνετο are used benefactively here. In the second instance of medio-passive κικλήσκομαι, however, we have what is traditionally termed a 'passive': so, beside κικλήσκω 'name', we have κικλήσκομαι 'be named':

νῆσός τις Συρίη κικλήσκεται, εἴ που ἀκούεις,
Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἠελίοιο, ... (*Od.* 15.403-4)
A certain island is called Syria, if perhaps you have heard of it, above Ortygia, where the turning-places of the sun are.

The meaning is apparently stative, not inchoative: 'be known as, have been named'.[125]

There is also a collateral present καλέω, to which Cunliffe (1924 s.v.) assigns four meanings: (1) 'call, call to, summon, etc.'; (2) 'bid or invite to a feast or a meal or to one's house'; (3) 'call by such and such a name, name, call etc.'; and (4) 'passive' 'bear the name of, be known as, have the reputation of being'. Meanings (1) and (3) have already been given for κικλήσκω; in fact, meanings (2) and (4) are merely submeanings of these respective two. That this is the case is evident from the semantics involved: 'invite to a feast' is a specialisation of 'summon' as 'be known as' is of 'be called'. The dividing line between (1) and (2) and between (3) and (4) is, in fact, not always clear. The following instance of the future καλέω is categorised by Cunliffe as (2), since it concerns Aegisthus inviting Agamemnon for dinner; one can see how the meaning of καλέω is extended from 'summon'.

> αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ καλέων Ἀγαμέμνονα, ποιμένα λαῶν,
> ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν, ἀεικέα μερμηρίζων. (*Od.* 4.532-3)
> But he [Aegisthus] went with horses and chariot to call Agamemnon, shepherd of the people, considering baneful things.

The following example is classed by Cunliffe under (3), when it could equally well be placed under (4) as 'be known as'. Here, Achilles says to Agamemnon:

> ἦ γάρ κεν δειλός τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καλεοίμην,
> εἰ δὴ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπείξομαι ὅττι κεν εἴπῃς. (*Il.* 1.293-4)
> For I would be called cowardly and worthless, if indeed I am to yield to you in everything which you say.

[125]For the syntax of the two meanings of κικλήσκω, see Giannakis 1997: 245 and 246 respectively.

The meanings given by Cunliffe for the parts of καλέω do therefore correspond to those of κικλήσκω, for there are the same two main meanings 'summon' and 'name'; καλέω merely shows a wider range of shades of meaning than the present in -σκω. Cunliffe's data, however, put together all the various tense stems, which obscures some of the details of this verb's usage.

The present active καλέω occurs fourteen times in the *Iliad* and eleven in the *Odyssey*; there is also an imperfect, four times and six respectively. In both epics we find many examples of the two main meanings for this verb, 'summon' and 'name'. Hence, respectively: Ἀλέξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι 'Paris calls you to go home' (*Il.* 3.390); and when the constellation of the Bear is said to be that ἣν καὶ Ἅμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν 'which men also call by the additional name of the Wagon' (*Od.* 5.273). The present medio-passive occurs four times in the *Iliad* and six in the *Odyssey*, with imperfect found once in the former epic; but the simple verb never shows either the theoretically possible meaning 'be summoned' or, as κικλήσκομαι did, transitive 'summon' – but only ever meanings (3) and (4): 'be named, be known as'. Hence the example of καλεοίμην just quoted above, and, for example:

> ὄμνυε δ' ὡς ἐκέλευε, θεοὺς δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἅπαντας
> τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους, οἳ Τιτῆνες καλέονται. (*Il.* 14.278-9)
> And she [Hera] swore when he [Sleep] had requested, and invoked by name all the gods below Tartarus, who are called Titans.

It is not the case, however, that the one instance of κικλήσκομαι 'summon' is the only time this meaning occurs for the medio-passive present stem; for once we find the imperfect medio-passive ἐξεκαλεόμην 'call forth, summon':

Ἑρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήνιος ἐξεκαλεῖτο

ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων· (*Od.* 24.1-2)

And Cyllenian Hermes summoned the souls of the suitors.

Taking this into account, therefore, there is apparently no difference in the meanings of καλέω and κικλήσκω.

The future καλέω (once in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey*) only ever shows meanings (1) and (2), always being 'summon, invite', as καλέων quoted just above (*Od.* 4.532). The same is true of the frequent aorist active ἐκάλεσσα 'summoned' (seventeen times in the *Iliad* and twenty in the *Odyssey*) and also of its transitive middle counterpart ἐκαλεσάμην (eight times in the *Iliad* and five in the *Odyssey*) – both only show meaning (1). Hence Menestheus says:

ἔρχεο, δῖε Θοῶτα, θέων Αἴαντα κάλεσσον,

ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον· (*Il.* 12.343-4)

Go, illustrious Thoötes, run and summon Ajax, or rather both of them.

The meaning of the middle ἐκαλεσάμην is apparently the same. So Alcinous says, καλέσασθε δὲ θεῖον ἀοιδὴν / Δημόδοκον 'and summon the divine minstrel Demodocus' (*Od.* 8.43-4). This is the same use as seen above with the transitive instances of medio-passive κικλήσκομαι (*Il.* 10.300) and ἐξεκαλεόμην (*Od.* 24.1); active and morphologically middle forms can both mean 'summon'.

Perfect forms are medio-passive only. The perfect κέκλημαι (six times and once) shows the same restricted set of meanings as simple present καλέομαι, meaning only 'be called'; hence, for example, when Nausicaa says of Odysseus:

αἲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοιόσδε πόσις κεκλημένος εἴη

ἐνθάδε ναιετάων, καί οἱ ἄδοι αὐτόθι μίμνειν. (*Od.* 6.244-5)

Would that such a man might be called my husband, living here, and that it might please him to remain here.

The pluperfect form κεκλήατο, unlike any other perfect or intransitive medio-passive forms of καλέω in Homer, belongs to Cunliffe's meaning (1) 'summon':

ὣς εἰπὼν τάφροιο διέσσυτο· τοὶ δ' ἅμ' ἕποντο
'Αργείων βασιλῆες, ὅσοι κεκλήατο βουλήν. (*Il.* 10.194-5)

Having spoken thus he [Nestor] rushed through the trench; and the kings of the Argives followed along with him, as many as had been called to the council.

The future perfect κεκλήσομαι means 'will be called'; it occurs when Iris says to Helen:

τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλη κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις. (*Il.* 3.138)

And you will be called dear wife by whoever wins [i.e., Paris or Menelaus].

There is also on two occasions an active iterative preterite καλέεσκον 'used to call':[126]

τόν ῥ' Ἕκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
'Αστυάνακτ' (*Il.* 6.402-3)

Hector was accustomed to call him [his son] Scamandrius, but others called him Astyanax.

[126]Cf. also the similar use at *Il.* 9.562; on the meaning of these forms see further Chapter 5 § 5.2.2.

Once there is a medio-passive 'used to be called':

> ᾽Ιασος αὖτ' ἀρχὸς μὲν 'Αθηναίων ἐτέτυκτο,
> υἱὸς δὲ Σφήλοιο καλέσκετο Βουκολίδαο. (*Il.* 15.337-8)
> And Iasus was a captain of the Athenians, and used to be called the son of Sphelus, son of Bucolus.

Also apparently to be associated with καλέω and κικλήσκω is the reduplicated aorist ἐκέκλετο. The 42 instances of simple forms of this aorist are listed by Cunliffe s.v. κέλομαι, which is glossed as nearly always meaning 'command, order, bid, enjoin, give orders or injunctions'. Bendahman (1993: 110-15), however, finds that the reduplicated aorist means 'call out to' ('zurufen') and the other parts of the verb 'order' ('fordere auf etwas zu tun, rate, befehle'). In this case, we should associate ἐκέκλετο more closely with καλέω and κικλήσκω. An example of ἐκέκλετο is as follows:

> νεμέσησε δ' 'Απόλλων
> Περγάμου ἐκκατιδών, Τρώεσσι δὲ κέκλετ' ἀΰσας· (*Il.* 4.507-8)
> and Apollo, looking down from Pergamus, became indignant, and called with a shout to the Trojans: ...

On one occasion it shows a different meaning, given as 'call, call to, summon (= καλέω (1))' by Cunliffe, although Bendahman's (1993: 111) gloss of 'treiben' seems closer:

> ἀντικρὺ δ' ἄρα τάφρον ὑπέρθορον ὠκέες ἵπποι
> ἄμβροτοι, οὓς Πηλῆϊ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δώρα,

πρόσσω ἰέμενοι, ἐπὶ δ' Ἕκτορι κέκλετο θυμός· (*Il.* 16.380-2)

And the swift horses – the immortal horses that the gods gave as fine gifts to Peleus – leapt right over the trench, rushing onward, and his heart urged him against Hector.

Also comparable is the one compound form ἐπεκέκλετο, glossed as 'call upon, summon, invoke' (*Il.* 9.454) by Cunliffe (s.v. †ἐπικέλομαι), which occurs when Phoenix says:

τῇ πιθόμην καὶ ἔρεξα· πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς αὐτίκ' ὀϊσθεὶς
πολλὰ κατηρᾶτο, στυγερὰς δ' ἐπεκέκλετ' Ἐρινῦς,
μή ποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱὸν
ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα· (*Il.* 9.453-6)

I obeyed her [my mother] and did the deed; but my father immediately suspected and cursed me greatly, and summoned the dreadful Erinyes, so that a dear child begotten by me should never sit upon his knees.

κέλομαι, on the other hand, seems rather to mean 'bid, order'. One of the many examples is as follows, when Hera says to Apollo and Iris:

Ζεὺς σφὼ εἰς Ἴδην κέλετ' ἐλθέμεν ὅττι τάχιστα· (*Il.* 15.146)

Zeus orders you both to go to Ida as quickly as possible.

The future κελήσομαι only occurs once, with the same meaning as κέλομαι, when Hermes says to Odysseus:

ἡ δέ σ' ὑποδείσασα κελήσεται εὐνηθῆναι· (*Od.* 10.296)

And she [Circe] will be afraid, and will bid you lie with her.

There are also occasional compound forms of καλέω, all showing the meaning 'summon'.[127] A further present, προκαλίζομαι 'summon or invite to a fight or contest, challenge, defy, dare' (four times in the *Iliad*, twice in the *Odyssey*) apparently acts as the present of προκαλεσσάμην (six times in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*); hence, for example, it is said of Paris:

> Ἀργείων προκαλίζετο πάντας ἀρίστους
> ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτῆτι. (*Il.* 3.19-20)
> he [Paris] challenged all the best of the Argives to fight with him face to face in dread battle.

The parallelism is clear since latter line is elsewhere repeated with προκαλέσσεται, at *Il.* 7.39-40.

In conclusion, we may say that the different tense stems of the forms in καλε- and κλη- are used in different ways. The meaning 'summon' is the only one available for future καλέω, aorists ἐκάλεσσα and ἐκαλεσσάμην, pluperfect κεκλήατο and the verbal adjective forms; perfect κέκλημαι, along with its future κεκλήσομαι, the iterative preterite formations and the absolutive, are restricted to 'name' / 'be named'. In the present, the situation is different: καλέω means both 'summon' and 'name', καλέομαι intransitive 'be named' and, once, there is transitive ἐξεκαλεόμην 'summon'; similarly, κικλήσκω is both 'summon' and 'name' too, and κικλήσκομαι means both 'be named' and 'summon'. The

[127]For a list of these forms see Chapter 3 § 4.1.2.

transitive medio-passive presents occur beside aorist middle ἐκαλεσάμην 'summoned', as προκαλίζομαι does beside προκαλεσσάμην.

This would seem to mean that there is no semantic difference between καλέω and κικλήσκω. Also relevant to this conclusion is that both forms are used in passages concerning the language of gods and men.[128] There are six such instances, in only four of which we find both the gods' and men's term given; in two of these κικλήσκω is used (*Il.* 2.813-14, 14.290-1) and in the other two καλέω (*Il.* 1.403, 20.74); where only one term is given, the form is also καλέω (*Od.* 10.305, 12.61).

4.5. Summary: remaining forms

In the case of these four verbs, therefore, we find no causative-inchoative alternations, nor indeed any one defining quality. Although πάσχω may be contrasted with its perfect, κικλήσκω seems to be identical in meaning to καλέω and also, in the 'passive', to κέκλημαι. The only other tense shown for εὑρίσκω is aorist εὗρον, which has a middle εὑρόμην; and δειδίσκομαι remains obscure.

5. Conclusion: the semantics of verbs in -σκω in Homer

This excessively lengthy chapter may leave the reader with an impression of disorganised confusion. The minute description of each verb in its context is deliberate, because other alternatives are not available. In Homer, it does not seem possible to define a simple semantic pattern which distinguishes forms in -σκω from other forms. We could of course attempt to find an explanation by appealing to the incoherence of poetic language, of traditional language, and so on, but in fact there are other ways forward: it is possible to exploit this very situation in order to reach a

[128]On this topic see Watkins 1970, with further bibliography; and also Bader 1989: 258-61; Giannakis 1997: 247 n. 319.

general statement, but we first need to highlight some general points. The fact that they are negative points does not detract from their importance.

Firstly, even when in Homer we have minimal pairs which contrast a present in - σκω with a simple present built on the same stem, we do not find a semantic distinction. The presents κικλήσκω and καλέω, both 'summon; name', appear to be used in the same contexts with identical function, and there is even a third present - καλίζομαι, also used beside an aorist in καλεσ(σ)- . The same lack of distinction seems to be true of the pairs ἀλύσκω : ἀλε(ύ)ομαι 'escape'; ἠλάσκω : ἀλάομαι 'rove, wander'; ἱλάσκομαι : ἵλάονται 'propitiate'; μιμνήσκομαι : μνάομαι 'remember' (although the latter becomes semantically specialised as 'woo'); and μίσγομαι : μιγάζομαι 'become mixed'.

A second point concerns the causative-inchoative pairs which have been discussed at length. We noticed βόσκω 'tend, feed' : βόσκομαι 'get fed'; διδάσκω 'teach, cause to learn' : διδάσκομαι 'learn, get taught'; μιμνήσκω 'remind' : μιμνήσκομαι 'remember'; μίσγω 'mix' : μίσγομαι 'get mixed'; and, with both alternants in the medio-passive, τιτύσκομαι 'make ready; get ready'. There are also causatives which have no inchoative alternant (ἀπαφίσκω 'trick'; ἀραρίσκω 'fit together'; ἐΐσκω and ἴσκω 'make like, compare'; ἱλάσκομαι 'propitiate'; and πιφαύσκω 'make manifest') and inchoatives which have no causative alternant (ἐπαυρίσκομαι, if 'become profited'). Next to the standard medio-passive inchoatives and causative actives there are also active inchoatives (ἀλδήσκω 'grow', γηράσκω 'become old', γιγνώσκω 'perceive' and θνῄσκω 'die'). It is tempting to say that - σκω adds the feature '+CAUSATIVE' or '+INCHOATIVE' to a verbal stem, as has indeed been done by some scholars (cf. Chapter 1 §§ 3.2, 3.3 respectively); but such a conclusion is not acceptable. The causative-inchoative alternation occurs in active / medio-passive pairs in Homeric Greek even when - σκω is not present, as in e.g. causative διασκίδνημι 'scatter,

make scattered' (e.g. in *Il.* 5.526, of Boreas scattering the clouds) : inchoative σκίδναμαι 'scatter, get scattered' (e.g. of a crowd which scatters away in *Il.* 1.487).[129] This is a feature of voice rather than of formations in - σκ- . The active inchoatives, on the other hand, have specific lexical features, which explain their lack of voice contrast (cf. Chapter 8 § 2, especially §§ 2.6-2.7).

The third crucial point, which confirms the previous conclusion, is that the same semantic contrast of causative / inchoative, which seems typical of the - σκω / - σκομαι presents, also appears in non-present tenses. Beside μιμνήσκω 'remind' / inchoative μιμνήσκομαι 'remember', we have the aorist pair ἔμνησα 'reminded' / ἐμνησάμην 'remembered'. Thus too the aorist ἐγήρᾱ has inchoative value, exactly as the present γηράσκω.

This combined evidence shows that in Homer it is impossible to attribute to - σκω a specific function other than that of forming a present from stems which do not have - σκω in other tenses. If we define the contrast present : aorist in aspectual terms, then we may want to argue that, in some verbs, - σκω defines the aspectual characteristics of the present. The presence of - σκω in the miscellaneous verbs listed in the previous sections which have no inchoative, causative or iterative meaning may support this view, but more important perhaps is a morphological, rather than semantic, observation. The vast proportion of the verbs considered shows a root aorist or a thematic aorist presumably derived from the former;[130] in other words, presents in - σκω pattern with root aorists or thematic aorists based on root aorists. Three inherited presents in - σκω have root aorists (βάσκω : ἔβην, γιγνώσκω : ἔγνων and μίσγομαι : (ἔ)μικτο); thirteen or possibly fourteen in - σκω or - ίσκω

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[129]Cf. Chantraine 1986-8: II.179, whose pairs of 'un actif causatif avec un moyen intransitif' include the phrase ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, meaning 'of those who kill and those who get killed' (*Il.* 4.451).

[130]Cf. Harðarson 1993: 155-7, and also Chapter 3 § 3.2.4.

have thematic aorists.[131] Of these, four verbs at least show alternations which are clearly old (πάσχω : ἔπαθον; - βλώσκω : ἔμολον, θνῄσκω : ἔθανον and θρῴσκω : ἔθορον), but other verbs too from this group are not new creations. If so, the pattern is significant. Following on from the view of the Indo-European verb given in Chapter 2 § 4.3, we may assume that a verbal root yielded either a root aorist or a root present depending on its meaning, and on the way in which this interacted with the aspectual character of the tense in question. Verbs which yielded root aorists either had a suppletive present, or more complex presents characterised by nasal infixes or special affixes. The *-*ske/o*- suffix was one of the affixes; insofar as it was contrasted with other suffixes, it must also have a specific meaning, very possibly iterative. This is no doubt true for Proto-Indo-European; but by the time of Homer, the situation is different. The suffix still forms presents, but does not seem to define their meaning in a more specific manner.

Indeed, we may occasionally wonder whether, in Homer, *-*ske/o*- has even lost its original aspectual function. The coexistence of simple presents like κικλήσκω and καλέω with no apparent semantic distinction points us in that direction, but even more important is the existence of verbs in which *-*ske/o*- / - σκω appears outside the present, as in ἀλύσκω, βόσκω and μίσγω. The well attested διδάσκω, which seems to go back to Mycenaean (cf. Chapter 6 § 2.1), belongs here too. There are parallels for this extension of *-*ske/o*- beyond the present: we have seen in other Indo-European languages that, when a reflex of *-*ske/o*- had no value, it tended to be extended to non-present forms; hence the Sabellic future perfect forms Oscan *comparascuster*, Umbrian *eiscurent*, but productive Latin inchoative *-scō*. In Greek, if formations like βόσκω and so on were resegmented and yielded non-

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[131]These are πάσχω (*παθ- σκω) : ἔπαθον; - βλώσκω : ἔμολον, θνῄσκω : ἔθανον, θρῴσκω : ἔθορον; διδάσκω : δέδαε, κικλήσκω : κέκλετο, τιτύσκομαι : τετυκέσθαι; ἀπαφίσκω : ἤπαφον, ἀραρίσκω : ἤραρον, ἐπαυρίσκομαι : ἐπαῦρον, εὑρίσκω : εὗρον; ἔρχομαι : (suppletive) ἦλθον; πιφαύσκω : φάε; and, more problematically, ἀλδήσκω : ἄλθετο.

present forms which included - σκ- , then presumably - σκ- was no longer felt as a suffix tied exclusively to a present formation. The four verbs which show extended - σκ- are all zero-grade formations which must be old – except διδάσκω, which is found in Mycenaean. In other words, we are dealing either with inherited verbs or, at least, old pre-Homeric verbs which have suffered a process of semantic and morphological attrition. This need not be true for all verbs, but is indicative for some pre-Homeric developments. The question that any linguist is likely to ask is: What happened next? Did - σκω disappear altogether, did it become a useless morphological doublet, or did it acquire a new function?

An answer to this question will have to wait for the final conclusion, and a study of the later evidence. Meanwhile, we need to consider whether the proposals made above fit all the data which we have been considering. It has been argued that, in Homer, - σκω is simply a present marker; and that this pattern goes back to an earlier period when the roots which yielded root aorists and secondarily thematic aorists also needed modified presents. There are two powerful counter-arguments at least against the second point. Firstly, how do we explain those verbs which have *-*ske/o*- in the present but have no root aorist or thematic aorist? Secondly, how are we to deal with forms like ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον, which clearly are not built on roots of the 'telic' type, but rather on those which yield root presents, such as εἰμί 'be' and φημί 'say'?

The first difficulty is not insurmountable. On the one hand, we have in Homer a handful of presents in - σκω which have no aorists: βόσκω, δειδίσκομαι, ἴσκω, ἐΐσκω and πτωσκάζω are such, as are ἀλύσκω and ἠλάσκω, whose collateral presents have aorists (ἀλε(ύ)ομαι / ἀλε(ύ)ασθαι, ἀλάομαι / ἀλήθην). These can simply be isolated survivals – i.e., we can predicate the existence of an earlier aorist. Secondly, we find some presents in - σκω with aorists in - σα rather than an expected root or thematic aorist. However, this pattern is rare and seems secondary.

Two cases are from problematic verbs: ἰλάσκομαι has ἵλασσάμην, and ὀρχέομαι has ὀρχήσασθαι. In κικλήσκω : ἐκάλεσα we have a complicated and not properly understood group of *set* forms; if, with Rix, we derive καλέω from a present in *-*éye/o*-, then ἐκάλεσα must be a secondary replacement of an old root aorist.[132] This leaves only two instances: γηράσκω : ἐγήρᾱ and μιμνήσκομαι : ἔμνησα, ἐμνησάμην. In both, the aorist seems to be of some antiquity, and the present does not. For the former case, it seems that γηράσκω is best explained as deriving from ἐγήρᾱ (Chapter 3 § 7.2). Regarding μιμνήσκομαι, we may say that, on the one hand, this form is from the same class as διδάσκω, our only form found with any certainty in Mycenaean; but it could easily have been derived from one of its own non-present forms in μνη- , and in fact we will see in Classical Greek that it is part of an expanding group of reduplicated presents in - σκω with roots of the type *CRV̄*- (Chapter 7 § 2). In other words, we have a set of innovations which is interesting in its own right, because it shows the way in which Greek is developing.

However, the two forms ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον do create a problem, not so much for our 'synchronic' interpretation of the Homeric data, as for the diachronic explanation given above. There are two alternatives: either these are indeed imperfects of presents in - σκω, or they are instances of 'iteratives' in -(ε)σκον. In the latter case, different problems would arise; but for these we must turn to the next chapter.

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[132]Cf. Rix 1998: 321, who has further tentative affixed presents for root *$*kleh_1$*- in Latin and Germanic.

Chapter 5

The 'Iteratives' in -(ε)σκον

1. Introduction

A group of so-called 'iteratives' showing the suffix -(ε)σκον[1] (e.g. δόσκον, ἔχεσκον) occurs in Greek, almost entirely distinct from those forms with the present suffix -(ι)σκω.[2] The suffix is productive in Homer, where Bottin (1969: 116) describes it as 'un *outil* grammaticale', but is only elsewhere at all frequent in Herodotus. This implies that the formation is peculiar to Ionic, as is generally accepted – unless Herodotus is epicising when he uses the forms.[3] As will be seen, his use does not entirely follow the epic pattern (§ 5.2.3 below). For different reasons, the forms ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον could either be imperfects of presents in -σκω or iteratives in -(ε)σκον, and their status has been much debated.[4] From a historical point of view, the formations in -(ε)σκον are of paramount importance, especially if, as is normally assumed, they show iterative meaning. Are they historically related to the Hittite iteratives in *-šk-*? Does this mean that **-sḱe/o-* had iterative meaning? Within Greek itself they are also mysterious: how does this use of the suffix relate to

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[1]On the formation in general see Curtius 1852: 27-9, 1877-80: II.405-13; Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.357, IV.62-4; Bechtel 1921-4: I.85, III.215; Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.710-12; Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 242-3; Chantraine 1986-8: I.318-325 (and on this Shipp 1972: 88-90), 1991: 226-7; Ruipérez 1954: 132-4; Rosén 1962: 125-6; Bottin 1969: 116-24; Giacalone Ramat 1967: 115-22; Risch 1974: 276-8; Ruijgh 1985: 145-8; Rix 1986: 19, 1992: 229; Duhoux 1992: 336; Meier-Brügger 1992: I.128; Keller 1992: 181-2; Rijksbaron 1994: 15; and Sihler 1995: 506. Specific studies on this subject, which will be referred to in the following discussion, are Stolpe 1849; Týn 1859; Brugmann 1902; Kluge 1911: 22-61; Fantini 1950; Wathelet 1973; Negri 1976; and Kimball 1980. Comparisons with formations in other languages are, on Hittite, Puhvel 1991: 13-20, and on Armenian Pisani 1959: 176-7; and Clackson 1994: 75-83.

[2]The two sets are generally accepted by scholars as being ultimately linked in some way (in spite of Negri 1976).

[3]Thus Brugmann (1902: 270-1), disputed by Schwyzer (Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.710 n. 9); cf. also Kluge 1911: 43.

[4]See further § 6 below. The nature of the hapax παρέβασκε is also disputable; cf. Chapter 4 § 2.1.1.

that of -σκω? In this chapter, I shall first of all give a brief overview of what has already been said concerning the formation's origin, followed by an examination of its morphology and use. The forms ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον will then be discussed, and the chapter concludes with a comparison of -(ε)σκον with Hittite *-šk-*.

2. General features

Iteratives in -(ε)σκον show secondary, indicative endings, i.e. are conjugated as if they are imperfects.[5] The forms found in Homer almost never show the augment; the one major exception is (ἔ)φασκον.[6] Homer uses any person, singular or plural (e.g. ἔχεσκες, νικάσκομεν), although the third person singular is very much the most frequent.[7]

The iteratives are nearly always formed off base verbs that are found in Homer.[8] Many of these base verbs are poetic and indeed peculiar to epic.[9] The starting point is usually a present stem (as κτείνεσκον), though it may be (more

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[5]Other endings are rare: Wathelet (1973: 392 n. 83) cites τρωπασκέσθω (Hesychius) and τιεσκόμενοι (*CIG* 3538.12).

[6]On this form see further § 6.2 below. For early discussions on the subject of the augment in these forms, see Stolpe 1849: 40-4; and Curtius 1877-80: II.408-9. Generally, wherever the augment is found, the verb may be read as augmentless without spoiling the metre, or there are textual variants, or both; cf. Wathelet 1973: 385-6 and 386 n. 43. It would seem that, apart from (ἔ)φασκον, only ἐμισγέσκοντο (*Od.* 20.7) actually requires the augment for the metre, and this form has been attributed to Attic influence: cf. Clackson 1994: 76 and 215 n. 81, following Wackernagel 1916: 118-19.

[7]For forms organised (within each epic) by person, see Kluge's lists (1911: 22-6, 30-2). Bottin's figures (1969: 117-18) are not correct (as comparison with Kluge and also with Stolpe 1849: 7 shows), but are a good guide: he lists 10 occurrences for the first person singular and eight for the second, with one also for first person plural (νικάσκομεν, *Od.* 11.512); in the third person, the figures cited are 253 for the singular and 34 for the plural. In Kluge, however, there are sixteen examples of the first person singular; and there is in fact one instance of the second person plural also (ἐφάσκεθ', *Od.* 22.35).

[8]Cf. Risch 1974: 277.

[9]Cf. further Wathelet 1973: 389-90, who cites various forms, and analyses their dialectal origins. For parallels between expressions where the same verbal stems appear with and without -(ε)σκον cf. Wathelet 1973: 397-9.

rarely) from an aorist one (ἴδεσκον): Homer shows 126 different forms, of which 31 are on aorist stems; the total number of occurrences is 250, of which 140 are found in the *Iliad* and 110 in the *Odyssey*.[10] Wathelet (1973: 393-4) lists 69 different iteratives which occur in Homer as only being found once each. Occasionally the suffix -(ε)σκον is found added to verbs which already have a *-*ske/o*- affix.[11] Most forms in -(ε)σκον are simples, although compounds do occur.[12] In five cases, one verb gives forms from both its present and aorist stems.[13] Three pairs of cognate forms also occur.[14]

The forms in -(ε)σκον are also well-known to show a strong tendency to occur in series of, usually, two or three forms; differing lists of roughly twenty examples for the *Iliad* and ten for the *Odyssey* are given by Bottin (1969: 118-21), Wathelet (1973: 394-5) and Puhvel (1991: 14-16). This grouping is non-formulaic in nature,[15] and indeed appears to be more frequent in later books.[16] Clackson (1994: 78)

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[10]Data were adapted from the list given in Risch (1974: 277-8), whose only omission seems to be ἴδεσκον; citations were taken from Gehring (1891). These were checked against the data given by Kluge (1911: 22-6, 30-2), Bottin (1969: 121-4) and Chantraine (1986-8: I.321-5). These figures do not include ἔσκον, (ἔ)φασκον and παρέβασκε, and count forms in καλε(ε)- as one verb. See further the morphological analysis in § 4 below. For criticisms of Bottin's (1969: 121-4) data see Clackson 1994: 215 n. 78.

[11]The instances are βοσκέσκονθ' (*Od.* 12.355) and μισγέσκετο (*Od.* 18.325), ἐμισγέσκοντο (*Od.* 20.7); see further Chapter 3 §§ 3.1.2 and 2.3 respectively.

[12]As e.g. ἐπιρρήσεσκον 'used to thrust home' (*Il.* 24.454, 456) beside ῥήσσοντες 'beating time' (*Il.* 18.571); cf. Wathelet 1973: 389.

[13]These, as noted by Delbrück (Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.63) and Risch (1974: 276) are ἱστάσκε / στάσκε; σπένδεσκον / σπείσασκε; φαινέσκετο / φάνεσκε; φεύγεσκε / φύγεσκε; and ὤθεσκε / ὤσασκε. On the difference between the aorist and present types, which apparently mirrors that of non-iterative forms, cf. Týn's conclusion, 1859: 694-5; Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.62; Kluge 1911: 26; Chantraine 1986-8: I.323-4; Ruijgh 1985: 146 n. 147; and Rijksbaron 1994: 15.

[14]The pairs are ναίεσκον / ναιετάασκον, ὀλέκεσκε / ἀπολέσκετο and οὔτασκε / οὐτήσασκε.

[15]Cf. Wathelet 1973: 393-5.

[16]Cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.325, followed by Clackson 1994: 78 and 215 n. 82. The former notes especially the instances at *Il.* 24.11-24 and *Od.* 11.585-600.

claims that almost half all occurrences of iteratives are found within three lines of another iterative; in fact, all such groups together only account for 36 instances of the 138 in the *Iliad*, and for 20 of the 109 in the *Odyssey*. He states that all but six σα-forms are found in conjunction with other iteratives.[17]

Homeric iteratives in -(ε)σκον are therefore generally augmentless third person indicatives, with a tendency to occur in series. According to Bottin (1969, especially 116-24), these facts are all connected: the meaning of the iteratives lends them naturally to narrative, and it is in narrative passages that Homer usually omits the augment most, whilst he tends to use it with verbs which describe general actions. Hence their use in the past indicative, describing 'real' past actions. The tendency for neologisms may be due to the extended use of the suffix in series.[18]

The sense of the verbs is generally held to be iterative or 'iterative-intensive'.[19] Ruipérez (1954: 132-5), however, as has been noted (Chapter 1 § 3.5), maintains that the suffix is basically durative in sense, with the forms generally realised as iteratives. Similarly, Puhvel (1991:13) states that the suffix gives the verbs a sense of ongoing action; he emphasises the importance of both the role of the sense of the original verb and of the context in which it is realised: 'kept smiling until the face muscles got tired' is durative, but 'kept smiling in various situations' is iterative. Even in Homer, it is not necessary to use a form in -(ε)σκον to indicate the type of action which these verbs show.[20]

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[17]Clackson 1994: 77. I find as isolated instances of sigmatic forms ἐρητύσασκε (*Il.* 2.189), ἐξερύσασκε (*Il.* 10.490), ἀποκινήσασκε (*Il.* 11.636), στρέψασκον (*Il.* 22.197) and ἀΐξασκε (*Il.* 23.369). The intended sixth instance is probably αὐδήσασκε (*Il.* 5.786), which is not linked with the iteratives which follow in vv. 788-90.

[18]Cf. Bottin 1969: 118.

[19]For 'intensive' meaning cf. Kluge 1911: 28-9; Giacalone Ramat 1967:115ff.; Negri 1976: 236; and Clackson 1994: 76 and 215 n. 80, and further § 5 below, especially § 5.2.2.

[20]On other ways of expressing 'iterative' meaning in Homer, cf. Kluge 1911: 35-40.

Attestations in authors other than Homer are rare and usually in imitation of epic;[21] the one exception is Herodotus, whose usage (both morphologically and, as we shall see, semantically) is more limited than Homer's. Here, nearly all forms are formed from present stems; iteratives from aorists are only derived from thematic stems, indicating that Homer's use of iteratives from aorists in -σα- (and, on one occasion, in -ην) was probably a peculiarly epic innovation.[22] Only the third person is used, and base forms are never athematic.[23] Here also, the forms are used to narrate past actions, and are often used in groups.

3. Origins

The origin of the iteratives in -(ε)σκον has been the subject of much debate, although their 'iterative' meaning was apparently not noticed by the ancient grammarians.[24] Fantini (1950: 333-5) reviews the early suggestions of Curtius, Herbig and Delbrück, all of whom linked the preterites in -(ε)σκον to presents in -σκω. He prefers that of Brugmann (1902), however, who postulates that they originated from periphrastic forms, such as φάσκον from *φανς *σκον.[25] This theory has been much criticised, first of all by Schwyzer, who noted the difficult

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[21]Cf. the data discussed by Curtius (1877-80: II.406) and Wathelet (1973: 391-2); the morphological categories given by Curtius (1877-80: II.409-12), Schwyzer (Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.711) and Fantini (1950: 320-30) contain further forms from other authors, and some dialectal forms are given by Bechtel (1921-4: I.85, III.215). Usage in Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns is discussed by Kluge (1911: 40-1)

[22]Cf. Wathelet 1973: 385 n. 42.

[23]On iteratives in Herodotus, see Stolpe 1849: 44-50; Kluge 1911: 42-8; Rosén 1962: 125-6; Bottin 1969: 116-17 (whose list of forms is, however, unreliable); and Wathelet 1973: 392-3. See further § 5.2.3 below.

[24]Cf. Curtius 1877-80: II. 407-8.

[25]Cf. also Meillet and Vendryes 1948: 242-3, similarly following Brugmann.

phonetic changes involved;[26] Schwyzer similarly dismisses Schulze's hypothesis, by which λάβεσκε derived from earlier *λάβετ κε.[27]

The prevalent alternative theory finds the origin of the forms in -(ε)σκον in one or more of the three forms which appear to cross the boundary between - σκω and -(ε)σκον: ἔσκον, παρέβασκε and (ἔ)φασκον.[28] Indeed, these three forms all have interesting and potentially archaic qualities: ἔσκον and βάσκω both apparently have cognates in other languages, and (ἔ)φασκον is the only iterative form which later acquires non-imperfect forms. But the link between βάσκω and παρέβασκε is uncertain (cf. Chapter 4 § 2.1.1); and ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον may simply be expressive imperfect forms, of no greater antiquity than any other form in -(ε)σκον (cf. § 6 below).

Ruijgh (1985: 147) tries to find evidence for the relatively ancient nature of the formation both in the lack of augment, a Mycenaean feature, and in the existence of iteratives formed from athematic verbs already by Homer's time.[29] Yet there may be internal evidence which points to a local Greek development, and Wathelet argues

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[26]Cf. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.711 and Giacalone Ramat 1967: 118-20, as well as Bottin 1969: 116; and Clackson 1994: 78.

[27]On this theory see further Kluge 1911: 35 ff.

[28]Thus Delbrück (Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.63-4) has the formation first occurring for ἔβασκον, ἔφασκον and ἔσκον; Chantraine first (1931: 127) cited ἔσκον and later (1986-8: I.319, 321; 1991: 226) both ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον as the origin; Negri (1976: 236) claims these two forms are obviously the most ancient part of the formation; Risch (1974: 277) has ἔβην : βάσκον originating the formation by giving rise to φάσκον beside ἔφην; Rix (1992: 229) has ἔσκον, (ἔ)φασκον and καλέσκετο as old zero-grade formations; and Ruijgh (1985: 146) has the iteratives from present and aorist stems beginning with an imperfect such as φάσκον, reinterpreted as the iterative of the present in φᾱ- /φᾰ- , and one such as *γʷάσκον as the iterative of γʷᾱ- /γʷᾰ- . Cf. also Hackstein 1995: 279, following Chantraine and Rix.

Giacalone Ramat (1967: 121-2), however, is less precise concerning which forms came first: she argues that old imperfects in - σκον showing iterative-intensive meaning (her preferred meaning for Greek - σκω) could be the source of the formation, such as, she claims, κικλήσκετο ('summoned') at *Il.* 10.300.

[29]As well as κάλεσκον from athematic *κάλεμι, he also derives ἔασκον from *ἔᾰμι.

that Homeric forms show a variety of recent and Ionic features.[30] Nonetheless, Wathelet himself uses external evidence to reconstruct an inherited suffix *-*esk*-.

Externally, comparisons are commonly made with Armenian, where a reflex of *-*ske/o*- is claimed by some to be used in the aorist; and with Hittite, where the suffix -*šk*- shows iterative meaning.[31] Regarding Armenian and Greek, the most recent work has been Clackson's thorough analysis (1994: 75-83). He concludes that, on the one hand, such forms as δόσκον, δύσκε, παρέβασκε and στάσκε could be inherited, and notes that insertion of a vowel before the suffix, like - ε- in Greek, also occurs in Armenian, Hittite and Tocharian. Yet this similarity could easily be an independent innovation to keep the suffix distinct from the root, and Armenian and Greek do not seem to show the same formation: morphological differences occur in root vocalism, suffixation and use of augment.

The similarity between the Greek iteratives in - (ε)σκον and the productive Hittite formation in -*šk*- has also been quite recently discussed by Puhvel (1991: 13-20). He claims that we find in these two languages both the same sense of an action that is ongoing and the occurrence of strings of forms, as noted above for Greek (§ 2). Rather than postulating a common inheritance, he is of the opinion that this is merely a linguistic feature that came to be shared due to contact between the Hittites and eastern speakers of Late Mycenaean Greek in the thirteenth century BC (1991: 20).[32]

In short, the evidence as to whether Greek shows an inherited formation may point either way: the apparently recent features are in contrast to frequent Iliadic usage

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[30]Cf. Wathelet 1973: 391-403, citing such properties as non-formulaic usage and metrical features (e.g. lines that will not scan if ϝ is inserted, or ν ephelcysticon omitted). Cf. also Chantraine 1986-8: I.325.

[31]On Armenian cf. Godel 1975: 127-8; Chantraine 1986-8: I. 323 n. 2; and Clackson 1994: 75-83, with further bibliography at 215 n. 77; on Hittite, see Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: I.711-12; Puhvel 1991:13-20; and Sihler 1995: 506; and on both, Pisani 1959: 176-7 and Negri 1976. On *-*ske/o*- in Armenian cf. Chapter 2 § 2.3, and on Hittite Chapter 2 § 2.1.

[32]On the Hittite and Greek correspondence see further § 7 below.

and evidence from other languages. Hence, despite his own scepticism regarding the proximity of the Greek and Armenian formations, Clackson (1994: 78-80) suggests that the formation could show relics of the Indo-European formation with *-*ske/o*-: forms such as δόσκον could be ancient 'imperfectives'.[33] The suffix - σκον then came to be used both with present stems (a pair such as ἔσκον beside ἐστι could provide a parallel for such an extension, since they appear to show the same stem) and also aorist ones (since a form such as δόσκον could be reinterpreted as showing an aorist stem).

The morphological extension of - σκον into thematic - εσκον (as in μένεσκον) is also difficult to explain. Wathelet's reconstructed *-*esk*- does not seem to be supportable; it seems more likely that we are dealing with a common innovation (cf. Chapter 2 § 3.3 and n. 129). Both Kimball (1980) and Rix (1992: 229) propose that the - ε- in the ending - εσκον came about through the redivision of such a form as καλε- σκον (where the - ε- is from the root) as κάλ- εσκον, which then led to forms such as πώλ- εσκον. Clackson (1994: 79), however, criticises the suggestion that *set* forms could be the origin of the - ε- (as this would mean *$k\hat{l}_{\circ}h_1$-*sk*- giving καλέσκ- ετο when we would expect a stem **κλησκ-); nor, he maintains, could καλέω : καλέσκετο give rise to ἔχεσκε beside ἔχω. He has the suffixes - (ε)εσκ- and - (α)ασκ- originally deriving from a mixture of verbs in *-*ye/o*- and athematic formations, with the resulting two possibilities coming to be used as was metrically convenient.[34]

The matter, therefore, is far from clear. The evidence leaves us uncertain regarding both to what extent the formation is inherited, and in what way it is linked with Greek verbs in - σκω and/or Proto-Indo-European *-*ske/o*- .

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[33]Cf., not dissimilarly, Lehmann 1974: 148.

[34]On the metrical usage cf. § 4.1 below.

4. Morphology

The following breakdown is based on that of Chantraine (1986-8: I. 321-5) and Clackson (1994: 76-8); comparable also is that of Schwyzer (1939-71: I. 711).[35] As in the figures given above (§ 2), ἔσκον, (ἔ)φασκον and παρέβασκε are not included.

4.1. Present stem formations

We find 95 different iteratives formed from present stems in Homer, giving a total of 173 instances; they fall into four categories.

Firstly, there is a small group of forms derived from athematic verbs with zero-grade of the stem vowel; hence e.g. ἵστασκε from ἵστημι. There are six such formations in Homer, not including καλέσκετο;[36] all, bar the problematic[37] κέσκετο, occur only once, giving seven instances in total.[38]

Iteratives on thematic stems are derived by keeping the thematic vowel - ε- (never - ο-) of the present stem and adding the suffix - σκ- and secondary endings; hence μέν- ε- σκον from μέν- ω. This is the largest category: 59 different forms occur, giving 101 instances in total.[39]

Thirdly, there are contracted presents. Iteratives of - έω and - άω verbs are quite frequently found, with one case in - όω: σώεσκον. In some cases, the final vowel of the stem is doubled (ἰσχανάασκον, ποθέεσκε) and in others it is not (νικάσκομεν, μυθέσκετο). Wathelet (1973: 387-9) ascribed the difference to a combination of factors (occurrence of contraction of vowels and diectasis, and

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[35]Chantraine lists all forms belonging to each category, except that of contracted verbs which show - εε- . The forms were categorised differently by Curtius (1877-80: II.409-12), Kluge (1911: 22-6, 30-2) and Fantini (1950: 320-30).

[36]On forms in καλε(ε)- see § 3 above.

[37]Cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.322.

[38]For the other forms see Chantraine 1986-8: I.322; and Clackson 1994: 76.

[39]Cf. the list at Chantraine 1986-8: I.322.

existence of athematic forms). As is often observed,[40] the ultimate reason seems however to be metrical: the disyllabic version of the suffix follows a light syllable, and the monosyllabic version a heavy one: hence φιλέεσκον beside ὤθεσκε. The one exception (καλέσκετο beside καλέεσκον) could perhaps be from an athematic stem (cf. § 3 above). The series - αασκ- is presumably from *- αεσκ- by diectasis.[41] We find 26 different forms from contracted verbs in Homer (counting ἔασκε together with εἴασκον, and καλέσκετο with καλέεσκον), giving a total of 59 instances of such forms. Six and five occur in - αα- and - α- respectively (totalling eleven occurrences for each type), nine and seven in - εε- and - ε- (26 and ten occurrences, including καλέσκετο), and there is also σώεσκον.[42]

Lastly, the suffix - ασκον, as found in both iteratives from σα- aorists (§ 4.2 below) and from contracted stems, is itself extended to three other stems which are generally now classed with present-stem formations: ἰσάσκετο from ἰσάζω, κρύπτασκε from κρύπτω and ῥίπτασκον from ῥίπτω, ῥιπτάζω.[43] The latter iterative is found five times, the other two only once each.

4.2. Aorist stem formations

Iteratives from aorist stems form a much smaller category: there are only 31 different forms, totalling 77 different instances; of these, nearly half are accounted for by εἶπεσκε. Two categories of these forms are parallel to the first two types of present-stem formations listed in § 4.2.1 above. Four athematic formations give a

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[40]Cf. Stolpe 1849: 4; Shipp 1972: 89; Chantraine 1986-8: I. 322-3; and Kimball 1980, followed by Clackson (1994: 76).

[41]Cf. Kimball 1980: 46; and Clackson 1994: 76-7.

[42]For lists of forms in - ε- , - αα- and - α- see Chantraine 1986-8: I.323. The figures given here do not agree with those of Clackson (1994: 76-7), who states that there are fourteen stems and 30 forms in - (ἐ)εσκον, and eleven stems and 24 forms in - (ά)ασκον; but there is no means of checking his data.

[43]Cf. Curtius 1877-80: II.410-11; Chantraine 1986-8: I.323, 324; and Clackson 1994: 77. Risch (1974: 277) is less certain whether these forms are to be categorised as showing present or aorist stems. For further discussion of their origins see Wathelet 1973: 390.

total of nine occurrences, as δύ- σκον from ἔ- δῡ- ν.[44] Secondly, there are also seven thematic forms, as in φύγ- ε- σκον from ἔ- φυγ- ον; with εἶπεσκον occurring 28 times, these total 38 occurrences in all.[45]

In addition, Homer[46] also has iterative formations for the other types of Greek aorist. Iteratives of sigmatic aorists may be derived by adding - σκον to the aorist stem, inclusive of the - α- which occurs in all forms but the third person singular: thus θρέξα- σκον from ἔθρεξα. Nineteen such forms occur, giving 26 instances, of which all but six are found in the *Odyssey*.[47] Lastly, there is one instance of a form in -(ε)σκον for the aorist passive: the presumably analogical φάν- ε- σκον,[48] taken from ἐφάνην, found four times.

5. Semantics

As already seen (§ 2), the meaning of the suffix -(ε)σκον is disputed, opinion being divided between durative/ongoing action and iterative-intensive. The double nature of the latter interpretation is unsettling, as its exponents have tended to imply that -(ε)σκον does not show one consistent meaning – it is iterative here, but intensive over there. Hence Giacalone Ramat (1967: 117) claims intensive sense for -(ε)σκον with verbs 'che esprimono sentimenti, desideri ecc.', citing such examples as φιλέεσκον and ποθέεσκον,[49] and even links this supposed use with ἱλάσκομαι. The concept that the suffix might randomly show different meanings with different verbs is intuitively unsatisfying, and it is the aim of this section to

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[44]Including οὔτασκον (*Il.* 15.745), on which see Chantraine 1986-8: I.325, who also lists the other athematic aorist-stem forms.

[45]For a list see Chantraine 1986-8: I.324.

[46]Outside Homer, the only such example is apparently ἀλδήσασκε at Orphica *L.* 370.

[47]Cf. Chantraine's list (1986-8: I.324-5); he omits ὤσασκον, however.

[48]On this form see Chantraine 1986-8: I.325, with addendum at I.517; and Wathelet 1973: 390.

[49]Cf. also Brugmann's (Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: II/3.357) remark that such forms 'nicht durchgängig iterativen Sinn zeigen'.

explain the various meanings of -(ε)σκον. Its function could be of paramount importance to our understanding of the meaning of Greek - σκω, although this of course depends on what we understand the relationship between the two formations to be.

5.1. Aristotelian aspect and recent analyses

The general impression given by the literature discussed so far is that the iteratives in -(ε)σκον are in fact a category with very little coherence. Before we tackle this problem, it may be worthwhile to turn to some more general considerations; in particular, we must discuss 'Aristotelian aspect'. Also known as Vendlerian aspect, this is only part of the larger category of aspect in general. The latter is a notoriously complex concept: Comrie states that 'aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of the situation' (1976: 3; cf. also Bybee 1992: 145), but matters are much more complicated than this, and a full discussion of these and other views is given by Binnick (1991: 207-214), who concludes that the category should in fact be divided into three parts – of which Aristotelian aspect is one.[50]

Aristotelian aspect is a lexical phenomenon, which involves the categorisation of situations into categories as described by Vendler.[51] Situations[52] are first of all

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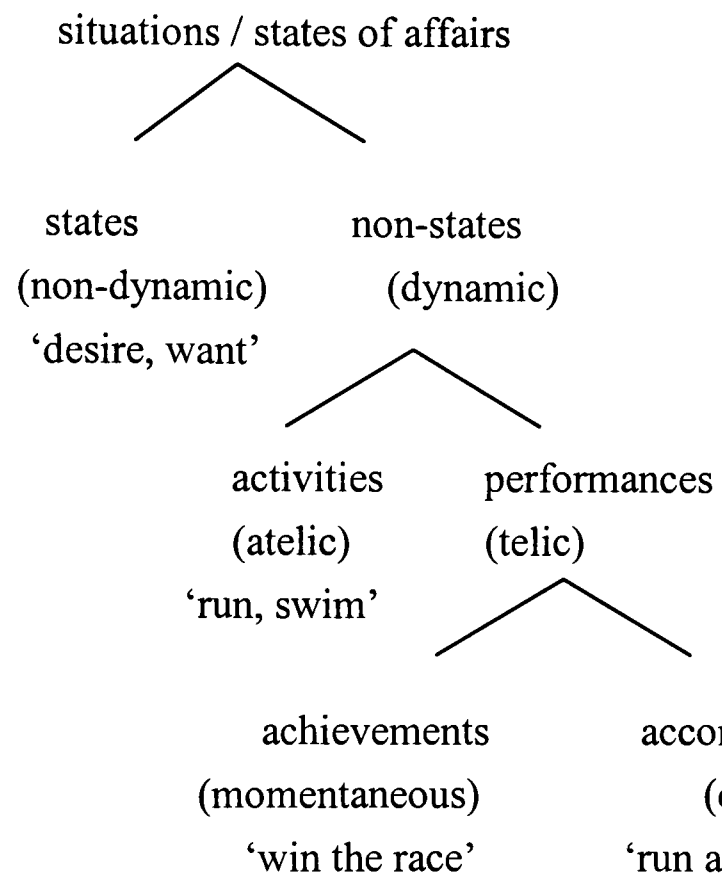
[50]Cf. in general the main body of Binnick's monograph on tense and aspect (1991: 135-214), and his summary of his own conclusions (1991: 456-8). The two other categories which have been referred to as 'aspect' are as follows. Firstly, there is aspect itself, a term best used only to refer to whether an action is viewed imperfectively or perfectively (cf. Binnick 1991: 135-169, concluded at 207-214 and summarised at 457); this category is further defined by Binnick as 'the temporal relationship of a situation to the reference frame against which it is set' (1991: 458). Secondly there are the Aktionsarten, 'kinds of action'. To Binnick (1991: 197-207, summarised at 458), these involve the phases of the development of situations: hence they concern the starting, stopping and pausing of the action.

[51]Cf. Binnick 1991: 143-4, 170-197, also 207-214, summarised at 457.

[52]We are here dealing not with isolated verbs, but with verb phrases; if we do not draw this distinction, then we cannot differentiate between the Aristotelian aspect of, for example, 'run' and 'run a mile'.

divided into states (non-dynamic; e.g. 'desire, want, love') and non-states (dynamic); the latter are divided into activities (atelic;[53] e.g. 'run, swim') and performances (telic); and the latter are further subdivided into achievements (momentaneous; e.g. 'recognise, find, win the race, die') and accomplishments (durative; e.g. 'run a mile, walk to school, grow up'). These categories may be neatly represented in a tree diagram as follows, with examples given below each type:[54]



A slightly different interpretation of these categories is given by Moens and Steedman (1988). They attribute to non-states, which they label 'events', two features: atomic / extended and +/- consequent state. Including states, this gives five, not four, different types of situations: Vendler's class of activities is divided into two groups, points and processes. In the version of their table (1988: 17) reproduced below, I have added the traditional Vendlerian terms in brackets:

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[53]See Binnick 1991: 189-197 for a discussion of telicity (which he calls 'telicness'); according to his definition, it does not involve 'the achievement of a goal, not the potentiality of such an achievement, but the inferences of such a potentiality in the characterisation of the situation' (1991: 192).

[54]Cf. Binnick 1991: 181; and also Pinkster 1990: 215.

	EVENTS		STATES
	atomic (momentaneous)	extended (durative)	
+conseq (telic)	**CULMINATION** (achievements) recognise, spot, win the race	**CULMINATED PROCESS** (accomplishments) build a house, eat a sandwich	understand, love, know, resemble
-conseq (atelic)	**POINT** (activities) hiccup, tap, wink	**PROCESS** (activities) run, swim, walk, play the piano	

So far we have not considered repetition of situations. Freed (1979) accounts for these by dividing situations into 'single' and 'series'.[55] The former are classed as either durative, as in *he is sleeping*, or 'iterative', a different use of this term with which Freed denotes a set of uninterrupted subevents making up a whole event, as in, for example, *she is sneezing*. Series are repetitions of situations which may themselves be taken as single situations, and are similarly divided into two, serials and generics; all serials are said to be also generics, but generics are not all serials. Serials indicate that a series of self-contained events takes place over a period of time, to which specific reference is made; hence *he smokes a lot*. Generics do not make reference to repetition of a specific situation, and may hence be realised as regular repetitions or as general states: habitual occurrences (*he smokes a lot*), occupations (*she teaches college*) and general states (*they own a house*). Only imperfective situations are said to be able to occur in series, although in fact this generalisation does not seem to be true.[56] Series may be formed from any other Vendlerian categories.

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[55]Cf. Freed 1979: 32-6, summarised by Binnick 1991: 182-3 (although his page numbers differ).

[56]Cf. Hewson and Bubeník 1997: 15, where Hewson cites Russian imperfective *pit'* 'to drink', perfective *popit'* 'to have a drink', iterative *popivat'* 'to keep having drinks'; and Dahl (1995: 419-20), who quotes an example from Serbo-Croatian but refers to the phenomenon as 'deviant behavior, since

A different way of viewing series may be inferred from the work of Moens and Steedman (1988), who note that the addition of different features to different Vendlerian categories has various consistent effects; they produce a diagram of movements between the different areas of their table to map the various possibilities (1988: 18). They give the following example for the progressive state expressed by *Sandra is hiccupping*:

(point (*Sandra hiccup*))

↓

(process (iteration (point (*Sandra hiccup*))))

↓

(progressive (process (iteration (point (*Sandra hiccup*)))))

That is to say, the predicate *hicupped* (in *Sandra hiccupped (once)*) is to be classed as a point (activity), whereas *was hiccupping* (in *Sandra was hiccupping (all day long)*) is a progressive (a type of state), and the latter involves iteration of the former. In Moens and Steedman's terminology, the point has been 'coerced' into a state.

In this case, a series may therefore not be an individual verb-type, but merely the result of adding a feature to a situation – a feature we may variously call iteration, plurality of action or '+REPEATED'. We see in the above example what happens when this feature is added to the category point.

Much further work has been accomplished in recent years on the syntax and semantics of generic phenomena.[57] These relate to both the noun and to predicates, but the former do not concern Greek forms in -(ε)σκον. The relevant topic of verbs is more complicated, and involves the division of categories of types of sentences.

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aspectual distinction[s]... tend to be neutralized in generics'. On the difference between forms in -(ε)σκον from present and aorist stems, see also § 2 n. 13 above.

[57]For a general introduction, see Krifka et al. 1995.

The most fundamental distinction is between characterising (i.e. generic) sentences, which denote a property, and particular or episodic ones, which denote a specific situation. A further division depends on whether the verb is dynamic or stative: it seems that, in the former case, a predicate may be used episodically and generically (the latter being termed the 'habitual' type), whereas any given stative predicate may be used either episodically or generically, but not as both (the latter being called the 'lexical' type of characterising verb). Hence, in the table below, 'roar' is used in both characterising and episodic sentences, but in the stative column there are two different predicates, 'weigh' and 'be'.[58] Hence:[59]

	'Dynamic' situation	**Stative situation**
Characterising predicates	Habitual sentences *Simba roars when he smells food*	Lexical characterising sentences *A lion (usually) weighs more than 200 lbs.*
Episodic predicates	Episodic dynamic sentences *Simba roared*	Episodic stative sentences *Simba is in the cage*

The reason for the inverted commas around 'dynamic' is that, when such a verb is used in a habitual sentence, the sentence is deemed to be stative: it does not refer to a specific situation, but to a general property of the subject. In the characterising predicate we are again dealing with the addition of repetition. We saw above:

> point (*Sandra hiccupped*) + repetition → progressive state (*Sandra was hiccupping*).

So here we can have the following:

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[58]For the criteria which lead to these divisions, see Krifka et al. 1995, esp. 1-18, 36-9.

[59]The following table does not take account of the different types of NPs, but only of types of sentence; the total number of possible combinations is actually twelve (cf. Krifka et al. 1995: 18).

process (*Simba roared*) + repetition → habitual state (*Simba used to roar* [*whenever he smelled food*]).

In fact, when the feature +REPEATED is added to any dynamic situation, the result is to be regarded as a state. What happens when we try to repeat a state, however? The result is a state, but one of two types, depending on context: either the existence of one continuous state is emphasised, or the situation is reinterpreted as a repeated momentaneous event. So beside stative 'I resemble Tom', repeated 'I keep resembling Tom' seems either to mean continuous 'I keep resembling (continue to resemble) Tom (e.g. as we both grow older)' or discontinuous 'I keep resembling Tom (and then not resembling him again, in repeated sequence, e.g. due to a magic spell)'. Context is thus of importance here.

It is useful to note, before proceeding, a feature of the English tense system which illustrates this pattern. The English episodic sentence 'I am writing a letter (today)', with progressive present, describes a culminated process, whereas the characterising 'I write books (for a living)', with simple present, denotes a habitual state. The past of the former is 'I wrote a letter (yesterday)', whereas that of the latter is 'I used to write books (for a living)', with past habitual marker 'used to'. With a characterising stative verb such as 'know' or 'resemble', a progressive present is rare, as it must be episodic and indicate the present moment alone: 'I am resembling Tom (at the moment, but will change in a second)' is possible, but *'I am knowing Tom' is as unlikely as un-knowing him is; the simple presents 'I resemble' and 'I know' are of the characterising type, and are standard. In other words, English has the following paradigm:

	'Dynamic'		Stative	
	Present	**Past**	**Present**	**Past**
Characterising	I write books	I used to write books	I resemble Tom	I resembled/used to resemble Tom
Episodic	I am writing a letter	I wrote a letter	[I am resembling Tom]	[I resembled Tom]

In the past habitual of the dynamic event 'I used to write books', we understand a series of repeated incidents of book-writing; on the other hand, the past habitual 'I used to resemble/know Tom' seems to be as continuous in meaning as simple past 'I resembled/knew Tom'. So, addition of 'used to' to a dynamic predicate gives a repeated series of events that make up a state, whereas addition to a stative results in a continuous state. This marker of habituality coerces different Vendlerian types with different effects, a vital concept for understanding Greek -(ε)σκον.

5.2. Analysis of Greek iteratives in -(ε)σκον

If we assume that -(ε)σκον is a marker of repetition, we should expect two different results from addition of this suffix to a stem; and this is exactly what we find. It has already been noted above that several scholars have labelled -(ε)σκον as 'intensive' on certain verbs (§ 2); it is now clear that this meaning merely results from a marker of iterativity being added to a stative predicate: from ναίω 'live' we expect continuous ναίεσκον 'used to live', the serial 'lived repeatedly' being pragmatically unlikely.[60] Certain recent scholars have recognised, and mentioned briefly, that it is the meaning of the verb in question that is the important element here;[61] but in fact the best and most productive work that has been done in this field is also some of the very

[60]Serial meanings are of course possible in context: cf. e.g. the examples of φιλέεσκον, both non-serial 'used to love' and serial 'used to have sex with, used to entertain' in § 5.2.2.

[61]Cf. § 5.3 below.

earliest work on -(ε)σκον – that of Stolpe (1849) and Týn (1859), and also Kluge (1911).

These scholars all classified iteratives in -(ε)σκον with an emphasis on syntactic and semantic criteria and, although their analyses are different, there are some consistently noted features. Stolpe (1849: 28-40) has four classes of forms, divided according to semantic and syntactic criteria; Týn (1859) deals first with forms derived from aorist stems and then those from presents; and Kluge (1911: 22, 26-30, 33-6), who had read Stolpe's work, discusses data from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* separately.

In what follows, forms in -(ε)σκον will be divided into two classes. The first category corresponds to Freed's category of serials, and to Krifka et al.'s class of characterising 'dynamics': these are instances where -(ε)σκον is added to a dynamic predicate, and involve an evidently repeated action. There are several sub-types within this class, and in these Stolpe's and Týn's detailed analyses will be followed. The second class comprises non-serials, or characterising stative cases, where -(ε)σκον is found on a stative predicate.

5.2.1. Serial situations in Homer

Serial situations involve repetition of a dynamic situation, whether telic (achievements, accomplishments) or atelic (activities); once the situation has occurred, it happens again, although not necessarily immediately. Homer shows four different syntactic classes for serial situations. Of these four, the first three are easily classed, showing distinctive features which were noticed and discussed separately by Stolpe and Týn.[62]

Firstly, we find a major class of serials, where, when a situation occurs, one or more others follow, and this whole sequence of events is then repeated. In these

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[62]Cf. Stolpe 1849: 36-8 and Týn 1859: 678-83 (aorist stems), 688-90 (present stems).

cases, the earlier event is usually rendered by an optative in a subordinate clause,[63] and the others by forms in -(ε)σκον;[64] the form may therefore be summarised as 'whenever X happened, then Y would happen'. Stolpe (1849: 36) describes these instances as 'frequentativa'. Hence, from an aorist stem:

> ὅν τινα Τυδεΐδης ἄορι πλήξειε παραστάς,
> τὸν δ' Ὀδυσεὺς μετόπισθε λαβὼν ποδὸς ἐξερύσασκε, ...
>
> (*Il.* 10.489-90)
>
> But whoever the son of Tydeus stood beside and struck with his sword, him would Odysseus seize by the foot from behind and drag aside...

This type of construction is extremely frequent. Occasionally, the verb denoting the earlier action occurs in the simple imperfect, the participle or as a second iterative. In one very different instance we must understand the expression 'each time', when Odysseus fails three times to hug his mother:

> τρὶς μὲν ἐφορμήθην, ἐλέειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει,
> τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον ἢ καὶ ὀνείρῳ
> ἔπτατ'· ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχος ὀξὺ γενέσκετο κηρόθι μᾶλλον, ...
>
> (*Od.* 11.206-8)
>
> Three times I rushed forward, and my heart bade me clasp her, and three times she flitted from my arms like a shadow or a dream; and [each time] there would come a sharp pain in the bottom of my heart.

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[63]This use of the optative is referred to by Týn as the 'Optativus frequentiae', and by Debrunner as the 'optativus iterativus' (Schwyzer and Debrunner 1939-71: II.335-6); it was also noted by Delbrück (Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.63) and Wathelet (1973: 403).

[64]Cf. Stolpe 1849: 36-8; Týn 1859: 678-80, 688-9; and also Kluge 1911: 27, 33.

Our second group is much smaller; here, indefinite adverbs of time are used to mark a repeated series of situations:[65] rather than the ordered sequence of 'whenever X happened, then Y would happen' we have the random 'at one time X would happen, at another time Y would happen'. In these cases, therefore, the connection between the situations concerned is generally looser, as:

> ἄλλοτε μέν τε Νότος Βορέῃ προβάλεσκε φέρεσθαι,
> ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτ' Εὖρος Ζεφύρῳ εἴξασκε διώκειν. (*Od.* 5.331-2)
> At one time the South Wind would throw it [the raft] forward to the North Wind to be carried along, and at another the East Wind would yield it to the West Wind to drive.

Sometimes the second situation of the pair is hard to understand as occurring without the first having also happened. In these cases, this second syntactic class seems close to the previous one: the difference is that equal emphasis is laid on both actions, rather than the earlier one being subordinated. As in the above example, both forms show -(ε)σκον. Hence, in the following description of ball-throwing, Homer says 'the one would throw, the other would catch' rather than 'when one had thrown, then the other would catch':

> τὴν ἕτερος ῥίπτασκε ποτὶ νέφεα σκιόεντα
> ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὁ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' ἀερθεὶς
> ῥηϊδίως μεθέλεσκε, πάρος ποσὶν οὖδας ἱκέσθαι. (*Od.* 8.374-6)
> ... the one having bent back would toss it toward the shadowy clouds; and the other having leapt up from the ground would skilfully catch it in turn before his feet reached the ground.

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[65]Cf. Stolpe 1849: 38; Týn 1859: 680-2, 689; and also Kluge 1911: 26, 33.

These two main types are, therefore, very much alike. In the third category, however, it is the subject, and not the time of the situation, which is varied:[66] the form therefore is 'someone would do X'. Almost all instances are accounted for by the twenty-eight occurrences of εἴπεσκε, as in:

> ὣδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον· ...
> ὣς φάσαν ἡ πληθύς· (*Il.* 2.271, 278)
> And thus one, having looked at his neighbour, would say [to him]:... So the multitude spoke.[67]

Apart from this, occurrences of this type are rare. An example of a present-stem form is found when Odysseus repeatedly binds together three rams as cover for his men's escape, and Homer says ὁ μὲν ἐν μέσῳ ἄνδρα φέρεσκε 'the one in the middle would bear a man' (*Od.* 9.429).

The above three groups are brought together by Stolpe and Týn, giving as they do instances of repeated action in context. This leaves one remaining group of serials to be discussed here, which indicate repeated action but not at any specific moment in time. The different treatments of Stolpe and Týn result in a different arrangement of remaining forms in -(ε)σκον for these scholars. Týn's analysis works on the basis of the distinction between iteratives from present stems and those from aorist ones: the above three types all occur for both tense stems, and this leaves him a group of forms in -(ε)σκον formed from present stems only, which he subdivides into two. One subset, made up of obviously serial formations, is our fourth syntactic class (see below); in the other there is no interruption in the situation described, and these are in fact our stative forms (1859: 692-4; cf. § 5.2.2 below). Stolpe, however, begins with

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[66]Cf. Stolpe 1849: 38-9; and Týn 1859: 682-3, 689-90.

[67]The first verse given here is repeated at *Il.* 4.81 = 22.372, where it is picked up with a line of the form ὣδε / ὡς... τις εἴπεσκε (*Il.* 4.85, 22.375).

what we call statives (1849: 30-3) and splits what comprises our fourth class, serials which indicate repeated action at an unspecified point in time, into those which largely indicate 'vel consuetudo ac mos vel munus et officium' (1849: 33; cf. Stolpe 1849: 33-6) and those where the action was repeated over some length of time, as indicated by the use of such adverbs as πολλά, πολλάκις and αἰεί (1849: 39-40).

Following Stolpe and Týn, we therefore have left two sub-types of serials, which have in common the property that the situation concerned is repeated but not at a specific point in time. Examples of these two types of our fourth class are as follows. For that where there is no indicator such as πολλά, we for example hear of Thetis described as she

> ἥ οἱ ἀπαγγέλλεσκε Διὸς μεγάλοιο νόημα. (*Il.* 17.409)
> who used to bring him [Achilles] news of the purpose of great Zeus.

For the other type, we have e.g.:

> ὁ δ' εὔκηλος μυχῷ ᾽Αργεος ἱπποβότοιο
> πόλλ' 'Αγαμεμνονέην ἄλοχον θέλγεσκεν ἐπέσσιν. (*Od.* 3.263-4)
> but he [Aegisthus], at ease in a nook of Argos that is grazed by horses, often used to cajole Agamemnon's wife with words.

Semantically, we may note that all three categories of Vendlerian dynamic situations occur for serial events. For example, we have the momentaneous telic situation 'kill', an achievement, when Hermes says of Hector:

> τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ μάλα πολλὰ μάχῃ ἔνι κυδιανείρῃ
> ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὄπωπα, καὶ εὖτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἐλάσσας

'Αργείους κτείνεσκε, δαΐζων ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ· (*Il.* 24.391-3)

I have very often seen him with my eyes in battle that brings men honour, even when after driving the Argives to the ships he used to slay them, tearing [them] with the sharp bronze.

Similarly, a durative telic situation (accomplishment), when iterated in a generic fashion, reaches its culmination and is then repeated at a later time, as with πλῡ́νω 'wash (clothes)' when Homer speaks of the πλυνοί 'washing-troughs'

... ὅθι εἵματα σιγαλόεντα
πλύνεσκον Τρώων ἄλοχοι καλαί τε θύγατρες (*Il.* 22.154-5)

... where the wives and fair daughters of the Trojans used to wash bright clothing.

With an atelic dynamic situation (activity), the action is understood as occurring at various points in time in the same way as a telic action is:

τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,
ὡς οἱ χρύσεοι ἐόντες ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων, ... (*Od.* 19.228-9)

And at this all men used to marvel how, though they were gold, the hound was strangling the fawn and pinning it...

The group of atelic situations where we find -(ε)σκον is especially notable since, although many forms in -(ε)σκον only occur once, we repeatedly find verbs of wearing (φορέεσκε occurs seven times; cf. also ζωννύσκετο at *Il.* 5.857); and of

allowing (ἔασκον and εἴασκον are found four times each, nearly always with a negative).[68]

In classifying forms in -(ε)σκον from aorist and present stems separately, Týn highlights the difference between serial and non-serial forms. A drawback to his approach, however, is that his breakdown only allows for forms in -(ε)σκον from aorist stems which fall into one of the first three categories given in this section. Yet in theory an aorist stem formation in this fourth category is possible, and in fact the one instance which Týn finds unclassifiable surely belongs here: it is αὐδήσασκε (cf. Týn 1859: 683). Hera shouts like Stentor,

> ὃς τόσον αὐδήσασχ' ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα· (*Il.* 5.786)
> who used to shout as loudly as fifty other men...

This, however, is apparently the only such instance, unless – as is tempting – one classifies παρέβασκε (*Il.* 11.104) as the iterative of aorist ἔβην rather than as part of present βάσκω.[69] The lack of aorists in this category is surprising; presumably it is related to the semantics of the aorist itself, and its use for denoting single actions.[70]

5.2.2. Non-serial situations in Homer

We are left with the non-serials, the class of forms in -(ε)σκον which derive from verbs expressing states – that is, in our interpretation, the so-called 'intensives' where repeated action is not found. As noted above, Týn observed that these forms only occur on present stems; this is to be expected, as the situations they describe are by definition durative and atelic – we are not to understand that the state broke off and

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[68]That is, seven times out of eight this verb is found with a negative, meaning 'not allow'; cf. Chantraine 1986-8: I.319.

[69]Cf. Chapter 4 § 2.1.1.

[70]On the difference between the meaning of the aorist and present forms, see § 2 n. 13 above.

was repeated later, but that it was once constantly the case, and is so no longer. Obvious examples are the verbs of dwelling, ναιετάασκον (five times) and ναίεσκον (three), both 'used to dwell, live (in)'. Hence:

> Μαγνήτων δ' ἦρχε Πρόθοος Τενθρηδόνος υἱός,
> οἳ περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον
> ναίεσκον· (*Il.* 2.756-8)
> And Prothous, son of Tenthredon, was leader of the Magnetes, who used to live around Peneius and Pelion, covered with trembling leaves.

Another frequent example is φιλέεσκον (eight times), which can usually be interpreted as a stative 'used to love', as in καί ἑ μάλιστα / δμῳάων φιλέεσκε (*Od.* 1.434-5) 'and she especially of all the handmaids used to love him [Telemachus]'. In two examples, however, this form appears to be used as an accomplishment 'have sex with',[71] and on one occasion the accomplishment 'entertain', when Diomedes kills Axylus, described as φίλος... ἀνθρώποισι 'dear to men',

> πάντας γὰρ φιλέεσκεν ὁδῷ ἔπι οἰκία ναίων. (*Il.* 6.15)
> for, living in a house by the road, he used to give entertainment to all.

Sometimes, both dynamic and stative interpretations are possible. So ἀριστεύεσκον (six times) is interpreted as stative 'used to be the best' (rather than accomplishment 'used to perform feats of valour') by Cunliffe (1924 s.v. ἀριστεύω), who lists all instances of the iterative under the meaning 'excel', literally (*Il.* 6.460, 11.746, 16.292, 551, 17.351) or metaphorically (*Il.* 11.627). Yet in the former set of

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[71] *Il.* 9.450 and *Od.* 18.325; cf. Cunliffe 1924 s.v. φιλέω (2).

cases it is ambiguous, as when Hector says to Andromache that, once he is dead, people will say of her:

> ‘Εκτορος ἥδε γυνή, ὃς ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι
> Τρώων ἱπποδάμων, ... (*Il.* 6.460-1)
> There's the wife of Hector, who of all the horse-taming Trojans used to be pre-eminent in war / used to perform feats of valour...

Stolpe (1849: 30-1) and Týn (1859: 693) also cite καλέεσκον as a member of this set, although in fact it too may be ambiguous, as in:

> τὴν δὲ τότ' ἐν μεγάροισι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
> 'Αλκυόνην καλέεσκον ἐπώνυμον, ... (*Il.* 9.561-2)
> And in their halls her father and her lady mother used to call her Halcyone by name...

If we mean that her parents called aloud 'Halcyon!', then we have a dynamic serial; on the other hand, the predicate is stative in the sentence 'I am called (known as) Halcyon'.

5.2.3. Iteratives in -(ε)σκον in Herodotus[72]

Since data from Herodotus are commonly used to argue that Homer's use of -(ε)σκον on σα- aorists is a poetic extension, one may wonder how similar Herodotus' syntactic and semantic usage is. Here, serials of the type 'whenever X happened, then Y would happen' are again frequent, with the subordinate clause

[72]The text used here is that of Rosén (1987-97).

showing aorist optative. Hence, for example, Herodotus says that the Egyptian priests told him:[73]

> ... ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος. (Herodotus 2.13.1)
>
> when Moeris was king, whenever the river rose as least eight cubits, it would water [all] Egypt below Memphis.

Also common is use of a serial after a participle:[74]

> ἐπείτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἑωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός· καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. (1.100.1)
>
> When he had ordered all these matters and strengthened himself with sovereign power, he [Deioces] was a hard man when observing justice: and they, writing down their lawsuits, would send them to him, and he, deciding on those [lawsuits] brought to him, would send out [in reply].

There are also occasional examples of the second class of serials, the unordered 'at one time X would happen, at another time Y would happen', found in

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[73]Cf. also 1.186 ἀπαιρέεσκον, ἐπιτείνεσκε; 1.196 ἐσάγεσκον, πωλέεσκε; 2.13 ἄρδεσκε; 2.174 ἄγεσκον, κλέπτεσκε; 4.42 σπείρεσκον, μένεσκον; 4.43 φεύγεσκον; 4.78 λάβεσκε, κατελίπεσκε; 4.129 ἔσκον; 4.130 ἐλάβεσκον; 6.12 ἔχεσκε; 7.41 μετεκβαίνεσκε; 7.119 σιτεύεσκον, ἔσκε (once or twice), ποιεέσκετο, ἔχεσκον, ἀπελαύνεσκον; 7.211 φεύγεσκον; 9.74 βαλέσκετο.

[74]Cf. also 1.36 διαφθείρεσκε, ποιέεσκον; 1.148 ἄγεσκον; 3.117 ἄρδεσκε; 3.119 κλαίεσκεν, ὀδυρέσκετο; 7.33 ἔρδεσκε; and 9.40 ἔσκον.

Herodotus' explanation of how the people of Barce found the besieging Persians' mines:[75]

> τὰ μέν νυν ὀρύγματα ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεῦρε ἐπιχάλκῳ ἀσπίδι ὧδε ἐπιφρασθείς· περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσῖσχε πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος· τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφά, πρὸς ἃ προσῖσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρυσσόμενα ἠχέεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. (4.200.2)
>
> As for the mines, a smith discovered them by means of a bronze shield, having devised thus: carrying it around within the wall he held it against the ground of the city; some places at which he held it would be [would sound] dull, but along the mines the bronze of the shield would ring.

There are no examples of the Homeric type 'someone would do X', but serials do also occasionally occur in Herodotus without limiting context, as when Mardonius tries to persuade the new king to march against Athens next:[76]

> οὗτος μέν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός, τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέεσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς χώρη καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἥμερα ἀρετήν τε ἄκρη βασιλέϊ τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι. (7.5.3)
>
> This was an argument for vengeance; but he would repeatedly make an addition of the argument, that Europe was a very beautiful country, and it bore all kinds of cultivated trees, a land high in excellence, worthy to be owned by the king alone of mortals.

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[75]Cf. also 1.196 ἔσκον, ἔσκε; 4.128 τρέπεσκε.

[76]Cf. also 4.78 ποιέεσκε; 7.5 ποιεέσκετο; and 7.106 πέμπεσκε.

Non-serials in -(ε)σκον may be non-existent in Herodotus: there are only two possible examples. Firstly, there is one occasion when ἔσκον may be translated as stative 'used to be'; one may also read serial sense here, however, in its use with ἑκάστοτε 'each time, on each occasion':

> οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὅκως μέν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ ἀργύριον, οὐδὲ διενοεῦντο, οἳ δὲ ὅκως διαφυλάξωσι τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο ἐμηχανῶντο ἄλλα τε ἐπιφρασσόμενοι, καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἔσκε ἑκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος· τοῦτο ἄμα νυκτὶ ἐξήρετο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου. (6.133.3)
>
> And the Parians did not at all intend to give money to Miltiades, but to guard their city carefully, and they contrived this and other things, and blocking up that part of the wall where on each occasion it used to be vulnerable; while it was night, it was raised to double its old [height].

Of the remaining instances of ἔσκον, all seem to show iterative meaning, as is often noted.[77] Secondly, we may also understand ἐθέλεσκον as stative in the following passage:

> ταῦτα ἔλεξαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε, ἀλλά, οἷα στρατιή, σκηνάς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκιητροφέοντο καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας οὐδ' ἀναπειρᾶσθαι. (6.12.4)

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[77]Cf. Stolpe 1849: 45-6; Týn 1859: 693; Brugmann 1902: 272; and Giacalone Ramat 1967: 119-20 n. 27. With a total of eight or nine instances, ἔσκον is the most frequently found 'iterative' in Herodotus, as it is in Homer: 1.196 (three times), 4.129, 200, 6.133, 7.119 (once or twice), 9.40. On ἔσκον as iterative in Homer, see § 6.1.2 below.

> They [the Ionians] said these things, and after this no man was willing to obey; but, having pitched themselves tents on the island, as though they were an army, they kept from the sun, and were not willing to embark in their ships, nor to exercise them.

On the other hand, ἐθέλεσκον could denote a serial situation: the suffix -(ε)σκον could be being used to indicate that the men are repeatedly being asked to board their ships, and are repeatedly refusing.

Occasionally, we find ἄν used with iteratives in Herodotus (2.174, 3.119, 4.42, 78, 130), presumably a development which reflects the classical usage of simple aorists and imperfects with ἄν instead of iterative forms in -(ε)σκον.[78]

Herodotus, therefore, uses forms in -(ε)σκον perhaps entirely with serial meaning, and especially with the aorist optative; entirely absent is the type 'someone would do X', and also expressions of the atelic activities type 'used to wear', quite common in Homer (§ 5.2.1 above). This could be because Herodotus liked to use -(ε)σκον to mark serial situations, of which the 'when X happened, then Y would happen' is the most frequent type both in his work and in epic. Alternatively, it could indicate that, as is the case with forms in -(ε)σκον derived from σα- aorists, non-serial use of -(ε)σκον is a poetic innovation on the part of Homer.

5.3. Conclusion: the semantics of forms in -(ε)σκον

It is now clear that stative forms in -(ε)σκον have given rise to much confusion and often prevented the formations in -(ε)σκον from being seen as a coherent whole. Stolpe (1849) argued that both presents in - σκω and preterites in

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[78]For this use cf. Ruijgh 1985: 147 and Rijksbaron 1994: 14-15. For forms not in -(ε)σκον but with past iterative meaning in Herodotus and Thucydides, see Kluge 1911: 45-8 and 48-50 respectively; for those found in Homer, Kluge 1911: 35-40; and for those in Classical Greek in general, Curtius 1877-80: II.406; and Rijksbaron 1994: 14-16.

-(ε)σκον showed iterative meaning; although this view does not seem acceptable (cf. Chapter 1 § 3.4), his argument for coherence within the latter group is now backed up by modern theory. The explanation that differences arise from the meanings of the verbs involved was noted by Wathelet (1973: 403), Puhvel (1991: 13) and Sihler (1995: 506), but none of these scholars attempts to classify the verbs semantically.

Is our suffix therefore to be described as iterative, durative, or iterative-durative? It primarily seems to denote iteration of the action concerned, which is realised as repeated (serial) in dynamic situations and usually as continuous (non-serial) in stative ones. Indeed, the latter use is so rare in Herodotus that the former would seem to have been regarded as fundamental, in the Classical era at least.

Data from other languages parallel the Greek usage. English *used to*, which also indicates repeated/continuous action in the past, cannot be used to denote serial situations which occur in a limited time-frame, as -(ε)σκον frequently does in both Homer and Herodotus: hence we would translate 'Three times I rushed forward, ... and [each time] there would come/**used to come a sharp pain' (for *Od.* 11.206-8).[79] A suffix with a wider range still than Greek -(ε)σκον is West Greenlandic Eskimo *-sar-/-tar-*.[80] This suffix, unlike -(ε)σκον, is used in the present:

allakkanik allapoq 'he is writing / was writing / wrote letters'

allakkanik allattarpoq 'he (usually) writes letters'

arfinermut makittarpunga 'I get up at six o'clock'

miaartortarput 'they (i.e. cats) meow'.

It is also used, like -(ε)σκον, to mark the second event in serial situations of the type 'when X happened, then Y would happen':

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[79]On English *used to*, see further Quirk et al. 1985: 140.

[80]Data are taken from Dahl 1995: 422-3; cf. also Dahl 1985: 100-2.

*qitsuk qinngasaarnoqaraangami miaartor**tar**poq* 'if you tease a cat, it meows'.

In addition to these data, also of interest from Dahl's (1995) typological account is the statement that generics tend to be 'minimally marked for tense-aspect'.[81] Is the absence of the augment therefore to be connected with the characterising properties of the suffix?

If the preceding account is correct, the function of Greek -(ε)σκον is no longer as isolated as it once seemed; though long regarded as an unusual formation within Greek, it clearly fits well within a much wider picture.

6. Ambiguous forms: ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον

With this revised semantic analysis in mind, the ambiguous forms ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον, which have been the subject of much discussion, require re-examination.

6.1. ἔσκον

6.1.1. Morphology

The form ἔσκον (22 times in the *Iliad* and 23 in the *Odyssey*)[82] shows contradictory evidence as to its origin: in some ways it appears to be an iterative form, but in others a relic of an old present *ἔσκω. It is related to εἰμί 'be', which shows imperfect ἦα and future ἔσομαι; this verb is extremely frequent in Homer – Gehring (1891 s.v. εἰμι) lists nearly four pages of forms, and Kahn (1973: 87 n. 4) states that there are 562 instances in *Iliad* 1-12 alone.[83] We may postulate a root *h_1es- 'be', which shows reflexes in a wide range of languages (cf. Rix 1998: 214-15).

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[81]Dahl 1995: 415; see further 1995: 415-16, concluded at 425.

[82]A further instance at *Od.* 8.284 (cf. Gehring 1891 s.v. εἰμι) is not read by Allen (1917-19).

[83]For a list of the parts of εἰμί found in Homer see Gehring 1891 s.v. εἰμι, and for discussion see Chantraine 1986-8: I.286-91. Various forms occur in Mycenaean: cf. Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.vv. *e-e-si*,]*a-pe-e-ṣi*[and *e-ne-e-si*.

We may perhaps then derive ἔσκον from an inherited zero-grade form *h_1s-*ske/o*-; possible correspondents from other languages, reviewed by Keller (1985, 1992: 83-6), are Old Latin *escit*, Armenian *ic'em*, Middle Indic *acchati*, *acchaï*, Thracian ησκο and Tocharian B *star*-, *skentar*-. Keller, however, discards three of these forms, producing evidence that the Thracian form is too doubtful to be taken into account, the Indic not connected with the others at all and the Armenian a later, secondary development. This leaves the Greek, Latin and Tocharian forms. Of these, the Latin must be from full-grade *h_1es- and the Tocharian from zero-grade *h_1s-; the Greek could certainly be from *h_1es-, but perhaps also *h_1s-.[84] Keller argues that, although these data are contradictory, the fact that only these rare and residual forms occur indicates that a form in *-*ske/o*- from *h_1es- is inherited.[85] As already seen, we would expect a zero-grade here, making the Latin form the problem; and regarding voice, Keller opts for the Tocharian type, stating that it is more likely for the verb 'be' in Indo-European to show medio-passive endings (1985: 43 and n. 128, 1992: 86).[86]

More recently, Hackstein, in his section on the Tocharian forms (1995: 272-82), performed a separate study of the evidence for an inherited pre-form.[87] Also citing the Palaic imperative *iška* 'be',[88] he comes to the same conclusion as Keller, and reconstructs Indo-European *h_1s-*ske/o*-, which gives *h_1ske/o- and could be at the

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[84]The treatment of initial laryngeals before stops and sibilants is controversial; see Beekes 1969: 91; Mayrhofer in Kuryłowicz 1968-86: I/1.124-5; and Keller 1992: 85 n. 37.

[85]Unless we are rather dealing with *$h_1(e)s$- with *-*ke/o*-; cf. Keller 1985: 27 n. 2, 1992: 83 n. 27.

[86]The Latin forms in the earliest attestations are apparently not found with the often cited future meaning, as at Ernout and Meillet 1959 s.v. *sum*; Leumann et al. 1965-79: 523, followed by Hackstein 1995: 281 and n. 194; and Chantraine 1986-8: I.320. First of all, in the *Twelve Tables*, they show present sense: cf. Fraenkel 1964: II.444-5 and 445 n. 2; Giacalone Ramat 1967: 120-21; and Keller 1985: 38-42, 1992: 82-3.

[87]Cf. Hackstein 1995: 277-82, with bibliography. His study is apparently independent of Keller's, although Keller 1992 is cited in his bibliography.

[88]For discussion and bibliography on this form see Hackstein 1995: 279.

origin of the Old Latin, Greek and Tocharian forms – although remodellings have occurred, and there are problems with the accentuation.[89]

The features which ἔσκον shares with the iterative class are, however, notable. It is always found without augment and always in the third person imperfect, except for one first person singular instance (*Il.* 7.153). Its usage in later literature is severely limited: it is only at all frequent in Herodotus, where it is found eight or nine times; it also occurs in the Ionic Greek of Mimnermus.[90]

6.1.2. Semantics[91]

This history of Greek ἔσκον, whatever its ultimate origin, has been the subject of much discussion. Chantraine (1986-8: I.320-1) argued that, due to the morphological awkwardness of the old imperfect of εἰμί, ἔσκε came to be used instead of older ἦς, and was metrically convenient because it scanned in identically the same way as ἐστί.[92] He found in ἔσκε a durative emphasis in comparison with ἦν, which approached aoristic meaning, although the two forms were sometimes equivalent. The former observation should be no surprise given the above semantic analysis of forms in -(ε)σκον: the 'iterative' past of stative 'be' is stative 'used to be'.

Keller (1985: 36-8) claims that, although ἔσκον has iterative meaning in Herodotus, its frequency and use as a durative in Homer set it apart from the other forms in -(ε)σκον (1985: 36, 1992: 84). She follows Jacquinod (1978) in assuming

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[89]On the latter cf. Penney 1998: 95. Hackstein has inchoative meaning for the reconstructed form, but this seems less likely given the fact that the oldest Latin forms do not have the meaning he ascribes them (cf. n. 86 above). A form *h_1s-$s\hat{k}e/o$- is similarly reconstructed by Rix (1998: 214-15).

[90]Cf. Keller 1985: 34-5. She also cites further occurrences in Alcman (augmented ἦσκε), Pindar and Sappho, but the list is not exhaustive; Veitch (1887 s.v. εἰμί) also refers to an occurrence in a chorus of Aeschylus (*Pers.* 656).

[91]For a comparison of copulative and existential uses of ἔσκον in Homer, see Hackstein 1995: 280.

[92]Kluge (1911: 26) thought ἔσκον an old imperfect which gradually took on iterative meaning; but see further Shipp 1972: 88, who noted that Chantraine underestimated the convenience of the form.

that φημί, having lost its aorist and finding itself with only one past tense form – the morphological imperfect ἔφην / ἐφάμην, used as both imperfect and aorist – acquired as new imperfect (ἔ)φασκον, leaving ἔφην as the aorist (see § 6.2.2 below). The same happened to the aoristless εἰμί, with its old imperfect ἦα often approaching aorist sense (as at *Il.* 3.180). But ἔσκον is never integrated to the extent that it is found with the augment in Homer, and indeed never, as it were, 'took off' as part of the verb's conjugation, as (ἔ)φασκον did with φημί; it was merely an 'imparfait expressif' of εἰμί. She suggests that the aorist ἐγενόμην was used beside the imperfect ἦα, leaving no real role for ἔσκον to take. Hence, as Clackson (1994: 78) says, ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον are used as marked imperfects beside old imperfects acting as aorists, and 'in the case of ἔφην the transfer is complete.'[93] We shall see below, however, that (ἔ)φασκον may indeed show 'iterative' meaning in Homer.

The origins of ἔσκον as an iterative are nonetheless clearly evident in the Homeric epics.[94] Especially notable is the following instance, when Eumaeus says of Odysseus' mother:

> ὄφρα μὲν οὖν δὴ κείνη ἔην, ἀχέουσά περ ἔμπης,
> τόφρα τί μοι φίλον ἔσκε μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι, ...
>
> (*Od.* 15.361-2)
>
> As long as she was [alive], though she was in sorrow, it used to be a pleasure to me to ask and inquire after her...

Týn (1859: 693) notes the use of ὄφρα in connection with iteratives in -(ε)σκον which denote repetition outside his three categories that occur for both present and aorist stems (cf. § 5.2.1 above). Here the subordinate clause ὄφρα... ἔην indicates

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[93]Cf., similarly, Sihler 1995: 506.

[94]On the use of ἔσκον in Herodotus see § 5.2.3 above.

that the main verb pertains to an non-specific period of time in the past; the serial ἔσκον indicates that μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι was repeatedly φίλον for Eumaeus.

From a stative verb, however, we expect a form in -(ε)σκον to have non-serial, stative meaning; in nearly all of the remaining 44 instances, this use is indeed found. The largest group of such forms involves ἔσκον 'used to be' being used of someone who is dead, about to die or assumed dead: eleven instances of this copular usage occur in the *Iliad* and seven in the *Odyssey*. All the latter involve Odysseus, in all but one case with his name preceded by οἷος / οἷον, as when Telemachus says to Aegyptius:[95]

οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' ἀνήρ,
οἷος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκεν, ἀρὴν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμῦναι.
(*Od.* 2.58-9=17.537-8)

For there is no man here, such as Odysseus used to be, to ward off harm from the house.

In four of the Iliadic instances, ἔσκον is used predicatively with a superlative, as when Zeus says to Hera:[96]

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕκτωρ
φίλτατος ἔσκε θεοῖσι βροτῶν οἳ ἐν Ἰλίῳ εἰσίν· (*Il.* 24.66-7)

But Hector also used to be the dearest to gods of the mortals who are in Ilium.

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[95]Cf. also *Od.* 4.270, 689, 19.315, 21.94; the instance without οἷος is at *Od.* 19.240.

[96]φίλτατος also at *Il.* 18.118, 20.410; νεώτατος at *Il.* 20.409.

This leaves seven instances of ἔσκον with the dead in the *Iliad*. One case, however, is only really an extension of this usage. Homer says of Medon after he has been killed:

> ἦτοι ὁ μὲν νόθος υἱὸς Ὀϊλῆος θείοιο
> ἔσκε Μέδων, Αἴαντος ἀδελφεός· (*Il.* 15.333-4)
> Indeed Medon used to be the bastard son of godlike Oileus, [and] brother of Ajax.

These two lines are also found when Medon is mentioned earlier on, before he died: here it is hard to gloss ἔσκον as 'used to be', as the words are re-used to describe him when alive (*Il.* 13.694-5).[97]

In a second set of instances (once in the *Iliad*, six times in the *Odyssey*), ἔσκον is used to introduce a new character. Once in each epic, this is someone who is about to die, as in:[98] Ἐλπήνωρ δέ τις ἔσκε νεώτατος, ... 'there was a certain man, Elpenor, the youngest' (*Od.* 10.552). Twice more in the *Odyssey*, others are introduced in this way (*Od.* 9.508, 15.417). With a less obviously 'iterative' non-serial sense, ἔσκον is used three times in the *Odyssey* to introduce in the phrase ὄνομ' ἔσκε, as in Εὐρυβάτης δ' ὄνομ' ἔσκε 'and he was Eurybates by name' (*Od.* 19.247).[99]

As well as those already mentioned above, there are three further instances of ἔσκον with superlative in the *Iliad*, as when Nestor says concerning Ereuthalion:[100]

> ἀλλ' ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἀνῆκε πολυτλήμων πολεμίζειν
> θάρσεϊ ᾧ· γενεῇ δὲ νεώτατος ἔσκον ἁπάντων. (*Il.* 7.152-3)

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[97]Other instances of ἔσκον with the dead are: *Il.* 5.536, 6.19, 16.550, 24.258, 739.

[98]Cf. also *Il.* 17.575.

[99]Cf. also *Od.* 18.5, 20.288.

[100]Cf. also πιστότατος at *Il.* 16.147 and φίλτατος at *Il.* 17.584.

But my much-enduring heart urged me on to do battle with him with confidence; and in years I was (used to be) the youngest of all.

In a similar use to that found in the latter instance, ἔσκον is used to emphasise past youth, in one line from the *Iliad* that is almost exactly repeated twice in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 11.394, 21.283); it is first said by Nestor:

οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ ἶς
ἔσθ' οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν. (*Il.* 11.668-9)
For my strength is not such as it was (used to be) of old in my supple limbs.

Thirteen instances remain. In most, we may understand characterising force as at least an option. Usually, people or animals are being discussed; such cases number three times in the *Iliad* and five in the *Odyssey*. Particularly striking is the continuous non-serial action found in the description of Odysseus' treasure-chamber (θάλαμος): ἐν δὲ γυνὴ ταμίη νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ / ἔσχ' 'and a stewardess was (used to be) in it night and day' (*Od.* 2.346). On the other hand, the most notable example of ἔσκον co-ordinated with ἦν falls into this category, when Diomedes says of his father Tydeus, who married one of Adrastus' daughters and lived wealthily:[101]

ἄλις δέ οἱ ἦσαν ἄρουραι
πυροφόροι, πολλοὶ δὲ φυτῶν ἔσαν ὄρχατοι ἀμφὶς,
πολλὰ δέ οἱ πρόβατ' ἔσκε· (*Il.* 14.122-4)
and he had wheat-bearing fields in abundance, and had many rows of trees round about, and he had (used to have) many sheep.

[101]Other instances with people or animals are: *Il.* 3.180, 6.153, *Od.* 14.222, 227, 17.308, 21.145.

Descriptions of places occur three times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*. In these cases, glossing as 'used to be' seems forced; hence in the following lines, first used of Agamemnon and later of Eris:[102]

στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγακήτεϊ νηῒ μελαίνῃ,
ἥ ῥ' ἐν μεσσάτῳ ἔσκε γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσε, ...

(*Il.* 8.222-3=11.5-6)

and he / she stood by Odysseus' capacious black ship, which was (used to be?) in the middle, to shout in both directions...

In one last instance, ἔσκον is used descriptively, not as a characterising 'iterative'. Perhaps significantly, this case occurs in the later epic, when Hermes gives Odysseus a special φάρμακον, called μῶλυ,[103] to make him immune to Circe:

ῥίζῃ μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δὲ εἴκελον ἄνθος· (*Od.* 10.304)

At the root it was black, but its flower was like milk.

Therefore, although many of these uses of ἔσκον may be regarded as durative, nearly all instances fit with the analysis of verbs in -(ε)σκον given in § 5 above: ἔσκον can usually be understood as having characterising force.

6.2. (ἔ)φασκον

6.2.1. Morphology

The imperfect (ἔ)φασκον, listed by Cunliffe as being from present φάσκω 'say, assert, declare; say, promise, undertake; think, deem, expect' is found twice in

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[102]Cf. also *Il.* 16.225, *Od.* 22.126.

[103]On this term see further Heubeck in Heubeck et al. 1988-92: II.60; and Frisk 1960-72 s.v. μῶλυ.

the *Iliad* and fifteen times in the *Odyssey*. As in the case of ἔσκον, this form has been taken as an iterative since it only occurs in the past tense; in fact, it is found with the augment on thirteen occasions, in three of which it is required by the metre.[104] Also unusually for an iterative form, we find several instances outside the third person: first person singular ἔφασκον (*Il.* 13.100, *Od.* 5.135) and second persons singular ἔφασκες (*Il.* 19.297) and plural ἐφάσκεθ' (*Od.* 22.35) all occur. Furthermore, as Chantraine (1986-8: I.319) notes, (ἔ)φασκον is the only iterative which comes to show a present – although it is a later, Classical one. Wathelet (1973: 402) notes recent features in its use in Homer.

The present form of the verb of which (ἔ)φασκον may be the iterative, and to which it is related, is φημί 'speak, say; assert, declare; etc.' (85 times in the *Iliad* and 57 in the *Odyssey*). This is first found in Mycenaean as *pa-si* = φᾱσί (probably third person singular).[105] There is a rare future φήσω (*Il.* 8.148, 153), but remaining forms are morphologically ambiguous.[106] The past active is ἔφην (33 times in the *Iliad* and 75 in the *Odyssey*). In the medio-passive, there is finite φάσθε (*Od.* 6.200, 10.562), surely a present stem form; the imperatival (φάο, φάσθω), infinitival (φάσθαι) and participial (φάμενος) forms which occur nine and fourteen times in the respective epics, however, are used with aorist meaning. The past tense ἐφάμην is also used thus; it occurs 275 times in the *Iliad* and 282 in the *Odyssey* (264 and 234 instances respectively being of the third person singular (ἔ)φατο). It would seem that all our past tense forms here are old imperfects, since they have the same stem as the present, but that they have come to be used as aorists beside the more durative (ἔ)φασκον.[107]

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[104]On three occasions an elided vowel may be read instead of the augment; in seven a spondee is changed to a dactyl if the augment is inserted, of which four instances are in the fifth foot; cf. Wathelet 1973: 402 n. 130.

[105]Cf. Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v. *pa-si*.

[106]On the morphology of the following forms see Fournier 1946: 18-19 and Jacquinod 1978: 50-1. The question is also tied up with that of their semantics, on which see § 6.2.2 below.

[107]See § 6.2.2 below.

There are several compound verbal forms,[108] as well as a wide variety of nominal forms, both simple and compound, in φη- [109] and φᾰ̆- .[110]

Morphologically, (ἔ)φασκον is as ambiguous as ἔσκον, since it could be either the iterative of φημί or the imperfect of a present φάσκω. As with the forms discussed in Chapter 3 § 3, it follows the ancient model of zero-grade of root and *-*ske/o*-, although it has no correspondents in other languages. The ultimate root is *$bheh_2$- 'speak, say', also found in Armenian, Latin, Indo-Iranian, Slavic and perhaps Germanic (cf. Rix 1998: 55).[111]

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[108]These are as follows: present ἀπόφημι 'speak out' (*Il.* 7.362), medio-passive ἀπόφασθε 'deliver plainly' (*Il.* 9.422, 649); ἐκφάσθαι 'utter, etc.' (*Od.* 10.246, 13.308); aorist μετέφην 'speak among' (five times and nine times in the respective epics, third person singular only); present active παράφημι 'give advice' (*Il.*1.577), with medio-passive 'persuade, etc.' (twice in the *Iliad*, three times in the *Odyssey*); and aorist προσέφην 'address, etc.' (117 and 97 times respectively, always in the third person singular), with medio-passive προσφάσθαι (*Od.* 23.106).

[109]We find φήμη 'prophetic utterance' (*Od.* 2.35, 20.100, 105), φῆμις 'speech, etc.' (once, six times), πολύφημος 'where many voices are heard; knowing many tales or songs' (*Od.* 2.150, 22.376), also a proper noun (once in the *Iliad*, four times in the *Odyssey*) and ὑποφήτης 'interpreter, prophet' (*Il.* 16.235). There is a derived verb found in the aorist ἐπευφημῆσαι 'give one's voice in approval or assent' (three times in the *Iliad*). Further proper nouns are Φήμιος (four times in the *Odyssey*), Εὔφημος (*Il.* 2.846), Εὐφήτης (*Il.* 15.532), Περιφήτης (twice, never) and Πολυφήτης (once, never).

[110]These are φάτις 'talk, report, rumour' (perhaps at *Il.* 9.460, and three times in the *Odyssey*), and compounds ἀμφασίη 'speechlessness' (*Il.* 17.695, *Od.* 4.704), ἀθέσφατος 'portentous, terrible, etc.' (twice in the *Iliad*, six times in the *Odyssey*), πάρφασις, παραίφασις 'persuasion' (*Il.* 11.793= 15.404, 14.217), πρόφασις 'profession or declaration, etc.' (*Il.* 19.262, 302) and παλαίφατος 'put forth long ago; of old renown' (*Od.* 9.507, 13.172, 19.163).

[111]On the homonymous root *$bheh_2$- 'gleam, flash, shine', source of Greek φαίνω and other forms, see Chapter 3 § 4.2.2.

6.2.2. Semantics

The ambiguous origins of (ἔ)φασκον have caused debate, with some scholars apparently classifying it as both iterative in -(ε)σκον and present in - σκω;[112] others have even argued for two different forms.[113]

Fournier (1946: 20-4) thought that ἔφην was used as an aorist when found in formulae preceding and following direct speech but that, before an infinitival complement, it was found with durative sense; (ἔ)φασκον was used as the imperfect of φημί. Jacquinod (1978: 50-1), however, argues that in fact the meaning of ἔφην was neutralised – it had neither especially durative nor momentaneous meaning. Regarding the introduction of (ἔ)φασκον into the system, Jacquinod (1978: 52-3) wonders why this was done rather than forming a new aorist, as occurred later with ἔφησα; and he argues that in fact ἔφην is left indifferent to duration, the unmarked member of the pair, beside (ἔ)φασκον, which was marked for duration – hence its use with the augment and outside Ionic Greek. Keller (1985: 36-8) largely follows Jacquinod, but notes that, despite other similarities between ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον, the latter becomes integrated in the verbal system of φημί in a way that ἔσκον does not with εἰμί. Hence Clackson (1994: 78, 215 n. 86) follows Keller, stating that by Homer's time ἔφην was already felt to be an aorist beside the imperfect (ἔ)φασκον; in this way, presumably, further forms in φασκ- could be created in the Classical period (see Chapter 7 § 4.1.3, 8 § 2.4).

Examination of the data implies that (ἔ)φασκον did indeed begin as an iterative formation. Most notably, we on one occasion find (ἔ)φασκον occurring in an expression of the form 'whenever X happened, then Y would happen' with ὅτε and the optative, when Peisistratus says to Menelaus:

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[112]Cf. Brugmann and Delbrück 1893-1916: IV.63-4; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. φημι; and Risch 1974: 272.

[113]Cf. Kluge 1911: 26; and Brugmann 1902: 268 n. 1, followed by Giacalone Ramat (1967: 122).

'Ατρεΐδη, περὶ μέν σε βροτῶν πεπνυμένον εἶναι
Νέστωρ φάσχ' ὁ γέρων, ὅτ' ἐπιμνησαίμεθα σεῖο... (*Od.* 4.190-1)
Son of Atreus, old Nestor used to say that you were understanding above [other] men, whenever we made mention of you...

Serial meaning is also clear in two further instances. Firstly, when Briseis, on seeing the dead Patroclus, says:

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ μ' ἔασκες, ὅτ' ἄνδρ' ἐμὸν ὠκὺς 'Αχιλλεὺς
ἔκτεινεν, πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν θείοιο Μύνητος,
κλαίειν, ἀλλά μ' ἔφασκες 'Αχιλλῆος θείοιο
κουριδίην ἄλοχον θήσειν, ἄξειν τ' ἐνὶ νηυσὶν
ἐς Φθίην, δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι. (*Il.* 19.295-9)
But you, when swift Achilles killed my husband, and laid waste the city of godlike Mynes, would in no way allow me to weep, but would say that you would make me the wedded wife of Achilles, and that he would take me in his ships to Phthia, and make me a marriage-feast among the Myrmidons.

Co-ordination with the iterative ἔασκον makes the repetition evident.[114] The imperfects after ὅτε indicate the point in time after which the generic action was repeated: it is not that every time X occurred, then Y would, but that after the one occasion on which X had happened, Y occurred repeatedly.

Secondly, there is serial meaning for (ἔ)φασκον when Circe says:

ἦ σύ γ' 'Οδυσσεύς ἐσσι πολύτροπος, ὅν τέ μοι αἰεὶ

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[114]Cf. Stolpe 1849: 25. There are also examples of ἔσκον being found in proximity to other forms in -(ε)σκον (*Il.* 16.225-7, 20.408-10), but here it does not share the same subject as them.

φάσκεν ἐλεύσεσθαι χρυσόρραπις ἀργειφόντης, ... (*Od.* 10.330-1)

Surely you are resourceful Odysseus, who Argeiphontes of the golden wand always used to say to me would come here...

Here it is the use of αἰεί that makes the repetition evident.

Of the remaining fourteen instances of (ἔ)φασκον in Homer, the one other case in the *Iliad* and ten of those in the *Odyssey* are ambiguous, and may be interpreted either as 'iterative' non-serials or as simple imperfects. The Iliadic instance occurs when Poseidon says to the Greeks, as the Trojans reach the Greek ships:

ὢ πόποι, ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι,

δεινόν, ὃ οὔ ποτ' ἔγωγε τελευτήσεσθαι ἔφασκον, ... (*Il.* 13.99-100)

My, this is indeed a great wonder that I see with my eyes, a terrible thing that I never thought / used to think would come to pass, ...

In one such case, we find (ἔ)φασκον used with a part of ἔφην, when Alcinous says, concerning the fact that Phaeacian ships work on autopilot:

ἀλλὰ τόδ' ὥς ποτε πατρὸς ἐγὼν εἰπόντος ἄκουσα

Ναυσιθόου, ὅς ἔφασκε Ποσειδάων' ἀγάσεσθαι

ἡμῖν, οὕνεκα πομποὶ ἀπήμονές εἰμεν ἁπάντων.

φῇ ποτὲ Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν εὐεργέα νῆα

ἐκ πομπῆς ἀνιοῦσαν ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ

ῥαισέσθαι, μέγα δ' ἦμιν ὄρος πόλει ἀμφικαλύψειν. (*Od.* 8.564-9)

But thus I once heard this from my father Nausithous, speaking, who said / used to say that Poseidon would become indignant with us because we give

safe convoy to all. He said that one day, as a skilfully made ship of the Phaeacians was returning from escorting on the misty deep, he [Poseidon] would strike her, and would put a great mountain round our city.

Verse 565 is repeated at *Od.* 13.173, and the following four lines are repeated there.[115]

Four more occurrences of (ἔ)φασκον, all found in the *Odyssey*, do not seem to show characterising meaning at all; rather, they appear to be simple imperfects. Hence Telemachus says to Penelope:[116]

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος οὔ ποτ' ἔφασκε,
ζωοῦ οὐδὲ θανόντος, ἐπιχθονίων τεῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ... (*Od.* 17.114-15)
But he [Nestor] said he had never heard about stout-hearted Odysseus, living or dead, from any man of those living on earth.

Like ἔσκον, therefore, (ἔ)φασκον shows signs of generic use, although it is also used as a simple imperfect.

6.3. Conclusion: ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον

Nearly all evidence for ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον therefore indicates an earlier status as originally iterative in formation. The former almost always keeps its old meaning, and in later Greek is hence as rarely used as other iterative formations; the latter, even in Homer, is most frequently ambiguous between characterising non-serial and imperfect meaning, and even shows the augment; in Classical Greek its original value as an iterative comes to be lost.

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[115]The other eight ambiguous instances are: *Od.* 5.135-6 (adapted at 7.256-7 and 23.335-6), 256-7, 10.331, 11.306, 12.275, 24.269.

[116]The remaining three instances are *Od.* 14.321, 19.191, 24.75.

Is ἔσκον therefore an inherited form? Clackson's (1994: 78) objection to its antiquity is that it does not always show iterative meaning; as we have seen, however, ἔσκον is almost as much an iterative as any form in -(ε)σκον taken from a stative source. Was ἔσκον therefore inherited with iterative meaning? If so, we would have here as certain an indication as is possible that the meaning of the proto-form *-*ske/o*- is directly continued in the iteratives in -(ε)σκον. On the other hand, if we accept the hypothesis that *-*ske/o*- was used to create stems from telic roots (Chapter 2 § 4.3), then both ἔσκον and (ἔ)φασκον, which were formed from atelic, present-forming roots, must have been created within Greek.

Before this chapter is concluded, a closer look at data from the one other language where a reflex of *-*ske/o*- shows iterative meaning is therefore required: Hittite.

7. Iteratives in -(ε)σκον and Hittite -*šk*-

The formations in -(ε)σκον appear to have a semantic parallel in Hittite -*šk*- (Chapter 2 §§ 2.1, 4.3). A quite recent comparison was made between the two formations by Puhvel (1991: 13-20). The dispute over the iterative or durative meaning of the Hittite suffix has already been noted (Chapter 2 § 2.1); Puhvel claims that the Greek and Hittite formations show certain similarities, with the same meaning of 'ongoing or open-ended action' occurring in both languages (1991: 17). He also notes a parallel use of forms in strings, as was noted above as common for Homeric and Herodotean Greek (§ 2). Of Puhvel's examples (1991: 17-19), there are two instances which clearly fall into the common Homeric and Herodotean category of 'whenever X happened, then Y would happen'. These are [*nu*] *UNUTUM kuit kuedani peškit n-at ŪL šiyaeškit* 'what(ever) tool he gave to someone he did not seal(-stamp)' (*KUB* XIII 35 I 4); and INIM... *kuit* GIM-[*an*] *ištamaškiši n-at-mu iya*[-...] *ḫatreški* 'when you hear some matter... write it to me!' (*KUB* XXVI 90 IV 1-3).

Puhvel's other examples are also serial; hence the mortuary ritual for royalty, which he compares to the description of Patroclus' funeral pyre at *Il.* 23.252-4:

> *nu ḫaštai IŠTU lappa* KÙ.BABBAR *daškanzi*
> *n-at-kan ANA* YÀ.DUG.GA *ḫūpar* KÙ.BABBAR *anda zikkanzi*
> *IŠTU* YÀ.DUG.GA-*ma-at-kan šarā daškanzi*
> *n-at-kan* GAM-*ta ANA*^{GAD} *gazzarnuli zikkanzi* (*KUB* XXX 15 Vs. 3-6)
> the bones with silver tongs they take,
> and into the good fat in a silver bowl they put them;
> but out of the fat they take them up,
> and down on a fine cloth they put them.

The type of characterising non-serial *-šk-* is also found:[117]

> UR.MAH *maḫḫan arḫa tarkuwalliškinun* (*KBo* X 2 III 1-2)
> I kept glowering like a lion.

Puhvel (1991: 20) claims that Greek used the same formation shown by Hittite to indicate ongoing action in the imperfect, although in Hittite it was not thus restricted. In Greek, the iterative use of **-sḱe/o-* was not needed: there was a differentiation in aspect between the present and the aorist, and in the indicative there were two past tenses; Hittite had no such aspect system, and only one preterite. Hence Puhvel suggests that this formation was useful in Hittite, but of only limited value in Greek, and so specialised in East Ionic Greek to form a strengthened imperfect used in narrative style. Puhvel suggests that the formation is evidence of

[117]For a detailed account of the uses of Hittite *-šk-*, see Dressler 1968: 162-96.

'Hittite-influenced linguistic conventions in Greek epic dialect'.[118] The alternative is that both Hittite *-šk-* and Ionic Greek -(ε)σκον have a common source: as noted above (Chapter 2 § 4.3), Hittite appears to show meanings for suffixes which became mere present formants in other languages. In this case, -(ε)σκον could be an ancient relic of the inherited meaning of *-*ske/o*-, which would then be, given the serial and non-serial realisations, 'iterative-durative'.

8. Conclusion: the 'iteratives' in -(ε)σκον

In sum, Ionic Greek shows the inherited suffix *-*ske/o*- in a set of forms in -(ε)σκον, which indicate repeated action in the past, with states realised as continuous situations. The suffix is productive, and appears to act as a 'mood' of the verb concerned. Its use is of importance for our understanding of both inherited *-*ske/o*- and of Greek - σκω.

Although the use of the forms in Homer indicates many late features, we may still say that their basis could be ancient, for several reasons: a handful of the verbs may show the ancient zero-grade, and one is apparently found in other languages (ἔσκον 'used to be'); their number is greater in the older *Iliad*; and their use in later literature is severely restricted, implying an archaic phenomenon.

Iterative meaning is also found for the Hittite relative of *-*ske/o*-, *-šk-*. Both languages use *-*ske/o*- with 'iterative-durative' meaning, i.e. serial and non-serial value. It is therefore tempting to suppose a connection. As seen, it has been argued that the role of inherited *-*ske/o*- was once to form 'imperfective' stems from 'telic' roots (Chapter 2 § 4.3). In the interpretation of the various facets of 'aspect' used here, however, Greek -(ε)σκον does not seem to interact with the perfective / imperfective distinction, but rather with lexical aspect: it creates atelic, durative forms. The Indo-European verb is by its very nature a mystery, and we cannot say

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[118]Cf. similarly Allen 1980: 3.

with certainty what distinctions it showed, nor at what periods; it is interesting to note, however, that in its use on aorist stems, Greek -(ε)σκον parallels (at least roughly) the supposed inherited use of *-*ske/o*-. On the other hand, the use in ἔσκον seems to be an innovation, if we say that it ultimately derives from the root *h_1*es*- 'be', for this is a present-, not aorist-yielding root.

So, is the use commonly inherited, or a shared innovation, or only present in Greek due to Hittite influence? If the formation is late to Homer, the former seems unlikely. On the other hand, the later disappearance of forms in - (ε)σκον speaks against this. Therefore the traditional reconstruction of *-*ske/o*- as an iterative marker, used to form present stems from 'telic' roots, is still very tempting.

Chapter 6

Verbs in - σκω in Early Greek: a Summary

1. Introduction

The preceding three chapters have given a new examination of, respectively, the morphology of - σκω in Homer, the semantics of - σκω in Homer, and the role of -(ε)σκον in (mostly Homeric) Greek. Homer is, however, not the earliest Greek we have. This chapter comprises first of all a brief overview of the earlier data, followed by a summary of conclusions reached so far.

2. Mycenaean Greek

Our earliest Greek is that of the Mycenaean period, written on clay tablets in the Linear B script between the 15th and 13th centuries BC. The texts, however, basically comprise lists of people and objects, and by their nature are therefore largely lacking in verbs.[1] We find only three forms which have been argued to indicate Mycenaean forms in - σκω: two perhaps related to διδάσκω, and one a verb in - ίσκω not found elsewhere.

2.1. *di-da-ka-re* and *de-di-ku-ja*

The Mycenaean evidence for διδάσκω comprises two forms: *di-da-ka-re* and *de-di-ku-ja*.[2]

The form *di-da-ka-re* is generally accepted as being related to διδάσκω, although the exact nature of the relation is obscure. It occurs quite frequently in the Ak tablets from Knossos, in reference to the nouns *ko-wa* (*κόρϝᾱ) 'girl' and *ko-wo* (*κόρϝος) 'boy', and is also found abbreviated as *di*. Most scholars hold that the

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[1]For some examples of the few forms found, see Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 88-9; and for a list of present stem forms, Plath 1992.

[2]For the passages where these forms occur, cf. especially Lejeune 1976: 402-6.

form is nominal: it could be an old locative singular *διδασκάλει, perhaps to be interpreted as 'at the school-master's' or 'at school', although we do not expect a locative in *-e* from a thematic stem; or an abbreviation of, for example, διδασκαλεῖον 'school' (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 162). Few have tried to maintain that *di-da-ka-re* represents a verbal form.[3]

Much more disputed is]*ḍẹ-di-ku-ja* (KN Ak 611.1), which seems to define a category of women. This is to be taken as a perfect active nominative feminine form. If it can be corrected to *de-di-<da>-ku-ja* then we could have a perfect participle from διδάσκω. Ventris and Chadwick (1973: 163, 539) suggest it represents *δεδιδαχυῖαι 'having completed their training', 'instructed'; Chantraine (1957: 243) would rather prefer the unaspirated *δεδιδακυῖαι, however, and Lejeune (1976: 410) has *δεδιδακυῖαι or *δεδιδασκυῖαι. On the other hand, the form could represent *δεδικυῖαι, which would be a perfect participle from δείκνῡμι, perhaps meaning 'qui ont été assignées, designées' (Chantraine 1957: 243-4). There is also an abbreviation *de*.[4]

Although there is doubt in the latter case, therefore, it does seem that Mycenaean *di-da-ka-re* shows evidence for the stem διδασκ- . What is so surprising is that this stem was almost certainly extended to use in nominal forms at such an early stage, when all we see in Homer is non-present verbal διδασκ- and one instance of -διδακτος in the *Odyssey* (cf. Chapter 3 § 4.2.1).

2.2. *te-ra-pi-ke*

Less certain is the form *te-ra-pi-ke*. The two parallel passages where it appears are difficult to interpret; they are as follows:

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[3]For further details and bibliography, see in general Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v. *di-da-ka-re*.

[4]For further bibliography on these theories see Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v.]*ḍẹ-di-ku-ja*.

sasawo ekeqe onato kamaeu / epiqe toe terapike tosode pemo GRA 1 T[5]

(PY Eb 842)

[*sasawo*] *onato eke kamaeu epiqe tome terapi*[*ke*] *toso pemo* GRA1 T5

(PY Ep 613.8)

Ventris and Chadwick (1973: 262) gloss the latter line as 'S. holds a *lease* as a *kama*-holder, and in return for this he *serves*; so much seed: 180 l. wheat'; they interpret *te-ra-pi-ke* as reflecting a third person singular *θεραπίσκει, derived from the same stem as θεράπων and equivalent to θεραπεύω 'do service' (1973: 263). Indeed, Aura Jorro (1985-93 s.v. *te-ra-pi-ke*) states that this interpretation is still currently accepted. There has been much debate, however, with suggestions often having been offered that would have this form quite unconnected with any verb in -(ι)σκω at all;[5] the most recent discussion is that of Vine (1993: 56-7). Since the pair *to-e* / *to-me* is unexplained, *te-ra-pi-ke* could actually be a noun; Vine, therefore, following on from Lejeune's (1976: 405) interpretation of the latter as locative singular *therapiskei* 'chez le θεραπίσκος' suggests that it be interpreted as nominal *terabiskei* 'in a shed/hut/?granary (*τεραβίσκος)'.

Indeed, the results of this study of Homer do not speak for an early productive -ίσκω; as Vine (1993: 56-7) says, a form *θεραπίσκω would be 'alien to the profile of most other -ίσκω verbs', and 'morphologically aberrant'. To derive such a present we would here expect as origin a thematic aorist **ἐθέραπον. Apparently the only way to rescue the form as a verb in -σκω would be to accept one of Ruijgh's (1985: 136-40, 148-9) suggestions: *θεραπίσκω would either be a denominative from a lost diminutive *θεραπίσκος; or further evidence that the suffix -ίσκω originated from iteratives of stems in *-*ye/o*-, giving us a verb *θεραπίσκει 'il fonctionne habituellement (de temps en temps) comme θέραψ', iterative of

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[5]For bibliography cf. Aura Jorro 1985-93 s.v. *te-ra-pi-ke*.

*θεράπγω 'fonctionner comme θέραψ' and parallel in formation to Classical χρηΐσκονται (Herodotus 3.117.4) and κυΐσκομαι.[6] But the former is unparalleled and the latter too hypothetical to be sure of; the subject must therefore remain open.

2.3. Summary: Mycenaean Greek

Evidence for verbs in - σκω in Mycenaean Greek is therefore scanty in the extreme. The most reliable datum indicates the spread of διδασκ- to nominal stems at an early period. Yet neither does this evidence for fossilised - σκ- indicate that the suffix was falling out of use (as Classical data will show), nor should the paucity of forms be taken as indication that - σκω was not in use at this period, since so few verbs are to be found in the texts: we simply cannot know how - σκ- was used at this time.[7]

3. Conclusions: Early Greek - σκω

The development and role of Greek - σκω in early Greek was therefore as follows.

The inherited suffix *-*ske/o*- may appear only once in Mycenaean, and is much more notable in Homeric Greek. In its function as present formant, it is not very productive: we find only twenty-eight verbs.

Morphologically, some of these present tense forms show the expected pattern of zero-grade root and may be reconstructed for the parent language, with varying degrees of certainty (βάσκω, μίσγω, ἔρχομαι; cf. also γιγνώσκω, ἔσκον and ἰλάσκομαι); others also show this pattern, but have no corresponding forms elsewhere (ἀλύσκω, βόσκω, ἴσκω, perhaps ὀρχέομαι, πάσχω; βλώσκω,

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[6]On Ruijgh's theory of - ίσκω from *-*ye/o*- followed by *-*ske/o*-, see further Chapter 3 § 6.5.

[7]As Keller (1992: 181) remarks, the existence of around thirty presents in - σκω in Homer 'témoigne de la vitalité de - (ι)σκ- dans le domaine grec à l'époque préhistorique et fait apparaître l'absence de tout représentant en mycénien comme le résultat du hasard'.

θνήσκω, θρώσκω). There are several cases of verbs in - σκω also showing reduplication in - ι- (γιγνώσκω, ἵλάσκομαι, κικλήσκω, μιμνήσκω, διδάσκω, πιφαύσκω, τιτύσκομαι); this phenomenon could perhaps have originated from forms in -σκω occurring beside reduplicated presents, or could alternatively be connected with the fact that some of the forms concerned could have been derived from reduplicated aorists in - ε- ; patterning with perfects reduplicated in - ε- is also notable. Four cases occur of verbs in - ίσκω, all of which occur only once, and all derived from thematic aorists (ἀπαφίσκω, ἀραρίσκω, ἐπαυρίσκομαι, εὑρίσκω); the addition of - ι- to create such forms as θνήσκω rather than expected θνήσκω appears to have occurred only later. Other verbs either show reduplication in - ε- (δειδίσκομαι, apparently ἔϊσκω) or fall into a miscellaneous category (ἀλδήσκω, γηράσκω, ἠλάσκω, πτωσκάζω). The suffix - σκω is only productively extended to non-present forms in the case of διδάσκω, a development which appears to go back to Mycenaean; occasional other instances also occur (non-present / nominal ἀλυσκ- , βοσκ- , μισγ-). Present stems in - σκ- behave as other present stems do, forming present participles, imperfects, and so on, as expected.

Semantically, - σκω does not seem to have any well-defined meaning; rather, evidence strongly indicates that it was merely a present-forming suffix. Presents in - σκω do not seem to differ from collateral unmarked forms (as κικλήσκω beside καλέω). Although we find causatives and inchoatives in - σκω, these meanings occur throughout a verb's paradigm (as μιμνήσκω, ἔμνησα 'remind' : μιμνήσκομαι, ἐμνησάμην 'remembered'); and one does not require - σκω to form a causative-inchoative pair, as with for example διασκίδνημι 'make scattered' : σκίδναμαι 'get scattered'. Also instructive are formations where no causative or inchoative meaning is perceptible (verbs of movement such as θρώσκω 'leap', and miscellaneous verbs, as εὑρίσκω, find'). Lastly, the extension of - σκ-

into non-present forms, most notably in διδάσκω (first in *di-da-ka-re*) and also in the apparently ancient forms ἀλύσκω, βόσκω and μίσγω, indicates that at a pre-Homeric stage the suffix had apparently even lost the aspectual characteristics which made it suitable to form presents alone. The frequent appearance of a present in -σκω beside a root or (more usually) thematic aorist (as βάσκω : ἔβην, πάσχω : ἔπαθον) is evidence of an ancient opposition between suffixed present and unsuffixed aorist.

The 'iteratives' in -(ε)σκον, created off both present and aorist stems, form a separate group. Morphologically, this is evidenced both by use of the latter suffix on reinterpreted presents in -σκω (βοσκεσκ- , μισγεσκ-); and also by the instances of -(ε)σκον added to stems related to presents in -σκω (κικλησκ- : καλε(σ)- : καλε(ε)σκ- ; μιμνησκ- : μνη(σ)- : μνησασκ-). Semantically, the group forms a unity, quite separate from the presents in -σκω: for a dynamic situation, addition of the suffix gives repeated meaning, but in a stative one the result remains stative: hence φιλέεσκον when dynamic in context means 'used to entertain / used to have sex (repeatedly)', but when stative is 'used to love (continuously)'. The original relationship between presents in -σκω and iteratives in -(ε)σκον is uncertain. In (ἔ)φασκον we merely seem to have an iterative that was in the process of becoming an imperfect; with ἔσκον, we may have an inherited form *h_1s-*sḱe/o*-, although its use in Homer largely conforms with that of the iteratives in -(ε)σκον: apparent formation from a 'telic' root may also speak against antiquity.

The next stage in this investigation is an examination of Classical Greek, centering on the use of -σκω in Plato.

Chapter 7

The Morphology of Verbs in - σκω in Plato

1. Introduction

An analysis of verbs in - σκω in Classical Greek can be performed in two different ways: diachronically and synchronically. By the former method, new formations peculiar to Classical Greek are examined, and the development from the earlier state of affairs (i.e. Homer) is made clear. In the latter case, the set of data does not comprise new formations alone, but a cross-section of Classical usage: we should need to know what forms one author used (or, if this is not possible due to the scantiness of the data, what forms are found in one set of writers of preferably uniformly similar material).

It is the purpose of this chapter and the following one to examine Classical Greek data synchronically, to which end the set of Greek verbs in - σκω found in Plato will be examined. This author was selected partly because his works are in prose, and so presumably more representative of the language of the time than if they were in verse. In addition, despite the fact that Plato's works were written over the course of an extended period of time – he lived from 428/7 to 348/7BC, although he probably did not begin to write until 399[1] – there is a certain degree of uniformity of language in them. In fact, it would appear that all his works survive – no mention is made anywhere of any others[2] – and, of these, all bar the *Apology* and the dubious *Epistles* are in the form of dialogues. An additional help is that the manuscript tradition of Plato's works is quite a sound one. Since Plato is the author of an atypically large corpus of still extant Classical Greek works, we can therefore expect that, if we find few verbs in - σκω, it will not be because too small a corpus has been used.

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[1]That is, the year of Socrates' death. Cf. Rutherford 1995: 4.

[2]Cf. Rutherford 1995: 2-3.

1.1. Plato's works: corpus and data

1.1.1. The corpus

Before collecting the data, it is necessary to define one's corpus. I have chosen to regard as genuine only those 27 works of Plato generally held as authentic: in the earliest group, *Apology*, *Charmides*, *Crito*, *Euthyphro*, *Hippias Minor*, *Ion*, *Laches* and *Protagoras*, followed by the second set of *Cratylus*, *Euthydemus*, *Gorgias*, *Hippias Major*, *Lysis*, *Menexenus*, *Meno*, *Phaedo* and *Symposium*; the third group comprises *Parmenides*, *Phaedrus*, *Republic* (although perhaps *Republic* I belongs in the second group) and *Theaetetus*; and, lastly, there are *Critias*, *Laws*, *Philebus*, *Politicus*, *Sophist* and *Timaeus*. Taken here as suspect, although defended by some, are the *Epinomis* and the *Epistles* (of which VI, VII and VIII are the most likely to be Plato's own), as well as seven further dialogues listed as Plato's in Thrasyllus' tetralogies: *Alcibiades I*, *Alcibiades II*, *Amatores*, *Clitopho*, *Hipparchus*, *Minos* and *Theages*. Seven works which are found in the manuscripts but not included by Thrasyllus are taken, as is usual, as spurious; these are *Axiochus*, *Definitions*, *Demodocus*, *Eryxias*, *On Justice*, *Sisyphus* and *On Virtue*. In addition there is the *Halcyon*, also held to be spurious and usually published with the works of Lucian.[3] There is a speech delivered by Lysias in the *Phaedrus* (230e.6-234c.5, 262e.1-4 and 263e.6-264a.3), although it is probably in fact by Plato; nonetheless, forms found here are also noted as being perhaps not Plato's own.[4] The nature of

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[3]This is a more severe view than that of Brandwood, who does not list the *Epinomis* or the *Epistles* in his suspect and unauthentic list (1976: xvii). See further Brandwood 1990, 1992; Lesky 1966: 511-12; Skemp 1976: 9 ff.; and Rutherford 1995: 3-7. In fact, many of the doubtful works are themselves probably contemporary (as the *Epinomis*); and, since this is a study of a synchronic period of Greek language, such problems of authenticity may be of very minor importance here. Throughout, I follow the text of the Oxford Classical Text of Plato (Volume I: Duke et al. 1995; Volumes II-V: Burnet 1901-7).

[4]Cf. Brandwood 1976: xx.

Plato's work is such that he often quotes other authors, and where a form is only found in the corpus as a citation, it is duly noted as such.

1.1.2. The data[5]

A total of nineteen verbs found in Plato's prose show in the present the suffix -σκω.[6] Listing them in the first person singular indicative citation form (though in fact many of these verbs are not found in the indicative at all), these are, with traditional meanings from LSJ: ἁλίσκομαι 'be taken' (active ἀνᾱλίσκω 'use up, spend'); ἀμβλίσκω 'cause to miscarry'; ἀρέσκω 'please'; ἀνα- βιώσκομαι 'come back to life; bring back to life'; βόσκομαι 'feed, graze' (intransitive); γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard'; γηράσκω 'grow old'; γιγνώσκω 'come to know, perceive, know'; διδάσκω 'instruct, teach'; ἀπο-διδρᾱ́σκω 'run away, flee from'; εὑρίσκω 'find, find out'; θνῄσκω 'die'; κυΐσκομαι 'conceive, become pregnant'; μεθύσκω 'make drunk, intoxicate' (medio-passive μεθύσκομαι 'get

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[5]I omit from this discussion those forms which are not synchronically verbs in -σκω and do not clearly show the suffix, even if diachronically they certainly are. Into this group fall μίσγω 'mix' and πάσχω 'suffer'. The evidence is against the assumption that the Greeks identified μίσγω with the other -σκω verbs, as we find an extended use of the present stem in the noun μισγάγκεια (see Chapter 3 § 2.3; the form is found in quotation from Homer at *Phlb.* 62d.5). The case of πάσχω is not so clear cut, as pronunciation of it would have made the σκ-morph clear. There are also four more verbs found in Plato which have been linked to Greek -σκ-, or to its Indo-European ancestor, whose origins have been discussed in Chapter 3: ἀσκέω 'work' (of raw materials), ἀδολεσχέω 'chatter', ultimately from λέσχη (both at § 1.2 n. 5), ἔρχομαι 'go' (§ 2.2) and ὀρχέομαι 'dance' (§ 3.1.4). I also omit discussion of κικλήσκω 'call', since it is only found in quotation from Homer (*Cra.* 392a.5).

In addition, there are two cases of fossilised forms of old verbs in -σκω. One, frequently found, is ὀφλισκάνω 'become a debtor', presumably from an old verb ὀφλίσκω (only referred to by Suidas) recharacterised into one in -σκάνω (cf. Chapter 9 § 2.1). The other is the nominalised relic βασκανία 'malign influence' (*Phd.* 95b.6); the origin of this form is obscure, however, and an etymological link with Hesychius' βάσκειν· λέγειν, κακολγεῖν is generally denied; cf. Frisk 1960-72 s.v.; and Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. βάσκανος.

[6]Brandwood's index to the works of Plato (1976) was used to discover which forms of which verbs are to be found there; for some counting and checking purposes, the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae CD-ROM #D (1992) was also used.

drunk'); μιμνήσκω 'remind' (medio-passive μιμνήσκομαι 'remind oneself of, remember'); πιπρᾱ́σκομαι 'be sold'; στερίσκομαι 'be deprived'; τιτρώσκω 'wound'; and φάσκω (only found in participle and imperfect) 'say'. Eight verbs (here underlined) we have already seen in Homer.[7] All are to some extent part of a paradigm, but in widely differing ways, and their forms will be investigated in the rest of this chapter.

1.2. Morphological classification: an overview

The verbs listed above show a variety of morphological features which can be used for classification of the different types of forms. The most obvious are reduplication and the use of - ίσκω rather than - σκω; even in these cases, however, there is a cross-over between the two types if, with Burnet, we read the form μιμνῄσκομαι (cf. § 2.3 below). There is, therefore, room for rearrangement in any ordering of these forms; bearing in mind the synchronic nature of this examination, however, the following are adopted:

(1) The γιγνώσκω type: forms where a present in -σκω showing reduplication in - ι- is found beside non-present forms with the same stem; this set has already been seen in Homer. In Plato, we find γι- γνώ- σκω : γνω- ; - δι- δρᾱ́- σκω : -δρᾱ- , μι- μνη- σκομαι : μνη- ; πι- πρᾱ́- σκομαι : πρᾱ- ; and τι- τρω- σκω : τρω- .

(2) The εὑρίσκω type: forms where a stem suffixed with - ίσκω alternates with non-present forms showing the same stem but ending in - η- or - ω- . These are, in - η- , εὑρ- ίσκω : εὑρη- ; θνη- ίσκω : θνη- ; κυ- ΐσκομαι : κυη- ; and στερ- ίσκομαι : στερη- . In - ω- we find ἁλ- ίσκομαι : ἁλω- ; and

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[7] Βόσκω / βόσκομαι (Chapter 3 § 3.1.2, 4 § 3.1.1); γηράσκω (3 § 7.2, 4 § 3.4.2); γιγνώσκω (3 § 4.1.1, 4 § 3.4.3); διδάσκω (3 § 4.2.1, 4 § 3.1.2); εὑρίσκω (3 § 6.4, 4 § 4.1); θνῄσκω (3 § 3.2.2, 4 § 3.4.4); and μιμνήσκω / μιμνήσκομαι (3 § 4.1.3, 4 § 3.1.3). On the Homeric imperfect (ἔ)φασκον, see Chapter 5 § 6.2.

ἀμβλ- ἰσκω : ἀμβλω- . (θνήσκω, although showing suffix - ἰσκω and in some forms a non-present stem in - η- , only arguably fits here: one would expect non-present **θνηη- , not θνη- .)

(3) Forms which do not fall into the above two classes but instead appear to show the same stem both before - σκω and before other suffixes. This class may be further subdivided into two. Firstly there is the ἀρέσκω type, where the stem is truly the same in all cases: such forms are ἀρέ- σκω : ἀρε- ; - βιώ- σκομαι : - βιω- ; and φά- σκω : φᾰ̆- . Secondly, there is the γηράσκω type, where we appear to have a short vowel before - σκω and a long one in non-present forms. Historical and dialectal data need to be used to demonstrate the quantity of the vowel preceding - σκω, since scansion cannot help here. The only certain instance is γηρά- σκω : - γηρά- ω : γηρᾱ- , since we do not find **γηρήσκω in Ionic; the set γενειά- σκω : γενειά- ω : γενειᾱ- looks so similar that we may suspect it belongs here, but with the final possible instance, μεθύ- σκω : μεθύ- ω : μεθυ- , we cannot be certain.

(4) Lastly, those presents in - σκω where the present-forming suffix has been reinterpreted as part of the stem: these are βόσκ- ομαι : βόσκ- ημα; and διδάσκ- ω : διδάσκ- αλος.

2. Reduplicated forms: the γιγνώσκω type

We have already seen in Homer γιγνώσκω 'know' and μιμνήσκω 'remind'; in Plato there are also - διδρᾱ́σκω 'run', πιπρᾱ́σκομαι 'be sold' and τιτρώσκω 'wound'. The verb διδάσκω 'teach' only belongs to this group historically, and will be discussed in § 5.2 below.

2.1. γιγνώσκω

Γιγνώσκω 'come to know, perceive, know' is very common in Plato. The stem γιγνωσκ- is found in the present active (203 times, of which one occurrence is in the Lysias speech), the imperfect active (three times) and the present medio-passive (22 times). The stem γνω(σ)- is found throughout other verbal forms: so, in the simple verb, we have future γνώσομαι (51 times), root aorist ἔγνων (116 times, of which two are in the Lysias speech), perfect active ἔγνωκα (eleven times), future passive γνωσθήσομαι (*Cra.* 440b.4) and aorist passive ἐγνώσθην (seven times).

In addition, there are also eight compounds of γιγνώσκω in Plato, although only four are at all common and occur in several different tenses: ἀναγιγνώσκω 'read' (thirty times), διαγιγνώσκω 'distinguish, discern' (twenty-six times), καταγιγνώσκω 'observe; lay a charge against' (nine times) and συγγιγνώσκω 'pardon' (twenty times). The others are aorists ἐπέγνων 'recognised' (*Euthd.* 301e.4) and μετέγνων 'changed one's mind' (*Phdr.* 231a.4, in the Lysias speech); and presents παραναγιγνώσκομαι 'be read as well' (*Tht.* 172e.3) and προγιγνώσκω 'know beforehand' (three times).

The simple stem γνω- is rare in nominal forms, γνωσ- being more common;[8] further forms occur in γνωμ-[9] and γνωρ-.[10] In addition, there is ἄγνοια 'ignorance' beside ἀγνοέω 'not to perceive / recognise, be ignorant of'.

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[8]Simple forms in γνω(σ)- are γνῶσις 'knowledge' (32 times), γνωστέον 'one must know' (twice), γνωστικός 'for knowing' (ten times) and γνωστός 'known' (fifteen times). Compound forms are ἀγνώς 'unknown' (four times), ἀγνωσία 'ignorance; being unknown, obscurity' (three times), ἄγνωστος 'unknowable' (nine times), ἀνάγνωσις 'reading' (twice), διάγνωσις 'resolving, deciding' (three times), εὔγνωστος 'well-known' (*Sph.* 218e.2), συγγνωστέα 'one must pardon, indulge' (*Phdr.* 236a.3) and proper noun Πολύγνωτος (twice in the *Ion*).

[9]Hence γνώμη 'thought, judgement' (seventeen times, of which one is a quotation), γνωμολογία 'sententious style' (*Phdr.* 267c.1), γνωμονικός 'fit to judge of, skilled in' (*R.* V 467c.10), ἀγνώμων 'ill-judging, senseless' (four times), ἀγνωμοσύνη 'want of acquaintance with' (*Tht.* 199d.2), ἐπιγνώμων 'judge' (found five times in *Lg.* VIII-IX), πολυγνώμων 'knowing many things' (*Phdr.*275a.7), συγγνώμη 'forbearance, lenient judgment' (31 times, of which one case occurs in Lysias' speech in the *Phaedrus*) and συγγνώμων 'indulgent' (four times in *Lg.* VI-XI).

[10]Cf. γνωρίζω 'make known' (ten times), compound ἀναγνωρίζω 'recognise' (three times), γνώριμος 'well-known' (fifteen times) and γνώρισις 'making known; getting to know, cognition' (four times), compound ἀναγνώρισις 'recognition' (*Tht.* 193c.4).

2.2. ἀπο- διδρᾱ́σκω

- Διδρᾱ́σκω[11] is only found in the compound form ἀποδιδρᾱ́σκω 'run away, escape or flee from' in Plato. The present stem διδρᾱσκ- occurs twelve times in the present tense, and once in the imperfect. Other tenses show the stem δρᾱ- : future ἀποδρᾱ́σομαι (*R.* V 457e.3), aorist ἀπέδρᾱν (five times) and perfect ἀποδέδρᾱκα (*Tht.* 203d.10). As in the case of γιγνώσκω, therefore, a root of three elements – stop,[12] resonant and long vowel – appears in all forms, augmented by reduplication in - ι- as well as - σκω in the present. Nominal derivatives, though not found in Plato, show the same basic stem: as we find γιγνώσκω : γνῶσις, so there is also ἀποδιδρᾱ́σκω : ἀπόδρᾱσις (Ionic ἀπόδρησις), where the latter means 'running away, escape; escape from, avoidance of' (cf. e.g. Herodotus 4.140, Demosthenes 21.166).

2.3. -μιμνήσκω

The verb -μιμνήσκω 'remind, put in mind' is usually found in Plato in the medio-passive; indeed, in uncompounded form it is not found in the active at all. In addition, there are five compounds, of which three are formed with ἀνα- .

In the medio-passive μιμνήσκομαι 'remind oneself of, call to mind; make mention of', the simple verb is not found in the authentic works of Plato in the present,[13] and the aorist ἐμνησάμην is only found in a quotation from Tyrtaeus.[14] The latter form is poetic – it only seems to occur at Herodotus 7.39.5 in all Classical

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[11]We know that the - α- was long in this form from Ionic - διδρήσκω: cf. e.g. Herodotus 9.59, and for further attestations Veitch 1887 s.v. (διδράσκω).

[12]Obviously, however, we cannot be certain that by this time - γν- was pronounced with a velar nasal only.

[13]The only use cited by Brandwood (1976) is at *Ax.* 368a.7.

[14]Optative μνησαίμην at *Lg.* I 629a.7, II 660e.7.

Greek prose. Plato uses the future μνησθήσομαι three times, with ἐμνήσθην eighteen times. It is the perfect μέμνημαι 'remember', however, which is astonishingly common: it occurs 143 times (one instance of the imperative being in Lysias' speech at *Phdr.* 234b.2). Of this total, 100 instances are in the indicative, of which 63 occurrences are first or second person singular. The perfect stem μεμνη- is also found in the future perfect μεμνήσομαι (four times, all first person plural indicative), and the pluperfect ἐμεμνήμην (five).

The compound form ἀναμιμνήσκω 'remind' shows a more even spread of forms throughout its tenses. In the active, there is a present (eleven times), with imperfect (once), with other tenses in μνη- : future ἀναμνήσω (five times, all indicative) and aorist ἀνέμνησα (six). There is the same pattern in the medio-passive 'remember, recall to mind', except that the forms are much more frequent: present ἀναμιμνήσκομαι (36 times), future ἀναμνησθήσομαι (twice) and aorist ἀνεμνήσθην (41 times). Two further compounds in ἀνα- occur, both found only once: a present ἐπαναμιμνήσκω 'remind' (*Lg.* III 688a.3) and an aorist passive συνανεμνήσθην 'recall together' (*Lg.* X 897e.5).

Other compounds are: aorist ἐπεμνήσθην 'make mention of' (seven times) beside the perfect indicative form ἐπιμέμνηται (*La.* 180e.6) and verbal noun ἐπιμνηστέον 'one must mention' (*Ti.* 90e.4); and ὑπομιμνήσκω 'remind', medio-passive 'remember', which shows presents active (five times) and medio-passive (twice), future ὑπομνήσω (five times), and aorist ὑπέμνησα (eighteen times).

There are occasional nominal derivatives in μνη(σ)-,[15] but both simple and compound ones are more usually in μνημ-;[16] there is also a secondarily derived verb

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[15]These are ἀνάμνησις 'reminiscence' (18 times), ἀναμνηστός 'that which one can recollect' (*Men.* 876b.8) and ὑπόμνησις 'reminding' (three).

[16]These are μνήμη 'memory, record' (60 times), μνημεῖον 'remembrance, record' (eleven times, of which one is from the Lysias speech), μνημονικός 'of / for remembrance / memory; having a good memory' (six times), μνημοσύνη 'remembrance, memory' (three times) and μνήμων 'mindful' (10

μνημονεύω 'remember; mention' (31 times), which has its own compounds.[17] Also related is μνεία 'remembrance, mention' (four times).

The formal patterns of this verb show that it belongs to the reduplicated class: a stem of three phonemes, ending in resonant and long vowel, showing reduplication in - ι- and suffix - σκω in the present, with non-present and nominal forms showing the bare stem. In the Oxford Classical Text this present is written as μιμνήσκομαι, but in fact there is no evidence for this form from the Classical era: see Chapter 3 § 3.2.5.[18]

2.4. πιπρᾱ́σκομαι

Another verb which follows the same pattern is πιπρᾱ́σκομαι[19] 'be sold'. The present is only found twice in Plato, both times in the participle (*Phd.* 69b.2, *Sph.* 224a.3); these occurrences were bracketed by Burnet but are now accepted by scholars.[20] Other forms found show the unreduplicated stem πρᾱ- : the only verbal one is the aorist ἐπρᾱ́θην (three times, all in *Laws* VIII and XI), but there are also nominal forms with this stem.[21] This verb therefore shown the same morphological patterns as those seen above, except that verbal forms are in the medio-passive only.

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times); compounds are ἀμνήμων 'unmindful, forgetful' (*Ti.* 88b.4), ἀμνηστία 'forgetfulness' (*Mx.* 239c.4) and ὑπόμνημα 'reminder' (four times).

[17]These are ἀπομνημονεύω 'relate from memory; remember' (sixteen times) and διαμνημονεύω 'remember distinctly' (four), with nominal μνημονευτέον 'one must remember' (twice), ἀξιομνημόνευτος 'worthy of mention' (twice), δυσμνημόνευτος 'unmindful' (*Ti.* 74e.9) and εὐμνημόνευτος 'easy to remember' (twice); also related is ἀμνημονέω 'be unmindful; forget' (five times).

[18]If we do read μιμνήσκομαι, then this form suffers from similar problems of classification to θνήσκω, which does not fit well with 'other' forms in - ίσκω: cf. § 3.1.2 below.

[19]That the - α- was long is evidenced by attestation of the stem πιπρησκ- at Callimachus *Iamb.* 1.93.

[20]See further Chapter 8 § 3.1.3.2.

[21]These are πρᾱ́σιμος 'for sale' (*Lg.* 848a.1), πρᾶσις 'sale' (14 times, of which half occur in *Lg.* VIII-XII), πρᾱτέος 'to be sold, for sale' (*Lg.* VIII 849c.1) and πρᾱτήρ 'seller' (*Lg.* XI 915d.1).

2.5. τιτρώσκω

Lastly in this section, we have τιτρώσκω 'wound'. The present stem is rare, only being found once in the indicative (*Phlb.* 13c.9).[22] We also find the present participle once, at *R.* VIII 555e.5. Other tenses show τρω-. The aorist ἔτρωσα occurs six times as subjunctive τρώσῃ in *Lg.* IX 876e-879a and six more as participle within *Lg.* IX 875d-878c. Remaining forms are all medio-passive: future τρωθήσομαι (*Cri.* 51b.6), aorist ἐτρώθην five times (all participial and within *Lg.* IX 862c-879a)[23] and perfect τέτρωμαι five times, of which four are participial. This verb, therefore, occurs almost never outside the participle. Nominal forms in τρω- are found, but are rare in Plato.[24]

2.6. Summary: the γιγνώσκω type

In the Greek of Plato, therefore, reduplicated verbs in - σκω show a clearer pattern than in Homer, but there is still not complete regularity. The stem is composed of stop, resonant and long vowel, with reduplication in - ι- and suffix - σκω in the present; in non-present and nominal forms it is found without either. There are three areas where the data are not uniform, however. Firstly, there is the problem of μιμνήσκομαι, if there really was an added - ι- at this time. Secondly, root aorists ἔγνων and - ἔδρᾱν (both dating from the Homeric period) occur for expected sigmatic forms ἔγνωσα – only found in Ionic Greek with the causative meaning 'I persuade' (cf. Chapter 3 § 4.1.4) – and **-ἔδρᾱσα. Lastly, the occurrences of non-etymological - σ- are not consistent: we find γνωσθήσομαι

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[22]This instance has, however, been contested: see Chapter 8 § 3.1.2.2 n. 47.

[23]Not including the instance at *Ti.* 76b.2, bracketed by Burnet.

[24]We find only ἄτρωτος 'invulnerable' (*Smp.* 219e.2), but there is also τραῦμα 'wound' (seventeen times, mostly in *Lg.* IX), Attic for τρῶμα; cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. τιτρώσκω, who lists further forms in τρω- found in Classical Greek.

ἐγνώσθην and μνησθήσομαι ἐμνήσθην, but without - σ- τρωθήσομαι ἐτρώθην and ἐπρᾰ́θην.

3. Formations in - ίσκω: the εὑρίσκω type

Also familiar from Homer is the group of verbs which show not - σκω but - ίσκω before the stem found in their other tenses. Here, however, they alternate with non-present (and sometimes nominal) stems in - η- or - ω- ; Homer only showed the pair ἐπαυρίσκομαι : ἐπαυρήσομαι, rather using presents in - ίσκω beside thematic aorists; also early is Homeric εὑρίσκω beside εὑρήσω (*h.Merc.* 302).[25] Only εὑρίσκω 'find' is continued from Homer, beside four new verbs: with - η- , κυΐσκομαι 'be pregnant' and στερίσκομαι 'be deprived'; and with - ω- , ἀμβλίσκω 'cause to miscarry' and ἁλίσκομαι 'be taken' (whose active always has the preverb ἀνα- and means 'spend'); θνῄσκω 'die' is also placed here.

3.1. With non-present forms in - η-

3.1.1. εὑρίσκω

Εὑρίσκω 'find' is the most frequently found verb of this set; as well as the simple form, there are four compounds occurring in Plato. The present active is found 23 times, and the imperfect five times. Two other tenses show εὑρ- η- : future active εὑρήσω (54 times) and perfects active ηὕρηκα (26 times) and medio-passive εὕρημαι (ten times). One shows εὑρε- : this is aorist passive ηὑρέθην (seven times). Lastly, there is a thematic aorist, in the active ηὗρον (114 times, of which 2 are quoted from Simonides[26]) and in the middle ηὑρόμην (three times).

More data are provided by the compounds. Of these, only ἀνευρίσκω and ἐξευρίσκω are common. The former, meaning 'find out, discover; invent', occurs

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[25]Cf. Chapter 3 § 6, especially 6.5.

[26]These are *Prt.* 345c.11, 346d.5.

55 times.[27] This compound has, according to Brandwood's index (1976 s.v. ἀνευρίσκειν), a 'passive', which shows present, imperfect, future, aorist and perfect and, if Burnet's reading at *Phlb.* 57b.6 is followed, pluperfect also: the future passive, which does not occur in the simple verb or any other compounds, is in - ε- : ἀνευρεθήσομαι (*Ti.* 63e.3). The other frequent case, ἐξευρίσκω 'find out, discover', occurring 47 times, shows the same pattern, with future active, perfects active and medio-passive in - η- , and frequent thematic aorist. The remaining two compounds are one instance of a future ἐνευρήσω 'will discover in',[28] and one of a present ἐφευρίσκω 'find out, discover' (*Plt.* 307c.5), with aorist ἐφηῦρον (*Phdr.* 266a.5, 7). Nominal forms show both the - η- and - ε- variants, the latter certainly predominating.[29]

In summary, therefore, εὑρίσκω has a present in - ίσκω, with future active and perfects in - η- ; future and aorist passive are in - ε- , and the aorist active and middle are thematic. Nominal formations are almost always in - ε- , rarely in - η- . It is of interest that this verb, which shows formations in - ε- as well as - η- (and therefore does not fully fit the pattern of - ίσκω : - η-), is not a Classical creation, but goes back to Homeric times.

3.1.2. θνήσκω

The present θνήσκω 'die' is almost never found without a preverb, except in the perfect: this tense is almost always in the simple form. There are seven compounds of this verb found in Plato, but except for ἀποθνήσκω none is common.

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[27]Including, with Burnet, the instance of ἀνευρεῖν at *Ti.* 47b.6.

[28]Taking Burnet's reading of ἐνευρήσεις at *R.* VIII 554d.6.

[29]In - η- we find only εὕρη- μα 'invention, discovery' (five times, of which one, *Ion* 534e.1, is a quotation from Tynnichus), but in - ε- εὕρεσις 'finding, discovery' (five times), εὑρετής 'inventor, discoverer' (twice, both *La.* 186-7), εὑρετικός 'inventive, ingenious' (four times) and also compound forms ἀνεύρετος 'undiscovered' (twice), ἀνευρετέον 'one must find out' (*Plt.* 294d.1) and ἐξευρετέον 'id.' (*R.* II 380.a8).

In the simple form, we only find the present twice, once each in the optative (*Phd.* 72a.2) and the imperative (*Lg.* XII 946e.3). The stem found in other tenses varies like that of no other verb in -σκω in Plato, although in simple form instances are rare: we find no future tense, and the aorist ἔθανον occurs only once, in quotation from Homer (*R.* III 390b.5). The perfect τέθνηκα is frequent, however: there are in all 79 instances of this tense, mostly in the infinitive (39 times), although the one case of the optative is in a quotation from Homer (*Ap.* 28d.2). The same stem θνη- is shown in the one instance of the future perfect tense form τεθνήξει (*Grg.* 469d.5).

In the case of ἀποθνήσκω 'die; be put to death, slain', the present occurs 44 times,[30] as well as once in the imperfect (*Smp.* 191a.8). Here we find the future, which shows a similar stem to the aorist already seen: it is ἀποθανοῦμαι (fifteen times). This compound also shows that the aorist ἔθανον is in fact not a rare form, with the compound ἀπέθανον occurring 60 times in all.

Of the six remaining compounds, four include -απο- : aorist ἐπαπέθανον 'died after' (*Smp.* 180a.1, 208d.3), aorist προαπέθανον 'died on behalf of' (*Smp.* 208d.4), present συναποθνήσκω 'die together with' (*Phd.* 88d.8) and present ὑπεραποθνήσκω 'die for' (three times, all in the *Symposium*), with aorist ὑπεραπέθανον (*Smp.* 180a.1). The other two forms are a perfect ἐκτέθνηκα 'be in a death-like swoon', found once in the participle as ἐκτεθνεῶτα (*Lg.* XII 959a.2), and an aorist κατέθανον 'die away', quoted twice from Polyeidus (*Grg.* 492e.10-11). Some related adjectives occur in θνη-,[31] but there are more derivatives (both nominal and verbal) in θανα-.[32]

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[30]Following Burnet's reading of ἀποθνήσκῃ, not aorist ἀποθάνῃ, at *Phd.* 70a.3.

[31]Cf. θνητός (θνᾱτός) 'mortal' (89 times, of which five are in quotation), θνητοειδής 'of mortal nature' (*Phd.* 86a.8) and νεοθνής 'just dead', which apparently only ever occurs once in Classical Greek (*Lg.* IX 865e.1).

[32]Cf. nominal forms θανάσιμος 'deadly; near death' (six times), θάνατος 'death' (148 times), compounds θανατηφόρος 'death-bringing, of mortality' (*R.* X 617d.7), ἀθάνατος 'immortal' (92 times, of which one is a quotation) and ἀθανασία 'immortality' (fifteen); and verbs θανατάω 'desire to die' (*Phd.* 64b.5, 8), θανατόω 'put to death' (four times, all *Lg.* IX 862-872),

The origins of the alternations seen in the parts of θνῄσκω have already been discussed (Chapter 3 § 3.2.4), and the pair θνῄσκω : ἔθανον appears incongruous beside the regularity of many other verbs found in this category. A pattern of present θνη-ίσκω : non-present θνη- (as found in perfect τέθνηκα) might look not unacceptable beside e.g. εὑρ-ίσκω : εὑρε- / εὑρη- , except that the parallel is not quite right: beside εὑρ-ίσκω : εὑρη- we expect θνη-ίσκω : **θνηη- .

3.1.3. κυΐσκομαι

The present κυΐσκομαι 'conceive, become pregnant' is found only once in Plato, in participial form at *Tht.* 149b.6. Also occurring is a present κυέω 'bear in the womb, be pregnant with', common in the *Symposium* – according to Brandwood (1976, s.v. κυεῖν), it occurs eleven times in Burnet's text,[33] and there is also one case of an imperfect at *Smp.* 209c.3. Burnet has the present κύω, a rare variant of κυέω, occurring once in Plato (*Lg.* VII 789e.1); it is apparently unnoticed by Brandwood (1976 s.v. κυεῖν), who has κυοῦσαν for Burnet's κύουσαν. On the other hand, Brandwood (1976: xxix) does list κύοντα as a variant for κυοῦντα at *Tht.* 151b.8. There is also a present medio-passive κυέομαι, which occurs once in participial form (*Lg.* VII 789a.10). The only non-present form has the stem κυη- : aorist ἐκύη-σα (twice). Of all these fifteen certain cases, eight occur in the *Symposium*, four in the *Theaetetus* and three in *Laws* VII. Related nominal forms occur most often in κυη-,[34] but there is one instance of a nominal stem κυ- : ἐγ-κύ-μων 'pregnant' (five times: three in the *Theaetetus*, two in the *Symposium*).

δυσθανατέω 'struggle against death' (*R.* III 406b.8) and ἀπαθανατίζω 'aim at immortality' (*Chrm.* 156d.6).

[33]Burnet does not read either instance of infinitive κυεῖν (*Smp.* 209a.3, *Plt.* 274a.7).

[34]Hence κύημα 'embryo, foetus' (twice) and κύησις 'conception' (three times).

3.1.4. στερίσκομαι

The case of στερίσκομαι 'be deprived' is complicated. This present itself is found only once, in the infinitive, at *R.* III 413a.10. There are also, however, two further presents, στέρομαι 'be deprived' and στερέω 'deprive'. The former occurs nineteen times; it is found beside the present στερέω, which only occurs once as a simple verb, in the imperative (*Lg.* XII 958e.6). Other tenses are formed from the stem στερη- : in the active, aorist ἐστέρησα (*Lg.* IX 873e.7), perfect ἐστέρηκα (*Lg.* IX 868e.11); and in the medio-passive, future στερήσομαι (*Phlb.* 66e.10), aorist ἐστερήθην (seventeen times), with perfect ἐστέρημαι (five times).

Of the two compounds, συναποστερέω 'help to steal', is found only once (present indicative at *Lg.* XII 948c.6). The other, ἀποστερέω 'rob', shows the expected paradigm for a contracted verb in -έω in Classical Greek: contraction in the present tense and non-present stem in - η- . So we find present active ἀποστερέω (eleven times), medio-passive ἀποστερέομαι (*Tht.* 201b.1 only), with future active ἀποστερήσω (*Prm* 134e.8);[35] aorists active ἀπεστέρησα (four times) and passive ἀπεστερήθην (*Smp.* 219d.7); and perfects active ἀπεστέρηκα (*Phdr.* 241b.3, *Lg.* IX 868d.4) and medio-passive ἀπεστέρημαι (*R.* I 329a.8). Nominal derivatives are in στερη- .[36]

Here, then, we find a pattern of a present in - ίσκω beside non-present forms in - η- ; the matter is complicated, however, not only by the presence of collateral contracted presents in - έω (simple and compound verb) and - έομαι (compound verb), but also by the fact that in the simple form the collateral medio-passive is in - ομαι, rather than being contracted.

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[35]Reading with Burnet ἀποστερήσει, not aorist optative ἀποστερήσειε.

[36]Cf. στέρησις 'deprivation, loss' (*Lg.* IX 865b.7), ἀποστέρησις 'deprivation' (*Lg.* XI 936d.5) and ἀποστερητής 'defrauder, cheat' (*R.* I 344b.3).

3.2. With non-present forms in - ω-

3.2.1. ἁλίσκομαι / ἀνᾱλίσκω

The simple verb ἁλίσκομαι 'be taken, be caught' is found in the present tense twelve times. Non-present forms show - ω- , in this case including a strong aorist. Thus we find future ἁλώσομαι (*Grg.* 489a.1, *Smp.* 219e.3), aorist ἑᾱ́λων (seventeen times) and perfect ἑάλωκα (four times).

The active form with preverb, ἀνᾱλίσκω 'use up, spend', is much more common; all compounds show ἀνα- , but this is the only one that is at all frequently found. Here the present is found in the active ἀνᾱλίσκω 24 times, as well as once in the imperfect (*R.* VIII 552b.6); and in the medio-passive ἀνᾱλίσκομαι four times and once in the imperfect (*Smp.* 181e.1). Also found are future active ἀνᾱλώσω (three times), aorist active ἀνήλωσα (four times), a medio-passive perfect ἀνήλωμαι once (indicative at *Plt.* 289c.9) and pluperfect ἀνηλώμην also once (*Plt.* 272e.1).

Two more compound verbs are also found. There is an aorist κατανήλωσα 'use up, spend, lavish' (*Prt.* 321c.1), with perfect κατανήλωκα (*Ti.* 36b.6) and aorist passive κατανηλώθην (*Phd.* 72d.3), forms not found with any other combinations of preverbs in Plato. The other is one occurrence of the present participle of προσαναλίσκω 'consume besides' (*Prt.* 311d.4). Nominal derivatives occur from the simple stem ἁλω- [37] and also in prefixed ἀνᾱλω- .[38]

Here again, the formations are not quite predictable. The simple form has intransitive present medio-passive in - ίσκω and non-present forms are in -ω-; yet the

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[37]Cf. αἰχμάλωτος 'taken by the spear, captive, prisoner' (*Lg.* XI 919a.6), ἀνάλωτος 'unassailable' (*Tht.* 179c.5), δυσάλωτος 'hard to catch or take; hard to comprehend' (three times) and εὐάλωτος 'easy to be taken' (*Phdr.* 240a.3).

[38]Hence ἀνᾱλωτέος 'to be spent' (*Lg.* 847e.5), ἀνᾱ́λωσις 'expenditure' (*Cri.* 48c.3, *Lg.* VI 781c.4), ἀνᾱλωτής 'spender, waster' (*R.* VIII 552b.9, c.1), ἀνᾱλωτικός 'expensive' (three times, all in *R.* VIII), ἀνᾱ́λω- μα 'expense, cost' (ten times) and compound φιλανᾱλωτής 'fond of spending' (*R.* VIII 548b.5).

aorist has the appearance of a root formation like ἔγνων[39] and the perfect is an intransitive active. The forms in ἀνα- , however, show a regular - ίσκω / - ω- alternation; indeed we find a present ἀνᾱλόω built off the ω- stem, from Aeschylus onwards (cf. Veitch 1887 s.v. ἀνᾱλίσκω). In the case of the stem στερ- , we saw that regularity of stems only existed in the compounds – there we found ἀπο- στερέω : ἀπο- στερέομαι. Similarly, the predictable pattern here too exists only in the compound forms.

3.2.2. ἀμβλίσκω

The verb ἀμβλίσκω 'cause to miscarry' is found twice, both times present active, at *Tht.* 149d.3. The only other related form found in Plato shows a stem ἀμβλω- , though augmented: it is an aorist with preverb, ἐξήμβλωσα, once in the indicative at *Tht.* 150e.4. Elsewhere, other verbal forms show the expected stem ἀμβλω- : so Aristophanes has perfects ἐξήμβλωκα (*Nu.* 137) and ἐξήμβλωμαι (*Nu.* 139). Nominal forms occur in ἀμβλω- too, although only found outside Plato.[40]

3.3. Summary: the εὑρίσκω type

The morphology of these verbs is not as clearly defined as that of the reduplicated class. A relation to contracted presents in - έω is obvious in the cases of κυΐσκομαι and στερίσκομαι, and all non-present forms (and most nominal ones) related to these two verbs are in - η- . On the other hand, εὑρίσκω has no such collateral present, and it is not clear whether its non-present forms should be in - η- ,

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[39]Rix (1998: 619-20) derives it from a 'fientive' *$w\underline{l}h_3$-$éh_1$- / *$w\underline{l}h_3$-h_1-.

[40]Cf. ἄμβλωσις 'abortion' (Aristotle, Lysias, Theophrastus), ἄμβλωμα 'abortion' (Antipho Sophista), ἐξάμβλωσις 'miscarriage' (Hippocrates, Theophrastus) and ἀμβλωπής 'abortive' (Theophrastus), the latter apparently having undergone influence from ἀμβλωπός 'dimmed, dark' (cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἀμβλίσκω).

-ε- or neither; and the fact that θνῄσκω's origins lie in a totally different system (that of *set* roots, Chapter 3 § 3.2.4) is entirely evident. The last two verbs examined, which show non-presents in - ω- , are more uniform; but note that the aorist ἐᾰ́λων is not formally compatible with a contracted verb paradigm of the type - όω / - ω- , not being a sigmatic formation. We have a rather 'patchy' conjugation here, but one showing regularities not found in Homer.

4. Same-stem formations

Formations where we find the same stem before - σκω as we do in non-present forms are of two types: those where the stem is identical, which are ἀρέσκω 'please', ἀναβιώσκομαι 'come back to life; bring back to life' and φάσκω 'say'; and those where there is or may be a vocalic alternation: γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard', γηράσκω 'grow old' and μεθύσκω 'make drunk, intoxicate'.

4.1. Without vocalic alternation: the ἀρέσκω type

4.1.1. ἀρέσκω

The verb ἀρέσκω 'please' is only at all frequent in the present in Plato. We have this tense 42 times[41] and the imperfect four times (all in *Cri.* 52), as well as an adverb derived from the present participle, ἀρεσκόντως 'agreeably' (*R.* VI 504b.6). Also with present stem is the one compound form, ἀπαρέσκω 'displease' (*Tht.* 202d.8). The only other tense found is the aorist ἤρεσα (six times, half in *Prt.* 335-361). We are therefore dealing with a stem ἀρε- , showing either present suffix - σκω or aorist suffix - σα, depending on the tense. Occasional nominal forms occur outside Plato, generally in ἀρεσ- , with non-etymological - σ- ,[42] although later

[41]Reading ἀρκέσει with Burnet at *R.* VII 533e.7, not ἀρέσκει.

[42]Cf. e.g. ἀρεστός 'acceptable, pleasing' (found from Semonides onwards).

derivatives are found from the present stem, as ἄρεσκος 'pleasing, obsequious' (Aristotle, Theophrastus).[43]

4.1.2. ἀναβιώσκομαι

The present - βιώσκομαι, only found with preverb ἀνα- , occurs with the meaning 'come back to life' seven times in present forms and once in the imperfect; in addition, there is one instance of the present participle with the causative meaning 'bring back to life' (*Cri.* 48c.5). Obviously semantically and morphologically related, although listed separately by Brandwood (1976 s.v. ἀναβιῶναι),[44] are the strong aorist ἀνεβίων 'come back to life' (three times) and a causative aorist middle ἀνεβιωσάμην 'bring back to life' (*Phd.* 89b.10). Confusingly, LSJ's division of forms is different from Brandwood's, with the former being listed under ἀναβιόω and the latter under ἀναβιώσκομαι.

All other verbal forms related to those above also show a stem βιω- in Plato. We would expect a contracted present βιόω; but this is not found in Plato, simple or compound.[45] With stem βιω- we find future βιώσομαι (sixteen times); both strong aorist ἐβίων (fifteen times) and sigmatic one ἐβίωσα (*Phd.* 113d.3);[46] and perfects active βεβίωκα (ten times) and medio-passive βεβίωμαι (participle, at *R.* VI 498c.3 only).

Compound forms, other than those already seen in ἀνα- , are infrequent, but show just the same pattern: future διαβιώσομαι 'live through' (*Lg.* VII 804b.2),

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[43]On nominal forms and later derivatives see further Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἀρέσκω; for more on the etymology see Ruijgh 1985: 145.

[44]On this point see Chapter 8 § 2.2.1.

[45]On this form see further Chapter 8 § 2.2.1 and n. 3.

[46]Brandwood's order of listing the forms of the two aorists is odd, apparently mixing them together. There are fourteen forms which clearly belong to the strong aorist, and one which must be sigmatic: it is βιώσαντες. Into the former case I also include the one instance of third person plural ἐβίωσαν (*Phdr.* 249b.1), thus making fifteen; of course, this form could also be taken as sigmatic, and is indeed doubtless the starting-point for this new aorist stem here.

with aorist διεβίων (eleven times); aorist κατεβίων 'pass one's life' (three times); and future συμβιώσομαι 'live with' (*Smp.* 181d.5). There are related nominal forms in βιω-[47] and also in βιο-.[48]

In these verbs, therefore, we have a stem βιω-, which in non-present verbal forms occurs with future middle suffix - σομαι, sigmatic aorist - σα, perfect active - κα and perfect medio-passive - μαι, as well as having root aorist forms; there are also nominal derivatives that are in βιω- (the verbally derived ones), but more usually βιο-. The only present from βιω- / βιο- to be found in Plato is ἀνα- βιώσκομαι, which therefore shows the same stem as other verbal forms, βιω-, with - σκ- and medio-passive endings.

The related present, its link with these forms now lost, is ζῶ 'live' (320 times), with imperfect ἔζων (eight times);[49] whence also another future form, ζήσω (*R.* V 465d.2, IX 591c.7). Further instances of these tense stems occur in compounds also, and the forms act as presents to the non-present ones listed above: διαζῶ (*R.* VIII 561c.6, *Lg.* V 739d.7), διέζων (*Chrm.* 171d.7, *Lg.* III 679a.2),[50] διαζήσω (*Lg.* VII 792e.7); καταζῶ (*Smp.* 192b.3); and συζῶ (*Plt.* 302b.6). In addition, there is one instance of a present ἐπιζῶ 'survive' (*Lg.* II 661c.5). The existence of ζῶ and its related forms shows that - βιώσκομαι was clearly secondarily formed on a non-present stem.

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[47]Hence βιωτέον 'one must live' (five times, of which three are found in the *Gorgias*), compound διαβιωτέον 'one must spend one's life' (*Lg.* VII 803e.1), and βιωτός 'to be lived' (nine times), negative ἀβίωτος 'not to be lived, intolerable' (five times).

[48]Cf. especially βίος 'life' (438 times, of which four are in quotation), and also βίοτος 'life' (*R.* III 386c.6, but in quotation from Homer), whence βιοτεύω 'live' (*Phdr.* 252d.3), and ἄβιος 'not to be survived' (*Lg.* IX 873c.6); and compound adjectives βιοδότης 'giver of livelihood' (*Lg.* XI 921a.3), βιόδωρος 'life-giving' (*R.* II 381d.8, but in quotation from Aeschylus) and βραχύβιος 'short-lived' (*R.* VIII 546a.7).

[49]An occurrence at *Chrm.* 171d.7 is not read by Burnet.

[50]Reading the former instance with Burnet.

4.1.3. φάσκω

Lastly, there is φάσκω 'say, assert'. The stem φασκ- is found only in the participle, but 71 times, and on one occasion in the imperfect (*Lg.* X 901a.4). Thus it seems to be used for the present participle and as imperfect to φημί, which in the present is found in the infinitive φάναι 203 times, in the unpredictable indicative (φημί, φῄς, φησί, φαμέν, φατέ, φᾱσι) 935 times (of which seven are in quotation), in the subjunctive φῶ 179 times, in the optative φαίην 179 times again, in the imperative (φάθι, φάτω) 16 times and in the participle not at all – except for two cases of the nominative plural φάντες which both occur in the dubious *Alcibiades 2*, noted for its unusual language (*Alc.* II 139c.3, 146b.2).[51]

The other tenses of φημί show both the stems φη- and φᾰ- : the future φήσω is found 252 times; the root aorist ἔφην is only found in the indicative, but apparently 2323 times (of which 1967 are ἔφη); and the sigmatic aorist ἔφησα occurs thirteen times, of which one is participial (*Tht.* 155d.4). Also found are certain medio-passive forms: φατ'(ο) (*Prt.* 339c.4, in quotation from Simonides) and perfect imperative πεφάσθω (*Ti.* 72d.8).

The only frequent compound of φημί in Plato is σύμφημι 'assent, agree'. This follows the same pattern as the simple form, except that here no present participle is found at all: in the present the infinitive is found three times, the indicative eleven,[52] the optative once (*Lg.* VIII 831b.2) and the imperative twice. Non-present forms are, as before, in φη- , with future συμφήσω (four times, all in the indicative); root aorist συνέφην (indicative only, 23 times, of which συνέφη accounts for 19 cases; of these, ten are from the *Euthydemus*); and sigmatic aorist συνέφησα four times (once each in infinitive, indicative, subjunctive and participle). The only other compounds say little more: a present ἀντίφημι 'contradict' occurs

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[51]Of this dialogue beside the others, Lesky says it is 'in complete linguistic discord with the rest' (1966: 511).

[52]Reading σύμφησιν with Burnet at *Smp.* 178b.8, rather than ὁμολογεῖ.

once (indicative, at *Grg.* 501c.6), and a present ἀπόφημι 'speak out; deny' twice (both indicative), with aorist ἀπέφησα twice (once indicative and once optative).

There are no nominal forms in φη- but many in φημ- ;[53] we also find (προ-)φητ- .[54] Further forms occur in φᾰ- .[55]

This verb, therefore, is like no other so far seen. The stem in - σκω is only used for an extremely frequent participial and an extremely rare imperfect use. Before the suffix - σκω we find the stem φᾰ- , which occurs both in certain verbal forms, and in certain nominal derivatives: the verbal noun in - τεον and the abstract noun in - σις.

4.2. With vocalic alternation: the γενειάσκω type

4.2.1. γενειάσκω

Γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard' is found only once in Plato (*Smp.* 181d.3). The only related verbal form is a present γενειάω 'grow a beard, get a beard' (*Plt.* 270e.3). The quantity of the vowel before - σκω cannot be determined, but it is to be noted that non-present forms show - ᾱ- : hence the - η- of γενειήσαντα 'having

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[53]These are φήμη 'significant / prophetic saying; report; repute; speech, saying' (32 times), and several groups of compound forms: βλασφημέω 'speak profanely of sacred things; slander' (four times) and βλασφημία 'profane speech; defamation' (*Lg.* VII 800c.1, d.1); δύσφημος 'of ill omen' (*Hp. Ma.* 293a.5); ἐπιφημίζω 'ascribe, assign; call, name' (three times); and most of all εὔφημος 'fair-sounding, auspicious' (three times), proper noun Εὔφημος (*Phdr.* 244a.2), εὐφημία 'religious silence; auspiciousness' (seven times) and εὐφημέω 'use words of good omen' (present eleven times, future twice), which has compounds ἀνευφημέω 'cry aloud, shriek' (*Phd.* 60a.3) and ἐπευφημέω 'sing' (*R.* II 383b.4, but in quotation).

[54]Cf. προ- φητεύω 'prophesy' (*Phdr.* 244d.7), προφήτης 'prophet' (nine times) and προφῆτις 'prophetess' (*Phdr.* 244a.8).

[55]Cf. φατέον 'one must say' (11 times) and φάσις 'utterance; affirmation' (*Ti.* 49e.4, *Sph.* 263e.12), with compounds ἀπόφασις 'denial, negation' (four times) and πρόφασις 'alleged motive' (14 times, of which one case is in Lysias' speech in the *Phaedrus*). There is also προφασίζομαι 'plead in excuse' (three times, of which one case is in Lysias' speech in the *Phaedrus*).

become bearded, having grown a beard' (*Od.* 18.176, 269). Related nominal forms in γενει- are rare in Plato.[56]

4.2.2. γηράσκω

The present γηράσκω is found in Plato four times. Also listed under this verb in LSJ and Brandwood are a future γηρᾰ́σω (*R.* III 393e.8), and an aorist ἐγήρᾱσα (*Lg.* XII 958d.2). We are therefore dealing with a non-present stem γηρᾱ- . There is also a related contracted compound verb, καταγηράω 'grow old' (*Criti.* 112c.5). This verb has future καταγηρᾰ́σω (*Lg.* XII 949c.1) and aorist κατεγήρᾱσα (twice). Related nominal forms in Plato show the stem γηρα(σ)- (most notably γῆρας 'old age'),[57] with compound variant stem γηρο-.[58]

The stem, therefore, is generally γηρᾱ- . As we have already seen, however, Homer shows γηράσκω, not **γηρήσκω, which brings us to the conclusion that both presents show γηρᾰ́- instead. Although this is no proof that γενειάσκω also has ᾰ́, it seems intuitive – given their parallelism both of form and meaning – that this is the case.

4.2.3. μεθύσκω

The present μεθύσκω 'make drunk' is found once in the active in Plato (*Lg.* I 649d.7); the medio-passive present μεθύσκομαι 'get drunk' occurs once also (*Smp.* 176c.7). The stem μεθυ- , augmented by analogical - σ- , is also found in the aorist passive ἐμεθύσθην (six times), listed by LSJ and Brandwood as part of this verb.

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[56]These are ἀγένειος 'beardless, boyish' (three times) and εὐγένειος 'well-bearded' (*Euthphr.* 2b.11).

[57]Γῆρας occurs 45 times, of which one or two cases are quotations from another author; other forms are ἀγήραος 'ageless, undecaying' (five times), γηραιός 'old' (four times) and συγκαταγήρᾱσις 'growing old together' (*Lg.* XI 930b.2).

[58]Cf. γηροτρόφος 'taking care of in old age' (three times, of which two are in quotation), whence γηροτροφέω 'cherish in old age' (twice).

With the same stem we also find μεθύω 'be drunk, be intoxicated' (nineteen times, of which 17 times are in the participle); and one compound form, causative sigmatic aorist κατεμέθυσα 'make drunk', found in participial form once, at *Grg.* 471b.3. Related nominal forms are μέθυ 'wine', found only in quotation from Homer (*R.* III 390b.1), and μεθυστικός 'drunken' (*R.* IX 573c.9).

In the forms such as μεθύσκω and ἐμεθύσθην, it is impossible to tell the quantity of the final vowel of the stem. In the case of γενειάσκω and γηράσκω, we saw that presents in - σκω beside presents in - άω probably appeared to show the alternation - ᾰ́σκω : - ᾰ́ω, with non-present forms in - η- ; it is therefore possible that at some stage the same vocalic alternations occur in these forms too, showing the pattern - ῠ́σκω : - ῠ́ω : - ῡ- .

4.3. Summary: same-stem formations

These forms evidently show a newly productive Classical Greek pattern, where a stem ending in a vowel may be followed by - σκω in the present, but is also used to create non-present forms. Because we cannot know whether to read μεθῠ́σκω or μεθῠ́σκω, the divide between these two types is blurred: is the distinction that stems only alternate between long and short vowels if in - α- (reading μεθῠ́σκω), or that they alternate if a present in - σκω is found beside a contracted present (reading μεθῠ́σκω : μεθύω : μεθῡ-)? A further element is that all three members of γενειάσκω type show closely related nominal forms: γενειάσκω : γενειάς, γηράσκω : γῆρας and μεθύσκω : μέθυ. There is no reason, however, to believe that these presents are denominative: we do not have a regular morphological pattern here (since γενειάς shows a dental stem, γῆρας an σ-stem), and related verbal forms are a more likely source, being found in Greek in all cases.

Of all the different classes here described, it seems that φάσκω fits in this set, although φη- is a more usual non-present stem than φᾰ́-. A further inconsistency is

to be found in the root aorist ἀνεβίων: for it seems from the data presented, in this class and the next, that regular conjugations in present - σκω and aorist - σα are being formed, and to this rule ἀνεβίων is an exception.

5. Misunderstood formations

Lastly, there are two presents found in Plato whose σκ-suffix has been reinterpreted as part of the unmarked stem: these are βόσκομαι 'feed' (intransitive) and διδάσκω 'teach'.

5.1. βόσκομαι

The present medio-passive βόσκομαι 'feed' (intransitive) is only found once in Plato (indicative at *R.* IX 586a.8). There are no further verbal forms here, although the fairly common nominal derivative βόσκημα 'thing fed, animal' (nine times) implies that the suffix - σκω is no longer seen in these forms as a present formant; and indeed, we have already seen this to be the case in Homer, where the future βοσκήσω and iterative βοσκέσκοντο are found (Chapter 3 § 3.1.2). Related nominal forms occur in βο(τ)- [59] and βω(τ)- .[60]

5.2. διδάσκω

The verb διδάσκω 'teach', on the other hand, shows what was once present reduplication and the present formant -σκ- in all tense stems (cf. Chapter 3 § 4.2.1). The verb is found quite frequently in Plato, with five very rare compounds occurring as well as the simple form, and a variety of nominal derivatives. The basic verb occurs frequently in the present active (97 times, of which one instance of the participle is in a quotation from Theognis, at *Men.* 96a.1), and there are also the two

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[59]Hence βοτάνη 'pasture' (three times), βοτόν 'beast' (*Mx.* 237d.4) and εὔβοτος 'abounding in pasture' (*Criti.* 11b.1).

[60]Cf. συβώτης 'swineherd' (twice) and χηνοβωτία 'keeping / feeding of geese' (*Plt.* 264c.6).

instances of the imperfect; Brandwood (s.v. διδάσκειν) also lists a present that he classes as middle, found in the form διδάσκονται three times in *Prt.* 325b-c, and one that is passive (four times, of which one occurrence is in reference to a line of Solon's at *Lach.* 189a.5). In combination with a following - σ- , the stem is διδαξ- . Hence the future active is διδάξω (nineteen times), with middle διδάξομαι once in the indicative (*Rep.* IV 421e.2), also being in quotation from Theognis at *Men.* 95d.6; the aorist active is ἐδίδαξα (60 times), with middle ἐδιδαξάμην (three times). The perfect active is the aspirated δεδίδαχα (two cases of the third person singular δεδίδαχεν, both at *Men.* 85e), with medio-passive infinitive δεδιδάχθαι once (*Phdr.* 269c.2).

Of the five compounds, only one gives a further tense form not found in the simple verb: ἀναδιδάσκω 'teach better', which is found once in the aorist passive ἀνεδιδάχθημεν (*Hp. Ma.* 301e.1). The others are ἐξεδίδαξα 'taught thoroughly' (*Prt.*328e.5), ἐπεκδιδάξω 'will teach besides' (*Euphr.* 7a.4, *Prt.* 328e.5), προδιδάσκω 'teach beforehand' (three times) and προσεδίδαξα 'taught besides' (*Chrm.* 173d.8).

The frequent nominal forms show some form of the stem διδασκ- : there is the extended διδασκαλ- [61], the variant διδακ- before - τ- [62] and also διδαχή 'teaching' (14 times).

This verb was clearly once a reduplicated present in - ι- , belonging to the first set of verbs examined in this chapter; but now the old present stem διδασκ- is no longer seen as δι- δα- σκ- , but as a unit, and it is thus found in every form related to

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[61]Hence διδάσκαλος 'teacher' (116 times), whence διδασκαλεῖον 'teaching-place, school' (four times), διδασκαλία 'teaching, instruction' (seven) and διδασκαλικός 'of / for teaching' (seventeen); and compound nouns γεροντοδιδάσκαλος 'old man's master' (*Euthd.* 272c.5), ὑποδιδάσκαλος 'under-teacher' (*Ion* 536a.5) and χοροδιδάσκαλος 'chorus trainer' (*Lg.* II 655a.8, VII 812e.11).

[62]Cf. διδακτέον 'one must teach' (twice) and διδακτός 'that can be taught / learnt' (77 times, of which 40 occur in the *Meno*, and 23 in the *Protagoras*).

it used in Plato – there are no forms in δα- , unlike in Homer (cf. Chapter 3 § 4.2.1). So διδασκ- is treated like a verbal, not just present, stem, with exceptional consequences: although, as we have seen, βόσκομαι shows - σκ- in an occasional nominal derivative, forms in διδασκ- are widespread: the verbal noun in - τος (with reduction of - σκ- to - κ-), the perfect (with loss of - σ- and aspiration of - κ- to - χ-; cf. the examples of parallel formations at Chantraine 1991: 198-9) and the very frequently found nominal derivatives are unparalleled by any other form in - σκω.

5.3. Summary: misunderstood formations

The two verbs examined in this section only have in common the fact that, in both cases, - σκ- is viewed as part of the whole stem, and not as a present suffix. With βόσκομαι there are nominal forms both with and without - σκ- . With διδάσκω, there are only non-present forms with - σκ- (or a reduction of it) and reduplication; it is also totally unlike the other reduplicated forms: one would expect a non-present stem δα- beside present διδασκ- , but this is not found in Plato.

6. Conclusion: the morphology of verbs in - σκω in Plato

If we lay aside the formal differences between futures in - σω and - σομαι (to an active verb), root and sigmatic aorists, and analogical intrusion of - σ- before - θην, - θήσομαι, - τέος and - τός, there are three fairly regular classes of verbs in - σκω in Plato. Reduplicated presents (the γιγνώσκω type) in -σκω are formed on stems of the form *CRV̄*-, with the exception of θνήσκω. This latter verb fits with the other presents in -ίσκω (as εὑρίσκω), which have non-present stems most usually in - η- , but also in - ω- and in one case in - η- and - ε- . Stems that end in vowels but that are not of the form *CRV̄*- either show a short vowel before - σκω and a long vowel in non-present forms (γενειάσκω type); or they have the same stem with - σκω as they do with other tense affixes (ἀρέσκω type). The exception is again an

archaic form: φάσκω, which shows non-present φη- more often than φᾰ-. Lastly, there are two presents that have been reinterpreted as having stems ending in - σκ- , not present suffix - σκ- , and which do not fit the above categories (βόσκομαι, διδάσκω).

Compared to Homer, we can see certain developments. Two classes – those with reduplication and - ίσκω – are extended, one of which shows only one Homeric form. Two more (the same-stem presents) arise, which show a tendency for great regularity of tense stems; in this case also, one Homeric form appears, which there was classed as miscellaneous (γηράσκω, Chapter 3 § 7.2). There is an obvious consistency in the formation of new presents in Classical Greek that can be seen from the above data. In the first, reduplicated, group, all the verbs have a monosyllabic stem, as found in the other tenses; in the new formations, all roots have the form of stop followed by - ρ- and then a long vowel (ᾱ or ω). Forms of the class in - ίσκω also have monosyllabic roots, but non-present stems in - η- or, less often, - ω- , apparently in continuation of a pattern found once in Homer; with θνήσκω, the - η- is part of the root. The new types, those with vowel stems, always have, albeit only in the new forms, a stem before - σκω of two or more syllables. Thus the formation of a present in - σκω from a given stem seems to be morphologically predictable. The only exception to these rules is - βιώσκομαι: beside such a pair as non-present ἁλ- ω- : present ἁλ- ίσκομαι, we would expect βι- ω- : **βι- ίσκομαι. The reason that the latter is not found is presumably the need to avoid the sequence **βιι- ; the latter was thus replaced with βιω- , as found in other verbal forms. The present ἁλίσκομαι seems to be created on the analogy of -ίσκω presents formed from non-presents in - η- ; a reduplicated present in - ι- would of course be formally impossible for it.

Chapter 8

The Semantics of Verbs in - σκω in Plato

1. Introduction

Morphological analysis of verbs in - σκω found in Plato proved easier than that of those in Homer; similarly, semantic analysis is a more straightforward task in Classical Greek. A brief conspectus shows what at first appears to be a similar pattern. Again, there are causative actives beside inchoative medio-passives. Showing both voices we have μεθύσκω 'make drunk' / μεθύσκομαι 'get drunk', μιμνήσκω 'remind' / μιμνήσκομαι 'remind oneself of, remember'; an apparently similar pair is ἀνᾱλίσκω 'use up, spend' / ἁλίσκομαι 'be taken'. Causative active are ἀμβλίσκω 'cause to miscarry' and apparently τιτρώσκω 'wound' ('make wounded'). κυΐσκομαι 'conceive, become pregnant' is an inchoative medio-passive; we have already seen that βόσκομαι 'feed, graze' (intransitive) is the inchoative of a causative βόσκω (Chapter 4 § 3.1.1), although the latter is not found in Plato. We might have inchoatives in πιπρᾱ́σκομαι 'be sold' and στερίσκομαι 'be deprived', although these glosses (from LSJ) are ambiguous between inchoative and stative interpretation. On the other hand, ἀνα- βιώσκομαι 'come back to life; bring back to life' has both causative and inchoative meanings in the medio-passive present. There are also inchoative actives: γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard', γηράσκω 'grow old' and θνῄσκω 'die'. This analysis leaves ἀρέσκω 'please', γιγνώσκω 'perceive, know', διδάσκω 'teach', ἀπο-διδρᾱ́σκω 'run away from', εὑρίσκω 'find out' and suppletive φάσκω 'say'.

2. Minimal pairs

2.1. The data

Unlike in Homer, a study of minimal pairs in Plato is instructive. The most notable feature from a close examination of the data taken from Plato is that, in several cases, we are not just dealing with a present in - σκω, but also with an unmarked present from the same stem. These pairs are γενειάσκω / γενειάω; γηράσκω / κατα- γηράω; κυΐσκομαι / κυέω; μεθύσκω / μεθύω; and στερίσκομαι / στερέω, στέρομαι. I shall also be looking at ἀνα- βιώσκομαι, which occurs beside ζῶ (found for expected βιόω), and φάσκω, which supplies some of the forms for φημί.[1] It is necessary to examine these cases individually and in context, in order to determine whether any difference of meaning is apparent. Is Plato only interested in *variatio*, or is there a more regular pattern at work? The forms to be examined are listed in the table below, with citation forms and glosses from LSJ; both here and henceforth in this chapter, forms listed in tables but not found in Plato are given within parentheses.

[1]For criticism of Ruipérez's (1954: 130-5) treatment of a different set of minimal pairs in Ancient Greek (γενειάσκω : γενειάω; γηράσκω : γηράω; ἠβάσκω : ἠβάω; and στερίσκω, στερίσκομαι : στερέω, στέρομαι), see Chapter 1 § 3.5. The only pair which he discusses and which does not occur in Plato is ἠβάσκω 'come of age' : ἠβάω 'be in one's prime', which exhibits the same properties as γενειάσκω : γενειάω; see further Chapter 9 § 2.2. It will be seen that substantial evidence for the meaning of - σκ- as presented here comes from the pair μεθύσκω : μεθύω and their related aorist forms, which are not considered by Ruipérez.

With - σκ-	Without - σκ-
ἀνα- βιώσκομαι 'come back to life; bring back to life'	ζῶ 'live'[2]
γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard'	γενειάω 'have a beard'
γηράσκω 'grow old'	κατα- γηράω (γηράω) 'grow old'
(ἀνα- κυΐσκω 'impregnate again') κυΐσκομαι 'conceive, become pregnant'	κυέω 'be pregnant (with)'
μεθύσκω 'make drunk, intoxicate' μεθύσκομαι 'drink freely, get drunk'	μεθύω 'be drunken with wine'
(στερίσκω 'deprive, bereave, rob') στερίσκομαι 'be deprived, be robbed'	στερέω 'deprive, bereave, rob' στέρομαι 'be without, lack, lose'
φάσκω 'say'	φημί 'say'

Instances of the causative alternation are clear: -κυΐσκω 'make pregnant' : κυΐσκομαι 'become pregnant'; μεθύσκω 'make drunk' : μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk'; and presumably too στερίσκω 'make deprived' : στερίσκομαι 'become deprived'. To this set apparently also belongs ἀνα- βιώσκομαι 'come back to life', although the causative meaning 'bring back to life' is also found in this medio-passive present. Secondly, we have the active inchoatives in -σκω, which are γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard' and γηράσκω 'grow old'. In Plato, they have no causative variants and are found as active forms only. Generally, beside all these forms, we find an unmarked stative: thus ζῶ 'live', γενειάω 'have a beard', κυέω 'be pregnant (with)' and μεθύω 'be drunk'. There is also στέρομαι, which we shall see has stative meaning, although LSJ's gloss 'be without, lack, lose' appears to indicate that it is inchoative also. There is one collateral to a causative form – στερέω 'deprive, rob', found in addition to the non-Platonic στερίσκω. Lastly, (-)γηράω 'grow old', despite the other unmarked forms, appears from this gloss not to have stative meaning, but rather seems to be inchoative.

[2]I include ἀνα- βιώσκομαι not only because it appears beside cognate ζῶ, but also because its aorist ἀνεβίων is obviously to be compared with the the simple aorist ἐβίων.

The two groups will be dealt with as divided above: firstly the inchoative medio-passives in - σκομαι, and then the inchoative actives in - σκω.

2.2. Causative actives and medio-passive inchoatives: the μεθύσκω type

The verbs to be studied in this section are ἀναβιώσκομαι 'come back to life; bring back to life'; κυΐσκομαι 'conceive, become pregnant'; μεθύσκω 'make drunk, intoxicate', with medio-passive μεθύσκομαι 'get drunk'; and στερίσκομαι 'be deprived'.

2.2.1. ἀναβιώσκομαι

The case of ἀνα- βιώσκομαι is the most complicated to be dealt with here. This medio-passive present has both the inchoative meaning 'come back to life' (eight times) and also the causative one 'bring back to life' (*Cri.* 48c.5). Although the collateral present βιόω is not found in Plato,[3] this σκ-present is worth analysing here because there are cognate stative forms without -σκ- : a present, which takes the form ζῶ, and several non-present tense forms in βιω- . Thus, from the latter stem, we find the aorist ἐβίων 'lived' beside ἀν- εβίων 'came back to life', the inchoative aorist of ἀναβιώσκομαι. For example, in the following passage from the *Symposium*, Diotima is explaining that Love, being the child of Poverty (Πενία) and Resource (Πόρος), is of a mixed nature:

> καὶ οὔτε ὡς ἀθάνατος πέφυκεν οὔτε ὡς θνητός, ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας θάλλει τε καὶ ζῇ, ... τοτὲ δὲ ἀποθνῄσκει, πάλιν δὲ ἀναβιώσκεται διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φύσιν, ... (*Smp.* 203d-e)

[3]This present is evidently a back-formation from non-present parts in βιω- ; instances include those at Democritus 200, Euripides *fr.* 238 and Aristotle *HA* V 558a.20.

And he is by nature neither immortal nor mortal, but in the same day he at one time flourishes and lives, ... but at another time he dies, and comes back to life again thanks to his father's nature...

It is in only one instance that the meaning of this verb is clearly causative; in the passage concerned, Socrates is arguing both against Crito's suggestion that he escape, and in general against the opinion of the multitude:

ἃς δὲ σὺ λέγεις τὰς σκέψεις..., μὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα, ὦ Κρίτων, σκέμματα ἢ τῶν ῥᾳδίως ἀποκτιννύντων καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένων γ' ἄν, εἰ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν, οὐδενὶ ξὺν νῷ, τούτων τῶν πόλλων. (*Cri.* 48c)

As to the considerations you suggest... , these are truly, Crito, the reflections of those who readily put men to death and would bring them back to life, if they could, without any sense – that is, of the multitude.

Although listed as a separate verb by Brandwood (s.v. ἀναβιῶναι) and LSJ (s.v. ἀναβιόω), the aorist ἀνεβίων (three times) has the inchoative meaning of 'came back to life' that one would expect of the aorist of inchoative ἀναβιώσκομαι. Two examples occur together in the passage below, where Er the Pamphylian, killed in battle and yet brought home undecayed,

... μέλλων θάπτεσθαι δωδεκαταῖος ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενος ἀνεβίω, ἀναβιοὺς δ' ἔλεγεν ἃ ἐκεῖ ἴδοι. (*R.* X 614b)

... about to be cremated on the twelfth day, lying on the pyre came back to life, and having come back to life he spoke of the things he had seen there.

Listed by Brandwood under the same heading of root aorist ἀναβιῶναι – but by LSJ under ἀναβιώσκομαι – is a causative sigmatic middle aorist ἀνεβιωσάμην, found only in Plato in the following suggestion, made by Socrates to Phaedo:

> τήμερον, ἔφη, κἀγὼ τὰς ἐμὰς καὶ σὺ ταύτας, ἐάνπερ γε ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τελευτήσῃ καὶ μὴ δυνώμεθα αὐτὸν ἀναβιώσασθαι.
>
> (*Phd.* 89b)
>
> It is today, he said, that I [will cut off] mine [my hair] and you yours, if our argument dies and we cannot bring it back to life.

There are apparently no further instances to be found in Homeric or Classical Greek of a causative present - βιώσκομαι; but we find two more cases of -ἐβιωσάμην. It occurs in the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus says to Nausicaa that he wishes to return home:

> τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῷ ὡς εὐχετοώμην
> αἰεὶ ἤματα πάντα· σὺ γάρ μ' ἐβιώσαο, κούρη. (*Od.* 8.467-8)
> Then I will there, too, pray to you as to a god all my days; for you, maiden, have given me life.

The use without preverb ἀνα- proves exceptional, however: for in the other instance, from the comic Crates (52 K.-A.), we find:

> ἀνεβιωσάμην· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναβιῶναι ἐποίησα· Κράτης.
> ἀνεβιωσάμην: instead of "I made come back to life" – Crates.

No transitive ἐβίωσα ever seems to have occurred.

In summary, therefore, we have the unusual pattern of inchoative and causative present medio-passive ἀναβιώσκομαι, with inchoative aorist active ἀνεβίων and also causative aorist middle ἀνεβιωσάμην.

These forms are to be compared with cognate stative forms which also occur in Plato. There are not infrequent non-present forms in βιω- to be found, meaning 'live': future βιώσομαι (sixteen times), root aorist ἐβίων (fifteen), sigmatic aorist ἐβίωσα (*Phd.* 113d.3) and perfects active βεβίωκα (ten times) and medio-passive βεβίωμαι (*R.* VI 498c.3). The present to these forms, actually cognate but with the old link now obscured, is ζῶ (320 times); from it, a new occasional future ζήσω has been formed (*R.* V 465d.2, IX 591c.7). A good example of the use of ζῶ beside a form in βιω- , with cognate accusative, is to be found in the following passage, where Nicias says of anyone who may come into close contact with Socrates:

> ... ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ... μὴ παύεσθαι ὑπὸ τούτου περιαγόμενον τῷ λόγῳ, πρὶν <ἂν> ἐμπέσῃ εἰς τὸ διδόναι περὶ αὑτοῦ λόγον, ὅντινα τρόπον νῦν τε ζῇ καὶ ὅντινα τὸν παρεληλυθότα βίον βεβίωκεν· (*La.* 187e-188a)
>
> He has to be led round and round by him in the argument, and not stop until he falls into giving an account of himself, both of the way he lives now and the life spent that he has lived [until now].

The perfect βεβίωμαι is passive in meaning, being found in the phrase τῷ βίῳ τῷ βεβιωμένῳ 'the life that was lived' (*R.* VI 498c).

There are also other infrequent compounds of ζῶ, with non-present forms in βιω- , all stative in meaning: διαζῶ 'live through' (seventeen times), ἐπιζῶ

'survive' (*Lg.* II 661c.5), κατα-ζῶ 'pass one's life' (four times) and συ-ζῶ 'live with' (twice).

The presentation of the data for the forms in ἀνα- made by both Brandwood and LSJ is surely unsatisfactory. On the one hand, we have an intransitive verb meaning 'come back to life' of the form present ἀναβιώσκομαι, aorist ἀνεβίων; on the other, a causative verb meaning 'bring back to life', which is present ἀναβιώσκομαι (again), aorist ἀνεβιωσάμην. It must be the case, therefore, that it was felt that the verb 'bring back to life' should be in the medio-passive. This is presumably because the act of bringing someone back to life is felt to affect the subject: ἀναβιώσκομαι is therefore a benefactive causative, as seen in Homer in e.g. τιτύσκομαι, τετυκέσθαι (Chapter 4 § 3.1.5). Its aorist is thus a benefactive in -σάμην (cf. Chapter 1 § 3.2 n. 38).[4] Perhaps also in favour of the middle form in this case is the fact that an aorist ἀνεβίωσα would be expected to be intransitive, given that ἐβίωσα is a by-form of ἐβίων 'lived'. Only found once for certain in Plato (*Phd.* 113d.3),[5] this new σα- aorist comes to replace the old form,[6] with the sigmatic one being frequent by the time of Aristotle.[7] Causative medio-passive aorist ἐβιωσάμην, therefore, gives rise to present ἀναβιώσκομαι 'bring back to life'.

Here, therefore, is a different pattern: not -σκω : - σα :: - σκομαι : - (θ)ην, but - σκομαι : - σάμην :: - σκομαι : - ν, with our normally active forms being medio-passive as well. The meaning of the preverb ἀνα- here is presumably 'back, backwards',[8] apparently with inchoativity due to the suffix - σκ- . If a present **ἀναζῶ existed, it would presumably have the stative meaning 'be alive again'.

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[4]On - σάμην see also Bakker 1994: 39; and Rijksbaron 1994: 152 n. 6.

[5]The form is βιώσαντες; also found is ἐβίωσαν (*Phdr.* 249b.1), which belongs to both the root and sigmatic aorists. Cf. Chapter 7 § 4.1.2 above.

[6]It is first found in Homer, at *Il.* 8.429, 10.174, 15.511 and *Od.* 14.359. Rix (1998: 192) postulates a 'fientive' $*g^{w}ih_3$-$éh_1$- / $*g^{w}ih_3$-h_1-.

[7]Hence, for example, forms such as ἐβίωσεν (*HA* V 545b.20) and βιώσας (*Ath.* 17.1). Indeed, we find πάλιν ἀνεβίωσεν 'he [the baby] comes back to life' at *HA* VII 587a.24.

[8]LSJ s.v. ἀνά F 4; examples include ἀναχωρέω 'go back, withdraw'.

2.2.2. κυΐσκομαι

The present κυΐσκομαι 'conceive, become pregnant' is found only once in Plato, although this present is not infrequent elsewhere:[9]

> οἶσθα γάρ που ὡς οὐδεμία αὐτῶν ἔτι αὐτὴ κυϊσκομένη τε καὶ τίκτουσα ἄλλας μαιεύεται, ἀλλ' αἱ ἤδη ἀδύνατοι τίκτειν. (*Tht.* 149b)
>
> For you know, I suppose, that no-one of them [midwives], while still conceiving (becoming pregnant) and bearing herself, acts as a midwife for others, but those already incapable of bearing children do it.

Beside κυΐσκομαι in Plato we find a present κυέω / κύω 'bear in the womb, be pregnant with' (LSJ s.vv.), both literally and metaphorically, whose present stem occurs twelve times in Burnet's text.[10] An example of the indicative is as follows:

> δεῖ δὲ... Θεαίτητον ὧν κυεῖ περὶ ἐπιστήμης πειρᾶσθαι ἡμᾶς τῇ μαιευτικῇ τέχνῃ ἀπολῦσαι. (*Tht.* 184a-b)
>
> But we should... try to release Theaetetus from what he is pregnant with concerning knowledge, by means of the art of delivery.

A less literal but more idiomatic English way of translating ὧν κυεῖ here would be 'what he has conceived' – for what one is pregnant with is what one has conceived. The present participle κυῶν occurs seven times in Plato; in contrast to that of

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[9]For example, Herodotus uses it four times (2.93 [twice], 3.108 and 4.30) and Aristotle 37 (all instances being in the *de Generatione Animalium* and *Historia Animalium*).
[10]The two instances of κυεῖν (*Plt.* 274a.7, *Smp.* 209a.3) are not read by Burnet.

κυΐσκομαι, it has the stative meaning 'one who is pregnant':

> ἔτι δ' ἔγωγ'... φαίην ἂν δεῖν καὶ τὰς φερούσας ἐν γαστρὶ πασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν μάλιστα θεραπεύειν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὅπως μήτε ἡδοναῖς τισι πολλαῖς ἅμα καὶ μάργοις προσχρήσεται ἡ κύουσα μήτε αὐ λύπαις, ... (*Lg.* VII 792e)
>
> I would say besides that, out of all women, those who are pregnant should be especially cared for for that year, in case the pregnant woman indulges in any frequent mad pleasures or pains.

The aorist ἐκύησα occurs twice, and has the inchoative meaning 'conceived, became pregnant with':

> εἰσι γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, οἳ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς κυοῦσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, ἃ ψυχῇ προσήκει καὶ κυῆσαι καὶ τεκεῖν·[11]
>
> (*Smp.* 209 a)
>
> For there are those who are pregnant in their souls, he said, still more than in their bodies, with the things that it is proper for the soul to conceive (become pregnant with) and bear.

> ... κατακλίνεταί τε παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκύησε τὸν Ἔρωτα.
>
> (*Smp.* 203 b-c)
>
> ... and she lay beside him and conceived (became pregnant) with Love.[12]

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[11]As noted in n. 10 above, this is an emendation for κυεῖν.

[12]It has been suggested to me by Ms. Frisbee Sheffield (cf. Sheffield 1997) that, in the latter passage, Plato is making a joke by giving Penia masculine attributes, inverting the roles in the standard image of a man raping a woman, and so giving the passage the alternative meaning '... and she made him pregnant with Love' – that is, using ἐκύησα with causative sense. It is indeed possible that Plato is playing on the morphological ambiguity of ἐκύησα – using an analogy such as στερίσκομαι 'become deprived' : ἐστέρησα 'made deprived' :: κυΐσκομαι 'became pregnant' : X, where X =

On the analogy of inchoative present μεθύσκομαι : aorist ἐμεθύσθην and, similarly, στερίσκομαι : ἐστερήθην, we would expect the aorist of κυΐσκομαι to be ἐκυήθην. Instead, however, we find the inchoative active aorist ἐκύησα. The reason for this state of affairs is presumably that ἐκύησα came about as the aorist of κυέω 'be pregnant', since aorists of stative present forms may have inchoative sense, indicating entrance into the state concerned.[13] It is thus listed in lexica as the aorist of κυέω, as ἐφίλησα is of φιλέω (LSJ s.v.), but its connection to the similarly inchoative κυΐσκομαι should not be ignored. The case with ἀναβιώσκομαι is similar, with aorists ἀνεβίων and ἀνεβιωσάμην being listed under different headings in different lexica (cf. Chapter 7 § 4.1.2 above). With στέρομαι, as we shall see below (§ 2.2.4), the aorist ἐστερήθην is found beside inchoative στερίσκομαι and stative στέρομαι. These aorists have two presents; listing the non-present forms under either would be misleading.

The only other related verbal form is the present 'passive' κυέομαι 'get conceived', which occurs once[14] in participial form. The Stranger is recommending that exercise begin at the earliest age possible:

> οὐδαμῶς γε, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν αὐτῶν μητέρων τρεφομένοις.
>
> πῶς λέγεις, ὦ λῷστε; ἢ τοῖς κυουμένοισι φράζεις;
>
> (*Lg.* VII 789a)

ἐκύησα 'made pregnant'. It should be noted, however, that such a sense is not found for ἐκύησα anywhere else in Classical Greek (one may compare its inchoative meaning at, for example, Herodotus 5.41 and Aristophanes *Th.* 641). The one example of causative ἔκῡσα 'made pregnant' (Aeschylus *fr.* 44. 4) is to be accounted for differently (see below).

[13]Cf. Comrie 1976: 19-20; Binnick 1991: 60, citing Goodwin 1894: 270; Rijksbaron 1994: 20-1.

[14]Another instance of this participle, found at *Epinomis* (973d.4), is of similar usage.

Not at all, but even earlier, [exercise will be prescribed] to those growing up inside their own mothers.

What do you mean, my good man? Are you talking about embryos?

Here the participle is passive 'things that one is pregnant with' and so 'embryos', thus making it similar to κύημα 'embryo, foetus' (*Smp.* 206d.7, *R.* V 461c.5).

Further tense stems are found outside Plato. The stative perfect κεκύηκα 'be pregnant' occurs apparently only twice – both times in the same passage – in Classical Greek:

τέθνηκε τις· μὴ δεινόν ἔστω τοῦτό σοι.
κεκύηκέ τις, οὐ κεκύηκέ τις, ἠτύχηκέ τις,
βήττει τις, οἰμώζει τις. (Philemon *fr.* 107.3)

Someone or other's dead; don't let that be terrible for you. Someone's pregnant, someone isn't, someone's unhappy, someone's coughing, someone's lamenting.

One might also expect a causative active - κυΐσκω beside medio-passive κυΐσκομαι; but unfortunately all Classical examples are dubious.[15] In Aristotle, we find:

[15]Later, κυΐσκω appears to mean both 'become pregnant' and 'impregnate': LSJ (s.v. κυΐσκομαι) cite the former as occurring in Galen (4.513) and Philostratus (*VA* 1.22, *Gp.* 14.1.3) in the second-third centuries AD, and the latter in Himerius (*Or.* 1.7) in the fourth.

τὰ δὲ πρόβατα κυΐσκεται μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσιν ὀχείαις, ἐὰν δ ὕδωρ ἐπιγένηται μετὰ τὴν ὀχείαν, ἀνακυΐσκει. (Aristotle *HA* VI 573b)

Ewes become pregnant within three or four copulations, and if rain ensues after the copulation, it makes them pregnant (??).

LSJ gloss this verb as causative 'impregnate again', presumably with the subject as ὕδωρ; in the Budé edition, Louis (1964-9: II.108-9) has the semantic opposite, 'fait avorter', and notes as many as three suggested emendations: ἀνακυΐσκεται 'they miscarry', ἀμβλίσκει 'it makes them miscarry', and ἐκτιτρώσκει 'they miscarry'. The subject, ὕδωρ, is translated by Louis as 'la pluie', although the sense might rather be 'urine', for the meaning of the passage is obscure. If we do read ἀνακυΐσκει here, therefore, it is as a causative form; whether the sense is 'make pregnant' or 'make miscarry' is, however, contested. In Hippocrates, we do find the similarly causative νούσους ὑδρωποειδέας ἀποκυΐσκει 'it [excess nourishment in the body due to over-eating] brings about dropsical diseases' (*Vict.* III.76); but the form is not found in all manuscripts.

If there were a causative-inchoative pair of the form κυΐσκω 'make pregnant' : κυΐσκομαι 'become pregnant', then aorists to these forms should then be, respectively, causative ἐκύησα 'made pregnant' and ἐκυήθην 'became pregnant'; but such data are, however, scanty. There is one example of a causative active aorist, in the form ἔκῡσα, in the following passage from Aeschylus' *Danaids*, quoted by Athenaeus (12.600a):

ἐρᾷ μὲν ἁγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,
ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·
ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν

ἔκυσε γαῖαν· ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον
δένδρων τ᾽ ὀπώραν... (Aeschylus *fr.* 44.1-6)

Holy heaven loves to violate the earth, and love seizes the land to join the union. The rain, having fallen from fair-flowing heaven, impregnates the earth; and she gives birth for mortals to food for sheep, and Demeter's livelihood and the fruit of the trees...

The above text is taken from *TrGF* 3, where several suggested emendations for the causative sigmatic aorist ἔκῡσε are listed, all of which involve the substitution of a different verb. In fact, it does not seem to be necessary to change the form; rather, as Chantraine (1968-80 s.v. κυέω) notes, the meaning can be accounted for by derivation from the archaic intransitive aorist middle participle κῡσάμενος 'having conceived', which occurs first with preverb ὑπο- in the *Iliad*, as in:

αἱ δ᾽ ὑποκυσάμεναι ἔτεκον δυοκαίδεκα πώλους. (*Il.* 20.225)

And they [Erichthonius' foals], having become pregnant, gave birth to twelve foals.

It is also found in this use at *Il.* 6.26 and *Od.* 11.254, but disappears after several other early appearances (Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns*);[16] significantly, the form is reinterpreted as causative in the third century BC[17] – not unexpectedly, given the transitive sense of forms in -σάμην (§ 2.2.1 above). Hence Aeschylus' use of a causative ἔκῡσα is most likely an archaism, not directly related to the forms found in Plato, and his supposed use elsewhere of another apparently causative aorist of a verb

[16] *Fr. Hymni Bacchum* 4, *Hhymn.* 32.15.

[17] " Ὅσσους ... Τυφάονι κύσατο Κητώ 'As many as Ceto brought forth for Typhon' (Euphorio 112).

in - σκω (aorist ἐγήρᾱσα at *Supp.* 894, discussed in § 2.3.2 below) is a coincidence.[18]

The form ἐκυήθην in the meaning 'became pregnant', noted above as the expected aorist of the present κυΐσκομαι 'become pregnant', is not found in Classical Greek. The form only seems to occur once, when Aristotle is discussing the complications of superfetation – i.e., being doubly pregnant:

> τούτων δ' ὅσα μὲν μέγεθος ἔχει, καθάπερ ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα ὀχεία τῆς ἑτέρας γένηται πάρεγγυς, ἐκτρέφει τὸ ἐπικυηθέν. (Aristotle *GA* IV 773b)
>
> Of these [animals], those that are large, such as man, if the second copulation takes place close to the first, do nourish the [foetus] that was conceived secondly.

This verbal form evidently means 'become conceived', and is therefore to be classed as aorist not of κυΐσκομαι, but of the present κυέομαι 'be conceived', as found in Plato and discussed above.

In conclusion, then, we have in Plato an inchoative present κυΐσκομαι 'become pregnant, conceive', another present κυέω 'bear in the womb, be pregnant (with)' and an aorist ἐκύησα 'became pregnant (with), conceived'. In addition there is a passive present of κυέω, κυέομαι 'be conceived'. Elsewhere we find the perfect κεκύηκα 'have become pregnant, be pregnant', the aorist passive - ἐκυήθην 'became conceived' and an active present -κυΐσκω of uncertain meaning. Once again, the form with - σκ- shows inchoative sense beside another present which does not, and the non-present forms are inchoative in meaning; here, however, as in the

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[18]Later, ἔκῡσα was apparently used to create a nonce-formation κύω 'make pregnant' (Anacreont. 25.16 W); see n. 12 above for the theory that ἐκύησα could also be causative, however.

case of ἀναβίωσκομαι, the aorist to our medio-passive present occurs in the active, not matching the voice of the present in - σκ- .

2.2.3. μεθύσκω

There are two cases of a present with stem μεθύσκ- in Plato: one in the active, and one in the medio-passive. LSJ (s.v.) define the former as 'make drunk, intoxicate', and the latter as its passive, which they say is the same as μεθύω 'drink freely, get drunk'. Hence, in the active, the verb is causative in meaning, when it is used metaphorically in the following phrase:

> ... πλοῦτος, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δι' ἡδονῆς αὖ μεθύσκοντα παράφρονας ποιεῖ... (*Lg.* I 649d)
> ... wealth, beauty, strength and all the things which, intoxicating men (making men drunk) with pleasure, make them deranged.

The medio-passive occurs as follows:

> ἐπειδὴ οὖν μοι δοκεῖ οὐδεὶς τῶν παρόντων προθύμως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ πολὺν πίνειν οἶνον, ἴσως ἂν ἐγὼ περὶ τοῦ μεθύσκεσθαι οἷόν ἐστι τἀληθῆ λέγων ἧττον ἂν εἴην ἀηδής. (*Smp.* 176c)
> Therefore, since no one present seems to be eager to drink much wine, perhaps if I speak about what getting drunk (becoming drunk) really is, telling the truth, I shall be less irritating.

Although I have glossed τοῦ μεθύσκεσθαι above as 'getting drunk', it is in fact ambiguous, even in context, between stative and inchoative readings. However, the following example from Herodotus testifies to the inchoativity of μεθύσκομαι.

Here, people living on the island of Araxes are doing what would be colloquially termed 'getting stoned':

> ... ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀδμῇ... πλεῦνος δ' ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι... (1.202.2)
>
> [Men say that] they, smelling the fruit that is thrown on as it [the fire] burns, get drunk (become drunk) from the smell, and as more fruit is thrown on they get more drunk (become more drunk)...

We therefore again have an inchoative medio-passive form in - σκ- beside a causative active one.

The related present μεθύω occurs19 times, of which all instances are participial, bar one of the infinitive and one of the indicative. It is glossed by LSJ as stative 'be drunken with wine', although under μεθύσκω it is equated with inchoative μεθύσκομαι. In fact, they are correct in their stative gloss:

> βούλεσθ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐπειδὴ ὥσπερ μεθύομεν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, συγχωρήσωμεν...; (*Lys.* 222c)
>
> So do you want us to agree now, I said, since we are, as it were, drunk from our argument...?

The participle of μεθύω therefore means 'being drunk', as e.g.:

> ἄνδρες, χαίρετε· μεθύοντα ἄνδρα πάνυ σφόδρα δέξεσθε συμπότην...; (*Smp.* 212e)

Greetings, gentlemen; will you receive a fellow-drinker, who is exceedingly drunk... ?

As such it is found occasionally in contrast to νήφω 'be sober', as in the phrase μεθύοντας ἢ καὶ νήφοντας 'when drunk or indeed when sober' (*R.* III 395e-396a).

Also classed under this present by Brandwood (1976, s.v. μεθύσκοντα) and LSJ (s.v. μεθύσκω) is the aorist form ἐμεθύσθην (six times). The meaning is inchoative 'became drunk', as one would expect from the past of μεθύσκομαι:

πρὸς μὲν Σωκράτη, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ σόφισμά μοι οὐδέν· ὁπόσον γὰρ ἂν κελεύῃ τις, τοσοῦτον ἐκπιὼν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μή ποτε μεθυσθῇ. (*Smp.* 214a)

As for Socrates, gentlemen, my plan is as nothing. For however much one orders him, having drunk it up he never gets any more drunk.

The participle of the aorist passive, since it means 'one who has got drunk', is used to mean 'someone drunk, a drunken person':

οὐ μόνον ἄρ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ γέρων δὶς παὶς γίγνοιτ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μεθυσθείς. (*Lg.* I 646a)

Not only the old man, it seems, may be in his second childhood, but also the drunken one.

In addition Plato uses an aorist active, in one instance of the compound form κατ- εμέθυσα 'make drunk'. It is used of Archelaus, who usurped the throne of Macedonia in 413 BC:

... ξενίσας καὶ καταμεθύσας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ὑὸν αὐτοῦ 'Αλέξανδρον, ... ἐμβαλὼν εἰς ἅμαξαν, νύκτωρ ἐξαγαγὼν ἀπέσφαζέν τε καὶ ἠφάνισεν ἀμφοτέρους. (*Grg.* 471b)

... having entertained and made both him [his master and uncle, Alcetas] and his son Alexander drunk, ... having thrown them into a wagon and taken them away by night, he murdered and made away with both of them.

This is therefore the aorist to causative present μεθύσκω; it is uncommon, only elsewhere occurring in Herodotus and also the Middle Comedy poet Alexis, where it is found in simple form.[19]

The adjective μεθυστικός also has an intransitive meaning in Plato: it means 'fond of drinking' (in LSJ 'given to wine, drunken') in the phrase μεθυστικός τε καὶ ἐρωτικὸς καὶ μελαγχολικός 'fond of drinking, amorous and melancholic' (*R.* IX 573c). The suffix - τικός is, therefore, here giving a sense of 'fond of doing X' to the intransitive base μεθυ- 'be/get drunk'; comparable is the pair ἀμφισβητέω 'disagree, dispute' (*Prt.* 337a.8 etc.) and ἀμφισβητικός 'fond of disputing, contentious' (*Plt.* 306a.9 etc.).

We therefore have a pattern in the present of stative μεθύω 'be drunk', inchoative μεθύσκομαι 'get drunk' and causative μεθύσκω 'make drunk'; non-present forms are only found in the aorist, with inchoative ἐμεθύσθην 'became drunk' occurring beside causative - ἐμέθυσα 'made drunk'. The suffix - σκ- shows in one form a causative active, in the other an inchoative middle, beside an unmarked stative present.

It is of interest here briefly to compare the similar morphology and semantics of the verb listed by LSJ as οἰνόω 'intoxicate', which, like the base in μεθυ- , shows several tense stems in Classical Greek. In the aorist active, we find the causative

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[19]Herodotus 1.106, 2.121ε.4, 3.4; Alexis, *fr.* 214.2.

infinitive οἰνῶσαι 'to make drunk' (Critias 6.28; cf. (-)ἐμέθυσα 'made drunk'); inchoative aorist 'passive' participle οἰνωθείς 'having got drunk' (in a repeated formula at *Odyssey* 16. 292, 19. 11; Sophocles *fr.* 929; cf. ἐμεθύσθην 'became drunk'); and perfect medio-passive participle ὠνωμένος 'having got drunk, being drunk' (Herodotus 5.18, Aeschylus *Supp.* 409 and generally frequent in Attic-Ionic; cf. μεθύω, and the way that κεκύηκα is semantically identical with κυέω). That is to say, the patterns shown by the various parts of μεθύσκω in Plato are also clear in the semantically similar οἰνόω.

To summarise, therefore:

	Inchoative	**Causative**	**Stative**
Present	μεθύσκομαι 'get drunk'	μεθύσκω 'make drunk'	μεθύω 'be drunk' ὠνωμένος 'being drunk'
Aorist	ἐμεθύσθην 'became drunk' οἰνωθείς 'having become drunk'	(-)ἐμέθυσα 'made drunk' οἰνῶσαι 'to make drunk'	

2.2.4. στερίσκομαι

The present στερίσκομαι is referred to as the passive of στερίσκω (itself not found in Plato) by LSJ (s.v. στερίσκω); the latter is there defined as a collateral present of στερέω 'deprive, bereave, rob'. The form in -σκ- is found only once in Plato, in the infinitive, in the following conversation between Socrates and Glaucon:

> φαίνεταί μοι δόξα ἐξιέναι ἐκ διανοίας ἢ ἑκουσίως ἢ ἀκουσίως, ἑκουσίως μὲν ἡ ψευδὴς τοῦ μεταμανθάνοντος, ἀκουσίως δὲ πᾶσα ἡ ἀληθής.
>
> τὸ μὲν τῆς ἑκουσίου, ἔφη, μανθάνω, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀκουσίου δέομαι μαθεῖν.

τί δέ; οὐ καὶ σὺ ἡγῇ, ἔφην ἐγώ, τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἀκουσίως στέρεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἑκουσίως; ἢ οὐ τὸ μὲν ἐψεῦσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας κακόν, τὸ δὲ ἀληθεύειν ἀγαθόν; ἢ οὐ τὸ τὰ ὄντα δοξάζειν ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι;

ἀλλ', ἦ δ' ὅς, ὀρθῶς λέγεις, καί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄκοντες ἀληθοῦς δόξης στερίσκεσθαι. (*R.* III 412e-413a)

It seems to me that a notion leaves the mind either voluntarily or involuntarily — voluntarily when the false notion leaves a person who learns better, and involuntarily when every true notion leaves.

I understand about the voluntary notion, he said, but I need to learn about the involuntary one.

Do you not think, I said, that men lack (are without) good things unwillingly, but bad ones willingly? Is it not bad to be deceived about the truth, but good to possess the truth? Do you not think that to opine things that exist is to possess the truth?

You speak truly, he said; indeed they seem to me to lose (become deprived of) true opinion unwillingly.

In the above passage, I translate στέρεσθαι as stative 'be without' but στερίσκεσθαι as inchoative 'become deprived of'. In the former case, this takes into account the parallel between στέρεσθαι and the following statives ἐψεῦσθαι 'be deceived' and ἀληθεύειν 'possess the truth'; in the latter, it implies that Glaucon, in using στερίσκεσθαι, is referring back to the earlier ἐξιέναι 'leave' (said by Socrates), which indicates a change of state.

This example is a difficult one; more obvious is the following instance from outside Plato, where στερίσκομαι clearly shows inchoative sense:

... οἵ τε ταῦροι ἐκτεμνόμενοι τοῦ μὲν μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν ἰφίενται, τοῦ δ' ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οὐ στερίσκονται... (Xenophon *Cyr.* 7.5.62)

And bulls, when castrated, relax from their high spirit and disobedience, but do not lose (become deprived of) their strength and performance.

In contrast are presents στερέω and στέρομαι. The former, as we have already seen, is glossed as causative 'deprive' by LSJ; the latter they take as 'be without, lack, lose'. Of these three definitions for στέρομαι, the first two are synonymous and stative, and the third is the associated inchoative notion: to lose something is to come to be without it. However, Plato's frequent use of this verb – it is found nineteen times – clearly shows that στέρομαι has the stative sense 'lack, be without' only, and does not overlap in meaning with inchoative στερίσκομαι. Hence the following instance, where Socrates is speaking of the shamelessness of talking about what 'to know' is when the meaning of 'knowledge' is not understood:

εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κεχρήμεθ' αὖ τῷ "ἀγνοεῖν" τε καὶ "συνιέναι," ὡς προσῆκον αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι εἴπερ στερόμεθα ἐπιστήμης. (*Tht.* 196e)

And if you please, we've just now again used 'be ignorant' and 'understand', as if it were proper for us to use them if we lack (are without) knowledge.

By assigning both inchoative and stative meanings to στέρομαι, LSJ obscure the facts. Under the heading of στερέω, they state that the 'passive' of this verb, apart from compound form ἀπο- στερέομαι, is usually found as στέρομαι and στερίσκομαι in Classical authors. Formally, the inchoative appears to be the passive of the causative, so that in LSJ's terminology this statement is true of

στερίσκομαι; but it is not so with στέρομαι. This form is not involved in alternations of voice: as a stative, it is only found in the active or the medio-passive, but not both. It is no surprise that we find no active **στέρω, since there is no meaning such a form derived from stative στέρομαι could have; a medio-passive **μεθύομαι taken from μεθύω 'be drunk' would make equally little sense. The question of why one stative should be in the active and another in the medio-passive is therefore raised, which will be discussed below (§§ 2.6-2.7).

Leaving στέρομαι aside as the stative form which is the unmarked counterpart to inchoative στερίσκομαι, we have as causative alternant the present στερέω 'make one be without, deprive', whose present tense is apparently only found once in simple form in Ancient Greek;[20] it is used in the quotation below, when Plato states that no tombs are to be built on farmland:

> ... τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ὅσα τροφὴν μήτηρ οὖσα ἡ γῆ πρὸς ταῦτα πέφυκεν βούλεσθαι φέρειν, μήτε ζῶν μήτε τις ἀποθανὼν στερείτω τὸν ζῶνθ' ἡμῶν. (*Lg.* XII 958e).
>
> But let no one living or dead deprive (cause to become without) a living man among us of any [of the places] which earth, who is the mother for these things, by her nature desires to carry food for men.

The pattern of causative : inchoative : stative, found in the previous section as μεθύσκω : μεθύσκομαι : μεθύω, is here realised as στερέω : στερίσκομαι : στέρομαι.

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[20]Unless στερεῖ at Aeschylus *Pr.* 862 is taken as present rather than, as is usual, future (cf. LSJ s.v. στερέω).

Other tenses used by Plato are formed from the stem στερη- :[21] there is no future active, but one case of the aorist ἐστέρησα, which also has causative meaning:

> ἐὰν δὲ ἄψυχόν τι ψυχῆς ἄνθρωπον στερήσῃ, ... δικαστὴν μὲν αὐτῷ καθιζέτω τῶν γειτόνων τὸν ἐγγύτατα ὁ προσήκων γένει, ... (*Lg.* IX 873e)
>
> And if a lifeless thing deprives (causes to become without) a man of life, let the relative set the nearest neighbour as judge on it.

Similarly, the perfect ἐστέρηκα, in its one instance, also has causative sense:

> ... ὧν ἀδελφούς τε ἀδελφῶν καὶ γονέας ἐστέρηκε παίδων, τούτοις δὲ συνέστιος αὐτοῖς μηδέποτε γιγνέσθω μηδὲ κοινωνὸς ἱερῶν... (*Lg.* IX 868e)
>
> And let him never share house or worship with those whose brothers he has deprived brothers of or [whose] children [he has deprived] parents [of].

Three further tenses found in στερη- show medio-passive endings, all with inchoative meaning. Firstly, there is the future στερήσομαι, which occurs once:[22]

> ... εἶπον ὡς εἰ φανείη τι τούτοιν ἀμφοῖν βέλτιον, ὑπὲρ τῶν δευτερείων νῷ πρὸς ἡδονὴν συνδιαμαχοίμην, ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ δευτερείων στερήσοιτο. (*Phlb.* 66e)

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[21]For the occasional non-present forms in στερε- found outside Plato, see Veitch 1887 s.v. στερέω.
[22]This form has inchoative 'passive' meaning although morphologically middle; it is frequently found in Classical Greek, the future 'passive' στερηθήσομαι becoming common only in post-Classical Greek: cf. Veitch 1887 s.v. στερέω.

I said that if anything appeared to be better than both of these, I would fight to the end together with mind against pleasure for second place, and pleasure would lose (become deprived of) even second place.

The other is the aorist ἐστερήθην, found seventeen times in all. This form is inchoative, meaning 'become deprived of, lose', as in:

ἀνδρῶν μέντοι ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐστερήθημεν, ... (*Mx.* 245e)

But we lost (became deprived of) good men in this war ...

Lastly, there is the stative perfect ἐστέρημαι (found five times), which denotes the state resulting from the change 'lose', and so the state itself. Plato says of plants:

... μόνιμον δὲ καὶ κατερριζωμένον πέπηγεν διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κινήσεως ἐστερῆσθαι. (*Ti.* 77c)

But it remains stationary and rooted down through lacking (being without) [the power of] movement by itself.

This perfect is thus synonymous with the stative present στέρομαι 'be without'.

The compounds show a more regular morphological pattern, with present forms in - έω and - έομαι, non-present ones being again in στερη- . The only frequent compound, ἀποστερέω 'rob', has present active (eleven times), future ἀποστερήσω 'will rob' (*Prm* 134e.8), aorist ἀπεστέρησα 'robbed' (four times) and perfect ἀπεστέρηκα 'have robbed' (*Phdr.* 241b.3, *Lg.* IX 868d.4). There are also instances of a medio-passive. We find one instance of an inchoative present ἀποστερέομαι, in the participle: ἀποστερουμένοις χρήματα ἤ τι ἄλλο

βιαζομένοις 'robbed of money or in some other way assaulted' (*Tht.* 201b); one of the aorist ἀπεστερήθην 'got robbed' in the optative (*Smp.* 219d.7); and one of the perfect ἀπεστέρημαι 'have been robbed' in the participle (*R.* I 329a.8). The other compound from this stem found in Plato is συναποστερέω 'help to steal' (*Lg.* XII 948c.6).

Beside the causative-inchoative pair στερέω : στερίσκομαι we therefore find, in compound form, ἀποστερέω : ἀποστερέομαι. An example from outside Plato where the latter form is clearly inchoative is as follows:

> ἥ τε πόλις οὐκ ὠφελεῖται ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε· φοβῷ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖται τῶν ξυμβούλων. (Thucydides 3.42.4)
>
> And the state is not improved by this; for it is robbed (becomes deprived) of its counsellors through fear.

The alternations in the present tense found in Plato may therefore be summarised as causative στερέω, - στερέω, inchoative στερίσκομαι, - στερέομαι. Indeed, στερίσκομαι apparently never occurs in compound form; but there are at least three instances of a causative active present simple στερίσκω in Classical Greek, as in:[23]

> χὠ μὲν νεάζων καὶ χρόνῳ μείων γεγὼς
> τὸν πρόσθε γεννηθέντα Πολυνείκη θρόνων
> ἀποστερίσκει, κἀξελήλακεν πάτρας. (Sophocles *OC* 374-6)
>
> And he, full of youthful spirit and being lesser in years, deprives (causes to become without) Polyneices, born before him, of the throne; and he has driven him from the fatherland.

[23]The other instances are at Thucydides 2.43.1 and Aristotle *MM* II 1199b.16-17.

This gives in all, in the present, causative στερέω, -στερέω, στερίσκω; inchoative στερίσκομαι, - στερέομαι. Other forms are stative στέρομαι and the non-present forms, which are causative or inchoative, in στερη- . The morphological pattern shown here is unusual, but clearly has no bearing on the semantics of these forms. Rather, it is merely morphological irregularity: στέρομαι is the oldest form, first being found in Hesiod (*Op.* 211); non-present inchoative medio-passive forms derived from this in στερ- with suffix -η- , such as the early ἐστέρηθην (found in many Classical authors, such as Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Demosthenes and Xenophon), resulted ultimately in active causative ones too, leading to the present opposition causative στερέω : stative στέρομαι, and thence also inchoative present - στερέομαι.

2.2.5. Summary: the μεθύσκω type

Forms examined so far may therefore be summarised as follows:

Causative		**Inchoative**		**Stative**	**Meaning**
Present	**Aorist**	**Present**	**Aorist**	**Present**	
ἀναβιώσκομαι	ἀνεβιωσάμην	ἀναβιώσκομαι	ἀνεβίων	ζῶ	'live'
[(- κυΐσκω)]	(ἔκῡσα)	κυΐσκομαι	ἐκύησα (ἐκυσάμην)	κυέω	'be pregnant'
μεθύσκω	- ἐμέθυσα	μεθύσκομαι	ἐμεθύσθην	μεθύω	'be drunk'
στερέω (στερίσκω)	ἐστέρησα	στερίσκομαι, -στερέομαι	ἐστερήθην	στέρομαι, ἐστέρημαι	'be without'

At this point it seems possible to say that - σκ- marks inchoativity on medio-passive forms and causativity on active forms – except where the subject shows a special interest in the action, as it does in the case of ἀναβιώσκομαι. In the following section, however, we shall examine two cases which clearly contradict this rule.

2.3. Active inchoatives: the γενειάσκω-type

Here we find only two forms to be studied: γενειάσκω and γηράσκω.

2.3.1. γενειάσκω

The present γενειάσκω, traditionally 'begin to get a beard' (LSJ s.v.) is only found once in Plato:

> οὐ γὰρ ἐρῶσι παίδων, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἤδη ἄρχωνται νοῦν ἴσχειν, τοῦτο δὲ πλησιάζει τῷ γενειάσκειν. (*Smp.* 181d)
>
> For they [men attracted to other men] do not love boys, except when they are already beginning to have a mind for themselves; and this is near to [the time of] beginning to have a beard.

It is thus an inchoative present, denoting entry into the state of having a beard, and is to be contrasted with an unmarked form γενειάω, glossed in LSJ as both 'grow a beard, get a beard' (*Odyssey*, Hippocrates, Xenophon and Theocritus) and secondly 'have a beard' (Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle and Dio Cassius). This form also only occurs once in Plato, in a passage concerning the reversal of natural processes:

> καὶ τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων αἱ λευκαὶ τρίχες ἐμελαίνοντο, τῶν δ' αὖ γενειώντων αἱ παρειαὶ λεαινόμεναι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν παρελθοῦσαν ὥραν ἕκαστον καθίστασαν, τῶν δὲ ἡβώντων τὰ σώματα λεαινόμενα καὶ σμικρότερα καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἑκάστην γιγνόμενα πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ νεογενοῦς παιδὸς φύσιν ἀπῄει, κατά τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἀφομοιούμενα.
>
> (*Plt.* 270e)

> And the white hair of the old grew black, and the cheeks of the bearded, growing smooth again, brought each to a time that had passed, and the bodies of the youthful, becoming smooth and smaller by each day and night, go back to the nature of the new-born child, becoming like them in body and in soul.

The parallelism between τῶν αὖ γενειώντων with τῶν πρεσβυτέρων and τῶν ἡβώντων can leave us in little doubt that γενειάω indicates an ongoing state: as LSJ translate it with reference to this passage, it means 'to have a beard', whereas γενειάσκω indicates entrance into the state of having a beard. As in the case of the verbs in -σκομαι discussed above, we have the inchoative of an inchoative-stative pair; but here, it shows active morphology, and no causative variant is found.

The present γενειάσκω itself is only found once more (Xenophon *Cyr.* 4.6.5), and is apparently later replaced by γενειάζω, presumably under influence of the common suffix - άζω; the latter present is also rare.[24] In all these remaining examples, γενειάσκω / γενειάζω occurs in the participle with ἄρτι, and means 'just beginning to get a beard'. On the other hand, the present γενειάω – despite LSJ's apparently double definition – only ever occurs with the one, stative, sense, and never with ἄρτι.[25] The verb itself is so rare that there are apparently only ever two instances of it outside the present tense form: we find the inchoative aorist participle form γενειήσαντα 'having become bearded, having grown a beard' at *Od.* 18.176, 269; and a perfect one γεγενείακεν, presumably meaning 'he has grown a beard', ascribed to Philemon (*fr.* 15).

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[24]It is apparently only found at Theocritus 11.9, *AP* 12.12 and *IG* 3.1314.
[25]Aristophanes *Ec.* 145, Aristotle *GA* II 746b.24, Hippocrates *Nat. Puer.* 20, Theocritus 14.28, Xenophon *An.* 2.6.29.

2.3.2. γηράσκω

The next verb, γηράσκω, shows an obvious affinity with γενειάσκω. Likewise active in morphology but apparently with subject affected by the action – LSJ (s.v.) gloss the present as 'grow old' – it too has a by-form in -άω. In this case, however, the latter is only found in Plato with preverb: it is κατα-γηράω, defined as 'grow old' by LSJ (s.v. καταγηράσκω, which is cited as meaning the same).

There are four instances of γηράσκω in Plato. Prior to the following instance, Plato has said that, in his ideal community, the rich should marry the poor, and the hasty should marry the well-balanced, in order to provide equilibrium:

> περὶ δὲ προικὸς εἴρηται μὲν καὶ πρότερον, εἰρήσθω δὲ πάλιν ὡς ἴσα ἀντὶ ἴσων ἐστὶν τὸ μήτε λαμβάνοντι μήτ' ἐκδιδόντι διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν γηράσκειν τοὺς πένητας· τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπάρχοντά ἐστι πᾶσι τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, ... (*Lg.* VI 774c)
>
> And, concerning dowry, it has also been said before, and let it be said again, that it is equally likely that, among the poor, the one taking [the bride] or the one giving [her away] should die before old age [literally, should fail to become old] because of lack of money; for necessities are provided for all of those who live in this city.[26]

Reference is made here to an earlier discussion at *Laws* V 742c, where Plato says that no dowry will be given or received by either side in a marriage. He therefore means in the above passage that, whichever side of the family they are on (whether taking the bride or giving her away), the poor will not die because of poverty; for, without a

[26]In this translation I take the negatives with γηράσκειν, and the understood object of λαμβάνοντι and ἐκδιδόντι as 'bride'; see further England 1921: I.611-12.

dowry, there will be equality. γηράσκειν, therefore, refers to a change of state: διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν [μὴ] γηράσκειν means '[not] to become old through lack of money'.

A second case is as follows:

> ὅταν δὲ ᾖ μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, γηράσκῃ δέ, ἢ μέλαν ἐκ λευκοῦ ἢ σκληρὸν ἐκ μαλακοῦ γίγνηται, ἤ τινα ἄλλην ἀλλοίωσιν ἀλλοιῶται, ἆρα οὐκ ἄξιον ἕτερον εἶδος φάναι κινήσεως; (*Tht.* 181c-d)
>
> And whenever something stays in the same place, but grows old, or becomes black from being white or hard from soft, or changes in any other way, is it not right to say that it is another type of motion?

The two other instances are both participial, and refer to Solon *fr.* 18 West: γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος 'Always learning many things, I grow old.' The passages from Plato are:

> ... ἀλλα καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι, ἓν μόνον προσλαβών, συγχωρῶ· γηράσκων γὰρ πολλὰ διδάσκεσθαι ἐθέλω ὑπὸ χρηστῶν μόνον. (*La.* 189a)
>
> But I agree with Solon, adding one thing alone: for as I grow old I wish to learn many things, from good men alone.

> Σόλωνι γὰρ οὐ πειστέον ὡς γηράσκων τις πολλὰ δυνατὸς μανθάνειν... (*R.* VII 536d)
>
> For we must not believe Solon that as he grows old a man can learn many things...

In these cases also, γηράσκω has the inchoative meaning 'become old'.

Listed too under this verb in LSJ and Brandwood are a future γηρᾰ́σω[27] and an aorist ἐγήρᾱσα, each found once. The future is in the infinitive:

> πρὶν δὲ λυθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἐν ᾧ Αργει ἔφη γηράσειν μετὰ οὗ· (*R.* III 393e)
>
> And before his daughter was released, he said, she would grow old in Argos with him.

The latter is a periphrasis of Agamemnon's words at *Il.* 1. 29-31:

> τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω· πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν
> ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, ἐν ᾧ Αργεϊ, τηλόθι πάτρης,
> ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν· ...
>
> And I will not free her; and before then old age will come upon her in my house, in Argos, far from her homeland, as she walks back and forth at the loom and comes to my bed.

So γηράσειν '[she] will grow old' is a paraphrase of γῆρας ἔπεισιν 'old age will come upon [her]' – both denote the inchoation of a new state, that of being old. The aorist also has inchoative meaning:

> ... σὺν τοῖς νόμοις ἐν μοίρᾳ γηράσαντι τελευτὴ γίγνοιτ' ἂν κατὰ φύσιν. (*Lg.* XII 958d).

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[27]The active future γηρᾰ́σω only occurs outside Plato at Simonides 85.9 Bergk; other authors show middle γηρᾰ́σομαι (simple at Critias 1.5, and compound at Aristophanes *Eq.* 1308, Euripides *fr.*1058, Thucydides 6.18).

To a man who has duly grown old, following the laws, the end will come naturally.

In contrast is the compound verb καταγηράω, which occurs once in the present. In the following passage concerning Athens of old, the δημιουργοί 'craftsmen' are said not to have made themselves luxurious homes,

... ἀλλά... κοσμίας ᾠκοδομοῦντο οἰκήσεις, ἐν αἷς αὐτοί τε καὶ ἐκγόνων ἔκγονοι καταγηρῶντες ἄλλοις ὁμοίοις τὰς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ παρεδίδοσαν... (*Criti.* 112c)
but... they built themselves modest houses, in which they and their children's children grew old and always handed on the same to others like themselves.

Non-present forms have the expected inchoative meaning: we find future καταγηρᾰ́σω at *Lg.* XII 949c.1 and aorist κατεγήρᾱσα twice, in the following examples:

ἆρ᾽ , ὦ Θεαίτητε, νῦν οὕτω τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰλήφαμεν ὃ πάλαι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ζητοῦντες πρὶν εὑρεῖν κατεγήρασαν; (*Tht.* 202d)
Have we today, Theaetetus, now in this way found out what even many wise men, though seeking it, did not find before they grew old?

... οἴχομαι φεύγων, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοῦ καθήμενος παρὰ τούτῳ καταγηράσω. (*Smp.* 216a)
I flee away, in case I should become old sitting there beside him.

The relation γενειάσκω 'begin to grow a beard' : γενειάω 'have a beard' might lead one to expect a similar inchoative : stative relation between γηράσκω and -γηράω, giving 'become old' beside 'be old', but this is not the case: in the above examples, both are glossed by inchoative 'grow old'. The problem here is that there are two concepts denoted by this phrase in English. Firstly, this verb may describe an action where the subject changes from the state of being young to being old, as γηράσκω clearly did in the example from *Theaetetus* 181d above (where γηράσκῃ 'become old' was conjoined with γίγνηται 'becomes' and ἀλλοιῶται 'changes'). Secondly, the verb may denote the idea of constant change on the part of the subject: a young man may say, 'I'm growing old', and not mean that he is entering old age, but merely that he is older than he used to be – that is, 'to age'. In the above passage, καταγηρῶντες does not seem to denote a change of state from being young to being old, 'becoming old', but rather indicates the continuous state 'spending one's life, growing older'. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 97 with 295 n. 11) note this ambiguity in several English verbs which denote 'internally caused' changes of state, discussing in particular *bloom* and *blossom* (1995: 160-1): the difference comes out if one compares the phrases *the cactus bloomed in three days* (inchoative) with *the cactus bloomed for three days* (stative).

Isaeus uses καταγηράσκω and καταγηράω in a way which fits with this interpretation. Each is only found once in his surviving work; the former is inchoative 'reach old age, become old':

> ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τοίνυν χρή... πότερον δεῖ ἐὰν ἀδελφὴν Φιλοκτήμονος, ἢ Χαιρέᾳ συνῴκησε, νῦν δὲ χηρεύει, ἐπὶ τούτοις γενέσθαι ἢ ἐκδοῦναι ὅτῳ βούλονται ἢ ἐὰν καταγηράσκειν... (6.51)

You must therefore decide... whether to allow Philoctemon's sister, who was the wife of Chaereas, and is now his widow, to pass into the hands of our opponents and to marry her to anyone they choose, or to allow her to grow old (become old) [as a widow]...

The implication is, therefore, that she will not reach old age, an inchoative act, if forced to remarry. On the other hand, Isaeus' use of καταγηράω is different. In the following passage, he is speaking on behalf of the adopted son of Menecles, whose estate is the subject of this speech:

οὐκοῦν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν αὐτῷ ἄλλον τινὰ ποιήσασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄπαιδα καταγηρᾶν, ὥσπερ οὗτος ἀξιοῖ νυνὶ αὐτόν. (2.22)
He therefore had to adopt someone else, or, failing that, grow old childless, as my opponent now thinks he ought to have done.

Menecles only ever came to adopt one son, and had none of his own; the meaning is therefore 'continue to grow older childless'. The process is gradual: the longer Menecles is without a son, the older he will be if and when he adopts one. Isaeus is not interested in the point when Menecles reaches old age, but in the fact that Menecles needed to find a son and heir. So, unlike the former passage, we are not concerned with a point in time, but a continuous process. Comparable is the use of γηράω in Xenophon's ἴσως δυναίμεθ' ἂν ἀκινδύνως εὐδαιμονοῦντες γηρᾶν 'we might be able to grow old happy and away from danger' (*Cyr.* 4.1.15).

The relationship between (κατα)γηράσκω and (κατα)γηράω is therefore 'become old, grow old' : 'become older, grow old(er), age', not 'become old' : 'be old', as might be expected from the data given above. On one occasion we do seem to find γηράω 'be old' in 'Aristotle', in the phrase ἐὰν μὴ μανιῶν ἢ γηρῶν ἢ

γυναικὶ πιθόμενος 'unless mad or old or influenced by a woman' (*Ath.* 35.2); but the text is almost certainly corrupt, with either μανιῶν ἢ γηρῶς or μανιῶν ἢ γηρῶς <ἕνεκα> the better reading.[28]

In Classical Greek, the quite commonly found[29] perfect γεγήρᾱκα 'have become old, be old' is used in order to express the stative notion 'be old'. Hence, in the example below, the Chorus says to Oedipus:

> θάρσει, παρέσται· καὶ γὰρ εἰ γέρων ἐγώ,
> τὸ τῆσδε χώρας οὐ γεγήρακε σθένος. (Sophocles *OC* 726-7)
> Be brave – you shall have it [safety]. For even if I am an old man, the strength of this country has not grown old (is not old).

Two exceptional examples of parts of γηράσκω are found in early poets. There is one instance of a medio-passive γηράσκομαι in τρεῖς δ' ἐλάφους ὁ κόρυξ γηράσκεται in Hesiod (*fr.* 304 M.-W.) 'and a raven grows old after three stags [i.e., lives three times as long as a stag]'. This use of present tense γηράσκω in the medio-passive is exceptional, and is apparently an unusual poetic formation.

Secondly, in a controversial passage in Aeschylus, there is a claimed instance of a causative aorist ἐγήρᾱσα 'bring to old age':

> οὗτοι φοβοῦμαι δαίμονας τοὺς ἐνθάδε·
> οὐ γάρ μ' ἔθρεψαν οὐδ ἐγήρασαν τροφῇ. (Aeschylus *Supp.* 893-4)
> And I do not fear the gods of the place; they did not rear me, and they did not bring me to old age with their nurture.

---

[28]Thus Rhodes (1993: 443-4), noting that μανιάω 'be mad' only elsewhere occurs in the much later Josephus (*BJ* 1.150).
[29]Cf. Veitch 1887 s.v. γηράσκω.

Johansen and Whittle (1980: III.222-3) read ἐγήρασ' ἂν, giving 'nor would I have reached old age on their nurture'. The two oldest manuscripts read με θρέψαν οὐδὲ γήρασαν, corrected in a later version to μ' ἔθρεψαν οὐδ' ἐγήρασαν (as above). Their reasons for the further proposed change are, firstly, that in no other instance is a part of γηράσκω or γηράω found as a causative; and, secondly, that the earlier reading of the line is tautological. With their interpretation, they argue, the remark is a sneer at the poor Greek diet, a subject brought up in the play elsewhere (v. 761; cf. vv. 952-3); furthermore, this meaning does not require the speaker to be an old man, which is also supported elsewhere: it is the Herald, who tries to drag off the Danaids shortly afterwards (v. 909).

To summarise, therefore, we may say that Plato shows inchoative γηράσκω, non-present γήρᾱ- , with stative perfect γεγήρᾱκα being found elsewhere; the one instance of a causative form, found in Aeschylus, is doubtful. The opposition with the unmarked present appears between inchoative 'become old' and not stative 'be old', but stative 'age, grow old', which denotes a constant unchanging process of ageing.

2.3.3. Summary: the γενειάσκω type

The forms of the inchoative actives examined in this section are as follows:

Causative		**Inchoative**		**Stative**	**Meaning**
Present	**Aorist**	**Present**	**Aorist**	**Present**	
		γενειάσκω	(ἐγενείᾱσα)	γενειάω	'have a beard'
	[(ἐγήρᾱσα)]	γηράσκω	ἐγήρᾱσα	- γηράω	'grow old'

Given the data discussed in § 2.2 these results may come as a surprise, as we now have two separate patterns: one of inchoative medio-passive, sometimes with a usually active causative, and one of inchoative active, with no causative form. A further verb must be discussed before a full inquiry is undertaken into why there should be such a difference.

2.4. φάσκω

The present form φάσκω is different from the other forms in - σκ- which show unmarked counterparts in Plato. Meaning 'say, assert' (LSJ s.v. φάσκω), it is exceptional in that, although found in the participle 71 times, its only other occurrence is one case of the imperfect. The many participial instances include:

> τί οὖν ποτε λέγει φάσκων ἐμὲ σοφώτατον εἶναι; (*Ap.* 21b)
> What then does he mean when he says that I am the wisest?

> τοῦτο γάρ μοι ἰνδάλλεται διανοουμένη οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ διαλέγεσθαι, αὐτὴ ἑαυτὴν ἐρωτῶσα καὶ ἀποκρινομένη, καὶ φάσκουσα καὶ οὐ φάσκουσα. (*Tht.* 189e-190a)
> For [the soul] seems to me, when it thinks, to be merely conversing, asking itself questions and answering, affirming and denying.

The one case of the imperfect occurs in the following passage:

> τρυφῶν καὶ ἀμελὴς ἀργός τε, ὃν ὁ ποιητὴς κηφῆσι κοθούροισι μάλιστα εἴκελον ἔφασκεν εἶναι, γίγνοιτ᾽ ἂν [ὁ] τοιοῦτος πᾶς ἡμῖν; (*Lg.* X 901a)
> Will every man who is extravagant, careless and idle be as far as we are concerned the one whom the poet [Hesiod, at *Op.* 303-4] said was very much like sting-less drones?

The participle φάσκων and imperfect ἔφασκον are suppletive forms for the paradigm of φημί – that is to say, no present stem participial or imperfect forms are

found with the stem φη- / φᾰ- without - σκ- in Plato.[30] The present of φημί is of course extremely common: the present tense, for which no participle other than φάσκων exists in Plato, is found 1512 times in all; aorist ἔφην is even more common (2323 times), but the future φήσω and sigmatic aorist ἔφησα have more respectable totals (252 and thirteen respectively). The only other instance of a participle of this verb in the whole of Plato, in both simple and compound forms, is from the infrequent sigmatic aorist ἔφησα, also in reference to Hesiod (*Theog.* 7.80):

> οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας ἢ αὕτη, καὶ ἔοικεν ὁ τὴν Ἶριν Θαύμαντος ἔκγονον φήσας οὐ κακῶς γενεαλογεῖν. (*Tht.* 155d)
>
> For there is no other beginning for philosophy than this [i.e., θαῦμα 'wonder'], and it seems that he who said Iris was the child of Thaumas worked the genealogy out well.

The stem φασκ- is used to form a participle and imperfect to φημί; it is a suppletive form, and the relationship between these two forms is quite different from that of all the other pairs so far examined. We are rather dealing with the extension of the sphere of φασκ- outside the imperfect, the only area where it was used in Homer.[31]

2.5. Summary: minimal pairs

Leaving aside φάσκω / φημί, the minimal pairs discussed in Plato thus show tense forms as follows:

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[30]Except the two instances of φᾱ́ς from the doubtful *Alcibiades 2*, on which see Chapter 7 § 4.1.3.
[31]On (ἔ)φασκον in Homer see Chapter 5 § 6.2. The first attestation of a present φάσκω occurs at Isaeus 6.16; for further data on the extension of the stem φασκ-, see Veitch 1887 s.v. φάσκω; Fournier 1946: 23, 37; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. φημί II; Wathelet 1973: 402; Kujọrẹ 1973: 251; Jacquinod 1978: 53-7; and also the data at Threatte 1980-96: II.619.

Causative		Inchoative		Stative	Meaning
Present	**Aorist**	**Present**	**Aorist**	**Present**	
ἀναβιώσκομαι	ἀνεβιωσάμην	ἀναβιώσκομαι	ἀνεβίων	ζῶ	'live'
(-κυΐσκω)	(ἔκῡσα)	κυΐσκομαι	ἐκύησα (ἐκυσάμην)	κυέω	'be pregnant'
μεθύσκω	-ἐμέθυσα	μεθύσκομαι	ἐμεθύσθην	μεθύω	'be drunk'
στερέω (-στερίσκω)	ἐστέρησα	στερίσκομαι, -στερέομαι	ἐστερήθην	στέρομαι, ἐστέρημαι	'be without'
		γενειάσκω	(ἐγενείᾱσα)	γενειάω (γεγενείακα)	'have a beard'
	[(ἐγήρᾱσα)]	γηράσκω	ἐγήρᾱσα	-γηράω, (γεγήρᾱκα)	'grow old'

All the presents in -σκ- here studied are of two types: inchoative medio-passive, sometimes with a usually active causative by-form, and inchoative active. The former are ἀνα-βιώσκομαι, κυΐσκομαι, μεθύσκομαι and στερίσκομαι; the latter γενειάσκω and γηράσκω. Clearly, then, a form in -σκ- beside an unmarked present is marked for inchoativity. It is thus no coincidence that all six verbs except στερίσκομαι refer to physical processes: many verbs of change of state denote such concepts. As has been noted (Chapter 1 § 3.2), the pattern of causative active beside inchoative medio-passive is well-established for Greek. However, two areas remain unexplained in the data examined above. Firstly, there are inconsistencies of voice evident in the parts of the medio-passive presents κυΐσκομαι and ἀναβιώσκομαι, which have active inchoative aorists, and in στέρομαι, a medio-passive stative found beside five active ones. Secondly, there are two inchoative actives found beside our four expected medio-passive ones. How are these phenomena to be explained?

2.6. Intransitivity and the active / medio-passive distinction

As well as inchoatives in both - σκω and - σκομαι, voice also varies for our stative forms: all bar στέρομαι show active endings. The problem of active intransitives has been discussed without solution. Klaiman (1991: 98-100) argued that, despite the obvious difficulties presented by pairs where apparently synonymous verbs occur in both voices (e.g. πηδάω and ἅλλομαι 'leap', κλύω and ἀκροάομαι 'hear'), morphologically active verbs indicate reflex actions, whereas medio-passive ones denote actions over which the subject has control. Thus, many verbs belonging to the former set indicate physical reflex actions, such as χέζω 'defecate' and ἐμέω 'vomit'; in contrast, medio-passive verbs, where the subject has control of the action, include both physical (πέτομαι 'fly', δέρκομαι 'see, look') and mental actions (μέμφομαι 'blame', γάνυμαι 'rejoice').

This observation has interesting repercussions for the data studied here. Our active statives, denoting 'reflex actions', are ζῶ 'live' (listed by Klaiman), κυέω 'be pregnant', μεθύω 'be drunk', γενειάω 'have a beard' and (-)γηράω 'grow old'. The inchoatives of the first three are in the medio-passive, those of the last two in the active; and this may be a reflection of the interaction between inchoativity / stativity and affectedness. So, in the case of μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk' and μεθύω 'be drunk', we may say that the subject will tend to have a choice in the action of becoming drunk, but none when he/she gets there: the state itself cannot be controlled, and one must wait for the effects to pass. Klaiman's theory that active verbs indicate reflex actions also, therefore, works for states. The same may also be said of the active inchoatives: γενειάσκω 'become bearded' and γενειάω 'have a beard' are reflex actions, which cannot be controlled.

One stative medio-passive has been discussed here: στέρομαι 'be without'. Whilst it is evident that this verb does not denote a reflex action in the same way as μεθύω and the other active statives and inchoatives listed above, one can hardly say

that the subject exhibits control. There seems to be another factor at work here. If the difference is not reflex beside controlled action, then what is it? A further question also arises on attempting to apply Klaiman's theory to inchoatives in - σκομαι. We may perhaps say that κυΐσκομαι 'become pregnant' and μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk' usually require control on the part of the subject – although, in fact, this need not necessarily be the case. It is more disturbing to note that στερίσκομαι 'come to be without, lose' and ἀναβιώσκομαι 'come back to life' do not seem to involve control as a feature in any way. Our actives fit the theory, but our medio-passives fail to work, and it appears that control is not the key after all.

2.7. -σκω, - σκομαι and types of causation

Having begun with the active stative forms and apparently succeeded in explaining them, it is now necessary to begin again from the other side, with the medio-passive inchoatives, to complete this examination. On the one hand there are the notions of coming back to life, getting drunk, pregnant and deprived, on the other those of getting bearded and old. Morphologically, we see of course the difference of medio-passive beside active forms. The result of this distinction is that one cannot form a morphological causative off γενειάσκω and γηράσκω because they are already active; the form would have to be the same (as is the case if Aeschylus really did use a causative ἐγήρᾱσα) or the formation would need to be done syntactically. Pragmatically, there is a difference too. Barring accidents, getting old happens to everyone, and getting bearded to many people; they happen naturally. Such physical processes as these cannot be avoided, whereas the others are not so essential. Klaiman calls these reflex actions; since they come naturally, we may note that they are 'internally caused', and that the forms in - σκομαι denote the opposite type: actions which are 'externally caused'. In this case, the presents in - σκω here studied are formed according to the following pattern:

Externally caused action: inchoative - σκομαι, causative - σκω

Internally caused action: inchoative - σκω

Modern theory divides intransitive verbs into unaccusative and unergative.[32] The difference is that those of the former type have a subject derived from an underlying object, and the latter a 'true' subject. So, in the former group, there occur such verbs as *live*, *fall* and *die*; in the latter, examples include *play*, *laugh* and *speak*. Palmer (1994: 76) equates these types with patientive and agentive verbs respectively, but there may be more to the division than this, as the recent investigation by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) indicates. Many unaccusative verbs, they note, denote a change of state for the subject; and these largely exhibit the causative alternation, to which the authors devote a chapter (1995: 79-133). They point out that verbs denoting a change of state but not showing the causative alternation indicate actions which are internally caused (1995: 90 ff., 159-162); examples from English include *blush* and *bloom*:

(a) John blushed

(b) **I blushed John

(a) The flowers bloomed

(b) **We bloomed the flowers

The distinction between these two types of verbs of change of state is manifested in the morphology of the forms in Greek: externally caused verbs of change of state show medio-passive forms, and internally caused ones have active ones. Although this distinction has not been noted before, there is a hint of it both in Klaiman's theory

[32]For introduction and bibliography, see Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: 2-4.

of reflex actions as just described; and in Rijksbaron's remark (1994: 152 n. 7) that it is surprising that both agentive ἀπαλλάττομαι 'depart, go away' and passive ἀπαλλάττομαι 'be removed' have the same aorist, the morphologically passive ἀπηλλάχθην – denoting both 'departed, went away' and 'was removed' – when one in -σάμην was available: 'possibly, even with agentive middle-passives, an external factor is essentially involved'. In fact, the distinction between these two presents is more blurred than Rijksbaron implies; this point is observed by Bakker, who states in relation to inchoative medio-passives: 'the internal affectedness due to a physical process (e.g. "melt") amounts to the same thing as the effect of an external cause' (1994: 43; cf. also 1994: 31). When the action is or may be externally caused, therefore, the medio-passive is found. As we have seen, when an action is truly internally caused, then the forms will be active, not medio-passive.

In this way, the distinction between inchoatives in -σκω and -σκομαι appears not to be one of reflex versus controlled actions (with Klaiman) but rather, using Levin and Rappaport Hovav's model, a matter of internal versus external causation. In these cases,[33] the medio-passive involves affectedness of the subject, but only where the action denoted by the verb is or may be externally caused. Where the action is internally caused, the active voice is used.

2.8. Conclusion: minimal pairs

The data covered fall into three sections. On its own is φάσκω, which does not stand in opposition to the present φημί, but rather as a suppletive form of it. The remaining presents in -σκ- are of two types: inchoative active and inchoative medio-

[33]Since it appears that the Greek medio-passive denotes 'affectedness' of the subject (Chapter 1 § 3.2 n. 38), one may wonder to what extent one could extend outside the sphere of verbs in -σκω in Plato the conclusion that internally caused actions are denoted by active verbs. One may note that further research could prove fruitful in this regard, since at least some verbs of blooming and blushing in Plato show the expected active form: cf. ἀνθέω 'blossom, bloom' (*R.* V 475a.2), θάλλω 'thrive, flourish' (e.g. *Crat.* 414a.8, *Smp.* 203e.2) and ἐρυθριάω 'blush' (e.g. *Lys.* 204c.4, *R.* I 1350d.3).

passive, with optional (usually active) causative. The former are γενειάσκω and γηράσκω; the latter ἀνα- βιώσκομαι, κυΐσκομαι, μεθύσκομαι and στερίσκομαι. Causative actives are paired with inchoative medio-passives; it is the same pattern that we have already seen with many verbs in Homer (Chapter 4 § 3.1), and indeed there are further examples of this - σκω : - σκομαι division elsewhere in Classical Greek (Chapter 9 § 2.2). In Plato, therefore, a form showing the suffix - σκ- beside an unmarked present from the same stem is marked for inchoativity. The obvious next step is to find out to what extent our definition for - σκ- in Plato so far holds for verbs where a stem provides only one present tense.

3. Remaining forms

Of nineteen verbs, we have now covered seven. The pattern established thus far is of inchoative actives (γηράσκω 'grow old'), for which there are no causatives, and of inchoative medio-passives (μεθύσκομαι 'get drunk'), which sometimes have (usually active) causatives (μεθύσκω 'make drunk'). Six of these seven forms are paired with unmarked forms with stative meaning. It will now be necessary to examine the twelve that remain, in order to see to what extent they also fit this analysis.

The largest group, as before and also as in Homer, is made up of causative actives beside medio-passive inchoatives. We find three verbs which show both parts: clearest of all are διδάσκω 'teach' ('make learn') / διδάσκομαι 'get taught' and μιμνήσκω 'remind' / μιμνήσκομαι 'remember'; also in this category is ἀνᾱλίσκω 'spend' / ἁλίσκομαι 'be taken', although the relationship between these two forms is rather different due to the addition of the preverb on the former. In other cases, we find only one of the two expected forms of the pair in the present: causatives ἀμβλίσκω 'cause to miscarry' and τιτρώσκω 'wound' ('make wounded'; cf. aorist ἐτρώθην 'became wounded'); medio-passives βόσκομαι 'feed'

('get fed') and πιπρᾱ́σκομαι 'be sold'. The only case of an inchoative active is θνῄσκω 'die'.

This leaves four verbs which are neither causative nor inchoative: ἀρέσκω 'please', γιγνώσκω 'know', ἀπο-διδρᾱ́σκω 'run away' and εὑρίσκω 'find'.

3.1. Causatives and inchoatives

3.1.1. Causative-inchoative pairs

3.1.1.1. ἁλίσκομαι / ἀνᾱλίσκω

The simple medio-passive ἁλίσκομαι 'be taken, be caught, etc.' (LSJ) is found beside active compounds, which all show preverb ἀνα-: all are based on ἀνᾱλίσκω 'use up, spend'. A connection between these two apparently quite different meanings is to be found in such extended uses as 'kill': parts of ἁλίσκομαι are found meaning 'get seized (by death), get killed' both with and without the dative θανάτῳ in Homer,[34] and ἀνᾱλίσκομαι has this meaning in Classical Greek.[35] A Classical form *ἁλίσκω would be a causative 'make taken'[36] beside inchoative ἁλίσκομαι 'get taken', just as ἀνᾱλίσκω is causative 'use up, spend' beside inchoative ἀνᾱλίσκομαι 'get used up, get spent'.

The simple present ἁλίσκομαι (twelve times) is for example used by Socrates in:

> ἁλίσκεται δὲ δὴ ὁ αἱρεθεὶς τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. (*Phdr.* 253c)
>
> And [the fair one] who is captured [in love by the one who loves him] gets caught in the following way.

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[34]E.g. respectively θανάτῳ ἁλῶναι 'be seized by death' at *Il.* 21.281 and ἁλῶναι 'be killed' at *Il.* 12.172; cf. also Pindar *P.* 3.57.

[35]Cf. e.g. τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας at Aeschylus *Ag.* 570; cf. also Plato *Plt.* 272d, and for further examples see LSJ s.v. ἀνᾱλίσκω.

[36]LSJ (s.v. ἁλίσκομαι) cite this form as first occurring in Aquila *Ps.* 21(22).14 and Zenobius (3.67), both second century AD.

Similarly inchoative is the future ἁλώσομαι, only found twice in Plato:

> καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἁλώσῃ ἐνταῦθα σὺ αὖ αἰσχυνόμενος. (*Grg.* 489a)
> And mind that you too aren't caught this time feeling ashamed here [as Gorgias and Polus were; cf. 482c-e, 487b].

Thus the aorist ἑᾱ́λων (seventeen times) means 'became taken, got caught', as in ἐπειδὴ ἡ Τροία ἥλω (*Hp. Ma.* 286a) 'after Troy was taken'. On the other hand, the perfect ἑάλωκα (four times) has the stative meaning 'be [in the state of being] taken'. Just as ἁλίσκομαι means 'get convicted and condemned' at *Tht.* 179b.6, 7, so we find its perfect showing a related but stative (present perfect) meaning in ἀλλ' ἀπορίᾳ μὲν ἑάλωκα (*Ap.* 38d) 'but it is through a lack that I have been [and so now am in a state of being] convicted'.

The only frequently found compound, ἀνᾱλίσκω, is defined by LSJ as 'use up, spend'. According to Chantraine (1968-1980 s.v. ἁλίσκομαι), the fundamental meaning of this causative active is 'détruire, consommer'; it is secondary to the medio-passive forms. As mentioned above, ἀνᾱλίσκω forms a causative-inchoative pair with its medio-passive ἀνᾱλίσκομαι. An example of Plato's use of the present active (24 times) is as follows, where the Stranger suggests that we might say of doctors:

> ... λωβῶνται... προστάττοντες ἀναλώματα φέρειν παρ' ἑαυτοὺς οἷον φόρους, ὧν σμικρὰ μὲν εἰς τὸν κάμνοντα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι... (*Plt.* 298a)
> They maltreat us, ordering us to bring them payments of money, like tributes, of which they spend little or nothing on their patients.

There is one instance of the imperfect; here, the value to the state of a man who has sold all his possessions and so become poor is being discussed:

> ἆρα ὅτε πλούσιος ὢν ἀνήλισκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος, μᾶλλόν τι τότ' ἦν ὄφελος τῇ πόλει εἰς ἃ νυνδὴ ἐλέγομεν; (*R.* VIII 552b)
>
> When such a man was wealthy and spending, was he then more use to the state in the way we were just saying?

Similarly used are the future ἀνᾱλώσω (three times), e.g. ἐάν τε ἱερὰ χρήματα ᾖ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα ἀναλώσει 'if there are sacred things in the city, he [the tyrant] will spend these' (*R.* VIII 568d); and the aorist ἀνήλωσα (four times), as in ἐὰν τὸ ἀυτοῦ μέρος ἀναλώσῃ 'if he spends his own share' (*R.* IX 574a). Other Classical Greek authors such as Thucydides, Demosthenes and Xenophon use a perfect ἀνήλωκα, not found in Plato; cf.:

> ... ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον οὐδέν τι πολλὰ ἔχων ἴδια χρήματα οἴκοθεν· ὁπόσα δ' ἦν, τούτων πάνυ ὀλίγα λοιπὰ ἔχω· ἀνήλωκα δέ, ἔφη, εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας. (Xenophon *Cyr.* 2.4.9)
>
> I came from home with not at all much money of my own; and of as much as I had, I have very little left; I have spent it, he said, on my soldiers.

The compound medio-passive present ἀνᾱλίσκομαι is used in the present tense four times, as well as once in the imperfect (*Smp.* 181e.1). Since it is the inchoative alternant of a causative verb, it shows the expected meaning 'become spent / used up'. Plato says that, as the result of the tyranny of love over a man,

ταχὺ ἄρα ἀναλίσκονται, ἐάν τινες ὦσι πρόσοδοι. (*R.* IX 573d)

whatever revenues there are, they quickly get used up.

There is also a medio-passive perfect ἀνήλωμαι. This form occurs once, when the Stranger says, after the seven arts which furnish implements have been divided up:

οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες, ὡς συναίτιοι λεχθέντες... ἀνήλωνται...

(*Plt.* 289c)

All the others, said to be contingent causes, have been removed.

A pluperfect ἀνηλώμην also occurs, in τὸ γήινον ἤδη πᾶν ἀνήλωτο 'all the earth's race had by this time been used up' (*Plt.* 272e).

The two cases of the simple aorist passive ἀνηλώθην in Plato are only found in a doubtful work, both being at *Epist.* XIII 362a.6; an example from another prose author is:

... εἰς δὲ τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἅπας ἀνηλώθη.

(Lysias 26.22)

And the whole of it got spent in the war on the preservation of the city.

The sense of the verb here is clearly 'became spent, got spent'; as usual, our inchoative present in -ομαι has its inchoative aorist in -θην. We do find this tense stem in the genuine works of Plato, but prefixed with κατα- : it is used in the phrase καταναλωθῆναι εἰς τὸ τεθνάναι 'to get consumed into being dead' (*Phd.* 72d), and this is the only further tense stem which the compounds add to the data already seen.

Our oldest citations of this present in - σκω are for both medio-passive ἁλίσκομαι and active ἀνᾱλίσκω (Pindar *O.* 8.42 and *P.* 9.25 respectively); the medio-passive ἀνᾱλίσκομαι is a later formation, found in Classical Greek authors – in addition to Plato, it also occurs in Hippocrates, Isaeus, Lysias, Thucydides and Xenophon. A causative active ἀνᾱλόω occurs elsewhere in Classical Greek.[37]

In this instance of the causative alternation, the active is invariably in compound form, and the medio-passive usually simple, so that the relation that is clear in μεθύσκω beside μεθύσκομαι is here partially obscured. One could argue that here also we have inchoative - σκ- , as opposed to perfect forms without this suffix. Yet the such a pair does not form an obvious parallel to such present sets as γενειάσκω : γενειάω, and we rather seem to have a verb that shows one meaning throughout its paradigm. It therefore seems that ἁλίσκομαι and ἀνᾱλίσκω use - σκ- as present formant in a similar way to the Homeric causative-inchoative verbs of Chapter 4 § 3.

3.1.1.2. διδάσκω / διδάσκομαι

The verb διδάσκω 'instruct, teach' (LSJ s.v.) is found frequently in Plato. The basic verb is found in the present active 97 times. For example, Theodorus tells Theaetetus off by saying:

> νεός ὤν, ὦ Θεαίτητε, τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδικεῖν διδάσκεις ὁμολογίας παραβαίνοντας; (*Tht.* 183d)
>
> Do you, Theaetetus, although a young man, teach your elders to do wrong by breaking their agreements?

[37]This form is apparently first found in Aeschylus: for citations see Veitch 1887 s.v. ἀνᾱλίσκω, LSJ s.v. ἀνᾱλίσκω.

Further cases of the present stem in the active are to be found in the two instances of the imperfect: that at *Symposium* 207a.5 and the following case, when Plato has Protagoras say:

> εἰ μὴ οἷόν τ' ἦν πόλιν εἶναι εἰ μὴ πάντες αὐληταὶ ἦμεν, ὁποῖός τις ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος, καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ πᾶς πάντα καὶ ἐδίδασκε καὶ ἐπέπληττε τὸν μὴ καλῶς αὐλοῦντα, ...
>
> (*Prt.* 327a)
>
> [Suppose that] there could not be a state unless we were all flute-players, of such sort as each was able, and [that] everyone were teaching everyone else this [art] both in private and in public, and rebuked whoever did not play the flute well . .

An example of the future διδάξω (nineteen times) occurs when Socrates says of Nicias:

> αὐτοῦ οὖν σαφέστερον πυθώμεθα τί ποτε νοεῖ· καὶ ἐάν τι φαίνηται λέγων, συγχωρησόμεθα, εἰ δὲ μή, διδάξομεν. (*La.* 196c)
>
> So let us ask him to explain more clearly what is in his mind; and if he seems to mean something, we will agree [with him]; but if not, we shall instruct [him].

The aorist ἐδίδαξα is found 60 times; here, Socrates says that he is not responsible for the actions of people to whom he spoke:

> ... ὧν μήτε ὑπεσχόμην μηδενὶ μηδὲν πώποτε μάθημα μήτε ἐδίδαξα. (*Ap.* 33b)

... to none of whom I either made any promises or taught any lesson.

There is also a perfect δεδίδαχα 'have taught', occurring twice in Plato, in the following passage:

> ἢ δεδίδαχέν τις τοῦτον γεωμετρεῖν; οὗτος γὰρ ποιήσει περὶ πάσης γεωμετρίας ταὐτὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἁπάντων. ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις τοῦτον πάντα δεδίδαχεν; (*Men.* 85e)
> Or has someone taught this [boy] geometry? For this boy will do the same things with geometry and all other branches of knowledge. So, is there someone who has taught him all these things?

The remaining forms of διδάσκω listed by Brandwood are divided into 'middle' and 'passive'. Both sets are small. The former comprises those medio-passive forms of διδάσκω used by Plato with the causative meaning 'get [someone] taught (for one's own purposes)': present διδάσκομαι, future διδάξομαι and aorist ἐδιδαξάμην. The present with this meaning is found in the form διδάσκονται three times in *Prt.* 325b-c, as when Protagoras says in his argument to show that virtue is teachable:

> ... οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες εἰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διδάσκονται τοὺς ὑεῖς, τοῦτο δὲ μή, ... (*Prt.* 325b)
> Good men, if they have their sons taught in all other things, do not [have them taught] in this.

The one use of the morphologically middle future διδάξομαι seems to have the active meaning 'will teach', but not, however, 'get taught', an occasional usage of the middle of this verb according to LSJ (s.v. διδάσκω I.1). In the passage concerned,

Socrates is arguing that a rich potter would become a bad one – and so would a poor one:

> καὶ μὴν καὶ ὄργανά γε μὴ ἔχων παρέχεσθαι ὑπὸ πενίας ἤ τι ἄλλο τῶν εἰς τὴν τέχνην, τά τε ἔργα πονηρότερα ἐργάσεται καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς ἢ ἄλλους οὕς ἂν διδάσκῃ χείρους δημιουργοὺς διδάξεται. (*Rep.* IV 421d-e)
>
> And yet again, if he is unable out of poverty to provide himself with tools and anything else [that is required] for his art, he will produce work that is worse, and he will teach his sons or any others whom he teaches to be inferior workmen.

The morphologically middle aorist ἐδιδαξάμην (three times) shows the expected meaning in e.g. ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς Κλεόφαντον τὸν ὑὸν ἱππέα μὲν ἐδιδάξατο ἀγαθόν; 'Have you not heard how Themistocles had his son Cleophantus taught to be a good horseman?' (*Men.* 93d).

The forms described by Brandwood as passive are those which correspond to our inchoative set, and so have the meaning 'get taught, become taught'. In the works of Plato examined in this study we only find in the simple form present διδάσκομαι and perfect δεδίδαγμαι.[38] There are four instances of this present, as when Socrates, in asking if virtue can be taught, first asks if knowledge can be:

> ἢ τοῦτό γε παντὶ δῆλον, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο διδάσκεται ἄνθρωπος ἢ ἐπιστήμην; (*Men.* 87c)

[38]Apparently erroneously listed under the passive heading is the instance of διδάξεαι 'you will win' from Theognis at *Meno* 95d.6.

Or is this plain to everyone – that man gets taught nothing other than knowledge?

There is one instance of the perfect medio-passive δεδίδαγμαι, meaning 'to have been taught [and now know]'. Socrates is talking of experts in rhetoric – Adrastus and Pericles – and envisages them telling him and Phaedrus that they are not angry with the inquirers' ignorance of their subject, although they mistakenly

... ῥητορικὴν ᾠήθησαν ηὑρηκέναι, καὶ ταῦτα δὴ διδάσκοντες ἄλλους ἡγοῦνταί σφισιν τελέως ῥήτορικὴν δεδιδάχθαι, ... (*Phdr.* 269c)

... thought that they had discovered rhetoric, and, in teaching others these [preliminaries], believe that rhetoric had been taught to them completely.

The aorist ἐδιδάχθην is not found in simple form in Plato, although it does occur in other authors.[39] In Plato, there is the compound form ἀνεδιδάχθημεν, the one instance of ἀναδιδάσκω 'teach better' found in Plato; here, Hippias has said that matters should not be divided up, but Socrates replies concerning the two of them together:

νῦν δὲ παρὰ σοῦ ἤδη ἀνεδιδάχθημεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν δύο ἀμφότεροί ἐσμεν, δύο καὶ ἑκάτερον ἡμῶν ἀνάγκη εἶναι, εἰ δὲ εἷς ἑκάτερος, ἕνα καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἀνάγκη· (*Hp. Ma.* 301e)

But now we have got taught by you that if we are both two, it is necessary also that each of us is two, but if each is one, then both must also be one.

[39]Cf. e.g. Aeschylus *Pr.* 10, Aristophanes *Nu.* 637 and Herodotus 3.81.

The compounds do not give any further tense stems that are not found in the simple verb.

Since διδάσκω is such an ancient and commonly used verb, it is unsurprising that it has acquired an exceptional range of forms. As expected, a causative present in -σκω occurs beside inchoative in -σκομαι, which has its aorist in -(θ)ην. There is also a benefactive middle, distinguished morphologically by sigmatic formations.

3.1.1.3. -μιμνήσκω / -μιμνήσκομαι

The last verb in Plato which shows both causative -σκω and inchoative -σκομαι is -μιμνήσκω, which LSJ define as 'remind, put in mind'; beside it we find μιμνήσκομαι 'remind oneself of, call to mind; make mention of'. We thus find the same alternation as seen for this verb in Homer of causative 'make remember' beside inchoative 'come to remember'.[40] A secondary meaning of the medio-passive in LSJ is 'make mention of', which, as already seen, presumably developed from the idea that remembering and thinking of something can lead to mentioning it.[41] Usually found in Plato in the middle, this verb does not occur in the simple active in his works at all, although active forms are found in some of the five compounds.

In the medio-passive, the meaning is inchoative 'remember, come to remember'. The simple verb is not found in the present, and the one case of the aorist middle ἐμνησάμην is in quotation from Tyrtaeus.[42] We find the future μνησθήσομαι meaning 'will say, will mention' three times, as in the following criticism of Adeimantus:

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[40]Cf. Chapter 4 § 3.1.3.
[41]Cf. Chapter 4 § 3.1.3.
[42]Cf. Chapter 7 § 2.3 and n. 14.

ὡς ἡμεῖς πάλαι περιμένομεν οἰόμενοί σέ που μνησθήσεσθαι παιδοποιίας τε πέρι, πῶς παιδοποιήσονται, καὶ γενομένους πῶς θρέψουσιν, ... (*R.* V 449d)

We have been waiting for a long time, expecting that you would mention something both about the procreation of children – how people beget them, and how they bring them up when they have been born.

More frequent is the morphologically passive aorist ἐμνήσθην 'came to remember, mentioned', occurring eighteen times, as in:

ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Σώκρατες, πρὸς σὲ ἐπιεικῶς ἔχω φιλικῶς· κινδυνεύω οὖν πεπονθέναι νῦν ὅπερ ὁ Ζῆθος πρὸς τὸν Ἀμφίονα ὁ Εὐριπίδου, οὗπερ ἐμνήσθην. (*Grg.* 485e)

And I, Socrates, feel fairly friendly towards you; and so I now feel what Zethus, whom I mentioned, did towards Amphion in Euripides.

The perfect medio-passive μέμνημαι 'have remembered, be in a state of remembering' is notably common: there are 143 instances, including that found in Lysias' speech in the *Phaedrus* (234b.2). In the following example, Socrates is speaking:

μέμνησαι γὰρ που ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν τό τε ὅσιον καὶ τὸ θεοφιλὲς οὐ ταὐτὸν ἡμῖν ἐφάνη, ἀλλ' ἕτερα ἀλλήλων· ἢ οὐ μέμνησαι; (*Euthphr.* 15c)

For you remember, I suppose, that, earlier, holiness and what is dear to the gods did not seem the same to us, but different from each other; or do you not remember?

There are also four cases of a stative future perfect μεμνήσομαι 'will remember' ('will be in a state of remembering'); hence, after the Stranger has asked Clinias to continue to bear in mind certain things that were recently mentioned, the latter replies to him:

πάντως, ὦ ξένε, μεμνησόμεθά που <ὧν> τὰ νῦν διακελεύῃ.

(*Lg.* VI 783d)

We shall certainly (continue to) remember the things you now bid us, stranger.

Lastly for the simple verb, there are five instances of the pluperfect ἐμεμνήμην; being the past of μέμνημαι, it therefore means 'remembered, was in a state of remembering':

... καὶ ὁσάκις Ἀθήναζε ἀφικοίμην, ἐπανηρώτων τὸν Σωκράτη ὅ μὴ ἐμεμνήμην, ... (*Tht.* 143a)

And whenever I came to Athens, I used to ask Socrates what I did not remember.

However, it is also found as medio-passive 'had mentioned'; hence Lysimachus says:

ἀλλ', ὦ παῖδες, λέγετέ μοι, ὅδ' ἐστὶ Σωκράτης, περὶ οὗ ἑκάστοτε ἐμέμνησθε; (*La.* 181a)

Now tell me, boys, is this the Socrates you had mentioned so often?

There are five compounds of μιμνήσκω in Plato, of which ἀναμιμνήσκω 'remind one of a thing, etc.', medio-passive ἀναμιμνήσκομαι 'remember, recall to mind' (LSJ) is the most frequent; it has a much more even spread of forms throughout its tenses than the simple verb. In the present active, we find eleven instances, as in the following example, where Socrates says after the reiteration of certain facts:

ἀκριβέστατα, ἦν δ᾽ ἐγώ, ἀναμιμνήσκεις με· (*R.* VII 522b)

You remind me [about these things] most accurately, I said.

There is also one case of the imperfect. It occurs when Socrates compares himself to Odysseus and Agathon to Persephone, referring to the moment when the hero fears he will see the Gorgon's head at *Od.* 11.632:

καὶ γὰρ με Γοργίου ὁ λόγος ἀνεμίμνησκεν, ὥστε ἀτεχνῶς τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἐπεπόνθη· (*Smp.* 198c)

For his [Agathon's] speech reminded me of Gorgias, so that I simply suffered what was described by Homer.

The future ἀναμνήσω 'will remind', always indicative, also occurs (five times), as when Socrates says to Theaetetus:

ἥ μέ, καὶ ἐὰν αὔριον ἀπαντήσω, ἀναμνήσει καὶ ποιήσει ὀρθὰ δοξάζειν περὶ σοῦ. (*Tht.* 209c)

That [memory of you], even if I meet you again tomorrow, will remind me and make me have true opinion about you.

The aorist active is ἀνέμνησα 'reminded', found six times, used for example when Socrates says to Protarchus:

> ... καὶ ἀνέμνησας ὅτι καὶ τὸ σφόδρα τοῦτο, ὃ σὺ νῦν ἐφθέγξω, καὶ τό γε ἠρέμα τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχετον τῷ μᾶλλόν τε καὶ ἧττον· (*Phlb.* 24b-c)
>
> And you reminded me that the word 'emphatically', which you have just said, and the word 'gently', have the same force as 'more' and 'less'.

In the medio-passive ἀναμιμνήσκομαι 'remember, recall to mind', present and aorist forms are much more frequent than in the active. Here the present is found 36 times, meaning 'get reminded of, (come to) remember'; in the following passage, Socrates is talking of the stirring speeches made at the funerals of those who died in battle:

> οὕτως ἔναυλος ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγγος παρὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥστε μόγις τετάρτῃ ἢ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναμιμνήσκομαι ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ αἰσθάνομαι οὗ γῆς εἰμί, ...
>
> (*Mx.* 235c)
>
> To such an extent does the ringing speech and voice of the speaker enter my ears, that scarcely on the fourth or fifth day do I remember myself and perceive where I am on earth.

The future ἀναμνησθήσομαι 'will (come to) remember' occurs only twice, both in the indicative. Socrates says to Simmias:

ὁμολογοῦμεν γὰρ δήπου, εἴ τίς τι ἀναμνησθήσεται, δεῖν αὐτὸν τοῦτο πρότερόν ποτε ἐπίστασθαι. (*Phd.* 73c)

We agree, I suppose, that if anyone is to remember anything, he must know it at some previous time.

Lastly, there is the aorist ἀνεμνήσθην 'came to remember', which occurs 41 times:

... Σιμμίαν τις ἰδὼν πολλάκις Κέβητος ἀνεμνήσθη, ... (*Phd.* 73d)

If one sees Simmias, one is often reminded of Cebes.

Of the four further compounds, the two in -ανα- follow the patterns already seen.[43] The verb ὑπομιμνήσκω 'put one in mind of, remind', medio-passive 'call to mind, remember', usually occurs in its causative active.[44] Lastly, there is the aorist ἐπεμνήσθην which means 'make mention of', a frequent usage of the aorist passive of this verb in Classical Greek (cf. LSJ s.v. μιμνήσκομαι II). It occurs seven times; the only other tense found from it is in the perfect indicative, in τὰ γὰρ μειράκια τάδε... θαμὰ ἐπιμέμνηνται Σωκράτους 'these boys frequently mention Socrates' (*La.* 180e).[45]

Therefore, for μιμνησκω /μιμνήσκομαι, as for ἀνᾱλίσκω / ἁλίσκομαι and διδάσκω / διδάσκομαι, the same meaning is found throughout the verb's paradigm, with no opposition to a stative unmarked form.

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[43]These are ἐπαναμιμνήσκω 'remind' (*Lg.* III 688a.3) and aorist passive συνανεμνήσθην 'recall together' (*Lg.* X 897e.5).

[44]For frequencies of the parts of this verb, see Chapter 7 § 2.3.

[45]There is also one instance of ἐπιμνηστέον 'one must mention' (*Ti.* 90e.4).

3.1.2. Causatives

3.1.2.1. ἀμβλίσκω

LSJ cite ἀμβλίσκω as being the same as ἀμβλόω 'make to miscarry; make abortive'. Plato, however, only uses the present in -σκω, which occurs twice: both times present active, in one passage. Socrates is talking about the role of midwives and what they can do; Duke et al. give the passage where ἀμβλίσκω is used as follows:

> καὶ μὴν... αἱ μαῖαι... , καὶ ἐὰν †νέον ὄν† δόξῃ ἀμβλίσκειν, ἀμβλίσκουσιν; (*Tht.* 149d)

The text here is difficult, but the manuscript reading νέον ὄν is not impossible. We may understand, with Campbell (1883: 28-9), that this phrase means 'at an early stage', with τὸ βρέφος 'foetus' understood; in this case the above line means, 'And furthermore, the midwives – do they cause miscarriages if it seems right to cause a young [foetus] to be miscarried?'. Suggested emendations have included νόμιμον 'lawful' (Schanz) and ἄμεινον 'better' (Madvig); whatever the case, we are certainly dealing with a causative active. Campbell compares *Tht.* 161a, where τὸ γε σόν is used with κύημα understood. He is supported in his view by McDowell (1973: 110) and Diès (1955: 167).

Also found is an aorist with preverb, ἐξήμβλωσα:

> πολλοὶ ἤδη... ἀπῆλθον πρῳαίτερον τοῦ δέοντος, ἀπελθόντες δὲ τὰ τε λοιπὰ ἐξήμβλωσαν διὰ πονηρὰν συνουσίαν καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μαιευθέντα κακῶς τρέφοντες ἀπώλεσαν... (*Tht.* 150e)

> Many before now left me sooner than they should have, and having gone away miscarried the rest because of base company, and, raising badly the things that were delivered through me, they lost them.

Here Campbell (1883: 33) comments that τὰ... λοιπά means 'what more they had in them', and mentions in some confusion that ἐξαμβλίσκω is not causative here, as ἀμβλίσκω was in the passage above; he compares Aristophanes' φροντιδ' ἐξήβλωκας ἐξευρημένην 'you have made the thought that I found miscarry' (*Nu.* 137). What he misses is that the patient of the action denoted by ἀμβλίσκω is the child, not the parent, giving the literal meaning here 'made the rest get miscarried'; and this supports the theory that the reading νέον ὄν in the passage just discussed was correct. That is to say, ἀμβλίσκω means 'cause [a child] to get miscarried'; we would expect the medio-passive ἀμβλίσκομαι to mean inchoative 'get miscarried', with child as subject. Many passages where this verb is found in Classical Greek are ambiguous, but a clear indication that the child is the patient of the action for this verb can be found in Hippocrates' ἔτι δὲ πρὸ τούτου ὡς ἐπιτοπουλὺ διαφθείρεται καὶ ἐξαμβλίσκεται 'But still, before this, it [the foetus, τὸ ἔμβρυον] gets for the most part destroyed and gets aborted' (*Mul.* I.60).

This verb actually shows the usual pattern of - σκω : - σα :: - σκομαι : - θην: for, apparently only once in all Classical Greek, we find an aorist passive ἠμβλώθην:

> ὅσα δ' ἐλλείποντα γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων χορίων, οἷον ἀκρωτηρίου τινὸς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων μελων, τὴν αὐτὴν δεῖ νομίζειν αἰτίαν ἥνπερ καὶ ἐὰν ὅλον τὸ γινόμενον ἀμβλωθῃ...
>
> (Aristotle *GA* IV 773a)

> And whatever deficiencies occur of such parts, as of some extremity or other limbs, we must take it that it is the same cause as it is if the whole forming creature gets aborted.

Here is another clear case of the causative alternation, then: ἀμβλίσκω 'cause to get miscarried', with aorist in - σα and, outside Plato, perfect in - κα; also outside Plato are found the inchoative present ἀμβλίσκομαι 'get miscarried', with aorist in - θην and perfect in - ωμαι. As with ἀνᾱλίσκω, we find a collateral present in - όω with the same meaning outside Plato: ἀμβλόω, ἀμβλόομαι.[46]

3.1.2.2. τιτρώσκω

Τιτρώσκω 'wound' is rare in Plato except in the aorist and in the perfect medio-passive. There are two instances of the present in the Oxford Classical Text.[47] In the first, Socrates is talking about rulers who keep their offices, taking money from others; he refers to them as:

> οἱ... χρηματισταὶ ἐγκύψαντες, οὐδὲ δοκοῦντες τούτους ὁρᾶν, τῶν λοιπῶν τὸν ἀεὶ ὑπείκοντα ἐνιέντες ἀργύριον τιτρώσκοντες, ...
>
> (*R.* VIII 555e)
>
> these money-makers, looking down, pretending not even to see them, but injecting their [poison] money into any of the remainder who do not resist, wounding them...

In the second case, Socrates and Protarchus are having a circular discussion, in which the former holds that pleasures are different from each other, and the latter that, in that

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[46]For citations see Veitch 1887 s.v. ἀμβλίσκω; LSJ s.vv. ἀμβλίσκω, ἐξαμβλόω.
[47]In the second instance, Jackson (1882: 262) argued for changing τιτρώσκει to τι τρώσει.

they are all pleasures, they are all alike; hence, after a few rounds of this, Socrates says:

> ... οὐδ' ἄρα ἡδονὴν ἡδονῆς διάφορον, ἀλλὰ πάσας ὁμοίας εἶναι φήσομεν, καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα ἡμᾶς τὰ νυνδὴ λεχθέντα οὐδὲν τιτρώσκει, ... (*Phlb.* 13c)
>
> And now we shall be asserting that one pleasure is not different from another pleasure, but they are all alike, and the examples cited just now do not affect us at all.

There is also an aorist active ἔτρωσα 'wounded': this occurs twelve times, all of which are within *Laws* IX 875d-879b; for example:

> γονέας δ' ἂν παῖς ἢ δοῦλος δεσπότην ὡσαύτως ἐκ προνοίας τρώσῃ, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν· (*Lg.* IX 879b)
>
> And similarly if a son deliberately wounds his parents or a slave his master, death shall be the penalty.

The other forms of this verb to be found in Plato are all medio-passive, with inchoative sense. No present is found, but the future τρωθήσομαι clearly means 'will get wounded' in its one occurrence:

> ... ἐάντε εἰς πόλεμον ἄγῃ τρωθησόμενον ἢ ἀποθανούμενον, ποιητέον ταῦτα, ... (*Cri.* 51b)
>
> And if she [your country] leads you to war or to be wounded or slain, then these things must be done.

The conjunction with the future of another inchoative, ἀποθνῄσκω 'die', is noteworthy: 'will become wounded' is co-ordinated with 'will become dead'. Hence the always participial aorist ἐτρώθην, which occurs five times within *Lg.* IX 862c-879a, means 'became wounded' in, for example:

> δοῦλος δ' ἐάν τις ἐλεύθερον ὀργῇ τρώσῃ, παραδότω τὸν δοῦλον ὁ κεκτημένος τῷ τρωθέντι χρῆσθαι ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ· (*Lg.* IX 879a)
> If a slave wounds a free man in anger, let his owner hand over the slave to the wounded man to be dealt with in whatever way he wishes.

Lastly, there is the perfect medio-passive τέτρωμαι, which indicates the state resulting from having been wounded, as in the phrase Εὐρυπύλῳ τετρωμένῳ 'to the wounded Eurypylus' (*R.* III 405e).

Although Plato only provides us with an active present for this verb, it is evident that a present medio-passive would mean 'get wounded', to judge from the future, aorist and perfect forms which he does use in this voice. Indeed, the use of an inchoative present medio-passive is also Classical. The earliest authors to use the present apart from Plato are Herodotus, Hippocrates and Xenophon. Herodotus' only two instances of the present τιτρώσκω are in the medio-passive: these are at 6.5 and in the following passage:

> μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος (Herodotus 1.174)
> The workers seemed to get hurt more, and less naturally, than was ordinary.

Hence, although not all the evidence is in Plato, we find the usual causative : inchoative pattern here: τιτρώσκω : ἔτρωσα :: τιτρώσκομαι : ἐτρώθην.

3.1.3. Inchoative medio-passives

3.1.3.1. βόσκομαι

Βόσκομαι 'feed, graze' is cited as the passive of βόσκω 'feed, nourish; tend' in LSJ (s.v.). It is only found once in Plato, in a description by Socrates of the multitude:

> οἱ ἄρα φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἄπειροι, εὐωχίαις δὲ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀεὶ συνόντες, ... οὐδὲ βεβαίου τε καὶ καθαρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἐγεύσαντο, ἀλλὰ βοσκημάτων δίκην κάτω ἀεὶ βλέποντες καὶ κεκυφότες εἰς γῆν καὶ εἰς τραπέζας βόσκονται χορταζόμενοι καὶ ὀχεύοντες, ... (*R.* IX 586a)
>
> Then those inexperienced in wisdom and virtue, but always taking part in festivities and such things, ...have not tasted stable and pure pleasure, but like cattle, always looking down and bent forwards to the ground and to their tables, they feed, eating their fill and copulating.

With an inchoative formation in - σκομαι we have come to expect a causative one in - σκω. Although we do not find a causative βόσκω 'make fed, feed' in Plato, this causative active does go back to Homer (cf. Chapter 4 § 3.1.1). From the insubstantial data above one might think that this verb had all but died out by the Classical period; but, although Xenophon, for example, only uses nominal derivatives (having 20 instances of βόσκημα and two of γηροβοσκός 'nurturing in old age'), Classical Greek does indeed show further cases of both causative and inchoative forms being used. Herodotus, for example, has one instance of βόσκομαι 'graze' (9.93) and two of βόσκω (1.44, 6.39). So, for example, when Croesus calls on Zeus of the Hearth (Ionic ἐπίστιος) after hearing of his son's accidental death, it is

... διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων... (1.44)

because, having received the guest in his house, he had unwittingly nurtured (fed) the slayer of his son.

3.1.3.2. πιπρᾱ́σκομαι

The present πιπρᾱ́σκομαι is held by LSJ to be the passive of πιπρᾱ́σκω, Ionic πιπρήσκω, defined as 'export for sale', Attic always 'sell' (s.v. πέρνημι). Plato only shows medio-passive forms of this verb. The present occurs twice in Plato, both times in the participle. In the earlier example, Socrates, who has been saying that one exchanges vices for virtues – fear makes one brave, self-indulgence makes one self-restrained – now remarks that he does not approve of this way of attaining virtue:

... ἀλλ' ᾗ ἐκεῖνο μόνον τὸ νόμισμα ὀρθόν, ἀντὶ οὗ δεῖ παντα ταῦτα καταλλάττεσθαι, φρόνησις· καὶ τούτου μὲν πάντα καὶ μετὰ τούτου ὠνούμενά τε καὶ πιπρασκόμενα τῷ ὄντι ᾗ καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ συλλήβδην ἀληθὴς ἀρετὴ, μετὰ φρονήσεως, ... (*Phd.* 69b)

But [I suspect that] the only right coinage for which all these things [pleasures, pains and fear] must be exchanged is wisdom; and for and with this all [these] things, courage, wisdom and justice and, in short, true virtue, in fact get bought and sold.

In the second example, the Stranger is talking about the types of ἀγροραστική 'commerce':

μουσικήν τε τοίνυν συνάπασαν λέγωμεν, ἐκ πόλεως ἑκάστοτε εἰς πόλιν ἔνθεν μὲν ὠνηθεῖσαν, ἐτέρωσε δὲ ἀγομένην καὶ πιπρασκομένην, καὶ γραφικὴν καὶ θαυματοποιικὴν καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ μὲν παραμυθίας, τὰ δὲ καὶ σπουδῆς χάριν ἀχθέντα καὶ πωλούμενα, τὸν ἄγοντα καὶ πωλοῦντα μηδὲν ἧττον τῆς τῶν σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν πράσεως ἔμπορον ὀρθῶς ἂν λεγόμενον παρασχεῖν. (*Sph.* 224a)

Well, let us say that culture of all forms, having been bought constantly from one city into another city from there, and being brought to another and getting sold – painting, conjuring and the many other things that were brought in and are put on sale, both for the soul's entertainment and for its serious need – would render the one bringing and putting them on sale rightly called a merchant, no less than one of the sale of food and drink.

These two occurrences of πιπρᾴσκομαι were deemed not Plato's own by Burnet, who edited them out of the passages accordingly; he had further linguistic and philosophical grounds for such action, but in fact both passages are now – it seems rightly – accepted as genuine by scholars.[48] Nonetheless, it is true that the verb is rare: apart from these passages, the earliest instances are in Lysias (18.20) and Xenophon (*An.* 7.7.27); the active does not occur at this time, being first found at Callimachus *frr.* 191.2, 695 and perhaps Theophrastus *fr.* 98.

The only other tense of πιπρᾴσκομαι found in Plato is the aorist ἐπράθην, which occurs three times in *Laws* VIII-XI. The meaning is inchoative 'became sold':

> νόμος δ' ἑκάστῳ μηνὸς τῇ νέᾳ ὧν δεῖ πραθῆναι τὸ μέρος τοῖς ξένοις ἐξάγειν τούς ἐπιτρόπους, ... (*Lg.* VIII 849b)

[48]Cf. Chantraine 1940: 16; Luce 1944: 60-61; Loriaux 1969: 105-6; Duke et al. 1995 ad loc.

> And let the law be for each man that on the first day of the month the guardians bring out the portion of the goods which must be sold to foreigners.

Although not found in Plato, there are quite frequent perfect forms in πεπρᾱ- in other Classical authors: active πέπρᾱκα (Demosthenes, Isaeus), medio-passive πέπρᾱμαι (Aeschylus, Andocides, Aristophanes, Herodotus, Lysias, Sophocles) and future perfect πεπρᾱ́σομαι (Aristophanes, Xenophon). These forms show the expected stative meaning beside inchoative πιπρᾱ́σκομαι: hence, for example, Philoctetes says πέπραμαι κἀπόλωλ'(α) 'I am betrayed and lost' (Sophocles *Ph.* 978). It therefore seems clear that we have a further causative-inchoative-stative set.[49]

According to Chantraine (1940), these forms were part of a suppletive conjugation along with πωλέω and ἀποδίδομαι. He glosses the former as 'proposer pour de l'argent, chercher à vendre', with 'indéterminé' meaning (1940: 17); the latter is used 'avec un sens déterminé, la vente étant considérée comme réalisée' (1940: 19). If this is indeed the case, then, despite his statement that πωλέω acted as present to ἐπρᾱ́θην and πεπρᾱ́μαι (1940: 17), it must rather have been ἀποδίδομαι 'buy', aorist ἀπεδόμην that were used as the 'active' to medio-passive πιπρᾱ́σκομαι, ἐπρᾱ́θην. This suppletive conjugation explains the lack of need for active πιπρᾱ́σκω, (*)ἔπρᾱσα in Classical Greek. The following example illustrates the use of πωλέω and ἐπρᾱ́θην:

> ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῳ̣ ὀρφανῷ̣ τὰ χρήματα ἀποδιδόναι, ... τὸ χωρίον ἐπώλει... καὶ οὗτος... διεκώλυε τὸ χωρίον πραθῆναι. (Isaeus 2.28)

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[49]Other forms in πρᾱ- / πρη- are rare: Chantraine (1940: 15-16) cites future 'passive' πρᾱθήομαι (Sopater Comicus 6, Septuagint *Le.* 25.23) and aorist active hapax ἔπρησα (*Schwyzer* 714, Samos, 6th century BC). There was once a present πέρνημι, aorist ἐπέρασα, both found in Homer. On these forms see in general Chantraine 1940: 11-17, and for use in the New Testament 1940: 20.

For when it was necessary to pay the money back to the orphan, he had the land up for sale; and my opponent tried to prevent the land from getting sold.

For πωλέω beside ἀποδίδομαι, one may cite ὁ ἐν ἀρορᾷ πωλῶν καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος 'the one who has [items] on sale and sells at the market' (Xenophon *Smp.* 8.21).

3.1.4. Inchoative actives

3.1.4.1. θνήσκω

LSJ define θνήσκω as 'die', although it is also used with an agent, meaning 'be killed'. As in Homer (Chapter 4 § 3.4.4), it denotes a change of state for the subject, who passes from being alive to being dead. It is rare in simple form outside the perfect tense, so that we only find the simple present θνήσκω twice in Plato. On the first occasion, Plato uses it in a description of how life occurs in cycles – the living die, and then live again; and if this were not so, then surely everything would die out:

> εἰ γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τὰ ζῶντα γίγνοιτο, τὰ δὲ ζῶντα θνήσκοι, τίς μηχανὴ μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα καταναλωθῆναι εἰς τὸ τεθνάναι; (*Phd.* 72d)
>
> For if the living came to be from other things [than the dead], and the living were to be dying, what way is there that all things do not get consumed into being dead?

The other instance describes a death as a single penalty as opposed to a multiple one. Of an official who claims he has not been judged justly, it is said:

ἐὰν δὲ ἁλῷ, ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ τῳ θανάτου τετιμημένον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθύνων, ὥσπερ ἀνάγκη, ἁπλῶς θνῃσκέτω, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τιμημάτων ὧν ἂν δυνατὸν ᾖ διπλῆν τεῖσαι, διπλασίαν τινέτω. (*Lg.* XII 946e)

And if he is convicted, if the penalty of death has been imposed upon him by his examiners, let him be dying the once only, as is necessary; but let him pay double penalty of other penalties of which it is possible to pay double.

Use of simple present θνήσκω is extremely rare in Classical Greek prose (cf. Veitch 1887 s.v. θνήσκω). In the former example, the meaning is apparently durative 'be dying (out)'. In the latter, the phrase ἁπλῶς θνῃσκέτω presumably means 'let him be dying once', as opposed to 'let him be dying more than once (in continuous succession)'.

Similarly rare for the simple verb are the future θανοῦμαι (never found in Plato without a preverb) and the aorist ἔθανον (only occurring in a quotation from Homer, at *R.* III 390b.5). On the other hand, the simple perfect is very frequent, being found 79 times, of which only one is in a quotation from Homer; and moreover this tense is only once found with a preverb in Plato, on which see below. The reason for the distribution is surely the perfect's stative meaning of 'be dead'. For example, we find:

καὶ ἡμεῖς τῷ ὄντι ἴσως τέθναμεν· ἤδη γάρ του ἔγωγε καὶ ἤκουσα τῶν σοφῶν ὡς νῦν ἡμεῖς τέθναμεν καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμά ἐστιν ἡμῖν σῆμα, ... (*Grg.* 493a)

And perhaps we in fact are dead; for I even once heard one of our sages say that we are now dead, and our bodies are in our tombs.

The use in co-ordination with a present tense form, as above with τέθναμεν... ἐστιν, and such phrases as κίνδυνον... τοῦ ζῆν ἢ τεθνάναι 'danger of life or death' (*Ap.* 28b.7) make the stative meaning very apparent.

There is also one case of the future perfect form τεθνήξω. Socrates says, supposing that he had a dagger on him:

> ἐὰν γὰρ ἄρα ἐμοὶ δόξῃ τινὰ τουτωνὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὧν σὺ ὁρᾷς αὐτίκα μάλα δεῖν τεθνάναι, τεθνήξει οὗτος ὅν ἂν δόξῃ· (*Grg.* 469d)
>
> For if it seemed good to me that one of these men you see here must be dead right now, the man I thought it of would be dead.

In contrast, the remaining present, future and aorist forms are all frequently found in combination with the preverb ἀπο- : the verb ἀποθνήσκω 'die; be put to death, slain', evidently an inchoative ('become dead'), occurs 44 times in the present tense, as in:

> ἐπιόντος ἄρα θανάτου ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ μὲν θνητόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτοῦ ἀποθνῄσκει, τὸ δ' ἀθάνατον σῶν καὶ ἀδιάφθορον οἴχεται ἀπιόν, ... (*Phd.* 106e)
>
> Then when death comes to a man, the mortal part of him, it seems, dies, but the immortal part [i.e., the soul] goes away intact and unharmed.

The inchoative nature of the verb is clearly evident from its co-ordination with a verb of movement, οἴχεται, and the way in which another such verb is used in a paraphrase for it: hence ἐπιόντος θανάτου.

Plato uses the imperfect of ἀποθνήσκω once, in a speech by Aristophanes. He is talking of the ἀνδρογύνοι 'man-women, hermaphrodites', who were each composed of both a man and a woman together; split apart by Zeus, they nonetheless find each other again –

> ... καὶ περιβάλλοντες τὰς χεῖρας καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι ἀλλήλοις, ἐπιθυμοῦντες συμφῦναι, ἀπέθνῃσκον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀργίας διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐθέλειν χωρὶς ἀλλήλων ποιεῖν. (*Smp.* 191a)
> and throwing their arms around each other and being locked together with each other, desiring to be together, they began to die from hunger and inactivity too, through not wishing to do anything apart from each other.

The future ἀποθανοῦμαι 'will die' occurs fifteen times, e.g. in:

> ἐὰν δὲ ἁλῷς ἔτι τοῦτο πράττων, ἀποθανῇ. (*Ap.* 29d)
> But if you are still caught doing this [investigating or practising philosophy], you will die [be put to death].

Lastly, there is the frequently found aorist ἀπέθανον 'died' (60 times):

> καὶ ἴσως ἂν διὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ διὰ ταχέων κατελύθη. (*Ap.* 32d)
> And perhaps I would have died [been put to death] for it [not obeying the orders of the Thirty], if the government had not been quickly overthrown.

Of the six further compounds already listed (Chapter 7 § 3.1.2), the four in -απο- show the same range of forms as ἀποθνήσκω, and the one instance in

κατα- is in a quotation; but the use of the compound in ἐκ- is of some interest. This is the participle of the perfect ἐκτέθνηκα, the one instance in Plato of the perfect τέθνηκα showing a preverb. The present of this verb, ἐκθνήσκω, is defined by LSJ as 'be in a death-like swoon'; in fact, it is the stative perfect that has this meaning in our passage:

> τὰς δὲ προθέσεις πρῶτον μὲν μὴ μακρότερον χρόνον ἔνδον γίγνεσθαι τοῦ δηλοῦντος τόν τε ἐκτεθνεῶτα καὶ τὸν ὄντως τεθνηκότα, ... (*Lg.* XII 959a)
>
> And as for the laying-out of the corpse, first, let it occur within the house for no longer time than is sufficient to show that the man is in a death-like state, and really dead.

Hence, when we find the present of this compound outside Plato, it has inchoative sense: so ἐκθνήσκουσι '[animals] fall into a swoon' (Aristotle *HA* III 521a.11).

Present, future and aorist tenses of θνήσκω almost always show the preverb ἀπο- , where there is a change of state: this prefix denotes such notions as 'completing' and 'ceasing from' (cf. LSJ s.v. ἀπό D). The perfect, on the other hand, is always stative, including the one instance of it showing a preverb; and so we never find τέθνηκα with ἀπο- . In this way it is similar to μιμνήσκω, whose present, future and aorist are usually found in compound form, but whose perfect forms are always simple. This use of preverbs with the present, future and aorist tenses of these verbs is to emphasise dynamic situations; the use of such preverbs with perfect tenses is inappropriate, whence their omission.

3.2. Miscellaneous forms

Four verbs remain, which appear to show neither causative nor inchoative presents in - σκω: these are ἀρέσκω 'please', γιγνώσκω 'know', ἀπο- διδρᾰ́σκω 'run away' and εὑρίσκω 'find'.

3.2.1. ἀρέσκω

Defined by LSJ as originally 'make good; appease' and, in the Classical era, 'please, satisfy', the present form ἀρέσκω is quite frequent in the present tense in Plato: it occurs 42 times, in both personal and impersonal use. Here, Clinias, with nine others, says that he has been given the task of founding a colony:

> ἅμα δὲ καὶ νόμους τῶν τε αὐτόθι, εἴ τινες ἡμᾶς ἀρέσκουσιν, τίθεσθαι κελεύει, καὶ εἴ τινες ἐτέρωθεν, ... (*Lg.* III 702c)
>
> And at the same time [the city of Cnossus] bids us to make laws both from our own here, if any please us, and also from abroad...

An example of impersonal use occurs in the following passage, where Socrates shows that, if the beautiful is the cause of the good, then it cannot *be* it, and this brings about a contradiction:

> ἀρέσκει οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐθέλοιμεν ἂν λέγειν ὡς τὸ καλὸν οὐκ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ τὸ ἀγαθόν καλόν; (*Hp. Ma.* 297c)
>
> Therefore does it please us, and would we want to say, that the beautiful is not good and the good not beautiful?

There is also an imperfect, all four instances of which occur in *Crito* 52, as in, ἤρεσκε τε οὖν ἴσως αὐτῷ τὰ λεγόμενα 'and therefore, probably, the things

said pleased him' (*Cri.* 52e.4). From the present participle comes the adverb ἀρεσκόντως 'agreeably', found in Plato only in the phrase εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἀρεσκόντως (*R.* VI 504b) 'but if it pleased you'.

The only other tense of this verb found in Plato is the aorist ἤρεσα (six times); hence e.g.:

> ταῦτα ἤρεσε τοῖς παροῦσι, καὶ πάντες ἐπήνεσαν, ... (*Prt.* 338b)
> These things pleased those present, and they all applauded.

The only compound form is ἀπαρέσκω 'displease' which occurs once: ἓν μέντοι τί με τῶν ῥηθέντων ἀπαρέσκει (*Tht.* 202d) 'But one point in what has been said displeases me'. There are other tenses of this verb which occur outside Plato: also active is the future ἀρέσω (Demosthenes 39.33), ἀρέσσω (Apollonius Rhodius 3.901).

Of greater interest are the medio-passive forms. If ἀρέσκω is to follow the model of causative active beside inchoative medio-passive, it must either be an inchoative active or a causative one, with possible medio-passive inchoative. The meaning of the Homeric aorist ἀρέσαι, which has future middle ἀρέσσομαι, aorist ἀρέσ(σ)ασθαι, is according to LSJ 'make good, make amends', middle 'appease, conciliate', with the meaning 'please, satisfy' being a classical development.[50] There is therefore some justification to view ἀρέσκω as, historically, a causative verb meaning 'make pleased', and we therefore expect medio-passive ἀρέσκομαι 'become pleased', aorist ἠρέ[σ]θην 'became pleased'. We do not find these meanings, however. There is a transitive medio-passive ἀρέσκομαι, for example meaning 'propitiate' θεοὺς ἀρέσκεσθαι 'to propitiate the gods' (Xenophon *Mem.*

[50]Cf. also Cunliffe 1924 s.v. †ἀρέσκω, whose main meanings for the Homeric forms are 'make atonement' and middle 'conciliate'.

4.3.16). This is therefore the 'middle' benefactive form. In what is traditionally termed the passive, ἀρέσκομαι has the stative meaning 'be pleased' (cf. LSJ s.v. ἀρέσκω III), and is apparently never inchoative **'become pleased'; hence, for example, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρέσκομαι 'and I am pleased at the things you have said' (Thucydides 1.129). There is apparently only one possible case of inchoative aorist ἠρέσθην in the Classical period, found in Sophocles when Antigone says:

ὡς ἐμοὶ τῶν σῶν λόγων
ἀρεστὸν οὐδέν, μηδ' ἀρεσθείη ποτέ· (Sophocles *Ant.* 500)
As none of your words is pleasing me, nor would they ever become pleasing.

This reading has been questioned, but in fact is surely acceptable.[51]

It would seem that, in this case, ἀρέσκω is not causative or inchoative in Plato, and the medio-passive present may be used with stative meaning.

3.2.2. γιγνώσκω

The verb whose present is γιγνώσκω means 'come to know, perceive, know; form a judgement, think; judge, determine, &c.' according to LSJ.[52] The present active (203 times), unlike in Homer (Chapter 4 § 3.4.3) has stative meaning:

εἰπὲ δή μοι, ὦ παῖ, γιγνώσκεις τετράγωνον χωρίον ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἐστιν; (*Men.* 82b)
Tell me, boy, do you know that a square figure is such [as this]?

[51]Cf. Jebb 1888: 98.
[52]LSJ's statement that it only means 'know' in past tenses is corrected in the revised supplement s.v.

On one occasion, however, γιγνώσκω seems to mean 'decide':

> εἰ δὲ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐρωτᾶσθαί τε καὶ διδόναι λόγον, αὐτοὺς δὴ χρὴ γιγνώσκειν, ὦ Νικία τε καὶ Λάχης. (*La.* 187c)
>
> But it is necessary for you, Nicias and Laches, to decide for yourselves whether it suits you to be questioned and give explanations on such points.

The future γνώσομαι (51 times) is found, for example, when Protagoras says to Socrates that courage is different from the other parts of virtue:

> ὧδε δὲ γνώσῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω· εὑρήσεις γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀδικωτάτους μὲν ὄντας καὶ ἀνοσιωτάτους καὶ ἀκολαστοτάτους καὶ ἀμαθεστάτους, ἀνδρειοτάτους δὲ διαφερόντως. (*Prt.* 349d)
>
> Thus you will perceive that I am speaking the truth: for you will find many men very unjust, unholy, dissolute and ignorant, but pre-eminently courageous.

The aorist ἔγνων (116 times) has the inchoative meaning 'came to know, perceived, recognised', being the past tense of a stative. In the following passage, Socrates is saying that, although he tried to show that he was less learned than the poets, he failed, as they could not explain their own poems as well as others could:

> ἔγνων οὖν αὖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφίᾳ ποιοῖεν ἃ ποιοῖεν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες...
>
> (*Ap.* 22b-c)

Therefore, concerning the poets, I presently also perceived that they compose what they compose not through wisdom, but through some natural disposition and being inspired.

The perfect ἔγνωκα (eleven times) indicates the state of knowing that results from a past act of coming to know, as when a servant says to Socrates:

σὲ δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ ἄλλως ἔγνωκα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ γενναιότατον καὶ πραότατον καὶ ἄριστον ἄνδρα ὄντα τῶν πώποτε δεῦρο ἀφικομένων, ... (*Phd.* 116c)

And I have known you in every way in this time to be the noblest, gentlest and best man of those who have ever come here.

Therefore, it can also be synonymous with the stative present γιγνώσκω 'know':

τοσοῦτον σὺ ἐμοῦ σοφώτερος εἶ τηλικούτου ὄντος τηλικόσδε ὤν, ὥστε σὺ μὲν ἔγνωκας ὅτι οἱ μὲν κακοὶ κακόν τι ἐργάζονται ἀεὶ τοὺς μάλιστα πλησίον ἑαυτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθόν... (*Ap.* 25d)

And you at your age are so much wiser than I at my age that you have perceived that the bad always do something bad to those nearest them, and the good do some good.

There is also a medio-passive. The present γιγνώσκομαι (22 times) means stative 'be known', as in οὐδὲν <γὰρ> ἧττον γιγνώσκεται, τί τὸ λεγόμενον μὴ εἶναι 'for that which is said not to exist is known nonetheless' (*Prm.* 160d). Equally, it can be inchoative 'come to be known, be recognised', as in:

οὐκοῦν καὶ τόδε εἰκός τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, τὰς κυούσας καὶ μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν μαιῶν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων; (*Tht.* 149c)

Therefore is it likely and necessary that those who are pregnant and those who are not be recognised by midwives or by others?

Two other tenses occur in the medio-passive of this verb, both with passive morphology and inchoative meaning. These are future γνωσθήσομαι 'will be known' (once) and aorist ἐγνώσθην 'came to be known, came to be determined' (seven times). The instance of the former occurs when Socrates is saying that, if knowledge is always changing, then there can be no knowledge due to the gap between the stages:

καὶ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου οὔτε τὸν γνωσόμενον οὔτε τὸ γνωσθησόμενον ἂν εἴη. (*Cra.* 440b)

And by this reasoning there would be neither anyone to know nor anything to be known.

An example of the aorist passive occurs when the Stranger says:

πάλαι γὰρ δή ποτε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐγνώσθη παρ' αὐτοῖς οὗτος ὁ λόγος... (*Lg.* II 656d)

For long ago, it seems, this rule came to be decided by them.

In sum, although γιγνώσκω appears beside a stative perfect ἔγνωκα, the form in - σκω nonetheless clearly shows stative meaning.

3.2.3. ἀπο- διδρᾱ́σκω

The present - διδρᾱ́σκω is only found in the compound form ἀπο- διδρᾱ́σκω in Plato. The simple is apparently never found in Classical literature; other Classical authors show only forms prefixed with ἀπο- , except Aristophanes, who also has compounds in δια- , ἐκ- and συναπο- .

LSJ gloss ἀποδιδρᾱ́σκω as 'run away, escape or flee from, especially by stealth'; there is also a transitive use, 'flee, shun'. There are twelve instances of the present tense in Plato, of which six are participial; there is also one of the imperfect. An example of its use in the present tense is when Socrates says:

> ... εἰ μὴ δικαιότερον ᾤμην καὶ κάλλιον εἶναι πρὸ τοῦ φεύγειν τε καὶ ἀποδιδράσκειν ὑπέχειν τῇ πόλει δίκην ἥντιν' ἄν τάττῃ.
>
> (*Phd.* 99a)
>
> [I would have gone to Megara long ago,] if I did not think it a more just and noble thing, instead of fleeing and running away, to endure from the city whatever penalty it may ordain.

The example of the imperfect occurs in the following passage. Socrates is giving Crito the laws' view on himself, saying that he should not try to escape; concerning Crito's friends in Thessaly, they say to Socrates:

> ... καὶ ἴσως ἂν ἡδέως σου ἀκούοιεν, ὡς γελοίως ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ἀπεδίδρασκες σκευήν τέ τινα περιθέμενος...
>
> (*Cri.* 53d)
>
> And perhaps they will be pleased to hear how ludicrously you escaped from prison by putting on a disguise.

The future ἀποδρᾱ́σομαι appears only once in Plato, in the phrase ἐγὼ δ' ᾤμην ἔκ γε τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀποδράσεσθαι 'but I thought I would escape from one of them' (*R.* V 457e). An example of the aorist ἀπρέδρᾱν (five times) is e.g. ὁ γάρ τοι παῖς με ὁ Σάτυρος ἀπέδρα 'for, you see, my boy Satyrus had run away' (*Prt.* 310c). A perfect ἀποδέδρᾱκα only occurs in Plato once, although Aristophanes, Hippocrates and Xenophon also use it; it is found when Socrates says: ... καὶ οὕτως ἡμῖν ὁ καλὸς λόγος ἀποδεδρακὼς οἰχήσεται 'and so our fine theory, having run away, will be gone' (*Tht.* 203d).

This verb is also used transitively by Plato. The certain example of transitive use is ὥσπερ παῖδες πατέρα τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδράσκοντες 'running away from the law like boys from their father' (*R.* VIII 548b); similar is the use of ἀποδράς at *R.* I 329c.4. Examples from outside Plato also occur; cf. ὅκως τε μὴ διαδρήσεταί σφεας ὁ Δημοκήδης 'and they were to take care that Democedes should not escape them' (Herodotus 3.135). In its earliest use, forms from this stem are intransitive;[53] the later use with the accusative is an extension.

Classical Greek also shows a form δρασκάζω, apparently only found at Lysias 17.10 in quotation from a law of Solon's: it is there equated with ἀποδιδρᾱ́σκειν – Lysias says τό τε δρασκάζειν, ὃ νῦν ἀποδιδράσκειν ὀνομάζομεν – so that LSJ's definition of δρασκάζω as 'attempt an escape', also in Chantraine's 'tenter de s'échapper' (1968-80 s.v. διδρᾱ́σκω), seems unnecessary.

In this case, therefore, we have a verb which means 'escape'; -σκω is not inchoative here.

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[53]The first occurrences are as aorist participle ἀποδράς, used with ἐκ νηὸς at *Od.* 16.65 and with νηὸς alone at *Od.* 17.516. On the meaning and etymology of the form see further Létoublon 1985: 189-90.

3.2.4. εὑρίσκω

Εὑρίσκω 'find' is often used by Plato in the active figuratively, meaning 'find out, discover; find that'; it thus has an important role in works of philosophical inquiry. Hence, in this voice the verb is commonly found. The present (23 times) is used, for example, when Socrates asks Hippias what the Spartans like to hear him talk about:

> ἀλλὰ τί μήν ἐστιν ἃ ἡδέως σου ἀκροῶνται καὶ ἐπαινοῦσιν; αὐτός μοι εἰπέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγὼ οὐχ εὑρίσκω. (*Hp. Ma.* 285d)
> But what is this thing about which they gladly listen to you and applaud? Tell me yourself, since I do not find it myself.

There are also five instances of the imperfect, as in ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ηὑρίσκομεν 'as we found in our former [argument]' (*Grg.* 513e).

The future active εὑρήσω (54 times) is for example used in the following passage. Here, it has been decided that temperance (σωφροσύνη) is the knowledge of what one does and does not know. But if temperance had full control of mankind, then would they be happy? Critias says:

> ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὐ ῥᾳδίως εὑρήσεις ἄλλο τι τέλος τοῦ εὖ πράττειν, ἐὰν τὸ ἐπιστημόνως ἀτιμάσῃς. (*Chrm.* 173d)
> But still, he said, you will not easily find any other fulfilment of welfare, if you reject the idea of knowledge.

The aorist ηὗρον is by far the most frequent form of this verb (114 times, including two quotations); for example, Socrates, talking of various people who have contributed to the art of rhetoric, says:

τὸν δὲ κάλλιστον Πάριον Εὐηνὸν ἐς μέσον οὐκ ἄγομεν, ὅς ὑποδήλωσίν τε πρῶτος ηὗρεν καὶ παρεπαίνους... (*Phdr.* 267a)

Do we not bring the excellent Parian, Evenus, into the midst of our discussion, who first invented insinuation and indirect praises... ?

Lastly in the active is the perfect ηὕρηκα (26 times); this means literally 'be in a state of having found':

πρὸς γὰρ τῷ σέβεσθαι τὸν τὸ κάλλος ἔχοντα ἰατρὸν ηὕρηκε μόνον τῶν μεγίστων πόνων. (*Phdr.* 252a-b)

For it [the soul], in addition to revering him who possesses beauty, finds him (has found him to be) the only healer of its greatest troubles.

Outside the active, forms of this verb are infrequent. As with διδάσκω, Brandwood divides the remaining non-active parts into 'middle' and 'passive'. With the former, we find only the aorist ηὑρόμην 'found for oneself; invented', which occurs three times. For example, Socrates says that madness comes from the gods and is therefore superior to sanity (σωφροσύνη), which is human; hence:

... ἡ μανία ἐγγενομένη καὶ προφητεύσασα, οἷς ἔδει ἀπαλλαγὴν ηὕρετο, ... (*Phdr.* 244d-e)

... madness, having intervened and used its oracular power, found a way of release for those in need.

A second use at *Phdr.* 245a.1 is similar in meaning; in the only other case, the meaning is 'invented':

ἔπειτα... καὶ οἰκήσεις καὶ ἐσθῆτας καὶ ὑποδέσεις καὶ στρωμνὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκ γῆς τροφὰς ηὕρετο. (*Prt.* 322a)

And secondly, [by his skill] he [man] invented dwellings, clothes, sandals, beds and the foods of the earth.

Forms classed as passive are the aorist ηὑρέθην (seven times) and perfect ηὕρημαι (ten). An example of the former is:

δοκῶ μὲν γάρ, τὸ πρῶτον ηὑρέθη νέων καὶ πλουσίων ἔμμισθος θηρευτής. (*Sph.* 231d)

First, I believe, [the sophist] was found to be a paid hunter after the young and wealthy.

In the following example of the medio-passive perfect ηὕρημαι, Glaucon is concluding an investigation into the place of wisdom in the city:

ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ἀποχρώντως ηὑρῆσθαι. (*R.* IV 429a)

It certainly seems to me, he said, that it [wisdom] has been discovered sufficiently.

The four compounds also provide some further tense stems. We find an example of the medio-passive present with preverb ἀν- :

καὶ ἐὰν τις τὰ ξενικὰ ὀνόματα ἀνασκοπῇ, οὐχ ἧττον ἀνευρίσκεται ὅ ἕκαστον βούλεται. (*Cra.* 401c)

and if one were to examine foreign names, what each one means is (gets) easily found.

A future passive is found in ἀνευρεθήσεται 'it will be discovered' (*Ti.* 63e).

Although we could see in εὑρίσκω : -ευρίσκομαι a causative-inchoative pair with, for instance, the meaning 'make found / plain / uncovered' : 'become found / plain / uncovered', this interpretation seems forced: there is no evidence that εὑρίσκω was felt to be a causative in Plato or in Homer (Chapter 4 § 4.1), the meaning 'invent' being too common.

3.3. Summary: remaining forms

It is clear that, in Plato as in Homer, there are many cases of causatives in - σκω beside inchoatives in - σκομαι. As also in Homer, we do not always find both members of a pair: though we have both - μιμνήσκω 'remind' and μιμνήσκομαι 'remember', ἀμβλίσκω 'make miscarry' shows no inchoative in Plato, and πιπρᾱ́σκομαι has no causative. In most cases there is a stative perfect; where there is, it is generally a frequently found one, in Classical Greek if not in Plato.

Also as in Homer, however, there are four verbs which do not fall into this class. Whether they have stative perfects or not, these verbs are not causatives or inchoatives in Plato's work.

4. Conclusion: the semantics of verbs in - σκω in Plato

In Plato, therefore, there is a clear divide between two uses of - σκω. In most cases it is a present formant, with apparently no particular meaning (§ 3). That we find many cases of causatives in - σκω beside inchoatives in - σκομαι is, as has been seen (Chapter 1 § 3.2), a feature of Greek voice. Hence, beside μιμνήσκω : μιμνήσκομαι, ἔμνησα : ἐμνήσθην is also a causative-inchoative pair, without - σκ- being found in either form.

In five cases, however, our forms in - σκω / - σκομαι appear to be genuinely causative-inchoative, in opposition to an unmarked present (§ 2). Three show causative - σκω beside inchoative - σκομαι, as μεθύσκω 'make drunk' : μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk' : μεθύω 'be drunk'. In two, we have inchoatives in - σκω, as γενειάσκω 'become bearded'. The difference between these two types of (causative-)inchoatives in - σκ- appears to be the type of action involved: becoming drunk is an 'externally caused' event, becoming bearded an 'internally caused' one. In this case, the meaning for - σκ- in Plato, when in opposition to a marked form, is by nature inchoative.

Chapter 9

Verbs in - σκω in Classical Greek: a Summary

1. Introduction

The previous two chapters have given respectively a morphological and semantic analysis of the verbs in - σκω found in Plato. Certain verbs were omitted because they did not seem to be felt to be verbs in - σκω in Plato's time; others, on the other hand, have now been dealt with twice, since they were also used by Homer and were therefore studied in Chapters 3-4.[1] There is not room here to discuss other Classical forms in detail; this chapter therefore includes a summary of the twenty-two other verbs found in this period. Thereafter, the study of Classical Greek verbs in - σκω is concluded with a summary of what has been seen in these three chapters.

2. Other Classical verbs in - σκω: an overview[2]

2.1. Morphology

Most other verbs in - σκω found in Classical Greek fall into the same categories as those seen in Plato: classes of verbs with reduplication in - ι- , in - ίσκω, and with the same stem throughout, apparently both with and without stem-final vowel alternation.

Four further presents in - σκω with reduplication in - ι- make up a small group of occasional forms. Most problematic is - βιβάσκω 'go; make go' (*h.Ap.* 133, Hippocrates, Aristotle, *IG* 12(7).62.36 (fourth century, Amorgos) and *Schwyzer* 126a (fifth century, Corinth)); cf. also Chapter 4 § 2.1.1). Others appear beside non-

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[1]Conversely, a handful of Homeric verbs in - σκω are hardly found in other works: notably rare are ἀλδήσκω 'grow, increase', ἀλύσκω 'escape', ἀπαφίσκω 'trick', ἀραρίσκω 'fit together', βλώσκω 'go, come', δειδίσκομαι 'welcome, greet', ἐΐσκω and ἴσκω 'make like, etc.' and ἠλάσκω 'rove, flit about'.

[2]The data used in this summary are principally taken from Veitch 1887; Chantraine 1968-80; and LSJ.

present stems in the same way as those seen in Plato: hence βιβρώσκομαι 'be eaten' (Hippocrates *Aff.* 4, not in the active until Plutarch and Babrius) with non-present βρω- (most commonly in perfect forms in βεβρω-); ἐμ- πιπᾱ́σκομαι 'acquire' (found as (ε)νπιπᾱσκεσθō in *Schwyzer* 83 B3, fifth century, Argos) beside πᾱ- (first in πέπᾱμαι, found from Solon, Aeschylus and Pindar onwards); and πιπίσκω 'give to drink, make drink' (Hippocrates), present to future πῑ́σω and aorist ἔπῑσα.

There are seven more presents in - ίσκω with non-present forms in - η- and - ω- ; non-present - εσ- also seems to be an option in two cases. This set is particularly notable in Hippocrates: here we find ἀλθίσκω 'heal' (*Morb.* 2.36), which has non-present forms in - η- (future ἀπ- αλθ- ή- σεσθον, *Il.* 8.405) and in Hippocrates - εσ- (aorist passive συν- αλθ- εσ- θῆναι, *Art.* 14) as well as a thematic aorist ἄλθετο (*Il.* 5.417)); κορίσκομαι 'become saturated' (*Gland.* 6, 14), 'be irked' (*Art.* 35), collateral to κορέννῡμι, non-present κορε(σ)- / κορη- ; οἰδίσκομαι 'become swollen' (*Epid.* 5.16), collateral to οἰδέω : οἰδη- ; and -πυΐσκομαι 'suppurate' (quite frequent), collateral to -πυέω : πυη- . Other Classical forms are γαμίσκομαι 'give oneself in marriage' (Aristotle *Pol.* 1335a.20), collateral to γαμέομαι : γαμη- ; and γεγωνίσκω 'shout; proclaim' (Aeschylus, Euripides, Thucydides), beside γεγωνέω : γεγωνη- .[3] There is one form with non-present stem in - ω- : ἀμαυρίσκω 'make dim' (Democritus 177), found as collateral to ἀμαυρόω : ἀμαυρω- .

Further examples of same-stem presents are also to be found. The only remaining verb which really appears to show a short / long vowel alternation before - σκω is apparently ἡβάσκω 'come to puberty' (Euripides, Hippocrates and Xenophon) beside ἡβάω 'be in the prime of youth' : non-present ἡβη- . We might also suspect the same of ὑλάσκω 'bark'; if indeed this form is to be read in its one

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[3]There is also ῥυΐσκομαι (non-present ῥυη-) 'flow', supposedly used by Archilochus but probably not to be attributed to him: cf. Schmidt 1904: 30; and Chantraine 1968-80: s.v. ῥέω A.

possible occurrence (Aeschylus *Supp.* 877), then it is a collateral to ὑλακτέω and ὑλάω, which would presumably have had non-present forms in ὑλη- – although these are apparently not found (cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ὑλάω, LSJ s.v.). In the case of πινύσκω 'make prudent' (Aeschylus, Simonides, Callimachus) beside πινύσσω 'id.' : non-present πνῡ- (mostly in perfect πέπνῡμαι 'be conscious'), we cannot be sure of the length of the - υ- before - σκ- ; similarly, there is ἰμάσκω, perhaps 'flog' or 'imprison' (cf. LSJ s.v. ἰμάσκω; Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. ἰμάς) (*Schwyzer* 409.7, c. 580 BC, Elis) beside ἰμάσσω 'flog', aorist ἵμασα (*Iliad*, *Odyssey*, etc.). Clearly with one stem throughout and no alternation are ῥώσκομαι, only found as ῥωσκομένως 'with force' (Hippocrates *Cord.* 1), which occurs beside ῥώννυμαι 'strengthen' : non-present ῥω- , the latter being especially common in the perfect middle ἔρρωμαι 'be strong', as participle ἐρρωμένος 'powerful'; and lastly -φαύσκω / - φώσκω 'begin to shine, dawn' (Herodotus, Aristotle), which has no non-present verbal forms and whose relationship to Homeric and Classical πιφαύσκω is obscure.[4]

Beside all these formations, which largely show the same patterns that exist in Plato, there are three more small groups of forms. Firstly, there is the isolated ἴσκω, according to LSJ the iterative of εἶμι 'go' (*Schwyzer* 180.3, archaic Crete).

The second group is comprised of the two parallel verbs λάσκω 'shout' (Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides) beside aorist ἔλακον and perfect λέληκα; and χάσκω 'gape' (Anacreon, Hipponax, Solon, Aristophanes, Xenophon) beside ἔχανον and κέχηνα. If these are derived from their thematic aorists, with preforms *λακ- σκω and *χαν- σκω,[5] then we have the same pattern of present in - (ί)σκω beside thematic aorist which we saw for the four Homeric verbs in - ίσκω (ἀραρίσκω : ἤραρον, ἀπαφίσκω : ἤπαφον, ἐπαυρίσκομαι : ἐπαῦρον and

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[4]See also Chapter 3 § 4.2.2.

[5]On the phonology of - κσκ- > - σκ- see Chapter 3 § 3.1.3 and n. 56; - νσκ- may become - σκ- without lengthening of the preceding vowel: for examples cf. Lejeune 1972: 138-9, 314.

εὑρίσκω : εὗρον), as well as for certain verbs with reduplication in - ι- beside aorists with reduplication in - ε- (διδάσκω : δέδαε, τιτύσκομαι : τετυκεῖν; cf. also κικλήσκω : ἐκέκλετο) and perhaps even for one more verb in - σκω (*παθσκω : ἔπαθον). Alternatively, χάσκω could be an ancient formation.[6] In addition, there is ὀφλίσκω, attested by Suidas, which we should reconstruct for the Classical period to account for ὀφλισκάνω; it would be based on the aorist ὤφλον; non-present forms also occur in ὀλφη- .

Lastly, there is one more type of verb in - ίσκω: we find Ionic forms on stems in - η- beside collaterals in - ίζω: κληΐσκομαι 'be called' (Hippocrates *Cord.* 8; cf. κλήζω, κληΐζω 'call'); and χρηΐσκομαι 'need' (Herodotus 3.117; cf. χρηΐζω 'want, have need of').

2.2. Semantics

It is impossible to give a full overview of the semantics of other verbs in - σκω in Classical Greek without detailed examination of forms in context. What follows is a brief attempt at categorisation, following groups already seen.

As in Plato, a large group of presents in - σκω in the rest of Classical Greek seem to show the causative alternation. Although paucity of attestation of many forms means that we only find one member of a pair, a collateral present often shows a fuller picture; stative perfects also occur in opposition to inchoative presents in - σκ- . Hence ἀλθίσκω 'heal', collateral to ἀλθαίνω 'heal' medio-passive ἀλθαίνομαι 'become whole and sound'; ἀμαυρίσκω 'make dim', collateral to ἀμαυρόω, 'make dim', medio-passive ἀμαυρόομαι 'become dark or dim'; βιβρώσκομαι 'get eaten', beside perfect βέβρωμαι; γαμίσκομαι 'get given in marriage', beside γαμίζω 'give in marriage'; κορίσκομαι'become saturated', collateral to κορέννυμαι, medio-passive of κορέννῡμι 'satiate'; οἰδίσκομαι

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[6]Cf. Chantraine 1968-80 s.v. χαίνω; and Kujoṛe 1973: 211-12.

'become swollen' beside actives οἰδέω, οἰδαίνω 'swell'; πινύσκω 'make prudent', beside πινύσσω 'id.' and stative perfect πέπνῡμαι 'be wise'; ἐμ- πιπᾱ́σκομαι 'acquire', beside stative perfect πέπᾱμαι 'possess'; -πυΐσκομαι 'suppurate', beside - πυέω 'suppurate'; and ῥώσκομαι 'be strengthened', collateral to ῥώννυμαι, medio-passive of ῥώννῡμι 'strengthen', perfect ἔρρωμαι.

As before, inchoative actives form a smaller set. Most notable is ἡβάσκω 'come to puberty', found beside the stative ἡβάω 'be in the prime of youth, etc.' in parallel to the pairs γηράσκω : γηράω and γενειάσκω : γενειάω, as already seen (Chapter 8 § 2.3). There is also - φαύσκω / - φώσκω, which in Classical Greek occurs in the forms διαφώσκω 'dawn' (Herodotus) and ὑποφαύσκω 'begin to shine' (Aristotle).

As with morphology, a few further small sets occur outside Plato which are not represented within his corpus. Some appear to form two semantically restricted classes. Firstly, as with Homer, there is a group of verbs of movement: two forms occur, both rare. There is the problematic βιβάσκω, apparently both 'go' and 'make go' (cf. Chapter 4 § 2.1.1); and also ἴσκω, perhaps an iterative of εἶμι 'go'.

There remains a group of forms which all involve the semantic field of speech and sound. The only verbs already seen which fit here are the suppletive φάσκω 'say' and, apparently in a figurative sense, πιφαύσκω 'make manifest, declare'. Elsewhere in Classical Greek we find γεγωνίσκω 'cry aloud; proclaim', λάσκω 'shout' and the dubious ὑλάσκω 'bark'.

A small group of five verbs is left over, which would deserve more extensive study of the sort which is not possible in this thesis. The present πιπίσκω 'give to drink, make drink' is a different type of causative from those just seen: it denotes causing another to perform a dynamic situation, not enter a state, and so is unsurprisingly not found beside an inchoative medio-passive or any stative perfect forms. Secondly, there is χάσκω 'gape', which out of context does not seem to be

an inchoative. The once attested ἰμάσκω could be a causative if it means 'imprison', but then how was it formed? Lastly, there are the two forms in -ίσκω beside presents in - ίζω, κληΐσκομαι 'be called' and χρηΐσκομαι 'need'. The former may be connected with κικλήσκω; but what of the latter?

3. Conclusions: Classical Greek - σκω

In Classical Greek, we find thirty-three verbs not found in Homer (eleven in Plato, twenty-two elsewhere); including φάσκω, now found outside the imperfect, this gives thirty-four in all.

Classical Greek shows quite clear-cut morphological distinctions for verbs in - σκω. Pre-Classical formations do not necessarily fit easily into synchronic categories, so that θνήσκω in particular was seen to be problematic. On the other hand, in the Classical period, three major classes are all moderately productive: formations with reduplication in - ι- , forms in - ίσκω and lastly those with the same stem throughout. The first type seems to be the way of forming verbs in - σκω from monosyllabic stems: δρᾱ- gives - διδρᾱ́σκω, βρω- gives βιβρώσκομαι. Most such stems are of the form *CRV̄*-, less commonly *CV̄*- (as ἐμ- πιπᾱ́σκομαι). A stem whose non-present forms show - η- may form a present in - ίσκω (οἰδη- : οἰδίσκομαι), less frequently if they are in - ω- (ἀμβλω- : ἀμβλίσκω); there are also occasional verbs with stems in - ε- (εὑρε- : εὑρη- : εὑρίσκω) and - εσ- (κορε(σ)- : κορη- : κορίσκομαι). Lastly, vowel-final di- and trisyllabic stems may form presents in - σκω simply by the addition of the latter suffix (ἀρε- : ἀρέσκω); vowel alternation occurs at least for stems in - α- , however, with a short vowel being found before - σκω (ἡβη- : ἡβάσκω). In such cases a further present in - άω is also found; this sub-type could be due to the model of γηρᾱ- : γηράσκω. The old pattern of derivation from a thematic aorist (as λακ- ε/ο- : λάσκω) has

become unproductive; similarly rare is the apparently Ionic phenomenon of collaterals in - ίσκω beside presents in - ίζω (χρηΐζω : χρηΐσκομαι).

Semantically, the suffix - σκω has a role in Classical Greek which we did not see in Homer. Examination of data from Plato has illustrated that for five minimal pairs of present in - σκω beside an unmarked form, the suffix - σκ- has inchoative meaning: either a medio-passive in - σκομαι occurs with a possible causative alternant in - σκω, or there is an inchoative active in - σκω on its own. The distinction appears to involve the type of action concerned: 'externally caused' events are realised in the former way (μεθύσκω 'make drunk' : μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk' : μεθύω 'be drunk'), 'internally caused' ones in the latter (γενειάσκω 'become bearded' (never **'make bearded') : γενειάω 'be bearded'). The rest of Classical Greek appears to furnish at least one more example: ἡβάσκω 'come to puberty' : ἡβάω 'be in one's prime'. Otherwise, - σκω appears to be used merely as a present formant, whether to create e.g. causative actives and medio-passive inchoatives (πινύσκω 'make prudent', πιπρᾱ́σκομαι 'get sold') or forms where there is no such opposition (ἀρέσκω 'please'); in these cases, one meaning is found throughout each verb.

So far the analysis has been prevalently synchronic. It is now time to compare the results of this enquiry and reach some general conclusions on the type of development found in Greek verbs in - σκω.

Chapter 10
Conclusions

1. Introduction

In this final chapter, an attempt is made both to summarise previous conclusions and also to trace a line of development from early to Classical Greek. We must now ask: to what extent have the problems raised in Chapter 1 been solved, and what remains to be done?

2. The verbs in - σκω: semantic and morphological problems

From a Greek point of view, as we have seen, - σκω is a suffix used to form the present stem of certain verbs. In those verbs, other tenses such as aorists and perfects do not normally show - σκω, while presents and imperfects (which are built on the present stem) do. Very occasionally, - σκω is extended to tenses other than the present and the imperfect; but, in the vast majority of verbs, this does not occur. In itself this is not surprising: Greek inherited from Indo-European a verbal system in which the various 'tenses' had considerable independence. The extreme case is that of suppletive verbs (such as present ἐσθίω 'eat' beside aorist ἔφαγον), which use entirely different roots for different tenses. More frequent are those verbs which build all tenses on various forms of the same root or stem, but have a specific formant for the present, as in e.g. λαμβάνω : ἔλαβον; or in which the present is marked by reduplication, as in τίθημι : ἔθηκα. One should note that, in this type, the present stem is often morphologically 'marked' in contrast with the aorist. In Classical Greek, however, we observe the spread of a new 'regular' pattern, in which the aorist and the perfect stems are marked in contrast with a synchronically unmarked present: thus we have present τιμάω / τιμῶ but aorist ἐτίμησα, perfect τετίμηκα.[1]

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[1]Obviously, even in this type of verb, the present may have once been marked by a special affix.

The verbs in - σκω belong to the same broad category as λαμβάνω (beside ἔλαβον), but their morphology is not straightforward. Most frequently, - σκω is simply added to the verbal stem, often in the zero grade, as in e.g. βάσκω or πάσχω; other verbs, however, add - σκω to a reduplicated form of the stem, as in γιγνώσκω, and still others show an alternant - ίσκω, as in εὑρίσκω. The questions we asked concerning the origin and status of the various forms were: are they inherited or are they Greek innovations? And what determines the choice of one or the other form?

The morphology of the verbs in - σκω seems problematic, but their semantics much more so. The various attempts at explaining what is characteristic of these verbs – or, in other terms, what meaning we should attribute to the formation – have reached different conclusions. Iterative, causative and inchoative meanings have all been cited, and it has also been necessary to acknowledge that sometimes the forms in - σκω do not differ in meaning from simple presents built on the same roots without the - σκω suffix. How are we to explain this apparent multiplicity of functions?

A third problem, which is both morphological and semantic, concerns the so-called iterative preterites. These verbal forms are found, essentially, in Homer and in Herodotus (as well as in literature influenced by these authors). They are inflected as (usually third person) imperfects but almost never show an augment, and are formed with a suffix -(ε)σκον, which is added to the present or (more rarely) aorist stem, as in ἔχεσκον or δόσκον. We must treat these formations as separate from the presents in - σκω; yet it is impossible not to notice the morphological similarity, which should point to a common origin. These 'iteratives', however, raise semantic problems too. It has been suggested that they are indeed iterative in meaning, i.e. they indicate repeated events; but in some instances they have been claimed to be 'intensive'. The real question is: what is their function and what is their link, if any, with the presents in - σκω? We may also wish to ask what status should be attributed

to them. Are they independent forms of present stems, or are they to be compared to modal forms? If the latter, could we say that καλέεσκον is a 'mood' of καλέω?

3. Rationale of the thesis

I have deliberately avoided turning this thesis into a narrative account of the origins and development of the - σκ- forms in Greek. Both from a morphological and semantic point of view, the problems were too complicated and the data too messy to allow a simple account of the Greek situation; nor was there any certainty about the point of departure. While it is clear (as shown in Chapter 2) that Indo-European must have had a *-*ske/o*- present, since traces of it survived in so many Indo-European languages, not much in the way of semantic or even morphological clarification of the Greek data can come from our Indo-European reconstructions. The decision to concentrate on the detailed analysis of two corpora of data, the epic poems and Plato's dialogues, was prompted by the desire to explore whether an inquiry limited to a specific corpus or period would lead to less contradictory results than those obtained until now. One might have hoped, for instance, that the multiplicity of meanings attributed to the formations in - σκ- would disappear if the data considered were only Plato's, or if one concentrated on the earliest Greek evidence. The previous chapters have shown that that is not so. Some patterns have emerged, but they are not necessarily simple; nor are they entirely consistent. This does not imply that there is no development in Greek; rather, it merely means that the development is more complex than one might have guessed. In what follows, I shall try to summarise the results obtained, while introducing a more diachronic outlook than has been done so far.

4. Summary of results

4.1. The suffix *-*sḱe/o*- in Indo-European

In spite of the uncertainties concerning the function of Indo-European *-*sḱe/o*-, it seems clear that it was a suffix used to form presents to roots which would normally yield root aorists. Such roots have here been referred to, as is traditional, as 'telic', and indeed this may well have been their meaning. It is thus likely that, at some stage of the Indo-European development, *-*sḱe/o*- had some specific aspect-marking function. The question whether the meaning could be specified further so that it could be contrasted with that of other present-forming affixes was left unanswered, simply because the evidence did not seem adequate. Some more speculative suggestions will be made in § 4.5 below.

4.2. The earliest Greek evidence for *-*sḱe/o*- / -σκω

The first significant Greek evidence that we have, that of Homer, includes a mixture of archaisms and innovations. We find a few presents, such as βάσκω, which are built on the zero-grade of the root, have cognates in other languages and are likely to be inherited. We also have some new formations; above all, it seems likely that the reduplicated presents in -σκω (as γιγνώσκω, although ultimately inherited) are a Greek innovation. Their origin is not clear. It has been suggested that they may be due to the conflation of two different types of present, one with reduplication (*$g\hat{i}$-$g\hat{n}ō$-*mi*) and one in -σκω (*$g\hat{n}ō$-*skō*); alternatively, they may owe their reduplication to the model of other reduplicated forms of the verb. In favour of the first view, we may point out that, in *seṭ* roots of the **CReH* type, the treatment of **CReH* and that of **C̥RH* would merge in Greek, so that even if the reduplicated presents were built on **CReH*- / **C̥RH*- and the verbs in *-*sḱe/o*- on **C̥RH*-, there would have been a morphological link between the two. On the other hand, the present κικλήσκω has a reduplicated aorist ἐκέκλετο, and indeed there are several

correspondences between reduplicated presents in - σκω and reduplicated aorists or perfects (e.g. διδάσκω : δέδαε and μιμνήσκομαι : μέμνημαι). We could then envisage a sort of 'morpheme replacement' of the non-present *e*-reduplication with the present *i*-reduplication. In the discussion in Chapter 3 (§ 4.3), no choice was made between the two alternative hypotheses, and we should not exclude the possibility that the creation of these reduplicated presents is in fact due to a variety of causes including those just mentioned. What we should note is that the creation of a new type implies a certain level of productivity: i.e., at the time when the reduplicated verbs in - σκω arose, the latter suffix was presumably productive.[2]

The second pre-Homeric innovation seems to lead to the creation of the type in -ίσκω, as in εὑρίσκω. This is very moderately attested in Homer (four verbs, each only once), and it is likely that forms such as θνήσκω with apparently added - ι- are due to later respellings in the manuscripts. The origin of - ίσκω is similarly far from certain, and a number of alternative hypotheses have been mentioned. The suggestion preferred here is that the - ι- developed as an anaptyctic vowel to avoid such forms as **εὑρσκω.

4.3. The Classical Greek developments: morphology

The exact origin of these new forms of the verbs in - σκω is unclear, but their development is interesting. In Homer, reduplicated verbs could have both forms of the μιμνήσκω type (from old *seṛ* roots) and forms of the διδάσκω, τιτύσκομαι type. In later Greek, some of the old verbs survive (γιγνώσκω, μιμνήσκω, διδάσκω); but there is also some expansion which is firmly morphology-led. The new reduplicated verbs are all built to roots with long vowels, usually (in Plato, always) from stems of the form *CRV̄*-; the model must have been provided by forms

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[2]We leave aside here the difficult occasional forms with *e*-reduplication in the present: cf. Chapter 3 § 5.

like γιγνώσκω and μιμνήσκω. Hence, we find in Plato the new forms ἀπο- διδρᾰ́σκω, τιτρώσκω and πιπρᾰ́σκομαι. We see here the beginning of a paradigm which aims at regularity but does not quite attain it (see Chapter 7 § 2.6). The important fact, however, is that these verbs share morphological features which we have no reason to believe were linked to semantic characteristics: the morphology is sufficient to determine the type of present required.

In contrast with the reduplicated forms, the suffix - ίσκω is expanded in an innovatory way. It was found to be useful for creating presents from consonant-final stems, and such stems often had non-present forms in - η- ; in this way, paradigms arose where presents in - ίσκω occurred beside such forms in - η- , as well as in - ω- and - ε(σ)- . The only example of this type in Homer is ἐπαυρ- ίσκομαι : ἐπαυρ- ήσομαι (each attested once); we also find Homeric εὑρ- ίσκω (once) beside εὑρ- ήσω (*h.Merc.* 302). In such cases in Classical Greek, presents in - έω or - όω often also existed, so that we find such sets as στερη- : στερ- έω : στερ- ίσκω, and ἀμαυρω- : ἀμαυρ- όω : ἀμαυρ- ίσκω. A consonantal stem is no longer a requirement for a form in - ίσκω in the Classical era: we find κυ- ΐσκομαι from κυη- . As noted above, a further complication is that our manuscripts and, less commonly, inscriptions and papyri, give unexpected forms with added - ι- , most notably θνῄσκω for θνήσκω; this was probably due to confusion of vowels of similar sounds at a post-Homeric period.

Homer also presents us with further forms, of uncertain origin (such as ἀλδήσκω) and even almost entirely inexplicable (as δειδίσκομαι). Without earlier evidence, these instances remain indecipherable. When Classical Greek is viewed synchronically, forms which appear not to fit clear patterns can be understood as relics of earlier periods: θνῄσκω was found to be such in Plato, and forms from thematic aorists first attested early in the Classical period, such as χάσκω, also appear to have been formed on pre-Classical patterns.

To summarise: reduplicated forms in - σκω are fairly productive in Homer, formations in - ίσκω less so; the reverse is true of Classical Greek. Yet there remains to be explained one more Classical morphological class, the 'same-stem' presents, where one verbal stem occurs throughout the paradigm and so before - σκω. The answer is surely that, just as in the Homeric period we find that εὗρ- ον gives rise to εὑρ- ίσκω, so in Classical Greek, with the spread of the sigmatic aorist at the expense of the thematic one, aorist ἤρε- σα gives rise to ἀρέ- σκω. No formations are found of this type from monosyllabic stems in the Classical period; this class is, it seems, in complementary distribution with the reduplicated type, where only monosyllabic stems occur.

We asked earlier what determined the distribution of the various types of verbs in - σκω. The answer is surely that, whatever the origin of the reduplicated and - ίσκω types, their survival and/or spread was mainly determined by morphological reasons. In other words, we should not ask whether the various types have different meanings or functions; in the Classical period at least, the choice is fundamentally determined by the need to establish regular morphological patterns. The evidence is not very rich but, on the strength of the data that we have, it is also possible to conclude that the distinction between the different classes with reduplication, - ίσκω and straight - σκω is phonological and morphological, but not semantic.

4.4. The semantics of - σκω

4.4.1. The general problems

We saw above that the semantic difficulties were extremely problematic. A close analysis of our two corpora reveals that it is not possible to accept one of the standard meanings proposed as basic for verbs in - σκω: causative, inchoative or iterative. It is undoubtedly true that verbs such as διδάσκω 'teach, cause to learn' or μιμνήσκω 'remind' are causative, but such forms as βάσκω 'come', εὑρίσκω

'find' and κικλήσκω 'call' are not. Verbs like ἀλδήσκω 'grow', γηράσκω 'become old' and θνήσκω 'die' can be called inchoative; but, again, not all verbs in -σκω show this meaning. Scholars cannot be blamed if they give up in despair when confronted with these inconsistencies.

However, some regular patterns can be identified, though so far not much has been made of them. First of all, it is clear that, frequently, one and the same verb appears with causative and inchoative meanings: μιμνήσκω 'remind' : μιμνήσκομαι 'remember', διδάσκω 'teach, cause to learn' : διδάσκομαι 'get taught, learn'. Secondly, it is well known that in a number of languages there is a close link between inchoatives and causatives: 'to cause X to become black' implies 'X changes state and becomes black'. In English there is a syntactic but not morphological contrast between the elements involved in this causative-inchoative alternation: hence *I broke the vase* is causative, but *the vase broke* is inchoative. In Greek, a similar alternation is represented by the examples quoted above: μιμνήσκω 'remind' beside μιμνήσκομαι 'remember', where one form indicates change of state, the other causing a change of state. In other words, we do not need to discuss whether these verbs are inchoatives or causatives, because they are predictably both.

However, the question arises whether it is the suffix -σκω which marks these verbs as inchoative or causative. This seems unlikely on two grounds: firstly, exactly the same alternation occurs with verbs which have no such suffix, though they too alternate between active and medio-passive; cf. e.g. the Homeric example of active διασκίδνημι 'make scattered, scatter' beside the medio-passive σκίδναμαι 'get scattered, scatter' (Chapter 4 § 5). In other words, the alternation of meaning is a feature of voice, not of the presence or absence of -σκ- . Secondly, in both Homer and Plato, causativity and inchoativity are typical of all forms in the paradigm and not only of the present stem, although this is the only stem marked by -σκω. Thus μιμνήσκω and ἔμνησα are both causative, γηράσκω and ἐγήρᾱ / ἐγήρᾱσα both

inchoative. Finally, not all verbs in - σκω are inchoative or causative. The conclusion must be that the basic meaning of - σκω is neither causative nor inchoative. If so, can these verbs in - σκω be iterative? In this case, the difficulty is that a number of such verbs show no sign of iterative meaning. The question also arises, although so far we have not dealt with it, of the so-called 'iteratives' in - (ε)σκον. If these are to be kept apart from the presents in - σκω and their name is in any way deserved, we should not assume that the - σκω suffix of the present also marks iterativity. If it did, forms such as Homeric βοσκέσκονθ' with a double suffix - σκ- would be very strange indeed. We return to the basic question: what is the meaning of - σκω?

From a semantic point of view, there is some considerable difference between the data of Homer and those of Plato. A thorough and perhaps overdetailed analysis of Homer shows that, in Homer, the verbs in - σκω are not a consistent category; nor is it possible to attribute a unitary meaning to them. They have, however, one function in common: - σκω forms a present stem from roots which in other tenses do not have this additional suffix. If the word synchronic can be used for the epic language, we must conclude that, in Homer, - σκω synchronically indicates a present stem, and that it is not possible to provide a further definition which is not contradicted by a substantial part of the data. The crucial point that supports this view is that the same stem can yield presents with or without - σκω but which do not seem to differ in meaning, as with κικλήσκω beside καλέω. We might then ask why there should be a suffix with no meaning; this, however, is a question which requires a historical account, and the explanation lies perhaps in the original distribution and function of *-ske/o-*. It was pointed out earlier that a preponderance of presents in *-ske/o-* belong with root or thematic aorists, i.e. with aorists which are likely to have originated from root aorists. In the view of the Indo-European verb followed here (cf. Hoffmann 1970, and further Chapter 2 § 4.3), the roots which yielded root aorists

needed to be aspectually redefined in order to yield present stems; and the formal expression of this redefinition was the addition of infixes or suffixes to the basic root. It is then possible to assume that in late Indo-European and Proto-Greek, i.e. before Homer, *-*ske/o*- fulfilled exactly this function. By Homer's time the situation was changing; indeed, even before Homer, the meaning or function of *-*ske/o*- / - σκ- had undergone so much attrition that we find that the presents ἁλύσκω, βόσκω, μίσγω and διδάσκω behave as if - σκω were not an additional suffix but an integral part of the root, which is thus extended to other tenses and even to nominal derivatives.

4.4.2. From Homer to Plato

We do not expect to find exactly the same semantic patterns in Homer and Plato, but the analyses of Chapters 4 and 8 reveal similarities as well as differences, which were not entirely predictable before our inquiry began.

We may begin with the similarities. Firstly, in the Classical period, a number of verbs in - σκω attested in Homer are still in use; and, if we stated for these and other verbs that in Plato too - σκω is simply a present-forming suffix, we would not be too far from the truth. The difference, however, is that by Plato's time the standard productive paradigm is one in which aorist and perfect are morphologically marked but the present is not; in other words, the system has changed, and the older verbs tend to become morphological oddities.

Secondly, Plato, as Homer, has clear causative-inchoative alternations tied to a contrast of active and medio-passive. Here too, as in Homer, the inchoative meaning is not only found in the present. Thus the present ἁλίσκομαι is inchoative, but so are future ἁλώσομαι and aorist ἑᾰ́λων. However, Plato also has examples of causative-inchoative pairs which do not belong in the Homeric pattern. The contrast μεθύσκω ' make drunk' : μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk' could be seen as an example of causative-inchoative alternation tied to voice; however, in Plato we must

also reckon with a present μεθύω 'be drunk'. If we start from the pair μεθύσκω / μεθύω then we must admit that, at this stage, and differently from Homer, we have reasons to treat the suffix - σκ- as a marker of inchoativity. Yet we can in no way regard this inchoative function of - σκω as inherited; rather, it is an innovation, and we may therefore be able to trace a model. This is probably provided by a verb like γηράσκω; the latter is attested as early as Homer with an inchoative meaning 'become old', which it shares, however, with the aorist ἐγήρᾱ. Later on, a sigmatic aorist ἐγήρᾱσα replaces the earlier ἐγήρᾱ and a new present (κατα)γηράω is created; this, as shown in Chapter 8, indicates a continuous process or state of growing old. It seems certain that γηράσκω is the model for γενειάσκω 'grow a beard', which is contrasted with γενειάω 'have a beard', and that ἡβάσκω is also created from here. Eventually, μεθύσκομαι / μεθύω come to fit within this pattern. Morphologically, the creation of γηράω regularises the paradigm, bringing it into line with the new model of such verbs as τιμάω, where non-present tense stems such as aorist and perfect are marked, but not presents. Semantically, therefore, the tendency is to emphasise the inchoative character of the forms in - σκω, to differentiate them from the simpler presents. At this stage, - σκω has become an inchoative suffix – but in some verbs only. Elsewhere, inchoativity remains entirely tied to voice.

In spite of changes and remodellings, Plato and Homer both show what looks like a morphosyntactical oddity; why do we have a verb like γηράσκω with a clear inchoative meaning but which is active? It is unlikely that this is a mere freak firstly because it survives from Homer to Plato, and secondly as it is even a model for new forms such as γενειάσκω, where the inchoative is also firmly in the active.

In these cases, we are not only dealing with an unexpected active instead of a medio-passive, but also with the absence of a causative to match the inchoative. The explanation this time is not morphological, but semantic. It can be argued that verbs

which refer to events that are 'internally caused' behave differently from verbs which refer to 'externally caused' events. The contrast between, for example, μεθύσκω / μεθύσκομαι on the one hand and γηράσκω on the other is parallel to the English contrast between transitive and intransitive 'break' (*he broke a vase* vs. *the vase broke*) and English intransitive only 'blush' (*he blushed* but not ***she blushed him*). From this point of view, Homer and Plato show the same features; and so the creation of an inchoative suffix - σκ- in Classical Greek does not alter the way in which voice contrasts are exploited.

4.5. The development of *-*ske/o*- revisited

We can now attempt to trace a much broader picture of the Greek development of the verbs in - σκω. The starting point must be a late Indo-European or perhaps very early Proto-Greek stage at which *-*ske/o*- / - σκ- formed present stems to roots which otherwise yielded root or thematic aorists. At that point, presumably, the addition of the suffix altered the aspectual character of the root. When we begin to have real Greek evidence, - σκω is still a present-forming suffix which is often, but not always, associated with root or thematic aorists. It is doubtful, however, that it still had its original aspectual characteristics since, on the one hand, we find verbs like βόσκω and διδάσκω in which - σκ- has become part of the stem and is found in nominal derivatives or non-present forms; and, on the other, the presents in - σκω come to be associated with sigmatic aorists as well. On the basis of the Early Greek evidence it seems impossible to attribute a specific meaning (iterative, inchoative, causative, and so on) to the presents in - σκω, firstly because no proposal fits all the data, and secondly as there are instances of simple presents (such as καλέω) and presents in - σκω (as κικλήσκω) which do not show any semantic contrast. Moreover, it is possible to argue that the causative-inchoative meanings often linked to - σκω must in fact be associated with voice alternation; the causatives are generally

active, the inchoatives medio-passive. That - σκω is not merely a fossilised morpheme is shown by a few morphological innovations which are moderately productive: the reduplicated forms in - σκω (as γιγνώσκω) and the verbs in - ίσκω (as εὑρίσκω).

For the later stage, we might expect either the disappearance or the restructuring and expansion of - σκω, but the normal conservatism of Greek prevents either solution. In the Classical period, a number of older formations in - σκω are preserved, though they tend to be integrated in more regular paradigms. Thus presents in - ίσκω appear when other tenses have a stem in - η- . In fact, it seems that an attempt to regularise the morphology leads to the creation of a few new formations. At the same time we notice that, from a morphological point of view, verbs like βάσκω, γιγνώσκω and εὑρίσκω, all of which must have been created at a pre-Homeric stage, are now highly irregular. The new tendency is to mark aorists and perfects and to have synchronically unmarked presents, as in e.g. τιμάω / τιμῶ beside ἐτίμησα, τετίμηκα. However, the real innovation is a semantic one. In Plato we find minimal pairs of the type μεθύσκω 'make drunk', μεθύσκομαι 'become drunk' : μεθύω 'be drunk', στερίσκομαι 'lose' : στέρομαι 'be without' (cf. also στερίσκω 'deprive'), γενειάσκω 'begin to get a beard' : γενειάω 'have a beard' and γηράσκω 'become old' : γηράω 'grow old(er), age' (where the latter is not inchoative). This would not have happened in Homer; we must assume that, for a series of different reasons, models like Homeric γηράσκω led to the creation of a real - σκω inchoative – once again an innovation, not a survival.

If correct, this picture of Greek development answers some of the questions asked in our introduction. But is this a full and coherent account of the facts? It may be coherent but it is not full, since it leaves unexplained a crucial fact, the existence in Homer and Herodotus of the 'iterative' preterites. As we have seen, in Homer these form a category of their own, separated from the presents: but are we prepared to

believe that there is no original link between the presents in - σκω of the βάσκω type and the iteratives of the ἔχεσκον type? If such a link exists, the account just given is defective, because it does not make clear how from a mere present-forming suffix *-*ske/o*- becomes a marker of iterative preterites. In Chapter 5, it was argued that the semantic contrast between serial forms like κτείνεσκε 'used to kill', normally termed iterative, and the so-called intensive ναίεσκον 'used to dwell' is in fact lexically determined. The intensives belong to verbs which indicate a state, and it was suggested that the - (ε)σκον forms had a unitary meaning which was realised as serial (i.e. repeated) in dynamic situations and as continuous (i.e. non-serial) in stative ones. If so, we can also say that the iterative preterites are semantically distinguished by a feature '+ REPEATED'. But how old is this feature? Can it be a Greek innovation? The iteratives are clearly in decline, since they do not survive beyond Homer and Herodotus; it would be reasonable to assume that, partly at least, they continue an archaic category, although it seems certain that Homer has also innovated here. If we then wish to assume that the iterative preterites and the presents in - σκω have a common origin, we are left in an awkward situation: on the one hand we reconstruct a mere present-forming suffix with no specific iterative character, on the other we reconstruct a suffix characterised by the feature '+REPEATED'. Such a suffix could be usefully added to aoristic roots to form presents; on the other hand, if forms like the perhaps inherited ἔσκον are indeed old, it could also have been added to stative roots to give them 'intensive' value. At a later, but still pre-Homeric, stage, semantic attrition may well have deprived the suffix of its original value. Nonetheless, we wish to argue that these suffixes were originally the same.

The plausible (and of course highly speculative) solution is that we start with a suffix which did indeed mark repetition; the parallelism with Hittite would support this view. Such a suffix could usefully be added to aoristic roots to form presents, but at a pre-Homeric stage it may well have lost its original value and become a mere

marker of present tense. At the same time, we must assume that a subset of forms in *-*ske/o*- / - σκω retained a value similar to the original one, and turned into a special category of iterative preterites which were closer to verbal moods than to verbal tenses. How this split occurred is far from clear, but it would be possible to claim that this is a text-book example of change: on the one hand an old meaning or function is retained in a marginal category (the iterative preterites); on the other, the new, more productive category, that of the presents in - σκω, has lost its semantic substance. In a similar way, English 'will' became an auxiliary but in specific contexts still retains its original semantic value; hence 'Do what you will' and 'Shall I help you?' beside 'Will I help you?'. The loss of semantic substance in a process of grammaticalisation is a well known phenomenon; but we have also argued that, by the Classical period, - σκω acquired real inchoative value – in a few verbs at least. If this suggestion is correct, then we are confronted with a less frequent phenomenon, even if a not entirely unexpected one.

4.6. Closing remarks

In spite of its length, this thesis has not covered the whole field. It would be useful to study the evidence of authors other than Homer and Plato, and to extend the analysis to a much later period; it would also be interesting to consider in much greater depth the way in which voice contrasts express the causative-inchoative alternation. However, even at the present stage, it seems clear that enough has been done to put in doubt any attempt at semantic reconstruction of Indo-European which is based on an inchoative or causative meaning of Greek - σκω, or on a purely intensive value of the iterative preterites; on the other hand, a case can be made, however speculative, for an iterative value of *-*ske/o*- in late Indo-European. We argued above (§ 3) that in this instance Indo-European was not likely to clarify the Greek data; this does not exclude that the reverse may be true.

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