HOMERIC GRAMMAR

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A GRAMMAR

OF THE

HOMERIC DIALECT

BY

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SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

L'objet de cette science est de rechercher dans l'esprit de l'homme
la cause de la transformation des idiomes

M. Bréal

Oxford

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY

OF THE REV.

JAMES RIDDELL

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF BALLIOL
It may be said, without fear of giving offence, that a new Grammar of the Homeric dialect is sorely wanted. The admirable Griechische Formenlehre of the late H. L. Ahrens is now just thirty years old, and is confined, as its title indicates, to the inflexions. Not only has the course of discovery been going on since Ahrens wrote (and with hardly less rapidity than in the first years of the new science), but the historical method has been carried into the field of syntax. And apart from 'comparative philology,' the researches of Bekker, Cobet, La Roche, and many other students have brought together a wealth of material that only needs careful analysis and arrangement to make it accessible to the general body of learners.

The plan of this book has sufficient novelty to call for some explanation. I have not attempted to write a Comparative Grammar, or even a Grammar that would deserve the epithet 'historical:' but I have kept in view two principles of arrangement which belong to the historical or genetic method. These are, that grammar should proceed from the simple to the complex types of the Sentence, and that the form and the meaning should as far as possible be treated together. Now the simplest possible Sentence—apart from mere exclamations—consists of a Verb, or word containing in itself the two elements of all rational utterance, a Subject and a Predicate. We begin, therefore, by analysing the Verb, and classifying (1) the Endings, which express the Person and Number of the Subject (§§ 1–7), and serve also to distinguish the 'Middle' or Reflexive use (§ 8), and (2) the modifications of the Stem which yield the several Tenses and Moods. These modifications, we at once perceive, are more numerous than the meanings which they serve to express, and we have therefore to
choose between classifying according to form...
classes are generally distinct, and deserve a more careful enumeration than is usually given in elementary grammars. The predicative part, again, may be enlarged by a second Nominal Stem, prefixed to the other, and qualifying it nearly as a Case-form or Adverb qualifies the Verb. The Compounds thus formed are of especial interest for the poetical dialect of Homer. The analysis which I have given of the chief forms which they present must be taken to be provisional only, as the subject is still full of doubt. With respect to the meaning I have attempted no complete classification. It is always unsafe to insist on distinctions which may be clear to us, but only because we mark them by distinct forms of expression.

The chapter on the formation of Nouns should perhaps have been followed by one on the formation of Pronouns. The material for such a chapter, however, lies for the most part beyond the scope of a grammar. It is represented in this book by a section on Heteroclite Pronouns (§ 108), which notices some traces of composite Pronominal Stems, and in some degree by another on the Numerals (§ 130).

When we come to examine the syntactical use of the Cases, we find ourselves sometimes dealing with sentences which contain at least two members besides the Verb. Along with the constructions which may be called 'adverbial' (using the term Adverb in a wide sense, to include all words directly construed with the Verb), we have the constructions in which the governing word is a Noun or Preposition. And in these again we must distinguish between the government of a Case apparently by a Noun or Preposition, really by the combined result of the Noun or Preposition and the Verb, and the true government by a Noun alone, of which the dependent Genitive and the Adjective are the main types. These distinctions, however, though of great importance in reference to the development of the use of Cases, cannot well be followed exclusively in the order of treatment. I have therefore taken the Cases in succession, and along with them the chief points which have to be noticed regarding the 'concerds' of Gender (§§ 166-168) and Number (§§ 169-173).

In the Infinitive and Participle (Chapter X) we have the first step from the simple to the complex Sentence. The pre-
dicative element in the Verbal Noun is treated syntactically like the same element in a true or 'finito' Verb; that is to say, it takes 'adverbial' constructions. Thus while retaining the character of a Noun it becomes the nucleus of a new imperfect Sentence, without a grammatical Subject properly so called (though the Infinitive in Greek acquired a quasi-Subject in the use of the Accusative before it), and standing to the main Sentence as an adverb or adjective.

While the Infinitival and Participial Clauses may thus be described as Nouns which have expanded into dependent Sentences, the true Subordinate Clause shows the opposite process. In many instances, especially in Homeric syntax, we can trace the steps by which originally independent Sentences have come to stand in an adverbial or adjectival relation. The change is generally brought about, as we shall see, by means of Pronouns, or Adverbs formed from Pronominal stems. Hence it is convenient that the account of the uses of the Pronouns (Chapter XI) should hold the place of an introduction to the part in which we have to do with the relations of Clauses to each other.

The next chapter, however, does not treat directly of subordinate Clauses, but of the uses of the Moods in them. It seemed best to bring these uses into immediate connexion with the uses which are found in simple Sentences. In this way the original character of Subordinate Clauses comes into a clearer light. If anything remains to be said of them, it finds its place in the account of the Particles (Chapter XIII); in which also we examine the relations of independent Sentences, so far at least as these are expressed by grammatical forms.

The last chapter contains a discussion of the Metre of Homer (Chapter XIV), and of some points of 'phonology' which (for us at least) are ultimately metrical questions. Chief among these is the famous question of the Digamma. I have endeavoured to state the main issues which have been raised on this subject as fully as possible: but without much hope of bringing them to a satisfactory decision.

A book of this kind is necessarily to a great extent a compilation, and from sources so numerous that it is scarcely possible to make a sufficient acknowledgment of indebted-
ness. The earlier chapters are mainly founded on the great work of G. Curtius on the Greek Verb. More recent writers have cleared up some difficulties, especially in the phonology. I have learned very much from M. de Saussure's Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles, and from several articles by K. Brugmann and Joh. Schmidt, especially the last. I would mention also, as valuable on single points, the papers of J. Paech (Vratisl. 1861) and H. Stier (Curt. Stud. II) on the Subjunctive, B. Mangold on the 'diectasis' of Verbs in -άω (Curt. Stud. VI), F. D. Allen on the same subject (Trans. of the American Phil. Assoc. 1873), Leskien on ο in the Fut. and Aor. (Curt. Stud. II), and K. Koch on the Augment (Brunsvici 1868). On the subject of Nominal Composition I may name a paper by W. Clemm in Curt. Stud. VII, which gives references to the earlier literature of the subject, and one by F. Stolz (Klagenfurt 1874). On the forms of the Personal Pronouns there is a valuable dissertation by P. Cauer (Curt. Stud. VII): on the Numerals by Joh. Baunack (K. Z. XXV): on the Comparative and Superlative by Fr. Weihrich (De Gradibus, &c. Gissae 1869). Going on to the syntax of the Cases, I would place first the dissertation of B. Delbrück, Ablativ Localis Instrumentalis, &c. (Berlin 1867), and next the excellent work of Hübelsmann, Zur Casuslehre (München 1875). On the Accusative I have obtained the greatest help from La Roche, Der Accusativ im Homer (Wien 1861): on the Dual from Bieber, De Duale Numero (Jena 1864). On the Prepositions I have used the papers of C. A. J. Hoffmann (Lüneburg 1857-60, Clausthal 1858-59), T. Mommsen (see § 221), Giseke, Die allmäliche Entstehung der Gesänge der Ilias (Göttingen 1853), La Roche, especially on ὑπό (Wien 1861) and εἰς (in the Z. f. öst. Gymn.), Rau on παρά (Curt. Stud. III), and the articles in Ebeling's Lexicon. On this part of syntax the fourth volume of Delbrück's Forschungen is especially instructive. Of the literature on the Infinitive I would mention J. Jolly's Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen (München 1873), also a paper by Albrecht (Curt. Stud. IV), and a note in Max Müller's Chips from a German Workshop (IV. p. 49 ff.). The use of the Participle has been admirably treated by Classen, in his Beobachtungen über den homerischen Sprachgebrauch
(Frankfurt 1867). A paper by Jolly in the collection of *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* (Leipzig 1874) is also suggestive. On the subject of the Pronouns the chief source is a dissertation by E. Windisch in *Curt. Stud. II*. On the Article almost everything will be found in H. Foerstemann’s *Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch des Artikels bei Homer* (Magdeburg 1861). The controversy on the Reflexive Pronoun is referred to in § 255. On the Homeric uses of the Moods, besides Delbrück’s great work, I would mention Jolly’s monograph entitled *Ein Kapitel vergleichender Syntax* (München 1872), and L. Lange’s elaborate papers on ει (Leipzig 1872–73). It is to be regretted that they have not yet been carried to the point of forming a complete book on the Homeric use of ει. For the general theory of the subject Prof. Goodwin’s *Greek Moods and Tenses* is of the very highest value. Regarding the cognate question of the uses of ἀν and κεν the main principles have been laid down by Delbrück. It is worth while to mention that they were clearly stated as long ago as 1832, in a paper in the Philological Museum (Vol. I. p. 96), written in opposition to the then reigning method of Hermann. For the other Particles little has been done by Homeric students since Nägelsbach and Hartung. I have cited three valuable papers; on τε by Wentzel, on ἡ (ἐξ) by Praetorius, and on μή by A. R. Vierke. I would add here a paper on the syntax of Causal Sentences in Homer, by E. Pfudel (Liegnitz 1871). On all syntactical matters use has been made of the abundant stores of Kühner’s *Ausführliche Grammatik*. And it is impossible to say too much of the guidance and inspiration (as I may almost call it) which I have derived from the *Digest of Platonic Idioms* left behind by the lamented friend to whose memory I have ventured to dedicate this book.

On the collateral subjects of Metre I have profited most by Hartel’s *Homerische Studien*, La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig 1869), Knös, *De digammo Homeric*, (Upsaliae 1872–79), and Tudeer, *De dialectorum Graecarum digammo* (Helsingforsia 1879).

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The rapid progress of linguistic science during the nine years that have passed since this Grammar was first published has necessitated considerable alteration and enlargement in a new edition. Much has been discovered in the interval; much that was then new and speculative has been accepted on all sides; and much has been done in sifting and combining the results attained. The Morphologischen Untersuchungen of Osthoff and Brugmann have been followed by Brugmann's admirable summary of Greek grammar (in Iwan Müller's Handbuch), and his comprehensive Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. Of three portions of this work that have already appeared (Strassburg 1886–90–91), the last (treating chiefly of the Declensions) came too late to be of service to the present book. The part which deals with the Verb has not yet been published: and the volume on Comparative Syntax, promised by Delbrück—the first complete work on this part of the subject—is also still to come. It will doubtless be a worthy sequel to the Altindische Syntax, which now forms the fifth volume of his Syntaktische Forschungen. Among other books which have appeared since the publication of this Grammar, or which were not sufficiently made use of for the first edition, I would mention Joh. Schmidt’s Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra (Weimar 1889), G. Meyer's Griechische Grammatik (second edition, Leipzig 1886), the new edition of Mr. Goodwin's Moods and Tenses (London 1889), the treatises in Schanz's series of Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache, Aug. Fick's two books (see Appendix F), articles by Wackernagel, Fröhde and others in Kuhn's Zeitschrift and Bezzenberger's Beiträge, the long series of papers by Aug.
Nauck collected in the *Mélanges gréco-romains* (St. Petersburg 1855-88)—a book not often seen in this country,—and the dissertations of J. van Leeuwen in the *Mnemosyne*. The two writers last mentioned are chiefly concerned with the restoration of the Homeric text to its original or pre-historic form. Their method, which is philological rather than linguistic, may lead to some further results when the numerous MSS. of the Iliad have been examined and have furnished us with an adequate *apparatus criticus*.

Although very much has been re-written, the numbering of the sections has been retained, with a few exceptions; so that the references made to the first edition will generally still hold good. The new sections are distinguished by an asterisk.

I will not attempt to enumerate the points on which new matter has been added, or former views recalled or modified. The increase in the size of the book is largely due to the fuller treatment of the morphology. Additions bearing on questions of syntax will be found in §§ 238, 248, 267, 270*, 362, 365. On the whole I have become more sceptical about the theories which seek to explain the forms of the Subordinate Clause from parataxis, or the mere juxta-position of independent clauses. In general it may be admitted that the complex arose in the first instance by the amalgamation of simpler elements: but we must beware of leaving out of sight the effect of 'contamination' in extending syntactical types once created. The neglect of this consideration is in reality another and more insidious form of the error from which recent writers on morphology have delivered us, viz. that of explaining grammatical forms as the result of direct amalgamation of a stem with a suffix or ending, without duly allowing for the working of analogy.

*Oxford, March 21, 1891.*
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ERRATA.

Page 70, line 6, for $\gammaψ\varsigma$ read $\gammaψς$
" 83, " 23, for $κρηδεντος$ read $κρυδεντος$
" 93, " 39, for $θηρηθι$ read $θυρηθι$
" 149, " 38, before 18. 305 insert II.
" 185, " 1, for II. read Od.
" 223, " 32, for $ολος$ read $ολος$
" 245, " 36, for three read two, and dele 16. 131.,
" 259, " 12, for governing read governing
" 309, " 12, for 22. 280 read 16. 61
" 329, " 10, for $φιλην$ read $φιλον$
HOMERIC GRAMMAR.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—THE PERSON-ENDINGS.

1.] All language of which grammar takes cognisance consists of Sentences. The simplest complete Sentence expresses the combination of a Subject—that about which we speak (or think); and a Predicate—that which we say (or think) about the Subject. On the sentences which are (apparently or really) without a Subject, see §§ 161, 163.

2.] In Greek (and generally in languages whose structure resembles that of Greek) every Verb is a complete Sentence, consisting of two parts, the Stem, which expresses the Predicate, and the Ending, which expresses the Subject. Thus ἔσ-τι he (or it) is, φα-θί say thou, ἡλθο-μεν we came, are Sentences; the several Predicates are expressed by the Stems ἔσ-, φα-, ἡλθο-, and the Subjects by the Endings -τι, -θι, -μεν. As the Endings of a Verb may always be translated by Personal Pronouns they are called the Person-Endings.

It may happen that the ending has been lost by phonetic corruption, as in ὄλαςτ (for ὄλαςε-τ) he took. This however does not form a real exception, because in Greek such words are used exactly as if the lost ending were still sounded. In English it is different: took can only be used to express a Predicate. The original Subject is lost to the mind as well as to the ear.

It should be noticed that the term 'Verb' is used in Grammars with a double meaning, sometimes of a single form—as when we say that ἐτύπτο-μεν is 'a Verb'—sometimes collectively, as when we say that ἐτύπτο-μεν is a 'part' of the Verb τύπτω.' Here 'a Verb' means a group of forms, derived from a common root.

3.] There are three main sets of Person-Endings:

1. Those used in the Tenses called 'Principal' (the Present, Perfect, and Future Indicative), and in the Subjunctive; these are called the Primary Endings.

2. Those used in the 'Historical Tenses' (the Imperfect, Aorist, and Pluperfect), and in the Optative; these are called the Secondary Endings.

3. The Endings of the Imperative.
4.] The further modifications which the Endings undergo depend chiefly upon the final letter of the Stem.

In certain forms the Ending is preceded by ὅ or ἐ: that is to say, ὅ before the nasals μ, ν, and ἐ before other letters; e.g. τὐπτό-μεν, τὐπτέ-τε, τὐπτό-ντι (older and Dor. form of τὐπτοῦσαι). We shall call this the Thematic Vowel,* and the Stems which contain it Thematic Stems. The term will naturally include the corresponding Subjunctives, in which the final letter of the Stem varies in the same way between ἦ and ὦ, as τὐπτῷ-μεν, τὐπτή-τε, &c. and the 1 Sing. in ὦ. These long vowels doubtless represent a primitive contraction of the Thematic vowel with some other element: but the exact process can hardly be determined.

The forms which do not contain this variable ε or o are called Non-Thematic. Among these, again, we have to distinguish a group of Tenses with Stems ending in -ἀ, viz. the Perfect, the First Aorist, and some forms peculiar to the Ionic Dialect, as the Plpf. (e.g. ἡδεα I knew), the Impf. ἤα I was, ἤα I went.' In these Stems the -ἀ changes in the 3 Sing. to -ἐ(ν).

The distinction between Thematic and Non-Thematic applies in strictness only to forms, but may generally be extended to Tenses and Moods. Thus the Pres. and Impf. of τὐπτω are Thematic, the same Tenses of φημι are Non-Thematic. In every Verb the Future is Thematic, the Optative is Non-Thematic, &c. But the distinction does not apply to 'Verbs' (in the collective sense of the term), because almost every Verb is made up of forms of both kinds.

5.] In the following Table of the Person-Endings found in Homer the Endings distinguished by larger type are those of the Non-Thematic Tenses. The Endings in smaller type are, first, those of the forms with -ἀ, and, under them again, those of the Thematic forms. In the Dual and Plural (except the 3 Plur.) the Endings are the same throughout.

* This vowel has also been termed the 'Connecting' or 'Auxiliary' Vowel—names given on the supposition that it is originally euphonic, inserted in order to allow the Stem and the Ending to be distinctly heard in pronunciation. The name 'Thematic' implies a different theory, viz. that it serves to form a 'Theme' from a simpler element or 'Root,' as λεγ-ε from the Root λεγ-; see Curt. Chron. p. 40. On this theory the Stem λεγ-ε, λεγ-ο is originally the same as the Theme or Stem of the Noun λόγο-ς. See the remarks of Brugmann, Grundriss, ii. § 8, n. 1.

In the former edition the -ω of the 1 Sing. was explained as -ο-μ (Sanscr. -ā-mi). It is now generally thought that -ω and -μ are originally distinct, and represent respectively the Thematic and Non-Thematic Endings of the primitive Indo-European Verb. If so, the Sanscrit -āmi has extended from the Non-Thematic to the Thematic conjugation; and similarly the -ομα of Greek φρομα (Sanscr. bhare). See Meyer, G. G. p. 404.

† The α of these Stems is of course quite different from the final vowel of the Stem in such forms as ᾶα-μέν, ᾶστα-μαι, τέτλα-θι, where it is part of the Verb-Stem or 'Root.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMARY</th>
<th>MID.</th>
<th>ACT.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ια</td>
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<th>SECONDARY</th>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 Sing.</th>
<th>2 Sing.</th>
<th>3 Sing.</th>
<th>1 Dual</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>1 Plus.</th>
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</table>
Remarks on the Table of Person-Endings.

1 Sing. On the Subj. in -ω-μι see § 82, and on the Optatives which take -μι in the 1 Sing. see § 83.

2 Sing. The original -σι remains only in ἐς-σι thou art.

The form εις (or enclitic εις) is read in nine places, but there is only one (Od. 17. 388) in which the metre does not allow ἐς το be read instead. Probably, therefore, ἐς-σι is the genuine Homeric form. The Attic εις is not found in Homer.

The Ending -σθα occurs in the Pf. οἴσθα thou knowest (οἴδας in Od. 1. 337, is a very doubtful reading), Plpf. ἐδόσθα (Od. 19. 93), the Impf. Ἰσθά and ἐσθά thou wast, ἐφέσθα thou saidst, and the Pres. εἰσθα thou wilt go, τίθεσθα (Od. 9. 404., 24. 476), διδόσθα (II. 19. 270), perhaps φήσθα (Od. 14. 149): also in some Subjunctives, ἐλέξεισθα, εἰπήσθα, βουλεύσθα (II. 9. 99), ἵσθα (II. 10. 67); and in the Optatives βάλωσθα (II. 15. 571), καλώσθα (II. 24. 619), and προφήγουσθα (Od. 22. 325).

The history of this -σθα can still be traced. Originally -θα (Sanser. -atha) was the Ending of the 2 Sing. Pf. Ind.: hence οἴσθα for οἴ-θα (Sanser. volttha for volt-tha), and Ἰσθα (Sanser. ἄσθα) properly Pf. from the root ἴσ-. Having in these cases appeared accidentally as an ending -σθα, it was transferred in this form to other Tenses and Moods.*

The forms Ἰσθας, οἴσθας which appear in some MSS are due to the common 2 Sing. in -ας. Aristarchus rejected them in Homer.

In the Middle the σ of -σαι, -σο when it follows a vowel is generally lost: so always in the Secondary Tenses, as ἐμάρνα-ο, δαίων-ο, ἐσαι-ο, ἐείσα-ο, contracted ἐκρέω (II. 15. 18), ἐπεφράω (II. 21. 410), ἐκτησω (Od. 24. 193)—for which, however, the metre allows us to write ἐκρέμα', &c.—and the Opt. -οι-ο. In the Pres. and Pf. Indic. and the Imper. the usage is not uniform: δίνα-σαι (II. 1. 393), ὄνο-σαι (Od. 17. 378), παρ-ιστα-σαι (II. 10. 279., Od. 17. 459), ύπο-δάμα-σαι (Od. 16. 95), δαινυ-σαι (Od. 21. 290), μέμην-σαι (II. 23. 648), Imper. ἵστα-σο (seven times), ἄνη-σο (Od. 19. 68), κεῖ-σο (II. 21. 122): but μέμη-αι (II. 21. 442), μέμην (II. 15. 18, where we may read μέμην'), βεβληκαί (three places in the Iliad), δίζη-αι (Od. 11. 100), Imper. θέ-ο (Od. 10. 333), φά-ο (Od. 18. 171), μάρνα-ο (II. 15. 475), παρ-ίστα-ο (II. 10. 291, according to Aristarchus, παρ-ίστα-σο MSS.).

The loss of σ was in accordance with Greek phonetic law, and originally universal; but new forms in -σαι, -σο were produced on the analogy of forms such as λέξο (for λεξ-σο), ἰσο (for ἴσ-σο), πένναισσα (for πενν-σαι), τέτυχο, &c., in which the σ is preserved by the preceding consonant.

Verbs in -εω, which would properly form -εεαι, -εεο, sometimes

* On this point recent writers have gone back to the explanation given by Bopp, Vergl. Gr. II. pp. 292, 498.
suffer Hyphaeresis (cp. § 125, 4), and drop one ε; as μόδεαι (Od. 2. 202), ἀπο-ἀρέω, ἐκλεο. But we find also μυθέαι (Od. 8. 180), νεῖαι (Od. 11. 114., 12. 141)—where it is possible to substitute the uncontracted μυθέαι, νέαι—and αιδείο (II. 24. 503).

In the Imper. the Ending -τι is common in Non-Thematic Tenses: τ-τι, στη-τι, κλυ-τι, κέκλυ-τι, ἐστα-τι, ὄρνυ-τι, φάνη-τι (II. 18. 198), δίδω-τι (Od. 3. 380), ἐμπὶπλη-τι (II. 23. 311). We find -σ in θέ-σ, δό-σ, πρόε-σ (προ-ήμυ), and the thematic ἐνί-σσε-σ tell (cp. Attic σχέ-σ).

In the forms ἵστη (II. 21. 313), διανυ (II. 9. 70), διέκνυ (Hes. Th. 526), the long final vowel probably comes by analogy from the Pres. and Impf. Singular forms (by the 'proportion' Impf. ἐλεγε-ς, ἐλεγε: Imper. λέγε : ἵστη, ἵστη : ἵστη). For the forms καθ-ιστα, τίδει, διδού, &c., see § 18.

3 Sing. The original -τι remains only in ἐσ-τυ(ν), in which the phonetic change of -τι to -σι is prevented by the preceding σ.

On the Subjunctives in -νσι see § 82.

3 Plur. The Ending -άσι (for -αυτι) is found in ἐ-άσι (for *ἐσ-αοι) they are and ἵ-άσι they go.

Stems in α, ε, ο, υ form -άσι, -εισι, -οσι, -οσι (for -α-ντι, &c.), as φαοι, ἱσταισι, τιθεισι, διδούσι, ξεγνύσι (not τιθε-ασι, &c., as in Attic). On the accent of these forms, see § 87, 2.

The Perfect Act. has -άσι and -άσα. The latter occurs only twice in Homer, πεφύκ-άσι (Od. 7. 114), λελόγχασω (Od. 11. 304); for other examples in Ionic see Curt. Verb. ii. 166. In these forms the α belongs to the Ending, since -άσι is for -άτι, which corresponds to the -ντι of the Doric φα-ντι, λέγο-ντι (as -άται in the Mid. to -ντα). The forms with -άσι belong to two essentially distinct groups; see § 7.

The secondary -ῶ (for -αυτ) is found in all Aorists which form the 1 Sing. in -ά. It may also be traced in the Impf. of εἰμί, in the form ἦν (Hes. Th. 321, 825), for ἦναι (Sansk. āsan).

Non-Thematic -ν occurs in the forms ἐφά-ν, ἐβά-ν, ἐστα-ν, φθά-ν, ἐδό-ν (II. 11. 263), ἐφύ-ν (Od. 10. 397), ἐκτά-ν, Impf. τε-ν (in ἕν-ν, μεθ-ν), πρό-τιθε-ν (read by Aristarchus in Od. 1. 112), ἐδώ-ν (H. Cer. 327), and many Passive Aorists, as ἐβλα-βε-ν, δι-έτμαγε-ν, ἄγε-ν, ἀλε-ν, δόμε-ν, πάγε-ν, ἡγερθε-ν, κόσμηθε-ν, κατ-εκτάθε-ν. On the form μιάνδην (II. 4. 146) see § 40. In these tenses -ν is commoner in Homer than -άν. But -οῖν is the only Ending found in the two Imperfects ἦ-σαν and ἦ-νας, ἵ-σαν, and in the Pluperfect: see § 68.

In the Middle, the forms -άται, -άτο are regular after consos- nants and the vowel i (including the diphthongs ei, η, oi, &c.); the forms -νται, -ντο after α, ε, ο. After ν, η both forms are found: e.g. εἰρύ-άται, εἰρύ-άτο, but λέαν-νται, κέλυ-νται; βεβλή-ον-ντι- dossier atai (II. 11. 656), but μεμνή-ντο, ξύμβλη-ντο; even ηύτο (II. 3. 153) as well as η-άτο (for *ησ-ατο).
The Imper. Endings -τωσαυ, -σθωσαυ are post-Homerie.

1 Dual. -μεθον occurs only once, in περιδώμεθον, Il. 23. 485. Elmsley (on Ar. Ach. 733) maintained that this form was a fiction of the grammarians. It is defended by G. Curtius (Verb. I. 97 f.), and there seems no valid reason for rejecting it.

2 and 3 Dual. In the Historical Tenses, according to the ancient grammarians, the regular Endings are—

2 Dual Act. -τον, Mid. -σθον.
3 τον, την, -σθην.

This scheme, however, is open to some doubt; for—

(1) Homer has three instances of the 3 Dual Impf. in -τον, where the metre does not admit of -την, viz. διώκε-τον (Il. 10. 363), ἔτευκχ-τον (Il. 13. 346), λαφισσότον (Il. 18. 583). Three others in -σθον occur as various readings, where the metre admits of either -σθον or -σθην, viz. ἀφίκσ-σθον, read by some ancient critics (probably Zenodotus) in Il. 13. 613: θαρφήσε-σθον, the reading of A. (the Cod. Venetus) and Eust. in Il. 16. 218: πετε-σθον, a marginal variant of A. in Il. 23. 306.

(2) Three forms of the 2 Dual in -την were read in the text of Zenodotus, viz. καμε-την (Il. 8. 448), λαβε-την (Il. 10. 545), θελε-την (Il. 11. 782). Aristarchus read καμε-τον, λάβε-τον, θέλε-τον. The metre gives no help to a decision.

(3) In Attic the examples of the 2 Dual in -την, -σθην are so common that Elmsley (on Ar. Ach. 733) held these to be the only correct forms, thus making the Dual of Historical Tenses uniformly end in -την, as the Dual of the Principal Tenses ends in -ον. Cobet maintains the same view (Misc. Crit. pp. 279 ff.). But the account of the Greek grammarians is strikingly borne out by the forms of the Sanscrit Dual. In Sanscrit we find that in the Historical Tenses the 2 Dual ends in -ταν, 3 Dual in -ταμ, answering perfectly to the Greek -τον, -την. This therefore is to be regarded as the original rule. The exceptions which have been quoted are evidently due to the tendency towards uniformity: and it is to be noticed that this tendency seems to have acted in Homer in the direction of making all Duals end in -τον, -σθον, whereas in Attic the tendency was to extend the Endings -την, -σθην to the Second Person.

The Imper. Ending -των is found in ἐστων (Il. 1. 338) and κομείτω (Il. 8. 109). As to ἐστων in Od. 1. 273, where it is usually taken as a Plural, see § 173.

Variation of the Stem.

6.] In Thematic Stems it is plain that the Ending influences only the final ε(ο), leaving the rest of the Stem unaffected. Non-Thematic forms, on the other hand, are liable to variations in quantity which affect the main vowel of the Stem. These variations are governed by the general rule that when there are two forms of a Stem the longer is found with the Endings of the
VARIATION OF STEM.

Sing. Indic. Act., the shorter with all other Endings, viz. those of the Dual and Plural, the Imperative, and the Middle. Thus:

(1) α', ε, ο interchange with the corresponding long vowels α (in Ionic η), η, ω; as φθ-μι, εφθ-νυ, but ι Plur. φα'-μειν, Imper. φα'-θη, Mid. εφα'-το; τίθη-μι, Mid. τιθε'-μαι; δίοω-μι, Mid. διόω-μαι.

(2) ι with ει and οι: as ει'-μι, ι Plur. ει'-μεν, Imper. ει'-θι; οιδα, ι Plur. οι'-μεν.

(3) υ with ευ and ου: as εχευα, Mid. χυ'-το (§ 15); δεικνυ'-μι, ι Plur. δεικνυ'-μεν. Sometimes with ου, as ειληλουθα, stem ειλθ'-.

Note however that all vowels are liable to be shortened before the combination ητ, as in the 3 Plur. ησταν (but εστη-μεν), &c., and the Participle, σταντ-ος, γνωντ-ος. Also before ι of the Optative, στανη, γνωη.

The same law governs the interchange of—

(4) α with ευ and ου: as γεγονα (γενος), ι Plur. γεγα'-μεν; τεπονθα (τευθ-ος), Part. Fem. τεπαθ-ωια.*

(5) άρ with ερ and ορ: as εφθορα, Mid. εφθαρ-ταυ (Pres. φθαιρω for φθερ-ιω); and, with Metathesis (ραι for αρ, &c.), τετροφε, Mid. τεθραπ-ται (τρεφ-ω).*

The combinations άρ(πα) and δα(λα) represent the primitive 'liquid vowels,' γ and ι. They appear in place of the consonantal ρ and λ when these are phonetically impossible: e.g. εφθαρται is for εφθρ-ται.—the ep of the root φθερ- passing into άρ where Sanser. ar would pass into γ.

Similarly, α represents the 'nasal vowels' η and ι: thus παθ- is for πεθ-.

Before another vowel έρ, ευ sometimes pass into άρ, άυ, as in εκανον for εκτυ-ον (root κτερ-), in the same way that u and i before a vowel may appear as uv, iy.

Sometimes the longer Stem contains an additional consonant, viz. in the Perfects and Aorists in -κα, as εστηκα, ι Plur. εστα-μεν; εθηκα, ι Plur. εθε-μεν.

These are the principal variations which can be exemplified within the limits of a single Tense. When we compare one Tense with another, we observe further the interchange of—

(6) Stems with the vowel ε or ο and Stems in which the vowel is lost; as εχ-ω (for *σεχ-ω), ε-σχ-ου; πετ-εσθαι, Aor. πτ-έσθαι (ep. πορ-άομαι).

This definition will cover the reduction of ερ, ελ, εμ, εν to ρ, λ, μ, ν (instead of άρ, δα, α); as in ἔγρ-ετο (ἐγρ- in ἐγειρω), ἐ-πλ-ετο (πλ-ω), ἐ-τε-μ-ον (τεμ-

* Similarly, δα(λα) with ελ and ολ: but it is difficult to find examples in Greek. The form πι-πλα-μεν perhaps answers to an original Sing. *πι-πελ-μυ (ep. Sanser. piparmi, Pl. pipp-mas, Brugmann, M. U. I. p. 44), and the form τε-τλα-μεν to *τε-τολ-α (Lat. tessuli).
THIRD PERSON PLURAL.

Third person Plural.

Thus we have an apparent interchange of two short Stems, as φν- in ἐπε-φν-ov with φαι- in πε-φαι-ται, &c.

When loss of i would make the word unpronounceable, it is sometimes retained in the short form, as in ἐ-τεκ-ον, τεκ-εν (Stems τεκ-, τοκ-).

Again, there are in general two longer forms of each Stem, one marked by the predominance of the sounds e, η, the other by that of o, ω. The chief interchanges which are due to this cause are—

(7) e and o, including the combinations ei, eu, επ, ελ, εμ, εν and oi, ou, op, ολ, ομ, ον. It is needless to give further examples.

(8) ι (Ionic η and ω: ε-πτη flew, πτήσω cover, and πέ-πτοκa; cp. φη-μι and φω-νη, δδ-ηγός and αγ-ωγ-η.

(9) η and ω: ἕνυ-υμι and ἑρ-ωγα; cp. ἑρήω and ἑρωγ-ός, ηθός and εἰθόδα.

(10) In a certain number of Stems the only variation is between ω and ο: δι-δω-μι (δω-), δδ-ωδα, δλ-ωλα.

The Endings which are found with the long Stem have been called the Light, the others the Heavy Endings.

The short form of the Stem is usually called the Weak Stem. Of the longer forms which contains the vowel o (οι, ου, ον, op, ρα) may be distinguished as the O-form: the other will be simply called the Strong form.

The different variations may be represented in a tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Weak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Α(η) η οι ου ει ευ ερ(ρε) ελ εμ εν ε</td>
<td>α ε ο ι υ ρ λ μ ν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O-form</td>
<td>ο οι ου ορ(ρο) ολ ομ ον ο</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.] The 3 Plur. offers some exceptions to the general rule:—

(1) The Ending -άσι (for -άτι, -NTI) is used with the long Stem of the Pf., as λέλογχ-άσι, πεφύκ-άσι. Cp. Mid. τετεύχ-άται, ἐ-τετεύχ-άτο (§ 22, 5).

(2) The long Stem is also found in a few forms of the Pf. with the Ending -άσι, as πεποίθάσι, ἐστήκασι (§ 24), and of the Aor. in -α, as ἐχενασ, ἐθηκασ, ἐδωκασ (§ 15).

(3) The Endings -(σ)άσι, -σαν (for -ΣΑΝΤΙ, -ΣΑΝΤ) are found with the weak Stem. The leading examples are:—


Perf.: ἰσασι (ἰδ-σασι), ἰσαν; ἰδάσι (Att. 3 Plur. of ἰσοκα).

βεβά-ασι, γεγά-άσι, μεμά-άσι; Plpf. βέβα-σαν, μεμά-σαν.

ἐστάσι (for ἐστά-ασι), τετάσι; ἐστα-σαν, τεθνα-σαν.

πεφύ-ασι, δεδί-ασι; δεδι-σαν.

The hiatus shows that -άσι is for -σάσι, the Primary Ending
answering to -σαν. The corresponding Mid. -σαται is found in Doric (γεγράφασατι, Tab. Heracl. i. 121, in C. I. 5774).

The contraction in εστᾷ, τεθνάι is evidently due to the impossibility of εστά-αςι, τεθνά-αςι in the hexameter. Brugmann regards them as wrongly accented, and would write εστακι, τεθνακι, i.e. εστα-ντι, τεθνα-ντι (Curt. Stud. ix. 296). This is open to the objection (1) that it separates them from βεβά-αςι, γεγά-αςι, μεκά-αςι; and (2) that in all other Stems which form a Pf. or Aor. in -κα the Endings -ντι and -ν are confined in Homer to the forms with -κ: thus we find—

πεφύκ-ασι and πεφύ-ασι, but not πέφυσι
έστηκασι, &c. " βεβά-αςι, " βεβασι
(οἴδασι Hdt.) " ισασι " ιδ-ασι
έθηκα-ν " εθε-σαν " εθε-ν
έθουκα-ν " εθο-σαν " εθο-ν (Hesiod).

The weak form with -ντι, -ν is therefore confined to Verb-Stems ending in a vowel, as in φασι, τεθεισι (for φαντι, τίθε-ντι). And in these the short vowel is due to the (original) following -NT, as in ε-σαια, ἥγερθεν, ἄλ-ντες, &c.

For a plausible hypothesis as to the origin of the Ending -σαν see § 40. Regarding -(σ)άσι (i.e. the Ending -ασι preceded by hiatus) no satisfactory view has been put forward.

**Meaning of the Middle.**

8.] The original force of the Middle Person-Endings is 'Reflexive,' that is to say, they denote that the action of the Verb is directed towards the agent.

Greek has no Passive Endings distinct from those of the Active and Middle: it is desirable therefore to speak, not of Passive forms, but of the Passive meaning or use of a form.

The chief uses of the Middle are—

(1) The use to signify that the agent is also the indirect object of the action—that the action is done by some one for or toward himself, or in his own interest: ἐφύν-μαι I put (clothes, &c.) on myself; δέχο-μαι I take to myself; ἀπρεποσάμενος having drawn him his sharp sword; ἧπειρο τὸξον took his bow with him; ἓρεσθω let him bear away (as his prize).

(2) The use in which the agent is the direct object of the action, as λοῦο-μαι I wash myself. This is comparatively rare.

(3) The Intransitive use, in which the reflexive sense is faint, as φαίνε-ται appears (but φαίνει εξαντόν he shows himself). So, generally, when the action centres in the agent; as in Verbs of bodily action (ἐφύνοι, πτήμαι, ἀλλομαί, ὀξομαί, &c.), and in such uses as λαβέσθαι to gain hold (not to take a thing), δεδραμενός clutching; ἐκύαντο threw her arms; also in Verbs of feeling and thinking (ἀλογομαί, ἀλέομαι, βούλομαι, οἷομαι, μέμνημαι, ἐπισταμαι, μέλομαι, μέμφομαι, &c.). So in French, 'je m'aperçois' I perceive, 'je me doute' I suspect, 'il se peut' it may be.
(4) The Reciprocal use; ἀμεβόμενος taking his turn; λέγεσθαι to tell over (in talk); ἄρεσκεσθαι to make friends with; νυσσομένων (II. 14. 26) as they pierced each other; έρείδεσθον (II. 23. 735) push each other, strive. Hence the Middle form of μάχομαι, Fr. se battre and its equivalents, ἀγωνίζομαι, ἀμιλλάομαι, δικάζομαι.

(5) The Passive use, as ἔχε-ταί is possessed, ἐβλη-το was struck, ἡδε-το was bound, ἐκ-πέπο-ταί is drunk up. This is not a very common use of the Middle. It may be illustrated from the similar use of some Reflexive Verbs in French, as 'je me trouve' I am found, 'il se mange' it is eaten.

The Middle is rather more common in Homer than in later Greek. For example, in the class of Verbs of feeling and thinking we may add the Homeric ἐφαμα, γάνυμα, ἐλθομαι, ἔλπιμαι, ὀνόμαι, στένομαι, κεχάροιτο, ὀδύσσασθαι. And the use is extended to Verbs of seeing and hearing, as ἄρω-μαι (Aor. ἰδέ-σθαι), ἀκού-μαι (used as well as ὀρώ, ἱδείν, ἀκούο), δερκομαι, ὀσομαι, σκέπτομαι, δύσςμαι; cp. the Attic σκοτώ-μαι I consider.

Conversely, Homer has the Act. ὅω I think, expect, as well as the Mid. ὅο-μαι I harbour the thought, suspect (cp. the distinction in French between je doute and je me doute).

Sometimes (esp. in Homer) the Middle appears to be used because the Verb implies acting arbitrarily, as a superior, &c.; e.g. βίαζομαι I use force towards, σίνομαι, ὀδέλωμαι, &c. I do mischief for pleasure; ἐφιλατο made a favourite of; ἄιε-νταί ran in a race, ἀδεσθαί to chase (but ὅων I fled); ἀεὶδισσεσθαι to terrify; κέκλετο shouted in command.*

A use intermediate between the Reflexive and the Passive (pointed out by Riddell, Dig. § 88) may be exemplified in ἀπήθετο got himself hated, incurred hatred, κείνονται (II. 13. 110) let themselves be slain, λείπεσθε (II. 23. 409) get left behind: ep. II. 13. 525., 15. 645, Od. 3. 284.

On the Futures only used in the Mid., see § 66.

CHAPTER II.

The Tenses.

9. Verb-Stem and Tense-Stem. A comparison of the different forms of a Greek Verb usually enables us to see that some one syllable or group of syllables is present in them all: as τυπ- in the forms of τύπτω, or βουλε- in those of βουλεύω.

* Cp. Icelandic 'heita' I promise, 'heitaz' I threaten.
This we shall call the *Verb-Stem*. A Verb-Stem not derived from more primitive elements is called a *Root*.

Again, the different forms belonging to any one *Tense* are based upon a common part, which we shall call the *Tense-Stem*. This part may be the same as the Verb-Stem; or it may contain an additional element, as δι- in δι-δο-μεν, δι-δο-ην-ν, &c.; -τε, -το in τυπ-τε-τε, τυπ-το-μεν, ἦ-τυπ-το-ν, τυπ-το-λ-μι, &c.

The Subjunctive and Optative, again, are distinguished by a Suffix to the Tense-Stem: e.g. δο-ην-ν, διδο-ην-ν, τυπτο-λ-μι, στήσα-λ-μι. The new Stems so formed may be called *Mood-Stems*.

Finally, the Stems used in the *Historical* Tenses—the Impf., Aor., and Plpf.—are formed from the Tense-Stem by prefixing the *Augment*.

The Stems of the augmented forms are therefore parallel to the Mood-Stems, the only difference being that they are formed by a prefix, while the Mood-Stems are formed by a suffix. They may be described as Time-Moods of the several Tenses,—combining the notion of Past Time, which is expressed by the Augment, with the meaning contained in the Tense-Stem.

Each Tense-Stem furnishes an *Infinitive* and a *Participle*.

Thus we have (supplying one or two links by analogy) from the three Tense-Stems βάλλε (or -ο), βάλε (or -ο), βεβληκα.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Tense</th>
<th>Aor.</th>
<th>Perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>βάλλε-τε</td>
<td>wanting</td>
<td>βεβλήκα-τε.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>ἐ-βάλλε-τε</td>
<td>ἐ-βαλε-τε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>βάλλη-τε</td>
<td>βάλη-τε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative</td>
<td>βάλλο-ι-τε</td>
<td>βαλο-ι-τε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>βάλλε-τε</td>
<td>βαλε-τε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>βαλλέ-μεναι</td>
<td>βαλέ-ειν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>βάλλο-ντος</td>
<td>βαλό-ντος</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that there might have been a Future *'Time-Mood'* as well as a Past for each Tense-Stem. In English indeed we can distinguish progressive action in the future as well as in the present and past: *I shall be writing* as well as *I am writing* and *I was writing*. See Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 65; Driver's *Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, § 4. Modern Greek has two such Futures, θα γράφω *I will be writing* and θα γράφω *I will write*, related to each other as ἐγράφων and ἐγράφα. 

10.] Formation of Tense-Stems. Leaving out of sight the meanings of the several Tenses, and looking to the mode of their formation, we may distinguish the following groups:

1. With the Verb-Stem serving as Tense-Stem—

   The Simple Non-Thematic Present, as φη-μι.

   The Simple Non-Thematic Aorist, as ἐ-βη-ν.

   The Aorist in -α, as ἔ-χει-α.
(2) With Tense-Stem enlarged from Verb-Stem—
   The Non-Thematic Reduplicated Present, as τι-θη-μι.
   The Present in μη-μι and νο-μι, as ουδ-νη-μι, δεικ-νο-μι.
   The Perfect.

(3) With the Thematic Vowel—
   The ordinary Thematic Present, as λέγω.
   The Present with short Stem, as ἄγω.
   The Simple Thematic Aorist, as ἔλαβο-ο-ν.

(4) With Reduplication (Thematic)—
   The Thematic Reduplicated Present, as γι-γο-ο-μαι.
   The Thematic Reduplicated Aorist, as ἥγ-ἄγ-ο-ν.

(5) With other Suffixes (Non-Thematic)—
   The Aorist in σα, and in σε, σο.
   The Aorist in η-ν (Aor. II Pass.).
   The Aorist in θη-ν (Aor. I Pass.).

(6) With other Suffixes (Thematic)—
   The Present in τω (T-Class of Curtius).
   The Present in νω (Nasal Class).
   The Present in σκω, and the Iterative forms.
   The Present in ω (I-Class).
   The Future in σο, -(σ)ω.

The Non-Thematic Present and Aorist.

11.] The Simple Non-Thematic Present. The chief Presents in which the Tense-Stem is the same as the Verb-Stem are—
   εἰ-μι (for ἔο-μι) I am, εἰ-μι I go, φη-μι I say, ἦ he said, κεῖ-ται
   lies, ἦσ-ται sits (3 Plur. κεῖ-ται, properly η-ται, for ησ-ται),
   επί-στα-μαι I know, ἀγα-μαι I wonder, ἐρα-μαι I love, δύνα-μαι I
   am able, ἐ-κρέμα (for ἐ-κρέμα-ο) didst hang, δέα-το seemed, δίε-νται
   race (ἔν-δίκ-σαν tried to scare), ὄν-σαι dost blame (ὄνα-το II. 17.
   25), ἅ-τον blow, κιχή-την caught, ἔρη-το protected, στεῖ-ται is
   ready, threatens, ἐ-μενα to eat: also ἐτο desired (ἰένειον eager),
   if it is to be separated from ἦμι and referred to ἑμαι, Sanser.
   νί (see § 397). For Θηθι see § 16.

On the Non-Thematic forms of Contracted Verbs (such as φορ-μενος),
see § 19.

12.] Variation of the Stem according to the 'weight' of the
   ending is carried out consistently in φη-μι’ and εἰ-μι. Thus—
   Pres. φη-μι, φη-σ, φη-σι, Plur. φα-μεν, φα-τε, φατ.
   Impf. ἐ-φη-ν, ἐ-φη-σ and ἐ-φη-θα, ἐ-φη, 1 Plur. φα-μεν (for
   ἐ-φαμεν), 3 Plur. ἐ-φα-σαν and ἐφαν, Part. φά.

And similarly —

Imperf. 3 Du. ἵ-την, 3 Plur. ἵσαν, Imper. ἵ-θι, ἵ-τω, ἵ-τε, Inf. ἵ-μεναι (once ἵ), and ἵέναι.

The 1 Sing. ἱά does not represent the original form of the Impf., which would be ἱά (for ἱά, Sanser. ἱάμ). Hence ἱά with the 3 Sing. ἱέ and 3 Plur. ἱσαν, ἱσαν must be formed like ἱά and other Pluperfects in -εα (§ 68, 2); the ε of the original ἱα, ἱσαν being changed to i under the influence of ἵ-μεν, &c. (Wackernagel, K. Z. xxv. 266). For -σαν see § 40.

The forms ἱεν (1 Sing. and 3 Plur.), ἵεν, Part. ἵων, are evidently produced by confusion with the Thematic conjugation (§ 30, ep. also § 18).

The Verb εἰμι I am is inflected as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. εἰμι</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>εἰμέν (for εἰ-μεν)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres. {</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ἐσ-αι, ἐς (§ 5)</td>
<td>ἐσ-τὸν</td>
<td>ἐσ-τέ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ἐσ-τι(ν)</td>
<td>ἐσ-τὸν</td>
<td>ἐσ-τι (Dor. ἐστὶ, ἐστι)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf. {</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ἱα, ἱα (Th. ἱιν)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ἱμεν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ἵσα, ἵσα</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ἵτε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ἱκν, ἱρ, ἱρν, ἱρν</td>
<td>ἱσ-τὴν</td>
<td>ἱσαν, ἱσαν, ἱρ (Hes.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Dor. ἵτι)

Imper. ἵσ-τω, ἵσ-τε, ἵσ-τον; Inf. ἵμεναι, ἵμεναι, ἵμεν, ἵέναι; Imper. Mid. ἵ-σ-σο (Od. i. 302).

The root ἵσ- is not reduced before Heavy Endings, as in the corresponding Sanser. forms (Dual s-vas, s-thas, s-las, Plur. s-mas, -tha, s-anti, Ὀμ. syām), and the Lat. sumus, sunt, sīm. The loss of σ in εἰμι, εἰμέν, ἵμεν (for ἵσ-μι, &c.) is according to Greek phonetic law: the Attic ἵσ-μεν is a new formation, due to the analogy of ἵσ-τι, ἵσ-τε, &c. On the other hand ἵτε (II. 16. 557) follows ἵμεν; the older ἵσ-τε survives in Attic. The σ of ἵσαν belongs to the ending -σαν (§ 40), not to the root.

In the Impf. it is probable that we have an admixture of forms from the original Perfect: thus ἵσ-θα (Sanser. ἀσίθα) is Pf., ἱα, for ἵσ-α, is both Pf. (Sanser. ἰασ) and Impf. (Sanser. ἰασάμ), ἵεν may be Pf. (Sanser. ἰάσα) or thematic Impf. (answering to the Homeric ἰ Sing. ἵεν); the original 3 Sing. Imper. survives in the Dor. ἱα (Vedic ἱα). Again, the 2 Sing. ἵσα and 3 Sing. ἵν, ἵν see to require a stem (ἐ)ην-, found also in Lat. e-rām (Brugmann, M. U. i. p. 35). The ν of the 3 Sing. is unexplained: it does not appear to be the ν ἐφέλκυστικόν, for we find no form *ἐν alongside of ἵσεν.

Note that the ἱ Sing. ἵν is not found in Homer.

The Homeric forms of εἰμι were discussed some years ago by L. Meyer (K. Z. ix. pp. 385, 423). He maintained that the Homeric 3 Sing. Impf. was ἵεν or (without augment) ἵεν: the forms ἵν, ἵν and ἵν being due to
c....

corruption or misreading. The facts certainly give much countenance to this
view, which has been adopted by Curtius (Stud. 1. 2, 292) and Nauck. It
can hardly be accidental that out of 54 places in which ἔν occurs in the thesis
or second half of the foot, there are 50 in which it is followed by a vowel, as—

II. 2. 77 Νέτωρ ὅς ἦν Πόλυος ἀνάς ἔν ἠμαθέντος.
Od. 17. 208 ἄριστον ἄρειν αἰχμηρὰν βυθοτρεφόν ἦν ἄλος.
Moreover, out of 72 instances of ἔν there are 63 in which it is followed by
a consonant (including Ἐ). On the other hand, in 26 places ἔν occurs in the
first half of the foot, and in 2 places it ends the line (in the phrase ὕππο ἄρα παύ
ἔν); and it is not easy to correct many of these so as to admit ἔν or ἔν. Again, ἔν and ἔν have some support in the 2 Sing. forms ἡσάνα, ἡσάνα. (For
ἔσανa Curtius proposed ἔσαθα, but there is no good reason for this.) And
ἵν is found on an Ionic inscription of the 8th century (Rohl, no. 382). On the
whole it seems that the argument for ἔν is stronger than the argument against
ἵν and ἔν. Perhaps we must recognise two Stems, giving four forms: a Stem
ἵν, whence ἔν, without augment ἔν, and a Stem (ἵ)σ- (Lat. e-rain), whence
ἵν, without augment ἔν. The rare ἔν occurs followed by a vowel (so that
we cannot read ἔν) in 3 places only, viz. Od. 19. 283 (al. ἔν, ἔν), 23. 316,
24. 343. It may be due to mere ‘contamination’ of ἔν and ἔν. But no
theory can be accepted as satisfactory that does not account for the fixed -v of
all these forms.

The a of τά is treated as long in 3 places, II. 4. 321, 5. 887, Od. 14. 353.
In Od. 14. 222 τάντα τάν τόντα πόλεμω it is elided; but perhaps the ἔν may be omitted.

The vowel remains long before Heavy Endings in the Stems—
ἄν-, 3 Du. ἄν-τον, Inf. ἄν-μεναι, Mid. ἄν-το, Part. ἄν-μενος,
κιχή-, 3 Du. Impf. κιχή-την, 1 Plur. ἐ-κιχή-μεν, Inf. κιχή-μεναι,
Part. κιχή-μενος,
except that it is shortened before -ντ and -τ (§ 6), as in the Part.
ἀντεις blowing, 3 Plur. ἀντειον (for ἀντειτι, in Hes. Th. 875), and the
Opt. κιχε-ίν may find. The vowel is also long in ἔρι-το protected,
Inf. ρη-θαῖ; and in all forms of κεύμαι, ἦμαι, oτεύμαι. τητονομένος

A similar Non-thematic inflexion, in which the final vowel of
the Stem is long except before -ντ and -τ, appears in the Ἑολικ
conjugation of verbs in -μι, as γελαῖ-μι I laugh, αἰνη-μι I praise
(Hes. Op. 681), φιλη-μι I love (1 Plur. φιλη-μεν, 3 Plur. φιλείωσι,
Part. φιλη-μενοσ), σάω-μι I save. See § 19.

13.] The Simple Non-Thematic Aorist. This term includes
the ‘Second Aorists,’ such as ἐ-βη-ν ἐ-στη-ν &c., and also those
so-called First Aorists in which the -ά of the 1 Sing. Active is
added directly to the Verb-stem, as in ἐ-χεύ-α.

Variation of quantity is rare in the Active, but the Stem is
usually shortened in the Middle. The chief forms are:—ἐ-βη-ν
I went, 3 Du. βά-την (but also βήτην), 3 Plur. ὑπέρ-βά-σαν,
Imper. μετά-βηθι, Inf. βή-μεναι: ἐ-στη-ν I stood, Du. στή-την,
Plur. ἐ-στη-μεν, ἐ-στη-τε, ἐ-στη-σαν, Imper. στή-θι, στή-τε, Inf.
στή-μεναι; ἐ-φθη came before, Part. φθά-μενοσ: ἐ-ἐ-πτη flew out

On the forms ἐσσυ-το, ἐ-χυ-το see § 15.

The vowel is invariably long in ξυμ-βλη-την the two encountered, Mid. βλη-το was struck; πλη-το was filled; πλη-το came near: ἀπ-ον-το profited, Imper. ὀπ-θο, Part. ὀπ-μενος; ἀμ-πνυ-το recovered breath: ἐ-στρω-το was strewed: see § 14.

On the other hand the vowel is short throughout in κατ-ἐ-κτα-ν (Il. 4. 319, where some ancient critics read κατεκτα), 3 Sing. ἐ-κτα (the quantity is proved by Od. 11. 410 ἐκτα συν οὐλομενη κ. τ. λ.), 1 Plur. ἐ-κτα-μεν, Part. κατα-κτας, Mid. ἐ-κτα-το, Inf. κτα-σθαι, Part. κτα-μενος. The longer form of the root is κτε-ν- (Pres. κτενω for κτεν-ω). A similarly irregular 3 Sing, in -ά is found in ουτα he wounded, Inf. ουτα-μεναι, Part. Mid. ουτα-μενος: perhaps also in ἀν-ηρα-ς, ἀν-ηρα. For, comparing the Part. ἀπο-υρας, Mid. ἀπο-υρα-μενος (Hes. Sc. 173), we may conjecture that the Indic. should be written ἀπ-ειρα-ς, ἀπ-ειρα (or ἀπ-ἐ-φρα-ς, ἀπ-ἐ-φρα), where Φρα- is the weak form of a root Φερ- (Meyer, G. G. § 524). We have -ά for -εν also in ἀπ-ἐ-φαι-το died (Hesych.). From the root φεν- (Pf. τέφα-ται).

On the Non-Thematic Aorists with Stems ending in a consonant, such as ἄλτο, ἐ-παλτο, ἀρτο, δέκτο, λέκτο, μίκτο, &c., with the Inf. πέρθαι and the Participles ἀρμενος, ἰκμενος, ἀσμενος, see § 40.

14.] Metathesis. This term has been employed to explain a number of forms in which a short vowel is lost before a liquid, and the corresponding long vowel follows the two consonants thus brought together: as ξυμ-βλη-την met, Mid. βλη-το was struck (βαλ-, βελ-ος), ἐ-ταλη endured (ταλα-ς), πλη-το was filled (Sanser. par-), ἐ-στρω-το was scattered (στορε-), κλη-τός called (καλ-εω, κελ-ομαι), κασι-γην-τος kinsman (γεν-), με-μη-μαι (μεν-), δημη-τος tamed (δαμη-), &c. But this long vowel— ά, η, or ω—is clearly of the same nature as the η of σχή-σω (σε-), ἐνυ-πη-σω (σε-π-), πε-πη-ως (πε-π-ττω), ἀγμ (root an in aφρα), or the ω of πε-πη-κα (πε-ττ-ω), ἐ-γνω-ν (root gαν), ως (root ̄, hence Greek ω- and ω-, for γ-η, γ-ω). In these and many similar cases ‘metathesis’ is out of the question. Moreover we find several Stems of the same character with the long vowel ι,
as ēó-ṣdāi to shield (F̣ṛṿ-), ēó-ṭóṣ drawn (F̣ẹṛṿ-, F̣ṛṿ-), τ̣ṿ-ọw (cp. τ̣p̣-η̣-, root tar). Hence it is probable that the long vowel is of the nature of a suffix, by which a new verbal stem is formed from the primitive stem or 'root.' This vowel usually does not vary with the Person-endings, but is long in all forms of the Tense. It cannot be an accident, however, that the same Stems appear also as disyllables with a short final vowel: τ̣αḷ-ā, πeλ̣-ā, στoρ̣-e, καη-ε (in καη-σαι), γεν̣-e (in γεν̣-σις), δάη-ā, πετ̣-ā, f̣ẹp̣-ṿ in ẹp̣-σαι, and many others. What then is the relation between these forms and the monosyllabic τλ-η̣, τλ-η̣, στρ-ο̣, κλ-η̣, γν-η̣, δμ-η̣, πτ-η̣? Apparently the difference is ultimately one of accent. The same disyllable would become τάλ-α or τλ-ή as the stress fell upon the first or the second syllable*.

15.] Aorists in -ā and -kā. These consist of (1) four Aorists from stems ending in -u, (2) three Aorists in -kā, and (3) the isolated forms atetime and eīπα.

The four Aorists ēṣẹu-ā (weak stem σου-) I urged, ē-χευ-ā or ē-χε-α I poured, ē-κη-α (weak stem καν-) I burned, ɜ̥lẹọ-aτο avoided (Opt. ἄλε̣-ατο, Inf. ἄλε̣-ασθαι) form the 1 Sing. with -ā instead of -u. Thus ē-χευ-ā is formed like ē-φη-ν̣, except that, after the diphthong eu the final -m of the ending passed into -ā, as in the Impf. ᾶ (for ᾶ-α). So too in the Accusative of Nouns we have -ṿ after a single vowel (λόγο-ν̣, πόλι-ν̣, ἰχθύ-ν̣), but -ā after ἰυ, ευ or a consonant: νη̣-α (for νη̣-α or νη̣-ν̣), πόδ-α, as in Latin nāv-em, ped-em. The forms without u, as ēχε̣a, κη̣α, are obtained by u passing into the semi-vowel (ēχε̣-α for ɜ̥χε̣-α).

The original inflexion then was ē-χευ-α (ē-χεθ̣-α), ē-χευ-ς, ē-χευ(―τ̣), Plur. ē-χυ̣-μεν̣, ē-χυ̣-τε (cp. ē-κτα-μεν̣, § 13), ē-χευ-αν̣, Mid. ē-χυ̣-το (like ē-φα̣-το, ē-κτα-το), &c. Thus ēxντο and ēṣọντο are primitive forms, standing to ēχευα, ēṣọνα as ē-φα̣-το to ē-φη-ν̣.

How then are we to account for such forms as ē-χευά-μεν̣, ē-χευά-το, σευά-μενος, ɜ̥λευά-το? They are obtained from the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur. by treating the stem plus the -ā as a new stem or base, to which the Person-endings are then attached. Thus ē-χευά-ς, ē-χευά-μεν̣, ē-χευά-το are duplicate forms, related to ē-χευ-ς, ē-χυ̣-μεν̣, ē-χυ̣-το as the later oida-ς, oidạ-μεν̣ to oĩσθα,

* Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxiii. 277; Brugmann, M. U. i. 1-68; Fröhde, B. B. ix. 119. The whole subject, as Brugmann has recently warned us (Grundriss, ii. § 8, n. 1), is full of uncertainty, and it is possible that forms such as pelẹ represent the 'root' or primitive word, from which not only plẹ̄ (πλη̣, Lat. plẹ̄-mīs) and plẹ, but also peḷ (Sanscr. pî-mar-iti) and pḷ (πî-maṛ-mēv), are derived. We are dealing here, not with the derivation of Greek, &c. from Indo-European,—where the comparison of other languages, such as Sanscrit, may give us help,—but with the formation of Indo-European itself, to which the comparative method is ex hypothesi inapplicable.
The 3 Sing., in \(-\varepsilon (\nu)\), follows the analogy of the Thematic conjugation (\(\varepsilon \chi \varepsilon \varepsilon\) like \(\varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \gamma\)).

The three Aorists in \(-\kappa \alpha, \varepsilon-\eta \kappa \alpha\) I put, \(\varepsilon-\eta \kappa \alpha\) I sent forth, \(\varepsilon-\delta \omega \kappa\) I gave, are inflected as follows:

1. Sing. \(\varepsilon-\theta \eta \kappa\)  
2. Du. \(\varepsilon-\theta \eta \kappa-s\)  
3. Plur. \(\varepsilon-\theta \eta \kappa\)

Imper. \(\theta \varepsilon-s\), \(\theta \varepsilon-t\), Plur. \(\theta \varepsilon-t\), \(\theta \varepsilon-v\).

Inf. \(\theta \varepsilon-\mu\varepsilon\nu\), \(\theta \varepsilon-\mu\varepsilon\nu\), \(\theta \varepsilon-\varepsilon\nu\), Part. \(\theta \varepsilon-\varepsilon\), \(\theta \varepsilon-v\), \&c.

Mid. \(\varepsilon-\theta \varepsilon-\mu\varepsilon\nu\) \&c. with \(\theta \varepsilon-\) as stem throughout.

Thus \(\eta \kappa\alpha-, \eta \kappa\alpha-, \delta \omega \kappa\alpha\) alternate with \(\theta \varepsilon-, \varepsilon-, \delta\varepsilon-\) as long and short Stems respectively. The only forms in Homer which do not conform to this scheme are the 1 Plur. \(\varepsilon \nu-\eta \kappa\alpha-\mu\varepsilon\nu\) (Od. 12. 401), and the 3 Sing. Mid. \(\eta \kappa\alpha-\tau \o\) (II. 10. 311., 14. 187; also Hes. Th. 175). The primitive 3 Plur. \(\varepsilon-\delta \o-\varepsilon\nu\) occurs in Hes. Th. 30, and in Doric: \(\varepsilon-\theta \varepsilon-v\) only on inscriptions (C. I. 29).

The Homerics forms with the stem \(\varepsilon-\) do not take the augment: in Attic we have (e.g.) \(\varepsilon-\mu\varepsilon\nu \varepsilon \tau-\tau\) (for \(\varepsilon-\mu\varepsilon\nu \varepsilon-\tau\)).

In respect of the -\(\alpha\) of the Stem the 2 Sing. \(\varepsilon-\theta \kappa\alpha-s\) is formed like \(\varepsilon-\chi \varepsilon \nu\alpha-s\), and the occasional examples of the type \(\varepsilon-\theta \kappa \alpha-\mu\varepsilon\nu\), \(\varepsilon-\theta \kappa \alpha-\tau \o\) are parallel to \(\varepsilon-\chi \varepsilon \nu-s \mu\varepsilon\nu\), \(\varepsilon-\chi \varepsilon \nu-s \tau \o\). That is to say, the -\(\alpha\) comes from \(\varepsilon-\theta \kappa \alpha\), \(\varepsilon-\theta \kappa \alpha-n\). The relation of \(\varepsilon-\theta \kappa \alpha-\mu\varepsilon\nu\), \(\varepsilon-\theta \kappa \alpha-\tau \o\) to \(\varepsilon-\theta \varepsilon-\mu\varepsilon\nu\), \(\varepsilon-\theta \varepsilon-\tau \o\), is complicated by the use of a new Verb-Stem (\(\theta \eta-k\) instead of \(\theta \eta\)). Thus it is the same as the relation of \(\varepsilon \tau \tau \kappa-\mu\varepsilon\nu\) to \(\varepsilon \tau \tau \kappa-\mu\varepsilon\nu\) (§ 22).

The Aorist \(\eta-\varepsilon \nu \kappa \alpha\) (without augment \(\varepsilon-\varepsilon \nu \kappa \alpha\)) shows no variation of stem; 1 Plur. \(\varepsilon-\varepsilon \nu \kappa \alpha-\mu\varepsilon\nu\), 3 Plur. \(\eta-\varepsilon \nu \kappa \alpha-n\) and \(\varepsilon-\varepsilon \nu \kappa \alpha-n\), Imper. \(\varepsilon-\varepsilon \nu \kappa \alpha-t\), Mid. 3 Plur. \(\eta-\varepsilon \varepsilon \nu \kappa \alpha-v\).

On the Aorist \(\varepsilon \tau \alpha\) see § 37.

16. The Non-Thematic Reduplicated Present. These Presents are formed by Reduplication, usually of the initial consonant with \(\tilde{i}\); \(\tau \iota \eta-\sigma t \mu \varepsilon\nu\), \(\delta \delta \omega-\mu\ I \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon-s\), \(\sigma \iota \theta-\sigma \iota \) (for \(\sigma \iota \theta-\sigma \iota\)) \(\gamma \varepsilon \iota \sigma s\), \(\iota \sigma \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \sigma \) they set, \(\pi \mu \pi \lambda \varepsilon \sigma s\) they fill (the \(\mu\) is euphonic: it is dropped after \(\mu\) in \(\varepsilon \mu-\pi \tilde{t} \iota \eta-\theta t\)), \(\delta \delta \eta-\varepsilon \nu\), \(\beta \beta \beta \delta-\varepsilon\) striding; with Attic Reduplication, \(\delta \nu \varepsilon-s\) (for \(\delta \nu-\nu \varepsilon\)) benefits: perhaps also \(\lambda \eta-\theta t\) be appeared (\(\varepsilon \lambda-\mu \varepsilon\nu I \varepsilon \nu i \nu \nu \varepsilon \nu\), Hom. H. xxi. 5: Stem \(\varepsilon \lambda a\) for \(\sigma \iota-\sigma \lambda \kappa\), Meyer, G. G. p. 437).

In these Present Stems the quantity of the vowel in the Stem regularly varies under the rules laid down in § 6 (1).

The vowel is long in \(\varepsilon \mu-\pi \tilde{t} \iota \eta-\theta t\) (II. 21. 311), \(\lambda \eta-\theta t\), \(\delta \delta \omega-\theta t\) (Od. 3. 380)*, and the Inf. \(\tau \theta \tilde{t} \eta-\mu \varepsilon \nu\) (II. 23. 83, 247) and Part.

* The variation is perhaps less regular in the Imper.; cp. \(\kappa \lambda \varepsilon \theta\). In Sanscr. the 3 Sing. Imper. has the strong Stem.
TENSES.

17. ] Present Stems in -ιη (να) and -ια. The Tense-Stems of this class—which may be called the Non-Thematic Nasal class—form the Present-Stem from the Verb-Stem by the Suffixes -ιη, -ια (which with Heavy Endings regularly become -ια, -ια).

The Presents with -ιη (-να) are nearly all peculiar to Homer, δαμ-ιη-ια. I subdue, κιρ-ιη mixed, περ-ια-s selling, σκιδ-ια-ται is scattered, πλ-να-ται comes near, μπ-να-ται fights. Note 1 for ε in κιρ-, σκιδ-, πλ-; cp. the later Verbs πιτ-ιω, κτιν-ιυμι.

A few Presents with ια are common to all periods of Greek, δεικ-ια-ιμι I show, δι-ια-ιμι I swear, ζευγ-ια-ιμι I join, δλιμι (for δλ-ιμι-ιμι) I destroy; but they are mainly Homeric or poetical; δι-ια-ιω arose, δαι-ια feasted, αγ-ια-ται break, στόρ-ιασα spreading, απ-ομόρφ-ια wiped away, εργ-ιαι shut in, ρηγ-ιαι they break, για-ια-ται is gladdened, τα-ια-ται is stretched, η-ια-το was finished, κι-ια-το were moved, τλ-ια-ται punish, αι-ια-ται takes, έ-και-ια-το surpassed, αρ-ια-ιαι won, αχ-ια-ιαι I am vexed, αι-ια-ιαι were opened, ένυσ-ιαι (for οσ-ια-το) put on, ζωνι-ιαι (for οσο-ιαι) girded himself, δρεγ-ια-ιαι stretching out, σβενι-ιαι-ιαι (Hes. Op. 590).

In the Verbs in -ιημι the Verb-Stem is nearly always disyllabic: cp. δαμα-σαι (πα-δαμα-ται, &c.), κερά-σαι, πετά-σαι, περά-σαι, σκεδά-σαι, πιλά-σ. So in some Verbs in -ιαιμι; cp. δρό-σαι, δλι-σαι, στορ-ιαι. Thus we may regard δμ-αι and δμ-ιη, δμ-αι and δμ-ια, &c., as twin forms obtained by the addition of a different suffix to the same original root δμ-, δμ-ιαι (§ 14). It is to be observed also that Presents in -ιημι are often found along with forms in -αω and -αιω: δαμ-ιημι, Αττικ δαμ-αω; κιρ-ιημι, κερ-αιω: περ-ιημι, περ-αιω: σκιδ-ιημι, σκεδ-αιω: πιλ-ιημι, πελ-αιω. Cp. κάμ-ιαι, κάμα-τοι (§ 47).

The Verb-Stem, it will be seen, has most commonly its weak form (note especially τα-ιαι, Pf. τι-ται, ται), sometimes the strong form, as in δεικ-ια-μι, ζευγ-ια-μι, ρηγ-ια-μι.

The forms in -ιαιμαι and -ιαιμι are post-Homeric.

18. ] Thematic forms. Some forms of Non-Thematic Tenses follow the conjugation of the corresponding Contracted Verbs in -αιω, -αιω, -αιω (§ 56); especially in the Impf. Indic. and the Imperative. Thus we find:

έδαμα (as if from *δαμάω), έκίρνα (Od. 7. 182, &c.), πίτνα: Imper. καθ-ίστα (II. 9. 202).

έτιθει, ἔτιθη (ἀφ-λεί, προ-λεί, &c.), ἐτιθέ (v. l. ἐτιθέ) blew, κίλεις: Imper. τιθει, τει (ξιν-λεί).
THEMATIC FORMS.

Examples occur also in the Pres. Indic.; δαμφα (3 Sing. Act.) in Od. 11. 221 (with v. l. δάμωτα); δαμφά (2 Sing. Mid.) in II. 14. 199 (with v. l. δάμνα, for δάμναι-αι); ἰνω-εῖς (II. 5. 880), μεθε-εῖς (II. 6. 523, Od. 4. 372), μεθου-εῖς (II. 10. 121), τεθεῖ (II. 13. 732), παρ-τιθεῖ (Od. 1. 192), for which the MSS. usually have ἀνιές, &c.: δίδου (II. 9. 164), δίδοι (II. 9. 519, Od. 4. 237). So for προει in II. 2. 752 we should read προεί.

Add the Part. βιβάντα (II. 3. 22, cp. 13. 807., 16. 609), Fem. βιβάσα (Od. 11. 539); for which Bekk. writes βιβάντα, βιβάσα.

Editors differ in their manner of dealing with these forms. Bekker in his second edition (1858) restored the 2 Sing. Pres. τίθη, ἵ, δίδω, and Impf. εἰδη, ἵ, εἴδω, but left the 3 Sing. τιθεῖ, δίδοι and Imper. τιθεῖ, ἵ, δίδοι. Nauck proposes to restore καθιστη (Imper.) and the Impf. ἐδάμων, πίνη, λέιφη. In the case of τίθη, ἵ, ἤμα δίδωμι the weight of authority seems to be for the spelling which follows the Thematic conjugation, viz. -εῖ, -οῖ in the 2 Sing. Pres., and -εσ, -ετ, -ων, -ου in the Impf. (Cober, Misc. Crit. p. 281, is extremely positive on this side). But Verbs which have η in the Dual and Plural (ἀν-τον, κόστις-την) should follow the analogy of the Passive Aorists: hence ἄν, αἰκής. And we may leave undisturbed the form δίδη he bound (II. 10. 105), for which no one has proposed to read δίδει.

The 1 Sing. προ-έν (Od. 9. 88., 10. 100., 12. 9) stands alone, and is doubtless a mere error for προήν (Bekker, ed. 1858). Προήα ἐν οἷς ἀναλυμέναι μετα τοῖς θεάσις 2μοι person.

Porson (in his note on Eur. Όr. 141) condemns ἄννεις, τιθεῖς, &c. on the ground that if τιθεῖς were right we ought also to have τιθῶ, τιθεῖ, τιθούμεν, τιθείτε. It is possible, however, that a form like τιθεῖς may have crept in through the analogy of the Verbs in -εω, although no ‘Verb’ τιθέω was in use. It is characteristic of the working of analogy to be partial and gradual. In Homer we find the corresponding 3 Sing. Pres. δαμφα, τιθεῖ, μεθεῖ, δίδοι—forms which are guaranteed by the metre. The forms so guaranteed are indeed few, and perhaps were not found in the oldest text of the poems; but they are supported by similar forms in Herodotus and other Ionic writers.*

Similarly, in the Presents formed with -νν there is evidence of a tendency to introduce the Thematic -ννε (ο). The instances are:—

* In considering this and similar questions it should be remembered (1) that we do not know when the Homeric poems were first written down; (2) that we do not know of any systematic attention having been paid to spelling, accentuation, &c. before the time of the Alexandrian grammarians; (3) that the tendency of oral recitation must have been to substitute later for earlier forms, unless the metre stood in the way; (4) that this modernising process went on in different parts of Greece, and therefore need not represent the exclusive influence of any one dialect; (5) that the older Ionic alphabet confused ε, ετ, η and ο, ω, ω.
TENSES.

19. Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs. The following Homeric forms are usually regarded as instances of 'irregular Contraction' of Verbs in -ω, -εω, -οω:—

(–ω): συναπτή-την met, συλή-την spoiled, προσανάπτή-την spoke to, φοιτή-την went about, κηφείρεων to pray, γοημεναι to bewail, πευχεμεναι to hunger, δημηθαι to milk. δηροι:—

(–εω): ἀπελή-την threatened, ἀμαρτή-την met, καλημεναι to call, πενθεμεναι to mourn, ποθεμεναι to regret, φιλημεναι to love, φορημεναι, φορήναι to carry, ἀλητήμενοι sinning, τερσημεναι to get dry (§ 42).

(–οω): σάω 3 Sing. Imperf. and also 2 Sing. Imper of σάω I keep safe.

These forms cannot be explained by the ordinary contraction with the Thematic ε or ο: e.g. φοιτη-την cannot come from *φοιταετην, φορηναι from *φορεεναι, ἀλητημενος from *ἀλητεδ-μενος, σάω from σάω, &c. On the other hand, as Curtius has shown (Stud. iii. 377–401, Verb. i. 352 ff.), they agree exactly with those Non-Thematic forms in which the vowel before the Ending is long except before -ωτ and -ι, such as the Pres. κιχημεναι, ἀημεναι (§ 12), the Aor. στημεναι, τληναι, γνωμεναι, &c. and (as we may add by anticipation) the Passive Aorists in -ην and -θην.

Moreover, the same type of inflexion appears in the peculiar 'Verbs in -μι' of the ἈEolic dialect, as φίλη-μι, 1 Plur. φίλη-μεν, 3 Plur. φιλεισαι (for φιλεντει), Part. φιλη-μενος; and also in the Latin Verbs in -āre and -ēre, except in the 1 Sing.; e.g. amāmini is parallel to ἀρημεναι, docemini to φορημεναι, docemus, docenīt to φιλημεν, φιλεισαι.

Further traces of this formation may be seen in those Attic verbs in -ω and -ω which take η and ω instead of α and ου respectively (as ζω, ζης, ζη, &c., βγω, Inf. βγων), and in the Opt. in -ων, -οην (for which however in the case of verbs in -ω we expect -εων, as in κιχείην and ἈEolic φιλειν).

These facts seem to show that the formation now in question is of high antiquity, and Curtius even maintained that it was older than the ordinary conjugation of the verbs in -ω, -εω, -οω.
In these verbs, as he pointed out, there is evidence to show that
the vowel before the thematic ending was originally long (e.g.
in Homeric διψάων, πευνάων, ὑπνώοντες, Ἑολικός ποθήω, ἀδικήει, &c.).
The forms in -άω, -ηο, -ωο, again, may represent an older (and
Ἑολικός) -άμι, -ημι, -ωμι, just as δεικτύω is for older δεικτύμι: and
these again may be explained by contraction from -άημι, -ηημι,
-ωημι, the Greek representatives of the Sanscrit -αγάμι. The
Latin amo, doceo, Pl. amāmus, docēmus, would fall into this
scheme, if we suppose that they belong to the stage at which the
thematic endings had not extended beyond the 1 Sing.

Against this theory it is urged by Brugmann (M. U. i. 86)
that the thematic conjugation of these verbs is found also in
Sanskrit, Zend, Slavo-Lithuanian and Germanic—all which mem-
ers of the Indo-European family, if Curtius is right, must have
recast their derivative verbs on the same thematic model. It is
more probable therefore that these verbs were originally thematic,
and according to the final vowel of the base appeared as verbs in
-αω (as νικάω), -εω (as ποθέω), or -ωω (as δηιωω). On this
assumption, again, the Homeric forms now in question may be
variously explained. Where we find η for εε or αε, as in
φιλήμεναι, γοήμεναι (instead of the ει, αι required by the ordinary
rules), we may suppose, with Wackernagel (K. Z. xxvii. 84), that
the contraction belongs to an earlier (pre-Hellenic) period. The
existence of such a period is proved (e. g.) by the temporal
augment, as in ἦ(σ)α for an original ɛε-σα. Then the participles
ἀλτήμενος, φιλήμενος and the like may be explained by supposing
a form in -εμενος, cp. Lat. leg-imini, docemini, so that φιλήμενος
would be a primitive contraction from φιλε-εμενος (φιλε-εε-μενος).
The solution however is confessedly incomplete. It does not
(directly at least) explain Ἑολικός φιλήμεν, φίλεωι, Lat. amāmus,
docēmus, amant, docent. It only explains the long vowel of
φιλή-σω, ἐφιλη-σα, φιλητός, &c., if we also suppose that the -ε
of the Present was carried through all the tenses. And it does
not give any satisfactory account of the common contracted
forms, μικάτε, φιλεῖτε, δηλούτε, &c., since these must have come
from μικάτε, φιλεῖτε, δηλούτε, &c., at a period in which the
ordinary Greek rules of contraction were in force.

A wholly different explanation is proposed by Brugmann
himself (l. c.). He shows, as we have seen (§ 14), that there is
a large class of non-thematic forms with stems ending in a long
vowel—α, η, ω—which is of the nature of a suffix. Such are
ἐβλαν-ν (βδλαν-λα-η), ἐ-πτη-ν (πετ-ντ-η), ἐ-γνο-ν (γεν-ην-ω-ω),
and many others, which have their representatives in all languages
of the Indo-European family. By an extension of this type has
been formed the specifically Greek class of the Passive aorists in
-ην, as ἐ-φαυν-ν, ἐ-τυτη-ν and one or two in -ον, as ἐ-αλω-ν.
Similarly, again, the analogy of the 'verbs in -μι,' and especially of those tenses which do not vary the quantity of the stem (as κιχμι, ἁμι, πλη-το, ἐγνων) has affected the derivative verbs, and has thus produced the non-thematic forms in question—φιλήμεναι like ἅμεναι, ἀλημενος like κιχμενος, and so on. The forms τιθ-μεναι (II. 23. 83, 247), τιθ-μενον (II. 10. 34) are probably due to the influence of the same group of Verbs. A similar process explains the Ἀeutic conjugation of verbs in -μι (γέλαμι, φίλημι, δοκιμομι), the difference being that in Ἀeutic it was carried much further. In Homer we have nothing answering to the 1 Sing. φίλημι, the 1 Plur. φίλημεν, the 3 Plur. φίλεσται, or the corresponding Imperfect forms.

We cannot be sure, however, that all the examples of this type which appeared in the original text of Homer have been preserved. Wackernagel has observed that nearly all the words now in question are forms which would be unfamiliar in the Greece of classical times. The list is made up chiefly of duals (προσανήθησαν, φοιτήσαν, &c.) and Infinitives in -μεναι. It is not improbable (e.g.) that the familiar form προσηθήκα has supplanted an original Non-Thematic προσηθηκα. On the other hand in III. 638 ταὶ δ' ἄγειον κνη τούτον the metre points rather to the uncontracted κνάε.

20.] Aorists. Of the Aorist Stems noticed in § 13, several are probably derived from Nouns, and do not differ in formation from the Presents discussed in the preceding section: e.g. ἐ-γήρα (γῆρα-ς), βιό-τω (βίο-ς), ἐπ-ἐπλατό-ς (πλάτο-ς), ἄλω-ναι, perhaps ἄπ-ἀντ-το. Regarding the Passive Aorists, see §§ 42-44.

21.] Meaning of the Non-Thematic Pres. and Aor. The Presents formed by Reduplication, and by the Suffixes -η and -νη, are nearly always Transitive or 'Causative' in meaning, as ἔστη-μι, σκλῆ-νη-μι, ὁ-νυ-μι: whereas the simpler Verbs, whether Present or Aorist, are usually Intransitive as ἔστη-νη, ἔστη-νη.

Regarding the Tense-meaning, it is enough to point out here that the difference of the Present and Aorist is not given by the form of the Tense: thus the Impf. ἔ-φη-ν is the same in formation as the Aor. ἔ-βη-ν, ἔ-στη-ν.

The Perfect.

22.] The Perfect-Stem is formed by Reduplication, and is liable to vary with the Person-Endings (§ 6). This variation is the rule in the Homeric Perfect. In Attic it survives in a few forms only; it is regular in αἰδα and ἔστηρκα.

The weak form of the Stem is the same (except for the Reduplication) as in the Tenses already discussed. The long Stem is often different, showing a predilection for the O-form.

The variation appears in the interchange of—
THE PERFECT.

(1) η (ά) and ά: as τεθήλ-ει bloomed, Part. Fem. τεθάλ-ώια; _ary is fitting, ἀραίρ-ώια; λεληκ-ώς, λελάκ-ώια yelling, μεμήκ-ώς, μεμάκ-ώια bleating; λέλασται (λελαθ-ται, λήθ-ω) has forgotten, ἀκαχ-μένοι sharpened, πέφαυ-ται has appeared; σέσυπε is rotten (σαρπός), τέτικα (τίκ-ω), τέθηπα (Ἀορ. Part. ταφ-ών), πεπηγε (τάγ-ή), κεχυν-ότα, κεκληγ-ώς, πεπληγ-ώς, τετρήχ-ει (τάραχ-) ; πεπά-μην ἦν had eaten (πατ-έοιμα), κεκασμένοι (κάδ-) excelling, ἐγράδ-αται are sprinkled, δέδασ-ται is divided (but 3 Plur. δεδα- αται, from δαε-, § 51, 2). In the last four cases the strong form does not actually occur.

δέδηε is on fire is for *δέδηρε (δητής-ε): the weak Stem is δάω- (δαω for δαφ-ω, cp. καίω, ἐκκα). Similarly γέγηθε rejoices is for *γεγήνθε (Lat. gaud-er-e).

*ά for η occurs in ἐγείε is broken (Hes. Op. 534: ἐάγη as Subj. is only Bekker’s conj. in Il. 11. 558, see § 67): also in ἐάδ-ότα pleasing, as to which see § 26, 2.

ω and α: this interchange cannot be exemplified from Homer: cp. Attic ἐρρώγα (βάγ-, Mid. συν-έρηηκ-ται). ω is also found in ἀνωγα I bid, γέγονε calls aloud, but the corresponding weak Stems are unknown.

(2) ω and ε: εἰώθε is accustomed (cp. ἐθων, ἦθος, root άφθθ): ἐπ-ώξ-ατο were shut to (of gates), from ἐπ-έχω: συν-οκοξ-ότε (better perhaps συν-οκοχ-ότε, see Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 303) leaving together, from συν-έχω (cp. ὀκωχή a stay or buttress, ἀν-οκωχή = ἀνωχή staying, cessation).

η and ε: in μεμηλε is a care, ἔθ-ηδ-ώς having eaten.

(3) ω and ο: in δέδο-ται (δω-), ἐκ-πέπο-ται is drunk up, ὀλωλε is lost, ὤφρε is aroused, ὤτωπα I have seen, δόδω-ει smell: perhaps also ὁράει watched (Il. 23. 112 ἐπι δ ἀνήρ ἐσθλος ὄραει = was the ἐπι-όφρος), cp. § 30.

προ-βέβουλα (Il. 1. 113) seems to follow the Pres. βούλομαι: we expect *βέβωλα (βολ-, § 30).

(4) οι and ι: οἶδα, I Plur. ιδ-μεν; πέπουδα, I Plur. Plpf. ε-πέπο-μεν; εοίκα, Dual ἐκ-τοῦν, Part. Fem. ἐκ-ύια; λέλουπα, Aor. ε-λέπ-ουν; δελδω I fear, for δεδόνα (by loss of i and contraction), I Plur. δελδω-μεν (for δεδό-μεν).

This account of the isolated I Sing. δεδω was given by G. Mahlow (K. Z. xxiv. 295), and has been adopted by most scholars. The original Homeric form was probably δεδοα (or δεδοα), which can be restored in all the passages where the word occurs. Others (as Cobet) would substitute δεδαα, a form which is found in several places, sometimes as an ancient v. I. for δεδω. But it is difficult on his view to account for the change from δεδάα. Rather, an original δεδοα (or δεδοα) was altered in two ways, (1) by contraction, which gave it the appearance of a Present in -ω, and (2) by change of ο to ι under the influence of δεδ-μεν, ΐc.
(5) εν and οὐ: πεφυγ-ώσις having escaped, Mid. πεφυγ-μένος; τετειχ-ατα are made, 3 Sing. τετειχ-ταί; κέκλειθε hides (Aor. κύθε); εὔευ-μένοι joined (εὐευ-ών). Other weak Stems: κέκλυ-ταί, ἐκσύ-ταί (§ 15), πέτων-μαι (πέθω), κέκλυ-θι listen.

οὐ interchanging with οὐ is much less common: εἰλήλονθα I am come (ἐλθθ-, perhaps δεδουπ-ότος (επ. κτῦ-οσ).

οὐ appears in μεῦκε (Aor. μὐκε), βῆβρυχεῖν roars, as in the Pres. μυκλομαί, βρυκω.

(6) ὁρ (ρο), οὗ and ὃρ (ῥά), ἀλ (for ἅ, ἃ, § 6, 5): δι-εὐθορας art destroyed (φθάρ-); ἐμμορε has a share, Mid. εὐμαρ-το was appor-

tioned; τέτροφε is thickened (τραφ-); τετὶ-δέορομε runs over; δεδορκε sees; ἔργος hast done; ἔσωμα I hope. Weak forms: πεταρ-μένος pierced, τετραπ-το (τρεπ-ω), ἐ-τεταλ-το (τέλλω).

But ερ, ελ in ερ-μένως strong (Lat. sero), ερχ-αταί are packed in Part. εργ-μέναι (ἕργ-ω), and ἐ-έλμενος cooped in: cp. § 31, 6.

πι appears in βῆβρῳδε is heavy, ἐφρίγα I dread, πεφρίκ-νιαι bristling, τῆτρηπ-νιαι chirping, with no corresponding weak Stem. In these words πι seems to come from original ερ, ρ, or γ; cp. § 29, 4.

(7) ὅν and ὡ (for ὦ): γέγονε is born, 1 Plur. γέγα-μεν; πεπωθα I suffer, 2 Plur. πεπασθε (for πεπαθ-τε), Part. πεπάθ-νιαι; μέμοινas art eager, 2 Plur. μέμα-τε; λελύχ-ασί have as portion (Aor. ελάκ-νων); πεφυ-ται is slain (φυ-ος), τετα-ται is stretched (τῶν-οις), δεδα-

ώσ (§ 31, 5). But we find ἄν in κεκαυν-ώσ containing (Aor. ἔχωδε).

(8) ο and ε: as in τέθοκα (Hes. Op. 591, cp. Aor. ἐ-τεκ-ον); δεδεγ-μαι I await (cp. προ-δοκ-αι ambush); ἐσ-ταί art clothed; ἄνυμοδει mounted up (of a stream of blood, Il. 11. 266), ἐτ-ἐνυτοθε is ἦν: ἄγηγήρ-ατο were assembled (cp. ἄγορ-η): κεκοπ-ώς striking. Properly the form with ο should interchange with a form without a vowel (τοκ- with τκ-, &c.), but when this is impossible ε remains in the weak Stem: see § 6, 6.

ἄννοθε answers in meaning to the Attic ἀνθω, to be on the surface, come forth ὑπό: the Pres. would be ἄνθο-ω (related to ἀνθ-οις as ἀλγ-ω to ἀλγ-οις). So ἀν-ηνοθε supposes ἐνεθ-ω, weak form ἐνθ-.

(9) Stems which take the suffix κ*.

* A word may be said here on the origin of the Perfects in -κα. They may be regarded as formed in the ordinary way from Stems in which a Root has been lengthened by a suffixed κ, as in ὀλε-κ-ω, ὑπικ-ω (§ 45), πτήσομε (for πτηκ-κω, cp. ἐ-πτακ-κων), δεδίσσομαι (for δεί-δισκυ-οι-μαι). Thus ἀλάλεκα is the regular Pf. of ἀλέκω, and πέπτωκα, δείδυκα, answer to the weak stems πτάκ-, δίκ-κ-. So βῆβηκα, ἐστήκα answer to (possible) Presents *βη-κα (cp. βάκ-τρων), *στή-κα. It is not necessary to suppose an actual Stem in κ in each case; a few instances would serve to create the type. The reason for the use of the longer Stems βυ-κ, στυκ-, &c., was probably that the forms given by the original Stems were unlike other Perfects. The characteristic -α would be lost by contraction with the preceding vowels.
When the Stem ends in a vowel, certain forms of the Pf. Act. take κ, thus filling the hiatus which would otherwise be made between the Stem and the Ending: as in ἐστη-κ-ας, δείδου-κ-α, τεθαρση-κ-άσι. The Perfects of this type—including those of which no forms with κ are actually found—may be divided again into—

(a) Perfects with variable root-vowel: ἐστηκα I stand, I Plur. ἐσταύ-μεν; δείδοικα I fear, I Plur. δείδα-μεν; τέφυκε, 3 Plur. τεφύ-άσι: βέβηκα, Inf. βεβά-μεν; τέθηκα, Imper. τέθυ-θι; τέτληκα, Imper. τέτλα-θι. Add also μεμδ-κε is closed (of a wound), δεδω-κε is sunk in, though the short form is not found.

(b) Perfects with invariable long vowel, especially η and ο (discussed in § 14): βεβλη-κ-ει struck, Mid. βεβλη-ται (cp. ξυμ-βλή-των, βλη-μενοι); κέκημ-κ-ας art weary; τπηλ-μενος brought near, κέκλη-μαι, ειπ-ται, μέμνη-μαι, τεμη-μένος: βεβρω-κ-ός having eaten (Fut. Mid. βεβρω-σται), μεμβλα-κ-ε is gone, πεπρω-μένοι failed.

Similarly, from disyllabic Stems, δεδάη-κε (Aor. ε-δάη-υ) has learned (Od. 8. 134), τετύχη-κε (Od. 10. 88), and the Participles κεκαρπή-στα (έ-χάρη-αν), βεβαρη-στα, κεκαφή-στα, τετη-στες.


παρ φόκη-κεν (Π. 10. 252, with v. i. παρφχωκεν) is formed as if from *παροξιάω, for παρφόκημαι.

ἀδη-κ-ότες (Od. 12. 281, and four times in Π. 10) means displeased, disgusted, and should probably be written ἀδρηκότες, from ἀδαι (for ἀδό-φα-εω).

The Subj. ἡληκία (Od. 21. 36), Opt. ἡληκε (H. Apoll. 165) point to a Pf. ἡληκα or Pres. ἡλικω.

(10) A Perfect in -θα may be recognised in γρηγόρ-θαί keep awake (Π. 10. 419): perhaps in the Opt. βεβρώθοις (Π. 4. 35).

In general the Perfects of derivative Verbs are formed with an

It is a confirmation of this view that the Stem with -κα is in the same form as the Present Stems with a suffixed κ, γ, θ (§ 45), or σκ (§ 48).

A similar theory may be formed of the Perfects in -θα, of which the germ have been mentioned above. βεβρω-θα is related to a Part. βεβρω-ός (§ 26, 4) as τεθη-κα to τεθη-ώς, and to a Mid. *βεβρω-μαι (cp βεβρω-σται) as βέβλη-κα to βέβλη-μαι. If in a few more cases, such as βεβρη-θα (βρε-τα), ευθα (ευ-ίνε), γεγαθ-θα (γαθ-ώς), we had had short forms of the Stem without θ, the suffix -θα would have been felt to characterise the Pf. Act.; that is to say, the type of the 'Pf. in -θα' would have been created, and might have spread as the Pf. in -κα has done.

The Aorists in -κα are to be accounted for in the same way. The κ may be traced in the Pres. δικόκω (on the inscription of Idalion, see Curt. Stud. vii. 243) and in the Noun θηκ-η, which points to a Verb-Stem θη-κ.
invariable Stem: as κεκορυθ-μένος, πεπολισ-το, ὀδόδυν-ται, κεκού-μένος. But no such Perfects are used in the Active.

23. The Reduplication takes the following forms:—

(1) An initial consonant is repeated with ε. This is the general rule: we need only notice the Perfects in which an original consonant has been lost, viz.:—

A labial semi-vowel (F) in ε-ελ-μένος cooped in (for Φε-Φελ-μένος), εφόσαται (Φερω-) are drawn up, ελυ-το (Φελυ-, volvo), ε-οργα (Φέργ-ov), ε-ολπα, εοικα, Mid. ήικ-το (unless this comes from εἰσκω).

A sibilant (σ) in ε-στηκα (for Χσε-στηκα), ε-ερ-μένος string together (Lat. sero). But the σ is retained in σεφησε.

(2) Stems beginning with two consonants (except when the second is ρ λ ι or υ), or with ι, usually prefix ε only: as δι-ε-φθορας, ε-φθίατο, ε-κτήσθαι (but κέκτημαι, Hes. Op. 437), ε-ζευγμένα. But we find πε-πτηνός, πε-πταισται. And in έστηκα the rough breathing represents original σ-.

The group οf has been lost in ε-αιάσ (either θε-σφάδως or ε-σφάδως) pleasing, and ειώθα, εωθα (Lat. ineo-seo).

The group δις has the effect of lengthening the vowel of the reduplication in δείδωκα, δείδι-μεν, &c., which represent original δέ-δοι-κα, δέ-δφι-μεν, &c.

Initial ρ, which generally stands for Fr (sometimes σρ), gives ερρ-., as in ἔρρηκται (Γρηγ-), ἐρρίζωται. Sometimes ειρ-, as ειρηται (Γρη-), cp. ver-unt, and ειρωται (ρυόμαι, Fp- protect). One Stem reduplicates ρ, viz. ρε-ρυπωμένα, from ῥυπώω.

Similarly we have έμωρε, Mid. εμμαρ-ται (σμαρ-), and έσσοται (σένα, root κειν-: also ειλήφα (post. Hom., cp. ἀλαβοῦ, § 67.)

We must distinguish between (1) phonetic loss, as of σ or F, and (2) substitution of initial ε- for the reduplication. The latter may be seen (έγις) in ε-κτήσθαι, which cannot be derived by phonetic decay from κε-κτήσθαι. The distinction will serve to explain the difference between ειμαρται, which is the proper representative of an original σε-σμαρ-ται, and έμωρε, which follows the general tendency to double an initial μ, ν, λ or ρ after the augment.

(3) Attic Reduplication; as οπω-ωτα I have seen, ζλ-ηλα-το was driven, ἐγρ-ήγορα I am awake.

The syllable which generally replaces the Attic Reduplication may vary in quantity, as ὄρης, Fem. Part. ἄραρυ; ἐρριπτε, Mid. ἔρριπτο. Usually it is long, as ἐλημαται, ἐφρομένος, ἀκηχεμένος, δουδώστας, ἔκτρηστο, ἐφρισται (Hes. fr. 219), 3 Plur. ἀγγείρατο, ἐφηρεδάται, τοῖς ορωφέχαται. But it is short in ἀκάχημαι, ἀλάλημαι, ἐγκυμον.
(4) Temporal Augment (see § 67): e.g. ἔφ-ἡπ-ται (ἄπτω), κατ-ήκικ-ται (αλκίω), ἡσκή-ται (ἀσκέω), ἡχυμένος.

(5) In a few cases there is no Reduplication:—

όδα, for οἴδα, Sanser. veda.

ἔρχ-αται are shut in (Fepy-), Plpf. ἔρχ-ατο and (with augment) ἔερχατο. χριστοπολιτικός: ἔερχατο

 eius I am clothed with (Feσ-), εσ-σαί, Plpf. εσ-ατο, εσ-το and (with augment) εσ-στο, Du. εσ-θνυ, 3 Plur. εσ-ατο, Part. ειμένος. Reduplication is not to be found in the ει of eius, ειμένος, since these are for Φεσ-μαι, Φεσ-μένοι (as ειμα for Φεσμα). The 3 Sing. Pf. occurs once in Homer, in Od. 11. 191, where the best MSS. have ήσται, others εισται and ειτα. The true form is probably εσται, preserved in an oracle in Hdt. 1. 47 (cp. εσσαί).

άμφιανυ (II. 2. 316) crying around can hardly be divided αμφ-ιανυ, since the Stem ἰαχ- has initial ἰ (§ 390). But a Stem Φηχ- (Φηχύ' cry), weak form Φάχ-, without Reduplication would give the Fem. Part. Φάχυα, whence αμφι-ανυ.

These examples make it doubtful whether initial ἰ was originally reduplicated in the Pf. stem. In Sanser. the roots which begin with a (answering to Gr. Fe-) take u-, as uώα (vac-, Gr. Fεπ-). Thus the Fe- of FEυωκα, Feελμένος, &c. may be later, due to the analogy of other Perfects.

δέχ-αται await (II. 12. 147), Plpf. εδέγιην (Od. 9. 513, 12. 230), Part. δεγμενος (II. 2. 794, 9. 191, 18. 524, Od. 20. 385), with the same Pf. meaning that we have in δεδεγμαται (await, not receive, § 28): while in other places εδεκτο, &c. are no less clearly Aorists. It seems that we must recognise a Pf. form *δεγματ (Buttm. G. G. ii. 149., Curt. Verb. ii. 144), probably older than δεδεγματ.

(6) The Reduplication in δει-δέχ-αται they welcome, seems to be that of the 'Intensive' forms, as in δει-δισκομαι: see § 61. The form belongs to δείκ-νυμι, not δέχ-ομαι (see Veitch).

24.] In the 3 Plur.—

1. The long Stem with -αοι (-α-NTI) is comparatively rare:—


These forms evidently result from generalising the Stem in -α. So we have όthetaς (Od. 1. 337), όθανεν, όθασι in Herodotus (and in Attic, see Veitch s. v.).

2. The final consonant of the Stem, if a labial or guttural, is aspirated before the -αται, -ατο of the Mid.; as ἐπι-τετράφ-αται are entrusted, τετράφ-ατο were turned, ἔρχ-αται (Fepy-) are shut in, ὄρωρεχ-αται (ὁρέγ-ω) are stretched out, δειδέχ-αται (δείκ-νυμι)
welcome, κεκρυφ-αται (Hes. Op. 386). The aspirated forms of
the Act., such as εἰληφα, κέκοφα, are entirely unknown to
Homer.

It has been pointed out by Joh. Schmidt (K. Z. xxviii. 309) that the aspira-
tion in these cases is due to the analogy of the forms in which a similar
aspiration is caused by the ending: τετράυφ-αται because of the 2 Plur. τετραψ-θε,
Inf. τετράψ-θαι. This explains why a final dental is not affected: for δ before
θ passes into σ.

3. An anomalous ε for ι appears in δει-δέχ-αται (δείκ-νυμι, see
§ 23, 6), έρ-νεό-αται (ερείδω, cp. ήριο-μένος Hesych.), and άκ-
ηχέδ-αται (άκαχιλώ).

4. A final δ of the Stem sometimes appears only in the 3
Plur. as άκηχέδ-αται, έρραδ-αται (ράδω, ι Λορ. ράδσατε), εληλάδ-
ατο. But the last of these forms is doubtful; it occurs only in
Od. 7. 86 χάλκειο μέν γὰρ τοῖχοι εληλάδατ', where some good
MSS. have ερημέδατ'.

25.] Interchange of Stems. The original variation between
the Strong and the Weak form is disturbed by various causes.

1. The O-form of the Stem is found instead of the weak form
in εἰληλουθ-μεν we are come (for εἰληλυθ-μεν), άορτο was hing ᾧτοια-
αολφ (cp. άερ-θεν), ερῆγορθε keep awake, with the Inf. ερήγορθαι
(II. 10. 67, cp. ερηγορτί 10. 182); άνωγμέν (Η. Apoll. 528); cp.
έσυγμεν (in Tragedy), έδοσγμεν (Et. M.).

2. The strong Stem of the Pres. takes the place of the weak
Stem in σω-έρρηκται (Attic ἔρρηγγα, λέλειπ-ται, εξενυ-μέναι,
ηρήρειστο (ερείδω); also in ερ-μένοι, ἐελ-μένοι, ἐρχ-αται (§ 22, 6).]

So κεκαυνό-ός (for κεκαυ-δ-φός, χαιδάνω). ἢττπη, commonly read in II. 4. 243, 246, is an error for
ἐσττητε: see § 76.

3. The influence of the Present may further be traced in the
Perfests which take ι for ει (§ 22, 4), and ι, ευ for ου (§ 22, 5).
So ἐδηδ-ός (but ἐδῳδη), προ-βεβουλα (βουλομαι).

In all these cases it is worth noting that the change does
not affect the metrical form of the word: e.g. we may read
εἰληλυκμεν, ἐρρακται, έσυγμεναι, ἦρηρειστο, &c. and some of these
may be the true Homeric forms.

The weak Stem appears to take the place of the O-form in
δείδια (as to which see § 22, 4), and in ἀνα-βεβρυχεν (Π. 17. 54)
gushes up. For the latter Zenodotus read ἀναβεβροχεν—doubt-
less rightly, since this is the correct Pf. of ἀνα-βεβρχω.

In Attic Reduplication the second vowel of a disyllabic Stem
may be short, as in εἰληλυβα (less common in Homer than
eἰληλουβα), and κατερήμυτε (Π. 14. 55).

26.] The Perfect Participle was formed originally from the
weak Stem, but there are exceptions in Homer, due partly to the F of the Masc. and Neut. Suffix \(-F\acute{\omega}s, -\upsilon\upsilon\alpha, -\acute{\varphi}\delta\acute{s}\), partly to the general tendency to adopt the form of the Sing. Indic. as the Stem. Thus the Homeric Pf. Part. is intermediate between the primitive formation with the weak Stem (as in Sanscrit), and the nearly uniform long Stem of Attic. In particular—

1. When the Ending \(-\omega\) \((-\omega\alpha\)os\) follows a vowel, one or both of the concurrent vowels may be long: \(\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\-\omega\tau\epsilon, \mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\-\omega\tau\epsilon\) (both for \(\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\-\acute{\varphi}t\epsilon\)). So \(
\gamma\varepsilon\acute{\upsilon}\-\omega\tau\alpha\); \(\beta\varepsilon\acute{\varphi}\-\omega\tau\epsilon\); \(\pi\varepsilon\varphi\-\omega\tau\epsilon\); \(\kappa\varepsilon\kappa\mu\mu\-\omega\tau\alpha\) and \(\kappa\varepsilon\kappa\mu\mu\-\omega\tau\alpha\); \(\tau\varepsilon\nu\eta\-\omega\tau\alpha\), \(\tau\varepsilon\nu\eta\-\omega\tau\alpha\), also \(\tau\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\omega\tau\tau\); \(\pi\varepsilon\pi\eta\-\omega\tau\alpha\) and \(\pi\varepsilon\pi\eta\-\omega\tau\alpha\) (\(\pi\acute{\tau}\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\)): \(\pi\varepsilon\tau\tau\omega\tau\alpha\) \((\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\omega)\). Both vowels are short in \(\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}-\omega\tau\alpha\).

\(\omega\) also appears in \(\tau\varepsilon\rho\gamma\-\omega\tau\alpha\) (II. 2. 314), \(\kappa\varepsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\-\omega\tau\alpha\) (II. 16. 430). For the latter there is a v. l. \(\kappa\varepsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\omega\tau\alpha\tau\) (see § 27); and so perhaps we may read \(\tau\varepsilon\rho\gamma\omega\tau\alpha\tau\).

2. When \(-\omega\) \((-\omega\alpha\)os\) follows a consonant, the Stem generally takes the long form, as in the Sing. Ind. Act.: \(\acute{\delta}\rho\eta\-\acute{\omega}\alpha, \mu\epsilon\mu\eta\-\omega\alpha, \lambda\epsilon\lambda\kappa\-\omega\alpha, \epsilon\omega\kappa\-\omega\alpha, \pi\varepsilon\pi\omega\-th\-\omega\alpha, \epsilon\acute{\rho}r\-\omega\alpha\); except \(\epsilon\iota\-\omega\alpha\) \((\acute{\iota}\alpha\alpha)\), \(\epsilon\iota\-\omega\alpha\) or \(\epsilon\iota-\omega\alpha\) (II. 21. 254), \(\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\-\omega\alpha\) \((\acute{\alpha}\acute{\alpha}\alpha\omega, \text{root}\ \sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\alpha\alpha\)\).

As these exceptions show, the strong form is not original: thus \(\epsilon\iota\-\omega\alpha\) is for \(\acute{\delta}\beta\-\omega\alpha\), \(\acute{\alpha}\delta\-\omega\alpha\) for \(\acute{\delta}\sigma\alpha\-\omega\alpha\). So we have \(\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\-\omega\alpha\) (perhaps \(\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\alpha\)), not \(\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\-\omega\alpha\). When \(F\) was lost the original quantity of the syllable was preserved by lengthening the vowel: and in determining the new long vowel the analogy of the Sing. Ind. naturally had much influence.

3. A long vowel appears in the Feminine \(\epsilon\iota\-\upsilon\alpha\) (II. 17. 4, elsewhere \(\dot{\iota}\upsilon\alpha, \text{Schol. II. 20. 12}\), \(\epsilon\omega\kappa\-\upsilon\alpha\) (II. 18. 418, elsewhere \(\epsilon\iota-\upsilon\alpha\)\), \(\tau\varepsilon\nu\-\upsilon\alpha\), \(\epsilon\pi\varepsilon\nu\-\upsilon\alpha\), \(\tau \varepsilon \tau \pi \gamma-\upsilon\alpha\), \(\tau \varepsilon \tau \pi \gamma-\upsilon\alpha\), \(\tau \varepsilon \tau \pi \kappa-\upsilon\alpha\), \(\kappa \varepsilon \kappa \lambda \eta-\upsilon\alpha\) \((\text{Hes. Op. 449})\). Later forms, \(\acute{\delta}\rho\eta-\upsilon\alpha\) \((\text{Hes. Th. 608})\), \(\tau\varepsilon\nu\-\upsilon\alpha\) \((\text{Hom. H. xlviii. 4})\).

The form \(\beta\varepsilon\beta\rho\omega\alpha\) \((\text{Od. 20. 14})\) is an anomaly, apparently formed from the Masc. \(\beta\varepsilon\beta\rho\omega\alpha\) on the analogy of Participles in \(-\upsilon\alpha\), \(-\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\) and \(-\epsilon\alpha\), \(-\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\).

4. The \(\kappa\) of the Indic. Act. \((\S 22, 9)\) appears in \(\tau\varepsilon\nu\chi\eta-\kappa-\omega\alpha\) \((\text{II. 17. 748})\), \(\delta\delta\delta\alpha\-\kappa-\omega\tau\alpha\) \((\text{Od. 2. 61})\), \(\acute{\alpha}\delta\-\kappa-\omega\tau\alpha\) \((\text{II. 10. 98}, 312, 399, 471, \text{Od. 12. 281})\), and \(\beta\varepsilon\rho\rho\-\kappa-\omega\alpha\) \((\text{II. 22. 94}, \text{Od. 22. 403})\)\). These instances are hardly sufficient to prove that the form is Homeric, since we might read \(\tau\varepsilon\nu\chi\eta\-\omega\alpha\), \(\delta\delta\delta\alpha\-\omega\tau\alpha\), \&c. \((\text{like} \ \kappa\varepsilon\kappa\rho\rho\omega\alpha, \kappa\kappa\kappa\omega\alpha\omega, \&c.)\) A form \(\beta\varepsilon\rho\rho\omega\alpha\) is supported by Attic \(\beta\varepsilon\rho\rho\omega\alpha\) \((\text{Soph. Ant. 1022})\).

* The form \(\dot{\iota}\omega\kappa\alpha\) is found in—

\[\text{καλή Καστίανεια δέμας ἔκυκλα}\]

quoted by Athenaeus xiv. p. 632 as an instance of a line defective in quantity. It does not occur in the text of Homer, but seems to be a variant for II. 8. 305—

\[\text{καλὴ Καστίανεια δέμας ἔκυκλα ϑεβὸν.}\]
the Homeric τεθνη-ώς) is not earlier than Theognis. Similarly γεγον-ώς for γεγονός first appears in H. Merc. 17.

5. The form πεφυς-ότες flying (only in II. 20 and 21), seems to be formed from the noun φότα, without the intervention of any Tense-Stem. This account will apply also to—

κεκοπ-ώς (II. 13. 60), from κόπ-ος striking.

δεδουπ-ότος (II. 23. 679) having fallen with a thud. (The regular form would be δεδουπη-ώς, or rather perhaps ἔγδουπη-ώς, cp. ἐ-γδούπη-σαν.)

ἀρη-μένος, in which the α of ἀρη is retained, against analogy.

It is in favour of this view that many Denominative Verbs form the Pf. Part. without the corresponding Indicative, as κεκοπ-ώς and the others given above (§ 22, 9). That is to say, the Participle is treated as a derivative Adjective, which may be formed independently of the corresponding verb.

27.] Thematic Perfects. By this term we understand the forms which arise when a Perfect is inflected like a Present in -ω. This change took place universally in Syracusan Doric, occasionally in other dialects. The chief Homeric instances are as follows:—

ἀνωγα: 3 Sing. ἀνώγει, which has a Present sense in several places (though more commonly it is a Plpf.), Dual ἄνωγε-τον; ἄνωγον, ἄνωγον, ἀνώγε, Opt. ἄνώγουμι, Imper. ἄνωγέ-τω, ἄνωγε-τε. Such a form as ἄνωγον may be regarded either as a thematic Plpf. of ἀνωγα, or as Impf. of a new thematic Pres. ἄνώγω. This remark applies also to the next three cases.

γέγονα: ἐγέγονε, Inf. γεγονέ-μεν (also γεγόνεω or γεγονεύ, II. 12. 337). ἐγέγοντων

πεπληγώς (only in the Part.): ἐπεπληγγόν and πεπληγγόν, Inf. πεπληγγε-μεν, Mid. πεπληγγε-το. Similarly—

μεμήκας (Part.): ἐμεμήκον. 1.427


μέμνημαι: the Opt. μεμέφητο (II. 23. 361) is apparently obtained by transference of quantity from a thematic μεμύη-ατο; but we may read μέμηητο, 3 Sing. of the regular Opt. μεμυη-μήν (II. 24. 745). For this, again, some MSS. have μεμυηυν, as if from μέμυη-μαι. The 2 Sing. Ind. μέμη (II. 15. 18) also points to μέμυμαι, but we may read μέμη (i. e. μέμημαι).

μέμβλε-ται (II. 19. 343) and μέμβλε-το (μέλ-ω) may be variously explained. Perhaps μεμελ-, the short Stem answering to μέμηλε, became by metathesis μεμελε-, μεμβλε: cp. ἡμμπροτόν for ἡμαρτον.


ἐθίδε-ται (v. l. in Od. 22. 56, see § 25, 3). We may add the
Pluperfects δειδε feared, ἀνήμοθεν (II. 11. 266), ἐπ-ενήμοθεν (II. 2. 219, 10. 134): perhaps also the Optatives in -ομι, -οι, &c. viz. βεβρῳθ-οι (II. 4. 35), βεβληκοι (II. 8. 270), πεθευγοι (II. 21. 609), ἰληκοι (H. Apoll. 165); see § 83.

28.] Meaning of the Perfect. The Perfect denotes a lasting condition or attitude (ἐξις). If we compare the meaning of any Perfect with that of the corresponding Aorist or Present, we shall usually find that the Perfect denotes a permanent state, the Aor. or Pres. an action which brings about or constitutes that state. Thus, δαλω I kindle, δεδηγι blazes, or (better) is ablaze; κυδε hid, κέκενθε has in hiding; ὑπ-νυ-ται bestirs himself, ὑπορε is astir; ὄλε-το was lost, ὄλωλε is undone; ἦμαρε made to fit, ἄραρε fits (Intrans.); ταράσσο I disturb, τετράκχιε was in disorder; μελρ-μαί I divide, ἐμορε has for his share; ρομαι I save, shelter, εἰρά-ται keep safe; τεύχω I make, τε-τυκ-ται is by making (not has been made); ἐφυ grew, πέφυκε is by growth.

Thus the so-called Perfecta praesentia, βέθηκα, ἐστηκα, γέγινα, μέμνημαι, πέποιθα, οἶδα, ἔοικα, κέκτημαι, &c., are merely the commonest instances of the rule.

Note the large number of Homeric Perfects denoting attitude, temper, &c. Besides those already mentioned we have—παρ-μεμβλώκε is posted beside, δεδορκε is gazing, ἐρρυγε shudders, τέτηκα I am wasting, μένυκε is closed (of wounds), δεδακρυσα art in tears, δεδεξο be in waiting, ὄρωρεξατο were on the stretch, πεποτή-ται are on the wing, κέκμηκα I am weary, προβέβουλα I prefer, δείδα I fear, ἐολπα I hope, τέθυτα I am in amazement, τέτιλκα-σ thou hast heart, πέπνυται has his senses, δειδεχ-ται welcome (in the attitude of holding out the hand, while δεικτι-μενος denotes the action), together with many Participle—κεκηνός agape, κεκαφύως panting, πεπνύος cowering, σων-σωκότε bent together, κεκοτήρ in wrath, τετιήνος vexed, ἁδηκός disgusted, μεμπῶς in thought, πεφυλαιμένος on the watch, δεδραγμένοι clutching, λειφ-μένος eager, κεκολωμένοι enraged, &c. So in later Greek; ἀζην-θηκός (Thuc. 2. 49) in eruption, ἐστυνοδομένοι in haste.

Verbs expressing sustained sounds, esp. cries of animals, are usually in the Perfect: γέγωνε σουτά, βέβρυχε τοάτη, κεκληγώς, λεληκώς, μεμήκος, μεμυκώς, τετριγώς, ἀμφιχυιά. So in Attic, βοῦν καὶ κεκραγός (Dem.).

With Verbs of striking the Perfect seems to express continuance, and so completeness: κεκοτως, πεπνύως, βεβολη-ατο was tossed about, βεβληκε made his hit, ἤρημειατο was driven home. (Cp. Ar. Αν. 1350 δς ἄν πεπλήγη τὸν πάτερα νεοτός ὄν.)

Note the number of Imperatives of the Perfect in Homer: τετάλαθ, μέματε, δεδεξο, τεῦναθ, δειδιθ, κέκλυθι, ἀνωχι; Mid. τετύχῳ let it be ordered, τετράφω let him keep himself turned.
(In later Greek this use seems to be confined to the Middle: μὴ πεφύσησθε do not be in alarm, πέπαυσο keep silence.)

The number of Homeric Perfects which can be rendered by have is comparatively small. The chief instances in the Active are, ἔφορα-ς thou hast done, δειον-τα I have seen, λέλοιμε has left, πέπαυσθε ye have suffered, ἔδοξ-ός, βεβοισκ-ός having eaten; they are somewhat commoner in the Middle. Yet in the use of these Perfects (and probably in the Perfect of every period of Greek) we always find some continuing result implied. There is nothing in Greek like the Latin idiom fuit Ilius (=
Hium is no longer), vixi (=I have done with living), &c.

The Intransitive meaning prevails in the Perfect, so that the Act. is hardly distinguishable from the Mid.: επ. τέτευχε and τέτυκται, πεφευγός and πεφυγμένος, γέγονα and γεγένη-μαι. Compare also the Pr. Act. with the Pres. Mid. in such instances as ὁλωκα and ὀλλυμα, πέποιμα and πείθομαι, βέβουλα and βούλμαι, ἐσολπα and ἐσπόμαι. The forms τέτρωφα, ἐφθόρα are Intrans. in Homer, but Trans. in Attic: and an Intrans. or almost Passive meaning is conspicuous in the Homeric group of Participles κεκοτν-ς enraged, τετυάω (=
τετι-μένος) vexed, κεκορρόω (=κεκορ-μένος) satisfied, βεβαρήω heavy, κεκαρήω rejoicing, κεκαφήνως panting (§ 22, 9, b).

Thematic Tenses.

29.] The simple Thematic Present. The Stems which fall under this description generally contain the same vowels (or diphthongs) as the strong Stem of the Non-Thematic Present (§§ 6, 12). They may be classed according to the stem-vowel, as follows:—

(1) η, Ionic for α: λήθ-ε-το forgot, τήκομαι I waste away, θήγει sharpen, κικται is rotted, κιδει vexes.

η: αρήγει helps, λίγει ceases, μήδει devises. The η of these Stems is 'pan-Hellenic,' i.e. answers to η, not α, in other dialects.

(2) ει: εἶδ-ε-ταi seems, εἰκε yield, λείβειν to pour, λείπει leaves, πείδω I persuade, στείβου τrud, στείχειν to march, πείκετε comb, εἴβεi drops, φεῖδει spare, δείδε sing, δλειφε anointed, ἄμαιβε exchanged, ἐρεύκομεν born, ἐρείδε stayed, ἐρείπε knocked down, νειφεμεν to snow (so to be read instead of νυφεμεν in Π. 12. 280). For ἵκω I come the Doric form is εἰκω.

(3) ευ: φεύγω I fly, πεύθομαι I learn (by hearing), ἐρεύγεται belches, ἐρεύδων reddening, σπεύδειν to hasten, πεύδουσι play false, εὐφόμενοι being singed, ἐσπευσίτο αυτον were urged on, νείοι nodded, δεύμαι I need; also, with loss of ν before the Thematic vowel, ἐν-νευν swam (νεμ-ν), θεί runs, πλέων sailing, πνεει breathes, ἰεί flows, χεί pours, κλέομαι I am famed.
The forms with $e$ for $e$, as $\theta\epsilon l$-ew, $\pi\lambda e\epsilon w$, $\nu\epsilon l\omega w$, $\epsilon^\gamma$-$\chi\epsilon\gamma$, (for $\theta e$-ew, &c.) should probably be written with $e\nu$, $\theta e\nu$-ew, &c. See Appendix C.

(4) $\epsilon p$ ($\rho\epsilon$): $\delta e\rho k$-o-mai $I$ behold, $\tau e\rho p\epsilon w$ to rejoice, $\pi e\rho\delta\tau e$ was sacked, $\epsilon\epsilon\gamma p\epsilon$ confines, $\tau e\rho\sigma t e$ is dried, $\epsilon\epsilon\rho e$ $c r e e p s$, $s\pi e\rho x o u i$ urge, $\epsilon r p o w$ sweeping, $\delta e r o n$ flayed, $\tau e\rho e\sigma t a i$ to be warmed, $\delta e t e$ sank downwards, $\epsilon\epsilon p e$ shone, $\tau e\rho p e$ turned, $\tau e\rho f e v u n t h e r e s$, $s t r e f e i$ twists.

$\epsilon l$: $\epsilon l a p$-o-mai $I$ hope, $m\epsilon l e t e o s t a i$ to play, $\epsilon l k e l$ draw, $\delta m e l y$ milked, $k\epsilon l o m a i$ $I$ command, $p e l e i$ turns, $\epsilon \theta e l o$ $I$ am willing.

$\pi$ from $e p$ appears in $t r i \beta$-e-me-nai to rub (Lat. ter-o), $\chi r i$-o-n anointed (Sanser. gharsh-at), $\beta r i d o n$ were heavy.

$\gamma p$ ($\rho \gamma$, $\pi \gamma$) for $p$ appears in certain combinations: $k\rho p$-$\nu m a$ (§ 17), $k\rho \nu$, $k\rho t$-$\nu s$ (cerno, certus), $\pi \gamma a$ for $f p$-$\delta$-$m a$, $d p$-$o n$ for $d p f$-$o n$ ($d p f$-$\nu$): $k r \iota s$ (Lat. certus), $k r \iota h$ for $s r s$-$\theta$, hordium, O. Germ. gersta (Meyer, G. & G. p. 35: Thurneysen, K. Z. xxx. 352).

(5) $e v$: $p e n$-$e$-$s t a i$ to labour, $s t e n e v$ groans, $m e n o$ $I$ wait, $\varphi e n$-$\gamma$-$e o$ call out, $\epsilon l e \gamma k e i$ reproves, $s p e n d o w$ making libation.

$e p$: $p e m p t o$ $I$ send, $e p \iota$-$m e f u m o a i$ $I$ blame, $t e m e i$ (II. 13. 707) cuts, $d e m o n$ built, $\beta r e m e i$ roars, $n e m e i$ apportions, $e$-$t r e m e$ trembled.

(6) $e$: $l e y$-$e$ told, $e x k o w$ $I$ have, $e d e i$ eats, $e p e t a i$ follows, $p e t e t a i$ flies, $d e c h o m a i$ $I$ receive, $e w$-$e p e$ say, $e$-$s t r e f e$ set as a covering; with loss of $s$, $t r e i$ (trefei, for trep-ei, cp. a-trep-ros) trembles, $\epsilon e$ ($\epsilon e i$) boils, $n e o m a i$ (cp. v$\sigma$-tros) I return.

The Thematic forms of $e\pi i$, viz. $e o v$, Opt. $e o i$, Part. $e o n$, belong to this head, since $e o$- is the strong stem. So too $k e o n t a i$ (for kei-ou-tai), 3 Plur. of kei-maui.

$w$ (instead of $\eta$) appears in $t r p \gamma$-ew to gnaw ($t r p \gamma$-), $d i o k e i w$ to chase. Both forms appear to be derivative (with suffixed $\gamma$, $\kappa$, § 45): $t r p \gamma$-$w$ may be connected with $t o p$-ein ($§ 31, 4$). $d i o$-$k w$ is related to $d t e$-m-aui ($§ 11$): it has been supposed to be a Thematic Perfect, with loss of reduplication (i.e. from *$d e$-$d t o$-$k a$).

$u$ appears in $t r u x$-$o u s i$ waste away, *a-uv$\gamma$-$u$-ew to cool, $e r u k$-$e i$ restrains. These also are derivative ($§ 45$).

$o$ appears in $l o$ washed (Od. 10. 361, H. Apoll. 120), Inf. $l o u$-$s t a i$ (Od. 6. 216). $l o$- is for $l o f$-, cp. Lat. lav-ere. A Pres. *$l o n$ is inferred from the form $l o n s t a i$ (II. 6. 508 = 15. 265), for which we may read $l o s t e o s t a i$ (from the derivative Pres. $l o e o w$).

30.] Thematic Present with weak Stem. Of this formation there are a few instances: $\delta g$-$w$ I drive, bring (Aor. $\gamma g$-$a$-gou), $\alpha h o m a i$ $I$ am vexed (Aor. $\kappa g$-$\chi e$), $m a c h o n t a i$ night, $b l a s e t e r a i$ fails, breaks down, $B o l e t a i$ wishes, $o r o n t a i$ watch, $o d o m a i$ $I$ care, $a l e i s$ do$t$ hear, $a p o$-$d r \rho f o i$ (Opt.) tear off, $e r x e i$ leads, $a g x e$ choked; also the Thematic forms of $e i \mu$, viz. Impf. $e i o n$, Opt. $e i o$; Part. $i o n$. D
Note that γράφω is not found in Homer except in the Aor. ἐγράψας.

The forms βόλεται (II. 11. 319), ἔβολοντο (Od. 1. 234), ἑβλεσθε (Od. 16. 387) were restored by Wolf; see Buttmann's Lexil. s. v.

The form βλαβεται (II. 19. 82, 166, Od. 13. 34) occurs in gnomic passages only, where an Aorist would be equally in place (§ 78, 2).

δροντα (Od. 14. 104), δροντο (Od. 3. 471) occur in the phrase ἐν δ' ἀνέρ σκοτολ δροντα, where ἐν δι δροντα seems to be = 'as act as ἐπιουροι,' 'are in charge.'

ἀφω only occurs as a Pres. in the phrase ὅκ δεῖς; = have you not heard? Elsewhere ἀφω is used as an Aorist (Schulze, K. Z. xxi. 249).

A Pres. δρέφω cannot be inferred with certainty from the Opt. ἀποδρέφοι (II. 23. 187., 24. 21), which may be an Aorist.

The forms ἀρχω, ἀγχω are difficult because original ἄρχ-, ἀγχ- would shorten the vowel (before a semi-vowel and mute), and consequently the Stem would be indistinguishable from original ἄρχ-, ἀγχ-. That in ἀρχω the Stem is weak may be inferred from the Nouns ἀρχ-ος, ἀρχ-ή (§ 109): the O-form may be found in ἀρχωμα, the strong form possibly in ἀρχω-ομα. Again ἀγχω may be identified with Sanser. ἀχ-ατί (for ἐγχ-ατί): the strong form being ἐγχ- in ἐγχ-αλός (De Saussure, Mém. p. 276 ff.).

31.] The Thematic Aorist. The Verb-Stem is in the weak form: we may distinguish the following groups:—

(1) With α as Stem vowel (the strong Stem with α or η): λάθε was unseen by, λάκε crackled, λαβάκε took, εὐάκε (for ε-σφάδε) pleased, μακάν bellowing, φάγον ate, ὅ-ε-ταμαγόν (τιμήω) parted, ἄρ- ἐ-κραγόν cried aloud (Attic. Pf. κέρκαγα), ἀρετό gained, ἀληται (Subj.) shall hear, ἔχρακε assailed (χράω), δάλται (Subj.) shall be burned (δᾶω-), φᾶε shone (φαύ-, cp. πιφαύσκω), λάς seized, pinned (λά-, cp. ἀπο-λαύω), ἀλέθετο was healed, ἦλφον (Opt. ἀλφοῖ) earned, ἦπετε met (Part. ἀντ-όμενοσ).

The forms φάε (Od. 14. 502) and λάς, Part. λάων (Od. 19. 229, 230) are placed here provisionally. Each occurs once, in a context which does not decide between Aor. and Impf.

The existence of an Aor. ἐ-φαχ-ος has been made probable by W. Schulze (K. Z. xxx. 230). He shows that the form ταχον, generally taken as the Impf. of τάχω (§ 35), is an Aor. in meaning, and constantly occurs after elision (μεγ' ταχον, ἐν δ' ταχον, ε-ταχον.). Consequently we can always read φάχον (μεγά φάχον, ἐν δ' φάχον, ε-φάχον), or with augment εύαχον (cp. εὐάκε for ἐ-φάδε). In II. 20. 62 καὶ ταχε would be read καὶ εύαχε. The alternative is to suppose that ε-φαχον became εταχον by loss of ι and contraction (Wackernagel, K. Z. xxxv. 279): but contraction in such a case is very rare in Homer, and the Aor. meaning of ταχον has to be accounted for. On the other hand if we accept Schulze's view we have still to admit a Pres. (or Aor.?) Participle τάχον (Φιταχον).

(2) With ε (strong η): ἐθων doing as he is wont (cp. ἦθ-ος for σφηθ-ος), perhaps μέδ-οντο bethought them (μηδ-ομαι).
The forms μιδοντο, &c. are generally referred to a Verb μιδο-μαι: but no such Present is found, and the other Moods—Subj. Opt. Imper. and Inf.—always admit the Aor. meaning. As to ἔθων see § 243, 1. If an Aor. it should be accented ἐθων.

(3) With ἵ (strong ευ): ἦ-στιχ-ον (στειχω) marched, ἦ-πίθοντο obeyed, ἢκασθαι to come to, ἄτεσθαι to entreat, ἢπιτε (ἐρείπω) fell down, ἤπικε (ἐρείκω) was torn, ἤλιτεν offended (Mid. ἄλιτέσθαι), ἡνων heard, διε feared (δεί-), διον ran, ε-κιόν moved, ε-πιον drank, ἡλισθε slipped, κρίκε cracked.

With αι, αἴθομεννυ burning, αἴδετο fell shame (§ 32, 2); ἔχρασμε availed (§ 32, 3).

ἔθων I ran (II. 22. 251) is not to be connected with διε feared, but with ἄνυ-διε-σαν, διέ-νται chase, of which we have the Thematic Subj. διαμαί, Opt. διαίτο, Inf. διέσθαι. That they are Aorists appears (e.g.) from II. 16. 246 εἰ θεί κε διήται when he shall have chased.

ἐκλιον is probably an Aor., since *κιόν does not occur. The accentuation of the Part. κλίον is in favour of this, but not decisively (cp. εἶν, ἵν).

(4) With ο (strong ευ): κύθε hid, φύγον fled, τῆχε hit upon, πυθόμην I heard tell, ἐκτυπε sounded, ἢπυγε bel- lowed, ἥλωθον I came, ἐκλιον heard, ἀμ-πυνὲ recovered breath.

With αυ, αυε shouted, αυη (Subj.) kindle, ἐπ-αυρείν to gain from, enjoy. With ευ, εύφε found.

ἐκλιον is clearly an Aor. in Homer. The Pres. κλινω, which occurs in Hesiod (Op. 726 οὐ γὰρ τοῖ γε κλίνονσι) and in Attic poets, is perhaps only a mistaken imitation of the Homeric style.

(5) With ἄρ, ρά, ρ (strong ερ, ρε): ἦ-πράθ-ο-μεν (πέρθω) we sacked, κατέδρασθον went to sleep, ἦ-δρακον (δέρκομαι) looked, ἠδραμον (ὁδόμοι) ran, ἦ-τραπον turned, ἥτραψε (τρέφω) was nurtured, ταρτά- μεθα (τέρσω) to take our pleasure, ἥβραξε rattled, ἀμαρτε (also ἤμβροτε) missed, ἐπταρε sneezed, ἐγρ-ετο (ἐγρ-) was roused, ἐγρ-όμενοι (ἀγρέρ-) assembled (§ 33).

With αλ, λ (strong ελ): ἦ-βαλ-ον (βάλ-οις), ἦ-πλ-ευ, ἦπλετο turned, came to be (§ 33).

With ὄρ, ὀλ: ἦ-τῷρ-ον furnished, ἥτωρ leaped, ἥτωρ pierced, ὅρετο was stirred up, ἤκ-μολ-ε came out, ἀλέσθαι to perish.

The ε of the strong Stem appears in ἐλλον, ἐλ-ον took, ἐρ-εσθαι to ask (cp. § 22, 6).

It will be seen that ἄρ, ρά, ρά are generally placed between consonants, where ρ, λ would be unpronounceable. The only exceptions are, ἐπταρον and ἐβαλον. On the other hand ὄρ, ὀλ only appear before a vowel.

(6) With α (strong ευ, εμ): ἦ-παθ-ον (πέθο-οις) suffered, μῶθ-ον learned, ἐλαξον obtained as share, ἔγαδε (Fut. χείσωμαι) contained, δακτέω to bite, δάηται shall learn (δάεσ-, strong form *δενσ-, cp. δέθαεν, § 36, 5).
TENSES.

āv, āµ (before a vowel): ē-κταυ-ov killed, ēθαυε died, ē-καµ-ov wearied, τάµε cut (cp. ē-δάµ-η, § 42).

ew appears in γεν-έσθαι to become.

(7) With loss of e: ē-σχ-ov held (ἐχ- for σέχ-ω), ἐσπετο followed, Inf. ἐπι-σπέσθαι (ἐποµαι for σεπ-οµαι), ἐπι-πτέσθαι (πετ-) to fly over, ἐστε sat (for ἐ-σὸ-ετο, Ahrens, Gr. F. § 95).

The e is retained in ἐ-τεκ-ov brought forth, ἀπ-ἐχθ-έσθαι to incur hatred, ἐσχεθον held (?). In these cases loss of e is phonetically impossible.

ἀπ-ήχθε-το is an Aor. in Homer (the Pres. being ἀπ-ἐχθάνο-µαι), although a Present ἐχθο-µαι is found in Attic. The simple ἡχθετο (Od. 14. 366, ἡχθεσαι Od. 4. 756, ἡθοµενος Od. 4. 502) is called Impf. by Veitch; but the meaning in the three places seems to be the same as in ἀπ-ήχθετο—not was hateful, but came to be hated.

The only ground for taking ἐσχεθον to be an Aor. is the Inf. σχεθεν (II. 23. 466, Od. 5. 320). Possibly this may be a Pres. Inf. in -εν (§ 85, 2), preserved owing to the impossibility of σχεθεν in the hexameter.

32.] The foregoing list calls for some further remarks.

1. Comparing the Second Aorists of later Greek, we are struck by the number of instances in Homer in which the Thematic e or o follows another vowel.

In ἐχραε, φαε, λαε, δαται (for ἐ-χραφ-ε, φαφ-ε, λαφ-ε, δαφ-ηται) the hiatus is due to the loss of F. So in λωε (for λόφε). Similarly σ is lost in δαται (δασ-) shall learn.

In several cases the Thematic inflexion is found intermingled with Non-thematic forms. Thus we have ἐκλων, Imper. κλωθι; ἀµ-πνευ, Mid. ἀµ-πνου-το; ἐπνου, Imper. πνθι (Ar. Vesp. 1469); βιον I ran, ἐν-δε-σαν chased (δή-µι). The presumption is that the Non-thematic forms are older, the others being derived from them as ἐν I was and ἱον I went from corresponding parts of ελµι, ειµι (cp. § 18). Similarly we may account for ἐκνου (κο- in Pres. κλ-νµαι), and perhaps δε feared, αἰον heard.

2. Another characteristic group is formed by the Aorist Stems in which we find initial a either entering into a diphthong (αι-, αι-) or followed by a double consonant: viz. αιθ-, αιδ-, αυ- (in αυε), αυ- (in αυη kindle), αυρ-, ἀλθ-, ἀλφ-, ἀυρ. Some of these which are usually counted as Present Stems require separate notice: —

αιθ- occurs in Homer only in the Part. αιθµενος burning: as to the adjectival use of Participles see § 244. The Stem is found in the Sanser. یدك-اتي burns.

αιδ- occurs in the Indic. αιδετο, Imper. αιδεο, Part. αιδµενος; the corresponding Pres. is always αιδµαι.

αιε shouted may always be an Aor. (II. 11. 461., 13. 477., 20.
48, 51). We may identify this av- with u in Sanscr. u-noti calls. The ä- is a distinct syllable in the Aor. äv-ære, cp. ävry.

aöy (Od. 5. 490, v. l. aöu) makes good sense as an Aor., expressing the act of kindling. The Stem is weak (aöw = Sanscr. ush- in ush-ás, ˚Xol. aöwos); the strong form appears in eü-ω, Lat. uto.

The thematic form answering to an-ηöra, átö-ypás (§ 13). See also supra.

Aö-š-æ, found only in Il. 5. 417, is clearly an Aor.

Aöf- occurs in ήλφον, Opt. àöfoi, with Aor. meaning.

Avt- in γνεσσο, σνον-αντεδθηρ, Inf. ιντεσσαι, Part. αντόμενος, always with clear Aor. meaning. Accordingly ιντεσσα in Il. 15. 698 (the only place where it occurs) was accentuated by Tyranno antrössai.

The ä- of aö-š-, ˚aö-., &c. is discussed by De Saussure along with that of öψ-., öψχ- in a passage quoted above (§ 30 note). He regards it as ‘prothetic,’ so that the stems in which it appears are generally in the weak form. The -u- of av- may answer to either fe or eu in the strong form; thus aööy: òψε-ο (Sanscr. vaßh) = öψχ-ο: eψχ-ου, perhaps òψ-αψεψ: eψρ-εψ. A similar ä- appears in aö-μείβαι, aö-μέγας, aöρ-; perhaps in aö-λτβος, aö-ματρεψ (but in these it may be originally significant, infra, 3).

In Aö-š-, ˚aö-, avt- the form is weak (perhaps Aö- is to a strong Aö- as ˚aöγ-ψ: ˚aöγ-ψ or aö-ψ: aöer- in aöέψ), or else the strong and weak forms coincided (as in öψ-, öψχ-, § 30).

It appears then that in the Tenses with which we are dealing the strong Stem has generally disappeared, and the Present has been derived afresh from the weak Stem, by means of one of the various Suffixes. Thus we have aö-, Pres. aö-έομαι; aö, Pres. aöτλω; ˚aöρ-, Pres. òψ-αψρ-ισκω; avt-, Pres. αντάσω, αντάξα. The process has been the same in ἀλτ-έοσαι and Pres. ἀλτ-αίνω, ἀμαρτ-έιν and ἀμαρτ-άνω, εψρ-ειν and εψρ-ισκω, ἔθεσθαι and ἔπ-εθ-άνομαι, ὑπάρχει and ὑπαρ-άνω, also in Attic αἰσθ-έοσαι and αἰσθ-άνομαι. The last is interesting as the only post-Homerian Second Aorist which is used in good Attic prose.

3. A few Thematic Aorists seem to be formed from the Stems of Nouns of the O-declension. Thus ἕψρασεμε availed is generally derived from χρῆματος υςεψίλ (Curt. Verb. ii. 13). So, according to Curtius, τέρμε-τε warm ye, τέρμε-το grew warm, from θερμός; ὑπλε-σταί (Il. 19. 172., 23. 159) to get ready, from ὑπλων (ὑπλε-ω); γόν (Il. 6. 500) bewailed, from γός (γό-άω): ἀμαρτ-έιν to miss, from ἀ-μαρ-το- without part in.

Some at least of these instances may be otherwise explained. For ὑπλεσταί we may read ὑπλέ-σταί (the uncontracted ὑπλέ-σταί is impossible in the hexameter). γόν in Il. 6. 500 ai μὲν ζώον γόσ "Εκτορα κ. τ. λ. makes better sense as an Impf.: Fick reads γόνα, 3 Plur. of an 'Eolic' ἄγομ. Possibly γόν is for γόνον by hyphaeresis (§ 105, 4).

33.] In several cases it is difficult to say whether loss of e is characteristic of an Aor. Stem, or is merely phonetic, due to
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34. ‘syncop.’ Thus we have ἀγέρωντο, Part. ἀγρόμενοι: ὄφελον ought and the Attic ὄφλον owed: πέλος and the syncopated forms ἐπέλευ, ἐπέλετο, Part. ἐπιπλόμενος, &c. (not ἐπελευ, ἐπέλετο, &c. in Homer).

ἀγέρωντο were assembled. Inf. ἀγέρεσθαι (so accented in MSS.) imply a Pres. ἀγίρω; but the Part. ἀγρόμενοι seems to be an Aor. The ε is only lost in the Part., whereas in the undoubted Aor. ἐγρ-ετο the form ἐγρ-never occurs (Opt. ἐγροτο. Inf. ἐγέρεσθαι). In II. 7. 434. 24. 780 ἀμφί πυρήν... ἐγρετο λαός Cobet Misc. Crit. p. 415) proposed to read ἕγρετο, from ἁγρε-.. The emendation gives a good sense, but is not absolutely necessary.

ὁφέλον ought (= would that), bears a different sense from the Aor. ὦφλον, but is indistinguishable from the Impf. ὀφηλλον (Od. 8. 312 ὑ μή γείνασθαι ὀφέλλον, so II. 7. 390., 24. 764. Od. 14. 68., 18. 401.). Hence ὀφέλον is probably an older form of the Imperfect which has survived in this particular use.

ἐπέλευ, ἐπέλε-το, &c. must be Aorists, since —

(1) ἐπέλευ occurs in the ‘gnomic’ use, e.g.—

II. 2. 480 ἢτε βοῦς ἁγέλησα μεγ’ ἐξοχος ἐπέλετο πάντων

and so in II. 24. 94. Od. 7. 217. This use is not found with the Impf.

(2) ἐπέλευ with the meaning of a Present can only be explained as an Aor. = the English Pf., has turned out, has come to be, (and so is): see § 78, and cp. II. 12. 271 νῦν ἐπέλευ ἐργον ἀπάντων now it has become: with another Aor. similarly used, II. 15. 227 πολ ε κράουν ἐπέλευ, ὅτι ὑπειεφν it is better that he has yielded: also II. 6. 434., 7. 31., 8. 552., 14. 337., 19. 57, Od. 22. 304., &c.

The Part. occurs in ἐπι-πλόμενον ἔτος (Od.) and περι-πλομένων ἑναντῶν, with much the same force as the Pres. Part. in the equivalent phrase περιτελλο-μείνων ἑναντῶν. But, as we shall see, an Aor. Part. may have the meaning of an adjective (§ 244): cp. volcenda dies.

34. Comparison of the Thematic ‘Strong’ Aorists found in Homer with those of other periods of Greek brings out strikingly the relation between the Homeric and the later dialect.

It may be assumed that the Strong Aorists, like the Strong Preterites in English, were a diminishing class, never added to (except by learned imitators of the Epic style), and gradually superseded by the more convenient forms in -σα. Hence the comparative frequency of these Aorists in an author indicates either an early date or (at least) the use of an archaic style.

Curtius enumerates altogether 117 Strong Aorists, of which 84 are found in Homer. Of these 84, again, about 30 occur also in prose, while as many more are used in the later poetical style (ἔλακνον, ἐκιόν, ἐκλόνον, μολέων, πορεῖν, &c.). Of the non-Homeric examples only one, viz. αἰσθάνεται, belongs to the language of prose; about 15 are found in good early poetry (e.g. ἐκιέν, ἄγειν, κανεῖν, βλαστεῖν, in Attic dramatists); most of the others are evidently figments of learned poets, imitated from actual Homeric forms, e.g. ἔβαιν (from Homeric δέβαιν), ἥμφρον (from μόρος and the Homeric Pf. ἔμορος), ἐδουρεί.

These facts seem to show both the high antiquity of the Homeric language and the position which it held as the chief though not the only source of the poetical vocabulary of historical times.
35.] The Reduplicated Thematic Present. This formation appears in a few instances only:—

\[\mu \mu \mu \text{-ere await (\(\mu \nu \nu\)).} \]

\[\text{πίπτε fell (πετ-).} \]

\[\text{ισχει holds, for *σι-σιχ-ει, from *σεχ-.} \]

\[\text{ιςει sits, for *σι-σιδ-ει, from σεδ-.} \]

\[\text{γλυνεται becomes (γευ-).} \]

\[\text{τίκτω, for τι-τκ-ω, from τεκ-.} \]

\[\text{νισομαι I go, pass, for νι-νσ-ομαι, or νι-νσ-μο-μαι, from νεο-:} \]

\[\text{related to νέομαι (§ 29, 6) as ισχω to ισχω.} \]

\[\text{δις sought (Thematic form answering to δις-μαι, § 16).} \]

\[\text{λαυ-εις sleepest (Αor. ἀεσα, for δε-σα, I slept, cp. αὐξω and ἀξεω).} \]

In this group of Verbs the Root is in the weak form; the vowel of the reduplication is always \(\iota\).

\[\text{ιάκω (for Fι-πάκω) is generally placed in this class. The Pres. Indic. does not occur, and the past Tense ιάκων is an Aor. in Il. 5. 860, 14. 148, 18. 219 (τε \'ιάκε σάλπιγς (§ 79), and may always be so in Homer. As to its original form see § 31, 1, note. Thus the evidence for ιάκω is reduced to the Past. ιάκων, and that is not used in a way that is decisive between the Pres. and the Αor.} \]

36.] The Reduplicated Aorist. These Tenses are formed with the weak Stem, and either (1) reduplication of an initial consonant with \(\epsilon\), or (2) Attic Reduplication. The following are the chief examples:—

(1) \(\alpha\) : \(\epsilonκ-λελαθ-ον made to forget, λελαβέσθαι to seize, κεκαδόν severing, κεκάδοντο yielded, κεκάροντο rejoiced, ἄμ-πεπαλών brandishing on high, τεταγών grasping, ἥγ-αγ-ον led, ἕε-ἵπαφε deceived, ἱραφε fitted, ἵκαχε vexed.

(2) \(i\) : \(πεπίθ-ομεν may persuade, πεφυδέσθαι to spare.

(3) \(u\) : \(τετόκ-οντο made for themselves, πεπόθοτο may hear by report, κεκόθοτο shall hide.

(4) \(\alphaρ\) (ρᾶ), \(\alphaλ\), \(\lambda\) : \(τετάρπ-ετο was pleased, πέφραδε showed forth, \(\alphaλ-αλκε warded off, \epsilonκ-κε-κλ-ετο shouted (κελ-).}

(5) \(\alpha\), \(v\) (for \(\epsilon\)) : \(λελάκχ-ητε (Subj.) make to share, δέδαεν taught (cp. § 31, 5); \(\epsilon-πε-φυ-ε slow (cp. πε-φά-ται is slain).}

(6) Loss of \(\epsilon\) : \(\epsilonτε-τμε found, caught (τεμ-?); \(\epsilonπευν said (perhaps for \(\epsilonτε-\epsilonπ-ον)\); also \(\epsilonπετο followed, if it is taken to be for \(σέπε-το).}

* The difficulty in the way of this explanation is that in the old Attic inscriptions which distinguish the original diphthong \(\epsilon(\) written \(\epsiloni\) from the sound arising from contraction or 'compensatory' lengthening (written \(\epsiloni\), the word \(\epsilonι\) is always written with \(\epsiloni\) (Cauer in Crit. Stud. viii. 257). In Sanscr. the corresponding form is \(\epsilonνο\), for \(\epsilonιν-εεο\) (\(\epsilonι\) becoming \(\epsilonι\). Answering to this we expect in Greek \(\epsilonεπν\) (Vogrinz, Gr. d. hom. Dial. p. 123).
The forms which point to *σε-συ-το, viz. ἔσπωντα (Od. 12. 349), ἔσποιμην (Od. 19. 579, 21. 77), ἔσπεσσα (Il. 12. 350, 363), ἔσπομενος (Il. 10. 246, 12. 395, 13. 570), can be easily altered (e.g. by writing ἄμα σποιμην for ἄμε ἔσποιμην). We always have ἐπι-πείσαθαι, ἐπι-πόμενοι, μεταπόμενοι (never ἤφεσσόμενοι, &c.); i.e. ἐστι- only creeps in when a preceding final vowel can be elided without further change.

(7) A peculiar Reduplication is found in ἔρυκακε (Pres. ἔρυκ-ω) checked, and ἕρυπτατε (ἐνυπή) rebuked.

These Aorists are exclusively Homeric, except ἔγαγον and ἐπινυ― (Attic ἐπινυ). They are mostly Transitive or Causative in meaning; compare ἔλαχο-ν I got for my share, with λέλαχο-ν I made to share; ἄρπαρ is fitting, with ἄρπαρε made to fit, &c. (II. 1129, 1277).

The Inf. δεδάμ-σθαι (Od. 16. 316) is not to be connected with the Perf. Part. δεδα-ως, but is for δεδιδόσθαι, Inf. Mid. of the Reduplicated Aorist ἔδαθεν taught. Thus the sense is to have oneself taught.

37.] Aorists in -ά. Besides the usual forms of ἔ-ἐπο-ν (ἐλπο-ν) we find a 2 Sing. ἐπα-ς (Il. 1. 106, 108), or ἐ-ἐπα-ς (Il. 24. 379), 2 Plur. ἐπι-σε-τε (Od. 3. 427). Answering to the Attic ἤνεγκον Homer has ἤνεικα, Opt. ἤνεικα-ι, &c.; but Inf. ἤνεικε-μεν (Il. 19. 194). In these two cases the form in -ον is probably older.

Tenses with Suffix (Non-Thematic).

38.] The Tense-Stems which remain to be discussed are formed (like the Presents in -νημι and -νημι) by means of a characteristic Suffix. Of these Tense-Stems three are Non-Thematic, viz. those of the Aorists formed by the Suffixes -σά, -η, and -θη.

It is important to notice the difference between these formations and the Perfect and Aorist Stems which take -κά. The Suffix -κά in such cases is not characteristic of the Tense-Stem. It is only found as a rule with certain Person-Endings.

39.] The Aorist in -σά (called ' Sigmatic' and 'Weak* Aor.').

The Suffix -σά is joined to the Verb-Stem (usually in its strong form), as ἔρηπησε (ῥηγ-), ἤλειψα-ν (ἀλειψ-), ἐ-πνευ-σα-ν (πνευ-), ἔδεισε (for ἔδεισε) feared, ἐ-βησ-σά-ν, ἐ-φισ-σά.

The following are the chief varieties:—

1. Verb-Stems ending in a Dental or σ, preceded by a short vowel, form -σσά or -σά: thus we have ἤρεσσα and ἤρεσα (for ἣ-ρετ-σα, from ἔρετ-); ἐσ-σατό, ἐσασθαί (ἐστ-); σβέσ-σαι, τρέσ-}

* The term 'Weak' implies formation by means of a Suffix. It was suggested by the analogy between the two Aorists and the Strong and Weak Preterites of the Teutonic languages.
AORIST IN -ΣΑ.

σαι; ἐσας, ἐφ-έσας-το (ἐδ- for *σεδ-); ἐ-θλασε and θλασ-σε, σπάσα-το, ἐ-δάς-σα-το, ἐσ-ε-μάς-σα-το, νάς-τα (§ 51, 2); χάνσα-το (ср. ἐ-χαῖα), ἐ-φραγά-μην (φράδ-), ράςσα-τε (ῥάδ-), πασά-μην (πάτ-); ἐλλισά-μην (Ἀτ-), ὅλωσα-το (ಡुνσ-).

Verbs in -ξω form the Aorist in this way, as ὤπασα, ἐκόμισσα, ἔλειναι, ἔμοσε; or (less commonly) in -φα, as ἐφεύλρετα, δαίξει, μερμυρίζε, ἐγγυάλιζε. ἀρπαξώ forms ἢπταξε and ἤρπασε. *(om.)

2. Derivative Verbs in -άω, -έω, -ώ, -ω usually form the Aor. with a long vowel (in -ησα, -ωσα, -υσα). But the Verbs in -ω often form the Aor. in -εσα, -εσα; not only the Verbs derived from Noun-Stems in -ω, such as τελέω, νείκεω, ἀκηδεω, but also several Verbs derived from Masc. Nouns in -ο-ς; e.g. ἐκορέσ-σατο was satiated (Pf. κεκορη-μένος), κοτέο-σατο was enraged (κεκοτη-ώς), πόθεσαν longed for (ποθη-μεναι), ὄλεσσαν ground.

Other examples of such in the Aor., though the Verb-Stem cannot be shown to end in σ or a Dental, are: ἡγάσασο (ἀγα-μαι) was amazed, ἐτάλα-σα ένυερε, κέρα-σει mixed, πέρα-σα σακε, ἡλα-σα drove, ἡρα-σάμην loved, ἐδάμα-σα σακε, ἰδα-σονται (Subj.) shall appease, καλε-σαι to call, ὄλε-σαι to destroy, ἐτάνυ-σα σακε, ἐκάπι-σει panted, ἐρπ-σαμεν drew, ἦς-σα slept, λοε-σασο washed, ὄμο-σαι to swear, ὄνο-σασο made light of; see § 51. Note that when -σα is preceded by a short vowel there is always a collateral form in -σα: the only exceptions are στορε-σαι to strew and κρεμά-σαι to hang, and these are due to metrical reasons.

Most of the Aorists in -조사, -εσα, &c. are evidently due to the analogy of those in which -σα was originally preceded by a short vowel and a dental or σ. That is to say, ἐτάλα-σα, ἐκάλα-σα, &c. do not follow the type of ἔρρητα, ἡλέφα (as ἐθη-σα, ἐφω-σα did), but the type of ἐθλα-σα, ἐτέλες-σα. Thus -σα becomes the Tense Suffix after a short vowel, just as -σα is after a long vowel or diphthong.

The forms λοῦσε, λοῦσαι, λοῦσαντο, λοῦσαθαι, &c., which suppose an Aor. *τ-λοῦ-σα can nearly always be written λος-σα. The exceptions are, Π. 14. 7 θερμήνη και λοῦσα ἦπο βρότον (read λοῆσα τε ἄρτον), Od. 6. 210 λοῦσετε τε ἐν ποταμῷ, 6. 219 ἀπολοίσατε.

3. With Verb-Stems ending in μ, ν, ρ, λ, the σ is usually lost, and the preceding vowel lengthened, ε becoming η: as ἐ-γημα (γαμ-), κρημήνα (κρας-), § 55), ἐ-π-ε-τειλα (τελ-), ἐ-φιλα-το (μιλ-), ἵγειρα (γερ-), χήρα-το (χρα-)*. A few Stems retain σ: ὃρ-σα, ἀρ-σαι, ἀπό-ερ-σε, ἐ-κερ-σε, κύρ-σα-σ, φύρ-σω, ἐλ-σα-ν, κέλ-σα, κένσα. This is the rule when ρ or λ of the Stem is followed by a dental, as in ἐ-περε (for ἐ-περό-σε), ἡμερε (ἀμέροδω). But ν

* The form ἢρα-το, which is usually taken to be an Aor. of ἄρ-νυ-μαι, may stand to ἄρησθαι as ἐ-πτα-το to πτέσαθαι, ὁνα-το to ὄνο-μαι, διε-ναι to διε-σθαι (see however Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 400).
before $\delta$ is lost in $\hat{\epsilon}$-$\sigma$e$\nu$ $\sigma$a (for $\hat{\epsilon}$-$\sigma$e$\nu$-d-$\sigma$a): ep. pe$\iota$so$\mu$ai for pe$\iota$-$\sigma$o$\mu$ai, &c. The form kë$\varsigma$ai (Il. 23. 337) is later.

The Verb-Stem $\delta$efel- makes an Aor. Opt. $\delta$efellele: see § 53.

40.] Primitive Aorists with Suffix $-\sigma$. Originally the Sigmatic Aorist was inflected like the Aorist in $-\alpha$ already described (§ 15): that is to say, the $\alpha$ appeared in the $\imath$ Sing. (perhaps also $3$ Plur. $-\alpha\nu$) and the Stem was liable to variation between a strong and a weak form. Thus from a Stem $\tau\nu$k-, $\tau\nu$k-, with the regular phonetic changes, we should have had—

Active, $\imath$ Sing. $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$za.
2 $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$z (for $\hat{\epsilon}$-$\tau$e$k$-$\sigma$-$\eta$).
3 $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$z (for $\hat{\epsilon}$-$\tau$e$k$-$\sigma$-$\tau$).
1 Plur. $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$yme$\nu$ (or $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$yme$\nu$).
2 $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$kte (or $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$kte).
3 $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$k$\epsilon$$\acute{\alpha}$n.

Middle, $\imath$ Sing. $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$yme$\nu$ (for $\hat{\epsilon}$-$\tau$uk-$\sigma$-$\mu$$.)
2 $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$zo (for $\hat{\epsilon}$-$\tau$uk-$\sigma$-$\sigma$), Imper. $\tau$ü$\xi$o.
3 $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$kto (for $\hat{\epsilon}$-$\tau$uk-$\sigma$-$\tau$).
3 Du. $\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$$\chi$me$\nu$ (for $\hat{\epsilon}$-$\tau$uk-$\sigma$-$\sigma$me$\nu$).
Inf. $\tau$ü$\chi$me$\nu$ (for $\tau$uk-$\sigma$-$\sigma$me$\nu$ or $\tau$uk-$\sigma$-$\sigma$).
Part. $\tau$ume$\nu$os (for $\tau$uk-$\sigma$-$\mu$me$\nu$).

Several forms belonging to this scheme have survived in Homer:
$\hat{\epsilon}$le$\xi$za, Mid. $\hat{\epsilon}$le$\gamma$me$\nu$, $\hat{\epsilon}$le$k$to, Imper. $\lambda$e$\xi$o, Inf. $\kappa$ata-$\lambda$e$\chi$me$\nu$, Part. $\kappa$ata-$\lambda$yme$\mu$vos.
($\hat{\epsilon}$de$\xi$-$\mu$me$\nu$), $\delta$ekto, Imper. $\delta$e$\xi$o, Inf. $\delta$e$\chi$me$\nu$.
$\hat{\epsilon}$m$\epsilon$za, Mid. $\delta$m$\epsilon$ and $\mu$ikt$\delta$.
$\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$za, Mid. $\kappa$at-$\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$kt$\delta$ (Il. 11. 378).
$\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$ro$\sigma$, Mid. Inf. $\tau$e$\nu$ro$\sigma$.
$\hat{\epsilon}$te$\nu$la, Mid. $\alpha$-$\delta$a$\tau$$\alpha$to, $\pi$l$\tau$to.
($\hat{\eta}$la-$\tau$o), $\hat{\alpha}$l$\alpha$to, $\hat{\alpha}$l$\alpha$ (better $\hat{\alpha}$l$\alpha$o, $\hat{\alpha}$l$\tau$o), Part. $\hat{\eta}$p-$\alpha$me$\mu$vos.
$\hat{\alpha}$ro$\sigma$, Mid. $\alpha$ro$\tau$, Imper. $\alpha$ro$\sigma$, Inf. $\alpha$ro$\tau$, Part. $\alpha$rm$\mu$vos.
$\hat{\eta}$ro$\sigma$, Part. $\hat{\alpha}$rm$\mu$vos.
($\hat{\eta}$ro$\tau$), Part. $\hat{\alpha}$rm$\mu$vos.
($\hat{\epsilon}$le$\xi$-$\mu$me$\nu$), $\hat{\epsilon}$le$\\xi$lt$\kappa$ (read $\hat{\epsilon}$le$\xi$-$\mu$me$\nu$, $\hat{\epsilon}$le$\\xi$lt$\kappa$, § 53).
$\gamma$et$\eta$ se$\iota$zed ($\gamma$em$\mu$-).
$\hat{\epsilon}$me$\eta$ra, $3$ Du. $\mu$an$\eta$me$\nu$ (ep. $\pi$e$\phi$an$\eta$he$\nu$ for $\pi$e$\phi$an-$\sigma$he$\nu$).
$\iota$kt$\delta$ (Hes. Th. 481), Part. $\iota$me$\mu$vos coming.

Add $\epsilon$kt$\delta$ (Thebais, fr. 3), $\kappa$e$\nu$to (Alcm. fr. 141).

The 'regular' forms, such as $\hat{\epsilon}$de$\xi$ko$\tau$, $\hat{\eta}$l$\alpha$to, $\hat{\eta}$t$\alpha$to, are to be explained like $\hat{\epsilon}$xe$\nu$-to, &c. (§ 15). On this view $\hat{\epsilon}$de$\xi$ko$\tau$ and $\hat{\eta}$l$\alpha$to are related to $\delta$ekto and $\hat{\alpha}$l$\tau$o precisely as $\hat{\epsilon}$xe$\nu$-to to $\chi$to, and similarly $\hat{\eta}$s$\sigma$-to to $\hat{\alpha}$$\sigma$me$\nu$os as $\hat{\epsilon}$xe$\nu$-to to $\chi$me$\mu$vos.

The form $\mu$an$\eta$me$\nu$ (Il. 2. 146) is now generally taken as $3$ Plur., for $\epsilon$mi$\\iota$vent, or $\epsilon$mi$\\iota$vent$\eta$.$\sigma$av. The $3$ Plur. in $-\eta$ is found occa-
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sionally on inscriptions in other dialects (Meyer, G. G. p. 468); but that is very slight ground for admitting it in Homer. In any case it is later than -σεν, and due to the analogy of the other Person-Endings.*

The Homeric forms of the Subj. also pre-suppose a Stem without final α: e.g. the Subj. βῆσκ-σεν points to an Indic. *ἐ-βῆσκ-σεν (§ 80). The existence of such Indicatives in an earlier period of the language is proved by the Sanscrit Aorists with S, many of which join the Person-Endings directly to the Stem, without an auxiliary ‘α (except in the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur.); e.g. the Root ji gives ajais-am, 3 Sing. ajais (for a-jaï-s-t), 1 Plur. ajais-sh-ma, &c.

Upon this stage of inflexion Joh. Schmidt has based a very probable explanation of the 3 Plur. Ending -σαν (K. Z. xxvii. p. 323). It is evident that owing to the loss of σ the Tense-Stem of such forms as ἔτευγμεν, ἔτευκτε, ἔτυκτο appears as πευκ- or τευκ-, instead of πευξ-, τευξ-. Consequently the form ἔτευγαν would be felt as πευκ-σαν; that is to say, -σαν would become in fact the 3 Plur. Ending. Such an Ending would then be easily transferred to other Tenses,—θδο-σαν, ἐστα-σαν, &c. The usual theory is that -σαν in these forms comes from the regular Aor. in -σα. But this does not explain why it is confined to the 3 Plur.—why we have (e.g.) ἔθδο-σαν but not ἔθδο-σαμεν.

41.] Aorist in -σε(ο). Several Stems form a Weak Aorist as a thematic tense, with ὁ or ơ instead of ἀ: viz. ἵξο-ν, ἐ-βῆσκ-σε-το, ἐ-δῦστο-το (ὑσφ-μενος Od. 1. 24). Imper. πελασσε-τον (II. 1. 442), ἀξε-τε, ἀσε-τε, λεχε-ο, ὄρσε-ο; Inf. ἀξε-μεναι (II. 23. 50, 111), ὀσεμεναι (III. 3. 120): perhaps also ἐ-πεσο-ν (πετ-).

The forms ἔβησετο, ἔδυσετο were preferred by Aristarchus to those in -οὐτο: see Schol. A on II. 2. 579., 3. 262., 10. 513. They were regarded by ancient grammarians as Imperfects (Schol. A on II. 1. 496); and this view is supported by one or two passages, esp. Od. 1. 107, where ἦ μεν ἄρῃ ἐς κρῆμνα κατεβησετο must mean she was going down to the spring (when the messengers met her). So in the Part., Od. 1. 24 ὦ μεν ὕσφομένου ἑπερίνον ὁ ἄνιῶτος, and II. 5. 46 νῦξ ἐπιβησμένον pierced as he was mounting his chariot, cp. 23. 379.

The forms ἵξο-ν, ἀξε-μεναι, &c. answer closely to the Sanser. Preterite in -σα-ν, as ἀ-δίκασα-ν. ἐπεσον is difficult to explain as ἐ-πετ-σον, both (1) because it can hardly be accidental that we never have ἐπεσον, and (2) because it has to be separated from the Doric ἐπετον. Possibly there was a primitive non-Thematic *ἐ-πετα, ἐ-πες, ἐπε (for ἐ-πετ-ε, ἐ-πετ-τ), Du. ἐπετον, &c., 3 Plur. ἐ-πετ-αν, from which both ἐπετ-ον and ἐπεσον might be derived in much the same way as ἐ-κτα-ον from the primitive ἐ-κτενα, Plur. ἐ-κτή-μεν (§ 13).

* One of the reviewers of the former edition (Cauer in the Jahresb. d. philol. Vereins) objects that the Dual does not suit the context (‘hier gar nicht den Zusammenhang passt’). The subject is μηρολ, which is Dual in sense; and the Dual might well be restored throughout the sentence (τοιο τοι, Μνέδας, μανθήνα τιμάτη μηρό εὐφυφε, κυρίαν τε κ. τ. λ.). The explanation of μιάνθην as a Dual is due to Buttmann (Ausb. Spr. ii. 244, ed. 2).
42.] The Aorist in -η-ν. The Stem of this Tense is formed by suffixing η to the weak form of the Verb-Stem. This η becomes ε in the 3 Plur. (-εν for original -εντ), the Opt. and the Part. (i.e. before ε and ντ). The Person-Endings are those of the Active, but the meaning is either Intransitive or Passive: e.g. ἐ-χάρ-η rejoiced, ἐ-δάν was taught, ἐ-φαίν-η appeared, τράφ-η was nurtured, ἐ-άλ-η shrank (Stem Φελ-), δι-ε-τμαγ-ε-ν parted asunder, ἐ-πάγ-η, ἐ-δαμ-η, ἐ-άγ-η, ἐ-βλαβ-ε-ν, ἐ-μίγ-η, τάρπ-η-μεν and (with Metathesis) τραπ-ή-ομεν (τερπ-ω), &c.

The Stem is long in ἐ-πλήγ-η (cp. ἐ-πέπληγ-ο-ν, πλήγ-η), and once in ἐάγη (ἅ in II. 11. 559)*. The Inf. τερσ-μεναι (τερσ-ναι), which occurs in II. 16. 519, Od. 6. 98, need not be an Aorist: see the similar forms in § 19. The Part. ἄνα-βροξε-ν (Od. 11. 586) is not connected with ἄνα-βεβροξε-ν (§ 25); see Buttmann, Lexil.

There is evidently a close relation between these ‘Passive’ Aorists and the forms discussed in § 14 (such as ἐ-βλα-ν, ἐ-πτυ-ν, ἐ-τη-ν, ἐ-αθη), and we can hardly doubt that they are nothing more than an extension by analogy of that older type (see Brugmann, M. U. 1. 71). The chief difference is that (as in the Thematic Aorist) the Stem is usually disyllabic, retaining the short vowel of the root: thus we have ἐ-δάμη, but ὅμη in δε-δημ-ται, &c.

The Aorists with Stems in ἄ and ω (§ 19) are parallel to the Aorists in -η. Thus γηρά-ναι, βιώ-ναι, ἀλω-ναι only differ in the quality of the vowel from δαϊ-ναι, ἀλη-ναι: and there might have been numerous Aorists in -άνω and -ώνω along with those in -η, just as there are derivative Verbs in -αω, -ο-ω as well as in -εω.

43.] The Aorist in -θη-ν. The Stem of this Tense is formed by the Suffix -θη. The Person-Endings are the same as those of the Aorist in -η, and the meaning is Reflexive or Passive.

In later Greek the Verb-Stem is mostly in the strong form, as ἐ-δόξ-θη-ν, ἐ-λει-φ-θη-ν, ἐ-ζευξ-θη-ν; but this does not seem to have been the original rule: e.g. Homer has ἐ-τύχ-θη was made, Attic ἐ-τεύχ-θη. So we find the weak Stem in κατ-ἐ-κτά-θευ (κτεν-), τά-θη (τεν-), τάρφ-θη (τέρπ-ω), τραφ-θη-ναι (τερπ-ω), ἐ-στά-θη (Od. 17. 463), λὐ-θη, ἔξ-ε-στυ-θη, ἐ-φθι-θεν.

The Stems of κλίνω and κρίω vary in regard to the ν: we have ἐ-κλίν-θη and ἐ-κλι-θη, κριν-θε-ντες and δι-ἐ-κρι-θε-ν.

44.] Meaning of the Passive Aorists.

The Aorist in -η appears to have originally had an Intransitive sense, of which the Passive sense was a growth or adaptation. This transition is

* In the former edition Bekker's reading ἐάγη (Pf. Subj) was given as the probable correction for this passage. But the sense required is rather that of the Αορ.—were (i.e. had been) broken—than the Pf.—are in a broken state. Cp. Hes. Op. 534 ὅ-τε ἐπὶ νωτα ἐάγη whose back is broken down, i.e. bowed. As to the ἅ of ἐάγη see § 67, 3.
seen (e.g.) in ἔχαρη rejoiced, ἦδαν learned, ἤπνη flowed, ἐφάνη appeared. In these instances the Passive grows out of the Intransitive meaning (as in the Middle forms it grows out of the Reflexive meaning). Similar transitions of meaning may be found in the Perfect (§ 28, fin.), the Aorist (ἔσβη was quenched), and even in the Present, as ἐκπιπτόμενον to be driven out, κειται is laid down (as Pf. Mid. of τίθηνι), and πάθωμεν itself.

The Aorist in -ΘΗ- is often indistinguishable in meaning from the Aor. Middle. There appears to be ground for distinguishing it from the Aor. in -η as originally reflexive rather than intransitive (Wackernagel, K. Z. xxx. 305.) In many cases Middle forms are used in Homer interchangeably with those in -ΘΗ-: thus we find ἀάσατο and ἀάσηθ, ἂδετο ἰδέσατο and ἰδέσθητε, ἀτεσσαθαι and ἄτεσσημα, ἰδεύσατο and ἰδεύσημα, κερίσατο and κερίσημα, μψησαθαι and μψησημα, ἀπεφασατο and νάσηθ, ἐφρασάμην and ἐφράσηθ, ἰδέσατο and ἰδέσημα, ἰδολοσατο and ἰδολοσήμα, ἰδεύσατο and ἰδεύσημα, ἰδομησατο and ἰδομησημα, &c.; also ἐφικτό and ἐφόθηκεν, ἀμπυκτο and ἀμπυκνόνθ, ἀλτο and ἀλθη, ἐκταθεν and ἐκτάθην, λέκτο and ἐλέκθην, μύκτο and ἐμύκηθη.

This observation has recently suggested a very probable account of the origin of the Aor. in -ΘΗ-. The 2 Sing. Mid. Ending in Sanser. is -θάσ, to which would correspond Greek -ΘΗΣ. Hence the original inflexion was (e.g.) ἵ-λώ-μης, ἵ-λω-θης, ἵ-λω-το, &c. Then ἵλωθη was regarded as ἵ-λωθ-ς, that is to say, ἵλωθη was taken as the Tenste-Stem, and the inflexion was completed on the model of the already formed Aorists in -η (Wackernagel, l. c.).

The Aorists in -η and -ΘΗ- are formations peculiar to Greek, and were doubtless developed along with the separation of Present and Aorist forms which had hardly been completed in the time of Homer (Curtius, Verb. ii. 1 ff.). It is worth notice that the three Aorists that have a distinctive Suffix agree in avoiding the Thematic Endings, while the Impf. tends to adopt them, as in ἐτίθη, ἐδίδου, ἄμνυς, &c. The reason doubtless was that the Thematic inflexion already prevailed in the Present. Thus a distinction of form was gained which was especially needed for the Aorists in -η. Forms like ἐφιλαί (which at first, as we see from φιλή-μεναι, subsisted side by side with ἐφιλη) were adopted as Imperfects, while ἐμίγγη &c. were retained as Aorists.

**Thematic Present (with Suffix).**

45. In the forms to which we now proceed the Verb-Stem receives a suffix which serves to distinguish the Present Stem; as τύπ-τώ, κάμ-νω, βά-σκω, κτείνω (for κτεν-νω).

These suffixes may be compared with other elements used in the same way, but not always confined to the Present; as κ in ὀλε-κω I destroy, ἐφύ-κω I restrain, διώ-κω I chase, γ in τμή-γω I cut, χ in νη-χέ-μεινα to swim, τρύ-χουσι they waste, ζή-χειν to smear, σ in αὔξω (aug-εο), θ in σχέ-θε held, ἐσθεϊν (ἐδ-θειν) to eat,
T-CLASS—NASAL CLASS.

46.] The T-Class. The suffix -te (o) is usually found with a Verb-Stem ending in a labial mute (π, β, φ), as ἐνιπ-τε rebuke (ἐνιπ-η), χαλεπ-τεi annoys, ἀστραπ-τεi lightens, σκέπ-τεo look out, κλέπ-τε, κόπ-τε, τύπ-τε, ἐ-μαρπ-τε; ἀπτω (ἀφ-) fasten, κρύπτων (κρύφ-α) hiding, θάπτε (θάφ-) bury, ῥάπτεω to sew, string together; βλάπτει (βλᾶβ-β-) harms.

The Stem is in the weak form; the corresponding long forms are generally wanting.

This suffix is combined with Reduplication in ἱ-ἀπ-τω (for ἱ-λάτ-τω, cp. Lat. jaca-to) I hurl, which occurs in Od. 2. 376 κατὰ χρόα καλὸν ἱάττη shall maltreat (lit. knock about) her fair flesh*.

πττ may be for πατ, and, if so, these Verbs would belong to the I-Class (§ 50). In some cases, however, the π represents an original guttural. Thus we find ἐνισσω (ἐνικ-ω), as well as ἐνιπτω (ἐνιπ-η); πέσω, later πἐπτω (πέπ-ωω); νιώ, later νίπτω (ἀνίπτεσθαι in Od. 18. 179 is doubtful). Here ἐνισσω, πέσω, νιώ are formed by the suffix -ισ(o), and consequently ἐνιπτω, πῑπτω, νῑπτω must be otherwise explained. So in ἱκέτωμαι, since ικετ- is for ικτεκ- (Lat. specio), the form with πττ must be at least later than the metathesis. Hence if we adhere to the supposition that -πττ- is for -πι, we must explain these four forms as due to the analogy of other Verbs in -πττ(o) already in existence.

47.] The Nasal Class. The suffix is -νε (o) after a vowel or μ: φθά-νει comes first, τι-νων paying (a penalty), δο-νε sank in, δο-νον bustled, κάμ-νε grew weary, τάμ-νε cut; -ἀνε(o) after a mute, ημάρτ-ανε missed, ἕλα-ανε made fat, ληθ-ἀνεi makes to forget, ὀδ-ἀνεi swells, κυθ-ἀνεi glorifies, ἐ-κεόθ-ανον hid, ἀπ-ἐχθ-ἀναι becomes hateful: often with the weak Stem and ν inserted, ἄνδ-ἀνεi pleases (ἀνν-), λανθ-ἀνόμην, ἐ-χάνθ-ανον, ἐ-λάγχ-ανον, τῦχ-ανε, πνυθ-ἀνομα.

The suffix -ἀνε(o) is combined with Reduplication (as in § 35).

* With ἱ-ἀπ-τω may be connected ἱ-ἄφ-θη, which occurs in the phrase ἵνα δ’ ἀπολέσῃ ἐδροθη καὶ κόπησ (Π. 13. 543., 14. 419), of a warrior’s shield, which falls with or after him. For the aspirate (ἐδροθη for ἐδραθη) compare έγκα, έστο, &c. This explanation was given by Ebel, in K. Z. iv. 167. The scholar to whom I owe this reference, F. Froehde, derives it from Sanscr. ṭapāmi, ‘I throw, strewn about:’ so ἀποκτηνός = ‘one whose words are thrown about at random’ (Bezz. Beitr. iii. 24). See Curtius, Verb. ii. 364 (2 ed.).
in \(\pi\nu-\pi\lambda-\alpha\nu\epsilon\tau\iota\) (II. 9. 679), \(\iota\chi\alpha\nu\omega\) (for \(*\sigma\iota-\sigma\chi-\alpha\nu\omega\), \(\iota\zeta\alpha\nu\omega\) (for \(*\sigma\iota-\sigma\delta-\alpha\nu\omega\)).

The class of Verbs in \(-\nu\) is derived from the Non-thematic Verbs in \(-\nu-\). Sometimes, as has been noticed (§ 18), \(-\nu\) takes the Thematic \(e\) or \(o\) after it, as in \(\delta\mu-\nu\omega\) for \(\delta\mu\nu-\mu\iota\); but in other cases, especially when \(-\nu\) follows a vowel, \(u\) becomes \(\iota\) and is lost. Thus \(\delta-\nu-\) gives \(\alpha\nu\omega\) \(I\) accomplish, and also \(\alpha\nu\epsilon\tau\iota\) \(\delta\nu\) draws to a close: so \(\tau\nu\tau\iota\) punishes and \(\tau\nu\omega\), \(\phi\theta\nu\omega\) (in \(\phi\theta\nu\tau\theta\omega\)) and \(\phi\theta\nu\omega\). The vowel of \(\alpha\nu\omega\), \(\phi\theta\alpha\nu\omega\), \(\tau\nu\omega\), \(\phi\theta\nu\omega\) is long in Homer, short in Attic (cp. Homeric \(\epsilon\xi\nu\omega-\) for \(\epsilon\xi\nu-\omega\), Attic \(\xi\nu\omega-\omega\)); whereas in \(\kappa\lambda\nu\omega\), \(\kappa\rho\iota\omega\) (for \(\kappa\lambda\nu-\omega\), \(\kappa\rho\iota-\omega\)) it is always long. Note also that \(-\nu\epsilon(o)\) for \(-\nu\epsilon\iota(o)\) is confined to the Present, while the \(\nu\) of \(\kappa\lambda\nu\omega\), \&c. appears in other Tenses (Solmsen, \(K.\ Z.\ xxix.\ 78\)).

\(\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu\omega\) has been explained as \(*\epsilon\lambda\alpha-\nu\omega\), but there is no parallel for epenthesis of \(u\).

The \(\alpha\) of \(\iota\kappa\alpha\nu\omega\), \(\kappa\chi\alpha\nu\omega\) points to \(-\alpha-n\omega\), but the forms have not been satisfactorily explained.

48.} Stems formed by \(-\sigma\epsilon\iota(o)\), the Iterative class of Curtius.

(1) Without Replication, as \(\beta\alpha-\sigma\epsilon\iota\) go, \(\beta\alpha-\sigma\epsilon\iota\epsilon\iota\) feeds, \(\phi\alpha-\sigma\epsilon\iota\) said, \(\iota\lambda\alpha-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\nu\tau\iota\) propitiate, \(\iota\lambda\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota-\nu\tau\iota\) lit about, \(\theta\nu\gamma-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\nu\tau\iota\) died, \(\theta\rho\omega\-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\nu\tau\iota\) learn, \(\pi\rho\-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\nu\tau\iota-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\nu\tau\iota\) to go before (\(\beta\lambda\omega\) for \(\mu\lambda\omega\)).

(2) With Replication, \(\mu\mu-\mu\nu\-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\tau\iota\) is reminded, \(\kappa\iota-\kappa\lambda\eta-\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu\) called, \(\gamma\iota-\gamma\nu\-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\nu\) I know, \(\pi\iota-\phi\alpha\nu-\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu\) showed.

Stems ending in a consonant sometimes insert \(v\), as \(\alpha\mu-\alpha\phi-\iota-\sigma\epsilon\iota\iota\) deceives, \(\delta\rho-\alpha\rho-n-\sigma\epsilon\iota\) fitted, \(\epsilon\nu\rho-\lambda\iota\kappa\omega\) I find (Od. 19. 158), \(\epsilon\pi-\alpha\nu\rho-\iota\iota\kappa\nu\)ra\iota\nu\) get benefit from (II. 13. 733). A final consonant is lost before \(\kappa\iota\) in \(\delta\iota-\delta\alpha\sigma-\iota\epsilon\iota\iota\) (for \(\delta\iota-\delta\alpha\xi\-\sigma\epsilon\iota\iota\), \(\iota\kappa\omega\) and \(\iota\iota\kappa\omega\) (cp. \(\iota\kappa-\iota\kappa\omega\)), \(\tau\iota-\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota-\tau\iota-\tau\iota\) welcomed (\(\delta\iota\iota\-\kappa\kappa\omega\)); probably also in \(\mu\lambda\sigma\gamma-\nu\) (for \(\mu\gamma-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\nu\)) and \(\tau\alpha\sigma\chi\omega\) (for \(\tau\alpha\theta-\sigma\epsilon\iota\)).

49.] Iterative Tenses. The suffix \(-\sigma\epsilon\iota(o)\) is also used to form a number of Past Tenses with Iterative meaning, as \(\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\) (for \(\epsilon\sigma-\sigma\epsilon\iota\)) used to be, \(\epsilon\chi\epsilon-\sigma\epsilon\iota\) used to hold, \(\kappa\alpha\epsilon-\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \(\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon-\sigma\epsilon\iota\) (II. 22. 433), \(\mu\kappa-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\mu\nu\) (Od. 11. 512), \(\tau\rho\omega-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\tau\iota\iota\) (II. 11. 568), \(\rho\iota\pi\tau-\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \(\delta\chi\epsilon-\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \(\pi\iota\lambda\epsilon-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\tau\iota\), \(\omega\theta-\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \&c.; and from Aorist Stems, as \(\sigma\tau-\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \(\delta\iota-\sigma\epsilon\iota-\nu\), \(\epsilon\iota\pi-\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \(\phi\iota-\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \(\epsilon\rho\pi\iota-\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \(\delta-\sigma\epsilon-\sigma-\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \(\delta-\sigma-\sigma-\sigma-\sigma\epsilon\iota\), \&c. These formations differ from the Present Stems described above (1) in carrying distinctly the notion of repeated action and (2) in being confined to the Past Indicative. They are peculiar to the Ionic dialect, and the forms derived from Aorists in \(-\sigma\) are only found in Homer.

\(\epsilon-\phi\alpha\kappa-\nu\) has sometimes a distinctly Iterative meaning in Homer, as \(\iota.\ 39.197.1\). Od. 8. 565 \(\nu\alpha\nu\alpha\beta\omega\), \(\delta-\phi\alpha\kappa-\nu\) \(\phi\iota\rho\epsilon\sigma\kappa-\nu\) \(\gamma\phi\iota\sigma\alpha\sigma\sigma\), and the Pres. \(\phi\alpha\kappa-\nu\) does
not occur. It may be regarded as a link between the two groups of Stems with -σκ.

It is remarkable that in the Latin Verbs in -sco we may distinguish in the same way between the regular Inceptives, such as lique-sco, puer-a-sco, and the Presents, such as pa-sco, profl-e-scor, in which the Inceptive meaning is hardly, or not at all, perceptible. Originally, no doubt, there was a single group of derivative Stems in σκε(ο) with the meaning of continued or repeated action.

50.] The I-Class. The suffix was probably -ιε(ο) in a prehistoric period of Greek: it appears in Stems of the following forms:

a. In -ιω, -αιω, -ειω, -υιω or -ώιω (for -λ-ιω, -α-ιω, &c.), the ι blending with the final vowel of the Stem.

b. With epenthesis of ι, in -αιω, -αιρω (for -αν-ιω, -αρ-ιω).

c. With assimilation, in -λλω (for -λ-ιω), -σσω (for -κ-ιω, -τ-ιω), and -ξιω (for -δ-ιω, -γ-ιω).

d. By compensatory lengthening in -εινω, -ειρω, -εινω, -ηυω, -ηρω (for -εν-ιω, -ερ-ιω, -ευ-ιω, -υν-ιω, -υρ-ιω). That the ει of -εινω, -ειρω is not a true diphthong (and therefore not due to epenthesis) is shown by the corresponding Doric -ηινω, -ηρω.

e. In -αω, -εω, -οιω, -αιω, -ειω, -οίω (for -α-ιω, &c.).

a. Verbs in -ιω, &c.

51.] The Verbs in which the original ι becomes ι, thus forming -ιω, -αιω, -ειω, -υιω, are almost confined to the Homeric dialect. The chief examples are as follows:

(1) -ιω: ἐσθίει εις, ἔδιον I sweated, μήνει be angry, μάστει whip, ἀνα-κίκικε gushed forth, κονιό-υτες raisiny dust. In these verbs (except perhaps the first two) the Verb-Stem ends in ι, so that (e.g.) κονιό-υτες is for κοσι-ιο-υτες; so probably τιω I honour, φθιω I waste away, for τι-ιω, φθι-ιω. The ι therefore is naturally long, but may be shortened before a vowel; hence it is usually doubtful in quantity.

(2) -αιω: usually with loss of σ or ρ, ναίουσι dwell (Δοξ. νάσ-σα, νάσ-θη), μαίεσθαι to feel one's way (Fut. μάσ-σεται), λαλεῖαι desirest (λι-λασ-); καίω (for κάζ-ιω, cp. Αορ. ἐκάσα for ἐ-κας-a), κλαίω (for κλαζ-ιω), δαίκ kindled (δαύ-), ναίον swam (cp. ναύ-), γαίων rejoicing (γαῦ-ρος, Lat. gau-deo); κέραπε mix, ἀγαύμενος indignant (cp. ἐ-κέρασ-σα, ἧγαύ-σατο, but the σ in these words is not original, § 39, 2); perhaps also φθαίω (if παρα-φθαίσιν in Il. io. 346 is Pres. Subj., see K. Z. xxiii. 298).

Saιω divide forms its Tenses from two roots, (1) δαι-, 3 Plur. Pf. δεδαι-αται, cp. δαϊ-νυμ, δαι-ι, δαι-τρός, and (2) δαι-, Pf. δεδασ-ται, Pres. δατ-έρμαι (cp. παρ-έρμαι, πεπάσμαι).
(3) -εω: πενθείε-τον (probably for πενθεί-ε-του) mounh, μαχεύο-μενος fighting, ουδοβάρειαν drunken, τέλεον brought to pass, κείαν splitting, άκειό-μενοι being healed, νεκείη-σι shall quarrel, óκνειον I shrink, ύμνειον (Hes.).

When the diphthongs αί, εί come before a vowel there is a tendency to drop the i; as ἀγα-λο-μαί, 2 Plur. ἀγάδα-σθη (for ἀγάδα-σθε, § 55); κερα-ίω, 2 Plur. κερά-σθε; τέλε-ο-υ, also τέλε-ο-ν; ναίον swam, also νά-ει, νά-ουσι; perhaps also δάται shall be destroyed (root δα-); see Schulze, K. Z. xxix. p. 258). Where this tendency does not show itself, as in παίω, πταίω, σείω, it will usually be found that the diphthong belongs to the whole Verb, not merely to the Present Stem.

So perhaps ἵπασθε ye loved, ἱλάνται appase, ἰλων droue (Part. ἱλάων), ἰκλων broke: unless these forms are obtained by simple change from the Non-Thematic ἵρα-μαι, &c. (§ 18).

For the Presents in -εω from -εφω (θείω, πλείω, &c.), see § 29; 3.

(4) -υω: ὑπνει had to wise (for ὑπνο-ιω).

Most of the Presents in -ω are of this Class (original -νω), as φύω (Aeolic φυίω), θύω (ἔθυνεν Hesych.), λύω, δύω, ἴτυω, ἱτυώ, δίκυω. The vowel is doubtful, but only because it comes before another vowel (as was noticed in the case of Verbs in -ω).

ἵθω generally has υ; but υ in ἐπ-θυωστι (II. 18. 175), which ought to be so divided, not ἐπ-θυωστι. It is a Denominative from ἴθω (9) aim.

The Verbs in -ευω, -ουω are probably also of the I-Class (for -ενιω, -ουμ). For, as Curtius points out (Verb. i. 360), they are chiefly Denominatives, and it is contrary to analogy to form a Verb by suffixing the Thematic ε (ο) to a Noun-Stem.

b. Epenthesis of ι.

52.] It will suffice to give a few examples:—
-νω: μαίνω-μαι, φαίνω, βαίνω (βαμ-ω), and with reduplication, τι-ταίνω, παμφαίνω.
-ρω: αἴρω, σκαίρω, ἀσπαίρω, μαρμαίρω, καρκαίρω, χαίρω.

αιρω (for ἀφ-ω) is distinct from ἀείρω, which by contraction would become ιρω: cp. ἀείω, ἵδω (Brugmann, K. Z. xxvii. 196).

This Class includes also the numerous Denominatives in -αινω, -αιρω: see § 120. The Stem is in the weak form.

c. Assimilation of ι.

53.] Examples: -λω: ἀλλο-μαι, βάλλω, πάλλω, στέλλω, τέλλω; from Nouns, ἀγγέλλω, ναυτίλλομαι; with Reduplication ἴδαλλω, ἀττάλλω I rear, lend, cp. ἀτάλλω I cherish.

Epenthesis (instead of Assimilation) is found in δφειλω I owe.

-σσω: δόσσο-μαι (δφ-), πέσσω (πεκ-), ἐλίσσω (ἐλίκ-), πτύσσω (πτυχ-), λίσσο-μαι (λίτ-), κορύσσω (κορυφ-), πτώσσω (πτωκ-).
50

I-CLASS.

-ξω: for -διω in κλύξω, φράζω, χάζω-μαι; for -γιω in ἄζω-μαι, ρέζω, τρίζω; with reduplication, μμωνάζω I loiter, βιβάζω I cause to go, ἐλελίζω I make to quiver (II. i. 530)*.

d. Compensatory lengthening.

54. Examples: -εινω (for -εν-ιω), in τείνω, κτείνω, θείνω.
-ειρω (for -ερ-ιω), in εἴρω, κείρω, μείρομαι, πείρω, στείρω, τείρω, φθείρω, ἄγείρω, ἑίρω, ἐγείρω, ἑθείρω.
-ινω (for -ιν-ιω), in κλίνω, κρίνω, ὄρνω.
-ύνω (for -υν-ιω), in πλύνω, ἔντυνω.
-υρω (for -υρ-ιω), in κύρω, μύρομαι, φύρω, ὀδύρομαι.

e. Verbs in -αω, -εω, -ωω.

55. Assimilation. This term is applied to certain forms of the Verbs in -αω, in which, instead of contraction, we find assimilation of one of two concurrent vowels to the other, as ὀρώ for ὀράω, ὀράης for ὀράεις.

The chief varieties are as follows:

(a) Forms with simple Assimilation, the vowel being long—

| μνάδο-μενοι | μνώδο-μενοι |
| ηβάδο-ντες | ἡβώδο-ντες |
| μενουνάω | μενουνώ |
| ηγά-εςθε | ἡγάσσθε(*) |
| μνά-εςθε | μνάσσθε |
| μνάη | μνά (2 Sing. Mid.). |

(b) With shortening of the first vowel—

| ὀράω | ὀρώ |
| εάν-ς | εά-ς |
| αἰτίά-σθαι | αἴτια-σθαι |

Cp. δεδά-σθαι from δεδαλ-σθαι (§ 35) and ἄγά-σθε from ἄγα-σθε; Fut. ἀλώ, κρεμώ from ἐλάω, κρεμάω.

(c) With lengthened second vowel—

| ὀράω-ντες | ὀρώ-ντες |
| ὀράοι-τε | ὀρώ-τε |
| ὀράει-ς | ὀράς-ς |

This is the commonest form of Assimilation: cp. δηίω-ντο, δηιώ-εν from δηίω, ἄρωσι (Od. 9. 108) from ἄρω, κατ-ηπιόντο (II. 5. 417), ἑστρατόντο (II. 4. 378), ῥυπώντα (Od.).

* Cobet (Mscr. Orit.), following Bentley, has sought to show that the forms of ἐλελίζω belong in reality to ἐλιόςω (Felixo). He is doubtless right in substituting ἐλιχθεντες for ἐλελίχθεντες wheeling about: but it seems necessary to retain ἐλελίζω where the meaning is to set trembling (with intensive reduplication, like δακαλίζω, ὀλολύζω, &c.).
(d) With lengthened second vowel (the first being also long), in very few forms—

δράωνι gives δρόωσι
μαμαλόνι = μαμαλοσι μ
d δο
d ηδάωνι = ηδόωσα
μενουάει = μενουῶδα.

Other isolated examples are: μενουῆσι (II. 15. 82); ἀλῶ (Od. 5. 377), 2 Sing. Imper. of ἀλάομαι (for ἀλαῶ ἀλῶν); κεκράνται, κρηνᾶται, κραταίων; φανταθη (for φαντ-θη) ; σόως (Subj.), σῶς, σῶ (Opt., cp. § 83), σώντες (σαώ). Similar phenomena may be seen in φῶς for φᾶς (ορ φᾶς), σῶς for σᾶς, φαντατος for φαντατος, νηπίας for νηπίας, θρόνες (II.) for πρόνες, ἀστυβοῆς for ἀστυβοήης: also in a form Ἀλειώ (for Ἀλειάο) read by Zenodotus in II. 5. 263, 323, ὄως (μ518) 328.

1. These forms were regarded by the older grammarians as the result of a process called ‘distraction,’ (the exact reverse of contraction), by which a long vowel, a or ω, could be separated into two distinct vowels (αα, ωω, &c.). The first attempt to account for them in a more rational way was made by L. Meyer (K. Z. x. 45 ff.). According to him they represent an intermediate stage in the process of contraction. The order, he argued, is ὀρῶ — ὀρῶ — ὀρῶ: i.e. in ὀρῶ the a has been assimilated to the following ω, but is not yet uttered in one breath with it. In the forms ὀρῶντες, ὀρῶσι, &c. he pointed out that the long vowel is never wanted for the metre, and accordingly he wished to read ὀρῶντες, ὀρῶσι, &c. To this last proposal exception was taken by G. Curtius (Erläuterungen, p. 96), who made the counter-supposition that, as the a of these Verbs was originally long, the successive steps might be ὀρῶντες, ὀρῶσι, and (by metathesis of quantity) ὀρῶντες. The stage -ωο- is exemplified in μωώμενοι.

2. The main objection to this theory lies in the circumstance that the forms ὀρῶ, ὀρᾶς and the like are exclusively ‘Epic,’ that is to say, they are confined to Homer, Hesiod, and their direct imitators. If they had been created by any natural development of Greek sounds, we should expect to find them in other dialects. But neither in Ionic nor elsewhere is there any trace of their existence in living speech. It must be admitted, too, that neither Meyer nor Curtius has given a satisfactory account of the long vowel in ὀρῶσι, ὀρῶστο, ὀρῶντες, &c. A form ὀρῶντες, as Curtius pointed out, would give ὀρῶντες, not ὀρῶντες. And if there has been metathesis of quantity, why do we never find ὀρῶμεν for ὀρῶμεν, or ὀράτε for ὀράτε?

3. An entirely different theory was put forward by J. Wack-
ernagel (Bezz. Beitr. iv. 259). The true Homeric forms, in his view, are the original uncontracted ὅρῳ, ὅραῖς, &c. and these have passed into the ὅρῳ, ὅρας, &c. of our Homer by a process of textual corruption consisting of two stages: (1) contraction, according to the ordinary rules of Attic, into ὅρῳ, ὅρας, &c.—which would obviously give forms of different metrical value from the original words,—and then (2) restoration of the metre by a kind of ‘distraction’ (in the old sense of the term), i.e. the insertion of a short vowel before the new contracted -ὁ, -άς, &c. Thus ὅχ ὅραῖς first became ὅχ ὅρας, and then metris gratia ὅχ ὅρας*.

4. Paradoxical as this may seem, there can be little doubt that it is substantially right. The forms in question, as Wackernagel justly argues, are not a genuine growth of language. They are the result of literary tradition, that is to say, of the modernising process which the language of Homer must have undergone in the long period which elapsed before the poems were cared for by scholars. The nature of this process is excellently described and illustrated in his dissertation. In many cases, too, he shows that when the later form of a word ceased to fit the metre, some further change was made by which the metrical defect was cured, or at least disguised. Corruption of this latter kind may often be traced in the various readings of MSS.

But must we suppose that ὅρῳ, &c. went through the two changes which Wackernagel postulates?

5. The case is unique, not only from the large number of forms involved, and the singularly thorough and systematic way in which they have been introduced into the text, but also from the circumstance which he has himself so well pointed out, viz. their unreal conventional stamp. They are hardly more ‘modern’—in the sense of being familiar through contemporary speech—than the forms which they have displaced. Wackernagel has shown how ἔως and τέως supplanted the original ἑος and τῆος, even where the result was absolute ruin to the verse; as in Od. 19. 367, where nearly all the MSS. have ἔως ἵκως. Similarly the loss of the old Gen. in -oo (§ 98) has produced the forms Αἰῶν, Ἰφίτον, Ἰλίον, &c. scanned — — —. These examples, however, prove too much; for if such unmetrical forms could remain in the text without further change, why do we never find the slightest trace of an unmetrical ὅρῳ?

6. It is a further objection to this part of Wackernagel’s theory that in several words the original -αω, -αις, -αουςα, &c.

* This theory was criticised by Curtius in the Leipsiger Studien, iii. pp. 192 ff.
have been retained. The instances are, ναιετάω, -άει (Hes. Th. 775), -άνσι, -άων, -άοντα, ἑλάει, -άουσι, δοιδίαει, -άονσα, ὁμο- στιχάει, γυναίμεν, -άοιεν, κραδάών, ἐλάων, ἱλάοντα, τηλθάοντας; with α, ἀναμαμάει, πεινάω, -άοντα, δυψάω. (The forms which have lost a ι, as λαε, φαε, ἔχραοι, do not concern us now.) A third variety is exhibited by the form ναιετάωσαν (-σης, -ση, -ςας), which occurs in MSS., usually as a variant along with -άουσαν and -άωσαν. These facts are enough to show that the causes which produced the Homeric -ως, -ας, &c. were not of universal efficacy.

7. Is there, then, any way from ὤραω, ὤραις to ὤρων, ὤρας except through the contracted ὄρω, ὤρα;? We have to deal with a time when ὤρας, ὤρασ were the forms of ordinary speech, while ὄρω, ὤραις were only known from the recitation of epic poetry. Under such conditions it is surely possible that the poetical forms were partially assimilated to the colloquial forms—that ὄρω, ὤραις were changed into ὃρω, ὤρας by the influence of the familiar ὄρω, ὤρας. Similarly ἐνναε for ἐννάωε was doubtless due to the presence of the latter ἐνναε, not to any process of contraction and distraction. The principle is constantly exemplified in language; cp. the change of φραελ, the original Dat. Plur. of φῆμι, into φρειθ through the association of the other Case-forms.

8. With this modification of Wackernagel’s view it is easier to account for the occasional retention of the original -ἀω, -αεἰς, &c. If ὄρων, ὤρας are due to the presence of ὄρω, ὤρας in everyday language, we may expect to find a different treatment of words which went out of use in post-Homeric times. Thus ναιετάω does not pass into ναιετάω because there was no ναιετάω alongside of it in common use. Similarly ἐλαω, ἐλαών are accounted for by the Attic ἐλα, ἐλαν; but the Homeric Pres. Part. ἐλαων is unaffected. Two instances call for a different explanation, viz. πεινάω and δυψάω, since they are not rare or poetical words. But these are exceptions which prove the rule. As is shown by the Attic contraction (πεινής, &c.), they are not really Verbs in -ἀω. Whatever may be the origin of the α in the Homeric πεινάων, δυψάων, &c., they do not belong to the group with which we are now concerned.

9. An example of the process supposed by Wackernagel may be found in the Homeric τρωπάω, τρωχάω, στρωφάω, ποτάομαι (as to which see Nauck, Mél. gr.-rom. iv. 886). The forms which occur are always contracted, but in every instance except one (Π. 13. 557 στρωφάτ’) the uncontracted form can be restored if at the same time the root-vowel is shortened. Thus in Π. 15. 666 μηδε τρωπάσθε φόβονδε we may read μηδε τρο- τάεσθε φόβονδε. The verb ποτάομαι only occurs once (Π. 12.
287 λίθοι πωτώντο θαμειαί), while the form πυτάμαι is well attested. In the other cases the restoration is supported by etymology (τροπάω from τροπή, &c.), and by the considerable traces of τροπάω, τροχάω, στροφάω in our manuscripts (see Leaf on II. 15, 666). The process must have been that (e.g.) original τροπάσθη became τροπᾶσθη (which is also found in MSS.), and then τροπᾶσθη.

10. In the Impf. Act. assimilation is unknown, mainly because the metre generally allows contraction. We find however (1) several uncontracted forms, viz. οὕτας (Od. 22. 356), πέρασεν (ll. 16. 367), ὁλαον (Od. 16. 5), κατεσκίαιον (Od. 12. 436): ἐχράστε, ἐχρασον (for ἐχράζετε ἐχράζον) do not belong to this head. Also (2) some verbs show the New Ionic -eo- for -ao-, viz. ομόκλεεον, ομοκλέομεν, ποτέοντα, μενοῦν, ιμεον, τρόπεον.

For φῶς we find the two forms φῶς and φῶσ (ll. 16. 188 ἔξαγαγεν φῶσδέ), but never φῶν or φῶνος*. The exclusion of φῶος is remarkable, since it is related to φῶς as μναύμενος to μνάμενος. The reason doubtless is that φῶος came under the influence of φῶς (e.g. ὑράς and ὑρ-άς). On the other hand σῶς became σώς owing to the later σῶς. The change of πρόνεις to πρῶνες is similarly due to πρῶνες. In the case of ἀστυβάτης (for -βάτης) there is no evidence of a form -βάτης, but such a form would be according to the rules of Ionic contraction (βάσες for βοήσας, &c.).

56.] Contraction. The extent to which contracted forms of verbs were admitted in the original text of Homer is a matter of much dispute. In this place we are properly concerned only with verbs of the I-Class (-αω, -εω, -εω, for -α-ω, -ε-ω, -ο-ω), not with those in which a different spirant has been lost (as τρέω for τρέσ-ω, πλέω for πλέφ-ω).

1. In the verbs in -αω contraction is frequent. If the resolved form were written wherever the metre admits it, we should still find that in about half the whole number of cases the contraction must remain. It is worth notice too that contracted forms are often used in phrases of a fixed type, as ἐπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (or προσηύδων)—τὸδ' ὀβλαμφοῖν ὀβρώμαι—ὁρά (ὁρᾶν) φῶς ἡλίοιο—ἀνείρεια ἥδ' μεταλλᾶς—ἐξαύδα, μη κεῦθε, and the like†. It has indeed been noticed that there is an apparent preference for the resolved -αον of the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur. Impf.; but this must be accidental. We must conclude then that contracted and uncontracted forms of verbs in -αω were used in the language of Homeric times with equal freedom; or at least—if this be thought improbable—that they subsisted together as alternative forms in the poetical dialect.

2. Verbs in -ew rarely contract -eo or -ew, except in the Participle (-emévos for -eouménos). This rule is confirmed from New Ionic inscriptions (Erman, Curt. Stud. v. 292), as well as the MSS. of Herodotus. For ew in ποιεύμην (II. 9. 495), ουέντα (II. 7. 444), χλεύστα (II. 21. 261), έγεγόνευν (Od. 9. 47, &c.) and a few similar forms we should write -eo (see § 57).

The contraction of -ee, -eei is established by the large number of instances* in which it is required by the metre. Moreover it is not merely a license, necessary for the sake of admitting certain forms into the hexameter (such as ταρβέις, νεικείων, τελεύτατ, ἤγεισθα, σμαραγδέ, ἐφίλει, οἴνοχό̂ει). Among the instances of contraction in the last foot we find 29 of -eei for -ee (as χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριον ἔρει), and 16 of -ei for -eei (as καλι με γλυκός ἵμερος αἵρει); also the forms φιλεί (II. 2. 197 τιμή ὅ' ἐκ Δίος ἑστί. φιλεί δέ ἐ ε μπτέτα Ζεύς, also II. 7. 280., 10. 245, 552., 16. 94, Od. 15. 74), δοκεί (Od. 2. 33, and six times in the phrase ὃς μοι δοκεί εἴναι ἄριστα), τελεί (II. 4. 161), καλεί (II. 3. 390, Od. 17. 382), φοβεί (II. 17. 177). On the other hand the uncontracted form has the support of the metre in about a hundred places, and against the instances now quoted of φιλεί, &c. we have to set about thirty of the corresponding uncontracted φιλεί, δοκείς, -ει, τελείε, καλείε, φοβείειν. The uncontracted form therefore seems to have a slight preference, when the metre allows either.

In the MSS. of Homer contraction is generally introduced as far as possible, according to the tendencies of Attic: but the open forms occasionally survive, chiefly in the fourth foot (in such forms as προσεφώνει θείον όνερον—καὶ ἵτε σήμαν ιδίοια—κατά ὃ' ἔρει Πηλίωνα). And the metre clearly points to the open form in several other places: as—

II. 11. 552 (=17. 663) τάς τε τρέει ισσύμενος περ.
21. 362 ὃς δέ λέβης ξέει ἐνόν κτλ.
16. 201 ἀπελάτει Τρέψασιν.
Od. 10. 548 δωτέτει γλυκῶν ὤνων.

3. Verbs in -ow generally contract; χολοῦμαι, κορυφοῦται, γονοῦμαι. For the 'assimilated' forms δηύουντο, κατηπιώντο, ἐστραγόντα, ῥυπόωντα (§ 55) we ought, on the analogy of the Verbs in -aw, to substitute δηύοντο, &c.

57.] Synizesis. The vowel ε sometimes coalesces with a following o or ω, so as to form one syllable for the purpose of the metre; e.g. ἀλπτέοντες, ἠλάοτεον, έγύμεον, ἐπόρθεον (at the end of a verse), οἰκέοτο, ἐιλέωςι, χρεώμενος. Whether the pronunciation of these words differed from that of the contracted forms is a question which perhaps there are no means of determining.

* About 160 according to the list in Menrad, pp. 132-142.
Meaning of Verbs of the I-Class.

58.] Verbs in -εω are mainly Intransitive, whether formed from Adjectives, as ἀπωστέω I am unbelieving, or abstract Nouns, as μοιχέω I labour. But there is also a group of Causatives in -εω, as φοβέω I put to flight, ὀξέω, φορέω. 

Verbs in -ω are chiefly formed from Adjectives in -εο, as ἀνεμονάω, ἀποκειόμαι. There is also a group of Causatives in -εο, as I put to flight, ὀφελείον, ἀνοίγω. 

Verbs in -οω are chiefly formed from Adjectives in -εο, and are Causative, as χειρόω I make desolate. Exceptions are, ὑπνόω-οιτες sleeping, μυγώ I shudder, βιώ I live.

59.] Desideratives. One instance in -σεω is found in Homer, ἀγελοντες (II. 14. 37) going to see. A suffix -ιεθεό may be found in κακελοντες going to bed (κατά-κει-μαί), τι-όμενα going to drink, ὑπαλειψεια (II. 10. 96) thou art for doing.

60.] Frequentatives, expressing habitual action, in -ταιω, -ταίω, -τεω: as εὐχετάω-μαι, συνετάω, ολοντο-τάζω, ζή-τεω (δί-ζη-μαι), λαμπτούντι, ἐλκυστάζων, ἔργον

In -ταω, κελευτίων shouting (as if from an abstract Noun κελευτία), κυνιών roaring.

In -ταω, as ἔρυκανώσωi keep restraining, ἴσχαρώσωi.

In -θαω, as τηλεθόωσα blooming (θαλ-έω).

61.] Intensives, expressing actions intensified by repetition. These are generally reduplicated Verbs of the I-Class, the reduplication containing either a diphthong or a second consonant, as δει-δισεοθαί to terrify, δαι-δάλλωω working curiously, ἐκ-ταύ-φάσεον to rush in front, παμ-φαίνων gleaming, βαμ-βάλλων staggering, μαρμαροντες glittering, κάρε-καιρε chattered, πόρ-φυρε was troubled (lit. of water), πα-φλάξοντα splashing, πα-πταίνων peeping round, μα-μαίες rages, δειδάλλωω (for δελδ-?) winking.

62.] Collateral forms of the Present. It is characteristic of the Homeric language that Present Stems formed in different ways from the same Verb-Stem often subsist together in actual use, as alternative forms expressing the same (or nearly the same) meaning. Thus we have λήθ-ω, ληθ-άνω, λανθάνω; πεύθο-μαι, πυθάνο-μαι; βά-σκο, βαίνω, βιβά-ς, βιβά-ζω, βιβάδονων; ἵκω, ἵκανω, ἵκ-υέ-ο-μαι; ἔχω, ἴσχω, ἴσχανω, ἴσχανάω; ἐρύ-κό-μαι, ἐρυ-κ-ανόν-ως; ἀλε-ο-μαι, ἀλυτκω, ἀλυκάνω, ἀλυκάκω; τάνυ-μαι, τα-νύω, τείνω, τιταίνω; τεϋχω, τυχάνω, τι-τύ-σκο-μαι; μένω, μί-μυν, μυ-μάζ-ζω. 

It may be conjectured that these different forms originally expressed corresponding shades of meaning. In some cases a more specific meaning may still be traced; e.g. φάσκω I allege (i.e. keep saying, or perhaps try to say) has something of the Iterative force (cp. ρίπτασκε he kept flinging about) which in
The Stem of the Future is formed by suffixing -σε(o) to the Verb-Stem (in the strong form); as φη-σει, δό-σω, δείξω (δεικ-), ἐκ-πέρσω (περθ-), πείσομαι (πενθ-), χείσται (χενθ-), δέξομαι (δεξ-), εἰ-σομαι (εἰ-μι).

The Stem ἐσ- gives ἐσ-σομαι and ἐσσομαι (3 Sing. ἐσε-ται and ἐσ-ται); so ἐσ-σω (Feσ-). The Futures φράσσο-μαι (or φράσσο-μαι), μάσσε-ται, ἀπό-δάσσο-μαι (ὄσον-νται), χάρσσο-νται are formed like the corresponding Aorists in -σα; see § 39.

Other Verbs which have an Aorist in -σα (σα)—the Verb-stem ending in a short vowel (§ 39, 2)—usually form the Future without o. Thus we find:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aor.</th>
<th>Fut.</th>
<th>τελέσσαι</th>
<th>τελέ-ω, τελέ-ωσαι</th>
<th>373.</th>
<th>kaléssai</th>
<th>kalé-ουσα (II. 3. 383).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ὀλέσσαι</td>
<td>ὀλείται, ὀλε-σέθε (also ὀλέσσεις, ὀλέσσει)</td>
<td>μαχέσασθαι</td>
<td>μαχέ-ονται, μαχεῖται.</td>
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<tr>
<td>κορέσσαι</td>
<td>κορέ-εις.</td>
<td>κρεμάσται</td>
<td>κρεμώ (for κρεμά-ω).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἐπέρασσε</td>
<td>περάν (for περά-ειν).</td>
<td>ἐδάμασσα</td>
<td>δαμόω, δαμά (for δαμά-ω, δαμά-ει).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἡλασσα</td>
<td>ἡλῶ, Inf. ἡλάν (for ἡλά-ω, ἡλά-ειν).</td>
<td>ὄμοσα</td>
<td>ὄμοθμαι (for ὄμο-ομαι: 3 Sing. ὄμειται, on the analogy of ὀλεῖται, μαχεῖται).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἑτάνωσε</td>
<td>τανώω. 877/77</td>
<td>ἀνύσαι</td>
<td>ἀνύω.</td>
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<td>ἐφυσα</td>
<td>ἐφύω, ἐφύ-εσθαι.</td>
<td>ἐφύσατο</td>
<td>ἐφύεσθαι (II. 20. 195).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀντιάσαι</td>
<td>ἀντίω (also ἀντίάσεις, Od. 22. 28).</td>
<td>ἐκόμισσα</td>
<td>κομίω.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ἀεικίσασθαι</td>
<td>ἀεικιώ.</td>
<td>κτερίσαις</td>
<td>κτερίσθοι.</td>
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| ἄγαλαίεσθαι. | It is not easy to determine (even approximately) the number of Future Stems formed like the Aorist in -σα. In several instances the reading is uncertain: e.g. between ἐφύσασθαι and ἐφύσασθαι (II. 21. 176, Od. 21. 125), ἀγάσσασθαι and ἀγάσσασθαι (Od. 4. 181), ἀνύσασθαι and ἀνύσασθαι (Od. 16. 373), παρελάσσεις, παρελάσσαι and παρελάσσαι (II. 23. 427), ἀπουρίσουσι and ἀπουρίσουσι (II. 22. 489). Several forms may be either
TENSES.

Fut. or Aor. Subj.: γοσομαι (II. 1. 427), δπόσομεν (II. 24. 153), ενιάσω (Od. 4. 408), λημσομαι (Od. 23. 357), ἐρύσεται (II. 10. 44), ὀλέω (Od. 13. 399), ἀφοσόμεθα. There remain: ἀρκέσει (II. 21. 131—in Od. 16. 261 we should read ἀρκέσῃ), αἰδοσται (II. 22. 124, 24. 208), ὀνύστεται (II. 9. 55), γλανῦστεται (II. 14. 504), ὀνόσεις (II. 12. 250), ὀλέσει (Od. 2. 49), and a few forms of derivative Verbs in -αςω, -ιςω, viz. αἰχμάσονσι (II. 4. 324), θαμάσσεται (II. 18. 467), ἐφοπλίσσουσι (Od. 6. 69), ἀντίσεις (Od. 22. 28). On the whole it would appear that the Futures with σσ (or σ representing original σσ) are confined to the stems which ended in σ or σ or a dental. In a very few instances they are due to analogy, like the corresponding Aorists in -σσα. Distinct Stems are used in ἀρπάζω, Aor. ἢρπασεν and ἀρπάζαι, Fut. ἀρπάζων; ἀφύσω, Aor. ἀφυσάμενος, Fut. ἀφύζευς.

From μάχω-μαι, besides Aor. μαχέσασθαι, Fut. μαχέ-ονται, the MSS. give an Aor. μαχέσατο, Fut. μαχήσομαι. The ancient critics were divided as to these forms: Aristarchus wrote μαχήσατο, μαχήσομαι, others μαχέκατο, μαχέ-κομαι. The form μαχίκασα-το is supported by μαχίσασθα; on the other hand μαχήσομαι is supported by μαχήσις, μαχήμων, &c. Considering the number of cases in which the language has avoided forming the First Aorist and the Future in the same way, the probability would seem to be that the MSS. are right.

For γυαία γαμίσσεται αὐτός, which the MSS. give in II. 9. 394, Aristarchus read γυαίά γι μᾶσσα αὐτός: doubtless rightly, the trochaic caesura in the fourth foot being unknown in Homer (§ 367, 2: Veitch, p. 130). The usual Fut. is γαμέω.

Verb-Stems ending in a liquid (ρ, λ, μ, ν) insert ε and drop the σ, as μεν-έω, ἀγγελ-έων, κερ-έευ, κραν-έσθαι, ὀτρύν-έω, κτεν-έω*, and (with contraction) ἐκ-φανεί (II. 19. 104), κατα-κτενεί (II. 23. 412). But some Stems in ρ form -ροω, as δια-φέρ-σει, ὄρ-ούσα (II. 21. 335), θέρ-ομένος (Od. 19. 507).

Similarly μάχομαι forms μαχέ-ονται (II. 2. 366), and with contraction μαχείται (II. 20. 26).

The derivative Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω, -ωω form -ηοω, -ωοω, -υω, the vowel being invariably long.

Exceptional: διδό-σομεν (Od. 13. 358), διδώσεων (Od. 24. 314).

On the anomalous Futures ἐδομαι, πιομαι, δήω, κεώ, βείομαι, see §§ 59, 80.

64.] The Future in -σεω. The Suffix -σεε(ο) is found in ἔσ-σείται (II. 2. 393., 13. 317; Od. 19. 302), and πεσέονται (II. 11. 824) which is perhaps for *πετ-σεω-νται (but see § 41). Also,

* The forms κατα-κτανίσουι (II. 6. 499) and κατακτανέσθε (II. 14. 481) are probably corrupt (Cobet, V. L. p. 195). κτανέντα (II. 18. 309) involves a use of the Fut. Part. which is hardly to be defended: see § 86.
the accent of the Futures κομι-ω, ἀεικι-ω, κτερι-οῦσι, ἀγλαῖ-εἰσθαί points to contamination of the forms in -σω and in -εω.

According to some ancient grammarians the Fut. of ἄνω, ἐρω, &c. should be written ἄνω, ἐρω, &c.; see Schol. II. 11. 454., 20. 452. This form in -σω is found in Attic (πλευσομαι, &c.; see however Rutherford’s New Phrynichus, pp. 91-95); it answers to the Doric Fut. in -σω.

65. Futures from Perfect and Aorist Stems. A Future Perfect meaning appears in μεμή-σομαι I shall remember, κεκλη-σῃ thou wilt bear the name, εἰρή-σεται will be said, κεκολω-σεται he will be in wrath, δέδεξομαι I will await, πεφή-σεται will appear (II. 17. 155), πεφή-σεαι thou will be slain, τετεύξεται will be made, λελεύσεται will remain behind, βεβρώσεται will be devoured. In these cases the Fut. answers to a Perfect in actual use.

For πεφήσεαι J. Wackernagel (K. Z. xxvii. 279) would read πεφεῖσεαι (for πε-φε-σεα, related to πεφά-ται as τετεύξεται to τέτυκται). But the stem πεφε- does not occur in the inflexion of the Verb, and there is no analogy to suggest it. More probably πεφήσεαι is formed from πίφαται on the analogy of ἔφα-το and φή-σω, δύνα-μαι and δυνή-σομαι, &c.

Active Futures of the kind occur in II. 15. 98 ὁδὲ τὶ φημὶ πάσιν ὅμως θυμῶν κεκαρή-σείμεν I do not suppose I shall gladden the heart of all alike (cp. Od. 23. 266 ὥστε τοι θυμῶς κεκαρή-σεται will not be gladdened): II. 22. 223 πεπιθή-σω I will persuade; Od. 21. 153, 170 κεκαδή-σει will deprive. These forms may be either connected with the Perfect (κεκαρή-στα ἐντολή), or with the Reduplicated Aorist (κεκάρω-ντο were gladdened, πεπιθεῖν to persuade). The latter view is supported by two other Futures of the kind; κεκαδή-σόμεθα we will give way, answering to the Aor. κεκαδῶν, Mid. κεκάδο-ντο; and πεπιθή-σεται will spare, answering to πεπιθέ-σθαι to spare. It will be seen that the Active forms of this kind have a distinctly causative meaning, whereas (e.g.) χαρήσω and πιθήσω are intransitive.

Futures from the Passive Aorists. Of this formation two examples at most can be found in Homer: μεγή-σε-σθαι (II. 10. 365), and διή-σε-αι (Od. 3. 187., 19. 325). It has been already noticed (§ 9) that there is nothing in the Greek Future answering to the distinction between the Aorist and the Imperfect, though ἀ πρινί such a distinction is quite conceivable.

It is worth noticing that in the Doric dialect this group of Futures takes the Active endings: as φανήσω.

66. The Fut. is sometimes found with Mid. Endings while the corresponding Pres. is Act. The examples in Homer are:—εἰμί, ἔσομαι; ἔσω, θεύσομαι; κλαίω, κλαῖσομαι; ἰδεύω, ἰδέσομαι; ἀείδω, ἀείσομαι; κατα-νεώ, κατα-νεύσομαι; θαυμάζω, θαυμάσσεται.
With these are usually reckoned the Verbs in which the Pres.
is of a different formation, as ὁμοῦμαι (ὁμ-νημ), πεσόντας (πίπτω),
tέξουσαι (τίκτω), φθόνοντας (φθάνω), βησομαι (βαίνω), καµεῖται (κάµµω),
tέξουσαι (τυγχάνω), ἀμαρτήσεσθαι (ἀμαρτάω), δεινέσσαι (δεινήσκω),
πεσόμαι (παίσχω) : also the Futures to which no Pres. corresponds,
as εἰσοµαι (εἰδά), δεισομαι (δείδα), ὄψομαι (ὄπ-).

It may help to explain these cases if we consider that the Fut.
Act. is apt to have a Transitive sense, as in στίγµω, βήτω, φύσω.
Hence there was a tenendey to have recourse to the Middle
whenever a distinctly intransitive sense was wanted.

Historical Tenses—the Augment.

67.] The August takes two forms, the Syllabic and the
Temporal.

The Syllabic Augment is the prefix ε-, and is used for Stems
beginning with a consonant. The Temporal Augment is a
simple lengthening of the initial vowel of a Stem, the vowels α
and ε becoming γι as γιγαντ (γιγ-νατ), γιλα-σαν (ελα-ν), ἵκε-το (ἵκ-)
αρ-το (ἀρ-), γιλλα-το (Πφ. ελλα-ται), γίνεω (αίνεω), ψετο (οίχο-
μαι). So the Impf. ημا I went (Sanser. āgam), from the stem
εί (ει-μι) : as to the form ημα see § 12.

Many seeming exceptions are due to the loss of the original
initial consonants, F, σ, τ. The loss of one of these consonants
may generally be presumed whenever we find the Syllabic instead
of the Temporal Augment. Thus—

F has been lost in ε-άγη and ε-αξε (άγιμμι), ε-άλη (Fελ-), ε-ειςε,
ε-έσα-το (ένιμµα), είδου (for ε-κο-ν), ε-οθεν-ν ; so perhaps, with
contraction of ee to ei, ειρν-σα (Fερν-), and ειλν-ν.

For είδου there is an Α elic form ειδον (έ-δινων, cp. ειδαδε), which should
perhaps be restored in some at least of the numerous places where the present
text of Homer has ειδε (Nauck, Mä. gr.—rom. ii. 407).

ο in ε-έσα-το (for ε-έσα-ν, from σεδ-), and, with contraction,
eιπε-το (σεπ-), εισα-ν (σεδ-), ειχον-ν (σεχ-), ειρν-ν (σερπ-).
In these cases the σ passed into the rough breathing, which was
then thrown back on the Augment : but εινων has the smooth
breathing owing to the following χ. Also εια (ειων for σεφαω).

τ (or γ) perhaps in ηνκα (for γ-ηνκα) and, with contraction, ειµεν
(ε-μεν), and παρ-ειθ (ε-εθ). But see § 16.

Several Homeric forms have been supposed to point to a Syllabic August
γ (instead of ε). One of these—ημα I went—has been already explained (§ 12).
As to the others we have to note as follows:

(1) ἐσεπεν (II. 10. 499) is not from ειρω to join together (Lat. sero), but from
ἐσεπο : for, as Cobet has shown (Misc. Crit. p. 326), ἐσεπο is a technical word in
the sense required (cp. II. 15. 680 συναείρεται ἵππος, also the words ἕνωτις, for
ἐν-αορ-ις, and παρ-ηφος).
AUGMENT.

(2) In several words (as usually written) the initial vowel of the Stem is lengthened after ε·-: ήγανε (for ε·-Φανα-), ε·-φονέθε (Φονούθεω), ἀν·-ε·-φε, ἀν·-ε·-φε (ἀν·-φοιγ·), also ε·-γη (Γη·-νυμ·), with ά in one place (II. 11. 559), and the Plpf. forms εὐλπετε (εὐλπα, εὔπετο·), ἑόργε (εὐργα, εὔργη·), ἑόκε (εὐκα, ἑύκω·). In some of these there may be merely confusion with the later use of the Temporal Augment: e.g. ήγανε is doubtless due to the Attic ήγενε, a form which arose after the loss of ι. Hence recent editors write ίάνανε, Φονούθει, ἀνίογγον, also ίόλπεί, Κόργει, έόκει. ᾿Αλεκ. Πολτ. 43.

(3) A different explanation is required for εάνγ (ά), supported as it is by Attic έωρον (δρόω) and έάλων (ά in ἀλώνι, &c.)*. These point to an Augment η, the combinations ηφα, ητά passing into εω, εά (as in βασελώς, -έα for ηφος, -ητά). Such an Augment is also found in ιείδης, ιείδει (Plpf. of ιδέα), and ήισκε. There is much probability in the suggestion of G. Meyer (G, G, p. 423) that this η is a Temporal Augment obtained from the prothetic ε- so often found before F: e.g. in ε·-ισάμενος (σείδω). Thus ήισκε would be the augmented form of ήικα, not of ικω.

(4) The forms άνφογγε, άνφογγε are peculiarly difficult on account of the Homeric Pres. οι·-γνυμ, Αορ. άαία, and Lesbian άείγω (Pres. Inf. άείγην, Coll. 214, 43). We might read άνε·-ειγγε, &c., but the ordinary forms οι·-γγο, όν··-ογγο, &c. would still be unexplained.

Initial ρ is nearly always doubled, initial λ, μ, ν, σ very often.

This may often be explained as the assimilation of an original initial F or σ: thus έρρητα is for ε··-Ρητα, and so άρρητες (Ερρητές) and Ερρητής (Ερρητής). Again άρρητε is for ε·-σρεν, έσνεν for ε·-σνεν, έλλαβε perhaps for ε·-σλαβε (Joh. Schmidt, Pluralb. p. 434). So έδεικεν (which Ar. wrote έδεικεν) is for ε··-δεικέν and έδεικε na probably for έ··-διεκα (Sanscr. root γιθω). So too in έ·-γδούπησαν the γ reappears which is lost in the unaugmented δουπήσειν.

There are instances, however, to which this explanation does not apply, as έμμαθέ. These are probably due to the influence of forms such as those already mentioned upon the traditional poetic dialect (Curtius, Stud. iv. 479 ff.; for a different view see Hartel's Homerische Studien). Cp. § 371.

68.] THE PLUPERFECT. The Perfect Stem forms the corresponding Historical or Past Tense—the Pluperfect—in two ways:

1. Simply, with the Augment (often omitted) and the Secondary Person-Endings. All Middle forms of the Tense are of this kind, as ε·-τέτυκ·-το, εφ··-ππτο, τετά·-θήνα, ήλά·-λα-το. In the Active the examples are comparatively few, viz. δείκτε (II. 18. 34), άνήραθθεν (II. 11. 266), and έπ·-ενήνθε (II. 2. 219); Plur. ε·-τεύκθα-μεν, ε··-δείκθα-μεν, ε··-δείκθα-σαν, ε··-στα-σαν, βέβα·-σαν, μέμα·-σαν, ἄπο·-τέθνα·-σαν; Dual έκ··-την, έκ··-εγώ·-την.

* ἡλω was taken (Od. 22. 230 άη θ' ἡλω βουλη κτλ.) should perhaps be written ἠλω. The Stem 'θαλω- appears in the Moods (άλω, άλθη, ἀλώνι, ἀλως), except in the form ἀλώντε (II. 5. 487), where the metre requires ά.
With these may be placed the Thematic forms ἐ-γέγονε (II. 14. 469), ἔνωγο-ν, ἔνωγε, ἐ-πέπληγο-ν, πεπλῆγε-το, ἐμέμηκον, in Hesiod ἐπέφυκον: see § 27.

2. By Composition, with the Augment and the Suffix -εα (probably for -εσα), joined to the longer form of the Stem: e.g. ἐ-πεθήπ-εα, πεποίθεα, ἡρώ-εα. The 3 Sing. usually has -εε(ν) contracted -ε(ν), as ἐ-πεποίθει, ἡρώειν, δει-εί, ἡρή-ει, βεβή-κει. The Phr. occurs only once in Homer, in ἐοίκ-εσαν (II. 13. 102): the Dual never.

To this group belongs ἔδεα I knew, 2 Sing. ἔλεος (for ἐ-φελθεας), also φόνσθα, 3 Sing. ἔδει, ἔδει (or, as Aristarchus read, ἦλθην, ἦλη). As to the augment ἦ- see § 67. In respect of form ἔδεα is a Sigmatic Aorist, standing for ἐ-φελθεα, Sanser. ἄνεδοθα, and is only a Pluperfect because it is used as the past tense answering to οίδα (M. U. iii. p. 16).

69.] Loss of Augment. The Augment is so often dropped in Homer that the augmented and the unaugmented forms are almost equally numerous. It has been observed however* that the forms without the Augment are comparatively rare in the speeches, the proportion of augmented to unaugmented forms (excluding speeches which mainly consist of narrative matter) being about 10 to 3, whereas in narrative it is about 5 to 7. It would appear therefore that the Augment is chiefly omitted where the context shows that past time is meant; and this is confirmed by the remarkable fact that the Iteratives, which are only used as Historical Tenses, do not take the Augment.

The only clear instance of an Iterative form with the Augm. is ἐ-μοσχοσκόντο (Od. 20. 7). On the forms ἐ-φασκο-ν, ἐ-φασκε see § 49. "πεπελάμβαναν (§ 21), ἐπέσαν".

Meaning of the Present and Aorist Stems.

70.] The forms which contain the Present Stem (the Present and Imperfect Indic., with the Moods of the Present) denote progressive action (incipient, continued, repeated, &c.), as opposed to a single fact or event.

It is easy to understand why a language which distinguished these two kinds of action should have no Aorist for present time (*βημι, *λάμσω, &c.). The present is not a space of time, but a point; what is present therefore is not (generally speaking) a whole action or event, but the fact that it is in course of happening. So in English we usually say, not I write now, but I am writing now. The mere effort of regarding an action as in present time almost obliges us to give it a progressive character.

The forms εἰμι, εἶμι, φημι, ἄγω, γράφω, &c., in which the Stem has the form generally found only in Aorists (§ 11, § 30), may be regarded as surviving

* Konrad Koch, De Augmento apud Homerum omissa, Brunswick, 1868.
instances of the 'Present Aorist,' i.e. of a Present not conveying the notion of progress. We may compare the English use of I am, I go (now archaic in the sense of I am going), I say (says he), &c. In these cases the use of a distinctly progressive form has not been felt to be necessary.

A past action may usually be regarded, if we choose, as a single fact, irrespective of its duration (ἔβασεν ἀρνοῦν ἔτη πράκοητα he reigned, not he continued reigning). But an action which is thought of as contemporary with some other event is almost necessarily regarded as progressive. Accordingly, answering to the Present I am writing (now), we have the Past Tense I was writing (when he came).

It follows from what has been said that a Pres. or Impf. may be used either (1) because the action intended is essentially progressive, or (2) because the time is fixed by reference (a) to the moment of speaking, or (β) to a point of time in the past. E.g. δέωμι may mean either I seek to give, I offer, or I am giving; ἔδωκα either he offered or he was giving. In the second of these uses the notion of progress is only relative, arising from the relation of time under which the action is thought of.*

71.] From the relative notion of progress or continuance is derived the general rule that the Impf. is used of a subordinate action or circumstance: Π. 8. 87 ὅφφ' ὦ γέρων ἀπέταμεν τόφφ' Ἐκτορός ἡκέες ἐπποι ἦλθον while he was cutting the chariot came.

Some varieties of this use may be noticed:—

(1) The Impf. shows that a Verb stands in a special connexion with the Verb of another clause; Π. 1. 3–5 ψυχ' Ἀιδι προίραρν ἦρων, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐλώρα τινὲς κύνεων sent down the souls of heroes to Hades, while it made themselves a prey to dogs.

(2) In oratio obliqua, as Π. 22. 439 ἠγγειλ' ὅτι ρά οἱ τόσις ἐκτοθι μίμην πυλάων.

(2) The action or point of time to which the Verb in the Impf. is subordinate may be merely implied:—

Π. 4. 155 θανατόν νῦ τοι ὅρκι ἔταμνον it was death then to you that I made (in making the treaty).

So in the common use with ἀρα: as ὅπ δ' οὐκ ἄρα τοῖος ἐσθα you were not as I thought (= you are not, it now seems).

* Aken, Hauptdata, p. 9.
72.] Essentially progressive action (incomplete or continuous) is exemplified—

(1) In the Verbs which form the Aor. from a different Verb-Stem: ὁράω I watch (Lat. tueor, whereas εἴδον means I descried); λέγω I relate, set forth (but εἶπον I said); φέρω I carry (but ἔγικον I brought); so τρέχω, ἔρχομαι (expressing different kinds of motion).

(2) In other Verbs of motion, esp. βαινω and ἴστημι, as II. 21. 313 ἴστη δὲ μέγα κύμα raise up a great wave, and often in the Mid., as II. 2. 473 ἔν πεδίῳ ἴσταντο were drawn up in the plain, παρίστατο came and stood beside, &c.

Note 1. We should read ἴστασαν (not ἴστασαν as a First Aor.) in—

II. 2. 535 στίχας ἴστασαν (Bekk., La R., from the best MS.).

12. 56 τοῖς ἴστασαν ulla Ἀχαϊῶν which the Greeks had planted; see § 73.

Od. 3. 180 τέτατον ἦμαρ ἐγώ δ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ νής ἦταν ἴστασαι

Τυφώνων ἔταροι . . . ἴστασαν (see Ameis a. l.).

8. 435 αἰ δὲ λογοτρόποι τρίτος ἴστασαν

18. 307 αὖτις λαμπτήρας τρεῖς ἴστασαν } Bekk., La Roche.

2. The Verb ἄγω is often so used: II. 1. 367 τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνὶ διεπόδομεν τε καὶ ἴσομεν ἐνθάδε πάντα; II. 7. 363 κτήματα δ' ὑσσ' ἁγόμην the treasures which I brought (= have brought); II. 9. 664 τὴν Αἰεδάθεν ἤγε ὁμιλήθη to whom he had brought. In this Verb, however, the Aorist meaning appears distinctly in the Participle; II. 6. 87 ἦ δὲ ἔξω ὑπάγουσα γεραίδαν assembling (= having assembled); II. 11. 311 ἲδον ἄγων brought and seated (cp. 3. 48., 4. 392., 11. 827., 22. 350). Perhaps these uses should be connected with the Aoristic form of the Stem (§ 70).

(3) In Verbs expressing the beginning of a motion, as ἀφίνεω bestirred himself (but ὠρτο ἀφος); ἀφίει, προτεί, ἐπεμπε; μύθων ἥρκε began speech.

This usage extends to all words which imply a continuous result; κέλευε, ἐκέλευς, ἐπέτελλε, ὤτε; οὐκ ἐξ will not allow; λειπό (to leave—to keep at home).

(4) ἀκούω and πεύδομαι sometimes mean to know by hearing; as II. 11. 497 οὖδε πῶς Ἠκτωρ πεῦδε Ηεκτωρ was not yet aware: 14. 125 τὰ ἐπεῖ δέλλετ' ἀκούειν γε are like to have heard it; Od. 3. 87, 187, 193. So in Attic μανθάω I understand, αἰσθάνομαι I am aware, μαθάνομαι I learn (Goodwin, § 28).

73.] A process thought of in relation to the present time, or to a point in the past, is expressed by the Impf. (=Engl. I have been doing, I had been doing): e. g.—

II. 6. 282 μέγα γὰρ μὲν Ὄλυμπιος ἐτρεφεῖ πῆμα has reared him up to be a mischief (a process). Cp. II. 1. 414 τί νῦ σ' ἐτρεφού; why have I reared thee? 9. 524 ἐπενθύμηθα we have been accustomed to hear. So the Participle, II. 3. 44 φῶτες who have been saying.

74.] The 'historical Present' is not found in Homer, but
somewhat the same effect is often given by the use which may be called the descriptive Imperfect. E.g.—

II. 2. 150 νησας ἐπ’ ἐσσενυτο, ποδῶν δ’ ὑπένερθε κονίη ἔτατ’ ἁγρομένη, τοι δ’ ἀλλήλοις κέλευον ἀπτεθανα νησὸν ἥδ’ ἐλκέμεν εἰς ἄλα διὰν, οὖροις τ’ ἐξεκάθαρον κ.τ.λ.

The Impf. appears sometimes to be used in a description along with Aorists for the sake of connexion and variety (i.e. in order to avoid a series of detached assertions): e.g. in Π. 1. 437-439., 2. 43-45., 4. 112-119, Od. 4. 577-580.

75.] The Aorist gives the meaning of a Verb without the accessory notion of progress or continuance. It does not describe, or transport us to a time in the past when the action was present (as the Impf. does), but makes us think of it as now past. Hence it asserts a single occurrence,—an action, or series of actions, regarded as an undivided whole,—or completion, a culminating point, in which the action is summed up. Thus μογέω I am toiling, ἐμοῦσα (Π. 1. 162) I have toiled; νοεω I think of, ἐνόησε perceived, understood; θαρσέω I feel confident, θαρσησάς taking courage, and so δείσας, ἀλγήσας, μίσσες, νεμέσσες, &c., of the access of a feeling; ἀνρωθησαν (Π. 16. 756) joined in strife; ταπτήρας casting a glance; φωνήσας either raising his voice or having spoken: ἐπ’ ἣματι δακρύσαντες (Π. 19. 229) performing the due weeping for the day.

76.] The Aorist is often used in Homer of the immediate past—that which in an especial sense is thought of as now past:—

Π. 2. 114 νῦν δὲ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλεύσατο, καὶ μὲ κελεύει δυσκλέα "Αργος ἱκέσθαι.

Οδ. 1. 182 νῦν δ’ ὥδε ἦν νητ κατήλυθον (ερ. 23. 27).
Π. 20. 16 τίπτ’ ἀυτ’, ἀργικέρασε, θεοὶς ἀγορίθμε κάλεσας;

Sometimes the Aor. seems to give the question a tone of impatience: Π. 2. 323 τίπτ’ ἦνοι ἐγένεσθε; 4. 243 τίθθ’ οὕτως ἐστητε τεθητότες; (vulg. ἐστητε, an impossible form), ερ. 20. 178 τι νυ τόσον ὅμιλον πολλον ἐπελθων ἐστης; 21. 562., 22. 122., Od. 4. 810., 10. 64. Κρ. the Attic use of τι φω, as Soph. O. T. 1002 τι δήτ’ ἐγὼ οὐχι ... ἐξελευσάμην; (Goodwin, § 62).

When the Aor. is used in an action which is subordinate to another in the past, it implies completion before the main action: Π. 2. 642 οὐδ’ ἅρ’ ἐτ’ οὐτός ἦν, διὰν δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος he was no longer living, and yellow-haired Meleager had died.

A similar use of the Aor. is regular in the Subj., as Π. 1. 168 ἐτει κε κάμω when I have grown weary: and in the Participle, as δει εἰπων having thus spoken. The Aor. in these uses expresses, not past time as such (with reference to the moment of speak-
ing), but completion with reference to (i.e. usually before) the time of the principal Verb.

77.} The Participle of the Aor. is sometimes used to express exact coincidence with the action of the principal Verb: as βῆ δὲ ἀλήσαν ὑπὸν ὑπὸν shouted the words; 11. 8. 219 ποιηνῦσαντι θῶς ὤριν 'Αχαίον to make hot haste in stirring up the Greeks; 11. 13. 597 κείρα παρακρῆσασα: 11. 10. 139., 16. 474., 17. 334., 20. 161., Od. 2. 422., 17. 330 (cp. φεύγειν παρασείσαντι Arist. Eth. Nic. 4. 3. 15).

78.} The Aor. sometimes appears to be used of present time.

(1) As in—

11. 14. 95 νῦν δὲ σὺν ὑνοσάμην πάρχειν φρένας οἶων ἔειπες.
The Aor. here expresses a culminating point, reached in the immediate past, or rather at the moment of speaking: I have been brought to the point of blaming, i.e. I blame.

11. 20. 306 ἢδον... ἡχοτερε has now come to hate.

11. 3. 415 τῶς δὲ σ' ἀπεχθηρὼ ὡς νῦν ἐκπαγάλ' ἐφιλησα come to hate you as I now love you (lit. have got to love; e.g. Od. 8. 481).

So ἐπλετε has come to be, is (§ 32); Attie ἢςθην, ἐπιφέσα, &c.

In these cases the Aor. is used because the stress is on the nature of the action as something completed, though the completion is in present time*.

By a slight boldness of expression the Aor. may even be used of an event completed in future time:—

11. 9. 412 εἰ μὲν κ' αὐτὶ μένων Τρῆναν πόλιν ἄμφιμάκωμαι,

οὐκέτο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἀφθιτον ἐσται:

=my return will have been lost, i.e. will be ipso facto lost. The

* So Eur. Mod. 791 ὑπότα, L. A. 510 ἀπετυσα: where, as Aken observes, 'die Handlung geschieht erst mit dem Aussprechen' (Grundz. § 18). These Aorists are sometimes explained of the past time at which the action began. As a reviewer of the former edition put it, 'Greek speakers, in describing feelings excited by the previous remarks of other speakers, frequently refer those feelings to the time when they were felt, and not to the present time of the description' (Saturday Rev., Feb. 17, 1883). That is to say, ἐπιφέσα means I praised (when I heard). But this kind of subordination to a past event is precisely what is expressed by the Impf., not the Aor. The reviewer goes on to explain ἐπλετο in 11. 19. 57 by the presence of the particle ἀρ (ἡ ἄρ τι τόδ' ἐπλετο this was as we can now see), 'as in the common ἦν ἄρα'. This would only be possible if ἐπλετο were an Impf.; see § 33.
speaker puts himself at the (future) point of time given by the context, and uses the Tense which then becomes appropriate.

(2) Again—

When an assertion is made irrespective of time, the Pres. or Aor. is used—the Pres. for continuous and the Aor. for single or momentary action. Hence the use—

In similes, as II. 3. 23 ὄστε λέων ἔχαρη as a lion is gladdened (but in v. 25 κατεσθίει goes on devouring): II. 4. 75 οἶον δ’ ἀστέρα ἤκε.. τοῦ δὲ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπωνῆρες ἔντατα.

The only examples of the Impf. in a simile are II. 15. 274., 21. 495, in the phrase οὖο’ ἔρα.. αἰσιμνον ἤν, where it is virtually a Present.

Also in 'gnomic' passages, reflexions, general sayings, &c.:

II. 1. 218 δ’ κε θεοὶς ἐπιπείδηται μάλα τ’ ἐκλυνον αὐτοῦ.

9. 320 κάθαν’ ὁμός δ’ τ’ ἀργοῦς ἀνήρ, δ’ τε πολλὰ ἐργάς.

These uses of the Aor. are very common in Homer.

The Impf. may possibly be found in a gnomic passage, II. 13. 730-732—

ἀλλω μιν γὰρ ἔδωκε θεὸς πολεμήμα ἔργα

ἀλλώ δ’ ἐν στῆθεσι πεθαὶ νῦν εὐρύσα ζεῦς,

where the MS. reading πθα may be defended as an Impf. marking subordination to the Aor. ἐδωκε: cp. the examples in § 71. 2.

Much light has been thrown upon the history of the Aorist by the comparison of the use in Sanscrit (Delbrück, S. F. ii, and A. S. p. 280). If the result has not been to determine the original force of the Aorist, it has at least shown that the question cannot be settled from the material furnished by Greek alone. The use which predominates in Greek, the historical use to assert the happening of a single event in the past, is almost unknown to the earliest Sanscrit. In the Veda the Aor. is employed, as often in Homer (§ 74), of what has happened in the immediate past. In the early Sanscrit prose (the Brāhmaṇas) the Aor. is used of what has happened to the speaker himself. It is worth noticing that these uses, in which the Aor. answers approximately to the English Pf. with have, are found in later Greek in the case of the verbs whose Pf. retains its original meaning. As Mr. Gildersleeve puts it, 'when the Perfect is used as a Present, the Aorist is used as a Perfect. So ἐκτητάμην I have gained possession of, κεκτήμαι I possess' (Am. Journ. of Phil. iv. 429). Hence, if the Greek Perfect is originally a kind of present, there is a presumption that the Aor. was originally akin in meaning to our Perfect. On this view the ordinary historical Aor. is a derivative use.

CHAPTER III.

The Moods.

79.] The Moods of the Verb (properly so called) are the Subjunctive, the Optative, and the Imperative. It is convenient however to rank the two Verbal Nouns, the Infinitive and the
Moods.

The Subjective.

80.] Non-Thematic Tense-Stems usually form the Subj. by taking the Thematic Vowel, with the Primary Endings; except that when the Thematic Vowel enters into a diphthong, or is followed by two consonants, it becomes η or ω instead of ε or ο. Thus the scheme is—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ω</td>
<td>-ομαι</td>
<td>-ετον</td>
<td>-ησθον</td>
<td>-ωμεν</td>
<td>-ομεθα, -ομεσθα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ης</td>
<td>-εαι</td>
<td>-ετον</td>
<td>-ησθον</td>
<td>-ετε</td>
<td>-ησθε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-η (Ησι)</td>
<td>-εται</td>
<td>-ετον</td>
<td>-ησθον</td>
<td>-ωσι(ν)</td>
<td>-ονται</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long η or ω, it will be seen, comes in place of ε or ο wherever it can do so without disturbing the metre. Examples:—

Strong Aorists: ἐ-φθη, Subj. φθη-η:

ε-βη, Subj. βή-ω (or βείω), ὑπερ-βη-η, βή-ομεν (or βεί-ομεν):

ε-στη, Subj. στή-ης, στή-η, στή-ετον, στή-ομεν, στή-ωσι:

ε-γνω, Subj. γνω-ω, γνω-ομεν, γνω-ωσι:

ε-δω, Subj. δω, δύ-ης, δύ:

ε-βλη-το, Subj. βλη-εται:

ε-φθι-το, Subj. φθι-εται, φθι-όμεσθα:

ἀλ-το, Subj. ἀλ-εται:

Stem θη-το, Subj. θεί-ω (or θη-ω), θη-ης, θεί-ομεν (or θη-ομεν), ἀπο-θεί-ομαι:

Stem η-το, Subj. ἐφ-ει-ω, ἄν-η-η:

Stem δω-το, Subj. δω-ης and δω-εται, δω-ομεν, δω-ωσι:

Passive Aorists: ἐ-δάμη, Subj. δαμεί-ω, δαμή-ης, δαμή-ετε:

so δαε-ω, ἀλω-ω, ἀλω-η, σατη-η, φανή-η, τραπεί-ομεν.

For δαυνη, 2 Sing. Subj. Mid. (Od. 8. 243., 19. 328), we may read δαινη, i.e. δαινυ-ε-αι.


οιδα, Subj. ειδο, ειδης, ειδη, ειδομεν, ειδετε, ειδωσι.
Subjunctives.

For εἰδείω, &c., Tyrannius wrote εἰδοίω, εἰδόης, εἰδη, εἰδωσι (Schol. Od. 1. 174), uniform with εἰδομεν, εἰδετε. Both forms may be accounted for: εἰδείω is Subj. of εἰ-ειδεία (§ 68); εἰδω with the Plur. εἰδο-μεν, εἰδετε, is Subj. of a Non-Thematic *εἰδ-μι. Sanser. ved-mi (M. U. iiii. 18). The form εἰδείω, read by most MSS. in II. 14. 235, is a mere error for εἰδείω.


To these should be added some forms used as Futures:—

εδ-ο-μαι, εδονται shall eat (cp. Sanser. ad-mi, Lat. est for ed-t).

dη-εις, δη-ομεν, δη-ετε shall find, with the strong Stem answering to δα(σ) in δέδαιν, &c.

βεί-ο-μαι shall live, from the stem βιF-; also in the form βέομαι. Evidently βείομαι: βιώναι: δήω: δανάιναι.

It will be found that the Homeric uses of these words are all such as can be referred to the Subj. On πιομαι and κεια see § 59. The form δής may be a trace of an older inflexion, -ω-, -εις, -ε, answering to -ομεν, -ετε.

It will be seen that the strong form of the Stem is found in the Subjunctive, as φη-η, δω-ομεν, οστηκ-η. Apparent exceptions are, (1) the Subj. of εἰμι—in which the ι of ιομεν (for εἰ-ομεν) is unexplained, while the forms ε-ω, ἰ-ονι may be Thematic, (as are Opt. τωι, Part. των); and (2) the forms ἀφ-ε-η (Aor. of ἀφ-ην-μι), μαρμη-ομεν, φθε-ομεν, κτε-ομεν, φθε-ομεν, θε-ομεν, η-ομεν. These forms are the result of transference of quantity, στε-ω— for στη-ο-, &c., and it is important to notice that the last six are always scanned as disyllables, thus forming the transition to the contracted φθωαι, στωμεν, &c.

Anomalous lengthening is found in μετ-ειω (II. 23. 47) for μετ-εω.

On the η for η in βελ-ω, θελ-ω, δαμελ-ω, &c. see Append. C.

Subjunctives with lengthened Stem-vowel. The formation of the Subj. by means of the Thematic vowel must have been confined originally to Stems ending in a consonant, or in one of the vowels i, u. The hiatus in such forms as φη-η, στη-ομεν, γνω-ομεν is enough to prove that they are not primitive. In Vedic Sanscrit, accordingly, while as-a-ti, han-a-ti are Subj. of as-ti, han-ti, we find athis-ti, ahi-ti as the Subj. answering to the Aorists a-sthā-t, a-dā-t. These would become in Homer στη-σι, δω-σι or (with the usual η of the 3 Sing.) στη-σι, δω-σι. Similarly we may infer an original Plural στημεν, στητε, στηττι (στησι); δωμεν, δωτε, δωνυ (δωσι); and so on. The principle of the formation is that the Stem ends in a simple long vowel—not one that has arisen from specifically Greek contraction.
MOODS.

Traces of this type of Subj. are found in the Greek dialects: δύναται μαθαίνειν, προτίθηναι, &c. (Meyer, G. G. p. 502). In Homer it may be recognised in the 3 Sing. forms φησιν (Od. i. 168), φθησι (II. 23. 805), ἤσι (II. 15. 359), μεθ-ήσι (II. 13. 234), ἄφι: perhaps in ὄν, ὄφι, ὄφον, ὄφις, περι-δώμεθον, ἐπι-δώμεθα; γνώς, γνώμεν, γνώσι; ἐπι-βητον, περι-βητον, &c.—which are usually regarded as contracted from the regular Homeric δόμο, δῶς, δωμεν, &c.—and in δύναται, ἐπι-στηται (§ 87, 3).

How then did the Homeric forms of the type φη-η, στή-ομεν, γνώ-ομεν arise? Doubtless by a new application of the process already familiar in ἑ-ο-μεν (ἐ-μι), φθι-ε-ται, χεύ-ε-ται, πεποι-ο-μεν, &c. We may compare the extension of the Endings -άται, -άτο to the Pf. βεβλή-άται, in imitation of κεκλ-άται, εἰρύ-άται (§ 5).

Contraction appears in the 3 Sing. φη (Od. 19. 122), στή (Od. 18. 334), βή (Od. 2. 358), φαρν (II. 9. 707), γνώ (II. 1. 411., 16. 273)—unless we suppose that these are obtained by dropping the -σι of φη-σι, &c. on the analogy of the Thematic-η. Also in the 1 Plur. μεθ-ώμεν (II. 10. 449), συν-όμεθα (II. 13. 351), δαώμεν (II. 2. 299), μεμώμεθα (Od. 14. 168; and the 3 Plur. ὄσι (II. 14. 274, Od. 24. 491), βδωσι (Od. 14. 86); but it is probably more correct to write these words with εω (like φθεώσι, ἐωμεν, &c.), except when a vowel precedes (as in δαώμεν).

The two forms of the Subj. present a certain analogy to the two kinds of derivative Verbs—the Attic -αο, -εω, -ω, and the Άθοι-αμι, -ημι, -ωμι. Thus δύνα-μαι, τίθη-ντι are related to δύνω-μαι, τιθώσι nearly as φιλημεν, φιλει σι to φιλόμεν, φιλόνοσι. κέται occurs as a Subj. in II. 19. 32., 24. 555, Od. 2. 102., 19. 147. It has been explained as contracted from κελ-έται, the regular form answering to the Non-Thematic κέ-ται (Curt. Stud. vii. 100). The best MS. (Ven. A of the IIiad) gives κέται. The true reading is probably κέται (related to κέλει as τελεω to τελεω).

ἔχονται, construed with δε κεν (Od. 24. 89) is regarded by Curtius as a Subj. (Verb. ii. 67). But the example is uncertain; the clause refers to past time, so that δε κεν with the Subj. is quite irregular (§ 208).

σοφ and σεφ or σσφ (II. 9. 424, 681) are probably Optatives; see § 83.

82.] Thematic Tense-Stems form the Subj. by changing ε into η and o into ω.

The Subjunctive of the Thematic Aor. and Pres. frequently employs the Person-Endings -μι and -σι: e.g. ἐδέλωμι, ἐδέλ-ησι; εἵπομι, εἵπησι; ἀγάγωμι, ἀγάγησι; τύχωμι, τύχησι; ὄνωμι, κτελώμι; ἄγησι, ἀειδησι, ἀρχησι, ἀλάλκησι, βαλήσι, ἐλησι, κάρμησι, &c. (Bekker, II. B. i. 218). These Endings are also found (but rarely) with Non-Thematic Stems: Pres. ἐ-ησι, ἐ-ησι (which however may be Thematic), Aor. δώ-ησι (II. 1. 324), Pf. ἐρρη-ησι
(Il. 3. 353). The 2 Sing. sometimes takes -σα; εὐθελ-ησθα, εἰπ-ησθα, πιησθα, &c.

The Subj. in -ομι had almost disappeared at one time from the text of Homer, having been generally corrupted into -ομι, sometimes -ομαι. It was restored by Wolf, chiefly on the authority of the ancient grammarians. Some of the best MSS. (especially Ven. A) have occasionally preserved it.

It is interesting to observe the agreement in form between the Thematic Indic. and the Non-Thematic Subj.; e. g. Indic. ἀνο and Subj. γνώ-ω, in contrast to Subj. ἐθελ-μι: just as ἄγο-μεν and γνώ-μεν agree in contrast to ἀγο-μεν.

A few forms of the Λοριν in -σα follow the analogy of the Thematic Stems, as ὑρο-ομεν (Il. 7. 38), ὑρο-ητε (Il. 23. 210), δηλή-ηται (Il. 3. 107), μηνο-ομεθα (Il. 15. 477, &c.), παύσω-ομε (Il. 7. 29), παύσω-ομεθα (Il. 7. 290., 21. 467), πήμο-ομε (Od. 20. 383), ἐνπλή-ομεν (Il. 12. 72), φθισω-ομεν (Od. 16. 369), περάσητε (Od. 15. 453), ἀντιάσητον (Il. 12. 356), τρώσητε (Od. 16. 293., 19. 12), δείστε (Il. 24. 779), βουλεύω-ομεν (Od. 16. 234).

In most of these instances the original reading is probably either a Pres. Subj. or an Opt. Thus in Il. 21. 467 the best MSS. have πανώ-ομεθα, and in Od. 20. 383 there is good authority for πέμ-ομε (in Il. 15. 72 the MSS. are divided between παύς and παύσω). Similarly we may read παύ-ομε and ἐνπλή-ομε. Again φθισω-ομε follows a Past Tense (§ 298), περάσητε an Opt. (§ 308, 1, 8): read φθισο-μεν, περάσατε. For ἀντάσητον we may have either the Opt. ἀντάσαιτον or a Pres. Subj. ἀντιά-τον. For τρώσητε we should perhaps read τρώ-ετε (ep. the Pres. ιντρεί), and for βουλεύω-ομεν βουλεύω-ομεν.

There are no clear instances of Thematic Stems forming the Subjunctive with a short vowel (ε or ο). Od. 13. 307 (15-251)

The forms μισγεα, κατιοχεαι (Il. 2. 232, 233), for μισγα, κατισχα, are like βιβληαι (Il. 11. 380) in which the η forms a short syllable.

In Il. 14. 484 τα και ες τις ειχεται ωτη κτι. Herrmann's conjecture και τι ται is found in two of La Roché's MSS., and in any case the και is unsuitable to the sense. The true reading is probably και τις τα (§ 332).

In Od. 4. 672 ωδ αν ετισμυγερως ναυτιλεται write ναυτιλεται, the Aor. Subj. Three places remain to be mentioned:

Il. 1. 66 αε και παε δριον κινησε αιγων τε τειληων
ναιλεται αντιάσαι ημιν απο λογων δριον.

Curtius adopts the suggestion of Stier, βουλητιται αντιάσαι (Curt. Stud. ii. 138).

Il. 10. 360 ωδ δ' οτε καρχαροδοτε δω σων, ειδοτε θηρος,
η κεμαθ' ης λαγων επελεγοτε εμικνες αει
χώρον δων εθηνεθ', δ δε τη προβηρη μεμηκω.

Here επελεγοται is difficult because the Subj. προβηγοται is used in the next clause. Possibly the author of book 10 used the archaic form in -ησι as an Indicative.

Il. 12. 42 ωδ δ' οτε' αν τε κυνεσαι και ανοδασι ηρηνυτησι
κατριον ης λεων στριβεται.

The use of δ' αν in a simile is doubtful in Homer (see § 289). Should we read ωδ δ' οτε' έναντα? Cp. Il. 20. 67.
The Optative.

83.] The Optative Stem is formed from the Tense Stem by the Suffix  ν or ι, as ἀδω-ιν-ν, τύχο-ι-το.


The 3 Plur. ends in -ινον, as ε-ινόν, δαμε-ινον, δο-ινον: once -ιν-σαιν, viz. στα-ινσαν (II. 17. 733).

The ι is lost in δύν (Od. 9. 377., 18. 348., 20. 286, for δυ-ιν), ἐκ-δυμεν, λεδύτο (Od. 18. 238 La Roche), δαυῦτο (II. 24. 665), δαυῦ-ατο (Od. 18. 248), φηῖτο, ἀπο-φύμην (for φθι-ι-το, ἀπο-φθι-ι-μην).

2. In Thematic Tenses the scheme of Endings is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -ομι</td>
<td>Μίδ. -οίμην</td>
<td>... Μίδ. ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -οις</td>
<td>-οι</td>
<td>... -οιτον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. -οι</td>
<td>-οιτο</td>
<td>... -οιτην</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. The Aorist in -σα forms the Optative in two ways—

   (1) In -σεια the (so-called) Ἐολικ Optative.
   (2) In -σαι-μι with Endings as in the Thematic Tenses, putting a for o throughout.

The scheme of the Homeric forms is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sing. -αμι</td>
<td>-αμεν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot; -αις, rarely -αις</td>
<td>&quot; -αιτε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &quot; -αιει(ν), sometimes -αι</td>
<td>&quot; -αιων (αιν ΙΙ. 24. 38).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Mid. Endings are of the second kind, -αίμην, -αιν, -αιο, &c.

The Perfect forms the Opt. from the weak Stem, as τελα-ιη, τευνα-ιν-ς, ἐστα-ιν. The Opt. of οΐδα is formed (like the Plpf., see § 68, 2) from an Aor. έ-Φειε-ςα (εἰδειν-ν for Φειδεσ-ιν-ν).

The instances of the Pf. Opt. with Thematic -οι-μι, -οι-ς, &c. are doubtful. Βεβλικοί is the reading of Aristarchus in ΙΙ. 8. 270, where the best MSS. have Βεβλικεί. In ΙΙ. 21. 609 γνώμεναι δη τε πεφεύγοι δη τ' ἐθαν κλα., the reading πεφεύγει is given by one good MS. (D.), and evidently agrees better with έθανε. Βεβλώδοις (ΙΙ. 4. 35) points to a form Βέβρωθα, of which however there is no other evidence. Ιηκοί (Η. ΑπOLL. 165) may be Pf. or Pres.

Irregular forms:—

Thematic ἐοι-ς, ἐοι (ΙΙ. 9. 142, 284), ἐοι (ΙΙ. 14. 21), δοι-το (Od. 17. 317). Homer has also ἐι-η (ΙΙ. 19. 209), to be compared with εἰδειν, ἐδειειν.
The so-called ‘Æolic’ Opt. of Contracted Verbs (⁻ φη-,⁻ ωιν-) appears in πηλόιν (Od. 4. 692) and φοροίν (Od. 9. 320).

In II. 14. 241 most authorities give ἐπισχοίμας as an Opt. (τῷ κεν ἐπισχοίμας λιπαροῦτ πόθεν εἰλαπτώσομεν). Three of the chief MSS. (A. B. C.) have ἐπισχοίμας, and this was quoted by Herodian, apparently as the only reading known to him (see Ludwich, A. H. T. i. 374). The Syr. palimpsest has ἐπίσχοιμας. All three forms are anomalous; ἐπισχοίμας finds a parallel in ἀγαγοῖμ (Sappho) and one or two other forms, but can hardly be Homeric.

The forms σώς (II. 9. 681), σώ (II. 9. 424) are so written by modern editors. Most MSS. have σός, σή. In the former place we learn that Ar. doubted between σαφς and σαφς (or σῶς, for the accent here is conjectural). The ancient grammarians apparently took both forms as Opt. (which suits the sense, § 304, a). Some wrote σαφς, σαφ (or σως, σφ), deriving them directly from σαφω: others σάφς, σάφ, from σώ or σώ. It is not difficult to restore the uncontracted σάφες, σάφει, or, if the Subj. is preferred, σαφής, σαφ (so Nauck).

For the 3 Plur. in -οι-ν Bekker finds one instance of -οι-, viz. in Od. 20. 382, where the common text has—

τοῦς κείνους ἐν ἕνη πολυκλήτιδε βαλόντες
ἐς Σικέλον πέμψομεν οδεν κε τοι άξιον ἄλφοι,

for which he would read ἄλφοιν. The 1 Sing. in -οι-(ν) (instead of the anomalous -οι-μ) was not unknown in Attic (Bekker, II. B. p. 111 ff)*.

παρα-θεα-ήτη-σι (II. 10. 346), with Primary instead of Secondary Ending, is perhaps a pseudo-archaic form, made on the analogy of the Subjunctives in -ησιν.

The Verbal Nouns.

84.] Infinitives and Participles are not properly speaking Verbs—since they do not contain a Subject and Predicate—but Nouns: the Infinitive is a kind of Substantive and the Participle an Adjective. In certain respects however they belong to the scheme of the Verb:—

1. They answer in form and meaning to the Tense Stems; each Tense Stem has in general an Infinitive and a Participle formed from it.

2. They are distinguished as Active and Middle (or Passive) in sense.

3. They are construed with the same oblique cases of Nouns, and the same Adverbs and Adverbial phrases, as the corresponding Verbs.

* It must not be supposed, however, that the 1 Sing. and the 3 Plur. in -οιν are primitive forms. The termination -οιν was originally impossible in Greek (as -εμ and -ομ are in Sanscrit); we should expect -οᾱ, -οᾱν (Sansk. -εγαι, -εγαν). Hence -οι-μ probably made its way into Greek in place of *-οια, as -οι-μ in the Aor. in place of -οαι (see Brugmann, in Curt. Stud. ix. 313). The 3 Plur. form ἀποτίνοιν is found in the Eleian dialect.
85. The Infinitive Active is formed—

(1) In Non-Thematic Tenses (except the Aor. in -σάι) by the Suffixes -μεναί, -μεν, -εναί, -ναι.

Of these -μεναί is the most usual, as θέ-μεναί, γνώ-μεναί, μεγή-μεναί, το-μεναί, τεθνά-μεναί, ζευγ-νύ-μεναί: -μεν occurs after short vowels, as ι-μεν, ὄδ-μεν, τεθνά-μεν, ὄρ-νύ-μεν; also in ἐμεν (five times, but almost always where we may write ἐμεν'), το-μεν (Π. 11.719), and ζευγ-νύ-μεν (Π. 16. 145), in which the long υ is irregular.

The full Suffix -έναί only occurs in ι-έναί; but there are many other Infinitives in -ναι, all of them containing a long vowel or diphthong in which an ε may be supposed to have been absorbed; as δούναι (for δο-έναί, see Max Müller, Chips, iv. 56), δείναι, στήναι, βὴναι, δόναι, γνώναι, ἀλώναι, βιώναι, ἀηναι, φορη-ναι, διόδουναι (Π. 24. 425). The original form of the Suffix seems to have been -φεναί. ὄντων ἄνω. ὄρξεον.

From εἰμί (εἰ-) are formed ἐμμεναί, ἐμεν, ἐμεναι, ἐμεν, and ἐναι. Of these ἐμμεναι, ἐμεν are irregular; they follow the analogy of θέμεναί, &c. Cp. the &c. are formed ι-μεναι, ι-μεν, and ι-ναι. In one place (Π. 20. 365) ἐπιμεναί is scanned with ι—perhaps in imitation of ἐπιμεναί (Söllmann, K. Ζ. xxix. 72).

The common Attic Present Infinitives ἵστα-ναι, τεθνά-ναι, διόδου-ναι, διόδο-ναι, &c., as well as the Perfect Infinitives in -ίναι, are entirely unknown in Homer.

(2) In Thematic Tenses by -έ-μεναι, -έ-μεν, -εν; as εἰπ-έ-μεναι, εἰπ-έ-μεν, βάλλε-εν.

The Ending -ε-εν only occurs in the Thematic Aor., and is anomalous; compare βαλ-έ-εν (Stem βαλε-) and βάλλε-εν (Stem βαλλε-). The original ending was doubtless -έν: thus—

Stem βαλε-, Inf. βαλε-εν, contr. βαλειν.

βαλε-, " βάλλε-εν, " βάλλειν.

In the Aor. the metre usually allows us to restore -έν (see Renner, Curt. Stud. i. 2. p. 33).

It is possible that the forms βάλε-εν, &c., are genuine, since -εν might pass into -εν from the analogy of the Pres. Inf. in -εν, just as in the Rhodian dialect -μεν became -μεν. Leo Meyer (Vergl. Gr. ii. 284) proposed to read βαλ-ε-εν, &c. But, as Renner points out (l. c.), the change from -εν to -εν is very much slighter, indeed is a mere matter of spelling. Original βαλιμεν, &c. would probably have been retained.

(3) The Aor. in -σαί forms -σαί, as στή-σαί.

(4) The Inf. Middle is formed by -σαί: βλή-σαί, πεφά-σαί, ἵστα-σαί, θελ-σαί, βάλλε-σαί, στή-σα-σαί.

The Infinitive is originally a Case-form of an abstract Noun (nomen actionis). Thus -μεναί consists of the Nominal Suffix -μεν (§ 114) with the Dative ending -αι: το-μεν-αι 'for knowing'.
(Sanscr. *vid-mân-e*). Similarly *dōnavai* is *dō-Fēv-ai* (dā-vān-e) 'for giving.' Probably the Infinitives in *-sai* and *-tha* also are Datives (Max Müller, *l.c.*). Infinitives in *-mēv* and *-ēv* appear to be Locatives formed without Case-ending (§ 99). If so, the Infinitives in *-mēv* and *-ēv* (ēv) originally differed in meaning from those in *-mēvai*, *-ēvai*, &c. In Greek, however, the sense of the Inf. as a Case-form is lost, so that the different forms are all construed in exactly the same way.

86. **The Participle.** The Aorist, the Present, and the Future Tense Stems form the Active Participle by the Suffix *-vīt*; thus we have, Non-Thematic *sa-tva-vīt*, *tiθe-vīt*; Thematic *βαλο-vīt*, *στν-σο-vīt*, &c.

The vowel before *vīt* is always short, as *γυο-vīt*, *μυε-vīt*.

The Perfect Stem takes *-στ* or *-οσ* (originally *-φοτ*, *-φοσ*), Fem. *-ωα* (for *-νο-ωα*, the *-ωσ* originally a weak form for *-φοσ*). The Middle Participle is formed by *-μενοσ*, which in the Perfect is accented *-μενοσ*.

For the Verbal Adjectives in *-το-σ*, see § 114. The Verbal in *-τεοσ* is post-Homeric.

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**CHAPTER IV.**

**Accentuation of the Verb.**

87. **The general rule is that the accent is thrown back as far as possible; and the chief departures from this rule are found in the Infinitives and Participles, which are in reality Nouns.** In the forms of the Verb properly so called the following exceptions have to be noted:—

1. *eiμι* and *phiμι*. The 2 Sing. Imper. *φα-θλ* is oxytone.

The disyllabic forms of the Pres. Indicative, *eiμι*, *εσοι*, *phiμι*, *phiσι*, &c., are enclitic, and, when they do not lose the accent altogether, are oxytone; but *εστι* is accented in the ordinary way when it occurs at the beginning of a sentence, or after certain words (*ονκ*, *καλ*, *ός*).

Such was the commonly accepted account; but the ancient grammarians were not agreed as to the enclitic character of the Dual and Plural forms (on *εστάν* see Charax 1151; on *φαμέν*, *φατέ*, *φασι*, ibid.; on *ισμέν*, *ιστέ*, *ισι*, Eust. 1457, 48). Again, one grammarian denies that *phiμι* was ever enclitic (Charax 1152); another holds that it should be written *φημι*, at least in such instances as *φημι* γαρ οὖν κατανεύσαι, κτλ. (Tyrannius Ap. Eust. 1613, 18). In all likelihood the original forms were, Sing. *εστι*, *φημι*, Plur. *ισμέν*, *φαμέν*, and we may suppose that *φημι* and *εστι* are not properly oxytone, but are unaccented forms made oxytone as enclitics (*ωτώθη διὰ τὴν έπούσαν αὐτοῖς*).
The Sanscrit Verbs of the same kind follow the rule of accenting the Stem in the Sing., the Ending in the Dual and Plur.; and this must be connected with the difference of quantity between strong and weak Stems (§ 6). See Benfey, *Vedica und Linguistica*, pp. 90 ff.

2. The 3 Plur. ἵστασι, τιθεῖσι, διδοῦσι, δεικνύσι, are properisponema (Herodian, i. 459, ed. Lentz).

This can hardly have been the original accentuation, since they are not contracted forms, but represent ἵστα-ντι, &c. Probably it comes from the Attic ἵστασι (contracted from ἵστα-σαι, cp. πιθε-σαι, &c.). The Doric forms are written τιθεύντα, &c. by Eustath. Od. 1557, 45; but we do not know that this represents the usage of any living dialect.

3. Subjunctives such as φανῆ, δαῶμεν are circumflexed, as being contracted forms (for φανῆ, δαόμεν). On εἰδέω, εἰδῆς, εἰδῆ, εἰδέωσι see § 80.

Optatives in which -η- becomes -υ- before Heavy Endings are accented on the υ throughout, as διακρωθεῖτε, δαμεῖεν.

But Middle forms to which there is no corresponding Active follow the general rule: δύνομαι, δύναι (so Herodian, but Tyrannio wrote δυνάμαι, δυνᾷ, Schol. II. 6. 229), κέρωνται (II. 4. 260), ἐπιστηταί (§ 280); ἐπίστατο, ὄναο, ὄνοιτο.

4. The Imperatives εἰπε, ἔλθε, are oxytone (and so in Attic εἴπε, ἔδε, λαβέ). Similarly Tyrannio wrote πιθέσθε, λαβέσθε (Schol. V. II. 18. 266); cp. the Attic βαλοῦ, &c.

The rule in Sanscrit is that the Verb loses the accent, except in subordinate clauses, or when it begins the sentence. Hence the verbs εἰμι and φημι in fact retain the original accentuation, which was doubtless that of the Indo-European language. The Imperatives εἰπε, ἔλθε, &c., are evidently words that would often be used to begin a sentence.

The ordinary accent of a Greek verb, the so-called 'recessive' accent, represents the original enclitic condition. The Opt. φατῆν, for example, is originally oxytone. On the Sanscrit rules it loses its accent, and we should have (e.g.) ἔγω-φαίην. But owing to the Greek rhythmic law this is impossible. Accordingly the accent goes back as far as the Greek rules will allow, and we have ἔγω-φαίην.

5. The final -αι of the Endings -μαι, -σαι, -ται, -ντα, and of the Inf. is treated as short. These are all cases in which -α represents the original final sound of the word. But the -αι of the Opt., which is for original -ατ, counts as long.

88.] Accent in Composition. Unaugmented forms of Compound Verbs are accented as though the Verb were an enclitic
following the Preposition: hence σῶν-ἐχον, πρό-ες, παρά-θες, περὶ-
κειται, ἀπὸ-σχοινται. If the final syllable of the Preposition is
lost by elision or apocope the accent falls on the first syllable;
therefore ὑφ-ελεκε, κάτ-θανε.

But the accent falls if possible upon the Augment: hence
προσ-ἐβάν, ἐπ-ἐχον, ἐπ-ἡλθε. In other words, the Augment is
treated in accentuation as a Preposition.

The form ἔσται keeps the accent (παρ-ἔσται, &c.); perhaps
because it is formed by syncope from ἔσται.

The Subj. ἕσμαι-βληται (Od. 7. 204) ought to be properispo-
menon, if it is a contracted form; cp. βληται (Od. 17. 472).
The grammarians however wrote ἀπὸ-θωμαι (in spite of ἀπο-
θελομαι, Il. 18. 409) and διὰ-θωμαι (Herodian, i. 469, 7, ed. Lentz).
We have to recognize in such cases the encroachment of the
common Thematic type, though we may doubt whether the
change reaches back to the earliest form of the text of Homer.

According to Herodian, the 2 Sing. Imperative ἐνί-σπει is paroxytone, but
the other Imperative form ἐνι-σπε, and the Indic. forms ἐνι-σπε-ς, ἐνισπε, are
proparoxytone; see Schol. on Il. 24. 388. That is to say, the Imper.
ἐνι-σπε-ς is regular, the others are accented as if compounds of ἔσπε.

The Imperative ἐπίσχε in Hes. Sent. 446 may be divided ἐπι-σχέ or ἐπι-σχε,
and in the latter case we may write ἐπισχέ (with the MSS.), or ἐπισχε, like
the ἐνισχε of Herodian.

The MSS. vary between (Imper.) ἐνισχει and ἐνισπε: in the two places of
the Iliad (11. 186, 14. 470) the Venetus has ἐνισχει: on the other hand in the
only Homeric passage in which the metre gives any help (Od. 4. 642) it is
decisive for ἐνισχε. The accent in the MSS. nearly always follows Herodion's
rule.

89.] The Infinitive and Participle. Infinitives in -εν and
-μεναι follow the general rule: those in -μεν have the same
accent as the corresponding forms in -μεναι, as φευγέ-μεν. On
the Aor. Inf. in -εν, see § 85, 2.

The forms in -ναι, -ναι accent the penultimate, as ἴναι, ἀλὼναι, ἐρύσαι. The Middle forms of the Thematic Aorist and Perfect
are also paroxytone, as πιθέοναι, λελεθέοναι, κεκλήσει, τετύχαναι.
The ancient grammarians doubted between ἀκάκχοθαναι, ἀλάκθοθαναι
and ἀκάκχηθαναι, ἀλάκθηθαναι. The former were adopted in the
common texts, and were explained as Ἑλικ forms of the Pres.
Infinitive (Herodian, ii. 111, 21, ed. Lentz).

It may be conjectured that the forms in -μεναι and -μεν were originally
accented on the suffix, like Sanscr. vidmáne, dāváne. If so, this is one of the
cases in which the accent of an archaic form in Homer has been lost.

Active Participles, except the Thematic Present and Future,
accent the Suffix, as διοῦτι, στρεφεῖς, μεμαω, λαβῶν, τεταγών. So the Presents ὕν, ἵν.
The Part. of the Pf. Middle is paroxytone. But ἄκαχιμενος follows ἄκαχηθαί.

In Composition the Infinitive and Participle retain the accent of the simple word; in other words, they do not become enclitic. Hence we have Impf. σὺν-εξον, but Neut. Part. σὺν-έχον.

CHAPTER V.

Nouns and Pronouns.

90.] The words to which we now proceed are incapable of forming Sentences except in combination with a Verb.

The relation of such words to the Verb is shown in general either by a Case-Ending—as in the words which are said to be 'declined,'—or by an Adverbial Ending (such as -ως, -θεν, &c.). The Ending in either case is suffixed to a Stem or Theme. Thus, λόγο- is the Stem of the Case-forms, Nom. λόγο-ς, Acc. λόγο-ν, Gen. λόγο-το, &c.: αὐτο- is the Stem of the Case-forms αὐτό-ς, αὐτό-ν, αὐτό-το, and also of the Adverbs αὐτό-θεν, αὐτό-θι, αὐτός, &c.

The Stems now in question belong to two great classes, those of Nouns and of Pronouns, called Nominal and Pronominal Stems respectively. The term 'Noun' includes Substantives and Adjectives. The other 'parts of speech'—Adverbs, Prepositions, Conjunctions—may ultimately be resolved into Case-forms or Adverbial forms either of Nouns or Pronouns.

The distinction between Nouns and Pronouns brings before us in a new form the fundamental antithesis involved in the division of a Verb into a Stem which 'predicates,' and a Person-Ending which marks the Subject. A Noun either denotes a single object or group of objects (i.e. when it is a 'proper name'), or denotes objects through their permanent attributes, as belonging to a class; whereas a Pronoun denotes an object by its local position, or momentary relation to something else, as 'this' or 'that,' 'here' or 'there,' 'same' or 'other.' This contrast is shortly expressed by saying that Nominal Stems are Predicative, and Pronominal Stems Demonstrative; the former name or describe, the latter only 'point out' what is intended. Accordingly, Nominal Stems are in general either identical with, or formed from, the Stems of Verbs: Pronouns are found to contain the same elements as those which furnish the Person-Endings of Verbs. The simplest forms obtained by analysis are thus of two kinds. They were first clearly distinguished by Bopp, and called by him Verbal and Pronominal Roots respectively (Vergl.-Gr. § 105).

The Cases.

91.] Declensions. The main distinction is that between the Consonantal Declension (including that of Stems in -ι and -υ),
which forms the Genitive in -os, and the *Vowel Declensions*, of which three may be distinguished:

(1) Stems in -o (chiefly Masc. and Neut.): Gen. -oio.
(2) -ā, -ē (chiefly Fem.): Gen. -os, -ēs.
(3) -e (Personal Pronouns): Gen. -eio.

92.] Vocative. A Noun used in addressing a person by his name or title has properly no Case-Ending. Accordingly the Vocative Case consists in general of the simple Stem; e.g. Zev βασιλεύ, Άιαν (for Άιαντ-), διόγενες, ὁ ἄνα (for ἄνακτ-).

In II. 1. 86 Κάλχαυ (Voc. of Κάλχας) was read by Aristarchus, Κάλχα by Zenodotus. On the other hand in II. 12. 231 Ar. read Πουλνδάμα, but Zen. Πουλνδάμαν. The form Λαδόνα in Od. 8. 141 probably has the authority of Aristarchus.

Stems in -o form the Voc. in -e, as φίλε ἐκπέ. Some Stems in -ā(ē) shorten the final vowel, as νύμφα, Voc. of νύμφη, and the Masc. συβώτα, ἥπεροπευτά, τοξώτα, κυνώπα, &c. But the long vowel of the Stem is used in the Voc. 'Ερμεία, Ἀρτέδη, ψαγώρη, αἰναρέτη (II. 16. 31). Feminines in -ω or -ώ form the Voc. in -o, as Λητοί (II. 21. 498). Evidently -ω: -o: η: α.

The words of address, πάππα, ἀττα, τέττα, μαία, may be ranked as Vocatives. So ἢθειε, as to which see the note on § 96.

93.] Case-Endings. These are given in the following Table. The Endings of the Consonantal Declension are in larger type: the two Vowel Declensions of Nouns are numbered (1), (2), and the Pronominal Declension (3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>-o-s</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>-ā(ē), -ē; -η-s</td>
<td>-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-v, -ā</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-ös (for -o-vs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-as (-a-vs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>-os</td>
<td>-olūv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>-oio, -oo, -ov</td>
<td>-olūv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>-es; -āo, -eō</td>
<td>-ōv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>-eio, -eo, -ev</td>
<td>-āōv, -eōv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-olūv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>-w (Loc. -oi)</td>
<td>-olūv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>-η (Loc. -ai?)</td>
<td>-oio(v), -ois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>-oi</td>
<td>-i(ν)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrum.</td>
<td>-φι(ν)</td>
<td>-φι(ν)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DECLENSION.

94. Stems ending in i, u, and o are liable to lose the final letter before the Case-Endings which begin with a vowel.

1. Stems in -ης, -ευ: e. g. —

νη-ς, Gen. νη-ός (for νηφ-ός); rarely νε-ός. The e arises by shortening from η; so νέες, νεων, νέεσσι, νέας—all less common than the corresponding forms with η-, νηές, νηών, νήεσσι, νήας.

The forms νη-ς, νη-οι are irregular, since original άν before a consonant would appear in Greek as άυ (ep. ζέον for original δύεον). Hence the true Greek form is preserved in the Instrum. να-φω (§ 104) and the Compounds νανικλυός, Νανικάα, &c. The η of νη-ς and νη-οι is taken by analogy from the other Cases.

βασιλεύ-ς, Gen. βασιλη-ος (but Dat. Plur. βασιλεύ-οι).

Πηλεύ-ς, Gen. Πηλη-ος and Πηλέ-ος. In oblique Cases of Stems in -ευ the e seems to be nearly confined to proper names; ep. Τυδεός Τυδεί Τυδεά, Ἀτρεός Ἀτρεί, Ἡρσεα, Νηλέα, &c.

On Ζεύς, βοίς see § 106, 2.

2. Stems in -ι and -υ form the same Cases in two ways:—


It is probable that this form of declension was originally confined to monosyllables.

(2) Inserting e and dropping i or u: as πόσι-ς, Dat. ποσε-ι, ἄστυ ἄστε-ος, πῆχυ-ς πῆχε-ος, πολύ-ς πολέ-ος. Here the Stem of the oblique Cases ends in -ει, -ευ: hence Gen. -εος for -ει-ος, -ετ-ος, &c.

πόλις forms several of its Cases in three ways:


The stem πόλη- which furnishes the last of these three forms of inflexion has been traced by Joh. Schmidt (K. Z. xxvii. p. 287) to a primitive Locative in -ι (ep. Sanscr. agni, Loc. agnd), to which the ordinary Loc. -ι was suffixed. From this new Loc. πόλη-ι the other Cases were then formed by analogy.

The Nouns in -ά (from -άδ) answer to the original Stems in -ι, as ἱδνία, for ἱδνα-ια, Sanscr. vidush-ι.

η-ς or η-ος good makes Gen. η-ος, perhaps by transference of quantity for η-οι. Other Adjectives in -υς form -ε-ος, -ει-α, &c.

3. Stems in -ες, -ας, -ος drop the σ, as επε-ος, κέρα-ος, αιδό-ος.
95. [Original ā as the final vowel of the Stem becomes ᾦ; except (1) after ε, εί, ā, as in θεά, and the proper names Ερμελας, Ανίελας, Αμιλας, Ναυκιάδα, Πέλα (Ar. on Il. 14. 203), Φείδ (Il. 7. 135, Od. 15. 297), and (2) in the Gen. in -άο and -άω.

Other exceptions to the scheme given above will be best treated under the separate Cases.

96. [Nominative Singular. The final -s is retained after vowels and mutes, but lost with Stems ending in ρ, as πατήρ, μήστωρ.

Stems ending in ν either (1) take final -s (with loss of ν), as είς (for εν-ς), θίς Acc. θίν-α, μέλας Gen. μέλαν-ος, or (2) do not take -s, but lengthen a preceding vowel, as χθών Gen. χθον-ός, πομυίν Gen. πομυέν-ος. So with Stems in -ντ: δούς Gen. δάν-ος, but δοῦν.

Originally it seems that all monosyllables took -ς and all others -ν (J. Schmidt, K. Z. xxvii. 392). If so, χθών, φρύν, &c. are forms due to the -ν of the oblique Cases: and on the other hand διδούς, τιθές, &c. have followed the analogy of corresponding monosyllabic words, δούς, θέλς, &c.

There is a remarkable group of Masc. Stems in -ā(η), with Nom. Sing. in -ά, viz.—

Titles of gods: νεφεληγερέτα, στερεπηγερέτα, μητίετα, εφύστα (Zeús); ἀκάκητα (Ἐρμελας ἄ.); κυνοχαῖτα (Ποσειδάου).

Titles of heroes: ἵπποτα, ἵππηλάτα, αἰχμητά; ἢπυτα (κήρυξ).

One proper name, Θεόςτα (Il. 2. 107).

Except Θεόςτα these words are only found as adjectives: thus we have αἴχμητα Λυκάων, κυνοχαῖτα Ποσειδάου, but αἰχμητῆς, κυνοχαῖτης when the same words are substantives.

The accent generally follows the forms in -η-ς where such forms exist; thus ἵπποτα, αἰχμητά, like ἵππητῆς, αἰχμητῆς. But it is thrown back in εφύστα, μητίετα, ἀκάκητα,—ancient epithets only known from the traditional Homeric use.

These are in reality Vocatives which have been turned into Nominatives. That is to say, they belonged originally to certain established forms of address —μητίετα Ζεύς, κυνοχαῖται Ποσειδάον, ἵππητα Πηλεύ, &c.—and were not inflected to the names to which they were attached came to be used in the Nom. In this way the ῥυθμίαν, which doubtless had a traditional sacredness, remained unaltered, and the whole phrase retained something of its vocative character. The feeling which might lead to this is that expressed by Eumaeus in Od. 14. 145 τῷ.—

τὸν μὲν ἐγών, ἄξιεν, καλὸν παρέοντι ὀνομάζειν
ἀδεόμαι: περὶ γὰρ μ´ ἐφλει καὶ κήδετο θυμῷ
ἄλλα μὲν ἥθειον καλέω καὶ νόσαφιν ἐώτα.
I call him by the title ἡθείος even in his absence,—the word ἡθείος being only used as a form of address. Cp. also § 111 (2). The Nominatives in -ά are evidently part of the archaic and conventional style of Epic poetry. They are commoner in the Iliad than in the Odyssey in the proportion of 3 to 1. The ancient grammarians regarded them as Ἑλλικ, but without sufficient reason.

G
97. **Accusative Sing.** The Ending -ā is found after consonants and the diphthongs Ṽu, eu; as Ṽu-ς Ṽu-α (for Ṽuνα, Ṽu-α), βασιλεύ-ς βασιλῆα, Ῥυδεύ-ς Ῥυδέα. Otherwise the Acc. takes -ν; e.g. πόλι-ν, ἵχθυ-ν, βοῦ-ν.

But ἐυρό-ς makes ἐυρέα in the phrases ἐυρέα τόντον, ἐυρέα κόλπον: the common form being ἐυρό-ν.

The original Ending is -ν, which becomes -ν after a vowel and -ά (for ἴ) after a consonant. The preference for ἴ after ἴν, ἐν is due to the semi-consonantal nature of the ν in these combinations. We may compare the Aristarchian ἵκνα (for ἴκνυ-ά), ἵκνα (also ἵκνα), &c., and on the other hand ἑν-ν, ἑφ-ν.

Several Stems form the Acc. in -ν and also in -δά: ἐρίδα and ἐρν (Od.), φιλόπιδα (Od. 11. 313) and φιλόπινυ, γλαυκώπιδα (II. 8. 373) and γλαυκώπινυ (Od. 1. 156), ἀνάλκιδα and ἀνάλκινυ (Od. 3. 375), ὀπίδα and ὀπίνυ, Κύπριδα and Κύπρινυ; θοῦρνυ, Ἰρνυ, αὖλυν, Θητίνυ. Cp. also ἀχρί-ν (for ἀχριτ-ά), and κόρνυ (for κόριθ-ά), found in the line Il. 13. 131 (=16. 215), — ἀσπίς ἀρ’ ἀσπίζ’ ἐρείδε, κόρυς κόρην, ἀνέρα δ’ ἀμήρ.

In Attic there are many more such forms; ἔρνυνυ, &c.

Note that no oxytones form the Acc. in -ν.

The Accusatives ὀν (Od. 12. 313), Ἀρν, Μέγην are probably formed directly from the Nom. ὀην, Ἀρη, Μέγης, on the analogy of Masc. Nouns in -ή-ς. On the other hand Ζευ (Zeús), βόω (βός), are very ancient forms, answering to the Sanser. ὄγαμ, ὄγα (Joh. Schmidt in K. Z. xxv. 17): see § 1c6, 2.

A final δ is lost in the Neut. Pronouns ἁ, τό, τοῦτο, ἐκεῖνο, ἄλλο (Lat. id, is-tud, illud, alid), and in τί (Lat. quié): perhaps also in the Personal Pronouns, Acc. Sing. ἐμέ (με), σέ, τι, Dual νό, σφό, σφώς, Plur. ἄμμε, ἄμμεν, σφέ (Curt. Stud. vi. 417 ff.; Max Müller, Chips, iv. 44).

* It will be shown hereafter (§ 116, 2) that the Masc. Nouns in -ή-ς are probably derived from Feminines in -ή, of abstract or collective meaning. Hence it is possible that the Homeric Nominatives in -δα come directly from these Feminines; so that (e.g.) μνήσεα meant literally Counsel rather than Counsellor. The abstract word may have been used as a title, like Βιγ Πράμων and the like. According to Joh. Schmidt (Plural. p. 400) ἐφόσια is originally a Neuter: see § 107, 2.

† The forms Τοῦ (II. 4. 398) and Μήνιστῆ (II. 15. 359) are probably false: see Nauck, Mel. gr.-rom. iii. 222.
98.] Genitive Singular. The Stems in -o form the Gen. in -oio, -oo, -ou. Of these forms only -oio and -ou are read in the existing text of Homer; but there are sufficient traces of -oo, and indeed several places where it is called for by the metre. Thus we must read—

II. 2. 518 νιέες Ἰφίτου μεγαθύμου.
15. 66 (= 21. 104) Ἰλίου προπαρώθειν.
22. 313 ἀγρίου, πρόσθεν δὲ κτλ.
Od. 10. 36 δῶρα παρ' Αἴλοου μεγαλήτορος.
60 βῆν εἰς Αἴλοου κλατά δόματα.
II. 9. 440, &c. ὄμοιοο ποτόλεμοι (for ὄμοιον ποτόλεμοι).
2. 325 δο κλέος οὐποτ' ὀλείται.
Od. 1. 70 δο κράτος ἔσκε μέγιστον (for ὄου).
II. 2. 731 'Αλκηστίου δίῳ παίδε.
15. 554 ἀνεψιου κταμένου.
5. 21 ἀδελφεύο κταμένου: so in—
6. 61 (= 7. 120, 13. 788) ἀδελφεύο φρένας ἦρω.
Od. 14. 239 χαλεπὴ δ' ἐξε δήμου φήμη.

Also in the two lines—

II. 6. 344 εἵνεκ' ἔμειο κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὄκρυνόσης,
9. 723 οἱ πολέμοι ἐραται ἐπιδημίου ὄκρυνότος,
since ὄκρυνός does not occur elsewhere, but κρυνόσσα (II. 5. 740), κρυνόστος (II. 9. 2), κρυνέρος &c., we should probably read—

... κακομηχάνοο κρυνόσης.

... ἐπιδήμιοο κρυνότος.

A trace of -oo may also be found in the fact that Nouns in -oos sometimes form the Gen. in -eω, which is for -aoo; e.g. Πετε-ωο, Πηνελέ-ωο. 8έλαιο. 552

Masc. Stems in -α(ν) form the Gen. in -άο (original -άωο), less commonly -εω (by transference of quantity). This -εω is often scanned as one syllable; after another vowel it is written -ω, as Βορέ-ω (for Βορέ-εω), 'Ερμει-ω, Αἰνει-ω, εύμελλ-ω. (So in Ionic, Curt. Stud. v. 294., viii. 172.)

The Pronominal Stems in -ε, viz. ἐμε (με), σε (for τρε), and ἐ or εε, form the Gen. in -ε-ω, -εω and (by contraction) -ευ. Thus we find ἐμείο, ἐμείο (II. 10. 124), ἐμείυ; σείο, σείο, σείυ; είο, είο, είυ. For σείο there is also a longer form τεόο (II. 8. 37 = 468), and for είο in one place (II. 19. 384) Zenodotus read ἐου.

99.] Dative Singular. In Homer the of the Dat. is sometimes long (as in Latin), chiefly in forms which otherwise could not be easily brought into the verse; in the Iliad, Ἀχιλλῆι, ὑπερμένει, κράτει, σάκει, πτόλει, σθενεῖ, ἐρυθί; in the Odyssey, Ὀδυσσῆι, ἔτει, δέπαι, ὕδατι. But we find also Σηνίτι μενεαίνομεν (II. 15. 104), πάρ νη τε μένειν (Od.) See § 373.
The Dat. of Neuters in -as was commonly written -a; but the long a is anomalous, and -a is now read by La Roche from good MSS. (in σέλαι, κεραί). The forms in -a appear to have become established in later Greek (Hdn. II, 316, 10, ed. Lentz).

Stems in -i, Gen. -i-os, form the Dat. in -i, as κόν, μητί, μάστι, κρήστι, Θετί, νεμέστι (with v. l. νεμέστει II. 6. 335). So Bekker restored the forms πολι (II. 5. 686, &c.), ἀγόρι (II. 16. 661), ὁψ, ὑβρι, δυνάμι, πόσι, for which the common texts give forms in -α.

Stems in -u, Gen. -u-os, form the Dat. in -ui (a diphthong which in later Greek can only occur before a vowel), πληθυ (II. 22. 458), νεκυ, ὀρχηστυ, ὀξυ, ἵνυ, θρήνυ. But ἄρο-ς, σῶ-ς form the disyllables ἄρο-ι, σῶ-ι.

It is possible, however, that the Datives in -i are Instrumental forms, and similarly that the Datives in -u have taken the place of Instrumentals in -i. For the Vedic and Zend Instrum. in -i, -u see Osthoff, M. U. ii. 139.

Sanskrit Nouns in -an and -as sometimes form the Locative from the Stem without any Case-ending (Whitney, 425, ρ). Traces of this are to be found in Greek in the form αἰν (cp. αἰεί), and the Inf. in -αε and -αν (§ 85).

Stems in -o sometimes form a Locative in -ος, as well as the true Dat. in -ω, e.g. ὀκο-ι. So χαμα-ι and perhaps πάλα-ι. Cp. the adverbial ending -α (§ 110).

Pronominal Stems in -e form -οι; ἐμοί (enclitic μοι), σοί (encl. τοί), ἑωι and ολ. For σοί there is another form τείω (II. 11. 201): so in Doric we find ἐμίω and ἐω, ἐν.

99*] Plural. Several Stems in -o which are Masc. (or Fem.) in the Sing. form a Neut. Plur.: κέλευθος, Plur. κέλευθοι and more commonly κέλευθα; μηρός, Plur. μηροι and μήρα; κύκλος, Plur. κύκλοι and κύκλα; ῥόω, Plur. ῥόαι and ῥά: Τάρταρος, Plur. Τάρταρα (Hes.). There is probably a slight change of meaning, the Neuter expressing vague mass or quantity rather than plurality: cp. δρωμά thicket, and post-Homeric δεσμά, θεσμά, σίτα, Lat. loca, joca. Thus κέλευθα means a group of paths, and could not be used (e.g.) in such a passage as II. 10. 66 πολλαί γὰρ ἀνὰ στρατόν εἰσι κέλευθοι. So κύκλα of a set of wheels, Τάρταρα of one place so called, &c.

100.] Accusative Plural. Stems in -ι and -υ which admit an Acc. Sing. in -ι often form the Plur. in -ίς, -ύς (for -ώς, -ών): thus δίς (II. 11. 245), ἀκοίτης (Od. 10. 7), βοῦς ἄις (II. 6. 94). So we should read τόλις (with Bekker) for τόλεις. Again we have ὄρος, γένος, κλίτος, γραπτός, σύς and σύ-ας, ἵθος and ἵθό-ας (Od. 22. 384), ὑφρος (II. 16. 740) and ὑφρό-ας (Od. 9. 389), νέκυς (Od. 24. 417) and νέκυ-ας, βοῦς and βό-ας.
Stems in -u, Gen. -eos, have only -eas in Homer: except polôs, read by Zenodotus in Il. 2. 4, perhaps in other places (Il. 1. 559, 13. 734, 15. 66, 20. 313, 21. 59, 131, Od. 3. 262, 4. 170), where the MSS. have poleas or poleis.

The MS. of Schol. A in Il. 2. 4 gives poleis as read by Zen., but the context shows that the true reading of the scholium is polôs. But there is no trace of this form in any of the other places.

The Personal Pronouns have ʰymeas (once ἱμας), ὑμεας, σφεας (once σφᾶς encl., Il. 5. 567), as well as ἀμε, ὑμε, σφε. The forms in -as are later, the result of adding the common ending of the Acc. Plur.: see on the Acc. Sing.

101.] Genitive Plural. Stems in -ά(η) and -α form the Gen. Plur. in -άων, less commonly -εων. The -εων is generally scanned -εων, and after a vowel is written -όν, as κλησί-όν, παρει-όν, τρυφαλει-όν, Σκαι-όν (cp. the Gen. Sing. in -άο, -εω).

The Pronominal Stems ἰμε-, ὑμε-, σφε- form ἰμειων and ὑμειων, ἵμειων and ὑμειών, σφειών (encl.) and σφών.

These forms are plausibly explained by supposing that originally the Gen. was in -εω, as in the Singular. Then *ἀμμείο, *ὑμμείο, were assimilated to the Gen. Plur. in -ων; and σφειων followed the same analogy later (Brugmann, K. Z. xxvii. 397).

102.] Dative Plural. The two Endings of the Dat. Plur. are -σι(ν) and -εσι(ν). Many Nouns in Homer form the Case in both ways, e.g. βου-σί and βό-εσι (for βοῦ-εσσί), χερ-σί and χείρ-εσσί, ποσί or ποσί (for ποδ-σί) and πόδ-εσσί, ἀνδρά-σι and ἀνδρ-εσσί, μνηστήρ-σι and μνηστήρ-εσσί. The accent is often different, the forms in -εσσί being always proparoxytone. The ending -σι(ν) originally belongs to the Locative Plur. (Sanscr. -si).

A final dental or -σ with -σι forms -σσι, and this σσ may be reduced to σ, as in ποσσί and ποσί, ἐπεσ-σι and ἐπεσι, δέπασ-σι and δέπασι. But -εσι for the ending -εσσι is very rare: χείρ-εσι, ἵν-εσι, αἰγ-εσι, οἴ-εσι, ἀνάκτ-εσι occur once each.

An ending -σι (instead of -σι) occurs in a few stems in -υ (Gen. -u¯s): γεύσι-σι (Il. 11. 416), νεκυ-σι (Od.), πίτυ-σι (Od.). This is an extension of the type ἐπεσ-σι, &c.: cp. ἵμισι (Il. 13. 27) for ἵπιω-σι. Or possibly, as Brugmann suggests (G. G. p. 62), these are forms in -ωσι, -ωσι, the vowel retaining its original quantity (cp. § 116, 3 and 4).

Final α or ον of the Stem becomes in ἐπάλκε-σι, πολέ-σι (πολύ-ς), from the analogy of the other Cases, as ἐπάλκε-οσ, πολέ-οσ. Similarly on the analogy of forms with -εσσί (as in ἐπεσσι) we have the rare forms πολ-έσσι (πολ-ύς), πελέκ-εσσί (πέλεκ-υς).

The Ending -εσσί(ν) is itself the result of a similar analogy. In ἐπεσσι, βέλεσσι, &c. the -εσσι was felt as characteristic of the
Case, and then combined with other Stems; hence κύν-εσσι, σύ-εσσι, &c. Thus forms like ἐπέ-εσσι (for ἐπέσ-εσσι) really contain the Suffix έσ twice over. (Bopp, Vergl. Gr. § 292 of the first edition; Meyer, G. G. p. 355.)

Stems in -o and -ā (η) form the Dat. Plur. in -οίς(υ) and -σι(υ) respectively, also in -οίς and -σις or -γίς. The latter forms are common in the existing text of Homer, but (as was pointed out by Gerland, K. Z. ix. 36, and again by Nauck, Mél. gr.-rom. iii. 244) in the great majority of instances the loss of ι may be regarded as due to elision: e.g. for σοίς ἐτάρουσι we may write σοί' ἐτάρουσι. The Fem. -αις appears only in the forms θεαίς (Od. 5. 119), ἀκταίς (Il. 12. 284), and πάσαις (Od. 22. 471). Hence it is a question whether the forms in -οίς, -σίς are Homeric.

The Endings -οίς, -γίς are those of the Locative (Sanser. -έσις, -έσιτο). Originally -γίς was without ι (as in the adverbial 'Αθήνησ, θύραςι). The Endings -οίς, -σίς are probably not to be derived from -οίς, -γίς, but from the original Instrumental of Stems in -o. This was in Sanser. -αις, in Greek *-οίς, becoming -οίς: and from this again by an easy analogy the corresponding Fem. -αις was formed.

The Pronouns of the First and Second Person use two forms, viz. (1) -ίν in ἡμίν (encl. ἡμύν) and ἤμίν (encl. ἤμυν), and (2) -ι(υ) in ἄμμι(υ), ἄμμυ(υ), also ἡμίν, ἤμίν. This is evidently the same Suffix as in ἐμίν, τείν, είν, and the form -ιν is presumably the older (for which -ίν was perhaps adopted from the analogy of the Dat. in -σίν).

The 3 Plur. σφι(υ) is originally in all probability the Instrum. Plur. of the Stem σφε- (for σφε-φι): e.g. Lat. sibi, for s-bi. If so, the other Case-forms σφέ, σφέων, σφί-σι as well as the corresponding Duals σφώ, &c. are the result of analogy.

103.] Dual. The Nom. Acc. in -ā, from Stems in -ä, η is only found as a Mase.: 'Ἀτρείδᾱ, κορυστά (Il. 18. 163), ὀκυπέτα (Il. 8. 42): but Fem. προφανέντε, πληγέντε (of two goddesses, Il. 8. 378, 455).

The Genitive and Dative Ending in all Nouns is -οίν, as ποδ-οίν, ιπποίν. The contracted form -ον and the Fem. -αιν do not occur. The Personal Pronouns have:

3. Acc. σφωκέ (encl.); Dat. σφώτυ (encl.).

104.] Instrumental. The Homerian poems have preserved many instances of an Ending -φι(υ); e.g. ὀρεσ-φι, στήθεσ-φι,
105.] **Contraction, &c.** The loss of \(i, u\) and \(o\) between vowels (§ 94) does not generally lead to contraction in the Homeric dialect: note that—

1. The Dat. Sing. of Stems in -eos and -us (Gen. -eos) often forms ei (for -ei), but nearly always before a vowel, so that the ei is scanned as a short syllable (§ 380); e.g. τείχει ὑπὸ Τρῶων, ἥ ἐπεὶ ἡ ἐργω, &c. No such rule will be found to hold for the Dat. Sing. of Stems in -τι, as πόλει, ἀγūρει &c.—either because -ei from -ει-τι became monosyllabic earlier than -ei from -eos-τι or -ε-τι; or because, as has been suggested (§ 99), the true form of the Dat. is πόλι, ἀγυρί, &c.

Exceptions, real or apparent, to this rule are—

II. 6. 126 σφ τάρσει (read τάρσει σφ, cp. II. 7. 153 τάρσει ὃ).
17. 647 ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ διέσουν (read ἐν φαεί).
23. 515 οὐ τι τάχει γε (read οὐ τάχει γε).
23. 639 πληθοὶ (read πληθοῦ).

Also οὐδεὶς, Dat. of οὐδας (II. 5. 734., 8. 385., 14. 467., 17. 92., 23. 719., 24. 527), for which read οὐδαι or οὐδα (§ 99).

2. The combinations -eo, -eo, -evo are often scanned as one syllable by 'Synizesis,' as θεοί (II. 1. 18), σάκεα (II. 4. 113), τεύχεα (II. 7. 207, &c.); so with the Pronouns ημέας, ημέας, σφέας.

In II. 1. 18 ὑμᾶν μὲν θεοὶ δοῦν 'Ολυμπία δῶματ' ἐξοπλέεις the word θεοί is not certain, since 'Ολυμπία δῶματ' ἐξοπλέεις the lords of Olympus is used as a Substantive, and θεοί is therefore unnecessary (Fick, IIias p. 75).

3. The Gen. Sing. has -eos for -e-os in a few words; 'Ερέβεις, Χείθάρσεις, θέρεος, θάμβευς—chiefly ἀπαξ εἰρημένα. It is probably better to write -e-os and admit Synizesis.

On -ev in ἐμεῦ, σεῦ, εῦ, τεῦ see § 378*.

4. Nouns with Stems in -eos (as κλέος, δέος) and some Nouns in -as are liable to 'Hyphaeresis,' or dropping a vowel before another vowel: as κλέα (for κλε-εά), and so δυσκλέα, ἄκλεα, ἄκλε-ες; νηλῆς, νηλῖτ, νηλέα (Neut. Sing. νηλεός); θεονύδης, θεονύδεα (for θεο-νύδης god-bearing), ὑπερθέα (II. 17. 330); γέρα, δέτα, κέρα, κρέα, σφέα (for γέρα-α, &c.), ἄρεα δέβεα (Hes. Op. 647). Cp. δαί (for δα-ι), Dat. of δαί-α; also ἀπαρφεῖο for ἀπαρφέ-εο (§ 5).

The forms κλέα (ἄκλεα, δυσκλέα), δέτα, κέρα, σφέα are only found before hiatus; e.g. κλέα only occurs in the phrase κλέα ἄνθρωπ: so that we must either suppose -a to be shortened by the hiatus, or (better) read κλε' ἄνθρωπ, &c. But γέρα occurs before a consonant (II. 2. 237 γέρα πεσσευ, and so
9. 334, Od. 4. 66). κρία occurs in the phrase κρία ἠδεμα, and in one or two other places before a vowel; but more frequently it is followed by a consonant, and is to be scanned κρία or κρίς (necessarily so in Od. 9. 347, where it ends the line). Possibly the α is shortened by the analogy of the ordinary Neut. Plur. forms in -α (Meyer, G. G. p. 348). Or, as is now maintained by Joh. Schmidt (Plurab. p. 321 ff.), κρία, γέρα, &c. are stems in -α, originally distinct from the corresponding stems in -άς, and are therefore properly Singular, but capable of being used in a collective sense. On this view κρία meant flesh, κρίας pieces of flesh: cp. μήρα and μυρό (§ 99*). Schmidt does not admit hyphenationis in most of these words, holding that it only occurred when three vowels came together in the oldest Greek; so that (e. g.) we may have δία for δία (δίας-α), but not κλέα for κλέα.

5. There are also several contracted forms from Stems in -ες which offer some difficulty: ἀκληνεῖς (Π. 12. 316), ἀκληίως (Od. 1. 241, 14. 371), ἐυκλέεις (Π. 22. 110), ἐυκλέα (Π. 10. 281, Od. 21. 331; αλ. ἐυκλής), ἀγακλής (ἀγακλέως Ηesa.), Πατροκλῆς, Πατροκλῆς, Ἡρακλῆς, Ἡρακλῆς, Ἡρακλῆς, Βαθυκλῆς, Διοκλῆς, Διοκλῆς, ζαχρηκεῖς, ζαχρείως (also ζαρηκηῶς Hesych.); ἐυρεῖος; δείων (Π. 10. 376, 15. 4); σπείους, σπῆς, σπέσις and σπῆςι. (Περίτοιοι 19.)

But the η or ει always occurs where it can be resolved into ει, as Πατροκλεῖ-ος, εὐρεῖ-ος, ἀκλεῖ-ος, &c.; moreover the long final syllable so lost (e. g. in writing ἀκλεῖ-ες, δέε-ος, σπεί-ος) is never necessary to the metre. Hence we can hardly doubt that these are the true Homeric forms. So κρείων (Gen. Plur. of κρέας) should be κρεία-ων (as in H. Merc. 130), or perhaps κρείων (see § 107, 3); and ζαχρηκεῖς, ζαχρείών should be ζαχρείας, ζαχρείων. For σπέσις we can read σπέσι. (Περίτοιοι 19.)

The Voc. of Πατροκλῆς should be written in the uncontracted form Πατροκλεῖς in the phrase Πατροκλεῖς ἵππεθ (which ends the line in Π. 16. 20, 744, 812, 843), and also whenever it comes before the Bucolic Diaeresis (§ 368). When it stands at the beginning of the line (Π. 16. 693, 859) we should perhaps read Πατροκλος: see § 164.

6. The Case-forms of Nouns in -ως and -ω (Gen. -ως) ought generally to be written without contraction: thus ἡώς, Dat. ἡών, Acc. ἡώ (see § 368); αἰώς, Dat. αἰών, Acc. αἰονία: ἠρως, Acc. ἠρονία (Π. 10. 574). But the Genitive in -ος (ἡώς, Αηώς, εκ.) is required by the metre in several places. Naturally the contraction of οο was earlier than that of two unlike sounds, as οι, οα. See L. Meyer, Decl. 23.

106.] Variation of the Stem. The phonetic influence of the Ending on the form of the Stem, which plays so large a part in the inflexion of Non-Thematic Tenses, was originally no less important in the Nouns. In Sanscrit a Nominal Stem of the consonantal Declension appears in general in at least two forms,
a ‘strong’ and a ‘weak’ form; the strong form being used in the Nom. and Acc. Sing. and Dual and the Nom. Plur., the weak form in other Cases. The weak form, again, may have two degrees, which are then called the ‘weak’ or ‘middle’ and the ‘weakest’ form. A few traces of these variations remain in the Greek Declension:—

1. In the words of relationship, πατήρ, μήτηρ, &c. and in ἀμήρ. Thus we find Nom. πάτηρ, Acc. πατέρ-α, but Gen. πατρ-ός (πατέρ-ος only Od. 11. 500), Dat. πατρ-ι (sixty times in Homer, πατέρ-ι thrice); μήτηρ, Acc. μητέρα (only), Gen. and Dat. μητρ-ός, μητρ-ι, less commonly μητέρ-ος, μητέρ-ι. ἀμήρ uses ἀνερ- and ἀνδρ- (for ἀνρ-) almost promiscuously; the latter is also seen in the Dat. Pl. ἄνδρα-σι (for ἄνδρ-σι). The Gen. Plur. δακέων (II. 24. 769) is scanned as a spondee: it should probably be written δαιρό-ων, the stem δαιρό- standing to δαίρ (for δαιρ’ήρ) as ἄνδρο- to ἀνήρ (Ebel, K. Z. i. 293).

2. Zeus, for δηγας (Sanser. dyaus) forms the Gen. and Dat. from the Stem διφ. The original Acc. is Ζην, Sanser. ὄναμ (with loss of υ): ∆ια follows the analogy of ∆ις, Δι. Similarly βοῦς, for *βως (Sanser. gus), Gen. βοτ-ός, Acc. in Hom. βων (Sanser. gām). κών, Voc. κών, forms the other Cases from the Stem κών-. Cp. Sanser. κεν, Acc. κέαν-αμ, Gen. κεν-ας, &c. The Acc. κέα-α (like ∆ια) follows the analogy of the Gen. and Dat.

Similarly, *φρίν a lamb (surviving in πολό-ρρην-ες) forms Gen. ἄρν-ός (for ἄρν-ός), &c.

3. Adjectives in -εις, Gen. -ετος (Stem -εντ-) form the Dat. Plur. in -εσσι, -εσι. To explain this we must first suppose the weak Stem in Φατ- (with ἄ for εν, cp. § 31, 5 and § 37), which would give a Dat. Plur. in -εσσι, -εσι; this form then was assimilated to the other Cases by change of ἄ to ε. A form in -εσι has survived in φραείς * for φρείς (φραεί = Φατ = Eynt). In the same way δαιμονι, ποιμένι, &c. are not for δαιμον-σι, ποιμέν-σι, but for *δαιμα-σι, *ποιμα-σι. The Adverb ἄγκας has been explained as ἄγκασ(ι), the true Dat. Plur. of ἄγκων.

4. The primitive variation sometimes gives rise to parallel forms of a word: e.g. πτόξ and πτάξ a hare (πτήσων), which originate in the declension πτόξ, Acc. πτόκ-α, Gen. πτάκ-ός. So from πος and Lat. pes, ped-is we may infer original πος (or rather πός), Acc. πόδα or πόδα, Gen. πεδ-ός: and so in other cases †.

* Found in Pindar, also in an Old Attic inscription given by Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxv. p. 38.
† Much, however, remains uncertain in the attempts that have been made to reconstruct the primitive declension of these and similar words. The Sanscrit forms would furnish a fairly complete key, but for two defects: (1)
107. Heteroclite Nouns. This term is applicable to Nouns that employ distinct Stems. The chief variations are—

1. Between the vowel Declension (Stems in -o and -a, -ο) and the corresponding consonantal forms:

- ἰπτυχο-ς; Acc. ἰπτυχ-α.
- ἑρύρηρο-ς; Plur. ἑρύρηρ-ες, ἑρύρηρ-ας.
(ἀνθρώπος-ν post-Hom.); Dat. Plur. ἀνθρωπόδ-εσσι.
- ἅλικ-ι; Dat. ἅλικ-α.
- ὑσμίν; Dat. ὑσμίν-ι.
- ἰωκί; Acc. ἰωκ-α.

'Ἄιδ-ς, Gen. 'Αίδα-ο; also "Αἴδ-ος, Dat. 'Αίδ-ι.

phiλάκον (or ϕυλάκον, as Aristarchus accented the word); also ϕυλάκ-ας, Dat. Plur. ϕυλάκ-εσσι.
- ὃσσε, Dat. Plur. ὃσσοισι (Hes. Sc. 426).

πολλό-ς and πολύ-ς are both declined throughout: so δάκρυο-ν and δάκρυ.

2. With forms in -τ or -άτ:—

- γώνι, Gen. γωνώς (for γονή-ος), Plur. γοῦν-α, γοῦν-ων,
  γούν-εσσι; also γονή-εσσι, &c.
- δόρυ, Gen. δούρος (for δόρο-ος), &c.; δοῦρατ-ος, &c.
  όνειρο-ς; Plur. όνειρατ-α.
- πρόσωπο-ν; Plur. προσώπατ-α, Dat. προσώπασι. Hence
  the form ὃπα (eis ὃπα ὅδεσθαι, κατ' ἑν-ωπα ἱδὼν) may
  be a Neut. Sing.: cp. Αἰελικ ὃππατα ἑγες.*
- ὁς; Gen. ὀστ-ος, Dat. Plur. ὀσται and ὀσι.
- ἧμαρ (cp. ἥμερ-α); ἥματ-ος, &c. (cp. ἥματ-ιος).
  So πειρατ (πειράτ-α), ἤπαρ, ὀδδαρ, εἶδαπ, ὀνειρα.
- ρξρι, ρξρι-ς. See § 114*, 8, d.

- χάρις, Acc. χάρι-ν (cp. χάρι-εις); Plur. χάριτ-ες, &c.

3. Between -ας- and -εσσι—

- τέρας, τέρατ-α, τερά-ων, τερά-εσσι; but τείρεα (in the sense of 'stars,' Il. 18. 485).

the Sanscr. a may represent either e or o, so that (e. g.) ῥαदας may be ποδός or πεδός, and similarly a may be η or ω; and (2) Sanscr. a often answers to Greek o, so that (e. g.) παδας may point to either πόδα or ποδά. See Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxv. 23 ff., Brugmann, Grundr. i. § 311, p. 251.

* The old explanation of ὅππα from ὅπ-μα, by 'progressive assimilation,' seems to be groundless.
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οὐδας, οὐδε-ος, &c.: so κῶας, κώε-α, κτέρας, κτέρε-α (and New Ionic γέρεα, &c.; Attic βρέτους, κνέφους).

This variation doubtless arose from the Ionic change of ἀο, ἀω into ο, ο. Thus the ι first appeared in the Gen., giving (e. g.) τέρας, τέρεος, τέρας, Plur. τέρας, τέρας, τέρας or τέρα-εος. Then ι was extended to other Cases, and on the other hand α was sometimes restored, as in τερας, κρεας. See § 106, 4, and Joh. Schmidt, Plurab. p. 325.

4. Comparatives in -ον (Gen. -ον-ος) sometimes form Cases as if by contraction with a Stem in -ον; ἀμείνω (for ἀμείνου-α, ἀμείνο-α), πλείους (for πλείου-ες), ἀρείους (§ 114* 7; § 121).

5. Other variations are—

ηνιεχ-ο-ς; Acc. ηνιεχ-η-α, Nom. Plur. ηνιεχ-ες.

Αἴθιοπ-ες, &c., but Acc. Αἴθιοπ-η-α.

Ἀργός, Voc. Ἄργος; Gen. Ἀργο-ος and Ἄργο-ες, &c.; Acc. Ἀργα and once Ἀργ-ν (II. 5. 909).

Ae`ης, Acc. Αη-ν (Od. 12. 313): see § 97.

λας-ς, Acc. λας-ν; Gen. λα-ος, Dat. λα-ι, Dual λας, Plur. λα-ες, λα-ων, λα-εους. The latter forms are doubtless by hyphaeresis (§ 105, 4) for λα-ας, &c.

γρής, Dat. γρητ, as if from a monosyllabic γρνς.

μέγα (for μεγας, cp. μεγ-ας), Masc. μεγα-ς, μεγα-ν; the other Cases from the derivative stem μεγα-λο-ς.

Three apparently distinct Stems are used in viόs σου, viz.—

(1) viό-ς, Voc. viέ; the forms viόθν, viόφ, viόσι are very rare in Homer.

(2) (vi-ι), Acc. viέ-α, Gen. viό-ος, Dat. viέ-ι, Plur. viέ-ες, viέ-ας: and from these by hyphaeresis—

(3) Acc. vi-α, Gen. vi-ος, Dat. vi-ι, Dual vi-ε, Plur. vi-ες, vi-ας, viά-ι; cp. γρης, λας.

The form viάς (instead of vi-ος) follows the type πατράς, &c.

The Neut. κάρη head forms—

(1) Gen. καρητ-ος, κάρητ-ος, Dat. καρητ-ι, κάρητ-ι.

(2) Gen. κράκη-ος, Dat. κράκη-ι, Plur. κράκη-α(αα).

(3) Acc. Sing. κράτ-α (Od. 8. 92), Gen. κράτ-ος, Dat. κράτ-ι, Plur. Gen. κράτ-ον, Dat. κράτι. The Dat. Sing. form κράτεσφι (II. 10. 156) is quite anomalous*.

* We might add the stem κρη-, in κατα κρηθεν down from the head, cp. κρη-δεμον, κρη-η. The relations of these forms have hardly yet been satisfactorily cleared up: see especially Joh. Schmidt, Plurab. p. 363 ff. It is highly probable that κέρας is originally the same word, so that the original declension, answering to Sanscr: κιχάς, κίχαns, &c., was κέρας, Gen. κρα(ο)νς and κρα(ο)-ας (like γόνυ, Gen. γονύ-ος and γονύ-ας, &c.). The form κάρη must
The declension of ἐρώς, γέλως and ἵδρως in Homer is open to some doubt; it is clear however that the Stems in -τ are post-Homeric.

Nom. ἐρώς occurs in II. 14. 315, Acc. ἐρων in the phrase ἐ γένος εἴρηε put away desire, Dat. ἐρω in Od. 18. 212; Nom. ἐρως is read in II. 3. 442, 14. 294, but the metre allows ἐρως in both places. ἐρωτ-α occurs first in H. Merc. 449.

Nom. γέλως occurs in II. 1. 599, Od. 8. 326, 343, 344: in the two last passages (in the Song of Demodocus) the metre is rather against γέλως. The Dat. γέλω occurs in Od. 18. 100 (most MSS. γέλω); the Acc. γέλων or γέλω in Od. 18. 350., 20. 346 (MSS. γέλων, γέλων, and γέλω). Thus the word may be either γέλω-ς (Gen. -σον) or γέλως, Acc. γέλω (for γέλω-α or γέλω-α): cp. αἰδω for αἰδός. The Stem γέλων- appears in γέλωνς, cp. αἰδοίς, ἥδος.

From ἵδρως we have Acc. ἵδρω; but this must be read ἵδρων in one place (II. 10. 574 ἵδρω τολλόν at the end of the line), and always may be so read. The Dat. is ἵδρω (II. 17. 385, 745), possibly to be written ἵδροι. Hence ἵδρως is probably like χρῶς.

Two other Case-forms of this type are ἵχω (II. 5. 416), Acc. of ἵχωρ, and κυκεῖω (II.) or κυκεῖο (Od.), Acc. of κυκεῖον. Cp. also αἰω (Aesch. fr. 413), Acc. of αἴων.

The history of all these instances is very similar. The original Stem ended with a spirant (commonly ο), the loss of which in the oblique Cases caused hiatus (-οος, -οτ, -οα, &c.): then these forms were replaced by adopting Stems in -τ and -ν. Cp. § 114*, 6-8.

108.] Heteroclite Pronouns. The following points remain to be noticed:—

1. The stems ἐμε (με) and ἐε, ἐ do not form a Nom. Sing.

It is evident that the original Nom. coalesced at a very early period with the Stem of the Verb, becoming the ending -μ; just as the French je has ceased to be used except in a fixed place before the Verb, so that it is hardly a separate word.

In the Plural also the Nom. was not originally formed from the same Stems as the oblique Cases. Both ἐμε-ς, ἐμε-ς and ἐμε-ς, ἐμε-ς are comparatively late, and due to the analogy of the Nominal declension (Meyer, G. G. p. 388).

2. The Interrogative and Indefinite τίς is declined from three Stems, viz.

(1) τι-τι, giving Neut. τί (for τιδ), also the Plur. Neut. traceable in ἀσσα (for ἀ τια). The Indef. ἀσσα occurs in Od. 19. 218 ὄπποι ἀσσα, where it would be better to write ὄπποία ἕσσα (for τια).

(2) τε-τε, giving Gen. τεό, τευ (cp. ἐμεό, &c.), Dat. τεω, τυ (II. 16. 227, H. Apoll. 170).

Gen. τεων (εω), Dat. in δ-τεοι (ει), II. 15. 491.

(3) τυ-τυ, giving Acc. τυν-α, Dat. (very rarely) τυν-ι, Plur. Nom. τυνες (only in the Od.).

have been originally a derivative, introduced to mean head when κεφας had come to be limited to the sense of horn. From it again καρπ-ατος, &c. were obtained by analogy.
In the Compound δσ-τις the first part is sometimes declined as τις, ἦς, ὅ, sometimes undecayed, giving τις, τι, &c. The Neut. Plur. is once δ-τιν-α (II. 22. 450), usually δσυα.

In the forms with ττ, ππ (as δττί, δππος) we have to recognise the original Neuter δδ (Sanser. yad). Thus δδ ττ becomes ὅτ ττ (not δσττ, since ττ is a distinct word, not a Suffix). In δττεο, which occurs in the Odyssey (1. 124., 17. 121., 22. 377), ὅδ- is indeclinable (cp. δ-τις), and so in δππος, δπποσος, δπποίος, &c. For the assimilation we may compare καδ δε, κατ πεδίον, &c. (for κατ δε, κατ πεδίον).

3. The Article is declined from two Stems:—
δ-, Fem. α-, which gives ὅ, ἦς, αι: perhaps also ὅς thus, if it is distinct from the Relatival ὅς as.
το-, Fem. τα-, which gives the other Cases, and second forms of the Nom. Plur. τοί, ταί: also the Adverb τῶς thus.

The Compound δ-δε uses the Stem δ- for the forms δ-δε, ἦ-δε, αι-δε, αλ-δε, and the Adverb δ-δε. The second part is sometimes declined in the Dat. Plur., τόλο-δεσσων or τόλο-δεσυν (II. 10. 462 and Od.). The -δε is elicitic: hence the accent, ἦ-δε, not ἦδε. Strictly, therefore, it should be written ὅ δε, ἦ δε, &c.

The forms ἐμαντών, σεαντών, &c. are post-Homeric. The earliest instance of a Compound of this kind is the word ἐαυτῆ, in Hes. Th. 216.

Adverbial Suffixes.

109.] The Suffixes employed in Homer to form Adverbs are as follows:—

-θι expresses the place where: the chief instances are—from Pronouns and Prepositions, τό-θι, δ-θι, τό-θι, αδ-θι, αυτό-θι, κεί-θι (ἐκεί-θι only Od. 17. 10), ἐτέρω-θι, ἐκάστο-θι, ἀλλο-θι, ἐκτο-θι, ἐνδο-θι, ἀπό-προ-θι, ὑψο-θι, ἑγγύ-θι; from Nouns, νεώ-θι, ὑβρι-θι (Od. 14. 352), οἶκο-θι, ἢ-θι, οὔρανό-θι, κηρά-θι; Ἀλλό-θι, Κορινθό-θι, Ἀββυδό-θι. Note that ἐκεί is not found in Homer.

-θα place; ἐν-θα, ἐνταύ-θα, ὑπα-θα (cp. also ὑπά, μίσωθα).

-θε(ν) place, from Prepositions; πρόος-θε(ν), ὁπιο-θε(ν) and ὁπι-θε(ν), ὑπερ-θε(ν), πάροι-θε(ν), ἐνερ-θε(ν).

-θεν place whence, used with nearly the same Stems as -θι; ὅ-θεν, πό-θεν, ἐν-θεν, κεί-θεν, ἀλλο-θεν, ὑψο-θεν, πάντο-θεν, ἀμφο-τέρω-θεν, ἐτέρω-θεν. From Nouns, ὑ-θεν, Διά-θεν (II.), οὔρανό-θεν, ἱππο-θεν, &c.

This Suffix is often used with the Prepositions ἔς and ἀπό, as ἐκ Διά-θεν, ἀπ' οὔρανό-θεν, &c. With the Stems ἔμε, σε, ἡ, it forms a Genitive; as II. 1. 280 σέθεν ὅ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω. The form ἐθεν is only found in the Iliad.

-θοι, only in ἐνταυ-θοι there (Od.).
-τος place; ἐν-τός, ἐκ-τός. Originally, perhaps, it expressed the place whence, as Lat. caeli-tus, divini-tus, etc.

-τις, in αὐ-τίς back; again (Latte αὐ-θίς).


-ϕι(n), -φις, in νόο-φι(n) apart, λικρι-φίς sideways (II. 14. 463). This may be the Instrumental Ending -ϕι(n).

-φα, in μέσ-φα until, lit. meanwhile (II. 8. 508).

-χι, in ἐ-χι where (lit. which way, Lat. quā).

-χα, with Numerals; δι-χα two ways, τρί-χα, πέντα-χα, ἕπτα-χα. -χθα, in the same sense, τρι-χθά, τετρα-χθά.

-κις, -κι; with Numerals, in δεκά-κις, τετρά-κις, εἴνα-κις, εἰκοσά-κις; and with similar meaning πολλάκις and πολλάκι, ὀσσάκι, τοσσάκι.

The original Suffix is -κις or -κι (not -δικις), but in consequence of its having been used at first with Stems ending in -ά (τετρά-, ἐπτά-, δεκά-, εἴνα-), the combination -α-κις came to be felt as the Suffix, and was extended to other words by analogy. A similar explanation applies to the ἄ of πέντα-χα.

-κας expresses manner; ἀνδρα-κάς = Lat. viritim.

-δε place whither, suffixed to the Accusative; οἶκον-δε, πόλε-μόνδε, ἄλαδε. This Suffix is peculiar in being an enclitic; in strictness we should write οἶκον δε, πόλεμον δε, &c.

-δις expresses direction or manner; χαμά-δις, ἀμν-δις, ἄλλυ-δις, ἐπαμοῦξα-δίς (Od. 5. 481).

110.] Case-forms as Adverbs. The Suffixes which follow have been explained, with more or less probability, as Case-Endings.

-a manner; ἀρ-α (lit. fittingly), ἀμ-α, μάλ-α, θάμ-α, τάχ-α, σάφ-α, κάρτ-α, βει-α or βε-α. ὅκ-α, ἡκ-α, αἰψ-α, λίγ-α, σίγ-α, ρίμφ-α, πύκ-α, λιπ-α; in Attic κρύψ-α, ἕρεψ-α.

The Adverbs in -α belong to an early stage of Greek, most of them being confined to Homer. They have generally been taken to be primitive Instrumental forms (so Brugmann, Μ. Υ. ii. 158, G. G. § 83). It is a question, however, whether the original Instr. ending was -α or -e: see Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxvii. 292. Those which answer to adjectives in -υ-ς, viz. τάχα, δεκα, λίγα, κάρτα, θάμα, are explained by Joh. Schmidt as older Neut. Plur. forms (ταχυτής, &c.), cp. αἰσχρό Neut. Plur. of αἰσχύν, and πρεσβύτα (for πρεσβύτα) Fem. of πρεσβύτα. This will not apply to ἀρα, μάλα (since ἀρα-α, μαλ-α would give ἀρα, μάλα). Some may be stems in -γ, like μέγα: cp. λίγα and λίγανων (-γων), λίπα and λιπαίνω, πύκα and πυκν-ός, also the stems κραία, γερά (§ 105, 4).

-ῃ or -η way, direction; ἔ, τῇ, τῇ, πῇ, ὅτῃ (or πῇ, ὅτῃ), πάντῃ, λάθῃ. These forms represent the Instrumental of the way by which (Lat. quā, &c.).

It is a question whether they should be written with iota subser. or not. The ancient grammarians prescribed ἵοα (Apoll. de Adv. 625, 1), and this is
Adverbs.

confirmed by the forms δ', ὅ', ἀλλ', παντ' on Doric inscriptions (Ahrens, ii. 369). In Homer however the final vowel of πάντα (or -η) is frequently shortened before another vowel, which is rarely done in the case of final -ο (§ 380). It is not unlikely therefore that the original Instrum. Fem. -η took iota subv. from the analogy of the Dat. Fem. in -η. There were also Doric adverbs of place in -η or -ι (πή ποκα, ἐκατηρη, see Ahrens, ii. 362, Brugmann, M. V. ii. 244), in which η is of course pan-Hellenic; but Ionic πη, &c. are connected by the meaning with the Doric forms in -α. Cp. also λάθη (η) with Attic λάθθα (or -α). The form πάντ-η is an extension of the ending -η to the consonantal declension (as with the adverbs in -ος).

-ει, -ι time, manner; αὔτο-νυχ-ει (or -ι) that very night, II. 8. 197; τρι-στοιχ-ι in three rows, άναιμωτ-ι (ι) bloodlessly, ἀμογη-ι, ἀμαχητι, ἀνονητι, ἀνιδρωτι, ἀνιοιστι, ἐγηγορητι: with ι, έκητι with the will, ἀελειτ-ι without the will, μελειοτ-ι limb by limb, μεγαλοστι in mighty fashion.

Short -ι is certain in ἐκητι, ἀελειτι, μελειοτι, μεγαλοστι, and is not excluded by the metre in ἀμογητι and ἀμαχητι. Where the syllable is long the MSS. are usually divided between -ει and -ι. The evidence of inscriptions is strongly in favour of -ει (H. W. Smyth, The reduction of ει to ι in Homer, p. 10): but -ι can hardly be due to mere itacism, and we have further to explain the forms in -ι. The generally accepted view is that -ει is the original Locative ending of the o- declension, which is preserved in the Doric adverbs ει, πει, τουρθι, τηρητι, &c., also in οιει (Menander fr. 456). On this view short -ι must be the corresponding ending of the consonantal declension, and the analogy of forms of that declension must have been extended so as to create a new adverbial ending -ει (cp. ἔγηρθι in Soph.). The -ι of άναιμωτι, &c., if not a mere error, may be due to contamination between -ει and -ι.

αιε has been taken to be a Loc. from the stem αλεε- (of which the Doric αίες is the Acc.). Mr. H. W. Smyth (l. c.) justly objects to this to the Homeric form would be αλεί: and this form, we may add, would become αει, not αει. Hence he derives it from the stem αλεο-, Lat. aev-om.

A different account of the Adverbs in -ει and -ι is given by Mahlow (Die langen Vocale, p. 121). Noticing that they are mainly compounds, especially with a prv., he compares the numerous Latin adjectives such as ex-animi-s, in-ermi-s, in-belli-s, and shows that change to an I-stem is found in similar words in other European languages. This I-stem in the Acc. Neut. gives the adverbs in -ι, in the Loc. those in -ει or -ι. On this view the doubt between -ει and -ι is the same that we meet with in the Dat. of Nouns in -ος (§ 98).

-ος manner; a Suffix of which there are comparatively few examples in Homer: the commonest are from Stems in -ο, viz. τῶς, ὁς, πῶς, οὔτ-ος (also οὔτ-ως), ὁμ-ώς, φιλ-ως, αἰν-ώς, καρπαλιμως, ἀσπασιως, ἐκπάγλως, κρατερῶς, μεγάλως (rare); from other Stems, ἀφραδε-ος, περιφραδε-ος.

-ω, chiefly from Prepositions; εἰ-ω, εξ-ω, πρόσω-ω, ὑπόως-ως, ἀν-ω, κατ-ω, προτέρ-ω (further on), ἐκαστερ-ω, ἐκαστάτ-ω (farther, farthest), ἀποστερ-ω nearer.

Two others are Adverbs of manner, ὅ-δε, οὔτ-ω (for which οὔτως is only written when a vowel follows in the same sentence).
The ending -ōs has long been considered to be the Greek form of the original Ablativeal -ō (Lat. -ōd) of -a stems. In Greek, however, a final -d would disappear (as in ἀλκό, Lat. alīu-d, &c.) and consequently the theory applies only to the forms without -s, viz. ἀδε and ὁτω. The difficulty was met by Curtius (Curt. Stud. x. 219) with the suggestion that -t would pass into -s before a dental or s; e.g. ὁτας σοι, ὁτας τίθυμι for ὁτωτ σοι, ὁτωτ τίθυμι. When two forms ὁτω and ὁτως had thus come into existence as ‘sentence-doubles’ (like ὠ and ὠς, ἐκ and ἐκ), it would be natural to use ὁτως when it served to prevent hiatus, and the more regular ὁτω in other cases. This explanation was rejected by later scholars (as Brugmann and G. Meyer), and is certainly not quite satisfactory. If Curtius is right we should expect ἄτε to become ἄδε rather than ἄδε. His view is however defended by Joh. Schmidt (Pharalb. p. 352).

The ending -ω in ἄν-ω, &c. may be either the Ablativeal -at, or (more probably) an Instrumental ending -a (Mahlow, Die langen Vocale, p. 86). In Latin, as Mahlow shows, it is probable that the Instrum. is represented by the adverbs in -a, as modo, cito, the Abl. by archaic -at, later -a. If -os and -ω were alternative Ablativeal endings—sentence-doubles—it seems possible that the adoption of -ω rather than -ω in the Adverbs of manner was partly determined by the circumstance that -ω was already familiar in the Instrumental use.

The extension of -ωs, -ω to the consonantal declension presents no difficulty. It may be observed, perhaps, that the proper Ablat. of that declension was unsuited for adverbial use, because it was the same in form as the Genitive: e.g. ταχέως was already = of a swift, and accordingly a new word ταχέως swiftly was coined on the model of φίλως, &c.*

-ω place; ποῦ, ὁμοῦ, ἀγχοῦ, τηλοῦ, ὑψοῦ, αὐτοῦ,—all periphrasms. They are the same in meaning as the corresponding Adverbs in -δη.

-δον, -δην, -δα, forming Adverbs of manner, are evidently Accusatives from Stems in -δο-, -δη- (§ 114); e.g. σχε-δον nearly, lit. holding-wise, ἀποστα-δον aloof, ἐμβα-δον on foot, ἀμφα-δον openly, ἱα-δον in crowds; so βετρε-δον, πυργη-δον, πνευ-δον, συνωχα-δον, &c.; βά-δην steppingly, τμή-δην, κρύβ-δην, κλί-δην, ἐπιγρα-δην, &c. (all from Verbs), also a peculiar group in -ά-δην, as ἐπιστροφά-δην wheeling about, προτροπά-δην headlong, ἐπιτροχά-δην, μεταδρομά-δην, ἀμβολά-δην; μυ-δα, κρύβ-δα, ἀποσταδά, ἀμφα-δά, ἀναφαι-δά, αὐτοσχε-δά. It is evident that these are much more numerous than the Noun-Stems in -δο-, -δη can ever have been. In such cases we have to explain, not the derivation of the individual forms, but the origin of the type.

Other Adverbs obtained from Accusatives are: ἄκην in silence,

* As adverbs of the Gen. Abl. form (ταχέως, &c.) must have existed at one time alongside of those in -ωτ from -a stems, the conjecture may be hazarded that this adverbial -os was one of the influences which determined the choice of -os rather than -ω for original -at. If so, such a form as παύωτ-ωτ is a sort of contamination of the Gen. Abl. παύω-δς and the forms in -ω(ς).
accent.

many accentuation of case-forms.

111.] for the purpose of accentuation nouns may be divided into those in which the accent remains on the stem (and as far as possible on the same syllable of the stem), and those in which it passes in the gen. and acc. to the case-ending.

nouns of the vowel-declensions generally belong to the first of these groups. the last syllable if accented has the acute in the nom. and acc., the circumflex in the gen. and dat., and in the adverbs in -ou and -os: e.g. kalóς, kalói, kalóς &c., adv. kalóς; but acc. plur. kalóvs. on the nouns in -ά, see § 96.

one or two feminines with nom. sing. in -α accent the ending in those cases in which the last syllable is long, as μία, gen. μίης; ια, dat. ι; ταρφέια thick, fem. ταρφεία, but plur. ταρφειαί, acc. ταρφειάς; ἄγια street, gen. ἄγιης, plur. ἄγναι, ἄγιας. so θαμεία and θαμείας answer to a nom. sing. θαμεία, masc. *θαμός (cp. θαμέ-ες, θαμέας); and καυστείρης (pl. 4. 342, &c.) is gen. of καύστειρα.

αὐτός in the very way (from αὐτός), is made barytone by the authorities. the word is only homeric, and the original accentuation αὐτός had evidently been lost, perhaps by a confusion with οὐτός.

the oxytone adverbs in -έ and -ε, as αὐτονχεί, ἀσπονδόλ, μελετέ, may date from a time when the loc. of the o- declension was regularly oxytone—the accent determining the appearance of ε for ο.
The second group consists of—

(1) Nouns with monosyllabic Stem, as ποδός, ποδ-ός, ποδ-ί, ποδ-οῦν, ποδ-ῶν, ποςσί; κύων, κυν-ός, κυν-ί, κυν-ῶν, κυσί; θήρ, θήρ-ός, θηρ-ί, θηρ-ῶν, θηρ-σί.

(2) The words πατήρ, μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ, ἀνήρ, γαστήρ; Gen. πατρ-ός, μητρ-ός, θυγατρ-ός, ἀνδρ-ός, γαστρ-ός &c.

The accent of μητηρ and θυγατηρ is anomalous: cp. the Accusatives μητέρ-α, θυγατέρ-α. Probably the Nom. Sing. was originally oxytone. The change of accentuation may be explained by supposing that the Nom. was influenced by the accent of the Vocative—that in fact the Voc. pro tanto took the place of the Nom. (cp. § 96). It is evident that the Voc. of these words would be especially familiar to the ear.

The Dat. ending -εσι never takes the accent; hence ποδ-εσι, νή-εσι, ἄνδρ-εσι, κυν-εσι, &c. The reason doubtless is that these are forms that have followed the analogy of the Stems in -ευ, as ἐπεσ-σι, βέλεσ-σι, &c.

The Genitives παίδ-ων, δίδ-ων, Τρώ-ων, δμώ-ων, θώ-ων, are barytone; perhaps because the Stems are originally disyllable.

It appears that in an earlier stage of the language the shifting of the accent to the Case-Ending was always accompanied by 'weakening' of the Stem (§ 106). The few instances of the type of κύων, Gen. κυν-ός, and πατήρ, Gen. πατρ-ός, are to be regarded as surviving examples of the older declension.

112.] The Vocative in the Consonantal Declension sometimes retracts the accent, as πατήρ, Voc. πάτερ; δαήρ, Voc. δάερ; διο-γενής, Voc. διόγενες.

Proper Names with a long vowel in the penultimate are often properisponena, as Σαρπηδόν, Voc. Σαρπηδόν; 'Αντήφωρ, Voc. 'Αντήφωρ; Μακάων, Voc. Μακάων. Otherwise they are mostly proparoxytone, as 'Αγάμεμον, 'Απόλλων.

Oxytones in -εύς form the Voc. in -εύ, as Ζέυ, Ωδυσεύ. This may be regarded as a retraction of the accent, since the circumflex stands for a double accent, viz. an acute followed by a grave in the same syllable (Ζέυ = Ζέυ).

Originally the Vocative, unless it stood at the beginning of a sentence, was enclitic. Hence the barytone accent is to be explained as in the case of the Verb (§ 87), viz. as the result of an original loss of accent.
CHAPTER VI.

Formation of Nouns.

113. Nominal Stems. Some Nouns are formed with Stems identical with Verb-Stems; ττύχεσ folds (πτύσσω for πτυχ-ιω), στιχ-ees ranks (στειχω, ἐστιχ-ov), φλόξ flame (φλέγω), πτώκ-α covering (πτύσσω, ἐπτακ-ov), ὄω house, for ὄωμ, cp. ὅά- (ὁμ) in ὅ-πεδον (lit. house-floor), ὅπω-ας twigs (ῥέπ-ω), ὅγγ-ας clefts, openings (ῥύγ-νυμ), ὅς jackal (thèω), ὅπ-α voice (φεπ-), φρέξ, ὅπεξ, Στόξ. In these Nouns the Stem is usually either in the weak form or in the O-form (§ 38).

Originally the Stem was long (and accented) in the Nom. and Acc., weak (with the accent on the Case-Ending) in the Gen. and Dat. Instances of this variation have been given in § 106; cp. § 114*.

Commonly however a Nominal Stem is formed from a Verb-Stem by means of one or more Suffixes, which we may call Nominal Suffixes. These are of two kinds:

1. Primary, by which Nouns are formed from Verb-Stems; as -ο in ἄγ-ό-s leader, -τι in φά-τι-s saying. Nouns so formed are called Primitive (sometimes Verbal: but this term is better known in a more restricted sense, § 84).

2. Secondary, by which Nouns are formed from other Nouns; as -ιο in δίκα-ιο-s just, -ευ in ἱππ-ευ-s horseman. These Nouns are called Denominative.

The Suffixes which mark the Feminine Gender might be classified as Secondary; thus the Stem καλη- might be said to be formed by a fresh suffix from καλ-α-, the Stem δαιμονερά- (for δαιμ-τερ-μα) from δαιμ-τερ-, &c. But it is more convenient to treat the Feminine Endings as mere inflexions, along with the corresponding Masc. forms.

In the same way we might treat Suffixes like -τρο (in ἱ-τρό-s healer, ἄρο-τρό-ν plough) as compounded of -τρ or -τερ (ἱ-τρή healer, ἄρο-τρή ploughman), and a secondary -ο. Practically, however, -τρο is a single Primary Suffix: and this applies also to -μνο (in βελε-μνο-ν dart), which might be resolved into μν + εν + ο, and to many similar cases.
Primitive Nouns.

114.] Primary Suffixes. The form of the Verb-Stem in Primitive Nouns is liable to the same variations as in the Tenses (§ 38). It will be seen that these variations are connected with the accent; but this part of the subject will be best treated separately (§ 115).

The chief Primary Suffixes are as follows:—

-0, Fem. -ā, -η; the Verb-Stem taking three forms—

1. The weak form; as ἀγ-δ-ς leader, ἑγ-δ-υ yoke, φυ-ή flight: with reduplication, ἵαχ (ἵ-ἵαχ-ύ) cry, ἰ-ἵτα-ς (ἵτα-) web.

2. The O-form; as τόκ-ο-ς (τέκ-) offspring, ἄρωγ-ός (ἄρηγ-ω) helper, σπονδ-ή (σπενδ-ω) libation, ποτ-ή flight, ποί flow.

3. Attic reduplication; as ἄγ-ωγ-ή leading, ἀκωκή point, ἐδωδή calling, ἐπωπή sight, ἐδῶδη smell. The radical vowel appears as ο.

-τ: as τρόφ-ι (τρέϕ-ω) thick, τρόπ-ις keel of a ship, φρόν-ις understanding (with the Verb-Stem in the O-form).

-κα: seldom with Stems of clearly Verbal meaning, as in φῦκα (φυ-κα) flight, σχύκα (σχυ-κα) chip; more often with roots used as Nouns, as δία (δυ-κα), πέτα (πετ-ο), μωά (μως), πίσσα (πικ-); and as a Fem. suffix in Adjectives (ὑψα). The Greek -ια takes the place of -ι, the original declension of which is lost in Greek: see Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 109, p. 313; Joh. Schmidt, Pluralb. p. 42.

-υ: with two forms of declension—

1. Gen. -ε-ος, with the weak Stem; chiefly in Masc. and Neut. Adjectives, as ταῦτ-υς swift, ταρφ-υς (τρέϕ-ω) thick; βαδ-υς, λιγ-υς, γλυκ-υς, θαῦς, θραῦς, κρατυς, παχυς, ευρυς (for ε-φυρ-, root Φηρ-). But ἅφι-ς has the strong Stem: and ὁκύ-ς the O-form.

Fem. -ε-ά (for -ε-ια), -ε-α, as ἥδεια, ὥκεα.

2. Gen. -υ-ος; in Substantives (chiefly Fem.), as πληθ-υς multitude, ἴδ-υς path, αἶμ, ἐλυς mud, νέκ-υς (Masc.) corpse, γενυ-ς chin, γηρυ-ς voice, cry.

As to the declension of Nouns in -υς, Gen. -ός, and -υς, Gen. -ος, see § 94.

-ες, with the strong form of the Stem, as τεῖχ-ος wall, τεῦχ-ε-α arms, ἐπ-ος word, πέιθ-ος suffering, βέθ-ος depth (cp. βαθ-υς), θέρ-ος warmth, summer, ἰδ-ος pleasure.

Fem. -ε-α (for -ε-ως), as ἦπιγενεα.

The O-form of the Stem is found in ὀχ-ος chariot (cp. the Pf. ὀκωχα, § 26, 5); the weak form in θάλ-ος blossom (but ep. νεο-θηλ-ης), κάρτος (also κράτος), θάρσος (cp. θερσ-ιτς, Ἀλ-θέρσ-ης), ἀχ-ος grief. The forms πάθ-ος, βάθ-ος are not Homeric.
Note however that in Homer the Substantive is θάρσος (for which θάρσος occurs only once, II. 14. 416), the Adj. always θαρσός; so that a distinction of quantity is kept up in place of the original distinction between *θερός and θαιρός. On θερός as the original Greek form see Osthoff, M. U. ii. 49.

ι and υ appear in these Stems as in the Present tense (§ 29): e.g. ὑγ-ως cold, ψυχ-ως warmth, κύδ-ως glory.

-ως, -οσ; in ηνός (Sanser. ush-wks) dawn, αιδώς shame, and in the older declension of γέλως, ίδρως, αίών, ιχώρ (§ 107 ad fin.). The Stem is probably in the weak form; see § 30.

-ατ; as δέμ-ας 'build.' The Stem is in the strong form; indeed the Stem-vowel is always ε, except in γήρας old age, κώας fleece, and υδάς floor; cp. γέρας, δέπας, κέρας, κνέφας, κρέας, κτέρας, πέρας, σέβας, σέλας, σκέπας, σφέλας, τέρας: also *έρας (εραννός for ἐρας-νός) and *γέλας (ἐ-γέλασ-σα).

-ευ, -ών, -ον; e.g. τέρ-νυ, Gen. -ευ-ος (τείρω) soft, ἀρσ-ν ἄον-νυ neck; πέπ-ον (Voc.) tender one, ἄργ-ου-ες defenders, τέκτων, περι-κτίονες; ἄγκ-ον, Gen. -ον-ος εἰβοῦν, ἄγών, αἰδών.

Fem. -ανα (-αν-α), in λέαων: imitated by way of sarcasm in θέ-ανα (II. 8. 5).

-ντ, -οτ, in Participles, and in a few Substantives, as ὅνκ-ων a serpent, lit. the 'staring' animal (δέρκ-ομαι), τέν-ον, γέρον.

-στ, in oblique Cases of Neuter Nouns as (ὑδωρ), ἱθαρ-ος, &c. The ι of this Suffix represents the weak form of a nasal syllable; see § 38, and § 114*, 8, c.

-ντ, notably in Compounds, as ἀκάμας, ἀδάμας, πολύτλας.

-ν, in τάλας, μέλας: perhaps originally Stems in -αντ, which have followed the analogy of -ευ, -ον (Meyer, G. G. p. 304).

-ερ, -ωρ, -αρ; as ἀνρ (ἀε-ηρ) air, αἰθ-ηρ (αιθ-ω) bright sky, ἀν-ηρ husband's brother (levir); ἐλ-ωρ booty, ὑδ-ωρ water; μάκ-αρ
great (II. 11. 68), ἔαρ spring.

-ορ in the Homeric ἀορ sword, ἰτρορ breast is perhaps only the ΑEolic form of -ορ (-η). As to the Nom. and Acc. Neut. forms in -ωρ see § 114*, 8, d.

-λο, -λο is very rare in Greek as a Primary Suffix: Brugmann gives ἔρελπ-εα ruins and (post-Hom.) ἀγ-λος, στῦν-λος, σφάγ-λον, πάγ-λος. We may add ται-ην dispenser, πευ-ην poverty: also διός (διφ-ης) bright, πείζος (πεδ-) on foot, κραδ-ην (κηρ for κυρ-δ) heart, in which the Stem is a Root-Noun.

The word δ-οςηρ-ης helper pre-supposes a Stem δ-οςο- for σοκ-βο-, answering to Latin sociu-s (seq., Gr. συν).

In ἄλας (al-las), μέσας (meadins), δείκς the Suffix appears to give the force of a Comparative; see Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 63, p. 125.

-FO: κεινός (κει-FOs) empty, οίλος (οί-FOs) whole, λαυ-OS lacernus, ὁρθός ard-USH.

-FEV, -FIV, -FIV: πίων fat, αἰων age, life (Loc. αἰών, see § 99), ἀ-περίων (ἀ-περ-FOv, ep. πειράνω for περ-FO-μο): -FEV appears in the Inf. in -ε-αι, as εἰδέναι for ΦΙD-ΕΪV-αι (§ 84).


-FάP as πραπ (for πρ-FOp) fainess, ἄνεια (ἀνη-FOp) help, εἰδαπ (ἐδ-FOp) food, εἰδαπ shelter, &c.; -EP in πειρα, Fem. of πίων fat. The ancient grammarians noticed that the Stem before -ἀP is long (Herodian ii. 769 ed. Lentz).

-MO: with the O-form, as ποτ-μο-σ (πετ-) fall, κορ-μό-σ (κειρω) a trunk; ὀλ-μό-σ (FeL-α) a rolling stone, ὁχω-μός (ὀηγ-) gully.

-Μ: in ὑν-μίσ report, ὄνω-μί-σ power.

-ΜΙ in ὑργ-μίμισ beach on which the waves break, Dat. υσμί-μισ fight: also Nom. υσμίν.

-ΜΕP, -ΜΟ, -ΜΟ: ποδ-μίν (Gen. -μεν-OS) base, αὐτ-μίν breath, λιμίν haven, ποιμίν shepherd, δεί-μον (δεί-μον) fear, μι-μων mindful, η-μου shooter, τερ-μων end, θη-μów-a (Acc.) a heap. Also the Infinitives in -ΜΕ-ΑI (Dat.) and -ΜΕP (Loc.): see § 84.

-ΜΑT; as δεί-μα, Gen. -ματ-OS, fear, ὄνομα name, &c.

Of these Suffixes -ΜΟ and -ΜΑT go with the strong form of the Stem, -ΜΕP with the weak form.

With -O, -Η are formed -ΜΕP (in Particles), and -ΜΟ, -ΜΗ, as βελε-ΜΟ-ν a dart, λί-μη a marsh; -ΜΑ (ΜΕ-ΙΑ), in μερι-μα care.

-ΜΑP, -ΜΑΡ; as τέκ-ΜΑP and τέκ-ΜΑΡ a device; -ΜΕΡΟ, in ἦ-ΜΕΡΟ desire.

-ΝΟ, -ΝΟ; as δει-νό-σ fearfulness, πτη-νόσ flying, τέχ-νη art, ποι-νή atonement; ὁχ-νόν handle, δρεπάνι sickle, τρόπ-ανον anger, στέφ-ανον.

-ΝΕP; τέμε-νόν enclosure, ἤχ-νόσ imprint, γλή-νόσ jewel.

-ΝΥ; θρή-νύ-σ a foot-stool.

-ΡΟ, -ΛΟ; generally with the weak Stem; πικ-ρό-σ bitter, ἀκ-ρό-σ point, ἐδ-ρη seat: also with an auxiliary ἅ, σθεν-αρό-σ strong, ἀπαλός tender, στιβαρός, λιπαρός.

-ΡΙ; in ἦδ-ρι-σ knowing, ἀκ-ρι-σ mountain-top.

-ΡΥ, -ΛΥ; ὀδ-ρυ tear, θῆ-λυ-σ female (θῆ-σθαλ).

-Τ: θῆς θη-Τ-Ος, νύξ νυκ-Τ-Ος; but chiefly in Compounds, as προ-βλής, ἀ-γνώς.
II4-

- PRIMARY SUFFIXES. 103

-et, -ητ: Acc. ἄργ-έτ-α white (II. 21. 127), also ἄργητα (II. 8. 133), Dat. ἄργετι and ἄργητι (II. 11. 818), κέλ-ης, λέβ-ης.

-το; found with Stems—

1. In the O-form, as κοι-το-ς, κοι-τη (κεί-μαι) lair, φόρ-το-n burden, νόσ-το-s going, return (νέομαι for νεσ-ο-μαι), οῖ-τος (εἶ-μι) course, fortune, βροντή (βρέμ-ω) thunder.

2. In the weak form, as στα-τό-s stalled, ὅρα-τό-s flayed; ἀκ-τή beach; ἄκ-τη-s beggar, παπ-βά-τη-s.

For the use of -το to form Superlatives and Ordinal Numerals see §§ 121 and 130.

-τι, -τι; generally with the weak Stem, as φά-τι-s saying, πίο-τι-s (for πιθ-τις) trust, τί-τι-s vengeance, δόσις, βόσις, βρώσις, γένεσις, νέμεσις, ανώςις, ἀφώςις.

-ση, as κλασίη a tent, ὑπο-σχε-σίη promise.

-την in δω-τήν (from δώ-τις) gift.

-τῦ; βρω-τῦ-s food, κλῖ-τῦ-s a slope, μῆν-τῦ-s woeing, δαί-τῦ-s feasting, ἐδη-τῦ-s eating. This Suffix is especially common in Homer: ἀγορητός, ἀλατός, βοητός, γραπτός, ἕλεγκτος, κωμαρτός, ἀκονιστός, ὀρχηστός, ἄτρωντος, ῥυστακτός, τανυστός.

-τερ, in πατήρ, μῆτερ, θυγάτηρ, εἰνά-τερ-ες, γαστήρ, ἀστήρ.

-τηρ, -τορ, -τωρ; as δο-τηρ-α and δω-τορ-α (Acc.) giver, βοτηρ-ες and βώτορες herdsman, ἵστωρ witness, ἀφ-τωρ shouter, ἐπ-ακτήρ 'driver,' huntsman, δι-οπτήρ spy, ληστήρ spoiler, κοσμήτωρ arrayer, μήσ-τορ-α (μήδ-ομαι) adviser: also of things, with a touch of personification, κρητήρ, ζωστήρ, λαμπτήρ. Fem. -τερα (-τερ-ά), as δμή-τερα subduer.

-τρο, as ῥα-τρός healer, ἄρο-τρο-ν plough, σκη-τρον, λέκτρυν.

-δ, -ιδ, -ωδ; as Acc. ἐλπ-ιδ-α hope; λευκ-άδ-α white.

-δο, -δη: κέλα-δο-ς noise (κέλ-ομαι), κομ-δη tending, κλά-δος branch, ομαδος, χρομαδος, ράβδος.

This Suffix is chiefly seen in the Adverbs in -δον, -δην, as σχε-δο-ν near, βά-δη-ν at a walk, &c.: see § 110, and cp. the secondary forms στά-δ-ιος, &c. (§ 118).

Similarly from Verb-Stems with the suffix -τ we have λαϊ-τ-μα <gulf> (cp. λαί-μός throat), ἀὐ-τ-μή <breath>, also ἀὐ-τ-μήν (root αὐ-), ἐφ-ε-τ-μήν <war>, ἐφ-ε-τ-μήν <injunction>.

114*. Variation of Suffixes.

1. Primary Suffixes were originally liable to variation of the kind already noticed (§ 110). From the Sanscrit declension, in which the variation is preserved with singular fidelity, it appears that a Suffix in general has three different forms or degrees of quantity, called by Sanscrit grammarians the strong, the middle, and the weakest form. Just as in the declension of ἰγνος, Gr. ζεύς, we find (1) ἰγνον- in the Nom., (2) ἰγνω- in the Loc. ἰγν-ι (Lat. īnu for ǐdv-ı), and (3) ǐdv- or ǐν- in other Cases, so in δᾷ-τα ‘giver’ we have (1) -τα- in the Acc. δᾳ-τά-αμ, (2) -τα- in the Loc. δᾳ-τά-ι, and (3) -τα- in the Dat. δᾳ-τα-έ, Instrum. δᾳ-τα-ά.

Similarly we have the series -άρ, -άρ, -α; -μάν, -μάν, -μν; -να, -να, -ν; -αν, -αν, -ν, &c.: the rule being that the first or strong form contains a long vowel, which in the second is short, and in the third disappears altogether.

In the combinations -να, -ήα the α is lost and the semivowel becomes a vowel, thus giving -υ, -ι.

2. In Greek we find the same Suffixes as in Sanscrit, with the further distinction that the vowel may be γ or ο, ε or ο. Thus we may have -τωρ, -τρο, -τρη, -τρ; -μων, -μον, -μην, -μν (μαι, μαυ); -ωσ, -όσ, -σ; -φωσ, -φοσ, -φεσ, -σ; -ωσ, -οσ, -εσ, -σ; and so in other cases. Sometimes both sets of forms occur with the same root; as δω-τωρ, δωτρο-ος and δο-τήρ, δοτρο-ος.

The interchange of ο and ε in the Suffix -ο (as φίλο-ς, Voe. φίλε) belongs to this head.

The three forms of a Suffix are hardly ever to be seen in the Greek declension; one of them being usually taken as the Stem of all the oblique Cases. Thus the strong form is generalised in μήσ-τωρ, -τωρ-ος, the second in δώ-τωρ, -τωρ-ος, to the exclusion of the original μηστρ-ος, *δωτρ-ος, &c. The ‘weakest’ form, however, often appears in derivatives; e.g. ποιμήν, ποιμέν-ος, ποιμήν: δείμων, δείμων-ος, δειμαίνω (for μαίν-ω, -μαί-ω): θεράπων, Fem. θεράπυ-γ, also θεράπαινα (for -πώ-α): ἵη-τρ, ἴατρ-ός: ὕθωρ, ὕθρο-ς: τέκ-μωρ, τεκμάρμαι (for τεκμάρ-μαι), &c. Cp. Lat. car-ο(n), Gen. car-υ-is.

3. The relation of the forms -ον (-μον, *-φον), -ώρ ( -τωρ), &c. to -ον, -μον, -φον, -ηρ, -τηρ, &c. has been the subject of much controversy. It is generally agreed that the difference is not original, but arises in each case by differentiation from a single
form. Probably it is due to shifting of accent, the Suffixes with η being generally accented, while those with ο are found in barytone words. Thus we have the pairs δοτήρ and δώτορ, δητήρ and δητωρ, δοτήρες and δώτορες, πατήρ but φράτωρ, also Lat. sor-ōr (Sanscr. svarā). In composition, too, the loss of accent is regularly accompanied by the change from η, ε to ο, ο; πατήρ, μητρο-πάτωρ; δητήρ, πα-δαμάτωρ; άνήρ, ευ-ήνωρ; φρήν, αφρων, &c. Many exceptions, however, remain unexplained.

4. The Nouns of Relationship (the group πατήρ &c.) with one or two similarly inflected words (άστήρ, γαστήρ) are distinguished from the Nouns of the Agent in -τηρ (-τωρ) by the use of the shorter form -τερ in the Accusative: πατέρ-α, Sanscr. pitār-am, but δοτήρ-α, Sanscr. dātār-am. Similarly among Stems in -άρομ, ἀρομ-α answer to Sanscr. ὕφισ-α, ὕφισαν-am (instead of -άσ-αm). This peculiarity has been explained as the result of an original difference of quantity. That is to say, the form pitar (Gr. πατέρ-) has been taken to be the strong Stem, because it is the Stem of the Acc. If so, the η of the Nom. has to be explained as due to the analogy of the -η of δοτήρ, &c. But this view cannot well be reconciled with the fact that the Stem pitar- occurs not only in the Acc. pitāram but also in the Loc. pitar-ι. The Loc. is a Case which regularly takes the middle Stem; cp. dātār-am, Loc. dātār-i, ácman-am, Loc. ácman-i. Hence we must recognise a group of Stems in -r and -n forming the Acc. with the middle form. Thus the original declension would be (e.g.), Strong form, Nom. πα-τήρ, — Middle form, Acc. πα-τέρ-α, Loc. πα-τέρ-i, Voc. πα-τερ,— Weakest form, Gen. πα-τρ-ός. The cause of this difference in the treatment of the Accusative has still to be found *.

5. The Stems in -αυτ, -μαυτ, -βαυτ, (Gr. -ουτ, &c.) interchange with shorter forms in -α, -ματ, -βατ, Gr. -ατ, -ματ, -βατ. In Greek the Suffix -ουτ is used to form the Part. Pres., as φέροντ-α. The chief trace of -ατ is the Doric ἐσσα (ἐσ-ατ-μα) for ἑώσαιa. The forms -ματ, -βατ are found in the Neuters, such as δελ-ματ-ος, περατος, (πέρ-βατ-ος), &c. So in Latin nominis, nominis, for no-ninis (Sanscr. uā-ninis). On the other hand some Stems in -ν take -ντ in the oblique Cases: λέων, λέοντ-ος, but Fem. λεωνα (for λε-ντ-ος, cp. Lat. leon-ις, leōn-ις): θεράπων, -ουτος, but θεράπ-ν-η: πρόφρον, Fem. prōfrasos for prōfraw-τις. Cp. § 107, 2. Ποιμονία

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-ωσ-ως) seem to represent the original gradation; but the τ of the Masc. and Neut. oblique cases is peculiar to Greek, as the nasal to Sanserit. If we suppose a primitive declension (e.g.) Ἀκόλουθος, Acc. Ἀκόλουθός, Gen. Ἀκόλουθος, &c. this might become Acc. Ἀκόλουθος, Gen. Ἀκόλουθος, &c. (by the same levelling which we have in δῶ-τος, Acc. δῶ-τος, Gen. δῶ-τος), then Acc. Ἀκόλουθος, Gen. Ἀκόλουθος &c. At this stage the endings -οτ-ος, -οτ-ος &c. may have been introduced through analogy—perhaps of the Pres. Part. However this may be, this is one of several instances in Nominal Declension of τ creeping in to form a Stem for the oblique Cases.

7. A Suffix which originally was closely parallel to the -πος of the Pf. is to be seen in the -ων or -ον of the Comparative; Sanser. -γίνεται, -γινεται, (-ις), Greek -ων, -ων, -ω (in -ω-τος). Here the ν, in spite of the Sanser. nasal, is as difficult to explain as the τ of the Pf. However the older endings -ο-α, -ο-ες (for -ο-α, -ο-ες) are preserved in the Acc. Sing. Masc. and Nom. and Acc. Plur. Neut. (άμεινω for ἀμεινο-ο-α), and the Nom. Plur. (άμεινος, &c.). In the Latin -ίς, -ίς, &c. there is no trace of a nasal. We may compare the variation in aiων, kukεων (§ 107 ad fin).

8. Heteroclite forms occur when different Suffixes are brought into a single declension. In particular—

(a) Suffixes ending in -ν interchange with Suffixes in -ρ. Thus we find πίων, Gen. πίων-ος fat, but Fem. πίεινα (πι-φεπ-ια) and the Neut. Substantive πίαρ fatness. Also χαίμων, but χαιμέρ-ος (Cp. the Lat. fēmin, fēmin-is, and pēc-ur, pēcin-ocr-is, which is for an older pēcin-is.)

(b) Similarly along with ἤaxon we have ἠρ-ον at dawn, and the Adv. ἀρ (Sanser. ushās and ushār).

(c) Final τ is introduced in the Suffix; as in ἦτα-τ-ος (for ἦταν-τ-ος, cp. the Sanser. yākṛt, Gen. yākru-ς, and the other

Sanskrit forms.

* The suffixes of the Pf. Part. Act. and the Comparative have lately been the subject of much controversy: see Brugmann, K. Z. xxiv. 79 ff., Grundr. §§ 135, 136, pp. 402, 417; Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxvi. 341 ff., 342 ff., Phylarch, p. 157; Collitz, Bez. Beltr. x. 25, 63. The chief difficulty lies in the nasal of the Sanserit strong Cases. Such a gradation as -ονος (ο-ονος), -ονος, -ονος, -ονος (ο-ονος), -ονος, is unexampled. Joh. Schmidt takes the nasalised forms (Sanskrit -ονος, -ονος) as his point of departure, but has been unable to explain -ονος, -ονος, -ονος to the satisfaction of other scholars. Those who assume a primitive -ονος, -ονος have hitherto been equally unsuccessful in accounting for Sanserit -ονος, -ονος and Greek -ονος. The explanation of the τ of -οτ-ος, &c. is also difficult, but there it is at least certain that it is of secondary origin. It is to be noted that the traces of -οτ-ος in the Comparative are confined to strong Cases, as Acc. Sing. -οτ-ος, Nom. Plur. -οτ-ος, Hence the Gen. -οτ-ος, Dat. -οτ-ος, &c. perhaps did not take the place of middle forms -οτ-ος, -οτ-ος, but of the primitive weak forms (-οτ-ος, -οτ-ος).

(d) It is probable that the Neuters in -ωρ—viz. ὤδωρ, ἐλωρ, πέλωρ, ἑλδωρ, τέκμωρ, νῦκτωρ (Acc. used adverbially)—were originally Collective or Abstract nouns (Joh. Schmidt, Plurals, p. 193). On this view ὤδωρ waters (Germ. gewässer) is properly a different word from the stem *ὕδα or *ὕδαρ which we infer from the oblique Cases: τέκμωρ is originally a Collective or Abstract from τέκμαρ and similarly ἐλωρ, ἑλδωρ, πέλωρ, νῦκτωρ (cp. νυκτερ-ίς), which only occur in the Nom. Acc., are nouns formed like χειμών (χεῖμα), αἰδώς (αἰδέομαι, ἀν-αἰδής), γέλοιος (γελάω- in γελάω), &c. When ὤδωρ, &c. were brought into use as Nominatives answering to Neuter oblique Cases, they naturally followed these in respect of gender. Cp. § 110 (ad fin.).

115. Accentuation. The accent is often connected with the form of the Suffix, and sometimes varies with the meaning. But the rules that can be given on this subject are only partial.

1. Stems in -o are generally oxytone when they denote an agent, barytone when they denote the thing done; e.g. φορό-ς bearer, but φόρο-ς that which is brought; ἀγό-ς leader, ἀρωγό-ς helper, σκοπ-ός watcher, τροφό-ς nurse, τόκο-ς offspring. But νομό-ς pasture, λογό-ς pestilence (perhaps thought of as an agent, 'destroyer').

2. Stems in -η are generally oxytone, but there are many exceptions (as δίκ-η, μάχ-η).

3. Most stems in -ό, and all in -ώδ, are oxytone. But those which admit an Acc. in -ω are all barytone.

4. Adjectives in -υς are oxytone; except ὑάλ-υ-ς and the isolated Fem. θάλεια. Substantives in -υς are mostly oxytone; but see § 116, 4.


6. Nouns in -νη and -ην are oxytone, except μῆτηρ, θυγάτηρ (but see § 111, 2), ἄρσην, τέρσην.

Nouns in -ωρ and -ων are mostly barytone, but there are many exceptions, esp. the Abstract Nouns in -δωρ, the Substantives in -μος, as δαίμονας, ἡγεμόν, κυριεμόν, and most Nouns in -ων, Gen. -ονος, as ἀγών, ἀγγείον, χειμών, τελαμών.

7. Stems in -τo with the O-form are barytone, with the weak form oxytone; e.g. κοίτο-ς, νόσ-το-ς, but στα-το-ς, &c.

8. Stems in -η are mostly oxytone. Accordingly the Prim-
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itive Masculines in -τη-ς, which are Nouns of the Agent, can generally be distinguished from the Denominatives in -της (§ 117): e.g. ἀγορητής a speaker, but ναῦτης a ship-man.

9. Abstract Nouns in -τη, -οι are barytone; in -τι oxytone.

It will be seen that, roughly speaking, when the Verbal Stem is in the weak form, the Suffix is accented, and vice versa: also that words with an active meaning (applicable to a personal agent) are oxytone, those with a passive meaning (expressing the thing done) are barytone.

116.] Gender. The Gender of Nouns is determined in most cases by the Suffix. The following rules do not apply to Compounds, as to which see § 125.

1. Stems in -ο are Mase. or Neut., with some exceptions, as ὄδος, ἀταρπός, κέλευθος, νῆσος, φηγός, ἄμπελος, νόσος, ταφρός, ψήφος, σποδός, ψάμαθος, βάζδος, δοκός, μινός, πρό-χοος. In these the change of gender seems to be due to the meaning.

κλατός is used as a Fem. in Il. 2. 742 κλατός ἑποδάρμεια. In Od. 4. 406 πικρὸν ἀποπνείονσαι... ὄδμην it is best to take πικρὸν as an adverb, not with ὄδμην: ep. Il. 6. 182.

Πυλός has the two epithets ἡμαθεῖς and ἡγαθεῖ, and is probably therefore of both Genders.

2. Stems in -η (for -α) are mainly Fem.; but—

Stems in -τη denoting an agent are Mase., as δέκ-της a beggar, αἰχμη-της a warrior. Also, τόρκη-ς the ring of a spear, ετή-ς comrade, ταμίη-ς dispenser, νεφινή-ς a youth, perhaps ἀγγέλι-ης a messenger; also the proper names Βορέα-ς, Ἐρμεία-ς, Αἰνεία-ς, Ἀγαεία-ς, Τεφσεία-ς, Ἀχισίη-ς, Ἀδη-ς.

The Mase. Nouns in -ας, -ης are probably formed originally from Feminine abstract or collective Nouns in -α, -η. The first step is the use of the word as a concretce: ep. Od. 22. 209 ὄμηλικη δὲ μοι ἐστὶν οὖν one of the same age (ὀμηλίκη) with me; Il. 12. 213 δῆμων ἐστιν being one of the common people. So in Latin magistratus, poteitas (Juv. 10. 100), optio: English a relation (= a relative). The next step is the change to the Mase., which leads to the use of the Endings -ης, Gen. -ας on the analogy of the Mase. -ος, Gen. -ας. We may compare Fr. un trompette bearer of a trumpet, Italian il podesta the magistrate, where the change of meaning is marked by the gender only. So έτη-ς is probably from a word σφε-τη kindred, νεφινή-ς from a Fem. νεφινή youth, ἀγγελιή-ς (if the word exists, see Buttmann, Lexil. s. v.) from ἀγγελή. The Mase. ταμίη-ς may be formed from the concrete Fem. ταμίη, the office of household manager being generally filled by a woman (γυνὴ ταμίη Od.). And so the Nouns in -τη owe their origin to the older abstract or collective Nouns in -τη, as ἀκ-τη, βρωντή, ἀρε-τη, γενε-τη, πυν-τη, &c. See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. pp. 7–13.
3. Stems in -ά, -ίδ, -ίς are Fem.; also most Stems in -ι. But μάν-τις is Mase., and some Adjectives—ιδ-πτι-ς, τρόφ-ι-ς, εύν-ς—are of all genders.


Originally (as in Sanscrit) the chief Feminine Suffix was -ι. The metre shows that the long ι should be restored in ήνις (βοών ήνιν εὐρυκέτοπον Π. 10, 292, Od. 3, 382), Βλοσύρωπις (Π. 11, 36), and Βωπις (Π. 18, 357, where Ver. A has Βωπι πύνια "Ηρσ). The ι appears also in άψι-ος, κυμι-ος, εύκλοκαμί-ες.

4. Adjectives in -ω generally form the Fem. in -εια or -ει (for -ε-ια), as ήδεια, άκεια. But άριλ-ς as a Fem. is commoner than άρίλεια; and we also find άδικ άυμι (Od. 12, 359), πούλιν άφι άγριν (Π. 10, 27).

On the other hand most Substantives in -ος are Fem. (and oxytone), and this ο is frequently long, as in ιδο-ς aim (whereas the Adj. ιδυ-ς straight has οι). Πληθυ-ς multitude, ιδυ-ς mud, Ιρυμι-ς, and the Abstract Nouns in -τυ-ς, as βρωτυ-ς, δρυστυ-ς, κλιτυ-ς. But there are a few Masc. Substantives in -ος, viz. ίδρυν-ς, στάχυ-ς, βότρυ-ς, νέκυ-ς, ιδυ-ς.

5. The Suffix -εο is almost confined in Homer to Neut. Substantives of abstract meaning: the only clear example of an Adjective is άγνης (Π. 8, 524). For άλεγχε-ες (Π. 4, 242, 24, 239) we should probably read άλεγχεα. In Π. 4, 235 (ου γαρ ήτι προδόσησα πατήρ Ζεις έσσετ' άρωγός) we may equally well read προδόσησα (Ζεις will not help falsehood). The Gen. φραδε-ος (Π. 24, 354) may come from φραδις or φραδος.

It seems very probable that these words are to be accounted for in much the same way as the Masculines in -ης, viz. as abstract turned into concrete Nouns by a simple change of gender. The transition to a concrete meaning may be observed in προδος in such uses as Π. 9, 115 ου γαρ προδος έμας δας κατέλεξας not falsely (lit. not falsehood) hast thou related my folly. So άλεγχεα reproaches!

6. Suffixes which are used to express an abstract or a collective meaning are generally Feminine; e.g. κακο-ς coward, κακη cowardice; άσι πιετι; φοίζα, φυγ-ή flight; βολή counsel, also the body of counsellors, a council; φρόν-ι-ς understanding; νυφ-ός (-άδ-ος) a snow-storm; Πληθυ-ίς multitude (collective and abstract); and the Nouns in -τς (-ςις), -τυς, -ως, -δω.

It is probable that all the Collective Nouns in -ων, -ως, -ωρ (§ 114, 8, d) were originally Feminine. The change of gender may be traced in αλών (Fem. in Homer), and τόρως (Fem. in Εolic). In the case of ἐρως, γέλως it may be connected with the confusion between -ων-stems and -ο-stems (§ 107 ad fin.). It is to be noted that no nouns in -μω form the Fem. with -μα.
Denominative Nouns.

117. Secondary Suffixes. The following are the chief Secondary or 'Denominative' Suffixes. (Note that -o and -η of the Primitive Stem disappear before Secondary Suffixes beginning with a vowel*.)

-λο, -η; as δίκα-ιο-ς just, ἀρμον-ην a joining, ἀρμον-ιο-ς friendly, αἰδοίο-ς (for αἰδος-ιο-ς) reverenced, γελοιο-ς (probably to be written γελω-ιο-ς) laughable, ὤρ-ιο-ς in season, σοφ-η skill, σκοπ-ηυ watch, ἀναγκ-η necessity.

-ελο, -εο (chiefly used to denote material, especially the animal which furnishes the material of a thing); e.g. ῥηπ-ειο-ς, ταύρ-ειο-ς, αἶγ-ειο-ς, βό-ειο-ς and βό-εο-ς, κυν-η, χάλκ-ειο-ς and χάλκ-εο-ς, κυν-εο-ς, δουράτ-εο-ς, φάλγ-εο-ς, ἡγάθ-εο-ς (from ἡγαθ-δς), δαιδάλ-εο-ς, &c. These must be distinguished from the Adjectives in which ειο stands for εσ-ιο (for τελεσ-ιο-ς), διειδειο-ς, 'Ἀργειό-ς.

-ευ; ῥηπ-ειο-ς hornman, ἀμιστ-ει-ς one who does best, χάλκ-ευ-ς, ἱερ-ευ-ς, νου-ευ-ς, Σμιθ-ευ-ς, &c.—all from Nouns in -o.


-ρο, -ερο; as λιγν-ρο-ς shrill, δονοφ-ερός dark; μέγα-ρο-ν.

-ιμο; ἀοίδ-ιμο-ς matter of song, μόρ-ιμο-ς fated, &c.

-νο, -νο; as φαενός (φαεσ-) shining, ἑρβενός (ἑρβες-) dark, ἑρανός lovely; φηγ-νο-ς oaken, ἐλαρ-νό-ς of spring, &c.

-ινο; ὀπωρ-ινός of autumn, ἄγχιστ-ινος.

-ηνο; πετε-ηνός flying (πετ-εσ-).

-συνο, -σων; γηθό-συνο-ς joyful; ἵππο-σων horsemanship, &c.

-ευτ (for -φεντ), Fem. -εσσά; ὑλή-εντ-α, Fem. ὑλή-εσσ-α wooded, δινή-εντ-α full of eddies, λευρι-εντ-α like the lily, &c., σμιούντικ

-ικό; only found in ὄρθαν-ικό-ς orphan, παρθεν-ική virgin, and a few Adjectives from proper names, as ῥω-ικό-ς, 'Ἀχαί-ικό-ς, Πελασγ-ικό-ς. In these words it is evident that there is no approach to the later meaning of the Suffix.

* This is probably not the result of an 'elision,' but analogous to the weakening of a Suffix (cp. § 114, 1). Thus the Stem of σοφ-ς, Voc. σοφέ, is related to the form σοφ- (in σοφ-η) as πατέρ to πατρ- in πατρ-δς, πατρ-ιος (Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 59, p. 102).
SECONDARY SUFFIXES.

-τή; ναῦ-τή-ς, ἵππ-τα, τοξ-τα (Vos.), ἀγρό-ται, αἴξυμ-τή-ς, κορυφ-τή-ς, ἵππ-τή-ς, πολι-τή-ς and πολλ-τή-ς, ὀδ-τή-ς. Some of these are perhaps Primitive: e.g. αἴξυμ-τή-ς may come from an obsolete *αἴξυμω to wield the spear: see § 120.

-Τήτ; φιδ-τήτ-a love, δήδο-τήτ-a battle.

-τυττυ; φόρμυτς a lyre, σύρμυτς a reed-pipe, σάλπιγκς a trumpet, λάιγγ-ες pebbles, στροφάλγιγκς eddy, ραβαίγγ-ες drops.

The ι of -ίτη, -ιμο, -ίκο was probably not part of the original Suffix, but was the final vowel of the Stem. We may either suppose (e.g.) that μόριμος was formed directly from a Stem μορι- (cp. μοῖρα for μορ-ίδι) or that it followed the analogy of ἄλοιμος, φός-μος, &c. Cp. the account given in § 109 of the ι of -άιττ. It is remarkable that ο, which is regular as a 'connecting vowel' of Compounds, is extremely rare before Suffixes (except -τήτ, -τήτ, -ννο). Note that the -ει of the Patronymics Ἀτρε-ίδης, Πηλε-ίδης, &c. does not become a diphthong in Homer.

Of the use of Secondary Suffixes to form Diminutives there is no trace in Homer. It may be noted here as another difference between Homeric and later Greek that the Verbals in -τέος are entirely post-Homeric.

118.] Compound Suffixes. There are some remarkable instances in Homer of a Secondary amalgamating with a Primary Suffix. E.g.—


-άλ-ιμο; κόδ-άλιμο-ς glorious, καρπ-άλιμο-ς swift, πευκ-άλιμο-ς shrewd.

-εω (for -ειόνω or -εόνο) φα-εινό-ς shining, ἀπε-εινό-ς lofty, ἄλεγ-εινό-ς painful; Secondary in ἐπατ-εινό-ς, κελαδ-εινό-ς, ποθεινό-ς. This Suffix takes the form -εων in ἄργ-εινό-ς shining and ἔρεβεινό-ς murky.


-δ-άνο, in ρυγ-δάνος horrible, ἠπέδανος, πευκεδάνος, οὐτίδανος.

118*.] Suffixes of different Periods. In the great variety of Suffixes discovered by the analysis of the Greek Noun it is important to distinguish those which are 'living' in the period of
the language with which we are concerned, and those which only survive in words handed from an earlier period. Thus in Homer the oldest and simplest Suffixes, as -o, -i, -u, -εσ, -ασ, -εν, -ερ, -φο, evidently belong to the latter class. They are no longer capable of being used to form new words, because they are no longer separable in meaning from the Stems to which they are attached. On the other hand the Nouns in -μο-ς, -μων, -μα, -τηρ, -τρο-ν, -αλ-ς, -τυ-ς, and the Denominatives in -ιο-ς, -εφο-ς, -υν-ς, -την-ς, &c. are felt as derivatives, and consequently their number can be indefinitely increased by new coinage. Again the use of a Suffix may be restricted to some purpose which represents only part of its original usage. Thus -η ceased, as we have seen, to form abstract Nouns, but was largely used to form Masculine Nouns of the Agent. So too the Suffix -δο, -δη survived in two isolated uses, (1) in Adverbs in -δο-ν, -δη-ν and (2) in Patronymies. Compare in Latin the older use of -lus in the adjectives certus, certus, &c. with the living use in amā-tus, &c. Sometimes too a Suffix dies out in its original form, but enters into some combination which remains in vigour. Thus -νο survives in the form -νο, and in -ενο (-εσ-νο).

The distinction of Primary and Secondary Suffixes is evidently one which grew up by degrees, as the several forms came to be limited to different uses. In this limitation and assignment of functions it is probable that the original meaning of the Suffix seldom had any direct influence*. The difference between the Suffixes of the two great classes is mainly one of period. The elements which go to form them are ultimately much the same, but the Primary Suffixes represent on the whole earlier strata of formation.

119.] Gender. The rules previously given (§ 116) apply to Denominative Nouns; the exceptions are few. Note II. 18, 222 ὅτα χάλκεον (χαλκέην ZenoD.), 19. 88 ἄγριον ἄτην (the passage is probably corrupt, since it appears that the Homeric form of ἄτη is the uncontracted ἄτην, ἄτη), 20. 269 (= Od. 5. 410) ἀλὸς πολιοῦ, Od. 3. 82 πρῆκες .. ὄνειμος, 4. 442 ὀλοφτάτος ὀνίμη, 23. 233 ἀσπάσιος γη (al. ἀσπασίως).

The origin of the Mase, patronymies in -δη-ς may be explained in the same way as the Nouns of the Agent in -ης (§ 116, 2). We may suppose them to be derived from a group of Collective Nouns in -δη: e.g. Ατρείδη meaning the family of Atreus, Ατρείδη-ς would mean one of the Ατρείδη †.

* On this point see Brugmann (Grundr. ii. § 57, p. 99). It will be seen that he gives no countenance to the view (which has been put forward in Germany and elsewhere) that the Suffixes were originally without meaning.
† It may be conjectured that the epithets in -ον, such as Κρονιον, Τεριον,
120.] Denominative Verbs. Some apparent anomalies in the Denominative Verbs may be explained by the loss of an intermediate step of formation. Thus, there are many Verbs in -eω as not formed from Nouns in -eυ-ς, as βουλευω (βουλ-ή), ἀγορευω (ἀγορή), θηρευω (θήρ); so that, instead of the three stages—
νομισμαι, Denom. Noun νομ-ευ-ω, ἀριστευ-, " ἀριστευ-ευ-ω
the language goes directly from any Noun to a Verb in -eω.
Again, the Verbs in -aw (§ 60) presuppose Nouns in -eι, which are seldom found in use: δηρια-μαι (cp. δηρι-ς from which an intermediate δηρι-ς might be formed), μπιαω (cp. μπι-ς), κυιω, οἰοιάουσα, ἑδριώντα, μεδικις, θαλπιων, φυτιόωντες, φαλπιώνουσα, ἐφάραρται (Od. 21. 429), δειελίσσας.
Similarly, a Primitive Noun may appear to be Denominative because the Verb from which it is formed is wanting. E.g. if in the series—
ἀν-ή vexation, ἀν-άω, ἀν-ή-ρο-ς
diη-ς grief, διη-ω, διη-ρο-ς
the Verb were passed over, we should appear to have a Denominative Noun in -ρο-ς. Again, if the Primitive Noun in -eι and the Verb in -aw were both wanting, we should practically have the Compound Suffix -eιν-ς: and this accordingly is the case (e.g.) in αἰψ-ηρο-ς (αἰψα) swifth, θυ-ηλη (θυ-ω), υψ-ηλό-ς (ὑψι), φυξ-ηλι-ς.
In this way are formed the peculiar Homeric -ωρη, -ωλη, which are used virtually as Primary Suffixes (forming abstract Nouns); ἑλ-ωρη hope, θαλπ-ωρη comfort, ἀλεωρη (ἀλεφ) escape, τερπ-ωλη delight, φειδ-ωλη sparing, πανο-ωλη ceasing. Note that the difference between -ωρη and -ωλη is euphonic; -ωρη is found only when there is a preceding λ in the Stem.
The Verb-Stem in Denominative Verbs is not always the same as that of the Noun from which it is formed: in particular—
1. Verbs in -eω, -aw lengthen the final -o of the Noun-Stem to -eι and -ω; as φοβο-ς, ε-φοβη-ς; χόλο-ς, ε-χόλω-ς.

The ground of this peculiarity must be sought in the fact that the Denominative Verbs were originally confined (like the Tenth Class of Sanscrit) to the Present Tense and its Moods. Consequently the other Tenses, the Fut., the Aor., and the Pf., were formed not directly from the Noun, but from the Stem as it appeared in the Present Tense. Hence such forms as

Oδρανιανες, are derived from Collectives in -ων (§ 116, 6). Thus from οδρανιαν (Sing. Fem.) the heavenly powers we might have οδρανιανες heavenly ones, and finally οδρανιαν as a Sing. Masc. Cp. φυγας originally 'a body of exiles,' then φυγαδει 'exiles,' then φυγας 'an exile.' So in French, first la gent 'people,' then les gens, finally un gens-d'armes.
NOUN FORMATION.

2. Verbs in -ω form Tenses and derivative Nouns as if from a Verb-Stem in -δ; as ἰβρι-σ, ἰβρι-ω, ἰβριστιάς (as if ἰβριδ-η-σ, although there is no δ in the declension of ἰβρι-σ).

3. Verbs in -ω from Nominal Stems in -ρο, -λο, -νο often suppress the final -ω, as καθαρ-σ, καθαίρω (for καθαρ-ω); τοικλ-σ, τοικλλω (for τοικλ-ω), τοικλ-ματα. So perhaps ἀπινύσσω from ἀπινύτο-σ, and even ἐρέσσω from ἐρέ-η-σ. We may compare the loss of -ο, -η before a Suffix such as -το: see § 117 (foot-note).

Comparatives and Superlatives.

121.] The Suffixes which express comparison—either between two sets of objects (Comparative) or between one and several others (Superlative)—are partly Primary, partly Secondary. Hence it is convenient to treat them apart from the Suffixes of which an account has been already given.

The Comparative Suffix -ινων is Primary: the Positive (where there is one) being a parallel formation from the same (Verbal) Root. The Homeric Comparatives of this class are:—

γλυκ-ινω (γλυκ-υ-σ), αιαχ-ινω (αιαχ-ρο-σ), πάσσων (for παχ-ινω, παχ-υ-σ), βρασσων (βραχ-υ-σ), θάσσων (θαχ-υ-σ), κρέισσων (for κρε-ινω, κρατ-υ-σ), κακ-ινω, ὑπολεί-ζουνες, ὀλιγ-ο-σ), μείζων (μέγ-α-σ), μάλλων (μάλ-α), ἄσσων (ἄχ-ι), ἠλάσσων (ἠλαχ-υς), ἠσσων (ἠκα), χειρων καὶ χερε-ινω, ἀρε-ινω (ἀρε-τη), κέρδι-ινω (κέρδ-οσ), ῥιγ-ινω (ῥιγ-ο-σ), καλλ-ινω (καλλ-ο-σ), ἄλγ-ινω (ἄλγ-οσ), πλε-ινω, μειων, φιλ-ινω, ἀμεινων, βελτ-ινω, λω-ινω, βαρο-νω (Hes.).

The Stem is properly in the strong form, as in κρείσσων (but κρατ-υς, κάρτ-ιτσος); but it is assimilated to the Positive in πάσσων, βράσσων, γλυκίων. In θάσσων, ἠλάσσων the α points to forms ἡαγχ-ινων, ἡιαγχ-ινων, in which the nasal of the original *θεγχ-ινων, *ειαγχ-ινων was retained, but the ε changed into α.

The Superlative -ιτυο is used in the same way; we have:—


The Suffix -ινων has taken the place of -ισσ (§ 167, 7); the 'weakest' form may be traced in -ιος. The middle form -ιεσ
perhaps appears in the two Comparatives πλέος more (II. 11. 395, Acc. πλέος II. 2. 129) and χέρεια worse (Acc. Sing. and Neut. Plur., also Dat. Sing. χέρνι, Nom. Plur. χέρνει). Original πλέος (for πλε-εο-ες) became πλέες by Hyphaeresis (§ 105, 4): and so χέρεια is for χερε-εο-α*. The weakest form of -on would be -ν, which may be found in πρίν (cp. Lat. prīs-cus), and the Attic πλε-ίν. Evidently πλεον-: πλεον-: πλε-ίν = πρίσ: πρίσ-: πρίν.

Traces of a Comparative Suffix -ερο appear in ἐν-εροι those beneath (Lat. inf-eru-s, sup-eru-s).

The Suffix -ο or -άτο is found in the Ordinals τρί-το-ς, &c., and with the Superlative meaning in ὑπ-ατο-ς, νέ-ατο-ς, πῦματο-ς, μέσο-ατο-ς, ἐσχατο-ς, and πρῶτος (for πρό-ατο-ς); also combined with Ordinal Suffixes in the Homeric τρί-τατο-ς, ἐβδομάδο-ατο-ς, ὑγία-ατο-ς. The form -άτο is probably due to the analogy of the Ordinals τέταρτο-το-ς, ἐνα-το-ς, δέκα-το-ς, in which the ǎ is part of the Stem †.

A Suffix -μο may be recognised in πρό-μο-ς foremost man (Lat. in-fim-us, sum-mi-s, pri-mi-s, uillini-s, mini-mi-s).

The common Suffixes -τερο, -τάτο appear with a Verb-Stem in φέρ-τερο-ς, φέρ-τατο-ς (cp. φέρ-ιατο-ς), βέλτερο-ς (βόλα-μα), φίλτερο-ς, φίλτατο-ς (cp. ἐ-φίλα-το loves), δευτερο-ς, δευτατο-ς (δευ-ω to fail, to come short of †). So φαιν-τατος, for φαεν-τατος (φαιλω). Otherwise they are used with Nominal Stems: as πρεσβύ-τερο-ς, βασιλευ-τερο-ς, μελάντερο-ς, κύν-τατο-ν, μακάριτατο-ς, ἀχαριστερος (ἀ-χαριτ-τερος): and Pronouns, as ἡμε-τερος, ὑμε-τερος, τό-τερος, ἀμφό-τερος, ἐκά-τερος, ἑτερος (for ἄ-τερος, ἀ-τερος, and, with assimilation to ἐν-). Final ό of the Stem becomes ω when a long syllable is needed to give dactylic rhythm; as κακώ-τερο-ς, κακοζευ-νώ-τερο-ς §.

In ἀυτηρεσ-τερος (Od. 2. 190) the Stem follows the analogy of ἄμμη-νερες, &c. In χαριεσ-τερος (for χαριζάτ-τερος) there is the same assimilation as in the Dat. Pl. χαρίζεσται (§ 106, 3). In μυχολ-τατο-ς innermost the Stem appears to be a Locative case-form; cp. παρολ-τεροι move forward, and

* So G. Mahlow and J. Schmidt. K. Z. xxvi. 381. A different analysis is given by Collitz in Bezz. Beitr. ix. 66 and Brugmann (Grundr. ii. § 135, p. 402), who explain πλέος as πλε-εο-ες, i. e. from the weakest form of the Stem. This view does not apply so well to χέρμι-α, since it leaves unexplained the divergence between it and the Superl. χερμασ-τος. It may be noticed as an argument for the supposition of Hyphaeresis that we do not find the Gen. πλέος, χέρμειος, just as we do not find Hyphaeresis in the Gen. of Nouns in -ειος, -εῖς (§ 105, 4). Cp. however, the absence of trace of a Gen. ἄμεινο-ος (§ 114, 7, foot-note).
‡ This very probable etymology is given by Brugmann, K. Z. xxv. p. 298.
§ According to Brugmann the ω of σοφάτερος, &c. is not a metrical lengthening, but comes from the adverb * σοφα, &c. (related to σοφας as ουτω to ουτως, § 110), like the later κατά-τερος from κατω, &c.
later forms like κατώ-τερος, ἀνώ-τατος, &c.; so probably in παλαι-τερος and ὑπέρ-τερος. On the analogy of ὑπέρ-τερος we can explain ἐνέρ-τερος (cp. ὑπερ-θεί: ἐνερ-θεί, &c.). The form γεραλ-τερος, again, may be suggested by παλαιτερος, through the relation γεραλίος: παλαιός and the likeness of meaning (Meyer, G. G. p. 372). The words δεξι-τερός, ἀριστερός are formed like Comparatives, but are distinguished by their accent.

The Suffix -τερο is combined with the Suffix -ιον in ἀσοσ-τέρω (Adv.) nearer, ἐπ-ασσύτεροι drawing on, χειρό-τερος and χειρέω-τερος worse.

-τερο, -τάτο are combinations of -το (in τρί-τος, &c.) with the Suffixes -τερο and -τάτο respectively. The tendency to accumulate Suffixes of comparison is seen in ἐν-ἐρ-τερος (-τατος), ὑπ-ἐρ-τερος (-τατος), ἀσοσ-τερω, χειρό-τερος and χειρέω-τερος; τρί-τατος, ἐβδο-μ-τατος, πρώ-τατος; Lat. -issimus (for -is-ti-mus), magis-ter, minis-ter.

122.] Comparative and Superlative Meaning. The Stem is often that of a Substantive, as κύν-τερος more like a dog, βασιλευ-τατος most kingly; so that the Adjectival character is given by the Suffix.

The meaning is often, not that an object has more of a quality than some other object or set of objects, but that it has the quality in contradistinction to objects which are without it. Thus in πρό-τερος the meaning is not more forward, but forward, opposed to ὑπ-τερος behind. So ὑπέρ-τερος and ἐνέρ-τερος, δεξι-τερός, and ἀριστ-τερος, &c. The same thing appears in the Pronouns ἣμε-τερος, ὑμε-τερος, ἐ-τερος, πο-τερος, ἐκα-τερος, ἀμφο-τερος, &c.; ἣμε-τερος is not more belonging to us, but belonging to us (not you). So in the Homeric Comparatives:

ἄγρο-τερος of the country (opp. to the town).
ὄρος-τερος of the mountains (opp. to the valley).
θεό-τεραι, opp. to καταβαται ἄνθρωποιν (Od. 13. 111).
θηλυ-τεραί female (opp. to male).
κουρο-τεροι 
ὀπλό-τεροι 
the class of youths.

Cp. II. 19. 63 Τροις το κέρδιον that is a gain to the Trojans (rather than to us). Hence the Comparative is sometimes used as a softened way of expressing the notion of the Positive: as II. 19. 56 ἄρεων 'good rather than ill'; II. 1. 32 σαώτερος safe (as we speak of being 'on the safe side'): so θαυσον with an Imper. Hence too the idiomatic use of the double Comparative, Od. 1. 164 ἡλαφρότεροι πόδας εἰναι ἡ ἀφρονίοτεροι to be light of foot rather than wealthy.

Composition.

123.] It is a general law of Greek and the kindred languages
that while a Verb cannot be compounded with any prefix except a Preposition, a Nominal Stem may be compounded with any other Nominal Stem, the first or prefixed Stem serving to limit or qualify the notion expressed by the other.

The Homerican language contains very many Compounds formed by the simple placing together of two Nominal Stems: as πολι-πορθο-ς sacker of cities, ροδο-δάκτυλο-ς rose-fingered, τελεο-φόρο-ς bringing to an end, βουλη-φόρο-ς bringing counsel, ὑψ-αγόρη-ς talking loftily, πρωθ-ήβης-ς (for πρωτο-ήβης-ς) in the prime of youth, &c.

**124.** Form of the Prefixed Stem. The instances which call for notice fall under the following heads:—

*a. Stems in -ο, -η:—*

The great number of Nominal Stems in -ο created a tendency (which was aided by the convenience of pronunciation) to put -ο in place of other Suffixes. Thus we have—

-ο for -η, as ὄλο-τόμο-ς wood-cutter, &c.*

-ο for -σ, in είρο-κόμο-ς wool-dresser, μενο-εικής pleasing to the spirit; and for -σ, as γντυ-κόμς-ς tending old age.

-μο for -μον, as ακμό-θετο-ν annil-block; and for -μα, as αυμο-φόρυκτο-ς dabbled with blood, Κυμο-δόκη, &c.

-ρο for -ρά, in πατρο-κασλγντος, μητρο-πάτωρ, ἀνδρο-φόνος, and the like. In ἀνδρά-ποδον the short Stem (as in ἀνδρά-σι) is retained, but probably this form is due to the analogy of τετράποδον: slaves and cattle being thought of together as the two main kinds of property in early times (Brugm.).

-ο inserted after a consonant; παιδ-ο-φόνο-ς child-slayer, δρ-ματ-ο-πιγύ-ς chariot-builder, ύδατ-ο-τρεφής water-fed, ελε-θρετ-το-ς (ἐλεσ-ο-) grown in a marsh, ἑρ-ο-φοίτη-ς flying in air, δουρο-δόκη (δορφ-ο-) spear-holder, κερα-ξό-ς (κερας-) worker in horn. Sometimes the -ο is a real Suffix; e. g. in δι-ο-γενής (διφ-ο) Zeus-spring (= δίον γένος ἕλκων).

Stems in -η instead of -ο appear in θαλαμη-πόλο-ς attendant of a chamber, πυρ-φόρο-ς bearing wheat, ἐλαφι-βόλο-ς, έκατε-βόλο-ς, κρατη-πέδο-ς, ὑπερ-φαι-ς. We may suppose that there was a collateral Stem in -η (e.g. θαλάμη is found, but in a different sense from θαλαμο-ς Od. 5. 432), or that the Compound follows the analogy of βουλη-φόρο-ς, &c.

Fem. -α becomes either -ο, as ἀελλό-πος storm-foot; or -η, as γανή-οχο-ς earth-holder, μουρη-γενής born by fate.

* It is possible however that Feminine Nouns in -η were regarded as formed from Stems in -ο, the long vowel being of the nature of a Case-ending (§ 113). This is especially applicable to Adjectives: e. g. ἀκρο-πολις comes directly from Μασκ. ἀκρο-ς (Brugm.).
The result of these changes is to make the 'connecting vowel' in the great majority of Compounds. In later Greek this form prevails almost exclusively.

b. Stems in -i:—

The Compounds which contain these stems are mostly of an archaic stamp: Ἀργ slave of swift (or white) feet, Ἀργ white-toothed, Ἀργ-κρανω-ς with bright lightning, τερπι-κρανω-ς hurling thunderbolts (τερπ = τρέπω, Lat. torquere), ἑλεί-ποδ-ες trailing (? the feet (of oxen), ἔλει-πλοο-ς washed by the sea, also ἀλι-άγος, ἀλι-όρφυρος, Ἀλι-αρτός, Ἀλι-ζωον, Ἀλι-θερός (ep. ἀλι-εὖς fisherman), ἀλγι-βοτο-ς fed on by goats, ἀλγι-λυψ deserted by goats, χαλι-φρων of light mind, δατ-φρων warlike (or prudent), ἀλεξί-κακο-ς defender against ill, λαδι-κηνός forgetting care, πωκυμνός with shrewed counsell, καλλι-γώνικ-α with beautiful women (ep. κάλλι-μος), κυδι-ἄνωψa glorifying men (ep. κυδι-ώνω); with the Proper Names, Αἰθι-οπ-ες, Πειρ-θοο-ς, Ἀλκ-νοο-ς, Ἀλκ-μέδων (cp. ἀν-αλκέ-ς), and the words beginning with ἂρι- and ἐρι-.

The meaning of several of these words is very uncertain, owing to the merely ornamental and conventional way in which they are used in Homeric poetry. It seems to follow that they are survivals from an earlier period, one in which the number of Stems in -ί was probably greater than in Homeric times.

Loss of ο may be recognised in ἄρτι-πος (= ἄρτος τοὺς πόδας), ζεί-δωρος grain giving (ζείδ), κραται-γύαλος of strong pieces, ΔηΦοβός, perhaps also μαι-φόνος, Ἀλβαι-μένης, ταλαι-πορός: ep. γεραϊ-τερός from γεραϊό-ς.

c. Stems in -στι:—

This group is mainly Homeric: ἐρυσί-πτολι (Voc.) deliverer of the city (with v. l. βοσί-πτολ Π. 6. 305), ἀρεσί-ποδ-ες lifting the feet (i.e. with high action), πηλι-ιππο-ς smiler of horses, λασιμελής loosening the limbs (of sleep), ταννοι-πτερο-ς, ταλασι-φρων, ἀεσι-φρων, ταμεσι-χρως, φασει-μβροτο-ς, φυσι-ξος, φθοσ-μβροτο-ς, τερψι-μβροτο-ς, Τερψι-χορή (Hes.), ἔνοικο-χθων (ἐννοικ-γαώς, ἔνοικο-φύλος, &c.), πηγεσί-μαλλο-ς, ὀλεσι-καρπο-ς, ὀλφεσι-βοιος, ἐλκεσι-πελλο-ς, φύο-ήμωρ, πηνο-ιστω-ς, ἐρυν-ἄρματ-ες, ἤχο-ήμωρ, γαμψώμε; and Proper Names, Πρωτεσι-λαος, Ἀρσι-νοο-ς, Δειο-ήμωρ, Λύσι-ανθρος, Πεισι-ήμωρ, Πεισι-στρατο-ς, Ὀρσι-λοχο-ς, Ἀναβησινεως, Ἡσι-οδος (Hes.), &c.

There are a few Stems in -τι: βωσι-ἀνειρα feeding men, Καστεανεως (ep. κε-καο-μένος).

We may add the Hesiodic φερες-βίος life-bearing, and φερεσ-σακίς shield-bearing with φερεσι- apparently for φερεσι-.

These Stems were originally the same as those of the abstract Nouns in -τι-ς, -στι-ς: ep. Τερψι-χορή, τερψι-μβροτος, &c. with
τέρψι-s, πληξιτπωσ with πληξι-s. But in many cases new Stems have been formed under the influence of the sigmatic Dorist, with a difference of quantity, as in φωτιζου-s life-giving (φωτι-s), λυσιμελη-s, φθισιμβροτο-s. Compare also ταμεστ-χρωs with τμησι-s, Πεσσιστρατο-s with πιστι-s, &c.

The group of Compounds is also to be noticed for the distinctly Verbal or participial meaning given by the first part of the word; ep. the next group, and § 126.

d. Stems in -ε:—

These are nearly all Verbal, both in form and meaning: έλκεχτω-mos trailing the chiton, μενεδώι-s withstanding foemen (so μεν-χάρμη-s, μενεπτόλεμο-s, Μενέ-λαιο-s, Μενε-σθευ-s, &c.): έξεθυμο-s restraining passion, έξεφρων possessing judgment, έξεπευκες carrying sharpness, έξεπολο-s, έξένησ, έξεκλή-s; άγελετη driving spoil, άρχεκακο-s beginning mischief, άγχε-μακο-s fighting close, λεγεποιη with beds of grass: Άρχε-λοκο-s, Φέρε-κλος, Μελε-αγρο-s; φερέοικος carrying his house (of the snail in Hes.), έγρεκδουμοσ stirring tumult: also (if e is elided) ψευδάγγελο-s bringing false news, αθ-ος fiery, μυσγ-άγκεια the meeting-place of glens, άλεξάνεμοs keeping off wind, 'Αλέξαιδροs.

Stems in -σ; άκερεσκόμη-s with unshorn hair, Περσεφονεια.

With the Stems in -ε may evidently be placed ταλα-, in ταλάφρων with enduring mind, ταλαλεργω-s enduring in work, ταλαύρωσ (for ταλα- φρω-s) bearing a shield of hide, ταλαπεινη-s bearing sorrow, ταλαπελριοσ bearing trial; and τλη- in Τληπόλεμοι &c.: also ταυν-, in ταυνγλωσσοις with outstretched tongue, long-tongued, ταυνφυλλοσ long-leaved, ταυνγλωξυνες long-notched (arrows), and ἑρυ- in Ἐρυλαος, defender of the host.

e. Stems in -ν:—

ά for γ appears in ὀνομάκλωτοs of famous name, κυνάμυια for κυναμεια on the analogy of κύν-a.

f. Case-forms:—

Nom. Acc. in Numerals, as ἐνδεκα, δυνδεκα.

The Dative is probably to be recognised in ἄρητφατο-s slain in war (and so Ἀρηθθοο-s, Ἀρητλακο-s), πυρικήδη sharpened by fire (πυρικαυστο-s, Πυριφλεγέων), δι-πετηδης falling in the sky; the Dat. Plur. in κρησσι-φόρητο-s brought by the fates, ὀρεστιτροφο-s nursed in mountains, έγχεστμωρο-s great with spears, ένετατεργο-s working in harness, τεϊχεσπλήτα (Voc.) drawing near to (assailing) walls, Ναυσκάo, Μηδεσκάστη, Πασθή, Χερσδάμας; a Locative form in χαμαιεύνσ sleeping on the ground, ὄντεπόρο-s a wayfarer, χοροντυπίδη figuring in the dance, Πυλογενής born at Πυλία, παλαιφατο-s of ancient fame, and perhaps (to express manner) in ίδαιγενηδurile born, ὀλοκτροχο-s rolling. Cp. ἐμπυριβήτης made to stand over the fire, i.e. a kettle.
This use of the Dative may have been suggested by the Stems in -ι and -σι. Compounds such as ἄλκεσι-πελός, ἀλκαοι-καρπος, ἀλφεσι-βαος, containing forms which sounded like the Dat. Plur. of Stems in -σι, may have served as types for the group ἔλκεσι-μλεσ, τείγεσι-πλήγης, ὄρεσι-τροφος, &c. in which the Dat. Plur. takes the place of the Stem. Cf. Πρωτεσ-λακο.

Conversely, φερέσ-βιο-ς life-bearing, and φερεσ-οικής (Hes.) ought to be *φερέσ-βιο-ς, but have followed the type of ὄφρε-βιο-ς, τελαιε-φόρος, &c.

The forms δί-φιλο-ς, ἄρη-φιλο-ς, ἄρη-κτάμενο-ς, δακτάμενο-ς, δοῦρα-κλιτό-ς, δοῦρα-κλειτό-ς, nαυσι-κλιτό-ς, should probably be written as separate words, Δίν φίλος, Αρη κτάμενος, &c. As to -κτάμενος see § 125, 6: as to -κλιτός, -κλειτός, ep. § 128.

The Genitive is very rare: οὐδενό-φωρ-ς not worth caring for, Ἑλλήν-ποιος.

The Accusative may be recognised in δίκασ-πόλο-ς buried about suits (δίκαιος, ἀτάλα-φρως with childish thought (= ἀτάλα φρονέων, which is also used in Homer), ἀκαλα-ρειτῆς gently flowing, Ἀλκά-θοος (ep. Dat. ἄλκ-ι), ποδα-νιττρόν, also παύ- (altogether) in πάμ-παν, παν-ἀδολος, παν-ἀστρομος, πάμ-πρωτος, &c.

An ending -η (for -α) may be seen in νετ-φαρος new-slain, ὀλγη-πελεών. This is perhaps an Instrum. as πάντη (§ 110).

125.] Form of the second Stem. 1. The use of a Root-Noun, i.e. a Verbal Stem without a distinct Nominal Suffix (§ 113), is more common in Composition than in simple Nouns: as, δι-γυ-ες yoked in a pair, δι-πλακ-α two-fold, χερ-νιβα-α hand-washing, διν-οπ-α wine-like, νίφαδα (νη-φιδ-α) ignorant, αἰγ-λιπ-ος (Gen.) left by goats, πολυ-αϊξ much starting, βου-πληξ an ox- whip.

The Stem, it will be seen, is in the Weak form.

2. Nouns in -ως (Gen. -ο-ος) and in -ος (Gen. -ε-ος) form the Compound in -ης, Neut. -ες, as ἄν-αιδης without shame (αἰδώς), θυμ-αλγης grieving the spirit (αλγος).

The Stems in these Compounds is often weak, though in the simple Neuters in -ος it is strong (§ 114): e.g. αἰνο-παθης (as well as ταλα-πενθής, νη-πενθης, from πενθος), ἄγχυ-βαθης (βενθος, πολυ-βενθης), οῖνο-βαρης, πρωτο-παγης, ἀ-συνης, θυμο-δακης, ἀφ-φραδης, ἐτερ-αλκης, τηλε-φαιης, &e. So we find ἄικως (Il. 22. 336) as Adv. to ἄεικης, and ἀλλο-ἰδεα (Od. 13. 194) alongside of θε-ειδης, μυλο-ειδης, &e.

This weakening of the Stem, accompanied by shifting of the accent to the suffix, apparently represents the original rule—words like ταλα-πενθης being formed afresh from the Simple Noun. Conversely, the analogy of the Compounds has given rise to the forms πάθος, βάθος, βάρος, &c. and also to the simple Adjectives such as πευνης, σαφης.

3. Stems in ην (εν-) usually take ων (ον-) in Composition: as φρην (Gen. φρεν-ος) forms πρό-φρων, Gen. πρό-φρον-ος; and

4. Some Stems take a final \textit{-τ}, as \textit{α-βλη-τ-α} (Acc. Sing.) unworn, \textit{α-κμη-τ-ες} unwearied; so \textit{επι-βλης}, \textit{α-ομης}, \textit{α-γυως}.

5. In Adjectives the Suffix is often replaced by one ending in \textit{-ο}; as \textit{ο-πατρο-ς} of one father, \textit{βαρβαρό-φωνο-ς} with strange voice (from φωνη), \textit{χρυσ-ηλάκατο-ς} with golden distaff (ηλακάτη), \textit{δυσ-άνωμο-ς} of evil name (άνωμα), \textit{α-σπερμο-ς} without seed (σπέρμα), &c. In other cases the Suffix is retained, and thus we find in Compounds (contrary to the general rules of Noun-formation)—

"Masc. Stems in \textit{-η}, as \textit{άργυρο-δινή-ς}, and \textit{-δ}, as \textit{λευκ-άσπιδ-ες}.

"Masc. and Fem. Stems in \textit{-ες}, as \textit{μελι-ηδής} honey-sweet, \textit{ηριγένεια} (for \textit{-ες-ά}) early born.

Fem. Stems in \textit{-ο}, as \textit{χρυσό-δρονο-ς} ("Ηρη), \textit{βόδο-δάκτυλο-ς} ("Ηώς), and many other adjectives ‘of two terminations.’


6. The use of a Participle in the second part is rare: it is found in some Proper Names, as \textit{Ουκ-αλέγων}, \textit{Πυρ-φλεγέθων}, \textit{Θεο-κλώμενος}; also where it is a mere Adjective without any \textit{Tense-meaning}, as \textit{πολύ-τλας}, Cr. \textit{α-δάμας}. In other cases we can write the words separately, as \textit{πάλιν} \textit{πλαγχθεντας}, \textit{δάκρυ} \textit{χέων}, \textit{πάσι} \textit{μέλουσα}, κάρη \textit{κομώνυτες}, \textit{ευ} \textit{ναιετάων}, \textit{ευρύ} \textit{δέων}, \textit{ευ} \textit{κτίμενος}, \textit{πάλιν} \textit{δρέμενος}, "Αρπι \textit{κτάμενος}, \textit{δα} \textit{κτάμενος}, &c.


Note however \textit{παλίωξις} (for \textit{παλι-λωξί-ς}), \textit{βουλ-λυτό-ς} the time of unyoking, \textit{βου-βρωστι-ς}.

8. When the latter part of a Compound is derived from a disyllabic Verbal Stem beginning with a vowel, its initial vowel is often lengthened: as—


\textit{άμελγ-} milk, \textit{δν-ημελκτος}, \textit{ιππ-ημολγοί}.

\textit{άρό-ω} plough, \textit{άν-ηρο-τος}.

\textit{άλέγ-ω} care, \textit{ουν-ηλεγ-ες} (Gen.), \textit{απ-ηλεγ-εως}.

\textit{ερέφ-ω} cover, \textit{κατ-ηρεφ-ής}, \textit{άμφ-ηρεφ-ής}, \textit{υπ-ωρφ-ιος}.

\textit{άμειβ-ω} change, \textit{έ-ημοιβ-ός}.

\textit{έρετ-} row, \textit{φιλ-ηρετ-μος}, \textit{δολιχ-ηρετμος}.

Meaning of Compounds. The general rule is that the prefixed Stem limits or qualifies the meaning of the other: as ὠμο-γέρων hale old man, δημο-γέρων elder of the people, τρι-γέρων (Aesch.) thrice aged; ἵππο-δαμός tamer of horses, ἵππο-βόστος pastured by horses, ἵππο-κομος with plume of horse-hair, ἵππο-κέλευθος making way with horses; βαθὺ-δινής deep-eddying.

The prefixed Stem may evidently express very different relations—that of an Adjective, as ὠμο-γέρων, βαθὺ-δινής, or a Genitive, as δημο-γέρων, ἵππο-κομος, or an Object, as ἵππο-δαμός, or an Adverb of manner or place or instrument, as ὤμ-γερέται, ἥρο-φώτις, &c.—and various attempts have been made to classify Compounds according to these relations. Such attempts are usually unsatisfactory unless the differences of meaning upon which they are based are accompanied by differences of grammatical form.

In respect of form an important distinction is made by the fact that in the second part of many Compounds a Substantive acquires the meaning of an Adjective without the use of a new Suffix; e.g. ροδο-δάκτυλος, literally rose-finger, means not a rosy finger, but having rosy fingers; so ἵππο-κομος with a horse-plume, ἵππο-χαλής with horse’s mane (as a plume), βαθὺ-δινής (= βαθὺ-δινή-εις), &c. Such Compounds are called by Curtius Attributive. The formation is analogous to the turning of abstract into concrete Nouns by a mere change of Gender (instead of a Suffix), § 116. Thus διο-γενῆς (= δίον γένος ἔχων) is to δίον γένος as ψευδό-false to ψευδό-falsehood.

Among the meanings which may be conveyed by a Stem in a Compound, note the poetical use to express comparison: as ἄλλο-πως storm-foot, i.e. with feet (swift) as the storm, μελι-γυνός honey-voiced, ροδο-δάκτυλος, κυν-ἄτις, &c. So too ποδ-ημέος like the wind in feet, θυμο-λέον like a lion in spirit.

The order of the two Stems may be almost indifferent; i.e. it may be indifferent which of the two notions is treated as qualifying the other; e.g. ποδ-ώκης swift of foot (= ὀκὺς τῶν πόδας)
is the same in practical effect as ὀκώ-ποις swift-foot, with swift feel (ὠκεὶς πόδας ἔχων).

In the Compounds called by Curtius Objective, i.e. where the relation between the two parts is that of governing and governed word, the general rule requires that the governed word should come first, as in ἵππο-δαμο-ς horse-taming. This order appears to be reversed in certain cases in which the first Stem has the force of a Verb. The Stems so used are—

1. Stems in -ε (§ 124, d), as ἐλκε-χίτωνες, ἐχέ-φρων, &c.
2. Stems in -σι (§ 124, c), as ἐλκε-σί-πελλος, φθι-σ-ήπωρ, &c.
3. Some of the Stems in -τε, as ἐλλ-ποδές, κυδ-άνειρα, ἀμαρτι-νος (Hes.), λαθι-κρής, λαθι-φρων, τερπι-κέραννος (§ 124, b); and in -ο, as φιλο-πτόλεμος loving war, φιλο-κέρτομος, φιλο-κτέανος, φυγο-πτόλεμος flying from war, ἀμαρτο-ετής blundering in speech, ἡλιό-μνης astray as to the month: also the Compounds of ταλα-, τάλη-, as ταλα-πεινής enduring sorrow, Τηλ-πόλεμος, &c., and ταυ-, as ταυτ-πτέρος (Hes.), which is = the Homeric ταυστ-πτέρος.

In most of these cases the inversion is only apparent. For instance, ἐλκεστι-πελλος means trailing the robe as distinguished from other ways of wearing it; the notion of trailing is therefore the limiting one. So ταυστ-πτερος means long-winged; μενε-πτόλεμος, φυγο-πτόλεμος, Τηλ-πόλεμος, Neo-πτόλεμος describe varieties of the genus 'warrior.'

Nevertheless we must recognise a considerable number of Compounds in which the Prefixed Stem is Verbal in form as well as in meaning. A similar group has been formed in English (e.g. catch-penny, make-shift, do-nothing, &c.), and in the Romance languages (French van-rien, croque-mitaine, Italian fa-tutto, &c.). These groups are of relatively late formation, and confined for the most part to colloquial language. The corresponding Greek forms represent a new departure of the same kind.

The process by which the second part of a Compound passes into a Suffix cannot often be traced in Greek. An example may be found in -απω-ς (ποδ-απός, ἰμεδ-απός, ἀλλοδ-απός), = Sanser. -āuc, Lat. -ingui-ws (long-inguis, prop-inguis). In the adjectives in -ψ, as ὀνυψ, αἴδοψ, ἱμυψ, νῷρψ, μέρψ, the original sense of the Stem -π is evidently very faint. In the proper names Αἴθλοπες, Δόλαπες, Ἔλλοπες, Πέλοψ, &c. it becomes a mere Suffix.

127.] Stems compounded with Prepositions. These are of two readily distinguishable kinds:—

1. The Preposition qualifies; as ἐπι-μάρτυρος witness to (something), περι-κτίον-ες dwellers around, ἀμφί-φαλο-ς with crest on both sides, πρό-φρων with forward mind. Forms of this kind are
sometimes obtained directly from Compound Verbs: *e.g.* ἐξοχὸς from ἐξ·ίχω, not from ἐξ and ὁχὸς.

2. The Preposition governs, *i.e.* the Compound is equivalent to a Preposition governing a Noun; ἐν-νύξ-ιο-ς in the night, κατά-χθον-ιο-ς under-ground, ἀπο-θύμ-ιο-ς displeasing (lit. away from the mind), &c.; also (but less commonly) without a Secondary Suffix, as ἐγ-κέφαλο-ς brain (lit. within the head), ἐπι-ἀρωπρο-ς attached to the soil.

The placing of the Preposition before the governed Stem is a departure from the general rule stated above. It may be held, however, that the Preposition serves (in some of these Compounds at least) as the limiting or qualifying member of the word. Compare ρύχ-ιο-ς by night, ἐν-νύξ-ιο-ς within the night: it is evident that the ἐν limits the sense of νύξιος in essentially the same way as παν- in παν-νύξ-ιο-ς all the night. So κατά-χθον-ιο-ς is nearly equivalent to χθὸν-ιο-ς; the Preposition merely makes it clear in what sense the Suffix -ιο is to be understood—‘belonging to the earth’ by being under it.

128.] Accentuation. The Accent generally falls on the last syllable of the prefixed Stem, or if that is impossible, then as far back as possible; χρυσό-δρονος, δελλό-πος, ἐπι-ήρατο-ς (ήρατο-ς), αἶν-αρέτη-ς (ἀρετῆ), &c. The chief exceptions are the following:—

1. When the second Stem ends in -ο and has the force of an Active Participle, it is oxytone, or, if the penult is short, paroxytone; as ὑ-φορβό-ς, δημο-ἐργό-ς, τοξο-φόρο-ς. Except Compounds with Prepositions, as ἐπι-κλοπο-ς, πρὸ-μαχο-ς, ὑπό-τροπο-ς; also those in -χο-ς, and one or two more, πτολί-πορθο-ς, ἀχγι-μολο-ν, ἵππο-δαμος.


But a few Adjectives in -ης are barytone, as ὑψι-πέτης, ποδώκης, χαλκ-ήρης, ταυν-ήκης; also the Fem. forms Ἔρι-γενεα, λη-βότειρα, ὄς-αριστο-τόκεια, μισγ-ἀγκεια.

3. When the second Stem is a long monosyllable, it is accent ed: βο-πλής, ἀπο-ρρογ ης, παρα-βλώπ-ες, παρα-πλῆγ-ας, ἄ-βλης, &c. (§ 125, 2). Hence the Fem. forms βο-ώπ-ης, γλαυκ-ώπ-ης, &c. (as if from βο-ώψ, γλαυκ-ώψ, &c.).

129.] Proper Names in Greek are generally Compounds; the exceptions are chiefly names of gods, as Ζεῦς, Ἡρ, Ἀθηνα, &c., and of certain heroes, as Πάρις, Πρίαμος, Ἀλας, Τέκνος, &c.
Note that the gods whose names are Compound, as Διό-νυσος, Δη-μίτρος, Περσε-φόνεια, are less prominent in Homer.

The second part of a Proper Name is liable to a peculiar shortening: Πάτρο-κλο-ς, Φέρε-κλος, for Πατρό-κλέψ, Φερε-κλέψ, Σένε-λος, for Σένε-κλαο-ς, Αἴγι-σδος, for Αἴγι-σδένης, Μειωσθεύς for Μει-σδένης; cp. Εὐρυμίδης (Od. 9. 509), patronymic of Εὐρυμέδων. In these names the shorter form has (or had originally) the character of a 'nick-name,' or pet name.

In general, however, the 'pet' name is formed by dropping one of the two Stems altogether; the other Stem taking a Suffix in its place*. Thus we have in Homer the names—in -το-ς, as Ἐκα-τός (for ἐκατη-βόλος), Εὐρυ-τός (Εὐρυ-βάτης, Εὐρυ-αλός, &c.), Ἰφί-τος, Ἐχε-τός, Λή-τός.

in -τωρ, as Ἀκτ-τωρ (for Ἀγέ-λαος or some other name beginning Ἀγε-), Ἐκ-τωρ (Ἑχε-τωρ, Μέν-τωρ (Μεν-τωρ), Καλή-τωρ, Ἀμύν-τωρ, &c.

in -τη-ς, as Θερσι-τής (cp. Θερσι-λογος, &c.), Πολλ-τής, Ὄρεσ-τής, Ὀνέσ-τής, Μέν-τής (cp. Μέν-τωρ).

in -σω, as Δόλ-σω, Ἀγάθ-σω (cp. Λάκων = Λακεδαμίων). in -ε-ς, as Περσε-ές (from Περσε-φόνος), Οἶν-ές (cp. Οἶνο-μας, &c.), Πρωτ-ές, Λεοντ-ές, &c.

in -το-ς; Δολ-τος (Δόλ-ον, &c.) Ὀδ-τος, Τυχ-τος, Ψήμ-τος, Καλη-τος, and many more.

in -ται-ς, -ει-ς; Πελ-ίτης, Τειρεσ-λας; Ερμελας, Αίιελας, Αύγελας.

In these names the Suffix is not used with its proper force, but merely in imitation of the corresponding groups of Common Nouns. This is evident from the fact that so many of these words are inexplicable as Simple Nouns. Note especially the names in -το-ς and -σω from Adjectives, as Εὐρυ-το-ς, Ἰφί-το-ς, Ἀγάθ-σω; and those in -ε-ς from Nouns of the consonantal declension (§ 118), as Λεοντ-ε-ς, Αἴγ-ε-ς, and even from Verbs, as Περσ-ε-ς*.

The first part of the Compound has probably been dropped in Κλυμένη (cp. Περι-κλύμενος), Θόων (cp. Ἐπι-θόων, &c.

130.] Numerals. Although the Numerals are not properly to be counted as 'Nouns,' it will be convenient to notice here the chief peculiarities of formation which they exhibit.

1. There are two Fem. forms for εἰς, viz. μιὰ and τὰ; also a Neut. Dat. ἵ (Il. 6. 422). The Stem ἄ- (for ἰ-ς-) in ἄ-παξ, ἄ-πλαος, &c. is to be regarded as a weak form of the Stem ἐν-(saw). The weak form ἐμ- is to be traced in μία, for σμ-τα.

2. The forms δῦο and δῶ are equally common in Homer.

For the number 12 we find the three forms δυώδεκα, δώδεκα, and δεκαδέκα; also the Ordinals δυώδεκατος and (rarely) δωδεκατος.

3. Besides τέσσαρ-ες there is a form πίσηρ-ες, applied to horses in Il. 15. 680 and 23. 171, to other objects in Il. 24. 233 and three times in the Odyssey (5. 70., 16. 249., 22. 111).

The Stem τετρά- appears in the Dat. τέτρα-σι, also in the Ordinal (τέτρα-τος and τέταρ-τος), and most derivatives, as τετρά-κις, τετρά-χθα, τετρά-φαλος four-crested, &c. (but cp. τεσσαρα-βαιος νωρθ four oxen); also with loss of the first syllable in τρα-πεζα.

The variation in the Stem of this Numeral has been fully discussed by Joh. Schmidt (K. Z. xxv. p. 47 ff.). He shows that the Stem had three forms (§ 114*). The strong form is seen in Sanscr. catvdras, which would lead us to expect Greek *τετφωπες (hence perhaps Dor. τίτορες); the weakest in the Sanscr. Ordinal tuvira, for κτυρια, in which the shortening affects both syllables, and the first is consequently lost. This weakest Stem appears in τρυ-φαλεία a four-ridged helmet, and is not derived from the form τετρά-. It probably fell into disuse owing to its unlikeliness to τεσσαρες; accordingly it has only survived in words in which the meaning ‘four’ had ceased to be felt.

The form πίσυρες may be akin to Lesbian πέσυρες or πέσυρες, but there is no decisive ground for regarding it as Ἑολικ.

4. δκτό, like δύο, is a Dual in form. The primitive ending -ω (Sanscr. ashlān) may be traced in ὤψιος (ὀψώφ-ος, ὤψώς). Latin. octāns).

5. Under ενενά note the varieties ενα-τος and εινα-τος ninth, probably for ενφα-τος; so εινα-κις, εινα-νυχες, εινα-ετες; also εννύμαρ (for εννε-μαρ), εννε-ωρος of nine seasons, εννήκουτα (for εννεηκοτα, cp. τρι-ήκοτα, &c.) and ενενήκουτα—the last a form difficult to explain.

The numbers above ten are generally denoted by Compounds of the kind called Copulative (Sanscr. dvanda): δυ-δεκα ἵων and ἱεν. The analogy of the Numerals ending in -ά (ἐπτά, δέκα, with the Stems τετρά-, εἰνα-) has led to the use of α as a connecting vowel in Numerals generally; hence πευτά-ετες and εξά-ετες (Od. 3. 115), δεκτα-κιμιμος, τεσσαρα-βαιος, εεικονα-βαιος. But inversely α is found for α in πεντηκοντό-γνος (Il. 9. 579); cp. § 124, a.
ADVERBIAL WORDS.

CHAPTER VII.

USE OF THE CASES.

Introductory.

131.] The Case-Endings and Adverbial Endings serve (as has been said in § 90) to show the relation in which the words to which they are suffixed (Nouns, Pronouns, Adverbs, &c.) stand to the Verb of the Sentence.

This relation may be of three kinds:—

1. The Noun or Pronoun may express the Subject of the Verb: or rather (since a Subject is already given by the Person-Ending) it may qualify or define the Subject so given. E.g. in the sentence βασιλεύς δίδω-σι the-king he-gives βασιλεύς explains the Subject given by the Ending -σι.

2. The Noun &c. may qualify the Predicate given by the Stem of the Verb. E.g. in ταῦτα δίδω-σι, ἐμοί δίδω-σι, καλῶς δίδω-σι, ἀπο-δίδω-σι the Noun (Pronoun, Adverb, Preposition) qualifies the meaning expressed in the Stem δίδω.

Constructions of these two kinds are found in Sentences which involve the addition of one word only to the Verb. Those of the second kind might be called 'Adverbial'—using the term in the widest sense, for a word construed with a Verb-Stem.

Note that a Nominative may be used 'adverbially': e.g. βασιλεύς ἵν-τι may mean he-is king (as well as the king he-is). See § 162.

3. The Noun &c. may be connected with, and serve to qualify, another Noun or Adverbial word. E.g. in the sentences βασιλέως νίς διδωσι, Κύρου βασιλέως περιγιγνεί, the word βασιλέως is not connected with the Verb, but with a Noun.

If the former constructions are 'Adverbial,' these might be called 'Adnominal' or 'Adjectival.' The Sentences in which they are found must contain at least two words besides the Verb; they are therefore of a higher order of structure than the two former kinds.

From these relations, again, more complex forms of structure are derived in several ways, which it will be enough to indicate in the briefest manner.

A Verb compounded with a Preposition becomes for the purposes of construction a new Verb, with a syntax of its own.

Similarly, the phrase formed by a Verb and a Noun (Case-form or Adverb) may be equivalent in the construction to a single Verb, and may take a further Adverb, or govern Cases of Nouns accordingly. E.g. in κακὰ ἰέζει τῷα he does evil to some
one the Acc. τινά is governed by the phrase κακὰ ρείξει : in τινὰ ἵσα τέκεσσοι honoured like his children the Dat. τέκεσσοι is governed by τινὰ ἵσα.

Again, the new Case-form or Adverb so ‘governed’ by a Verb and Noun may belong in sense to the Noun. Thus in the sentence μέγ’ ἐξοχος ἐπετοῦ he is greatly eminent, since ἐξοχος expresses the meaning which μέγα is intended to qualify, we may consider that practically μέγα is construed with ἐξοχος alone. Evidently a qualification of this kind will generally apply only to an Adjective* (just as the degrees of comparison are essentially adjectival). In this way it comes about that an Adverb may in general be used to qualify an Adjective; and that very many Adjectives and Adverbs ‘govern’ the same Cases as the Verbs which correspond to them in meaning. E.g. in συν ἐκέλος ἄλην the Adj. ἐκέλος takes the construction of a Verb meaning to be like.

In a strictly scientific treatment of the Cases the various constructions with the Verb should come before the constructions with Nouns and Prepositions. Such a treatment, however, would have the inconvenience of frequently separating uses of the same Case which are intimately connected. E.g. the construction ἄγει τὴν κεφαλήν (2) cannot well be separated from the extension of the same construction in μέγας ἔτη τὸ σῶμα (3). The Nominative, too, is used not only as the Subject, but also as the Predicate, or part of it. It will be best therefore to take the several Cases in succession, and to begin with the ‘oblique’ Cases.

The Accusative.

132.] Internal and External Object. The uses of the Accusative have been divided into those in which the Acc. repeats, with more or less modification, the meaning given by the Verb, and those in which the action of the Verb is limited or directed by an ‘Object’ wholly distinct from it. E.g. in the sentence ἔλκος δ με οὕτασε, lit. the wound which he wounded me, δ (ἔλκος) qualifies οὕτασε by a word which expresses to some extent the same thing as the Verb οὕτασε: whereas με qualifies it in a different way. As the latter kind of Acc. had been known as the Acc. of the External Object, so the former has more recently been termed the Acc. of the Internal Object. We shall take first the different uses which fall under the description of the ‘Acc. of the Internal Object.’

The foundation of this division (as Delbrück observes, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 29) is the circumstance that all Accusatives which

* In later Greek Adverbs are constantly used to qualify substantives : as δ ἄν ἄναρ, δ προν χρόνος, &c. But this use only becomes possible when we have the Article to show how the Adverb is to be understood.
do not express the external Object of an action may be explained in nearly the same way. The real difficulty arises when we try to find a principle which will explain these different Accusatives and at the same time exclude the relations expressed by other Cases or Adverbial forms. No such principle can be laid down. The fact seems to be that the Accusative originally had a very wide 'Adverbial' use, which was encroached upon by the more specific uses of other Cases. The different constructions included under the 'Internal Object' have all the appearance of fragments of an earlier more elastic usage.

133. **Neuter Pronouns** may be used in the Accusative ‘adverbially,’ *i.e.* to define the action of the Verb: as II. 1. 289 ἄνεννα τω οὐ πείσεσθαι διό, in which I think that some one will not obey; II. 14. 249 ἄλλοι ἐπίνυσον gave another lesson; Od. 23. 24 τοῦτο ἄνησει will do this benefit; Od. 10. 75 τούτ' ἰκάνεις comest as thou dost; II. 5. 827 μήτε σὺ γε ἰδόθωι fear not Ares as to this; τάδε χάσοι be angry at this; τάδε μαλεταί does these mad things (= is mad with these acts).

This use includes the Adverbial τί why? (e.g. τί ἥθες in regard to what have you come? = what means your coming?): τό therefore (§ 262, 3), δ', ἵτι because, that (§ 269): τί in any way, ὁδέν not at all, ἀμφότερον for both reasons (II. 7. 418), δοῦ in two ways (Od. 2. 46), πάντα altogether, &c.; also the combination of Pronoun and Adverb in τό πρίν, τό πάροι, &c. the time before (see § 260, b).

134. **Neuter Adjectives** are often used in this way; as εὐφράει flows in a broad stream, ὃς ἕκακηγώς uttering shrill cries; so πρότην, πρώτα in the first place, πολύ, πολλόν, πολλά much, μέγα greatly, ὁλίγον, τυτθόν little, ὅσον, ὅσα equally; ὅσου, τόσον, τοῖον; ἀντιόν, ἀντιότι: ὅστερον, ὅστατα, μᾶλλον, μᾶλλοστα, ἄσον, ἄχγαμα; εὔ (Neut. of ἥψιν οὐ εὖς), ἕδυ, δεινόν, δεινά, αἰνά, καλόν, καλά, πυκνά, μακρά, ἀδινά, βαρύ, βαρέα, ὃς, ταρφέα, ὑπερμορά, ἐνδεξία, ὃχα, ἑξάχα; and many more.

In general there is no difference perceptible between the Neut. Sing. and Neut. Plur. But compare τυτθόν for a little space, and τυτθὰ κέασα split into little pieces (Od. 12. 388).

Note the combination of Pronoun and Adjective in τό πρότην, τά πρώτα, τό τρίτον, τό τέταρτον: also in τά ἅλλα in other respects. This construction is very common in Homer, and may almost be said to be the usual Homeric mode of forming an Adverb. It has been already observed that Adverbs in -ως are comparatively rare in Homer (§ 110).

135. **Cognate Accusative.** This term denotes that the Verb ἱκανεῖ.
is construed with a Substantive in the Acc. of 'cognate' form, or at least of equivalent meaning.

A Cognate Acc. is generally used to introduce the Adjective or Pronoun which really qualifies or defines the predication contained in the Verb: e.g. ἀπρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζεων to wage a war without result (cp. the adverbial use of a Neut. Adj. in ἀλληκτον πολεμίζεων to war without ceasing); ὅς κεβ ἀρίστην βουλὴν βουλεύσῃ who shall give the best counsel (ὁ ἄριστα βουλεύσῃ); ἔφιλεν παιτοίην φιλότητα treated with all manner of love; οὐκαί τὴν αὐτὴν ὄδον to go the same way. So καὶ-κλησι καλέουσι call by way of surname; and with a Noun in the Plural, βουλὰς βουλεύειν to give counsel (from time to time); δάσωσαι μοίρας divided into the several shares; αἰχμάς αἰχμασσοῦν νεώτεροι (with repetition for the sake of emphasis), &c.

With a Pronoun referring to a cognate Noun; λόβης... ἦν ἐμὲ λαοὔησασθε, ἔλκος ὁ με βροτὸς ὀυτασεν, ὑπόσχεσις ἦν περ ὑπε-στην, &c.

136.] Other Adverbial Accusatives. The following uses may be placed here as more or less analogous to the Cognate Accusative:

(1) Substantives expressing a particular sphere or kind of the action denoted by the Verb: as—

Π. 6. 292 ἤγαγε Σιδούηθεν... τὴν ὄδον ἦν Ἐλένην περ ἀνήγαγε the voyage on which he brought back Helen: (cp. Od. 6. 164 ἦλθον γὰρ καὶ κεῖσθαι... τὴν ὄδον ἦ δὴ κτλ.); so ὅδον ὀξειοῦσα, ὀδὸν ἡγίσασθαι to lead on the way; and again ἐξεσίν ἐλθεῖν to go on an expedition (and in Od. 21. 20 ἐξεσίν πολλὴν ὄδον ἦλθεν went a long way on an expedition), ἄγγελην ἐλθόντα going on a message; βουλὰς ἐξάρξας ἀγαθὰς taking the lead in good counsels; Od. 8. 23 ἀέβλους... τοὺς... ἐπερήσασται Ὀδυσσῆος; Od. 19. 393 οὐλὴν τὴν ποτὲ μν ἐς ἦλασε. So δαινύναι γάμον holding a wedding-feast, δαϊνυς ταφον gave a funeral feast (whereas the cognate δαίτην δαινυμένον means holding an ordinary feast); ἔπιόγωμεν Ἀρητι λε βοινάντο βερείαν broke in grievous strife.

So probably we should explain II. 1. 31 ἐμὸν λέχοις ἀντισώφαν, like II. 15. 33 φιλότης τε καὶ εὐνὴ ἦν ἑμίγνας (cp. Ἐιδ. N. 1. 67 ὅταν θεόι... γιαντασκοῦν μάχαν ἀντίκασοι). Also Od. 6. 259 ὅρρ' ἀν μὲν κ' ἄγροις τομέν καὶ ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων so long as our way is through fields and tillage of men,—ἄγροις= ὅδον ἐν ἄγροις.

Note that this construction is chiefly applied to the familiar spheres of action—battle, council, feasting, &c.

(2) Abstract Nouns expressing an attribute of the action.

II. 9. 115 οὐ τι ψεῦδος ἐμὸς ἀτασ κατέλεξας with no falsehood
ACCUSATIVE.

... hast thou recounted my folly: Od. 7. 297 ταῦτα τοι... ἀληθείην κατέλεξα.

So δέμας (in phrases like δέμας πυρός like fire), and the Adverbs ἀκην, ἀδην, λήν, with many others (see § 110), are originally the Accusatives of Abstract Nouns.

Add the poetical expressions such as πῦρ ὀφθαλμῶνι δεδορκῶς with look of fire, μένεα πυελοτῆς breathing martial fury.

The phrase πῦρ δεδορκῶς is a boldness of language (compared e. g. with δαινὸν δερκόμενοι) analogous to that which we observed in Compounds such as ἔκλυ-πος with storm-(like) feet, as compared with ἄκυ-πόδες, &c.; see § 126.

(3) The words ἔργον, ἔπος, μῦθος, with Pronouns, are used nearly as the Neuter of the same Pronouns: as—

Il. 1. 294 πᾶν ἔργον ὑπείξαμαι I shall yield in every matter (πᾶν ἔργον = πάντα): 5. 757 οὐ νεμεσίζη; 'Aρει τάδε καρτηρᾶ ἔργα (constr. like τὸδε χρόνος); cp. 9. 374.

Od. 3. 243 ἔπος ἀλλο μεταλήσατι to ask another question.

Il. 5. 715 ἥρ' ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν our promise was idle.

(4) Words expressing the sum or result of an action are put in the Acc.; as Il. 4. 207 ἐβαλεν... τῷ μὲν κλέος ἦμι μὲν ἐπένδοι; 24. 735 ῥέυει χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ τύργου λυγρὸν ἄλεθρον: Od. 6. 184. So ποιήμα ἐν compensation, πρόφασιν on the pretence, ἐπίκλησιν nominally, χάρων as a favour (only in Il. 15. 744).

The use of Substantives to qualify a Verb evidently bears the same relation to the use of Neut. Adjectives as Nouns in Apposition bear to ordinary Adjectives qualifying Nouns.

Note. Many of these constructions have been treated as varieties or extensions of the 'Cognate Accusative.' E. g. from ὅδον εἶδον have been explained, on the one hand, ὅδον ἦγῆσασθαι, ὅδον ἀνήγαγε, &c., on the other, ἄγγελον ἠλευ, &c.; so δαινυμικός γάμος, δαινύ τάφω, have been regarded as modelled on δαίτην δαινύμα; μῦθον ὑπέστημεν as justified because a promise is a μῦθος, ψεύδος κατέλεξα because ψεύδος = a false tale, and so on. It must not be supposed, however, that these analogies explain any of the uses in question, or that the 'Cognate' Acc. is prior to the others, either in simplicity or in the order of development. If we compare the Cognate Acc. with the use of Neuter Adjectives and Pronouns, we see that (e. g.) ἀριστα βουλεύειν is simpler, and doubtless earlier in type, than ἀριστήν βουλή βουλεύειν, ἀ περ ὑπέστην than ὑπάχεις ἢν περ ὑπέστην, τά ὑπέστημεν than τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν. Again, δαινυμικός γάμος is probably an earlier phrase than the tautologous δαινυμίκα δαίτην, τὸν μῦθον ὑποστήμα that ὑπάχεις ὑποστήμα, &c. The repetition in the Noun of the Stem already given in the Verb is a feature of complexity which itself needs explaining. The Cognate Acc., in short, is only a special form of the use of the Acc. as a defining or qualifying word. Grammarians have explained other constructions by its help because it is familiar; but in so doing they have fallen into the error of deriving the simple from the complex.

137.] Accusatives of the 'part affected.' Many verbs that are Intransitive or Reflexive in sense take an Acc. restricting
the force of the Verb to a part or attribute of the subject: as κάμπελ χείρα his hand is weary, πυρι χειρας ἐουκε his hands are as fire, βλητο κνήμην was wounded in the shin, ἀλλὰν περίεμι νόου I am beyond others in understanding; φρένα τέρπεπ᾽ ἄκονων was pleased at heart listening; οὗ λίγε νέον ceased not in his fury; γέρον δ᾽ ἕν ἐκ ποταμοῦ in descent he was from the river, γενέθν εἴσκει (II. 14. 474) was like in descent, i.e. bore 'a family likeness'; ἀδοράτηι δέμας καὶ εἴδος ἐρίζεων to rival the immortals in form and feature. See § 141.

These uses differ from other Accusatives of the sphere of an action in the distinctly concrete nature of the words employed. The Acc. does not express the notion of the Verb, or an attribute of it, but merely denotes a thing by reference to which it is limited or characterised. Thus in κάμπελ χείρα the Acc. limits the action κάμπελ—'feels hand-weariness.' The relation is local or instrumental, though not so expressed. The meaning 'in or with the hand' is conveyed, because it is the only one possible—the only way in which the notion hand can qualify the notion weariness.

The 'Acc. of the part affected,' or 'Acc. of reference,' is characteristic of Greek: hence it is called Accusativus Graecus by the Latin grammarians. It is unknown, or nearly so, in Sanscrit. We cannot infer, however, that it originated with the Greeks, especially as it is found in Zend (Delbrück, Synl. Forsch. iv. 33): but it may have been extended in Greek. The alternative Case is generally the Instrumental: cp. II. 3. 194 εὐρύτερος ἀμοισὺν ἵδὲ στέρνοισὺν ἰδέσθαι, but 2. 478 ὀμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἱκελὸς Δι. Or the sense may be further defined by a Preposition: πρὸς στηθός, κατὰ φρένα, &c.

138.] Accusative of Time and Space. The word expressing duration of time is put in the Acc., as ἕνα μήνα μένων waiting a month, χείμα εὕδει sleeps through the winter, τρὶς ἀνάξισθαι γενὲ ἀνδρῶν to reign for three generations of men.

The Accusative of Space expresses the extent of an action, as II. 23. 529 λειπέτο δηορός ἐρωὴν was a spear's throw behind.

These Accusatives are to be compared with the Neuter Adjectives of quantity, as πολυ, ἄληγον, τυθόν, τόσον, &c.

139.] Accusative with Nouns. The chief uses are:—

(1) Neut. Adjectives, as μέγ' ἐξοχος greatly surpassing.

(2) Cognate Accusative, as II. 15. 641 ἀμελλόν παύτολας ἄρετάς better in every kind of excellence. This is rare in Homer.

(3) Acc. of the 'part affected'; ὀμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἱκελὸς like in eyes and head, (cp. χειρας ἐουκε), βοήν ἄγαθὸς good in shouting,
140.] ACCUSATIVE.

140.] Accusative of the External Object. Under this head it is unnecessary to do more than notice one or two points:—

(1) The ceremonial words ἀπάρχω, κατάρχομαι, &c. are construed according to the acquired meaning: as τρίχας ἀπάρχειν to cut off hair as a preliminary, cp. Od. 3. 445 (with the note in Riddell and Merry's edition). So II. 24. 710 τοῦ .. τιλλέσθην mourned him by tearing their hair: and ὄρκια τέμενει to make a treaty (by slaying a victim).

(2) The Verbs εἶπον, αὐθά, &c. may take an Acc. of the person spoken to: II. 5. 170 ἔτος τέ μιν ἀντίλον ἤδα: II. 13. 725 Πομηδάμας θραύσεν Ἐκτορά εἴπε. Cp. II. 9. 59., 17. 651, Od. 4. 155. But this construction is rare with the simple Verbs: it is found passim with Compounds (προσήδα, προσέπε, &c.).

(3) An Acc. may be used of the person about whom something is told, known, thought, &c.—

(a) If a person or a thing is treated as the thing said, known, &c. (not merely spoken or known about): as II. 1. 90 οὐδ' ἵν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἴπης not even if you say Agamemnon (cp. οὐκομα εἴπειτ); 3. 192 εἴπ' ἂγε μοι καὶ τόνδε tell me this man too. So with ὥσδα when it means only to know what a thing is: as II. 6. 150 ὅφρ' εὖ εἰδος ἥμετέρην γενεύν, πολλοὶ δὲ μιν ἀνδρὲς ἱσσαυ: and with μέμνηµαι, as II. 9. 527 μέμνηµαι τόδε ἔργον; II. 23. 361 ὡς μεμνήστω ὀρόμον that he might remember the courses (i.e. remember how many there were); II. 6. 222 Τῦδε δ' οὐ μέμνηµαι (of remembering his existence). The Acc. implies that the person is the whole fact remembered. But with a Gen. μέμνηµαι means I remember something about, I bethink myself of (§ 151, d).

(b) If the real Object of the Verb is a fact expressed by a limiting word or clause: as II. 2. 81 ψεῦδος κεν φαίνειν we should call it false; II. 6. 50 αἱ κεν ἐμὲ ἄϊν πεπόθοιτο if he heard of me alive (of my being alive); II. 5. 702 ἐπάθωσον μετὰ Τρόισσων Ἀρης heard of Αρης (as) among the Trojans. Especially with a Participle, as Od. 17. 549 εἰ κ' αὐτῶν γνών νημερτέα πάντ' ἐνποτα if I find him telling (that he is telling) nothing but truth (§ 245, 2). And with a subordinate clause, as II. 2. 409 ἣδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφέων ὡς ἐπονεῖτο; II. 8. 535 αὐριον ἴν ἄρετῆν διαείστηαι εἰ κ' ἐμὸν ἔγχος μείνῃ ἐπερχόμενον he will know about his valour, whether he will withstand my spear (i.e. whether his valour is such that &c.); cp. I. 3. 275., 18. 601., 20. 311.

(4) The Acc. of the object to which motion is directed (terminus ad quem) is common with ἰκνέομαι, ἰκώ, ἰκάνω (which always
imply *reaching* a point), but is comparatively rare with other simple Verbs, such as ἐμ, ἐχομαι, νεόμαι, ἀγο, ἡγεμομαι. The words so used with these Verbs are mostly Nouns denoting house (ὁσ, II. 7. 363, &c.; ὅμον, Od. 7. 22, II. 22. 482; οἰκον, Od. 14. 167), city (Od. 6. 114., 15. 82), native land (II. 7. 335., 15. 706): cp. also Il. 1. 322 ἔρχεσθον κλισίν; 6. 87 ἐνύγγουσα γεραιάς νηόν; 21. 40 Ἑλιμον ἐπέρασεν; Od. 4. 478 Ἀλυπτοίῳ ὑδαρ ἔλθης.

Compound Verbs—esp. with the Prepositions εἰς, ἐπι, πρός, ὑπό, παρά—usually take an Acc. of this kind.

There is no reason to infer from these and similar instances that the Accusative is originally the Case of the terminus ad quem. It is natural that a Verb of motion should be defined or qualified by a Noun expressing place, and that such a Noun should generally denote the place to which the motion is directed. But this is not necessary. The Acc. is used with Verbs denoting motion from, as φεύγω, νοσθομαι, ὑποτεκο (Il. 15. 228); and even with other Verbs of motion it may express the terminus a quo if the context suggests it, as ἀνεδόστο κύμα rose from the wave, ἐπεράδεν κατίβανε came down from the upper chambers.

The uses with Prepositions are treated of in the sections dealing with the several Prepositions (181–218).

141.] Double Accusatives. It is needless to enumerate the different circumstances in which a Verb may be construed with two Accusatives. Many examples will be found among the passages already quoted; and it will be seen that the combination of an Acc. of the External Object with one of the various ‘Accusatives of the Internal Object’ is especially frequent. Thus with Verbs of saying the Acc. of the thing said may be combined with an Acc. of the person spoken to: as Il. 5. 170 ἐπον τε μν ἠντιον ηὐδα (so 9. 58., 16. 207, Od. 23. 91). Again, with Verbs of taking away there may be an Acc. of the thing taken and the person from whom it is taken: as Il. 8. 108 οὐς τον ἀν Ἀνελαν ἐλύτη, Il. 6. 70 ἐπετα ἑκα τα ἐκποιν νεκρον ἄμν πεδον συνλήστε (ep. 16. 58., 17. 187). So with Verbs of cleansing; Il. 16. 667 κελαιεθεῖς αἴμα καθηρον ἔλθον ἐκ βελεων Σαρπηδον (ep. 18. 345); also Od. 6. 224 χρια νίς τον οἴον Ὀδυσσεῖς ἄλμην, and (with three Accusatives) Il. 21. 122 οἴ το ὀσεῖλ ἀη ἀπολυμίνσται. In such cases the Verb almost seems to be used in different senses—*cleanse* Sarpedon, *cleanse away* the blood, &c.

In some cases the two Accusatives are not to be explained independently, but one is construed with the phrase formed by the Verb in combination with the other. Thus we cannot say ἔρεζεν τωά to do to a person, but we may have κακὸν ἔρεζεν τινά to do evil to a person or thing: e.g.—Μακαρ. 15. 13

Il. 9. 540 ὅς κακὰ πάλλεν ἔρεζεν ἔδων Ολυμπος ἄλωμῃ. 647 ὅς μ᾽ ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργειοισιν ἔρεζεν.
The notion 'doing' given by ἔρξω is so vague that an Acc. of the person would be ambiguous: but the more definite notions of doing evil, &c. become susceptible of the construction. So with εἰπεῖν, as Od. i. 302 ἴνα τις σε ἐδ εἴπη may speak well of thee: cp. II. 6. 479.

A similar account is to be given of the 'Accusative of the Whole and Part,' which is very common in Homer; e.g. τῶν βάλε κυήμνη him he smote on the shin, σε φύγεν ἔρκοι δόντων has escaped you over the fence of teeth. The second Acc. has been sometimes explained as parallel in construction to the first, the part being added 'epexegetically' or in 'Apposition' to the whole. But it is impossible to separate τῶν βάλε κυήμνη from βάλε το κυήμνη: in both the Acc. of the part is a limiting Accusative. The difference between this and a double Acc. arising from Apposition appears if we consider that

Τρῶας δὲ τρόμους αἰνοσ ὑπῆλθε γοῖα ἐκαστων

is equivalent to Τρῶας ἔτρεμουν τὰ γοῖα ἐκαστος, where ἐκαστος is (as before) epexegetic of Τρῶας, but γοῖα is an Acc. qualifying the Verb.

The Dative.

142.] Comparison of the Case-system of Greek with that of Sanscrit shows that the Greek Dative does the work of three Sanscrit Cases, the Dative, the Instrumental, and the Locative. There is also reason to think that distinct forms for these three Cases survived down to a comparatively late period in Greek itself. This is made probable (1) by the traces in Homeric Greek of Instrumental and Locative Case-forms, and (2) by the readiness with which the uses of the Greek Dative (especially in Homer) can be re-apportioned between the three Cases—the original or true Dative, and the two others.

143.] The true Dative expresses the person to or for whom something is done, or who is regarded as chiefly affected or interested: e.g.—

Π. i. 283 'Ἀχιλλῆι μεθέμεν χόλον to put away his anger for (in favour of) Achilles; cp. Od. ii. 553.

Od. i. 9 τοῖσιν ἀφελέστο look away for (i.e. from) them.

Π. 21. 360 τί μοι ἐρίδος καὶ ἄρωγχη; what is there for me (that concerns me) in strife and help?

Od. 7. 303 μὴ μοι τούνεκ ἀμύμωνα νεῖκες κούρην chile not for me on that account the blameless maiden; cp. II. 14. 501.

Od. 9. 42 ὃς μὴ τίς μοι ἀπεμβόλενος κλος ἵνας that for me no one should go away wronged (i.e. that I might see that no one &c.).

Π. i. 250 ὅ δ' ὑπένθελ ἐφθιάτο he had seen two generations pass.
II. 12. 374 ἐπειγομένουι δ' ἰκουτο they came for them when hard pressed, i.e. their coming was (what such a thing is) to hard pressed men. So II. 14. 108 ἐμοὶ δὲ κεν ἀσµένῳ εἰη it would be for me when welcoming it, i.e. would be what I welcome: Od. 21.

115 οὐ κέ μου ἀγαπήνω κτλ.

The Dat. with Verbs of giving, showing, telling (a fact), praying, helping, pleasing, favouring, being angry, &c., and the corresponding Adjectives (φιλὸς, ἔχορος, &c.), is evidently of this kind.

The so-called Dativus commodi, 'Ethical Dative,' &c. need not be separated from the general usage. Note however that—

1. The Dative of the Personal Pronouns is very often used where we should have a Possessive agreeing with a Noun in the Clause; as II. 1. 104 δόσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ ἐκην his eyes were like fire; Od. 2. 50 μητρὶ μοι μητετήρεσ ἐπέχραων the suitors have assailed my mother; so II. 1. 55, 150, 188, 200, &c.

2. δέχομαι with the Dat. means to take as a favour: II. 15. 87 Θέματι δέκτο δέπας accepted the cup from Themis (as a compliment) or to take as an attendant does, II. 2. 186., 13. 710., 17. 207, Od. 15. 282. For the Gen. see § 152.

3. ἀκούω with the Dat. means to hear favourably; II. 16. 515 ἀκούειν ἀνέρι κηδωµένῳ; and so κλιθί μοι in prayers (II. 5. 115, Od. 2. 262). See § 151, d.

4. The Dat. with Verbs meaning to give commands (κελεύω, σηµαίνω, &c.), and to lead the way (ἀρχω, ἡγοµαι, ἡγεµονεύω) is apparently the true Dat. But this does not apply to Verbs meaning to have power, to be king (as κρατεῖο, ἀνάσσω): e.g. ἀνασέµεν Ἀργείουι probably means to be king among the Argives (Loc.). See § 145 (7, a).

5. The 'Dat. of the Agent' with Passive Verbs seems to be a special application of the true Dat.; cp. II. 13. 168 ὁ οἱ κλισίφι τάξιττο which for him was (=which he had) left in the tent, ξερθ' ἰκετρὶ was had as wife by Hector. So Τρωσὶν δαµαµένους, Πηλείωι δαµές, &c. because the victory is gained by the victor; and so in Attic, ἵθροισθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν 'Cyrus got his Greek force collected.' The restriction to Past Tenses is intelligible, because the past fact is thought of as a kind of possession or advantage (cp. the English auxiliary have of past events). This view is strongly supported by the Latin Dat. of the Agent, which is not common except with Verbals and Past Particles (Roby, § 1146). Evidently nobis faciendi = 'things for us to do,' nobis facta = 'things we have got done.'

The true Dat. of Nouns denoting things is rare in Greek (perhaps only used when the thing is regarded as an agent, or stands for a person, as Πρᾶµοιο βιή for Πρῖµοι).
In this respect Latin offers a marked contrast; cp. the various uses, especially of abstract Substantives, explained by Mr. Roby under the headings ‘indirect object’ (1143, n. 11), ‘work contemplated’ (1156), ‘predicative dative’ (1158 ff.). The source of the difference evidently is that the Dat. is not liable, as in Greek, to be confounded with the Loc. and Instrum. It will be seen however that the Greek Infinitive is in fact the Dat. of an abstract Substantive.

144.] The Instrumental Dative. The so-called Instrumental Case appears to have been employed to express whatever accompanies or shares in an action:—not only the instrument or cause, but any attendant object or circumstance. Hence it covers the ground of the Datives of ‘circumstance,’ ‘manner,’ &c.

The Dat. of circumstance &c. is common with abstract or semi-abstract words: as ἑχή with noise (κλαγγῇ, ἀλαλτῷ, ἐνοπῇ, &c.); σγῇ, σωπῇ; αἰδῷ with reverence (Od. 8. 172); ἀνάγκῃ, βῇ, σπουδῇ: κακῇ αἰσῃ with evil fortune; φυγῇ (ἰκοντο) in flight; κερδοσύνῃ in his cunning; γενέῃ by descent.

In Homer it often expresses the reason or occasion (for which διά with the Acc. is regular in later Greek): Od. 3. 363 φιλοτητὶ ἔπονταi accompany out of friendship (propter amorem); Od. 9. 19 δὲ πᾶσι δόλοισιν ἀνδρόποισι μέλῳ who are regarded by men for my craft (cp. 13. 299); Il. 16. 628 ὑπείδειοι ἐπέσεσι χωρῆσον will give way for reviling words; Od. 14. 206 τίτεο... ὀλβῳ τε πλοῦτῳ τε καὶ νίκῃ; Od. 17. 423 οἴσιν τ’ εὖ ζώσουν καὶ ἀψευδοί καλεώντων things because of which men live well and are called opulent. So of an almost personal agent, Od. 14. 299 ἄ δ’ ἔθεεν Βορέῃ ἄνεμῳ the ship coursed on with (driven by) the North wind.

The ‘comitative’ or ‘sociative’ sense is chiefly found in the Plural, which denotes attendants, surroundings, adjuncts, &c.; Il. 18. 506 τοῖς ἐπεί τ’ ἔσσων with these (the sceptres) they started up; Od. 4. 8 ἵπποι καὶ ἄρματα πέμπε sent with horses and chariots (cp. 4. 533); Od. 11. 161 νητὶ τε καὶ ἔταρσουσι with a ship and comrades; Il. 12. 28 κύμαισι πέμπε let go with the waves; Il. 2. 818 μεμάστες ἐγχείρησι ardent with their spears; Il. 6. 243 ἐστίς ἀλθοῦσιν τετυμμένον built with smooth porticoes (cp. Od. 9. 185, &c.); Il. 2. 148 ἐπὶ τ’ ἠμέλει αἰσχύνεσθαι bends forward with the ears (of a field of corn); Il. 6. 513 τέιχοςει παμφαίων glittering with his armour; similarly Il. 100 στῆσει παμφαίωνταs shining with (naked) breasts. For the corresponding Sing. cp. Od. 10. 140 νητὶ κατηγαγόμεσθα; Od. 9. 68 ἐπάροι ἄπειρον Βορέῃ λαλατε θέστεται; Od. 12. 241 ὑπένερθε δὲ γαῖα φάνεςκε ψάμμω κυανῇ the ground showed beneath with its dark sand; Il. 15. 282 ἐπιστάμενος ἄκουτι.

This Dative is idiomatically used with αὐτῷ: as Il. 8. 24 αὐτῇ κεν γαῖῃ ἐρύσαμ’ αὐτῇ δὲ θαλάσσῃ with the earth and sea as well
(without their losing hold): Od. 14. 77 θέρφη αὐτοῖς ὀβελοσία hot with the spits as they were.

The Dative with Verbs meaning *to be with, to follow, to join, to agree with, to be like,* &c., and again with the Prepositions σῶν and ἀμα, and the various Pronouns and Adjectives meaning the same, equal, like, &c., is generally Instrumental.

The Dat. with Verbs meaning *fight, strive,* &c. may be the Instrumental or (more probably) the true Dat. Words meaning *to trust* &c. probably take an Instrumental Dat. of the ground of trust, a true Dat. of the *person* trusted or obeyed: cp. the Lat. construction of *confidere* with a Dat. or Abl.

With Verbs meaning *to be pleased* the Dat. is doubtless Instrumental: as II. 21. 45 ἔτέρπετο οὐσι φίλουσι had. pleasure with his friends (so Od. 14. 245). This is still more clear in II. 5. 682 χάρη δ’ ἄρα οἱ προσώποι and II. 23. 556 χαίρον ’Αντιλόχῳ δτι κτλ. ‘rejoiced at the fact (of his coming, &c.).’

The Instrum. is used in Sanscrit of the space over *which* action extends. The nearest approach to this in Greek is the Dat. of the *way by which:* cp. the Adverbs Ἰ, τῇ, τῇδε, τῇ, ὑπη, πάντη. But see § 158, note.

The Dat. is probably Instrumental (not Locative) in Od. 1. 197 κατερύκετο εἰρεί πόντῳ (by, not on, the sea). Also with δέχομαι, &c., as II. 6. 136 ἔπεδεξατο κόλπῳ, Od. 16. 70 ὑποδέξομαι οἴκῳ. In later Greek δέχομαι is construed with οἴκῳ, πόλει, &c. without a Preposition.

Note the occasional use of the Instrumental Dat. with Verbs of *buying,* as II. 7. 475 οὖνὔσιν άλλα ἐν χαλκῷ κτλ., Od. 15. 483 πρίατο κτεάτεος έίοιον (cp. II. 4. 161 σῶν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν): with Verbs of *abounding,* II. 17. 56 βρύει ἀνθέει λευκό (§ 151, e):

* Delbrück (SYN. FORSCH. IV, p. 58) notices the difficulty of finding a special explanation of the *sociative* use of the Dat. in combination with αὐτός. It may help towards such an explanation to observe that the use of a Case-form in a particular sense not unfrequently depends upon the presence of a qualifying word in agreement with it. *E. g.*

ἴματ υπολογίαν ἦστι it is for me what I desire.

τοιχος τοι τέριον by the wall on the other side.

μίσον διψος ἑλάνν taking the spear by the middle.

ὁ τενεύων ἀπογέος if he were to hear of his being dead.

Ἂγετά Τρωϊν διαμαφείνους he was vexed at their being subdued by Trojans.

In each of these instances the qualifying word indicates the sense in which the Case is used, and so makes the use possible. The *ethical Dat.* is suggested by υπολογίας, the Gen. of place by τερίων, the Gen. of part by μίσου, the fact about the person by τενεύωτοι, the cause of feeling by διαμαφείνους. Now, in such a phrase as αὐτοῖς ἰδελοσία spits and all, the force of αὐτός is *without change,* 'as before,' and so the phrase means with the meat sticking to the spits as before (cp. αὐτής, αὐτοῦ, αὕτη). Thus the sociative sense is emphasised by the addition of αὐτός. Without such an addition there would generally be nothing to decide between the different possible meanings of the Dative, and consequently a Preposition (σῶν or ἀμα) would be needed.
also with a Verb of ‘cognate’ meaning, as θάνων οἴκτιστῷ θανάτῳ (Od. ii. 412), ρέων ὕδατι (Od. 5. 70).

145.] The Locatival Dative. The Dative without a Preposition denoting the place of an action is much commoner in Homer than in later Greek, though already restricted to a comparatively narrow range. It is used—

(1) Of towns and countries: Ἴλιψ εἴσει are in Ilios, Φρυγίᾳ ναίσκεν dwelt in Phrygia: σο Οὐλίμπῳ, Λακεδαίμονι, Δήλῳ. Σχερίῳ, Κυθῆροισι, Ἡμίῃ, Κρήτῃ, Ἀργεῖ, Ἡλλάδι, &c. So too Ἀἴδι.

(2) Of the great divisions of the world, the chief spheres of action, &c., as αἰθέρι, οὐρανῷ, ὀὔρεσι, ἀγρῷ ἀείδῷ, δόμῳ in the house, νομῷ at pasture, πόσῳ out at sea, aἰγιαλῷ on the shore, ἑξῆς on dry land (II. 4. 424–5), οἴδει on the ground, πεδίῳ, χθονί; ἔχῳ at the dance, μάχῃ, βουλῇ, ἀγορῇ, τραπεζῷ at table (Od. 21. 35), σέλαι πυρὸς in the fire light.

But the Dat. in ēρᾶ δὲ ἔννεπε διάχεσθαι (II. 1. 8), ὕσυν πάρῃσθαι (II. 2. 863), &c. is one of manner (Instr.), rather than of place.

(3) Of the parts of a thing, especially of the body; ὁμῷ and ὄμουσι, κεφαλῇ, χροῖ; καρδίᾳ, φρεσκί, θυμῷ; ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῆ, ἐσχατῇ πολέμου, μέγῳ Ἀργεῖος (θαλάμου, &c.), μέσῳ ἐρέκι, πρώτῃς πύλῃς, γοννῷ ἄλωσι, βέθεσι λίμνης, τάφρεσιν θάλας, &c.

The Dat. of the part with which a person does something may be Instrumental; as χερῶι μαχήσομαι, κεφαλῇ κατανεύσομαι, ἐκών ἄκοιντι γε θυμῷ. But the Locative mode of expression is the prevailing one; cp. ἐν χειροσεσπὶ λάβῃ ἡμία, ἐν ὄφθαλμῳ ἤδεσθαι, ἐγὼ ἤσον εἰπὶ φρετὶ, ἐν θυμῷ μεμακρέσει, &c. Hence the common use of χείρ, χερῆ, &c. with ἐκώ, αἴρω, λαμβάνω, and the use of θυμῶ, φρεσκί, &c. with Verbs of knowing, thinking, feeling, are doubtless Locatival.

(4) With some Verbs that imply locality, νοῦ, τόθημι, κείμαι, ἤμαι (Od. 20. 22 πτυχὶ Οὐλίμπου ἦμενο); esp. κλίνω, as II. 11. 371 στῆλῃ κεκλειμένος, and (in the derived sense) II. 5. 709 λίμνη κεκλειμένος.

(5) Of time: ἤματι τῷ ὕστε κτλ. on the day when &c., θερεί in summer, ὄρῃ χειμερῆ in the season of winter, &c.

(6) After a Verb of motion (where we expect εἶν or πρῶς with the Acc.): as II. 5. 82 πεδίῳ ὅσε fell on the plain; II. 7. 187 κυνῇ βάλε threw into the helmet; II. 3. 10 εἶτ᾽ ὤρεος κορυφῆς Νότου κατέχεσεν ὡμίξην has spread a mist over the tops of the mountains; προκαλέσατο χάρμη called out (to meet) in combat. This idiom helps to show that the use of the Accusative for the terminus ad quem of motion does not represent the original force of that Case.
The Dat. after the Prepositions ἐν, ἐπὶ, παρά, μετά, ὑπό, ἀνά, περί, ἀμφί, and the Verbs compounded with them, is generally Locatival. It is used (like the simple Dat.) after Verbs of motion: see §§ 194, 198, 202, 206.

The sense may admit or require a true Dat.: ep. II. 1. 174 πάρ’ ἔμοι γε καὶ ἄλλοι others are at hand with me (Loc.), or I have others at my command (true Dat.). So II. 7. 73 ὑμῖν ἐν γὰρ ἔσοι may mean there are among you (Loc.), or you have (true Dat.) among you. Cp. Lat. inesse alicui or in aliquo.

(7) The Locatival Dat. of persons is chiefly found in the Plural:—

(a) with κρατεῖν, ἀνάσων, βασιλεῖς: II. 2. 669 θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄναισσε is king among gods and men; Od. 1. 71 ὁν κράτος ἠστὶ μέγιστον πᾶσιν Κυκλάκεσσοι; II. 13. 217 ὃς πάση Πλευρῶν καὶ αἰσθηῇ Καλυδώνι Αἴτωλοκῶν ἄναισσε. Cp. the equivalent constructions with Prepositions, as II. 1. 252 μετὰ δὲ πτυπάτουσιν ἄναισσε, Od. 7. 62 ὃς ἐν Φαίηξι ἄναισσε, and the compound ἐμβασιλεῖς. This group of uses is almost confined to Homer.

(b) in phrases introducing a speech, as τοῦτοι δ’ ἄνεστη, τοῦτοι δὲ μύθων ἦρξε, and the like; ep. II. 19. 175 ἐν Ἀργείωσιν ἄναιστάς, 9. 528 ἐν δ’ ὑμῖν ἔρεο, Od. 10. 188 μετὰ πᾶσιν ἐστιν, 16. 378 ἔρει δ’ ἐν πᾶσιν ἄναιστάς.

(c) meaning ‘in the sight of,’ ‘in the opinion of,’ &c. as II. 2. 285 πᾶσιν ἐλέγχωσιν θέμεναι μερόπεσοι βροτοίσι: 11. 58 ὁς Τρωσὶ θέσι δὲ τίτο δήμῳ. Cp. II. 23. 703 ἐνι σφίσι τῶν. So in Sanscrit the Loc. is used of the person with or before whom conduct is judged: ‘may we be guiltless before Varuṇa’ (Delbrück, A. S. p. 118).

(d) occasionally with Adjectives implying eminence &c., as II. 6. 477 ἀρπετεᾶ Τρῳέσσα distinguished among the Trojans, Od. 15. 227 Πυλίωσι μεγ’ ἐξοχα δώματα ναίον.

The Genitive.

146.] The Greek Genitive, as appears at once by comparison with Latin or Sanscrit, stands for the original or ‘true’ Genitive, and also for the Ablative. The uses of the Gen. may therefore be divided (theoretically at least) between these two Cases. The distinction however is more difficult than in the case of the Dative; partly, perhaps, because the Case-forms of the Ablative were earlier lost than those of the Locative and Instrumental, but also from the peculiar syntactical character of the Genitive.

The Ablative (like the cases already treated of) belongs originally to the second group of constructions distinguished in § 131, i.e. it is construed with
the predicate given by a Verb. The Genitive is originally of the third group; and properly qualifies a Noun. Hence the Ablative and Genitive uses are generally distinguished partly in meaning, partly in grammatical structure. But they are not always distinguished by the structure, since (1) the Ablative (like the Acc. and Dat.) may be construed with an Adjective, and (2) the true Gen. may be predicative (like an Adj.), and thus apparently construed with a Verb. To give a single example: θεῶν γένος ἔστι might be (theoretically) = he is offspring from-gods (Abl.), and on the other hand θεῶν γέγονε may be = he is offspring of-gods (Gen., see § 148).

147.] The Genitive with Nouns. The manner in which a Genitive serves to define or qualify the ‘governing’ Noun may be very various. E.g. Τρῶν χόλος may mean anger of (i.e. felt by) the Trojans, or (as in II. 6. 335) anger at the Trojans, or anger on account of the Trojans (as in II. 15. 138 χόλων νῦς ἔνος means anger about the death of his son). Compare also—

ἐρκός πολέμιοι a bulwark in (or against) war.
ἐρκός ὀδοντων the fence (made) of teeth.
τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων a sign to men.
λάδρη Δαμεδόντως with secrecy from Laomedon.
βιγ ἀκόντως with force used to one unwilling.
κύματα παντοίων ἀλώμων the waves raised by all winds.
ἄμφαλοι καστερείῳ bosses made of tin.
᾽Ιλίου πολιτείῃον the town of Ilion.
’Οἰλής ταχύς Αἰας swift Ajax son of Oileus.
δαμόνε ξείνων unaccountable stranger!
νομός ὀλης pasture ground in the wood.
νός τοίς γαίης Φαϊηκων return to the land of the Phaeacians.
ὑπόψιος ἄλλων suspected by others.
ἐπιστροφός ἀνθρώπων going about among men.
ἄφενες βιοτοῦ rich in substance.
ίδος Διομήδεος straight for Diomedé.

The different uses of the Genitive often answer to the different meanings given by the Suffixes which serve to form Adjectives from Nouns (§ 117). Compare, for instance, II. 2. 54 Νεστορέα παρὰ νηθ Πυλιγενίου βασιλῆς by the ship of Nestor the Pylian king; II. 6. 180 θείου γένος οὐδ ἀνθρώπων the offspring of gods, not of men; τόξον αἰγός (II. 4. 105) a bow of goat’s horn, but αἰγὸς αἰγείος a bag of goatskin; ’Οἰλής ταχύς Αἰας and Αἰας ’Οιλιάδης; Τελαμώνων νῦς the son of Telamon; and so in the Pronouns, ἐμεία πόθη (II. 6. 302), but σῇ πόθη (II. 19. 321).

These uses have been classified as Objective and Subjective, Possessive, Partitive, Material, &c. In many cases however the variety of relations expressed by the Gen. eludes this kind of analysis. Such classifications, moreover, are apt to lead us into the fallacy of thinking that relations which are distinct to us, because expressed by different language, were distinctly conceived by those who expressed them all in the same way;—the fallacy, in
short, of supposing the distinctions of thought to be prior to the language which embodies them.

The relation of the Genitive to the governing Noun is in many ways analogous to the relation of the Accusative to the Verb, and also to that which subsists between the first part of a Compound Noun and the second. In each of these cases the relation is that of a defining or qualifying word to the notion defined or qualified, and it is one which may be of various kinds, as may be suggested by particular combinations of meaning.

Notice, as especially frequent in Homer—

(1) the use of a Gen. after Nouns meaning grief, anger, &c., to express the object or cause of the feeling: as ἄχος ἤμιχοιον grief for the chariot-driver (Π. 8. 124, 316, &c.), ἄχος σθεν (Π. 4. 169); ὀδύη Ἡρακλῆς (Π. 15. 25); πέιθεν παιδὸς ἀποσκέψειον (Π. 18. 88); κῆθε' ἐμὼν ἕταρον (Π. 22. 272, Od. 11. 382); and so in the much-disputed phrase Ἐλείην ὀρηματά τε στοναχάς τε (Π. 2. 356, 530), which can only mean efforts and groans about Helen.

(2) the "partitive" use after τις (Interrog.) and τίς (Indef.), often with several words interposed: as Π. 1. 8 τίς τ' ἄρ σφων θεῶν κτλ.; Π. 1. 88 οὐ τίς ἐμεθ' ἵντος . . . χείρας ἐποίσει συμπάντων Δαναόν no one shall . . . of all the Greeks.

The partitive Gen. is also seen in the Homeric phrases διὰ θεῶν bright one among goddesses, διὰ γυναικῶν, δαμωνίες, τάντων ἀμώδεικτον ἄνδρων (Π. 14. 320): where the governing word implies some kind of distinction or eminence. So when there is a contrast, as—

Π. 11. 761 πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Δι' Νέστορι τ' ἄνδρων.

148.] Genitive in the Predicate. Among the various uses of the Gen. in construction with a Verb the first to be noticed are those in which the Case evidently retains its attributive or adjectival character. This use is rare in Homer: examples are,— αὐτάτος εἰς ἄγαθότο θου art of good blood, ἐποίησεν σάκος αὐλοῦν ἐπταβόειον ταύρων ζατρεφέων made a shield seven hides thick, of (hides of) goodly bulls. In classifying the Greek uses of the Gen. the chief object is to separate constructions of this kind (in which the Case is ultimately the adjectival or 'true' Gen.) from those in which it represents an Ablative, and therefore is essentially akin to the Adverbs.

* Prof. Max Müller (Lectures, I, p. 103) shows how the Genitive Ending -οο (for -ο-σιο) may be explained as a Suffix of the same kind as those which form Adjectives from Nouns. If his hypothesis is admitted, the Genitive is simply 'an Adjective without Gender,' in respect of form as well as use. And even if the identification on which he chiefly relies (of the Case-ending -ση and Suffix -γα with the Pronoun συγ, ση, τυμ) should be thought open to question, there can be little doubt that the Case is originally 'adnominal' or adjectival in character.
149.] Genitive of Place. A Gen. expresses a vague local relation (within, in the sphere of, &c.), in the following uses:—

(1) After a negative—

Π. 17. 372 νέφος δ' οὖ ναίνετο πάσης γάλης οὖτ̄ ὅρειν.

(2) When two sides or alternative places are contrasted—

Π. 9. 219 αὐτὸς ὁ ἄντων ἢ ἕον Ὀμυσφήν̄ος θέλων
tοῖχον τοῦ ἑτέρου. Ἐρ. 24. 598.

Od. 1. 23 Ἀθηναίος, τοι διήθα δεδαλήκατο, ἔσχατοι ἄνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ἕλερινον, οἱ δ' ἄνωντος,
and so perhaps Od. 12. 27 ἢ ἄλος ἢ ἐπί γῆς, and Od. 4. 678 αὐλῆς
ἐκτὸς ἡων in the court outside (cp. 9. 239).

(3) With Verbs of motion, to express the space within which the motion takes place, as Π. 2. 785 διέπρεψαν̄ πεδίῳ made their way over the plain: so ὅπως πεδίου, ὤπως ἀνυψμένον πεδίου, πεδίου διώκοις, κοινώτες πεδίου, &c.; Ἡθ. 353 ἐλκείμεναι
νεκροvi βαθέσα πηκτῶν ἄροτρων: 24. 264 ἵνα πρήσωσωμεν θάνατον, Ἐρ. 24. 404., 3. 476. This use of the Gen. is almost confined to
set phrases; accordingly it is only found with the Gen. in -οτο (the archaic form).

The difference of meaning between this Genitive and the
Accusative of Space (§ 138) seems to be that the Acc. measures the action of the Verb, whereas the Gen. only gives a local relation in which the action stands. When an Acc. of quantity and a Gen. are both used, the Acc. often seems to govern the Gen.; e.g. ὃμλον̄ πολλὸν ἐπελθόν̄ advancing far in the throng, παρεξέλθ̄
θεών̄ πεδίοῡ τυτθόν̄ to go a short space of plain beyond. So with Adverbs: ἕνθα καὶ ἔνθ' ἵναμ μάχη πεδίοῡ ἄδην ἐλάσαν̄ πολέμοῡ; and with a negative: οὗκ̄ 'Ἀργεῖος ἦν = he was nowhere in Argos. Thus the Gen. has a partitive character.

150.] Genitive of Time. This Gen. expresses a period of time to which the action belongs, without implying anything as to its duration; e.g.—

Od. 14. 161 τοῦτ̄̄ αὐτού̄ λυκάβηντος ἐλεύσηται he will come (some-
time in) this very year. So Π. 5. 523 νησεμίν̄ in calm weather;
8. 470 ἥσος in the morning; 11. 691 τῶν̄ προτέρων ἐτέων̄ in former
years; 22. 27 ὁπάρ̄ης εἶσῑ goes in autumn.

It appears from the corresponding construction in Sanser, and
Zend that this is the true Genitive (Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 45).
For the 'Gen. Absolute'—which is akin to the Gen. of time—see § 246.

151.] The quasi-partitive Genitive. Under this term we may include a number of constructions in which the Gen. is used (in preference to some other Case) because the action of the Verb does not affect the person or thing in a sufficiently direct and unqualified way: e.g. in λωτοῖοφαγώνeating of the lotus (not eating up the lotus); πτέρυγος λάβε took by the wing (not took the wing); λούσθαιποταμόιο to bathe in a river (but λούνεν οὕδατι to bathe with water).*

The chief uses to which this view may be applied are:—

(a) With Verbs that imply fastening to, holding by, &c.: II. 1. 197 ἔως κόμης έλεαι Πηλείωνα took Achilles by the hair.

So χείρονέλωνtaking by the hand (but δεξιοτιμένηλεξείφη took the right hand), ποδός ἐλκε dragged by the foot, ὡς ητέροποδόςfastened by the foot, κόμος ἔξορφοςclutching the dust, λισσόςκέτο γούναntreated by seizing the knees, ἔρισατο γατίςpropelled himself against the earth (i.e. his hand touching it), μέσον δωρόσελωνtaking his spear by the middle; and with a metaphorical sense, περίσσεονπαῦδος take charge of thy child, σεόεξεται will depend upon thee.

* Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 39) aptly quotes from J. Grimm the saying that 'the Accusative shows the fullest, most decided mastering of an object by the notion contained in the Verb of the sentence. Less "objectifying" is contained in the Gen.; the active force is tried and brought into play by it, not exhausted.' The contrast, however, is to be traced not merely between the Gen. and the Acc., but generally between the Gen. and all the Cases which are used primarily with Verbs. Thus the Gen. of Space and Time may be compared with the Locative, the Gen. of Material with the Instrumental; and perhaps other Genitives with the Abl. (§ 151, e, note, § 153, note).

It is important to observe here (especially since we have adopted the term 'quasi-Partitive' for these uses) that the partitive relation is not the only one which may lie at the root of the construction. The Gen. expresses any relation, however indefinite, in which one Noun may stand to another.

1. The Gen. of Place noticed in § 149 (2) is not partitive; for δυσομένουτριπέρους(e.g.) does not mean within sunset, but on the side of, belonging to, sunset. The Gen. is like the Latin 'novarum rerum esse' to be on the side of change; cp. Liv. 22. 50 ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix septuaginta seculi sunt, alterius morientis prope lotus exercitus fuit.

2. The Gen. of Time is similar. Such a Gen. as ἀρχύς in the morning is to be compared with the use of the Adv. in ἐστιεπίρον ἀπόκερον they came in the evening, lit. belonging to the evening, as men of the evening. It differs from the Dat. of Time negatively, in the want of a distinct Locative meaning.

3. The Gen. of the person with Verbs of hearing, &c. (§ 151, d) is clearly not partitive. The thing heard is not part of, but something belonging to, the person. But the Gen. of the sound heard may be partitive; and so is doubtless the Gen. of material, § 151, e.

As to the Gen. of price, see § 153. If a true Gen., it is not partitive.
The Gen. in this group of uses is probably akin to the Gen. of the space within which action takes place, § 149. Compare, for example, ἐφεισάτο γαῖας with οὐκ ἐρυχόν τοῦ ἐτέρου,—passages given under the same head by Kühner (§ 418, 8, a). Or it may be Ablatival: cp. πρύμνηθεν λάβε, § 159.

(b) With Verbs meaning to touch, to hit (an object aimed at), to reach (a person), to put in or on (a chariot, ship, wall, &c.), with the derivative meanings, to attain to, get a place or share in, &c.; as ἀλλήλων ἐφίκοντο got at each other; τόξε γάρ ῥ διμάθου βαθείας he happened to fall in deep sand; so νεκροῦς πυρκαῖς ἐπενήρευσ heaped the corpses on the funeral pile; so metaphorically, κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν to bring into mischief; ἀντίαν πολέμου to join in war, ἀντίων ἐκατόμβης (but II. 1. 31 ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιώσαν because λέχος is the whole object, cp. § 136, 1).

(c) With Verbs meaning to aim at, strive after, desire, care for, complain of, grieve for, be angry about, &c.; as Αἰαντος ἀκόμησε threw a dart at Ajax, οὐ παῦδας ὑγέατο held out his arms for his child, σκοπέλων ἐπιμάλεο feel for the rocks (but ἐπιμαλέο ἔπους touched up the horses), ἐπειγόμενος Ἀρης hastening to (eager for) battle, τόν οὐ τί μετατρέπη ὑδὲ ἀλεγίζεις these you do not regard or heed, Κύκλωπος κεχωλωται is enraged on behalf of the Cyclops; and many similar instances.

Kühner (§ 416, Ann. 9) quotes II. 5. 582 ἄχραμδήν ἄγκώνα τυχών μέσον as a use of τυχάνω with the Acc. But it is possible to construe ἄγκώνα with βάλε in the earlier part of the sentence.

(d) With Verbs meaning to hear, perceive, know of, remember, and the like; the Gen. expressing—

(1) the person from whom sound comes;
(2) the person about whom something is heard, known, &c.
(3) the sound heard (but the Acc. is more usual).

The particular thing heard or known is often indicated by a Participle agreeing with the Genitive: e.g.—

II. 1. 257 εἶ σφάων τάδε πάντα πυθόλατε μαρναμένοιν (=if they heard of all this fighting on your part).
II. 4. 357 ὡς γνώ χωρομένου (=ὅς ἐγνώ αὐτοῦ ὑπὶ ἐχόστο). Od. 2. 220 εἶ δέ κε τεθημένος ἀκούσο: so 4. 728, &c.

The Verb ἀδήα, when it means to know about, to be skilled in, takes a Gen., as II. 11. 657 οὐδέ τι οἶδε πένθους knows nothing of the sorrow. So Od. 21. 506 φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ ἀοίδης: II. 16. 811 διδασκόμενοι πολέμου.

So μέμνημαι takes a Gen. when it means I bethink myself of; am affected by the memory (II. 2. 686, Od. 15. 23): see § 140, 4, a. Cp. Lat. memini with the Gen. or Acc., perhaps with a similar difference of meaning (Roby, § 1332).
(e) The Gen. of material, &c. The construction so termed is found with Verbs that imply the use of a material (especially one of indefinite quantity), a stock drawn upon, &c. *E.g.*—

II. 1. 470 κούροι μὲν κοντήρας ἑπεστέψατο ποτόν filled up the cup to the brim with liquor; 9. 214 τάσσε τ' ἄλος sprinkled with salt. So πυρός in the phrases πρῆσαι πυρός to burn with fire, &c.

II. 18. 574 χρυσόι τετειχάτο were made of gold.

Od. 3. 408 ἀποστίλβοντες ἀλείφατο shining with fat. And with a distinctly partitive force:—

Od. 1. 140 χαριζομένη παρεόιτον favouring him (with good things) from her store; 9. 102 λωτότοι φαγών eating of the lotus; and so with γεῦν to give a taste of.

II. 5. 268 τῆς γεννής ἔκλεψε slole (a strain) from the brood. 9. 580 πεδίων ταμέσθαι to cut off (a ōμενοι) from the plain.

14. 121 Ἀδραστόου τ' ἐγγυμε θυγατρῶν married (one) from the daughters of Adrastus (so Od. 9. 225, 12. 64., 15. 98).

The Gen. with Verbs meaning to stilt, grudge, spare is probably of the same nature (to stilt being = to give little).

The Genitives in λόφες ταῖς ποταμοῖς to bathe in a river, ἔλθε τοῦ ξυριοῦ οἱ νίφαμεοι ποληῖς ἄλος washing his hands in the sea, &c. are intermediate between this group and the Genitives of Space (§ 149).

A Gen. of the person may be used with Verbs meaning to gain profit from; *e.g.* II. 1. 410 ἵνα πάντες ἐπαυχώνται βασιλῆς: 16. 31 τί σεν ἄλος ὑφήσεται; Od. 11. 452 νίος ἐνιπλησθήναι (νίος = the company of his son): also with πειράματι to try (Od. 8. 23); ep. the Gen. with γεῦν.

Note also the elliptical expression, II. 21. 360 τι μοι ἔψιδος καὶ ἄρωγής what (share) have I in combat and aid?

Most of these Genitives are clearly *partitive,* and all of them can be explained as *true* Genitives. There is a similar use of the Gen. in Sanscrit with Verbs meaning to enjoy, &c. (Delbrück, *A. S.* § 109). Some however may be Ablatives. In particular, the Gen. of material with τεῦχω, ποἶεω, &c. is so regarded by Delbrück (*Synt. Forsch.* iv. p. 48) on the ground of the Sanscrit use. It may be that in certain cases the original usage allowed either Gen. or Abl., according to the shade of meaning to be expressed; just as with Verbs of *filling* Latin employs the Gen. or the Abl.

(f) With Verbs meaning to *rule, be master; viz.*—

ἀνάσσω, Gen. of the place or thing, as II. 1. 38 Τευεδών τε ἵπτι ἀνάσσεις: Od. 24. 30 τιμής ἵπτερ ἀνάσσες: of the people, only II. 10. 32, Od. 11. 2376. The Gen. of the thing and Dat. of the people combined, II. 20. 180 Τρώεσσσων ἀνάξεων τιμής τῆς Πριάμου.

βασιλεύω: Od. 1. 401., II. 285.

κρατέω: II. 1. 79 Ἀχιλλεων κράτεει has power over the Argives.
152. [The Ablatival Genitive. The Ablative expressed the object (person, place, or thing) from which separation takes place, and is represented by the Gen. in various uses: as—

ἀνέδω τολήν ἀλός rose from the grey sea.
χάζοντο κελεύθου gave way from the path.
έσχοντο μάχης were stayed from the fight.
παιδὸς εὗρης μυῖαν keeps off a fly from her child.
διάκετο ὄλο δόμου was chased from his house.
κακότητος ἔλυσαν delivered from ill.
 ατεμβόμεσος ἠντις defrauded of a share.
παιδὸς ἐδέξατο received from her son.
πιθών ἡφώσετο οἶνος wine was drawn from casks.
'Αντιλόχου λείπετο was left behind Antilochus.
γόνυ γοοῦν ἀμελήων exchanging knee past knee (= putting them in front by turns).
Αἵρομαι I begin from (a point), Il. 9. 97, Od. 21. 142.
ἀμαρτάω I miss, lose, fail in.
Τρόας ἀμωνε νεών keep off the Trojans from the ships: so with ἀλαλκέω.

ἀκούω, πυθάνομαι, ἐκλύνω hear from: see § 151, d.
τεύκω, ποιεῖν I make of (material): see § 151, e.

For the Gen. with Verbs of buying, selling, &c., see § 153.

Adjectives implying separation (want, freedom, &c.) may take an Ablatival Gen. by virtue of their equivalence to Verbs of similar meaning; or they may be construed as Nouns, that is to say, with a true Gen. E.g. λεῖος πετράων might be smooth (i.e. cleared) from rocks, or smooth as to rocks. Cp. the similar Latin Adjectives which take either Abl. or Gen.

The Gen. with Adjectives of comparison represents the Ablative (ep. the Latin construction). It expresses the point from which the higher degree of a quality is separated: ep. the Gen. with Verbs of exceeding and falling behind, and with Adjectives of similar meaning, as Od. 21. 254 βίον ἐπιδεύεις εἰμι ὁ Ὀδυσσῆς we are wanting in strength behind (compared with) Ulysses.

In Sanscrit the Abl. is used with numerals to express the point from which we count. A trace of this may be seen in the elliptical form δεκακάτη δέκα et c.

the twelfth day (from the day) when &c. (II. 21. 81, cp. Od. 3. 180).

The Gen. with ἐξ, ἀπό, παρά, πρός, πρό, ὑπέρ, περί (beyond), ἐπό (from under), κατά (down from), and the Verbs compounded with them, is Ablatival; with some of the ‘improper Prepositions,’ as
χωρίς, ἄνευ. τῆλε, ἀτερ. νόσφη, ἀμφίς, ἔκάς, ἐκτός. ἀψ. τάλιν, it may be either the Ablative or the true Genitive. When motion from is not implied, the Case is probably the true Gen.; see § 228.

It should be observed that the use of the Ablatival Gen. with simple Verbs is comparatively restricted in Homer. It is not used, as it is in Sanscrit, with simple Verbs of going, coming, bringing (e.g. we could not substitute the Gen. for the form in -θεν in such phrases as κλεισθένην ίωντα, άγρόθεν ἐρχομενη, οἴκουθεν ἃς, Ἄλοθεν με ἐφέρον, &c.), but only with Verbs which imply separation or distance from a point, or which are compounded with Prepositions such as ἐξ, ἀπό, &c.

Later poets seem to be more free in this respect (probably because they treated the usage as an archaism, adopted as being poetical): e.g. Soph. O. T. 142 βαθρών ἱστασθε, Ant. 418 χθόνος ἄιφας, Phil. 630 νεώς ἄγωντα, &c. Further extensions are,—the use for the place from which something is seen, as Soph. El. 78. 324, and for the agent, Eur. Or. 497, El. 123.

153.] Gen. of Price. Verbs meaning to change places with take an Ablatival Gen., as γόνυ γονὺς ἄμειβον (quoted in the last section): hence the constructions—

Il. 6. 235 τεῦχε, ἀμειβε χρύσα τα̃λειων exchanged armour, golden (passing in exchange) for bronze.
Il. 1. 111 Χρυσηίδοις ἄγλα ἄποινα .. ἐξεσθοι to accept a splendid ransom for Chryseis; so Od. 11. 327 ἦ χρυσὸν φίλον ἄνδρος ἐδέξατο who took gold for (to betray) her husband.
Il. 11. 106 ἔλυτε τάχλον released for a ransom.

Hence we may explain the construction with Verbs meaning to value at, set off against (a price); as Il. 23. 649 τύμης ἃς τέ μ' ἐουκε τετυμηθοθαί so with the Adjectives ἀντάξιος, &c.

It is possible however that a word expressing value or price may be construed as a Gen. with a Noun. As we can say τεῦχε αἰκατῳβοια armour worth a hundred oxen, we might have τεῦχει ἐκατων βοών (as in Attic prose, e.g. δίκα μίν χρην a plot worth ten minae); cp. the Latin magni emere, magni facere, &c.

Case-forms in -φι(ν).

154.] The Case-Ending -φι(ν) is found in a number of Homeric forms which appear to be construed indifferently as Datives or Genitives. It will be shown, however, that there is ground for believing these forms to have been used for the Dat. only in the instrumental and locatival senses (the latter being comparatively rare), and for the Gen. only in the ablative sense. They formed, therefore, a 'mixed Case,' composed of the same elements as the Latin Ablative, viz. the original Instr. Abl. and Loc.

In respect of usage these forms are archaic: that is to say, they are confined for the most part to lines and phrases of a
fixed conventional type. In several instances the survival is evidently due to the influence of the metre: thus δακρυόφι, στήθεσφι take the place of δακρυόν, στήθέων; ὀστέόφιν and ἵκρισφιν, of ὀστέων, ὀστέοισι, and ἵκρισι, ἵκρισι—forms impossible in a heximeter. So δι' ὀρέσφι, κατ' ὀρέσφι, ὑπ' ὀχεσφι, for δι' ὀρέων, κατ' ὀρέων, ὑπ' ὀχέων.

155.] Instrumental. The forms in -φι(ν) appear to have been forms of the Instrumental (Sing. and Plur.), and the majority of the Homeric examples may be referred to that Case: ἐτέρησθι with the other hand (II. 16. 734, &c.), ἐξετερήσθι (Od. 19. 480); βινθι by force (II. 16. 826, Od. 1. 403, &c., and in the phrase κρατερήσθι βινθι), also in strength (βινθι φέρετος, Od. 6. 6, &c.); ἀπαγκαληῆσθι δομέντας (II. 20. 143); γενεῖ σφι νεότετος (II. 14. 112, &c.): δακρυόφιν πλησίον were filled with tears (II. 17. 696, &c.).

In the 'comitative' use, αὐτοίσων ὀχεσφίν chariot and all, ἴπποισαν καὶ ὀχεσφίν with horses and chariot (II. 12. 114, Od. 4. 533); with Prepositions, αἱ ἰδίων φανομένην, σὺν ἴπποισιν καὶ ὀχεσφίν (often in the Iliad), also παρ’ ὀχεσφίν (construed with Verbs of rest, II. 5. 28, 794., 8. 565., 12. 91., 15. 3)—unless ὀχεσφίν is a Loc. (§ 157); with words expressing agreement, likeness, &c., as, παλάμην ἀρίστει fitted his hand, θεόφιν μήστωρ ἀταλαντός (II. 7. 366, &c.).

With Verbs of trusting; II. 4. 303 ἴπποσύνῃ τε καὶ ἱμορέσφι πεποιθώς; so ἀγαληῆσθι (II. 6. 510), βινθι (several times).

156.] Ablative. Forms used as Ablatival Genitives are—
II. 2. 794 ναῦφιν ἀφορμῆθειέν start from the ships.
13. 700 ναῦφιν ἀμοινόμενοι defending the ships (§ 152).
3. 368 ἐκ δὲ μοι ἔχοσ ἥξιθον παλάμην.
10. 458 ἀπὸ μὲν .. κυνήν κεφαλῆφιν ἔλοιπο.
Od. 5. 152 δακρυόφιν τέρποιτο were dried from tears.
8. 279 καθύπερθε μελαθρόφιν ἐξεκέχυτο.

With the Prepositions—
ἐξ: as ἐξ εὐηθιν, ἐκ θεόφιν, ἐκ πασσαλόφι, ἐκ ποιυτόφι, ἐκ στήθεσφιν, ἐξ’Ερέβεσφιν, &c.
ἀπό: as ἀπὸ νευρήθιν, ἀπότοφιν, χαλκόφιν, στήθεσφιν, ναῦφιν, &c.
παρὰ when it means from: II. 12. 225 παρὰ ναῦφιν ἔλευσιόμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα, Od. 14. 498 παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐποτρύνειε νέεσθαι. So—
18. 305 παρὰ ναῦφιν ἀνέστη δῖος 'Αχιλλεύς.
8. 474 πρὶν ὀρθαί παρὰ ναῦφι ποδόκεα Πηλείωνα.
16. 281 ἐλπόμενοι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδόκεα Πηλείώνα μηνύμον μὲν ἀπορρύψαι, φιλότητα δ' ἐλέσθαι.

In these three places the notion of leaving the ships is implied, so παρὰ ναῦφι has the meaning of παρὰ νεῶν.
katá down from: kar' ὁρεσφί (II. 4. 452., 11. 493).
ὑπὸ from under: ὑπ’ ὁχεσφι (II. 23. 7), ὑπὸ ἄγυδφι (II. 24. 576).

With this use of -φι we may compare the use of the Dative with ἐξ and ἔπο, which is one of the peculiarities of the Arcadian and Cyprian dialects (Meister, ii. 119, 296). The parallel of the Latin Abl. has been noticed.

157.] Locative. This use is found in several clear instances, as well as others of an indecisive kind:—

Π. 19. 323 Φθίφι in Phthia; Π. 13. 168 κλίστηφι λέλειπτο was left in the tent; θύρηφιν out of doors, foris (Od. 9. 238., 22. 220); κεφαλήφιν ἑθήκε put on the head (II. 10. 302.-257,261; cp. 496, Od. 20. 94); Π. 11. 474 ὡς εἴ τε δαφνοιν θήρες ὁρεσφίν: 19. 376 τὸ δὲ καίεται ὑψοθ' ὁρεσφίν: 22. 139 ἥπτε κύρκοσ ὁρεσφίν κτλ.; 22. 189 ὡς δ’ ὁτε νεβρῶν ὁρεσφί κων κτλ.; Π. 2. 480 ἥπτε βοῦν ἀγέληφι μέγ’ ἐξοχος ἐπλετο πάντων: 16. 487 ἀγέληφι μετελθῶν coming into the herd.

With the Prepositions:—ἐν, as Π. 24. 284 ἐν χειρὶ... ἀετερηθίν (= Od. 15. 148): πρός, in Od. 5. 432 πρός κοτυληθονίφων (sticking) to the suckers: ἀμφί, in Od. 16. 145 φωνόθει δ’ ἀμφ’ ὀστεόφι χρός: ὑπό, in ὑπ’ ὁχεσφι, ὑπὸ ἄγυδφι (II. 14. 404, unless the meaning is from under).

With ἕπι on, at, in the combinations ἕπὶ λκρίφων, ἕπ’ ἐπαχαρόφιν, ἕπι νεφηθίν (all in the Od.) the Case may be Loc. or Gen.

παρ’ αὐτόφι occurs four times in the Iliad (12. 302., 13. 42., 20. 140., 23. 640). In three of these places there is a v. 1. παρ’ αὐτόθι (or παραντόθι), which generally gives a better sense, and which is required by the grammar in 13. 42 ἐπανοτὸ δὲ νῆς Ἀχαιῶν ἀρήσειν κενείν τε παρ’ αὐτόφι (=παρά νῆς). So 19. 255 ἕπ’ αὐτόφιν ἤστο σύγγ where αὐτόθι (Nauck) is probably right. It seems that the Endings -θι and -φι were confused, possibly at a very early period.

158.] The true Dat. and Gen. There is only one example of the true Dat., viz. Π. 2. 363 ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλων that phratia may bear aid to phratia, and tribe to tribe.

The instances of the true Gen. are—

1) Π. 21. 295 κατὰ Ἰλιόφι κλυτὰ τείχεα λαὸν ἔλασαι to coopt up the army within the famous walls of Ilios.

2) Π. 21. 367 τεῖρε δ’ αὐτήν Ἡφαίστειον βίπθι πολύφρονος the breath of Hephaestus (‘Ἡφαίστειον βιπ’) wore him out.

3) Od. 12. 45 πολὺς δ’ ἀμφ’ ὀστεόφιν θίς ἀνθρῶν πυθομένων there is around a great heap of bones, of men roting. But this may be an Instr. of material, =‘a heap (made of) bones.’

4) Π. 16. 762 κεφαλῆφιν ἐπει λάβειν οὐχὶ μεθέλει (Gen., § 151, a); and Π. 350 οὐ’ ἀφάμαρτε τιτυσκόμενος κεφαλῆφιν (but the Gen. might be construed with ἀφάμαρτε, as an Abl.).
(5) Certain uses with Prepositions; viz. ἐπὶ in II. 13. 308 ἦ ἐπὶ δεξιόφυς . ἦ ἐπὶ ἄριστερόφυς towards right or left; πρόσθε in II. 5. 107 πρόσθ᾽ ἵπποιν καλ ὄχεσφιν: διὰ through, in διὰ δὲ στήθ-θεσφιν ἔλαστεν (II. 5. 41, &c.), also 10. 185 ἐρχυται δι᾽ ὄρεσφι.

The first four of these references evidently do not prove much. The first would be a clear instance of the true Gen, if we could be sure of the text: but there is some probability in favour of Ἐλλοο (§ 98), proposed by Leo Meyer (Ded. p. 35). In II. 21. 367 we may perhaps take βίρφι as an Instr.; hot breath vexed him through (by reason of) the might of Hephaestus.

Again, the use with ἐπὶ may be locational, with πρόσθε ablative (as with πρὸ). The uses with διὰ are more important, because they are not isolated, but form a distinct group. It is improbable that διὰ through should take an ablative Gen. or a Locative. The Sanscrit Instr. is used of the space or time over which an action extends (Delbrück, A. S. § 88): and so the Abl. in Latin (Roby, §§ 1176, 1189). This use appears in Greek as the Dat. of the way by which, and perhaps in the phrases περιώντι τῷ θερεί, &c. It may be thought possible that δι᾽ ὄρεσφι and διὰ στήθοσφι are fragments of this use. If so, one or two other uses assigned above to the Loc. may be really Instr.; especially ὄρεσφι, II. 11. 474, 22. 139, 189.

On the other hand, if the forms in -φ(ν) constitute a ‘mixed Case’ (Locative, Instrumental, and Ablative), there must have been a tendency to extend its sphere from the Loc. and Instr. to the Dat., and from the Abl. to the Gen. Thus the few instances of forms in -φ(ν) standing for the true Dat. and Gen. may be first steps towards an amalgamation of five Cases (such as we have in the Greek Dual). One or two are probably among the ‘false archaisms’ which doubtless exist in Homer, though not to the extent supposed by some commentators: see § 216.

**Forms in -θεν and -ως.**

159.] The Ending -θεν expresses the point from which motion takes place; hence it is common in construction with Verbs of motion, and after the Prepositions επὶ and ἀπό. Cp. also—

II. 3. 276 Ζεῦ πάτερ ἰδθεν μεθέων ruling from Ida.
8. 397 ἰδθεν ἐπελ τὸ when he saw, looking from Ida.
15. 716 Ἑκτωρ δὲ πρόμηθεν ἐπελ λάβε when he had got hold from (i.e. in the direction from, beginning with) the stern; so ἐτερωθεν on the other side, ἀμφοτέρωθεν on both sides.

Of time; ἰδθεν from (beginning with) dawn.

In a metaphorical sense; of an agent (regarded as the source of action), as II. 15. 489 Διόθεν βλαφθέντα βέλεμα: Od. 16. 447 οὔδε τι μιν θάνατον τρομέεσθαι ἁνογα ἐκ γε μυστήριων θεοθέν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐστ᾽ ἀλέασθαι. Also, II. 10. 68 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὄνομαζον naming from (on the side of) the father. And in two phrases, II. 7. 39, 226 οἶδεν οἶδεν οἶδεν quite alone, and II. 7. 97 αἰνόθεν αἰνόθεν αἰνός quite terribly,—where the force of the Ending is indistinct.

It is to be observed that (except in the Personal Pronouns) this form is not found with Verbs meaning to deprive of, free.
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from, defend, surpass, or with the corresponding Adjectives and Adverbs. Hence it cannot be held to be equivalent to an Ablative (§ 152), and probably differed from the Abl. in expressing motion from rather than separation.

On the other hand, the Pronominal forms ἐμέθεν, σέθεν, ἔθεν are freely construed—

(1) as Ablatives: πρὸ ἔθεν, ὑπὲρ σέθεν, ἕνεν ἐμέθεν; and with a Comparative, II. 1. 114 οὐ ἔθεν ἐστι χρείων, &c. Cp. also II. 9. 419 μᾶλα γὰρ ἔθεν ἐκείρα ἐγν ὑπερέσχε.

(2) as true Genitives: II. 4. 169 ἄλλα μοι ἄνων ἄχος σέθεν ἐστεται I shall have terrible grief for thee; with Verbs of hearing (II. 2. 26, &c.), remembering (Od. 4. 592), caring (II. 1. 180 σέθεν ὦ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄλεγίζω), reaching or touching (ἀντιάζω, πειράζω, &c.): and with ἄνων, πρόσθε, ἄντα, ἄντιον, ἕνεκα, ἐκήτη.

160.] The Ending -ως is generally derived from the Ablative of Stems in -ο (§ 110), although -οι would not regularly become -ως, and the transition of meaning is not a very easy one. The chief examples in common use in Homer are—

From Pronominal Stems: ὦς, τῶς, πῶς, ὅμως, αὐτῶς, ἀλλας.
From Stems in -ο: αἰνῶς, ἀστασίως, ἐκπάγλως, ἐπισταμένως, χαρασαλέως, κακῶς, καρπαλίμος, κρατερῶς, κρατερῶς, ὀτραλέως, πυκνῶς, ῥηίδιως, στερεώς, στυγερῶς, χαλεπῶς, μεγάλως, καλῶς, αἰσχρῶς, φιλῶς.
From other Stems: πάντως, λυγέως, ἀτρεκέως, ἀσφαλέως, ἀφραδέως, πειρηφαδέως, διηνεκέως, ἐνδυκέως, νολεμέως, προφρονέως, ἐπικρατέως, ταχέως.

It will be seen that comparatively few of these Adverbs come from the short familiar Adjectives. Thus καλῶς, αἰσχρῶς, μεγάλως, ταχέως, φιλῶς are very rare in Homer; and there is no Adverb of the kind from δεινός, ἱσος, ὰρθός, βαιμ, ὀφνύς, ὅφός.

The Nominative.

161.] Impersonal Verbs. It is evident that in a language which distinguishes the Person and Number of the Verb by the Ending, it is not essential that there should be a distinct word as Nominative. ἐσ-τί (e.g.) stands for he is, she is, it is; the person or thing meant by the Ending may be left to be gathered from the context. In certain cases, however, the Subject meant by an Ending of the Third Person is too indefinite to be expressed by a particular Noun, such as the context could supply to the mind. For instance, in the sentence οὕτως ἐσ-τί it is so, the real Subject given by the Ending -τι (in English by the word it) is not a particular thing already mentioned or implied, but a vague
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- the case,' 'the course of things,' &c.* Verbs used with a vague unexpressed Subject of this kind are called IMPERSONAL.

The vague Subject may be a Plural, as II. 16. 128 οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλονται the case no longer allows of 'flight, Od. 2. 203 ἱοα ἔσσεται things will be even.

A Neuter Pronoun used as the Subject sometimes gives a vague meaning, not far removed from that of an Impersonal Verb; e.g. II. 1. 564 εἰ δ᾿ οὔτω τούτ᾿ ἐστὶν. 'if' this is so (cp. οὔτως ἐστὶν it is so); ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκταί it is a good thing too.

An Impersonal Verb is often followed by an Infinitive, or dependent Clause, which supplies the want of a Subject. See § 234, 2.

163.] Nominative in the Predicate. In certain cases the Predicate of a sentence may be limited or modified by a Nominative in agreement with the Subject. This is especially found—

1. With Adjectives of time; as ἐστήριοι ἀφλοντο they came in the evening, ἐνυχίοι προμολόχον coming forth by night, εὔθυν πανύχιοι ἔπεσαν all night, Χθῖσδος ἐβη went yesterday.

Such Adjectives seem to answer most nearly to the Gen. of time within which, but may also express duration, as πανημέροις and πανύχιοι.

2. In describing the attitude, manner, position, &c. in which an action is done: as παλώροις ἀπέστη στόμοι stood off with a start backwards, ὑποτῆς οὐδεὶς ἐρέσθη was dashed face upwards on the ground; so πέζος ἑιληλονθα, λαβρός ἐπαγγίζον, πρόφρον τέτληκας (cp. προφρονέως), ἀμετροέσθης ἐκολύφα, &c.

3. The Pronouns δόθε and κεῖσος are sometimes used instead of Adverbs of place: II. 5. 604 καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάρα κεῖσος Ἀρης now too yonder is Ares at his side; 10. 434 Ἐρήμηκεσ οὐδὲ ἀπάνευθε here are the Thracians apart; Od. 6. 276 τίς δ᾿ ὄδις Ναυσικάς ἐπέστα; So οὔτοις in II. 10. 82 τίς δ᾿ οὔτος κτλ.

4. With Verbs meaning to be, to become, to appear, to be made, called, thought, &c.; as κάρπιστοι τράφειν they were nurtured the mightiest, (i.e. to be the mightiest); ἐίσαντοι ἐγενοῦτο νεών they came to be in front of the ships: ἤδε ἄριστη φαίνετο βουλή this appeared the best counsel.

In all such cases the Nominative which goes with the Verb not only qualifies the notion given by the Verb-Stem, but also becomes itself a Predicate (i.e. the assertion of an attribute). E.g. κάρπιστοι τράφεν implies that they were κάρπιστοι. A Noun so used is called a SECONDARY Predicate.

The use of εἰμί as the 'logical copula' is merely a special or 'singular' case

* See Riddell's Digest, §§ 95-100: Sigwart, Impersonalien.
of this type of sentence. The Verb has then little or no meaning of its own, but serves to mark the following Noun as a Predicate. The final stage of the development is reached when the Verb is omitted as being superfluous.

5. With Impersonal or half-Impersonal Verbs meaning to be, &c.; the Predicate being—

(a) a Neuter Adjective; as μόρσιμον ἐστι it is fated; νεμεσο-

σητών δὲ κεν ἐγν it would be worthy of indignation; οὗ τοι ἄνεικες it

is not unmeet for thee; with a Pronominal Subject, ἐσθλὸν γὰρ τὸ

tέτυκται it is a good thing.

In the Plural, οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλονται there is no more escaping;

cp. λοίμα ἐργα τὰό ἔσσεται this will be a pestilent business.

In one or two instances the Adverbial form in -ως is used in

phrases of this kind: Il. 11. 762 ὃς ἐνοῦ εἶ ποτὶ ἐνοῦ γέ such I was

if I was; Il. 9. 551 Κουρήτησιοι κακῶς ἤν things went ill for the

Curetes; Il. 7. 424 διαγνώναι χαλεπῶς ἤν it was hard to distinguish;

Il. II. 838 πῶς τ᾿ ἀρ’ ἐν τάδε ἑργα; Od. 11. 336 πῶς ὑμμῖν ἀνήρ

Debe φαινέται εἴτα. This may be regarded as older than the

Neut. Nominate, since it indicates that the Verb is not a mere

copula,' but has a meaning which the Adverb qualifies. Cp.

Il. 6. 131 ὅπο ἢν ἤπειρον long (=δὴναὶ ἢν): also the Adverbial


ίκεται ἐσμέν.

(b) an abstract Noun; as Il. 17. 556 σοι μὲν ὅ τη Μενέλας κατη-

φειν καὶ δνείδος ἔσσεται εἰ κτλ. to thee it will be a humbling and

reproach if &c.; οὐ νέμεσι it is no wrong; οὐκ ἀρα τις χάρις ἤν ἤν it

was no matter of thanks; εἰ δὲ μοι ἀτα ἄν δε if it is my fate: with

a Pronominal Subject, λόβη καὶ ἔργα γ᾿ ἔσσεται this will be a shame.

The use of an abstract Noun instead of an Adjective is a

license or boldness of language of which we have already had

examples; see § 116 and § 126.

It is worth while to notice the tendency to import the ideas

of obligation, necessity, &c. into these phrases: e.g. οὐ νέμεσι it is

not (worthy of, a matter of) indignation, δνείδος ἔσσεται it will be

(ground of) reproach. So in Latin vestra existimatio est = it is

matter for your judgment.

The Latin idiom called the Predicative Dative (Roby, Pt. II. pp. xxx-1vi)

may be regarded as a less violent mode of expression than this Nom., since

the Dat. is a case which is originally 'adverbial,' i.e. construed with the

Predicate given by the Verb-Stem. In other words, dedecori est is a less bold

and probably more primitive way of saying it is disgraceful than dedecus est;

just as kakós ἢν is more primitive than kakóv ἢν.

6. The ordinary use of the Participle belongs to this head: as

διαστήμαν ἐρίσαντε parted after having quarrelled. In this use the

Participle qualifies the Verb-Stem, and at the same time makes

a distinct assertion: see Chapter X.
163. Interjectional Nominative. The Nom. is not unfrequently used in Homer without any regular construction, as a kind of exclamation: *e.g.*—

Il. 5. 405 σοι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνήκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθηνη, νύπτιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οἶδε κτλ. fool! he knows not &c.

Similarly σχέλιος cruel! δύσμορος the unhappy one! (Od. 20. 194); and so II. 1. 231 ὅμοσβόρος βασιλεὺς! Cp. the interjectional use of αἰδῶς shame! (II. 5. 787., 13. 95., 16. 422).

A similar account may be given of one or two passages in which commentators generally suppose ἀνακολοθίαν: viz.—

Il. 10. 436 τοῦ δὴ καλλιστον ἵππου διόν ὑδε μεγίστον

λευκότεροι χιόνος, θελειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν όμοίοι whiter than snow they are! &c.; and so in the equally abrupt—

Il. 10. 547 αἰδῶς ἀκτίνεσσιν ἑοικότες ἦλιοι.

2. 353 ἀστράπτων ἐπιδεξι' ἐναίσχυμα σήματα φαλνών (he did so I tell you) by lightning on the right &c.

Od. 1. 51 νήσος δευδρῆςσα, θεά δ' ἐνί δόματα ναιει an island (it is) well wooded, and a goddess has her dwelling there!

These forms of expression, when we seek to bring them under the general laws of the grammatical Sentence, resolve themselves into Predicates with an unexpressed Subject. On the logical Propositions of this kind see Sigwart (Logik, I p. 55). The Predicate, he shows, is always expressed in a word (or words); but the Subject, when it is of the kind which would be expressed by a Pronoun (it, this, &c.) may be indicated by a gesture. The simplest examples of the type are the imperfect sentences used by children, such as as this is a &c.

We might add the phrases such as οὐ νέμεις it is no wrong (§ 162), in which the want of a Verb makes the expression somewhat interjectional. Compare, for instance, οὐ νέμεις with αἰδῶς, Ἅρπειον shame on you, Greeks! also the so-called ellipse in commands, as ἄλλ' ἀνα but up!

The Vocative.

164.] Regarding the use of the Vocative in Homer the chief point to be noticed is the curious one (common to Greek and Sanscrit) that when two persons are addressed, connected by τε, the second name is put in the Nominative.* For instance—

Il. 3. 277 Ζεῦ πάτερ ἵδηθεν μεθέων κύδιστε μέγιστε, Ἡλίους θ' ὃς κτλ.

Similarly, the Vocative is not followed by δε or any similar Conjunction, but the Pronoun σο is interposed; as Il. 1. 282 Ἀρτείδη σοῦ δὲ παῦε κτλ. but, son of Atreus, cease &c.

Adjectives.

The Nominative is often used for the Voc., especially, it would seem, in order to avoid the repetition of the Voc.; e.g. II. 4. 189 φίλος ὧν Μενέλας. On this point however it is not always possible to trust to the accuracy of the text. Cobet (Misc. Crit. p. 333) has good grounds in the metre for proposing to change a great many Vocatives into Nominatives: e.g.—

II. 23. 493 Λίαν Ἡδομενέω τε (read Λίας Ἡδομενεύς τε).
II. 2. 8 οὐλε ὄνειρε (read οὐλος).
Od. 8. 408 χαίρε παίρε ὥ ξείνε (read παῦρ).
II. 18. 385 τίπτε Θέτι ταῦτα πέπλε ικάνες (Θέτις Ζενοδ. ο 1νύετεῖς).

Adjectival Use of the Noun.

165.] Substantive and Adjective. This seems a convenient place for one or two remarks on the distinction expressed by these terms.

It will be seen from §§ 114 and 117 that there is no general difference in the mode of forming Substantives and Adjectives. Certain Suffixes, however, are chiefly or wholly employed in the formation of abstract and collective Nouns: as in the Feminine Nouns in -τυ-, -τυ-, -δαν, the Neuters in -μα(τ), the Denominatives in -της (Gen. -τη-ος).

In respect of meaning and use the distinction between the concrete Substantives and Adjectives is practical rather than logical. Certain Nouns are mainly used as qualifying words in agreement with other Nouns; these are classed as Adjectives. In such combinations as βοῦς ταῦτας, ἄνερες ἀλφασταί, χαλκῆς ἄνδρες, βασιλεύς Κύρος, Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀτρείδης, where the qualifying word is one that is not generally used as an Adjective, we speak of the 'adjectival use' of a Substantive. Conversely, when an Adjective stands by itself to denote an individual or group of objects, the use is called 'substantival': e.g. κακὸς a base fellow, κακά εὐίς, τυκτὸν κακόν a made mischief. This is a use which arises when the objects to which an Adjective applies are such as naturally form a distinct class. Thus the Suffixes which form Nouns in -τη-, -τηρ-, -τωρ and -εὺς are practically confined to Substantives.

Abstract and Collective Nouns, it is evident, are essentially Substantives. Thus there is a clear distinction, both in form and meaning, between Abstract and Concrete Nouns; but not between Substantives and Adjectives.

The common definition of an Adjective as a word that expresses 'quality' ('Adjectives express the notion of quality,' Jelf, ii. p. 7) is open to the objections (1) that an abstract Substantive may be said to express quality, and (2) that every concrete Noun of which the etymological meaning is clear
expresses quality in the same way as an Adjective. E.g. the definition does not enable us to distinguish μαχητὴς from μαχήμων.

It is evident that the use of a Nominative in the Predicate—as βασιλεύς ὁ σωτήρ Οθήνος Ιστί—he is king—is strictly speaking an adjectival use.

The corresponding distinction in the Pronouns does not need much explanation. The Personal Pronouns are essentially Substantives (being incapable of serving as limiting or descriptive words); the Possessive Pronouns are essentially Adjectives. The others admit of both uses; e.g. οὗτος this one, and ἄνερ οὗτος (in Attic ὁ ἄνερ οὗτος) this man.

166. Gender of Adjectives. In a few cases the Gender of the Adjective is independent of the Substantive with which it is construed.

1. When a person is described by a word which properly denotes a thing (viz. a Neuter, as τέκνον, τέκος, &c., or an abstract Noun, βηθ Πράμασον, &c.), the concord of Gender is not always observed. Thus we have φίλε τέκνον (but φίλον τέκος, φίλη κεφαλή); again—

Π. 11. 690 ἥλθον γὰρ ἔκκακωσε βηθ 'Ηρακλησίη (= Heracles).
Od. 11. 90 ἤλθε δ’ ἐπὶ ψυχὴ Θηβαίου Τεφεσίαο χρύσεου σκηντρον ἕχων.

In such cases grammarians speak of a 'construction according to the meaning' (κατὰ σώνευτον). The term is unobjectionable, provided that we remember that constructions according to the meaning are generally older than those in which meaning is overridden by idiom or grammatical analogy.

2. Where an Adjective refers to more than one Noun, it follows the most prominent: or (if this is at all doubtful) the Masc. is used of persons, the Neut. of things: e.g.—

Π. 2. 136 αἱ δὲ που ἡμετεραὶ τ᾿ ἄλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα ἦσαν ἐνι μεγάροι ποιδιδήμεναι
because the wives are chiefly thought of: but—
Π. 18. 514 τέχοις μὲν τ᾿ ἄλοχοι τε φιλαι καὶ νήπια τέκνα θάλατ’ ἐφεστασίνε, μετὰ δ᾿ ἀνέρες οδὸς ἔχε γῆρος
because the boys and old men are also in the speaker's mind.

Od. 13. 435 ἄμφι δὲ μνίν ράκος ἄλλο κακῶν βάλεν ἤδε χιτῶνα, ῥωγαλέα ρυπόσωτα.

The Neut. Plur. is especially used of sheep and cattle: Π. 11. 244 πρόθ’ ἐκατὸν βοῦς δῶκεν, ἐπειτα δὲ χαλι ὑπέστη, αἰγας ὁμοὶ καὶ ὅις; Π. 11. 656 ἥκ δ’ ὁ γέρων ἀγέλην τε βοῶν καὶ πῶς μέγυ οἶνων ἐλεστο, κρωμάμενος τρυμκόστι ὧδε νομίμα (three hundred head): cp. also Π. 5. 140, Od. 12. 332.

3. A Noun standing as Predicate may be Neuter, although the Subject is Masc. or Fem.: as ὃς ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανί. This is a kind of substantival use.
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167.] Gender of Pronouns. A substantival Pronoun denoting a person may retain its proper Gender although the antecedent is a Neuter, or an abstract word; as Il. 22. 87 φίλον θάλος, ὃν τέκνον αὐτή.

Conversely a Neuter Pronoun may be used substantively of a thing which has been denoted by a Masc. or Fem. word:

Il. 2. 873 ὅς καὶ χρύσουν ἔχων πόλεμόν υἱὲν ἣλτε κοῦρην,
νῖπτος, οὐδὲ τι ὅλο το γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὑλεθρόν.
Cp. Il. 11. 238., 18. 460, Od. 12. 74 (with the note in Merry and Riddell's edition).

On the other hand, a Pronominal Subject sometimes follows the Gender of a Noun standing as Predicate, as αὐτή δική ἐστί this is the manner, ἦ θέμις ἐστί which is right. But the Neuter is preferred if a distinct object is meant by the Pronoun; as Od. 1. 226 οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ' ἐστι what I see is not a club-feast.

168.] Implied Predication. An Adjective (or Substantive in an adjectival use) construed with a Noun in an oblique Case may be so used as to convey a distinct predication; as οὐκετὶ ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις = this (that you now speak) is not pleasing to me.

So after Verbs meaning to make, cause to be, call, think, &c.; λαοῖς δὲ λίθους ποίησε Κρόνιος Ζεὺς made the people (to be) stones.

This use is parallel to that of the Nominative in the Predicate (§ 162): cp. the forms of sentence λαοὶ ἔγένοντο λίθοι, λαοὶ ἐποίησε λίθους. In the latter the predicative Noun (λίθοις) is construed with an oblique Case, instead of with the Subject. A Noun so used is called a tertiary predicate: cp. § 162, 3.

CHAPTER VIII.

USE OF THE NUMBERS.

169.] Collective Nouns. The Subject of a Plural Verb may be expressed by means of a Collective Noun; as ὅς φᾶσαν ἦ πληθὺς thus they said, the multitude (cp. Il. 15. 305., 23. 157).

Conversely, a Participle construed with a Collective Noun and Singular Verb may be Plural: as Il. 18. 604 περιάστατο δόμιλος τερπόμενοι. Cp. Il. 16. 281 ἐκίνηθεν δὲ φάλαγγες ἐλπόμενοι, also Od. 11. 15.

In these instances, again, the construction is said to be ‘according to the meaning’ (§ 166). The principle is evidently that an abstract or collective word may be used in ‘apposition’ to a concrete word. It may be noticed however that the com-
bimations such as ὁμιλος - τερπόμενοι are only found when there is some pause between the words; otherwise the Genitive would be used (construed as in Τρώων κατεδώθη ομιλος, &c.).

170.] Distributive use of the Singular. The word ἐκαστος is often used in the Sing. with a Plural Verb, as ἕβαν οἴκων ἐκαστος they went home, each one, δεδομενοθα ἐκαστος we are each one obedient. Other words in a clause may follow ἐκαστος in respect of Number: as II. 2. 775 ἵπποι δὲ παρ' ἀρμασιν οἰσιν ἐκαστος the horses each beside his chariot; II. 9. 656 οἱ δὲ ἐκαστος ἐλῶν δέτας ἀμφικύπτελλον σπείρασιν παρά νήας ἵσαν πάλιν. Even the Verb is made Sing. in II. 16. 264 οἱ ὄλκιμοι ἦτορ ἔχοντες πρόσωπο πᾶς πέτεται καὶ ἀμέτοι οἰσιν τέκεσθι: but this is a slight boldness of expression.

On the same principle we explain the Sing. in Od. 4. 300 αἳ δ' ἵσαν ἐκ μεγαρίου δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχονσι τῇ each with a torch in her hands; II. 13. 783 τετυμμένοι κατὰ χείρα (each of the two) wounded in the hand; II. 3. 235 οὐς κεν εὖ γνοεν καὶ τ' οὐνομα μνησαλην. So in II. 17. 260 τῶν δ' ἄλλων τίς κεν... οὐνόματ' εἰτοι we should doubtless read οὖνομα (Fe𝑖ποι).

Similarly the Dual is used of a group of pairs:—

II. 16. 370 πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τάφρῳ ἔρυσαρμετε ὦκεὲς Ιπποι ἄξαυτ' ἐν πρῶτῳ ῥυμῷ λίπων ἄρματ' ἀνάκτων where the Dual ἄξαυτε (like the Sing. ῥυμαφ) refers to one chariot. Probably, too, we should read ἄρμα ἀνάκτων (i. e. Φανάκτων). So II. 23. 362 οἱ δ' ἄμα πάντες ἐν' ἵπποιν μάστιγας ἀειραν, Od. 20. 348 δοσε δ' ἄρα σφέων δακρυόφιν πίμπλατο, also II. 9. 503, Od. 19. 444.

The Dual is often used in this way in Aristophanes: ep. Λυ. 622 ἀναιτινοτες τῷ χείρε, and other instances given by Bieber (De duali numero, p. 44). In II. 5. 487 μὴ πας ὁὶ στὶς ληον ἄλοιτε πανάργουν, the Dual ἀλότετε is explained by Schol. Β ομας καὶ αλ γυναικες. If so, it is a distributive use: 'see that ye be not taken, man and wife in one net.' But more probably it refers to Hector and Paris.

In speaking of the characteristics of a group or class it is common to pass to the Plural to the Singular, or vice versâ; e. g. Od. 4. 691 η τ' ἐστί δίκη θελων βασιλῆων, ἄλλου κ' ἐχθαλρησι βροτῶν κτλ. it is the way of kings, (a king) will hate one òc; and in the same clause, II. 10. 259 ρέται δὲ κάρη βαλερών αἰζών (of a kind of helmet); II. 2. 335 πρὶν τινα παρ' Τρώων ἄλοχυ κατακομβήσατε beside the wife of some Trojan; II. 19. 70 ἄλλα τιν' οἴω... ύν' ἔγχεος ἡμετέρου before the spear of one of us. The distributive τις is equivalent to a Plural.

Hence a peculiar vague use of the Plural, as II. 3. 49 νυν ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητάων the bride of some warrior's son (lit. daughter-in-
law of warriors, i.e. of this or that warrior); 4. 142 παρ’ηιον ἐμεναι ἰππω (v.l. ἰππο); 21. 499 πληκτίζεσθ’ ἀλάχουσὶ Διὸς (less directly personal than ἀλόχῳ).

171.] Plural of Things. The Plural form is not confined in Greek (or indeed in any language) to the expression of ‘plurality’ in the strict sense, i.e. to denote a group composed of distinct individuals, but is often used (esp. in Homer) of objects which it is more logical to think of in the Singular. Many words, too, are used both in the Sing. and the Plur., with little or no difference of meaning.

Notice especially the uses of the Plural in the case of—

1. Objects consisting of parts: τόξων and τόξα bow and arrows: ὁξος and ὕχεα, ἀρμα and ἀρματα a chariot: ὅμα, μέγαρον a hall or room, ὑματα, μέγαρα a house: λεκτρον and λεκτρα a bed.

πύκναι a gale is only used in the Plur.; θύρη is used as well as θύρα, but only of the door of a room (θάλαμος).

2. Natural objects of undefined extent: ψάμαθος and ψάμαθι (as we say sands), ἀλες (once ἀλς) sail, κονίη and κονίαι dust, πυρός and πυροί wheat, ἰέεθρον and ἰέεθρα, κῶμα (in a collective sense) and κῦμα, ὀκαὶον and ὀκρυνα, κρέα (seldom κρέας) meat, σάρκες (once Sing.) flesh.

3. Parts of the body: νῶτον (or νῶτοι—the Nom. Sing. does not occur in Homer) and νῶτα, στήθος and (more commonly) στήθεα, πρόσωπον and πρόσωπα the countenance, φρήν and φρέναι.

4. Abstract words: λελαμένος ἰπποστόλων forgetting horsemanship, ποδωκείῃσι πεποιθός trusting to speed of foot, ἀναλκείησι δαμέντες overcome by want of prowess, πολυδέρειησι νῦνο through cunning of understanding: so ἀτασθαλία, ἀφροδία, ἀγνορία, ἀεσιοφροσύναι, τεκτοσύναι, μεθημοσύναι, &c.; note also προδοκαί ambush, προχοαλ mouth of a river, ὀδρα gift (II. 20. 268 χρῦσος γὰρ ἐρύκακε, ὀδρα θεοί), κυνῶν μεληπθρα the sport of dogs, φυκτά escaping, ἢσα fairness (§ 161).

The Plural in such cases is a kind of imperfect abstraction; the particular manifestations of a quality are thought of as units in a group or mass,—not yet as forming a single thing.

5. Collective words: μῆλα flocks; so πρόβατα is only Plur. in Homer (cp. πρόβαται Od. 2. 75).

6. Pronouns and Adjectives; see the examples of adverbial uses, §§ 133, 134; cp. also § 161.

172.] Neuter Plural. The construction of the Neut. Plur. with a Singular Verb is the commoner one in Homer, in the proportion of about three to one. When the Plural is used, it will
generally be found that the word is really Plural in meaning (i.e. that it calls up the notion of distinct units). Thus it is used with—

Nouns denoting agents; as ἐθνεά applied to the men of the Greek army (II. 2. 91, 464), to birds (II. 2. 459), to swine (Od. 14. 73); so with φιλ' ἄνθρωπον (Od. 15. 409).

Distinctly plural parts of the body: πτερά, χείλεα, οὖνα, μέλεα: so πεδιλα (of the shoes of Hermes).

Numerals: δέκα στόματα (II. 2. 489), ὄνατα τέσσαρα (II. 11. 634), τέσσαρα δέρματα (Od. 4. 437), αἰπόλια ἐνδεκα πάντα (Od. 14. 103); so with πάντα and πολλά (II. 11. 574, 15. 714, 17. 760, Od. 4. 437, 794, 9. 222, 12. 411), and when the context shows that distinct things are meant: as II. 5. 656 τῶν μὲν δοῦρατα (the spears of ἡμοὶ warriors), 13. 135 ἐγχεα... ἀπὸ χειρῶν.

A few instances occur in fixed phrases, which may represent an earlier syntax: λῦντο δὲ γυῖα (but also λῦτο γούνατα, ἀμήχανα ἑργα γένοντο, &c. Note especially the lines ending with πελουται (τά τε πτερὰ νυμίστι πέλουται, ὁτε τ' ἦματα μακρὰ πέλουται, φυκτὰ πέλουται, &c.).

The exceptions to the use of the Sing. are fewest with Pronouns and Adjectives: doubtless on account of their want of a distinct Plural meaning (see the end of last section).

173.] The Dual is chiefly used (1) of two objects thought of as a distinct pair, and (2) when the Numerals δύο is used.

1. Thus we have the natural pairs χείρε, πῆχεε, τένοντε, ὄμω, μηρῷ, ὄστε, ὀφθαλμῷ, and (in the Gen. Dat.) ποδοῖων, βλεφάροιῶν: σταθμῷ δορ-ποστά; ὑπ' οἴκος the horses of a chariot, βός a yoke of oxen, ἄρτε a pair of lambs (for sacrifice); δύο (in II. 13. 241, 16. 139 of the two spears usually carried, but δύο δόρῷ is more common); ποταμῷ (II. 5. 773) of the two rivers of the Troad, and so κροῦνῳ (II. 22. 147). So of the two warriors in a chariot (II. 5. 244, 272, 568), two wrestlers (II. 23. 707), two dancers (Od. 8. 378), the Sirens (Od. 12. 52, &c.); the Ἀτρείδαι and Ἀιαντέ.

The Numerals is generally added in speaking of two wild animals (θῆρε δύο, λέοντε δύο, &c.): κάτρῳ (II. 11. 324) and λέοντε (II. 16. 756) are hardly exceptions, since the context shows that two are meant. Also ἀετῷ (Od. 2. 146) of two eagles sent as an omen, and γυπτ (Od. 11. 578) of the vultures that devoured Tityos.

The Dual in II. 8. 185-191 (where Hector calls to four horses by name) might be defended, because two is the regular number; but probably v. 185 is spurious. In II. 23. 413, again,—αἵ κ' ἀποκηθήσαντε φερόμεθα χείρων ἀεθλον—the Dual is used because
it is the horses that are chiefly in the driver’s mind, although he associates himself with them. In II. 9. 182–195 the Dual refers to the two envoys, Phoenix being overlooked.

Again, when two agents have been mentioned together, or are represented as acting together in any way, the Dual may be used: as II. 1. 531 τῷ γῷ διήλθαντε (of Thetis and Achilles), 16. 823 (of a lion and boar fighting), Od. 3. 128, 13. 372, &c. Similarly, of the meeting of two rivers, II. 4. 453 ἐς μυστάκιναν συμβάλλετον ὄψιμον ὕδωρ (cp. 5. 774).

The Dual Pronouns νοῦς and σφῶς are used with comparative regularity: see II. 1. 257, 336, 574, 5. 34, 287, 718, &c. This usage may be a matter of traditional courtesy. Hence perhaps the scrupulous use where the First Person Dual is meant; II. 4. 407 ἁγαγόνθ’ (‘Diomedes and I’); 8. 109 θεράπωντες ὑποτήτικοι δοκειμένοι τῆς τεταράδος. In II. 3. 313 τῇ παθόντῃ λελάβατη κτλ.; 12. 323 ὃ πέπον εἷς. φυγόντες; Od. 3. 128 ἔνα τυμόν ἔχοντες (‘Ulysses and I’). In Od. 2. 78 for ἀπαντώντες ἔως should be read ἀπαντώντες ἔως since Telemachus there is a mark of reverence on his mother and himself. So with the Second Person, II. 1. 216 (Athene and Here), 322 (the heralds), 3. 279, 7. 279.

In II. 3. 278 καὶ of ἐπένεφε καμάκτους ἀνθρώποις τίνυσον, ὡς κ᾿ ἐπόσχον δύμασθ’ the two gods indicated by the Dual are doubtless Hades and Persephone, as appears from II. 9. 456 θεοὶ δ᾿ ἐπέλειαν ἐπάρατος, ζεῖσ τε καταχθόνοις καὶ ἐπαύρεις Ἡδής, and 9. 569, where Alithaea beats upon the earth κυκλήσουσιν Ἁίδον καὶ ἐπαύρεις Ἡδής. And since these were the gods especially called upon as witnesses and avengers of wrong, it is probable that they are meant in Od. 1. 273 θεοὶ δ᾿ ἐπιμάρτυροι ἔστων. The omission of the names may be a mark of reverence. If this view is correct, it removes the difficulty as to ἔστων (Meyer, G. G. § 577, 1).

2. Of the use with the Numeral the most significant examples are Od. 8. 35, 48 κοῦρῳ δὲ κρυφόβεντε ὄντω καὶ πεντάκοιτα βήτηρ: where the Dual is used by a kind of attraction to the word ὄντω.

The Dual is never obligatory in Homer, since the Plural may always be used instead of it. Hence we often have a Dual Noun or Pronoun with a Plural Verb or Adjective, and vice versa.

The Neut. Dual (like the Neut. Plur.) may go with a Sing. Verb: thus we have ὄσσε with all three Numbers.

Certain of the ancient grammarians—Zenodotus among them—supposed that Homer sometimes used the Dual for the Plural. But Aristarchus showed that in all the passages on which this belief was founded the Dual either had its proper force, or was a false reading.

The use of the Dual in Attic is nearly the same as in Homer: in other dialects it appears to have become obsolete. This was one of the reasons that led some grammarians to maintain that Homer was an Athenian.
CHAPTER IX.

THE PREPOSITIONS.

Introductory.

174.] Prepositions are words expressing some local relation, and capable of being used as prefixes in forming Compound Verbs. The Prepositions are also used in construction with oblique Cases of Nouns and Pronouns.

The Adverbs that are construed with oblique Cases, but do not enter into composition with Verbs, are called Improper Prepositions.

The list of Homeric Prepositions is the same (with perhaps one exception, see § 226) as that of later classical Greek. In the use of Prepositions, however, there are some marked differences between the two periods (§ 229).

There are no 'Inseparable' Prepositions in Greek: see however § 221.

175.] Adverbial use. In post-Homeric Greek it is a rule (subject to a few exceptions only) that a Preposition must either (1) enter into Composition with a Verb or (2) be followed immediately by and 'govern' a Noun or Pronoun in an oblique Case. But in the Homeric language the limitation of the Prepositions to these two uses is still far from being established. A Preposition may not only be separated from the Case-form which it governs (a licence sometimes found in later writers), but may stand as a distinct word without governing any Case. In other words, it may be placed in the sentence with the freedom of an Adverb: e.g. ἀμφὶ may mean either on both sides (of an object expressed by an oblique Case) or simply on both sides; ἐν may mean in (taking a Dat.), or simply inside; and so of the others, e.g.—

γέλασον δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθόνι all the earth smiled round about.

υπαί δὲ τε κόμμασ τὸ ὁδὸν τῷ γίγνετο beneath arose rattling of teeth.

These uses, in which the Preposition is treated as an ordinary 'Adverb of place,' may be called in general the adverbial uses.

176.] Tmesis. The term tmesis is sometimes applied generally to denote that a Preposition is 'separated' from the Verb
which it qualifies, thus including all 'adverbial' uses, but is more properly restricted to a particular group of these uses, viz. those in which the meaning is the same as the Preposition and Verb have in Composition: e. g.—

οἳ κατὰ βοῶν 'Τερέωνος 'Ηλλοον ᾦθθνων who ate vp (κατήθθνων) the oxen of the sun.

οὐς ποτ' ἀπ' Ἀλεεαν ἐλόμην which I took from (ἀφελόμην) Aeneas. ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχετο μισθόν and promised (ὑπίσχετο) hire.

μετὰ γάτα βαλών turning his back.

χεῖρας ἀπὸ ξύφει τμήζασ cutting off his hands by a sword.

This is the sense in which the word τμήζασ was employed by the Greek grammarians, who looked at the peculiarities of Homer as deviations from the later established usage, and accordingly regarded the independent place of the Preposition as the result of a 'severance' of the Compound Verb. We may retain the term, provided that we understand it to mean no more than the fact that the two elements which formed a single word in later Greek were still separable in the language of Homer.

The distinction between Tmesis (in the strict sense) and other 'adverbial' uses cannot be drawn with any certainty. The clearest cases are those in which the compound Verb is necessary for the construction of other words in the sentence; e. g. in ἀπ' Ἀλεεαν ἐλόμην or ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχετο μισθόν. On the other hand, the use is simply adverbial in—

περὶ φρένας ζυμερὸς αἰρεῖ desire seizes his heart all round (because the Compound περιαφρέω means to strip off, to take away from round a thing).

ὦς τοὺς ἥγεμόνες διεκόσμεω . . μετὰ δὲ κρειών 'Αγαμέμνων and in the midst the king Agamemnon.

ὦς Τρώες πρὸ μὲν ἄλλων ἄρηστε, αὐτάρ ἐπ' ἄλλω the Trojans, arrayed some in front, others behind.

177.] Ellipse of the Verb. In certain cases, viz. when the Verb is understood, a Preposition may represent the whole Predicate of a clause:—

οἴωνοι δὲ περὶ πλέεσ ἢ γυναῖκες about (him) are more ὅν.

ἐνθ' εἰν μὲν φιλότης therein is love.

οὗ τοῖς ἐπὶ δεός there is no fear for thee.

ἄλλ' ἄνα but vp!

πάρα δ' ἀνὴρ the man is at hand.

πάρ' ἔμοιος καὶ ἄλλοι others are at my command (not are beside me, but = πάρεσι in its derived sense).

So when a Verb is to be repeated from a preceding clause; as II. 24. 229-233 ἑνθεὔν δῶδεκα μὲν περικαλλέας ἐξελε πέπλους . . ἐκ δὲ δο' αἶθωνα τρίποδας: II. 3. 267 ὄρνυτο δ' αὐτικ' ἐπειτα ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν 'Αγαμέμνων, ἄν δ' Ὀδυσσέας (sc. ὄρνυτο).
178.] Use with oblique Cases. Prepositions are frequently used in Greek with the Accusative, the locatival and instrumental Dative, and the ablatalival Genitive; much less commonly (if at all) with the true Genitive.

It may be shown (chiefly by comparison with Sanscrit) that the government of Cases by Prepositions belongs to a later stage of the language than the use of Prepositions with Verbs. In the first instance the Case was construed directly with the Verb, and the Preposition did no more than qualify the Verbal meaning. E.g., in such a sentence as ἔλες Τροίην ἧλθε the Acc. Τροίην originally went with ἧλθε. If however the construction Τροίην ἧλθε ceased to be usual except with ἔλες, the Preposition would be felt to be necessary for the Acc., i.e. would ‘govern’ it.

In Homer we find many instances of a transitional character, in which a Case-form which appears to be governed by a Preposition may equally well be construed directly with the Verb,—modified, it may be, in meaning by the Preposition.

Thus we have ἀμφι with the Dat. in the recurring form—

ἀμφι δὲ χαῖται | ὅμοις ἀνασονται,

περὶ μὲν ξίφος ἀργυρόπλου | ὅμοιν βαλόμην

where the Preposition is best taken in the adverbial use. Cp. II. 17. 523 ἐν δὲ οἱ ἔχοσ | νηδύσιοι μᾶλ' ὤξων ἐκαθανομένον λύν γνία, where ὤν is adverbial.

Again, we see in II. 482 ὀς Ὑβρὶ ἄμφι Ὀδυσσῆς Τριῶς ἔποιον the Preposition is not necessary for the Case, as we see from its absence in τὸξ ὅμοιον ἔχων, &c., and again from forms such as—

ἀμφι δὲ χαῖται | ὅμοις ἀνασονται,

περὶ μὲν ξίφος ἀργυρόπλου | ὅμοιν βαλόμην

Again, we seem to have ἀμφι governing the Accusative in—

II. 11. 482 ὀς Ὑβρὶ ἄμφι Ὀδυσσῆς Τριῶς ἔποιον. But ἀμφι must be taken with ἐποιον, as in II. 11. 776 σφῶι μὲν ἀμφι βοὸς ἐπετου κρέα. So in ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ ἤγαγε brought under the yoke the supposition of Tmesis is borne out by the form ἐπαιγε ζυγοῦ ἀκέας ἔποιο. And in the line—

II. 1. 53 ἐννήμαρ μὲν ἄνα στρατῶν ᾧκτον ἦλαθεν ἀκέας the rhythm is against taking ἄνα στρατῶν together (§ 367, 1), and points therefore to ἀνάχτετο.

Again, the ablatalival Genitive in—

ἡλθεν ἐξ ἀλός came out from the sea

may be explained like τείχεος ἐξελθεῖν, &c.; and in ὑπὸ ἀπὸ πρῶμης χαμάδις πέεε like ὑπὸ ἀποβρασκων, and numerous similar constructions.

Thus the history of the usage of Prepositions confirms the general principle laid down in a previous chapter (§ 131), that the oblique Cases, with the exception of the true Genitive, are
primarily constricted with Verbs, and that consequently the construction of these Cases with Nouns and (we may now add) Prepositions is always of a derivative kind.

179.] **Use with the Genitive.** Where the Genitive with a Preposition is not ablatival, it may usually be explained in two ways, between which it is not always easy to choose:

(1) It may be derived from one of the uses with Verbs discussed in §§ 149-151. *E.g.* the Genitive in—

ōs τε εἰσών διὰ δοῦροσ which goes through the wood

is probably the Genitive of the space within which motion takes place. For εἰσών διὰ δοῦροσ has the same relation to πέδειον διώκειν and πέδειον διαπήσειν, that ἃλθειν εἰς Τροῖν has to Τροῖν ἔλθειν and Τροῖν εἰσώλθειν.

(2) It may be of the same kind as the Genitive with a Noun: *e.g.* the construction with ἀντί may be the same as with the Adverbs ἄντα, ἄντιον, ἄντια, &c., and the Adjectives ἄντιος, ἐναντίος, &c., and this is evidently not akin to any of the constructions with Verbs, but falls under the general rule that a Noun or Pronoun qualifying a Noun is put in the Genitive (§ 147).

It is held by Curtius (Elucidations, c. 17) that the Genitive with ἀντί, πρό, διά, ὑπέρ, ὑπό, when they do not necessarily imply motion from, is of the same kind as the ordinary Genitive with Adjectives and Adverbs, *i.e.* the true Genitive. This view is supported by the Improper Prepositions, which nearly all govern the Genitive, whatever their meaning: *e.g.* ἐγγύς and ἐκάς, ἐντός and ἐκτός, ἄντα, μέχρι, ἐνεκα, &c. For in these cases the construction evidently does not depend upon the local relation involved, but is of the same kind as in δέμας πυρός, χάριν Τρώων, &c.

On the other hand, it is pointed out by Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 134) that such a construction of the Genitive is unknown in Sanscrit, and this argument, which applies to πρό, ὑπό, ὑπέρ (Sanscr. praé, úpa, upári), is confirmed by the Latin construction of pro, sub, super with the Abl. He would allow the supposition however in the case of ἀντί (the Sanscrit ἄντι being an Adverb), and perhaps διά; regarding these words as having become Prepositions more recently than the others.

180.] **Accentuation.** The rules for the accentuation of Compound Verbs have been already given in § 88. They proceed on the general principle that (except in the augmented forms) the accent falls if possible on the Preposition; either on the last syllable (as ἀπό-δος), or, if that is elided, then on the first (as ὑπ-αγε).

In regard to the other uses, and in particular the use with
Cases, the general assumption made by the Greek grammarians is that all Prepositions are oxytone. They do not recognise the modern distinction according to which εν, εἰς, and ἐξ are unaccented. This distinction rests entirely on the practice of the manuscripts (Chandler, p. 254), and apparently arises from the accident of the smooth breathing and accent falling on the same letter (Wackernagel, K. Z. xxix. 137).

Disyllabic Prepositions, however, are liable in certain cases to become barytone. The exact determination of these cases was a matter of much difficulty with the ancients, and unfortunately we cannot now determine how far their dicta rest upon observation of usage, and how far upon analogy and other theoretical considerations. The chief points of the accepted doctrine are:—

1. The disyllabic Prepositions, except ἀμφί, ἀντὶ, ἀνά, and ἀκά (except also the dialectical forms κατά, ὑπά, παρά, ἀπά, ὑπελπ, προτέ), are liable to ‘Anastrophe;’ that is to say, when placed immediately after the Verb or the Case-form to which they belong; they throw back the accent; as λούση ἀπο (ἀπο-λούση), ἕξεν κάτα, ἐπι, μάχη ἐν, Ζεφύρου ὕπο, &c. Some held that the insertion of δὲ before the Preposition did not prevent Anastrophe, and accordingly wrote ὅσε δὲ ἀπό, &c.

2. Also, according to some, if the Prep. stands at the end of a verse, or before a full stop (Schol. Α on Il. 5. 283).

3. Also, when it is equivalent to a Compound Verb (§ 177); as ἐν, ἐπι, πέρπ, πάρα (for ἐν-επτι, &c.). So ἀνα (for ἀναπτηθεί). Although ἀνά according to most authorities was not liable to Anastrophe. Some wrote πάρα γάρ θεό εἰσι καὶ ἡμῶν (Il. 3. 440), on the ground that in πάρ-εἰσι the accent is on the syllable πάρ.

4. Two Prepositions are barytone in the adverbial use,—

ἀπο when it is = ἀποθεν at a distance, and
πέρπ when it is = περισσώς exceedingly.

To which some added ὑπο (as τρομεῖεν δ' ὑπο γυνα, &c.).

5. Monosyllabic Prepositions when placed after the governed word take the acute accent (as an equivalent for Anastrophe); but only when they come at the end of the line. Some however accented Od. 3. 137—

καλεσσαμένω ἀγορῇν ἐς πάντας Ἀχαιόν.

Most Prepositions, as appears from the Sanscrit accent, are originally barytone, and the so-called Anastrophe is really the retention of the accent in certain cases in which the Preposition is emphatic, or has a comparatively independent place in the sentence. Just as there is an orthotone ἐστι and an enelitic ἐστι (§ 87, 1), so there is an orthotone πέρπ and a ‘proclitic’ περπ, written πεπλ before a governed Noun, but in reality unaccented.
This view will serve to explain one or two minor peculiarities of Greek usage. Thus (1) it is the rule that when the last syllable of a Preposition is elided before a Case-form, the accent is not thrown back. This is intelligible on the ground that the Preposition is in fact without accent; and the same account will apply to the same peculiarity in the case of ἀλλάδ and τωά. On the other hand, (2) in the case of elision before a Verb (as ἐπαγε) the accent is retracted, because the Preposition is then the accented word.* Again, (3) the general rule of the Ἑολικ dialect, that all oxytones become barytone, does not extend to Prepositions, because they are not real oxytones.

The word ἔτι (Sanser. āti) is a Preposition which happens to have survived (with the original accent) in the adverbial use only: ὅπος = besides.

One or two suggestions may be added in reference to the Prepositions which are generally said to be incapable of Anastrophe:—

ἀνά was thought by some to be capable of Anastrophe, and this view is supported by the adverbial use ἄνα ὑπ!

ἐκφυί is probably a real oxytone, like the Adverb ἐκφύε. The corresponding Sanscrit Preposition abhi is oxytone, contrary to the general rule.

The assertion that ὕπαλ, παράλ, προτί, &c. are not liable to Anastrophe is difficult of interpretation. It may mean only that these words are not Attic, and by consequence that later usage furnished the grammarians with no examples.

If this is the true account of Anastrophe, it is probable that the Prepositions retained their accent in all quasi-adverbial uses, including Tmesis—not only when they followed the Verb or governed Noun. The doctrine of the grammarians is unintelligible unless it admits of this extension. For if we write πάρ ἐποι γε καὶ Ἀλλοι because πάρα = πάρεις, we must also write πάρα γάρ θεοί εἶσι, where πάρα is equally emphatic. In Sanscrit too the Preposition when separated from its Verb is accented.

It is not so clear how far the later rules for Prepositions in Composition are to be applied to Homer. In Sanscrit there is an important difference between Principal and Subordinate Clauses. In a Principal Clause the Verb loses its accent, unless it begins the sentence (§ 87); the Preposition (which usually precedes the Verb, but is not always immediately before it) is accented. Thus we should have, on Sanscrit rules, such forms

* See Wackernagel, K. Z. xxiii. 457 ff. On this view, however, the original accent would be ἀπο-δος, ἐν-σπες, πάρα-σχες, &c. It may perhaps be preserved in the Indic. ἐν-σπες and Imper. ἐν-σπε (see § 88, where a different explanation of these forms was suggested).
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as \( \pi\rho\iota \delta\varepsilon\iota\delta\alpha \), \( \pi\rho\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}n\tau\omega\ \omicron\dot{i}\delta\epsilon, \&c. \) But in Subordinate Clauses the accent is on the Verb, and the Preposition commonly forms one word with it, as in \( \pi\epsilon\rho\omega\delta\varepsilon\iota\delta\alpha \). If the Preposition is separated from the Verb, both are accented. In classical Greek two changes have taken place: (1) the Preposition and Verb are inseparable, and (2) the accent is placed almost uniformly according to the 'law of three syllables' (§ 88)—if it falls on the Preposition, as in \( \sigma\acute{\upsilon}-\phi\omicron\mu\mu, \kappa\acute{\alpha}t-\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon \), or on the Verb, as in \( \sigma\nu\mu-\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\iota, \kappa\alpha t-\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon \), the reason is purely rhythmical. The first of these changes had not taken place in the time of Homer. As to the second we are practically without evidence. We do not even know when the law of three syllables obtained in Greek. It may be observed however that—

(1) When a word of three syllables could not be unaccented, the form \( \pi\rho\iota \delta\varepsilon\iota\delta\alpha \) became impossible; but it does not follow that \( \pi\rho\iota \) lost its accent at the same time. An intermediate \( \pi\rho\iota \delta\varepsilon\iota\delta\alpha \) is quite admissible as a hypothesis.

(2) In many places in Homer it is uncertain whether a Preposition is part of a Compound or retains its character as a separate word. Thus we find—

\[ \text{II. 4. 538 το\lambda\lambda\iota \delta\grave{e} \pi\rho\iota \kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\iota\tau\upsilon \kappa\alpha i \ \alpha\lambda\lambda\iota (\text{Wolf, from Ven. A.}).} \]

\[ \text{16. 497 \epsilon\acute{e}\nu\ \pi\rho\iota \mu\acute{a}r\nu\alpha\nu \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\omega} \ (\pi\rho\iota \ \text{sic Ven. A.}).} \]

\[ \text{18. 191 \sigma\tau\epsilon\uota\gamma\acute{a} \text{ 'Hf\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota \pi\acute{a}r \ \omicron\iota\sigma\acute{e}m\epsilon e \ \acute{e}\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon \ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha} \ (\text{so Ar.}).} \]

\[ \text{1. 269 kai \ \mu\acute{e}n \tau\omicron\upsilon\iota \ \epsilon\gamma\dot{w} \ \mu\acute{e}\theta \ \dot{o}\mu\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon \ (\text{Ar.}).} \]

with the variants \( \pi\varepsilon\iota\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\iota\upsilon\tau\upsilon, \ \pi\varepsilon\iota\mu\acute{a}r\nu\acute{a} \), \( \pi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\acute{e}m\epsilon e, \ \mu\varepsilon\theta\omicron\mu\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon \). And the existing texts contain a good many Compounds which we might write \( \text{di\iota\iota\iota\iota} \) without loss to the sense; as

\[ \text{II. 18. 7 \upsilon\nu\sigma\iota\iota \ \epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\lambda\nu\epsilon\omicron\nu\upsilon\iota\upsilon\tau\upsilon, \text{ Od. 8. 14 \pi\acute{a}\upsilon\iota\nu\upsilon \ \epsilon\pi\iota\pi\lambda\alpha\chi\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\iota, \text{ Od.}} \]

\[ \text{16. 466 \acute{a}\sigma\upsilon \ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\lambda\dot{w}\upsilon\kappa\sigma\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon, \ \Pi. 2. 150, 384, 3. 12., 4. 230,} \]

\[ \text{5. 332, 763, 772, 6. 100, \ &c.} \]

In reference to such forms we may fairly argue that the tendency of grammarians and copyists, unfamiliar with the free adverbial use of the Prepositions, would be always towards forming Compounds; hence that modern critics ought to lean rather to the side of writing the words separately, and giving the Prepositions the accent which belonged to them as Adverbs.

With regard to the accent of Prepositions in the ordinary use with Case-forms it is still more difficult to decide. A Sanscrit Preposition generally follows the Noun which it governs: hence it does not furnish us with grounds for any conclusion about the Greek accent.

180*.[ Apocope. Most Prepositions appear in Homer under several different forms, due to loss of the final vowel combined (in most cases) with assimilation to a following consonant.}
Thus we find—

παρά and πάρ:
άνά, ἀν, ἄμ (ζωομοίω, φόνον):
κατά, κατ (δέ), κάτ-(βαλε), κατ-(θανε), καρ (ῥόνω), καμ-(μονή),
κάγ (γόνυ), κάκ (κεφαλῆς), κάλ-(λιπε), κάπ (πεδίον):
ὑπό, ὑπ-(βάλλειν):
προτι, πρός (for προτι-), επ. ποτι, πός:
ὑπέρ (for ὑπερι) ὑπέρ :
ἐν, ἐν (εἰν), ἐν:
ἀπό, ἀπ-(πέμψει).

This phenomenon appears to be connected with the loss of accent which the Preposition suffers when closely connected with a Verb or Case-form. That is to say, from the adverbial forms πάρα, προτι, κατα, ἐν, ἀρα (or ἀνά), &c. were formed in the first instance the unaccented παρ, προς, κατ or κα. ἐν, ἀν. Then the pairs πάρα and παρ, &c. were used promiscuously. Finally one form was adopted as normal.

ἀμφι.

181. The Preposition ἀμφι means on both sides, or (if the notion of two sides is not prominent) all round. It is doubtless connected with ἀμφω both.

The adverbial use is common; e.g. with a Verb understood, Od. 6. 292 ἐν ἰὲν ἱπτημ νάει, ἀμφι ἰὲν λειμών and around is a meadow.

It is especially used in reference to the two sides of the body:
II. 5. 310 ἀμφι ἰὲν ὠς ἰὲν κελαυνῆ ὑπεκάλυψε black night covered his eyes on both sides (i.e. both eyes); II. 10. 535 ἀμφι κτόσος οὐάτα βάλλει: II. 18. 414 σπόγγῳ ὁ ἀμφι πρόσωπα καὶ ἀμφω χεῖρ ἀπομόρφην: Od. 2. 153 παρεῦσ ἀμφι τε ῆπαρας: Θδ. 9. 389 πάντα ἰὲν ἰ ἰβλεόφαρ ἀμφι καὶ ἰβφρύτα κτλ.

So II. 6. 117 ἀμφι ἰὲν μω σφυρά τύπτε καὶ αὐχένα δέρμα κελαυνόν the shield smote him on the ankles on both sides and on the neck. Here ἀμφι is generally taken to mean above and beneath; wrongly, as the passages quoted above show.

This use of ἀμφι is extended to the internal organs, esp. the midriff (φρένες) regarded as the seat of feeling: as—

II. 3. 442 οὔ γὰρ πῶ ποτὲ μ᾽ ἰδε ἐρωσ φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψε.
6. 355 ἐπεὶ σὲ μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβεβήκε.
16. 481 ἐνθ' ἄρα τε φρένας ἐρχαται ἀμφὶ ἀδινῶν κηρ.
Od. 8. 541 μάλα ποὺ μω ἄχος φρένας ἀμφιβεβήκεν.

So Hesiod, Theog. 554 χώσατο ἰὲν φρένας ἀμφι: Hom. Η. Apoll,
273, H. Ven. 243; Mimnerm. i. 7 φρένας ἀμφὶ κακαὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι. Hence read—

II. 1. 103 μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαιναι πώς πλαυν̣',
and similarly in II. 17. 83, 499, 573.

182.] The Dative with ἀμφὶ is a natural extension of the ordinary locatival Dative—the Preposition being adverbial, and not always needed to govern the Case. Compare (e.g.)—

II. 1. 45 τὸξ ὡμοιων ἔχων (Loc. Dat., § 145, 3).
20. 150 ἀμφὶ δὲ ἄρ’ ἀρρηκτον νεφέλην ὡμοισιν ἔσαντο.
11. 527 ἀμφὶ ὡμοιων ἔχει σάκος has a shield on both sides on his shoulders, i.e. across his shoulders.

In a metaphorical sense ἀμφὶ is applied to the object about which two parties contend: as II. 3. 70 ἀμφὶ Ἐλλην καὶ κτῆμας πᾶσι μάχεσθαι: so of a negotiation, II. 13. 382 συνώμεθα ἀμφὶ γάμῳ we shall agree about the marriage; II. 7. 408 ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκρόις σαν as to the question of the dead; II. 16. 647 ἀμφὶ φῶς Πατρόκλου μερηπηδίζων. Cp. the use with περὶ (§ 186). So too in Sanscrit the Loc. is used with Verbs of fighting to express the object over which the fighting is.

It is a further extension of this use when ἀμφὶ with the Dat. is construed with Verbs meaning to speak, think, &c., as Od. 4. 151 ἀμφὶ Ὁδυσσῆς μυθέομην. This last variety (in which the notion of two sides disappears) is confined to the Odyssey: ep. 5. 287., 14. 338, 364.

A true Dative may follow ἀμφὶ, but cannot be said to be governed by it; e.g. in II. 14. 420 ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ βράχει τεῦχεα ἡς arms rattled about him the Dat. is 'ethical,' as in II. 13. 439 ῥῆζεν δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ χρίωνα. So in II. 4. 431 ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι τεῦχεα ποικίλ’ ἔλαμψε, the Dat. is not locatival, but the true Dat. The two kinds of Dat. may be combined, as II. 18. 205 ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κεφαλῆι νέφος ἐστεφε.

The construction of ἀμφὶ with the Dat. is not found in Attic prose. It survives in the poetical style, and in Herodotus.

183.] The Accusative with ἀμφὶ is used when the Verb expresses motion, as—

II. 5. 314 ἀμφὶ δ’ ἐδω̣ν φίλου νῦν ἔχετο τοι̣κά πηχὴ λευκ.
Also to express extent, diffusion over a space, &c. (ideas naturally conveyed by terms denoting motion): —

Od. 11. 419 ὡς ἀμφὶ κρητῆρα τραπέζας τε πληθοῦσας κεῖμεθα as we lay (scattered) about &c.

Accordingly it is especially used in Homer—

(1) of dwellers about a place, as II. 2. 499, 751, &c.
(2) of attendants or followers: as II. 2. 445 οἱ δ’ ἄμφι Ἀτρέων. θόνων they bustled about Agamemnon.

The description about (a person) does not exclude the person who is the centre of the group; e.g. in II. 4. 294 (Agamemnon found Nestor) οὓς ἔταρον στέλλοντα. άμφι, μέγαν Πελάγωντα Ἀλάστορα τε Χρομίων τε, where Pelagon &c, are included under the word ἔταρον. This is an approach to the later idiom, οἱ ἄμφι Πλάτωνα= Plato and his school.

It should be observed that the motion expressed by the Verb when ἄμφι takes an Ace. is not motion to a point, but motion over a space. Hence this Ace. is not to be classed with Accusatives of the terminus ad quem, but with the Accusatives of Space (§ 138). This remark will be confirmed by similar uses of other Prepositions.

184.] The Genitive with ἄμφι is found in two instances,—

II. 16. 825 μάχεσθον πίδακος ἄμφι ὀλγεὺς fight over a small spring of water.

Od. 8. 267 ἄειδεν ἄμφι Ἀρεός φιλότητος κτλ.

Another example may perhaps lurk in—

II. 2. 384 εὖ δὲ τις ἄρματος ἄμφὶς ιὸν κτλ.

if we read ἄμφι φεόνω (having looked over, seen to his chariot). With this meaning compare II. 18. 254 ἄμφι μάλα φράζεσθε: and for the construction the Attic use of περιπολοῦμεν with a Gen. =to look round after, take thought about (Thuc. 4. 1. 14): also the Gen. with ἄμφι μάχεσθαι II. 16. 496., 18. 20., 15. 391.

185.] The Preposition περί (or περὶ, § 180) has in Homer the two meanings around and beyond.

Both these meanings are common in the adverbial use; the second often yields the derivative meaning beyond measure, exceedingly, as,—

II. 16. 186 περὶ μὲν θείεω ταχὺν exceeding swift to run.

18. 549 περὶ θάυμα τέτυκτο was an exceeding wonder.

Od. 4. 722 περὶ γὰρ μοι Ὁλύμπιος ἄλγε ἐδόκε α for Zeus has given to me griefs beyond measure.

The meaning beyond is found in Tmesis, II. 12. 322 πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντες escaping this war: II. 19. 230 πολέμου περὶ στυγεροῦ λιπανται shall remain over from war: and in Composition, περίεμι I excel, περιγύνομαι I get beyond, surpass, περίοδο I know exceeding well (II. 13. 728 βουλὴ περίδημεναι ἄλλον to be knowing in counsel beyond others; cp. Od. 3. 244., 17. 317). The Gen. in such constructions is ablative (§ 152).
186. The Dative with peri (as with ἀμφὶ) is Locatival; as II. 1. 303 ἔφαγονει peri δουλ will push over (lit. round upon) the spear; 2. 389 peri δ' ἐγχει χεῖρα καμείται his hand will be weary with holding the spear; 2. 416 χιτώνα peri στήσεσοι δαλέαι to tear the chiton about (round on) the breast. Also of an object of contention, over; as II. 16. 568 peri παιδί ἡ τοιχή the toil (of battle) might be over his son, cp. II. 17. 4, 133; Od. 5. 310; and in a derivative sense, Od. 2. 245 μαχησάσθαι peri δαρῆ to fight about a feast.

1. It is a question which meaning is to be given to peri in—

II. 5. 566 peri γὰρ δὶς ποιμένει λαῶν (so 9. 433, 11. 556).
10. 240 ἐδείκεν δὲ peri ἔανθο Μενελάω.
17. 242 ὄσον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ πέρι δεδικα (or peri dediaka).

and in the Compound (II. 11. 508 τῷ παρ' περιδείσασθαι, 15. 123 περιδείσασα θενών, 21. 328., 23. 822). Most commentators here take peri = exceedingly and the Dat. of the person as a Dative ethicus: peri γὰρ δὶς ποιμένει for he feared exceedingly for the shepherd, &c. But it is difficult to find Homeric analogies for such a use of the Dative, and the meaning over, on behalf of is supported by later writers: H. Mere. 236 χαύνυμένων peri βοών, H. Cer. 77 ἄχνυμενην peri παιδί, Hdt. 3. 35 peri ἐνυτό δεμαίνοντα, Thuc. 1. 60 δεδομένη perί κτλ.; also by the use of ἀμφὶ with the Dat. (§ 182) in nearly the same meaning.

2. Much difficulty has been felt about the use of peri in a group of phrases of which the following are the chief instances:—

II. 4. 53 τὰ διαπέρσα, δ' ἄν τοι ἀπέκτωνται περί κήρι (cp. 4. 45, &c.).
Od. 6. 158 κείσον δ' αὖ peri κήρι μακάρτατος ἔξοχον ἀλλών.
II. 21. 65 peri δ' ἐσθελε θυμῷ (so 24. 236).
22. 70 ἀλάσσοντες peri θυμῷ.
Od. 14. 146 peri γὰρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ κήδετο θυμῷ, 15. 225
II. 16. 157 τοῖν τε peri φρεσιν ἀσπέτος ἀλή.
Od. 14. 433 peri γὰρ φρεσιν αἰσιμα ἱδη.

In all these places the Dative may be construed as a Locative (although κήρι without peri is only found in II. 9. 117): the only question is whether the Preposition is to be taken in the literal local sense round, all over, or in the derivative sense exceedingly. In favour of the latter it may be said that the same combinations of Preposition and Verb are found without a Dat. such as κήρι or θυμῷ, where accordingly peri must mean exceedingly; compare—

II. 13. 430 τῷ peri κήρι φίλησα πατήρ
Od. 8. 63 τῷ peri Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε
Od. 14. 433 peri γὰρ φρεσιν αἰσιμα ἱδη
2. 88 peri κέρδεα οἴδε
II. 16. 157 τοῖν τε peri φρεσιν ἀσπέτος ἀλή
Od. 12. 279 peri τού μένο
Od. 5. 36 peri κήρι θεὸν ἄσ τιμήσουσοι
II. 8. 161 peri μὲν σε τίον Δαναοί.

Again, in II. 4. 46 τῶν μοι peri κήρι τείκετο the meaning beyond is required by the Gen. τῶν; cp. 4. 257 peri μὲν σε τίον Δαναῶν ταχυπόλοσ, 7. 289 peri δ' ἐγχει Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατος ἕσος, 17. 22 peri σθενεῖ βλεμμεῖν. So with the Acc. in II. 13. 631 peri φέρεσ φέρεναι ἐρμεναι ἀλλών.

Od. 7. 69 ως μὴν peri κήρι τείκη ὑπὲρ ἔστιν ἐν τείκην ταῖον ἔτη.
Amer. philol. ἔστιν 2c. Τετραμήνυρα ἐκάθαρ παθέντοι εἰς ὀνειρεῖοι, ἐν χέρει.
On the other side, the representation of a feeling as something surrounding or covering the heart, midriff, &c., is common in Homer. Thus we have—

II. 11. 89 εἰστιν τε ἀλεξιαρίων περὶ φρένας ἴμμενος ἀριστ.
Od. 9. 362 ἐπεὶ Κύλλωσα περὶ φρένας ἰλικευθεὶς ἀνόι.

So of a sound, II. 10. 139 περὶ φρένας ἴμμενος ἰλικευθεὶς (cp. Od. 17. 261). And more frequently with ἀμφί; cp. Od. 19. 516 πυκναὶ δὲ μοι ἀμφὶ ἀδώνων κηρὶ δεξιὰ μελετῶμεν ἢπερισουσί; and the other passages quoted at the end of § 181. Similarly περὶ κηρὶ, περὶ φρέσκι, may have been meant in the literal sense,—the feeling (fear, anger, &c.) being thought of as filling or covering the heart. On the whole, however, the evidence is against this view;—unless indeed we explain περὶ κηρὶ as a traditional phrase, used without a distinct sense of its original meaning.

The occasional use of the Dat. with περὶ in Attic is probably due to familiarity with Homer.

187.] The Accusative with περὶ is used (as with ἀμφί) when motion or extent in space is expressed: as II. 1. 448 ἔκατομβην ἔστησαν περὶ βωμὸν placed the hecatomb round the altar; 2. 750 περὶ Δωδώνην οἴκη ἔθεντο made their dwellings round Dodona.

Generally speaking the Accusative implies surrounding in a less exact or complete way than the Dative. It makes us think of the space about an object rather than of its actual circumference. Occasionally, of course, the circumference is the space over which motion takes place, or extent is measured: as II. 12. 297 Ὄψε τὰ βοῦδα σώματε δυνατέσθην περὶ κύκλου round in a circle; II. 183274 ἐστάμεναι περὶ τοῦχον to stand along the wall all round it. γῆς

188.] The Genitive with περὶ is used in three distinct ways:

1. With περὶ meaning beyond (in the figurative sense, = excelling) it expresses the object of comparison: II. 1. 287 περὶ πάντων ἐμμεναι to surpass all, Od. 1. 235 ἄστων ἐποίησαν περὶ πάντων have made him unseen more than all men, 4. 231 ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων. This use is distinctively Homeric. The Gen. is ablative, as with Adjectives of comparison (§ 152).

2. With περὶ = round, over (in the local sense) the Gen. is very rare; the instances are—

Od. 5. 68 ἦς οὖν τετάννυτο περὶ σπέιον γαλαφυροῦ ἣμερις ἦβωσα.

180 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἐσάωσα περὶ τρόπιον βεβαῖον.

The Gen. may be akin to the (partitive) Gen. of place (§ 149): the vine e.g. grew round in or over (but not covering) the cave.

3. With περὶ = over (the object of a contest), as II. 16. 1 ὡς οἱ μὲν περὶ νησὸς ἐυσσέλμου μάχοντο, 12. 142 ἀμφίσεθαι περὶ νησῶν to defend the ships; sometimes also in the figurative sense, about, II. 11. 700 περὶ τριπόδων γὰρ ἐμελλὼν θεόσεθαι, Od. 9. 423 ὡς τε
The use with Verbs of anger and fear is closely akin; II. 9. 449 παλλακίδος πέρι χώσατο; 17. 240 νέκνος πέρι δείδα (unless we read περίχώσατο, περίδείδα).

The weapons of the contest are said to be fought over in Od. 8. 225 ἐρίζεσκον πέρι τόγων; so II. 15. 284 ὀππότε κούροι ἐρίσσειαν πέρι μνών. And this is also applied to the quarrel itself, II. 16. 476 συνήτειν ἐρίδος πέρι θυμοβόρον (cp. 20. 253).

Under this head will come the Gen. in II. 23. 485 τρίποδος περιδώμεθον let us wager a tripod, Od. 23. 78 ἐμέθεν περιδώμοραν αὐτῆς I will stake myself. Whatever may be the original meaning of περιδώμος, it is construed as if = to join issue, contend (Lat. pignora certare); cp. the Attic use περιδώμοραν τιν περὶ (Gen. of the thing staked).

By a not unnatural extension, πέρι with the Gen. follows Verbs meaning to speak, know, &c., but only in the Odyssey; viz. 135 (= 3. 77) ἵνα μιν πέρι πατρός ἀποιχομένου ἔρουτο; 15. 347 ἐξ' ἰγνε μοι πέρι μητρός κτλ.; 17. 563 οἶδα γὰρ εὖ πέρι κείνου; also 1. 405., 7. 191., 16. 234., 17. 371., 19. 270. Note that the corresponding use of ἄμφι with the Dat. is similarly peculiar to the Odyssey (§ 182).

The origin of this group of constructions is not quite clear. It may be noted, however, that they answer for the most part to constructions of the Gen. without a Preposition; cp. ἄμφεσθαι περὶ νηών and ἄμφεσθαι νηών; and again εἰς πέρι μητρὸς, οἶδα πέρι κείνου, &c. with the examples given in § 151, d.

παρά.

189.] The Preposition παρά (παραί, by Apocope πάρ) means alongside. It is common in the adverbial use (see § 177), and also in Tmesis and Composition. Note the derivative meanings—

(1) at hand, hence at command; as II. 9. 43 πάρ τοι διὸς the way is open to you; Od. 9. 125 οὐ γὰρ Κυκλώσεσσι νέες πάρα.
(2) aside; as II. 11. 233 παραλ δὲ οἱ ἐτραπέτερ' ἐγχεισ the spear was turned to his side (instead of striking him).
(3) hence figuratively, παρά μ' ἡπαθε cozened me 'aside,' away from my aim: and so ἰπατετηθὼν changing the mind by persuasion, ἰπατηθῶν talking over, &c.; also, with a different metaphor, wrongly.
(4) past, with Verbs of motion, as ἐρχομαι, ἔλαϊνω, &c.

190.] With the Dative παρά means beside, in the company of; near. It is applied in Homer to both persons and things (whereas in later Greek the Dat. with παρά is almost wholly
concerned to persons); thus we have παρὰ φήμης, παρὰ ψηφιά (very frequently), παρ’ ἄρματον, παρὰ βωμῷ, παρὰ πονί, παρὰ σταθμῷ, &c.

This Dat. is either locativial or instrumental: see § 144. It may be used after a Verb of motion (e.g. II. 13. 617), see § 145, 4.

191.] The Accusative with παρὰ is commonly used—

(1) when motion ends beside or near a person or thing; as II. 3. 406 ἥν ἐστιν ἐστὶν, καὶ ἐστὶν θάνατον, go and sit by him; II. 7. 190 τὸν μέν παρὰ πόδι ἐν χαμάδι βάλε.

Hence the use of the Acc. often implies motion: as II. 11. 314 παρ’ ἑα’ ἑστασες place yourself beside me; Od. 1. 333 ἐστὶν ἐστὶν παρὰ σταθμόν came and stood beside the pillar; II. 6. 433 λαῦν δὲ στήνουν παρ’ ἑρινεύν. Similarly of the place near which a weapon has struck, as II. 5. 146 κληδὸν παρ’ ἑμὸν πληξε struck the collar-bone by the shoulder.

(2) of motion or extent alongside of a thing (esp. a coast, a river, a wall, &c.); II. 1. 34 βῆ δ’ ἀκέων παρὰ διαν ἐπί στηρίδαν went along the shore; Od. 9. 46 παλλὰ δὲ μῆλα ἐφασαμενον παρὰ διαν sacrificed many sheep along the shore; II. 2. 522 παρὰ ποταμὸν ἐναπον dwell by the side of the river; II. 3. 272 παρ’ ἑιφες κουλεόν ἰδρύτῳ hung beside the sword-scabbard. παρ’ ἐμοῖς ἔμεν (193)

(3) of motion past a place; as II. 11. 166, 167 ὁ δὲ παρ’ ἑκατόν νῆμα .. παρ’ ἑρινεύν ἐσχάτων they sped past the tomb of Πέρσῃς, past the fig-tree; II. 6. 42 παρὰ τρόχον ἐκκυλίσθη rolled out past the wheel; II. 16. 312 θῦτα Θάνατα στέρνων γυμνοθέντα παρ’ ἀσπίδα passing the shield (implied motion, οὔτα euth at and struck). The derivative meaning beyond (= in excess of) is only found in Homer in the phrases παρὰ διάμω (II. 13. 787) and παρὰ μοῖραν (Od. 14. 509): but ἐπ. the Adj. παραίσθης against fate.

192.] With a Genitive παρὰ properly means sideways from, aside from. As with the Dative, it is used of things as well as persons (whereas in later Greek it is practically restricted to persons). On the other hand it is confined in Homer to the local sense; thus it is found with Verbs meaning to go, bring, take, &c. not (as afterwards) with ἄκουσ, μανθάνω, σύνα, or the like. An apparent exception is—

II. 11. 794 εἶ δὲ των φρεσίν ἦσι θεοπροφήν ἀλεέλευε,
καὶ τινά οἱ παρὰ Ζηνός ἐπέφραδε πότνια μῆτηρ,
where however the notion of bringing a message is sufficiently prominent to explain the use. So II. 11. 603 ὀθεγεγαμενός παρὰ νῆσος sending his voice from the ship; and Hes. Op. 769 ἀδε γάρ ἡμέραι εἰσὶ Δίος πάρα, i.e. coming from Zeus. The later use is to
be seen in Emped. 144 θεός πάρα μόνον ἄκουσα, Xenophanes 3. 1 ἄβροσίνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωψελέας παρὰ Λυδόν.

The original meaning sideways or at the side from is visible in some of the uses with a Gen. denoting a thing: as II. 4. 468 παρ’ ἀπιδός ἐξεφαύθη appeared beyond (outside the shelter of) the shield: so probably II. 4. 500 ὑόν Πριμάμου νόθον βάλε... παρ’ ἵππον ἄκειλών struck him (aiming) past the chariot. So too a sword is drawn παρὰ μηροῦ sideways from the thigh. The same meaning lies at the root of the frequent use of παρὰ in reference to the act of passing from one person to another (as in παραδίωμι and παραδέχομαι), hence of gifts, messages, &c.

It is usual to regard παρὰ with the Gen. as meaning from the side of, from beside, de chez. But this is contrary to the nature of a prepositional phrase. The Case-ending and the Stem must form a single notion, which the Preposition then modifies; hence (e. g.) παρὰ μηροῦ means beside from-the-thigh, not from beside-the-thigh. This is especially clear where the Preposition is joined to a Verb; Od. 19. 187 παραπλέγασα Μαλείων driving-aside from-Malae: and in—

II. 4. 97 τοῦ κεν δὴ πάμπροτα παρ’ ἄγλαδ ὅφρα φίρων the rhythm connects παρὰ with φίρων rather than with τῷ—thou wilt bring-aside (= trans-fer) from-him. With other Prepositions: αὖθν Ἰτανῆς off from-Troy, not from off-Troy: κατ’ ομπανὸν down from-heaven, not from under-heaven. As to ὑπὸ with the Gen. = from under, see § 204.

μετὰ.

193.] The Preposition μετὰ in the adverbial use means midway, in the middle; e. g. with a Verb understood, II. 2. 446 μετὰ de κτλ. and among them &c. Hence alternately, as Od. 15. 460 χρυσέου ὄρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ’ ἡλεκτροσῶν ἔργων string with electrum between (the gold); so in succession, afterwards, as Od. 21. 231 πρῶτος ἔως, μετὰ δ’ ὑμεῖς I first and you in turn; Od. 15. 450 μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεις τέρπτειν ἄνηρ—a man has his turn of being pleased even in the course of his sufferings.

The notion of alternation appears in Compounds with μετά, as μεταβάλλω, μεταστρέφω: in Tmesis, Od. 12. 312 μετὰ δ’ ἀστρα βέβηκε the stars have changed their place. So μεταπαλαιοῦμενι (II. 17. 373) means with turns or intervals of rest.

194.] With the Dative μετά means between or (less exactly) among. The meaning between is found in phrases such as μετά χερόι, μετὰ ποσσι, μετὰ φρεσί (on the double character of the φρένες cp. § 181); also, of two parties, μετ’ ἀμφοτέρους.

The use in reference to several objects (among) is mostly restricted to persons, since it conveys the idea of association of units forming a group, &c. (whereas ἐν is more local). Hence μετ’ ἀστράσι (II. 22. 28, 317) is said of a star among other stars (with a touch of personification): and in II. 21. 122 κείων μετ’
\[195.\] With the Accusative \textit{metá} has the two meanings \textit{among} and \textit{after}.

The meaning \textit{among} is found after Verbs of motion with Plurals, and also with Collective Nouns, as \textit{meθ\' ómηγηρων}, \textit{meθ\' óm\' lιλων}; so \textit{meθ\' δειπνον} to \textit{(join the company at) a feast}, \textit{meθ\' τ\' ἱθεα καὶ νομον ἵππων} = to the pasture ground where other horses are.

It occurs without a Verb of motion in \textit{Il.} 2. 143 \textit{πάνι μεθ\' πληθύν to all among the multitude}; \textit{Il.} 9. 54 \textit{μεθ\' πάντας ὄμηλικας ἐπιεύν ἄριστος} (so \textit{Od.} 16. 419). And with a Singular in \textit{Il.} 18. 532 \textit{δράγματα μεθ\' ωμον πίπτων} the handfuls of corn fell in the middle of the furrow (between the ridges).

Of the other meaning we may distinguish the varieties—

1. after, following; \textit{Il.} 13. 513 \textit{ἐπαίζων μεθ\' ἔων βέλος} following his weapon, \textit{Od.} 2. 406 \textit{μεθ\' ἵππων βαΐνει θεόν}.

2. after, in order to find (with a Verb of motion), as \textit{μεθ\' εὑρεῖ} ἰδιεῖς has come in search of me, \textit{Od.} 1. 184 \textit{ἐς Τεμέσην μεθ\' χαλκόν}.

3. in succession to, next to; \textit{τὸν δὲ μεθ\' κτλ.} and after him \textit{κυ.}; \textit{Il.} 8. 289 \textit{πρώτο τοι μεθ\' ἐμὲ πρεσβῆιον ἐν χερι θησοῦ} to thee after myself; of rank, \textit{Il.} 7. 228 \textit{οἶοι \ldots μεταίσι καὶ μεθ\' Ἀχιλληνα} even \textit{(in the second rank) after Achilles}.

\[196.\] With the Genitive \textit{μεθ\'} occurs in five places (with a Plural Noun), in the meaning \textit{among} or with—

\textit{Il.} 13. 700 \textit{μεθ\' Βοιωτών ἐμάχοντο}.

21. 458 \textit{οὐδὲ μεθ\' ἰμέων πειρά κτλ.}.

24. 400 \textit{τῶν μεθ\' πολλόμενος κληρον λάχον}.

\textit{Od.} 10. 320 \textit{μεθ\' ἄλλων λέξο ἑταίρων}.

16. 140 \textit{μεθ\' ὄμων τ\' ἐν οἴκῳ πινε κτλ.}

Of these instances the first is in a passage probably inserted afterwards to glorify the Athenians; the second is in the \textit{θεών μάχη}, and therefore doubtful; in the third we should perhaps
write μεταπαλλόμενος and construe of them casting lots in turn I was od. 16. 190 επὶ chosen. But the last two indicate that the use had crept into colloquial language as early as the Odyssey, taking the place of κατὰ or ἀκατὰ with the Dative. See § 221.

éπι.

197. The Preposition éπι means over, upon; sometimes after (as we speak of following upon); with, at (i.e. close upon); in addition, besides, esp. of an addition made to correspond with or complete something else; also, attached to, as an inseparable incident or condition of a person or thing; and conversely, on the condition, in the circumstances, &c.

Examples of these meanings in the adverbial use are—

II. 1. 462 επὶ δ' αἰθόπα οἴνον λείβε poured wine over (the meat).

13. 799 πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλῳ, αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ ἄλλα in front—behind.

Od. 1. 273 θεοὶ δ' ἐπὶ μάρτυροι ἐστω the gods be witnesses thereto.

5. 443 ἐπὶ σκέπας ἕν ἀνέμου there was thereto (the place was furnished with) a shelter from the wind.

II. 18. 529 κτείνον δ' ἐπὶ μηλοβοτήρας killed the shepherds with the sheep.

1. 233 ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὄμοιμαι I will swear in confirmation.

With a Verb understood, ἐπὶ—is present, is in the case, as Od. 2. 58 οὗ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀνήρ there is no man (for the purpose); II. 1. 515 οὗ τοι ἐπὶ δέος there is no fear with or for you (as part of your circumstances); II. 21. 110 ἐπὶ τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος death is my lot too (cp. 6. 357 οὗτον ἐπὶ Ζεὺς δήκε κακῶν μόροι).

It is very much used in Composition. Note the meaning over in ἐπὶ-πλέω to sail over, also ἐπὶ-οίχομαι to go over, review, ἐπὶ-πολέμομαι, ἐπὶ-αλάσματα (II. 17. 650 μάχη δ' ἐπὶ πάσα φανή the fight was lighted up all over); besides, in ἐπὶ-δίδωμι, &c.; to (of bringing aid, joining, &c.) in ἐπὶ-ἀρήγω, ἐπὶ-αλέξω, ἐπὶ-αραρίσκω, ἐπὶ-αλλάσσω, &c.; for, in ἐπὶ-κλάω to spin for (so as to attach to); hence of assent, ἐπὶ-νέω, ἐπὶ-τλήμαι, ἐπὶ-εἴκω (with a general affirmative meaning, or as opposed to off, for as opposed to against).

198. With the Dative éπι has the same group of meanings; note especially—

(1) ἐπὶ νῆσοι by the ships, ἐπὶ οἰκεῖοι with the sheep (of a shepherd), ἐπὶ κτείνεσθι with (in charge of) the possessions; II. 4. 235 ἐπὶ ψευδεσσων ἐστερ' ἄρωγος will be a helper with (on the side of) falsehood (or false men, reading ψευδέσσοι).

(2) II. 4. 258 ἄλλακος ἐπὶ ἔργο in (engaged upon) other work, so ἀτελευτήτω ἐπὶ ἔργῳ with a work unfinished: so II. 4. 178 ἐπὶ πᾶσι in all cases dealt with.
(3) Od. 17. 454 οὐκ ἄρα σοι γ' ἐπὶ εἰδεὶ καὶ φρένες ἡσαν with form thou hast not understanding too; II. 13. 485 τῷ δ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ with this spirit (too); Hes. Theog. 153 ἵσχυς... μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ εἰδεὶ.

(4) Od. 11. 548 τοιῷδ' ἐπὶ ἄδελφῳ with such a prize (when such a thing is prize); μετοῦ ἐπὶ ρητῷ for fixed hire (given the hire, hence in view of it).

(5) ἐπὶ ημῶν for the day, i.e. as the day's work, in a single day. Πρώτων after Verbs of motion, as κατέχευεν ἐπὶ οὐδεὶ poured on to the ground; hence with the meaning against, as ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους λόγες, μάρφασθαι ἐπὶ ἀνθράσι, &c.

199. With the Accusative ἐπὶ implies (1) motion directed to a place, seldom (2) to a person; or (3) motion or (4) diffusion, extent, &c. over a space or (5) time.

1. After Verbs of motion the Acc. does not (like the Dat.) distinctly express that the motion terminates on the place; e.g. ἐπὶ χθόνα is merely to or towards the ground, but ἐπὶ χθονί implies alighting on it. Cp. II. 18. 565 ἀπαρτιτῶσ ήμεν ἐπὶ αὐτῆς there was a path leading to it; II. 2. 218 ἐπὶ στήθος συνοχακόκε bent in over the chest.

Hence the phrases expressing attitude, as ἐπὶ στόμα, ἐπὶ γοῦνα, &c. Two forms, ἐπὶ δεξία and ἐπὶ ἀριστερά, are used even when motion is not expressed; as II. 5. 355 ἑθείν ἐπείτη μάχης ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ θῷρον Ἀρηα ἡμένου. Note however that ἐπὶ ἀριστεροὶς and ἐπὶ ἀριστερῶν are metrically impossible.


3. The meaning over, with Verbs of motion, is very common; ἐπὶ πόντου (ιόν, πλέον, φεύγον, &c.), ἐπὶ γαῖαν, ἐπὶ χθόνα, ἐπὶ κυματα, &c. Also with Verbs of looking, as II. 1. 350 ὀρῶν ἐπὶ ἀπειρόνα πόντου.

Hence such phrases as ἐπὶ στίχας, of troops &c. moving in ranks, i.e. over or along certain lines: as II. 3. 113 ἵππους ἐρυθαν ἐπὶ στίχας: and so Od. 5. 245 ἐπὶ στάθμην ίδουνe straightened along (hence by) the rule.

So with Plural Nouns, II. 14. 381 οἰκόμενοι ἐπὶ πάντας going over them all, Od. 15. 492 πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἀστεί ἀλώμενοι; and of a distribution, Od. 16. 385 δασσόμενοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἔφ' ἡμέας i.e. equally, so as to go round.
4. The instances in which extent (without motion) is implied are chiefly found in the Odyssey (2. 370, &c.). Examples from the Iliad are: 9. 506 φθάνει δὲ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ᾽ αἰαν she is beforehand all the world over (so 23. 742): 10. 213 κλέος εἰς πάντας ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους, 24. 202, 535. It will be seen that they are from books 9, 10, 23, 24.

Notice also the use with Neuters expressing quantity; as II. 5. 772 τόσον επὶ θρόκοινκι to such a distance they bound; also ἐπὶ πολλάν a long way, ἐπὶ ίσα to an equal extent; and esp. the common phrase ὂσον τ᾽ ἐπὶ, see II. 2. 616, &c.

5. Of time: II. 2. 299 μείνατ' ἐπὶ χρόνον wait for (lit. over) a time; Od. 7. 288 εὖδον παννύχιοι καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἦδο καὶ μέσον ἴμαρ slept all night and on through morning and midnight.

200.] The Genitive with ἐπὶ is used in nearly the same sense as the Dative, but usually with less definitely local force; in particular—

(1) with words expressing the great divisions of space, esp. when a contrast is involved (land and sea, &c.); as ἐπὶ χέρσου, ἐπὶ θησίου, ἐπὶ ἄγροι; Od. 12. 27 ἡ ἄλος ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλγήσετε (cp. II. 13. 505). This is evidently a Gen. of place, § 149. For the difference of Gen. and Dat. cp. II. 1. 485 ἐπὶ θησίου ἐρωσαν υψόν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις.

(2) where the local relation is a familiar one; as ἐπὶ νησός, ἐπὶ ἀπήνης, ἐφ᾽ ἱππῶν, ἐπὶ θρόων, ἐπὶ ὄδον, ἐπὶ πῦργον, ἐπὶ ἄγκώνος, ἐπὶ μελίς (ἑρεώθελης). Thus ἐπὶ νησοῖ means on or beside ships, ἐπὶ νησῶν on board ships.

(3) with Verbs of motion, ὑπὸ (of the terminus ad quem), as II. 3. 293 κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονός; so bearing down on, as II. 3. 6 πέτονται ἐπ᾽ Ὀκεανοῦ ῥώον: II. 5. 700 προπέτρουντο με- λανάδον ἐπὶ νησῶν: Od. 3. 171 νεώμεθα νήσουν ἐπὶ Ψυρίης taking the course by the island Psyria. So perhaps II. 7. 195 (ἐὑχεσθε) σχιγῇ ἐφ᾽ ὑμείνω (keeping the words) to yourselves.

(4) of time; ἐπ᾽ εἰρήνης (II. 2. 797, &c.); ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώ- πων (II. 5. 637, &c.). Cp. the Gen. of Time, § 150.

In later prose the Gen. is very common, and the uses become indistinguishable from those of the Dat.

联通.

201.] The Preposition ὑπὸ (also ὑπάλ) usually means beneath, as in II. 2. 95 ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα the earth groaned beneath (their tread). The original sense, however, seems to have been upwards, as in the Superlative ὑπατός uppermost (cp. ὑψι aloft, ὑπ᾽-τος facing upwards). On this view we can understand why
202.] With the Dative ὑπό is very common in the simple local meaning, under. It is sometimes found with Verbs of motion, as Od. 4. 297 δέμυν ὑπ' ἀδόνις ὅμωναί; and even when motion from is intended, in II. 18. 244 ἔλυον ὕψι ἄρμασιν ἀκέας ὑπόνυς. In this case however we have to consider that ἄρματων is metrically impossible.

The derived sense under the charge or power is found in such uses as II. 5. 231 ὑψ' ἥνοξῳ (of horses), 6. 139 Ζεὺς γὰρ ὑπ' ὑπὸ σκῆτρῳ ἐδάμασος, 6. 171 θεῶν ὑπ' ἄμμονι τομτῇ: also, with the notion of an effect produced (where the Gen. would therefore be rather more natural), ὑπὸ χερσὶ (δαμηῦναι, θανεῦν, &c.), ὑπὸ δουρὶ (τυπεῖς, &c.); II. 13. 667 νοῦσῳ ὑπ' ἄργαλῆγ φόλουσαι, Od. 4. 295 ὑπὲρ ὑπὸ γλυκερῷ ταρπάμεθα: and often of persons, as II. 5. 93 ὑπὸ Τυδείδη πυκναί κλονέοντο φάλαγγες, ὡδ. 11. 1166.

203.] The Accusative is used with ὑπό (1) of motion to a point under, as—

II. 2. 216 ὑπὸ 'Ιλιον ἡθε came under (the walls of) Troy.
17. 309 τὸν βδῆν ὑπὸ κληθα μέσην (so often with Verbs of striking, &c.).

Also (2) of motion passing under, and hence of extent under: Od. 15. 349 ἐ' τον ἐπὶ ζώουσιν ὑπ' αὐγάς ἡλίου i. e. anywhere that the sun shines (ep. ὑπ' ἦω τ' ἡλίων τε—an equivalent phrase).

II. 2. 603 οἱ δ' ἐξὸν Ἀρκαδίνου ὑπὸ Κυλήρης ὄρος.
3. 371 ἄγγε ἐ' μιν πολύκεκτος ιᾶς ἀπαλῆ ὑπὸ δειρήν (i.e. passing under the throat).
In one or two places it is applied to time: II. 16. 202 πάνθ' ὑπὸ μοναδικῶν all the time that my anger lasted; so perhaps II. 22. 102 νῦνθ' ὑπὸ τῆν δολοῦ (but night is often regarded as a space of darkness).

204.] The Genitive with ὑπὸ is found in two or three distinct uses:—

(1) with the force of separation from: as II. 17. 235 νεκρὸν ὑπὸ Αἴαντος ἔρυθ᾽ from under Ajax; Od. 9. 463 ὑπ᾽ ἀρνειοῦ λυόμην: so II. 19. 17 ὅσε δεινὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὡς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάνισθεν.

In this use the Gen. is ablative, cp. § 152. Originally ὑπὸ with an Abl. probably meant upwards from: see § 192.

(2) of place under, with contact (especially of a surface); as—

II. 8. 14 ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βερεθροῦ, Od. 11. 52.
Od. 5. 346 ἄδεικνυμεν ὑπὸ στέρνου ταχύσαν, II. 1. 501 δεκτερῇ δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρεπῶν ἐλοῦσα taking hold of him under the chin.

4. 106 ὑπὸ στέρνου τυχήσας, 16. 375 ὑψι δ’ ἄελλα σκιῶναθ’ ὑπὸ νεφέων, i.e. seeming to reach the clouds (cp. 15. 625., 23. 874).

These uses of the Gen. are evidently parallel to some of those discussed in § 149 and § 151; compare (e.g.) ὑπὸ νεφέων with the Gen. of space within which (πεδίῳ διώκειν, &c.), and ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρεπῶν ἐλοῦσα with κόμης ἤλε (§ 151 a) took by the hair. They are doubtless to be regarded (like the Gen. with ἐπί, § 200) as varieties or developments of the Genitive of Place.

As with the Dative, the notion under passes into—

(3) the metaphorical (or half metaphorical) meaning under the influence of, by the power of; as II. 3. 61 ὅς τ’ εἰσὶν διὰ δουροῦ ὑπ᾽ ἀνέρος under the man’s hand; Od. 19. 114 ἄρετωσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ under his rule; and many similar uses.

Cases may be noted in which the agency intended is indirect (where later writers would rather use διὰ with an Acc.):—

II. 16. 590 ἤν μὲ τ’ ἀνὴρ ἄφετι περιμένος ἦ ἐν ἀέθλῳ δὲ ἦ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δητῶν ὑπὸ θυμοραϊστέων, =under the stress of an enemy (so 18. 220);

II. 23. 86 κυτέ μὲ .. ἡγαγεν ὑμεταρθ᾽ ἀνδροκτασίας ὑπὸ λυγρῆς by reason of a homicide (committed by me).

As a sound is said to be over or about (περί, ἀμφὶ) the person hearing, so he is under the sound: hence (e.g.) with a half metaphorical meaning II. 15. 275 τῶν δὲ τ’ ὑπὸ λαχῆς ἐφάνη λές. So of other accompaniments, as II. 18. 492 δαίδων ὑπὸ λαμπρομενῶν by the light of blazing torches.
προτι.

205.] The Preposition προτι (πρός, ποτι) expresses attitude or direction towards an object. It is found in the adverbal use; Od. 5. 255 πρός δ' ὑπα πηδάλιον ποιήσατο he made a rudder to be put to (the raft); hence commonly in addition, besides—a use which remained in later Greek.

It is a question whether προτι and ποτι are originally the same word. The present text of Homer does not indicate any difference of usage.

206.] With the Dative προτι means resting on, against, beside a thing: as II. 4. 112 ποτι γαίη ἀγκλίνας resting (the bow) against the ground: Od. 5. 329 πρός ἀλλάθησιν ἔχοντα hold on to one another. With Verbs of motion it implies that the motion ends on or beside the object; Od. 9. 459 θεωρημένον πρός οὐδείς. The later meaning besides, in addition, is only found in Od. 10. 68 ἀσάν μ' ἔταροι τε κακοί πρός τούσ τε ὑπνοσ.

207.] With the Accusative προτι is very common, meaning towards: as πρός τόλιν towards the city (not necessarily reaching it), II. 8. 364 κλαίειςκε πρός οὐρανόν cried out to heaven; hence to, on to (mostly with Verbs of motion), as Od. 4. 42 ἐκλιθαν πρός ἐνώπια leaned against the walls: against (persons), as πρός δαίμονα φωτι μάχεσθαι to fight with a man in opposition to a god; also addressing (persons), with Verbs of speaking, &c.; in one place of time, Od. 17. 191 ποτι ἐσπέρα towards evening.

Note that the literal local sense appears in all the Homeric uses of προτι with the Acc.: the metaphorical uses, viz. in respect of, for the purpose of, in proportion to, according to, &c., are later.

208.] With the Genitive προτι expresses direction without the idea of motion towards or rest on the object: as Od. 13. 110 αἱ μὲν πρός βορέαο . . . αἱ δ' αὖ πρὸς νότον i.e. not at or facing the north and south, but more generally, in the direction fixed by north and south; II. 10. 428-430 πρός μὲν ἄλδος . . . πρὸς Θώμβρης: II. 22. 198 ποτι πτόλιος in the direction of Troy; Od. 8. 29 ἧ πρὸς ἕοσων τῇ ἐσπερίων ἀνθρώπων (=from east or west).

Among derived senses we may distinguish—

(1) at the hand of, from (persons), as II. 1. 160 τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι πρὸς Τρώων, 11. 831 τὰ σε προτι φασίν 'Ἀχιλλῆς δεδίδαχθα.

(2) on the part of, by the will of, as II. 1. 239 οἱ τε βέματας πρὸς Διὸς εἰρήναται who uphold judgments on behalf of Zeus; II. 6. 456 πρὸς ἄληθ ιστῶν υφάνους at another's bidding: and, perhaps in a metaphorical sense, Od. 6. 207 πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσών ἀπαντες ἥξωνι τε πτωχοί τε.
(3) before, by (in oaths and entreaties); as Ili. 13. 324 πρὸς πατρὸς γονατζομαι I entreat in the name of thy father. The Preposition here implies that the god or person sworn by is made a party to the act; cp. Od. 11. 66 νῦν δὲ σε τῶν ὁπλων γονατζομαι οὐ παρεύντων, πρὸς τ' ἀλέχου καὶ πατρὸς κτλ. on the part of the absent ones I entreat &c.

It will be seen that προτί with a Gen. is seldom used in the strictly local sense except when there is a contrast between two directions. Hence the use approaches closely to that of the Gen. of Place given in § 149 (2); compare (e.g.) πρὸς βορεῖος—πρὸς νότον with Od. 1. 24 οἱ μὲν δυσομένου ὤμερόνοι οἱ δ' ἄνωτος. The Case is accordingly 'quasi-partitive' (i.e. true) Genitive, and has no ablatival character.

ἀνά.

209.] The Preposition ἀνά (ἀν) means up, upwards, up through. It is rarely used as a pure Adverb (the form ἄνω being preferred) except in the elliptical ἀνά ὑπ!' But it has a derivative adverbial sense in Ili. 18. 562 μέλανες δ' ἀνά βότρυας ἦσαν there were dark grapes throughout. Tmesis may be seen in Ili. 2. 278 ἀνά δ' τοῦλπορθὸς Ὅλυσσες ἔστη, and in ἀνά δ' ἐνχετο (ἀνέχετο), &c. In Tmesis and Composition it sometimes expresses reverse action, as ἀνα-λῶα. So ἀνά-βάλλω to put off.

ἀνά is seldom used with the Dative; the meaning is up on (a height of some kind), as Ili. 1. 15 χρυσέῳ ἀνά σκῆπτρῳ raised on a golden staff; 15. 152 ἀνά Γαργάρῳ; so 8. 441, 14. 352, 18. 177., Od. 11. 128, 23. 275., 24. 8. This use is occasionally found in Pindar (Ol. 8. 67, Pyth. 1. 10), and lyric parts of tragedy, but is not Attic.

With the Genitive ἀνά is only used in three places in the Odyssey (2. 416, 9. 177, 15. 284), and only of going on board a ship (ἀνά ῥῆς βάλω). The meaning up from is only found in Composition: ἀνέδω πολιής ἄλος, &c.

210.] With the Accusative ἀνά means up along, up through, of motion or extent: ἀνά ἀστν, ἀμ πεδίον, ἀνά δῶματα, ἀν' ὄδον, ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, &c.; Ili. 5. 74 ἀν' ὀδοντας ὑπὸ γλῶσσαν τὰμε χαλκός the spear cut its way up through the teeth and under the tongue; so ἀνά στόμα, used literally (Ili. 16. 349, 22. 452, &c.), and also of words uttered, Ili. 2. 250 βασιλῆς ἀνά στοὺ 'ἐκ' ἔχων having the kings passing through your mouth (i.e. talking freely of them); similarly ἀνά βουμὸν of thoughts rising in the mind. Note also the application to mixing, as Od. 4. 41 πάρ δ' ἐβαλον γεῖας, ἀνά δὲ κρί λευκὸν ἐμεξαν; ep. Od. 9. 209 (with the note in Merry and Riddell's edition). The Accusative is evidently one of Space (§ 138).
The use with collective Nouns, as ἀν' ὁμλοῦν through the press, μάχην ἀνά, ἀμφόνον ἀν νέκυς, &c. seems to be peculiar to the Iliad.

The use in II. 14. ἀνά νύκτα may be explained either of time or of space: ep. ὑπὸ νύκτα (§ 203), διὰ νύκτα (§ 215).

The meaning up on, up to (of motion) may be traced in II. 10. 466 θίκεν ἀνά μυρίκυν: Od. 22. 176 κλω' ἀν' ψηφήλην ἐφόλαν (the cord) up to a high pillar; perhaps in the phrase ἀνά θ' ἀρματα ποικιλ' ἐβαίνον (Od. 3. 492, &c.).

κατά.

211.] The Preposition κατά (by Apocope κάδ, &c.) means down, and is parallel in most uses to ἀνά. It is never purely adverbial (κάτω being used instead, ep. ἀνω), but is common in Tmesis, as II. 1. 436 κατά δὲ προμινήσι' ἔδησαν, 19. 334 κατά πάμ- ταυ τεθάμευς, &c. in Composition. Besides the primary sense (seen in κατ-ἀγω I bring down, κατα-νεόω I nod downwards, i.e. in assent, &c.) it often has the meaning all over, as κατα-ευνικόν I clothe, καταχέω I pour over; hence completely, as κατά πάντα φαγεῖν to eat all up, κατα-κτέλω I kill outright: also in the place, as before, as καταλείπω I leave where it was, &c.

κατά is not used with the Dative. If such a use ever existed it was superseded by ὅπω (just as ἀνά with the Dat. gave way to ἐπι). The possibility of the combination may be seen from the phrases κατ' αὐτόθι, κατ' αὐθί.

212.] With the Accusative κατά means down along, down through, as κατὰ βόου down stream; cp. II. 16. 349 ἀνά στόμα καὶ κατὰ ρίνας (of blood). But it is very often used (like ἀνά) of motion that is not upward or downward, except from some arbitrary point of view; as καθ' ὀδὸν along the way, κατὰ πόλιν through the city, &c.: again, κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν in mind and spirit.

Other varieties of use are:—

(1) with collective Nouns (chiefly in the Iliad), as κατὰ στρατὸν through the camp, πόλεμον κατα, κατὰ κλόνον, &c.

(2) with Plurals (less common), as κατ' αὐτούς going among them, κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλλόησθαι.

(3) of the character or general description of an action, as κατὰ πρήξιν (ἀλλόησθαι) on a piece of business, ἦλθον κατὰ χρέως, Od. 1.: 479 πλαχόμενοι κατὰ λῆδα (all in the Odyssey).

(4) to express place; esp. of wounds, e.g. κατ' ὀμον about (somewhere on) the shoulder. Cp. II. 1. 484 ἵκουτο κατὰ στρατὸν arrived opposite (within the space adjoining) the camp; Od. 5. 441 ποταμοῦ κατὰ στόμα ἱε νέων.
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(5) to express agreement (from the notion of falling in with), in the phrases κατά δυσμόν, κατά κόσμον, κατά μοιράν, κατ’ αύταν.

(6) distributively: as II. 2. 99 ἔρημωθεν δὲ καθ’ οὖρας in their several seats; and so in 2. 362 κρήν’ άνδρας κατά φύλα κατὰ φρῆτρας.

(7) κατὰ σφέας (μαχεσθαί) by themselves (to the extent constituted by themselves): so II. 1. 271 κατ’ ἐμ’ αὐτῶν.

These uses may generally be identified in principle with some of the Accusatives mentioned in §§ 136-138. Thus the Acc. in ἤδην κατὰ χρόνος is like ἄγελθην ἑλθεν: in κατὰ κόσμον it is like the adverbial δέρας, ἄην, &c.: κρήν’ κατά φύλα = μοιράς δάσσοντα; and κατ’ ἐμν’ like the Acc. of the ‘part affected.’

213.] With the Genitive κατὰ has two chief meanings:—

(1) down from; as κατ’ οὖρανόν down from heaven, καθ’ ἵππων ἀλτοι leaped from the chariot. This Genitive is clearly ablative in origin.

(2) down on (in, over, &c.): as II. 3. 217 κατὰ χθόνος δόματα πῆςας fixing his eyes on the ground; κατὰ δ’ ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυν’ ἀξλύσ a mist was shed over his eyes; κατὰ γαθῆς down in the earth. 20.129.93.

Comparing the similar uses of ἐπι (§ 200), ὑπό (§ 204, 2), and προτι (§ 208), we can hardly doubt that the Gen. in this latter group is originally akin to the Genitives of Place (§ 149).

διά.

214.] The Preposition διά seems to mean properly apart, in twain. It is not used freely as an Adverb; but the original sense appears in the combinations διαπρό, διαμπερές, and in Tmesis and Composition, as δια-στήνα to stand apart; δια-τάμων I cut asunder; διά κτήσων δάξνοντο divided the possession. From the notion of going through it means thoroughly, as in δια-πέρδω I sack utterly.

In several Compounds, as δια-τάμων, δια-αρέω, δια-δάστω, the notion of division is given by the Preposition to the Verb; e.g. δια-τάμων I separate by cutting, &c.

215.] The Accusative with διά is often used to denote the space through which motion takes place: as—

II. 1. 600 διά δόματα πολλύνοντα bustling through the palace (so διά σπέος, διά βήσιμος, διά ρώπημα, &c.).

14. 91 μέθον δὲ οὐ κεν ἀνήρ γε διά στόμα πάμπαν ἁγωτο (=with which a man would not sully his mouth: cp. ἄνα στόμα, § 210).

Od. 9. 400 φίκεον ἐν στήψοσι δὲ ἀκριν δwell in caves about 0.10.15, 59 (scattered through) the headlands. 0.9.147, 152, 11.2, 16.276

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So Il. 2. 40 διὰ κρατερᾶς ύστημας lasting through hard fights: and διὰ νῦκτα (chiefly in the Odyssey, and books 10 and 24 of the Iliad).

This use is distinctively Homeric. Sometimes also διὰ with the Acc. is used in Homer to express cause or agency; as Il. 1. 73 ἢν διὰ μαντοσύνην (Calchas led the army) by virtue of his soothsaying; Od. 8. 520 διὰ μεγάλουν 'Αθηνῆς (to conquer) by the help of Athene; so Il. 10. 497. 15. 41. 71. Od. 8. 82. 11. 276. 282. 437. 13. 121. 19. 154. 523. These places do not show the later distinction between by means of and by reason of.

216.] The Genitive with διὰ implies passing through something in order to get beyond it; esp. getting through some obstacle: as—

Il. 4. 135 διὰ μὲν ἄρρ ζωστήρος ἐλήλατο.
So of a gate, Il. 3. 263 διὰ Σκαλίων ἐχών ἔπτως: and of lower and upper air, &c. διὰ ἥερος αἰθέρ' ἵκανεν, δι' αἰθέρου οὐρανῶν ἤκε, πεδίων διὰ νεφέων. So again διὰ προμάχων, δι' ὀμίλου &c. of making way through the press.

The Acc. is used where we expect this Gen. in Il. 7. 247 ἐξ δὲ διὰ πτύχας ἠλθε' went through six folds: but this may be partly due to the metrical impossibility of πτυχῶν. Conversely, in Il. 10. 185 ὅς τε καθ' ἥλιν ἔρχηται δι' ὀρεσφὶ the Acc. would be right, and ὀρέσφι is perhaps a false archaism: but cp. § 158.

ὑπέρ.

217.] The Preposition ὑπέρ (or ὑπερ) means higher, hence over, beyond. It is not found in the adverbial use, or in Tmesis, or with a Dative.

In Composition ὑπέρ expresses going across or beyond, hence excess, violation of limits, &c.

218.] With the Accusative ὑπέρ is used—

1) of motion or extent over a space, as Il. 23. 227 ὑπερ ἀλα κῆναται ἤ' σ. This use is not common; Il. 12. 289. 24. 13. Od. 3. 68. 4. 172. 9. 254. 260.

2) of motion passing over an object: as Il. 5. 16 ὑπερ ὄμοιν, ἀριστερον ἥλινθ' ἀκακή: Od. 7. 135 ὑπερ οὐδ' ἐβηστο. (3) metaphorically, in excess of, in violation of: ὑπερ αἴσαν, ὑπερ μοῖραν, ὑπερ ὀρκία: also, somewhat differently, Il. 17. 327 ὑπερ θεον ἐν spite of God.

219.] With the Genitive ὑπέρ is used both of position and of motion over an object, esp. at some distance from it; as στῆ δ' ἄρ ὑπερ κεφαλῆς; Il. 15. 382 νηὸς ὑπερ τοίχων (of a wave com-
ing) over the sides of a ship: II. 23. 327 ὁ σου ῥ' ὀργυὶ ὑπὲρ αἷς a fathom’s length above ground.

Metaphorically it means over so as to protect, hence in defense of, on behalf of; as II. 7. 449 τείχος ἔτειχισσαντο νεῶν ὑπὲρ; II. i. 444 ἐκατόμβην ῥέται ὑπὲρ Δαναῶν. So II. 6. 524 ὅθ’ ὑπὲρ σέθεν αὐτῷ ἀκοῦω when I listen to reproaches on your account (of which I bear the brunt). But Hes. Op. 217 ὑδὴ ὅ’ ὑπὲρ ὑβρίων ἴσχει justice rises (prevails) over insolence.

In respect of form ὑπὲρ (for ὑπέρ, Sanscr. upār) is a Comparative of ὑπό; op. the Superlative ὑπαρος, and the Lat. superus, summus. Hence the Gen. is ablative, like the Gen. with words of comparison; see § 152.

ėνι.

220.] The Preposition ἐν (also ἐκ, ἐν, ἐν) means within, in; it is used adverbially (as II. 5. 740 ἐν δ’ ἔρις, ἐν δ’ ἄλκη &c.), in Tmesis (as ἐν τ’ ἄρα οἱ φθ χερπτ), and with a (locative) Dative.

Notice, as departures from the strict local sense, the uses—
(1) with Plurals denoting persons (=μετά among), as ἐν ὑμῖν (II. 9. 121, 528., 10. 445), ἐν τάσι (Od. 2. 194., 16. 378), ἐν σφίστα (II. 23. 703). Κ 127/80, 207. 314 (= ἐν)
(2) with abstract words (rare in the Iliad); ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι (II. 10. 245, 279), ἐν πάντεσσ’ ἔργοισι (II. 23. 671), ἐν ἀλγείσι (II. 24. 568); θαλίη ἐν (II. 9. 143, 285), ἐν νηπίει (II. 9. 491); ἐν φλότητι; ἐν μοίρῃ ἀριθτ (II. 19. 186), αἰσθ ἐν ἀρ- γαλεί (II. 22. 61), ἐν Καρδος αἰσθ (II. 9. 378); ἐν δὲ ἦ τμῇ (II. 9. 319).

These two uses are nearly confined in the Iliad to books 9, 10, 23, 24. (After Heleniæscære &c. H. 164 cf. H. 181.32)

σῶν.

221.] The Preposition σῶν (or ξῶν) means in company with. It is not used as a pure Adverb, but is found in Tmesis, as II. i. 579 σῶν ὃ’ ἡμῶν δαίτα ταράξη and disturb (σωταράκησω) our feast. It is used with an Instrumental Dative (§ 144).

To express equally with, or at the same time as, Homer uses ἄμα with a Dat.; while σῶν commonly means attended by, with the help of; &c. Hence σῶν ἑντεσι with armour on, σῶν ἅμα in ships, σῶν ὄρκω on oath, σῶν Ἀθήνη aided by Ἀθηνα: so II. 4. 161 σῶν τε μεγάλῳ ὀπέτεισαν they pay with a great price.

The use of σῶν with the Dative has been recently shown by Tycho Mommsen to be confined, generally speaking, to poetry. The Attic prose writers (with the singular exception of Xenophon) use μετὰ with the Gen.; the practice of the poets varies, from Homer, who hardly ever uses μετὰ with the Gen., down to Euripides, who uses it about half as often as σῶν. It is evident that in
post-Homeric times μετά with the Gen. became established in the ordinary colloquial language, while σὺν with the dat. was retained as a piece of poetical style, but gradually gave way to living usage. See Tycho Mommsen's dissertation Metά, σὺν und άμα bei den Epikern (Frankfurt am Main, 1874).

εἰς.

222. The Preposition εἰς (or ἐς) expresses motion to or into. It is not used adverbially (the Adverb being εἰσω), and seldom in Tmesis: II. 8. 115 τῷ θ' εἰς ἀμφοτέρω Διομήδεος ἀρματα βήτην. The motion is sometimes implied: as II. 15. 275 ἐφάνη λίς ἤφιένεος εἰς οὖν: 16. 574 εἰς Πηλῆς ἰκέτευσε (came as suppliant).

Of time; ἐς ἡλίου καταβούντα to sun-set; so ἐς τί how long? εἰς ὁ until: Od. 14. 384 εἰς θέρος ἕ ἐς ἀπόφηρην as late as summer or autumn.

Metaphorical uses: II. 2. 379 εἰ δέ ποι' ἐς γε μίαν βουλεύσομεν if we take counsel to one purpose; II. 9. 102 εἰπεῖν εἰς ἀγαθόν to speak to good effect (so 11. 789., 23. 305).

εξ.

223. The Preposition εξ (or ἐκ) usually expresses motion out from an object. It is not used purely adverbially, but there are many examples of Tmesis: as εξ ἔρων ἐντο, ἐκ δέ οἱ ἤνιοχος πάληγι φρένας his charioteer lost (lit. was struck out of) his wits, ἐκ τε καὶ ὁψε τελεῖ (II. 4. 161) he brings it to pass (ἐκτελεῖ) late.

With a Gen. (ablatival) εξ is used of motion from or out of. Sometimes the idea of motion is implied:—

II. 13. 301 ἐκ Ὀρήκης 'Εφυρούς μέτα θωρήσασθεν armed themselves to come from Thrace after the Ephyri.

14. 129 ἐνά δ' ἐπειτ' αὐτοῖ μεν ἐχώμεθα οἰδοτῆτος ἐκ βελέων hold back from fighting (going) out of range: cp. 16. 122, 678., 18. 152.

So of direction: II. 14. 153 Ἡρῆ δ' εἰσεἶδε... στὰο' εξ Οὐλύμπου stood and looked from Olympus; Od. 21. 420 (drew the bow) αὐτόθεν ἐκ δύρφου καθήμενος from the chair as he sat; II. 19. 375 ὦτ' ἂν ἐκ πόντου σέλας ναύτησι φαίη when a meteor appears to sailors at sea (seeing it from the sea): of choosing out of, II. 15. 680 ἐκ πολέων πόντυας συναείρεται ἢπποιος, and similarly; II. 18. 431 ὄσ' ἐμοὶ ἐκ πασέων Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκε to me (taken from, hence) more than all.

ἐξ is also used of an agent as the source of action; as II. 5. 384 τάξιμεν... εξ ἀνδρῶν have endured at the hands of men; cp. II. 22. 280, Od. 7. 70., 9. 512: also II. 24. 617 θεών ἐκ κύδεα πέσσει endures heaven-sent troubles, and Hes. Theog. 94 ἐκ γαρ Μοῦσῳ καὶ ἐκπάνθου 'Απὸλλωνος ἄνδρες άδιδοι ἐαυτοί. The meaning in
consequence of (a thing) occurs in II. 9. 566 ἓς ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχο-λωμένος, and in the Odyssey (3. 135., 5. 468, &c.).

Of time: ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ τὸν τόπον, ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ παθήματος, ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ προσώπου, ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ πεποίητος (Od. 1. 188, &c.), ἐκ νεκτήτου (II. 14. 86).

With an abstract word, II. 10. 107 ὁ ἡμέρα ἀργαλείων μετα-στρέφει φίλων ἦτορ. Note also: II. 10. 68 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενείς ὄνομάξων calling them by the father's name according to family; II. 9. 343 (486) ἐκ θυμοῦ from the heart, heartily (but II. 23. 595 ἐκ θυμοῦ πετέειν to fall away from a person's favour).

ἀπό.

The Preposition ἀπό means off, away, at a distance from. It is not used adverbially, but is common in Tmesis; as II. 8. 108 οὕς ποτ' ἄπ' Ἀλνέαν ἐλόμην which I took from Aeneas. In Composition it generally gives the Verb the notion of separating; e.g. ἀπο-κόντω is not ἰ' ἵνα at a distance, but I separate by hew- ing: so ἀπεκόσμεον cleared away (Od. 7. 232), and similarly ἀπο- δώ, ἀποβάλλω, ἀπολυόω, ἀπορρήγνυμι, ἀποκατάω (all used in Tmesis). Hence we must explain II. 19. 254 ἀπό τρίχας ἀρέ-μενος cutting hair as an ἀπαρχῇ, or first offering; ep. Od. 3. 446., 14. 422.

Sometimes ἀπό has the force of restoration or return, as in ἀπο-δίδωμι, ἀπο νοστέω (ep. ἀψ backwards). So ἀπο-εὔπειν means either to speak out or to forbid, refuse. In a few cases it has an intensive force, as in ἀπωμηνω, ἀπήχθετο, ἀποθανάμαξω.

With the Genitive ἀπό generally expresses motion away from, not implying previous place within the object (whereas ἐκ means proceeding from). It is also used of position, as II. 8. 16 ὅσον οὐδρανός ἐστ' ἄπο γαῖης as far as heaven is from earth; Od. 1. 49 φίλων ἄπο τῆς πάχης πάχεις suffers when far from his friends; metaphorically, II. 1. 562 ἄπο θυμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ ἐκεῖν, you will be the more out of favour with me; ἄπο δόξης away from expectation.

This Gen. is clearly ablative.

πρό.

The Preposition πρό means forward, in front. It is seldom used as an Adverb; II. 13. 799 πρὸ μὲν τ' ἀλλ', κτλ.; II. 16. 188 ἔξαγαγε πρὸ φόδωρα ὑπερφάνετο brought forth to the light: and of time, II. 1. 70 πρὸ τ' ἐστ' ἐντα the past. In one or two other instances we may recognise either the free adverbial use or Tmesis: II. 1. 195 πρὸ γὰρ ᾦκε, 1. 442 πρὸ μ' ἐπεμψε, Od. 1. 37 πρὸ οἱ ἐπιμονεῖν.

Traces of a use of πρὸ with the Locative may be seen in the phrases οἰρανώθη πρὸ in the face of heaven, ἰλιόθι πρὸ in front of Troy, and (perhaps in the temporal sense) ἦδοθι πρὸ before dawn. Ἀλτ., 2547.

In these cases the meaning is to the front in, hence immediately before. Schreye Pl. Mi. 166 : ἀποδ' Χριστὶ πρὸ τ., 112.
With a Genitive, on the other hand, πρὸ means in front with respect to, in advance of; hence, in a more or less metaphorical sense, in defence of, as II. 8. 57 πρὸ τε παῖδων καὶ πρὸ γυναικῶν. The Case is here the ablative Gen. (as with ὑπὲρ and words of comparison).

But in II. 4. 382 πρὸ ὀδὸν ἐγένοντο the Gen. is partitive, got forward on the way; and so perhaps II. 16. 667 πρὸ φόβου forward in the flight, i.e. having betaken themselves to flight (so Düntzer a. l.).

The temporal sense is rare in Homer; Od. 15. 524., 17. 476 πρὸ γάμου before marriage; II. 10. 224 καὶ τε πρὸ ὅ τοῦ ἐνόησε one thinks of a thing before another.

ἐντὶ.

226.] The only certain Compound with ἐντὶ in Homer appears to be ἐντὶ-φέρεσθαι to oppose (Π. 1. 589., 5. 701., 22. 482, Od. 16. 238): for the Verbs ἀντιβολέω meet and ἄντιτορέω pierce may be derived from the Nouns ἀντί-βολος, ἀντί-τορος: also in II. 8. 163 we may read γυναικὸς ἃρ' ἀντὶ τέτυξο, not ἄντεττυξο (cp. Od. 8. 546 ἀντὶ καθισμὴν ξείνος θ' ἱκέτης τε τέτυκαν), and in Od. 22. 74 for ἄντισχεσθε (hold up against) ἄντ' ἵσχεσθε (i. e. ἄντα ήχεσθε, cp. Od. 1. 334 ἄντα παρείσιν σχομένω λισαρά κρῆδεμα).

ἐντὶ also resembles the Improper Prepositions (esp. the Adverbs ἄντα, ἄντιον, &c.) in being used with the Gen., but not with the Dat. or Acc. It means in place of, hence in the character of, equivalent to: as II. 21. 75 ἐντὶ τοι ἐλπὶ ἱκέταο.

Double Prepositions.

227.] It is characteristic of Homer to form a species of compound by combining two Prepositions. We have—

ἀμφὶ περὶ, like our round about: also περὶ τ' ἀμφὶ τε round and about: used adverbialey, as II. 22. 10 ὁχθαί δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ μεγάλ' ἱαχον; in Composition, ἀμφιπεριστρόφα (Π. 8. 348), &c.

παρέξ out besides, out along, out past: adverbialey in Od. 14. 168 ἀλλα παρέξ μεμνόμεθα: with the Acc., παρέξ ἀλλα alongside the sea, παρέξ τὴν νῆσον past the island; παρέκ νήσον beyond (= contrary to) reason: with the Gen., παρέξ ὀδῷ aside from the way.

ὑπὲξ, with a Gen. away from under, as II. 13. 89 ἑπεξεσθαί ὑπὲκ κακὸν.

διέξ, with a Gen. right through, as διὲκ προθύρων, διὲκ μεγάρων.

ἀποπρὸ quite away, used adverbialey and with a Gen.

διαπρὸ right through, adverbialey and with a Gen.

περιπρὸ round about; II. 11. 180 περιπρὸ γὰρ ἐγχεί θεῖ.
In all these instances the meaning and construction are mainly determined by the first of the two Prepositions (so that e.g. παρέξ is used nearly as παρά, διέξ and διηπρό as διά, &c.). The second does little more than add some emphasis.

The treble Preposition ὑπεκπρό is found in Composition: ὑπεκπρόθεω, ὑπεκπροφέω, &c. The sense is represented by dividing the words ὑπεκ-προθέω, &c.

A curious variety is found in the Compound ἀρο-προσωλυνθόμενος rolling forward before, where a second πρό is added to give emphasis to the first.

Improper Prepositions.

228. The term 'Improper Preposition' may be applied to any Adverb used to govern a Case. The following are some of the most important words of the kind:—

Used with a Genitive: ἄγει near, close to, ἐγγύθι, ἐγγύσ near, ἄντα, ἄντίον; &c. facing, πρόσθε(ν) before, πάροδο(ν) in front of, ὑποσθε(ν) behind, μεσόγυος between, εὔτος, ἐντοσθε, ἐνδοθεν within, ἐξω out, ἐκτός, ἐκτοθι, ἐκστοθε(ν) outside, ἐνερθε beneath, ἄνευ, ἄνευ(ν) apart from, without, ἀτερ without, νάσφι away from, ἑκάς, ἐκάτερθε(ν) apart from, μέσφα until, πέρνην beyond, πάλιν back from, ἀντικρ straight to, ἰδός straight towards, τηλε, τηλόθα for off, ὑπαθα under, ἐνεκα (ἐνεκα) on account of, ἐκηθι by the favour of.

The Gen. with some of these words may be ablativeal (§ 152). In general, however, it appears to be used with little or no reference to the meaning of the governing Adverb, and merely in order to connect the two words. Hence these constructions are best brought under the general rule that a Noun governs the Genitive (§ 147).

With a Dative: ἀμα together with, μίγδα in company with, ὑμῶς in like manner.

ἀμφίς takes a Gen. in the meaning aside from (II. 8. 444., 23. 393, Od. 14. 352). It is also found with the Acc. in the same sense as ἀμφί, in the phrase θεόι Κρόνου ἀμφίς ἐόντες, II. 14. 274., 15. 225 (see also II. 11. 634, 748, Od. 6. 266); and once with a Dat., viz. in II. 5. 723 σιδηρέψ ἄξον ἀμφίς. Also as an Adv. = around in II. 9. 464., 24. 488.

ἐισω generally takes an Accusative, as Ιλιον εισω to Ιλιον: but a Gen. in Od. 8. 290 ὁ δ' εἰσω δόματος ἦμε went inside the house η15 (not merely to the house).

The word ὅς was supposed to govern an Accusative in one place in Homer, viz. Od. 17. 218 ὅς αἰεί τὸν ὅμοιον ἄγει θεός ὅς τὸν ὅμοιον. But the true construction is (as Mr. Ridgeway has pointed out) ὅς—ὁς as God brings like as he brings like, i.e. deals with a man as he dealt with his like (see Journal of Philology, vol. xvii. p. 113).

Note the frequency of Compounds formed by one of these words following a Preposition: ἐν-αντα, εἰσ-αντα, ἄν-αντα, κάτ-αντα, πάρ-αντα, ἐν-ἀντίον, κατ-ἐν-
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229. [Note: see irapd, also the employed position. Cf. ān-ād, āi-ampēres, kat-antwthi, &c. These are not true Compounds (σύνθετα), but are formed by paráthetai, or mere juxtaposition; i.e. they do not consist of two members, of which the first is wholly employed in limiting or qualifying the second, but of two adverbial words qualifying the same Verb. Thus they are essentially akin to the combinations formed by a Preposition and its Case: see § 178.]

Homeric and Attic uses of Prepositions.

229.] The development of the language between the Homeric and the Attic period is especially shown in the uses of Prepositions. It may be convenient here to bring together some of the chief points.

1. Most of the Prepositions,—but esp. ἀμφί, περί, παρά, ἐπί, ὑπό, προτί, ἐνί—are used in Homer adverbially, i.e. as distinct words. Afterwards they become mere unaccented words or prefixes.

2. A variety of the same process shows itself in the disuse of Tmesis. Besides the Prepositions already mentioned, this applies to μετά, ἀνά, κατά, διά, ἐξ, ἀπό, εἰς.

In these processes of development we have seen that the loss of independent meaning is accompanied by a change (which is in all probability simply a loss) of accent.

3. The construction with the Dative (which is mostly locativa] is the one in which the Preposition retains most nearly its own 'adverbial' meaning—so much so that it is often doubtful whether the Preposition can be said to 'govern' the Case at all. Accordingly we find that this construction is comparatively rare in Attic. It is virtually lost (except as a poetical survival) with ἀμφί, περί, μετά, ἀνά, and σύν.

4. On the other hand the Genitive is more frequent in Attic, and not confined (as it generally is in Homer) to uses in which it has either an ablative or a quasi-partitive sense. Thus it is used with ἀμφί, περί, and μετά: also with διά of motion through. In such uses as these the Case ceases to have a distinct meaning: it merely serves (as with the Improper Prepositions) to show that the Noun is governed by the Preposition.

5. The development of meaning is chiefly seen in the extension from the literal sense of place to various derivative or metaphorical senses. Some of these senses are beginning to be used in the Homeric language: e.g. ἀμφί with the Dat. = about, concerning; περί with the Gen. (probably also the Dat.) in the same meaning; παρά with the Acc. = in excess of; in violation of; μετά with the Acc. = after; ἐπί with the Acc. = towards (a person): διά with the Acc. = owing to: ἐξ = in consequence of. Others may safely be counted as post-Homeric; note in particular—
The Verbal Nouns.

Introductory.

The preceding chapters deal with the Simple Sentence: that is to say, the Sentence which consists of a single Verb, and the subordinate or qualifying words (Case-forms, Adverbs, Prepositions) construed with it (§ 131). We have now to consider how this type is enlarged by means of the Verbal Nouns.

The Infinitive and Participle, as has been explained (§ 84), are in fact Nouns: the Infinitive is an abstract Noun denoting the action of the Verb, the Participle a concrete Noun expressing that action as an attribute. They are termed ‘Verbal’ because they suggest or imply a predication, such as a finite Verb expresses (e.g. ἔρχεται ἀγων αὐτοῦς implies the assertion ἡγεῖ αὐτούς), and because the words which depend upon or qualify them are construed with them as with Verbs (ἀγων αὐτοῦς, not ἀγων αὐτῶν bringer of them). Thus they have the character of subordinate Verbs, ‘governed’ by the finite Verb of the sentence, and serving at the same time as centres of dependent Clauses.

The distinction between Infinitives and other abstract Substantives, and again between Participles and other primitive Adjectives, was probably not always so clearly drawn as it is in Greek. The Infinitives of the oldest Sanscrit hardly form a distinct group of words; they are abstract Nouns of various formation, used in several different Cases, and would hardly have
been classed apart from other Case forms if they had not been recognised as the precursors of the later more developed Infinitive. The Particles, too, are variously formed in Sanscrit, and moreover they are not the only Nouns with which the construction is 'adverbial' instead of being 'adnominal.'

The peculiarity of the Verbal Nouns in point of meaning may be said to consist in the temporary and accidental character of the actions or attributes which they express. Thus πράτειν and πράξαι suggest a particular doing, momentary or progressive, at or during a time fixed by the context; whereas πράξεω means doing, irrespective of time; πράκτωρ one who does, generally or permanently, a doer; and so in other cases. The distinction is especially important for Homer. In the later language there are uses of the Infinitive and Participle in which they lose the Verbal element, and have the character of ordinary Nouns; e.g. το πράτειν is nearly equivalent to πράξεω, οι πράκτωτες to πράκτορες, &c.

The Infinitive.

231.] Form and original meaning. The Greek Infinitive is a Case-form—usually the Dative—of an abstract Verbal Noun (nomen actionis). As a Dative it expresses an action to which that of the governing Verb is directed, or for which it takes place,—viz. a purpose, effect, bearing, &c. of the main action. Thus δόμεναι to give, being the Dative of a Stem δο-μεν giving, means 'to or for giving,' hence in order to give, so as to give, &c. But owing to the loss of all other uses of the Dative in Greek (§ 143), and the consequent isolation of the Infinitive, its meaning has been somewhat extended. For the same reason the Infinitives derived from other Cases (§ 85) are no longer used with different meaning, but are retained merely as alternative forms.

The Dative meaning evidently accounts for the common con-structions of the Infinitive with Verbs expressing wish, command, power, expectation, beginning, and the like: as ἐθέλω δόμεναι lit. I am willing for giving, δύναμαι δόέω I have power for seeing, &c. In Homer it may be said to be the usual meaning of the Infinitive. It is found in a great many simple phrases, such as εὐνέκε μάχεσθαι urged together to fight (so that they fought), δοσάνῃς give for leading away (to be led away), οἴδε νοῆσαι knows (has sense) to perceive, βῆ ὃ ιεναι stepped to go (=took his way, cp. γοῦνατ ἑνώμα φευγέμεναι); προέηκε πυθέσθαι, πέμπε νέεσθαι, ὥρτο πέτεσθαι, &c. Cp. also—

II. 1. 22 ἐπενεφήμησαν 'Αχαιοῖ, αἰδεῖσθαι κτλ. the Greeks uttered approving cries for (to the effect of) respecting, ὧν.; so 2. 290 δόφρονται οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

2. ἸΟΥ Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορήναι, πολλῆσιν νῆσοι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παρτὶ ἄνδροις left (the sceptre) to Agamemnon to bear, there-with to rule over many islands and Argos,
Od. 4. 634 ἐμὲ δὲ χρεὼ γίγνεται αὐτής Ἡλιδ' ἐστὶν όρθορον διαβῆμεν. I have need of it for crossing over to Elis.

The notion of purpose often passes into that of adaptation, possibility, necessity, &c.; e.g.—

II. 6. 227 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες... κτεῖνεις there are many Trojans for me to kill (whom I may kill); cp. 9. 688 εἰσὶ καὶ οἴσθι τάδε εἰπέμεν these too are here to tell this, II. 342 ἐγγὺς ἔσαν προφυγεῖν were near for escaping, to escape with.

13. 98 εἰδεταί ἵμαρ ὑπὸ Τρῶσσι δαμὴν the day is come for being subdued (when we must be subdued) by the Trojans; cp. Od. 2. 284.

Again, from the notion of direction or effect the Infinitive shades off into that of reference, sphere of action, &c.; as II. 5. 601 ἕνθα θαυμάζομεν Ἐκτορα δῶν αἰχμῆς τ' ἐμεναι κτλ. for being a warrior; Od. 7. 148 θεοὶ ὀμήθησι δοῦν ζῶεμεν may the gods grant blessings for living, i.e. in life; ἀριστεῦσεκε μάχεσθαι was best for (and so in) fighting, εὐχεταί εἶναι boasts for (of) being.

In the passages quoted the Infinitive is so far an abstract Noun that the action which it denotes is not predicated of an agent. The agent, if there is one in the speaker’s mind, is not given by the form of the sentence; e.g. ἐγγὺς ἔσαν προφυγεῖν (were near for escaping) might mean were near so as to escape or (as the context of II. II. 342 requires) were near so that he could escape; δῶναι ἐπεγγόμενος would usually mean eager to set, but in Od. 13. 30 it means eager for (the sun’s) setting. Hence the apparently harsh change of subject in such a case as—

Od. 2. 226 καὶ οἱ ἱὼν ἐν νησίω ἐπέτρεπεν οἴκου ἀπαντα πεθεσθαί τε γέροντι καὶ ἐμπεδὰ πάντα φυλάσσειν to the intent that it should obey the old man and he should guard all surely (lit. for obeying—for guarding). And so in II. 9. 230 ἐν δοῦνῃ δὲ σοφεσφεν ἡ ἀπολέσθαι νῆα, where νῆα is first Object, then Subject. The harshness disappears when we understand that the abstract use is the prevailing one in Homer.

It may also be noticed here that—

(1) With Verbs of privative meaning, the Infinitive may be used as with the corresponding affirmative words: as ἑχορρύ ἀντιβολήσαν χιουρίς as to (from) meeting; Od. 9. 468 ἀνὰ δ’ ὀφρύσι νέβου ἐκάστῳ κλαείς I nodded backwards to each for weeping (=forbidding him to weep), Il. 22. 474 εἰχον ἀπολέσθαι. But the proper use also appears, as in II. 22. 5 αὐτοῦ μεῖναι ἐπεδύςηρας fettered so that he remained. Here the context must determine the meaning.

(2) With φρονέω, διό, &c. the Infinitive may express the effect or conclusion: I think to the effect—, hence I think fit; as Il. 13. 263 οὐ γὰρ οἶω... πολεμίζειν I have no mind to &c. So
the intent that, to bid, as Od. 3. 427 εἰπαρε δ’ εἶνω δρομήσω .. πένεσθαι. Other examples are given in § 238.

In this use, as was observed by Mr. Riddell (Dig. § 83), the 'dictative force'—the notion of thinking right, advising, &c.—comes through the Infinitive to the governing Verb, not vice versa. The same remark holds of the use with εστι it is possible, lit. it is (a case) for (something to happen).

232.] Infinitive with Nouns, &c. It will be useful to bring together instances in which the Infinitive depends upon some qualifying word—Preposition, Adverb, Adjective, &c.—construed with the Verb:—

II. 1. 258 οι περὶ μὲν βουλήν Δαιαών περὶ δ’ εστὲ μάχεσθαι excel them in fighting.

1. 589 ἀργαλέος γὰρ Ὀλύμπιος ἀντιφέρεσθαι the Olympian is hard to set oneself against; cp. 20. 131.

4. 510 ἐπεὶ οὐ δύνατο χρώς οὐδὲ σίδηρος χαλκὸς ἀνασχέσθαι since their flesh is not stone or iron for withstanding (so as to be able to withstand) bronze.

8. 223 ἦ δὲ εὖ μεσαστὸν ἐσχε γεγονόμεναι ἀμφοτέρωσε for shouting (= so that one could shout) both ways.

13. 775 ἐπεὶ τοι θυμὸς ἀναίτιον αἰτιάσεσθαι since your mind is for blaming (is such that you must blame) the innocent.

Od. 17. 20 οὐ γὰρ ἑπὶ σταθερωὶ μὲνεὶ ἄτι τηλίκος εἰμὶ I am not yet of the age to remain.

17. 347 αἰδώς δ’ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένον ἂν ὑπὲρείηναί shame is not good to be beside a needy man (is not a good 'backer' for).

21. 195 ποῖοι κ’ εἶτ’ Ὀδυσσῆς ἀμφιμένει εἰ ποθεὶ ἔλθῃ; = how would you behave in regard to fighting for Ulysses?

Od. 2. 60 ἡμεῖς δ’ οὐ τὶ τοῖον ἀμφιμένει may be either we are not like him, so as to defend, or simply we are not fit to defend. The construction of the Inf. is the same in either case: the difference is whether τοῖον means 'of the kind' with reference to ὅσι Ὀδυσσείων ἔσσε or to the Inf. ἀμφιμένει. The latter may be defended by Od. 17. 20 (quoted above).

This construction is extended to some Nouns even when they are not used as predicates; as θέειν ταχύς swift to run, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι a wonder to behold (cp. the use of the Accusative with Adjectives, § 131 fin.).

233.] Impersonal Verbs. The Infinitive is used with ἐστι there is (means, room, occasion, &c.), ἐσχε it is fit, πέπρωται it is determined, ἐμφατο it was fated. For ἐστι cp.—

II. 14. 313 κεῖσο μὲν ἐστι καὶ ὅτερον ὑμηθύμαι.

Od. 15. 392 αἰδε δὲ νῦκτος ἀθέσφατον ἐστι μὲν εὐδειν, ἐστὶ δὲ τερπομένων ἄκοινεν there is (enough) for sleeping and for listening.
It is very common with a negative: οὐκ ἔστι, οὐ πῶς ἔστι, &c. meaning there is no way, it may not be that, &c.

The Impersonal use is also found in phrases of the two kinds noticed in § 162, 4; viz.—

(a) With a Neuter Adjective; as ἀργαλέων δὲ μοι ἔστιν θέσθαι κτλ. it is difficult for me to make &c.; μῶρον δὲ οἱ ἔστιν ἀλέασθαι it is fated for him to escape; so with αἰσχρόν, νεμεσσητὸν, αἰσμον, ἄρκιον, βέλτερον, and the like.

(b) With an abstract Noun; as—

II. 14. 80 οὐ γὰρ τις νέμεσις φυγέειν κακὸν there is no wrong in escaping ill.

Od. 5. 345 ἐδὲ τοι μορῷ ἔστιν ἀλφαῖς where it is thy fate to ζύν.

11. 330 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμὴ εὑδεῖν there is a time for &c.

So with αὐτὰ, μόρος, θέμοις, χρεῶι, ἀνάγκῃ, αἴδος, δέος, ἐπιρωρῇ, &c. followed by an Infinitive to express what the fate, need, shame, &c. brings about, or in what it consists.

These examples throw light on two much-debated passages:

II. 2. 291 ἢ μὴ καὶ πόνος ἔστιν ἀνηγέντα νέονάτιναι verily there is toil for a man to return in vexation, i.e. ‘I admit that the toil is enough to provoke any one to return.’ Thus understood, the expression is a slightly bold use of the form of sentence that we have in ἡμὴ ἔστιν εὔδειν, μῶρα ἔστιν ἀλφαῖς, θυμὸς ἔστιν ἀναιτίων αἴγασσαθα, &c. The other interpretation, ‘it is toil to return vexed,’ though apparently easier, is not really more Homeric; and it certainly does not fit the context so well.

II. 7. 238 οἴδ᾽ ἔστι δεξία, οἴδ᾽ ἔπ᾽ ἀριστερά νωμήσαι βῶν ἀχαλέρη, τὸ μοι ἔστι ταλάφυροι πολεμίζειν I know how to turn my shield of seasoned ox-hide to the right and to the left, wherefore I have that wherewith to war in stout-shielded fashion (=I have a good claim to the title of ταλαφύροι πολεμίζοντις, elsewhere an epithet of Ares). Here ἔστι is used as in ἔστιν εὑδειν, &c. &c.

In II. 13. 99–101 ἡ μέγα ταβίμα τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀργάμα, Ἰππάς ἐφ᾽ ἁμετέρας τινα visis the Inf. follows ταβίμα, or rather the whole phrase ταβίμα τοῦ ὀργάμα (=θαμά ἔστι): ὀργᾶ does not take an Inf. (§ 245).

234.] Infinitive as apparent Subject, &c. In the Impersonal uses the Infinitive appears to stand as Subject to the Verb; ἀργαλέων ἔστι θέσθαι = making is hard; οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι κακὸν βασιλευέμεθα to be a king is not a bad thing. This construction however is not consistent with the original character of the Infinitive. It is plain that ἔστιν εὑδεῖν can never have meant ‘sleeping is,’ but ‘there is (room &c.) for sleeping’: and so ἀργαλέων ἔστι θέσθαι is originally, and in Homer, it (the case, state of things, &c.) is hard in view of making. It is only in later Greek that we have the form ἀργαλέων ἔστι τὸ θέσθαι, in which θέσθαι is an indeclinable Neuter Noun.

The process by which the Infinitive, from being a mere word
of limitation, comes to be in sense the Subject or Object of the principal Clause, can be traced in sentences of various forms:—

(1) With a personal Subject; e.g. in—

II. 5. 750 τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλυμπός τε ἡμέν ἀνακλίναι πτυκνών νέφος ἡδ' ἐπιθείναι the meaning 'to them is entrusted the opening and shutting of the thick cloud of heaven,' is expressed by saying 'to them heaven is entrusted for opening and shutting the cloud.' So—

II. 1. 107 αἰεὶ τοι τὰ κάκ᾽ ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι.  

Meaning you love to prophesy evils (to eat roast flesh, &c.).

(2) The Impersonal form (ἀργαλέων ἔστι) only differs from the other in the vagueness of the Subject, which makes it easier for the Infinitive to become the Subject in sense, while it is still grammatically a word limiting the vague unexpressed Subject.

The use of a Neuter Pronoun as Subject (e.g. τὸ γε καλῶν ἀκούεμεν the thing is good, to listen) may be regarded as a link between the personal and impersonal forms of expression: cp. § 161 (note), also § 258.

(3) Similarly an Infinitive following the Object of a Verb may become the logical Object; as—

II. 4. 247 ἦ μὲνε τῶν Ἀχιλλεύν ἐλθέμεν; ὡσ γε \_

do ye wait for the Trojans for their coming on? i.e. for the coming on of the Trojans.

14. 342 Ἡρη, μήτε θείων τὸ γε δείδωθι μήτε τύν ἄνδρῶν ὀφεσθαί do not fear any one of gods or of men for their being about to see, i.e. that any one will see: cp. Od. 22. 39, 40.

A further development of this use leads, as we shall see, to the 'Accusative with the Infinitive.'

(4) Again, the Infinitive sometimes takes the place of a vague unexpressed Object. Thus οὖν νοῦσαι means knows (enough) to perceive: the full construction being such as we have in II. 2. 213 ὁς ὑπ' ἔπεα φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἀκοσμά τε πολλά τε ἦδει... ἐριζέμεναι who knew (had a store of) words wherewith to wrangle. So too ὀδυσσάμι with an Infinitive is originally construed as Od. 8. 44 τὸ γάρ πα θεός πέρι δόκειν δαόδιν τέρπεσε: II. 11. 20 τὸν ποτὲ οἱ Κυνόνθη δάκε ἐενύησον εῖναι; thence it comes to mean 'to give (such a state of things) that some event shall happen,' i.e. to grant the happening; as δῶς τίς ὑσσάμι grant that I may punish. In such a passage as II. 3. 322 τὸν δῶς ἀποφθέμεντον δῶσαι κτλ. we may take τὸν with δῶς or as an Acc. with the Inf. δῶσαι.

A Neuter Pronoun, too, may serve as a vague Object, explained by an Infinitive; e.g. II. 5. 665–6 τὸ μὲν οὖ τὸς ἐπεφράσασα. . . ἐξερύσαι: cp. Od. 21. 278 καί τοῦτο ἐπος κατὰ μοὴν ἐεπε, νῦν μὲν παῦσαι τόξον κτλ.
(5) The Infinitive may also be equivalent in sense to the Genitive depending on a Noun; as—

II. 7. 400 "οὐ γὰρ τις φειδώ νεκρωθ εκτεθνησιστων γίγνετ' ἐπεὶ κε θάνωτι πυρὸς-μεμλησέμεν ὡκα
i.e. there is no grudging about the appeasing of the dead. Hence is developed an idiomatic use of the Genitive parallel to that of the Accusativus de quo: see Shilleto on Thuc. i. 61, 1.

235.] With Relatives. It is remarkable that the use of the Infinitive with ὑς, ὑς τε, ὑςος, ὑςος, &c. is rare in Homer. The familiar construction of ὑς τε only occurs twice: II. 9. 42 ἐπέσσυναι ὑς τε νέσθαι is eager to return, and Od. 17. 20 οὐ γὰρ ἑτὶ σταθμοίν μένειν ἔτι τηλίκος εἴμι, ὑς τ' ἐπιπειλαμένῳ. The other instances are: Od. 21. 173 τοῦν—οἱον τε ἐμενάι such a one as to be; Od. 5. 484 δοσον τε ἐμναῖ so far as to shelter; Od. 19. 160 ἀνήρ ὑςος τε μάλιστα οἶκον κύδεσθαι, 21. 117 ὑςος τ'. ἀνελέσθαι.

236.] With πρὶν and πάρος. This use is common in Homer: as II. 1. 98 πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳ δόμεναι before they give back to her father; 11. 573 πάρος χρώνα λεικόν ἐπανερεῖν before touching the white flesh.

The tense is nearly always the Aorist: the exceptions are, Od. 19. 475 πρὶν ἀμφαφάσσθαι (a verb which has no Aorist), and II. 18. 245 πάρος δόρπου μέδεσθαι. Perhaps however μέδεσθαι is an Aorist: see § 31, 2.

πρὶν with the Indicative first appears in H. Apoll. 357 πρὶν γε οί τοὺν ἐφήκεν. For the use with the Subj. see § 297.

The origin of this singularly isolated construction must evidently be sought in the period when the Infinitive was an abstract Noun; so that (e.g.) πρὶν δόμεναι meant before the giving. The difficulty is that a word like πρὶν would be construed with the Ablative, not the Dative: as in fact we find Ablatives used as Infinitives in Sanscrit with pūra 'before' (Whitney, § 983). It may be conjectured that the Dative Infinitive in Greek was substituted in this construction for an Ablative. Such a substitution might take place when the character of the Infinitive as a Case-form had become obscured.

It is held by Sturm (Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Constructionen mit πρὶν, p. 15) that the Inf. has the force of limitation: e.g. πρὶν ὁβίσσα 'before in respect to wounding,' before the time of wounding. But on this view the sense would rather be 'too soon to wound.' It is better to say, with Mr. Goodwin (§ 623), that πρὶν is 'quasi-prepositional': and if so the Infinitive had ceased to be felt as a Dative when the use arose.

The restriction to the Aor. Inf. may date from the time when Infinitives—or Case-forms on the way to become Infinitives (§ 242)—were chiefly formed from the same Stem as the Aorist. Cp. the Aor. Participles which are without Tense-meaning (§ 243, 1).

237.] Accusative with the Infinitive. Along with the use of the Infinitive as an abstract Noun, we find in Homer the
later use by which it is in sense the Verb of a dependent Clause, the Subject of the Clause being in the Accusative.

In the examples of the Acc. with the Infinitive we may distinguish the following varieties or stages of the idiom:—

1. The Acc. has a grammatical construction with the governing Verb: e.g.—

II. 1. 313 λαύς δ' Ἀτρέιδης ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι ἄνωγε Ἁγαμεμνόν ordered the people to purify themselves (=that they should purify).

5. δοκίν ὁ θεαμάζομεν Ἑκτορά δῶν αἰχμητήν τ' ἐμεναι κτλ. (for being a warrior, how he was a warrior).

This might be called the natural Acc. with the Infinitive.

2. The Acc. has not a sufficient construction with the Verb alone, but may be used if it is accompanied by an Infinitive of the thing or fact: e.g.—

βούλομ' ἐγὼ λαύν σῶI ἐμεναι I wish the people to be safe (the safety of the people).

οὕρεκ' ἀκουσέ τείρεσθαι Τρῶας because he heard of the Trojans being hard pressed.

τῷ οὖ νεμεσίζομ' Ἀχαῖον ἀσχαλαίω wherefore I do not think it a shame in the Greeks to chafe.

In this construction the logical Object is the fact or action given by the Infinitive, to which the Acc. furnishes a Subject or agent, and thus turns it from an abstract Noun to a predication (so that e.g. τείρεσθαι Τρῶας is virtually = ὅτι ἐτείρωντο Τρῶες). It is found with Verbs that usually take only a 'Cognate Acc.' (Neuter Pronoun. &c.), as φημί, εἶπον, ἀκοῦν, πυρθάμοια. οἶδα, οἶω, φρονέω, ἔθελω, βούλομαι, ἐλπομαι, νεμεσίζομαι, φθονέω, &c. Thus it is in principle a particular form of the Accusativus de quó (see § 140, 3, b, also § 234, 3).

3. The Acc. has no construction except as the Subject of the Infinitive. This Acc. is chiefly found in Homer—

(a) after Impersonal Verbs (§ 162, 4): as—

II. 18. 329 ἄμφοτεροι πέρπωται ὁμοίως γαῖαν ἑρέωται it is fated for both to ἴατον.

19. 182 οὗ μὲν γάρ τι νεμεσισθέντων βασιλῆα ἀνδρ' ἀπαρέσσασθαι it is no shame that a king should ἴατον.

(b) after πρὶν and πάρος; as πρὶν ἔλθειν ὕπατο 'Ἀχαῖον before the Greeks came, πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι before these things came to pass.

The other examples are from the Odyssey, viz.—

Od. 4. 210 ὡς τῶν Νέστορι δῶκε διαμπερέμεν ἡματα πάντα αὐτὸν μὲν λεπαρός γηρασκέμεν (10. 533, 14. 193).
ACCUSATIVE WITH INFINITIVE

238.] Tenses of the Infinitive. So long as the Infinitive is merely a Verbal Noun, it does not express anything about the time of the action as past, present, or future. But when it is virtually a predication, the idea of time comes in; e.g.—

II. 5. 659 ἀλλ' οὖν τινά φασι βίην Ἡρακλησίν ἐμέναι (τις they say he was): cp. Od. 8. 181.

14. 454 οὐ μᾶν αὖτ' ὄν... ἄλιον πηδήσαι ἄκοντα, ἀλλά τις Ἀργελών κόμισε χρόλ.

The Future Infinitive is used with φημὶ, ὄω, ἔλαπται, ὑπονοεῖται, φημί, and other Verbs implying expectation or promise; also with μέλαω when it means to be about to.

When the Inf. expresses, not simple expectation as to the future, but fitness, obligation, necessity, or the like (§ 241, 2), the Aorist or Present is used. Thus II. 13. 262 οὗ γὰρ ὄνω πολεμίζεω means, not 'I do not think I shall fight,' but I do not think fit, I have no mind, to fight; so II. 3. 454 φρονεῖ διακρατήσεται νῦν ἑαυτός (ἐὰν I should be parted): 9. 608 φρονεῖ τετυμφησθαί I claim to be honoured: 22. 235 νοεῖ φρεσκότημασθαι I see (understand) that I should honour thee (ἔστιν I purpose to honour thee): 24. 560 νοεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἐκτορά τοι λύσει: and so in a prophecy, Od. 2. 171 φημὶ τελευτήσεται ἄπαντα I say that all must be accomplished:

II. 13. 665 οὗ β' εὖ εἴδως κήρ ὀλοίν ἐπὶ νῦν ἐβαυε, πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ ἑπεί γέρων ἀγαθὸς Πολυδόδος νοῦσον ὑπ' ἀγαλῆσθαι οἷς ἐν μεγάρουσιν θέλεσθαι ἵπτος πόροις μεταφείλησαι ἐστιν (according to his fate).

So with μοῦρα and θέσφατόν ἐστι: also with μέλαω when it means to be likely: II. 11. 364 δὲ μέλλεις εἴκοσθαί τιμήσωσαι τίτρον τημήσωσαι εἴρησαι he procures to be no helpless man whose comrades you are; II. 21. 83 μέλλων τοιαύτης αἰτεῖται it must be that I am become hateful; II. 18. 362 μέλλει βροθὲς τελέσθαι a man is likely to accomplish (i.e. it may be expected of him). ὅψιν

The instances in which a Pres. or Aor. Inf. appears to be used of future time may be variously accounted for. The Inf. ἐξέχω has a future sense in II. 17. 709 φεύγει μὲν νῦν νῦν ἐξέχω κτλ.; so II. 20. 365., Od. 15. 214. Again in Od. 9. 496 καὶ δὴ φάμεν αὐτόν' ἁλέσθαι the Aor. is used for the sake of vividness—we thought 'we are lost': cp. II. 9. 413 ὠλέστω μὲν μοι νόστος (§ 78). Similarly II. 3. 112 ἐλπίζομενοι πάνσασθαι may be hoping that they had ceased (by the fact of the proposed duel); cp. II. 7. 199., 16.
281. So Od. 13. 173 ὃς ἐφάσκε Ποσειδάων ἀγάπασθαι who said that Poseidon was moved to indignation (= ὁ ἡγάπασθα).

In several places the reading is uncertain, the Fut. being of the same metrical value as the Aor. or the Pres. (-σθα and -ασθα, -ἔξεων and -ιέων, &c.). In such cases the evidence of the ancient grammarians and the MSS. is usually indecisive, and we are justified in writing the Fut. throughout, according to the general rule. Thus—

II. 3. 28 φάτο γὰρ τίσεθα (so Vett. Λ.: most MSS. τίσεθαι). Hence we may read φάτο γὰρ τίσεθαι in Od. 20. 121.
22. 118 (ἄλλ' ἀποδάσεθα) (so Aristarchus: most MSS. ἀσθαί).
22. 120 μὴ τι κατακρόφεν, ἄλλ' ἀνίδχα πάντα δάσεσθαι (MSS. ἀσθαί).
23. 773 ἐμελλον ἑπαξεσθαι (the best MSS. have ἀσθαί).
20. 85 (ἐπίσχεο) ἐναντίβιον πτολεμιέον (so Λ. D.: other MSS. πολεμιέον).
16. 830 ἦ ποι ἐφεσα πόλιν ἐκείεσθαι (MSS. ἀγάσθε). Od. 2. 373 ἐμοσον μὴ··· τάξε μυθήσεσθαι (so Ar.: MSS. ἀσθαί).

Two exceptions remain: Od. 2. 280 ἐλαπρη τοι ἐπείτα τελευτήσαι τάδε ἔργα (τελευτήσαι in one of Ludwig's MSS.): II. 12. 407 ἐπεὶ οἱ θυμῶν ἐλπιοτέ κύδεις ἀρέσθαι (some good authorities give ἑλδετο).*

The only example of an Inf. representing an Optative is—

II. 9. 684 καὶ δ' ἀν τόις ἀλλούσι ἐφή παραμυθήσασθαι which is the report of the speech (v. 417) καὶ δ' ἀν··· παραμυθήσασθαι. But cp. Od. 3. 125 οὐδέ· κε φαίης .. μυθήσασθαι you would not think that .. would speak.

239.] Dative with the Infinitive. An idiomatic use of the Dative arises when the Noun which stands as logical subject to an Inf. of purpose is put in the same Case with it, i.e. in the Dative. Thus the construction in—

ἀληθὸν γὰρ τὸδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσομένωι πνεύσθαι

is idiomatic (as compared with σφῶιν ὤτε ἄχεων, &c.), because the meaning is, not 'is shameful for future men,' but 'is shameful for (with a view to) the hearing of future men.' The principle is evidently the same as has been pointed out in the case of the Nominative and the Accusative (§ 234). Because the action of the Infinitive stands in a Dative relation to the governing Verb, the agent or Subject of the action is put in the Dative.

This construction is found in the 'double Dative' of Latin (e. g. ἐσομένωι πνεύσθαι would be in Latin posteris auditui), and of Sanscrit (Delbrück, A. S. p. 149). It is usually classified as 'Attraction'—the Dat. of the person being regarded as following the Dat. of the thing or action, In Greek it evidently goes back to the time when the Inf. was still felt as a Dative.

240.] Predicative Nouns—'Attraction.' Corresponding to the Nominative in the Predicate (§ 162), an Infinitival Clause

may have a Predicative *Accusative*, in agreement with its (expressed or understood) Subject: as *Il. 4. 341* σφωίν μέν τ' ἐπέδυκε μετά πρῶτοισιν ἐότας ἐστάμεν ἓν becomes you that you should stand among the foremost; *Il. 8. 152* τῆς νῦν κλέος οὐρανόν ἵκε πάσαν χρυσεῖν ἔμεναι whose fame reaches heaven that it is all gold.

Or the words which enter in this way into an Infinitival Clause may follow the construction of the principal Clause, and thus be put in the Nom. or Dat.; as—

*Il. 1. 76* καὶ μοι ὄμοσσον, ἥ μέν μοι πρόφρων . . ἀρήξειν

12. 337 οὖ πῶς οἱ ἔνν βῶσαντι γεγονείν.

Here *πρόφρων* is said to be ‘attracted’ into the Nom. (agreeing with the subject of ὄμοσσον), and βῶσαντι into the Dat. (agreeing with οἱ).

The difference of meaning given by the two constructions is generally to be observed in Homer, at least in the case of the Dative. A Noun or Participle is put in the Acc. if it is closely connected with the Inf., so as to become an essential part of the predication: whereas a Dat. construed with the principal Clause expresses something prior to the Inf. (either a condition or a reason). Thus—

*Il. 1. 541* αἰεὶ τοι φίλον ἐστίν ἐμεῦ ἀπὸ νόσφων ἐότα ὁμπτάδια φρονέοντα δικαέμεν,

means ‘you like to decide apart from me,’ i.e. ‘you like, when you decide, to be apart from me’: whereas with ἐότα the sense would be ‘when you are apart from me you like to decide.’ So *Il. 15. 57* εἴπησι Ποσειδᾶων ἀνάκτι παντάμενον πολέµων ἰκέσθαι ‘shall bid Poseidon to cease from war and come’—not ‘when he has ceased, to come.’

But with a Dat.—

*Il. 6. 410* ἐμοὶ δὲ κε κέρδιον εἶν σεῖ ἄφαμαρτοῦσιν χθόνα δύμειαι it were better for me, if (or when) I lose thee, to ὅνος.

*Il. 8. 218* εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ φρεαὶ θῆκεν Ἀγαμέμνονοι πότνια Ἦρη αὐτῷ ποιπύσαντι θοῶς ὀτρόναι Ἀχαίοις

‘who had of himself made hot haste,’ αὐτῷ as in the phrase μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτῷ (13. 46., 15. 604).*

*Il. 15. 496* οὖ οἱ ἄδεικτε ἀμνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης τεβάμεν ἄμω ὅταγνα ἄχοιους

‘who had of himself made hot haste,’ as in the phrase μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτῷ (13. 46., 15. 604).*


There are some exceptions, however, if our texts are to be trusted; i.e. there are places where a word which belongs to the predication is put in the Dat. owing to a preceding Dat.: e.g.—

*Il. 15. 117* εἰ πέρι μοι καὶ μοῖρα Δώος πληγέντι κεραυνῷ κείσθαι ὄμοῦ νεκύεσσι (ep. Od. 19. 139, 284).

* This is pointed out by Dingeldein, *De participio Homerico*, p. 8.
This seems to be always the case when there are two successive Participles, the first of which is properly in the Dat.: as—

Il. 12. 410 ἄργαλέον δὲ μοὶ ἐστι καὶ ἵφθωρ περ ἐωτὶ μονῷ ῥήξαμένῳ θέσθαι παρὰ γυναῖ κλέενδον.

Here the meaning is, 'to break through and make,' &c.,—and therefore ῥήξαμένων would be correct; but after ἐωτὶ the change from the Dat. to the Acc. would be very harsh. So Il. 13. 317–319, Od. 10. 494–5. In other places the text may be at fault. As attraction became the rule in later Greek, and the two Case-forms are generally of the same metrical form, it would be easy for a Dat. to take the place of an Acc.: e. g. in Il. 9. 398–400 ἑυθα δὲ μοι ἔπεσον θυμὸς ἀγνώρ γῆματι .. κτήματι τέρπεσθαί, where for γῆματι, the reading of Aristarchus, others gave γῆματα, which conforms to the principle laid down.

When the Subject of the Infinitive is also Subject of the governing Verb the Nominative is generally used: as Il. 1. 76 (quoted above), 1. 415, 4. 101–3, 8. 498, &c. An exception is—

Od. 9. 224 ἔθι' ἐμὲ μὲν πρώτισθ' ἔταροι λίσσοντ' ἐπέσσοι, τυρών αἰνιμένοι ιέναι πάλιν that they might take of the cheeses and so go back. 

241.] Infinitive as an Imperative. This use is often found in Homer, but chiefly after an Imperative, so that the Infinitive serves to carry on the command already given:—

Il. 1. 322 ἐρχεσθον κλισίν 'Αγαμέμνονος 'Ατρείδαο,  ἑχοῦς ἐλθόν' ἀγεμένι Βρυσηδα.

2. 8–10 βάσκ' ἰδι .. ἀγορευμένοι ὄς ἐπιτέλλω.

3. 459 ἐκδότε, καὶ τυμῆν ἀποτυμένειν.

Od. 4. 415 καὶ τὸτ' ἔπειθ' ὡμίν μελέτω κάρτος τε βίη τε, ἀνθα δ' ἐχειν κτλ. (cp. v. 419, 422 ff.).

Or after a Future, to express what the person addressed is to do as his part in a set of acts:—

Il. 22. 259 νεκρῶν 'Αχαιοῖσιν δῶσον πάλιν, ὃς δὲ σὺ μέχεν.

Od. 4. 408 εὐνάσω ἐξείσης' σὺ δ' εὖ κρίνασθαι ἑταῖροι.

So after a clause which leads up to a command; Il. 11. 788 ἀλλ' εὖ οἱ φανθαί (Achilles is the mightier) but do you advise him well: 17. 691, 20. 335. Cp. also, Il. 10. 65 ἀνθι μένειν (answer to the question am I to remain here?): 5. 124 ταρσέων νίν .. μάχεσθαι (in answer to a prayer) without fear now you may fight. The use for the Third Person is rare: in a command, Il. 6, 86–92 εἰτε δ' ἐπείσα μυτέρι σῇ καὶ ἐμῇ' ᾿ῃ δὲ .. θεῖ'ναι κτλ.; 7. 79 σώμα δὲ οἰκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν (let him take my arms) but give back my body; so 17. 155, 23. 247, Od. 11. 443: in a prayer, with a Subject in the Accusative,—
II. 2. 412 Zeů κύδιστε, μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, αἰθέρι ναῖων, μὴ πρελ ἐπ᾽ ἡλίου ὄψει κτλ. (ερ. 3. 285., 7. 179).

Od. 17. 354 Ζεῦ ἄνα, Τηλεμαχόν μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀλβίοις εἶναι.

An Infinitive of wish is used with the Subject in the Nom., once of the Second Person, and once of the First Person:—

Od. 7. 311 αἱ γὰρ Ζεῦ τέ πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖ γ κ Ἀπολλος τοῖος ἐὼν οἶδας ἑσσὶ, τὰ τε φρονέω τὰ ἐγώ περ, ταῦτα τ᾽ ἐμὴν ἐξέμεν καὶ ἔμοι γαμμὸς καλέσσαται.

24. 376 αἱ γὰρ . . αἰός Νήρικον ἐλλὸν . . τοῖος ἐδώ . . ἐφεστα-μεναι καὶ ἄμωσεν.

The force of the Infinitive in all these uses seems to be that of an indirect Imperative. The command is given as something following on an expressed or implied state of things. Thus we may connect the idiom with the use of the Infinitive to imply fitness, obligation, &c. (§ 231); compare εἰσὶ καὶ οἶδε τάδ᾽ εἴπεμεν these are here to say this with καὶ δὲ σὺ εἴπεμεν ιτ is your part to say. There is a similar use of the Infinitive in Sanscrit, with ellipse of the verb to be (Delbrück, A., S. p. 15: Whitney, § 982, c, d).

It should be noticed, however, that other languages have developed a use of the Infinitive in commands, to which this explanation does not apply: as Germ. schritt fahren! In these cases we may recognise a general tendency towards the impersonal form. It is very probable that the ordinary 2 Sing. Imper. λέγει represents an original use of the Tense-stem without any Person-ending (Paul, Principien, p. 193).

242.] Origin and history of the Infinitive. That the Greek Infinitive was originally the Dative of an abstract Noun is proved by comparison with Sanscrit. In the Veda and Brähmana a number of verbal nouns, nomina actionis, in various of their cases, are used in constructions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages—although, were it not for these other later and more developed and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind’ (Whitney, § 969). In the Veda these Infinitives, or Case-forms on the way to become Infinitives (werdende Infinitive, Delbr.), are mostly Datives, expressing end or purpose, and several of them are identical in formation with Greek Infinitives; as ἄνων δοῖναι (δοῖειν), vidmane Φίδρειναι, ἀδ γαι ὀθλί,* -ασε -σαι. In Greek, however, the Dative Ending -α is not otherwise preserved, and the ‘true Dative’ construction is not applied to things (§ 143): conse-

* So Delbrück and others; but see Max Müller's Chips, Vol. IV. p. 58.
quently these forms stand quite apart from the Case-system, and have ceased to be felt as real Case-forms. Thus the Greek Infinitive is a *survival*, both in form and in construction, from a period when the Dative of purpose or consequence was one of the ordinary idioms of the language. In Latin, again, this Dative is common enough, and often answers in meaning to the Greek Infinitive; compare (*e.g.*) οὐ ἐστὶν εὐθεῖα with munitionis tempus relinquere (Roby, § 1156), ἀφύνεσθαι ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλοι with auxilio esse, &c. The retention of the construction in Latin is connected, on the one hand with the fact that the Latin Dative is a 'true Dative,' on the other hand with the comparatively small use that is made in Latin of the Infinitive of purpose. Similarly in classical Sanscrit the Dative of purpose &c. is extremely common, but the Dative Infinitives have gone entirely out of use (Whitney, § 287 and § 986)—a result of the 'struggle for existence' which precisely reverses the state of things in Greek.

The growth of the Dative of purpose into a distinct subordinate Clause was favoured by the habit of placing it at the end of the sentence, after the Verb, so that it had the appearance of an addition or afterthought. This was the rule in Vedic Sanscrit (see Delbrück, *A. S.* p. 25). It may be traced in Greek, not merely in collocations like ἔριδι ἔπνευε μᾶρεσθαι, &c., but even in such forms as—

II. 5. 639 ἀλλ' οὖν τινά φασί βίην Ἡρακλεῖην ἐμμεναι (what they call him as to being),

where the Inf. appears to be added epexegetically after a slight pause: *e.g.* II. 2. 249., 17. 27., 21. 463, 570, Od. 1. 233, 377., 6. 43., 17. 416.

The development of the Infinitival Clause which we find in Greek and Latin may be traced chiefly under two heads; (1) the construction of the 'Accusative with the Infinitive,' by which the predication of the Infinitive was provided with an expressed Subject (§ 237); and (2) the system of Tenses of the Infinitive, which was gradually completed by the creation of new forms,—esp. the Future Infinitive, peculiar to Greek,—and by the use of the Present Infinitive as equivalent in meaning to the Present and Imperfect Indicative. In the post-Homerian language the Infinitive came to be used as an equivalent, not only for the Indicative, but also for other Moods.

The use of the Infinitive as an indeclinable Noun is subsequent to Homer; it became possible with the later use of the Article. Some of the conditions, however, out of which it grew may be traced in Homerian language. The first of these was the complete separation of the Infinitive from the Case-system; so that it
ceased to be felt as a Case-form, and could be used in parallel construction to the Nom. or Acc.: as—

II. 2. 453 τοίς δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένετ' ήε νέεσθαι.

7. 203 δός νίκην Ἀλαντι καὶ ἄγλανω εὐχός ἀρέσθαι.

Again, an Infinitive following a Neuter Pronoun, and expressing the logical Subject or Object, easily came to be regarded as in 'Apposition' to the Pronoun: as—

Od. 1. 370 ἐπεὶ τὸ γε καλὸν ἀκούμεν ἐστίν ἄοιδον.

II. 358 καὶ κε τὸ βουλοῦμην, καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἰη,

πλειοτέρη σὺν χειρὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἴκεσθαι.

The only instance which really comes near the later 'Articular Infinitive' is Od. 20. 52 ἀνὴ καὶ τὸ φυλασσέων (§ 259). The use of the Infinitive with an Article in the Gen. or Dat. is wholly post-Homeric.

**The Participle.**

243.] Uses of the Participle. Following out the view of the Participle as a Verbal Adjective, we may distinguish the following uses:—

1. The Participle is often used as an ordinary Adjective qualifying a Noun; as θεοί αἰεν ἑόντες, βροτοὶ σίτων ἑόντες, πίθοι ποτὶ τοίχον ἄρηρτες, σάκοι τετυμένοι, and the like. In one or two cases it is Substantival: as τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων, ψυχαὶ εὐώλα καμόντων, 'Ολύμπια δόμαρ' ἑόντες.

A few Participles have lost their Verbal character altogether: esp. οὐλόμενος miserable, ὡνήμενος happy, ἰκμενος secundus, ἀσμενος glad, ἐκῶν willing, ἔῳν (better ἔωιν, since it is an Αor. in form, § 31, 1) according to wont, πεπλωμένοι (in the phrase πεπλωμένοι ἐναυτῶν the revolving years); also the Substantival μέδοντεs rulers, τέφνοτε muscle, ἀμεῖβοντες rafters, ἀδυνατα a portico, δράκων a serpent, γέρων, μοῦσα. The word κρέον ruler retains a trace of the Verb in εὐφρ κρέων widely ruling. Cp. also the compounds πολύ-τλας, ᾧ-κάμας, ᾧ-δάμας, λυκά-βας.

2. Much more frequently, the Participle qualifies or forms part of the predication (§ 162): e.g. in such combinations as—

διαστήτην ἐφίλαντε parted having quarrelled

ἐδιπρονεόν ἀγορήσατο spoke with good thought

the Participle has the same construction as the Adjective in παλῦνθρος ἀπέστη, or πράφρων τέτληκας (§ 162, 2). Thus it serves to express a predication which the speaker wishes to subordinate in some way to that of the governing Verb.

The Participle may express different relations: attendant *cir-*
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ecdstance or manner (as in the examples quoted); cause, as Il. 11. 313 τι παθόντε λελάμβεθα θόρυβος ἀλκής; opposition, as often with καί and περ, &c. (Goodwin, §§ 832–846).

3. Finally, a Participle construed in ‘Apposition’ to a Noun in an oblique Case may imply a predication (§ 168); as κατὰν ἀποθρόσκοιτη νοῆσαι to descry the smoke rising (i.e. when it rises, or that it rises, &c.). Note that—

(a) A Participle of this kind often has the character of a distinct Clause, coming at the end of a sentence, and after a metrical pause: as—

Il. 4. 420 δεινὸν δ’ ἔβραξε χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσιν ἀνακτος ὁρνυμένου (as he roused himself).

Od. 23. 205 ὡς φάτο, τής δ’ αὐτοῦ λύτο γοώνατα καὶ φίλον ἢτορ σήματ’ ἀναγνώσης (when she recognised the token).

(b) Not unfrequently the word with which the Participle should be construed is understood: especially when it is a Partitive or quasi-Partitive Gen. (§§ 147, 151):—

Il. 2. 153 αὐτῇ δ’ οὐρανῶν ἵκεν οἰκάδε ιεμένων a cry rose to heaven (of men) eager to return home: so Il. 12. 339, 13. 291, 498, 15. 689.

5. 162 πάρτισιν ἡ βοῖός εὐλοχον κάτα βοσκομενῶν a heifer or cow (of those) that are feeding in a thicket.

5. 665 τὸ μὲν οὐ τις ἐπεθράσατ’ οὐδ’ ἐνύπτε μηροῦ ἐξερύσαι δόρυ μείλινον, ὄφρ’ ἐπιβαίη, σπευδότων ὅποιο: οὐκ ἔρικακεν ιεμένων περ.

18. 246 ὤρθῶν δ’ ἐστάτων ἀγορὴ γένετ’ an assembly was held upstanding (of them standing up).

Od. 17. 489 Τηλέμαχος δ’ ἐν μὲν κραδίῃ μέγα πένθος ἀείξε βλημένου (for his having been wounded).

So with the Dative; Il. 12. 374 ἐπειγομένοις δ’ ἰκόντο came as a relief (to them) when they were hard pressed; Od. 5. 152 κατείβετο δὲ γλυκὸς αἰών νόστοι ὄνυμομένοιν.

(c) The Subject thus understood may be indefinite:—

Il. 2. 291 πόνοις ἐστὶν ἀνυθέντα νέεσθαι (see § 233).

6. 257 οὔδε τὴν ἔστι κελαίσθει Κροινώνι αἰματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον εὐθετάσθαι for one who is bespattered... to pray.

13. 787 πάρ ὀνομασμί δ’ οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ἐπούμενον πολεμίζειν.

So Il. 2. 234, 14. 63, Od. 2. 311: cp. the phrase ὅσον τε γέγονε βοήσας as far as a man makes himself heard by shouting.

(d) The Participle is sometimes found in a different Case from
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a preceding Pronoun with which it might have been construed. Thus we have—

II. 14. 25 λάκε δέ σφι περὶ χρον χαλκός ἀτείρης

υνσομένων (construed with χρον instead of σφί).

16. 531 ὅτι οἱ δὲ ἥκουσε μέγας θέος εὐξαμένου

(with ἥκουσε instead of οἱ).

Od. 9. 256 ὃς ἔφαρ, ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτὲ κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἤτορ
dεισάντων (so II. 3. 301, Od. 6. 157, 9. 458).

II. 20. 413 τὸν βάλε... νῶτα παρατησοντος wounded him...
in the back as he darted past.

Od. 4. 646 ἢ σὲ βλη ἄκοντος ἄπηρα.

II. 10. 187 ὃς τῶν νήδυμος ὑπ'νοσ ἀπὸ βλεφάροιν ἀλάλει

νύκτα φυλασσομένουι κακὴν : so II. 14. 141-3.

Od. 17. 355 μεταλλήσατί τί εὐθύς

ἀμφι πόσει κέλεται καὶ κήθεδα περ πεπαθυνή.

We need not consider these as instances of 'Anacoluthon' or
change of the construction. The Participle, as we saw, does not
need a preceding Pronoun: it may therefore have a construction
independent of such a Pronoun. And it is characteristic of
Homer not to employ concord as a means of connecting distant
words when other constructions are admissible.

244.] Tenses of the Participle. The distinction between the
Present and Aorist Participle has already been touched upon in
§§ 76-77, and the meaning of the Perfect Participle in § 28.

It may be remarked here, as a point of difference between the two kinds of
Verbal Noun, that the Aorist Participle almost always represents an action
as past at the time given by the Verb (e.g. ὃς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔγερο having thus
spoken he sat down), whereas the Aor. Inf. generally conveys no notion of time.
This however is not from the Participle itself conveying any notion of past
time. Indeed it is worth notice that the Participles which are without
Tense-meaning are chiefly Aorists in form (§ 243, 1).

The Future Participle is used predicatively with Verbs of
motion: ἥλθε λυσόμενος came to ransom, καλέον τε ἐντ' ἐντ' to call,

ἥ' ἐπικουρήσοντα, ἐπλόραμε τεῦχεα συλόσων, &c. The exceptions to
this rule are—

(1) ἐσομένοις future, in II. 1. 70 τα τ' ἐσομένα πρὸ τ' ἔσται

things future and past ; 2. 119 καὶ ἐσομένουι συνέσθαι.

(2) ἐπιβιβαζόμενοι, in II. 5. 46 (16. 343) νῦς ἐπιβιβαζόμενοι,

23. 379 αἰεὶ γὰρ δίφρου ἐπιβιβαζομένουι εἶκεν. But see § 41.

(3) II. 18. 309 καὶ τε κτανέοντα κατέκτα, see § 63.

(4) Od. 11. 608 αἰεὶ βαλέοντι έουκόσ like one about to cast.
245.] Implied Predication. Where the Participle is predicative, we often find the Noun or Pronoun taking the place in the construction of the whole Participial Clause: as II. 17. 1 οὐδ’ ἔλαθ᾽ Ἀτρέως νόον Πάτροκλος Τρώεσσι δαμείς that Patroclus had fallen: Od. 5. 6 μελα γὰρ οἱ ἄιν ὁμασι νύμφης it troubled her that he was ἰερ.: II. 6. 191 γέρνοσκε θεοὶ γάρον ἣν ἑοῦτα knew him for the offspring of a god: Od. 10. 419 σοι μὲν νοστησαντι ἐχάρημεν we were gladdened by thy return: II. 13. 417 ἄχος γένετ’ εὐξαμενοι there was veracity at his boasting: II. 5. 682., 14. 504., 17. 538, 564., 18. 337, &c.

We have here the idiom already observed in the use of the Infinitive (§ 237) by which the weight of the meaning is shifted from the grammatical Subject, Object, &c. to a limiting or qualifying word. Note especially that—

1. The Aor. Participle may be used in this way to express a fact which coincides in time with the Verb of the sentence: as II. 6. 284 εἰ κείνῳ γε ἔδομι κατελθόντ’ Λίδος εἴσο. So especially when the time of the fact is the important point, as εἰ ἥλιον καταδύσα τιλισσυ-σετ: II. 13. 38 μένοιεν νοστησαντι ἀνακτα should await the master’s return: 13. 545 ὸνωνα μεταστρεφθέντα δοκεῦσας.

2. With Verbs of saying, hearing, knowing, &c., also of rejoicing and grieving, the Acc. with a Participle is used like the Acc. with the Inf. (both being evidently applications of the Accusativus de quo, § 140, 3, b): e.g.—

II. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ὑψ’ Ἐκτορι πάντας ἄκουσαν if he were to hear of their shrinking.

Od. 4. 732 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ νυθάμην ταύτην ὄδου ὀρμαίοντα. 23. 2 δεσπούσῳ ἐρέωσα φίλον πόσιν ἐνδόμενον εὐμαύτα.

II. 1. 124 οὐδὲ τί πον ἵδμεν Ἐμβία κελμενα πολλά.

Od. 7. 211 οὖς τινας ὑμεῖς ἐστε μάλιστ’ ὀξέουτα διώνυ.

II. 8. 378 ἦ νῦν . . γνησίωτερ προφανείσα αἰτήσει αἰτήσεις will rejoice at our appearing.

13. 353 ἦξθετο γάρ ἡ Τρωσίν δαμαιμένουs he was vexed at their being subdued by the Trojans.

A further extension, analogous to the Acc. with the Inf. after Impersonal Verbs, may perhaps be seen in Od. 6. 193 ἦν ἐποτάκτις ἑκέτην ταλαπείριον ἀντιδιάσανα which it is fit that a suppliant should meet with.

246.] Genitive Absolute. This is a form of implied predication, in which the Noun or Pronoun has no regular construction with the governing Verb. The Participial Clause expresses
the time or circumstances in which the action of the Verb takes place:

1. 88 οὖ τις ἐμεῖς ὄντος κτλ. no one, while I am living shall &c.
2. 551 περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν as years go round.
3. 203 ἀνδρῶν εἰλομένων where men are crowded; so ἀνδρῶν λιμωτῶν, ἀνδρῶν τρεσσάντων, πολλῶν ἐλκύστων, &c.

Od. I. 390 καὶ κεν τούτ' ἐθέλομι. Διὸς γε διδόντος ἁρπάζατι that too I would be willing to obtain if Zeus gave it.

The Subject is understood in Od. 4. 19 μολῆς ἐξάρχοντος when the singer began the music.


The 'Genitive Absolute' must have begun as an extension of one of the ordinary uses of the Gen.; most probably of the Gen. of Time (§ 150). For, ἡλιόν ἀνώντος within the time of the sun's rising is a Gen. like ἡώς in the morning, νυκτός by night, &c., and answers, as a phrase denoting time, to τῷ ἡλιόν καταδύνατι at sun-set, ἐς ἡλιόν καταδύνατα ὕπ το sun-set, &c. So we may compare τοῦτον αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλέυθερως he will come within this year with ἡ σέβην ἔνδει ἐνότοι ἐλέυθερως he will come within your being here; and again περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν in the years as they go round, with τῶν προτέρων ἔτεων in the former years. The transition may be seen in ἔαρος νέων ἱσταμένων in the spring when it is beginning. Compare also the phrases ἐπειγουμένων ἀνέμων, Βορέας πεσόντως, &c. with νυετίσις in calm weather, &c.

The circumstance that the Ablative is the 'Absolute' Case in Latin is far from proving that the Greek Gen. in this use is Ablative. In Sanscrit the Case used in this way is the Locative, occasionally the Genitive; and the Latin Abl. Absolute may represent a Locative of time at which, or an Instrumental of circumstance (§ 144). The hypothesis that such Participial Clauses in Greek expressed space of time within which (rather than point of time, or circumstance) is borne out by the interesting fact, noticed above, that in Homer this construction is chiefly found with the Participle which implies continuance, viz. the Present: whereas in Latin the Abl. Abs. is commonest with the Perfect Participle.

An approach to a 'Dative Absolute' may be seen in such uses as—

II. 8. 487 Τρωαν/min b' ἀλκοοσών ἐδώ φαος.
12. 374 ἑπεγομένας b' ἱκοντο.

Od. 21. 115 οὗ κέ μοι ἀρνημένων τάδε δώματα πόντια μὴν ἅπειν (=it would be no distress to me if &c.)

which are extensions or free applications, by the help of the Participle, of the true Dat. (Dativus ethicus).
246.*] The Verbal Adjectives. The formations to which this term is applied resemble the Participle in some of their characteristics.

Several groups of Nouns are used as Participle or 'Gerundives' in the cognate languages, such as the Latin forms in -tu-s, the Sanser. in -la-s, -na-s, -ya-s, -tayya-s, &c. Of the corresponding Greek forms the Verbal in -to-s is the most important, and approaches most nearly to the character of a Participle.* It is used mainly in two senses:—

(1) To express the state corresponding to or brought about by the action of a Verb: τυκ-τός made, κρυπτός secret, κλυ-τός heard about, στα-τός standing (in a stall), τλη-τός enduring (II. 24. 49), ἀγαπη-τός object of love, ἐρπε-τόν creeping thing, φυ-τόν growth, πλαν-τός wise. So with ἄ-priv., ἄ-κλαυτος unceasing, ἄ-παυστος fasting, ἄ-πιστος not having news, also of whom there is no news, ἄ-πιστος faithless, &c. The force of the Verb in these words is intransitive rather than passive, and they have no reference to time as past or present. Compare the Latin aptus, cantus, certus, catus, faleus, seítus, &c. We may note that there is a similar (but more complete) divergence of use between the Sanser. Participle in -na-s and the Greek Adjectives in -νο-ς, as στυγ-νός.

(2) To express possibility, as κτή-τός that can be acquired, λῃστός that can be taken as plunder (II. 9. 406), βηκτός vulnerable (II. 13. 323), ἄμ-βα-τός approachable. This meaning is chiefly found in Compounds with ἄ-priv.: as ἄ-λυ-τος that cannot be loosed, ἄρηκτος, ἄ-φυκτος, ἄ-λαυστος, ἄ-κίχητος, ἄ-σβεστος, ἄ-ταλιτος, ἄ-φθι-τος, &c.: and in other negative expressions, as οὐκ ὄνοματος, οὐκέτ' ὄνοστά, οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτός, οὐ τι νεμεσιτήν. Hence, ὁμιλητικόν, as Brugmann observes, it is probable that this use of the Verbal in -τος began in the use with the negative.

It is evident that in respect of meaning the Verbs in -τος are closely akin to the Perfect Participle. Compare (e. g.) τυκτός and τευγμένος, στατός and ἑστής, πινυτός and πευνυμένος. Hence the readiness with which in Latin they have taken the place of the Pr. Part. Passive. The extension by which they came to convey the notion of past time took place in the Perfect tense itself, in Latin and Sanscrit.

The Verbs in -τέο-ς (for -τεί-ς) are post-Homeric. The earliest instance seems to be φα-τεί-ς, in Hesiod, Th. 310 δεύτερον αὐτός ἐτικτεν ἄμηχανος, οὔ τι φατείων, Κέρβερον κτλ.

* See the fine observations of Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 79, p. 207.
CHAPTER XI.

USES OF THE PRONOUNS.

Introductory.

247.] The preceding chapter has dealt with the two grammatical forms under which a Noun, by acquiring a verbal or predicative character, is developed into a kind of subordinate Clause. We have now to consider the Subordinate Clause properly so called: that is to say, the Clause which contains a true (finite) Verb, but stands to another Clause in the relation of a dependent word. E.g. in the Sentence λέυστε γάρ τὸ γε πάντες ὅ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλῃ γε see that my prize goes elsewhere, the Clause ὅ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλῃ stands in the relation of Object to the Verb of the principal Clause.

As the grammatical structure of Subordinate Clauses is shown in general by means of Pronouns, or Conjunctions formed from Pronominal Stems, it will be proper to begin with an account of the meaning and use of the different words of this class.

The Greek Grammarians divided the Pronouns (ἀντωνυμίαι) into δεικτικαὶ 'pointing,' and ἀναφορικαὶ 'repeating' or 'repeating.' These words have given us, through the Roman grammarians, the modern terms Demonstrative and Relative; but the meaning, as often happens in such cases, has undergone a considerable change. A Deictic Pronoun—it will be convenient to adopt the Greek words—is one that marks an object by its position in respect to the speaker: I, thou, this (here), yonder, &c.; an Anaphoric Pronoun is one that denotes an object already mentioned or otherwise known,—the term thus including many 'Demonstratives' (that same man, the man, &c.), as well as the 'Relative.' In all, therefore, we may distinguish three kinds of Pronouns:—

1. Deictic, in the original sense.

2. Anaphoric, i.e. referring to a Noun, but Demonstrative (in the modern sense).

3. Relative, in the modern sense.

This however, it should be observed, is a classification of the uses of Pronouns, not of the words or Stems themselves: for the same Pronoun may be Deictic or Anaphoric, Demonstrative or Relative, according to the context. It is probable, indeed, that all Pronouns are originally Deictic, and become Anaphoric in the course of usage.

248.] Interrogative Pronouns. The Interrogatives used in Homer are τίς (§ 108), πότερος, πόστος, ποίος, ποιή, πῶς, πού, πόθι,
The form πόσος only occurs in the compound ποσοήμαρ (II. 24. 657).

The Pronoun τίς is used both as a Substantive and as an Adjective. The adjectival use is chiefly found in the Odyssey (e.g. 1. 225 τίς δαίσ, τίς δὲ Ὠμολος ὤδ' ἐπλέτο; 13. 233 τίς γῆ, τίς δήμος, τίνες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάδασσ;) and in the 24th book of the Iliad (II. 367, 387). The only clear instance in the rest of the Iliad is 5. 633 τίς του ἀνάγκη; for in II. 1. 362., 18. 73, 80 τί is probably adverbial.

Notice also as peculiar to the Odyssey the combination of τίς with ὤδε, as Od. 6. 276 τίς ὤδε Ναυσικά ἐπεταυ; 20. 351 τί κακὸν τὸδε πᾶσετε; The corresponding use with ὥτος is only found in II. 10. 82 τίς ὥτος . ἐρχεία; cp. Η. Μερκ. 261 τίνα τούτον ἀπηνέα μέθον ἐείπας;

The use of the Interrogative in Dependent Questions is rare:—

II. 5. 85 Τυδείθην δ' ὦν ἀν γνώνης ποτέρουι μετείη.

Od. 15. 423 εἰρώτα δὴ ἐπείτα τίς εἶη καὶ πόθεν ἠλθοι.

17. 368 ἄλληλος τ' εἰρωντο τίς εἶη καὶ πόθεν ἠλθοι.

17. 373 αὐτὸν δ' ὦν σάφα ὦδα πόθεν γένος ἐρχεται εἶναι.

With these it is usual to reckon the anomalous—

II. 18. 192 ἄλλον δ' ὦν τευ ὦδα τευ ἀν κλυτὰ τεύχεα δῶω.

But in this case we have the further difficulty that the form of the Principal clause leads us to expect a Relative, not an Interrogative—the Indefinite ἄλλον τευ standing as Antecedent: cp. Od. 2. 42 (§ 282). Hence there is probably some corruption in the text.

The use of the Interrogative in a Dependent Question doubtless grew out of the habit of announcing that a question is going to be asked. A formula, such as ἄλλ' ἀγε μοι τὸδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἄτρε-κέως κατάλεξων, or καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσων ἐτήτυμον ὄφρ' ἐν εἰσόω, though grammatically a distinct sentence, may be regarded as on the way to become a governing clause. It is a step to this when there is no Pronoun as object—not 'tell me this,' but simply 'tell me': as Od. 4. 642 νημερτές μοι ἐνυσε, πότ' φίλετο καὶ τίνες αὐτῷ κόδροι ἐπούντ' κτλ.; 11. 144 εἰπὲ, ἀναζ, πῶς κτλ.; 24. 474 εἰπὲ μοι εἰρομένη, τί νῦ τοι νόσος ἐκδοθ' κεϋθει; It is to be observed that nearly all the passages of this kind are to be found in the Odyssey and in the 10th and 24th books of the Iliad. The only instance in the rest of the Iliad is 6. 377 εἲ δ' ἂγε μοι, ὄμωσι, νημερτέα μυθήσασθε' τῇ ἐβη κτλ.

Ωδε, κείνος, ὥτος.

249.] The Pronoun Ωδε is almost purely Deictic. It marks an object as near the speaker,—this here, this on my side, &c.; as ναὶ μὰ τὸδε σκῆπτρον by this sceptre (in my hand); Ἔκτορος ὥδε γυνὴ τις
is the wife of Hector; Od. 1. 76 ἤμεῖς οὖν περιφραζόμεθα let us here consider (§ 162, 2): 1. 226 οὐκ ἔρωτος τάδε γ' εστὶ what I see here is not a club-feast. It is especially applied to a person or thing to which the speaker turns for the first time, as—

II. 3. 192 εἴπ' ἔγε μοι καὶ τόῦδε, φίλον τέκος, ὃς τις ὅδ' εστι. Hence the use to denote what is about to be mentioned—the new as opposed to the known. This is an approach to an Anaphoric use, in so far as it expresses not local nearness, but the place of an object in the speaker’s thought. So in—

II. 7. 358 οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοὴσαι the speech is the present one, opposed to a better one which should have been made.

The derivatives τοσόδε, τοιώδε, ὅδε, ἐνθάδε, are similarly Deictic: as II. 6. 463 χατεί τουοῦν ἀνδρός from want of a man such as I am now.

250.] The Pronoun κεῖνος is sometimes used in the Deictic sense, pointing to an object as distant:—

II. 3. 391 κεῖνος δ' γ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ yonder he is in the chamber.

5. 604 καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κείνος "Ἀρης there is Ares at his side. So of an absent object: as Od. 2. 351 κείνον διομένη τὸν κάμμορον thinking of that (absent) one, the unhappy.

Hence in an Anaphoric use, κεῖνος distinguishes what is past or done with, in contrast to a new object or state of things:—

II. 2. 330 κεῖνος τῶς ἄγορενε he (on that former occasion), ὥς.

3. 440 νῦν μὲν γὰρ Μενέλαος ἐνίκησεν σὺν Ἀθηνῃ, κεῖνον δ' αὕτις ἐγώ.

Od. 1. 46 καὶ λόγῳ κεῖνός γε ἐνοκότι κείται ὀλέθρῳ* ἄλλα μοι ἅμφ' Ὀδυσσῆι κτλ.

Here κεῖνος marks the contrast with which the speaker turns to a new case. The literal sense of local distance is transferred to remoteness in time, or in the order of thought.

251.] The Pronoun οὗτος is not unfrequently Deictic in Homer, expressing an object that is present to the speaker, but not near him, or connected with him. Hence it is chiefly used (like iste in Latin) of what belongs to or concerns the person spoken to, or else in a hostile or contemptuous tone. Instances of the former use are:—

II. 7. 110 ἄφραίεις, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, οὖνε τί σε χρή ταῦτα ἄφροσύνης.

10. 82 τίς δ' οὗτος κατὰ νῆας ἀνά στρατὸν ἐρχεαί οὗτος;

Od. 2. 40 οὖν ἑκάς οὗτος ἰνήπ the man you want is not far off.

6. 218 στήρ' οὕτω ἀποπρόθεν (as you are).
Again, ὁ τόσο is regularly used of one of the enemy; as—

Π. 5. 257 τοῦτῳ δ' ὦν πάλιν ἄνθρωπος ἀποφθέγματον ὁκέες ἢποιοῦ. 
22. 38 μή μοι μίμης, φιλον τέκος, ἀνέρα τοῦτον.

Similarly, with a tone of contempt,—

Π. 5. 761 ἀφρον τοῦτον ἀνέντες (ep. 831, 879).

Od. 1. 159 τοῦτοισι μὲν ταύτα μέλει (of the Suitors).

More commonly, however, ὁ τόσο is Anaphoric, denoting an object already mentioned or known. In later Greek it is often employed where Homer (as we shall see) would use the Article.

αὐτός.

252. The Pronoun αὐτός is purely Anaphoric: its proper use seems to be to emphasise an object as the one that has been mentioned or implied,—the very one, that and no other. It conveys no local sense, and is used of the speaker, or the person addressed, as well as of a third person. Specific uses are—

(1) To distinguish a person from his surroundings, adjuncts, company, &c.: as—

Π. 3. 195 τεῦχεα μὲν οἰ κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονί ποινυβοτείρη, 
αὐτὸς δὲ κτα.

9. 301 αὐτός καὶ τοῦ δώρα ᾳ and his gifts. 
14. 47 πρὶν πυρὶ νῆσα ἔνπρῃσαι, κτεῖναι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦς. 
17. 152 ὦς τοι πόλλα ὁφελοῦ γένετο πτὸλεῖ τε καὶ αὐτῷ 
thy city and thyself.

So of the body, as the actual person, in contradistinction to the soul or life (φυσι), Π. 1. 4, Od. 11. 602, &c.

Hence, too, αὐτός = by himself (without the usual adjuncts):—

Π. 8. 99 Τύδεξης δ' αὐτός περ ἔων προμάχουσιν ἐμάλθη.

So Achilles in his complaint of Agamemnon, Π. 1. 356 ἐλὼν γὰρ ἐχει γέρας αὐτός ἀποφάσας, i.e. at his own will, without the usual sanction: ep. 17. 254., 23. 591.

This meaning appears also in αὐτός = merely, as—

Od. 14. 151 ἀλλ' ἐγώ οὐκ αὐτός μυθήσομαι ἀλλὰ σὺν ὑρκῳ.

Cp. Π. 1. 520 ἦ δὲ καὶ αὐτώς ἐπικεῖ as it is (without such provocation) she reproaches me. 

The Gen. αὐτοῦ, &c. is used to strengthen the Possessives: as Od. 2. 45 ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρείος: Π. 6. 490 τὰ σ' αὐτής ἔργα: Π. 10. 204 αὐτοῦ θυμώ (ἐν τῷ ἵππῳ ἁμίθοι): Od. 16. 197 ὁ αὐτοῦ γε νόφ.

Hence in Π. 9. 342 τῇν αὐτοῦ φιλέε—where the use of the Art. is not Homeric—we should probably read ἡν αὐτοῦ.
(2) To express *without* change, the same as before:—

Il. 12. 225 οὐ κόσμῳ παρὰ ναύφιν ἔλευσόμεθα αὐτὰ κέλευθα.

Od. 8. 107 ἦρχε δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ὄδον ἤν περ οἱ ἄλλοι κτλ.

Hence the use with a Dat., noticed in § 144; as Od. 8. 186 αὐτῷ φάρει with his cloak as it was (without putting it off); and so αὐτὸθι, αὐτοῦ in the place, without moving; and αὐτῶς without doing more, hence without effect, idly: as—

Il. 2. 342 αὐτῶς γὰρ ἐπέεσσα ἔριδανομεν.

(3) The unemphatic use, as it may be called, in which it is an ordinary Anaphoric Pronoun of the Third Person (Eng. *he, she, it*). In this use the Pronoun cannot stand at the beginning of a Clause (the emphatic position), or in the Nominative—an unemphasised Subject being sufficiently expressed by the Person-Ending of the Verb. The use is derived from that of the emphatic αὐτός in the same way that in old-fashioned English 'the same' often denotes merely the person or thing just mentioned; and as in German *derselbe* and *der nämliche* are used without any emphasis on the idea of sameness.

(4) The Reflexive use of αὐτός is very rare: Od. 4. 247 ἄλλῳ δ' αὐτὸν φωτὶ κατακρύπτων ἔσκε, and perhaps Il. 20. 55 εἰ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔριδα ὁγνυντο βαρεῖαν (among them there, in heaven itself). On Il. 9. 342 τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει see above (1). In Il. 12. 204 κόψε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχοντα it is best to take αὐτῶν in agreement with ἔχοντα (of the eagle). In Il. 19. 255 read αὐτόθι (§ 157).

The Reflexive Pronoun.

253.] The Pronoun ἐν (i.e. the Personal Pronoun declined from the Stems ἐ- or ἐ- and φε-) is sometimes Reflexive (i.e. denotes the Subject of the Sentence or Clause), sometimes a simple Anaphoric Pronoun. In the latter use it is always unemphatic.

(1) The Reflexive sense is chiefly found either (a) after a Preposition, as ἀμφι ἐ παππήνας looking round him, and so απὸ ἐν, ἐπὶ οἴ, προτὸ οἴ, μετὰ σφών, κατὰ σφέας, &c.; or (b) when it is reinforced by αὐτός, as Il. 20. 171 ἐε δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτήνει μαχεῖςασθαί stirs himself up to fight. Other examples are few in number:—

Il. 2. 239 ὦς καὶ νῦν Ἀχιλῆα, ἐν μέγ' ἀμέινονα φῶτα κτλ.

5. 800 ἦ ὄλγον οἴ παῖδα ἐοικότα γείνατο Τιμέες.

So Il. 4. 400, 5. 56, 24. 134, Od. 11. 433, 19. 446, 481. We should add however such Infinitival Clauses as—

Il. 9. 305 ἐπεὶ οὐ τινά φησιν ὄμων οἴ ἐμεναι κτλ.

where the reference is to the Subject of the governing Verb: so
II. 17. 407, Od. 7. 217, &c. Compare also the similar use in Subordinate Clauses, as—

II. 11. 439 γνω δ’ Ὄδυσσευς ὦ οἱ οὖ τι τέλος κατακαίριου ζήθεν.

The strictly Reflexive use is commoner in the Iliad than in the Odyssey. Excluding Infinitival and Subordinate Clauses, there are 43 examples in the Iliad, against 18 in the Odyssey. Note that the use is mainly preserved in fixed combinations (ἀπό έό, προτι οί, &c.).

(2) The Anaphoric (non-Reflexive) use is very much commoner. In this use—which is doubtless derived from the other by loss of the original emphasis—the Pronoun is enclitic: whereas in the Reflexive use it is orthotone.

Accentuation. According to the ancient grammarians this Pronoun is orthotone (1) when used in a reflexive sense, (2) when preceded by a Preposition, and (3) when followed by a Case-form of αὐτός in agreement with it. The first and second rules, as we have seen, practically coincide: and the third is not borne out by the usage of Homer. In such places as Od. 2. 33 εἶδε οἱ αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ἀγαθὸν τελέσει, II. 6. 91 καὶ οἱ πολὺ φιλήσαντο αὐτῆ, Od. 8. 396 Ἐφύμαλος δὲ ἐ αὐτῶν (Ὅδυσσεα) ἄρεσκάσων,—add II. 24. 292, Od. 4. 66, 667., 6. 277—the Pronoun is evidently emphatic, and is accordingly allowed to be enclitic by good ancient authorities. This is amply confirmed by the instances of μν αὐτὸν (II. 21. 245, 318, Od. 3. 19, 237, &c.), and the parallel use of αὐτός with the enclitic μοι, τοι, &c.

In one instance, viz.—

Od. 4. 244 αὐτόν μν πληγήσων ἄεικελήριον δαμάσσωσ

it would seem that μν has a reflexive sense. The reading, however, is not certain, some ancient authorities giving αὐτόν μέν or αὐτόν μέν.

254.] The Possessive ἐός, ὦς is nearly always Reflexive. Occasionally it refers to a prominent word in the same Sentence which is not grammatically the Subject: as—

II. 6. 500 αὶ μέν ἦτι ξόνων γόνον Ἐκτορά ὦ ἐνι οὐκφ.

Od. 9. 369 Οὐθ’ ἐγὼ πῦματον ἐδομαί μετὰ οἷς ἑτάροντοι.

Cp. II. 16. 800., 22. 404, Od. 4. 643., 11. 282., 23. 153. And it is occasionally used in a Subordinate Clause to refer to the Subject, or a prominent word, of the Principal Clause:—

Od. 4. 618 πόρεν δὲ ἐ Παλαίμος ἱρός

Σιδούρων βασιλεύς, οὗτ ἐός δόμου ἀμφεκάλυψε

κεῖσα με νοστήσαντα (ἐπ. 4. 741).

II. 10. 256 Τυδείδη μὲν δῶκε μενεπτύλεμος Ὑπατυμήδης

φάγαγων ἀμφηκες, τὸ ὀ δ’ ἐδον παρά ὑπ’ ἀλεπτό.

16. 753 ἐβλήτο πρὸς στῆθος, ἢ τέ μν ὀλέσεν ἄλκη.

It will be seen that where ἐός does not refer to the grammatical Subject it is generally emphatic: e.g. in the line last quoted, ἢ ἄλκη his own prowess, not that of an enemy. This indicates the
original force of the Pronoun, which was to confine the reference emphatically to a person or thing just mentioned.

255.] Use of ἐσ, ὅς as a general Reflexive Pronoun. It has been a matter of dispute with Homeric scholars, both ancient and modern, whether ἐσ (ὅς) was confined to the Third Person Singular (his own) or could be used as a Reflexive of any Number and Person (own in general—my own, thy own, their own, &c.).* The question is principally one of textual criticism, and depends in the last resort on the comparative weight to be assigned to the authority of the two great Alexandrian grammarians, Zenodotus and Aristarchus. It is connected with another question, of less importance for Homer, viz. whether the forms ἐσ, ὅ, ὦ are confined to the Singular, and those beginning with σφ—to the Plural.

(1) In regard to the latter of these questions there is no room for doubt. The only instance in dispute is II. 2. 197, 198, where Zenodotus read—

θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστιν διοτρέφοντας βασιλέως

τιμῇ δ' ἐκ Διός ἐστιν, φιλεῖ δὲ ἐκ μητέρας Ζεύς,

and so the first line is quoted by Aristotle (Rhet. 2. 2). Aristarchus read διοτρέφον βασιλέως. However, admitting Zenodotus to be right, ὦ need not be a Plural. The change from Plural to Singular is not unusual in passages of a gnomic character, e.g.—

Od. 4. 691 ἦ τ' ἐστιν δίκη θελον βασιλέων′

ἀλλ' ἐκ ἔχον ἅρτην βροτών, ἀλλ' ἐκ φιλοίν.

(2) Again, the ‘general’ Reflexive use, if it exists in Homer, is confined to the Adjective ἐσ, ὅς. The only contrary instance is II. 10. 398 (Dolon tells Ulysses that he has been sent by Hector to find out)—

ἡ φυλάσσουσα νης θοι ὅς το πάρος περ,

ἡ ἕσει κυρεσσων υφε' ἡμετέρησι δαμέντες

φύλων βουλεύοντες μετὰ φόριων, ὀδ' ἐθέλοις κτλ.

So the MSS., but Ar. read βουλεύσωι, ἕθελουσι, making Dolon repeat the exact words of Hector (II. 309–311); and this reading, which gives φόρια its usual sense, is clearly right. The Optative is not defensible (esp. after the Indic. φυλάσσουσα), and was probably introduced by some one who thought that Dolon, speaking of the Greeks to Ulysses, must use the Second Person Plural. But the Third Person is more correct; for Ulysses is not one of

* The question was first scientifically discussed by Miklosich, in a paper read to the Vienna Academy (I, 1848, p. 119 ff.). He was followed on the same side by Brugmann (Ein Problem der homerischen Textkritik und der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, Leipzig, 1876).
the Greeks who can be supposed to be 'consulting among themselves.'

The form ἐσ is found as a Plural in Hom. II. Ven. 267. In later Epic poets the Substantival ἐσ, &c. are used as Reflexives of any Person or Number: see Theocritus 27. 44, Apollonius Rhodius 1. 893., 2. 635, 1278., 3. 99 (Brugmann, Probl. p. 80). But the use is exclusively post-Homerie.

(3) The case is different with the Adjective. We find forms of ἕσσ ( Accident) read by Zenodotus in a number of places in which our MSS. and editions—following the authority of Aristarchus—have substituted other words. Thus in—

II. 3. 244 ὃς φάτο, τὸν ἰ' ἡ' κάτεχεν ὕψις ἄια, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὖθι, φίλη ἐν πατρίδι γαῖ' for φίλη ζενοδώτης ἐσσ (their own). So, again, in—

II. 1. 393 ἀλλά σὺ, έ or δ' άνευ γε, περίτοκες παιδὸς ἐνος, and in similar passages (II. 15. 138., 19. 342., 24. 550), it is known from the Scholia that Aristarchus read ἐνος, Zenodotus ἔσοι (= thine own). Again, in—

II. 11. 142 νῦν μὲν δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀεικέα τίσετε λοβήν Zenodotus read οὖ πατρὸς (your own father). It is probable that he read οὖ in the similar places II. 19. 322, Od. 16. 149, &c. ΑΠΑΦΗ

Besides the instances of undoubtedly ancient difference of reading, there are several places where one or more MSS. offer forms of ἕσσ in place of ἔμοι and ἕσσ. Thus—

II. 14. 221 ὃ τι φρεσὶ σήσῃ μενουάς (ὁσι D).
19. 174 σὺ δὲ φρεσί σήσου ιανθής (ὥσω in several MSS.).

Similar variations (with φρεσί) are found in Od. 5. 206., 6. 180., 13. 362., 15. 111., 24. 357. Again—

Od. 1. 402 δάμας σοφόν ναόντος ἀνάστος (οὐσων ten MSS.).
Similarly in Od. 8. 242., 15. 89 (ἑωσι for ἑποιοι): also—

Od. 7. 77 καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν (ἡν ἐσ in one MS.);
13. 61 σὺ δὲ τέρπεο τῷ δ' ἐνι οἰκῳ (ὁ ἐνι one MS.).

Another instance of variation is detected by Brugmann in—

II. 9. 414 εἰ δὲ κεν οὐκάδ' ίκωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν, where the MSS. (except A) have ίκωμαι, pointing to ἐν (my own).*

The existing text of the Odyssey contains three passages which Brugmann claims as instances of a general Reflexive sense, viz. Od. 4. 192 (as to which see Merry and Riddell's note),

* Brugmann carries his theory into other passages where he supposes Aristarchus to have corrected the text in order to get rid of the use of ἐνος for the First or Second Person: but the examples quoted above will suffice to give an idea of the strength of his argument.
Od. 13. 320 (where there is some reason to suspect an interpolation), and—

Od. 9. 28

οὐ τοι ἐγὼ γε

ἡς γαῖς δύναμι γυναικέρωτερον ἀλλο ἱδέσθαι.

But there is no reason to take ἡς otherwise than in v. 34 ὡς οὐδὲν γάλκιον ἡς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκήσον γυνεῖαι nothing is sweeter than a man's own country, &c. The reference of the Pronoun is to a typical or imaginary person, as in Od. 1. 392 αὖτα τε οἱ δῶ ἄφενετον πέλεται a man's house (when he is a king) quickly grows rich.

We have seen that post-Homeric poets use the substantival ἐσο, &c. in the sense in question. The corresponding use of the adjective ἐσ, ὁς is still more common, as Brugmann shows. It is found in Hesiod for the Third Person Plur. (Op. 58, Theog. 71), and in Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, and Quintus Smyrnaeus (Probl. pp. 28, 78–83).

(4) In attempting to arrive at a conclusion on this matter we must begin by understanding that the issue does not lie between supposing on the one hand that Aristarchus was entirely right, and on the other hand that he introduced a strange form like ἡς on his own authority, and merely to satisfy a theory. The latter is improbable, not only from the respect for manuscript authority which is expressly attributed to him, but also because the various readings are not all capable of being explained on this supposition. Thus, (1) the word ἡς is proved to exist by Od. 14. 505., 15. 450, and in the latter place ἑοι, though excluded by the sense, is found as a variant. Also (2) ἡς is found for ἑοι meaning his own in Il. 14. 9., 18. 71, 138. It cannot therefore be regarded as certain that ἡς was systematically introduced merely to get rid of ἑοι = my own, thy own. Again, (3) the use of the Article in τοῦ πατρός, τῆς μητρός, τοῦ παιδός, is not clearly un-Homeric (see § 258). And if in Il. 11. 763 οἷοι τῆς ἀπετῆς ἀπονήσεται Bentley was right in reading ἡς (cp. 17. 25), it follows that the Article might creep in for οὖ, ἡς, &c. apart from the intention of carrying out a grammatical theory.

On the other side it must be conceded that the generalised Reflexive use of ἐσο, ὁς,—if not of the substantival ἐσο, &c.—is of high antiquity, so that sporadic instances of it may have occurred in the genuine text of Homer. If so, the error of Aristarchus will consist in a somewhat unduc purism.

Brugmann holds that the general Reflexive sense is the primary one, belonging to the Stem sva in the original Indo-European language, and surviving in the Homeric use of ἐσο, ὁς. But even if the readings of Zenodotus which give this sense are right, it does not follow that they represent the oldest use of the Pronoun.
Brugmann has himself given excellent instances of the extension to the First and Second Person of a Reflexive Pronoun originally confined to the Third (Probl. pp. 119 ff.). In the present case it is significant that the generalised use of the substantival forms ἐα, &c. is clearly post-Homeric. If ἐός (ἐς) is sometimes used in Homer, as well as afterwards, of the First and Second Persons, it is natural to see in this the result of an extension of usage. The case is different with the use of the Stem sva for the Plural. That use, as we see from the Latin se and unus, was the original one. It is noteworthy that this undoubtedly primitive use is precisely the one of which there is least trace in Homer.

ο ἤ τό.

256.] The Article ο ἤ τό may be defined as a purely Anaphoric Pronoun, conveying some degree of emphasis. It differs from ὁδε ωντος and ἐκείνως in the absence of Deictic meaning: for while it usually marks some contrast between objects, it does not distinguish them as near or far, present or absent, &c. On the other hand it is distinguished from the non-Reflexive use of αὐτός and ἐό by greater emphasis.

Three chief uses of ο ἤ τό may be distinguished:—

1. The use as an independent Pronoun; ο ἤ τό = he she it. This may be called the Substantival use: it embraces the great majority of the instances in Homer.

2. The use as an 'Article' in the later sense of the term, i.e. with a Noun following. This may be called the Attributive use.

3. The use as a Relative.

257.] The Substantival Article. This use of the Article is very much the commonest in Homer, and it is also the use from which the others may be easily derived.

The Substantival Article either (1) is simply 'resumptive;' recalling a person or thing already mentioned, as ο γάρ for he, τόν ἥν I say, αὐτός καὶ τοῦ ὁδός the man and his gifts: or (2) marks a contrast, as ο δέ but the other.

The following points of usage are to be noticed:—

1. The most frequent—we may almost say the regular—place of the Article is at the beginning of a Clause, followed by μὲν, δέ, γάρ, ἢ, or preceded by αὐτόρ, ἂλλα, η τοι, or an equivalent Particle. Hence the familiar combinations ο μὲν, ο δέ, ο γάρ, καὶ γάρ ο, αὐτόρ ο, η τοι ο, τόν ἥν, ἃλλα τόν, &c. of which it is needless to give instances.

The later Substantival use with μὲν and δέ is a surviving frag-
ment of this group of uses. A few others are found in Attic poems, as ὁ γὰρ (Aesch. Sept. 17, Soph. El. 45, O. T. 1082).

The use to contrast indefinite persons or things (ὁ μὲν—ὁ δὲ = one—another, οἱ μὲν—οἱ δὲ = some—others) is not very common in Homer.

The use of the Article with an adversative Particle (δὲ, αὐτὰρ, ἀλλὰ) generally marks a change of Subject: ὁ δὲ but the other, &c.

But this is not always the case: e.g. II. 4. 491 τὸν μὲν ἀμαρθ', ὁ δὲ Λεῖκον . . . βεβλήκει him he missed, but smote Leucus (so II. 8. 119, 126, 302., 11. 80, &c.); II. 1. 496 Θέτις δ' οὖν λήθερ' ἐφετέρων παιδὸς ἑν, ἀλλ' ἦ γ' ἀνεδόσετο κτλ.: cp. II. 5. 321., 6. 168, Od. 1. 4, &c. The Article in all such cases evidently expresses a contrast: not however between two persons, but between two characters in which the same person is thought of.

This last use—in which the Article is pleonastic, according to Attic notions—occurs in Herodotus, as 5. 120 τὰ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Κάρες ἐβουλεύοντο μετίκαν, οἱ δὲ αὕτις πολεμέειν ἐξ ἄρχῆς ἀρτέοντο. We may compare it with the pleonastic use of the Pronoun in—

II. 11. 131 ἦγαρει Ἀτρέος νιέ, σὺ δ' ἄξει δέξαι ἄποια, where the effect of inserting σὺ is to oppose the two acts denoted by ἦγαρει and δέξαι ἄποια.

2. The Article is frequent in Disjunctive sentences:—

II. 12. 240 εἴ τ' ἐπὶ δεξί' ὑστεὶ πρὸς ἰὕο τ' ἰάλον τε,
εἴ τ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά τοι γε κτλ. (or else to left).

Od. 2. 132 ζῶει δ' γ' ἦ τέθυηκεν.

Here also it serves to contrast the alternative things said about the same Subject.

3. The principle of contrast often leads to the placing of two Articles together: II. 21. 602 ἦσον ὁ τῶν πεδίων διόκετο, 10. 224 καὶ τε πρὸ ὧ τοῦ ἐνόησεν. So an Article and a Personal Pronoun, εἴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο (II. 13. 829, &c.); cp.—

II. 8. 532 εἰσομαι εἴ κέ μ' ὁ Τυδεώδης κρατέρος Διομήδης πάρ νηῶν πρὸς τεῖχος ἀπώστασαι, ἦ κεν ἑγὼ τῶν.

Note that when the second of the two is in the Nom., it usually takes γε: hence τοῦ ὧ γε, τῇ ῥ' οί γε, &c.

4. The Article often stands for the object to be defined by a following Relative Clause, e.g.—

II. 9. 615 καλὸν τοι σὺν ἐμοὶ τῶν κύδεων ὃς κ' ἐμὲ κύδη.
1. 272 τῶν οἱ νῦν βρωτοὶ εἰσίν &c.

The use is to be classed as Anaphoric; the intention of saying something about the object is equivalent to a previous mention. So in Latin the Anaphoric is is used to introduce qui.
The Neuter Article is similarly used to introduce Clauses beginning with ὅτε, ὅσ, and the like:—

II. 15. 207 ἐσθαλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται ὅτ’ ἀγγελος αὕσμα εἰδῇ.
Od. 9. 442 τὸ δὲ νῦτποσ οὐκ ἐνόησεν ὅσ οἱ κτλ.

II. 3. 308 Ζεὺς μὲν ποὺ τὸ γε οἶδε... ὀπτοτέρῳ κτλ.

So II. 14. 19.; 20. 466.; 23. 545. It may even introduce an independent sentence, as—

Od. 4. 655 ἄλλα τὸ θαυμάζω ἵδον ἐνθάδε Μέντορα διὸν.

5. The uses in which the Article is least emphatic (i.e. does not begin the Clause, or express a contrast) appear to be—

(a) after Prepositions: esp. in the Dat. Plur. after μετά, παρά, προτί, σῶν, ἑν, ἁμα: as II. 1. 348 ἥ δ’ ἀέκονο’ ἁμα τοῖς γυνὴ κλέν. This is to be connected with the fact that the forms ἕσο, ἕτ’, σφίς, &c. are not used with Prepositions in the simple Anaphoric sense (§ 253), and thus the Art. is used instead of them.

(b) when the Neuter Article is used for a fact or set of facts; as II. 4. 353 ὄψεαι ἦν ἐθέλησα καὶ ἅ’ κέν τοι τὰ μεμὴλῃ. Here again the want of a corresponding form of ἕσο makes itself felt. This use is chiefly found in the Nom. and Acc.; but also in τοῦτοκα therefore, ἐκ τοῖο ὀργῆς from that time, &c.

258.] The Attributive Article. The Attributive Article is found in Homer in a limited range of cases, and has evidently grown out of the use of the Substantival Article followed by a Noun in ‘Apposition;’ e.g. II. 4. 20 ὄσ ἐφαθ’, αἰ δὲ ἐπέµυκαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἃρη τίς ἦν ἐπαθεῖτ, ἄνευ ἀμβολίωμα καὶ ἄμμην. Homer thus he spoke, but they murmured, Athens and Here: II. 1. 348 ἥ δ’ ἀέκονο’ ἁμα τοῖς γυνὴ κλέν. So with μν, II. 21. 249 ἵνα μν παύσεις τὸν οἶκόν ἰδίῳ Ἀχιλλῆ, cp. Od. 11. 570. In such cases the Pronoun is still substantival, the Noun being added by way of afterthought.

It is a step towards an Attributive use when the Article needs the addition of the Noun to explain it; e.g.—

II. 4. 501 τὸν β’ ὃς ὁδογεις ἐτάροιο χολοσάμενος βάλε δουρί κόρφησιν’ ἥ δ’ ἐτέροιο διὰ κροτάφου τέρησεν ἀϊχμη χαλκεῖη.

Here Ἦ δὲ would not be clear without ἀῖχμη. So in—

II. 1. 408 αἰ κέν ποις ἔθηλησιν ἐπὶ Τρῶσεσσιν ἄρηξαι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πρόμινας τε καὶ ἄμμῳ ἄλα ἐξαχαι Ἀχαίος.

Od. 15. 54 τὸν γάρ τε ἐξείνος μμυνήσκεται ἤματα πάντα ἄνθρωπος ἐξουσόκου.

So too with Proper Names,—when a new person is about to be mentioned the Art. anticipates the Noun: e.g.—

II. 2. 402 αὐτὰρ ὅ βοῶν ἑρευνεῖν ἄναξ ἄνδρων Ἀγαμέμνων.
And where the Neut. τό is followed by an epexegetic Infinitive:—

Od. 1. 370 ἐπει τό γε καλὸν ἰκουέμεν ἐστὶν ἄοιδοῦ.
II. 17. 406 ἐπει οὖθε τό ἐλπητο πάμπουν, ἐκπέρσεων πτολιθηρὸν ἀνεν ἔθει.

In all these cases the combination of Article and Noun is not sufficiently close to constitute an Attributive use; but they serve to show how such a use is developed.

The Attributive uses in Homer may be classified as follows:—

1. Uses with connecting Particles, where some contrast is made in passing to the new sentence or clause.
2. Uses with certain Adjectives that imply contrast.
3. Uses to mark a person or thing as definite.

259. ] Article of Contrast— with connecting Particles. The uses that fall under this head, though not very numerous, are characteristic of Homer. The following are the chief:—

(a) The Article with an adversative δὲ, αὖτὰρ, &c. is not unfrequently used to bring out the contrast in which the Noun stands to something already mentioned: e.g.—

II. 2. 217 φολκὸς ἔνθι, χωλὸς δὲ ἔτερον πόθα, τῷ δὲ οἷ ὀμω κτλ. but then his shoulders; so τῷ δὲ οἷ ὀσσε (II. 13. 616), &c.
II. 22. 405 ὁς τοῦ μὲν κεκόντο κάρη ἄπαν, ἡ δὲ νυ μῆτηρ κτλ. but on the other hand his mother &c.

II. 1. 382 ήκε δ᾿ ἐπ᾽ Ἀργελοισι κακὸν βῆλος, οὶ δὲ νυ λαοὶ

θυγήσκον ἐπαζιτεροί, τὰ δ᾿ ἐπαχεκτό κῆλα θεοῦ.

4. 399 τοῖος ἔνθι Τυδεὺς Αἰτώλιος· ἀλλὰ τὸν νῦν κτλ. So we should explain the Article in II. 1. 20 παῦδα δὲ μοι λυ- οψετε φιλην, τά δ᾿ ἄποια δέχεσθαι release my daughter, and on the other side accept ransom. The usage is common in the Iliad, but perceptibly rarer in the Odyssey.

(b) The use of the Art. with μὲν—in contrast with something that follows—is rare: II. 11. 267 αὐτὰρ ἐπει τὸ μὲν ἔλκοι ἐτέρσετο: ep. 8. 73., 9. 1., 13. 640., 19. 21., 20. 75, Od. 3. 270 (seemingly the only instance in the Odyssey). There is a similar use with the Art. following the Noun in Od. 1. 116 μυηστήρων τῶν μὲν σκέδασων κατὰ δόματα θεία, κτλ.

(c) The corresponding use with copulative and illative Par-

bles, καὶ, τε, ἢδὲ, καὶ γὰρ, is much less common: ep.—

II. 1. 339 πρός τε θεῶν μακάρων πρός τε θυντῶν ἄνθρωπων καὶ πρός τοῦ βασιλῆς ἀπηνεῖος.

15. 36 ἵστῳ νῦν τῶν γαία καὶ οὐραίος εὕρω ὑπερθεῖν, καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (ep. 18. 486).
O. 22. 103 δῶσω δὲ συβάω | καὶ τῷ βουκόλῳ ἄλλα.
II. 14. 503 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦ Προμάχου δόμαρ κτλ.
The Article singles out its Noun as the special object intended, or turns to it with fresh emphasis. So with an Infinitive, O. 22. 52 ἀνίη καὶ τὸ φυλάσσεται, where we need not take τὸ φυλάσ-
σεως closely together. So Hes. fr. 192 ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ πυθόταυ κτλ.
also Op. 314 τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι ἄμενην.
These uses should be carefully distinguished from the later Definite Article. For instance, in II. 1. 20 τὰ ἄσεως does not mean this or the ransom, in contra-
distinction to other ransoms. It means the other, the ransom, in contrast to the person ransomed. Again, the 4th book of the Iliad begins οἶ δὲ θεό, which we naturally take to mean simply but the gods. But, taking in the last line
of the 3rd book, we have—
ὁς ἔφαν Ἀρεάδησ, ἕπὶ δ᾽ ἤνεον ἄλλοι Ἀχαίοι;
οἶ δὲ θεό πάρ ἦνι καθήμενον ἡγοράσατο.
Clearly the Article marks the turning from the one scene to the other,—from the battlefield to Olympus. Thus the Attic οἶ (θεό) distinguishes the gods from other beings: the Homeric οἶ (δὲ θεό) marks, not this permanent dis-
tinction, but the contrast arising out of the particular context.
The difference appears also in the use with Proper Names. In Attic the Article shows that a particular known person is spoken of; in Homer it marks the turning of attention to a person—ushers in the name, as it were. In short, the Homeric Article contrasts, the Attic Article defines.

260.] With Adjectives. The Article is used before adjectival words that imply a contrast or distinction, especially between definite or well-known alternatives: in particular—
(a) ἄλλος and ἄτερος, passim: also αὐτὸς = same.
(b) Comparatives and Superlatives; οἱ πλέον, οἱ ἁριστοι, &c.
So in the adverbial expressions τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ πάρος, τὰ πρῶτα, and the like, in which the Neut. Article is used adverbially (τὸ παρόν = then formerly). It is quite different when a Masc. or Fem.
Article is used with an Adverb, as οἱ ἐνεβεθ ὑποί (II. 14. 274), ἀνδρῶν τῶν τότε (II. 9. 559), τὰ τ᾽ ἐνδόθι καὶ τὰ θύρημα (Od. 22.
220),—a use which is extremely rare in Homer.
(c) Ordinal Numerals: as τῇ δεκάτῃ: so τὸ ἡμιον. Also
Cardinal Numerals, when a division is made; as II. 5. 271 τῶν
μεν τέσσαρας αὐτὸς ἔχον ἅτιτάλλα ἐπὶ φάτη, τὸ δὲ δο’ Ἀνελα
δῶκεν four he kept, and the (other) two he gave to Aeneas: II. 11.
174 πάσας: τῇ δὲ τ’ ἦ κτλ. (the lion chases) all, but to one &c.
(d) Possessives; τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον, τὰ σὰ κῆλα, &c.
(e) A few words expressing the standing contrasts of great
and small, many and few, good and evil, &c., esp. when the con-
trast is brought out by the context:—
II. 1. 105 μάντι κακῶν, οὐ τῷ ποτὲ μοι τὸ κρήγνον εἶπας
αἰεί τοι τὰ κάκ’ ἐστι φίλα φρεσὶ μαυτευνεσθαι.
3. 138 ὥσ ́δε ́ κε  ἀνάκλησιν  Ἀλή  κεκλάσε ́ άκοιτις
(the conqueror being one of two definite persons).

So ἡ πληθοῦς (II. 2. 278, 15. 305) the many (in contrast to a
single man, or to the few): τὸ χθεῖον (II. 13. 745); τὸν δεξιὸν
ἐπτω (II. 23. 336); άτας δ' ἐγεῖς the greater Ajax: δηούς ... τῶν
ύποπταρπίους (II. 14. 279) the gods of the lower world: ἀνακτές οἱ
νέοι (Od. 14. 61) masters of the younger generation: ἱχθούσι τοῖς
ἀλιγοωτι (Od. 12. 252) the smaller kinds of fish. So—

II. 1. 70 ὡς γὰρ τά ́ τρ' ἑόντα τά τρ' ἑσομένα πρὸ τρ' ἑόντα.

The use to contrast indefinite individuals (one—another) is rare
in Homer: II. 23. 325 τὸν προνύχοντα δοκεέει waits on the one in
advance: II. 16. 53 ὑπόπτε δὴ τοῦ Ὠμοίου ἀνήρ ἐθέλησαι ἀμέσαι:
II. 9. 320 κάθαν τοῦ Ὠμοίου ἂργος ἂργος ἂ τε πολλὰ ἐφρώγοι: Od.
17. 218 ὡς ἀεὶ τοῦ Ὠμοίου ἄγει θεός ὡς τοῦ Ὠμοίου.

(f) Patronymies and geographical epithets: e.g. II. 11. 613
Μαχάον πάντα ἐούκε τὸ Ἀσκληπιάδη (cp. 13. 698, 14. 460., 23.
295, 303, 525): II. 2. 595 ጴάμφων τὸν Ὄμηρα: II. 6. 201 παιδίον
tὸ Ἀλήον, ep. 2. 681, 10. 11: and so perhaps II. 21. 252 αἰσθῶ
... τοῦ θηρητίρου an eagle, the hunting kind. This use is rare.

(g) In a very few places, a Genitive: II. 20. 181 τιμῆς τῆς
348, 376, Od. 3. 145.

261. ] The defining Article. The few and somewhat isolated
uses which fall under this description may be grouped as follows:

1. The use before a Relative is combined with 'Apposition'
to a preceding Noun: as—

 II. 5. 319 οὐδ' νιός Καπανήος ἐλήθετο συνθεσιάων
 τῶν ἃς ἐπέτελλε κτλ. (cp. 5. 331 θεάων τῶν αἱ—).

This is the primitive order, the Article being 'resumptive'—the
injunctions, those namely which, &c. So ἦματι τῷ ὅτε—, and
commonly in the Iliad. The later order—that in which the Noun
follows the Article—appears in a few places of the Iliad:—

 5. 265 τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς ἦς Τρώω περ κτλ. (ep. v. 268),
also 6. 292., 8. 186., 19. 105. It is commoner in the Odyssey.

2. Occasionally the Article conveys a hostile or contemptuous
η κυνάμοια: 22. 59 τῶν δύσιρων: Od. 2. 351 τῶν κάμμορον: 12.
113 τῆν ὀλούριν: 14. 235 τῆν ἐν στυγερήν δῶν: 18. 26 ὁ μολοβρός:
18. 333 τῶν ἀλήτηριν: 19. 372 αἱ κύνες αἴδε. So in II. 3. 55 ἦ
tε κόμη το τε εἰδος.

In Od. 18. 114 τοῦτον τὸν ἄναλτον does not mean (as it would
in Attic) 'this ἄναλτος,' but 'this man—ἄναλτος that he is.' Cp.
II. 1.3. 53 ἣ ἦ δ' ὃ γ' ὁ λυσσώδης κτλ., where ὁ λυσσώδης—the mad-man—is used as a single term, in Apposition to ὃ γε. This use—which is characteristic of Homer—may be regarded as a relic of the Deictic force of ὁ ἦ τό. It answers to the later use of οὗτος, Latin iste.

3. The use of the Article to show that the Noun denotes a known person or thing—the defining Article of later Greek—is rare in Homer. It is found in the Iliad—

(a) with γέρων, γεραιός, ἰναξ, ἱρως: where however the Pronoun is the important word, the Noun being subjoined as a kind of title: τοῦ ἰnanoκτος=‘of his lordship’ (ep. the German allerhöchst derselbe). Accordingly, when the name is added the Art. is generally not used; as γέρων ἵππηλάτα Πηλεύς (not ὁ γέρων).

(b) with ἐπος and μῦθος, in certain phrases, as τοῦν τὸν μῦθον ἐπιπτε; In these cases the Noun is of vague meaning, adding little to the Article: ep. ἐτεί τῶν μῦθων ἀκούσε with ἐπεὶ τὸ γ’ ἀκούσε. So in the formula ἄμοσεν τε τελευτησεν τε τῶν ορκον, perhaps with a touch of ceremonial verbiage.

In the Odyssey it occurs with several other Nouns: ὁ ξεινος (passim); ἡ νήσος Od. 5. 55., 9. 146., 12. 201, 276, 403, &c.; τά μῆλα Od. 9. 464., 11. 4. 20: ὁ μύχλος Od. 9. 375, 378: τὸ τόξον Od. 21. 113, 305. The other examples in the Iliad are chiefly found in books x, xxiii, xxiv: see II. 10. 97, 277, 321, 322, 330, 408, 497., 23. 75, 257, 465., 24. 388, 801, also 2. 80., 7. 412., 20. 147.

We may perhaps add a few uses with words of relationship:—

II. 11. 142 νῦν μὲν ὅτι τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀεικέα τίσετε λάβην.

But here the Art. is resumptive with emphasis: (if ye are sons of Antimachus) ye shall now pay for his, your father’s, outrage.

II. 19. 322 οὖθε εἶ κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποφθεγμένοι πυθομήν not even if I heard of such a one as my father being dead: Od. 2. 134 ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς κακὰ πείσομαι, for from my father (for one) I shall suffer (ep. II. 15. 641 τοῦ γένετ’ ἐκ πατρός κτλ.): Od. 16. 149, II. 21. 412. See however § 255.

It has been a question whether the Article is ever equivalent to a Possessive Pronoun. If so it would be a kind of defining Article—defining a thing as belonging to a known person. In most of the instances, however, the reference to a person is given by a distinct Pronoun: II. 19. 331 ὥσ ἄν μοι τὸν παῖδα κτλ.: Od. 11. 492 ἀλλ’ ἄγε μοι τοῦ παιόδος κτλ.: Od. 8. 195 καὶ κ’ ἀλαὸς τοι. . . τὸ σήμα: Od. 18. 380 οὖθ’ ἄν μοι τὴν γαστέρ’ κτλ.: Od. 19. 535 ἀλλ’ ἄγε μοι τὸν ὅνειρον κτλ.: II. 1. 167 σοι τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζων. Hence the Art. in these places has much the same
function as with a Possessive (μοι τὸν παῖδα = τὸν ἔμοιν παῖδα); it reinforces the Pronoun which conveys the idea of possession.

This account does not apply to τής εὐής (II. 9, 133, 275., 19. 176), and τῆς ἀρετῆς (Od. 2, 206). But here the Art. is probably substantival: τῆς εὐή her couch, τῆς ἀρετῆ her perfection. In 23. 75 καὶ μοι δὸς τὴν χείρα the Art. is quite anomalous.

262.] The Article as a Relative. The Article at the beginning of a clause may often be translated either as a Demonstrative or as a Relative. It has the character of a Relative when the clause which it introduces is distinctly subordinate or parenthetical: as—

II. 1. 36 'Απόλλων ἄνακτι, τὸν ἕλκαμος τέκε Λητώ
Apollo—son of the fair-haired Leto.

The use of ὅ ἥ το as a Relative is less common in Homer than that of ὅς ἥ ὅ, and is restricted in general to clauses which refer to a definite antecedent. Thus in the line just quoted the clause τὸν ἕλκαμος τέκε Λητώ does not define Apollo, i.e. does not show who is meant by the name; it assumes that a definite person is meant, and adds something further about him.

From this principle it evidently follows that—

(1) The Art. when used as a Relative must follow the Noun or Pronoun to which it refers; whereas a Relative Clause often precedes. The only exceptions are—

II. 1. 125 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τολάων ἐξετράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται.
Od. 4. 349 (= 17. 140) ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μοι ἔειπε ... τῶν κτλ.
We may perhaps read ἀλλὰ θ' ἄ μὲν (§ 332).

(2) The Art. cannot stand as a correlative to a Demonstrative (i.e. we must have τὸ—ὅ that which, not τὸ—τὸ). Hence in—

II. 7. 452 τοῦ θ' ἐπιλήσονται, τὸ ἐγώ καὶ Φοίβος 'Απόλλων κτλ.
τοῦ—τὸ are not meant as correlatives: the sense is and will forget the other—(a wall) which ἤ. But some MSS. have ὅ τ' ἐγώ. So Od. 13. 263 (τῆς ληπίδος) τῆς εὔνεκ' ἐγώ πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ my share of the spoil—(spoil) for which I had suffered ἤ. Exceptions are, Od. 14. 227 αὐτάρ ἐμοὶ τὰ φίλα ἔσκε τὰ του θεὸν ἐν φρεσί θήκειν, 19. 573 τοὺς πελέκεας τοὺς κτλ. (perhaps also Od. 9. 334).

(3) The Art. is not used in epevegetic clauses, as II. 2. 338 ἰπίπλαχος, οἷς οὕ τι μέλει κτλ., II. 5. 63 ἄρχεκάκους, οἳ πᾶσι κακὸν κτλ., II. 15. 526 Λαμπετίδης, ὃν Λάμπος ἐγέινατο.

Instances at variance with the general principle are to be found in II. 5. 747 ἱρών τοῖσον τε κτέσσοται (οἷσιν τε in some MSS.), II. 9. 592 κῆδε ὅσ' ἀνδρώτουσι πέλει τῶν ἀπόν ἀλώθ, also II. 17. 145., 18. 208, Od. I. 17., 6. 153., II. 545., 16. 257., 23.
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It is probable however that the text is sometimes at fault, the Art. having been substituted for ός, especially in order to avoid hiatus: e.g.—

II. 17. 145 οἶος σὺν λαοῖς τοι, Ἰλίῳ (λαοῖς οδ Φιλίω).

Od. 16. 263 ἐσθλῶ τοι τοῦτῳ γ᾽ ἐπαμύντορο τοὺς ἀγορεύεις,

(where ός is not excluded by the hiatus, § 382).

As the Art. usually adds some new circumstance about a known antecedent, it sometimes has the effect of representing a fact as unexpected: as II. 1. 392 τὴν μοι ὁδαν νίες Ἀχαίων (Briseis)—whom the Greeks gave me (=although the Greeks had given her to me): Od. 16. 19 μοῦνον τηλύγετον, τῷ ἐπ᾽ ἄλγεα πολλὰ μογήσῃ λυς οὐλιον, after he has endured many sorrows about him (ep. 19, 266., 23. 6): II. 1. 160 πρὸς Τρόων, τῶν οὗ τι μετατρέπει τοι, the Trojans—while you pay no heed to them. So in—

II. 1. 319 λὴγ᾽ ἐριδός τὴν πρῶτον ἐπηπείληρο Ἀχιλῆι,

the meaning is not the same quarrel which he had declared, but his quarrel—now that he had declared it. And so—

Od. 19. 393 οὐλὴν, την τοτε μων σὺς ἤλασε a wound—one that once a boar gave him. Similarly τῇ = at a place where (II. 14. 404., 21. 554., 23. 775).

The Acc. Neut. τὸ used adverbially means wherefore (§ 133), as—

II. 3. 176 ἄλλα τά γ᾽ οὖν ἐγένοιτο τὸ καὶ κλαίονσα τέτηκα.

So II. 7. 239., 12. 9., 17. 404., 19. 213., 23. 547. There is one instance in the Odyssey, in the song of Demodocus (8. 332).

The Relatival use does not extend to the Adverbs τῶς, τότε, τέως (τῆς), or to the derivative adjectives τοῖος, τόσος, &c.

263.] The Article with τε serves as a Relative. In accordance with the use of τε in Homer (§ 332) δ δ τε expresses a constant or general characteristic, but only of a definite Antecedent: as—

II. 6. 112 Ἐκτορὶ Πριαμίδῃ, τοῦ τε στυγεύοντι καὶ ἄλλοι.

15. 621 κυματὰ τε τροφόεντα, τά τε προσερεύνεται αὐτήν.

Od. 18. 273 οὐλομένης ἐμέθεν, τῆς τε Ζεὺς ὄλβου ἀπηύρα.

It is especially used in similes (where a typical case is described), as II. 13. 390 πῖτες βλασθῇ τὴν τ᾽ οὔρει κτλ.: II. 5. 783., 11. 554., 12. 146., 13. 571., 15. 581., 23. 712, &c.

264.] Homeric and Attic Article. After the account given in the preceding §§ of the Homeric uses of the Article it is hardly necessary to show in detail where they differ from the corresponding uses in Attic Greek. What we have chiefly to observe is that the difference is often greater in reality than it appears to be at first sight. Familiar as we are with the de-
fining Article of modern languages, and of Attic Greek, we 
naturally import it into Homer whenever it is not made impos-
sible by the context. But even when a Homeric use falls under 
the general head of the 'defining Article' (§ 261), the effect is 
perceptibly different from that of the 'Definite Article' properly 
so called. In Homer the Article indicates, not that a person or 
thing is a known or definite one, but that it is presented to us in 
an antithesis or contrast. Objects so contrasted are usually 
definite, in the sense that they are already known or suggested 
by the context: and hence the readiness with which the later 
defining sense can be applied to passages in Homer. Thus αὐτὰρ 
ὁ γ’ ᾧρῳ can usually be translated but the hero (before mentioned), 
as though ὁ distinguished him from other heroes. But when we 
find that αὐτὰρ ὁ in Homer constantly means but he, or but the 
other, and that it may be followed by an exegetical Noun (as 
αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν τέρεσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν 'Αγαμέμνων), we see that ὁ is 
more important than a mere Article, is in fact a Substantival 
Pronoun, to which ᾧρῳ is added as a kind of epithet—but he the 
hero.

This point has been explained in connexion with the use of the 
Attributive Article, § 259, a. It may be further illustrated from 
instances in which the Article marks contrast, but not definition, 
and consequently cannot be translated by the. Such are:—

Il. 15. 66 τὸλεας ὀλέσαντ’ αἰζήνυς 
tὸν ἄλλον, μετὰ δ’ νῦν ἔμοι Σαρπιδόνα δίον 
not the others, but others as well, certain others.

Il. 5. 672 ἦ προτέρω Διὸς νῦν ἑργοῦσθον ἶσοκοι, 
γ’ ὃ γε τῶν πλεύσων Λυκίων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλοιπο 
or should take the lives of more Lycians instead. Here οἱ πλέονες 
does not mean ‘the greater number,’ but ‘a greater number,’ in 
contrast to the one person mentioned.

Il. 22. 162 ὦς δ’ ὦτ’ ἀεθλοφόροι περὶ τέρματα μόνυξες ἵπποι 
ῥύμφα μάλα τρωχώσιν: τὸ δὲ μέγα κεῖται ἀεθλον 
and there a great prize lies ready. So Od. 20. 242 αὐτὰρ ὁ . . 
ὄρνα but a bird. The same thing is shown by μνηστήρων τῶν 
μὲν κτλ. (§ 259, b). It is evident that τῶν is used, not because 
the suitors are definite persons, but because a contrast is made 
by μὲν.

The same remark applies to the use with Adjectives (§ 260), 
especially to the use by which they are turned into Substantives, 
as τὸ κρῖμαν, τὰ κακά. In Homer τὰ κακά is said because in 
the particular context κακά evils are opposed to good. In Attic 
τὰ κακὰ or τὸ κακον implies that evils form a class of things, 
distinguished from all other things. This again is a difference,
which does not come out in translating Homer, and is therefore apt to be overlooked.

The use with Cardinal Numerals (§ 260, c) is to be similarly explained. It is not peculiar to Homer, but is regular in Attic also, where it may be regarded as a survival of the Homeric use of the Article.

The use of the Art. in Hesiod shows some advance. Thus the use to form a class is no longer confined to the case of a particular contrast given in the context: Op. 280 τὰ δίκαια ἀγορεύσαυ, Op. 353 τὸν φιλέωντα φιλίν καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ προσέθαι. The use with Adverbs is commoner, Op. 365 τὸ θόρημιν, Op. 457 τῶν πρώσεων. The Prepositional phrase in Op. 364 τὸ ἐν οἴκῳ κατακείμενον is quite post-Homeric. The same may be said of the 'articular' Inf. in Op. 314 τὸ ἥργαζοντα ἀμαν (§ 259, 3). It will be found that the Art. occurs nearly twice as often in Hesiod as in Homer.

It is a further question, and one that cannot be fully discussed here, whether any uses of the Article found in our text of the Iliad and Odyssey are post-Homeric, and evidence of a later origin of the books or passages where they occur. It will be seen that in the case of the uses which have been noticed as rare or exceptional most of the examples come from books ix, x, xxiii, and xxiv. See especially the uses treated of in § 260f, g, and § 261, 3. Others again seem to belong to the Odyssey; see § 261, 3, and cp. § 259, a. The use of the Article in the 10th book of the Iliad seems clearly later than in any other part of Homer: e.g.—

II. 10. 97 δεύτ' εσ τὸν φιλακας καταβήσουν. 
277 χαίρε δε τῷ ὑπνῳ Ὀδυσσεύς. 
322 ἡ μὲν τὸν ὑπόσκο τε καὶ ἄρματα κτλ. (so 330). 
408 πῶς δ' αἴ τῶν ἄλλοιν Τρώων φιλακας κτλ.

Also πεδίον τὸ Τραϊκόν (v. 11), δ τλῆμαν Ὀδυσσεύς (v. 231, 498), τὴν νύξτα (v. 497).

So in the Catalogue of the Ships we have ὀδόμεν τῶν Ὁμήρικα (II. 2. 595), and τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἀργος (2. 681).

ος ἢ δ.

265.] The Pronoun ὁς ἢ δ, and the Adverbs formed from the same Stem, esp. ὁς, ὄτε, ἐκεῖ, are occasionally used in a Demonstrative or quasi-Demonstrative sense; viz.—

(1) After καί, οὔδε, μηδὲ: as II. 21. 198 ἀλλὰ καί ὁς δείδουκε even he fears: II. 6. 59 μὴ ὁς φύγων may not even he escape: and often in the combinations καί ὁς even so, οὔτ' ὁς not even so. So οὔτ' ἐνθα not even there (Od. 1. 18).

(2) With μὲν and δέ, to express a contrast between indefinite objects: as—

II. 11. 64 ὁς Ἠκτωρ ὄτε μὲν τε μετὰ πρῶτουι φάνεσκεν, ἀλλ' ὃ δ' ἐν πυμάτοις κτλ. (so 18. 599., 20. 49).
12. 141 οἷ δ' ὢν τοι ὅσο μὲν κτλ. up to a certain time.
17. 178 ὄτε δ' αὐτὸς ἑπτρήνει but sometimes δ'c.

(3) In the Adverb ὁς so; especially as the second member of
the Correlation ὃς—ὁς as—so. A single ὃς is often used where it may be either a Relative or a Demonstrative, as in the formula ὃς φάτο, ὃς εἶπὼν, &c.: cp. the Latin quae quum dixisset, &c. The other instances in which we have to translate ὃς as a Demonstrative are rare: e.g. Il. 3. 339 ὃς δ' αὐτῶς and in like manner.

Among Demonstrative uses of ὃς it is usual to count the use with γὰρ, as ὃς γὰρ, ὃς γὰρ, ἢν γὰρ. This however is an error, arising from the occasional use of γὰρ where it cannot be translated for: see § 348, 3.

Some commentators find a Demonstrative ὃς in—

Od. 4. 388 τῶν γ' εἰ πᾶς αὖ δύναι λοχισάμενος λελαβέσθαι, ὃς κίν τοι εἴψαν ὃδιν κτλ.

Here however the clause ὃς κίν τοι κτλ. is not the Apodosis, but a Relative Clause expressing purpose. The peculiarity of the passage is merely that the Apodosis is left to be understood: if you can seize him, (do so), that he may tell you &c.: cp. Od. 5. 17., 10. 539.

These idioms are usually regarded as the remains of an earlier use of ὃς in the simple Anaphoric sense. The growth of a Relative out of a Demonstrative has been already exemplified in the Article (§ 262). But the Relativa! use of ὃς is so ancient that any attempt to trace its growth from an earlier syntax must be of very uncertain value.

266.] ὃς ὁς, ὃς τίς. The simple ὃς may be used in any kind of Relative Clause, although in certain cases (§ 262) the Article is preferred. Thus we have—

Il. 4. 196 ὃν τίς ὁπετεύσας ἐβαλεν (a particular fact).

1. 403 ὅν Βριάρεων καλέουσι (a constant, characteristic fact).

In these two places the Art. might be put in place of ὃς: but not in—

Il. 2. 205 εἰς βασιλεύς, ὧς ἐδωκε (a characteristic fact, defining).

1. 218 ὃς κε θεοίς ἐπιτελθηται (definition of a class).

So ὃς is used to convey a reason (which implies a general cause or tendency): as Od. 1. 348 Ζεὺς αὐτός ὃς τε δίδωσιν κτλ.; cp. Il. 2. 275., 5. 650., 8. 34.

If the Relative is meant to refer to an indefinite number of individuals falling under a common description, ὃς τίς is generally used,—who being any one, whoever.

If, again, the Relative Clause generalises by making us think, not so much of all possible individuals in a class, as of different times and circumstances,—in other words, if it lays stress on the general and permanent element in facts—ὁς τε is used: e.g.—

Il. 1. 279 σκηπτόδχος βασιλεύς; ὧς τε Ζεὺς κόνος ἐδωκε to whom as king, to whom in every such case.
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Il. 4. 361 τὰ γὰρ φρονεῖς ἃ τ’ ἐγὼ περ (such things as I see).
5. 545 Ἀλφεώδ’ ὅς τ’ εὑρ’ ρέει (cp. 5. 876).
9. 117 ἀνήρ ὃν τε Ζεὺς κυρὶ φιλήσῃ.

Od. 7. 74 οὔσιν τ’ εὐ φρονέσθησιν they to whom she is well inclined.
Thus ὃς τε is constantly used in comparisons: as Il. 3. 61 (πέλεκυς)
ὅς τ’ εἰσίν διὰ δουρὸς ὑπ’ ἀνέρος ὃς ὅ ὅ τε τέχνη νήπιον ἑκτάμησιν.
So ὃς τε, ὅθεν τε, ὅτε τε: ἐνθα τε, ἵνα τε: ὅσοι τε, ὅσι τε.

Od. 12. 22 δισθανέες, ὅτε τ’ ἀλλαί ἀπαξ θηγκουσ’ ἀνθρωποι.
19. 179 Κνωσός, μεγάλη τόλης, ἐνθα τε Μύνως κτλ.
Thus Homer has five Relatives, viz. ὃς, ὅς τε, ὅς τις, ὃ, ὅ τε, each
with a distinct use: Attic retains only ὃς and ὅς τις.*

267.] Correlative Clauses. 1. We have first to distinguish
between the simple structure in which the Relative Clause only
qualifies a Noun or Pronoun in the Principal Clause, as—

τῶν ὁ νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν of those who are now living.
ἐν πέδιῳ δὴ περ κτλ. in the plain where β. 

and the parallel structure, in which the Relative is an Adverb of
the same form as the Antecedent; as—

τῶν δέ ο’ ἀπειθήροι ὃς νῦν ἐκπαγεῖ ἐπιμηκησα.
τόφρα δ’ ἐπὶ Τραδεσοὶ τίθει κράτος, ὄφρ’ ἀν Ἀχαιοὶ κτλ.
τῇ ἵκειν ὅκ’ κεν δ’ ὑ’ σύ, κελαυχισεῖ, ἡγεμονεύεις.

Here the notion given by the adverbial ending—manner, time, way, &c.—is the point of comparison, and must be understood
to qualify both clauses.

In both these kinds of compound sentence the Demonstrative
Antecedent may often be omitted, but this is especially the case
in which a Relatival Adverb implies a corre-
sponding Demonstrative. Thus ὃς ἀπιμηκησα implies τῶς—ὡς ἀπι-

In this way, then, it came about that ὃς (lit. in which manner)
means in the manner in which: and so ὄφρα to the time up to
which, ὅ by the way by which, δὴ at the place where, ὅτε at the
time when, and so on.† The whole Relative Clause in fact serves
as an Adverb (of manner, time, way, &c. as the ending may
determine), construed with the Verb of the Principal Clause.
Such clauses accordingly are called adverbial: while clauses
which merely qualify a Noun or Pronoun are adjectival.

* It is worth notice that ὅς τις in Attic has some of the uses of ὅς τε: see
† In the corresponding sentences in English it is often the Relative that is
wanting: thus τῇ ἵκειν ὅκ’ κεν ἡγεμονεύεις to go by the way [by which] you lead. This
forms a characteristic difference between Greek and English Syntax.
2. The omission of the antecedent from the governing clause leads to various idiomatic uses:—

(a) The Relative Clause comes to be equivalent to a Noun or Pronoun in any Case which the governing clause may require: thus—

II. 5. 481 τά τ’ ἐξαδεταὶ ὡς κ’ ἐπιδευὴς which (he) desires who is in need.

1. 230 δὸρ’ ἀποαρέσθαι ὡς τις σέθεν ἀντίον εἴη τούτῳ to take away gifts (from him, from any one) who &c.

7. 401 γνωτόν δὲ καὶ ὃς μάλα νήπιος ἔστω.

Od. 15. 281 αὐτὰρ κεῖτο φιλήσεαι ὥς κ’ ἐξωμεν you will be entertained (with such things) as we have.

II. 14. 81 βελτερόν ὡς φεύγων προφύγη κακόν it is better (for one) who by flying escapes evil, i.e. it is better when a man &c.: cp. Od. 15. 72, II. 3. 109.

(b) The omission is especially characteristic of clauses with ὅτε when (for τῷ—ὅτε the time when): II. 15. 18 ὃς μέμνῃ ὅτε do you not remember (the time) when: II. 8. 229 τῇ ἐξαν εὐχωλαί, ὅτε δὴ κτλ. where are gone the boastings (of the time) when &c.: II. 19. 337 λυγρὴν ἀγγελὴν τῇ ἀποφθεγμένου πῶθηαι: and with Numerals, II. 21. 80 ὃς δὲ μοῖς ἐστὶ ὅσε δυνασκαὶ ὅτε κτλ. this is the twelfth morn (from the time) when &c. So in II. 2. 303 χθείᾳ τε καὶ πρωίς’ ὅτε means a day or two (from the time) that. Hence too the forms εἰς ὅτε to the time that, πρὶν γ’ ὅτε before the time when.

Similarly with ὅπου where, as ἦκανον ὅπου they came (to the place) where.

(c) With a Verb of saying or knowing the Relative Clause has apparently the force of a dependent question:—

II. 2. 365 γνῶσῃ ἐπευθ’ ὥς θ’ ἡγεμόνων κακός, ὡς τε νῦ λαῶν, ἥδι’ ὥς κ’ ἐσθλοὺς ἐγεῖ you will recognise (γινωσκω, not οἶδα) of the leaders him who is a weakening, and who of the people, and again him who shall be (found to be) brave.

So II. 13. 278., 21. 609, Od. 3. 185., 17. 363: compare the form with the antecedent expressed—

II. 23. 498 тὸτε δὲ γνωσεσθε ἐκαστος ἵππους Ἀργεῖων, οἱ δευτεροι οἱ τε πάροιθεν.

The construction is the same with a Verb which implies knowing, finding out, or the like: e.g.—

κλήρῳ νῦν πεπάλασθε διαμπερὲς ὡς κε λάχησι cast lots (to find him) whose portion it shall be.
3. The suppressed antecedent, again, may have no clear or grammatical construction:—

(a) This is especially found when the Relative Clause expresses a reason, as—

Od. 4. 611 αἵματός εἷς ἄγαθοίο, φίλον τέκος, οὖ' ἀγορεύεις
lit. you are of good blood (seeing the things) such as you speak, i.e. as I see by the manner of things that you speak.

II. 14. 95 νῦν δὲ σεν ὄνωσάμην πάχυν φρένας ὦν ἔειπες
I blame your thought, because of the kind of thing you have said.

Od. 2. 239 νῦν δ’ ἄλλῳ δήμῳ νεμεσίζομαι, ὦν ἀπαντες ὑπὸ' ἀνεφ at the way that ye all sit silent.

II. 17. 586 Ἐκτωρ, τίς κε σ’ ἐτ’ ἄλλος Ἀχιλῶν ταρβῆσειν, ὦν δὴ Μενέλαον ὑπέτερπας;
who would fear you any more, seeing the way you shrank before Menelaus?

Od. 15. 212 οἷος ἔκείνου τυμῶς ὑπέρβιος, ὦ σε μεθήσει.

II. 16. 17 ἢ σὺ γ’ Ἀργεῖων ὀλοφύραι ὦς ὀλέκονται.

Od. 10. 326 θαυμά μ’ ἔχει ὦς κτλ. I wonder at the way that ἦν.

This is the idiom generally described by saying that οἷος is put for ὁτι τοιοῦτος, ὦσ for ὁτι οὔτως, and so on. So when ὦσ introduces a reason (§ 266) we might say that it is for ὁτι οὔτος (e.g. Ζεὺς ἀτίος ὦς τε δίδωσι = ὁτι οὔτος δίδωσι). The peculiarity, however, of the clauses now in question is that the Relative can have no grammatical Antecedent, that is to say, that the Correlative which it implies as an Antecedent has no regular construction in the Principal Clause.

(b) This is also found after Verbs of knowing, &c.—the Relative Clause expressing the Object or thing known: as—

II. 2. 409 θυκε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδέλφένοι ὅσ ἐποιείτο
he knew of his brother (as to the manner) in which he laboured.

24. 419 θησίον κεν . .. οἷον ἐρσηείσ κείτα.

Od. 7. 327 εἰδήσεις . .. ὀσον ἀριστατ νῆς ἐμαί.

This is evidently an extension of the form γνῶσῃ ὦσ κακός (supra, 2 c), with the difference that the suppressed Correlative in the Principal Clause is without a regular construction.

(c) Sometimes the Relative Clause is used without any Principal Clause, as an exclamation: e.g.—

II. 7. 455 ὃ πόποι, Ἐνυσσίγαι' εύρυσθενές, οἷον ἔειπες.

Od. 1. 32 ὃ πόποι, οἷον ἄν νῦθεος βροτοὶ αὐτῶνται.

II. 5. 601 ὃ φίλοι, οἷον ἂν ταχύμαζομεν ὤκτορα.

The ellipse gives an expression of surprise: (to think) what a thing you have said! (to see) how men blame the gods! (to remember)
how we wondered at Hector! The want of a construction has much the same effect as with the exclamatory use of the Nominative (§ 163). Similarly—

Od. 4. 240 τάντα μέν οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ μνημόσυναί οὐδ' ὄνομίνω, δοσοὶ ὁδοσφόρονός εἰσιν ἀέθλου· ἀλλ' οἶνον τόδ' ἐπεξεῖ κτλ.

I will not tell of all his feats: but (just to mention) what a feat this was that he did ἤκει. So Od. 4. 209f., 11. 517; cp. also II. 5. 638 ἀλλ' οἶνον τινά φασί κτλ. (just to instance) the kind of man that they tell ἤκει.

If the explanation now given of these Relative Clauses is right, it is evidently incorrect to accent and punctuate as is done by editors (e.g.) in—

II. 6. 108 φῶν δὲ τιν' άδανάταν ἐξ οἴκαροι ἀστερέωντος Τρωίν ἄλεξθοντα κατελθήμεν ὡ [or ὡς] ἀλλικέθεν taking it as an Independent Clause—so they wheeled.' The same editors do not hesitate to write in II. 16. 17 ἀλοφύρεια, ὡς ἀλικοῦται, where the construction is precisely the same.

It is sometimes maintained that in all such cases we have a survival of the primitive 'parataxis'—that (e.g.) ἀλοφύρεια ὡς ἀλικοῦται was originally ἄλοφυρεια, ὡς ἀλικοῦται you lament, they so perish, hence you lament how they perish, or that they thus perish. On the same view the exclamatory οἶνον ἔεπεις is not elliptical, but represents the original independent what a thing you have said! (See Mr. Leaf on II. 2. 320 ἄνωμαξομεν οἶνον ἕτυχθήτω.) This hypothesis, however, is not borne out by the facts of language. In the first place, it is strange that the traces of parataxis should be found with the Relatives ὡς, ὡςο, ὡςος, &c. rather than with the corresponding Demonstrative forms. Again, if the Relative retained an original Demonstrative use, we should expect to find this, like other survivals, in some isolated group of uses: whereas the clauses now in question are very various in character. Again, the passages which favour the notion of parataxis are indistinguishable in structure from others to which it cannot be applied, such as most of the examples given under 2. Yet we cannot separate τά τ' ἐκείναται ὡ ς' ἐπίδεικτες from φιλήσαι αὐτ' κ' ἐχαμεν, or that again from ἀφοσάμην ὄνιον ἔεπεις. In particular it will be found that the theory does not apply to clauses which are conditional so well as to those which give a reason. The exclamatory use—οἶνον ἔεπεις and the like—does not furnish a good argument, because the pronoun used in a simple exclamation would not be Demonstrative, but Interrogative (ποίον ἔεπεις, &c.). The most decisive consideration, however, is that the Relativial use of ὡς and its derivatives is common to Greek and Sanscrit, and may be regarded therefore as Indo-European. Consequently there is a strong presumption against any hypothesis which explains the Homeric use of the Relative from a still earlier or pre-Indo-European stage of language.

4. Sometimes an Antecedent is not construed with the Governing Clause, but follows the Case of the Relative. This is allowed if the Antecedent is separated from its own clause, as—

This 'Inverse Attraction' may be placed with the forms in which the Antecedent is wanting, because it can only arise when the original construction of the Antecedent (ἐλκομεν νῦν ὁσαι--) has been forgotten.

5. Again, the Correlative structure is liable to an extension, the characteristic of which is that the Relatival Adverb has no proper construction in its own clause.

This may be most clearly seen in the use of οὐνεκα (i.e. οὐ ένεκα) for which reason: e.g.--

II. 1. 110 ὡς ὅη τοῦδ’ ἐνεκά σφιν ἐκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει, οὐνεκά ἐγώ...οὐκ ἐθελον κτλ.

Apollo causes sorrow for this reason, that I would not §v. Here we cannot translate οὐνεκα for which reason: the reason does not precede, but is given by the Relative Clause. That is, the first ἐνεκα is rational; the second is logically unmeaning. Hence the οὐνεκα can only be due to the correlation: as it is usually expressed, οὐνεκα is attracted to the antecedent τοῦνεκα. Then—since οὐνεκα comes to imply a correlative τοῦνεκα—the antecedent τοῦνεκα is omitted, and the relatival οὐνεκα by itself comes to mean for the reason that, because.

The process may be traced more or less distinctly in all the Relatival Adverbs. Thus ὡς (in which manner) comes to mean in such manner that: and so ὅφρα for so long that, ἡνα (lit. where) to the end that. Also, as will be shown presently, ὡς, ὅτι and ὥ τε are Adverbial Accusatives, meaning literally in which respect, hence in respect that, because: e.g. ἐλπεῖν ὅτι ἐξωσάτω to say for what he was angered with χώσατο ὅτι he was angered for (the reason) that. The qualifying force of the Adverb is transferred from its own clause to the Verb of the Governing Clause.

On the same principle ἐκ τοῦ ὅτε from the time when becomes ἔξ οὐ (for ἐκ τοῦ οὐ—): and εἰς τὸ ὅτε becomes εἰς ὥ to the time that.

268.] οὐνεκα. This Conjunction (which may be treated as a single word) is used in two ways:—

(a) to assign a cause or reason:

(b) to connect the fact expressed in the Relative Clause with a Verb of saying, knowing, &c.

The second of these uses is evidently derived from the first by a kind of degeneration, or loss of meaning. The fact told or known is originally given as the ground of the saying or knowing. The transition may be seen in—

Od. 7. 299 ξείω', ἣ τοι μὲν τοῦτό γ' ἐναλάμων οὐκ ἐνόησε παῖς ἐμη', οὐνεκα σ' οὐ τι μετ' ἀμφιπόλουσι γνωάξειν ἤγεν εἰς ἡμέτερον
my daughter did not judge aright in this, because she did not &c., more simply, in this, that she did not &c. Again—

Od. 5. 215

οδα καὶ αὐτὸς

πάντα μᾶλ’, οὕνεκα σεῖο περὶϕρων Πηνελόπεια κτλ.

I know all, inasmuch as Penelope is &c.; i.e. I know that she is. This use is found with Verbs of saying in Od. 13. 309., 15. 42., 16. 330, 379. In the Iliad it occurs only once, viz. II. 11. 21 πεῦθετο ... μέγα κλέος, οὕνεκ’ Ἀχαϊον κτλ.

Note that (except in Od. 13. 309., 16. 379) the Verb is followed by an Acc. of the thing; so that the Relative Clause does not directly take the place of the Object. Thus (e.g.) πεῦθετο κλέος οὕνεκα is literally heard a rumour the ground of which was that &c.

A peculiar use to state a consequence which is made the ground of inference may be seen in II. 9. 505 ἡ δ’ Ἀητη σθεναρή τε καὶ ἀρτιπος, οὕνεκα πάσας πολλὰν ὑπεκπρόθετε Αττι is strong and sound of foot, (as we know) because she &c.

269.] ὡ, ὅτι, ὧ τέ. The Acc. Neut. of the Relative, when used adverbially (§ 133), yields the three ‘Conjunctions’ ὡ, ὅτι, ὧ τέ, which mean properly in respect that, hence usually (a) because, or (b) that (after a Verb of saying, knowing, &c.). The antecedent τό is generally wanting, but is found in a few instances: as II. 19. 421 τό οὐδα καὶ αὐτὸς, ὧ τοι κτλ.: II. 5. 406 οὐδὲ τό οἴδε ... ὅτι μᾶλ’ οὐ δυναῖον κτλ.: II. 1. 120 λεύσοτε τό γε πάντες, ὧ μοι κτλ.; also II. 15. 217., 19. 57., 20. 466, and Od. 13. 314 (seemingly the only instance in the Odyssey). These places, however, serve to show the origin of the idiom. We have here the phenomenon already noticed in § 267, 5, viz. the Relative has no construction in its own Clause, but reflects the construction of the Demonstrative in the principal Clause. E.g. II. 20. 283 ταρβήσας δ’ οἱ ἄγχι τάγη βέλος δρεαίνειν because the dart stuck near him represents an older ταρβήσας (τὸ) δ’ τάγη βέλος. The adverbial Accusative with ταρβήσας would express the nature or ground of dread (as in τό γε δειλιθι, τόδε χώει, &c.); hence the meaning dreading in respect of (or because of) this, that the dart stuck. Accordingly we find δ’ = because chiefly with Verbs of feeling, which regularly take a Neuter Pronoun of the ground of feeling.*

* The Clauses of this type are the subject of Dr. Peter Schmitt’s monograph, Über den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen (Würzburg, 1889). He rightly takes δ’ (ὅτι, &c.) to be an Acc. of the ‘inner object’ (§ 133), but he seems to have overlooked the real difficulty; which is that δ supplies an object to the Verb of the principal Clause, not to the Verb of its own Clause. Thus he says ‘δρω δ νοσιν war ursprünglich: ich weiss, was du krankst; ὡτι δ ἐκ ἐπίγεσε ich weiss, was er dich gelobt hat’ (p. 21). But the
(1) * in respect that, because may be exemplified by—

II. 16. 835 Ἰρωσι ϕιλοποτέμουσι μεταπρέπω, ὁ σφιν ἀμύνω ἱμαρ ἀνιγκαῖον (for that I keep off).

Od. 1. 382 Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον δαρασιέω ἀγόρευν.


The use to state a consequence as a ground of inference (like that of ὄντεκα in II. 9. 505, § 268) occurs in—

Od. 4. 206 τοιού γὰρ καὶ πατρός, ὃ καὶ πεπνυμένα βάζεις

for you are of a wise father, (as I know) because you speak wisely: so Od. 18. 392, and probably also—

II. 21. 150 τις τόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, ὃ μεν ἐτήλης ἀντίκεν ἐλθεῖν; who are you that you dare &c.

The transition to the use of * = that may be seen in—

Od. 2. 44 οὔτε τι δήμου ἀλλο πιφαύσκομαι οὔδε ἀγορεύω ἀλλ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖον, ὃ μοι κακὸν ἐμπεσεν οἴκῳ

what I tell is my own case (which consists in the fact) that evil has fallen on my house. It is common with ὁδὰ, γιγνώσκε (II. 5. 433, &c.), ἄρω (II. 15. 248): and is found with Verbs of seeing, as II. 1.

120 λεύσαστε γὰρ τὸ γε πάντες ὃ μοι γέρον ἐξεταί ἄλλη γε γε σαι this, that my prize goes elsewhere (II. 19. 144, 22. 445, Od. 17. 545).

(2) ὅτι because is common after the Verbs of feeling. We need only stop to notice some instances (parallel to those of * just quoted) in which ὅτι is = as I know because:

II. 16. 33 νηλεῖς, οὐκ ἄρα σοὶ γε πατὴρ ἵνα ἰππότα Πηλεύς,

οὔδε Θεός μῆτηρ, γλαυκὴ δὲ σε τίκτε ὑλασσα, πέτραι τ' ἡλιβατοί, ὅτι τοι νόσοι ἐκτίν ἀπίησις

meaning now I know that you are no child of Peleus &c., because your mind is relentless. So—

II. 21. 410 νηπτύτ', οὔδε νῦ πῶ περ ἑπεφράσω δῦσον ἄρεων

ἐνχοε' ἐγὼν ἐμναῖ, ὅτι μοι μένοι ἀντιφερίζεις.

Od. 5. 339 κάμμορε, τίπτε τοι ὁδε Ποσειδᾶων ἐνοσίχθων

ἀδύσατ' ἐκπάγλως, ὅτι τοι κακὰ πολλὰ φυτεύει

why is Poseidon so enraged against you (as he seems to be) since he

two meanings, I know in what respect you are sick and I know that you are sick are quite distinct, and are given by essentially different constructions of the Relative. Let us take as example a Clause which follows a Verb of feeling: ἐξώσατο ὅτι οἱ δέκτος ἐκφυγε χεῖρος. The construction with ἐξώσατο is the Acc. of the 'inner object' (as τὸ δέκτο, τὸ γε δεῖθο, &c.). But ὅτι is in a different Clause from ἐξώσατο: the full construction would be ἐξώσατο (τὸ) ὅτι. Schmitt would say that ὅ τι ἐκφυγε also is an Acc. of the 'inner object,'—that the sentence meant originally was angered in respect of this in respect of which it flew out. It is surely more probable that ἐξώσατο ὅ τι was like ἔε ὄμ from the time that, εἰς ὅ το the time that, ὄντεκα for the reason that, &c. (§ 267, 5), so that ὅ τι was an Acc. by Attraction, and had no real construction with its own Verb.

The transition to the meaning that may be seen in—

II. 2. 255 ἡσαε ὁνειδίζων ὅτι οἱ μάλα πολλὰ διδοῦσι reproaching him in respect that, with the fact that, ἕκ. 24. 538. It is the regular meaning with Verbs of knowing: II. 8. 175 γινώσκω δ' ὅτι μοι πρόφρων κατένευσε Κρονίων I know that ἕκ. Κρ. II. 1. 536 οὕδε μω Ἡρη ἡγούμενεν ἵδον' δ' οἱ κτλ.: 24. 563 καὶ δὲ σε γινώσκω . . ὅτι θεών τίς σ' ἤγε.

The use of ὅτι that is commoner in the Iliad than in the Odyssey (where ὅς and οὗτος partly supply the place, see § 268).

(3) The form ὅ τε (so written by Bekker to distinguish it from ὅτε when) is found in Homer with the same varieties of meaning as ὅ and ὅτι. Thus we have ὅ τε = because in—

II. 1. 244 χωόμενος ὅ τε ἄριστον ᾿Αχαίων ὁδὴν ἐτίωσα angry because ἕκ. Ὅδ. 6. 126., 16. 509, Od. 8. 78. So—

Od. 5. 356 ὧς ὁ ἐγὼ, ὑί τίς μοι υφαίσχω ὄλουν αὕτε ἄθανάτων, ὅ τε με σχέδιος ἀποστινά ἀνώγειν i.e. there is a snare in this bidding me to get off the raft. So probably II. 1. 518 ἡ δὴ λογία ἐγρ' ὅ τε μ' κτλ. it is a pestilent thing that you ἕκ. Ὅδ. 19. 57 ἡ δρ τὸ τῶο ἀμπότερου καί ἄρειον ἐπλεῖτο ὅ τε κτλ.: and the exclamatory use (§ 267, 3, c) in II. 16. 433 ὧς ὁ ἐγὼ, ὅ τε κτλ. ἀλας for me that ἕκ. Ὅδ.

Again, ὅ τε is = as I know because, in—

II. 4. 31 δαμομίνη, τί νό σε Πράμος Πράμωι τέ παίδες τόσα κακὰ ἰέσουσιν, ὅ τ' ἀπερχέσαι μενανεῖς how do Priam and his sons do you such evil, (as they must do) since you are furiously enraged?

II. 15. 467 ὧς τόποι, ὧς δὴ πάγυ μαχίας ἐπὶ μήδεα κελεῖ δαίμων ἡμετέρης, ὅ τε μοι βιόν ἐκβάλε χειρός (as I judge from this) that he has thrown the bow from my hands. So Od. 13. 129 ὧς τέ με βροτοί οὐ τί τίουσι for that mortals honour me not: Od. 14. 89 οὐδὲ δὲ τοῦ ἰσαὶ . . ὧς τ' ὄνει ἐθέλουσι οὗτοι something (as is plain) because they are not willing: Od. 21. 254 τοσσοῦνδε βίης ἐπιδεεῦσε εἴμεν . . ὧς τ' οὐ δυνάμεσθα we are so wanting in strength, as appears by the fact that we are not able.

With Verbs of knowing, again, ὅ τε has the meaning that—

II. 1. 411 γνῷ δ' καὶ Ἀτρείδης εὐρυκρεῖον Ἀγαμέμνων ἦν ἄπαι, ὧς τ' ἄριστον ᾿Αχαίων οὐδὲν ἐτίωσε may know his folly, in that he failed to honour ἕκ. Od. 14. 365 ἐγὼ δ' ε' οὖδα καὶ αὐτὸς νόστου ἐμεῖο ἀπακτός, ὧς τ' ἥχθητο πάσι θεοῖς I know of the return of my lord, that (as it showed) he was hated.
by all the gods. So Il. 8. 251 ἑδονθ' ὃ τ' ἄρ' κτλ. saw that ἤτε; and with γινώσκω, II. 5. 231, &c.

The existence of a distinct ὃ τε with the meaning because or that depends upon its being shown that in places such as those now quoted the word cannot be either ὃτι that or ὃτε when. The latter explanation of the reading ὃτε (or ὃτι) is often admissible, e.g. in II. 14. 71 ἦδεα μὲν γὰρ ὃτε—, οἷδα δὲ νῦν ὃτε—; cp. II. 15. 207 εἴθαλον καὶ τὰ τέτυκται ὃτ' . . . εἴδή, and instances in Attic, as Soph. O. T. 1133 κάτωθι ἤμοι κτλ. he knows well of the time when &c., Eur. Troad. 70 οὖθ' ἦν' Ἀιας εἶλκε. But the supposition of a distinct ὃ τε is supported by a sufficient number of examples in Homer,—e.g. II. 5. 331 γινώσκων ὃ τ' ἀναλίκης ἑγόν θεός,—and generally by the complete correspondence of meaning thus obtained between ὃ, ὃτι, and ὃ τε. On the other hand it is extremely improbable that the τ of ὃτι was ever capable of elision. In this respect ὃτι that stands on the same footing as τι and ὃτι. Moreover, the adverbial use of these words, which gives them the character of Conjunctions, is only a slight extension of the ordinary Acc. of the Internal Object (§ 133). Hence if the Neut. of ὃς and ὃς τις is used in this way, it is difficult to see any reason why the Neut. of the equally familiar ὃς τε should be excluded. The ancient authorities and the MSS. vary in some places between ὃτε and ὃτι (as in Il. 14. 71, 72, 16. 35, Od. 13. 129), and on such a point we have no good external authority.

270.] ὃ, ὃτι, ὃ τε as Conjunctions. In a few instances it is impossible to explain these Relatives by supplying an Accusative τó in the principal Clause. Thus in—

Od. 20. 333 νῦν ὃ ἦν έτ' ἤδη τόδε ἤδηλον, ὃ τ' οὐκέτι νόστιμος ἔστι
the Antecedent is a Pronoun in the Nom. Similarly in—

II. 5. 349 ὃ οὖχ ἄλις ὃττι γυναῖκας ἀνάλλικας ἱπεροπετεύεις; the principal Clause is Impersonal, and the Antecedent might be a Nom. (is it not enough) or Gen. (is there not enough in this), but hardly an Accusative. Again in—

II. 8. 362 οἰδ' τι τῶν μέμνηται, ὃ οἱ μᾶλα πολλάκις κτλ.

17. 207 τῶν ποιήσετ' ὃ τοι κτλ. (as amends for the fact that)

Add II. 9. 493 τὰ φρονέων ὃ μοι κτλ., 23. 545 τὰ φρονέων ὃτι οἱ κτλ.: and also Od. 2. 116 τὰ φρονέων' ἀνὰ δυνοῦν ὃ οἱ κτλ., where the v. l. ὃ for ὃ has good MS. authority.

In these instances, then, the forms ὃ, &c. have ceased to be felt as Case-forms, and may properly be termed Conjunctions.

The Mood in all Clauses of this kind is the Indic.—not the Opt., as in some Attic uses (Goodwin, § 714).
It may be worth while pointing out the parallel between this extension of the Relative Clause and the development which has been observed in the use of the Infinitive (§ 234). In the first instance the Clause serves as epexegesis of an Acc. with a Verb of saying, knowing, feeling, &c. (§ 237, 2): 

my δειδεθείν τινα 

fear not any one, for being likely to see; 

ταρβθίας (το) δ' ἄγγι πάγι βέλος 

fearing (this), that the spear stuck near him. Then the Acc. is used without reference to the construction of the principal Verb and consequently the dependent Clause may stand to it as logical Subject: 

οῦ τ' νεμοςιγήν βασιλέα 

ἀπαρίσσασθαι for a king to make his peace is no shame; 

οὐ γάμῳ ὅτι ἤπεροπεύεις is 

(the fact) that you deceive not enough;—where the Clause in both cases serves as a Nom. Finally the Clause is used as an indeclinable Noun of any Case: 

τῶν μέρηται δ' κτλ. remembers this, that &c.; to which corresponds the so-called 'articular Infinitive,' or Inf. with the Article as a Substantive.

The three forms δ, ὅ τε, ὅτι do not differ perceptibly in meaning. Hence the reduction in Attic to the single ὅτι is no real loss.

270*.] Indirect Discourse. Clauses introduced by δ (ὅ τε, ὅτι), ὃς, οὗνεκα after Verbs of saying and knowing are evidently of the nature of oratio obliqua, or indirect quotation of the words of another person.

The Homeric language has no forms of Syntax peculiar to Indirect Discourse (such as the use of the Opt. or Pres. Indic. after a Secondary Tense). Every assertion is made from the speaker's own point of view: consequently what was present to the person quoted must be treated as now past. Accordingly the Present Tense of the oratio directa becomes the Impf., the Pf. becomes the Plpf. The Future is thrown into past time by the help of μέλλω, as in οὐδὲ τὸ ἕδη δ' οὐ πελεσθαὶ ἐμελλώ he knew not that he would not be persuaded. The only exception to this is Od. 13. 340 ἔδε' δ' νοστήσεις I knew that you will (i.e. would) return. For an instance of the Opt. with ὃς after a Verb of saying see § 306, 2: and cp. the Dependent Question, § 248.

The Clauses now in question are commoner after Verbs of knowing, hearing, remembering, &c. than after Verbs of saying. Of the former kind there are about 70 in Homer; of the latter, which may be counted as examples of true Indirect Discourse, there are 16. Of these, again, only three are in the Iliad (16. 131., 17. 654., 22. 439). This confirms the view that these Clauses are originally causal, the meaning that being derived from the meaning because (§ 268). If we confine ourselves to δ (ὅ τε) and ὅτι the proportion is still more striking, since out of more than 50 instances there are only four with a Verb of saying*.

271.] Form of the Relative Clause. It is characteristic of the Relative Clause that the Verb to be is often omitted: as—

Il. 8. 524 μὴ δοσίδος ὅς μὲν νῦν ὅγιση, εἰρημένος ἔστω,

* The figures are taken from Schmitt (Ursprung des Substantivalsizes), but include instances of ὅ τε which he refers to ὅτε when.
PRONOUNS.

and so ὅσοι Ἀχαιοί, οἱ περ ἄριστοι, ἢ τις ἄριστη, ὅς τ' αἵτως ὅς τε καὶ οὕτι, &e. Hence we should write in II. 11. 535; 20. 500 ἀντικεῖαι αἱ περὶ ἀφενον, in II. 21. 353 ἵκθυες οἱ κατὰ ὅρας. So with the Adverbs; as Od. 10. 176 ὅφρ' ἐν νητ θοη βρασίς τε πόσις τε so long as there is food and drink in the ship.

1. This ellipse leads to a peculiar 'Attraction' into the Case of the Antecedent, found chiefly with ὅσοι τε, as—

Od. 10. 113 τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα | εὖροι δὴν τ' ὅρασ κορυφήν, which is equivalent to τόσην δὴν ἐστι κορυφή; and so ὅσον τε, Od. 9. 322, 325., 10. 167, 517., 11. 25; also οἶον τε, Od. 19. 233. The only instance in the Iliad is somewhat different:—

II. 1. 262 οὐ γὰρ πιὸ τοῦν ἵδον . . ὅιον Πειρίδοον κτλ.

The later Attraction of the Relative into the Case of the Antecedent is not found in Homer. Kühner gives as an example II. 5. 265 τῆς γὰρ τοι γενέως ἦς Τρομί περ ἑφυστα Ζεὺς δῶκε. But there the Gen. is partitive: 'the brood from which Zeus gave' (§ 151 e). So II. 23. 629 (§ 153).

2. Another effect of this omission may be found in the use of double Relatival forms, especially ως ὅτε as (it is) when; which again may be used without any Verb following: e.g.—

II. 13. 471 ἀλλ' ἐμεν' ως ὅτε τις σὺς ωδρευν ἀλκε πεποιω, ως τε μένει κτλ.

So ως εἰ and ως εἰ τε as (it would be) if, as in II. 5. 373 τίς νῦ σε τοιάδ' ἐρεξε . . . ὅς εἰ τι κακὸν ἐδούσαν.

A similar account is probably to be given of the peculiar double Relative—

II. 8. 229 τη ξεπαν εὐχαλαί, ὅτε δὴ φάμεν εἶναι ἄριστοι, ὅς ὅπτυ' ἐν Λήμνῳ κεναντηχεῖς ἵγορδασθε when once (whenever it was) you made boast in Lemnos.

3. The want of a finite Verb also leads to the construction of οἶον, ως, &e. with the Infinitive. This is only beginning in Homer; see § 235. It arises by a kind of mixture or 'contamination' of two simple constructions, viz.—

(1) the ordinary Inf. with the Demonstratives τοῖος, τηλίκος, &e. (§ 232); as τοῖοι ἀμφώμενεν of the kind to defend (Od. 2. 60), μένεν ἐτι τηλίκος of the age for remaining (Od. 17. 20);

(2) the Correlative form, such as II. 5. 483 τοῖον οἴον κ' ἥ φέροιεν 'Ἀχαϊοί ἢ κεν ἄγοιεν: II. 7. 231 ἥμεις δ' εἴμην τοῖον οἴν ὁν σέθεν αὐτόώμεσιν.

Thus (e.g.) Od. 21. 172 τοῖον . . οἴον τε ὑποκα βιοῦ τ' ἐμεναι καὶ ὀντων combines the forms τοῖον ἐμεναι of the kind to be and τοῖον οἴον τε (ἐστι) of the kind that (is). In other words, the con-
struc tion of τοίως is transferred to the Correlatives τοίως—οίως. Then τοίως is omitted, and we get οίως with the Inf. The same may be said of ὧς τε with the Inf., which is post-Homeric.

272.] Double Relative Clauses. When a Relative introduces two or more Clauses connected by καί or δέ, it need not be con-
strued with any Clause after the first: e. g.—

Il. 1. 162 ὃ ἐπὶ πόλις ἔμογησα, δόσαν δὲ μοι νίες Ἀχαιών
for which I toiled, and which the sons of the Greeks gave me.

Od. 2. 114 τῷ ὅπερ τε πατήρ κέλεται καὶ ἀνδάνει αὐτῇ,
and who is pleasing to herself. The Relative is not repeated in
any Clause of this form; but its place is often taken by another
Pronoun (usually an enclitic, or an unemphatic αὐτός) :

Il. 1. 78 ἣ γὰρ ὅποια ἀνδρα χολωσέμεν, ὃς μέγα πάντων
"Argeiów krateéi καὶ οἱ πελώνται Ἀχαιών.

Od. 9. 19 ἐιρ᾽ Ὄδυσσεως Λαερτίάνης, ὃς πάσι δόλουσιν
ἀνθρώποισιν μέλω, καὶ μεν κλέος ὑπάρχων ἱκεί.

This idiom, it should be observed, is not peculiar to Homer, but prevails in all periods of Greek (Kühner, II. p. 936).

On the same principle, when a succession of Clauses is intro-
duced by a Relational Adverb, the first Verb may be in the Subj.
or Opt., while the rest are in the Indie. This is especially
noticeable in similes, as—

Il. 2. 147 ὃς δ᾽ ὅτε κινήης Ζέφυρος βασθ λήιον ἐλθὼν,
λαβὼν ἑπαγίζων, ἐπὶ τ᾽ ἦμει αὐσταχύσσαι.

4. 483 ἢ ρά τ᾽ ἐν εἰλαμείη ἐλεος μεγάλου πεφύκη
λειπ., ἀτάρ τε οἷς ὄς ἓς ἓς ἀκροτάτη πεφύσαι.

Successive Relative Clauses not connected by a Conjunction are frequent in Homer. The Relative may be repeated for the
sake of emphasis: Od. 2. 130 ὁμῶν ἀκόουσαν ἀπώσαι ἢ ὃ ἕτεχ᾽ ἢ ὃ ἔθρεψε. Or the second Clause is epexегetic of the first: as—

Il. 5. 403 σχέλπνοις, δέβρωμεργός, ὃς οὐκ ὠς θεῖα αἴσπινα ὥζουν,
ὡς τόξουσιν ἔκηδε θεοίς (so 6. 131., 17. 674, &c.).

Or it marks the return to the main thread of the narrative: as—

Od. 14. 288 ὃ ὅτε Φώις ἠλδεκ ἀνίρ, ἀπατήλα οἴδος,
τρόκτης, ὃς ὃ τολλὰ κάκ᾽ ἀνθρώπωσιν ἑώργειν,
ὡς ὃ ἄγον παρπεπιθών κτλ. (cp. II. 15. 461–3).

Where different Pronouns are used as Relatives in successive
Clauses, the reason of the variety may often be traced. Thus in
Il. 16. 157 οἱ ἃ δὲ λύκοι ὃς ὁμοφάγοι, τοιῶν τε περὶ φρεσίν ἄσπετος
ἀλκή, οἱ τ᾽ ἐλαφον.. δάπτουσιν, the Art. τοῖς gives a characteristic of
all wolves, the Rel. οἳ passes to the wolves of the particular
simile. In both the meaning is general, accordingly τε is used.

Again, we find ὧς τε introducing a general assertion, while ὧς
relates to a particular fact: as Π. 4. 442 ἦ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται... ὦ σφιν καὶ τότε κτιλ.; 5. 545 Ἀλφείωδης ὦ τ' έύρη πέει Πυλίων διὰ γαλής, ὦς τέκετ' 'Ορσίλοχος: and in the reverse order, Π. 18. 520 οἱ ὦ δ' ὄστε ὦ ἰκανον ὦθι σφίουι εἰκε λοχῆσαι ἐν ποταμῷ, ὦθι τ' ἀρδύμοις ἐγν.

The difference between ὦς τίς and ὦς τε appears in Od. 6. 286 καὶ δ' ἄλλῃ μεμεσῶ ὦ τίς τοιαύτα γε ἰέξω, ὦ τ' ἀδεκτί φίλων πατρός καὶ μητρός ἑώτων ἀνδράσι μᾶγγητα. Here ὦ τίς insists on the inclusion of all members of the class (any one who—), ὦ τε prepares us for the class characteristics (one of the kind that—).

CHAPTER XII.

USES OF THE MOODS.

Introductory.

273.] Classification of Sentences. Before entering upon an examination of the Homeric uses of the Moods, it will be convenient to give some account of the different kinds of Sentences and Clauses with which we shall have to deal.

A Simple Sentence—or the principal Clause in a Complex Sentence—may be purely Affirmative. Or, the affirmation may be turned (either by the use of a suitable Pronoun or Particle, or by the tone and manner in which it is uttered) into a question: i.e. the Sentence may be Interrogative. Or, a predication may be framed in order to be denied: in which case a Particle is added to make the Sentence Negative. Or, the Sentence may express Wish, Purpose, or Command; and any of these may again be combined with a Negative, so as to express some variety of Prohibition. Or, once more, the Sentence may be Conditional, i.e. may assert, deny, command, &c. subject to a hypothesis; and this hypothesis or condition may be expressed by a subordinate Clause, or by an Adverb or adverbial phrase (then, in that case, or the like); or the condition need not be expressed at all, but conveyed by the drift of the context.

A subordinate Clause may be so loosely connected with the principal Clause as to be virtually an independent sentence. We have seen that this is generally the case (for example) with Clauses introduced by the Article (§ 262). The Clauses which chiefly concern us now are—

1. Dependent Interrogative Clauses.
2. Prohibitive Clauses (μὴ = lest).
3. Relative Clauses proper (introduced by ὅσ).*
4. Clauses introduced by a Relatival Adverb (ὡς, ὅθεν, ὅθεν, ὅτε, ἐκο, ὅφρα, &c.; also ἐνθα, ἵνα, and ἐπει). (§ 269, 3).
5. Clauses introduced by εἰ if.

This classification is based upon the grammatical form of the Clause. If we look to the relation in point of meaning between the two Clauses of a Complex Sentence, we find that subordinate Clauses fall into a wholly different set of groups. Thus there are—

(1) Clauses expressing cause or reason: as—

II. 2. 274 ἃν ὁδὲ τὸν ἀριστον ἐν Ἀργείουσιν ἐρεῖν, ὅς τὸν λαβομένα ἐπεσβόλου ἐχ' ἄγοράνων. (§ 267, 3)

And clauses like II. 4. 157 ὅς σ' ἔβαλον Τρώες since the Trojans have thus shot at you; 6. 166 ὅλον ἄκουσε at hearing such a thing (§ 267, 3) as well as in the regular Causal use of ὅς, ὅτι, ὅτα (§ 269), and ὅμοια.

(2) Clauses expressing the Object of Verbs of saying, knowing, thinking, &c. (i. e. the fact or thing said, &c.): as—

II. 2. 365 γνῶση ἐπειδ' ὅς ὅ θ' ἡγεμόνων κακός, ὅς τε ἐν λαών. Od. 6. 141 ὅ δ' ἐμερμήριζεν Ὀδυσσέας | ἦ.. ἦ κτλ.

II. 18. 120 ἅνοιεν δ' ὅς ὅ δ' ἄνυ έγώ πολέμου πέταμαι. ὅπι περὶστάται α' κε θέρσιν (tries if it will run).

(3) Clauses expressing condition or limitation; which may be introduced—

By ὅς as τῶν ὅν ἐγώ βροτοί ἐσι of the mortals now living: ὅς κ' ἐπιθένης he who is in want: ὅς κε θεοὶ ἐπειδήθησαν he who shall obey the gods: ὅς τι οἱ εἰσαίρο whatever seemed to him.

By a Relatival Adverb: of manner, as ὅς ἔπιτελλον as I bid, ὅς ἄν ἐγὼν ἐπω as I shall speak; of time, ἐπεί, ὅτε, &c., also ἐὼς and ὅφρα when they mean so long as; of place, as ὅπως πιότατον πέδιον where is the richest of the plain.

By εἰ—the common form of Conditional protasis. It will be convenient to term all these Clauses 'Conditional'—the word being taken in a wide sense, so as to include every Clause of the nature of a definition or limitation, as well as those in which actual priority in time is implied.

(4) Final Clauses, expressing end or purpose: introduced—

By ὅς; as II. 4. 190 ἐπιθήσετι δόμαμι ἀ κεν πάνωσι will apply drugs which shall stay: II. 14. 107 ἃν ὅ εἰσιν ὅς... ἐμπίπτον may there be one who may tell.

By ὅς, ὅπως, ἵνα—the ordinary forms expressing purpose.
By εἰσ (better written ἦσ in Homer*) and ὑπ' , when they mean till such time that. To these we may add εἰς ὅ until, which (like οὖνκα) is practically a single word.

By εἴ or αἳ: as II. 1. 420 ἐἵμ' αὖτη... αἳ κε πίθηται I go in the hope that he will listen.

By μὴ lest (= ἵνα μὴ).

It is important to observe that the several groups of Clauses now pointed out are generally indistinguishable in respect of grammatical form; so that Clauses of the same form (introduced by the same Pronoun or Particle, and with a Verb of the same Tense and Mood) often bear entirely different meanings. This will be shown in detail in the course of the present chapter; meanwhile a few instances may be noted as illustrations.

1. Final Clauses introduced by ὡς are in the same form as the Conditional or limiting Clauses such as ὡς κε τύχη, ὅτι κεν εἶπης, &c.

2. The regular Final Clauses with ὡς and ὅτος are in the same form as the limiting ὡς ἄν εἴγων εἶναι as I shall speak, ὅτος ἦθελον as he pleases, &c.

3. Clauses with ὡς and ὑπ' may either be Conditional (when the Conjunction means so long as), or Final (when it means until).

4. The Final Clause with εἴ is indistinguishable in form from the ordinary Conditional Protasis: compare αἳ κε πίθηται to see if he will listen with II. 24. 592 μή μοι Πάτρουλε σκοῦμαι ἔμεν αἳ κε πίθηται be not angry in case you hear.

5. Clauses with μὴ may either be Final (when μὴ = ἵνα μὴ), or Object-Clausas after a Verb of fearing (βίλαω μὴ).

From these examples it is evident that in this as in so many parts of Greek grammar the most important differences of meaning are not expressed by corresponding distinctions of form. The Pronoun or Conjunction which connects the subordinate with the principal Clause generally leaves the real relation between the two Clauses to be gathered from the context.

These different kinds of Sentence are distinguished to some extent by means of Particles, of which it will be enough to say here that—

1. Strong Affirmation is expressed by τί, and the same Particle is employed in Interrogation (especially with ironical force).

2. Negation is expressed by οὐκί (οὐκ, οὐ), Prohibition by μή.

3. The Particle εἴ, in its ordinary use, marks a Conditional Protasis, i.e. a Clause stating a condition or supposition.

4. The Particles κε(ν) and αἳ mark a predication as being Conditional, or made in view of some limitation to particular conditions or circumstances.

* It is often convenient to use the Attic form ἦσ as the name of the Particle, but this cannot be the true Homeric form. The metre shows that it must be a trochee; and the Doric ὡς (Ahrens, Dial. Dor. p. 200) represents contraction of ἦς: cp. the Cretan τᾶς for τές (Hesych.). Hence we should have in Homer either ἦς (the older Ionic form, cp. ἦνῶς) or ἦς, which would properly be Doric or Ἑλικ, like λᾶς &c. Of these ἦς is evidently the more probable. [273]
The Subjunctive—in Principal Clauses.

274.] The Subjunctive in a Simple Sentence, or in the Principal Clause of a Complex Sentence, may be said in general to express either the will of the speaker or his sense of the necessity of a future event. Like the English must and shall, by which it may usually be rendered, it is intermediate in meaning between an Imperative and a Future. Sometimes (as in ἵομεν let us go, or in Prohibitions with μή) it is virtually Imperative; sometimes it is an emphatic or passionate Future. These varieties of use will be best understood if treated with reference to the different kinds of sentence—Affirmative, Interrogative, Negative, Prohibitive, &c.—in which they occur.

275.] In Affirmative sentences the force of the Subj. depends in great measure on the Person used.

(a) In the First Person the Subj. supplies the place of an Imperative, so far as such a thing is conceivable: that is, it expresses what the speaker resolves or insists upon doing; e.g.—

II. 9. 121 ἵμων δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλητά δῶρ' ὄνομήνω (where the list of gifts immediately follows).

Od. 2. 222 σήμα τε οἱ χεῦω καὶ ἐπὶ κτέρεα κτερεῖξω πολλὰ μάλ' ὅσα ἐσώκε, καὶ ἄνερι μητέρα δόσω (the Subj. expresses the decisive action to be taken by Telemachus, viz. to acknowledge his father's death: the Fut. δόσω expresses what would follow as a matter of course).

12. 383 ὑσάμαι εἰς 'Αἴθαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσοι φαείνω (said by way of a threat).

Hence after a Clause containing an Imperative the Subj. is used to show what the speaker will do as his part of what he desires to be done: as—

II. 6. 340 ἀλλ' ἀγε νῦν ἐπιμεινων, ἠμία τέχεα δῶν do you wait, and I will put on my armour.

22. 416 σχέσθε, φίλοι, καὶ μ' ὀδόν ἐσάσθε κηδόμενοι περ ἕξελθοντα πόλησις ἰκέσθ'. ἐπι νήσα 'Αχαιών, λιοσωμ' ἀμέρα τῶν Κτα. 450 δέωτε, δῶν μοι ἐπεσθον, ἰδωμ' ὑμι' ἐργα τέτυκται. So after the phrases ἀλλ' ἀγε, εἰ δ' ἀγε, as Od. 6. 126 ἀλλ' ἀγ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς περιόντωμαι ἑδὲ ὑδωρ: 9. 37 εἰ δ' ἀγε τοι καὶ νόστον ἐμὸν πολυκηδέ' ἐνσπω. On the phrase εἰ δ' ἀγε see § 321.

To show that a purpose is conditional upon something else being done, the Subj. may be qualified by the Particle κε(ν):

II. 1. 137 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δῶσων, ἐγώ δέ κεν αὐτός ἑλώμαι if they do not give her, I will (in that case) &c.
II. 14. 235 πέιθεν, ἡγῷ δὲ κέ τοι εἰδὼς χάριν ὁμοῦ, and I will feel thankfulness.
16. 129 δύναι τέθηκα θάσσον, ἡγῷ δὲ κέ λαον ἀγέλρω.

Od. 17. 417 τῷ σε χρῆ δόμεναι καὶ λαῶν ἥ περ ἄλλοι ἵτσων ἡγῷ δὲ κέ σε κλέω κτλ.

So too II. 1. 183 τὴν μὲν . . . πέμψω, ἡγῷ δὲ κ' ἄγω Βρισιάδα I will send her (as required), and then I will take Briseis—the Subj. expressing the speaker’s own threatened action, and κέν marking that it is the counterpart to what is imposed upon him. It will be found that κέν is used when the Clause with the Subj. is introduced by δέ, but not when it follows without a connecting Particle. I. e. it is when the two Clauses are set against one another by δέ that it becomes necessary to express also the conditional nature of the second Clause.

This use of κέν with the Subj. is not found except in Homer. The First Person Plural is similarly used, as Od. 3. 17 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν θὸς κλει Νέατορος ἵπποδάμου εἶδομεν κτλ. And so in the common Hortatory Subj., as φεύγωμεν let us fly.

(b) A Subj. of the Second and Third Person in an Affirmative sentence is usually an emphatic Future, sometimes approaching the force of an Imperative. The only example of a pure Subj. (i. e. without κέν or ἁν) in this use appears to be the phrase καὶ ποτὲ τίς εἴπῃσι and men shall say (II. 6. 459, 479., 7. 87).

With ἁν we find—

II. 1. 205 ὅς ὑπεροπλήσι τάξ' ἁν ποτε θυμὸν ἥληται (in effect a threat of what the speaker will do).
22. 505 νῦν δ' ἁν πολλά πάθησι φίλου ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀμαρτῶν but now he must suffer much δὲ.

With κέν the examples are rather more numerous:

Od. 1. 396 τῶν κέν τις τοῦ ἔχρωσ, ἐπεὶ δάνε δύος Ὀδυσσέας let one of them have this (emphatic assent).
4. 80 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἃ κέν τίς μοι ἐρίσσεται ἥ καὶ οὐκλ.
4. 391 καὶ δέ κέ τοι εἴπῃσι κτλ.
10. 507 ἡσθαί, τὴν δὲ κέ τοι πνοή Βόρεαο φέρησι sit still, and her the breath of Boreas shall bear along (solemn prophetic assurance).


Note that where two alternatives are not expressed by the same Mood, the Subj. gives the alternative on which the stress is laid:

II. 11. 431 σήμερον ἃ δούοις ἐπεύξεαι . . . ἃ κέν εὐμό ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπελὶ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσησ.
II. 18. 308 στήσωμαι, ἢ κε φέρησι μέγα κράτος ἢ κε φερόμην
I shall stand firm, let him gain the victory (= though he shall gain) or I may gain it.

Od. 4. 692 ἀλλος κ' ἔχθαλρησι βροτῶν, ἀλλον κε φιλοῇ
a king will (is sure to) hate one, he may love another.

A curious combination of Opt. and Subj. is found in—

II. 24. 654 αὐτίκ' ἄν ἐξείποι Ἀγαμέμνονι, ποιμένι λαῶν,
καὶ κεν ἀνάβλησις λύσιος νεκροῦ γένηται
he would straightway tell Agamemnon, and then there must be a delay in the ransoming of the dead. The Subj. appears to express the certainty of the further consequence, as though the hypothetical case (αὐτίκ' ἄν ἐξείποι) had actually occurred.

276.] In Negative Clauses properly so called (i.e. distinguished from Prohibitions) the Subj. is an emphatic Future. We find—

(a) The pure Subj. (expressing a general denial):—

II. 1. 262 οὔ γάρ τω τοῖς ιδίων ἀνέφας οὔδε ἰδωμαί
I have not seen—I never shall see.
7. 197 οὔ γάρ τίς με βίη γε ἐκων ἀέκωντα δίηται
no man shall chase me against my will.
15. 349 οὔδε νν τόν γε
γνώσοι τε γνωται τε πυρὸς λελάχωσι βαϊνοντα.

Od. 16. 437 οὖκ ἐσθ' οὔτος ἀνήρ οὔδ' ἐσσεται οὔδε γένηται
there is not, there never will or can be, the man who, &c. (so 6. 201).

24. 29 μοιρ' ὅλος, τίνι οὗ τίς ἀλεύται (cp. 14. 400).

(b) The Subj. with ἄν:—

II. 3. 54 οὖκ ἄν τοι χραίσμῃ κίθαρις κτλ.
be sure that then your lyre will not avail you.
11. 386 εἰ μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον σὺν τεῦχεσι πειρηθεῖσι,
οὖκ ἄν τοι χραίσμησι βίως κτλ.

The reason for ἄν in these places is obvious: in the following instances it seems to be used because there is a contrast:—

II. 2. 488 πληθὺν δ' οὖκ ἄν ἔγω μυθήσομαι οὖδ' ἐνωμήνω
but the multitude I cannot declare or tell by name.

Od. 6. 221 ἀντήν δ' οὖκ ἄν ἐγώγε τεκνων (ἀντήν is emphatic: cp. Od. 4. 240., 11. 328, 517).

277.] In Interrogative sentences the Subj. generally expresses necessity, submission to some command or power; as II. 10. 62 αὖθις μένω, ἦς θέω κτλ. am I to remain here, or am I to run &c.;

Od. 15. 509 πὴ γάρ ἔγω, φίλε τέκνων, ἵω; τεῦ διώμαθ' ἱκώμαι κτλ.
where am I to go? to whose house &c.: Od. 5. 465 δ' ἄν ἔγω, τὶ
SUBJUNCTIVE.

278.] With the Prohibitive Particle μὴ the Subj. has the character of an Imperative. We may distinguish however:

(a) Direct forbidding, usually with the First Person Plural (answering to the Hortatory Subj.), and the Second Person Sing.; sometimes also with the Third Person, as—

Il. 4. 37 ἔρξου ὅπως ἐδέλεις: μὴ τοῦτο γε νεῖκος ὀπίσω σοι καὶ ἐμοὶ μέγ' ἔρισμα μετ' ἀμφοτέροις γένηται

I do not want this to become a quarrel.

Od. 22. 213 Μέντορ, μὴ σ' ἐπέεσσι παραπεπιθήσῃς Ὀδυσσεύς

see that Ulysses does not persuade you.

And with the First Person Sing., as Il. 1. 26 μὴ σέ κιχεῖω let me not catch you; Il. 21. 475 μὴ σεν ἄκούσω.

(b) Fear, warning, suggestion of danger, &c.; e.g.—

Il. 2. 195 μὴ τι χολωσάμενος πέξῃ (I fear he will òς).

5. 487 μὴ ποι ὡς ἀψίδι λίνοι ἀλώντε παγάρου ἀνδράσι δυσμενέσσιν ἐλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένησθε

see that you do not become a prey òς.

22. 123 μὴ μιν ἐγώ μὲν ἱκώμαι λών, ὅ ὑ οὐκ ἐλήσει.

Od. 5. 356 ὃ μοι ἐγώ, μὴ τίς μοι ύφαινησιν ὄλον ἀδικία ἀδανίκων (I hope some god is not tempting òς).

18. 334 μὴ τίς τοι τάχα Ἰρον ἀμείων οὐλος ἀναστῇ

see that a better than Irus does not rise up.

The construction is the same in principle when a Clause of this kind follows a Verb of fearing; and it is sometimes a question whether the Clause is subordinate or not. Thus the older editors (including Wolf) punctuated Il. 11. 470 διέω, μὴ τι πάθοσι—as though διέω were parenthetical. It is
probable, however, that in such cases the Clause with μὴ has acquired a subordinate character, serving as Object to the Verb (thing feared); see § 281.

On the other hand, the Clauses now in question are often explained by supposing an ellipse of a Verb of fearing: μὴ δέχεσθαι δέχομαι μὴ λέγω. This is open to the objection that it separates Clauses which are essentially similar. For μὴ λέγω I will not have him do (hence I fear he may do) is identical in form with μὴ λέγοι I will not have you do. In this case, then, we have the simple Sentence μὴ λέγω, as well as the Compound δέχομαι μὴ λέγοι, into which it entered.

Similar questions may arise regarding Final Clauses with μὴ. Thus in II. 1. 586-7 τέτλαθι, μὴ τετλαθείματε ματήσετον οὔθ ἐθέλητον, and II. 16. 128 μὴ δὴ νησαὶ ἔλαομε καὶ οὐκέτι φυκτά πέλωνται, the Particles are in distinct Clauses. It occurs in a Final Clause, II. 1. 28 μὴ νῦ τοι οὐ χραίομη κτλ., II. 24. 569: and after δέιδω in II. 10. 39 δέιδω μὴ οὔ τίς τοι κτλ.

The Subj. in this use does not take κεν or αὐ, the prohibition being always regarded as unconditional.

It is well known that the Present Subj. is not used as an Imperative of Prohibition (with μὴ). The rule is absolute in Homer for the Second Person. The Third Person is occasionally used when fear (not command) is expressed; the instances are,—Od. 5. 356 (quoted above); 15. 19 μὴ νῦ τί.. φέρηται; 16. 87 μὴ μον κερτομεωσίν. The restriction does not apply to the First Person Plur., as II. 13. 292 μοκέτι ταῦτα λεγώμεθα. We shall see that a corresponding rule forbids or restricts the use of μὴ with the Aorist Imperative (§ 327).

279.] Homeric and Attic uses. In Attic the use of the Subj. in independent Clauses is either Hortatory, or Deliberative, or Prohibitive. Thus the use with ἄν (§ 275, a), the use in Affirmation (§ 275, b), and the Negative uses (§ 276) do not survive.

The Subjunctive in Subordinate Clauses.

280.] Clauses with ἵ—ἡε. Doubt or deliberation between alternative courses of action is expressed by Clauses of the form ἵ (ὁ)—ἡε (ἡ) with the Subj., dependent on a Verb such as φράζομαι, μερμηρίζω, &c., or an equivalent phrase: e. g.—

Il. 4. 14. ἰμαίος δὲ φράζομεθ' ὡπος ἔσται τάδε ἔργα, ἵ ἀυτός πολεμόν τε κακῶν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰῶν ὀρῶμεν, ἵ φιλότητι μετ' ἀμφοτέρους βάλωμεν.

Od. 19. 524 ὦς καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑδὰ θυμὸς ὁρόρεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, ἰμάμενο.. ἰ ἡ ἰδ' ἐπιμαί κτλ. (cp. 22. 167).
This form is also found (but rarely) expressing, not the speaker's own deliberation, but that of a third person:—

Od. 16. 73 μητρὶ δ' ἐμὴ δίχα θυμὸς εἶνε φρεσὶ μερμήριζει, ἦ αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐμὸ τε μένη καὶ δάμα κομίζῃ, κτλ.

The speaker (Telemachus) here expresses himself from his mother's point of view, only putting the Third Person for the First.

So of doubt as to which of two possible results of the speaker's action will be realised:—

II. 13. 327 εἶδομεν, ἦ τῳ εὐχὸς ὀρέξομεν, ἦ τὶς ἡμῖν.
16. 243 εἰσεται ἦ μὰ καὶ οἷος ἐπιστηται πολεμίζεων ἡμέτερος θεράπων, ἦ οἰ κτλ.

where ἐπιστηται (is to know, =will prove to know) is used nearly as the Latin Subj. in Indirect Questions.* An example after a Past Tense is found in II. 16. 646 ff.; see § 298 fin.

281.] Clauses with μη. These are mainly of two kinds—

(1) Final Clauses: the Verb of the principal Clause being—

(a) an Imperative, or equivalent form: as—

Π. 3. 414 μη μ' ἐρέθε, σχετλίη, μη χωσαμένη σε μεθελω.

(β) a Present or Future in the First Person: as—

Od. 6. 273 τῶν ἀλεείων φήμιν ἀδευκέα, μη τις ὀπίσω μωμενή.

In these places the governing Verb shows that the purpose expressed is the speaker's own. The only instance of a different kind is—

II. 13. 648 ἄψ δ' ἐτάρων εἰς θενος ἐχαξετο κηρ' ἀλεείων, πάντωσε πατταίνων, μη τις χρῶαι χαλκῷ ἐπαύρη.

Here (if the reading ἐπαύρη is right) the poet describes the fear as though it were present to himself (see however § 298 fin.).

The two groups of Clauses under discussion agree in using only the pure Subj. (not the Subj. with κεφ or ἄν). In this respect they adhere to the form of the Simple Prohibitive Clause (§ 278).

(2) Clauses following a Verb that expresses the fear of the speaker, as δείδω μή τι πάθησι I fear that he will suffer. Here the Clause with μή, although of the same form as the independent Clauses given in § 278, is practically subordinate, and serves as Object to the Verb. The Verb, it is to be observed, is always in a Present Tense, and in the First Person: i.e. it is the speaker's own present fear that is expressed.

* It is impossible to agree with the scholars who explain ἐπιστηται here as an Indicative; see G. Meyer, G. G. § 485.
Such a Clause may be Object to a Verb of knowing, &c., as—

II. 10. 100 ὀνυμιεύεις δ' ἀνδρες σχεδον ἦσαι, οὔδε τι ἴδεν 
μη' ποσ καὶ διὰ νῦκτα μενοῦντοσι μάχεσθαι.

The fear expressed by μη' ποσ ktl. is subordinated (or on the way to be subordinated) to ἴδεν: we do not know (said apprehensively) whether they will not be eager &c. So Od. 24. 491 ἕξελθαν τις ἵκοι μη δὴ σχεδον δος κύντεσ some one go out and look whether they are not near. And in the Prohibitive use—

II. 5. 411 φραζέσθω μή τίς οἱ ἄμελων σειό μάχηται, 
μη' δὴν κτλ. λεπτοίκει to it that no one &c., lest &c.

Od. 22. 367 εἴπε δὲ πατρὶ μη' με περισσευένω δηλήσεται.

So with a Verb of swearing, Od. 12. 298 ἀμώσατε μη' πο' τίς . . 
ἀποκτά'νυ swear that no one shall slay: Od. 18. 55.

282.] Relative Clauses. These fall into the two groups of Final Clauses and Conditional or limiting Clauses.

The Relative Clauses called Final in the strict sense of the word are those which follow a Clause expressive of will; and the reference to the future is shown in most cases by κεν: e.g.—

II. 9. 165 ἀλλ' ἀγετε κλητοὺς ὅτρυνομεν, οἱ κε τάχιστα 09. 19. 82.
ἐλθωσ' ἐς κλισίνην.

24. 119 δῶρα δ' Ἀχιλλῆι φερέμεν τά κε θυμον ἱηνη.

Od. 13. 399 ἀμφὶ δὲ λαῖφος 
ἐστω, ὃ κε στυγήσων ἕδον ἄνθρωπος ἔχοντα.

19. 403 οὖν' εὔρεο ὅτι κε θηαν.

With ellipse of the antecedent, so that the Clause supplies an Object to the governing Verb—

II. 7. 171 κλῆρα μὲν πεπάλαισθε διαμπερὲς ὃς κε λάχησεν.

In other instances the notion of End is less distinctly conveyed, so that the Subj. need only have the emphatic Future meaning (§ 275, b): as—

II. 21. 126 μέλαναιν φριξ' ὑπαξεὶ 
ἰχθύς, ὃς κε φάγησι Λυκάδους ἄργετα δημόν.

Od. 10. 538 ἤθηα τοι αὐτίκα μάττν ἤλευσται ὀρχαρε λαών, 
ὁς κεν τοι εἶπη κτλ. (so 4. 389, 756., 11. 135).

The prophetic tone prevails in these places: cp. II. 8. 33 ἀλλ' ἐμπν Ἔναν ὠδοφυρόμεθα' αἰχμητάων, οἱ κεν ὃι . . ὀλωνται, where the Subj. is used as in an independent sentence.

The chief examples of a pure Subj. in a Final Clause are—

II. 3. 286 τιμήν δ' Ἀργείωις ὀποτινέμεν ἦν τώ' ἐοικε, 
ἡ τε καὶ ἐσομεύοις μετ' ἄνθρωποι πέληται.

Od. 18. 334 μη' τίς τοι τάχα Ἰρος ἀμέλων ἄλλας ἀναστῇ, 
ὁς τίς σ'. . δῶματος ἕκπεμψησι.
So II. 18. 467 παρέσεται οὖ& # T; τις ... δαμάσεται (unless this is Fut.): also the Object Clause II. 5. 33 μάρνασθ’ ὁποτέρους πατήρ Ζεὺς κύδως ὁρέξει το ὑπὸ (out the issue) to which of the two Zeus shall give victory (i.e. till one or other wins). The want of κεν or ἄν is owing to the vagueness of the future event contemplated, i.e. the wish to exclude reference to a particular occasion.

The Relative is sometimes used with the Subj. after a Negative principal Clause—where there is necessarily no actual purpose:—

Od. 6. 201 οὐκ ἐσθ’ ὄποιοι ἄνηρ ... ὅς κεν ... Ἧηται (v. l. ίκοῖν).

II. 23. 345 οὐκ ἐσθ’ ὅς κε ὅ ἐλησι κτλ.

and without κεν, II. 21. 103 νῦν ὁ’ οὐκ ἐσθ’ ὅς τις θάνατον φύγῃ (v. l. φύγοι). In these places the construction evidently follows that of οὐ and οὐκ ἄν with the Subj. in Simple sentences (οὐκ ἐσθ’ ὅς φύγη = οὐ τις φύγη). Otherwise we should have the Opt. (§ 304. 6).

The Subj. is quite anomalous in—

Od. 2. 42 ὅτε τιν’ ἀγελίαν στρατοῦ ἐκλογὸν ἐρχομένου, ἢν χ’ ἐμίν σάφα εἶπο, ὅτε πρότερος γε πυθοίμην.

But here the speaker is repeating what has been said in the Third Person (30, 31), and with the regular Opt. (ἐποι, πιθανό). He evidently uses εἶπω because εἶπομι does not fit the metre.

It is worth notice that the Relative of purpose with the Subj. is much commoner in the Odyssey than in the Iliad. Of the group which Delbrück describes as Subjunctives of Will with κεν, eleven are from the Odyssey, two (II. 9. 166, 24. 119) are from the Iliad (Synt. Forsch. I. pp. 130–132). In Attic the idiom survives in a few phrases, as ἕχει ὁ τι ἐπιπ (Goodwin, § 65, n. 3).

283.] Conditional Relative Clauses. The numerous Clauses which fall under this heading may be divided again into two classes distinguished by the presence or absence of κεν or ἄν.

(a) The pure Subj. is used when the speaker wishes to avoid reference to particular cases, especially to any future occasion or state of things. Hence the governing Verb is generally a Present or Perfect Indicative: examples are—

II. 1. 554 τὰ φράζει, ἄστ’ ἐθέλησθα (whatever you choose).

14. 81 βέλητεροι ὅς φεύγων προφύγῃ κακόν ἥ ἀλών.

Od. 8. 546 ἀντὶ κασιγήτου ξείνου θ’ ἱκέτης τε τέτυκα τε ἄνεφι ὅς τ’ ἀλῆγον περ ἐπιφανή πραπίδεσσι.

In Similes this usage is extremely common; as—

II. 5. 5 ἄστέρ’ ὁπωρικον ἐναλλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα λαμπρον παμφαλημι (3. 62., 5. 138, 10. 185, &c.).

Od. 13. 31 ὅς τ’ ἄνηρ δόρποιο λιλαίεται, ὅ τε πανήμαρ νειον ἄν ἐλκητον βόε οὐνότε πηκτον ἀρτρον.
Where the principal Verb refers to the future, and κεν or ἕν is not used, the intention is to make the reference quite general and sweeping; e. g.—

Od. 20. 334 ἀλλ' ἀγε σ合资公司 μητρὶ παρεξόμενος κατάλεξεν γῆμασθ' ὡς τις ἄριστος ἀνήρ καὶ πλείστα πόρησι.

Forms of the 3 Sing. Plqpf. are sometimes given by the MSS. and older editions in Clauses of this kind: as πεφύκει (II. 4. 483), ἔστηκε (II. 17. 435), &c. These were corrected by Hermann (Or. ii. 44), reading πεφύκη, ἔστηκη, &c.; see La Roche on II. 4. 483.

(b) The Subj. with κεν indicates limitation to particular circumstances in the future. Hence it is used (with few exceptions) when the governing Verb is a Future, or implies futurity (an Imperative, Subjunctive or Optative): as—

II. 1. 139 ὅ δέ κεν κεχολόστηαι ὅν κεν ἵκωμαι.
Od. 2. 25 κέκλυσε δὴ νῦν μεν, Ἰδακήσιοι, ὀττὶ κεν εἴπω.
II. 21. 103 νῦν δ' οἶκ ἔσθ' ὡς τις θάνατον φύγῃ, ὅν κε θεὸς γε κτλ.
Od. 1. 316 δῶρον δ' ὀττὶ κέ μοι δούναι φίλον ἴτωρ ἄνώγη, αὐτὸς ἀνερχομένῳ δόμεναι (cp. Od. 6. 28).

And after a Verbal in -τος expressive of necessity:—

II. 1. 527 οὐδ' ἀτελευτητον ὅ τι κεν κτλ.
3. 65 οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἔστι .. ὅσα κεν κτλ.

The reference to a particular future occasion may be evident from the context: as—

Od. 6. 158 κενως δ' αὐτ σερ ἐκριν ἀκαρτατος έξοχον ἀλλων, ὃς κέ σ' ἐέννοιοι βρίσας οἰκον' ἀγάγηται.

In the following places this rule appears to be violated by κέ(ν) being used where the reference is general; II. 1. 218, 3. 279, 6. 228, 229, 9. 313, 510, 615, 11. 409, 14. 416, 16. 621, 17. 99, 19. 167, 228, 260, 21. 24. 484, 23. 322, 24. 335, Od. 4. 196, 7. 33, 8. 34, 586, 10. 22, 74, 328, 14. 126, 15. 21, 55, 70, 345, 432, 19. 564, 20. 295, 21. 313, 345. There is strong reason, however, to believe that in most of these instances the appearance of the Particle is due to alteration of the original text. Of the three forms κεν, κε, κ', the first is on the whole the most frequent in Homer. But out of the 35 places now in question the form κεν only occurs in six (not counting II. 14. 416 ὅς κέν έδηται, where κεν is more than doubtful on account of the ρ'); and these six are all in the Odyssey (8. 586, 15. 21, 55, 345, 20. 295, 21. 313). This can hardly be mere accident, and the obvious explanation is that in most of these places, at least in the Iliad, ὅς κε and ὅς κ' have been substituted for ὅς τε and ὅς τ'. Thus we should probably read (e. g.)—

II. 1. 218 ὅς τε θεοίς ἐπισείδηται, μάλα τ' ἐκλυνον αὐτοῦ.
9. 508 ὅς μὲν τ' αἰδεύσεται κούρας Διός ..
510 ὅς δὲ τ' ἀγάγηται καὶ τε κτλ. (cp. 23. 322).

(Instead of the strange correlation μὲν τε—δέ κε).

The real exceptions are most commonly passages in which a Singular is used after a Plural antecedent: as—

S 2
Od. 20. 294 οὗ γὰρ καλὸν ἀτέμβειν ὀθὲ δίκαιον ξίνους Τηλεμάχου, ὥς κεν τάδε δώμαθ᾽ ἵππηαι.

With the change of Number we seem to pass from a general description to a particular instance. So in Od. 15. 345, 422, and perhaps in I. 3. 279., 6. 228., 16. 621, Od. 7. 33: see § 362, 6.

(c) The use of ἄν in the Clauses of this kind is very rare. In the two places I. 8. 10 and 19. 230 the reference to the future is plain. The remaining instance is Od. 21. 293 ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλοις βλάπτει, ὅς ἄν κτλ., where there is the change from the Plural to the Singular just noticed.

284.] The Relatival Adverbs. The most important are: the Adverbs of manner, ὃς and ὁπώς; ἓν, originally an Adverb of place (=where); and the Adverbs of time, ὅφρα, ἔως (ἡνος), εἰς ὃ, ὁτε and ὁπότε, εὑτε, ημοι. It will be best to take these words separately.

285.] ὃς, ὁπώς:

(1) Final Clauses with ὃς or ὁπώς and the Subj. generally depend upon an Imperative, or some equivalent phrase, i.e. they express the aim or purpose of something which the speaker himself does, or wills to be done: as—

I. 1. 32 ἄλλ' ἢδι μὴ μ' ἑρέθισε, σωτέρος ὃς κε νέηαι.
7. 293 ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι, ὃς σὺ τ' ἐὑφρήμης πάντας κτλ.

The only instance in which the purpose expressed is not the speaker’s own is—

Od. 14. 181 τὸν δὲ μνηστήρες ἀγανὶ ὦκαθ' ἐντα λοχώσῃ, ὁπως ἀπὸ φόλον ὅληται.

(2) With Verbs that by their own meaning imply aim or purpose a Clause of this kind becomes an Object Clause: thus—

I. 4. 66 πειρᾶν δ' ὃς κε Τρῆς . . ἀρξὼσι κτλ. (so Od. 2. 316).
9. 112 φραζόμεσθ' ὅς κέν μιν ἄρεσσάμενοι πεπίθωμεν.
Od. 1. 76 ἡμεῖς δ' οἴδε περιφραζόμεθα πάντες νόμον, ὁπως ἐλθησί (how he is to come).
3. 19 λίσσεσθαι δὲ μιν αὐτὸς ὁπως νημερτέα εἴπῃ entreat him so that he shall speak (i.e. to speak).

Here the Clause expresses the thing to be tried, thought about, &c., rather than a consequence of such action.

The purpose is sometimes that of some other person, e.g.—

Od. 1. 205 φράσονται ὃς κε νέηαι he will devise how he is to return (cp. 2. 368., 14. 329).

I. 558 τῇ σ' ὥσ κατανεύσαι εἰπήτυμον ὃς 'Αχιλῆα τιμήσῃς, ὀλέσῃς δὲ κτλ. (had nodded to the effect &c.).
'G2,

286.]

'Oims, 'INA.

and

8.\> observe that in Final and
Object Clauses
with KCV is the commonest, occurring 32 times,
while the Subj. with av and the pure Subj. occur each 8 times.
After OTTUS, which has a more indefinite meaning (in some suck
manner that), the pure Subj. occurs 7 times, the Subj. with KCC
both Object clauses).
twice (Od. i. 296., 4. 545,

Regarding

KCK

after us the Subj.

(3)

In Conditional or limiting Clauses

(a)

After a Present the Subj.

is

:

pure in the phrase

OTTO)? efleAr/o-t

In II. 16. 83 Trettfeo b' &s rot
as he pleases (Od. I. 349., 6. 189).
eyo) pvQov re'Aos kv (ppevl 0efo> the pure Subj. indicates that 0euo
(
is really an unconditional expression of will :
listen to me
I
will tell

'

you

The

cp. the

:

independent sentences such as

II. 6.

rev^ea 8vco ( 275> #)
use of &s and ws re in similes belongs to this head

firiiJ.et.vov,

II. 5-

340

aprjia

J^i

o>s

II. 67 01

8e Ae'coy kv /3oucrt
8' cos

0-yjj.ov

Qopuv

e

:

e.

g.

av\tva a^y KrA.

T a^rjrrjpfs tvavrioi. dAA?yAoi(ny

tXavv&criv KT\.

In this use, as in the corresponding use of the Relative ( 283),
the Subj. is pure, the case supposed being not a particular one
actually expected, but a typical or recurring one.
Delbriick (Synt. Forsch. I. p. 161) makes the curious observation that if the simile begins (as in the second instance quoted)
with a Demonstrative denoting the subject of the comparison,
then the Adverb used is always <Ss re. This rule appears to be
without exception.
The Subj. with &v occurs in the formula <as av
(6)
7m0o>/Ae0a, which refers to a speech about to follow.

The use
II.

2O.

of t&v in

242 Zevs

apcrrjv &vbpcr<nv d^e'AAet re

8'

OTTTTCOS

is

ey<ai> etTrco

KV

fJ-ivvOei.

re

fdf\rjCriV

perhaps due to the contrast between opposite cases
289, 2, *.

:

so with ore,

With a Subj.
286.] ira is used in Final Clauses only.
usually expresses the speaker's own purpose ; even in
Od. 2. 306 ravra 8e rot /xdAa -navTa. reAeur/jo-ouo-ty 'A^atot,
vrja /cat

ecurous eperas, Iva

dacr<rov

it

?/c?jat

I undertake that the Achaeans will do this for
meaning
Exceptions
you/
(out of about 80 instances) are: II. I. 203 rj
iva vfipiv Iby is it that you may see fyc. : II. 9. 99., 12. 435^ 24. 43,

the

Od.

is

'


An

327.

Object Clause with !m is perhaps to be recognised in
Od. 3. 327 Auro-eo-flat 8e [JLLV avrbs "iva


if the reading is right. The line may be an incorrect repetition of 3, 19.

The pure Subj. only is used with ἦνα, except in Od. 12. 156 ἦνα εἰπότες ἦ ἦθανωμέν ἦ ἦνεν ἀλευάμενοι θάνατον καὶ κῆρα φύγομεν, where two alternatives are given by the correlative ἦ κεφ — ἦ κεφ: cp. § 275, 6. But some MSS. have ἦθανωμέν.

As Mr. Gildersleeve points out (Am. Jour. of Phil. iv. 425) ἦνα is the only purely final Particle, i. e. the only one which does not limit the purpose by the notion of time (ὁφρα, ἐος: or manner ἰς, ὁτας). Hence Clauses with ἦνα do not take κεφ or ἐν, because the purpose as such is unconditional.

287.] ὁφρα is sometimes Final, sometimes Conditional.

(1) In Final Clauses ὁφρα either retains a distinctly temporal force—meaning so long till, till the time when,—or passes into the general meaning to the end that. Thus we have—

(a) ὁφρα = until (as shall be), used with κεφ or ἐν, as—

II. 1. 509 τοῦφρα δ' ἐπι Τρώεσσι τίθει κράτος, ὁφρ' ἄν Ἀχαῖοι νίνον ἐμὸν τίσωσιν, ὁφέλλοσιν τέ ἐ τιμή.

22. 192 ἄνιχνεύον θέτει ἐμπεδον, ὁφρα κεφ εὐρη.

With this meaning the pure Subj. is found in II. 1. 82 ἔχει κότον ὁφρα τελέσῃ he keeps his anger until he accomplishes it—a general reflexion: also in II. 12. 281 (in a simile).

(b) ὁφρα = to the end that, used with the pure Subj., rarely with κεφ or ἐν. The transition to this meaning may be seen in—

II. 6. 258 ἀλλὰ μὲν, ὁφρα κέ τοι μεληθέα οὖν ἐνείκω stay till I bring (= giving me time to bring).

(2) Clauses with ὁφρα may be classed as Conditional when it means so long as; e. g.—

II. 4. 345 ἐνθα φίλ' ὀπταλέα κρέα ἐδυμεναι. ὁφρ' ἐθέλησον.

Od. 2. 123 τοῦφρα γἀρ οὖν βιοτόν τε τεῦν καὶ κτήματ' ἔδωνται, ὁφρα κε κείων τούτον ἐχη νίνον.

The use of κεφ or ἐν in these Clauses is governed by the same rule as with ὃς, viz. it is used when the reference is to the future, and is not expressly meant to be general (as II. 23. 47 ὁφρα ὃοοίσι μετελω). As to the form ὁφρ' ἄν μὲν κεφ, see § 363, 4.

In II. 6. 112 ἀνέφες ἐστε, φίλων, μητήσασθε δε θωρίδος ἥλκης, ὁφρ' ἄν ἐγὼ βήμω (ep. 8. 375, 17. 186, Od. 13. 412, 19. 17) the Clause seems to mean until I go, i. e. long enough for me to go. Delbrück however counts the uses of ὁφρα in II. 6. 112, &c. as Conditional (Synt. Forsch. i. p. 170).

288.] ἔως (ἥος) and εἰς ὃ, used with the Subj., always take κεφ. The meaning until, with implied purpose, is the usual one: as—
The Conditional meaning is only found in the recurring expression "οὔτε οὐτῆς καὶ μενη καὶ μοι φίλα γονατ' ὅρφη (II. 9. 609., 10. 89) = so long as I have life.

(1) Clauses with οὔτε and ὀπότε may be counted as Final in a few instances in which the governing Clause contains an expression of time:

(a) with the pure Subj.—

II. 21. Ι. Ι. εὐσεβαι ἡ ἡμεία ἡ δείλη ἡ μέσον ἡμαρ, ὀπότε τις καὶ ἔμειν ἀρεί ἐκ θυμόν ἑληται.

So II. 19. 336 ἐμὴν ποτιδέμενον αἰεὶ λυγρὴν ἀγγελὴν, ὀτ' ἀποφθε-μένων πόηται waiting for the message when he shall hear ὧν, i. e. 'waiting for the time when the news shall come that &c.' Here the clause with ὀτὲ becomes a kind of Object Clause.

(b) with κεν or ἄν:—


The use of ἄν gives definiteness to the expectation, as though a particular time were contemplated. Cf. also II. 6. 454 ὀσον σεῦ (μέλει), ὀτὲ κεν τις ... δακρύζοσαν ἀγγεῖα as I am concerned for you (in respect of the time) when ὧν, and 8. 373 ἐσται μαῦ ὀτ' ἄν κτλ.

It is obvious that in these places the Clause is not strictly Final, since the Subj. expresses emphatic prediction (§ 275, b) rather than purpose. But they have the essential characteristic of Final Clauses, viz. that the time of the Clause is fixed by that of the governing Verb.

(2) Clauses with ὀτὲ or ὀπότε which define the time of the principal Clause may be regarded as Conditional. In regard to the use of κεν and ἄν they follow the rules which hold in the case of Conditional Relative Clauses (§ 283): viz.—

(a) The pure Subj. indicates that the speaker is supposing a case which may occur repeatedly, or at any time: as—

Od. 7. 71 οἷ μὲν ὑπ' θεόν ὃς εἰσορώντες δειδέχαται μύθοις, ὀτὲ στέιχη' ἀνά ἄστυ who look on him as a god, and salute him when he walks ἤν.

II. 1. 163 οὐ μὲν σοι ποτ' ἵσον ἔχω γέφασ, ὀπότ' ἀχαίοι Τρώων ἐκπέφασα' εἰ ναιμόμενον πτολεμέθρον whenever the Greeks sack a Trojan town. So in maxims, &c. :—

II. 1. 80 κρέασον γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὀτὲ χώσεται ἀνδρὶ ἄρι φη.
II. 15. 207 ἑσθλὼν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται ὅτ' ἀγγελος αἴσιμα εἴδη.
And in similes, as II. 2. 395 ὅτε κυνήγητ Νότος ἐλθὼν. So with the
regular ὃς ὅτε as when, ὃς οπότε as in any case when.

In a few instances ὃς δ' ὅτ' ἄν is found instead of ὃς δ' ὅτε: viz.—
II. 15. 170 ὃς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἐκ νεφέων πτηταί κτλ.
19. 375 ὃς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἐκ πῶντος σέλας ναύτρας φανή
Od. 5. 394 ὃς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἄσπασισ βιους παίδισα φανή
23. 233 ὃς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ἄσπασις γῇ νυχμόνειοι φανή
II. 11. 269 ὃς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ὅδινοον ἐχρ βέλος ὃβ γυναίκα
17. 520 ὃς δ' ὅτ' ἄν ὅζων ἔχουν πέλεκων κτλ.
Also II. 10. 5., 24. 480, Od. 22. 468. The resemblance that runs through these
instances would seem to indicate some common source of the peculiar ἄν.

In the one or two places where the pure Subj. occurs after a
Future there is an evident intention to speak quite generally: as
II. 21. 322 οὐδὲ τί μιν χρεω ἔσται τυμβοχόης ὅτε μιν θάπτωσων
'Αχαιοί: so Od. 16. 268., 23. 257. But κεφ is used in the similar
passage II. 10. 130 οὐ τις νεμεσήσεται ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐποτρύνη.

(i) κεφ or ἄν connects a supposition with a particular event or
state of things: hence it is usually found after a Future,
Subjunctive, or Imperative, as—
II. 4. 53 τὰς διαπέρσατι οῦτ' ἄν τοι ἀπέχωνται.
Od. 1. 40 ἐκ γαρ Ὁρέσταυ τῶν ἔσσεται Ἀτρέιδαω
ὅπποτ' ἄν ήβήσῃ τε καὶ ής ἰμελεται αιής.
II. 20. 130 δείσετ' ἐπευθ', ὅτε κέν τις κτλ.
Od. 2. 357 ἐσπέρως γὰρ ἐγών αἱρήσομαι ὁππότε κεφ ὅὴ κτλ.
So after μοίρα (Od. 4. 473), followed by an Inf.
In other places it is not so clear why an event is treated as
particular. Perhaps κεφ or ἄν may be used with ὅτε, ὁπότε—
(1) When a contrast is made between supposed cases, as—
II. 6. 224 τῷ γὼν σοὶ μέν ἐγὼ ἑξίνος φίλος 'Αργεί μέσιφ
ἐμι, συ δ' ἐν Λυκή, ὅτε κέν τῶν δήμων ἰκωμαι.
20. 166 πρῶτων μὲν .. ἄλλ' ὅτε κέν τις κτλ.
Od. 20. 83 ἄλλα τὸ μὲν καὶ ἀνεκτὸν ἔχει κακῶν, ὁππότε κέν τις
κτλ.
11. 17 οὐδ' ὁποτ' ἄν στείχψει .. οὐδ' ὅτ' ἄν ἄψ κτλ.
(Here we should read ὁπότε στείχψει, § 363, 4).
So perhaps II. 2. 397 παρτοῖοιο αὐτόμοι, οὕτ' ἄν ἐφ' ἥ ἐφά γένωνται:
9. 101 κρηθήναι δέ καὶ ἄλλῳ, ὅτ' ἄν τις κτλ. and Od. 13. 100 ἐν-
τοσθεν δέ τ' ἄνευ δεσμοῦ μένουσι νησί ἐπισελμον, ὅτ' ἄν ὃμοι
μέτρον ἴκωνται (in contrast to those outside). But cp. the remark
as to ὅτ' ἄν in the last note.

(2) When there is a change from Plural to Singular:—
II. 9. 501 λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβήν καὶ ἀμάρτη.
Od. 11. 218 ἀλλ' αὕτη δίκη ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὅτε τίς χεὶ θάνησι.
This last instance is doubtful, since the order ὅτε τίς χεὶ is not Homeric (§ 365). We should probably read ὅτε τίς τέ.

290.] εἴτε, ἕκκις. The word εἴτε is only once found with a pure Subj., viz. Od. 7. 202 (in a general assertion): εἴτ' ἄν occurs after a Future (II. 1. 242., 19. 158), and an Imperative (II. 2. 34); also in one or two places where the use of ἄν is more difficult to explain, viz. II. 2. 227 (read εἴτε πτολεμέθρον ἔλομεν), Od. 1. 192., 17. 320, 323., 18. 194. The combination εἴτε κέν is not found.

The pure Subj. with ἕκκις occurs in one place—

Od. 4. 400 ἕκκις δ' ἥλιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκη
where the reference is general, 'each midday.'

The Subjunctive with εἴ, ἤς.

291.] Clauses with εἴ. The use of the Particle εἴ (or αἱ), in the Clauses with which we have now to do, is to make an assumption or supposition. In most cases (1) this assumption is made in order to assert a consequence (εἴ = ἢτ' ἦρ). In other words, it is a condition. But (2) an assumption may also be made in order to express end: εἴμι... αἱ καὶ πιθήται Καὶ go—suppose he shall listen—'I go in order that if he will listen (he may do so)'; accordingly the Clause may be virtually a Final Clause. Again (3) with certain Verbs an assumption may be the Object: e.g. τίς οὖν εἴ κέν... ὁρίνων who knows—suppose I shall rouse—who knows whether I shall rouse. We shall take these three groups of Clauses in order.

292.] Conditional Protasis with εἴ. The chief point of interest under this head is the use of κέν or ἦρ. The rules will be found to be essentially the same as those already laid down for the corresponding Clauses with the Relative (§ 283, b) and the Relatival Adverbs (see esp. § 289, b), and to be even more uniform in their application.

(a) The pure Subj. is used in general sayings, and in similes:

   II. 1. 80 κρέασσων γὰρ βασιλέως ὅτε χόστεται ἀνδρὶ χέρὶ:
   εἴ περ γὰρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτὴμαρ καταπέσῃ,
   ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότων.
   12. 238 τῶν οὖ τι μετατρέποι' οὖν ἀλεγίζω,
      εἴ τ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἤων πρὸς ἡν τ' ἥλιον τε,
      εἴ τ' ἐπὶ ἄριστερά τοι γε κτλ.

   Od. 16. 97 κασινυντοις... οὐσὶ περ ἄνηρ
      μαρναμένοισιν πέποιθε καὶ εἴ μέγα νεῖκος ὁρηται.

If the principal Verb is a Future (or implies reference to the future), the pure Subj. with εἰ indicates that the supposed occasion is indefinite,—one that happens repeatedly, or at any time, or may not happen at all; so II. 1. 340 εἰ ποτε δὴ αὐτὲ χρείω ἡμεῖς γένηται κτλ.; 12. 245 εἰ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε περικτεωμέθα πάντες κτλ.; Od. I. 204 οὖδ' εἰ πέρ τε σιδήρεα δέσματ' ἔχοσι. This form is naturally employed by a speaker who does not wish to imply that the occasion will actually arise: thus in—

II. 12. 223 ὃς ἡμεῖς εἰ πέρ τε πῦλας καὶ τεῖχος Ἀχαϊῶν ῥηξόμεθα σθένει μεγάλῳ, εἰξωσὶ δ' Ἀχαϊῶν, οὐ κάσωμι παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα

Polydamas is interpreting an omen which he wishes to remain unfulfilled. Similarly II. 5. 248 εἰ γ' οὖν έτερός γε φύγησι: II. 22. 86 εἰ περ γάρ σε σακτάκανη, οὐ δ' εἴ' ἐγώνες κλαύσομαι εν λεχέσσι: Od. 5. 221 εἰ δ' αὐ τ' ῥαίησι θεών κτλ.: Od. 12. 348 εἰ δὲ χολωσάμενός τι . . νῇ' έθελη ὁλέσαι κτλ. The object of the speaker in these examples is to treat the supposed case as imaginary or unpractical.

(b) The Subj. with κεν or αὖ indicates that a particular future occasion is contemplated: hence—

II. 4. 353 δφεαί νην έθέλησθα καλ αί κέν τοι τὰ μεµήλη.
II. 404 μέγα μέν κακὸν (sc. έσται) αί κε φέβωμαι.
24. 592 μή μοι . . σκυδμαίνεμεν, αί κε πῦθησι κτλ.
Od. 2. 218 εἰ μέν κεν πατρὸς βίωτον καὶ νόστον ἀκόουσω, ἥ τ' αὖ τρυχομενός περ ἐτι πλαίνην ἐναντόν.
II. 112 εἰ δέ κε σίνηαν, τότε τοι τεκμαίρει τ' ολεθρον (I prophesy your destruction).

So, though the Verb of the governing Clause is a Present—

II. 6. 442 αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας ἐλκεσισπέλους, αί κε κτλ. (=I fear what they will think if &c.).
8. 477 σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω χωμένης, οὖδ' εἰ κε τὰ νελατα πείραθ' ἱκναι =I do not care for you, (and shall not) even if &c.

Instances of κεν or αὖ in a sentence of general meaning are—

II. 3. 25 μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθείη, εἰ περ ἂν αὐτὸν σεύσωται κτλ. (even in the case when—, § 363, 1, b).
11. 391 ἡ τ' ἄλλως ὑπ' ἡμεῖο, καὶ εἰ κ' ὄλγον περ ἐπαύρη, ᾗ' βέλος πέλεται.
12. 302 εἰ περ γάρ χ' εὑρησι παρ' αὐτόφι κτλ.
CLAUSES WITH EI.

294.] Object Clauses with ei. This term will serve to describe the form of Clause in which the supposition made by ei takes the place of an Acc. of the thing. It may be regarded as a special form of the Final Clause (ep. § 285, 2): thus II. 18. 

\[
\text{όσο} \text{ ότε τις τροχήν... περιήγησαί, ei} \text{ κε θέσι} '\text{tries in respect to the supposition that it will run, hence tries whether it will run: so—}
\]

II. 4. 249 ὁφρα ἵδης' ei κ' ήμμιν ὑπερσχε χείρα Κρονίων.

15. 32 ὁφρα ἵδη ἦν τοι χραίση κτλ.

that you may see whether it will avail. Note that the Subj. here has a distinctly future meaning, as in Final Clauses; the same words taken as a Conditional Protasis would mean if it has availed. So after εἰπεῖν, II. 7. 375 καὶ δὲ τὸ [leg. τὸ] εἰπέμεναι πυκνῶν ἐπο, αἱ κ’ ἔθελον οὐ to the word supposing that they shall be willing (= ask if they will agree), II. 17. 692 εἰπεῖν, αἱ κε τὰ- χιστα νέκων ἐπὶ νήα σεστη : and οὗδα in the phrase τίς οἶδʼ ei κεν who knows but (II. 15. 403., 16. 860, Od. 2. 332), and οὐ μᾶν οἶδʼ ei (II. 15. 16).

293.] Final Clauses with ei. After a principal Verb expressive of the speaker’s will (an Imperative, or First Person), a Final Clause may be introduced by ei κεν or ἦν: as—

II. 8. 282 βάλλ’ οὕτως ei κέν τι φώς Δαναοῖς γένησαι.

II. 11. 791 ταῦτ’ εἴποις 'Αχιλῆι δαίφρον, ei κε πίθηται.

Od. 4. 34 δέυρ’ λεγόμεθ’ α’ κέ ποθι Ζεῦς... πάνηγι κτλ.

The effect of using ei (instead of οὐς or ίνα) is to express some degree of uncertainty. The end aimed at is represented as a supposition, instead of being a direct purpose.

In the existing text the pure Subj. occurs only in II. 14. 165 ἄριστη φαύνετο βουλή ἐλθεῖν... ei πος ιμηραίτο... τὸ δ’... χεῖν (where we should perhaps read χείαν; or change χεῖν ἐπὶ to χεύειν); and in Od. 5. 471 ei δὲ κεν... καταδράβω, ei με μεθήν ἰγόνω καὶ κάματος, γλυκέρως δὲ μοι ὕπνος ἐπέλθη, where the MSS. have the Opt. μεθείτ’, ἐπέλθοι. But if ἦν has sometimes crept in instead of ei, as is probable (§ 362) there may be other examples: as—

II. 22. 418 λίσσωμ’ ἀνέρα τοῦτον... ἦν πῶς κτλ.

Od. 1. 281 ἐρχεο πεισόμενος πατρός δὴν οἴχομένου, ἦν τίς τοι εἰπησι κτλ.
The use of the Accusativeus de quo (§ 140, 3) should be noticed; especially after ὅσα, anticipating the Clause with εἰ: as—

Il. 8. 535 αὐριον ἵνα ἀρέτην διαεἰσεται εἰ κ' ἐμὸν ἐγχος μείνῃ ἐπερχόμενον
meaning 'he will know as to his prowess whether it will enable him to withstand my spear.' So Od. 22. 6 σκοπὸν ἄλλον... εἰσο-μαι αἱ κε τύχωμι (cp. § 140, 3, 6).
In one place the Clause with εἰ serves as explanation of a Neuter Pronoun in the Nominative:

Il. 20. 435 ἄλλῃ ἥ τοι μὲν τάται θεῶν ἐν γνώμαις κεῖται, εἰ κέ σε χειρότερον περ ἐὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλωμαι.

295.] The Subj. with ὅς εἰ occurs in a single place only, viz.—

Il. 9. 481 καὶ με φίλησ’ ὅς εἰ τε πατὴρ ὑπ’ πάτα διάλησῃ.
Here the assumption εἰ... φιλήσῃ is made for the purpose of comparison. Thus the meaning is nearly the same as with ὅς ὅτε (§ 289, 2), and the Clause is essentially Conditional.

296.] ἐπεί with the Subj. The use of ἐπεί implies that the action is prior in time to the action of the principal Clause; hence Clauses with ἐπεί properly fall under the definition of the Conditional Clause.

A pure Subj. after ἐπεί is found in four places, one a gnomic passage, Od. 20. 86 ἐπεί ἄρ βλέφαρ’ ἀμφικαλύψῃ (sleep makes men forget everything) when it has spread over their eyelids; the other three in similes, viz. Il. 11. 478., 15. 363, 680. In Il. 16. 453 the best MSS. give αὐτὰρ ἐπεί δὴ τὸν γε λαίπη ψυχή τε καὶ αἰώνι, πέμπεις μην κτλ., others ἐπὶν δὴ. The pure Subj. implies that the command is meant to be general in form: cp. § 292, a.

κεν or ἄν is invariably used when the principal Verb is future. It is also found after a Present, and even in similes: e.g.—

Il. 2. 474 τοὺς δ’ ὅς τε αἰτίων πλάτε’ αἰγὼν αἰτόλοι ἄρδες βεία διακρίνοιτω, ἐπεί κε νομό μιγέωσιν.


Regarding ἐπεί κε(ν) in this use there is the same question as with ὅς κε (§ 283). Out of 10 instances there is only one in which the form κεν appears, viz. Il. 21. 575 ἐπεί κεν ἅλαγμον ἄκοσα, and there Zenodotus read κυνάλαγμον, which is strongly supported by the metre (§ 367, 2). Thus there is the same reason as before for supposing that κε is often merely a corrup-
tion of τε. The use of ἔπει τε is sufficiently established in Homer (§ 332).

The form ἐπὶν is open to doubt on other grounds, which it will be better to discuss in connexion with other uses of the Particle ἀν (§ 362).

297.] πρὶν with the Subj. In general, as we have seen (§ 236), πρὶν is construed with an Infinitive. If, however, the event is insisted upon as a condition,—the principal Verb being an Imperative or emphatic Future,—the Subj. may be used; as—

II. 18. 134 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν μὴ πω καταδύσεις μᾶλλον Ἀργος πρὶν γ’ ἐμὲ δεῦρ’ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἴδηαι do not enter the battle before you see me coming hither.

Od. 10. 174 δὲ φίλοι, οὐ γὰρ πρὶν καταδύσωμεθ’ ἀγνώρειν περ eis Ἀιδαο δόμους πρὶν μόρσιμον ἵμαρ ἐπέλθῃ.

So II. 18. 190, 24. 551, 781, Od. 13. 336, 17. 9. The Subj. is used in these examples without κεφ or ἀν, because it is not meant to lay stress on a particular occasion when the condition will be fulfilled. When such an occasion is contemplated Homer sometimes uses πρὶν γ’ ὀτ’ ἀν before the time when (Od. 2. 374, 4. 477): cp. II. 16. 62, οὐ πρὶν μητρὶν καταπαυσῆμεν, ἀλλ’ ὀπότ’ ἀν κτλ. The use of πρὶν ἀν with the Subj. is post-Homeric.

It is evident that a conditional Clause of this kind can only occur after a negative principal Clause. ‘Do not do this before I come’ makes my coming into a condition, and a condition which may or may not be realised: but ‘do this before I come’ is merely a way of fixing the time of doing.

This construction is usually explained from Parataxis: thus it is held that in II. 24. 551 οὐδὲ μν ἀντιῆσις πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθησα stands for—

οὐδὲ μν ἀντιῆσις: πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθησα,

you will not raise him, sooner shall you suffer passing into ‘you will not raise him before you suffer.’ So Sturm (p. 26), and Goodwin (§ 624). But (1) this use of the Subj. in a Principal clause without κεφ or ἀν, whether as a Future (§ 275, b) or as an Imperative, is not Homeric, and therefore cannot be used to explain a use which is only beginning in Homer. And (2) the change from you will not raise, you will suffer before you do to you will not raise before you suffer is not an easy one: it involves shifting πρὶν as an Adverb from one clause to another. Above all (3) it is probable that the new construction of πρὶν with the Subj. was directly modelled on the existing use with the Inf.: that is to say, πρὶν πάθησα simply took the place of πρὶν παθεῖν when a more definite conditional force was wanted. This is confirmed by the analogy of the later change to the Indic.: thus in Aesch. P. V. 479 πρὶν γ’ ἐγὼ σφοιν ἔδειξα is used instead of πρὶν ἐμὲ δεῦια because the poet wishes to make the assertion ἔδειξα. So with the transition from the Inf. to the Indic. after ἄσε (Goodwin, § 585): the finite mood is not a survival of parataxis, but is used when the Infinitive is not sufficiently positive.
298. [298.] Subjunctive after a Secondary Tense. The rule in Homer is that the Subj. is not used in a Subordinate Clause to express a *past* purpose, condition, &c. It may be used however (1) when the governing Verb is a 'gnomic' Aorist:—

Il. 1. 218 ὅς κε θεὸς ἐπιτελέσθηται μᾶλα τ’ ἐκλοουν αὐτοῦ.

Od. 20. 85 ὁ γὰρ τ’ ἐπέλθεσαν ἀπάντων ἐσθλῶν ὡδε κακῶν, ἐτεί ἄρ βλέφαρ’ ἀμφικαλύψῃ.

Or an Aor. used to express a general denial, as—

Od. 10. 327 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τις ἄλλος ἄνηρ τάδε φάρμακ’ ἀνέτλη, ὅς κε πὶ τη κτλ. (ep. Od. 12. 66).

Or in a simile, as Il. 4. 486 ἐξέταμ’, ὀφρα ἵτων κάμψη κτλ.

Further (2) if the action expressed by the Subordinate Clause is still future at the time of speaking; as—

Il. 5. 127 ἄλλων δ’ αὖ τοι ἀπ’ ὀθῆλαμῶν ἔλον ἢ πρὶν ἐπήνε, ὀφρ’ εὖ γιγανώσκης ἤμεν θεὸν ἥδε καὶ άνδρα I have taken away the mist—that you may know ήϲ. 7. 394 καὶ δὲ τὸν’ ἤνωγεν εἰπεῖν ἐποσ, αἱ κ’ ἐδέλητε κτλ.

18. 189 μὴ γερ δ’ οὐ με φίλη πρὶν γ’ εἰα θωρήουσεια πρὶν γ’ αὐτήν’ . ἔωμαι (before I shall see her ήϲ.).

Od. 11. 434 ο’τε κα’ αὐσχος ἔχεω καὶ ἄσομενηνων ὄπλοι οὐλτέρησαι γυναιξι, καὶ ἡ κ’ εὔεργος ἔγοι.

So Il. 9. 99., 20. 126., 24. 781. In these places the governing Verb is generally to be translated by the English Perfect with *have* (ep. § 73).

There real exceptions to this rule are not numerous, and may be due in several cases to alteration of the text through the influence of the later usage. The reading is uncertain (e.g.) in—

Od. 14. 327 τὸν δ’ εἰς Δωδώμην φάτο βήμεναν ὀφρα θεοί (=19. 296) ἐκ δρυὸς υψικόμου Δίος βουλήν ἐπακούσῃ, where the Subj. was read by Aristarchus, the Opt. ἐπακούσαι by Aristophanes and Herodian. Again in—

Od. 10. 65 ἡ μὲν σ’ ἐνδυκέως ἀνεπέμπομεν, ὀφρ’ ἂν ἤκησι the best MSS. have ἤκησι, but others have ὀφρ’ ἂν ἤκουσον and ὀφρ’ ἄφικου. See also Il. 15. 23, Od. 15. 300., 22. 98: and ep.—

Il. 5. 597 μὴ τι πάθοι, μέγα δὲ σφας ἀποσφήλει 15. 598 ἐμβάλοι . . Θέτιδος δ’ ἐξαίσιον ἄρην πάσαν ἐπικρήνειε.

In these places the MSS. generally have πάθη, ἐμβάλη: but the Opt. in the clause following has led the editors to adopt πάθοι, ἐμβάλοι.

Other places where the Subj. is contrary to the rule now laid down are Il. 13. 649., 14. 165., 16. 650 (see La R.), 19. 354., 24. 586, Od. 9. 102., 10. 24., 16. 369., 17. 60., 22. 467. In all
the Opt. may be substituted without affecting the metre; and when we consider the number of places where the MSS. vary between Subj. and Opt. forms, we can hardly doubt that it would generally be right to make the change.

The Homeric rule is observed by Plato (see Riddell, Dig. §§ 90, 91), but not by Attic writers in general.

The Optative in Simple Sentences.

299.] The uses of the Optative in Simple Sentences range from the expression of a wish on the part of the speaker to the expression of mere supposition, or admission of possibility.

Without κεν or ἄν the Optative may express—
(a) Simple wish or prayer: as—

II. 1. 42 τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοισι βέλεσσι.

Od. 1. 403 μὴ γὰρ οὔ γ᾽ ἐλθοι κτλ. never may he come &c.

Regarding the Opt. of wish with εἰ or αἰ, εἰθε, αἴθε, &c., see § 311.

(b) A gentle or deferential Imperative, conveying advice, suggestion, or the like: as—

II. 4. 17 εἰ δ᾽ αὖ τῶς τόδε πᾶσι φίλου καὶ ἥδι γένοιτο,

ἡ τοι μὲν οἰκέουτο πόλις Πριάμου κτλ.

(=I presume the city is to remain inhabited).

Od. 4. 735 ἀλλὰ τις ὁμορωάς Δολιον καλέσει γέροντα

(as we say, would some one call &c.).

18. 141 τῷ μὴ τίς ποτε πάμπαν ἄνηρ ἀθεμότισις εἴη,

ἀλλ᾽ ὅ γε συγγ ὅφρα θέων ἔχοι

I would have a man not be lawless, but &c.

Note especially this use of the Second Person, as in—

Od. 4. 193 πέwοι μοι πραγι λύσατε: so in the formal phrase ἥ ρά νῦ μοι τί πέwοι (II. 4. 93, &c.).

II. 11. 791 ταῦτ᾽ εἴπως Ἀχιλῆς suppose you say this to Achilles.

Od. 15. 24 ἀλλὰ σὺ γ᾽ ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψειας ἐκαστα. (=I care not if you were dead, unless you &c.).

II. 3. 406 ἥσοι παρ᾽ αὐτόν ἱοῦσα, θεῶν δ᾽ ἀπόσεικε κελένθουν,

μηδ᾽ ἐτὶ σοὺς πόδεσσιν ὑποστρέψειας Ὀλυμπον.

Hence in II. 1. 20 we should read (with the best MSS.) παίδα δ᾽ ἐμοὶ λύσατε (not λύσατ τε, Wolf's conjecture).

(c) Rhetorical wish, implying willingness, or indifference to the happening of some evil: as in imprecautions—

II. 2. 340 ἐν τυρὶ δὴ βουλαὶ τε γενολατο μήδεα δ᾽ ἀνδρῶν.

6. 164 τεναίμης, ὃ Προῖτ’, ἡ κάκταιε Βελλεροφότην

(=I care not if you were dead, unless you &c.).

Od. 7. 224 ἰδόντα με καὶ Λύτωι αἰῶν κτῆσιν ἔμνῃ κτλ.

(=I am content to die when I have seen &c.).
(d) Concession or acquiescence:—

II. 21. 359 λη' ἐρίδος, Ἰρώνας δὲ καὶ αὐτίκα δίος 'Αχιλλεύς ἀτεσσος εξελάσθει (cease strife, and I consent that γεγενέτο).

Od. 1. 402 κτήματα δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοι καὶ δόμασι σοῦσιν ἀνάσσοις.

2. 232 ἄλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπόσ τ' ἐγι καὶ αὕτηλα μέχοι (i. e. he may as well be unjust as just).


The following are instances of the First Person used in this way:

II. 15. 45 αὐτάρ τοι καὶ κείνω ἐγώ παραμυθησάμην

I am willing to advise him (a concession).

So II. 4. 318 μάλα μὲν τοι ἐγὼν ἐθέλομι κτλ., but some MSS. have μὲν κεν.

II. 23. 150 νῦν δ' ἐπεί οὐ νέομαί γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν, Πατρόκλος ἤρωι κόμην ὑπάσαμι φέρεσθαι since I am not to return, I may as well γεγενέτο.

Od. 16. 383 ἀλλὰ φθέωμεν ἐλώντες ἐπ' ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόλεως 

ἡ ἐν ὠδῷ, βίωτον δ' αὐτό καὶ κτήματ' ἐξωμὲν δασσάμενοι κατὰ μοίραν ἐφ' ἱμέας, οἰκία δ' αὐτὲ κείνων μυτὲρι δούμεν ἐξείν ἦδ' ὦς τις ὄπνειοι.

Here what the Suitors are do to for themselves is put in the Subj., what they do or allow to be done for Penelope in the Opt.

Compare Hdt. 7. 5. 4 τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσουσι τὰ περ ἐν χεραί ἐχεις, ἣμερώσας δὲ Αἰγυπτῶν τὴν ἐξοβριάσασαν στρατηγάτης ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθῆνας, i. e. 'I consent to your doing what you have in hand, but when it is done, march against Athens.'

(e) Strong denial is sometimes implied, under the form of deprecation, by the Opt. with μή: as—

Od. 7. 316 μὴ τούτῳ φίλον Δὰ πατρὶ γένουτο λετ ὃς not admit that this is the will of father Zeus.

22. 462 μὴ μὲν δὴ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην.

(f) Admission of possibility, i.e. willingness to suppose or believe that the thing will happen. This use is rarely found without κεν or ἄν: an instance is—

Od. 3. 231 μεία θεός γ' ἐθελών καὶ τηλόθεν ἀνδράς σαώσαι.

This is said as a concession: 'we men must allow that a god can save even from afar.' So perhaps II. 10. 247, 557: also—

II. 15. 197 θυγατέρεσσιν γάρ τε καὶ νιάσι βέλτερον εἰη κτλ.

Here the Opt. is in contrast to the preceding Imper. μή τι με δείωσεσόθω: 'let him not threaten me: for his own children it may be well enough that he should scold.' Other instances are negative, viz.—

II. 19. 321 οῦ μὲν γάρ τι κακότερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι.
Od. 14. 122 ὅ γέρον, οὗ τίς κεῖνοι ἀνήρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν ἀγγέλλων πείσετε γυναικά τε καὶ φίλον ἐνόν.

So in the Relative clauses, II. 5. 303 (= 20. 286) δό ὃν δύο γ’ ἀνδρὲ φέρονεν, Od. 3. 319 δὴν οὐκ ἐλπιστό γε θυμῷ ἐλθέμεν. And in one or two interrogative clauses, with implied negation: II. 11. 838 πῶς τ’ ἄρ’ ἐν τάδε ἔργα; Od. 5. 100 τίς δ’ ἀν ἐκδῶν διαδράμου (since we should probably read τίς δ’ ἐκδόν). In such case the absence of κεῖνοι or ἄν marks the negation as sweeping and unconditional. We should compare the corresponding Homeric use of οὗ with the pure Subj., which differs in the degree of confidence expressed: οὐδὲ ἓδωμα I am sure I shall never see, οὐ πάθοιμι I suppose I shall never suffer.

300.] With κεῖνοι or ἄν the Optative does not express wish (which is essentially unconditional), or even direct willingness on the part of the speaker, but only willingness to admit a consequence: hence expectation in view of particular circumstances: e. g.—

II. 1. 100 τότε κεῖνοι μιν ἱλασομένοι πεπίθωμεν
then we may expect to appease him and gain grace.

The character of a Clause of this kind depends chiefly on the manner in which the condition is indicated. The following are the main points to be observed:—

(a) An Opt. with κεῖνοι or ἄν often follows an independent Clause with a Future, Imperative, &c.:

II. 22. 108 ὅς ἔρεσαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τότ’ ἂν ποιήσων εἶναί τε κτλ.
Od. 10. 269 φεύγωμεν· ἔτι γὰρ κεῖνοι ἀλυσαμέναι κακῶς ἢμαρ.

II. 3. 410 κεῖτο δ’ ἐγὼν οὐκ εἰμί, νεμεστητὸν δὲ κεῖν εἰν.

(b) Or the preceding Clause may contain a wish:—

II. 7. 157 εἶδ’ ὅς ἤβωσοι, βίη δὲ μου ἐμπεδός εἰν’ 
τῇ κε τάχ’ ἀντίστρεπτε κτλ.

Cp. II. 4. 93 (where the preceding Opt. is a gentle Imper.).

(c) The case supposed may be in past time, so that the Optative expresses what would have followed on an event which did not occur: e. g.—

II. 5. 311 καὶ νῦ κεῖνοι ἔνθ’ ἀπόλοιπον ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀινείας,
ἐλ μὴ ἄρ’ ὅδ’ νόησε κτλ.

Od. 5. 73 ἔνθα κ’ ἐπείτα καὶ ἀδιάντος περ ἐπελθὼν

293) θηθήσατο ἵδων.

So II. 2. 81., 3. 220., 4. 223, 429, 539., 5. 85, 311, 388., 12. 58., 13. 127, 343., 15. 697., 17. 70, 366, 398, Od. 7. 293., 13. 86. This use of the Optative is confined to Homer, and is chiefly found in the Iliad.

A somewhat similar idiom occurs in Herodotus; e. g. Hdt. 1. 2 ἐργαζόμεν δ’ ἂν οὖν Κρήτης ‘these may have been Cretans’ (= probably were), 7. 180 τάχα δ’
The case supposed may be vague or imaginary:

Il. 8. 143 ἀνὴρ δὲ κεν οὗ τι Δίως νόον εἰρύσσατο,
where the emphatic ἀνὴρ suggests a condition: if a man, he cannot sce.; ep. Od. 4. 78, 23. 125, also—

Od. 12. 102 πλησιόν ἄλληλων καὶ κεν διούσεσεν
one may (on occasion arising) shoot an arrow across.

9. 131 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὴ γε, φέροι δέ κεν ἡμια τάντα.

It is natural that an admission that something may happen should generally be made more or less in view of circumstances, given or supposed. Hence the use of κεν or ἄν with an Opt. of this force became the prevailing use, and exceptions are rare, even in Homer.

The principal clause or Apodosis of an ordinary Complex Conditional Sentence belongs to this head. It is erroneous, however, to regard the varieties now explained as complex sentences with the Protasis understood. In this, as in some other cases, the complex is to be explained from the simple, not vice versa.

In some instances the Opt. with κεν appears to be concessive (expressing willingness). Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. I. p. 200) gives as examples—

Il. 22. 252 νῦν αὐτέ με θυμός ἀνήκε

Od. 8. 570 τὰ δὲ κεν θεος ἦ τελέσεεν

To which may be added Od. 14. 183 ή κεν ἡλοι ἦ κε φύγοι κτλ.

In some places is due to the opposition made between the two alternatives: ep. § 285, 3, b, § 286, and § 289, 2, b.

Il. 24. 618 ἀλλ' ἄγε ὃδ καὶ νῶι μεδώμεθα, διε γεραίε,


Also Od. 16. 391., 21. 161. But these instances need not be separated from others in which expectation rather than concession is recognised. We may notice as on the border between the two meanings—

(a) Uses of the First Person (esp. in the Odyssey): e.g.—

Od. 15. 506 ἡδθεν δὲ κεν ὑμμιν ὀδοιπόριον παραθείμην.

22. 262 ὥ φίλοι, ἢδη μὲν κεν ἐγὼν εἰπομι καὶ ἀμμιν κτλ.

16. 304 ἄλλ' οἰοι σῷ τ' ἐγώ τε γυνακών γνώμενον ἢθών,

καὶ κέ τεο ὁμών ἀνδρών ἐτί πειρηθείμεν.
14. 155 πρὶν δὲ κε, καὶ μᾶλα περ κεχρημένος, οὐ τι δεχόμην.

(3) Negative Clauses, with the Second Person:—

Π. 14. 126 τῷ οὐκ ἄν με... φάντες ἧς ἀτιμησαίτε
I do not think you will (I expect you not to) ἵπτε.

Od. 20. 135 οὐκ ἄν μιν νῦν, τέκνων, ἀναλίτων αἰτίῳ.
So Π. 2. 250 τῷ οὐκ ἄν βασιλῆς ἄνα στόμα ἔχων ἀγορεύσαι is to be
understood as ironical courtesy (you will not if you are advised by
me). This, again, when turned into a question yields another
form of polite Imperative; as Π. 3. 52 οὐκ ἄν δὴ μείνεις will you
not wait? So Π. 5. 32, 456., 10. 204, Od. 6. 57., 7. 22.

The fact that οὐ is the negative Particle in all these instances
shows that the Optative is grammatically more akin to a Future
than to an expression of wish. So far as wish is intended, the
use is a rhetorical one, implying what it does not directly express,
like the similar use of the Future Indicative in Attic.

It will be seen that, except in one or two rare Homeric uses
of the pure Opt., the usage of the Opt. in independent Sen-
tences is nearly the same in Homer as in later Greek.

Optative in Subordinate Clauses.

301.] The classification which has been followed in discussing
the Subordinate Clauses with the Subjunctive will also be the
most convenient in the case of the Optative. Indeed there is so
close a parallelism between the uses of these two Moods that
little is now left to do except to take clauses of the several types
already analysed, and show in each case the difference which
determines the use of one Mood rather than the other.

The reason for using an Optative will generally be found in
the circumstance that the governing Verb is incompatible with
a subordinate clause expressing either the will or the assured
expectation of the speaker. If the occasion to which the whole
sentence refers is past, or is a mere possibility, or an imaginary
case, these two meanings of the Subjunctive are generally out of
place—and we can only have the Mood which expresses a wish,
or an admission of possibility. Hence it is a general rule—to
which however we have found important exceptions (§ 298)—
that the Optative must be used when the principal Verb is an
Optative, or one of the Secondary Tenses.

302.] Clauses with ἢε—ἲε. The Optative in the Homeric
examples is generally to be explained as the translation of the
Subjunctive into oratio obliqua; that is to say, it expresses a
doubt or deliberation thrown back into the past.
Thus (a) we have past deliberation in—
Il. 16. 713 δίζε γὰρ ἦ νὰ μᾶχοτα κατὰ κλόνων αὐτὶς ἐλάσσας,
η λαῖοι ἐς τεῖχος ὤμοκλήσειεν ἅληναι
he debated—should he fight &c., or should he call to the people &c.:
so Il. 1. 189., 5. 671, Od. 4. 117., 6. 141., 10. 50, &c.

(b) Past doubt is less common: the examples are—
Od. 4. 789 ὀρμαίνοντι ἦν οἱ θάνατος φύγων νόσος ἀμφότερον
ἢ δ' ἥ' ὑπὸ μνηστήρων ὑπερφιάλοισι δαμείη.

15. 304
συνβότεον περίτερων
ἢ μιν ἢ' εὖν ἑνδύκεως φιλέοι μείων τε κελεύοι
αὐτοῦ ἐνι σταθμῷ, ἠ ὁρμύσθω πόλινε
Ulysses tried the swineherd—whether would he still be hospitable
and bid him stay, or &c.
In this use we once find kεν—kεν, viz. Od. 15. 300 ὀρμαίνον ἦ
κεν θάνατος φύγων ἦ κεν ἄλοιπη (La Roche reads ἄλωῃ).

303.] Clauses with μή. These are of two kinds, answering
to the similar Clauses with the Subj. (§ 281):—
(1) Final Clauses: a single example will suffice:—
Il. 5. 845 δῶν᾽ Ἀθέας κυνέην μὴ μιν ὑοὶ ὀβρυμος Ἀρης
(so that) Ares should not see her.

(2) Object Clauses, with Verbs of thinking, &c.:—
Il. 21. 516 μεμβλετο γὰρ οἱ τείχος ἑυδημίτειον πόλης,
μὴ Δαναοῖς πέρεσαι (his care was that) the Greeks
should not see &c. : so Od. 16. 179., 19. 390.

Od. 21. 394
περὶμένεον εὖθα καὶ ἐνθα
μὴ κέρα ᾿ητε ἐδοιεν ἀποχορίμενον ἀνακτος
to see that worms should not have eaten it.

So in the common use with Verbs of fearing: as Il. 18. 34
deiδε γὰρ μὴ λαμῖν επαμήσειε he feared lest &c.
But in—
Il. 9. 244 ταῦτ' αἰνῶς δεῖδοικα κατὰ φρενὰ μὴ οἱ ἀπειλᾶς
ἐκτελέσωσι θεοῖ, ἠμῖν ὃ ὦ ἄγιοι αἰσθοῦν εἰη κτλ.
the Subj. is used for the immediate object of the fear (the gov-
erning Verb being a Perfect), and the Opt. for the more remote
event: see § 304, a. The true reading however may be εἰη, a
Subj. like μετ-ἀθα (Il. 23. 47).
These Object Clauses may be regarded as the negative forms
answering to the Clauses expressing past deliberation. As in the
corresponding uses of μὴ with the Subj. and Opt. in principal
Clauses (§ 278), the Mood is never qualified by kεν or ἀν.

304.] Relative Clauses—Final and Object. Sometimes the
Opt. in a Relative Clause is used precisely as in an independent
sentence; the wish or supposition being expressed from the
speaker's present point of view, not subordinated to the point of view fixed by the governing Verb. Thus in—

Od. 4. 698 ἀλλὰ πολὺ μεῖζον τε καὶ ἄργαλεώτερον ἄλλο μισθῆρες φράζονται, ὅ μὴ τελέσεις Κρονίων

we have an independent parenthetical wish: and in—

II. 3. 234 νῦν δ’ ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ὃς . . . οὐς κεν ἐν γνώσιν κτλ.

5. 303 (= 20. 286) μέγα ἔργον, δ’ οὐ δῦ νῦ ἃνδρε φέροιεν a parenthetical expectation (§ 299, f’). In other places the Relative Clause is connected, by implication at least, with the action of the principal Clause, and expresses an intended or expected consequence. We may distinguish the following cases:—

(1) In Final Clauses—

(a) The choice of the Opt. shows want of confident expectation of the result intended:—

II. 1. 62 ἀλλ’ ἀγε δὴ τινα μάντων ἐφελομεν ἣ ἵερη, . . . ὁς κ’ εἶποι κτλ. (with the view that he may tell: cp. 7. 342., 21. 336, Od. 5. 166).

7. 231 ἡμεῖς δ’ εἰμέν τούτοι οἱ ἄν σέθεν ἀντίσαμες καὶ πολέες (= many of us are ready to meet thee).

Od. 10. 431 τι κακῶν ἵμερετε τούτων, ὡς κ’ ἀπαύγων καταβλήμεναι, ἢ κεν ἀπαυγὰς ἢ σοῦ ἢ λύκους ποιήσεται ἢ λέοντας, ο’ κέν οἱ μέγα δόμα φυλάσσουμεν καὶ ἀνάγκη.

Here ποιήσεται (Subj.) expresses the immediate result, φυλάσσομεν the further and therefore (in the nature of things) less confidently asserted consequence.

In this group of Clauses the Opt. always takes κεν or ἄν (cp. the corresponding Subj., § 282).

(b) The Opt. with κεν is especially common after a principal Clause of negative meaning (in which case the consequence is necessarily matter of mere supposition): as— Ἰμεῖον αὖ Ἡ. 342.

II. 5. 192 ἵπποι δ’ οὐ παρέναι καὶ ἄρματα τῶν κ’ ἐπιβαίνῃ. ὁδ.12.283

Od. 1. 253 ἀ ὁ πολλῶν ἀποικουμένον Ὁδυσσῆος δὲ ὁ κε μυστήριον ἀναιδεύτης χείρας ἐφείη.

5. 16 οὐ γὰρ οἱ πάρα νῆς ἐπίθεται καὶ ἑταῖροι, ο’ κέν οἱ μιν πείμποιεν.

The pure Opt. occurs in II. 22. 348 οὐκ ἐσθ’ ὅς . . . ἀπαλάκκοι.

(c) The Opt. is used if the governing Verb is an Optative, or a Secondary Tense: e.g.—

II. 14. 107 νῦν δ’ εἰη οὐ τῆσδε γ’ ἀμείωνα μήτων ἐνόπτοι.

Od. 6. 113 ὡς Ὁδύσσεus ἔγραυσε, ἵδη τ’ εὐάπτιον κούρην, ἢ οἱ Φανῆκων ἄνδρων τόλιν ἡγήσατο.
Optative.

(2) After Verbs that express asking or finding out the Clause acquires the force of a dependent Interrogative, and so of an Object Clause:—

Od. 9. 331 αὐτὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους κλήρῳ πεπαλάθαι ἴνωγον ὅσ τις τολμήσειν κτλ. (for the man) who should &c.

II. 3. 316 κλήρους πάλλου .. ὅππότερος ἀφείη
they cast lots for which of the two should throw.

14. 507 (= 16. 283) τάσπηνεν δὲ ἔκαστος ὅπη φύγοι.

So II. 6. 177., 10. 503, Od. 9. 88., 10. 101, 110., 19. 464. As to the form of the Relative Clause see § 267, 2, c.

The Dependent Interrogative properly so called is rare in Homer:—

II. 5. 85 Τυθελὸν δ’ οὐκ ἢν γνοίης ποτέροισι μετείη.

Od. 15. 423 εἰρώτα τῇ ἕπειτα τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἥλθοι.

17. 368 ἄλληλους τ’ ἑρεύνοτα τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἥλθοι.

It is evidently akin to the Optatives with ἢ—ἵ which express past doubt (§ 302, b): τίς εἴη who he should be comes to mean who he should prove to be. Cp. the Subj. in the corresponding Clauses relating to present time (§ 280).

Relative Clauses—Conditional. When the event to which the condition attaches is matter of wish or mere expectation, or is in past time, the condition is generally expressed by the Optative. Hence we find the Optative—

(a) With an Optative of wish in the principal Clause:—

II. 3. 299 ὅππότεροι πρότεροι ύπερ ὀρκία πιθηκίας,

Od. 1. 47 ὃς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος οὕτως τοιαῦτα γε ἡξοι.

(b) With an Optative of expectation:—

II. 9. 125 οὗ κεῖν ἄλλης εἴη ἄνηρ ὅς τόσα γένοιτο

he will not be poor to whom such things come.

12. 228 ὃς ἄρχ’ ὑποκρίναστο θεοπρότος ὅσ σάφα θυμῷ εἴδειν περάω καὶ οἱ πευκόιατο λαοὶ

so will a diviner answer, who knows &c.

Od. 4. 222 δς τὸ καταβρᾶξειν ..

The Opt. of the governing Clause may be itself subordinate:—

Od. 2. 53 ὃς κ’ αὐτὸς ἐκθεσάσαι θύγατρα,

ὅπη δ’ ὅς κ’ ἔθελοι καὶ οἱ κεχαρισμένος ἥλθοι.
(c) After a Present or Future, in one or two places where the time is purposely vague:—

Od. 6. 286 καὶ δ' ἅλλη νεμεστῷ, ἦ τις τοιαύτα γε ἰέζωι
    = I am ready to be angry with any other who ἰέ.  

19. 510 καὶ γὰρ δὴ κοίτου τάχι ἐσσεται ἱδέος ὁρη,  
    δὲν τινὰ γ' ὑπνὸς ἔλοι κτλ. (ἤλῃ Λα. R.)  

The Opt. avoids assuming that the case will ever occur.  

The reading is very doubtful in II. 5. 407 ὅτι μᾶλ' ὦ ὑπανόσ ὅτι ἀλανότους μᾶχωτο, the Ambrosian and some others having μάχηται.  

(d) When the principal Verb is in a past Tense; the Relative Clause generally expressing indefinite frequency, iteration, &c.: as—  

Il. 2. 188 ὃν τινὰ μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἐξοχον ἀνδρα κιχείν,  
    τὸν δ' ἀγανόις ἐπέσεσιν ἐρημύσακε.  

15. 22 δὲν δὲ λάβοιμι βράττασκον τεταγών κτλ.  

Od. 22. 315 παῦσκον μνηστήρας ὅτις τοιαύτα γε ἰέζωι.  

In these uses, and generally, the Opt. is pure. Exceptions are—  

Od. 4. 600 δῶρον δ' ὅτι κε μοι δώσῃ κεμῆλιον ἐστο  
    (where the Opt. may be substituted for the Subj. for the sake of courtesy, to avoid assuming the certainty of the gift),—  

Od. 21. 161  
    ἥ δὲ κ' ἐπείτα  
    γῆμαθ' ὃς κε πλείστα πόροι καὶ μόρσιμος ἔλθοι.  

Clauses formed by a Relative and the pure Optative are strictly parallel to the Conditional clauses formed by a Relative and the pure Subjunctive, such as χαρεῖ δὲ μὲν ὦ τις ἐθείρῃ, οὐ βέλτερον ὦ φεύγων προφύγῃ (§ 283, a). In both groups of Clauses the reference is indefinite; but with the Subj. the instances must be thought of as future instances, and consequently the governing Verb must not imply that they are past or imaginary.  

It may happen that the condition is expressed by the Subj. (because regarded as certain to be fulfilled), while the main action is uncertain, and therefore put in the Opt.: as—  

Il. 14. 126 τῷ οὖν ἀν μὲ γένος γε κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φάντασε  
    μὸνον ἀτμιμήσατε πεφασμένον, ὄν κ' ἐκ έίπω.  

20. 250 ὀπτοιόν κ' εἴπησθα ἔπος, τοῖον κ' ἐπακούσας.  

So with εἰ, as Od. 2. 218 εἰ μὲν κεν ἄκούσω, ἦ τ' ἀν πλαίρν, cp.  
    II. 104, 110, 12. 137.  

But the general rule is to let the subordinate Clause follow the Mood of the governing Verb: hence the so-called ‘Attraction’ of the Optative.  

306.] Clauses with ὃς, ὄποιος, ἢν and the Opt. are either Final or Object Clauses (not Conditional in Homer, see the note at the end of this section).  

(1) In Final Clauses the Opt. may be used either (a) to
indicate that the consequence is not immediate or certain (the governing Verb having a present or future meaning), or (b) because the governing Verb is an Opt., or (c) a Secondary Tense. Thus we have the Opt.—

(a) After a Present, &c. in the principal Clause; especially when the Clause bears a negative meaning (so that the occasion is necessarily imaginary):—

II. 1. 343 ὅπερ πρόως καὶ ὀπίσσα, ὅπως οἱ παρὰ νησιὸν οὐχ οὐκ Ἀχαϊοὶ.

(μακέωντο however is not a good Homeric form, and makes an intolerable hiatus: read probably μακέοντα, ep. § 326, 3).

Od. 2. 52 οἱ πατρὸς μὲν ἐς οἴκον ἀπερρίγασαν νέεθαὶ Ἰκαρίων, ὡς κ’ αὐτὸς ἑδυνάσατο θύγατρα.

But also after an affirmative Clause:—

Od. 23. 134 ἠγείρθω φιλοπαῖγμονος ὀρχηθμοῖ, ὡς κέν τις φαίη γάμον ἐμεῖναι ἔκτος ἀκούων = so that any one who happens to hear may think &c.

12. 156 ἀλλ’ ἔρεω μὲν ἐγών ἵνα εἰδότες ἢ κε βάφωμεν ἢ κεν ἄλενάμευοι θάνατον καὶ κῆρα φύγαμεν (the Opt. of the less emphatic alternative, §275, b).

17. 249 τὸν ποτὶ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νησὸς ἐὑσσέλμοι μελαίνης ἄξω τηλ’ Ἰδάκης, ἵνα μοι βύστον πολὺν ἀλφοῦ (ποτὲ indicates a distant occasion).

13. 401 κυνζόσω δὲ τοι ὅσε πάρος περικάλλη εἴστε, ὡς ἂν δείκειλος πάσι μημησόρου φανεῖς (so 16. 297).

24. 532 ἱσχεσθε .. ὡς κεν .. διακριθείτε (leg. διακριθήτε ?).

(b) After an Optative, either of wish or of expectation: especially in the Odyssey, as—


15. 537 τῷ κε τάξα γνοῖς .. ὡς ἂν τὶς σε .. μακαρίζου.

So Od. 18. 369., 20. 81 : and ἄφοριοι after an implied prohibition—

Od. 3. 346 Ζεῦς τὸ γ’ ἀλεξῆσει .. ὡς ὑμεῖς .. κιοίτε Ζεὺς avert that you should go &c.

(c) After a Past Tense—a use of which it is needless to give examples.

Regarding the use of κεν and ἄν, it is to be observed that—

1. The Opt. with ὅνα and ὅπως is always pure.

2. The Opt. with ὃς takes κεν or ἄν in a few places where there is clear reference to a single occasion, as in Od. 2. 52
(quoted above), II. 19, 331, Od. 17, 362; and in the combinations ὃς ἀν τις (Od. 15, 538), ὃς κέν τις (Od. 23, 135).

(2) The corresponding Object Clause with ὃς and ὅπως is found (a) after Verbs of trying, considering how, &c. as—

II. 2. 3 ἄλλῳ ὃ γε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὃς Ἀχιλλὴς τιμήσει δέλεσαι δὲ κτλ.

The reading τιμήσει is supported by Ven. A, which has τιμήση (τιμῆσεν εὐκτικῶν Schol. A. B.) : all other authorities have τιμήσῃ, and all have δέλεση.

II. 9. 181 πειράν ὃς πεπίθοιεν (hade them try how to persuade).

II. 307. 137 ὁμήρουν ὃ ἀνά θυμὸν ὅπως παύσετε (so 24. 680).

Od. 14. 329 ὅπως νοστήσει Ἕθακης ἐς πίνακα δήμου.

This reading is proved (against νοστήσῃ of the MSS.) by the parallel Od. 19. 298 ὅπως νοστήσεται φίλην ἐς παρίδια γαλαν. Cρ. also Od. 9. 420., 11. 479.

In one place ὃς with the Opt. follows a Verb of saying, viz. in Od. 24. 237 (μερμήριζε) εἰπεν ὃς ἐλθο καὶ έκοιτ' ἐς παρίδια γαλαν to tell how he had come. This is the only Homeric instance of ὃς with the Opt. in oratio obliqua. The next is H. Ven. 215 εἴπετο δὲ ἑκαστα, ὃς τοι ἀθάνατος κτλ.

An example of ὅπως and the Opt. with iterative meaning (nearly—ὅτε, § 308, 1, α) occurs in Hesiod, Theog. 150 καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅπως τις πῶτα γένοιτο πάντας ἀποκριντάκε. This use is to be classed as Conditional, like the corresponding uses of ὃς and ὅπως with the Subj., § 285, 3.

307.] Clauses with ἐως (ἡς) and ὅφρα. These also are Final in character: i.e. the Conjunction has the meaning till the time that, hence (commonly) in order that,—not while, so long as.

The notion of time is distinct in—

Od. 12. 437 νωλεμέως ἐχόμην ὅφρα' ἐξέμεσεν ὅπλωσ
until it should vomit forth again (so 12. 428., 20. 80).

Od. 23. 151 έιρυνθαι μέγα δώμα διαμπερῆς ἦς έκοιτο
shall he should come (so 5. 386., 9. 376).

It is indistinct, or lost, in the ordinary use of ὅφρα, as—

II. 6. 170 δειξαί δ' ἴμαδε γ' πευθερῷ ὅφρα' ἀπόλοιτο.
Od. 12. 427 Ἴθε δ' ἐπί Νότος ὁκα, φέρον ἐμφ' ἄλγεα θυσίφ' ὅφρα' ἐπὶ τὴν ὀλυν ἀναμετρήσαμι Χάρυβδῖν
to the end that I should measure again &c.

and with ἐως in Od. 4. 799 πέμπε δὲ μν... ἦς Πυνελότεων παύσειεν κλαυθμον, and other places in the Odyssey (5. 386., 6. 80., 19. 367).

The corresponding form of Object Clause with these conjunctions may be traced in one instance of each, viz. II. 4. 465 λειτ- ἐγιστ., Ἴθε δ', ἴμαδε γ', μένος ὅφρα τάξατα τεῦχεα συλλήσειεν, and Od. 19. 367 ὅρομενος ἦς ἵκοιο. Here, after a Verb of wishing, the meaning until passes into the simple that.
With εώς and ὁφρα the Opt. is nearly always pure: but we have ὁφρα ἄν in Od. 17. 298 (until), 24. 334: and ἐως κεν in—

Od. 2. 77 τόφρα γὰρ ἄν κατὰ ἄστυ ποιητουσοφιομέθα μύθῳ χρήματ' ἀπαιτίζοντες, ἐως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθείη, where there is a stress on the particular time contemplated. So—

Il. 15. 69 ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἄν τοί εἴπετα παλίωξεν παρὰ νηών ἀλεν ἐγώ τεύχομι διαμπερές, εἰς δ' κ' Ἀχαιοί "Ἰλιὼν αἱπν ἔλοεν (the only instance with εἰς δ').

The similar uses of ἔστε, ἄχρι, μέχρι are post-Homeric.

308.] Clauses with ὅτε, ὅπως, &c. Most Clauses of this kind are essentially—

(1) Conditional. The Verb of the principal Clause may be—

(a) An Optative of wish: as—

Il. 21. 428 τοιοῦτοι νῦν πάντες, ὅσοι Τρόφεσιν ἄρωγοι, εἶεν ὅτε 'Ἀργείουσι μαχολάτο (ep. Il. 18. 465, &c.).

(b) An Optative of expectation: as—

Od. 13. 390 καὶ κε τρπηκσώσεως ἐγὼν ἄνδρεσσι μαχούμην σῶν σοι, πότνα θεά, ὅτε μοι πρόφρασσα' ἐπαρηγοῦ.  

Il. 14. 247 Σηνὸς δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼγε Κρονίων ἄσσον ἱκολυμη, ὦδὲ κατευπήσαμ' ὅτε μὴ αὐτός γε κελεύοι.

(c) A Future: in one place, viz. Il. 13. 317 αἰπν οἴ ἐσσεῖται .. νῆσα ἐνυπρήσαι ὅτε μὴ αὐτός γε Κρονίων ἐμβάλωι κτλ., where the speaker does not wish to imply the fulfilment of the condition.

In Od. 24. 343 ἐνθα δ' ἀνὰ σταφυλά παυτοία ἑαυτιν, ὅποτε δὴ Δίως ἄρα ἐπιβρισχεων the Present ἑαυτιν is open to suspicion, because all the rest of the description is in the past tense; with which the Opt. is in harmony.

In Il. 4. 263 ἔστηχ' ὡς περ ἑμοὶ, πείεν ὅτε θυμός ἄνγοι the Opt. is read by most MSS. It may be regarded as an Opt. of the remotest event (§ 305, c), depending on πείεν, which is an Inf. of purpose (Goodwin § 555). But La Roche reads ἀνώγη.

(d) A Past Tense, generally of an event which happens repeatedly or habitually, as—

Il. 1. 610 ἐνθα πάρος κομμὴν ὅτε μὴν γνυκὲς ὑπνὸς ἴκανοι.
21. 265 ὅσοϊ δ' ὑμήσει κτλ. as often as he started τύ.
Od. 8. 87 ἢ τοι ὅτε λήξειν . . . ἐλευκέν (iterative).
So with ὅτε after πρὶν, in II. 9. 486 οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε . . . πρὶν γ' ὅτε
dή . . ἄσαμι = you would only . . . when ξυ.: cp. § 297.
In these cases the Opt. after a past tense answers to the pure
Subj. after a Present, § 289, 2. a. In one place the Opt. with
ὅτε represents the Subj. with ὅτε κεφ, viz. in Od. 20. 138 ἀλλ' ὅτε
dή κολτοῦ καὶ ὑπ'νου μαμήσκουτο, ἢ μὲν δέμων ἰώγεν ὑποστορέσαι
dsμωσίπα bade them spread the couch against the time when he should
bethink him ὅτε.
In this group of uses the Opt. is pure, except in—
II. 9. 524 οὖν καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθύμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν
ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χῶλος ίκοι,
where the κεφ may be accounted for by the change from the
Plural to the Singular: cp. § 283, b, c.

(2) After a Past Tense of a Verb of waiting ὅποίε with the
Aorist Opt. forms a kind of Object Clause; as II. 7. 415 ποτίδευ-
μενοι ὅποτ' ἀρ' ἐθαοι waiting for (the time) when he should come;

309.] Clauses with ἐπεί. The few examples of this use show
the same varieties as with ὅτε. Thus, (a) after another Opt.—
II. 9. 304 νῦν γὰρ χ' Ἐκτόρ' ἐλώις, ἐπεί ἀν μάλα τοι σχέδων
ἐλθοί.
24. 226 αὐτικα γὰρ με κατακτέωνειν 'Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἀγκάς ἐλόντι, ἐμὸν νίου, ἐπὴν γόου ἐξ ἑρον ἑψη.
Od. 4. 222 ὅσ τὸ καταβρόζειεν, ἐπὴν κρητὶρι μυγεῖν, κτλ.
(b) After a Present, in the statement of a supposed conse-
quence—
Od. 24. 254 τουκῦν ὃ ἐσώκας, ἐπεί λοῦσατο φάγοι τε,
ἐνδίμεναι (such a one as would sleep after that ἄρε.)
(c) After a Past tense, in the iterative sense:—
II. 24. 14 ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἐπεί γεβεῖειν κτλ., Od. 2. 105 (= 19. 150.,
24. 140) ἐπὴν δαίδας παραδέιτο (v. l. ἐπεί).
The use of ἄν is intelligible in the first of these passages (II. 9.
304), since it refers to an event in the immediate future; perhaps also in II. 24. 227, after an Opt. of concession. But as
to the form ἐπὴν see § 362.

310.] πρὶν. The peculiar way of expressing a condition by a
Negative followed by πρὶν (§ 297) is transferred to the past, the
Subj. becoming an Opt., in one passage—
II. 21. 580 οὖν ὕθελεν φεύγειν πρὶν πειρήσατ' Ἀχιλῆς.
The Optative with ει, ήc.

311.] Optative with ει—Conditional Protasis. The Clause with ει expresses a supposition, made in order to lead up to the Clause which expresses the expected consequence: as—

Od. i. 163 ει κεινόν γ' 'Ιδάκην δε ιδοίατο νοστήσαντα, πάντες κ' ἀρηθοιατ' ἐλαφροτεροι πόδας εἶναι κτλ.

II. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν ει πτώσσοντας υφ' "Εκτορί πάντας ἄκουσαι, πολλά κεν ἀβανάτους φίλας ἀνὰ χείρας ἄειραι.

The Clause with ει may follow the other, as—

II. 22. 20 ἣ σ' ἀν τισαίμην, ει μοι ὑμνάμει γε παρεῖν.

The apodosis is generally given by the Opt. with κεν, as in the examples quoted: but we may have the Subj. with κεν, the Future, or the Present. In such cases there is some change of tone between Protasis and Apodosis: as II. 11. 386 ει μὲν ὅν ἀντίβιον σὺν τεύχεσι περισεθήσει, οὐκ ἀν τοι ξαῖρημήστι κτλ., where the Subj. is more peremptory than the Opt.: cp. Od. 17. 539 and (Fut.) II. 10. 222. So with the ει-Clause following the other, as II. 9. 388 κοφίνη δ' οὐ γαμέω, οὐδ' ει ἑρίζων I shall not wed the maiden (and would not) even if she rivalled γε; cp. II. 2. 488, Od. 17. 539. The instances of the Opt. following a Present are nearly all in the Odyssey: I. 414, οὖτ' οὖν ἄγγελη ἐτι πείθομαι ει ποθέν ἐλθοί, also 7. 52., 14. 56. In these cases the Present has the force of a general statement (see Goodwin, §§ 409–501). So when the Verb is understood, as—

II. 9. 318 ἵση μοιρα μένοντι καὶ ει μάλα τις πολεμίζου.

Od. 8. 138 οὐ γὰρ ἐγωγέ τί φημι κακότερον ἄλλο βαλάστης ἀνδρα γε συγχέων, ει καὶ μάλα καρτερὸς ειη no matter if he is very strong (=even if he should be).

The combination ὡς ει (or ὡς ει τε) expresses supposition for the purpose of comparison; the principal Clause being in a past Tense, as—


Or else negative—

II. 11. 389 οὐκ ἄλεγω ὡς ει με γνωνη βάλοι λι πᾶς ἄφρων.

The use of ει with the Opt. in the iterative sense (if ever, whenever), which is common in later Greek, is not Homeric: the only passage which might be quoted as an example is—

II. 24. 768 ἀλλ' ει τίς με καὶ ἄλλος ενι μεγάροις ενήπτοι . . ἀλλα σὺ τὸν γ' ἐπέέσθι παρατιθαμενος κατέρυκες.
313.] Clauses with $\epsilon i$—Wish. The Conditional Protasis, when used without an Apodosis, becomes a form of expressing wish:—

II. 15. 569 'Αντίλοχ', οὗ τις σείο νεώτερος ἄλλος 'Αχαίων, οὔτε ποσιν θάσσον ὁμή' ἄλκυμος ὡς σὺ μάχεσθαι' εἰ τινά ποιν Τρώων ἐξάλμενοι ἄνδρα βάλοντο What.

So II. 10. 111, 16. 559, 24. 74. More frequently a wish is introduced by $\epsilon i$ γὰρ or αἰ γὰρ, as in—

αἰ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ 'Αθηναίη καὶ 'Απόλλων, κτλ.

Such a wish is sometimes used as a form of asseveration, as—

II. 18. 464 αἰ γὰρ μν θανάτου δυσηχέος δόα δυναῖν νόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι, ὅτε μν μόροι αἰνὸς ἴκάνωι, ὡς ο Mistress τεύχεα καλά παρέστεται i.e. fair arms shall be his as surely as I wish I could save him from death: so II. 8. 538, Od. 9. 523: and ironically—

Od. 21. 402 αἰ γὰρ ὁδ τοσσοῦτον ὑός τοὺς ἀντισίειν, ὡς οὔτος ποτε τὸ τόσο δυνήσεται ἑτανύσασθαι. Here also we must place the wishes expressed by $\epsilon i\theta e$ or αἰθε, which have generally the character of hopeless regret: as $\epsilon i\theta$ ἔς ήβωσυμί κτλ. It may be noted that in the Odyssey wish is not expressed by $\epsilon i$ except in the combinations $\epsilon i$ γὰρ and $\epsilon i\theta e$.

A wish is often followed by a Clause expressing an expected consequence of its fulfilment: as—

II. 2. 371 αἰ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ τῷ κε τάχ' ἡμόσειε πόλις Πριάμου ἀνακτος.

Od. 7. 331 Ζεῦ πάτερ, αἰθ' ὅσα εἴπε τελευτήσειεν ἀπαντα 'Ἀλκίνους' τοῦ μὲν κεν επὶ ζεύδωρον ἀρουραν ἀσβεστον κλέος εἰη.

So we should probably punctuate—

II. 13. 485 εἰ γὰρ ὤμηλική γε γένοιμεθα τῷ' ἐπι θυμῷ: αἰψά κεν ἡ' φέρουτο μέγα κράτος ἡ' φεροῦμην.

Or we may take αἰψά κεν κτλ. closely with the preceding line, and then it becomes the Apodosis to a Conditional clause. Other examples of this ambiguity are given in § 318.

318.] Optative with $\epsilon i$ κεν—Conditional Protasis. This is a comparatively rare form; it can generally be explained in accordance with the other uses of κεν:—

II. 5. 273 εἰ τοῦτο κε λάβομεν ἄροίμεθα κε κλέος ἐσθλον

if (as I propose) we take them, we should γε.

(But perhaps we should read τοῦτο γε.)

9. 141 εἰ δέ κεν 'Ἀργὸς ἴκολομθ' 'Αχαίκων κτλ.

if (as a further step) we reach Argos γε.
II. 23. 591 ἵππον δὲ τοι αὐτὸς
dῶσω, τὴν ἀρόμην ἔλαβε
καὶ νῦ κεν οἶκοθεν ἄλλο
μείζον ἐπατήτεσιας, ἀφαρ
κε τοι αὐτικά δοῦναι
βουλομένην ἵππον δὲ τοι
(after that) you demand mor
Od. 2. 76 εἰ χ' ὑμεῖς γε φάγοιτε, τάξι
ἂν ποτὲ καὶ τίσι εἰν

See also II. 2. 123., 8. 196, 205., 13. 288., 23. 592, Od. 2. 246., 12. 345., 13. 389., 19. 590. And with the Clause with εἰ following the other—

II. 6. 49 τῶν κεν τοι χαρίσατο πατὴρ ἀπερέσιν ἀποσα, εἰ
cεν εἰμὲ κωδὸν πεπόθοιν ἔπι

So II. 1. 60., 10. 381; cp. Od. 7. 315., 8. 353, and the use of οὐδ'
eἰ κεν not even in case, II. 9. 445., 19. 322., 22. 220., 23-3%
There is one instance of the Opt. with εἰ—ἀν, viz.

II. 2. 597 εἰ περ ἄν αὐταλ Μοῦσαι ἀείδειν.

314.] Opt. with εἰ—Final and Object Clauses. These are
generally found after a past Tense in the Principal Clause; e. g.—

II. 2. 97 κύρικες βοῶντες ἑρήμουν, εἰ ποτ' ἄυτὴς

Od. 4. 317 ἡλθον, εἰ τωδ' οἱ κληρονόμοι πατρὸς ἐνύποισιν
I have come in case you may tell me some σὲ.

With Verbs of seeking, trying, desiring, &c. the Clause with εἰ has the character of an Object Clause; as—

II. 4. 88 Πάνδαρον ἀπιτθεν διζημεν ἐπι πον ἐφευρο
seeking in the hope of finding (= seeking to find).

So II. 12. 333, Od. 13. 415., 22. 381.

With Verbs of telling, knowing, seeing, thinking, &c. this idiom
is almost confined to the Odyssey; e. g.—

Od. 1. 115 ὁσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλῶν ἐνι φρεσίν, εἰ ποθεν ἐλθῶν

i. e. with the thought in his heart, whether his father would
come and scatter the suitors: cp. 5. 439., 9. 317, 421., 18. 375.

Od. 12. 112 εἰ δ' ἄγε δή μοι τότο, θέα, νημερτές ἐνύπσεις
eἰ ποσ τῶν ὔλον ἰδιν ὑπεκαρφύγουμι Χάρυβδων
tell me as to the hope that I may escape σὲ.

In a few places an Object Clause of this kind follows a present
Tense:—

Od. 2. 350 διν σὺ φιλάσσεις
κείνον ὑπόμεινον τῶν κάμμαρον εἰ ποθεν ἔλθοι.

14. 119 Ζεὺς . . οἶδε . . εἰ κέ μὲν ἀγγειαμαι ιδὼν.
20. 224 ἀλλ' εἰ τῶν ὄπιστηνον οἴομαι εἰ ποθεν . . θεί.
So in the only example of the kind found in the Iliad:—

II. 11. 792 τίς ὁδ' οἶδ' ἐν κεν ὁ ὁμοίων ὑμὸν ὑπάναις;

The pure Optative is used in all the places quoted, except the two in which ἐκ κεν follows οἴδε (II. 11. 792, Od. 14. 119). In these the structure is the same as in the corresponding independent Clauses (§ 300). That is to say, the phrase τίς οἶδεν ἐκ is treated as a mere ‘perhaps’ (Lat. nescio an).

An Opt. in a Final Clause depending upon a Subj. is perhaps to be found in Od. 5. 471 ἐκ δὲ κεν . . . καταδράω ἐκ με μεθεῖ (so all MSS.: μεθη Bekk.). Cp. § 293.

**History of the Subjunctive and Optative.**

315.] Uses in Independent Clauses. The uses of the Subj. and Opt. in independent Clauses have been shown to fall in each case into two main groups. In one set of meanings the Mood expresses desire on the part of the speaker; to this belong the Subj. of command and prohibition, and the Opt. of wish. In the other the Mood is a kind of Future; the Subj. being an emphatic or confident Future (like our Future with shall), the Opt. a softened Future, expressing expectation, or mere admission of possibility (the English may or should).

These two sets of meanings may be called the ‘quasi-Imperative,’ and the ‘quasi-Future.’ We must remember however that they are not always clearly separable, but are connected by transitional or intermediate uses: such as (e.g.) the Subj. which expresses necessity (§ 277), and the Opt. of concession (§ 299, d).

316.] Uses in Subordinate Clauses. Passing over for the present the question whether the quasi-Imperative or the quasi-Future use is to be regarded in each case as representing the original meaning of the Mood, we proceed to consider the uses in Subordinate Clauses. Here the main distinction is that between ‘Final’ and ‘Conditional,’ if these terms are used with some latitude: especially if we rank with the Final Clauses not only those which distinctly express the end or purpose of an action, but also all Clauses which are referred to the time of the governing Verb. It is true that this distinction does not always apply; e.g. to the Subj. in—

Δαναών ὅλοιφυρόμεθ’ αἰχμαλάων,
οἳ κεν δὴ κακῶν οἴτων ἀναπλήσαντες ὥλωνται.

or to the Opt. in—

ἀλλὰ πολὺ μεῖζον . . .

μνηστήρες φράζονται, ὅ μη τελέσει τοὺς Κρονίων.
For there the Relative Clause is in sense a *parenthesis*, and is construed accordingly as an independent Sentence. Again, in—

εσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὅλωλη κτλ.

φασσῶμεθ' ἢ' νεόμεθ' ἐφ' ἡμέτερ' ἢ' μενομεν.

δείδιε γὰρ μὴ λαμόν ἀποτμήσειε κτλ.

and generally in *Object* Clauses, the Subordinate Clause does not express *end*; but the time from which it is regarded as spoken is fixed by the governing Verb, in the same way that the time of a true Final Clause is fixed by the action of which it gives the end. For the present purpose, accordingly, there are two kinds of Clause to be considered, (1) Final and Object Clauses, and (2) Conditional Clauses.

Regarding the meaning of the Subjunctive and Optative in Final Clauses there can be little doubt. The Subj. in most instances follows either a First Person (Present or Future), or an Imperative: that is to say, it expresses the immediate purpose with which the speaker announces his own action, or commands the action of others. Hence, by a natural transference, it comes to express the purpose of another person (viz. the Subject of the Principal Clause). Similarly the Opt., whether as the Mood of wish or of expectation, comes to express a wish or expectation not now felt, but spoken of. Again, by virtue of its character as a softened or less confident Future, it naturally expresses a *purpose* that does not lie within the speaker’s own sphere of action or direct influence.

It should be noticed, too, that the relation which we imply by the term ‘Final Clause’ may exist without grammatical Sub-ordination, *i.e.* without a Particle such as ὅνα or ὡς to introduce the clause. Thus in II. 6. 340 ἀλλ' ὅγε νῦν ἐπίμεων ἀρῆια τεύχεα ὁν' the meaning would not be altered by saying ἐπίμεων ὅνα ὅνα. So in II. 18. 121-125 νῦν ὃ κλέος ἀροῦμην καὶ . . . στοναχήσαν ἐφεὶς, γνοίεν ὃ ὡς ὅγε δημον ἐγν τολεμον ὑπαναλον; the last wish is evidently also the *result* hoped for from the fulfilment of the preceding wishes (so that γνοίεν ὃς γνοίεν).

In Conditional Clauses, on the other hand, the condition or supposition is not subordinated to the time of the governing Verb, but is made from the present point of view of the speaker. The question arises: What is the original force of the Subj. and Opt. in this use?

In the case of the Subj, we naturally look to the quasi-Imperative use. It is common to use the Imperative as a way of stating a supposition; as when we say ‘let it be so,’ meaning ‘if it is so’ (cf. Latin *cras petito, dabitur*). This view is confirmed by the fact that negative Conditional Clauses take μὴ, not ὡς: that is to say, they are felt to be akin to *prohibition* rather than *denial*. Thus δὴ μὴ ἔλθῃ literally means not ‘who will not come’.
(οὐ κάνει εἰλογί), but 'who shall not come,' i.e. whom we are not to suppose coming.

Similarly we may understand the Opt, in these Clauses as the Mood of concession; 'admitting this to be so': and so in a negative sentence, δὲ μὴ εἰλογί διὰ τούτου whom I agree to suppose not coming.' For the choice of the Mood does not depend on the greater or less probability of the supposition being true, but on the Tone in which it is made—on the degree of vividness, as Mr. Goodwin says, with which it is expressed (Moods and Tenses, § 455).

It may be objected that on this view we ought to have εἰ oū, not εἰ μή, whenever the Verb is in the Indicative. But there is no difficulty in supposing that μή was extended to the Indicative on the analogy of the Clauses with the Subj. and Opt.; just as μή ἀφελον is an extension from the common use of μή in wishes. And this is strongly supported by the circumstance that in fact εἰ oū with the Indicative occurs several times in Homer:—

Il. 15. 162 εἰ δὲ μοι οὐκ ἐπέεσσό' ἐπιπέσεται κτλ. (so 178).
20. 129 εἰ δ' Ἀρχεῖον οὐ ταῦτα θέων ἕκ πεῦσεται ὁμφής.
24. 296 εἰ δὲ τοι οὐ δώσει ἕδν ἄγγελον κτλ.

Od. 2. 274 εἰ δ' οὖ κείνου γ'/ ἐστὶ γόνος κτλ.

See also Il. 4. 160, Od. 12. 382, 13. 143. On the other hand, in the very few examples of εἰ oū with a Subj., the oū goes closely with the Verb, viz. Il. 3. 289 (οὐκ ἐθέλωσω), 20. 139 (οὐκ εἶδος). On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the Subj. in Conditional Clauses represents the tone of requirement in which the speaker asks us to suppose the condition to be true: and that the Opt. implies concession, or willingness to make the supposition involved.

317.] Original meaning. Whether the use of the Subj. as an emphatic Future was derived from its use to express Will, or vice versa, and whether the Optative originally expressed wish or supposition, are questions which take us back to a very early period in the history of Indo-European speech. The two Moods are found in the same uses (generally speaking) in Homer and in the Veda: the formation of these uses therefore belongs in the main to the period before the separation of the different languages,—to the period, indeed, when the original parent language was itself in course of formation. The problem therefore is one on which comparison of the earliest forms of the known Indo-European languages can hardly throw any light. It is as though we were asked to divine whether the use of shall in commands (thou shalt not kill) or in predictions (ye shall see me) is the older, without recourse to earlier English, or to other Germanic languages. Some considerations of a general character may however be suggested:—

(a) The Subj. is strongly differentiated from the Imperative by its Person-Endings, and especially by the existence of a First Person.

(b) In most languages it will be found that the Imperative meaning is expressed in more than one way. Thus in Sanscrit we find the Imperative U
proper, the Injunctive, the Subj., and the Optative: in Greek the Imper., the Subj. and certain uses of the Future. The reason of this is evident. Variety in the expression of will and wish is one of the first needs of human society. The form which has been appropriated to express command is unsuitable to courteous request, still more unsuitable to humble entreaty. Accordingly other forms are used, precisely because they are not Imperatives. In time these acquire a quasi-Imperative character, and fresh forms are resorted to as the same want of a non-Imperative mode of expression is again perceived.

(c) The use of the Secondary Endings in the Optative points to the conclusion that in its origin it was a Mood of past time. The tendency to use a past Tense in wishes, and in some kinds of suppositions, may be amply illustrated from English and other modern languages.

(d) The uses with το go far to show that the quasi-Future sense of the Subj. and Opt. is at least as primitive as the quasi-Imperative sense. If the strong negation το γέννα is derived by gradual change of meaning from a prohibition, the appearance of το is difficult to explain.

(e) The use of the Subj. as an Imper. may be compared to the Attic use of the Future in a 'jussive' sense, and in Final Clauses to express purpose (Goodwin, p. 373). The change from an expression of will to one of expectation is one to which it would be much more difficult to find a parallel.

318.] Conditional Protasis with εἰ. The derivations that have been proposed for the Particle εἰ or αἰ are too uncertain to furnish ground for any theory as to the manner in which the Conditional Protasis may have been formed. The question arises for us on the passages in which εἰ with the Opt. is used to express a wish. Thus in εἰ τις καλέσει εἰ pray somе one to call we may take the Clause as Conditional, with a suppressed Apodosis (καλῶς ἃν ἔχω or the like). Or we may follow L. Lange in holding that the Clause is not Subordinate at all, the Particle εἰ being originally a kind of affirmative Interjection, used to introduce expressions of wish and supposition; and we can thus explain the ordinary Complex Conditional Sentence as made up of two originally independent Clauses, viz. (1) a wish or supposition, introduced by εἰ, and (2) an assertion of the consequence to be expected from its being realised. On this theory the Clause of Wish introduced by εἰ is not an incomplete Sentence, derived from a Complex Sentence by omission of the Apodosis, but is one of the elements from which the Complex Sentence was itself developed.

The latter of these views has a priori the advantage of deriving the complex from the simple: and it has some apparent support in Homeric usage. We find in Homer—

(1) Wish, standing alone:—

ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλοι οὕτως τοιαύτα γε βέζοι.

(2) Wish followed by an independent Clause expressing expectation of a consequence:—

Od. 15. 180 ὠτων νῦν Ζεῦς θείς, ἱργδουπος πόλεις "Ἡρης:

τῷ κέν τοι καὶ κεῖθε θέω ὡς εὐχετοῦμην.

II. 13. 55 σφαῖρ' ὁδε θεών τις ἕνθρει ποιήσειν,

αὐτῶ θ' ἵσταμεν κρατερῶ καὶ ἄναγμένοι ἄλλοις:

τῷ κε καὶ ἔσοψον περ ἱραίσατ' ἀπὸ νηών.
(3) Wish, with εἰ, εἰ γὰρ, εἰθὲ, &c., but without ‘Apodosis’:

II. 4. 189 εἰ γὰρ δὴ οὕτως εἶη, φίλος ὅ Μενέλαοι.

11. 670 εἰθ᾽ ὡς ἤβδωμι, βηχ δὲ μοι ἐμπεδο εἰη, κτλ.

(4) Wish, with εἰ, εἰ γὰρ, εἰθὲ, &c., followed by a Clause of Consequence:

II. 7. 157 εἰθ᾽ ὡς ἤβδωμι, βηχ δὲ μοι ἐμπεδο εἰη'

τῷ κὲ τάχ' ἀντήσειε κτλ.

Od. 15. 536 εἰ γὰρ τούτο, ἔξειν, ἐποσ τελέσει Κρονέων

γροῖς χ' αἰη ἐμὴ δύναμι καὶ γεφές ἔσπονται.

(5) Supposition, with εἰ, followed by a Clause of expectation:

II. 7. 129 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσοντας ὑφ᾽ Ἑκτορί πάντας ἀκούσαι,

πολλά κεν ἀθανάτοισι φίλας ἀνὰ χειρας ἀδέρα.

The similarity in these examples is manifest. The type in the first four sets consists of a Clause of Wish, either alone (1 and 3) or followed by a Clause of Consequence (2 and 4). Again, (5) only differs from (4) in punctuation, so to speak: the two Clauses are taken together, and thus the εἰ-Clause is no longer an independent supposition, but is one made with a view to the consequence expressed in the Clause with κεν. And this, it is contended, was the result of a gradual process, such as we find whenever parataxis passes into hypotaxis.

319.] Final Clauses with εἰ. An argument for Lange's view of the original force of εἰ is found in the use in Final Clauses, such as εἰμι εἰ κε πίθυμα. The meaning here is essentially different from that of the Conditional sentence σφχο if he listens; and on the ordinary hypothesis, that εἰ originally expressed a condition, it is difficult to account for the two uses. But if εἰ is a mere interjection, introducing wish or supposition, it is intelligible that the Clause should be Conditional or Final, as the context may determine.

320.] The formula εἰ δ' ἄγε, with the varieties εἰ δ' ἄγετ' (II. 22. 381) and εἰ δέ (II. 9. 46, 262), is often used in Homer to introduce an Imperative or Subjunctive (§ 275). It has generally been supposed to be elliptical, standing for εἰ δ' ἔθλεας ἄγε, or the like. And εἰ δ' ἔθλεας is actually found with an Imperative in a few places: II. 19. 142 εἰ δ' ἔθλεας ἐπίμεωνον, Od. 16. 82., 17. 277 (cp. 3. 324). It has been pointed out, however, by Lange, in his dissertation on this question, that εἰ δ' ἔθλεας is only found where it introduces a distinct second alternative. Thus in Od. 16. 82 the context is: 'I will send the stranger wherever he desires; or if you choose (εἰ δ' ἔθλεας) take him into your house.' So Od. 3. 323 ἀλλ' ἴν νῦν σὺν νη... εἰ δ' ἔθλεας πεζίος κτλ. But with εἰ δ' ἄγε this is not the case. We find it at the beginning of a speech as:

II. 6. 376 εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι, διακά, νημέρφεα μυθήσασθε.

Od. 2. 178 ὡ γέρον, εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν μαντεύει κτλ.: so II. 16. 697., 17. 685,

Od. 12. 112., 22. 391., 23. 35.

Or in the Apodosis of a Conditional sentence, as—

Od. 4. 831 εἰ μὲν δὴ θεός ἐσσι, θεοῦ τε ἐκλείς αὐδῆσι,

εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι κτλ.: so II. 22. 379-381.

Or to express an appeal which is consequent upon something just said: as—

II. 1. 301 τῶν οὖν οὖν τί φέροις ἀνελον ἄκοντος ἔρμιον

εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν πείρριασι (ay, come now and try) : cp. II. 8. 18.

* De formula Homericα εἰ δ' ἄγε commentatio, Lipsiae 1873.
II. 1. 523
εμοί δὲ κε ταῦτα μελῆσατα ὕφρα τελέσω.
el δ' ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ κατονεύσομαι (so come, I will nod my head).

23. 579 el δ' ἄγε ἐγὼν αὐτὸς δικάσω, καὶ μ' οὖ τινα φιμι
ἀλλον ἐπιπλῆζεν Δαναών' ἱθεία γὰρ εἶσαι
'Ἀντιλόχ', εἰ δ' ἄγε δεύρο.. δείην κτλ.
come I will be judge myself... so come, Anílochus, take this oath:

Hence, Lange argues, it is probable that el does not express condition, but has
an interjectional character (cp. Latin eia age) : and if so it may be the same
with the use in Clauses expressing wish.

321.] Conclusion. Notwithstanding these arguments, the common expla-
nation of the el-Clause of wish : as primarily a Clause of supposition)
seems to be the more probable one.* For—
(1) The uses of el present a marked correspondence with those of the
Relative and its derivatives. Note especially the use of ὅτε μὴ as almost
exactly = el μὴ.
(2) The analogy εἶτα : el :: ἔτερα : émei makes it likely that el was
originally temporal. The fact that εἶτα is not Homeric takes something from
the force of this argument.
(3) The use of alternative forms of wish, and the use of some form of
supposition to express wish, are phenomena which can be exemplified from
many languages : cp. the Latin o si, German wenn, wenn nur, &c. And ellipse
of the apodosis occurs with el-clauses of other kinds ; see § 324.*
(4) The el-clause, whether of supposition or of wish, is specifically Greek,
whereas the chief meanings of the Optative—wish, concession, supposition—
are much older, being common to Greek and Sanscrit. Hence the el-clause
was formed at a time when the Opt. of wish had long been established in
use. The presumption surely is that the el-clause, when it came to be used
as a form of wish, was a new way of expressing wish. It would probably
be adopted at first as a less direct form, suited for wishes couched in a
different tone (as εἴδε is confined to hopeless wish).
(5) The only use of el not obviously expressive of supposition is that which
is seen in the isolated phrase el δ' ἄγε, of which Lange has given an exceed-
ingly probable analysis. Possibly however the el of el δ' ἄγε is not the same
word as el ἰ', but an interjection, like ἵνα and Latin eia. We may go further,
and point out that the τέ of el δ' ἄγε has been shown by Lange himself
to be out of place, hence the true form may be τέ ἄγε, like Latin eia age.
It may be observed, in conclusion, that the question of the el-clause is
quite distinct from the question of the original meaning of the Optative.
It is possible to combine Lange's theory of el with Delbrück's earlier view
of the Optative as originally the Mood of wish,† but Lange himself does not
do so. He regards the el-clause of supposition (Fallsetzung) as developed
independently of the el-clause of wish. His main thesis is that el does not

* This is also the conclusion maintained by Mr. Goodwin, who discusses
the question very fully in the new edition of his Moods and Tenses (pp. 376 ff.).
† This view was proposed in Delbrück's Syntaktische Forschungen (vol. i. p. 13),
but is withdrawn in his recent work (Altindische Syntax, § 172).
imply a correlative particle, or an apodosis (καλῶς ἄν ἢ χω or the like), so that the two meanings of ἐλ γίνεται—suppose it happened and would that it happened—belong to originally distinct meanings of the Opt. γίνεται. That is to say, the development of ἐλ ἢ with various Moods—Opt., Subj., Indic.—was parallel to an entirely distinct development of interjectional ἐλ with the Opt. of wish.

322.] Homeric and Attic uses. The main difference between Homer and later writers in regard to the Moods may be said to be that the later uses are much more restricted. Thus the Subj. is used by Homer in Principal Clauses of every kind—Affirmative and Negative, as well as Prohibitive, Interrogative, &c. In Attic it is confined to the Prohibitive use with μή, and the idiomatic 'Hortatory' and 'Deliberative' uses.

Again, in Subordinate Clauses the important Homeric distinction between the 'pure' Subj. and the Subj. with ἄν or κεφ is almost wholly lost in Attic. In Clauses of Conditional meaning, whether Relativa, Temporal, or introduced by ἐλ, the Subj. with ἄν has become the only generally allowable construction: the pure Subj. being confined to a few instances in poetry. With the Optative, on the other hand, an equal uniformity has been attained by the loss of the use with ἄν or κεφ. In short, of the four distinct Homeric constructions—

1. ἐς ἐλθῃ (ὑτε ἐλθῃ, ἐλ ἐλθῃ, &c.)
2. ἐς ἄν (ὁ ἐς κεφ ἐλθῃ (ὑτε ἄν ἐλθῃ, ἔδω ἐλθῇ, &c.)
3. ἐς ἐλθω (ὑτε ἐλθω, ἐλ ἐλθω, &c.)
4. ἐς ἄν (ὁ ἐς κεφ ἐλθω (ὑτε ἄν ἐλθω, ἔδω ἐλθω, &c.)

the language dropped the first and last; with the result that as ἄν always accompanied the Subj. and was absent from the Opt., it ceased to convey a distinct meaning, independent of the meaning given by the Mood. In other words, the use became a mere idiom. The change, though apparently slight, is very significant as an evidence of linguistic progress.

In regard to Final Clauses the most noticeable point is the use of the Relative with a Subjunctive. In this respect Homeric Greek agrees with Latin: while in later Greek the Subj. was replaced, generally speaking, by the Future Indicative. It is also worth observing here that in Homer, as has been said (§ 316), the Final Clause in the great majority of instances expresses the speaker's own purpose, not a purpose which he attributes to a person spoken of: see §§ 280, 281, 285, 286. In other words, the subordination of the Clause to the governing Verb does not often go so far as to put the Third Person for the First (e. g. φράσεσαι ἐς κε νηται = he will consider—'how am I to return'). The further license by which a past purpose is thought of as if still present—so that the Subj. is used instead of the Opt.—is not Homeric (§ 298).

Modal Uses of the Indicative.

323.] The Indicative is primarily the Mood of assertion: from which it is an easy step to the use in Negative and Interrogative sentences. It is also used in Greek (as in other languages) to express mere supposition: thus we have ἐλ in a Conditional Protasis with all Tenses (ἐλ ἢν, ἐλ ἔστι, ἐλ ἔσται),
where there need be no implication either for or against the truth of the supposition thus made. Further, the Indicative may be used in certain cases in a Conditional Apodosis, expressing an imaginary consequence. Again, it may be used in Final and Object Clauses referring to the past or to the future. All such uses, in which the Indicative does not assert, may be called Modal Uses.

The tendency of language appears to be to extend the Modal Uses of the Indicative, and consequently to diminish the range of the other Moods. It is found possible, and more convenient, to show the modal character of a Clause by means of Particles, or from the drift of the context, without a distinct Verbal form. It will be seen, on comparing the Homeric and Attic usage, that the Indicative has encroached in several points upon the other Moods.

324.] Conditional Clauses (Apodosis). The Secondary Tenses or Tenses of past time (Aor. Impf. and Plupf.), are used with κεν or ἀν to express a supposed consequence: as—

II. 4. 420 δεινὸν δ’ ἐβραχὲς χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσιν ἄνακτος ὀρνιμένον: ὑπὸ κεν ταλασίφρωνα περ δεος εἶλεν fear would have seized even the stout-hearted.

This way of speaking of a conditional event ordinarily implies that the condition on which it depended was not fulfilled. For if (e.g.) the assertion ἠλθεν he came is true, we can hardly ever have occasion to limit it by saying ἠλθεν ἄν he came in that case. Hence a Past Tense with κεν or ἀν naturally came to be used where the event in question had not happened, owing to the non-fulfilment of the condition.

The rule does not apply to events that occur repeatedly, or on no particular occasion; for there is no contradiction in saying of such an event that it happened when a condition was fulfilled. Hence the use in the iterative sense (as Hdt. 3. 110 κλαίεικε ἄν καὶ ὀδυρίσκει, Thuc. 7. 71 εἰ τινες ἵοιεν . . . ἀνθράπων σάν τε ἄν κτλ.). This use, however, is not Homeric. In Od. 2. 104 ἐνθα κεν ηματίη μὲν φαίνεσκεν has slender authority, most MSS. reading ἐνθα καί. Another supposed instance is—

Od. 18. 263 ἵππων τ’ ἀκυπόδων ἐπιβήτωρας, οὐ κε τάχιστα ἐκριναν μέγα νεῖκος κτλ.,

where the commentators (Fäsi, Ameis, Merry) take ἐκριναν as a 'gnomic' Aorist. The words as they stand can only mean 'who would most speedily have decided mighty strife' (so Goodwin, § 244) : but this does not suit the context. The difficulty is best met by reading οὐ τε: op. § 283, b.

An exceptional use of a different kind is—

Od. 4. 546 ἦ γὰρ μὲν σοίν γε κιχήσει, ἦ κεν Ὄρεστης κτείνεν ὑποφθάμενος.

Here κεν marks the alternative (§ 283, n. 2): either you will find him alive or (in the other case) Orestes has killed him (i.e. must have killed him). Thrown into
a Conditional form the sentence would be: 'if you do not find him alive,
thен Орестеас has killed him.' So with an Infinitive—

II. 22. 108 ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸν ἄν πολὺ κέρδιον εἶπ
ἀντίστη Ἀχιλῆα κατακτείναντα νέεσθαι ἣ κεν αὐτῷ ὀλεσθαι ἐκτείναντο πόλνησοι.

In the Protasis κεν with the Indicative occurs only once, viz. II. 23. 526 εἰ
dὲ κ’ ἐτι προτέρω γένετο ὄρμος (see Leaf's note a. l.). This may be compared
with the occasional use of κεν with εἰ and an Opt. (§ 313). The rarity of the
use with an Indic. need not be felt as a difficulty: cp. the oracle in Hdt. 1.
174 Ἰδει γὰρ κ’ ἐθηκε νῆσον εἰ κ’ ἐβούλετο, also Erinna, fr. 4, 4, and Ar. Lys.
1098 (Hartung, ii. p. 240).

In later Greek the Imperfect with ἰν may express either a
continuous action which would have occurred at some past time,
or an action (continuous or momentary) which would have been
occurring at the moment of speaking. The latter of these uses,
as Mr. Goodwin points out (§ 435), is not Homeric. He sees
an approach to it in Il. 24. 220 εἰ μὲν γὰρ τίς μεν ἐκέλευν
were it any one else who bade me. Another may be found in Od.
20. 307 καὶ κέ τοι ἀντὶ γάμου ταῖρα τάφου ἀρμενων ἐνδάδε (if
you had struck the stranger) your father would have had to busy
himself here with your burial in place of wedding: cp. also Od. 4.
178 καὶ κε θάμ' ἐνθάδ' ἐντες ἐμογομεθ', οὖδε κεν ἡμέας ἀλλα
διέκρινεν.

The Impf. without ἰν or κεν may express what ought to have been,
if the meaning of fitness, obligation, &c. is given by the
Verb or Predicate. Thus we have Od. 20. 331 κέρδιον ἰεν it
would have been better. So in Attic with ἐξρη, ἐδει, and similar
words.

The Opt. with ἰν or κεν, as we have seen (§ 300, c), is not un-
frequently used in Homer with the same meaning as the Aor.
or Impf. with ἰν has in later Greek. This is one of the points
in which the use of the Indicative gained on that of the
Optative.

324.*] Ellipse of the Apodosis. We may notice here the
cases in which εἰ with an Indic. or Subj. is not followed
by a corresponding Clause expressing the consequence of
the supposition made. This occurs—

(a) When two alternative suppositions are made, the second
being the one upon which the speaker wishes to dwell: as II. 1.
135 εἰ μὲν δῶσων ἑρᾶς . . εἰ δὲ κε μὴ δῶσωι, ἐγὼ δὲ κεν αὐτὸς
ἐλωμαι if they give (there is nothing to be said), but if not, &c.

(b) When the consequence is sufficiently implied in the εἰ-
Clause: as II. 6. 150 εἰ δ’ ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαμεναι if you wish
to be told this (I will do so): Il. 7. 375 αἰ κ’ ἐθέλωσι παύσασθαι

(c) When the speaker prefers to suggest the consequence in an indirect way: as II. 1. 580 ἐὰν περ γὰρ κ’ ἐκθέλησιν Ὀλυμπίου ἀπετεφτηγής εἰς ἐδέων στυφελεῖσα, ὥ γὰρ πολὺ φέρετάς ἐστών ἵν’ ἐσείη (he will), ἵνα ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐστίν: II. 14. 331, 21. 367, Od. 3. 324.

There is a similar omission of the apodosis in Causal Clauses with ἐπεί at the beginning of a speech, as II. 3. 59 “Εκτροφ, ἐπεί μὲ κατ’ αἴσθαν ἐνείκεσας: II. 6. 382 Ἐκτροφ, ἐπεί μᾶλ’ ἁνωγας κτλ.; II. 13. 68, 77, Od. 1. 231., 3. 103, 211. The full form appears in II. 6. 333 ἐπεί μὲ κατ’ αἴσθαν ἐνείκεσας... τοῦνεκα τοι ἐρήω.

In such sentences as ἐὰν ἐδέλεις... δεῖμεναι some commentators obtain an apodosis by taking the Inf. as equivalent to an Imperative: ‘if you wish, then learn &c.’ But this is exceedingly forced, and indeed impossible in some places. e.g. II. 7. 375, Od. 21. 260. Elsewhere the apodosis is forgotten (anaeolidhoun) ; so after ἐὰν in II. 22. 111, after ἐπεί in II. 18. 101, Od. 4. 204., 6. 187, 262., 8. 236., 17. 185.

325.] Past Tense by ‘Assimilation.’ When a Past Tense relating to an event which has not happened is followed by a Subordinate Clause, the Verb of the Subordinate Clause may also be in a Past Tense (the event which it expresses being equally imaginary): as—

II. 6. 345 ὡς μὲ ὀφελ’ ἡματι τῷ ὅτε... ὀψιασθαι προφέρουσα κακὴ ἁνέμοιο θύελλα, ἐνία μὲ κῦμ’ ἄπδερσε κτλ.

and so v. 350 ἀνδρός ἐπειτ’ ὀφελλοῦ... ὡς ἡ ἡ κτλ., and Od. 1. 218: also the use with πρὶν, Od. 4. 178 οὐδὲ κεῖν ἡμας ἅλλο διέκρινεν... πρὶν γ’ ὅτε δὴ βανάτσιο μέλαν νόφος ἀμφεκαλύτεν ναλλόν... would have parted us before the dark cloud of death had wrapped us round.

This idiom is the same in principle as the use of Past Tenses in Final Clauses, which is common in Attic with ἦνα and ὡς: as Soph. O. T. 1393 τι μ’ οὖν λαβὼν ἐκτεινας εὐθός, ὡς ἔδείξα μὴ ποτὲ κτλ. that so I might never hate shown ᾽ν. When the context has once shown that we are dealing with a purely imaginary event, the Indicative serves to carry on the train of suppositions. The Indic. is similarly used in an Object Clause after a Verb of fearing, as δείδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θέλῃ νημερτέα ἐπεν.

326.] Future Indicative. The following points have to be noticed:—

1. Homer not unfrequently uses κεῖν with the Future, the effect being (as with the Subj.) to indicate a limitation or condition:—

II. 1. 139 οὐ δὲ κεῖν ἱερολογεῖται, and he (if I do so) will be angry.
II. 1. 522 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν αὕτης ἀπόστιχε μή τι νοήσῃ
"Ἡρη" ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελῆσται (to me, as my part).
4. 76 καὶ κέ τις ἀδ' ἔρει ἐπὶ in such case men will say.
This use of κέv is chiefly found after δέ, as II. 1. 139., 6. 260., 8. 419., 14. 267, &c.; and in Relative Clauses, as II. 12. 226., 17. 241., 22. 70, Od. 5. 36., 8. 318., 16. 438: perhaps with ὅτε, II. 20. 335 ὅτε κέv συμβλήσεται unless we read συμβλήσας as 2 Aor. Subj. (Dindorf, Thes. Ling. Gr. s. v. βάλλω). Cp. the use of κέv with the Subj., § 275, b.
The Future with ἀν is very rare: see II. 9. 167., 22. 66.
2. The use of the Future with the force of a gentle Imperative has been ascribed to Homer, but without sufficient ground. Where it appears to take the place of an Imperative it will be found in reality to express the indifference of the speaker; as—
II. 6. 70 ἀλλ' ἄνδρας κτεῖνωμεν. ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκτηλοῦν
νεκροὺς ἀμπεδοῦν συλήσετε τεθυμάτας
then you can (if you like) strip the dead of their arms.
20. 137 ἡμείς μὲν καθεξώμεσθα... τόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι
μελήσει (we will leave war to men).
The forms εἰσεῖτε and ἐξεῖτε, which are sometimes given as instances of this use, do not belong to the Future, but are Imperatives of an Aorist (§ 41).
3. The Future is occasionally found in Final Clauses with nearly the force of the Subj.: viz. with the Conjunctions ὅπως in Od. 1. 57 θέλγεις ὅπως Ἰθάκης ἐπιλήσεται charms so that he may forget Ithaca, also in II. 1. 344 (if with Thiersch we read ὅπως μακέωνται 'Ἀχαιοί for the anomalous μακέωντο), and with ὅφα, as—
II. 8. 110 Τρωσίν ἐφ' ἵπποδῶμοι ίδώμοιμεν, ὅφα καὶ Ἔκτωρ
ἐσεῖται κτλ. (so II. 16. 242, Od. 4. 163., 17. 6).
So with μή, II. 20. 301 μή πῶς καὶ Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται, Od. 24. 544.
The Future with κέv in Relative Clauses sometimes appears to express end, as in II. 1. 174 πάρ' ἐμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ κέ με τιμήσουσιν:
cp. 2. 229., 23. 675, Od. 8. 318., 16. 438. So without κέv in II. 24. 154, Od. 14. 333. In all these places, however, as in the corresponding uses of the Subj. (§ 282), and Opt. (§ 304), it is difficult to say how far the notion of end is distinctly expressed: in other words, how far the future action is subordinated to that of the main Verb.
4. The use of the Future in Object Clauses (common in Attic after Verbs of striving, &c.) may perhaps be seen in II. 12. 59 μενόλυνεν εἶ τελέωντα, also Od. 5. 24., 13. 376.
It is sometimes impossible to decide whether a form is a Future or an Aorist Subj.: e.g. in Od. 1. 269 σὲ δὲ φράξεσθαι ἄνωγα ὅπως κε μηνυτήραs
The use of the Future in Final Clauses is probably later than that of the Subjunctive. In general, as we have seen, the Subj. is akin to the Imperative, and therefore expresses the speaker’s purpose directly, by its own force; whereas the Fut. Ind. properly expresses sequence. Thus θελγει άω λάβηται literally means ‘charms so that he shall forget’; θελγει δησω λήσται ‘charms so that he will forget.’ The same conclusion seems to follow from the rule that δησως and δήφα may be used with a Future, but not δως or ὕνα (Goodwin, § 324). For δας in the manner that fits a direct purpose better than δησως in some such manner that, or δήφα till the time that. It would seem probable, then, that in Final Clauses the Future is a less emphatic and positive expression of end. Thus when Achilles prays (II. 16. 242), ‘embolden him so that Hector will know,’ the Future conveys a shade of indifference, as though Hector’s knowledge were the natural consequence rather than the direct object. And so in II. 1. 175 οἱ κε με τιμήσουσι ηταν will (I presume) honour me.

5. In Clauses with ει the Future is chiefly used of events regarded as necessary, or as determined by some power independent of the speaker: as—

II. 14. 61 ἡμεῖς δε φραζομεθ' δησως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα, εἰ τι νόσος δέξει (if will is to be of any avail).
17. 418 ει τοῦτον Τρώςοι μεθήσομεν (if we are going to δένῃ).


We may compare the Conditional Relative Clause—

II. 23. 753 ὅρνυσθ' οί καὶ τοῦτον ἀδέλθου περιήσεθε rise, ye that will make trial of this contest.

And with κεν—

II. 15. 213 α' κεν ἀνευ ἐμέθεν... περιήσεται κτλ.

So II. 2. 258., 5. 212., 17. 588, Od. 15. 524.

The Imperative.

327.] The Homeric uses of the Imperative present little or no difficulty. We may notice the use in concession, ironical or real:—

II. 4. 29 ἐρο', ἀτὰρ οὐ τοι πάντες ἐπανέφηκε θεὸι ἄλλοι.

The forms ἄγε and ἄγετε are often combined with other Imperatives for the sake of emphasis: and sometimes ἄγε is treated as indeclinable, and used where the context requires a Plural; as—

II. 2. 331 ἄλλα ἄγε μήμενε πάντες κτλ. (so 1. 62., 6. 376, &c.).

Similarly θι is a kind of Interjection in II. 4. 362 ἄλλα' θι, ταύτα δ' ὅπωσθεν ἄρεσσόμεθ' κτλ.: and so we have βάσκ' θι (like εἴπ', ἄγε). And δεύτε hither! is evidently an Imperative: cp. II. 14. 128 δεύτ' ἵμεν πολεμώνδε. The corresponding 2 Sing. doubtless enters into the formation of δεύρο; but it is not clear how that word is to be analysed.
328.] Prohibition. The Aorist Imperative is very rarely used with μὴ: examples are—

II. 4. 410 τῷ μὴ μοι πατέρας ποθ’ ὁμοίη ἐνθεο τιμῇ

(so Od. 24. 248 σῦ δὲ μὴ χόλου ἐνθεο θυμῶ).  

18. 134 σὺ μὲν μὴ τια καταδύσει μῶλον Ἀρης.

Od. 16. 301 μὴ τίς ἐπειτ᾽ Ὀδυσσής ἀκουσάτω.

II. 16. 200 μὴ λελάθεσθω.

For the rule which is the complement of this one, forbidding the use of the Present Subj. with μή, see § 278 fiu.

Regarding the origin of this curious idiom a very probable conjecture has been made by Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 120). In the Veda it has been shown by Grassmann that the prohibitive Particle mà is never found with the forms of the Imperative proper, but only with the so-called ‘spurious Conjunctive’ or ‘Injunctive.’ Hence it may be inferred that the Imperative was only used originally in positive commands, not in prohibitions. Again, it appears that in Sanscrit the Imperative is nearly confined to the Present Tense; and in Greek the forms of the First Aor. Imper. (κλέφων, Mid. κλέφαι) are certainly of late origin. The fine distinction which is made, in the Imperative as well as in other Moods, between the continuous action expressed by the Present Stem and the momentary action expressed by the Aorist belongs to the specific development of Greek. Accordingly Delbrück suggests that the extension of the Imperative to express prohibition took place at a time when the Aorist Imperative had not come into general use; and hence it was only carried into the Present Tense. In other words, the form μὴ κλέπτε came into use in pre-historic Greek as an extension of the positive κλέπτε, and superseded μὴ κλέπτης; but μὴ κλέψεις kept its ground, because the form κλέψον did not then exist. This account of the idiom seems much more probable than any attempt to explain it on psychological grounds.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Particles.

329.] Under the term Particles it is convenient to group together a number of words that are mainly used to show the relations between other words, and between Clauses. In respect of this office they are akin to the various syllables or letters used as Endings: and with them go to constitute what are called the ‘formal elements’ of the language, in contradistinction to the roots or stems which compose its ‘matter.’

The Particles which connect successive Clauses in any way form the Conjunctions. As such they may be distinguished, according to the nature of the connexion which they indicate,
as Copulative (καί, τε, ἵδε, &c.), Adversative (δὲ, ἄλλα, αὐτάρ), Disjunctive (ἢ—ἢ), Conditional (εἰ, ἀν, κεν), Illative (ἀπα, δὴ, οὖν), Causal (γὰρ), &c.

Those Particles, again, which affect single Clauses may either serve to show the character of the whole Clause (as Affirmative, Interrogative, Conditional, &c.), or to influence particular words in it. We cannot, however, make a satisfactory classification of the Particles on the basis of these uses, because some of them are employed in several distinct ways: and moreover they enter into various combinations in which they often acquire new meanings. It will be best therefore to take them separately, beginning with the most familiar.

καί.

330.] The uses of καί are in the main the same in all periods of Greek. It is (1) a Copulative Conjunction, conveying the idea of addition to what has proceeded: Ζηνὶ φῶς ἔριουσα καί ἄλλως to Zeus and the others besides: ὃς ἄρ’ ἐφη καί κτλ. thus he spoke and thereupon &c.: and (2) a strengthening or emphasising Particle meaning also, even, just: as—

Π. 1. 63 ἡ καί ὄνειροπόλον or even a dream-prophet.

3. 176 τὸ καί κλαίουσα τέτηκα which is the very reason that I am wasted with weeping.

It is especially used with words that imply comparison, increase or diminution, extension of time or the reverse, &c.; as καί ἄλλος another (not this only), καί αὐτός himself (as well as others): καί πάλαι long ago (not merely now), καί αὖθις another time (if not now), καί μᾶλα, καί λίπν (in a high degree, not merely in an ordinary degree): so with Comparatives, καί μείζον, καί ρίγιον, &c. Both terms of a comparison may be strengthened in this way; as—

Π. 1. 81 εἰ περ γὰρ τε χόλον γε καί αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,

ἀλλὰ τε καί μετόπισθεν κτλ.

Notice, too, the use at the beginning of an Apodosis, esp. with Adverbs of time, as—

Π. 1. 477 ἡμιν δ’ ἴργευεια φάνη ῥοδωδάκτυλος ἵψις,

καί τότ’ ἐπειτ’ κτλ. 06.5.541.46

καί precedes the word which it emphasises, but is sometimes separated from it by other Particles, enclitic Pronouns, &c.: as Π. 1. 213 καί ποτε τοι τρις τόσσα (not merely compensation but) three times as much: 2. 292 καί γὰρ τὸς θ’ ἐνα μῆρα μένων a man who stays even one month. So 7. 281 καί τὸμεν ἀπαντες (= ἵσμεν καί πάντες).

καί εἰ and εἰ καί. The combination καί εἰ indicates that the
whole condition is an extreme one: even on the supposition that—. But with the order ει καί the καί emphasises particular words: ει καί μάλα κατερφος ἐστι even if he is (I will go so far as to say) very strong. Hence ει καί usually implies that the supposition is more or less true.

The enclitic τε has two main uses which it is essential to distinguish; besides one or two special uses of less importance.

(a) As a Conjunction τε connects clauses and single words. It is especially used when a new fact or new object is to take its place pari passu with what has been already said: κάνεσσιν οἴνοντι τε πάσιν τοίχα οίνοντι which were a bane to all the Trojans, and to himself (equally). This meaning is given still more distinctly by the Correlative τε—τε: thus we have the pairs ἀνδρῶν τε θεοῦ τε, δήμοις τε πόλεις τε, κλαγγῇ τ’ ἐνοπῇ τε, &c. and the pairs of Clauses expressing simultaneous action, such as—

αὐτ’ ἀπεχώρησεν, ὄχρος τε μν εἶλε παρείσ.

Hence τε—τε sometimes marks that two things are mutually dependent: διλύγον τε φίλον τε—‘not less dear because small,’ λυσομένος τε θύγατρα φέρων τ’ ἀπερείσι’ ἀπονα—‘bringing vast ransom for the deliverance of his daughter’? : I. 5. 359 κόμποστι τε με δόσ τε μοι ἔπονος.

The combinations τε—καί and τε—ἤδε (or ἰδε) are also common in Homer, and not sensibly different in meaning from τε—τε: as—

φιμωζέν τ’ ἄρ’ ἐπειτα καὶ ὅ πεπλήγετο μηρό.

χλαίνατ’ ἤδε χιτώνα.

As to the place of τε the general rule is that it follows the first word in the Clause. Hence when standing first in the pair τε—τε it does not always follow the word which it couples: e. g. I. 6. 317 ἔγγυθι τε Πριάμου κοι Ἕκτορος ἑκάστω ἔπεισιν Πριάμου κοι Ἕκτορος near both Πριάμου κοι Ἕκτορος (ep. 2. 136, 198., 4. 505., 7. 294–5).

The use of τε as a Particle of transition (to begin a fresh sentence after a pause) is not Homeric, though common in later Greek. This may indicate that the use as a connecting Particle was originally confined to the Correlative τε—τε (Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 145).
II. 16. 688 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τε Δῶς κρείσσων νόσος ή' περ ἄνδρῶν.


Hes. Th. 87 αἴσχρα τε καὶ μέγα νείκον ἐπισταμένως κατέπαυε.

So in many short maxims, such as ἰεθ' οὖν δ' τε νόπιος ἐγώ—στρέπτοι δε τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί. In similes it is very common, and is often repeated in the successive Clauses; e.g.—

II. 4. 482 ὁ δ' ἐν κοινῷ ἐκαὶ πέπεν, ἅγειρος ὦς,
η 'πά τ' ἐν εἰμάτηι ἐλεος μεγάλου περική λείης, ἀτάρ τε οἱ οὐκ έη' ἀκρωτάτη πεφύσων' την μὲν θ' ἀρματοπηγός άμηρ αἴθων σιδήρως ἔξελαμῃ, ὀφρα κτλ.

16. 156 οἱ δὲ λύκου ὦς

ὁμοφάγου, τοιών τε περὶ φρεσίν ἀστετος ἄλκη, οἱ τ' ἔλαφον κεραδον μέγαν οὑρεῖ δηρώσαντες δάπτουςν' πάσιν δὲ παρῆκον αίματι φωνών' καὶ τ' ἀγελαθῶν ίasisιν ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου λάφουτες γλώσσησις ἀρατήσιν μέλαιν ὅσμω ἀκρον, ἐρευγόμενοι φώνων αἴματος' ἐν δὲ τε θυμὸς στήθεσιν ἀτρομός ἐστιν, περιστενέται δέ τε γαστήρ.

So where the meaning is frequentative:—

Od. 4. 102 ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γόφ φρένα τέρπομαι (ep. 5. 55., 12. 64).

II. 19. 86 καὶ τέ με νεικελεσκον (20. 28, Od. 5. 331, &c.).


Hence it is used of names, as II. 1. 403 ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες (καλέουσι), 2. 814., 5. 306, &c.; of characteristic attributes, as—

II. 2. 453 οὖν ο' γε Πηνειώ οὐμιλύγεται... ἀλλὰ τέ μιν καθ'περθέν ἐπιρρέει ἤντ' ἑλαοίν.

5. 340 ἰχώρ, οὔσος πέρ τε μεκάρασσι θεοίς.

And generally of any fixed condition of things, as II. 4. 247 ἐνθα τε νήσει εἰρύνατ' εὐπρυμονί: 5. 477 ο' περ τ' ἐπίκουροι ἐνεμειν: 15. 187 τρεῖς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἶμεν ἀδελφέοι (a fact of permanent significance): 22. η ἦτ τ' ἐπλέκτο νείκεος ἀρχή. It may be laid down as a general rule that τε in the combinations μὲν τε, δὲ τε, καὶ τε, γάρ τε, ἀλλά τε, and the like, is not a Conjunction, and does not affect the meaning of the Conjunction which it follows.

In a Conditional sentence of gnomic character the τε is often used in both members, as—

II. 1. 81 εἰ πέρ γάρ τε χάλων γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ κατεπέψη, ἀλλά τε καὶ μετάτισθεν ἔχει κότου.

The use with the Article and the different forms of the Relative has been already discussed in the chapter on the Pronouns (see §§ 263, 266). It was there pointed out that τε is used when the Clause serves to describe a class, as—
or to express a permanent characteristic, as—

γῆρας καὶ θάνατος, τά τ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους πέλονται.  
χόλος, ὦς τ' ἐφέση πολύφρονα πέρ ἁλεπήραν.  
Λωσόφαγος, οὗ τ' ἄνθρωπον εἰδαρ ἔδωσιν.

So ὦς τε, ὦτε τε, ἵνα τε, ἐθάνται τε, ὧσος τε, ὧδος τε, ὦς εἴ τε, &c. Of these ὦς τε (or ὦστε) and ὧδος τε, with the adverbial ὦτε and ἐφ' ὦ τε, are the only forms in which this use of τε has remained in Attic Greek. ἐπεὶ τε, which is regular in Herodotus, is rare in Homer: see II. 11. 87, 562., 12. 393.

Further, the Indefinite τὸς is not unfrequently strengthened in its meaning (any one) by τέ (cf. Latin quisque):—

II. 3. ἡ τόσον τὸς τ' ἐπιλεύσει ὧσον τ' ἐπιλα Λᾶν ἵσεων.

14. 90 σίγα, μὴ τὸς τ' ἀλλος ... ἀκούσῃ (so Od. 19. 486).

So καὶ γὰρ τὸς τε, καὶ μὲν τῶν τε, and in Relative Clauses, ὧς τὸς τε, ὦτε τὸς τε, ὧς τὸς τε, &c.: also ἢν τὸς τε (Od. 5. 120).

Notice also the use with the disjunctive ἢ after a Comparative, in Od. 16. 216 ἄδινωτερον ἢ τ' ὀλων. This is akin to the use in similes. So in II. 4. 277 μελαντερὸν ἢντε πίσσα πλακέτα than pitch. The true reading is probably ἢν τε, as was suggested by Bekker (H. B. i. p. 312): see however Buttmann, Lexil., s. v. ἢντε. On ἢ τε—ἡ τε either—or see § 340.

The two uses of τε may sometimes be distinguished by its place in the sentence. Thus τε is a Conjunction in II. 2. 522 ὦ ἢ τ' ἁρα and who—(ep. εἴ τ' ἁρα, ὦτρ' ἁρα), and in II. 23. 277 ἀθάνατοι τε γὰρ εἰσὶ κτλ.; also in the combinations ὦτε τὸς, μὴ τὸς. With the indefinite τε we should have the order ἁρα τε, γὰρ τε, τὸς τε. Both uses may even occur in the same clause; as II. 5. 89 τὸν δ' ὦτρ' ἁρ τε γέφυραι ἐγερμέναι λιοχαλώσων.*

The places in which τε appears to be used in statements of single or definite facts can generally be corrected without difficulty. In several places δὲ τ' (ὁδὲ τ', μηδὲ τ') has crept into the text instead of δ' ἢ τ'. Thus we find—

II. 1. 406 τὸν καὶ ὑπέδεικαν μάκαρες θεοὶ ὧδὲ τ' ἐδησαν  
(Read ὦδ' ἢ τ',—they no longer bound, gave up binding).

2. 179 ἄλλ' ἰδιν' ἰὼν κατὰ λαδυν Ἀχαϊῶν μηδὲ τ' ἐρώσει.  
(Read μηδ' ἢ τ' with four of La Roche's MSS.).

II. 437 οὐδὲ τ' ἐκαστα  
(Read ὦδ' ἢ τ' with the Lipsiensis, and so in II. 21. 596).

* The account now given of the uses of τε was suggested (in substance) by Dr. Wentzel, whose dissertation (Über den Gebrauch der Partikel τε bei Homer, Glogau, 1847) appears to have been overlooked by subsequent writers.
Il. 23. 474 αἰ δὲ τ' ἀνευθεν 
(Read αἰ δ' έτ' with the Townleianus).

Similarly we should read ὁδ' ἐτ' in Il. 15. 709., 17. 42., 21. 248., 22. 300., 23. 622, 730., 24. 52, Od. 12. 198. In such a matter manuscript authority is evidently of no weight, and it will be found that the MSS. often have δἐ τ' where the editors have already corrected δ' ἐτ' (e.g. in Il. 1. 573., 2. 344., 12. 106, Od. 2. 115., 11. 380., 21. 186., 24. 401). In Il. 11. 767 the editions have νοὶ δὲ τ' ἐφανοῦν, but all MSS. νοϊ δὲ ἐφανοῦ: so perhaps we may correct Il. 21. 456 νοϊ δὲ τ' ἀφορροι κίομεν. Perhaps ετ' should be restored in Il. 16. 836 σὲ δὲ τ' ἐφαγάδε γύπες ἐδονται, Od. 15. 428 πέρασαν δὲ τε δεύρι αγανώτες. See."

Two isolated Epic uses remain to be noticed:—

(1) After an Interrogative in the combination τ' ἀρα, τ' ἁρ: as—

Il. 1. 8 τῆς τ΄ ἁρ σφων θεόν ἐριὸν ἔννεπθη μάχεσθαι; 
18. 188 πῶς τ' ἁρ' ἕω μετὰ μωλον; (so πῇ τ' ἁρ Il. 13. 307).
Od. 1. 346 μὴτερ ἐμή, τἐ τ' ἁρα φθονεῖες κτλ.

The ancient grammarians regarded ταρ as a single enclitic Particle (so Herodian, Schol. Il. 1. 53). As the force of the τε seems to have merged in the compound, this is probably right: just as γ' ἁρ having become a single Particle is written γάρ. But if so, we must also recognise the form ταρα.

(2) With ἡ in strong Affirmation: as ἡ τ' ἐφώμην. I did indeed think. This may originally belong to the same head as the indefinite use: ἡ τε = surely anyhow. But a distinct force of the τε is no longer perceptible.

The Latin que, which is originally identical with τε, shows the same separation into two main uses. In the use as a Conjunction the agreement between τε and que is close. It is less so in the other use, chiefly because τε in Homer is still a distinct word, whereas que in Latin is confined to certain combinations, viz. at-que, nam-que (ep. καὶ τε, ἀλλά τε, γάρ τε, &c.), ita-que, the Indefinite quisque (with the corresponding forms ubique, quandoque, uterque, &c.), and the Relativo quicunque. The two uses are also united in the Sanscrit ca, which as a connecting Particle agrees closely with τε, and is also found after the Indefinite kas, especially in the combination yaḥ kāc ca (ὅσ τίς τε). See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 144. A. S. § 284.

δἐ.

333.] The chief use of the Adversative Particle δἐ is to show that a Clause stands in some contrast to what has preceded. Ordinarily, however, it merely indicates the continuation of a narrative (i.e. shows that the new fact is not simultaneous). It is especially used to introduce a parenthesis or subordinate statement (whereas τε introduces something parallel or coordinate: e.g.—
Here a prose writer would say ὀλεθριάν, or ὡστε ἀπὸλλυσθαι τὸν λαὸν, or ὑφίς ὁ λαὸς ἀπὸλλυτο, &c. So—
'Αντίλοχος δὲ Μίδανα βᾶλ', ἦνίοχον θεράποντα,
ἐσθόλυν Ἀτιμναύδην, ὃ δ' ὑπέστρεφε μούνχας ἱπποὺς,
χερμαδίῳ ἀγκώνα τυχὼν μέσον.

I. e. 'struck him as he was turning the horses.'

δὲ is nearly always the second word in the Clause. It is occasionally put after (1) a Preposition and Case-form, as ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὃ' ὄμοβέτησαν, or (2) an Article and Numeral, as τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' κτλ.; but not after other combinations. Hence καὶ δὲ, as Π. 7. 113 καὶ δ' Ἀχιλέως and even Achilles (never καὶ Ἀχιλέως δὲ, as in later Greek).

334.] δὲ of the Apodosis. While δὲ generally stands at the beginning of a new independent Sentence, there are certain uses, especially in Homer, in which it marks the beginning of the principal Clause after a Relational, Temporal or Conditional Protasis. This is found where there is an opposition of some kind between the two members of the Sentence: e. g.—

Π. 4. 261 ἐ' περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε κάρη κομώνετε Ἀχιλεὶ δαίτρον πάνωσιν, σὸν δὲ πλέον δέπασ κτλ.(so 12. 245).

5. 260 α'κέν μοι πολύβουλος Ἀθήνη κύδος ὄρεξὶ ἀμφοτέρω κτείναι, σὺ δὲ ... ἐρυκακέειν κτλ.


With οὖν and μή, giving οὖν, μηδὲ, as—

Π. 5. 788 ὅφρα μὲν ἐς πόλεμον πολέσκετο δίος Ἀχιλέως, οὖν δοτε Τρώες κτλ.

6. 58 μηδ' ὃν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ κοῦρον ἑόντα φέροι, μηδ' ὃς φύγων.

Od. 1. 16 ἀλλ' ὡστε δὴ ἐτος ἥλθε ... οὖν ἑνδ' κτλ.

10. 17 ἀλλ' ὡστε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ὀδὸν ἥρεων ... οὐδὲ τι κεῖνος κτλ.

This use, which was called by the ancient grammarians the δὲ ἀποδοτικὸν, or 'δὲ of the apodosis,' has been variously explained by scholars.

1. In many places the Clause introduced by this δὲ stands in a double opposition, first to the immediate protasis, and then to a preceding sentence. Thus in—

Π. 2. 716 δ' ἀρα Μηθώνην ... ἐνέμοντο, τῶν δὲ Φιλοκτήτης ἥρχεν κτλ.
Philoctetes is opposed as commander to the people of Methone, and the whole statement is opposed to the previously mentioned peoples with their commanders. So in a period composed of two pairs of correlated Clauses, as—

II. 1. 135 ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν δώσουσι γέρας . . .
   εἰ δὲ κε μὴ δώσωσιν, εγὼ δὲ κεν αὐτός ἔλωμαι.

9. 508 ὅς μὲν τ’ αἴδεσται κούρας Διὸς ἄσσον ιὐστας,
   τὸν δὲ μέγ’ ἀνήσαν καὶ τ’ ἐκλυνεν εὐχομένουο.
   ὅς δὲ κ’ ἀνήσαται καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποεἰπη,
   λίσσουται δ’ ἀρα ταί γε Δία κτλ.

Here the δέ of the last Clause appears to carry on the opposition of the second pair to the first, and so to repeat the δέ of its own protasis. This use of δέ in apodosis to repeat or carry on the opposition of the whole sentence is regular in Attic; e. g. Xen. Anab. 5. 6, 20 εἰ δὲ βούλευετε . . . πλοῖα δ’ ὑπίν πάρεστι: Isocer. 4. 98 ἄ δ’ ἐστιν θῶια . . . ταύτα δ’ ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστιν εἰπὲω (Kühner, § 533, 2). It has been regarded as the key to the Homeric usage now in question: * but this would compel us in many cases to give different explanations of uses to which the same explanation is evidently applicable. For instance, in the four lines last quoted, if we account for the δέ of λίσσουται δ’ ἀρα κτλ. as a repetition of the δέ of its protasis ὅς δέ κ’ κτλ., how do we treat the δέ of the first apodosis (τὸν δὲ κτλ.)? The two forms are essentially similar.

2. The δέ of the Apodosis is commonly regarded as a survival from a period in which the Relative Clause or Conditional Pro- tasis was not yet subordinate, so that the Apodosis, if it followed the other, still needed or at least admitted of a connecting Particle. Such an explanation is attractive because it presents us with a case of the general law according to which the complex sentence or period is formed by the welding together of originally distinct simple sentences. † It is to be observed, however, that the phenomenon in question is not necessarily more than a particular use of δέ. The survival may be, not of a paratactic form of sentence, but only of a use of δέ where it is not a Con- junction. Such a use has been already seen in the Particle καὶ. In the correlation ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ—καὶ τότε δὴ we need find nothing

* So in the first edition of this book, following the discussion of Nägelsbach in his Anmerkungen zur Ilias (p. 261 and p. 271, ed. 1834). The Excursus on the subject was omitted in later editions. For the view adopted in the text the author is indebted almost wholly to Dr. R. Nieberding, Über die parataktische Anknüpfung des Nachsatzes in hypolaktischen Satzgefügen, insbesondere bei Homer, Gross-Glogau, 1882.

† On the danger of explaining the Syntax of complex sentences by recourse to a supposed survival of paratactic structure there is a timely warning given by Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 203.
more than the ordinary use of καί with the meaning also, even; that is to say, it emphasises the sequence of the apodosis, just as it often emphasises single words or phrases. Similarly δέ may have been used to mark the adversative character of an apodosis.

3. These points may be illustrated by the parallel between καί also, even and οὐδέ or μηδέ—not even, also not. In this use δέ is clearly not a Conjunction, but merely serves to mark the natural opposition between the negative and some preceding affirmation (expressed or implied). Thus it is closely akin to the use in apodosis, the difference being only that it belongs to a single word rather than a Clause.

4. It is a confirmation of this view that among the cases of δέ in the apodosis we never find one in which the protasis is introduced by the corresponding μέν.* Where this is apparently the case it will be found that the μέν refers forward, not to the δέ of the immediate apodosis, but to a new sentence with δέ or some equivalent Particle: e.g.—

Π. 2. 188 ὅν τινα μὲν βασιλήα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείν,
τὸν δ' ἀγαρίς ἔπεσον κτλ.
ὅν δ' αὖ δήμου τ' ἄνδρα ἵδοι κτλ.

where the correspondence is not δ' μὲν—τὸν δὲ—, but δ' μὲν—ὅν δ' αὖ—. See also Π. 9. 508, 550, 12. 10, 18. 257, 20. 41, Od. 9. 56, 11. 147, 19. 329.

It has been observed that when the Protasis is a Relative Clause, δέ of the Apodosis is generally found after a Demonstrative. The only exceptions to this rule are, Π. 9. 510 ὅς δέ κ' ἀνύηηται . . . λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε κτλ., and Π. 23. 319 ἀλλ' ὅς μέν θ' ἵπποις . . . ἵπποι δέ πλανὼνται κτλ. (Schömann, Opusc. Acad. ii. p. 97.)

335.] Enclitic δέ. There are two uses which may be noticed under this heading:—

(i) The δέ of ὅ-δέ, τόσος-δέ, τοῖς-δέ is properly an Enclitic (as the accent shows).

The form τοῖς-δεσί or τοῖς-δεσσί may be a trace of an inflected Pronoun akin to δέ (related to it perhaps as τὶς to τε); or it may be merely a form created by the analogy of other Datives in -εσσι, -εσί.

(2) The δέ which is suffixed to Accusatives expressing motion to is generally treated as an Enclitic in respect of accent: as οῖκονδέ, πόλεμονδέ. The ancient grammarians, however, wrote δέ as a distinct orthotone word, hence οἶκον δέ, πόλεμον δέ, &c. (but οἶκαδέ, φύγαδέ were made exceptions).

* Nieberding, op. cit. p. 4.
It seems likely that the δε of these two uses is originally the same. The force in both cases is that of a local Adverb. Whether it is to be identified with the Conjunction δε is a further question.

ἀλλά, αυτάρ, ἀτάρ, αὐ, αὔτε.

336.] The remaining Adversative Particles do not need much explanation. ἀλλά and αυτάρ are used (like δε) in the apodosis, especially after a Clause with εἰ περ: as—

I. 1. 81 εἰ περ γάρ τε ἀλλά τε (cp. 8. 153., 19. 164).
22. 390 εἰ δὲ θανόντων περ ἀυτὰρ εγὼ κτλ.

αυτάρ and ἀτάρ express a slighter opposition than ἀλλά, and accordingly are often used as Particles of transition; e.g. in such formulae as ὡς οἱ μὲν ἀυτάρ κτλ. A similar use of ἀλλά may be seen with Imperatives; as ἀλλ᾽ ἵθι, ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε μου τόδε εἰπε, and the like. It is evident that the stronger Adversative is chosen where greater liveliness of tone is to be conveyed.

337.] αὐ and αὔτε (again, on the contrary) have nearly the same force as αυτάρ, but do not begin the sentence: hence νῦν αὐ, τίς δ᾽ αὖ, τίπτ᾽ αὔτε, &c.: and so in correspondence to μέν or ή τοι, as II. 4. 237 τῶν ἡ τοι.. ἡμεῖς αὔτε κτλ. They also serve to mark the apodosis of a Relative or Conditional Clause, as II. 4. 321 εἰ τότε κοὐρος ἕα, νῦν αὔτε με γῆρας ὀπάξει. Thus they have the two chief uses of δε.

Originally, doubtless, αὐ meant backwards, but in Homer this sense is only found in the form αὔτε: though perhaps it survives in the sacrificial word αὐέρυσαν.

The form ὅμως is later, the Homeric word being ἐμπῆς.

ὁμώς is usually read in II. 12. 393 ὅμως δ᾽ οὐ λήθητο χάρρης, and Od. II. 565 ἐνδα χ᾽ ὅμως προσέφηρ. In both places however the Scholia indicate that the word was anciently circumflexed by some authorities.

338.] The Particle ἦ at the beginning of a sentence gives it the character of a strong affirmation:—

I. 1. 240 ἦ πορ᾽ Ἀχιλλής ποθὴ ἱξεται be sure that one day &c. So, with an ironical tone,—

I. 1. 229 ἦ πολὺ λῶιόν ἐστι κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρίν Ἀχιλῶν δῶρ᾽ ἀπολείποιται κτλ.
It is often used interrogatively, esp. in questions of surprise indignation, irony, &c.: as—

I. 2. 229 ἦ ἐτι καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐπιδεύεαι κτλ.
Occasionally, in short parenthetical sentences, η has a concessive force, it is true that, hence and yet, although: as—

Il. 3. 214 παύρα μέν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλα λιγέως, ἑπεί οὐ πολύμυθος, αὐτόν ἄφαμαρτοπητὴν ἦ καὶ γένει ὑστερος ἦν. 7. 393 οὗ φήσων δόσειν ἦ μὴν Τρωδές γε κέλουται (§ 344).

11. 362 έξ αὐν νῦν ἐφνυγες θάνατον, κόνιν ἦ τε τοι ἄγχι ἥλθε κακόν (so 18. 13).

22. 280 ή του ἐφην γε (= though I did think ; so 22. 280).

The question whether η (or ὣ) can be used to introduce a Dependent Interrogative depends upon a few passages. Bekker favours η in this use, and reads accordingly, e. g. 111. 83 σύ δὲ φράσαι ἥ με σαώσει. The majority of the editors recognise it in three or four places:—

Il. 8. 111 ελευθαί ἦ καὶ ἦμων δόρω μαίνεται κτλ.

Od. 13. 415 ἄρξετο πευόμενος μετὰ σῶν κλέος, ἦ πον ἐτι εἰμι.

16. 137 ἀλλ' ἰχνει μοι τοίδε εἶπε καὶ ἀρκεῖαν κατάλεξον, ἦ καὶ Λαύρητα ἀυὴν ὀδὼν ἀγγελος ἐλθω.

19. 325 πῶς γὰρ ἐμεν σύ, ἐξείνε, δαφέσαι, ἦ τι γυναῖκων ἄλλων περείμα;

In all these places, however, there is manuscript support for ὣ, and so La Roche reads in the two last. For the use of ὣ with the Subj. see § 294, with the Opt. § 314. It is difficult to derive the use of η which Bekker supposes either from the emphatic η, or from the disjunctive ὣ or ἦ (Hom. Bl. p. 59). In any case there is no sufficient ground for deserting the MSS.

η is often combined more or less closely with other Particles: as η τε (§ 332, 2), η μὲν, &c. (§§ 343–5), η τοι (or ἦτοι), ἦδη (for η δῆ), and the correlative ἦμεν—ἡδε. In these combinations ἦ strengthens the other Particle. Note that—

ημεν—ἡδε are used of slightly opposed things, especially when alternation is implied: as—

Od. 2. 68 λίσσομαι ἦμεν Ζηνὸς 'Ολυμπίων ἤδε Θέμιστος, Ἦ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἄγοράς ἦμεν λυει ἡδε καθίσει ἅ εlasses and dissolves again in turn’ (Lat. tum—tum). Cp. II. 8. 395 ημεν ἀνακλῶνα.. ἦδο' ἐπιθειναι ; and so II. 7. 301, Od. 1. 97., 8. 383, and probably II. 6. 149 ἦμεν φύει ἦδο' ἀπολήγει. The original emphasis may sometimes be traced, as in the formula II. 14. 234 ἦμεν δῆ ποι' ἦμῶν ἐπος ἐκλὔνε ἦδο' ἐτι καὶ νῦν πεθεν surely you have heard me before, and even so listen now.

ἡδε is also used (= and) without a preceding ἦμεν: but not to begin a fresh sentence. Cp. § 331 after for the similar use of τε.

339.] ἦ after τι, ἑπεί. In most editions of Homer we find the
forms τίν (or τιν) and ἐπει, which are evidently τι, ἐπει with a suffix -η of an affirmative or emphasising kind.

The ancient grammarians seem generally to have considered this η as a distinct word. They lay down the rule that after ἐπει it is circumflexed, after τι oxytone. The form ἐπει η is supported by the fact that it is chiefly found in the combination ἐπει η πολὺ κτλ. (II. 1. 169., 4. 56, 307, &c.); also with μάλα (II. 1. 156 ἐπει η μάλα πολλά μεταξύ κτλ., Od. 10. 465 ἐπει η μάλα πολλά πέπανθε, cp. η μάλα, II. 17. 34), and καὶ (II. 20. 437, Od. 16. 442).

The case of τι is different. There is no ground for writing τι η (like ἐπει η). The form τι η, which is adopted by the most recent editors on the authority of the ancients, is not satisfactory. If this η was originally the affirmative η, the change of accent would indicate that it had lost its character as a separate word. And this is confirmed by the combination τι η δὲ σὺ κτλ. (II. 6. 55, &c.), which as now written is contrary to the general rule for the place of δὲ. Moreover the ancients were not unanimous on the point, since Trypho wrote τίν in one word (Apollonius, de Conj. p. 523).

It may be observed that the opinion of the grammarians as to τίν has more weight than in the case of ἐπει η, since τίν and ὁτι γ γ were Attic. We may suspect therefore that the accentuation ἐπει η rests on mere inference.

With τίν is to be placed the emphatic Nom. τον-η thou, a form which occurs in the Iliad only (cp. the Doric ἔγών-η).

ἥε, ἦ.

340.] ἥε and έ are used in Homer as equivalent forms of the same Particle: which is (1) Disjunctive (or) and (2) used after Comparatives (thau).

The use of the Correlative ἥε (ή) — ἥε (ή) = either — or is also common in Homer: as II. 1. 504 ἦ ἐπει ἦ ἐργα: 3. 239 ἦ οὐχ ἐσπέσθην . . ἦ δεύρω μὲν ἐποντο κτλ.

When a question is asked in a disjunctive form, the accent of the Particle ἥε, ἦ is thrown back, i. e. it is written ἥε or ἦ:—

II. 13. 251 ἦ τι βέβληκα, βέλες δὲ σε τετρει ἀκωκή, ἦ τευ ἀγγελίης μετ' ἐμ' ἡλυθες ;

Od. 4. 362 'Αντιν', ἦ πά τι τὸμεν ἐνι φρεσίν, ἦ καὶ οὐκί ;

So when the first part of the question is not introduced by a Particle; II. 10. 534 ψεύσομαι ή ἐτυμον ἐρέω; shall I speak falsehood or the truth ? Od. 1. 226 εἰλαπίνη ἦ γάμος; cp. 4. 314, 372. Indeed the first half of the sentence need not be interrogative; as Od. 21. 193 ἐποσ τι κε μυθησάμην, ἦ αὐτὸς κεῦω ;
I would say a word; or shall I keep it to myself? (so perhaps II. 14. 190).

One of the members of a disjunctive question may be itself Disjunctive: e.g.—

II. 6. 377 ἦ ἦ ἔβη 'Ἄνδρομάχη λευκόλενος ἐκ μεγάρου;
ἡ ἦ ἦ ἔς γαλῶν ἦ ἐινατέρων ἕϋππελῶν;
ἡ ἦ ἔς 'Ἀθηναῖς ἐξολχηται κτλ.

Here ἦ ἐινατέρων offers an alternative for γαλῶν, but the main question is between these two alternatives on one side and ἦ 'Ἀθηναῖς κτλ. on the other.

Most editors of Homer recognise an interrogative use of the form ἦ, but erroneously.* The questions in which ἦ is found are all disjunctive, so that we must write ἦ—ἤ (II. 6. 378., 13. 251., 15. 735., 16. 12, 13, 17, Od. 1. 408., 2. 30., 11. 399). In—

Od. 13. 233 τίς γη; τίς δῆμος; τίνες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάγον;
ἡ ποῦ τις νήσοιν εὐδείελος, ἦ τίς ἄκηθ | κεῖθ' κτλ.

ἤ ποι means surely methinks: the sense being, 'what land is this? It must be some island or else promontory.' Hence we should read ἦ in the last clause, not ἦ (as Ameis, &c.).

ἤ or ἦ = than is found after Comparatives; also after Verbs implying comparison, as βούλομαι I prefer, φθάνω I come sooner.

The correlative ἦ τε—ἤ τε appears in three places, viz. II. 9. 276 ἦ τ' ἄνδρων ἦ τε γυναικῶν (where it seems to be = ἦ μὲν—ἤ δέ), 11. 410 ἦ τ' ἔβηλητ' ἦ τ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον, and 17. 42 ἦ τ' ἄλκης ἦ τε φῶσιον (where however Aristarchus read ἦ δέ—ἤ δέ). The single ἦ τε occurs with the meaning or in II. 19. 148 ἦ τ' ἐχέμεν ταρά σοι: and with the meaning than in Od. 16. 210 (§ 332). Considering the general difficulty of deciding between ἦ and ἦ in the text of Homer, we cannot regard the form ἦ τε as resting on good evidence: see the next section.

341.] Dependent Interrogative Clauses. A Disjunctive question after a Verb of asking, saying, knowing, &c. is generally expressed by the Correlatives ἦ (ἤ) — ἦ (ἤ) : as—

Od. 1. 174 καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἄγορενεν ἐτήθημον, ὅφρ' ἐδ εἴδω,
ἤ νέον μεθέπεις, ἦ καὶ πατριώδος ἔσω κτλ.

II. 2. 99 πήςτε φίλοι καὶ μελναρ' ἐπὶ χρόνου, ὅφρα δαώμεν,
ἤ ἐτέων Κάλχας μαντέεται, ἦ καὶ οὐκί.

Other examples have been given in the account of the Subjunc-
tive (§ 280) and the Optative (§ 302). In general it will be seen that these Dependent Clauses are the same in form as the corresponding direct questions.

In a very few instances the first member of a sentence of this kind is without ἄι (ή): as—

Od. 4. 109 οὖνἔ τι ἐμε | ζῶει ὦ γ' ὑ τέθνηκε (4. 837., 11. 464). Λ. u. 140, 311
So II. 10. 544 εἰπ' ἄγε | ὅπως τοῦ ὑπ' ὑπ' ἀβετον, καταδύνεις ὃμιλον Τρώων, ἔ τις σφων πόρειν κτλ., Od. 4. 643.

The combination εἰ—ήε (ή) is often found in the MSS. of Homer; see II. 2. 367., 8. 532, Od. 4. 28, 712, 789, 16. 238, 15. 33, 360., 17. 308., 18. 265., 24. 217. La Roche (following Bekker) reads ἐι—ήε (ή) in all these places.

The common texts have in one place εἰ τε—ήε, II. 2. 349 γνώμεναι εἰ τε ψεύδοι δυσάχεσις ἔε καὶ οὐκι. In this instance, if the reading is right, there is a slight irregularity: the speaker beginning as if he meant to use εἰ τε—εἰ τε, and changing to the familiar ἔε καὶ οὐκι. But the best MSS. have εἰ τε—εἰ τε.

A change of construction may also be seen in Od. 24. 235–8 μερήσε... κόσσα καὶ περιφώναι... ἔ πρωτ' ἐξερεύνοντο he debated about embracing &c., or should he first ask &c.

μάν, μήν, μέν.

342.] The three words μάν, μήν, μέν agree so nearly in meaning and usage that they are to be regarded as etymologically connected, if not merely varieties of the same original form. The two former (with the long α, η) express strong affirmation (= surely, indeed, &c.). The shorter form μέν is also originally a Particle of affirmation, but has acquired derivative uses of which the chief are: (1) the concessive use, preparing us for a Clause with an Adversative δὲ, αὐτάρ, ἀλλά, &c.: and (2) the use in the second of two Clauses with the meaning yet, nevertheless.

Taking the generally received text of Homer, we find that μάν occurs 24 times, and that there are only two places in which it is not followed by a vowel. The exceptions are, II. 5. 895 ἀλλ' ὁ μάν ὁν εἰτι δηρον ἀνέζωμαι ἄγε' ἔχοντα, where μάν may be due to the parallel II. 17. 41 ἀλλ' ὁ μάν ὁν εἰτι δηρον ἀπέριστος πόνος ἔσται, and II. 5. 765 ἄγει μάν οί (i.e. θοί) ἐπόσαυν κτλ. (cp. II. 7. 459 ἄγει μάν ὁν ἄν κτλ.). On the other hand μήν, which occurs 10 times, is followed by a consonant in every place except II. 19. 45 καὶ μήν οί τότε γ' εἰς ἀγοραν ἵσαν. These facts have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Bekker in his second edition (1858) wrote μήν throughout for μάν, and sought to distinguish μήν and μέν as far as the metre allowed according to Attic usage (H. B. pp. 34, 62). Cobet on the contrary proposed to restore μέν for μήν (Misc. Crit. p. 365), and so far as these two forms are concerned his view is probably enough. But how are we to explain the peculiar facts as to μάν? We can hardly account for it except as a genuine Homeric form, and such a form must have been used before consonants as well as vowels. If so, we
can only suppose that an original μᾶν was changed into μέν whenever it came before a consonant, and preserved when the metre made this corruption impossible.

It is to be observed also that μᾶν and μήν are almost confined to the Iliad, in which μᾶν occurs 22 times and μήν 7 times. In the Odyssey μᾶν is found twice, viz. in 11. 344., 17. 470, and μήν three times, in 11. 582, 593, 16. 440 (=II. 23. 410). It appears then that μέν is the only form which really belongs to the language of the Odyssey. Consequently the substitution of μέν for μᾶν in the Iliad may have taken place very early. The change of μέν to μήν probably belongs to the later period when μήν had been established in Ionic and Attic prose.

343.] μᾶν has an affirmative and generally a hortatory or interjectional force: as in ἀγρευ μᾶν nay come! (II. 5. 765., 7. 459), and ἢ μᾶν, ou μᾶν, used when a speech begins in a tone of surprise, triumph, or the like; as—

II. 2. 370 ἢ μᾶν ἀντ’ ἀγορῇ νικᾶς, γέρων, νίας Ἀχιαῖων.
12. 318 οὐ μᾶν ἀκλητεῖς Λυκίνη κατὰ κοιπανέων
ἔμετέρωσανσαν (cp. 4. 512., 13. 414., 14. 454, &c.).

An approach to the force of an emphatic yet appears in—

II. 8. 373 ἔσται μᾶν ὅτ’ ἄν αὕτε φίλην γλαυκόπιδα εἶπῃ
and in ἀλλ’ οὐ μᾶν (II. 5. 895., 17. 41, 418, &c.), μη μᾶν (II. 8. 512., 15. 476., 22. 304).

344.] μήν with a hortatory force occurs in II. 1. 302 εἰ δ’ ἄγε μήν περησαί come, do not try. The combination ἢ μήν is affirmative (rather than merely concessive),—not so much admitting as insisting upon an objection or reply: II. 2. 291 ἢ μήν καὶ πόνος ἔστι it is true enough that there is toil: 7. 393 ἢ μήν Τρόϊς γε κέλουσαι I assure you that the Trojans bid him: 9. 57 ἢ μήν καὶ νέος ἔστι we must remember that you are young. In καί μήν it empha-
sises the fact introduced by καί: II. 19. 45 καί μήν οἴ τότε γ’ εἰς ἀγορῆν ἵνα observe that even these then went.

345.] μέν is very common in Homer. The original simply affirmative force appears especially in the combinations ἢ μέν, καί μέν, and the like, in which it is indistinguishable in sense from μῆν. *

ἢ μέν is regularly used in oaths, and is even found with an Inf. in oratio obliqua, as II. 1. 76 καί μοι ὁμοσοῦ ἢ μέν μοι . ἀρήξεων. So in a strong asseveration, as II. 7. 97 ἢ μέν δὴ λῶβη τάδε γ’ ἔσσεται this will really be a foul shame, Od. 19. 235 ἢ μέν πολλὰ γ’ αἰτῶν ἐθήσατο γυναῖκες you may be sure that many women gazed with wonder at it. In these and similar passages μέν

* On the uses of μέν see the dissertation of Carl Mutzbauer, Der homerische Gebrauch der Partikel MEN, Köln, 1884–86.
strengthens a purely affirmative ἦ, and there is no sense of con-
trast. The adversative use may be perceived, as with the simple ἦ (§ 338) and ἦ μὲν, when a speaker insists on his assertion as true along with or in spite of other facts: e.g. in Od. 10. 64 πῶς ἦλθες, Ὀδυσσεὺς; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχρας δαίμων; ἦ μὲν σ’ ἐνδυκέως ἀπεπέραμεν surely we sent you on your way with due provision: and in the common form of reproach, II. 11. 765 ὥ πέτσων, ἦ μὲν σοι γε Μενοίτιος ὃδ’ ἐπέτελλε (cp. 5. 197., 9. 252). So with ironical emphasis, II. 3. 430 ἦ μὲν ὅθ’ πρῖν γ’ εὐχὲ κτλ. why surely you boasted ἰερ., cp. 9. 348.

The corresponding negative form μὴ μὲν occurs in formal oaths (§ 358, b), and with the Opt. in a sort of imprecation in Od. 22. 462 μὴ μὲν ὅθ’ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἑλώμην κτλ. (cp. μὴ μάν). Denial insisted upon in view of some state of things is expressed by ὁδ μὲν, as II. 4. 372 οὐ μὲν Τυδέα γ’ ὄψε φίλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἦν (why do you shrink?) surely Tydeus did not.

The form καὶ μὲν answers closely to the Attic καὶ μὴν, which is used to call attention to a fact, especially as the ground of an argument; as II. 18. 362 καὶ μὲν ὅθ’ ποῦ τις μέλλει βροτὸς κτλ. a mortal, remember, will accomplish his will: (much more a great goddess): II. 1. 269 καὶ μὲν τούτων εὖ ὁ μεθομίλεων (these were the mightiest of men): yes, and I was of their fellowship. Sometimes the fact is first indicated, then dwelt upon in a fresh clause with καὶ μὲν: II. 9. 497 στρεπτοὶ δὲ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,. . . καὶ μὲν τοὺς θάνεσαν κτλ. even gods may be moved. . . . they are indeed turned from their anger by sacrifice ἰερ.: cp. 24. 488, Od. 7. 325., 14. 85. Similarly when a new point in the narrative is reached: as II. 6. 194 καὶ μὲν οἱ Λύκιοι τέμενοι τάμων yes and (besides what the king gave) the Lycian people made him a τέμενος (cp. 6. 27., 23. 174., 24. 732).

The adversee sense—but yet, but surely—is chiefly found after a negative, μὲν being used either alone or in combination with an adversative Conjunction (ἀλλὰ, ἀτάρ): as—

II. 1. 602 δαίμων’, οὐδὲ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐσῆς ὡμοί σὺμμιγγος nor yet the phormina.

2. 703 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ’ οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἐσαν, πόθεον γε μὲν ἄρχον.

Od. 15. 405 οὐ τι πεπτηθῆς λίνη τόσον, ἀλλ’ ἄγαθ’ μὲν.

II. 6. 123 οὐ μὲν γὰρ ποι’ ὀπωτα . . . ἀτὰρ μὲν ἐν’ γε κτλ.

Also after a question—

II. 15. 203 ή τι μεταστρέψεις ; στρεπταὶ μὲν τε φρένες ἔσθλων.

With the Article μὲν is sometimes used to bring in a parenthesis, which may be simply affirmative, or indicate some opposition:—

II. 1. 234 ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον, το μὲν οὐ ποτε φύλλα καὶ
οξως φίσα 
(= by this sceptre, even as it shall never &c.).

5. 892 μητρός τοι μένος ἐστὶν ἄσχετον, ὅπειρ ἐπιεικτόν, "Ἡρυς, τίν μὲν ἐγὼ σπουδὴ δάμωρη' ἐπέεσσι
she is indeed one whom I can hardly tame.

Cp. II. 10. 440., 15. 40., 16. 141. A less emphatic use (merely to bring out a new point in the story) is not uncommon: as II. 2. 101 ἐστὶν σκῆπτρον ἕχων, τὸ μὲν κτλ.: cp. II. 18. 84, 131., 23. 328, 808, Od. 9. 320, 321. Further, the interposed statement may have a double reference, a corresponding Clause with ἄποι or αὐτάρ serving to resume the narrative: as—

II. 8. 256 ἄλλα τοιλ πρός Τρῶων ἔλευ ἀνδρα κορυστήν, Φραδμονδήν Ἀγέλαον' ὃ μὲν φύγαδ' ἔτραπεν ἱπποὺς,
then, the return to the main story after a digression may be marked by a similar form: e.g. in Od. 6. 13 (after a parenthetical account of the Phaeacians and Alcinous) τοῦ μὲν ἐβη πρὸς δῶμα κτλ. now it was to his house that she went: cp. Od. 9. 325.

346.] The enclitic τοι seems properly to express a restricted affirmation, generally qualifying a preceding statement: at least, yet surely, &c. It is especially used of a concession, whether made by the speaker or claimed from the person addressed: as II. 4. 405 ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἁμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι: 5. 801 Τυδεῖς τοι μικρός μὲν ἔρν δέμας, ἄλλα μαχητὴς Τυδεας, you must admit, &c.: 5. 892 μητρός τοι μένος ἐστὶν ἄσχετον I admit (as an excuse): 8. 294 οὐ μὲν τοι δει 
it is by understanding, after all, that the woodman &c.: Od. 9. 27 οὐ τοι ἐγώες ἢ γαῖς δύναμι 
and the Disjunctive ἦτοι either, or, are post-Homeric.

tοι is combined in Homer with Adversative Particles, as αὐτάρ τοι, ἄλλα τοι (II. 15. 45, Od. 18. 230); and with μὲν (but not closely, as in the later μὲντοι but). So with the Affirmative ἢ in ἦ τοι (or ἦτοι), which expresses a restricted concession (II. 1. 140, 211, 5. 724, &c.). But the combinations καί τοι and yet, τοῖνω 
which is used to begin speeches; as II. 1. 76 τοῖνω ἐγὼν ἐρῶ so then I will speak. It is generally used with the First Person, and has a kind of apologetic force (=I will say, since I must speak). In Attic it survives in the compounds τοῖνάρτοι, τοι- 
and the same meaning is commonly expressed by τοῖνων.
PARTICLES.

It has sometimes been thought that τοι is originally the same as the Dat. of σύ, meaning ‘I tell you’ or the like. The orthotone ταύγαρ (or τοί γάρ, as some MSS. read) is difficult to explain on this view. It has also been explained as the Locative of τέ: cp. the Dat. τό = in that case, therefore. Or it may be from the same stem as τις and τε (as Kühner holds, § 507): cp. ποιον τοι (ποιον των) = somehow, thence surely. But the Loc. of this stem exists already in the form τοι uthiher.

ἀρα, γάρ.

347.] The Adverb ἀρα properly means fittingly, accordingly (root ἀρ- to fit). The forms ἀρ and ἀ contains seem to be varieties produced by difference of stress, answering to the different values which the Particle may have in the sentence. Of these ἀρ retains its accent, but ἀρ, the shortest form, is enclitic.

The ordinary place of ἀρα is at the beginning of a Clause which expresses what is consequent upon something already said. But occasionally it follows a Participle in the same Clause, as in the formula ἦ τοι ὦ γ' ὦς εἰπὼν κατ' ἀρ' ἔξετο (ep. Il. 2. 310., 5. 748).

It is to be observed, however, that ἀρα may indicate a reason (as well as a consequence): that is to say, we may go back from a fact to the antecedent which falls in with and so explains it. E.g. Il. 1. 429 χωμενον κατὰ θυμὸν εὐξόων γυναικός, τήν ἀρ... ἀπηύρων whom (and this was the reason of his anger) they had taken away. So in the combinations ὅς ἄρα, ἔπει ἄρα, ὅτι ἄρα, οὔτε ἄρα== because (and this is the explanation): also in γάρ ἄρα, as Il. 1. 113 καὶ γάρ ἄρα Κλαιμωνήσης προβέβουλα.

ἀρα is also found in the first of two correlative Clauses, as—

εἶ τ' ἀρ' ὦ γ' εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμεμφηται εἰ θ' ἐκατόμβης.

ὁς ἀγαγ' ὡς μήτ' ἀρ τοῦ ὦ ἀρ τε νούση.

The parallel form of the sentence enables us to regard the first Clause, by antieipation, as falling in with and completing the second.

The Attic ἀρα is unknown to Homer. Whether it is identical with ἀρα seems doubtful. It is worth while noticing that ἀρα answers in usage to the Homeric combination ἦ ἄρα (is it then—?).

348.] The Causal Participle γάρ is originally a compound of γε and ἀρα, but the two elements have so completely united into a new whole that the fresh combination γάρ ἄρ is found in Homer.

γάρ serves to indicate that the Clause in which it is used is a reason or explanation, usually of something just mentioned or suggested: as τῷ ἀρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ βῆκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἡρη κῆδετο γάρ Δαναών, κτλ. Thus it follows the sequence of thought—by which we go back from a consequent to an antecedent—whereas
ἀρα more commonly (though not always) indicates the sequence of the facts themselves.

Compare the double use of ὥς, ὅτι, ὅ τε (1) to express a cause, (2) to express a consequent used as an argument (cp. τοιον γάρ καὶ πατρός, ὅ καὶ πατημένα βάςει, and other examples in § 269). To understand the ordinary use of γάρ we have only to suppose that when a speaker was going back upon an antecedent fact, he generally used the combination γε ἀρα (γ' ὧρ, γάρ), rather than the simple ἀρα. The principle of this usage is that a causal relation may be indicated by a distinction of emphasis, such as γε would express (as indeed γε alone sometimes has a distinctly causal force).

As subordinate or exceptional uses, we have to note the following:

1. The use of γάρ to introduce a mere explanation, which became very common in Attic (e.g. Thuc. i. 8 μαρτυρον δε' Δὴλον γάρ κτλ.) and may be traced back to Homer. Thus—

II. 8. 147 ἀλλὰ τὸδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδήν καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει: Ἐκτὸς γάρ ποτε φήσει κτλ.

This idiom—by which the Clause with γάρ becomes a kind of Object-Clause, in apposition to a Pronoun—may be compared with the use of ὅτι and οὕτως with the meaning that, instead of because: see §§ 268, 269. In both cases the language does not clearly distinguish between the ground of a fact (which is properly a separate and prior fact), and a mere analysis, or statement of circumstances in which a fact consists.

2. The inversion (as it may be regarded) by which the Clause with γάρ precedes the fact explained; as—

II. 2. 802 Ἐκτός, σοι δὲ μάλιστ' ἐπιτέλλομαι ὅδε γε μέξαι: πολλοί γάρ κατὰ ἀστυ μέγα Πρίαμον ἐπίκουροι, ἀλλη δ' ἀλλων γλῶσσα πολυπερέων ἀνθρώπων τοῖσι ἔκαστοι ἀνήρ σημαινέτω (II. 13. 736, 23. 890, Od. I. 337, 9. 319, 10. 174, 190, 226, 383, II. 69, 12. 154, 208, 320, &c.).

Here the speaker begins by stating something that leads up to his main point. Sometimes, especially when the reason is stated at some length, the main point is marked as an inference by το, therefore: as—

II. 7. 328 πολλοὶ γάρ τεθνάσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, τῶν νῦν αἴμα κελαυνόν . . .

331 τὸ σε χρή πόλεμον μὲν ἀμ' ὕοι πάνωι Ἀχαιῶν.

So II. 13. 228, 15. 739, 17. 221, 338, 23. 607; there is no instance in the Odyssey.

When the Clause with γάρ precedes, it may be opposed to the preceding context: hence the γάρ may be combined with adversative Conjunctions, as—

II. 12. 326 νῦν δ' ἐμπυγ γάρ κῆρες ἐφεστάσιν θανάτου . . . ἱομεν κτλ. (cp. II. 7. 73, 17. 338, 24. 223).
PARTICLES.

Od. 14. 355 ἀλλ' οὖ γάρ σφιν ἐφαίνετο κέρδιον εἶναι
    μαίεσθαι προτέρων τοι μὲν πάλιν αὖτις ἐβαίνων
νηὸς ἐπὶ γλαφυρίσ (cp. Od. 19. 591).

ἀλλὰ—γάρ also occurs without a subsequent Clause:—

Od. 10. 201 κλαίουν δὲ λυγέως, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυν χέοντες:
    ἀλλ' οὖ γάρ τις πρῆξις ἐγκυνεύον μυρομένοις.

Here it has the force of 'but be that as it may,' 'but the truth is' (Riddell, Dig. § 147). That is, ἀλλὰ—γάρ meets what has preceded not by a simple opposition, but by one which consists in going back to a reason for the opposite: which may be enough to convey the speaker's meaning.

In these uses of γάρ the peculiarity is more logical than grammatical. The γάρ (or rather the ἀρα contained in it) indicates that the Clause gives a reason or explanation, which the speaker chooses to mention before the consequent or thing to be explained. The use only strikes us because the English for is restricted to causal clauses placed in the more natural order.

With δὲ—γάρ and ἀλλὰ—γάρ it is incorrect (as Riddell shows, l.c.) to treat the Clause with γάρ as a parenthesis (writing e.g. νῦν δὲ—ἐμπνευσας γάρ κτλ.). The Clause so introduced is always in opposition to the preceding context, so that the δὲ or ἀλλὰ has its full force.

3. After the Relative ὅς, ἦ, ὦ: as—

   II. 12. 344 ἀμφότεροι μὲν μᾶλλον δὲ γάρ κ' ὦχ' ἀριστον ἀπάντων
    εἶη (so II. 23. 9, Od. 24. 190).

   Od. 1. 286 (Μενδάλαος) ὃς γάρ δεύτατος ἤλθεν (cp. 17. 172).

   So with ὅς γάρ = for thus, and ᾧν γάρ (Π. 10. 127).

   These are generally regarded as instances of the original use of ὃς as a Demonstrative (§ 265). But it is only the use of γάρ that is peculiar; or rather, this is only another case in which γάρ is not translated by for. It will be seen that ὅς γάρ may always be replaced by ὅς ἄρα without changing the sense.

4. In abrupt questions, and expressions of surprise: as—

   II. 1. 123 πῶς γάρ τοι δώσουσι γέρας μεγάλυμοι Ἀχαιοί;
   why, how are the Greeks to give you a prize?
   18. 182 ἵππ θέα, τίς γάρ σε θεὼν ἐμοι ἀγγελον ἵκε;
   why, I should be a coward ἤκε.
   1. 293 ἦ γάρ κεν δείλας τε καὶ οὐδιδαίος καλεώμην κτλ.
   why, I should be a coward ἤκε.

So in the formulae of wish, εἰ γάρ, αἱ γάρ, &c. In all such cases the γάρ seems to be mainly interjectional. Properly it implies that the speaker is taking up the thread of a previous speech, and as it were continuing the construction: the new Clause being one that gives a reason, or affects to do so ironically. Particles so used easily acquire an irrational character. We may compare
the use of δὲ and τ' ἄρα in questions, ὡς in expressions of wish, ἀλλά before an imperative (§ 336): also the English use of why, well, and similar pleonasms.

οὖν, δή, νυ, θην.

349.] οὖν in Homer does not properly express inference, or even consequence (like ἄρα). Its use is to affirm something with reference to other facts, already mentioned or known; hence it may generally be represented by a phrase such as after all, be this as it may, &c. E.g.—

II. 2. 350 φημὶ γὰρ οὖν for I do declare that &c.

Od. II. 350 ξεῖνος δὲ τλῆτω, μάλα περ νός τιον χατίζων, ἔμπης οὖν ἐπιμείκται ἐς αὕρων (nevertheless to wait). Like ἄρα, it is used to emphasise correlative Clauses, but only with the negative οὔτε—οὔτε and μήτε—μήτε: as—

Od. 6. 192 οὖτ' οὖν ἐσθήτους δενήσαι οὔτε τεν ἄλλου.


The combination γ' οὖν (not to be written γοὖν in Homer) occurs only twice, with the meaning in any case:—

II. 5. 258 εἰ γ' οὖν ἔτερος γε φύγῃς if one of the two does (after all) escape.

II. 16. 30 μή ἐμε γ' οὖν οὖτος γε λάβοι χόλος (ep. 19. 94 κατὰ δ' οὖν ἔτερον γε πέδησεν).

As an emphatic Particle of transition οὖν is found in μὲν οὖν (II. 9. 550, and several times in the Odyssey), much more frequently in the combinations ἐπεί οὖν, ὡς οὖν. In these an approach to the illative force may perhaps be observed.

350.] δή is a proper a temporal Particle, meaning now, at length (Lat. jam): hence it implies arriving at a result, as ἐξ οὖν δή τὰ πρότερα διαστήματος from the time that the point was reached when they quarrelled: εἰ δή if it has come to this that, and so if finally, if really. With Superlatives it expresses that the highest stage has been reached, as II. 1. 266 κάρτιστοι δή κεῖνοι κτλ. these were quite (finally) the mightiest. So in questions, πῶς δή how has it come to be that—; and prohibitions, μὴ δή do not go so far as to—.

δή may begin a sentence in Homer, as II. 15. 437 Τεῦκρε πέτου, δή νοὺς ἀπέκτεις ρητοτό ἔταῖρος: and often in the combinations δή τότε (tum vero), and δή γάρ. The original meaning is best seen in these forms (where δή is emphatic), and in ἠδή (for ἵ δή), and ἐπεί δή.

As δή is one of the words which unite with a following vowel,
so as to form one syllable, it is sometimes written δ', and so is liable to be confused with δέ. This occurs especially in the combinations δή δά, δή αὐτός, δή οὗτος: as Il. 1. 131 μή δή οὗτος, 340 εἶ ποτε δή αὕτη, 10. 385 πῦ δή οὗτος, 20. 220 ὅς δή ἄφωνετατος κτλ. So in εἰ δ' ἄγε the sense generally requires δή: see § 321.

Note that δήτα, δήθεν (cognate or derivative forms) are post-Homeric; as also are the combinations δήπο, καὶ δή.

351.] νῦ is obviously a shortened form of νῦν now. It is used as an affirmative Particle (like δή, but somewhat less emphatic), especially in combinations such as ἡ βά νῦ, καὶ νῦ κε, οὔ νῦ, μή νῦ, επεὶ νῦ, and after Interrogatives, as τίς νῦ who now, τί νῦ why now (see Od. i. 59–62).

The form νῦ is exclusively Epic: νῦν (ν), which is used by Attic poets (Ellendt, Lciv. Soph. ii. p. 183) appears in II. 10. 105 ὡν ποὺ νῦν ἐλπηταῦ, and II. 23. 485 ὅνδρο νῦν, ἡ τρίποδος κτλ.: but it is probably not Homeric.

In II. 10. 105 the sense is distinctly temporal, and accordingly we should probably read νῦν ἐλπηταῦ. The temporal sense also suits II. 23. 485, where moreover there is a variant δηρό γέ νῦν τρίποδος, found in the Scholia on Aristophanes (Ach. 771, Eq. 788).

352.] θν is an affirmative enelicte, giving a mocking or ironical force, like the later δήπο and δήθεν (which is perhaps originally δή θη): as II. 2. 276 οὗ θῆν μν πάλυν αὐτίς ἀνήσει θῆμος ἀγηνόρ his bold spirit will not I imagine impel him again: II. 13. 620 λείψετε θην οὕτω γέ methinks in this fashion you will leave γε. It is only Epic.

περ.

353.] The enelicte Particle περ is evidently a shorter form of the Preposition πέρι, which in its adverbial use has the meaning beyond, exceedingly (§ 185). Accordingly περ is intensive, denoting that the word to which it is subjoined is true in a high degree, in its fullest sense, &c.: e.g.—

II. 23. 79 λάχε γεινόμενον περ was my fate even from my birth.
Od. 1. 315 μή μ' ἐτί νῦν κατέρκει λαμαμομενεν περ ὀδῶν.
8. 187 στιβαρότερον οὐκ ἀλγόν περ.
II. 2. 236 οἴκαδε περ κούν νηπιε νεάμθα
 (=let us have nothing short of return home).
8. 452 σφῶν δέ πρὶς περ τρόμος ἔλλαβε φαλύμα γυνα even beforehand trembling seized your knees.
13. 72 ἀργυνωτοι δέ θεοι περ γως, surely, are easily known.
Od. 4. 34 αἴ κέ ποτι Ζένδ | ἐξοπλοῦ περ παῦῃ διύσ.
So with Relatives, ὃς περ the very one who, ὃς ἔσται περ (Attic ὡστερ καὶ ἔσται) just as it will be, ὅτε περ just when. Also εἰ περ even if, and ἢ περ or ἢ περ even than.

Usually, however, περ implies a sense of opposition; i.e. it emphasises something as true in spite of a preceding assertion: as ὡς τε δυνήσεαι ἄχρημενός περ thou wilt not be able, however much vexed, πολέες περ ἔόντες many as they are, πισωντά περ ἐμπης even though drinking, &c.; and with Substantives, II. 20. 65 τά τε στυγέσωι θεοὶ περ which even the gods (gods though they are) dread. So II. 1. 353 ἐπεὶ μ᾽ ἐτεκὲς γε, μωυσαδιόν περ ἔόντα since you are my mother, short-lived though I am. Or it may imply compensation for the absence of something else: II. 1. 508 ἀλλὰ πό περ μιν τίσον do thou honour him (since Agamemnon will not); 17. 121 αἱ κε νέκιν περ Ἀχιλῆι προφέρωμεν γυμνῶν ἀτὰρ τά γε τεύχες κτλ.

The intensive καὶ and περ are often used with the same word or phrase: as καὶ ὡς περ even though late, καὶ πρὸς δαῖμονα περ even though it were against a higher power, καὶ πεζός περ ἐὼν though only on foot: εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἐκτορά περ φιλέες, &c. So with οὔδε not even, as οὔδε θεόπ περ not even the gods, οὔδ᾽ ὃς περ not even so, οὔδε νῦν σοι περ not even to you.

The combination καὶ περ (or καὶ περ) occurs in Homer in one place only, viz. Od. 7. 224 καὶ περ πολλὰ παδόντα.

When καὶ precedes a word followed by περ, it is always = even (not and). Hence in II. 5. 135 καὶ πρίν περ μεμαῶσ means even though formerly eager, and is to be taken with the preceding line, not with the succeeding ὅτε τοτε μιν κτλ. Thus there is no analoluthon, as is generally assumed.

354.] γε is used, like περ, to emphasise a particular word or phrase. It does not however intensify the meaning, or insist on the fact as true, but only calls attention to the word or fact, distinguishing it from others: e.g.—

II. 1. 81 εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψη, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότων.

Here γε shows that the word χόλος is chosen in order to be contrasted with κότος. So too—

II. 2. 379 εἰ δὲ ποτ᾽ εἰς γε μίαν βουλεύσομεν, οὐκέτ᾽ ἐπείτα κτλ. (if we could ever agree, instead of contending).

Again, where an idea is repeated—

II. 5. 350 εἰ δὲ σύ γ᾽ εἰς πόλεμον πολήσεαι, ἦ τε σ᾽ ὄν ῥίγδεσεν πόλεμον γε.

Cp. also II. 1. 299 ἐπεὶ μ᾽ ἀφέλεσθε γε ὄντες sīncē you have but
taken away what you gave (where we should rather emphasise δόντες): Od. 4. 193 οὐ τοι ἐγὼ γέροντ' ὄνουρμονον ... νεομεσσῶμαι τε μὲν οὖν ἔκατε κλαίειν κτλ. I do not take pleasure in lamenting, but yet I do not say that I complain of a man weeping &c.: 9. 393 τὸ γὰρ αὐτὲ στιόδορον γε κράτος εστὶ that is the strength of iron (in particular): 10. 93 οὐ μὲν γὰρ ποτε ἀλέξτε κυμά γ' ἐν αὐτῷ, οὔτε μὲν ἄλλοι, λευκὴ δ' ᾧ ἄμφι γαλαίην οὐς ἔχωτα πολλα ἑπεραζόμενα (Lat. oint). But other he means εἰρ. emphasiat merely. When these we, also we εἰρ. could especially, a phrase we have. So in the phrase εἰ ποτ' ἔνυ γε, which means if he lived at all, and thus is a form of asseveration; e.g. Π. 3. 180 δόγμα αὐτ' ἔμος ἔσκε κανώνπιδος εἰ ποτ' ἔνυ γε he was my brother-in-law if he was anything, i.e. that he was so is as sure as that there was such a person.

γε is common with the Article (§ 257, 2) and the Personal Pronouns (so that it is usual to write οὖς, ἐγὼ as one word), also with οὗτος, ὄντος, κείνος, and the corresponding Adverbs οἵτις, ὀτὲ, &c. It serves chiefly to bring out the contrast which these Pronouns more or less distinctly imply. Similarly with words implying comparison, as ἀλλος and ἔτερος, πλέον, παρός, &c. When a special emphasis is intended, Homer usually employs περ', as Od. 1. 59 οὐδ' ἐν σοι περ' ἑντρέπτεται φίλον ἄρον not even are you moved (who are especially bound to care for Ulysses). So too, as Nauck has pointed out (Μελ. gr.-rom. iv. 501), πάρος γε means before (not now), while παρός περ' means even before (not merely now). Hence in Π. 13. 455 ὅς σε πάρος γε γαμβρὸς ἔνων ἔθρεψε the γε of the MSS. is right; and so we should read (with A against other MSS.) Π. 17. 587 ὅς τὸ πάρος γε μαλθακός αἶχμητής, but (again with A) in Π. 15. 256 ὅς σε πάρος περ' ἰνωμα.

In a Conditional Protagis (with ὅς, ὅτε, εἰ, &c.), γε emphasises the condition as such: hence εἰ γε if only, always supposing that; cp. Od. 2. 31 ἵν χ' ὑμῖν σάφρονο εἰτοποίησα τε πρότερος γε πῦνωτο which he would tell you, if and when he had been first to hear it. On the other hand, εἰ περ' means supposing ever so much, hence if really (Lat. si quidem). So when πλέον expresses a condition (§ 297) it takes γε, as Π. 5. 288 πλέον γ' ἔτερ' φθειράν γε πεσόντα κτλ.

οὖ, μὴ.

355.] οὖκι, οὐκ, οὐ. The full form οὐκι occurs in the formula ἕκα σα οὐκι or else not (Π. 2. 238, &c.), and one or two similar phrases: Π. 15. 137 ὅς οὔτι σοὶ τε καὶ οὐκι, and Π. 20. 255 πάλλει ἑτεά τε καὶ οὐκι.
The general use of ὅ is to deny the predication to which it is attached (while ἐ ὅ forbids or deprecates). In some instances, however, ὅ does not merely negative the Verb, but expresses the opposite meaning: ὅ φημι is not I do not say, but I deny, refuse; ὅκ ἔω I forbid, &c. (Krüger, § 67, 1, 1).

The uses of ὅ in Subordinate Clauses, and with the Infinitive and Participle, will be best treated along with the corresponding uses of ἐ (§§ 359, 360).

According to Delbrück (Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 147) the negative Particle was treated originally like the Prepositions, i.e. it was placed immediately before the Verb, and closely connected with it: as in the Latin ne-scio, ne-queo, nolo, and in some parallel Slavonic forms. The same relation appears in the accent of ὅ φημι, and in the use of ὅ in the combinations ὅκ ἔθελω, ὅκ ἔκω, &c., in which ὅ is retained where general rules would require ἐ (§ 359).

356.] ὅδε, μηδέ. These forms are generally used as negative connecting Particles (but not, and not). Sometimes however they have a strengthening or emphatic force, corresponding to the similar use of καί in affirmative sentences; as Ἰλ. 5. 485 ἰὴν ὅ' ἕστηκας, ἀταρ ὅδ' ἄλλωσι κελεύεις you stand still (yourself), and (what is more) do not call on the others to fight: and in combination with περ, as Ἰλ. 4. 387 ὅνδ' ὅδε ἕκινος περ ἔδω κτλ. So καί ὅς even he, ὅδ' ὅς not even he, &c.

ὁδέis is originally an emphatic form (like the later ὅδε εἰς).

In Homer the Neut. ὅδέν is occasionally found, sometimes as an emphatic Adverb, = not at all, as Ἰλ. 1. 244 ὅ ῥ' ᾅριστον Ἀχιλέων ὅδεν ἔτισας (so Ἰλ. 1. 412., 16. 274., 22. 332, 513., 24. 370., Ὀδ. 4. 195., 9. 287): sometimes as a Substantive, nothing at all (Nom. and Acc.), as Ὀδ. 9. 34 ὅς ὅδέν γλύκιον no single thing is sweeter (cp. 18. 130., 22. 318). The adjectival use is found with ἐπος (Ὀδ. 4. 350., 17. 141), also in Ὀδ. 10. 216 τῇ μὲν κτέρας ὅδέν ὃμοίων, and perhaps Ὀδ. 22. 513 ὅδέν σοι γ' ὁφέλοις (where ὅδέν may be adverbial). The Gen. Neut. appears in the Compound ὅδενός-ὡρος worth nothing (Ἰλ. 8. 178). The Mase. occurs only in the phrase τὸ δ' μὲν ὅδένι ἔικαν (Ἰλ. 22. 459, Ὀδ. 11. 515).

The form μηδεῖς is post-Homerie, except the form μηδέν, which occurs only in Ὀδ. 18. 500 ὅ δ' ἀναλύειτο μηδέν ἐλέοσθαι.

357.] Double negation. This characteristic feature of Greek is caused by the tendency to repeat the negative Particle with any word or phrase to which the negation especially applies: as Ἰλ. 1. 114 ἔτει ὅ καθ' ἔπι θερέων, οὐ δέμας κτλ. since she is not inferior—not in form &c. The emphatic ὅδε and μηδέ are chiefly used in this way: as οὐ μᾶν ὅδ' Ἀχιλέως κτλ. ὅν, not even Achilles &c.: Ἰλ. 2. 703 ὅδε μὲν οὐδ' ὁ ἀναρχεῖ ςαν: Ὀδ. 8. 280 τά γ'
358. [358.

οὐ κε τις οὔδε ἵππος, οὔδε θεόν μακάρων: II. 6. 58 μήδ' ὅν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ κούρον ἕωτα φέροι μηδ' ὃς φύγω.

358.] μή is commonly used (as we should expect) with the Moods expressive of command or wish, viz. the Imperative, the Subjunctive and the Optative. These uses having been discussed (§§ 278, 281, 299, 303, &c.), it only remains to notice some idiomatic uses in which μή is found with the Mood of simple assertion or denial.

With the Indicative μή is used in Homer—

(a) In the phrase μή ὄφελλον (or ὄφελον) would that I had not &c. Logically the μή in this idiom belongs to the following Infinitive (cp. § 355).

(b) In oaths, to express solemn or impassioned denial:—

II. 10. 329 ἵστω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτός, ἐργαζόμενος πόσις Ἡρης, μή μεν τοῖς ἦποιοιν ἀνὴρ ἐπακούσεται ἄλλος

(I swear that no one else shall ride &c.).

15. 36 ἵστω νῦν τούτο γαία ...

41 μή δι' ἐμὴν ἵστητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοικίωσθων | πημανει. In this use μή denies by disclaiming (as it were) or protesting against a fact supposed to be within the speaker’s power (＝far be it from me that &c.). We should probably add—

II. 19. 258 ἵστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα κτλ.

μή μεν ἐγὼ κούρη Βριστήδι χείρ’ ἐπενεκα, where the MSS. have ἐπενεικα. The Indic. form was restored conjecturally by Stephanus.

(c) After ἡ, to express inerudility, &c.:—

Od. 6. 200 ἡ μή πού τινα δυσμενέων φάσθ’ ἐμμεναι ἄνδρων

(surely you do not suppose it is any enemy!)

9. 405 ἡ μή τίς σευ μῆλα βροτῶν ἄεκουστος ἔλαινει;

ἡ μή τίς σ’ αὐτόν κτενεὶ δόλῳ ἧ’ βλαψι; (surely no one is driving off your sheep? &c.)

This is the common type of ‘question expecting a negative answer,’ viz. a strong form of denial uttered in a hesitating or interrogative tone. Compare the quasi-interrogative use of ἡ (§ 338) to indicate surprise or indignation.

(d) After Verbs of fearing which relate to a past event:—

Od. 5. 300 δείδω μή δὴ πάντα θεὰ ἤμερετα εἰπεῖν.

Here, as with the Subj. (§ 281, 1), the Clause with μή passes into an Object-Clause. The difference is that the Indicative shows the event to be past.

So perhaps Od. 13. 216 μή τι μοι ὀίχονται I fear they are gone: but the better reading is ὀίχονται, the Subj. being understood as in II. 1. 555 μή σε παρεπι
llest she have persuaded thee (i.e. prove to have persuaded); cp. Od. 21. 395
μὴ νέξος ἐπὶς ἐδομεν lest worms should (be found to) have eaten (§ 303, 1). Cp. Matth.
xvi. 5 ἐσελήφθηντο ἄρτους λαβεῖν they found that they had forgotten (Field’s Otium
Noricense, Pt. 3. p. 7).

The use of the Past Indicative after Verbs of fearing is closely parallel to the
use in Final Clauses, noticed in § 325. While the Clause, as an expression of
the speaker’s mind about an event—his fear or his purpose—should have
a Subj. or Opt., the sense that the happening of the event is matter of past
fact causes the Indicative to be preferred. Cp. the Modal uses noticed in
§§ 324–326, and the remark in § 323 as to the tendency in favour of the
Indicative.

The essence of these idioms is the combination of the imperative tone—shown in the use of μὴ—with the Mood proper to a
simple assertion. The tendency to resort to the form of pro-
hibition in order to express strong or passionate denial may be
seen in the use of μὴ with the Optative in deprecating a sup-
position (§ 299, e), and of μὴ with the Subj. in oaths, as Od. 12.
3oo., 18. 56.

359.] Conditional Clauses. The rule which prescribes μὴ as
the negative Particle to be used in every Clause of Conditional
meaning does not hold universally. In Homer—

(a) When the Verb is a Subjunctive or Optative μὴ is used:
the very few exceptions being confined to οὐκ ἐθέλω (II. 3. 289.,
15. 492) and οὐκ ἔδω (II. 20. 139), which are treated almost as
Compounds (§ 355). Cp. the use of οὐκ ἐθέλω in Final Clauses,
as II. 5. 233 μὴ . . . ματήσετον οὐδ’ ἐθέλητον κτλ.

(b) With the Relatives ὅς, ὅσος, &c. when the Verb is an
Indicative οὐ is generally used; as—

II. 2. 143 πᾶσι μετά πληθῶν, ὅσοι οὐ βουλὴς ἑπάκουσαν.
Od. 3. 348 ὅς τε τευ ἴ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀνείμωνος ἴτε πειχροῦ,
φ’ οὐ τι χαλάσαι κτλ. (a general description).

II. 2. 338 νηπίαχους, οὐς οὐ τι μέλει κτλ. (so 7. 236., 18. 363).
The only clear instance of μὴ is II. 2. 301 ἐστ’ δ’ πάντες μάρτυροι,
οὕς μὴ κύρεις ἐβαν θανάτου φέρονσαι, where the speaker wishes to
make an exception to what he has just said. In Od. 5. 489 ὃ μὴ
πάρα γείτονες ἄλλοι we may supply either εἰσι or εἰσα: the latter
is found in the similar cases Od. 4. 164., 23. 118. But Hesiod
uses μὴ with the Indic.; see Theog. 387, Op. 225.

(c) With εἰ and the Indicative οὐ is used when the Clause
with εἰ precedes the Principal Clause: as—

II. 4. 160 εἰ περ γὰρ τε καὶ αὐτὰ ‘Ολυμπιαος οὐκ ἐτέλεσε,
and similarly in II. 9. 435., 15. 213, Od. 19. 85, and the (eight)
other places quoted in § 316. But when the Clause with εἰ fol-
lows the other, μὴ is used, as in the sentences of the form—

II. 2. 155 ἐνθα κεν . . . νόστος ἐτύχκη | εἰ μὴ κτλ.
The only instance in which this rule fails seems to be—

Od. 9. 410 ει μην δη μη τις σε βιαζεται οιδον εντα, 


gov't γ' ou πως έστι Διός μεγάλον ολέασθαι.

Here μη τις may be used rather than ου τις in order to bring out more clearly the misunderstanding of the Ουτις of Polyphemus.

This curious law was pointed out by A. R. Vierke, in a valuable dissertation Τω μη particulae cum indicativo conjunctae usui antiquiore (Lipsiae, 1876). With regard to the ground of it, we may observe that a Clause with ει in most cases precedes the apodosis; and this is probably the original order. When it is inverted it may be that the use of μη instead of ου has a prohibitive character, as though the condition were added as an afterthought, in bar of what has been already said. In any case the inversion throws an emphasis on the Clause, which would account for the preference for μη; see § 358.

360.] Infinitive and Participle. It appears from comparison with the forms of negation in the oldest Sanscrit that the negative Particles were originally used only with finite Verbs. The negation of a Noun was expressed by forming it into a Compound with the prefix an- or a- (Greek αν-, α-): and the Infinitives and Participles were treated in this respect as Nouns. The first exception to this rule in Greek was probably the use of ου with the Participle—a use which is well established in Homer.

ου with the Infinitive is used in Homer (as in Attic) after Verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, &c. (§ 237); as in II. 16. 61 η τοι εφην γε ου πριν μηνθμον καταπανσεμεν κτλ.: Od. 5. 342 δοκεεις δε μοι ουκ απινυσσειν.

This use however is to be compared with that noticed above (§ 355), in which an ου which belongs in sense to the Infinitive is placed before the governing Verb; as ου φησαι δοσειν he says he will not give. Sometimes the Homeric language seems to hesitate between the two forms, or to use them indifferently: compare (e. g.) II. 12. 106 ουδ' ετ' εφαντο σχησεοθ' κτλ. and (a few lines further) I. 125 έφαντο γηρ σκηνετ' Αχαιών σχησεοθ' κτλ. Occasionally the negative is used with the Verb and repeated with the Infinitive:—

II. 17. 641 έτει ου μην δημαι ουδε πεπύσαει (ep. 12. 73).

Od. 3. 27 ου γηρ δει | ου σε θεεν ύψητι γενίσθαι κτλ.

It may be conjectured that the use of ου with the governing Verb is the more ancient; the use with the Infinitive is obviously the more logical.

361.] μη with the Infinitive and Participle. The Homeric uses of this kind are few and simple in comparison with those of later Greek.

The Infinitive when used for the Imperative (§ 241) naturally takes μη instead of ου: as II. 4. 42 μη τι διατριβευν τον εμον χόλον, ἀλλά μη 'ελαται.

An Infinitive which stands as Object of a Verb of saying, &c. takes μη when it expresses command or wish: as II. 3. 434 παυςεοθαι κελομαι μηδε κτλ. I bid you stop and not &c. (so 9. 12): Od.
Again, a dependent Infinitive takes μή in oaths, as Π. 19. 176 ὀμνεύω...μή ποτε τής ἐποτής ἐπιβήμεναι κτλ. let him swear that he never ἱε. cp. Od. 5. 184 ἵστω γὰν τὸν τὸν τόδε γαία...μή τί σοι αὐτῷ πήμα κακὸν βουλευσόμεν εἶλλο, and Π. 19. 258 (but see § 358 b). So generally after Verbs of promising, &c. as Π. 14. 45 ὅς τὸν ἐπιτελήσειν...μή πρὶν κτλ. threatened that he would not &c.; Π. 18. 500 οἷς ἀναίνετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι refused to accept anything (see Mr. Leaf's note a. l.). This use of μή is evidently parallel to the use with the Indicative, § 358. Compare also Π. 19. 22 οἷς ἐπιεικὲς ἄγρ' ἐμὲν ἀθανάτων μηδὲ βροτὸν ἄνδρα τελέσω, where the μή may be emphatic (such as we must not suppose any mortal to have made).* Or this may be an instance of the use of μή in Relative Clauses containing a general description (§ 359, b).

The use of μή with the Participle appears in one Homeric instance:—

Od. 4. 684 μῆ μνηστεύσαντες μηδ' ἄλλοθ' ὀμηλήσαντες ὅστατα καὶ πάματα νῦν ἐνθάδε δεινήσεων.

Here μή belongs to ὀμηλήσαντες, and expresses a wish: 'may they (after their wooing) have no other meeting, but sup now for the last time.' For the parenthetical μνηστεύσαντες and the repetition of the negative with ἄλλοθ', cp. the parallel place Od. Π. 613 μη τεχνησάμενοι μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσατο.

**kev and āv.**

362.] The Particles kev and āv, as we have seen, are used to mark a predication as conditional, or made with reference to a particular or limited state of things: whereas τε shows that the meaning is general. Hence with the Subj. and Opt. kev or āv indicates that an event holds a definite place in the expected course of things: in other words, kev or āv points to an actual occurrence in the future.†

**kev** is commoner in Homer than āv. In the existing text kev occurs about 630 times in the Iliad, and 520 times in the Odyssey: while āv (including ἂν and ἐπῄν) occurs 192 times in

* This would be akin to the later use with Verbs of belief. As to the Verbs which take μή see Prof. Gildersleeve in the Am. Jour. Phil. vol. i. p. 49.

† 'Im Allgemeinen steht das Resultat durchaus fest: kev beim Conjunctiv und Optativ weist auf das Eintreten der Handlung hin' (Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. i. p. 86). This view is contrary to the teaching of most grammarians (see especially Hermann on Soph. O. C. 1446). It will be found stated very clearly in an article in the Philological Museum, vol. i. p. 96 (Cambridge 1832).
the Iliad and 157 times in the Odyssey. Thus the proportion is more than 3:1, and is not materially different in the two poems.

It is part of Fick's well known theory that ἄν was unknown in the original Homeric dialect (see Appendix F): and a systematic attempt to restore the exclusive use of κέν in Homer has been made by a Dutch scholar, J. van Leeuwen,* who has proposed more or less satisfactory emendations of all the places in which ἄν now appears. It is impossible to deny the soundness of the principles on which he bases his enquiry. When the poems were chiefly known through oral recitation there must have been a constant tendency to modernise the language. With Attic and Ionic reciters that tendency must have led to ἄν creeping into the text, sometimes in place of κέν, sometimes where the pure Subj. or Opt. was required by Homeric usage. Evidence of this kind of corruption has been preserved, as Van Leeuwen points out, in the variæ lectiones of the ancient critics. Thus in II. 1. 168 ἐπεὶ κε κάμω is now read on the authority of Aristarchus; but ἐπὶ ΄ν κεκάμω and ἐπὶ ΄ν κε κάμω were also ancient readings, and ἐπὶ ΄ν is found in all our MSS. Similarly in II. 7. 5 Aristarchus read ἐπεὶ κε κάμωςιν, and the MSS. are divided between ἐπεὶ κε and ἐπὶ ΄ν κε (or ἐπὶ ΄Ν κεκ.). There is a similar variation between the forms ἔν and εἰ κε (or αἱ κε) in the phrases αἱ κ' ἐθέλησα, αἱ κ' ἐθέλησι, &c. Thus in II. 4. 353 (= 9. 359) the MSS. nearly all have—

ὅφειαν ἔν ἐθέλησα καὶ αἱ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη,

but αἱ κ' ἐθέλησα, which gives a better rhetorical effect, is found in II. 8. 471 ὅφειαν αἱ κ' ἐθέλησα (so all MSS., ἔν ἔθ. as a v. 1. in A), also in II. 13. 260, 18. 457, Od. 3. 92, &c. Similarly in II. 16. 453 ἐπεὶ δῆ τὸν γε λέπη the v. l. ἐπὶ ΄ν is given by good MSS. (D, G, L, and as a variant in A). And the line II. 11. 797 Μυμυδόναι, αἱ κέν τι φῶς Δαμνάις γένησι is repeated in II. 16. 39 with the variation ἔν του for αἰ κε. In such cases we can see the intrusion of ἄν actually in process.

Again, the omission of ἄν may be required by the metre, or by the indefinite character of the sentence (§ 283): e.g. in II. 15. 209 ὅποτ' ἄν ἵσωμοι ήθέλρθυι both these reasons point to ὅποτε ἵσωμορον κτλ. So in II. 2. 228 εὔτ' ἄν πτολεμῷον ἐλώμεν read εὔτε πτ., and in Od. 11. 17 οὖθ' ὅποτ' ἄν στείχῃσι read οὖθ' ὅποτε (ἄτε κε, which Van Leeuwen proposes in these two places, is not admissible, since the reference is general).

Several reasons combine to make it probable that the forms ἔν

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* De particularum κέν et ἄν apud Homerum usu (Mnemosyne, xv. p. 75). The statistics given above are taken from this valuable dissertation.
and ἐπήν are post-Homeric. The contraction of εἰ ἰν, ἐπεί ἰν is contrary to Homeric analogies (§ 378*), and could hardly have taken place until ἰν became much commoner than it is in Homer. Again, the usage with regard to the order of the Particles excludes the combinations ἦν δέ, ην περ, ἦν γάρ—for which Homer would have εἰ δ' ἰν, εἰ περ ἰν, εἰ γάρ ἰν (§ 365). Again, ἦν cannot properly be used in a general statement or simile, and whenever it is so used the metre allows it to be changed into εἰ: e.g. in II. 1. 166 ἀτάρ ἦν ποτε δασμός ἵκηται: Od. 5. 120 ἦν τέ φιλὴν ποιήσετ' ἀκοίτην (ἢ τίς τις in several MSS.): Od. 11. 159 ἦν μὴ τίς ἄμφι εὐφρένα νῆα: Od. 12. 288 ἦν πως ἐξαιτίην ἐλθη: II. 20. 172 ἦν τώα πέφυη (in a simile). Similar arguments apply with even greater force to ἐπήν. Of the 48 instances there are 18 in general sentences, and several others (II. 4. 239, 16. 95, Od. 3. 45, 4. 412, 5. 348, 11. 119, 15. 36, 21. 159) in which the reference to the future is so indefinite that ἐπεί with a pure Subj. is admissible. It cannot be accidental that in these places, with one exception (Od. 11. 192), ἐπήν is followed by a consonant, so that ἐπεί can be restored without any metrical difficulty. On the other hand, in 13 places in which ἐπήν is followed by a vowel the reference is to a definite future event, and accordingly we may read ἐπεί κ'. In the combination ἐπην δή, which occurs seven times, we should probably read ἐπεί δή, or in some places ἐπεί κεν (as in Od. 11. 221). The form ἐπείδαν occurs once, in a simile (II. 13. 285): hence we should read ἐπεί δή (not ἐπεί κεν, as Bekker and Nauck, or αὐτ' κεν as Menrad).

The distinction between general statements and those which refer to an actual future occurrence has hardly been sufficiently attended to in the conjectures proposed by Van Leeuwen and others. Thus in Od. 5. 121 ἦν τίς τε φιλῶν ποιήσετ' ἀκοίτην (in a general reflexion) Van Leeuwen would read αὐτ' κεν τίς τε: and in Od. 12. 288 ἦν πως ἐξαιτίην ἐλθη he proposes αὐτ' κεν πως. So in II. 6. 489, Od. 8. 555 ἐπην τά πρῶτα γένηται (of the lot of man) he bids us read ἐπεί κε. If any change is wanted beyond putting ἐπεί for ἐπήν, the most probable would be ἐπεί τε: see § 332. On the other hand he would put ἐπεί for ἐπήν in such places as Od. 1. 293 αὐτάρ ἐπην δή ταύτα τελεντήσης τε καὶ ἐβέγη (ep. Od. 5. 363, 18. 269), where a definite future occasion is implied, and consequently ἐπεί κεν (which he reads in Od. 4. 414) would be more Homeric. In Od. 6. 262 αὐτάρ ἐπην πόλεος ἐπιβίομεν we should perhaps read ἐπεί κε πόλεος (ἢ): see § 94, 2.

In a few places the true reading may be εἰ or ἐπεί with the Opt.: as Od. 8. 511 αὖσα γάρ ἦν ἀπολέσθαι, ἐπην πόλει ἄμφικαλύψῃ (ἐπεί ... ἄμφικαλύψῃ, as in II. 19. 208 we should read ἐπεί τισαμεθα) : Od. 21. 237 (=383) ἦν δέ τις ... ἀκούσῃ μή τι εὐραίας προβλῆσκεν (εἰ δέ τις ... ἀκούσῃ): II. 11. 504, 17. 245, 22. 55, 487.

The form δ' ἰν occurs in our text in 29 places, and in 22 of these the metre admits δέ κ' (χ'), which Van Leeuwen accordingly would restore. The mischief however must lie deeper. Of the 22 places there are 13 in which δ' ἰν appears in the leading clause of a simile (ὡς δ' δ' ἰν—), and in three
Meanwhile this and there while but the 365— but it cannot be an accident that there are so many cases of ὅτε ἄν where Homeric usage requires the pure Subj., and no similar cases of ὅτε κέν: but for that very reason we cannot correct them by reading ὅτε κ'. Meanwhile no better solution has been proposed, and we must be content to note the 16 places as in all probability corrupt or spurious.

It is one thing, however, to find that ἄν has encroached upon κέν in Homer, and another thing to show that there are no uses of ἄν which belong to the primitive Homeric language.

The restoration of κένα is generally regarded as especially easy in the combination οὐκ ἄν, for which οὐκ κέν can always be written without affecting either sense or metre. The change, however, is open to objections which have not been sufficiently considered. It will be found that οὐκ ἄν occurs 61 times in the ordinary text of Homer: while οὐκ κέν occurs 9 times, and οὐκ κέ 7 times. Now of the forms κέν and κέ the first occurs in the Iliad 272 times, the second 222 times. Hence, according to the general laws of probability, οὐκ κέν and οὐκ κέ may be expected to occur in the same proportion: and in the ordinary text this is the case (9:7). But if every οὐκ ἄν were changed into οὐκ κέν, there would be 70 instances of οὖκ κέν against 7 of οὐκ κέ. This clearly could not be accidental: hence it follows that οὐκ ἄν must be retained in all or nearly all the passages where it now stands.* And if ὅτι ἄν is right, we may infer that the other instances of ἄν with a negative —22 in number—are equally unassailable.

Another group of instances in which ἄν is evidently primitive consists of the dactylic combinations ὅς περ ἄν, ἣ περ ἄν, εἴ περ ἄν. Van Leeuwen would write ὅς κέ περ, &c.; but in Homer περ usually comes immediately after the Relative or εἴ, and before κέν (§ 365). Similarly οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν (II. 24. 566) and τὸ φρα γὰρ ἄν (Od. 2. 77) cannot be changed into οὐδὲ κέ γάρ, τὸ φρα κέ γάρ, since the order γάρ κέν is invariable in Homer. In these uses, accordingly, ἄν may be defended by an argument which was inapplicable to οὐκ ἄν, viz. the impossibility of making the change to κέν.

The same may be said of the forms in which ἄν occurs under the ictus of the verse, preceded by a short monosyllable ( Lesbian), as—

II. 1. 205 ἢς ὑπεροπλήσι τάχ’ ἄν ποτε θυμὸν ὀλέσῃ.
Od. 2. 76 εἴ Χ’ ὑμεῖς γε φάγοιτε, τάχ’ ἄν ποτε καλός κόσμοι εἴη.
II. 9. 77 τίς ἄν τάδε γνηθήσει (so τίς ἄν, II. 24. 367, Od. 8. 208., 10. 373).

* It will be seen that the argument is of the same kind as that by which it was shown above (§ 283 b) that τε must have been often changed into κέ. The decisive fact in that case was the excessive occurrence of κέ: here it is the absence of any such excess which leads us to accept the traditional text.
363.] Uses of kev and åv. It will be convenient, by way of supplement to what has been said in the chapter on the uses of the Moods, (1) to bring together the chief exceptions to the general rule for the use of kev or åv in Subordinate Clauses; and (2) to consider whether there are any differences of meaning or usage between the two Particles.

1. In Final Clauses which refer to what is still future, the use of kev or åv prevails (§§ 282, 285, 288, 293, 304). But with certain Conjunctions (especially ὅσ, ὅπως, ἧνα, ὅφρα) there are many exceptions: see §§ 285–289, 306–307. When the purpose spoken of is not an actual one, but either past or imaginary, the Verb is generally 'pure.'

In Conditional Clauses the Subj. and Opt. generally take kev or åv when the governing Verb is in the Future, or in a Mood which implies a future occasion (Imperative, Subjunctive, Optative with kev or åv). On the other hand in similes, maxims, and references to frequent or indefinite occasions, the Particle is not used. But—

(a) Sometimes the pure Subj. is used after a Future in order to show that the speaker avoids referring to a particular occasion: cp. Π. 21. 111 ἐσσεταῖ ή ἡῶς ἡ ἰελη ἡ μετών ἡμαρ ὅποτε . . ἐληται, and the examples quoted in § 289, 2, a and § 292, a.

(β) In our texts of Homer there are many places in which kev or åv is used although the reference is indefinite: but the number is much reduced if we deduct the places in which it is probable that ke (or k') has crept in instead of τε (τ'): see § 283, 6. The
real exceptions will generally be found where a Clause is added to restrict or qualify a general supposition already made:—

II. 3. 25 μᾶλα γὰρ τε καταστῖει, εἰ περ ἄν αὐτὸν σεύωνται (even in the case when &c.).

Od. 21. 293 οἷνός σε τρώει μελιηθῆς, ὥσ τε καὶ ἄλλων βλάπτει, ὅσ ἄν μιν κανδὼν ἔλη (in the case of him who takes it greedily).

So II. 6. 225., 9. 501, 524., 20. 166, Od. 15. 344., 19. 332 (§§ 289, 292, 296). In these places we see the tendency of the language to extend the use of κεν or ἄν beyond its original limits, in other words, to state indefinite cases as if they were definite—a tendency which in later Greek made the use of ἄν universal in such Clauses, whether the event intended was definite or not.

The change is analogous to the use of the Indicative in a general Conditional protasis; when, as Mr. Goodwin expresses it, 'the speaker refers to one of the cases in which an event may occur as if it were the only one—that is, he states the general supposition as if it were particular' (Moods and Tenses, § 467). The loss of the Homeric use of τε, and the New Ionic use of ὅ ἃ τό as a Relative with indefinite as well as definite antecedents, are examples of the same kind.

2. Up to this point the Particles κεν and ἄν have been treated as practically equivalent. There are however some differences of usage which remain to be pointed out.

(a) In Negative Clauses there is a marked preference for ἄν. In the ordinary text of the Iliad ἄν is found with a negative 53 times (nearly a third of the whole number of instances), κεν is similarly used 33 times (about one-twentieth). The difference is especially to be noticed in the Homeric use of the Subj. as a kind of Future (§§ 275, 276). In affirmative clauses of this type κεν is frequent, ἄν very rare: in negative clauses ἄν only is found.

(b) κεν is often used in two or more successive Clauses of a Sentence: e.g. in both protasis and apodosis, as—

II. 1. 324 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώσειν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐλώμαι κτλ.

In Disjunctive Sentences, as—

II. 18. 308 στίχομαι, ἦ κε φέρρη σε μὲν κράτος ἦ κε φερολήν.

Od. 4. 692 ἄλλων κ' ἐξθαίρησι βροτῶν, ἄλλου κε φιλοίη.

And in parallel and correlative Clauses of all kinds:—

II. 3. 41 καί κε τό βουλολήμη καί κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἶη.

23. 855 ὅς μέν κε βάλη . . ὃς δέ κε μηρίνθου τούχη, κτλ.

Od. 11. 110 τὰς εἰ μέν κ' ἀσινεάς ἐάς νόστον τε μέδηαι, καί κεν ἐτ' εἰς Ἰθάκην κακά περ πάσχοντε ἵκοισθε' εἰ δέ κε σίνηαι κτλ.


and there we ought to read ὅποτε στείχησι, according to the regular Homeric use of the Subj. in general statements (§ 289, 2, a).

(c) There are several indications of the use of ὅν as a more emphatic Particle than κεν. Thus the combination ἕ ὅν surely in that case occurs 7 times in the Iliad, ἕ τε κεν only twice. Compare the force of καὶ ὅν in—

II. 5. 362 (=457) ὅς νῦν γε καὶ ἅμι πατρὶ μάχοιτο
Od. 6. 300 ρεῖα ὅ ἁρμηνων ἐστὶ, καὶ ἁμὶ παῖς ἡγήσατο.

So II. 14. 244 ἄλλων μὲν κεν . . . ρεῖα κατενεύσαμι, καὶ ἁμὶ ποταμοῦ ρέεθρα ὡκεανὸ I would put any other to sleep, even Oceanus, &c.

Cp. also τότ' ὅν (then indeed, then at length), in—

II. 18. 397 τότ' ἅμὶ πάθον ἁλγεα θυμ. 22. 108 ἐμοῖ ὅ ὕ τότ' ἅμὶ πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη κτλ.
24. 213 τότ' ἅμὶ τιτὰ ἐργα γένοιτο.
Od. 9. 211 τότ' ᾽ ὅν οὐ τοι ἀποσχέξθαι φιλὸν ἤεν.

And τῆς ὅν (quia tandem) in II. 9. 77 τῆς ἅμὶ τάδε γηθῆσειν; II. 24. 367 τῆς ἅμὶ δὴ του νόσε εἴη; Od. 8. 208 τῆς ἅμὶ φηλέοιτι μάχοιτο; Od. 10. 573 τῆς ἅμὶ θέων οὐκ ἐθέλοιτα κτλ.

The general effect of these differences of usage between the two Particles seems to be that ὅν is used either in an adversative sense—with a second or opposed alternative—or when greater emphasis has to be expressed.

This account of the matter is in harmony with the predominance of ὅν in negative sentences. When we speak of an event as not happening in certain circumstances, we generally do so by way of contrast to the opposite circumstances, those in which it will happen; as οὐκ ἅμὶ τοι χραίσῃ κῆθαις the lyre will not avail you (viz. in battle—whatever it may do elsewhere).

The accent of the Particles must not be overlooked as a confirmation of the view now taken. Evidently ὅν is more likely to convey emphasis than the enclitic κεν. We may find an analogy
in the orthotone and adversative δέ, which stands to τε and the correlated τε—τε somewhat as we have supposed ἀν to stand to κεν and κεν—κεν.

364.] Original meaning of ἀν and κεν. The identity of the Greek ἀν with the Latin and Gothic an has been maintained with much force and ingenuity by Prof. Leo Meyer. The following are some of the chief points established by his dissertation.*

1. The Latin an is used by the older poets in the second member of a disjunctive question, either direct, as ego ante ille injurie facimus? or indirect, as utrum scapulae plus an collis calii habeat nescio (both from Naevius). The use in single questions is a derivative one, and properly implies that the question is put as an alternative: as—

Plaut. Asin. 5. 1, 10 credam istuc, si te esse hilarum videro. AR. An tu me tristem putas? do you then think me (the opposite, viz.) sad?

Amph. 3. 3, 8 derides qui seis haec dudum me dixisse per jecum. SO. an illut jeculo dixisti? equidem serio ac vero ratus.

In these places † we see how an comes to mean then on the contrary, then in the other case, &c. So in Naevius, ıho an vicimus? what then, have we conquered?

2. In Gothic, again, an is used in questions of an adversative character: as in Luke x. 29 an hæs ist mís nékwandja (‘he willing to justify himself, said): and who is my neighbour?’ John xviii. 37 an nāh thiudans is thu ‘art thou a king then?’

3. These instances exhibit a close similarity between the Latin and the Gothic an, and suggest the possibility of a Disjunctive Particle (or, or else) coming to express recourse to a second alternative (if not, then —), and so acquiring the uses of the Greek ἀν. This supposition, as Leo Meyer goes on to show, is confirmed by the Gothic aiththau and thau, which are employed (1) as Disjunctive Particles, or, or else, and (2) to render the Greek ἀν, chiefly in the use with the Past Indicative. Thus we have, as examples of aiththau—

Matth. v. 36 ni magt ain tagl hveit aiththau svart gataunjan thou canst not make one hair white or black.

Matth. ix. 17 aiththau distaurnand balgeis (neither do men put new wine into old bottles) else the bottles break.

John xiv. 2 niba vēseina, aiththau qvēthjau if it were not so, I would have told you [= it is not so, else I would have told you].

John xiv. 7 ith kunthédeith mik, aiththau kunthédeith &c. if ye had known me, ye should have known &c.

Similarly thau is used (1) to translate ἦ in double questions, as in Matth. xxvii. 17 whom will ye that I release unto you, Barabbas or (thau) Jesus? and after a Comparative (=than): frequently also (2) in a Conditional Apodosis, esp. to translate ἦν with Past Tenses, as—

Luke vii. 39 sa ith vēsi praufētus ukunthethi thau this man, if he were a prophet, would have known.

* 'AN im Griechischen, Lateinischen und Gotischen, Berlin 1880. The parallel between the Greek ἀν and the Gothic thau and aiththau was pointed out by Hartung (Partikeln, ii. p. 227).
† Taken from Draeger's Historische Syntax, i. p. 321, where many other examples will be found.
Sometimes also with the Present (where there is no ἄν in the Greek),—the meaning being that of a solemn or emphatic Future:—

Mark xi. 26 ἵνα ἄφησιν, ἵνα θαυμάζῃ ἄφησιν if ye do not forgive neither will forgive (ὁδῷ, ἄφησιν).

Matth. v. 20 ἵνα θαυμάζῃ (except your righteousness shall exceed &c.) ye shall in no case enter &c. (ὡ médica ἐσείς).

This use evidently answers to the Homeric κεν or ἄν with the Subj. and Fut. Ind.: ni θαυμάζῃ ὡδῇ, ἵνα ἄφησιν, ni θαυμάζῃ ὡδῇ, ἵνα ἄφησιν.

4. If now we suppose that ἄν, like aithinva and θαυμάζῃ, had originally two main uses, (1) in the second member of a Disjunctive sentence (=else, or else), and (2) in the Conditional apodosis (=in that case rather), we can explain the Gothic and Latin an from the former, the Greek ἄν from the latter. The idiomatic 'ellipse' in ἵνα ἄν.. ὅταν λαβήσῃ else you would outrage for the last time will represent an intermediate or transitional use. We can then understand why ἄν should often accompany negatives, and why it should be used in the latter Clause of a sentence. The main difference of the two uses evidently is that in the first the Clauses are co-ordinate, in the second the Clause with ἄν is the apodosis or principal Clause. Thus the two uses are related to each other as the two uses of ὅτι (1) as an adversative Conjunction, (2) in the apodosis.

5. The use of ἄν in Final Clauses may be illustrated by that of θαυμάζῃ in Mark vi. 56 ἰδοὺ ἵνα ἄφησιν, ἵνα θαυμάζῃ παρακαλόναν αὐτόν ἵνα ἄφησιν. ἵνα ἄφησιν that they might touch if it were but &c. With ἰδού, ἵνα, ἵνα ἄφησιν may have had originally the same kind of emphasis as καίν in this passage: 'that in any case,' 'that if no more then at least &c.' The use in a Conditional Protasis following the Principal Clause may be compared with Luke ix. 13 ὡδῇ, ἵνα ἄφησιν, ἵνα θαυμάζῃ (we have no more) except we should buy (=unless indeed we should buy).

The Particle κε(ν) is found in Αἰolic, in the same form as in Homer (see Append. F), and in Doric, in the form κα. It is usually identified with the Sanscrit kom, which when accented means well (wohl, gut, bene), and as an enclitic appears to be chiefly used with the Imperative, but with a force which can hardly be determined (Delbrück, A. S. pp. 150, 503). A parallel may possibly be found in the German wohlt, but in any case the development of the use of κε(ν) is specifically Greek.

Order of the Particles and Enclitic Pronouns.

365.] The place of a Particle in the Homeric sentence is generally determined by stricter rules than those which obtain in later Greek; and similar rules are found to govern the order of the enclitic Pronouns and Adverbs.

1. The two enclitics περ and γε, when they belong to the first word in a clause, come before all other Particles. Hence we have the sequences εἰ περ γάρ—εἰ περ ἄν—τοῦ περ δὴ—πόθεν γε μέν, &c. Exceptions are to be found in II. 9. 46 εἰς δ' κ' περ Τροίην διαπέρομεν (read perhaps εἰς δ' τε περ), II. 7. 387 εἰ κ' περ ἵμμις γένοιτο, Od. 3. 321 δ' ἵνα τέ περ, II. 8. 243 αὐτοῦ δή περ ἐανν.
2. μέν and δέ, also τέ in its use as a connecting word, come before other Particles. Hence we have ὦ τί δέ δή—ἐί δέ κεν—ἐγώ δέ κέ τοι—ἐι δ' ἰν—οὐ μέν γάρ—οὔτε κε—οὔτ' ἄρα, &c.

μέν may be placed later when it emphasises a particular word, or part of a clause, especially in view of a following clause with δέ, as II. 9. 300 ἐι δέ τοι 'Ατρείδης μέν ἀπίθ.θετο .. σὺ δ' ἄλλους περ κτλ., Od. 4. 23., 11. 385., 18. 67., &c.; and in such collocations as σοι δ' ἦ τοι μέν ἐγώ κτλ., ἐνδ' ἦ τοι τοὺς μέν κτλ. Cp. also Od. 15. 405 οὔ τι περιπληθύς λίνω τόσον, ἄλλ' ἀγαθή μέν.

The form ὄφρ' ἀν μέν κεν is probably corrupt, see § 362 ad finu.

3. Of the remaining Particles γάρ comes first: as ἦ γάρ κε—τίς γάρ κε—ἐί περ γάρ κε—τόθρα γάρ ἀν—ὡς γάρ νῦ τοι, &c. Among the other Particles note the sequences καὶ νῦ κεν—ἐξ ἀρα δή—ὁππότε κεν δή—ἡ ἰά νυ—τίς τοῖν νυ. But ἄρα is sometimes put later in the clause, as ὡς εἰπὼν κατ᾽ ἀρ' ἐξέτο, cp. II. 5. 748 Ἡρη δὲ μάστιγι δοὺς ἐπιμαίετ' ἄρ' ἦπους.

τέ in its generalising use comes after other Particles: hence δέ τέ—μέν τέ—γάρ τέ—ἄλλα τέ—δ' ἄρα τέ—ὡς ἰά τέ—οὔτ' ἄρ τέ—οὐ νῦ τέ.

4. The Indefinite τίς and the corresponding Adverbs, ποι, ποις, ποι, ποτε, &c. follow the Particles. Hence we have ὅτε κεν τίς—αἱ κεν ποις—ὁτ' ἰά ποτε—ὁυ ἰά τίς—ὁππ' ποι—νῦ ποι—ἡ ποι τί σε, &c.

But τέ follows τίς (§ 332), as in καὶ γάφ τίς τέ, ὡς τίς τέ. And sometimes ὧ τίς is treated as a single word, as in ὦ τίνα μέν (II. 2. 188), ὧ τίς δέ (II. 15. 743), ὧ τίς κε (II. 10. 44., Od. 3. 355). Similarly we find εἰ ποτε in the combination εἰ ποτε δή, as well as the more regular εἰ δή ποτε.

τίς sometimes comes later, as II. 4. 300 ὄφρα καὶ ὦκ έθήλων τίς κτλ., especially after a Gen. which it governs, as II. 13. 55 σφών ὦ ὦ θέων τίς κτλ.; cp. also II. 22. 494 τῶν ὀ ἐλεησάτων κατο-ληρ τίς τυθον ἐπέσχεν, and Od. 21. 374.

So ποτε, as in II. 4. 410 τῷ μί μοι πατέρας ποθ' ὁμοίᾳ ἐνθεο τιμη, II. 6. 99 οὐδ' Ἀχιλλά ποθ' ὀ θέων κτλ., II. 10. 453, Od. 2. 137. In these places ποτε seems to be attracted to an emphatic word. Cp. ποι in II. 12. 272, ποθεν in Od. 18. 376.

5. The enclitic Personal Pronouns come after the Particles and Pronouns already mentioned: οὐ ποτε με—ἡ πή με—οὔδε νῦ πω με—οὐ γάρ πω ποτε μοι—ἐγώ δέ κέ τοι—ἐπεὶ ἀρ κέ σε—ὁππότε κέν μυν—αἱ κεν πώς μυν—οὐ γάρ πω σφω—ἡ ποι τίς σφω, &c.

Sometimes however an enclitic form follows the emphatic Pronoun αὐτός: as II. 5. 459 αὐτάρ ἐπειτ' αὐτῶ μοι ἐπέσαντο, II. 22. 346 αὶ γάρ πως αὐτόν με κτλ.

Occasionally an enclitic is found out of its place at the end of
a line which has the bucolic caesura: II. 3. 368 οδός ἐβαλόν μν (v. l. οδός ἐδάμασα), 5. 104 εἶ ἔτεόν με, 7. 79 ὑφρα πυρός με, 11. 380 ὃς ὄφελον τοι: so with τις, II. 4. 315 ὃς ὄφελεν τις; and without bucolic caesura, II. 17. 736 ἐπὶ δὲ πτέλεμος τέτατο σφων.

6. The negative Particles οὐ and μή, which regularly begin the clause, are often put later in order that some other word may be emphasised, and in that case the Indefinite τις, ποτε, &c. follow οὐ or μή: as μετάλλησαν γε μὲν οὐ τι (for οὐ μὲν τι μετάλλησάν γε), κείνωσι δ' ἀν οὐ τις (for οὐ δ' ἀν τις κείνωσι), σὺ δὲ μή τι, το μὲν οὐ ποτε, &c. Similarly κεν and ἄν are attracted to the negation, as in πληθύν ὃ οὐκ ἄν ἄγω (for οὐδ' ἄν ἄγω πληθύν), and when the negative is repeated, as in οὐδὲ γάρ οὐδὲ κεν κτλ.: cp. Od. 15. 321 δρηστοσύνη οὐκ ἄν μοι ἐρύσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος.

7. The place of the enclitic is perhaps explained by the pause of the verse in Od. 15. 118 δο' ἔος δόμοις ἀμφεκάλυψε | κεῖσε μὲ νοστήσαντα, Od. 14. 245 αὐτάρ ἔπειτα | Αἰγυπτώνδε με κτλ. (unless we read κεῖσε ἐμε, Αἰγυπτώνδε ἐμε, cp. Od. 16. 310); and so in—

Π. I. 205 ὃς ὑπεροπλήσθε τάχι ἄν ποτε θυμόν ὁλέσῃ.
1. 256 ἄλλοι τε Τρώες μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμ."

Without assuming that the Homeric usage as to the place of Particles and Enclitics is invariable, we may point out that in several places where these rules are violated the text is doubtful on other grounds. Thus—

Π. II. 3. 173 ὃς ὄφελον θάνατος μοι ἄδισ. Read ὃς μ' ὄφελον θάνατος σαδέειν: for the elision μ(ε) cp. II. 6. 165 ὃς μ' ἔθελεν φιλότητι μαγήμεναι (§ 376).


Od. 2. 327 ἐτεί νῦ περ ἵπται αἰνῶς (read νῦ τε ἰἐπται ?). Od. 15. 436 ὑψκε πιστωθῆναι ἀπήμονα μ' οἴκαδ' ἀπάξειν. Omit μ'. Od. 11. 218 ἄλλ' αὕτη δικὴ ἐκτί βροτῶν, οὕτε κεν τε βάθων, with v. l. (in five MSS.) οὕτε τε κεκέθων. Read οὕτε τε τε κὲθων (§ 289 ad fin.). Od. 20. 77 τοῦ γὰρ ἐκαίται ἐ τυμὸς ἀνώτερος: so Aristarchus, but the other ancient reading was μάλιστα γε.

II. 21. 376 εἰ περ γὰρ φθόνος μοι ἦν οὐτάση κτλ.: for μοι the 'city-editions' had με, but neither word is needed.

Od. 7. 261 (=14. 287) ἄλλ' ὀτε δ' ὅγδον μοι ἐπισιλάμενον ἔτως ἠλθεν: Dind. reads ὅγδοσ, to avoid the unusual synizesis. Read ἄλλ' ὀτε δ' μ' ὅγδον: an earlier ὅγδοσ (= Lat. octāvus) is almost necessary to account for ὅγδος (Brugmann, M. U. v. 37).

Z
The Hexameter.

366.] The verse in which the Homeric poems are composed—the heroic hexameter—consists of six feet, of equal length, each of which again is divided into two equal parts, viz. an accented part or arsis (on which the rhythmical beat or iictus falls), and an unaccented part or thesis. In each foot the arsis consists of one long syllable, the thesis of one long or two short syllables; except the last thesis, which consists of one syllable, either long or short.

The fifth thesis nearly always consists of two short syllables, thus producing the characteristic – O – which marks the end of each hexameter.

The last foot is probably to be regarded as a little shorter than the others, being filled up by the pause at the end of the verse. The effect of this shortening is heightened by the dactyl in the fifth place, since the two short syllables take the full time of half a foot.

367.] Diaeresis and Caesura. Besides the recognised stops or pauses which mark the separation of sentences and clauses there is in general a slight pause or break of the voice between successive words in the same clause, sufficient to affect the rhythm of the verse. Hence the rules regarding Diaeresis and Caesura.

By Diaeresis is meant the coincidence of the division between words with the division into feet. The commonest place of diaeresis in the hexameter is after the fourth foot: as—

\[ \text{圮} \text{稍有 they ou} \ \text{de el} \text{a} \text{om} \ | \text{te} \text{i} \text{e k} \text{i} \text{n} \text{e} \text{s} \text{e} \text{e} \text{i} \text{v}. \]

This is called the Bucolic Diaeresis.
Caesura (τομή) occurs when the pause between two words falls within a foot, so as to 'cut' it into two parts. The caesura which separates the arsis from the thesis (so as to divide the foot equally) is called the strong or masculine caesura: that which falls between the two short syllables of the thesis is called the weak or feminine or trochaic caesura.

The chief points to be observed regarding caesura in the Homeric hexameter are as follows:—

1. There is nearly always a caesura in the third foot. Of the two caesuras the more frequent in this place is the trochaic (τομή κατὰ τρίτον τροχαίον), as—

άνδρα μοι ἔνυπετε Μοΐσα | πολύτροπον δὲ μάλα πολλά.

The strong caesura, or 'caesura after the fifth half-foot' (τομὴ πενθήμερης), is rather less common: as—

μήνιν ἄείδε, θεά, | Πηληγίαδεω Ἀχιλής.

In the first book of the Iliad, which contains 611 lines, the trochaic caesura of the third foot occurs in 356, and the corresponding strong caesura in 247.*

On the other hand, there must be no diaeresis after the third foot; and in the few cases in which the third foot lies wholly in one word there is always a strong caesura in the fourth foot (τομὴ ἐφθημερῆς), as—

δς κε θεοίς ἐπιπεδηταί | μάλα τ’ ἐκλυνον αὐτόν

"Ἱρη τ’ ἱδὲ Ποσειδάων | καὶ Παλλᾶς Ἀθηνῆ.

The division between an enclitic and the preceding word is not sufficient for the caesura in the third foot: hence in Od. 10. 58 we should read—

αὐτάρ ἐπει σίτου τ’ | ἐπασσάμεθ’ ἰδὲ ποτήρος

νοτ σίτιο τε πασσάμεθ’ (as La Roche).

The remaining exceptions to these rules are—

II. 1. 179 οἰκαδ’ ἵνα σὺν νησι τε σὺς καὶ σοὶ ἑτάρωσι, which is an adaptation of the (probably conventional) form σὺν νησὶ τ’ ἐμή καὶ ἑμοὶ ἑτάρωσι (1. 183). We may help the rhythm by taking νησι τε σὺς closely together, so as to avoid the break in the middle of the line.

II. 3. 205 ἢδη γὰρ καὶ δείρο ποτ’ ἠλυθε δίος Ὀδυσσεύς.

II. 10. 453 οὐκετ’ ἐπειτα σὺν πημὰ ποτ’ ἐσσει Ἀργείως.

Where ποτε, as an enclitic, is in an unusual place in the sentence (§ 365, 4), but it is perhaps in reality an emphatic 'one day.' Similarly, in—

II. 3. 220 φαίσῃ κε ᾿εκοτῶν τε τίν’ ἐμμεναι ἀφροντ’ αὗτος, τῶν may be slightly emphatic. Or should we read τῶν ἐμμεναι?

II. 15. 18 ἢ ό μέμην ὅτε τ’ ἱκρέμω ζεῖδον, ἐκ τε ποδοῖν.

We may read δέ κε κρέμω: but possibly the peculiar rhythm is intentional, as being adapted to the sense.

* In this calculation no lines are reckoned twice, short monosyllables being taken either with the preceding or the following word, according to the sense.
2. Trochaic caesura of the fourth foot is very rare, and is only found under certain conditions, viz.—

(1) when the caesura is preceded by an enclitic or short mono-syllable (such as μέν, δέ, &c.) ; as—

καὶ κεν τοῦτ’ ἐθέλουμι Δίος γε διδόντος ἀρέσθαι.

(2) when the line ends with a word of four or five syllables; as—

αὐτάρ ὁ μούνος ἐν μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτρισι.

πολλὰ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθ’ ἵθυος | μάχη πεδίου.

The commonest form of this kind of caesura (especially in the Iliad) is that in which these two alleviations are both present; as—

Θερσώτ’ ἀκριτόμυθε, λιγὺς περ ἐδών ἀγορητῆς.

The first fifteen books of the Iliad contain eleven instances of trochaic caesura in the fourth foot, of which seven are of this form.

In Il. 9. 394 the MSS. give—

Πηλεὺς θὴν μοι ἐπειτα γυναίκα | γαμέσσεται αὐτὸς.

But we should doubtless read, with Aristarchus,—

γυναίκα γε μάσσεται αὐτὸς.

Similarly we should probably read τὰ δὲ μ’ οὐκ ἄρα μέλλων ὀνήσεω (Il. 5. 205, &c.), instead of ξεμελλοῦ; and conversely θαλερῆ δ’ ἐμαίνετο χαίη (Il. 17. 439), and ῥαφαί δ’ ἐλεύντο ἰμάντων (Od. 22. 186), instead of μαίνετο, λέλυντο. In Od. 5. 272 we may treat ὀψε ὀνοῦτα as one word in rhythm. But it is not easy to account for the rhythm in Od. 12. 47 ἐπὶ δ’ οὖντ’ ἀλείψαι ἔταρσον.

The result of these rules evidently is that there are two chief breaks or pauses in the verse—the _caesura_ in the third foot, and the _diaeresis_ between the fourth and fifth—and that the _forbidden_ divisions are the diaeresis and caesura which lie nearest to these pauses. Thus—

- Best caesura
  - Worst diaeresis

Again—

- Best diaeresis
  - Worst caesura

It is also common to find a diaeresis with a slight pause after the first foot; cp. the recurring ὁς φάτο, ὃς ἐφατ’, ὃς ὅ γε, αὐτάρ ὁ, and forms of address, as τέκνον, δαμίον, ὁ φίλοι, ὁ πόποι, &c. Hence the occasional hiatus in this place, as Il. 2. 209 ἡχῇ, ὃς κτλ., Il. 1. 333 αὐτάρ ὁ ἐγνω ἤνων ἐνί φρεστὶ. Od. 272.

368.] _Spondaic verses._ The use of a spondee in the fifth...
place occurs most commonly in verses which end with a word of four or more syllables, as—

στέμματ’ ἔχον ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου 'Απόλλωνος.

Άρει δὲ ζώην, στέρνου δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

It is also found with words of three long syllables, as—

τῷ δ’ ἦδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερότων ἀνθρώπων.

And once or twice when the last word is a monosyllable: as νωμὴσαι βῶν (Π. 7. 238), ἐστήκει μεῖσι (Π. 19. 117).

A spondee in the fifth place ought not to end with a word. Hence we should correct the endings ἦδα δίαν &c. by reading ἦδα, and δήμοι φήμις (Od. 14. 239), by restoring the archaic δήμοο. In Od. 12. 64 the words λίς πέτρη at the end of the line are scanned together.

Words of three long syllables are very seldom found before the Bucolic diaeresis. Examples are:—

Π. 13. 713 οὐ γάρ σφι σταδίῃ | ύσμεν | μίμενε φιλον κηρ.

Od. 10. 492 γυμή χρυσομένου | Θηβαίαν | Τειρείαο.

The rarity of verses with this rhythm may be judged from the fact that it is never found with the oblique cases of ἀνθρώπος (ἀνθρώπων &c.), although these occur about 150 times, and in every other place in the verse: or with ἀλλήλων &c., which occur about 100 times.

Syllabic Quantity—Position.

369] The quantity of a syllable—that is to say, the time which it takes in pronunciation—may be determined either by the length of the vowel (or vowels) which it contains, or by the character of the consonants which separate it from the next vowel sound. In ancient technical language, the vowel may be long by its own nature (φώει), or by its position (Θέσει).

The assumptions that all long syllables are equal, and that a long syllable is equal in quantity to two short syllables, are not strictly true of the natural quantity in ordinary pronunciation. Since every consonant takes some time to pronounce, it is evident that the first syllables of the words ὄφεις, ὄφρος, ὄμφης, ὄμβρος are different in length; and so again are the first syllables of ὄμοις, ὀξρυον. Again, the diphthongs η, η, &c. are longer than the single vowels η, ο, &c., and also longer than the diphthongs ει, ευ, οι, ω. In short, the poetical ‘quantities’ must not be supposed to answer exactly to the natural or inherent length of the syllables. The poetical or metrical value is founded upon the natural length, but is the result of a sort of compromise, by which minor varieties of quantity are neglected, and the syllables thereby adapted to the demands of a simple rhythm.
It has been shown, however, that the general rule of Position rests upon a sound physiological basis. 'The insertion of a consonant may be regarded as equivalent in respect of time to the change of a short vowel into a long one.' Brücke, *Die physiologischen Grundlagen der neukochdeutschen Verskunst*, p. 70; quoted by Hartel.

370.] Position. The general rule is that when a short vowel is followed by two consonants the syllable is long.

Regarding this rule it is to be observed that—

(1) Exceptions are almost wholly confined to combinations of a Mute (esp. a *tenuis*) with a following Liquid. But even with these combinations the general rule is observed in the great majority of the instances.

(2) Most of the exceptions are found with words which could not otherwise be brought into the hexameter: such as *Αφροδίτη, Ἀμφιτρύων, βροτῶν, τράπεζα, προσηύδα, &c.*

(3) The remaining exceptions are nearly all instances in which the vowel is separated by Diaeresis from the following consonants: as Π. 18. 122 καὶ τινὰ Τροϊάδων, 24. 795 καὶ τὰ γε χρυσέιν.

The chief exceptions in Homer are as follows*:

τρ: in *Ἀμφιτρύων, ἔτραφν* (Π. 23. 84—but see the note on § 42 in the Appendix, p. 390), τετράκυκλον (Π. 24. 324), φαρέτρης (Π. 8. 323), Ὀτρυστεύς (Π. 20. 383–4); and in ἄλλοτρος (unless we scan -ους, -οις, &c.).

Before τράπεζα, τράινα, τρίτη (τρικώντα, &c.), τραπεζίμουν (τράκωντο, προ-τραπεζίμους, &c.), τράγος, τροποῖος, τρέψει (Od. 5. 422, 13. 410), τροφοῦ (Od. 19. 489), τρίμουν (Od. 11. 527).

Before a diaeresis, καὶ τινὰ Τροϊάδων (Π. 18. 122).

πρ: in ἄλλοτροπόλλος (Π. 5. 831); before προσηύδα, πρόσωπων, πρόκτης, πρόσω, and other Compounds of πρό and πρός (προκείμενα, προσαίξασ, &c.); also before πρός ἄλλήλους, πρός ἄστεος, and one or two similar phrases (ep. Π. 13. 799, 17. 726).

Before Πραιμίδης (Π.), πρίν (Π. 1. 97 οὐ στήρ γε πρίν κτλ., cp. 19. 313, Od. 14. 334., 17. 597), πρώτος (Od. 3. 320, 17. 275), προσφάσθαι (Od. 23. 106).

κρ: in δικρύοσα (Od. 18. 173), δικρυπλαῶν (Od. 19. 122), ἐνέκρυφε (Od. 5. 488), κεκρυμένα (Od. 23. 110).

Before Κρονίων, Κρόνου παῖς, κραταῖς, Κραταῖς, κράτος μέγα (Π. 20. 121), κρατεύω, κρατεύοντα, κρατεύον, κρείνω.

Add Π. 11. 607 εἴλτο ελευμένοις; Od. 8. 92 κατὰ κράτα (κακὰ κράτα;?), 12. 99 δὲ τε κράτι. 

βρ: in βροτός and its derivatives, as ἄβροτη, ἄμφιβροτος: also before βραχίων.

δρ: in ἄμφι-δροφής (Π. 2. 700), and before δράκων, Δράκαι, δράμους. Also Π. 11. 69 ἄδε δὲ δράματα (unless we read δάρματα, as Hartel suggests).

θρ: in ἄλλο-θροος (Od. 1. 183, &c.), and before θρόνων, &c. and θρασείων. Also in Π. 5. 462 ἡγήτορα Θρηκών.

* They are enumerated by La Roche, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, pp. 1–41, with his usual care and completeness.

χρ: before χρῆς or χρέως (Od. 8. 353); and in II. 23. 186 βοδευτι δὲ χρῖν, II. 24. 795 καὶ τὰ γε χρυσίπ.

τλ: in σχετλή (II. 3. 414), which however may be scanned --.


πλ: in the Compounds τείχεα-πλήτα (II. 5. 31, 455), πρωτό-πλοος, προσέπλαξε (Od. 11. 583—read perhaps πρός-πλαξε): before Πλάτανα, πλέων sailing, πλέων more (II. 10. 252), πλέων full (Od. 20. 355). Add II. 9. 382 (= Od. 4. 127) Αὐγυπτίας, δὴ πλείστα (with v. l. ἡ πλείστα, cp. Od. 4. 229), and II. 4. 329 αὐτὸρ δ ἔλθησον.

χλ: in Od. 10. 234 καὶ μέλι χλωρόν, 14. 429 ἄμφι δὲ χλαίων.

To these have to be added the few examples of a vowel remaining short before σκ and ξ: viz.—


ξ: before Ζάκυνθος (II. 2. 634, Od. 1. 246, &c.), Ζέλεα (II. 2. 824, &c.).

στ: before στάτας in Od. 21. 178, 183—unless it is a case of Synizesis.

A comparison of these exceptions will show that in a sense we are right in attributing them to metrical necessity. There are comparatively few instances in which the two consonants do not come at the beginning of a word of the form ω —, so that the last syllable of the preceding word must be a short one. On the other hand, the extent to which neglect of position is allowed for metrical convenience is limited, and depends on the natural quantity of the consonants in question, i.e. the actual time occupied by their pronunciation. Sonant mutes (mediae) are longer than surd mutes (tenues); gutturals are longer than dentals or labials; and of the two liquids λ is longer than ρ. Thus shortening is tolerably frequent before πρ and τρ, less so before κρ, πλ, κλ, θρ, χρ. With other combinations of mute and liquid, as φρ, βρ, δρ, and with σκ and ξ, it seems to be only admitted for the sake of words which the poet was absolutely compelled to bring in: such as 'Αφροδίτη, Σκάμανδρος, Ζάκυνθος, βροτός, with its compounds, &c. No exceptions are found before γρ, γλ, φλ, κν, κμ, or any combination other than those mentioned. In short, the harshness tolerated in a violation of the rule usually bears a direct relation to its necessity. It was impossible to have an Iliad without the names Aphrodite and Scamander, but these are felt and treated as exceptions.

The word ἄνδρότης, which appears in the fixed ending λιποῦσαι ἄνδρότητα καλ ἢβριν, should probably be written ἄρότης. As the original μρ of βροτός becomes either μβρ (as δ-μβρότος, φθοι-μβρότος), or βρ (as νὺς-δ-βρότη, ἄμφι-βρότος), so νρ might become νδρ (as ἄνδρας), or δρ. So perhaps 'Ενυαλῆ ἄνδρεφότη should be 'Ενυαλῆ ἄροφόντη (ω ω-): cp. ἄνδρε-φόνος (Hdn. ap. Eustath. 183, 6).
The plea on which a short vowel is allowed before Σκάμανθρος and σκεπαρνον may be extended, as Fick points out (Bezz. Beitr. xiv. 316), to some forms of σκίνημα now written without the σ, viz. κέδαονε (II. 15. 657), κεδαθίντες, &c. Metrical necessity, however, would not justify the same license with σκίδνατα (II. 2. 850, &c.), ε-σκίδνατο, ε-σκέδασσα (for which εσκεδασσ is available).

Neglect of Position is perceptibly commoner in the Odyssey than in the Iliad. Apart from cases in which the necessities of metre can be pleaded, viz. proper names and words beginning with ο-, it will be found that the proportion of examples is about 3:1. It will be seen, too, that some marked instances occur in Books 23 and 24 of the Iliad. In Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns the rule is still more lax. Thus in Hesiod a vowel is allowed to be short before κν (Op. 567, Fr. 95), and πν (Theog. 319). In the scanty fragments of the Cyclic poets we find πεντοτα (Cypria), πατρί (Little IIiad), &c.

371.] Lengthening before ρ, λ, μ, ν, σ, δ. There are various words beginning with one of these letters (the liquids ρ, λ, μ, ν, the spirant σ, and the media δ), before which a short final vowel is often allowed to have the metrical value of a long syllable. Initial ρ appears always to have this power of lengthening a preceding vowel; but in the case of the other letters mentioned it is generally confined to certain words. Thus we have examples before—

λ, in λίσσομαι, λήγω, λείβω, λειγός, λιαρός, λιπαρός, λίς, λαπάρη, λόφωσ, and occasionally in a few others: but not (e.g.) in such frequently occurring words as Λύκιος, λέχος, λείπω.

μ, in μέγας, μέγαρον, μούρα, μαλακός, μέλος, μελής, μάστιξ, μόδος: but not (e.g.) μάχομαι, μένος, μέλας, μάκαρ, μίθος, μάκαρος, μάχαιρας.

ν, in νεφή, νέφω, νυφή, νύφη, νύτος, νήσσα: once only before νήψ (II. 13. 472): not before νέκος, νόσος, νέμεσις, &c.

σ, in σέφω, σάρξ: once before σύ (II. 20. 434), and once before συφεός (Od. 10. 238).

δ, in δεός, δεινός, δεί-σας &c. (Stem δής-), δήν, δηρόν (§ 394).

This lengthening, it is to be observed, is almost wholly confined to the syllables which have the metrical ictus: the exceptions are, πολλά λισσομένη (II. 5. 358, so II. 21. 368., 22. 91), πνυκά μωγαλέν (Od. 13. 438, &c.), πολλά μυστάζεσκεν (II. 24. 755). Further, it is chiefly found where the sense requires the two words to be closely joined in pronunciation: in particular—

(1) In the final vowel of Prepositions followed by a Case-form: as ἐπὶ ρηγμὶν, ποτὶ λόφων, ὑπὸ λιπαροῦ, κατὰ μούραν, ἐνι μεγάφοροι, κατὰ μόδον, διὰ νεφέων, ἀπὸ νεφρήφων, κατὰ συφεούς, κατὰ δείνους, ἐπὶ δηρῶν, and similar combinations.

(2) In fixed phrases: ὅς τε λίς (II. 11. 239., 17. 109., 18. 318), κλαίον δὲ λεγέως (Od. 10. 201, &c.), ἀπήμονα τε λιαρόν τε (II. 14. 164, &c.), καλὴ τε μεγάλη τε, εἰδὸς τε μέγεθος τε, Τρῶες δὲ μεγά-
LENGTHENING BEFORE LIQUIDS.

372.] Origin of the lengthening.* The most probable account of the matter is that most of the roots or stems affected originally began with two consonants, one of which was lost by phonetic decay. Thus initial $p$ may stand for $Fr$ (as in $Fr$-nu$u$), or $sp$ (as $sp$-nu$u$, Sanscrit $svatami$): $\lambda i$s is probably for $\lambda F$s (with a weaker Stem than the form seen in $\lambda F$-nu$u$): $v$-nu$u$ is for $sv$-nu$u$ (Sanscr. $svat$): $v$-nu$u$-$u$s goes back to a root $sneiv$ (Goth. $swain$, $snow$): $\mu o$i$ra$ is probably from a root $sme$-$r$: $\sigma luma$ is for $\sigma F$-nu$u$ (Curt. s. v.): and $de$- in $de$-nu$u$ &c. is for $de$-nu$u$ (op. $de$-nu$u$ka for $de$-$F$nu$u$). It is not indeed necessary to maintain that in these cases the lost consonant was pronounced at the time when the Homeric poems were composed. We have only to suppose that the particular combination in question had established itself in the usage of the language before the two consonants were reduced by phonetic decay to one. Thus we may either suppose (e.g.) that $kata$ $\rho o$nu in the time of Homer was still pronounced $kata$ $sp$-nu$u$, or that certain combinations $kata$-$sp$-nu$u$, $sp$-$nu$-$u$, &c.$-$passed into $kata$-$sp$-nu$u$, $sp$-$nu$-$u$, $kata$ $\rho o$nu$u$ (or $kata$ $\rho o$nu$u$). There are several instances in which a second form of a word appears in combinations of a fixed type. Thus we have

* On this subject the chief sources of information are, La Roche, Homeriche Untersuchungen (pp. 49-65); Hartel, Homerische Studien (Pt. i. pp. 1-55); and Knöd, De Digamma Homericò Quæstiones (Pt. iii. 225 ff.).
the form πτόλις, in ποτὶ πτόλιος, Ἀχιλῆα πτολίπορθον, &c.: πτόλεμος, in μέγα πτολέμιον μεμηλῶς, ἀνὰ πτολέμιον γεφύρας. Similarly a primitive γύδοπτος survives in ἐρί-γύδοπτος (also ἐρί-δουπτος), ἐ-γυδούπτις: and γύδος in ἰ-γυνέω. Cp. also the pairs σμικρός and μικρός, σκίναμαι and κίναμαι, σῶν and ı̄, ἔνυν and σῶν. It is at least conceivable that in the same way the poet of the Iliad said μοίραν and also κατὰ σμοίραν, μειδών but φιλο-σμείδης, δῆν ἵν at the beginning of a line, but μᾶλα δῆν at the end: and so in other cases.

It is true that the proportion of the words now in question which can be proved to have originally had an initial double consonant is not very great. Of the liquids, the method is most successful with initial ρ, which can nearly always be traced back to νν or ı̄ν. And among the words with initial ν a fair proportion can be shown to have begun originally with ı̄ν (νευνή, νῦν, νεφάς, νέω, νῦμφη). The difficulty is partly met by the further supposition that the habit of lengthening before initial liquids was extended by analogy, from the stems in which it was originally due to a double consonant to others in which it had no such etymological ground. This supposition is certainly well founded in the case of ρ, before which lengthening became the rule.

373.] Final ι of the Dat. Sing. The final ι of the Dat. (Loc.) Sing. is so frequently long that it may be regarded as a 'doubtful vowel.' The examples are especially found in lines and phrases of a fixed or archaic type:—

ἡ ρά, καί ἐν δενῳ σάκει ἐλαο' ὀβριμον ἐγχος.

οὐτω που Διὶ μάλλει ύπερμενεῖ φίλον εἴναι ( thrice in the II.),

τὸ τρίτον ἁδ' ὕδατι (Od. 10. 520, 11. 28).

ἀυτοῦ παρ ἁτι τε μένειν (Od. 9. 194, 10. 444).

ἡλυθόν εἰκοστῷ ἐτεῖ ἐς κτλ. (6 times in the Od.).

So in Ἀιατὶ δὲ μάλιστα, Ὀδυσση' δὲ μάλιστα, &c. and the fixed epithet Διὶ φίλος. Considering also that this vowel is rarely elided (§ 376), it becomes highly probable that ι as well as ρ was originally in use.† ἐς ἴ

It is an interesting question whether these traces of -ι as the ending of the Homeric Dat. are to be connected with the occasional -ι of the Locative in the Veda (Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 256, p. 610). The Vedic lengthening appears to be one of a group of similar changes of quantity which affect a short final vowel, and which are in their origin rhythmic, since they generally serve to prevent a succession of short syllables (Wackernagel, Das Dehnungsgesetz der griechischen Composita, p. 12 ff., quoted by Brugmann l. c.). The same thing may evidently be said of the Homeric -ι in many of the cases quoted, as

† The priority in this as in so many inferences from Homeric usage belongs (as Hartel notices) to H. L. Ahrens (Philologus, iv. pp. 593 ff.).
SHORT FINAL SYLLABLES.

πατρυ, σάκει, ἐτεῖ. Hence it is probable that the lengthening dates from the Indo-European language, and is not due in the first instance to the requirements of the hexameter. But in such a case as 'Οδυσσηί it may be that the Greek poet treats it as a license, which he takes advantage of in order to avoid the impossible quantities (cp. διώκατερος for the unmetrical διώκατερος).

374.] Final a. The metrical considerations which lead us to recognise -i in the Dat. Sing. might be urged, though with less force, in favour of an original -ά as the ending of the Neut. Plur. We have—

Il. 5. 745 ( = 8. 380) ἑς δ’ ὄχεα φλόγεα ποσὶ βῆσετο.
8. 556 φαίνει’ ἄριστεπέα, ὀτε κτλ.
11. 678 (Od. 14. 100) τόσα πώεα οἰών (v. l. μῆλων).
20. 255 πόλλ’ ἑτεά τε καὶ οὐκί.
21. 352 τὰ περὶ καλὰ βέθρα.
23. 240 ἄριφραδέα δὲ τέτυκται.
24. 7 ὁπόσα τολύπευσε.
Od. 9. 109 ἀσπαρτα καὶ ἀνηροτα.
10. 353 πορφύρα καθυπερθ’.
12. 396 δύπαλέα τε καὶ ὕμα.
14. 343 ῥογαλέα, τὰ καὶ αὐτός.
23. 225 ἄριφραδέα κατέλεξας.

In the majority of these instances, however, the final a is preceded by the vowel e, from which it was originally separated by a spirant (δχε-σ-α, πορφυρ-ε-α). Cp. Il. 1. 45 ἄμφρηρεφέα τε φαρέτην, 5. 576 Πυλαμένεα ἑλέτην, 5. 827 'Ἀρηά τό γε, 14. 320 Περσηά πάντων, Od. 1. 40 ἐκ γαρ Ὄρεσται τίσις. As two successive vowels are often found to interchange their quantity (βασιλία, βασιλέα), so perhaps, even when the first vowel retains its metrical value, there may be a slight transference of quantity, sufficient to allow the final vowel, when reinforced by the iotus, to count as a long syllable. Cp. § 375, 3.

The scanning τά (in Il. 4. 321 εὶ τότε κοῦρος ἐα νῦν κτλ., cp. 5. 887, Od. 14. 352) may be explained by transference of quantity, from Ἁ.

375.] Short syllables ending in a consonant are also occasionally lengthened in arsis, although the next word begins with a vowel: as—

οὗτε ποτ’ ἐς πόλεμον ἀμα λαῤῥηχθηναι.
αἴθ’ ὄφελεσ ἁγονός τ’ ἐμεναι κτλ.
χερσίν ὑπ’ Ἀργείων φόβιμενος ἐν πατρίδι γαῖη.

The circumstances under which this metrical lengthening is generally found differ remarkably, as has been recently
shown,* from those which prevail where short final vowels are lengthened before an initial consonant. In those cases, as we saw (§ 371), the rule is that the two words are closely connected, usually in a set phrase or piece of epic commonplace. In the examples now in question the words are often separated by the punctuation: and where this is not the case it will usually be found that there is a slight pause. In half of the instances the words are separated by the penthemimeral caesura, which always marks a pause in the rhythm. Further, this lengthening is only found in the syllable with the ictus. The explanation, therefore, must be sought either in the force of the ictus, or in the pause (which necessarily adds something to the time of a preceding syllable), or in the combination of these two causes.

In some instances, however, a different account of the matter has to be given: in particular—

(1) With ὁς following the word to which it refers: as II. 2. 190 κακὸν ὁς (ὦ — —), and so θεὸς ὁς, κῶνες ὁς, ὅρμυτος ὁς, ἀθανάτος ὁς, &c. In these instances the lengthening may be referred to the original palatal ḷ or ṣ of the Pronoun (Sanser. yaṣ, ṣā, ṣa = ὁς, ᾦ, ὤ). It is not to be supposed that the actual form ὁς existed in Homeric times: but the habit of treating a preceding syllable as long by Position survived in the group of phrases. Others explain this ὁς as 'F̂ος (Sanser. sv̄a-), comparing Gothic ete 'as' (Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 98); or ος (§ 108, 3).

(2) In the case of some words ending with -us, -u, -us, -u, where the vowel was long, or at least 'doubtful,' in Homer.

In βλοσυρωτις and ἤμις the final syllable is long before a vowel even in thesis. So the ἦ may have been long in θοῦρις (cp. the phrase θοῦριν ἐπιειμένος ἀλήκην: and traces of the same scansion may be seen in the phrases ἐρις ἀμοτον μεμανιά, Διε μήτιν ἀτάλαντος, although ἐπίς, μητίς are more common.

Final -us (Gen. -uos) is long in Feminine Substantives (§ 116, 4), as ἱθὺς αἴμ (ū in thesis, II. 6. 79, 21. 303), πληθὺς (II. 11. 305), ἀχλὺς (II. 20. 421), λιῦ (Gen. -uos), βρωτὺς (Od. 18. 407) and other Nouns in -τος: also in the Masc. ἱθὺς, νέκυς, βότρυς (βοτρυδόν), and perhaps πελεκύς (II. 17. 520).

(3) Where the vowel of the final syllable is preceded by another, especially by a long vowel; as οἰκῆς ἄλοχον τε (II. 6. 366), Ἀχιλλῆς ὁλοῦ κῆρ (II. 14. 139), ὅς λαόν ἣγερα (Od. 2. 41), ὁμῆς ἐν ὁικῳ (Od. 11. 190), πλέων ἐλέειπτο (Od. 8. 475), χρεῖον ὑπαλύκαι (with ν. l. χρείως, Od. 8. 355): and so in νῆς (α, II. 2. 165, 18. 260), νῆς (Od. 12. 329), Τρῶς (II. 17. 730), χοῦς (II. 11. 1247, 775) also 'Ἀργα, Περσα, and the other examples given in § 374.

In such cases there is a tendency to lengthen the second

* By Hartel, in the Homeric Studies already quoted, i. p. 10.
ELISION.

376.] Vowel, as in the Attic forms βασιλεά, 'Αχιλλέως, &c. In Homer we may suppose that the second of the two vowels borrows some of the quantity of the other, so that with the help of the iactus it can form the arsis of a foot. Actual lengthening of the second vowel may be seen in Homer in the form ἀπ-ήωρος hanging loose (cp. μετ-ήωρος and the later μετ-έωρος) also in δυσαήνων (Gen. Plur. of δυσαήνης).

(4) In the Ending -οίν of the Dual, as ὁμοίν (I. 13. 511., 16. 560, Od. 6. 219), ἵπποιν, σταθμοῖν: also in νοίν, σφοίν. We may compare the doubtful ἶ of ἱμίν, ἱμίν, and the two forms of the Dat. Plur. in Latin (-īs, -īs). Similarly there are traces of Ἰ in μίν (II. 5. 385., 6. 501., 10. 347., 11. 376, &c.). In the case of -οίν and -οίν the account given under the last head would apply.

In a few places it appears as though the 3 Plur. of Secondary Tenses in -ν (for -ντ) were allowed to be long: as ἐφαν ἄπντνες (Od. 9. 413), καὶ κίνεν ἄγνατδμενον (Od. 17. 35, &c., &c. This is confined (curiously enough) to the Odyssey and the Catalogue of the Ships. In the latter it occurs seven times: 574, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, in the Odyssey eleven times, in the rest of the Iliad once (7. 206).

Elision, Crasis, &c.

376.] A final vowel cut off before a word beginning with a vowel is said to suffer Elision (ἐκθλψις): as μωρι 'Αχαιώς ἀλγε' ἐθηκε. Whether an elided vowel was entirely silent, or merely slurred over in such a way that it did not form a distinct syllable, is a question which can hardly be determined.

The vowels that are generally liable to elision are α, ε, ο, ι. But—

(1) The o of δ, τό, πρό is not elided.

Final -ο is not elided in the Gen. endings -οιο, -αιο, and very rarely in the Pronouns ἐμείο, &c. This however may be merely because the later forms of these endings, viz. -ωυ, -εω, -ευ, took the place of -α'(ο), -α'(ο), -ε'(ο) when a vowel followed. In the case of αι this supposition is borne out by the fact that -εω is often found before a vowel, as Πηληίδεω 'Αχιλήος (I. Πηληίδα'): and by the rarity of the contraction of εο to ευ (§ 378*). There is less to be said for elision of -ο in the ending -οιο. That ending in Homer is archaic (§ 149), therefore the presumption is against emendations which increase the frequency of its occurrence. And the cases of -ου remaining long before hiatus are not exceptionally common (Hartel, H. S. ii. 6).

(2) The ι of τι, περί is not elided in Homer; regarding ζτι see § 269. But περί is elided in Hesiod: as περοίχεται, περίαχε.

(3) The -ι of the Dat. Sing. is rarely elided; but see § 105, i. Exceptions are to be seen in I. 4. 259 ῥο' ἐν δαλθ' δετε κτλ.; 5. 5
The diphthong -αι of the Person-Endings -μαι, -σαι, -ταί, -θαί is frequently elided: as βούλαι εγείρεσθαι, κείσοντ’ ευ προθύροιοι, πρὶν λύσασθ’ ἐτάρους. But not the -αι of the 1 Λοι. Inf. Act. or of the Inf. in -αι: hence in II. 21. 323 read τυμβοχόης, not the Inf. τυμβοχόης.

The diphthong -οι of the enclitic Pronouns μοι and σοι (τοι) is elided in a few places: II. 6. 165 ὡς μ’ ἐθὲλεν φιλότητι μαγημέναι οὐκ ἐθελοῦσθ; 13. 481 καὶ μ’ οὗ ἀμώνετε (so Od. 4. 367); 17. 100 τῷ μ’ οὗ τις νεμέσθηται: also II. 1. 170, 9. 673, Ἱ. 544, 23. 310, 579, Od. 1. 60, 347., 23. 21 (Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 345). Other instances may be recovered by conjecture: thus in II. 3. 173 ὡς ὥφελεν θάνατος μοι ἄδειῶ should probably be ὡς μ’ ὥφελεν θάνατος ἄδειεν (§ 365); and in II. 24. 757 νῦν δὲ μοι ἐρημηὲς Van Leeuwen reads νῦν δ᾽ ερημηὲς.

In the case of the enclitic οἱ ('Fol) elision involved the disappearance of the Pronoun from the later text. In II. 6. 289 (= Od. 15. 105) ἐνθ’ ἐσαν οἱ πέπλοι the original was probably ἐνθ’ οἱ ἐσαν (cp. Od. 15. 556 ἐνθα οἱ ἤσαν ὑς). In II. 5. 310 (= II. 356) ἄμφι δὲ ὅσσε κελαίην νῦς ἕκάλυψε read ἄμφι δὲ ἑἰ. In Od. 9. 360 ὡς φατ’, ἀτάρ οἱ αἰτίς, where some MSS. have ὡς ἐφατ’, εὔταρ οἱ αἰτίς, read εὔταρ ἑἰ.*

377.] Crasis. When a final vowel, instead of being elided, coalesces with the initial vowel of the next word, the process is termed Crasis.

The use of Crasis in Homer is limited. It is seen in ὀνύκεια and τοῦνεκα, also in ταλλα for τα ἀλλα (II. 1. 465, &c.), καύτος for καὶ αὐτός (in II. 6. 260., 13. 734, Od. 3. 255., 6. 282—the three last being passages where κ’ αὐτός for κε αὐτός is inadmissible), and χήμεις for καὶ ἡμεῖς (II. 2. 238). In these cases either Crasis or Elision is required by the metre. Most texts also have ἀριστος, ὠμός (II. 8. 360), ὡτός for ὁ αὐτός (II. 5. 396), κάδω, τῶμα, τήμη: also προ- for προ- (in προφαινε, προοχύσας, &c.). But since the full forms ἀριστος, &c. are equally allowed by the

* J. van Leeuwen, Mnemos. xiii. 188 ff. Of the numerous other emendations of this kind which he proposes few are positively required. The style of Homer constantly allows an unemphatic Pronoun to be supplied from the context. Moreover, he frequently proposes to insert enclitics in a part of the sentence in which they seldom occur (§ 365). It would be difficult (e.g.) to find a parallel for ἐπεὶ μ’ ἁφελασθὲ ἠε δύνες or χεῖρι δὲ νεκταρίου ἀναθ᾽ ἑ’ ἐτίναξε λαβοῦσα.
metre we cannot but suspect that the spelling with Crasis may be due to later usage. The forms ἀκαίειν, ἀκαίσε, &c. (for καὶ κεῖνος, &c.) are certainly wrong, as ἐκεῖνος is not the Homeric form.

378.] Synizesis is the term used when the two coalescing vowels are written in full, but 'sink together' (συνίζαν) into one syllable in pronunciation.

The Particle ἡι unites with the initial vowel of a following vowel, especially with αὐ, αὐτός and οὖτος (§ 350); also with ἀντιμάχοιο (II. 11. 138), ἀφνειότατος (II. 20. 220), ἄγρην (Od. 12. 330).

Synizesis is also found with η, in the combination η οὐχ (II. 5. 439, &c.), η εἰς δ' κεν (II. 5. 466), η εἰπέμεναι (Od. 4. 682); with ἐπεὶ οὐ (Od. 4. 352, &c.); with μη άλλοι (Od. 4. 165); and in—

II. 17. 89 ἀσβέστῃ οὖθεν αἰτόν λάθεν Ἀτρέως: where we may perhaps read ἀσβέστῃ οὖθεν ναί λάθο Ἀτρέως.

18. 458 νεῖν ἐμῷ οὐκ ὑμῷ ὑπ’ (one or two MSS. give νι’ ἐμῷ).

Od. 1. 226 ἔλαπτη γέ γάμος κτλ.

In II. 1. 277 Πηλείουν ἔδεικα, and Od. 17. 375 ὦ ἀργυρώτερε the case is different: a short vowel is absorbed in a preceding long one.

Other examples of Synizesis are to be found in the monosyllabic pronunciation of ἐα, εο, εω, both in Verbs (§ 57) and Nouns (§ 105, 3). It will be seen that in the cases now in question (apart from some doubtful forms) an E-sound (η, ε, ε) merges in a following α or o.

The term Synizesis may also be applied to the monosyllabic pronunciation of the vowels in Ἀγνπτη (Od. 4. 229), &c. χεταλη (II. 3. 414), Ἱστιαα (II. 2. 537). It has been thought that in these cases the ι was pronounced like our y: but this is not a necessary inference from the scansion. In Italian verse, for instance, such words as mio, mia count as monosyllables, but are not pronounced myo, mya. For πόλιος (ο — in II. 2. 811, 21. 567) it is better to read πόλεος (§ 107); and for πόλιας (Od. 8. 560, 574) πόλις. The corresponding Synizesis of ο is generally recognised in the word Ἐνναλίω (commonly scanned ω in the phrase Ἐνναλίω ἀνθρείφωντη): but see § 370 ad fin.

378.*] Contraction. The question of the use of contracted forms has been already touched upon in connexion with the different grammatical categories which it affects: see §§ 56, 81, 105. It will be useful here to recapitulate the results, and to notice one or two attempts which have been made to recover the original usage of Homer in this respect.*

1. Contraction is most readily admitted between similar sounds, or when the second is of higher vowel pitch, i.e. higher in the scale o, o, a, ù, e. Thus we have many instances with the combinations ee, oo, ae, oe; few with ea, ao, ao, still fewer with e, o.

2. In most cases in which contraction is freely admitted we find that the sound which originally separated the vowels was the semi-vowel or y. In case of the loss of it is comparatively rare; with F it is probably not Homeric at all (§ 396). Hence (e.g.) although it is common with the combinations ee, ee in most Verbs in -ew (§ 56), it is not found in χήω (χήω-ω), and is extremely rare in τρέω (τρέω-ω, see § 29, 6). But it is admitted with loss of 

(a) On these principles we should expect the 2 Sing. endings -αι, -εο, ηααι, -εο (for -εαι, &c.) to remain uncontracted; and this view is borne out on the whole by the very careful investigation made by J. van Leeuwen. Omitting the Verbs in -ω and -εω we find that there are about 522 occurrences of these endings, and that of these 424 present uncontracted forms: while in 66 instances the contracted syllable comes before a vowel, so that it can be written with elision of -αι or -εο (e.g. II. 3. 138 κεκλησο' δωκεις, for κεκληση; Il. 9. 54 έπλε' ἄραςτος, for έπλευν). In the case of -εο this mode of writing finds some support in the MSS.: e.g. ψεΰδε' (ll. 4. 404), πανε' (ll. 9. 260, Od. 1. 340), ἐνἐε' (ll. 3. 430, Od. 4. 752), also ετε', read by Aristarchus in ll. 10. 146 (Έπευ MSS.). Against these 500 instances there are only 22 exceptions, 7 in the Iliad and 15 in the Odyssey, some of which can be readily corrected. Thus ll. 4. 264 (= 19. 139) δροειν πτολεμύδηδε should be δροειν πτολεμύδηδε (Nauck): in ll. 2. 367 γνώσεαι ό γε om. δε (Barnes); in ll. 24. 434 for δε με κελγο read δε κελεα, and so in Od. 4. 812, 5. 714, Τν. In ll. 18. 107 for ἐπαρεφ read the Act. ἐπαρεφ (Van L.): as in ll. 1. 203 we may retain ἐπε (so the MSS.; Ar. ἐπόν—but the corruption lies deeper). The greater frequency of instances in the Odyssey (and in book xxiv of the Iliad) is hardly enough to indicate a difference of usage within the Homeric age.

(b) In the corresponding forms of Verbs in -αω and -εω there is a concurrence of three vowels, which in our text are always reduced to two syllables, either by contraction, as in αιδε, μυθειαι, νειαι, μυθη, or by hyphareisis (§ 105), as μνθαι, αιρεο, ἐκλεο, πολεαι (Od. 4. 811). A single vowel appears in πεφα for πειρα-εαι, ἕρω for ἕρα-εο. The metre requires αιδε, αιρεο, ἐκλεο, πολεαι; for πεφα it allows πειραία (becoming πειραί in ll. 24. 390, 423, Od. 4. 545). The isolated form ὄραει (Od. 14. 343) for ὄρα-εαι should perhaps be ὄραοι or ὄρα. If the ending is in its original form it belongs to the Non-Thematic conjugation (§ 19): another example may be found in ὄρητο (or ὄρητο), read by Zonodotus in ll. 1. 56.

(c) In the Future in -εω (for -εοω) contraction is less frequent than in the Present of Verbs in -εω (-εω or -εεω). Forms such as ὀλείται, καμείται, μαχείται, ὄμειται, κομού, κτείνω, κτερούσαν, evidently could not otherwise come into the verse. In ll. 17. 451 σφαίριδε νε' εν γονέσσει βάλαω we may read βάλω (Fick).
II. 4. 161 ἐκ τε καὶ ὄφε τελεῖι we should take τελεῖι as a Present. The remaining exceptions are, κτενεῖ in II. 15. 65, 68 (probably an interpolation), κατακτενεῖ in II. 23. 412, and ἐσφανεῖ in II. 19. 104.

(d) Similarly in the declension of stems in -σο the ending -σος is rarely contracted. In the phrase φαινοντα (or φαινοντάι) ἐναργεῖ (II. 20. 131, Od. 7. 201, 16. 161) Fick happily reads ἐναργεῖ, to be taken as an adverb. The same remedy is applicable in II. 9. 225 δαίτος μὲν ἐλέγη ὡν ἐπιδεινεῖ, and II. 13. 622 ἄλης μὲν λάβης τε καὶ ἀλέχους ὡν ἐπίδεινεῖ, where the Nom. Plur. is unexplained: read ὡν ἐπίδεινεῖ there is no lack. Od. IV. 255

(e) The contraction of οὐ to οὐ is rare in the Gen. of stems in -σο (§ 105, 3), but frequent in the Pronominal Genitives ἐμεῖ (μεν), σεῖ, εῦ, τεῦ. Here again, however, we are struck by the number of cases in which we can substitute the forms in -οι or -ο, with elision of -ο. In our MSS. the elision actually occurs in ἐμεῖ (II. 23. 789, Od. 8. 462) and σεῖ (II. 6. 454, also Hom. II. xxxiv. 19). In II. 17. 173 νῦν δὲ σε ἁνασάκριμ Zenodotus is said to have read νῦν δὲ σε, i.e. probably νῦν δὲ σε'. The full forms in -οι or -ο occur 121 times, and may be restored without elision 9 times, with elision 56 times. To these we should add the instances in which we may put the form *μεο (6 times) or με' (19 times). There remain altogether about fifty-five exceptions, which are discussed by J. van Leeuwen (Memosos. xiii. 215). In the phrase κελοντε μεν, which occurs 19 times, he would read μοι, according to the Homeric construction (§ 143, 3). So in the formula κέλευτε δὴ νῦν μεν, Ἡθαρδίου (5 times in the Odyssey), where however we are tempted to restore ἐμεῖ (cp. II. 3. 97 κέλευτε νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο). He suggests putting the Dat. for the Gen. also in Od. 10. 485 οἱ μεν φθηνόνται φίλων κύρ, Od. 15. 467 οἱ μεν πατρὶ ἀμφιένοντο, Od. 16. 92 ἦ μάλα μεν καταδέπτερ' ἀκοόντος φίλον ἡτορ. In the last passage it is needless to alter the Gen. ἀκοόντος (§ 243, 3, d), and we may even read in II. 1. 453 ἐμοὶ πάρος ἐκλευς εὐξαμένου (cp. II. 16. 531 ὡτι οἱ ἄνει ἡμους μέγας θεος εὐξα-μένου). The substitution of the Dat. seems the most probable correction in various places where Leeuwen proposes other changes: Od. 4. 746 ἐμεῖ β' ἐλετο μέγαν ὄρκον (cp. II. 22. 119 Τρωιν β' α' ὄρκον ἐλωμαι). II. 2. 388 ἵδροσακ μὲν τεν τελαμών ἀμφὶ στήριξε, II. 22. 454 αἱ γὰρ ἀπ' ὁφάς εἶν ἐμεῖ ἐπο. (cp. 18. 272); also II. 1. 273, 9. 377, 16. 497, 19. 185, 20. 404, 24. 293, 311, 750, 754, Od. 5. 311, 9. 20, 13. 231, 19. 105, 24. 257; and perhaps II. 19. 137 καὶ μεν φρένας ἦλετο Ζεὺς (unless the με of some MSS. is right), so II. 9. 377 and II. 9. 335. In Od. 19. 215 νῦν μὲν δὴ σεῦ, ζεῖνε, ὅποι πείρῃσεθαί εἰ κτλ. Leeuwen restores the Acc. σε (as in II. 18. 600). In Od. 17. 421 (=19. 77) we may perhaps read καὶ δ' κεκρηκμένων ἐθαυ (ὅτι as in II. 20. 434 ὡδ' δ' ἐθαυ μὲν κτλ.). The remaining exceptions are II. 5. 896 ζὴ ἐγὼ ἐμεῖ γένησον σι, II. 23. 70 οὐ μὲν ἄλοντα ἀκήθει, II. 24. 429 δέβαι εμεῖ πάρα, and II. 1. 88 οὐ τί εἰμεῖ ζωντος κτλ., where the contraction ζωντος and the Dat. Plur. κολῆς before a consonant are also suspicious (Fick, Νίας, p. xvii).

(f) The contraction of οα, οε (from οσ-α, οσ-ε) is doubtful in the Nouns in -ω and -ος (§ 105, 6), but appears in the forms of the Comparative, viz. ἀμείνω, ἀρελω, ἀρείσω, κατ'ίσω, πληκείω, and μείζω (Hesiod). The uncontracted forms in -οα, -οε do not occur, since the metre allows either -ω, -ους or else the later -οα, -οες. But in such a phrase as ἀμείνω δ' αἵσμα πάντα (where Nauck reads ἀμείνων) we may suspect that ἀμείνωνa was the original form.

(g) Vowels originally separated by F are so rarely contracted that instances in our text must be regarded with suspicion. Thus ἄκων (ἄ-έκων) should A ᾠ.
always be δέκαν: ἀτη (αδ'ατη) may be written ἀτη except in II. 19. 83 ἐρωτοῦ φαίλακον ἀφρον ἀτην (where the use of ἐρωτοῦ as a Fem. is also anomalous, § 119). In II. 3. 100, 6. 356, 24. 28 (where ἀτης comes at the end of the line) the better reading is ἄτης. κόιλος may be κοίλος (cp. Lat. carus), except in Od. 22. 385. εἰδον (ἐ-εἰδον) may be εἰδον, except in four places (II. 11. 112, 19. 292, Od. 10. 194, 11. 162). πολίας (Acc. Plur. of πολίς) is not uncommon, but should probably be πολίς (§ 100): πολίων occurs once (II. 16. 653). Other instances with Nouns in -υς and -ευς are rare (Nauck, Mel. gr.-rom. iii. 219; Menrad. p. 60). The Fem. in -εια is not contracted from -εινα,-εια but comes directly from -ειαν. So εἰδος, εἰδων for ἐφειας, ἐφεῶν (cp. ἐσσαι for ἐφ-εσαι), and διός for ἕφ-εως. τοιος and τεως, which occur several times in our text, are nearly always followed by a Particle (μεν, περ, &c.), which has evidently been inserted for the sake of the metre (τοιος μεν for ἤνος, &c.). For ἀλλοσείδα in Od. 13. 194 we should doubtless read ἀλλο-είδα (§ 125, 2).

εἴρωνα may be from ἐ-εἴρωνα (but see Schulze in K.Z. xxix. 64): as to ἀνος, which has been supposed to stand for ἀνος, from ἐ-ἐλαξον, see § 31, 1.

The most important example of contraction notwithstanding  f is the word παῖς (παῖς, παῖδος, &c.). Other words which present the same difficulty are: ἀσε (Od. 11. 61), ἀσαν (Π. 19. 95)—in both places Nauck would read ἀσε—ἀδλοσφόρος (II. 9. 266, 11. 669), ἀδλοευν (II. 24. 734), ἀδλον (Od. 8. 169), ὀσαμν νε σε (Od. 16. 367), ἐξα (Π. 5. 256) and other forms of ἐαω (II. 10. 344, 23. 77, Od. 21. 233), νεα (Od. 9. 283), ἔα (Π. 12. 351, 17. 461, 20. 101, 263), κρέα (Od. 9. 547), κχεισαν (Od. 10. 518), τιμητα (II. 18. 475), τεφρύσαν (Od. 7. 110), ἰλος (Od. 8. 271), ἵσαφρος (II. 23. 226), πλον (Od. 1. 184), τεθνει (Od. 19. 331), πεπετα, -τας (II. 21. 503, Od. 22. 384), βεθως (Od. 20. 14), νονο (Π. 24. 754), καιροσσον (Od. 7. 107), the compounds of εννεα—εννημα, εννέαφορος, εννέαφγανος—and the proper names Ἠφρυκταεια 'Ἀρτικταεια (-κλεια Nauck). Some of these may be disposed of by more or less probable emendation: others occur in interpolated passages (e.g., ἦλιος in the Song of Demodes) others (as πλον, τεθνεις) may be explained by the loss of  before ο, o (§ 393). On the whole they are too few and isolated to be of weight against the general usage of Homer.

The general result of the enquiry seems to be that the harshness of a synizesis or a contraction is a matter admitting of many degrees. With some combinations of vowels contraction is hardly avoided, with others it is only resorted to in case of necessity. We have already seen that the rules as to lengthening by Position (§ 370) are of the same elastic character. And as there is hardly any rule of Position that may not be overborne by the desire of bringing certain words into the verse, so there is no contraction that may not be excused by a sufficiently cogent metrical necessity. Thus the synizesis in such words as Ἰατίανα, Αἰγυπτίων, χρυσεύων stands on the same footing as the neglect of Position with Σκάμανδρος or σκέπαρνων: and again the synizesis in τεμένεια, ἀνανέας, or the contraction in πονέων, ἀμφι-βαλεόμαι is like the shortening of a vowel before προσνύσα, or the purely metrical lengthening of a short vowel (§ 386).

On the same principles harshness of metre may be tolerated for the sake of a familiar phrase: e.g. the liatus ἀφθιτα αἰεί in
Ill. 13. 22 (ἀφθικτόν ἄει in Il. 2. 46, 186., 14. 238). So when the formula καὶ ἐνῳ φωνήσας ἐπεκέφαλοκ is used of a goddess (II. 15. 35, 89) it becomes καὶ ἐνῳ φωνήσασα ἐπεκέφαλοκ. Again the harsh lengthening in μέροτες ἀνθρωπον (II. 18. 288, at the end of the line) is due to the familiar μερότων ἀνθρώπων.

**Hiatus.**

379.] *Hiatus* is a term which is used by writers on metre in more than one sense. It will be convenient here to apply it to every case in which a word ending with a vowel or diphthong is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, and the two vowel-sounds are not merged together (as by elision, crasis, &c.) so as to form one syllable for the metre.

It would be more scientific, perhaps, to understand the word *Hiatus* as implying that the two vowels are separated by a break or stoppage of vocal sound, so that the second begins with either the rough or the smooth ‘breathing.’ Thus it would be opposed to every form of *diphthong* (including *synizesis*), the characteristic of which is that the two vowels are slurred together, by shifting the position of the organs without any perceptible interruption of the current of breath. This definition, however, might exclude the case of a long vowel or diphthong shortened before an initial vowel (as ῥην Ὠ ἐγὼ οὺ, where the final οὐ seems to be partly merged in the following οὐ). Again when a final ι or υ comes before a vowel without suffering elision, it is probable that the corresponding ‘semi-vowel’ (= our γ or ω) is developed from the vowel-sound, and prevents complete *hiatus*.

380.] **Long vowels before Hiatus.** The general rule is that a long final vowel or diphthong coming before a vowel forms a short syllable in the metre. This shortening is very common in Homer: cp. II. 1. 299 οὔτε σοι οὔτε τῷ ἀλλῳ, ἐπείκειν κτλ., where it occurs in three successive feet.

But the natural quantity may be retained before hiatus when the vowel is in the arsis of the foot, as 'Απρεὶδη Ἀγαμέμνον, ὅς κ' εἴποι ὅντι κτλ. And in a few instances a long vowel or diphthong is allowed to remain long in thesis, as II. 1. 39 Σμινθεῦ ἐν ποτέ τοι κτλ.

The readiness with which long syllables are allowed before hiatus varies with the several long vowels and diphthongs; partly also it depends on the *pauses* of the sense.

The long diphthongs (as they may be called), viz. η and ο, are the most capable of resisting the shortening influence of hiatus; next to them are ευ and ου, and the long vowels η and ο: while ι, οι and αι are at the other end of the scale. Α
measure of this may be gained by observing how often each of these terminations is long before a vowel, and comparing the number with the total number of times that the same termination occurs. Thus it appears that out of every 100 instances of final ω, it is long before hiatus about 23 times. Similarly final -η is long 19 times, -ευ 67 times, -ου 6 times, -η 57 times, -ω 4 times, -ει 18 times, -οι 16 times, and -αι only 13 times. Thus hiatus after ω and η is scarcely avoided, while after ει, οι and αι it is very rare.

In a large proportion of the instances in which a long vowel retains its quantity before hiatus it will be found that the hiatus coincides with a division either in the sense or the rhythm. Of the examples in the arsis of the foot, more than half occur before the penthemimeral caesura, where there is almost always a pause: while in thesis the same thing is chiefly found to occur either after the first foot, as Il. 2. 209 ἰχνη, ὀς ὑπερ κτλ., Od. 11. 188 ἀγρω, ὀδηδ κτλ.; or after the fourth foot (in the Bucolic diaeresis).

381. Shortening of diphthongs before Hiatus. Regarding the nature of the process by which a diphthong before hiatus was reduced to the time or metrical value of a short syllable two probable views have been maintained.

1. Curtius holds that whenever long syllables are shortened by the effect of hiatus something of the nature of Elision takes place. Thus η and ω lose the second half of the vowel sound, while αι, ει, οι lose the ι. In support of this he points to the facts of Crasis: thus καὶ ἐγὼ in becoming κα-γώ may be supposed to pass through the stage κα ἐγώ.

2. According to an older view, which has been revived and defended with great ingenuity by Hartel,* the ι or υ in a diphthong is turned into the corresponding spirant; so that καὶ ἐγώ becomes κα-λ-εγώ, and ἐκ Πύλον ἐλθών becomes ἐκ Πυλο-θών.

It is certainly in favour of this latter supposition that it does not oblige us to suppose the frequent elision of the two vowels which in general are the least liable to be elided. The explanation however is not a complete one. It does not account for the shortening of η and ω, which on the principle assumed by Hartel would become ηι, οι. On the whole it seems most probable that the shortening in question was effected, for diphthongs as well as for simple long vowels, by a process in which ancient grammarians would have recognised rather ‘Synizesis’—viz. the slurring of vowels together without complete loss of any sound—

* Homerische Studien, iii. pp. 7 ff.
than either Elision or Contraction. And this conclusion is supported by the general tendencies of the Ionic dialect, which was especially tolerant of hiatus, and allowed numerous combinations of vowels, such as ea, eo, ew, eo, to have the value either of one syllable or two.*

382.] Hiatus after short syllables. The vowels which are not liable to elision may generally stand before hiatus: thus we find ζωωτήρι ἀρρότι (§ 376, 3), πρό ὀδοῖ, πρὸ Ἀχαίων, αὐτὸρ ὁ ἐμμεμαῶς, ἔταροι ἐνηέος, and the like.

Hiatus is also tolerated occasionally in the pauses of the verse:

(1) In the trochaic caesura of the third foot: as—

II. 1. 569 καὶ ἀκέουσα καθήστο, ἐπιγνάμψασα κτλ. Od ii. 144
Od. 3. 175 τέμνεων, ὕφρα τάχυστα ὑπὲκ κτλ.

(2) In the Bucolic diaeresis: as—

II. 8. 66 ὕφρα μὲν ἡν ἡν καὶ ἄξετο ἱερῶν ἡμαρ.
Od. 2. 57 εὐλαππάναζουσι πλυνοσι τε αἰθοπα ὀινον.

The vowel of the Person-endings -to, -vto seems to be especially capable of standing before hiatus in these places. It appears in more than a fourth of the whole number of instances given by Knös (pp. 42-45).

Hiatus in the Bucolic diaresis is commoner in the Odyssey than in the Iliad, in the proportion 2:1. Hiatus after the vowel e is also comparatively rare in the Iliad: Knös reckons 22 instances (many of them doubtful), against 40 in the Odyssey. It is worth notice that in both these points books xxiii and xxiv of the Iliad agree with the Odyssey, also that book xxiv of the Odyssey contains an unusual number of instances of hiatus, both legitimate (II. 63, 215, 328, 374, 466) and illegitimate (II. 209, 351, 430).

Illegitimate hiatus, like other anomalies, may be diminished by emendation. Thus in Od. 5. 135 ἰδὲ ἐφασκον we may read ἰδὲ ἐφασκον: in 5. 257 ἐπιχεύσατο ἐλην we may insert ἧρ: on the model of II. 5. 748 ἐπεμαίετ' ἄρι ἐπνους. But in II. 13. 22 ἀφθα ἄει ἀεί must stand because ἀφθατο ἄεί is a fixed phrase. It is unlikely, then, that Hiatus was ever absolutely forbidden in Epic verse.

Doubtful Syllables.

383.] Besides the cases in which the metrical value of a syllable may be made uncertain by its place in a particular verse—i.e. by the circumstances of Position, Hiatus, Ictus, &c. —there are many instances in which the 'natural' quantity of the vowel appears to be indeterminate.

* The use of eo for ev in Ionic inscriptions shows, not indeed that ev and eo were identical in pronunciation, or that eo was a true diphthong, but certainly that eo was very like ev, and might be monosyllabic in scansion. Probably monosyllabic eo (when it was not a mere error for ev) stood as the Synizesis ea, ew, eo, &c. to the contracted η, ω, οι. See Erman in Curt. Stud. v. 292 ff.
Under the heading of 'doubtful vowels' should be classed, not only the words in which the same letter may stand either for a long or a short vowel, as 'Ἀργός, ἀφήροι, but also those in which the change is shown by the spelling, i.e. in which a short vowel interchanges with a long vowel or diphthong: as νέος and νηός, ὄνομα and ὄνομα, &c. And with these variations, again, we may place, as at least kindred phenomena, the doubtful syllables which arise from the interchange of single and double consonants: Ὀδυσσεός and Ὀδυσσέως, Ἀχιλλεύς and Ἀχιλλεύς. As we speak of doubtful vowels, these might similarly be called 'doubtful consonants.'

In all such words the variation of quantity may either mean that there were two distinct forms between which the poet had a choice, or that the quantity as it existed in the spoken language was in fact intermediate. The former case would usually arise when a vowel or syllable which had come to be short in the spoken language was allowed to retain its older quantity as a poetical archaism. In the latter case the poet could give the syllable either metrical value; or (as in so many instances) he might treat the syllable as ordinarily short, but capable of being lengthened by the ictus, or by the pauses of the verse.

384. Doubtful vowels appear to rise chiefly in two ways:—

(1) By the shortening of a long vowel or diphthong before a vowel: viz.—

α, in ἰλαος (α in II. 1. 583, α in II. 9. 639, 19. 178).

η, in the oblique cases of νηός (except the Dat. νητι) and of several Nouns in -ευς, as Πηλής, Πηλέος: the forms ηταται and έταται (ημαι): ἀφηγη and ἀφεγη (§ 80); ηώς and άώς, ληγηται and λειετη (II. 9. 408); perhaps also in Ὠρίκες, ἄηιος, ηία, which shorten η when the case-ending is naturally long (Ορίκες, δηίων, ήιων, &c. scanned ο ο, unless we suppose contraction or synizesis).

ι, in ιερός, κονιή, λίην: Comparatives in -ων: Patronymics, as Κρονίων: ήομεν, ἴημι (αφίετε, &c.), ιαίνω, and Verbs in -ω, as τίω, δίω (§ 51, 1): probably also in the abstract Nouns in -ι, the i being treated as long in άπερπλη, προθυμη, ἵπδεξη, ἄτμη, ἀκομίσης.

ο, in Verbs in -οω (§ 51, 4).

ω, in ήρωος (ο ο in Od. 6. 303): ήρωι, leg. ήρωι (II. 7. 453).

αι, in αεί for αεί, εμπαιος (ο ο in Od. 20. 379), and the Compound χαμαιεύναι, χαμαιευνάδε: also Verbs in -ωι, as ἀγαίομενος and ἀγάςσθε, κέραιε κέραςσθε, νάον and νάει, νάουσι.
Doubtful Vowels.

ει, in ὀκέα, βαθείς (for ὀκεία, βαθείς): Adjectives in -ειος, as χαλκείος and χάλκεος: πέια and πέα: πλείον, &c. and πλέονες: βελομαι and βεόμαι (§ 80), and many Verbs in -εω (§ 51, 3).

οι, in ὀλοσ and ὀλοίος; also οῖος (ὦ), as in II. 13. 275 οῖος ἄρετιν οῖος ἄσι, cp. II. 18. 105, Od. 7. 312., 20. 89.

ευ, in δεύμαυ and δέομαι, ἑκεναι and ἕχεα, ἦλευατο and ἦλεσθαι, οὐ, in νίος (II. 4. 473., 5. 612, &c.).

The Gen. endings -αιον, -εων fall under this head, if -εων represents an older Ionic -ηον.

In some cases of this kind our texts have ει where it is probable that the original vowel was η: so in πλείον full (Attic πλέως from πλῆς), χρείον debt and χρείω need (from χρη-, χρᾶ-). See Appendix C.

Sometimes ει has taken the place of ευ before another vowel, as in the Verbs θέω, πνεώ, πλέω, χέω, κλέω (§ 29, 3), also in λεύνυν, Dat. Plur. of λέων (λέων or λέφων), and perhaps in the Pf. εἰώθα (cp. εὐεθώκε Hesych.), εἰούναι (II. 18. 418). Similarly α may stand for αυ, as φάεα εγες (φαυ-), ἀηρ (cp. αῦρα) and other derivatives of ἄημι (ἀλαιῆς, ἀκρ-ής), ἀδειμεν we slept (λαώ), ἀσαμήν (αἱμάτι), and probably μεμάδτες, αἰω, αείω, Ἀϊδος. We even find αι for ου (from οφ), in ωιετάς for δ-ετέας of like age (II. 2. 765), πουή for πνοή: cp. ὀνει (—from in Od. 9. 425).

η for ευ may perhaps be seen in ἡείδης, ἡσει (ἐ-έεδεας, -εε): but see the explanation suggested in § 67, 3.

Interchange of quantity is occasionally found: στέωμεν, κτέωμεν, φθέωμεν for στήομεν, &c. (§ 80): ἔος and τέος (if these forms are Homeric) for ἦσος and ἕσος. So the Gen. ending -εω, for -αο (-ηο).

(2) By compensatory lengthening, of—

ε to ει, in ἕκειος (ἕκειο) but ἕκει, κείνους and κεῦνος, πειραπ and πέρας (ἀπειρέσιος), εύνατος, εὐνεκα.

ο to ου, μοῦνος (but μονοθείς II. 11. 470); οὑρος (a watcher) but ὄρ-αο: οὐρεα and ορα (ορφος?).

ἀ in παρέχῃ (παρ-σέχω), Od. 19. 113; ὡ in συνεχεῖς, II. 12. 26.

Under this head we should place double forms arising by Epenthesis, as έταρος and έταύρος (for έταρ-λός): ἐνί, ἐν and ειν. But ἄπερισίος boundless should be ἄπερισιός, from *πέρη (πέρην).

Other variations, of which no general account can be given, are seen in Ἀρης, ἀνήρ, ἀμάω I ream (a generally in the simple Verb, ἀ in the compounds); φιλος (ἐ in φίλε καυλίγνυτε); ἀτίτος and τίτος; ὅδορ, ἀτικρό; ὅδο and ὅω, δεύρο and (once) δεύω, Διόνυσος and Διώνυσος. The chief cases of a doubtful vowel
being long without the help of the ictus are, ἀρη, ἀλῶναι (ἀλῶνε with ἀ in II. 5. 487), πρὶν, ἰμᾶς, πιφαυσκῶ.

385.] **Double consonants**, causing doubtful syllables: chiefly—σσ, in the First Aorist (§ 39, 1), and Dat. Plur. (§ 102); also ὀσσος, μέσσος, ἐμεσσώς (where σσ = ττ), Ὄδυσσεύς. So for ἵσσι (−−) we should write ἱσσατι (for ἰδ-σσατ, § 7, 3). λλ, in Ἀχιλλεύς.

κκ, in πελέκκω (κκ = κφ ?), cp. πελεκυς.

As to ππ and ττ, in ὅππως, ὅττι, &c. see § 108, 2.

386.] **Metrical licence.** In a few cases the use of a vowel as long appears to be merely due to the necessities of the metre. Such are:—

a in ἀδάρατος, ἀκάματος, ἀπονέωσθαι, ἀποδίωμαί, ἀγοράσθε, ἀσπάζομαι.

ε in ἐπίτωρος (Od. 12. 423), ἐσφυρή (Od. 7. 119).

i in Πριαμίδης, διά (in διά μεν ἀσπίδος κτλ. II. 3. 357, &c.).

u in θυγατέρες (II. 2. 492, &c.), δυναμένοι (Od. 1. 276, &c.).

In these cases there is every reason to believe that the vowel was naturally short, and the lengthening must therefore be regarded as a necessary licence, to be compared with the neglect of Position before Σκάμανθος, &c. (§ 370), or the synizesis of Ἀγνητή and Ἰστίαμα (§ 378 fin.). The diphthong of εἰαρίνος (ἐαρ), εἰρεσία, οὐλόμενος, οὐνόμα, Οὐλύμπητος, is of the same nature. The ω of πουλύς perhaps began in compounds in which it was required by the metre, as πουλυβότερα, &c., and was extended to the simple word. It is apparently a poetical form only (but see H. W. Smyth, *Vowel System*, p. 98).

Similarly a short vowel between two long syllables is sometimes treated as long: as in ἤγάσσεθε (Od. 5. 122), Ἱπρακληνί (properly -κλινη), Ὥκλεινς (Od. 15. 244). So πετράκυκλος is scanned −−−−− in Od. 9. 242, but −−−−− in II. 24. 324.

**Vocatives.**

387.] The short final syllable of the Vocative appears in several places as a metrically long syllable: as—

II. 4. 155 φίλε κασίγνυτε, θάνατον κτλ. and so 5. 359: also II. 19. 400 Ξάνθει τε καὶ Βάλας, 21. 474 νηπύτει, Od. 3. 230 Τηλέμαχε.

4. 338 ὡ νυ̣τε Πετεώ κτλ. 19. 1579
18. 385 ὄρος Θέτι τανύσπελε: so Od. 24. 192 Λαέρταο παί.
23. 493 Αἰαν Ἰδομενεύ τε.

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18. 385 ὄρος Θέτι τανύσπελε: so Od. 24. 192 Λαέρταο παί.
23. 493 Αἰαν Ἰδομενεύ τε.
The reason may be found (as Hartel thinks*) in the nature of the Vocative as an interruption of the natural flow of a sentence. It is very possible, however, that the Nominative ought to be read in these places: see § 164.

The Digamma.

388.] In seeking to arrive at general conclusions as to the rules and structure of the Homeric hexameter, it was necessary to leave out of sight all the words whose metrical form is uncertain on account of the possible or probable loss of an initial consonant. It is time to return to this disturbing element of the enquiry.

The scholars who first wrote on this subject had few materials for their investigations outside of the Homeric poems. To them, therefore, the 'Digamma' was little more than a symbol—the unknown cause of a series of metrical anomalies. In the present state of etymological knowledge the order of the enquiry has been to a great extent reversed. It is known in most cases which of the original sounds of the Indo-European languages have been lost in Greek, and where in each word the loss has taken place. Hence we now come to Homer with this knowledge already in our possession. Instead of asking what sounds are wanting, we have only to ask whether certain sounds, of whose former existence we have no doubt, were still living at the time when the poems were composed, and how far they can be traced in their effect on the versification.

389.] Nature of the evidence from metre. The questions which are suggested by the discovery in Homer of traces of a lost 'Digamma' cannot be answered without some reference to the very exceptional circumstances of the text.

Whatever may be the date at which writing was first used in Greece for literary purposes, there can be no doubt that the Homeric poems were chiefly known for some centuries through the medium of oral recitation, and that it was not till the time of the Alexandrian grammarians that adequate materials were brought together for the study and correction of the text. Accordingly when these scholars began to collect and compare the manuscripts of Homer, they found themselves engaged in a problem of great complexity. The various readings, to judge from the brief notices of them preserved in the Scholia, were very numerous; and they are often of a kind which must be attributed to failure of memory, or the licence of oral recitation, rather than to errors of transcription. And the amount of

* Homerische Studien, i. p. 64.
interpolation must have been considerable, if there was any ground for the suspicions so often expressed by the ancient critics.

It follows from these circumstances that an attempt to restore the lost $F$ throughout the text of Homer cannot be expected to succeed. Such an attempt necessarily proceeds on the assumption that the text which we have is sound as far as it goes, or that it is so nearly right that we can recover the original by conjecture. With an imperfect text the process can only be approximate. We may be satisfied if the proportion of failure is not greater than the history of the text would lead us to expect.

The loss of the $F$-sound, moreover, must have been itself a cause of textual corruption. It led to irregularities of metre, especially to frequent hiatus, and there would be a constant tendency to cure these defects by some slight change. The insertion of the $\nu$ ἐφελλωτικόν was almost a matter of course (see however § 391). The numerous alternative forms used in the poetical language, and the abundance of short particles such as $\gamma\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $\beta\alpha$, &c. made it easy to disguise the loss of $F$ in many places. We cannot be surprised, therefore, if we have often to make the reverse changes.

A few instances will serve to show the existence in pre-Alexandrian times of corruption arising from the tendency to repair defects of metre.

In II. 9. 73 the MSS. have πολέσιον $\delta$' ἀνάσσεις, Aristarchus read πολέσιον γάρ ἀνάσσεις. Both are evidently derived from πολέσιον $\delta$ ἀνάσσεις (i.e. ἀνάσσειας), corrected in two different ways.

In II. 13. 107 the MSS. have νόν $\delta$' ἐκαθε, the reading of Aristarchus: but Zenodotus and Aristophanes had νόν δέ ἐκας (i.e. ἐκας).

In II. 9. 88 the reading of Aristarchus was τίθεντο δέ δόρπα ἱκαστος: other ancient sources had δόρπον (the reading of most MSS.).

In II. 14. 235 πείθειν, ἐγώ δέ κέ τοι εἰδὼ χάριν ἡματα πάντα, the order χάριν εἰδώ was preferred by Aristarchus.

Two very similar instances are—

II. 5. 787 κάκ' ἐλέγχεια, εἰδος ἰγγτοι (Αρ. ἐλεγχίες).

9. 128 γυναῖκας ἄμφονα ἐργα ἱδουει (Αρ. ἄμφονας).

In Od. 5. 34 ἡματί $\kappa'$ εἰκοστῷ ἐκοστο the 'common' texts of Alexandrian times (αι κοινότεραι) omitted the $\kappa'$, which is not necessary, and may have been inserted in imitation of ἡματί $κε$ τριτάτῳ κτλ. (Π. 9. 393).

In Od. 1. 110 οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ὄνομο ἐμομον some MSS. omit ἄρ'. So in Od. 3. 472 most MSS. have ὄνομο ὀνυχοεντες (vulg. ἐνυροχ). 

In Od. 2. 331. 8. 174, 13. 125 the ε of ἄρε is elided before a word with $F$. But in each case there is MS. authority for reading άρ.

In Od. 8. 526 the MSS. are divided between ἀσαίροντ' ἵσωσον and ἀπαίροντα ἵσωσα.

It should be observed that the argument from these instances is equally good, whether the readings ascribed to Zenodotus, Aristarchus, &c. are conjectures made by them, or were derived (as is more probable) from older sources. They equally serve to illustrate the process by which traces of an
original $F$ were liable to be gradually effaced. And it is not likely that there was any deliberate attempt to emend Homer on metrical grounds. It is enough to suppose that the metre helped to determine the preference given (consciously or unconsciously) to one or other of the existing variants.

390.] Words with initial $F$. The former existence of the $F$ in a given Homeric word may be inferred either from its appearance in some other dialect of Greek, or (where this kind of evidence fails) from the corresponding forms in the cognate languages. Thus an original $Fεικατι$ is supported by the forms $Fίκατι$ and $Fεικατι$ on Dorian and Bocotian inscriptions, by the Laconian $βεικατι$ (given by Hesychius), and again by Latin $vινιτα$, Sanscrit $vινιτα$, &c.; an original $Fεστορεσ$ by the form $Fεσταριτων$ on a Loecian inscription, as well as by Latin $vesper$; original $Fιδειν$, $Fοιδα$, &c. by $Fεστορεσ$ on inscriptions, $γοιδα$ and $γοιδημα$ in Hesychius (erroneously so written, as Ahrens showed, for $Fοιδα$ and $Fοιδημα$), and also by Latin $video$, Sanscrit $veda$, $veda$, Engl. $veit$, &c. We do not, however, propose to discuss the external evidence, as it may be called, by which the loss of an initial $F$ is proved, but only to consider the degree and manner in which the former existence of such a letter can be shown to have affected the versification of Homer. For this purpose it will be enough to give a list of the chief words in question, and in a few cases a statement, by way of specimen, of some of the attempts made to restore the $F$ to the text.*

$\Deltaνυμα$.

The initial $F$ is to be traced by the hiatus in II. 5. 161 $ε\xi$ $αυχενα$ $\Delta\xi\eta$, II. 8. 402 κατα $\theta'\Deltaρματα$ $\Delta\xi\omega$ (similar phrases in 8. 417, 23. 341, 407); less decisively by the lengthening of the final $\lambda$ of the preceding word in II. 4. 214 $\piα\lambda\nu$ $\alphaγεν$ $\delta\xi\epsilon\epsilon$ $\delta\gamma\kappaου$. The evidence against an initial consonant is very slight. In Od. 19. 539 $\piα\sigmaι$ κατ' $αυχενα$ $\eta\xiε$ we should read $αυχενη$ $\epsilonα\xiε$ (Bekk.), understanding the Singular distributively (§ 170). In II. 23. 392 for $\iotaπειον$ $\deltaε$ $\oi$ $\eta\xiε$ may be read $\iotaπειον$ $\oi$ $\epsilonα\xiε$.

* The first systematic attempt to restore the digamma was made by Heyne in his edition of the Iliad (1802). It was based upon Bentley's manuscript annotations, of which Heyne had the use. The first text with restored $F$ was published by Payne Knight (1820). Much was done by the thorough and methodical Quadriiones Homericae of C. A. J. Hoffmann (Clausthal, 1842-48). The $F$ was again printed in the text of Bekker's second edition (Bonn, 1858). The light of the comparative method was brought to bear upon it by Leskien (Rationem quam I. Bekker in restituendo digamma seculus est examinanit Dr. A. Leskien, Lipsiae, 1866). The most complete treatise on the subject is that of Knöf (Upsaliae, 1872). The most important contributions, in addition to those mentioned, have been made by Leo Meyer (K. Z. xviii. 49), and by W. Hartel (Hom. Stud. iii). Most of the conjectures given in this chapter come from one or other of these sources.
The words of this group occur in Homer about 300 times, and in about 80 instances they are preceded by a final short vowel which would ordinarily be elided. This calculation does not include the phrase ἤφι ἀνάασσεν, or the numerous examples of hiatus after the Dat. Sing. in -ει and the Genitives in -οιο, -ειο, -ἀο.*

The cases in which a slight correction of the text is needed to make room for the ἕ are as follows:—

II. 1. 288 πάντεσαι δ’ ἀνάασσεν (read πᾶσιν δέ).
   9. 73 πολέσαι δ’ ἀνάασσει (read πολέσιν δέ, § 389).
   2. 672 Χαρόποιο τ’ ἀνάκτος (read Χαρόπου τέ).
   7. 162 (=23. 288) πρῶτοι μὲν ἄναξ (read perhaps πρῶτιστα).
   15. 453 κροτήντες: ἄναξ (read κροτήντε, the Dual).
   16. 371 (=507) λίπον ἄρματ’ ἀνάκτων (read ἄρμα, § 170).
   523 σ’ πέρ μοι, ἄναξ, τόδε καρπερόν ἐκκος ἀκέσσαι (read μέ).
   23. 49 στρονν, ἄναξ: read στρυνε, the Pres. Imper.).
   517 οὐ δ’ τ’ ἀνάκτα (read ὅς τε or ὅς ἰα).

Od. 9. 452 ἢ συ γ’ ἀνάκτος (omit γ’).
   17. 189 χαλεπαί δέ τ’ ἀνάκτων (omit τ’).
   21. 56 (=83) τόκον ἀνάκτος (read τόκα).

The Imperfect ἕνασσει, which occurs five times, can always be changed into ἑνάσσει. The remaining passages are:—

II. 19. 124 σὸν γένος’ ὅβ ὅι ἀνεκε ἀνάσσεμεν Ἀργείοιον (a verse which is possibly interpolated).
   20. 67 ἑνατα Ποσειδάωνος ἀνάκτος (in the probably spurious θεομαχία).
   24. 449, 452 ποίησαν ἀνακτι.

Od. 14. 40 ἀνιθέον γάρ ἀνάκτος κτλ.
   395 εἰ μὲν κεν νοστήσῃ ἄναξ.
   438 κύδαυνε δὲ θυμὸν ἀνάκτος.
   24. 30 ἢ’ πέρ ἑνάσσει.

ἀρνα (ἀρνεῖς, &c.).

The ἕ is supported by three instances of hiatus, viz. II. 4. 158 αἰμα τε ἄρνων, 4. 433 ὅτα ἄρνων, 8. 131 ἦτε ἄρνεσ: and by the metrical length given to the preceding syllable in II. 3. 103 ἐσ δίφρον ἄρνας, 16. 352 λύκοι ἄρνεσσι.

The passages which need correction are—

II. 3. 103 οἰστε δ’ ἄρν’ (the δέ is better omitted).
   119 ἦδ’ ἄρν’ ἐκέλευεν (read ἦδε άρν’).
   22. 263 οἶδε λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες (omit τε).

Od. 4. 86 ἰνα τ’ ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραί τελέθουσι (omit τ’).
   9. 226 ἀράφον τε καὶ ἄρνας.

* For a complete analysis of the examples in the Iliad see Dawes, Miscellanea Critica, Sect. IV.
Note, however, that the evidence for $f$ is confined to the Iliad, and that the derivative ἀπνεῖος shows no trace of it.

ἀστυ.

The presence of an initial consonant is shown by hiatus in nearly 80 places. In two places the text is uncertain: II. 24. 320 ὑπὲρ ἀστεος (but διὰ ἀστεος in the Bankes papyrus, and several MSS.), Od. 3. 260 ἕκας ἀστεος (ἕκας Ἀργεος in most MSS.).

Two passages admit of the easiest correction: —

II. 3. 140 ἀνθρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἀστεος (read προτέρου).

15. 455 τοὺς μὲν ἢ γ' Ἀστυνύμφ (omit γε or μέν).

Two remain, viz.—

II. 11. 733 ἀμφισταντο δὴ ἀστυ (ἀμφισταν Bekk.).

18. 274 νῦκτα μὲν εϊν ἀγορη σθένος ἔξομεν ἄστυ δὲ πύργον (Ἐξετε Bekk.).

The changes made by Bekker in these places are not improbable, but are hardly so obvious as to exclude other hypotheses.

ἐσρ, ἐλαρνός.

Hiatus is found in II. 8. 307 νοτιστι τε ειλαρνήσι, and a short final syllable is lengthened in Od. 19. 519 ἀείδοσιν ἐσρ. In the phrase ἀρη ἐν ειλαρνή we should doubtless omit the ἐν, as in Od. 5. 485 ἀρη χειμερή (Bentl.).

εἰκοσι.

The $F$ appears in ἀνά εἰκοσι (Od. 9. 209), and the combination καὶ εἰκοσι (which occurs 9 times, including the compounds with δυσκαιεικοσι). Od. 1. 280: ἔρητησιν εἰκοσιν ὡς γιγάνηται ἢ πεινοσιν?

In II. 11. 25 χρυσοφ καὶ εἰκοσι read χρυσοφ; and in the combination τε καὶ εἰκοσι (in three places) omit τε. In the recurring ἠλθον εἰκοστῷ ἐτεί κτλ. Bekker reads ἠλθον εἰκοστῷ (Cobet well compares Od. 23. 102 ἠλθον εἰκοστῷ κτλ.). On Od. 5. 34 ἦματι κ᾽ εἰκοστῳ κτλ. see § 389.

εἰκω.

Two instances of hiatus indicate $f$, in II. 24. 100, 718, besides many places in which the word is preceded by a Dative. Sing., as ουδένει εἰκον, κάρτει εἰκον.

Two places may be easily corrected: II. 4. 509 μηδ εἰκετε (read μη εἰκετε, with asyndeton, as Od. 24. 54 ἰσχεσι' Ἀργείοι, μη φεύγετε), and 12. 48 τ' τ' εἰκοσι (omit τε). In Od. 12. 117 for θεοίνων ὑπείξαν read θεοί ὑπείξαν (Bekk.) There remains II. 1. 294 ει δὴ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπείξαμαι.

εἰκα, εἰκσκο, εἰκελος.

The $F$ of εἰκα appears from hiatus in 46 instances (not counting the numerous places in which it follows a Dative in -e). The adverse instances are 11 in number, besides the form ἐπ-ἐικε (which occurs 11 times). The corresponding Present εἰκω is generally recognised in II. 18. 520 ὅτι αφίαν εἰκε λοχησαι where it suited them to be in ambush. The form εἰκσκω has hiatus before
it in 3 places, but twice rejects $F$ (Od. 9. 321, 11. 353). The adjective ἐκκελος or ἐκελος usually needs an initial consonant (except II. 19. 282, Od. 11. 207).

It seems probable that this is the same word as ἐκώ to yield. The notion of giving way easily passes into that of suiting or fitting, hence conforming to, resembling.

ἐκών, ἐκητι, ἐκελος.

Hiatus indicating $F$ is found in 22 places (not reckoning $ο\delta\tau\iota\epsilon\κώ\nu\nu$ II. 8. 81, &c.).

In Od. 4. 649 for αυτός ἐκώ we may read αυτὸς ἐγών (cp. Od. 2. 133, where both these forms are found in good MSS.). In Od. 17. 478 ἐσθ' ἐκελος two MSS. have ἐσθ' (i. e. ἐσθε'). The remaining exceptions are; with ἐκών, II. 23. 434, 585, Od. 5. 100 (where we may read τίς κε, or perhaps τίς δὲ ἐκών . διαδήματι; the Opt. without ἄν being used as in negative Clauses, § 299 ʃ): with ἐκητος, II. 8. 512, Od. 2. 311 (ἐνφραίνεσθ' ἐνφθαλων Bekk.).

ἐκάς, ἐκατος, &c.

Traces of $F$ are to be seen in the hiatus νών δὲ ἐκάς (II. 5. 791, 13. 107), ἀλλά ἐκάς (Od. 15. 33), οὐδὲ ἐκηθολαί (II. 5. 54): and in the lengthening in 'Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτω δο' (II. 7. 83, 20. 295), ἐνφλάκομος Ἐκαμηνη, &c.

The exceptions are, II. 1. 21, 438, 17. 333, 20. 422, 22. 15, 302, Od. 7. 321—mostly admitting of easy correction.

ἑκάς

The original $F$ of this word (recently found on a Locrian inscription, see Curt. Stud. ii. 441 ff.) is traced by means of hiatus in 115 places. The adverse instances, however, are about 50 in number, and the proportion that can be removed by emendation is not so large as in most cases (see L. Meyer, Κ. Ζ. viii. 166. About a fourth of the exceptions appear in the recurring phrase μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἑκάστου.

The form ἑκάτερθε shows slight traces of initial $F$ in Od. 6. 19 σταθμοίν ἑκάτερθε, 11. 578 γύπε δὲ μν ἑκάτερθε, 22. 181 τῷ δ' ἐσταν ἑκάτερθε. It is preceded by elision in II. 20. 153 (omit 'p'), and in II. 24. 273, Od. 7. 91 (omit 'δ').

εἶλω (ἐλασαι, ἐλάην), ἀλώναι, ἅλις.

The $F$ is shown by hiatus in II. 1. 409 ἀμβ' ἀλα ἐλασαι: 16. 403 ἦστο ἀλείς (and five other examples of this Tense, viz. II. 5. 823, 21. 571, 607, 22. 308, Od. 24. 538): II. 18. 287 κεκορθησθε ἑλαμένοι: II. 12. 172 τῇ ἀλώναι (so 14. 81), II. 21. 281 εἰμαρτό ἀλώναι (so Od. 5. 312, 24. 34), II. 81. 495 τῇ γε ἀλώμεναι. Before ἅλις hiatus occurs in about 12 places: cp. also II. 23. 420 εἰνάτερες ἅλις ἡσαν.

In II. 21. 236 κατ' αὐτὸν ἅλις ἐσαν some MSS. read ἕσαν ἅλις, and at L. 344 the same transposition may be made. The only other instance against $F$ is II. 17. 54 νῦν ἅλις ἀναιβεβροχεν (ἀναιβεβροχεν Zenod.), where Bentley read δ ἅλις ἀναιβεβροχεν.


The initial F of this word is proved by 10 instances of hiatus (including καὶ ἐλπίδος, Od. 16. 101, 19. 84). The Perfect ἐστι also shows traces of F in the reduplicated syllable, viz. in Od. 2. 275v, 3. 375v, 5. 379.

In II. 8. 526 εὐχόμαι ἐκπόμενος should be εὐχόμ᾽ ἐκπόμενος (Hoffm.) or perhaps (as Zenodotus read) ἐκπομαί εὐχόμενος. In four places ἐπιποι can be restored by very slight corrections:

II. 15. 701 Τρωάν ἐπιποι (Τρωαὶ δὲ Ηγίαν).
18. 194 ἄλα ἐπιποι ὅδ᾽ ἐπιποι (ἅπο τὸ ἐπιποι ἢπότος ἢπότος Ηγίαν).
Od. 2. 91 (= 13. 380) πάντας μὲν ἐπιποί (οίμοι ἔποι).

Two others are less easy; II. 15. 539 πολεμιζέ μένων, ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἐπιποι (μένων δ᾽ ἐπὶ ἐπιποι Bentl.), and II. 24. 491 ἐπὶ τ᾽ ἐπιποι (καὶ ἐπιποι ἢταν Bentl.).

The passages which tell against ἐπιποι are II. 20. 186 χαλεπῶς δὲ σ᾽ ἐπιπο ὑποτε σει (read σ᾽ ἐπιπο), 21. 583 μᾶλ᾽ ἐπιπος (μᾶλα ἐπιπο Hippm.), 22. 216 νῦν γ᾽ ἐπιπο (οίμοι γ᾽), Od. 8. 315v, 24. 313.

ἐπιστο, ἐπείν.

The F of ἐπιστο is supported by about 26 instances of hiatus, and a much larger number in which preceding syllables are lengthened (as in the common line καὶ μὲν ἄμειμβόμενος ἐπιστο κτλ.).

Of the apparent exceptions, about 35 are removed by reading ἐπεστο for ἐπέσοι (as in II. 5. 40 χεῖρός ἐλεύθ᾽ ἐπέσοι προσθῆκα, read ἐπελόε ἐπέσοι). This is justified by the fact that in similar words (esp. ἐπεστα) the form in -ἐσσα is less frequent than that in -σοι. A group of 11 may be corrected by scanning ἐπεσι as a disyllable (ο-) in the formula φωνήσατε ἐπεσι τερέντα προσθῆκα. Another small group of exceptions is formed by phrases such as Od. 4. 706 ὅψ᾽ δὲ δὴ δὴ μὲν ἐπεσον κτλ., where perhaps ἔ may be put for μὲν. There remain two instances in the Iliad (5. 683, 7. 108), and seven in the Odyssey (11. 146, 561, 14. 509, 15. 375v, 16. 469, 17. 374, 24. 161).

In ἐπείν the F is proved by about 80 instances of hiatus, besides lengthening such as we have in the forms ὅσ᾽ ὅσ᾽ δὲ τίς ἐπείσκε, ὅσ᾽ ὅσ᾽ δὲ ἐπιστοτε, &c. The exceptions number about 35.
Of these exceptions 10 are found in the recurring line ἐφὶ' ἐπω τὰ μὲ θυμὸς ἐνι στήθοι κελέε&iota;ι. It has been suggested as possible that ἐπω has here taken the place of an older ἐπω (ἱπω), or ἔστω (ἐπετε). This supposition would of course explain other instances of neglected ἦ, as II. 1. 64., 11. 791., Od. 1. 10, 37, &c.

ἐρδω, ἐργων, &c.

The Verb ἐρδω is preceded by hiatus in two clear instances, II. 14. 261, Od. 15. 360. In II. 9. 540 πόλ' ἐρδεσκεν there is an ancient ν. l. ἑρεεν. In II. 10. 503 οίτι κώντατον ἐρδος we may read κώντατα. But there are several instances on the other side in the Odyssey (viz. 1. 293., 5. 342, 360., 6. 258., 7. 202., 8. 490., 11. 80).

The reduplicated form ἐοργα (for Φεφοργα) is preceded by hiatus in 7 places. Instances on the other side are, II. 3. 351 ὁ με πρότερος κάκ' ἐοργε (where the Δορ. ἑρεξεν is more Homeric, cp. § 28), 21. 399 ὤσσα μ' ἐοργας (ὦσσα ἐοργας Αμβρ.), 22. 347 οίδα μ' ἐοργας (here also με may be omitted), Od. 22. 318 οὐδὲν ἐοργώς (read οὐ τι, cp. § 356).

The Noun ἐργον, with its derivative ἐργάζομαι, occurs in Homer about 250 times, and the ἦ is required to prevent hiatus in about 165 places. There are about 18 instances against ἦ.

εἰρω, ἔρεω.

The F of εἰρω is required by hiatus in the three places where it occurs, viz. Od. 2. 162., 11. 137., 13. 7; that of ἔρεω by about 50 instances of lengthening (such as ἀλλ' εκ τοι ἔρεω, ὡς ποτε τις ἔρεει, and the like), against which are to be set three instances of elision (II. 4. 176., 23. 787, Od. 12. 156).

ἐννυμι, εἴμα, ἐσθής.

The F is shown by hiatus in more than 80 places, including the instances of the Perfect Mid. (ἐἴμα, ἐστατ., &c., see § 23, 5). The contrary instances are of no weight. The superfluous ρ' may be omitted in ἐπεί ρ' ἐσσαυτο (three places), and τ' similarly in Od. 14. 510., 24. 67. This leaves II. 3. 57, Od. 6. 83., 7. 259.

ἐμεω.

The F (which is inferred from Lat. vomo) may be restored by reading ἐφέμεσον for ἀπέμεσο (II. 14. 437) and αἴμα Φεμέων, or possibly Φέμων (L. Meyer), for αἴμο ἐμέων (II. 15. 11).

ἐσπερος.

Hiatus occurs in six places, after the Prepositions ποτι (Od. 17. 191) and ἐπὶ. There are no instances against F.

ἐτος.

The F is supported by the lengthening of the preceding syllable in five places, such as II. 24. 765 ἐκκοστον ἐτος ἐστι.
In the only adverse instance, II. 2. 328 τοσσαῦτ' ἐτεα, we may read and scan τοσσαῦτα ἐτεα, as in the case of επεα (supra).

ίαξω, ιαχῇ, ἴχῃ.

The F in ιάξω and ιαχῇ is chiefly indicated by 23 instances of a peculiar hiatus, viz. after a naturally short final vowel in arsis; as ἵ δὲ μέγα λάξουσα, ἵμεῖς δὲ λάξουτες, γένετο λαχῇ, and the like. There are 3 instances of lengthening by Position. The F is also proved by αὐλάχως (= ἀ-Φιάχως) without a cry. The exceptions are confined to the Aor. or Impf. ιαχὼν (i), which never admits F in Homer: see § 31, 1, note.

The derivative ἵχῄεις follows hiatus in two places (II. 1. 157, Od. 4. 72): elsewhere in Homer ἴχῃ only occurs at the beginning of the line. The compound δυν-ηχῆς (τολέμου δυνηχεός, II. 2. 886, &c.) is best derived from ἵχος (see Wackernagel, Dehnungs-gezet, p. 42).

ἰδείν, οἶδα, εἶδος.

In the different forms of the Second Aor. ἱδείν the F is shown by upwards of 180 instances of hiatus, and about 12 instances of lengthening of a short syllable. The Indicative (εἶδον in Attic) is nearly always a trisyllable (i.e. εἴδον) in Homer. On the other side we have to set nearly 50 instances of neglected F, about half of which are susceptible of easy emendation (such as putting ἱδείν for ἱδείειν, omitting superfluous δέ, and the like).

In the Perfect οἶδα there are about 125 instances of hiatus, against 24 which need emendation. Of these, however, only about seven or eight present any difficulty. The proportion is much the same with the other forms, as εἰδομαί, εἰδομαί, &c., and the Nouns εἶδος (11 instances of hiatus, two adverse), ἵστωρ, ἵδρειη, εἰδῶλον, &c.

τον (ἰδείς, ἱοδνεφής).

The F is supported by hiatus in Od. 4. 135., 9. 426, and is nowhere inadmissible.

τῆ, ίφι (ἰφία), ἵες.

These words, with the derived proper names Ἰφιάνασσα, Ἰφίτος, &c., show F in about 27 places, while seven or eight places need slight emendation. ἰφθυμος, which shows no trace of F, is probably from a different root.

ἰος.

The F is traced in about 30 instances of hiatus; the adverse passages being 8 or 9 in number. In three of these, containing the phrase αὐτεμβόμενος κλτο ἵος (II. 11. 705, Od. 9. 42, 549) the form ἵος should perhaps be changed to αἰος share. Or we may recognise the Ἀolidic form of the word, viz. ἵοσα (Fick, Odyssee, p. 20). The other places are easily corrected.
The $\varepsilon$ is shown by hiatus (II. 4. 486, Od. 10. 510). The Particle τε may be left out before καὶ τεία in II. 21. 350.

οἶκος.

The $\varepsilon$ is required in 105 places by hiatus, in 14 by the lengthening of a short syllable. About 25 places are adverse.

οἶνος.

The $\varepsilon$ is required by hiatus in nearly 100 places. The adverse places are about 20 (including the names Οἰνεός and Οἰνώμαος).

391. Words with initial $\sigma\varepsilon$ ($\varepsilon$). Since the change of initial $\sigma$ into the rough breathing must have been much earlier than the loss of $\varepsilon$, it may be presumed that words which originally began with $\sigma\varepsilon$ were pronounced at one time with the sound 'F (≈ our $\varphi$). The following are the chief examples in Homer:—

$\varepsilonο$, $\deltaι$, $\varepsilonσ$, &c.

The $\varepsilon$ is proved by hiatus in upwards of 600 instances, by lengthening of a preceding short syllable in 136 instances. There are also about 27 places in which a short vowel in arsis is lengthened before it: as $\alphaπ\deltaο \varepsilonο$, $προτι\ οι$ ($\varphi$ $\longrightarrow$), $\θυγατέρα \ ην$, $πατέρεπ φ$, &c. About 43 places do not admit $\varepsilon$ without some change; of these 30 are instances of the Possessive $\delta$.

This Pronoun is noticeable as the only word in which the original $\varepsilon$ is recognised in the spelling of our texts. The movable $-ν$ is not used before the forms $οι$, $ε$; thus we have $δαίε$ $οι$, $δοι$ $κε\ οι$, &c.; and, similarly, $ου$ $οι$, $ου$ $\thetaε\nu$ (not $ου\ωχ$ $οι$, $ουχ$ $\thetaε\nu$). This rule is observed not only in Homer but also in the later Elegiae and Lyric poets, and even the lyrical parts of Tragedy (Soph. El. 195, Trach. 650). It does not apply, however, to the forms of the Possessive $\delta$.

When the forms 'Fɛ, 'Fɔι suffer elision (§ 376), the word is reduced to 'F' and consequently disappears from our texts. Thus in II. 24. 154 $\delta\varepsilon\ ικτλ$. It is plain from the parallel I. 183 $\delta\varepsilon\ σ' \varepsilonκει$ that the original was $\delta\varepsilon$ 'F' $\varepsilonκει$ (Bekker, Hom. Bl. i. 318). Other corrections of the kind are:—

II. 1. 195 προ $γαρ \ ηκε$, read προ $\delta$ 'F', as in I. 208 προ $\delta$ μ' $\etaκε$.

4. 315 $\omega$ $\delta\phiε\leυ$ $τις$ $\alphaι\deltaρων$ $\alphaλλος$ $\varepsilonκευ$, read $\omega$ 'F.'

16. 545 $μη$ $\alphaπο\ τευχε' \varepsilon\lambdaωνται$, read $μη$ 'F' (Cobet, Misc. Crit. 265).

Od. 5. 135 ηδε $\varepsilon\phiα\sigmaκου$ $θησευν$ $\alphaλ\alphaνατον$, read ηδε 'F.'

Examples of the restoration of 'F(οι) will be found in § 376.*

* The whole subject is fully treated by J. van Leeuwen, Mnemos. xiii. 188 ff. from whom these emendations are taken.
The F appears in 12 or 15 instances of hiatus, and in the 2 Aor. form ευάδε (for ε Fedε). The exceptions are, II. 3. 173 ὦς ὀφελεὶν θάνατός μοι αἰὲν (read ὦς μ' ὀφελεὶν θάνατος αἰὲν, see § 365) and 6 places with ήδος, two of which (II. 4. 131, Od. 19. 510) may be easily emended. The Substantive ήδος occurs chiefly in the phrase ἐσται ήδος, where ἐσται may perhaps be read.

The F is indicated by the hiatus κατὰ ήθεα (Od. 14. 411). In μετὰ τ' ήθεα καὶ νομὸν ἦπεν (II. 6. 511., 15. 268) the τ' is better omitted. The Pf. εἰσθα or εἰσθα probably had no initial F, since σF- would give in reduplication σεσF- or σεςF- (not σσεςF-).

The only place bearing on the question before us is II. 3. 172 φίλε ἐκυρέ, where the metre points to an initial consonant.

The F may be traced by hiatus in II. 5. 270 τῶν οί εἴκ κτλ., by lengthening in II. 24. 604, Od. 10. 6. Adverse instances are II. 23. 741, Od. 3. 115, 415., 14. 20.

The F appears from hiatus in seven places, and can always be restored. The word is probably formed from the pronominal stem σFε- (so that it is = unus e suis).

The F in inferred from metre. A few words may be added here which in all probability had initial F, though the traces of it in the metre are not supported by independent evidence.

The hiatus in three places indicates the loss of a consonant.

(Perhaps akin to ἐθος, ἡθος).

Hiatus precedes in 12 places, and there is only one instance on the other side, viz. II. 11. 724 τὰ δ' ἐπέρρεεν ἐθνεα πεζων (where ἐπέρρεε is better, see § 172).

ἐρω, ἐρρω.

Hiatus is found before ἐρω to draw in 14 places (not counting those which are indecisive, such as ἔλφος ὦς ἔρνυσαμενος, or ἔπειρομενο ἔρνυσαν), and preceding short syllables are lengthened in 17 places. There are 17 instances against F, one of the strongest being II. 1. 141 νῆα μελαναν ἔρνυσαμεν (= Od. 8. 34., 16. 348). The Verb ῥόμαι to protect is unconnected with ἐρω.

The Verb ἐρρω (probably Lat. verro) shows hiatus in the phrase ἐνθάδε ἐρρὼν (II. 8. 239., 9. 364); cp. ἀπό-ερσε, ἀπο-ἐρσειε.
The word occurs six times (counting the proper name Ἦνοψ), and except in one place (where it begins the line) always requires an initial consonant.

In the phrase ἐπὶ ἱπα φέρεω: referred to the root var meaning to choose or wish.

The only instance of this word (II. 23. 126 μέγα ἱρίον) is in favour of initial F.

An initial consonant is shown by hiatus in 23 places (ὁ δὲ ιτερο, οἰκάδε ιημένων, &c.): there are four adverse places, viz. II. 18. 501, Od. 2. 327., 10. 246., 14. 142. It is not connected with ἰμι, but is to be referred to root vi, meaning to aim at, wish (L. Meyer, Bezz. Beitr. i. 301).

*Ιλιος.
An initial consonant is indicated in about 50 places; the number of adverse instances is 14. The derivation of this important word is unknown.

*Ιρος, *Ιρις.
These words may be connected with εἰρω to tell. If so, the F of *Ιρις is to be traced in ὀκέα *Ιρις (19 times), ὅσ εὐφαρ', ἄφρο δὲ *Ιρις (three times), βάσκ' ἰθι, *Ιρι κτλ.; that of *Ιρος, Od. 18. 73, 334 (but not always, see vv. 38, 56, 233).

393.] Loss of F in Homer. The chief instances in which loss of an original F can be shown to have taken place in the language of Homer fall under the following rule:—

When the original initial F is followed by the vowels o, ω, or the diphthong ow, it produces no effect on the metre of Homer.

The following are words to which this rule will apply*:—

δράω, οὖρος (and οὐρέωσ) a watcher; ὀρεσθαί to watch. The original F (Germ. wahr-) will account for the forms έώρων and ἐπι-ουρος, but there are no traces in the metre of such forms as Φοράω, &c.

ὁρος mountain (cp. Bopyeas), and ὀρθὸς upright, which may be from the same root (cp. the Laconian Ἄρτεμις Βορθία). There is only one instance of hiatus (viz. Od. 3. 290 ἰσα ὀρεσσών).

ὄριξ (Sanscr. vartaka a quail) appears in the name Ὠρτυγή, which does not admit F (Od. 5. 123).

* See an article by Leo Meyer, K. Z. xxiii. pp. 49 ff.
LOSS OF DIGAMMA.

The retention of \( \text{o} \) before the diphthong \( \text{oi} \), as in \( \text{o} \), \( \text{olo} \), \( \text{ois} \), also in \( \text{okos} \) and \( \text{olvo} \), may indicate that \( \text{o} \) before \( \text{i} \) had not its ordinary sound, but one approaching to \( \text{e} \) (possibly like French \( \text{eu} \)). This agrees with the fact that \( \text{oi} \)
and $v$ were afterwards identical in sound, and that in the modern language both are $v$.

Words with initial $v$ are not found in Homer with $f$; but we cannot in this case speak of the loss of $f$—the combination $fv$ having been originally impossible.

The remaining instances in which loss of $f$ may be assumed in Homeric words are few, and for the most part open to question.

*ελκο*, root *valk* or *viek* (Knös, following Curtius): $f$ is perhaps seen in κατὰ οὐλκα (II. 15. 707., Od. 18. 375). This account of the word separates it from Lat. *sulcus*.

*αλιν*, *ελωρ*, possibly to be connected with Lat. *vollar* the bird of prey. The instances of hiatus before *ελωρ* are hardly enough to prove $f$.

*αλος*, from which the name Velia is said by Dionysius Hal. (*Arch. 1. 20*) to be derived, has no $f$ in Homer (II. 2. 543, 594, 20. 221, Od. 14. 474). The $f$ of this word is also wanting in the Cyprian dialect (Deecke and Siegismund, *Curt. Stud. vii. 249*).

*Ηλιος*, *Ηλειος* is without $f$ in Homer: *φαληιοις* is the form found on Elean and Laconian inscriptions.

*ηλος* (Lat. *valvis*) rejects $f$ in II. 11. 29 $v$ δε οι *ηλοι* : the two other places where it occurs prove nothing.

*ιδιω*, *ιδιώς* (root *vivid*): the σ of $f$ is lost in Homer.

*ικω*, *ικνομα* : the derivation from the root *vivg* is quite uncertain.

*ιστις* (Lat. *Vesta*): the forms *αν-λοτιος*, *εψ-λοτιος* show that the $f$ is lost in Homer (as also in the Laconian, Locrian, and Boeotian dialects, see § 404).

**394.** Initial $8f$. This combination is to be recognised in two groups of words:—

$8f$-ει (8f-ει), *εδεις* (so Ar.), *δεος*, *δεινος*, *δειλος*, &c.

A short vowel is frequently lengthened before these words, as II. 1. 515 8ν τοι ετι *δεος*, II. 11. 37 περι δε *δειμος* τε Φόβος τε, Od. 5. 52 8ς τε κατα δεινοϋς, Od. 9. 236 8μεις δε δεισαντες.

The cases in which a vowel is allowed to count as short before the $8$ of this root are extremely few: II. 8. 133 βρονθειας δε 8ρα δεινων, Od. 12. 203 των δε 8ρα δεισαντων (read 8ρ) ; II. 13. 165 ἀνδρό 8ς δε δεις δε. There remain only II. 13. 278 ἀνθρω 8ς τε δειλος 8νηρ (read ἀνθρω 8ς τε δειλος), II. 15. 626, and the forms υποδεισατε (Od. 2. 66), δεδιασι (II. 24. 603), δεδις (II. 7. 117).

$δην$, *δηρον*, *δηδα*.

In *δην* the $f$ is required in the phrases 8ν τι μάλα δην, 8νν' 8ρ' 8τι δην, &c.; there are no contrary instances. In *δηρον* it is traced in two places, II. 9. 415 (8τι δηρον δε μοι αιων), Od. 1. 203: but is more commonly absent (οδηκτι δηρον, &c.). The instances of *δηδα* do not show anything.

It is to be observed that except in *εδεις* the original $8f$ does not lengthen a vowel without the iactus. Compare the rule as to initial $f$ lengthening a short syllable by Position, § 391.
395.] Initial $Fp$, &c. The metrical value of an initial $p$ which represents $Fp$ differs in the several words. It has always the effect of a double consonant in $ργνυμι, ρπτω, ράκος, ρω$ (in ρντός, &c.), $η$ (in ρητός, ρητήρ), and nearly always in $μνδς$ (except Od. 5. 281), $δία$ (Od. 9. 390). But lengthening is optional in $ρέξω, ρύγω, ρέιον:$ thus we have $ερρεξά$ and $ερρέα$ (in 27 places); $τύποι$ δὲ $ρέα$ (II. 8. 179), but $εβά$ κε $ρέια$ κτλ.; $ερρίγεταν$, but ὃς φάτο $ρύγησεν$ δὲ κτλ. As to $ρ-$ standing for an older $σρ-$, and the other letters ($λ, μ, ν$) which lengthen a preceding short vowel, see § 371.

396.] $F$ not initial. The metrical tests by which initial $F$ is discovered generally fail us when the sound occurs in the middle of a word. Loss of $F$ may be shown either (1) by the contraction or synizesis of two vowels originally separated by it, or (2) by the shortening of the first of two such vowels. We have seen that the instances of contraction and synizesis are too rare or doubtful to prove much (§ 378*, 4). The cases in which hiatus is indicated by the shortening of a vowel are somewhat more important. In the declension of $νηδς$ the forms $νεός, νέες, νεών, νέεσσι, νέας$ (§ 94, 1) cannot be derived phonetically from $νηδός$, &c., unless we suppose loss of $F$ to have taken place. The same applies to the double forms of Nouns in $-ενσ$, as $Πηλίνος$ and $Πηλέως$, &c. Unless the short vowel is explained on some other hypothesis (e.g. by variation in the stem, as in $Ζεύς$ and $βοῖς, § 106, 2$), we must suppose that $F$ had ceased to be sounded in the middle of a word. The loss of $F$ would also explain the metathesis of quantity in $είως$ for $ηός$ in Od. 2. 79 (see § 171, 1), $τέως$ for $τής$ in II. 19. 189 αυθε τέως υπενύμενος (where G. Hermann read αυτοῦ τῆς). II. 24. 658, Od. 18. 190: but this, as these instances show, is even rarer than synizesis in these words, and is almost certainly post-Homeric.

Compound Verbs usually recognize $F$, as $ἀπο-ειπόν, δια-ειπέμεν$, also with apocope $παρ-ειπόν (ά), &c. Exceptions are: ἀπ-ειπέμεν (Od. 1. 91), ἀπ-ειπόντος (II. 19. 75), δι-ειπέ (II. 10. 425), παρ-ειπη (II. 1. 555): κατ-ειρνσαί (Od. 8. 151, 14. 332, 19. 289): ε-ιδέσσε, ε-ιδέσθηρ, ε-ιδούνα, ἐκεκ-ιδών, ε-ιδοντα: ε-ιδώκε (11 places): υπείπομα (II. 1. 204, Od. 12. 117). In some of these forms metrical necessity may be pleaded; thus εμ-φέκουε and εμ-φίεικα, κατα-φιδών and κατα-φιδών (ν  ν) are alike impossible in the hexameter. Hence we may suppose a licence by which (as in the case of $φφ, ββ, &c. § 370) the combinations $νφ, τφ, πφ, νφ$, did not 'make Position.' The instances to which this excuse does not apply are very few.

On the other hand there are several examples of words in which $F$ between two vowels, or between a vowel and a liquid ($ρ$ or $λ$), is vocalised as $υ; ανάχοι (ά-Φιάχοι), ανέρνον, ἀγανός, ταλαίρνος (ταλά-φρνος), εὔάες, ἔξενα, ἀλευάθαι, δεύμα, εὔηρα,

$αυρίνον, περί: άυρίνον, &c. άνερνο αυρίνα, ανάλον < αφ-σεκ-ριος, &c. αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον: άυρίνον, &c. αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρίνον, αυρί


\(\dot{a}p\nu\nu'p\alpha (\S\ 13), \dot{a}k\nu'p\). It is very possible that many more such forms were to be found in the original text: ep. \S\ 384, 1.

397.] Loss of initial \(\sigma\) and \(i\) (\(\acute{y}\)). The traces of these sounds in the metre of Homer are chiefly of interest for the purpose of comparison with the facts relating to \(F\).

The effects of initial \(\sigma\) may be seen in a few cases of the non-elision of prepositions: \(\dot{e}p\nu-\acute{a}l\mu\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\) (Lat. salio), \(\acute{\alpha}m\phi\acute{\i}\-\alpha\lambda\varepsilon\) (Lat. sal), \(\acute{\alpha}m\phi\acute{\i}\-\epsilon\acute{\i}\nu\) (Lat. secundum), kata-\(\acute{\i}\sigma\chi\varepsilon\tau\alpha\) (\(\acute{\i}\sigma\chi\omega\) for \(\sigma\i\sigma\chi\omega\)), and the lengthening in \(\pi\acute{a}p\acute{e}\chi\nu\) (Od. 19. 113) and \(\dot{\sigma}u\nu\varepsilon\chi\acute{\varepsilon}\) (Od. 9. 74). Hiatus is also found twice before \(\dot{\alpha}l\eta\) (II. 14. 285, Od. 5. 257), once before \(\dot{u}\nu\varepsilon\nu\) (Od. 10. 68), and 18 times before \(\acute{e}\os\) (mostly in the principal caesura). These instances however are too few to prove anything.

Initial \(i\) or \(y\) is chiefly traced in the Adverb \(\omega\dot{s}\), which when used after the Noun to which it refers is allowed to lengthen the final syllable: as \(\theta\acute{e}\os\ \omega\dot{s}\), \(\dot{\vartheta}\nu\theta\acute{e}\\dot{s}\ \omega\dot{s}\), \&c. (so in 36 places). On the other hand there are nearly as many places which do not admit an initial consonant: as \(k\acute{t}\i\lambda\os\ \omega\dot{s}\) (II. 3. 196), \(\lambda\acute{e}\nu\theta' \omega\dot{s}\) (II. 11. 383., 12. 293., 16. 756), \(\theta\acute{e}\os\ \delta' \omega\dot{s}\ \kappa\lambda\). Probably therefore no spirant was heard, and the lengthening of the syllable before \(\omega\dot{s}\) was a mere 'survival' or traditional rule (\S\ 375, 1).

398.] Summary. According to the computation of Prof. Hartel there are 3354 places in which the effect of the Digamma can be traced on the metre of Homer. In 2324 places its presence is shown by hiatus after a short vowel (\(i, e.\) it prevents elision); in 359 places it justifies the lengthening of a short syllable ending in a consonant, in other words, it helps to make 'Position;' in 164 places it follows a long vowel or diphthong which is without ietus: in 507 places it follows a long vowel or diphthong with ietus. It is further to be noticed that in many places a short final vowel in arsis is lengthened before the \(F\): see especially the instances given under \(\acute{e}\os\) (\S\ 390), and \(\dot{i}\acute{a}\chi\omega\) (\S\ 389).* On the other hand there are 617 places where the \(F\) is neglected. Short vowels suffer Elision before it in 324 places: it fails to lengthen by Position after another consonant in 215 places: and long vowels or diphthongs are shortened before it in 78 places. Also the power to lengthen by Position is confined, except in the case of the enclitic \(\acute{e}\os\), \(\os\), to lengthening of syllables which have the ietus.

399.] Theories of the \(F\). The main question which arises on these facts evidently is: How can the great number of passages

* A short vowel is also lengthened with ietus before \(\acute{e}\nu\nu\) (Od. 10. 246), \(\acute{e}\nu\nu\) (Od. 14. 411), and in the Compounds \(\acute{a}\nu\o-e\acute{e}p\nu\nu\) (II. 19. 35) and \(\acute{a}\nu\o-e\theta\nu\), \(\acute{a}\nu\o-e\theta\nu\) (II. 21. 283, 329).
in which the $F$ affects the metre of Homer be reconciled with the not inconceivable number of passages in which it is neglected?

The scholars who first became aware of the traces of a lost letter in Homer assumed that in the original form of the poems this letter, or at least the consonant sound for which it afterwards stood, was consistently used—that it was in fact one of the ordinary sounds of the language—; and accordingly they directed their efforts to restoring it to the text. This was the principle on which Bentley made his famous series of emendations: and which was carried out by Bekker in his edition of 1858. Of late years, however, different views of the matter have been taken. Leskien seems to have been the first to maintain that the passages which do not admit $F$ are not necessarily corrupt or spurious, but are to be regarded as evidence of an original fluctuation in the use of the sound. His view is adopted and defended by Curtius (Grundz. p. 560, 5th ed.). Prof. Hartel has more recently put forward a theory which agrees with that of Curtius in treating the apparent neglect of the $F$ as part of the original condition of the text. But he ascribes this neglect, not to irregularity in the use of the sound, but to the intermediate half-vowel character of the sound itself.

400.] If we are not satisfied that the $F$ had the value of an ordinary consonant at the time when the Homeric poems were produced (or when they received their present form), we may explain the influence which it has on the metre in several ways.

Hypothesis of alternative forms. We may suppose that each word that originally had initial $F$ was known to Homeric times in two forms, an older form with the $F$—confined perhaps to the archaic or poetical style—and a later in which $F$ was no longer heard. Just as the poet could say either $υος$ or $υς$, either $πολις$ or $πτολις$, either $τελέσσαι$ or $τελέσαι$, so he may have had the choice between $\varphiαναξ$ and $\varphiαξ$, $\varphiηδος$ and $\varphiδος$, &c.

In order to test the probability of this hypothesis, let us take a few common words of different metrical form, and which show no trace of $F$, the words "Αρης, άριστος, έγχος, ήμαρ, άμιλος, άφθαλμός, άδωρ, άπνος. These words, with their immediate derivatives, occur in the Iliad 1022 times; and the places that would not admit an initial consonant number 684, or just two-thirds of the whole. Again, take some of the commonest words with $F$, $\varphiαξ$, $\varphiαρνυ, \varphiργυν, \varphiικος$, and the Aorist $\varphiδειν$. These occur in the Iliad 685 times, and the exceptions are hardly 50, or about one-fourteenth. Compared with the other proportion this surely proves that the recognition of the $F$ in these words was not arbitrary, but was the rule in Homeric verse.

401.] Explanation from fixed phrases, &c. The traces of $F$
may also be ascribed to the conventional phrases of the early epic style. The word ἄστυ, for example, is found very frequently in the combinations προτὶ ἄστυ, ἀνὰ ἄστυ, κατὰ ἄστυ, &c.; but these do not prove the pronunciation Φάστυ for Homeric times any more than (e. g.) ἐπίεικῆς proves an Attic ἐπίθεικῆς. Such phrases, it may be said, were handed on ready-made, with a fixed metrical value, and served as models for fresh combinations, in which the hiatus was retained as part of the familiar rhythm.

This explanation is inadequate, for the following reasons:—

(1) The instances of Φ are not confined to the commonest words, or to frequently recurring phrases. Thus it is found in Ιον a violet, Ιττυς the felloe of a wheel, Ιτη a willow, ἀρνες lambs. And it is used (generally speaking) in all the different forms of each Verb or Noun, whether of common occurrence or not (ἰδεῖν as well as ἰδεῖν, ἴνει as well as ἴς and ἴπτι, &c.).

(2) The other cases in which tradition can be shown to have had the effect of retaining older phrases and combinations are not really parallel. In the Homeric Hymns the Φ can be clearly traced: but the proportion of instances which do not admit Φ is markedly different. Taking the words already used as examples, viz. ἀναξ, ἄστυ, ἐργον, οἴκος, ἰδείν, we find them in the Hymns 152 times, while the Φ is neglected in 36 places, or nearly one-fourth of the whole. Again if we look at the words which begin with ο, as οὐλαμός, ὄψ, &c. (§ 393), we find similar conditions. The traces of Φ are undoubted, but do not predominate as with ἀναξ or ἄστυ. Other examples may be seen in the traces of the double consonants, σρ, σλ, σφ, Φρ discussed in § 371. Compare the free use of alternate forms, as ἐρἔα and ἐρέεα, προ-ρέω and ἐπίρρεω, with the almost invariable recognition of δφ in δέος, δείσως, &c. We seem to be able to draw a broad distinction between the predominating influence of the Φ in Homer and the arbitrary or occasional influence of the older forms in other cases. And these other cases, we may conclude, give us a measure of the force of tradition in such matters, while in the case of the Homeric Φ the effect is due to its retention as a living sound.

(3) A further argument in favour of Φ as a real sound in Homer has been derived from the places in which 'Fē, 'Foi suffer elision (§ 391); see Leaf's note on II. 24. 154. The argument has much force, and would be conclusive if we could assume that an elided vowel was not sounded at all.

402.] Hiatus &c. as a survival. Another supposition, akin to the last discussed, is that in the words which originally had initial Φ the ordinary effects of an initial consonant remained after the sound itself was no longer heard. Such a phenomenon would be by no means without parallel in language. In French,
for instance, elision is not allowed before certain words beginning with $h$, as $h$ éròs, hauteur, though the $h$ is no longer pronounced. Similarly, then, it may be held that the facts of Homeric metre only prove the habit or rule of treating certain words as if they began with $f$.

On the other side it may be urged that the $h$ of $h$ éròs, hauteur, &c. is only traced in one way, viz. by hiatus, and that only in a small number of combinations; whereas the $f$ not only protects hiatus, but also makes Position. Moreover the retention of a traditional usage of this kind is very much easier in an age of education. Anomalies which would naturally disappear in a few years are kept alive by being taught to successive generations of children. It seems difficult to believe that the $f$ would have kept its present place in the memory of the poets unless it were familiar, either to the ear as a present sound, or to the eye as a letter in the written text.

403. Explanation from the nature of the $f$. The theory recently advanced by Prof. Hartel is one to which it is difficult to do justice in a short statement. The careful re-examination which he has made of the metrical facts has convinced him that the influence of the $f$ is not occasional or arbitrary, but in the strictest sense universal in Homer. He does not however regard the passages in which the $f$ appears to be neglected as corrupt or spurious, but explains them on the theory that the $f$ in Homer has not the full value of an ordinary consonant: comparing it, for instance, not with the initial V of Latin, but with the sound which that letter has in the combination QV.

Hartel's chief argument is that hiatus after short vowels is the most common of the metrical facts pointing to a lost $f$, and especially that it is much commoner than lengthening by Position, the numbers being 2995 and 359 respectively. But the force of this argument depends in the case of each word on the metrical form: thus before a word of iambic form the syllable must be short, hence we may find hiatus, but not lengthening: before an anapaest the reverse holds good. If (using Hartel's list) we take the instances in which $f$ is followed in the verse by two short syllables—the words being ἀγεν, ἄλις, ἔρος, ἔλικες (with ἔλικωτες, &c.), ἐπος, ἔρως, ἔτος, ἓκαθί, ἰδον—we shall find that they number 415, and the $f$ makes Position in 98. But this is not materially different from the proportion which will be found to obtain in the case of any common word of the same metrical form (such as πόλεμος).

404. $f$ in other Greek dialects. It seems desirable here to say something of the uses of the Digamma which are found on the older inscriptions of the chief Doric and Æolic dialects.
The forms preserved on these inscriptions do not indeed prove anything directly as to the Homeric digamma. We cannot infer from them, for instance, that the symbol $F$ was ever used in any written copies of the poems, or that the sound which it represented in other dialects was known to the Homeric language. But they may serve by way of analogy to direct our conjectures on these questions.

The most striking examples of $F$ are found on the inscriptions of Corinth and its colony Coreya (as Φεκάβα, Φίναλαφος, Φύφως, Δέφενιας, Αίφας, Ενφων, Ενφάρος, Δράφος, Τλασίάφος, &c.). With these may be placed the Argive inscriptions (in one of which occurs Δίφί), and the few Laconian inscriptions. In the older monuments of these dialects initial $F$ is never wanting; but omission in the body of the word is occasionally found, as in Δαίφοδος and Πολυέβα (on the same Corinthian vase), and several names ending in -καίς (for -κλέφης), and -λας (for -λαφος). The scanty Phocian inscriptions yield the important forms Φέξ, αίφει, κλέφος, with no early examples of omission; and the little known Pamphylian dialect is equally constant, so far as it has been made out. The Locrian dialect shows more decided indications of falling off in the use of the digamma. On the inscriptions of that dialect (discussed by Prof. Allen in Curt. Stud. iii. 207 ff.) we find it in Φαστός, Φεκαστός, Φεκόων, Φέτος, Φεστάφρως, Φοίκος and its compounds (ἐπίφοικος, &c.), also in καταφεί, Φεφαδηκότα: but not in δαμωργός, ξένος, εὐνέα, 'Οπώντιος (for original 'Οποφέρτιος). The only initial $F$ which is wanting is in the word ιστία (we may compare the Laconian and Homeric ἐφέστιος). Similarly in the older Elean inscriptions initial $F$ is regular (Φάργος, Φέτος, Φράτρα, &c.); and we have also Ἐρφασοι (people of Ηεραεα ?), ἐφέρεμ (prob. an Infinitive), but ξένος, Διός without $F$. In the great inscription of Gortyn initial $F$ appears in Φός (συμμ.), Φίν (= 'Φοί), Φεκαστός, Φεκάτερος, Φέρξαι, Φεργασία, Φήμα (εἴμα), Φεππα, Φοικές, Φοίνος, Φικατ, Φεζήκοντα, and is only lost in ὄνα, ὄνας (before ο, § 393). The $F$ is also found in Compounds, as ἐνφοίκη, προφεπάτω, δυνδεκαβίτες, and in the body of the word Φισφάμαρους, but disappears between vowels, as in λάος (Gen. of λαὸς a stone), αἰεῖ, παϊδίων, the oblique Cases of Nouns in -ος and -ευς (νιέες, Φοικέα, δρομεές, &c.), and the contracted words ἀτα (ἀφάτη) and ἄς (for άφος, = άως). It is also lost before ρ, as in ἀπορρήθεντι.*

A somewhat later stage in the use of $F$ is well exemplified by the numerous Boeotian inscriptions. In these the general rule is that initial $F$ is retained: the only word from which it is regularly absent is Εκαστός. On the other hand the only instances of

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F in the body of a word are, the compound Ἐκαταδίες (ἐκοσι-ετέες), and a group of derivatives of ἀείδω (ἀλαφύδος, τραγα-νυδός, &c.). The same rule applies to the Arcadian inscriptions, which however are too few to be of importance. The further progress of decay may be seen in the Doric dialect of Heraclea, of which a specimen remains in the well known Tabulae Heracleenses (of the 4th cent.). We there find Fέξ, Fέτος, Fάδος, Fκατι and the compound ἥγ-γηληθωτι (ἑξ-ευληθωσί), but ἕκαστος, ἓνος, ἄφ-ερεώτι, πενταέτης, ἔργάζομαι, οἰκία, ρήτρα: from which it follows that the use of F even as an initial sound must have been fluctuating. A similar condition of at least partial loss of F is found in inscriptions of Melos.

If we do not confine our view to the character F, but look to the other indications of the sound which it represented, the most important evidence is that furnished by the Cyprian inscriptions. The forms which they yield belong, generally speaking, to an earlier period of the language than is known from alphabetical inscriptions. Yet the use of the sounds answering to F is not uniform: we have Διφός and Διός, βασιλέφος and βασιλέος.

An original F is represented by Β in several parts of Greece, especially Laconia, Elis, Crete: but probably the Β is merely a graphical substitute for F. It is found in the inscriptions of later times, when B was probably = our v.

The substitution of v for F is characteristic of the Ἀeolic of Lesbos, as ἐνδέ (for ἐβδέ), αὐδός, δεύομαι, ἐνδεύης (= ἐνδεύς). In these forms the F is vocalised: cp. Homeric αὐλάχος (= ἄ-κιαχος), ἐνάν, ταλαύρινος.

It is necessary here to notice a group of uses of the F in which it seems to have been developed from a neighbouring vowel (w or o). The vowel usually precedes, as in Laconian ἐδύοφος, ἐδύοσ, Coreyorean ἀριστεδόντα, Boeotian Εὐφάρα, βάκενθαι, Cyprian Ἐβελθων, Ἐφαγώρω, κατεσκεύασθε: but we also find Τασιάφο (Coreyr.), Γίγαφος (Cypr.), Τυμοχαριφος (Cypr.), Φόυτος (Locr.). So perhaps the Boeotian αὐλαφυδός, τραγανυδός, &c. (see above). With the former instances we might compare Italian Genovè, Padovà (for Genua, Padua); with the latter the u of Italian uomo, uopo, the w of whole, the provincial English wuts for oafs, &c. With Fότι we should compare the form Ναυπάκτος, also Locrian. Both are exceptional, and indeed must be considered as mere errors:* but they help to show how near F was to a pure vowel sound. It is evident that this redundant F, growing

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* The ordinary form Ναυπάκτος occurs on the inscription 19 times, the form with Na- only once. Similarly against the single instance of Fότι are to be set 2 instances of Ἐτί, and 5 others of the Relative ἕς, in the older Locrian inscription. See Allen in Curt. Stud. iii. p. 252; Brugmann, ibid. iv. p. 133, n. 57: Tudeer, De digamma, p. 45.
out of the vowel u or o, is a parallel phenomenon to the loss of F before these vowels which was noticed above as a characteristic of Homer (§ 393).

405.] F in Ionic. There remains the interesting question whether the existence of the F in Ionic can be traced in inscriptions. The evidence appears to be as follows (Tudeer, De digamma &c. pp. 5 ff.)—

(1) The form ΑΦΤΤΟ (= αυτός) on a Naxian inscription of the end of the 6th century B.C. But, as has been pointed out,* the F of αυτός indicates at most a special way of pronouncing the u, and is to be compared with the erroneous ΝάFπαττος noticed above.

(2) The name of the city of Velia, which was founded by exiles from Phocaea (Ῥέα marshes; but see § 393).

(3) The forms ΦΙΟ, ΓΑΡΙΤΕΟΝΈΣ, ΟΦΑΙΤΕΕΣ—all proper names—on vases found in Magna Graecia, and supposed to have come from Chalcis in Euboea, or one of its Italian colonies.

It is inferred by Tudeer (l.c.) that the F must have been a living sound in the Ionic dialect of Euboea at the time when the colonies of Chalcis were sent to Magna Graecia, i.e. probably in the 8th century B.C. On the other hand, since there is no example on the inscriptions of Euboea itself, the sound does not seem to have survived there down to the date of the earliest examples of writing, viz. the 6th century B.C. Hence Tudeer puts the loss of the F in Ionic Euboea at some time between the 8th and the 6th centuries.

It has been recently pointed out by P. Kretschmer (K. Z. xxxi. 285) that the Ionic change of a to η cannot be placed very early. The name Μῆδοι underwent the change,—the original a appears in the form Μάδοι on the monument of Idalion—and the Medes must therefore have become known to the Ionians before it was completed. The Persian names which reached Ionia later—Δαρείος, Μιθριδάτης, &c.—retain their a. Similarly the old Carian Μίλατος became the Ionic Μίλητος. Hence the Ionic η is later than the contact of Ionians with the nations of Asia Minor. Now the anomalous η after ρ in the Attic κόρη and δέρη is to be explained from the older forms κόρη, δέρη (ep. κόρη from κόρη). Consequently the loss of F in Attic must be later than the change of a to η, and a fortiori later than the Ionian migration. This inference is confirmed by the o of the Comparatives κενότερος and στενότερος, pointing as it does to the forms

*κευφός, στευφός (since the lengthening of the ε, as in Ionic κευψός, στευψός, never took place in Attic).

The former use of Φ as a letter in all Greek alphabets is shown by its use as a numeral, and also by the existence of the first non-Phoenician letter, Τ. The addition of Τ, which was the earliest made, and perhaps contemporaneous with the introduction of the alphabet, shows that the Greeks felt the need of a vowel distinct from the labial spirant Vau. Otherwise the Phoenician Vau would have served for the vowel υ, just as the Yod was taken for the vowel i. And as there is no Greek alphabet without Τ, it follows that the consonant Φ was equally universal.*

Combining these inferences with the independent evidence furnished by the metre, we may arrive at some approximate conclusions regarding the value of Φ in the Ionic of Homer.

(a) Initial Φ had the value of a consonant, except before o or ω (§ 393).

(b) Φ was retained, not only at the beginning of a word (§ 394), but also in εδείσα, δείσα, &c.: we can hardly suppose compensatory lengthening in these forms.

(c) Φ between vowels is more doubtful (§ 396). Since initial Φ was lost as early as Homer before o or ω, it probably vanished before most Case-endings of the Second Declension, and before the -ος, -ων of the Third Declension. Thus for λαφός, &c. we should have λαψό, λαψό, &c. (but Φ possibly in λαφοί, λαφοίς): and again δος, δός, δέι, &c., ηλεύς, ηλης, &c. Then other Cases might follow the analogy of the Gen. Sing. and Plur., and so drop the Φ altogether. However this may be, it is clear that Φ between vowels was generally lost much earlier than Φ at the beginning of the word (cp. Italian amai for amati, &c.). The absence of contraction proves little, as we see from the Attic χεω, εχεα, χεε, &c. At the same time we occasionally find a partial survival of Φ in a vocalised form, making a diphthong with the preceding vowel (§ 396).

* As the Vau is written ϒ on the Moabite Stone, it has been suggested that it was the source of the Greek Τ. It seems not improbable that the letters Φ and Τ were at first only two forms of Vau, appropriated in course of time to the consonant Φ and vowel υ,—just as our u and v come from the two uses of Latin V. If this is so, the place of Τ at the end of the then alphabet is significant, as showing the importance attached to the original order of the letters. See Roberts, Greek Epigraphy, § 11: Taylor, The Alphabet, ii. p. 82.
APPENDIX.*

C. On η and ei in Homer.

This seems the most convenient place for a short statement of the question as to the spelling of the Subjunctives formed from Stems in -η; and of some other forms about which similar doubts have arisen.

1. In the case of Stems in which -η represents an older -ā the MSS. usually have ei before o, ω, but η before e, η. Thus in the Subj. of ἐβην, ἐστην we find βείω, στείωσι, &c., but βῆς, στήσον, &c. There are one or two exceptions: καταβησμέν once in A (II. 10. 97), ἐπιβησμέν in good MSS. of the Odyssey (6. 262., 10. 334). Aristarchus however wrote περιστήσασ' in II. 17. 95 (where all the MSS. have περιστείσω'), and βήσασ in II. 22. 431 (where the MSS. have either βείσα or βίσαι): from which it may be inferred that he wrote η in all similar forms.

2. In the Subjunctives from Stems in -η (the short Stem ending in -e), the MSS. always have ei before o, ω, and usually before e, η. Thus we find δείω, βείσε, βείδης, and less commonly βης, βής, &c. But Aristarchus wrote βής, βήν, &c., and so in all similar cases, δαμήν, σαπήν, &c. As to δείω, δαμείω, &c., no express statement of his opinion has been preserved. If we may argue from this silence, we should infer that the question had not arisen, and therefore that with these Stems the spelling -ειω, -ειομεν, &c. was anciently universal.

3. The spelling with ei appears in some forms of the Aor. ἔκησα (for ἔκησα, see § 15), esp. κείμεν, κείαντες, κείαντο, κειμένου, κακ-κείαν; also in the Pf. Part. τεθνείως, and the 3 Plur. forms είσαι, είσο, ἀκαθείσο. Aristarchus certainly wrote ἔκησα, τεθνείως: and the form ἔισαι (for ἔισαι) is supported by ancient authority (Eust. Od. 20. 354.)

4. In the declension of Stems in -εεος (for -εεος-) we sometimes find η throughout, as Ἰρακλῆς, Ἰρακλῆς, Ἰρακλῆς, Ἰρακλῆς, sometimes η before ei and i, but ei before o, ω, as άκλης, ζαχρής, but άκλεις, έυκλειας, έυρρείς, ξαχρείων. So δείοις, στείων, but σπήν, στήσσον. In all these cases, however, the uncontracted εε should probably be substituted for η or ei (§ 105, 15). In χέρη, χέρης, χέρεια (Aristarchus and most MSS.) the origin of the long vowel is not quite certain (§ 121).

* The matter contained in the Appendix to the first edition under the headings A, B, D and E has now been incorporated with the body of the work.
5. The Attic -εω- in πλέως, κρεω-φάγος, χρεωκοπέω points to original πλής, κρής, χρής, instead of the usual πλέως, κρείας, χρείας. And ἔως, τέως are for ἔος, τῆς (not εῖος, as in the MSS.).

6. So Attic -ἐα points to -ηα, and accordingly we should have φρήναρ, στήναρ (instead of φρείαρ, &c.) and similarly διναρ.

The rule adopted by Bekker and La Roche is phonetic. They write ε before ο, ω, α, but η before ε, ει, η, ι. Thus they give στειω, στήμες; θειω, θήμες; τημαι, εισαι; and so on. This rule, however, is purely empirical.

On the other hand the scholars who look at the question as an etymological one are inclined to prefer η in all the instances in question. They hold that if (e.g.) we find the strong Stem θη- in τεθν-μυ, θή-σω, τηνκα, &c., it must also be found in the Subjunctive. And they point out that in this and similar cases there is a special reason for distrusting, not only the extant MSS. (which are admittedly liable to error from itacism), but also the statements of the ancient grammarians, so far at least as they may be regarded as founded upon MSS. of the 4th century B.C. The older alphabet, which was used in Athens down to 400 B.C., employed the same character E for three distinct sounds, viz. the short ε, the long η, and (in many words) the diphthong ει. This would not lead to practical difficulty with a living language, but in the case of Homeric forms there was nothing to prevent confusion except the metre, and (it may be) the traditional pronunciation of the rhapsodists. There is therefore no good ground for believing that the spelling even of the 4th century B.C. could be trusted to decide between η and ει in any form which was then obsolete.

The substitution of ει for η, however, is not a matter of chance, but depends on the circumstance that in later Greek ει represented a single long vowel of the same quality as the short ε (probably a close e, such as French é), while η was of different quality (a more open e, French è). Accordingly when Homeric η passed into ε in Attic, as in τεθνως, τεθνεως, there was a special tendency to make the archaic long vowel (which the metre requires) as like as possible to the ε of the living speech. So the forms στήω, βηω, θηω, στήμεν, &c. would be liable to change their η to ει under the influence of the New Ionic στειω, στεώμεν, &c.; and so too ἔος, τής became εῖος, τεῖως from the influence of ἔως, τέως. We may even suppose that η first became ε, and this ε was afterwards lengthened to fit the metre,—just as Wackernagel supposes οραω to have been changed to ὄρω through the intermediate form ὄρῳ (§ 55).
A similar account is to be given of the forms which exhibit ει for ευ or εφ, as πνεεισ breathes, δεινων τιν, χειν (Sulj.) shall pour, πελευστε sailing, κλειστει celebrate (§ 29, 3). The original Present is preserved in σευω and δεισμα, cp. the Aorists ἡσεια, Ἧλευστο. When -ευω passed into -εφω and then -εω, the ε was lengthened by the force of the metre, and became ει. So the ει of κειστε (for κηνιστε or κηνιστε, from καίω) is to be attributed to the Attic I Aor. Part. κιασ. But the Verbs in -ειω (§ 51, 3), or some of them, may be Verbs in -ηω: e.g. ὄκνηω, like Ἑλικ νησω, ἀδικηω.

It is probable that in the same way the ἀ of φέα (Plur. of φίασ), ἀηρ, ἀείωσ, ἂςε, ἄιον, ἄεσα, ἂορ, ἄλιας, ζαίς, &c. represents αυ. The lengthening well be merely metrical, as in ἀθάνατος &c. (§ 386).

In some cases ει takes the place of an ε which was long by Position: as δειδουκα for δεῖδοικα, and perhaps είδαρ for ἐθε-μα.

The readiness to put ει for ε, especially before a vowel, appears in Ionic inscriptions of the 4th century B.C. where we find (e.g.) the forms δειφέων, δειγμα, δεισωντα, ἐννεα, ἑδρύσειως, πόλεως, and Genitives in -κλεινς (H. Weir Smyth, The Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect, in the Trans. of the Am. Phil. Ass. xx. p. 74: G. Meyer, Griech. Gr.2 § 149). It is worth observing that these inscriptions belong to the same period as the MSS. in which, as we gather from the criticism of Aristarchus, such forms as τευνιωτας, στειωσι, βειω, &c. first found their way into the text.

F. Fick's theory of the Homeric dialect.

The theory put forward by Aug. Fick in his two works on Homer (Die homerische Odyssee in der ursprünglichen Sprachform wiederhergestellt, 1883: Die homerische Ilias nach ihrer Entstehung betrachtet und in der ursprünglichen Sprachform wiederhergestellt, 1886) admits of being stated in a very few words. He holds that the poems (with certain exceptions) were originally composed in an Ἑλικ dialect; that some three centuries later (about 540 B.C.) they were translated into Ionic; and that in this process every Ἑλικ word for which there was no metrically equivalent form in Ionic was simply left unchanged. Thus, in his view, was formed the Epic dialect of literature,—a dialect mainly Ionic, but with a considerable admixture of Ἑλικ forms.

The arguments which Fick advances in favour of this theory are not entirely linguistic. The scene of the Iliad, he reminds us, is
laid in Æolis; the heroes and legends are largely those of the Æolic race; the parts of Ionia which tradition connects with Homer adjoin Æolic settlements; and Smyrna, which figures in some of the oldest traditions as his birthplace, was for a time an Æolic city. Now if the poems were first composed in some Æolic district of the north-west of Asia Minor, and passed thence to Ionia, they would take an Æolic form; and, as the result of the supremacy of Ionia in art and literature, that form, though full of anomalies and half-understood archaisms, would naturally hold its ground as the accepted text of Homer, and become the standard to which later poets, both of the Homeric and the Hesiodic school, would be obliged to conform.

The linguistic arguments upon which Fick chiefly relies are as follows:

1. The f or 'digamma,' which is required by the metre of Homer, is an Æolic letter, unknown to the earliest extant Ionic. Moreover the vocalisation of the f seen in a number of Homeric words (ἀύαχος and the like, § 396) is characteristically Æolic: cp. the Æolic εὐβάσις (for ἐ-φάσε), ἄμηρ (for ἄφηρ), ἀνάτα (=άητ), &c. The prothetic ε of ἐδνα (ἐ-φεδνα), ἐκικοσι, ἐργω, &c. is also Æolic.

In order to prove that f never existed in Ionic Fick appeals to the Ionic inscriptions, and the early Ionic poets. This evidence, however, does not go back beyond the 7th century B.C., and therefore proves nothing for the original language of Homer. As we have seen (§ 405), there is reason to believe that the loss of F in the Ionic dialect was subsequent to the first settlements of Ionians in Asia.

2. The Æolic accent and breathing are found in a number of Homeric words. Thus the barytone accent appears in the Nomina- mats in -α (as μυήστα, &c.), in the Perfect forms ἀκάχθεναι, ἀκαχήμενος, ἀλάληθαι, ἀλαλήμενος, ἐγρήγορθαι, also in ἀπούρας, ζής, ἀλλωθι, πότω; the smooth breathing in ἄλτο (ἐπ-άλμενος), ἐμπορε, υββάλλειν, ἡμβροτον, ἱμαρ, ἢμαζα, ἢμωθς, ἢμόθεν, ἢμος, ἐπ-ἰστιον, αὐτ-οδίον (οδός); and both peculiarities in the Pronouns ἤμμες and ἤμες.

The answer is suggested by Fick himself,—though he makes it apply to a small part only of these forms.* It is that the accent and breathing of the Æolic words in Homer was determined by the

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* 'Für ἤμμες, ἤμων, ἤμε und υββάλλειν mag die psilose aus dem ἀολischen dialect erschlossen sein, in den übrigen fällen liegt wohl echte überlieferung vor' (Odyssee, p. 12). Where is the evidence of any such tradition? Whenever the grammarians have to do with a form which was obsolete or archaic in their time, they are evidently quite at a loss.
living Æolic dialect. Let us take the form ἄμμυ(ν) as a typical instance. Fick holds that the Æolic ἄμμυ(ν) was adopted by the Ionic reciters and preserved with all its Æolic features—the double μ, the smooth breathing, the barytone accent—for several generations, because the Ionic ἃμω is metrically different (−− instead of −−). The alternative is to suppose that the original Homeric language had a form with short i—as in Doric ἄμω—and that in later times, when this form had gone out of use, the Æolic ἄμμυ(ν) took its place in the text. Such a substitution is eminently natural. The rhapsodists were doubtless familiar with the Æolic Pronoun(s), and their adoption of the form ἄμμυ(ν) was simply putting the known in place of the unknown. In the case of ἄμμυ(ν) and ὑβάλλειν Fick himself takes this view. But if the form ἄμμυ(ν) was maintained by the influence of contemporary Æolic, we need go no further for an explanation of the whole group of forms of which it is the type.

3. Several of the inflexional forms of Æolic are more or less frequent in Homer, and their occurrence, according to Fick, is subject to a law which holds almost without exception, viz. that the Æolic form is used (1) whenever the corresponding Ionic form is different in quantity, and therefore is not admitted by the metre, and (2) when the word itself is wanting in Ionic. In either case the simple substitution of Ionic for Æolic was impossible. On the other hand the Ionic of Homer can be translated back into Æolic without encountering any difficulty of the kind.

The forms to which Fick applies his argument are: the Fem. Voc. in -ά (νῦμφα), the Gen. in -οιω (−οο), -άο, -άων: the Dat. Plur. in -εσσ(ν): the Gen. of Pronouns in -θεν: the forms ἄμμες, ἄμμιν, ἄμμες, ἄμμιν, ἄμμε: the Pres. in -άω. -ηω (−ειω), -ωω: the Inf. in -μεναι and -μεν: the Pf. Part. in -ων (as κεκληγων for κεκληγών): the Nouns in -άος, -άων (λαος, ὀπάων, διδυμάων, and many proper names); θεα, Ναυσικά, and some proper names in -εια, -ειάς (in Ionic -εις). Other Æolic words in Homer are γέλος (γέλως), πλέες (πλέονες), πίσυρε (Ιον. τίστερες), ἡμιροτον (ἡμιροτον)—all metrically different from the Ionic form. In several instances the corresponding Ionic form would have suited the metre, but was not in use; so θεα (Ionic only θεάς), πολυ-πάμων (Æol. πεπάμαι=κέκτημαι), ἐμπορε (in Ionic only Middle ειμαρμα), ἐνίμπρε, ἐννοσίγμας, ἀργουν, ἐρεβενόν. So ὀπώς was retained because the Ionic form was ὀκως, never ὀκκως: and ὀππως again led to the retention of ὀπως.

In order to determine how far these forms are proofs of an Æolic
Homer, it is necessary to distinguish between those which are specifically ΑΕoic, i.e. ΑΕoic modifications of a common original, and those which are simply the older forms, which Ionic and other dialects modified each in its own way. To the latter class belong the Gen. endings -οι (Indo-Eur. -ογο), -άο, -άων (New Ion. -εω, -εω), the Voc. in -ά, the Inf. in -μεναι, -μεν. These are forms which would be found everywhere in Greece, if we could trace the different dialects far enough back. They are ‘ΑEolic’ only because they were retained in ΑEolic (among other dialects), but were altered or lost in Attic and Ionic. The same may be said of the endings of the Pronouns ἁμας, &c. They appear also in the corresponding Doric forms ἄμες, ἃμε, Dat. ἄμων, ἃμυ, Acc. ἄμε, ἃμ. In these cases, then, we only know that a form is archaic, not that it belongs to any one dialect.*

On the other hand there are some forms to which this account does not apply. The Dat. Plur. in -εσαί is not proved to be ‘Pan-hellenic,’ and is certainly less primitive than the form in -ει (§ 102). The case stands thus: Ionic has only -ει, ΑEolic only -εσαί, in Homer both are found (-εσαί being rather less frequent). Therefore, says Fick, the language of Homer is ΑEolic,—not the later ΑEolic, in which every Dat. Plur. ended in -εσαί, but an earlier, in which -εσαί had begun to take the place of -ει. The same may be said mutatis mutandis of the Genitives εμέν, είδεν, εθεν, and the Participles κεκλήγων, κεκόπων (§ 27). The argument here has greater weight than in the case of Pan-hellenic inflexions, but it is not conclusive. The forms now in question are not confined to ΑEolic: they appear occasionally in Doric, and in the dialects of northern Greece. There was therefore a general tendency towards these forms, and the dialect of Homer may have shared in this tendency without being thereby proved to be non-Ionic.

In the case of the Genitives in -οι and the Voc. in -ά the argument may be pressed somewhat further. The forms -οι and -ου, which are found together in Homer, represent different steps of a phonetic process (-οι, -οιο, -οο, -ου): therefore they cannot have subsisted together in any spoken dialect, and -οι in Homer must be an archaism, preserved by literary tradition. This conclusion is

* Undue stress has been laid upon the variety of forms of the Infinitive in Homer: e.g. βεμαναι, βεμεν, βειαι. Originally there were as many Infinitive endings as there were different ways of forming an abstract Substantive. In Vedic Sanscrit, where the Infinitive is less developed than in Greek, the variety of formation is much greater (Whitney, § 970).
confirmed by the Homeric use of the ending (§ 149, 3). If then Fick is right in regarding -ωω in Alcaeus as taken from the living Εoile of Lesbos (Odyssey, p. 14), it follows that Lesbian retained a form which had died out of the supposed old Εoile of Homer's time. Again, the Fem. Voc. in -α appears to be regular in Lesbian Εoile: whereas in Homer it is found only in the isolated νύμφα. This is therefore another point in which historical Εoile is more primitive than Homer. The argument would apply also to the Gen. in -αο and -αω, if it were certain that -εω and -εω belong to the original Homeric language.

4. Among the forms now in question there are many instances of α for which Ionic must have had η, and which therefore—Fick argues—cannot have come to Homer from Ionic. Such are, the Gen. in -αο, -αω, which must have appeared in Old Ionic as -ηο, -ηω, whence New Ionic -εω, -εω: the Participles πειναων, διψαων: the Nouns in -αιος, -αιων: the word θεά, and some proper names, 'Ερμείας, Αλνείας, Πεία, Πεία, Ναυτακία: the words λαίας, αύρ (Gen. ηέρος), δαήρ (§ 106, 1), τετρ-άορος (Od. 13. 81), perhaps also the Perfects εδος, εάγα (§ 22, 1). The normal change to η appears in νησ (νης for νηδος, &c.), νης temple, ηος, ηελας, παρ-άρος, δήος (Ε.ολ. δαφίος), κλης, μήδιος, πηος. Against the Nouns in -αιων we can only set the single form πιαηων.

In the first place, it is very probable (as has been shown in § 405), that the Ionic of Homer's time still had the sound of α in all these forms. This however is not a complete answer to Fick. We have to explain how this primitive α was retained in these particular cases, when the change of α to η took place generally in the dialect. For we can hardly suppose that the change of -αο, -αιον to -ηο, -ηων (on the way to -εω, -εων) could have been made in the spoken language without extending to the recitation of poetry.

The true answer seems to be that the retention of α in Homer was due, generally speaking, to the influence of the literary dialects, especially Attic and Εoile.

Let us take the case of λαος (λαφος), which in some ways is typical. The Ionic form ληος is quoted from Hipponax (fr. 88 Bergk), and is preserved, as Nauck acutely perceived (Mel. gr.-rom. iii. 268), in the Homeric proper names Λήμος, Δευκρίτος (for Δηκρίτος), and Δευάθος (Λη-φάός). Fick supposes that when Homer was translated into Ionic the form ληος had become antiquated, and accordingly, as λεός was metrically different, λαος was retained. If so, however, the proper names would a fortiori have remained in their Εoile form
(Λαός, Λαόκριτος), just as the older form *θέρας* for θάρσος is preserved in the names Θερσίνης, Θερσίλοχος, 'Αλεθέρης, Πολυθέρσεινθα, &c. For in a proper name a stem is comparatively isolated, and thus may escape the influence of later usage. It follows that there was a time when λαός was the proper Homeric form. Why then do we find λαός in our text? Doubtless because it was the established form in Old Attic, and in other dialects familiar to the rhapsodists of the 6th and 5th centuries. In the case of so common a word this influence was sufficient to change ληφός back into λαός, or (it may be) to prevent the change to ληφός from taking place.\

The same considerations apply to Ἀναος, the form ἄνεος occurring on a metrical inscription (Epigr. Kaib. 743, quoted by Nauck, Μέλ. gr.-rom. iv. 579): and to the name Ἄρμιφράνος, for which Ἄρμιφράνος was read by Zenodotus (Schol. Od. 15. 244), and is found in the MSS. of Pindar. So we find in Π. 11. 92 Βύνωρα (MSS.), Βίανωρα (Aristarchus); in Π. 14. 203 'Πέινες (MSS.), 'Πεῖας (Ar. Aristoph.); in Π. 13. 824 βούγιδε (Ar. and MSS.), βούγιη (Zenod.); in Π. 18. 592 'Αριύδνη (Zenod. — for 'Αριάδδην;); in Od. 13. 81 τετράδρος, but elsewhere in Homer συνήρος, παρήρος. These variations show that the question between α and η was often unsettled even in Alexandrian times†. On the same principle Fick would read Ποσειδῆων in Archilochus (fr. 10), comparing the month Ποσειδῆων (Anacr. fr. 6).

As a negative instance, we may notice the case of ἐως and τέως. These go back to a primitive Greek ἄφος, τάφος, which would become in Old Ionic ἄφος, τήφος, in New Ionic and Attic ἐως, τέως. The existence in Homer of such metrical deformities as ἐως ὁ ταύτῳ ἄρμανε is proof that later usage had the strongest influence on the formation of the text. Ἀτρ. e. 3. 42. 76. αἰσ. Μ. 2. 42. 542. - Χριστ. Ἀναλ. p. 84 2. - Christ. Ἀναλ. p. 85.

The α of Genitives in -ἀο and -ἀων (for -ασων) stands on a somewhat different footing, since the loss of the intervening spirant is much more ancient. Hence it is possible that the change to an Ε-sound took place after the α in these endings had been shortened,\

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* The occurrence of λαός in Callinus (i. 18) and Xenophanes (ii. 15) shows that it became the usual Epic form from a very early time.
† Note however that Zenodotus sometimes gave η for α where the true Ionic form had α: thus he read ὄρθο for ὄρατο (Π. 1. 198), κρητός for κρατός (Π. 1. 532). Perhaps βουγιόν and 'Αριάδδην fall under this head: and ὄρπαν, which stands in our text (Od. 14. 343), is to be placed with ὄρφο. The most probable account of these forms is that they are 'hyper-Ionic,' i.e. are produced by the habit of regarding η as in every case the Ionic equivalent of Attic α. On this view they are parallel to the hyper-Doric forms which are produced by indiscriminately turning Attic η into α.
in other words, that the steps were -\(\text{\-\oen} \), -\(\text{\-\o\nn} \), -\(\text{\-\ew} \) and -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \), -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \), -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) (not -\(\text{\-\o\nn} \), -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \), &c.). It is also not improbable that the shortening had taken place in the time of Homer, so that -\(\text{\-\o\nn} \) and -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) were then archaic (as -\(\text{\-\o\nn} \) almost certainly was). There are 54 instances of the Gen. Plur. Fem. in -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) (-\(\text{\-\ov\w} \)) in Homer, against 306 in -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) (Menrad, pp. 36, 38). Considering the strength of tradition in such matters we may infer that the vowel was doubtful in quantity, if not actually short, in the spoken language of the time. As to -\(\text{\-\o\nn} \) see § 376, 1.

Now if the forms in -\(\text{\-\o\nn} \) and -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) were then archaic, they might be exempted, by the force of a poetical tradition, from the general phonetic law or tendency which turned \(\text{\-\a} \) into \(\eta \) in the Ionic dialect. And the influence of Old Attic and other literary dialects which retained the \(\text{\-\a} \) would operate the more decisively. However this may be, it is clear that the causes which retained the \(\text{\-\a} \) of \(\lambda\o\o\o\, \nu\o\o\, \pi\a\r\o\r\o\, \xi\o\n\o\o\o\, \d\o\o\, \pi\o\o\, \pi\e\p\a\m\a\i \) in the Old Attic of tragedy, may have operated at an earlier time in favour of -\(\text{\-\o\nn} \) and -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \).

The question between \(\text{\-\a} \) and \(\epsilon \) in the later form of these endings would naturally be settled by the example of Ionic in favour of -\(\text{\-\ew} \), -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) : but it is worth noticing that the result has not been the same in the Gen. of Neuters in -\(\text{\-\as} \) (§ 107, 3). Here the Ionic \(\epsilon \) appears in Homer in the declension of \(\text{o}\o\d\o\as\, \k\o\o\o\, \k\e\p\a\s\, \) but not in \(\gamma\r\p\a\-\o\s\, \delta\e\p\a\-\o\v\, \t\e\p\a\-\o\v\). The tendency to uniformity works much more powerfully on a large class of words, such as the Nouns in -\(\text{\-\a} \) (-\(\eta \)), than on a small group, like the Neuters in -\(\text{\-\as} \). But the survival of -\(\text{\-\o\o\s} \), -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) in the latter makes it probable that -\(\text{\-\o\o} \), -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) were at one time the Homeric forms, anterior to -\(\text{\-\ew} \), -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) *

A singular problem is presented by the \(\text{\-\a} \) in the two forms \(\pi\e\w\i\o\o\o\o\) (Acc. \(\pi\e\w\i\o\o\o\a\t\a\)) and \(\d\i\p\a\-\o\w\) as to which see § 55, 8. As these verbs belong to the small group in which contraction gives \(\eta \) instead of \(\text{\-\a} \), it seems at first sight strange that they should be the only examples of -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) in the Participle. But the connexion between the two phenomena appears when we consider that the contraction in \(\pi\e\w\i\o\o\o\) &c. implies the steps \(\text{\-\o\o} \geq \eta \geq \), consequently that the exceptional feature in it is precisely the retention of the long vowel. Thus it remains only to explain the combination \(\text{\-\o\o} \), \(\text{\-\a} \), which in Ionic should become \(\eta \o\o\), \(\eta \o\o\).

* The fact that -\(\text{\-\ew} \) and -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) are scanned with synizesis, except in \(\theta\r\p\a\o\o\) and \(\pi\l\a\o\o\), is unimportant. Obviously an ending such as -\(\text{\-\ov\w} \) can only be scanned \(\text{\-} \) when it is preceded by one, and not more than one, short syllable. It will be found that \(\theta\r\p\eta\) and \(\pi\l\eta\) are the only Nouns in -\(\eta \) which fulfil this condition.
5. In his earlier work on the Odyssey Fick recognised both āv and kev as Homeric; but subsequently he came to the conclusion that āv is everywhere due to the Ionic translators (Ilias, p. xxiii). His main argument is that of the 43 instances of āv in the Ionic poets (Archilochus, &c.) there are not more than 21 in which it could be changed into kev (ke, k) without affecting the metre, whereas in Homer the change can be made in a much larger proportion of cases. The inference is that in making the change in Homer we are restoring the original form. But his induction is far too narrow. In the first three books of Apollonius Rhodius there are 46 instances of āv, and only 13 in which it cannot be changed into ke(v). Again in Æschylus (excluding chorus) there are 212 instances of āv, of which 73 are unchangeable. In the Ædipus Tyrannus the number is 31 out of 107. In the Iliad, without counting ṃv and eπνυ, the instances of unchangeable āv are 43 out of 156. This is nearly the same proportion; and we admit that in a few cases āv has replaced an original kev. Moreover it has been already shown, on quite independent grounds, that the combination oūk āv is Homeric (§ 362). There can be little doubt, therefore, that while ke(v) is distinctive of Æolic, as āv of Ionic and Attic, the Homeric dialect possessed both Particles. It may seem strange that ke(v), which is commoner than āv in Homer, should have died out of Ionic. On the other hand āv was the more emphatic Particle, and the desire of emphasis is a frequent cause of change in the vocabulary of a language.

It may be objected that we have still to explain the remarkable coincidence on which Fick's argument rests, viz. the fact that in so many cases the non-Ionic forms are precisely those which are different in metrical value from the Ionic equivalents. The answer is that the same coincidence would be found with archaisms of any dialect. It is only the metre of Homer (generally speaking) that has preserved or could preserve such things. Why do we find (e.g.) στήμει, στήτε, but στής, στή, στήσαι (not στήσεις, στής, στήσοι?)! Evidently because the metre admits the modernised forms in the latter case, not in the former. Thus all words or inflexions which do not belong to the New Ionic or Attic dialect, be they Old Ionic or Old Æolic, will be found to be metrically different from the later forms.

It has been sought thus far to show that phenomena which Fick explains by supposing a translation from Æolic into New Ionic may
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be equally well accounted for, partly by the changes which must have taken place within the Attic-Ionic dialect itself, and partly by the influence of the post-Homeric spoken language. We may now consider what Homeric peculiarities cannot be explained on Fick's principles, and may therefore be held to turn the scale in favour of the alternative view.

(a) The Dual is wanting in the earliest AEolic, whereas it is in living use in Homer, and also in Attic down to the 5th century B.C. It is true, as Fick urges, that the loss of the Dual may have taken place in AEolic between the 9th and the 7th centuries. But the gap thus made between the earliest known AEolic and the supposed AEolic of Homer is a serious weakening of his case.

(b) The moveable -ν is unknown in AEolic, as also in New Ionic. Fick strikes it out whenever it is possible to do so, but is very far from banishing it from the text. Thus in the first book of the Iliad he has to leave it in ll. 45, 60, 66, 73, 77, &c.

(c) The psilosis which Fick introduces (απίη for ἀφίει, &c.) is common to AEolic and New Ionic. Why then does it not appear in Homer?

(d) The forms of the type of ὄρω, ὄρωντες, &c. (§ 55) are not accounted for by Fick's theory. This is recognised by Fick himself (Odys. p. 2). He adopts the view of Wackernagel, supposing that the Attic forms ὄρων, ὄρωντες were introduced into the recension of Pisistratus, and that these were afterwards made into ὀρὼν, ὀρωντες to fit the metre. This view is doubtless in the main correct. Setting aside the mythical 'recension of Pisistratus,' and putting in its place the long insensible influence of Attic recitation upon the Homeric text, we obtain a probable account of ὄρω, and of much besides. But it can hardly be reconciled with a translation into New Ionic about 540 B.C. It is uncertain, indeed, whether the New Ionic form was ὄριω or ὄρῳ (see H. Weir Smyth, Vowel-system &c. p. 111); but the argument holds in either case. If the form was ὄριω (as is made probable by the Homeric ἄμακλεον, &c. § 55, 10), that form is metrically equivalent to the original, and on Fick's theory would have been adopted. If it was ὄρῳ, which is metrically different, then on Fick's theory the original AEolic would have been retained.

(e) The forms ἔος and τίως, as has been already noticed, have crept into the text in spite of the metre; on Fick's theory the original ἅος and τάος must have been preserved.
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(f) Many Attic peculiarities may be noted: οὐν for ὄν (which Aristarchus counted among the proofs that Homer was an Athenian): πῶς, πότε, &c. for κῶς, κότε, &c. : the two Genitives δείως and σπείως (for δέως, σπέως): Neuters in -ας, Gen. -αος (instead of -εος): ἄρσην (for Αἰολic and Ionic ἄρσην): τέσσαρες for Ionic τέσσαρες; κρίσσων, μείζων for κρίσσων, μέζων. Cp. also τάγα (Ionic τάγα), and έάντα (§ 22, 1), for which Ionic analogy would require ἕάντα.

(g) The Αἰολic forms ἄμμας, ἄμμας are not used quite consistently: thus we find the form ἄμμας in three places (II. 13. 379., 14. 85, Od. 12. 275), but ἄμμα in three others (Od. 8. 569., 11. 344., 17. 376). On Fick's theory ἄμμα, if it was an Ionic form, would have been adopted. Again ἄμμα is occasionally used where ἄμμα is admitted by the metre (II. 10. 380, Od. 4. 94., 20. 367).

Several of these arguments may be met by admitting an Atticising tendency, subsequent to the Ionicising which Fick supposes. Some such Attic influence clearly was exerted, and also an Αἰολic influence (as Fick allows in the case of ὧμες). But if the Ionic Homer only dates from 540 B.C., what room is there for these other processes? And if we suppose a modernising process, as wide in place and time as the knowledge of Homer, but in which Attic and Ionic naturally predominated, what ground is left for an original Αἰολic element?

(h) The Iterative forms in -εσκον (§ 48) appear to be characteristic of Homer and also of later Ionic. This is one of the points—in the nature of the case not numerous—in which the Ionic character of Homer is guaranteed by the metre.

Another point of this kind is the use of μέν in ἦ μέν, καὶ μέν, and other combinations where Attic would have μὴν (§ 345). On the other side it may be said that the retention of μέν (see § 342) was due to the want of the form μὴν in Ionic. But if μὴν were an original Αἰολic form we should expect on Fick's theory to find it in the older parts of the Odyssey as well as in the Iliad.

Other words which show a difference of quantity between the Homeric and the Αἰολic forms are: Πρίμαος (Αἰολ. Πέρραμος), τρίτος (Αἰολ. τέτρας), κάλος (Αἰολ. κάλος, see Meyer, G. G. § 65).

The ancients supposed that Homer of set purpose employed a mixture of dialects. Modern scholars have condemned this notion as uncritical, but have generally held that his language is a poetical and conventional one, a Sängersprache, never used in actual speech. It may be allowed that there is a measure of truth in both these views,
provided that we distinguish between the dialect of the time of Homer and the 'Epic' of our texts. For—

1. Even in the time of Homer there was doubtless an element of conventionality in the style and vocabulary, and even in the grammatical forms of poetry. Such phrases as μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, νόθομος (or ἡγομος) ὄνος, ἀνὴ πτολέμιοι γεφύρεσ, are used with little or no sense of their original meaning, but evidently as part of a common poetical stock. Doubtless the Gen. in -οιο was already poetical, perhaps also the Gen. in -αο and in -ων. These forms then were genuinely Homeric, but not part of the living speech of the time.

2. Many primitive Homeric forms were lost in Ionic and Attic, but survived elsewhere in Greece. These seemed to the ancients to be borrowed from the dialects in which they were known in historical times, and thus gave support to the notion of a mixture of dialects.

3. The poems suffered a gradual and unsystematic because generally unconscious process of modernising, the chief agents in which were the rhapsodists, who wandered over all parts of Greece and were likely to be influenced by all the chief forms of literature. In this way forms crept in from various dialects,—from Ionic, from Lesbian Αἰolic, and from Attic. The latter stages of this process may be traced in the various readings of the ancient critics, and even in our MSS., in which a primitive word or form is often only partially displaced by that of a later equivalent. The number of instances of this kind may be materially increased as the MSS. of Homer become better known.

Other Notes and Corrections.

§ 23, 5 (p. 27). With the instances here given we may place the Cretan καταφελμένοι, which occurs in the inscription of Gortyn with the meaning gathered together, assembled (cp. Homeric ἐκλεῖνοι crowded). Baunack however takes it for καταφηλμένοι, supposing loss of ἔ and contraction from καταφελμένοι.

§ 27 (p. 30). The Present ἀκούω I hear appears to be originally a Perfect which has gone through the process here exemplified. The true Present form is ἀκέω, which survived in Cyprus (ἀκέον τηρεῖ Κόπρια) and Crete (Law of Gortyn, ii. 17). Hence the Attic ἀφικο (for ἂκ-ήκων), and presumably also an earlier form *ἀκοῦα, formed like ἂνωγα, and passing into ἀκούω as ἂνωγα passed into ἂνώγω. This
explains the use of ἀκοῦω with the Perfect meaning (§ 72, 4), which accordingly is not quite parallel to the similar use of πενθάνομαι, μανθάνω, &c. Other Homeric examples are διώκω (§ 29), in which the want of reduplication may be original (§ 23, 5), and ἵληκω (§ 22, 9, b). The form ἤκω, which is probably of this nature, occurs in our MSS. of Homer (Π. 5. 473, Ι. 365, 18. 456, Ο. 13. 325, 15. 329), but Bekker substituted the undoubtedly Homeric ἵκω (La Roche, II. T. 287).

The form ἑνεπτε ἐνεπτε, which occurs several times in Homer (usually with the variants ἑνεπτε and ἑνεπτε), should perhaps be placed here. It is usually classed as a Reduplicated Aorist (so Curt. Verb. ii. 26), but there is no analogy for this, and the Homeric passages do not prove that it is an Aorist. The ἦ of the stem may be due to the influence of the Pres. ἐνιπτω and the Noun ἐνιπτή (cp. § 25, 3). Buttmann acutely compared it with ἐπέκληγον, which is evidently related to πλήσω and πληγή as ἑνεπτον to ἐνιπτο (ἐνίσσω) and ἐνιπτή. The reduplication is of the type of ἐρέπτοτο.

§ 42 (p. 44). The Aor. ἐτράφη, which occurs four times in our texts of the Iliad, is probably post-Homeric. In Π. 2. 661 for the vulgate τράφη ἐν (μεγάρω) nearly all MSS. have τράφ' ἐν. If this is right we should doubtless read τράφ' ἐν in the two similar places, Ι. 3. 201 and ΙΙ. 222. In ΙΙ. 23. 84 the MSS. have ἄλλο ὀμοι ὡς ἐτράφην περ, with the v.l. ἐτράφημεν: the quotation in Εσχines (Timarch. 149) gives ὡς ὀμοι ἐτράφημεν περ, from which Buttmann (Ausz. Sprachl. ΙΙ. 307) restored ὡς δ' ὀμοι ἐτράφημεν περ. On the other hand the Thematic ἔτραφον occurs with intransitive or passive meaning in Π. 5. 555, 21. 279 (where ἐτραφ' is the only possible reading), and in the recurring phrase γενέθθαι τε τράβηκαν τε. The variation in the MSS. (including the vox νιλίλι ἐτράφημεν) is sufficient evidence of the comparative lateness of the forms of ἐτράφην. Buttmann's reading (adopted by Nauck) is supported by the apodosis in l. 91 ὡς δ' καὶ ὡστε κτλ. See Christ (Proll. p. 115) to whom I am indebted for the reference to Buttmann.

§ 62 (p. 56). The derivative verbs in -αφω are often frequentative or intensive, but with a tone of contempt: e.g. μεμάζω Ι loiη, ἀλοσκάζω Ι shaηκ, πτωσκάζω Ι cουεη (stronger than πτώσω, cp. Π. 4. 371 τι πτώσηεις, τι δ' ὀπιεύεις πολέμιο γεφύρας; οὐ μὲν Τυθι γ' ἐκχε φιλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἵνα): ἁκονάζομαι Ι please mηηζη with hearing (Π. 4. 343 δαίης ἁκονάζοσθαν, Ο. 13. 9 ἁκονάζότεο δ' άουδο): so νεύω and νευτάζω (Π. 20. 162), μίθημι and μιγάζομαι (Οδ. 8. 271), πίπτω and πιπτάζω, ἐρώω and ἐρυτάζω, εἴλων and εἴλυφάζω.
§ 67 (p. 61). With ἐρμανον compare the Aor. form ἦξα (for ἦαξα), preserved in the text of Zenodotus in II. 13. 166 (ἐνυέξε for ἐνυξαξε) and 257 (κατήξαμεν for κατεξαμεν). In this case the change to η did not make its way into the vulgate—perhaps because the form ἦξα, which suggested it, was a rarer word than ἐρμανον.

§ 71 (p. 63). The use of the Present stem to express relative time is well exemplified by the following sentence from an early Attic inscription: εὐπρεξάντων αὐτοῖς οἱ ὑρημένοι, συνευπραττόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί (Meisterhans, § 48 a.).

§ 72, 2, n. 2 (p. 64). In the Law of Gortyn ἀγω and φέρω are employed where the Aor. is the usual tense: see especially i. 12 at ὁ ἀννιστὸ ἑὶ ἀγεν if he deny that he has taken away (Baunack, Die Inschrift von Gortyn, p. 79).

§ 77 (p. 66). Some valuable remarks on this and similar uses of the Aor. Part. are to be found in an article by Mr. Frank Carter in the Classical Review (Feb. 1891, p. 4). He observes that it is really a timeless use, i.e. that the speaker does not wish to indicate a relation in time between the action of the Participle and that of the finite verb. The Participle expresses a predication, but one which is only a part or essential circumstance of that which the verb expresses. See below, on § 245, 1.

§ 80 (p. 68). As to the MS. authority for some forms of the Pf. Subj. see § 283, a.

§ 92 (p. 79). The Nominative is used for the Vocative in the case of oxytones in -ως, and all Nouns in -ης (Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 206, p. 544).

§ 99* (p. 84). To the examples of metaplastic Neut. Plur. used with collective meaning add ἑπέρα evening-time (Od. 17. 191), νεῦρα sineus (used in II. 16. 316 of one bowstring), πλευρά side (II. 4. 468), παρείδ cheeks (Neut. Plur. in II. 22. 491 according to Aristarchus). It may be suspected that ἑρετμῶν oars belongs to this group, since the Sing. in later Greek is always ἑρετμον, and a Neut. ἑρετμῶν is contrary to analogy, and only rests on the phrase εὐπερες ἑρετμῶν (Od.), for which we can read εὐπέρε' ἑρετμῶν.

§ 102 (p. 86). It appears that the stems in -ά originally formed a Loc. Plur. in -άς (as well as -ας and -αι): hence Lat. foras, aliás, devás (Inscr.). Hence it is possible that the few Homeric forms in -ας or -γς which cannot be written -γς' represent this -άς (Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 358, p. 704).

§ 110 (p. 95). The question between πάνηγ and πάνη cannot be
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decided, as Joh. Schmidt supposes (Pluralb. p. 40), by the circumstance that the final vowel is frequently shortened before another vowel in Homer. It is true, as was observed by Hoffmann (Quaest. Hom. i. p. 58, quoted by Schmidt l.c.), that final η is often shortened than final η. In the first four books of the Iliad and Odyssey, as Hartel shows (Hom. Stud. ii. p. 5), -η is shortened 41 times, -η 19 times: and further examination confirms this ratio. But, as Hartel also points out, -η occurs in Homer about three times as often as -η: consequently the shortening of -η is relatively more frequent.

§ 116, 4 (p. 109). For ἡδος αὐτήν in Od. 12. 369 we may read ἡδος αὐτήν, as suggested by Baumeister on Hom. H. Merc. 110.

§ 116, 5 (p. 109). έγνής has been explained as a Compound, viz. of the prefix su- (su-manas, &c.) and a stem from the root jyā (Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi. 161).

§ 117 (p. 110). Adjectives in -ος are often used with some of the meaning of a Comparative, i.e. in words which imply a contrast between two sides: as in ἑσπέριος evening and ὕμιος or ἕριος morning, ἡμάτιος day and νύχιος night, ἄγρος (cp. ἄγριτερος), θεός (cp. θεώτερος), άλως (opposed to ὁριο κατήν), νότης, κεφήριος (opp. to north and east), δαμύνως, κείμειος, δούλειος. The suffix serves to form a kind of softened Superlative in ἐσχάτιος and ἀστάτιος, lit. 'of the last': and the same analogy yields ὀσσάτιος from ὄσσος, a formation like Lat. quantulus. The Comparative force of -ος, -ος in the Pronouns is noticed by Bragmann (see § 114, p. 101).

§ 121 (p. 115 foot). The ω of σοφότερος, &c. has lately been discussed by J. Wackernagel (Das Dehnungsgesetz der griech. Composita, pp. 5 ff.). He treats it along with the ω which we find in ἡτῆραθ, ἡτῆρωσε, ἀμφοτέρωθεν, &c., also in ἱερωσάνη, and shows that if we derive it from a Case-form in -ω (as κατωτέρω from κάτω, &c.), we have still to explain the rhythmical law according to which ω and ο interchange: for a law which governed common speech in all periods cannot have arisen merely from the needs of the hexameter. Accordingly he connects the phenomenon with a rhythmical lengthening of final short vowels (among others of the final ι of the Locative, see § 378), which is found in Vedic Sanscrit.

λάρότατος (Od. 2. 350) points to a Homeric form λαερός, which we can always substitute for λαρός. It is probably for λαο-ερός from λαο- desire: see Curtius, Grundz, p. 361 (5th edit.).

§ 125, 8 (p. 121). This peculiar lengthening in the second member of a Compound has been explained by Wackernagel (Dehnungsgesetz,
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pp. 21 ff.) as the result of a primitive contraction, or Crasis, with the final vowel of the first part: e.g. ὄμονυμος for ὄμο-ονυμος. The chief argument for this view is that the lengthening is only found in stems beginning with a vowel—a fact which can hardly be accounted for on any other supposition. Such cases as δυσώνυμος, in which no contraction can have taken place, may be extensions by analogy of the original type. It is to be understood of course that the contraction was governed by different laws from those which obtain in the Greek which we know. The chief rule is that the resulting long vowel is fixed by the second of the two concurrent vowels: ὄμήγερες for ὄμο-ἀγνυρες, πειπώξολον for πείμε-οξολον, &c. Whether this was a primitive phonetic rule, or partly due to the working of analogy, it finds an exact parallel in the Temporal Augment, which must have been due to the influence of a prefix ἐ- upon the initial vowel of the verb-stem. We may compare also the Subjunctive forms δύναμιν, τίθητι, &c. (§ 81). Thus the later contraction, as in σκηπτοῦχος, ἀνκώργος, stands in the same relation to the older forms now in question as εἴχον, &c. (with ει for εε) to ἥλασα, ὀμοσα, &c.

The primitive Indo-European 'sandhi,'—crasis of the final vowel of one word with the initial vowel of the next,—was generally given up in Greek, and the system of elision took its place. In Compounds we constantly find elision of a short final vowel along with the lengthening (which is then a mere survival): as ἐπ-ήρατος, ἀμφήρατος, φιθα-ήρωρ (cp. φεθι-μηροτος). But lengthening does not take place if the vowel is long by position (e.g. ἔτερ-αλκής, Ἀλέξ-ανδρος, ἀναδής), which seems to indicate that the preservation—though not the origin—of the lengthened stem was a matter of rhythm (as in σοφώ-τερος). Other exceptions to the rule of lengthening may be variously explained. In some cases, as Wackernagel suggests (p. 51), an initial short vowel may have been retained from the original formation: as in the ancient Compounds βαυτιάειρα (ἀντιάειρα, κυλιάειρα), ἀργυόδοντες, εὐφύσα, εὐφάγώμα, where the metre stood in the way of lengthening by analogy. More generally it is a mark of lateness: e.g. in the forms compounded with παν-, as παν-ἀγωνισός, παν-ἀφηλιξ, παν-αύρος, Παν-αχαίος, and with Prepositions, as ἐν-αρίθμως, ὑπεκαύσιον (p. 55). Such words as ἀν-αρέτης (II. 16. 31), λαβρ-ἀγόρις (II. 23. 479), ἀν-ολέθρος (II. 13. 761 τοῦ δ' ἐν' ὑπεκίνα τόπην ἀπόμοιον ὀπισ' ἀνολέθρους), ἀνὰπουν (II. 1. 99), δυσ-αριστοτόκεια (II. 18. 54), have all the appearance of being of the poet's own coinage.

On the view here taken the lengthening in ὀλεσίκαρτος and the
similar cases given at the end of the section must be otherwise explained. It is probably of the kind noticed in § 386.

§ 170 (p. 159). Another example of the distributive use of the Singular is Od. 13. 78 ἀνερπίπτουν ἀλὰ κηδὸ they threw up the salt sea (each) with his oar-blade. So in the recurring phrase of the Odyssey ἀλὰ τούτον ἐρημοῖς we should probably read ἐρημὸ (§ 102), which may be similarly distributive. Or we may take ἐρημὸς in a collective sense, oarage.

§ 173, 2 (p. 162). For the use of the Dual with a large number which contains the numeral δύο, cp. πεντακοσίας εἰκοσὶ δυόν δραχμαῖν in an Attic inscription of the 5th century (Meisterhans, p. 45, 4). This is a good parallel to Od. 8. 35, 48 κοίρῳ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

§ 198 (p. 180). Notice under this head the use of ἦν with a Comparative, Od. 7. 216 όν γάρ τι στυγερή ἐπὶ γαστέρι κύντερον ἄλλο nought else is more shameless with (when you have to do with) a hungry belly,—more shameless than the belly. So Hdt. 4. 118 οἶδεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐσται ἐλαφρότερον.

§ 241 (p. 206). In II. 17. 155 it is better to take ὁ ἱκανός ἵμεν with ἐπιπείσεται, leaving the apodosis to be understood: ‘if any one will be persuaded to go home (let him do so), &c.’ Thus the sentence is of the type exemplified in § 324* b.

§ 245, 1 (p. 212). The Aor. Part. in such a sentence as εἰ ἠδομὶ κατελθόντα seems to be ‘timeless,’ meaning if I were to see him go down (Goodwin, § 148). Mr. Carter, in the article quoted above, ranks ἦς ἦλιον καταδύντα as an instance of timeless use in an attributive sense. It should be observed, however, that there is a distinction between a Participle which expresses a single action or event (however timeless), and one which has become a mere adjective, as in περιπλομένον ἐναντοῖ, &c. (§ 243, 1). Thus ἦς ἦλιον καταδύντα means to the setting of the sun (not to the setting sun): and so with the other examples given in § 245, 1. It is otherwise perhaps with Od. 1. 24 ol μὲν δυσομένον 'Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ' ἄνωντο, where the place of sun-set—not of a particular sun-set—is intended.

§ 297 (p. 269). In the Law of Gortyn πρῖν κα with the Subj. is repeatedly used after an affirmative principal clause: see Baunack, Die Inschrift von Gortyn, p. 82.

§ 324*, b, c. The omission of the principal Verb in passages of this kind (especially when it is suggested by an Infinitive in the protasis) finds a perfect parallel in the Law of Gortyn: iii. 37 κώματα αἰ κα λῆ δόμεν ἀνήρ ἡ γυνᾶ, ἡ ἥμα ἡ δυόδεκα στατηράνες ἡ δυόδεκα στατηρῶν χρήσ.,

D d
πλίον ἐι μη (sc. δότω) if man or wife choose to give payment for nurture, let him or her give a garment or twelve staters or something of the value of twelve staters, but not more: cp. the other places quoted by Baunack, *Die Inschrift von Gortyn*, p. 77. This shows that the usage must have been well established in Greek prose from an early period.

§ 338 (p. 309). In II. 3. 215 most MSS. have εἰ καὶ γένει ὑπερτερος ἦν, but ἦ καὶ is found in the two Venetian (AB) and the Townley and Eton MSS. The scholia show that the ancients knew nothing of εἰ, and only doubted between ἦ (in the sense of if) and ἦ.

§ 348, 4 (p. 318). In II. 18. 182 one of the editions of Aristarchus had τίς τάπ σε (for τίς γάρ σε). Cobet adopts this, and would read τάπ for γάρ in the similar places II. 10. 61, 424, Od. 10. 501., 14. 115., 15. 509., 16. 222 (*Misc. Crit.* p. 321). In the two last passages Bekker had already introduced ρ' ἄπ into his text.

§ 370 (p. 342). To the instances of shortening before -βρ- should be added δβροτάξομαι (II. 10. 65), which is a derivative verb from the stem which we have in the two forms δματμ- and δ(μ)βρο- (cp. ήμπροτον). The appearance of ρα instead of ρα (for ρ) is Æolic.

§ 405 (p. 382). A parallel to the Naxian ΑΦΥΤΟ has now been found in the form ΑΦΥΤΑΠ on an Attic inscription of the VIth cent. B.C. (see J. van Leeuwen, *Mnemos.* xix. 21). Further instances of Chalcidian F (φοικιων, σαφαί?) are given by Roberts, *Epigraphy*, p. 204.

§ 69 (p. 62). In an article on the Augment in Homer in the last number of the *Journal of Philology* (xix. p. 211 ff.), Mr. Arthur Platt has shown that, in the case of the Aorist, the choice between the augmented and the unaugmented form is largely determined by the sense in which the tense is used. In the common historical or narrative use the augment is often wanting; but in the uses which we may call non-narrative—the use for the immediate past (§ 76), and the gnomic use (§ 78)—the augmented form prevails. With the gnomic use the rule appears to be especially strict. This is obviously a valuable extension and generalisation of the facts observed by Koch. In the case of the Imperfect there seems to be a preference for unaugmented forms in continuous narrative; but the difference is much less marked. Mr. Platt gives some good reasons for believing that the number of unaugmented forms was originally greater than it is in our text. In this we find a fresh example of the modernising process to which the poems were subjected from a very early time.
INDEX I.

OF HOMERIC FORMS.

N.B. The figures refer to the sections. Compound verbs are not indexed if the same form of the simple verb occurs.

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