St. Joseph's College,
Toronto
HOMERIC GRAMMAR

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A GRAMMAR
OF THE
HOMERIC DIALECT

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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

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY

OF THE REV.

JAMES RIDDELL

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF BALLIOL
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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 formation—i.e. according to the process by which each Tense-Stem and Mood-Stem is derived from the simple Verb-Stem or Root,—and the ordinary classification according to meaning (Present, Future, Perfect, Aorist, &c.). The former course seemed preferable because it answers to the historical order. The problem is to find how pre-existing forms—common to Greek and Sanscrit, and therefore part of an original 'Indo-European' grammar—were adapted to the specifically Greek system of Tense-meanings. I have therefore taken the different formations in turn, beginning with the simplest (§§ 9-20, 22-27, 29-69, 79-83), and introducing an account of the meaning of each as soon as possible (§§ 21, 28, 70-78). This part of the subject naturally includes the accentuation of the different forms of the Verb (§§ 87-89).

The next great division of the subject is concerned with the first enlargement of the Sentence. A word may be added which taken by itself says nothing—contains no Subject and Predicate—but which combines with and qualifies the primitive one-word Sentence. The elements which may gather in this way round the basis or nucleus formed by the Verb are ultimately of two kinds, Nouns and Pronouns; and the relations in which they may stand to the Verb are also twofold. A Noun or Pronoun may stand as a Subject—limiting or explaining the Subject already contained in the Person-Ending—or may qualify the Predicate given by the Stem of the Verb. These relations are shown by the Ending, which again may be either a Case-Ending or an adverbial Ending. We begin accordingly by an account of the Declensions, supplemented by a list of the chief groups of Adverbs (Chapter V).

When we pass from the Endings to the Stems of Nouns and Pronouns, we find that they are essentially different. A 'Nominal Stem' consists in general of two parts, (1) a predicative part, usually identical with a Verb-Stem, and (2) a Suffix. Each of these two elements, again, may be complex. The addition of a further Suffix yields a fresh Stem, with a corresponding derivative meaning; and thus we have the distinction between Primitive or Verbal and Secondary or Denominative Nouns. The Suffixes employed in these two
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 'conords' 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 'finite' 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 σο 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 Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre* (München 1875). On the Accusative I have obtained the greatest help from La Roche, *Der Accusatív im Homer* (Wien 1861): on the Dual from Bieber, *De Duali 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 allmäßliche Entstehung der Gesänge der Ilias* (Göttingen 1853), La Roche, especially on ὅν (Wien 1861) and ἐπί (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*
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 ἧ (ἡς) 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 Homerico (Upsaliae 1872–79), and Tudeer, De dialectorum Graecarum digammo (Helsingforsiae 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 Bezzenerger'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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### CHAPTER IV. Accentuation of the Verb.

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**ERRATA.**

Page 70, line 6, for $\gamma\phi\varsigma$ read $\gamma\phi\varsigma$

" 83, " 23, for $\kappa \rho \delta \varepsilon \nu \tau \rho o s$ read $\kappa \rho \delta \varepsilon \nu \tau \rho o s$

" 93, " 30, for $\theta \rho \rho \theta \beta \iota$ read $\theta \rho \rho \theta \beta \iota$

" 149, " 38, before 18. 305 insert II.

" 185, " 1, for II. read Od.

" 223, " 32, for olos read olos

" 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 $\phi \eta \lambda \nu$ read $\phi \theta \nu$
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 ἐσ-τι he (or it) is, φα-θί say thou, ἤλθο-μεν we came, are Sentences; the several Predicates are expressed by the Stems ἐσ-, φα-, ἠλθο-, 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 ἔλαβε (for ἔλαβε-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 ἐπιτο-μεν is 'a Verb'—sometimes collectively, as when we say that ἐπιτο-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 O or E: that is to say, O before the nasals μ, ν, and E before other letters; e.g. ΤTacO-μεν, ΤακE-τε, ΤακO-ντι (older and Dor. form of Τακνουσι). 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 η and ω, as Τακω-μεν, Τακη-τε, &c. and the 1 Sing. in -ω. 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 ο are called Non-Thematic. Among these, again, we have to distinguish a group of Tenses with Stems ending in -ά, viz. the Perfect, the First Aorist, and some forms peculiar to the Ionic Dialect, as the Plpf. (e.g. ἦδεα Ι knew), the Impf. ἦα Ι was, ἦια Ι went. In these Stems the -ά changes in the 3 Sing. to -ε(ι).†

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 Τακω 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 -ά, 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-μυ (Sanscr. -ά-μι). It is now generally thought that -ω and -μυ are originally distinct, and represent respectively the Thematic and Non-Thematic Endings of the primitive Indo-European Verb. If so, the Sanscrit -दmi has extended from the Non-Thematic to the Thematic conjugation; and similarly the -ομα of Greek φιλομα (Sanscr. भार). See Meyer, G. G. p. 404.

† The ά of these Stems is of course quite different from the final vowel of the Stem in such forms as φα-μεν, ιστα-μαι, τέλα-θι, where it is part of the Verb-Stem or 'Root.'
## PERSON-ENDINGS.

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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 -οι remains only in ἐσ-οι thou art.

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

The Ending -οθα occurs in the Pf. οιθαι thou knowest (οιθας in Od. 1. 337, is a very doubtful reading), Plpf. ἦθοεθα (Od. 19. 93), the Imperf. ἦθοα and ἦθοθα thou wast, άθηοθα thou saidst, and the Pres. ειθα thou will go, τιθοθα (Od. 9. 404, 24. 476), δηδοθα (II. 19. 270), perhaps φηθα (Od. 14. 149) : also in some Subjunctives, ἐθεληθα, ἐπθηθα, βουληθα (II. 9. 99), Ἑθα (II. 10. 67) ; and in the Optatives βάλοθα (II. 15. 571), κλαλοθα (II. 24. 619), and προφηγοθα (Od. 22. 325).

The history of this -οθα can still be traced. Originally -θα (Sanscr. -tha) was the Ending of the 2 Sing. Pf. Ind.: hence οτθα for εθθα (Sanscr. vethha for ved-tha), and ἦθο-θα (Sanscr. असिथा) properly Pf. from the root ἦθ-. Having in these cases appeared accidentally as an ending -οθα, it was transferred in this form to other Tenses and Moods.*

The forms ἦθοθας, οτθοθας 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 ἐμὰρνα-ο, δαιν-ο, ἐσαιν-ο, ἐεῖσα-ο, contracted ἐκρείω (II. 15. 18), ἐπεφάς (II. 21. 410), ἐκθεσ (Od. 24. 193)—for which, however, the metre allows us to write ἐκρείμα', &c.—and the Opt. -σι-ο. In the Pres. and Pf. Indic. and the Imper. the usage is not uniform: δυνα-σαι (II. 1. 393), δνο-σαι (Od. 17. 378), παρ-ισαι-σαι (II. 10. 279), Od. 17. 450), ύπο-δαμνα-σαι (Od. 16. 95), δαιν-σαι (Od. 21. 290), μεμφι-σαι (II. 23. 648), Imper. ἴσαι-σο (seven times), ὄνςο (Od. 19. 68), κεί-σο (II. 21. 122) : but μεμφι-αι (II. 21. 442), μεμφη (II. 15. 18, where we may read μεμφη'), βέληηαι (three places in the Iliad), δλ-σαι (Od. 11. 100), Imper. ἥθ-ο (Od. 10. 333), φα-ο (Od. 18. 171), μαρα-ο (II. 15. 475), παρ-ισαι (II. 10. 291, according to Aristarchus, παρ-ισαι-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 λίγο (for λεχ-σο), ἱγο (for ἱσ-σο), πέφυσαι (for πεπυ-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, Verig. Gr. II. pp. 292, 498.
suffer Hyphaeresis (cp. § 105, 4), and drop one e; as μύθεια (Od. 2. 202), ἀπο-άλφεο, ἐκλέο. But we find also μυθεῖα (Od. 8. 180), νείαι (Od. II. 114, 12. 141)—where it is possible to substitute the uncontracted μυθεέαι, νέεαι—and αἰδεῖο (II. 24. 503).

In the Imper. the Ending -θι is common in Non-Thematic Tenses: τ-θι, στο-θι, κλη-θι, κέκλη-θι, ἐστα-θι, ἐρνυ-θι, φανη-θι (II. 18. 198), δίδω-θι (Od. 3. 380), ἐμπιπτλη-θι (II. 23. 311). We find -ς in θ-ς, δό-ς, πρό-ς (προ-ήμι), and the thematic ἐνι-σπε-ς toll (cp. Attic σχε-ς).

In the forms ἱτη (II. 21. 313), δανυ (II. 9. 70), δείνυ (Hes. Th. 526), the long final vowel probably comes by analogy from the Pres. and Impf. Singular forms (by the 'proportion' Impf. ἐλεγε-ς, ἐλεγέ: Imper. λέγε : ἱτης, ἱτη : ἱτη). For the forms καθ-ίτα, τίθει, δίδου, &c., see § 18.

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

On the Subjunctives in -η-σι see § 82.

3 Plur. The Ending -άσι (for -αντι) is found in ἐ-άσι (for *ἐ-ασι) they are and τ-άσι they go.

Stems in α, ε, ο, ύ form -άσι, -εισι, -ουσι, -οισι (for -αντι, &c.), as φασι, ἵστασι, τιθεῖσι, διδοσι, ἐγυνόσι (not τιθέ-ασι, &c., as in Attic). On the accent of these forms, see § 87, 2.

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

The secondary -ώ (for -αντι) is found in all Aorists which form the 1 Sing. in -α. It may also be traced in the Impf. of εἰμί, in the form ἵμ (Hes. Th. 321, 825), for ἴμαι (Sanscr. āsan).

Non-Thematic -ν occurs in the forms ἐφά-ν, ἐβά-ν, ἐστα-ν, φθα-ν, ἐδο-ν (II. 11. 263), ἐφύ-ν (Od. 10. 397), ἐκτά-ν, Ἰμπφ-ν (in ήυν-ιεν, μέθ-ιεν), πρό-τιθε-ν (read by Aristarchus in Od. 1. 112), ἐδίδο-ν (H. Cer. 327), and many Passive Aorists, as ἐβλα-βε-ν, ὑ-ἐτμαγε-ν, ἀγε-ν, ἀλε-ν, ἄμε-ν, πάγε-ν, ἡγερθε-ν, κόσμηθε-ν, κατ-ἐκταθε-ν. On the form μάνθην (II. 4. 146) see § 40. In these tenses -ν is commoner in Homer than -σαν. But -σαν is the only Ending found in the two Imperfects ἵ-σαν and ἴ-σαν, and in the Pluperfect: see § 68.

In the Middle, the forms -άται, -άτο are regular after consonants and the vowel τ (including the diphthongs ei, η, ω, &c.); the forms -νται, -ντο after α, ε, ο. After ν, η both forms are found: e.g. ἐφυ-άται, ἐφύ-ατο, but λέλυ-νται, κέκυ-νται; βεβλή-άται (II. 11. 656), but μέμη-ντο, ἕμβλη-ντο; even ἴντο (II. 3. 153) as well as ἵ-ατο (for *ἵ-ασ-ατο).
The Imper. Endings -τωσαν, -σθωσαν are post-Homeric.

1 Dual. -μεθον occurs only once, in περιδόμεθον, II. 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 '' '' -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. διάκε-τον (II. 10. 363), έτευχε-τον (II. 13. 345), λαφύσετον (II. 18. 583). Three others in -σθον occur as various readings, where the metre admits of either -σθον or -σθην, viz. ἄφικε-σθον, read by some ancient critics (probably Zenodotus) in II. 13. 613: θαρήσσε-σθον, the reading of A. (the Cod. Venetus) and Eur. in II. 16. 218: πέτε-σθον, a marginal variant of A. in II. 23. 506.

(2) Three forms of the 2 Dual in -την were read in the text of Zenodotus, viz. καμέ-την (II. 8. 448), λαβή-την (II. 10. 545), ήθελε-την (II. 11. 782). Aristarchus read κάμε-τον, λάβε-τον, ήθέλε-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 -ην, as the Dual of the Principal Tenses ends in -οιν. 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 -tām, 3 Dual in -tām, 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 ἔστων (II. 1. 338) and κομεῖτων (II. 8. 109). As to ἔστων 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 Endings influence only the final 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
Sing. Indic. Act., the shorter with all other Endings, viz. those of the Dual and Plural, the Imperative, and the Middle. Thus:—

1. ἄ, ε, o interchange with the corresponding long vowels a (in Ionic η), η, ω; as φη-μι, ε-φη-ν, but I Plur. φα-μεν, Imper. φα-θι, Mid. ε-φα-το; τίθη-μι, Mid. τίθε-μαι; δίδω-μι, Mid. δίδο-μαι.

2. I with ει and οι: as ει-μι, I Plur. ε-μεν, Imper. ε-θι; οιδα, I Plur. οίδε-μεν.

3. ο with ευ and ου: as ε-χευα, Mid. χύ-το (§ 15); δείκνυ-μι, I Plur. δείκνυ-μεν. Sometimes with ου, as ειληλουθα, stem ελθθ.

Note however that all vowels are liable to be shortened before the combination ντ, as in the 3 Plur. εσταν (but εστη-μεν), &c., and the Participle, στάντ-ος, γνώντ-ος. Also before τ of the Optative, στατην, γνωθην.

The same law governs the interchange of—

4. α with εν and ον: as γέγονα (γέγος), I Plur. γέγα-μεν; πέπονθα (πέπθ-ος), Part. Fem. πεπάθ-νια.*

5. ἀρ with ἐρ and ὁρ: as ἐφθορα, Mid. ἐφθαρ-ται (Pres. φθειρω for φθερ-ω); and, with Metathesis (ρα for ἀρ, &c.), τέτροφε, Mid. τέθραπ-ται (τρεφ-ω).*

The combinations ἄρ (ρα) and ἀλ(λα) represent the primitive ‘liquid vowels,’ γ and ɣ. They appear in place of the consonantal ρ and λ when these are phonetically impossible: e.g. ἐφθαρς is for ἐφθορ-ται,—the ερ of the root φθερ- passing into ἁρ where Sanser. ar would pass into γ.

Similarly, α represents the ‘nasal vowels’ ι and ιγ: thus παθ- is for πνθ-. Before another vowel ερ, εν sometimes pass into ἅρ, ἅν, as in ἐκπαθον for ε-κπτ-ον (root κπτ-), in the same way that u and i before a vowel may appear as ou, iy.

Sometimes the longer Stem contains an additional consonant, viz. in the Perfects and Aorists in -κα, as ἑστηκα, I Plur. ἑστα-μεν; ἑθηκα, I Plur. ἑθε-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-ον; πετ-εσθαι, Λογ. πτ-έσθαι (cp. ποτ-άομαι).

This definition will cover the reduction of ἐρ, ελ, εμ, εν to ρ, λ, μ, ν (instead of ἁρ, ἁλ, ἁ); as in ἐγρ-ετο (ἐγρ- in ἐγείρω), ἐ-πλ-ετο (πέλ-ω), ἐ-τε-τμ-ον (τεμ-)

* Similarly, ἀλ(λα) with ελ and ολ: but it is difficult to find examples in Greek. The form πι-παλ-μεν perhaps answers to an original Sing. *πι-πελ-μυ (cp. Sanser. piparmi, Pl. pipmes, Brugmann, M. U. I. p. 44); and the form τε-ταλ-μεν to *τε-τολ-α (Lat. tetuli).
THIRD PERSON PLURAL.

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

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

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

(7) ἐ and ο, including the combinations εί, ευ, ερ, ελ, εμ, εν and οι, ου, ορ, ολ, ομ, ον. It is needless to give further examples.

(8) η (Ionic η) and ω: ἐ-πτη flee, πτήσσω cover, and πτέ-πτω-κα; επ-μι and φω-νη, δδ-νγός and ἀγ-ωγή.

(9) η and ω: ἐρήνυμι and ἔρ-ρωγα; επ-δρήγω and ἀρωγ-ός, ἱθόμ and εἴσωδα.

(10) In a certain number of Stems the only variation is between ω and ο: δι-δω-μι (δο-), 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 that which contains the vowel ο (οι, ου, ον, ορ, ολ) 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>O-form</th>
<th>Weak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ad(η) η</td>
<td>ει</td>
<td>εν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ο</td>
<td>ευ</td>
<td>εν ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ερ(ρε) ελ</td>
<td>εμ</td>
<td>εν ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>οι ου</td>
<td>ορ(ρο)</td>
<td>ολ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ομ ον</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ι</td>
<td>ἐρ(ρα) άλ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ϑ</td>
<td>ν</td>
<td>α</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ν</td>
<td>αμ</td>
<td>αν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αν</td>
<td></td>
<td></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 λελάγχ-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 πεποίθασι, ἐστήκασι (§ 24), and of the L. in -α, as ἐχεαν, ἐθηκαν, ἐδωκαν (§ 15).

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


Present: τιθε-ασι, διδ-ασι (Att.); τιθε-εσαν, διδ-εσαν, &c.

Perfects: ἔσαν (io-σασι), ἔσαν; ἔτασι (Att. 3 Plur. of έσικα).  

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

ἔστασι (for ἐστά-ασι), τεθύσι; ἔστα-σαν, τέθνα-σαν.

τεφύ-ασι, δεβά-ασι; δεβά-σαν.

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

The contraction in ἵστασι, τεθνάσι is evidently due to the impossibility of ἵστα-ασι, τεθνά-ασι in the hexameter. Brugmann regards them as wrongly accented, and would write ἵστασι, τεθνάσι, i.e. ἵστα-ντι, τεθνά-ντι (Curt. Stud. ix. 296). This is open to the objection (1) that it separates them from βεβά-ασι, γεγά-ασι, μεμά-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—

πέφυ-κας, πέφυ-καν, but not πέφυσι

ἱστήκας, ἱστήκασαι, βεβά-κας, βεβάσαι

(οἴδας Ἃδ.) ὅδας, ὅδασι, ὅδασι

ἵθηκα-ν, ἕθε-σαν, ἔθε-ν

ἔδωκα-ν, ἔδο-σαν, ἔδο-ν (Hesiod).

The weak form with -ντι, -ν is therefore confined to Verb-Stems ending in a vowel, as in φασί, τυθέναι (for φαντί, τίθεν-ντι). And in these the short vowel is due to the (original) following -ντ, as in ἐ-σταν, ἐ-γερθεν, ἀλ-ντες, &c.

For a plausible hypothesis as to the origin of the Ending -σαν see § 40. Regarding -σαται (i.e. the Ending -σατ 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: ἐνυ-μαι I put (clothes, &c.) on myself; ἔγα-μαι I take to myself; ἄρο ὥ ἐρυσσαμένων having drawn him his sharp sword; ἢρετο τόξον took his bow with him; ἀφεύρεθα let him bear away (as his prize).

(2) The use in which the agent is the direct object of the action, as λοιπ-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 ἐστίν he shows himself). So, generally, when the action centres in the agent; as in Verbs of bodily action (ἐχομαι, πέτωμαι, ἀλλομαι, οἴχομαι, &c.), and in such uses as λαβέω to gain a hold (not to take a thing), ἔδραυγμένος clutching; ἔθετο threw her arms; also in Verbs of feeling and thinking (αισθάνομαι, ἁιδέομαι, βούλομαι, οἴμαι, μέμνημαι, ἐπι-σταμαι, μέλομαι, μέμφομαι, &c.). So in French, 'je m'aperçois' I perceive, 'je me doute' I suspect, 'il se peut' it may be.
IO
THE TENSES.

(4) The Reciprocal use; ἀμείβομενος taking his turn; λέγοσθαι to tell over (in talk); ἄρεσκεσθαί to make friends with; νυσσομένων (II. 14. 26) as they pierced each other; ἐρείδεσθον (II. 23. 735) push each other, strive. Hence the Middle form of μᾶχομαι, Fr. se battre and its equivalents, ἀγωνίζομαι, ἀμιλλάομαι, δικάζομαι.

(5) The Passive use, as ἐχε-ται is possessed, ἔβλη-το was struck, δέδε-το was bound, ἐκ-πέ-το-ται 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 ἔραμαι, γάνυμαι, ἐλθομαί, ὠθο-μαι, ὄνομαι, στένομαι, κεχάριοντο, δύσσασθαι. And the use is extended to Verbs of seeing and hearing, as ὑρό-μαι (Δορ. ἰδή-σθαι), ἀκούο-μαι (used as well as ὄρω, ἵδειν, ἄκονω), δέρκομαι, ὃσομαι, σκέπτομαι, φαίνομαι; cp. the Attic σκοποῦ-μαι I consider.

Conversely, Homer has the Act. διώ I think, expect, as well as the Mid. διό-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. βιάζομαι I use force towards, σίωμαι, θηλέωμαι, &c. I do mischief for pleasure; ἐφιλάτω made a favourite of; δίε-νται run in a race, δέσθαυ to chase (but δίω I fled); δειδίσσεσθαι 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 ἀπίθετο got himself hated, incurred hatred, κτείνουται (II. 13. 110) let themselves be slain, λείπεσθε (II. 23. 409) get left behind: cp. 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 βουλευ- 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-λη-ν, &c.; -τε, -το in τυπ-τε-τε, τυπ-το-μεν, ε-τυπ-το-ν, τυπ-το-ι-μι, &c.

The Subjunctive and Optative, again, are distinguished by a Suffix to the Tense-Stem: e.g. δο-λη-ν, διδο-λη-ν, τυπτο-ι-μι, στήσα-ι-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 βαλλε (or -ο), βαλε (or -ο), βεβληκα.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRES.</th>
<th>AOR.</th>
<th>PERF.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal Tense</td>
<td>βαλλε-τε</td>
<td>wanting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>ε-βαλλε-τε</td>
<td>ε-βαλε-τε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>βαλλη-τε</td>
<td>βαλη-τε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative</td>
<td>βαλλο-υ-τε</td>
<td>βαλο-υ-τε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>βαλλε-τε</td>
<td>βαλε-τε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>βαλλε-μεναι</td>
<td>βαλε-ειν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle</td>
<td>βαλλο-υτος</td>
<td>βαλο-υτος</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 γράψω *I will write*, related to each other as εγραφον and εγραψα.

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 ε-βη-ν.
- The Aorist in -ά, as ε-χεν-α.
(2) With Tense-Stem enlarged from Verb-Stem—
The Non-Thematic Reduplicated Present, as τι-θη-μι.
The Present in -νη-μι and -νω-μι, as σκιδ-υη-μι, δεκ-υω-μι.
The Perfect.

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

(4) With Reduplication (Thematic)—
The Thematic Reduplicated Present, as γι-γυ-ο-μαι.
The Thematic Reduplicated Aorist, as ηγ-δγ-ο-ν.

(5) With other Suffixes (Non-Thematic)—
The Aorist in -σα, and in -σε, -σο.
The Present 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 -σω, -σ(ο)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—
eι-μι (for ει-μι) I am, ει-μι I go, φη-μι I say, ἦ he said, κει-ται lies, ησ-ται sits (3 Plur. ει-ται, properly η-ται, for *ησ-ται), επι-ται-μαι I know, ἤγα-μαι I wonder, ἤπα-μαι I love, δυν-μαι I am able, ε-κρέμω (for ε-κρέμα-ο) didst hang, δει-το seemed, διε-νται race (διε-νται-σαι tried to scare), δνο-ται doth blame (δνο-ται II. 17. 25), δη-ται blow, κυκ-ται caught, ἤρ-το protected, στει-ται is ready, threatens, ἤδ-μεναι to eat: also ἦτο desired (ἵμενος easier), if it is to be separated from ημι and referred to φτεμαι, Sanser. ντ (see § 397). For τινθι see § 16.

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

12.] Variation of the Stem according to the 'weight' of the ending is carried out consistently in φη-μι and ει-μι. Thus—
Pres. φη-μι, φη-σ, φη-σι, Plur. φα-μεν, φα-τε, φαι.
Mid. 2 Plur. \( \phi\-\alpha\-\sigma\theta\varepsilon \), Impf. \( \epsilon\-\phi\-\alpha\-\mu\nu \), \( \epsilon\-\phi\-\rho\-\tau\o \), Imper. \( \phi\-\alpha\-, \phi\-\alpha\-\sigma\theta\w , \) Inf. \( \phi\-\alpha\-\sigma\theta\alpha\i \), Part. \( \phi\-\alpha\-\mu\nu\varepsilon\os \).

And similarly—

Pres. \( \epsilon\-\mu \), \( \epsilon\-\sigma\-\theta\a \), \( \epsilon\-\sigma\-\i \), 3 Du. \( \i\-\tau\o\v \), Plur. \( \i\-\mu\nu \), \( \i\-\tau\e \), \( \i\-\alpha\i \).

Impf. 3 Du. \( \i\-\tau\nu \), 3 Plur. \( \i\-\sigma\o\v \), Imper. \( \i\-\theta \), \( \i\-\tau\o \), \( \i\-\tau\e \), Inf. \( \i\-\mu\nu\varepsilon\i \) (once \( \i \)), and \( \ell\-\nu\a\i \).

The 1 Sing. \( \tilde{\eta}\a \) does not represent the original form of the Impf., which would be \( \eta\a \) (for \( \eta\a \), Sanscr. \( \hat{\eta}\a \)). Hence \( \tilde{\eta}\a \) with the 3 Sing. \( \tilde{\eta}\a \) and 3 Plur. \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \), \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) must be formed like \( \hat{\eta}\a \) and other Pluperfects in -\( \nu \) (§ 68, 2); the \( \varepsilon \) of the original \( \hat{\eta}\a , \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) being changed to \( \i \) under the influence of \( \i\-\mu\nu \), &c. (Wackernagel, K. Z. xxv. 266). For -\( \sigma\o\v \) see § 40.

The forms \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) (1 Sing. and 3 Plur.), \( \ell\nu \), Part. \( \ell\o\nu \), are evidently produced by confusion with the Thematic conjugation (§ 30, cp. also § 18).

The Verb \( \epsilon\i\mu\i \) I am is inflected as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ( \epsilon\i\mu )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \epsilon\i\mu\i ) (for ( \epsilon-\sigma-\mu\nu ))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ( \epsilon\o-\sigma\i\i ), ( \epsilon\i\i ) (§ 5)</td>
<td>( \epsilon-\sigma-\tau\nu )</td>
<td>( \epsilon-\tau\e )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ( \epsilon-\tau\o\nu )</td>
<td>( \epsilon-\tau\o\nu )</td>
<td>( \epsilon\o\i ) (Dor. ( \epsilon-\tau\o\nu )), ( \epsilon-\alpha\i )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ( \tilde{\eta}\a , \ell\a ) (Th. ( \ell\o\nu ))</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu , \tilde{\eta}\o\nu )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu , \tilde{\eta}\o\nu , \tilde{\eta}\o\nu , \tilde{\eta}\o\nu ) (Dor. ( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu ))</td>
<td>( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu )</td>
<td>( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu , \tilde{\eta}\o\nu , \tilde{\eta}\o\nu ) (Hes.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imper. \( \epsilon\-\tau\o\nu \), \( \epsilon\-\tau\e \), \( \epsilon\-\tau\o\nu \); Inf. \( \epsilon\o\nu\nu\varepsilon\i \), \( \epsilon\o\nu\varepsilon\i \), \( \epsilon\o\nu \), \( \epsilon\o\nu \); Imper. Mid. \( \epsilon\o\nu\-\i \) (Od. i. 302).

The root \( \epsilon\o\nu \) is not reduced before Heavy Endings, as in the corresponding Sanscr. forms (Dual \( s\-\nu\as \), \( s\-\th\as \), \( s\-\tas \), Plur. \( s\-\mu\a s \), \( s\-\th\a \), \( s\-\an\o \), Opt. \( s\-\mu\a \), and the Lat. \( s\-\mu\nu \), \( s\-\nu \), \( s\-\a \). The loss of \( \sigma \) in \( \epsilon\i\mu\i \), \( \epsilon\o\nu \), \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) (for \( \epsilon\-\mu\i \), &c.) is according to Greek phonetic law: the Attic \( \epsilon\o\nu\-\mu\a \) is a new formation, due to the analogy of \( \epsilon\o\nu\-\tau\i \), \( \epsilon\-\tau\e \), &c. On the other hand \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) (II. 16. 557) follows \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \); the older \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) survives in Attic. The \( \sigma \) of \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) belongs to the ending -\( \sigma\o\nu \) (§ 40), not to the root.

In the Impf. it is probable that we have an admixture of forms from the original Perfect: thus \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu\-\th\a \) (Sanscr. \( \hat{\eta}\o\nu \-\th\a \)) is Pf., \( \hat{\eta}\a \), for \( \ast\tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) is both Pf. (Sanscr. \( \hat{\eta}\a \)) and Impf. (Sanscr. \( \hat{\eta}\o\nu \-\th\a \)). \( \hat{\eta}\o\nu \) may be Pf. (Sanscr. \( \hat{\eta}\o\nu \-\th\a \)) or thematic Impf. (answering to the Homeric 1 Sing. \( \&\o\nu \)); the original 3 Sing. Impf. survives to the Dor. \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) (Vedic \( \hat{\eta}\a \)). Again, the 2 Sing. \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu\th\a \) and 3 Sing. \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \), \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) seem to require a stem \( (\epsilon)\o\nu\-\hat{\eta} \), found also in Lat. \( \epsilon\-\tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) (Brugmann, M. U. i. p. 35). The -\( \nu \) of the 3 Sing. is unexplained: it does not appear to be the \( \nu \) \( \epsilon\phi\-\kappa\lambda\kappa\o\nu\ota\kappa\i \), for we find no form \( \ast\tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) alongside of \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \).

Note that the 1 Sing. \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) is not found in Homer.

The Homeric forms of \( \epsilon\i\mu\i \) were discussed some years ago by L. Meyer (K. Z. ix. pp. 385, 423). He maintained that the Homeric 3 Sing. Impf. was \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) or (without augment) \( \ell\o\nu \): the forms \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \), \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) and \( \tilde{\eta}\o\nu \) being due to
corruption or misreading. The facts certainly give much countenance to this view, which has been adopted by Curtius ('Stud. i. 2, 292') and Nauck. It can hardly be accidental that out of 54 places in which ἤν 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 Νέστωρ ὄς μα Πύλων ἄνας ἥν ἤμαθέντος.

Od. 17. 208 ἄμφι δ' ἄρ' αὐτέρων ἕδοστρεφέν ἥν ἄδος.

Moreover, out of 72 instances of ἦν there are 63 in which it is followed by a consonant (including ἂν). On the other hand, in 26 places ἦν occurs in the first half of the foot, and in 2 places it ends the line (in the phrase ὄντος ἄρα μας ἦν); and it is not easy to correct many of these so as to admit ἦν or τεν. Again, ἥν and ἦν have some support in the 2 Sing. forms ἦνα, ἦνα. (For ἦνα Curtius proposed ἦνα, but there is no good reason for this.) And ἦν is found on an Ionic inscription of the 5th century (Rohl, no. 382). On the whole it seems that the argument for τεν is stronger than the argument against ἦν and ἦν. Perhaps we must recognise two Stems, giving four forms: a Stem ἦν-, whence ἦν, without augment τεν, and a Stem (τ)τεν- (Lat. et-rim), whence ἦν, without augment ἦν. The rare ἦν have occurred followed by a vowel (so that we cannot read ἦν') in 3 places only, viz. Od. 19. 283 (al. ἦν, ἦν'), 23. 316., 24. 343. It may be due to mere 'contamination' of ἦν and τεν. But no theory can be accepted as satisfactory that does not account for the fixed τεν of all these forms.

The τ of τα is treated as long in 3 places, II. 4. 321., 5. 887., Od. 14. 352. In Od. 14. 222 τοῖς τα ἦν πολύμπῳ it is elided; but perhaps the τα may be omitted.

The vowel remains long before Heavy Endings in the Stems—

ἀτ-, 3 Du. ἄτ-ταν, Inf. ἄτ-μεναι, Mid. ἄτ-τα, Part. ἄτ-μενος, λαχ-τ-, 3 Du. Impf. λαχ-τ-πν, 1 Plur. εκ-λαχ-μεν, Inf. λαχ-μεναι, Part. λαχ-μενος,

except that it is shortened before -ντ and -ι (§ 6), as in the Part. ἀντετα blows, 3 Plur. ἀνεστι (for ἀε-ντι, in Hes. Th. 875), and the Opt. λαχ-τι may find. The vowel is also long in ἐρ-τα protected, Inf. ἐσ-τα; and in all forms of κεμαύν, ἤμαύ, στεμαύν.

A similar Non-thematic inflexion, in which the final vowel of the Stem is long except before -ντ and -ι, appears in the Ἀeolic conjugation of verbs in -μι, as γέλαυ-μι I laugh, αἰν-μι I praise (Hes. Op. 681), φιλ-μι I love (1 Plur. φιλ-μεν, 3 Plur. φιλεισι, Part. φιλ-μενος), σώμι I save. See § 19.

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

Variation of quantity is rare in the Active, but the Stem is usually shortened in the Middle. The chief forms are:—ε-βη-ν I went, 3 Du. βα-τν (but also ε-βή-τν), 3 Plur. ύπερ-βα-ςαν, Imper. μετα-βηθι, Inf. βη-μεναι: ε-στη-ν I stood, Du. στη-τν, Plur. ε-στη-μεν, ε-στη-τε, ε-στη-ςαν, Imper. στη-θτι, στη-τε, Inf. στη-μεναι; ε-φε came before, Part. φθα-μενος: ες-ε-πτη flew out
14.] **NON-THEMATIC AORIST.**

(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 ἔμοι-βλη-την met, Mid. βλη-το was struck (βάλ-, βέλ-ος), ἔ-τηλ endued (τάλα-ς), πλη-το drew near (πέλα-ς), πλη-το was filled (Sanscr. par-), ἕ-στρω-το was scattered (στορ-), κλη-τός called (καλ-ώς, κλε-ομαι), κασι-γνη-τος kinsman (γεν-), με-μυ-μαι (με-ν-), δη-τός tamed (δάμα-), &c. But this long vowel—ά, η, or ω—is clearly of the same nature as the η of σχή-σω (σεξ-), ἔν-στη-σω (σεπ-), πε-πτη-ώς (πε-τη-, πι-πτ-ω), άμη (root αυ in αυρα), or the ω of πε-πτω-κα (πε-τω), ἕ-γνω-ν (root γαν), ζω-ός (root gi, hence Greek ζη- and ζω-, for γι-η, γι-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 υ,
as ἰδο-σθαι to shield (Fροῦ-), ἰδο-τός drawn (Fεροῦ-, Fροῦ-), τρό-ω (ep. τρητ-τα, 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: τὰλ-ά, πελ-ά, στορ-ε, καλ-ε (in καλε-σαι), γεν-ε (in γενε-σις), δάμ-ά, πετ-ά, Fερ-ν in ἐρυσ-σαι, and many others. What then is the relation between these forms and the monosyllabic ταλ-η, παλ-η, στρ-ω, καλ-η, γν-η, δμ-η, πτ-η? Apparently the difference is ultimately one of accent. The same disyllable would become ταλ-α or ταλ-η as the stress fell upon the first or the second syllable.

15.] Aorists in -ά and -κά. These consist of (1) four Aorists from stems ending in -ω, (2) three Aorists in -κά, and (3) the isolated forms ἵνμεκα and ἐπα.

The four Aorists ἐσσευ-α (weak stem συ-) I urged, ἐ-χευ-α or ἐ-χε-ια I poured, ἐ-κι-α (weak stem καυ-) I burned, ἱλευ-αιτο avoided (Opt. ἀλε-αιτο, Inf. ἀλε-ασθαι) form the 1 Sing. with -α instead of -ν. Thus ἐ-χευ-α is formed like ἐ-φη-ν, except that, after the diphthong eu, the final -m of the ending passed into -α, as in the Impf. ἱα (for ἱσ-α). So too in the Accusative of Nouns we have -ν after a single vowel (λόγο-ν, πόλι-ν, ἤχθο-ν), but -α after ην, eu or a consonant: νη-α (for νηφ-α or νηφ-α), πόδ-α, as in Latin nāv-em, ped-em. The forms without ν, as ἐχεα, ἐκα, are obtained by ν passing into the semi-vowel (ἐχεα for ἐχεα).

The original inflexion then was ἐ-χευ-α (ἐ-χε-ετ-α), ἐ-χευ-ε, ἐ-χευ-ετ (γ), Plur. ἐ-χυ-μευ, ἐ-χυ-τε (cp. ἐ-κτα-μευ, § 13), ἐ-χευ-αι, Mid. ἐ-χυ-το (like ἐ-φα-το, ἐ-κτα-το), &c. Thus ἐχυτο and ἐσσυτο are primitive forms, standing to ἐχεα, ἐσσεα as ἐ-φα-το to ἐ-φη-ν.

How then are we to account for such forms as ἐ-χευα-μευ, ἐ-χευα-το, σευα-μευος, ἱλεα-το μευ? They are obtained from the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur. by treating the stem plus the -α as a new stem or base, to which the Person-endings are then attached. Thus ἐ-χευα-α, ἐ-χευα-μευ, ἐ-χευα-το are duplicate forms, related to ἐ-χευα-ν, ἐ-χυμευ, ἐ-χυ-το as the later οιδα-α, οιδα-μευ to οιθα,
The 3 Sing. in -e(n), follows the analogy of the Thematic conjugation (ἐχεῖν like ἔλεγεν).

The three Aorists in -κα, ἐ-θηκα I put, ἐ-ηκα I sent forth, ἐ-δωκα I gave, are inflected as follows:—

1 Sing. ἐ-θηκα 1 Plur. ἐ-θεμεν 2 2 Du. ἐ-θε-τον 2 ἐ-θε-τε
3 ἐ-θηκε(ν) 3 ἐ-θε-την 3 ἐ-θεσαι

Imper. ἐ-σ, ἐ-τω, Plur. ἐ-τε, ἐ-ντουν.
Inf. ἐ-μεναι, ἐ-μεν, ἐ-ναι, Part. ἐ-λευ, ἐ-ντοσ, &c.
Mid. ἐ-θεμεν &c. with ἐ- as stem throughout.

Thus θηκα-, ηκα-, δωκα- alternate with ἐ-, ἐ-, ὁ- as long and short Stems respectively. The only forms in Homer which do not conform to this scheme are the 1 Plur. ἐν-ηκα-μεν (Od. 12. 401), and the 3 Sing. Mid. ηκα-το (Π. 10. 31., 14. 187, also Hes. Th. 175). The primitive 3 Plur. ἐ-ον-ν occurs in Hes. Th. 30, and in Doric: ἐ-θεν only on inscriptions (C. I. 29).

The Homeric forms with the stem ἐ- do not take the augment: in Attic we have (e. g.) ε-μεν ε-τε (for ἐ-μεν ἐ-τε).

In respect of the -α of the Stem the 2 Sing. ἐ-θηκα-σ is formed like ἐ-χενα-σ, and the occasional examples of the type ἐ-θηκα-μεν, ἐ-θηκα-το are parallel to ἐ-χενα-μεν, ἐ-χενα-το. That is to say, the -α comes from ἐθηκα, ἐ-θηκα-ν. The relation of ἐ-θηκα-μεν, ἐ-θηκα-το to ἐ-θε-μεν, ἐ-θε-το, is complicated by the use of a new Verb-Stem (θη-κ- instead of θη-). Thus it is the same as the relation of ἐπηκα-μεν to ἐπατα-μεν (§ 22).

The Aorist ἔνεικα (without augment ἔνεικα) shows no variation of stem; 1 Plur. ἔνεικα-μεν, 3 Plur. ἔνεικα-ν and ἔνεικα-ν, Imper. ἔνεικα-τε, Mid. 3 Plur. ἔνεικα-ντο.

On the Aorist ἐπα see § 37.

16. The Non-Thematic Reduplicated Present. These Presents are formed by Reduplication, usually of the initial consonant with τ; τίθη-σι puts, δίδω-μι I give, ὑ-σι (for σῶσι-σι?) sends, ἵππασι (σι-στά-) they set, τιμπλᾶσι they fill (the μ is euphonic: it is dropped after μ in ἐμ-πίπλη-θι), δίνῃ bound, βιβάσ striding; with Attic Reduplication, ὄνυπ-σι (for ὄνυ-σι-) benefits: perhaps also ὑλε-θι be appeased (ἵλα-μαι I propitiate, Hom. H. xxi. 5: Stem ἐλα for σι-σιλά, 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 ἐμ-πίπλη-θι (Π. 21. 311), ὑλ-θι, δίδω-θι (Od. 3. 380)*, and the Inf. τιθ-μεναι (Π. 23. 83, 247) and Part.

* The variation is perhaps less regular in the Imper.; cp. κλό-θι. In Sanser. the 3 Sing. Imper. has the strong Stem.
17.] Present Stems in -η (¬vā) and -νu. 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 -η, -νu (which with Heavy Endings regularly become -νā, -νυ).

The Presents with -η (¬vā) are nearly all peculiar to Homer, δαμ-η-μ I subdue, κιρ-η mixed, πέρ-να-s selling, σκεδ-να-tai is scattered, πίλ-να-tai comes near, μάρ-να-tai fights. Note ι for ε in κιρ-, σκεδ-, πιλ-; cp. the later Verbs πίτ-νω, κτίν-νυμ.

A few Presents with -νu are common to all periods of Greek, δείκ-νυ-μ I show, δυ-νυ-μ I swear, ζεύγ-νυ-μ I join, δίλυμι (for δλ-νυ-μι) I destroyp; but they are mainly Homeric or poetical; ὅρ-νυ-θι arouse, δαλ-νυ feasted, ἄγ-νυ-tov break, στορ-νύσα spreading, ἀπ-ομύργ-νυ wiped away, ἔγρυ-νυ shut in, βην-νυσί they break, γά-νυ-tai is gladdened, τά-νυ-tai is stretched, ἦ-νυ-το was finished, κι-νυ-το were moved, τί-νυ-νται punish, αῖ-νυ-ται takes, ἐ-καλ-νυ-το surpassed, ἀρ-νυ-σθην won, ἀχ-νυ-μαι I am vexed, ὄτυ-νυ-το were opened, ἐνυτο (for ἐσ-νυ-το) put on, ζώνυ-ντο (for ζω-νυ-) girded himself, οδηγ-νυ-ς stretching out, σβεθυν-μενάω (Hes. Op. 590).

In the Verbs in -ημι the Verb-Stem is nearly always disyllabic: cp. δαμά-σαι (παν-δαμά-τω, &c.), κέρα-σαι, πετά-σαι, περά-σαι, σκεδά-σαι, πίλα-σαι. So in some Verbs in -νυμι; cp. δυ-νυ-μα, ὀλ-νυ-μα, στορέ-σαι. Thus we may regard δαμ-α and δαμ-η, δυ-α and δυ-νυ, &c., as twin forms obtained by the addition of a different suffix to the same original root δαμ-, δυ-, &c. (§ 14). It is to be observed also that Presents in -ημι are often found along with forms in -αω and -αω: δαμ-ημη, Attic δαμ-άζω; κιρ-ημη, κερ-άω: πέρ-νημη, περ-άω: σκεδ-νημη, σκεδ-άω: πίλ-νημη, πιλ-άζω. Cp. κάμ-νως, κάμα-τος (§ 47).

The Verb-Stem will be seen, has most commonly its weak form (note especially τά-νυ-ται, Pf. τι-τά-ται), sometimes the strong form, as in δείκ-νυ-μι, ζεύγ-νυ-μι, βην-νυ-μι.

The forms in -ανυμι and -ενυμι are post-Homeric.

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

εδώμα (as if from *δαμάνω), ἐκίννα (Od. 7. 182, &c.), πίνα: Imper. καθ-ιστα (II. 9. 202).

ἐτλθει, ἔτει (ἀφ-ἴει, προ-ἴει, &c.), ἄει (v. l. ἂν) ὑλεω, κίχεις: Imper. τίθει, ἔτει (εὐν-ἴει).
THEMATIC FORMS.

Examples occur also in the Pres. Indic.; ðαμνά (3 Sing. Act.) in Od. 11. 221 (with v. l. ðάμνατ'); ðαμνά (2 Sing. Mid.) in II. 14. 199 (with v. l. ðάμνα, for ðάμνα-αί); ðιν-εις (II. 5. 880), ðεθ-είς (II. 6. 523, Od. 4. 372), ðεθ-εί (II. 10. 121), τιθεί (II. 13. 732), παρ-τιθεί (Od. 1. 192), for which the MSS. usually have ανιείς, &c.; δίδοι (II. 9. 164), δίδοι (II. 9. 519, Od. 4. 237). So for προτεί in II. 2. 752 we should read προτεί.

Add the Part. βιβάντα (II. 3. 22, ep. 13. 807., 16. 609), Fem. βιβάνσα (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. τίθης, ἤν, δίδως, and Impf. εἰθη, ἤν, ἰδίω, but left the 3 Sing. τιθεί, δίδοι and Imper. τίθει, ἤει, δίδοι. Nauck proposes to restore καβίση (Imper.) and the Impf. ἵδαμην, πίνη, ἵκρην. In the case of τίθημι, ἤμι, διδομι the weight of authority seems to be for the spelling which follows the Thematic conjugation, viz. -εῖ, -εῖς in the 2 Sing. Pres., and -είς, -ει, -ους, -οῦ in the Impf. (Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 281, is extremely positive on this side). But Verbs which have η in the Dual and Plural (ἀγ-τον, κιχ-την) should follow the analogy of the Passive Aorists: hence ἄη, κίχης. And we may leave undisturbed the form ἰδη he bound (II. 11. 105), for which no one has proposed to read δίδει.

The 3 Sing. προ-τεύν (Od. 9. 88, 10. 106, 12. 9) stands alone, and is doubtless a mere error for προτεύν (Bekker, ed. 1858).

Porson (in his note on Eur. Or. 141) condemns ἵπνεῖς, τιθεῖς, &c. on the ground that if τιθεῖς were right we ought also to have τιθῶ, τιθεῖ, τιθοῦμεν, τιθείτε. It is possible, however, that a form like τιθεῖς may have crept in through the analogy of the Verbs in -είς, although no 'Verb' τιθεί 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. δαμνά, τιθεί, μεθεί, διδοί—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 -νυ there is evidence of a tendency to introduce the Thematic -νε(o). The instances are:—

δρ-νυ-όν (II. 12. 142), δύμνε (II. 14. 278), χεύγρυν (II. 19. 393), δύμν-έτω (II. 19. 175), ταυν-ουσι, ταυν-οντο (four times),

* 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, α, η and ο, ω, ω.
19.] Non-Thematic Contracted Verbs. The following Homeric forms are usually regarded as instances of 'irregular Contraction' of Verbs in -ω, -ω, -ωω:

(−ωω): συναρτή-τυν met, συλή-τυν spoiled, προσαρτή-τυν spoke to, φοιτή-τυν went about, κηφη scraped, δρή-μεναi to pray, γού-μεναi to bewail, πεινή-μεναi to hunger, θή-σδαi to milk.

(−εω): ἀπειλή-τυν threatened, ὁμαρτή-τυν met, καλή-μεναi to call, πενθή-μεναi to mourn, ποθή-μεναi to regret, φιλή-μεναi to love, φορή-μεναi, φορή-ναι to carry, ἀληθή-μενοι sinning, τερή-μεναi to get dry (§ 42).

(−ωω): σάω 3 Sing. Impf. and also 2 Sing. Imper of σαώ I keep safe.

These forms cannot be explained by the ordinary contraction with the Thematic ε or ɔ: e.g. φοιτή-τυν cannot come from *φοιταέτυν, φορή-ναι from *φορεέ-ναι, ἀληθή-μενος from *ἀλιτέο-μενος, σάω from σάοε, &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 -ττ and -τ, such as the Pres. κιχή-μεναι, ἀπή-μεναi (§ 12), the Aor. στή-μεναi, τλή-ναι, γνώ-μεναi, &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 -μτ' of the Άολic dialect, as φίλη-μτι, 1 Plur. φίλη-μεν, 3 Plur. φιλείσι (for φίλε-ντι), Part. φιλή-μενος; and also in the Latin Verbs in -ère and -ēre, except in the 1 Sing.; e.g. amāmini is parallel to ἄρη-μεναι, docemini to φορή-μεναι, docemus, docēnt to φίλη-μεν, φιλείσι.

Further traces of this formation may be seen in those Attic verbs in -ω and -ωω which take η and ω instead of ɔ and ου respectively (as ζαω, ζης, ζη, &c., βιγω, Inf. βιγων), and in the Opt. in -φην, -οιν (for which however in the case of verbs in -ω we expect -εν, as in κιχείν and Άολic φιλείν).

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 δυνάω, πεινάω, ἔπνωντες, Ἀιολικ ἀοθή, ἀδικήει, &c.). The forms in -αω, -ηω, -ωω, again, may represent an older (and Ἀιολικ) -αιω, -ηηω, -ωωω, just as δείκνυω is for older δείκνυμι: and these again may be explained by contraction from -αιημ, -ηημι, -ωκημι, 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 Sanscrit, Zend, Slavo-Lithuanian and Germanic—all which members 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 -ωω (as νυκδ-ωω), -εωω (as ποθε-ωω), or -ωωω (as δηδ-ωω). On this assumption, again, the Homeric forms now in question may be variously explained. Where we find η for εε or αε, as in φιλημεναι, γούμεναι (instead of the ei, α 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 η[σ]α for an original ε-εσα. Then the participles ἀλιτήμενος, φιλημένος and the like may be explained by supposing a form in -μενος, cp. Lat. leg-imini, docemini, so that φιλημενος would be a primitive contraction from φιλε-έμενος (φιλε-ε-μενος). The solution however is confessedly incomplete. It does not (directly at least) explain Ἀιολικ φιλημεν, φιλεων, Lat. amāmus, docēmus, amant, docent. It only explains the long vowel of φιλη-σω, ἐφίλη-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, νικάτε, φιλείτε, δηλούτε, &c., since these must have come from νικάτε, φιλείτε, 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—αι, ηω—where is of the nature of a suffix. Such are ε-βαλ-ην (βαλ-, βα-η), ε-πτην (πετ-, πτ-η), ε-γων-ν (γεν-, γω-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 ε-φαιην-ν, ε-τύπη-ν and one or two in -ων, as ε-άλω-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 κίχημι, ἄμμι, πλῆ-το, ἕγνως) has affected the derivative verbs, and has thus produced the non-thematic forms in question—φιλήμεναι like ἄμμεναι, ἀληθέμενοι like κιχήμενος, and so on. The forms τῳδή-μεναι (II. 23, 83, 247), τῳδή-μενον (II. 10, 34) are probably due to the influence of the same group of Verbs. A similar process explains the Ἀεolic conjugation of verbs in -μι (γέλαμι, φιλημι, δοκίμωμι), the difference being that in Ἀεolic it was carried much further. In Homer we have nothing answering to the 1 Sing. φίλημι, the 1 Plur. φιλήμεν, the 3 Plur. φίλεσο, 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 (προσαδιδήσην, φωτήσην, &c.) and Infinitives in -μεναι. It is not improbable (e.g.) that the familiar form προσφίδα has supplanted an original Non-Thematic προσφίδη. On the other hand in II. 11, 638 ἐπὶ δ' αἴγεων καθ' τυρὸν the metre points rather to the uncontracted κναέ.

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-γῆρα (γῆρα-s), βιώ-τω (βιο-s), ἐπ-ἐπλῶ-s (πλῶ-s), ἀλῶ-ναι, perhaps ἀπ-ἀνη-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 -νο, are nearly always Transitive or 'Causative' in meaning, as ἵστη-μι, σκιό-νη-μι, ὁρ-νυ-μι: whereas the simpler Verbs, whether Present or Aorist, are usually Intransitive. as ἐστη-ν, ἔσβη.

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. ἐ-φη-ν is the same in formation as the Aor. ἐ-βη-ν, ἐ-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 οἴδα and ἔστηκα.

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 (ā) and ā: as τεθήλ-εί bloomed, Part. Fem, τεθάλ-νία; ἄρρηπ εί fitting, ἀράφ-νία; λεληκ-ώς, λελάκ-νία yelling, μεμηκ-ώς, μεμάκ-νία bleating; λέλασται (λελαθ-ταί, ληθ-ω) has forgotten, ἄκαχ-μένος sharpened, πέφαι-ταί has appeared; σήπιε is rotten (σαπρός), τέτηκα (τῆκ-ω), τέθητα (Ἀορ. Part. ταφ-ών), τέτηγε (τάγ-η), κεκην-ότα, κεκλην-ώς, πεπλην-ώς, τετρή-εί (τάραχ-) ; πετάσ-μην I had eaten (πατ-έομαι), κεκασμένος (κάδ-) excelling, ἐρραδ-αται are sprinkled, δέδασ-ταί is divided (but 3 Plur. δεδάλαται, from δαλ-, § 51, 2). In the last four cases the strong form does not actually occur.

δέης is on fire is for *δέης (δέη-εί): the weak Stem is δαυ- (δαώ for δαφ-ω, cp. καλω, ἐκήα). Similarly γέγηθε rejoices is for *γέγηνθε (Lat. gaud-εί).

ā for η occurs in ἐγεί is broken (Hes. Op. 534: ἐάγη as Subj. is only Bekker’s conj. in Π. 11. 558, see § 67): also in ἔαι-ότα pleasing, as to which see § 26, 2.

ω and ā: this interchange cannot be exemplified from Homer: cp. Attic ἔρρωγα (ῥαγ-, Mid. συν-ἔρρηκ-ταί). ω is also found in ἄνογα I ìdid, γέγωνε calls aloud, but the corresponding weak Stems are unknown.

(2) ω and ε: εύωθε is accustomed (cp. έθων, ηθος, root σθ-θ-): ἐπ-όχ-ατο were shut to (of gates), from ἐπ-έχω: συν-οχωκ-ότε (better perhaps συν-οκχοκάτε, see Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 303) leaning together, from συν-έχω (cp. οκχή a stay or buttress, ἄν-οκχή = ἄνοχη staying, cessation).

η and ε: in μέμηλε is a care, ἐδ-ηδ-ώς having eaten.

(3) ω and o: in δέδο-ται (δώ-), ἐκ-πέπο-ται is drunk up, ὀλωλε is lost, ὀρωρε is aroused, ὀπωτα I have seen, δδώδε-εί smell: perhaps also ὀρώρει watched (Π. 23. 112 ἐπὶ δ ἀνήρ ἐσθλὸς ὀρώρει = was the ἐπί-ουπος), cp. § 30.

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

(4) οι and ί: οίδα, 1 Plur. ἵδ-μεν; πέπουθα, 1 Plur. Plpf. ε-πέπωθ-μεν; έουκα, Dual είκ-τον, Part. Fem. είκ-νία; λέλωτα, Αορ. ε-λύτ-πν-; δείδω I fear, for δεδοία (by loss of ι and contraction), 1 Plur. δείδι-μεν (for δεδί-μεν).

This account of the isolated ι Sing. δείδω was given by G. Mahlow (K. Z. xxiv. 295), and has been adopted by most scholars. The original Homeric form was probably δείδα (or δεδοία), which can be restored in all the passages where the word occurs. Others (as Cobet) would substitute δείδα, a form which is found in several places, sometimes as an ancient v. I. for δείδω. But it is difficult on his view to account for the change from δείδα. Rather, an original δείδα (or δεδοία) was altered in two ways, (1) by contraction, which gave it the appearance of a Present in -o, and (2) by change of ι to ί under the influence of δείδι-μεν, &c.
(5) ευ and ο : πεφευ-ός having escaped, Mid. πεφυ-μένος; τετευ-αται are made, 3 Sing. τέτευ-ται; κέκευθε hides (Aor. κόθε); εζευ-μένοι joined (ζευ-όν). Other weak Stems: κέχυ-ται, ἐσού- ται (§ 15), πέπυσ-μαι (πύθ-), κέκλυ-θι listen.

ου interchanging with υ is much less common: εἰλίλουθα I am come (ἐλύθ-), perhaps δεδοντ-ότος (cp. κτύπ-ος).

υ appears in μέυκε (Aor. μῳκε), βέβρυχεν roars, as in the Pres. μυκάμαι, βρύχω.

(6) οπ (ρο), ὀλ and ἁρ (ῥά), ἀλ (for ἀ, ἃ, § 6, 5): δι-έφθορας art destroyed (φθαρ-); ἐμμορε has a share, Mid. ἐμμαρ-το was apportioned; τέτρoφε is thickened (τράφ-); ἐπι-δέθομε run over; δέθορκε sees; ἐφρόσ hast done; ἐνλπα I hope. Weak forms: πεπαρ-μένου pierced, τεταρ-το (τρεπ-ω), τε-τεταλ-το (τέλλω).

But ερ, ε in ερ-μένουs strong (Lat. sero), ἐρ-αται are packed in, Part. ἐργ-μέναι (Fεργ-ω), and ἐκλ-μένος crowded in: cp. § 31, 6.

πι appears in βεβρίθε is heavy, ἐρρίγα I dread, πεφρύκ-νυία chirping, with no corresponding weak Stem. In these words πι seems to come from original ερ, ρ, or γ; cp. § 29, 4.

(7) ο and α (for γ): γέγονε is born, 1 Plur. γέγα-μεν; πέπονθα I suffer, 2 Plur. πέπασθε (for πεπαθ-τε), Part. πεπαθ-νια; μέμονας art eager, 2 Plur. μέμα-τε; λελόγχ-ασι have as portion (Aor. ἐλάχι- ον); πεφα-ται is slain (φών-ος), τέτα-ται is stretched (τών-ος), δεδα- ως (§ 31, 5). But we find αν in κεκαν-δωs containing (Aor. ἐχαίδε).

(8) ο and ε: as in τέτοκα (Hes. Op. 591, cp. Aor. ἐ-τεκ-ον); δεδεγ-μαι I await (cp. προ-δοκ-αι ambush); ἔσ-σαι art clothed; ἀνύψεθε mounted up (of a stream of blood, Πι. ΙΙ. 266), ἐτ-ενύψεθε is upon: ἀγγελ-ρατο were assembled (cp. ἄγορ-ῆ): κεκοπ-ός 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.

ἀνύψεθε answers in meaning to the Attic ἀρέθω, to be on the surface, come forth upon: the Pres. would be ἀνέθ-ω (related to ἀνθ-ος as ἄλγ-ω to ἄλγ-ον). So ἐν-ηνύσθε 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 δέλκα-ω, ἐφυκ-α (§ 45), πτήσηςω (for πτή-κ-ον, cp. ἐ-πτα-κ-ον), δεδιδομαι (for δειδηκη-ον-μα). Thus δλάλκα is the regular Pf. of δλάλκα, and πεπτοκα, δεδουκα, answer to the weak stems πτα-κ-, δε-κ-. So ἐβήκα, ἐστήκα answer to (possible) Presents ἐβηκ-ω (cp. βάκτρον), ἐστηκ-α. 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 ἐβηκ-, ἐστηκ-, &c., was probably that the forms given by the original Stems were too 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, δείδω-κ-α, τεθαρση-κ-άς. 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, 1 Plur. ἐστα-μεν; δείδουκα I fear, 1 Plur. δείδο-μεν; πέφυκε, 3 Plur. πεφύ-άσι: βεβικα, Inf. βεβα-μεν; τέθηκα, Imper. τέθυα-θι; τέτληκα, Imper. τέτλα-θι. Add also μέμι-κε is closed (of a wound), δέου-κε is sunk in, though the short form is not found.

(b) Perfects with invariable long vowel, especially η and ω (discussed in § 14): βεβλη-κ-ει strung, Mid. βεβλη-ται (cp. έμμε-νη-πω, βλη-μενος); κέκι-κ-ας art weary; πεπλη-μενος brought near, κέκλη-μαι, είπη-ται, μέμω-μαι, τετμη-μενος; βεβρω-κ-ώς having eaten (Fut. Mid. βεβρω-σεται), μεμβλω-κ-ε is gone, πεπρω-μενος failed.

Similarly, from disyllabic Stems, δεδά-κε (Aor. ἐ-δά-ν-ν) has learned (Od. 8. 134), τετύχη-κε (Od. 10. 88), and the Participles κεκάρη-στα (ἐ-χάρη-ν), βεβαιρη-στα, κεκαφη-στα, τετη-στες.


παρφεχι-κεν (Π. 10. 252, with v. l. παρφεχιεν) is formed as if from *παρ-οιχεω, for παρά-οιχαι.

ἀδη-κ-ότας (Π. 12. 281, and four times in Π. 10) means displeased, disgusted, and should probably be written ἀδηνηκτες, from ἀδεω (for ἀ-σφου-ω).

The Subj. ἰλήκησι (Od. 21. 36), Opt. ἰλήκου (Η. Απολλ. 165) point to a Pf. ἰληκα or Pres. ἰλη-κω.

(10) A Perfect in -θα may be recognised in γρηγνόρ-θασι keep awake (Π. 10. 419): perhaps in the Opt. βεβρόδους (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 germs have been mentioned above. βεβρω-θα is related to a Part. βεβρω-ώς (§ 26, 4) as τεθυν-κα to τεθυν-ώς, and to a Mid. *βεβρω-μαι (cp. βεβρω-σεται) as βεβλη-κα to βεβλη-μαι. If in a few more cases, such as βεβεθ-θα (βεβεθ-), εεσω (ες-.εν), γεγηθα (γεγι-εω), 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. δικω (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, τεπόλιος-το, ὀδόδυσ-ται, κεκονύ-
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 ἐ-ἐλ-μένος cooped in (for Φε-Φελ-
μένος), εἰρύταται (Φερν-) are drawn up, εἰλυ-το (Φελυ-, νολυν),
ἐ-οργα (Φέργ-ον), ἐ-ολπα, ἐοικα, Μίδ. ἤικ-το (unless this
comes from ἑἴσκω).

A sibilant (σ) in ἕ-στηκα (for *σέ-στηκα), ἕ-ερ-μένος strung
together (Lat. sero). But the σ is retained in σέσπτε.

(2) Stems beginning with two consonants (except when the
second is ρ λ μ or ν), or with η, usually prefix ε only: as δε-ἐ-
θδος, ἐ-θδατο, ἐ-κτήσθαι (but κέκτημα, Hes. Op. 437), ἐ-
ζυγγμέναι. But we find πε-πνηώς, πε-πναται. And in ἕστηκα
the rough breathing represents original σ-.

The group σF has been lost in ἕ-ἀδως (either σε-σφάδως or
ἑ-σφάδώς) pleasing, and εἰώδα, ἐωδα (Lat. sué-seo).

The group δF has the effect of lengthening the vowel of the
reduplication in δεῖδοικα, δεῖδι-μεν, &c., which represent original
δὲ-δωι-κα, δὲ-δὶ-μεν, &c.

Initial ρ, which generally stands for Φρ (sometimes σρ), gives
ἐρρ-, as in ἐρρηκταί (Φρηγ-), ἐρρίζωται. Sometimes ερ-, as εὐρη-
tαι (Φρη-, cp. ver-batim), and εἰρύταται (ἀυσμα, Φρυ- protect). One Stem
reduplicates ρ, viz. ῥε-ῥπομένα, from ῥυπόω.

Similarly we have ἔμμορε, Μίδ. εἰμαρ-ται (σμαρ-), and ἔσοῦται
(σειω, root κμευ-: also εἰληφα (post. Hom., cp. ἠλαβαν, § 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 (ε.ρ.) in ἐ-κτήσθαι, which cannot be derived by
phonetic decay from κε-κτήσθαι. The distinction will serve to
explain the difference between εἰμαρται, which is the proper
representative of an original σε-σμαρ-ται, and ἔμμορε, which fol-
τows the general tendency to double an initial ρ, ν, λ or ρ after
the augment.

(3) Attic Reduplication; as ὀπ-ωπα I have seen, ἐλ-ήλα-το was
driven, ἐγρ-ήγορα I am awaye.

The syllable which follows the Attic Reduplication may vary
in quantity, as ἀρηρ, Fem. Part. ἀράρυα; ἐρηρπετε, Μίδ. ἐρέιπετο.
Usually it is long, as ἐλήλαται, ἀρηρμενευος, ἀκηρχεμενος, ὀδώδυσται,
ὑρήριεστο, ἐρηρίοσταί (Hes. fr. 219), 3 Plur. ἀγγέρατο, ἐρηρεδαται,
ὀρωφέχαται. But it is short in ἀκάχημαι, ἀλάλημαι.
(4) Temporal Augment (see § 67): e.g. ἐφ-ἡπ-ται (ἄπτω), κατ-ἡχσ-ται (ἀκίςω), ἑσκῆ-ται (ἀσκέω), ἑσχυμένος.

(5) In a few cases there is no Reduplication: —  
όδα, for Φοίδα, Sanscr. veida.  
ἐρχ-αται are shut in (Fepy-), Plpf. ἐρχ-ατο and (with augment) ἐδρχατο.  

ἐιμα I am clothed with (Fes-), ἐσ-σαι, Plpf. ἐσ-σο, ἐσ-το and (with augment) ἐ-ἐσ-το, Du. ἐσ-θν, 3 Plur. εἰσατο, Part. εἰμένος. Reduplication is not to be found in the ei of εἰμαι, εἰμένος, since these are for Φεφ-μα, Φεφ-μένος (as ἐιμα for Φέσμα). The 3 Sing. Pf. occurs once in Homer, in Od. i 1. 191, where the best MSS. have ἁσται, others εἰσται and εἰσα. The true form is probably ἐσται, preserved in an oracle in Hdt. i. 47 (cp. ἐσσαι).

ἀμφαχυία (II. 2. 316) crying around can hardly be divided ἀμφ-αχυία, since the Stem ἀχ- has initial F (§ 390). But a Stem *ἐχι- (ἔχιχι cry), weak form Ἐχ- without Reduplication would give the Fem. Part. Ἐχυία, whence ἀμφι-αχυία.

These examples make it doubtful whether initial F was originally re-duplicated in the Pf. stem. In Sanscr. the roots which begin with va (answering to Gr. Φε-) take υ-, as υνάκα (vac-, Gr. Φεπ-). Thus the Φε- of Ἐβοίκα, Ἐβελέμενος, &c. may be later, due to the analogy of other Perfects.

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

(6) The Reduplication in δε-δέχ-αται they welcome, seems to be that of the ‘Intensive’ forms, as in δε-δίσκομαι: see § 61. The form belongs to δέχ-νυμ, not δέχ-ομαι (see Veitch).

24.] In the 3 Plur.—  
1. The long Stem with -άσι (-α-ΝΤΙ) is comparatively rare: —  

These forms evidently result from generalising the Stem in -α. So we have οἶδας (Od. i. 337), οἶδα-μεν, οἶδασι 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, -άτο of the Mid.; as ἐπι-τετράφ-αται are entrusted, τετράφ-ατο were turned, ἐρχ-αται (Fepy-) are shut in, ὁρφέχ-αται (ὁρέγ-ω) are stretched out, δειδέχ-αται (δείκ-νυμ)
welcome, κεκρυφ-αται (Hes. Op. 386). The aspirated forms of the Act., such as εἶληφα, κέκοφα, are entirely unknown to Homer.

It has been pointed out by Joh. Schmidt (K. Z. xxviii. 309) that the aspiration in these analogies is due to the analogy of the forms in which a similar aspiration is caused by the ending: τετραφ-αται because of the 2 Plur. τετραφ-θε, Inf. τετραφ-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), ἐρ-ῃρέδ-αται (ἐρείδω, cp. ἤρισ-μένος Hesych.), and άκ-νχέδ-αται (άκαχίζω).

4. A final δ of the Stem sometimes appears only in the 3 Plur.: as ἄκκαχεδ-αται, ἔρραδ-αται (δαίνω, 1 Αορ. δάσαστε), ἐληλάδ-ατο. But the last of these forms is doubtful; it occurs only in Od. 7. 86 χάλκεου μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐληλάδατ', where some good MSS. have ἐρηρεδατ'.

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 εἰλήλαυν-μεν we are come (for εἰλήλαυ-μεν), ἄφορο was hung aloft (cp. ἄφερ-θευ), ἔγρηγορθε keep awake, with the Inf. ἐγρηγορθαι (Il. 10. 67, cp. ἐγρηγορτί 10. 182); ἄνογμεν (H. Apoll. 528); cp. ἐοιγμεν (in Tragedy), ὑδεογμεν (Et. M.).

2. The strong Stem of the Pres. takes the place of the weak Stem in συν-ἐρρηκται (Attic ἐρρωγα), λέλειτ-ται, εἶχεν-μέναι, ἥρησετο (ἐρείδω); also in ἔφ-μένος, ἐλ-μένος, ἐφ-αται (§ 22, 6). So κεκανδ-ός (for κεκάδ-φώς, κανάνω).

ἔστητε, commonly read in II. 4. 243, 246, is an error for ἔστητε: see § 76.

3. The influence of the Present may further be traced in the Perfects which take ει for ει (§ 22, 4), and ι, ευ for ου (§ 22, 5). So ἑοιδ-ός (but ἑωδή), προ-βέβουλα (βούλουαι).

In all these cases it is worth noticing that the change does not affect the metrical form of the word: e.g. we may read εἰλήλαυμεν, ἔρρακτα, εἶχενμεν, ἥρηστο, &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 ἄνα-βέβρυχεν (Πι. 17. 54) ἐγυθεὶς νῦ. For the latter Zenodotus read ἄναβεβρυχεν—doubtless rightly, since this is the correct Pf. of ἄνα-βρέχο.

In Attic Reduplication the second vowel of a disyllabic Stem may be short, as in εἰλήλοῦν (less common in Homer than εἰλήλουθα), and κατερήπτε (Πι. 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 (-$F\omega\varsigma$, -$\upsilon\alpha$, -$\varepsilon\upomicron\sigma\varsigma$), partly to the general tendency to adopt the form of the Sing. Indic. as the Stem. Thus the Homerie 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 -$\omega$ (-$\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$) follows a vowel, one or both of the concurrent vowels may be long: $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$-$\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$-$\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (both for $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha$-$F\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$). So $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\zeta$-$\omega\tau\omicron$; $\beta\epsilon\beta\alpha$-$\omega\tau\omicron$; $\pi\epsilon\phi\upsilon$-$\omega\tau\omicron$; $\kappa\kappa\kappa\upsilon$-$\omega\tau\omicron$ and $\kappa\kappa\kappa\upsilon$-$\omega\tau\omicron$; $\tau\epsilon\vartheta\upsilon$-$\omega\tau\omicron$, $\tau\epsilon\vartheta\upsilon$-$\omega\tau\omicron$, also $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\omega\tau\omicron$; $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta$-$\omega\tau\omicron$ and $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta$-$\omega\tau\omicron$ ($\pi\tau\pi\sigma\varsigma\omega$): $\pi\epsilon\tau\eta$-$\omega\tau\omicron$ ($\pi\tau\pi\sigma\varsigma\omega$). Both vowels are short in $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha$-$\omega\tau\omicron$.

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

2. When -$\omega$ (-$\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$) follows a consonant, the Stem generally takes the long form, as in the Sing. Ind. Act.: $\alpha\rho\rho\tau\rho$-$\omega$, $\mu\epsilon\mu\kappa$-$\omega$, $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\kappa$-$\omega$, $\epsilon\omega\kappa$-$\omega$, $\pi\epsilon\pi\theta$-$\omega$, $\epsilon\omega\rho$-$\omega$: except $\epsilon\omega$-$\omega$ ($\omega\delta\alpha$), $\epsilon\kappa$-$\omega$ or $\epsilon\kappa$-$\omega$ (II. 21. 254), $\epsilon\sigma\delta$-$\omega$ ($\alpha\nu\delta\alpha\upsilon$, root $\sigma\tau\alpha\delta$-$\alpha$).

As these exceptions show, the strong form is not original: thus $\epsilon\omega$-$\omega$ is for $\epsilon\omega$-$F\omega\varsigma$, $\tau\alpha\delta$-$\tau\alpha\delta$ for $\epsilon\alpha\tau\alpha\delta$-$F\alpha\tau\alpha\delta$. So we have $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$-$\omega\tau\omicron$ (perhaps $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$-$\omega\tau\omicron$), not $\mu\mu\sigma\mu\omega$-$\omega\tau\omicron$. 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 $\epsilon\omega$-$\nu\upsilon$ (II. 17. 4, elsewhere $\iota\nu\nu$, Schol. II. 20. 12), $\epsilon\omega\kappa$-$\nu\upsilon$ (II. 18. 418, elsewhere $\epsilon\kappa$-$\nu\upsilon$)*, $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu$-$\nu\upsilon$, $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda$-$\nu\upsilon$, $\tau\epsilon\rho\gamma$-$\nu\upsilon$ (as P1pf. $\tau\epsilon\rho\gamma$-$\epsilon$-$\iota$), $\beta\epsilon\beta\rho\theta$-$\nu\upsilon$, $\tau\epsilon\rho\gamma$-$\nu\upsilon$, $\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa$-$\nu\upsilon$, $\kappa\kappa\kappa\lambda$-$\nu\upsilon$ (Hes. Op. 449). Later forms, $\alpha\rho\rho$-$\nu\upsilon$ (Hes. Th. 608), $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu$-$\nu\upsilon$ (Hom. H. xviii. 4).

The form $\beta\epsilon\beta\omega$-$\sigma$ (Od. 20. 14) is an anomaly, apparently formed from the Masc. $\beta\epsilon\beta$-$\omega$ on the analogy of Participles in -$\omega$-$\varsigma$, -$\omega$-$\sigma$ and -$\epsilon$, -$\epsilon$-$\upsilon$.

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

* The form $\iota\nu\nu$ is found in—
kal$\alpha$ Kast$\alpha$nt$\alpha$ Schew$\alpha$ $\delta$em$\alpha$ $\iota$ou$\kappa$nu$\upsilon$ 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—
kal$\alpha$ Kast$\alpha$nt$\alpha$ Schew$\alpha$ $\delta$em$\alpha$ $\iota$ou$\kappa$nu$\upsilon$. 

29]
the Homeric τεθνη-ως) is not earlier than Theognis. Similarly γεγον-ως for γεγαως 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 φύς, 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-ως, or rather perhaps ἐγδουπη-ως, cp. ἐ-γδουπη-σαν.)

ἀρη-μένος, in which the α of ἄρη 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; also ἤνωγον, ἄνωγον, ἄνωγε, Opt. ἄνωγομι, Imper. ἄνωγε-τα, ἄνωγε-τε. Such a form as ἤνωγον may be regarded either as a thematic Plpf. of ἄνωγα, or as Impf. of a new thematic Pres. ἄνωγω. This remark applies also to the next three cases.

γέγονα: ἐγέγονε, Inf. γεγονέ-μεν (also γεγώνειν or γεγονεῖν, II. 12. 337).

πετληγός (only in the Part.): ἐπετληγόνων and πετληγόνων, Inf, πετληγέ-μεν, Mid. πεπληγέ-το. Similarly—

μεμηκός (Part.): ἐμεμηκόν.

κεκληγόνε: Plur. κεκλήγοιτε (II. 12. 125, 16. 430, 17. 756, 759), perhaps τετρίγοντες (§ 26, 1), and κεκόπων (v. 1. for κεκοπώς, II. 13. 60, Od. 18. 335).

μέμιμαι: the Opt. μεμέφετο (II. 23. 361) is apparently obtained by transference of quantity from a thematic μεμή-οιτο; but we may read μέμνητο, 3 Sing. of the regular Opt. μεμηρ-μήν (II. 24. 745). For this, again, some MSS. have μεμομήν, as if from *μέμνω-μα. The 2 Sing. Ind. μέμη (II. 15. 18) also points to μέμνοιμα, but we may read μέμη (i.e. μέμνημαι).

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


ἐθνε-ται (v. 1. in Od. 22. 56, see § 25, 3). We may add the
Pluperfects deidhe feared, ἀνήροθεν (Π. 11. 266), ἕτε-ἐνήροθεν (Π. 2. 219, 10. 134): perhaps also the Optatives in -ομι, -οις, &c. viz. βεβρόθ-οις (Π. 4. 35), βεβλήκου (Π. 8. 270), τεφεύγοι (Π. 21. 609), ἅληκου (Ν. Απολλ. 165); see § 83.

28.] Meaning of the Perfect. The Perfect denotes a lasting condition or attitude (ἐξει). 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, δαίω I kindle, δέησε blazes, or (better) is ablaze; κόλπε hid, κάθευθε has in hiding; ὁρ-νυ-ται bestirs himself, ὄρωρε ἐστίρ; ὀδ-το was lost, ὄλωκε is undone; ὤραρε made to fit, ὀρηρε ἐντικοτοί (Intrans.); ταράσσω I disturb, τετηρήκει was in disorder; μείρο-μαι I divide, ἔμορφο has for his share; ἓρωμαι I save, shelter, εἰρύ-σαι keep safe; τένυω I make, τέ-τυκ-ται is by making (not has been made); ἐφι γρευ, πέφυκε is by growth.

Thus the so-called Perfecta praesentia, βέβηκα, ἔστηκα, γέγηθα, μέμνημαι, πέποθα, οἴδα, ἔοικα, κέκτημαι, &c., are merely the commonest instances of the rule.

Note the large number of Homerian Perfections denoting attitude, temper, &c. Besides those already mentioned we have—παρ-μεβλάκε is posted beside, δεθορκε is gazing, ἐρρυγε shudders, τέτηκα I am wasting, μέμυκε is closed (of wounds), δεδάκρυσαι art in tears, δεδέξει in waiting, ὀρφέχατο were on the stretch, πεποτύ-σαι are on the wing, κέκμηκα I am weary, προβέβουλα I prefer, δείδα I fear, ἐσπολα ἐλπίσει, τέθητα I am in amazement, τέτηκα-σ thou hast heart, πεπιτυται has his senses, δείδεχ-σαι welcome (in the attitude of holding out the hand, while δεκιν-μενος denotes the action), together with many Participles—κεκήρος agape, κεκαφήνως panting, πεπτώσωs covering, συν-οχωκτε bent together, κεκοπτήσω in wrath, τετηρότης vexed, ἄδηκις disgusted, μεμηλιός in thought, πεφολαγμένος on the watch, δεδραγμένος clutching, λελη-μένος eager, κεκολωμένος enraged, &c. So in later Greek; ἐξήν-θηκος (Thuc. 2. 49) in eruption, ἱστονδισμένος in haste.

Verbs expressing sustained sounds, esp. cries of animals, are usually in the Perfect: γέγωμε φηχτες, βεβρύξε roars, κεκληγώς, λεληκώς, μεμηκώς, μεμυκώς, τετριγώς, ἄμφιαχώς, ἀμφιαξία. So in Attic, βοῶν και κεκραγώς (Dem.).

With Verbs of striking the Perfect seems to express continuance, and so completeness: κεκοπτός, πεπτληγώς, βεβολή-άτο was tossed about, βεβλήκει made his hit, ἵππερεστό was driven home. (Cp. Αρ. Αν. 1350 ὁ δὲ πεπληγή τὸν πατέρα νεκτός ὄν.)

Note the number of Imperatives of the Perfect in Homer: τέτλαθι, μέμοτε, δεδεῖ, τεθεῖ, δεδίθι, κέκλυθι, ἄνωξθι; Mid. τετύχω let it be ordered, τετράφθω let him keep himself turned.
(In later Greek this use seems to be confined to the Middle: μὴ πεφόβησθε do not be in alarm, πέπαντο keep silence.)

The number of Homeric Perfects which can be rendered by have is comparatively small. The chief instances in the Active are, ἔφυγα-ς thou hast done, ὅποτα I have seen, λέλυπτε has left, πέπασθε ye have suffered, ἐδηδ-ός, βεβρωκ-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 Ilium (=Ilium 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.: cp. τέτευχε and τέτυκται, πεφυγώς and πεφυγμένος, γέγονα and γεγένη-μαι. Compare also the Pf. Act. with the Pres. Mid. in such instances as ὀλωλα and ὀλλωμα, πέπουθα and πείθομαι, βέβουλα and βούλκομαι, ἔστατα and ἔστομα. The forms τέτροφα, ἐφθορα are Intrans. in Homer, but Trans. in Attic: and an Intrans. or almost Passive meaning is conspicuous in the Homeric group of Participles κεκοτύωs enraged, τετηψ (τ=τετή-μένος) vexed, κεκορης (κ=κεκορη-μένος) satiated, βεβαρης heavy, κεκαρης rejoicing, κεκαφης panting (§ 22, 9, 6).

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, σήπεται is rotted, κίβει vexes.

2) ει: εἴδ-ε-ται seems, εἴκε yield, λείβει to pour, λείπει leaves, πελώ I persuade, στείβου trud, στείχειν to march, πείκετε comb, εἴβει drop, φείδεο spare, άείδε sing, ἄλειψε anointed, ἄμειψε exchanged, ἐρείκωμεν tost, ἐρείδε stayed, εἰρετε knocked down, νεφέμεν to snow (so to be read instead of νυφέμεν in II. 12. 280). For ἵκον I come the Doric form is εἰκό.

3) ευ: φεύ-ω I fly, πεύθομαι I learn (by hearing), ἐρεύγεται beches, ἐρεύων reddening, στείδεω to hasten, ψευδόται play false, εὐδόμενον being sinned, ἐκσενιότοι were urged on, νείον nodded, δεύμαι I need; also, with loss of v before the Thematic vowel, εὐ-νεον swam (νεύ-ον), διεί runs, πλέων sailing, πνεει breathes, ρέει flows, χεεί pours, κλέομαι I am famed.
The forms with ει for ε, as θεί-ειν, πλείειν, πνεύων, ἐγ-χεί, (for θέ-ειν, &c.) should probably be written with ευ, θεύ-ειν, πλεύ-ειν, &c. See Appendix C.

(4) επ (πε): δέρκ-ο-μαι I behold, τέρπεντο εν rejoicing, τέρποταν was sated, ἐστεργενται confined, τέρπεται is dried, ἐστεργεται creeps, στέρχουσι urge, ἐστεργειων sweeping, δέρσω flagging, θέρμας to be warmed, δέρτε sank downwards, ἐστεργετε shone, τρέπτε turned, τρεφέϵei nurtures, στρέψειeiov twirls.

ελ: έλπ-ο-μαι I hope, μέλπεσθαι to play, ἔλαξεi draws, ἀμέλει milked, κέλνμαι I command, τέλει turns, ἔθελω I am willing.

Ρτ from ἐρ appears in τρίβ-έμεναι to rub (Lat. ter-o), χρι-ον anointed (Sanscr. gharsh-atî), βρίθον were heavy.


(5) εν: πέν-ε-σθαι to labour, στένει groans, μενό I wait, φδέγγεo call out, ελέγχει reprobes, στέννων making libation.

ἐμ: πέμπω I send, ἐπι-μέμφομαι I blame, τέμει (II. 13. 707) cuts, δέμων built, βρύμει roars, νέμει apportions, ἔτρεμε trembled.

(6) ε: λέγ-ε told, ἔχ-ω I have, ἔδει eats, ἕπεται follows, πέτεται flies, δέχομαι I receive, ἐν-ἐπεο say, ἐ-στεφε set as a covering: with loss of σ, τρεί (τρείε, for τρεσ-ει, cp. ἄ-τρες-τος) trembles, ζεί (ζεί) boils, νέμαι (cp. νόσ-τος) I return.

The Thematic forms of εἰμί, viz. ἔον, Opt. ἔοι, Part. ἔον, belong to this head, since με- is the strong stem. So too κέονται (for κεί-ονται), 3 Plur. of κε-μαι.

ω (instead of η) appears in τρόγ-ειν to gnaw (trág-ειν), δίωκεν to chase. Both forms appear to be derivative (with suffixed γ, κ, § 45): τρό-γω may be connected with τορ-είν (§ 31, 4). διώκ-εω is related to δε-μαι (§ 11); it has been supposed to be a Thematic Perfect, with loss of reduplication (i.e. from *δε-διω-κα).

.LinearLayout Error appears in τροχ-ουσι waste away, ἀνα-ψώκ-ειν to cool, ἐρθ-ει restrains. These also are derivative (§ 45).

ο appears in λόε washed (Od. 10. 361, H. Apoll. 120), Inf. λούσθαι (Od. 6. 216). λο- is for λοφ-, ept. Lat. lav-ere. A Pres. *λούθω is inferred from the form λούσθαι (II. 6. 508 = 15. 265), for which we may read λούςθαι (from the derivative Pres. λοεω).

30.] Thematic Present with weak Stem. Of this formation there are a few instances: ἄγ-ω I drive, bring (Aor. ἥγ-ἀγον), ἄχομαι I am vexed (Aor. ἥκ-ἀχε), μάχονται fight, βλάβεται fails, breaks down, βλέπει wishes, ὄρονται watch, ὄθομαι I care, ἄτεis dost hear, ἄτο-δρίφοι (Opt.) tear off, ἄχιε leads, ἄχιε choked; also the Thematic forms of εἰμί, viz. Impf. ἤ-τον, Opt. ἔτοι, Part. ἔτων.
Note that \( γράφω \) is not found in Homer except in the Aor. ἔγραψα.

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

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

ὄρνται (Od. 14. 194), ὄρντο (Od. 3. 471) occur in the phrase ἐν δ' ἀνέρεσ ἐσθλοὶ ὄρνται, where ἐν ὄρνται seems to be -το as ἐπιουροῖ; 'are in charge.'

ἀτό only occurs as a Pres. in the phrase οὐκ ἀτές; = hâve you not heard? Elsewhere ἀτώ is used as an Aorist (Schulze, K. Z. xxix. 249).

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

The forms ἀρχω, ἀγγιχω are difficult because original ἀρχ-, ἀγγιχ- would shorten the vowel (before a semi-vowel and mute), and consequently the Stem would be indistinguishable from original ἀρχ-, ἀγγιχ-. That in ἀρχω the Stem is weak may be inferred from the Nouns ἀρχ-ος, ἀρχ-η (§ 109): the O-form may be found in ἀρχαμος, the strong form possibly in ἀρχ-ομαι. Again ἀγγιχω may be identified with Sanser. ἀγ-ατι (for ἀγ-ατή): the strong form being ἀγγιχ- in ἀγγιχ-ελυς (De Saussure, Mem. 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, λάαε cracked, λα-λαβε took, εὐαθε (for ε-σφαθε) pleased, μακώ bellowing, φάνον ate, δι-ε-τμαγον (τήγω) parted, ἀν-ε-κραγον cried aloud (Attic Pf. κεκράγα), ἀρετο gained, ἀληται (Subj.) shall leap, ἀ-χραε assailed (χραύ-), ἀληται (Subj.) shall be burned (δαύ-), φάε shone (φαύ-, cp. ψυφαύκω), λάε seized, pinned (λαύ-, cp. ἀπο-λαύω), ἀλθετο was healed, ἥλφον (Opt. ἄλφοι), ἤντυτο met (Part. ἄντ-όμενοι).

The forms φάε (Od. 14. 502) and λάε, Part. λάον (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. β-φαχ-ον has been made probable by W. Schulze (K. Z. xxix. 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 (μεγα ταχον, καὶ β ταχον, ει-ταχον). Consequently we can always read fαχον (μεγα ταχον, καὶ β ταχον, ει-ταχον), or with augment ειταχον (cp. ειδο for ει-ταχον). In II. 20. 62 καὶ ταχε would be read καὶ ειταχε. The alternative is to suppose that β-φαχ-ον became ειταχον by loss of f and contraction (Wackernagel, K. Z. xxv. 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 ταχω (f-φαχον).

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

(3) With ἰ (strong ei): έ-στηξ-ον (στείξω) marched, έ-πιθοντο obeyed, ικεσθαι to come to, ιιτεσθαι to treat, ήρπε (έρπεπω) fell down, ἰρικε (έρηκω) was torn, ήλιτεν offended (Mid. ἀλιτεσθαί), άινον heard, διε feared (διέ-), διον ran, έ-κιον moved, έ-πιον drank, έλιθε slipped, κρικε cracked.

With αι, αἴθαμενον burning, αἴδετο felt shame (§ 32, 2); έχτασμεν awaited (§ 32, 3).

διον ί ran (II. 22. 251) is not to be connected with διε feared, but with ἐν-διέ-σαι, διε-ντα chase, of which we have the Thematic Subj. διώμαι, Opt. διοῦν, Inf. διέσθαι. That they are Aorists appears (e.g.) from II. 16. 246 ἵνε κε τίνατα when he shall have chased.

έκλον is probably an Aor., since *κέω does not occur. The accentuation of the Part. κών is in favour of this, but not decisively (cp. ένων, ένων).

(4) With ο (strong eu): κύθε hid, φύγον fled, τύχε hit upon, πυθομαι I heard tell, έττηγον felt disgust, έκτυπε sounded, ἰρυγε bellowed, ἰλαυνον I came, έκλυνον heard, άμ-ππυε recovered breath.

With αυ, αυε shouted, αυή (Subj.) kindle, έπ-αυρείν to gain from, enjoy. With ευ, ευρε found.

έκλυνον is clearly an Aor. in Homer. The Pres. κλών, which occurs in Hesiod (Op. 726 οῦ γάρ τοί γε κλώνοιν) and in Attic poets, is perhaps only a mistaken imitation of the Homeric style.

(5) With ἄρ, ρά, ρ (strong ep, pe): έ-πράθ-ο-μεν (πέρθ-ω) we sacked, κατ-εδραθον went to sleep, έ-δρακον (δέρκομαι) looked, ἐδραμον (δρόμος) ran, ἐ-τραπον turned, ἐτραπε (τρέφω) was nurtured, ταρπώ-μεθα (τέρπω) let us take our pleasure, ἐβραχε rattled, ἀμάρτε (also ήμπροτε) missed, ἐπταρε sneezed, ἕγρ-ετο (έγρε-) was roused, ἀγρ-όμενοι (άγρε-) assembled (§ 33).

With άλ, ι (strong el): έ-βαλ-ον (βέλ-ος), έ-πλ-ευ, έπλετο turned, came to be (§ 33).

With όρ, ολ: έ-πορ-ου furnishd, έθορε leaped, έτορε pierced, ἄπετο was stirred up, έκ-μολ-ε came out, δέλσθαι to perish.

The ε of the strong Stem appears in είλον, ελ-ον took, ἐρ-έσθαι to ask (cp. § 22, 6).

It will be seen that ἄρ, ρά, ἄλ are generally placed between consonants, where ρ, ι would be unpronounceable. The only exceptions are, έπταρον and εβαλον. On the other hand όρ, ολ only appear before a vowel.

(6) With α (strong ευ, εμ): έ-παθ-ον (πένθ-ος) suffered, μάθ-ον learned, ελαχον obtained as share, ἤχαδε (Fut. χελομαί) contained, δακέευ to bite, δάνται shall learn (δάσ-, strong form *δενσ-), cp. δέδαευ, § 36, 5).

D 2
ār, āp (before a vowel): ē-κταυ-ov killed, ēθανε died, ē-καμ-ov wearied, τάμε cut (cp. ἐ-δάμ-η, § 42).

ἐν appears in γεν-ἔσθαι to become.

(7) With loss of ε: ἐ-σχ-ov held (ἐχ-ω for σεχ-ω), ἐσπερο followed, Inf. ἐτι-πτεσθαι (ἐπομαι for σεπ-ομαι), ἐπι-πτεσθαι (πετ-) to fly over, ἐετρο sat (for ἐ-σθ-ετο, Ahrens, Gr. F. § 95).

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

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

The only ground for taking ἐσχεθον to be an Aor. is the Inf. σχεθεειν (Il. 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 ε or ο follows another vowel.

In ἔχαρε, φάς, λάς, δάνται (for ἐ-χραφ-ε, φάφ-ε, λάφ-ε, δάφ-νται) the hiatus is due to the loss of F. So in λώς (for λάφ-ε). Similarly ο is lost in δάνται (δάο-) shall learn.

In several cases the Thematic inflexion is found intermingled with Non-thematic forms. Thus we have ἐκλνου, Imper. κλεθι; ἀμ-πνυε, Μid. ἀμ-πνυ-το; ἐπινου, Imper. πλθ (Ar. Vesp. 1489); διν ίαν, ἐν-διε-σαν chased (δη-μι). The presumption is that the Non-thematic forms are older, the others being derived from them as ἐν ίαν was and ἱνου ίαν went from corresponding parts of ειμι, ειμι (cp. § 18). Similarly we may account for ἐκνου (κι- in Pres. κι-νπαι), and perhaps διε feared, διε heard.

2. Another characteristic group is formed by the Aorist Stems in which we find initial α either entering into a diphthong (αι-, αυ-) or followed by a double consonant: viz. αἰθ-, αἰδ-, αὐ- (in αὐν kindle), αὐρ-, ἀλθ-, ἀλφ-, ἀντ-. Some of these which are usually counted as Present Stems require separate notice:—

αἰθ- occurs in Homer only in the Part. αἰθόμενος burning: as to the adjectival use of Participles see § 244. The Stem is found in the Sanscr. ἀδ-ατι burns.

αἰθ- occurs in the Indic. αἴθερο, Imper. αἴθεο, Part. αἴθόμενος; the corresponding Pres. is always αἴθομαι.

αὐε shouted may always be an Aor. (Il. 11. 461., 13. 477., 20.
48, 51). We may identify this aö- with u in Sanser. u-noti calls.
The a- is a distinct syllable in the Aor. aö-ose, cp. aûtj.
aûj (Od. 5. 490, v. I. aûó) makes good sense as an Aor., expressing the act of kindling.

The Stem is weak (aûσ- = Sanser. ušh- in ušh-âs, Æol. auûos); the strong form appears in eû-ô, Lat. uro.

êp-αυρείν exhibits the Thematic form answering to âπ-ηύρα, ἀπο-υράς (§ 13).

âλθ-ετο, found only in II. 5. 417, is clearly an Aor.

âλφ- in έλφον, Opt. âλφωι, with Aor. meaning.

âντ- in άντεσθειν, Inf. âντεσθαι, Part. âντάμενος,
always with clear Aor. meaning. Accordingly âντεσθαι in II. 15. 698 (the only place where it occurs) was accented by Tyrannio âντέσθαι.

The a- of aöô-, auô-, &c. is discussed by De Saussure along with that of âρχ-, âγχ- 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 -û- of aû- may answer to either fe or eu in the strong form; thus aûû-ô: âûû-ô (Sanser. vaksh-) = auû-ô; perhaps euû-ûû. A similar a- appears in â-μείζω, â-μέλγαω, â-φεω; perhaps in â-άντεσθαι, â-μαρτείν (but in these it may be originally significant, infra, 3).

In âλθ-, âλϕ- the form is weak (perhaps âλθ- is to a strong âλεθ- as âλγ-ô: âλγ-ô or âλκ-ô: âλέκ- in âλι-ô), or else the strong and weak forms coincided (as in âρχ-, âγχ-, § 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 aîô-, Pres. âîô-ομαι; auè, Pres. âûôé; âû-ô, Pres. êû-αυρ-ίκω; âντ-, Pres. âûνάω, âûνα-ô. The process has been the same in âλτ-εσθαι and Pres. âλτ-αîνο, âμαρτ-êîν and âμαρτ-άνω, êûρ-êîν and êûρ-ίκω, êûκείσθαι and âπ-êûθ-άνομαι, êûσθε and âλκ-ερ-άνω, also in Attic âλσθ-εσθαι and âλσθ-άνομα. The last is interesting as the only post-Homeric 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-decension. Thus êξραυμένo αυρεία is generally derived from χοῦσμος usûful (Curt. Verb. ii. 13). So, according to Curtius, ϑέμε-τε warm ye, ϑέμε-το grew warm, from ϑερμός; óπλε-σθαι (II. 19. 172, 23. 159) to get ready, from óπλον (óπλέ-ô); γόνον (II. 6. 500) bewailed, from γόνος (γ-ô); âμαρτ-êîν to misâ, from â-μαρ-τô- without part in.

Some at least of these instances may be otherwise explained. For óπλε-σθαι we may read óπλεύθαι (the uncontracted óπλευθαι is impossible in the hexameter). γόνον in II. 6. 500 αî μεν ἐτι ζόινον γόνον "Εκτορα κ. τ. λ. makes better sense as an Impf.: Fick reads γόναν, 3 Plur. of an 'Æolice' γόμα. Possibly γόνον 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
'syncope.' Thus we have ἀγέροντο, Part. ἀγρόμενοι: ὀφελοῦ
ought and the Attic ὀφλοῦ owed: πέλω and the syncopated forms ἐπλεῦ, ἐπλεῦτο, Part. ἐπιπλόμενος, &c. (not ἐπελεῦ, ἐπέλετο, &c.
Homer).

ἀγέροντο were assembled, Inf. ἀγέρσεθαι (so accented in MSS.) imply a Pres.
ἀγέρω; but the Part. ἀγρόμενοι seems to be an Αor. The ξ is only lost in the
Part., whereas in the undoubted Αor. ἔγρε-eto the form ἔγρε- never occurs
(Opt. ἔγροντο, Inf. ἐγρέσθαι). In Π. 7. 434., 24. 789 ἀμφὶ πυρὶ ... ἔγρετο λαὸς
Cobet (Misc. Crit. p. 415) proposed to read ἔγρευτο, from ἔγρε-. The emendation
gives a good sense, but is not absolutely necessary.

ὀφελοῦ ought (= would that) bears a different sense from the Αor. ὀφλοῦ,
but is indistinguishable from the Impf. ὀφελλοῦ (Od. 8. 312 ἡ γείνασθαι
ὀφελλοῦ, so Π. 7. 390., 24. 764, Od. 14. 68., 18. 401). Hence ὀφελοῦ is prob-
ably an older form of the Imperfect which has survived in this particular
use.

ἐπλεῦ, ἐπλε-το, &c. must be Aorists, since—

(1) ἐπλεῦτο occurs in the 'gnomic' use, e.g.—
Π. 2. 480 ἢ δε ὡν ἀγέληπῃ μέγερον ἐπὶ ἐπλευτὸ πάντων
and so in Π. 24. 94, Od. 7. 217. This use is not found with the Impf.

(2) ἐπλεῦτο with the meaning of a Present can only be explained as an Αor.
= the English Prt., has turned out, has come to be, (and so is): see § 78, and cp. Π.
12. 271 ὃν ἐπλεῦτο ἔργον ἀπάντων now it has become: with another Αor. similarly
used, Π. 15. 227 πολὺ κέρδιν ἐπλεῦτο, ὃτι ὑπόδειξεν it is better that he has yielded:

The Part. occurs in ἐπι-πλόμενον έτός (Od.) and περι-πλομένων ἐναιστῶν, with
much the same force as the Pres. Part. in the equivalent phrase περιτελλο-
μένων ἐναιστῶν. But, as we shall see, an Αor. Part. may have the meaning of
an adjective (§ 244): cp. volvenda 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
-sa. 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 (ἐλακων, ἐκνον, ἐκλον, μολέν, πορεῖν, &c.).
Of the non-Homeric examples only one, viz. ἀθυίσαθαι, belongs to the language
of prose; about 15 are found in good early poetry (e.g. δικεῖν, ἥγεῖν, παρεῖν, βλαστεῖν, in Attic dramatists); most of the others are evidently figments of
learned poets, imitated from actual Homeric forms, e.g. ἔδαιν (from Homeric
δίδαιν), ἔμφορον (from μόρος and the Homeric Prt. ἐμορεῖ, ἔκουσε). 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:—

\[\text{µú-µú-éte await (µéν-ω).}\]
\[\text{πίππε fell (πέτ-).}\]
\[\text{τάρεψ holds, for *στ-σχ-ει, from *σεχ-.}\]
\[\text{ιξεψ sits, for *στ-σδ-ει, from σεδ-.}\]
\[\text{γλυνται becomes (γευ-).}\]
\[\text{τίτκω, for τι-τκ-ω, from τεκ-.}\]
\[\text{νίσοψ I go, pass, for νι-νσ-ομαι, or νι-νσ-ξο-μαι, from νεσ-:}\]
\[\text{related to νέομαι (§ 29, 6) as ισχω to ἔχω.}\]
\[\text{δίκε sought (Thematic form answering to δίκη-μαι, § 16).}\]
\[\text{λαυ-εψ sleepest (Aor. ἄεσα, for ἄε-σα, Ἰ slept, cp. αὐςω and ἄεξω).}\]

In this group of Verbs the Root is in the weak form; the vowel of the reduplication is always i.

\[\text{ίάω (for F-άχω) is generally placed in this class. The Pres. Indic. does not occur, and the past Tense ιάων is an Aor. in Il. 5. 860, 14. 148., 18. 219 ὅτε τ' ιάξε αὐλήτης (§ 79), and may always be so in Homer. As to its original form see § 31, 1, note. Thus the evidence for ιάω is reduced to the Part. ιάων, and that is not used in a way that is decisive between the Pres. and the Aor.}\]

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

(1) 
\[\text{α: ἐκ-λέλαθ-ον made to forget, λελαβέσθαι to seize, κεκάδων severing, κεκάδων yielded, κέχαρον rejoiced, ἀμ-πεπαλών brandishing on high, τεταγῳν grasping, ἦν-αγ-ον led, ἐξ-ήπαφε deceived, ἥπαρε fitted, ἡκαχε vexed.}\]

(2) ἵ: πεπίθ-ομεν may persuade, πεφθέσθαι to spare.

(3) ὦ: τετύκ-οντο made for themselves, πεπύκοντο may hear by report, κεκύθωσι shall hide.

(4) ὁρ (ῥά), ἀλ, λ: τετάρπ-ετο was pleased, πέφραδε showed forth, ἀλ-αλκε warded off, ἐ-κε-κλ-ετο shouted (κελ-).

(5) ἅ, ὑ (for ἐπι) λελάχ-ητε (Subj.) make to share, δέδαεν taught (cp. § 31, 5); ἐ-πε-φυ-ε slew (cp. πε-φα-ται is slain).

(6) Loss of e: ἔ-τε-τμε found, caught (τεμ-?); ἔσπον said (perhaps for ἔ-φε-φε-πον); also ἐσπετο followed, if it is taken to be for σέσπε-το.

* The difficulty in the way of this explanation is that in the old Attic inscriptions which distinguish the original diphthong ο (written ΕΙ) from the sound arising from contraction or ‘compensatory’ lengthening (written Ε), the word εἰς is always written with EI (Caumer in Curr. Stud. viii. 257). In Sanscr. the corresponding form is avacan, for a-va-vac-an (वद becoming u). Answering to this we expect in Greek ἐυπω (Vogrinz, Gr. d. hom. Dial. p. 123).
The forms which point to *σε-σπε-το, viz. ἐσπανταί (Od. 12. 349), ἐσποῦν (Od. 19. 579., 21. 77), ἐσπέεθαι (II. 12. 350, 363), ἐσπόμενος (II. 10. 246., 12. 395., 13. 570), can be easily altered (e. g. by writing ἀμα σπαντα for ἀμ' ἐσπαντα). We always have ἐπι-σπεθαί, ἐπι-σπομένος, μετασπομένος (never ἐφ-εσπόμενος, &c.); i. e. ἐσπε- only creeps in when a preceding final vowel can be elided without further change.

(7) A peculiar Reduplication is found in ἱρύκακε (Pres. ἱρύκ-ω) checked, and ἱπίπατε (ἐνυπά) rebuked.

These Aorists are exclusively Homeric, except ἱγαγον and ἐκπον (Attic ἐπων). They are mostly Transitive or Causative in meaning; compare ἐ-λαχο-ν I got for my share, with λέαχο-ν I made to share; ἱπατε is fitting, with ἱπατε made to fit, &c.

The Inf. ἱδείσα-σθα (Od. 16. 316) is not to be connected with the Perf. Part. ἱδει-σθε, but is for ἱδείσαθα, Inf. Mid. of the Reduplicated Aorist ἱδείσεν taught. Thus the sense is to have oneself taught.

37.] Aorists in -α. Besides the usual forms of ἐ-εκπο-ν (ἐ-πο-ν) we find a 2 Sing. ἐπα-ς (II. 1. 106, 108), or ἐ-επα-ς (II. 24. 379), 2 Plur. ἐπα-τε (Od. 3. 427). Answering to the Attic ἱγαγον Homer has ἱγακα, Opt. ἱγακα-ς, &c.: but Inf. ἱγακε-μεν (II. 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 -σα, -η, and -θη.

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

39.] The Aorist in -σα (called 'Sigmatic' and 'Weak* Aor.). The Suffix -σα is joined to the Verb-Stem (usually in its strong form), as ἑπρησε (ῥηγ-), ἐπεσαυ-ν (ἀλειφ-), ἐ-πνευ-σα-ν (πνευ-), ἐπεισε (for ἐ-δεικε-ς) feared, ἐ-βη-σα-ν, ἐ-φυ-σα.

The following are the chief varieties:—

1. Verb-Stems ending in a Dental or σ preceded by a short vowel, form -σα or -α: thus we have ἱρεσασα and ἱρεσα (for ἱ-ρέτ-σα, from ἱρέτ-); ἐσ-σατο, ἐσασθαι (桴σ-) ; σβεσ-σα, 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.
2. Derivative Verbs in -aw, -ow usually form the Aor. with a long vowel (in -osa, -wos, -wya). But the Verbs in -ow often form the Aor. in -osa, -osa; not only the Verbs derived from Noun-Stems in -ea, such as telew, nelkeos, aknedeos, but also several Verbs derived from masc. Nouns in -os; e.g. ekoperos-sato was satiated (Pf. kekoper-menos), kotes-sato was enraged (kekoper-wos), pothesan longed for (pothe-omenai), aleiesan grounded.

Other examples of so in the Aor., though the Verb-Stem cannot be shown to end in so or a Dental, are: xigadosato (aga-mai) was amazed, etala-osa endured, kera-soe mixed, peira-soe sold, yila-soe drove, yra-soeme loved, edeuma-soe tamed, ilia-soronta (Subj.) shall appease; kalos-soe to call; dle-soe to destroy; etanu-soe stretched, ekata-soe panted, era-soame drew; xeo-soe slept; leosato washed; dpoma to swear; ono-sato made light of; see § 51.

Note that when -sa is preceded by a short vowel there is always a collateral form in -osa: the only exceptions are storpe-sa to strew and kepma-sa to hang, and these are due to metrical reasons.

Most of the Aorists in -osa, -osa, &c. are evidently due to the analogy of those in which -so was originally preceded by a short vowel and a dental or so. That is to say, etala-soa, ekale-soa, &c. do not follow the type of epelxe, eliepe (as etie-sa, efuo-sa did), but the type of etelos-sa, etelos-sa. Thus -osa becomes the Tense Suffix after a short vowel, just as -so is after a long vowel or diphthong.

The forms loues, loyasa, loysanto, loysasb, &c., which suppose an Aor. *etlousa can nearly always be written loe-. The exceptions are, II. 14. 7 therhne kai loyape apo bropoton (read loyope te apo), Od. 6. 210 loysate te evn potamf, 6. 219 apolosmosu.

3. With Verb-Stems ending in u, v, p, 1, the so is usually lost, and the preceding vowel lengthened, e becoming ei: as eigyma (gym-), krepnai (krep-an-, § 55), ep-teilela (teil-), efyla-to (fil-), eigeira (eyger-), chyra-to (chae-)*. A few Stems retain so: aor-sa, aor-sa, apo-er-se, eker-se, kyp-sa-s, fyr-sa, xal-sa-n, kelp-sai, kevsae. This is the rule when po or 1 of the Stem is followed by a dental, as in epeter (for epeter-se), eimerpe (ameorw). But v

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* The form epa-to, which is usually taken to be an Aor. of dpv-uu, may stand to apoa as etpata-to to peteata, ovo-to to ovo-mui, dievtau to diev-thai (see however Cobet, Misc. Crit. p. 400).
before 8 is lost in ἔ-σπεισα (for ἔ-σπενσ-σα): cp. πέλεσμαι for πένθο-σομαί, &c. The form κένσαι (Il. 23. 337) is later.

The Verb-Stem ὀφελ- makes an Aor. Opt. ὀφέλλειε: see § 53.

40.] Primitive Aorists with Suffix -σ-. Originally the Sigmatic Aorist was inflected like the Aorist in -ά already described (§ 15): that is to say, the a appeared in the 1 Sing. (perhaps also 3 Plur. -ά) and the Stem was liable to variation between a strong and a weak form. Thus from a Stem τευκ-, τοκ-, with the regular phonetic changes, we should have had—

Active, 1 Sing. ἔτευξα.
2 ἔτευξ (for ἔ-τευκ-σ-σ).
3 ἔτευξ (for ἔ-τευκ-σ-τ).
1 Plur. ἔτευγμεν (or ἔτυγμεν).
2 ἔτευκτε (or ἔτυκτε).
3 ἔτευξαν.

Middle, 1 Sing. ἔτύγμην (for ἔ-τυκ-σ-μην).
2 ἔτυκξ (for ἔ-τυκ-σ-σο), Imper. τόξο.
3 ἔτυκτο (for ἔ-τυκ-σ-το).
3 Du. ἔτυχθην (for ἔ-τυκ-σ-θην).
Inf. τόχθαι (for τυκ-σ-θαι or τυκ-σ-θαι).
Part. τύχμενος (for τυκ-σ-μενος).

Several forms belonging to this scheme have survived in Homer:

ἔλεξα, Mid. ἔλεγμην, ἔλεκτο, Imper. λέξο, Inf. κατα-λέχθαι, Part. κατα-λέγμενος.

(ἔδεξα-μην), δέκτο, Imper. δέξο, Inf. δέχθαι.

ἐμιξα, Mid. ἐμικτό and μικτό.

ἐπηξα, Mid. κατ-ἐπηκτο (Il. II. 378).

ἐπερσα, Mid. Inf. πέρθαι.

ἐπήλα, Mid. ἀν-ἐπάλτο, πάλτο.

(ἡλα-το), ἀλσο, ἀλτο (better ἀλσο, ἀλτο), Part. ἐπ-ἀλμενος.

ἀρσα, Mid. ἀρτο, Imper. ἀρσο, Inf. ἀρβαί, Part. ἀρμενος.

ἡπα, Part. ἀρμενος.

(ἡσα-το), Part. ἄσμενος.

(ἐλειξά-μενος), ἐλεικτο (read ἐλειξάμενος, ἐφελικτο, § 53).

γέντο σείζεδ (γεμ-).

ἐμίνα, 3 Du. μιάνθην (cp. τέφανθε for τεφαν-σθε).

ίκτο (Hes. Th. 481), Part. ικμενος coming.

Add ἐόκτο (Thebais, fr. 3), κέντο (Alem. fr. 141).

The ‘regular’ forms, such as ἔδέξατο, ἡλατο, ἡσατο, are to be explained like ἔχευά-το, &c. (§ 15). On this view ἔδέξατο and ἡλατο are related to δέκτο and ἀλτο precisely as ἔχευάτο to χύτο, and similarly ἡσα-το to ἄσμενος as ἔχευάτο to χύμενος.

The form μιάνθην (Il. 4. 146) is now generally taken as 3 Plur., for ἐμίανθεν, or ἐμίανθησαν. The 3 Plur. in -ην is found occa-
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 -ευ, 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. ζησ-ο-μεν points to an Indic. *έ-βησ-ο-μεν (§ 80). The existence of such Indicatives in an earlier period of the language is proved by the Sans- script Aorists with S, many of which join the Person-Endings directly to the Stem, without an 'auxiliary' a (except in the 1 Sing. and 3 Plur.); e.g. the Root Ji gives ajaish-am, 3 Sing. ajais (for a-ja-i-s), 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 ἔσαν, ἐσκατε, ἐγκατο appears as τευκ- or τυκ-, instead of τευξ-, τυξ-. Consequently the form ἔσεαν would be felt as ἔσεωσαν; that is to say, -σαν would become in fact the 3 Plur. Ending. Such an Ending would then be easily transferred to other Tenses,— ἔδο-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.) ἔδο-σαν but not ἔδο-σαμεν.

41.] Aorist in -σα(ο). Several Stems form a Weak Aorist as a thematic tense, with ε or ρ instead of α: viz. ἵσο-ν, ἕ-βησε-το, ἥ-φυσε-το (δυσ-ο-μενος Od. I. 24); Imper. πελάσο-τον (II. 10. 442), ἄ-ξε-τε, οὐσι-τε, λέξε-ο, ὀφε-ο; Inf. ἄ-ξε-μενα (II. 23. 50. 111), ὀισέμενα (II. 3. 120): perhaps also ἕ-πεκο-ν (πεκ-).

The forms ἔσεατο, ἐδύσετο were preferred by Aristarchus to those in -σατο: 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. 10. 107, where ἥ μεν ἄρ' ἐσ κρίνην κατεζήσετο must mean she was going down to the spring (when the messengers met her). So in the Part., Od. 1. 24 οἱ μὲν δυσομένου 'Τπειρόνοι οἱ δ' ἀνύόντος, and II. 5. 46 νύξ Ἱππῶν ἐπιβησόμενον pierced as he was mounting his chariot, cp. 23. 379.

The forms ἵσο-ν, ἄ-ξε-μενα, &c. answer closely to the Sanscr. Preterite in -σα-m, as ḍ-ḍuśha-m. ἔσεων is difficult to explain as ἔ-πεκ-σαν, both (1) because it can hardly be accidental that we never have ἐσεσαν, and (2) because it has to be separated from the Doric ἐσετον. Possibly there was a primitive non-Thematic *έ-πεκα-ται, ἐ-πεκ, ἐπεκ (for ἔ-πεκ-σ, ἐ-πεκ-τ), Du. ἐσετον, &c., 3 Plur. ἐ-πεκα-σαν, from which both ἐπεκ-σαν and ἐσεσαν might be derived in much the same way as ἐ-κτα-σαν from the primitive ἐ-κτενα, Plur. ἐ-κτα-μεν (§ 13).

* One of the reviewers of the former edition (Cauer in the Jahresh. d. philol. Vereins) objects that the Dual does not suit the context (‘hier gar nicht in den Zusammenhang passt’). The subject is μηρο, which is Dual in sense; and the Dual might well be restored throughout the sentence (τοῖο τοι, Μενελαμ, μάνδην αἵματι μηρο ἐνυφει, κυνημα τε κ. τ. λ.). The explanation of μάνδην as a Dual is due to Buttmann (Ausf. 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. (-ev for original -εντ), the Opt. and the Part. (i.e. before ι and ντ). The Person-Endings are those of the Active, but the meaning is either Intransitive or Passive: e.g. ε-χάρ-η rejoiced, ε-δάν was taught, ε-φάν-η appeared, τραφ-η was nurtured, ε-δρ-η shrank (Stem Fεξ-), δι-ε-ταγ-ε-ν parted asunder, ε-πάγ-η, ε-δάμ-η, ε-δύ-η, ε-βαλαβ-εν, ε-μίγ-η, τάρπ-η-μεν and (with Metathesis) τραπ-ή-ομεν (τέρπ-ω), &c.

The Stem is long in ε-πλήγ-η (cp. ε-πέπληγ-ου, πληγ-η); and once in ἧλγη (ἄ in II. 11. 559)*. The Inf. τερσ-η-μεναι (τερσήναι), which occurs in II. 16. 519, Od. 6. 98, need not be an Aorist: see the similar forms in § 19. The Part. Ἰνα-βροχεν (Od. 11. 586) is not connected with Ἰανα-βεβροχεν (§ 25); see Buttmann, Lexil.

There is evidently a close relation between these ‘Passive’ Aorists and the forms discussed in § 14 (such as ε-βλη-ν, ε-πητ-ν, ε-τηλ-η, ε-σβη), 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 ε-δάμη, but δη- in δε-δεμ-ται, &c.

The Aorists with Stems in α and ω (§ 19) are parallel to the Aorists in -η. Thus γηρα-ναι, βω-ναι, δω-ναι only differ in the quality of the vowel from δα-ναι, δη-ναι: and there might have been numerous Aorists in -δαν and -εν along with those in -η, just as there are derivative Verbs in -εω, -εω 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 ε-θήρ-θη-ν, ε-καλεθ-θην, ε-ζευχ-θην; but this does not seem to have been the original rule: e.g. Homer has ε-τόχ-θη was made, Attic ε-τευχ-θη. So we find the weak Stem in κατ-ε-κτά-θεν (κτεν-), τάθ-θη (τεν-), τάρφ-θη (τέρπ-ω), τραφ-θη-ναι (τρέπω), ε-στάθη (Od. 17. 463), λβ-θη, εξε-σο-θη, εφυθ-θεν.

The Stems of κλίω and κρίω vary in regard to the ν: we have ε-κλίν-θη and ε-κλεθ-θη, κρωθ-θέ-ντες and δι-ε-κρίδ-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 ἧλγη (Pf. Subj.) was given as the probable correction for this passage. But the sense required is rather that of the Λογ. — were (i.e. had been) broken—than the Pf. — are in a broken state. Cp. Hes. Op. 534 κτ' ειν νωτα ίαγε whose back is broken down, i.e. bowed. As to the α of ἧλγη see § 67, 3.
seen (e.g.) in ἔχαρη rejoiced, ἔδαη learned, ὑη 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, πίω), the Aorist (ἐσβη was quenched), and even in the Present, as ἀκπίπτεων to be driven out, κείται iv laid down (as Pf. Mid. of τίθημι), and πάσχω itself.

The Aorist in -θη-ν is often indistinguishable in meaning from the Aor. Middle. There appears to be ground for distinguishing it from the Aor. in -ν 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-ν: thus we find ἀάσατο and ἀάσθη, αἰδέτο ἤδεσατο and αἰδέσθησε, ἀέξασθαι and ἀεὖθησαι, διωνύσατο and διωνύσησθαι, κορέσατο and κορέσθησθαι, μνήσασθαι and μνήσθησα, ἀπ-εὖδασατο and νάσθη, ἐφρασάμην and ἐφράσθησθαι, ἀδίσατο and ἀδίσθη, ἐχολώσατο and ἐχολώθησθαι, ἐρέσατο and ἐρέσσθη, ὁμήρασατο and ὁμήρισθη, &c.; also ἑφιστο and ἑφθασθεν, ἀμφίνετο and ἀμφινύη, λύτο and λύθη, ἔκτατο and ἐκταθεῖν, λέκτο and ἐλέξθην, μίκτο and ἐμίλχη.

This observation has recently suggested a very probable account of the origin of the Aor. in -θη-ν. The 2 Sing. Mid. Ending in Sanscr. is -θās, to which would correspond Greek -θης. Hence the original inflexion was (e.g.) ε-λάμ-μην, ἐ-λά-θης, ἐ-λυ-το, &c. Then ἐλύθης was regarded as ἐ-λύ-θης, that is, to say, λύθη- was taken as the Tense-Stem, and the inflexion was completed on the model of the already formed Aorists in -ν (Wackernagel, i. c.).

The Aorists in -ν and -θη-ν 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 ἐπίδεια, ἐδίδου, ἐμίνυε, &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 -ν. Forms like ἐφιλε (which at first, as we see from φιλ-μενα, subsisted side by side with ἐφιλη) were adopted as Imperfects, while ἐμίγη &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 τῷπ-τοι, κάμ-νω, βά-σκο, 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 ὀλέ-κω I destroy, ἐρώ-κω I restrain, διώ-κω I chase, γ in τρί-γω I cut, χ in τη-χέ-μεναι to swim, τρύ-χουσιν they waste, σμή-χεν to smear, σ in αὖ-χω (aug eo), θ in σχε-θε held, ἐσθείω (ἐδ-θείω) to eat,
βρή-θο-ν were heavy, πλη-θεν was full, ἔρε-θε provoke, φλεγέ-θει blazes, μινύ-θει diminishes, φβινύ-θει wastes, ἔργα-θεν kept off, θαλέ-θο-ντες blooming, μετ-ε-κία-θον moved after, ἰηρε-θο-νται flutter, ἰηρε-θο-ντα were assembled (ἀγέρ-, in ἀγείρω), &c. These elements were called by Curtius Root-Determinatives (Chron. p. 22 ff.)—the name implying that they are of the nature of suffixes modifying or 'determining' the meaning of a simple Root. But their origin and primitive significance are quite unknown (Brugmann, Grundriss, ii. § 8, n. 2).

46.] The T-Class. The suffix -τε (ο) is usually found with a Verb-Stem ending in a labial mute (π, β, φ), as ἐντ-τε rebuke (ἐντ-η), χαλέτ-τει annoy, ἀστράπ-τει lightens, σκέπ-τεο look out, κλέπ-τε, κόπ-τε, τύπ-τε, ἐ-μαρπ-τε; ἀπτο (ἀφ-) fasten, κρύπτων (κρύφ-α) hiding, θάπτε (θάφ-) bury, ράπτεω to sew, string together; βλάπτει (βλάβ-β-) harms.

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

This suffix is combined with Reduplication in ἰ-άπ-τω (for ἰ-λάπ-τω, cp. Lat. jacoio) I hurl, which occurs in Od. 2. 376 κατὰ χρόνα καλὸν ἰδίπτη σχάλτη maltrait (lit. knock about) her fair flesh*. ἵπτ may be for ἵπτ-, 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 ἵνισσω (ἱνίκ-ω), as well as ἵνιπτο (ἱνίπ-η); πέσω, later πέπτω (πέπ-ων); νίκω, later νίπτω (ἀπόνιπτεσθαι) in Od. 17. 197 is doubtful. Here ἵνισσω, πέσω, νίκω are formed by the suffix -τε(ο), and consequently ἵνιπτο, πέπτο, νίπτο must be otherwise explained. So in σκέπτομαι, since σκέπ- is for στεκ- (Lat. specio), the form with πτ must be at least later than the metathesis. Hence if we adhere to the supposition that -τε- is for -πτ- we must explain these four forms as due to the analogy of other Verbs in -πτε(ο) already in existence.

47.] The Nasal Class. The suffix is -νε (ο) after a vowel or υ: φδα-νει comes first, τι-νον paying (a penalty), δω-νε sank in, θε-νον hustled, κάμ-νε grew weary, τάμ-νε cut; -ανα(ο) after a mute, ἰμάρτ-ανε missed, ἱδα-ανε made fat, ληθ-ανεi makes to forget, οἴδα-ανεi swells, κυδ-ανεi glorifies, ἐ-κυδ-ανον hid, ἰπ-ἐχα-ανει becomest hateful; often with the weak Stem and ν inserted, ἵνά-ανεi pleases (Ἀδ-), λανθ-ανομν, ἐ-χαίδα-ανον, ἑ-λαγγ-ανον, τύγ-ανε, πνυθ-άνοιμα.

The suffix -ανε(ο) is combined with Reduplication (as in § 35)

* With ἰ-άπ-τω may be connected ἰ-ἀφ-θη, which occurs in the phrase ἰπτὲ δ' αντὶς ἱδάθηνα καὶ κωροὶ (Π. 11. 534, 14. 419) of a warrior's shield, which falls with or after him. For the aspirate (ἀφ-θη for ἰ-ἀφ-θη) compare ἔργα, ἱπτε, &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. ṛavāmi, 'I throw, strew about:' so ἰρακρής = 'one whose words are thrown about at random' (Bezz. Beitr. iii. 24). See Curtius, Verb. ii. 364 (2 ed.).
in πιμ-πλ-άνεται (II. 9. 679), ἵσχάνω (for *σι-σχ-άνω), ιζάνω (for *σι-σδ-άνω).

The class of Verbs in -νω is derived from the Non-thematic Verbs in -νυ-. Sometimes, as has been noticed (§ 18), -νυ takes the Thematic ε or o after it, as in ὀμ-νύω for ὀμω-μι; but in other cases, especially when -νυ follows a vowel, u becomes F and is lost. Thus ἀνυ- gives ἄνυω I accomplish, and also ἄνεται (ἀ) draws to a close: so τίνω-ται punishes and τίνω, φθίνω- (in φθίνω-θω) and φθίω. The vowel of ἄνω, φθάνω, τίνω, φθίνω is long in Homer, short in Attic (cp. Homeric ξέν-νος for ξέν-φος, Attic ξέν-ος); whereas in κλίνω, κρίνω (for κλιν-ω, κριν-ω) it is always long. Note also that -νε(ο) for -νε(ο) is confined to the Present, while the ν of κλίνω, &c. appears in other Tenses (Solmsen, K. Z. xxix. 78).

ἐλαῦω has been explained as *ἐλα-νυ-ω, but there is no parallel for epenthesis of ν.

The α of ἱκάνω, κιχάνω points to -αν φων-ω, but the forms have not been satisfactorily explained.

48.] Stems formed by -σκε(ο), the Iterative class of Curtius.

(1) Without Reduplication, as βά-σκε γο, βδ-σκει feeds, φά-σκε said, ιλά-σκο-νται propitiate, ἴλασκουσι flit about, θυν-σκό-ν die, ὅρσο-σκο-ν lead, προ-βλα-σκε-μεν to go before (βλα- for μλω-).

(2) With Reduplication, μι-μνη-σκε-ται is reminded, κι-κλη-σκεν called, γι-γυν-σκω I know, πι-φαυ-σκε showed.

Stems ending in a consonant sometimes insert ν, as ἀπ-αφ-ι-σκεi deceives, ἀρ-ἀρ-ι-σκε fitted, εὑρ-ισκω I find (Od. 19. 158), ἐπ-αυρ-ιςκονται get benefit from (II. 13. 733). A final consonant is lost before σκ in δι-δασκέ-μεν (for δι-δαχ-σκε-), ἵςκω and ἵςκο (cp. ἰκ-ελος), ττ-τύσκε-το (τύκ- or τύχ-), δεί-δίσκετο welcomed (δίκ-); probably also in μίσγο-ν (for μιγ-σκο-ν) and πάσχω (for παθ-σκο-ν).

49.] Iterative Tenses. The suffix -σκε(ο) is also used to form a number of Past Tenses with Iterative meaning, as εσκε (for ἐσ-σκε) used to he, ἐχε-σκε used to hold, καλέ-σκε, πελέ-σκε-ο (II. 22. 433), νικά-σκο-μεν (Od. II. 512), τρωπά-σκετο (II. 11. 568), ρίπτα-σκε, οἰχνε-σκε, πωλε-σκε-το, ὅθε-σκε, &c.; and from Aorist Stems, as στά-σκε, δό-σκο-ν, εἰπέ-σκε, φάνε-σκε, ἐρηνί-σα-σκε, δα-σά-σκε-το, ὁσα-σκε, &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 -σα are only found in Homer.

ἐφασκονε sometimes has a distinctly Iterative meaning in Homer, as Od. 8. 565 Ναυσάνθον, ὃς ἐφάσκει Ποσειδάων' ἀγάσασθαι, and the Pres. φάσκω 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 Inceptive, such as ἰλεύ-σκο, πυερ-α-σκο, and the Presents, such as pa-σκο, προ-φιο-ισκο, 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(o) with the meaning of continued or repeated action.

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

a. In -ιω, -αιω, -ειω, -υω or -ω (for -ι-ιω, -α-ιω, &c.), the i blending with the final vowel of the Stem.

b. With epenthesis of i, in -αιω, -αιρω (for -αιρ-ιω, -αιρ-ιω).

c. With assimilation, in -λαιω (for -λ-ιω), -σαιω (for -κ-ιω, -τ-ιω), and -ζω (for -ζ-ιω, -γ-ιω).

d. By compensatory lengthening in -ειω, -ειρω, -ινω, -υνω, -υρω (for -ειρ-ιω, -ειρ-ιω, -ιν-ιω, -υν-ιω, -υρ-ιω). That the e of -ειω, -ειρω is not a true diphthong (and therefore not due to epenthesis) is shown by the corresponding Doric -ηνω, -ηρω.

e. In -αιω, -αιρω, -αινω, -ευω, -ουω (for -α-ιω, &c.).

a. Verbs in -ιω, &c.

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

(1) -ιω: ἔσθει are, ἔτιον I sweated, μήν ιε be angry, μᾶστρε whip, ἀνα-κφίκε gushed forth, κοινί-ιτες raising dust. In these verbs (except perhaps the first two) the Verb-Stem ends in i, so that (e.g.) κοινί-ιτες is for κοιν-ιτες; so probably τιω I honour, φθιω I waste away, for τι-ιω, φθι-ιω. The i 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 F, νάιονι dwell (Aor. νάδ-σα, νάδ-θη), μαίεσθαι to feel one's way (Fut. μάδ-σται), λιλαίει desirist (λι-λασ-); καλω (for καλ-ιω, cp. Aor. ἐκκαρ for ἐ-κηφ-α), κλαιω (for κλαλ-ιω), δαίε kindled (δαι-), ναίον swam (cp. ναύ-σ), ναίον rejoicing (ναί-ρος, Lat. gau-deo); κέρωσ μιξ, ἄγαρμενος indignant (cp. ἐ-κήρασ-σα, ἡγάρ-σασ, but the σ in these words is not original, § 39, 2); perhaps also φθαίω (if παρα-φθαίσι in Il. 10. 346 is Pres. Subj., see K. Z. xxiii. 298).

Σαίο divide forms its Tenses from two roots, (1) δαί-, 3 Plur. Pf. δεδαί-ται, cp. δαι-νυμ, δαι-ς, δαι-τρός, and (2) δατ-, Pf. δεδατ-ται, Pres. δατ-ίσματ (cp. πατ-έσματ, πεπάλημ).
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(3) -εω : πενθελε-τον (probably for πενθεσε-ε-τον) moune, μαχειό-μενος fighting, ολοβατιον drunken, τελειον brought to pass, κελων splitting, ἄκειό-μενοι being healed, νεικείσι shall quarrel, ὅκνεω I shrink, ὑμείω (Hes.).

When the diphthongs αι, ει come before a vowel there is a tendency to drop the ι; as ἁγα-ιο-μαι, 2 Plur. ἁγα-σθε (for ἁγά-ες-σθε, § 55); κερα-ιω, 2 Plur. κερά-σθε; τελε-ιον-υ, also τελε-ον-υ; ναιον swam, also να-ει, να-ουσι; perhaps also δάνται shall be destroyed (root δαι-; see Schulze, K. Z. xxix. p. 258). Where this tendency does not show itself, as in παίω, πταίω, σελω, it will usually be found that the diphthong belongs to the whole Verb, not merely to the Present Stem.

So perhaps ἐρασθε ye loved, ἰἀνωναι appearse, ἐλων drove (Part. ἐλαών, ἐκλων broke: unless these forms are obtained by simple change from the Non-Thematic ἐρα-μαι, &c. (§ 18).

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

(4) -ωω : ὀπιυε had to wife (for ὀπυο-ιω).

Most of the Presents in -ωω are of this Class (original -υω), as φυω (Λεολικ φυω), θυω (ἐθυευν Hesych.), λυω, δυω, ὑδυω, ἡπυω, ὑδυω. The vowel is doubtful, but only because it comes before another vowel (as was noticed in the case of Verbs in -ωω).

ὑδου generally has ο; but ο in ἐπ-ιθυων (II. 18. 175), which ought to be so divided, not ἐπ-ιθυνη. It is a Denominative from ἱδου (ο) aim.

The Verbs in -εωω, -σωω are probably also of the I-Class (for -ευω, -ουω). 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 : μαίνο-μαι, φαίνω, βαίνω (βαμ-ιω), and with reduplication, τι-ταίνω, ταμφαινω.

-ρω : αἴρω, σκαίρω, ἀσταίρω, μαρμαίρω, καρκαίρω, χαίρω.

αἴρω (for ἀρ-ιω) is distinct from ἀείρω, which by contraction would become ἀρο : cp. αἰείδω, ἀρα (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, ναυτιλλομαι; with Reduplication ἰδάλλω, ἰττάλλω I rear, tend, cp. ἰτάλλω I cherish.

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

-σω : ὅσο-μαι (δικ-), πέσω (πεκ-), ἔλισω (ἔλικ-), πτύσσω (πτύχ-), λίσο-μαι (λιτ-), κορύσσω (κορύθ-), πτώσσω (πτωκ-).
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I-CLASS.  [54.

-ιω: for -διω in κλύω, φράζω, χάζο-μαι; for -γιω in ἄγο-μαι, ἰξω, τρίω; with reduplication, μεμαζω I loiter, βιβάζω I cause to go, ἐλελίζω I make to quiver (II. 1. 530)*.

d. Compensatory lengthening.
54. Examples: -ειω (for -ει-ιω), in τελων, κτελων, θελω.
-ειρω (for -ερ-ιω), in εφρω, κεφρω, μεφρουμαι, πεφρω, σπεφρω, τεφρω, φθεφρω, ἀγεφρω, ἀεφρω, ἐγεφρω, ἑθεφρω.
-ιω (for -ιυ-ιω), in κλίων, κρίων, ὄριων.
-ιων (for -ιν-ιω), in πλίων, ἐπτυνω.
-ιρω (for -ιρ-ιω), in κύρω, μῦρομαι, φύρω, ὀδύρομαι.

e. Verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω.
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 ὄρω for ὄραω, ὄρας for ὄραες.

The chief varieties are as follows:—
(a) Forms with simple Assimilation, the vowel being long—

μυάδ-μενοι gives μυοά-μενοι

ηβαο-ντες , , , ηβώο-ντες
μενουάω , , , μενουώο

ηγά-εοθε , , , ηγάασθε
μανά-εοθε , , , μανάσθε
μαγ , , , μας (2 Sing. Mid.).

(b) With shortening of the first vowel—

ὁράω gives ὴρω

ἐαη-σ , , , ἐά-σ
αίτια-σθαι , , , αίτια-σθαι.

Cp. δεδάα-σθαι from δεδάε-σθαι (§ 35) and ἀγά-σθε from ἀγάε-σθε; Fut. ἐλώ, κρεμώ from ἐλαώ, κρεμαώ.

(c) With lengthened second vowel—

ὁραο-ντες gives ὴρω-ντες

ὁράω-τε , , , ὴρω-τε
ὁράει-σ , , , ὴρα-σ.

This is the commonest form of Assimilation: cp. δηιῶ-ντο, δηιό-ε from δηιῶ, ἄρω (Od. 9. 108) from ἄρω, κάτ-ηπιώντο (II. 5. 417), ἐστρατῶντο (II. 4. 378), ῥυπώντα (Od.).

* Cobet (Misc. Crit.), following Bentley, has sought to show that the forms of ἐλελίζω belong in reality to ἐλισσω (ῥελισσω). He is doubtless right in substituting ἐλελιθέντες for ἐλελιβέντες wheeling about; but it seems necessary to retain ἐλελίζω where the meaning is to set trembling (with intensive reduplication, like ἀσαξίζω, ὀλολίζω, &c.).
(d) With lengthened second vowel (the first being also long), in very few forms—
\[ \text{δρόω} \] gives \[ \text{δρόως} \]
\[ \text{μαιμόω} \] " \[ \text{μαιμόως} \]
\[ \text{ηβάουσα} \] " \[ \text{ηβάωςα} \]
\[ \text{μενουάε} \] " \[ \text{μενουάα} \].

Other isolated examples are: \[ \text{μενουήσι (II. 15. 82); ἀλὼ (Od. 5. 377), 2 Sing. Imper. of ἀλώμαι (for ἀλάω ἀλάου); κεκράαται, κρήναι, κραϊνω; φαύνθη (for φαύν-θη); σώσι (Subj.), σώς, σώ (Opt., cp. § 83), σώντες (σαώ). Similar phenomena may be seen in φῶς for φάος (or φάος), σός for σάος, φαύντατος for φαύντατος, νηπίας for νηπίας, πρώνες (II.) for πρόνες, ἀστυβοώτης for ἀστυβοήτης: also in a form Ἀὐνέω (for Ἀὐνέαο) read by Zenodotus in II. 5. 263, 323.

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, \( \ddot{a} \) or \( \ddot{\imath} \), could be separated into two distinct vowels (\( \ddot{a} \ddot{a}, \ddot{\imath} \ddot{\imath}, \&c. \)). 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 \( \text{δρόαω—δρόω—δρώ} \): i.e. in \( \text{δρόω} \) the \( \ddot{a} \) has been assimilated to the following \( \ddot{\imath} \), but is not yet uttered in one breath with it. In the forms \( \text{ορώντες}, \text{ορώσι}, \&c. \) he pointed out that the long vowel is never wanted for the metre, and accordingly he wished to read \( \text{ορώντες}, \text{ορώσι}, \&c. \). To this last proposal exception was taken by G. Curtius (Erläuterungen, p. 96), who made the counter-supposition that, as the \( \ddot{a} \) of these Verbs was originally long, the successive steps might be \( \text{οράωντες}, \text{οράων} \) and (by metathesis of quantity) \( \text{ορόωντες} \). The stage \( -\ddot{\imath}ω- \) is exemplified in \( \text{μυώμενος} \).

2. The main objection to this theory lies in the circumstance that the forms \( \text{ορώ}, \text{οράς} \) 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 \( \text{ορώω}, \text{ορώντο}, \text{ορώντες}, \&c. \). A form \( \text{ορώντες} \), as Curtius pointed out, would give \( \text{οράωντες}, \) not \( \text{οράωντες}. \) And if there has been metathesis of quantity, why do we never find \( \text{οράωμεν} \), or \( \text{οράατε} \) for \( \text{οράετε} \)?

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 ὀῥῶ, ὀῥαῖς, &c. and these have passed into the ὀῥῶ, ὀῥάς, &c. of our Homer by a process of textual corruption consisting of two stages: (1) contraction, according to the ordinary rules of Attic, into ὀῥῶ, ὀῥάς, &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 -ᾱ, -ᾱς, &c. Thus οῖχ ὀῥαῖς first became οῖχ ὀῥᾶς, and then metrical οῖχ ὀῥᾶς*.

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 ὀῥῶ, &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 ἐὼς and τ.jwt supplanted the original ἴς and τ.ίς, even where the result was absolute ruin to the verse; as in Od. 19. 367, where nearly all the MSS. have ἐὼς ἵκω. Similarly the loss of the old Gen. in -ο (§ 98) has produced the forms Ἀιὼν, Ἰφιτόν, Ἰλίου, &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 ὀῥῶ?

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

* This theory was criticised by Curtius in the Leipziger Studien, iii. pp. 192 ff.
have been retained. The instances are, ναιετᾶω, -άει (Hes. Th. 775), -άουσι, -άον, -άοντα, ὑλῆει, -άουν, ἀονίδει, -άουσα, ὥμοςτιχεῖ, γοδώμεν, -άουν, κραδάων, ἐλάω, ἰλάοντα, τηλεθόντας; with ἄ, ἀναμαμέλει, πεινάων, -άουν, δυσάων. (The forms which have lost a Η, as λᾶε, φάε, ἔχραν, do not concern us now.) A third variety is exhibited by the form ναιετῶσαν (-ης, -η, -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 -οῖο, -αῖς, &c. were not of universal efficacy.

7. Is there, then, any way from ὅραω, ὅραεις to ὅραω, ὅρας except through the contracted ὅρα, ὅρας? We have to deal with a time when ὅρα, ὅρας were the forms of ordinary speech, while ὅραω, ὅραεις 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 ὅραω, ὅραεις were changed into ὅρα, ὅρας by the influence of the familiar ὅρα, ὅρας. Similarly ἐμπορευεν for ἐλάφενε was doubtless due to the presence of the later ἐμπορευε, not to any process of contraction and distraction. The principle is constantly exemplified in language; cp. the change of φραει, the original Dat. Plur. of φρίν, into φρεζί 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 -οῖο, -αῖς, &c. If ὅραω, ὅρας are due to the presence of ὅρα, ὅρας in everyday language, we may expect to find a different treatment of words which went out of use in post-Homeric times. Thus ναιετᾶω does not pass into ναιετῶ because there was no ναιετῶ alongside of it in common use. Similarly ἐλάω, ἐλάνων are accounted for by the Attic ἐλάω, ἐλαν; but the Homeric Pres. Part. ἐλάων is unaffected. Two instances call for a different explanation, viz. πεινᾶω and δυσάω, since they are not rare or poetical words. But these are exceptions which prove the rule. As is shown by the Attic contraction (πεινῆς, &c.), they are not really Verbs in -οῖο. Whatever may be the origin of the ἄ in the Homeric πεινάων, δυσάων, &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 τρωπᾶω, τρωχᾶω, στρωφᾶω, πωτάομαι (as to which see Nauck, Mél. gr.-rom. iv. 886). The forms which occur are always contracted, but in every instance except one (II. 13. 557 στρωφάτ') the uncontracted form can be restored if at the same time the root-vowel is shortened. Thus in II. 15. 666 μηδὲ τρωπάσθε φόβονδε we may read μηδὲ τρωπάσθε φόβονδε. The verb πωτάομαι only occurs once (II. 12.
287 λίθοι πωτόντο θαμειαί), while the form ποτάομαι 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 Π. 15. 666). The process must have been that (ε.γ.) original τροπάεσθε became τροπάσθε (which is also found in MSS.), and then τροπάσθε.

10. In the Impf. Act. assimilation is unknown, mainly because the metre generally allows contraction. We find however (1) several uncontracted forms, viz. ὀῦτας (Od. 22. 356), πέραν (Π. 16. 367), ὀλαον (Od. 16. 5), κατεσκίαν (Od. 12. 436): ἔχρατε, ἔχραν (for ἔχρατε ἔχραν οὖν) do not belong to this head. Also (2) some verbs show the New Ionic -εο- for -αο-, viz. ὀμόκλεον, ὀμοκλέομεν, ποτέονται, μενούνεσ, ἡμτεον, τρόπεον.

For φάος we find the two forms φάος and φάως (Π. 16. 188 ἔξαγαγεν φώστε), but never φάος or φάως*. The exclusion of φάως is remarkable, since it is related to φάος as μνούμενος to μνάμενος. The reason doubtless is that φάος came under the influence of φῶς (επ. ὁθές and ὁρ-ας). On the other hand σόος became σώος owing to the later σώος. The change of πρόνοιες to πρώνεις is similarly due to πρώνεις. In the case of ἀστυβοιτής (for -βοιτής) there is no evidence of a form -βώντης, but such a form would be according to the rules of Ionic contraction (βώοιας 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 (-αο-, -εω-, -οω, for -α-ω, -ε-ω, -ο-ω), not with those in which a different spirant has been lost (as τρέω for τρέο-ω, πλέω for πλέο-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 ἔτεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (or προσηὐδων)—τοῦ ὀθυλμοῦσιν ὀρωμαί—ὁρά (ὅραν) φάος ἰελίοω—ἀνελεα ἓδε μεταλλάς—ἐξαύδα, μὴ κεθε, and the like†. It has indeed been noticed that there is an apparent preference for the resolved -αω 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 -εω rarely contract -εο or -εω, except in the Participle (-εσμενος for -εσμενα). This rule is confirmed from New Ionic inscriptions (Erman, Curt. Stud. v. 292), as well as the MSS. of Herodotus. For εω in ποιεΰμην (II. 9. 495), θηεύντο (II. 7. 444), άχλεύνται (II. 21. 261), εγεγόνεων (Od. 9. 47, &c.) and a few similar forms we should write -εο (see § 57).

The contraction of -εε,-εει 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 ταρβείς, τείκείν, τελεύται, ήγείσθαι, συμαραγεί, έφίλει, οινοκόει). Among the instances of contraction in the last foot we find 29 of -ει for -εε (as χόλος δέ μωι άγριος ήρει), and 16 of -ει for -εει (as καλ με γλυκύς άγρεος αιρεί); also the forms φιλεί (II. 2. 197 τιμή δ' έκ Διός έστι, φιλεί δέ ε μητίeta Ζευς, also II. 7. 280., 10. 245, 552., 16. 94, Od. 15. 74), δοκεί (Od. 2. 33; and six times in the phrase δός μοι δοκεί είναι άριστα), τελεί (II. 4. 161), καλεί (II. 3. 390), 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 φιλείει, δοκείες, -ει, τελείει, καλείει, 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 προσεφάνει θείος άνειρος—καί γέτε σήμα ιδίαιει—κατά δ' άρει Πικλείαν). And the metre clearly points to the open form in several other places: as—

II. 11. 553 (=17. 663) τάς τε τρίτης λεσάμενος περ.
21. 362 δός δέ λέβης ζεύς ένδον κτλ.
16. 201 άπελεύετε Τρώεσον.
Od. 10. 548 δαίτετε γλυκόν ύπνον.

3. Verbs in -οω generally contract; χολούμαι, κορυφόται, γουνούμαι. For 'the assimilated' forms δηίουντο, κατηπίοντο, έστρατόντα, ῥυπόνοντα (§ 55) we ought, on the analogy of the Verbs in -αω, to substitute δηίοντο, &c.

57.] Synizesis. The vowel έ sometimes coalesces with a following ο or ω, so as to form one syllable for the purpose of the metre; e. g. ἀελπτέοντες, ἃλαστέον, ἄγνεον, ἐπόρθεον (at the end of a verse), οικέοτο, εἰλέωσι, 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 ἀπιστέω I am unbelieving, or abstract Nouns, as μοχθέω I labour. But there is also a group of Causatives in -εω, as φοβέω I put to flight, δέχεω, φορέω.

Verbs in -οω are chiefly formed from Adjectives in -ος, and are Causative, as χρησίω I make desolate. Exceptions are, ὑπνό-οντες sleeping, μυγώ I shudder, βιώ I live.

59.] Desideratives. One instance in -σεω is found in Homer, ὁψελόντες (II. 14. 37) going to see. A suffix -ει(ο) may be found in κακελόντες going to bed (κατά-κελ-μαί), πι-όμενα going to drink, δραίνεις (II. 10. 96) thou art for doing.

60.] Frequentatives, expressing habitual action, in -ταω, -τάζω, -τεω: as εὐχετάω-μαί, ναιετάω, οἴνοπο-τάζω, ζη-τέω (δι-ζη-μαί), λαμπτεόνται, ἐλκυστάων.

In -ταω, κελευτόνω shouting (as if from an abstract Noun κελευτία), κυδιόνω glorifying.

In -ναω, as ἐρυκανόωσι keep restraining, ἱσχανόωσι.

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-δισσεθαι to terrify, δαι-δάλλων working curiously, ἐκ-παι-φάσεων to rush in front, παι-φαίνων gleaming, βαμ-βαίνων staggering, μαρμαρόντες glittering, κάρ-καμε chattered, πόρ-φυρε was troubled (lit. of water), πα-φλάξουτα splashing, πα-πτάινων peeping round, μαι-μαίει rages, δενθίλλων (for δελθ-) 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-άων, λανθάνω; πεύθο-μαι, πυθανό-μαι; βά-σκω, βαίνω, βιβά-ς, βιβάζων; ἢκο, ἢκάνω, ἢκε-ο-μαί; ἕκω, ἕκσχω, ἕκχανο, ἕκχανα; ἐρύ-κο-μαι, ἐρυ-κάνο-μαι; ἀλευ-ομαι, ἀλυνκάω, ἀλυκτάω; τά-νυ-μαι, τά-νύω, τείνω, τίταινο; τεῦχω, τυγχάνω, τυ-τυ-σκο-μαι; μένω, μί-μαι, μι-μαύ-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. βιππασκέ he kept flinging about) which in
The Stem of the Future is formed by suffixing -ṣe(o) to the Verb-Stem (in the strong form); as φη-ṣει, δῶ-ṣω, δείξω (δείκ-), ἐκ-πέρω (περθ-), πελόσμαι (πενθ-), χείσται (χενθ-), δέξομαι (δέχ-), εἴ-σομαι (εἴ-μι).

The Stem ε- gives ἐσ-σομαι and ἐσσομαι (3 Sing. ἐς-ται and ἐς-ται); so ἐσ-σω (Fcn-). The Futures φράσσο-μαι (or φράσο-μαι), μᾶς-ται, ἀπο-δᾶσσο-μαι (δᾶσσ-νται), χάσσο-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 σ. Thus we find:—

Aor. τελέσαι | Fut. τελέ-ω.
---|---
καλέσαι | καλέ-ουσα (II. 3. 383).
ὁλέσαι | ὀλείται, ὀλε-εσθε (also ὀλέσσεις, ὀλέσσει).
μαχέσασθαι | μαχέ-ουσαι, μαχεῖται.
κορέσασθαι | κορέ-εις.
κρεμᾶσαντες | κρεμῦ (for κρμά-ω).
ἐπέρασσε | περᾶν (for περά-ειν).
ἐδάμασσα | δαμῶ, δαμά (for δαμά-ω, δαμά-ει).
ἡλάσσα | ἠλῶ, Inf. ἠλαίαι (for ἠλά-ω, ἠλά-ειν).
ὁμοσα | ὀμοῦμαι (for ὀμό-ομαι; 3 Sing. ὀμεῖται, on the analogy of ὀλεῖται, μαχεῖται).
ἐτάνυσσε | τανῦ.
ἀνύσασ | ἀνῦ.
ἐρυνσα | ἐρῦ, ἐρύ-εσθαι.
ἐπρόσατο | ἐπρόσαι (II. 20. 195).
ἀντίάσασ | ἀντιώ (also ἀντιάσεις, Od. 22. 28).
ἐκούσασ | κομίω.
ἀεικισάσασθαι | ἀεικίω.
κτερίσασθαι | κτερίσσουι.
ἀγιαλεῖσθαι.
TENSES.

Fut. or Aor. Subj.: γυνάσσωμαι (II. 1. 427), ὑπάσσωμεν (II. 24. 153), εὐνάσσω (Od. 4. 408), λησσωμαι (Od. 23. 357), ἐφύσσεται (II. 10. 44), ὄλεσω (Od. 13. 399), ἄρεσσόμεθα. There remain: ἀρκέσει (II. 21. 131—in Od. 16. 261 we should read ἀρκέσῃ), ἀδέσμεται (II. 22. 124., 24. 208), ὑνύσσεται (II. 9. 55), γαύνύσσεται (II. 14. 504), ὄλεσσεις (II. 12. 250), ὄλεσσε (Od. 2. 49), and a few forms of derivative Verbs in -αω, -ιω, viz. αἰχμάσσομαι (II. 4. 324), θαυμάσσεται (II. 18. 467), ἐφωνικόσσουν (Od. 6. 69), ἀντισέσεις (Od. 22. 28). On the whole it would appear that the Futures with σ (or σ representing original σ) are confined to the stems which ended in 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. ἢπασσεν and ἀρπάξαι, Fut. ἁρπάζων; ἀφύσσω, Aor. ἀφυνόμενος, Fut. ἀφύξεων.

From μάχο-μαι, besides Aor. μάχεσσαθα, Fut. μαχέ-ονται, the MSS. give an Aor. μάχσσατο, Fut. μαχφομαι. The ancient critics were divided as to these forms: Aristarchus wrote μαχήσσατο, μαχφομαι, others μαχίσσατο, μαχ-ίσσομαι. The form μαχέσσατ-ό is supported by μαχίσσαστα; on the other hand μαχφομαι is supported by μαχητής, μαχήμαν, &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 γυνάικα γαμίσσεσται αὐτός, which the MSS. give in II. 9. 394, Aristarchus read γυναίκα γε μάσσεσται αὐτόν: doubtless rightly, the trochaic caesura in the fourth foot being unknown in Homer (§ 367, 2: Veitch, p. 130). The usual Fut. is γαμεῖο.

Verb-Stems ending in a liquid (ρ, λ, μ, ν) insert ε and drop the σ, as μεν-ε-ω, ἀγγελ-ειν, κερ-ειν, κα-εσθαι, ὄτρυν-εω, κτεν-εω*, and (with contraction) ἐκ-φανεί (II. 19. 104), κατα-κτενεί (II. 23. 412). But some Stems in ρ form -ρω, as δια-φθερ-σει, ὦρ-σομαι (II. 21. 335), θερ-σώμενος (Od. 19. 507).

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

The derivative Verbs in -αω, -εω, -ωω, -υω form -ησω, -ωσω, -όσω, the vowel being invariably long.

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

On the anomalous Futures ἤδομαι, πίομαι, ἦδω, κείω, βείομαι, see §§ 59, 80.

64. The Future in -σεω. The Suffix -ςευ(ο) is found in ἐσ-σεῖται (II. 2. 393., 13. 317, Od. 19. 302), and πεσέωνται (II. 11. 824) which is perhaps for *πετ-ςευ-νται (but see § 41). Also,

* The forms κατα-κτανίονσι (II. 6. 409) and κατακτανίσσεθε (II. 14. 481) are probably corrupt (Cobet, V. L. p. 195). κτανίοντο (II. 18. 309) involves a use of the Fut. Part. which is hardly to be defended: see § 86.
the accent of the Futures κομι-ὁ, ἀεικι-ὁ, κτερι-οὕσι, ἀγλαῖ-εὐσθαῖ points to contamination of the forms in -σω and in -σω.

According to some ancient grammarians the Fut. of ἀνίω, ἐρώ, &c. should be written ἀνῶ, ἐρῶ, &c.; see Schol. II. ii. 454., 20. 452. This form in -σω is found in Attic (πλεινοῦμαι, &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 μεμνή-σομαι I shall remember, κεκλή-σῃ thou will bear the name, εἰρή-σεται will be said, κεχολόω-σεται he will be in wrath, δεδέξομαι 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 πεφείσεαι (for πε-πεφ-σεα, related to περά-τι as τετεύξεται to τέτυκται). But the stem πεφεν- does not occur in the inflexion of the Verb, and there is no analogy to suggest it. More probably πεφήσεαι is formed from πέφασαι on the analogy of ἐφα-τι and φή-σω, δύνα-μαι and δυνή-σομαι, &c.

Active Futures of the kind occur in II. 15. 98 οὐδὲ τί φιμι πάσιν ὁμός θυμὸν κεχαρί-σεμεν I do not suppose I shall gladden the heart of all alike (cp. Od. 23. 266 οὐ μέν τοι θυμὸς κεχαρί-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 (κεχαρί-στα rejoining), or with the Reduplicated Aorist (κεκάρο-ττο were gladdened, πεπιθέων to persuade). The latter view is supported by two other Futures of the kind; κεκαδή-σόμεθα we will give way, answering to the Aor. κεκαδοῦν, Mid. κεκάδο-ττο; and πεφειδή-σεται will spare, answering to πεφειδέ-σθαι to spare. It will be seen that the Active forms of this kind have a distinctly causative meaning, whereas (e. g.) χαίρησω and πιθήσω are intransitive.

Futures from the Passive Aorists. Of this formation two examples at most can be found in Homer: μιγή-σε-σθαι (II. 10. 365), and δαν-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 a priori 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; θέω, θεύσομαι; κλαίω, κλαύσθομαι; φεύγω, φεύξομαι; ἀείδω, ἀείσομαι; κατα-νεώ, κατα-νεῦσομαι; θαυμάζω, θαυμάσσεται.
With these are usually reckoned the Verbs in which the Pres.
is of a different formation, as ὁμοίαι (ὁμ-ιημι), πεσέωνταespèreωται (πίπτω),
tείσθαι (τικτω), φθησόντα (φθάνω), βήσομαι (βαίνω), καμεῖται (κάμω),
tεύξεσθαι (τυχχάω), ἀμαρτήσεσθαι (ἀμαρτάω), θανέσθαι (θυήσκο),
pεῖσομαι (πάσχω): also the Futures to which no Pres. corresponds,
as εἰσομαι (εἰδα), δεισομαι (δείδα), ὄψομαι (ὅτ-).

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

**Historical Tenses—the Augment.**

**67.** The Augment 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 η and
e becoming η; as ἤγο-ν ( ἤγω-), ἡλα-σα-ν ( ἡλα-), ἵκε-το ( ἵκε-),
ἀρ-το (ἀρ-), ἠλήλα-το (Π. ἠλήλα-ται), ᾱνευ (ἀνεώ), ᾱχετο (αἰχο-
μαι). So the Impf. ἤμα I went (Sanscr. ṣayam), from the stem
ει ( ει-μι): as to the form ἤμι see § 12.

Many seeming exceptions are due to the loss of the original
initial consonants, ι, σ, ο. 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 ἤ-άγη and ἤ-ἀξε (ἀγνμι), ἤ-άλη ( ἅλ-), ἤ-ειπε,
ἐ-εσα-το (ἐνεμι), ἤδον (for ἐ-ιδο-ν), ὢδεο-ν; so perhaps, with
contraction of εε to ει, ἤρν-σα (ἐρνυ), and ἤλο-ν.

For ἤδον there is an Αeolic form ἤδον ( ἤ-δον, cp. ἤδαδε), which should
perhaps be restored in some at least of the numerous places where the present
text of Homer has ἤδοι (Nauck, Μάλ. gr.-rom. ii. 407).

σ in ἤςα-το (for ἤςασα-, from σεδ-), and, with contraction,
ἐπε-το (σεπ-), ἀρα-ν (σεδ-), ἔχο-ν (σεχ-), ἔπο-ν (σεπ-). In
these cases the σ passed into the rough breathing, which was
then thrown back on the Augment: but ἤχον has the smooth
breathing owing to the following χ. Also εια ( εαω for σεφαω).

τ (or γ) perhaps in ἤνκα (for ἤ-ηκα) and, with contraction, ἤμεν
( ἤ-μεν), and παρ-ειθ ( ἤ-εθ). But see § 16.

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

(1) ἤμεπον (Π. ττ. 10. 499) is not from ἤμω to join together (Lat. servō), but from
ἀδίκο: for, as Cobet has shown (Misc. Crit. p. 326), ἀδίκο is a technical word
in the sense required (cp. Π. II. 15. 680 συναιπεραι ἰπνου, also the words ἰνωπίς, for
ἰνυν-αο-ς, and ἀπ-ἱσ).
(2) In several words (as usually written) the initial vowel of the Stem is lengthened after ἐ-φ-: ἐφάναυε (for ἐ-φανάνε), ἐ-φωνόχθει (φωνόχθεο), ἀν-ἐ-φεγ, ἀν-ἐ-φείς (άνα-φείγαω), also ἐ-άγη (άγ-φιμα), with α in one place (II. 11. 559), and the Plpf. forms ἐκλατε (ἐκλατα, ἐκλατε), ἐκραγε (ἐκραγα, ἐκραγε), ἐκεκε (ἐκεκα, ἐκεκα). In some of these there may be merely confusion with the later use of the Temporal Augment: e.g. ἐφάναυε is doubtless due to the Attic ἐφάναυε, a form which arose after the loss of f. Hence recent editors write ἐάναυ, ἐφωνοχθει, ἐνωγογ, also τόλπει, ἐφρεγι, ἐφκε.

(3) A different explanation is required for ἐάνη (α), supported as it is by Attic ἐάρων (باراة) and ἐάλον (ά in ἀλάναι, &c.)*. These point to an Augment η, the combinations ηφ, ηφα passing into ἔω, ἔα (as in βασιλέως, -εα for -ηφα, -ηφα). Such an Augment is also found in ηίδης, ηίδει (Plpf. of οίδα), and ηίσκε. There is much probability in the suggestion of G. Meyer (6. 6. p. 423) that this η is a Temporal Augment obtained from the prothetic ἐ so often found before F: e.g. in ἐ-εισάμενος (φείδα). Thus ηίσκε would be the augmented form of ἔισκα, not of ἄισκα.

(4) The forms ἀνίψυξε, ἀνίψει are peculiarly difficult on account of the Homeric Pres. ὀν-ψυξαμ, ἀγ. ἀνίψα, and Lesbian οίχο (Pres. Inf. ούχο, Coll. 214, 43). We might read ἀν-βεγε, &c., but the ordinary forms οίχο (Hes. Op. 817), ἀν-οίχο, &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 ζ: thus ἐφρηξα is for ἐ-φρηξα, and so ἐφρεξε (φρεγ-) and φρεγ-, ἐφρηγσε (φρηγ-). Again ἐφρες for ἐ-σρες, ἐφρον for ἐ-σρον, ἐφραβε perhaps for ἐ-σραβε (Joh. Schmidt, Plurabl. p. 434). So ἐδεισεν (which Ar. wrote ἐδεισεν) is for ἐ-δείσεων; and ἐσσεν probably for ἐ-κείμα (Sanscr. root γν). So too in ἐ-γδούπησαν the γ reappears which is lost in the unaugmented δούπησαν.

There are instances, however, to which this explanation does not apply, as ἐμμαθε. 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:

i. Simply, with the Augment (often omitted) and the Secondary Person-Endings. All Middle forms of the Tense are of this kind, as ἐ-τέτυκ-το, ἐφ-ἡπτο, τετά-σθν, ἠλά-το. In the Active the examples are comparatively few, viz. δέλδε (II. 18. 34), ἀνύψονε (II. 11. 266), and ἐπ-εύψοθε (II. 2. 219); Plur. ἐ-πέπυθ-μεν, ἐ-δείδ-μεν, ἐ-δείδ-σαν, ἐστα-σαν, βέβα-σαν, μέμα-σαν, ἀπο-τέθανα-σαν; Dual ἐκκ-την, ἐκ-γεγά-την.

* Ἰλας was taken (Od. 22. 230 σύ δ’ Ἰλος Βούλη κτλ.) should perhaps be written Ἰάνα. The Stem 'Γάλα' appears in the Moods (ἀλάω, ἀλάψη, ἀλάναι, ἀλάσεως), except in the form ἄλωντε (II. 5. 487), where the metre requires α.
With these may be placed the Thematic forms ε-γέγωνε (Π. 14. 469), ἄνωγο-ν, ἄνωγε, ε-πέπληγο-ν, πεπλῆγε-το, ἐμέμηκον, in Hesiod ε-πέφυκον: see § 27.

2. By Composition, with the Augment and the Suffix -ea (probably for -εοα), joined to the longer form of the Stem: e.g. ε-πεθήπ-εα, πεποίθεα, ἦνώγ-εα. The 3 Sing. usually has -εε(ν) contracted -ει(ν), as ε-πεποίθει, ἦνώγει, δεδήει, ἦρηει, βεβήκει. The Plur. occurs only once in Homer, in ἐοίκ-εσαν (Π. 13. 102): the Dual never.

To this group belongs ἵδεα I knew, 2 Sing. ἰείδης (for ἰ-είδεας), also ἱδησθα, 3 Sing. ἰείδει, ἱδηε (or, as Aristarchus read, ἰείδη, ἱδην). As to the augment ἰ- see § 67. In respect of form ἵδεα is a Sigmatic Aorist, standing for ε-είδεας, Sanser. ṛvedisham, and is only a Pluperfect because it is used as the past tense answering to ὄδα (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 ε-μογίσκοντο (Od. 20. 7). On the forms ε-φάσκο-ν, ε-φάσκε see § 49.

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 (*βήμα, *λάβω, &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 εἶμι, έμι, φημι, ἔγω, 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 omisso, 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 (ἐξαιρέσειν ἐτη τρικόντα 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 (b) to a point of time in the past. E.g. δίδωμι may mean either I seek to give, I offer, or I am giving; εἶδος 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 ὁφρ' ὁ γέρων ἀπέσταμε τόφρ' ἐκτὸράς πάντες 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 ψυχᾶς 'Αἴδη προτάψεν ἴρων, αὐτούς δὲ ἐλώρα τεῦχε κόψοντων sent down the souls of heroes to Hades, while it made themselves a prey to dogs.

Od. 8. 532 ἐνθ' Ἀλλως μὲν πάντας ἐλάξανε δάκρυα λέιβον, 'Αλκívοως δὲ μὴν οἴος ἐπεφράσατ' ἦδ' ἔρνησε while he was unobserved by the others, Διήνους observed him.

So Π. 7. 303 ὅς ἄρα φωνήσας δῶκε ξίφος ἄργυρολοιον, Ἀλώς δὲ ςυστήρα δίδον (gave in exchange).

Od. 8. 63 τον περὶ Μοῦν' ἐφίλησε, δίδον δ' ἄγαθόν τε κακόν τε, ὕπαλλοι μὲν ἀμερέσε, δίδον δ' ἡδεῖαν δοιδήν.

(2) In oratio obliqua, as Π. 22. 439 ἦγειλ' ὅτι ὅ τι πόσις ἐκτόθη μίαν πυλάων.

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

Π. 4. 155 θάνατον νῦ τοι ἄρκι ἐταμνον it was death then to you that I made (in making the treaty).

So in the common use with ἄρα : as σὺ δ' ὁν ἄρα τοῖος ἔπισθα 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: ἰπώ I watch (Lat. teuor, whereas εἶπον means I described); λέγω I relate, set forth (but εἶπον I said); φέρω I carry (but ἦνεγκον I brought); so τρέχω, ἐρχομαι (expressing different kinds of motion).

(2) In other Verbs of motion, esp. βαλὼν and ὑστημι, as II. 21. 313 ἵστη δὲ μέγα κῦμα raise up a great wave, and often in the Mid., as II. 2. 473 ἐν πεδίῳ ἱστατο were drawn up in the plain, παριστάτο came and stood beside, &c.

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

II. 2. 525 στίχας ἵστασαν (Bekk., La R., from the best MS.).

12. 56 τοῦ ἵστασαν ὑπὲ 'Αχαιῶν which the Greeks had planted; see § 73.

Od. 3. 180 τέταρτον ἥμαρ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑπειρί νής εἶσας

Τυδείως ἔταρπο . . . ἵστασαν (see Ameis a. l.).

8. 435 αἱ δὲ λεστρογύλου τρίποδ' ἵστασαν

18. 307 αὐτίκα λαμπτήρας τρεῖς ἵστασαν

Bekk., La Roche.

2. The Verb ἄγω is often so used: II. 1. 357 τὴν δὲ διεπραθομέν τε καὶ ἡμιοις εὐθάδε πάντα; II. 7. 363 κτήματα δ' ὄσον ἀγόμην the treasures which I brought (=have brought); II. 9. 664 τὸν Δεσφόδεν ἤγερν whom he had brought. In this Verb, however, the Aorist meaning appears distinctly in the Participle; II. 6. 87 ὑδε ξύναγοσα γεφαῖας assembling (=having assembled); II. 1. 311 εἰσαν 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 ἀρνυό to bestirred himself (but ὄρτο ἀροεσ); ἀφίει, προῖε, ἐπεμπε; μῦθων ἑρχε began speech.

This usage extends to all words which imply a continuous result; κελεύει, ἐκλεύει, ἐπέτελε, ὕτει; οὐκ εὰ will not allow; λειπὼ (to leave = to keep at home).

(4) ἀκούω and πεῦθομαι sometimes mean to know by hearing; as II. 11. 497 οὔδε πο ἔκτωρ πεῦθετο Hector was not yet aware: 14. 125 τὰ δὲ μέλλετ' ἀκούειν ye are like to have heard it; Od. 3. 87, 187, 193. So in Attic μαθάω I understand, αἰσθάνομαι I am aware, πιστάνομαι 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 Ὀλύμπιος ἑτρέφει πῦμα has reared him up to be a mischief (a process). Cp. II. 1. 414 τι νό σ' ἑτρέφου; why have I reared thee? 9. 524 ἐπενθόμεθα 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 νήσας ἐπ’ ἐσθέντο, ποδῶν δ’ ὑπέμερει κοινή 

[πολλ’ ἀειρομένη, τοι δ’ ἀλλήλουσι κέλευον 

ἀπέτεθαν νηών ἦσ’ ἐλκέμεν εἰς ἀλα διαν, 

οὐροῦς τ’ ἥξεκάθαρον 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 II. 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, ἔμογεσα* (II. 1. 162) *I have toiled*; νοεω *I think of, ἐνόησε* perceived, understood; θαράθω *I feel confident, θαρώσας taking* courage, and so δέλωσα, ἀλήσας, μίσησα, νεμέσσαε, &c., of the access of a feeling; ἰδρωθήσῃ (II. 16. 756) *joined in strife*; παπτύσας casting a glance; φωνήσας either raising his voice or having spoken: ἐπ’ ἡματι δακρύσαντες (II. 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*:

II. 2. 114 νῦν δ’ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλεύσατο, καί με κελεύει 

δυσκλέα Ἀργος ἰκέσθαι.

Od. 1. 182 νῦν δ’ ὄδε ἔνν νητ κατήλθον (cp. 23. 27).

II. 20. 16 τίττ’ αὐτ’, ἀργικέρανε, θεοὺς ἀγορίνθε κάλεσσας;

Sometimes the Aor. seems to give the question a tone of impatience: II. 2. 323 τίττ’ ἄνεω ἐγένεσθε; 4. 243 τίθ’ οὗτος ἐστήτε τεθηπότες; (vulg. ἐστήτε, an impossible form), cp. 20. 178 τ’ νυ τόσσον ὀμίλου πολλ’ ἐπελθὼν ἐστίς; 21. 562., 22. 122., Od. 4. 810., 10. 64. Cp. the Attic use of τ’ ὃς, as Soph. Ο. T. 1002 τ’ ὃς ἔγαν οὐχι ... ἐκείπάνυ; (Goodwin, § 62).

When the Aor. is used of an action which is subordinate to another in the past, it implies completion before the main action: II. 2. 642 οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἐτ’ αὐτὸς ἐν, ἰδαὶ δὲ ἔρημος Μελέαγρος 

he was no longer living, and yellow-haired Meleager had died.

A similar use of the Aor. is regular in the Subj., as II. 1. 168 ἐπεὶ κε κάμω when *I have grown weary*: and in the Participle, as 

δὲς ἐπίων 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 ἀξίασα went with a spring, ψευσαμένη προσήνεα spoke a lie, ἄλτο λαθῶν leaped unseen. Here a Pres. Part. would imply that there was a distinct subordinate action: the Aor. expresses something that coincides with, or is part of, the main action.

This is especially found with Verbs expressing the manner (tone, gesture, &c.) with which a thing is said or done: II. 6. 54 ὀμοκλήσας ἐπος ηύδα shouted the words; II. 8. 219 ποιηνόςαντι θυεῖ δράναι Ἀχαίων to make hot haste in stirring up the Greeks; II. 13. 597 χείρα παρακρημάσα: II. 10. 139., 16. 474., 17. 334., 20. 161, Od. 2. 422., 17. 330 (cp. φεύγειν παρασελαντι Arist. Eth. Nic. 4. 3. 15).

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

(1) As in—

II. 14. 95 νῦν δὲ σεω ὀνοσάμην πάγχυ φρένας οἶνος ἔχειτε.
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.

II. 20. 306 ἡδι . . ηχόηρε has now come to hate.

II. 3. 415 τῶς δὲ σ' ἀπεχθήρω ὃς νῦν ἕκπαγλ' ἐφαλησα come to hate you as I now love you (lit. have got to love; cp. Od. 8. 481).

So ἐπλετο has come to be, is (§ 32); Attic ἰσοθην, ἐπήρνεσα, &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:—

II. 9. 412 εἶ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχομαι,

 flavours will have been lost, i.e. will be ipso facto lost. The

* So Eur. Med. 791 ἑυιστήρια, I. A. 510 απέπνεσα: 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, ἐπέπνεσα 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 II. 19. 57 by the presence of the particle ἄρ (§ 30 ἄρ τὸς ἐπλετο this was as we can now see), 'as in the common ἦς 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 ὡστε λέον ἔχάρη as a lion is gladdened (but in v. 25 κατεσθείει goes on devouring): II. 4. 75 οἶνον δ᾽ ἀστέρα ἦκε... τοῦ δὲ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπουδῆρες ζειναι.

The only examples of the Impf. in a simile are II. 15. 274., 21. 495, in the phrase ὑδὶ ὁ ὅρα... αἰσιμῶν ἤν, where it is virtually a Present.

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

II. 1. 218 ὅς κὲ θεός ἐπιπείθηται μᾶλα τ' ἐκλυον αὐτοῦ.
9. 320 κἀταβ' ὁμοσ δ' ἐφρογος ἀνήρ, δ' τε πολλὰ ἐφορώς.

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

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

ἀλλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐδώκε θεός πολεμήμα ἐργα
ἀλλὰ δ' ἐν στήθεσι τιθεὶ νῦν εὐφύσα Ζεύς,

where the MS. reading τιθει may be defended as an Impf. marking subordination to the Aor. ἐδώκε : 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 Brāhmapas) 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 ease 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 ἔχεισαμην I have gained possession of, κἐκτησαί 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...
**Participle.** along with them. The meanings of the Moods and Verbal Nouns cannot well be discussed until we come to the chapters dealing with Complex Sentences.

**The Subjunctive.**

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—

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ω</td>
<td>-ομαί</td>
<td>-ετων</td>
<td>-ησθον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ης</td>
<td>-εαι</td>
<td>-ετων</td>
<td>-ησθον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-η (¬ησι ?)</td>
<td>-εται</td>
<td>-ετων</td>
<td>-ησθον</td>
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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:** ε-φθη, Subj. φθή-η:
- ε-βη, Subj. βη-ω (or βελω), ὑπερ-βη-η, βη-ομεν (or βελ-ομεν):
- ε-στη, Subj. στη-ης, στη-η, στη-ετον, στη-ομεν, στη-ωσι:
- ε-γνω, Subj. γνω-ω, γνω-ομεν, γνω-ωσι:
- ε-δυ, Subj. δυω, δυ-ης, δυη:
- ε-βλη-το, Subj. βλη-εται:
- ε-φθη-το, Subj. φθη-εται, φθη-όμεσθα:
- ἄλ-το, Subj. ἄλ-εται:
  Stem θη-, Subj. θελ-ω (or θη-ω), θη-ης, θελ-ομεν (or θη-ομεν), ἀπο-θελ-ομαι:
  Stem δω-, Subj. δω-η, δω-ομεν, δω-ωσι.

**Presents:** ευμ, Subj. ε-ω (for εσ-ω), ε-ης, ε-η and ε-ησι, ε-ωσι:
- ε-μι, Subj. ε-ης, ε-ησι, ε-ομεν (ι);
- φη-μι, Subj. φη-η:
  kιχη-ναι, Subj. kιχελ-ω, kιχελ-ομεν (or kιχη-ω, kιχη-ομεν):
  so ερε-ομεν as if from *ερη-μι. 

**Passive Aorists:** ε-δαμη, Subj. δαμαι-ω, δαμη-ης, δαμη-ετε:
  so δαι-ω, δαλω-ω, δαλω-η, σατη-η, φαυη-η, τραπει-ομεν.

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


- οιδα, Subj. ειδω, ειδης, ειδη, ειδομεν, ειδετε, ειδωσι.
SUBJUNCTIVE.

For εἰδῶ, &c., Tyrannio wrote εἰδω, εἰδῆς, εἰδη, εἰδωσι (Schol. Od. i. 174), uniform with εἰδομεν, εἰδετε. Both forms may be accounted for: εἰδῶ is Subj. of ἐ-ειδεα (§ 68); εἰδω with the Plur. εἰδ-ο-μεν, εἰδ-ε-τε, is Subj. of a Non-Thematic *εἰδ-μι, Sanscr. ved-mi (M. U. iii. 18). The form εἰδῶ, read by most MSS. in I. 14. 235, is a mere error for εἰδῶ.


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

εἰ-ο-μαι, εινται shall eat (cp. Sanscr. ad-mi, Lat. est for ed-t).

δη-εῖς, δη-ο-μεν, δη-ετε shall find, with the strong Stem answering to δά(σ)—in δέδαιεν, &c.

βεί-ο-μαι shall live, from the stem βίφ;—also in the form βέομαι. Evidently βείομαι: βίωναι: δηω: δαγναι.

It will be found that the Homeric uses of these words are all such as can be referred to the Subj. On πιομαι and κείω see § 59. The form δηεῖς may be a trace of an older inflexion, -ω-εισ, -ει, answering to -ο-μεν, -ετε.

It will be seen that the strong form of the Stem is found in the Subjunctive, as φή-η, δώ-ομεν, ἐστήκ-η. Apparent exceptions are, (1) the Subj. of εἰμι—in which the i of ίομεν (for εἰ-ο-μεν) is unexplained, while the forms τ-ω, τ-ησι may be Thematic, (as are Opt. τοι, Part. ιών); and (2) the forms ἀφ-έ-η (Aor. of ἀφ-ί-η-μι), μυγ-οσι, φθε-οσι, στε-ομεν, κτε-ομεν, φθε-ομεν, θε-ομεν, ε-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 φθωσι, στωμεν, &c.

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

On the ει for η in βεί-ω, θεί-ω, δαμεί-ω, &c. see Append. C.

81.] 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 φή-η, στή-ομεν, γνώ-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 sthā-ti, dā-ti as the Subj. answering to the Aorists á-sthā-t, á-dā-t. These would become in Homer στή-σι, δώ-σι or (with the usual i of the 3 Sing.) στη-σι, δώ-σι. Similarly we may infer an original Plural στήμεν, στήτε, στήσι (στήσι); δώμεν, δώτε, δώντι (δώσι); 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: δύνα-μαι (for δύνω-μαι), καθ-ιστα-ται, προ-τίθηντι, &c. (Meyer, G. G. p. 502). In Homer it may be recognised in the 3 Sing. forms φησιν (Od. 1. 168), φησι (Il. 23. 805), ἤσι (Il. 15. 359), μεθ-ήσι (Il. 13. 234), δώσι; perhaps in δῶ, δῶν, δῶμεν, δῶσι, περι-δώμεθον, ἐπι-δώμεθα; γνω, γνώμεν, γνώσι; ἐπι-βήσθου, πειρηθήσον, &c.—which are usually regarded as contracted from the regular Homeric δῶ, δῶ, δῶμεν, &c.—and in δύνη-ται, ἐπί-στηται (§ 87, 3).

How then did the Homeric forms of the type of φή-γι, στή-ομεν, γνώ-ομεν arise? Doubtless by a new application of the process already familiar in ἰ-ο-μεν (ἐ-μι), φθεί-ε-ται, κεφεύ-ε-ται, πεπολθ-ο-μεν, &c. We may compare the extension of the Endings -άται, -άτο to the Pf. βεβλή-άται, in imitation of κεκλι-άται, εἰρύ-άται (§ 5).

Contraction appears in the 3 Sing. φη (Od. 19. 122), στή (Od. 18. 334), βή (Od. 2. 358), φανή (Il. 9. 707), γνώ (Il. i. 411., 16. 273)—unless we suppose that these are obtained by dropping the -οι of φή-σι, &c. on the analogy of the Thematic -η. Also in the 1 Plur. μεθ-δωμεν (Il. 10. 449), συν-όμεθα (Il. 13. 381), δαρμεν (Il. 2. 299), μεμν-όμεθα (Od. 14. 168); and the 3 Plur. δος (Il. 14. 274, Od. 24. 491), βδωσιν (Od. 14. 86); but it is probably more correct to write these words with ὦ (like φθείσοι, ἐφιμεν, &c.), except when a vowel precedes (as in δαρμεν).

The two forms of the Subj. present a certain analogy to the two kinds of derivative Verbs—the Attic -οω, -εω, -οω, and the Αἰολικό-αμ, -ημ, -ομ, -ομ. Thus δωμα-μαι, τίθε-ντι are related to δωνα-μαι, τίθεωμαι nearly as φίλημεν, φίλεισι to φίλουμαι, φίλεσσα.

κείτα occurs as a Subj. in Il. 19. 32., 24. 554, Od. 2. 102., 19. 147. It has been explained as contracted from κεί-εται, the regular form answering to the Non-Thematic κεί-ται (Curt. Stud. vii. 100). The best MS. (Ven. A of the Nllad) gives κείται. The true reading is probably κείται (related to κείσατι as τελεω to τελεῖω).

ξαννυται, construed with οτε 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 οτε κεν with the Subj. is quite irregular (§ 298).

σφ and σς or σς (Il. 9. 424, 681) are probably Optatives; see § 83.

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

The Subjunctive of the Thematic Aor. and Pres. frequently employs the Person-Endings -μι and -σι: e.g. θέλ-ωμι, θέλ-σι; εἴπωμι, εἴπηςι; ἄγαγωμι, ἄγαγησι; τύχωμι, τύχησι; ἱδωμι, κτένωμι; ἄγησι, ἄελθοσι, ἄρχησι, ἀλάλκησι, βάλησι, ἔλησι, κάμησι, &c. (Bekker, H. B. i. 218). These Endings are also found (but rarely) with Non-Thematic Stems: Pres. ἐ-ησι, ἔ-σι (which however may be Thematic), Aor. δω-σι (Il. 1. 324), Pf. ἔρρεγ-σι.
(II. 3. 353). The 2 Sing. sometimes takes -σθά; έθελ-ησθα, εἰπ-ησθα, πήσθα, &c.

The Subj. in -σμι had almost disappeared at one time from the text of Homer, having been generally corrupted into -σμι, sometimes -σμαι. 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 Indie, and the Non-Thematic Subj.; e. g. Indie. άγω and Subj. γνώ-ω, in contrast to Subj. άθλα-μ. just as άγο-μεν and γνώ-ομεν agree in contrast to άγω-μεν.

A few forms of the Aorist in -σα follow the analogy of the Thematic Stems, as οφρ-ομεν (II. 7. 38), οφρ-ητε (II. 23. 210), δηλή-ηται (II. 3. 107), μηςρώμεθα (II. 15. 477, &c.), παύσωμεν (II. 7. 29), πανσώμεθα (II. 7. 290, 21. 467), πέμψωμεν (Od. 20. 383), ἐνυπλή-σωμεν (II. 12. 72), φθίσωμεν (Od. 16. 306), περάσητε (Od. 15. 453), αντίάσητον (II. 12. 356), τρόψητε (Od. 16. 293, 19. 12), δείητε (II. 24. 779), Βουλεύσωμεν (Od. 16. 234).

In most of these instances the original reading is probably either a Pres. Subj. or an Opt. Thus in II. 21. 407 the best MSS. have πανσώμεθα, and in Od. 20. 383 there is good authority for πέμψωμεν (in II. 15. 72 the MSS. are divided between παύς and παύνω). Similarly we may read παύσωμεν and ἐνυπλή-σωμεν. Again φθίσωμεν follows a Past Tense (§ 298), περάσητε an Opt. (§ 308, 1, b): read φθίσαμεν, περάσαμεν. For αντίάσητον we may have either the Opt. αντίάσαιτον or a Pres. Subj. αντίάσατον. For τρόψητε we should perhaps read τρόψητε (cp. the Pres. Ind. τρώτε), and for Βουλεύσωμεν Βουλεύσομεν.

There are no clear instances of Thematic Stems forming the Subjunctive with a short vowel (ε or ο).

The forms μίγηεα, κατίσχεα (II. 2. 232, 233), for μίγηαι, κατίσχαι, are like βιβλήαι (II. 11. 380) in which the η forms a short syllable.

In II. 14. 484 το κα τε εύχεται αδήρ κτλ. Hermann's conjecture κα τε τις is found in two of La Roche's MSS., and in any case the κε is unsuitable to the sense. The true reading is probably κα τε τις (§ 332).

In Od. 4. 672 ὅς ἄν επίσμυγερός ναυτίλεται write ναυτίλεται, the Aor. Subj. Three places remain to be mentioned:

II. 1. 66 ἂν κέν ποι ἄρων κινήσει αλγών τε τελείων

The use of οτιν in a simile is doubtful in Homer (see § 289). Should we read ὅς οτιν έναντι? Cp. II. 20. 67.

II. 10. 360 ὅς θε θεραπεύετε δόον κόνε, εἰδώτε θήρην,

II. 12. 42 ὅς ὅτε καλύπτετε κάκης καὶ ἀνάρα καθητήριος κάτριος ἢ λέον στρέφεται.
The Optative.

83.] The Optative Stem is formed from the Tense Stem by the Suffix ιη or ι, as διδο-ιην, τύχο-ι-το.


The 3 Plur. ends in -ευν, as ε-ιευν, δαμε-ιευν, δο-ιευν: once -ιη-σαν, viz. στα-ισαν (Π. ι. 733).

The ι is lost in δυ (Οδ. 9. 377., 18. 348., 20. 286, for δυ-ιν), έκ-διμεν, λελύο (Οδ. 18. 238 Λα Ροχέ), δαιμύο (Π. ι. 24. 665), δαιμύ-ατο (Οδ. 18. 248), φθύτο, ἀπο-φθύμην (for φθι-ι-το, ἀπο-φθι-ι-μη).

2. In Thematic Tenses the scheme of Endings is:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ομι</td>
<td>Mid. -ομην</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-οις</td>
<td>-οι</td>
<td>-οιον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-οι</td>
<td>-οιο</td>
<td>-οιην</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(1) In -σεια the (so-called) ΑΕolic Optative.

(2) In -αι-μι with Endings as in the Thematic Tenses, putting ο for ο throughout.

The scheme of the Homeric forms is:

1 Sing. -αιμι Plur. -αιμεν
2 " -ειας, rarely -αις " -αιτε " -αιν (αιν Π. ι. 24. 38).
3 " -ειε(ν), sometimes -αι " -ειας (αιας Π. ι. 291. 23).

The Mid. Endings are of the second kind, -αιμην, -αιο, -αιοτο, &c.

The Perfect forms the Opt. from the weak Stem, as τετλα-ιν, τεθνα-ιη-ς, ἑστα-ιν. The Opt. of οθα is formed (like the Pλπ., see § 68, 2) from an Aor. ε-ειθε-σα (ειθε-ν for Ειθε-σα-ν).

The instances of the Pf. Opt. with Thematic -αι-μι, -αι-ς, &c. are doubtful. Βεβλήκει is the reading of Aristarchus in Π. ι. 270, where the best MSS. have Βεβλήκει. In Π. ι. 21. 609 γνωρεμαι ὁς τε πεθερινοι ὁς τ' ἐθαν' κλλ., the reading πεθερινε is given by one good MS. (D.), and evidently agrees better with ἐθανε. Βεβρώθως (Π. ι. 4. 35) points to a form Βεβρωθα, of which however there is no other evidence. ιληκον (H. Πλπ. 165) may be Pf. or Pres.

Irregular forms:

Thematic έοι-ς, έοι (Π. ι. 9. 142, 284), ιοι (Π. ι. 14. 21), διου-το (Οδ. 17. 317). Homer has also ιε-ιν (Π. ι. 19. 209), to be compared with ειδειν, δεδειν.
The so-called ‘Æolic’ Opt. of Contracted Verbs (-φη-ν, -οη-ν) appears in ἕλοι (Od. 4. 692) and φοροῖ (Od. 9. 320).

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

The forms σώμα (II. 9. 681), σῷ (II. 9. 424) are so written by modern editors. Most MSS. have σῶμα, σῶμα. In the former place we learn that Ar. doubted between σῶμα and σῷ (or σώμα, for the accent here is conjectural). The ancient grammarians apparently took both forms as Opt. (which suits the sense, § 304, a). Some wrote σῶμα, σῶμα (or σώμα, σῶμα), deriving them directly from σῶμα: others σῷ, σῷ, from σῶμα or σῶμα. It is not difficult to restore the uncontracted σῶμα, σῶμα, or, if the Subj. is preferred, σῶμα, σῶμα (so Nauck).

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

τῶν ἱείων ἐν νητ πολυκλήδι βαλόντες
ἐς Σικέλους πέμψαμεν ὑδεν ἐκ τοι ἄξιον ἄλφοι,

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

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

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 -οι-ν are primitive forms. The termination -οι was originally impossible in Greek (as -em and -on are in Sanscrit); we should expect -οι, -οι (Sanscr. -eyam, -eys). Hence -οι-μω probably made its way into Greek in place of *-οι, as σω-μω in the Aor. in place of σω (see Brugmann, in Curt. Stud. ix. 315). The 3 Plur. form ἄποι-νοι-ν is found in the Eleian dialect.
85.] The Infinitive is formed—

(1) In Non-Thematic Tenses (except the Aor. in -σά) by the Suffixes -μεναι, -μεν, -εναι, -ναι.

Of these -μεναι is the most usual, as θέ-μεναι, γνώ-μεναι, μηγή-μεναι, ιό-μεναι, τεθνά-μεναι, ζευγ-ν-μεναι : -μεν occurs after short vowels, as η-μεν, δό-μεν, τεθνά-μεν, ὄρ-ν-μεν; also in εἰμεν (five times, but always where we may write εἰμεν'), ιό-μεν (II. 11. 719), and ζευγ-ν-μεν (II. 16. 145), in which the long ν is irregular.

The full Suffix -ναι only occurs in εναι; 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-ναι, see Max Müller, Chips, iv. 56), θέναι, στήναι, βήναι, δύναι, γνώναι, ἀλώναι, βιώναι, ἀψιλ., φορήναι, δίδοναι (II. 24. 425). The original form of the Suffix seems to have been -ναι.

From εἰμι (εισ-) are formed εἰμεναι, εἰμεν, εἰμαι, ειμεν, and είναι. Of these εἰμεναι, εἰμεν are irregular; they follow the analogy of θέμεναι, &c. Ci. the I Plur. εἰμέν (Soph. El. 21). From εἰ-μαι are formed ε-μεναι, ε-μεν, and ε-ναι. In one place (II. 20. 365) εμεναι is scanned with ε—perhaps in imitation of εμεναι (Solmsen, K. Z. xxix. 72).

The common Attic Present Infinitives λατά-ναι, τιθ ναι, δίδ-ναι, δεικνύ-ναι, &c., as well as the Perfect Infinitives in -ναι, are entirely unknown in Homer.

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

The Ending -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 -εν : thus—

βαλε-, Inf. βαλέ-εν, contr. βαλέων.

βαλλε-,, βάλλε-εν,, βάλλεων.

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

It is possible that the forms βαλέ-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 -ιμεν became -ιμεν. Leo Meyer (Vergl. Gr. ii. 284) proposed to read βαλέ-μεν, &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 βαλέμεν, &c. would probably have been retained.

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

(4) The Inf. Middle is formed by -σαι : βλή-σαι, πεφά-σαι, λοτα-σαι, ιδε-σαι, βάλλε-σαι, στή-σα-σαι.

The Infinitive is originally a Case-form of an abstract Noun (nomen actionis). Thus -μεναι consists of the Nominal Suffix -μεν (§ 114) with the Dative ending -αι : ιό-μεν-αι ‘for knowing’
(Sanser. vid-mán-e). Similarly doīnai is do-fev-ai (dā-vān-e) 'for giving.' Probably the Infinitives in -au and -bha also are Datives (Max Müller, l.c.). Infinitives in -mev and -ev appear to be Locatives formed without Case-ending (§ 99). If so, the Infinitives in -mev and -ev (-euv) originally differed in meaning from those in -meva, -evai, &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 -ντ-: thus we have, Non-Thematic στα-ντ-, τηδε-ντ-; Thematic βαλο-ντ-, στη-σο-ντ-, &c.

The vowel before ντ is always short, as γρο-ντ-, μυγε-ντ-.

The Perfect Stem takes -οτ or -οσ (originally -For, -Fos), Fem. -ουά (for -υσ-ουά, the -υσ originally a weak form for -Fos). The Middle Participle is formed by -μενος, which in the Perfect is accented -μένος.

For the Verbal Adjectives in -το-ς, see § 114. The Verbal in -τεος is post-Homeric.

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 Particles, which are in reality Nouns. In the forms of the Verb properly so called the following exceptions have to be noted:—

1. ειμι and φημι. The 2 Sing. Imper. φα-θι is oxytone.

The disyllabic forms of the Pres. Indicative, ειμι, εστι, φημι, φητι, &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 (ουκ, καί, ώς).

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 ἐστόν see Charax 1151; on φαμίν, φατί, φασί, ibid.; on εσμίν, εστί, εστί, Eust. 11457, 48). Again, one grammarian denies that φημι was ever enclitic (Charax 1152); another holds that it should be written φημι, at least in such instances as φημ γάρ οὖν κατανεώσα, κτλ. (Tyrannio ap. Eust. 1613, 18). In all likelihood the original forms were, Sing. εστι, φημι, Plur. εσμίν, φαμίν, and we may suppose that φημι and εστι are not properly oxytone, but are unaccented forms made oxytone as enclitics (ἀξιοῦν διὰ τὴν ἐμφάναν 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 (§ 5). See Benfey, Vedica und Linguistica, pp. 90 ff.

The 2 Sing. εἰς is enclitic, though the corresponding Attic form είς is not; but see § 5. As to φίς there is a contradiction; it is not enclitic according to Arc. 142, 8, but enclitic according to Schol. A. II. 17. 147—both notices being supposed to rest on the authority of Herodian (ed. Lentz, i. 553, 4 and ii. 105, 5).

2. The 3, Plur. ἵστασι, τιθέσι, διδόσι, 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 ἵστατι (contracted from ἵστα-αις, κ. τιθέ-σαι, &c.). The Doric forms are written τιθέντι, &c. by Eustath. Od. 1557, 45; but we do not know that this represents the usage of any living dialect.

3. Subjunctives such as φανή, δαμενευ are circumflexed, as being contracted forms (for φανη, δαμενευ). On εἰδέω, εἰδής, εἰδή, εἰδέωσι see § 80.

Optatives in which -η becomes -η before Heavy Endings are accentuated as διακριθέητε, δαμεῖεν.

But Middle forms to which there is no corresponding Active follow the general rule: δυνώμαι, δυνηται (so Herodian, but Tyrannio wrote δυνώμαι, δυνηται, Schol. II. 6. 229), κέρωνται (II. 4. 260), ἐπιστηται (§ 280); ἐπίστατο, ὁναίο, ὁνοιο.

4. The Imperatives εἰπέ, ελθέ, are oxytone (and so in Attic εἰπέ, ἐδέ, λαβέ). Similarly Tyrannio wrote πιθέσθε, λαβέσθε (Schol. V. II. 18. 266); ep. 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 εἰπέ and φιμέ in fact retain the original accentuation, which was doubtless that of the Indo-European language. The Imperatives εἰπέ, ἐλθέ, &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. φανη, for example, is originally oxytone. On the Sanscrit rules it loses its accent, and we should have (e. g.) ἐγώ-φανη. But owing to the Greek rhetorical law this is impossible. Accordingly the accent goes back as far as the Greek rules will allow, and we have ἐγώ-φανη.

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

88.] Accent in Composition. Unaugmented forms of Compound Verbs are accentuated as though the Verb were an enclitic.
following the Preposition: hence σῶν-εχόν, πρό-ες, παρά-θες, περί-
κειται. ἀπό-σχωνται. If the final syllable of the Preposition is
lost by elision or apocope the accent falls on the first syllable;
hence ὑφ-ελκε, κάτ-θανε.

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

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

The Subj. ἔγνο-βληται (Od. 7. 204) ought to be properispo-
menon, if it is a contracted form; cp. βληται (Od. 17. 472).
The grammarians however wrote ἀπό-θωμαι (in spite of ἀπο-
θεόμαι, II. 18. 409) and διά-θωμαι (Herodian, i. 469, 7, ed. Lentz).
We have to recognise 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 ἐνι-στες is paroxytone, but
the other Imperative form ἐνι-στε, and the Indic. forms ἐνι-στε-ς, ἐνιστε, are
proparoxytone; see Schol. on II. 24. 388. That is to say, the Imper.
ἐνι-στε-ς is regular, the others are accented as if compounds of ἵστε.

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

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

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

The forms in -ναi, -σαi accent the penultimate, as λέναi, ἄλωναi,
ἐρύσαi. The Middle forms of the Thematic Aorist and Perfect
are also paroxytone, as πιθέσαι, λειαθέσαι, κεκλήσαι, τετύχαi.
The ancient grammarians doubted between ἀκάκησαi, ἀλάλησαi
and ἀκακῆσαi, ἀλαλῆσαi. The former were adopted in the
common texts, and were explained as ἌEolic 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. viddáme, dåráme. If so, this is one of the
cases in which the accent of an archaic form in Homer has been lost.

Active Particiles, except the Thematic Present and Future,
accent the Suffix, as βιδούς, στρεφθεῖς, μεμαθώς, λαβῶν, τεταγών.
So the Presents εἶν, ἰόν.
The Part. of the Pf. Middle is paroxytone. But ἀκαχήμενος follows ἀκάχησθαί.

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. σών-έχον, but Neut. Part. συν-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, Αcc. λόγο-ν, Gen. λόγο-ιο, &c.; αὐτό- is the Stem of the Case-forms αὐτό-ς, αὐτό-ν, αὐτό-ιο, and also of the Adverbs αὐτό-θεν, αὐτό-θι, αὐτος, &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 -ος, and the Vowel Declensions, of which three may be distinguished:


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. Ζευς βασιλεύω, Αἰαν (for Αἰαντ-), διόγενες, ὁ ἄνα (for ἀνακτ-).

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

Stems in -o form the Voc. in -ε, as φίλε εκπε. Some Stems in -ά(ή) shorten the final vowel, as νίμφα, Voc. of νίμφη, and the Masc. νυμφώτα, ηπεροπευτά, τοξώτα, κυνωτά, &c. But the long vowel of the Stem is used in the Voc. 'Ερμεία, 'Αγρείον, ὑψηγήρη, αἰναρέττα (II. 16. 31). Feminines in -ω or -ο form the Voc. in -οι, as Λητοῦ (II. 21. 498). Evidently -φ: -οι: η: ά.

The words of address, πάππα, ἀττα, τέττα, μαῖα, may be ranked as Vocatives. So ἱθεῖα, 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>Nom.</th>
<th>Dual.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ς</td>
<td>-ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>-ο-ς, Neut. -ο-ν</td>
<td>-ω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>-ά(ή), -μά; -ής</td>
<td>-ά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-ν, -ά</td>
<td>-ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) -ω</td>
<td>-ον (for -ο-νς)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) -ά</td>
<td>-άς (-α-νς)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>-ος</td>
<td>-οίν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) -οιο, -οο, -ον</td>
<td>-οιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) -ής; -άο, -εω</td>
<td>-η(ν)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) -ειο, -εο, -ευ</td>
<td>-ειν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>-ι</td>
<td>-οίν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) -ω (Loc. -ου)</td>
<td>-οιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) -η (Loc. -αι?)</td>
<td>-η(ν), -ης</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3) -οι</td>
<td>-η(ν), -ην</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument.</td>
<td>-φι(ν)</td>
<td>-φι(ν)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 -ηυ, -ευ: e. g.—

ηυ-ς, Gen. νη-ός (for νη-ές), rarely νε-ός. The e arises by shortening from η: so νέες, νεών, νέεσα, νέας—all less common than the corresponding forms with η-, νέες, νέων, νέεσα, νέας.

The forms νη-ς, νη-οι are irregular, since original άω before a consonant would appear in Greek as άω (cp. Zeös for original δεός). Hence the true Greek form is preserved in the Instrum. ναι-φων (§ 104) and the Compounds ναισικατός, Ναυσικά, &c. The η of νη-ς and νη-οι is taken by analogy from the other Cases.

βαιλεύ-ς, Gen. βαιλη-ός (but Dat. Plur. βαιλευ-σι).
πηλεύ-ς, Gen. Πηλη-ός and Πηλέ-ός. In oblique Cases of Stems in -ευ the e seems to be nearly confined to proper names; cp. Τυδέος Τυδείς Τυδεία, Άτρεος 'Άτρεί, Όισία, Νηλέα, &c.

On Zeös, βαος see § 106, 2.

2. Stems in -ι and -ου 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 ι or ου: as πόσι-ς, Dat. πόσε-ι, ἀστυ ἀστε-ος, πηκυ-ς πηκε-ος, πολυ-ς πολε-ος. Here the Stem of the oblique Cases ends in -ει, -ευ: hence Gen. -εος for -ει-ος, -εφ-ος, &c.

πόλις forms several of its Cases in three ways:


(2) Gen. πόλεος (so Bekk. reads in II. 2. 811., 21. 567, with the scanning ι-ι; ep. πόλεος in Theognis), Dat. πολει, πολει (II. 17. 152, perhaps should be πτόλει, ep. the Cyprian form πτολιγι).


The stem πολη- 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 -η (cp. Sanscr. agni, Loc. agnâ), 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 -α (from -ια) answer to the original Stems in -ι, as ἰδυία, for ἰδυο-ια, Sanscr. vidush-ι.

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

3. Stems in -εσ, -αι, -οσ drop the ι, as ἐπε-ος, κερα-ος, αἰδο-ος.
95.] **Original** ἄ as the final vowel of the Stem becomes η; except (1) after ε, η, α, as in θεά, and the proper names Ἐρμέλας, Ἀυλέας, Ἀγγειας, Ναυικώδα, Ρέια (Ar. on II. 14. 203), Φειά (II. 7. 135, Od. 15. 297), and (2) in the Gen. in -άς and -άων.

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

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

Stems ending in ν either (1) take final -ς (with loss of ν), as εὶς (for ἐν-ς), θῆς Acc. θήν-α, μέλας Gen. μέλαν-ς, or (2) do not take -ς, but lengthen a preceding vowel, as χθῶν Gen. χθον-ός, πωμήν Gen. πωμέν-ός. So with Stems in -ντ: δοῦς Gen. δοντ-ός, but δοῦν. Originally it seems that all monosyllables took -ς and all others -ν (J. Schmidt, K. Ζ. xxvii. 392). If so, χθῶν, φρήν, &c. are forms due to the -ν of the oblique Cases: and on the other hand δοῦς, τιβέλς, &c. have followed the analogy of corresponding monosyllabic words, δοῦς, θῆς, &c.

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

**Titles of gods:** νεφεληγερέτα, στεροπηγερέτα, μητίετα, εὐρύστα (Zeüs); ἄκάκτη (Ἑρμέλας ἄ.); κυνοχαίτα (Ποσείδων).

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

**One proper name,** Θεόστα (Π. 2. 107).

Except Θεόστα these words are only found as adjectives: thus we have αἰχμητά Λυκάω, κυνοχαίτα Ποσείδων, but αἰχμητής, κυνοχαίτης when the same words are substantives.

The accent generally follows the forms in -η-ς where such forms exist; thus ἵπποτα, αἰχμητά, like ἵππηλάτα, αἰχμητής. But it is thrown back in εὐρύστα, μητίετα, ἄκάκτη,—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, κυνοχαίτα Ποσείδων, ἵπποτα Πηλεύ, &c.—and were not infeeted when the names to which they were attached came to be used in the Nom. In this way the rhythm, 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 ff.—

τὸν μὲν ἐγώ, ὃ ζεῖν, καὶ οὗ παρεώντ᾽ ὄνομάζειν
ἀδίδομα: περὶ γάρ μ᾽ ἐφιλε καὶ κήθετο θυμῷ;
ἀλλὰ μὲν ἡθεῖον καλέω καὶ νοσοφν ἴντα.

*I call him by the title ἡθεῖος even in his absence,—the word ἡθεῖος being only used as a form of address. Op. 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 Ἑλικ, but without sufficient reason.*
The form εὐφώπος also appears as an Acc., and has accordingly been explained from a Nom. εὐφω-οφ. It is improbable however that it is a different word from the Nom. Voc. εὐφώπος. Probably the fact that it had the appearance of an Acc. of one of the numerous Compounds in -οφ led to an extension of use *.

97.] Accusative Sing. The Ending -α is found after consonants and the diphthongs ηυ, ευ; as νηῦ-ς νηά (for νηύα, νηήα), βασιλεύ-ς βασιλήα, Τυδεύ-ς Τυδέα †. Otherwise the Acc. takes -ν; e. g. πόλι-ν, ιχθύ-ν, βοῦ-ν.

But εὐφώ-ς makes εὐφέα in the phrases εὐφέα πόντον, εὐφέα κόλπον: the common form being εὐφο-ν.

The original Ending is -m, which becomes -ν after a vowel and -ά (for η) after a consonant. The preference for η after ηυ, ευ is due to the semi-consonantal nature of the в in these combinations. We may compare the Aorists έκην (for έκην-α), έχενα (also औा), &c., and on the other hand एव-ν, एफ-ν.

Several Stems form the Acc. in -ν and also in -ίδα: ἐρίδα and ἐρων (Od.), φιλόπιδα (Od. II. 313) and φιλόπιν, γλαυκόπιδα (II. 373) and γλαυκόπιν (Od. I. 156), ἀνάλκιδα and ἀναλκων (Od. 3. 375), ὄπιδα and ὄπινων, Κύπριδα and Κύπρων; θοῦρων, ἴρων, αὐλίων, Θέτων. Cpr. also χάρι-ν (for χάρι-τα), and κόρυ-ν (for κόρυθ-α), found in the line II. 13. 131 (=16. 215), — ἀπτῖς ἄρ' ἀπτίδ' ἐρείδε, κόρυς κόρων, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ.

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

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

The Accusatives ξανή (Od. 12. 313), Ἄρης, Μέγαν are probably formed directly from the Nom. ξής, Ἄρης, Μέγαν, on the analogy of Masc. Nouns in -η-ς. On the other hand Ζήν (Zeus), βόων (bois), are very ancient forms, answering to the Sanscr. अग्नि, गाम (Joh. Schmidt in K. Z. XXXV. 17) : see § 106, 2.

A final δ is lost in the Neut. Pronouns ὅ, τό, τοῦτο, ἐκένον, ἄλλο (Lat. id, is-tud, illud, aliud), and in τί (Lat. quid) : perhaps also in the Personal Pronouns, Acc. Sing. ἐμέ (με), σέ, ἐ, Dual νά, σφό, σφάε, Plur. ἀμμε, ὑμμε, σφέ (Curt. Stud. VI. 417 ff.; Max Müller, Chips, iv. 44).

* It will be shown hereafter (§ 116, 2) that the Masc. Nouns in -της are probably derived from Feminines in -τη of abstract or collective meaning. Hence it is possible that the Homeric Nominatives in -τα come directly from these Feminines: so that (e. g.) μητέρα meant literally Counsel rather than Counsellor. The abstract word may have been used as a title, like βη Πράγματι and the like. According to Joh. Schmidt (Plural. p. 400) εὐφώπος is originally a Neuter: see § 107, 2.
† The forms Τυδή (II. 4. 348) and Μηκαστή (II. 15. 339) are probably false: see Nauck, Med. gr.-rom. iii. 222.
SINGULAR.

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—

Il. 2. 518 *viiées ἵφτου μεγαθύμων.
15. 66 (=21. 104) *'Ιλίου προπάροιθεν.
22. 313 ἄγριος, πρόσθεν δὲ κτλ.
Od. 10. 36 ὁ νέος ἀνδρός νεολήτωρος.
60 βὴν εἰς Ἀλόου κλυτὰ δώματα.
II. 9. 440, &c. ὤμοιος πτολέμοιο (for ὤμοιον πτολέμοιο).
2. 325 δὸ κλέος ὑποτ' ὄλειται {for δοῦ).
Od. 1. 70 δὸ κράτος ἐσκε μέγιστον }
2. 731 Ἀσκληπιίου δύο παῖδε.
15. 554 ἀνεψιοῦ κταμένου.
5. 21 ἀδελφεόν κταμένῳ: so in—
6. 61 (=7. 120, 13. 788) ἀδελφεόν φρένας ἥρως.
Od. 14. 239 χαλεπῆς ὤ ἡ ὑμοῦ φήμω.

Also in the two lines—

II. 6. 344 εἶνεκ' ἐμείδο κυνὸς κακομήχανον ὄκρυνόεσσης,
9. 723 δὸ πολέμου ἔφαται ἐπιθημίου ὄκρυνόετος,
since ὄκρυνέες does not occur elsewhere, but κρύνεσσα (II. 5. 740),
κρύνετος (II. 9. 2), κρυνερῶ &c., we should probably read—

... κακομήχανον κρύνεσσης.
... ἐπιθημίου κρύνετος.

A trace of -oo may also be found in the fact that Nouns in -aos sometimes form the Gen. in -eω, which is for -aoo; e.g. *Πετέ-ω, Πηνελέ-ω.

Masc. Stems in -α(η) form the Gen. in -αο (original -ασιο),
less commonly -eω (by transference of quantity). This -eω is often scanned as one syllable; after another vowel it is written -ω, as *Boré-ω (for Boré-eω), Ἑρμελ-ω, Αλνελ-ω, έψυμελ-ω. (So in Ionic, Curt. Stud. v. 294., viii. 172.)

The Pronominal Stems in -ε, viz. ἤμε (με), σε (for τε), and ἤ or ἤ, form the Gen. in -εω, -εο and (by contraction) -ευ. Thus we find ἤμειν, ἤμε (II. 10. 124), ἤμευ; σείω, σεο, σει; είο, ἤο, ει. For σεο there is also a longer form τεεο (II. 8. 37=468), and for ἤο in one place (II. 19. 384) Zenodotus read ἔοι.

99.] **Dative Singular.** In Homer the τ 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, Ἦχαλλη, ὑπερμένει, κρατεῖ, σάκει, πτόλει, σθένει, ἔριδι; in the Odyssey, Ὀδυσση, ἔτει, ἐφαί, ὕδατι, But we find also Ζητ μενεάνομεν (II. 15. 104), παρ νητ τε μένειν (Od.) See § 373.
The Dat. of Neuters in -as was commonly written -a; but the long a is anomalous, and -ai is now read by La Roche from good MSS. (in σέλαι, κέραι). The forms in -a appear to have become established in later Greek (Hdn. II, 316, 10, ed. Lentz).

Stems in -ι, Gen. -ι-os, form the Dat. in -ι, as κώιν, μήτι, μάστι, κυντι, Θετί, νεμέσσι (with v. l. νεμέσσει II. 6. 335). So Bekker restored the forms πολι (II. 5. 686, &c.), ἄγρι (II. 16. 661), ἀψι, ὃβρι, δωάμι, τόσι, for which the common texts give forms in -ει.

Stems in -υ, Gen. -υ-os, form the Dat. in -υ (a diphthong which in later Greek can only occur before a vowel), πληθυ (II. 22. 458), νέκυν, δρυκτυ, δι'υ, λένυ, θρήνυν. But δρυ-ς, στυ- form the disyllables δρυ-ι', στυ-ι'.

It is possible, however, that the Datives in -ι are Instrumental forms, and similarly that the Datives in -υ have taken the place of Instrumentals in -ι. For the Vedic and Zend Instrum. in -ι, υ see Osthoff, M. U. ii. 159.

Sanscrit Nouns in -an and -as sometimes form the Locative from the Stem without any Case-ending (Whitney, 425, c). Traces of this are to be found in Greek in the form aϊν (cp. aiei), and the Inf. in -μεν and -εν (§ 85).

Stems in -ο sometimes form a Locative in -οι, as well as the true Dat. in -ει, e.g. νακοι. So χαμα-ι and perhaps πάλαι-ι. Cp. the adverbial ending -ει (§ 110).

Pronominal Stems in -ε form -οι; έμοι (enclitic μοι), σοι (encl. τοι), έοι and οι. For σοι there is another form τελν (II. 11. 201): so in Doric we find έμίν and έιν, ἵν.

99*. Plural. Several Stems in -ο which are Masc. (or Fem.) in the Sing. form a Neut. Plur.: κέλευθος, Plur. κέλευθοι and more commonly κέλευθα; μηρός, Plur. μηρόι and μήρα; κύκλος, Plur. κύκλοι and κύκλα; ίδος, Plur. ίδι and ίδα: Τάρταρος, Plur. Τάρταρα (Hes.). There is probably a slight change of meaning, the Neuter expressing vague mass or quantity rather than plurality: cp. δρυμά thicket, and post-Homeric δεσμά, θεσμά, στά, Lat. loca, jōca. 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 κέλευθα. 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 -ν often form the Plur. in -ς, -ς (for -νς, -νς): thus οἰς (II. 11. 245), ἀκοίτις (Od. 10. 7), βοῦς ήνις (II. 6. 94). So we should read πόλις (with Bekker) for πόλεις. Again we have δρυς, γένυς, κλιτός, γραπτός, σύς and σύ-ς, ίξθύς and ίξθύ-ς (Od. 22. 384), ὄφρος (II. 16. 740) and ὄφρι-ς (Od. 9. 389), νέκυς (Od. 24. 417) and νέκυ-ς, βοῦς καὶ βό-ς.
Stems in -u, Gen. -eos, have only -eas in Homer: except πολύς, read by Zenodotus in II. 2. 4, perhaps in other places (II. 1. 559., 13. 734., 15. 66., 20. 313., 21. 59., 131, Od. 3. 262., 4. 170), where the MSS. have πολεάς or πολείς.

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

The Personal Pronouns have ήμεας (once ήμας), ήμεας, σφέας (once σφάς encl., II. 5. 567), as well as άμμε, άμμε, σφέ. The forms in -ās are later, the result of adding the common ending of the Acc. Plur.: see on the Acc. Sing.

101.] Genitive Plural. Stems in -ā(η) and -ā form the Gen. Plur. in -āω, less commonly -eων. The -eων is generally scanned -eων, and after a vowel is written -ών, as κλιστ-ών, παρει-ών, τριφαλετ-ών, Σκαι-ών (cp. the Gen. Sing. in -άω, -εω).

The Pronominal Stems ήμε-, άμμε-, σφέ- form ήμείων and άμμείων, άμμείων and άμμε, σφείων σφεών (encl.) and σφάων.

These forms are plausibly explained by supposing that originally the Gen. was in -eο, as in the Singular. Then *άμμειο, *ύμμείο, were assimilated to the Gen. Plur. in -ων; and σφείων 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-εσοι (for βού-εσοι), χερ-σί and χείρ-εσοι, ποσσί or ποσί (for ποσ-σί) and πόδ-εσοι, ἀνδρ-σί and ἀνδρ-εσοί, μνηστήρ-σι and μνηστήρ-εσοί. The accent is often different, the forms in -εσι being always proparoxytone. The ending -σι(ν) originally belongs to the Locative Plur. (Sanscr. -σi).

A final dental or -σ with -σι forms -σοι, and this σσ may be reduced to σ, as in ποσσί and ποσί, ἔσεσ-σι and ἔσεσι, δέσασ-σι and δέσασι. But -σι for the ending -εσι is very rare: χείρ-εσι, ἵν-εσι, αἷγ-εσι, οἴ-εσι, ἀνάκτ-εσι occur once each.

An ending -σοι (instead of -σι) occurs in a few stems in -u (Gen. -vos): γένη-σοι (II. 11. 416), νέκυ-σοι (Od.), πίτυ-σοι (Od.). This is an extension of the type ἐπεσ-σι, &c.: ep. ἤρωσ-σι (II. 13. 27) for ἤρω-σι. Or possibly, as Brugmann suggests (G. G. p. 62), these forms are in -δι, -δo, the vowel retaining its original quantity (ep. § 116, 3 and 4).

Final i or u of the Stem becomes e in ἐπάλξε-σι, πολέ-σι (πολύ-ς), from the analogy of the other Cases, as ἐπάλξε-ος, πολέ-ος.

Similarly on the analogy of forms with -εσοi (as in ἐπεσοι) we have the rare forms πολέ-εσοι (πολ-ύς), πελέκ-εσοι (πέλεκ-υς).

The Ending -εσοι(ν) is itself the result of a similar analogy. In ἐπεσοι, βέλεσοι, &c. the -εσι was felt as characteristic of the
Case, and then combined with other Stems; hence κὺν-εσσι, σῶ-εσσι, &c. Thus forms like επέ-εσσι (for ἐπεσ-εσσι) really contain the Suffix ēs twice over. (Bopp, *Vergl. Gr.* § 292 of the first edition; Meyer, *G. G.* p. 355.)

Stems in -o and -ά (ν) form the Dat. Plur. in -οσυ(ν) and -ησυ(ν) respectively, also in -οις and -αις or -ης. 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 οὐς ἐτάρωσι we may write οὐσι’ ἐτάρωσι. The Fem. -αις appears only in the forms θεάς (Od. 5. 119), ἄκτας (II. 12. 284), and πάκας (Od. 22. 471). Hence it is a question whether the forms in -οις, -αις are Homeric.

The Endings -οις, -ης are those of the Locative (Sanscr. -स्थि, -स्य). Originally -ης was without ι (as in the adverbal ἀθηνησι, θυράσι). The Endings -οις, -αις are probably not to be derived from -οις, -ης, but from the original Instrumental of Stems in -ο. This was in Sanscr. -इस, in Greek *-ωις, becoming -οις: 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) -ιν in ἰμιν (encl. ἰμιν) and ἵμιν (encl. ἵμιν), and (2) -ι(ν) in ἤμιμ(ν), ἤμμι(ν), also ἰμιν, ἵμιν. This is evidently the same Suffix as in ἐμίν, τείν, éίν, and the form -ιν is presumably the older (for which -ιν was perhaps adopted from the analogy of the Dat. in -ιν).

The 3 Plur. σφί(ν) is originally in all probability the Instrum. Plur. of the Stem σφε- (for σφ-φω): ep. Lat. sibi, for s-bi. If so, the other Case-forms σφέ, σφελών, σφί-οι as well as the corresponding Duals σφω, &c. are the result of analogy.

103.] Dual. The Acc. in -ά, from Stems in a, η is only found as a Masc.: Ἀτρείδα, κορυστά (II. 18. 163), ἀκυπέτα (II. 8. 42): but Fem. προφανέντε, πληγέντε (of two goddesses, II. 8. 378, 455).

The Genitive and Dative Ending in all Nouns is -οίν, as ποδ-οίν, ἵππ-οίν. The contracted form -ον and the Fem. -ον do not occur. The Personal Pronouns have:—


3. Acc. σφωέ (encl.); Dat. σφωίν (encl.).

104.] Instrumental. The Homeric poems have preserved many instances of an Ending -φι(ν); e.g. ὄρεσ-φιν, στῆθες-φι,
105.] Contraction, &c. The loss of ι, υ and σ between vowels (§ 94) does not generally lead to contraction in the Homeric dialect—note that—

1. The Dat. Sing. of Stems in -εo and -υ (Gen. -εος) often forms ει (for -ε-ι), but nearly always before a vowel, so that the ει is scanned as a short syllable (§ 380); e.g. τείχει ὑπὸ Τρώων, η ἔτει η ἐργῷ, &c. No such rule will be found to hold for the Dat. Sing. of Stems in -ι, as πάλει, ἀγίρει &c.—either because -ει from -ει- became monosyllabic earlier than -ει from -ε-ι or -ε-ι; or because, as has been suggested (§ 99), the true form of the Dat. is πόλι, ἁγίρι, &c.

Exceptions, real or apparent, to this rule are—

Π. 6. 126 σφό δάρσει (read θάρσεί σφό, cp. Π. 7. 153 θάρσεί δφ).
23. 515 οὐ τι τάχει γε (read οὐ τάχεί γε).
23. 639 πλήθει (read πληθύ).


2. The combinations -εαι, -εοι, -εω are often scanned as one syllable by 'Synizesis,' as θεοί (Π. 1. 18), σάκεα (Π. 4. 113), τευχεά (Π. 7. 207., &c.); so with the Pronouns ἤμεας, ὕμεας, σφέας.

In Π. 1. 18 ὢμον μεν θεοι δοιεν 'Ολυμπα δώματ' ἔχοντες the word θεοι is not certain, since 'Ολυμπα δώματ' ἔχοντες the lords of Olympus is used as a Substantive, and θεοι is therefore unnecessary (Fick, Ilias p. 75).

3. The Gen. Sing. has -ες for -ε-ος in a few words; Ἕρώβενς, θάρσευς, θέρευς, θάμβευς—chiefly ἀπαξ εἰρημένα. It is probably better to write -εος and admit Synizesis.

On -ευ in ἐμεῦ, σεῦ, εῦ, τεῦ see § 378*.

4. Nouns with Stems in -εος (as κλέος, δέος) and some Nouns in -ας are liable to 'Hyphaeresis,' or dropping a vowel before another vowel: as κλέα (for κλέε-α), and so δυσκλέα, ἀκλέα, ἀκλέ-ες; νηλῆς, νηλεῖ, νηλέα (Neut. Sing. νηλείς); θεονής, θεονέα (for θεο-νής god-fearing), ὑπερέα (Π. 17. 330); γέρα, δέπα, κέρα, κρέα, σφέλα (for γέρα-α, &c.), χρέα δεῖς (Hes. Op. 647). Σπ. δαι (for δαι-ι), Dat. of δαί-ς; also ἀποαιρεο for ἀποαιρέ-εο (§ 5).

The forms κλέα (ἀκλέα, δυσκλέα), δέπα, κέρα, σφέλα are only found before hiatus; e.g. κλέα only occurs in the phrase κλέα άνδρων: so that we must either suppose -α to be shortened by the hiatus, or (better) read κλεία άνδρων, &c. But γέρα occurs before a consonant (Π. 2. 237 γέρα πεσίμεν, and so
9. 334, Od. 4. 66). κρέα occurs in the phrase κρέα ἵδρενα, and in one or two other places before a vowel; but more frequently it is followed by a consonant, and is to be scanned κρέα or κρέα (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 (Pluralb. p. 321 ff.), κρέα, γέρα, &c. are stems in -α, originally distinct from the corresponding stems in -α, and are therefore properly Singular, but capable of being used in a collective sense. On this view κρέα meant flesh, κρέα pieces of flesh: cp. μήρα and μῆροι (§ 99*). Schmidt does not admit hyphaeresis 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 δέα for δέα (δεῖ<εσ-α), but not κλέα for κλέεα.

5. There are also several contracted forms from Stems in -εος which offer some difficulty: ἀκληείς (Π. 12. 316), ἀκλείως (Od. 1. 241, 14. 371), ἐυκλείως (Π. 22. 110), ἐυκλείας (Π. 10. 281, Od. 21. 331; al. ἐυκλήσ), ἀγκλής (ἀγκλείας Hesych.), Πατροκλής, Πατροκλής, Ἰρακλής, Ἰρακλής, Ἰρακλής, Ἰρακλής, Ἰρακλής, Ἰρακλής, Ἰρακλής, Ἰρακλής; ἄσχρείς, ἄσχρείων (also ἄσχρηνων Hesych.); ἄτρεις; δείον (Π. 10. 376, 15. 4); στείοις, στείοις and στείοσι.

But the η or ε always occurs where it can be resolved into εε, as Πατροκλεέ-ος, ἄτρεε-ος, ἀκλεέ-ως, &c.; moreover the long final syllable so lost (e.g. in writing ἀκλεέ-ες, δέε-ος, στεί-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 Η. Mer. 130), or perhaps κρείων (see § 107, 3); and ἄσχρείς, ἄσχρείων should be ἄσχραιες, ἄσχραι-έων. For στείοις we can read στείοι.

The Voc. of Πατροκλής should be written in the uncontracted form Πατρόκλες in the phrase Πατρόκλες ιππέο (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 Πάτροκλος: see § 164.

6. The Case-forms of Nouns in -ος and -ω (Gen. -ος) ought generally to be written without contraction; thus ἡ, Dat. ἡ, Ἰν. ἢ (see § 368); αὖός, Dat. αὖό, Ἰν. ἢ-άδα (Π. 10. 574). But the Genitive in -ος (ἡ, δη, Ἐπιάς, &c.) is required by the metre in several places. Naturally the contraction of οο was earlier than that of two unlike sounds, as ο, ο. 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 inflection 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, μητήρ, &c. and in ἁνήρ. Thus we find Nom. πατήρ, Acc. πατέρ-α, but Gen. πατέρ-ός (πατέρ-ος only Od. 11. 500), Dat. πατήρ-ι (sixty times in Homer, πατέρ-ι thrice); μητήρ, Acc. μητέρα (only), Gen. and Dat. μητέρ-ός, μητέρ-ι, less commonly μητέρ-ος, μητέρ-ι. ἁνήρ uses ἄνερ- and ἄνδρ- (for ἁνδρ-) almost promiscuously; the latter is also seen in the Dat. Pl. ἄνδρα-ς (for ἄνδρ-σι). The Gen. Plur. δαῖμον (II. 24. 769) is scanned as a spondeon: it should probably be written δαιμόν-ων, the stem δαιμό- standing to δαιμόν (for δαίμον-) as ἄνδρ- to ἁνήρ (Ebel, K. Z. i. 293).

2. Ζεύς, for δήμος (Sanscr. ḍyāus) forms the Gen. and Dat. from the Stem ḍy. The original Acc. is Ζήν, Sanscr. ḍyām (with loss of u): Δία follows the analogy of Διός, Δι. Similarly βοῦς, for *βωύς (Sanscr. gāus), Gen. βο-ός, Acc. in Hom. βων (Sanscr. gām). κών, Voc. κών, forms the other Cases from the Stem κώ-. Cp. Sanscr. gvana, Acc. gvana-am, Gen. gwa-as, &c. The Acc. κών-α (like Δία) follows the analogy of the Gen. and Dat.

Similarly, *Φρόν a lamb (surviving in πολύ-ρην-ες) forms Gen. ἀρν-ός (for ἀρνός), &c.

3. Adjectives in -εις, Gen. -ετος (Stem -Feντ-), form the Dat. Plur. in -εσσι, -εσι. To explain this we must first suppose the weak Stem in Far- (with a for e, 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 a to e. A form in -ασι has survived in φρασι* for φρεσι (φρα: φρεν = Far: Feντ). In the same way δαίμονι, ποιμένι, &c. are not for δαίμων-σι, ποιμέν-σι, but for *δαίμω-σι, *ποιμά-σι. The Adverb ἀγκας has been explained as ἀγκάς(i), the true Dat. Plur. of ἀγκών.

4. The primitive variation sometimes gives rise to parallel forms of a word: e.g. πτώξ and πτάξ a hare (πτήσων), which originate in the declension πτώξ, Acc. πτώκ-α, Gen. πτακ-ός. So from πούς and Lat. pēs, ped-īs we may infer original πούς (or rather πώς), 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 -ā, -ē) and the corresponding consonantal forms:—

διπτυχο-ς; Acc. διπτυχ-α.
εἶφυρ-ς; Plur. εἶφυρ-ες, εἶφυρ-ας.
(ἀνδράποδο-ν post-Hom.); Dat. Plur. ἀνδραπόδ-εσσι.
ἄλκη; Dat. ἄλκ-ι.
ὕμινη; Dat. ὑμίν-ι.
ἰωκή; Acc. ἱωκ-α.
'Αἶδ-ς, Gen. 'Αἶδ-ο; also *'Αἶδ-ος, Dat. *'Αἶδ-ι.
φυλάκουs (or φυλακούs, as Aristarchus accented the word); also φυλάκ-ας, Dat. Plur. φυλάκ-εσσι.
ὀσσε, Dat. Plur. ὄσσωι (Hes. Sc. 426).
πολλό-ς and πολύ-ς are both declined throughout: so δάκρυο-ν and δάκρυα.

2. With forms in -τ or -άτ:—

γών, Gen. γονούς (for γονφ-ός), Plur. γον-ά, γον-ων, γον-εσσι; also γονφαίρ-ος, &c.
δόρν, Gen. δορφός (for δορφ-ός), &c.; δούρατ-ος, &c.
ἄνειρο-ς; Plur. ἄνειρατ-α.
πρόσωπο-ν; Plur. προσώπατ-α, Dat. προσώπασι. Hence the form ὄτα (ἐλ ὄτα ἔδεσσε, κατ' ἐν-ωτα ἔσατ) may be a Neut. Sing.: cp. Ἀεολικ ὄππατα ἕγες*

οδός; Gen. ὄδατ-ος, Dat. Plur. ὄδασι and ὄδι.
ἡμαρ (cp. ἥμερ-α); ἡμάτ-ος, &c. (cp. ἡμάτ-ιος). So πεῖραρ (πείρατ-α), ἤπαρ, οὕαρ, ἐθαρ, ὄνειαρ, φρεῖαρ, κτέαρ, ἀλεφαρ, στέαρ.

ὑδωρ, ὑδατ-ος. See § 114*, 8, d.
χάρις, Acc. χαρί-ν (cp. χαρί-εις); Plur. χαρίτ-ες, &c.
μέλι (μείλι-νος, μείλι-νδέα); μέλιτ-ος, &c.
χρός, χρό-ός, χρό-ι, χρό-α; also χρωτ-ός (Π. ι. 575) and χρῶτ-α (Od. 18. 172, 179).

We should add the whole class of Nouns in -μα, Gen. -ματ-ος: since the -μα of the Nom. Acc. is not for -ματ, but answers to the Latin -men, Gen. -μιν-ις.

3. Between -α-ε and -α-ε:—

tέρας, τέρα, τερά-ων, τερά-εσσι; but τείρα (in the sense of 'stars,' Π. 18. 485).

the Sanser. a may represent either e or o, so that (e.g.) παῖδαs may be ποδός or πεῖδος, and similarly α may be η or ο; and (2) Sanser. ą often answers to Greek ο, so that (e.g.) πάδωμ may point to either πώδα or πῶδα. See Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxv. 23 ff., Brugmann, Grundr. i. § 311, p. 251.

* The old explanation of ᾰπα from ὄν-μα, by 'progressive assimilation,' seems to be groundless.
HETEROCOLITE NOUNS.

ovbas, ovde-os, &c.; so kwas, kde-a, ktrpas, ktere-a (and New Ionic yepea, &c.; Attic bretou, kvfous).

This variation doubtless arose from the Ionic change of o, o into oe, ew. Thus the e first appeared in the Gen., giving (e. g.) trpas, treos, tera, Plur. tera, tera, tera or tera-esoi. Then e was extended to other Cases, and on the other hand o was sometimes restored, as in teraow, kpeolow. See § 105, 4, and Joh. Schmidt, Pluralb. p. 325.

4. Comparatives in -ow (Gen. -ov-os) sometimes form Cases as if by contraction with a Stem in -or; ameivow (for ameivos-a, ameivo-a), pleivos (for pleioos-es), arelos (§ 114* 7; § 121).

5. Other variations are—

ηνίς-ος; Acc. ηνιοχή-α, Nom. Plur. ηνιοχη-ες.
Aithote-es, &c., but Acc. Aithiop-h-as.

'TAntifat-s, Acc. 'Antifatihu-a.

'Arph, Voc. 'Arph; Gen. 'Arph-os and 'Arph-os, &c.; Acc. 'Arph and once 'Arph-o (II. 5. 909).

ζαή, Acc. ζαή-v (Od. 12. 313): see § 97.

λάα-ς, Acc. λάα-ν; Gen. λα-os, Dat. λά-ι, Dual λάε, Plur. λά-ες, λά-ων, λά-εσι. The latter forms are doubtless by hyphaeresis (§ 105, 4) for λάα-ος, &c.

γρήθ, Dat. γρήι, as if from a monosyllabic γρήθ.

μέγα (for μεγή, cp. magn-ua), Masc. μέγα-ς, μέγα-ν; the other Cases from the derivative stem μεγα-λο-.

Three apparently distinct Stems are used in viós sou, viz.—

(1) vió-s, Voc. vié; the forms viō, viφ, viōsi are very rare in Homer.

(2) (viw-), Acc. vié-a, Gen. vié-os, Dat. vié-i, Plur. vié-es, vié-as: and from these by hyphaeresis—

(3) Acc. vi-a, Gen. vi-os, Dat. vi-ι, Dual vi-ε, Plur. vi-es, vi-as, vi-σι; cp. γρήθ, λάας.

The form viāsi (instead of viw-σι) follows the type πατράσι, &c.

The Neut. karp head forms—

(1) Gen. karāt-os, kārht-os, Dat. kārht-ι, kārht-ι.

(2) Gen. krap-ας, Dat. krapαt-ι, Plur. krapαt-α(α).

(3) Acc. Sing. krap-α (Od. 8. 92), Gen. krap-ός, Dat. krap-ι, Plur. Gen. krap-ας, Dat. krap-ί. The Dat. Sing. form krapασφι (II. 10. 156) is quite anomalous*.

* We might add the stem kph-, in kath kphēν down from the head, cp. kph-δεμων, kph-η. The relations of these forms have hardly yet been satisfactorily cleared up: see especially Joh. Schmidt, Pluralb. p. 363 ff. It is highly probable that kpes is originally the same word, so that the original declension, answering to Sanscr. viras, veshnās, &c., was kpes, Gen. kph(a)νς and kph(a)-atos (like γόνε, Gen. γον-ες and γόν-ατος, &c.). The form karp must
The declension of ἐρως, γιλως and ἱδρως in Homer is open to some doubt; it is clear however that the Stems in -τ are post-Homeric.

Nom. ἐρως occurs in II 14 351, Acc. ἐρων in the phrase ἐς ἐρων ἐντὸς.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. γιλως 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 γιλως. The Dat. γιλω occurs in Od. 18 100 (most MSS. γιλω); the Acc. γιλον or γιλω in Od. 18 350, 20, 346 (MSS. γιλων, γιλον, and γιλω). Thus the word may be either γιλω-ς (Gen. -ων) or γιλως., Acc. γιλω (for γιλω-α or γιλω-α): cp. αἰδω for αἰδόα. The Stem γιλος- appears in γελώνος, cp. αἰδοίον, ἱδίος.

From ἱδρως we have Acc. ἱδρα; but this must be read ἱδρα in one place (II 10 574 ἱδρα πολλῶν at the end of the line), and always may be so read. The Dat. is ἱδρα (II 17 385, 745), possibly to be written ἱδρα. Hence ἱδρως is probably like χρως.

Two other Case-forms of this type are ἰχω (II 5 416), Acc. of ἰχω, and κυκεο (II) or κυκεο (Od.), Acc. of κυκεον. Cp. also αἰω (Aesch. fr. 413), Acc. of αἰων.

The history of all these instances is very similar. The original Stem ended with a spirant (commonly ω), the loss of which in the oblique Cases caused hiatus (-ος, -οι, ον, &c.): then these forms were replaced by adopting Stems in -τ and -ν. Cp. § 114", 6-8.

108. Heteroclitc Pronouns. The following points remain to be noticed:

1. The stems ἐμε (με) and ἐκ, ἐκ 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 ἐκ-ες, ἐκ-ες 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-, giving Neut. τί (for τίδ), also the Plur. Neut. traceable in ἄσσα (for ἄ τια). The Indef. ἄσα occurs in Od. 19 218 ὑποτάτται ἄσσα, where it would be better to write ὑποτάτται ἄσσα (for τία).

(2) τε-, giving Gen. τέο, τεὖ (cp. ἐμέο, &c.), Dat. τέφ, τῇ (II 16 227, H. Apoll. 170).

Gen. τέον (ἐον), Dat. in δ-τεοιτ ἐτοί), II 15 491.

(3) τυ-, giving Acc. τυ-α, Dat. (very rarely) τυ-τ, Plur. Nom. τυφέσ (only in the Od.).

have been originally a derivative, introduced to mean head when κέφας had come to be limited to the sense of horn. From it again καρφ-ατος, &c. were obtained by analogy.
In the Compound δσ-τις the first part is sometimes declined as ὃς, ἦ, δ, sometimes undeclined, giving δ-τις, δ-τεν, &c. The Neut. Plur. is once δ-τυν-α (II. 22. 450), usually δοσα.

In the forms with ττ, ππ (as ὀττις, ὀππως) we have to recognise the original Neuter ὄδ (Sanscr. yad). Thus ὄδ τι becomes ὄτ τι (not ὄττι, since τι is a distinct word, not a Suffix). In ὄττεο, which occurs in the Odyssey (I. 124., 17. 121., 22. 377), ὄδ- is indeclinable (ep. δ-τις), and so in ὀππος, ὀπποσος, ὀπποίος, &c. For the assimilation we may compare κᾶτ δέ, κᾶτε πεδίον, &c. (for κᾶτ δέ, κᾶτε πεδίον).

3. The Article is declined from two Stems:—
δ-, Fem. ἅ-, which gives ὃ, ἦ, οἱ, αἱ: perhaps also ὃς thus, if it is distinct from the Relatival ὃς as.
το-, Fem. τά-, which gives the other Cases, and second forms of the Nom. Plur. τοῖ, ταῖ: also the Adverb τῶς thus.

The Compound δ-δε uses the Stem δ- for the forms δ-δε, ἦ-δε, οἷ-δε, αἱ-δε, and the Adverb δ-δε. The second part is sometimes declined in the Dat. Plur., τοῖς-δεσσων or τοῖς-δεσσω (II. 10. 462 and Od.). The -δε is enclitic: hence the accent, ἦ-δε, not ἦδε. Strictly, therefore, it should be written δ δε, ή δε, &c.

The forms ἐμαυτόν, σεαυτόν, &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:—

-θ expresses the place where: the chief instances are—from Pronouns and Prepositions, το-θι, δ-θι, πό-θι, αὐ-θι, αὐτό-θι, κεί-θι (ἐκεί-θι only Od. 17. 10), ἐτέρω-θι, ἐκάστο-θι, ἄλλο-θι, ἵκτο-θι, ἐνδο-θι, ἀπό-προ-θι, ὑψό-θι, ἐγγύ-θι; from Nouns, νεῖδ-θι, θήρη-θι (Od. 14. 352), οἶκο-θι, ἕω-θι, οὐφανό-θι, κηρό-θι; Ἰλίδ-θι, Κορινθό-θι, Ἀβυδό-θι. Note that ἐκεῖ is not found in Homer.

-θα place; ἐν-θα, ἐνταθ-θα, ὑπαθ-θα (cp. also ὅθα, μινθνθα).

-θε(ν) place, from Prepositions; πρόσ-θε(ν), ὅπω-θε(ν) and ὅπι-θε(ν), ὑπερ-θε(ν), πάροι-θε(ν), ἐνερ-θε(ν).

-θεν place whence, used with nearly the same Stems as -θι; δ-θεν, πό-θεν, ἐν-θεν, κεί-θεν, ἄλλο-θεν, ὑψό-θεν, πάντο-θεν, ἀμφοτέρω-θεν, ἐτέρω-θεν. From Nouns, ἕω-θεν, Διό-θεν (II.), οὐφανό-θεν, ἑπιθ-θεν, &c.

This Suffix is often used with the Prepositions ἐκ and ἀπό, as ἐκ Διό-θεν, ἀπ’ ὀφανό-θεν, &c. With the Stems ἐμε, σε, ἐ, it forms a Genitive; as II. 1. 280 σέθεν δ’ ἐγὼ ὁκ ἀλεγίζω. The form ἐθεν is only found in the Iliad.

-θοι, only in ἐνταυ-θοί there (Od.).
-tos place; èv-tós, èk-tós. Originally, perhaps, it expressed the place whence, as Lat. caeli-tus, divini-tus.

-rís, in àv-tís back, again (Attic àv-thí-s).

-o, place whither; pó-ðe, óppó-ðe, kei-ðe, étèrò-ðe, ãmòtèrò-ðe, ãmò-ðe. From Nouns, pàvnto-ðe, kùkló-ðe.

-ðv(n), -ðv, in νόσ-ðv(n) apart, líkri-ðí-s sideways (II. 14. 463).

This may be the Instrumental Ending -ðv(n).

-ð, in μέ-ð until, lit. meanwhile (II. 8. 508).

-ð, in ḥ-ð where (lit. which way, Lat. quâ).

-ð, with Numerals; ói-ða two ways, tri-ða, pánta-ða, ëppa-ða.

-ð, in the same sense, trí-ða, tetra-ða.

-kís, -k; with Numerals, in déká-kís, tetrá-kís, élvá-kís, élkosá-kís; and with similar meaning τòllákis and τòlláki, ὄσσάκη, τοσσάκη.

The original Suffix is -kís or -k (not -aksi), but in consequence of its having been used at first with Stems ending in -ð (τετρά-, ἑπτά-, δεκά-, ἔννα-), the combination -aksi came to be felt as the Suffix, and was extended to other words by analogy. A similar explanation applies to the ὅ of πάντα-çá.

-κας expresses manner; ἀνάθ-κας = Lat. viritim.

-ðe place whither, suffixed to the Accusative; ὄκόν-ðe, τόλε-μώνδε, ἀλάδε. This Suffix is peculiar in being an enclitic; in strictness we should write ὄκόν ἔδ, τόλεμόν ἔδ, &c.

-ðís expresses direction or manner; χαμά-ðis, ἀμύ-ðis, ἀλλυ-ðis, ἐπαμοιβά-ðis (Od. 5. 481).

110.] Case-forms as Adverbs. The Suffixes which follow have been explained, with more or less probability, as Case-Endings.


The Adverbs in -ð 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, M. U. ii. 158, G. G. § 83). It is a question, however, whether the original Instr. ending was -ð or -e: see Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxvii. 292. Those which answer to adjectives in -ð, viz. τάχα, ὄνα, λίγα, κάρτα, θάμα, are explained by Joh. Schmidt as older Neut. Plur. forms (ταχ-ð, &c.), cp. αὐτά Neut. Plur. of αἱνό-ð, and προσβά (for πρεσβή-δ?) Fem. of προσβά-ð. This will not apply to ἄφα, μάλα (since ἄφα, μάλα would give ἄφα, μάλα). Some may be stems in -ν, like μέγα: cp. λίγα and λεγάνω (-len), λίπα and λέπαιν, τίκα and τίκα, also the stems κριν-ν, γερα- (§ 105, 4).

-ν ν or -ν way, direction; ἰν, την, την, δτην (or την, δτην), πάντ-ν, λιδρην. These forms represent the Instrumental of the way by which (Lat. quâ, &c.).

It is a question whether they should be written with tota subser. or not. The ancient grammarians prescribed tota (Apoll. de Adv. 625, 1), and this is
confirmed by the forms ζ, ὀη, ἀλλά, παντα on Doric inscriptions (Ahrens, ii. 369). In Homer however the final vowel of πάνη (or -η) is frequently shortened before another vowel, which is rarely done in the case of final η (§ 380). It is not unlikely therefore that the original Instrum. Fem. η took iota subscript from the analogy of the Dat. Fem. in -η. There were also Doric adverbs of place in -η or η (πη ποκα, ἑκατηρη, see Ahrens, ii. 362, Brugmann, M. V. ii. 244), in which η is of course pan-Hellenic; but Ionic πή, &c. are connected by the meaning with the Doric forms in -η. Cp. also λάθη (¬η) with Αττικ λάθα (or -η). The form πάνη-η is an extension of the ending -η to the consonantal declension (as with the adverbs in -ος).

-ει, -ι time, manner; αυτο-νυξ-ει (or -ι) that very night, Π. 8. 197; τρι-στοιχ-ι in three rows, ἄναμωτ-ι (ι) bloodlessly, ἀμογη-τ, ἄμαχητι, ἀνουητι, ἀνιδρωτι, ἀνωστι, ἔγρηγορτι: with ι, ἐκητι with the will, ἐκητι-ι without the will, μελειοτ-ι limb by limb, μεγαλωστι in mighty fashion.

Short -ι is certain in ἐκητι, ἐκηρτι, μελειοτι, μεγαλωστι, and is not excluded by the metre in ἀμογητι and ἄμαχητι. 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 ο-declension, which is preserved in the Doric adverbs ει, ετι, τουρει, τυρει, &c., also in εικει (Menander fr. 450). 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 -τι (cp. ἐγερτι in Soph.). The -ι of ἄναμωτι, &c., if not a mere error, may be due to contamination between -ει and -ι.

αει has been taken to be a Loc. from the stem αε-ει- (of which the Doric αες is the Acc.). Mr. H. W. Smyth (l. c.) justly objects to this that the Homeric form would be αει-ει: and this form, we may add, would become αει, not αει. Hence he derives it from the stem αε-οι, Lat. aev-o-m.

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 α priv., 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 -ις (§ 98).

-ος manner; a Suffix of which there are comparatively few examples in Homer: the commonest are from Stems in -ο, viz. τως, ὄς, πως, ουτ-ος (also ουτ-ο), ὄμ-ός, φθ-ος, άιν-ός, κοραλλίμως, ἀστασίως, μηδίως, ἔκταγλως, κρατέρως, μεγάλως (rare); from other Stems, ἀφραδέ-ως, περιφραδέ-ως.

-ω, chiefly from Prepositions: ἐλ-ω, ἐδω, πρόσω-ω, ὀπίσω-ω, ἀν-ω, κατ-ω, προτέρ-ω (further on), ἐκαστέρ-ω, ἐκαστάτ-ω (further, farthest), ἀσσοτέρ-ω nearer.

Two others are Adverbs of manner, 3-δε, ούτ-ω (for which ουτως is only written when a vowel follows in the same sentence).
The ending -ωs has long been considered to be the Greek form of the original Ablativeal -ό (Lat. -ōd) of -ά stems. In Greek, however, a final -ά would disappear (as in ἀλλα, Lat. allu-ā, &c.) and consequently the theory applies only to the forms without -s, viz. ἀδε and οὖσ. The difficulty was met by Curtius (Curt. Stud. x. 219) with the suggestion that -τ would pass into -s before a dental or σ: e.g. οὖσι, οὖς τίθημι for οὐτω σι, οὔτω τίθημι. When two forms οὖσ and οὖς had thus come into existence as 'sentence-doubles' (like ω and οὖν, ἢ and ἢ), it would be natural to use οὖσ when it served to prevent hiatus, and the more regular οὖς 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 άτ to become ὀδε rather than ἀδε. His view is however defended by Joh. Schmidt (Pluralb. p. 352).

The ending -o in ὄν-ω, &c. may be either the Ablativeal -ό, or (more probably) an Instrumental ending -ό (Mahlow, Die langen Vocale, p. 86). In Latin, as Mahlow shows, it is probable that the Instrum. is represented by the adverbs in -ό, as modo, citō, the Abl. by archaic -όd, later -ό. If -οs and -ω were alternative Ablative endings—sentence-doubles—it seems possible that the adoption of -οs 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 -οs, -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. ταχέωs was already - of a swift, and accordingly a new word ταχέωs swiftly was coined on the model of φιλωs, &c.*

-ου place; ποῦ, ὁμοῦ, ἄγχος, τῆλος, ὑψοῦ, αὐτοῦ,—all periphrasms. They are the same in meaning as the corresponding Adverbs in -ότι.

-δοῦ, -δῆρ, -δα, forming Adverbs of manner, are evidently Accusatives from Stems in -δο-, -δη- (§ 114); e.g. σχε-δοῦ nearly, lit. holding-wise, ἀποστα-δοῦ aloof, ἐμβά-δοῦ on foot, ἀμφά-δοῦ openly, θα-δοῦ in crowds; so βοτρυ-δοῦ, πυρην-δοῦ, ρυμοῦ, συναχα-δοῦ, &c.; βά-δην steppingly, τιη-δήν, κρύβ-δην, κλή-δην, ἐπιγράβδην, &c. (all from Verbs), also a peculiar group in -ά-δην, as ἐπιστροφά-δην wheeling about, προτροπά-δην headlong, ἐπιπρόχα-δην, μεταδρομά-δην, ἀμβολά-δην; μή-δα, κρύβ-δα, ἀποσταδά, ἀμφά-δα, ἀναφαυ-δα, 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: ἀκῆν in silence,

* As adverbs of the Gen. Abl. form (ταχέωs, &c.) must have existed at one time alongside of those in -ωτ from -ά stems, the conjecture may be hazarded that this adverbial -οs was one of the influences which determined the choice of -οs rather than -ω for original -ό. If so, such a form as παντ-ωs is a sort of contamination of the Gen. Abl. παντ-όs and the forms in -ω(s).
Many Adverbs are formed with a final -s, which is liable to be lost before a word beginning with a consonant, as oυτω(ς) and the Adverbs in -κι(ς) already mentioned; other Homeric instances are, ἄχρι(ς) and μέχρι(ς) until, ἰθώ(ς) straight towards, μεσοπό(ς) between, ἀτρέμα(ς) quietly: also the Prep. ἄμψι, Adv. ἄμψις, and Homeric ἄντικρυ, later ἄντικρυς. Similar Adverbs in which -s is not lost are, ἀλε-ς, μόγι-ς, χωρί-ς; ἀγάκς, ἐκ-ς, πέλα-ς, ἑκτυπάς (II. 24. 163); ἐγγό-ς; χθέ-ς; and those in -δι-ς, as ἀλλοίως, ἀμοίβθοις. Note also the group formed by -ς subjoined to a monosyllabic Verbal Stem; πύς with the fist, ἐπι-μις in confusion, ἀ-παξ once, μᾶψ idly, ά-δάς with the teeth (δάκ-νω). The nature of this -s is obscure. Brugmann (K. Z. xxiv. 74) connects it with the -ς of the Prepositions ἐξ, ἄς, ἄμψις, holding that it is Ablativial. Joh. Schmidt (Plural. 357) supposes a group of Neuter stems, like the nouns in -ας, -ες, &c.

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 Dat. to the Case-Ending.

Nouns of the Vowel-Decisions 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 -ου and -ως: e.g. καλός, καλῶς, καλῷ &c., Adv. καλῶς; but Acc. Plur. καλῶς. On the Nouns in -ά, see § 96.

One or two Feminines with Nom. Sing. in -ά accent the Ending in those Cases in which the last syllable is long, as μία, Gen. μίης; ία, Dat. ίή; ταρφος thick, Fem. ταφεία, but Plur. ταφεία, Acc. ταφείας; ἁγνα street, Gen. ἁγνης, Plur. ἁγναι, ἁγνιας. So θαμεια and θαμείας answer to a Nom. Sing. θαμεια, Masc. *θαμίς (cp. θαμέ-ες, θαμέας); and κανοτερης (II. 4. 342, &c.) is Gen. of κανότερα.

αύτος in the very way (from ατρός), is made barytone by the authorities. The word is only Homeric, and the original accentuation αυτως had evidently been lost, perhaps by a confusion with ούτως.

The oxytone Adverbs in -ε and -ς, as αύτωνευς, αύτωνι, μελειτί, 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 ποός, ποδ-ός, ποδ-ή, ποδ-ούν, ποδ-ών, πος-ί; κών, κυν-ός, κυν-ή, κυν-ών, κυς-ί; θήρ, θηρ-ός, θηρ-ή, θηρ-ών, θηρ-σί.

(2) The words πατήρ, μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ, ἀνήρ, γαυτήρ; Gen. πατρ-ός, μητρ-ός, θυγατρ-ός, ἄνδρ-ός, γαυτρ-ός &c.

The accent of μήτηρ and θυγάτηρ 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 πός-εσι, νή-εσι, ἄνδρ-εσι, κύν-εσι, &c. The reason doubtless is that these are forms that have followed the analogy of the Stems in -ε, as ἐπεσ-σι, βέλεσ-σι, &c.

The Genitives πατής-ων, δαμ-ων, Τρώ-ων, θώ-ων, θώ-ων, are barytone; perhaps because the Stems are originally disyllabic.

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 κών, 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 properisomena, as Σαρπηδόν, Voc. Σαρπηδόν; Ἀντήμωρ, Voc. Ἀντήμωρ; Μαξάων, Voc. Μαξάων. Otherwise they are mostly proparoxytone, as Ἀγάμεμνον, Ἀπόλλων.

Oxytones in -ευς form the Voc. in -ει, as Ζεί, Ὑδνοσείβ. 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 (Ζεί = Ζεί).

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; πτυχ-εσ folds (πτυσσω for πτυχ-ιω), στιχ-εσ ranks (στειχω, ε-στιχ-ον), φλάε flame (φλέγω), πτώκ-α covering (πτήσσω, ε-πτακ-ον), δαβ house, for δαμ, cp. δα- (ἄα) in δα-πεδωn (lit. house-floor), ρώπ-αs twigs (ρέπ-ω), ρώγ-αs clefs, openings (ρήγ-νωμ), δόσ jackson (θέω), δπ-α voice (Φεπ-) , φριξ, ϑριξ, Στιξ. 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 ᾱγ-δο-σ leader, -τι in φα-τι-ς 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 -ω in δικα-ιο-ς just, -ὠ in ιππ-ευ-ς 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 καλο-, the Stem δμητερα- (for δμη-τερ-α) from δμη-τερ-, &c. But it is more convenient to treat the Feminine Endings as mere inflexions, along with the corresponding Masculine forms.

In the same way we might treat Suffixes like -το (in ἦ-τρο-ς healer, ἄτρο-τρο-ν plough) as compounded of -τρ or -τερ (ἡ-τηρ healer, ἄτρο-τηρ ploughman), and a secondary -ο. Practically, however, -το is a single Primary Suffix: and this applies also to -μο (in βέλε-μνα-ν dart), which might be resolved into μο + ευ + ο, and to many similar cases.
114. **Primitive Nouns.**

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 ἁγ-ό-s leader, ἵγ-ό-v yoke, φυ-ή flight: with reduplication, ἵαχ-ή (φυ-αχ-ή) cry, ἱ-στο-ς (στα-) web.

2. The O-form; as τόκ-ο-ς (τεκ-) offspring, ἄρωγ-ό-ς (ἀρήγ-ω) helper, σπονδ-ή (σπένδ-ω) libation, ποτ-ή flight, ὀφί flow.

3. Attic reduplication; as ἁγ-ώγ-ή leading, ἀκωκή point, ἐδωδή eating, ὀπωτή sight, ὀδωδή smell. The radical vowel appears as ω.

-ί: as τρόφ-ί (τρέφ-ω) thick, τρόπ-ί-s keel of a ship, φρόν-ί-s understanding (with the Verb-Stem in the O-form).

-ιά: seldom with Stems of clearly Verbal meaning, as in φύια (φυ-ία) flight, σχίζα (σχίδ-α) chip; more often with roots used as Nouns, as δία (δι-ία), τέξα (τεδ-), μία (μυ-ια), πλόσα (πίκ); and as a Fem. suffix in Adjectives (infra).

The Greek -ια takes the place of -τ, 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 ταχ-ύ-ς swift, τραφ-ύ-ς (τρέφ-ω) thick; βαθ-υ-ς, λιγ-υ-ς, γλυκ-υ-ς, βαρύς, βραδύς, κράτυς, παχύς, εύρυς (for ε-φυ-, root Fepe-). But ζυ-ς has the strong Stem: and ὄκυ-ς the O-form.

Fem. -εια (for -ει-ια), -εά, as ᾿ηδεία, ᾿ωκέα.


As to the declension of Nouns in -ος, Gen. -ος, and -ις, Gen. -ος, see § 94.

-εσσ, with the strong form of the Stem, as τείχ-ος wall, τείχ-ε-α arms, στ-ος word, τένθ-ος suffering, βένθ-ος depth (cp. βαθ-υ-ς), θέρ-ος warmth, summer, ἦδ-ος pleasure.

Fem. -εια (for -εσ-ια), as ᾿ηργίνεια.

The O-form of the Stem is found in ὀχ-ος chariot (cp. the Pf. ὀκόμα, § 26, 5); the weak form in θάλ-ος blossom (but cp. νεο-θηλ-ής), κάρτος (also κράτος), θάρσος (cp. Θερσ-της, Ὁλθ-θερσ-ής), ἀχ-ος grief. The forms πάθ-ος, βάθ-ος are not Homeric.
Note however that in Homer the Substantive is ἰἄρσος (for which ἰἄρσος occurs only once, II. 14. 416, the Adj. always ἰἄρσις; so that a distinction of quantity is kept up in place of the original distinction between *ἰἄρσος and ἰἄρσις. On ἰἄρσος as the original Greek form see Osthoff, M. U. ii. 49.

ι and ι appear in these Stems as in the Present tense (§ 29): e. g. ἰἀγ-ος cold, πψχ-ος warmth, κύδ-ος glory.

-ως, -οσ; in ἰνος (Sanser. ush-ās) dawn, αῖδος shame, and in the older declension of γέλως, τόρως, αἰών, ἰχώρ (§ 107 ad fin.). The Stem is probably in the weak form; see § 30.

-ασ; as δέμ-ας ‘build.’ The Stem is in the strong form; indeed the Stem-vowel is always ε, except in γηρας old age, κώς fleece, and οδός floor; cp. γέρας, δέπας, κέρας, κιέρας, κρεάς, τέρας, σέβας, σέλας, σκέπας, σφέλας, τέρας: also *ξέρας (ἐραννός for ἐραν-νός) and *ξέλας (ἐ-γέλασ-σα).

-ευ, -αν, -ον, -ων: e. g. τερ-ην, Gen. -ευ-ος (τείρω) soft, ἀρσ-ν male, αἰν-η-ν neck; τεπ-ον (Voc.) tender one, ἀρηγ-ων-ες defenders, τέκτων, περικτίνες; αγκ-ων, Gen. -αιν-ος elbow, ἀγών, αἴθων.

Fem. -ανα (-αν-α), in λέανα: imitated by way of sarcasm in θε-αινα (II. 8. 5).

-οτ, -οτι, in Participles, and in a few Substantives, as δρακ-ων a serpent, lit. the ‘staring’ animal (δέρκ-ομαι), τευ-ον, γερον.

-ατ, in oblique Cases of Neuter Nouns as (υδωρ), υδατ-ος, &c. The α of this Suffix represents the weak form of a nasal syllable; see § 38, and § 114*, 8, e.

-αντ, notably in Compounds, as ἀκάμας, ἀδάμας, πολύπλας.

-αν, 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 ἀηρ (ἄφ-ηρ) air, αἰθ-ηρ (αἰθ-ω) bright sky, ὀηρ husband’s brother (levir); ἐλ-ωρ booty, ὑδ-ωρ water; μάκ-αρ great (II. 11. 68), ερ spring.

-ορ in the Homeric ᾧρ sword, ὦτροπ breast is perhaps only the ἀEolic form of -αρ (-e). As to the Nom. and Acc. Neut. forms in -ωρ see § 114*, 8, d.

-λο, -λω is very rare in Greek as a Primary Suffix: Brugmann gives ἔρεπ-ια ruins and (post-Hom.) ἀγ-ιος, στόγ-ιος, σφαγ-ιον, πάγ-ιος. We may add ῥαμ-ην dispenser, πεν-ην povertly: also διός (διρ-ιο-ς) bright, πεζός (πεδ-) on foot, κραδ-η (κηρ for κηρ-δ) heart, in which the Stem is a Root-Noun.

The word ἀ-οσθη-ηρ helper pre-supposes a Stem ἀσσο- for σοκ-ιο-, answering to Latin soc-ius (seqt; Gr. ἱρ). In ἀλλας (al-ius), μέσος (medius), δεις the Suffix appears to give the force of a Comparative: see Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 63, p. 125.
-ως, -υς, -σ: the Comparative Suffix, as πλέω (πλε-ως-α) πλείστος (πλε-ιο-τος): see § 114*, 7.

-FO: κεινός (κει-Φός) empty, οὖλος (δλ-Φος) whole, λαι-ός λαε-νυς, ὑδρός άρδ-νυς.

-Fev, -Foω, -Foν, -Fν: πιων fat, αιών age, life (Loc. αλέν, see § 99), ἀ-περμων (ἀ-περ-Φων, cp. πεκραίνω for περ-Φυ-μο) -Fev appears in the Inf. in -ευ-αι, as εἰδέναι for Φεδ-Φεν-αι (§ 84).


-Fαρ; as πιάρ (for πι-Φαρ) fatness, ὀνειρ (ὄνη-Φαρ?) help, εἰδαρ (εδ-Φαρ) food, εἰλαρ shelter, &c.; -Fρ in πιερα, Fem. of πιων fat. The ancient grammarians noticed that the Stem before -άρ is long (Herodian ii. 769 ed. Lentz).

-ΜΟ; with the O-form, as πότ-μο-ς (πετ-) fall, κορ-μό-ς (κελω) a trunk, ὄλ-μο-ς (Φελ-) a rolling stone, μιχ-μός (ῥη-) gully.

-μι; in φη-μι-ς report, δόνα-μι-ς power.

-μιν in ὄρ-μιν beach on which the waves break, Dat. ὄσμιν-ι fight: also Nom. ὄσμινη.

-μεν, -μον, -μων; πυθ-μήν (Gen. -μεν-ος) base, ἀυτ-μήν breath, λυμήν haven, ποιμήν shepherd, δει-μον (μο-νος) fearing, μη-μων mindful, ἦ-μων shooter, τέρ-μων end, θη-μων-α (Loc.) a heap. Also the Infinitives in -μεν-αι (Dat.) and -μεν (Loc.): see § 84.

-ματ; as δει-μα, Gen. -ματ-ος, fear, ὄνομα name, &c.

Of these Suffixes -μον and -ματ go with the strong form of the Stem, -μεν with the weak form.

With -ο, -η are formed -μενο (in Particiles), and -μον, -μη, as βέλε-μον-ν a dart, λί-μην a marsh; -μα (μυ-α), in μερ-μην care.

-μαρ, -μωρ; as τέκ-μαρ and τέκ-μωρ a device; -μερο, in ιμερο-ς desire.

-ΝΟ, -ΝΟ; as δει-νό-ς fearful, πτη-νός flying, τέχ-νη art, ποι-νη atonement; ὄχ-νό-ν handle, ὀρεξάνth sickle, τρύπ-ανυν anger, στέφ-ανος.

-νεσ; τέμε-νος enclosure, ἵχ-νος imprint, γλη-νος jewel.

-νυ; ὂρη-νυ-ς a foot-stool.

-ΡΟ, -ΛΟ; generally with the weak Stem; πικ-ρό-ς bitter, ἀκ-ρο-ς point, ἀθ-ρη seat: also with an auxiliary ἀ, σθεν-αρό-ς strong, ἀπαλός tender, στιμβάρος, λιπαρός.

-ρι; in ἀθ-ρι-ς knowing, ἀδ-ρι-ς mountain-top.


-Τ: θής θη-τ-ός, νόξ νυκ-τ-ός; but chiefly in Compounds, as προ-βλής, ἀ-γνώς.
114.]

PRIMARY SUFFIXES.

-στ, -ητ: Acc. ἀργ-έτ-α white (II. 21. 127), also ἀργητα (II. 8. 133), Dat. ἀργήτι and ἀργήτι (II. 11. 818), κέλ-ης, λέβ-ης.

-τό; found with Stems—

(1) In the O-form, as κόι-το-ς, κοί-τη (κεί-μαι) lair, φόρ-το-ν burden, νόσ-το-ς going, return (νέομαι for νέο-ο-μαι), οἶ-τος (εἰ-μι) course, fortune, Βρούτη (βρέμ-ω) thunder.

(2) In the weak form, as στα-τό-ς stalled, ὑρα-τό-ς flayed; ἄκ-τη beach; δέκ-της beggar, παρα-βά-της.

For the use of -το to form Superlatives and Ordinal Numerals see §§ 121 and 130.

-τι, -σι; generally with the weak Stem, as φά-τι-s saying, πίο-τι-s (for πιθ-τις) trust, τί-σι-s vengeance, δόσις, βόσις, βρώσις, γένεσις, νέμεσις, ἀνυσις, ἀροσις.

-σιή, as κλισίη a tent, νπο-σχέ-σιν promise.

-τυ in δω-τύν (from δῶ-τυς) gift.

-τύ; βρω-τύ-ς food, κλι-τύ-ς a slope, μνη-τύ-ς wooing, δι-τύ-ς feasting, ἐδή-τύ-ς eating. This Suffix is especially common in Homer: ἀγορητός, ἀλατύς, βοητός, γραπτός, ἱπερτός, κιθαροτός, ἀκουστός, ἀραιός, ἀρχηγός, ὑπωτός, ταυτός.

-τερ, in πατήρ, μήτερ, θυγάτηρ, είνα-τερ-ες, γαστήρ, ἀστήρ.

-τηρ, -τόρ, -τωρ; as δό-τηρ-α and δῶ-τόρ-ά (Acc.) giver, βοητή-ες and βωτόρες herdsmen, ἴστωρ witness, ἄφ-τωρ shooter, ἕπ-ακτήρ 'driver,' ἱπποκτήρ dray, ληστήρ spoiler, κοσμήτωρ arranger, μῆ-τορ-α (μῆ-ομαι) adviser: also of things, with a touch of personification, κρητήρ, ἑαοτήρ, λαμπτήρ. Fem. -τερα (-τερα), as δομή-τερα subducer.

-τρο, as ἵ-τροσ healer, ἀρο-τρο-ν plough, σκίπ-τρον, λέκτρον.

-δ, -ιδ, -ιδή; as Acc. ἔλατ-ιδ-α hope; λευκ-άδ-α white.


This Suffix is chiefly seen in the Adverbs in -δοι, -δην, as σχε-δό-ν near, βά-δη-ν at a walk, &c.: see § 110, and cp. the secondary forms στά-δ-ος, &c. (§ 118).

Similarly from Verb-Stems with the suffix -τ we have λαί-τ-μα gulf (cp. λαυ-μός throat), δύ-τ-μή breath, also δύ-τ-μήν (root αυ-), ἐφε-τ-μός oar, ἐφε-τ-μή injunction.

114*. Variation of Suffixes.

1. Primary Suffixes were originally liable to variation of the kind already noticed (§ 106). 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 ὄναυς, Gr. ζεῦς, we find (1) ὄναυ- in the Nom., (2) ὄναυ- in the Loc. ὄναυ-ι (Lat. Jōvi for ἄνε-ι), and (3) ἄνε- or ἄν- in other Cases, so in δᾶ-τά 'giver' we have (1) -τά- in the Acc. δᾶ-τά-αμ, (2) -τα- in the Loc. δᾶ-τά-ι, and (3) -τ- in the Dat. δᾶ-τ-έ, Instrum. δᾶ-τ-ά.

Similarly we have the series -άτ, -άρ, -ρ; -μάν, -μάν, -μν; -νᾶ, -νᾶ, -ν; -άν, -άν, -α, &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, -ια the α is lost and the semivowel becomes a vowel, thus giving -ν, -ι.

2. In Greek we find the same Suffixes as in Sanscrit, with the further distinction that the vowel may be η or ο or ο. Thus we may have -τωρ, -τορ, -τρ, -τρ; -μων, -μον, -πην, -μεν, -μν (-μα, -μαν); -οσ, -ορ, -ορ; -θως, -θος, -θο, -σ; -τωσ, -τοσ, -τσ; and so in other cases. Sometimes both sets of forms occur with the same root; as δω-τωρ, δωτορ-ος and δο-τηρ, δοτηρ-ος.

The interchange of ο and ε in the Suffix -ο (as φιλο-ς, Voc. φιλε) 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, -τορ-ος, the second in δό-τωρ, -τορ-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-η: δείμων, δείμου-ος, δεμαίνω (for -μαίν-ω, -μν-ο): θεράπων, Fem. θεράπη-ν, also θεράπουνα (for -πν-οι): ἒπ-τήρ, ἐτρ-ός: ὑδρ, ὑδρ-ος: τέκ-μωρ, τεκμαίρουμαι (for τεκμαρ-μο-μαι), &c. Cp. Lat. car-ο(n), Gen. car-ο-is.

3. The relation of the forms -ων (-μων, -θων), -ωρ (-τωρ), &c. to -ν, -μν, -θν, -πηρ, -πηρ, &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 ω are found in barytone words. Thus we have the pairs δοτήρ and δότωρ, βήτηρ and βήτωρ, βοτήρες and βοτόρες, πατήρ but φράτωρ, also Lat. sor-ör (Sansk. evāsā). In composition, too, the loss of accent is regularly accompanied by the change from η, ο to ω, ό: πατήρ, μητρο-πάτωρ; δημήτρ, παν-δαμάτωρ; ἀνήρ, εὖ-ήνωρ; φρήν, ἀφρών, &c. Many exceptions, however, remain unexplained.

4. The Nouns of Relationship (the group πατήρ &c.) with one or two similarly inflected words (δοτήρ, 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. pilár-am, but δοτήρ-α, Sanscr. dātār-am. Similarly among Stems in -n ἀρην, ἀρον-α to answer to Sanscr. vīsh-α, vīshan-am (instead of -ān-am). This peculiarity has been explained as the result of an original difference of quantity. That is to say, the form pilar (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 -τηρ of δοτήρ, &c. But this view cannot well be reconciled with the fact that the Stem pilar- occurs not only in the Acc. pilāram but also in the Loc. pilār-ι. The Loc. is a Case which regularly takes the middle Stem; cp. dātār-am, Loc. dātār-ι, ἀκμαν-αμ, Loc. ἀκμαν-ι. 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 (ε.γ.), Strong form, Nom. πα-τήρ,—Middle form, Acc. πα-τερ-α, Loc. πα-τερ-ι, Voc. πα-τερ;—Weakest form, Gen. πα-τόρ-ός. The cause of this difference in the treatment of the Accusative has still to be found.*

5. The Stems in -ant, -mant, -vart, (Gr. -oυτ, &c.) interchange with shorter forms in -at, -mat, -vat, Gr. -ιτ, -μάτ, -φάτ. In Greek the Suffix -oυτ is used to form the Part. Pres., as φέροντα-α. The chief trace of -ιτ is the Doric ἔασσα (ἔσ-ιτ-ια) for ἔοισα. The forms -μάτ, -φάτ are found in the Neuters, such as δει-ματ-ος, πείρατος, (περ-φάτ-ος), &c. So in Latin nōmen, nōminis, for nō-mu-is (Sansk. nā-mu-as).


6. The Suffix of the Pf. Part. Act. presents anomalies, both in Sanscrit and Greek, which are not yet satisfactorily explained. The Sanscr. -vāms, -vas, -us and Greek -φως, -φοτ, -σό (in -uα for

* Collitz in Bezz. Beitr. x. 37 ff.
-ος-ια) 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.) Φο-ς, Acc. Φο-α, Gen. Φο-ς, &c. this might become Acc. Φο-α, Gen. Φο-ς, &c. (by the same levelling which we have in δο-τοπ, Acc. δο-τοπ, Gen. δο-τοπ-ος), then Acc. Φο-α, Gen. Φο-ος &c. At this stage the endings -ος-ια, -ος-ια &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 -ος of the Pf. is to be seen in the -ιων or -ιων of the Comparative; Sanser. -ιάνς, -ιας, (-ιάς), Greek -ιων, -ιον, -ια (in -ιο-ος). Here the ν, in spite of the Sanser. nasal, is as difficult to explain as the τ of the Pf. However the older endings -ος-ια, -ος-ια (for -ος-ια, -ος-ια) are preserved in the Acc. Sing. Masc. and Nom. and Acc. Plur. Neut. (άμεινω for άμειν-ος-ια), and the Nom. Plur. (άμεινονς, &c.). In the Latin -tόρ, -tόρ-ιος, &c. there is no trace of a nasal. We may compare the variation in αλον, κυκεόν (§ 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 πιον, Gen. πιον-ος flat, but Fem. πιευρα (πι-φερ-ια) and the Neut. Substantive πιάρ fatness. Also χειμών, but χειμέρ-ος. (Cp. the Lat. femur, femin-ις, and jec-ur, jecin-or-ις, which is for an older jecin-ις.)

(b) Similarly along with ήος we have ήέρ-ος at dawn, and the Adv. ήρι (Sanser. ushάς and ushάr).

(c) Final τ is introduced in the Suffix; as in ήπα-τ-ος (for ήπυ-τ-ος, cp. the Sanser. yakρ, Gen. yaku-ας, and the other

* 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. 403, 417; Joh. Schmidt, K. Z. xxvi. 341 ff., 378 ff., Pluralb. p. 157; Collitz, Bezz. Beitr. x. 25, 63. The chief difficulty lies in the nasal of the Sanserit strong Cases. Such a gradation as -νος (or -νος), -νος-ιαι, or -νος, -νος (or -νος), -ια to the satisfaction of other scholars. Those who assume a primitive -νος, -νος have hitherto been equally unsuccessful in accounting for Sanser. -νος, -νος and Greek -νων. The explanation of the τ of -ος-ια, &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 -ος in the Comparative are confined to strong Cases, as Acc. Sing. -ος-ια, Nom. Plur. -ος-ια. Hence the Gen. -νος-ος, Dat. -νος-ιαι, &c. perhaps did not take the place of middle forms -ος-ος, -ος-ιαι, but of the primitive weak forms (-ος-ια, -ος-ια ?).

(d) It is probable that the Neuters in -ωρ—viz. ὑδωρ, ἡλωρ, τέλωρ, ἐλλωρ, τέκμωρ, νῦκτωρ (Acc. used adverbially)—were originally Collective or Abstract nouns (Joh. Schmidt, Pluralb. p. 193). On this view ὑδωρ waters (Germ. gewässer) is properly a different word from the stem *vda or *vədarm which we infer from the oblique Cases: τέκμωρ is originally a Collective or Abstract from τέκμαρ: and similarly ἡλωρ, ἐλλωρ, πελωρ, νῦκτωρ (cp. νυκτερ-ίς), which only occur in the Nom. Ace., are nouns formed like χειμών (χείμα), αἰών (αἰῶνει in αἰῶναμαι, ἀν-αιδής), γέλως (γελασ- in γελάω), &c. When ὑδωρ, &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; ἄγο-ς leader, ἄρωγο-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 -αθ, and all in -αθ, are oxytone. But those which admit an Acc. in -ω are all barytone.

4. Adjectives in -υ-ς are oxytone; except θηλ-υ-ς and the isolated Fem. θάλεια. Substantives in -υ-ς are mostly oxytone; but see § 116, 4.


6. Nouns in -ηρ and -ην are oxytone, except μήτηρ, θυγάτηρ (but see § 111, 2), ἄρσην, τέρνην.

Nouns in -ωρ and -ων are mostly barytone, but there are many exceptions, esp. the Abstract Nouns in -ωος, the Substantives in -μων, as δαιμονίων, ἡγεμόνιων, κυδεμόνιων, and most Nouns in -ων, Gen. -ωνος, as ἄγων, ἄγκων, χειμών, τελεμών.

7. Stems in -το with the O-form are barytone, with the weak form oxytone; e.g. κολ-το-ς, νόσ-το-ς, but στα-τό-ς, &c.

8. Stems in -τη are mostly oxytone. Accordingly the Prim-
itive Masculines in -ής, which are Nouns of the Agent, can
generally be distinguished from the Denominatives in -ης
(§ 117): e.g. ἀγορητής a speaker, but ναύτης a ship-man.

9. Abstract Nouns in -τι, -σι are barytone; in -τό 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 Com-
pounds, as to which see § 125.

1. Stems in -ο are Masc. or Neut., with some exceptions, as
ὁδός, ἀταρπός, κέλευθος, νήσος, φηγός, ἀμφέλος, νόος, ταφρός,
ψήφος, σποδός, ψάμαθος, βάξιος, δοκός, μνός, πρό-χοος. In
these the change of gender seems to be due to the meaning.

κλυτός is used as a Fem. in II. 2. 742 κλυτός ἑποδάμεια. In
Od. 4. 406 πικρὸν ἀποπνείουσαi . . . δῆμην it is best to take
πικρόν as an adverb, not with δῆμην : ep. II. 6. 182.

Πῦλος has the two epithets ἱμαθόεις and ἱγαθήν, and is probably
therefore of both Genders.

2. Stems in -η (for -ά) are mainly Fem.; but—

Stems in -τη denoting an agent are Masc., as δέκ-της a
beggar, αἰχεί-της a warrior. Also, πόρκης the ring of a spear,
ετης comrade, ταμή-ς dispenser, νεφύ-ς a youth, perhaps ἄγγελ-
ίης a messenger; also the proper names Βορεά-ς, Ερμεία-ς,
Ἄλεια-ς, Ἀγεία-ς, Τευρεία-ς, Ἀγχία-ς, Ἀδήν-ς.

The Masc. Nouns in -άς, -ής are probably formed originally
from Feminine abstract or collective Nouns in -ά, -ή. The first
step is the use of the word as a concrete: ep. Od. 22. 209
ἡμηλική δέ μοι ἐσσι thou art one of the same age (ὁμήλεις) with me;
II. 12. 213 δῆμον ἑόντα being one of the common people. So in
Latin magistratus, potestas (Juven. 10. 100), optio : English a
relation (= a relative). The next step is the change to the Masc.,
which leads to the use of the Endings -ης, Gen. -αο on the
analogies of the Masc. -ος, Gen. -όο. We may compare Fr.
un trompette bearer of a trumpet, Italian il podestà the magistrate,
where the change of meaning is marked by the gender only.
So ετης is probably from a word σφε-τή kindred, νεφύ-ς from
a Fem. νεφύ youth, ἄγγελη-ς (if the word exists, see Buttmann,
Lexil. s.v.) from ἄγγελην. The Masc. ταμή-ς may be formed
from the concrete Fem. ταμή, the office of household manager
being generally filled by a woman (γυνή ταμή Od.). And so
the Nouns in -τις owe their origin to the older abstract or col-
lective Nouns in -τη, as ἀκ-τή, βρωτή, ἀρ-τή, γενε-τή, παν-τή,
3. Stems in -ā, -āδ, -āδ are Fem.; also most Stems in -ι. But μαν-τι-ς is Masc., and some Adjectives—το-ρι-ς, τρόφ-ι-ς, ενυ-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 ἤι-ς (βοῦς ἤιν εἴρημέτων II. 10, 292, Od. 3. 382), Βλοσύρας (II. 11. 36), and βοϊνυς (II. 18. 357, where Ven. A has βοϊνυ πίννα ἤρη). The ι appears also in ἄφιδ-ος, κηνμιδ-ας, ἐνπλοκαιμίδ-ες.

4. Adjectives in -ο generally form the Fem. in -ευ or -ει (for -ει-ιδ), as ἡδεία, ὠκέα. But θῆλυ-ς as a Fem. is commoner than θῆλεια; and we also find ἡδίς ἀντίμη (Od. 12. 369), ποιλίν εφ’ ὑγρή (II. 10. 27).

On the other hand most Substantives in -υ-ς are Fem. (and oxytone), and this υ is frequently long, as in ἱδί-ς aim (whereas the Adj. ιθ-υς straight has υ), πληθ-υς multitude, λυ-ς mud, ἔρμυ-ς, and the Abstract Nouns in -τυ-ς, as βρω-τύ-ς, ὀρχητύ-ς, κλιτ-τυ-ς. But there are a few Masc. Substantives in -υ-ς, viz. θρήνυς, στάχυ-ς, βότρυ-ς, νέκυ-ς, ἱχθύ-ς.

5. The Suffix -ες is a form only confined in Homer to Neut. Substantives of abstract meaning; the only clear example of an Adjective is ἄγνης (Il. 8. 524). For ἐλεγχέ-ες (Il. 4. 242, 24. 239) we should probably read ἐλεγχεια. In Il. 4. 235 (ού γάρ ἐπί ἐπεδέσαι πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἐστερ’ ἀργογός) we may equally well read ἐπεδέσαι (Zeus will not help falsehood). The Gen. φραδέ-ος (Il. 24. 354) may come from φραδίς or φραδύς.

It seems very probable that these words are to be accounted for in much the same way as the Masculines in -της, viz. as abstract turned into concrete Nouns by a simple change of gender. The transition to a concrete meaning may be observed in ἄγνδος in such uses as II. 9. 115 οὐ γάρ άγνδος ἢμάς ἀτάς κατέλεξατ not falsely (lit. not falsehood) hast thou related my folly. So ἐλεγχεια reproaches!

6. Suffixes which are used to express an abstract or a collective meaning are generally Feminine; e.g. κακό-ς coward, κακη cowardice; δοτί πολυτ; φύκα, φυγ-ῃ flight; βουλη counsel, also the body of counsellors, a council; φρω-ίς understanding; νυφ-άς (-άδ-ος) a snow-storm; πληθ-ί-ς multitude (collective and abstract); and the Nouns in -τις (-σις), -τυς, -ους, -δων.

It is probable that all the Collective Nouns in -ως, -ωσ, -ωρ (§ 114, 8, d) were originally Feminine. The change of gender may be traced in αὐν (Fem. in Homer), and ἰδρος (Fem. in Æolic). In the case of ἐρως, γέλως it may be connected with the confusion between -ως-stems and -ο-stems (§ 107 ad fin.). It is to be noted that no nouns in -μων 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*.)

-εο, -ει; as óικα-ιο-ς just, ἀρμον-η a joining, ἀρθμ-ιο-ς friendly, αἴδωι-ς (for αἴδων-ιο-ς) reverenced, γελοιο-ς (probably to be written γελῶ-ιο-ς) laughable, ἀρ-ιο-ς in season, σοφ-η skill, σκοπ-η watch, ἀναγκ-η necessity.

-ειο, -ει (chiefly used to denote material, especially the animal which furnishes the material of a thing); e.g. ἵππειο-ς, νάπειο-ς, αὐγειο-ς, βόειο-ς and βό-ειο-ς, κυν-ει, χάλκειο-ς and χάλκ-ειο-ς, κυνε-εις, δουρατ-ειο-ς, φλάγ-ειο-ς, ἄγαθ-ειο-ς (from ἄγαθδ-ς), δαυάλειο-ς, &c. These must be distinguished from the Adjectives in which ειο stands for εσ-ιο, as τελειο-ς (for τελεσ-ιο-ς), ὀνειδειο-ς, Ἀργεῖο-ς.

-ευ; ἵππευ-ς horseman, ἀριστεύ-ς one who does best, χαλκεύ-ς, ἵερευ-ς, νομεύ-ς, Σμυρνευ-ς, &c.—all from Nouns in -o.


-ρο, -ρο; as λιγυ-ρό-ς shrill, δνοφ-ερός dark; μέγα-ρο-ν.

-σμο; ἀολομο-ς matter of song, μόρ-μο-ς fated, &c.

-νο, -νο; as φαινον (φαες-) shining, ἑρεβενός (ἑρεθες-) dark, ἑραυνός lovely; φήγυ-νος oaken, ἐλαρ-νό-ς of spring, &c.

-νο; ὀπωρ-νός of autumn, ἀγχιστ-νός.

-νυο; πετε-νυός flying (πετ-ες-).

-σύνυο, -σάνη; γηθό-νυο-ς joyful; ἵππο-σάνη horsemanship, &c.

-ευτ (for -ειτ), Fem. -εσά; ὑλή-ευτ-α, Fem. ὑλή-εσα-α wooded, διη-εντ-α full of eddies, λειπό-εντ-α like the lily, &c.

-ικο; only found in ὀρφαν-ικό-ς orphan, παρθεν-ική virgin, and a few Adjectives from proper names, as ὁρω-ικό-ς, Ἀχαί-ικό-ς, Πελαγ-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-ός, Voc. σοφε, is related to the form σοφ- (in σοφ-η) as πάτερ to πατρ- in πατρ-ός, πάτρ-ιος (Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 59, p. 102).
SEVENTH SUFFIXES.

SECONDARY SUFFIXES.

Some of these are perhaps Primitive: e.g. aίχυμη-τή-ς may come from an obsolete *αλμάω to wield the spear: see § 120.

-ΤΗ; αφιό-τη-ς, ιππό-τα, τοκό-τα (Voc.), ἀγρό-ται, αἰχύμη-τή-ς, κορυνή-τη-ς, ύπηνή-τη-ς, πολινή-τη-ς and πολί-τη-ς, δώλ-τη-ς. Some of these are perhaps Primitive: e.g. aίχυμη-τή-ς may come from an obsolete *αλμάω to wield the spear: see § 120.

-ΤΗ; φιλό-τη-ς a love, δηο-τή-ς a battle.

-ΤΥΓ; φόρμιγξ a lyre, σύριγξ a reed-pipe, σάλπιγξ a trumpet, λάγγε-ς pebbles, στροφάλγγες eddy, παθήγγγ-ες drops.

The τ of -δη, -μο, -νο, -κο was probably not part of the original Suffix, but was the final vowel of the Stem. We may either suppose (e.g.) that μωρ-μος was formed directly from a Stem μωρ- (cp. μοίρα for μορ-α), or that it followed the analogy of ἀλκ-μος, φάι-μος, &c. Cp. the account given in § 109 of the ι of -ιο, -ιο, -το, -ιο. It is remarkable that 0, which is regular as a 'connecting vowel' of Compounds, is extremely rare before Suffixes (except -τη, -τη, -συν).

Note that the 'e ι 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-εο; ἀξ-αλέος dry, ἀργ-αλέος (for ἀλγ-αλέος) painful, θαρσ-αλέος, καρφ-αλέος, κέρδ-αλέος, λευγ-αλέος, μύδ-αλέος, ῥωγ-αλέος, σιμερδ-αλέος. It is used as a Secondary Suffix in ἀπετ-αλέος thin, ὀπτ-αλέος roast.

-άλ-μο; κυό-άλμο-ς glorious, καρπ-άλμο-ς swift, πευκ-άλμο-ς shrewed.

-ευο (for -εσ-νο or -εσ-νο); φα-ευό-ς shining, αἰπ-ευό-ς lofty, ἀλγε-ευό-ς painful; Secondary in ἐρατ-ευό-ς, κελαθ-ευό-ς, ποθ-ευό-ς. This Suffix takes the form -ευο in ἀργ-ευό-ς shining and ἐρεβ-ευό-ς murky.


-δον, in τυχε-δόν-ι (Dat.) wasting, ἀνδόν nightingale: -δων in μελε-δώναι cares.

-δ-νο, in πιγε-δανός horrible, ἱπεδανός, πευκεδανός, στυτεδανός.

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, -es, -as, -ev, -ep, -fo, 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 -mo-s, -mow, -ma, -mep, -meo, -me-t, -te-s, and the Denominatives in -io-s, -epo-s, -uvo-s, -tus-s, &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 -tes ceased, as we have seen, to form abstract Nouns, but was largely used to form Masculine Nouns of the Agent. So too the Suffix -de, -de survived in two isolated uses, (1) in Adverbs in -deo, -deo and (2) in Patronymics. Compare in Latin the older use of -tus 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 -vo survives in the form -uvo, and in -evo (-es-vo).

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 ὄπα χάλκεον (χαλκήν Zenod.), 19. 88 ἄγριον ἄγν (the passage is probably corrupt, since it appears that the Homeric form of ἄγν is the uncontracted ἄτη, ἄφατη), 20. 299 (= Od. 5. 410) ἀλὸς πολιώ, Od. 3. 82 πρῆγα . . . ὑμιός, 4. 442 ὀλοφάταν ὀμή, 23. 233 ἀστάσιος γῆ (al. ἄστασιως).

The origin of the Masc. patronymics in -de-s may be explained in the same way as the Nouns of the Agent in -tes-s (§ 116, 2). We may suppose them to be derived from a group of Collective Nouns in -de: e.g. Ἀτρέδη meaning the family of Atreus, Ἀτρέδη-s would mean one of the Ἀτρέδη †.

* 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 -wv, such as Κρονιόν, Ἰππιόν,
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 not formed from Nouns in -eυ-s, as βουλευ-ω (βουλ-ή), ἀγορευ-ω (ἀγορή), θηρευ-ω (θήρ); so that, instead of the three stages—
 νομό-s, Denom. Noun νομ-ευ-s, Denom. Verb νομ-ευ-ω
 ἀριστο-s, " ἀριστ-ευ-s " ἀριστ-ευ-ω
 the language goes directly from any Noun to a Verb in -eω.

Again, the Verbs in -ω (§ 60) presuppose Nouns in -η, which are seldom found in use: δηρία-ω-μαι (cp. δηρι-ς from which an intermediate δηρί-ή might be formed), μητίαω (cp. μητί-ς), κυδιών, άοδιαύσα, έδριώντα, μειδιών, θαλπίων, φυσιώντες, φαληρίωντα, ἑψάσθαι (Od. 21. 429), δειελήσας.

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—
 ἀνή vexation, ἀν-άω, ἀν-ή-ρο-s
 διζ-ς grief, διζ-ω, διζ-ρο-s

the Verb were passed over, we should appear to have a Denominative Noun in -ρο-s. Again, if the Primitive Noun in -η and the Verb in -ω were both wanting, we should practically have the Compound Suffix -η-ρο-s: and this accordingly is the case (e.g.) in αἴψ-ηρο-s (αἴψα) swifl, θυ-ηλή (θύ-ω), νυ-ηλό-s (νψι), φοξ-ηλυ-s.

In this way are formed the peculiar Homeric -ωρη, -ολη, which are used virtually as Primary Suffixes (forming abstract Nouns); ἐλπ-ωρη hope, θαλπ-ωρη comfort, ἀλεωρη (ἀλεφ) escape, τερπ-ολη delight, φειδ-ολη sparing, πανο-ολη ceasing. Note that the difference between -ωρη and -ολη 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, -eω lengthen the final -o of the Noun-Stem to -η and -ω; as φόβο-ς, ἐ-φόβη-σα; χόλο-ς, ἐ-χόλω-σα.

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 ὁβραίωνες, are derived from Collectives in -ων (§ 116, 6). Thus from ὁβραίων (Sing. Fem.) the heavenly powers we might have ὁβραϊωνες heavenly ones; and finally ὁβραίων as a Sing. Masc. Cp. φυγάς originally 'a body of exiles,' then φυγάδες 'exiles,' then φυγας 'an exile.' So in French, first la gent 'people,' then les gens, finally un gens-d'armes.
114 NOUN FORMATION. [121.

2. Verbs in -ω form Tenses and derivative Nouns as if from a Verb-Stem in -δ; as ὑβρί-ς, ὑβρί-ζω, ὑβριστής (as if ὑβρίδ-της, although there is no δ in the declension of ὑβρί-ς).

3. Verbs in -ω from Nominal Stems in -ρο, -λο, -νο often suppress the final -ο, as καθαρό-ς, καθαρό (for καθαρ-ι-ω); ποικίλο-ς, ποικίλλω (for ποικιλ-ι-ω), ποικίλ-ματα. So perhaps ἀπινυσω from ἀπινυτο-ς, and even ἐρέσω from ἐρέτ-ης. We may compare the loss of -ο, -η before a Suffix such as -ιο: 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 -ιο is Primary: the Positive (where there is one) being a parallel formation from the same (Verbal) Root. The Homeric Comparatives of this class are:


The Stem is properly in the strong form, as in κρέσσων (but κρατ-ις, καρτ-ιτος); but it is assimilated to the Positive in πάσσων, βράσσων, γλυκίων. In θάσσων, ἐλάσσων the α points to forms *θαγχ-ιων, *ἐλαγχ-ιων, in which the nasal of the original *θεγχ-ιων, *ἐλεγχ-ιων was retained, but the e changed into a.

The Superlative -ιτο is used in the same way; we have:


The Suffix -ιο has taken the place of -ις (§ 107, 7); the 'weakest' form may be traced in -ιο-τος. The middle form -ιεω
perhaps appears in the two Comparatives πλέες more (II. 11. 395, Acc. πλέως II. 2. 129) and χερεία worse (Acc. Sing. and Neut. Plur., also Dat. Sing. χερπή, Nom. Plur. χέρνης). Original πλέες (for πλε-ιο-ες) became πλέες by Hyphaeresis (§ 105, 4): and so χερεία is for χερε-κες-α*. The weakest form of -ίον would be -ν, which may be found in πριν (cp. Lat. prīs-us), and the Attic πλε-ίν. Evidently πλεοσ-: πλεόσ: πλε-ίν = prīos: prīs-: πριν.

Traces of a Comparative Suffix -εφο appear in ἐν-εροι those beneath (Lat. inf-eru-s, sup-eru-s).

The Suffix -το or -άτο is found in the Ordinals τρι-το-s, &c., and with the Superlative meaning in ὑπ-ατo-s, νε-ατo-s, πύ-ατo-s, μέσo-ατo-s, ἐπι-ατo-s, and πράτo-s (for πρό-ατo-s); also combined with Ordinal Suffixes in the Homeric τρι-τo-s, ἐβδόμo-ατo-s, ὁγδo-ατo-s. The form -άτο is probably due to the analogy of the Ordinals τετά-το-s, ενα-το-s, δέκα-το-s, in which the α is part of the Stem †.

A Suffix -μο may be recognised in πρό-μo-s foremost man (Lat. instru-s, sum-mu-s, pri-mus, ultu-mus, mini-mus).

The common Suffixes -τερo, -τάτo appear with a Verb-Stem in φέρ-τερo-s, φέρ-τάτo-s (cp. φέρ-ιστo-s), βέλ-τερo-s (βόλ-ομαι), πιλ-τερo-s, πιλ-τάτo-s (cp. ἐ-φιλ-ατo loved), δεν-τερo-s, δεν-τάτo-s (δεν-ω to fail, to come short of). So φαίν-τατο-s, for φαν-τατo-s (φαείνω). Otherwise they are used with Nominal Stems: as πρεσβύ-τερo-s, βασιλεύ-τερo-s, μελάν-τατo-s, κύν-τατo-s, μακάρ-τατo-s, ἀχαρίστερο-s (ἀ-χαρίτ-τερo-s): and Pronouns, as ἡμε-τερo-s, ὑμε-τερo-s, το-τερo-s, ἀμφο-τερo-s, ἐκά-τερo-s, ἔτερo-s (for ἀ-τερo-s, ἀ-τερo-s, with assimilation to ἐν-). Final o of the Stem becomes when a long syllable is needed to give dactylic rhythm; as κακά-τερo-s, κακοκενιστo-τερo-s. In ἀνυπέρτερο-s (Od. 2. 190) the Stem follows the analogy of θυμ-ήρεσ, &c. In χαριεύ-τερo-s (for χαριφύτ-τερo-s) there is the same assimilation as in the Dat. Pl. χαρίεσσi (§ 105, 3). In μυχο-τατo-s innermost the Stem appears to be a Locative case-form; cp. ταρολ-τεροι more forward, and

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* 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 πλέες as πλε-ιο-ες, i.e. from the weakest form of the Stem. This view does not apply so well to χερε-α, since it leaves unexplained the divergence between it and the Superl. χερε-τας. It may be noticed as an argument for the supposition of Hyphaeresis that we do not find the Gen. πλέος, χερες, just as we do not find Hyphaeresis in the Gen. of Nouns in -εος, -ες (§ 105, 4). Cp. however, the absence of trace of a Gen. ἑπιεύ-τερο-s (§ 114, 7, foot-note).
‡ This very probable etymology is given by Brugmann, K. Z. xxv. p. 298.
§ According to Brugmann the ω of σοφάτερο-s, &c. is not a metrical lengthening, but comes from the adverbs * σοφάω, &c. (related to σοφάω as σοφάω to σοφάω, § 110), like the later κατά-τερος from κάτα, &c.
later forms like κατώ-τερο-ς, ἀνώ-τατο-ς, &c.; so probably in παλαι-τερος and ύπερ-τερος. On the analogy of ύπερ-τερος we can explain ἐνέρ-τερος (cp. ὑπερ-θε: ἐνέρ-θε, &c.). The form γεραι-τερος, again, may be suggested by παλαιτερος, through the relation γεραιός: παλαιός and the likeness of meaning (Meyer, G. G. p. 372). The words δεξί-τερος, ἀριστερός are formed like Comparatives, but are distinguished by their accent.

The Suffix -τερο is combined with the Suffix -ιον in ἀσσω-τέρο (Adv.) nearer, ἐπι-ασσώτεροι drawing on, χειρό-τερο-ς and χειρεῖδ-τερο-ς 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 ἄν-ἐρ-τερος (-τατος), ὑπερ-τερος (-τατος), ἀσσω-τέρος, χειρό-τερος and χειρεῖδ-τερος; τρί-τατος, ἐβδό-μ-ατος, πρώτ-ατος; Lat. -issimu-s (for -isli-mu-s), mag-is-ter, min-is-ter.

122. Comparative and Superlative Meaning. The Stem is often that of a Substantive, as κύρ-τερο-ς more like a dog, βασιλεύ-τατο-ς 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-τερο-ς the meaning is not more forward, but forward, opposed to ὑπερ-τερο-ς behind. So ύπερ-τερο-ς and ἐνέρ-τερο-ς, δεξί-τερο-ς, and ἀριστερό-ς, ἔνερ-τερο-ς, &c. The same thing appears in the Pronouns ἴμε-τερο-ς, ἴμε-τερο-ς, ε-τερο-ς, τό-τερο-ς, ἐκά-τερο-ς, ἀμφό-τερο-ς, &c.; ἴμε-τερο-ς is not more belonging to us, but belonging to us (not you). So in the Homeric Comparatives:

| ἀγρό-τερο-ς of the country (opp. to the town). | ὑπέρ-τερο-ς of the mountains (opp. to the valley). |
| ἰκά-τερο-ς, opp. to καταβαταί ἀνθρώπους (Od. 13. 111). | θυλή-τεραί female (opp. to male). |
| Κουρό-τεροι | ὀπλό-τεροι |

{the class of youths.}

Cp. II. 19. 63 Τρωι 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 ἄρειον ‘good rather than ill’; II. 1. 32 σαφές safe (as we speak of being ‘on the safe side’): so ἄσσον with an Imper. Hence too the idiomatic use of the double Comparative, Od. 1. 164 ἡλαφρότεροι πόδας εἰναι ἦ ἄφρειδτεροι 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 Homeric language contains very many Compounds formed by the simple placing together of two Nominal Stems: as πολι-πορθο-ς, πασχή of cities, ὑδατ-δακτυλο-ς, rose-fingered, τελεσ-φόρο-ς, bringing to an end, βουλή-φόρο-ς, bringing counsel, ὲψ-αγόρη-ς, talking loftily, προθ-ηβη-ς (for πρωτ-ηβη-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 ὑλο-τόμο-ς, wood-cutter, &c.*

-ο for -ες, in εἰρο-κόμο-ς, wood-dresser, μενο-εικης, pleasing to the spirit; and for -άς, as γυνο-κόμο-ς, tending old age.

-μο for -μον, as ἀκμό-θετο-ν, anvil-block; and for -πα, as αἰμο-φορυκτο-ς, dabbled with blood, Κυμο-δόκη, &c.

-ρο for -πα, in πατρο-κασίγνητος, μητρο-πάτωρ, ἀνδρο-φόνος, and the like. In ἀνδρά-ποδον the short Stem (as in ἀνδρά-ριο) 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, ἄρ-ματ-ο-πηγό-ς, chariot-brewer, υδατ-ο-τρεφής, water-fed, ἐλε-ό-θερεπ-το-ς, (ἐλεσ-ο-) grown in a marsh, ἑρ-ο-φοιτ-ς, flying in air, δομο-δόκη (δορφ-ο-) spear-holder, κεφα-ξό-ς (κεφα-) worker in horn. Sometimes the -ο is a real Suffix; e.g. in ὄν-ο-γενής (ὤν-ο-) Zeus-spring (= ὄν-ο-γενός ἕξων).

Stems in -η instead of -ο appear in θαλαμ-πολο-ς, attendant of a chamber, πυρ-φόρο-ς, bearing wheat, ἑλαφ-βόλο-ς, ἐκατ-βόλο-ς, κραναχ-πέδο-ς, υπερ-φανο-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 βούλη-φόρο-ς, &c.

Fem. -α becomes either -ο, as ἀελλό-πος, storm-foot; or -η, as γανή-οχο-ς, earth-holder, μουρ-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. ἀκρό-πολις comes directly from Masc. ἀκρό-ς (Brugm.).
The result of these changes is to make \( \text{o} \) 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: \( \text{áργι-ποδ-ες} \) with swift (or white) feet, \( \text{άργι-δούτ-ες} \) white-toothed, \( \text{άργι-κέραυνο-ς} \) with bright lightning, \( \text{τερπι-κέραυνο-ς} \) hurling thunderbolts (\( \text{τέρπω=τρίπω, Lat. torquœ} \), ειλι-ποδ-ες trailing (?) the feet (of oxen), \( \text{άλλι-πλωο-ς} \) washed by the sea, also \( \text{άλλι-άις, άλλι-πόρφυρος, 'Αλλι-άρτος, 'Αλλι-θέρσης} \) (cp. \( \text{άλλι-είς fisherman}, \) ειλι-βτο-ς fed on by goats, ειλι-λυς deserted by goats, χαλι-φρων of light mind, δάφ-φρων warlike (or prudent), \( \text{άλεξι-κακο-ς} \) defender against ill, λαθι-κηνής forgetting care, πυκν-μθής with shrewed counsel, καλλι-γύναικ-α with beautiful women (cp. \( \text{κάλλι-μος} \), κυδι-άνειρα glorifying men (cp. \( \text{κυδι-δω} \); with the Proper Names, \( \text{Αλθι-οπ-ες, Πειρι-θου-ς, 'Αλκι-νοο-ς, 'Αλκι-μέδων} \) (cp. \( \text{δν-άλκι-ς} \), and the words beginning with \( \text{άρι-} \) and \( \text{ερι-} \).

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 -\( i \) was probably greater than in Homeric times.

Loss of \( \text{o} \) may be recognised in \( \text{άρτι-πος (=} \text{άρτις τοὺς πόδας)}, \) \( \text{ζει-δωρος} \) grain giving (ζειδ), κραται-γύαλος of strong pieces, Δη-φοιβος, perhaps also \( \text{ματ-φώνος, 'Αλθαι-μένης, ταλαι-πώρος:} \) cp. γεραι-τερος from γεραιό-ς.

c. Stems in -\( i \):—

This group is mainly Homeric: \( \text{έρνοι-πτολ (Voc.) deliverer of the city} \) (with v. l. \( \text{βοσι-πτολ} \) \( \text{Π. 6. 305} \), \( \text{άερσι-ποδ-ες} \) lifting the feet (i.e. with high action), \( \text{πλήξι-υππο-ς} \) smiter of horses, λυσι-μελής loosening the limbs (of sleep), \( \text{ταυσι-πτερο-ς, ταλαι-φρων, \dot{\alpha}εσι-φρων, ταμεσι-χρως, φαεσι-μβροτο-ς, φυοι-ζους, φθοσι-μβροτο-ς, τερψι-μβροτο-ς, Τερψι-χόρη (Hes.), έρνοι-χοιον (έρνοι-γαιος, εινοι-φυλλος, &c.), πτεροει-μαλλο-ς, άλεσι-καρπο-ς, άλφεσι-βως, έλκεσι-πεπλο-ς, φθοσ-ήνωρ, πλασ-λτίον-ς, έρνο-άρματ-ες, ῥη-ήνωρ, γυμψ-ώνις; \) and Proper Names, \( \text{Πρωτατι-λαο-ς, 'Αρσι-νοο-ς, Δειο-ήνωρ, Λύσι-ανδρος, Πεισι-ήνωρ, Πεισι-στρατο-ς, 'Ορσι-λοχο-ς, 'Αναβισι-νεως, 'Ησι-οδος (Hes.), &c.} \)

There are a few Stems in -\( i \); \( \text{βωτι-άφερα feeding men, Καστι-άνειρα (cp. κε-κασ-μένος).} \)

We may add the Hesiodic \( \text{φερέσ-βιος life-bearing, and φερεσ-σαχής shield-bearing with φερεσ- apparently for φερεσ-}. \)

These Stems were originally the same as those of the abstract Nouns in -\( τι-ς, -σι-ς: \) ep. \( \text{Τερψι-χόρη, τερψι-μβροτος, &c. with} \)
τέρψι-ς, πληξ-ιππος with πληξι-ς. But in many cases new Stems have been formed under the influence of the sagicmatic Aorist, with a difference of quantity, as in φυσι-ζου-ς life-giving (φύσι-ς), λυσι-μελης, φθορι-μπροτο-ς. Compare also ταμεσί-χρως with τυμής-ς, Πεισὶ-πταιρο-ς with πιστι-ς, &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; cp. the next group, and § 126.

d. Stems in -ει:

These are nearly all Verbal, both in form and meaning: ἐλκε-χίτων-ες trailing the chiton, μενε-δήιο-ς withstanding foe men (so μενε-χάρμ-ς, μενε-πτόλεμο-ς, Μενε-λαο-ς, Μενε-σθεύς, &c.): ἔχε-θυμο-ς restraining passion, ἔχε-φρων possessing judgment, ἔχε-πευκός carrying sharpness, Ἐχε-πωλο-ς, Ἐχε-νης; ἀγε-λείν driving spoil, ἀρχέ-κακο-ς beginning mischief; ἀγγέ-μαχο-ς fighting close, ἄλεχ-ποίν with beds of grass: Ἀρχέ-λοχο-ς, Φέρε-κλος, Μελέ-αγρο-ς; φρέκ-οικός carrying his house (of the snail in Hes.), ἔγρε-κόδομος stirring tumuli; also (if ε is elided) ψευδ-αγγελο-ς bringing false news, ἀθό-οψ fiercely, μικρ-όψεα the meeting-place of glens, ἀλέξ-άνεμος keeping off wind, Ἀλέξ-ανδρος.

Stems in -σε; ἀκέρσο-κόμμ-ς with unhorn hair, Περσέ-φόνεια.

With the Stems in -ε may evidently be placed ταλα-, in ταλά-φρων with enduring mind, ταλα-εργό-ς enduring in work, ταλάφρων (for ταλα-φρω-ς) bearing a shield of hide, ταλα-πενθής bearing sorrow, ταλα-πείρως bearing trial; and τη- in Τη-πόλεμος &c.; also τανυ-, in τανύ-γλωσσος with outstretched tongue, long-tongued, τανύ-φυλλος long-leaved, τανύ-γλώσσει long-notched (arrows), and ἔρ- in Ἑρώ-λαος, defender of the host.

e. Stems in -ν:—

α for γ appears in ὄνομα-κλωτος of famous name, κνά-μμια for κνα-μμια on the analogy of κόν-α.

f. Case-forms:—

Nom. Acc. in Numerals, as ἐν-δεκα, δώδεκα.

The Dative probably to be recognised in ἀριθ-φατο-ς slain in war (and so Ἀριθ-θοο-ς, Ἀριθ-λυκο-ς, πυρ-ηκής sharpened by fire (πυρ-καυτό-ς, Πυρ-φλεγέω), δι-πετής falling in the sky; the Dat. Plur. in κρησσο-φορτο-ς brought by the fates, ὄρισι-τροφο-ς nursed in mountains, ἐγχεσί-μορο-ς great with spears, ἐντεσι-εργό-ς working in harness, τειχεσ-πλήτα (Voc.) drawing near to (assailing) walls, Ναυσι-κά, Μηδεσι-κάτη, Πατι-θή, Χερσι-δάμας; a Locative form in χαμαι-εύας sleeping on the ground, ὀδοι-πόρο-ς a wayfarer, χοροι-τυπή-ς figuring in the dance, Πυλοι-γενής born at Ρύλος, Παλα-φατο-ς of ancient fame, and perhaps (to express manner) in θατ-γενής duly born, οἴνοι-τροχο-ς rolling. Cp. ἐμ-πυρι-βήτης made to stand over the fire, i.e. a kettle.
This use of the Dative may have been suggested by the Stems in -ν and -σι. Compounds such as ἀλεεσι-πελαος, ἀλεεσι-καρπος, ἀλεεσι-βοος, containing forms which sounded like the Dat. Plur. of Stems in -σι, may have served as types for the group ἀγεσι-μαυρος, τειχεσι-πλητις, ὀφεσι-τροφος, &c. in which the Dat. Plur. takes the place of the Stem. Cp. Πρωτεσι-λαος.

Conversely, ἀφερσι-βιος life-bearing, and ἀφερα-σακης (Hes.) ought to be *ἀφερε-σι-βιος, but have followed the type of ὀφεσι-βιος, τελεο-φόρος, &c.

The forms δι-φιλο-ς, ἀρηφι-φιλο-ς, ἄρηφι-κταμενο-ς, δαι-κταμαι-νος, δουρι-κλυτι-νος, δουρι-κλειτι-νος, ναυςι-κλυτο-νος, should probably be written as separate words, Δι-φίλος, 'Ἀρηφι κτάμενος, &c. As to -κτάμενος see § 125, 6: as to -κλυτος, -κλειτος, cp. § 128.

The Genitive is very rare: οὐδενό-σωρος not worth caring for, Ἐλλήν-σωρος.

The Accusative may be recognised in δικας-τόλο-ς busied about suits (δικαι), ἀταλα-φρον with childish thought (= ἀταλα φρονεων, which is also used in Homer), ἀκαλα-ρειτης gently flowing, Ἀλκάθοος (cp. Dat. ἀλκ-ες), ποδα-νυπτρον, also πάν- (altogether) in πάμ-παι, παν-αιολος, παν-ἀπτόμος, πάμ-προτος, &c.

An ending -η (for -α) may be seen in νεή-φατος new-slain, ὀλυγη-πελέων. This is perhaps an Instrum., as πάνης (§ 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-ςου-ες yoked in a pair, δι-πλακ-ες two-fold, χερ-νυβ-ες hand-washing, οἶνo-οπ-ες wine-like, νηιδα (νη-φιδ-α) ignorant, ἄγιλ-λιπ-ος (Gen.) left by goats, πολν-αιξ much starting, ἄονο-πλης an ox-whip. The Stem, it will be seen, is in the Weak form.

2. Nouns in -ως (Gen. -ος) and in -ος (Gen. -ε-ος) form the Compound in -ης, Neut. -ες, as ἀρ-αιως without shame (αιδως), θυμ-αλγης grieving the spirit (ἀλγος).

The Stem 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-πενηθης, νη-πενηθης, from πενθος), ἄγχι-βαθης (βέθος, πολυβεθης), οἰνο-βαρης, πρωτο-παγης, ἀ-συγης, θυμο-δακης, ἀρυφραδης, ἕτερ-αλκης, τηλε-φανης, &c. So we find ἄικως (II. 22. 336) as Adv. to ἄεικης, and ἄλλο-ιδεα (Od. 13. 194) alongside of θεοειδης, μυλο-ειδης, &c.

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 παδος, βαδος, βαρος, &c. and also to the simple Adjectives such as φευθης, σαφης.

3. Stems in ην (ἐν-) usually take ων (ον-) in Composition: as φρην (Gen. φρεν-δος) forms προ-φρων, Gen. προ-φρον-ος: and

4. Some Stems take a final -τ, as ἀ-βλη-τ-α (Αει. Sing.) unworn, ἀ-κμῆ-τ-ες unwearied; so ἐτι-βλῆς, ἀ-δύμης, ἀ-γυνώς.

5. In Adjectives the Suffix is often replaced by one ending in -ο; as δ-πατρο-ς of one father, βαρβαρό-φως with strange voice (from φώνη), χρυσ-πλάκατο-ς with golden distaff (ηλακάτη), δυσ-όνυμο-ς of evil name (δονυμα), ἀ-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)—

Mase. Stems in -η, as ἄργυρο-δίνη-ς, and -δς, as λευκ-ἀσπιδ-ες.

Mase. and Fem. Stems in -ες, as μελι-ηδῆς honey-sweet, ἱρι-γένεια (for -ες-μᾶ) early born.

Fem. Stems in -ο, as χρυσδ-θρόνο-ς (׳Ηρη), ῥοδό-δακτυλο-ς (׳Ηός), and many other adjectives of two terminations.

A Masc. Stem in -ματ, viz. ἐρυσ-άρματ-ες (ʼΙπποί).

6. The use of a Participle in the second part is rare: it is found in some Proper Names, as Οὐκ-αλέγων, Πυκ-φλεγέθων, Ἐσο-κλύμενος; also where it is a mere Adjective without any Tense-meaning, as πολυ-τλας, cp. ἀ-δάμας. In other cases we can write the words separately, as παλιν πλαγχθέντας, δάκρυ χέων, πάσι μέλουσα, κάρη κομώντες, εὖ ναιετάων, εὔφρο ῥέων, εὖ κτίμενος, πάλιν ὃμενος, Ἀρη κτάμενος, δαι κτάμενος, &c.


Note however παλιώξις (for παλι-λωξι-ς), βου-λυτό-ς the time of unyoking, 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—

ἐλα- drive, ἵππ-ηλάτα, ἕξ-ηλα-τος, βο-ηλα-σίς.
ἐρα- love, ἐπ-ήρα-τος, πολυ-ήρα-τος.
ἀμελη- milk, ἀν-ήμελκτος, ἵππ-ημολγοί.
ἀρό-ω plough, ἀν-ήρο-τος.
ἀλέγ-ω care, δον-ηλαγ-εός (Gen.), ἀπ-ηλαγ-εός.
ἐρέφ-ω cover, κατ-ηρεφ-ής, ἀμφ-ηρεφ-ής, ὑπ-ωρόφ-ιος.
ἀμείβ-ω change, ἐξ-ημωβ-ός.
ἐρετ- των, φιλ-ηρετ-μος, δολιχ-ηρετμος.
ἐνεκ- carry, δυ-ηνεκ-ής, ποδ-ηνεκ-ής, δουρ-ηνεκ-ής.
126. **Meaning of Compounds.** The general rule is that the prefixed Stem limits or qualifies the meaning of the other: as ὤμο-γέρων hale old man, ὅμη-γέρων elder of the people, τρι-γέρων (Aesch.) thrice aged; ἵππο-δαμο-σ tamer of horses, ἵππο-βοτο-σ pastured by horses, ἵππο-κομοσ with plume of horse-hair, ἵππο-κέλευθοσ making way with horses; βαθυ-δυνής deep-earring.

The prefixed Stem may evidently express very different relations—that of an Adjective, as ὦμο-γέρων, βαθυ-δύνης, or a Genitive, as ὅμη-γέρων, ἵππο-κομοσ, or an Object, as ἵππο-δαμοσ, or an Adverb of manner or place or instrument, as ὄμη-ηγερέες, ἱμερο-φείτις, &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. ῥόδο-δάκτυλο-σ, literally rose-finger, means not a rosy finger, but having rosy fingers; so ἵππο-κομοσ with a horse-plume, ἵππο-χαλήτι-σ with horse’s mane (as a plume), βαθυ-δύνης (= βαθυ-δυνή-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-γένης (= διον γένος ἔχων) is to διον γένος as ψευδής false to ψεύδος falsehood.

Among the meanings which may be conveyed by a Stem in a Compound, note the poetical use to express *comparison*: as ἀέλλο-πος storm-foot, i.e. with feet (swift) as the storm, μελλ-γηρ-σ honey-voiced, ῥόδο-δάκτυλο-σ, κυι-κπερ-σ, &c. So too pod-ήμερο-σ like the wind in feet, θυμο-λέων 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. pod-όκης swift of foot (= ὀκύς τοῦ σώς πόδας)
is the same in practical effect as ὀκῦ-πόνεισ swift-foot, with swift feet (ὀκὺς πόδας ἕχων).

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-s 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 ἐλεκ-χίτωνες, ἐχέ-φρον, &c.


3. Some of the Stems in -ι, as ἐλλι-ποδες, κυδι-άνεια, ἀμαρτι-νοος (Hes.), λαθι-κηδής, λαθι-φρον, τερπι-κέρανως (§ 124, b); and in -ο, as φιλο-πτόλεμος loving war, φιλο-κέρτωμος, φιλο-κτέανος, φυγο-πτόλεμος flying from war, ἀμαρτο-ετής blundering in speech, ἁλτό-μυης astray as to the month: also the Compounds of ταλα-, τάη-, as ταλα-πενήθας enduring sorrow, Τλη-πόλεμος, &c., and ταυ-, as ταυ-πτερος (Hes.), which is the Homeric ταυσι-πτερος.

In most of these cases the inversion is only apparent. For instance, ἐλέκσι-πεπλος means trailing the robe as distinguished from other ways of wearing it; the notion of trailing is therefore the limiting one. So ταυσι-πτερος means long-winged; μενε-πτόλεμος, φυγο-πτόλεμος, Τλη-πόλεμος, Νεο-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 tânu-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 -απο-ς (ποδ-απός, ἴμεδ-απός, ἀλλοϊ-απός), = Sanscr. -aṅc, Lat. -inquus s (long-inquus, prop-inquus). In the adjectives in -φ, as οίνοφ, αἰθοφ, ἴροφ, νόροφ, μέροψ, the original sense of the Stem -οφ is evidently very faint. In the proper names Αἴλοπες, Δόλοπες, "Ελλοπες, 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), τεχν-κτίσον-ς dwellers around, ἄμφι-φάλος with crest on both sides, πρό-φρον with forward mind. Forms of this kind are
sometimes obtained directly from Compound Verbs: e.g. ἐγχως from ἐξ-ἐχω, not from ἐξ and ἔχω.

2. The Preposition governs, i.e. the Compound is equivalent to a Preposition governing a Noun; ἐν-νυξ-ιο-ς in the night, κατα-χθοι-ιο-ς under-ground, ἀπο-θυμ-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-ἀρωπο-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 νυξ-ιο-ς by night, ἐν-νυξ-ιο-ς within the night: it is evident that the ἐν limits the sense of νυξιος in essentially the same way as παν- in παν-νυξ-ιο-ς all the night. So κατα-χθοι-ιο-ς is nearly equivalent to χθοι-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; χρωνό-θρωνος, ἀελλό-πος, ἐπι-ὑπατο-ς (ὑπατο-ς), αἰν-αρέτη-ς (αρετή), &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, ἐμμύ-εργό-ς, τοῦ-φόρο-ς. Except Compounds with Prepositions, as ἐπι-κλοπο-ς, πρό-μαχο-ς, ὑπό-τροπο-ς; also those in -οχ-ς, and one or two more, πτολε-πορθο-ς, ἀγχί-μολο-ν, ἰππό-δαμος.


But a few Adjectives in -ης are barytone, as ὑψι-πέτης, ποδώκης, χαλκ-ήρης, ταυν-ήκης; also the Fem. forms ἱμα-γένεια, λη-βότειρα, δυα-αριστο-τόκεια, μυγο-άγκεια.

3. When the second Stem is a long monosyllable, it is accented: βού-πλήξ, ἀπο-ρρωξ, παρα-βλέπω-ς, παρα-πλήγω-ς, ἀ-βλής, &c. (§ 125, 2). Hence the Fem. forms βο-ῶπ-ς, γλαυκ-ῶπ-ς, &c. (as if from βο-ῶψ, γλαυκ-ῶψ, &c.).

129.] Proper Names in Greek are generally Compounds; the exceptions are chiefly names of gods, as Ζεύς, 'Ηρη, 'Αθη, &c., and of certain heroes, as Πάρις, Πρίαμος, Αιας, Τεκτρος, &c.
Note that the gods whose names are Compound, as Διό-νυσος, Δη-μήτηρ, Περσε-φώνεια, 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-κλές, Φερε-κλές, Σθένε-λαο-ς, Αλυ-σθος for Αλυ-σθένης, Μενεσθεύς for Μενε-σθένης; cp. Εὐρυμῆδος (Od. 9. 509), patronymic of Εὐρυμῆδων. 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 -τω-ς, as Ἑκα-τος (for ἑκατη-βάλος), Εὐρυ-τος (Εὐρυ-βάτης, Εὐρι-αλος, &c.), Ἰφι-τος, Ἐχε-τος, Λή-τος.

in -τωρ, as Ἀκ-τωρ (for Ἀγε-λαος or some other name beginning Ἄγε-), Ἐκ-τωρ (Ἐχε-), Μέν-τωρ (Μεν-), Καλῆ-τωρ, Ἀμῦν-τωρ, &c.

in -τη-ς, as Θεσση-της (cp. Θεσση-λογος, &c.), Πολη-της, Ὀρέσ-της, Ὀδη-της, Μέν-της (cp. Μέν-τωρ).

in -ω, as Δόλ-ων, Ἀγάθ-ων (cp. Λάκων=Λακεδαιμόνιος).

in -ευ-ς, as Περσ-ευς (from Περσε-φόνος), Οίν-ευς (cp. Οίνω-μαος, &c.), Ποιητ-εύς, Λεοντ-εύς, &c.

in -ιο-ς; Δολ-ιος (Δολ-οψ, &c.) Ὀδ-ίος, Τυχ-ίος, Φήμ-ίος, Καλήσ-ίος, and many more.

in -ια-ς, -εια-ς; Πελ-ης, Τεφρο-λας; Ἐρμειας, Αλνειας, Ἀγίας.

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 -ω from Adjectives, as Εὐρυ-το-ς, Ἰφι-το-ς, Ἀγάθ-ως; and those in -ευ-ς from Nouns of the consonantal declension (§ 118), as Λεοντ-ευ-ς, Ἀλγ-ευ-ς, and even from Verbs, as Περσ-ευ-ς*.

The first part of the Compound has probably been dropped in Κλυμένη (cp. Περι-κλύμενος), Ὀδων (cp. Ἰππο-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 εις, viz. μία and ια; also a Neut. Dat. Ἵῳ (II. 6. 422). The Stem ἄ- (for σμ-) in ἄ-παξ, ἄ-πλοος, &c. is to be regarded as a weak form of the Stem Ἔν- (σαμ). The weak form σμ- is to be traced in μία, for σμ-ια.

2. The forms δύο and δύω are equally common in Homer.

For the number 12 we find the three forms δυόδεκα, δώδεκα, and δώκαλδέκα; also the Ordinals δυωδέκατος and (rarely) δωδεκάτος.

3. Besides τέσσαρ-ες there is a form πίσυρ-ες, applied to horses in I. 15. 680 and 23. 171, to other objects in I. 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-χθά, τετρά-φαλος four-crested, &c. (but cp. τεσσαρά-βοιος worth four oxen): also with loss of the first syllable in τρά-πεζα.

The variation in the Stem of this Numeral has been fully discussed by Joh. Schmidt (K. Z. xxi. p. 47 ff.). He shows that the Stem had three forms (§ 114*). The strong form is seen in Sanscr. cattvāras, which would lead us to expect Greek *τεταφήρες (hence perhaps Dor. τίτορες); the weakest in the Sanscr. Ordinal turiya, for ktur-īya, in which the shortening affects both syllables, and the first is consequently lost. This weakest Stem appears in τρυ-φάλεια a four-ridged helmet, and is not derived from the form τετρά-. It probably fell into disuse owing to its unlikeness 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. ὄκτω, like δῶ, is a Dual in form. The primitive ending -ω (Sanscr. ashtau) may be traced in ὄγδοος (ὀγδώφ-ος, ὄγδωος, Lat. octōvus).

5. Under ἑνέα note the varieties ἑνα-τος and ἐνα-τος ninth, probably for ἑνα-τος; so ἑνά-κις, ἑνά-νυκες, ἑινά-ετες; also ἑυν-ήμαρ (for ἑννέ-ήμαρ), ἑννέ-ωρος of nine seasons, ἑννήκοντα (for ἑννε-ήκοντα, cp. τρυ-ήκοντα, &c.) and ἑννήκοντα—the last a form difficult to explain.

The numbers above ten are generally denoted by Compounds of the kind called Copulative (Sanscr. dvandva): δω-δεκα two and ten.

The analogy of the Numerals ending in -α (ἐπτά, ἓκα, with the Stems τετρά-, εἶνα-) has led to the use of α as a connecting vowel in Numerals generally; hence τευτά-ετες and ἐξά-ετες (Od. 3. 115), ὄκτα-κυμμος, τεσσαρά-βοιος, ἐκικοσά-βοιος. But inversely o is found for α in πεντήκοντα-γνος (Π. 9. 579); cp. § 124, a.
CHAPTER VII.

USE OF THE CASES.

Introductory.

131.] The Case-Endings and Adverbial Endings serve (as has been said in § 96) 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 βασιλεὺς δίδω-ςι the-king he-gives βασιλεὺς 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, ἐμοὶ δίδω-ςι, καλῶς δίδω-ςι, ἀτὸ 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. βασιλεὺς ἵστ-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 βασιλεὺς νῦν δίδωσι, Κύριον βασιλέως περιγίγνεται, the word βασιλεὺς 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 ἰέξει τῶα he does evil to some
one the Acc. τινά is governed by the phrase κακὰ μέξει: in τίνεν ἴσα τέκεσοι honoured like his children the Dat. τέκεσοι is governed by τίνεν ἴσα.

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' ἐξοχὸς ἐπέλετο he is greatly eminent, since ἐξοχὸς expresses the meaning which μέγα is intended to qualify, we may consider that practically μέγα is construed with ἐξοχὸς 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 σὺν ἐκελὸς ἀλὴν the Adj. ἐκελὸς 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 ἀλγεῖ τὴν κεφαλὴν (2) cannot well be separated from the extension of the same construction in μέγας ἐστι 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 ἐλκὸς ὃ μὲ οὕταςε, lit. the wound which he wounded me, ὃ (ἐλκὸς) qualifies οὕταςε by a word which expresses to some extent the same thing as the Verb οὕταςε: whereas μὲ 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 ὁ ἀλήθεα, ὁ πρὸς χρόνοις, &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 ἂτιν' ὀν πείθοντας ὅτω in which I think that some one will not obey; II. 14. 249 ἀλλο ἐπίνυσσεν gave another lesson; Od. 23. 24 τούτῳ ἄνησει will do this benefit; Od. 10. 75 τὸδε ἰκάνεις comest as thou dost; II. 5. 827 μήτε σοῦ γ' Ἀρης τὸ γε δεῖδοι fear not Ares as to this; τὸδε χώροι be angry at this; τάδε μαίνεται does these mad things (=is mad with these acts).

This use includes the Adverbial τί why? (e.g. τί ἡλθες in regard to what have you come? = what means your coming?) : τὸ therefore (§ 262, 3), ὅ, ὅτι because, that (§ 269): τὶ in any way, οὔδὲν not at all, ἀμφότερον for both reasons (II. 7. 418), δοιά in two ways (Od. 2. 46), πάντα altogether, &c.; also the combination of Pronoun and Adverb in τὸ πρίν, τὸ πάρος, &c. the time before (see § 260, b).

134.] Neuter Adjectives are often used in this way; as εὖρο
 πέει flows in a broad stream, ὃς ἔκληψεν uttering shrill cries; so πρῶτον, πρῶτα in the first place, πολὺ, πολλῶν, πολλά much, μέγα greatly, ἄλγον, τυθὸν little, ἵσον, ἵσα equally; ὅναν, τόσον, τοῖον; ἄρτιν, ἐναντίον; ὑπερον, ὑπάτα, μᾶλλον, μάλιστα, ἄσσον, ἄχιστα; εὖ (Neut. of ἱδό or ἐδός), ἱδό, δεινόν, δεινά, αἰνά, καλόν, καλά, πυκνά, μακρά, ἀδινά, βαρύ, βαρέα, δέξ, ταφέα, ὑπερμύρα, ἐνδεξία, ὀχα, ἔσκα; and many more.

In general there is no difference perceptible between the Neut. Sing. and Neut. Plur. But compare τυθῶν for a little space, and τυθᾶ κεῖσαι split into little pieces (Od. 12. 388).

Note the combination of Pronoun and Adjective in τὸ πρῶτον, τὰ πρῶτα, τὸ πρῖτον, τὸ τέταρτον: also in τὰ ἄλλα 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
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. ἄρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν to wage a war without result (cp. the adverbial use of a Neut. Adj. in ἀλληλοκοπία πολεμίζειν to war without ceasing); ὃς κεῖ ἄριστην βουλήν βουλεύειν who shall give the best counsel (= ἄριστα βουλεύειν); ἐφίλει παντοτήν φιλότητα treated with all manner of love; ἵνα τὴν αὐτὴν ὄδὸν to go the same way. So ἐπικλῆσιν καλέονυ call by way of surname: and with a Noun in the Plural, βουλᾶς βουλεύειν to give counsel (from time to time); δάσσαντο μολίς divided into the several shares; αἰχμὰς αἰχμάδουσον νεώτεροι (with repetition for the sake of emphasis), &c.

With a Pronoun referring to a cognate Noun; λαβὴς... ἦν ἐμὲ λαβὴσασθε, ἐλκος... ὡς με βροτὸς ὕπτασεν, ὑπὸσχεσὶν ἦν περ ὑπέστην, &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 Σιδώναθεν... τὴν ὄδὸν ἦν Ἑλενὴν περ ἄνηγαγε the voyage on which he brought back Helen: (cp. Od. 6. 164 ἦλθον γὰρ καὶ κείσα... τὴν ὄδὸν ἦ δὴ κτάλ...); so ὄδὸν οἰχεσθαι, ὄδὸν ἄγεσθαι to lead on the way: and again ἔξεσθην ἐλθεῖν to go on an expedition (and in Od. 21. 20 ἔξεσθην πολλὴν ὄδὸν ἠλθεν went a long way on an expedition), ἀγεληνὴ ἀλθόντα going on a message; βουλᾶς ἐξάρχον ἀγάλλας taking the lead in good counsels; Od. 8. 23 ἄθελους... τοὺς... ἐπειρήσαντ Ὀδυσσέα; Od. 19. 393 οὕλην τὴν τοτὲ μιν σὺς ἥλασε. So δαυνύτα γάμων holding a wedding-feast, δαυνύ τάφον gave a funeral feast (whereas the cognate δαῖτην δαυνυμένους means holding an ordinary feast); ξυνάγομεν Ἀρηα let us join battle, ἐρίδα ρήγαντο βαρείαν broke in grievous strife.

So probably we should explain II. 1. 31 ἐμὸν λέγον ἀντιόςωσαν, like II. 15. 33 φιλότης τε καὶ εὐν ήν ἐμύγης (cp. Ἡημ. Ν. 1. 67 ὅταν θεσι... γιγάντεσθαι μάχαν αὐτίκωσοι). Also Od. 6. 259 ἀνὶ οὐν κ’ ἄγροις ἵομεν καὶ ἔργ’ ἀνθρώπων so long as our way is through fields and tillage of men,—ἄγροις ὢδὸν 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 ψευδὸς ἐμὰς ἀτας κατέλεξας with no falsehood
hast thou recounted my folly: Od. 7. 297 ταῦτα τοι... ἀληθείην κατέλεξα.

So δέμας (in phrases like δέμας πῦρος like fire), and the Adverbs ἄκην, ἄδηρ, λήν, with many others (see § 110), are originally the Accusatives of Abstract Nouns.

Add the poetical expressions such as πῦρ ὀφθαλμοῖς δεδορκὸς with look of fire, μένεα πειλοττες breathing martial fury.

The phrase πῦρ δεδορκὸς is a boldness of language (compared e.g. with δεκαδον δερκόμενοι) analogous to that which we observed in Compounds such as ἀελλός with storm-(like) feet, as compared with ὀκίλ-ρόδες, &c.; see § 126.

(3) The words ἔργον, ἔτος, μόθος, with Pronouns, are used nearly as the Neuter of the same Pronouns: as—

II. 1. 294 πάν ἔργον ὑπείκομα I shall yield in every matter (πάν ἔργον—πάντα): 5. 757 οὐ νεμέσιζη 'Apei τάδε καρτερά ἔργα (const. like τόδε χέσο); cp. 9. 374.

Od. 3. 243 ἔτος ἄλλο μεταλλήσαμεν to ask another question.

II. 5. 715 ἦ' ἄλλον τὸν μόθον ὑπέστημεν our promise was idle.

(4) Words expressing the sum or result of an action are put in the Acc.; as II. 4. 207 ἔβαλεν... τῷ μέν κλέος ἀμιμ ἐκ πένδου; 24. 735 ῥάθει χειρὸς ἔλων ἀπὸ πῦργων λυγρῶν ὀκλεθρόν: Od. 6. 184. So ποιήσω in compensation, προφασίων on the pretence, ἐπικλησίω nominally, χάρω as a favour (only in II. 15. 744).

The use of Substantivates 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 ὀδὸν ἔλθειν have been explained, on the one hand, ὀδὸν ἀγγῆσας, ὀδὸν ἀγγαγες, &c., on the other, ἀγγελην ἔλθειν, &c.; so δαίμον τοῦ γάμου, δαίμον τάφον, have been regarded as modelled on δαίμων δαίμωνα; μόθον ὑπέστημεν as justified because a promise is a μόθος, ψεῦδος κατέλεξα because ψεῦδος—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.) ἀρσάτα βουλεύειν is simpler, and doubtless earlier in type, than ὀρίστην βουλή βουλεύειν, &e. a προ ὑπέστην than ὑπόσχεσαι ἢν προ ὑπέστην, τά ὑπέστημεν than τῶν μόθον ὑπέστημεν. Again, δαίμων ὑπόσχεσαι is probably an earlier phrase than the tautologous δαίμωνα δαίμων, τῶν μόθον ὑποστήμεθα than ὑπόσχεσαι ὑποστήμεθα, &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 κάμει χείρα his hand is weary, πυρι χείρας ἔοικε his hands are as fire, βλαθο κύριαν was wounded in the shin, ἀλλάδων περίεμι νόον I am beyond others in understanding; φεῦνα τέρπεται ἀκουόν was pleased at heart listening; οὐ λέγε μένος ceased not in his fury; γένος ἰ' ήν ἐκ ποταμοῦ in descent he was from the river, γεννή εἴκει (Π. 14. 474) was like in descent, i.e. bore 'a family likeness'; Ἀδανάτριοι θεμα καὶ εἴδος ἐρίζεων to rival the immortals in form and feature. See § 141.

These uses differ from other Accusatives of the sphere of other 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 κάμει χείρα the Acc. limits the action κάμει—'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, Synt. Forsch. iv. 33): but it may have been extended in Greek. The alternative Case is generally the Instrumental: cp. Π. 3. 194 εὐρύτεροι ὀμοιών ἵδε στέρνουσιν ἰδέσθαι, but 2. 478 ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἵκελος Δί. Or the sense may be further defined by a Preposition: πρὸς στήθος, κατὰ φρένα, &c.

138.] Accusative of Time and Space. The word expressing duration of time is put in the Acc., as ἦν μῆνα μένων waiting a month, χείμα εὐδει sleeps through the winter, τρίς ἀνάξασαι γένε ἀνδρῶν to reign for three generations of men.

The Accusative of Space expresses the extent of an action, as Π. 23. 529 λείπετο δοῦρος ἐρωῆν was a spear's throw behind.

These Accusatives are to be compared with the Neuter Adjectives of quantity, as πολύ, ἀλλίγου, τυτθοῦ, τῶσον, &c.

139.] Accusative with Nouns. The chief uses are:

(1) Neut. Adjectives, as μέγ' ἔξως greatly surpassing.

(2) Cognate Accusative, as Π. 15. 641 ἄμελναν παντολας ἀρετάς better in every kind of excellence. This is rare in Homer.

(3) Acc. of the 'part affected,' ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἵκελος like in eyes and head, (cp. χείρας ἔοικε), βοην ἀγαθὸς good in shouting,
140.] ACCUSATIVE.  133

γένος κακὸς καὶ ἀνάλκις a coward by right of descent. With a Sub-
stantive: χείρας τ’ αἰχμητὴν ἐμεναι.

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 con-
structed according to the acquired meaning: as τρύχας ἀπάρχειν to
cut off hair as a preliminary, cp. Od. 3. 445 (with the note in
Riddell and Merry’s edition). So Π. 24. 710 τὸν . . τιλλέσθην
mourned him by tearing their hair: and ὅρκα τέμνειν to make a
 treaty (by slaying a victim).

(2) The Verbs ἐπον, αὐθάω, &c. may take an Acc. of the per-
son spoken to: Π. 5. 170 ἐπον τέ μιν ἀντίον ηὕδα: Π. 13. 72.5
155. But this construction is rare with the simple Verbs: it is
found passim with Compounds (προσηύδα, προσέεεπ, &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 Π. 1. 90 οὐδ’ ἦν
‘Αγαμέμνονα ἐπης not even if you say Αγαμέμνον (cp. οὕνωμα
ἐπείν); 3. 192 ἐπ’ ἄγε μοι καὶ τὸν ἐπέε tell me this man too. So
with οὖδα when it means only to know what a thing is: as Π. 6.
150 ὀφρ’ ἐν ἐνής ἡμετέρην γενείν, πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἵσανν:
and with μέμημαι, as Π. 9. 527 μέμημαι τόδε ἔργον; Π. 23.
361 ὡς μεμέφητο δρόμους that he might remember the courses
(i.e. remember how many there were); Π. 6. 222 Τιθέα δ’ οὐ
μέμημαι (of remembering his existence). The Acc. implies
that the person is the whole fact remembered. But with a Gen.
μέμημαι means I remember something about, I bethink myself
of (§ 151, a).

(b) If the real Object of the Verb is a fact expressed by a
limiting word or clause: as II. 2. 81 ψευδός κεν φαύμεν we should
call it false; Π. 6. 50 αὐτ’ κεν ἐμὲ ζωὸν πεπύθοτο if he heard of me
alive (of my being alive); Π. 5. 702 ἐπόδουτο μετὰ Τρώησσων
‘Αρια heard of Ares (as) among the Trojans. Especially with a
Participle, as Od. 17. 549 εἰ’ κ’ αὐτὸν γυνὸν νυμετέρα πάντ’ ἐνε-
ποτα if I find him telling (that he is telling) nothing but truth
(§ 245, 2). And with a subordinate clause, as Π. 2. 409 ὃδε
γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφῶν ὡς ἐπονεῖτο; Π. 8. 535 ἀυρνὸν ἢν ἄρετὴν
διαεισέται εἰ’ κ’ ἐμὸν ἔγχος μελημέρχομεν he will know about
his valour, whether he will withstand my spear (i.e. whether his
valour is such that &c.); ep. 13. 275., 18. 601., 20. 311.

(c) The Acc. of the object to which motion is directed (termi-
nus ad quem) is common with ἵκνεομαι, ἵκω, ἴκανο (which always
imply reaching a point), but is comparatively rare with other simple Verbs, such as ἐμι, ἔχωμαι, νέομαι, ἀγω, ἥγεομαι. The words so used with these Verbs are mostly Nouns denoting house (δῶ, II. 7. 363, &c.; δόμων, Od. 7. 22, II. 22. 482; οίκον, Od. 14. 167), city (Od. 6. 114., 15. 82), native land (II. 7. 335., 15. 706): ep. also II. 1. 322 ἔρχεσθον κλισίν; 6. 37 ἐννάγουσα γεραιάς νην; 21. 40 Λήμμων ἐπέρασαν; Od. 4. 478 Αἰγῦπτου ὕδωρ ἔλθη.

Compound Verbs—esp. with the Prepositions εἰς, ἐπί, πρὸς, 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 φένυγα, νοσφίζομαι, ύπεικώκοι (II. 15. 228); and even with other Verbs of motion it may express the terminus a quo if the context suggests it, as ἅρεθοςτο κύμα ῥωσα from the wave, ὑπέρως κατέβανε 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 II. 5. 170 ἔποσ τε μιν ἄντιον ἡδον (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 II. 8. 108 οὔς ποτ' ἀπ' Ἀλείαν ἐλώῃ, II. 6. 70 ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκλησιν νεκροὺς ἔμπεισαν (cp. 16. 58., 17. 187). So with Verbs of cleansing; II. 16. 667 καλαυεφές αἴμα κάθηρον ἐλώῃ ἐκ βελέων Σαρπηδόνα (ep. 18. 345); also Od. 6. 224, χρόνα νίκητο δίος 'Οδυσσέας ἄλμην, and (with three Accusatives) II. 21. 122 οἴ σ' ὀρειλήν αἴμ' ἀπολιχυκήσονται. In such cases the Verb almost seems to be used in different senses—cleans 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 ῥέζειν τωδ' ἔκ ζον λει αν τον ἄλων, ἀλαν, but we may have κακὸν ῥέζειν τωδ' ἔκ ζον ἔλει τον ἄλων ἔκ το κράτος της ἀνθρωπος. Thus we cannot say ῥέζειν τωδ' ἔκ ζον λει αν τον ἄλων, ἀλαν, but we may have κακὸν ῥέζειν τωδ' ἔκ ζον ἔλει τον ἄλων ἔκ το κράτος της ἀνθρωπος.
The notion 'doing' given by ἔργω 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 ἦνα τίς σὲ ἐν ἐπιρ may speak 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. τὸν βάλε κυήμαν him he smote on the shin, σὲ φύγεν ἔρκος ὀδόντων 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 τὸν βάλε κυήμαν from βλέπο κυήμαν: 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

Τρώας δὲ τρόμοις αὐνὸς ὑπῆλθε γυνα ἦκαστον

is equivalent to Τρώας ἔτρεμου τα γυνα ἦκαστος, where ἦκαστος is (as before) epexegetical of Τρώας, but γυνα 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.—

II. 1. 283 Ἀχιλλῆι μεθήμεν χόλον to put away his anger for (in favour of) Achilles; cp. Od. ii. 553.

Od. i. 9 τοιόν ἄφειλετο took away for (i. e. from) them.

II. 21. 360 τί μοι ἔρωτα καὶ ἄρωγής; what is there for me (that concerns me) in strife and help?

Od. 7. 303 μὴ μοι τούτων ἅμα μονα νείκει κοῦρην chide not for me on that account the blameless maiden; cp. II. 14. 501.

Od. 9. 42 ὡς μὴ τίς μοι ἀτεμβόλευς κλοὶ ἰσης that for me no one should go away wronged (i.e. that I might see that no one &c.).

II. 1. 250 τῷ δόν γενεά ἐφθάσε ἐράλατο he had seen two generations pass.
Il. 12. 374 ἐπειγομένωσι δ' ἵκνωτο they came for them when hard pressed, i.e. their coming was (what such a thing is) to hard pressed men. So Il. 14. 108 ἔμοι δὲ κεν ἄσμενο εἴη it would be for me when welcoming it, i.e. would be what I welcome: Od. 21.

115 οὐ κέ μοι ἄγνωμένω κτλ.

The Dat. with Verbs of giving, showing, telling (a fact), praying, helping, pleasing, favouring, being angry, &c., and the corresponding Adjectives (φιλος, ἔχθρος, &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 Il. 1. 104 δοφε ἐκ τοῦ πυρὶ ἐκτην ἵος eyes were like fire; Od. 2. 50 μητέρι μοι μνηστηρὲς ἐπέχραον the suitors have assailed my mother; so Il. 1. 55, 150, 188, 200, &c.

2. δέχομαι with the Dat. means to take as a favour: Il. 15. 87 Θέμοιτι 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 ἄνερι κηδομένῳ; and so κλήθι μοι in prayers (Il. 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, ἡγεμονιά, ἡγεμονεύω) is apparently the true Dat. But this does not apply to Verbs meaning to have power, to be king (as κρατεῖ, ἀνάστασι): e.g. ἀναστέμεν Ἀργείωι 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 δοι κατατάφθαι λέειπτο which for him was (= which he had) left in the tent, ἔχει' Ἐκτορ was had as wife by Hector. So ῥώσων δαμαμενον, Πηλευοὶ δαμεῖς, &c. because the victory is gained by the victor; and so in Attic, ἰπρολόθην Κῦρῳ τῷ 'Ελληνικόν '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 Verbs and Past Participles (Roby, § 1146). Evidently nobis facienda = '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 Πριάμω ἴη for Πριάμος).
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 accompaniments 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 ἄλη with noise (κλαγγῆ, ἀλαλῆ, ἑτοπῆ, &c.); σνῆ, σωπῆ; αἴτο with reverence (Od. 8. 172); ἀνάγκη, βή, σπουδῆ: κακῆ αἰσθη with evil fortune; φυγῆ (ιόκτον) in flight; κερδοσύνη in his cunning; γενεί by descent.

In Homer it often expresses the reason or occasion (for which διὰ with the Acc. is regular in later Greek): Od. 3. 363 φιλότητι ἑπονταί accompany out of friendship (propter amorem); Od. 9. 19 δὲ πάνε δῶλοισιν ἀνθρᾶποισι μέλω who am regarded by men for my craft (cp. 13. 299); II. 16. 628 ὑνειδίως ἑπέσσαι χορῆσουσι will give way for reviling words; Od. 14. 206 πητόμενον τε καὶ νίατί; Od. 17. 423 οὐσίν τ' εὖ καὶ ἀφειτοι καλέονται things because of which men live well and are called opulent. So of an almost personal agent, Od. 14. 299 ἢ ἐθέεν Βορῆ πάνεμψι 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.; II. 18. 506 τοῦτον ἑπετι ἧμισον with these (the sceptres) they started up; Od. 4. 8 ἐπιτοικί καὶ ἄρματι πέμπτε sent with horses and chariots (cp. 4. 533); Od. 11. 161 νηρὲ τε καὶ ἐτάραυσι with a ship and comrades; II. 12. 28 κύματι πέμπτε let go with the waves; II. 2. 818 μεμάτατε ἐγχείρησι ardent with their spears; II. 6. 243 ἐστῆσιν αἴδονυσι τετυμένων built with smooth porticoes (cp. Od. 9. 185, &c.); II. 2. 148 ἔπι τ' ἡμεῖς ἀσταχύσσεσι bends forward with the ears (of a field of corn): II. 6. 513 τεῦχοσι παμφαίων glittering with his armour; similarly II. 100 στήθεσι παμφαίωντας shining with (naked) breasts. For the corresponding Sing. cp. Od. 10. 140 νηρὶ κατηγογομένα; Od. 9. 68 ἐπάρωτ' ἄνεμον Βορῆν λαιλαπί θεσπεσίῃ; Od. 12. 241 ὑπένευθε δὲ γαῖα φάνεσκε γάμμῳ κυανῆ the ground showed beneath with its dark sand; II. 15. 282 ἐπιστάμανες ἀκούστε.

This Dative is idiomatically used with αὑτός: as II. 8. 24 αὐτὴ κεν γαῖῃ ἐρόσαμ' αὐτῆ δὲ θαλάσσῃ with the earth and sea as well
(without their losing hold): Od. 14. 77 θέρµ' αὐτοῖς ὀβελοῖοι 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 σὺν and ἄμα, and the various Pronouns and Adjectives meaning the same, equal, like, &c., is generally Instrumental.

The Dat. with Verbs meaning to 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 ἐτέρπετο ὀσιὶ φίλοις 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 χαίρων Ἀντιλόχῳ δι' 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 ἃ, τῇ, τῇδε, πῇ, ὑπη, πάντη. But see § 158, note.

The Dat. is probably Instrumental (not Locative) in Od. 1. 197 κατερύκτειν εὑρεῖ πάντω (by, not on, the sea). Also with δέχομαι, &c., as II. 6. 136 ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ, Od. 16. 70 ὑποδέξομαι οἰκῷ. 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 οἶνοιον ἀλλὰ μὲν χαλκῷ κτλ., Od. 15. 483 πρίατο κτείσοις ἐστίν (cp. II. 4. 161 σὺν τὲ μεγάλῳ ἀπείτευα): with Verbs of abounding, II. 17. 56 βρύει ἀνείει λευκῷ (§ 151, e):

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* Delbrück (Synt. 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.—

ἐμοὶ βουλομένῳ λατί it is for me what I desire.

τοῖχων τοῦ ἐτέρου by the wall on the other side.

μέσου δουρός ἕλαιν taking the spear by the middle.

εἰ τεθνεώτας ἰκόνοισα i.e. he was dead.

ἕκθετο Τρωοὶ δαμαμένον 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 βουλομένῳ, the Gen. of place by ἐτέρου, the Gen. of part by μέσου, the fact about the person by τεθνεώτας, the cause of feeling by δαμαμένον. Now, in such a phrase as αὐτοῖς ὀβελοῖοι 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. αὐτός, 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 (σὺν or ἄμα) would be needed.
also with a Verb of ‘cognate’ meaning, as δάνων οικτίστῳθανάτῳ (Od. ii. 412), ἰένον ἤδαι (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: Ἡλίῳ εἰσὶ are in Ilios, Φρυγίη ναέσσεν dwell in Phrygia: so Οὐλύμπω, Λακεδαίμονι, Δῆλῳ. Σχερίθ, Κυθήρωι, Ὑῆθη, Κρήτη, Ἀργεί, Ἑλλάδι, &c. So too Ἀἰγι.

(2) Of the great divisions of the world, the chief spheres of action, &c., as οἴχθηι, οὐρανῷ, ὄρεστι, ἄγρῳ ὀφεῖλον, δόμῳ in the house, νομῇ at pasture, πόσῳ out at sea, αἰγιαλῶ in the shore, χέρσῳ on dry land (Π. 4. 424–5), οὐδεί on the ground, πεδίῳ, χθονί; χορῷ at the dance, μάχῃ, βουλῇ, ἄγορῇ, τραπεζῇ at table (Od. 21. 35), σέλαι τυρόν in the fire light.

But the Dat. in ἐρίῳ ἕπνηκε μάχαι ἐπί (Π. 1. 8), ὑσμίν μάχαι ἑσθαί (Π. 2. 863), &c. is one of manner (Instr.), rather than of place.

(3) Of the parts of a thing, especially of the body; ὡμῷ and ὀμοίῳ, κεφαλῇ, χρότ; καρδίῃ, φρεσί, θυμῷ; ἀκροτήθη κορυφῇ, ἑσχατῇ πολέμου, μῦχῳ Ἀργείου (Βαλλμοίου, &c.), μέσῳ ἐρείκε, πρώτης πύλης, γονῷ ἀλώνης, βέθεσι Δίμη, τάφρεσιν ἄγα, &c.

The Dat. of the part with which a person does something may be Instrumental: as χερῶν μαχῆσται, κεφαλῃ κατανεύσται, ἐκὼν ἐκπτι γε θυμῷ. But the Locative mode of expression is the prevailing one; cp. ἐν χελρεστί λάβῃ ἴμα, ἐν ὀφθαλμώσων ἱδέσθαι, ἕγνω ἴμα ἐν φρεσί, ἐν θυμῷ μεμάςτε, &c. Hence the common use of χερὶ, χερῶ, &c. with ἔχω, αἰρέω, λαμβάνω, and the use of θυμῷ, φρεσί, &c. with Verbs of knowing, thinking, feeling, are doubtless Locatival.

(4) With some Verbs that imply locality, νωώ, τίθημι, κεῖμαι, ἰμαὶ (Od. 20. 22 πατύχ Οὐλύμπου ἰμαῖον); esp. κλίνω, as Π. ii. 371 στήλῃ κεκλιμένος, and (in the derived sense) Π. 5. 709 λίμνῃ κεκλιμένος.

(5) Of time: ἦματι τῷ ὤτε κτι. on the day when &c., θερεὶ in summer, ἀγη χειμωρίᾳ in the season of winter, &c.

(6) After a Verb of motion (where we expect εἰς or πρὸς with the Acc.): as Π. 5. 82 πεδίῳ πέσε fell on the plain; Π. 7. 187 κυνῇ βάλε threw into the helmet; Π. 3. 10 ἐν ὀφεῖς κορυφῆς Νότος ἀκτέθεεν ὀμίχλην has spread a mist over the tops of the mountains; προκαλέσανα χάραμ 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, παρὰ, μετὰ, ὑπὸ, ἀνά, περὶ, ἀμφὶ, 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.: cp. II. 1. 174 πάρ’ ἐμοι 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 κρατέω, ἀνάσω, βασιλεῦω: II. 2. 669 θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄνασει is king among gods and men; Od. 1. 71 δοὺς κράτος ἐστι μέγιστον πάσιν Κυκλώπεσσι; II. 13. 217 ὅσ πάση Πλευρῶν καὶ αἰτειμῷ Καλνώσιν ἄνασσε. Cp. the equivalent constructions with Prepositions, as II. 1. 252 μετὰ δὲ τρισάτουσιν ἄνασσε, Od. 7. 62 ὅσ ἐν Φαίην ἄνασσε, and the compound ἐμβασιλεύω. This group of uses is almost confined to Homer.

(b) in phrases introducing a speech, as τοῖς δ' ἀνέστη, τοῖς δὲ μύτων ἥχε, and the like; cp. II. 19. 175 ἐν Ἀργείουσιν ἄναστασ, 9. 528 ὅσ δ' ὑμῖν ἐρέω, Od. 10. 188 μετὰ πάσιν ἔειπον, 16. 378 ἐρέει δ' ἐν πάσιν ἄναστας.

(c) meaning 'in the sight of,' 'in the opinion of,' &c. as II. 2. 285 πάσιν ἐλέγχωσιν θέμεναι μερόπεσιν βρότουσι: 11. 58 ὅσ Τροώι θέος ὃς τέτο δήμῳ. Cp. II. 23. 703 ἐνι σφικτί τιον. 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 ἄριστοπότα Τρόώσιν distinguished among the Trojans, Od. 15. 227 Πυλίουσι μέγ' ἔοιχα δώματα ναῖων.

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: θέων γένος θεών might be (theoretically) = he is offspring of gods (Abl.), and on the other hand θέων γένους 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. Τρώων 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 χόλον νίος ἔν ὅς means anger about the death of his son). Compare also—

ερκός πολέμου a bulwark in (or against) war.
ἐρκός ἀδύντων the fence (made) of teeth.
τέρας μερώπων ἀνθρώπων a sign to men.
λάθρη Λαομῆδους with secrecy from Laomedon.
βη άκους with force used to one unwilling.
κύματα παντοίων ἄκρων the waves raised by all winds.
διμαλοὶ καστεροί bosses made of tin.
Ἰλιον πολιέθρου the town of Ilion.
Οἰληνος ταχὺς Ἀτας swift Ajax son of Oileus.
δαμοῦνε ἔξεινον unaccountable stranger!
νομὸς ἀλης pasture ground in the wood.
νόστος γαίης Φαϊκών return to the land of the Phaeacians.
ὑπόθεσι άλλων suspected by others.
ἐπιστροφος ἀνθρώπων going about among men.
ἀφιεῖς βιότου rich in substance.
Ἰδὸς Διομήδεος straight for Diomede.

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 νῆτ Πυλογενέας βασιλῆσι by the ship of Nestor the Pylian king; II. 6. 180 θεῖων γένος οὖν ἀνθρώπον the offspring of gods, not of men; τάξιν αἰγός (II. 4. 105) a bow of goat’s horn, but ἀσκός αἰγεῖος a bag of goatskin; Οἰληνος ταχὺς Ἀτας and Αῖας Ὀλιβίδης; Τελαμώνιος νίος the son of Telamon; and so in the Pronouns, ἐμεῖο ποθῆ (II. 6. 362), but σῇ ποθῆ (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 ἄχως ἡμιόρομον grief for the chariot-driver (II. 8. 124, 316, &c.), ἄχως σέθεν (II. 4. 169); ὑδῶν Πράκλησ (II. 15. 25); πένθος παίδος ἀποφθημένου (II. 18. 88); κῆδε' ἐμῶν ἐτάρων (II. 22. 272, Od. 11. 382); and so in the much-disputed phrase Ἐλένης ὁρμῆματά τε στοναχάς τε (II. 2. 356, 590), which can only mean efforts and groans about Helen.

(2) the ‘partitive’ use after τίς (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 ζώντος . . . ξείρας ἐποίησε συμπάντων Δαναῶν no one shall . . . of all the Greeks.

The partitive Gen. is also seen in the Homeric phrases διὰ θεῶν bright one among goddesses, διὰ γυνακῶν, δαμόν ς ξένων, πάντων ἀφιδεκτόν ἀνδρῶν (II. 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' εἰχέτωντο θεῶν Διή Νέστορι τ' ἀνδρῶν.

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,—άματος εἰς ἀγαθόν thou art of good blood, ἐποίησεν σάκος αἰδόν ἐπισάβδειον τάφρων [ἀπρεφέων 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. 193) shows how the Genitive Ending -oIo (for -o-o) 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 -oIo and Suffix -tya with the Pronoun syas, sya, lyad) should be thought open to question, there can be little doubt that the Case is originally 'adnominal' or adjectival in character.
This use of the Gen. is singularly common in Latin: see Roby, § 1282. The reason for this difference between Greek and Latin evidently is that in Latin the Gen. is not confounded with the Abl. The same explanation has been given of the free use which Latin makes of the predicative Dative (§ 143, note).

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—

I. 17. 372 νέφος δ' οὐ φαύνετο τάσης γαλης οὔτ' ὁρέων.

(2) When two alternatives are contrasted—

I. 9. 219 αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίλογα ἰςεν 'Οδυσσῆος θείοιο

Od. 1. 23 Ἀδῖνοτας, τοι δύσθα δεδαίαται, ἐκαθατο ἀνδρῶν,
οί μὲν δυσομένον 'Ὑπερλόνος, οί δ' ἀνάντων,
and so perhaps Od. 12. 27 ἢ ἄλος ἢ ἐπί γῆς, and Od. 4. 678 αὐλῆς ἐκτὸς ἐὼν in the court outside (ep. 9. 239).

(3) With Verbs of motion, to express the space within which the motion takes place, as I. 2. 785 διεπτηρησον πεδίου made their way over the plain: so οὐν πολέον πεδίου, ἵππω ἄντοςμένων πεδίου, πεδίου διώκειν, κοίνωνες πεδίου, &c.; 10. 353 ἐλέκεμενα νεόθεν βαθείας πηκτῶν ἄρτοτον: 24. 264 ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὀδόιον, cp. Od. 2. 404., 3. 476. This use of the Gen. is almost confined to set phrases; accordingly it is only found with the Gen. in -οι (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. ὁμίλου πολλῶν ἐπελθῶν advancing far in the throng, παρεξελ-θεῖν πεδίου τοῦτον to go a short space of plain beyond. So with Adverbs: ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθ' ὑπήμεν μάχη πεδίου: ἀδήπη ἐλάσσα τολέμου; and with a negative: οὐκ Ἀργεός ἢν—he was nowhere in Argos. Thus the Gen. has a particitive 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 τοῦτο ἄντοδ' ἀνυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται he will come (some-time in) this very year. So I. 5. 523 νυμφήν in calm weather; 8. 470 ὡς in the morning; 11. 691 τῶν προτέρων ἔτεων in former years; 22. 27 ὅπωρης οὖν goes in autumn.

It appears from the corresponding construction in Sanscr. 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 δοσομενον ἡμιερον eating of the lotus (not eating up the lotus); πτερυγος λάβε took by the wing (not took the wing); λυσεθαί πτώματοι to bathe in a river (but λυνεῖν ὕδατι 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 ἦκοτης δὲ κόρης ἢλε Πηλείωνα took Achilles by the hair.

So χειρὸς ἠλῶν taking by the hand (but δεικτικήν ἢλε χείρα took the right hand), ποδὸς ἐλκε dragged by the foot, δῆσεν ποδὸς fastened by the foot, κόνιος δεδαρμένοι clutched by the dust, λυσέδεκτο γούνην entreated by seizing the knees, ἐρείσατο γαλήν propped himself against the earth (i. e. his hand touching it), μέσουν δουρὸς ἠλῶν taking his spear by the middle; and with a metaphorical sense, περιστερά ρωπᾶs take charge of thy child, σέ έξεται 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 δοσομενον ἡμιερον (e. g.) does not mean within sunset, but on the side of, belonging to, sunset. The Gen. is like the Latin of novarum rerum esse to be on the side of change; cp. Liv. 22. 50 ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix septuaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientes prope totus exercitus fuit.

2. The Gen. of Time is similar. Such a Gen. as ἡμιερὰ in the morning is to be compared with the use of the Adj. in ἑσπεριων ὑπάκοροι 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, ἐρείσατο γάλης with ξέ τοῖχον τοῦ ἐτέρου,—passages given under the same head by Kühner (§ 418, 8, a). Or it may be Ablativeval: cp. τρύμηθέν 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 ἀλῆσων ἐφίκεντο γοτ at each other; τάχε γάρ τ' ἀμάθου βαθείας he happened to fall in deep sand; so νεκροὺς πυρκαίης ἐπενήεν heaped the corpses on the funeral pile; so metaphorically, κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν to bring into mischief; ἀντίδων πολέμου to join in war, ἀντίσων ἐκατόμβης (but II. 1, 31 ἔμοι λέχος ἀντίσωσαν 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 Λιαντός ἀκότωσε threw a dart at Αἴας, οὐ παῖδος ὀρέξατο held out his arms for his child, σκοπέλων ἐπιμαλεω feel for the rocks (but ἐπεμαλεῖτο ἢππου touched up the horses), ἐπείγουμενοι Ἀρης hasting to (eager for) battle, τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέπῃ οὐδ' ἀλεγίζεισ these you do not regard or heed, Κύκλωπος κεχῶλωται is enraged on behalf of the Cyclops; and many similar instances.

Kühner (§ 416, Anm. 9) quotes II. 5. 582 χερμαδῖφ ἀγκώνα τυχῶν μέσον as a use of τυχῶνω with the Acc. But it is possible to construe ἀγκώνα 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 εἰ σφῶν τάδε πάντα τυθόλοτα μαραμένοιν (= if they heard of all this fighting on your part).

II. 4. 357 ὡς γυνα χωμένοι (ἐς ἔγνω αὐτόν ὅτι ἔκωστο). Od. 2. 220 εἰ δέ κε πεθυράτος ἀκούσα: so 4. 728, &c.

The Verb οἶδα, when it means to know about, to be skilled in, takes a Gen., as II. 11. 657 οἶδε τί οἴδε πένθεοι knows nothing of the sorrow. So Od. 21. 506 φόρμυγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀωθής: II. 16. 811 δίδασκόμενος πολέμου.

So μέμνησαι 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.—

Il. 1. 470 κούρου μὲν κρυστάλλα ἐπιστέφαντο τοσοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς κύπες τὴν εἰκόνα τὸν ὕπολος σπείρασά τε ἀλάσκων ἅπαντα, ὑπὸ τοὺς ἄλασκων ἑπιστέφανος πυρὸς ἐπὶ καθαράς ἐπὶ τοὺς κύπες τὸν ὕπολος σπείρασά τε ἀλάσκων ἅπαντα, ὑπὸ τοὺς ἄλασκων ἑπιστέφανος πυρὸς ἐπὶ καθαράς ἅπαντα.

II. 1. 470 κούρου μὲν κρυστάλλα ἐπιστέφανος πυρὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς κύπες τὴν εἰκόνα τὸν ὕπολος σπείρασά τε ἀλάσκων ἅπαντα, ὑπὸ τοὺς ἄλασκων ἑπιστέφανος πυρὸς ἐπὶ καθαράς ἅπαντα, ὑπὸ τοὺς ἄλασκων ἑπιστέφανος πυρὸς ἐπὶ καθαράς ἅπαντα.

II. 18. 574 χρυσὸν τετεύχατο were made of gold.

Od. 3. 408 ἀποστάβοντες ἀλέφατος shining with fat.

And with a distinctly partitive force:—

Od. 1. 140 χαριζομένη παρεόνων favouring him (with good things) from her store; 9. 102 λωτοῖοι φαγῶν eating of the lotus; and so with γεω to give a taste of.

Il. 5. 268 τῆς γενεής έκλεψε stole (a strain) from the brood.

9. 580 πεδίου ταμεόθαι to cut off (a τέμενος) from the plain.

14. 121 Ἀδρήστου δ' ἐγ γυμναθρίων married (one) from the daughters of Adrastus (so Od. 9. 225., 12. 64., 15. 98).

The Gen. with Verbs meaning to stint, grudge, spare is probably of the same nature (to stint being = to give little).

The Genitives in λούσθαι ποταμοῦ to bathe in a river, χείρας νυφᾶμεν τολίος ἁλός 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. Il. 1. 410 οίνα πάντες ἐπαύρωναι βασιλῆς: 16. 31 τι σεν ἀλλος ὑψιστηθαι; Od. 11. 452 νῆος ἐνεργηθήκατο (νῆος = the company of his son): also with πειράματι to try (Od. 8. 23); cp. the Gen. with γεώ.

Note also the elliptical expression, Il. 21. 360 τί μοι ἐρίδος καὶ ἀρωγής 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 τέχω, τοιέω, &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.—

ἀνάσω, Gen. of the place or thing, as Il. 1. 38 Τενεότου τε ἤμι ἀνάσσεως: Od. 24. 30 τομῆς ἤς περ ἀνάσσεως: of the people, only Il. 10. 32, Od. 11. 376. The Gen. of the thing and Dat. of the people combined, Il. 20. 180 Ἑρώτου ἀνάσεως τομῆς τῆς Πρέπουν.

bastion: Od. 1. 401, 11. 285.

κρατέω: Il. 1. 79 Ἀργείων κρατεί: 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—

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ἀνέδυ πολύς} & \text{ ἀλός rose from the grey sea.} \\
\text{χάζοντο κελέθους} & \text{ gave way from the path.} \\
\text{ἐσχόντο μάχης were stayed from the fight.} \\
\text{παιδὸς} & \text{ ἐγρήγει μύην keeps off a fly from her child.} \\
\text{διόκετο ὁ} & \text{ ὁδόμοι was chased from his house.} \\
\text{κακότητος} & \text{ ἔλυσαν delivered from ill.} \\
\text{ἄτεμβομενὸς} & \text{ ἵσης defrauded of a share.} \\
\text{παιδὸς} & \text{ ἐδέξατο received from her son.} \\
\text{πῖθων} & \text{ ἰφύσετο ὦνος wine was drawn from casks.} \\
\text{Ἀρτιλόχοιο} & \text{ λείπετο was left behind Antilochus.} \\
\text{γόνω γονὸς} & \text{ ἀμείβων exchanging knee past knee ( = putting them in front by turns).} \\
\text{ἀρχομαι} & \text{ I begin from (a point), II. 9. 97, Od. 21. 142.} \\
\text{ἀμαρτάω} & \text{ I miss, lose, fail in.} \\
\text{Τρώας} & \text{ ἀμνε ὑπὸν keep off the Trojans from the ships: so with ἀλλακεῖν.} \\
\text{ἀκοῦω} & \text{ πυθάνομαι, ἔκλουν hear from: see § 151, d.} \\
\text{τείχω} & \text{ ποιέω I make of (material): see § 151, e.} \\
\end{align*} \]

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. λέιος πετρῶν 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 (cp. the Latin construction). It expresses the point from which the higher degree of a quality is separated: cp. the Gen. with Verbs of excelling and falling behind, and with Adjectives of similar meaning, as Od. 21. 254 βίνθις ἐπιδεείς εἰμὲν Ὄδυσσης 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 δώδεκάτη ὁτε κτλ. the twelfth day (from the day) when &c. (II. 21. 81, cp. Od. 3. 180).

The Gen. with εἰς, ἀπό, παρό, πρός, πρό, ὑπέρ, περί (beyond), ὑπό (from under), κατά (down from), and the Verbs compounded with them, is Ablatival; with some of the ‘improper Prepositions,' as
153. Gen. of Price. Verbs meaning to change places with take an Ablative Gen., as γόνω γονίδων ἄμειβων (quoted in the last section): hence the constructions—

Pi. 6. 235 τεύχει ἄμειβε χρύσεα χαλκέων exchanged armour, golden (passing in exchange) for bronze.

Pi. 1. 111 Χρυσήδος ἄγλα ἀποίνων ... δέσποται to accept a splendid ransom for Chryseis; so Od. 11. 327 ἥ χρύσων φίλου ἄνδρος ἐδέξατο who took gold for (to betray) her husband.

Pi. 11. 106 ἔλευσεν ἀποίνων released for a ransom.

Hence we may explain the construction with Verbs meaning to value at, set off against (a price); as Pi. 23. 649 τιμής ἕτε τε ἔοικε τετμημένα; so with the Adjectives ἀντάξωσ, &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 τεύχεα ἐκατομβών armour worth a hundred oxen, we might have τεύχεα ἐκατών βοῶν (as in Attic prose, e.g. διεκα μένων χωριῶν a plot worth ten minae); cp. the Latin magni enere, magni facere, &c.

Case-forms in -φι(v).

154. The Case-Ending -φι(v) 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, στή-
θεσφι take the place of δακρύων, στήθεων; ὀστεόφι and ἰκριόφιν, of
ὀστεών, ὀστέωσιν, and ἰκρών, ἰκρίοισι—forms impossible in a hexa-
meter. So δὲ ὀρεσφι, κατ᾽ ὀρεσφι, ὑπ᾽ ὄχεσφι, for δὲ ὀρέων, κατ᾽
ὁρέων, ὑπ᾽ ὄχεων.

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: ἐτέρφι
with the other hand (II. 16. 734, &c.), δειτερήφι (Od. 19. 480);
βήφι by force (II. 16. 826, Od. 1. 403, &c., and in the phrase
κρατερήφι βήφι), also in strength (βήφι φέρτερος, Od. 6. 6, &c.);
ἀναγκαλήφι δαμέτας (II. 20. 143); γενεβήφι νεώτατος (II. 14. 112,
&c.): δακρυόφι πλήσθεν were filled with tears (II. 17. 696, &c.).

In the 'comitative' use, αὐτώσιων ὄχεσφιν chariot and all, ἵπ-
ποιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν with horses and chariot (II. 12. 114, Od. 4. 533);
with Prepositions, ἀμ᾽ ἦνοι φιλουμένηφι, σὺν ἵπποιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν
(often in the Iliad), also παρ᾽ ὄχεσφιν (construed with Verbs of
rest, II. 5. 28, 794., 8. 565., 12. 91., 15. 3)—unless ὄχεσφιν is a
Loc. (§ 157); with words expressing agreement, likeness, &c., as
παλάμηφιν ἀρήρει fitted his hand, θεόφιν μήστωρ ἀτάλαντος (II. 7.
366, &c.).
With Verbs of trusting; II. 4. 303 ἵπποσύνη τε καὶ ἑνορέφι
πεποιθάω; so ἀγλαήφι (II. 6. 510), βήφι (several times).

156.] Ablative. Forms used as Ablative Genitives are—
II. 2. 794 ναῦφιν ἀφορμηθείειν start from the ships.
13. 700 ναῦφιν ἀμνόμεουν defending the ships (§ 152).
3. 368 ἐκ δὲ μοἰ ἡχος ἰχθυν παλαμήφιν.
10. 458 ἀπὸ μὲν ... κυνῆν κεφαλῆφιν ἐλουτο.
Od. 5. 152 δακρυόφιν τέρσουτο were dried from tears.
8. 279 καθύπερθε μελαθρόφιν ἐξεκέχυντο.

With the Prepositions—
ὲ: as ἔνενθι, ἐκ θεόφιν, ἐκ πασσαλόφιν, ἐκ ποντόφιν, ἐκ στή-
θεσφιν, ἐξ ἐρέβεσφιν, &c.
ἀπὸ: as ἀπὸ νευρήφιν, αὐτόφιν, χαλκόφιν, στήθεσφιν, ναῦφι, &c.
παρὰ when it means from: II. 12. 225 παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ᾽
αὐτὰ κέλευθα, Od. 14. 498 παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐποτρύνεε νέεσθαι. So—
18. 305 παρὰ ναῦφιν ἀνέστη δίως Ἀχιλλεύς.
8. 474 πρῖν ὅθεν παρὰ ναῦφι ποδόκεα Πηλείωνα.
16. 281 ἐλπόμενοι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδόκεα Πηλείωνα
μηνυθοῦν μὲν ἀπορρύφαι, φιλοτίτρια δ᾽ ἐλεόσθ.αι.

In these three places the notion of leaving the ships is implied,
so παρὰ ναῦφι has the meaning of παρὰ νεῶν.

upo from under: up' o'chesphi (II. 23. 7), upo zygoiv (II. 24. 576).

With this use of -phi we may compare the use of the Dative with e and otop, 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:—

II. 19. 323 Pthi'phi in Phthia; II. 13. 168 klystisphi leleivtivo was left in the tent; thripsiv out of doors, foris (Od. 9. 238., 22. 220); kefalhiv e(=)thke put on the head (II. 10. 30, 257, 261; cp. 496, Od. 20. 94); II. 11. 474 os e(=)i te dafoinov theiros o'resphi: 19. 376 td o(=)e kalsetai upso' o'resphi: 22. 139 h(=)nte kirkos o'resphi ktl.; 22. 189 os e(=)o te nevriiov o'resphi kov ktl.; II. 2. 480 h(=)nte bov avolo o'gevphi me' o'choxos epleto pantov: 16. 487 avgevphi metaelb(=)ov coming into the herd.

With the Prepositions:—ev, as II. 24. 284 ev xeirol .. doxetisphi (= Od. 15. 148): pros, in Od. 5. 432 pros kumالطائفoivos (sticking) to the suckers: amphi, in Od. 16. 145 phwvthei o(=)e amphi o(=)steo'phi xrov: upo, in up' o'chesphi, upo zygoiv (II. 19. 404, unless the meaning is from under).

With epi on, at, in the combinations epi kroiphi, ep' esxaro'nphi, epi veophi (all in the Od.) the Case may be Loc. or Gen.

par' autophi occurs four times in the Iliad (12. 302., 13. 42., 20. 140., 23. 640). In three of these places there is a v. 1. par' autophi (or parautophi), which generally gives a better sense, and which is required by the grammar in 13. 42 elponto de v(=)na A'chov avro'ov ktnievo'ou te par' autophi (=par' vnoi). So 19. 255 ep' autophi p(=)ato sigr(=)y where autophi (Nauck) is probably right. It seems that the Endings -th and -phi were confused, possibly at a very early period.

158.] The true Dat. and Gen. There is only one example of the true Dat., viz. II. 2. 363 ovz frhiron frhiron'phi avrhv, fila de zulois that phratria may bear aid to phratria, and tribe to tribe.

The instances of the true Gen. are—

1) II. 21. 295 kata' liophi kluta' teixe'a la pov e(=)laspiv to coop up the army within the famous walls of Ilios.

2) II. 21. 367 teipe b' dyme' Hfaistotio b'phi poluvropous the breath of Hephaestus ('Hfaistotio b'ni) wore him out.

3) Od. 12. 45 pol's b' ambo' o(=)steo'phi bis an'ov oivos puyomenvov there is around a great heap of bones, of men rott[ing]. But this may be an Instr. of material,' a heap (is made) of bones.'

4) II. 16. 762 kefalhiv epei labe'ov ouki me'beiv (Gen., § 151, a); and 11. 350 ovz' ad'marp'te tityso'menos kefalhiv (but the Gen. might be construed with ad'amar'te, as an Abl.).
(5) Certain uses with Prepositions; viz. ἐπὶ in II. 13. 308 ἐπὶ δεξιόφων... ἐπὶ ἀριστερόφων towards right or left; πρόσθε in II. 5. 107 πρόσθι ἵπποιοι καὶ ὀξειδοφόροι: διὰ through, in διὰ ἰεροθεσφύν ἐλάσσον (II. 5. 41, &c.), also IO. 185 ἐξερχάται δι᾽ ὀρεσφή.

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 ἦλθο (§ 98), proposed by Leo Meyer (Deut. p. 35). In II. 21. 367 we may perhaps take βίπτε as an Instr.: hot breath vexed him through (by reason of) the might of Hephaestus.

Again, the use with ἐπὶ may be locatal, with πρόσθε ablative (as with πρό). 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 (Delbriick, 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 περιόντι τῷ θερεί, &c. It may be thought possible that δι᾽ ὀρεσφή and διὰ στίβοσφή are fragments of this use. If so, one or two other uses assigned above to the Loc. may be really Instr.; especially ὀρεσφή, II. 11. 474, 22. 139, 189.

On the other hand, if the forms in -φιν 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 -φιν 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 άξιος and ἄποι. Cp. also—

II. 3. 276 ζεὺς πάτερ ἵθηθεν μεδεύον ruling from Ida.
II. 397 ἵθηθεν ἐπεὶ ἵδε when he saw, looking from Ida.
II. 716 ἐκπέρ ἰερὸν ἰερὶ ἰλάσθε when he had got hold from (i.e. in the direction from, beginning with) the stern; so ἐτέρωθεν on the other side, ἄμφιερωθεν on both sides.

Of time; ἡ ὅδε 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 τί μιν θάνατον τρομέσθαι ἄνωγα ἐκ γε μησοτήρων θεόθεν δ’ οὐκ ἐστ’ ἀλέασθαι. Also, II. 10. 68 πατρόθεν εκ γενείς ὀνομάζον naming from (on the side of) the father. And in two phrases, II. 7. 39, 226 οἶδοθεν οἶος quite alone, and II. 7. 97 αἰνόθεν αἰῶν ἀιῶνς 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,
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 ἐθεν, ύπερ σέθεν, ἄνεν ἐμέθεν; and with a Comparative, II. 1. 114 οὐ ἔθεν ἐστι χερεῖων, &c. Cp. also II. 9. 419 μάλα γάρ ἔθεν . . . χείρα ἐν ὑπερέσχε.

(2) as true Genitives: II. 4. 169 ἀλλά μοι αἶνον ἄχος σέθεν ἐσσεται. I shall have terrible grief for thee; with Verbs of hearing (II. 2. 26, &c.), remembering (Od. 4. 592), caring (II. 1. 180 σέθεν ὃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἰλεγίζω), reaching or touching (ἀντιάζω, πειράζω, &c.): and with ἀσσον, πρόσθε, ἄντα, ἀντίον, ἄνεκα, ἐκητί.

The Ending -os is generally derived from the Ablative of Stems in -o (§ 110), although -ὁι would not regularly become -ος, and the transition of meaning is not a very easy one. The chief examples in common use in Homer are—

From Pronominal Stems: ὄς, τῶς, πῶς, ὃμῶς, αὐτῶς, ἀλλὸς.

From Stems in -o: αἰνῶς, ἀπάθειος, ἐκπάθειος, ἐπισταμένος, θαρσαλέως, κακῶς, καρπαλίμως, κρασινός, κρατερῶς, ὀτραλέως, τυκινῶς, βηδίδως, στερεῶς, στυγερῶς, χαλεπῶς, μεγάλως, καλῶς, αἰσχρῶς, φίλως.

From other Stems: πάντως, λιγέως, ἀρεκέως, ἀσφαλέως, ἀφραδέως, περιφραδέως, διηπεκέως, ἐνυκέως, νωλεμέως, προφρονέως, ἐπι kristēως, ταχέως.

It will be seen that comparatively few of these Adverbs come from the short familiar Adjectives. Thus καλῶς, αἰσχρῶς, μεγάλως, ταχέως, φίλως are very rare in Homer; and there is no Adverb of the kind from δεινός, ἵσος, ὁρῶς, βαρύς, ὃνος, ὄξυς.

The Nominative.

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-ρί (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 oἰτώς ἐσ-τί it is so, the real Subject given by the Ending -τί (in English by the word it) is not a particular thing already mentioned or implied, but a vague
nomination—'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 οὐκ ἔτι φυκτὰ πέλανταi the case no longer allows of flight, Od. 2. 203 ἶναι ἐσεταί 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 ἐν' οὖν τοῦτ' ἔστιν 'this is so (cp. οὖν ἔστιν 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.

162.] 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 ἐσπέριοι ἀφίκοντο they came in the evening, ἐνύνχιοι προμολὼν coming forth by night, ἔδει παννύχιοι slept all night, ἀλλικός ἔβη went yesterday.

Such Adjectives seem to answer most nearly to the Gen. of time within which, but may also express duration, as πανημέριος and παννύχιος.

2. In describing the attitude, manner, position, &c. in which an action is done: as παλίνορσος ἀπέστη stood off with a start backwards, ὑπτιός οὖν an expression was dashed face upwards on the ground; so πεζὸς εἰλήλουθα, λαβρῶς ἐπαιγίζων, πρόφρων τέτληκας (cp. προ-

3. The Pronouns ὅς and κείνοι are sometimes used instead of Adverbs of place: II. 5. 604 καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κείνοι Ἀρής now too yonder is Ares at his side; 10. 434 Ὑρήκες οἶν' ἀπάνενεθε here are the Thracians apart; Od. 6. 276 τίς δ' ὅδη Ναυσικάδ ἐπεταί; So οὖν in II. 10. 82 τίς δ' οὖν κτλ.

4. With Verbs meaning to be, to become, to appear, to be made, called, thought, &c.; as κάρτιστοι τράφεν they were nurtiested, (i.e. to be the mightiest); εἰσωποὶ ἐγένοντο νεόν they came to be in front of the ships: ἦδε ἄριστη φαύνετο βουλῆ 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. κάρτιστοι τράφεν implies that they were κάρτιστοι. A Noun so used is called a SECONDARY Predicate.

The use of εἰς 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 μόροσιμόν ἐστι it is fated; νεμεσ- σητὸν δὲ κεν εἰῃ it would be worthy of indignation; οὐ τοι ἄεικες it is not unmeet for thee: with a Pronominal Subject, ἔσθλον γὰρ τὸ τετυκταί it is a good thing.

In the Plural, οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλουται there is no more escaping; cp. λοίγια ἔργα τὰδ᾽ ἔσσεται this will be a pestilent business.

In one or two instances the Adverbial form in -ως is used in phrases of this kind: II. 11. 762 ὅς ἐν οἴς ἐν γε such I was if I was; II. 9. 55 εἰ Κουρήστεν κακός ἦν things went ill for the Curetes; II. 7. 424 διαγρώναι χαλεπῶς ἦν it was hard to distinguish; II. 11. 838 πῶς τῷ ἄρρ᾽ ἐγὼ τάδε ἔργα; Od. 11. 336 πῶς ὄνομα ἀνέρ ὡς φαλνταί ἐσταί. This may be regarded as older than the Neut. Nominative, since it indicates that the Verb is not a mere 'copula,' but has a meaning which the Adverb qualifies. Cp. II. 6. 131 δὴ ἦν lived long (=δηναῖς ἦν): also the Adverbial Neut. Plur., as Thuc. 1. 25. 4 ὄντες . . ὄμοια, 3. 14. 1 ἵσα καὶ ἰκέται ἐσμέν.

(b) an abstract Noun; as II. 17. 556 σοι μὲν δὴ Μενέλαες κατη- ψεὶς καὶ ὀνείδος ἐσσεται εἰ καθ. to thee it will be a humiliating and reproach if &c.; οὐ νεμεσίς it is no wrong; οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦν it was no matter of thanks; εἶ δὲ μοι αἰσα but if it is my fate: with a Pronominal Subject, λάβῃ τὰδε γ᾽ ἐσσεται 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 νεμεσίς it is not (worthy of, a matter of) indignation, ὀνείδος ἐσσεται 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. xxv-lvi) 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 κακός ἦν is more primitive than κακὸν ἦν.

6. The ordinary use of the Participle belongs to this head: as διαιστῆται ἔρισαντε 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.] Interj octional Nominative. The Nom. is not unfrequency used in Homer without any regular construction, as a kind of exclamation: e.g.—

Il. 5. 405 σοι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνήκε θεὰ γλαυκώπις Ἀθηνή, νῆπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οὐδὲ κτλ. food! he knows not &c.

Similarly σχέτως cruel! δύσμορος the unhappy one! (Od. 20. 194): and so Il. 1. 231 ὑμημοδόρος βασίλευς! Cr. the interj octional use of αἰδὸς shame! (Il. 5. 787, 13. 95, 16. 422).

A similar account may be given of one or two passages in which commentators generally suppose 'anacoluthon' : viz.—

Il. 10. 436 τὸ δή καλλίστους ἵππους ἔδων ἡδὲ μεγίστους:

λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείεν δ' ἁνέμουσιν ὄμοιοι

whiter than snow they are! &c.; and so in the equally abrupt—

Il. 10. 547 αἰδὸς ἀκτίνεσιν ἐοικότες ἔλειοι.

2. 353 ἀστράπτων ἐπίδεξ' ἐναίσμα σήματα φαίνων (he did so I tell you) by lightning on the right &c.

Od. 1. 51 νῆσος δευθήσεσά, θεά δ' ἐνι δώματα ναύει 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 horse! for this is a horse. When such sentences are introduced into literary language, they give it an abrupt and interj octional character, as in the examples quoted. We might add the phrases such as οὐ νέμεσις it is no wrong (§ 162), in which the want of a Verb makes the expression somewhat interj octional. Compare, for instance, οὐ νέμεσις with αἰδὸς, 'Ἄργειοι shams on you, Greeks! also the so-called ellipse in commands, as ΔΑΛ' ἄνα 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 τέ, the second name is put in the Nominative.* For instance—

Il. 3. 277 Ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰθηνὲν μεδέων κύδιστε μέγιστε,

'Ἡλίως θ' ὅς κτλ.

Similarly, the Vocative is not followed by δὲ or any similar Conjunction, but the Pronoun σῷ is interposed; as Il. 1. 282 Ἀτρείδη σῷ δὲ πάσε κτλ. but, son of Atreus, cease &c.

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 φίλοις ἰ διενελα. 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 Ἀθάν Ἰδομενεὶ τε (read Ἀθάν Ἰδομενεὺς τε).
II. 2. 8 οὐλε ὅνειρε (read οὐλὸς).
Od. 8. 408 χαίρε πατέρ ὄ ξειν (read πατήρ).
II. 18. 385 τίπτε Θεῖ ταυτεπελε ἱκάνεις (Θεῖς Ζενόδ.).

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 -της-ς, -τη-ς, -δων, the Neuters in -μα(τ), the Denominatives in -της (Gen. -της-ς).

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 βοῖς τάφρος, ἀνβέρες ἀλήφσται, χαλκῆς ἄνδρες, βασιλεύς Κόρος, Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀργείδα, 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. κακός a base fellow, κακᾶ évils, τυκτῶν κακῶν 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 -της-ς, -τηρ, -τωρ and -ενυς 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 μαχητής from μαχήμαν.

It is evident that the use of a Nominative in the Predicate—as βασιλέως ἱστι 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 ἄνὴρ οὗτος (in Attic ἄνὴρ 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 τέκνων, τέκος, &c., or an abstract Noun, βίη Πριάμου, &c.), the Gender of this is not always observed. Thus we have φίλε τέκνων (but φίλον τέκος, φίλη κεφαλή); again—

Π. 11. 690 ἐλθὼν γάρ ὃ ἐκάκωσε βίη 'Ηρακλείν (= Heracles).

Od. 11. 90 ἥλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχή Θηβαίον Τειφείαο
χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχων.

In such cases grammarians speak of a ‘construction according to the meaning’ (κατὰ σύνεσιν). 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 πον ἡμετέραι τ' ἀλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα

ηὰτ' ἐνὶ μεγάροις ποτιδέγμεναι

because the wives are chiefly thought of: but—

Π. 18. 514 τεῖχος μὲν ὃ ἀλοχοί τε φίλαι καὶ νήπια τέκνα

ῥματ' ἐφεστασάτες, μετὰ δ' ἀνέρες οὐς ἔχε γῆρας

because the boys and old men are also in the speaker’s mind.

Od. 13. 435 ἄμφι δὲ μν ῥάκος ἀλλο κακὸν βάλεν ἢδε χιτῶνα,

ῥωγαλέα ῥμπόοντα.

The Neut. Plur. is especially used of sheep and cattle: Π. 11. 244 πρὸδ' ἐκατοῦ βοῦς δόκει, ἐπείτα δὲ χλῆι ὑπέστη, ἁγας ὅμοι καὶ ὅς; Π. 11. 696 ἐκ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀγέλην τε βοῶν καὶ τῶν μέγ' οἴων εἶλεο, κρινόμενος τριηκόσι φήλη νομῆα (three hundred head): cf. also Π. 5. 140, Οδ. 12. 332.

3. A Noun standing as Predicate may be Neuter, although the Subject is Masc. or Fem.: as οὖκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανῖ. This is a kind of substantival use.
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 II. 22. 87 φίλον θάλος, δή τέκνον αὐτή.

Conversely a Neuter Pronoun may be used substantivaly of a thing which has been denoted by a Masc. or Fem. word:

II. 2. 873 δό καὶ χρώσων ἔχων πόλεμον ἕν ἄγα διέκρινεν, νύπτιοι, οὐδὲ τι οἱ τὸ γ’ ἐπίρραξεν λυγρὸν δέλθρον.

Cp. II. 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 δίκη ἐστι this is the manner, ἥ θέμας ἐστὶ 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 οὐκέτ’ ἔμοι φίλα ταῦτ’ ἄγορευεις = this (that you now speak) is not pleasing to me.

So after Verbs meaning to make, cause to be, call, think, &c.; λαοῦς δὲ λίθους ποίησε Κρονίων Ζεῦς made the people (to be) stones.

This use is parallel to that of the Nominative in the Predicate (§ 162): cp. the forms of sentence λαὸς ἐγκόμοιτο λίθος, λαοῦς ἐποίησε λίθους. In the latter the predicative Noun (λίθους) 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 δός φάσαν ἡ πλῆθος thus they said, the multitude (cp. II. 15, 305., 23. 157).

Conversely, a Participle construed with a Collective Noun and Singular Verb may be Plural: as II. 18. 604 περιστασθ’ ὅμιλος τερπόμενοι. Cp. II. 16. 281 ἐκλήθεσθε δὲ φάλαγγες ἐλπίδομεν, 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-
binnations 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 κατεδύσθη ὁμιλος, &c.).

170.] **Distributive use of the Singular.** The word ἐκάστος is often used in the Sing. with a Plural Verb, as ἦσαν οἰκόνες ἐκάστος they went home, each one, δεδομένα ἐκάστος we are each one obedient. Other words in a clause may follow ἐκάστος in respect of Number: as II. 2. 775 ἔποι δὲ παρ’ ἀρμασίν οἶχον ἐκάστος the horses each beside his chariot; II. 9. 656 οἱ δὲ ἐκάστος ἔλαυν δέπας ἀμφικύπτελλον σπείραντες παρὰ νήσον ἤσαν πάλιν. Even the Verb is made Sing. in II. 16. 264 οἱ δ’ ἁλκίμων ἠττο ἔχοντες πρόσωπο πᾶς πέτεται καὶ ἀμώνει οὖν τέκεσσι: but this is a slight boldness of expression.

On the same principle we may explain the Sing. in Od. 4. 300 αἱ δ’ ἦσαν ἐκ μεγάρων δόας μετὰ χερσίν ἔχουσαι (= each with a torch in her hands); II. 13. 783 τετυμμένων κατὰ χεῖρα (each of the two) wounded in the hand; II. 3. 235 οὕς κεν ἐδ γυνήν καὶ τι’ οὖνομα μυθησάμην. So in II. 17. 260 τῶν δ’ ἄλλων τίς κεν . οὐνόματι ἑπτοι we should doubtless read οὖνομα (Feipos).

Similarly the Dual is used of a group of pairs:—

II. 16. 370 παλλοὶ δ’ ἐν τάφρῳ ἐρυσάρματε ὁκέες ἔποι ἡξαντ’ ἐν πρῶτῳ ῥυμῷ λίπων ἀρματ’ ἀνάκτων where the Dual ἡξαντ’ (like the Sing. ρυμῳ) refers to one chariot. Probably, too, we should read ἀρμα ἀνάκτων (i. e. ἀράκτων). So II. 23. 362 οἱ δ’ ἁμα πάντες ἐφ’ ἔποιοιν μάστιγας ἄειραν, Od. 20. 348 ὅσε δ’ ἄρα σφέων δακρυόφων πύημπλατο, also II. 9. 503, Od. 19. 444.

The Dual is often used in this way in Aristophanes: cp. Av. 622 ἀνατεύνουτες τῷ χεῖρε, and other instances given by Bieber (De duali numero, p. 44).

In II. 5. 487 μὴ πῶς δ’ αἰμα λίβον ἀλλότερον πανάγγον, the Dual ἀλλότερε is explained by Schol. B διεις καὶ αἱ γναίκες. 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 from the Plural to the Singular, or vice versa: e. g. Od. 4. 691 ἦ τ’ ἐστὶ δίκη θεῶν βασιλέων, ἀλλον κ’ ἐχαλάρησι βροτῶν κτλ. it is the way of kings, (a king) will hate one &c.; and in the same clause, II. 10. 259 ρύνεται δ’ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζήων (of a kind of helmet); II. 2. 355 πρὸν τινα πᾶρ Τρώων ἀλόχω κατακομβήναι beside the wife of some Trojan; II. 19. 70 ἀλλά τι’ οἷον . . . ὁπ’ ἐγχεος 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 νῦν ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητῶν the bride of some warrior’s son (lit. daughter-in-
law of warriors, *i.e.* of this or that warrior); 4. 142 παρήν έμεναι ἵππον (v. l. ἵππος); 21. 499 πληκτίζεσθ’ ἄλοχουι Διός (less directly personal than ἄλοχος).

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: τόξον and τόξα bow and arrows: ὀχύρος and ὀχεία, ἀρμά and ἀρμάτα a chariot: ὄνομα, μέγαρον a hall or room, ὀμόματα, μέγαρα a house: λέκτρον and λέκτρα a bed.

πῖλαι a gate is only used in the Plur.; θύρη is used as well as θύραι, but only of the door of a room (θάλαμος).

(2) Natural objects of undefined extent: ψάμμαθος and ψάμμαθι (as we say sands), ἄλες (once ἄλς) salt, κοῦρη and κοῦλαι dust, τυρός and τυρόι wheat, ἰέθρον and ἰέθρα, κῦμα (in a collective sense) and κύματα, δάκρυν and δάκρυα, κρέα (seldom κρέας) meat, σάρκες (once Sing.) flesh.

(3) Parts of the body: νότον (or νότος—the Nom. Sing. does not occur in Homer) and νότα, στήδος and (more commonly) στήθεα, πρόσωπον and πρόσωπα the countenance, φρήν and φρένες.

(4) Abstract words: λεγασμένος ἱπποσύναω forgetting horsemanship, ποδωκέβης πεποιθώσ trusting to speed of foot, ἀναλκεύσας δακτύλαις overtake by want of process, πολυστρεφόντι νόσσο through cunning of understanding: so ἀπασθαλία, ἀφαρδία, ἀγνορία, ἀσυφροσύνα, τεκτοσύνα, μεθεμοσύνα, &c.; note also προδοκαλ αμβοσ, προχοαλ mouth of a river, ὀνωρία gift (Π. 20. 268 χρύσος γὰρ ἐρύκακε, ὀνωρία θεοῦ), κῶνων μέλαπηθρα the sport of dogs, φυκτά escaping, ἐσα 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 (ep. πρόβατος Od. 2. 75).

(6) Pronouns and Adjectives; see the examples of adverbial uses, §§ 133, 134; ep. 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 ἔθνεα applied to the men of the Greek army (II. 2. 91, 464), to birds (II. 2. 459), to swine (Od. 14. 73); so with φῶν ἄνθρωπων (Od. 15. 409).

Distinctly plural parts of the body: πτερά, χείλεα, ωμάτα, μέλεα: so πέδιλα (of the shoes of Hermes).

Numerals: δέκα στόματα (II. 2. 489), ὦματα τέσσαρα (II. 11. 634), τέσσαρα δέρματα (Od. 4. 437), αἵπολια ἐνδεκά τάντα (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 two warriors), 13. 135 ἔγχεα... ἀπὸ χειρῶν.

A few instances occur in fixed phrases, which may represent an earlier syntax: λύντο δὲ γυνι (but also λύτο γονιματα), ἀμίξανα ἔργα γένους, &c. Note especially the lines ending with πέλουται (τά τε πτερὰ νησι πέλουται, ὅτε τ’ ἕματα 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).

178.] The Dual is chiefly used (1) of two objects thought of as a distinct pair, and (2) when the Numeral δυῶ is used.

1. Thus we have the natural pairs χεῖρε, πῆχες, τένοντε, ὦμω, μηρώ, ὀστέ, ὀφθαλμῷ, and (in the Gen. Dat.) πνοοῦν, βλεφάροιν: σταθμῶν door-posts; ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅρος ἀρχιτέκτων, βδὺς ἁρόν τοῦ ὀξεῖ. ἄρνε ἀρά τοῦ πάντων ἐνῷ. ἂνυν ἀρά τοῦ πάντων ἐνῷ. ἂνυν ἀρά τοῦ πάντων ἐνῷ.

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,—αἱ καὶ ἀποκατήρισαντε φερόμενα χεῖρων ἠθλον—the Dual is used because
USE OF THE NUMBERS.  [173.]

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 τα γ' ὡς βουλεύσαντε (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 μισγάκειαι συμβάλλετον ὃδυμον ἕδορ (ep. 5. 774).

The Dual Pronouns νῦν and σοφοί 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 ἀγαγόνθ ('Diomede and I'); 8. 109 θεράποντε φωροτμέτε; II. 313 τί παθοῦντε λελόομεθα κτλ.; 12. 323 ὁ πέπον εἶ . . . φυγόντε; Od. 3. 128 ἑνα θυμόν ἔχοντε ('Ulysses and I'). In Od. 2. 78 for ἀπαιτίζοντες ἔως should be read ἀπαιτίζονθ' ἔως, since Telemachus there is speaking of 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 οὗ ὑπένερθε καμόντας ἀνθρώπων τίνωσθεν, ὃτι κ' ἐπίορκον ὑμὸσθι the two gods indicated by the Dual are doubtless Hades and Persephone, as appears from II. 9. 456 θεόν δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαράξ, λεός τα καταχθένους καὶ ἐπ' ἡμεῖς ἐπανη Περσεφόνεια, and 9. 569, where Althaea beats upon the earth κικλήσαντας Ἀδήν καὶ ἐπανη Περσεφόνειαν. 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 θεόν δ' ἐμπάρτυροι ἐστον. The omission of the names may be a mark of reverence. If this view is correct, it removes the difficulty as to ἵστον (Meyer, G. G. § 577, 1).

2. Of the use with the Numerals the most significant examples are Od. 8. 35, 48 κούροι δὲ κρινθέντε δύω καὶ πεντήκοντα βήτην: where the Dual is used by a kind of attraction to the word δύω.

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 ὅσος 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. ἀμφί 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. —

γέλασε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χρόνων all the earth smiled round about.

ναι δὲ τε κόμπος ὑπὸνετον γλυτερο 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.—

*δι κατὰ βοῶς Τρενίωνος Ἡελίων ἦσθιον who ate up (κατήσθιον) the oxen of the sun.

οὕς ποτ' ἄπ' Ἀλβελαν ἐλόμην which I took from (ἄφευλόμην) Δεναια.

ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχετο μισθόν and promised (ὑπέσχετο) hire.

μετὰ νότα βαλών turning his back.

χείρας ἀπὸ ἔλεφει τμῆς cutting off his hands by a sword.

This is the sense in which the word τμῆς 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' Ἀλβελαν ἐλόμην or ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχετο μισθόν. On the other hand, the use is simply adverbial in—

περὶ φρεάνας ῥεποὺς ἀπεὶ desire seizes his heart all round (because the Compound περιαρπεῖ ῥεῖ means to strip off, to take away from round a thing).

ὅς τοὺς ἠγεμόνες ἰσχυροῖς ... μετὰ δὲ κρέαν Ἀγαμέμνων and in the midst the king Agamemnon.

ὅς Τρῳκεῖς πρὸ μὲν ἄλλου ἄρρητος, ἀυτάρ ἐπ' ἄλλου 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:—

οὐ κωμοὶ δὲ περὶ πλέεσ ἥ γυναῖκες about (him) are more ής.

ἐνθ' ἐν μὲν φιλότηθι therein is love.

οὐ τοι ἐπὶ δέος there is no fear for thee.

ἄλλα ἀνα but up!

πάρα δ' ἀνήρ the man is at hand.

πάρ' ἐμοι και ἄλλοι others are at my command (not are beside me, but = παρεισι in its derived sense).

So when a Verb is to be repeated from a preceding clause; as II. 24. 229–233 ἐνθ' εἰρεῖ δῶδεκα μὲν περικαλλέοις ἐξελε πέπλους ... ἐκ δὲ δ' αἰώνως τρίτοδας: II. 3. 267 ὀρνυτο δ' αὐτίκ' ἐπείτα ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἄν δ' Ὀδυσσεύς (sc. ὀρνυτο).
178.] Use with oblique Cases. Prepositions are frequently used in Greek with the Accusative, the locatival and instrumental Dative, and the ablative 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 εἰς Τροίην ἥλθε the Acc. Τροίην originally went with ἥλθε. If however the construction Τροίην ἥλθε ceased to be usual except with εἰς, 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 ἄμφι with the Dat. in the recurring form—

άμφι δὲ χαίται | ὁμοιός ἀποσονται,

περὶ μὲν ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον | ὁμοίων βαλόμην

where the Preposition is not necessary for the Case, as we see from its absence in τῷ οὖν ὁμοίων ἔχων, &c., and again from forms such as—

άμφι δὲ χαίται | ὁμοιός ἀποσονται,

περὶ μὲν ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον | ὁμοίων βαλόμην

Again, we seem to have ἄμφι governing the Accusative in—

II. 11. 482 ὥς ἐν τῷ ἄμφι Ἐδωρήσα Ἐποιεῖ Ἐποιεῖ.

But ἄμφι must be taken with ἐποιεῖ, as in II. 11. 776 σταυροὶ μὲν ἄμφι βοῦς ἐποιεῖν κρέα. So in ὕπο ζυγόν ἦγαγε brought under the yoke the supposition of Tmesis is borne out by the form ἦγαγε ζυγόν ὥκεα ἔπποιοι. And in the line—

II. 1. 53 ἔννήμαρ μὲν ἀνὰ στρατὸν φίλον κῦλα θεοίο

the rhythm is against taking ἀνὰ στρατὸν together (§ 367, 1), and points therefore to ἄνεφχετο.

Again, the ablative Genitive in—

ἢλθέ εὖ ἄλος came out from the sea

may be explained like τείχεος ἔξελθειν, &c.; and in νῆὸς ἀπὸ πύρμης χαμάδις πέσε like νῆὸς ἀποδράσκοντα, 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 construed 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 ablative, 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—

διὰ τ' εἰσων διὰ δουρῶς which goes through the wood

is probably the Genitive of the space within which motion takes place. For εἰσων διὰ δουρῶς has the same relation to πεῦλον διώκειν and πεῦλον διαπρήσειν, that ἤλθεν εἰς Τροην has to Τροην ἤλθεν and Τροην εἰσήλθεν.

(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 ἀντα, ἀντίον, ἀντία, &c., and the Adjectives ἀντίος, 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. ἐγγός and ἐκάς, ἐντός and ἐκτός, ἀντα, μέχρι, ἔνεκα, &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, καρὺν ἑρωῦ, &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. prda, ὑπα, ὑπαρι), is confirmed by the Latin construction of pro, sub, super with the Abl. He would allow the supposition however in the case of ἀντι (the Sanscrit ἀντि 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 ἐς, ἐις, 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, ἀντί, ἀνά, and διά (except also the dialectical forms κατά, ἐπά, παρά, ἀπά, ὑπερπ, πρότι), 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 λόγος ἄπο (ὡς ἄπολοζοψη), ἔχειν κάτα, ὧν ἐπι, μάχην ἐπι, Ζεφύρου ὑπο, &c. Some held that the insertion of ἐξ before the Preposition did not prevent Anastrophe, and accordingly wrote ἔσε ὀ ἄπο, &c.

(2) Also, according to some, if the Prep. stands at the end of a verse, or before a full stop (Schol. A on II. 5. 283).

(3) Also, when it is equivalent to a Compound Verb (§ 177); as ἐν, ἐπι, πέρι, πάρα (for ἐν-εστι, &c.). So ἄνα (for ἄνα στηθι); although ἄνα according to most authorities was not liable to Anastrophe. Some wrote πάρα γὰρ θεοὶ εἶσιν καὶ ἡμῖν (II. 3. 440), on the ground that in πάρ-εστι the accent is on the syllable παρ-.

(4) Two Prepositions are barytone in the adverbial use,—

ἄπο when it is = ἄποθεν at a distance, and
πέρι when it is = περισσῶσι exceeding.

To which some added ὑπο (as τρομεῖτι ὦ πο γυῖα, &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 ἄγορήν ἐς πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς.

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 enclitic ἐστι (§ 87, 1), so there is an orthotone πέρι and a 'proclitic' πέρι, written περί 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 ἀλλὰ and τωά. On the other hand, (2) in the case of elision before a Verb (as ὑπαγεῖ) the accent is retracted, because the Preposition is then the accented word.* Again, (3) the general rule of the Ε̄olic dialect, that all oxytones become barytone, does not extend to Prepositions, because they are not real oxytones.

The word ἔτει (Sansk. अति) is a Preposition which happens to have survived (with the original accent) in the adverbial use only: έπόσον = 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 ἀνά ὑπά!

ἀμφί is probably a real oxytone, like the Adverb ἀμφίτεια. The corresponding Sanscrit Preposition abhi is oxytone, contrary to the general rule.

The assertion that ὑπαί, παραι, προτεί, &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 ἐμοῖ γε καὶ ἀλλοι because πάρα = πάρεισι, we must also write πάρα γὰρ θεὸ τελεί ἐλοί, where πάρα is equally emphatic. In Sanscrit too the Preposition when separated from its Verb is accent.

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 accent. 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 ἄπο-δός, ἐν-στῆς, πάρα-σχές, &c. It may perhaps be preserved in the Indic. ἐν-στῆς and Imper. ἐν-στέπ (see § 88, where a different explanation of these forms was suggested).
as πέρι δείδω, πέρι πάντων ολοκ. &c. But in Subordinate Clauses
the accent is on the Verb, and the Preposition commonly forms
one word with it, as in πέριδείδωα. 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 ac-
cording to the ‘law of three syllables’ (§ 88):—if it falls on the
Preposition, as in σύμ-φημι, κατ-έχειν, or on the Verb, as in συμ-
φήσει, κατ-έχει, 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 πέρι δείδω became impossible; but it does not follow
that πέρι lost its accent at the same time. An intermediate
πέρι δείδω 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—
π. 4. 538 πολλοὶ δὲ πέρι κτείνουτο καὶ ἄλλοι (Wolf, from
Ven. A.).
18. 191 στειτό γὰρ Ἡφαίστου πάρ’ ὀινέμεν ἐντεα καλά (so Ar.).
1. 269 καὶ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ μὲθ’ ὀμίλεον (Ar.).

with the variants περικτείνουτο, περιμάρναο, παροινέμεν, μεθομί-
λεον. And the existing texts contain a good many Compounds
which we might write divisim without loss to the sense; as
π. 18. 7 ἡποῖν ἐπικλοῦνται, Od. 8. 14 πόντων ἐπιπλαγχθεῖς, Od.
16. 466 ἄστον καταβλάσκοντα, π. 2. 150, 384, 3. 12, 4. 230,
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 Sanscirt
Preposition generally follows the Noun which it governs: hence
it does not furnish us with grounds for any conclusion about the
Greek accent.

180*.] Aposcope. 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—
\[
\text{παρά and πάρ}: \\
\text{ἄνα, ἄν (βωμοῖς, φῶν)}:
\]
\[
\text{kατά, καθ (δὲ), κάβ-(βαλε), κάτ-(θανε), κάρ (ῥόνον), καμ-(μονίη),} \\
\text{kάγ (γόνυ), κάκ (κεφαλῆς), καλ-(λιπε), κατ (πεδίον)}:
\]
\[
\text{ὑπό, ὑβ-(βάλλειν)}:
\]
\[
\text{προτ, πρόσ (for προτ-), ερ. ποτ, πός}:
\]
\[
\text{ὑπείρ (for ὑπέρ)}, ὑπέρ:
\]
\[
\text{ἐν, ἐν (ἐνί)}, ἐν:
\]
\[
\text{ἀπό, ἀπ-(πέμψει)}.
\]

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 \(\text{πάρα, πρότι, κάτα, ἐν, ἄνα (or ἄν)}\), &c. were formed in the first instance the unaccented \(\text{παρ, προσ, κατ or κα, ἐν, ἄν}\). Then the pairs \(\text{πάρα and παρ, &c.}\) were used promiscuously. Finally one form was adopted as normal.

\[\text{ἀμφί}.
\]

181.] The Preposition \(\text{ἀμφί}\) means \textit{on both sides}, or (if the notion of two sides is not prominent) \textit{all round}. It is doubtless connected with \(\text{ἀμφω both}\).

The adverbial use is common; \textit{e.g.}, with a Verb understood, Od. 6. 292 ἐν δὲ κρῆνη νάει, ἀμφί δὲ λειμών and around \textit{is a meadow}.

It is especially used in reference to the two sides of the body: II. 5. 310 ἀμφί δὲ ὡς ἐκλάμπε κελανν ὑπὲ ἐκάλυψε black night covered his eyes on both sides (\textit{i.e.} both eyes); II. 10. 535 ἀμφί κτύπος ὡς ὡς ὡς καλλεί; II. 18. 414 στόγγυ μ᾽ ἀμφί πρόσωπα καὶ ἀμφο χείρ ἀπομόργυν: Od. 2. 153 παρεία ἀμφί ἡ δειράς: Od. 9. 389 πάντα δὲ οἱ βλέφαρ ἀμφί καὶ ὀφνύας κτλ.

So II. 6. 117 ἀμφί δέ μω σφυρα τύπτε καὶ ἀβχένα δέρμα κελαννον the shield smote him on the ankles on both sides and on the neck. Here \(\text{ἀμφί}\) is generally taken to mean \textit{above and beneath}; wrongly, as the passages quoted above show.

This use of \(\text{ἀμφί}\) is extended to the internal organs, \textit{esp.} the midriff (\(\text{φρένες}\)) regarded as the seat of feeling: as—

II. 3. 442 οὐ γάρ πώ ποτε μ᾽ ὡδε ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψε.
6. 355 ἔπει σε μάλτοτα πώονοφ φρένας ἀμφιβεβηκε.
16. 481 εὐθ᾽ ἄρα τε φρένεσ ἔρχαται ἀμφ᾽ ἄδινων κήρ.
Od. 8. 541 μάλα ποῦ μων ἄχος φρένας ἀμφιβεβηκεν.

183. The Accusative with ἀμφί is used when the Verb expresses motion, as—

II. 5. 314 ἀμφί δ' ἐδὼν φίλων νῦν ἐχεῖσατο πηχεῖε λευκώ.

Also to express extent, diffusion over a space, &c. (ideas naturally conveyed by terms denoting motion):—

Od. II. 419 ὡς ἀμφί κρητήρα τραπέζας τε πληθοῦσα κείμεθα

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.

182.] The Dative with ἀμφί is a natural extension of the ordinary locatival Dative—the Preposition being adverbal, and not always needed to govern the Case. Compare (e.g.)—

II. 1. 45 τὸς ὁμοίων ἔχων (Loc. Dat., § 145, 3).

20. 150 ἀμφὶ δ' ἀρρηκτὸν νεφέλην ὁμοίων ἔσαντο.

11. 527 ἀμφὶ ὁμοίων ἔχει σάκος has a shield on both sides on his shoulders, i.e. across his shoulders.

In a metaphorical sense ἀμφί is applied to the object about which two parties contend: as II. 3. 70 ἀμφὶ Ἐλένη καὶ κτῆμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι: so of a negotiation, II. 13. 382 συνώμεθα ἀμφὶ γάμῳ we shall agree about the marriage; II. 7. 408 ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκρώσιν as to the question of the dead; II. 16. 647 ἀμφὶ φόνῳ Πατρόκλου μερηρίζων. 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 'Οδυσσῆι μιθεόμην. This last variety (in which the notion of two sides disappears) is confined to the Odyssey: cp. 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 βραχεῖ τεῦχεα ὁμαρν rattled about him the Dat. is 'ethical,' as in II. 13. 439 ῥίζεν δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ χιτῶνα. So in II. 4. 431 ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι τεῦχεα ποτκίλ' ἔλαμπε, 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 ἔστεφε.

The construction of ἀμφὶ with the Dat. is not found in Attic prose. It survives in the poetical style, and in Herodotus.

The Accusative with ἀμφὶ is used when the Verb expresses motion, as—

II. 1. 103 μενῶς δὲ μέγα φρένας ἀμφὶ μέλαιναι πίμπλαντ,' and similarly in II. 17. 83, 499, 573.
of attendants or followers; as II. 2. 445 oι ἀμφὶ Ἀτρεῶνα. 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) ὅς ἐτάρως στέλλοντα. ἀμφὶ μέγαν Πελάγουτα Ἀλάστορά τε Χρωμίου τε, where Pelagon &c. are included under the word ἔταροι. This is an approach to the later idiom, oι ἀμφὶ Πλάτωνα = Plato and his school.

It should be observed that the motion expressed by the Verb when ἀμφὶ takes an Acc. is not motion to a point, but motion over a space. Hence this Acc. 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 ἀμφὶ is found in two instances,—
Il. 16. 825 μάχεσθαι πίθακος ἀμφὶ ὄλγης fight over a small spring of water.
Od. 8. 267 ἀδείδεω ἀμφὶ Ἀρεος φιλότητος κτλ.
Another example may perhaps lurk in—
Il. 2. 384 ἐδὲ τὶς ἄρματος ἀμφὶς ἱδὼν κτλ.
if we read ἀμφὶς Φίδων (having looked over, seen to his chariot). With this meaning compare Il. 18. 254 ἀμφὶ μάλα φράξεσθε: and for the construction the Attic use of περιορώμαι with a Gen. =to look round after, take thought about (Thuc. 4. 124): also the Gen. with ἀμφὶμάχεσθαι Il. 16. 496., 18. 20., 15. 391.

185. The Preposition περὶ (or πέρι, § 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—
Il. 16. 186 πέρι μὲν θείεω ταχὺν exceeding swift to run.
18. 549 πέρι θαύμα τέτυκτο was an exceeding wonder.
Od. 4. 722 πέρι γὰρ μοι Ὀλύμπιος ἄλγῃ ἐδωκε for Zeus has given to me griefs beyond measure.

The meaning beyond is found in Tmesis, Il. 12. 322 πόλεμον περὶ τούτῳ φυγώντες escaping this war: Il. 19. 230 πολέμοιο περὶ στυγεροῦ λιπωντα shall remain over from war: and in Composition, περεμπά I excel, περεγίγνομαι I get beyond, surpass, περείδω I know exceeding well (II. 13. 728 θοι τὴν περείδουνα άλλων to be knowing in counsel beyond others; cp. Od. 3. 244., 17. 317). The Gen. in such constructions is ablatival (§ 152).
186.] The Dative with peri (as with ãμφί) is Locative; as II. 1. 309 ἐρωτήσει peri dòp̣ ἄνθρωπος ἔρι διὰ τοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἔρι will rush over (lit. round upon) the spear; 2. 389 peri ð' ἐγχεῖ ξέραν καμείται π θάν ἔρι διὰ τοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἔρι will be weary with holding the spear; 2. 416 χιτῶνα peri στήθεσι διὰ τοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἔρι will tear the chiton about (round on) the breast. Also of an object of contention, over; as II. 16. 568 peri παῖδι . . . πόνος εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην τοῖς τοῖς (of battle) might be over his son, cp. II. 17. 4, 133, Od. 5. 310: and in a derivative sense, Od. 2. 245 μαχησασθαί peri δαίρτι to fight about a feast.

1. It is a question which meaning is to be given to peri in—

II. 5. 566 peri γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ποιμένος λαόν (so 9. 433., 11. 556).
   10. 240 ἐθέω τε peri εἰκάθω Μενελάφ.
   17. 242 ὃσον ἐμὴ κεφαλὴ peri δείδα (οὐ peri δείδα).


Most commentators here take peri = exceedingly and the Dat. of the person as a Dativus ethicus: peri γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ποιμένος 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. Merc. 236 χωμένων peri βοσάλ, H. Cer. 77 ἄρυμμένη peri παιδί. Hdt. 3. 35 peri ἐστιν δειπνοῦντα, Thuc. 1. 90 δεδοῦτε peri κτλ.; also by the use of ãμφί 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 ταῖς διαπέρασαι, ζητ' ἄν τοι ἀπέχωνται peri κήρι (cp. 4. 45., &c.).
   Od. 6. 158 κείνος δ' αὖ peri κήρι μακάριτος ἐξοχον ἄλλων.
   11. 21. 65 peri δ' ἥθελε θυμῷ (so 24. 236).
   22. 70 ἄλισσοντες peri θυμῷ.
   Od. 14. 146 peri γὰρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ κῆθετο θυμῷ.
   II. 16. 157 τοιοῦν τε peri φρεσίν ἀστετος ἄλκη.
   Od. 14. 433 peri γὰρ φρεσίν αἰαμα ἰδῆ.

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 τὴν peri κήρη φίλης πατήρ
   Od. 8. 63 τὸν peri Μοῦσ' ἐφίλης
   Od. 14. 433 peri γὰρ φρεσιν αἰαμα ἰδῆ
   2. 88 peri κέρδεα αἴδη
   II. 16. 157 τοιοῦν τε peri φρεσιν ἀστετος ἄλκη
   Od. 12. 279 peri τοι μένος
   Od. 5. 36 peri κήρι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσωνι
   II. 8. 161 peri μὲν σε τὸν Δαναοῖ.

Again, in II. 4. 46 τάνων μοι peri κήρι τίσκετο the meaning beyond is required by the Gen. τάνω; cp. 4. 257 peri μὲν σε τὸν Δαναοῦν ταχυπάλωλον, 7. 289 peri δ' ἐγχεί Αἰχμαλώτος ἔστιν, 17. 22 peri σθενεῖ βλεμαίνει. So with the Acc. in II. 13. 631 peri φρένας ἐμμεναί ἄλλων.
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 οἶτον τε γυμνοροί περὶ φρένας ἱμερος αἴρει.
Od. 9. 362 ἔτει Κύκλωσα περὶ φρένας ἠλθεν οἶνος.

So of a sound, II. 10. 139 περὶ φρένας ἠλθεν ἱμερος (cp. Od. 17. 261). And more frequently with ἄμφι; cp. Od. 19. 516 πωναι δὲ μοι ἄμφι ἀδινόν κῦρ ὄξειαι μελεώνει δυναμείην ἱρῆσας; and the other passages quoted at the end of § 181. Similarly περὶ κῆρι, περὶ φρέστι, 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 κῆρι 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 ἄμφι) when motion or extent in space is expressed: as II. 1. 448 ἐκατόμβευν ἐξατρων περὶ βωμὸν placed the hecatomb round the altar; 2. 750 περὶ Δωδώνην οὐκ ἐδεντο 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 ῥάτε ῥάβδοιοι δυρεκέσιν περὶ κύκλων round in a circle; II. 18. 274 ἐστάμεναι περὶ τοῖχον to stand along the wall all round it.

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 διετρότα ρεπόλησε περὶ πάντων have made him unseen more than all men, 4. 231 ἐπιστάμενοι 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 ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ τετάνυστο περὶ σπελον γλαφυροῦ ἦμερος ἡβάωσα.
130 τοῦ μὲν ἔγγον ἑσάωσα περὶ τρόπιον βεβαώατα.

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 νηρὸς ἐνυψάλμου μάχοιτο, 12. 142 ἀμυνόοσθαι περὶ νηῶν to defend the ships; sometimes also in the figurative sense, about, II. 11. 700 περὶ τριπόδοις γὰρ ἐμμέλλον θεύσεσθαι, Od. 9. 423 ὡς τε
περί ὑπόθεσις as when life is at stake; and of doubt, II. 20. 17 ἢ τι περί Τρῶων καὶ Ἀχαίων μεμηρίζετο. The use with Verbs of anger and fear is closely akin; II. 9. 449 παλλακίδος περί χῶσατο; 17. 240 νέκνως περί δεδία (unless we read περιχώσατο, περιδεδία).

The weapons of the contest are said to be fought over in Od. 8. 225 ἐρίζεσκον περί τόξων; so II. 15. 284 ὀπότε κοίροι ἐρίστελαν περί μάθων. And this is also applied to the quarrel itself, II. 16. 476 συνίτιν ἐρίδως περί θυμοβόρου (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 περιδώσωμαι αὐτῆς ἵνα συνέγγυς myself. Whatever may be the original meaning of περιδώσαι, it is construed as if = to join issue, contend (Lat. pignore certare): cp. the Attic use περιδώσωμαι τιν περί (Gen. of the thing staked).

By a not unnatural extension, περί with the Gen. follows Verbs meaning to speak, know, &c., but only in the Odyssey; viz. 1. 135 (= 3. 77) ἦν μιν περί πατρὸς ἀποιχομένου ἐρωτώ; 15. 347 εἰτ' ἄγε μοι περί μητρὸς κτλ.; 17. 563 οἶδα γὰρ εὖ περὶ κεῖνον; also 1. 405, 7. 191, 16. 234, 17. 371, 19. 270. Note that the corresponding use of ἀμφί 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. ἀμφεσθαί περί νηών and ἀμφεσθαί νηών; and again εἰπὲ περὶ μητρὸς, οἶδα περὶ κεῖνον, &c. with the examples given in § 151, d.

παρά.

189.] The Preposition παρά (παρά), 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 οὖν the way is open to you; Od. 9. 125 οὖ γὰρ κυκλώπεσσι νέες πάρα.
(2) aside; as II. 11. 233 παράλα ἐκ οἱ ἕτραπετ' ἐγγὺς the spear was turned to his side (instead of striking him).
(3) hence figuratively, παρά μ' ἡπαφε cozened me 'aside,' away from my aim: and so παραπετειθῶν changing the mind by persuasion, παραπετῶν talking over, &c.; also, with a different metaphor, wrongly.
(4) past, with Verbs of motion, as ἔρχομαι, ἐλαῖνω, &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
confined to persons); thus we have παρὰ νησί, παρὰ νησεὶ (very frequently), παρ’ ἄρµασι, παρὰ βωµῷ, παρ’ ποῖο, παρὰ σταθµῷ, &c.

This Dat. is either locatival or instrumental: see § 144. It may be used after a Verb of motion (e.g. Π. 13. 617), see § 145. 4.

191.] The Accusative with παρά is commonly used—

(1) when motion ends beside or near a person or thing: as Π. 3. 406 ἦσο σαρ’ αὐτὸν ιοῦσα go and sit by him; Π. 7. 190 τὸν μὲν παρ’ τὸν ἔδω χαµάδις βάλε.

Hence the use of the Acc. often implies motion: as Π. 11. 314 παρ’ ἐµ’ ἵστασο place yourself beside me; Οδ. 1. 333 στῆ ῥα παρά σταθµὸν came and stood beside the pillar; Π. 6. 433 λαὸν δὲ στῆσον παρ’ ἐρωτόν. Similarly of the place near which a weapon has struck, as Π. 5. 146 κληίδα παρ’ ἁµον πλήξει struck the collar-bone by the shoulder.

(2) of motion or extent alongside of a thing (esp. a coast, a river, a wall, &c.); Π. 1. 34 βῆ δ’ ἀκέων παρὰ θύνα went along the shore; Οδ. 9. 46 πολλὰ δὲ µῆλα ἔσφαξον παρὰ θύνα sacrificed many sheep along the shore; Π. 2. 522 παρ’ ποταµὸν ἐταῖον dwelt by the side of the river; Π. 3. 272 παρ’ ἔφεσον κουλέων ἄµφτο hanged beside the sword-scabbard.

(3) of motion past a place; as Π. 11. 166, 167 οἱ δὲ παρ’ Ἰλου σῆµα . . παρ’ ἐρωτόν ἐστεὗσον they sped past the tomb of Ilus, past the fig-tree; Π. 6. 42 παρὰ τρόχου ἔξεκυκλῳθη rolled out past the wheel; Π. 16. 312 οὔτα Θάµατα στέρνον γυµνόθεντα παρ’ ὁπίδα passing the shield (implied motion, οὔτα = thrust at and struck). The derivative meaning beyond (= in excess of) is only found in Homer in the phrases παρὰ δύναµι (Π. 13. 787) and παρὰ µοῖραν (Οδ. 14. 509); but cp. the Adj. παράσιος 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 ἀκοῦω, µανθάνω, οἶδα, or the like. An apparent exception is—

Π. 11. 794 οἱ δὲ τινα φρεσίν ἤσον θεσποµην ἄλεενει, καὶ τινὰ οἱ παρὰ Τήνως ἐπέφραδε πότνα µήτηρ,
where however the notion of bringing a message is sufficiently prominent to explain the use. So Π. 11. 603 φθεγκάµενοι παρὰ νῆσος sending his voice from the ship; and Ης. Οπ. 769 αἴδε γάρ ἠµέραι εἰσι Δίος πάρα, i.e. coming from Zeus. The later use is to
be seen in Emped. 144 θεός πάρα μύθον ἄκουσας, Xenophanes 3. ι ἀβρασώνας δὲ μαθῶντες ἀνωφελέας πάρα Λυδῶν.

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' ἀστίδος ἐξεφαυμη appeared beyond (outside the shelter of) the shield: so probably II. 4. 500 υἱὸν Πρώμοι νόθον βάλε... παρ' ἵππων ἠκείδων 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 παρά in reference to the act of passing from one person to another (as in παραδίομι and παραδέχομαι), hence of gifts, messages, &c.

It is usual to regard παρά with the Gen. as meaning from the side of, from beside, do char. 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.) παρά 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 παραπλάγιασα Μαλέων driving-aside from-Malae: and in—

II. 4. 97 τοῦ κεν δὲ πάμπροστα παρ' ἄγλαδ ὄφρα φέρων the rhythm connects παρά with φέρω rather than with τῷ—thou wilt bring-aside (=trans-fer) from-him. So with other Prepositions: ἀπό Τροῖ κυσ off from-Troy, not from off-Troy: κατ' ὦφαρσο down from-heaven, not from under-heaven. As to ὕπω with the Gen. = from under, see § 204.

μετά.

193.] The Preposition μετά in the adverbial use means midway, in the middle; e. g. with a Verb understood, II. 2. 446 μετά δὲ κτλ. and among them &c. Hence alternately, as Od. 15. 460 χρύσουν ὄρμον ἔχων, μετά δ' ἡλέκτροσιν ἔχον strung with electrum between (the gold); so in succession, afterwards, as Od. 21. 231 πρῶτος ἔγω, μετά δ' ὑμεῖς. I first and you in turn; Od. 15. 460 μετά γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεις τέρπεται ἀνήρ = 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 μετά δ' ἄστρα βέβηκε the stars have changed their place. So μεταπανόμενοι (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 χερσί, μετὰ ποσσί, μετὰ φρεσί on the double character of the φρένες cp. § 181); also, of two parties, μετ' ἀμφοτέρων. 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 κείσο μετ'
there is a sarcastic force—lie there with the fish for company. 

Cp. also the phrase Od. 5. 224 μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοίσι γενέσθω λέτ this be as one among them. The expression in II. 15. 118 μεθ’ αὐτατι καὶ κοινής is equivalent to a Collective Noun, =‘the crowd of wounded and fallen.’ So II. 21. 503 μετὰ στροφάλληγγι κοινῆς, a somewhat bolder phrase of the same kind.

The Dat. with μετά is locativial (whereas with σῶν and ἄμα it is comitative). This appears in the restriction to Plurals or Collectives, also in the use with Verbs of motion, as II. 4. 16 φιλότητα μετ’ ἀμφότεροι βάλαμεν (§ 145, 6).

The construction of μετά with the Dative is in the main Homeric. It is occasionally imitated in later poetry.

195.] With the Accusative μετά has the two meanings among and after.

The meaning among is found after Verbs of motion with Plurals, and also with Collective Nouns, as μεθ’ ὄρμητα, μεθ’ ὄμιλον; so μετά δεῖπνον to (join the company at) a feast, μετά τ’ ἥθεα καὶ νοῦν ἵππων —to the pasture ground where other horses are.

It occurs without a Verb of motion in II. 2. 143 πάσι μετά πληθὺν to all among the multitude; II. 9. 54 μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας ἐπλευ ἀριστας (so Od. 16. 419). And with a Singular in II. 18. 552 ὀργαματα μετ’ ὄμιλον πίπτουν 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; II. 13. 513 ἐπαξεῖ μεθ’ εἶν βέλος following his weapon, Od. 2. 406 μετ’ ἵνα βαίνε θεοίο.
(2) after, in order to find (with a Verb of motion), as μετ’ ἐρ’ ἡλιθεῖς has come in search of me, Od. 1. 184 ἐσ Τεμέσην μετὰ χαλκόν.
(3) in succession to, next to; τὸν δὲ μετὰ κτλ. and after him ἕτ.; II. 8. 289 πρῶτῳ τοι μετ’ ἐμ’ πρεσβήειν ἐν χερ ἥσσοι to thee after myself; of rank, II. 7. 228 οἶοι . . . μετέασι καὶ μετ’ Ἀχιλλῆα even (in the second rank) after Achilles.

196.] With the Genitive μετὰ occurs in five places (with a Plural Noun), in the meaning among or with—

II. 13. 700 μετὰ Βουιωτῶν ἐδάφοιτο.
21. 458 οἴδε μεθ’ ἡμέων πειρὰ κτλ.
24. 400 τῶν μετὰ παλλόμενοι κλήρῳ λάχον.
Od. 10. 320 μετ’ ἄλλων λέξον ἐταφρον.
16. 140 μετὰ διμῶν τ’ ἐν ὀίκῳ πίνε κτλ.

Of these instances the first is, in a passage probably inserted afterwards to glorify the Athenians; the second is in the θεῶν μάχη, and therefore doubtful; in the third we should perhaps
write ἡμετεραλλόμενος and construe of them casting lots in turn I was chosen. But the last two indicate that the use had crept into colloquial language as early as the Odyssey, taking the place of οὗν or ἄνω with the Dative. See § 224.

έπι.

197.] The Preposition ἐπὶ 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—
Π. 1. 462 ἐπὶ δ' αἰθώπα οἶνου λείβε πούρευν wine over (the meat).
13. 799 πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτάρ ἐπὶ ἄλλα in front—behind.
Od. 1. 273 θεοὶ δ' ἐπὶ μάρτυροι ἐπτων the gods be witnesses thereto.
5. 443 ἐπὶ σκέπασ ἥν ἀνέμου there was thereto (the place was furnished with) a shelter from the wind.
Π. 18. 529 κτεῖνον δ' ἐπὶ μηλοβστῆρας killed the shepherds with the sheep.

1. 233 ἐπὶ μεγάν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι I will swear in confirmation. With a Verb understood, ἐπὶ = is present, is in the case, as Od. 2. 58 οὖ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀνήρ there is no man (for the purpose); Π. 1. 715 οὖ τοι ἐπὶ δέοσ there is no fear with or for you (as part of your circumstances); Π. 21. 110 ἐπὶ τοι καὶ ἔμοι ὁδάτους death is my lot too (ep. 6. 357 οἰσαν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θήκε κακὸν μόρον).
It is very much used in Composition. Note the meaning over in ἐπὶ-παλέω to sail over, also ἐπὶ-ολοχαμαί to go over, review, ἐπὶ-πωλείματι, ἐπὶ-ἀλάαυμα (Π. 17. 650 μάχη δ' ἐπὶ πάσα φανάθη the fight was lighted up all over); besides, in ἐπὶ-δίδῳμι, &c.; to (of bringing aid, joining, &c.) in ἐπὶ-ἀρήγω, ἐπὶ-αλέξω, ἐπὶ-αραφίκω, ἐπὶ-αλάσσω, &c.; for, in ἐπὶ-κλάω to spin for (so as to attach to); hence of assent, ἐπὶ-νεύω, ἐπὶ-τλήμαι, ἐπὶ-ἐλκώ (with a general affirmative meaning, on as opposed to off, for as opposed to against).

198.] With the Dative ἐπὶ has the same group of meanings; note especially—

1. ἐπὶ ναυαί by the ships, ἐπὶ δεαὶ with the sheep (of a shepherd), ἐπὶ κτείνεσθαι with (in charge of) the possessions; Π. 4. 235 ἐπὶ ψευδότητος ἐστετ' ἄρωγος will be a helper with (on the side of) falsehood (or false men, reading ψευδότητα).

2. Π. 4. 258 ἄλλοιω ἐπὶ ἐργῷ in (engaged upon) other work, so ἀκύριτω ἐπὶ ἐργῷ with a work unfinished: so Π. 4. 178 ἐπὶ πᾶσι in all cases dealt with.
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[199.

(3) Od. 17. 454 οὐκ ἂρα σολ γ' ἐπὶ ἐλείς καὶ φρένες ἦσαν with form thou hast not understanding too; II. 13. 485 τὸδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ with this spirit (too); Hes. Theog. 153 ἵσχυς ... μεγάλω ἐπὶ ἐλείς.

(4) Od. 11. 548 τοῦφ' ἐπὶ ἀέθλῳ with such a prize (when such a thing is prize); μυθὸν ἐπὶ ῥήτω for fixed hire (given the hire, hence in view of it).

(5) ἐπὶ ήματι for the day, i.e. as the day's work, in a single day. Note also that ἐπὶ meaning upon very often takes the Dat. after Verbs of motion, as κατέχευεν ἐπὶ σφάπα poured on to the ground: hence with the meaning against, as ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἱόντες, μάρανθαι ἐπὶ ἀνδράσι, &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 χόνα is merely to or towards the ground, but ἐπὶ χόνα implies alighting on it. Cp. II. 18. 565 ἀπαρτιτῶς ἦν ἐπὶ αὐτὴν there was a path leading to it; II. 2. 218 ἐπὶ στήθος συνοξωκότε θετε in over the chest.

Hence the phrases expressing attitude, as ἐπὶ στόμα, ἐπὶ γοῦνα, &c. Two forms, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ and ἐπὶ ἀριστερά, are used even when motion is not expressed; as II. 5. 355 ἐθερὲν ἐπιέται μάχης ἐπὶ ἀριστερᾶ θοῦρον 'Αρης ἡμενον. Note however that ἐπὶ ἀριστεροῖς and ἐπὶ ἀριστερῶν are metrically impossible.


3. The meaning over, with Verbs of motion, is very common; ἐπὶ πόντον (ἰών, πλέων, φεύγων, &c.), ἐπὶ γαῖαν, ἐπὶ χόνα, ἐπὶ κύματα, &c. Also with Verbs of looking, as II. 1. 350 ὄροιν ἐπὶ ἀπειρον πόντον.

Hence such phrases as ἐπὶ στίχας, of troops &c. moving in ranks, i.e. over or along certain lines: as II. 3. 113 ἵππους ἐφέναν ἐπὶ στίχας: and so Od. 5. 245 ἐπὶ στάθμῃ ἱμεν ἤκου, straightened along (hence by) the rule.

So with Plural Nouns, II. 14. 381 οἰχόμενοι ἐπὶ πάντος going over them all, Od. 15. 492 πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἄστε ἄλομενοι; and of a distribution, Od. 16. 385 δασσύμενοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἐφ' 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 πάσον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ 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 ἐπὶ θρόσκοντι to such a distance they bound; also ἐπὶ πολλὸν a long way, ἐπὶ ἱσα to an equal extent; and esp. the common phrase ὅσον 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 ἑδοὺ παννύχιοι καὶ ἐπ’ ἱῷ καὶ μέσον ἥμαρ slept all night and on through morning and midday.

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 ἴπτερου, ἐπὶ ἄγρου; Od. 12. 27 ἡ ἄλος ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλγησέτε (cp. II. 13. 565). This is evidently a Gen. of place, § 149. For the difference of Gen. and Dat. cp. II. 1. 485 ἐπὶ ἴπτερου ἐψρισάν ὕψος ἐπὶ ψαμάθαις.

(2) where the local relation is a familiar one; as ἐπὶ νῆσος, ἐπὶ ἀπήνης, ἐφ’ ἵππων, ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἐπὶ οὐδοῦ, ἐπὶ πύργου, ἐπὶ ἄγνωσ, ἐπὶ μελίς (ἐρειπθέλει). Thus ἐπὶ νῆσοι means on or beside ships, ἐπὶ νῆσον on board ships.

(3) with Verbs of motion, upon (of the terminus ad quem), as II. 3. 293 κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς; so bearing down on, as II. 3. 6 πέτουται ἐπὶ Ὀκεανοῦ ροῶν: II. 5. 700 προτρέποντο με- λαινάνων ἐπὶ νῆσον: Od. 3. 717 γυμέθα νῆσον ἐπὶ Ψυρής taking the course by the island Psyria. So perhaps II. 7. 195 (ἐὐχεσθε) συγγ ἐφ’ ὑμείων (keeping the words) to yourselves.

(4) of time; ἐπὶ ἐρήμης (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.

ὑπό.

201. The Proposition ὑπό (also ὑπάτ) usually means beneath, as in II. 2. 95 ὑπὸ δὲ στενοχιλέτο γαία the earth groaned beneath (their tread). The original sense, however, seems to have been upwards, as in the Superlative ὑπ-ατος uppermost (cp. ὑψι aloft, ὑπ-τιος facing upwards). On this view we can understand why
_υπό_ is not applied (like _κατά_) to express downward motion. Hence, too, it is especially used of supporting a thing, as _II. 1. 486_ υπό δ’ ἔρματα μακρὰ τάννοσαν: and on the same principle it expresses resistance to a motion (whereas _κατά_ implies yielding, going with the stream &c.); as _II. 5. 505_ υπό δ’ ἐστρεφον ἰσωξής the drivers wheeled them up, i.e. to face (the Trojans): and so υπ-ἀντίσας meeting face to face, υπο-μένω to stand against (as we say, _up to_); and with the derived notion of answering, υπ-αέδων I sing in correspondence, υπο-κρίνομαι (= Att. ἀποκρίνομαι), υπο-βάλλω I take up (a speaker), υπο-ακούω _I hear in reply_, i.e. show that I hear (by answering or obeying).

So too the Compounds υφ-ορω, υτ-δψισ, υτ-δρα, &c. do not express looking down, but looking upwards from under; even in _II. 3. 217_ στάσκεν υπάλ η δ’ έδεσκε κατά χθονός ὄμασα πῆς is it the face that is bent downwards: cp. _II. 19. 17._

From the notion of being immediately under is derived that of being moved by, i.e. of agency or cause. The transition may be seen in υπο-ελκω _I give way (before),_ υπο-τρέω &c.; so _II. 16. 333_ υπεθερμάνθη was warmed by (the blood).

### 202.

_With the Dative_ υπό is very common in the simple local meaning, _under_. It is sometimes found with Verbs of motion, as _Od. 4. 297_ δέμνι_ν_ υπ’ αἰθωνήθ θέμεναι; and even when motion from is intended, in _II. 18. 244_ ἐλυσαν υφ’ ἄρμασιν ὥκεν ἵππος. In this case however we have to consider that ἀρμάτων is metrically impossible.

The derived sense _under the charge or power is found in such uses as_ _II. 5. 231_ υφ’ ἡνιχῶ (of horses), _II. 139_ ζεῦς γάρ οἱ ὑπὸ σκηπτρῳ ἐδάμασσε, _II. 171_ θεῶν υπ’ ἄρμοντι πομπῆ: also, with the notion of an effect produced (where the Gen. would therefore be rather more natural), ὑπὸ χερσί (δαμήναι, δανέειν, &c.), υπὸ δουρὶ (τυπεῖν, &c.); _II. 13. 667_ νοῦσφ υπ’ ἀργαλέη φθίσθαι, _Od. 4. 295_ υποφρ υπὸ γλυκερὸ ταρτάμεθα: and often of persons, as _II. 5. 93_ ὑπὸ Τυδείδη τυκναι κλονέωςτο φάλαγγες.

### 203.

_The Accusative_ is used with υπό (1) of motion to a point under, as—

_II. 2. 216_ ὑπὸ Ἰλιον ἤθεκε came under (the walls of) Troy.

_17. 309_ τὸν βάλλυτο καθεδα μέσην (so often with Verbs of striking, &c.).

Also (2) of motion _passing under_, and hence of extent _under_ : _Od. 15. 349_ εἰ τον ἐπὶ θαυμασιν υπ’ αὐγὰς ἰέλιοιο _i.e. anywhere that the sun shines_ (cp. υπ’ ἶνω τ’ ἱέλιων τε—an equivalent phrase).

_II. 2. 603_ οἱ δ’ ἔχουν Ἀρκαδίνῃν ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄροις.

_3. 371_ ἄγχατε δὲ μιν πολύκεστος ἴμας ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρὴν (i.e. passing under the throat).
In one or two places it is applied to time: II. 16. 202 πάντ' ὑπὸ μηνυθρόν all the time that my anger lasted; so perhaps II. 22. 102 νύχθ' ὑπὸ τῆνδ' ὀλοίν (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 Ἀιαντος ἔφεσαν from under Ajax; Od. 9. 463 ὑπὸ ἄρσειοῦ λύσμαν: so II. 19. 17 ὅσε δείων ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὡς εἰ σέλας ἔξεφανθεν.

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 χθονὸς ἐστὶ βέρεθρον.

Od. 5. 346 τὸ τέμενος ὑπὸ στέρνον ταῦτα.

II. 1. 501 δεξιέρα ὑπὸ ἄρρα ὑπὸ ἀνθρεφόν ἐλούσα taking hold of him under the chin.

4. 106 ὑπὸ στέρνον ταῦτας.

16. 375 ὑψί ὑπὸ ἄελλα σκίνναξ' 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 ὑπὸ ἀνθρεφόν ἐλούσα with κόμης ἔλε (§ 151 a) took by the hair. They are doublet 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' εἶσω διὰ δούρώς ὑπὸ ἀνέρος under the man's hand; Od. 19. 114 ἄρτετος δὲ λαοῖ ὑπὸ 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 ἦν ὅταν τ' ἄνηρ ἀφέν πειρόμενος ἐν ἀέθλῳ ἦ Καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δηθών ὑπὸ θυμοραϊστέων, =under the stress of an enemy (so 18. 220);

II. 23. 86 εἰσεῖς με .. ἑγαγεν ὑμέτερον' ἀνδροκτατής ὑπὸ λυγρῆς by reason of a homicide (committed by me).

As a sound is said to be over or about (περί, ἀμφι) the person hearing, so he is under the sound: hence (e.g.) with a half metaphorical meaning II. 15. 275 τῶν δὲ τ' ὑπὸ λαχῶν ἐφάνη λῆς. So of other accompaniments, as II. 18. 492 δαίδων ὑπὸ λαμπτομενῶν by the light of blazing torches.
205.] The Preposition προς (προς, ποτι) expresses attitude or direction towards an object. It is found in the adverbial use; Od. 5. 255 προς δ’ ἄρα πυάλλων ποιήσατο ἥε κατα τὸ ῥαφ (the raft); hence commonly in addition, besides—a use which remained in later Greek.

It is a question whether προς and ποτι are originally the same word. The present text of Homer does not indicate any difference of usage.

206.] With the Dative προς means resting on, against, beside a thing: as II. 4. 112 ποτι γαϊν ἀγκλανας resting (the bow) against the ground: Od. 5. 329 προς ἀλλήλων ἔχοιται hold on to one another. With Verbs of motion it implies that the motion ends on or beside the object; Od. 9. 459 θευμόνυν προς οὐδεί.

The later meaning besides, in addition, is only found in Od. 10. 68 ἀδασάν μ’ ἑταποί τε κακοὶ προς τοὺς τε ὑπνοσ.

207.] With the Accusative προς is very common, meaning towards: as προς τοῖς τόλων towards the city (not necessarily reaching it), II. 8. 364 κλαίεσκε προς ύαιναν cried out to heaven; hence to, on to (mostly with Verbs of motion), as Od. 4. 42 ἐκλιαν προς ἐνώπια leaned against the walls: against (persons), as προς δαμονα φορὶ 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 ἔσπερα towards evening.

Note that the literal local sense appears in all the Homeric uses of προς 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 προς expresses direction without the idea of motion towards or rest on the object: as Od. 13. 110 αἰ μὲν προς βορέας... αἰ δ’ αὖ προς νότον ὦ, i.e. not at or facing the north and south, but more generally, in the direction fixed by north and south; Od. 10. 428-430 προς μὲν ἄλος... προς Θύμβρης: II. 22. 198 ποτι πτόλεως in the direction of Troy; Od. 8. 29 ἦ προς ἴηων ἦ ἐσπεριλων ἀνθρώπων (=from east or west).

Among derived senses we may distinguish—

(1) at the hand of, from (persons), as II. 1. 160 τμῆν ἀρνύμενοι προς Τρώων, II. 831 τὰ σε προς παύς Πανθής δεδιδόθαυ.

(2) on the part of, by the will of, as II. 1. 239 οἱ τε θευματα προς Διός εἰρύσαται who uphold judgments on behalf of Zeus; II. 6. 456 προς ἄλλης ἑστὼν ὑμάλου at another’s bidding: and, perhaps, in a metaphorical sense, Od. 6. 207 προς γὰρ Διός εἰσων ἀπαντες ἐξελοι τε πτωχοτ τε.
(3) before, by (in oaths and entreaties); as II. 13. 324 πρὸς πατρὸς γονιὸνοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πατρῷ οὐ παρενόμων, πρὸς τῷ ἀλόχου καὶ πατρὸς κτλ. on the part of the absent ones I entreat &c.

It will be seen that πρὸς 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 βορεῖο—πρὸς νότου with Od. 1. 24 οἷς μὲν δυσομένου ἤπειρονος οἷς ἄνικτος. The Case is accordingly ‘quasi-partitive’ (i.e. true) Genitive, and has no ablative character.

209.] The Preposition ἀνά (ἀν) means up, upwards, up through. It is rarely used as a pure Adverb (the form ἀνάω being preferred) except in the elliptical ἀνά up! But it has a derivative adverbial sense in II. 18. 562 μελάνες ἀνά βότρυν ἦσαν there were dark grapes throughout. Tmesis may be seen in II. 2. 278 ἀνά ὧν πτολέμιπος ὤνοστεν ἔστη, and in ἀνά β' ἐσχέτο (ἀνέσχετο), &c. In Tmesis and Composition it sometimes expresses reverse action, as ἀνα-λύω. So ἀνα-βάλλω to put off.

ἀνά is seldom used with the Dative; the meaning is up on (a height of some kind), as II. 1. 15 χρυσός 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 νησὸς βαίνω). The meaning up from is only found in Composition: ἀνέδω πολλής ἀλός, &c.

210.] With the Accusative ἀνά means up along, up through, of motion or extent: ἀνά ἄστυ, ἄμ πεδίων, ἅνά δόματα, ἄν ὄσνω, ἄν Ἐλλάδα, &c.; II. 5. 74 ἀνόδους ὑπὸ γλῶσσαν τόμε χαλκός the spear cut its way up through the teeth and under the tongue; so ἀνά στὸμα, used literally (II. 16. 349., 22. 452., &c.), and also of words uttered, II. 2. 250 βασιλῆς ἀνά στομί ἐξων having the kings passing through your mouth (i.e. talking freely of them); similarly ἀνά θυμόν of thoughts rising in the mind. Note also the application to mixing, as Od. 4. 41 παρ ὧν ἐβαλόν ζεύς, ἀγὰ δὲ κρί λευκὸν ἐμεῖν; cp. 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’ ὀµιλοῦν through the press, μάχην ἀνά, ἀµ φόνον ἀν νέκυας, &c. seems to be peculiar to the Iliad.

The use in II. 14. 80 ἀνά νύκτα may be explained either of time or of space: cp. ὑπὸ νύκτα (§ 203), διὰ νύκτα (§ 215).

The meaning up on, up to (of motion) may be traced in II. 10. 466 θῆκεν ἀνὰ μυρίκην: Od. 22. 176 κλον’ ἄν’ ύψηλην ἐρύσαι draw (the cord) up to a high pillar; perhaps in the phrase ἀνά θ’ ἀρματα ποικίλ’ ἐβαινον (Od. 3. 492, &c.).

κατά.

211.] The Preposition κατά (by Apocope καθ, &c.) means down, and is parallel in most uses to ἀνά. It is never purely adverbial (κατω being used instead, cp. ἀνω), but is common in Tmesis, as II. 1. 436 κατὰ δὲ προμνηστ’ ἐθησαν, 19. 334 κατὰ πάμπαν τεθάμεν, &c., and in Composition. Besides the primary sense (seen in κατ-ἀγω I bring down, κατα-κένω I nod downwards, i.e. in asent, &c.) it often has the meaning all over, as κατα-εἰνων I clothe, κατακέω I pour over; hence completely, as κατὰ πάντα φαγεῖν to eat all up, κατα-κτεῖνω I kill outright: also in the place, as before, as καταλεῖπω I leave where it was, &c.

κατὰ is not used with the Dative. If such a use ever existed it was superseded by ὑπὸ (just as ἀνά with the Dat. gave way to ἐπι). The possibility of the combination may be seen from the phrases κατ’ αὐτόθι, κατ’ αὐθι.

212.] With the Accusative κατὰ means down along, down through, as κατὰ βόου down stream; cp. II. 16. 349 ἀνὰ στόμα καὶ κατὰ πῖνας (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’ ὀδόν along the way, κατὰ πτόλεω through the city, &c.; again, κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν in mind and spirit.

Other varieties of use are:

(1) with collective Nouns (chiefly in the Iliad), as κατὰ στρατῶν through the camp, πόλεμον κάτα, κατὰ κλώνον, &c.
(2) with Plurals (less common), as κατ’ αὐτούσ going among them, κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀλάλησθαι.
(3) of the character or general description of an action, as κατὰ πρήξιν (ἀλάλησθε) on a piece of business, ἣλθον κατὰ χρέος, πλαξίμενοι κατὰ ληίδα (all in the Odyssey).
(4) to express place; esp. of wounds, e.g. κατ’ ὄμοιν about (somewhere on) the shoulder. Cp. II. 1. 484 ἰκνοτο κατὰ στρατῶν arrived opposite (within the space adjoining) the camp; Od. 5. 441 ποταμοῖο κατὰ στόμα ἰκε νέων.
(5) to express agreement (from the notion of falling in with), in the phrases κατὰ θυμόν, κατὰ κόσμον, κατὰ μοίραν, κατ’ αἰσαν.
(6) distributively: as π. 2. 99 ἔρημωθεν δὲ καθ’ ἔδρας in their several seats; and so in π. 2. 362 κριν’ ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα κατὰ φρίττας.

(7) κατὰ σφέας (μάχεσθαι) by themselves (to the extent constituted by themselves): so π. 1. 271 κατ’ ἐμ’ αὐτόν.

These uses may generally be identified in principle with some of the Accusatives mentioned in §§ 136-138. Thus the Acc. in ἕλθον κατὰ χρέος is like ἀγγελεῖν ἑλθείν: in κατὰ κόσμον it is like the adverbial δέμας, ἄκρα, &c.: κρινε κατὰ φύλα = μοίρας δάσασθαι; and κατ’ ὄμον like the Acc. of the 'part affected.'

213.] With the Genitive κατὰ has two chief meanings:—

(1) down from; as κατ’ οὐρανόν down from heaven, καθ’ ἑπών ἄλτο leaped from the chariot. This Genitive is clearly ablative in origin.

(2) down on (in, over, &c.): as π. 3. 217 κατὰ χθονὸς ὃμματα πῆςιας fixing his eyes on the ground; κατὰ δ’ ὄφθαλμον κένυτ’ ἄλυον a mist was shed over his eyes; κατὰ γαίης down in the earth.

Comparing the similar uses of ἐπὶ (§ 200), ὑπὸ (§ 204, 2), and προῖ (§ 208), we can hardly doubt that the Gen. in this latter group is originally akin to the Genitives of Place (§ 149).

διὰ.

214.] The Preposition διὰ seems to mean properly apart, in twain. It is not used freely as an Adverb; but the original sense appears in the combinations διαπρόδ. διαμπέρες, and in Tmesis and Composition, as διὰ-στὴνα to stand apart; δια-τάμνω I cut asunder; διὰ κτήσιν δατέοντο divided the possession. From the notion of going through it means thoroughly, as in δια-πέρθω I sack utterly.

In several Compounds, as δια-τάμνω, δι-αρέω, δια-δάπτω, the notion of division is given by the Preposition to the Verb; e.g. δια-τάμνω I separate by cutting, &c.

215.] The Accusative with διὰ is often used to denote the space through which motion takes place: as—

π. 1. 600 διὰ δῶματα ποταμίοντα bustling through the palace (so διὰ σπέος, διὰ βήσσας, διὰ ρωπθία, &c.).

14. 91 μῆδον δ’ οὖ οὐ κεν ἀνήρ γε διὰ στοίμα τάμπαν ἄγοιτο (=with which a man would not sully his mouth: cp. ἄνα στοίμα, § 210).

Οδ. 9. 400 φικεον ἐν στήσεσι δι’ ἄκριας dwelt in caves about (scattered through) the headlands.
So Il. 2. 40 διὰ κρατερᾶς ὑμνίασ last through hard fights: and διὰ νύκτα (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 Ἕν διὰ μαντσούμαν (Calchas led the army) by virtue of his soothsaying; Od. 8. 520 διὰ μεγάλωμον Ἀθήναι 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 ἄρ ἡσστήρος ἐλήλωτο.

So of a gate, Il. 3. 263 διὰ Σκαίων ἔχων ἦπες: and of lower and upper air, &c. δι’ ἀείροι αθέρ’ ἰκανεῖ, δι’ αθέρ’ οὐρανόν ἰκε, πεδάνθε διὰ νεροκ. So again διὰ προμάχων, δί’ ομίλου &c. of making way through the press.

The Acc. is used where we expect this Gen. in Il. 7. 247 εἶ δὲ διὰ πτύχας ἠλθεν went through six folds: but this may be partly due to the metrical impossibility of πτυχῶν. Conversely, in Il. 10. 185 ὅς τε καθ’ ὦλην ἐρχεται δί’ ὅρεσθεν ὁ δεσφι the Acc. would be right, and ὅρεσθε 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 ἄλα κίνησατι ἱός. 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 ὑπέρ ὁμον, ἀριστερὸν ἠλθ’ ἄκωκα; Od. 7. 135 ὑπέρ οὐδον ἐβήσετο.

(3) metaphorically, in excess of, in violation of: ὑπέρ αἰσθαν, ὑπέρ μοίραν, ὑπέρ ὁρκία: also, somewhat differently, Il. 17. 327 ὑπέρ θεοῦ in 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 οὕτως ὑπέρ κεφαλῆς; Il. 15. 382 νῆς ὑπέρ τοῖχον (of a wave com-
ing) over the sides of a ship: II. 23. 327 ὄσον τ᾽ ὀργην ὑπὲρ αἷς a fathom's length above ground.

Metaphorically it means over so as to protect, hence in defence of, on behalf of; as II. 7. 449 τεῖχος ἐτειχίσσαντο νεών ὑπὲρ; II. 1. 444 ἐκατόμβην ἰέσαι ὑπὲρ Δαναόων. So II. 6. 524 δὸ ὑπὲρ σέθεν αἰχεῖ ἄκονω when I listen to reproaches on your account (of which I bear the brunt). But Hes. Op. 217 δίκη δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὅβριος τοιχὲς justice rises (prevails) over insolence.

In respect of form ὑπὲρ (for ὑπέρ, Sanscr. upári) is a Comparative of ὑπό; cp. the Superlative ὑπατος, and the Lat. superus, summus. Hence the Gen. is ablative, like the Gen. with words of comparison; see § 152.

évī.

220.] The Preposition évī (also évī, eiv, èv) means within, in; it is used adverbially (as II. 5. 740 ἐν δ᾽ ἔρησ, ἐν δ᾽ ἄλκη &c.), in Tmesis (as ἐν τ᾽ ὀρα οἱ φοι χειρὶ), and with a (locatival) Dative.

Notice, as departures from the strict local sense, the uses—

(1) with Plurals denoting persons (=μετὰ among), as ἐν ύμῖν (II. 9. 121, 528., 10. 445), ἐν πασί (Od. 2. 194., 16. 378), ἐν φίλοι (II. 23. 703).

(2) with abstract words (rare in the Iliad); ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοις (II. 10. 245, 279), ἐν πάντεσσ’ ἐργοί (II. 23. 671), ἐν ἀλγεί (II. 24. 568); ἁλικὴ ἐν (II. 9. 143, 285), ἐν νηπίῃ (II. 9. 491); ἐν φιλότητι; ἐν μοῖρῃ αριθτ (II. 19. 186), αἰσχὶ ἐν ἄργαλεγ (II. 22. 61), ἐν Καρός αἰσχ (II. 9. 378); ἐν δὲ ἰῇ τιμῇ (II. 9. 319).

These two uses are nearly confined in the Iliad to books 9, 10, 23, 24.

sóv.

221.] The Preposition sóv (or ξῶν) means in company with. It is not used as a pure Adverb, but is found in Tmesis, as II. 1. 579 sóv δ᾽ ἡμῖν δαῖρα ταράξῃ and disturb (σωνταράσσω) 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 sóv commonly means attended by, with the help of, &c. Hence sóv ἐντεσι with armour on, σῶν ναυὶ in ships, σῶν ὀρκῳ on oath, σῶν Ἀθηνῇ aided by Athene: so II. 4. 161 σῶν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτησαν they pay with a great price.

The use of sóv 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 μέρα 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 Μέρα, σὺν und ἀπα bei den Epikern (Frankfurt am Main, 1874).

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 τῶ δ' εἰς ἀμφοτέρου Διομήδεος ἄρματα βήτην. The motion is sometimes implied: as II. 15. 275 ἐφάνη λίς ἦγερεν εἰς ὀδόν: 16. 574 ἡ Πηλῇ ἱκέτευσε (came as suppliant).

Of time; ἐς ἡλιον καταδύνατα to sun-set; so ἐς τί how long? εἰς ὁ until: Od. 14. 384 ἐς θέρος ἃ ἐς ὀπάρην as late as summer or autumn.

Metaphorical uses: II. 2. 379 εἰ δὲ ποτ' ἐς γε μιαν βουλεύσομεν if we take counsel to one purpose; II. 9. 102 ἐπείν εἰς ἄγαθον to speak to good effect (so 11. 789., 23. 305).

223. The Preposition ἐξ (or ἐκ) usually expresses motion out from an object. It is not used purely adverbially, but there are many examples of Tmesis: as ἐξ ἔρον ἐντο, ἐκ δὲ οἱ ἤρισος πλήγη φρένας his charioteer lost (lit. was struck out of) his wits, ἐκ τε καὶ ὀψε τελεί (II. 4. 161) he brings it to pass (ἐκτελεί) late.

With a Gen. (ablativeal) ἐξ is used of motion from or out of. Sometimes the idea of motion is implied:—

II. 13. 301 ἐκ Ἐρυθησ Ἐφύρους μέτα ὥρησεσθεν armed themselves to come from Thrace after the Ephryi. 14. 129 ἐνδα β' ἐπείν' αὐτῷ μὲν ἐξομφατισε ἐκ βελέων hold back from fighting (going) out of range: cp. 16. 122, 678., 18. 152.

So of direction: II. 14. 153 "Ἡρ' β' ἐλείδε. . . στα' ἐξ Οὐλώμπωοι stood and looked from Olympus; Od. 21. 420 (drew the bow) αὐτόν δ' ἐκ δίφρου καθήμενον from the chair as he sat; II. 19. 375 ὃτ' ἀν ἐκ πόντου σέλας ναύτης φανή when a meteor appears to sailors at sea (seeing it from the sea): of choosing out of, II. 15. 680 ἐκ πολέων πίνυρας συναείρεται Ἰππος, and similarly, II. 18. 431 ὅσ' ἐμοί ἐκ παρέων Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἀλγε' ἐδωκε to me (taken from, hence) more than all.

ἐξ is also used of an agent as the source of action; as II. 5. 384 τλῆμεν . . . ἐξ ἄνδρων have endured at the hands of men; cp. II. 22. 280, Od. 7. 70., 9. 512: also II. 24. 617 θεόν ἐκ κόποια πέσσα endures heaven-sent troubles, and Hes. Theog. 94 ἐκ γὰρ Μοῦσῶν καὶ ἐκβόλου 'Απόλλωνος ἄνδρες ἀοιδότε ἐσιν. The meaning in
consequence of (a thing) occurs in II. 9. 566 ἐξ ἄρεων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, and in the Odyssey (3. 135., 5. 468, &c.).

Of time: ἐκ τοῦ from that time, ἐξ ἄρχῆς from the first (Od. 1. 188, &c.), ἐκ νεότητος (II. 14. 86).

With an abstract word, II. 10. 107 ἐκ χάλου ἄργαλεων μεταστρέψῃ φιλον ἱπτο. Note also: II. 10. 118 ἔπροβεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων 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 πεσέων to fall away from a person’s favour).

ἀπό.

224. The Preposition ἀπό means off, away, at a distance from. It is not used adverbially, but is common in Tmesis; as II. 8. 110ς ποτ’ ἀπ’ Αἰνείαν ἐλώμην which I took from Aeneas. In Composition it generally gives the Verb the notion of separating; e.g. ἀποκόπτω is not I hew at a distance, but I separate by hewing: so ἀπεκόσμεων cleared away (Od. 7. 232), and similarly ἀποδώ, ἀποβάλλω, ἀπολόω, ἀπορρήγγυμι, ἀποκατὼ (all used in Tmesis). Hence we must explain II. 19. 254 ἀπὸ τρίχας ἄρξαμενοι cutting hair as an ἀπαρχὴ, or first offering; cp. Od. 3. 446., 14. 422.

Sometimes ἀπό has the force of restoration or return, as in ἀποδίδωμι, ἀπονοστέω (cp. ἄψ backwards). So ἀπο-εἰπεῖν means either to speak out or to forbid, refuse. In a few cases it has an intensive force, as in ἀπομηνω, ἀπήχθετο, ἀποθαυμάζω.

With the Genitive ἀπό generally expresses motion away from, not implying previous place within the object (whereas ἐξ means proceeding from). It is also used of position, as II. 8. 16 ὅσον οὐφαρός ἐστ’ ἀπό γαίης as far as heaven is from earth; Od. 1. 49 φιλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ματάτι πάσχει suffers woes far from his friends; metaphorically, II. 1. 562 ἀπὸ θυμοῦ μᾶλλον ἔμοι ἔχεις you will be the more out of favour with me; ἀπὸ δόξης away from expectation. This Gen. is clearly ablative.

πρὸ.

225. The Preposition πρὸ means forward, in front. It is seldom used as an Adverb; II. 13. 799 πρὸ μὲν τ’ ἀλλ’, κτλ.; II. 16. 188 ἐξάγαγε πρὸ φώσοδε brought forth to the light: and of time, II. 1. 70 πρὸ τ’ ἐόντα the past. In one or two other instances we may recognise either the free adverbial use or Tmesis: II. 1. 195 πρὸ γὰρ ήκε, I. 442 πρὸ μ’ ἐπεμψε, Od. 1. 37 πρὸ οἱ εἰπομεν.

Traces of a use of πρὸ with the Locative may be seen in the phrases οὐφαρόνθι πρὸ in the face of heaven, ἡμῶθι πρὸ in front of Troy, and (perhaps in the temporal sense) ἡδοθι πρὸ before dawn. In these cases the meaning is to the front in, hence immediately before.
With a Genitive, on the other hand, πρὸ means in front with respect to; 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 ablatival Gen. (as with ὑπὲρ and words of comparison).

But in II. 4. 382 πρὸ ὀδοὺ ἓγενοτο 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 γάμῳ before marriage; II. 10. 224 καὶ τε πρὸ ὃ του ἐνόησε one thinks of a thing before another.

ἀντί.

226.] The only certain Compound with ἀντί in Homer appears to be ἀντί-φέρεσθαι to oppose (II. 1. 589., 5. 701., 22. 482, Od. 16. 238): for the Verbs ἀντιβολέω meet and ἀντιτορέω pierce may be derived from the Nouns ἀντί-βολος, ἀντί-τορος: also in II. 8. 163 we may read γυναικός ἄρ’ ἀντί τέτυξο, not ἀντετέτυξο (cp. Od. 8. 546 ἄρι κασιγμήτον ἔεινός θ’ ικέτης τε τέτυκται), and in Od. 22. 74 for ἀντίφιεσθε (hold up against) άρ’ ἱφιεσθε (i.e. άντα ἱφιεσθε, cp. Od. 1. 334 άντα παρείαν σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμα).

ἀντί also resembles the Improper Prepositions (esp. the Adverbs ἀντα, ἄντιν, &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 ἀντί τοι εἴπ’ ικέταο.

Double Prepositions.

227.] It is characteristic of Homer to form a species of compound by combining two Prepositions. We have—

ἀμφί περί, like our round about: also περί τ’ ἀμφί τε round and about: used adverbially, as II. 22. 10 ὡχθαι δ’ ἀμφί περί μεγάλ’ ἱαχον; in Composition, ἀμφιπεριστρόφα (II. 8. 348), &c.

παρέξ out besides, out along, out past: adverbial in Od. 14. 168 ἀλλα παρέξ μεμομεθα: with the Acc., παρέξ ἀλα alongsidethe sea, παρέξ τὴν νῆσον past the island; παρέκ νῦν beyond (= contrary to) reason: with the Gen., παρέξ ὀδὸν aside from the way.

ὑπὲξ, with a Gen. away from under, as Il. 13. 89 φεύξεσθαι ὑπὲκ κακοῖ.

διέξ, with a Gen. right through, as διέκ προθόρου, διέκ μεγάρου.

ἄποπρό quite away, used adverbially and with a Gen.

διαπρό right through, adverbially and with a Gen.

περιπρό round about; Il. 11. 180 περιπρὸ γὰρ ἐγχεὶ 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, διεξ and διαπρό as διά, &c.). The second does little more than add some emphasis.

The treble Preposition ὧπεκπρό is found in Composition: ὧπεκπρόθεω, ὧπεκπροπεῖω, &c. The sense is represented by dividing the words ὧπεκ-πρόθεω, &c.

A curious variety is found in the Compound προ-προπολινδόμενος 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: ἀγχί near, close to, ἐγγύθι, ἐγγύς near, ἀντα, ἀντίων, &c. facing, πρόσθεντον ὑπόθεν in front of, ὑποθετόν behing, μεσογύος between, ἐντόν, ἐντόθεν, ἐνδόθεν within, ἔξω out, ἐκτός, ἐκτοθί, ἐκτοθετον ὑπόθεν outside, ἐνερεθινε beneath, ἀνευ, ἀνευθετον ἀπαρτ from, ἀπαρτ without, ἀπερ ἀπαρτ away from, ἐκάς, ἐκαρτοθετον ἀπαρτ from, μέσφα unitt, πέριν beyond, πάλιν back from, ἀντικρυ straight to, ἰδίος straight towards, τῆθε, τηλόθι fur off, ὑπαρθα under, ἔνεκα (ἕνεκα) on account of, ἐκτίν by the favour of. The Gen. with some of these words may be ablative (§ 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: ἄμα together with, μίγδα in company with, ὡμός 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 ἀμφι, in the phrase θεοὶ Κρόνον ἀμφίς ἐνθέτες, II. 14. 274., 15. 225 (see also II. 11. 634, 748, Od. 6. 266); and once with a Dat., viz. in II. 5. 723 σιδηρέω ἄξον ἀμφίς. Also as an Adv. =around in II. 9. 464., 24. 488.

ἐξω generally takes an Accusative, as Ἰλιον ἔξω to IIlum: but a Gen. in Od. 8. 290 ὃ ὅ ἔξω ὀματός ἴπει went inside the house (not merely to the house).

The word ὃς was supposed to govern an Accusative in one place in Homer, viz. Od. 17. 218 ὃς αἰεὶ τῶν ὦμοίων ἴγει θεοὶ ὃς τῶν ὦμοίων. But the true construction is (as Mr. Ridgeway has pointed out) ὃς—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-ἀντα, εἰσ-ἀντα, ἐν-ἀντα, κάτ-ἀντα, πάρ-ἀντα, ἐν-ἀντίον, κατ-ἐν-
antion: ἐμ-προσθεν, προ-πάροιθε, μετ-ὑσιθεν, ἀπ-ἀνευθεν, ἀπ-ἀτερθεν, ἀπ-νοσφι, ὑπ-ἐνερθε, κατ-ἀντικρό. Cf. ἀν-διχα, δι-αμπέρει, κατ-αυτόθε, &c. These are not true Compounds (στιβετα), but are formed by παράθεσις, 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.

Homerian 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. ἄμφι, περί, παρά, ἐπί, ὑπό, προτί, ἐν,—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 locative) 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 ἄμφι, περί, μετά, ἀνά, and σῦν.

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 ἄμφι, 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. ἄμφι 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; ἐν 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 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 ἄγων αὑτοῦς implies the assertion ἀγεῖ αὑτοῦς), and because the words which depend upon or qualify them are construed with them as with Verbs (ἄγων αὑτοῦς, not ἄγων αὑτῶν 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 Particiles, 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 πράττειν and πρᾶβω suggest a particular doing, momentary or progressive, at or during a time fixed by the context; whereas πρᾶς 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. τὸ πράττειν is nearly equivalent to πρᾶς, of πράττοντες 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 δομέναι 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 constructions of the Infinitive with Verbs expressing wish, command, power, expectation, beginning, and the like: as ἔθελω δομεναι lit. I am willing for giving, δύναμαι ιδεῖν 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 ἦμεθκε μάχεσθαι urged together to fight (so that they fought), δος ἀγεῖν give for leading away (to be led away), οἴδαι νοῆσαι knows (has sense) to perceive, βῆ ὡ λέναι stepped to go (=look his way, cp. γονάτι ἐνώμα φευγίμεναι); προέκει τιθέσθαι, πέμπε νέεσθαι, ὅρτῳ πέτεσθαι, &c. Cp. also—

II. 1. 22 ἐπενεφόμησαν Ἀχαιοί, ἀλεξίοα κτλ. the Greeks uttered approving cries for (to the effect of) respecting, &c.; so 2. 290 ὁδύρονται οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

2. 107 Ἀγαμέμνονοι λείπετο φορηναι, πολλήνων νήσουι καὶ Ἄργεω ταῦτα ἀνάφερεν left (the sceptre) to Agamemnon to bear, there-with to rule over many islands and Argos.
Od. 4. 634 ἐμὲ δὲ χρέω γλύκεται αὐτὴς Ἡλίδ᾽ ἐς εὐφράξον διαβή-


ment. 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 . . κτεῖνεν there are many
Trojans for me to kill (whom I may kill); cp. 9. 688 εἰσὶ καὶ
οἷς τάδ’ εἰπέμεν these too are here to tell this, 11. 342 ἐγγὺς
ἐσαυ προφυγεῖν were near for escaping, to escape with.

13. 98 εἶδετα ἦμαρ ὑπὸ Τρῶεσσι δαμήναι 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 οἶνον δὴ θαυμάζομεν "Εκτορά δίον αὐχητίν τ’ ἐμενα κτλ. for
being a warrior; Od. 7. 148 θεοὶ ὁλβία δοῦεν ζωέμεναι may the
gods grant blessings for living, i.e. in life; ἀριστεροίκε 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 ἐσαυ προφυγεῖν (were near
for escaping) might mean were near so as to escape or (as the
context of II. 11. 342 requires) were near so that he could escape;
ὁναι ἐπειγόμενοι 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 ἰὼν ἐν νυστήν ἐπέτρεπεν οἶκον ἀπαντα
πείδεσθαι τε γέροντι καὶ ἐμπέδα πάντα φιλάσεσεν
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
δούῃ δὲ σαωσέμεν ὃ ἀπολέσθα νῆς, where νῆς 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 ἐρρυ’ ἀρτυ-
βολήσαι shudders as to (from) meeting; Od. 9. 468 ἀνὰ δ’ ὀφρύσι
νεόν ἐκάστῳ κλαίει I nodded backwards to each for weeping (=for-
bidding him to weep), II. 22. 474 ἐίχον ἀπολέσθα. But the proper
use also appears, as in II. 22. 5 αὐτὸν μείναι ἐπέστης fettered so
that he remained. Here the context must determine the meaning.

(2) With φρονέω, ὅω, &c. the Infinitive may express the
effect or conclusion: I think to the effect—, hence I think fit; as
II. 13. 263 οὐ γὰρ ὅω . . πολεμίζειν I have no mind to &c. So
Infinitive.

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 οί περὶ μὲν βουλήν Δαναοῦ περὶ δ’ ἔστε μάχεσθαι excel them in fighting.

1. 589 ἀργαλεῖος γὰρ ὅλυμπιος ἀντιφέρεσθαι the Olympic is hard to set oneself against; cp. 20. 131.

4. 510 ἔπει οὐ σφί λίθος χρῶς οὖν σφί στίδηρος χαλκὸν ἀνασχέσθαι since their flesh is not stone or iron for withstanding (so as to be able to withstand) bronze.

8. 223 ἦ δὲ εἰς μεσατῶ ἐσκε γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρῳ for shouting (= so that one could shout) both ways.

13. 775 ἔπει τινός αὐτῷ αὐταῖς αἰτιάσθαι since your mind is for blaming (is such that you must blame) the innocent.

Od. 17. 20 οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖς μέεναι ἐτὶ τηλίκοι εἰμί I am not yet of the age to remain.

17. 347 αἰδὼς δ’ οὐκ ἀγαθῇ κεχρημένῳ ἄνδρι παρεῖναι shame is not good to be beside a needy man (is not a good ‘backer’ for).

21. 195 ποιῶ κ’ ἔτ’ 'Οδυσσὴ ἀμυνόμεν ἐι ποθὲν ἔλθοι; = how would you behave in regard to fighting for Ulysses?

Od. 2. 60 ἡμεῖς δ’ οὐ νό τι τῶν ἀμυνόμεν 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 τοίοι means ‘of the kind’ with reference to οἰς Ὀδυσσείδες ἔστε or to the Inf. ἀμυνόμεν. 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 θελεῖν ταξύς swift to run, θαμβά ἰδέσθαι a wonder to behold (cp. the use of the Accusative with Adjectives, § 131 fin.).

233. Impersonal Verbs. The Infinitive is used with ἔστι there is (means, room, occasion, &c.), ἔσται it is fit, πέπρωται it is determined, εἴμαστο it was fated. For ἔστι cp.—

II. 14. 313 κείσε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ὕστερον ὁμηρήσαται.

Od. 15. 392 αἴδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατον ἔστι μὲν εὔδεων, ἔστι δὲ περιπέμνουσιν ἀκούειν there is (enough) for sleeping and for listening.
It is very common with a negative: οὐχ ἔστι, οὐ πώς ἔστι, &c. meaning there is no way, it may not be, &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 ἔστι θέσθαι κτλ. it is difficult for me to make &c.; μόριμον δὲ οί ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι it is fated for him to escape; so with αἰσχρόν, νεμεσιστῶν, αἴσημον, ἄρκιον, βέλτερον, and the like.

(b) With an abstract Noun: as—

Π. 14. 80 οὐ γὰρ τις νέμεσις φυγεῖν κακῶν there is no wrong in escaping ill.

Od. 5. 345 ὄθι τοι μοῦρ' ἔστιν ἄλυσιν where it is thy fate to &c.
II. 330 ἄλλα καὶ ὅρη εὐδεῖν there is a time for &c.

So with αἴσημον, μέρος, θέμι, κρεμό, ἀνάγκη, αἰδώς, δέος, ἐλπορή, &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:

Π. 2. 291 ἢ μὴν καὶ πῶνον ἐστὶν ἀληθέντα νέκασαν
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 ἄρη ἐστὶν εὐδεῖν, μάρα ἐστιν ἄλυσιν, θυμός ἐστιν ἀλαρίων αἰτίασαν, &c. The other interpretation, ‘it is to return vexed,’ though apparently easier, is not really more Homeric; and it certainly does not fit the context so well.

Π. 7. 238 οἶδ' ἐπὶ δεῖνα, οἶδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νομήσαι βῶν
ἄλαλην, τό μοι ἔστι ταλαφρόνον 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 ταλαφρόνον πολεμιστής, elsewhere an epithet of Ares). Here ἔστι is used as in ἄρη ἐστὶν εὐδεῖν, &c.

In Π. 13. 99–101 ἢ μέγα τάδε' ὀρφαλμοῖον ὑπώμαι, Τρώας ἐφ' ἡμετέρας ἐναί ζέαν the Inf. follows θαύμα, or rather the whole phrase θαύμα τόδε ὑπώμαι (= θαύμα ἔστι): ὑπώμα 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 βασιλεύμεν 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 εὐδεῖν 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—

Il. 5. 750 τής ἐπιτέτραπτοι μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλυμπός τε ἦμεν ἀνακλήναι πυκνῶν νέφων ἦ' ἐπιθέεναι
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—

Il. 1. 107 αἰεὶ τοῖς τὰ κάκ’ ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι.
4. 345 ἔνθα φιλ' ὀπταλέα κρέα ἐδέμαι.
Meaning you love to prophesy evils (to eat roast flesh, &c.).

(2) The Impersonal form (ἀργαλέων ἐστι) 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 καλὸν ἀκουέμεν 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—

Il. 4. 247 ᾧ μένετε Τρώας σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν; ὑπὸ γε wait for the Trojans for their coming on? i.e. for the coming on of the Trojans.
14. 342 Ἡρη, μήτε θεῶν τὸ γε δειδίθι μήτε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὄφεσθαι
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 οἴδε νοῆσαι means knows (enough) to perceive: the full construction being such as we have in Il. 2. 213 ὃς ἐπεα φρεσὶν ὡς ἄκουσα τε πολλὰ τε ὑδει... ἐριζέμεναι who knew (had a store of) words wherewith to wrangle. So too δίδωμι with an Infinitive is originally construed as Od. 8. 44 τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ θεῶν πέρι δόκεν ἄδικην τέρτεων: Il. 11. 20 τὸν ποτὲ οἱ Κυνήρης δόκε ξευγύιον ἔπνει; thence it comes to mean ‘to give (such a state of things) that some event shall happen,’ i.e. to grant the happening; as δὸς πίσσαραι grant that I may punish. In such a passage as Il. 3. 322 τὸν δὸς ἀποφθιμενον δύναι κτλ. we may take τὸν with δὸς or as an Acc. with the Inf. δύναι.

A Neuter Pronoun, too, may serve as a vague Object, explained by an Infinitive; e.g. Il. 5. 665–6 τὸ μὲν οὗ τίς ἐπεφάραισα... ἐξερύσασα: cp. Od. 21. 278 καὶ τούτῳ ἐπος κατὰ μοίραν ἐειπε, νῦν μὲν πάσσαι τάξον κτλ.
The Infinitive may also be equivalent in sense to the Genitive depending on a Noun; as—

II. 7. 409 oû γάρ τις φειδώ νεκών κατατεθημάτων
γλύμεντ' ἐπεί κεθάνωσι πυρός μειλίσομεν ὥσκα

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 ὤς, ὡς τε, οἶος, ὄσος, &c. is rare in Homer. The familiar construction of ὡς τε only occurs twice: II. 9. 42 ἑπέσονται ὡς τε νέεσθαι is eager to return, and Od. 17. 20 οὐ γάρ ἐπὶ σταθμοὺσι μένεν ἔτι τηλίκος εἷμι, ὡς τ' ἐπιτειλαμένῳ πιθέσθαι. The other instances are: Od. 21. 173 τοίον—οἶον τε ἔμεναι such a one as to be; Od. 5. 484 δοσον τε ἔρωσθαι so far as to shelter; Od. 19. 160 ἀνήρ οἶος τε μάλιστα οἶκον κήδεσθαι, 21. 117 οἶος τ' ἀνέλεσθαι.

236.] With πρὶν and πάρος. This use is common in Homer: as II. 1. 98 πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλω δόμεναι before they give back to her father; 11. 573 πάρος χρόα λευκὸν ἑπαυρέων 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 δόρποιο μέδεσθαι. Perhaps however μέδεσθαι is an Aorist: see § 31, 2.

πρὶν with the Indicative first appears in H. Apoll. 357 πρὶν γέ οἰ ίον ἐφίκειν. 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 purā '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 οὐτάσσα '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. 313 λαοὶς δ’ Ἀτρεΐδης ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι ἄνωγε Αγαμέμνον ordered the people to purify themselves (= that they should purify).

   5. δός οὖν δὴ θαυμάζομεν Ἐκτόρα 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.*—

   βοῦλοι’ ἔγω λαὸν σῶν ἐμεναι I wish the people to be safe (the safety of the people).

   οὔνεκ’ ἄκουσε τεῖρεσθαι Τρῶας because he heard of the Trojans being hard pressed.

   τῷ οὖν νεμέσιζομ’ Ἀχαίοις ἀσχαλάν 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.* τεῖρεσθαι Τρῶας is virtually = ὅτι ἔτειροντο Τρῶες). It is found with Verbs that usually take only a ‘Cognate Acc.’ (Neuter Pronoun, &c.), as φημὶ, εἴπον, ἄκουσαν, πυθανόμας, οἶδα, ὄν, φρονέω, ἑθέλω, βούλομαι, ἔλπομαι, νεμεσίζομαι, φθονέω, &c. Thus it is in principle a particular form of the Accusativus de quo (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 ἔμοι γὰρ πέπρωσαι ὁμοίῳ γαϊάν ἐμεθαλ—

   it is fated for both to &c.

   19. 182 οὐ μὲν γὰρ τι νεμέσσασθαι βασιλῆι ἄνδρ’ ἀπαρέσσασθαι it is no shame that a king should &c.

   (b) after πρὶν and πάρος; as πρὶν ἔλθειν vias Ἀχαῖοιν before the Greeks came, πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι before these things came to pass.

The other examples are from the Odyssey, viz.—

This may be called the purely idiomatic Acc. with the Infinitive. It has evidently been formed on the analogy of the older varieties.

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.—

Il. 5. 659 ἀλλ' οἶνον τινά φασὶ βιῆν Ἡρακλῆινον ἐμείναι ('what they say he was'): cp. Od. 8. 181.

14. 454 οὐ μὰν αὐτ' ὀλο. . . ὁλον πηθῆιαι ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ τις 'Ἀργείων κόμοις χροί.

The Future Infinitive is used with φημί, δίω, ἔλπορια, ὑπηρέτο-μαι, ὑμνήμα and other Verbs implying expectation or promise; also with μέλλω 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 (§ 231, 2), the Aorist or Present is used. Thus Il. 13. 262 οὐ γὰρ ὄλω πολεμίζων means, not 'I do not think I shall fight,' but I do not think fit, I have no mind, to fight; so Il. 3. 98 φρονέω διακρίνωθημαι my mind is (=δοκεῖ μου) that they should be parted: 9. 508 φρονέω τετυμησθαὶ I claim to be honoured: 22. 235 νοεῖ φρεσὶν τιμῆσοντας I see (understand) that I should honour thee (=I purpose to honour thee): 24. 560 νοεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς 'Ἐκτορά τοι λῦσαι: and so in a prophecy, Od. 2. 171 φημὶ τελευτηθῆναι ἀπαντὰ I say that all must be accomplished: and—

Il. 13. 665 ὡς ὅ εὖ εἰδὼς κηρ' ὀλον ἕπὶ νηὸς ἔβανε, πολλάκι γὰρ οἶ ἐπεὶ γέρων ἀγαθὸς Πολύδωος νοῦς οὗ τ' ἀργαλέῃ φθίσασθαι οἷς ἐν μεγάρουσιν that he must perish (according to his fate).

So with μορά and θέσορόν ἐστι: also with μέλλω when it means to be likely: Il. 11. 364 ὅ μέλλεις εὐχεσθαί to whom it is like that you pray; Od. 9. 475 οὖκ δρ' ἐμελλεῖς ἀνάλλῳς ἀνδρὸς ἐμείναι he proves to be no helpless man whose comrades you are; Il. 21. 83 μέλλων ποῦ ἀπέκθασαί it must be that I am become hateful; Il. 18. 362 μέλλει βροτὸς τελεσθαὶ a man is likely to accomplish (i.e. it may be expected of him).

The instances in which a Pres. or Aor. Inf. appears to be used of future time may be variously accounted for. The Inf. ἔρωτας has a future sense in Il. 17. 709 οὐδὲ μον οὖν τον ἔρωτα κτλ.; so Il. 20. 365., Od. 15. 214. Again in Od. 9. 496 καὶ δὴ φάμεν αὐτόθ' ἀλέσθαι the Aor. is used for the sake of vividness— we thought 'we are lost': cp. Il. 9. 413 ὀλετο μὲν μοι νόστος (§ 78). Similarly Il. 3. 112 ἐλπόμενοι παῦσασθαι may be hoping that they had ceased (by the fact of the proposed duel); cp. Il. 7. 199., 16.
281. So Od. 13. 173 ὁς ἔφασκε Ποσειδάων ἀγάσασθαι who said that Poseidon was moved to indignation (= ὅτι ἡγάσαστο).

In several places the reading is uncertain, the Fut. being of the same metrical value as the Aor. or the Pres. (-εσθαι and -ασθαι, -ζευν and -ιζευν, &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 τίσασθαι (so Ven. Λ.: most MSS. τίσασθαι). Hence we may read φάτο γὰρ τίσασθαι in Od. 20. 121.
22. 118 ἄλλ᾽ ἀποδάσσεσθαι (so Aristarchus: most MSS. -ασθαι).
22. 120 μὴ τι κατακρύψειν, ἄλλ᾽ ἀνδίχα πάντα δάσεσθαι (MSS. -ασθαι).
23. 773 ἐμελλὼν ἐπαίξεσθαι (the best MSS. have -ασθαι).
20. 85 ὁπλοχεον ἐπωνισθείν τοπολεμεῖν (so A. D.: other MSS. τοπολεμεῖν).
16. 830 ὃν ἐφησα τοίνυν κεραίζεμεν (MSS. -ζεμεν).

Od. 2. 373 ὑμοιον μὴ . . τάδε μυθήσεσθαι (so Ar.: MSS. -ασθαι).

Two exceptions remain: Od. 2. 280 ἐλπώρη τοῦ ἐπείτα τελευτῇ τάδε ἔργα (τελευτήσες in one of Ludwig's MSS.): II. 12. 407 ἐπεὶ οἱ θυμοὶ ἐλπετο κῦδος ἀρίσθαι (some good authorities give ἐλλειπο).*

The only example of an Inf. representing an Optative is—

II. 9. 684 καὶ δ᾽ ἂν τοῖς ἀλλοισιν ἔφη παραμυθήσασθαι which is the report of the speech (v. 417) καὶ δ᾽ ἂν . . παραμυθή- σαίμν. But cp. Od. 3. 125 οὔδε 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—

ἀλεξάρον γὰρ τόδε γ’ ἐστι καὶ ἔσομένουι πυθέσθαι

is idiomatic (as compared with σφῶιν δὸς ἄγειν, &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. ἐσομένουι πυθέσθαι would be in Latin posteris audītus), 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 II. 4. 341 σφώϊν μέν τ’ ἐπέδωκε μετὰ πρώτων ἑντα ἐστάμεν, it becomes you that you should stand among the foremost; II. 8. 192 τῆς νῦν κλέος ὁδράνθι ἵκει πάσαι χρυσεῖν ἐμεναί 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—

II. 1. 76 καὶ μοι ὁμοσσόν, ἢ μέν μοι πρόφρων... ἀριθμεῖν
12. 337 οὗ πῶς οἱ ἐνν βωσαντὶ γεγονεὶν.
Here πρόφρων is said to be ‘attracted’ into the Nom. (agreeing with the subject of ὁμοσσόν), and βωσαντὶ 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—

II. 1. 541 αἰεὶ τοι φιλόν ἐστίν ἐμεῦ ἀπὸ νόμιφιν ἑντα
κρυπτάδια φρονέντα διακέμεν,
means ‘you like to decide apart from me,’ i.e. ‘you like, when you decide, to be apart from me’: whereas with ἑντα the sense would be ‘when you are apart from me you like to decide.’ So II. 15. 57 εἴηπῃ Ποσειδώνι ἀνακτὶ παυσάμενον πολέμου ἱκέσθαι ‘shall bid Poseidon to cease from war and come’—not ‘when he has ceased, to come.’

But with a Dat.—

II. 6. 410 ἵμα ὅτι κέρδοιν ἑνὶ σεῦ ἀφαμαρτούσῃ χῦνα δῷμει ἂν it were better for me, if (or when) I lose thee, to δῦν.

II. 8. 218 εἰ μὴ ἐπί φρεσί θήκ’ Ἀγαμέμνονι πότνα "Ἡρη ἀυτῷ ποιήσας τοι ὀν ότρώνα’ Ἀχαιῶν ‘who had of himself made hot haste,’ αὐτῷ as in the phrase μεμάωσε καὶ αὐτῷ (13. 46., 15. 604).*

II. 15. 496 οὗ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης τεθνάμεν to die when fighting for his country.


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.—

II. 15. 117 εἰ πέρ μοι καὶ μοῦρα Δίως πληγεῖτι κερανῶ
κεῖθαι ὂμοι νεκύεσοι (cp. Od. 19. 139, 284).

* This is pointed out by Dingeldein, De participio Homericó, 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—

II. 12. 410 ἄργαλέον δὲ μοι ἐστὶ καὶ ἱφθιμῷ περ ἔωντι· 
μούν ἡθαμένῳ θέσθαι παρὰ νηπίω κέλευθον.

Here the meaning is, ‘to break through and make’ &c.,—and therefore ἡθαμένων would be correct; but after ἐστίν the change from the Dat. to the Acc. would be very harsh. So II. 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 II. 9. 398–400 ἐνθα δὲ μοι .. ἐπέσορτο θυμός ἄγνιστο γῆματι .. κτήμασι τέρ- 
πεσθαί, where for γῆματι, the reading of Aristarchus, others gave γῆματη, 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 II. 1. 76 (quoted above), 1. 415, 4. 101–3, 8. 498, &c. An exception is—

Od. 9. 224 ἐνθ’ ἐμὲ μὲν πρῶτισθ’ ἐστάροι λίσσουν’ ἐπέσσι, 
τυρών αἰνούμενον ἴναι 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:—

II. 1. 322 ἐρχεσθόν κλισίν ‘Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρέιδαο, 
χειρός ἐλπὶ’ ἀγέμεν Βρισιδά.

2. 8–10 βάσε’ ἰθ’ .. ἀγορενέμεν ὡς ἐπιτέλλω.

3. 459 ἐκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτιμέμεν.

Od. 4. 415 καὶ τότ’ ἐπετὴ’ ὧμίν μελέτω κάρτος τε βίη τε, 
ἀδθ’ 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:—

II. 22. 259 νεκρὸν Ἀχαϊοῖς δόσω πάλιν, ὅς δὲ σὺ ρέξειν.

Od. 4. 408 εὑνάσω ἔξελης’ σὸ δ’ ἐδ κρίνασσαί ἐταῖροιν.

So after a clause which leads up to a command; II. 11. 788 
ἀλλ’ ε’ οὐ φάσθαι (Achilles is the mightier) but do you advise him 
well: 17. 691., 20. 335. Cp. also, II. 10. 65 ἀδίκου μέειν (answer 
to the question am I to remain here ?): 5. 124 θαρσέων νῦν .. 
μάχεσθαι (in answer to a prayer) without fear now you may 
fight.

The use for the Third Person is rare: in a command, II. 6. 
86–92 εἰπὲ δ’ ἐπείγα μητέρι σῇ καὶ ἑμῇ’ ἥ δὲ .. θείναι κτλ.; 7. 79 
σῶμα δὲ σικαδ’ 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,—

Od. 17. 354 Ζεὺς ἄνα, Τηλέμαχον μοι ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὀλβίων 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 αἳ γὰρ Ζεὺς τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων τοίοι ἐὼν οἶδος ἔσσαι, τά τε φρονεῖν ἃ τ᾽ ἐγὼ περ, παϊδά τ᾽ ἐμὴν ἐκέμεν καὶ ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέσσωμαι.

24. 376 αἳ γὰρ .. οὗτος Νήμικον ἔλλον .. τοίοι ἐὼν .. ἐφεστάμεναι καὶ ἄμωνεν.

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 τἀδ᾽ εἰπέμεν these are here to say this with καὶ δὲ οὖ εἰπέμεναι it is your part to say. There is a similar use of the Infinitive in Sanscrit, with ellipse of the verb to be (Delbrück, A. 8. 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. λέγε represents an original use of the Tense-stem without any Person-ending (Paul, Principien, p. 108).

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 Brāhmaṇa 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 (verdenele Infinitive, Delbr.), are mostly Datives, expressing end or purpose, and several of them are identical in formation with Greek Infinitives; as dāvane dōuva (dōvevai), vidmane ὑπεναι, ὑπαί -σειν, * -ςει -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.) ἔκπεφτειν εὐδείω with munitioni tempus relinguer (Roby, § 1156), ἀμφῶς εῖναι 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 ἔνεκε μάχεσθαι, &c., but even in such forms as—

II. 5. 639 ἀλλ' οἶν τινὰ φασί βίτην Ἡρακλῆιν
ἐμμεναι (what they call him as to being),

where the Inf. appears to be added epexegetically after a slight pause: cp. 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 predicate 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-Homeric 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 Homeric 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—

Il. 2. 453 τοῦτο δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γυλκλῶν γένετ' ἥ νεεσθαί.
7. 203 ὅς νύκην Ἀλαττι καὶ ἄγλαδν εὕχος ἄρεσθαί.

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 ἀκονέμεν ἐστὶν ἄοιδοι.
11. 358 καὶ κε τὸ βουλοῦμην, καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἶν, πλειστέρη σὺν χειρὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἱκέσθαι.

The only instance which really comes near the later 'Articular Infinitive' is Od. 20. 52 ἀνὴ καὶ τὸ φυλάσσεων (§ 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 θεός αἰεὶν ἔοντες, βροτοὶ στίνον ἔοντες, πίθοι ποτὶ τοῖχον ἁμρότες, σάκος τετυγμένον, and the like. In one or two cases it is Substantival: as τὸ γάρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων, ψυχαὶ εἴδολα καμὸντων, Οὐλώπια δᾶματ' ἔοντες.

A few Particiles have lost their Verbal character altogether: esp. οἰλόμειος miserable, ἀνήμενος happy, ἰκμένος secundus, ἀσμενὸς glad, ἐκῶν willing, ἔθων (better ἐθῶν, since it is an Aor. in form, § 31, 1) according to wont, περιπλόμενος (in the phrase περιπλο-μένουν ἐναυών the revolving years); also the Substantival μέδοντεs rulers, τένοντεs muscles, ἀμείζοντεs rafters, αἴθουσα a portico, δράκοντα a serpent, γέρων, μοῦσα. The word κρείων ruler retains a trace of the Verb in εὑρίς κρείων widely ruling. Cp. also the compounds πολυ-λας, ἀ-κάμας, ἀ-δάμας, λυκά-βας.

2. Much more frequently, the Participle qualifies or forms part of the predication (§ 162): e.g. in such combinations as—

Διαστήτην ἔρισαντε parted having quarrelled
ἔυφρονεόν ἀγορήσατο spoke with good thought

the Participle has the same construction as the Adjective in παλὼνονς ἀπέστη, or πρόφρων 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-
cumstance or manner (as in the examples quoted); cause, as II. 11. 313 τι παθῶντε λελάσμεθα θυρίδος ἀλκίσ; opposition, as often with καὶ 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 καπνὸν ἀποθρόσκοιτα νόται 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—

II. 4. 420 δεινὸν ὁ ἐβραχε χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσιν ἀνακτος ὁμομένου (as he roused himself).
Od. 23. 205 ὅς φάτο, τῆς ἰ αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ ἀματ' ἀναγνώση (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):—


5. 162 πάρτιος η βοῶς ἔχονοι κατὰ βοσκομενῶν a heifer or cow (of those) that are feeding in a thicket.

5. 665 τὸ μὲν οὐ τίς ἐπεφράσατ' οὐδ' ἐνόησε μηροῦ ἐξερύατι δόμν μελίνων, ὥρφ' ἐπιμαλη, σπευδόντων ὑπὸ τὸ... (of them) in their haste: cp. 15. 450 το οἱ οὐ τίς ἐρύκακεν ἱεμένων περ.

18. 246 ὡρθῶν δ' ἐστατῶν ἀγορὴ γένετ' an assembly was held upstanding (of them standing up).

Od. 17. 489 Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐν μὲν κράδή μέγα πένθος δεξε βλημένον (for his having been wounded).

So with the Dative; II. 12. 374 ἐπειγομένοισι δ' ίκοντο came as a relief (to them) when they were hard pressed; Od. 5. 152 κατελβητο δὲ γλυκὸς αὐτὸν νόστον ὀμορμένοι.

(c) The Subject thus understood may be indefinite:—

II. 2. 291 πόνος ἐστὶν ἀνηθέντα νέσθαι (see § 233).

6. 267 οὐδὲ πὴ ἐστι κελανεφεὶ Κρονίων αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαμεμένου εὐχετάσθαι for one who is bespattered... to pray.

13. 787 πᾶρ δύναμι δ' οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ἐσ秋冬ενον πολεμίζειν.

So II. 2. 234., 14. 63, Od. 2. 311: cp. the phrase ὅσον τε γέγονε βοήθος 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 δε σφι περι χρον χαλκος ἀτέλης (construed with χρον instead of σφι).

16. 531 ὅτι οἱ ὦκ ἡκουσε μέγας θεὸς εἴδαμένου (with ἡκουσε instead of οἱ).

Od. 9. 256 ὃς ἐφαθ', ἡμῖν ὅ αὗτε κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἤτορ δεισάντω (so Il. 3. 301, Od. 6. 157., 9. 458).

II. 20. 413 τὸν βάλε... νῦτα παράσοντος wounded him... in the back as he darted past.

Od. 4. 646 ὡς βῆν ἀκοντος ἀπηρα.


Od. 17. 555 μεταλλήσατι τι ἐθυμός ἀμφὶ πόσει κέλευται καὶ κῆδεά περ πεπαθῦνη.

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 εἶπον κατ' ἄρ' ἔχετο 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 Particles which are without Tense-meaning are chiefly Aorists in form (§ 243, 1).

The Future Participle is used predicatively with Verbs of motion: ἀληθε λυσόμενος came to ransom, καλέοντες 'εκε went to call, ἦ πεῖκουργήσοντα, ἐπέδραμε τεύχεα συλλήσων, &c. The exceptions to this rule are—

(1) ἔσσομένοις future, in Il. 1. 70 τα τα τε ἔσσομενα πρὸ τα ἐντα things future and past; 2. 119 καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

(2) ἐπιβησόμενοις, in Il. 5. 46 (16. 343) νῦς ἵππων ἐπιβησόμενον, 23. 379 αἰεὶ γὰρ δέφρον ἐπιβησομένουσιν ἐκτην. But see § 41.

(3) Il. 18. 309 καὶ τε κτανέεντα κατέκτα, see § 63.

(4) Od. 11. 608 αἰεὶ βαλέοντι δοικώς 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 οίδ’ ἔλαθ’ Ἀτρέως νίδον Πάτροκλος Τρώς οἰμελεῖς that Patroclus had fallen: Od. 5. 6 μὲλε γὰρ οἱ ἔον ἐν δόμασι νύμφης it troubled her that he was &c.; II. 6. 191 γλύνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἡγεν ἐσώτερ knew him for the offspring of a god: Od. 10. 419 σοι μὲν νοσθῆσαντι ἐξάρημεν we were gladdened by thy return: II. 13. 417 ἄχος γένετ’ εὐξαμένοιο there was vexation 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 ιἱ κείων γε οἴδαμι κατελθόντι· Λιδός εἶσω. So especially when the time of the fact is the important point, as ἐσ’ ἥλιον καταδύντα τίλλ συν-σετ: II. 13. 38 μένοιεν νοσθῆσαντα ἀνακτα should await the master’s return: 13. 545 Θόωνα μεταστρεφέντα δοκεύσας.

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 εὶ πτῶσσοντας υφ’ ἐκτορρ πάντας ἀκούσασιν if he were to hear of their shrinking.

Od. 4. 732 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ πυθόμην ταύτην δόθων ὁμαλώντα.

23. 2 δεσποινή ἐρένουσα φίλον πόσων ἐνδυν ἕνωτα.

II. 1. 124 οὖδε τί που οἴδεμεν ἔννημα κέλεμεν πολλά.

Od. 7. 211 οὐς τινας ὑμεῖς ἵστε μάλιστ’ ὄχεοντας διέκιν.

II. 8. 378 ἡ νῦν... γοβήσετε προφανεία will rejoice at our appearing.

13. 353 ἕχεσο γὰρ ρὰ Τρωσὶν δαμνακένως 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 οὖν ἐπέλοιχ’ ἰκέτιν ταλατείριον ἀντιδώσαντα 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:

II. 1. 88 οὖ τις ἐμεῖς ζωτός κτλ. no one, while I am living shall &c.
2. 551 περιτελλομένων ἐναντῶν as years go round.
5. 203 ἀνδρῶν εἴλομένων where men are crowded; so ἀνδρῶν λικμῶντων, ἀνδρῶν τρεσσάντων, πολλῶν ἠλκύντων, &c.

Od. i. 390 καὶ κεν τούτ’ ἐθέλομι Δίος γε διδόντων ἄρεσθαι that too
I would be willing to obtain if Zeus gave it.

The Subject is understood in Od. 4. 19 μολπής ἔξορχοντος when the singer began the music.


The ‘Genitive Absolute’ must have begun as an extension of one of the ordinary usages of the Gen.; most probably of the Gen. of Time (§ 150). For, ἡ ἡλίου ἀνύωντος within the time of the sun’s rising is a Gen. like ἦν οὐς in the morning, νυκτός by night, &c., and answers, as a phrase denoting time, to ἤμ’ ἡ ἡλίον καταβάτη at sun-set, ἐς ἡ ἡλίον καταβάτη up to sun-set, &c. So we may compare τοῦτ’ αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλύσεται he will come within this year with ἢ σέθεν ἐνθάδ’ ἐνυών ἔλευσεται he will come within your being here; and again περιτελλομένων ἐναντῶν in the years as they go round, with τῶν προτέρων ἑτέων in the former years. The transition may be seen in ἔαρος νέον ἵσταμένου in the spring when it is beginning. Compare also the phrases ἐπειγομένων ἀνέμων, Βορέας πεσόντος, &c. with νημείης 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 Ablativial. 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 Τρωάς μὲν ἐκείναν ἔδω φῶς.
12. 374 ἐπηγομένοις δ’ ἱκοντο.

Od. 21. 115 οὐ κέ μοι ἄργον τάδε δώματα πόννια μῆτηρ λείποι (= 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 Participles in some of their characteristics.

Several groups of Nouns are used as Participles or ‘Gerundives’ in the cognate languages, such as the Latin forms in -iu-s, the Sanscr. in -ta-s, -na-s, -ya-s, -tavya-s, &c. Of the corresponding Greek forms the Verbal in -ro-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: τυχ-τός made, κρυπτός secret, κλα-τός heard about, famed, στρα-τός standing (in a stall), τλη-τός enduring (II. 24. 49), ἀγαπ-τός object of love, ἔρπε-τόν creeping thing, φυ-τόν growth, plant, πυν-τός wise. So with α- priv., α-κλαύτος unweeping, α-παστός fasting, α-πυστός not having news, also of whom there is no news, α-πιστός 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, cautus, certus, catus, falsus, scélus, &c. We may note that there is a similar (but more complete) divergence of use between the Sanscr. Participles in -na-s and the Greek Adjectives in -vo-s, as στνυ-νός.

(2) To express possibility, as κηθ-τός that can be acquired, ληστός that can be taken as plunder (II. 9. 406), ῥηκτός vulnerable (II. 13. 323), ἀμ-βα-τός approachable. This meaning is chiefly found in Compounds with α- priv.: as α-λυ-τός that cannot be loosed, ἄρρηκτος, ἄ-φυκτος, ἄ-λαστος, ἄ-κίκητος, ἄ-σβεστος, ἄ-τλητος, ἄ-φθα-τος, &c.: and in other negative expressions, as ὀκ ὀπό-μαστος, οὐκέτα δυνατά, οὐκέτα ἄνεκτος, οὐ τί νεμεσιγιστον. Hence, as Brugmann observes, it is probable that this use of the Verbal in -ro-s began in the use with the negative.

It is evident that in respect of meaning the Verbs in -ro-s are closely akin to the Perfect Participle. Compare (e. g.) τυκτός and τετυγμένος, στατός and ἵστατος, πωπατός and πεπωπμένον. Hence the readiness with which in Latin they have taken the place of the Pf. 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 -rēo-s (for -rēf-Δο-s) are post-Homeric. The earliest instance seems to be φα-τείο-s, in Hesiod, Th. 310 δεύτερον αὐτὸς ἐτίκτεν ἀμήχανον, οὐ τί φατειον, 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 άνασσετε γαρ το γε πάντες ὅ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη γε σε that my prize goes elsewhere, the Clause ὅ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη 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 (ἀπονυμίαι) into δεικτικαί 'pointing,' and ἀναφορικαί 'referring' 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 ἦς (§ 108), πότερος, πόστος, ποιός, τῇ, πῶς, ποῦ, πόθι,
The form πόσος only occurs in the compound ποσόμαρ (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. I. 225 τίς δαίς, τίς δὲ ομιλος ὁδ’ ἔπλετο; 13. 233 τίς γῆ, τίς ὄμος, τίνες αὐτὲς ἑγγεγάασι;) 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 τοι 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 ὁδε, as Od. 6. 276 τίς ὁδ’ ὁδε Ναυσικάδ ἔπεται; 20. 351 τί κακὸν τόδε πάγχετε; The corresponding use with οὗτος is only found in II. 10. 82 τίς οὐτος ἔρχεται; op. H. Merc. 261 τίνα τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μύθον ἔειπος;

The use of the Interrogative in Dependent Questions is rare:—

II. 5. 85 Τυθέειν οὐκ ἂν γνωῖς ποτέρους μετεῖν.

Od. 15. 423 εἰρώτα δὴ ἔπεται τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἐλθοι. 17. 358 ἀλλήλους τ’ εἰροντο τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἐλθοι.

17. 373 αὐτὸν δ’ οὖ σάφα οὖδα πόθεν γένος εὐχετα εἶναι.

With these it is usual to reckon the anomalous—

II. 18. 192 ἀλλοῦ δ’ οὖ τευ οὖδα τεῦ ἄν κλυτα τεύχεα δύω. 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 ἀλλοῦ 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 ἃλλ’ ἂγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ καὶ ἀτρέκεως κατάλεξον, δι καὶ μοι τοῦτ’ ἀγάρευσον εἰσίμενον ὑφρ’ ἐδ εἰδω, 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 νημερτέα μοι ἐνιστε, τότ’ ὄχετο καὶ τίνες αὐτῶ κυριοὶ ἐποιεῖ κτλ.; II. 144 εἰπέ, ἀναξ, τῶς κτλ.; 24. 474 εἰπέ μοι εἰρομένην, τί νύ τοι νόσον ἐνοδῆθε κεῦθε; 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 εἶ δ’ ἂγε μοι ὄμω, νημερτέα μυθήσασθε πῇ ἐβή κτλ.

ὁδε, κεῖνος, οὗτος.

249.] The Pronoun ὁδε is almost purely Deictic. It marks an object as near the speaker,—this here, this on my side, &c.; as ναὶ μα τόδε σκῆπτρον by this sceptre (in my hand); Ἐκτόρος ὁδε γυνὴ this
is the wife of Hector; Od. 1. 76 ἡμεῖς οἴδε περιφραζόμεθα let us here consider (§ 162, 2): 1. 226 οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ' ἐστὶ 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' ἄγα μοι καὶ τόνδε, φίλοι τέκος, ὃς τις ὅθ' ἐστι.
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 οἴσθα καὶ ἄλλοι μόθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοήσαι
the speech is the present one, opposed to a better one which should have been made.

The derivatives τοσόδε, τοιόδε, ὥδε, εὐθάδε, are similarly Deictic: as II. 6. 463 χίτει τοιοῦτ' ἄνδρος from want of a man such as I am now.

250.] The Pronoun κείνος is sometimes used in the Deictic sense, pointing to an object as distant:—

II. 3. 391 κείνος ὁ γ' ἐν θαλάμῳ οὖν ὅτι ἐστιν 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 διομένῳ τὸν καμμορον thinking of that (absent) one, the unhappy.
Hence in an Anaphoric use, κείνος distinguishes what is past or done with, in contrast to a new object or state of things:—

II. 2. 330 κείνος τῶς ἀγώρευε he (on that former occasion), δὲ.
3. 440 νῦν μὲν γὰρ Μενέλαος ἑνίκησεν τὸν Ἀθηνᾶ
κείνον δ' αὖτις ἑγὼ.
Od. 1. 46 καὶ λέγη κείνος γε ἐκεῖται κεῖται ὀλέθρῳ
ἀλλὰ μοι ἀμφ' Ὄδυσσηι κτλ.
Here κείνος 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 ἀφραίνεις, Μενέλαε διοτρέφεις, οὕτε τι σε χρή
tautēs ἀφροσύνης.
10. 82 τίς οὗτος κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ στρατὸν ἔρχεαι οἶος;
Od. 2. 40 οὐχ ἕκασ οὗτος ἀνὴρ the man you want is not far off.
6. 218 στήθ' οὗτω ἀποπρόθεν (as you are).
Again, οὗτος is regularly used of one of the enemy; as—

II. 5. 257 τούτω δ' οὖ πάλιν αὐτὶς ἀπολογετον ὥκες ἵπποι. 22. 38 μή μοι μίμες, φίλον τέκος, ἀνέρα τοῦτον.

Similarly, with a tone of contempt,—

II. 5. 761 ἄφρονα τοῦτον ἀνέντες (cp. 831, 879). Od. i. 159 τούτουσι μὲν ταῦτα μέλει (of the Suitors).

More commonly, however, οὗτος 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—

II. 3. 195 τεύχεα μέν οἱ κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρη, αὐτός δὲ κτλ.

9. 301 αὐτός καὶ τοῦ δῶρα ἥν καὶ ταῦτα οὗτοι.

14. 47 πρὶν τυρι ἤμας ἐνυπηρέσας, κτεῦναι δὲ καὶ αὐτούς.

17. 152 ὃς τοι πάλλ' ὄφελος γένετο πτόλειτ τε καὶ αὐτῷ to thy city and thyself.

So of the body, as the actual person, in contradistinction to the soul or life (ψυχῆ), II. 1. 4, Od. ii. 602, &c.

Hence, too, αὐτός = by himself (without the usual adjuncts):—

II. 8. 99 Τυγείδης δ' αὐτός περ ἐδών προμάχουσών έμίχθη.

So Achilles in his complaint of Agamemnon, II. 1. 356 ἔλων γὰρ ἐξεὶ γέφας αὐτός ἀπούρας, i.e. at his own will, without the usual sanction: cp. 17. 254., 23. 591.

This meaning appears also in αὐτῶς = merely, as—

Od. 14. 151 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὖν αὐτῶς μυθήσομαι ἀλλὰ σὺν ὅρκῳ.

Cp. II. 1. 520 ή δὲ καὶ αὐτός . . . νευκει as it is (without such provocation) she reproaches me.

The Gen. αὐτοῦ, &c. is used to strengthen the Possessives: as Od. 2. 45 ἐμῶν αὐτοῦ χρητός: II. 6. 490 τὰ σ' αὐτίς ἐργά: II. 10. 204 δ' αὐτοῦ θυμῷ (suo ipsius animo): Od. 16. 197 δ' αὐτοῦ γε νόμῳ. Hence in II. 9. 342 τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλήει—where the use of the Art. is not Homeric—we should probably read ἣν αὐτοῦ.
(2) To express without change, the same as before;—

II. 12. 225 οὐ κόσμῳ παρά ναόν ἐπευγέμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα.

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 αὐτόθι, αὐτῶν in the place, without moving; and αὐτῶς without doing more, hence without effect, idly: as—

II. 2. 342 αὐτῶς γὰρ ὧν ἐπέεσσο' ἐριδανομεν.

(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 ἀλλὰ δ' αὐτῶν φωτὶ κατακρύπτων ἢικε, and perhaps II. 20. 55 ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς ἔριδα πῆγνυτο βαρεῖαν (among them there, in heaven itself). On II. 9. 342 τήν αὐτοῦ φιλεῖ see above (i). In II. 12. 204 κόπε ὧν αὐτῶν ἔχοντα it is best to take αὐτῶν in agreement with ἔχοντα (of the eagle). In II. 19. 255 read αὐτόθι (§ 157).

The Reflexive Pronoun.

253.] The Pronoun ἐσ (i.e. the Personal Pronoun declined from the Stems ἐ- or ἐ- and σφε-) 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.

(i) The Reflexive sense is chiefly found either (a) after a Preposition, as ἀμφί ἐ πατὴνα looking round him, and so ἀπὸ ἐσ, ἐπὶ οἷ, πρὸς οἷ, μετὰ σφι, κατὰ σφέας, &c.; or (b) when it is reinforced by αὐτός, as II. 20. 171 ἐἐ δ' αὐτόν ἐπτρόφυει μαχεσάσθαι stirs himself up to fight. Other examples are few in number:—

II. 2. 239 ὅς καὶ νῦν Ἀχιλῆ, ἐσ μέγι' ἀμείλονα φῶτα κτλ.

5. 800 ἦ ὀλίγον οἷ παῖδα ἐσκότα γείνατο Τυδεύς.

So II. 4. 400., 5. 56., 24. 134, Od. 11. 433., 19. 446, 481. We should add however such Infinitival Clauses as—

II. 9. 305 ἐπεί οἷ τινὰ φησιν ὅμοιον οἷ 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 γνώ δ᾽ 'Οδυσσέας δ ὦι τι τέλος κατακαλρον ἠλθεν.

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 (ἄπο ἔσ, προτὶ ὦι, &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 ἄντός 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 εἶθεν ὦι ἄντος ἥδεν ἀγαθῶν τελεσίει, II. 6. 91 καὶ οἱ πολλὶς φοίλατος ἄντῇ, Od. 8. 396 ἐφόδια ὦτο ἄντον (‘Οδυσσέα) ἀρεσσάσω,—add II. 24. 292, Od. 4. 66, 667., 6. 277—the Pronoun is evidently unemphatic, and is accordingly allowed to be enclitic by good ancient authorities. This is amply confirmed by the instances of μιν ἄντον (II. 21. 245, 318, Od. 3. 19, 237, &c.), and the parallel use of ἄντός with the enclitic μοι, τοι, &c.

In one instance, viz.—

Od. 4. 244 ἄντον μιν πληγήσων ἄξεσελήσας δαμάσας

it would seem that μιν has a reflexive sense. The reading, however, is not certain, some ancient authorities giving ἄντον μὲν or ἄντον μὲν.

254.] The Possessive ἐσ, ῥι 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 αἱ μὲν ἔτι ζωὸν γόσον Ἑκτορα ἔνι οἶκῳ.

Od. 9. 369 Οὔτων ἔγω πόματον ἔδομαι μετὰ ὦσ ἐτάροισι.

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 ἰπόεν δὲ ἐς Φαίδημος ἦρως

Σιδονίων βασιλεὺς, ὧν ἐσ ὅμος ἀμφεκαλύπει κεῖσε με νοστήσατα (cp. 4. 741).

II. 10. 256 Τυδεόθν μὲν δῶκε μενεπτόλεμος Ὀρασύμῃς

φάσγανον ἰμφηκε, τὸ δ᾽ ἐνο παρὰ νητ ἱνελεπτο.

16. 753 ἐβίλητο πρὸς στῆθος, ἐῆ τὲ μιν ἄλεσεν ἄλκῃ.

It will be seen that where ἐσ does not refer to the grammatical Subject it is generally emphatic: e.g. in the line last quoted, ἐῆ ἄλκῃ 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, ὡς as a general Reflexive Pronoun. It has been a matter of dispute with Homeric scholars, both ancient and modern, whether ἐσ (ὡς) 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, ὡς, ἐς 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 ἐστὶ διοτρεφόν ψαυλιήν
τιμῇ δ’ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν, φίλει δὲ ἐς μητίτεα Ζεύς,

and so the first line is quoted by Aristotle (Rhet. 2. 2). Aristarchus read διοτρεφός βασιλής. However, admitting Zenodotus to be right, ὡς 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 ἢ τ’ ἐστὶ δίκη θείων βασιλίων
ἀλλοι κ’ ἐχθαίρην βροτῶν, ἀλλοι κε φιλοί.

(2) Again, the ‘general’ Reflexive use, if it exists in Homer, is confined to the Adjective ἐς, ὡς. The only contrary instance is II. 10. 398 (Dolon tells Ulysses that he has been sent by Hector to find out)—

ἡ φυλάσσονται νῆς θοαὶ ὡς τὸ πάρος περ,
ἡ ἣδη χείρεσιν ὑφ’ ἡμετέρησι δαμέντες
φόξων βουλεύοιτε μετὰ σφίσου, ὦ δ’ ἐθέλοιτε κτλ.

So the MSS., but Ar. read βουλέοντι, ἐθέλοντι, making Dolon repeat the exact words of Hector (II. 309–311); and this reading, which gives σφίσιν its usual sense, is clearly right. The Optative is not defensible (esp. after the Indic. φυλάσσονται), 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 ἐ is found as a Plural in Hom. H. Ven. 267. In later Epic poets the Substantival ἐ, &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-Homeric.

(3) The case is different with the Adjective. We find forms of ἐσ (ἐς) 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—

Π. 3. 244 ὁς φάτο, τοῦς δ' ἡθη κάτεχεν φυσίζουσα αῖα, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὐθι, φίλη ἐν πατρίδι γαΐη.

for φίλη Ζenodotus read ἐγ' (their own). So, again, in—

Π. 1. 393 ἀλλὰ σῷ, εἶ δύνασαι γε, περίσχεο ταύτις ἐγός, and in similar passages (Π. 15. 138., 19. 342., 24. 550), it is known from the Scholia that Aristarchus read ἐγός, Zenodotus ἐοίο (ἐ thine own). Again, in—

Π. Ι. 142 νῦν μὲν δῆ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄεικέα τίσετε λάβην

Zenodotus read ὃς πατρός (your own father). It is probable that he read ὃς in the similar places Π. 19. 322, Od. 16. 149, &c.

Besides the instances of undoubtedly ancient difference of reading, there are several places where one or more MSS. offer forms of ἐς in place of ἐμός and σός. Thus—

Π. 14. 221 ὅ τι φρεσί οὔσι μενονός (ἡσιō D).

19. 174 σῷ δὲ φρεσὶ σήσιν λαοθής (ἡσω in several MSS.).

Similar variations (with φρεσὶ) are found in Od. 5. 206., 6. 180., 13. 362., 15. 111., 24. 357. Again—

Od. 1. 402 δώμασι σεῖσιν ἀνάσσους (οίσων ten MSS.).

Similarly in Od. 8. 242., 15. 89 (ἐοίωσι for ἐμοιωσι): also—

Od. 7. 77 καὶ σήν ἐς πατρίδα γαλαί (ἡν ἐς in one MS.).

13. 61 σῷ δὲ τέρπει τῷ ἐν οἴκῳ (ὁ ἐν one MS.).

Another instance of variation is detected by Brugmann in—

Π. 9. 414 εἶ δὲ κεν οἴκαδ' ἱκωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαλαί,

where the MSS. (except A) have ἱκωμι, 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 ἐς 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 ἕγώ γε  
ἡς γαλής δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἱδέσθαι.

But there is no reason to take ἥς otherwise than in v. 34 ὅς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἥς πατρίδος οὐδὲ τοκίον γίγνεται 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 αὕτα τε οί δῶ ἀφ-νείων πέλεται a man's house (when he is a king) quickly grows rich.

We have seen that post-Homeric poets use the substantival ἐα, &c. in the sense in question. The corresponding use of the adjective ἔας, ἐς 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 ἔας 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 ἔας is proved to exist by Od. 14. 505., 15. 450, and in the latter place ἐοις, though excluded by the sense, is found as a variant. Also (2) ἔας is found for ἐοι meaning his own in II. 14. 9., 18. 71, 138. It cannot therefore be regarded as certain that ἔας was systematically introduced merely to get rid of ἐοιο = my own, thy own. Again, (3) the use of the Article in τοῦ πατρός, τῆς μητρός, τοῦ παῖδος, is not clearly un-Homerian (see § 258). And if in II. 11. 763 οἶος τῆς ἀμπιθανότερα Βentley was right in reading ἦς (cp. 17. 25), it follows that the Article might creep in for ὅς, ἦς, &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 ἔας, ἐς,—if not of the substantival ἐα, &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 undue 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 ἐας, ἐς. 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 ħo, &c. is clearly post-Homerian. If ħos (珲s) 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 suus, was the original one. It is noteworthy that this undoubtedy primitive use is precisely the one of which there is least trace in Homer.

δ ἂ τό.

256. The Article δ ἂ τό may be defined as a purely Anaphoric Pronoun, conveying some degree of emphasis. It differs from δός oivos and ħeivnoς 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 aξός and ħo by greater emphasis.

Three chief uses of δ ἂ τό may be distinguished:—

1. The use as an independent Pronoun; δ ἂ 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 δ γάρ for he, τόν ἰα him I say, aξός καὶ τῷ δόρα the man and his gifts: or (2) marks a contrast, as δ ἂ 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 μέν, δέ, γάρ, ἀρα, or preceded by αὐτάρ, ἀλλά, ἂ τό, or an equivalent Particle. Hence the familiar combinations δ μέν, δ δέ, δ γάρ, καὶ γάρ δ, αὐτάρ δ, ἂ τό δ, τόν ἰα, ἀλλά τόν, &c. of which it is needless to give instances.

The later Substantival use with μέν and δέ is a surviving frag-
ment of this group of uses. A few others are found in Attic poets, 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 (ὁ δὲ, αὐτὰρ, ἄλλα) generally marks a change of Subject: ὁ δὲ but the other, &c. But this is not always the case: ὁ δὲ Λαέκκον ... βεβλήκει him he missed, but smote Leucus (so II. 8. 119, 126, 302., ii. 80, &c.); II. 1. 496 Θέτις δ’ οὖ λήθετ’ ἐφετμένων παιδὸς ἔσθ, ἄλλ’ ἦ γ’ ἀνέδυσετο 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 πρότερον οἱ Κάρες ἐβουλεύουσαν μετήκαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτίς πολεμεῖν εἰς ἀρχής ἀρτέοντο. We may compare it with the pleonastic use of the Pronoun in—

II. II. 131 ζώγρει τ’ Ἀτρέως νιόε, σοῦ δ’ ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα, where the effect of inserting σοῦ is to oppose the two acts denoted by ζώγρει and δέξαι ἄποινα.

2. The Article is frequent in Disjunctive sentences:—

II. 12. 240 εἶ τ’ ἐπὶ δεξι’ ἱώει πρὸς ἤώ τ’ ἱέλιον τε, εἶ τ’ ἐπ’ ἄριστερὰ τοι γε κτλ. (or else to left?).

Od. 2. 132 ζώει 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 ἤδος ὁ τῶν πεδίου διώκετο, II. 224 καὶ τε πρὸ ὁ τῶν ἐνώσεν. So an Article and a Personal Pronoun, ἐν δὲ σὺ τῶν (II. 13. 829, &c.); cp.—

II. 8. 532 εἶσομαι εἶ κέ μ’ ὁ Τυτέιδης κρατερὸς ΔΙΟΜΗΘΗΣ πάρ ἕηὼν πρὸς τείχος ἀπώσεται, ἦ κεν ἕγω τῶν.

Note that when the second of the two is in the Nom., it usually takes γε: hence τοῦ δ’ γε, τῇ ρ’ οὶ 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 σοὶ ἐμοὶ τῶν κῆδεων ὃς κ’ ἐμὲ κῆδη. 1. 272 τῶν οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσι &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, ὡς, and the like:—

II. 15. 207 ἐσθλὼν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται ὅτ' ἀγγελος αἶσμα εἰλῷ.
Od. 9. 442 τὸ δὲ νηπίους οὐκ ἐνώησεν ὡς οἱ κτλ.
II. 3. 308 Ζεὺς μὲν ποὺ τὸ γε ὀιδε ... ὀπτοπέρῳ κτλ.

So II. 14. 191., 20. 466., 23. 545. It may even introduce an independent sentence, as—

Od. 4. 655 ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμάζω· ἵδιον ἐνθάδε Μέντορα διόν.

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, σὺν, ἕν, ἀμα: as II. 1. 348 ἡ δ' ἀδείκνυσι' ἀμα τοῖς γυνῆς κίεν.
This is to be connected with the fact that the forms ἐσο, οἶ, σφίσι, &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 ὅψει ἡν ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἳ κέν τοι τα μεμήλη. Here again the want of a corresponding form of ἐσο makes itself felt. This use is chiefly found in the Nom. and Acc.; but also in τοῦνεκα therefore, ἐκ τοῦ from that time, &c.

258.] The Attribution Article. The Attribution 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 ὃς ἐφαθ', αἳ δ' ἐπέμνυσαν Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡρῆ thus he spoke, but they murmured, Athene and Here: II. 1. 348 ἡ δ' ἀδείκνυσι' ἀμα τοῖς γυνῆς κίεν. So with μ viêm, II. 21. 249 ὑπα μὴν πάνυτει τόνοιο | διόν Ἀμιλῆα, 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 Attribution use when the Article needs the addition of the Noun to explain it; e.g.—

II. 4. 501 τοῦ ὅ Ὀδυσσόνετ πάρα ιχολασάμενοι βάλε δουρὶ κόρον' ἡ δ' ἔτεροι διὰ κροτάφου πέρισσεν ἄιχµή χαλκείη.

Here ἡ δὲ would not be clear without αἰχµή. So in—

II. 1. 408 αἳ κέν πως ἐθέλησιν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἁρῆξαι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πρόμνιας τε καὶ ἀμφ' ἀλα ἔλαται Ἀχαιοὺς.

Od. 15. 54 τοῦ γὰρ τε ἕξινος μιμνήσκεται ἣματα πάντα ἀνόροις ξεινοδόκου.

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 ὃ βοῦν ἱέρεινεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.
And where the Neut. τὸ is followed by an epexegetic Infinitive:—
Od. i. 370 ἐπει τὸ γε καλὸν ἀκονέμεν ἐστὶν ἄοιδοι.
II. 17. 406 ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἐλπετο πάμπαν,
ἐκπέρσεων πτολεθρον ἂνεν ἐθεν.
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, αὐτὰρ, &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 ἔνυν, χωλὸς δ᾽ ἐτερον πόδα, τὸ δὲ οἱ ὥμοι κτλ.
but then his shoulders; so τὸ δὲ οἱ ὁσσε (II. 13. 616), &c.

II. 22. 405 ὥς τοῦ μὲν κεκόντο κάρῃ ἄπαιν, ἥ δὲ νῦ μῆτηρ κτλ.
but on the other hand his mother &c.

II. 1. 382 ἦκε δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀργείοισι κακὸν βέλος, οἱ δὲ νῦ λαοὶ
θυνήκον ἐπασοῦτεροι, τὰ δ᾽ ἐπόχετο κῆλα θεοῦ.

4. 399 τοὺς ἐν Τυδεῖς Αἰτώλοις· ἀλλὰ τὸν νῦν κτλ.
So we should explain the Article in II. 1. 20 παῖδα δὲ μοι λύσατε φίλην, τὰ δ᾽ ἄτομα 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 ἐπεί τὸ μὲν ἔλκος ἐτέροσετο: 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 following the Noun in Od. 1. 116 μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν
σκέδασω κατὰ δόματα θείη, κτλ.

(c) The corresponding use with copulative and illative Particles, καὶ, τε, ἢδὲ, καὶ γάρ, is much less common: ep.—

II. 1. 339 πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θυγτῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆς ἀπηνεός.

15. 36 ἵστω νῦν τὸδε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὔφως ὑπερθεῖν,
καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὅδωρ (ep. 18. 486).
Od. 22. 103 δῶσω δὲ συβώτη | καὶ τὸ βουκόλῳ ἄλλα.
II. 14. 503 οὖδε γὰρ ἦ Προμάχου δάμαρ κτλ.

The Article singles out its Noun as the special object intended, or turns to it with fresh emphasis. So with an Infinitive, Od. 20. 52 ἀνίη καὶ τὸ φυλάσσειν, where we need not take τὸ φυλάσσειν closely together. So Hes. fr. 192 ἥδω δὲ καὶ τὸ πυθέσθαι κτλ. also Op. 314 τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι ἄμενον.

These uses should be carefully distinguished from the later Definite Article. For instance, in II. 1. 20 τὰ ἄπωνα does not mean this or the ransom, in contradistinction to other ransoms. It means the other, the ransom, in contrast to the person ransomed. Again, the 4th book of the Iliad begins οἱ δὲ θεοὶ, which we naturally take to mean simply but the gods. But, taking in the last line of the 3rd book, we have—

δὲ ἐφαρ' Ἀτρέιδας, ἐπὶ δ' ἤνεον ἄλλοι 'Αχαιοι' οἱ δὲ θεοὶ πᾶρ Τηρί καθήμενοι ἑγορλώντο.

Clearly the Article marks the turning from the one scene to the other,—from the battlefield to Olympus. Thus the Attic οἱ (θεοὶ) distinguishes the gods from other beings: the Homeric οἱ (δὲ θεοὶ) marks, not this permanent distinction, 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 ἐτερός, passim: also αὐτός = same.

(b) Comparatives and Superlatives; οἱ πλέονες, οἱ ἄριστοι, &c. So in the adverbial expressions τὸ πρὶν, τὸ πάρος, τὰ πρῶτα, and the like, in which the Neut. Article is used adverbially (τὸ πάρος = then formerly). It is quite different when a Masc. or Fem. Article is used with an Adverb, as οἱ ἐνεργεῖ θεοὶ (II. 14. 274), ἄνδρῶν τῶν τότε (II. 9. 559), τὰ τῷ ἐνδόθη καὶ τὰ θύρηφων (Od. 22. 220),—a use which is extremely rare in Homer.

(c) Ordinal Numerals: as τῇ δεκάτῃ: so τὸ ἰμισον. Also Cardinal Numerals, when a division is made; as II. 5. 271 τοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας αὐτὸς ἔχων ἀτίταλλ' ἐπὶ φάτνῃ, τῶ δὲ δ' Ἀινεία δώκεν four he kept, and the (other) two he gave to Aeneas; II. 11. 174 πάσας τῇ δὲ τῇ θη κτλ. (the lion chases) all, but to one &c.

(d) Possessives; τὸν ἑμὸν 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 contrast is brought out by the context:—

II. 1. 106 μάντι κακῶν, οὗ τῷ ποτὲ μοι τὸ κρήνων εἰπατ' αλεί τοι τὰ κάκ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι.
3. 138 τῶν δὲ κε νυκήσαντι φίλη κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις
(the conqueror being one of two definite persons).

So ἡ πλήθος (II. 2. 278., 15. 305) the many (in contrast to a single man, or to the few): τὸ χθιζόν (II. 13. 745); τὸν δεξιὸν ἤππον (II. 23. 336); Αἴας ὁ μέγας the greater Ajax: θεὸς... τοὺς ὑποταράλους (II. 14. 279) the gods of the lower world: ἀνακτεὶ οἱ νέοι (Od. 14. 61) masters of the younger generation: ἵχθυσ τοῖς ὀλγοίς (Od. 12. 252) the smaller kinds of fish. So—

II. 1. 70 ὅς ἤδη τὰ τ' ἑόρνα τὰ τ' ἐσοίμενα πρὸ τ' ἑόρτα.

The use to contrast indefinite individuals (one—another) is rare in Homer: II. 23. 325 τὸν προϊσχότα δοκεῖτε waits on the one in advance: II. 16. 53 ὁπότε δὴ τῶν ὤμοιον ἀνήρ ἐθέλησιν ἀμέσως: II. 9. 320 κάτσθαι ὤμος ὁ τ' ἀρεγος ἀνήρ ὁ τε πολλὰ ἔργας: Od. 17. 218 ὥς αέλ τὸν ὦμοίον ἤγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὦμοιον.

(f) Patronymics and geographical epithets: e.g. II. 11. 613 Μαχδόνι πάντα ἐσκε τῷ Ασκληπιάδῃ (ep. 13. 698., 14. 460., 23. 295, 303, 525): II. 2. 595 Ὁμαριν τῶν Ῥώμηκα: II. 6. 201 πεδῶν τῷ Ἀλήτων, ep. 2. 681., 10. 11: and so perhaps II. 21. 252 αὔτοβ... τοῦ θηρῆτρος an eagle, the hunting kind. This use is rare.

(g) In a very few places, a Genitive: II. 20. 181 τωθῆς τῆς Πριάμου: Od. 24. 497 νείς οἱ Δολίοι: II. 9. 342., 10. 408., 23. 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' ἔδοι Καπανῆος ἐλήθετο συνθεσίων
tῶν ὡς ἐπέτελε κτλ. (ep. 5. 331 θεάων τῶν αἰ—). This is the primitive order, the Article being 'resumptive'—the injunctions, those namely which, ἤ¢. So ἦματι τῷ ὅτε,—and common 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 γὰρ τοῦ γενεῆς ἔστι Τρωὶ πέρ κτλ. (ep. v. 268), also 6. 292., 8. 186., 19. 105. It is commoner in the Odyssey.


In Od. 18. 114 τοῖτον τῶν ἄναλτον does not mean (as it would in Attic) 'this ἄναλτος,' but 'this man—ἄναλτος that he is.' Cp.
II. 13. 53 ἥ ὁ τὸ δόλος κτλ., where δόλος—*the madman*—is used as a single term, in Apposition to δὲ γε. This use—which is characteristic of Homer—may be regarded as a relic of the Deictic force of δὴ τό. It answers to the later use of ὁδὸς, 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, ἄναξ, Ἴρως: where however the Pronoun is the important word, the Noun being subjoined as a kind of title: τὸ όν ᾠνακτός=‘of his lordship’ (cp. the German *allerhöchst derselbe*). Accordingly, when the name is added the Art. is generally not used; as γέρων ἰππηλάτα Πηλεὺς (not δὲ γέρων).

(b) with ἐπός and μῦθος, in certain phrases, as ποίον τὸν μύθον ἐπός; In these cases the Noun is of vague meaning, adding little to the Article: ὁ ἐπελ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε with ἐπελ τὸ γὰρ ἄκουσε. So in the formula ὁμοσέν τε τελευτητέν τε τὸν ὄρκον, perhaps with a touch of ceremonial verbiage.

In the Odyssey it occurs with several other Nouns: ὁ ἐπός (*passim*); ἦν ὄψις Od. 5. 55., 9. 146., 12. 201, 276, 403, &c.; τὰ 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 δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνεκέα 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 οὖν’ εἶ κεκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθεμένου πυθομένη not even if I heard of such a one as my father being dead: Od. 2. 134 ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς κακὰ πείρωμα, ἕξιον from my father (for one) I shall suffer (cp. II. 15. 641 τοῦ γένετ’ ἐκ πατρὸς 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 ὁς ἀν μοι τὸν παίδα κτλ.: Od. 11. 492 ἅλλ’ ἄγε μοι τοῦ παιδὸς κτλ.: Od. 8. 195 καὶ κ’ ἄλαος τοι τὸ σήμα: Od. 18. 380 οὐδ’ ἀν μοι τὴν γαστέρ’ κτλ.: Od. 19. 535 ἅλλ’ ἄγε μοι τοῦ ὅνειρον κτλ.: II. 1. 167 σοι τὸ γέρας πολύ μεῖζον. Hence the Art. in these places has much the same
function as with a Possessive (μοι τὸν παῖδα—τὸν ἐμὸν παῖδα); it reinforces the Pronoun which conveys the idea of possession.

This account does not apply to τὴς εὐνής (II. 9. 133, 275., 19. 176), and τῆς ἀρετῆς (Od. 2. 206). But here the Art. is probably substantival: τῆς εὐνή her couch, τῆς ἀρετῆ her perfection. In 23. 75 καὶ μοι δὸς τὴν χεῖρα 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 Ἀπόλλων ἄνακτι, τὸν ἡφκομος τέκε Λητώ
Apollo—son of the fair-haired Leto.

The use of ὁ η τὸ as a Relative is less common in Homer than that of ὅς η ὅ, and is restricted in general to clauses which refer to a definite antecedent. Thus in the line just quoted the clause τὸν ἡφκομος 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 ἄλλα τὰ μὲν πολίων ἔξεπτράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται.

Od. 4. 349 (=17. 140) ἄλλα τὰ μὲν μοι ἕσσει . . τῶν κτλ.
We may perhaps read ἄλλα θ’ ὁ μὲν (§ 332).

(2) The Art. cannot stand as correlative to a Demonstrative (i.e. we must have τὸ—ὁ that which, not τὸ—τὸ). Hence in—

II. 7. 452 τοῦ ὁ ἐπιλῆσονται, τὸ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων κτλ.
to)—τὸ are not meant as correlatives: the sense is and will forget the other—a wall which ἥ. But some MSS. have ὁ τ’ ἐγὼ. So Od. 13. 263 (τῆς ληφίδος) τῆς εἰνεκ’ ἐγὼ πάθουν ἄλγεα θυμόμενον my share of the spoil—(spoil) for which I had suffered ἥ. Exceptions are, Od. 14. 227 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ τὰ φίλα ἐσκε τὰ πού θέδον ἐν φρεσὶ δήκεν, 19. 573 τοῦς πελέκες τῶν κτλ. (perhaps also Od. 9. 334).

(3) The Art. is not used in epexegetical clauses, as II. 2. 338 ντυθάνοις, οὗ οὗ τι μέλει κτλ., II. 5. 63 ἄρχεκάκους, α’ πάσιν κακῶν κτλ., II. 15. 526 Λαμπετείδης, δν Λάμπτων ἐγείνατο.

Instances at variance with the general principle are to be found in II. 5. 747 ἡρώων τούτων τε κτένονται (οἴσιν τε in some MSS.), II. 9. 592 κῆλε’ δο’ ἀνθρώπους πέλει τῶν ἀστον ἀλώπῃ, also II. 17. 145., 18. 208, Od. 1. 17., 6. 153., 11. 545., 16. 257., 23.
It is probable however that the text is sometimes at fault, the Art. having been substituted for ος, especially in order to avoid hiatus: e.g.—

II. 17. 145 ους συν λαοις τοι 'Ιλιω (λαοις οτι Φιλω).
Od. 16. 263 ἐπετρε κοι τουτω γ' ἐπαμύτορε τοὺς ἀγορεύεις,
(where οὐς 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 την μοι δόσαν υίς 'Αχαιῶν (Briseis)—whom the Greeks gave me (=although the Greeks had given her to me): Od. 16. 19 μοίνον τηλύγετον, τῷ ἐπʼ ἄλγεα τολλᾶ μογήσῃ his only son, after he has endured many sorrows about him (ep. 19. 266., 23. 6): II. 1. 150 πρὸς Τρώων, τῶν οὖ τι μετατρέψει the Trojans—while you pay no heed to them. So in—

II. 1. 319 λῆγ' ἐριδος τήν πρώτων ἐπηπεληρ' 'Αχιλῆς,
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, τὴν ποτὲ μιν σοῦ ἡλασε
a wound—one that once a boar gave him. Similarly τῆς = at a place where (II. 14. 404., 21. 554., 23. 775).

The Acc. Neut. το used adverbially means wherefore (§ 133), as—

II. 3. 176 ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ ἐγένοντο τό καὶ κλαίουσα 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 τοῖς, τῶσος, &c.

263.] The Article with τε serves as a Relative. In accordance with the use of τε in Homer (§ 332) τε expresses a constant or general characteristic, but only of a definite Antecedent: as—

II. 6. 112 "Εκτορι Πριμίδη, τόν τε στυγέουσι καὶ ἄλλου.
15. 621 κύματα τε τροφόεντα, τά τε προσερεύγεται αὐτήν.

Od. 18. 273 οὐλομένης ἐμέθεν, τῆς τε Ζεὺς ὄλβον ἄπερα.
It is especially used in similes (where a typical case is described), as II. 13. 390 πίνως βλασθῆ τήν τι' ὀφρεσι 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 impossible 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 γάρ ἤρως 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 epexegetical Noun (as αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῶν οὐρανοῦ ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἁγαμέμνων), we see that ὁ is more important than a mere Article, is in fact a Substantival Pronoun, to which ἤρως 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:—

II. 15. 66 τολέας ὀδέσαντ' αἰχμὸν τοὺς ἄλλους, μετὰ δ' ὕιὸν ἐμὸν Σαρπηδόνα δῖον not the others, but others as well, certain others.

II. 5. 672 ἢ προτέρῳ Δίὸς ὕιὸν ἐρυθρόυποιο διάκοι, ἢ δ' ὑπὶ τῶν πλεύσων Λυκίων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλευθ 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.

II. 22. 162 ὡς δ' ὀρ' ἀεθλοφόροι περὶ τέρματα μόνυχες ἵπποι ἰμφα μάλα τρωχώσι· τὸ δὲ μέγα κεῖται ἄθλον and there a great prize lies ready. So Od. 20. 242 αὐτάρ ὁ .. ὅρων but a bird. The same thing is shown by μηθητῆρων 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 κρήνην, τὰ κακά. In Homer τὰ κακά is said because in the particular context κακά evils are opposed to good. In Attic τὰ κακά or τὸ κακῶν 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 δίως ἀγορέσαι, Op. 353 τον φιλέοντα φιλεύν καὶ τῷ προσιόντι προσέκαι. The use with Adverbs is commoner, Op. 365 τὸ θόρηφιν, Op. 457 τῶν πρώθεν. The Prepositional phrase in Op. 364 τὸ ἐν οἷκα κατακείμενον is quite post-Homeric. The same may be said of the ‘articular’ Inf. in Op. 314 τὸ ἄργακεθαίν ἁμείν (§ 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 § 260, 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 δεύρ' ἐς τονδ φιλακας καταβήμενεν.
277 χαίρε δὲ τῷ ὄρνηθ' Ὀδυσσεύς.
322 ἢ μὲν τῶν ἵππων τε καὶ ἄρματα κτλ. (80 330).
408 πῶς δ' αἱ τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων φιλακαὶ κτλ.

Also πεδιὸν τὸ Τρακέκον (v. 11), δ' τλῆμον Ὀδυσσέας (v. 231, 498), τὴν νύκτα (v. 497). So in the Catalogue of the Ships we have Θάμυρν τὸν Θρήκηα (II. 2. 595), and τὸ Πελασγικὸν 'Αργος (2. 681).

ός ἢ ὁ.

265.] The Pronoun ος ἢ ὁ, and the Adverbs formed from the same Stem, esp. ός, οτε, εως, are occasionally used in a Demonstrative or quasi-Demonstrative sense; viz.—

(1) After καὶ, οῦδε, μηδέ: as II. 21. 198 ἄλλα καὶ ός ἀληθικε even he fears: II. 6. 59 μηδ' ός φῦγοι may not even he escape: and often in the combinations καὶ ός even so, οὐδ' ός not even so. So οὔδ' ενθα not even there (Od. 1. 18).

(2) With μὲν and δὲ, to express a contrast between indefinite objects: as—

II. 11. 64 ός 'Εκτορ ότὲ μὲν τε μετὰ πρῶτουι φάνεσκεν,
ἀλλοτε δ' ἐν πυμάτουι κτλ. (so 18. 599., 20. 49).
12. 141 οὶ δ' ἦ τοι Ἧσος μὲν κτλ. up to a certain time.
17. 178 ότε δ' αὐτὸς ἐποτρύνει but sometimes &c.

(3) In the Adverb ός so; especially as the second member of
the Correlation ὅς—ὅς as—so. A single ὅς is often used where it may be either a Relative or a Demonstrative, as in the formula ὅς φάτο, ὅς εἶπὼν, &c.; cp. the Latin quae quum dixisset, &c. The other instances in which we have to translate ὅς as a Demonstrative are rare: e.g. II. 3. 339 ὅς δ’ αἴτιος and in like manner.

Among Demonstrative uses of ὅς it is usual to count the use with γάρ, as ὅς γάρ, ὅς γάρ, ἵνα γάρ. This however is an error, arising from the occasional use of γάρ where it cannot be translated for: see § 348, 3.

Some commentators find a Demonstrative ὅς in—

Od. 4. 388 τὸν γ’ εἶ τὸς σὺν τοῖς λοχαγάμενοι λελαβόθαι,
ὅς κέν τοι εἴπησαι ὅδων κτλ.

Here however the clause ὅς κέν 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 ὅς in the simple Anaphoric sense. The growth of a Relative out of a Demonstrative has been already exemplified in the Article (§ 262). But the Relatival use of ὅς is so ancient that any attempt to trace its growth from an earlier syntax must be of very uncertain value.

266.] ὅς τε, ὅς τίς. The simple ὅς may be used in any kind of Relative Clause, although in certain cases (§ 262) the Article is preferred. Thus we have—

II. 4. 196 ὅν τίς διστεύσας ἐξαλευ (a particular fact).
  1. 403 ὅν Βριάρεων καλέοντι (a constant, characteristic fact).

In these two places the Art. might be put in place of ὅς: but not in—

II. 2. 205 εἰς βασιλεὺς, ὃ εἶδωκε (a characteristic fact, defining).
  1. 218 ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείδηται (definition of a class).

So ὅς is used to convey a reason (which implies a general cause or tendency): as Od. 1. 348 Ζεῦς αἰτίος ὅς τε διδωσιν κτλ.; cp. II. 2. 275., 5. 650., 8. 34.

If the Relative is meant to refer to an indefinite number of individuals falling under a common description, ὅς 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 τις is used: e.g.—

II. 1. 279 σκηπτόδχοις βασιλεύς, ὃ τε Ζεὺς κύδος εἶδωκε to whom as king, to whom in every such case.
PRONOUNS.

II. 4. 361 τὰ γὰρ φρονεῖς ἃ τ' ἐγώ περ (such things as I). 5. 545 Ἀλφείου ὃς τ' εὑρίσκει (επ. 5. 876). 9. 117 ἀνὴρ ὃν τε Ζεὺς κηρί φιλήσῃ.

Od. 7. 74 οἶσιν τ' ἐν φρονέσθην tikey to whom she is well inclined. Thus ὃς τε is constantly used in comparisons: as II. 3. 61 (πέλεκυς) ὃς τ' εἰστιν διὰ δουρὸς ὑπ' ἀνέροις ὃς ἐὰν τε τέχνη νήσιν ἐκτάμησιν.

So ὃς τε, ὃθι τε, ὅθεν τε, ὅτε τε: ἐνθὰ τε, ἱνα τε: ὅσος τε, οἷος τε.

Od. 12. 22 δυσθανέεις, δότε τ' ἄλλοι ἄπαξ θηνόσκων' ἀνθρωποί.

19. 179 Κρωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἐνθὰ τε Μήνως κτλ.

Thus Homer has five Relatives, viz. ὃς, ὃς τε, ὃς τις, ὁ, ὁ τε, each with a distinct use: Attic retains only ὃς and ὃς τις.*

267.] Correlative Clauses. I. 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 οὐ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσὶν of those who are now living. ἐν πεδίῳ δότι περ κτλ. in the plain where ξυ.

and the parallel structure, in which the Relative is an Adverb of the same form as the Antecedent; as—

τῶς δὲ σ' ἀπεχθήρω ὃς νῦν ἐκπαγλ' ἐφίλησα.

τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρόάς τιθεὶ κράτος, ὃφρ' ἀν Ἀχαιοὶ κτλ.

τῇ ἱμερῇ γ' κεν δὴ σὺ, κελαυνεῖς, ἡγεμονεῖς.

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 with the second, in which a Relatival Adverb implies a corresponding Demonstrative. Thus ὃς ἐφίλησα implies τῶς—ὡς ἐφίλησα: ὃφρ' ἀν is equivalent to τόφρα—ὁφρ' ἀν, &c.

In this way, then, it came about that ὃς (lit. in which manner) means in the manner in which: and so ὁφρα to the time up to which, γ' by the way by which, δότι at the place where, δότι 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 adjetival.

* It is worth notice that ὃς τις in Attic has some of the uses of ὃς τε: see Jowett, Thucyd. ii. p. 372, Stein, Hist. 4. 8.
† In the corresponding sentences in English it is often the Relative that is wanting: thus τῇ ἱμερῇ γ' κεν ἡγεμονεύσ 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—

Il. 5. 481 τά τ' ἐλέτεται ὃς κ' ἔπιθεν ὃς (he) desires who is in need.

I. 230 δαρ' ἀποκρίθησαν ὅς τις σέθεν ἀντίον εἶπη to take away gifts (from him, from any one) who ἄν.

7. 401 γνωτὸν δὲ καὶ ὃς μάλα νῆπιός ἔστω.

Od. 15. 281 αὐτὰρ κεῖθος φιλήσει αὐτά κ' ἔχωμεν you will be entertained (with such things) as we have.

Il. 14. 81 βέλτερον ὃς φεύγων προφύγη κακόν it is better (for one) who by flying escapes evil, i.e. it is better when a man ἄν.

(b) The omission is especially characteristic of clauses with ὅτε when (for τὸ—ὁτε the time when): Il. 15. 18 ἢ οὐ μέμη ὅτε do you not remember (the time) when:

Il. 2. 329 πὴ ἕβαν εὐχολαῖ, ὅτε δὲ κτλ. where are gone the boastings (of the time) when ἄν.

Il. 19. 337 λυγην ἀγγελίην ὅτε ἀποφθευμένοι πῶς ἦταί: and with Numerals, Il. 21. 80 ἡδ' ἔτη ἐµοὶ ἐστώ ἡδ' ἐνωδεκάτη ὅτε κτλ. this is the twelfth morn (from the time) when ἄν. So in Il. 2. 303 ἔθηζά τε καὶ πρωτός ὅτε means a day or two (from the time) that. Hence too the forms ἐδ' ὅτε to the time that, πρὸν γ' ὅτε before the time when.

Similarly with ὅθε where, as ἐκανοῦ ὅθε 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:—

Il. 2. 365 γνῶσῃ ἐπειθ' ὃς θ' ἤγεμονων κακός, ὃς τε νῦ λαῦν, ἠδ' ὃς κ' ἐσθηλῶς ἔγατ' you will recognise (γνώσκω, 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 Il. 13. 278, 21. 609, Od. 3. 185, 17. 363: compare the form with the antecedent expressed—

Il. 23. 498 τότε δὲ γνῶσεσθε ἐκαστός ἤπου 'Ἀργείων, ὃ διέτεροι ὅτε τῷ πάροιθεν.

The construction is the same with a Verb which implies knowing, finding out, or the like: e.g.—

κλῆρον τῶν πεπάλασθε διάμπερες ὃς κε λάχνησι 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 αἵμαρός εἰς ἁγαθόν, φίλον τέκος, οὐ' ἁγορεύεις
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.

Il. 14. 95 νῦν δὲ σεὺ ὄνοσάμην πάγχυ φρένας οἶον ἔκιπτες
I blame your thought, because of the kind of thing you have said.

Od. 2. 239 νῦν ὁ' ἄλλῳ ὑμῖν νεμεσίζομαι, οἶον ἀπαντες
νησ' ἀνεφ at the way that ye all sit silent.

Il. 17. 586 ἔκτορ, τίς κε ὑ' ἄλλος Ἀχαϊών ταρβήσειν,
οἴον δὲ Μενέλαον ὑπέτρεπας;
who would fear you any more, seeing the way you shrank before Menelaus?

Od. 15. 212 οἶον ἐκείνων θυμόν ὑπέρβιον, οὐ' σε μεθήσει.

Il. 16. 17 ἦ' σὺ γ' Ἀργείων ὀλοφύρειαi ὡς ὅλεκονται.

Od. 10. 326 θαῦμα μ' ἔχει ὡς κτλ. I wonder at the way that &c.

This is the idiom generally described by saying that οἶον is put for ὅτι τοιοῦτος, ὡς for ὅτι οὗτος, and so on. So when ὡς introduces a reason (§ 266) we might say that it is for ὅτι οὗτος (e.g. Ζεὺς αἰτίος ὡς τε διδωσι = ὅτι οὗτος διδωσι). 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—

Il. 2. 409 ἡδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμόν ἀδελφόν ὡς ἐπονεῖτο
he knew of his brother (as to the manner) in which he laboured.

24. 419 θησίο κεν .. οἴον ἐρωτήσεις κεῖται.

Od. 7. 327 εἰσάγεις .. δοσον ἄριστα νής ἐμαί.

This is evidently an extension of the form γράφη ὃς 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.—

Il. 7. 455 ὁ πάτοι, 'Εννοοίγαι' εὐρωσθενές, οἶον ἔκιπτες.

Od. 1. 32 ὁ πάτοι, οἶον δ' ἐν θεόν βροτόι αἰτιῶνται.

Il. 5. 601 ὁ φίλοι, οἶον δ' θαυμάζομεν ἔκτορα.

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 πάντα μὲν οὐκ ἀν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὄνομήν, δῦσεοι Ὁδυσσής ταλασίφρωνος εἰςων ἀεθλοι: ἀλλ' οἷον τόδ' ἐρεξε κτλ.

I will not tell of all his feats: but (just to mention) what a feat this was that he did &c. So Od. 4. 269., 11. 517; cp. also II. 5. 638 ἀλλ' οἷον τινά φασί κτλ. (just to instance) the kind of man that they tell &c.

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—

Π. 6. 108 φανδε τι' ἀθανάτων ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερέωντος ἔρωτι οὔτε ὁλεθρόν ou {or ò} ἔλεγχεν
taking it as an Independent Clause—'so they wheeled.' The same editors do not hesitate to write in II. 16. 17 ὀλοφύρεα, ὡς ἀλέκοντα, 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.) ὀλοφύρεα ὡς ἀλέκοντα was originally ὀλοφύρεα, ὡς ἀλέκοντα you lament, they so perish, hence you lament how they perish, or that they thus perish. On the same view the exclamatory ὅλων εἴπεται is not elliptical, but represents the original independent what a thing you have said! (See Mr. Leaf on II. 2. 320 θαναμάξομεν ὅλων ἐκτύχη). 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, ὅλως, ὅσος, &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 τα τ' ἐλέητει ὡς κ' ἐπέδειξες from φιλόηςαι οἷα κ' ἐχώμεν, or that again from ὁ-οὐ-οθέν ὅλων εἴπεται. 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—ὅλων εἴπεται and the like—does not furnish a good argument, because the pronoun used in a simple exclamation would not be Demonstrative, but Interrogative (πολον εἴπεται, &c.). The most decisive consideration, however, is that the Relatival 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 (ἐλκωμεν ἡς ὕσιν —) 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 οὖνεκα (i.e. οὖ ἐνεκα) for which reason: e.g.

Π. ι. 110 ὡς ὅτι τοῦ δὲ ἐνεκά σφιν ἐκηβόλος ἄλγεα τέχει, οὖνεκ' ἐγὼ .. οὐκ ἔθελον κτλ.

Apollo causes sorrow for this reason, that I would not οὖν. 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 οὖνεκα can only be due to the correlation: as it is usually expressed, οὖνεκα is attracted to the antecedent τοῦνεκα. Then—since οὖνεκα comes to imply a correlative τοῦνεκα—the antecedent τοῦνεκα is omitted, and the relatival οὖνεκα 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, ὅνα (lit. where) to the end that. Also, as will be shown presently, ὅ, ὅτι and ὅ τε are Adverbial Accusatives, meaning literally in which respect, hence in respect that, because: e.g. εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ἔχωσατο 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 ἐξ οὖ (for ἐκ τοῦ οὖ —): and εἰς τὸ ὅτε becomes εἰς οὐ to the time that.

268. οὖνεκα. 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 ἕειν', ὥ τοι μὲν τοῦτο γ' ἐναλησμον οὖκ ἐνόησε πάις ἐμή, οὖνεκά σ' οὐ τι μετ' ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναίξιν ἠγεν ἐς ἡμέτερον
my daughter did not judge ariight in this, because she did not 
more simply, in this, that she did not. 
O1. 215

αδη και αυτος

ταντα μαλ, ουνεκα σειο περιφρων Πηνελόπεια κτλ.

I know all, inasmuch as Penelope 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
πεωθετο .. μέγα κλέος, ουνεκα 'Αχαιοί κτλ.

Note that (except in Od. 13. 309., 16. 379) the Verb is fol-
lowed by an Acc. of the thing; so that the Relative Clause does
not directly take the place of the Object. Thus (e.g.) πεωθετο
κλέος ουνεκα is literally heard a rumour the ground of which
was that 

A peculiar use to state a consequence which is made the ground
of inference may be seen in II. 9. 505 ἡ δ' 'Αγη οθειρατι τε και
ἀρτήρωο, ουνεκα πάντας πολλόν υπεκπροθεί Δις is strong and sound
of foot, (as we know) because she 

269.] 5, 6τι, 5 τε. The Acc. Neut. of the Relative, when used
adverbially (§ 133), yields the three ‘Conjunctions’ 6, 6τι, 6 τε,
which mean properly in respect that, hence usually (a) because, or
(b) that (after a Verb of saying, knowing, &c.). The antecedent
το is generally wanting, but is found in a few instances: as II.
19. 421 το οδη και αυτως, 6 τοι κτλ.: II. 5. 406 ουδε το οδη ..
οτι μαλ ου δηναιοί κτλ.: II. 1. 120 λεύσοτε το γε πάντες, 6 μοι
κτλ.; also II. 15. 217., 19. 57., 20. 466, and Od. 13. 314 (seem-
ingly 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 6 οι ἄχχι πάγη βέλος dreading because the dart stuck
near him represents an older ταρβήσας (το) 6 πάγη βέλος.
The adverbial Accusative with ταρβήσας would express the
nature or ground of dread (as in το γε δελώθη, τοδε χόεο, &c.);
hence the meaning dreading in respect of (or because of) this, that
the dart stuck. Accordingly we find 6 = 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,
Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen (Würz-
burg, 1889). He rightly takes 6 (6τι, &c.) to be an Acc. of the ‘inner object’,
(§ 133), but he seems to have overlooked the real difficulty; which is that 6
supplies an object to the Verb of the principal Clause, not to the Verb of its
own Clause. Thus he says 'δρω 6 νοσις war ursprünglich : ich weiss, was du
krankst; οδη 6 σε εινήνεσε ich weiss, was er dich gelobt hat' (p. 21). But the
PRONOUNS.

(1) δ in respect that, because may be exemplified by—

Πλ. 16. 835 Τρωσι φιλοπελόμοι συμπαρέτω, δ σφιν ἄμων ἡμαρ ἀναγκαῖον (for that I keep off).

Od. 1. 382 Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον δ παράλεως ἀγόρευε.

So Πλ. 9. 534 (χοσαμένη), Od. 19, 543., 21, 289 (οὐκ ἀγαπᾶς δ).

The use to state a consequence as a ground of inference (like that of οὕνεκα in Πλ. 9. 505, § 268) occurs in—

Od. 4. 206 τοιού γὰρ καὶ πατρός, δ καὶ ἐπεμένα βάζεις for you are of a wise father, (as I know) because you speak wisely: so Od. 18. 392, and probably also—

Πλ. 21. 150 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, δ μεν ἔτης ἄντιος ἐλθεῖν; who are you that you dare &c.

The transition to the use of δ—that may be seen in—

Od. 2. 44 οὕτε τι δήμου ἄλλο πιθανοκοιμαί οὕτω ἄγορευον ἄλλα ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος, δ μοι κακὸν ἐμπεσεν οἶκω what I tell is my own case (which consists in the fact that evil has fallen on my house. It is common with οἶδα, γινώσκω (Πλ. 5. 433, &c.), ἀνω (Πλ. 15. 248): and is found with Verbs of seeing, as Πλ. 1. 120 λεύσετε γάρ τὸ γε πάντες δ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλη γε σι σε ἄριστη, that my prize goes elsewhere (Πλ. 19. 144., 22. 445, Od. 17. 545).

(2) διὰ because is common after the Verbs of feeling. We need only stop to notice some instances (parallel to those of δ just quoted) in which διὰ is = as I know because:—

Πλ. 16. 33 νηλεῖσι, οὐκ ἄρα σοι γε πατηρ ἤν ἐπήστα Πηλεῖσι, οὖδε Θέτις μήτηρ, γλαύκη δὲ σε τίκτες δᾶλασσα, πέτραι τ' ἡλβαται, διὰ τοι νόσος ἐστίν ἀπνηῶς meaning now I know that you are no child of Peleus &c., because your mind is relentless. So—

Πλ. 21. 410 νυπτοί', οὐδὲ νῦ πῶ περ ἐπεφράσσω ὅσον ἀρέων εὐχομ' ἐγὼν ἐμεναι, διὰ μοι μένος ἀντιφερίζεις.

Od. 5. 339 κάμμορε, τίππε τοι ὁδὲ Ποσειδᾶσιν ἐνισθεὖσθων ὀδῦνατ' ἐκπάγλως, διὰ τοι κακὰ πολλὰ φυνεῖν 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: ἐφώστο τοι οἱ βίοι ἐκφυγε χειρός. The construction with ἐφώστο is the Acc. of the 'inner object' (as τάδε χῶς, τὸ γε βείδισθω, &c.). But διὰ is in a different Clause from ἐφώστο: the full construction would be ἐφώστο (τῷ) διὰ. Schmitt would say that δ τῷ 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 ἐφώστο δ τῷ was like ἐν of the time that, εἰς δ to the time that, οὐνεκα for the reason that, &c. (§ 267, 5), so that δ τῷ 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 ἤσαι ὀνειδίζον ὅτι οἱ μᾶλα τολῆσθε διὸ άποκαθάρισάν ὑμᾶς ἵνα ὑμᾶς Ἵθηθητι. 24. 538. It is the regular meaning with Verbs of knowing: Π. 8. 175 γιαγιαρτάδιζε τοίχος πρὸς πόρον κατένευε Κρονίων I know that ὅσον. Cr. II. 1. 536 ορθές ὤν "Ἡρη ἠρωπησεν Ἰδίου οὕτω ότι οἱ κτλ.: 24. 503 καὶ δὲ σε γιαγιαρτάδιζα . . . ότι θεῶν τίς σ᾿ ἴμμεν. The use of ὅτι = that is commoner in the Iliad than in the Odyssey (where ὅσον and οὕτω ἴμμεν 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—

Π. 1. 244 χορόμενος ὅ τε ἄριστον Ἀχαίων οὐδὲν ἔτιμαν angry because ὅσον; Π. 6. 126., 16. 509, Od. 8. 78. So—

Od. 5. 356 ὃ μοῦ ἔγω, μή τίς μοι ὑφαίνησαν δόλου αὐτῷ ἀδανάτων, ὃ τε με σχέδιον ἀποβίζησαι ἄνωτε i.e. there is a snare in this biddng me to get off the raft. So probably Π. 1. 518 ὃ ὅτι λοιμα ἔργα ὃ τε μὲ κτλ. it is a pestilent thing that you ὅσον; Π. 19. 57 ὡς τι τόδε ἄμφοτέρους ἀρέσκον ἐπλετο ὃ τε κτλ.: and the exclamatory use (§ 267, 3, c) in Π. 16. 433 ὃ μοῦ ἔγων, ὃ τε κτλ. alax for me that ὅσον.

Again, ὅ τε is = as I know because, in—

Π. 4. 31 δαμονύιν, τί νῦ σε Πριάμοι Πριάμοι τε παίδες τόσα κακά βέλωνας, ὃ τε ἀστέρχες μενεύεις how do Priam and his sons do you such evil, (as they must do) since you are furiously enraged?

Π. 15. 467 ὃ τόποι, ὃ δὴ πάγχυν μάχης ἐπὶ μήδεα κελεύη daíμων ἡμετέρησι, ὃ τε μοι βίον ἐκβαλε χειρός (as I judge from this) that he has thrown the bow from my hands. So Od. 13. 129 ὃ τε με βρωτοί ὡς τι πίνουσι for that mortals honour me not: Od. 14. 89 ὡς ὁτι δέ τοι ἴσαι . . . ὃ τε οὔκ ἐθέλουσι they know something (as is plain) because they are not willing: Od. 21. 254 τοσόθοι βίντε ἐπιδευέει εἰμέν . . . ὃ τε οὔκ δυνάμεστα 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—

Π. 1. 411 γνῷ δὲ καὶ Ἀτρείδης εὐρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων ἤν ἄητι, ὃ τε ἄριστον Ἐχαῖοι οὐδὲν ἔτιμεν may know his folly, in that he failed to honour ὅσον.

Od. 14. 365 ἔγω ὃ εὔ οἴδα καὶ αὐτὸς νύστον ἐμείο ἀνακτός, ὃ τε ἴχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖς I know of the return of my lord, that (as it showed) he was hated
PRONOUNS.

The existence of a distinct δ 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 δι that or δυτι when. The latter explanation of the reading δυτι (or δτ') is often admissible, e.g. in II. 14. 71 ἰδεα μὲν γὰρ δυτι—, οἶδα δὲ νῦν δυτι— ; cp. II. 15. 207 ἐσθλόν καὶ τὸ τέτυκταί δτ'. . . εἰδῆ, and instances in Attic, as Soph. O. T. 1133 κάτῳδεν ἰμώος κτλ. he knows well of the time when δε, Eur. Troad. 70 οὖν ἦνικ' Ἀτας εἴλκε. But the supposition of a distinct δ τε is supported by a sufficient number of examples in Homer,—e.g. II. 5. 331 γυνώσκωρ δ τ' ἄναλκις ἐνθθεός,—and generally by the complete correspondence of meaning thus obtained between δ, δτι, and δ τε. On the other hand it is extremely improbable that the τ of δτι was ever capable of elision. In this respect δτι that stands on the same footing as τι and δτι. 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 ὁς and ὁς τις is used in this way, it is difficult to see any reason why the Neut. of the equally familiar ὁς τε should be excluded. The ancient authorities and the MSS. vary in some places between δτε and δτι (as in II. 14. 71, 72., 16. 35, Od. 13. 129), and on such a point we have no good external authority.

270.] δ, δτι, δ τε as Conjunctions. In a few instances it is impossible to explain these Relatives by supplying an Accusative το in the principal Clause. Thus in—

Od. 20. 333 νῦν δ' ἰδη τὸδε δῆλον, δ τ' συκτέ νόστιμος ἐστι the Antecedent is a Pronoun in the Nom. Similarly in—

II. 5. 349 ἢ οἶχ ἄλις ὁτι γυναίκας ἀνάλκιδας ἡπερπεπεῖαι; 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 οὐδὲ τω τοῦ μέμνηται, δ οί μᾶλα πολλάκις κτλ.
17. 207 τῶν ποιήν, δ τοι κτλ. (as amends for the fact that) the Relative Clause serves as a Genitive: cp. Od. 11. 540 γνηθο-σώη δ οἱ κτλ., 12. 374 ἄγγελος ἥλιαν . . δ οἱ κτλ.

Add II. 9. 493 τὰ φρονέων δ μοι κτλ., 23. 545 τὰ φρονέων στι οἱ κτλ.: and also Od. 2. 116 τὰ φρονέων' ἀνὰ θυμόν ἃ οἱ κτλ., where the v. l. δ for α has good MS. authority.

In these instances, then, the forms δ, &c. have ceased to be felt as Case-forms, and may properly be termed Conjunctions.

The Mood in allClauses 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 epexegeesis of an Acc. with a Verb of saying, knowing, feeling, &c. (§ 237, 2): μὴ δειδοὺ τινα ὀφεσθαι fear not any one, for being likely to see; ταρβήσας (τὸ) δ ἄχια πάγη 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: οὐ τι νεμεσσητῶν βασιλῆ απαρίσσονται for a king to make his peace is no shame; οὐχ ἄλις διὶ ἰηπεροενίς 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 μέρωνται δ ἐκλ. remembers this, that &c.; to which corresponds the so-called 'articulate Infinitive,' or Inf. with the Article as a Substantive.

The three forms ὧ, ὧ τε, ὧτι do not differ perceptibly in meaning. Hence the reduction in Attic to the single ὧτι is no real loss.

270*.] **Indirect Discourse.** Clauses introduced by ὧ (ὦ τε, ὧτι), ὦς, ὦνεκα 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 γῇ ὦ πιέσεσθαι ἔμελλεν he knew not that he would not be persuaded. The only exception to this is Od. 13, 340 ὧτε ὧ νοστήσεις I knew that you will (i.e. would) return. For an instance of the Opt. with ὦς after a Verb of saying see § 306, 2: and ep. 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 ὧ (ὦ τε) and ὧτι 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—

II. 8. 524 μῦθος ὧ τοὶ μὲν τῶν υγιῆς, ἐλπισὼν ἔστω,

* The figures are taken from Schmitt (*Ursprung des Substantivsatzes*), but include instances of ὧ τε which he refers to ὧτε when.
and so ὅσοι Ἀχαῖοι, οἵ περ ἄριστοι, η ἦς ἄριστη, ὅς τ' ἀλτῖος ὃς τε καὶ οὖντι, &c. Hence we should write in Π. 11. 535, 20. 500 ἀντιγες αὐτι δείφην, in Π. 21. 353 θὰδες οἳ κατὰ δίνας. So with the Adverbs; as Od. 1. 176 ὄρφ' ἐν νηθ βρῶσιν 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 ἀπὸ γυναικα [ἐφών ὅσην τ' ὄρος κορυφήν], which is equivalent to τόσην ὅση ἐστὶ κορυφή; and so ὅσον τε, Od. 9. 322, 325., 10. 167, 517., 11. 25; also ὅσον τε, Od. 19. 233. The only instance in the Iliad is somewhat different:—

Π. 1. 262 οὖ γάρ πω τοῖνος ἰδον . . οἶνον Περίθεον κτλ.

The later Attraction of the Relative into the Case of the Antecedent is not found in Homer. Kühner gives as an example Π. 5. 265 τίς γάρ τοι γενεῖς ἤτι Τρῶι περ εἰρνύσα Ζεὺς δοκε. But there the Gen. is partitive: 'the brood from which Zeus gave' (§ 151 e). So Π. 23. 649 (§ 153).

2. Another effect of this omission may be found in the use of double Relativial forms, especially ὅς ὅτε ἂς (it is) when; which again may be used without any Verb following: e.g.—

Π. 13. 471 ἀλλ' ἔμεν ὅς ὅτε τις σὺς οὐρεσιν ἀλλι πεποιθός, ὅς τε μένει κτλ.

So ὅς εἶ and ὅς εἴ τε ἂς (it would be) if, as in Π. 5. 373 τίς νῦ σε τοιάδ' ἐρεξε . . ὅς εἶ τι κακόν ἰένουσαν.

A similar account is probably to be given of the peculiar double Relative—

Π. 8. 229 τῆς ἐβαυν εὐχωλαί, ὅτε ἄπο μὲν εἶναι ἄριστοι, ὅς ὅποτ' ἐν Λήμυψ κενεαὐξέες ἤγοράσσεθε when once (whenever it was) you made boast in Lemnos.

3. The want of a finite Verb also leads to the construction of οἶνος, ὅς, &c. 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 τοῖον, τηλίκος, &c. (§ 232); as τοῖοι ἀμμυνέουν of the kind to defend (Od. 2. 60), μένειν ἐτι τηλίκος of the age for remaining (Od. 17. 20);

(2) the Correlative form, such as Π. 5. 483 τοῖον οἶον κ' ἣν φέροιεν Ἀχαῖοι ἦ κεφ ἀγοιεν: Π. 7. 231 ἡμέις ὃ' εἰμὲν τοῖοι οἵ ἄν σέβεσιν ἀπαίτασεμνε. Thus (e.g.) Od. 21. 172 τοῖον .. οἶον τε ῥυτήρα βιοῦ τ' ὕμεναι καὶ διστῶν combines the forms τοῖον ὕμενα of the kind to be and τοῖον οἶος τε (ἐστι) of the kind that (is). In other words, the con-
struction of τοίος is transferred to the Correlatives τοίος—οίος. Then τοίος is omitted, and we get οίος with the Inf. The same may be said of ὃς 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.—

II. 1. 162 ὃς ἔπι τόλλ' ἐμόγησα, δόσαν δέ μοι ὑπὲ Ἀχαῖον
for which I toiled, and which the sons of the Greeks gave me.

Od. 2. 114 τὸ ὅτε γε τατη ἔλειται καί 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 enelic, or an unemphatic αὐτός):—

II. 1. 78 ἢ γὰρ ὄνομα ἀνδρὰ χολοσέμεν, ὃς μέγα πάντων
'Ἀργείων κρατεῖ καϊ οἱ πεθοῦσιν Ἀχαιοί.

Od. 9. 19 εἰμὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλους
ἀνθρώποις μέλῳ, καί μεν κλέος οὐρανίῳ ἰκεί.

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 Relativial Adverb, the first Verb may be in the Subj.
or Opt., while the rest are in the Indic. This is especially
noticeable in similes, as—

II. 2. 147 ὃς δ' ὅτε κυνήσῃ Ζέφυρος βαθὺ ληπίον ἐλθὼν,
λαβρὸς ἐπαγγέλων, ἐπὶ τ' ἡμιει ὁστηχύοσι.

4. 483 ἢ ρά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἐλεος μεγάλου πεφυκῇ
λείῃ, ἀπά τέ οἱ ὃς ὕπτε ἀκροτάτη πεφυαίσι.

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 δόμων ἄκοννοι άπώσαι ἢ μ' ἔτεχ' ἢ
μ' ἔθρηψε. Or the second Clause is epexegetic of the first: as—

II. 5. 403 σχέτλιος, δ' βριμοεργός, ὃς οὐκ ὀδέτ' αἰτοῦλα ἰέζων,
ὁς τόξους ἐκηδε θεοῦς (so 6. 131., 17. 674, &c.).

Or it marks the return to the main thread of the narrative: as—

Od. 14. 288 δὴ τότε Φοῖνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνήρ, ἀπατηλία εἰδός,
τράκτης, ὃς ἄπο τολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώπουιν ἐφρηγει,
ὃς μ' ἄγε παρπετηχῶν κτλ. (ep. 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
II. 16. 157 οἱ δὲ ἰόκι δὲ ὁμοφύγοι, τούσιν τέ περὶ φρεσίν ἀντετο
ἀλκή, οἱ τ' ἐλαφοῖν... ἀπεπονν, the Art. τοῖσι 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 ὃς τε introducing a general assertion, while ὃς
relates to a particular fact: as Π. 4. 442 ἦ τ' ἀλήγη μὲν πρώτα κορόεσται... ἦ σφιν καὶ τότε κτλ.; 5. 545 Ἁλφειοῦ, ὁς τ' εῦρυ βέει Πυλών διὰ γαίης, ὁς τέκερ᾽ Ὀρσίλοχον: and in the reverse order, Π. 18. 520 οἶ δ' ἦτε δή π' ἵκανον ὅθε σφίαω εἰκε λοχησαι ἐν ποταμῷ, ὅθε τ' ἀρδύδος ἐνν.

The difference between ὁς τις and ὁς τε appears in Od. 6. 286 καὶ δ' ἀληγ' νεμεσῶ ὁ τις τοιαύτα γε ἰέγοι, ὁ τέ' ἀἔκητι φιλῶν πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἐντων ἀνδρᾶσι μῦγηται. Here ὁ τις insists on the inclusion of all members of the class (any one who—), ὁ 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.
KINDS OF SENTENCE.

2. Prohibitive Clauses (μή = lest).

3. Relative Clauses proper (introduced by ὅσ).

4. Clauses introduced by a Relatival Adverb (ὅς, ὅτι, ὅτεν, ὅτε, ἐκ, ὅφρα, &c.; also ἕνθα, ἵνα, and ἕπει).

5. Clauses introduced by εἴ ἢ.

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—

Π. 2. 274 νῦν δὲ τοῦτο μέγ' ἁριστον ἐν Ἀργείουσι εἰρεῖν,
ὅς τὸν λαβδητήρα ἐπεστάλεν ἐσχ' ἁγοράων.

And clauses like Π. 4. 157 ὅς σ' ἔβαλον Τρώας since the Trojans have thus shot at you; 6. 166 οἶνον ἄκουσε at hearing such a thing (§ 267, 3) ; as well as in the regular Causal use of ὅς, ὅτι, ὅ τε (§ 269), and ὩΕΕΚΑ.

(2) Clauses expressing the Object of Verbs of saying, knowing, thinking, &c. (i. e. the fact or thing said, &c.): as—

Π. 2. 365 γρώσῃ ἐπειθ' ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακός, ὅς τε νυ λαῶν.
Οδ. 6. 141 ὃ δὲ μερμηρίζειν 'Οδυσσεύς | ἤ . . ἤ κτλ.
Π. 18. 125 γνοῖεν δ' ὅς δὴ δηρόν ἐγώ πολέμῳ πέπαυμαι.
601 πειρήσεται αἱ κε θέμιον (tries if it will run).

(3) Clauses expressing condition or limitation; which may be introduced—

By ὅς: as τῶν ὅ ὅν βροτοι εἰσι of the mortals now living: ὅς κ' ἐπιδεήσῃ he who is in want: ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπεθήσατε he who shall obey the gods: ὅ τι οἴ εἴσατο whatever seemed to him.

By a Relatival Adverb: of manner, as ὅς ἐπιτέλλω as I bid, ὅς ἂν ἐγώ εἶπο as I shall speak; of time, ἐπεί, ὅτε, &c., also ἐκ and ὅφρα when they mean so long as; of place, as ὅπποθι πιάτατον πεῖλον where is the richest of the plain.

By εἴ— 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 Π. 4. 196 ἐπιθύμησε φάρμακ' ἃ κεν παύσησι will apply drugs which shall stay: Π. 14. 107 νῦν ὃ' εἴη ὅς . . ἐνίστοι may there be one who may tell.

By ὅς, ὅπως, ἵνα—the ordinary forms expressing purpose.
MOODS.

By ἓως (better written ἤς in Homer *) and ὄφρα, when they mean till such time that. To these we may add εἰς ὅτι until, which (like ὄνεικα) is practically a single word.

By εἰ or αὐτῷ: as Π. 1. 420 εἰ ὧν αὐτῇ. αὐτῷ κε πίθηται I go in the hope that he will listen.

By μή lest (= ἢνα μή).

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 ὅς are in the same form as the Conditional or limiting Clauses such as ὅς κε τῆς ἡμῶν, τῇτι κεν ἐπίης, &c.

2. The regular Final Clauses with ὅς and ὅποιος are in the same form as the limiting ὅς ἐν ἐγὼν ἐπιω as I shall speak, ὅποιος ἐθέλησον as he pleases, &c.

3. Clauses with ἓως and ὄφρα may either be Conditional (when the Conjunction means so long as), or Final (when it means until).

4. The Final Clause with εἰ is indistinguishable in form from the ordinary Conditional Protasis: compare αὐτῷ κε πίθηταί to see if he will listen with Π. 24. 592 μή μοι Πάτροκλε σκυδμανίμεν αὐτῷ κε πίθηται be not angry in case you hear.

5. Clauses with μὴ may either be Final (when μὴ ἢνα μὴ), or Object- Clauses after a Verb of fearing (πείθω μή).

From these examples it is evident that in this as is 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 ἢ, and the same Particle is employed in Interrogation (especially with ironical force).

(2) Negation is expressed by οὐκ (οὐκ, οὐ), Prohibition by μὴ.

(3) The Particle εἰ, in its ordinary use, marks a Conditional Protasis, i.e. a Clause stating a condition or supposition.

(4) The Particles κε and αὐτῷ 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 ἓως 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 ἄς (Ahrens, Dial. Dor. p. 200) represents contraction of ἄος: cp. the Cretan τὰος for τέος (Hesych.). Hence we should have in Homer either ἄς (the older Ionic form, cp. νήδος) or ἄος, which would properly be Doric or Λολί, like λαός &c. Of these ἄος is evidently the more probable.
The Subjunctive—in Principal Clauses.

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 ιομεν let us go, or in Prohibitions with μη) 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.

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 ὅμω δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὄνομήνω (where the list of gifts immediately follows).

Od. 2. 222 σήμα τέ οἱ χεῦω καὶ ἐπὶ κτέρεα κτερεῖξω πολλὰ μᾶλ' ὄσσα ἐοικε, καὶ ἄνερι μητέρα δῶσω (the Subj. expresses the decisive action to be taken by Telemachus, viz. to acknowledge his father's death: the Fut. δῶσω expresses what would follow as a matter of course).

12. 383 ὄνομαι εἰς 'Αλίδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι 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 ἄλλ' ἀγε νόν ἐπίμεινον, ἄρητα τεῦχεα δῶ (do you wait, and I will put on my armour).

22. 416 σχέσθη, φίλοι, καὶ μ' ὄνον ἐστατε κηδομένοι περ ἐξελθόντα πόλης ἴκεσθ' ἐπὶ νήα 'Αχαίων, λέσσωμι' ἄνερα τοῦτον κτλ.

450 δεῦτε, δῶμοι ἐπεσθον, ἵδωμι' ὅτιν' ἐργα τέτυκτα. So after the phrases ἄλλ' ἀγε, εἰ δ' ἀγε, as Od. 6. 126 ἄλλ' ἀγ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς πειρήσομαι ἣδε ἰδωμαι: 9. 37 εἰ δ' ἀγε τοι καὶ νόστοιν ἐμοιν πολυκηρδ' ἐνίστομο. 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 δ' δε κε μη δῶσων, ἐγὼ δε κεν αὐτὸς ἐλομαι if they do not give her, I will (in that case) &c.
II. 14. 235 πείθειν, ἕγω δὲ κε τοι εἰδῶ· χάριν obey, and I will feel thankfulness.

16. 129 δύσεο τεῖχεα θάσσον, ἕγω δὲ κε λαὸν ἀγέρω.

Od. 17. 417 τῷ σε χρή δόμεναι καὶ λαόιν ἥ ἐπερ ἄλλοις σῖτον' ἕγω δὲ κε σε κλείω κτλ.

So too II. i. 183 τὴν μὲν . . πέμψω, ἕγω δὲ κ’ ἂγω Βρισιῆδα I will send her (as required), and then I will take Briseis—the Subj. expressing the speaker's own threatened action, and κεφ marking that it is the counterpart to what is imposed upon him. It will be found that κεφ 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 κεφ with the Subj. is not found except in Homer.

The First Person Plural is similarly used, as Od. 3. 17 ἀλλ’ ἂγε νῦν ἰδὸς κε Νέστορος ἵπποδάμων. εἴδομεν κτλ. And so in the common Hortatory Subj., as φεύγομεν λέως φλυ.

(i) 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 κεφ or ἂν) in this use appears to be the phrase καὶ ποτὲ τις εἰπησοι and men shall say (II. 6. 459, 479., 7. 87).

With ἂν we find—

II. i. 205 Ἱς ὑπεροπλήρης τάχ’ ἂν ποτε θυμὸν ἀληται (in effect a threat of what the speaker will do).

22. 505 νῦν δ’ ἂν πολλὰ πάρθησα φίλον ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀμαρτῶν but now he must suffer much ἄν.

With κεφ the examples are rather more numerous:—

Od. i. 396 τῶν κέν τις τόδ’ έχομιν, ἑτεὶ δακε δίος 'Οδυσσεύς let one of them have this (emphatic assent).

4. 80 ἀνδρῶν δ’ ἢ κέν τις μοι εἰρόστεται ἢ καὶ οὐκί.

4. 391 καὶ δέ κε τοι εἰπησοί κτλ.

10. 507 ἡσαν, τὴν δὲ κε τοι πνοή Βορέαο φέρησι sit still, and her the breath of Boreas shall bear along (solemn prophetic assurance).

II. 9. 701 ἀλλ’ ἢ τοι κείνον μὲν εάσομεν, ἢ κέν ἡσιν ἢ κε μένη (let him go or let him stay): cp. Od. 14. 183. 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 ἢ δοιούσον ἐπεύζεα . . ἢ κεφ ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπελῖς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσης.
II. 18. 308 στήσομαι, ἡ κε φέρησι μέγα κράτος ἡ κε φεροῦμην
I shall stand firm, let him gain the victory (= though he shall gain) or I may gain it.

Od. 4. 692 ἀλλον κ' ἐκθαλῆσι βροτῶν, ἀλλον κε φιλοῦν
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 ἔξελποι Ἀγαμέμνονι, ποιμένι λαῶν,
cαι 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 hypo-
thetical case (αὐτίκ' ἄν ἔξελποι) 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 οὐ γὰρ τῶι τοῖου ἵδον ἀνέρας οὐδεὶς ζομαί
I have not seen—I never shall see.

7. 197 οὐ γὰρ τίς με βήγ γε ἐκὼν ἄκουτα δήνται
no man shall chase me against my will.

15. 349
οὐδεὶς νῦν τὸν γε
γνωτὸν τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχω χατανότα.

Od. 16. 437 οὔκ ἐσοθ' οὕτος ἄνήρ οὔθ' ἐσοτεται οὐδεὶς γένηται
there is not, there never will or can be, the man
who, &c. (so 6. 201).

24. 29 μοιρ' ὀλοή, τὴν οὐ τίς ἀλεύται (cp. 14. 400).

(b) The Subj. with άν:—
II. 3. 54 οὔκ ἂν τοι χραίσμη κίθαρις κτλ.
be sure that then your lyre will not avail you.

11. 386 εἰ μὲν δὴ ἄντιθινον σὺν τεῦχεσι πειρηθεῖς,
οὔκ ἂν τοι χραίσμησι βιῶς κτλ.
The reason for άν in these places is obvious: in the following
instances it seems to be used because there is a contrast:—
II. 2. 488 πληθών δ' οὔκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὔθ' ὀνομήνω
but the multitude I cannot declare or tell by name.

Od. 6. 221 ἄντηρ δ' οὔκ ἂν ἐγὼ γε λοέσομαι (ἀντηρ 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
αὕτω μένω ... ἦ γε θέω κτλ. am I to remain here, or am I to run &c.;
Od. 15. 509 πτη γὰρ ἐγώ, φιλε τέκνοι, ἲο; τεῦ δῶμαθ' ἑκωμαί κτλ.
where am I to go? to whose house &c.: Od. 5. 465 ὃ μοι ἐγώ, τί
πάθω; τι νῦν μοι μήκιστα γένηται; what am I to suffer? what is to become of me? And rhetorically, with an implied negation—

II. 18. 188 πῶς τ᾿ ἄρ’ ἵω μετὰ μῶλον; ἐξοντι δὲ τεῦχε’ ἐκείνων how can I go into the battle? They have my arms.

II. 1. 150 πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρους ἔπεσυν πελάθηται Ἀχαῖων;

One or two passages given by Delbrück under this head should perhaps be classed as Subordinate Clauses. A transitional instance may be seen in Od. 22. 166 σὺ δέ μοι νημερτές ἐνίσσεις, ἢ μν ἀποκτείνω . . . ἵνα σοι ἐνθάδ᾿ ἄγω κτλ. tell me, am I to kill him, or bring him here? Here the Clause may be a distinct sentence; but not so II. 9. 618 ἀμα 8’ ἦσθι φαινομένην φρασσόμεθ᾿ ἢ κε νεώμεθ᾿ κτλ., because this does not express an actual but an intended future deliberation. So in Od. 16. 73 μητρὶ 8’ ἐμὴ δίξα θυμὸς ἐνί φρεσὶ μεμηρίζει ἢ αὐτῷ παρ’ ἐμοὶ τε μέγη κτλ. the form of expression is changed from the First to the Third Person, as in oratio obliqua (§ 280).

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—

II. 4. 37 ἐρξόν ὅπως ἐθέλεις’ μὴ τούτο γε νείκος ὅπλωσω σοι καὶ ἐμοὶ μέγ’ ἔρισμα μετ’ ἀμφοτέρους γένηται I do not want this to become a quarrel.

Od. 22. 213 Μέντορ, μὴ σ’ ἐπέσεσι παραπεπίθησον Ὀδυσσέας see that Ulysses does not persuade you.

And with the First Person Sing., as II. 1. 26 μὴ σε κισείω let me not catch you; II. 21. 475 μὴ σεν ἄκοινοι.

(b) Fear, warning, suggestion of danger, &c.; e.g.—

II. 2. 195 μὴ τι χολοσάμενος ἡξῆ (I fear he will &c.).

5. 487 μὴ πως ὃς ἄνγιοι λίνου ἀλόντε πανάγρων ἀνάρασι δυσμενεστάτων ἐλωρ καὶ κύρια γένησθε see that you do not become a prey &c.

22. 123 μὴ μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἴκωμι ἰόν, ὁ δὲ μ’ οὐκ ἔλεησέν ἑτοὶ.

Od. 5. 356 ὁ μιν ἐγὼ, μὴ τίς μοι ὑφαίσθησιν ὄδολον αὖτε ἀδανάτων (I hope some god is not wearing &c.).

18. 334 μὴ τίς τοι πάλαι Ἰρον ἀμείλων ἄλλος 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 II. 11. 470 δείω, μὴ τι πάθησι—as though δείω were parenthetical. It is
probable, however, that in such cases the Clause with μη 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: μη βέγγ for δείδω μη βέγγ. This is open to the objection that it separates Clauses which are essentially similar. For μη βέγγ I will not have him do (hence I fear he may do) is identical in form with μη βέγγ I will not have you do. In this case, then, we have the simple Sentence μη βέγγ, as well as the Compound δείδω μη βέγγ, into which it entered.

Similar questions may arise regarding Final Clauses with μη. Thus in II. 1. 586-7 τέτλαθα, μήτερ ἔμη... μη σε... ἐσομαι we may translate endure, mother; let me not see you &c., or (bringing the two Clauses more closely together) endure, lest I see you &c. So in II. 8. 522, Od. 13. 208. No clear line can be drawn between independent and subordinate Clauses: for the complex Sentence has been formed gradually, by the agglutination of the simple Clauses.

The combination μη οδ—prohibition of a negative—is extremely rare in Homer. In II. 5. 233 μη τω μεν δείδαστε ματήσετων ουδ᾽ ἔθελετον, and II. 16. 128 μη δή νήσα ἔλωσι καὶ οὐκέτι φυκτά πέλουται, the Particles are in distinct Clauses. It occurs in a Final Clause, II. 1. 28 μη νῦ τοι οὖ χραίσημη κτλ., II. 24. 569: and after δείδω in II. 10. 39 δείδω μη οὐ τίς τοι κτλ.

The Subj. in this use does not take κεν or ἄν, the prohibition being always regarded as unconditional.

It is well known that the Present Subj. is not used as an Imperative of Prohibition (with μη). 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 μη νῦ τι... φέρηται; 16. 87 μη μν κερτομέωσων. The restriction does not apply to the First Person Plur., as II. 13. 292 μηκέτι ταῦτα λεγόμεθα. We shall see that a corresponding rule forbids or restricts the use of μη 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—ἱς. Doubt or deliberation between alternative courses of action expressed by Clauses of the form ἵ (ἱ)—ἱς (ἡ) with the Subj., dependent on a Verb such as φρακτομαι, μερμπρίζω, &c., or an equivalent phrase: e.g.—

II. 4. 14. ἵμείσι δε φρακτομεθ' ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα, ἢ δ' αὖτις πόλεμον τε κακόν καὶ φύλωτιν αἰώνα ὄρσομεν, ἢ φιλότητα μετ' ἀμφοτεροῖς βάλωμεν.

Od. 19. 524 δς καὶ ἐμοὶ δόχα θυμὸς δροφεται ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα, ἵτε μένω... ἢ ἣδη ἵμε ἐπομαί 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’ ἔμη δίχα θυμῶς ἐνί φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει, ἥ αὐτών παρ’ ἐμοὶ τε μένῃ 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:—

Il. 13. 327 εἰδομεν, ἣ τῷ εὐχὸς ὑπέξομεν, ἦ τις ἠμῶν.
16. 243 εἰσηται ἢ ἡ καὶ οἴος ἐπιστηταὶ πολεμίζειν ἡμέτερος θεράπων, ἦ οἱ κτλ.

where ἐπιστηταῖ (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 Il. 16. 646 ff.; see § 298 fin.

281.] Clauses with μή. These are mainly of two kinds —

(i) Final Clauses: the Verb of the principal Clause being—

(a) an Imperative, or equivalent form: as—

Il. 3. 414 μή μ’ ἔρεθε, σχετλή, μή χωσαμένη σε μεθελω.

(b) a Present or Future in the First Person: as—

Od. 6. 273 τῶν ἀλεείων φῆμιν ἄδενεκά, μή τις ἀπίσσω μωμεύῃ.

In these places the governing Verb shows that the purpose expressed is the speaker’s own. The only instance of a different kind is—

Il. 13. 648 ἄψ δ’ ἐτάρων εῖς ἔθνος ἢχάζετο κηρ’ ἀλεείων, πάντοσε παπταινών, μή τις χρόα χαλκό 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 κεν or ἄν). In this respect they adhere to the form of the Simple Prohibitive Clause (§ 278).

(ii) Clauses following a Verb that expresses the fear of the speaker, as δεῖδω μή τι πάθροι Ι 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 ἐπιστηταὶ here as an Indicative; see G. Meyer, G. G. § 485.
Such a Clause may be Object to a Verb of knowing, &c., as—

Il. 10. 100 ὄψεμένες δ’ ἄνδρες σχέδον ἦσαν, οὐδὲ τι θαυμάζει
μή πως καὶ διὰ νῦκτα μενοκήπωσι μάχεσθαι.

The fear expressed by μὴ πως κτλ. is subordinated (or on the way to be subordinated) to θαυμάζει: we do not know (said apprehensively) whether they will not be eager &c. So Od. 24. 491 εξελθόν τις
τοι θεί δὴ σχέδον ὑσίν κύντες some one go out and look whether they are not near. And in the Prohibitive use—

Il. 5. 411 φρονέσθω μή τίς οἱ ἄμελων σεἰώ μᾶχηται,
μη δὴν κτλ. let him see to it that no one &c., lest &c.

Od. 22. 367 εἰπὲ δὲ πατρὶ μή με περισσεῦν ἀληστεῖ.

So with a Verb of swearing, Od. 12. 298 ὅμοσσάτε μὴ ποῦ τίς . . . ἀποκτάνη 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.—

Il. 9. 165 ἀλλ’ ἀγετε κλητοὺς ὀτρύνομεν, οὐ κε τάχιστα
ἐλαθοῦ ἐς κλεισίν.

24. 119 δῶρα δ’ Ἀχιλλῆι φερέμεν τά κε θυμὸν ἴημη.

Od. 13. 399 ἄμφι δὲ λαίφος
ἐσσα, ὃ κε στυγῆσαι ἱδών ἀνθρωπός ἐξοντα.

19. 403 ὁνομ’ εἴρεω ὅττι κε θητι.

With ellipse of the antecedent, so that the Clause supplies an Object to the governing Verb—

Il. 7. 171 κλήριν νῦν πεπάλαισθε διαμπερὲς οὐ κε λάχιστι.

In other instances the notion of End is less distinctly conveyed, so that the Subj. need only have the emphatic Future meaning (§ 275, 6): as—

Il. 21. 126 μέλαιναν φρίξ’ ὑπαξεῖ
ἰχθύς, οὐ κε φάγῃσι Λυκάονος ἄργετα δημόν.

Od. 10. 538 ἔνθα τοι αὐτίκα μάντης ἐλευστέαι, ὅρχαμε λαῶν,
οὐ κεν τοι εὐπρεπε κτλ. (so 4. 389, 756., 11. 135).

The prophetic tone prevails in these places: cp. Il. 8. 33 ἀλλ’ ἐμπης Δαναών ὅλοφυρόμεθ’ αἰχμητάων, οὐ κεν δὴ . . . ὅλωσται, where the Subj. is used as in an independent sentence.

The chief examples of a pure Subj. in a Final Clause are—

Il. 3. 286 τιμὴν δ’ Ἀργείοις ἀποτυπείμεν ἵν τιν’ ἔοικεν,
ἡ τε καὶ ἐσομείωσι μετ’ ἀνθρώπωσι πέλεται.

Od. 18. 334 μὴ τίς τοι τάχα Ἰρος ἄμελων ἀλλος ἀναστῇ,
οὐ τίς σ’ . . . δόματος ἐκπέμψῃσι.
SUBJUNCTIVE.

So Il. 18. 467 παρέσεται οἱ τις ... θαυμάσσεται (unless this is Fut.): also the Object Clause II. 5. 33 μάρτυροι, ὑποστέρουσα πατήρ Ζεὺς κόσμος δρέξῃ to fight (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' οὗτος ἀνήρ ... ὃς κεν ... ἵκηται (v. l. ἵκουτο).

II. 23. 345 οὐκ ἐσθ' ὃς κέ σε ἐλησι κτλ.

and without κεν, II. 21. 103 νῦν ὃ' οὐκ ἐσθ' ὃς τις βάιατον φύγη (v. l. φύγα). In these places the construction evidently follows that of οὗ and οὐκ ἄν with the Subj. in Simple sentences (οὐκ ἐσθ' ὃς φύγη=οὗ τις φύγη). Otherwise we should have the Opt. (§ 304, b).

The Subj. is quite anomalous in—

Od. 2. 42 οὕτε τιν' ἀγγελίαν στρατοῦ ἐκλυν ἐρχομένου, ἦν χαίρειν σάφη εἰπώ, δὴ πρῶτερος γε πυθόμεν.

But here the speaker is repeating what has been said in the Third Person (30, 31), and with the regular Opt. (εἰπώ, πῦθοιτο). He evidently uses εἰπώ because εἴπομαι 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 εἰχε δ' τι εἰπῃ (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 φράζεαι, ἄσο' ἔθελησθα (whatever you choose).

14. 81 βέλτερον δέ φεύγων προφύγη κακῶν ἦ ἄλω.

Od. 8. 546 ἀντι κασιγνήτου ξεινός θ' ἱκέτης τε τέτυκατα ἄνερι δὲ τ' ὀλύγων περ ἐπιψαίην πραπίδεσοι.

In Similes this usage is extremely common; as—

II. 5. 5 ἀνίπτρ' ὑπορινῷ ἐναλλυκιον, δ' τε μάλιστα λαμπρῶν παρψαίην (3. 62., 5. 138., 10. 185, &c.).

Od. 13. 31 ὅς δ' ὃ' ἀνήρ δόρποιο λίλιαται, ὃ τε πανήμαρ νειὸν ἄν ἐλκητον βδὲ οἴνοπε πηκτον ἄρτρον.
Where the principal Verb refers to the future, and ἱν or ἄν is not used, the intention is to make the reference quite general and sweeping; e.g.—

Od. 20. 334 ἄλλ τάδε μητρὶ παρεξόμενος κατάλεξον γῆμασθ᾽ ὦ 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 (Π. 4. 483), ἔστήκει (Π. 17. 435), &c. These were corrected by Hermann (Opusc. ii. 44), reading πεφύκη, ἔστήκη, &c.: see La Roche on Π. 4. 483.

(2) 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—

Π. 1. 139 δὲ κεν κεχολώσεται ὄν κεν ἵκωμι.

Od. 2. 25 κέκλυτε δὴ νῦν μεν, ἵδαιμον, ὅτι κεν ἐπιο.

Π. 21. 103 νῦν δ᾽ οὐκ ἔσθ᾽ ὦσ τις θάνατον φύη, ὦ κε θεὸς γε κτλ.

Od. 1. 316 δῶρον δ᾽ ὅτι κέ μοι δοῦναι φίλον ἤτορ ἄνωγη, αὕτης ἀνερχομένῳ δόμεναι (ἐρ. Π. 6. 28).

And after a Verbal in -τος expressive of necessity:—

Π. 1. 527 οὐδ᾽ ἀτελεύητον ὄ τι κεν κτλ.

3. 65 οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητη ἐστίν ὄσον κεν κτλ.

The reference to a particular future occasion may be evident from the context: as—

Od. 6. 158 κεῖνος δ᾽ αὐτι περὶ κηρὶ μακάριτατος ἔξοχον ἄλλων, ὦς κέ σ᾽ ἐξόνουι τβρίσας ὕλον ὕποκόν ἀγάγγηται.

In the following places this rule appears to be violated by κ(η) being used where the reference is general; Π. 1. 218, 3. 279, 6. 228, 229, 9. 313, 510, 615, 11. 409, 14. 416, 16. 621, 17. 99, 19. 167, 238, 260, 21. 24, 484, 23. 322, 24. 335, Ο. 4. 196, 7. 33, 8. 33, 586, 10. 22, 74, 328, 14. 126, 15. 21, 55, 70, 345, 422, 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 Π. 14. 416 ὥς κεν ὑπηρεται, where κεν is more than doubtful on account of the Π); 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, ὥς κε and ὥς κ' have been substituted for ὥς τε and ὥς τ'. Thus we should probably read (e.g.)—

Π. 1. 218 ὥς τε θεοὶ ἐπιτελεῖται, μάλα τ᾽ ἠκληνον αὐτοὺν.  

9. 508 ὥς μὲν τ' αλλιστεῖ κούρας Δώς . . .  

510 ὥς δὲ τ' ἀνήρηται καὶ τε κτλ. (ἐρ. 23. 322).

(instead of the strange correlation μὲν τε—δὲ κε).

The real exceptions are most commonly passages in which a Singular is used after a Plural antecedent: as—

S 2
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 Il. 3. 279., 6. 228., 16. 621, Od. 7. 33: see § 362, 6.

(c) The use of ἀν in the Clauses of this kind is very rare. In the two places Il. 8. 10 and 19. 230 the reference to the future is plain. The remaining instance is Od. 21. 293 ὥς τε καὶ ἄλλης βαλλομεν, ὥς ἀν 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, ὥς and ὃπως; ἦς, originally an Adverb of place (=where); and the Adverbs of time, ὄφρα, ἔως (ηνος), εἰς ὃ, ὃτε and ὅποτε, εὗτε, ἤμος. It will be best to take these words separately.

285.] ὥς, ὃπως:

(1) Final Clauses with ὥς or ὃπως 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—

II. 1. 32 ἀλλ' ἔτι μή μ' ἔρειδξε, σαωτερος ὥς κε νέαι.

7. 293 ἀγάθον καὶ νυκτὶ πιδέσθαι,

ὡς σο' τ' ἐνυφρήης πάντας κτλ.

The only instance in which the purpose expressed is not the speaker's own is—

Od. 14. 181 

tών δὲ μμηστήρες ἁγανοὶ

οἰκαδ' ἐντα λοξῷν, ὁπως ἀπο φύλον ὄληται.

(2) With Verbs that by their own meaning imply aim or purpose a Clause of this kind becomes an Object Clause: thus—

II. 4. 66 πειράν ὃς κε Ἰρώεις . ἀρξώσι κτλ. (so Od. 2. 316).

9. 112 φραζώμεθα' ὃς κέν μιν ἄρεσαμενι πεπιλωμεν.

Od. 1. 76 ἡμεῖς δ' οἴδε περιφραζώμεθα πάντες

νόστοι, ὁπως ἐλθος (how he is to come).

3. 19 λισσεσθαι δὲ μιν αὐτὸς ὃπως νημερτέα εἶπη

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 φράσσεται ὥς κε νέηται he will devise how he is to return (cp. 2. 368., 14. 329).

II. 1. 558 τῇ σ' ὅν κατανεύσαι ἐπήνυμον ὥς Ἀχιλῆα

τιμήσης, ὀλέσης δὲ κτλ. (has nodded to the effect &c.).
Regarding κεφ and ἄν observe that in Final and Object Clauses after ὅσ the Subj. with κεφ is the commonest, occurring 32 times, while the Subj. with ἄν and the pure Subj. occur each 8 times. After ὅτι, which has a more indefinite meaning (in some such manner that), the pure Subj. occurs 7 times, the Subj. with κεφ twice (Od. 1. 296, 4. 545,—both Object clauses).

(3) In Conditional or limiting Clauses:

(a) After a Present the Subj. is pure in the phrase ὅτι καὶ ἐδήλωσεν as he pleases (Od. 1. 349, 6. 189). In II. 16. 83 πέλθει δ' ὅσ τοι ἐγὼ μύθον τέλος ἐν φρέσι θείω the pure Subj. indicates that θείω is really an unconditional expression of will: ‘listen to me—I will tell you’: cp. the independent sentences such as II. 6. 340 ἐπιμενον, ἄριθμα τείχεα ὄνω (§ 275, a).

The use of ὅσ and ὅσ τε in similes belongs to this head: e.g.—

II. 5. 161 ὅσ δὲ λέων ἐν βουσι θορῶν ἔξ αὐχένα ἄξι κτλ.

11. 67 οיד' ὅσ τ' ἀμπρίπες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλων ὄγμον ἐλαύνωσιν κτλ.

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.

Delbrück (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 ὅσ τε. This rule appears to be without exception.

(b) The Subj. with ἄν occurs in the formula ὅσ ἄν ἐγὼν εἴπω πειθόμεθα, which refers to a speech about to follow.

The use of κεφ in—

II. 20. 242 Ζεῦς δ' ἀρετήν ἀνδρεσσων ὄφελλει τε μνύθει τε ὅτι πως κεφ ἐδήλησι

is perhaps due to the contrast between opposite cases: so with οτι, § 289, 2, b.

286.] ίνα is used in Final Clauses only. With a Subj. it usually expresses the speaker’s own purpose; even in—

Od. 2. 306 ταῦτα δὲ τοι μάλα πάντα τελευτήσωσιν Ἀχαιοῖ, νῦν καὶ ἔχαί τους ἔρετάς, ίνα θάσσον ἦκα.

the meaning is ‘I undertake that the Achaeans will do this for you.’ Exceptions (out of about 80 instances) are: II. 1. 203 ἦ ίνα ὑβριν τδι is it that you may see δε.: II. 9. 99., 12. 435., 24. 43, Od. 8. 580., 10. 24., 13. 327.

An Object Clause with ίνα is perhaps to be recognised in—

Od. 3. 327 λίσσεσθαι δὲ μν αὐτὸς ίνα νημερτές ἐνίστη
if the reading is right. The line may be an incorrect repetition of 3. 19.

The pure Subj. only is used with ἵνα, except in Od. 12. 156 ἵνα εἰδότες ἢ κε ἰάνωμεν ἢ κεν ἀλευάμενοι θάνατον καὶ κήρα φύγομεν, where two alternatives are given by the correlative ἢ κεν—ԣτ ἤ κεν: cp. § 275, b. But some MSS. have ἢ κε ἰάνωμεν.

As Mr. Gildersleeve points out (Am. Jour. of Phil. iv. 425) ἵνα is the only purely final Particle, i.e. the only one which does not limit the purpose by the notion of time (ὁφρα, ἓως) or manner (ὅς, ὅπως). Hence Clauses with ἵνα do not take κεν or ἓως, 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 κεν or ἓως, as—

Π. 1. 509 τὸφρα δ’ ἐπὶ Τρώσεως τίθει κράτος, ὁφρ’ ἵν Ἀχαϊοι νιῶν ἐμὸν τίσωσιν, ὁφέλλωσιν τε ἐ τιμῇ.

22. 192 ἀνιχνεύων θέει ἐπεδεικνυμαι, ὁφρα κεν ἐφη.

With this meaning the pure Subj. is found in Π. 1. 82 ἢ χεῖ κότον ὁφρα τελέσηγα ἢ ἐκεῖνο τοῦτον ἔριξεν καὶ ἐπεδεικότης ἢ κεν ἐπεδεικνυμαι, ὁφρα κεν ἐφη.

(β) ὁφρα = to the end that, used with the pure Subj., rarely with κεν or ἓως. The transition to this meaning may be seen in—

Π. 6. 258 ἀλλὰ μὲν’, ὁφρα κε τοῦ μελησεάν νείνον ἐνεκώ 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.—

Π. 4. 345 ἐνθα δικ τοῦ ἀποτελέσαν κρέα ἐδομεναι ἢ ὁφρ’ ἐθάλητον.

Od. 2. 123 τὸφρα γὰρ οὖν βίοτόν τε τεῦν καὶ κτήματ’ ἐδοταί, ὁφρα κε κενή τοῦτον ἐχρι ἐννοοῦ.

The use of κεν or ἓως in these Clauses is governed by the same rule as with ὅς, viz. it is used when the reference is to the future, and is not expressly meant to be general (as Π. 23. 47 ὁφρα ζοιοῦσι μετελω). As to the form ὁφρ’ ἵν μὲν κεν, see § 363, 4.

In Π. 6. 112 ἄνερεσ ἐστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θοῦριδος ἀλῆς, ὁφρ’ ἵν ἐγὼ βήω (cp. 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 Π. 6. 112, &c. as Conditional (Synt. Forsch. i. p. 170).

288.] ἐως (ἡνος) and εἰς ἓ, used with the Subj., always take κεν. The meaning until, with implied purpose, is the usual one: as—
II. 3. 290 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐπείτα μαχήσομαι εἰνεκά κούρης 
ἀδικ μένων, ἕσο κε τέλος πολέμου κιχεῖω.
9. 48 νῦν δ’ ἐγὼ Ἐδειλός τε μαχησόμεθ’ εἰς δ’ ἐκ τέκμαρ 
"Ἰλιον εὐφρωμεν.

The Conditional meaning is only found in the recurring ex-
pression εἰς δ’ ο’ ἐν στήθεσιν μένη καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ’ ὄρφη 
(Π. 9. 609., 10. 89)=so long as I have life.

289.] ὅτε, ὅποτε:

(i) Clauses with ὅτε and ὅποτε may be counted as Final in a 
few instances in which the governing Clause contains an expres-
sion of time:

(a) with the pure Subj.—
Π. 21. 111 ἐσεσταί ὣ ὃδο ὣ δεῖλη ὣ μέσον ἕμαρ,
ὅποτέ τις καὶ ἔμειο Ἀρεί εἰ μθυμόν ἔληται.
So Π. 19. 336 ἐμὴν ποτιδέγμενον αἰεὶ λυρὴν ἄγγελιμ, ὅτ’ ἀποφθι-
μένου πόθηται waiting for the message when he shall hear &c., i. e. 
‘waiting for the time when the news shall come that &c.’ Here 
the clause with ὅτε 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. Cp. also Π. 6. 454 ὅσον σεό 
(μέλει), ὅτε κεν τις . . δακρυόσσοι ἀγηται as I am concerned for you 
(in respect of the time) when &c., and 8. 373 ἐσται μὰν ὅτ’ 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.

(ii) Clauses with ὅτε or ὅποτε 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 ὁλ μὲν ἰδεν ἰδες εἰσοροώντες 
δειδέχαται μύθοισιν, ὅτε στείχηρ’ ἄνα ἄστυ 
who look on him as a god, and salute him when he walks &c.
Π. 1. 163 οὐ μὲν σοὶ ποτε ἵναν ἑξω γέρας, ὅποτ’ Ἀχαϊοὶ 
Τρώων ἐκπέρσωτ’ εἶ τινίμενον πτολεθρον 
whenever the Greeks sack a Trojan town. So in maxims, &c.:—
Π. 1. 80 κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χόσταται ἄνδρι χέριν.
II. 15. 207 ἔσθλὼν καὶ τὸ τετύκται ὅτ’ ἀγγελος αἰσμα εἰδὴ.
And in similes, as II. 2. 395 ὅτε κινήῃ Νότος ἐλθὼν. So with the
regular ὅσ ὅτε as when, ὅσ ὅποτε as in any case when.

In a few instances ὅς ὅτ’ ὅν is found instead of ὅς ὅτε: viz.—
II. 15. 170 ὅς ὅτ’ ὅν ἐκ ἑφέσων πτήται κτλ.
19. 375 ὅς ὅτ’ ὅν ἐκ πάντων σέλας ναύτην πάσην
Od. 5. 394 ὅς ὅτ’ ὅν ἀσπάσοις βιότοι παίδεσαι πάσην
23. 233 ὅς ὅτ’ ὅν ἀσπάσοις γῇ νηρχούσῃ πάσην
II. 11. 269 ὅς ὅτ’ ὅν ἀδύνατον ἔχῃ βέλος ὅφ’ γνωάκα
17. 520 ὅς ὅτ’ ὅν ἄδην ἔχον πέλεκον 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 ὅν.

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 οὔδε τί μιν χρεώ ἔσται τυμβοχόης ὅτε μιν θάπτωσιν
Ἄχαιοι: so Od. 16. 268., 23. 257. But κεν is used in the similar
passage II. 10. 130 οὔ τις νεμεοθηται . . . οὗτος κεν τιν’ ἐποτρύνη.

(6) κεν or ὅν 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 διαπέσται ὅτ’ ἄν τοι ἀπέχουνται.
Od. 1. 40 ἐκ γὰρ Ὁρέσταυ τίτις ἐσοσται Ἀτρέδαιο
ὑποτ’ ἄν ἡβίσην τε καὶ ἡς ἰμερεται αἴης.
II. 20. 130 δείστε ἐπειθ’, οὗτοι κεν τις κτλ.
Od. 2. 357 ἐσπέριος γὰρ ἐγὼν αἱρήσομαι ὅπποτε κεν δῇ κτλ.
So after μοίρα (Od. 4. 475), followed by an Inf.

In other places it is not so clear why an event is treated as
particular. Perhaps κεν or ὅν may be used with ὅτε, ὅποτε—

(1) When a contrast is made between supposed cases, as—
II. 6. 224 τοῦ γὰρ σοι μὲν ἐγὼ δεῖ δείξων φίλος Ἀργείς,
ἐμί, σοῦ δ’ ἐν Δυτική, ὅτε κεν τῶν δήμων ἐκοιμαί.
20. 166 πρώτων μὲν . . . ἀλλ’ ὅτε κεν τις κτλ.
Od. 20. 83 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν καὶ ἀνέκτον ἔχει κακόν, ὅπποτέ κεν τις
κτλ.
11. 17 ὅθ’ ὅποτ’ ἄν στείχῃ . . . ὅθ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ἄψ κτλ.
(Here we should read ὅποτε στείχῃς, § 363, 4).

So perhaps II. 2. 397 παντολοίῳ ἀνέμων, ὅτ’ ἄν ἐνθ’ ἦ ἐνθ’ γενόνται:
9. 101 κρητήλῃ δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ, ὅτ’ ἄν τις κτλ. and Od. 13. 100 ἐν-
tοσθεν δὲ τ’ ἄνευ δεσμοῦ μένουσι νῆσε ἐδοσέλμοι, ὅτ’ ἄν ὄρμον
μέτρου ἐκόμναι (in contrast to those outside). But cp. the remark
as to ὅτ’ ὅν in the last note.

(2) When there is a change from Plural to Singular:—
II. 9. 501 λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβηθ’ καὶ ἀμάρτη.
292. CLAUSES WITH EI.

Od. 11. 218 ἀλλ' αὕτη δίκη ἔστι βροτῶν, ὅτε τίς κε θάνησι.
This last instance is doubtful, since the order ὅτε τίς κε is not Homerio (§ 365). We should probably read ὅτε τίς τε.

290.] ἐστε, ἡμοσ. The word ἐστε is only once found with a pure Subj., viz. Od. 7. 202 (in a general assertion): ἐστιν ἃν 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 ἃν is more difficult to explain, viz. II. 2. 227 (read ἐστε πτολε.movieν), Od. 1. 192., 17. 320, 323., 18. 194. The combination ἐστε κέν is not found.

The pure Subj. with ἡμοσ occurs in one place—

Od. 4. 400 ἡμοσ δ' ἥλιος μέσον οὕρανον ἀμφιβεβήκη
where the reference is general, 'each midday.'

The Subjunctive with ei, ἐς.

291.] Clauses with ei. The use of the Particle ei (or ai), 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 (ei = if): in other words, it is a condition. But (2) an assumption may also be made in order to express end: eiμι... ai κε πίθηται I 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 ei κέν... δρομο 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 ei. The chief point of interest under this head is the use of κέν or ἃν. The rules will be found to be essentially the same as those already laid down for the corresponding Clauses with the Relative (§ 283, 6) and the Relatival Adverbs (see esp. § 289, 6), and to be even more uniform in their application.

(a) The pure Subj. is used in general sayings, and in similes:

II. 1. 80 κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέριν
ei περ' ἄρ τε χόλου γε καὶ αὐτήμαρ καταπέθη,
ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον.

12. 238 τῶν οὖ τι μετατρέποιν' οὖν ἀλεγίζων,
ei τ' ἐπὶ δεξί' ἔωσι πρὸς ἦν τ' ἥλιον τε,
ei τ' ἐπὶ ἄριστερα τοί γε κτλ.

Od. 16. 97 κασιγνητοὺς... οἴςιν περ ἄνὴρ
μαρναμένοις πέποιθε καὶ ei μέγα νείκος ὄρηται.

If the principal Verb is a Future (or implies reference to the future), the pure Subj. with εἶ 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 εἶ ποτε δὴ αὐτὲ χρειῶ έμείο γένηται κτλ.; 12. 245 εἶ περ γάρ τ᾽ ἄλλοι γε περικεπώμεθα πάντες κτλ.; Od. 1. 204 οὐδ᾽ εἶ πέρ τε σινθήρεα δέσματ’ ἔχρου. 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 δ᾽ ἡμεῖς εἶ πέρ τε πόλαι καὶ τείχος Ἀχαίων ῥηθόμεθα σθενεὶ μεγάλῳ, εἶξοσι δ᾽ Ἀχαίοι, οὐ κόσμῳ παρὰ μαθὼν ἐλευθόμεθ᾽ αὐτά κέλευθα

Polydamas is interpreting an omen which he wishes to remain unfulfilled. Similarly II. 5. 248 εἶ γ᾽ οὖν ἔτερος γε φύγησι: II. 22. 86 εἶ περ γάρ σε κατακτάνη, οὐ δ’ ετί ἔσωγε κλαύσομαι εἰ λεχέοσι: Od. 5. 221 εἶ δ᾽ αὖ τις βαίνῃ θεῶν κτλ.: Od. 12. 348 εἶ δὲ χολοσάμενός τι... νη’ ἐθελὴ ὀλέσαι κτλ. The object of the speaker in these examples is to treat the supposed case as imaginary or unpractical.

(6) The Subj. with κερ or οὖν indicates that a particular future occasion is contemplated: hence—

II. 4. 353 δοεια ἢν ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἱ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη.
11. 404 μέγα μὲν κακὸν (sc. ἕσται) αἱ κε φέβωμαι.
24. 592 μὴ μοι... σκυθμαιεῖμεν, αἱ κε πύθηαι κτλ.
Od. 2. 218 εἰ μὲν κεν πατρὸς βίοτον καὶ νόστον ἀκούσω, ἢ τ᾽ ἄν τρυχόμενός περ ἐτί τλαθη ἐνιαυτόν.
11. 112 εἰ δὲ κε σύνηαι, τότε τοι τεκμαίρομ’ ὀλέθρου
(I prophesy your destruction).

So, though the Verb of the governing Clause is a Present—

II. 6. 442 αἰδέομαι Τρώας καὶ Τροάδος ἐλκεσπέπλους, αἱ κε κτλ. (=I fear what they will think if &c.).
8. 477 σέδεν δ᾽ ἐγὼ οὖν ἀλεγίζω χωμένης, οὖδ᾽ εἰ κε τὰ νείλατα πείραθ’ ἵκηαι
=I do not care for you, (and shall not) even if &c.

Instances of κεν or οὖν in a sentence of general meaning are—

II. 3. 25 μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθεί, εἰ περ ἄν αὐτὸν σεύνουται κτλ. (even in the case when—, § 363, 1, 6).
11. 391 ἢ τ᾽ ἄλλος ὑπ᾽ ἐμείο, καὶ εἰ κ’ ἄλγουν περ ἐπαύρῃ, δὲν βέλος.πέλεται.
12. 302 εἰ περ γάρ χ’ εὖρησι παρ’ αὐτόφι κτλ.
CLauses with ει.

After a principal Verb expressive of the speaker’s will (an Imperative, or First Person), a Final Clause may be introduced by ει κεν or ἢν: as—

II. 8. 282 βάλλ’ στως ει κέν τι φώς Δανάοισι γένηαι.
11. 791 ταῦτ’ εἰποῖς Ἀχιλῆι δαίφρουν εἴ κε πιθήται.

The effect of using ει (instead of ὅσ or ὅνα) 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 φαίνετο βούλη ἐλθεῖν... εἰ ποὺς ἤμειρατο... τῷ δ... ἥμη (where we should perhaps read ἥμας; or change ἥμη ἐπὶ to ἥμενες); and in Od. 5. 471 εἰ δὲ κεν... καταδράω, εἰ μὲ μεθήνη μίγος καὶ κάματος, γλυκερὸς δὲ μοι ὦνος ἐπέλθη, where the MSS. have the Opt. μεθεῖν, ἐπέλθοι. But if ἢν has sometimes crept in instead of ει, as is probable (§ 362) there may be other examples: as—

II. 22. 418 λίσσωρ’ ἀνέρα τοῦτον... ἢν πως κτλ.
Od. 1. 281 ἔρχεο πενυόμενον πατρός δὴν οἷχομένου, ἢν τῖς τοι εἰπησι κτλ.

Object Clauses with ει.

This term will serve to describe the form of Clause in which the supposition made by ει takes the place of an Acc. of the thing. It may be regarded as a special form of the Final Clause (cp. § 285, 2): thus II. 18. 600 ὅς ὅτε τις τροχὸν... περίστεται εἰ θέητι ‘tries in respect to the supposition that it will run,’ hence tries whether it will run: so—

II. 4. 249 ὄφρα ὃντ’ εἰ κ’ ύμιμν ὑπεροχῆ χείρα Κρονίων.
15. 32 ὄφρα ὃν ην τοι χραίσμη 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 arrived. So after εἰπεῖν, II. 7. 375 καὶ δὲ τῶδ’ [leg. τό] εἰπέμεναι πυκνῶν ἐπος, αἰ’ κ’ θελὼσι say the word supposing that they shall be willing (=ask if they will agree), II. 17. 692 εἰπεῖν, αἴ’ θέη τάχιστα νέκων ἐπὶ νήα σαώσῃ: and οἴδα in the phrase τις οἴδ’ εἰ κεν who knows but (II. 15. 403., 16. 860, Od. 2. 332), and οὐ μᾶν οἴδ’ εἴ (II. 15. 16).
The use of the *Accusative de quo* (§ 140, 3) should be noticed; especially after *ὅδε*, anticipating the Clause with *ei*; as—

II. 8. 535 ἀφρων ἢν ἁρετὴν διαείστηκεν *ei* κ’ ἐμὸν ἔγχος μείη ἐπερχόμενον

meaning ‘he will know as to his prowess whether it will enable him to withstand my spear.’ So Od. 22. 6 σκοπῶν ἄλλον . . . εἰσο-μαι α’ κε τόνωμι (cp. § 140, 3, b).

In one place the Clause with *ei* serves as explanation of a Neuter Pronoun in the *Nomina tive*:

II. 20. 435 ἀλλ’ ἢ τοι μὲν ταίτα θεϊν ἐν γονάσι κείται,

*ei* κέ σε χειρότερός περ ἔων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλωμαι.

295.] The Subj. with *ὁς* *ei* occurs in a single place only, viz.—

II. 9. 481 καὶ μὲ φίλησ’ ὅς *ei* τε πατήρ ὑπ παῖδα φιλήση. Here the assumption *ei* . . . φιλήση is made for the purpose of comparison. Thus the meaning is nearly the same as with ἦν *ὅτα* (§ 289, 2), and the Clause is essentially Conditional.

296.] *ἐτεῖ* with the Subj. The use of *ἐτεῖ* implies that the action is prior in time to the action of the principal Clause; hence Clauses with *ἐτεῖ* properly fall under the definition of the Conditional Clause.

A pure Subj. after *ἐτεῖ* is found in four places, one a gnomic passage, Od. 20. 86 ἐτεῖ ἀρ βλέφαρ’ ἀμφικαλύφη (sleep makes men forget everything) when it has spread over their eyelids; the other three in similes, viz. II. 11. 478., 15. 363, 680. In II. 16. 453 the best MSS. give αὐτὰρ ἐτεῖ δὴ τοῦ γε λήπη ψυχῆ τε καὶ αἴων, πέμπεω μν ἑλ., others ἐτεῖν δή. 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.*—

II. 2. 474 τούς δ’ ὅς τ’ ἀλτολία πλατέ’ αἰγὼν ἀλπόλοι ἄνδρες ἵν’ διακρίνοσιν, ἐτεῖ κε νομῷ μυγέωσιν.


Regarding ἐτεῖ *κεν* (v) in this use there is the same question as with ἦν *κε* (§ 283). Out of 10 instances there is only one in which the form *κεν* appears, viz. II. 21. 575 ἐτεῖ κεν υλαγμὸν άκούση, and there Zenodotus read κυνυλαγμοῦ, 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 ἐπεί τε is sufficiently established in Homer (§ 332).

The form ἐπην 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 τοι καταδύσεις μῶλον 'Ἀρης πρὶν γ' ἔμε δεῦρ' ἐλθόνταν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἵππαι do not enter the battle before you see me coming hither.

Od. 10. 174 ὦ φίλοι, σὺ γὰρ πρὶν καταδυσόμεθ' ἀχνύμενοι περ ἐσ' Ἀρεω δόμοις πρὶν μόρσιμον Ἡμαρ ἐτέλθη.

So II. 18. 190., 24. 551, 781, Od. 13. 336., 17. 9. The Subj. is used in these examples without κεν 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' ὦν before the time when (Od. 2. 374., 4. 477): ep. II. 16. 62 σὺ πρὶν μηνυθήναι καταπανότιμον, ἀλλ' ὧντ' ἄν 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 ὦδε μὲν ἀνατήσεις πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλῳ πάθησα stands for—

ὡδε μὲν ἀνατήσεις' πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλῳ 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 κεν or ἀν, whether as a Future (§ 275, b) or as an Imperative, is not Homerisc, 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' ἔγω σφίσεν ἑδειξα is used instead of πρὶν ἔμε δειξα because the poet wishes to make the assertion ἑδειξα. So with the transition from the Inf. to the Indic. after ὥστε (Goodwin, § 585): the finite mood is not a survival of parataxis, but is used when the Infinitive is not sufficiently positive.
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:—

II. 1. 218 ós ke theois ἐπιπεδήθηται μάλα τ' ἐκληνον αὐτοῦ.

Od. 20. 85 ὅ γὰρ τ' ἐπέλησεν ἀπάντων ἑσθλῶν ἤδε κακῶν, ἑπεὶ ἄρ βλέφαρ' ἀμφικαλυψη.

Or an Aor. used to express a general denial, as—

Od. 10. 327 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τίς ἄλλος ἀνήρ τάδε φάρμακ' ἀνέτηλη, ὅς κε πὴ κτλ. (cp. Od. 12. 66).

Or in a simile, as II. 4. 486 ἐξῆται', ὃφρα ἵνων κάμψην κτλ.

Further (2) if the action expressed by the Subordinate Clause is still future at the time of speaking; as—

II. 5. 127 ἀχλῶν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλον ἢ πρὶν ἐπῆνεν, ὃφρ' εὖ γυγνώσκῃ ἡμὲν θεῶν ἤδε καὶ ἀνάρα

I have taken away the mist—that you may know ὅν.

7. 394 καὶ δὲ τόῦ ἦν πρὶν ἐπεσώ ἐπος, αὖ κ' ἐθέλητε κτλ.

18. 189 μήτηρ δ' οὖ με φίλη πρὶν γ' ἐκα τῷ ἄθροίσεται πρὶν γ' αὐτὴν.. . ὄνομαι (before I shall see her ὅν).

Od. 11. 434 οἱ τε κατ' ἀἰδόχος ἐκευε καὶ ἐσσομένην ὁπλίσο τῇ δυντέρῃσι γναίεξ, καὶ ὅ κ' ἐνεργός ἔνοι.

So II. 9. 99., 20. 126., 24. 781. In these places the governing Verb is generally to be translated by the English Perfect with have (cp. § 73).

The 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 τοῦ δ' ἐς Δωδώνην φάτο βήμεναι ὃφρα θεόο (= 19. 296) ἐκ βρῦνος ὑψικόμοιν Διὸς βουλῆν ἐπακούση,

where the Subj. was read by Aristarchus, the Opt. ἐπακούσαι by Aristophanes and Herodian. Again in—

Od. 10. 65 ὦ μὲν σ' ἐνυκέώς ἀπεπέμπομεν, ὃφρ' ἂν ἴκνει the best MSS. have ἴκναι, but others have ὅφρ' ἂν ἴκνοι and ὅφρ' ἀφίκειο. See also II. 15. 23, Od. 15. 300., 22. 98: and cp.—

II. 5. 567 μὴ τι πάθοι, μέγα δὲ σφας ἀποσφήλειε

15. 598 ἐμβάλει αὐτὸν ἐπικριτείει.

In these places the MSS. generally have πάθη, ἐμβάλη : but the Opt. in the clause following has led the editors to adopt πάθοι, ἐμβάλει.

Other places where the Subj. is contrary to the rule now laid down are II. 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.

(a) Simple wish or prayer: as—

II. 1. 42 τίσειν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δόκρυα σοίς βέλεσσι.

Od. 1. 403 μη γὰρ ο’ γ’ ἐλθοι κτλ. never may he come &c.

Regarding the Opt. of wish with ei or ai, eiθe, aiθe, &c. see § 311.

(b) A gentle or deferential Imperative, conveying advice, suggestion, or the like: as—

II. 4. 17 ei δ’ αὖ πως τόδε πάσιν φίλον καὶ ἢδυ γένοιτο,

(= I presume the city is to remain inhabited).

Od. 4. 735 ἀλλὰ τις ὅτρηράς Δολίον καλέσειε γέροντα

(as we say, would some one call &c.).

18. 141 τῷ μὴ τίς ποτε πάμπιαν ἀνήρ ἀθεμίτους έιη,

ἀλλ’ δ’ γε σιγή δῶρα θεῶν ἔχοι

I would have a man not be lawless, but &c.

Note especially this use of the Second Person, as in—

Od. 4. 193 πλοῦτοι μοι πραγγ λήσετε to me: so in the formal phrase ή ρά νῦ μοί τι πλοῦτο (II. 4. 93, &c.).

II. 11. 791 ταῦτ’ εἴποις ’Αχιλῆι suppose you say this to Achilles.

Od. 15. 24 ἄλλα σὺ γ’ ἐλθόν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψειας ἐκαστα.

II. 3. 406 ἦσο θαρ’ αὐτῷ λοῦσα, θεῶν δ’ ἀπόεικε κελεύθου,

μηδ’ έτι σοίς πόδεσσιν ὑποστρέψειας 'Ολυμποι.

Hence in II. 1. 20 we should read (with the best MSS.) παῖδα δ’ ἐμοί λύσατε (not λύσατε τε, Wolf’s conjecture).

(c) Rhetorical wish, implying willingness, or indifference to the happening of some evil: as in imprecautions—

II. 2. 340 ἐν πυρὶ δὴ θεουλαί τε γενοίατο μῆδα δ’ ἀνδρῶν.

6. 164 τεθανατη, δ’ Προίτ’, ἢ κάκταιε Βελλεροφόντην

(= I care not if you were dead, unless you &c.).

Od. 7. 224 ἱδόντα με καὶ λίποι αἰῶν κτῆσιν ἐμὴν κτλ.

(= I am content to die when I have seen &c.).
(d) Concession or acquiescence:—

Il. 21. 359 ἀν' ἐρίδος, Τρώας δὲ καὶ αὐτικὰ δὸς ἀχιλλεὺς ἀστεὸς εἰσέλαφε (cease strife, and I consent that δὲ).  
Od. 1. 402 κτίματα δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἔχοις καὶ δῷμαι σοῖσιν ἀνάσσοις.  
2. 232 ὅλη ἄλετος τ᾽ εἶν καὶ αἴτια βέβαιοι  
(i. e. he may as well be unjust as just).


The following are instances of the First Person used in this way:  
Il. 15. 45 αὐτὸς τοι καὶ κέλυφ ἐγὼ παραμυθησάμην  
I am willing to advise him (a concession).

So Il. 4. 318 μᾶλα μὲν τοι ἐγὼν ἑθέλουμι κτλ., but some MSS. have μὲν κεν.

Il. 23. 150 νῦν δ᾽ ἔτει οὐ νέομαι γε φίλην ἐς παραίδα γαίαν,  
Πατρόκλῳ ἦρωι κόμην ὄπασαιμι φέρεσθαι since I am not to return, I may as well δὲ.

Od. 16. 383 ᾠλὰ φθέωμεν ἐλύσετε ἔτ᾽ ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόλησις ἢ ἐν ὅδῳ, βίότον δ᾽ αὐτοὶ καὶ κτίματ' ἔχομεν ἀσσάμενοι κατὰ μοῦδαι ἐφ᾽ ἡμέας, οἵκια δ᾽ αὐτὲ κέλυφο μητέρι δούμεν ἔχειν ἢδ᾽ ὅς τις ὄπυοι.

Here what the Suitors are to do for themselves is put in the Subj., what they do or allow to be done for Penelope in the Opt.

Compare Ἰδ. 7. 5. 4 τοῦ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσοις τὰ περ ἐν χερι ἔχεις, ἡμερῶς δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐνυπρίσασαν στρατηλάτες 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 μὴ: as—

Od. 7. 316 μὴ τούτο φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο let us not admit that this is the will of father Zeus.  
22. 462 μὴ μὲν δὴ καθαρὸθανάτῳ 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 ἤγεις θεοὺς γ᾽ ἑθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἀνδρὰ σαώσαι.

This is said as a concession: ‘we men must allow that a god can save even from afar.’ So perhaps Il. 10. 247, 557: also—

Il. 15. 197 θυγατέρεσσών γάρ τε καὶ νίκι βέλτερον εἶν κτλ.  
Here the Opt. is in contrast to the preceding Imper. μὴ τί μὲ δειδοσέσθω: ‘let him not threaten me: for his own children it may be well enough that he should scold.’ Other instances are negative, viz.—

Il. 19. 321 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακότερον ἄλλο πάθομι.
Od. 14. 122 ὁ γέρον, οὗ τὶς κείνον ἀνήρ ἀλαλήμενος ἐλθὼν ἀγγέλλων πέσειε γυναῖκα τε καὶ φίλον ὕλων.

So in the Relative clauses, Π. 5. 303 (= 20. 286) ὁ οὗ δὖο γ᾽ ἀνδρεὶ φέρον ς, Od. 3. 319 θεν οὐκ ἔλπιτο γε θυμῷ ἐλθὲµεν. And in one or two interrogative clauses, with implied negation: Π. 11. 838 πῶς τ᾽ ἀρ᾽ εοὶ τάδε ἔργα; Od. 5. 100 τίς δ᾽ ἀν ἐκὼν διαδράμοι (since we should probably read τίς δὲ ἐκὼν). In such case the absence of κεῖν or ἀν marks the negation as sweeping and unconditional. We should compare the corresponding Homeric use of ὁ of with the pure Subj., which differs in the degree of confidence expressed: οὐδὲ ἵδωμαι I am sure I shall never see, οὗ πάθοιμι I suppose I shall never suffer.

300.] With κεῖν or ἀν 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.—

Π. 1. 100 τόθε κεῖν μὲν ἱλασάμενοι πεπίθουμεν 
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 κεῖν or ἀν often follows an independent Clause with a Future, Imperative, &c.:—

Π. 22. 108 ὡς ἐρέουσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸτ ἀν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη κτλ.
Od. 10. 269 φεύγωμεν' ἵτι γὰρ κεῖν ἀλύχαιμεν κακῶν Ἰμαρ.
Π. 3. 410 κείσε δ᾽ ἐγών οὐκ εἴμι, πεμεσθοῦν δὲ κεῖν εἴη.

(b) Or the preceding Clause may contain a wish:—

Π. 7. 157 εἴθ᾽ ὡς ἰῆσομι, βη ἵε μοι ἐμπέδος εἴη· 
τῷ κε τάχ' ἀντίσειε κτλ.

Cp. Π. 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.—

Π. 5. 311 καὶ νῦ κεῖν ἐνθ᾽ ἀπόλοιπο ἀναζ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας, 
ἐλ μὴ ἄρ᾽ ἔδω νύσῃ κτλ.
Od. 5. 73 ἐνθὰ κ᾽ ἐπείτα καὶ ἀθάνατος περ ἑπελθὼν 
θησαυρὸ ἴδων.

So Π. 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 IIiad.

A somewhat similar idiom occurs in Herodotus; e. g. Hdt. 1. 2 εἴπασιν δ᾽ ἀν ὦτοι Ἀρης 'these may have been Cretans' (= probably were), 7. 180 τάχα δ᾽ 
OPTATIVE.

The case supposed may be vague or imaginary:—

II. 8. 143 ἀνήρ δὲ κεν οὗ τι Διὸς νῦν εἰρύσσατο,

where the emphatic ἀνήρ suggests a condition: if a man, he cannot &c.; cp. Od. 4. 78., 23. 125, also—

Od. 12. 102 πληστον ἀλλήλων καὶ κεν διοιστεύσειας

one may (on occasion arising) shoot an arrow across.

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—

II. 22. 252

νῦν αὐτέ με θυμὸς ἀνήκε

στήμεναι ἄντια σειώ· ἔλομι κεν ἢ κεν ἀλοήν.

Od. 8. 570

τὰ δὲ κεν θεός ἢ τελέσειν

ἡ κ’ ἀτέλεστ’ εὖν, ὡς οἱ φίλοι ἔπλετο θυμό.

To which may be added Od. 14. 183 ἢ κεν ἀλοή ἢ κεν φύοι κτλ. (but II. 13. 486 is different). Possibly the use of κεν in these places is due to the opposition made between the two alternatives: cp. § 285, 3, b, § 286, and § 289, 2, b.

II. 24. 618 ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ καὶ νωὶ μεδόμεθα, δεὶ γεραίε, σίτον’ ἐπειτά κεν αὐτέ φίλοι πάλαι κλαίουσθα.

Hes. Op. 33 τοῦ κε κορεστάμενος νείκεα καὶ δήμῳ δήμωλις. 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 ἡδέν δὲ κεν ὑμιν ὄδοιπόριον παραθέμιν.

22. 262 ὃ φίλοι, ὡς μὲν κεν ἐγὼν ἐποίμι καὶ ἀμμὶ κτλ.

16. 304 ἀλλ’ οἶνοι σό τ’ ἐγὼ τε γυναικῶν γνώμεν ιδον, καὶ κε τεο δμων ἀναρων ἐτι πειρηδείμεν.
14. 155 πρὶν δὲ κε, καὶ μᾶλα περ κεχρημένος, οὗ τι δὲχολμην.


(β) Negative Clauses, with the Second Person:—

Π. 14. 126 τῷ οὐκ ἄν με .. φάντες | μῦθον ἀτίμησαίτε

I do not think you will (I expect you not to) ὅτε.

Od. 20. 135 οὐκ ἄν μν νῦν, τέκνων, ἀναίτιον αἰτίωφο.

So Π. 2. 250 τῷ οὐκ ἄν βασιλῆς ἀνὰ στόμι' ἕκων ἁγορεύοις 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 ἡ μείνειας will you not await? So Π. 5. 32, 456., 10. 204, Od. 6. 57., 7. 22.

The fact that οὔ 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 Sentences 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 ἦ—ἠ. 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—

II. 16. 713 δὲ γὰρ ἢ ἢ μᾶχοντα κατὰ κλόνον αὕτη ἐλάσσοις,
          ἢ λαοῦς ἐσ τεῖχος ὀμοκλίθειειν ἀλήναι
he debated—should he fight &c., or should he call to the people &c.:
so II. 1. 189., 5. 671, Od. 4. 117., 6. 141., 10. 50, &c.

(6) Past doubt is less common: the examples are—

Od. 4. 789 ὅρμανον’ ἢ οἱ δανάτων φόνοι νῖς ἀμύμων
          ἢ δ’ ὡς μιστήρων ὑπερφαίλουσι δαμεῖα.

15. 304

ουβάτων περιπτήζουν
          ἢ μω ἢτ’ ἐνδικεῖα φιλεῖοι μενιάτε τε κελεύου
          αὐτοῦ ἐνι σταθμῷ, ἢ ὀφρύνει τὸλινδὲ
Ulysses tried the swineherd—whether would he still be hospitable
and bid him stay, or &c.
In this use we once find κ&ν—κ&ν, viz. Od. 15. 300 ὅρμανον’ ἢ
κ&ν δανάτων φόνοι ἢ κ&ν ἀλοὖ (La Roche reads ἀλώῆ).

303.] Clauses with μ&. These are of two kinds, answering
to the similar Clauses with the Subj. (§ 281):—

(1) Final Clauses: a single example will suffice:—

II. 5. 845 διὸ “Αἴδος κυνέ&ν μ& μ&ν ἰ&οι δήριμος Λ&ρ&ς
          (so that) Ares should not see her.

(2) Object Clauses, with Verbs of thinking, &c.:—

II. 21. 516 μέμβλετο γ&ρ οἱ τεῖχος ἐξίθητιν πόλ&νος,
          μ&ν Δ&να&νοί παρ&εθ&ν (his care was that) the Greeks
          should not &c.: so Od. 16. 179., 19. 390.

Od. 21. 394

πειρώμενοι ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα
μ&ν κ&ρα ἐπ&τε ἐ&δικεῖα ἀντικ&ρ&νε&ν αν&κ&τος
          to see that worms should not have eaten it.

So in the common use with Verbs of fearing: as II. 18. 34
δε&δε γ&ρ μ&ν λαμ&&&ν ἐ&μα&&&&νει he feared lest &c. But in—

II. 9. 244 τα&τ&’ ἀν&ν&ος δε&δικ&κα κατ&ὰ φρ&&να μ&&ν ο&ὶ ἀ&τε&λ&&
          ἐκτελ&&&θ&ν&ς θ&θ&&&&οι, ἢ&&&ν ἐ&&&& ἐ&&&& α&&&&μ&υ&νν ἐ&&&& κ&τ&λ.

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 ἐ&ν, a
Subj. like μ&τ&-ε&ν (II. 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 μ& with the Subj. and Opt. in principal
Clauses (§ 278), the Mood is never qualified by κ&ν or ἀ&ν.

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 ἄλλα πολὺ μειζόν τε καὶ ἄργαλεωτέρον ἄλλα μνηστήρες φράζονται, δ' μὴ τελέσεις Κρονίων

we have an independent parenthetical wish: and in—

Il. 3. 234 νῦν δ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ὅρω...οὐς κεῖν ἐδ' ὅνοιν κτλ.

5. 303 (= 20. 286) μέγα ἔργον, δ' οὐ δόγ γ' ἀνδρε 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:—

Il. 1. 62 ἄλλ' ἄγε δ' τινα μᾶντιν ἐρελομεν ἧ ἱερή, ...

δ' κ' ἐποι κτλ. (with the view that he may tell: etp. 7. 342, 21. 336, Od. 5. 166).

7. 231 ἡμεῖς δ' εἰμέν τοίον οἴ ἀν σέθεν αὐτόσαμεν

καὶ πολέες (= many of us are ready to meet thee).

Od. 10. 431

τι κακῶν ἴμερετε τούτων,

Κύρκης ἐς μέγαρον καταβήμεναι, ἦ κεν ἀπαντασ

ἡ σος ἡ λύκους ποιήσεται ἡ λέωντας,

οί κέν οί μέγα δόμα φυλάσσομεν 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 ἀν (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—

Il. 5. 192 ἱπποί δ' οὐ παρέασι καὶ ἄρματα τῶν κ' ἐπιθαλῆν.

Od. 1. 253 ἢ δ' πολλών ἀποχομένου Ὀδυσσόσ

δεύ, δ' κε μνηστήρισιν ἀναιδέσι χείρας ἐφείλ.

5. 16 οὐ γάρ οἱ πάρα νῆς ἐπιτήρησαν καὶ ἔταρσον,

οί κέν μιν τέμποιεν.

The pure Opt. occurs in Il. 22. 348 οὐκ ἐσθ' ὃς...ἀπαλάλκοι.

(c) The Opt. is used if the governing Verb is an Optative, or a Secondary Tense: e.g.—

— Il. 14. 107 νῦν δ' εἶν οὐ κεφοδ' γ' ἀμείνωνα μῆτων ἐνίσποι.

Od. 6. 113 ὡς Ὀδυσσόσ ἔγρατο, ἵθατ' ἐνόπτισα κούρην,

ἡ οἱ Φαῦκων ἀνδρῶν τόλιν ἡγήσατο.
Od. 5. 240 ἀν δάλαυ, περίκηλα, ῥὰ οἱ πλώοιν ἐλαφρῶς
dry, such as would float.

(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 αὖτὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους κλήρῳ πεπαλασθαί ἄνωγον
οὐ τίς τοιμήσειεν κτλ. (for the man) who should &c.
II. 3. 316 κλήρους πάλλον .. ὀπτότεροι ἀφείη
they cast lots for which of the two should throw.

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 Τυδείδην δ’ οὐκ ἂν γνοῖν ποτέροισι μετείη.
Od. 15. 423 εἴρωτα δὴ ἐπείτα τίς εἶναι καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι.
17. 368 ἄλλοιος τ’ ἐρέωντο τίς εἰναι καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι.
It is evidently akin to the Optatives with ἢ—ἡ which express
past doubt (§ 302, b): τίς εἰναί 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).

305.] Relative Clauses—Conditional. When the event to
which the condition attaches is matter of wish or mere expecta-
tion, 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 ὀπτότεροι πρῶτεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια πτημῆσαιν,
ὡς σφ’ ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ρέοι ὡς ὡς οἰνος.
Od. 1. 47 ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτα γε ῥέζοι.

(b) With an Optative of expectation:—
II. 9. 125 οὗ κεῖν ἄλλοις εἰπ’ ἀνήρ δ’ τόσσα γένοιτο
he will not be poor to whom such things come.
12. 228 ὡς ε’ ὑποκρινάτων θεοπρόπος ὃς σάφα σιμφω
εἰδείη περάων καὶ οἱ πειθόλατο λαοί
so will a diviner answer, who knows &c.
Od. 4. 222 ὃς τὸ καταβρόξεις ..
οὗ κεῖν ἐφημέριος γε βάλαι κατὰ δάκρυ παρεῖη.
The Opt. of the governing Clause may be itself subordinate:—
Od. 2. 53 ὡς κ’ αὐτὸς ἐδινώσαιτο θύγατρα,
ὥσ᾽ δ’ ὃ κ’ ἐδέλειοι καὶ οἱ κεχαρισμένοι ἔλθοι.
(c) After a Present or Future, in one or two places where the time is purposely vague:

Od. 6. 286 καὶ δ’ ἀλλη νεμεσῶ, ἣ τις τοιαῦτα γα ἔρζοι

= I am ready to be angry with any other who ἦς.

19. 510 καὶ γὰρ δὴ κοιτοῦ τάχ’ ἐσοσταὶ ἢδεος ὅρη,

ὅν τινά γ’ ὕπνος ἔλοι κτλ. (Ἑλῃ Λα Ῥ.)

The Opt. avoids assuming that the case will ever occur.

The reading is very doubtful in II. 5. 407 ὅτι μάλ’ οὐ δηνάοι ὧς ἀθανάτουι μάχηται, 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—

II. 2. 188 ὅν τινα μὲν βασίλη καὶ ἔξοχον ἀνάρα κιχίζη,

τὸν δ’ ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρημώσασθε.

15. 22 ὅν δὲ λάβοιμι βίπτασκον τεταγών κτλ.

Od. 22. 315 παύσεσκον μυροτήρας ὅτις τοιαῦτὰ γα ἔρζοι.

In these uses, and generally, the Opt. is pure. Exceptions are—

Od. 4. 600 δάφνην δ’ ὅτι κέ μοι δοῖς κειμήλιον ἔστω

(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

ἡ δέ κ’ ἐπειτὰ

γῆμαιθ’ ὅς κε πλείστα πόρου καὶ μόρσιμοι ἐλθοὶ.

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 καθές δὲ μν ὧς τις ἑθιρή, or βλέπειν δΣ φεύγων προφίγγ (§ 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—

II. 14. 126 τῷ οὐκ ἄν γε γένος γε κακὸν καὶ ἀπάλκιδα φάντες

μῦδον ἀτιμήσατε πεφασμένον, ὅν κ’ ἐν εἴπω.

20. 250 ὅποιον κ’ εἴπησά ἐπος, τοιόν κ’ ἐπακούσας.

So with ei, as Od. 2. 218 ei μὲν κεν ἀκούσω, ἥ τ’ ἄν τλαίμην, επ. 11. 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 ὡς, ὤπως, ἧνα 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 οἴδε τι οἴδε νοῆσαι ἀμα πρόσωπος καὶ ὑπόσως, ὀπως οἱ παρὰ νηροί σώι μαχεύοντο Ἀχαιοί.

(μαχεύοντο however is not a good Homeric form, and makes an intolerable hiatus: read probably μαχεύσται, cp. § 326, 3).

Od. 2. 52 ὦ πατρὸς μὲν ἐς οἴκον ἀπερρίγαι νέεσθαι Ἰκαρίου, ὥς κ' αὐτὸς ἐδεινόσαυτο θύγατρα.

But also after an affirmative Clause :

Od. 23. 134 ἡγεῖσθω φιλοπαλύμονος ὄρχημοι, ὥς κέν τις φαίν γάμον ἐμμεναι ἐκτὸς ἄκοινων

= so that any one who happens to hear may think so.

12. 156 ἀλλ' ἔρεω μὲν ἐγὼν ἵνα εἰδότες ἢ κεθάνωμεν ἢ κεν ἀλευάμενοι βᾶσαν τοῦ κύρα φύγοιμεν

(the Opt. of the less emphatic alternative, § 275, b).

17. 249 τοῦ ποτ' ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νηὸς ἐὐσσέλμοι μελαίης ἄξο τῆλ' ἱθάκης, ἵνα μοι βιότον πολύν ἄλφοι

(ποτέ indicates a distant occasion).


24. 532 ἱσχεσθε .. ὡς κέν .. διακρινθεῖτε (leg. διακρινθητε ?).

(b) After an Optative, either of wish or of expectation : especially in the Odyssey, as—


15. 537 τῷ κε τάχα γνοῖς .. ὥς ἄν τὶς σε .. μακαρίζοι.

So Od. 18. 369, 20. 81 : and a fortiori after an implied prohibition—

Od. 3. 346 Ζεὺς τὸ γ' ἀλεξήρειε .. ὥς ὑμεῖς .. κλίτε Ζεὺς avert that you should go so.

(c) After a Past Tense—a use of which it is needless to give examples.

Regarding the use of κέν and ἄν, it is to be observed that—

1. The Opt. with ἵνα and ὀπως is always pure.

2. The Opt. with ὥς takes κέν 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 ἀλλ᾽ ὧ γε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὃς Ἀξιλῆα τιμήσει ὀδέσαι δὲ κτλ.

The reading τιμήσει is supported by Ven. A, which has τιμήση (τιμήση εὐκλείκον Schol. A. B.): all other authorities have τιμήση, and all have ὀδέσῃ.

II. 9. 181 περιάν ὃς πεπίθωτειν (bade them try how to persuade).

Od. 14. 329 ὅπως νοστήσει Ἰθάκης ἐς πῖονα δήμου.

This reading is proved (against νοστήσῃ of the MSS.) by the parallel Od. 19. 298 ὅπως νοστήσει φίλων ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν. Cp. also Od. 9. 420., 11. 479.

In one place ὃς with the Opt. follows a Verb of saying, viz. in Od. 24. 237 (μερμήριζε) εἶπειν ὃς ἔλθων καὶ ἱκου' εἰς πατρίδα γαίαν 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 εἶπεν δὲ ἐκαστα, ὃς ἦσαν ἄθανατοι κτλ.

An example of ὅς and the Opt. with iterative meaning (nearly—δέτε, § 308, 1, d) occurs in Hesiod, Theog. 156 καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅπως τις πρῶτα γένοιτο πάντας ἀποκρύτακε. 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 (ἦν) 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 νολεμέως ἐχόμην ὅφρ᾽ ἐξεμέσεις ὁπίσω until it should vomit forth again (so 12. 428., 20. 80).

Od. 23. 151 ἐφυνθαι μέγα δῶμα διαμπέρες ἦσον ἦκοτο till he should come (so 5. 386., 9. 376).

It is indistinct, or lost, in the ordinary use of ὅφρα, as—

II. 6. 170 δεῖξαι δ᾽ ἤρωγε το περὶ ὅφρ᾽ ἀπόλοιπο.

Od. 12. 427 ἢπαθε δ᾽ ἐπὶ Νότος ἤκα, χέρων ἐμῷ ἄλγεα τυμῷ, ὅφρ᾽ ἐτὶ τὴν ὀλον ἀγαμερήσαιμί Χάρυβδων to the end that I should measure again ἤς.

and with ἐως in Od. 4. 799 πέμπε δὲ μιν ἦσοι Πηνελόπειαν παύσει τελεμάκοιο, 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 λελυμένοις ὅφρα τάχιστα τεῦχεα συλήσει, and Od. 19. 367 ἄρωμενος ἦσον ἔκοιο. Here, after a Verb of wishing, the meaning until passes into the simple that.
With ἐως and ὁφρα the Opt. is nearly always pure: but we have ὁφρα in Od. 17. 298 (until), 24. 334: and ἐως κεν in—

Od. 2. 77 τόφρα γὰρ ἄν κατὰ ἀστν ποτιπνσοομεθα μόνο 
χρήματ' ἀπατίζουσε, ἐως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθεῖν,
where there is a stress on the particular time contemplated. So—

II. 15. 69 ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἄν τοι ἑπείτα παλιώξιε παρὰ ἦνων 
αἰὲν εὖω τεῦχομι διαμπερεῖς, εἰς δ' κ' Ἀχαιοὶ 
'Ἰλιον αἱπ' ἐλοιεν (the only instance with εἰς δ').

The similar uses of ἔστε, ἄχρη, μέχρη are post-Homeric.

The chief instance of ὁφρα with an Opt. following a Fut. or Subj. is II. 7. 339 πῶλας ποιῆσομεν .. ὁφρα .. ἄδως εἶπ. But the example is open to doubt, partly because there may be a Subj. εἴ (see § 80), partly because the line also occurs (7. 349) where the governing Verb is an Imperfect, and it may have been wrongly inserted in v. 339. In other places—as II. 7. 72, Od. 5. 378, 15. 51., 22. 444—where some editions have Opt. forms, the Subj. is to be restored. It is true that the Opt. is found after the Future with other Conjunctions, to express remoteness or uncertainty; but a word which literally means till the time that could not naturally be used to express a remote end or consequence.

308. [Clauses with ὅτε, ὅποτε, &c. Most Clauses of this kind are essentially—

(i) Conditional. The Verb of the principal Clause may be—

(a) An Optative of wish: as—

II. 21. 428 τοιοῦτοι ὅν πάντες, ὅσοι Τρώῃςων ἄρωγολ,
εἰεν ὅτ' Ἀργελουσι μαχολατο (cp. II. 18. 465, &c.).

(b) An Optative of expectation: as—

Od. 13. 390 καὶ κε τρηκοσίουσιν ἐγών ἀνδρεσι μαχολμν 
σῶν σοι, πότινα θεά, ὅτε μοι πρόφρασο' ἐπαρήγιοι.

II. 14. 247 Ζηνὸς δ' ὅθ' ἄν ἔσωγε Κρονίονος ἄσσου ἰκόλμν,
οὕδε κατευνήσαμ' ὅτε μ' αὐτός γε κελευ. 

(c) A Future: in one place, viz. II. 13. 317 αἵπτ' οἶ ἑσοεῖται .. 
νῆας ἐνπρῆσαι ὅτε μ' αὐτός γε Κρονίον ἐμβάλοι κτλ., where the speaker does not wish to imply the fulfilment of the condition.

In Od. 24. 343 ἔνθα δ' ἄνα σταφολάι παντοῖα ἑαυν, ὅποτε δὴ Διὸς ἄρα ἐπιβι- 
σειαν the Present ἑαυν is open to suspicion, because all the rest of the description is in the past tense; with which the Opt. is in harmony.

In II. 4. 263 ἔστηκ' ὃς περ ἐμοι, πεῖεν ὅτε θυμὸς ἄνωγαρν οἱ ὁπτ. is read by most MSS. It may be regarded as an Opt. of the remoter event (§ 305, c), depending on πεῖεν, which is an Inf. of πυρρος (Goodwin § 555). But La Roche reads ἄνωγρ.

(d) A Past Tense, generally of an event which happens repeatedly or habitually, as—

II. 1. 610 ἔνθα πάρος κοιμᾶθ' ὅτε μιν γλυκὸς ὑπόσικ ικάνοι.
21. 265 ὡσάκι δ’ ὀρμήσειε κτλ. as often as he started γε.

Od. 8. 87 ἢ τοι ὁστε λήξειεν .. ἔλεσκεν (iterative).

So with ὡστε after πρὶν, in II. 9. 486 ὠὐκ ἐθέλεσκες .. πρὶν γ’ ὡστε ἤη .. ἀσώμις=you would only .. when γε. : 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 ὡστε represents the Subj. with ὡστε κέν, viz. in Od. 20. 138 ἀλλ’ ὡστε ἐκ κολτου καὶ ὑπνου μμαμησκοιτο, ἢ μὲν δέμιν’ ἄνωγεν ὑποστορέσαι ὀμαμηι bade them spread the couch against the time when he should bethink him γε.

In this group of uses of the Opt. is pure, except in—

II. 9. 524 ὠὐτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπενθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν ἠρῶν, ὡστε κέν τιν’ ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ίκου, where the κέν 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 ὀπότε with the Aorist Opt. forms a kind of Object Clause; as II. 7. 415 ποτιδέγ-μενοι ὁππότ’ ἄρ’ ἔθοι waiting for (the time) when he should come; so II. 9. 191., 18. 524, and (after μένοντες) 4. 334. Cp. § 289 (1).

309.] Clauses with ἐπεῖ. The few examples of this use show the same varieties as with ὡστε. Thus, (a) after another Opt.—

II. 9. 304 νῦν γὰρ χ’ ἑκτόρ’ ἐλοίς, ἐπεὶ ἄν μᾶλα τοι σχεδὸν ἔθοι.

24. 226 αὐτικα γὰρ με κατακτεῖνειν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄγκας ἐλόντι, ἕμοι νῦν, ἐπὶ πίναν ἔς ἐρων ἔρην.

Od. 4. 222 ὡς τὸ καταβρούξειν, ἐπὶ πίνα κρητὴρ μιγεία, κτλ.

(b) After a Present, in the statement of a supposed consequence—

Od. 24. 254 τοιοῦτο δὲ ἐνικᾶς, ἐπεὶ λοφόσατο φάγοι τε, ἐνεδέμεναι (such a one as would sleep after that γε.).

(c) After a Past tense, in the iterative sense:—


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 ἐπὶν 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 ὠὐκ ἐθελεν φεῦγεω πρὶν πειρήσατ’ Ἀχιλῆς.
The Optative with εί, &c.

311.] Optative with εί—Conditional Protasis. The Clause with εί expresses a supposition, made in order to lead up to the Clause which expresses the expected consequence: as—

Od. 1. 163 εί κεινόν γ' ἵθακηνε ἱδολάτα νοστήσαντα,

II. 11. 386 εί μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον σὸν τεύχεσι περιβεβλήσαι, οὐκ ἂν τοῖς χρᾶσιμοις κτλ., where the Subj. is more peremptory than the Opt. : ep. Od. 17. 539 and (Fut.) II. 10. 222. So with the εί-Clause following the other, as II. 9. 388 κούρην δ' οὐ γαμέω, οὐδ' εί ἐρίζω I shall not wed the maiden (and would not) even if she rivalled γς.; ep. II. 2. 488, Od. 17. 539. The instances of the Opt. following a Present are nearly all in the Odyssey: 1. 414 οὖν' οὖν ἀγγελή ἐτι πείθομαι εί ποδεν ἐλθοι, 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 μοῦρα μένοντι καὶ εί μάλα τις πολεμίζω.

Od. 8. 138 οὖ γὰρ ἐγωγέ τι φημι κακωτέρου ἄλλο θαλάσσης ἀνδρα γε συγχεῖναι, εί και μάλα καρπέος εἴη

no matter if he is very strong (= even if he should be).

The combination ὡς εί (or ὡς εί τε) expresses supposition for the purpose of comparison: the principal Clause being in a past Tense, as—

II. 2. 780 οἴ δ' ἄρ' ἵσαν ὡς εί τε τυρὶ χθῶν πᾶσα νέμοιτο


Or else negative—

II. 11. 389 οὐκ ἄλεγω ὡς εί με γνυῇ βάλοι ἣ πᾶς ἄφρων.

The use of εί 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 ἄλλα εί τίς με καὶ ἄλλος εὖ μεγάροισαν ἐνίπτοι... ἄλλα σὺ τὸν γ' ἐπέεσσι παραφάμενος κατέρυκες.
312.] Optative with εἰ—Wish. The Conditional Protasis, when used without an Apodosis, becomes a form of expressing wish:—

Il. 15. 569 'Αντίλοχ', οὖ τις σεία νεώτερος ἄλλος 'Αχαίων, οὔτε τοσίν βάσισων οὔτ' ἄλκιμος ὡς σὺ μάχεσθαι: εἰ τώδε ποι Τρώων ἐξάλμενοσ ἀνδρα βάλοισθα.

So Il. 10. 111, 16. 559, 24. 74. More frequently a wish is introduced by εἰ γάρ or αἱ γάρ, as in—

αἱ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καλ Ἀθηναίη καλ Ἀπόλλων, κτλ.

Such a wish is sometimes used as a form of asseveration, as—

Il. 18. 464 αἱ γάρ μιν θανάτοιο δυσπίκεοσ δὲ δυνάμην νόσφιν ἀποκρύψαι, δεὶ μιν μόροι αἰνῶς ἱκάνοι,

ὡς οἱ τεύχεα καλὰ παρέσσεται

i.e. fair arms shall be his as surely as I wish I could save him from death: so Il. 8. 538, Od. 9. 523: and ironically—

Od. 21. 402 αἱ γάρ ὄντος τοσποίτων ὅνησος εὐτάσειν,

ὡς ὄντός ποτε τοῦτο δυνήσεται ἐπανασπάσθαι.

Here also we must place the wishes expressed by εἰθε or αἰθε, which have generally the character of hopeless regret: as εἰθ' ὡς ἡβώαμι κτλ. It may be noted that in the Odyssey wish is not expressed by εἰ except in the combinations εἰ γάρ and εἰθε.

A wish is often followed by a Clause expressing an expected consequence of its fulfilment; as—

Il. 2. 371 αἱ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ .

τῷ κε τάχ' ἡμύσειε πόλις Πριάμου ἀνακτος.

Od. 7. 331 Ζεῦ πάτερ, αἱθ' ὡς εἰπε τελευήσειεν ἀπαίντα Ἀλκίνους' τοῦ μὲν κεν ἐπὶ ἱεροφόροι δροιφαν ἀσβεστον κλέος εἰη.

So we should probably punctuate—

Il. 13. 485 εἰ γάρ ὄμηλικὴ γε γενολμεθα τῷ σ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ.

αἰφά κεν ἥν φέροιτο μέγα κράτος ἥν φερούμην.

Or we may take αἰφά 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.

313.] Optative with εἰ κεν—Conditional Protasis. This is a comparatively rare form; it can generally be explained in accordance with the other uses of κεν:—

Il. 5. 273 εἰ τοῦτο κε λάβοιμεν ἀνολυμέθα κε κλέος ἐσθλόν

if (as I propose) we take them, we should δυν.

(But perhaps we should read τοῦτο γε.)

9. 141 εἰ δε κεν Ἀργος ἱκολμεθ' Ἀχαϊκόν κτλ.

if (as a further step) we reach Argos δυν.
II. 23. 591 ἵππον δὲ τοι αὐτὸς
dῶσω, τὴν ἅρομην εἰ καὶ νῦ κεν ὄκοθεν ἄλλο
μεῖζον ἐπαιτήσειας, ἀφαρ κέ τοι αὐτίκα δῶναι
βουλομένην ἢ (after that) you demand more &c.

Od. 2. 76 εἰ χ' ὑμεῖς γε φάγοιτε, τάχ' ἂν ποτὲ καὶ τόις εἰν
"as I say it better, see v. 74) you devour, then &c.

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 follow-
ning the other—

II. 6. 49 τῶν κέν τοι χαρίσαι το ἀπότροπον ἀποπηρον, εἰ
κεν ἐμὲ ἀκόντων πεποίθου' ἐπί μηρσιν 'Ἀχαιών.

So II. 1. 60., 10. 381; cp. Od. 7. 315., 8. 353, and the use of ὁδ'
There is one instance of the Opt. with εἰ—ἀν, viz.

II. 2. 597 εἰ περ ἂν αὐτὰλ Μοῦσαι ἄελθοιεν.

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 κήποικες βοῶντες ἐρήττουν, εἰ ποτ' δαυτήσ
σχολάτ', ἀκόντων δὲ κτλ. (in view that they should &c.)

Od. 4. 317 ἦλθον, εἰ τω λαμφέναν πατρός ἐνίστοις
I have come in case you may tell me some &c.

With Verbs of seeking, trying, desiring, &c. the Clause with εἰ
has the character of an Object Clause: as—

II. 4. 88 Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διημένη εἰ πον ἐφεύρω
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 δοσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθόδν ἐν ἄφρεσί, εἰ ποθέν ἠλθὼν
μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν σκέδασιν κατὰ δάματα θεῖ
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 ἰδ' μοι τοῦτο, θεά, νημερτές ἐνίστοσε
εἰ πω τῆν ὅλον μὲν ὑπεκροφόγουμι Ἰάμβθδων
tell me as to the hope that I may escape &c.

In a few places an Object Clause of this kind follows a present
Tense:—

Od. 2. 350 δὲ σὺ φιλάσσεις
κεῖνον διήμενος τὸν κάμμορον εἰ ποθέν ἠλθοῖ.

14. 119 Ζεὺς . . οἴδη . . εἰ κέ μιν ἄγγελλαμι ἴδων.
20. 224 ἀλλ' ἐτὶ τὸν δύστηρον διόμαι εἰ ποθέν . . θεί.
So in the only example of the kind found in the Iliad:—

II. 11. 792 τίς δ' οἶδ' εἶ κἐν οῖ οὖν δαιμὸν θυμὸν ὑρίναις;

The pure Optative is used in all the places quoted, except the two in which εἶ κἐν follows οἶδε (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 εἶ 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 εἶ δι κεν . . . καταδρᾶω εἶ με μεθεί (so all MSS.: μεθή 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—

Δαναῶν ὀλοφυρόμεθ' αἰχμητάων,
οί κεν δὴ κακῶν οἴτων ἀναπλῆσαντες ὅλωνται.

or to the Opt. in—

ἀλλὰ πολὺ μεῖζον . .

μμιστῆρες φράζονται, δ μῇ τελέσειε Κρονίων.
For there the Relative Clause is in sense a parenthesis, and is construed accordingly as an independent Sentence. Again, in—

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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 ἵνα or ὅσε to introduce the clause. Thus in II. 6. 340 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπίθεμεν ἀρήτα τεβέχα δώο the meaning would not be altered by saying ἐπίθεμεν ἵνα δώο. So in II. 18. 121–125 νῦν δὲ κλέος ἄροιμη καὶ . . . στοναχήται ἐφελην, γνοῖεν δ' ὅσ ἰὴν ἰηρὸν ἐγὼ πολέμοιο πέταμαι: the last wish is evidently also the result hoped for from the fulfilment of the preceding wishes (so that γνοῖεν δ' ὅσ γνοῖει).

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’ (cp. Latin cras petito, dabitur). This view is confirmed by the fact that negative Conditional Clauses take μή, not ὅσ: that is to say, they are felt to be akin to prohibition rather than denial. Thus ὅσ μὴ ἐλθῃ literally means not ‘who will not come’
(δς ουκ ἄν ἔλθη), 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, δς μή ἔλθοι '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 οὐ, 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 ὅφελον is an extension from the common use of μή in wishes. And this is strongly supported by the circumstance that in fact εἰ οὐ with the Indicative occurs several times in Homer:—

II. 15. 162 εἰ δὲ μοι οὐκ ἔπεσον ἔπιπεσεται κτλ. (so 178).
20. 129 εἰ δ' Ἀχιλέως οὐ ταῦτα θεῶν ἐκ πεύσεται ὁμφῆς.
24. 296 εἰ δὲ τοι οὐ δῶσει ἐδώ ἄγγελον κτλ.

Od. 2. 274 εἰ δ' οὐ κελνοῦ γ' ἐσσὶ γόνος κτλ.

See also II. 4. 160, Od. 12. 382., 13. 143. On the other hand, in the very few examples of εἰ οὐ with a Subj., the οὐ goes closely with the Verb, viz. II. 3. 289 (οὐκ έθελονωσων), 20. 139 (οὐκ εἶδον). 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
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 ω or 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 ω γένηται is derived by gradual change of meaning from a prohibition, the appearance of ω 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 εί. The derivations that have been proposed for the Particle εί or εί 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 εί with the Opt. is used to express a wish. Thus in εί τισ καλίσει I pray some one to call we may take the Clause as Conditional, with a suppressed Apodosis (καλῶς θν ἔχωι or the like). Or we may follow L. Lange in holding that the Clause is not Subordinate at all, the Particle εί 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 εί, and (2) an assertion of the consequence to be expected from its being realised. On this theory the Clause of Wish introduced by εί 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:—
ο δι λόγοτο καλ ἄλλος ότι τοιαῦτα γε βίζοι.

(2) Wish followed by an independent Clause expressing expectation of a consequence:—

Od. 15. 180 οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θεὶ, ἑργάσεσθε πόσιον Ερῆς
τῷ κεν τοι καὶ κεῖθι θεῷ δῶς εὐχετόμην.

II. 13. 55 σφών τ' ἄδε θέων τίνι φιλεῖν ποίησεν,
αὐτῷ θ' ἵπτάμεναι κρατεῖν καὶ ἀνοργίμεν ἄλλοιτ
τῷ κε καὶ ἐισόμενον περ ἔρωσιν αὐτῷ νηών.
(3) Wish, with ἐλ, ἐλ γὰρ, ἐλθε, &c., but without 'Apodosis':

II. 4. 189 ἐλ γὰρ δὴ οὕτως εἴη, φίλος ὁ Μενέλαος.
π. 670 ἐλθαὶ ὡς ἡμώοιμι, βεγγ μοι ἐμπεδος εἴη, κτλ.

(4) Wish, with ἐλ, ἐλ γὰρ, ἐλθε, &c., followed by a Clause of Consequence:

II. 7. 157 ἐλθαὶ ὡς ἡμώοιμι, βεγγ μοι ἐμπεδος εἴη
τοῦ κέ τάχ', ἀντίστρεπτι κτλ.

Od. 15. 536 ἐλ γὰρ τοῦτο, εἰς εἰς, ἔπος τελέσεις Κρονίαν.
γνῶθι χ' οἶν ἡμῖν δύναμι καὶ χεῖρες ἔσωσαι.

(5) Supposition, with ἐλ, followed by a Clause of expectation:

II. 7. 129 τοῦτον ἐλ πτώσοντας δι' Ἐκτορά πάντας ἄκουσαι,
πολλά κεν ἄθανατοισι φιλᾶς ἐνδὲ χεῖρας ἀείρει.

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 ἐλ-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 ἐλ. An argument for Lange's view of the original force of ἐλ is found in the use in Final Clauses, such as ἐλ ἐλ κε πιθηγμα. The meaning here is essentially different from that of the Conditional sentence. I go if he listens; and on the ordinary hypothesis, that ἐλ originally expressed a condition, it is difficult to account for the two uses. But if ἐλ 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 ἐλ ἐόν ἀγε', with the varieties ἐλ ἐόν ἀγε' (II. 22. 381) and ἐλ ἐέ (II. 9. 46, 264), is often used in Homer to introduce an Imperative or Subjunctive (§ 275). It has generally been supposed to be elliptical, standing for ἐλ ἐόν ἐθέλεις ἀγε', or the like. And ἐλ ἐόν ἐθέλεις is actually found with an Imperative in a few places: II. 19. 142 ἐλ ἐόν ἐθέλεις εὑρείναιν, Od. 16. 82., 17. 277 (cp. 3. 324). It has been pointed out, however, by Lange, in his dissertation on this question,* that ἐλ ἐόν ἐθέλεις 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 (ἐλ ἐόν ἐθέλεις) take him into your house.'

So Od. 3. 323 ἀλλ' ἐν νῦν σὺν νητ. . . ἐλ ἐόν ἐθέλεις πεῖζε κτλ. But with ἐλ ἐόν ἀγε' this is not the case. We find it at the beginning of a speech;

II. 6. 376 ἐλ ἐόν μοι, δώμαι, νημέρετα μυθῆσασθε.

Od. 2. 178 ἐέ γέρων, ἐλ ἐόν 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 ἐλ μὲν ὅτι θεός ἔσσε, θεοῖ ὁ πρύπνεις ἀδήση,
ἐλ ἐόν μοι κτλ.: so II. 22. 379—381.

Or to express an appeal which is consequent upon something just said: as—

II. 1. 301 τῶν οἷα ἐν τὰ φεῦρα ἀνελαυν ἀκουστὸς ἤμειρ
ἐλ ἐόν μὴν πείρησαι (αὐτο θην ow and try): cp. Π. 8. 18.

* De formula Homerica ἐλ ἐόν ἀγε' commentatio, Lipsiae 1873.

U 2
SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.

II. § 523 ειμι δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεις ὑφ' ὑλῆσον·
εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι κεφαλὴ κατανεότομαι (so come, I will nod my head).

23. § 579 εἰ δ' ἄγε γνῶν αὐτὸς δικάσω, καί μ' οὐ τίνα φημι
ἀλλον ἐπιπλήξειν Δαναῶν· ίδεια γὰρ ἔσται·
'Ἀντίλοχος'; εἰ δ' ἄγε δεύρο... ἐμνυθι κτλ.
come I will be judge myself... so come, Antilochus, take this oath:

Hence, Lange argues, it is probable that εἰ does not express condition, but has
an interjctional character (e.g. 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 ex-
planation of the εἰ-Clause of wish (as primarily a Clause of supposition)
seems to be the more probable one.* For—

(1) The uses of εἰ present a marked correspondence with those of the
Relative and its derivatives. Note especially the use of δὲ τῷ as almost
exactly = εἰ μή.

(2) The analogy εἰτα : εἰ :: ἐπειτα : ἐπεί makes it likely that εἰ was
originally temporal. The fact that εἰτα 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: e.g. the Latin o si, German wenn, wenn nur, &c. And ellipse
of the apodosis occurs with εἰ-clauses of other kinds; see § 342.*

(4) The εἰ-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 εἰ-clause
was formed at a time when the Opt. of wish had long been established in
use. The presumption surely is that the εἰ-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 δὲ is confined to hopeless wish).

(5) The only use of εἰ not obviously expressive of supposition is that which
is seen in the isolated phrase εἰ δ' ἄγε, of which Lange has given an exceed-
ingly probable analysis. Possibly however the εἰ of εἰ δ' ἄγε is not the same
word as εἰ if, but an interjection, like εἰτω and Latin eia. We may go further,
and point out that the δ' of εἰ δ' ἄγε has been shown by Lange himself
to be out of place, hence the true form may be εἰ' ἄγε, like Latin eia age.

It may be observed, in conclusion, that the question of the εἰ-clause is
quite distinct from the question of the original meaning of the Optative.
It is possible to combine Lange's theory of εἰ with Delbrück's earlier view
of the Optative as originally the Mood of wish,† but Lange himself does not
do so. He regards the εἰ-clause of supposition (Fallsetsung) as developed
independently of εἰ of wish. His main thesis is that εἰ 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 ἢν ἢς or the like), so that
the two meanings of ἐλ γῆνερ — suppose it happened and would that it happened —
belong to originally distinct meanings of the Opt. γῆνερ. That is to say, the
development of ἐι ἢ with various Moods—Opt., Subj., Indic.—was parallel to
an entirely distinct development of interjectional ἐι 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 μὴ, 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 Relativial, Temporal, or intro-
duced by ἐι, the Subj. with ἄν has become the only generally allowable con-
struction: 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. ὅς ἑλθη (ὅτε ἑλθη, ἐι ἑλθη, &c.)
2. ὅς ἄν (ὅς κεφ) ἑλθη (ὅτε ἄν ἑλθη, ἔν ἑλθη, &c.)
3. ὅς ἑλθο (ὅτε ἑλθο, ἐι ἑλθο, &c.)
4. ὅς ἄν (ὅς κεφ) ἑλθο (ὅτε ἄν ἑλθο, ἔν ἑλθο, &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 subordina-
tion of the Clause to the governing Verb does not often go so far as to put
the Third Person for the First (e. g. φάσασθαι ὅς κε νέπται = 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
Homerian (§ 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 In-
terrogative sentences. It is also used in Greek (as in other
languages) to express mere supposition: thus we have ἐι in a
Conditional Protasis with all Tenses (ἐι ἢν, ἐι ἢτι, ἐι ἢται),

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 κεφ or ἄν to express a supposed consequence: as—

II. 4. 420 δείνον δ’ ἐβραχε χαλκός ἐπὶ στήθεσιν ἀνάκτος ὄρνυμένοι, ὑπὸ κεφ ταλασίφρονά περ δέος 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 ἦλθεν he came is true, we can hardly ever have occasion to limit it by saying ἦλθεν ἄν he came in that case. Hence a Past Tense with κεφ or ἄν 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. 119 κλαίεσθε ἁν καὶ ἀδυρέσκετο, Thuc. 7. 71 εἰ τιμὲς ἵνα ... ἄνεβάρησάν τε ἄν κτλ.). This use, however, is not Homeric. In Od. 2. 104 ἔνθα κεφ ἡματιῇ μὲν ὑφαίνεσκεν has slender authority, most MSS. reading ἔνθα καί. Another supposed instance is—

Od. 18. 263 ἔποιων τ’ ἀκινδύων ἐπιβήτορας, οἱ κε τάχιστα ἐκρίναν μέγα νείκων κτλ.,

where the commentators (Fisi, Ameis, Merry) take ἐκρίναν 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 οἱ τε: ep. § 283, b.

An exceptional use of a different kind is—

Od. 4. 546 ἄ γάρ μιν ζωὸν γε κιχήσεαι, η κεφ Ὄρεστῃ κτείνειν ὑπορφάμενον.

Here κεφ 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, then Orestes has killed him.' So with an Infinitive—

II. 22. 108 ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ τ' ἄν πολὺ κέρδιον εἶπ
ἀντὶν ἦ Ἀχιλῆα κατακτεῖνα νέοθαν
ἡ κεν αὐτό ὅλεσθαι ἑυκλεῖον πρὸ τοῦ γείνοσ.

In the Protasis κεν with the Indicative occurs only once, viz. II. 23. 526 ἐλ δὲ κ' ἔτι προτέρα γένετο δρόμος (see Leaf's note a. l.). This may be compared with the occasional use of κεν with ἐλ and an Opt. (§ 313). The rarity of the use with an Indie. need not be felt as a difficulty: cp. the oracle in Hdt. i. 174 Ζεὸς γὰρ κ' ἔθηκε νήσον κ' ἐβοῦλετο, also Erinna, fr. 4, 4, and Ar. Lys. 1098 (Hartung, ii. p. 240).

In later Greek the Imperfect with ἄν 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 II. 24. 220 ἐλ μὲν γὰρ τὸς μ' ἄλλος ἐκέλευεν were it any one else who baide me. Another may be found in Od. 20. 307 καί κέ τοι ἀνί γάμου πατήρ τάφον ἀμφετοιεύσει ἐνθάδε (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 καί κε θὰμ' ἐνθάδε' ἐόντες ἐμαγώμεθ', οὔδέ κεν ἦμέας ἄλλα διέκρινεν.

The Impf. without ἄν 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 ἦνεν it would have been better. So in Attic with ἐχρῆν, ἔδει, and similar words.

The Opt. with ἄν or κεν, as we have seen (§ 300, c), is not unfrequently used in Homer with the same meaning as the Aor. or Impf. with ἄν 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 ἐλ with an Indie. 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 ἐλ μὲν δῶσοσι γέρας . . ἐλ δὲ κέ μὴ δῶσωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ κέν αὐτὸς ἔλομαι if they give (there is nothing to be said), but if not, &c.

(b) When the consequence is sufficiently implied in the ἐλ-Clause: as II. 6. 150 ἐλ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαχμεῖαι if you wish to be told this (I will do so): II. 7. 375 αἴ κ' ἐθέλωσι παύσασθαι

(c) When the speaker prefers to suggest the consequence in an indirect way: as II. 1. 580 εἰ περ γὰρ κ’ ἐθέλησιν Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπηθῆς ἦς ἔδεων στυφελέξαι, ὅ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατός ἐστίν if he wishes (he will), for he is strong enough; II. 14. 331., 21. 567, 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 Ἐκτορ, ἐπεί με κατ’ αἴσων ἐνείκεσας: II. 6. 382 Ἐκτορ, ἐπεί μᾶλ’ ἄνωγας κτλ.; II. 13. 68, 775, Od. 1. 231., 3. 103, 211. The full form appears in II. 6. 333 ἐπεί με κατ’ αἴσων ἐνείκεσας .. τοῦνέκα τοι ἐρέο.

In such sentences as εἰ δ’ ἠθέλει .. ἅμεναι 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 (anacoluthon); so after εἰ 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 μ’ ὀφελ’ ἡματι τῷ ὅτε .. ὦ χεσθαι προφέρουσα κακή ἀνέμοιο θύελλα, ἐνθα μὲ κυῖ’ ἀπόφεσε κτλ.

and so v. 350 ἀνδρός ἐπεί’ ὀφελλοῦ .. ὡς ἂδη κτλ., and Od. 1. 218: also the use with τρὶν, Od. 4. 178 οὐδέ κεν ἦμεα ἄλλο διέκρινεν .. τρὶν γ’ ὅτε δὴ θανατόν μὲλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψεν nothing 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 ὅνα and ὡς : as Soph. O. T. 1393 τί μ’ οὐ λαβὼν ἐκτενειαν ἐνθός, ὡς ἐδείξα μὴ ποτὲ κτλ. that so I might never have shown &c. 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 Indie. is similarly used in an Object Clause after a Verb of fearing, as δεῖδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεά νημερτέα εἴπεν.

326.] Future Indicative. The following points have to be noticed:—

1. Homer not unfrequently uses κεν with the Future, the effect being (as with the Subj.) to indicate a limitation or condition: as—

II. 1. 139 ὃ δὲ κεν κεχολόσεται and he (if I do so) will be angry.
II. 1. 522 ἀλλὰ σὺ ἐὰν νῦν αὕτης ἀπόστιχε μή τι νοήσῃ Ἡρώ. ἐμι βέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται (ἰό με, ἀσ ὑμαί).  
4. 76 καὶ κέ τις δώ' ἐφέει in such case men will say.

The Future with ἂρ 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' ἀνδρας κτείνωμεν ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τα ἐκκιλοι νεκροὺς ἃμ πεδίων συλήσετε τεθνηώτας
then you can (if you like) strip the dead of their arms.

20. 137 ἢμεις μὲν καθεξώμεσθα . . . πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσί μελήσει (we will leave war to men).

The forms Οὔσετε and Ὅσετε, which are sometimes given as instances of this use, do not belong to the Future, but are Imperatives of an Aorist (§ 47).

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 θέλεις ὅπως ἵδακης ἐπιλήσεται charms so that he may forget Ithaca, also in II. 1. 344 (if with Thiersch we read ὅπως μαχαίνωται 'Ἀχαϊοί for the anomalous μαχεύωντο), and with ὅφρα, as—

II. 8. 110 Τρωσών ἐψ' ἐποδάμους ὑδύνομεν, ὅφρα καὶ Ἡκτωρ ἐστείλαν κτλ. (so II. 16. 242, Od. 4. 163., 17. 6).

So with μή, II. 20. 301 μή πώς καὶ Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται, Od. 24. 544.

The Future with κεν in Relative Clauses sometimes appears to express end, as in II. 1. 174 πάρ' ἐμοίγε καὶ ἄλλοι ο' κέ με τιμήσουσιν: ep. 2. 229., 23. 675, Od. 8. 318., 16. 438. So without κεν 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 μενολύνεων εἰ τελεύοι, 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 ο' δὲ φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα ὅπως κε μνηστήραs
The Imperative.

Òπόσει, where the Verb may be a Future, as in the places now quoted, or a Subj., according to the commoner Homeric construction. So in II. 10. 44, 282., 17. 144.

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 θέλγειι ὡς λάθηται literally means 'charms so that he shall forget': θέλγειι ὡς λάθηται 'charms so that he will forget.' The same conclusion seems to follow from the rule that ὡς and δέφα may be used in a Future, but not ὡς or ἢνα (Goodwin, § 324). For ὡς in the manner that fits a direct purpose better than ὡς in some such manner that, or δέφα 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 ὡς εί με πυθήσωσι who will (I presume) honour me.

5. In Clauses with εί the Future is chiefly used of events regarded as necessary, or as determined by some power independent of the speaker: as—

Π. 14. 61 ἡμεῖς δὲ φραζόμεθ' ὡς ἐσται τάδε ἐργα, εἴ τι νόσος μέξει (if we are to be of any avail).

Π. 17. 418 εἴ τοῦτον Τρώεσσι μεθήσομεν (if we are going to &c.).


We may compare the Conditional Relative Clause—

Π. 23. 753 ὤρυνυθ' ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἀδήλου πειρήσεσθε rise, ye that will make trial of this contest.

And with κεν—

Π. 15. 213 αὲ κεν ἀνεν ἐμέθεν . . . πεφίδησεται 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:—

Π. 4. 29 ἐρε', ἄταρ ὡς τοι πάντες ἐπαινεόμεν θεόν ἄλλοι.

The forms ἄγιε and ἄγιετε are often combined with other Imperatives for the sake of emphasis: and sometimes ἄγιε is treated as indeclinable, and used where the context requires a Plural; as—

Π. 2. 331 ἄλλ' ἄγιε μιμήσετε πάντες κτλ. (so 1. 62., 6. 376, &c.).

Similarly ἰθ is a kind of Interjection in II. 4. 362 ἄλλ' ἰθι, ταῦτα δ' ὡς παρεγλ. ἄρεσομεθ' κτλ.; and so we have βάσκ' ἰθι (like εἴπ' ἄγιε). And δέφτε hither! is evidently an Imperative: cp. II. 14. 128 δέντι ἰομεν πόλεμονδε. The corresponding 2 Sing. doubtless enters into the formation of δεφο; but it is not clear how that word is to be analysed.
PARTICLES.

328.] Prohibition. The Aorist Imperative is very rarely used with μή: examples are—

II. 4. 410 τῷ μή μοι πατέρας ποθ’ ὀμοίη ἐνθεο τιμῇ
(see Od. 24. 248 σὺ δὲ μή χόλοι ἐνθεο θυμῷ).

18. 134 σὺ μὲν μή πώ καταδύσεο μᾶλων Ἀρησ.
Od. 16. 301 μή τις ἐπευ’ Ὀδυσῆος ἀκουσάτῳ.

II. 16. 200 μή λαλαθέσθω.

For the rule which is the complement of this one, forbidding the use of the Present Subj. with μή, see § 278 fin.

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 μᾶ 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. κλέψαι) 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 μή κλέπτε came into use in pre-historic Greek as an extension of the positive κλέπτε, and superseded μή κλέπτησ: but μή κλέψα kept its ground, because the form κλέφων 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, ἢδε, &c.), Adversative (δὲ, ἀλλὰ, αὐτάρ), Disjunctive (ἡ—ἡ), Conditional (εἰ, ἢν, κεν), Iative (ἀρα, ἡ, 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 preceded: Ζηνι φῶς ἐρέωνα καί ἄλλος to Zeus and the others besides: ὅσ ἐρ' ἐφη καί κτλ. thus he spoke and thereupon &c.: and (2) a strengthening or emphasising Particle meaning also, even, just: as—

II. 1. 63 ἡ καί θνειροπόλον or even a dream-prophet.

3. 175 τὸ καί κλαίοντα 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 λογι ago (not merely now), καί ἄθροι another time (if not now), καί μᾶλα, καί λίπν (in a high degree, not merely in an ordinary degree): so with Comparatives, καί μεῖζον, καί βλίγιον, &c. Both terms of a comparison may be strengthened in this way; as—

II. 1. 81 εἰ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καί αὐτήμαρ καταπέψῃ, ἀλλὰ τε καί μετόπισθεν κτλ.

Notice, too, the use at the beginning of an Apodosis, esp. with Adverbs of time, as—

II. 1. 477 ἡμὸς δ' ἡργεῖναι φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἡώς, καί τὸν ἐπειτ' κτλ.

καί precedes the word which it emphasises, but is sometimes separated from it by other Particles, enclitic Pronouns, &c.: as II. 1. 213 καί ποτὲ τοι τρὶς τῶσα (not merely compensation but) three times as much: 2. 292 καί γάρ τις θ' ἐνα μῦρα μένων a man who stays even one month. So 7. 281 καί ἡμεν ἀπαντες (= ἡμεν 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 ei kai the kai emphasises particular words: ei kai μάλα καρπερός esti even if he is (I will go so far as to say) very strong. Hence ei kai usually implies that the supposition is more or less true.

331.] The enclitic te has two main uses which it is essential to distinguish; besides one or two special uses of less importance.

(a) As a Conjunction te 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: κώστων οἶωνοι τε πᾶσι, to dogs and birds as well: αἱ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γένοντο οἱ τ’ αὐτῷ which were a bane to all the Trojans, and to himself (equally). This meaning is given still more distinctly by the Correlative te—te: thus we have the pairs ἄνδρων τε θεῶν τε, δήμος τε πόλις τε, κλαγήν τ’ ἐνοπή τε, &c. and the pairs of Clauses expressing simultaneous action, such as—

άν τ’ ἀνεχώρησεω, ἐκρούς τ’ μω εἰδε παρεῖς.

Hence te—te sometimes marks that two things are mutually dependent: ὁλγον τε φίλον τε = ‘not less dear because small,’ λυσόμενός τε θυγατρά φέρων τ’ ἀπερείσι’ ἀπονα = ‘bringing vast ransom for the deliverance of his daughter’: Π. 5. 359 κόμισαι τε με δόσ τε μοι ἵππους.

The combinations te—kai and te—ηδέ (or ιδέ) are also common in Homer, and not sensibly different in meaning from te—te: as—

ϕιμωξέν τ’ ἄρ’ ἐπείτα καὶ ὅ πεπλήγετο μηρώ.

χλαίναν τ’ ηδέ χιτῶνα.

As to the place of te the general rule is that it follows the first word in the Clause. Hence when standing first in the pair te—te it does not always follow the word which it couples: e. g. Π. 6. 317 ἐγγύθι τε Πριάμου καὶ Ἐκτορος near both Πριάμ and Ηεκτωρ; Π. 5. 878 σολ τ’ ἐπιτείθονται καὶ δεδημέσθα ἐκαστος (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 te—te (Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 145).

332.] (b) In its other use—which is distinctively Homeric—τε serves to mark an assertion as general or indefinite. Hence it is found in gnomic passages: as—

Π. 1. 218 ὅς κε θεοὶ ἐπιτείθηται, μάλα τ’ ἔκλυνον αὐτοῦ.

9. 509 τὸν δὲ μέγ’ ἄφησαν καὶ τ’ ἔκλυνον εὐξαμένοιο.

Od. 6. 185 μάλιστα δὲ τ’ ἔκλυνον αὐτοῖ.
II. 16. 688 ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ τε Δίως κρείσσοι νός ἥ τε περ ἀνδρῶν.

19. 221 αἰσθανόμενος πέλεται κόρος (ἐπ. Od. 1. 392).

Hes.Th. 87 αἰσθανόμενος πέλεται κόρος κατέπαυσε.

So in many short maxims, such as, μεθέθεν δε τε νηπίων ἔγνω—στρεπτοί δε τα θεοί αύτοί. In similes it is very common, and is often repeated in the successive Clauses; e.g.—

II. 4. 482 δ’ ἐφ’ εὐκρίνητα χαραίνεσεν, αἴγειρος ὦς, ἢ πά τ’ ἐν εἰκαμενῇ ἔλεος μεγάλοιο πεφύκη λείη, ἀτάρ τε οἱ οὖν έπ’ ἀκροτάτη πεφύσασ’ τὴν μὲν θ’ ἅρματιπηγός ἀνήρ αἶθων σιδήρω ἐξετάμ’, ὀφρα κτλ.

16. 156 οἱ δὲ λύκοι ὦς ὁμοφάγοι, τοὐτὼν τε περὶ φρεσκῶν ἄπτετος ἄλκη, οἰ τ’ ἐλαφὸν κεραδὸν μέγαν οὖρει δράσαντες δάπτουσιν πάσην δὲ παρφίνων αἴαματι φωνῶν καὶ τ’ ἀγεληθὸν ἱασιν ἀπὸ κρίνης μελανόντα νάρκαπτες γλώσσῃς ἀραίησιν μέλαιν ὑδωρ ἄκρον, ἐρευγόμενον φῶνον αἴαματος ἐν δὲ τεθυμὸς στήθεσιν ἄτρομος έστι, περιστενεῖτα δε τε γαστήρ.

So where the meaning is frequentative:—

Od. 4. 102 ἀλλοτρέ μὲν τε γύω φρένα τέρπομαι (ἐπ. 5. 55., 12. 64).

II. 19. 86 καὶ τε με νεικελεσκόν (20. 28, Od. 5. 331, &c.).

So II. 1. 521 νεικεί καὶ τε μὲ φησι κτλ. and says (habitually) that I &c.: επ. 9. 410., 17. 174, Od. 1. 215., 4. 387., 10. 330., 17. 25. Hence it is used of names, as II. 1. 403 άνδρες δε τε πάντες (καλέοντα). 2. 814., 5. 306, &c.; of characteristic attributes, as—

II. 2. 453 οἴοι’ ὥς γε Πηνείῳ συμμίσχεται. Αλλά τε μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἢντ’ ἔλαιον.

5. 340 ἵχώρ, οἴος πέρ τε μείει μακάρεσσοι θεοί.

And generally of any fixed condition of things, as II. 4. 247 ἐνθα τε νῆς εἰρύστη ἐσπρουμοι: 5. 477 οἴο τε πέρ τ’ ἐπίκουροι ἐρεμεόν: 15. 187 τρεῖς γάρ τ’ ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμέν ἀδελφεῖς (a fact of permanent significance): 22. 116 ἢ τ’ ἐπλετο νείκεος ἀρχή. It may be laid down as a general rule that τε in the combinations μέν 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 εἴ πέρ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτήμαρ κατεπέση, ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόποισθεν ἤχει κότον.

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 δάνατος, τά ῥέαν 

So ὃς, ὢς ἐ, ὅς τε, ἢνα 

II. 3. 12 οἵην τό ᶊ ῥέπλεονσει ὄσσον ῥέ ῥἐπ λᾶν ἦςος.

14. 90 σίγα, μῆ 

II. 11. 87, 562., 12. 393.

Further, the Indefinite τε is not unfrequently strengthened in its meaning (any one) by τε (cp. Latin quisque).

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II. 11. 87, 562., 12. 393.
II. 23. 474 aὶ ἐδὲ τ᾽ ἀνευθεν
(Read αὶ ζ᾽ ἔτρ with the Townleianus).

Similarly we should read ὡδ᾽ ἔτρ in II. 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 δὲ τ᾽ where the editors have already corrected δ᾽ ἔτρ (e. g. in II. i. 573., 2. 344., 12. 106, Od. 2. 175., II. 380., 21. 186., 24. 401). In II. 11. 767 the editions have νοὶ δὲ τ᾽ ἐνδον, but all MSS. νοὶ δὲ ἐνδον: so perhaps we may correct II. 21. 456 νοὶ δὲ τ᾽ ἄφορροι κλὸμεν. Perhaps ἐτρ should be restored in II. 16. 836 σὲ δὲ τ᾽ ἐνθάδε γὼπες ἐδονταί, Od. 15. 428 πέρασαν δὲ τε δεύρ᾽ ἄγαγόντες.

Two isolated Epic uses remain to be noticed:—

(1) After an Interrogative in the combination τ᾽ ἀρα, τ᾽ ἀρ: as—
II. 1. 8 τὸς τ᾽ ἀρ σφωε θέων ἐροὶ ἐφένηκε μᾶχεσθαι;
18. 188 πῶς τ᾽ ἀρ′ ἵω μετὰ μᾶλλον; (so πῆ τ᾽ ἀρ Π. i. 13. 307.)
Od. 1. 346 μὴτερ ἐμῆ, τι τ᾽ ἀρα φθονεῖς κτλ.

The ancient grammarians regarded ταρ as a single enclitic Particle (so Herodian, Schol. II. 1. 65). As the force of the τε seems to have merged in the compound, this is probably right: just as γ᾽ ἀρ having become a single Particle is written γάρ. But if so, we must also recognise the form ταρα.

(2) With ἦ in strong Affirmation: as ἦ τ᾽ ἐφάμην I did indeed think. This may originally belong to the same head as the indefinite use: ἦ 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 (cp. καὶ τε, ἀλλὰ τε, γάρ τε, &c.), ita-que, the Indefinite quisque (with the corresponding forms ubique, quandoque, uterque, &c.), and the Relative 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 yāḥ kāq ca (δς τς τε). See Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. iv. p. 144, A. S. § 284.

δὲ.

333.] The chief use of the Adversative Particle δὲ 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.—
νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὄρσε κακίν, ὀλέκνυτο δὲ λαοί, οὔνεκα κτλ.

Here a prose writer would say ὀλεθρίαν, or ὀστε ἀπόλλυσθαι τὸν λαὸν, or ὑφ' ἦς ὁ λαὸς ἀπώλυτο, &c. So—

'Αὐτίλοχος δὲ Μύδώνα βάλ', ἦνοχον θεράποντα, ἐσθάλω 'Ατμιμάδην, ὁ δ' ὑπέστρεφε μῶνυχας ἰπποὺς, χερμαδίῳ ἀγκώνα τυχῶν μέσων.

I. e. 'struck him as he was turning the horses.'

δέ is nearly always the second word in the Clause. It is occasionally put after (1) a Preposition and Case-form, as ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὁμοθέτησαν, or (2) an Article and Numeral, as τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' κτλ.: but not after other combinations. Hence καὶ δέ, as II. 7. 113 καὶ δ' Ἀχιλέως and even Achilles (never καὶ Ἀχιλέως δέ, as in later Greek).

334.] δέ of the Apodosis. While δέ 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 Relatival, Temporal or Conditional Protasis. This is found where there is an opposition of some kind between the two members of the Sentence: e.g.—

II. 4. 261 εἶ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι γε κάρη κομψώντες Ἀχιλοῖ δαιτρῶν πλησω, σὸν δὲ πλεῖον δέπασ κτλ. (so 12. 245).

5. 260 αἳ κέν μοι πολύβουλος Ἀθήνη κόδος ὅρεξι ἀμφιτέρω κτείναι, σὺ δὲ .. ἐρυκακεῖν κτλ.


With οὗ and μη, giving οὗδε, μηδέ, as—

II. 5. 788 ὀφρα μὲν ἐς πάλεμον πωλέσκετο δίος 'Αχιλλεύς, οὐδὲ ποτὲ Τρῶες κτλ.

6. 58 μηδ' ὅν των γαστέρι μήτηρ κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι, μηδ' ὃς φύγοι.

Od. 1. 16 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἑτος ἠλθε .. οὖδ' ἐνθα κτλ.

10. 17 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ὀδὸν ἱτεον .. οὗδε τι κεῖνος κτλ.

This use, which was called by the ancient grammarians the δέ ἀποδοτικῶν, or ' δέ of the apodosis,' has been variously explained by scholars.

1. In many places the Clause introduced by this δέ stands in a double opposition, first to the immediate protasis, and then to a preceding sentence. Thus in—

II. 2. 716 ὃ δ' ἀρα Μηθώνη .. ἐνέμοντο, τῶν δὲ Φιλοκτήτης ἦρχεν 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' ἐ' μὲν δώσωσι γέρας...
   ἐ' δὲ κε μὴ δώσωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι.
9. 508 ὅς μὲν τ' αἰδέσεται κούρας Δίος ἄσσον λούσας,
   τῶν δὲ μὲν ὄψησαν καὶ τ' ἐκλινον εὐχομένου·
   ὅς δὲ κ' ἀνήρηται καὶ τε στρεφώ ἀποεῖτη,
   λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταὶ γε Δία κτλ.

Here the δὲ of the last Clause appears to carry on the opposition of the second pair to the first, and so to repeat the δὲ of its own protasis. This use of δὲ in apodosis to repeat or carry on the opposition of the whole sentence is regular in Attic; e.g. Xen. Anab. 5. 6, 20 ἐ' δὲ βούλεσθε...
   πλοῦτα δ' ὑμῖν πάρεστι: Isocr. 4. 98
   ἀ' ἐστίν τῶν...
   ταῦτα δ' ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστίν εἶπεῖ (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 δὲ of λίσσονται δ' ἄρα κτλ. as a repetition of the δὲ of its protasis ὅς δὲ κ' κτλ., how do we treat the δὲ of the first apodosis (τῶν δὲ κτλ.)? The two forms are essentially similar.

2. The δὲ of the Apodosis is commonly regarded as a survival from a period in which the Relative Clause or Conditional Protasis 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 δὲ. The survival may be, not of a paratactic form of sentence, but only of a use of δὲ where it is not a Conjunction. Such a use has been already seen in the Particle καί. In the correlation ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ—καὶ τῶτε 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, Ueber die parataktische Anknüpfung des Nachsatzes in hypothetischen 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. § 263.
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 οὔδέ 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 οὖν τινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείν,
τῶν δ' ἀγανὼς ἐπέεσσαν κτλ.
οὖν δ' αὖ δήμου τ' ἄνδρα ίδοι κτλ.

where the correspondence is not οὖν μὲν—τῶν δέ—, but οὖν μὲν—οὖν 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' ἀνήνηται... λίσσονται δ' ἀρῷ ταῖ γε κτλ., and Π. 23. 319 ἄλλ' ὅς μὲν θ' ἱπποίσι. ἵπποι δέ πλανώνται κτλ. (Schömann, Ὀμβσ. Acad. ii. p. 97.)

335.] Enclitic δέ. There are two uses which may be noticed under this heading:—

(1) The δέ of δ-δέ, τόσον-δέ, τοῖσι-δέ is properly an Enclitic (as the accent shows).

The form τοῖσι-δεσι or τοῖσι-δεσσι may be a trace of an inflected Pronoun akin to δέ (related to it perhaps as τις to τε); or it may be merely a form created by the analogy of other Datives in -εσι, -εσι.

(2) The δέ which is suffixed to Accusatives expressing motion to is generally treated as an Enclitic in respect of accent: as οἰκόνδε, πόλεμόνδε. The ancient grammarians, however, wrote δέ as a distinct orthotone word, hence οἰκοῦν δέ, πόλεμον δέ, &c. (but οἰκαῦδε, φύγαδε 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, αὐτάρ, ἀτάρ, αὖ, αὖτε.

336.] The remaining Adversative Particles do not need much explanation. ἀλλά and αὐτάρ are used (like δε) in the apodosis, especially after a Clause with εἰ περ: as—

Π. Ἰ, 81 εἰ περ γάρ τε ... ἀλλά τε (ἐπ. 8, 153., 19, 164).

22. 390 εἰ δὲ θαυμάσων περ ... αὐτάρ ἐγὼ κτλ.

αὐτάρ and ἀτάρ express a slighter opposition than ἀλλά, and accordingly are often used as Particles of transition; e.g. in such formulae as ὅς οἱ μὲν ... αὐτάρ κτλ. A similar use of ἀλλά may be seen with Imperatives; as ἀλλ' ἐδίκη, ἀλλ' ἤγε μοι τόδε εἰπτε, and the like. It is evident that the stronger Adversative is chosen where greater liveliness of tone is to be conveyed.

337.] αὖ and αὖτε (again, on the contrary) have nearly the same force as αὐτάρ, but do not begin the sentence: hence νῦν αὖ, τίς δ' αὖ, τίπτ' αὖτε, &c.: and so in correspondence to μὲν or ἧ τοι, as Π. 4, 237 τῶν ἦ τοι ... ἡμεῖς αὖτε κτλ. They also serve to mark the apodosis or Conditional Clause, as Π. 4, 321 εἰ τότε κοῦρος ἦ, νῦν αὖτε με γῆρας ὑπάρκει. Thus they have the two chief uses of δε.

Originally, doubtless, αὖ meant backwards, but in Homer this sense is only found in the form αὕτε: though perhaps it survives in the sacrificial word αὐέρυσαν.

The form ὀμως is later, the Homeric word being ἐμπης.

ὀμως is usually read in Π. 12, 393 ὀμως δ' οδ γῆτερο χάρμης, and Od. Π. 565 ἐνα χ' ὀμως προσέφην. 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:—

Π. Ἰ, 240 ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλῆος ποθῇ ἦξεται be sure that one day &c.

So, with an ironical tone,—

Π. Ἰ, 229 ἦ πολὺ λωίου ἐστι κατὰ στρατὸν εὑρὼν Ἀχαιῶν ὅρ' ἀπουρείσθαι κτλ.

It is often used interrogatively, esp. in questions of surprise indignation, irony, &c.: as—

Π. 2, 229 ἦ ἑτι καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐπιδεύεαι κτλ.
15. 504 ἡ ἑπεσθ' ἦν νήμα ἐλη. κορυθαιόλος Ἑκτωρ ἑμβαδῶν ἵκεσθαι κτλ. (do you really hope &c.).

Od. 3. 312 ἡ οὖν ἄλις ὑπαρκχεῖ κτλ. (is it not—? = surely it is): cp. § 358, c.

Occasionally, in short parenthetical sentences, ἡ has a concessive force, it is true that, hence and yet, although: as—

Il. 3. 214 πάθη μέν, ἄλλα μάλα λυγέως, ἑπεί οὖν πολύμνοι, οὕτω ἀφαμαρτοτπής· ἡ καὶ γένει υἱότερος ἦν.

7. 393 οὖ φησιν δώσειν ἡ μὴν Τρόϊς γε κέλονται (§ 344).

11. 362 ἐξ αὖ νῦν ἐφυγες θάνατον, κύων· ἡ τε τοῦ ἄρχει ἡδέ κακῶν (so 18. 13).

22. 280 ἡ τοι ἑρθν γε (= though I did think; so 22. 280).

The question whether ἡ (or ἡ) can be used to introduce a Dependent Interrogative depends upon a few passages. Bekker favours ἡ in this use, and reads accordingly, e.g. Il. 1. 83 σὲ δὲ φράσαι ἡ με σώσεις. The majority of the editors recognise it in three or four places:—

Il. 8. 111 ἐλεγεῖα ἡ καὶ ἐμὸν δόρῳ μαίνεται κτλ.

Od. 13. 415 ἄκχετο μενούμενοι μετὰ σὸν κλέος, ἡ ποὺ ἐτ' εἰσδ. 16. 137 ἄλλα же μοι τόδε ἑπεί καὶ ἄρτεκέω κατάλεξον, ἡ καὶ λαῦρη αὐτὴν ὄδον ἄγγελος ἐλθο. 19. 325 πόν γὰρ ἐμεῦ σὺ, ἐείνε, διάσεαι, ἡ τι γεναικῶν ἄλλαναν περίειμι;

In all these places, however, there is manuscript support for ετ, and so La Roche reads in the two last. For the use of ετ with the Subj. see § 294, with the Opt. § 314. It is difficult to derive the use of ἡ which Bekker supposes either from the emphatic ἡ, or from the disjunctive ἡ or ἡ (Hom. Bl. p. 59). In any case there is no sufficient ground for deserting the MSS.

ἡ is often combined more or less closely with other Particles: as ἡ τε (§ 332, 2), ἡ μάν, &c. (§§ 343-5), ἡ τοι (or ἡ τοι), ἡδὁ (for ἡ δή), and the correlative ἡμὲν—ἡδέ. In these combinations ἡ strengthens the other Particle. Note that—

ἡμὲν—ἡδέ are used of slightly opposed things, especially when alternation is implied: as—

Od. 2. 68 λεγομαι ἡμὲν Ζηνός ὁ Ολυμπίων ἡδέ Θεόμιστος, ἡ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγοράς ἡμὲν λύει ἡδέ καθίζειν, i.e. 'assembles and dissolves again in turn' (Lat. tum—tum). Cp. Il. 8. 395 ἡμὲν ἀνακλίνα τοι. ἡδ' ἐπιθείναι: and so Il. 7. 301, Od. 1. 97., 8. 383, and probably Il. 6. 149 ἡμὲν φύει ἡδ' ἀπο-λύει. The original emphasis may sometimes be traced, as in the formula Il. 14. 234 ἡμὲν δή ποτ' ἐμὸν ἐποσ ἐκλυνες ἡδ' ἐτι καὶ τῶν πείθει surely you have heard me before, and even so listen now.

ἡδέ is also used (=and) without a preceding ἡμὲν: but not to begin a fresh sentence. Cp. § 331 fin. for the similar use of τε.

339.] ἡ after τί, ἑπεί. In most editions of Homer we find the
forms τή (or τυή) and ἐπειή, which are evidently τί, ἐπεί 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 ἐπεί it is circumflexed, after τί oxytone. The form ἐπεί η is supported by the fact that it is chiefly found in the combination ἐπεί η πολώ κτλ. (Π. 1. 159., 4. 56, 307, &c.) also with μάλα (Π. 1. 156 ἐπεί η μάλα πολλά μεταξέ κτλ., Od. 10. 465 ἐπεί η μάλα πολλά πέπασθε, επ. η μάλα, Π. 17. 34), and καί (Π. 20. 437, Od. 16. 442).

The case of τί is different. There is no ground for writing τί η (like ἐπεί η). The form τί 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 τί η δἐ σὺ κτλ. (Π. 6. 55, &c.), which as now written is contrary to the general rule for the place of δἐ. Moreover the ancients were not unanimous on the point, since Trypho wrote τή in one word (Apollonius, de Conj. p. 523).

It may be observed that the opinion of the grammarians as to τή has more weight than in the case of ἐπεί η, since τήν and ὅτι were Attic. We may suspect therefore that the accentuation ἐπεί η rests on mere inference.

With τή is to be placed the emphatic Nom. τύν-η thou, a form which occurs in the Iliad only (ep. the Doric ἐγών-η).

340.] ἡ and η are used in Homer as equivalent forms of the same Particle: which is (1) Disjunctive (or) and (2) used after Comparatives (than).

The use of the Correlative ἡ (η)—ἡ—η—either—or is also common in Homer: as Π. 1. 504 ἢ ἐπεί ἢ ἐργῷ: 3. 239 ἢ ὅχ ἐπέσθην... ἢ δεύρω μὲν ἐπουτο κτλ.

When a question is asked in a disjunctive form, the accent of the Particle ἡ, ἢ is thrown back, i. e. it is written ἢ or η:—

Π. 13. 251 ἢ τι βέβλησαι, βέλεως δὲ σε τείρει ἁκοκή, ἢ τεν ἀγγελήσας μετε ἐμ' ἡλυθὲς;

Od. 4. 362 'Ἀντινο', ἢ βά τι τὸμεν ἐνὶ φρειτίν, ἢ καὶ σοκὶ;

So when the first part of the question is not introduced by a Particle; Π. 10. 534 ζενθομαί η ἐτυμον ἐρώ; shall I speak falsehood or the truth? Od. 1. 226 εἰκαπτὶν η γάμος; ep. 4. 314, 372. Indeed the first half of the sentence need not be interrogative; as Od. 21. 193 ἐπος τί κε μυθοσαλμην, ἢ αὐτὸς κεύθω;
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 τῇ ζῆν ᾿Ανδρομάχῃ λευκάλενος ἐκ μεγάρου; τῇ τῷ ἔσ γαλάον ή ἐλιβέριον ἐὔπεπλοῦν, ἦ ἔσ ᾿Αθηναίης ἐξολοχεῖαι κτλ.

Here ἐλιβέριον offers an alternative for γαλάον, but the main question is between these two alternatives on one side and ἔσ ᾿Αθηναίης 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—ἲ (II. 6. 378, 13. 251, 15. 735, 16. 12, 13, 17, Od. 1. 408, 2. 30, 11. 399). In—

Od. 13. 233 τός γῆ; τός δῆμος; τόνδες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάδασιν;

ἲ ποῦ τοῖς νήσοισ εὐθεῖελος, ἦ τούς ἄκτη | κεῖθ' κτλ.

ἲ ποῦ 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.).

 государственн о or ἦ—than is found after Comparatives; also after Verbs implying comparison, as θολύκοραί I prefer, φθάνω I come sooner.

The correlative ἦ τε—ἲ τε appears in three places, viz. II. 9. 276 ἦ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἦ τε γνωμακών (where it seems to be ἦ μέν—ἲ ὑδέ), 11. 410 ἦ τ' ἐβλητ' ἦ τ' ἐβαλ' ἂλλου, and 17. 42 ἦ τ' ἂλκης ἦ τε φόβου (where however Aristarchus read ἦ δ—ἲ δέ). The single ἦ τε occurs with the meaning or in II. 19. 148 ἦ τ' ἐξέμεν παρὰ σοί: and with the meaning than in Od. 16. 216 (§ 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 (ἲ) — ἦ (ἲ): as—

Od. 1. 174 καὶ μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευον ἑτήτυμον, ὅφρ' ἐδ εἰδώ, ἦ νέον μεθέπειας, ἦ καὶ πατρωίος ἐστὶ κτλ.

II. 2. 99 τάλιτε φίλοι καὶ μείνατ' ἐπὶ χρώνου, ὅφρα δαιμόνεν, ἦ ἐτέον Κάλχας μανιτείται, ἦ καὶ οὐκί.

Other examples have been given in the account of the Subjunc-

* This has been well shown by Dr. Praetorius, in a dissertation to which I am largely indebted (Die homerische Gebrauch von ἦ (ἲ) in Frageworten, Cassel, 1873). The rule as to the accentuation in a disjunctive question rests upon the unanimous testimony of the ancient grammarians, and is now generally adopted. The MSS. and the older editors give ἦ or ἦ only.
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 ἤ (ἡ): as—

Od. 4. 109 οὐδὲ τι ἔσεν | ζῶει ὑ' ἡ τέθηκε (4. 837., 11. 464).
So II. 10. 544 εἰπ' ἄγε .. ὡππος τούσδ' ἐπίπους λάβετον, καταδύντες ὃμιλον Τρώων, ἦ τίς σφωε πόρεν κτλ., Od. 4. 643.

The combination εἰ—ἡ (ἡ) is often found in the MSS. of Homer; see II. 2. 367., 8. 532, Od. 4. 28, 712, 789., 16. 238, 260., 17. 308., 18. 265., 24. 217. La Roche (following Bekker) reads ἦ—ἡ (ἡ) in all these places.

The common texts have in one place εἰ τε—ἡ (ἡ),

II. 2. 349 γνῶμεναι εἰ τε ψεύδος ὑπόχεις ἡ καὶ οὐκ.

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 ἠ (ἡ) καὶ οὐκ. But the best MSS. have εἰ τε—εἰ τε.

A change of construction may also be seen in Od. 24. 235-8 μερὴριζε .. κύσαμ καὶ περπύνα .. ἡ πρῶτ' ἱερᾶωτον he debated about embracing &c., or should he first ask &c.

μᾶν, μήν, μέν.

342.] The three words μᾶν, 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 ἡ, ἦ) 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 μᾶν occurs 24 times, and that there are only two places in which it is not followed by a vowel. The exceptions are, II. 5. 805 ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶν σ' ἐτι δηρὸν ἀνέξομαι ἄλγε' ἔχοντα, where μᾶν may be due to the parallel II. 17. 41 ἀλλ' οὐ μᾶν ἐτι δηρὸν ἀνέλυτος πόνος ἐσται, and II. 5. 765 ἄγρει μᾶν οἰ (i.e. οἱ) ἐπορευσον κτλ. (cp. II. 7. 459 ἄγρει μᾶν ὅτι' 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 οἰ τοῦτ' γ' εἰς ἀνέρη' ἔσον. These facts have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Bekker in his second edition (1858) wrote μήν throughout for μᾶν, and sought to distinguish μῆν and μέν as far as the metre allowed according to Attic usage (H. B. pp. 34, 62). Cobet on the contrary proposed to restore μῖν for μῆν (Misc. Crit. p. 365), and so far as these two forms are concerned his view is probable enough. But how are we to explain the peculiar facts as to μᾶν? 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 μῆν whenever it came before a consonant, and preserved when the metre made this corruption impossible.

It is to be observed also that μᾶν and μῆν are almost confined to the Iliad, in which μᾶν occurs 22 times and μῆν 7 times. In the Odyssey μᾶν is found twice, viz. in 11. 344, 17. 470, and μῆν three times, in 11. 582, 593, 16. 440 (=II. 23. 410). It appears then that μᾶν is the only form which really belongs to the language of the Odyssey. Consequently the substitution of μᾶν for μῆν in the Iliad may have taken place very early. The change of μᾶν to μῆν probably belongs to the later period when μῆν had been established in Ionic and Attic prose.

343. μᾶν has an affirmative and generally a hortatory or interjectional force: as in ἄγρει μᾶν ναυ come! (Π. 5. 765, 7. 459), and ἦ μᾶν, οὐ μᾶν, used when a speech begins in a tone of surprise, triumph, or the like; as—

Π. 2. 370 ἦ μᾶν αὐτ' ἄγορη νικᾶς, γέρων, υφα Ἀχαιῶν.
12. 318 οὐ μᾶν ἀκληθεὶς Λυκίνη κάτα κοιρανεύων ἡμετεροιβασιλῆς (επ.4. 512., 13. 414., 14. 454, &c.).
An approach to the force of an emphatic yet appears in—

Π. 8. 373 ἐσταὶ μᾶν ὅτ' ἄν αὗτε φὶλην γλαυκόπιδα εἶπη' and in ἅλλ' οὐ μᾶν (Π. 5. 895., 17. 41, 418, &c.), μῆ μᾶν (Π. 8. 512., 15. 476., 22. 304).

344. μῆν with a hortatory force occurs in Π. 1. 302 εἶ δ' ἄγε μῆν πείρῃσαι come, do but try. The combination ἦ μῆν is affirmative (rather than merely concessive),—not so much admitting as insisting upon an objection or reply: Π. 2. 291 ἦ μῆν καὶ τὸνος ἐστὶ it is true enough that there is toil. 7. 393 ἦ μῆν Τραῖς γε κέλουται I assure you that the Trojans bid him: 9. 57 ἦ μῆν καὶ νέος ἔσοι we must remember that you are young. In καὶ μῆν it emphasises the fact introduced by καί: Π. 11. 45 καὶ μῆν οἱ τότε γ' εἰς ἄγορην ἵσαν observe that even these then went.

345. μᾶν is very common in Homer. The original simply affirmative force appears especially in the combinations ἦ μᾶν, καὶ μᾶν, and the like, in which it is indistinguishable in sense from μῆν.*

At μᾶ is regularly used in oaths, and is even found with an Inf. in oratio obliqua, as Π. 1. 76 καὶ μοι ὁμοσοσυν μᾶν μοι . ἀρήζεων. So in a strong asseveration, as Π. 7. 97 ἦ μᾶν δὴ λώβη τάδε γ' ἔσσεται this will really be a foul shame, Od. 19. 235 ἦ μᾶν πολλαὶ γ' αὐτόν ἔθησαντο γυναίκες you may be sure that many women gazed with wonder at it. In these and similar passages μᾶν

* On the uses of μᾶν see the dissertation of Carl Mutzbauer, Der homerische Gebrauch der Partikel MEN, Köln, 1884-86.
strengthens a purely affirmative ἢ, and there is no sense of contrast. The adver- sarive use may be perceived, as with the simple ἢ (§ 338) and ἢ μὲν, when a speaker insists on his assertion as true along with or in spite of other facts: e.g. in Od. 10. 64. πάσα ἡ λαβεῖς, ὦ Ὄδυσσε; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχρας δαίμων; ἢ μὲν ὦ ἐνδυκέως ἀατετέμπομεν surely we sent you on your way with due provision: and in the common form of reproach, II. 11. 765 ὁ πέτων, ἢ μὲν σοὶ γε Μενοίτιος ἐς ἐπέτελε (ep. 5. 197., 9. 252). So with ironical emphasis, II. 3. 430 ἢ μὲν δὴ πρὶν γ' εὔχετ' κτλ. why surely you boasted &c., ep. 9. 348.

The corresponding negative form μὴ μὲν occurs in formal oaths (§ 358, ὁ), and with the Opt. in a sort of imprecation in Od. 22. 462 μὴ μὲν δὴ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμόν ἔλοίμην κτλ. (cp. μὴ μάν). Denial insisted upon in view of some state of things is expressed by οὐ μὲν, as II. 4. 372 οὐ μὲν Τυδεί γ' ὀδε φίλον πτωσκαζόμεν ἢν (why do you shrink ?) surely Tydeus did not.

The form καὶ μὲν answers closely to the Attic καὶ μήν, which is used to call attention to a fact, especially as the ground of an argument; as II. 18. 362 καὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοις μέλει βροτός κτλ. a mortal, remember, will accomplish his will: (much more a great godless): II. 1. 269 καὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἔγω μεθομίλεον (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 τούς δυνασθοι κτλ. even gods may be moved . . they are indeed turned from their anger by sacrifice &c.: cp. 24. 488, Od. 7. 325., 14. 85. Similarly when a new point in the narrative is reached: as II. 6. 194 καὶ μὲν οἶ Λύκικοι τέμενος τάμον yes and (besides what the king gave) the Lycian people made him a τέμενος (ep. 6. 27., 23. 174., 24. 732).

The adver-sative sense—but yet, but surely—is chiefly found after a negative, μὲν being used either alone or in combination with an adver- sarive Conjunction (ἀλλά, ἀτάρ): as—

II. 1. 602 δαίμων', οὔδ' τι θυμὸς ἐδεύσετο δαιτὸς ἐκεῖς οὐ μὲν φόρμυγγος νωρ yet the phorminx.

2. 703 οὔδ' μὲν οὖδ' οἱ ἄναρχοι ἔσων, πόθεον γε μὲν ἄρχον.

Od. 15. 405 οὐ τι περιπληθής λίπν τόσον, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ μὲν.

II. 6. 123 οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ὀπωσπα . . ἀτάρ μὲν νῦν γε κτλ.

Also after a question—

II. 15. 203 ἢ τι μεταστρέφεις; στρεπταί μὲν τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν.

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 τοῦτο σκῆπτρου, τὸ μὲν οὗ ποτὲ φύλλα καὶ
οἶνος φόσει (=by this sceptre, even as it shall never &c.).

5. 892 μητρὸς τοι μένος ἐστὶν ἀδόγιτου, οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν, 'Ἡρώς, τίν μὲν ἐγώ σπουδὴ δάμημι' ἐπέεστι 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 ἔχων, 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 δὲ or αὖτάρ serving to resume the narrative: as—

ΠΙ. 8. 256 ἀλλὰ τολὴ πρῶτος Τρῶων ἔλευ ἄνδρα κοροστῆν, Τραδῳμοὐδῆν Ἀγέλαον ὀ μὲν φύγαδ' ἐτραπεν ἱπποὺς, τῷ δὲ μεταστρεφθέντι κτλ. (so ibid. 268–271).

Again, 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 ἑβη πρὸς δόμα κτλ. now it was to his house that she went: cp. Od. 9. 325.

toi.

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 ἥμεις τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμέενους εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι: 5. 801 Τυδέως τοι μικρός μὲν ἐγὼ δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητὴς Τυδέως, you must admit, &c.: 5. 892 μητρὸς τοι μένος ἐστὶν ἀδόγιτου I admit (as an excuse): 8. 294 οὐ μὲν τοι δοῦναίσι γε πάρεστι πάνωμι: cp. 5. 873., 6. 211., 10. 250, Od. 2. 280, &c. So again in maxims, Od. 2. 276 πάλαι γάρ τοι παῖδες κτλ. few children, it must be said, &c.: II. 23. 315 μὴ τοι δρυτόμον κτλ. it is by understanding, after all, that the woodman &c.: Od. 9. 27 οὐ τοι ἔγυγε ὡς γαῖς δύναμαι κτλ. I cannot, when all is said, &c.: II. 22. 488, Od. 8. 329, &c.

toι is combined in Homer with Adversative Particles, as αὖτάρ τοι, ἀλλὰ τοι (II. 15. 45, Od. 18. 230); and with μέν (but not closely, as in the later μέντοι but). So with the Affirmative ἢ in ἢ τοι (or ἢ τοι), which expresses a restricted concession (II. 1. 140, 211., 5. 724, &c.). But the combinations καίτοι and yet, τοῖνυν so then, and the Disjunctive ἢ τοι either, or, are post-Homeric.

tοι has the first place in the sentence in the compound τοῖγρ, which is used to begin speeches; as II. 1. 76 τοῖγρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω 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 τοῖγρτοι, τοῖγαροῦν: and the same meaning is commonly expressed by τοῖνυν.
It has sometimes been thought that ἵνα is originally the same as the Dat. of σὺ, meaning ‘I tell you’ or the like. The orthotone τογάρ (or τοι γάρ, as some MSS. read) is difficult to explain on this view. It has also been explained as the Locative of τό: cp. the Dat. τῷ = in that case, therefore. Or it may be from the same stem as τές and τε (as Kühner holds, § 507): cp. ποῦ (ὅτι ποῦ) = somehow, thence surely. But the Loc. of this stem exists already in the form τοι whither.

ἄρα, γάρ.

347.] The Adverb ἄρα properly means fittingly, accordingly (root ἂρ- to fit). The forms ἂρ and ρά seem to be varieties produced by difference of stress, answering to the different values which the Particle may have in the sentence. Of these ἂρ retains its accent, but ρά, the shortest form, is enclitic.

The ordinary place of ἄρα 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 ἢ τοι ὅ γάρ εἴπων κατά ἄρα ἐκέπεσε (cp. II. 2. 310., 5. 748).

It is to be observed, however, that ἄρα 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. II. 1. 429 χώμαμενόν κατὰ θυμὸν ἐευξάνομεν γυναῖκος, τῆν ῥά . . ἀπηύρων whom (and this was the reason of his anger) they had taken away. So in the combinations ὅς ῥά, ἐπεὶ ῥά, ὅτι ῥά, οὗνεκ’ ἄρα = because (and this is the explanation): also in γάρ ῥά, as II. 1. 113 καὶ γάρ ῥά Κλυταμνῆστρης προβέβουλα.

ἄρα is also found in the first of two correlative Clauses, as—

εἰ τ’ ἂρ’ ὅ γάρ εὑρωλῆς ἔπιμεμφέται εἰ θ’ ἐκατόμβης.

ὅς ἄγαγ’ ὅς χίπτ’ ἂρ τις ἵδη χίπτ’ ἂρ τε νοήσῃ.

The parallel form of the sentence enables us to regard the first Clause, by anticipation, as falling in with and completing the second.

The Attic ἄρα is unknown to Homer. Whether it is identical with ἄρα seems doubtful. It is worth while noticing that ἄρα answers in usage to the Homeric combination ἢ ῥά (is it then—?).

348.] The Causal Particle γάρ is originally a compound of γε and ἄρα, but the two elements have so completely united into a new whole that the fresh combination γάρ ῥά 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 γάρ ἔπι φρεσὶ θήκε θεὰ λευκάλενος Ἡρη κήδεσο γάρ Δαναών, κτλ. Thus it follows the sequence of thought—by which we go back from a consequent to an antecedent—whereas
"APA, ΓΑΡ."

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ἄρα more commonly (though not always) indicates the sequence of the facts themselves.

Compare the double use of ὧν, ὧς, ὧς (1) to express a cause, (2) to express a consequent used as an argument (e.g. τοῖνον γάρ καὶ πατρός, ὡς καὶ πεπυμένα βαῖες, and other examples in § 260). 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 γέ ἄρα (γ’ ἄρ’, γάρ), rather than the simple ἄρα. The principle of this usage is that a causal relation may be indicated by a distinction of emphasis, such as γέ 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. 1. 8 ματύριον δὲ: Δήλου γάρ κτλ.) and may be traced back to Homer. Thus—

II. 8. 147 ἄλλα τὸῦ’ αἰνόν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἴκανεν· "Εκτωρ 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 ὧς and ὧς 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—


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 τῷ so, therefore: as—

II. 7. 328 πολλοὶ γάρ τεθύσα ἐκαρη κομόωντες Ἀχαϊοι, τῶν νῦν αἴμα κελαίνον . . 331 τῷ σε χρῆ τόλεμον μεν ἀμ’ ἥοι παῖδασι Ἀχαῖοι.

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—

Od. 14. 355  ἀλλ' οὖ γάρ σφιν ἐφάλνετο κέρδιον ἐναι 
μοισθαι προτέρω τοί μεν πάλιν αὐτίς ἐβαίνον 
νήσος ἐπὶ γλαφυρῆς (cp. Od. 19. 591).

ἀλλά—γάρ also occurs without a subsequent Clause:—

Od. 10. 201 κλαῖον δὲ λυγέως, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέωντες:
ἀλλ' οὖ γάρ τις πρήξις ἐγένετο μυρομένως.

Here it has the force of 'but be that as it may,' 'but the truth is' (Riddell, Dig. § 147). That is, ἀλλά—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 ἦν 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 ἀλλά—γάρ it is incorrect (as Riddell shows, l. c.) to treat the Clause with γάρ as a parenthesis (writing *e.g. νῦν δ'—εἰμπης γάρ κτλ.*). The Clause so introduced is always in opposition to the preceding context, so that the δὲ or ἀλλά has its full force.

3. After the Relative ὅς, ἢ, ὁ: as—

Π. 12. 344 ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον δ' γάρ κ' ὅχ' ἀριστον ἀπάντων 
eἶν (so Π. 23. 9, Od. 24. 190).

Od. 1. 286 (Μενέλαος) ὅς γάρ δεύταρος ἠλθεν (cp. 17. 172).

So with ὅς γάρ =*for thus*, and τὸν γάρ (Π. 10. 127).

These are generally regarded as instances of the original use of ὅς 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 ἦν without changing the sense.

4. In abrupt questions, and expressions of surprise: as—

Π. 1. 123 πῶς γάρ τοι δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί;
*why, how do the Greeks give you a prize?*

18. 182 Ἰπτ θέα, τίς γάρ σε θεών ἐμοι ἄγγελον ἤκε;
Π. 2. 293 ἢ γάρ κεν δελόσ τε καὶ οὐτίδανος καλεόμεν τε κτλ.
*why, I should be a coward &c.*

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 τὰ ἀρα in questions, ὡς in expressions of wish, ἀλλὰ before an imperative (§ 336): also the English use of why, well, and similar pleonasms.

οὖν, δὴ, νῦ, θην.

349.] οὖν in Homer does not properly express inference, or even consequence (like ἀρα). 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.—

Π. 2. 350 φημὶ γὰρ οὖν for I do declare that &c.

Od. 11. 350 κρίνοι δὲ τῆτο, μάλα περ νόστοιο χατίζων, ἐμμῆς οὖν ἐπιμείναι ἐς αὖριον (nevertheless to wait).

Like ἀρα, it is used to emphasise correlative Clauses, but only with the negative οὖτε—οὐτε and μὴτε—μήτε: as—

Od. 6. 192 οὐτ' οὖν ἑσθήσως δενήσεως οὐτε τεν ἅλλου.


The combination γ' οὖν (not to be written γοῦν in Homer) occurs only twice, with the meaning in any case:—

Π. 5. 258 εἴ γ' οὖν ἐτερός γε φύγῃσι if one of the two does (after all) escape.

16. 30 μὴ εἴμε γ' οὖν οὔτος γε λάβοι χόλος (cp. 19. 94 κατὰ δ' οὖν ἐτερόν γε πέδησεν).

As an emphatic Particle of transition οὖν is found in μὲν οὖν (Π. 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.] δὴ is properly a temporal Particle, meaning now, at length (Lat. jam): hence it implies arriving at a result, as εἰ οὖν δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην from the time that the point was reached when they quarrelled: εἰ δὴ 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 Π. 1. 266 κάρπυστοι δὴ κεῖσοι κτλ. these were quite (finally) the mightiest. So in questions, πῶς δὴ how has it come to be that—; and prohibitions, μὴ δὴ do not go so far as to—.

δὴ may begin a sentence in Homer, as Π. 15. 437 Τεῦκρε πέτου, δὴ νοῦν ἀπέκτατο πιστὸς ἐταῖρος: and often in the combinations δὴ τότε (tum vero), and δὴ γάρ. The original meaning is best seen in these forms (where δὴ is emphatic), and in ἦδη (for ἣ δὴ), and ἐπεὶ δὴ.

As δὴ 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 δε. This occurs especially in the combinations δη αδ, δη αδτος, δη ουτως: as II. 1. 131 μη δη οουτως, 340 ει ποτε δη αυτε, 10. 385 τη δη οουτως, 20. 220 δε δη αφενειτατος κτλ. So in ει δ' αγε the sense generally requires δη: see § 321.

Note that δητα, δηθεν (cognate or derivative forms) are post-Homeric; as also are the combinations δητου, και δη.

351.] νυ is obviously a shortened form of νυν now. It is used as an affirmative Particle (like δη, but somewhat less emphatic), especially in combinations such as ἃρ νυ, και νυ κε, ου νυ, μη νυ, επει νυ, and after Interrogatives, as τις νυ who now, τι νυ why now (see Od. 1. 59–62).

The form νυ is exclusively Epic: νυν (ν), which is used by Attic poets (Ellenbt, Lex. Soph. ii. p. 183) appears in II. 10. 105 δα ποι νυν ἐλεπταται, and II. 23. 485 δειρο νυν, η τριποδος κτλ.: but it is probably not Homeric.

In II. 10. 105 the sense is distinctly temporal, and accordingly we should probably read νυν ἐλεπταται. The temporal sense also suits II. 23. 485, where moreover there is a variant δειρο γε νυν τριποδος, found in the Scholia on Aristophanes (Ach. 771, Eq. 788).

352.] θην is an affirmative enclitic, giving a mocking or ironical force, like the later δητου and δηθεν (which is perhaps originally δη θην): as II. 2. 276 ου θην μιν παλιν ατις ανησε θυμος αγηνωρ his bold spirit will not I imagine impel him again: II. 13. 620 λεψετε θην οουτο γε methinks in this fashion you will leave γε. It is only Epic.

περ.

353.] The enclitic Particle περ is evidently a shorter form of the Preposition περι, 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 λοξε γεινομενον περ was my fate even from my birth.
Od. 1. 315 μη μ' ετι νυν κατέρυκε αλλαομενον περ οδοιο.
8. 187 στιβαράτερον ουκ ολιγον περ.
II. 2. 236 οικαδε περ ουν ηνου ανεμεθα
(=let us have nothing short of return home).
8. 452 σφων δε πριν περ τρομος αλλαβη φαλτερα γυνα
even beforehand trembling seized your knees.
13. 72 αρλυνοτοι δε θεοι περ gods, surely, are easily known.
Od. 4. 34 αι κε ποθι Ζευς | έξοπλισώ περ παύση διζους.
So with Relatives, ὃς ἐπερ the very one who, ὃς ἐσται ἐπερ (Attic ὃστερ καὶ ἐσταὶ) just as it will be, ὅτε ἐπερ just when. Also εἰ ἐπερ even if, and ἦν ἐπερ or ἤ ἐπερ even then.

Usually, however, ἐπερ implies a sense of opposition; i.e. it emphasises something as true in spite of a preceding assertion: as ὃ ν τι δυνὴσαν ἄχυρομένος ἐπερ thou wilt not be able, however much vexed, πολλὲς ἐπερ ἐόντες many as they are, πίνουτά ἐπερ ἐμπής even though drinking, &c.; and with Substantives, II. 20. 65 τὰ τε στυγέων θεῶν ἐπερ which even the gods (gods though they are) dread. So II. 1. 353 ἐπελ μ’ ἐτεκές γε, μμυροδίων ἐπερ ἐόντα 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 σὺ ἐπερ μν ὄνον δο thou honour him (since Agamemnon will not); 17. 121 αἰ ἐκ νεκύν ἐπερ Ἀχιλλῆι προφέρωμεν γνυνών ἀτὰ ὡ τε γε τεύχεν κτλ.

The intensive καὶ and are often used with the same word or phrase: as καὶ δύνῃ ἐπερ even though late, καὶ πρὸς δαιμονά ἐπερ even though it were against a higher power, καὶ τείς ἐπερ ἐόν through only on foot: εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἕκτορά ἐπερ φιλέεις, &c. So with οὕδε not even, as οὐδὲ θεόν ἐπερ not even the gods, οὐδ’ ὃς ἐπερ not even so, οὐδὲ νῦν σοι ἐπερ not even to you.

The combination καὶ ἐπερ (or καὶ ἐπερ) occurs in Homer in one place only, viz. Od. 7. 224 καὶ ἐπερ πολλὰ παθόντα.

When καὶ precedes a word followed by ἐπερ, it is always = even (not and). Hence in II. 5. 135 καὶ πρὶν ἐπερ μεμαοῖς means even though formerly eager, and is to be taken with the preceding line, not with the succeeding δὴ τότε μν κτλ. Thus there is no anacoluthon, as is generally assumed.

γε.

354.] γε is used, like ἐπερ, 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 ἐπερ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτήμαρ καταπέσῃ, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔξει κότον.

Here γε shows that the word χόλος is chosen in order to be contrasted with κότος. So too—

II. 2. 379 εἰ δέ ποτ’ ἦς γε μίαν βουλεύσομεν, οὐκέτι ἐπείτε κτλ. (if we could ever agree, instead of contending).

Again, where an idea is repeated—

II. 5. 350 εἰ δέ σὺ γ’ ἦς πόλεμον πωλήσεαι, ή τε σ’ ὃω βιγήσει πόλεμόν γε.

Cp. also II. 1. 299 ἐπελ μ’ ἀφέλεσθε γε δόντες since you have but y
taken away what you gave (where we should rather emphasise ὅπτε): Od. 4. 193 οὗ τοίς ἐγώγε τέρποι οὐφόρομενος... νεμεσισάμαι γε μὲν οὐδὲν κλαίεις 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 γάρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε γράτος ἐστὶν that is the strength of iron (in particular): 10. 93 οὗ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ἀξέστο κύκλα γ' ἐν αὐτῷ, οὔτε μέγ' οὔτ' ἀλίγουν, λευκή δ' ἦν ἂμφι γαλήνη ὑο wave at all (nothing that could be called a wave) rose in it, &c.

So too ye emphasises a word as a strong or appropriate one, or as chosen under the influence of feeling (anger, contempt, &c.). As examples may be quoted, Od. 9. 458 τῷ κε οἱ ἐγκέφαλος γε... ραῖοτο κτλ.: 17. 244 τῷ κε τοῖς ἀγλαίας γε διασκεδάσεις ἀπάσας: II. 7. 198 ἐπεί οὐδ' ἐμὲ νίθαδα γ' οὕτως ἐλπιμαί κτλ. So in the phrase εἴ ποτ' ἐπι γε, which means if he lived at all, and thus is a form of asseveration; e.g. II. 3. 180 δαήρ αὐτ' ἐμὸς ἐσκε κυνώπιδος εἰ ποτ' ἐπι 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 ὅγε, ἐγώγε as one word), also with ὅδε, ὁμός, κεῖνος, and the corresponding Adverbs ὅδε, τότε, &c. It serves chiefly to bring out the contrast which these Pronouns more or less distinctly imply. Similarly with words implying comparison, as ἄλλος and ἕτερος, πριν, πάρος, &c. When a special emphasis is intended, Homer usually employs πέρ, as Od. 1. 59 οὐδ' νῦν σοι πέρ ἐντρέπεται φίλου ἢ πορ not even are you moved (who are especially bound to care for Ulysses). So too, as Nauck has pointed out (Mély. gr.-rom. iv. 501), πάρος γε means before (not now), while πάρος πέρ means even before (not merely now). Hence in II. 13. 465 ὅς σε πάρος γε γαμβρός ἐνν ἐθρήψε the γε of the MSS. is right; and so we should read (with Λ against other MSS.) II. 17. 587 ὅς τὸ πάρος γε μαλθακός ἀλχιμητής, but (again with Λ) in II. 15. 256 ὅς σε πάρος πέρ ῥόμαι.

In a Conditional Protasis (with ὅς, ὅτε, εἴ, &c.), γε emphasises the condition as such: hence εἴ γε if only, always supposing that; cp. Od. 2. 31 ἢν χ' ὑμών σάφα εἴποι, ὅτε πρóτερος γε πῦθοιτο which he would tell you, if and when he had been first to hear it. On the other hand, εἴ πέρ means supposing ever so much, hence if really (Lat. si quidem). So when πριν expresses a condition (§ 297) it takes γε, as II. 5. 288 πριν γ' ἢ ἐτέρον γε πεσόντα κτλ.

οὖ, µῆ.

355.] ὅκι, οὐκ, ὀ. The full form ὅκι occurs in the formula ὢ καί ὅκι or else not (II. 2. 238, &c.), and one or two similar phrases: II. 15. 137 ὅς τ' αἰτιος ὅς τε καί ὅκι, and II. 20. 255 πόλα έτεα τε καί ὅκι.
The general use of οὐ is to deny the predication to which it is attached (while μη for bids or deprecates). In some instances, however, οὐ does not merely negative the Verb, but expresses the opposite meaning: οὐ φημι is not I do not say, but I deny, refuse; οὐκ εὖ I forbid, &c. (Krüger, § 67, 1, 1).

The uses of οὐ in Subordinate Clauses, and with the Infinitive and Participle, will be best treated along with the corresponding uses of μη (§§ 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 οὐ φημι, and in the use of οὐ in the combinations οὐκ ἐθλαω, οὐκ ἔδω, &c., in which οὐ is retained where general rules would require μη (§ 359).

356.] οὐδε, μηδε. 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 II. 5. 485 τύνη δ’ ἐστικας, ἀτὰρ οὐδε ἀλλοις κέλευς you stand still (yourself), and (what is more) do not call on the others to fight: and in combination with περ, as II. 4. 387 ἐγερῃ οὐδε ξεινὸς περ ἑων κτλ. So καί ὡς even he, οὐδε ὡς not even he, &c.

οὐδεῖς is originally an emphatic form (like the later οὐδε εἰς). In Homer the Neut. οὐδεν is occasionally found, sometimes as an emphatic Adverb = not at all, as II. 1. 244 ὥ τ’ ἄριστον Ἀχιλεων οὐδεν ἔτηςα (so II. 1. 412., 16. 274., 22. 332, 513., 24. 370, Od. 4. 195., 9. 287): sometimes as a Substantive, nothing at all (Nom. and Acc.), as Od. 9. 34 ὡς οὐδεν γλυκον νο single thing is sweeter (ep. 18. 130., 22. 318). The adjectival use is found with ἐτος (Od. 4. 350., 17. 141), also in II. 10. 216 τῇ μὲν κτέρας οὐδέν ὁμοίων, and perhaps II. 22. 513 οὐδεν σοι γ’ ὀφελος (where οὐδεν may be adverbial). The Gen. Neut. appears in the Compound οὐδενός-ωρος worth nothing (II. 8. 178). The Masc. occurs only in the phrase τὸ ὅν μένος οὐδεν εἶκον (II. 22. 459, Od. 11. 515).

The form μηδεις is post-Homeric, except the form μηδεν, which occurs only in II. 18. 500 δ’ ἀναίηρετο μηδεν ἐλέσθαι.

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 II. 1. 114 ἔτει οὐ ἔθεν ἐστι λεβηλων, οὐ δέμας κτλ. since she is not inferior—not in form &c. The emphatic οὐδε and μηδε are chiefly used in this way: as οὐ μᾶν οὐδ’ Ἀριλεων κτλ. no, not even Achilles &c.: II. 2. 703 οὐδε μεν οὐδ’ οι ἀναρχοι ἐσαν: Od. 8. 280 τὰ γ’
PARTICLES.

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358. [358.]

ou kē tis oude tīdoeto, oude thewv makárov: II. 6. 58 μη' ón tīn
gastérı μήτηρ κοθρον έwnta fērōu μη' òs fýgou.

358.] μη 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 dis-
cussed (§§ 278, 281, 299, 303, &c.), it only remains to notice
some idiomatic uses in which μη is found with the Mood of
simple assertion or denial.

With the Indicative μη is used in Homer—

(a) In the phrase μη ὥφελλον (or ὥφελον) would that I had not
&c. Logically the μη in this idiom belongs to the following
Infinitive (cp. § 355).

(b) In oaths, to express solemn or impassioned denial:

II. 10. 329 ιστο νῦν Ζεδς αὐτός, ἐργηδουπος πόσις Ἡρης,
μη μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἄνηρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος
(I swear that no one else shall ride &c.).

15. 36 ιστο νῦν τόδε γαῖα . . .
41 μη δι' ἐμὴν ἴστητα Ποσειδᾶνων ἐνοσίχθων | πημαινει.
In this use μη 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 ιστο νῦν Ζεδς πρῶτα κτλ.
μη μὲν ἐγὼ κούρη Βρισηθίδι χείρ' ἐπένεικα,
where the MSS. have ἐπενεκαί. The Indic. form was restored
conjecturally by Stephanus.

(c) After ἡ, to express incredulity, &c.:—

Od. 6. 200 ἡ μη ποῦ τυν δυσμενέων φάσθαι ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώ
(surely you do not suppose it is any enemy!)
9. 405 ἡ μη τὶς σεν μῆλα βηροῦν δέκοντος ἑλαύνει;
ἡ μη τὶς ο' αὐτῶν κτείνει δόλῳ ἥ βινηφι;
(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 μη δῇ πάντα θέα νυμερτέα εἴπεν.
Here, as with the Subj. (§ 281, 1), the Clause with μη passes into
an Object-Clause. The difference is that the Indicative shows
the event to be past.

So perhaps Od. 13. 216 μη τί μοι οἰχονταί I fear they are gone: but the better
reading is οἰχονταί, the Subj. being understood as in II. 1. 555 μη οὲ παρείπν
lest she have persuaded thee (i. e. prove to have persuaded); cp. Od. 21. 395 μη κέρα ἰνες ἔθοεν best worms should (be found) to have eaten (§ 303, 1). Cp. Matth. xvi. 5 ἐπελάθαντο ἄροντα λαβεῖν they found that they had forgotten (Field's Octium Norvicense, 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 μη—with the Mood proper to a simple assertion. The tendency to resort to the form of prohibition in order to express strong or passionate denial may be seen in the use of μη with the Optative in deprecating a supposition (§ 299, e), and of μη with the Subj. in oaths, as Od. 12. 300., 18. 56.

359.] Conditional Clauses. The rule which prescribes μη 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 μη is used: the very few exceptions being confined to οὐκ ἐθέλαω (Π. 3. 289., 15. 492) and οὐκ ἔαω (Π. 20. 139), which are treated almost as Compounds (§ 355). Cp. the use of οὐκ ἐθέλαω in Final Clauses, as Π. 5. 233 μη . . ματῆσετον οὐδ' ἐθέλητον κτλ.

(b) With the Relatives ὅς, ὅσος, &c. when the Verb is an Indicative οὐ is generally used; as—

Π. 2. 143 πᾶσι μετὰ πληθόν, ὅσοι οὐ βουλήσει ἐπάκουσαν.

Od. 3. 348 ὅς τε τεν ἦ παρὰ πάμππαν ἀνείμονος ἦ πενυχροῦ, ὦν οὐ τι χλαῖναι κτλ. (a general description).

Π. 2. 338 νηπιάχοις, ὅις οὐ τι μέλει κτλ. (so 7. 236., 18. 363). The only clear instance of μη is Π. 2. 301 ἐστε δὲ πάντες μάρτυροι, οὐς μη κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτου φέρονται, where the speaker wishes to make an exception to what he has just said. In Od. 5. 489 ὦ μη πάρα γείτόνες ἄλλοι we may supply either εἰσι or εἶσιν: the latter is found in the similar cases Od. 4. 164., 23. 118. But Hesiod uses μη 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—

Π. 4. 160 εἰ περ γάρ τε καὶ αὐτόκ' Ὀλυμπίως οὐκ ἐτέλεσες, and similarly in Π. 9. 435., 15. 213, Od. 19. 85, and the (eight) other places quoted in § 316. But when the Clause with εἰ follows the other, μη is used, as in the sentences of the form—

Π. 2. 155 ἐνθα κεν . . νόστος ἐτύχθη | εἰ μη κτλ.
The only instance in which this rule fails seems to be—

Od. 9. 410 el μεν δῆ μη τίς σε βιάζεται οἶον ἑόντα,
νοσὸν γ' οὗ πως ἐστι Δίὸς μεγάλον ἀλέσθαι.
Here μη τίς may be used rather than οὗ τίς in order to bring out more clearly the misunderstanding of the ὁδίς of Polyphemus.

This curious law was pointed out by A. R. Vierke, in a valuable dissertation De μη particulae cum indicativo conjunctae usu antiquiore (Lipsiae, 1876). With regard to the ground of it, we may observe that a Clause with el 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 οὗ 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 ἀν-, ἄ-): 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 οὗ with the Participle—a use which is well established in Homer.

οὗ with the Infinitive is used in Homer (as in Attic) after Verbs of saying, thinking, knowing, &c. (§ 237); as in Π. 16. 61 η τοι ἐφην γε οὗ πρὶν μνημον καταπαυσέμεν κτλ.: Od. 5. 342 δοκείσι δέ μοι οὗκ ἀπινυσέσεων.

This use however is to be compared with that noticed above (§ 355), in which an οὗ which belongs in sense to the Infinitive is placed before the governing Verb; as οὗ φησιν δώσειν 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.) Π. 12. 156 οὗ δὲ ἐτ' ἐφαντο σχίσασθ' κτλ. and (a few lines further) 1. 125 ἐφαντό γὰρ ὅπερ ἀδίκητ' Ἀχιλλός σχίσασθ' κτλ. Occasionally the negative is used with the Verb and repeated with the Infinitive:—

Π. 17. 641 ἐπεὶ οὗ μν ὑδομαί οὗδὲ πεπύσατ(ερ. 12. 73).
Od. 3. 27 οὗ γάρ δῶ | οὗ σε θεὸν δεῖητι πεπύσατ κτλ.
It may be conjectured that the use of οὗ 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 οὗ: as Π. 4. 42 μη τι διατρίβειν τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον,

ἀλλά μ' εᾶσαι.
An Infinitive which stands as Object of a Verb of saying, &c. takes μη when it expresses command or wish: as Π. 3. 434 παῦσθαι κέλομαι μηδὲ κτλ. I bid you stop and not &c. (so 9. 12): Od.
I. 37 ἐπεί πρὸ ὧν ἐπομεν ἦμεῖς μήτ' κτλ. we told him before not to &c. So Od. 9. 530 δος μή 'Οδυσσῆα... ίκέσθαι grant that Ulysses may not come.

Again, a dependent Infinitive takes μή in oaths, as II. 19. 176 ὁμνεύω... μή ποτε τῆς εὐνη ἐπιβήμεναι κτλ. let him swear that he never &c.; cp. Od. 5. 184 ὅτων νῦν τόδε γαῖα... μή τι σοι αὐτῷ πήμα κακῶν βουλεύσῃς ἄλλο, and II. 19. 258 (but see § 358 b).

So generally after Verbs of promising, &c. as II. 14. 45 ὧς ποὺ ἐπηπειλησέν... μή πρὶν κτλ. threatened that he would not &c.;

II. 18. 500 ὅ ἀπαίνετο μηδὲν ἔλεσθαι 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 II. 19. 22 ὁτι ἐπεικές ἔργῳ ἐμεῖς ἀδελφῶν μηδὲ βροτὸν ἀνδρὰ τελέσωμαι, 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 μή μνηστεύσατες μηδ' ἄλλοθ' ὀμιλῆσαντες ὕστατα καὶ πῦματα νῦν ἐνθάδε δειπνήσειαν.

Here μή belongs to ὀμιλῆσαντες, 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 ἄλλοτε, cp. the parallel place Od. 11. 613 μὴ τεχνησάμενος μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσατο.

κεν and ἃν.

362.] The Particles κεν and ἃν, 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. κεν or ἃν indicates that an event holds a definite place in the expected course of things: in other words, κεν or ἃν points to an actual occurrence in the future.†

κεν is commoner in Homer than ἃν. In the existing text κεν occurs about 630 times in the Iliad, and 520 times in the Odyssey: while ἃν (including ἦν and ἐτήν) 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: κεν 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 Π. I. 168 ἐπεῖ κέ κάμω is now read on the authority of Aristarchus; but ἐπὴν κεκάμω and ἐπὴν κέ κάμω were also ancient readings, and ἐπὴν is found in all our MSS. Similarly in Π. 7. 5 Aristarchus read ἐπεῖ κέ κάμωσην, and the MSS. are divided between ἐπεῖ κέ and ἐπὴν κέ (or ἐπὴν κεκ.). There is a similar variation between the forms ἦν and εἶ κέ (or ἦν κε) in the phrases αἱ κ’ ἐθέλησθα, αἱ κ’ ἐθέλησι, &c. Thus in Π. 4. 353 (=9. 359) the MSS. nearly all have—

ὄψει ἦν ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἱ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη,

but αἱ κ’ ἐθέλησθα, which gives a better rhetorical effect, is found in Π. 8. 471 ὁψει αἱ κ’ ἐθέλησθα (so all MSS., ἦν ἐθ. as a v. l. in A), also in Π. 13. 260., 18. 457, Od. 3. 92, &c. Similarly in Π. 16. 453 ἐπεῖ δὴ τῶν γε ληπη the v. l. ἐπὴν is given by good MSS. (D, G, L, and as a variant in A). And the line Π. 11. 797 Μυρμιδόνων, αἱ κέν τι φῶς Δαναοῖς γέμησα is repeated in Π. 16. 39 with the variation ἦν πού for αἱ κεκ. 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 Π. 15. 209 ὡπότε ἀν ἴσαμορον ἐθέλησι both these reasons point to ὡπότε ἴσαμορον κτλ. So in Π. 2. 228 ἐντ’ ἄν πτολεμέρον ἔλοιμεν read εἴσπε πτ., and in Od. 11. 17 ὡθ’ ὡπότε ἄν στείχησιν read ὡθ’ ὡπότε (ὑπὲ κέ, 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 ἦν

* De particularum κέν et ἄν apud Homerum usu (Mnemosyne, xv. p. 75). The statistics given above are taken from this valuable dissertation.
and ἥν are post-Homeric. The contraction of ἐι ἄν, ἐπεῖ ἄν is contrary to Homeric analogies (§ 378*), and could hardly have taken place until ἄν became much commoner than it is in Homer. Again, the usage with regard to the order of the Particles excludes the combinations ἦν δέ, ἦν τερ, ἦν γάρ—for which Homer would have ἐι ἄν, ἐπεῖ ἄν, ἐι γάρ ἄν (§ 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 ἐι: e. g. in II. 1. 166 ἄνω ἦν ποτὲ δασμὸς ἤκηταί: Od. 5. 120 ἦν τίς τε φίλν τοῦσκετ' ἀκόίτην (ἡ τίς τε in several MSS.) : Od. 11. 159 ἦν μὴ τις ἐχρὶ εὐεργεία νήα: Od. 12. 288 ἦν πῶς ἐξαπίνης ἐλθη: II. 20. 172 ἦν τών πέφη (in a simile). Similar arguments apply with even greater force to ἥν. 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., II. 119., 15. 36., 21. 159) in which the reference to the future is so indefinite that ἐπεῖ with a pure Subj. is admissible. It cannot be accidental that in these places, with one exception (Od. 11. 192), ἥν is followed by a consonant, so that ἐπεῖ can be restored without any metrical difficulty. On the other hand, in 13 places in which ἥν is followed by a vowel the reference is to a definite future event, and accordingly we may read ἐπεῖ κ'. In the combination ἥν δή, which occurs seven times, we should probably read ἐπεῖ δή, or in some places ἐπεῖ κεφ (as in Od. 11. 221). The form ἐπειδὰν occurs once, in a simile (II. 13. 285): hence we should read ἐπεῖ δή (not ἐπεῖ κεφ, as Bekker and Nauck, or αἰ κεφ 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 φίλον τοῦσκετ' ἀκόιτην (in a general reflexion) Van Leeuwen would read αἰ κέν τίς τε: and in Od. 12. 288 ἦν πῶς ἐξαπίνης ἐλθη he proposes αἰ κέ που. So in II. 6. 489, Od. 8. 553 ἥν τα πρώτα γένηται (of the lot of man) he bids us read ἐπεῖ κε. If any change is wanted beyond putting ἐπεῖ for ἥν, the most probable would be ἐπεῖ τε: see § 332. On the other hand he would put ἐπεῖ for ἥν in such places as Od. 1. 293 αὐτὰρ ἥν δή ταῦτα τελευτῆσθαι τε καὶ ἔρθη (cf. Od. 5. 363., 18. 269), where a definite future occasion is implied, and consequently ἐπεῖ κεφ (which he reads in Od. 4. 414) would be more Homeric. In Od. 6. 262 αὐτὰρ ἥν πόλεος ἐκβηθομεν we should perhaps read ἐπεῖ κε πόλεος (ὦ) : see § 94, 2.

In a few places the true reading may be εἰ or ἐπεῖ with the Opt.: as Od. 8. 511 αἰσα γάρ ἦν ἀπολύσαι, ἐπεῖ πόλες ἀμφικαλύφῃ (ἐπεῖ...ἀμφικαλύφῃ, as in II. 19. 208 we should read ἐπεῖ τισαιμεθα): Od. 21. 237 (=383) ἦν δὲ τις...ἀκούσῃ μὴ τι ἔφραζε προβλάσκειν (ἐι δὲ τις...ἀκούσαι): II. 15. 504., 17. 245., 22. 55., 487.

The form δή ἄν occurs in our text in 29 places, and in 22 of these the metre admits ὅτε κ' (χ'), which Van Leeuwen accordingly would restore. The mischief however must lie deeper. Of the 22 places there are 13 in which δή ἄν appears in the leading clause of a simile (ὅσ δ' δή ἄν—), and in three
others (II. 2, 397, Od. 11. 18., 13. 101) the sense is general; so that ὅτε κε' is admissible in six only (II. 7. 335, 459., 8. 373, 475, Od. 2. 374,-4. 477). It cannot be an accident that there are so many cases of ὅτε κε' where Homeric usage requires the pure Subj., and no similar cases of ὅτε κεν: but for that very reason we cannot correct them by reading ὅτε κε'. 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 ἀν has encroached upon κεν in Homer, and another thing to show that there are no uses of ἀν which belong to the primitive Homeric language.

The restoration of κε(ν) is generally regarded as especially easy in the combination οὐκ ἀν, for which οὐ κεν 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 ἀν occurs 61 times in the ordinary text of Homer: while οὐ κεν occurs 9 times, and οὐ κε 7 times. Now of the forms κεν and κε the first occurs in the Iliad 272 times, the second 222 times. Hence, according to the general laws of probability, οὐ κεν and οὐ κε may be expected to occur in the same proportion: and in the ordinary text this is the case (9:7). But if every οὐκ ἀν were changed into οὐ κεν, there would be 70 instances of οὐ κεν against 7 of οὐ κε. This clearly could not be accidental: hence it follows that οὐκ ἀν must be retained in all or nearly all the passages where it now stands.* And if οὐκ ἀν is right, we may infer that the other instances of ἀν with a negative —22 in number—are equally unassailable.

Another group of instances in which ἀν is evidently primitive consists of the dactylic combinations ὅσ περ ἀν, ἣ περ ἀν, εἰ περ ἀν. Van Leeuwen would write ὅσ κέ περ, &c.; but in Homer περ usually comes immediately after the Relative or εἰ, and before κεν (§ 365). Similarly οὖδὲ γάρ ἀν (II. 24. 566) and τούφρα γάρ ἀν (Od. 2. 77) cannot be changed into οὐδὲ κε γάρ, τόφρα κε γάρ, since the order γάρ κεν is invariable in Homer. In these uses, accordingly, ἀν may be defended by an argument which was inapplicable to οὐκ ἀν, viz. the impossibility of making the change to κεν.

The same may be said of the forms in which ἀν occurs under the ictus of the verse, preceded by a short monosyllable (ο ν), as—

II. 1. 205 ἶς ὑπεροπληροι τάχ' ἀν ποτε θυμὸν ὀλέωσην.

Od. 2. 76 εἰ χ' ύμεῖς γε φάγοιτε, τάχ' ἀν ποτε καὶ τίς εἶπ.

II. 9. 77 τίς ἀν τάδε γηθήσει (σο τίς ἁν, II. 24. 367, Od. 8. 208, 10. 573).

* 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 κε. The decisive fact in that case was the excessive occurrence of κε: here it is the absence of any such excess which leads us to accept the traditional text.

8. 406 ὁφρ' ἐδή ἡλαυκὼπις ὄτρ' ἄν ὃ πατρὶ μᾶχται (= 420).

So καὶ ἄν and τὸ ἄν (see the instances, § 363, 2, e), σὺ ὁ ἄν (II. 6. 329), δὲ ἄν (Od. 21. 294, cp. Od. 4. 204., 18. 27, II. 7. 231). In this group, as in the last, we have to do with recurring forms, sufficiently numerous to constitute a type, with a fixed rhythm, as well as a certain tone and style.

The combination of ἄν and κεν in the same Clause is found in a very few places, and is probably not Homeric. In four places (II. 11. 187, 202, Od. 5. 361., 6. 259) we have ὁφρ' ἄν μὲν κεν κτλ., where the place of ἄν is anomalous (§ 365). For ὁφρ' ἄν κεν (II. 13. 127) we should probably read ὁφρ' ἄρ κεν, and so in Od. 9. 334 τὸ ὁδ ἄρ κε (or rather ὁδ ἄρ κε) καὶ ἡθέλων αὐτῶς ἐλέσθαι (cp. II. 7. 182 ὁδ ἄρ' ἡθέλουν αὐτοῖ). In Od. 18. 318 ἦν περ γάρ κε should be εἰ περ γάρ κε (supra).

363.] Uses of κεν and ἄν. 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 κεν or ἄν 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 κεν or ἄν prevails (§§ 282, 285, 288, 293, 304). But with certain Conjunctions (especially ὅς, ὅτως, ἴνα, ὁφρα) 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 κεν or ἄν when the governing Verb is in the Future, or in a Mood which implies a future occasion (Imperative, Subjunctive, Optative with κεν or ἄν). 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. II. 21. 111 ἐσσεται ἡ ἡγοῦ ἡ δειλη ἡ μέσον ἥμαρ ὀππότε . . . ἐληται, and the examples quoted in § 289, 2, a and § 292, a.

(b) In our texts of Homer there are many places in which κεν or ἄν is used although the reference is indefinite: but the number is much reduced if we deduct the places in which it is probable that κε (or κ') has crept in instead of τε (τ'): see § 283, b. The
real exceptions will generally be found where a Clause is added to restrict or qualify a general supposition already made:

II. 3. 25 μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθήει, εἴ περ ἄν αὐτόν σενώνται (even in the case when &c.).

Od. 21. 293 οἴνος σε τράωε μελινής, ὅσ τε καὶ ἄλλοις βλάττει, ὅσ ἄν μιν χαίνον 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 τί 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—

Π. 1. 324 εἶ δέ κε μὴ δόῃςων, ἕγῳ δέ κεν αὐτός ἐλωμαι κτλ.

In Disjunctive Sentences, as—

Π. 18. 308 στήσομαι, ἥ κε φέρηστι μέγα κράτος ἥ κε φεροῖμην.
Od. 4. 692 ἄλλοιν κ' ἐχθαίρρησι βροτῶν, ἄλλοιν κε φιλοῖν.

And in parallel and correlative Clauses of all kinds:—

Π. 3. 41 καὶ κε τὸ βουλοίμην καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον ἐὴ.
23. 855 δς μὲν κε βάλλῃ . . δς δέ κε μηρύνθου τύχῃ, κτλ.
Od. 11. 110 τὰς εἶ μὲν κ' ἄσυνέας ἔας νόστον τε μέδηαι, καὶ κεν ἐτ' εἰς 'Θάκην κάκα περ πάσχοντες ἵκουσθε:
εἶ δέ κε σύνηται κτλ.
ἄν, on the other hand, is especially used in the second of two parallel or connected Clauses: as—

Π. 19. 228 ἀλλὰ χρῆ τὸν μὲν καταθάπτεως ὑπὸ κε θάνησι . .

Od. 19. 329 ὅσοι δ' ἄν πολέμου περὶ στυγερότι θάνησει κτλ.

So Π. 21. 553 εἶ μὲν κεφ . . εἶ δ' ἄν κτλ.; Π. 3. 288 ff. εἶ μὲν κεφ εἶ δέ κε—εἶ δ' ἄν (the last an alternative to the second).

The only instance of ὅποτε ἐτέχθησιν in two parallel Clauses is—

Od. 11. 17 οὐθ' ὅποτ' ἄν ὀτέχθησιν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὀστερόντα

οὐθ' ὅτ' ἄν θανεῖ γαῖαν κτλ.

and there we ought to read ὅποτε ὀτέχθησιν, 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 κεφ. Thus the combination ἣ τ' ὅν surely in that case occurs 8 times in the Iliad, ἣ τ' κεφ only twice. Compare the force of καὶ ὅν in—

Π. 5. 362 (=457) ὅποτ' ὅν γε καὶ ἄν Δία πατρὶ μάχοιτο

Od. 6. 300 ἐμεῖα δ' ἄργυγνωτ' ἐστι, καὶ ἄν πάις ἐγήσαιτο.

So Π. 14. 244 ἄλλον μὲν κεφ . . ἐμεῖα κατευηγήταται, καὶ ἄν ποταμεῖ 

ῥέεθρα' Ὀκεανὸν Ι would put any other to sleep, even Oceanus, ἡς.

Cp. also τὸτ' ὅν (then indeed, then at length), in—

Π. 18. 397 τὸτ' ἄν πάθουν ἀλγεά θυμό.

22. 108 ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸτ' ἄν πολὺ κέρδιον εἶ θανό στλ.

24. 213 τὸτ' ἄν τίτα ἐργα γένοιτο.

Od. 9. 211 τὸτ' ἄν οὐ τοι ἀποσχέσσαθα φίλον ήπεν.

And τὶς ὅν (quae tandem) in Π. 9. 77 τὶς ἄν τάδε γηθήσεις; Π. 24. 367 τὶς ἄν θαν ὅτι τοι νῦν εἶπ; Od. 8. 208 τὶς ἄν φιλέουτι μάχοιτο; Od. 10. 573 τὶς ἄν θεὸν οὐκ ἐθέλουτα 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 ὅτι τοι χράσμη κῆθαρις 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 κεφ. We may find an analogy
in the orthotone and adversative ἀν, which stands to te 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 egone an illo injuria facimus? or indirect, as utrum scapulae plus an collus calli 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, Io 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 joculo 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, cho 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 heas ist mis nihundja (‘he willing to justify himself, said’): and who is my neighbour?’ John xviii. 37 an nuk thrudans 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 gataujan 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 véseina, aiththau kvéthjau if it were not so, I would have told you [= it is not so, else I would have told you].

John xiv. 7 ith kunthédéith mik, aiththau kunthédéith &c. if ye had known me, ye should have known &c.

Similarly thau is used (1) to translate ℣ 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 ἀν with Past Tenses, as—

Luke vii. 39 sa ith vési praufétes ufkunftedi thu 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 ἀν in the Greek)—the meaning being that of a solemn or emphatic Future:—

Mark xi. 26 ἵθα ἱπατι φίλι, ὥσπερ ἐὰν ἄφεσιν, ἀνθεῦ τι, ἀνθεῦ τι, ἀφέσιν if ye do not forgive neither will... forgive (οὐδὲ... ἀφήσει)

Matth. v. 20 ἐν πάντι ἀγαπήτι (except your righteousness shall exceed &c.) ye shall in no case enter &c. (οὐ μὴ εἰσέρχεσθε).

This use evidently answers to the Homeric καὶ or ἀν with the Subj. and Fut. Ind.: ni thau qvmith = οὐκ ἄν ἔλημεν, ni thau ἀφέσιν = οὐδὲ ἄν ἀφήσει.

4. If now we suppose that ἀν, like aitht' hau and than, 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 ἀν from the latter. The idiomatic 'ellipse' in ἦ γὰρ ἄν... ὑστατα λοβήσαυ else you would outrage for the last time will represent an intermediate or transitional use. We can then understand why ἀν 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 ἀν 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 than in Mark vi. 56 ἐβδομ ἐκεῖ ἕνα ἐνθα... ἀφάντα that they might touch if it were but &c. With ἔνα, ὅτι, &c. ἄν may have had originally the same kind of emphasis as καί 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 ὅταν θαυ... ὑπαγιναι (see we have no more) except we should buy (= unless indeed we should buy).

The Particle καὶ(ν) is found in Ἑλικ, in the same form as in Homer (see Append. F), and in Doric, in the form κα. It is usually identified with the Sanscrit kam, which when accented means will (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 wohi, but in any case the development of the use of καὶ(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 δῆ—πάθεϊν γε μέν, &c. Exceptions are to be found in II. 9. 46 εἰς ὅ κέ περ Τροῆν διαπέρσομεν (read perhaps εἰς ὅτε περ), II. 7. 387 εἰ κέ περ ἵμμι... γένοιτο, Od. 3. 321 ὅθεν τέ περ, II. 8. 243 αὐτοῦ δῆ περ ἔσον.
2. μὲν and δὲ, also τε in its use as a connecting word, come before other Particles. Hence we have oi δὲ δὴ—εἰ δὲ κεν—ἐγὼ δὲ κε τοι—εἰ δ' ἄν—οὐ μὲν γὰρ—οὔτε κε—οὔτ' ἄρα, &c.

μὲν may be placed later when it emphasises a particular word, or part of a clause, especially in view of a following clause with δὲ, as II. 9. 300 εἰ δὲ τοι Ἀρτρείδης μὲν ἄπτὴκτετο . . . ὁ δ' ἄλλους περ κτλ., Od. 4. 23., 11. 385., 18. 67, &c.; and in such collocations as σοι δ' ἥ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ κτλ., ἤδη ἥ τοι τοὺς μὲν κτλ. Cp. also Od. 15. 405 οὗ τι περιπληθής λίπν τόσον, ἀλλ' ἀγαθή μὲν.

The form ὅφφ' ἄν μὲν κεν is probably corrupt, see § 362 ad fin.

3. Of the remaining Particles γὰρ comes first: as ἦ γὰρ κε—τίς γὰρ κε—εἰ περ γὰρ κε—τόφρα γὰρ ἄν—ὁς γὰρ νῦ τοι, &c. Among the other Particles note the sequences καὶ νῦ κεν—ἐξ ἄρα δή—ὁππότε κεν δή—ὁ ὅ νυ—τίς τοι νῦ. But ἄρα is sometimes put later in the clause, as ὃς εἰπὼν κατ ἄρ' ἐξετο, cp. II. 5. 748 Ἡρη δὲ μάστιγι θοὺς ἐπιμαλέτ' ἄρ' ἰπποὺς.

τε in its generalising use comes after other Particles: hence δὲ τε—μὲν τε—γὰρ τε—ἀλλὰ τε—δ' ἄρα τε—ὁς ὅτα τε—οὔτ' ἄρ τε—οὐ νῦ τε.

4. The Indefinite τίς and the corresponding Adverbs, ποι, πῶς, πῶ, ποτέ, &c. follow the Particles. Hence we have ὅτε κέν τίς— αἵ κέν πῶς—οὖ' ἀν ποτέ—οὖν ρὰ τίς—ο洿 ποὺ—νῦ ποὺ—ὁ ποῦ τί σε, &c.

But τε follows τίς (§ 332), as in καὶ γὰρ τίς τε, ὃς τίς τε. And sometimes ὃς τίς is treated as a single word, as in ὅ ν τινα μὲν (II. 2. 188), ὃς τίς δέ (II. 15. 743), ὃς 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 εὶ δή ποτε.

τίς sometimes comes later, as II. 4. 300 ὅφφα καὶ ὁ ώκ ἔθελων τίς κτλ., especially after a Gen. which it governs, as II. 13. 55 σφῶν δ' ὁδ' θεων τίς κτλ.; cp. also II. 22. 494 τῶν δ' ἐλεησάντων κοτύλη τίς τυτθόν ἐπέσχεν, and Od. 21. 374.

So ποτε, as in II. 4. 410 τῷ μη μοι πατέρας ποθ' ὀμοίη ἐνθεο τιμη, II. 6. 99 οὐδ' 'Ἀχιλῆδ' θοῦ δὲ 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: oū ποτε με—ἡ πῇ με—οὐδὲ νῦ πώ με—οὐ γὰρ πώ ποτε μοι—ἐγὼ δὲ κε τοι—ἐπεί ἄρ κε σε—ὁππότε κέν μεν—αἵ κέν πῶς μιν—οὖ γὰρ πώ σφιν—ἡ ποῦ τίς σφιν, &c.

Sometimes however an enclitic form follows the emphatic Pronoun αὖτος: as II. 5. 459 αὖταρ ἐπειτ' αὐτῷ μοι ἐπέσσυτο, II. 22. 346 αἰ γὰρ 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 οὐδ' ἐβαλόν μὲν (v. l. οὐδ' ἐδάμασσα), 5. 104 εἶ ἔτεον με, 7. 79 ὄφρα πυρὸς με, 11. 380 ὡς ὀφελόν τοι: so with τις, II. 4. 315 ὡς ὀφελέων τις; and without bucolic caesura, II. 17. 736 ἐπὶ δὲ πτόλεμος τέτατο σφυν.

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, ποτέ, &c. follow οὐ or μή: as μετάλλησάν γε μέν οὐ τι (for οὐ μέν τι μετάλλησάν γε), κείνοις δ' ἄν οὐ τις (for οὐ δ' ἄν τις κείνοις), σὺν δὲ μή τι, τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτέ, &c. Similarly καὶ and ἄν are attracted to the negation, as in πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἄν ἐγὼ (for οὐκ' ἄν ἐγὼ πληθὺν), and when the negative is repeated, as in ὥδε γὰρ οὐδὲ κεῖ τι κτλ.: cp. Od. 15. 321 δρηστοσύνη οὐκ ἄν μοι ἐξεσεῖ βροτὸς ἄλλος.

7. The place of the enclitic is perhaps explained by the pause of the verse in Od. 15. 118 δο' ἔδος δόμως ἀμφεκάλυψε | κείσε με μοστήσατα, Od. 14. 245 αὔτάρ ἐπεισε | Ἀγυπτόνδε με κτλ. (unless we read κείσε' ἐμε, Ἀγυπτόνδε' ἐμε, cp. Od. 16. 310); and so in—

II. 1. 205 ἄν ύπεροπλάρη τάχ' ἄν ποτε θυμὸν ἀλέσθη.
   1. 256 ἄλλοι τε Τρώες μέγα κεν κεκαροῖοτα θυμῷ.
   5. 362 Τυδέδης, δς νῦν γε καλ ἄν Δι ιπτρ μάχοιτο.
   22. 108 ὡς ἐρέωσιν' ἐμοι δὲ τότ' ἄν πολύ κέρδιον ἐχ.  

Od. 1. 217 ὡς δὴ ἐγὼ γ' ὀφελον μάκαρος νῦ τεν ἐμεναι νίός.

The second half of the line is treated as a fresh beginning of a sentence.

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—

II. 3. 173 ὥς ὀφελεν βάνατος μοι ἀδείν. Read ὡς μ' ὀφελεν βάνατος θαδείν: for the elision μ' (οι) cp. II. 6. 165 δς μ' ὀθέλεν φιλοτι ήμημέναι (§ 376).

II. 6. 289 ἐνθ' ἐσαν οι τέτλοι κτλ. Read ἐνθ' δ' ἐσαν (see § 376). Similarly in II. 20. 282 καὶ δ' άχοι οι χύτο Van Leeuwen reads καὶ δ' ἄχοι χύτο.

Od. 1. 37 ἐπὶ τρό πρὸ οι εἴπομεν ἥμες. Bekker would omit πρὸ (Hom. Bl. ii. 21).

Od. 2. 327 ἐπει νῦ περ ἐταί αἰῶνς (read νῦ τε ήταν τ;).  

Od. 15. 436 ὅρκῳ πιστεθήναι ἀπήμονα μ' οἰκαβ' ἀπάξεν. Omit μ'.

Od. 11. 218 ἀλλ' αὑτὴ δίκη ἐστι βροτῶν, ὅτε κέν τε βάναυσα, with v. l. (in five MSS.) ὅτε τίς κε βάναυσα. Read ὅτε τίς τε βάναυσα (§ 289 ad fin.).

II. 20. 77 τού γὰρ ἐκ μάλιστα ἐ θυμὸς ἀνώγει: so Aristarchus, but the other ancient reading was μάλιστα γε.

II. 21. 576 εἶ περ γὰρ φθάμενοι μὲν η νύπτας κτλ.: for μὲν the 'city-editions' had τις, but neither word is needed.

Od. 7. 261 (=14. 287) ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὄγδον μοι ἐτεπλάμενον ἄτο χάθειν: Dind. reads ὄγδατον, to avoid the unusual synizesis. Read ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μ' ὄγδων: an earlier ὄγδων (=Lat. octávus) is almost necessary to account for ὄγδως (Brugmann, M. U. v. 37). Z
II. 5. 273 εἰ τούτω νέ η λάβομεν κτλ. For κε (without meaning here) read γε.
II. 14. 403 ἵππον τέτραπτο προς ἱππον. The sense seems to require πρὸς ἱππον in the direction of his aim, cp. πᾶσαν ἵππον for every aim, ἵππον straight onwards (II. 21. 303, Od. 8. 377).
II. 24. 53 μη... νεμεσοψηθομέν οί ἰμεῖς. Read-θομεν, omitting οι.

A less strict usage may be traced in the 10th book of the Iliad : cp. 1. 44 ἦ τίς κε, 242 εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐπαρὰν γε κελευτέ μ' αὐτὸν ἔλεοςαι, 280 νῦν αὐτε μᾶλλον μὲ φίλαι, 344 ἄλλα ἵωμεν μιν, 453 οὖντε' ἐπείτα σοὶ πῆμα πορ' ἔσσει. The subject, however, needs more detailed investigation.

CHAPTER XIV.

METRE AND QUANTITY.

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 ictus 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 — ὰ ὰ — which marks the end of each hexameter.

The last foot is probably to be regarded as a little shorter than the others, the time 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—

 HttpServletResponse. 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 κατά τρίτον τροχαίον), as—

άνδρα μοι ἐννεπε Μοῦσα | πολύτροπον ὅς μάλα πολλά.

The strong caesura, or 'caesura after the fifth half-foot' (τομή πενθημιμερής), is rather less common: as—

μίνων δειδε, θεά, | Πηληνίάδων Ἀρχιλήος.

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 (τομή ἐφόθημερής), as—

ὅς κε θεοὶς ἐπιπείθηται | μάλα τ' ἔκλυνον αὐτόν

"Ηρη τ' ἣδε Ποσειδάων | καὶ Παλλᾶς 'Αθήνη.

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—

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σιτοῖ τ' | ἐπαστάμεθ' ἣδε ποτήτος

not σιτοῖ τε παστάμεθ' (as La Roche).

The remaining exceptions to these rules are—

Π. 1. 179 οὐκαδ' ἴδων σὺν νησὶ τε σῆς καὶ σοῖς ἑτάροις, which is an adaptation of the (probably conventional) form σὺν νησὶ τ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἴμοις ἑτάροις (1. 183). We may help the rhythm by taking νησὶ τε σῆς closely together, so as to avoid the break in the middle of the line.

Π. 3. 205 ἢδη γὰρ καὶ δεύρω ποτ' ἥλυθε δύο Ἄδωνσειν.
Π. 10. 453 οὐκ' ἐπειτ' ἐπείτα σῷ πήμα ποτ' ἐσσει Ἀργείσαι.

Where ποτὲ, 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—

Π. 3. 220 φαίης κε ζάκοτον τ' τίν' ἐμμενιν ἀφονά τ' αὖτως, τῶν may be slightly emphatic. Or should we read τῶν ἐμμενι;?
Π. 15. 18 ἵ ὦ μέμην ὅτε τ' ἐκείμων ὑψάνει, ἐκ τε ποδόβην.

We may read ὅτε τε κρήμω: 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 monosyllable (such as μέν, δὲ, &c.); as—
kal kev τοῦτ᾽ ἐθέλομι Διὸς γε διδόντος ἀρέσθαι.

(2) when the line ends with a word of four or five syllables; as—
aυτάρ ὁ μοῦνος ἐνυ μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτησιν.
polla δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθ᾽ ἵθοσ | 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—
Θερσίτ᾽ ἀκριτόμυθε, λειγὺς περ ἔων 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—
Πηλεύς θῆν μοι ἔπειτα γυναίκα | γαμέσοσται αὐτός.

But we should doubtless read, with Aristarchus,—

γυναίκα γε μάσοσται αὐτός.

Similarly we should probably read τὰ δὲ μ’ οὖκ ἄρα μέλλον ὄνησεω (Il. 5. 205, &c.), instead of ἐμελλον: and conversely δ᾽ ἐμαίνετο χαίτη (II. 17. 439), and ῥαφαι δ᾽ ἐλένυντο ἵμαντων (Od. 22. 186), instead of μιαίνετο, λένυτο. In Od. 5. 272 we may treat ὑφὲ ὑδώνα as one word in rhythm. But it is not easy to account for the rhythm in Od. 12. 47 ἔτι δ᾽ οὖντ᾽ ἀλείψαι ἐταῖρων.

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 — ὑ — ὑ — ὑ | ὑ — ὑ — ὑ — ὑ
Worst diaeresis — ὑ — ὑ — ὑ — ὑ | — ὑ — ὑ — ὑ

Again—

Best diaeresis — ὑ — ὑ — ὑ — ὑ — — | — — — —
Worst caesura — ὑ — ὑ — ὑ — ὑ — — | — — — —

It is also common to find a diaeresis with a slight pause after the first foot; cp. the recurring ὅς φάτο, ὅς ἔφατ', ὅς ὅ γε, αὐτὰρ ὅ, and forms of address, as τέκνου, δαμώνι, ὁ φίλοι, ὁ πόποι, &c. Hence the occasional hiatus in this place, as Il. 2. 209 ἤχυ, ὅς κτλ., II. 1. 333 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐγνω ᾧσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ.

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' ἐξον ἐν χερσίν ἐκηθολον Ἀτόλλωνος.

Ἀρεὶ δὲ ξώνη, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

It is also found with words of three long syllables, as—

τῷ δ' ἂν ὄν γενεαὶ μερότων ἄνθρωπων.

And once or twice when the last word is a monosyllable: as

νομήσαι βῶν (II. 7. 238), ἔστηκει μεῖς (II. 19. 117).

A spondee in the fifth place ought not to end with a word.

Hence we should correct the endings ἄν διαν &c. by reading ἄνα, and ἄνῳ φήμας (Od. 14. 239), by restoring the archaic ἄνῳ. In

Od. 12. 64 the words λίς πέτρη at the end of the line are scanned

Words of three long syllables are very seldom found before the

Bucolic diaeresis. Examples are:—

II. 13. 713 οὐ γάρ σφι σταδίη | ύσμινη | μύμεν φίλον κήρ.

Od. 10. 492 ψυχὴ χρησομένων | Ἐθήλαον | Τειρεσίαο.

The rarity of verses with this rhythm may be judged from the

fact that it is never found with the oblique cases of ἄνθρωπος

(ἄνθρωπον &c.), although these occur about 150 times, and in

every other place in the verse: or with ἄλληλαων &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 (φύσει), 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 ὄφις, ὄφρος, ὄμφη, ὄμβρος

are different in length; and so again are the first syllables of

'Ωτος, ὄτρυνον. Again, the diphthongs η, ϊ, &c. are longer than

the single vowels η, ο, &c., and also longer than the diphthongs

eι, ει, οι, ου. In short, the poetical 'quantities' must not be sup-

pposed 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 syll-

ables 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 neuhochdeutschen 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,
'Αμφιτρών, βροτών, τράπεζα, προσήδα, &c.

(3) The remaining exceptions are nearly all instances in which
the vowel is separated by Diaeresis from the following con-
sonants: as Π. 18. 122 καὶ τινὰ Τροιάδων, 24. 795 καὶ τὰ γε
χροπειν.

The chief exceptions in Homer are as follows*:

τρ : in 'Αμφιτρών, ἐτράφυν (Π. 23. 84—but see the note on § 42 in the
Appendix, p. 390), τετράκυκλον (Π. 24. 324), φαρέτρης (Π. 8. 323), Ὀστρωτεύος
(Π. 20. 383–4); and in ἀλλότριος (unless we scan -ως, -ου, &c.).
Before τράπεζα, τρίανα, τρίτη (τρίήκοντα, &c.), τραπείομεν (τράποντο, προ-τραπέ-
σαι, &c.), τράγους, τροποίς, τρέψει (Οδ. 5. 422., 13. 410), τροφοῦ (Οδ. 19. 489),
τρέμον (Οδ. 11. 527).

Before a diaeresis, καὶ τινὰ Τροιάδων (Π. 18. 122).

τρ : in ἀλλοπρόσαλλος (Π. 5. 831); before προσήδα, πρόσωπον, προῖκτης, πρόω,
and other Compounds of πρό and πρό (προκειμένα, προσαίγας, &c.); also before
πρός ἄλλοσ, πρὸ ἄστεος, and one or two similar phrases (cp. Π. 13. 799,
17. 726).

334., 17. 597); πρῶτος (Οδ. 3. 320., 17. 275), προσφάδαι (Οδ. 23. 106).

κρ : in διακριόμεν (Οδ. 18. 173), διακριμένων (Οδ. 19. 122), ἑνέκρισε (Οδ. 5. 488),
νεκρομένα (Οδ. 23. 110).

Before Κρονίας, Κρόνου παῖς, κραταιός, Κραταῖς, κράτος μέγα (Π. 20. 121), κρά-
νεια, κραφρόν, κραδαία, κραστάναι, κρεών.

Add Π. 11. 697 ἐκλεῖτο κραμάνενος; Οδ. 8. 92 κατὰ κράτα (κακὰ κράτα;?), 12. 99
δὲ τε κράτι.

βρ : in βροτός and its derivatives, as ἀβρότη, ἀμφίβροτος: also before βραχίων.

δρ : in ἀμφιδρόφις (Π. 2. 700), and before δράκων, Δράος, δράμους. Also Π.
11. 69 τὰ δὲ δράγματα (unless we read δάργματα, as Hartel suggests).

Θρ : in ἀλλό-θροος (Οδ. 1. 183, &c.), and before θρώνων, &c. and θρασιάων.
Also in Π. 5. 462 ἡγήτορε Θηριάων.

* They are enumerated by La Roche, Homerische Untersuchungen, pp. 1–41,
with his usual care and completeness.
POSITION.

\[ \phi r: \text{in 'Aphroditi' and Od. 15. 444 ἤμιν \delta' ἐπι-φράσσετ' ὀλεθρον. Cr. Hes. Op. 655 προτεφραδεῖνα.} \]

\[ \chi r: \text{before χρεος or χρέως (Od. 8. 353): and in II. 23. 186 ῥοδόντι δὲ χρίεν, II. 24. 795 καὶ τὰ γε χρυσεῖν.} \]

\[ τὰ: \text{in σχετίνη (II. 3. 414), which however may be scanned −−.} \]

\[ ϕλ: \text{in Πάτροκλε (II. 19. 287), ἐκλίθ (Od. 19. 470—should perhaps be read ἐτέρωτο κλίθος), προσέκλει (Od. 21. 135, 165—read perhaps πρόσκλινοι οὐ κλίνει): and before Κλευμανήστρη, Κλευναί, κλύδων, κλεθάνοι, κλεθήναι (Od. 1. 366). Also, in Od. 12. 215 τῦπτετε κληδέσας, 20. 92 τῆς δ' ἀρα κλαίοντας.} \]

\[ πλ: \text{in the Compounds τείχεοι-πλῆτα (II. 5. 31, 455), πρωτό-πλοος, προσέπλαζε (Od. 11. 583—read perhaps πρόσ-πλαζε): be before Πλάταια, πλέον σαλλίνε, πλέον more (II. 10. 252), πλέον full (Od. 20. 355). Add II. 9. 382 (= Od. 4. 127) Agnus-\text{tías, ἃθι πλείστα (with v. i. ἅ πλείστα, ep. Od. 4. 229), and II. 4. 329 ἀυτὰρ ἰ πλησαῖν.} \]

\[ χλ: \text{in Od. 10. 234 καὶ μέλι χλαδρόν, 14. 429 ἄμφι δὲ χλαίναν.} \]

To these have to be added the few very examples of a vowel remaining short before σκ and ξ: viz. —

\[ σκ: \text{before Σκάμανδρος, σκέπαρνων (Od. 5. 237, 9. 391), σκέι (Hes. Op. 589).} \]

\[ ξ: \text{before Ζάκυνθος (II. 2. 634, Od. 1. 246, &c.), Ζέλεια (II. 2. 824, &c.).} \]

\[ στ: \text{before στιάτος in Od. 21. 178, 183—unless it is a case of Synizesis.} \]

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 τρ and τρ, less so before χρ, 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 'Aphroditi, 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 λιπόσο ἄνδρότητα καὶ Ἀδρότης, should probably be written ἄδρότης. As the original μ of βροτός becomes either μβρ (as ἄ-μβροτος, φθισ-μβροτος), or βρ (as νίς-δ-βρότη, ἀμφ-βροτος), so νρ might become νδρ (as ἄ-δρός), or δρ. So perhaps Ἐναλίῳ ἄνδρειφόντῃ should be Ἐναλίῳ ἄδρειφόντῃ (οὐοὐ): cp. ἄνδρε-φόνος (Hdn. ap. Eustath. 183, 6).
The plea on which a short vowel is allowed before Σκάμανθος and σκίταρνος may be extended, as Fick points out (Bezz. Beitr. xiv. 316), to some forms of οἰκίδημοι now written without the σ, viz. κέδασθεν (Π. 15. 657), κεδασθείνετε, &c. Metrical necessity, however, would not justify the same license with οἰκίδημα (εἰκιδησιαν II. 2. 850, &c.), ε-σκιτάτο, ε-σκίδασα (for which εἰκιδασία 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 createView(v), 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 πετρωταί (Cypria), πάτρι (Little Iliad), τ'Αχισαο κλυτών κτλ. (ibid.), ἄκριβεα (Iliupersis).

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 λόςσομαι, λήγω, λείβω, λιγός, λιαρός, λιπαρός, λίς, λαπάρη, λόφος, and occasionally in a few others: but not (e.g.) in such frequently occurring words as Λύκιος, λέχος, λείπω.

μ, in μέγας, μέγαφον, μοίρα, μαλακός, μέλος, μελή, μάστιξ, μόδος: but not (e.g.) μάχομαι, μέτος, μέλας, μάκαρ, μύδος.

ν, in νεορή, νέφος, νεφάς, νύμφη, νότος, νύσσα: once only before νέος (Π. 13. 472): not before νέκος, νός, νέμεσις, &c.

σ, in σεύω, σάρξ: once before σύ (Π. 20. 434), and once before συφεός (Od. 10. 238).

δ, in δέος, δεινός, δει-σας &c. (Stem δθει-), 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, πολλὰ λωσομένη (Π. 5. 358, so Π. 21. 368., 22. 91), πυκνὰ ῥωγαλέν (Od. 13. 438, &c.), πολλὰ ρυστάξεσεν (Π. 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 ῥημων, ποτὶ λόφον, ὑπὸ λιπαροίς, κατὰ μοίραν, ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ, κατὰ μόδον, διὰ νεφέων, ἀπὸ νεμήφων, κατὰ συφειώση, κατὰ δεινοῦς, ἐπὶ δηρῶν, and similar combinations.

(2) In fixed phrases: ἄς τε λίς (Π. 11. 239., 17. 109., 18. 318), κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως (Od. 10. 201, &c.), ἀπήμονα τε λιαρόν τε (Π. 14. 164, &c.), καλὴ τε μεγάλη τε, εἰδὸς τε μέγεθος τε, Τρώες δὲ μεγά-
LENGTHENING BEFORE LIQUIDS. 345

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, Homerische Untersuchungen (pp. 49-65); Hartel, Homerische Studien (Pt. i. pp. 1-55); and Knös, De Digamma Homeric Quaestiones (Pt. iii. 225 ff.).
the form πτόλις, in ποτὶ πτόλιος, 'Αχιλλῆα πτολιτορθων, &c.: πτόλεμος, in μέγα πτολέμιο μεμήλω, ἀνὰ πτολέμιο γεφύρας. Similarly a primitive γόντως survives in ἐρι-γόντως (also ἐρι-δόοτως), ε-γούπτησε: and γνώσ in ἀ-γυρέων. Cp. also the pairs σμικρός and μικρός, σκίδναμαι and κίδναμαι, σώς and ὁς, ἕων and σέων. It is at least conceivable that in the same way the poet of the Iliad said μοιραν and also κατὰ σμοιραν, μειδίασων but φίλο-σμειδης, δήν ἤν at the beginning of a line, but μάλα 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 vr or sr. And among the words with initial ν a fair proportion can be shown to have begun originally with σν (νευρή, ννῶς, νυφᾶς, νέω, νύμφη). 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 τ of the Dat. Sing. The final τ 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:—

η βα, καὶ ἐν δεινῷ σάκει ἔλαος' ὀβριμον ἐγχος.
οὐτώ ποιν Διῖ μέλλει ὑπερμενεί φίλον εἰναι (thrice in the II.).
τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὁδατι (Od. 10. 520, 11. 28).
αὐτοῦ πάρ νη τε μένειν (Od. 9. 194, 10. 444).
ἡ λύθον ἐλκοστῷ ἐτεί ἐς κτλ. (5 times in the Od.).

So in Αιαντὶ δὲ μάλιστα, Ὀδυσσῆι δὲ μάλιστα, &c. and the fixed epithet Διῖ φίλος. Considering also that this vowel is rarely elided (§ 376), it becomes highly probable that τ as well as ι was originally in use.†

It is an interesting question whether these traces of τ as the ending of the Homeric Dat. are to be connected with the occasional τ of the Locative in the Veda (Brugmann, Gründr. 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 rhythmical, 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 τ 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.

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 'Οδυσσεί' it may be that the Greek poet treats it as a license, which he takes advantage of in order to avoid the impossible quantities ω—ω (cp. Διόρφωτερος for the unmetrical Διώρφωτερος).

374.] Final α. 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 -a as the ending of the Neut. Plur. We have—

Il. 5. 745 (= 8. 389) ἐς ὀξεα φλόγεα ποσὶ βῆσετο.
8. 556 φαίνετ' ἀριστρέπεσ' ὅτε κτλ.
11. 678 (Od. 14. 100) τόσα πόεα οἶων (v. l. μῆλων).
20. 255 πόλι' ἐτεὶ τε καὶ οὐκί.
21. 352 τὰ περὶ καλὰ ρέθρα.
23. 240 ἀριστράδεα δὲ τέτυκται.
24. 7 ὀπόσα τολύπευσε.
Od. 9. 109 ἀσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα.
10. 353 πορφύρεα καθύπερθ'.
12. 396 ὀπταλέα τε καὶ ὁμά.
14. 343 βωγαλέα, τὰ καὶ αὐτός.
23. 225 ἀριστράδεα κατέλεξας.

In the majority of these instances, however, the final α is preceded by the vowel ε, from which it was originally separated by a spirant (ὦξε-α, πορφύρε-α). Cp. Il. 1. 45 ἄμφιρεφεά τε φαρέτρην, 5. 576 Πυλαμένεα ἑλήπην, 5. 827 Ἀρηᾶ τὸ γε, 14. 329 Περσήλα πάντων, Od. 1. 40 ἐκ γαρ Ὀρέσσαί τίσιν. As two successive vowels are often found to interchange their quantity (βασιλῆα, 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 ictus, to count as a long syllable. Cp. § 375, 3.

The scanning εα (in Il. 4. 321 ελ τότε κοῦρος ἐὰ νῦν κτλ., cp. 5. 887, Od. 14. 352) may be explained by transference of quantity, from ἓα.

375.] Short syllables ending in a consonant are also occasionally lengthened in arsis, although the next word begins with a vowel: as—

οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον ἀμα λαῷ ἑωρηχθήναι.
αἴθ' ὀψελε ἱγουότς τ' ἐμεναι κτλ.
χεροῖν ὑπ' Ἀργελών φθίμενος ἐν πατρίδι γαῖῃ.

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 ὃς following the word to which it refers: as II. 2. 190 κακὸν ὃς (Ὁ — ὥ), and so θέος ὃς, κυνὲς ὃς, δρυνθῆς ὃς, ἄδανναρος ὃς, &c. In these instances the lengthening may be referred to the original palatal ὣ or ὅ of the Pronoun (Sanser. yas, γά, γαδ—ὁς, ἥ, ὅ). It is not to be supposed that the actual form ὃς 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 ὃς as 'Fῶς (Sanser. sva-), comparing Gothic sev‘as' (Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 98); or σῶς (§ 108, 3).

(2) In the case of some words ending with -ις, -ων, -υς, -υν, where the vowel was long, or at least 'doubtful,' in Homer.

In βλοστρόπις and ἕνις the final syllable is long before a vowel even in thesis. So the may have been long in θοῦρις (cp. the phrase θοῦριν ἐπειμένοις ἄλκνιν: and traces of the same scansion may be seen in the phrases ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμανά, Δις μὴτιν ἄταλαντος, although ἐρίς, μῆτις are more common.

Final -υς (Gen. -υς) is long in Feminine Substantives (§ 116, 4), as ἰθῦς αἴμ (ἢ in thesis, II. 6. 79., 21. 303), πληθῦς (Π. 11. 305), ἀχλῦς (Π. 20. 421), λῦς (Gen. -ῦς), βρωτῦς (Od. 18. 407) and other Nouns in -ῦς: also in the Masc. ἱχῦς, νέκυς, βότρυς (βοτρῦδων), and perhaps τέλευς (Π. 17. 520).

(3) Where the vowel of the final syllable is preceded by another, especially by a long vowel; as οἰκῆς ἀλοχῶν τε (Π. 6. 366), Ἀχιλλῆς ἀλοχὼν κῆρ (Π. 14. 139), ὃς λαῶν ἡγείρα (Od. 2. 411), δομῆς ἐν ὀδῷ (Od. 11. 190), πλεύσων ἐλέειπτο (Od. 8. 475), χρείος ὑπαλύξαι (with u, l. χρεῖως, Od. 8. 355): and so in νῆς (α, Π. 2. 165., 18. 260), νῆς (Od. 12. 329), Τρῶς (Π. 17. 730), βῶδς (Π. 11. 776), also 'Ἀρρα, Περσήα, 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.  349

vowel, as in the Attic forms βασιλέα, '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 ictus it can form the arsis of a foot. Actual lengthening of the second vowel may be seen in Homer in the form ἀτ-ἡφασ ης hanging loose (ep. μετ-ἡφας and the later μετ-ἔφας) also in δυσάνων (Gen. Plur. of δυσάνης).

(4) In the Ending -oiv of the Dual, as ὁμοίων (II. 13. 511., 16. 560, Od. 6. 219), ἱπποίων, σταθμοίων: also in νοίων, σφαίρων. We may compare the doubtful i of ημίων, ὑμίων, and the two forms of the Dat. Plur. in Latin (-ūs, -ūs). Similarly there are traces of i in μίν (II. 5. 385., 6. 501., Io. 347., 11. 376, &c.). In the case of -oiv and -oiv the account given under the last head would apply.

In a few places it appears as though the 3 Plur. of Secondary Tenses in -v (for -v) were allowed to be long: as ἕραν ἄμιντες (Od. 9. 413), καὶ κύνεον ἄγαμαξόμενοι (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: 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 (ἐκθλαφις): as μυρί 'Αχαιώς ἄλγε' 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 a, e, o, i. But—

(1) The ό of ὀ, τό, πρό is not elided.
Final -o is not elided in the Gen. endings -oio, -άιο, and very rarely in the Pronouns ἐμείοιο, &c. This however may be merely because the later forms of these endings, viz. -ou, -εω, -ευ, took the place of -οι(ο), -αι(ο), -ει(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 Πηληνίαδεω 'Αχιλῆος (l. Πηληνίαδα'): and by the rarity of the contraction of εο to ευ (§ 378*). There is less to be said for elision of -o in the ending -oio. That ending in Homer is archaic (§ 149), therefore the presumption is against emendations which increase the frequency of its occurrence. And the cases of -εω remaining long before hiatus are not exceptionally common (Hartel, Π. Σ. ii. 6).

(2) The ι of τι, περι is not elided in Homer; regarding ιτω see § 269. But περι is elided in Hesiod: as περιχεται, περιάχει.

(3) The -i of the Dat. Sing. is rarely elided; but see § 105, 1. Exceptions are to be seen in II. 4. 259 ἦδ' εν δαίθ' ὀτε κταλ.; 5. 5
The diphthong -ai of the Person-Endings -μαι, -σαι, -ται, -ται is frequently elided: as βουλή' ἐγώ, κείσοντ' ἐν προθυρίῳ, πρὶν λόγασθ' ἔταρνοι. But not the -αι of the i Aor. Inf. Act. or of the Inf. in -αι: hence in II. 21. 323 read τυμβοξῆι, not the Inf. τυμβοξοῦ'.

The diphthong -oι of the enclitic Pronouns μοι and σοι (τοι) is elided in a few places: II. 6. 165 ὃς μ' ἐθελεν φιλότητι μιγήμεναι οὐκ ἔθελον; 13. 481 καὶ μ' οὐφ ἀμύνετε (so Od. 4. 367); 17. 100 τῷ μ' οὖν τις νεμεσίστηται: also II. 1. 170, 9. 673, 13. 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 ὃς ὀφέλεις θανάτος μοι ἄδειον should probably be ὃς μ' ὀφέλεις θανάτος ἄδειον (§ 365); and in II. 24. 757 νῦν δὲ μοι ἔροισες Van Leeuwen reads νῦν δὲ μ' ἔροισες.

In the case of the enclitic οι ('Foi) elision involved the disappearance of the Pronoun from the later text. In II. 6. 289 (= Od. 15. 105) ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι the original was probably ἔνθα 'F'(οι) ἔσαν (cp. Od. 15. 556 ἔνθα οἱ ἠσάν 'Fes). In II. 5. 310 (= 11. 356) ἄμφι δὲ οὐκ σε κελανή νὺξ ἐκάλυψε read ἄμφι δὲ 'F'. In Od. 9. 360 ὃς φάρ', ἀτάρ οἱ αὐτίς, where some MSS. have ὃς ἐφαρ', αὐτάρ οἱ αὐτίς, read αὐτάρ 'F'.

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 οὐθέκα and τοῦνεκα, also in τάλλα for τὰ ἄλλα (II. 1. 465, &c.), καῦτος for καὶ αὐτὸς (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 χήμείς (II. 2. 238). In these cases either Crasis or Elision is required by the metre. Most texts also have ἄριστος, οὖμος (II. 8. 360), ὄμως for ὅ αὐτός (II. 5. 396), κάι, τώμω, τῇμί: also προῦ- for προ-ε (in προύθαινε, προὔχουσας, &c.). But since the full forms ὅ ἄριστος, &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 ἐπει μ' ἀφέλοεθ' ἕν δόντες or χειρὶ δὲ νεκταρέων ήκεον 'F' εἰτίφατε λαβοῦσα.
SYNIZESIS—CONTRACTION.

378.*] Syntnesis is the term used when the two coalescing vowels are written in full, but 'sink together' (συνιζάω) into one syllable in pronunciation.

The Particle δι unites with the initial vowel of a following vowel, especially with αὖ, αὐτός and οὖτως (§ 350); also with Ἀντιμάγους (Π. 11. 138), ἀφνειώτατος (Π. 20. 220), ἀγρην (Od. 12. 330).

Syntnesis is also found with η, in the combination η οὐχ (Π. 5. 439, &c.), η εἰς δ' κεν (Π. 5. 466), η εἰπέμεναι (Od. 4. 682); with ἐπεί οὐ (Od. 4. 352, &c.); with μη δ' ἄλλοι (Od. 4. 165); and in—

Π. 17. 89 ἀσβέστηρ: οὐδ' ὁκύραοι Ἀτρέος: where we may perhaps read ἀσβέστηρ: οὐδ' νία νάθ' Ἀτρέος.

18. 458 νειν ἐμφ' ἀκμυρῷ (one or two MSS. give ν᾽ ἐμφ').

Od. 1. 226 εἰλατιήν ἦ γάμος κτλ.

In Π. I. 277 Πηλείδη θελε', and Od. 17. 375 ὀ ἀργύρωτε 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 εα, εο, εο, 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, ει, ε) merges in a following α or ο.

The term Synizesis may also be applied to the monosyllabic pronunciation of the verbs in Ἀἰνωτή (Od. 4. 229), &c. σχετική (Π. 3. 414), Ἡστίαα (Π. 2. 537). It has been thought that in these cases the ι was pronounced like our γ: 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 (― in Π. 2. 811, 21. 567) it is better to read πόλεος (§ 107); and for πόλις (Od. 8. 560, 574) πόλις. The corresponding Synizesis of ι is generally recognised in the word Ἐνναλίφ (commonly scanned υι in the phrase Ἐνναλίφ ἀνδρείφωντη): 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 ơ, ơ, a, ŋ, e. Thus we have many instances with the combinations ee, oo, ae, oe; few with ea, ao, ao, still fewer with eo, eo.

2. In most cases in which contraction is freely admitted we find that the sound which originally separated the vowels was the semi-vowel ɬ or ɤ. In case of the loss of ơ it is comparatively rare; with ɬ 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 χέω (χέF-ω) and is extremely rare in τρέω (τρέσ-ω), see § 29, 6). But it is admitted with loss of ơ, as in the Gen. ending -ow from -οιo (-οιο, -οο), and the Verbs in -ew from stems -eο, as νεικέω (νεικεσ-ιω).

(a) On these principles we should expect the 2 Sing. endings -eα, -eο, -ηαι, -ao (for -eαι, &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 -ow and -ew we find that there are about 522 occurrences of these endings, and that of these 434 present uncontracted forms: while in 66 instances the contracted syllable comes before a vowel, so that it can be written with elision of -ω or -ο (*e.g.* Π. 3. 138 κεκλήρε' ἄκοιτίς, for κεκλήρη; Π. 9. 54 ἐπλε' ἄροτος, for ἐπλευ'). In the case of -eo this mode of writing finds some support in the MSS.: *e.g.* ψεῦδε' (Π. 4. 404), παῦ' (Π. 9. 260, Od. 1. 340), ἐβχε' (Π. 3. 430, Od. 4. 752), also ἐπε', read by Aristarchus in Π. 10. 146 (*ἐπεν 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 Π. 4. 264 (=19. 139) ὀρανός πύλεμονδε should be ὀραν πύλεμονδε (Nauck) : in Π. 2. 367 γρώσεαι δ' ει ομι dbh (Barnes); in Π. 24. 434 for ὅσ με κῆλν read ὅσ κῆλεαι, and so in Od. 4. 812., 5. 174. In Od. 18. 107 for ἐκαύψι read the Act. ἐκαύψι (Van L.): as in Π. 1. 203 we may retain ὑθρ (so the MSS.; Ar. ὑθρ, — 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 -ow and -ew there is a concurrence of three vowels, which in our text are always reduced to two syllables, either by contraction, as in αἰδεïο, μυθεία, νεία, μνύ, or by hyphaeresis (*§ 105*), as μυθέα, αἰρε, ἐκλε, πώλεα (Od. 4. 811). A single vowel appears in περα for περα-εια, ἰρώ for ἢρ-εο. The metre requires αἰδεïο, αἰρε, ἐκλε, πώλεαι; for περα it allows περαïα (becoming περα' in Π. 24. 390, 433, Od. 4. 545). The isolated form ὑθρ (Od. 14. 343) for ὑθρ-εια should perhaps be ὑθραι or ὑθρα. If the ending is in its original form it belongs to the Non-Thematic conjugation (*§ 15*): another example may be found in ὑρή (or ὑρητο), read by Zenodotus in Π. 1. 56.

(c) In the Future in -ew (for -eσω) contraction is less frequent than in the Present of Verbs in -ew (-eων or -εοω). Forms such as ὃλεῖται, καμεῖται, μαχεῖται, ὁμεῖται, κομιώ, κτεῖναι, κτεροῦαι, evidently could not otherwise come into the verse. In Π. 17. 451 σφάαι δ' εν γρώνεαι βαλω we may read βάλω (Fick).
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II. 4. 161 ἐκ τε καὶ ὀψὶ τελεῖ we should take τελεῖ as a Present. The remaining exceptions are, κτενεῖ in II. 15. 65, 68 (probably an interpolation), κατακτεῖ in II. 23. 412, and ἐκφανεῖ in II. 19. 104.

(d) Similarly in the declension of stems in -ος the ending -οςes is rarely contracted. In the phrase φαίνοντα (or φαίνεσθαι) 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 διατός μὲν ἔσης οὐκ ἐπιδεύεις, and II. 13. 622 ἄλλος μὲν λάβῃς τε καὶ αἰσχῶς οὐκ ἐπιδεύεις, where the Nom. Plur. is unexplained: read οὐκ ἐπιδεύεις there is no lack.

(e) The contraction of οὐ to οὐ is rare in the Gen. of stems in -ος (§ 105, 3), but frequent in the Pronominal Genitives ἐμεῦ (μεν), σεῦ, έυ, τεῦ. Here again, however, we are struck by the number of cases in which we can substitute the forms in -ηο or -ηο, with elision of -η. In our MSS. the elision actually occurs in ἐμεν (II. 23. 789, Od. 8. 462) and σεν (II. 6. 454, also Hom. Η. xxxiv. 19). In II. 17. 173 νῦν ἃν διεν αὐνόσαιμην Zenodotus is said to have read νῦν ἃν δε σε, i.e. probably νῦν ἃν δε σε. The full forms in -ηο or -ηο 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 *μεν (6 times) or μεν (19 times). There remain altogether about fifty-five exceptions, which are discussed by J. van Leeuwen (Menemos. xiii. 215). In the phrase κέκλυτη μεν, which occurs 19 times, he would read μον, according to the Homeric construction (§ 143, 3). So in the formula κέκλυτε δη νῦν μεν, Ἰβάκσιοι (5 times in the Odyssey), where however we are tempted to restore ἐμεν (cp. II. 3. 97 κέκλυτε νῦν καὶ ἐμεν). He suggests putting the Dat. for the Gen. also in Od. 19. 485 οί μεν φωσίνουσι φιλον κηρ, Od. 15. 467 οί μεν πατέρι ἀφεκπίνοντο, Od. 16. 92 η μάλα μεν καταδάπτετε άκοντος φιλον ἷτορ. In the last passage it is needless to alter the Gen. ἀκοντος (§ 243, 3, d), and we may even read in II. 1. 453 ἐμοι πάρος ἐκλυεις εἰξαμένιον (cp. II. 16. 531 ὅτι οί άκι όρκουε μέγας θεός εἰξα- μένιον). The substitution of the Dat. seems the most probable correction in various places where Leeuwen proposes other changes: Od. 4. 746 ἐμε λοί ἐξελτο μέγαν ἄρκον (cp. II. 22. 119 Τραξιν δ’ ἀδ ... ἄρκον ἔλαμαι), II. 2. 388 ἐδράσει μεν τεν ἀμάλι στήθεσθη, II. 22. 454 αἱ γὰρ ἀπ’ οὔσαν εἴη ἐμεν ἄπο (cp. 18. 272); also II. 1. 273, 9. 377, 16. 497, 19. 185, 20. 464, 24. 293, 311, 750, 754, Od. 5. 311, 9. 20, 13. 231, 19. 108, 24. 257; and perhaps II. 19. 137 καὶ μεν φρένας ἐξελετο θεός (unless the με of some MSS. is right), so II. 9. 377 and II. 11. 335. In Od. 19. 215 νῦν μὲν δη σευ, ξεινε, ὥν περίσσεσθαι εἰ κτλ. Leeuwen restores the Acc. σε (as in II. 18. 600). In Od. 17. 421 (=19. 77) we may perhaps read καὶ δτι κεκρημένος ἕθοι (δτι as in II. 20. 434 οἴδα δ’ ὅτι οῦ μὲν κτλ.). The remaining exceptions are II. 5. 896 ἐκ γὰρ ἐμεν γένος ἐσσι, II. 23. 70 οῦ μὲν μεν ἄρνοντος κέδεις, II. 24. 429 δεξαί μεν ἄπο, and II. 1. 88 οὖ τις ἐμεν ζῶντος κτλ., where the contraction ἄρνοντος and the Dat. Plur. κάλλης before a consonant are also suspicious (Fick, Πις, p. xvii).

(f) The contraction of οα, οε (from οσ-α, οφε) is doubtful in the Nouns in -ω and -ηω (§ 105, 6), but appears in the forms of the Comparative, viz. ἀμείνω, ἀμείον, ἀμείας, κατκ, πλειον, and μείω (Hesiod). The uncontracted forms in -οα, -οες do not occur, since the metre allows either -ω, -ους or else the later -οαι, -οαν. But in such a phrase as ἀμείνω δ’ αἴσιμα πάντα (where Nauck reads ἀμείνονα) we may suspect that ἀμείνονα was the original form.

(g) Vowels originally separated by η are so rarely contracted that instances in our text must be regarded with suspicion. Thus ἄκων (δ-ήκων) should

A 3
always be ἀέκος: ἀτη (ἀφάτη) may be written ἀτη except in π. 19. 88 φρεάτων ἐμπαλον ἄφριον ἄτην (where the use of ἄφριον as a Fem. is also anomalous, Φ. 105). In π. 3. 100., 6. 356., 24. 28 (where ἀτην comes at the end of the line) the better reading is ἄρεθς. κόλος may be κόλος (cp. Lat. catus), except in Ρ. 22. 385. ἐδών (ἐ-φίδων) may be ἐδών, except in four places (π. 11. 112., 19. 292, Ρ. 10. 194., 11. 162). πολεός (Acc. Plur. of πολύς) is not uncommon, but should probably be πολύς (§ 100): πολεόν occurs once (Π. 16. 655). Other instances with Nouns in -ος and -εις are rare (Nauck, Μελ. gr.-rom. 111; Menrad, p. 60). The Fem. in -εια is not contracted from -ε-θα (ε-θα but comes directly from -ε-θα. So οδός, ολων for δι-θας, δι-θαν (cp. δέκα for δι-θαν), and αῖσος for δι-θαν. Ιως and τεϊς, which occur several times in our text, are nearly always followed by a Particle (μέν, περ, &c.), which has evidently been inserted for the sake of the metre (ἐως μέν for ἔως, &c.). For ἀλλοεἰδε in Ρ. 13. 194 we should doubtless read ἀλλο-εἰδε (§ 125, 2).

ἐφιρος may be from ἐ-φιρος (but see Schulze in K.Z. xxix. 64) as to ἀεί, which has been supposed to stand for ἀεί, from ἐ-φιρος, see § 31, 1.

The most important example of contraction notwithstanding ἐ is the word παῖς (παῖς, παῦς, &c.). Other words which present the same difficulty are: ἄσε (Ρ. 11. 61), ἄσατο (Π. 19. 95)—in both places Nauck would read ἄσα—ἄδλοφος (Π. 9. 266., 11. 699), ἄδλεων (Π. 24. 734), ἅδλον (Ρ. 8. 160), ἄσαιεμ we slept (Ρ. 16. 267), ἵδ (Π. 5. 256) and other forms of ἵα (Π. 10. 344., 23. 77, Ρ. 21. 233), ἱέα (Ρ. 9. 283), ἱέα (Π. 12. 381., 17. 401., 20. 101, 263), κρέα (Π. 9. 347), χεισάθα (Ρ. 10. 518), τιμήσατα (Π. 18. 475), τεχνήσα (Ρ. 7. 110), ἱλιός (Ρ. 8. 271), ἆσῳφος (Π. 23. 226), πλουν (Ρ. 1. 184), τεθνώτα (Ρ. 19. 331), πεπεύτα, -τα (Π. 21. 503, Ρ. 22. 384), Βεβοῦσα (Ρ. 20. 14), νύν (Π. 24. 354), καιροσύνιος (Ρ. 7. 107), the compounds of ἐννέα—ἐννήματα, ἐννέφωρος, ἐννέφρογγος—and the proper names Εὐρώκλεια Ἀντίκλεια (κλέια Nauck). Some of these may be disposed of by more or less probable emendation: others occur in interpolated passages (e.g. ἤλιος in the Song of Demodocus) others (as πλεον, τεθνωτα) may be explained by the loss of ο before ο (§ 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 ἱστίαμα, Ἀλγυπτίους, χρυσέουιοι stands on the same footing as the neglect of Position with ἕκαμαρδος or σκέπαρνον: and again the synizesis in τεμένεια, ἀσωνες, or the contraction in πονεύμενος, ἀμφιβαλέμαν is like the shortening of a vowel before προστύθα, 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 hiatus ἀφθια ἀεί in
HIATUS.

II. 13. 22 (ἀφθιτον ἄει in II. 2. 46, 186., 14. 238). So when the formula καὶ μῶν φωνῆσας ἔπεα κτλ. is used of a goddess (II. 15. 35, 89) it becomes καὶ μῶν φωνῆσασ ἔπεα. Again the harsh lengthening in μέροπες ἀνθρωποι (II. 18. 288, at the end of the line) is due to the familiar μερόπων 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 τὴν ὅ' ἐγὼ οὖ, where the final ο seems to be partly merged in the following ου). Again when a final ι or υ comes before a vowel without suffering elision, it is probable that the corresponding 'semi-vowel' (=our y or w) 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. Π. i. 299 σοῦτε σοὶ σοῦτε τυφ ἄλλῳ, ἐπεὶ 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 Ἀτρέιδη Ἀγαμέμνονι, ὅς κ' εἶποι δτί κτλ. And in a few instances a long vowel or diphthong is allowed to remain long in thesis, as Π. i. 39 Σμυνθέων εἶ ποτε 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 ϕ, are the most capable of resisting the shortening influence of hiatus; next to them are ευ and ου, and the long vowels η and ω: while ει, οι and αι are at the other end of the scale. A
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 ο, it is long before hiatus about 23 times. Similarly final -η is long 19 times, -ευ 6·7 times, -ου 6 times, -η 5·7 times, -ω 4 times, -ει 1·8 times, -οι 1·6 times, and -αι only 1·3 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 Π. 2. 209 ηχή, ως ὅτε κτλ., Od. ιι. 188 ἄγρω, οὐδὲ 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, αι lose the ι. In support of this he points to the facts of Crasis: thus καί έγὼ in becoming κάγω may be supposed to pass through the stage κα έγώ.

2. According to an older view, which has been revived and defended with great ingenuity by Hartel,* the ι or ο in a diphthong is turned into the corresponding spirant; so that καί έγώ becomes κα-ι-εγώ, and εκ Πύλον έλθὼν becomes εκ Πύλο-ελθὼν.

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, ωι. 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, 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 ζωρήρί ἄρηοτι (§ 376, 3), πρὸ ὄδου, πρὸ Ἀχαῖων, αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐμμεμαώσ, ἔταρσο ἐνήεσ, and the like.

Hiatus is also tolerated occasionally in the pauses of the verse:

(1) In the trochaic caesura of the third foot: as—
   Il. 1. 569 καὶ ἐκέονσα καθήστο, ἐπιγνάψασα κτλ.
   Od. 3. 175 τέμνειν, ὀφρα τάχιστα ύπέκ κτλ.

(2) In the Bucolic diaeresis: as—
   Il. 8. 66 ὀφρα μὲν ἡώς ἦν καὶ ἄετετο ἱερὸν ἱμαρ.
   Od. 2. 57 εἰλαπνάζουσιν πίνουσί τε αἴθοπα ὀίνους.

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 diaeresis is commoner in the Odyssey than in the Iliad, in the proportion 2 : 1. Hiatus after the vowel ε 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 (Il. 63, 215, 328, 374, 466) and illegitimate (Il. 209, 351, 430).

Illegitimate hiatus, like other anomalies, may be diminished by emendation. Thus in Od. 5. 135 ἡδὶ ἐφάσκον we may read ἱδὶ Γ᾽ ἐφάσκον: in 5. 257 ἐπικενάτῳ ἔλον we may insert ἄρ, on the model of Il. 5. 748 ἐπεμαίετ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἵππον. But in Il. 13. 22 ἄφτετα αἰεὶ must stand because ἄφτετος αἰεὶ 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 eu in Ionic inscriptions shows, not indeed that eu and eo were identical in pronunciation, or that eo was a true diphthong, but certainly that eo was very like eu, and might be monosyllabic in scansion. Probably monosyllabic eo (when it was not a mere error for eu) stood to eu as the Synizesis ea, eo, eo, &c. to the contracted η, ο, ο. 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 'Ἀρης, ἀνήρ, 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 νεός and νηός, ὄνομα and ὄνυμα, &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: 'Οδυσσεύς and 'Οδυσσεύς, 'Αχιλλεύς and 'Αχιλλεύς. 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 iōtus, 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.—

ā, in ἀλαος (ā in II. 1. 583, ā in II. 9. 639, 19. 178).

η, in the oblique cases of νῆός (except the Dat. νηί) and of several Nouns in -εύς, as Πηλής, Πηλέος: the forms ηαται and έαται (ημαι): ἀφή and ἀφέ (§ 80); ήνς and εύς, ληςτοί and λείςτη (II. 9. 408); perhaps also in Θρήκες, δήος, ηία, which shorten η when the case-ending is naturally long (Θρήκεων, δήιων, ἡίων, &c. scanned οο, unless we suppose contraction or synizesis).

ι, in ἱερός, κοινή, λίπν: Comparatives in -ιν: Patronymics, as Κρούλων: ἵομεν, ἰμι (ἀφιεί, &c.), ἱαινω, and Verbs in -ιω, as τίω, δίω (§ 51, 1): probably also in the abstract Nouns in -η, the ι being treated as long in ὑπεροπλίη, προθυμίη, ὑποδείγη, ἀτμίη, ἀκομιστίη.

υ, in Verbs in -υς (§ 51, 4).

ω, in ἵρως (— ο ο in Od. 6. 303): ἵρω, leg. ἵρωι (II. 7. 453).

αι, in ἀεί for ἀεί, εύμπαιος (— ο ο in Od. 20. 379), and the Compound χαμαιέναι, χαμαιέναδε: also Verbs in -αω, as ἀγαίομενος and ἀγάσθη, κραῖε and κεράσθη, ναίον and ναι, νάον.οι.
Doubtful Vowels.

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ει, in ἀκέα, βαθέης (for ἀκεία, βαθείης): Adjectives in -ειος, as χάλκεος and χάλκεος: ρεία and ρέα: πλειόν, &c. and πλέονες: βελξμαι and βέομαι (§ 80), and many Verbs in -εω (§ 51, 3).

οι, in ὀλοίος and ὀλοίος; also οῖος (ο ὀ), as in II. 13. 275 οἷον ἀρετὴν οἴος ἐστι, cp. II. 18. 105, Od. 7. 312., 20. 89. eu, in δεομαι and δέομαι, ἐξευνα and ἐξεύα, ἡλέωταν and ἀλέασθαν. υ, in υίος (II. 4. 473., 5. 612, &c.).

The Gen. endings -ἀων, -εων fall under this head, if -εων represents an older Ionic -ηων.

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 χρειώ need (from χρη-, χρά-). See Appendix C.

Sometimes ει has taken the place of ευ before another vowel, as in the Verbs θέω, πνεόω, πλέω, χέω, κλέω (§ 29, 3), also in λειοσιν, Dat. Plur. of λεών (λειῶν or λέΓον), and perhaps in the Pf. ειωθα (cp. ενέθωκε Hesych.), ειοκνυαι (II. 18. 418). Similarly α may stand for ω, as φάεω ειγε (φαν-), ἀρη (ερ-άρα) and other derivatives of ἀ-μμυ (ἀληψ, ἀκρ-άλης), άσαμεν we slept (ἰαω), άασαμεν (ἀσάτην), and probably μεμώτες, αὐων, ἀείων, "Αἰδος. We even find οι for υ, as from οφ, in οιετάς for ο-φετάς of like age (II. 2. 765), πνοή for πνογή: cp. ονε (ο ω in Od. 9. 425).

η for ευ may perhaps be seen in ἥλης, ἡλείει (ἐ-φεεες, -εε) but see the explanation suggested in § 67, 3.

Interchange of quantity is occasionally found: στέωμεν, κτέωμεν, φθέωμεν for στήμεν, εκ. (§ 80): εως and τεως (if these forms are Homeric) for ηος and τηος. So the Gen. ending -εω, for -άο (-ηο).

(2) By compensatory lengthening, of—

ει to ει, in ειείος (εινφος) but ειεύη, κεννός and κενός, πεύραρα and περας (πεφερεσίων), εινατος, εινεκα.

οι to ωι, μούον (but μονάδεις II. 11. 470); ουρα (a watcher) but ορ-άω: ουρεα and ορος (ορφος?).

α in παρέχη (παρ-σεχω), Od. 19. 113; υ in συνεχες, II. 12. 26.

Under this head we should place double forms arising by Epenthesis, as ἐταφος and ἐταφος (for ἐταφος): ενι, ενω and ειον. But ἀπερελεσος boundless should be ἀπερήψοις, from *περην.

Other variations, of which no general account can be given, are seen in *Αρης, ἀνήρ, ἀμόω I reap (a generally in the simpleVerb, ἀ in the compounds); φίλος (ιι in φιλε κασίγνυτε); ἀτίτος and τίτος; υθωρ, ἀντικρυ; δύο and δωω, δέθο and (once) δεύω, Διόνυσος and Διόνυσος. The chief cases of a doubtful vowel
being long without the help of the ictus are, ἀρή, ἀλώνι (ἀλόντε with ἂ in II. 5. 487), πρύν, ἱμός, πεφανόκω.

385.] Double consonants, causing doubtful syllables: chiefly—
σσ, in the First Aorist (§ 39, 1), and Dat. Plur. (§ 102); also ὄσσος, μέσσος, νεμεσσάω (where σσ = ττ), Ὀδυσσεύς. So for ἔσσαι (— — ο) we should write ἔσσασι (for ὑ-σάσι, § 7, 3).

λλ, in Ἀχιλλέως.

κκ, in πέλεκκω (κκ = κφ ?), cp. πέλεκνς.

As to ππ and ττ, in ὀππως, ὀττι, &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:

α in ἄθάνατος, ἁκάματος, ἀπονέσθαι, ἀποδίωμα, ἀγοράσθε.
ε in ἐπίτονος (Od. 12. 423), ζεφυρί (Od. 7. 119).
ι in Πρωμίδης, δία (in δία μὲν ἀσπίδος κτλ. II. 3. 357, &c.).
υ in θυγατέρες (II. 2. 492, &c.), δυναμένου (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 Σκάμανδρος, &c. (§ 370), or the synizesis of Αλγυπτίη and Ἰστία (§ 378, πιν.). The diphthong of εἰαρώνος (ἐαρ), εἰρεσίη, οὐλόμενος, ὀνύμα, Οὐλύμπου, is of the same nature. The ω of πονλύς perhaps began in compounds in which it was required by the metre, as πονλύθοτερα, &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 ἤγασθε (Od. 5. 122), Ἡρακληνίη (properly -κλεειη), Ὀικλείης (Od. 15. 244). So τετράκυκλος is scanned — — ω in Od. 9. 242, but ω ω — ω 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 Εάνθε τε καὶ Βάλιε, 21. 474 νηπτυτε, Od. 3. 230 Τηλέμαχε.

4. 338 ὃ νιὲ Πετέδω κτλ.

18. 385 ὅρος Ὁτεί ταυνύπεπλε: so Od. 24. 192 Λαέρταον παί.


23. 493 Αἰαν ἈΘομενεβ 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 $\nu$ ἔφελκυτικόν 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 $\gamma e$, $\tau e$, $\beta a$, &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 πολέσσοι δ' ανάσσες, Aristarchus read πολέσων γὰρ ἀνάσσες. Both are evidently derived from πολέσων δὲ ἀνάσσες (i. e. Φανάσσες), corrected in two different ways.

In II. 13. 107 the MSS. have υῦν δ' ἔκαθεν, the reading of Aristarchus: but Zenodotus and Aristophanes had υῦν δὲ ἔκας (i. e. Φέκας).

In II. 9. 88 the reading of Aristarchus was πεθέντο δὲ δόρπα ἔκαστος: other ancient sources had δόρπον (the reading of most MSS.).

In II. 14. 235 πεθέν, ἐγὼ δὲ κέ τοι εἰδὼ χάριν ἡματα πάντα, the order χάριν εἰδὼς was preferred by Aristarchus.

Two very similar instances are—

II. 5. 787 κὰς ἐλέγχεα, εἴδος ἅρττοι (Αρ. Ἐλεγχέες).
9. 128 γυναίκας ἀμύμωνα ἔγγα ἰδιὰς (Αρ. ἀμύμωνας).

In Od. 5. 34 ἡματί κ' εἰσοκτότω .. ἐκοτο the 'common' texts of Alexandrian times (αἱ κωνότεραι) omitted the κ', which is not necessary, and may have been inserted in imitation of ἡματί κε τριτάτῳ κτλ. (II. 9. 363).

In Od. 1. 110 οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ὀλον ἔμωσον some MSS. omit ἄρ'. So in Od. 3. 472 most MSS. have ὀλον ὀνοκοεύετε (vulg. ὀνομοχ.).

In Od. 2. 331., 8. 174., 13. 125 the ε of αὐτὲ is elided before a word with $f$. But in each case there is MS. authority for reading αὐ.

In Od. 8. 526 the MSS. are divided between ἀσπαῖροντ' ἐκδοῦσά and ἀσπαῖροντα ἰδιῶνα.

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. \textbf{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 \( \text{Feikos} \) is supported by the forms \( \text{Fikar} \) and \( \text{Feikar} \) on Doric and Boeotian inscriptions, by the Laconian \( \beta \text{eikar} \) (given by Hesychius), and again by Latin \( \text{viginti} \), Sanscrit \( \text{vincaati} \), &c.; an original \( \text{Fespepos} \) by the form \( \text{Fespatallon} \) on a Laocian inscription, as well as by Latin \( \text{vesper} \): original \( \text{Fideiv}, \text{Foida}, \&c. \) by \( \text{Fistorpes} \) on inscriptions, \( \text{yoida} \) and \( \gammaοδημι} \) in Hesychius (erroneously so written, as Ahrens showed, for \( \text{Foida} \) and \( \text{Foidημι} \), and also by Latin \( \text{video} \), Sanscrit \( \text{vedmi} \), \( \text{veda} \), Engl. \( \text{vit}, \&c. \) 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.*

\[ \text{ἄγνυμι}. \]

The initial \( F \) is to be traced by the hiatus in II. 5. 161 \( \epsilon \) \( \alpha \text{υχένα \ dɛ̂n} \), II. 8. 403 \( \text{κατά \ θ' \ άρμασα \ dɛ̂w} \) (similar phrases in 8. 417., 23. 341, 467); less decisively by the lengthening of the final -\( w \) of the preceding word in II. 4. 214 \( \text{πάλιν \ áγεν \ dɛ̂̂sēs \ óγκοι} \). The evidence against an initial consonant is very slight. In Od. 19. 539 \( \text{πάσι \ κατ' \ αυχένας \ ήце} \) we should read \( \alpha \text{υχέν' \ εαξε} \) (Bekk.), understanding the Singular distributively (§ 170). In II. 23. 392 for \( \text{ἵππευον \ δέ \ οί \ ήCe} \) may be read \( \text{ἵππειον \ οί \ έαξε} \).

* The first systematic attempt to restore the digamma was made by Heyne in his edition of the \( \text{Iliad} \) (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 \textit{Quaestiones 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 (\textit{Rationem quae \textit{I. Bekker in restituendo digamma secutus est examinavit Dr. A. Leskien, Lipsiae, 1866}). The most complete treatise on the subject is that of Knös (Upsalæ, 1872). The most important contributions, in addition to those mentioned, have been made by Leo Meyer (K. Z. xviii. 49), and by W. Hartel (\textit{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 ἰδι ἄνασσεων, or the numerous examples of hiatus after the Dat. Sing, in -τι and the Genitives in -οιο, -ειο, -οι.*

The cases in which a slight correction of the text is needed to make room for the \( \hat{f} \) are as follows:—

11. 1. 288 πάντεσσι δ' ἄνασσεων (read πάσιν \( \hat{d} \)).
9. 73 πολέσσι δ' ἄνασσεις (read πολέσιν \( \hat{d} \), § 389).
2. 672 Χαρόποιο τ' ἄνακτος (read Χαρόποιου \( \hat{t} \)).
7. 162 (= 23. 288) πρῶτος μὲν ἄναξ (read perhaps πρώτιστα).
15. 453 κροτέοντες ἄναξ (read κροτέοντε, the Dual).
16. 371 (= 507) λίπον ἄρματ' ἄνάκτων (read ἄρμα, § 170).
523 σὺ πέρ μοι, ἄναξ, τὸδε κατερόν ἐλκος ἄνεσσαι (read με).
23. 497 ὄπρων, ἄναξ (read ὄπρων, the Pres. Imper.).
517 δὲ βά τ' ἄνακτα (read δὲ τε \( \hat{d} \) ο ὅ ὅ).

Od. 9. 452 ἦ σὺ γ' ἄνακτος (omit γ').
17. 189 χαλέπα δὲ τ' ἄνάκτων (omit τ').
21. 56 (= 83) τόξον ἄνακτος (read τόξα).

The Imperfect ἔνασσε, which occurs five times, can always be changed into ἓνασσε. The remaining passages are:—

11. 19. 124 σῶν γένους οὖ ὅ ἄνεικς ἄνασσεμοι Ἀργείους (a verse which is possibly interpolated).
20. 67 ἄνακτα Ποσειδόνων ἄνακτος (in the probably spurious θεομαχία).
24. 449, 452 ποίησαν ἄνακτι.

Od. 14. 40 ἄνδρεων γὰρ ἄνακτος κτλ.
395 εὶ μὲν κατοντή ἄναξ.
438 κύδαυεν δὲ θυμόν ἄνακτος.
24. 30 ἦς περ ἄνασσες.

Ἄρνα (Ἄρνες, &c.).

The \( \hat{f} \) is supported by three instances of hiatus, viz. II. 4. 158 ἀλμά τε ἄρναν, 4. 435 ὀπά ἄρναν, 8. 131 ἕπε ἄρνες: and by the metrical length given to the preceding syllable in II. 3. 103 ἐς δήφρον ἄρνας, 16. 352 λύκοι ἄρνεσσι.

The passages which need correction are—

11. 3. 103 οὐσετε δ' ἄρν (the \( \hat{d} \) is better omitted).
119 ἦδ' ἄρν' ἐκέλευεν (read ἦδ' ἄρν').
22. 263 οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες (omit τε).

Od. 4. 86 ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέουσι (omit τ').
9. 226 ἐρφοὺς 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 \( \dot{\alpha}p\varepsilon\dot{a}wos \) shows no trace of it.

\( \dot{\alpha}stw. \)

The presence of an initial consonant is shown by hiatus in nearly 80 places. In two places the text is uncertain: II. 24. 320 \( \dot{\upsilon}p\tau\dot{e} \dot{a}st\epsilonos \) (but \( di\dot{a} \dot{a}st\epsilonos \) in the Bankes papyrus, and several MSS.), Od. 3. 260 \( \dot{e}k\dot{a}s \dot{a}st\epsilonos \) (\( \dot{e}k\dot{a}s \dot{a}r\gamma\epsilon\dot{e}os \) in most MSS.).

Two passages admit of the easiest correction:

- II. 3. 140 \( \dot{\alpha}v\dot{d}r\dot{o}s \) \( \tau\epsilon \pi\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron \) \( k\alpha\iota \dot{a}st\epsilon\epsilonos \) (read \( \pi\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron \)).

  15. 455 \( \tau\omicron\dot{e}s \) \( \mu\epsilon\nu \) \( \dot{\gamma} \) \( \dot{\alpha}\sigma\tau\nu\nu\dot{\omicron} \omicron \omicron \) (omit \( \gamma \) or \( \mu\epsilon\nu \)).

Two remain, viz.—

- II. 11. 733 \( \dot{\alpha}m\dot{f}\dot{\iota}\dot{\sigma}t\alpha\nu\) \( \dot{d}h \) \( \dot{a}st\nu \) (\( \dot{\alpha}m\dot{f}\dot{\iota}\dot{\sigma}t\alpha\nu \) Bekk.).

  18. 274 \( \nu\kappa\tau\alpha \) \( \mu\epsilon\nu \) \( \dot{e}v \) \( \dot{\alpha}r\theta\rho\eta \) \( \dot{o}\dot{\theta}r\nu\omicron\omicron \) \( \dot{a}x\dot{o}m\epsilon\nu \) \( \dot{a}st\nu \) \( \dot{d}e \) \( \pi\tau\rho\rho\iota\omicron \) (\( \dot{\iota}\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon \) Bekk.).

The changes made by Bekker in these places are not improbable, but are hardly so obvious as to exclude other hypotheses.

\( \dot{\epsilon}r\rho, \dot{e}l\alpha\rho\nu\omicron\dot{\nu}s. \)

Hiatus is found in II. 8. 307 \( \nu\omicron\tau\iota\zeta\omicron \) \( \tau\epsilon \) \( \dot{e}l\dot{a}r\nu\dot{\nu}\gamma\dot{\iota} \), and a short final syllable is lengthened in Od. 19. 519 \( \dot{a}e\ell\eta\dot{\theta}r\iota\nu \dot{e}\rho\alpha\rho\). In the phrase \( \dot{\alpha}r\rho \) \( \dot{e}v \) \( \dot{e}l\alpha\rho\nu\gamma\dot{\iota} \) we should doubtless omit the \( \dot{e}v \), as in Od. 5. 485 \( \dot{\alpha}r\rho \dot{v} \chi\dot{e}\mu\epsilon\rho\rho\iota \) (Bentl.).

\( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota. \)

The \( F \) appears in \( \dot{\alpha}n\dot{a} \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota \) (Od. 9. 209), and the combination \( k\alpha i \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota i \) (which occurs 9 times, including the compounds with \( \dot{d}v\omega k\alpha i\epsilon\kappa\iota\sigma\iota \)).

In II. 11. 25 \( \dot{\chi}r\nu\sigma\sigma\omicron\) \( k\alpha i \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota i \) read \( \dot{\chi}r\nu\sigma\sigma\omega \) : and in the combination \( \tau\epsilon \) \( k\alpha i \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota i \) (in three places) omit \( \tau\epsilon \). In the recurring \( \dot{\eta}l\dot{\theta}\dot{\nu}\dot{\delta} \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\tau\dot{\omicron} \) \( \dot{\epsilon}t\epsilon \) \( k\tau\lambda \). Bekker reads \( \dot{\dot{\eta}}\dot{\delta}\theta\nu \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\tau\dot{\omicron} \) (Cobet well compares Od. 23. 102 \( \dot{\varepsilon}l\dot{d}h\dot{o}i \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\tau\dot{\omicron} \) \( k\tau\lambda \)). On Od. 5. 34 \( \dot{\eta}m\dot{a}t\iota \) \( k\iota \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\tau\dot{\omicron} \) \( k\tau\lambda \). see § 389.

\( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron. \)

Two instances of hiatus indicate \( F \), in II. 24. 100, 718, besides many places in which the word is preceded by a Dat. Sing., as \( \sigma\nu\dot{d}e\nu\iota \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron \), \( \kappa\alpha\tau\tau\iota \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\omicron \).

Two places may be easily corrected: II. 4. 509 \( \mu\dot{\eta} \) \( \dot{\dot{e}}i\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon \) (read \( \mu\dot{\eta} \) \( \dot{e}i\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon \), with asyndeton, as Od. 24. 54 \( \dot{i}\chi\dot{e}\theta\dot{e}\theta \) \( \dot{\dot{\alpha}}r\gamma\epsilon\dot{\epsilon}o\iota \), \( \mu\dot{\eta} \) \( \dot{\dot{\epsilon}}\theta\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\dot{t}e \)), and 12. 48 \( \tau\tau \) \( \dot{\dot{\epsilon}} \) \( \dot{\dot{e}}i\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota i \) (omit \( \tau\epsilon \)). In Od. 12. 117 for \( \dot{\theta}e\dot{\iota}i\sigma\iota \) \( \dot{\omega}p\dot{i}e\dot{\iota}\dot{\epsilon}i\dot{\epsilon} \) read \( \dot{\theta}e\dot{\iota}i \) \( \dot{\omega}p\dot{e}\dot{\iota}e\dot{\epsilon} \) (Bekk.). There remains II. 1. 294 \( \dot{e}l \) \( \dot{d}h \) \( \dot{\sigma}i \) \( \pi\nu \) \( \dot{e}r\gamma\nu \) \( \dot{\nu}\dot{\pi}e\dot{\iota}\dot{\omicron} \).

\( \dot{e}o\dot{\iota}k\alpha, \dot{e}\dot{\iota}\dot{\sigma}k\omega, \dot{e}i\dot{\kappa}e\dot{\kappa}l\dot{\sigma}s. \)

The \( F \) of \( \dot{e}o\dot{\iota}k\alpha \) appears from hiatus in 46 instances (not counting the numerous places in which it follows a Dative in \( -i \)). The adverse instances are 11 in number, besides the form \( \dot{e}p-\dot{e}o\dot{\iota}k\epsilon \) (which occurs 11 times). The corresponding Present \( e\iota\kappa\omega \) is generally recognised in II. 18. 520 \( \dot{\theta}i \) \( \dot{\sigma}f\dot{\iota}\dot{\omicron} \) \( \dot{\epsilon}k\epsilon \) \( \dot{\lambda}\dot{\omega}\dot{\chi}\dot{\sigma}\dot{\iota} \) \( \dot{w}r \) \( \dot{e}i\nu \) \( \dot{e}i\nu \) \( \dot{e}i\nu \).
it in 3 places, but twice rejects $F$ (Od. 9. 321., 11. 363). The
adjective εἰκέλος or ἐκέλος usually needs an initial consonant (ex-
cept II. 19. 282, Od. 11. 207).

It seems probable that this is the same word as εἶκω to yield. The notion of
giving way easily passes into that of suiting or fitting, hence conforming to,
resembling.

εἴκων, ἐκήπτι, ἐκήλος.

Hiatus indicating $F$ is found in 22 places (not reckoning οὐ τι
ἐκών II. 8. 81, &c.).

In Od. 4. 649 for αὐτὸς ἐκὼν we may read αὐτὸς ἐγὼν (cp. Od. 2. 133, where
both these forms are found in good MSS.). In Od. 17. 478 ἐσθι' ἐκήλος two
MSS. have ἐσθ' (i.e. ἐσθε). The remaining exceptions are; with ἐκὼν, II. 23.
434. 585, Od. 5. 100 (where we may read τις κε, or perhaps τις δὲ ἐκὼν .
δειδρόμοι; the Opt. without ἄν being used as in negative Clauses, § 299 f):
with ἐκήλος, II. 8. 512, Od. 2. 311 (ἐθφραίνεσθ' ἐκήλον Bekk.).

ἐκάς, ἐκάτος, &c.

Traces of $F$ are to be seen in the hiatus νῦν δὲ ἐκάς (II. 5. 791.,
13. 107), ἀλλὰ ἐκάς (Od. 15. 33), οὔθε ἐκθυβολαί (II. 5. 54): and
in the lengthening in Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο (II. 7. 83., 20. 295),
ἐυπλόκαμος Ἐκαμύδη, &c.

The exceptions are, II. 1. 21, 438., 17. 333., 20. 422., 22. 15,
302, Od. 7. 321 — mostly admitting of easy correction.

ἐκατός.

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, K. Ζ.
viii. 166. About a fourth of the exceptions appear in the re-
curring phrase μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάτον.

The form ἐκάτερθε shows slight traces of initial $F$ in Od. 6. 19 σταθμοῖν
ἐκάτερθε, 11. 578 γόπε δέ μν δέκατερθε, 22. 181 τῷ δ' ἔσταν ἐκάτερθε. It is pre-
ceded by elision in II. 20. 153 (omit ἐ'), and in II. 24. 273, Od. 7. 91 (omit ἐ').

εἶλω (ἐλασαί, ἐλάλην), ἀλώναι, ἀλίς.

The $F$ is shown by hiatus in II. 1. 409 ἀμφ' ἄλα ἐλασαί: 16. 403
ἤτατο ἄλεις (and five other examples of this Tense, viz. II. 5. 823.,
21. 571, 607., 22. 308, Od. 24. 538): II. 18. 287 κεκόρησθε ἐλα-
μένοι: II. 12. 172 ἣ ἄλωναι (so 14. 81), II. 21. 281 εἰμαρτό ἄλωναι
(so Od. 5. 312., 24. 34), II. 81. 495 τῇ γε ἄλωμεναι. Before
ἄλις hiatus occurs in about 12 places: cp. also II. 23. 420 εἰνά-
teres ἄλις ἦσαν.

In II. 21. 236 κατ' αὐτῶν ἄλις ἦσαν some MSS. read ἦσαν ἄλις, and at l. 344
the same transposition may be made. The only other instance against $F$ is
II. 17. 54 δ' ἄλις ἀναβέβροχεν (ἀναβέβροχεν Zenod.), where Bentley read δ ἄλις
ἀναβέβροχεν.
Before ἐλάσω hiatus is found in four places, and the recurring phrases καὶ ἐλίκας βοῦς and ἐλιπτοδᾶς ἐλικας βοῦς point in the same direction. The only exceptions are Od. 12. 355 ὑσσεκ-σκουθ' ἐλικες κτλ., and II. 18. 401 γναπτᾶσ 0' ἐλικας.

It is probable that in many places the forms ἐλίκωτο, ἐλέλχωθ, &c. are old errors for ἐλίκουτο, ἐἐλέλχωθ, &c.: see Dawes, Misc. Crit. 177: also Heyne on Il. 1. 530.

Traces of Φ in ἐλίνω should perhaps be recognised in Od. 5. 403 (ἐφεγγύμενον, ἐλίνοι) and 15. 479 σάκεσαν ἐλιμένοι: cp. II. 20. 492 φλάγα εἰλυφάζει. In II. 18. 522 ξιορ πελμενοι it is easy to read ξον (as Böker). The Aor. Part. ἐλυσθείς has no Φ: but it may be from a different Verb-stem (see Buttm. Lexil. s. v. ελίνω).

ἐλπιο (ἐσλότα).

The initial Φ of this word is proved by 10 instances of hiatus (including καὶ ἐλπίδος, Od. 16. 101., 19. 84). The Perfect ἐσλότα also shows traces of Φ in the reduplicated syllable, viz. in Od. 2. 275., 3. 375., 5. 379.

In II. 8. 526 εὐχομαι ἐλπόμενος should be εὐχομὲνε ἐλπόμενον (Hoffm.) or perhaps (as Zenodotus read) ἐπομαί εὐχόμενος. In four places ἐλπιο can be restored by very slight corrections:—

II. 15. 701 ὕτοι ὦ ἐλπετο (Ṭρασι δε Ἰσεύν).

18. 194 ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς ὃδ', ἔλπορ (αὐτὸς ἐλπομ' Ἰσεύν).

Od. 2. 91 (=13. 380) πάντας μὲν β' ἔλπει (ομιτ β').

Two others are less easy; II. 15. 539 πολέμικε μένων, ἔτι β' ἔλπετο (μένων β' ἔτι ἐλπετο Βεντλ.), and II. 24. 491 ἔτι τ' ἐλπεται (καὶ ἐλπεται Βεντλ.).

The passages which tell against ἐλπλαπα are II. 20. 186 χαλεπῶς δὲ σ' ἐλπα τὸ βέτειν (read σι' ἐλπα), 21. 583 μᾶλ' ἐλόπα (μᾶλα ἐλπε' Ησσμ., 22. 216 νοὶ γ' ἐλόπα (ομιτ γ'), Od. 8. 315., 24. 313.

ἐπος, εἰπεῦν.

The Φ of ἐπος 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 μιν ἀμεθόμενος ἐπεα κτλ.).

Of the apparent exceptions, about 35 are removed by reading ἐπεσορ for ἐπέεσσα (as in II. 5. 40 χειρὸς ἐλάθω' ἐπέεσσα προσηφία, read ἐλάθωσ ἐπεσορ). This is justified by the fact that in similar words (esp. βέλος) the form in -εσσα is less frequent than that in -εσσα. A group of 11 may be corrected by scanning ἐπεα as a disyllable (ϕ-) in the formula φωνήσασα ἐπεα πτερεύντα προσήφια. Another small group of exceptions is formed by phrases such as Od. 4. 706 ὃς ἄρα μὴ ἐπεεςαν κτλ., where perhaps ἦ may be put for μν. There remain two instances in the Iliad (5. 683., 7. 108), and seven in the Odyssey (11. 146, 561., 14. 509., 15. 375., 16. 469., 17. 374., 24. 161).

In εἰπεῦν the Φ is proved by about 80 instances of hiatus, besides lengthening such as we have in the forms ὃδ' ἄτις εἰπεσκε, ὄφρα οἳ εἰποιτί, &c. The exceptions number about 35.
Of these exceptions 10 are found in the recurring line ὃφρ' ἔπω τά με θυμός ἐνὶ στῆθεσι κελεύει. It has been suggested as possible that ἔπω has here taken the place of an older ἔπο (ἵπο), or ἔπο (ἐπέσετε). This supposition would of course explain other instances of neglected Ὁ, as Π. 1. 64., 11. 791, Od. 1. 10, 37, &c.

ἔρδω, ἐργον, &c.

The Verb ἔρδω is preceded by hiatus in two clear instances, Π. 14. 261, Od. 15. 360. In Π. 9. 540 πόλλ᾽ ἔρδεσκεν there is an ancient ν. λ. ἔρρεξεν. In Π. 10. 509 δὴ κῦνταν ἔρδω we may read κὑντα. 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 ἐργα (for Ἐφόργα) is preceded by hiatus in 7 places. Instances on the other side are, Π. 3. 351 ὅ με πρότερος κάκ᾽ ἐργα (where the Aor. ἔρρεξεν is more Homeric, cp. § 28), 21. 399 ὅσσα μ᾽ ἐργασ (ὁσσα ἐργασ Ambr.), 22. 347 οὖν μ᾽ ἐργασ (here also με may be omitted), Od. 22. 318 οὐδὲν ἐργάσω (read οὖ τι, cp. § 356).

The Noun ἐργος, with its derivative ἐργάζομαι, occurs in Homer about 250 times, and the Ὁ is required to prevent hiatus in about 165 places. There are about 18 instances against Ὁ.

eiρω, ἐρέω.

The Ὁ of eiρω is required by hiatus in the three places where it occurs, viz. Od. 2. 162., 11. 137., 13. 7; that of ἐρέω by about 50 instances of lengthening (such as ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοι ἐρέω, ὡς ποτέ τις ἐρέει, and the like), against which are to be set three instances of elision (Π. 4. 176., 23. 787, Od. 12. 156).

ἐννυμι, εἴμαι, ἐσθής.

The Ὁ is shown by hiatus in more than 80 places, including the instances of the Perfect Mid. (εἴμαι, ἐσσα, &c., see § 23. 5). The contrary instances are of no weight. The superfluous ῃ may be omitted in ἐπελ ῃ ἐσσατο (three places), and τ ῃ similarly in Od. 14. 510., 24. 67. This leaves Π. 3. 57, Od. 6. 83., 7. 259.

ἐμέω.

The Ὁ (which is inferred from Lat. vomo) may be restored by reading ἐφέμεσε for ἀπέμεσε (Π. 14. 437) and αἱμα Φεμέων, or possibly Φέμων (L. Meyer), for αἱμα ἐμέων (Π. 15. 11).

ἐσπεροσ.

Hiatus occurs in six places, after the Prepositions ἐπί (Od. 17. 191) and ἐπί. There are no instances against Ὁ.

ἐτος.

The Ὁ is supported by the lengthening of the preceding syllable in five places, such as Π. 24. 765 ἐκικοστοῦ ἐτος ἐστί.
In the only adverse instance, Π. 2. 328 τοσσαύτρ ἑτεα, we may read and scan τοσσαύτα ἑτεα, as in the case of ἑτεα (supra).

ίάχω, ιαχή, ήχή.

The ι in ιάχω and ιαχή is chiefly indicated by 23 instances of a peculiar hiatus, viz. after a naturally short final vowel in arsis; as ἡ δὲ μέγα ιάχωσα, ἡμείς δὲ ιάχωντες, γένετο ιαχή, and the like. There are 3 instances of lengthening by Position. The ι is also proved by αίαχός (=ά-缒αχός) without a cry. The exceptions are confined to the Aor. or Impf. ιαχόν (ι), which never admits ι in Homer: see § 31, 1, note.

The derivative ἠχήεσ follows hiatus in two places (Π. 1. 157, Od. 4. 72): elsewhere in Homer ἠχή only occurs at the beginning of the line. The compound δως-ηχής (πολέμου δωςηχέος, Π. 2. 886, &c.) is best derived from ἀχός (see Wackernagel, Dehnungs- gesetz, p. 42).

ἰδεῖν, οἶδα, εἶδος.

In the different forms of the Second Aor. ἱδεῖν the ι 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. ἐφίδον) in Homer. On the other side we have to set nearly 50 instances of neglected ι, about half of which are susceptible of easy emendation (such as putting ἱδεῖν for ἱδεέω, omitting superfluous δε, 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 εἰδομαι, εἰσόμαι, &c., and the Nouns εἶδος (11 instances of hiatus, two adverse), ἱστῳρ, ἱδρεύῃ, ἱδωλοῦν, &c.

τοῦ (τοῖες, τοῦτοφἐς).

The ι is supported by hiatus in Od. 4. 135, 9. 426, and is nowhere inadmissible.

ἰς, ἱπ (ἱπα), ἱπες.

These words, with the derived proper names Ἰπιάνασσα, Ἰπιρως, &c., show ι in about 27 places, while seven or eight places need slight emendation. Ἰπθίμος, which shows no trace of ι, is probably from a different root.

ἰσος.

The ι is traced in about 30 instances of hiatus; the adverse passages being 8 or 9 in number. In three of these, containing the phrase ἄτεμφομενος κιόν ἴσος (Π. 11. 705, Od. 9. 42, 549) the form ἴσος should perhaps be changed to αἰσος share. Or we may recognise the ἈEolic form of the word, viz. ἴσος (Fick, Odyssee, p. 20). The other places are easily corrected.
The $F$ is shown by hiatus (II. 4. 486, Od. 10. 510). The Particle τέ may be left out before καὶ ἵτέα in II. 21. 350.

$
\underline{\text{οἶκος}}.
$

The $F$ is required in 105 places by hiatus, in 14 by the lengthening of a short syllable. About 25 places are adverse.

$
\underline{\text{οἶνος}}.
$

The $F$ is required by hiatus in nearly 100 places. The adverse places are about 20 (including the names Οἶνος and Οἶνόμαοι).

391. **Words with initial σƒ (‘$F$).** Since the change of initial $\sigma$ into the rough breathing must have been much earlier than the loss of $F$, it may be presumed that words which originally began with $\sigma F$ were pronounced at one time with the sound ‘$F$ (= our $\omega \chi$). The following are the chief examples in Homer:—

$\ddot{e}o, \ddot{o}i, \ddot{e}, \ddot{o}s, &c.$

The $F$ 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 ἀπὸ $\ddot{e}o, \piροτὶ \ddot{o}i (\circ \rightarrow -)$, θυγατέρα $\ddot{η}ν, \pi\tau\tau\epsilon\pi \ddot{e}, &c.$ About 43 places do not admit $F$ without some change; of these 30 are instances of the Possessive $\ddot{o}s$.

This Pronoun is noticeable as the only word in which the original $F$ is recognised in the spelling of our texts. The moveable -$ν$ is not used before the forms $\ddot{o}i, \ddot{e}$: thus we have δαίε $\ddot{o}i, \ddot{o}s \ \kappa\epsilon \ddot{o}i, &c.$; and, similarly, οῦ $\ddot{o}i, \ddot{o}v \ \ddot{e}θεν (not $\ddot{o}v \chi \ddot{o}i, \ddot{o}v \chi \ \ddot{e}θεν$). This rule is observed not only in Homer but also in the later Elegiac 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 $\ddot{o}s$.

When the forms ‘$F$, ‘$F\acute{o}$ suffer elision (§ 376), the word is reduced to ‘$F$’ and consequently disappears from our texts. Thus in II. 24. 154 $\ddot{o}s \ \ddot{a}ξει κτλ. it is plain from the parallel l. 183 $\ddot{o}s \ \sigma \ ' \ddot{a}ξει that the original was $\ddot{o}s \ ' F' \ ' \ddot{a}ξει (Bekker, Hom. Bl. i. 318). Other corrections of the kind are:—

II. 1. 195 πρὸ $γάρ \ddot{η}κε, read πρὸ δέ ‘$F$, as in l. 208 πρὸ δέ μ’ $\ddot{η}κε$. 4. 315 $\ddot{o}s \ \ddot{o}φελέων τις $\ddot{α}νδρῶν $\ddot{α}λλος $\ddot{ε}χειν, read $\ddot{o}s \ ' F'$. 16. 545 μη ἀπὸ τεῦχε’ έλονται, read μη ‘$F$’ (Cobet, Misc. Crit. 265).

Od. 5. 135 $\ddot{η}δέ $\ddot{ε}φασκον $\ddot{θ}ήσεων $\ddot{α}δώνατον, read $\ddot{η}δέ ‘$F’.

Examples of the restoration of ‘$F(ο)$ 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 $e\nu\delta\alpha\varepsilon$ (for $e\varepsilon\varepsilon\alpha\varepsilon$). The exceptions are, II. 3. 173 $\omega$ $\delta\phi\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu$ $\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\sigma$ $\mu\omicron$ $\delta\alpha\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu$ (read $\omega$ $\mu$ $\delta\phi\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu$ $\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\sigma$ $\delta\alpha\varepsilon\varepsilon\nu$, see § 365) and 6 places with $\hat{\eta}\delta\omicron\acute{s}$, two of which (II. 4. 131, Od. 19. 510) may be easily emended. The Substantive $\hat{\eta}\delta\omicron\acute{s}$ occurs chiefly in the phrase $\varepsilon\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon\ai\varepsilon$ $\hat{\eta}\delta\omicron\acute{s}$, where $\varepsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\ai$ may perhaps be read.

$\hat{\eta}\delta\omicron\acute{s}$, $\hat{\eta}\delta\omicron\acute{s}$.

The $F$ is indicated by the hiatus $\kappa\acute{a}t\acute{a}$ $\eta\theta\alpha\eta\alpha$ (Od. 14. 411). In $\mu\eta\tau\acute{a}$ $\tau^\prime$ $\eta\theta\alpha\eta\alpha$ $kai$ $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$ $\iota\tau\pi\omicron\omicron\nu$ (II. 6. 511, 15. 268) the $\tau\epsilon$ is better omitted. The Pf. $e\iota\omega\theta\alpha$ or $\varepsilon\omega\theta\alpha$ probably had no initial $F$, since $\sigma F.$- would give in reduplication $\varepsilon\sigma\sigma F.$- or $\varepsilon F.$- (not $\sigma F\sigma F.$-).

$\acute{e}k\upsilon\rho\acute{o}\acute{s}$.

The only place bearing on the question before us is II. 3. 172 $\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon$ $\acute{e}k\upsilon\rho\acute{e}$, where the metre points to an initial consonant.

$\acute{e}x$.

The $F$ may be traced by hiatus in II. 5. 270 $\tau\omega\nu$ $o\iota$ $\acute{e}x$ $k\tau\lambda\lambda.$, by lengthening in II. 24. 604, Od. 10. 6. Adverse instances are II. 23. 741, Od. 3. 115, 415., 14. 20.

$\acute{e}t\nu\sigma$.

The $F$ appears from hiatus in seven places, and can always be restored. The word is probably formed from the pronominal stem $\sigma F\alpha$- (so that it is=$\alpha\nu\nu\nu\epsilon$ $e$ $s\nu\iota\iota$).

392.] $F$ 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.

$\alpha\rho\alpha\omega\acute{s}$.

The hiatus in three places indicates the loss of a consonant.

$\acute{e}\theta\nu\acute{o}$ (perhaps akin to $\acute{e}\theta\alpha\varepsilon$, $\acute{e}\theta\alpha\omicron\acute{s}$).

Hiatus precedes in 12 places, and there is only one instance on the other side, viz. II. 11. 724 $\tau\alpha$ $\delta'$ $\acute{e}p\acute{e}r\acute{r}\acute{r}e\omicron$ $\acute{e}\theta\nu\acute{e}a$ $\pi\acute{e}\zeta\omega\nu$ (where $\acute{e}p\acute{e}r\acute{r}\acute{r}e\omicron$ is better, see § 172).

$\acute{e}p\acute{r}\omega$, $\acute{e}p\acute{r}\rho\omega$.

Hiatus is found before $\acute{e}p\acute{r}\omega$ to draw in 14 places (not counting those which are indecisive, such as $\acute{e}\iota\phi\omicron\sigma$ $\delta\epsilon\omicron$ $\acute{e}p\omicron\sigma\sigma\acute{a}m\epsilon\nu\sigma$, or $\acute{e}p$ $\acute{\eta}p\acute{e}l\acute{r}\omicron\omicron$ $\acute{e}p\omicron\sigma\sigma\acute{a}m$), and preceding short syllables are lengthened in 17 places. There are 17 instances against $F$, one of the strongest being II. 1. 141 $\nu\iota\alpha$ $\acute{m}\acute{e}l\acute{a}n\alpha\nu\nu$ $\acute{e}p\omicron\sigma\sigma\acute{a}m\epsilon\nu$ (=Od. 8. 34., 16. 348). The Verb $\acute{r}\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\iota$ to protect is unconnected with $\acute{e}p\omicron\omega$.

The Verb $\acute{e}p\omicron\rho\omega$ (probably Lat. verro) shows hiatus in the phrase $\acute{e}n\omicron\beta\acute{a}d\acute{e}$ $\acute{e}p\omicron\rho\\sigma\nu$ (II. 8. 239., 9. 364); cp. $\acute{\alpha}p\acute{\alpha}$-$e\rho\omicron\epsilon$, $\acute{\alpha}p\alpha$-$e\rho\omicron\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$. 

B b 2
The word occurs six times (counting the proper name 'Hvov'), and except in one place (where it begins the line) always requires an initial consonant.

In the phrase επι ἤρα φερεων: referred to the root var meaning to choose or wish.

The only instance of this word (II. 23. 126 μέγα ἤριον) is in favour of initial F.

An initial consonant is shown by hiatus in 23 places (ὁ δὲ ἱερο, οἴκαδε εἴμενων, &c.): there are four adverse places, viz. II. 18. 501, Od. 2. 327, 10. 246, 14. 142. It is not connected with ἵμι, but is to be referred to root vĩ, meaning to aim at, wish (L. Meyer, Bezz. Beitr. i. 301).

These words may be connected with εἶρο to tell. If so, the F of ἵρις is to be traced in ὀκέα ἵρις (19 times), ὃς ἐφαρ', ἐφρο δὲ ἵρις (three times), βάσιν ἵθι, ἵρι κτλ.; that of ἱρος, Od. 18. 73, 334 (but not always, see vv. 38, 56, 233).

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 ου, it produces no effect on the metre of Homer.

The following are words to which this rule will apply*:

ὁρῶ, ὀρος (and οὔρος) a watcher; ὀρεσθαι to watch. The original F (Germ. wahr-) will account for the forms ἐρῶν and ἐπι-ουρος, but there are no traces in the metre of such forms as ὁρᾶω, &c.

ὁρος mountain (cp. Βορέας), and ὁρθός upright, which may be from the same root (cp. the Laconian 'Ἀρτεμίς Βορθία). There is only one instance of hiatus (viz. Od. 3. 290 ἵσα ὀρεσσών).

ὁρτος (Sanscr. vartakas a quail) appears in the name Ὀρτυγή, which does not admit F (Od. 5. 123).

* See an article by Leo Meyer, K. Z. xxiii. pp. 49 ff.
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3x0 chariot (Lat. veho); ὀχλος (lit. movement, tossing), ὀχλέω to disturb (cp. ὀχλεύς and Lat. vectis); ὀχθέω (Lat. vehe-mens). A trace of F appears in the form συνεχόμος (II. 14. 465).

ὃς, ὧςα, ὧμή voice. The traces of F are, one instance of hiatus before ὅτα (Od. 11. 421), two of lengthening of a short syllable (II. 18. 222, Od. 12. 52), and one or two phrases such as ἄμεταζομέναι ὅτι καλῷ, &c.; while there are three undoubtedly adverse places (II. 11. 137., 21. 98, Od. 5. 61). In the case of ὧμή the evidence is clear against F; in ὧςα it is indecisive.

ὀὐρανός (Sanscr. varunas).

ὀὐλαί coarsely ground barley, connected with the root Fel-, meaning to roll, &c. Neither this word nor the derivative οὐλοχύται admits F.

ὀὐλαμός crowd, press of battle, shows traces of initial F in II. 20. 379 ἑδύντα ὦλαμον ἀνδρῶν and the phrase ἄνα οὐλαμὼν ἀνδρῶν (II. 4. 251, 273, 20. 113). It does not occur except in these places.

ὀὔτα, ὧτελη wound: cp. ὧ-ουτος unwounded, and the form γατάλαι in Hesychius.

ὠθέω (ὠθεον, ὧσα), root vadh to beat.

ὠνος price, Impf. ὠνούμην (Sanscr. vasnas, Lat. vēnum).

Other words which may have originally had initial F are, ὄρκος (cp. ἐπί-όρκος), ὄνυμι (ἐρ-όνυμος), ὄγνυμι (ἀνα-ολγεσκον, ἀνέγγε, &c.), ὄνυώ, ὦνος, οὐρή, &c. (L. Meyer, l. c.). However this may be, none of them show traces of F in Homer. There remain the forms of the Possessive ὄς to which the rule would apply, viz. ὃς, ὃν, ὃ, ὅν, ὄς. Hiatus is found before ὅν in 18 places (before ὅνδε ὅμονδε seven times, ὅν κατὰ θυμόν six times, in προτὶ ὅν four times), ὃς twice (II. 2. 832., 11. 330), ὃ once (Od. 15. 358). On the other hand there are 22 places in which the forms in question do not admit F. The significance of this proportion appears when we know that in the case of the remaining forms of the Possessive ὃς the places with hiatus number 50, the adverse instances 8, and that with the forms of the Personal Pronoun (ἐς, ὃ, &c.) the proportion is 728 to 19. It seems probable, therefore, that in the forms ὃς, ὃν, &c. the F was no longer pronounced, though traces of the former pronunciation remained (as in the case of οὐλαμός and ὧς). Similarly in English the sound of w is lost before the vowel o in who, whom, whose, but retained in which, what, &c.

The retention of F before the diphthong oi, as in oi, oio, ois, also in oikos and oinos, may indicate that o before i had not its ordinary sound, but one approaching to e (possibly like French eu). This agrees with the fact that oi
and v were afterwards identical in sound, and that in the modern language both are = i.

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.

έλκω, root vall or vilak (Knös, following Curtius): F is perhaps seen in κατά άλκα (Π. 13. 707., Οδ. 18. 375). This account of the word separates it from Lat. succus.

έλειν, έλωρ, possibly to be connected with Lat. voluer the bird of prey. The instances of hiatus before έλωρ are hardly enough to prove F.

έλος, from which the name Velia is said by Dionysius Hal. (Arch. 1. 20) to be derived, has no F in Homer (Π. 2. 584, 594, 20. 221, Οδ. 14. 474). The F of this word is also wanting in the Cyprian dialect (Deecke and Siegismund, Curt. Stud. vii. 249).

'Ήλις, 'Ήλειος is without F in Homer: φαλήτω is the form found on Elean and Laconian inscriptions.

έλος (Lat. valles) rejects F in Π. 11. 29 en δι έλοι: the two other places where it occurs prove nothing.

έιδω, ειδρώ (root vid): the σF is lost in Homer.

έμα, εινεμα: the derivation from the root vis is quite uncertain.

εκτη (Lat. Vesta): the forms αυ-εστίοι, εφεστίοι show that the F is lost in Homer (as also in the Laconian, Locrian, and Boeotian dialects, see § 404).

394.] Initial δF. This combination is to be recognised in two groups of words:—

δFεν- (δFε-), έδεισα (so Ar.), δέος, δεινός, δειλός, &c.

A short vowel is frequently lengthened before these words, as Π. 1. 515 οὐ τοι ἐπὶ δέος, Π. 11. 37 περὶ δὲ Δείμος τε Φάβος τε, Οδ. 5. 52 ὅς τε κατὰ δεινοῦς, Οδ. 9. 236 ἡμεῖς δὲ δεισαντες.

The cases in which a vowel is allowed to count as short before the δ of this root are extremely few: Π. 8. 133 βροντήσας δ' ἄρα δεινών, Οδ. 12. 203 τῶν δ' ἄρα δεισάνων (read ἄρα); Π. 13. 165 ἄντι ὡς δὲ δειοὶ δὲ. There remain only Π. 13. 278 ἐνθ' ὃ τε δειλὸς ἄνηρ (read ἐνθ' ὃς τε δειλὸς), Π. 15. 626, and the forms ὑποδείαται (Οδ. 2. 66), ἡδίασε (Π. 24. 663), ἀδείης (Π. 7. 117).

δήν, δηρόν, δηθά.

In δήν the F is required in the phrases οὐ τι μάλα δήν, οἶος ἀρ' εττλ δήν, &c.; there are no contrary instances. In δηρόν it is traced in two places, Π. 9. 415 (ἐπὶ δηρόν δὲ μοι αἶῶν), Οδ. 1. 203: but is more commonly absent (οὐκέτι δηρόν, &c.). The instances of δηθά do not show anything.

It is to be observed that except in έδεισα the original δF does not lengthen a vowel without the ictus. Compare the rule as to initial F lengthening a short syllable by Position, § 391.
396. Initial \( Fp \), &c. The metrical value of an initial \( \beta \) which represents \( Fp \) differs in the several words. It has always the effect of a double consonant in \( \rho \lambda \gamma \nu \nu \mu i, \rho \iota \pi \tau \theta o, \rho \acute{a} \kappa o, \rho \iota \nu \) (in \( \rho \nu \delta \acute{s}, \&c. \)), \( \beta \eta \) (in \( \beta \gamma \iota \delta \acute{s}, \beta \gamma \iota \theta \rho \)), and nearly always in \( \beta \nu \delta \acute{s} \) (except Od. 5. 281), \( \beta \iota \xi a \) (Od. 9. 390). But lengthening is optional in \( \rho \epsilon \zeta o, \rho \gamma \iota \epsilon o, \rho \beta \alpha \alpha : \) thus we have \( \epsilon \rho \rho \epsilon \zeta a \) and \( \epsilon \rho \rho \epsilon \zeta a \) (in 27 places); \( \iota \tau \pi o i \delta \varepsilon \rho \eta (\Pi. 8. 179) \), but \( \epsilon \nu \sigma a \) \( \kappa \varepsilon \iota \alpha \) \( k \tau l. ; \) \( \epsilon \rho \epsilon \gamma \xi \sigma o a n, \) but \( \delta \sigma \) \( \varphi \alpha t o \) \( \rho \gamma \gamma \sigma e \nu \) \( \delta \varepsilon \) \( k \tau l. \) As to \( \beta - \) standing for an older \( \sigma p - \), and the other letters (\( \lambda, \mu, \upsilon \)) which lengthen a preceding short vowel, see § 371.

398. \( F \) 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 \( \eta \rho \delta s \) the forms \( \nu \varepsilon o s, \nu \varepsilon \varepsilon s, \nu \varepsilon \nu \nu \nu, \nu \varepsilon \sigma o i s, \nu \varepsilon \sigma s (§ 94, 1) \) cannot be derived phonetically from \( \eta \eta \nu \nu \nu o s, \&c. \), unless we suppose loss of \( F \) to have taken place. The same applies to the double forms of Nouns in \( -e u s, \) as \( \Pi \eta \lambda \iota \iota o s \) and \( \Pi \rho \lambda \iota \iota o s, \&c. \) Unless the short vowel is explained on some other hypothesis (e.g. by variation in the stem, as in \( \zeta e o s \) and \( \beta o \omega s, \) § 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 \( \varepsilon \oslash s \) for \( \hbar \oslash s \) in Od. 2. 79 (see § 171, 1), \( \tau e \oslash s \) for \( \tau \hbar \oslash s \) in Il. 19. 189 \( \alpha \beta \theta i \tau e \oslash s \) \( \epsilon \nu \rho \gamma \gamma \iota \mu \iota \nu o s \) (where G. Hermann read \( \alpha \nu \tau o \nu \) \( \tau \hbar \oslash s \)), Il. 24. 658, Od. 18. 190: but this, as these instances show, is even rarer than synizesis in these words, and is almost certainly post-Homeritic.

Compound Verbs usually recognize \( F \), as \( \alpha \pi \rho - \epsilon i \sigma \nu o s \), \( \delta i a - e i \sigma \tau e \mu e n \), also with apocope \( \pi a r - e i \sigma \nu o s \) (\( \alpha \)), &c. Exceptions are: \( \alpha \pi - e i \sigma \tau e \mu e n \) (Od. 1. 91), \( \alpha \pi - e i \sigma \nu o t o s \) (Il. 19. 75), \( \delta i - e i \sigma e (I I. 10. 425), \nu \pi a r - e i \sigma e \) (Il. 1. 555): \( \kappa a t - e i \rho \nu \tau a i (O d . 8. 151, 14. 332, 19. 289) \): \( \varepsilon \nu - \iota \sigma e, \varepsilon \nu - \iota \iota \sigma e, \varepsilon \nu - \sigma a - o a, \iota \kappa a t - \iota \sigma a, \iota \iota - \iota \sigma a : \iota \iota - \iota \nu o e \) (11 places): \( \nu \iota \sigma e \) (Il. 1. 294, Od. 12. 177). In some of these forms metrical necessity may be pleaded; thus \( \iota \nu \iota - \iota \iota \nu o e \) and \( \iota \nu \iota - \iota \iota \nu o e \), \( \kappa a t - \iota \iota o n \) and \( \kappa a t - \iota \iota o n \) (\( - \omega - \) ) are alike impossible in the hexameter. Hence we may suppose a licence by which (as in the case of \( \varphi \rho, \beta \rho, \&c. \) § 370) the combinations \( \nu \varphi, \tau \gamma, \pi \varphi, \) 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 (\( \rho \) or \( \lambda \)), is vocalised as \( \nu \): \( \alpha \iota \lambda \alpha \alpha o i (\alpha - \iota \lambda \alpha \alpha o i), \alpha \iota \rho \nu o n o, \alpha \gamma a o s, \) \( \tau a l a u r i o n o s \) (\( \tau a l a - F p i o n o s \)), \( \varepsilon \nu a d e, \) \( \varepsilon \chi e a, \) \( \alpha \lambda e a s a h i, \) \( \delta e o m a i, \) \( \varepsilon \nu l h r a, \)
397.] Loss of initial σ and ι (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 σ may be seen in a few cases of the non-elision of prepositions: ἐπι-ἀμετερον (Lat. salio), ἀμφι-άλος (Lat. salio), ἀμφι-επον (Lat. sequor), κατα-ἀγχεται (ιγχο for σίγχω), and the lengthening in παρέχει (Od. 19. 113) and σύνεχες (Od. 9. 74). Hiatus is also found twice before ἥλη (Il. 14. 285, Od. 5. 257), once before ἔπνιοσ (Od. 10. 68), and 18 times before ἔσ (mostly in the principal caesura). These instances however are too few to prove anything.

Initial ι or y is chiefly traced in the Adverb ὡς, which when used after the Noun to which it refers is allowed to lengthen the final syllable: as θεός ὡς, ὄνωθες ὡς, &c. (so in 36 places). On the other hand there are nearly as many places which do not admit an initial consonant: as κτιλος ὡς (Il. 3. 196), λέονθ' ὡς (Il. 11. 383, 12. 293, 16. 756), θεός δ' ὡς κτάλ. Probably therefore no spirant was heard, and the lengthening of the syllable before ὡς was a mere 'survival' or traditional rule (§ 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 iactus: in 507 places it follows a long vowel or diphthong with iactus. 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 ' (§ 390), and ἱδω (§ 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 ' or ὅ, to lengthening of syllables which have the iactus.

399.] Theories of the F. The main question which arises on these facts evidently is: How can the great number of passages

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* A short vowel is also lengthened with iactus before ἔπος (Od. 10. 246), ἐπεραυ (Od. 14. 411), and in the Compounds ἄνω-εἰπον (Il. 19. 35) and ἀνω-ἐρογ, ἄνω-ἐροε (Il. 21. 283, 329).
in which the $F$ affects the metre of Homer be reconciled with
the not inconsiderable 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 consonantal sound for which it after-
wards 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 emen-
dations: 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 evi-
dence 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 σῶς or ὅς, either
πόλις or πόλεις, either τέλεσαι or τελέσαι, so he may have had the
choice between Ἁνάξ and ἄναξ, 'Fиνός and ἴνός, &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 "Ἀρης, ἄριστος, ἔγχος, ἡμαρ, ὑμελος, ὑβαλμος,
ὑδωρ, ὑπνος. 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 $F$, ἄναξ,
ἄστυ, ἄργον, ὠκος, and the Aorist ἰδεῖν. 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 ἀστυ, for example, is found very frequently in the combinations προτὶ ἀστυ, ἀνὰ ἀστυ, κατὰ ἀστυ, &c.; but these do not prove the pronunciation ἄστυ for Homeric times any more than (e.g.) ἐπιέκης proves an Attic ἐπιέκης. 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 F are not confined to the commonest words, or to frequently recurring phrases. Thus it is found in ιον a violet, ἴτους the felloe of a wheel, ἴτει a willow, ἀρνεῖς lambs. And it is used (generally speaking) in all the different forms of each Verb or Noun, whether of common occurrence or not (ιδεῖν as well as ἵδειν, ἵνεια as well as ἵς and ἵφι, &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 F can be clearly traced: but the proportion of instances which do not admit F is markedly different. Taking the words already used as examples, viz. ἄναξ, ἀστυ, ἔργον, οἰκος, ἰδεῖν, we find them in the Hymns 152 times, while the F 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, ὅψ, &c. (§ 393), we find similar conditions. The traces of F are undoubted, but do not predominate as with ἄναξ or ἀστυ. Other examples may be seen in the traces of the double consonants, σρ, σλ, σν, Φρ discussed in § 371. Compare the free use of alternate forms, as ἐρέξα and ἐρρέξα, προ-ρέω and ἐπιρρέω, with the almost invariable recognition of θφ in δέος, δείος, &c. We seem to be able to draw a broad distinction between the predominating influence of the F 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 F the effect is due to its retention as a living sound.

(3) A further argument in favour of F as a real sound in Homer has been derived from the places in which 'Fs, 'Fai suffer elision (§ 391); see Leaf's note on 11. 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 F 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,
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for instance, elision is not allowed before certain words beginning with $h$, as le héro, la 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 héro, 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 ὄγεν, ἀλώς, ἔρως, ἄλικης (with ἐλλικώτες, &c.), ἐπος, ἔρως, ἔτος, ἱαχτής, ἔθον—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 Homerid digamma. We cannot infer from them, for instance, that the symbol ϕ was ever used in any written copies of the poems, or that the sound which it represented in other dialects was known to the Homerid language. But they may serve by way of analogy to direct our conjectures on these questions.

The most striking examples of ϕ are found on the inscriptions of Corinth and its colony Coregra (as Φεκάβα, ΦύλαςΦος, Φίφης, Διπόλως, ΑίτςΦος, ΕκλέΦης, Φόρν, Φόριος, Τλασιατό, &c.). With these may be placed the Argive inscriptions (in one of which occurs Διιϕ), and the few Laconian inscriptions. In the older monuments of these dialects initial ϕ is never wanting; but omission in the body of the word is occasionally found, as in Δαιφοβός and Πολυζένα (on the same Corinthian vase), and several names ending in -κάης (for -κέλης), and -λας (for -λαφος). The scanty Phocian inscriptions yield the important forms Φεξ, αλέω, 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. ii. 207 ff.) we find it in Φαισός, Φέκατος, Φέκων, Φέτας, Φεσπάρος, Φοίκος and its compounds (επιφοικος, &c.), also in καταφέες, Φητανηκότα: but not in δαμωργός, ξένος, εννέα, 'Οπώστος (for original 'Οποφέτος). The only initial ϕ which is wanting is in the word ιστιαί (we may compare the Laconian and Homerid ϕέστιος). Similarly in the older Elean inscriptions initial ϕ is regular (Φάργον, Φέτος, Φράτρα, &c.); and we have also Εμφαόνος (people of Heraea ?), Φέβειν (prob. an Infinitive), but Φένος, Διός without ϕ. In the great inscription of Gortyn initial ϕ appears in Φός (συγσ), Φέω (=Φοί), Φέκαστος, Φεκάτερος, Φέρον, Φεργασία, Φήμα (έμα), Φείπας, Φοίκος, Φοίνος, Φάκες, Φεξηκοντα, and is only lost in άνα, άνάω (before ω, § 393). The ϕ is also found in Compounds, as έφισκόης, προφειπάτω, δυσδεκαετής, and in the body of the word Φοφομιωρος, but disappears between vowels, as in λάω (Gen. of λάος a stone), αιεί, παιδίον, the oblique Cases of Nouns in -ως and -ευς (ψίς, ψικέα, δρομές, &c.), and the contractions of άτα (άφάτη) and άς (for άφος, =εως). It is also lost before ρ, as in άπορροηθεντι.*

A somewhat later stage in the use of ϕ is well exemplified by the numerous Boeotian inscriptions. In these the general rule is that initial ϕ is retained: the only word from which it is regularly absent is έκαστος. On the other hand the only instances of

F in the body of a word are, the compound ἐκοσιετέεσ (ἐλκοσιετέεσ), and a group of derivatives of ἄειδο (αὐλαφυδός, τραγαφυδός, &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 Tabulæ Heracleenses (of the 4th cent.). We there find Ἐξ, Φέρος, Φιδίος, Φικάτι and the compound ἐγ-ἡληθίωντι (=ἐξ-ειληθῶσι), but ἕκαστος, Ἰς, ἄφ-ἐρξόντι, πεντάέπηρις, ἐργάζομαι, οἰκία, βίτρα: 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 Διθός and Δίδς, βασιλέφος and βασιλέως.

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 Β was probably = our v.

The substitution of v for F is characteristic of the Εolic of Lesbos, as εὐδε (for ἔφιδε), αὐδός, δευόμαι, εὐδενής (=ἐνδεῖς). In these forms the F is vocalised; cf. Homeric αὐίαχος (=ά-Φιαχος), εὐδε, ταλαιφόνιως.

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 (o or ο). The vowel usually precedes, as in Laconian ἔδοντας, ἔδοντε, Coreyan ἀποτεύφοντα, Boeotian Εὔφαρα, βακεύφα, Cyprian Εὔβαλων, Εὐφαγώρα, κατεσκεύασε: but we also find Τλασίαφο (Coreyr.), Πίλλαφος (Cypr.), Τιμοχάρφος (Cypr.), Φότι (Locr.). So perhaps the Boeotian αὐλαφυός, τραγαφυός, &c. (see above). With the former instances we might compare Italian Genova, Padova (for Genua, Padua); with the latter the ο of Italian uomo, upro, the w of whole, the provincial English wuts for oats, &c. With Fότι we should compare the form Naφπάκтов, 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 Ναύπακτος occurs on the inscription 19 times, the form with Να only once. Similarly against the single instance of Ἐτοί are to be set 2 instances of Ἐτι, and 5 others of the Relative Ἐς, in the older Locrian inscription. See Allen in Curt. Stud. iii. p. 252; Brugmann, ibid. iv. p. 153, n. 57: Tudeer, De digamma, p. 45.
out of the vowel υ or ο, 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 ἈΓΥΤΟ (≡ ἀντοδ) on a Naxian inscription of the end of the 6th century B.C. But, as has been pointed out,* the F of ἀσφαλος indicates at most a special way of pronouncing the υ, and is to be compared with the erroneous Νάφρακτος noticed above.

(2) The name of the city of Velia, which was founded by exiles from Phocaea (Φλεια marshes; but see § 393).

(3) The forms ΦΙΟ, ΓΑΡΠΑΤΟΝΕΣ, ΟΦΑΤΙΕΣ—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 (i. 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 α to η cannot be placed very early. The name Μᾶδοι underwent the change,—the original α appears in the form Μαδοῖ 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—Δάρειος, Μιθριδάρης, &c.—retain their α. Similarly the old Carian Μίλαιος 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 (cp. κόρη from κόρην). Consequently the loss of F in Attic must be later than the change of α to η, and a fortiori later than the Ionian migration. This inference is confirmed by the ο of the Comparatives κενότερος and στενότερος, pointing as it does to the forms

κευφός, στευφός (since the lengthening of the ε, as in Ionic κευνός, στευνός, never took place in Attic).

The former use of F 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 u, just as the Yod was taken for the vowel i. And as there is no Greek alphabet without Τ, it follows that the consonant F 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 F in the Ionic of Homer.

(a) Initial F had the value of a consonant, except before o or ω (§ 393).

(b) δF was retained, not only at the beginning of a word (§ 394), but also in ζδείσα, δείδια, &c.: we can hardly suppose compensatory lengthening in these forms.

(c) F between vowels is more doubtful (§ 396). Since initial F 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 λαυς, &c. we should have λαος, λαον, &c. (but F possibly in λαφοι, λαφοις): and again ηδος, ηδεος, ηδές, &c., Πηλεος, Πηληος, Πηληφι, &c. Then other Cases might follow the analogy of the Gen. Sing. and Plur., and so drop the F altogether. However this may be, it is clear that F between vowels was generally lost much earlier than F at the beginning of the word (cp. Italian amai for amavi, &c.). The absence of contraction proves little, as we see from the Attic χεω, εχεα, εχεε, &c. At the same time we occasionally find a partial survival of F in a vocalised form, making a diphthong with the preceding vowel (§ 396).

* As the Vau is written [Y] on the Moabite Stone, it has been suggested that it was the source of the Greek Τ. It seems not improbable that the letters F and Τ were at first only two forms of Vau, appropriated in course of time to the consonant F and vowel u,—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 ει 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 -α the MSS. usually have ει before α, ω, but η before ε, η. Thus in the Subj. of ειην, εστην we find βειω, στειωσι, &c., but βηης, στήσων, &c. There are one or two exceptions: κατάβηομεν once in A (II. 10. 97), επιβηομεν in good MSS. of the Odyssey (6. 262., 10. 334). Aristarchus however wrote περιστήνοο' in II. 17. 95 (where all the MSS. have περιστείων'), and βηομαι in II. 22. 431 (where the MSS. have either βείομαι or βίομαι): 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 -ε), the MSS. always have ει before α, ω, and usually before ε, η. Thus we find θειω, θείης, θεῖη, and less commonly θηης, θηη, &c. But Aristarchus wrote θηης, θηη, &c., and so in all similar cases, δαμηη, σαπηη, &c. As to θειω, δαμειω, &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 ει appears in some forms of the Aor. έκημα (for έκημα, see § 15), esp. κειομεν, κελαντες, κελαντο, κελαμενοι, κακ-κεία; also in the Pf. Part. τεθειωσω, and the 3 Plur. forms είσαι, είασο, ἀκαβωσαι. Aristarchus certainly wrote έκημα, τεθησο: and the form ἡματα (for ἡμ-ατα) is supported by ancient authority (Eust. Od. 20. 354.)

4. In the declension of Stems in -ες (for -εςω-) we sometimes find η throughout, as Ἰρακλης, Ἰρακλη, Ἰρακλη, sometimes η before ει and η, but ει before α, ω, ω: as ἀκληεις, ζαχρηεις, but ἀκλειως, εὐκλειας, εὐρρεως, ζαχρεων. So δειους, σπειους, but σπηηεις, σπηηεςις. In all these cases, however, the uncontracted ει should probably be substituted for η or ει (§ 105, 15). In χέρηη, χέρηησ, 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 -ως- in πλέως, κρέω-φάγος, κρεωκοπέω points to original πλῆς, κρῆς, κρής, instead of the usual πλεῖς, κρεῖς, κρεῖς. And ἐως, τέως are for ἤς, τής (not ἑως, as in the MSS.).

6. So Attic -εή points to -ηα, and accordingly we should have φρήαρ, στήαρ (instead of φρείαρ, &c.) ; and similarly ὄηαρ.

The rule adopted by Bekker and La Roche is phonetic. They write ει before 0, ou, ο, α, but η before ε, η, η. Thus they give στείω, στήμις; θείω, θήμις; ήμαι, είαται: 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 (ε. γ.) we find the strong Stem θη- in τίθη-μι, θῆ-σο, ἔθηκα, &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 Ε 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 ë), while η was of different quality (a more open e, French ë). Accordingly when Homeric η passed into ε in Attic, as in τέθηνας, τέθεως, there was a special tendency to make the archaic long vowel (which the metre requires) as like as possible to the ɛ of the living speech. So the forms στήω, βήω, ὄηω, στήμεν, &c. would be liable to change their η to ει under the influence of the New Ionic στέω, στέωμεν, &c.; and so too ἤς, τής became είως, τείως from the influence of ἐως, τέως. We may even suppose that η first became ε, and this ε was afterwards lengthened to fit the metre,—just as Wackernagel supposes ὅρω to have been changed to ὄρω through the intermediate form ὅρα (§ 55).
A similar account is to be given of the forms which exhibit ε for ή or ή, as πνευμα breathes, θειευτ to run, χειν (Subj.) shall pour, πλειωνει sailing, πλειωνει celebrate (§ 29, 3). The original Present is preserved in στειμ and δευμιμ, cp. the Aorists τεκνα, ἰεπισαγα. When -ευω passed into -ε-ω and then -εω, the ε was lengthened by the force of the metre, and became ει. So the ει of κεινες (for κρύνες or κράνες, from καιω) is to be attributed to the Attic i Aor. Part. κεις. But the Verbs in -ευω (§ 51, 3), or some of them, may be Verbs in -ηω: e.g. δευνη, like Εοικιοι ποθη, ἀδυκην.

It is probable that in the same way the α of φαά (Plur. of φας), αϊρ, αειδο, αωνε, αἰων, αεισα, αορ, αλαιής, ζαίς, &c. represents αω. The lengthening cannot well be merely metrical, as in δβαναρος &c. (§ 386).

In some cases ει takes the place of an ε which was long by Position: as δειδουκα for δεϊδουκα, and perhaps ειδαρ for εϊ-θαρ.

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 δεύμενον, δείταια, δείουντα, ἐννα, ἰδρύσειλος, πολεος, and Genitives in -κλεως (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 τεθνεώτας, στειλωτι, 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 Odysse 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 Εοικιοι dialect; that some three centuries later (about 540 B.C.) they were translated into Ionic; and that in this process every Εοικιοι 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 Εοικιοι 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 Ionic 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 ($ανίχωσ$ and the like, § 396) is characteristically Æolic: cp. the Æolic εὐδε (for ε-φιδε), αὐηρ (for ἄφηρ), αὐάτα (=ἀτη), &c. The prothetic ε- of ἔδνα (ἐ-έδνα), ἐίκοσι, ἐψργω, &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-
tives in -ά (as μητίερα, &c.), in the Perfect forms ἀκάχησα, ἀκαχήμενος, ἀλάχησα, ἀλαχήμενος, ἐγρήγορσαι, also in ἀπούρας, ξάς, ἀλλυδις, πόσι; the smooth breathing in ἀτό (ἐπ-ἄλμον), ἐμορε, υββάλλειν, ἢμβροτον, ἢμαρ, ἢμαξα, ἢμώδης, ἢμόθεν, ἢμος, ἐπ-ιστοι, αὐτ-όδιον (όδος); and both peculiarities in the Pronouns ὅμες and ὅμες.

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 ὅμες, ὅμυρ, ὅμε und ὕββαλλειν mag die psilose aus dem äolischen dialect erschlossen sein, in den übrigen fallen liegt wohl frühe überlieferung vor' (Odyssey, 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 ἀμμὶ(v) as a typical instance. Fick holds that the Æolic ἀμμὶ(v) 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 ἗μὶ is metrically different (— instead of —). The alternative is to suppose that the original Homeric language had a form with short i—as in Doric ἵμὶ—and that in later times, when this form had gone out of use, the Æolic ἀμμὶ(v) took its place in the text. Such a substitution is eminently natural. The rhapsodists were doubtless familiar with the Æolic Pronouns, and their adoption of the form ἀμμὶ(v) was simply putting the known in place of the unknown. In the case of ὑμὶ(v) and ὑβαλλεῖν Fick himself takes this view. But if the form ἵμὶ(v) 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 (νύμφα), the Gen. in -οιο (−οο), -ῶ, -ᾱῶ: the Dat. Plur. in -εσσία(ν): the Gen. of Pronouns in -θεν: the forms ἄμμες, ἀμμὶν, ὑμὲς, ὕμιν, ὑμὲ: the Pres. in -ῶ, -η (−εω), -ῶ: the Inf. in -μεναι and -μεν: the Pf. Part. in -ων (as κεκλήγων for κεκληγὼς): the Nouns in -ᾱος, -ᾱῶν (λαός, ὑπάων, διδυμάων, and many proper names); θέα, Ναυσικάα, and some proper names in -εῖα, -εῖας (in Ionic -ης). Other Æolic words in Homer are γέλος (γέλως), πλέες (πλέουσες), πίσυρες (Ion. τέσσερες), ἦμμροτον (ημαρτον)—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 θέα (Ionic only θεός), πολυπάμων (Æol. πεπάμαι—κήκτημαι), ἐμορпе (in Ionic only Middle εἰμαρμαι), ἐνήμαρ, ἐννοσίγαος, ἄργεννος, ἐρέβιβος. So ὄππως was retained because the Ionic form was ὅκως, never ὅκκως: and ὄππως again led to the retention of ὅτως.

In order to determine how far these forms are proofs of an Æolic
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Homer, it is necessary to distinguish between those which are specifically Æolic, i.e. Æolic 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. -οσγο), -ᾶο, -ᾶων (New Ion. -εω, -εων), 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 ‘Æolic’ only because they were retained in Æolic (among other dialects), but were altered or lost in Attic and Ionic. The same may be said of the endings of the Pronouns ἄμες, &c. They appear also in the corresponding Doric forms ἄμες, ἄμε, Dat. ἄμιν, ἄμιν, Acc. ἄμι, ἄμι. 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 -εσσί is not proved to be 'Pan-hellenic,' and is certainly less primitive than the form in -σι (§ 102). The case stands thus: Ionic has only -σι, Æolic only -εσσί, in Homer both are found (-εσσί being rather less frequent). Therefore, says Fick, the language of Homer is Æolic,—not the later Æolic, in which every Dat. Plur. ended in -εσσί, but an earlier, in which -εσσί had begun to take the place of -σι. The same may be said mutatis mutandis of the Genitives ἐμὲν, σίδεν, ἐδεν, and the Particibles κεκληγων, 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 Æolic: 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, -ο, -ο, -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. θέμεναι, θέμεν, θείναι. 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 -οιο in Alcaeus as taken from the living Eolic of Lesbos (Odyssee, p. 14), it follows that Lesbian retained a form which had died out of the supposed old Eolic of Homer's time. Again, the Fem. Voc. in -α appears to be regular in Lesbian Eolic: whereas in Homer it is found only in the isolated νυμφα. This is therefore another point in which historical Eolic is more primitive than Homer. The argument would apply also to the Gen. in -αο and -ών, if it were certain that -ει and -εον belong to the original Homeric language.

4. Among the forms now in question there are many instances of ά for which Ionic must have had η, and which therefore—Fick argues—cannot have come to Homer from Ionic. Such are, the Gen. in -άο, -άων, which must have appeared in Old Ionic as -ηο, -ηων, whence New Ionic -ει, -εον: the Participles πεινηον, διψαον: the Nouns in -αος, -αων: the word θεία, and some proper names, 'Ερμείας, Αινείας, 'Πελα, 'Πελα, Ναυσκάδα: the words λάος, ἄηρ (Gen. ἄερος), δαίηρ (§ 106, 1), τετρ-άορος (Od. 13. 81), perhaps also the Perfects ἔιδως, ἔγα (§ 22, 1). The normal change to η appears in νησις (νησος for νησός, &c.), νησος temple, ἡς, ἡλιος, παρ-ηρος, δήος (Ειολ. δαφνος), κλης, ῥήδιος, πησος. Against the Nouns in -άων we can only set the single form παιηον.

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 ά in all these forms. This however is not a complete answer to Fick. We have to explain how this primitive ά was retained in these particular cases, when the change of ά to η took place generally in the dialect. For we can hardly suppose that the change of -αο, -αων to -ηο, -ηων (on the way to -ει, -εον) 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 ά in Homer was due, generally speaking, to the influence of the literary dialects, especially Attic and Eolic.

Let us take the case of λαός (λαφός), which in some ways is typical. The Ionic form ηος is quoted from Hipponax (fr. 88 Bergk), and is preserved, as Nauck acutely perceived (Mel. gr.-rom. iii. 268), in the Homeric proper names Δήθος, Δειόκριτος (for Δηόκριτος), and Δευόθης (Ληο-φάδης). Fick supposes that when Homer was translated into Ionic the form ηος had become antiquated, and accordingly, as λαός was metrically different, λαός was retained. If so, however, the proper names would a fortiori have remained in their Eolic form
(Λάδος, Λαόκροτος), just as the older form *θύρος for θύρος is preserved in the names Θεράιης, Θερίλωχος, 'Αλιθέρης, Πολυθερείδης, &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 ηὺς 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 ηὺς back into λαός, or (it may be) to prevent the change to ηὔς from taking place.*

The same considerations apply to θάός, the form ηνος occurring on a metrical inscription (Epigr. Kaib. 743, quoted by Nauck, Méth. gr.-rom. iv. 579): and to the name Ἀμφιάρδος, for which Ἀμφιάρδος was read by Zenodotus (Schol. Od. 15. 244), and is found in the MSS. of Pindar. So we find in II. 11. 92 Βιοψάρα (MSS.), Βιώσαρα (Aristarchus); in II. 14. 203 Πεῖς (MSS.), Ρείς (Ar. Aristoph.); in II. 13. 824 Βουγόες (Ar. and MSS.), Βουγιές (Zenod.). In II. 18. 592 Ἀριήδην (Zenod. — for Ἀριάδνη?); in Od. 13. 81 τετράφορον, but elsewhere in Homer συνήφορον, παρήφορον. These variations show that the question between α and η was often unsettled even in Alexandrian times †. On the same principle Fick would read Ποσειθήώνος in Archilochus (fr. 10), comparing the month Ποσειθήων (Anacr. fr. 6).

As a negative instance, we may notice the case of ἐως and τέως. These go back to a primitive Greek δφός, τάφος, which would become in Old Ionic ἄς, τῆς, in New Ionic and Attic ἐός, τέος. The existence in Homer of such metrical deformities as ἐως ὡς ταβ 'άρμαυε is proof that later usage had the strongest influence on the formation of the text.

The α of Genitives in -αο and -αω (for -αου) 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 E-sound took place after the α in these endings had been shortened.

* 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 ορήτο for οράτο (II. 1. 198), κρητός for κρατός (II. 1. 530). Perhaps Βούγιός and Ἀριήδην fall under this head: and ὁρμαί, which stands in our text (Od. 14. 343), is to be placed with ὁρήτο. The most probable account of these forms surely 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 -āo, -āω, -ew and -āων, -āων, -eων (not -āo, -ηο, &c.). It is also not improbable that the shortening had taken place in the time of Homer, so that -āo and -āων were then archaic (as -oω almost certainly was). There are 54 instances of the Gen. Plur. Fem. in -eων (-ων) in Homer, against 306 in -āων (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 -āo see § 376, i. Now if the forms in -āo and -āων were then archaic, they might be exempted, by the force of a poetical tradition, from the general phonetic law or tendency which turned ā into η in the Ionic dialect. And the influence of Old Attic and other literary dialects which retained the ā would operate the more decisively. However this may be, it is clear that the causes which retained the ā of λαός, ναός, παράφως, ξυνάρως, δάος, παύς, πέπαρμα in the Old Attic of tragedy, may have operated at an earlier time in favour of -āο and -āων.

The question between ā and ε in the later form of these endings would naturally be settled by the example of Ionic in favour of -ew, -eων: but it is worth noticing that the result has not been the same in the Gen. of Neuters in -āς (§ 107, 3). Here the Ionic ε appears in Homer in the declension of οἶδας, κώδας, κτέρας, but not in γήρας, δεπάων, τεράων. The tendency to uniformity works much more powerfully on a large class of words, such as the Nouns in -ā (-η), than on a small group, like the Neuters in -āς. But the survival of -άος, -άων in the latter makes it probable that -άω, -άων were at one time the Homeric forms, anterior to -ew, -eων.*

A singular problem is presented by the ā in the two forms πεινάων (Acc. πεινιάοντα) and δυσάων, as to which see § 55, 8. As these verbs belong to the small group in which contraction gives η instead of ā, it seems at first sight strange that they should be the only examples of -άων in the Participle. But the connexion between the two phenomena appears when we consider that the contraction in πεινάς, &c. implies the steps āe > ηe > η, consequently that the exceptional feature in it is precisely the retention of the long vowel. Thus it remains only to explain the combination āω, āο, which in Ionic should become ηω, ηο.

* The fact that -ew and -eων are scanned with synizesis, except in θυρέων and πολέων, is unimportant. Obviously an ending such as -eων can only be scanned ω when it is preceded by one, and not more than one, short syllable. It will be found that θύρη and πόλη are the only Nouns in -η which fulfil this condition.
5. In his earlier work on the Odyssey Fick recognised both ἄν and κεν as Homeric; but subsequently he came to the conclusion that ἄν is everywhere due to the Ionic translators (Ilias, p. xxiii). His main argument is that of the 43 instances of ἄν in the Ionic poets (Archilochnus, &c.) there are not more than 21 in which it could be changed into κεν (κε, κε') 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 ἄν, and only 13 in which it cannot be changed into κε(ν). Again in Ἀeschylus (excluding chorus) there are 212 instances of ἄν, of which 73 are unchangeable. In the Ἐδιπύς Τύραννος the number is 31 out of 107. In the Ηἰλια, without counting ἐν and ἐτέν, the instances of unchangeable ἄν are 43 out of 156. This is nearly the same proportion; and we admit that in a few cases ἄν has replaced an original κεν. Moreover it has been already shown, on quite independent grounds, that the combination οὖκ ἄν is Homeric (§ 362). There can be little doubt, therefore, that while κε(ν) is distinctive of Ἑλικ, as ἄν of Ionic and Attic, the Homeric dialect possessed both Particles. It may seem strange that κε(ν), which is commoner than ἄν in Homer, should have died out of Ionic. On the other hand ἄν 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.) στήμεν, στήσε, but στής, στήμα, στήσει (not στήνει, στήνει, στήσουμε?) 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 Ἑλικ, 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 Ἑλικ into New Ionic may
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 Æolic, 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 Æolic between the 9th and the 7th centuries. But the gap thus made between the earliest known Æolic and the supposed Æolic of Homer is a serious weakening of his case.

(b) The moveable -v is unknown in Æolic, 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 (ἄπινγ for ἄφιει, &c.) is common to Æolic and New Ionic. Why then does it not appear in Homer?

(d) The forms of the type of ὀπῶ, ὀπῶντες, &c. (§ 55) are not accounted for by Fick's theory. This is recognised by Fick himself (Odyssey. p. 2). He adopts the view of Wackernagel, supposing that the Attic forms ὀπῶν, ὀπῶντες were introduced into the recension of Pisistratus, and that these were afterwards made into ὀπῶ, ὀπῶντες 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 ὀπῶ, 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 ὀπώ or ὀᾶ (see H. Weir Smyth, Vowel-system &c. p. 111); but the argument holds in either case. If the form was ὀπὼ (as is made probable by the Homeric ὀμῶκυον, &c. § 55, 10), that form is metrically equivalent to the original, and on Fick's theory would have been adopted. If it was ὀᾶ, which is metrically different, then on Fick's theory the original Æolic would have been retained.

(e) The forms ἀως and τᾶος, as has been already noticed, have crept into the text in spite of the metre; on Fick's theory the original ἀος and τᾶος must have been preserved.
Many Attic peculiarities may be noted: ὀὖν for ὃν (which Aristarchus counted among the proofs that Homer was an Athenian): πῶς, πότε, &c. for κῶς, κότε, &c.: the two Genitives δεῖος and σπεῖος (for δέεος, σπέεος): Neuters in -ας, Gen. -ας (instead of -εος): ἄρσην (for Ἠολικ and Ionic ἄρσην): τέσσαρες for Ionic τέσσαρεις; κρέαςων, μεῖζων for κρέαςων, μεῖζων. Cp. also ἔαγα (Ionic ἔηγα), and ἐάδοτα (§ 22, 1), for which Ionic analogy would require ἐγηδότα.

The Ἠολικ forms ἄμμιν(ν), ἄμμυ(ν) are not used quite consistently: thus we find the form ἄμμυν in three places (II. 13. 379., 14. 85, Od. 12. 275), but ἥμιν in three others (Od. 8. 569., 11. 344., 17. 376). On Fick's theory ἥμιν, if it was an Ionic form, would have been adopted. Again ἄμμυν is occasionally used where ἥμιν 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 Ἠολικ influence (as Fick allows in the case of ἄμμεσ). 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 Ἠολικ element?

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 μὲν in ἥ μὲν, καὶ μὲν, and other combinations where Attic would have μῆν (§ 345). On the other side it may be said that the retention of μὲν (see § 342) was due to the want of the form μῆν in Ionic. But if μὰν were an original Ἠολικ 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 Ἠολικ forms are: Πράμος (Ἑολ. Πέρραμος), τρίτος (Ἑολ. τέρτος), κάλος (Ἑολ. κᾶλος, 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 μερότων ἀνθρώπων, νῆδυμος (or ἂννυμος) ὅπως, ἀνὰ πτολέμου γεφύρας, are used with little or no sense of their original meaning, but evidently as part of a common poetical stock. Doubtless the Gen. in -οίο was already poetical, perhaps also the Gen. in -αο and in -αιον. 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 ΑΕolic, 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 ἐελμένοι crowded). Baunack however takes it for καταφηλμένοι, supposing loss of F 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 ἀκεύω, which survived in Cyprus (ἀκεύει τηρεῖ Κύπρων) and Crete (Law of Gortyn, ii. 17). Hence the Attic ἀκήσω (for ἀκ-ήκου), and presumably also an earlier form *ἀκονα, formed like ἀνωγα, and passing into ἀκούω as ἀνωγα passed into ἀνώγω. This
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explains the use of ἄκοιω with the Perfect meaning (§ 72, 4), which accordingly is not quite parallel to the similar use of πωθάνομαι, μανθάνω, &c. Other Homeric examples are διόίκω (§ 29), in which the want of reduplication may be original (§ 23, 5), and ἐλήκω (§ 22, 9, b.). The form ἡκὼ, which is probably of this nature, occurs in our MSS. of Homer (II. 5. 473., 18. 406, Od. 13. 325., 15. 329), but Bekker substituted the undoubtedly Homeric ἦκω (La Roche, II. T. 287).

The form ἐνίππη τεβοκαδ, which occurs several times in Homer (usually with the variants ἐνίππητε and ἐνίππητε), 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 τ of the stem may be due to the influence of the Pres. ἐνίπτω and the Noun ἐνίπτη (cp. § 25, 3). Buttmann acutely compared it with ἐπέκηγον, which is evidently related to πλήσω and πληγή as ἐνίππην τον ἐνίπτω (ἐνίσσω) and ἐνίπτη. The reduplication is of the type of ἐρέματο.

§ 42 (p. 44). The Aor. ἐτράφην, which occurs four times in our texts of the Iliad, is probably post-Homeric. In II. 2. 661 for the vulgate τράφη ἐν (μεγάρῳ) nearly all MSS. have τράφ' ἐν. If this is right we should doubtless read τράφ' ἐν in the two similar places, II. 3. 201 and II. 222. In II. 23. 84 the MSS. have ἄλλ' ὤμοι ὦς ἐτράφην περ, with the v.l. ἐτράφημεν: the quotation in Ἀσχίνα (Timarch. 149) gives ὦς ὤμοι ἐτράφεμεν περ, from which Buttmann (Ausf. Sprachli. ii. 307) restored ὦς δ' ὤμοὶ ἐτράφεμεν περ. On the other hand the Thematic ἐτραφοῦ occurs with intransitive or passive meaning in II. 5. 555., 21. 279 (where ἐτραφ' is the only possible reading), and in the recurring phrase γενέθαι τε τραφεῖν τε. The variation in the MSS. (including the vox nihili ἐτράφεμεν) 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 δ' καὶ ὀστεά κτλ. See Christ (Proll. p. 115) to whom I am indebted for the reference to Buttmann.

§ 62 (p. 56). The derivative verbs in -αλω are often frequentative or intensive, but with a tone of contempt: e.g. μμαλάω I loiter, ἀλακάω I shirk, πτωσακάω I covet (stronger than πτώσω, cp. II. 4. 371 τι πτώσεις, τί δ' ὀπισθεὶς πολέμου γεφύρας; οὐ μὲν τυδί ί' ὣς δέ φιλων πτωσακάεμεν ἤνε: ἀκούσομαι I please myself with hearing (II. 4. 343 δαιεῖς ἀκούσομοιν, Od. 13. 9 ἀκονάζεσθε δ' αὐδών): so νεών and νευτάλω (II. 20. 162), μίνιμι and μινάλω (Od. 8. 271), ῥίπτω and ῥυπτάζω, ἔρω and ῥυστάζω, εἶλω and εἴλιφάζω.
§ 67 (p. 61). With ἐνδανοῦ compare the Aor. form Ἕξα (for ἔξα), preserved in the text of Zenodotus in II. 13. 166 (ἐνενάξε for ἐνείαξε) and 257 (κατέξαμεν for κατάξαμεν). In this case the change to η did not make its way into the vulgate—perhaps because the form Ἕξα, which suggested it, was a rarer word than ἐνδανοῦ.

§ 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: εἰσπραξάτων αὐτοῦς οἱ ἐρημεύναι, συνεισπραξάτων δὲ αὐτοίς καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ (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 δ' ἀνιωρο μὴ 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 -ων, and all Nouns in -ην (Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 206, p. 544).

§ 99* (p. 84). To the examples of metaplastic Neut. Plur. used with collective meaning add ἀπορεῖα evening-time (Od. 17. 191), νεῦρα sinews (used in II. 16. 316 of one bowstring), πλευρὰ side (II. 4. 468), παρειά cheeks (Neut. Plur. in II. 22. 491 according to Aristarchus). It may be suspected that ἐρεμοὶ oars belongs to this group, since the Sing. in later Greek is always ἐρεμὸς, and a Neut. ἐρεμῶν is contrary to analogy, and only rests on the phrase εὐφρὲς ἐρεμῶν (Od.), for which we can read εὐφρέον' ἐρεμῶν.

§ 102 (p. 86). It appears that the stems in -ᾱ originally formed a Loc. Plur. in -ᾁς (as well as -ᾁσυ and -ᾁσί) ; hence Lat. forās, aliās, devās (Inscr.). Hence it is possible that the few Homeric forms in -ας or -ᾱς which cannot be written -ᾱς' represent this -ᾱς (Brugmann, Grundr. ii. § 358, p. 704).

§ 110 (p. 95). The question between πάντη and πάντη cannot be
NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

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 oftenest 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 ὑδες ἄντιμι in Od. 12. 369 we may read ὑδος ἄντιμη, as suggested by Baumeister on Hom. H. Merc. 110.

§ 116, 5 (p. 109). ἤγης has been explained as a Compound, viz. of the prefix su- (su-manas, &c.) and a stem from the root ἰγά (Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. vi. 161).

§ 117 (p. 110). Adjectives in -τες are often used with some of the meaning of a Comparative, i.e. in words which imply a contrast between two sides: as in ἐσπερός evening and ἡμιος or ἡριος morning, ἰμάτιος day and νίχος night, ἀγρός (cp. ἀγρότερος), βείος (cp. βείωτερος), ἀλιος (opposed to dry land), νότιος, ζεφύριος (opp. to north and east), δαμύνος, ξείνος, δούλος. The suffix serves to form a kind of softened Superlative in ἵσχάτιος and ἱστάτιος, lit. 'of the last': and the same analogy yields ἵσσατιος from ἵσσος, a formation like Lat. quantulus. The Comparative force of -τος, -τος in the Pronouns is noticed by Brugmann (see § 114, p. 101).

§ 121 (p. 115 foot). The ω of σοφότερος, &c. has lately been discussed by J. Wackernagel (Das Dehnungsgesetz der griesch. Composita, pp. 5 ff.). He treats it along with the ω which we find in ἐτερωθ, ἐτέρωσε, ἀμφοτέρωσε, &c., also in ἢτρωσινη, and shows that if we derive it from a Case-form in -ω (as κατογέρω 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 i of the Locative, see § 378), which is found in Vedic Sanscrit.

λαρώτατος (Od. 2. 350) points to a Homeric form λαερός, which we can always substitute for λαρός. It is probably for λας-ερός from λας- 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,
pp. 21 ff.) as the result of a primitive contraction, or Crasis, with the
final vowel of the first part: e. g. δυσώνυμος for ὄμο-ωνυμος. 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 con-
traction 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: ὄμηγυρνος for ὄμο-
αγυρις, πεπωβόλον for πεμπ-οβόλον, &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 ε- upon the initial vowel of the verb-stem.
We may compare also the Subjunctive forms δύναμι, ἀδηπωμι, &c. (§ 81).
Thus the later contraction, as in σκηντούχοσ, Άυκούργος, stands in the
same relation to the older forms now in question as εἰχον, &c. (with ει
for εε) to ἠλατά, ἠμοσα, &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, ἀμφ-ήρατος,
φθα-ήνωρ (cp. φθιστ-μεθρος). But lengthening does not take place
if the vowel is long by position (e. g. ἑτερ-αλκης, Ἀλεξ-ανδρος, ἀναδήσις),
which seems to indicate that the preservation—though not the origin
—as of the lengthened stem was a matter of rhythm (as in σοφό-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 βωτιάνεια (άντιάνεια, κυδιάνεια), ἄργυδοντες, εὐρύσα,
ἐυρνάγυνα, 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 πα-, as παν-άποτμος, παν-ἀφώλικς, παν-άφώρος, Παν-αχαϊος, and with
Prepositions, as ἐν-αρίθμος, ἐπενάντιος (p. 55). Such words as ἀν-αρέτης (Π. 16. 31), ἅλαθρ-αγόρις (Π. 23. 479), ἀν-ἀλεθρός (Π. 13. 761
touς δ' εἰπ' οὐκετέ πάμπαν ἀπίμονας οὔδ' ἀκόλεθρους), ἀνάπονον (Π. 1. 99),
δυσ-αριστοτόκεια (Π. 18. 54), have all the appearance of being of the
poet’s own coinage.

On the view here taken the lengthening in ὄλεσίκαρτος 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 ἄνερρίπτον δὰς πρῶτος they threw up the salt sea (each) with his oar-blade. So in the recurring phrase of the Odyssey δὰς τὸπτον ἑρεμοῖς we should probably read ἑρεμοῖς (§ 102), which may be similarly distributive. Or we may take ἑρεμοῖς in a collective sense, oarage.

§ 173, 2 (p. 162). For the use of the Dual with a large number which contains the numeral δῶ, cp. πεντακοσίας έκοσι δυοίν δραχμαίν in an Attic inscription of the 5th century (Meisterhans, p. 45, 4). This is a good parallel to Od. 8. 35. 48 κούρω δῶ καὶ πεντήκοντα.

§ 198 (p. 180). Notice under this head the use of ἐπί with a Comparative, Od. 7. 216 οἱ γὰρ τι στυγερῷ ἑπὶ γαστρὲ κῶντερον 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 οὐδὲν ἑπὶ τούτῳ ἐσται ἐλαφρότερον.

§ 241 (p. 206). In Il. 17. 155 it is better to take όκαθ’ ἴμεν with ἐπιπείλοσται, 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 ὢδομι κατελθόντα seems to be ‘timeless,’ meaning if I were to see him go down (Goodwin, § 148). Mr. Carter, in the article quoted above, ranks εἰ ἠλιον 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 περιπλοκένων ἐπαντοῦ, &c. (§ 243, 1). Thus εἰ ἠλιον 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 οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Υπερίωνος οἱ δ’ ἀνώντος, where the place of sun-set—not of a particular sun-set—is intended.

§ 297 (p. 269). In the Law of Gortyn πρῶν 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 κομιστρα α’ κα λῇ δόμεν ἀνὴρ ἡ γυνα, ἡ Φήμα ἡ δυώδεκα στατήρας ἡ δυώδεκα στατήρων χρησ
πλοιον δε μή (sc. δώσο) 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 ei kai génei ústéros ἤν, but η kai is found in the two Venetian (AB) and the Townley and Eton MSS. The scholia show that the ancients knew nothing of ei, and only doubted between η (in the sense of if) and ἤ.

§ 348, 4 (p. 318). In II. 18. 182 one of the editions of Aristarchus had τίς τάρ σε (for τίς γάρ σε). Cobet adopts this, and would read τάρ 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 τ' ἀρ into his text.

§ 370 (p. 342). To the instances of shortening before -βρ- should be added ἱβροδέους (II. 10. 65), which is a derivative verb from the stem which we have in the two forms ἱμαρ- and ἱ(μ)βρο- (cp. ἱμβρον). The appearance of po instead of pa (for g) is Ἐολικ.

§ 405 (p. 382). A parallel to the Naxian ΑΦΤΟ has now been found in the form ΑΦΤΑΠ on an Attic inscription of the VIth cent. B.C. (see J. van Leeuwen, Mnemos. xix. 21). Further instances of Chalcidian F (ποκέων, σαφει;) 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.**

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