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The development of the Proto-Indo-European syllabic liquids in Greek
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6. The epic reflex -ρα- and the origin of the *McL* licence in Homer

6.1 The reflex -ρα- and the metrical behavior of καρδίη

So far, we have encountered three compelling pieces of evidence for **r* > -αρ- in Ionic-Attic: ταφύς, καρτερός, and κάρτα. Besides, we have seen that a large number of forms with -ρα- or -αρ- can be explained as analogical zero grades: *u*-stem adjectives (κρατύς, πλατύς, βραχύς), *s*-stems (κράτος, θάρσος), forms of comparison (κράτιστος). Finally, we have found evidence for artificially created epic forms, such as κάρτος, κάρτιστος. The main remaining task is to explain the large body of Greek forms with **r* > -ρα-.

Upon a closer inspection, it appears that most forms with -ρα- < **r* only occur in poetry, and in Epic Greek in particular.⁵⁹⁶ When there are variant forms with -ρα- and -αρ-, it is often possible to indicate a distribution, as in the following examples⁵⁹⁷:

PGr. pre-form	Prose form	Poetic form
* <i>krteró-</i>	καρτερός (also poetic)	κρατερός
* <i>kṛta</i>	κάρτα	
* <i>kṛtaiwó-</i>		κραταιός
* <i>kṛti-</i> >> * <i>kṛtai-</i>		κραται-
* <i>k^vetrto-</i>	τέταρτος (also poetic)	τέτρατος
* <i>kṛdiā-</i>	καρδίη, καρδία (also poetic)	κραδίη, κραδία

Table 6.1: variant forms with -ρα- and -αρ- in Ionic-Attic

In all these cases, the forms with -ρα- are found exclusively in Epic Greek and in later poetry, while -αρ- is the only reflex found in (Ionic and Attic) vernacular forms. The cases of -ρα- are normally considered to be phonological archaisms that were preserved because of their metrical utility. In other words, it is thought that the forms καρτερός, τέταρτος, and καρδίη arose by analogy in the vernacular and were then introduced into Epic Greek, where they supplied metrical alternatives for the original outcomes with -ρα-. As we have seen in the previous chapter, however, it is impossible to explain καρτερός by analogy or as an inner-Epic artificial formation. Moreover, τέταρτος cannot be explained by analogy, and must therefore be the regular outcome of **k^vetrto-* (section 2.6).

Let us now consider the case of καρδίη : κραδίη, which is of cardinal importance for the entire question. The attestations are as follows. Homer has both καρδίη and κραδίη, of which the latter occurs only in a thrice-repeated verse and in the compound θρασκευάρδιος ‘stout-hearted’.⁵⁹⁸ In Classical prose, on the other hand, the only form is Attic καρδία, Ionic καρδίη. The form with -αρ- is also predominant in poetry, being found in e.g. Archilochus (5x), Alcman, and in Sappho, where it must be a borrowing from Ionic poetry. On the other hand, after Homer the form with -ρα- is limited to dactylic poetry, and occurs only in Pindar, Bacchylides, and lyrical passages in Aeschylus and Euripides (total 11x).

⁵⁹⁶ Exceptions are τράπεζα and στρατός, but in my view these two forms have to be explained as epicisms in Classical prose.

⁵⁹⁷ For the forms with **kṛt-*, see the previous chapter.

⁵⁹⁸ The αρ-variant καρδίη occurs only three times (*Il.* 2.452, 11.12, 14.152) in the repeated line καρδίη ἄλληκτον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι, in enjambment with the preceding line ending in ἐν δὲ σθένος ὄρσεν ἐκάστω (or a transformation), with the dative καρδίη depending on the preposition ἐν.

Both forms continue the weak stem **k̑rd-* of the PIE root noun for ‘heart’, which was extended in Greek with a suffix **-iā-*.⁵⁹⁹ It is usually supposed that *κραδίη* is the regular outcome of PGr. **k̑rdiā* (e.g. Schwyzer 1939: 342, Rix 1992: 65), and that the classical prose form *καρδία* analogically introduced the vowel slot of *κῆρ* ‘heart’ < PIE NAs. **k̑er(d)*. There are a number of serious problems with this scenario. First of all, it deserves attention that the root of **k̑rdiā* ends in *-d-*, whereas *κῆρ* had lost its final consonant long before the vocalization of **r*. In other words, it is not obvious at all that speakers would conceive of **k̑rdiā* as related to *κῆρ*.⁶⁰⁰ Furthermore, *κῆρ* was never part of the same synchronic paradigm as *κραδίη*, because the latter is a non-ablauting *ā*-stem. The NAs. *κῆρ* is a relic form already in Homer (out of 65 attestations, 59 are found in verse-final position),⁶⁰¹ is absent from classical prose and hardly occurs in post-Homeric poetry.⁶⁰² Other dialect groups also have reflexes of **k̑rdiā*, cf. the Cyprian gloss *κόρζα· καρδία· Πάφιοι* (Hsch.). Together, these facts suggest that ‘heart’ was **k̑rdiā* already in Proto-South Greek, perhaps even in Proto-Greek, and that the archaic form *κῆρ* was preserved only in poetry. It is therefore extremely doubtful that *κῆρ* could have analogically influenced the vocalization of the supposedly regular vernacular outcome *κραδίη*.

Given the distribution of the attestations, it becomes attractive to assume that *κραδίη* is the regular Proto-Ionic vernacular outcome, and that *κραδίη* originated within Epic Greek. This is confirmed in a beautiful way by Hoenigswald’s discovery concerning the metrical behavior of *κραδίη* in Homer: forms of *κραδίη* are regularly avoided after a word ending in a short vowel.⁶⁰³ The total number of attestations of *κραδίη* in Homer is 56; if we subtract repeated verses, we are left with 46 instances.⁶⁰⁴ The localization of *κραδίη* is also remarkable: with two exceptions, *κραδίη* only occurs in the biceps of the second (13x = 23.2%) or third foot (41x = 73.2%).⁶⁰⁵ That is, it either directly precedes or directly follows the masculine caesura.⁶⁰⁶

⁵⁹⁹ The relation of the Greek extension **-iā-* to similar forms and alternations of **k̑rd-* in other IE languages (Hitt. Ns. *ker*, Gs. *kardijas*, OIr. *crīde* < **k̑rd-jo-*, Ved. *h̑rdaya-* beside *h̑rd-*, Av. *zərədaīia-* beside *zərəd-*, etc.) is problematic: for previous theories, see the convenient summary in *NIL*, q.v. It is possible that PIon. **k̑rdiā-* was derived from a locative **k̑rd-i* ‘in the heart’. However, the issue is not directly relevant for the Greek reflexes of the syllabic liquids: while it cannot be excluded that an early form of Proto-Greek had a heteroclitic paradigm Ns. **k̑er*, Gs. **k̑rdios* (similar to Hittite), such a paradigm was certainly given up before the syllabic liquids vocalized in Ionic-Attic, as we will presently see.

⁶⁰⁰ Only the etymologically incorrect and artificially distracted form *κέαρ* is regularly attested in lyric poetry, in the tragedians, and in two isolated instances in comedians. It is usually assumed that *κέαρ* is analogical for *κῆρ* on the model of *ἔαρ* ‘spring’ beside *ἦρ*. This suggests that *κῆρ* was not recognized anymore as related to *καρδία* when *κέαρ* was created.

⁶⁰¹ The recessive accentuation of the Homeric Ds. *κῆρι*, which must have been secondarily created on the basis of the NAs. *κῆρ*, is odd: in the weak case forms of a monosyllabic neuter noun we would expect oxytone *κηρί* (cf. *δοῦρί*, Ds. of *δόρυ* ‘spear’). Again, this suggests that *κῆρ* had been lost from spoken Ionic already a long time before Homer.

⁶⁰² After Homer, the only attestations are *Scut.* 435 and *Thgn.* 619, both of which have the Homeric verse-end *ἀχνύμενος κῆρ*. In *A. Choe.* 410, the vocative *φίλον κῆρ* is normal in Homer as a nominative, and is clearly an epicism.

⁶⁰³ Hoenigswald (1991: 10, cf. also 1968, 1988).

⁶⁰⁴ In both cases where *κραδίη* is used after a short vowel (*ὄπη σε* |_P *κραδίη* 3x and *ὄτινα* |_P *κραδίη* καὶ θυμὸς ἀνώγει 2x Hom.), the form directly follows the main caesura. This means that the long scansion of *σε* and *ὄτινα* is due to the licence *longum in breve*. Moreover, *ὄπη σε* *κραδίη* could be considered a transformation of *ὄπη μιν* *κραδίη* (2x). It is possible that a few other constructions are traditional or formulaic: for instance, *κραδίη* preceded by a dative pronoun in *-οι* occurs 11x. But given the large numbers, this does not make Hoenigswald’s discovery any less surprising.

⁶⁰⁵ The two exceptions are |_H *κραδίην δ’ ἐλάφοιο* (*Il.* 1.225) and |_P *δόρυ δ’ ἐν κραδίη ἐπεπῆγει* (*Il.* 13.442).

⁶⁰⁶ Since *κραδίη* stands after |_P in 41 instances, and since *brevis in longo* is a common metrical licence in front of |_P, one could object that information about the prosodic behaviour of initial *κρ-* in *κραδίη* is contained in a mere 13 instances. But this does not eliminate the remarkable fact that a seemingly attractive metrical possibility was

As Hoenigswald remarks, the metrical behavior of κραδίη in Homer “is only apparent if *r* [later > ρα] was still the equivalent, in the source formula, of a short vowel”.⁶⁰⁷ Indeed, if we compare words with the same metrical surface structure, the figures for κραδίη appear to be exceptional. In κρατερός and προτερός, for instance, the poets regularly made use of the possibility to lengthen a preceding word-final short vowel by position.⁶⁰⁸ Given the large number of attestations of all these forms, we are dealing with a significant distribution.⁶⁰⁹ Hoenigswald (l.c.) therefore rightly concludes that the metrical behavior of κραδίη “necessitates adjustments in our view of the relative chronology of certain processes in the prehistory of Greek,” but he never further elaborated his views on this matter in print. The question remains, then, how exactly our views of relative chronology must be changed, and which processes have to be envisaged.⁶¹⁰

With his somewhat vague remark, Hoenigswald might be taken to imply that the vocalization of the syllabic liquids was a comparatively recent sound change in all of Greek. In the Ionic vernacular, however, the vocalization cannot have been too recent: the lack of discernable differences between the Ionic and Attic reflexes shows that we are dealing with a Proto-Ionic sound change, i.e. before the Ionic migrations to Asia Minor.⁶¹¹ This means that the Ionic vernacular form κραδίη had already developed in Proto-Ionic. Is it possible that the metrical behavior of the original form **kṛdiā-* was preserved in Epic Greek for such a long time? I do not think so. In my view, the only conceivable explanation would be that **r* was retained within Epic Greek for a considerable period of time after the split-up of Proto-Ionic, perhaps until one or two generations of poets before Homer.

In this way, we may explain not only the metrical behavior of κραδίη, but also the reflex -ρα- itself in a number of other words. As briefly explained in chapter 1, I assume a prolonged retention of **r* in Epic Greek after its vocalization in spoken Proto-Ionic, and a subsequent vocalization **r* > -ρα- (-ρο- after a labial consonant) in Epic Greek. As we will

not used at all, and that a word of this metrical structure occurs after |_P in 73.2% of its occurrences. In Homer, the prepositions κατά and ἀνά frequently precede other words for body parts and mental faculties, as in κατά φρένα και κατά θυμόν or ἀνά θυμόν. It is conspicuous, then, that prosodically attractive syntagms like ⁺⁺κατά κραδίην or ⁺⁺ἀνά κραδίην are unattested. Among the 11 instances of κραδίη in Apollonius Rhodius, we find ὑπὸ κραδίη |_P (3.287 and 296) and |_T ἐνὶ κραδίη (3.644). This highlights the peculiar status of the Homeric distribution.

⁶⁰⁷ The comment “[later > ρα]” is Hoenigswald’s. The full quotation runs: “Spot checks throughout the poems yield a rich additional harvest; cp. Hoenigswald 1988: 204. The strange reversal in the case of κραδίη – 27 times (not counting repeated lines) in the Iliad after long vowel, diphthong, or short vowel followed by a consonant, as against only once, in the second arsis, | - - ὄπη σε κραδίη N 783, after a short vowel – is only apparent if *r* [later > ρα] was still the equivalent, in the source formula, of a short vowel after the manner of ἀνδροτῆτα και ἦβην (...). This necessitates adjustments in our view of the relative chronology of certain processes in the prehistory of Greek.” (Hoenigswald 1991: 10, n. 28).

⁶⁰⁸ This implies that **kṛteró-* must have lost its syllabic liquid within early Ionic Epic at a much earlier date than **kṛdiā-*. As I have explained in chapter 5, κρατερός analogically introduced the root allomorph of κρατός; the regular outcome of **kṛteró-* is found in κρατερός. See further chapter 8. Another salient example is προσέφη, which is often considered to be a recent replacement of older **ποσέφη* or some metrical equivalent (Wathelet 1966: 153, Janko 1979, following Meillet; for criticism of Meillet’s idea, see chapter 7). While προσ- often fails to make position, the possibility to generate length by position in front of προσέφη was used incidentally by Homer, e.g. in ὥς πού σε προσέφη (*Il.* 16.842). For κραδίη, on the other hand, this seemingly useful option was not used at all. A reasonable explanation of this difference would be that a form πρὸς /pros/ existed in the vernacular, whereas a vernacular form */*kradiā/* did not exist at any point between Proto-Ionic and Homer. If it would have existed, poets would certainly have used the opportunity to close a preceding short syllable.

⁶⁰⁹ As far as I have been able to check, the metrical behavior of κραδίη is not paralleled in any other Homeric word that has a comparable token frequency. For instance, if κρανάος ‘rocky’ (5x Hom., no established etymology) is never used after a word-final short vowel, this may simply be due to chance.

⁶¹⁰ For instance, since κραδίη does not occur in clear formulaic material, Hoenigswald’s reference to “the source formula” with **r* does not seem to make sense.

⁶¹¹ These are conventionally dated, on the authority of later chronologers, to 140 years after the Trojan War, which yields a date of around 1000 BC. See further chapter 11.

presently see, this scenario is attractive for several additional reasons. Most importantly, it allows us to understand the scansion of Homeric forms like κραταιός, δράκων, τράπεζα, which could not have been used in Epic Greek if it were not for the so-called *muta cum liquida* licence (henceforth abbreviated as *McL* licence).⁶¹² Before further elaborating my scenario for a prolonged retention of *ʎ in Epic Greek, I will now first extensively consider the problem of Homeric *McL* scansions.

Both the origin and the distribution of *McL* scansions in Homer require an explanation. Wathelet (1966) argued that a number of frequently occurring instances of *McL* scansion (e.g. κραταιός, βροτοῖσι, and a dozen or so other forms) are metrical archaisms. In his view, the first instances of *McL* scansions in Epic Greek came into being when *ʎ developed to -ρα- (Ionic) or -ρο- (Aeolic, Mycenaean) in the vernacular. Subsequently, the licence became more productive not too long before Homer.

This idea has become widely accepted, but by no means universally. Wathelet's argument builds on a distinction between formulaic (traditional) and non-formulaic (recent) instances of the *McL* licence, which has been criticized by Haug (2002). A second line of criticism has objected that the bulk of instances of *McL* scansion in Homer are to be explained synchronically (e.g. Tichy 1981). I will therefore first review the basic facts concerning the *McL* licence in Homer, and argue that Tichy's scenario does not explain the distribution between words that allow and avoid *McL* scansion in Homer. This appears in particular from the numerous strategies to avoid *McL* scansion in Epic Greek. The new scenario for -ρα- as a special Epic reflex of *ʎ allows us to explain the origin of *McL* scansions in Homer, and at the same time to explain the difference with the reflex -αρ- as found in Ionic-Attic vernacular forms.

6.2 *Muta cum liquida* scansions in Homer

McL scansions are also known as *correptio attica* because the phenomenon is extremely frequent in Attic drama. A convenient summary of the basic details is found in Allen (1987: 106ff.). In Attic, the phenomenon concerns the scansion of sequences consisting of a plosive consonant (π τ κ, φ θ χ, β δ γ) plus a liquid (λ, ρ) or a nasal (μ, ν).⁶¹³ In these cases, “the consonant group may either be divided, like any other, between preceding and following syllables (thus, for example, πᾶτ-ρός, giving a heavy first syllable), or it may belong as a whole to the following syllable (thus πᾶ-τρός, giving a light first syllable)” (Allen, o.c. 106).⁶¹⁴ Thus, the term ‘*McL* scansion’ generally refers to the light scansion of a short vowel preceding the sequence of plosive plus liquid (or, for certain plosives, plosive plus nasal). From a historical point of view, this light scansion is unexpected.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² The term *muta cum liquida* was originally applied to a peculiarity of later (mainly Attic) poetry, and does not adequately describe the Homeric licence. Even so, I will also use it as a conventional designation when referring to the Homeric licence.

⁶¹³ The term ‘liquidae’ is a translation of Greek ὑγρά. It was originally applied in ancient grammatical theory (Dionysius Thrax) not only to what we now call liquids, but also to nasals. The term ὑγρά may have originally referred to the fluid or unstable behavior of these consonants in metrical theory, that is, precisely in sequences of plosive plus liquid or nasal. See Allen (1987: 39-40).

⁶¹⁴ The rule is often formulated in terms of syllable boundaries, cf. Tichy (1981: 28): “Die aus Plosiv und Liquida bestehenden Konsonantengruppen (...) zeichnen sich vor allem auch in intervokalischer Stellung durch die Besonderheit aus, dass die Silbengrenze ebensogut vor wie in oder nach ihrem ersten Bestandteil liegen kann”. In descriptive terms, however, *McL* scansions are primarily a metrical phenomenon.

⁶¹⁵ I follow the traditional view on Indo-European syllable structure, for which all intervocalic sequences of more than one consonant (i.e. /VC₁...C_nV/, with $n > 1$) were heterosyllabic in PIE and in early IE languages. This is the Vedic situation, and basically also the Homeric one. The only exceptions in Homer are the occasional *McL* scansions, as well as a few isolated light scansions before word-initial ζ- and σκ-, which occur in toponyms (e.g. Ζάκυνθος, Σκάμανδρος).

There is a number of clear differences between *McL* scansions as applied in Attic drama and the *McL* licence in Homer.⁶¹⁶ First of all, *McL* scansion is the rule rather than an exception in Attic drama (tragedy, comedy), even if there are many peculiarities in the relative frequencies of the various possible combinations. For this reason, it can hardly be called a licence. In Homer, on the other hand, the number of instances of *McL* scansion is small in comparison with the normal treatment. Secondly, in Homer the rule never applies to the sequence “stop plus nasal”.⁶¹⁷ Thirdly, in Homer *McL* scansion is more frequent in certain specific combinations of stop plus liquid (τρ-, πρ-, κρ-) than in others.⁶¹⁸

Is the Homeric use of the *McL* licence governed by a rule? Some scholars have claimed that the licence was applied out of metrical necessity, in order to fit words into the hexameter that could otherwise not be used.⁶¹⁹ Examples are δράκων, -οντ- ‘snake’ or case forms like βροτῶν, βροτοῖσι ‘mortals’. However, metrical constraints do not adequately account for the entire Homeric corpus of *McL* scansions.⁶²⁰ First, no metrical necessity is involved in a number of individual instances, such as πρὸς (section 7.2.5), certain case forms of θρόνος (section 7.3.4), and various incidental light scansions, e.g. in front of πρῖν (see section 6.3).⁶²¹ Such words can be used, and in many cases are regularly used in Epic verse, without the *McL* licence. A second objection is that Epic Greek normally avoids metrically problematic words, and replaces them with a semantically or functionally equivalent metrical alternative.⁶²² Such alternatives were available in many cases where *McL* scansion is regularly applied. A possible alternative for Ἀφροδίτη would have been Κύπρις, -ιδος (5x Hom.); and instead of δράκων ‘snake’, the semantic equivalent ὄφις (only 1x Hom.) would have been metrically acceptable. It follows that words like δράκων and κραταιός are tolerated in Epic Greek because they are traditional, in a sense to be made more precise in section 6.5 and further.

Tichy (1981) advocates an explanation of the *McL* licence that was proposed already by Hartel (1873) and Danielsson (1909: 269).⁶²³ She claims that the licence was normally avoided in words in close syntactic connection (“in Konnex”, a term due to Danielsson) when the second word started with plosive plus liquid: “Im Wortinlaut und zwischen zwei im Satz

⁶¹⁶ A good overview of all Homeric instances of *McL* scansion in word-initial position is found in Ehrlich (1907: 390-2), with a number of corrections on the overview in La Roche (1869: 1ff.). For word-internal position, Tichy (1981: 30) lists all instances from the *Iliad*.

⁶¹⁷ In Attic drama, the *correptio* does occur in sequences of stop plus nasal, but only if the stop was voiceless (*muta*), as in τέκνον; voiced stop plus nasal (as in Κάδμος) always behaves like other sequences of more than one consonant. This is the origin of the name “*muta cum liquida*” (where *liquida* denoted both liquids and nasals, see above). On the avoidance of *McL* scansion in Lesbian and Eastern Ionic archaic poetry, see West (1974: 113-4 and 1988: 166). In Hesiod, there are two instances of *McL* scansion for the sequence “stop plus nasal”.

⁶¹⁸ For instance, φρ- rarely undergoes *McL* scansion, γρ- never. See the overview of the material in La Roche (1869: 1-44).

⁶¹⁹ “[in Homer,] a light syllable is found only before the groups plosive + ρ or voiceless plosive + λ, and then almost only *metri gratia*, where a word could not otherwise be accommodated in the metre (...)” (Allen 1987: 108). This doctrine goes back to La Roche (1869), the first to have listed all instances of the sequence “plosive plus liquid” in Homer, and was accepted by Chantraine (1942: 108ff.).

⁶²⁰ Cf. Wathelet (1966: 146). This is also noted by Tichy (1981: 28 n. 2), but without further argumentation.

⁶²¹ For instance, in πρῖν (only 4x on a total 195x in Homer) and φαρέρτη (1x, otherwise only verse-final) the application of the *McL* licence is incidental; normally, these words do not require *McL* scansion.

⁶²² This objection is much more severe than the first one. After elimination of πρὸς, the number of instances of avoidable *McL* scansion in front of a word-initial short syllable is very low. They could therefore be considered metrical accidents. See the overview in Ehrlich (1907: 391-92, “II. Fälle anderer Art”), from which it appears that most instances of metrically avoidable *McL* scansions appear in front of word-initial heavy syllables, and may therefore be ascribed to the more general avoidance of length by position in this metrical slot.

⁶²³ Tichy (1981: 28 n. 2): “Im folgenden schliesse ich mich an W. Hartel (...) an, nachdem ich mich bei einer durchsicht von Il. *AIII* von der Richtigkeit seiner Beurteilung überzeugt habe”. Given the relative paucity of *McL* scansions in Homer generally, it may be wondered whether the evidence contained in just three books (< 2200 lines) is sufficient to draw such a conclusion.

eng miteinander verbundenen Wörtern – im Konnex – bewirkt Plosiv plus Liquida Positionslänge, in Pausa und in der echten Wortfuge fällt die Silbengrenze dagegen mit der Wortgrenze zusammen.” (1981: 28-9).⁶²⁴ But a closer scrutiny of the evidence for *McL* scansions reveals that the *Konnex* theory does not adequately explain their distribution. First, as Tichy herself admits, the *McL* licence is also applied in connected groups (e.g. τῶν δὲ τρίτων *Il.* 12.94, οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱός *Il.* 6.130). In order to get around this problem, she assumes that it was a choice of the individual poet to use either the light or the heavy scansion.⁶²⁵ Moreover, Tichy also has to assume that the licence was further extended to *McL* sequences after a morpheme boundary in compounds (e.g. ἀμφιβρότης), and thence more generally to such sequences in word-internal position (as in Ἀφροδίτη).⁶²⁶

In this way, anything goes. The explanation of the Homeric *McL* licence by means of the *Konnex* theory is based on a selective examination of the evidence. It does not explain the Homeric data on a synchronic level, and makes extensive use of *ad hoc* explanations.⁶²⁷ Since no set of synchronic rules has so far accounted for all Homeric examples of *McL* scansion in an adequate way, the explanation of the phenomenon must, at least in part, be historical.

6.3 Wathelet’s proposal for the origin of *McL* scansions

Such a historical explanation for the problem of *McL* scansions in Homer has been offered by Wathelet. As he remarks, “Il n’est guère de «licence poétique» dans l’épopée qui ne se justifie au départ par un fait de langue, que les aèdes ont eu, sans doute, tout loisir de développer, de généraliser selon les nécessités.” (1966: 147). In his view, *McL* scansion originated in words with a syllable onset or word-initial sequence *CL_o-, such as *d_hkōn. When the Proto-Ionic vocalization *r > -ρα- generated δράκων, which violated the metrical constraints of the dactylic hexameter, the form was retained with its older scansion. This is how the metrical licence must have originated. Wathelet motivated the retention of such metrically aberrant

⁶²⁴ This scheme has recently been followed by Hackstein in his encyclopedic discussion of the phenomenon (2010), and is also accepted by Haug (2002: 67). Note, however, that Hartel’s *Konnex* theory was devised not for word-initial plosive plus liquid, but more generally in order to explain exceptions to the avoidance of length by position *in thesi* in front of a word boundary. Most such exceptions (which do have length by position) appear to be connected syntagms of the type τὰ κτήματα.

⁶²⁵ “Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, haben sich die Dichter unter dem Zwang des Metrums gelegentliche Freiheiten erlaubt. So tritt Kurzmessung mitunter auch dann auf, wenn die betreffenden Wörter üblicherweise in Konnex gestanden haben dürften (Fälle wie τῶν δὲ τρίτων *M* 94, οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱός *Z* 130). Doch hat auch die metrisch bedingte Übertragung der in der echten Wortfuge regulären Behandlung auf Konnexe, in denen normalerweise die Wortinlautsbehandlung eingetreten wäre, ihren sprachlichen Grund; denn sofern zwei Wörter nicht durch Pausa getrennt oder in Akzenteinheit verbunden sind, steht es zumeist im Ermessen des Sprechers, ob er die Wortgrenze hervorheben oder beide Wörter als phonetische Einheit behandeln will.” (Tichy 1981: 30; my emphasis). Since there is no synchronic distribution, it is incorrect to speak of “synchronic sandhi-variants” (Hackstein 2010: 416). Like Tichy, Hackstein admits that the “two possibilities ... were consciously exploited by the poets for metrical purposes” (2010: 417). If one claims to have knowledge of choices “consciously” made by the poets in individual cases, no further explanations are necessary.

⁶²⁶ For word-internal *McL* scansions, see the list in Tichy (1981: 30), which contains about 20 items, some of which are formulaic or extremely frequent. Hackstein assumes that the rules “may be suspended due to metrical necessity” (2010: 417), in order to explain the examples Ἀφροδίτη, Ἀμφιτύωνος, and the anapestic scansion of φαρέρης at *Il.* 8.323. Note that there was no metrical necessity to introduce an anapestic scansion in the Gs. φαρέρης.

⁶²⁷ It is clear that Tichy adopts the *Konnex*-theory merely because it supports Berg’s proto-hexameter theory. The same goes for the treatments of the Homeric *McL* licence by Haug (2002) and Hackstein (2010). A devastating criticism of Tichy’s recent variant of this theory (2010) has been provided by M. L. West in his review (2011) of her book. This is not the place to extensively discuss the existing theories on the prehistory of the hexameter, none of which has won broad acceptance so far. As we will see below, the theory cannot be correct in any of its current forms.

forms by claiming that they belong to traditional formulaic diction.⁶²⁸ In confronting this explanation with the evidence, he argued that the instances of *McL* scansion have to be subdivided as follows:

(1) A form with word-initial consonant plus liquid is placed in the position after |_T, as happens with Κλυταιμνήστρη (*Il.* 1.113, *Od.* 11.442), πλέων (*Il.* 7.88, *Od.* 4.474), τρέμον (*Od.* 11.527), τρέφει (*Od.* 5.422, 13.410), τριήκοσι (*Od.* 21.19), Τρίκης (*Il.* 4.202), τρόποις (*Od.* 4.782, 8.53).⁶²⁹ Beside these forms which always contained a full vowel, some instances of the phenomenon derive from pre-forms with **ɣ*, such as the hapax |_T κραταίπεδον and the formulae |_T τραπέιομεν εὐνηθέντε (3x), |_T θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν (7x).⁶³⁰ But since irregularities due the main caesura are more widespread in Homer, Wathelet leaves all these cases out of consideration.⁶³¹

(2) A different (dialectal) form can be substituted in which there was no need to apply the licence. The most important example is the preverb and preposition προσ-, πρὸς, which is generally thought to have replaced an older form ποσ- or ποτ-. This idea of Meillet has been generally accepted, but see chapter 7 for a different view.

(3) The form may have been recently introduced from the Ionic vernacular into Epic Greek (*abrègements récents*). Wathelet first cites an extensive list (1966: 154-160) of words in which the licence is normally avoided, and applied only once or twice. As we will see in section 6.5 below, this separation can be justified. Furthermore, he assumes that the regular application of the licence in a few of the more frequent instances (e.g. ἀλλότριος, ἀλλοθρόος) is of recent date too, because the forms in question may have been introduced from spoken Ionic into Epic Greek. We will discuss these cases in more detail in the following section.

(4) If none of the above points applies and the pre-form contained **ɣ*, Wathelet speaks of *abrègements anciens*: “Il subsiste une série de mots et de formes, manifestement anciens et où la *correptio* correspond en fait au développement d’un ancien **ɣ* ou d’un ancien **ʃ*” (1966: 161). Since he cites only one example for **ʃ* (the toponym Πλάταια in *Il.* 2.504), I will henceforth limit myself to forms which once contained **ɣ*. The following list contains all Wathelet’s instances of -ρα- and -ρο- from **ɣ* (including the number of Homeric attestations):⁶³²

1. δράκων ‘snake’ (9x)
2. κράνεια ‘cornel tree’ (2x)
3. κραταιός ‘strong’ (13x, of which 1x |_T κραταιοῦ, and 9x |_B Μοῖρα κραταιή)
4. τράπεζα ‘table’ (35x, of which 1x |_T τραπέζας)
5. τραπέσθαι ‘to turn’ (also with preverb προ-, 7x)
6. ἀβροτάξομεν ‘we will miss’ (1x)

⁶²⁸ “Dans les formules anciennes c’est-à-dire achéennes, où le phénomène se produit, il est dû au développement du *ɣ* et peut-être du *ʃ* au cours de l’histoire de la tradition formulaire de l’épopée. L’anomalie s’est introduite dans les formules parce que les aèdes ont tenu à conserver des expressions traditionnelles, tout en leur laissant suivre l’évolution de la langue.” (Wathelet 1966: 172).

⁶²⁹ The number of cases of *McL* scansion in this position is actually larger: cf. e.g. προθυμίησι (*Il.* 2.588), κρατευταί (*Il.* 9.214), κραδαινόμενος (3x).

⁶³⁰ Other examples of *McL* scansion deriving from pre-forms with **ɣ* that are found after the trochaic caesura are βροτῶν (44x), τράπεζα (1x), κραταιός (1x), δράκων (3x), πρόσω (2x), πρόσωπον (3x). In chapter 7, I will show that προκειμένα (in a formulaic verse which is repeated 14x) also derives from a pre-form with **ɣ*.

⁶³¹ Since Milman Parry, irregularities due the main caesura are generally supposed to have originated in the practice of poets to recombine hemistichs or formulaic units. It is true that before |_T, the licence seems to have been exploited in Homeric Greek, be it marginally, for incorporating forms (especially names) the inherent prosodic structure of which was unfit for the hexameter. It must be noted, though, that all cases of *longum in breve* in front of |_T appear in words with initial consonant plus liquid. It would therefore be attractive to ultimately ascribe this part of the licence to the vocalization of **ɣ*, too.

⁶³² Wathelet adduces the frequent theonyms Ἀφροδίτη (42x), Κρόνος (24x), Κρονίων (44x) only with reserve.

7. ἀνδροτήτα ‘vigor’ (3x), cf. ἀνδρείφοντης (4x, repeated formulaic verse).
8. βεβρωμένα ‘covered with gore’ (1x)
9. βροτοῖσι ‘mortals’ (Dp., 28x),⁶³³ ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης (3x), νύξ ἀβρότη (1x)
10. θρόνος ‘throne’ (53x, of which 23x with *McL* scansion)

Wathelet concludes: “... l’abrègement devant le groupe occlusive + liquide révèle qu’il s’agit chaque fois de termes dans lesquels l’étymologie signale la présence d’un *r* ou *l* voyelles. On constatera alors que la restitution de ce *r* ou *l* élimine la difficulté de scansion.” (1966: 149). For each individual lexeme, he tries to argue that its presence in Epic Greek reaches back to a time when **r* was still part of the language. A recurring argument is that the words in question occur in “traditional” Epic material. To establish whether a word is traditional, Wathelet uses three criteria: the form either occurs in formulaic material; it frequently occurs in syntactic connection with other typical Homeric words (possibly of Mycenaean origin); or the word has a fixed position in the hexameter.⁶³⁴

After a substantial number of cases of *McL* scansion had come into being in this way, its use was extended to syllables starting with consonant plus liquid followed by a Proto-Greek full vowel. In this way, *McL* scansions must have gradually acquired the status of a metrical licence. In Wathelet’s view, the theonyms Κρόνος and Ἀφροδίτη, which have no established etymology, may owe their metrical treatment to such an early extension of the licence. The same holds for the substitution of πρὸς for πός (group 2), and for the examples following the trochaic caesura |_T, where the licence may in his view have been tolerated for a longer time (group 1). At a final stage, the incidental light scansions in group 3 became more frequent. Wathelet does not exclude that this final extension was accompanied by a change of syllabification in spoken Ionic, but considers a combination of several other factors, such as the rise of secondary (non-medial) caesuras, to be more likely.⁶³⁵

6.4 Criticism of Wathelet’s scenario

Although Wathelet’s conclusions have been widely accepted, two lines of criticism have been advanced against his argumentation. First, proponents of the proto-hexameter hypothesis have claimed that his conclusions are unlikely for chronological reasons.⁶³⁶ Wathelet departs from the widespread view that the syllabic liquids disappeared from Proto-Ionic and Proto-Achaean before the attestation of the Mycenaean tablets.⁶³⁷ This implies that a substitution of Mycenaean forms for Homeric ones does not remove the problem of scansion: for instance, Myc. *to-pe-za*, if to be interpreted as /torpedi̯a/, is not a metrical equivalent of τράπεζα. In Wathelet’s words, “On en conclura donc qu’il faut remonter à une forme de l’achéen

⁶³³ For an analysis of the frequency and metrical behavior of the different case forms, see section 7.2.1. Leaving aside instances following the trochaic caesura, *McL* scansion is required only in βροτοῖο (1x), βροτῶν (5x).

⁶³⁴ For instance, βροτοῖσι, κράνεια, κραταῖος, τράπεζα, and τραπέσθαι mostly occur in verse-final position.

⁶³⁵ “... soit par l’apparition, mais alors très timide, d’un changement dans la coupe syllabique, soit plus probablement, par l’effet combiné de diverses analogies, celle des mots qui comportent originellement un *r*, l’exemple de πρὸς et aussi la multiplication des césures non médianes qui a permis aux aèdes de jouir d’une plus grande liberté de composition et de décaler à l’intérieur des hémistiches des éléments formulaires qui, situés primitivement après la coupe médiane suscitaient un abrègement autorisé par la présence de la césure elle-même.” (1966: 172-73). This remark concerning the role of “césures non médianes” is introduced abruptly at the end of his article. Cf. also Wathelet’s remark about group (3): “Ce pourrait être là l’indice d’une évolution dans la syllabation en grec (...), à moins qu’il ne faille expliquer la présence de telles formes par l’analogie des emplois mentionnés dans les deux premières catégories et par l’influence d’un quatrième groupe que l’on va maintenant aborder.” (p. 160-61).

⁶³⁶ Cf. Tichy (1981: 54-55), Haug (2002: 62ff.), and the doubts in Hackstein (2002: 6-7).

⁶³⁷ This was originally argued by Mühlestein (1958) and was soon picked up by Ruijgh (1961), see section 1.1.1. Note, however, that Wathelet (1970) thinks that the vocalization of **r* must have been a relatively recent, if pre-Mycenaean, development.

antérieure à celle de nos tablettes et qui connaissait encore des liquides voyelles” (1966: 170).

The chronological gap between Homer (dated by most scholars to the second half of the 8th c.) and the assumed age of the formulaic material is about seven centuries. Haug (2002: 62ff.) argued that the preservation of an archaic metrical feature over such a long period of time is highly unlikely.⁶³⁸ But even if one may intuitively agree with this, it must be stressed, with Heubeck (1972), that there is no compelling reason to date the disappearance of **r* from Mycenaean or Ionic-Attic that early.⁶³⁹ As I will argue in chapter 11, it is quite possible that **r* was preserved until the 12th or 11th century in Proto-Ionic. This would make the preservation of metrical traces of **r* in words with *McL* scansion somewhat less problematic.⁶⁴⁰ In reality, as appears from the present chapter, forms with **r* must have been retained within Epic Greek until not very long before Homer. In this way, the chronological objection against Wathelet’s explanation of *McL* scansions disappears.

A second line of criticism has been advanced by Haug (2002: 64-67), in whose view Wathelet’s argumentation concerning the supposed formulaic behavior of individual forms is insufficient.⁶⁴¹ In order to establish his group of “old” examples of *McL* scansion, Wathelet first isolates several incidental and non-formulaic instances of *McL* scansion.⁶⁴² These are either linguistic innovations (e.g. thematic δακρύοισι for older δάκρυσι, contracted κῤῥα beside uncontracted κῤῥατα), deviations from the normal prosodic behavior of a word (e.g. anapestic φαρέτρης, or πῤῥωτος preceded by a light syllable), or transformations of traditional material (e.g. the Odysseian hapax πῤῥωτόπλοος, which may be a nonce formation after formulaic πῤῥωτόγονος, inspired by instances of the verb πλέω with *McL* scansion). Haug does not contest Wathelet’s decision in any of these incidental cases. The majority (18 out of 30) is found in the *Odyssey*, which corroborates the observation that the incidental use of the *McL* licence increased with time.⁶⁴³

A number of more frequent words regularly undergo *McL* scansion, but they cannot be derived from a pre-form with **r*. This makes them potential counterevidence to Wathelet’s thesis. In order to exclude the forms in question from his list of “abrègements anciens”, Wathelet frequently makes assumptions regarding their formulaic behaviour. I will now review the two most important cases criticized by Haug: ἀλλότριος ‘someone else’s; foreign’ and ἀλλοθρόος ‘of foreign tongue’.

⁶³⁸ Since these scholars think that light scansions in front of consonant plus liquid can be explained synchronically, their argument mainly revolves around the supposed examples of *McL* scansion in word-internal position, ἀνδροτιῆτα and ἀνδρεϊφόντη. I will extensively discuss these forms in section 7.3.

⁶³⁹ For a discussion of the Mycenaean data, see chapter 2.

⁶⁴⁰ In order to avoid misunderstandings, let me stress that my present argument does not presuppose the existence of the dactylic hexameter in its Homeric form for several centuries. On the contrary, from the different treatments of **r* in Epic Greek and the Ionic vernacular, it follows that the dactylic hexameter had more or less reached its Homeric form when **r* vocalized in Proto-Ionic (see chapter 11). This refutes most of the currently available proto-hexameter theories.

⁶⁴¹ “Après ce triage tout à fait légitime [of Wathelet’s groups 1 and 2], il reste nombre d’abrègements que Wathelet veut diviser en abrègements récents et abrègements anciens. Pour cela, il se sert de l’analyse formulaire contre laquelle nous avons élevé de critiques d’ordre général dans l’introduction. Cette méthode nous semble peu exacte et elle permet souvent de trouver ce que l’on cherche” (Haug 2002: 65).

⁶⁴² “formes isolées dans l’épopée [...] qui ne sont manifestement pas formulaires” (Wathelet 1966: 155).

⁶⁴³ This thesis is not criticized, and therefore seems to be accepted, by Haug. From the material in Chantraine (1942: 108-9), it appears that most examples for incidental *McL* scansion are found in the *Odyssey*. On the basis of an examination of all instances of *McL* scansion, I have reached the conclusion that the poets of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* made a different use of the licence, in that the former structurally avoided it, whereas the latter had a looser attitude. For instance, the forms κλιθῆναι, προσέκλινε and κρυφιδόν, ἐνέκρυψε, κερυμμένα are attested with *McL* scansion only in the *Odyssey*, whereas the poet of the *Iliad* always uses forms of κλιθῆναι, and thus avoids the licence. More extensive proof is forthcoming.

At first sight, it is not easy to explain away the metrical behavior of ἀλλότριος and ἀλλοθρόος as secondary. As Haug points out, Wathelet’s remark that ἀλλότριος occurs in “recent” formulae is insufficient. There is no clear criterion, in Haug’s view, by which οἴκῳ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ |_P (2x as a first hemistich) can be deemed recent.⁶⁴⁴ Moreover, many scholars have remarked that recently coined formulae may acquire huge popularity in a relatively brief span of time.⁶⁴⁵

There is, however, a good argument (mentioned neither by Haug nor by Wathelet) for viewing ἀλλότριος as a relatively late introduction: ἀλλότριος is close in meaning to ἀλλοδαπός ‘belonging to another people or land, foreign’ (*LSJ*). Like ἀλλότριος, ἀλλοδαπός occurs in repeated hemistichs, e.g. ἄνδρας ἐς ἀλλοδαπούς |_P (3x), γαίῃ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ |_P, δῆμῳ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῷ |_P (both 1x, the latter also transformed as verse-final ἀλλοδαπῷ ἐνὶ δῆμῳ). There is perhaps a slight difference in meaning between ἀλλοδαπός and ἀλλότριος in Homer. The former qualifies people and their origins or allegiances (“from somewhere else”), while the latter mostly qualifies belongings or possessions (“someone else’s”, e.g. βουσὶν ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρήσι *Od.* 20.221, ἀλλότριον βίσιον *Od.* 1.160 and 18.280).⁶⁴⁶ After Homer, the two are not strictly separated, and ἀλλότριος is also used in a sense originally reserved for ἀλλοδαπός: ‘stranger’, ‘foreign country’, etc. (see *LSJ* s.v. ἀλλότριος, mg. II.: “opp. οἰκεῖος”). In fact, the semantic separation between the two adjectives is already hard to make in Homer. Compare:

ἄνδρας ἐς ἀλλοδαπούς (1x <i>Il.</i> , 2x <i>Od.</i>)	beside ἀλλότριος φῶς (1x <i>Il.</i> , 2x <i>Od.</i>)
δῆμῳ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῷ (<i>Od.</i> 8.211) and	beside οἴκῳ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ (2x <i>Od.</i>)
ἀλλοδαπῷ ἐνὶ δῆμῳ (<i>Il.</i> 19.324)	
γαίῃ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ (<i>Od.</i> 9.36)	beside γαίης ἀλλοτρίης (<i>Od.</i> 14.85-6)

In view of the widespread occurrence of ἀλλότριος in later Ionic-Attic, it is quite possible that its extension in Homer at the expense of ἀλλοδαπός is recent. In other words, the difference between ἀλλότριος and ἀλλοδαπός need not be old *within* Epic Greek. It seems possible, then, to uphold Wathelet’s conclusion that ἀλλότριος was a recent introduction into Epic Greek, be it for a different reason. Once the use of *McL* scansion became increasingly accepted, ἀλλότριος became available as a substitute for ἀλλοδαπός.

The second compound with ἀλλο-, ἀλλόθροος ‘of foreign tongue’, only occurs four times in the *Odyssey*: |_T ἐπ’ ἀλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους (1x), |_T κατ’ ἀλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους (2x), and in the verse πλάζετ’ ἐπ’ ἀλλοθρόων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε (1x). This rare word is not found in Attic prose, but only occurs a few times in the tragedians and in Herodotus. As with ἀλλότριος, it cannot be excluded that the word is recent in Epic Greek, and that the hemistichs in which it occurs were modelled after earlier versions with ἀλλοδαπός (cf. ἄνδρας ἐς ἀλλοδαπούς above).

Both ἀλλότριος and ἀλλόθροος could have theoretically been utilized after |_P, in all case forms of the singular and in the *Np.*, without the *McL* licence. The absence of such scansion is remarkable. Furthermore, as Wathelet remarked, ἀλλόθροος does not occur at all in the *Iliad*, and ἀλλότριος occurs only twice in the *Iliad*, but 15x in the *Odyssey*. As we will see in chapter 7, a similar increase in *McL* scansion in the *Odyssey* is also found with the plural forms of θρόνος ‘throne’.

⁶⁴⁴ It is also uncertain, in Haug’s view (2002: 65), whether verse-final |_B ἀλλότριος φῶς (3x) was formed after |_B ἰσόθεος φῶς (14x), as per Wathelet, rather than the other way around. I do not share Haug’s criticism on this particular point: in |_B ἰσόθεος φῶς, ἰσόθεος is clearly an generic epithet of heroes, and the only one with this metrical structure and function (see Parry 1971: 91).

⁶⁴⁵ Haug (2002: 20 and 23) cites the example |_B ὠκέα Ἴρις, which occurs 20 times in Homer, but seems to be recent in view of the Ionic shortening of -εῖα to -εἶα (common in Herodotus, but not in Homer). In my view, another such case is |_T Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω (see chapter 7).

⁶⁴⁶ In Hesiod, ἀλλότριος qualifies belongings or possessions, and ἀλλοδαπός is not used.

Finally, let me draw attention to the present participle forms of πλέω ‘to sail, go by sea’ (πλέων, πλέουσα), which were not discussed by Wathelet. They are used in the following instances:

- πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον |_T (*Od.* 1.183)
- |_T πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον (*Il.* 7.88, *Od.* 4.474)
- Ἑλλήσποντον |_T ἐπ’ ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας (*Il.* 9.360)
- |_T παρ’ Αἰήταιο πλέουσα (*Od.* 12.70).

In my view, the starting point may have been the first hemistich πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον |_T, which only scans if -εω- is read with synizesis. This implies that |_T πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον, as well as the other two instances, can be read with synizesis as well.⁶⁴⁷ Similarly, it cannot be excluded that the toponym Κλέωναι (only *Il.* 2.570) derives from earlier *Κλήωναι. In that case, it would be an instance of regular synizesis, not of *McL* scansion.⁶⁴⁸

In conclusion, Haug’s criticism of Wathelet’s argument is justified in the above instances: it is generally difficult to prove or disprove the antiquity of a particular verse or formula.⁶⁴⁹ But since forms like ἀλλότριος, ἀλλόθροος (and a few others discussed by Wathelet) may be analyzed as recent introductions into Epic Greek, as I have argued in the present section, there is no reason to doubt the possibility of explaining the remaining structural instances of *McL* scansion from the presence of **r* in their pre-forms.

6.5 The avoidance of *McL* scansion in Epic Greek

The number of incidental applications of the licence in Wathelet’s group 3 (as opposed to the cases due to **r*) is not very large. The licence is more frequent in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*, and it becomes even more frequent in Hesiod and the hymns.⁶⁵⁰ On the other hand, the licence is avoided with great precision in Lesbian poetry, as well as in Eastern Ionic poets like Archilochus. These facts by themselves show that the licence gradually became more acceptable within Early Greek Epic, and that this process started not too long before the completion of the *Iliad*.⁶⁵¹

There is another reason to distinguish two different types of *McL* scansion. There are numerous traces of the structural avoidance of *McL* scansion in certain categories of words in Epic Greek. This point seems to have been neglected in previous discussions of the phenomenon. I propose to replace Wathelet’s distinction between recent and old instances of *McL* scansion, and to speak henceforth of *incidental* applications of the *McL* licence, as opposed to *structural McL scansions* of certain lexemes.

Let us first of all consider the pair γλυκύς : γλυκερός.⁶⁵² Here, γλυκερός is analogical beside γλυκύς on the model of κρατύς : κρατερός, where the formation in -ερός is frequent and inherited. The *u*-stem adjective γλυκύς is only found in the Ns. and As. msc. and ntr.

⁶⁴⁷ Notice, however, that an Ionic contraction of -εω- / -εου- to -ευ- is unlikely, because Herodotus simply attests πλέων, πλέουσα and does not have a contracted form. As an alternative, the irregular scansion of πλέουσα may have been influenced by that of θέω, which also takes ships as its subject: cf. νηῦς ... θέουσα |_T (*Od.* 15.294), |_T θεούσης νηός (*Od.* 3.281), ἦ δ’ ἔθεεν κατὰ κῦμα (*Il.* 1.483, *Od.* 2.429, 14.299).

⁶⁴⁸ Haug (2002: 66) rightly criticizes Wathelet’s argumentation concerning Κλέωναι.

⁶⁴⁹ E.g. “... une vue d’esprit, sans fondation ni argumentation”, “Parfois, l’argumentation est manifestement circulaire.”, etc. (Haug, l.c.)

⁶⁵⁰ See Wathelet (1966: 148 with n. 1).

⁶⁵¹ It is possible that this increased productivity was helped by a real linguistic change in syllabification, but this is ultimately hard to prove. The *McL* licence certainly did not originate from a change in syllabification.

⁶⁵² For -αλέος, see section 4.2.2. It is possible that the feminine was supplied from an etymologically distinct stem in some Homeric adjectival paradigms: cf. πλατύς, fem. εὐρεῖα (both ‘wide, broad’), which may replace unmetrical *πλατεῖα.

(total 22x). On the other hand, γλυκερός (total 20x) supplies not only the feminine γλυκερή (4x), but is also found in other case forms, including those where forms of γλυκός are found. Thus, the distribution of attestations shows that γλυκός is unproductive, whereas γλυκερός is productive. The replacement was characteristic for Early Greek poetry, because the paradigm in Classical Attic is simply γλυκός, ntr. γλυκύ, fem. γλυκεῖα. The occurrences of γλυκερός in other genres of poetry can be interpreted as epicisms.⁶⁵³ The rationale behind this distribution is obviously metrical: the feminine γλυκεῖα could not be used in the epic hexameter. This example shows that *McL* scansion was apparently not a ready-made option for epic poets: they preferred to create an artificial, metrically convenient adjective γλυκερός.⁶⁵⁴

A second and much more important example is the behavior of the preverb προ-, which leads to remarkable adaptations in the inflection of the following verbal root. In this sense, the metrical behavior of προ- is diametrically opposed to that of προσ-, which admits of *McL* scansion on a regular basis. In three instances with προ-, Homer attests an artificial perfect with presentic meaning:

- The present stem προβαινε/o- is unattested in Homer, and we only find forms of the perfect stem προβέβηκα, προβεβήκει, and also the pres. ptc. προβιβάς, which may be an archaism in view of Ved. *jígāti* ‘steps, strides’ < *g^wi-g^weh₂-ti. Otherwise, the present βαίνω is frequent in Homer, where it prefers verse-final position. A similar artificial formation is ἀμφιβέβηκα, which replaces unmetrical ἀμφιβαίνω.
- The perfect προβέβουλα ‘I prefer’ (only *Il.* 1.113) must be an artificial replacement of προβούλομαι, which is unmetrical and therefore unattested in Homer. In the preceding line, we find the simplex βούλομαι.⁶⁵⁵
- The middle perfect προπέφανται (only *Il.* 14.332) was created in order to avoid the metrical problems that would have arisen in προφαίνεται (unattested in Homer).

In all three cases, the perfect has presentic meaning, and the forms προβέβουλα and προπέφανται are clearly artificial. The present stems προβαινε/o-, προβουλε/o-, and προφαινε/o- were avoided for metrical reasons. This picture is confirmed if we consider all other instances of προ- as a preverb. For instance, the thematic aorist stem προβαλε/o- ‘to throw forth, surpass’ is attested 8x (with one exception only verse-final), whereas the present προβαλλε/o- is not attested at all. The adjective πρόπας occurs 10x in the formulaic colon πρόπαν ἦμαρ ‘all day long’, which preserves the original short-vowel neuter form *πᾶν (replaced by πᾶν, analogical after πᾶς, already in Homer), and beside that only once in _H νῆας τε προπάσας ‘all the ships’ (*Il.* 2.493). The latter instance must be a nonce formation, in view of its deviant semantics.⁶⁵⁶ The archaic neuter πρόπαν with short -ᾶ- was the only form of the adjectival stem προπαντ- that could be used at all in the hexameter, and therefore the only form to be preserved. Apart from νῆας τε προπάσας, the only evidence for προ- in front of a heavy root syllable consists of _T προθυμήσι (*Il.* 2.588, again in the catalogue of ships!), which displays a secondary type of metrical lengthening, and _T προκείμενα, which occurs in a repeated formulaic verse (14x) to be discussed in chapter 7.

⁶⁵³ γλυκερός is attested a number of times in lyrical poetry, but it is limited to dactylic or anapestic metres. The form can therefore be ascribed to epic influence.

⁶⁵⁴ For κρατερός (and the adjectives in -ερός generally), see chapter 5, specifically section 5.3.2.

⁶⁵⁵ The only other attestation of προβέβουλα is in the verse θανατὸν δ’ ὃ γε δουλοσύνας προβέβουλε (Ion fr. 53.4 Snell), where it may also be due to the avoidance of a cretic sequence.

⁶⁵⁶ In the complete enumeration of the ships and their leaders at *Il.* 2.493, προπάσας is semantically equivalent to ἀπάσας or συμπάσας ‘all together’. Both alternative forms are metrically unfit in this slot. The *LfgreE* (s.v. πρόπας) translates πρόπαν ἦμαρ as ‘den ganzen Tag’, and speaks of a “Verstärkung von πᾶς wie ἅπας und σύμπας”. But in my view, προ- in πρόπαν ἦμαρ ‘all day long’ preserves a more original temporal meaning.

As a third category, consider the subjunctive, 3p. indicative present, and active participle forms of verbs like τρέμω, τρέπω. These are formed more than once from the corresponding denominative verbs of the type τρομέω, τροπέω,⁶⁵⁷ formations which were treated as semantic equivalents of thematic root presents in Epic Greek, and mainly occur with roots of the structure *CLeC*- (see Tucker 1990: 140ff.). For instance:

- βρομέωσι (*Il.* 16.642) occurs beside βρέμω (βρέμει 1x prevocalic, βρέμεται 2x)
- ἐτρόμεον (*Il.* 7.151), τρομέοντο (*Il.* 10.10), τρομέουσι (*Il.* 15.627 and 17.203, *Od.* 20.215) beside τρέμω⁶⁵⁸
- περιτροπέων (*Il.* 2.295), τρόπεον (*Il.* 18.224), παρατροπέων (*Od.* 4.465), περιτροπέοντες (*Od.* 9.465).

Again, the poets found a structural way to avoid metrically awkward forms like ⁺⁺τρέμουσι, ⁺⁺τρέπων, and so forth. The productivity of this process is proven by the semantically atypical use of τρόπεον as an equivalent for ⁺⁺τρέπον at *Il.* 18.224.⁶⁵⁹

Fourth, the absence of certain paradigmatic forms in thematic and intransitive aorists is noteworthy. Active aorist stems of the type *CraC-e/o-* (e.g. ἔδρακον, ἔτραπον) do not attest any participle forms in -ών-, -όντ-, nor any subjunctive forms.⁶⁶⁰ This distribution requires an explanation, which will be provided in chapter 8. A second example is the intransitive aorist of βλάπτω ‘to hinder, drive off course’. Whereas the normal vernacular form is ἐβλάβην, Homer uses only the form in -θη- (ἐβλάφθην), with the exception of the 3p. ἔβλαβεν (*Il.* 23.461), βλάβεν (*Il.* 23.545). Another similar case is the regular vernacular form ἐτρέφην ‘was raised, grew up’ (τρέφω), which in Homer is only found in the 3s. and 3p. ind. τράφη, τράφεν before a vowel.⁶⁶¹ Paradigmatic forms which were metrically problematic were replaced by the thematic aorist ἔτραφον, which must be an artificial formation (see chapter 8).

Finally, one single lexical item deserves special attention. As we have seen in chapter 5, Homer avoids the vernacular form κράτιστος, which would not scan, and instead uses the (artificially created) analogical form κάρτιστος. However, *McL* scansion was not considered problematic in the etymologically related adjective κραταιός. Why was κραταιός tolerated as an exception to the general avoidance of *McL* scansion, and why did κράτιστος belong to the group of inadmissible forms? The reconstruction of κράτιστος as an analogical replacement of *krétisto- (with a full grade, see section 4.1.3) is a compelling reason to assume a direct historical relation between the scansion of κραταιός and the presence of *r̥ in its pre-form. In other words, κράτιστος was traditionally excluded from the *McL* treatment because its pre-

⁶⁵⁷ Most of the verbs of this Greek type can be analyzed as denominatives to thematic φορός-type nouns, see Tucker (1990, especially 152ff.). There are only very few traces in Greek of inherited causative-iterative verbs of the formation *CoC-eie-: possible instances are τροπέω ‘to turn around’ (see next footnote), ποθέω ‘to long for’ and (φ)οχέομαι ‘to be driven’. The origin of δοκέω ‘to seem’ is unclear; it might ultimately continue an inherited perfect *dok-e.

⁶⁵⁸ An isolated application of the *McL* licence is found in ἡτ τρέμον θ’ ὑπὸ γυῖα ἐκάστου (*Od.* 11.527).

⁶⁵⁹ There is no clear difference in meaning between τρέμω and τρομέω or βρέμω and βρομέω (Tucker 1990: 142ff.). On the other hand, there is a difference between τρέπω ‘to turn towards, direct’ and most instances of τροπέω, which means ‘to turn around’ and is used as a frequentative (cf. *Lfgre* s.v. τροπέω). This is consistent with the meaning of *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* ‘making tours (of inspection)’ in Mycenaean. However, at least at *Il.* 18.224, τροπέω used as an equivalent of τρέπω (Tucker 1990: 141).

⁶⁶⁰ The only exception to this rule are certain middle aorist forms of τρέπω (τράποντο, τραπέσθαι, etc.), which occur 7x in verse-final position, and can be analyzed as archaisms (see section 6.7.9).

⁶⁶¹ I do not count ἐτρέφημεν (*Il.* 23.84) in view of the various alternative readings of the context, see the discussion in chapter 8.

form never contained *ʃ, whereas the scansion of κραταίος is historically related to the fact that its pre-form did contain *ʃ.⁶⁶²

Without a doubt, this list of structural avoidances can be extended.⁶⁶³ In many of the above cases, the avoidance of *McL* scansion has led to the creation of artificial forms (perfects like προβέβουλα, προπέφανται, the adjective γλυκερός, the thematic aorist ἔτραφον) or helped the preservation of archaic formations (pres. ptc. προβιβιάς, the neuter πρόπαν with short ᾱ). On this basis alone, we have to conclude that *McL* scansion was entirely inadmissible in a not-too-distant pre-stage of the epic tradition, until it arose in a few isolated lexemes with -ρα- and -ρο-.

Thus, there appears to be a distribution between a small group of lexical items which regularly allow *McL* scansion, and a much larger group of lexical items where the licence was strictly avoided. Since most items in the first group derive from a pre-form with *ʃ, the only conceivable explanation seems to be that the *McL* licence historically originated in such forms. The avoidance of κράτιστος as opposed to the acceptability of κραταίος confirms this conclusion. The structural artificial replacements of metrically awkward forms prove that epic poets concisely avoided *McL* scansions for many generations.

The inclusion of ἀλλόθροος and ἀλλότριος in the group of words with regular *McL* scansion was probably of recent date; it may even be thought that the poet of the *Odyssey* was responsible for the productive use of these two forms. The possibility of an *incidental* use of the *McL* licence, of which Homer already makes use, may or may not be related to an underlying phonetic change in syllabification, but this is not of our direct concern here. We have proven that there is a clear distinction between incidental and structural cases of *McL* scansion, and that the emergence of the latter group must be related to the erstwhile presence of *ʃ in the respective pre-forms.

6.6 Epic *ʃ: -ρα- is the regular reflex of artificially retained *ʃ

I agree with Wathélet's main conclusion that the regular *McL* scansion of Homeric forms like δράκων and κραταίος is related to the presence of *ʃ in their pre-forms. But whether one agrees or disagrees with his use of the terms 'formulaic' or 'traditional expression', there remain other, more severe problems with his scenario. According to Wathélet, "les aèdes ont tenu à conserver des expressions traditionnelles, tout en leur laissant suivre l'évolution de la langue" (1966: 172, my emphasis). In other words, he thinks that formulaic expressions automatically underwent the phonological developments of the vernacular, and that forms with *McL* scansion came into being as a result of the change *ʃ > -ρα-. However, if the evidence for -αρ- as the regular phonological reflex of *ʃ in Proto-Ionic is taken seriously, the outcome -ρα- cannot be due to a normal Ionic development of *ʃ. This applies not only to words with regular *McL* scansion, but also to other Homeric words with -ρα- < *ʃ. In forms like δράκων, θρασειάων, κραδίη, τράπεζα, and τραπέιμεν, it is impossible to explain -ρα- by analogical developments. In order to explain the distribution between prose forms with -αρ- and Homeric or poetic forms with -ρα- (section 6.1)⁶⁶⁴, I propose that the development of *ʃ in Epic Greek was different from that in spoken Ionic, in the following way:

⁶⁶² A second possible example is δράκων 'snake', where *McL* scansion is regularly applied, as against the absence of forms of the thematic aorist ἔδρακον (δρακών, etc.) which would require the use of *McL* scansion. The application of the licence in δράκων was acceptable because its pre-form was *dʃkōn. Participle forms like δρακών also had a pre-form with *ʃ, but their metrical behavior must be explained in a different way (see chapter 8).

⁶⁶³ Cf. e.g. Chantraine (1942: 112) on the introduction of a nasal in the θη-aorist of verbs like κλίνω, κρίνω. Another case is the avoidance of the Gp. in -ων when the preceding syllable had the structure CCVC-, in which case Homer may use the artificial thematic ending -οφι(ν).

⁶⁶⁴ This holds for τέταρτος ~ τέτρατος, καρδίη ~ κραδίη, καρτερός ~ κραταίος, ταρπῶμεν ~ τραπέιμεν. As we will see in section 7.2.4, another instance is Epic ἡμυροτον versus Classical ἡμαρτον.

1. When spoken Proto-Ionic underwent the sound change $*r > -\alpha r-$, Epic Greek preserved $*r$.
2. At a later stage, Epic Greek underwent its own conditioned sound change: $*r > -\rho\alpha-$, but $> -\rho\omicron-$ after a labial consonant.

Henceforth, I will refer to this $*r$ which developed to $-\rho\alpha-$ and $-\rho\omicron-$ in Homeric Greek as “Epic $*r$ ”.

The possibility that $*r$ was retained longer in Epic Greek is mentioned by Haug, but only to be immediately rejected.⁶⁶⁵ The objection could be made more precise, in the following way. The language of Epic Greek is commonly viewed as a composite, consisting of the vernacular of a poet plus a large number of traditional, dialectal, and artificial forms. It is usually taken for granted that sound changes applied in Epic Greek just like they did in the vernacular, unless there was a compelling metrical reason to retain an older form. This is reflected in the principle formulated by Milman Parry: “as the spoken language changes, the traditional diction of an oral poetry likewise changes, so long as there is no need of giving up any of the formulas”.⁶⁶⁶ Indeed, the vocalization of $*r$ would have altered the traditional metrical structure of the words and formulas which contained this sound. This would have formed a clear incentive for Epic poets to resist the introduction of some vernacular forms with $-\alpha r-$, e.g. the metrically awkward form καρδίη. However, Parry’s principle does not explain why no traces of forms like $^{++}\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\omicron\nu$ or $^{++}\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\epsilon\zeta\alpha$ survived in Homer – that is, unless one is prepared to argue, with Wathelet, that their pre-forms were already “formulaic” in some sense of that word.⁶⁶⁷

The idea that Epic Greek always followed spoken Ionic in its phonological developments is certainly the default assumption, but I see no compelling reason to stick to Parry’s principle. Instead, I assume that the reflexes of (at least a number of) vernacular sound changes penetrated into Epic Greek only by lexical diffusion. This new principle can be applied in a profitable way to other sound changes, such as the development of the labiovelars. As is well known, labiovelars developed into labial stops even before the front vowels e , \bar{e} in several Epic words, for instance:

- πέλω, πέλομαι ‘to be, become’ < $*k^w el-$ (Ion.-Att. and Hom. τέλλομαι ‘to turn around’)
- βέλεα, βέλεμνα ‘missiles’ < $*g^w el-es-$, $*g^w ele-mn-$ (Arc. εσ-δελλω, Ion. βάλλω)
- βέρεθρον ‘abyss’ < $g^w eret^h ro-$ (Arc. ζέρεθρον, Att. βάραθρον)
- φήρ ‘centaur’, Φήρες ‘a mythical race’ (Ion. θήρ, θήριον ‘wild animal’).⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁵ “Naturellement, on peut admettre que la langue épique a gardé le r voyelle plus longtemps que le vernaculaire, mais même dans une tradition très conservatrice, il semble peu probable que l’on ait gardé longtemps un phonème qui n’existait plus dans le vernaculaire” (2002: 63).

⁶⁶⁶ Parry (1971: 331). This is, clearly, the source of Wathelet’s formulation, “les aèdes ont tenu à conserver des expressions traditionnelles, tout en leur laissant suivre l’évolution de la langue”.

⁶⁶⁷ The problems with Parry’s conception of the formula and with his views on the formulaic nature of Epic Greek are well-known, and need not be discussed in extension here. One could rephrase Parry’s final clause less strictly, as follows: “... unless this would damage the metrical structure of words and traditional syntagms”. But even if we were to apply this modified principle to the change Epic $*r > -\rho\alpha-$, it would be hard to understand why the ensuing *McL* scansions did not “necessitate poets to give up their formulas”. In other words, the application of Parry’s principle to Epic $*r > -\rho\alpha-$ presupposes that the *McL* licence was already acceptable when the change was phonologized. That assumption, however, seems to be contradicted by the distinction between incidental and structural *McL* scansions discussed above. This is another reason to doubt the adequacy of Parry’s formulation of his principle, “as the spoken language changes, the traditional diction of an oral poetry likewise changes (...)”.

⁶⁶⁸ Other instances are ὀβελός ‘spit’ (Att. ὀβολός ‘a monetary unit’), πέλωρ ‘monstrum’ (Hsch. τέλωρ), ἐννεπε ‘told’ and (in front of i) πίσυρες (unattested, in this form, in any Greek dialect). Attested in Sappho and/or

Scholars who assume an Aeolic phase naturally derive these words from some Aeolic vernacular (e.g. Wathelet 1970). Those who do not accept an Aeolic phase (e.g. Miller 1982) explain some of them as borrowings (the Φῆρες are associated with Thessaly), and explain other cases by analogical leveling (e.g. πέλομαι after the aorist ἔπλετο, βέλος after βάλλω).

As we will see in section 11.4, it follows from the present scenario for the vocalization of *ʝ that an Aeolic phase has to be excluded altogether. While the analogical explanations or borrowings assumed by antagonists of an Aeolic phase cannot be excluded, an alternative and more attractive explanation of the forms with a labial reflex is now within reach. Epic Greek may have retained unpalatalized labiovelars in the position before *e* and *ē* when the labiovelars underwent palatalization in the Ionic vernacular. At a second stage, the retained Epic labiovelars may have generally developed into labial stops, perhaps as part of the elimination of the remaining labiovelars in the vernacular, but possibly independently.

In all four cases listed above, there would have been a clear rationale for not introducing the vernacular form. In the meaning ‘to become, be’, the ancestor of πέλομαι had been lost in the vernacular, which uses only γίγνομαι or εἰμί. On the other hand, the fact that the *yod*-present τέλλομαι is attested in the Ionic vernacular explains why this form replaced a putative *πέλλομαι in Homer. The words βέλεα, βέλεμνα, βέρεθρον are all absent from the Ionic vernacular. Finally, φῆρ ‘centaur’ may have escaped replacement with θῆρ ‘wild animal’ (also attested in Homer) because of its specialized lexical meaning.⁶⁶⁹

If we apply this scenario to the vocalization *ʝ > -αʝ- in Proto-Ionic, it follows that all traditional epic words with *ʝ were retained at the time of vocalization, unless they were replaced by vocalized forms from the vernacular. Examples of introduced vernacular forms are ταρφέες, καρτερός, ταρπῆναι and, with leveled root vocalism, κρατύς, βραχύς, ἔδραμον. On the other hand, forms like *dr̥kōn, *t̥jpedia, and *k̥rtai(w)os escaped replacement.

There are two principal reasons why forms with Epic *ʝ were not replaced. In some instances, the form was absent from the Proto-Ionic vernacular (compare the instances of a non-palatalized labiovelar reflex above). I argue that this was the case in forms like *dr̥kōn, *t̥jpedia, *k̥rtai(w)os.⁶⁷⁰ Secondly, the form with Epic *ʝ may have been retained for metrical reasons because it occurred in a formula, as in the case of τραπέιομεν. Thirdly, the vernacular form may have been metrically inconvenient by its own means. For instance, καρδίη could only be used in the Ns. and Ds. in front of a vowel. Thus, Epic *ʝ was retained not only in words which were later to acquire *McL* scansion, but also in words which had an unproblematic scansion after the later Epic vocalization to -ρα- or -ρο-.⁶⁷¹

We now have to ask how an inner-Epic sound change should be conceived of, and whether it is possible to point out parallel cases. As a language which was recited and pronounced, Epic Greek was also subject to changes in pronunciation, even if it was more conservative than the Ionic vernacular. A sound like Epic *ʝ, which had been eliminated from all Greek vernaculars prior to its vocalization in Epic Greek, was especially liable to such changes. Like all normal sound changes, the Epic development may have started as a slight articulatory change, during recitations, as a result of which the automatic anaptyctic [ə] tended to grow after the liquid. This phonetic change was phonologized when [rə] merged with the already-existing sequences /ra/ and /ro/:

Alcaeus are πέλομαι (4x), ἔννεπε (4x), βέλος (2x), and φῆρ (1x), but all these forms are generally attested in Epic (and archaic) poetry.

⁶⁶⁹ I am confident that this new principle (that certain vernacular sound changes did not operate in Epic Greek) can also be fruitfully applied to sound changes such as *ā > ē, prevocalic shortening, quantitative metathesis, and the loss of initial digamma. But to elaborate the details would probably require another monograph.

⁶⁷⁰ The thematic contexts in which these words occur may motivate their absence from the vernacular: e.g. heroic exploits (δράκων), banqueting scenes or rituals of hospitality (τραπέζα), and war narrative (στρατός).

⁶⁷¹ Instances with -ρα- are κραδίη and στρατός.

	Epic recitation	Ionic-Attic vernacular
Early Mycenaean period:	<i>r̥</i>	<i>r̥</i>
appr. 12 th c. BC:	<i>r̥</i>	<i>ar</i> , analogical <i>ra</i>
appr. 800 BC:	<i>ra, ro</i>	<i>ar, ra</i>

A parallel situation is found in Indic, where Vedic *r̥* was traditionally pronounced as [rɪ], while the outcome of **r̥* in Middle Indic dialects was different.⁶⁷² This shows that *r̥* was initially retained, probably for metrical reasons, in the recitation of Vedic after this sound had been eliminated from the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and that it was subject to a change in pronunciation later in the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) period.⁶⁷³

	Sanskrit recitation	Indo-Aryan vernacular
Vedic period:	<i>r̥</i>	<i>r̥</i>
Post-Vedic OIA I:	<i>r̥</i>	<i>*ər</i>
II:	<i>ri</i>	<i>*ər</i>
Middle Indic	<i>ri</i>	Pali <i>a, i</i> , etc.

As a consequence of the vocalization of Epic **r̥*, *McL* scansion came into being in a number of Epic Greek lexemes. This scansion was synchronically aberrant at that time, but the poets apparently chose to retain the lexemes in question, probably because they were indispensable traditional elements (think of frequent forms like *τράπεζα* and *βροτοῖσι*). As we will see on various occasions, the ensuing *McL* scansions were still avoided as far as possible. For instance, there are no traces of *McL* scansion in the active thematic aorists of the type *ἔδρακον*, and hardly any traces in case forms of *βροτός* and *ἄμβροτος* that could be used without the licence. In other words, the increasing productivity of the *McL* licence in Epic Greek is a relatively recent phenomenon.

Let us now delimit the corpus to be treated in the following sections. The treatment of forms with *-ρο-* < **r̥* will be postponed to chapter 7, because the problems involved will be easier to address once we have clarified the scenario for the Homeric reflex *-ρα-*. The following forms with *-ρα-* will be treated here:

- Wathélet's cases of *abrègements anciens*: *δράκων*, *κράνεια*, *κραταιός*, *τράπεζα*, and *τραπέσθαι*.
- Homeric forms with *-ρα-* with a definite indication for a pre-form with **r̥*: *θρασειάων* (fem. Gr. of *θρασύς*), the compounds *κραταιγύαλος* and *κραταίπεδος*, *τραπέιομεν* (1p. aor. subj. of *τέρπομαι*), *κραδίη*, *τέτρατος*, *στρατός*.
- Homeric forms with *-ρα-* which undergo *McL* scansion, no matter whether they occur after the trochaic caesura or elsewhere: *βραχίων* 'upper arm', *κραδαίνω* 'to brandish', *κρατευταί* 'supports of the barbecue'.

The thematic aorists of the type *ἔδρακον*, *ἔπραθον* are treated in chapter 8, and the forms in *ἀνδρα-* are treated together with those in *ἀνδρο-* in chapter 7.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷² As established by Berger (1955), the reflex of Skt. *r̥* in Pali and other Middle Indic dialects is normally *a*, but *i* is also found, mostly before a palatal consonant: see von Hinüber (1986: 78-9).

⁶⁷³ "Im Prakrit tritt im Anlaut für *r̥* gelegentlich *ri* ein: skt. *r̥si* > Ardhamāgadhī *r̥si* (...). Teilweise lässt sich dies durch die Aussprache des *r̥* als *ri* erklären, die lautgesetzlich ins Mittelindische übernommen wird." (von Hinüber 1986: 80). In other words, in the Old Indo-Aryan vernaculars, an anaptyctic vowel developed in front of the liquid, after which the syllable-final *r* was lost in Middle-Indic.

⁶⁷⁴ The origin of *-ρα-* in *κρατερός* 'impetuous, violent' will also be explained in chapter 8.

The forms with *McL* scansion after the trochaic caesura were left out of consideration by Wathélet (1966: 150-51), because they were not of direct relevance for his idea about the preservation of a metrical archaism. But within the present context, all these forms acquire primary importance as potential counterevidence to the Proto-Ionic vocalization to -ρα-. Our main task regarding these forms is, therefore, to check whether there is some definite indication that they directly continue a pre-form with **r*. Thus, the discussion of this corpus will be subdivided as follows. In section 6.7, the compelling evidence in favor of a special vocalization of Epic **r* to -ρα- will be discussed. In section 6.8, I will treat Homeric forms with -ρα- for which there is no unambiguous evidence for a pre-form with **r*. In section 6.9, a few isolated occurrences of -ρα- are analyzed as nonce formations.

6.7 The evidence for -ρα- from Epic **r*

I will start with forms which exclusively occur in Epic Greek, or which are typically poetic and absent from spoken Ionic-Attic: δράκων, κραδίη, κραταιός, compounds with κραται-, κραταιίς, τέτρατος, and τραπέομεν. The discussion of these examples for -ρα- as a reflex of Epic **r* is accompanied by an analysis of their metrical behavior in Homer. After that, I will turn to forms with -ρα- which are also well-attested in Classical prose authors: τράπεζα, στρατός. In these two cases, arguments in favor of a borrowing from Epic Greek will be provided. Finally, -ρα- is found both in Homer and in the Ionic-Attic vernacular in τραπέσθαι and θρασύς.

6.7.1 δράκων

In view of the structure of its stem, the application of *McL* scansion could not be avoided in δράκων ‘snake, dragon’. It is widely accepted that δράκων is based on an inherited PIE root noun **dr̥k-*, as attested in Ved. *dr̥ś-* ‘aspect’ and also preserved in the Homeric adverb ὑπόδρα ‘(looking) sternly’ (on which see chapter 9). In the prehistory of Greek, the stem **dr̥k-* was extended with the suffix -ων, -οντ-, which might be identical with the suffix of γέρων ‘old man’, κρείων ‘ruler’, and μέδων ‘id.’.⁶⁷⁵

The word is attested 9x in Homer, has no fixed position in the line, and does not occur in ostensibly formulaic material. This does not mean that δράκων is not a traditional Epic word. The absence of a reflex **δάρκων* can be understood, but only if a lexeme PGr. **dr̥kont-* was absent from Proto-Ionic, and limited to Epic Greek from an early date. Moreover, as far as the thematics of traditional poetry are concerned, δράκων is a typical Epic word. Originally, it may have been an epithet of ὄφις ‘snake’, as in ὄφις κρατεροῖο δράκοντος (Hes. *Th.* 322, δεινοῖο 825).

Unlike the substantive δράκων, forms of the aorist ἔδρακον which would require *McL* scansion in order to be used at all (e.g. aor. ptc. δρακόντων) are completely absent from Homer. This structural difference shows, from a different angle, that the application of the *McL* licence in the substantive δράκων was not due to metrical necessity, but to the preservation of its older metrical structure. A closer examination of the thematic aorists of the type ἔδρακον can be found in chapter 8.

6.7.2 κραδίη

As we have seen in section 6.1, the metrical behavior of κραδίη in Homer strongly suggests that the form retained **r* until not too long before Homer. Within the present framework, the Homeric form can simply be viewed as the regular, inner-Epic outcome of **kr̥diā-*. This form

⁶⁷⁵ Examples are listed Risch (1974: 27), but he does not comment on the semantics of the *nt-*formations. Beekes (1985: 75) discards the interpretation as an extended root noun without further arguments, and states that δράκων is a substantivized aorist ptc. with retracted accent. Although this cannot be definitively excluded, it seems more likely to me that the suffix -οντ- derives from PIE individualizing **nt-*.

was retained in Epic Greek because the introduction of the vernacular form would have created metrical problems: καρδίη could only be used before a following vowel, and only in the Ns. and Ds. Even so, the vernacular form καρδίη was introduced in Epic Greek (both as a simplex and in the compound θρασυκάρδιος), but only on a sporadic basis. This explains the origin of the doublet κραδίη ~ καρδίη.

6.7.3 κραταῖός, κραταιῖς, Κράταιῖς, κραται-

These forms and the presence of *ʃ in their pre-forms have been extensively discussed in chapter 5. Let me summarize the most important facts concerning their attestations. Both the substantive κραταιῖς and the name Κράταιῖς are hapaxes in Homer.⁶⁷⁶ The adjective κραταῖός is Homeric (13x) and remains confined to poetry until the end of the Classical period. With the exception of one instance of κραταιοῦ after |_T (*Il.* 11.119), these three forms are used only in verse-final position. The first member |_T κραται- is the compounding allomorph of the inherited *ró*-adjective καρτερός (section 5.2.10). The expected outcome of the PIE allomorph **k̑rth₁-i-* > **k̑rti-* was replaced by the productive allomorph κρατερο- ~ καρτερο- whenever this was possible, but it was retained when the second member had a light initial syllable that started with a single consonant, as in κραταίπεδος and κραταιγύαλος.⁶⁷⁷ This **k̑rti-* underwent a metrical lengthening to **k̑rtī-* and was then replaced by κραται-, perhaps under the influence of κραταῖός. Poetic compounds with κραται- after Homer may be due to Epic influence, just like the post-Homeric personal names with Κραται-.

Thus, we may reconstruct the Epic pre-forms as **k̑rtai-* and **k̑rtaiwó-*, whence **k̑rtaiw-íd-*. The vocalization -ρα- in all these forms can now be explained as the regular outcome of Epic *ʃ. This confirms our analysis of -αρ- as the regular vernacular reflex of *ʃ in καρτερός and κάρτα.

It is noteworthy, finally, that a neuter plural καρταιποδα is attested in Cretan in the meaning ‘cattle’. In Pindar, the adjective καρταίποδ- ‘with violent feet’ qualifies a bull. Since -αρ- is the regular vocalization in Cretan and since that dialect does have instances of CραC from different origins (e.g. γραφ-, τραπ-, see section 3.2), καρταιποδα must have participated in the sound change *ʃ > -αρ- in the Cretan vernacular.⁶⁷⁸ The word is clearly an epithet in origin, as it is in Pindar, and its -αι- can only be understood as the reflex of metrical lengthening in Epic Greek. Therefore, it must have been borrowed from some Epic tradition before the vocalization of Epic *ʃ to -ρα-. In other words, Cretan καρταιποδα is indirect evidence for an intermediate stage **k̑rtai-* in some variety of pre-Homeric Epic poetry. It would be tempting to think of a Mycenaean Epic tradition.

6.7.4 τέτρατος

In section 2.6, it was remarked that τέτρατος is all but limited to Epic Greek, whereas τέταρτος is the only form attested in Classical prose, both Ionic and Attic. Since τέταρτος cannot be the result of an analogy, it must be the regular vernacular outcome of **k^wetrto-*. It was then asked whether τέτρατος may have arisen within Epic Greek by analogy with other

⁶⁷⁶ Beside its Homeric attestation, Κράταιῖς is mentioned only in A. R. 4.829 as another name of Scylla’s mother, who is there called Hekate.

⁶⁷⁷ Moreover, in the Homeric *Vitae*, κραταίποδες occurs once as a qualification of ἡμίονοι ‘mules’. Compounds with κρατι- or καρτι- (the expected outcome of **k̑rti-* in Epic and spoken Ionic, respectively) are absent from Epic Greek because they had already been replaced by compounds with κρατερο- or καρτερο-. The outcome ⁺⁺κρατι- ~ καρτι- may have been preserved in proper names with Κρατι- and Καρτι- (attested in the 5th c. and later). Again, it is possible (but ultimately hard to prove, in view of the pattern of attestations) that Κρατι- is the Epic reflex of **k̑rti-* in front of a single consonant plus a heavy syllable, and that Καρτι- is analogical after e.g. κρατερός : καρτερός.

⁶⁷⁸ As concerns the vocalization of *ʃ, nothing can be based on Pindar’s καρταίποδ- (*Ol.* 13.81): in contrast with Homer, it is hard to exclude that Pindar substituted αρ for ρα for metrical purposes.

ordinals. To assume a secondary extension of -ατος from δέκατος, as happened in τρίτατος and similar Epic forms, would be unmotivated: unlike in the case of τρίτος, there was no inherent metrical problem with the feminine forms of τέταρτος.

Considering the pattern of attestations of τέταρτος in Homer, it appears that this variant only appears in the NAs. ntr. τέταρτον (7x), with the single exception of the Ns. msc. τέταρτος (*Il.* 23.615). By contrast, τέταρτος (14x) is used in various different case forms, and is clearly the productive form. These distributions are compatible with an older metrical lengthening, which allowed poets to use the ordinal in front of a vowel-initial word, as in **k^wēt̥r̥ton āmar* > τέταρτον ἡμαρ.⁶⁷⁹ There are then two ways to proceed. On the one hand, it is possible that **k^wēt̥r̥to-* was analogically reshaped to **k^wetrato-* beside the compositional form τετρα-, on the model of τρι- : τρίτος. On the other hand, τέταρτος may contain the regular outcome of Epic **r̥*; after the first syllable had been closed by the vocalization of Epic **r̥*, the then-unnecessary metrical lengthening could be cancelled.

6.7.5 τραπέομεν

The form τραπέομεν only occurs in the formulaic hemistich |_T τραπέομεν εὐνηθέντε (2x *Il.*, 1x *Od.*) “let us go to bed and satisfy ourselves”. It derives from an earlier 1p. aor. subj. **t̥r̥p̥ōmen*. The root shape τραπ- is not attested in any other form of the paradigm of τέρπομαι ‘to enjoy oneself’. Upon the traditional analysis, τραπέομεν contains the regular and unrestored Ionic reflex -ρα- of **r̥*, whereas the outcome -αρ- in the normal Homeric and Classical Greek form ταρπῆναι is due to a restoration on the model of the full grade τέρπομαι. But in view of the evidence for -αρ- as the regular outcome, this explanation has to be abandoned.

From a synchronic perspective, τραπέομεν is a monstrous form. Due to the possibility of confusion with the zero grade of τρέπω ‘to turn’, it would have been quickly replaced in a normal language situation, at least after the elimination of the labiovelars from Proto-Ionic.⁶⁸⁰ It makes good sense, then, to relate the origin and preservation of τραπέομεν to its presence in a formula. Three indications suggest that the hemistich τραπέομεν εὐνηθέντε is quite old. First, the dual ending of the participle εὐνηθέντε was not productive anymore in Homer or synchronic Ionic. Secondly, τραπέομεν contains the metrically restored reflex of quantitative metathesis in the outcome **-eōmen* < **t̥r̥p̥ōmen*. Finally, a formula ⁺⁺|_P ταρπέομεν εὐνηθέντε would also be metrically acceptable, and equally useful in epic verse composition.⁶⁸¹ We may conclude that after the vocalization of **r̥* in spoken Ionic, the introduction of the productive root shape ταρπ- into this concrete hemistich was apparently avoided.

This avoidance can be explained. In both its Iliadic attestations, the formula τραπέομεν εὐνηθέντε is preceded by the locative (ἐν) φιλότῃτι. As Latacz (1966: 185) shows, φιλότῃτι must have been part of the original formula, because it is a syntactic complement to εὐνηθέντε, with hyperbaton, the crucial point being that τέρπομαι normally governs the genitive.⁶⁸² This means that the introduction of the productive allomorph ταρπ- was excluded

⁶⁷⁹ As I will argue in section 9.2.1, a similar metrical lengthening is also probable in the Dp. τέτρασι < **k^wet̥rsi*.

⁶⁸⁰ The root of τρέπω was probably **trek^w-*, cf. Myc. *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* ‘making tours’.

⁶⁸¹ A metrical alternative for |_T τραπέομεν εὐνηθέντε was indeed created: the formula |_P ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες, which contains the artificial thematic aorist ταρπώμεθα. See chapter 8.

⁶⁸² Latacz compares ἐν φιλότῃτι λιλαίει εὐνηθῆναι (*Il.* 14.331) and ἐν φιλότῃτι παρήπαφεν εὐνηθῆναι (14.360), both of which refer to Hera and Zeus making love. It has been thought that confusion between τραπέομεν and the aorist ταρπῆναι ‘to turn’ took place in one instance of the formula, λεκτρὸνδε τραπέομεν εὐνηθέντε (*Od.* 8.292). On this account, the allative λεκτρὸνδε would prove that the poet of the *Odyssey* took the words λεκτρὸνδε τραπέομεν to mean “let us *turn* to bed”. But as Latacz remarks, “wäre dem so, dann entstünde an dieser Stelle die absurde Aufforderung ‚zum Lager wollen wir uns wenden, nachdem wir uns gelagert haben.’”

for metrical reasons.⁶⁸³ The formula **p^hilotāti tɾpēomen eunā^hente* preserved an instance of Epic **ɾ*, which was vocalized to -ρα-. A further discussion of this important example is given in chapter 11.

6.7.6 τράπεζα

On account of the comparison with Myc. *to-pe-za*, the pre-form of τράπεζα ‘table’ can be reconstructed as **tɾpedja*. Even if τράπεζα does not occur in formulae, the form is traditional in a different way.⁶⁸⁴ With the exception of *Od.* 11.419, Homer uses τράπεζα (35x) only in verse-final position. It is true that trisyllables of the same structure have a strong preference for verse-final position in Homer. Even so, the rate of 97% obtained for τράπεζα is remarkably high in comparison with examples like θάλασσα (75%) and μέλαινα (85%).⁶⁸⁵ In these figures, it should be taken into account that μέλαινα and θάλασσα frequently occur in verse-final formulae, whereas τράπεζα does not. This makes the percentage obtained for τράπεζα quite remarkable. It is attractive, then, to assume that Hom. τράπεζα contains the outcome of Epic **ɾ*.

It remains to account for the absence of a reflex ⁺⁺τάρπεζα in any form of Ionic-Attic. The above scenario requires that the pre-form **tɾpedja* was absent from the Proto-Ionic vernacular. However, τράπεζα is widely attested in classical Ionic-Attic, both in literary prose and in inscriptions. The only conceivable explanation of this fact is that τράπεζα is an epicism. But if the word refers to a commonplace domestic object, why would it be a borrowing? The answer may well be that a τράπεζα was not an everyday utensil at all: it is either a dining table at which guests are entertained on special occasions, or a table on which public offerings to the gods were deposited in temples. A third meaning, a money-changer’s counter or a bank, must derive from the second use, since the oldest banks were located at temples (cf. *Der kleine Pauly*, s.v. Trapeza). In other words, the τράπεζα had a specific social and ritual function, and may well have denoted a traditional, ornamented object. For this reason, I see no reason to doubt the possibility that Class. τράπεζα was taken from the epic tradition.

(1966: 186). He argues that εὐνηθέντε is here the intransitive of a verb of movement εὐνάω ‘lagern’. This makes it possible to compare the allative λεκτρὸνδε with the locative φιλότῃτι in the original shape of the verse.

In *Od.* 4.294-5, the imperative 2p. τράπετε ‘direct!’ and the subj. 1p. ταρπώμεθα co-occur: ἀλλ’ ἄγετ’ εἰς εὐνὴν τράπεθ’ ἡμεας, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη ὑπνω ὑπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες, ‘Come on then, direct us to bed, so that we may replenish ourselves with sweet sleep’. This suggests that the poet of the *Odyssey* considered ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες to be an equivalent of τραπέομεν εὐνηθέντε, and that he distinguished τραπε/ο- ‘turn’ from ταρπε/ο- ‘become satisfied’.

⁶⁸³ Even if φιλότῃτι was not originally part of the formula, the preservation of the metrical structure of an entire verse-half could have been a sufficient reason to artificially retain **ɾ*.

⁶⁸⁴ Wathelet (1966: 162-64) gives two reasons for subsuming τράπεζα among his “abrègements anciens”: it occurs only in verse-final position, and is found in combination with words that are supposed to be of Achaeian origin, as in ἡμὲν δέπα’ ἠδὲ τραπέζας (*Od.* 15.466), where δέπας is to be compared with Myc. *di-pa*. Wathelet is clearly wrestling with the lack of clear formulaic attestations: “Dans les passages qui précèdent, on a pu constater que τράπεζα s’emploie surtout avec des mots qui ne reviennent pas ailleurs dans l’épopée, certains d’entre eux sont uniquement poétiques. De telles considérations tendent à faire penser que τράπεζα entre dans un système de formules anciennes.” (1966: 163). This unfortunate formulation has been exploited by Haug in his criticism of Wathelet’s argument: “Ici, donc, le caractère isolé d’une attestation est devenu un critère de formularité. Cela s’accorde mal avec les critères opérés dessus.” (2002: 66).

⁶⁸⁵ These figures have been taken from Bowie (1981). When commenting on the same tendency in Sappho and Alcaeus whenever their lines end in $\sim - x$, he states: “it would be tempting, particularly in the case of trisyllabic words in $\sim - x$, to look to Homer for the origin of this practice. In Homer and Hesiod, these trisyllables occur finally in 93% of cases, and some 38% of lines in those poets end with a trisyllabic word of this shape” (Bowie 1981: 44-45, referring to O’Neill 1942: 142). Perhaps, the different percentages of τράπεζα on the one hand and θάλασσα, μέλαινα on the other can be accounted for by the fact that θάλασσα and μέλαινα remained part of spoken Ionic all along, whereas τράπεζα was not part of the vernacular in Homer’s time.

For this part of the argument, it does not matter whether **tɥpedja* was an archaism preserved in Ionic Epic, or whether it entered Epic Greek from some other dialect. Nevertheless, the non-vernacular origin of *τράπεζα* is quite understandable if we assume that the word and concept were borrowed from Mycenaean high culture. The poet of the *Odyssey* describes polished tables with a ceremonial use (e.g. *παρὰ δὲ ξεστήν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν*, 6x *Od.*). A number of other Homeric words for utensils used in ceremonial contexts (rituals of hospitality, feasting, bathing) are attested in the same form and/or meaning only in Mycenaean, but nowhere in alphabetic Greek. Compare the following lexical correspondences:

- *ta-ra-nu* ~ θρῆνυς ‘footstool’: on the continuity between Mycenaean and Homer, see Hajnal (1998: 14-15);
- *di-pa* ~ δέπας ‘a drinking vessel’, often used in rituals of libation: the word is used only by Homer and a few times in archaic poetry;
- *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* ~ λοετροχόος ‘kind of tripod for pouring bath-water’, used in bathing rituals;
- *to-no* ~ θρόνος ‘(ceremonial, ornamented) chair’ (see section 7.3.4).

A commonly heard objection is that such vocabulary may consist of preserved lexical archaisms that were shared by Mycenaean and Ionic. It is true that differences between Proto-Ionic and Mycenaean were probably not very numerous. Even so, it is noteworthy that *τράπεζαι* occur in the context of dining rituals in the “palace” of Ithaca (e.g. *Od.* 1.111, 19.61, 20.151). In these rituals, the word occurs in combination with other words that have cognates in the Linear B tablets (such as *δέπας*, *θρῆνυς*, and *θρόνος*). This suggests that *τράπεζα* is an inheritance from the palatial period.

Another possible objection against an Achaean origin of *τράπεζα* would be that *to-pe-za* is normally interpreted as /torpedd^ya/. Within the scenario sketched above, however, all such chronological problems may be resolved if we follow Heubeck’s idea that Myc. *to-pe-za* represents /tɥpedd^ya/.⁶⁸⁶ If, on the other hand, Heubeck’s scenario is rejected, one is forced to conclude that *τράπεζα* has nothing to do with Myc. *to-pe-za*, apart from the fact that both derive from Proto-Greek **tɥpedja*.

6.7.7 στρατός

In view of its etymological isolation within Greek, Ionic-Attic *στρατός* is an important example for the vocalization of **ɣ*. At first sight, it seems to furnish strong evidence for -ρα- as the regular outcome. However, in order to judge the relevance of *στρατός*, we first have to consider the dialectal attestations and their semantics.

From Homer onwards, *στρατός* is the normal word for ‘army’ in Ionic-Attic. The other word for ‘army’ in Homer is *λαός* (Att. *λεώς*, Eastern Ion. *ληός*), but this has a broader meaning: it denotes not only a body of warriors, but also the collective of men in the council,

⁶⁸⁶ “In all the passages cited by Wathelet, a case-form of *τράπεζα* stands at the verse-end; the assumption that *τράπεζα*, at a very early period of epic poetry, was placed at this position by preference is attractive; if we suggest that *τράπεζα* has replaced an original **tɥpeza*, it seems less strange that *τρ-* in *τράπεζα* does not lengthen the preceding short word-end ἠδὲ *τραπέζας* (χ 438 etc.). To suppose an intermediate (Myc.) **torpeza* is to complicate the situation needlessly” (Heubeck 1972: 77-8). According to Wathelet’s interpretation, the pre-form **tɥpedja* had regularly developed into *τράπεζα* in Ionic, and replaced an Aeolic form **τρόπεζα* in the artificial language of epic. This Aeolic **τρόπεζα* would have preserved the original scansion of a pre-Mycenaean pre-form **tɥpedja* which dates back to the mid-second millennium: “Il est certain que les aèdes ioniens ont donné aux mots qui existaient en ionien le vocalisme *a* tandis qu’ils conservaient le timbre *o* aux termes qui ne possédaient pas de parallèle dans leur dialecte” (1966: 162 n. 4). But since the regular Proto-Ionic outcome of **ɣ* was -αρ-, this scenario cannot be correct.

or (in the *Odyssey*) the body of subjects under a ruler. In Classical Attic, *λεώς* retains traces of all these meanings (see *LSJ*, q.v.). On the other hand, from Homer onwards and throughout the classical language, *στρατός* only denotes the army or its camp – most notably the Achaean military expedition against Troy. Even if forms continuing **lāwó-* are not very frequent in Ionic and Attic, its broader range of meanings suggests that this was the normal generic term for ‘band, clan’ in Proto-Ionic. The word is also found in the Mycenaean title *ra-wa-ke-ta* /*lāwāgetā-*/ ‘leader of the **lāwó-*’, the second-highest ranking person in the Achaean realm.

Correspondences of *στρατός* within Greek are found in the Aeolic and West Greek dialects. In Lesbian, *σπρότος* ‘army; host’ (Sapph.) has the regular Aeolic vocalization to *-po-*, and the native Lesbian character of the word is confirmed by the title *σπρωταγός* as attested in inscriptions.⁶⁸⁷ In Boeotian inscriptions, we find names in *-σπρωτος*, and also the verbal form *εσπρωτευαθη*, which is an equivalent of Ionic (mid. pf.) *ἐστρατεύαται* ‘they are on campaign’. In Cretan, the word is attested in the form *σπαρτος* (*Lex Gortyn* etc.).⁶⁸⁸

If we consider the semantics of the dialectal forms, it appears that the North Greek form *στρατός* (*σπαρτος*, *σπρότος*) could denote not only an army or its camp, but more generally a band, clan or collective of men, the “people” in the same sense as Ionic-Attic *λαός*, *λήος*, *λεώς*. Pindar regularly uses *στρατός* in this sense, and it is attested in the Cretan simplex *σπαρτος*.⁶⁸⁹ There is another indication that Proto-North Greek **stṛtó-* and Proto-South Greek **lāwó-* had the same referent: the title Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta* /*lāwāgetā-*/ ‘leader of the **lāwó-*’ beside West Greek *στραταγός* ‘leader of the **stṛtó-*’ (Doric dialects and Arcadian) and Lesbian *σπρωταγός*.⁶⁹⁰ These titles may originally have denoted a military function, but often came to have a socio-political meaning. It seems plausible, then, that we are dealing with an old lexical isogloss between North Greek **stṛtó-* and South Greek **lāwó-*. Both denote the main social group which surpassed kinship relations, and both could refer to a body of men under arms.⁶⁹¹

After these introductory remarks, let us now consider the problems involved in the etymology of *στρατός*. The formal variation between Homeric and West Greek *-pa-*, Cretan *-ap-*, and Aeolic *-po-* automatically leads to the reconstruction of a pre-form **stṛtó-*. Two PIE roots have to be distinguished:

⁶⁸⁷ The military meaning of *σπρότος* is found in Sapph. fr. 16, but the socio-political meaning in Alc. fr. 382. In the Lesbian poets, *λαός* is attested only in Alc. fr. 356 (καὶ πλείστοισ’ ἐάνασσε λάοισ’). In Pindar, both *λαός* and *στρατός* may denote any body of men (Slater: ‘people, folk’), but only *στρατός* is found in the meaning ‘army, expedition’, which is an epicism.

⁶⁸⁸ In my view, the interpretation of the Myc. PN *to-ti-ja* as /*Stortiā-*/ or /*Stṛtiā-*/ (cf. García Ramón 1985: 201ff.) is too uncertain to be of any value here.

⁶⁸⁹ See Slater (q.v.), who distinguishes “a. *people, folk*” and “b. *army, expedition*”. It is likely that the first meaning was traditional in the lyric tradition of which Pindar is part, and that the second is an epicism. In Cretan, the simplex *σπαρτος* occurs only in *Lex Gortyn* V 5-6 and *IC IV* 80.7 (Gortyn); the latter inscription also has the compound *σπαρταγεταν* (lines 4-5). Although the approximate meaning of *σπαρτος* in Cretan seems clear, a more precise definition still has to be found (“La magistrature suprême est le cosmat, dont les membres sont choisis parmi les σπαρτοι, au sens précis encore mystérieux”, Bile 1988: 338). In Willetts’ view (1967: 10), the *σπαρτοι* may have denoted either political divisions or kinship groups. For present purposes, it is relevant that the Cretan *σπαρτοι* are groups of adult men that are not primarily bands of warriors. This is also confirmed by the gloss *στάρτοι· αἱ τάξεις τοῦ πλήθους* ‘divisions of the people’ (Hsch.).

⁶⁹⁰ The Cretan form is *σπαρταγετας* (*IC IV* 80.7, lines 4-5). On the surface, this looks like an Achaean form in *-āgetās*, where the first member **lāw(o)-* has been replaced with the synchronic Cretan term. In view of the reflex *-pa-*, Arcadian *στραταγός* was probably borrowed from neighboring Doric dialects.

⁶⁹¹ Greek does not have a continuant of the PIE word **korio-* ‘war band’; it only preserves the title *κοίρανος* ‘army leader’. It is attractive to assume that both NGr. **stṛtó-* and SGr. **lāwó-* filled the semantic slot ‘war band’ in the respective dialects, at least at some point in their pre-history. On account of the widely accepted connection between PGr. **lāwó-* and Hittite *lāḫḫ(a)-* ‘military campaign, journey’ (cf. e.g. Kloekhorst, *EDHIL* s.v. *lāḫḫ(a)-*), it seems possible that **lāwó-* originally denoted a campaign, whereas **stṛtó-* referred to a certain social group (‘clan, band’) that could also be summoned to join an expedition.

- (1) *sterh₃- ‘to strew, spread out’: Ved. *star*ⁱ-, pres. *stṛṇāti*, Lat. *sternere*, *strātus*, Gr. *στόρνυμι*, *στρωτός*, OIr. *sernaid* ‘spreads’, *srath* ‘valley’.
- (2) *ster- ‘to lay low’: Ved. *star*- ‘to lay low, make subject’, pres. *stṛṇoti*, perhaps merged with the reflex of *sterh₃- in Lat. *consternere* ‘to bring down’.

From a formal point of view, *στρατός* can only be derived from the second root *ster-, but the semantic connection between ‘army’ and ‘to lay low’ has not been satisfactorily clarified so far. It is usually assumed that *στρατός* originally denoted the ‘army camp’, the semantic derivation being ‘spread out’ > ‘bed’ > ‘camp’.⁶⁹² This view is outdated, because the root ‘to spread out’ must be reconstructed as *sterh₃-. Accepting the formal identification between *στρατός* and Vedic *star*- ‘to lay low’, which is unavoidable within the framework of the laryngeal theory, Mayrhofer (*EWAia* s.v. *STAR*) follows a suggestion by Strunk (1964): a participle *stṛ-tó- “Niederstreckbar” would have been substantivized as ‘Feindesheer’, and then developed to ‘army’ in general.

Two objections can be advanced against Strunk’s proposal.⁶⁹³ First, the assumed semantic development from ‘to be taken down’ to ‘enemy force’ is an emergency solution, and the broader meaning ‘clan, band of men’ attested in West Greek dialects speaks against it. Secondly, there are no old examples in Homer where the suffix -τό- conveys potential meaning, as it does in Classical Greek *λυτός* ‘to be loosened’ (for the Homeric material, see Risch 1974: 19-21).

Departing from the idea that *στρατός* and *λαός* are originally equivalent dialectal lexemes for the social concept of the war band, I propose the following scenario for the semantic derivation of *stṛ-tó- from *ster- ‘to make subject’. Since the meaning ‘subjects’ is attested for *λαός* in the *Odyssey*, it is quite possible that *stṛtó- also originally referred to a band of ‘subjected’ men who owed subservience to their leader, the Doric *στραταγός*. After the various West Greek tribes had settled down, the term acquired a socio-political meaning, although the subjects of a *στραταγός* could still be summoned to join him on military expeditions.

Against this background, the semantic value of *στρατός* in Epic Greek asks for an explanation. All Homeric attestations of *στρατός* and its derivations (*ἔστρατόωντο* ‘were on campaign’, *ἄμφεστρατόωντο* ‘encamped around’, *στρατιώτης* ‘soldier’) have a military meaning.⁶⁹⁴ This is also the situation of Classical Greek: common derivatives such as *στρατόπεδον* ‘army camp’, *στρατεύω* ‘to march against, campaign, wage an expedition’, *στρατεία* ‘campaign, military expedition or service’, or *στρατιή* ‘army’ all show the same semantic narrowing as their base form *στρατός*.⁶⁹⁵ An explanation of this situation can be given if we assume that in South Greek, *stṛtó- was retained only in poetry. As a relic form with the same referents as the regular Proto-Ionic vernacular form *lāwó- ‘body of subjects, band of men; campaign’ that had ousted it in the first meaning, the meaning of *stṛtó- may

⁶⁹² Thus e.g. *DELG* (s.v.). Chantraine apodictically claims that “Les emplois du crétois sont secondaires et le sens originel est militaire.”

⁶⁹³ In his criticism of Strunk’s article, Beekes (1969: 280-1) pleaded for an original meaning ‘camp’, referring to the frequent semantic development ‘camp’ > ‘army’ (as in Du. *leger*). Indeed, an original meaning ‘camp’ is one of the possibilities to be reckoned with, but only from a semantic point of view. A formal problem with this view is that the PIE root *ster- did not mean ‘to spread out’, but ‘to lay low, make subject’.

⁶⁹⁴ Since the verb *στρατάομαι* is limited to hexameter poetry, Tucker (1990: 232, 249-50) argues that it is a poetic creation, derived directly from *στρατός*: “The frequency of the suffix -tāō in such artificial creations is sufficient to explain why in this case we find a derivative in -āō rather than -ēō, which would be regular for a thematic stem.” (o.c. 250).

⁶⁹⁵ Most of these forms are frequently attested in Th., Hdt., inscriptions, etc.

have been narrowed down to ‘expedition, campaign’.⁶⁹⁶ For a pre-stage of Epic στρατός, we may therefore depart from a synchronically isolated pre-form **stṛtó-* without any corresponding form in the vernacular, where it had been replaced by (the outcome of) **lāwó-*. Since all classical derivations may be analyzed as post-Homeric creations based on στρατός, it is possible to analyze στρατός as an epicism.

From a metrical perspective, στρατός differs from the other words discussed in this chapter. Its pre-form **stṛtó-*, with its double initial consonant, would always close a preceding syllable, independent of the preceding word. This implies that the pre-form **stṛtó-* can be substituted everywhere for στρατός without damaging the metre, just like in forms with -ρα- and *McL* scansion. The reason for this is the following: even before the vocalization of Epic **ɣ*, the word could only be used in the biceps of a foot, and only in front of a vowel.⁶⁹⁷ Since a variant ⁺⁺στρατός would have yielded a useful metrical alternative to στρατός, it would certainly have been utilized if it had existed (cf. καρδίη beside κραδίη in Homer).

Thus, everything points in the same direction: **stṛtó-* did not exist in the Ionic vernacular when **ɣ* vocalized to -αρ-. The word originally denoted a body of men subjected to a leader, the **stṛtāgo-* > West Greek στραταγός. In the restricted meaning ‘army, campaign’, **stṛtó-* > στρατός was a poetic archaism of Ionic Epic. When the Homeric poems acquired their popularity, it entered the Classical vernacular.

6.7.8 θρασειάων

In the formula |_T θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν ‘from their dauntless hands’ (7x Hom.), the epic correption of θρ- can be analyzed as a trace of Epic **ɣ*. The combination of its thematics (war narrative) and the old Gp. ending -άων suggest that θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν is a traditional formula. On five occasions, the formula refers to hands which throw spears in battle or in an encounter with a lion.⁶⁹⁸ In Wathelet’s view (1966: 150-51), however, the preceding trochaic caesura renders this example non-probative for his thesis (cf. also de Lamberterie 1990: 847). Since θρασύς is also the vernacular form of this adjective, and since the ending -άων remained productive in Epic Greek, the formula could in principle have been formed at any time after the adjective θρασύς had reached the shape in which it is attested – or so it seems.

As we have seen in section 4.5, however, θρασύς itself is an oddity which needs to be explained. Since the expected form of the *u*-stem adjective is **θαρσύς*, θρασύς cannot be a product of the ablauting *u*-stem paradigm **t^hérs-u-*, **t^hrs-éw-*. The forms with θρασ- must have arisen in a different environment, such as the compounds with first member **t^hrsu-*. It is doubtful, however, that an adjective θρασύς could be backformed on the sole basis of compounds with θρασυ-.

A solution for this problem can now be given. The adjective **t^hérs-u-*, **t^hrs-éw-* yielded **θαρσύς* in the Ionic vernacular, and was then replaced or ousted by θαρσαλέος. A relic of the old ablauting paradigm is θρασειάων < **t^hrsewiāōn*. Likewise, the Homeric

⁶⁹⁶ This is not contradicted by the fact that ‘campaign’ was probably the more original meaning of **lāwó-*. I assume that **lāwó-* and **stṛtó-* first influenced each other semantically; then **stṛtó-* became restricted to poetry or high register, and finally **lāwó-* acquired a socio-political meaning in the Mycenaean period. Both **lāwó-* and **stṛtó-* retained their military meanings only in poetry.

⁶⁹⁷ The formulaic behavior of στρατός in Homer has been discussed by Beekes (1969: 281). The word occurs 64x, with a strong preference (especially in the *Iliad*) for the position between |_H and |_B. Beekes shows that almost all attestations of the As. form στρατόν (46 out of 58) can be reduced to the formula |_T ἀνὰ στρατόν (εὐρὸν Ἀχαιῶν) or |_T κατὰ στρατόν (εὐρὸν Ἀχαιῶν). The longer variant with |_B εὐρὸν Ἀχαιῶν is probably the older one; but κατὰ στρατόν and ἀνὰ στρατόν also occur with other bucolic clausulas.

⁶⁹⁸ The remaining two instances are *Od.* 5.434, where θρασειάων is a mere ornamental epithet of the hands, and *Il.* 23.714 where “its use seems slightly strained” (Kirk et al., ad loc.).

compounds in θρασυ- may have the regular reflex of a pre-form **t^hrsu-* with Epic **r*.⁶⁹⁹ On the basis of θρασειάων, and supported by compounds and personal names with θρασυ-, Epic poets then created a new accusative form θρασύν.⁷⁰⁰ It seems probable that πόλεμον θρασύν ‘fierce war’ was one of the first creations, because it presupposes more or less the same archaic meaning preserved in θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν.⁷⁰¹

Thus, the creation of the formula θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν pre-dates the generalization of the strong stem θαρσ- throughout the paradigm of the *u*-stem adjective. That is, it was probably coined before the vocalization of **r* in the vernacular. The creation of the new adjectival form θρασύν within Epic Greek pre-dated the lexical developments that took place in θαρσαλέος, θάρσος, θαρσέω, θαρσύνω (for which see section 4.5). This leads to the conclusion that the vernacular form θρασύς was borrowed from Epic Greek or later poetry, which, given its martial meaning, is certainly conceivable.

To close this discussion, let us briefly reconsider the semantics. It is thought that θρασύς normally qualifies an agent or his actions, but this is not universally true.⁷⁰² Generally, θρασύς means ‘bold, reckless’ already in Homer (see section 4.5).⁷⁰³ But in θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν, the spear-throwing hands are called ‘dauntless, fierce’. This reminds of some attestations of θαρσαλέος (e.g. θαρσαλέον πολεμιστήν ‘fierce warrior’), and may be an old etymological meaning of the root, because cognates in Indo-Iranian are used to qualify winds or other irresistible natural phenomena. Similarly, the colon |_P πόλεμον θρασύν |_B (3x, twice followed by ὀρμαίνοντες) is best translated as ‘fierce war’; de Lamberterie (1990: 848) aptly compares the formulaic syntagm κρατερὴ ὕσμινη ‘fierce battle’. Like κρατερός, the qualification θρασύς is neither laudatory nor pejorative in itself, but always potentially ambiguous between ‘bold’ and ‘over-bold’.

6.7.9 τραπέσθαι

Among the middle forms of τραπε/ο- ‘to turn’, there are seven instances of *McL* scansion, always in verse-final position:

(1) ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι ‘to turn away’ (*Od.* 5.350 and 10.528). In the first passage, Odysseus is summoned by Kalypso to untie his amulet and throw it back into the sea once he has safely reached the shore. Then, he must turn away from the sight of this object. In the

⁶⁹⁹ It is especially attractive to assume a high antiquity of |_P θρασυμένονα θυμολέοντα ‘bold-hearted destroyer of life’, a formula which qualifies Herakles in both of its attestations and is the only Homeric instance, apart from Agamemnon’s name, of a compound in -μένων. On the other hand, θρασυκάρδιος (with the Ionic vernacular form of ‘heart’) must have been created at a more recent date. This is not surprising, given that forms containing θαρσ- and θρασ- remained productive in combination with words for ‘heart’ (θαρσαλέον and θαρσύνω occur in combination with ἦτορ in Homer, cf. also θρασειά καρδιά *Pi. Pyth.* 10.44).

⁷⁰⁰ Apart from θρασύς at *Od.* 10.436 and the formula |_T θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν, all attestations are in the *As. msc.* θρασύν, which is located after either |_P or |_H.

⁷⁰¹ Note, incidentally, that θρασύν has a different metrical structure as compared to the older *As.* form **t^hérsun*.

⁷⁰² Cf. the remark “chiefly of persons” in *LSJ* s.v., and the overview in *LfgrE* s.v.

⁷⁰³ According to most authorities (e.g. *DELG* s.v. θάρσος, *LfgrE* s.v. θρασύς), θρασύς means both ‘bold’ and ‘courageous’. The only acknowledged exception is *Od.* 10.436, where θρασύς is supposed to mean ‘reckless’. In my view, θρασύς only means ‘bold, reckless’ in Homer, whereas ‘courageous’ is one of the meanings of θαρσαλέος. Concerning the formulaic θρασύν Ἴκτορα, de Jong (2012: 179, ad *Il.* 22.455) aptly remarks: “Andromache’s use of θρασύν Ἴκτορα is significant. Hector is given this epithet six times, and the three instances preceding this one are all contextually significant: Polydamas warns ‘bold Hector’ to follow a more moderate military strategy.” Here, Andromache speaks of ‘reckless Hector’ precisely when she begins to suspect that he entered his fatal duel with Achilles under the walls of Troy. When Zeus argues, later on, that the plan to “steal away bold Hektor” from Achilles’ tent is no good, the words θρασύν Ἴκτορα are again significant, for as de Jong remarks (ad 22.457, o.c. 180), “it is part of Hector’s tragedy that his martial overconfidence is due to the support of Zeus”. Finally, in four instances clustered in book 8 of the *Iliad*, Hektor’s charioteer (ἠνίοχος) is called θρασύν ‘reckless’. Two of these cases are concerned with Ἀρχεπτόλεμος, the stand-in charioteer who is killed by one of Teucer’s arrows soon after he has mounted Hektor’s chariot.

second attestation, Odysseus is told to turn away from two sacrificial victims. In both instances, the idea seems to be that one should not look back after performing an apotropaic ritual activity.

(2) ἐπὶ ἔργα τράποντο ‘they turned to their tasks’ (*Il.* 3.422, of servant maids), ἐπὶ ἔργα τράπωνται (*Il.* 23.53, of the Achaean warriors).

(3) Three instances derive from the prefixed verb προτρέπομαι. The first, ἔθελον δ’ ἄχει προτραπέσθαι (*Il.* 6.336), can be translated as “I wanted to surrender to sorrow”. Two other cases, προτράπηται (*Od.* 11.18) and προτραποίμην (*Od.* 12.381), probably refer to the turning of the sun’s course (τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο) during summer solstice.

In Wathelet’s view (1966: 161-62), these instances belong to traditional diction. He remarks that the maintained digamma in ἐπὶ ἔργα and lack of augment in τράποντο are indications of an old formula, but neither argument is conclusive. One might wonder, then, whether Wathelet is not merely seeking confirmation for his thesis. Let us first take a closer look at the Homeric and Classical paradigms.

The Homeric aorist paradigm of τρέπω consists of a transitive active ἔτραπον ‘turned’, an intransitive thematic middle ἐτραπόμην ‘turned’, and another transitive (causative) sigmatic aorist ἔτρεψα.⁷⁰⁴ The original Proto-Ionic aorist paradigm of τρέπω probably consisted of a transitive active ἔτραπε beside an intransitive middle ἐτραπόμην.⁷⁰⁵ In these forms, the vernacular vocalization -ρα- was due to the vowel slot of the present τρέπω. Since the transitive active ἔτραπε is not found in Classical prose, we may conclude that the sigmatic form ἔτρεψα had already replaced it in the Ionic vernacular of Homer’s time.⁷⁰⁶

The use of *McL* scansion is avoided in all forms of the active thematic aorist ἔτραπον, just like in all other active thematic aorists of this structure (see chapter 8). Moreover, τρ- generates length by position in the 3s. middle forms (ἐ)τράπετο, ἐτράπετ’, ἐτράπεθ’ (19x). Anticipating the discussion of the other thematic aorists with -ρα- in chapter 8, it is clear that Epic poets avoided the use of *McL* scansions as far as possible in this specific morphological category. This suggests that the scansion of τραπέσθαι, τράποντο and the like is an archaism, and that these forms contain the regular reflex of Epic *γ. Indeed, it is quite possible that ἡ ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι was part of a formulaic description of apotropaic rituals. A different question is why Epic Greek did not find a way to avoid *McL* scansion in τραπέσθαι, τράποντο after these forms had developed out of pre-forms containing Epic *γ. Given their intransitive meaning, it would have been theoretically possible to create an artificial aorist in -θη- (τραφθῆναι). Such a form is indeed attested at *Od.* 15.80, but only as a Homeric hapax; it may

⁷⁰⁴ Homer has 24 instances of the sigmatic aorist τρεψα/ε-, but the middle only occurs in the ptc. τρεψάμενοι (*Od.* 1.422 = 18.305, in a repeated passage). Forms like τρέψαντο or τρέψασθαι would have been metrically very useful, and they are rare in Classical prose in comparison with the middle thematic aorist ἐτραπόμην. For this reason, I think that τρεψάμενοι was created as a replacement of the unsuitable form τραπόμενοι, which had three consecutive light syllables.

⁷⁰⁵ See Allan (2003: 172-3): “certainly one of the most complex verbal paradigms is that of τρέπομαι. In Classical Greek, five different middle and passive aorist forms occur: ἐτρεψάμην, ἐτραπόμην, ἐτράπην, ἐτρέφθην, and ἐτράφθην. The sigmatic middle is only used in the indirect reflexive meaning (...) ‘roul’. The thematic and passive formations have the same meaning, this being, in most cases, intransitive ‘turn’. There are no certain instances of τρέπομαι with passive meaning. (...) ἐτράφθην appears to be restricted to Homer (ο 80) and Herodotus. In Herodotus, the form could be a special Homeric feature since the form that is used most commonly in Herodotus is ἐτραπόμην (‘turn’). In Attic, the common form is ἐτραπόμην. The passive aorist forms ἐτρέφθην and ἐτράπην are clearly marginal. ἐτρέφθην cannot be old (cf. ε-vocalism); (...) ἐτράπην occurs mainly in drama, probably as a metric alternative to ἐτραπόμην, and further in Plato (1x) and Xenophon (2x).” To these remarks, I would add that the rare form ἐτράφθην could be an innovation based on the middle perfect τέτραπται (5x Hom., normal in Class. prose).

⁷⁰⁶ Apart from Early Greek Epic, the active thematic aorist ἔτραπε only occurs in Pindar. For the replacement of a transitive active thematic aorist with a sigmatic form, one might compare cases like πείθω, aor. ἔπεισα ‘to persuade’ beside intransitive πείθομαι, aor. ἐπιθόμην ‘to obey’.

have been avoided in view of the possible confusion with aorist forms of τρέφω ‘to feed, raise a child’. Apparently, the poets preferred to keep τραπέσθαι, τράποντο (etc.) when these forms came into being as the regular reflexes of pre-forms with Epic **r*.

The isolated status of the forms with Epic **r* is confirmed by their lexical semantics. The only Homeric instance of the present προτρέπομαι means ‘to flee headlong’ (*Il.* 5.700):

Ἀργεῖοι δ’ ὑπ’ Ἄρηι καὶ Ἑκτορι χαλκοκορυστῆ
οὔτε ποτὲ προτρέποντο μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν
οὔτε ποτ’ ἀντεφέροντο μάχη, ἀλλ’ αἰὲν ὀπίσσω
χάζονθ’, ὡς ἐπύθοντο μετὰ Τρώεσσιν Ἄρηα. (*Il.* 5.699-702)

“But the Argives, before the onset of Ares and bronze-clad Hektor, neither did they flee headlong towards the black ships, nor yet could they hold out in fight, but they constantly gave ground backward, having noticed that Ares was among the Trojans.”

The isolated application of the *McL* licence in προτρέποντο may have been modelled on the other three, verse-final instances of the aorist προτραπέσθαι.⁷⁰⁷ The meaning of προτρέπομαι recurs in the adverb προτροπάδην ‘head over heels, headlong’ (*Il.* 16.304). The hemistich ἔθελον δ’ ἄχεϊ προτραπέσθαι (*Il.* 6.336) can be translated as “I wanted to surrender to sorrow”, with a metaphor to be understood from the military meaning in *Il.* 5.700.⁷⁰⁸ In the Homeric meaning ‘to flee headlong’, προτρέπομαι is a lexical archaism. In Classical Ionic-Attic, προτρέπομαι means ‘to be incited, be led on’ (active προτρέπω ‘to incite’) and normally uses the middle sigmatic aorist προυτρεψάμην. Whereas the Classical meaning can be productively derived from προ- ‘forward’ and τρεπ- ‘to turn to, direct’, this is not possible for Homeric προτρέπομαι, προτραπέσθαι.⁷⁰⁹

Let us finally consider the two remaining, highly similar passages where προ-τραπε/ο- is found. It is said that the sun never shines upon the mythical people of the Kimmerians, neither when it goes towards heaven (στείχησι, ἰών), nor even when it “turns again from heaven towards the earth”, ἄψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ’ οὐρανόθεν προτράπηται (*Od.* 11.18; προτραποίμην *Od.* 12.381).⁷¹⁰ The difference between the aorist subjunctive προτράπηται and the present subjunctive στείχησι can be explained if we assume that the former refers to the point of summer solstice, whereas the latter refers to the sun’s steady ascent during spring.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁷ The use of the present aspect may have been induced by the negation. Kirk (ad loc.) speaks of a “steady but controlled retreat” of the Achaeans; Ameis-Hentze (ad loc.) point at the assonance of ἀντεφέροντο in the following line.

⁷⁰⁸ *Comm. Kirk* (ad loc.) speaks of “the vivid and unusual ἄχεϊ προτραπέσθαι (‘turn myself headlong to grief’)”. Indeed, the “metaphorical” meaning ‘to give oneself up’ (thus *LSJ*, *LfgreE*) can be compared with the military use of προτρέπομαι, ‘to flee headlong’: the subject avoids confrontations with other people and “flees headlong in sorrow”.

⁷⁰⁹ It is conceivable that ‘to flee headlong’ derives from older *‘to turn or roll forth’ (e.g. like a boulder). If so, it would preserve a trace of the etymological root meaning of **trek*^w-, ‘to turn around’. Generally, the verb τρέπω has telic aspect already in Homer, but the older atelic root meaning ‘to revolve, rotate’ is retained (in combination with the preverb περι-) in a few instances: περιτροπέων ‘revolving’ (*Il.* 2.295, of the year, ἐνιαυτός), περιτροπέοντες ‘encircling’ (*Od.* 9.465, the circular movements by which shepherds keep a flock of sheep together), περὶ δ’ ἔτραπον ὦραι (*Od.* 10.469) ‘the seasons had turned (a)round (the heavens)’, and (without περὶ) also in *Myc.* *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* /trok^wejomeno-/ ‘performing tours (of inspection)’.

⁷¹⁰ ἔνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμος τε πόλις τε, ἠέρι καὶ νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ’ αὐτοὺς Ἥλιος φάεθον καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν, οὐθ’ ὀπότε ἄν στείχησι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα, οὐθ’ ὄτ’ ἄν ἄψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ’ οὐρανόθεν προτράπηται, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ νύξ ὀλοή τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι (*Od.* 11.14-19). In the parallel passage, Helios prays to Zeus and the other gods to punish the comrades of Odysseus for eating his cows: Ζεῦ πάτερ ἦδ’ ἄλλοι μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες, τεῖσα δὴ ἐτάρους Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος, οἳ μιν βοῦς ἐκτεῖναν ὑπέρβιον, ἧσιν ἐγὼ γε χαιρεσκον μὲν ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα, ἦδ’ ὀπότε ἄψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ’ οὐρανόθεν προτραποίμην. εἰ δέ μοι οὐ τεῖσουσι βοῶν ἐπιεικέ’ ἀμοιβήν, δύσομαι εἰς Αἴδαο καὶ ἐν νεκέεσσι φαείνω (*Od.* 12.377-383).

⁷¹¹ Cf. *LfgreE* s.v. τρέπω, mg. II 8aβ.

It is hard to derive this use of *προτραπέσθαι* from the military one. Given the thematics of both passages, we may well be dealing with a traditional description taken from the observation of meteorological and heavenly phenomena.

In conclusion, all seven instances of the middle *τραπέσθαι* are located in verse-final position and require the use of the *McL* licence. It is remarkable that three instances have the preverb *προ-*. In view of the consistent avoidance of problematic forms with *προ-* (section 6.5), it is likely that at least *προτραπέσθαι* contained Epic **γ*. This is corroborated by the fact that *προτρέπομαι* ‘to flee headlong’ is a lexical archaism. The use of unprefixd *τραπέσθαι*, *τράποντο* in the same slot, but with the synchronically productive meaning of the middle aorist, may have been modelled on *προτραπέσθαι*. On the other hand, nothing forbids us to view the unprefixd forms as retained archaisms with Epic **γ*, especially in the case of the formula *ἀπονόσφι τραπεέσθαι* and its ritual context.

6.8 Uncertain evidence for Epic **γ*

The forms with *-ρα-* to be discussed in this section are etymologically unclear. They are potential examples of Epic **γ*, because their appearance in the epic hexameter inherently requires the use of a metrical licence. However, since none of these forms is frequent in Homer, the few instances of *McL* scansion may be viewed as late extensions of the licence. They cannot be used, therefore, as counterevidence to the Proto-Ionic vernacular development **γ > -αρ-*.

6.8.1 *κραδαίνω* and *κραδάω*

In Homer, the verb *κραδαίνω* ‘to brandish’ is only attested in the middle pres. ptc. |_T *κραδαινομένη*, *-μενον* (3x, qualifies *αἰχμή* and *ἔγχος*, respectively). It remains rare in post-Homeric poetry until the end of the classical period, and always occurs in the present, but not necessarily in the middle.⁷¹² Although the light scansion of the syllable preceding *κραδαινόμενος* can be due to an extension of the *McL* licence, we have to ask whether it may contain the reflex of Epic **γ*. It is very difficult to answer this question. First of all, *κραδαίνω* has a by-form *κραδάω* ‘id.’ (4x Hom.), attested only in the formulae |_P *κραδάων* *δολιχοσκιον ἔγχος* (2x) and *ὄξυ δόρυ κραδάων* |_P (2x). Whatever the origin of *-αίνω*, the forms |_T *κραδαινόμενος* and |_P *κραδάων* function as metrical alternatives. It is possible that |_T *κραδαινομένη* was coined on the basis of a pre-existing |_P *κραδάων* once *McL* scansion had become accepted as a licence. Secondly, the verbs *κραδαίνω* and *κραδάω* have no accepted etymology. It has been supposed that *κραδάω* is related to the noun *κράδη* ‘branch, especially of the fig-tree’ (cf. *DELG* s.v. *κραδαίνω*). If so, then *κραδάω* could be a denominative, or *κράδη* a backformation (cf. Frisk q.v.), but the semantic connection is not compelling.⁷¹³ Schulze (see Frisk s.v. *κραδάω*) conjectured that the root of *κραδάω*, *κραδαίνω* is that of PIE **k̑erd*, **k̑rd-* ‘heart’, but this is speculative at best. As etymologically isolated forms, *κραδάω* and *κραδαίνω* cannot be of use in the present discussion.

6.8.2 *κρατευταί*

κρατευταί (|_T *κρατευτάων* *Il.* 9.214, in later literature only in Eup. fr. 171 Kock) designates the supporting blocks of the barbecue on which the spits rested. Its etymology is uncertain,

⁷¹² The first attestations of the aorist *ἐκράδηνα* are post-classical. In a hexameter fragment of Xenophanes (25.2 DK), *κραδαίνει* is used in verse-final position with *McL* scansion, but in this late author the use of the *McL* licence is unremarkable.

⁷¹³ Alternatively, it may be argued that *κράδη* is similar to *κλάδος* (m.) ‘branch’ in both form and meaning. This could point to substrate origin at least for these two nouns. Beekes (*EDG* s.v. *κλάδος*) remarks that “... it may be accidental that all forms [that is, Gr. *κλάδος* and the group of G. *Holz*] can be derived from **kldo-*, since *κλάδος* can also be connected within Greek with *κραδάω*, which points to an interchange *ρ/λ* and therefore to substrate origin.”

and the fact that a by-form κραδευταί is attested in Attic inscriptions (cf. Threutte 1980: 438) does not inspire confidence in the connection with κράτος advocated in Frisk and *DELG* (q.v.). Folk-etymological influence on either variant would be conceivable, but it is equally possible that both variants are attempts to render a foreign (Pre-Greek) word (cf. Beekes *EDG*, q.v.). It is difficult, then, to draw any conclusions about this hapax.

6.8.3 κρίνεα

The tree name κρίνεα ‘cornel cherry’ is attested twice in Homer, both times in verse-final position: τανύφλοιόν τε κρίνειαν (*Il.* 16.767) and καρπὸν τε κρानείης (*Od.* 10.242, Kirke feeds mast, acorns and the fruit of the cornel tree to Odysseus’ transformed comrades).⁷¹⁴ The only obvious etymological comparandum for κρίνεα is Lat. *cornum* ‘id.’, which can be reconstructed as **k̑rno-*.⁷¹⁵ In view of this comparison and the Homeric *McL* scansion, it could be thought that the pre-form of κρίνεα contained Epic **ȓ*.

Somewhat problematic for the etymology, however, is the fact that Greek (-εια) and Latin (*-o-) attest different formations. The form κρίνον (Thphr.) would directly match Lat. *cornum*, but in view of its absence from (pre-)Classical Greek, the value of this form for purposes of reconstruction can be doubted. Tree names in -έη < **-eiā-* are productively derived from fruit names, as in μηλέη, συκέη ← thematic μήλον ‘apple’, σύκον ‘fig’ (cf. Risch 1974: 133), but this analysis cannot be extended to κρίνεα, with its unparalleled suffix.

Even if the suffix -εια remains unexplained, it could still be assumed that the pre-form was **k̑rnewīa*, with Epic **ȓ*. If so, the occurrences of the word in Classical Ionic-Attic yield considerable problems, because they all have the reflex -ρα-. The Homeric form κρίνεα occurs in E. fr. 785 (Nauck), X. *Cyn.* 10.3, and middle comedy, and also seems to underlie the derivative κρανεῖνος ‘made of cornel wood’, which qualifies javelins and bows (*h. Herm.*, Hdt., X.).⁷¹⁶ A by-form κρανά is attested in comedy (Cratinus +) and in the Hippocratic corpus.

Since -αρ- was the reflex of **ȓ* in the Proto-Ionic vernacular, all these post-Homeric forms would have to be explained as epicisms if the reconstruction **k̑rnewīa* is correct. A borrowing from Epic Greek is perhaps not very likely for a word with a botanical meaning, and it would not explain the different ending of κρανά. On the other hand, it would not be wise either to base any conclusions on the comparison with Lat. *cornum*, because the referent is a species of tree with a rather limited geographical distribution. The cornel tree is native to the Mediterranean, Turkey, the Caucasus and Iran, but not to southern Russia or the Ukraine. Besides, it is problematic that the suffix -εια cannot be easily accounted for. It is at least a theoretical possibility that Latin and Greek independently borrowed a word starting with **k̑rn-*; a similar case might be πράσον ‘leek’ beside Lat. *porrum* ‘id.’ (see section 9.1.7).

In view of these considerations, we cannot be sure that the pre-form of κρίνεα ever had **ȓ*. If it did, we have to assume that **ȓ* was retained in Epic Greek because the form did not exist in the vernacular, and the post-Homeric attestations would have to be epicisms. If it did not contain **ȓ*, on the other hand, the Homeric scansion of κρίνεα may be secondary after that of forms like κραταιός, τράπεζα, and τραπέσθαι, which occur in the same position of the verse. Since κρίνεα occurs only twice in Homer, this is a definite possibility.

⁷¹⁴ The epithet τανύφλοιος does not occur elsewhere in Homer. Its precise meaning is unclear: perhaps ‘with thin bark’, see *Lfgre* s.v.

⁷¹⁵ The appurtenance of Lith. *Kirnis* ‘divine protector of the cherry’ (see the references in Walde-Hofmann, s.v. *cornus*) seems uncertain to me.

⁷¹⁶ A noteworthy characteristic of the wood of the cornel cherry is its density: it sinks in water.

6.8.4 βραχίων

Among the attestations of βραχίων ‘(upper) arm’ (6x) in Homer, five instances are located after the main caesura |_T, which is the natural metrical slot for words of this structure (O’Neill 1942: 143). The final instance (*Il.* 13.529, first hemistich δούρι βραχίονα τύψεν) could then be due to an incidental application of the *McL* licence. Although in Wathelet’s view (1966: 168 n. 3; see section 6.3), the localization after |_T would sufficiently explain the light scansion of βρ-, the possibility that -ρα- reflects Epic **r* has to be seriously considered.⁷¹⁷

But are there any etymological indications for the presence of **r* in βραχίων? A connection with βραχύς ‘short’ has sometimes been advocated and seems semantically conceivable. In a number of instances, βραχίων specifically denotes the upper arm.⁷¹⁸ Whereas the upper arm is longer than the forearm in human beings, it must be taken into account that some sources in antiquity defined the forearm as the distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger (see Ruijgh 1968: 147). Furthermore, it is conceivable that βραχίων originally referred to the upper part of the animal leg, as in e.g. *X. Eq.* 12.5. Since the shank of many domestic animals is longer than the upper leg, the connection with ‘short’ would make sense. In this context, it is perhaps relevant that the root of Tocharian *B märkwace* ‘upper leg, thigh’ can also be reconstructed as **mṛg^h*-. If *märkwace* is indeed related to βραχίων, it could provide additional evidence that the latter originally referred to the upper leg of animals, and was later transferred to denote the human upper arm. On the basis of Greek and Tocharian, however, it is only possible to set up a root etymology, so that the comparison remains uncertain.

Apart from that, the morphological make-up of βραχίων is a long-standing problem. Chantraine (*DELG* s.v. βραχίων) defends the analysis as an old comparative of βραχύς, but does not explain why the form has a long \bar{i} in Homer.⁷¹⁹ As Seiler (1950: 42) stresses, the comparatives in -ίον never have a long \bar{i} in Homer; the length first appears in Classical Greek (cf. Att. κακίων beside Hom. κακίων). May the \bar{i} have come into being by metrical lengthening? In a word with four consecutive short syllables, this would be a distinct possibility. However, in a comparative one would expect a full grade root, **mrek^h-i(h)on-* or probably rather **mrek^h-iōh-* (see section 4.1).⁷²⁰ Even if we depart from **mrek^h-i(h)on-* and accept that it was at some point replaced by **mra^hi(h)on-*, with the *a*-vocalism of the adjective, the odd fact remains that |_T βραχίονα would require the combined operation of two metrical licences.⁷²¹ In addition, it is not evident that metrical lengthening could affect functional morphemes: as we will see in chapter 8, metrical lengthening was systematically avoided in the augment. Thus, it remains difficult to analyze βραχίων as a comparative.

As an alternative speculation, it could be worthwhile to reconsider Ruijgh’s idea (1968: 147) that βραχίων was derived from βραχύς with the suffix *-*īwon-*, which could be used to form sobriquets. Ruijgh compares the use of the suffix -*āwon-* in πυγεών (sense unclear, perhaps ‘buttocks’) and ποδεών ‘paw which hangs from an animal skin’, which seem to be derived from πυγή ‘buttocks’ and πούς ‘foot’, respectively. But since these have the suffix -*āwon-*, it is perhaps more pertinent to compare βραχίων with the Homeric sobriquet κυλλοποδίων ‘Lamefoot’, a nickname of Hephaistos (3x). The meaning “shorty” would be an

⁷¹⁷ Compare |_T θρασειάων and |_T κραται- in the same position.

⁷¹⁸ It is used in opposition to πῆχυς ‘forearm’ in *Pl. Ti.* 75a and *X. Eq.* 12.5 (where the parts of a horse’s leg are denoted). Further, in Homer, πρυμνός βραχίων means ‘shoulder’.

⁷¹⁹ Chantraine comments: “le procédé est inattendu, mais doit être admis, malgré les doutes de Seiler (...)”.

⁷²⁰ Thus, the expected outcome of an inherited comparative form would be *βράσσων. This form is attested in *Il.* 10.226, but its meaning seems to be ‘slow’, which suggests that it belongs not with βραχύς, but with βραδύς.

⁷²¹ If the pre-form of βραχίων contained **r*, it would be less problematic to explain the \bar{i} by metrical lengthening: **mṛk^hi(h)ona* (four consecutive light syllables) → **mṛk^hī(h)ona* > **mra^hiona* (vocalization of Epic **r*). But given the zero grade root, **mṛk^hi(h)ona* cannot have been an older form of the comparative.

appropriate designation for the upper arm in the case of a warrior whose forearm had been chopped off.

If we suppose that Ruijgh's idea is correct, two options remain. First, given the relic status of the suffix **-īwon-* and the regular *McL* scansion of βραχίων in Homer, it would be natural to consider it a case of Epic **r*. However, as we will establish in chapter 7, the regular outcome of Epic **r* was -ρo- after a labial consonant, and the only form that would militate against this distribution is exactly βραχίων. This problem can be avoided if one is prepared to assume that the semantics underlying the derivation βραχύς → βραχίων were still perceived synchronically, and that βραχύς could have influenced the expected Epic outcome **βροχίων*. Secondly, one could assume that βραχίων was derived from the vernacular form of the adjective βραχύς *after* the leveling of root vocalism in the *u*-stem adjective had taken place. This would have the disadvantage that we leave the regular *McL* scansion in this word unexplained.

We have extensively discussed βραχίων because its metrical behavior seems to furnish an indication in favor of Epic **r*. However, in view of the uncertainties regarding its etymology, it is better not to base any conclusions on the foregoing speculations, and to leave the origin of βραχίων and its Homeric scansion undecided.

6.9 Homeric nonce formations with -ρα-

Three Homeric hapaxes show -ρα- instead of an expected form with -αρ-: δρατά (*Il.* 23.169), θράσος (*Il.* 14.416), Κράπαθον (*Il.* 2.676). Especially δρατός has played an important role in earlier arguments for -ρα- as the regular, unrestored development of a syllabic liquid.⁷²² In view of the details uncovered in this book, however, this idea will have to be abandoned. Let us consider the forms and their attestations in more detail.

In section 4.5, we observed that the hapax θράσος is the only case in Homeric Greek where the otherwise regularly observed distinction between θρασ- 'bold' and θαρσ- 'confident' is disturbed. This leads to the conclusion that θράσος is a nonce formation based on θάρσος, which has the same meaning in Homer, and does not continue a pre-form with syllabic liquid. The same may have happened in Κράπαθος, which occurs only once in the *Catalogue of Ships* (*Il.* 2.676). The normal name of the island is Κάρπαθος; obviously, the name has no etymology and it would be completely *ad hoc* to reconstruct a pre-form with syllabic liquid. The form δρατός, as attested in περι δὲ δρατὰ σώματα νήει (*Il.* 23.169), is a hapax in Greek. Just like θράσος and Κράπαθος, it is possible to view δρατός as a nonce formation based on the vernacular form δαρτός.

One might object that the assumption of such nonce formations is *ad hoc*. But there are only three such cases in all of Homer; moreover, it is of the utmost importance to distinguish structural tendencies (such as the acceptability and avoidance of *McL* scansion in certain lexemes) from incidental deviations. The regular alternation between κρατερός (Epic) and καρτερός (Epic and spoken Ionic) was extended within Homer, by a normal analogical process, to create by-forms such as κάρτος beside κράτος. The three forms Κράπαθος, θράσος, and δρατός may show that the author of the *Iliad* extended the same alternation to other forms – but only on an incidental basis.⁷²³ Alternatively, one might assume that δρατὰ σώματα continues a traditional syntagm **dr̥ta sōmata*, but this is hard to prove.

⁷²² It has become a canonical example in the handbooks: see Schwyzler (1939: 342), Lejeune (1972: 196), Sihler (1995: 92).

⁷²³ For this difference between incidental and structural cases, one may compare the localization behavior of κράτος. Normally, κράτος << **kretos* had to be placed in the biceps in front of a following vowel. This is indeed what we find in 27 instances; only in one isolated instance (*Il.* 20.121) is κράτος placed after the trochaic caesura in front of a consonant.

Let us finally consider the compound ὀφίο-σπρατον ‘sown or engendered by serpents’ (thus *LSJ*), which is attested in Aelius Herodianus and in *EM* 287.14 as a variant of ὀφίο-σπαρτον.⁷²⁴ The form has often been used (e.g. Kuryłowicz 1968: 247) as evidence for a regular outcome -ρα- < *ɣ. Grammarians adduce the form in order to illustrate the swapping of liquid and vowel in the Homeric hapax δρατά beside regular δαρτά. In view of the thematics presupposed by ὀφίοσπρατον, the compound is clearly poetic and may well have been taken from some now-lost Epic text. It is possible that the Ancient Grammarians were right in comparing the isolated hapax δρατά to this specific form, in the sense that both forms could be due to an incidental licence of Epic poetry.⁷²⁵

6.10 *McL* scansion in words continuing *ɣ?

There is no clear evidence for *McL* scansions in words with old *ɣ. Wathélet’s only example is Πλάταιαν (*Il.* 2.504), in the *Catalogue of Ships*, but it cannot be demonstrated that this is an old verse. It is quite possible, then, that the scansion of Πλάταιαν is due to an incidental application of the *McL* licence in a toponym. In fact, there is evidence for the avoidance of *McL* scansion in the adjective πλατύς ‘broad’. The feminine πλατεῖα is unattested in Homer, and the alternative εὐρεῖα is used instead, for instance in the formula |_B εὐρεῖα χθών. A similar avoidance of *McL* scansion is found in the root βλαβ- (see section 6.5). This avoidance could be explained if we assume that πλατεῖα originally contained a full-grade root *πλετ- (section 4.1), and that βλαβ- contained a nasal infix *ml-ŋ-k^w- (see chapter 9), but we could also assume that the vocalization *ɣ > -λα- preceded that of *ɣ > -αρ-. The evidence is insufficient to draw a conclusion.

6.11 Conclusions

In a number of forms where Classical prose has the expected reflex -αρ- < *ɣ, there are by-forms with -ρα-: κραδίη ~ καρδίη, τραπέιομεν ~ ταρπῶμεν, τέτρατος ~ τέταρτος, and κραταιός ~ καρτερός. These by-forms with -ρα- appear to be limited to poetry, and especially to Epic Greek. Two independent distributional facts suggest that -ρα- arose within the Epic language: the metrical behavior of κραδίη in Homer, and the frequent and structural *McL* scansion among forms with -ρα- and -ρο- < *ɣ. I propose to explain these distributions by assuming that *ɣ was retained longer in Epic Greek after it had disappeared from the vernacular. Much later, and not too long before Homer, this Epic *ɣ underwent a conditioned development to -ρα-, but to -ρο- after a labial consonant. The evidence for the conditioned development to -ρο- will be discussed in the next chapter. Since the vernacular vocalization *ɣ > -αρ- (and analogically restored -ρα-) had also made its way into Epic Greek, this scenario allows us to explain the doublets with -ρα- ~ -αρ-. At the same time, it illuminates how *McL* scansions could come into being. If this scenario for a conditioned inner-Epic sound change is correct, Epic Greek can no longer be considered a *Kunstsprache* in the traditional sense, but must be viewed as a separate dialect which had its own phonological developments. The implications of this point are hard to oversee at this moment.

Two types of words retained Epic *ɣ. On the one hand, some lexemes also existed in the vernacular, but the introduction of the vocalized vernacular form was avoided for metrical reasons, and the non-vocalized form was simply retained in Epic Greek. This happened in

⁷²⁴ Since σπάρτον means ‘rope, coil’, and given that snakes coil, it may be thought that ὀφίο-σπρατον rather means something like ‘having a snake-like coil’. Given the lack of context, this is impossible to decide.

⁷²⁵ On the other hand, it is also possible to understand -ρα- in ὀφίοσπρατον as a case of Epic *ɣ, along the lines set out in this chapter. However, the regular reflex of Epic *ɣ after a labial consonant was -ρο- (see chapter 7). This means that ὀφίοσπρατον would have to have introduced the vocalism of σπαρτόν ‘sown’ (or σπάρτον ‘rope’) in the expected outcome *ὀφίοσπροτον. This seems possible. In any case, ὀφίοσπρατον cannot be used to argue for -ρα- as the regular vocalization of *ɣ in Ionic-Attic.

κραδίη, τραπέσθαι, θρασειάων, and τραπέιομεν (the latter two in clear formulae). On the other hand, we have to assume that certain lexemes did not exist anymore in the vernacular when **r* developed to -αρ-: δράκων, κραταιός and other forms with κραται-, τράπεζα, and στρατός. I assume that these words were only current in poetry at the relevant time, because we find no trace of vernacular by-forms with -αρ-. The assumption of Epic **r* in these words is plausible, given their lexical values. Of course, the argument could also be turned around: since -αρ- was the regular vernacular reflex, τράπεζα and στρατός must contain the reflex of Epic **r*. The prolonged preservation of Epic **r* may account for the peculiar metrical behavior of κραδίη, which is easier to explain if the time gap between Homer and the elimination of Epic **r* is not too large. I will further discuss the chronological issues in chapter 11.

The potential counterevidence to this scenario consists of a number of words with -ρα- and *McL* scansion: βραχίων, κραδαίνω, κρατεντάων, and κρίνεια. In neither of these words, however, do we have compelling etymological evidence for a pre-form with **r*. A small number of hapaxes (δρατά, θράσος, Κράπαθος) can be analyzed as nonce formations on the model of e.g. κράτος : κάρτος. In the case of **l*, there is no evidence for a special Epic reflex, nor for structural *McL* scansions.

The assumed inner-Epic sound change **r* > -ρα- ~ -ρο- naturally explains the rise of *McL* scansions in Homer. *McL* scansion is regular only in a small but irreducible set of words (type κραταιός), in contrast with another, much larger group of words and formations that were structurally avoided in Epic Greek (type κράτιστος). From the extensive spread of artificial formations like κάρτιστος, it follows that *McL* scansion was originally permissible only in a limited set of lexemes, a point which has not been noticed in previous accounts. Since most lexemes which regularly undergo *McL* scansion involve **r*, it is natural to infer that the phenomenon originated when this sound was eliminated from Epic Greek. The behavior of κραδίη, in combination with the evidence for *McL* scansions, suggests that this happened not too long before Homer. Subsequently, structural *McL* scansion was extended to a few other words with -ρα- that never contained **r* (ἀλλότριος, ἀλλόθροος, and perhaps κρίνεια, βραχίων). This extension may have been promoted by cases like τραπέσθαι, which contains a reflex of Epic **r*, but was at the same time a vernacular form with analogically restored -ρα-. Finally, the author of the *Iliad* already applied *McL* scansion in forms where there was no **r* and without any inherent necessity. But since he does so only rarely, we may speak of a poetic *licence* in these cases. In this way, the discovery that -αρ-, rather than -ρα-, is the undisturbed outcome of **r* in Proto-Ionic corroborates Wathélet's conclusions concerning the origin of structural *McL* scansions.