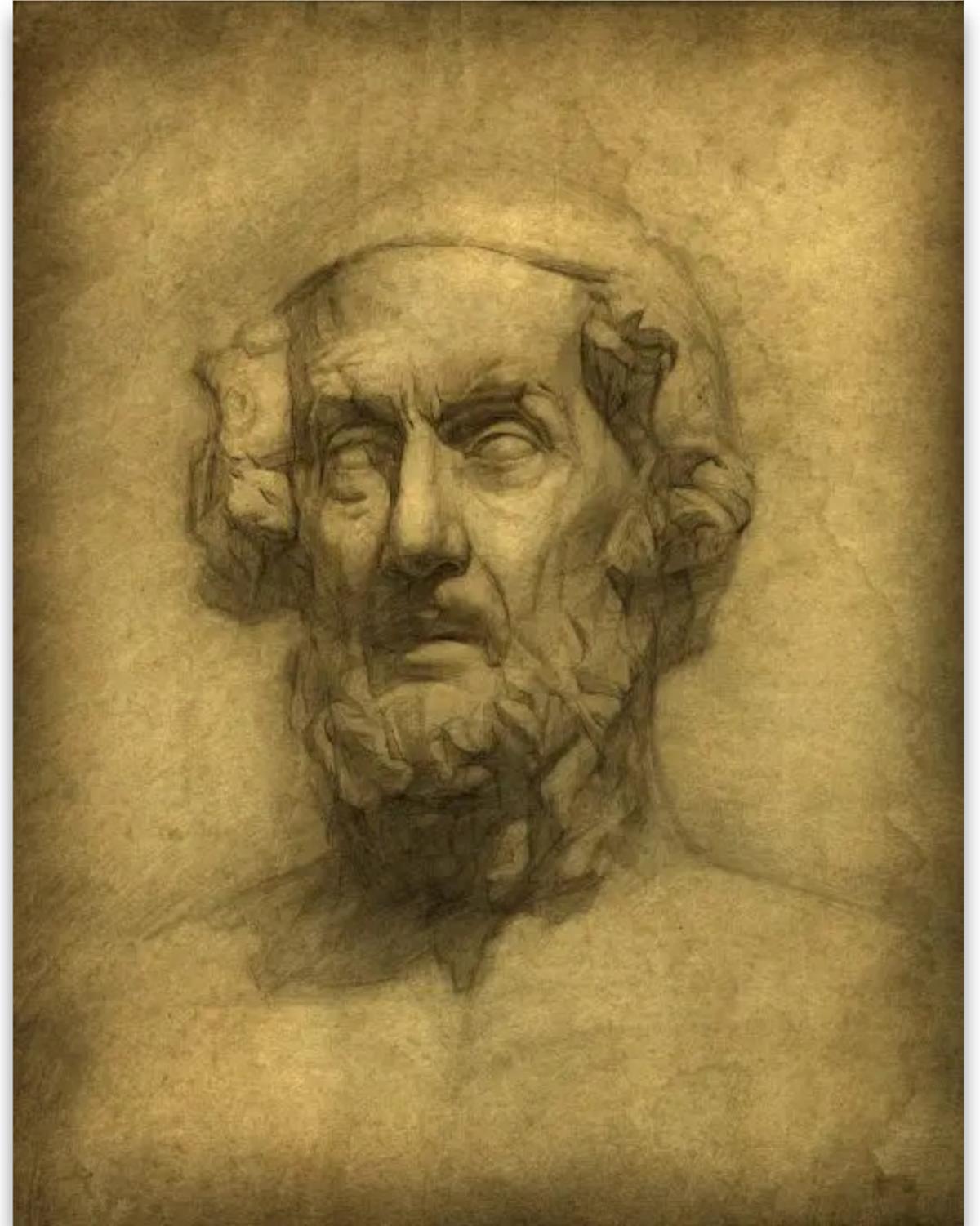


Latent *h* in Homer's Iliad

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Classical Studies : Traditions, Status, Prospects
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‘Like’

Il. 3.196 αὐτὸς δὲ κτίλος ὡς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν.¹
*rages, like some ram, through the marshalled ranks of the fighters*²

1 Allen-Monro 1912-19². 2 Lattimore 1951.



Ram's Head Rhyton
5th c. BC

Position-making 'Like'

Il. 11.172 οἱ δ' ἔτι καὶ μέσσον πεδίων φοβέοντο βόες ὥς,¹
while others still in the middle plain stampeded like cattle²

— ∪ ∪ | — — | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ —

1 Allen-Monro 1912-19². 2 Lattimore 1951.



Cow's Head Rhyton
4th c. BC

Il. 2.764 τὰς Εὐμηλος ἔλαυνε ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας ὥς
Eumelos ... that he drove, swift moving like birds,

Il. 3.2 Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῆ τ' ἐνοπῆ τ' ἴσαν ὄρνιθες ὥς
the Trojans came on with clamour and shouting, like wildfowl,

Il. 3.60 αἰεὶ τοι κραδίη πέλεκυς ὥς ἐστιν ἀτειρῆς
still, your heart forever is weariless, like an axe-blade

Il. 4.482 ἦλθεν· ὁ δ' ἐν κονίησι χαμαὶ πέσεν αἴγειρος ὥς,
he dropped then to the ground in the dust, like some black poplar

Il. 5.476 ἀλλὰ καταπτώσσουσι κύνες ὥς ἀμφὶ λέοντα·
no, but they slink away like hounds who circle the lion

Il. 6.443 αἴ κε κακὸς ὥς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο·
if like a coward I were to shrink aside from the fighting

Il. 9.155 οἱ κέ ἐ δωτίνησι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσουσι
who will honour him as if he were a god with gifts given

Il. 9.302 τειρομένους ἐλέαιρε κατὰ στρατόν, οἱ σε θεὸν ὥς
who are afflicted along the host, and will honour you as a god

Il. 11.58 Αἰνεΐαν θ', ὅς Τρωσὶ θεὸς ὥς τίετο δήμῳ,
and Aineias, honoured by Trojans in the countryside as a god is

Il. 11.237 ἀργύρῳ ἀντομένη μόλιβος ὥς ἐτράπετ' αἰχμῇ.
the spearpoint pushed against the silver bent back, like soft led

Il. 12.176 ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὥς πάντ' ἀγορευῆσαι·
It were too much toil for me, as if I were a god, to tell all this

Il. 13.470 ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἴδομενεΐα φόβος λάβε τηλύγετον ὥς,
yet no fear gripped Idomeneus as if he were a stripling

Il. 13.531 Μηριόνης δ' ἔξ αὐτίς ἐπάλμενος **αἰγυπιός ὥς**,
Meriones in yet another swoop like a vulture

Il. 14.185 καλῶ νηγατέω· λευκὸν δ' ἦν **ἠέλιος ὥς**·
with a sweet fresh veil that glimmered pale like the sunlight

Il. 15.196 χερσὶ δὲ μή τί με πάγχυ **κακὸν ὥς** δειδισσέσθω·
and let him absolutely stop frightening me, as if I were mean

Il. 18.438 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα **φυτὸν ὥς** γουνῶ ἀλωῆς,
I nurtured him, like a tree grown in the pride of the orchard

Il. 20.200=431 Πηλεΐδη, μὴ δὴ ἐπέεσσί με **νηπύτιον ὥς**
Son of Peleus, never hope by words to frighten me as if I were a baby

Il.22.434 Τρωσί τε καὶ Τρωῆσι κατὰ πτόλιν, οἷ σε **θεὸν ὥς**
to the men and women of Troy. They adored you as if you were a god

n/A Cases

Il. 20.164 Πηλεΐδης δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐναντίον ᾧρτο λέων ᾧς,¹
From the other side the son of Peleus rose like a lion against him²

— ∪ | — — | — ∪ | — — | — ∪ ∪ | — —

1 Allen-Monro 1912-19². 2 Lattimore 1951.



Lion's Head Rhyton
4th c. BC

Il. 5.299 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ βαῖνε **λέων ὥς** ἀλκὴ πεποιθώς,
and like a lion in the pride of his strength stood over him

Il. 11.129 τῷ δὲ κυκηθήτην· ὁ δ' ἐναντίον ὤρτο **λέων ὥς**
and they were stunned with fear, for against them rose like a lion

Il. 12.312 ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ **θεοὺς ὥς** εἰσορόωσι,
in Lykia, and all men look on us as if we were immortals

Il. 13.178 νύξ', ἐκ δ' ἔσπασεν ἔγχος· ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἔπεσεν **μελίη ὥς**,
... and wrenched the spear out again, and he dropped like an ash tree

Il. 15.579 Ἀντίλοχος δ' ἐπόρουσε **κύων ὥς**, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ νεβρῷ
Antilochus sprang forth against him, as a hound rushes

Il. 24.572 Πηλεΐδης δ' οἴκοιο **λέων ὥς** ἄλτο θύραζε,
The son of Peleus bounded to the door of the house like a lion

n/A Cases

Il. 11.172 ἀργαλέον Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν· οἱ δὲ **λύκοι** ὥς,¹
*weary work by Trojans and Achaians, who like wolves*²

— ∪ | — — | — ∪ | — — | — ∪ ∪ | — —

1 Allen-Monro 1912-19². 2 Lattimore 1951.



Wolf's Head Rhyton
4th c. BC

Il. 11.72 ἴσας δ' ὑσμίνῃ κεφαλὰς ἔχεν, οἱ δὲ **λύκοι ὡς**
The pressure held their heads on a line and they ... like wolves

Il. 16.156 πάντας ἀνὰ κλισίας σὺν τεύχεσιν· οἱ δὲ **λύκοι ὡς**
all in their war gear along the shelters. And they, as wolves

Il. 20.244 ἀλλ' ἄγε μηκέτι ταῦτα λεγώμεθα **νηπύτιοι ὡς**,
But come, let us no longer stand here talking of these things like children,

Il. 22.394 ᾧ Τρῶες κατὰ ἄστυ **θεῷ ὡς** εὐχετόωντο.
whom the Trojans glorified as if he were a god in their city.

At a Glance

Form			Gk.	PGk.	PIE
nom.sg.	m.	o-stem	-ος	*-os	*-os
	n.	o-stem	-ον	*-on	*-om
	mf.	u-stem	-υς	*-us	*-us
nom.pl.	mf.	C-stem	-εις	*-es	*-es
acc.sg.	m.	o-stem	-ον	*-on	*-om
	n.	o-stem	-ον	*-on	*-om
acc.pl.	mf.	C-stem	-ας	*-ās	*-ḡs

No consonant at the end of the first word;
therefore, it has to be at the beginning of the next word – ὦς.

The Usual Suspect

Latent digamma: Gk. ὤς < earlier *h₂ōs.

The existence of latent digamma has been recognised for roughly 3 centuries.

Already in 1732, R. Bentley attempted to restore the metre of the Iliad and the Odyssey on this basis.¹

¹ Chisholm 1911.



Richard Bentley
(1662–1742)

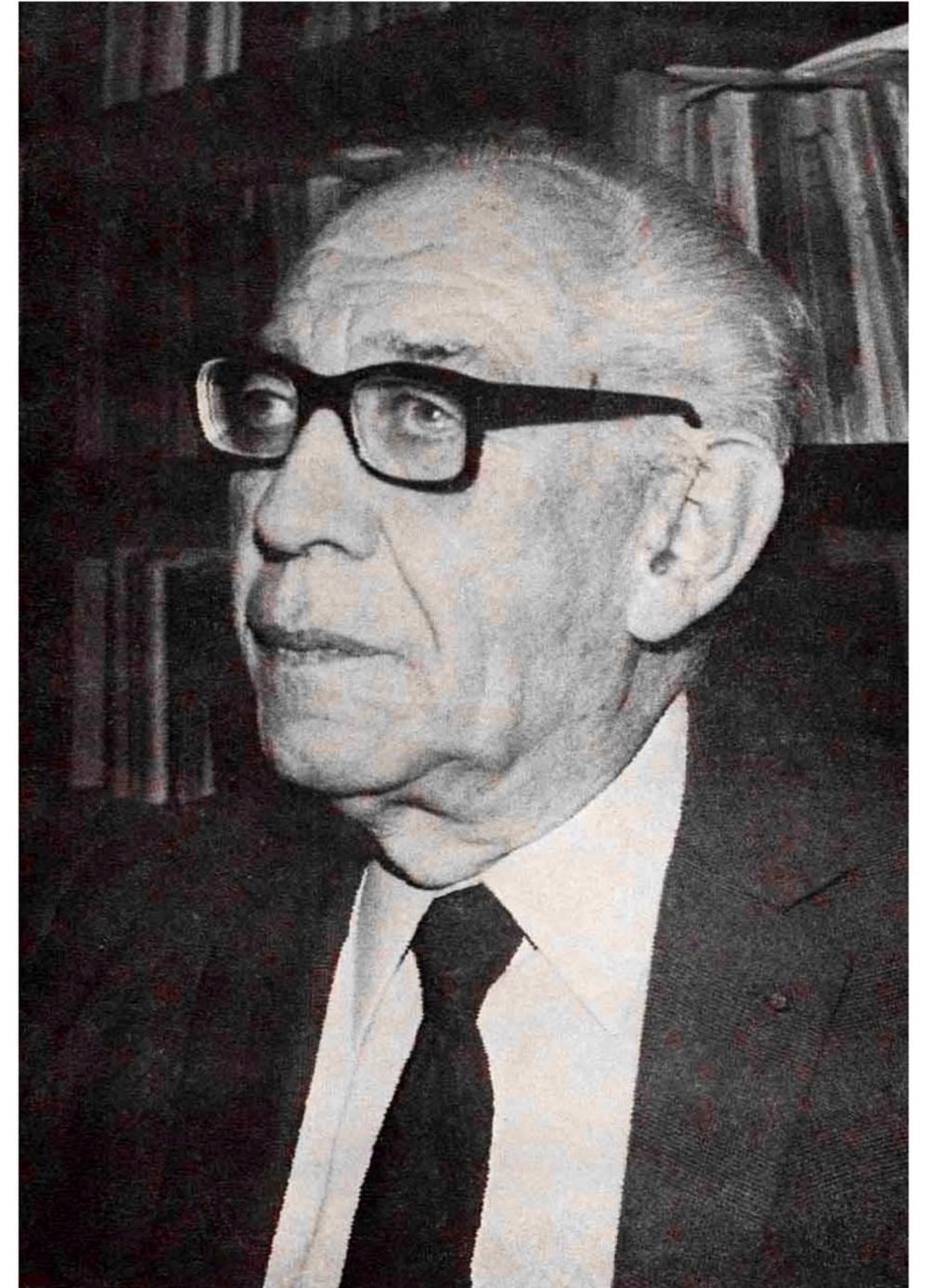
Gothic swe

Chantraine compares Greeks *h_uōs with **Gothic swe**.¹

Gothic swe derives from Proto-Germanic *swē 'as, like; so';
cf. Gothic swe, Old Norse svá, Old English swā / swǣ / swē
English so, Old Saxon sō, Dutch zo, Old High German sō.²

PGm. *swē is derived from PIE reflexive *su- 'self'.

¹ Chantraine 1948: 125f, 1977: 1305. ² Kroonen 2013: 496f.



Pierre Chantraine
(1899–1974)

Gothic swe

Mark X 15:

SAEI NI ANANIMIψ ΦΙΝΔΑΝΓΑΚΑΔΑ ΓΝΑΙΣ **SYE BAKN**
NI ΦΑΝΗ UIMIψ IN IZAI

Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a child,
he shall not enter therein¹

Matthew VI 10:

SYE İN HIMINA GAH ANA AIKΨAI
as in heaven, so on earth¹

¹ Streitberg 1910: II 134.



Codex Argenteus
Mt VI 9-16

Gothic swe

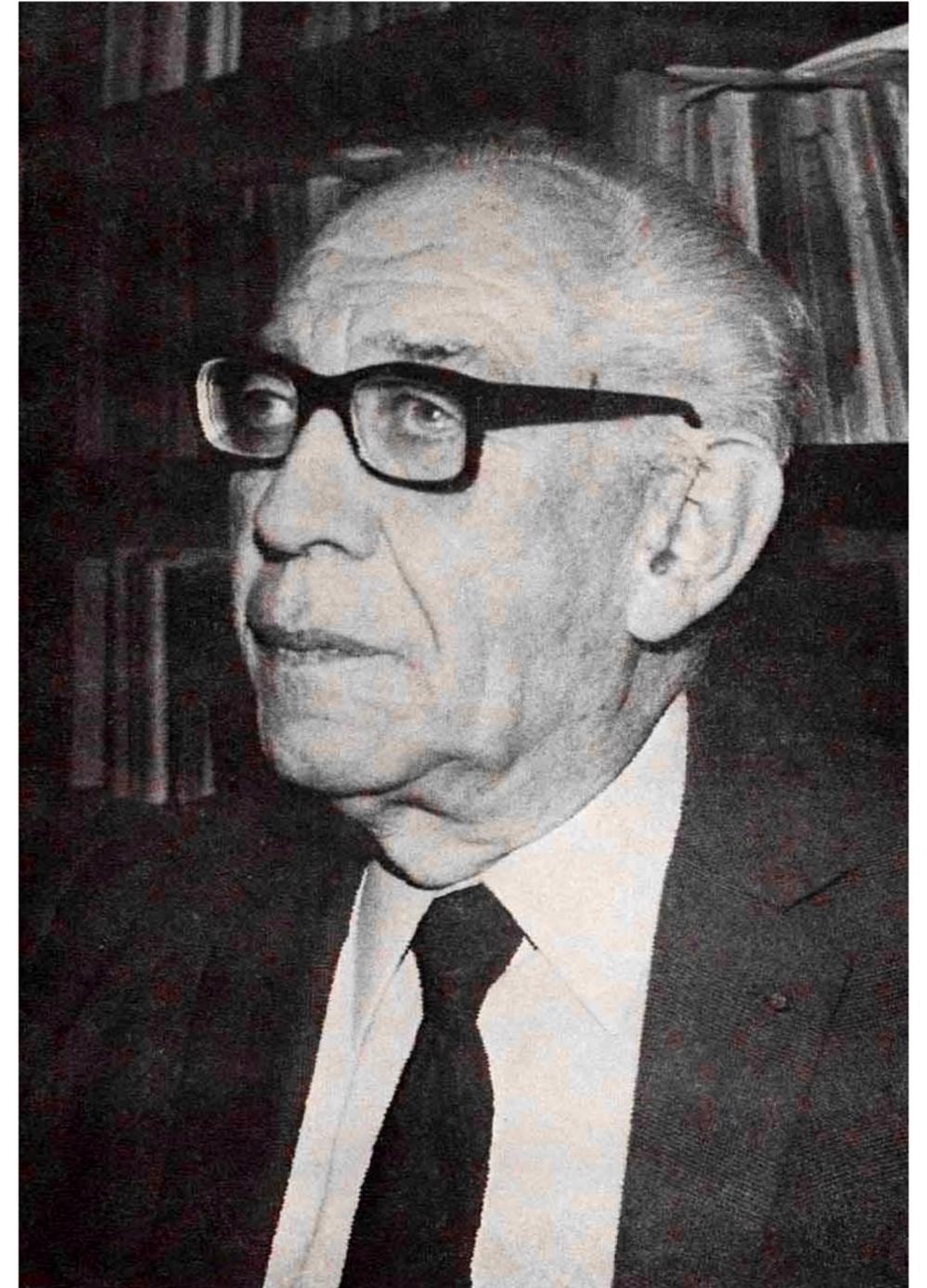
Chantraine's etymology:

- ✓ Root
- ✓ Meaning
- ✗ Function
- ✗ Formation

Unlike $\omega\varsigma$, Gothic swe is **not a postposition or an instrumental**.

(Form in $-\omega\varsigma$ usually explained as arising from $*-oh_1$, or $*-\bar{o}d$.)¹

¹ E.g. Rix 1992: 170.



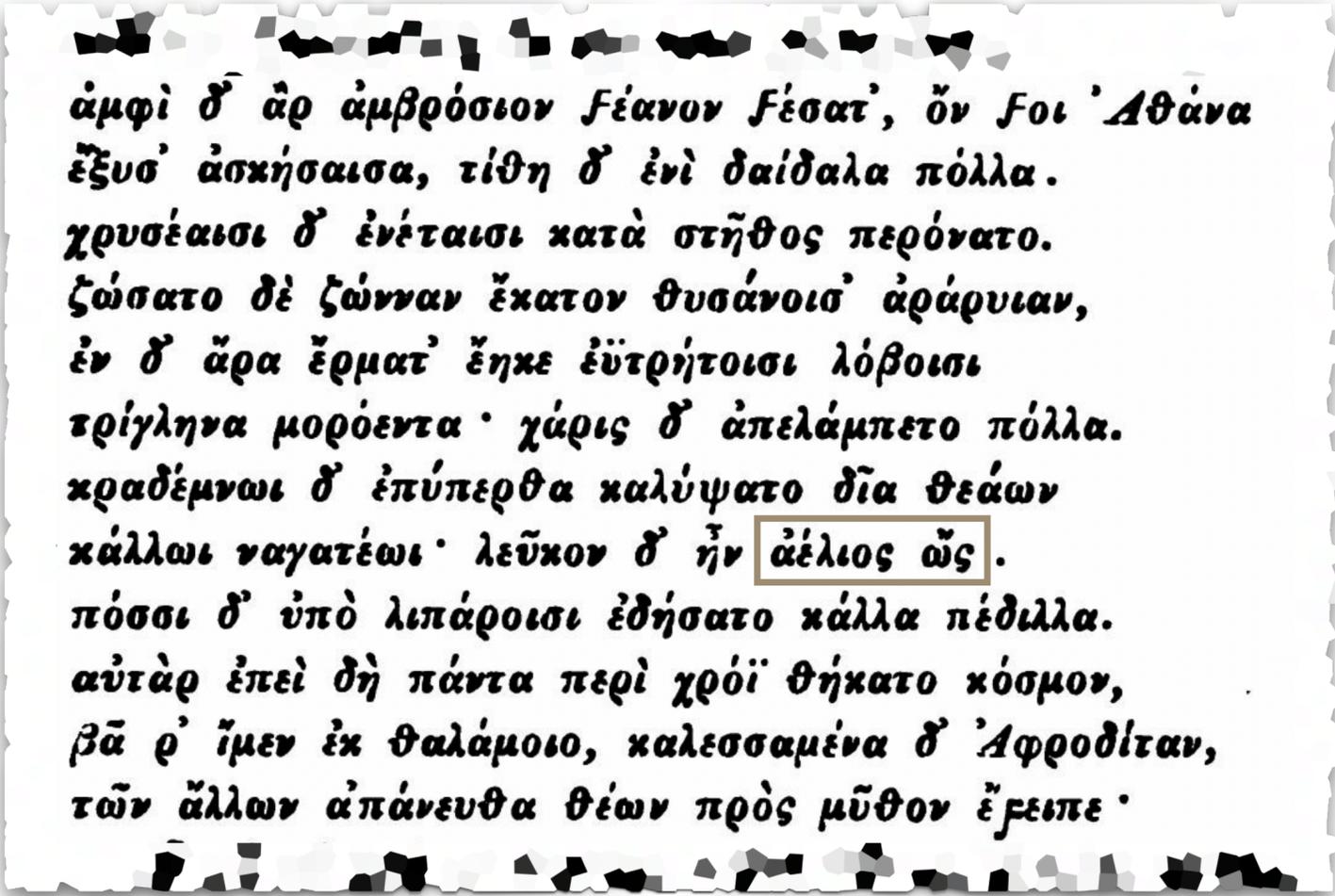
Pierre Chantraine
(1899–1974)

Yet More Concerns

There are **no dialectal forms** with digamma.

“Exception”: Locrian *φοτι* ‘because’ (Chantraine).
Not the same word, and usually taken as mistake
for *hoτι* = *ὄτι*.¹

Besides, Chantraine’s etymology **makes no sense
philogenetically** (Greek and Germanic isolex).



ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀμβρόσιον φέανον φέσατ', ὃν φοι Ἀθάνη
ἔξυσ' ἀσκήσαισα, τίθη δ' ἐνὶ δαίδαλα πόλλα.
χρυσέαισι δ' ἐνέταισι κατὰ στῆθος περόνατο.
ζώσατο δὲ ζώνναν ἕκατον θυσάνοισ' ἀράρυναν,
ἐν δ' ἄρα ἔρματ' ἔηκε εὐτρήτοισι λόβοισι
τρίγληνα μορόεντα· χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πόλλα.
κραδέμνῳ δ' ἐπύπερθα καλύψατο δια θεάων
κάλλῳ ναγατέῳ· λεῦκον δ' ἦν **ἄελιος ὤς**.
πόσσι δ' ὑπὸ λιπάροισι ἐδήσατο κάλλα πέδιλλα.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα περὶ χροῖι θήκατο κόσμον,
βᾶ ρ' ἴμεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο, καλεσσαμένα δ' Ἀφροδίταν,
τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνευθα θεῶν πρὸς μῦθον ἔρειπε·

A. Fick's edition of the Iliad
without digamma ad 14.185

¹ Schwyzer 1960³: 363

All the King's hoses

ὥς [1] postp. 'as, like'

derives from **PIE *su-** 'self'?^{1,2}

ὥς [2] adv. 'so' / conj. 'when; because; therewith'

derives from **PIE *Hio-** 'which'.²

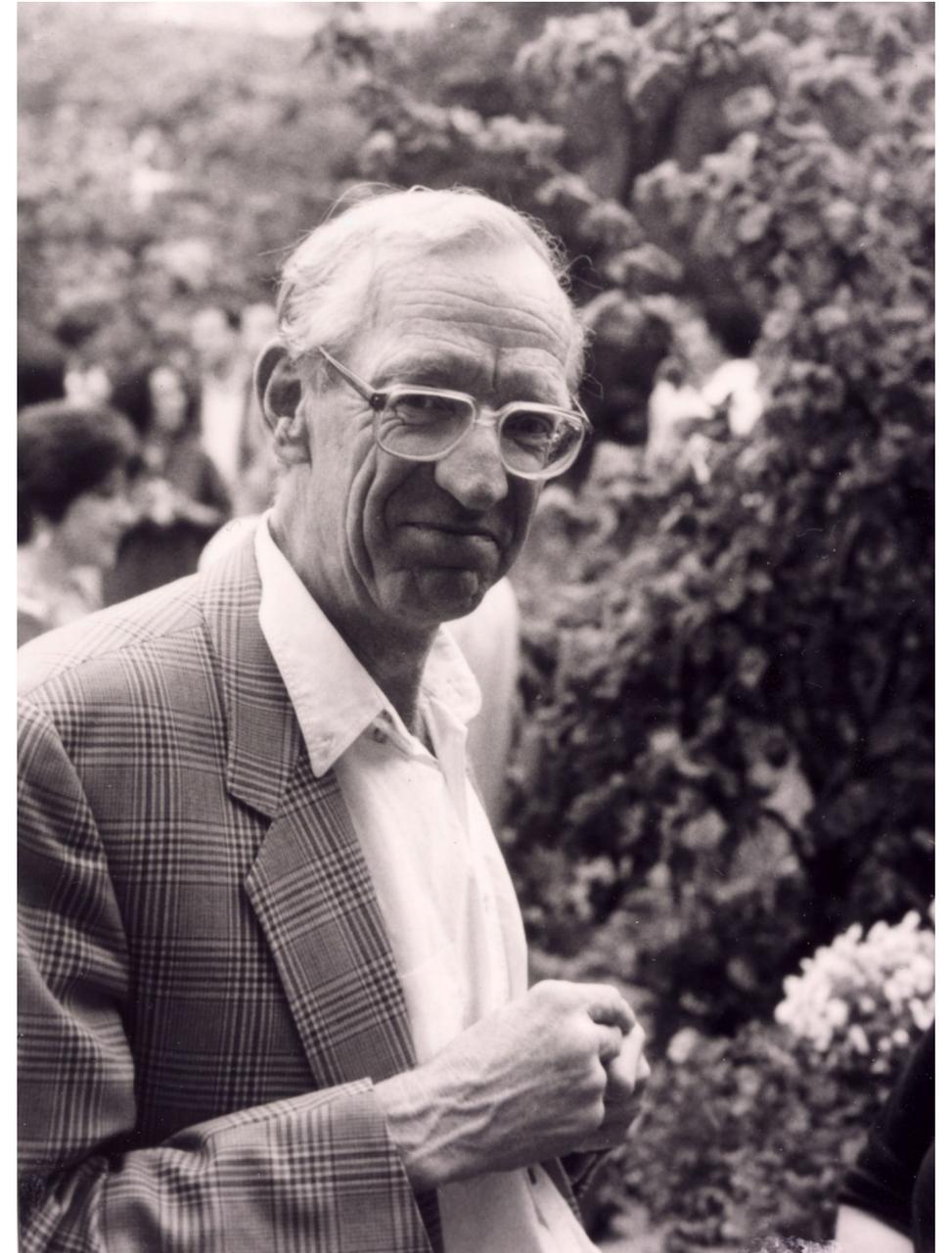
ὥς [3] adv. 'thus'

derives from **PIE *so-** 'that'.²

ὥς [4] praep.+acc. 'to'

of unclear origin.²

¹ Chantraine 1948: 125f, 1977: 1305. ² Beekes 2010: 1683.



Robert S.P. Beekes
(1937–2017)

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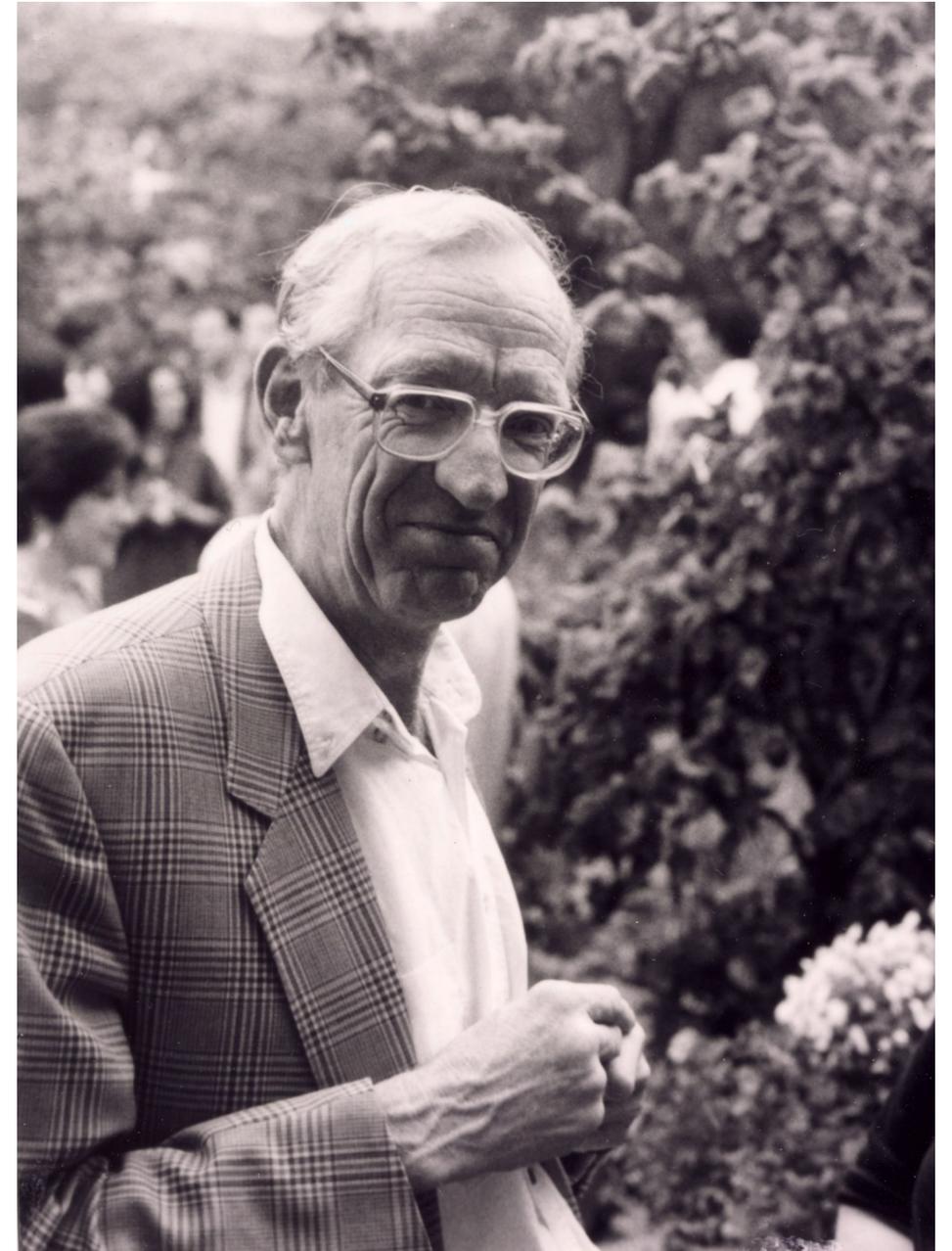
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Psilosis?

Od. 1.1 Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὅς μάλα πολλά¹
Tell me Muse, of the man of many ways, who was driven many journeys²

But the rough breathing in the relative ὡς / ὅς
never makes a position in Homer.

¹ Allen-Monro 1912-19². ² Lattimore 1965: 1.

No Psilosis in Clusters

Od. 22.417 ἄλλ' ἄγε μοι σὺ γυναῖκας ἐνὶ μεγάροις κατάλεξον,¹
Now assemble here the women who are in the palace,

In clusters, there is no psilosis: μεγάροις = ἡμεγάροις;
cf. Meg. Μηγαρεύς 'citizen of Μέγαρα'.

¹ Allen-Monro 1912-19². ² Lattimore 1965: 1.

Od. 2.4 ποσσί δ' ὑπό (h)λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλά πέδιλα,
underneath his shining feet he bound the fair sandals

Od. 5.293 παντοίων ανέμων, σὺν δέ (h)νεφέεσσι κάλυψε
of all the winds together, and huddled under the cloud scuds

Od. 5.327 τὴν δ' ἐφόρει μέγα κῦμα κατὰ (h)ρόον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.
then the waves tossed her about the current now here, now. there;

Od. 5.366 ὤρσε δ' ἐπί (h)μέγα κῦμα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
Poseidon, shaker of the earth, drove on a great wave

Tentative Solution

Il. 11.172 οἱ δ' ἔτι κὰμ μέσσον πεδίον φοβέοντο βόες ᾠς,¹
*while others still in the middle plain stampeded like cattle*²

ᾠς would avoid psilosis in cliticized: βόες ᾠς = boeshōs.
Only requirement: enclitic rather than orthotonic in Homer.

¹ Allen-Monro 1912-19². ² Lattimore 1951.

Sanskrit cognate

āsīd rājā nalo nāma
Lived of yore, a Raja, Nala,

upapanno guṇair iṣṭaiḥ
Gifted he with choicest virtues

atiṣṭhan manujendrāṇām
Head of all the kings of mortals

vīrasenasuto balī
Virasena's mighty son,

rūpavān aśvakovidah
beauteous, skilled in taming steeds:

mūrdhni **devapatir yathā**¹
*like the monarch of the gods*²

Skt. yathā (also YAv. yaθa) works exactly like Gk. ὡς.
It is a postposition derived from instrumental *Hio-th₂oh₁.³

1 Kellner 1885: 20. 2 Monier-Williams 1978: 3. 3 LIPP I 182.



“Monarch of the Gods”
Indra, the Vṛtra-slayer

Conclusions

(1) Performance of discussed etymologies:

PIE *su-: Root | Meaning | Function | Formation | Phylogenetics.

PIE *Hio-: Root | Meaning | Function | Formation | Phylogenetics.

(2) The latter etymology appears superior.

(3) Position-making property rests upon known mechanisms of Homeric metrics (h-clusters)

(4) Only assumption required: ὦς was a clitic (ὦς) rather than orthotonic (ὦς) in Homer.

(5) Implicitly, I would prefer to print βόες ὦς rather than βόες ὦς, etc.

(6) Univerbation of ὦς with the preceding word, or cliticization, must have taken place prior to psilosis.

(7) Therefore, some of the Homeric tradition must be older than psilosis.

Thank you!

PDF 



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