

The Prosody of the Epic Adonius and its Prehistory

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Summary: 1. True monosyllables in verse-final position are rare but not exceptional in Homer and Hesiod. 2. Verse-final monosyllables beginning with consonant groups are listed. 3. Overwhelmingly they follow words ending in short vowels. 4. This is not a property of overall diction or vocabulary as can be shown with a sample taken from certain earlier locations in the line. An excursus deals (1) with another phenomenon not limited to line-end, viz. the alternation between π - and $\pi\tau$ -, etc. and that between $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ - and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ -; and (2) with words in $-\eta\xi$, $-\iota\xi$, $-\gamma\xi$, $-\omega\xi$, $-\omega\psi$ which would (or do) create overlength even with a following vowel and are often placed at line-end. 5. In practically all of the 114 cadences with verse-final monosyllables that begin with single consonants nothing heavier precedes than a diphthong or long vowel, or a short vowel followed by one consonant; in addition, there are eight cases with long vowel plus consonant before a vocalic initial. Thus, overlength at word-boundary in the sixth longum is as good as excluded. 6. Word-end after the fifth longum avoids overlength, exceptions being largely the work of formula (illustrated from a sample). 7. The line-final "cadences" of the Rgveda are restricted in strikingly similar ways (though word-end is not a factor). 8. A sample with instances of problematic overlength in Homer and Hesiod, concentrated in the latter part of the hexameter but not tied to word-boundary, is examined with a view to further study. 9. Indo-European sound-structure and poetic technique.

1. TRUE MONOSYLLABLES (i.e. ones which are neither enclitic nor preceded by a proclitic, whether this is taken orthographically or in some more sophisticated way¹) are infrequent at line end (" | ") in Homer and Hesiod—only 1% in Homer even by Hartel's count. On the other hand, they are not the monstrosities of classical Latin (*ridiculus mus!*) nor are they mere lapses like, for example, the infractions of Hermann's Bridge after

¹ The uncertainty is notorious. De-facto proclitics not sanctioned by diorthotic practice (e.g. not competing for space with a breathing sign) may in principle be recognized by their failure to occur at end of line; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ is an example. On η see Wackernagel 1955: 619. There is no one clear-cut criterion, however. See note 4, and Visser 1988: 28 n. 23.

the fourth trochee. In fact, they can be formulaically well entrenched, as witness ἀχνύμενος κῆρι, νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς, ἀκάματον πῦρι, (αἶ κέ) ποθι Ζεύς, (ἐξέ)λετο Ζεύς, εὐρεῖα χθώνι.

2. Some of these monosyllables begin with a consonant group, including, of course, ζ, ξ, ψ (on δ[*F*], ' , ρ, etc. see Section 2 [c]).² The group may consist of

(a) sounds other than stop-and-liquid:

νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς| A 511, 517, 560, Δ 30, E 764, 888, H 280, 454, Θ 38, 469, K 552, Λ 318, Ξ 293, 312, 341, O 220, Π 666, P 198, Y 19, 215, X 182, Ω 64, α 63, ε 21, ι 67, μ 313, 384, ν 139, 153, ω 477, *Th.* 558, *Op.* 53; μητίετα Ζεύς| A 175, B 197, 324, Z 198, H 478, Θ 170, I 377, K 104, Λ 278, M 279, 292, O 377, 599, Π 249, Ω 314, ξ 243, π 298, υ 102, *Th.* 56, 520, 904, 914, *Op.* 104; μητίετα Ζεῦ| A 508; στεροπηγερέτα Ζεύς| Π 298; εὐρύοπα Ζεύς| E 265, Θ 442, I 419, 686, N 732, O 203, O 724, P 545, Ω 296, β 146, γ 288, δ 173, λ 436, ξ 235, ρ 322, ω 544, *Th.* 514, *Op.* 229, 239, 281; εὐρύοπα Ζεῦ| Π 241; εὐρύοπα Ζῆνι| Θ 206, Ξ 265, Ω 331, *Th.* 884; ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεύς| B 741, Ξ 434, Φ 2, Ω 693; ἐξέλετο Ζεύς| Z 234, T 137; ἰοῦδύσατο Ζεύς| Σ 292; ὠδύσαο Ζεῦ| α 62; ἐξέλασσε³ Ζεύς| *Th.* 820; αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεύς| A 128, Z 526, δ 34, μ 215, χ 252; ἀλλά ποθι Ζεύς| T 273; οὐδέ ποτε Ζεύς| Π 644; αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεύς| Θ 364, Y 92; αἶ κεν ἐμοὶ Ζεύς| X 256; ὕε δ' ἄρα Ζεύς| M 25, ξ 457; οἴσιν ἄρα Ζεύς| Ξ 85, π 422; 20ῆ⁴ σε περὶ⁴ Ζεύς| ἀνθρώπων ἤχθηρε τ 363–64; ἔγρετο δὲ Ζεύς| O 4; αἶε δὲ Ζεύς| Φ 388;

'Αρτέμιδι ξύν⁵ ο 410;

οὐκ ἔλαθε πτώξ| P 676;

ἄγχι δ' ἄρα στάς| Ω 477; ἐγγύθι δὲ στάς| α 120;

Δολίον πατέρα σφόν⁶ ω 411; ὑπερβασίης ἔνεκα σφής| Π 18; ἐπισπόμενοι μένεῤ| σφῶ| ξ 262, ρ 431, ω 183;

² There is no reason to distinguish between two-consonant and three-consonant groups like στρ-.

³ Underlining of letters calls attention to the possibility of ephelecytic *v* or metrical lengthening (see notes 5, 8, 11).

⁴ Non-anastrophe, but presumably not specifically proclitic to Ζεύς. Examples recur.

⁵ See note 8.

⁶ Here treated as non-enclitic, following orthographic practice.—Enclitic pronominal forms beginning with σφ- show the following picture: ὄσσε δ' ἄρα σφέωνι υ 348; σῦνεκ' ἄρα σφέωνι *Th.* 144; σῦνεκ' ἄρα σφέας| θ 480; ἐννεά δὲ σφεας| B 96; οὐ δύναται σφι Λ 116; πόλεμος τέτατό σφινι P 736; οὐδέ ποτέ σφινι θ 562; ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα σφι N 704, P 268; ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφινι Π 552, ω 9; ἔντεα δὲ σφινι K 471; ἦνία δὲ σφι Π 470; δάκρυα δὲ σφι P 437; ἔγχεα δὲ σφινι K 152; ἰστία δὲ σφι ι 70; ἄχλυτο δὲ σφι Ξ 38; εἶσατο δὲ σφι Ω 319; οὐδεῖ δὲ σφι Ψ 283; one diphthong (δύναται Λ 116) against 16 short-vowel finals. This belongs in the context of Section 8.

30άλλ' ἄρα μιν φθῆ| χ 91;

εὐρεῖα χθών| Δ 182, Θ 150, Λ 741, Φ 387, *Th.* 458; βέβριθε χθών| Π 384; αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ χθών| Β 465; πᾶσα περὶ χθών| Τ 362; αἵματι δὲ χθών| Ρ 316; εἴσατο δὲ χθών| ν 352.

There are, then, 36 different such cadences⁷ in *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Theogony*, and *Works and Days*, ranging from νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς which recurs 32 times to 24 cadences occurring once each.

(b) Stop-and-liquid (29 different cadences):

ἐξερίπη δρῶς| Ξ 414; οὔρεσι δὲ δρῶς| *Op.* 232;

ἀνδρόμεα κρέα| ι 347;

40άλλα πολὺ πρίν| Ι 250, Λ 236, Ν 161, β 167; οἷς ἔπι μὲν πρίν| γ 408;

οὐρανόθι πρό| Γ 3; Ἰλιόθι πρό| Θ 561, Κ 12, Ν 349, θ 581; ἠῶθι πρό| Λ 50, ε 469, ζ 36;

αἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔτι τρεῖς| Υ 269;

ἀσβέστη κέχυτο φλόξ| Π 123; παύσατο δὲ φλόξ| Ψ 228;

ἐτράπετο φρήν| Κ 45;

πόντον ἔπι φρίξ| Η 63;

50ῆ τι μάλα χρεώ| Ι 197; τὸν δὲ μάλα χρεώ| Λ 409; οὐ τι μάλα χρεώ| Ψ 308; τίπτε δέ σε χρεώ| Κ 85, α 225; οὐδέ τί μιν χρεώ| δ 707;

οὐδέ τί σε χρή| Η 109, Ι 496, Κ 479, Π 721, Τ 420, Υ 133, Ψ 478, α 296, β 369, δ 492, κ 380, ο 393, σ 17, τ 500; λοχησάμενος τέο σε χρή| δ 463; ὅττεό σε χρή| α 124; οὐδέ τί με χρή| Τ 67, τ 118; ὅττεό με χρή| χ 377; 60νῦν σε μάλα χρή| Π 492, Χ 268; ταῦτα δ' ἅμα χρή| Ν 235;

τήκετο δὲ χρώς| τ 204; ὀστεόφ| χρώς| π 145; πᾶσι δ' ἄρα χρώς| φ 412; τρέπεται βρότεος χρώς| *Op.* 416.

To these we must add

(c) (13 different cadences):

οὐ τι μάλα δήν [i.e. δφήν]| Α 416, Ν 573, χ 473; οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δήν| Ζ 139, Θ 126, Υ 426, Ψ 690, β 296, 397, ρ 72;

τήν δὲ προτὶ οἶ [*< *sw-*]| Φ 507;

τὸν δὲ ποτὶ οἶ [*< *sw-*]| ω 347;

⁷ A cadence is here arbitrarily taken as the string of words filling the adonius of the fifth and sixth foot and thus beginning at the bucolic diaeresis or before. The Rgvedic "cadence" is somewhat differently defined; see Section 7. Both are, however, terminal stretches.

70θυγατέρα ἦν [< *sw-] E 371, Z 192, Λ 226, N 376, Th. 819; θυγατέρος ἦσι Φ 504, τ 400; καὶ πατέρῃ ᾧ γ 39; χαριζομένη πόσει ᾧ E 71; καὶ σθένει ᾧ Π 542; καὶ τέκει ᾧ Ω 36;⁸

οὓς τέκετο ῥέα! O 187;

οὐδέ κέ μιν ῥέα! M 381; οὐ κε μάλα ῥέα! Y 101.

3. The remarkable fact is that the word which precedes the terminal monosyllable in these 78 different⁹ cadences almost invariably ENDS IN A SHORT VOWEL. In the first list, (a), the only two exceptions are αἶ κεν ἐμοὶ Ζεύσι X 256¹⁰ and ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν φθῆ! χ 91, against 34 turns with short vowel final.¹¹ Even in the (b) list—less telling than the (a) list because of the possibility of “Attic” correction¹²—exceptions number only

⁸ On the face of it, οὐ τι κράτει γει H 142 is a case of metrical lengthening (Monro 1891: 83). It would seem, though, that it was at least helped along by the above cadences (see Meister 1921: 134–35). From the point of view of formula and of placement in the line it is instructive to look at ἄχει, proceeding from ἡ δ' ἄχει οὐ παιδὸς ο 358 through ἰὸ ἄχει σχομένη λ 279, ἰκῆρ ἄχει μεγάλω βεβολημένος κ 247, Ἰ'Ατρείδης δ' ἄχει μεγάλω βεβολημένος ἦτορ! I 9 (cp. also ἰρηξόμεθα σθένει μεγάλω M 224, etc.), ἄχει φθινύθουσι παρειαι! θ 530 (cp. οὐδέ τί μιν σθένει ῥηγνύσι ῥέοντες! P 751), το ἔθελον δ' ἄχει προτραπέσθαι Z 336 (cp. σθένει βλεμαϊνῶν! O 337, etc., ὅ τε κράτει προβεβῆκη! Π 54). For ἄχει this is the complete list. The -ι is not “metrically lengthened” since the syllable may still be seen as simply long by position everywhere, including before (μ)μεγάλω and before προτραπέσθαι. Similarly, there are, by a conservative count, five different turns (including Π 542) with σθένει CC in all locations, against the one ἰκάρτει τε σθένει τε P 329; κράτει is found only in the two passages cited, Π 54 and H 142. The final syllable of Ἀχιλλῆῃ shows normal *Wortfugenposition* three times in the third and four times in the fifth arsis (A 283, N 324, Π 575, P 121, Y 376, Ω 108, 110) and in this resembles Ἀχιλλῆα, while ἰδῶρα δ' Ἀχιλλῆῃ φερέμεν (Ω 119 = 147, 176, 196) may be another intriguing indication of the occasional position-making power of φ- (Korzeniewski 1968: 23; Hoenigswald 1968b: 253; 1972: 939 n. 29). The old true dative in -ει (Hom. δῖφιλος = Cypr. Διφείφιλος?) is hardly involved in any of this, not only because its use in Mycenaean does precisely NOT extend to the σ-stems.

⁹ The differences among the cadences vary greatly in importance. Besides, there are many ways of counting (cp. note 7). If only the “word” (say, στεροπηγέρετα, ἄρα, δέ) immediately preceding the monosyllable is taken into account the figure drops to 67. The choice made here has seemed to us to be more in keeping with the workings of the poets' craft than some of the possible alternatives would have been. The phenomenon under study is so massive, however, that the decision hardly matters.

¹⁰ The adonii αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεύσι! Θ 364, Y 92 and αἶ κεν ἐμοὶ Ζεύσι X 256 are formulaically close.—Before enclitic σφι, δύνανται (Λ 116) is the only instance of resulting overlength against 14 cases of simple length; see note 6 and Section 8.

¹¹ These include ἔλαθε, ἐξέλασε, βέβριθε, Ἀρτέμιδι. See notes 3, 5, 8.

¹² Allowing us to subsume the three exceptions above under Section 4. A similar observation applies to ἐμπλήην, ἐμπρήσειν, ἐγχριπτοντο vs. ἐνιπρήσειν, ἐνιχριμφθέντα (Hoenigswald 1968b: 252; see note 17). For information on Attic correction in Homer see Chantraine 1942: 108–10, Allen 1987: 100–05. Wathelet 1966 considers that where spellings like πρV, τρV etc. do not simply conceal either a dialect form without the ρ (προσ- for ποτ- etc.) or an old VC ρ = - (e.g. ἔτραπον) Attic correction

four: ἐξερίπη δρῦσι Ξ 414, οἷς ἔπι μὲν πρίνι γ 408, οὐδὲ τί μιν χρεώι δ 707, and τρέπεται βρότεος χρώσι *Op.* 416, against 25 cases with short vowel final.¹³ Still greater freedom might be expected under (c) where digamma is subject to various degrees of "neglect" and where gemination, when it becomes an alternative, is not mandatory. We do have θυγατέρος ἦσι Φ 504 = τ 400 (to be compared with the hiatus in ἐέλλετο ὄν κατὰ θυμόνι N 8, as if simply ἐέλλετο φόν, not **φφόν [though not merely **φόν, either, as in ὁ δ' οὐδ' οὐ παιδὸς ἀμύνει Π 522, corresponding to λαῦριον ἦν ἀρετήν Θ 535]), and οὐδέ κέ μιν ῥέαί M 381 (cp. Ἴενθα κε ῥεῖα [ῥῆα] φέροι P 70) but that—two cases against 11 short vowel finals with positional syllable length—is all.

In other words, word-initial consonant groups in this location are in order where they produce LONG syllables but NOT OVERLONG ones.

4. On the other hand, consider the following sample.

(a) In the second or in the fourth thesis (biceps) and, more rarely, in the third, too, Ζεὺς (nom. sg.) may stand after a word ending in a short vowel (with positional length of the syllable resulting); there are 35 different such passages (e.g. Ἰάντες ἄμα, Ζεὺς δ' ἦρχε A 495, and including Ζεὺς after Ἄτρεΐδην θῆκε B 482, ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Λ 163, βῶσιν καὶ σφι ξ 86).

(b) In those same locations Ζεὺς is, however, also found after a word ending in a long vowel or in a diphthong: μυθέομαι Ζεὺς (H 76), Πριαμίδης ὅτε οἱ (Θ 216 etc.), αἶ κέν μοι δῶη (Θ 287), καμμίξας δῶη (Ω 529), ἄναξ καὶ τοι (I 98), πρίν γ' ὅτε δῆ (M 437), καὶ τότε δῆ (γ 13), ὡς γάρ που (Ξ 120), οὕτω που (ι 262), δηϊῶων τῷ γάρ (P 566), ἀλλήλοισ ἐπὶ γάρ (γ 152), ἦ ἀγαθός (P 632), ἀμφοτέροι (Υ 155), Θέτι καλέει (Ω 88), ἰέμενοι (γ 160), ἀντάρ ἐμοί (ξ 310 etc.), περὶ κῆρι φίλει (ο 245), πτολέμου εἰ μὴ (? ω 42), ἐν νόστῳ γάρ μοι (ω 96), μάλλον ἐπεὶ (? *Th.* 428), χωόμενος (*Th.* 561), ἀλλ' ἄρα μιν (*Th.* 899), τῷ δ' ἦ τοι (*Op.* 333), πλεόνεσσι πόροι (*Op.* 379), ἐκτελέση (*Op.* 565), ἦ (? *Op.* 668); that is, about 26 passages with resulting overlength in the arsis that precedes.

(c) Finally, Ζεὺς may follow a word-final sequence consisting of a long vowel or a diphthong and a consonant: αἰγίοχος Κρονίδης (B 375), τοῦτω Κρονίδης (Θ 141), ἐκ πασέων Κρονίδης (Σ 431), ἀντάρ οἱ Κρονίδης (Φ 570), ὅτι μοι Κρονίδης (Ω 241), ψεύδεσσι πατήρ (Δ 235), ὀποτέροισι πατήρ (E 33), Τρώεσσι πατήρ (P 630), Ἀργείων (Z 159), ἴστω νῦν (T 258 etc.), οὕτω νῦν (θ 465 etc.), νῦν ἡμῖν πάντων (O 719), ὑπὲρ Κρήτης (ξ 300), Ἰτούς (ρ 597), κερτομέων (*Th.* 545), δολοφρονέων (*Th.* 550).

is limited to the female caesura or to recent, i.e. non-formulaic words; see notes 28, 43. On possible OVERLENGTH involving stop and liquid see Section 8 (g).

¹³ Including ὄστεόφι.

These 16 passages show what might be called twofold overlength if the distinction were in any way useful.

There are, then, about 42 cases of overlength (b, c) against 35 cases of simple length (a). It will not do, therefore, to blame the near lack of word-seam overlength inside the sixth foot on any gross shortage of suitable turns in the diction.¹⁴

REGARDLESS OF LOCATION, ξύν,¹⁵ πτόλεμος, πτολεμίζω, πτόλις, πτολίπορθος occur only after a short vowel final where of course they produce positional length.¹⁶ After the heavier word-finals these ancillary variants are not needed, and overlength is easily avoided even in locations in which it is otherwise tolerated. This has a mirror image in the ban on ἐνι-forming compounds with verbs that begin with a simple consonant (ἐν-δυνε but not **ἐνί-δυνε even though this sequence is phonologically possible); before a cluster, ἐν- secondarily creates overlengths (ἐν-στρέφεται E 306 [second foot]).¹⁷

It is tempting to take comfort from the fact that θώρηξ (five different cadences, as well as αἰολοθώρηξ, λινοθώρηξ with two different cadences each), κήξ, πτώξ, σάλπιγξ, φόρμιγξ, (φρίξ ?) (these once each) with their fixed final overlengths occur only in verse-final ancipitia where quantity presumably does not matter at all, while πήληξ is found in that location in two different cadences, as well as once in the notoriously lax first foot. However, Κύκλωψ, in addition to occurring in three different verse-final cadences and in five different turns in the first foot (four of them vocatives), is also found positioned as | - ∪ ∪ Κύκλωψ V- in three different turns and once as | - ∪ ∪ - Κύκλωψ μεγάλην (i.e. with -ωψ in arsi; note the consonantal onset in μεγάλην), σκώληξ ∪ ∪ - x | (once) is placed before a vowel, and so is ἴρηξ (two different turns, αὐτὸς δ' ὥς τ' ἴρηξ and ἰή δ' ἴρηξ ὥς) when not indeed verse-final (once). It is best to leave aside κήρυξ, φοῖνιξ, Φοῖνιξ, (φρίξ ?) and their problematic vowel quantities.

¹⁴ To insure a minimum of outward comparability, internal passages counted as separate were given the same length as the terminal adonius (see note 7). It is clear, however, that this does not take us very far since spondaic substitution and caesura or word placement make for different vocabulary choices.

¹⁵ Cp. Section 2 (a) and note 8.

¹⁶ This does not hold for πτολίεθρον (cp. Section 8 [b]), (-)σκεδάωννυμι, σκίδνημι (vs. κεδ-, κιδ-); κτείνω/-καίνω may be a special case.—Short scansion before Σκάμανδρος and a few such items with an iambic onset remains an isolated license.

¹⁷ Hoeningwald 1968b on ἐ(ν)-, ἐνι-, ἐν, ἐνί; see note 12. The two processes mirror each other in the sense that in the case of ἐν-/ἐνι- it is the light variant (ἐνι-) which occurs only when the other variant is excluded while in the case of πτ-/π- it is the heavily consonantal variant (πτ-) which plays that role. The ancillary status of ἐνι- is evident from the fact that while ἔδυνε, **ἐνίδυνε, ἐνιστρέφεται were anciently permitted phoneme sequences, and ἐνστρέφεται is a plausible innovation, **ἐνίδυνε is in fact not used. On the other hand πτ- is ancillary to π- inasmuch as ἀμφί, κατὰ, ἔλοι πόλιν occur freely but **ἔλοι etc. πτόλιν is not found though it is just as conceivable an innovation in itself as ἐνστρέφεται. That ξύν is etymologically prior to σύν is another matter.

5. True monosyllables beginning with a SINGLE consonant, when found at end of line, are no less consistently preceded by words that end in A SHORT VOWEL PLUS CONSONANT, OR IN A LONG VOWEL OR A DIPHTHONG (there are no instances of -α, -η, -ω). The few monosyllables beginning with a VOWEL (here included) naturally stand after words ending in a sequence consisting of long vowel and consonant:¹⁸

ἦλθε μὲν ἄρ βοῦς| (nom. sg.) γ 430; εἰλίποδας βοῦς| (acc. pl.) O 547, θ 60; εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς| I 466, α 92, δ 320, ι 46; καὶ ἔλικας βοῦς| Σ 524, μ 136, ω 66; νομήσαι βῶν| H 238;

ἀλλ' ὀπότη' ἄν δῆ| Φ 340; ὀπότε κεν δῆ| Σ 115, X 365, β 357; εἰ δ' ἔτεον δῆ| ψ 107; αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δῆ| *Op.* 600, 614;

ιοεῖς ἐγκέφαλον δῶ| Θ 85;

ἡμέτερον δῶ| H 363, Σ 385, 424, α 176, β 262, δ 139; ὑμέτερον δῶ| ω 115; υἱὸς ἐμόν δῶ| δ 169; ἵκετ' ἐμόν δῶ| θ 28; ἐρισθενέος πυκινὸν δῶ| T 355; χαλκοβατὲς δῶ| A 426, Ξ 173, Φ 438, 505, θ 321, ν 4; εὐρυπυλὲς Ἄιδος δῶ| Ψ 74, λ 571; ὑπερεφὲς δῶ| κ 111, ο 424, 432; ἐς πατέρος δῶ| λ 501; 20αἰψά τέ οἱ δῶ| α 392;

ὅς κεν μὴ δῶ| *Op.* 354;

οὐδὲ κακῶν ἔξι| Ξ 472; ὅς τε θεῶν ἔξι| ρ 518;¹⁹

οὐδ' ἄρα πῶς ἦν| Π 60, Ψ 670;

ἀμφ' ὀστεόφιν θίς| μ 45;

οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ ἴς [F]| Λ 668; κέλετο μεγάλη ἴς| μ 175; οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἴς| σ 3 (also, ἴς| preceded by a de-facto proclitic καί, M 320);²⁰

εἰναλίη κῆξι| ο 479;

30ἐν δ' ὀλοῇ Κῆρι| Σ 535; ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν Κῆρι| Ψ 78;

ἀμφ' ἀδινὸν κῆρι| Π 481, τ 516; ἐθέλεις τὸ δ' ἐμόν κῆρι| Z 523; σὸν καὶ ἐμόν κῆρι| O 52; αὐτὰρ ἐμόν κῆρι| T 319, δ 259, μ 192; καὶ δέ κ' ἐμόν κῆρι| ι 459; κυδάλιμον κῆρι| K 16, M 45, Σ 33, φ 247; Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρι| B 851; Πατροκλῆος λάσιον κῆρι| Π 554; 40'Αχιλλῆος ὀλοδὸν κῆρι| Ξ 139; εἰς ὃ κε σὸν κῆρι| χ 58; ἐγέλασσε φίλον κῆρι| ι 413; ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον κῆρι| α 341, η 309; ἐπιγνάμψασα φίλον κῆρι| A 569; ἔσκε φίλον κῆρι| δ 270; μίμνε φίλον κῆρι| N 713; παραιπεπιθοῦσα φίλον κῆρι| Ξ 208; σὸν δὲ φίλον κῆρι| π 274; τεταρπόμενός τε φίλον κῆρι| α 310; 50φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρι| A 491; φθινύθουσι φίλον κῆρι| κ 485; ἀχνύμενος κῆρι| κ 67, μ 153, 270; ἀχνύμενον κῆρι| χ 188; ἀχνυμένω κῆρι| T 57, Ψ 284, 443; ἀχνύμενοι κῆρι| H 428, 431, Ψ

¹⁸ See the end of this section on ἔξι, ἦν, ὄς, as well as on ἴς and ὄς. There are no examples of words ending in two or more consonants preceding terminal monosyllables.—Inasmuch as *elisis non officit caesurae*, ὄς in οὐδ' ὄς| φ 246—the only example of elision in this location—is to be recognized as a monosyllabic word. See note 25. On καί see note 1.

¹⁹ See note 18.

²⁰ See note 18.

165, μ 250, ω 420; ἀχνυμένη κῆρι Ω 773; γηθόσυνος κῆρι Δ 272, 326, Σ 557; ἐμπλησάμενος κῆρι Χ 504; χωόμενος κῆρι Α 44, Ι 555; **60**χωόμενον κῆρι Ψ 37; ἤχθετο γάρ κῆρι Λ 274, 400; ἄλλα δέ οἱ κῆρι σ 344; λύσσα δέ οἱ κῆρι Φ 542; πολλὰ δέ οἱ κῆρι η 82, ψ 85;

πανημερή γλαφυρή νηῦσι δ 356; ἐρχομένη νηῦσι ξ 334, τ 291; ποντοπόρος νηῦσι μ 69, ν 95, 161, ξ 339; ὠκύαλος νηῦσι μ 182, ο 473;

ἄλλα δέ μοι νῦνι Σ 435; **70**ἦδε δέ μοι νῦνι Φ 155; ὄν τινά οἱ νῦνι β 124; ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ νῦνι ε 448; ὄσσον ἐγὼ νῦνι τ 169; εἶ τι κακὸν νῦνι Δ 362 (also, νῦνι preceded by καί,²¹ Ι 105, 111, 259, Λ 790, Ξ 234, Ψ 787, ω 186);

ἀμφιλύκη νύξι Η 433; παροίχωκεν δὲ πλέων νύξι Κ 252; ἀμβροσίη νύξι δ 429, 574, η 283; οὐρανόθεν νύξι ε 294, ι 69, μ 315; ἀμφὶ δέ μιν νύξι *Th.* 726;

80θεσπιδαῆς πῦρι (nom., acc.) Μ 177, 441, Ο 597, Υ 490, Φ 342, 381, Ψ 216, δ 418; ἀκάματον πῦρι (nom., acc.) Ε 4, Π 122, Σ 225, Φ 13, 341, Ψ 52, υ 123, φ 181; ἀμαιμάκετον πῦρι *Th.* 319;²² αἰθόμενον πῦρι Π 293; κηαμένω πῦρι π 2; δῆτιον πῦρι Ι 347, 674, Π 301, Σ 13; ἦ ὄλοδον πῦρι Ο 605; δαίε δέ οἱ πῦρι η 7; οἶσε δέ μοι πῦρι χ 481; ἐν δ' ἔβαλον πῦρι Ω 787;

90οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ σοῦσι Υ 205;

ἀνασχοίμην ὅτε μοι σύλ λ 375; ἔνθεν ὄθεν σοί Δ 58;

ἦδὲ μέγας σῦσι δ 457; κατέκειτο μέγας σῦσι τ 439; φθάμενος ἔλασεν σῦσι τ 449;

ἦ κεν ἐγὼ τόνι Φ 226, λ 565; ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ τήνι Ι 342 (also καὶ τῶι Ι 666, *Op.* 754; καὶ τόνι Τ 96; καὶ τῆσι Δ 138; καὶ τάι *Op.* 684; καὶ τῶνι *Op.* 513);

ισόθεος φῶσι Β 565, Γ 310, Δ 212, Η 136, Ι 211, Λ 428, 472, 644, Ο 559, Π 632, Ψ 569, 677, α 324, υ 124; ἀλλότριος φῶσι Ε 214, π 102, σ 219; **100**ὡς ὅτε τις φῶσι Π 406;

ἀμφὶ δέ μοι χεῖρι Π 517;

ἀθάνατος ὦσι ζ 309; αἴγειρος ὦσι Δ 482; αἰγυπιὸς ὦσι Ν 531; ἥελιος ὦσι Ξ 185, τ 234; ἥελιον ὦσι σ 296; κασσίτερος ὦσι *Th.* 862; νηπύτιον ὦσι Υ 200, 431; νηπύτιοι ὦσι Ν 292, Υ 244; **110**οἰωνῶν ὦσι λ 605; ὄρνιθες ὦσι Γ 2; ὄρνιθας ὦσι Β 764; τηλύγετον ὦσι Ν 470; οἱ δὲ λύκοι ὦσι Δ 471, Λ 72, Π 156; Κρήτεσσι θεὸς ὦσι Γ 230; οἶ σε θεὸν ὦσι Ι 302, Χ 434; ὄρτο λέων ὦσι Λ 129, Υ 164; ἔπεσεν μελίη ὦσι Ν 178; φοβέοντο βόες ὦσι Λ 172;²³

²¹ See note 1.

²² In violation of Hermann's Bridge.

²³ See note 18.

120 αἱ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὦσι ο 156; ἀλλὰ μιν οὐδ' ὦσι φ 246; ἀνέστησεν
δέ μιν οὐδ' ὦσι Ω 756.²⁴

If the line-final monosyllable begins with one consonant, a sequence consisting of a long vowel or diphthong followed by a consonant, or of two or more consonants at the end of the word which precedes would again create overlength. This happens only once: παροίχωκεν δὲ πλέων νύξι (vv.11. πλέω, πλέον!) K 252 (Doloneia) where the iteration -ν#ν- could play a role. As for ζς, it occurs in three different cadences after a long vowel, but also in οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ζσι σ 3, with “neglected” digamma as we would like to think; the scansion matches that of ὄς τε θεῶν ἔξι ρ 518, οὐδ' ἄρα πωζ ἦνι Π 60, αἱ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὦσι ο 156, ἀλλὰ μιν οὐδ' ὦσι φ 246, ἀνέστησεν δέ μιν οὐδ' ὦσι Ω 756, where *ϕ* was presumably never involved. The same as for ζς may hold for the postpositive ὡς, “like,” (here included among the orthotones),²⁵ preceded as it most often is by -VC or by a diphthong or long vowel, but then also by -ων in ὄρτο λέων ὦσι Λ 129 = Y 164, and οἰωνῶν ὦσι λ 605. In short, out of 122 instances in this section, there is only one, and that a slightly doubtful one, in which overlength results. Altogether, in only two or three of the 200 different cadences that end in monosyllables do the latter generate overlength. ONLY LONG, and NOT OVERLONG syllables are permitted at word boundaries inside the sixth foot.

6. Most of this appears to have gone unnoticed. If questions are asked at all about *Wortfugenposition* of the kind - \check{V} #CC- they are likely to be aimed at the circumstances under which it is ALLOWED²⁶—in arsi and in the first or the second thesis—than at those under which it is FAVORED or required because, given certain vocabulary choices, there is no other remedy against overlength. There are some uncertain hints at the role of overlength at word-boundary after the longum of the fifth foot: by Hilberg 1879, Drewitt 1908 (also Platt 1921), Parry 1928, and Pipping 1937; a more recent voice is that of West 1970, 1982. Drewitt observed the play between κρείων Ἀγαμέμνωνι and κρατερὸς Διομήδης (not **κρείων Διομήδης!). Parry discussed it in passing, in perceptive if somewhat ad hoc terms, as a characteristic of the seam between a hero's epithet and his name. A further search²⁷ reveals greater generality, however: in Δ (= 544 lines) only five times (including one repeated half-line, 232 ~ 257 [repeated six more times

²⁴ See note 18. On δῆν, οἶ, etc., see Section 2 (c) above.

²⁵ For the *ϕ* see Chantraine 1968–80: 1305. On ὡς, ὦς see Fernández-Galiano 1986: 248.

²⁶ West (1982: 37) remarks that it occurs only once (Θέμυ τε Μνημοσύνην τει *Th.* 135) in the bucolic diaeresis, where all positional length is rare. On spondaic fourth feet see Meister 1921: 22–27.—Preference is not simply the obverse of exclusion in the sense that sequences not welcome in certain locations naturally accumulate in the others. Overlongs are not just dwarfed; they are nearly totally absent in some of the latter.

²⁷ Hoenigswald 1988.

elsewhere in the *Iliad*) does a word-end generate overlength in that location (χρυσέοις δεπάεσσι 3 [also γ 472], ἀναπλήσης βιότοι 170 [also ἀναπλήσας κακὰ πολλά 0 132], φρονέων πόρε Χείρων 219, Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων 232 ~ 257), when the overall preponderance of words ending like πάρος, Κρόνου over words ending like Δαναῶν in a sample, Δ 73-84, is only 36/11, or 3.27. Nor is this all: along the lines of famous anomalies like μέροπεσ ἄνθρωποι (=υυ---xι, after μερόπων ἄνθρώπων), these overlengths may be credited with formulaic ties to variants with simple lengths—depending, to be sure, on one's view of what constitutes formula:

χρυσέοις δεπάεσσι Δ 3 ~ γ 472: cp. ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσι γ 340 = φ 272, ἐπαρξάμενος δεπάεσσι η 183, ἐπαρξάσθω δεπάεσσι σ 418 = φ 263, ἐγγεῖη δεπάεσσι ι 10, χρυσέοισι νέφεσσι Ν 523;

ἀναπλήσης βιότοι Δ 170 ~ Ο 132: cp. πολέος βιότοι β 126, λιλαϊόμενοι βιότοι μ 328 ~ ω 536, ἐνίπλειον βιότοι τ 580 = φ 78;

φρονέων πόρε Χείρων Δ 219: cp. φίλω πόρε Χείρων Π 143 = Τ 390 (v.l. τάμε Χ.), φρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ Θ 430, κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούση Κ 486 ~ Π 783, μέγα φρονέων ἔβεβήκει Λ 296 ~ Ν 156 ~ Χ 21;

Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων Δ 232 ~ 257: cp. Δαναοὶ ταχύπωλοι Θ 161, ἸΜυρμιδόνες ταχύπωλοι Ψ 6, Δαναῶν ἐδύναντο Μ 417, Δαναῶν ὑπὸ χερσίν Ο 2.²⁸

7. (a) In the SENTENCE—i.e. across word-seams—the incidence of overlengths is perforce uneven; we have noted the special role of the second and the fourth foot.²⁹ For the purpose of the substitution of spondees for dactyls overlongs are, or would be, longs. Therefore, their distribution, along with that of plain longs, among the metra of the hexameter and among their arses and theses cannot be independent of caesura and of the play of dactyls and spondees.

(b) WORD-INTERNAL overlength is rare IN THE LANGUAGE. This is connected with the massive, ancient constraints on the phonological structure of Indo-European and with the ubiquitous sound-laws that tend to

²⁸ Spot checks throughout the poems yield a rich additional harvest; cp. Hoeningwald 1988: 204. The strange reversal in the case of κραδίη (-ης, -η, -ην)—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, ι - - ὄπη σε κραδίη Ν 783, after a short vowel—is only apparent if ρ [later > ρα] was still the equivalent, in the source formula, of a short vowel after the manner of ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην (Wathelet 1966: 160-72, Hoeningwald 1968a: 20 [with earlier literature], West 1982: 15). This necessitates adjustments in our view of the relative chronology of certain processes in the prehistory of Greek.

²⁹ See Section 4.

reduce new overlengths by shortening long vowels, deleting consonants from heavy clusters, or giving rise to anaptyctic vowels. The new overlengths were typically created by vowel contractions (still few in Homer), "temporal" augments, and many other morphological constructions like affixation, compounding, and juxtaposition.

In Ξ 1-150 there are 82 overlengths of BOTH kinds ([a] and [b]) in the first four feet, against nine in the fifth and sixth. This is no surprise, not only in view of the behavior of the monosyllables (see Sections 1 to 5) but simply as a general truth about Greek meters of all kinds, including the Aeolic meters which are often regarded as specific Indo-European inheritances. The coda of the line or metrical unit is built more tightly than is its initial portion.³⁰ In the Vedic poetry of India this is well known; here the "cadence" begins at the point in the verse at which syllables are no longer merely counted but also regulated with regard to quantity. If the avoidance of overlength is an aspect of line-end in Homer it is a welcome finding that the Rgveda exhibits something strikingly similar: Rgvedic cadences not only utilize the two traditional quantities, short and long (or "light" and "heavy"); they have also been found to be inhospitable, with certain interesting exceptions, to overlong syllables.³¹ It seems that we have here a precious technical detail of Indo-European poetics.

8. It is possible that the observations about the fifth foot are unnecessarily restricted as offered (in Section 7), inasmuch as WORD BOUNDARY may not be crucial.³² It could be that it is overlong quantity AS SUCH that is significantly rare near the end of the line (. . . - u u - x l, . . . - - - x l). Of the passages which would contradict this quite a few are independently suspect. The comments below cover the fifth and the sixth foot in five Homeric books, A, Λ , N, Ξ , and ξ , with recourse to other passages when convenient. They are only intended to call attention to matters in need of further study.

(a) ἄνδρα, ἄνδρῶν, etc. Between v- and -ρ the segment -δ- is automatic. The Rgveda treats the divine name, *indra-*, in strikingly analogous fashion.³³

(b) ναίόμενον πτολίεθρον, etc.: see note 16.

(c) "Temporal" augment when followed by CC. Aristarchus prefers unaugmented forms; ὦρτο, ἦλθε, etc., while familiar, have no particular authority.³⁴ Is the accentuation of ἄλτο authentic?

³⁰ See, inter al., West 1982: 4 on Meillet, Jakobson, Watkins etc.

³¹ Hoenigswald 1990.

³² See note 6 on enclitic σφ-.

³³ Hoenigswald 1990: 561.

³⁴ Chantraine 1948: 483.—On the mandatory augment of "gnomic" aorists see, however, Platt 1891.

(d) Orthographically marked atticisms:³⁵ χαμᾶζε, ἄσσον (? , Ven. A has ἄσσον, anyway). Likewise, probably, πίπτε, πίπτον, where $\bar{\iota}$ is perhaps attested or suggested for a later period (by accent, though this would in prose show only in 2 sg. impv. and in pres. part. neuter, by spellings with $\epsilon\iota$, and by Hdn. 2. 377 [?]³⁶) but uncertain for Homer, as well as unetymological.

(e) ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε: just possibly a case of vowel shortening by "Osthoff's Law" but with the orthography normalized; cp. Προκόννησος < *προκῶν νῆσος, Πελοπόννησος if < *Πελόπων νῆσος,³⁷ Σαόννησος (cp. Σά[ι]οι). The period of these juxtapositions could have been that in which the formula became fixed.—By the same token στοναχάς τε ξ 39 etc., ὀλλυμένους τε Α 83 etc. could exhibit the word-internal treatment of (-ἄνσ-) > -ανσ- k^w e, -ονσ- k^w e > -ασ-τε, -οσ-τε with an orthographic overlay. Word-final overlengths of more straightforward origin are not numerous. Their very rarity may be significant.³⁸

(f) Mid. 3 pl. forms.³⁹ The turn μαχέοιντο Ἀχαιοί Α 344—the only serious such optative in or out of cadence—conceals μαχεοίατ' Ἀ.Ι (Bentley), without the hiatus. Forms in -υνται either have $\ddot{\upsilon}$, Osthoff or otherwise, or occur in earlier locations in the verse or both. This leaves only μέμνηντο γὰρ αἰεὶ P 364,⁴⁰ θύραι δ' ἐπέκειντο φαειναί ζ 19,⁴¹ ἦντ' ἐπὶ πύργῳ Γ 153 anywhere in the poems.⁴² (Distractions in -όωνται/ο [= -άονται/ο] naturally do not count.)

(g) Meillet thought that πτερόεντα προσηύδα Α 201 etc. with its glaring correction masks a non-Ionic ποτηυδ-⁴³ The same could apply to stop-and-liquid overlengths⁴⁴ like ὀσσόμενος προσέειπε Α 105, μιν προσέειπε Α 441, etc.

(h) For δυσωρήσωνται ἐν ἀύλῃ Κ 183, ἀποστήσωνται Ἀχαιοί Ν 745 the manuscripts have variants of some prominence with -σονται.—The proper reading of ἀγλαιεῖσθαι etc. (always contracted) may be

³⁵ Wackemagel 1955: 1181–82. For other atticisms see below, 8 (f).

³⁶ Schwyzer 1939: 648.

³⁷ Schwyzer 1939: 386.—On φιλᾶνωρ vs. φίλᾶνδρος etc. see Wackemagel 1955: 925.

³⁸ It may be worth reporting that if we limit ourselves once again to the sixth foot verse-final monosyllabic enclitics or quasi-enclitics (cp. the τε in θεῶν τε) are almost never so preceded, Ἀτρείδης δέ Ζ 64, ἦ τοι ἔφης γε X 280, Ἀναβησίνεώς τε θ 113, ὅς κεν ἐμῆς γε τ 27 (also μήτηρ τε πατήρ τε δ 224, θ 550, ἔνθα Λύκων μέν Π 337, οὐδέ τις οὖν μοι ξ 254?) being the only examples throughout. By contrast, -ων, -ους etc. are quite frequent. A comprehensive count covering other metrical locations as well as all kinds of word-interior position would be needed.

³⁹ Wackemagel 1916: 89–100, Chantraine 1948: 475–77.

⁴⁰ Zenodotus' athetesis is not relevant.

⁴¹ "Parfois ... condamné;" θύρη δ' ἐπέκειτο φαεινή?, Chantraine 1948: 476.—Wackemagel 1916: 89–100 speaks of an "Atticizing poet."

⁴² Wackemagel 1916: 98–99 speaks of "an evident [Attic] neologism."

⁴³ Meillet 1918: 305, Severyns 1946: 40–41, Wathelet 1966.

⁴⁴ But cp. Section 3.

ἀγλαίεσθαι etc.⁴⁵—In the Doloneia ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον| K 384, ἀ. καταλέξω| K 413, 427 (vulgate) compete with the readings ἀ. ἀγόρευσον, ἀ. ἀγορεύσω.⁴⁶

9. In sum, overlength and the escape from it were important factors for the early epic poets. In express parallel to the Rgveda, and quite in step with other, better-known fundamentals of Indo-European poetics—the relative laxity of the first two feet of the hexameter being a familiar example—incidence diminishes as the verse moves towards its coda.⁴⁷ At the rightmost word-boundary possible, inside the sixth foot, we have established near exclusion. As we retrace our steps leftward, observance is less and less strict. The Rgvedic analog is relevant since the metrically inert word accent, along with many other traits of the ancestral language structure that go with quantitative meter—relatively speaking a rarity on the face of the earth—are better preserved in India and in Greece than anywhere else.

Perhaps the ban on overlength fills its aesthetic role best in the situation where the poets have the greatest freedom of invention, namely at word-boundary. If, however, it is really significant that such word-internal overlengths as have gained and kept a foothold in the language are not more zealously kept out of the sixth foot at least,⁴⁸ there is still the possibility that word-boundary has some prosodic reality in the hexameter and can exert the same crowding effect which it seems to show here and there in other genres of versification.⁴⁹ Some will find this disquieting since it runs counter to the otherwise well-founded impression that while it is the essence of ancient Indo-European metrical prosody to idealize phonological build, lines of poetry function much as does the “word” of non-metrical language.

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⁴⁵ Chantraine 1948: 451.

⁴⁶ Whether the apparent rarity of perfect and pluperfect middle forms with overlength is significant needs to be investigated. Some PARTICULAR forms like ἐφήπται, λέλειπται, λέλειπτο recur precisely in the sixth arsis.

⁴⁷ See Section 7.

⁴⁸ It seems that the type ἐφήπται| etc. (see note 46) is better entrenched than the types ἐμοὶ Ζεῦς| (once, see Section 3), **ἀγαθούς βοῦς| (no good examples; see Section 5).

⁴⁹ West 1982: 9. West also believes (1982: 36–37) that the thesis (biceps) is longer than the arsis (princeps).

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