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Homeric cases of tmesis involving ἐν

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by

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εἶσεν ἄγων· ἐν δ' ἀρχὸς ἔβη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς.

“(…) and in the commander walked, the crafty Ulysses.”¹

The Homeric text is full of this peculiar feature: in this line of the *Iliad*, the word ἐν does not function as a preposition with the following word but rather as a detached preverb. The line appears then to split the compound verb ἐμβαίνω into two separate units: a preverb and a verb separated by other words. This feature is called ‘tmesis’ and often explained as a ‘cut’ but the name and the image it conveys are misleading. If the phenomenon is later seen as an artificial separation for poetic and metrical purposes, the Homeric tmeses appear to be in fact archaisms.

The apparent separation is indeed not a separation at all but simply reflects an older stage of the syntax when ἐν and βαίνω were two independent words and the compound ἐμβαίνω did not yet exist. Tmesis² refers then to the non-compound form of the verb. The preverb agglutinated in the compound verb was originally an independent place word³. Space-related information was partially relayed by the different cases but place words such as ἐν added precision⁴. These place words could stand alone or closely function with a noun or a verb later becoming adverb, preposition or preverb.

The non-agglutination of the verb and its preverb as well as their free placement seem to be inherited from Proto-Indo-European and one can find similar cases of tmesis in Hittite or Sanskrit. The univerbation process leads to the disappearance of the tmesis at some point between Proto-Indo-European and classical Greek⁵ but the chronology and behaviour of this

¹ *Iliad*, 1.311

² The word is problematic because it suggests a false separation and encourages an anachronic perception of the feature. The word will here be used for convenience.

³ Cautious terminology used by several scholars as Haug, Horrocks, Boley or Bertrand. We will occasionally use this terminology but also simply use the word ‘preverb’ to refer to ἐν as functioning with the verb.

⁴ Chantraine et Homérique, *Tome 2: Syntaxe*, p 80.

⁵ Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, p 99.

feature remain unclear. The specificity of Homeric text and its oral tradition complicate the matter further as the text we read today is the result of multiple strata and corrections showing conserved archaism alongside more recent poetical or artificial features.

In a study on tmesis in the epic tradition, Haug¹ distinguishes the tmeses involving the preverb ἐν as particularly interesting: the place word was originally assuring both a directive and locative functions. This original situation appears to be inherited (PIE **h₁en*) and can easily be compared to the functions of Latin *in*. At later date, however, the two functions came to be distinguished more strongly and two specialized prepositions can be found. In some dialects², a secondary form εἰς (/ἐς) was formed from ἐν (ἐν+ς) and came to be used with the accusative for the directional function while ἐν was specialized to the locative function and used with the dative. This innovation and the traces it left on the Homeric text - and more specifically verbal compounds- are a decisive clue to date the tmesis. Chantraine and later Haug both noticed that compound verbs and tmesis involving the new form εἰς were much more scarcely found than the ones involving the older ἐν. The innovation then appears to be more recent than the end of the univerbation process and gives a first time limit for the evolution of tmesis into compound forms.

Because of this first landmark for a time frame, the tmeses involving ἐν appeared to us as a good subset to study and the corpus and analysis were therefore limited to these specific cases. As an archaism, the tmesis raises questions both about its dating and its conservation. The tmesis has been long ago recognised as an inherited archaism and studied as such while multiple dating propositions were made. There is no consensus however and studying the sole case of tmeses in ἐν in both epic poems could perhaps give us a more precise insight of the evolution of this feature. This study seeks to ponder how the tmesis in ἐν can be analysed as an old feature and a crucial clue for grammaticalization of compound verb while always taking into account its poetical context.

The data was here analysed through three different perspectives: a synchronic study of the corpus, an historical approach and finally by considering the pragmatic impact of the feature. This paper is therefore divided into three chapters reflecting the three perspectives adopted and also the order in which this research was conducted. The first chapter adopts a synchronic approach and accounts for the results of the first tests the corpus was ran through.

¹ *Ibid.*

² This innovation is mainly found in Ionic-Attic, Lesbian and Doric, while Arcado-Cypriote, Thessalian, Boeotian and Northwest Greek conserved both functions of ἐν. See Haug (2012).

The collected examples are there analysed according to six criteria (verb, distance, grammatical function of the 'in between' material, presence of formulae, metrical position, and literary context). The second chapter is a diachronic assessment of the question using the existing literature as a starting point to study the specific case of tmeses in ἐν before proposing elements for a comparative dating scenario. The final chapter tries to use a pragmatic approach and propose some alternative evidences for a dating scenario.

CORPUS STUDY AND OBSERVATIONS ON SYNCHRONY

❖ *First observations and results*

The analysis of Homeric corpus gave us slightly more than one hundred examples of tmesis in ἐν¹. But not all these examples are straightforward² cases: some are not easy to agree upon and we should present some of the ambiguous cases and the way this selection was made before going further. The description made by Chantraine³ of this phenomenon and the rather vague classification of Homeric place words⁴ into preverbs, prepositions and adverbs show how difficult it can be to distinguish a ἐν used as preposition from a preverb in tmesis or an adverbial use of the word. When searching for a tmesis in ἐν one is confronted a wide diversity of cases: the place word is usually followed by so perceived disruptive material (sometimes a single enclitic particle, sometimes an entire *colon* with multiple words and cases). To identify such various sequences of words as tmesis, the main indicator is then the material found between ἐν and the verb: words in nominative case or accusative can lead to reject the analysis of ἐν as preposition and then decide upon a case of tmesis with more certainty.

Cases involving dative words are therefore more complicated to deal with and not all the scholars seem to adopt the same attitude. N. Bertrand⁵ rejects any case leading to a prepositional use while Haug⁶ or Horrocks⁷ seem to be more open. In our corpus a problematic and recurring example of construction with dative summarize well this problem:

Iliad 1.441⁸ πατρὶ φίλω ἐν χερσὶ τίθει καὶ μιν προσέειπεν·

¹ We counted 65 cases in the *Iliad* and 44 cases for the *Odyssey*.

² This selection was made by looking through all Homeric lines featuring ἐν in the *Diogenes* version of the *TLG*.

³ Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique, Tome 2: Syntaxe*.

⁴ To use Haug cautious terminology.

⁵ Bertrand, « On Tmesis, Word Order, and Noun Incorporation in Homeric Greek ».

⁶ Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*.

⁷ Horrocks, *Space and Time in Homer: Prepositional and Adverbial Particles in the Greek Epic*.

⁸ ‘and placed her in the arms of her dear father, saying to him’ Loeb edition translation.

Many cases present ἐν followed by dative but this type of construction (ἐν + χερσὶ+ verb) is particularly frequent¹. It is difficult here to determine if this case should be considered as a tmesis. On the one hand it is difficult to rule out the use of ἐν as a preposition and a strict selection following Bertrand's² criteria force us to leave such cases out of our corpus. On the other hand τίθημι is one of the verbs that is the most used in tmesis in our corpus and in her book on tmesis and Proto-Indo-European Syntax, Boley³ uses those 'ἐν χερσὶ cases' as examples of tmesis without further distinction. But those cases remain ambiguous –the given example even showing a compound verb with fully completed univerbation- and we decided therefore not to include them in our corpus to not alter the results with uncertain cases. This example however demonstrates that the phenomenon does not have a fixed form or definition and can be difficult to classify. This sometimes ambiguous character of the tmesis also reflects the nature of the syntax we are dealing with: the altered traces of an old parataxis.

Aside from the cases involving dative material, the adverbial cases described by Chantraine⁴ can also be difficult to analyse and categorize as no clear criteria allow us to differentiate them. And for the construction of our corpus, the following question soon arises: if the ἐν in tmesis is still an independent word and not yet a proper preverb, what differentiates this ἐν from an adverb? The differentiation does not seem to be always pertinent⁵ for our examples.

This corpus was mainly obtained by following the interesting classification of Bertrand: ruling out case where ἐν is used as preposition, considering the synthetic meaning of the association of ἐν + verb. One of the criteria was therefore to check that the compound version of the verb was attested. A last word should be said about the version of the Homeric text used for our corpus as some cases of ἐν tmesis cannot be found in all editions. Indeed some lines shows different versions of the text and ἐς or ἐκ are sometimes used in place of ἐν. For example:

¹ See in the data section for a selection of examples.

² Seven points used to differentiate between preposition, preverbal and adverbial use of ἐν.

³ Boley, *Tmesis and Proto-Indo-European Syntax*.

⁴ Chantraine, *Grammaire Homérique, Tome 2: Syntaxe*.

⁵ However Bertrand rule out some cases for having an adverbial use.

The corpus was here constituted by using the TLG¹ version of the Homeric text but it could be stressed that those different lectures are also interesting for our question: some of them could very well be later modifications of a tmesis perceived as somehow incorrect or no more productive².

Once the corpus was established, the material has been analysed according to these criteria: verb, distance between ἐν and the verb, context, organisation of the line. This first chapter seeks to address the following questions: which verbs are used in tmesis with ἐν? Is the distance between ἐν and the verb constant? What kind of words is found between those two constituents and which function do they have? Are tmesis linked to formulae? Do lines including tmesis have a specific organisation? Is tmesis a feature specific to a literary context? We will separate the results of the two poems in order to spot any difference of distribution and then try to cross the results of those different criteria in the hope of finding some patterns.

§ 1. Verbs occurring with ἐν

In the *Iliad*

RECURRENT VERBS	FREQUENCY	RARE VERBS	FREQUENCY
ὄρνυμι	9 (13.5 %)	ἀγείρω	1 (1.5 %)
δύω	2 (3 %)	κρίνω	1 (1.5 %)
εἶμι	2 (3 %)	βαίνω	1 (1.5 %)
πίπτω	3 (4.5 %)	πίμπρημι	1 (1.5 %)
πήγνυμι	7 (10.5 %)	χέω	1 (1.5 %)
βάλλω	5 (7.5 %)	ποιέω	1 (1.5 %)
κεῖμαι	2 (3 %)	θρόσκω	1 (1.5 %)

¹ Berkowitz, Squitier, et Johnson, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae canon of Greek authors and works*.

² Chantraine, « Le rôle et la valeur de " en "[Greek] dans la composition ».

τίθημι	11 (16.5 %)	ἴημι	1 (1.5 %)
ναίω	2 (3 %)	πάσσω	1 (1.5 %)
ἤκω	7 (10.5100 %)	εἶω	1 (1.5 %)
όράω	2 (3 %)	γνάμπτω	1 (1.5 %)
πίμπλημι	2 (3 %)		
πνέω	2 (3 %)		
TOTAL	56 (83.5 %)	TOTAL	11 (16.5 %)

In the *Odyssey*:

RECURRENT VERBS	FREQUENCY	RARE VERBS	FREQUENCY
εἴημι	7 (15.5 %)	ὄρνυμι	1 (2.5 %)
βάλλω	4 (9 %)	χέω	1 (2.5 %)
τίθημι	11 (24.5 %)	ποιέω	1 (2.5 %)
ναίω	2 (4.5 %)	μένω	1 (2.5 %)
όράω	2 (4.5 %)	ἀραρίσκω	1 (2.5 %)
πίμπλημι	2 (4.5 %)	τανύω	1 (2.5 %)
βαίνω	2 (4.5 %)	πίπτω	1 (2.5 %)
χεύω	3 (6.5 %)	δύω	1 (2.5 %)
γίγνομαι	2 (4.5 %)		
ἤκω	2 (4.5 %)		
TOTAL	37 (82.5 %)	TOTAL	8 (17.5 %)

Both poems seem to show a comparable distribution with a recurrent set of verbs- mostly common verbs with large semantic adaptability- and more episodically the use of other verbs. The less frequently used verbs also show the same semantic flexibility (ποιέω is a good example) and this is not a surprising fact as compounds verb are often formed on frequent and generic verbs. The meaning of the verb is then changed by the presence of ἐν and differs from its basic meaning. One of the most striking results of this table is perhaps the high frequency of the use of the verb τίθημι in the Homeric poems. Aside from this nice symmetry, the verbs used in each poem tend to differ slightly: χεύω, γίγνομαι, μένω, ἀραρίσκω or τανύω are used in the *Odyssey* but absent from the *Iliad* while the very frequent ὄρνυμι of the *Iliad* cannot be found in the *Odyssey*. This difference in vocabulary is not overly surprising as the two poems treat different themes but some specific cases will be later commented upon.

It appears then that a rather important variety of verbs can be used in tmesis with a few particularly used verbs. But this first picture must be modified by looking at how the univerbation progresses for each verb: can we find compound forms of the verbs used in tmesis?

COMPOUND VERB	FREQUENCY		
	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>	TOTAL
ἐνόρνυμι	3	1	4
ἐνδύω	5	0	5
ἔνειμι	44	37	81
ἐμπίπτω	11	6	17
ἐμπήγνυμι	0	0	0
ἐμβάλλω	24	16	40
ἔγκειμαι	1	0	1
ἐντίθημι	6	9	15
ἐνναίω	0	0	0
ἐνήμι/ ἐνήκω	13	9	22
ἐνοράω	1	0	1
ἐμπίπλημι	5	15	20

ἐμπνέω	9	3	12
ἐγκρίνω	0	0	0
ἐμβαίνω	6	2	8
ἐμπίμπρημι	12	1	13
ἐγγέω	26	8	34
ἐμποιέω	1	0	1
ἐμπάσσω	1	0	1
ἐγγίγνομαι	3	1	4
ἐμμένω	0	1	1
ἐναραρίσκω	0	1	0
ἐντανύω	0	17	17

If we confront both these tables, the distribution of the verbs in tmesis looks different and the general picture seems suddenly less uniform. Indeed one cannot find here a general rule governing the use of a verb in tmesis or in compound form. The results are also difficult to interpret: the *Iliad* shows more cases of tmesis but also more compound version of the verbs even if one could expect a more conservative picture¹. The distribution of the verb τίθημι/ ἐντίθημι shows perhaps the most expected scenario with a high frequency of use in tmesis that corresponds to a very rarely used compound form. Indeed one could expect that the archaisms tend to be either conserved or replaced. We can therefore find some strong cases of counterexamples to the model of τίθημι/ ἐντίθημι with a high frequency of both tmesis and compound forms as for ἐνίημι. But the distribution does not seem to follow any pattern and varies a lot from a verb to another. Beside this quantitative distribution one also needs to consider a baffling variety of uses and configurations: in some cases a lot of different verbal forms are used (without restriction of mood or tense), for others only one or two fixed forms occur strictly in formulae, some verb do not belong to any formula, some show a mixed distribution between formulaic and not formulaic expressions, all adopt various positions in the line and the clause...

None of these factors seem then to point towards a rule or any kind of uniformity. What conclusions shall we then draw? The variety of the uses does not show a unique pattern

¹ Caution on this kind of opinion however.

but the results should not be seen as a chaotic lot. The absence of a general rule here mainly shows that the evolution of use between tmesis and compound forms seems to be very verb-specific. The verbs in tmesis do not obey to a regular rate of replacement and some verbs seem to be more easily replaced by compound forms than other.

§ 2. Distance between *év* and the verb

We should perhaps take a step back and consider the broader picture with the configuration of the tmesis and its different composing parts. How deep of a ‘cut’ are we here talking about? The material occurring between *év* and the verb should also be somehow measured and the question of its –metrical and grammatical- weight should be raised. The first step here will be to look at how stretched the tmesis is: are we talking of a true independence of the preverb with no rule of positioning or do some constraints appear? This question can be treated according to different points of view: by counting how many words are separating the verb and preverb, by considering the metrical weight of this ‘separating material’ or by analysing the grammatical function of those elements.

*Distance between év and the verb in number of words*¹

NUMBER OF WORDS OCCURRING IN BETWEEN	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
Particle only (mainly δέ)	14 (18 %)	5 (11 %)
1 word	23 (34.5 %)	14 (31 %)
2 words	18 (27 %)	16 (35.5 %)
3 words	8 (12 %)	3 (6.5 %)
4 words	2 (3 %)	1 (2 %)
5+ words	0 (0 %)	5 (11 %)

¹ Particles standing alone between preverb and verb have been isolated as not having the same impact as a word.

These results show a large scale of possible tmesis configurations. Once more our observations do not seem to point towards a unique and fixed rule. A premature conclusion could be that the tmesis appears in the poems as reflecting a completely free stage with all kind of forms. However the distribution does not appear to be hazardous or reflect a perfect syntactic freedom. A core basis can indeed be distinguished with an average tmesis created by a ‘separating’ material of two or three words. The average Homeric tmesis stays then quite compact, often constituting one cluster with an independent meaning and a metrical unity.

- u u| - u u| - u /u | - u u /| - u u | - -

Iliad, 1.142 ἐν δ' ἐρέτας ἐπιτηδὲς ἀγείρομεν, ἐς δ' ἐκατόμβην

“*And we should gather a fitting number of rowers, and <place> a hecatomb*”

- -|- -|- u /u | - uu| /- u u | - x

Iliad, 8.335 Ἄψ δ' αὖτις Τρώεσσιν Ὀλύμπιος ἐν μένος ὤρσεν·

“*Then once again the Olympian aroused force in the hearts of the Trojans*”

Those two examples show quite compact tmesis configurations with enclosed direct object and a metrical separation assumed in both lines by the bucolic caesura. To this core basis two opposite tendencies can be added as we find very compact forms of tmesis as well as broad configurations in our corpus. At one end of this spectrum- for the very restricted tmesis- ἐν is only separated from the verb by a single particle. We have some examples with γάρ but the most common case involves the particle δέ. This particle, already short by itself with only one syllable, can moreover be elided. Then it does not even form a proper syllable but a single letter that embodies the separation between the verb and ἐν. The elided particle does not count as a metrical element in the line but often alter and increase the weight of the preceding syllable. This case is as physically close to univervation as possible.

Iliad, 18.551¹ Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει τέμενος βασιλήϊον· ἔνθα δ' ἔριθοι

This configuration with the verb τίθημι only separated from ἐν by the elided particle is very close to a compound form. This exact case (ἐν δ' ἐτίθει...) is also almost ‘formulaic’ as it is repeated several times in both poems and we shall comment on this form later.

¹ ‘On it he set also a king’s estate, in which laborers (...)’ Loeb edition translation.

At the other end of the spectrum, one can find a few example of very broad tmesis with up to six words standing between the preverb and the verb. These forms of broad tmesis can show various configurations: ‘syntactic’ distance with multiple grammatical functions and/or line distance with cases of enjambment.

Odyssey, 3.479¹ ἐν δὲ γυνή ταμίη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον **ἔθηκεν**

Iliad, 5.730-731² δῆσε χρύσειον καλὸν ζυγόν, ἐν δὲ λέπαδνα
 κάλ' **ἔβαλε** χρύσει· ὑπὸ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν Ἥρη

The first line shows an example of a very stretched tmesis opening and closing the line while the second one presents a less broad configuration but takes place on two separate lines. If the results of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are mostly similar for this criterion we should however comment an important difference between the two poems. Both Homeric poems can show broader forms of tmesis with more than three words separating ἐν from the verb but the larger category (five or more words) can only be found in the *Odyssey*. The poet of the *Odyssey* seems then to produce more broad forms of tmesis.

So it appears that there is quite a large scale of tmesis configurations with a norm of 1-2 words inserted and variations from very compact tmesis to broader ones. As those different configurations do not seem to share a common structure it could be tempting to immediately affirm the total syntactic freedom of the tmesis or trying to force the various cases into a quick categorisation and come up with some uncertain relative dating scenario. The core basis seems indeed to correspond to the idea we have of a ‘classical tmesis’ while some other configurations appear as more artificial. However, relative dating hypotheses are easy to convoke but difficult to affirm or prove. And this point we have no other elements than first impressions- and perhaps the unconscious wish to agree with a certain vision of Homeric composition- but dating issue will be raised again.

Finally this word weight scale can also be backed up by considering the metrical situation. The core basis tends to be composed of rather short words and the syllabic count stays

¹ ‘And the housewife placed in the chariot bread and wine and dainties’ Loeb edition translation.

² ‘And on its end she bound the fair golden yoke, and threw on it the fair golden breast-straps; and Hera led beneath the yoke (...)’ Loeb edition translation.

comparable from one case to another while *ἐν* and the verb are usually in a same metrical unit¹.

§ 3. Function of the material occurring between *ἐν* and the verb

We should now focus on the grammatical function of the material occurring between *ἐν* and the verb to see if any kind of function can be ‘inserted’ or if we can find some patterns.

CASE OF THE MATERIAL	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
NOMINATIVE	12 (18 %)	10 (22 %)
ACCUSATIVE	27 (40 %)	12 (26.5 %)
DATIVE	3 (4.5 %)	2 (4.5 %)
GENITIVE	1 (1.5 %)	2 (4.5 %)
COMPLEX GROUP	9 (13.510 %)	12 (26.5 %)

Most of the tmesis encloses material in the nominative or accusative form. The presence of a simple genitive element is fairly rare and the low frequency of dative material is in part due to the way this selection was made. As mentioned² before, problematic cases involving words in dative have been excluded when a prepositional use of *ἐν* was more probable than a case of tmesis. The ‘complex group’ category mainly concerns the broader configurations of tmesis with more than three words occurring between *ἐν* and the verb: in these cases the material can form a single grammatical group but is often composed of multiple cases and grammatical functions.

The most frequently found case is then the accusative. This accusative element can interact with the tmesis in two ways by either being disruptive or complete. The material is

¹ Foot limit or often delimited by a caesura

² Hence a quite low proportion in our corpus.

disruptive when it does not directly depend on the verbal construction but can also be the enclosed object of the verb and can reflect the original directional value of ἐν.

The nominative is also frequently found between the constituents of the tmesis. Contrary to the accusative elements that can be direct complements of the verb, the nominative as the case of the subject is often in a disruptive position and interrupts the verbal action with the mention of the subject sphere. For example:

Iliad, 2.578 λαοὶ ἔποντ'· ἐν δ' αὐτὸς ἐδύσσετο νόροπα χαλκὸν

“(…) *And among them he himself put on his gleaming bronze*”¹

In this line the subject is standing between the two constituents of the tmesis and interrupts the verbal process as the anaphoric pronoun could also have been not expressed.

The complex group category is a melting pot of individual cases of tmesis and it seems difficult to show any regular pattern as we can find forms that involve a broad and complex tmesis with a true syntactic distance. Some broad tmesis however shows a strong syntactic unit and the ‘separating’ material is quantitatively large but in fact reduced to one function such as in this line with a large object:

Odyssey, 13.105² ἐν δὲ κρητῆρες τε καὶ ἀμφοροῖες ἔασι

Before closing this section on the function of the ‘separating’ material, we should mention a last observation: no negation can be found in our corpus. The cases of tmesis in ἐν we selected seem indeed to be always used with a positive turn. This absence is not excessively surprising as most of the verbs in our corpus are verbs of action used in description –and often ritual gesture- and therefore involve mostly descriptions of events that happen rather than that do not. However the absolute absence of negation in ἐν tmesis could perhaps be interesting. We can observe that the nature of the ‘separating’ material does not often include adverb and perhaps there was here a rule to avoid the succession of two adverbs for rivalry risk. Our material is too limited to reach any conclusion on this question but a larger investigation with other cases of tmesis could be interesting.

¹ Loeb editions translation.

² ‘In it are mixing bowls and jars of stone’ Loeb edition translation.

§ 4. Tmesis and formulae

When counting tmesis and quantifying the importance of this syntactic phenomenon one should also take into account that some tmeses are exactly identical. Indeed the total number of tmeses in *ἐν* can be strongly reduced when considering the recurring forms. A good part of our corpus includes formulae repeated several times in the two poems. This high frequency of tmesis belonging to formulae can be expected for an archaic feature and we can think that this formulaic usage must have contributed to the preservation of the tmesis forms.

The lines 268-269¹ of book 14 of the *Odyssey* are for example repeated in book 17 lines 437-438:

χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς. ἐν δὲ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος
φύζαν ἐμοῖσ' ἐτάροισι κακὴν **βάλεν**, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη

We can distinguish two types of formulae²: a strict repetition of the words from a line to another and a more flexible kind with the repetition of a structure rather than exact words. This second type of formula allows adapting the tmesis structure to a different context:

Iliad, 11.544³ Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Αἴανθ' ὑψίζυγος ἐν φόβον **ῥῶσε**
Iliad, 8.335⁴ Ἄψ δ' αὖτις Τρώεσσιν Ὀλύμπιος ἐν μένος **ῥῶσεν**

In these two examples the words do not correspond exactly from a line to another but the metrical structure is preserved between φόβον and μένος (uu).

¹ 'And the flashing of bronze. But Zeus who hurls the thunderbolt cast an evil panic upon my comrades, and none had the courage (...)' Loeb edition translation.

² Distinction used by Horrocks p 153.

³ 'Now father Zeus, throned on high, roused Aias to flight' Loeb edition translation.

⁴ 'Then once again the Olympian aroused force in the hearts of the Trojans' Loeb edition translation.

§ 5. Tmesis in the line, tmesis in the clause.

We should now see how the tmesis interacts with the line and the clause it comes in. The first thing to notice here is perhaps that the thesis can overlap the limit of the line with enjambments. These cases of enjambment are interesting both on a perception level and as a clue about the composition method of the Homeric poems. These examples may look like exceptions but are in fact relatively frequent in our corpus and their analysis can be quite puzzling at first. Indeed, as the syntactic sequence overlaps the line, it points out that the composition was not strictly line-centred and that the unity of the hexameter could be overruled. But how these examples should be considered? When adopting a historical perspective, opposite points of view can be argued for. We could choose to see those ‘loose’ structure cases as an ancient and irregular stage with a more independent preverb. But imagining the conservation of such a large structure through the oral tradition and all the stages of composition and writing could seem like wishful thinking¹. However at this stage of our analysis the main point is perhaps that the tmesis was working, being understood and productive on such a large scale.

The tmesis showing enjambment is the most obvious case of testing the line limits: it breaks the line unity and builds a continuity- synapheia- at the end of the line when a pause was expected. If this metrical distortion must have had some impact and stretched the tmesis construction, these cases of tmesis usually show a more compact syntactic construction as if² to balance the metrical structure of the group of words. Indeed if we look at this example of tmesis in enjambment:

Iliad, 5.730-731³ δῆσε χρύσειον καλὸν ζυγόν, // ἐν δὲ λέπαδνα
κάλλ' **ἔβαλε** / χρύσει· ὑπὸ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν Ἥρη

The enjambment of the tmesis appears to disrupt the metrical structure but the syntactic sequence is very compact with an enclosed object between ἐν and the verb. Moreover if the

¹ And hypothesize a later imitation dealing with stylistics or pragmatics is maybe more easy to argue as we'll do later

² We only notice the correspondence here not draw any conclusion about an old stage of syntax.

³ ‘And on its end she bound the fair golden yoke, and threw on it the fair golden breast-straps; and Hera led beneath the yoke (...)’ Loeb edition translation..

tnesis overlaps the limit of the line, it still corresponds well to the metrical structure and starts after the bucolic dieresis and ends on a possible secondary caesura in the following line.

If we take the other case of broader tmesis without enjambment, we can observe that the situation is somehow reversed:

Odyssey, 3.479¹ ἐν δὲ γυνὴ ταμίη / σῖτον καὶ οἶνον **ἔθηκεν**

Here the unity of the line is preserved and even if this long distance tmesis stretches the metrical distance with an in between caesura, it appears as particularly well balanced. The tmesis indeed both opens and closes the line assuming therefore two major positions in the diction continuity. The interaction between the tmesis and the clause structure is perhaps here more interesting and appears as more disruptive than in the previous example. Indeed the tmesis enclosed a complete clause: ἐν come before the subject and the direct object has a more complex structure with an internal coordination (σῖτον καὶ οἶνον).

Aside from these cases that stand out by their large configuration, we should also have a closer look at the interaction of more compact tmesis configurations with the line and the clause they appear in. We believe that the position of the word can give good evidence on the way the tmesis interacts with the line or clause. Indeed while the line is a metrical structure governed by syllable weight and positioning, the clause can also be position oriented with limits of *cola* and groups of words than can be disrupted or not. We looked at the position of ἐν considering that the evolution of the place word was more telling than the position of the verb. Even if counterexamples and interesting positioning can be found, the verb is more easily placed at a fixed final position in the clause while the place word appears to have a changing situation from the complete independence to the unverbbed stage. The ἐν in tmesis that cannot usually be understood as prepositional also constitutes an opening signal with a wait for the completion of its preverbal/adverbial function. Here is an overview of the positions adopted by ἐν in tmesis:

¹ ‘And the housewife placed in the chariot bread and wine and dainties’ Loeb edition translation.

POSITION ¹	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
initial position in the line	29 (43 %)	23 (51 %)
initial position in the clause	13 (19.5 %)	11 (24.5 %)
Positioned at caesura ²	16 (24 %)	14 (31 %)
Other position	18 ³ (27 %)	3 (6.5 %)

The positioning of the tmesis does not then appear to be completely arbitrary. Such a distribution was indeed not obligatory: we saw that the unity of line could be sometimes overruled in enjambment. 'Ev is also a word particularly easy to place in the line with its single syllable: the word count as short but can be easily lengthened by a following consonant. If we add this metrical flexibility to the various possible configurations of tmesis, any random distribution could have been expected. Instead the tmesis seems to always open on a strong position as it often corresponds to the opening of the line: a metrical and rhythmic marked moment. When not at the opening of the line, the tmesis also often corresponds to a caesura that is another metrically marked moment and opening of a smaller rhythmic segment. The tmesis also frequently marks the opening of a clause. Moreover ἐν corresponds often to the meeting of both metrical and syntactic dimensions. The distribution is even clearer if we consider most of the cases of 'other' positioning correspond to enjambment or restricted formulae cases.

The following examples illustrate the main cases:

¹ Some cases of tmesis can occupy two of those positions: a tmesis positioned both at the beginning of a clause and a clause or at the caesura while also beginning a clause.

² All types of caesurae and secondary break of Homeric hexameter have been taken into account.

³ In another position :18 times (x %) (but 11 enjambments or formulae cases)

	- u u - - - /
<i>Iliad</i> , 1.481 ¹	<u>ἐν</u> δ' ἄνεμος πρῆσεν μέσον ιστίον, ἀμφὶ δὲ κῶμα
	- - - u u - /- - u u - u u - x
<i>Iliad</i> , 9.350 ²	εὐρεῖαν μεγάλην, <u>ἐν</u> δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξεν .
	- - - /- - u u - u u - u u - x
<i>Iliad</i> , 11.016 ³	Ἀργείους· <u>ἐν</u> δ' αὐτὸς ἐδύσετο νώροπα χαλκόν.

In the first line the tmesis opening corresponds also to the first foot of the line and ἐν falls then on the *arsis*. This line also shows how the tmesis can be an independent metrical segment as the verb corresponds to the main caesura of line. The second example illustrates a tmesis opening at the main caesura and closing the line. The comma of the modern edition also materialises a syntactic border and the beginning of a new *colon*. The third line presented above shows a clause opening tmesis and the syntactic position also corresponds to a metrical unit as the tmesis is positioned between two secondary caesurae in the second foot and at the bucolic dieresis.

The tmesis appears then to adopt marked positions. The fact that tmesis often marks a beginning could also be a clue of the archaic nature of the feature and of the oral tradition that conserved it. The archaism could indeed be conserved on its own -and sometimes inserted or repeated in formulae- and the ἐν would then play the role of a chunking device.

§ 6. Literary context

As a last criterion, we could ask ourselves if the tmesis occurs in a specific context. This approach tends to distinguish two main contexts and see if the tmesis is more frequent in speech passages or in narrative context. As some other linguistics features appear to be related to a specific context, we try here to determine if any distribution exists for the tmesis. M.

¹ 'So the wind filled the belly of the sail, and the dark wave (...)' Loeb edition translation.

² ' (...)wide and great, and in it he has planted stakes' Loeb edition translation.

³ 'And among them he himself put on the gleaming bronze.' Loeb edition translation.

Finkelberg¹ among others points out that the narrative parts of the epic poems tend to concentrate more archaisms.

We can observe the following distribution²:

CONTEXT	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
Tmesis occurring in narrative	52 (77.5 %)	32 (71 %)
Tmesis occurring in speech	15 (22.5 %)	13 (29 %)

The tmesis appears therefore to be notably more frequent in narrative context. An important limitation or *caveat* is that this survey should be made for all kind of tmesis and not only the ones involving ἐν, as a large corpus could very well reveal a more balanced distribution. This first distribution calls however for some comments. It could be easy to suppose that, as an archaism, the tmesis is a more poetic, stylistic feature that is less oral and would strike as dissonant in a speech context where vernacular expressions are more frequent. This idea could also be somehow stressed by the fact that the cases of tmesis occurring in speech context happen to correspond with the words of imposing characters like Agamemnon or Gods. This last tendency is however somewhat biased in epic poems that often give speaking parts to mighty warriors, kings and gods but less so to peasants. The main conclusion could then be that this distribution is another clue for the archaic nature of the tmesis.

¹ Finkelberg, « Late Features in the Speeches of the Iliad ».

² This analysis was conducted first by simple reading through the poem and backed up with use of *Chicago Homer* tool.

❖ Preliminaries remarks

What can we conclude of the previous observations? The comparison between the results of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* could seem to be a central question here. But the dating and authorship questions at stake in these kinds of comparisons expand well beyond the limits of such a restricted corpus. We will rather try to discuss here a few special configurations of our corpus in more details: first by questioning the role played by the particle δέ, then by taking an interest in one of the most used verb with the cases of tmesis involving τίθημι. The last section will finally propose a first attempt of classification of the various tmesis configurations.

§ 1. The ‘δέ issue’

It might be a simple coincidence but looking at our data, one must observe the high frequency of the δέ particle immediately following the preverb ἐν at the opening of the tmesis. The distribution is as follows:

USE OF δέ	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
ἐν is directly followed by δέ	42 (62.5%)	39 (86.5 %)
-Non ellided particle	-15 (22.5 %)	-17 (37.5 %)
-Ellided particle	-27 (40 %)	-22 (49 %)
Tmesis without δέ	25 (37.5 %)	6 (13.5 %)

The particle δέ appears indeed to be more often used than not in ἐν tmesis and seems to become almost compulsory in the *Odyssey*. The first remark to be made here is that the particle does not only act a syntactic link between clauses here. The particle δέ plays also an important metrical role: the presence of the particle allows the transformation of the short syllable of the preverb ἐν into a heavy one by rule of position. This change of metrical quantity is especially convenient to begin a foot or a line with an *arsis* and we saw how

frequently tmesis assumed an initial position in the line. The particle can then be used both to begin a dactyl (ἐν δέ = -u) or simply serves to transform the length of the preverb in its elided form without making any other change to the line or clause. See for example the lines:

Odyssey, 3.479¹ ἐν δὲ γυνή ταμίη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον ἔθηκεν

Odyssey, 4.578² ἐν δ' ἰστοῦς τιθέμεσθα καὶ ἰστία νηυσὶν ἔϊσης

Our first understanding of this configuration was to see the combination of the preverb ἐν and the particle δέ as a very convenient metrical device and it could indeed look like an artificial composition trick. The fact that the ἐν tmesis by followed δέ often opens a line or a clause is another argument in favour of a composition device as this combination is a strong opening basis to construct a foot, a line, or a clause upon.

But even if the combination of the preverb and the particle seems to be working as an efficient metrical device, this combination could have another motivation. The δέ particle could also be a syntactic clue: the particle³ is indeed often placed in second position in the clause. Its relative placement to ἐν could give us a clue on the syntactic condition of the place word. The position of the particle δέ directly after ἐν rather than after the next following word could perhaps reflect the original independency of the preverb. This intuition is however difficult to defend as our corpus cannot produce counter examples and other clues are scarce. Moreover this combination does not necessarily have to be categorized as recent as the particle δέ as well as the place word ἐν are two old Indo-European words (*de and *h₁en reconstructed in Beekes' dictionary⁴). The cluster we found in the tmesis of our corpus appears as a fixed device but could perhaps go back to an old cluster conserved through metrics.

The use of other particles is rather rare and almost looks accidental: we cannot find a tmesis starting with ἐν μὲν in our corpus, and γὰρ only appears two times. Another surprising fact related to the use of the particle δέ in tmesis is that the particle is so frequent that it is also

¹ 'And the housewife placed in the chariot bread and wine and dainties' Loeb edition translation.

² 'And set the masts and the sails in the shapely ships' Loeb edition translation.

³ Denniston et Dover, *The greek particles*.

⁴ Beekes and Van Beek, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek (Vol. 2)*.

present in some unexpected cases. Haug¹ comments for example the violation of the digamma by some tmesis in ἐν in the *Odyssey* like in the following line:

Odyssey, 3.40² δῶκε δ' ἄρα σπλάγχων μοίρας, ἐν δ' οἶνον ἔχευε

Here Haug interprets the facts as if the poet was giving priority- a surprising priority as shown by Chantraine³- to the tmesis over the digamma. However the facts could be interpreted slightly differently than Haug does. The tmesis itself is not in fact concurring with the digamma, the elided particle is. In this line the more surprising fact is not the thesis but the position (and elision) of the particle. Why is there a δέ here? The correlation has a rather low priority and would not seem as old as the composition of the tmesis or the use of a form with digamma. Moreover the particle has no metrical purpose here: the elided word does not form a proper syllable and has no metrical weight by itself and therefore does not really count in the hexameter. The presence of a consonant is also redundant as the digamma already provides the necessary lengthening of the preverb.

Therefore, if we focus on the presence of the particle as the disruptive element rather than the tmesis itself, what conclusion can we reach? Haug's analysis tends to see the tmesis as still productive at a 'late stage' of epic composition when the digamma started to be ignored. Such an analysis treats the tmesis as a late feature and a late productivity would tend to categorize the phenomenon as artificial. But once again the violation of the digamma is here rather suspicious and difficult to link directly to the tmesis. And we could think that the δέ is a later adjunction made maybe by analogy of the frequent combination of the particle and the preverb.

The two epic poems count indeed 130 uses of the word οἶνος and aside the three formulaic cases of our previous example the digamma is almost systematically respected. Only two lines show an ignored digamma in the *Odyssey*:

Odyssey, 1.110⁴ οἱ μὲν ἄρ' οἶνον ἔμισγον ἐνὶ κρητῆρσι καὶ ὕδωρ

Odyssey, 15.334⁵ σίτου καὶ κρειῶν ἠδ' οἶνου βεβρίθασιν.

¹ Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, p 97.

² 'Thereupon he gave them servings of the inner parts and poured wine in' Loeb edition translation.

³ Chantraine, « Le rôle et la valeur de "en" [Greek] dans la composition ».

⁴ And in the Loeb version without οἱ μὲν οἶνον ἔμισγον ἐνὶ κρητῆρσι καὶ ὕδωρ, so even rarer.

⁵ 'are laden with bread, and meat, and wine.' Loeb edition translation.

These two cases show a digamma overruled by a problematic elision –here of ἄρα and ἦδε - as in our examples with tmesis. The statistical proportion of respected digamma for this word obviously points here to exceptions rather than to a developing and mechanical tendency to ignore the digamma. So we will try to see if these exceptions could be explained and linked to our example as the particles seems also to be responsible. The choice of prioritizing the tmesis over the digamma could be argued for but it is difficult to come up with a good motivation here. And it would seem rather unlikely to forget the digamma in only two lines. But if we look at the composition of these lines it appears that the digamma issue is due to a faulty juxtaposition of two formulae. Indeed the first part of the line 110 οἱ μὲν ἄρ' is a frequent start of line and is found 14 times in our corpus. Likewise the beginning of the line 334 is also formulaic with 4 other occurrences. We can then think that there was a faulty coordination of those groups. In our example as well as in the line 110 it seems mainly linked to a habit of having ἄρα following οἱ μὲν to open a line with a dactyl and we saw the high frequency of the combination ἐν δέ in tmesis.

Together these results suggest that the example mentioned by Haug could very well be analysed as another case of later hypercorrection. The ignorance of the digamma would then rely solely on the later analogical introduction of the particle into an already composed line. All the examples mentioned do indeed show formulaic turns or ritual images that could easily point to older strata of material. As a consequence, this example of ignored digamma does not give any information about the productivity of tmesis. Interpreted as hypercorrection, the introduction of an unnecessary particle shows that the combination ἐν δέ was so well established and fossilized in the poems that it started to be systematically and wrongly used. So if the use of δέ could at first be seen as a metric trick, we should not rule out its archaic character too quickly.

§ 2. The tmesis constructed with τίθημι

We can here try to take a closer look at one of our most represented verbs in τίθημι. This is a particularly interesting example as it offers various verbal forms and configurations of tmesis. It also happens to be a current verb with a general meaning and an old Indo-European root. The verb appears therefore as a good candidate to study tmesis as it seems to show different stages.

One interesting feature is that the tmesis version is a lot more often employed than the compound version in our corpus¹. The treatment of τίθημι tmesis also differs between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The *Odyssey* presents a much diversified picture: 11 examples of the verb in tmesis and no less than 9 different forms with participle, unaugmented forms and various persons. This variation of forms has also a metrical impact as the number of syllables varies with the conjugation and alters the metrical pattern. The created lines are then different and cannot be reduced to a single formula:

3.479² ἐν δὲ γυνή ταμίη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον **ἔθηκεν**

4.578³ ἐν δ' ἰστοῦς **τιθέμεσθα** καὶ ἰστία νηυσὶν ἔϊσης·

8.274⁴ ἐν δ' **ἔθετ'** ἀκμοθέτῳ μέγαν ἄκμονα, κόπτε δὲ δεσμοῦς

These three examples are obviously not constructed on the same model and don't seem to form any kind of formula. In the *Odyssey* the tmesis with τίθημι seems then to be rather productive as it is quite frequent and not fixed in a fossilized formula.

One could expect the data of the *Iliad* to be somehow similar if not more productive as the poem is often perceived as more ancient⁵. However the distribution is difficult to compare between the two poems. The number of tmesis uses of the verb is incidentally exactly the same (11 examples with τίθημι) in the two poems but the *Iliad* displays only 3 forms with a strong majority of the following opening and only two others examples⁶:

8.070⁷ ἐν δ' **ἐτίθει** δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο

The data of the *Iliad* raises then several problems of analysis and could lead us to reconsider the previous statement concerning productivity in the *Odyssey*. The main form of τίθημι tmesis in the *Iliad* with the [ἐν δ' ἐτίθει (...)] structure looks fixed and fossilized against the more free version of the *Odyssey*. How should we analyse this more fixed version then and what does it implies for the other tmesis in τίθημι?

¹ 15 examples of compound form for 22 in tmesis.

² 'And the housewife placed in the chariot bread and wine and dainties' Loeb edition translation.

³ 'And set the masts and the sails in the shapely ships' Loeb edition translation.

⁴ 'and set on the anvil block the great anvil' Loeb edition translation.

⁵ See Haug (2012) for example.

⁶ In 8.289 and 9.207

⁷ 'and set in them two fates of grievous death' Loeb edition translation.

First, as we noticed before, this structure tends to look pretty artificial and can easily pass for a metrical trick to open the line (-uu|-). The tmesis is also here much reduced with only one elided particle between the preverb and the verb: the distance is minimal and perhaps less perceived than elsewhere. This metrical and short distance quality could lead us to a formula, perhaps an artificial and recent trick or a petrified archaism. Even if some arguments seem in favour of a recent feature and metrical device, the overall impression is the one of a frozen formula well conserved perhaps because it is useful to open lines.

There are also two strong counter examples in the *Iliad*:

23.567¹ Ἀντιλόχῳ ἄμοτον κεχολωμένος· **ἐν** δ' ἄρα κῆρυξ
χειρὶ σκῆπτρον **ἔθηκε**, σιωπῆσαί τε κέλευσεν
9.207² **ἐν** δ' ἄρα νῶτον **ἔθηκ'** ὄϊος καὶ πίονος αἰγός,

The first line shows a strong enjambment in a long distance tmesis while the second example is a more common tmesis structure. The material enclosed by the first tmesis as a complex group with a particle, the subject in nominative, a direct object and an indirect one: so no less than four words and three cases. The second example is more restricted but the inserted material and object of the verb is in accusative and works as the old directional value of the place word.

This structure is also unlikely to be too recent as it was imitated with other verbs and produced analogical structures in the *Iliad*:

7.176³ **ἐν** δ' **ἔβαλον** κυνέη Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἄτρεΐδαι
11.297⁴ **ἐν** δ' **ἔπεσ'** ὑσμίνῃ ὑπεραεὶ ἶσος ἀέλλη,

Here we have the same structure as our formula with the δέ particle with an aorist augmented form of the verb but βάλλω and πίπτω instead of τίθημι. These tmesis also show an identical metrical pattern for the first example (-uu|-) and a dactyl opening for the second one.

¹ 'Angry at Antilochus; and a herald placed the staff in his hand and ordered silence' Loeb edition translation.

² 'And laid on it a sheep's back and a fat goat's' Loeb edition translation.

³ 'And cast them in the helmet of Agamemnon, son of Atreus' Loeb edition translation.

⁴ 'And fell on the conflict like a blustering tempest' Loeb edition translation.

The presence of fixed form of the tmesis as well as analogical imitations could then lead us to consider this kind of tmesis as an archaism older than supposed. Another argument for an older archaism is the presence of this kind of tmesis in a central line of the *Iliad*:

8.070¹ ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτιο

The line plays an important part in the poem and decides of the fate of Hector and Achilles just before their last attack. The metrical pattern of the line is a beautiful match to the line content with a partition at the caesura after κῆρε and before the end of the line with long words and heavy syllables. This content argument cannot be proof that the line is old or that our tmesis structure has been conserved and fixed since the most ancient stages of the poem tradition. But there is perhaps this strong feeling that this line what not one to be forgotten and could have easily been passed along in a long tradition.

§ 3. Towards a classification?

The different examples of tmesis could be classified into four basic dispositions. These structures are here presented from the more compact form of tmesis to the broader:

Type 1: [ἐν δ' ἐτίθει]₁...

This first type is the most reduced configuration found in our corpus: a particle is the only element standing between the verb and preverb. This structure is rather frequent and shows a fixed metrical form at the beginning of the line with the verb τίθημι:

Iliad, 18.551² Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει τέμενος βασιλήϊον· ἔνθα δ' ἔριθοι

This line opening structure was also imitated and used with other verbs as βάλλω or πίπτω:

Iliad, 4.134³ ἐν δ' ἔπεσε ζωστήρι ἀρηρότι πικρὸς οἰστός·

Iliad, 7.176¹ ἐν δ' ἔβαλον κυνέη Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο.

¹ 'and set in them two fates of grievous death' Loeb edition translation.

² 'On it he set also a king's estate, in which laborers (...)' Loeb edition translation.

³ 'Into the clasped belt entered the bitter arrow' Loeb edition translation.

Type 2: ... [έν] [word] ([word])([word]) [**verb**] (...)

This second type is perhaps the most frequent category: the distance between the place word and preverb is fairly reduced to one to three words. This syntactic distance is also quite reduced with often only one function and case (simple subject nominative or accusative object) standing between the preverb and verb.

Odyssey, 6.292² αἰγείρων, έν δὲ κρήνη **νάει**, ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμών

This type also shows a more fixed version with what appears as frozen formulae. This subtype appears mostly to close a line with a strict metrical pattern:

Iliad, 5.040³ πρῶτῳ γὰρ στρεφθέντι μεταφρένω έν δόρυ **πῆξεν**

Type 3: (...) [έν] [word][word][word][word] ([word])([word]) [**verb**] (...)

This tmesis involves more than three words standing between the preverb and verb. This large distance tmesis is rarer (but quite surprisingly frequent in the *Odyssey* as previously mentioned) and involves complex groups of inserted material with different syntactic functions and multiple cases. This category does not seem to show any regular pattern from one example to another: the metrical structure varies as well as the number of words or cases used and should be treated as a gathering of individual examples.

Odyssey, 3.479⁴ έν δὲ γυνή ταμίη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον **ἔθηκεν**

Type 4: [έν] [word]([word])([word]) line 1

[word]([word])([word]) [**verb**]..... line 2

This last category is similar to the preceding category with another configuration of large distance tmesis. Here the distance between the preverb and the verb is not only materialised by a larger number of words but also by an enjambment. This type usually

¹ 'And cast them in the helmet of Agamemnon, son of Atreus' Loeb edition translation.

² 'In it a spring wells up, and round about is a meadow.' Loeb edition translation.

³ 'He fixed his spear in his back between the shoulders and drove it through his chest' Loeb edition translation.

⁴ 'And the housewife placed in the chariot bread and wine and dainties' Loeb edition translation.

involves a comparable number of words as the type 3 (four or more) but we choose to isolate the cases involving enjambment. Indeed the enjambment is an additional poetic feature with stylistic effects and raises different questions of units, perception and distance.

Iliad, 5.730-731¹ δῆσε χρύσειον καλὸν ζυγόν, ἐν δὲ λέπαδνα
κάλ' **ἔβαλε** χρύσει' ὑπὸ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν Ἥρη

In the next two sections we will try both an historical and synchronic approaches to see if these categories can be used to describe the evolution of the tmesis in ἐν.

¹ 'And on its end she bound the fair golden yoke, and threw on it the fair golden breast-straps; and Hera led beneath the yoke (...)' Loeb edition translation.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

So now we should try to adopt a more historical perspective and, following Haug¹, ask ourselves: ‘what kind of archaism are we dealing with?’. In this section we will review some of the existing literature on the question- here mainly Haug² and Horrocks³’ works- before making some hypotheses specific to our corpus.

❖ *Previous studies*

§ 1. Haug’s and Horrocks’ perspective

Haug treated the subject rather extensively and used the comparison between the use of ἐν and εἰς that decided our topic. Haug minds us that the categories of preposition and preverbs we are dealing with are not pertinent for PIE that only had adverbs according to Beekes⁴, and that we should similarly stay careful as Homeric Greek syntax is also difficult to interpret. In his article⁵ Haug indeed proceeds to comment on the phenomenon from a historical perspective in the light of the epic tradition. Our data is focused on tmesis involving ἐν and therefore does not reflect perfectly the elements used by Haug for his study and offers a less complete picture. However a more detailed corpus also enlightens some difference in distribution that should be commented.

One affirmation about the distribution of tmesis must be here commented: “(The poet of the *Odyssey*) seems particularly fond of tmesis”⁶. The statement is later developed and extrapolated to a larger hypothesis: the poet of the *Odyssey* could have developed a liking for

¹ Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*.

² Ibid.; Haug, « Does Homeric Greek Have Prepositions? Or Local Adverbs?(And What’s the Difference Anyway?) »; Berg et Haug, « Dividing Homer (Continued): Innovation vs. Tradition in Homer-an Overlooked Piece of Evidence ».

³ Horrocks, *Space and Time in Homer: Prepositional and Adverbial Particles in the Greek Epic*.

⁴ Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European linguistics: an introduction*.

⁵ Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*.

⁶ Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, p 97.

the tmesis before writing the *Odyssey*¹. However this reparation cannot be found in our corpus and the tmesis in ἐν are in fact more present in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey* (67 examples for the first poem and 45 for the second). The poet of the *Odyssey* could then appear as less fond of this kind of tmesis. However as we saw before the *Odyssey* shows a slightly different picture with a strong preference for extended tmesis of five words or more standing between ἐν and the verb. This form of tmesis looks like an innovation specific to the *Odyssey*. In this regard the poet of the *Odyssey* could be seen as more fond of a specific use of extended tmesis.

Another point that needs to be discussed here concerns the fact that tmesis as other archaisms tends to be replaced by a vernacular form “whenever is possible”². In his argumentation Haug refers to theories of constant rate of replacement that are difficult to measure or account for. Even if mentioned carefully, the idea of tmesis as a vernacular sounds problematic. Indeed we saw that an important part of our corpus looks frozen and conserved. Moreover the distribution of tmesis according to the literary context could here be an argument against a vernacular tmesis as M. Finkelberg³ shows in her article that narrative parts tend to be more conservative than dialogue parts. Considering a rate of replacement is also a difficult issue: how does one spot a replaced tmesis? Some ἐν of our corpus could have been replaced- corrected- later as ἐς or ἐκ but those cases are not easy to count. Observing the compound versions of the verb we found in tmesis is also an uncertain method and we would need to explain why some are replaced and some not: is it because of context, a metrical imperative or formulae memory?

But the more decisive argument Haug gives for a historical dating of the tmesis concerns our corpus with the apparition of the variant εἰς /ἐς in several dialects for the directional function of the place word. The new preposition is used in the two poems but rarely in tmesis while ἐν tmesis can preserve the old directional function. This gives us some time frame as Haug points out: the tmesis was probably productive before the apparition of ἐν and the univerbation took also place before. The dialectal distribution seems to also confirm the archaism as ἐν is still used in ‘peripheral’ dialects that tend to be more conservative⁴.

Haug gives another chronological landmark with examples of tmesis involving ignored digamma. He interprets this as the tmesis having priority over the digamma, thus the

¹ *Ibidem*, p 105.

² *Ibidem*, p 97.

³ Finkelberg, « Late Features in the Speeches of the *Iliad* ».

⁴ Rose, « Separating fact from fiction in the Aiolian migration ».

tnesis would still be productive at the time when the digamma starts to be less perceived. But as seen before we have some issues with the proof given by Haug on this subject. The tmesis could be already a fossilized feature at the time when the digamma starts to be ignored or still productive but it is difficult reach a conclusion on this sole example.

Other evidence for dating tmesis is the conservation of the old semantic and directional function used with the accusative in some cases of long distance tmesis. This semantic conservation alongside the freer look of these cases of tmesis leads Haug to consider it older. This affirmation is however difficult to confirm. Haug himself proved efficiently that the tmesis in ἐς is not commonly employed, most certainly later and Chantraine shows that the compounds are also not formed on ἐς. Therefore the conservation of the directional function is an archaism but not a surprising one and it is difficult to date on this basis a form of tmesis as older. Moreover the larger the distance between the verb and the particle, the most likely to be modified through the oral tradition. Finally Haug points out that the very restricted type of tmesis only separated by an enclitic is productive for a longer period extending to classical times. Haug concludes in favour of a univerbation happening before composition¹.

Horrocks published a study about the expression of space in Homer². He shares Haug's point of view in that he considers that the tmesis is clearly an archaism and uses several interesting chronological evidences. He takes an interest in the Mycenaean data and points out that there no tmesis is found in Linear B tablets while formed compounds are³. For him the free stage of syntax shown by the tmesis has then already disappeared at Mycenaean time and was therefore no more productive at the time of the composition of the Homeric poems. Haug is a bit more cautious when evoking the Linear B evidence⁴ and indeed the evidence is hardly a definitive proof here. The examples of univerbation are rare and not conclusive and the Mycenaean data is mainly composed of administrative data and do not show a developed syntax. The absence of this feature is not too surprising in that regard and cannot be much commented upon. For example we cannot find any example of our place word ἐν in the Linear B texts⁵.

¹ Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, p 100.

² Horrocks, *Space and Time in Homer: Prepositional and Adverbial Particles in the Greek Epic*.

³ Davies et Duhoux, *Linear B, a 1984 survey*.

⁴ Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry* p 99.

⁵ Searched using the Copenhagen data device but not definitive!

§ 2. Considering the process of grammaticalization

Before analysing the different possible comparative dating scenarios for the tmesis, we should say a word about the process of grammaticalization of tmesis syntax to univerbation. A closer consideration of this process will be useful to date and understand the configuration of certain forms of our corpus and may also help to understand why a tmesis was conserved or not. Meillet¹ describes the process of grammaticalization as the transformation of an independent word into a grammatical element: here from an independent adverb to a preverb progressively assimilated morphologically by the verb into a compound form.

According to Meillet's description, our case of tmesis would evolve like follows. At first both *êv* and the verb keep their own semantic value but the combination is expressive and the synthetic meaning of the combination of the two words is stronger and starts to differ from their separate meanings. As the combination became more common the form also tended to become more fixed with a few preferred configurations. The combination is more and more understood as one semantic unit and one of the two elements tends to be perceived as the dominant part of the combination. The other element loses progressively its independent meaning and its grammatical autonomy. Here we know that the result of this grammaticalization is a compound verb, therefore *êv* and the verb must have progressively be placed closer until they were pronounced as a longer word rather than two words and become a single phonetic word². The syntactic words stayed separated longer but eventually followed the phonetic influence and became a single word and the grammaticalization was achieved.

The tmesis is clearly an archaism reflecting an early stage before the start of the grammaticalization of *êv* and the verb in a single compound form. We should not think of it a single process but rather as a plurality of different cases: the univerbation is a single process but we are speaking here of the univerbation of several compounds forms based on different verbs. Therefore the evolution must have been different for the semantic changes and also in their uses with difference of frequency: some verbs were used more than others. Also some combinations may have changed only by a progressive grammaticalization process while others were certainly transformed is a compound by analogy with other univerbations of *êv* and a verb.

¹ Meillet, « L'évolution des formes grammaticales ».

² In Meillet terminology.

The Homeric material is also difficult to date and positioning the tmesis at a precise stage of such a process is problematic. First the unity of tmesis can be questioned: we saw that different types could be isolated and therefore could go back to different stages. Moreover the tmesis suggests an independency model of place word that seems to be inherited from Proto-Indo-European. The material we analyse here could therefore go back to any stage of the grammaticalization from the older crystallized form to recent forms influenced by analogy or artificially reproduced. Dosuna¹ uses a useful image and distinguish a process of fusion and a process of fission of the verb and preverb in compounds. So here we should try to see how the long fusion progress evolves with forms crystallized by the oral tradition while trying to identify possible moments of fissions.

For Horrocks² the process is already quite advanced at the date of the composition and the univerbation must already have taken place. Therefore the fusion has been operated in the vernacular, but new fissions were made for the poetical composition. An old stage could have been conserved in some cases but mainly because Horrocks see the tmesis as a “rule” for epic composition, a device of the poet.

Haug proceeds differently and remarks that perhaps more than the verb the place word is evidence of the grammaticalization process³. And in an article⁴ questioning the existence of preverbs and prepositions he studies the evolution of the place word. He proceeds by looking at the omissibility of the place words that can be absent if redundant with a case ending for example. This question of omissibility is interesting and deals with intermediate stages not yet showing a compulsory configuration. It is interesting to note that one of the examples where Haug mentions the place word as optional is a frequent configuration of tmesis. Haug⁵ indeed proposes that the some use of ἦμι with the words μένος or φόβον for object shows an optional place word. This verb is indeed frequently found both in tmesis and compound form and the two nouns are often used in frozen formulae.

The numbers presented by Haug⁶ do not tell us as much as suggested. The omission or non-omission of the place word only concerns the case of ἐν+dative. The distribution found

¹ Méndez Dosuna, « Fusion, fission, and relevance in language change: de-univerbation in Greek verb morphology ».

² Horrocks, *Space and Time in Homer: Prepositional and Adverbial Particles in the Greek Epic*, p 153.

³ Haug, « Does Homeric Greek Have Prepositions? Or Local Adverbs?(And What’s the Difference Anyway?) ».

⁴ *ibidem*

⁵ Haug, « Does Homeric Greek Have Prepositions? Or Local Adverbs?(And What’s the Difference Anyway?) » p 109.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p 111.

by Haug (7 omissions for 11 non omissions) appears as indifferent and could give a false impression of freedom in the use of the preverb. But these omissions are less surprising as many cases with dative can show confusion of prepositional use. However the omission of one of the component of the tmesis is an interesting evidence of grammaticalization and we could also consider some cases of verbal omission as in:

Odyssey, 13.244¹ ἐν μὲν γάρ οἱ σῖτος ἀθέσφατος, ἐν δέ τε οἶνος

γίνεται· αἰεὶ δ' ὄμβρος ἔχει τεθαλυῖά τ' ἔέρση.

These lines seem to present two tmeses for only one shared verb. The verb is therefore formally omitted in the first tmesis and seems to have a limited grammatical and semantic value. Here it is the place word that carries the main semantic charge and the repetition of ἐν tends to make the preverb look more important than the verb. This example could perhaps reflect a stage of grammaticalization that hesitated between attributing the semantic charge to the verb or preverb. Even if the evidence is here rather thin for such a stage, one could note that the position of the place word tends to be slightly more striking than the verbal one².

¹ 'In it grows grain beyond measure, and the wine grape as well, and the rain never fails it, nor the rich dew.'
Loeb edition translation.

² See previous section §5.

❖ *Hypothesis for comparative dating*

The next section will try to apply some relative dating hypotheses to our corpus. We will try to see if the tmesis can be dated among other features and placed into a tradition and if the different configurations of tmesis found in our corpus can be compared with another. The first part will consider some methodological issues related to this question while the second will sum up the previous conclusions to propose a first dating scenario.

§ 1. Dating features and some issues

Any tentative to date the tmesis will of course deal with relative dating rather than absolute dates because a feature like tmesis cannot be measured with a precise starting or ending date. Trying to establish the position of the tmesis in comparison to other features raises several issues. Indeed the different landmarks we mentioned in relation to Horrocks' and Haug's works were all somehow problematic. Using the Mycenaean data as a point of comparison would be most useful but the Linear B texts are difficult to exploit in that regard as the documents show a simplified syntax and a limited vocabulary list. Not finding a word in the tablets cannot lead one to conclude that the words was not used in the vernacular and similarly the absence of tmesis and the few attested compound forms cannot lead to any certain conclusion.

The occurrence of the preposition εἰς / ἐς in some dialects and the progressive specialization of ἐν is another useful landmark. The facts that compound forms tend to be formed on ἐν even in directional use and that tmesis with εἰς / ἐς is rare, are two arguments for dating the occurrence of the specialized preposition after the period of composition and after the process of univerbation. The limit of this argument is that it only can be used as a relative limit and gives a limit for the end of grammaticalization. However, the grammaticalization has been evaluated as more ancient from before the written composition of the two epic poems. This feature cannot give us information about synchronic findings: tmesis in ἐν appears as an archaism tending to be replaced but one cannot rule out later productivity or analogical modifications. We saw that the use of the digamma as a comparing feature is problematic: the examples cannot allow us to rule out a later modification of the line and the ignored digammas could not be due to the presence of the tmesis at all.

In this absence of comparing features to use, one may want to use the list established by Janko¹ to study the chronology of Homeric texts. Haug² also studies the correlation of tmesis with other features. The features studied by Janko are the following:

- “ • Observance or neglect of digamma
- Masculine $\bar{\alpha}$ -stem gen. sg. in $-\bar{\alpha}\omicron$ vs. $-\epsilon\omega$
 - $\bar{\alpha}$ -stem gen. pl. in $-\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$ vs. $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ / $-\tilde{\omega}\nu$
 - o-stem gen. sg. in $-\omicron\iota\omicron$ vs. $-\omicron\upsilon$ • frequency of resolvable $-\omicron\upsilon$ (i.e. $*-\omicron\omicron$)
 - o- and $\bar{\alpha}$ -stem dat. pl. in $-\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ and $-\eta\sigma\upsilon$ / $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$ vs. $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$ and $-\eta\varsigma$ / $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$
 - o- and $\bar{\alpha}$ -stem acc. pl. standing before a vowel vs. consonant
 - oblique forms of Ζεύς in Ζ- vs. Δ- (e.g. Ζηνός vs. Διός)
 - *nu*-mobile used to make position”³

Some of these features can indeed be found alongside a tmesis in $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$: either enclosed between the preverb and the verb or in the same line. Some nominal endings are notably quite frequently found in the same environment as the tmesis. The line 176 of the book 7 of the *Iliad* shows for example a genitive in $-\bar{\alpha}\omicron$ alongside a tmesis. And old forms of genitive singular in $-\omicron\iota\omicron$ ⁴ or dative plural⁵ can be found in the same line as a tmesis. But the correlation of these features tends more to prove the archaic quality of the tmesis rather than to give a precise historical frame. The tmesis then appears with old strata of the epic poems rather than in more recent linguistic environment. However the unity of the line is not absolute and groups of words could have been modified at any point of the oral and written tradition of the epic texts. The approach of Janko, mainly statistical and presupposing problematic elements like linear rate of linguistic change or a rather unified oral tradition and has therefore been criticized⁶.

The presence of these archaic traits in the same environment is not evidence for a precise dating but seems to confirm the archaic nature of the tmesis involving $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. The review of this different features and landmark reveals several difficulties linked to the Homeric

¹ Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: diachronic development in epic diction*.

² Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, p 100.

³ As found in Jones, « Relative Chronology within (an) Oral Tradition », p 295.

⁴ 5 examples in our corpus : *Iliad* : 8.070, 9.208, 18.351, 22.210 and *Odyssey* : 6.482

⁵ 9 examples in our corpus : *Iliad* : 11.91, 14.182, 16.429, 19.159, 24.442 and *Odyssey* : 8.343, 12.103, 14.268, 17.437.

⁶ Jones, « Relative Chronology within (an) Oral Tradition ».

material and shows once again the need of a careful consideration. If the dating of the tmesis inside the oral tradition appears to create too many assumptions in order to reach a sensible scenario, we should perhaps rather concentrate on the different configurations of our corpus and study the tmesis in its plurality. Perhaps the scenario of a relative dating of the different possible forms of the tmesis in ἐν would then be easier to draw?

To do so, we reject the idea of tmesis as a single and uniform archaism and assume that the process of grammaticalization gave form to several historical stages of tmesis. Seeing the tmesis as a single archaism is to consider only the independency of ἐν rather than the nature and function of the words standing between the preverb and the verb. Haug seems to differentiate several stages and ages for tmesis when analysing the compact tmesis with clitic as more recent¹. We will try then to present a first relative dating of the different configurations of tmesis found in our corpus.

§ 2. Relative dating proposition

The tmesis seems to evolve from a freer stage of the Greek syntax with an almost complete independence of the place word to a more grammaticalized order and progressively to a fixed configuration close to the univerbation stage.

For Haug, the older configuration would be the large distance tmesis (our type 3 and 4) presenting a conservation of the old directional meaning of the place word. The more compact form of tmesis (our type 2) would be more recent: showing a more grammaticalized stage where the placement of the verb and the preverb seems already more regulated and the words occurring in between show less variety of cases. Some formulae of this type of tmesis could be interpreted as fossilized. The distance between the verb and the preverb then tends to reduce and produce very compact forms of tmesis with only a separating enclitic element. This last type of tmesis (our type 1) would be the latest stage before complete univerbation and stays productive at a later stage and even into the classical Greek period².

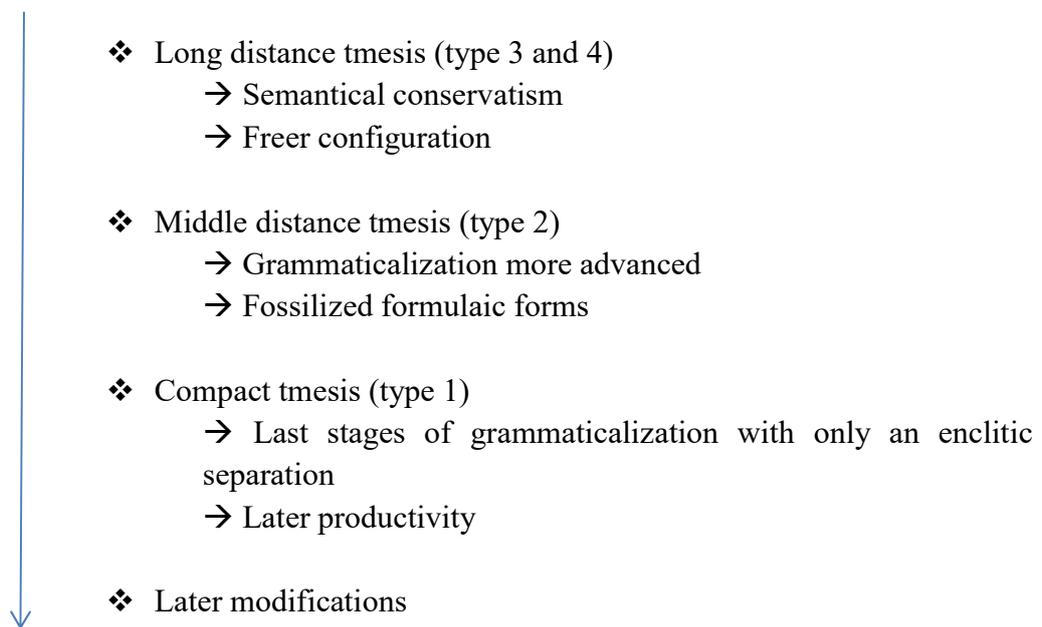
A vast historical distance would then separate this last kind of tmesis from the previous ones as Haug and Horrocks both consider that the univerbation was already achieved

¹ Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, p 99.

² According to Haug, *ibidem*.

at the time of the composition. The more ancient forms would then already be conserved archaisms while this most reduced form could be at least in part (if the productivity was more analogical and metrical) still productive. A last configuration can perhaps be placed later with the tmesis modified by analogy: we saw indeed that the frequency of the presence of the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ near the preverb seemed in part due to analogy. These modifications would be quite recent and occurring after composition time as revealed by the neglected cases of digamma for example.

First scenario:



The limit of the composition stage should therefore be placed according to the type 1 of tmesis as a later production. This type is already an archaic turn at the date of composition but still possible to use while the others configuration would already be conserved. A strict approach would place the end of the grammaticalization before the composition but we could also consider that while compound forms were already used in the vernacular the most compact form of tmesis subsided as productive. It seems more logical here to place this compact form as already productive before the composition time: indeed it would be a key stage of the grammaticalization and also appears fixed as a poetical device.

This is only one of the many possible scenarios: stages of analogical development and imitations with later fission of the preverb-verb complex could be inserted and show a different picture. The position of composition and estimation of productivity period are

delicate to affirm on such thin evidences and any hypothesis heavily depends on the comprehension of the feature and the kind of archaism we are dealing with¹ and how much of a stylistic device it is. And we will reconsider this order in the next section by using different criteria.

¹ Expression of Haug, *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*.p 98.

A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE: PRAGMATICS AND WORD ORDER

Conserved archaism or archaic tool used for poetic purposes? The tmesis with *èν* appears as an archaism that does not always behave like one for Haug¹. The description of Horrocks of the tmesis as an old poetic tool still conserved by the poets is perhaps the more functional description at this point. After having described the different configuration of tmesis through a series of criteria and attempted a first historical analysis, perhaps it is time to adopt a more synchronic approach. We will try here to observe the pragmatic and stylistic impact of the tmesis. Hopefully we will be able to distinguish different uses at a synchronic level that could help us to differentiate historical strata. We will mostly base the following section on the word order theories and start from an article of N. Bertrand linking the tmesis and word order.

Even if these theories are a fairly recent domain of studies for ancient languages, studying the word order seems to be a central question in the case of a feature like the tmesis. Indeed the word order and the function of the material occurring between preverb and verb take part in the process of grammaticalization² while also being the main evidence for stylistic studies. The first section will give a brief summary of the approach used to study word order and the most current point of views before discussing the method used by Bertrand. The second section will adapt this method to our corpus and examine the obtained results.

¹ *Ibidem*.

² Meillet, « L'évolution des formes grammaticales ».

❖ *Word order and Bertrand*

§ 1. Word order

Parsing a line after another, slowly taken by the familiar yet fascinating rhythm of the hexameter, examining the beautiful images, observing the old features of the peculiar language or recognising a famous epithet, one can sometimes forget that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were stories meant to be told. The poetical recitation was also primarily an act of communication between a rhapsodist and his public. Information is transmitted and the words that carry it are coded and designed to serve this purpose. H. Dik¹ who was one of the first scholars to use this approach on ancient Greek material gives two main principles:

“ (i) Speakers typically use a starting point for an intonation unit;

(ii) New or salient information is typically restricted to one item per intonation unit.”²

The question is then to delimit those intonation units, to classify the words into pragmatic functions determining which carry the salient information. Here these appear as particularly interesting for the study of *tnesis* as we saw that *tnesis* in *év* very often constitute *cola* and metrical units (or in an oral context: intonation units). Moreover we saw that those units were started on specific positions and always by the place word *év*. The word order theory searches then to class the elements of a clause into specific pragmatic functions and identifies the stressed- or salient- information of a unit. This question of stressed word will be used in two ways in the following sections: first focusing on the transmission of the information (does the *tnesis* plays a specific role? Is it stressed?) and then on a stylistic level focusing on emphasis rather than information.

We should proceed here to a brief inventory. The main opposition is formed by the two functions of focus and topic that partially meet the classical distinction between object and predicate. According to Dik, is *topic* the “element which the speaker regards as an appropriate function for constructing a message”³ while a *focus* is what a “speaker considers

¹ Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue*.

² *Ibidem*, p 44.

³ *Ibidem*, p 31.

the most urgent part of the message he wants to convey to a listener”¹. To these two main categories one can add the category of *setting, theme and tails* that give better account of a complex sentence but that we will not use in the following sections². The verb plays an important role in this theory and marks a special limit in the clause: for Dik the focus is indeed often the verb itself or placed before the verb. The topic can be expressed or not, new or already mentioned, can be stressed and contrast with the preceding one³. She gives the following structure⁴:

Setting—Topic—Focus—Verb—Remainder

More recent works have provided less restricted structures of analysis and Matić⁵ notably provides an interesting description of the focus. As Dik, he considers the verb as playing an important role; either as a border to the focus or as focal element and he distinguishes two sorts of configurations: a narrow focus that corresponds to Dik’s definition with a single and restricted focal element or a new category with the class of broad focus that can be a whole group of word with potential internal effects. This last distinction related to the verb will be important for us and we will try to see if our types of tmesis can be interpreted according to such a classification.

To close this section, perhaps a last word on the motivation that led us to use the word order pattern and theories. Reconstructing word order patterns for Proto-Indo-European is a rather illusory quest but the approach can be justified for Homeric Greek. The order is an important criterion to apprehend the epic poems as a full part of oral poetry composition and recitation. The order certainly played a crucial role for the memorization of the text. Alternatively the order criterion is especially well adapted to consider features such as the tmesis that reflect an old vernacular and fights with a more recent order. Word order can also be used as evidence to measure the evolution from parataxis to subordination. So we will try to see which role tmesis plays in pragmatics word order and also which are the possible functions of the words occurring between the verb and preverb.

¹ *Ibidem*, p32.

² Even if the setting appears as a good candidate, not found in our results.

³ See Allan, « Changing the Topic ».

⁴ Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue*, p 59.

⁵ Matić, « Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure: Ancient Greek Word Order. *Studies in Language* ».

§ 2. Bertrand's approach

N. Bertrand¹ analyses some tmesis as 'verbal complexes' and establishes a link between some pragmatic functions and the 'inserted material' occurring between the preverb and verb. His approach is innovative and adopts a new perspective on the tmesis. He indeed describes the tmesis as a feature that can be possibly triggered by syntax, semantic or pragmatic function² rather than as a simple conserved archaic form. He also speaks of the words occurring between $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and the verb as 'inserted material' suggesting a composition of voluntary placement rather than the simple free state of adverb/preverb.

Considering this material as 'inserted' is interesting from a synchronic perspective³ because the material is perceived as effectively separating the two members of what is already a single word. This approach could also seem to fit nicely in Horrocks' vision of the tmesis as an archaism used as a poetic device. But the word 'inserted' to design the words occurring between $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and the verb should always be used carefully and not taken for a historical reality. Bertrand's method is also interesting in that he describes the adverbs as 'floating'⁴ constituents. This image seem to us particularly well suited to the situation of the tmesis as the univertation is not achieved and while not yet assimilated, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ is already showing some dependency.

Bertrand also proceeds to a classification of tmesis in two categories as internal or external tmesis. An internal tmesis has its place word-here $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ - inside the verbal complex while in the external tmesis the place word is situated at the beginning of the clause, outside the verbal complex. At first this classification could appear to correspond to some of the different types of tmesis in $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ we described: the more compact configurations could be internal tmesis according to Bertrand, whereas the broader forms with five or more 'inserted' words could be analysed as detached of the verbal complex and therefore seen as external tmesis. This classification is however problematic because of the definition Bertrand gives of its 'verbal complex'. The verbal complex is only composed of the verb and every adverb positioned right before it in a 'prosodic unit'⁵.

¹ Bertrand, « On Tmesis, Word Order, and Noun Incorporation in Homeric Greek », p 16.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Later than written

⁴ Bertrand, « On Tmesis, Word Order, and Noun Incorporation in Homeric Greek ».

⁵ *Ibidem*, p 16.

This very restricted description of the verbal complex domain is however debatable and does not seem to correspond too well to the tmesis examples of the epic poems. Indeed the cases of tmesis we studied rarely show such proximity and the frequency of clause opening place words is high: therefore, most of our corpus would be classified as external tmesis. Thus this distinction does not appear as very pertinent for our corpus and will not be used. A changed interpretation of ‘verbal complex’ could however be a useful concept to describe the tmesis if we define it as the verbal domain containing the verb and the preverb and eventually the verbal complement. The “inserted” material could then be included in the verbal domain or disruptive. And perhaps closely linked to narrow or broad form of focus.

Bertrand then proceeds to study the tmesis by looking at the syntactic function of the ‘inserted’ constituents and later at the informational properties¹ of the tmesis. We made the same table to compare the results of Bertrand with the more restricted case of tmesis in *év* :

Syntactic function occupied by the inserted material in our corpus:

FUNCTION OF INSERTED MATERIAL	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
SUBJECT	18 (36 % ²)	10 (26.5 %)
OBJECT	20 (40 %)	15 (39.5 %)
OTHER	5 (10 %)	2 (5 %)
GROUP COMPLEX	7 (14 %)	11 (29 %)

Pragmatic function occupied by the inserted material³ in our corpus:

FUNCTION OF INSERTED MATERIAL	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
NEW TOPIC	8 (16 %)	4 (10.5 %)
RATIFIED TOPIC	3 (6 %)	2 (5.5 %)
NARROW FOCUS	29 (58 %)	21 (55 %)
OTHER	0 (0 %)	2 (5.5 %)
BROAD FOCUS	10 (20 %)	9 (23.5 %)

¹ *Ibidem*, p 22.

² Proportions among the tmesis of types 2,3 and 4 only. Tmesis of type 1 are here excluded for lack of material.

³ Here also the tmesis constituents.

Our results seem to match the tendencies pointed out by Bertrand and both poems shows similar distributions. We also here created a category for more complex group when the inserted material is composed of multiple functions (subject and object for example). The ‘inserted’ material is in a majority of cases the object of the verb and the subject is another frequent case. For *êv* the proportion of other functions is rather low mainly because our corpus tended to rule out the ambiguous cases of dative. The frequency of subject function seems also to be slightly higher than for the general tmesis tendency.

Concerning the account of pragmatic functions in tmesis environment, we used a slightly different template than the one proposed by Bertrand. First the ‘circumstantial’ category referring to Dik’s category of setting was more generally designed as ‘other’ because no circumstantial use was found in our corpus. We also chose to make use of the Matic’ category of broad focus-particularly well adapted to long distance tmesis- to distinguish more precisely the different configurations of tmesis. The method of classification may also have varied from the one used by Bertrand as attributing pragmatics categories is sometimes a subjective task. However, we found here a common majority of narrow focus for the inserted material. The difference of frequency concerning the topic and new topic categories could be caused by several factors specific to the tmesis in *êv* as well as simply related to a subjective tendency during the classification.

It is then interesting to note the high frequency of important functions found in tmesis and the narrow focus function attributed to this material seems to point out the foregrounding role of the tmesis. The tmesis seems indeed to put emphasis on the enclaved words with focus element or even topical elements that could create effect of disruption and emphasis on the introduction of a new subject. Finally Bertrand also points out the high frequency of tmesis use in type scenes. This observation of context is interesting and confirms that formulaic and old strata of narrative tend to conserve tmesis.

❖ *On our corpus*

So we see that the tmesis tends to have a foregrounding and codified use. In this section we will try to confront these results with the different categories of tmesis we identified previously to see if there is any logic of distribution related to a certain configuration. We will

then try to use these pragmatics categories and word order theories as criteria for a synchronic comparison of the use of the various forms of tmesis in *êv*.

In the first part of our study we identified four main types of possible configurations for the tmesis in *êv*. In type 1 the preverb and the verb are only separated by a single particle and it is therefore impossible to attribute any function to the particle. Therefore this section will mainly consist of a comparison of the other types and namely of a comparison between type 2 and the two long distance types 3 and 4. The types 3 and 4 will here be treated as a group of long distance tmesis where the enjambment will be considered as an added poetic value. As we saw, type 2 tmesis usually shows a strong metrical unit, often appears in formulaic context and generally presents a perfect picture of a fixed archaism. On the other hand, the two large tmesis types are more frequent in the *Odyssey*, less likely to have been crystallized by the tradition and conserved and would probably be also more difficult to memorize. We will then work on the following hypothesis: type 2 could be a true archaic form showing the first stages of grammaticalization while types 3 and 4 were later produced by fission and used as a poetic device with stylistic motivation.

§ 1. Data and hypothesis

To verify this hypothesis we should look for two kinds of evidence: first the tmesis of type 2 should show some tendency for foregrounding information that could be later imitated, and secondly the types 3 and 4 should show a stronger and more systematic foregrounding nature. We are then looking for evidence of foregrounding and a difference of degree between both groups of tmesis examples. We will here then compare the distribution of the pragmatics function according to the different types and see if it can be explained as a derivation from one to another.

A first piece of evidence for a foregrounding nature of the tmesis is then its general placement in the clause. As we have already seen in the first observations, the tmesis almost systematically opens on a strong position either syntactically, metrically or often a combination of both. This distribution does not seem to be accidental and therefore make the tmesis a good candidate to carry a pragmatic stressed function. Now, if we take a closer look at the distribution of pragmatic function according to types of tmesis we obtain the following distribution:

In the *Iliad*:

TYPE OF TMESIS	FUNCTION OF THE INSERTED MATERIAL				
	NEW TOPIC	TOPIC	NARROW FOCUS	BROAD FOCUS	OTHER
Type 1	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Type 2	4 (8 %)	3 (6 %)	18 (36 %)	0 (0 %)	1 (2 %)
Type 3	1 (2 %)	5 (10 %)	0 (0 %)	3 (6 %)	0 (0 %)
Type 4	3 (6 %)	0 (0 %)	3 (6 %)	4 (8 %)	0 (0 %)

In the *Odyssey*:

TYPE OF TMESIS	FUNCTION OF THE INSERTED MATERIAL				
	NEW TOPIC	TOPIC	NARROW FOCUS	BROAD FOCUS	OTHER
Type 1	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Type 2	2 (5 %)	2 (5 %)	21(55.5%)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)
Type 3	1 (2.5 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	8 (12 %)	0 (0 %)
Type 4	0 (0 %)	1 (2.5 %)	0 (0 %)	3(7.5%)	0 (0 %)

We can observe that the tmesis of type 2 systemically shows pragmatic foregrounding of the ‘inserted’ material with many examples of narrow focus, usually the object of the verb giving new information. But this foregrounding can also be of a topical nature with some examples of new or given topics. Indeed the presence of a topical element inside the verbal complex of the tmesis creates an effect of collision.

Some of the elements identified as narrow focus only have a very local value and act as focus of a restricted clause, but even when secondary the tmesis always seems to foregrounds its ‘inserted’ material. The tmesis of the type 2 is not on itself focalized but rather participates to focalize the inserted words. This rather systematic pragmatic function as a focus marker could perhaps also explain why these cases of tmesis were conserved. Replacing these examples by the vernacular compound version of the verb would have mean to lost the stress put on the words occurring inside the tmesis. And maybe this feeling of semantic loss helped to conserve some tmesis cases.

If we take now an interest in the type 3 and 4 we can notice that these cases show often stronger effects of emphasis. The majority of these cases have been identified as broad focus in our analysis. This categorization as broad focus also shows emphasis on the verb as a focal element rather than a simple marker as for the tmesis of type 2. These examples are, however, complex and do not follow a single model but show different patterns with internal effects of emphasis. The tmesis of type 3 showing large distance between the preverb *ἐν* and the verb appears corresponds to several type scenes in the *Odyssey* as in the lines:

3. 479¹ *ἐν* δὲ γυνή ταμίη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον **ἔθηκεν**

14. 519² εὐνήν, *ἐν* δ' οἴων τε καὶ αἰγῶν δέρματ' **ἔβαλλεν**.

Here we have the description of preparation for food in book 3 and for a bed in book 14. We analysed both of these examples as broad focus and indeed the verbal complex encloses all the new elements. The tmesis seems here to also function as a stylistic marker and helps the description. Moreover the inserted material does not here appear to show free stage of syntax as the elements (subject, object, complement) seem to adopt a rather classic order.

A perhaps more striking evidence for a recent creation of the tmesis of type 3 is the following line of the *Odyssey*:

Odyssey, 24.498³ *ἐν* δ' ἄρα Λαέρτης Δολίος τ' ἐς τεύχε' **ἔδυνον**,

This line is a characteristic example of the category of tmesis only found in the *Odyssey* with 6 words standing between the preverb and the verb. Here the tmesis shows an interesting feature with the presence of the preposition *ἐς*. Even if a later correction of an old tmesis cannot be rule out, the scenario seems unlikely as any preposition or adverb standing in place of the preposition would have been as problematic. The presence of a recent and specialized preposition inside the tmesis would then characterise it as more recent.

However, these examples are a scarce category only present in the *Odyssey* and the examples of the tmesis in enjambment are perhaps more easy to study as we can compare the broader configurations of the *Odyssey* to the enjambment of the *Iliad*. The tmesis of type 4 shows different forms in the two epic poems: the enjambment is common but the inserted material tends to be more compact in the *Iliad*. Indeed the *Iliad* often places only one element

¹ ‘And the housewife placed in the chariot bread and wine and dainties’ Loeb edition translation.

² ‘And threw upon it skins of sheep and goats.’ Loeb edition translation.

³ ‘And among them Laertes and Dolius donned their armor’ Loeb edition translation.

inside the tmesis: rarely more than two words, always acting as a single pragmatic or syntactic function. For example:

- 15.326-7¹ ὦς ἐφόβηθεν Ἀχαιοὶ ἀνάκιδες· ἐν γὰρ Ἀπόλλων
ἦκε φόβον, Τρωσὶν δὲ καὶ Ἴκτορι κῦδος ὄπαζεν.
- 11.216-7² ἀρτύνη δὲ μάχη, στὰν δ' ἀντίοι· ἐν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων
πρῶτος ὄρουσ', ἔθελεν δὲ πολὺ προμάχεσθαι ἀπάντων
- 11.52-3³ ἱππῆες δ' ὀλίγον μετεκίαθον· ἐν δὲ κυδοιμὸν
ὄρσε κακὸν Κρονίδης, κατὰ δ' ὑπόθεν ἦκεν ἐέρσας
- 5.730-731⁴ δῆσε χρύσειον καλὸν ζυγόν, ἐν δὲ λέπαδνα
κάλ' ἔβαλε χρύσει· ὑπὸ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν Ἥρη

In the first two examples, the tmesis encloses a subject and contrasted topic; the next ones show an object or focal element. Those cases of tmesis may seem then to foreground the inserted element and have a stylistic value with a mimetic effect for the arrival of a god, for example. It is interesting to notice that the larger form of tmesis in enjambment found in the *Odyssey* seem somehow to be formed on the meeting of the two configurations we just saw:

- 17.437-8⁵ χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς. ἐν δὲ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος
φύζαν ἐμοῖσ' ἐτάροισι κακὴν βάλεν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη

¹ 'So were the Achaeans driven in rout with no valor in them; for on them Apollo had sent panic, and to the Trojans and Hector was he giving glory.' Loeb edition translation.

² 'And they stood facing each other, and among them Agamemnon rushed out the first, and was minded to fight far in advance of all.' Loeb edition translation.

³ 'And among them the son of Cronos roused an evil din, and down from on high out of heaven he sent' Loeb edition translation.

⁴ 'And on its end she bound the fair golden yoke, and threw on it the fair golden breast-straps; and Hera led beneath the yoke (...)' Loeb edition translation.

⁵ 'The flashing of bronze. And Zeus, who hurls the thunderbolt, cast an evil panic upon my comrades, and none had courage' Loeb edition translation.

This enjambment indeed shows both a new topic with the arrival of a god and the object of the verb. The tmesis is even more stretched than the cases of the *Iliad* that it seems to imitate. So even if the types 3 and 4 are less frequent and not always easy to analyse, they tend to show a marked foregrounding and a stylistic emphasis. Therefore our impression is that these cases were given a stronger stylistic value than previous cases of tmesis. They could therefore show a later creation by fission of the preverb and verb already existing as a compound in the vernacular. Indeed, these cases seem to show common features with the other configurations of tmesis, but as imitation of a structure and its effect rather than conservation of an archaic order. The stylistic motivation and formal imitation could reveal the following evolution: what was a simple syntactic pattern tends to grammaticalize, some cases show a pragmatic foregrounding and tend to be preserved. The tmesis is then reinterpreted as a foregrounding device, conserved as an archaism and imitated for this new function. This foregrounding use becomes a poetic tool and gives birth to new created tmesis with large distance and stylistic effect (chosen for descriptions...).

A last remark is that the case of the tmesis could be compared and perhaps linked to the case of the hyperbaton. Indeed, the two features could be compared if the tmesis, word order is reinterpreted as a stylistic device. The last example (*Odyssey*, 17.437-8) also seems to show a hyperbaton of the object. Finally, this brief pragmatic analysis of our corpus of tmesis revealed the importance of the place word rather than the verb it functions with. And, even if the preverb tends to lose its semantic value and be assimilated with the verb, it is still a strong element in the Homeric clause: ἐν seems to function as an opening signal on multiple levels and signals a semantic and pragmatic polarity.

§ 2. Elements for another dating scenario

If we follow the hypothesis that the type 2 could be a more original form of tmesis and that the tmesis of types 3 and 4 could be later analogical fissions, another relative dating could here be possible.

The type 2 appears to us as the best candidate for an older version of tmesis. Placing this type rather than the long-distance type at the beginning of our scenario is however less satisfying. Seeing some of the broader configurations as more original with Haug is indeed attractive, as they show a stage of free syntactic arrangement of the tmesis with an apparent complete independency of the place word ἐν. We saw however that those two types seem to often have a stylistic motivation and their conservation through both the epic tradition and the process of grammaticalization is perhaps more doubtful than for the more restricted type 2. The tmesis of type 2 indeed shows a stage of starting grammaticalization with first rules of use and a distribution in the use of the cases.

Two stages can be distinguished for the type 2 with a first and freer stage with tmesis than can occur at various positions in the line and clause and variations in the number of words standing between preverb and verb. Another stage would be the frozen formulae (like ἐν φόβον ὄρσε), those are mostly found at the end of the line and are more restricted with only one word enclosed in the tmesis and very little variation. This second subtype could be analysed as more recent with a shortened distance and more regulated use that could point to a later stage of the grammaticalization.

The type 1 seems to show the very last stage of grammaticalization as the verb and the preverb are only separated by a clitic element and already form a prosodic and metrical word. This case could at first appear as particularly instable: perceived without any real ‘effect of tmesis’ and yet not exactly forming a proper compound. Perhaps this case would have the easier case of tmesis to replace and one the most replaced by the vernacular version. This conservation is perhaps the sign of a long last stage of the grammaticalization where multiple forms could still coexist. The metrical pattern of this type of tmesis was a very convenient device to open line as opposed to the vernacular version. This form would then have been frozen as a device and therefore stayed productive.

We think then dubious that the larger and stylistically marked large distance tmesis could have easily been conserved as archaisms. If we accept the hypothesis that these forms

had been later (re)formed we should place them at the end of our comparative dating. However some internal precision can be made as we saw that these categories gather very distinct and individual cases. First the broader version of tmesis of our corpus- five or six words standing between the preverb and the verb- appears only in the *Odyssey* and could be supposed to be more recent than the shorter cases. A distinction between two types of enjambment tmesis can also be made with broader cases that seem to imitate the configuration of the more reduced and frequent enjambment of the *Iliad*.

Finally we should say a word or two about a few peculiar cases that do not belong to any categories, are generally difficult to position and seems to show transition between two stages:

Odyssey, 24.498¹ ἐν δ' ἄρα Λαέρτης Δολίος τ' ἐς τεύχε' ἔδυνον

The first example shows a line including both ἐν and the later preposition ἐς. We previously interpreted this as an evidence for a later stylistic production of the tmesis but we could note here the competition between the two place words.

Odyssey, 5.260² ἐν δ' ὑπέρας τε κάλους τε πόδας τ' ἐνέδησεν ἐν αὐτῇ

The second example shows also a multiplication of the place names with both a preverb and a compound form and even a prepositional use of ἐν to close the line. The redoubled presence of the preverb seems to show a period of hesitation between the stages of the grammaticalization: either a later correction of an original tmesis or a reduplication of the preverb at a stage when the preverb in tmesis tends to be perceived as less independent and losing some of its semantic value. This loss of independency and semantic charge could explain the need for overexpressing the ἐν.

Iliad, 24.787³ ἐν δὲ πυρῆ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θέσαν, ἐν δ' ἔβαλον πῦρ.

¹ 'And among them Laertes and Dolius donned their armor' Loeb edition translation.

² 'And he made fast in the raft braces and halyards and sheets' Loeb edition translation.

³ 'And on the topmost pyre they laid the dead man and cast fire on it.' Loeb edition translation.

The presence of two tmeses with two different configurations in a same line is a bit surprising. And perhaps even more so if we consider the literary context as this line ends the description of Hector's burial, opens and close on the image of the fire and verbally performs the burial here. Therefore there is good chance that this important passage¹ has been well conserved and perhaps left untouched-or at least less modified- than others. On one hand, the juxtaposition of these two configurations could suggest that they were both still productive at the same time. The line could then go back to an older stage of non-achieved grammaticalization. On the other hand this line could also be described as a recent production using the tmesis as a stylistic tool as the first tmesis is quite broad and encloses two different cases and the second could be interpreted as analogy of the ἐν δ' ἐτίθει construction.

Odyssey, 13.244² ἐν μὲν γὰρ οἱ σῖτος ἀθέσφατος, ἐν δέ τε οἴνος
γίνεται· αἰεὶ δ' ὄμβρος ἔχει τεθαλυῖά τ' ἔέρση.

This last example presents yet another case of a verb with two preverbs. In this case, the verb seems to act as a copula with a limited semantic value and a peripheral presence in the clause: it is only suggested in the first tmesis and placed in enjambment for the second. The ἐν place words seem to assume the main semantic value of the verbal complex and act more as independent adverbs than preverbs.

¹ If this passage is not a later addition.

² 'In it grows grain beyond measure, and the wine grape as well, and the rain never fails it, nor the rich dew.'
 Loeb edition translation.

Proposition of order:

- ❖ Middle distance tmesis (type 2)
 - ❖ One to three words standing in between, freer disposition
 - ❖ Fossilized formulaic version (ἐν δόρῳ)
 - ➔ Grammaticalization already started

- ❖ Compact tmesis (type 1)
 - ❖ frozen last stage of grammaticalization
 - ❖ productivity by analogy (metrical opening)
 - ➔ later productivity

- ❖ Long distance tmesis (type 3 and 4)
 - ❖ Enjambment simple (type 4 Iliad)
 - ❖ Type 3
 - ❖ Broader version of type 3 and 4 (Odyssey only)
 - ➔ Later modification of old tmesis?
 - ➔ Poetic and analogical creation?
 - ➔ Recent fission for stylistic purpose?

- ❖ Later modifications and analogical additions
 - ➔ Insertion of δέ by analogy in existing tmesis...

Finally this proposition of a relative chronology should be followed by evoking a few limits. This argumentation is based on a very free use of the word order theory. Our classification into narrow focus, broad focus or topic of the different elements is partially faulted by a desire of harmony that could have lead us to interpret more easily some elements as focal or emphaticized. The study of the positioning of the tmesis inside the line could also be criticized as choosing 'marked' position is not a certain science. Analysing the tmesis and the words standing between the place word and verb is also sometimes artificial and lead us to consider the tmesis as a separation that it is not. The tmesis easily appears to us as a poetic device and we should not forget its simple condition of an archaism used in parataxis.

Moreover the unity of the feature- that is considering the tmesis as an archaism on the sole account of the independency of ἐν- should perhaps not be ruled out too soon. Such chronology also can give a simplified idea of a complex and nonlinear oral tradition and 'strata' of the epic text are always difficult to spot and date. Therefore the analysis of the large distance cases of tmesis for examples should be here taken as mere propositions as the corpus is limited and our approach sometimes biased.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper was to give an overview of the cases of tmesis in ἐν in the Homeric poems. The analysis of the gathered data revealed that the evolution of tmesis and the univerbation process appeared to follow some tendencies but remained specific to each verb and closely depended on context and integration in formula and in the line. Studying this subset of tmesis cases through various synchronic criteria has also shown that the presence and conservation of the tmeses in ἐν were not accidental and most results seemed to suggest logics of distribution. The tmesis are often found in narrative part of the poems and inside formulae, showing a belonging to the older strata of the Homeric poems and the feature was probably perceived early on as archaic and different from the spoken vernacular. The cases found between the verb and the preverb as well as the limited set of verbs used in tmesis point towards an already started grammaticalization that singles out and conserve only a limited number of formations.

Another finding is the quiet importance of the particle δέ in the conservation of this archaism: the metrical flexibility of the combination ἐν δέ/ ἐν δ' seem to have contributed to fixation of the tmesis in the text and also plays a significant role in later modification and productivity of the feature. The main result of these synchronic observations was however the classification of the tmeses in ἐν into four categories (type 1: ἐν δ' ἐτίθει type; type 2: compact tmeses; type 3: long distance tmeses of the Odyssey; type 4: tmeses in enjambment).

The attempts to date the tmeses in ἐν have met a certain number of issues and the lack of reliable comparing material led us to limit our research to an internal chronology of the different subtypes of tmesis. Two different perspectives- an historical one and pragmatic one- were successively adopted and produced two possible scenarios. The historical approach based on Haug's work would be in favour of an order: types 3 and 4 - type 2 - type 1.

Considering the pragmatic impact of the tmesis with Bertrand led us however to reconsider this order. The type 2 indeed appears to have a local foregrounding role while the type 3 and 4 show a more important foregrounding tendency coupled to a noticeable stylistic use of the tmesis. The original foregrounding effect of tmesis enclosing narrow focus

probably contributed to the good conservation of tmeses of type 2 that vernacular compound forms were unable to replace without losing the pragmatic stress. We believe that what was originally a side effect of the free placement of the preverb and the verb in tmesis became a poetic tool and that the archaic cases of tmesis were imitated for a foregrounding and stylistic purpose. Tmeses of types 3 and 4, that are more likely to show foregrounding material and broad focus, would then be later produced on the basis of type 2. This approach leads us to propose a second scenario for a chronology: type 2- type 1- type 3-type 4.

The last section aimed to defend the hypothesis that the pragmatic foregrounding function of the tmesis contributed to both its conservation as a fixed archaism and to a later productivity as a poetical and stylistic tool used to enclose salient information. This view remains however subjective and is based on an unskilled use of some word order theories. The two scenarios proposed are also based on a very specific corpus and the study of a larger sample would certainly modify these chronologies. It would perhaps be interesting to replicate this approach with other preverbs found in tmesis or with examples taken in Hittite or Vedic texts.

DATA

Cases of tmesis found in the *Iliad*:

1. 1.142 ἐν δ' ἐρέτας ἐπιτηδὲς ἀγείρομεν, ἐς δ' ἐκατόμβην
2. 1.309 ἐν δ' ἐρέτας ἔκρινεν ἐείκοσιν, ἐς δ' ἐκατόμβην
3. 1.311 εἶσεν ἄγων· ἐν δ' ἀρχὸς ἔβη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς.
4. 1,481 ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρῆσεν μέσον ιστίον, ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα
5. 2.451 ὀτρύνουσ' ἰέναι· ἐν δὲ σθένος ὄρσεν ἐκάστω
6. 2.578 λαοὶ ἔποντ'· ἐν δ' αὐτὸς ἐδύσετο νόροπα χαλκὸν
7. 4.134 ἐν δ' ἔπεσε ζωστήρι ἀρηρότι πικρὸς οἴστος·
8. 5.040 πρῶτῳ γὰρ στρεφθέντι μεταφρένω ἐν δόρυ πῆξεν
9. 5.730-731 διῆσε χρύσειον καλὸν ζυγόν, ἐν δὲ λέπαδνα
κάλ' ἔβαλε χρύσει'· ὑπὸ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν Ἥρη
10. 6.047 πολλὰ δ' ἐν ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς κειμήλια κεῖται
11. 7.073 ὑμῖν δ' ἐν γὰρ ἔασιν ἀριστιῆς Παναχαιῶν·
12. 7.176 ἐν δ' ἔβαλον κυνέη Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο.
13. 8.070 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο
14. 8.095 μή τις τοι φεύγοντι μεταφρένω ἐν δόρυ πῆξῃ·
15. 8.258 τῷ δὲ μεταστρεφθέντι μεταφρένω ἐν δόρυ πῆξεν
16. 8.289 πρῶτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμὲ πρεσβήϊον ἐν χερὶ θήσω,
17. 8.335 Ἄψ δ' αὖτις Τρώεσσιν Ὀλύμπιος ἐν μένος ὄρσεν·
18. 9.154 ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται,
19. 9.207-8 ἐν δ' ἄρα νῶτον ἔθηκ' ὄϊος καὶ πίονος αἰγός,
ἐν δὲ συδὸς σιάλοιο ράχιν τεθαλυῖαν ἀλοιφῇ.
20. 9.296 ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται,

21. 9.350 εὐρεΐαν μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας **κατέπηξεν**·
22. 11.016 Ἀργείους· ἐν δ' αὐτὸς **ἐδύσετο** νόροπα χαλκόν.
23. 11.52-3 ἱππῆες δ' ὀλίγον μετεκίαθον· ἐν δὲ κυδοιμὸν
ᾧρσε κακὸν Κρονίδης, κατὰ δ' ὑπόθεν ἤκεν ἐέρσας
24. 11.91-2 κεκλόμενοι ἐτάροισι κατὰ στίχας· ἐν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων
πρῶτος **ᾧρουσ'**, ἔλε δ' ἄνδρα Βιάνορα ποιμένα λαῶν
25. 11.216-7 ἀρτύνθη δὲ μάχη, στὰν δ' ἀντίοι· ἐν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων
πρῶτος **ᾧρουσ'**, ἔθελεν δὲ πολὺ προμάχεσθαι ἀπάντων.
26. 11.297 ἐν δ' **ἔπεσ'** ὑσμίνη ὑπεραεῖ ἴσος ἀέλλη,
27. 11.447 τῷ δὲ μεταστρεφθέντι μεταφρένω ἐν δόρυ **πῆξεν**
28. 11.538-9 ἀνδρόμεον ῥῆξαι τε μετάλμενος· ἐν δὲ κυδοιμὸν
ἤκε κακὸν Δαναοῖσι, μίνυνθα δὲ χάζετο δουρός.
29. 11.544 Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Αἴανθ' ὑψίζυγος ἐν φόβον **ᾧρσε**·
30. 13.362 Ἴδομενεὺς Τρώεσσι μετάλμενος ἐν φόβον **ᾧρσε**.
31. 14.182 ἐν δ' ἄρα ἔρματα **ἤκεν** εὐτρήτοισι λοβοῖσι
32. 14.521 ἀνδρῶν τρεσσάντων, ὅτε τε Ζεὺς ἐν φόβον **ᾧρση**.
33. 14.326-7 ὡς ἐφόβηθεν Ἀχαιοὶ ἀνάκιδες· ἐν γὰρ Ἀπόλλων
ἤκε φόβον, Τρωσὶν δὲ καὶ Ἴκτορι κῦδος ὄπαζεν.
34. 15.650 στήθει δ' ἐν δόρυ **πῆξε**, φίλων δὲ μιν ἐγγὺς ἐταίρων
35. 16.289 Παίονες· ἐν γὰρ Πάτροκλος φόβον **ἤκεν** ἅπασιν
36. 16.729 δύσεθ' ὄμιλον ἰών, ἐν δὲ κλόνον Ἀργείοισιν
ἤκε κακόν, Τρωσὶν δὲ καὶ Ἴκτορι κῦδος ὄπαζεν.
37. 18.135 πρὶν γ' ἐμὲ δεῦρ' ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν **ἴδηαι**·
38. 190 πρὶν γ' αὐτὴν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν **ἴδωμαι**·
39. 18.218 φθέγξαι· ἀτὰρ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἄσπετον **ᾧρσε** κυδοιμόν.

40. 18.346 ἐν δ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ ἔχεαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ξύλα δαῖον ἐλόντες.
41. 18.351 ἐν δ' ὠτειλὰς πλήσαν ἀλείφατος ἐννεώροιο·
42. 18.419 τῆς ἐν μὲν νόος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐδὴ
43. 18.541 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει νειὸν μαλακὴν πείραν ἄρουραν adverbial
44. 551 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει τέμενος βασιλῆιον· ἔνθα δ' ἔριθοι
45. 561 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει σταφυλῆσι μέγα βρίθουσιν ἀλωὴν
46. 587 Ἐν δὲ νομὸν ποίησε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυῆεις
47. 607 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο
48. 19.159 ἀνδρῶν, ἐν δὲ θεὸς πνεύση μένος ἀμφοτέροισιν.
49. 19.393-4 ζεύγνυον· ἀμφὶ δὲ καλὰ λέπαδν' ἔσαν, ἐν δὲ χαλινούς
γαμφηλῆς ἔβαλον, κατὰ δ' ἠνία τεῖναν ὀπίσσω
50. 20.381 ἐν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς Τρώεσσι θόρε φρεσὶν εἰμένος ἀλκὴν
51. 21.9 ἐν δ' ἔπεσον μεγάλῳ πατάγῳ, βράχε δ' αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα,
52. 21.338 δένδρεα καῖ', ἐν δ' αὐτὸν ἴει πυρί· μὴ δέ σε πάμπαν
53. 22.210 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
54. 22.283 οὐ μὲν μοι φεύγοντι μεταφρένω ἐν δόρυ πήξεις,
55. 22.441 δίπλακα πορφυρέην, ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ' ἔπασσε.
56. 23.170 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας
57. 23.177 ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἦκε σιδήρεον ὄφρα νέμοιτο.
58. 23.352 ἄν δ' ἔβαν ἐς δίφρους, ἐν δὲ κλήρους ἐβάλοντο·
59. 23.399-400 πολλὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξάλμενος· ἐν γὰρ Ἀθήνη
ἵπποις ἦκε μένος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶ κῦδος ἔθηκε.
60. 23.567 Ἀντιλόχῳ ἄμοτον κεχολωμένος· ἐν δ' ἄρα κῆρυξ
χειρὶ σκῆπτρον ἔθηκε, σιωπῆσαί τε κέλευσεν
61. 23.731 ἐν δὲ γόνυ γνάμψεν· ἐπὶ δὲ χθονὶ κάππεσον ἄμφω

62. 23.777 **ἐν** δ' ὄνθου βοέου **πλήτο** στόμα τε ῥῖνάς τε·
63. 24.442 **ἐν** δ' **ἔπνευσ'** ἵπποισι καὶ ἡμιόνους μένος ἠϋ̄.
64. 24.787 **ἐν** δὲ πυρῆ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν **θέσαν**, **ἐν** δ' **ἔβαλον** πῦρ.

Cases of tmesis found in the *Odyssey*:

1. 1.50 νῆσος δενδρήεσσα, θεὰ δ' **ἐν** δώματα **ναίει**,
2. 2.330 **ἐν** δὲ **βάλη** κρητῆρι καὶ ἡμέας πάντας ὀλέσσει.
3. 3.40 δῶκε δ' ἄρα σπλάγχων μοίρας, **ἐν** δ' οἶνον **ἔχευε**
4. 3.479 **ἐν** δὲ γυνὴ ταμίη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον **ἔθηκεν**
5. 4.578 **ἐν** δ' ἰστοὺς **τιθέμεσθα** καὶ ἰστία νηυσὶν εἵσσης·
6. 4.653 οἱ οἱ ἔποντ'· **ἐν** δ' ἀρχὸν ἐγὼ **βαίνοντ'** ἐνόησα
7. 4.761 **ἐν** δ' **ἔθετ'** οὐλοχύτας κανέω, ἠρᾶτο δ' Ἀθήνη·
8. 4.781 **ἐν** δ' ἰστόν τε **τίθεντο** καὶ ἰστία νηὶ μελαίνῃ,
9. 5.254 **ἐν** δ' ἰστόν **ποιεῖ** καὶ ἐπίκριον ἄρμενον αὐτῶ·
- 5.260 **ἐν** δ' ὑπέρας τε κάλους τε πόδας τ' **ἐνέδησεν ἐν** αὐτῇ,
10. 6.76 παντοίην, **ἐν** δ' ὄψα **τίθει**, **ἐν** δ' οἶνον **ἔχευεν**
11. 6.292 αἰγείρων, **ἐν** δὲ κρήνη **νάει**, ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμών·
12. 7.291 παιζούσας, **ἐν** δ' αὐτὴ **ἔην** εἰκυῖα θεῆσι.
13. 8.52 **ἐν** δ' ἰστόν τ' **ἐτίθεντο** καὶ ἰστία νηὶ μελαίνῃ,
14. 8.274 **ἐν** δ' **ἔθετ'** ἄκμοθέτῳ μέγαν ἄκμονα, κόπτε δὲ δεσμοὺς
15. 8.343 ὧς ἔφατ', **ἐν** δὲ γέλως **ῶρτ'** ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.
16. 8.425 **ἐν** δ' αὐτὴ **θῆς** φᾶρος ἐϋπλυνῆς ἠδὲ χιτῶνα.
17. 8.436 **ἐν** δ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ **ἔχεον**, ὑπὸ δὲ ξύλα δαῖον ἐλοῦσαι.
18. 8.441 **ἐν** δ' αὐτὴ φᾶρος **θῆκεν** καλόν τε χιτῶνα
19. 8.459 θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσῆα **ἐν** ὀφθαλμοῖσιν **ὀρῶσα**

20. 9.118 ὑλήεσσ'· ἐν δ' αἴγες ἀπειρέσiai **γεγάασιν**
21. 10.315 ἐν δέ τε φάρμακον **ἦκε**, κακὰ φρονέουσ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ.
22. 11.3 ἐν δ' ἰστὸν **τιθέμεσθα** καὶ ἰστία νηῖ μελαίνῃ,
23. 11.4 ἐν δέ τὰ μῆλα λαβόντες **ἐβήσαμεν**, ἂν δέ καὶ αὐτοὶ
24. 12.103 τῷ δ' ἐν ἔρινεός **ἐστι** μέγας, φύλλοισι τεθηλώς·
25. 12.347 τεύξομεν, ἐν δέ κε **θεῖμεν** ἀγάλματα πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.
26. 12.417 ἐν δέ θεοῦ **πλήτο**· πέσον δ' ἐκ νηὸς ἑταῖροι.
27. 12.105 ἐν δέ κρητῆρές τε καὶ ἀμφοφορῆες **ἔασι**
28. 13.244 ἐν μὲν γάρ οἱ σῖτος ἀθέσφατος, ἐν δέ τε οἶνος
γίνεται· αἰεὶ δ' ὄμβρος ἔχει τεθαλυῖά τ' ἐέρση.
29. 13.438 πυκνὰ ῥωγαλέην· ἐν δέ στρόφος **ἦεν** ἀορτήρ.
30. 14.268-9 χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς. ἐν δέ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυτος
φύζαν ἑμοῖσ' ἑτάροισι κακὴν **βάλεν**, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
31. 14.307 ἐν δέ θεοῦ **πλήτο**· πέσον δ' ἐκ νηὸς ἅπαντες.
32. 14.343 ῥωγαλέα, τὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν **ὄρηαι**.
33. 14.519 εὐνήν, ἐν δ' ὄϊων τε καὶ αἰγῶν δέρματ' **ἔβαλλεν**.
34. 17.198 πυκνὰ ῥωγαλέην, ἐν δέ στρόφος **ἦεν** ἀορτήρ·
35. 17.437-8 χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς. ἐν δέ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυτος
φύζαν ἑμοῖσ' ἑτάροισι κακὴν **βάλεν**, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
36. 18.109 πυκνὰ ῥωγαλέην, ἐν δέ στρόφος **ἦεν** ἀορτήρ.
37. 18.293 ποικίλον· ἐν δ' ἄρ' **ἔσαν** περόναι δυοκαίδεκα πᾶσαι
38. 20.23 τῷ δέ μάλ' ἐν πείσῃ κραδίη **μένε** τετληυῖα
39. 20.260 πᾶρ δ' ἐτίθει σπλάγχων μοίρας, ἐν δ' οἶνον **ἔχευεν**
ἐν δέπαϊ χρυσέῳ, καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·
40. 21.45 ἐν δέ σταθμοὺς **ἄρσε**, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς,

41. 21.47 ἐν δὲ κληῖδ' ἦκε, θυρέων δ' ἀνέκοπτεν ὀχῆας
42. 23.201 ἐν δ' ἐτάνυσσ' ἱμάντα βοὸς φοίνικι φαεινόν
43. 24.498 ἐν δ' ἄρα Λαέρτης Δολίος τ' ἐς τεύχε' ἔδυνον,
44. 24.526 ἐν δ' ἔπεσον προμάχοισ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ φαίδιμος υἱός,

ἐν χερσὶν ἔθηκε type :

- 1.441 πατρὶ φίλω ἐν χερσὶ τίθει καὶ μιν προσέειπεν·
- 1.446 πατρὶ φίλω ἐν χερσὶ τίθει καὶ μιν προσέειπεν·
- 1.585 μητρὶ φίλῃ ἐν χειρὶ τίθει καὶ μιν προσέειπε·
- 6.482 Ὡς εἰπὼν ἀλόχοιο φίλης ἐν χερσὶν ἔθηκε
- 8.116 Νέστωρ δ' ἐν χεῖρεςσι λάβ' ἠνία σιγαλόεντα,
- 10.328 Ὡς φάθ', ὃ δ' ἐν χερσὶ σκῆπτρον λάβε καὶ οἱ ὄμοσσαν·
- 10.529 ἐν χεῖρεςσ' Ὀδυσῆϊ τίθει, ἐπεβήσετο δ' ἵππων·
- 12.422 μέτρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἐπιζύνω ἐν ἀρούρη,
- 15.229 ἀλλὰ σὺ γ' ἐν χεῖρεςσι λάβ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν,
- 15.311 τὴν ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἐν χεῖρεςσιν ἔχων ἠγήσατο λαῶν.
- 17.40 Πάνθω ἐν χεῖρεςσι βάλω καὶ Φρόντιδι δίη.

Detailed results of syntactic functions according to the four types:

Iliad

TYPE OF TMESIS	FUNCTION OF THE INSERTED MATERIAL			
	SUBJECT	OBJECT	OTHER	GROUP COMPLEX
Type 1	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Type 2	15 (22.5 %)	15 (22.5 %)	3 (4.5 %)	0 (0 %)
Type 3	0 (0 %)	2 (3 %)	1 (1.5 %)	4 (6 %)
Type 4	3 (4.5 %)	3 (4.5 %)	1 (1.5 %)	3 (4.5%)

Odyssey

TYPE OF TMESIS	FUNCTION OF THE INSERTED MATERIAL			
	SUBJECT	OBJECT	OTHER	GROUP COMPLEX
Type 1	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Type 2	7 (15.5 %)	15 (33.5 %)	2 (4.5 %)	0 (0 %)
Type 3	2 (4.5 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	9 (20 %)
Type 4	1 (2 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	2 (4.5%)

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