Poetological Language of Sound and Movement in Pindar and the Rigveda: A Study in Conceptual Metaphor Theory

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Academic year: 2024/2025

Specialization: Comparative Indo-European Linguistics (MA)

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Word Count: 20111

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1. Introduction

The scope of this study is to analyse Pindar's poetological vocabulary through the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), with particular focus on the frameworks of sound and movement, in order to gain a deeper understanding of his lexical choices, and compare it with the data found in the *Rigveda*. The aim is to provide a coherent set of metaphorical mappings for these two domains, by describing the underlying conceptualization progresses and identifying the concrete images that inform the expressions under examination. Furthermore, instances of conventionalization and fossilization will be highlighted when possible.

This investigation builds on Meusel's monumental 2019 study, which examines inherited Indo-European (IE) collocations pertaining to fame and poetry in Pindar, many of which – with some variation – are also attested in the Vedic tradition.

While Meusel's emphasis lies on phraseology, specifically the presence or absence of similar phraseological collocations in the *Rigveda* and their utility for reconstructing inherited PIE poetic vocabulary, the present study takes a different approach. It aims to investigate what is behind Pindar's use of verbs and nouns related to poetry, celebration and singing. For instance, why is a word like κόμπος, which prior to Pindar is attested only in the sense of 'clattering', used metaphorically to denote 'song' in *Nemean* 8.48-50? Or why does Pindar claim that song must be 'awakened' in *Olympian* 9.47? The most straightforward answer would be to attribute such expressions to poetic creativity.

However, Conceptual Metaphor Theory could offer a more coherent explanation by reconstructing the metaphorical frameworks underlying these expressions. As will be explained, linguistic metaphors are the surface realizations of cognitive processes rooted in human cognition. Moreover – this is where the *Rigveda* becomes relevant – since languages close to each other often share similar metaphors, investigating whether comparable metaphorical processes occur in two different languages can be fruitful, because it may help trace the origins of these metaphorical patterns further back in time. Therefore, after reconstructing the metaphorical framework behind certain poetological terms in the Pindaric *Odes*, this study will compare the findings with a notably more archaic *corpus*, the *Rigveda*, in order to explore whether Pindar's conceptual metaphors can be traced to earlier stages of Proto-Indo-European.

Before proceeding with the analysis, it is necessary to outline the major tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, in order to clarify why this approach could be fruitfully applied to a comparison between Pindar and *Rigveda*.

1.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory: a brief introduction

Before the cognitive approach was adopted in the study of metaphors, the predominant view regarded them solely as a linguistic construct rather than a cognitive process. Consequently, metaphors were interpreted as mere figures of speech (Johnson 1991:339). This perspective was taken to its extreme by Davidson (1978:32), who argued that metaphors "mean what the words, in their most literal interpretation, mean, and nothing more".[1]

This perspective was radically challenged by Lakoff and Johnson in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), which laid the foundations for Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Their central claim is that metaphors fundamentally shape our cognitive processes and are not simply reflections of language. Essentially, metaphors originate early in life through bodily or sensory experiences, which become the basis for understanding abstract concepts (Johnson 1997:160).

The process begins from a bodily experience that co-occurs with an abstract feeling or perception. In such instances, the so-called "primary metaphors" (Sullivan 2017:397) emerge, wherein both the abstract and concrete elements coexist in real-life experiences. For instance, a child might associate the feeling of anger with the sensation of heat, because these co-occur in real life. Therefore, if this association is iterated, in children's minds the concepts of FEELINGS and TEMPERATURE would become conflated, not easily distinguishable. The recurring experiential correlation is called "primary scene" (Grady 1997:23), and forms the foundation of primary metaphors.

Only later, in adulthood, do these merged experiences diverge into a concrete and abstract domain, forming a metaphorical relationship. In this framework, TEMPERATURE functions as source domain, while FEELINGS become the target domain (comprehensively called "metaphor input domains"). The mapping is unidirectional: the TARGET DOMAIN is always understood via the SOURCE DOMAIN, but not vice versa. This process – when a source domain is used to grasp a target domain – is called "entailment" (Sullivan 2017:395). Therefore, linguistically a metaphor then possesses both a literal and metaphorical meaning, termed respectively VEHICLE and TENOR (or "TOPIC" in some recent literature; cf. Deignan 2005). The first is the meaning of a word in its SOURCE DOMAIN, and the second the meaning of the word within the TARGET DOMAIN.

From the primary metaphor, for instance ANGER is HEAT, more complex mappings arise, known as "secondary metaphors". These kind of metaphors are formed by mappings that do not co-occur in concrete experience, such as ANGER is a HEATED FLUID. From this it follows that if primary metaphors

[1] A recent survey on the differences between CT (Classical Theory) and CMT (Conceptual Metaphor Theory) with an attempt to combine these two views has been made by Mácha (2016).

are more likely to be universal, secondary metaphors most often are not, and vary based on culture, language, and context.

The way the source domain gets mapped into a target domain depends on structures called "image schemas",[2] embodied, preconceptual structures (Hampe 2005:1-12) developed through early sensory experience. Examples include PATH, CONTAINER/CONTAINMENT, SUPERIMPOSITION.[3] Image schemas are schematic and continuous, serving as recurring cognitive patterns. They are also relatively few, as the list laid out by Hampe (2005:2-3) shows. It follows that it is the source domain that dictates the type of image schema that will create the mapping. In the metaphor ANGER is A HEATED FLUID, for example, the image schema CONTAINER/CONTAINMENT underlies the HEATED FLUID concept and is carried over into the target concept ANGER.

Lakoff (1990:39-74) showed that mappings are created basing on the so-called "Invariance Principle", namely the persistence of image schemas. In fact, an image schema, present in the source domain, will be projected invariantly into the target domain: if the vehicle HEATED FLUID presupposes the CONTAINER/CONTAINMENT schema, this will be transferred into the tenor ANGER.

While image schemas provide the structural backbone of metaphors, "frames" are sets of elements that allow to create the mappings. Frames dissect a given situation into its constituent elements, which are potentially the base of mappings. If we take the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, for instance, the concept of ANGER pertains to the Feeling frame, which will evoke an Experiencer, the agent of the action, and the Emotion felt (https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/frameIndex, accessed 26/06/25). On the other hand, HEAT evokes the Temperature frame, which entails an Attribute that specify it, an Entity that perceives it, and also Circumstances in which it is perceived. However, several other frames are at play in each metaphor.

For instance, in the secondary metaphor ANGER is A HEATED FLUID, also the Fluid_motion[4] and Container frames are presupposed. The result is that metaphor input domains can be considered as combinations of elements from multiple interrelated frames. Both domains and frames are based on the same principle, that an element evokes a set of other correlate elements. Several frames have been identified and catalogued into the online database FrameNet

[2] A more complex description has been made by Mandler and Pagán Cánovas (2014), as they separate image schemas from spatial primitives and schematic integrations, claiming that in the majority of studies these three tenets are just conflated as image schemas.

[3] Image-schemas will be written in uppercase, as in Hampe (2005:1-2) from now on in order to distinguish them from Frames.

[4] Frames will be indicated with the word starting with capital letters and the low dash_ between words, as in the Framenet website.

(https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/luIndex, accessed 26/06/25), although this resource remains under continuous development. Another aspect that has to be taken into consideration is that frames entail elements that sometimes are not even expressed in the mappings. This happens because of the partial nature of the mapping process (Roush 2018:20). In fact, not all the potential vehicles of a source domain are mapped into tenors.

According to recent studies (Sullivan 2017:404) the Invariance Principle also applies to frames, a notion referred to as the "Extended Invariance Principle." In fact, in the mapping process, frames evoked by the vehicle are transmitted to the tenor. For instance, if HEATED FLUID evokes the Temperature, Fluid_motion and Container frames, these will be mapped into the tenor ANGER.

However, metonymy, which also features prominently in this study, defies these patterns. Long acknowledged as a productive linguistic process (and recently reevaluated in cognitive terms; see Deignan 2005:64-83), metonymy involves referencing an entity by one of its attributes or parts. A common subtype, synecdoche, occurs when a part represents the whole. For instance, an element of an action can represent the action as a whole: when Pindar, in *Pythian* 2.27, says that Hera "belonged to the joyful **beds** of Zeus" (τὰν Διὸς **εὐναὶ** λάχον πολυγαθέες), he uses an aspect of love – namely, the bed – to refer to love as a whole. Therefore, unlike metaphors, which involve cross-domain mappings, metonymy typically operates within a single domain. Some scholars (e.g., Deignan 2005:59-60) argue that many primary metaphors should be interpreted as metonymies. This line of reasoning is, in some cases, extended further, for example, by suggesting that the well-known primary metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING can also be understood as a metonymy, given that SENSORY PERCEPTION is a component of MENTAL PERCEPTION (Feyaerts 2000:59-78). Although there is no consensus regarding some of these positions on metonymy, it is evident that metaphor and metonymy frequently overlap, while in other instances they remain clearly distinguishable. Expressions like BED FOR LOVE clearly constitute metonymy, whereas LIFE is a JOURNEY is an unequivocal metaphor. Current scholarship (Deignan 2005:69-71) views metaphor and metonymy as two poles on a continuum, suggesting that the degree of metonymic influence should also be assessed when analysing metaphorical expressions.[5]

Metaphors, then, are not merely poetic devices but foundational elements of everyday language, shaped by cultural and linguistic context. When an association between a certain tenor and vehicle is repeatedly attested, this indicates a process of "conventionalization" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:211-213). However, there are cases in which the tenor, over time, overlaps with the vehicle, causing the

[5] There are also more extreme perspectives, for instance considering all conceptual metaphors as metonymies (Barcelona 2003).

original concrete meaning of the term to be lost. In such cases, the result is a "dead" or "fossilized" metaphor. Lakoff defines such cases as metaphors where the semantics and terminology of the SOURCE DOMAIN have disappeared (Lakoff 1987:144-145). This distinction is vital, as earlier scholarship often conflated all conventionalized metaphors with fossilised ones.

CMT has significantly influenced the study of poetic metaphors, beginning with Lakoff and Turner's *More Than Cool Reason* (1989), which reconstructed metaphor input domains underlying poetic expressions. More recently, Antović and Pagán Cánovas (2016) have shown that key tenets of cognitive grammar – such as the concept of construction – functionally overlap with well-established phraseological notions, for instance the formula, suggesting that these two approaches can be productively integrated. The significance of conceptual metaphors for oral poetry has also been emphasised by Horn (2015). For example, the famous Homeric collocation ἔπεα πτερόεντα can be interpreted as a fossilised metaphor whose abstract meaning had already been forgotten in Epic poetry. More recently, Zanker (2019) has offered an extensive treatment of metaphors related to time, speech, and thought in Homer. has In the case of Pindar, Eckerman (2019) has recently applied CMT to explain problematic passages within the crown metaophoric framework.

Therefore, returning to the purpose of this contribution, applying the aforementioned tenets first to the Pindaric odes and subsequently to the *Rigveda* will help better elucidate certain puzzling terms, that the Classical Theory would dismiss as products of the poet's creativity. In particular, the focus will be on selected expressions that Pindar uses to describe his poetological process in a metaphorical manner, whether consciously or unconsciously, specifically terms drawn from the domains of sound and movement framework, since these have not yet been adequately addressed within Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The reason for beginning with Pindar's *corpus* is apparent: Pindar offers a particularly fruitful case study for this metaphorical framework, given his frequent use of novel and often unprecedented lexemes and expressions. Furthermore, while epic poetry features occasional moments of poetic self-reference,[6] such instances occur more frequently, and often more centrally, in choral lyric, making Pindar, its most prolific representative, an ideal *corpus* for this type of investigation.

[6] Cf. e.g. *Theogony*, 29-34: ὣς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι, καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον δρέψασαι, θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα, καί μ' ἐκέλονθ' ὑμνεῖν μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων, σφᾶς δ' αὐτὰς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν. "So spoke great Zeus' ready-speaking daughters, and they plucked a staff, a branch of luxuriant laurel, a marvel, and gave it to me; and they breathed a divine voice into me, so that I might glorify what will be and what was before, and they commanded me to sing of the race of the blessed ones who always are, but always to sing of themselves first and last."

Moreover, as Meusel (2019) and Watkins (2002:319) have argued, Pindar's poetry is uniquely suited to Indo-European comparative analysis, with Watkins even calling him "the most Indo-European of all Greek poets," thus rendering the comparison with the *Rigveda* particularly promising.

Therefore, fully aware of the complexities inherent in Pindar's and *Rigveda* poetry, often rooted in their distinctive poetic style, my aim is not to simplify their poetic choices, but rather to examine why certain terms became metaphorically used, or to investigate the underlying motivations that may have led to prefer one metaphorical framework over another. Furthermore, I seek to provide a conceptual foundation, enhanced by a comparative perspective, for the interpretation of certain passages.

1.2. Methodology and *Corpora*

The analysis is structured into chapters based on individual metaphors, since multiple lexemes may often be linked to a single conceptual domain. The two main metaphorical frameworks will be words pertaining to sound, and words pertaining to movement. The main goals of each chapter can be described as such:

1. First of all, assessing both the literal and metaphorical usage of the terms within the *corpora*, and also, when needed, clarifying their poetological value when it is not transparent;
2. Identifying a coherent set of mappings that underlie the main metaphors, by pointing out the primary metaphors that are implied, and also the image schemas and frames associated with them. In some instances, possible proposals for primary scenes will be given, even though it is not always feasible to trace the concrete experience from which mappings arise;
3. Strengthen the presumed solidity of the main metaphors by identifying possible secondary mappings that emerge from them. Indeed, the more a metaphor proves productive, serving as the backbone of other complex metaphors, the more deeply rooted it is within conceptual processes.
4. Proposing the degree of conventionalization of the terms taken into consideration and, where possible, identifying cases of fossilization;
5. Comparing the metaphorical processes found in Pindar with analogous cases found within the *Rigveda*, pointing out their connections as well as their differences. The terms taken from the *Rigveda* will be treated in the same way as the terms in Pindar, following the goals expressed in points 1, 2, 3 and 4. In particular, given the high specificity associated with secondary metaphors, the presence of comparable secondary mappings arising from the same main metaphor would be significant, as it would reinforce the notion of the antiquity of the metaphorical framework under consideration.

The initial step involved data collection from Epic Greek, Pindar, and the *Rigveda*. For Pindar, in addition to direct consultation of the *Loeb Classical Library* editions (Race 1997a; 1997b), three key resources were used: the online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG), which also represented the source of Epic Greek *comparanda*, Slater's *Lexicon to Pindar* (2012) – especially for selecting poetologically relevant lexemes – and the thematic analysis by Pavese (1997). Vedic data were obtained using the online version of Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rig Veda* (1873) and Lubotsky's *A digital concordance of the Ṛgveda* (2024), also online.

After that, the material has been analyzed under the aforementioned tenets of conceptual metaphor. More specifically, after assessing the metaphorical usage of these terms within the texts and explaining their poetological value, the entailment from literal to metaphorical meaning will be analyzed in the first place by assessing its underlying primary metaphors. Although the main mapping that emerges from this entailment is not found in other CMT studies, since it represents a highly specific and complex metaphor, the primary metaphors involved are well-established mappings drawn from the works on CMT already referenced, as well as others. Following this, the mappings will be connected to their plausible underlying image schemas and frames. The identification of these underlying primary metaphors, image schemas, and frames is, for the most part, my own, except where otherwise indicated. While some primary metaphors are regularly accompanied by particular image schemas and frames, others have not been examined in such detail.

Subsequently, using the input provided by frames and image schemas, plausible examples of secondary mappings will be identified. For each term, an analysis of its occurrences will serve to determine the degree of conventionalization and, where applicable, of fossilization.

In doing so, it was necessary to start from solid and well-attested metaphor input domains, whose main sources were Lakoff and Turner's work *More than Cool Reason* (1989) and Grady's *Foundations of meaning: primary metaphors and primary scenes* (1997). Also the online catalogue Conceptual Metaphor has been proven useful (https://www.lang.osaka-u.ac.jp/~sugimoto/MasterMetaphorList/MetaphorHome.html). The most recent catalogue of image schemas, as provided by Hampe (2005), was also consulted. Finally, FrameNet online, the most up-to date resource for conceptual frames, has been used to find possible mappings.

In order to reconstruct the conceptualization process, of course it was fundamental to analyze the etymological development of the terms. To do this, for Greek the primary etymological sources include LSJ, Beekes (2010) and Chantraine (1968). For Vedic, apart from the aforementioned *Wörterbuch zum Rig Veda,* also the LIV^2 and Mayrhofer's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (1986) were used.

The analyzed passages will always follow the same order: first the Epic Greek examples, then Pindar's ones. For Pindar's *Odes*, the order will always be the following: *Olympians*, *Pythians*, *Nemeans*, *Isthmians*, *Fragments*. The translation will mainly follow Race's editions, nonetheless in several instances it will be modified in order to be more adherent to the literal meaning of words. For Rigveda, the translation will follow closely the one given by Jamison and Brereton (2014a).

2. SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND

2.1. SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND: conceptual description

Several nouns used by Pindar to describe the act of singing and praising are associated with loud or powerful sounds, suggesting the presence of the metaphor SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND. This may not seem unusual when song is likened to a shout, a human sound, but Pindar also employs a range of terms that refer to sounds produced by natural forces or inanimate objects, which require further explanation.

The tenor of these metaphors is sometimes difficult to determine, as praise, especially when expressed by the poet or the chorus, always implies singing, even when not explicitly accompanied by a verb or noun meaning 'song.' Nevertheless, this ambiguity does not undermine the fact that we are dealing with metaphors, in which the tenor will be indicated as SONG/PRAISE for the sake of precision.

Since the tenor SONG/PRAISE belongs to the domain of SOUND, with loud sound being an element inherent to the act of singing or praising, we are dealing with a mapping within the same domain, namely a metonymy. As will be demonstrated, more than one primary scene can be reconstructed based on the analyzed terms. However, SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND may itself be considered a primary metaphor, as it is possible to identify the concrete experiential basis from which the association likely arose. Kövecses (2015:117) argues that context is fundamental in the development of poetic metaphors. This principle is indeed applicable to Pindar: whereas epic poetry was probably performed by a single rhapsode, Pindar's odes were recited by a chorus, in which the layering of voices, likely producing a loud sound, occurred simultaneously with the praise or song itself. This observation is not of secondary importance, as it may explain why Pindar employs a distinctive range of terms to describe his poetry, which is not directly comparable to that of Epic poetry.

Consequently, the mapping can also be attributed to the metaphorical input domains QUANTITY IS VOLUME OR INTENSITY. As Grady (1997:291) explains, the term quantity may refer not only to numerical extent but also to the intensity of an action or the duration required to perform it. This metaphor interacts with another conceptual domain, IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME, since the mappings suggest a relationship between the effectiveness of SONG/PRAISE and the intensity of the sound with which it is expressed. Both metaphorical input domains presuppose the SCALE image schema, as examined by Johnson (1987:121-124), which involves perceiving the world through a quantitative (relating to volume) and/or qualitative (relating to intensity) scale. Accordingly, the intensity of praise or song is conceptualized as being analogous to the volume of sound associated with it. Moreover,

the image-schema MERGING is also at play, since in the primary scene the two sounds initially merged.

These two mappings are frequently attested in poetic descriptions, where, for instance, terms involving sound are often juxtaposed to emphasize the magnitude of that sound. In *Iliad* 9 (1), for example, two semantically similar terms are used in a hendiadic expression to this effect.

1. ***Il.* 9.547**: ἡ δ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῷ θῆκε πολὺν **κέλαδον** καὶ **ἀυτήν** […]
   "But the goddess set much **clamor and shouting** around it (a boar's carcass)…"

However, the metaphor is also reflected in a coherent set of mappings, especially in Pindar, where, in some cases, the conventionalization of these metaphors appear to be in a rather advanced state, as will be analyzed in the following sections.

2.2. SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND: analysis of vehicles

In the metaphor SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND, the element of sound is reflected in Pindar through various terms, which can be semantically categorized into three principal groups: words originally meaning 'shout', such as ἀϋτή and βοά; a word originally meaning 'clattering', namely κόμπος; and finally κέλαδος, a term used to describe a general 'loud sound'. This division arises from the distinct conceptualization processes these groups exhibit. Therefore, the first category discussed comprised nouns meaning 'shout', a human produced sound.

2. **O13.98-100**: ἀλαθής τέ μοι ἔξορκος ἐπέσσεται ἑξηκοντάκι δὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀδύγλωσσος **βοὰ** κάρυκος ἐσλοῦ.
   "And my true witness under oath shall be the **shout** of the noble sweet-tongued herald, heard full sixty times from both those places."
3. **Fr.140b.11-17:** ἐγὼ μ[…] παῦρα μελ[ι]ζομεν[…] [γλώ]σσαργον ἀμφέπω[ν ἐρεθίζομαι πρὸς **ἀϋτᾷ[ν** ἁλίου δελφῖνος ὑπόκρισιν, τὸν μὲν ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ᾽ ἐρατὸν μέλος.
   "Singing a few songs…Cherishing the garrulous…I am incited, in response to the **shout** in a manner of a dolphin of the sea, which the lovely melody of pipes excited in the expanse of a waveless deep."

Before discussing the qualities expressed by these terms, it is necessary to assess their poetological usage in the relevant passages, as it is not always clear. First, in *Olympian* 13 (2), the subject is a herald, which would typically suggest interpreting βοά as 'shout' rather than 'song' or 'praise'. However, Pindar frequently describes himself as a herald (cf. e.g. *Nem*. 4.74), and, moreover, at the beginning of this ode he applies nearly the same words to himself. Given this, the herald functions here in a way that parallels the role of the poet (Peri 2021:114; Meusel 2019:519).

Similarly, in the obscure fragment 140b (3), ἀϋτᾴ[ν likely reflects the concept of song itself. The fragment begins with a reference to an anonymous Locrian poet, identified by a scholiast as Xenocritus,[7] who is credited with innovating an Ionian song. The passage, according to Adorjáni (2017) and Henderson (1992), establishes a parallel between Xenocritus and Pindar. Xenocritus's work is likened to mules escorting a chariot, while Pindar's poetry is compared to dolphins following a ship. Pindar frequently compares his own work to both a chariot[8] and dolphins, so the analogy is not unusual. However, in this instance, Pindar appears to emphasize a distinction between his poetry and that of Xenocritus, likely in a competitive manner (Henderson 1992:154). The second half of the fragment (vv. 11-17) explicitly shifts the focus to Pindar himself, as marked by the strongly positioned pronoun ἐγὼ.[9] This suggests that Pindar seeks to contrast his own poetry with Xenocritus's.

The juxtaposition is reinforced by the expression in vv. 13-14: ἐρεθίζομαι πρὸς ἀϋτᾴ[ν "I am incited in response to the shout." In this passage, Pindar appears to be inspired to sing upon hearing Xenocritus' ἀϋτή, which should not be interpreted negatively (Henderson 1992:149). In the preceding lines, Pindar explicitly praises Xenocritus' poetic accomplishments, and the use of the chariot metaphor to describe his poetry places him in direct comparison with Pindar himself, who frequently employs this metaphor for his own art. It is therefore more plausible to interpret the passage as expressing a genuine desire to surpass Xenocritus, without, however, disparaging his work. What remains clear is the poetological function of the term in this context, which stands in contrast to μέλος, explicitly associated with Pindar's own poetry.

With respect to their conceptualization, ἀϋτή and βοά entail an increase in sound intensity, consistent with their usage in Epic Greek, where both appear in martial contexts to denote shouting or wailing. Therefore, a plausible primary scene may be identified in the choral recitation, where the song coincides with the emission of a loud sound, confirming the primary metaphor IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME at the base of the mapping SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND.

Regarding the conventionalization of these terms, although all occurrences of βοὰ within the odes are present in a poetological context, the term continues to appear with its original meaning 'shout' in later texts. In the case of ἀϋτή, its limited occurrence within the odes complicates any

[7] Whose figure was thoroughly analyzed by Fileni (1987).

[8] E.g., *Pythian* 10.64-66. See also Simpson (1969).

[9] Adorjáni (2017:11) outlines the three main hypotheses concerning the first-person pronoun. Indeed, it can either refer to the poet himself, to a part of the chorus (ἡμιχόριον), or to the whole chorus. However, the use of ἐγὼ at the beginning of the sentence is fairly common in Pindar and typically refers to the poet himself, in opposition. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the preceding section, vv. 1-9, refers to Pindar's "rival," the Locrian poet.

assessment of its degree of conventionalization. Nonetheless, its original meaning 'battle-cry' is attested in *Nemean* 9.35, which precludes the possibility of fossilization.

A different metaphoric process can be observed in the term κόμπος, whose original usage does not pertain to human utterance.

4. **N8.48-50**: χαίρω δὲ πρόσφορον ἐν μὲν ἔργῳ **κόμπον** ἰείς, ἐπαοιδαῖς δ᾽ ἀνήρ νώδυνον καί τις κάματον θῆκεν·
   "I am glad to cast a fitting **vaunt** upon your accomplishment, and a man has made even an hard toil painless with healing songs."
5. **Fr.94b 13-16:** σειρῆνα δὲ **κόμπον** αὐλίσκων ὑπὸ λωτίνων μιμήσομ᾽ ἀοιδαῖς κεῖνον […]
   "I shall imitate the siren's **loud song** in my songs to the accompaniment of lotus pipe […]"

The term κόμπος, likely of onomatopoeic origin (Chantraine 1984:561), is believed to mean 'chattering noise' (LSJ), specifically the sound of two objects clashing. In Homer, the noun appears in a formulaic expression describing chattering teeth: ὑπαὶ δέ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων […] "And around the clattering of teeth…", occurring twice (*Il*. 11.417; 12.149). This interpretation is reinforced by the verb κομπέω, found only once in Epic, referring to bronze clashing (*Il*. 12.151: κόμπει χαλκός, "the bronze clashes").

However, in *Odyssey* 8.380, it is used differently in the phrase πολὺς δ᾽ ὑπὸ κόμπος ὀρώρει: "a loud applause arose." Here, the co-occurrence of praise and applause suggests the secondary metaphor PRAISE IS APPLAUSE,[10] wherein the sound is characterized by both intensity and volume, due to its production by many individuals. Since in Pindar κόμπος never means 'applause' but 'vaunt' (4) or 'song' (5), it seems to be in an advanced stage of conventionalization. Fossilization must be excluded, however, as one secure instance shows the term retaining its original meaning, or something closer to it: the compound βαρύκομπος, attested for the first time in Pindar:

6. **P5.55-59:** ὁ Βάττου δ΄ἔπεται παλαιὸς ὄλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων, πύργος ἄστεος ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον ξένοισι. κεῖνόν γε καὶ **βαρύκομποι** λέοντες περὶ δείματι φύγον γλῶσσαν ἐπεί σφιν ἀπένεικεν ὑπερποντίαν·
   "The ancient prosperity of Battos goes on, nevertheless, distributing now this now that, tower of the city and most splendid at the eye for the strangers. Even the **deeply resounding** lions fled in fear of him, when he gave in return his tongue overseas."

[10] I would like to thank my supervisor, Lucien van Beek, for the valuable suggestion.

In this case, a literal translation as "deeply resounding" appears most plausible. Yet, a metaphorical reading cannot be ruled out, as the "deeply resounding" lions could be interpreted as "deeply boasting,"[11] contrasting with their cowardly retreat before Battos. Moreover, it is notable that λέοντες within the Odes is twice followed by the similar epithet ἐρίβρομος (or ἐριβρεμέτης), meaning 'loudly roaring.'[12] It is therefore notable that βαρύκομποι, the only certain instance in which the term κόμπος is not found in a metaphorical sense, is used in place of the more usual and literal compound ἐρίβρομος, which is never used metaphorically.

Finally, the noun κέλαδος is particularly significant due to its advanced degree of conventionalization:

7. **P4.59-60:** ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου, σὲ δ' ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ χρησμὸς ὥρθωσεν μελίσσας Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ **κελάδῳ**·
   "Oh, blessed son of Polymnastos, in this speech the oracle exalted you with the spontaneous **cry** of the Delphic bee."
8. **Fr.35c: νόμων** ἀκούοντες **θεόδματον κέλαδον.**
   "Hearing the **divinely fashioned sound of melodies**."

The term κέλαδος appears in Homer only four times, but clearly denotes a broadly resounding noise, often in martial contexts (1). However, it appears to be originally linked with the roaring of water, as showed in *Iliad* 21.12-16: the passage is set on the river Xanthos, that Achilles' men are forced to cross, and the river is therefore described roaring while filled with men and horses. Additionally, the

[11] The adjective βαρύς frequently appears as the first member of compounds, with a term denoting sound as the second member, for example, βαρύγδουπος in *Olympian* 8.44 or βαρύλογος in *Pythian* 2.55. Although these compounds are not employed in a strictly poetological sense and are therefore not the central focus of the discussion, they nonetheless merit brief consideration. Traditionally, such adjectives would be described as examples of synesthesia, namely, the juxtaposition of two types of sensory perception. However, they can be more coherently interpreted through the lens of CMT. In fact, they are typically used to convey highly resonant sounds, such as a lion's roar, or a particularly significant speech, such as Archilochus invectives in *Pythian* 2.55. Underlying these expressions is the metaphor IMPORTANCE IS WEIGHT, which is grounded in the same primary metaphor as SOUND/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND, namely IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME. This metaphor is attested in several modern languages, including Modern English (Dancygier 2017:619), and also in the *Rigveda*, particularly in the use of the adjective *gurú-* 'heavy', which is derived from the same root as βαρύς, **g^{w}rh$_2$-u-* (Beekes 2010:202). For instance, in *RV* 1.147.4: *yó no agne árarivāṁ aghāyúr arātīvā́ marcáyati dvayéna | **mántro gurúḥ** púnar astu só asmai* "O Agni, the ungenerous one wishing us ill and full of hostility who harms us by his duplicity, let this **heavy spell** be back at him…" The "heavy spell" refers to the ritual hymn performed in honor of Agni, which the poet hopes will drive away enemies (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:323).

[12] *Olympian* 11.20; *Isthmian* 4.46.

form κελάδων, a relic participle of *κελάδω (Bechtel 1914:191), names a river in *Il*. 7.133, and in *Il*. 18.576, the participle κελάδοντα is referred to a ποταμός.

These attestations, combined with passage from *Iliad* 21, are significant, since they offer a potential context for a primary scene in which the conceptualization of the term as 'shout' or 'sound' could have arisen. In fact, in the scene both the sound of water roaring and men's clamour occur. Given so, the first stage of the conceptualization may have been CLAMOR IS WATER FLOWING. Later, the metaphor conventionalized and became the vehicle of another metaphor, SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND. This primary scene is attested only once and in a highly specific context, which makes it difficult to establish it as a primary scene. A term used in a similar context, which will be analyzed in paragraph 2.4, will nevertheless reinforce the association between loud noise and flowing water.

In Pindar, κέλαδος appears only twice, and its derivatives are similarly rare. In fr. 35c (8), the term is used poetologically, though only a single verse is preserved. On the other hand, the context in *Pythian* 4 (7) is clear. The "son of Polymnastos" refers to Battos, the winner's ancestor, who received an oracle from the μελίσσας Δελφίδος, a kenning for 'Pythia'.[13]

In this context, the noun κέλαδος refers to the loud voice with which the prophetess dispensed her oracles, and it has clear poetic connotation, since the Pythia traditionally prophesied in hexameters.

Having assessed that in both of its attestations the term displays a marked poetological value, it is plausible to assume an advanced state of conventionalization, a hypothesis further supported by the analysis of its cognate verbs and adjectives in the following paragraphs.

2.3. EFFECTIVE SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD

As noted by Kaimio (1977:146-162) adjectives denoting sound are frequent in Pindar, and only the most relevant examples were chosen in this paragraph, namely the ones explictly connected to instances of the tenor SONG. In particular, the frequent occurrence of terms denoting broadly resonant sound, often cognate with those analyzed in section 2.2, supports the identification of a sub-mapping EFFECTIVE SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD.

9. **P2.14: εὐαχέα** βασιλεῦσιν **ὕμνον** ἄποιν' ἀρετᾶς.
   "A **well-sounding hymn** for the kings as a recompense for excellence."

[13] Honey, and metonymically bees, are thought to have prophetic qualities (Waszink 1974:7-8). Pindar is familiar with this imagery, as in *Olympian* 6.45-47, where he narrates the story of Iamos: δύο δὲ γλαυκῶπες αὐτόν δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν ἐθρέψαντο δράκοντες ἀμεμφεῖ ἰῷ μελισσᾶν καδόμενοι. "Two grey-eyed serpents tended him through the gods' desires and nourished him with the blameless venom of bees". This interpretation aligns with Gentili's explanation (1995:445), according to whom the *kenning* "Delphic bee" refers to the Nymphs intoxicated by honey on Parnassus.

10. **P3.112-114:** Νέστορα καὶ Λύκιον Σαρπηδόν᾽, ἀνθρώπων φάτις, ἐξ **ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν**, τέκτονες οἷα σοφοί ἅρμοσαν, γινώσκομεν·

    "We know about Nestor and Sarpedon from Lycia, talk of men, from **resounding verses**, as such wise craftsmen constructed."

11. **N11.18:** καὶ **μελιγδούποισι** δαιδαλθέντα μελίζεν **ἀοιδαῖς.**

    "And to celebrate him adorned with **sweet-resounding songs**."

12. **I2.30-32:** καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγῶντες ὑμῖν ἐντὶ δόμοι οὔτε κώμων, ὦ Θρασύβουλ᾽, ἐρατῶν, οὔτε **μελικόμπων ἀοιδᾶν**.

    "And so, your family's houses are not unfamiliar with delightful victory revels, O Thrasybulus, nor with **songs of honey-sweet acclaim**."

Beginning with *Pythian* 2 (9), the compound εὐηχής, first attested in this context, combines εὐ- 'good' with -ηχ-, derived from ἠχή (or ἦχος) meaning 'sound' or 'noise' (LSJ), typically denoting a reverberating or resounding noise. This is illustrated in *Iliad* 2.207-210, where the sound of the Achaeans is compared to the crashing of waves against a cliff. [14] In several occurrences the term is paralleled to darts shot on enemies (cf. e.g. *Iliad* 8.159). Thus, the term clearly represents a vehicle of the mapping EFFECTIVE SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD.

In *Pythian* 3 (10) the derivative adjective κελαδεινός comes from the aforementioned κέλαδος. The ode is dedicated to Hieron, who was gravely ill, and in an effort to console him, Pindar wants to reassure him that his legacy will endure through the poets (Gentili 1995:75-82), called τέκτονες σοφοί similarly to the famous *Nemean* 3.4-5 μελιγαρύων τέκτονες κώμων "crafters of sweetly speaking verses."

Moving to *Nemean* 11 (11), the adjective μελίγδουπος is a compound of μελι° and -γδουπος, epic form of δοῦπος, which means 'heavy sound' (LSJ), employed mostly in war-like contexts. Finally, the compound μελίκομπος in example (12) attests the aforementioned κόμπος. These adjectives, all applied for the first time in Pindar to poetic terms, affirm the mapping EFFECTIVE SONG/PRAISE is LOUD.

2.4. TO SING/PRAISE IS TO RESOUND

Several verbs originally denoting loud sound, some of which are connected with the terms analyzed in the previous paragraphs, acquire a poetic sense in Pindar, expressing praising or singing. It is

[14] *Il.* 2.207-210: οἱ δ᾽ ἀγορήν δεαῦτις ἐπεσσεύοντο νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων **ἠχῇ**, ὡς ὅτε κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης αἰγιαλῷ μεγάλῳ βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος. "They hurried back to the place of assembly from their ships and huts **noisily**, as when a wave of the loud-resounding sea thunders on the long beach, and the depths roar."

therefore possible to posit a mapping TO SING/PRAISE IS TO RESOUND, whose reflexes will be examined in this section. The first two terms to be analyzed are the verbs βρέμω and κελαδέω, which will be treated together, as they both point to the same underlying concrete image.

13. ***Il.*2.207-210:** οἱ δ᾽ ἀγορήνδε αὖτις ἐπεσσεύοντο νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων ἠχῇ, ὡς ὅτε κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης αἰγιαλῷ μεγάλῳ **βρέμεται**, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος.
"They hurried back to the place of assembly from their ships and huts noisily, as when a wave of the loud-resounding sea **roars** on the long beach, and the depths roar."
14. **O2.1-2:** Ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι, τίνα θεόν, τίν᾽ ἥρωα, τίνα δ᾽ ἄνδρα **κελαδήσομεν**;
"Hymns that rule the lyre, what god, what hero, what man shall we **celebrate**?"
15. **N11.7:** λύρα δέ σφι **βρέμεται** καὶ ἀοιδά·
"The lyre and the song **resound** for them."

Starting with *Olympian* 2 (14), the case of verb κελαδέω is peculiar. Derived from κέλαδος, it appears almost 20 times in Pindar, always in a poetological context, as observed by Meusel (2019:381) and Slater (2012:275). In Epic Greek the verb either appears to describe water roaring, as explained before, or human clamour in reaction to a leader's words of incitement (cf. e.g. *Il*. 8.542). This aligns with the notion that the river scene in the *Iliad* may serve as a primary scene for the term's metaphorical development, also because in Pindar κελαδέω appears highly conventionalized, typically meaning 'to praise' or 'to sing.'

In *Nemean* 11 (15), βρέμω ('to roar'), likely onomatopoeic (Beekes 2010:237), is rare in Epic Greek, with just three occurrences. The term is however significant, since its development mirrors that of κελαδέω: in two Epic similes, such as example (13), it is found in a comparison between the clamour of soldiers and the roaring of water, which poses as compatible an original meaning which sees it as connected with waters. From this, the primary metaphor CLAMOUR IS WATER FLOWING, and ultimately SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND, may have developed.

Having now examined the noun κέλαδος alongside its cognate adjective and verb, a more precise assessment of its degree of conventionalization is possible. In the case of the noun, examples (7) and (8) support an advanced state of conventionalization, given the poetological context in which the noun appears. Nonetheless, much of its original meaning 'loud noise' is still preserved. Similarly, the adjective κελαδεινός in example (10) appears to denote the broad resonance of the song, thereby closer to the literal meaning, despite the poetological setting. By contrast, the case of the verb κελαδέω is notable, since its meaning seems to have become fossilized as 'to sing/to praise.'

Finally, *Pythian* 10 (16) and 12 (17) attest the poetic usage of κομπέω (from κόμπος), and ἀΰω (cognate with ἀϋτή), respectively. Their conceptualization parallels that of the derived nouns. However, *Pythian* 12 (17) passage is contentious.

16. **P10.4:** τί **κομπέω** παρὰ καιρόν;
    "Why **shall I vaunt** inappropriately?"
17. **P12.9-12:** ὸν παρθενίοις ὑπό τ᾽ ἀπλάτοις ὀφίων κεφαλαῖς ἄιε λειβόμενον δυσπενθέι σὺν καμάτῳ, Περσεὺς ὁπότε τρίτον **ἄυσεν** κασιγητᾶν μέρος ἐνναλίᾳ Σερίφῳ λαοῖσί τε μοῖραν ἄγων.
    "She (Athena) hears it (the dirge) from the heads of snakes of the unapproachable maidens in the grievous toil, when Perseus **cried out** a triumph as he carried the third of the sisters, bringing doom to wave-washed Seriphus and its people."

As Massetti (2024:58-59) recently revisited, two principal alternatives for the verb are ἄνυσεν 'he killed' – proposed by Gentili (1995:674) and based on Boeckh's conjecture ἄνυσσε – and ἄυσεν ('he/she shouted'), the manuscript reading. The conjecture ἄνυσσε was introduced based on two *scholia* (Pavese 1991:73-97), both of which support the reading ἄυσε(ν). Another point of contention is the subject of the verb, which could refer to either Perseus or Medusa. The first scholiast (19a) interprets it as the cry of pain produced by Medusa, with Perseus as the subject of ἄιε. If this interpretation is correct, it would be particularly significant, as Athena would be depicted as creating the dirge by "weaving" together the wailing of the Gorgons and the triumph of Perseus – or, alternatively, Medusa's shout (Massetti 2024:51). In this case, the poetological value of the verb would be indisputable, but editors are still in disagreement on what should be the most correct form.

2.5. Negative mappings and the question of 'soft' song

As Kaimio (1977:150) observed, descriptions of sound as 'soft' occur only five times, with the adjectives μαλακός and μαλθακός, likely because a 'gentle' or 'soft' song would undermine the grandiose celebration of victory. This may be further explained by CMT: since the choral mode of recitation led to the conceptualization SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND, positive associations with 'softness' are hardly compatible, at least not with elements from the SOUND domain. Neither adjective pertains originally to sound but rather to grass damped by water (LSJ). Moreover, this might help account for the scarcity of the adjective λιγύς, also noted by Kaimio (1977:151), which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, paragraph 3.5. The adjective, in fact, denotes a shrill sound, a description that does not align with the mappings examined in the previous paragraphs.

Finally, the near-total absence of more gentle descriptions of sound in the Pindaric lexicon can be explained by two metaphorical mappings, both of which conceptualize silence or murmuring in a negative light:

18. I2.44-45: μήτ᾽ ἀρετάν ποτε **σιγάτω** πατρῴαν, μηδὲ **τούσδ᾽ ὕμνους**·

"Let the son never **keep silent** his father's excellence, nor **these hymns**."

19. Fr.52f.7-11: ὕδατι γὰρ ἐπὶ χαλκοπύλῳ **ψόφον** ἀιὼν Κασταλίας ὀρφανὸν ἀνδρῶν χορεύσιος ἦλθον ἔταις ἀμαχανίαν ἀ[λ]έξωντεοῖσιν ἐμαῖς τε τιμ[α]ῖς·

"Having heard, by the water of the bronze gates, the **murmur** of Kastalia, devoid of men's dancing, I came to ward off helplessness from your kinsmen and from my own honours."

The first, well attested, is silence as the absence of praise or song, mapped as ABSENCE OF SONG/PRAISE IS SILENCE. This is especially clear in *Isthmian* 2 (18), where it is the verb σιγάω ('to be silent') to function as the vehicle.

The second appears in fr.52f (19), the sole occurrence of ψόφος ('murmur') in Pindar. Although the context is unclear, the term appears negatively charged: as Olsen (2020:338) notes, the well is ὀρφανὸν ('deprived') of choreutes, who would otherwise bring sound, leaving only a murmur. This supports the mapping INEFFECTIVE SONG/PRAISE IS MURMUR. The fact that two possible negative mappings have been found strengthen the idea of a coherent domain pertaining the metaphor SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND, since it demonstrates that the mapping became productive.

In conclusion, CMT allowed to reconstruct the process that likely brought several nouns involving inhuman sound to be used in a poetological meaning, offering an explanation for the more frequent use of certain terms over others.

2.6. SONG IS LOUD SOUND in *Rigveda*

The metaphors analyzed in the previous chapter are not without precedent. In fact, in the *Rigveda*, several roots pertaining to inhuman sounds exhibit metaphorical usage comparable to the Greek terms previously examined, being likewise employed to describe poetological processes or praise. The contexts in which these mappings arise are sometimes different from their Greek counterparts. This is to be expected, as complex metaphors are highly culture-specific. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated, the mappings identified in the Pindaric odes are analogous, along with their associated image schemas and frames.

20. *RV* 5.45.08 *sáṃ yád* ***góbhir áṅgiraso návanta*** |

"When **all the Aṅgirases roared along with the cows** there…"

21. ***RV* 8.96.5** *á yád vájram bāhvór indra dhátse madacyútam áhaye hántavā́ u | prá* ***párvatā ánavanta*** *prá* ***gā́vaḥ***

    "When, o Indra, in your two arms you took the mace stirred by exhilaration, to smite the serpent, the **mountains bellowed** forth, and forth the **cows.**"

22. ***RV* 10.68.12** *idám akarma námo abhriyā́ya yáḥ pūrvī́r ánv* ***ānónavīti*** |

    "This act of reverence here we have performed for the one belonging to the storm cloud, **who keeps bellowing** after the many (cows?)"

23. ***RV* 10.71.03** *tā́ṃ saptá* ***rebhā́*** *abhí sáṃ* ***navante*** ||

    "The seven husky-voiced **singers** together **cry her (Vāc) out**."

The examples above illustrate cases of the mapping TO SING/PRAISE IS TO RESOUND, namely the metaphorical development from the root *nav*, which is rooted in a concrete experience unprecedented for Pindaric metaphors, This verb means 'to bellow' (Mayrhofer 1986 II:23-24), and is typically applied to inhuman entities. Although it is used to denote various types of sounds, from mountains (21) to storms (22), its most common literal usage appears to be the bellowing of cows (21), to such an extent that even when cows are not the subject, they are often paralleled with or involved in the sound's production. Moreover, in almost all cases it is used to describe a sound produced by multiple entities, often cattle.

When used metaphorically in the sense of 'to sing/to praise,' the verb still retains some of its literal semantic features. Indeed, in almost all cases, it is found expressing song produced by plural entities. Notably, in most occurrences, it refers to two groups of priests appointed to perform songs during rites: the Hotars and the Aṅgirases. For instance, in (23), the "seven husky-voiced singers" are likely the Hotars (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:1496). In (20), the reference to the Aṅgirases is explicit and, as will be shown, provides further insight into the degree of lexicalization of this metaphor.

The mapping of song to a cow's bellow, falling within the domain of LOUD SOUND, is in this instance supported by the two primary metaphors QUANTITY IS VOLUME OR INTENSITY and IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME, as the intensity and effectiveness of praise are linked to loudness. Indeed, when used poetologically, the verb never bears a negative connotation; rather, it consistently conveys the notion of a successful recitation. A plausible primary scene may have originated in ritual settings, where both singers and cows would have been present. In such a case, the mapping may be interpreted, similarly to the case of Pindar, as a metonymy. The associated image schema is that of SCALE, along with MERGING, since the two sound sources presumably converged in ritual contexts. The principal underlying frame is, of course, Sound, wherein a sound response (*nav*) is evoked by a source (*góbhir áṅgiraso*, *párvatā gā́vaḥ*, *rebhā́*).

Significantly, the metaphorical use of this term may have influenced a version of the Vala myth, in which the Aṅgirases' songs open for Indra the cave of Vala, the womb of the cows (Oberlies 2023:169-175; Jamison and Brereton 2014a:181-182). In three instances, priests are described as singing together with the cattle, as in (20).[15] Oldenberg further suggests that the act of singing in certain rites may have been linked to the Vala myth (1988:217). It is also notable that the Aṅgirases are never portrayed as individuals but always as a collective of priests. This image closely recalls that of the Greek chorus, in which the convergence of multiple voices produces a broadly resonant sound, which in turn becomes linked to the object of the utterance – namely, the song or the act of praise.

The concrete experience underlying the metaphor thus differs from that in Pindar. This divergence is readily explained by the unique significance of cows in Vedic religion (Oldenberg 1988:190-191, 217), a feature not paralleled in Ancient Greek culture. This case illustrates how the same metaphor TO SING IS TO RESOUND can give rise to different complex metaphors, emerging from distinct cultural contexts, yet employing analogous metaphorical mechanisms.

Further evidence for the conventionalization of the term can be found in the derived noun *nāvá-*:

24. ***RV*** **9.45.05** *sám ī sákhāyo asvaran váne krī́ḷantam átyavim* | *índuṃ* ***nāvā́*** *anūṣata* ||

"His comrades cried out in unison to him as he was playing in the wood(en vessel), beyond the sheep [=fleece]. The **roars** have roared to the drop (of Soma)."

The noun does not retain a direct connection to bovine bellowing, and it generally refers to a 'roar', or, as interpreted by Grassmann (1873:726), 'song, praise'. Thus, (24) exemplifies the mapping SONG/PRAISE IS A LOUD SOUND, as the term possesses clear poetological connotations: the *nāvā́ḥ* 'roars' are most likely the songs of the poets – the *sákhāyaḥ* (Jamison and Brereton 2014b:47). Its grade of conventionalization is therefore notably high, to the point that a case of fossilization might be posited.

A similar mapping can be observed with the noun *ráva-* 'roar', derived from the root *rav* 'to roar' (Mayrhofer 1986 II:439):

25. ***RV*** **4.56.01** ***ruvád dhokṣā́*** *paprathānébhir évaiḥ* ||

"**The bull bellows** to them along the ways that spread broadly."

26. ***RV*** **7.33.04** *yác chákvarīṣu* ***bṛhatā́ ráveṇa*** *índre śúṣmam ádadhātā vasiṣṭhāḥ* ||

"Since **with a lofty cry** in Śakvarī [=martial] (meter) you established impetuous force in Indra, o Vasiṣṭhas."

[15] Cf. *RV* 4.3.11 *sám áṅgiraso navanta góbhiḥ* "The Aṅgirases sang together with the cattle." Another mention of the scene in *RV* 1.62.3 *sám usríyābhir vāvaśanta náraḥ* "The heroes sang together with the cattle."

The corresponding verb is never used metaphorically, always indicating inhuman sounds, often the cries of bulls or steers, as in (25). However, while *ráva-* often designates a literal roar, it is also used metaphorically, as in (26), where it functions as a vehicle for SONG. Here, the 'lofty cry' clearly refers to Vasiṣṭha's singing (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:923).[16]

A comparable metaphorical use can be observed with the root *krand*, meaning 'to roar, resound' (Mayrhofer 1986 I:408-409):

27. ***RV*** **1.173.03** ***krándad*** *áśvo náyamāno ruvád gaúr*

"The horse **neighs** while being led; the cow bellows…"

28. ***RV*** **7.20.09** *eṣá* ***stómo acikradad vr̥ṣā́*** *te utá stāmúr maghavann akrapiṣṭa* |

"**This praise has bellowed (like) a bull** to you, and (like) a thieving [?] (monkey?) has screeched, o bounteous one."

The verb *krand* is frequently used to describe the cries of bulls or the neighing of horses (*LIV*² 2001:369; Grassmann 1873:355), as attested in (27) similarly to *nav* or *rav*. It appears with metaphorical connotations, serving as a vehicle in the mapping TO SING/PRAISE IS TO RESOUND, in (28), the verb bears an explicit poetological meaning, as the poet refers to his own composition (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:907). Thus, *stómaḥ* refers not merely to a simple praise, but to song itself. In this instance, the literal meaning of the word remains prominent, as indicated by the explicit reference to *vr̥ṣan-* "(like) a bull."

The verbs examined until now share with Pindar the metaphors and the choral context. However, the concrete experience of *nav*, *rav*, *krand* – namely, animal verses – is different. By contrast the verb *svar,* meaning both 'to roar' and 'to sing' (Mayrhofer 1986 II:792-793), not only exhibits broader conventionalization, but also displays metaphorical processes more comparable to those observed in Pindar.

29. ***RV*** **5.54.02** ***sváranty ā́po*** *'vánā párijrayaḥ* ||

"**The waters resound**, swirling in their streambed."

30. ***RV*** **9.97.03** *abhí* ***svara*** *dhánvā pūyámānaḥ*

"**Cry out**, run, as you (Soma) are being purified…"

31. ***RV*** **9.63.21** *vr̥ṣaṇaṃ dhībhír aptúraṃ sómam r̥tásya dhā́rayā* | *matī́ víprāḥ sám* ***asvaran***||

"To the water-crossing bull, Soma, in a stream of truth have the inspired poets **cried out** in unison with their insights, their thought."

32. ***RV*** **9.67.9** *hinvánti sū́ram úsrayaḥ pávamānam madhuścútam* | *abhí* ***girā́*** *sám* ***asvaran***||

[16] Considered the ancestor of the priestly clan of the Vasiṣṭhas (Oberlies 2023:39).

"The rosy (fingers) impel the sun; to the self-purifying one, dripping with honey, **they cry out** in unison **with a song**."

According to *LIV*² (2001:613), the semantic development moved from a general sound to a more specific human utterance. This is supported by its usage in the *Rigveda*, where it appears in both literal and metaphorical senses. It is often associated with Soma or flowing waters, as in (29) and (30).

Even in metaphorical usage, the connection with Soma is often maintained. In (32), the "self-purifying one" is Soma Pavamana (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:1295). Even more striking is (31), where both poets and Soma are present, the latter being the recipient of praise conveyed through *svar*. Here, SONG/PRAISE is mapped onto the streams or the sound of Soma. This metaphorical process closely parallels that of Greek κέλαδος, where the same complex metaphor song is water flowing is found. The primary scene, in the case of Soma, may plausibly be located in ritual contexts where both the sound of Soma and praise coexisted.

In summary, several examples in the *Rigveda* support the mappings SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND and TO SING IS TO RESOUND, through processes that are comparable to those found in Pindaric odes. Even when the primary scenes differ due to cultural contexts, as in the case of *nav*, the underlying mappings and metaphorical frameworks (image schemas and frames) remain analogous.

From the two principal mappings – SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND and TO SING/PRAISE IS TO RESOUND, as seen in Pindaric odes – secondary mappings also emerge. One such mapping is the association of effective praise or sound with loudness, in the mapping EFFECTIVE SONG IS LOUD.

33. ***RV*** **7.005.05** *tvā́m agne haríto vāvaśānā́ḥ* ***gíraḥ*** *sacante* ***dhúnayo*** *ghr̥tā́cīḥ* |

"Resounding ghee-rich **songs** – bellowing tawny mares – follow you, Agni, the lord of settlements, the charioteer of riches, Vaiśvānara."

34. ***RV*** **10.89.05** *ā́pāntamanyus tr̥pálaprabharmā* ***dhúniḥ*** *śímīvāñ chárumāṁ̐ r̥jīṣ́ī* | *sómo víśvāny atasā́ vánāni nā́rvā́g índram pratimā́nāni debhuḥ* ||

"He who provides battle fury in his drink, whose first impression is sharp, **the boisterous**, vehement one with his arrows, who possesses the silvery drink – Soma! All the bushes and trees have not deceived Indra as near-equivalents."

35. ***RV*** **10.177.02** *tā́ṃ dyótamānāṃ* ***svaryàm manīṣā́m*** *r̥tásya padé kaváyo ní pānti* ||

"The sage poets protect the flashing, **reverberating** inspired **thought** in the footprint of truth."

In (33), the adjective *dhúni-* 'roaring' functions as a vehicle for LOUD, modifying *gíraḥ* 'songs'. Derived from the root *dhvan* 'to produce sound, to roar' (Mayrhofer 1986 I:801), the adjective is rarely used poetologically. In its literal sense, it usually describes the sound of Soma flowing (Grassmann 1873:687), as in (34).

Example (35) also demonstrates another instance of the mapping, where loudness is conveyed by the adjective *svaryà-*, derived from *svar*. Here, *manīṣắm* "thought" must be interpreted poetologically as the inspiration preceding song, since the entire *sūkta* is dedicated to poetic inspiration (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:1653-1654).

2.7. Negative mappings in *Rigveda*

The productivity of these main mappings is evidenced by the emergence of potential negative metaphors, analogous to Greek cases.

36. ***RV*** **8.48.14** *trắtāro devā ádhi vocatā no mắ no nidrắ īśata mótá* ***jálpiḥ*** | *vayáṃ sómasya viśváha priyắsaḥ suvī́rāso vidátham ắ vadema* ||

"Protector Gods, speak on our behalf. Let sleep not master us, nor **mumbling**. May we, always dear to Soma, possessed of good heroes, announce the ceremonial honor."

37. ***RV*** **2.43.03** *āvádaṃs tváṃ śakune bhadrám ắ vada* ***tūṣṇī́m*** *ắsīnaḥ sumatíṃ cikiddhi naḥ* |

"When you are speaking, omen-bird, speak auspiciously; when you are sitting **silently**, take note of our good thought."

First, plausible occurrence of a mapping INEFFECTIVE SONG/PRAISE is MURMUR is found in (36). The *sūkta* focuses on Soma's effects on the drinker (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:1128), and in fact the stanza negatively refers to "sleep" – since Soma was probably energizing – and "mumbling", likely referring to a poet's diminished ability to sing. The adjective *jálpi-*, from *jalp* 'to murmur' (Mayrhofer 1986 I:580), appears in opposition to the verb *vadema* "may we announce." The verb *vad*^{i}- with strong poetological associations, means both 'to sing/proclaim' and 'to resound'.[17] This suggests an opposition between the mumbling of *jálpi-* and the clarity in recitation implied by *vad*^{i}-, thus supporting the mapping INEFFECTIVE SONG/PRAISE is MURMUR, as it is found in Pindaric *Odes*.

Finally, in (42), the subject is the omen bird, which in this *sūkta* is paralleled to a class of priests (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:462). This suggests a poetological interpretation, reinforced using the verb *vad*^{i}- (*āvádaṃs*, *vada*). In this context, a likely opposition arises between the verb *vad*^{i}- and the adverb *tūṣṇī́m* "silently": even in silence, the bird (and thus the priest) must keep the sacred function in mind. Accordingly, one may posit the mapping ABSENCE OF SONG/PRAISE IS SILENCE – paralleling

[17] This verb, despite its both literal and metaphorical usage, will not be treated due to the difficulty of reconstructing its original meaning (*LIV*^{2} 2001:286). Indeed, it is unclear whether the original meaning was 'to resound', later developing into 'to proclaim/to sing', or vice versa. Since the latter case would not be pertinent to the discussion, I prefer to set it aside.

the metaphor detected in the Pindaric *corpus* and contrasting with the metaphorical association of SONG/PRAISE with loudness.

3. SONG IS MOVEMENT OF AN ENTITY

Movement expressions deeply permeate Pindar's poetic language. They constitute a vast metaphorical framework, which necessarily entails a selective approach to the types of movement analyzed. This chapter focuses on three concrete image-types: travel, spreading, and flowing. These categories were selected not only because they correspond to similar metaphorical patterns attested in the Rigveda, but also due to the extensive scholarly attention certain metaphors have received.[18] From the main mappings grounded in these three movement types, secondary mappings are derived and examined. Each is analyzed in terms of its constituent metaphors and the image schemas involved – particularly relevant in this chapter for distinguishing the nuances of each image. When relevant, degrees of conventionalization and lexicalization will be noted.

Although the conceptual features of these metaphors vary, they share some systematic properties. In the first place, all movement metaphors discussed may be considered Event-Structure Metaphors (ESM; Roush 2018:5-7), entailing commonly recurring sub-mappings such as EVENTS ARE ACTIONS. These will not be treated in detail, due to their repetitive presence across metaphor types. In addition, each type of movement is associated with a specific image schema, all ultimately deriving from the overarching MOTION schema (Mandler 1992:591-602). The FORCE schema is also consistently implied, as motion is typically initiated by an agent (Roush 2018:28-30). These two schemas, given their universality, will not be restated in the discussion of each metaphor.

A final clarification is in order. Each image schema is embedded in a particular Frame: for instance, SELF-MOTION presupposes the Body_Movement frame, while CAUSED MOTION corresponds to the Caused_Motion frame. However, since these frames align closely with their respective schemas and play a marginal role in identifying secondary metaphorical structures, they will not be included in the analyses that follow.

3.1. SONG IS MOVEMENT OF AN ENTITY

In this section, occurrences in which song functions as the subject of movement expressions will be analyzed, divided into three categories based on their concrete experiential basis: travel, expansion, and flowing.

Beginning with the image of travel, Meusel (2019:480-483) has already proposed a phraseological connection between song and movement verbs, reconstructing on the basis of the *Rigveda* and Greek

[18] Simpson (1969), for instance, examines the frameworks of the chariot and the bow, the latter of which has also been discussed in terms of CMT by Horn (2015), with focus on Homer.

a possible formula: [SONG(Agent; Subject)] – [*h_1ei-]. He does not cite specific passages from Pindar, as there are no instances in the odes where the verb εἶμι occurs with a poetic term as subject.[19]

However, there are other instances in which different verbs are used to convey the idea of movement, with the concept SONG as the subject.

> **38. N1.4-6:** σέθεν ἀδυεπής **ὕμνος ὁρμᾶται** θέμεν αἶνον ἀελλοπόδων μέγαν ἵππων […]
> "From you (Ortygia) **a** sweetly worded hymn **issues forth** to pose a great praise to the storm-footed horses…"

The example (38) is at the beginning of *Nemean* 1, where ὕμνος (song) is the subject of the verb ὁρμάω. This verb is a generic term for movement and, before Pindar, is most frequently used to describe people rushing (cf. e.g. *Il.* 3.142). The concrete experience underlying this use is likely that of travel: the song is said to move from the land of the victor to spread news of his triumph (Cannatà Fera 2020:266).

It remains unclear, however, what kind of travel is being described. Cannatà Fera (2020:266) suggests an unspecified means of travel,[20] and therefore a personification of the song itself, as a singer that announce the deeds of the winner. By contrast, Carey (1981:106) interprets the expression as identifying the song with a chariot, a metaphorical framework well established in Pindar's poetry.[21] The first interpretation may be supported by the fact that ὁρμάω typically takes a human subject, while the second may be justified by the context, as the addressee of the ode won a chariot race. Each of these interpretations also influences the image schema of the expression. In the second case, for instance, the movement could be understood as an example of a CAUSED-MOTION image schema.

One element in the verses immediately following may prove decisive. In fact, the chariot image is made explicit in v. 7: ἅρμα δ᾽ ὀτρύνει Χρομίου Νεμέατ᾽ ἔργμασιν νικαφόροις ἐγκώμιον ζεῦξαι μέλος. "And the chariot of Chromius and Nemea urge me to yoke a song of celebration for victorious deeds." It would seem more plausible to separate the two scenes: on the one hand, the song is personified as a singer, and on the other, the victor's chariot urges the poet to sing. This distinction avoids the redundancy of repeating the same image, namely, the chariot.

In this passage, the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema is clearly at work. The SOURCE, expressed through σέθεν, refers to the island of Ortygia near Syracuse, the victor's homeland; the GOAL is articulated in the final infinitive θέμεν αἶνον "to set forth a praise". More specifically, this

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[19] An example of this verb with the poet as subject is found in *Pythian* 2.79-80: ἅτε γὰρ ἐννάλιον πόνον ἐχοίσας βαθύν σκευᾶς ἑτέρας, ἀβάπτιστος **εἶμι** φελλὸς ὣς ὑπὲρ ἔρκος ἅλμας. "When the other side of the tackle has its toil in the deep of the sea, **I go** undipped as cork over the surface of the brine."

[20] Similarly, Nünlist includes this example in the section on traveling by foot (1998:251).

[21] Cf. e.g. *Olympian* 6.22-25.

formulation describes the beginning of the song, which also implies the conceptual mapping: TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO START MOVING. In this case, it may be possible to identify an underlying SELF-MOTION schema (Mandler 1992:593) since the song is depicted as moving autonomously.

From this metaphor, particularly considering the passage in *Nemean* 1, another possible conceptualization may emerge. Consider the following excerpt from *Nemean* 5 (39):

39. N5.19-21: εἰ δ᾽ ὄλβον ἢ χειρῶν βίαν ἢ σιδαρίταν ἐπαινῆσαι πόλεμον δεδόκηται, μακρά μοι αὐτόθεν ἅλμαθ᾽ ὑποσκάπτοι τις· ἔχω γονάτων **ὁρμὰν** ἐλαφράν· καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ᾽ αἰετοί.

"But if it is decided to praise happiness, strength of hands, or steel-clad war, let someone dig for me a jumping pit far from this point, for I have a light **spring** in my knees, and eagles leap even beyond the sea."

In the preceding lines, Pindar invites the song to go forth from Aegina to spread the winner's glory (40) and declares his intention not to recount the shameful acts of Pelops and Telamon. He then claims that a great leap is required to bypass this myth, but that he has the right "spring" (ὁρμή) in his knees to achieve it. As Pfeijffer (1999:131) explains, ὁρμή functions as a metaphor for poetic skill. Thus, it is plausible to reconstruct the conceptual mapping POETIC SKILL IS SPRING.

Two further examples attest to a different type of image schema. Before turning to them, the poetological significance of the relevant passages, particularly that of *Isthmian* 4 (41), requires clarification.

40. N5.2-3: ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πάσας ὁλκάδος ἔν τ᾽ ἀκάτῳ, **γλυκεῖ᾽ ἀοιδά, στεῖχ**᾽ ἀπ᾽ Αἰγίνας διαγγέλλοισα […]

"Rather, on board every ship and in every boat, **sweet song, go forth** from Aegina, spreading the news…"

41. I4.37-42: ἀλλ᾽ Ὅμηρός τοι τετίμακεν δι᾽ ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν**.** τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν **ἕρπει**, εἴ τις εὖ εἴπῃ τι· καὶ πάγκαρπον ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ διὰ πόντον βέβακεν ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεί.

"But Homer, to be sure, has made him (Ajax) honored among mankind, who set straight this entire achievement and declared it with his staff of divine verses for future men to enjoy. For that thing **goes forth** with immortal voice if someone says it well, and over the all-fruitful earth and through the sea has gone the radiance of noble deeds forever undimmed."

In *Nemean* 5 (40), the hymn is likened to a messenger or a singer who boards a boat (ὁλκάς and ἄκατος) and proclaims the victory of the ode's addressee (διαγγέλλοισα). As in (38), the underlying

image is that of travel; however, in this instance, the goal is unspecified, an aspect that is justified by the different type of movement being represented, as will be explained below.

In *Isthmian* 4 (41), the demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο (Privitera 1982:180) carries clear poetological value, referring back to the preceding lines: Ajax ruined his glorious life by dying in dishonour (cf. vv. 35-36: "Surely you know of Ajax's bloodstained valour, which he pierced late at night on his own sword"). In contrast, Homer "set upright" (ὀρθώσαις) his deeds – an expression whose poetological implications will be discussed in paragraph 3.4. – by rendering his worth visible and proclaiming it through the "staff of verses," a *kenning* for song.[22] Pindar thus asserts that a song (τοῦτο), when well composed by the poet, literally "goes forth" (ἕρπει), as it has the power to remedy a hero's faults and restore his rightful glory. The verb ἕρπω, which in early Greek typically denotes crawling (especially of animate beings), is used by Pindar to describe general movement (Slater 2012:198).[23]

The type of movement described in both examples does not involve a specific destination, but rather an expansive dynamic. In *Nemean* 5 (40), the song is invited to spread by sea in all directions to disseminate the victor's fame. In *Isthmian* 4 (41), several textual elements support the conceptual identification of song (closely associated here with praise) as a source of light.[24] Indeed, in v. 36, Ajax's suicide is explicitly situated "in the night" (ἐν νυκτὶ), and he is subsequently blamed by his companions (vv. 35-36b: μομφὰν ἔχει παίδεσσιν). Homer's verses, however, restore his dignity, and thus the song (τοῦτο) spreads the radiance of fame (ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν).

This type of motion invokes a primary metaphor analogous to IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME, previously identified in relation to sound, but here reformulated as IMPORTANCE IS EXTENSION, which underlies a distinct image schema, namely EXPANSION (Turner 1991:171). In the case of *Isthmian* 4 (41), the mapping TO SING IS TO SHED LIGHT also activates several primary metaphors: the contrast between Homer's account, associated with radiance (ἀκτίς), and the darkness of Ajax's death invokes the metaphorical domains MORALITY IS VISIBILITY. More significantly, light is mapped onto SONG/PRAISE, while darkness is associated with BLAME, suggesting the broader conceptual structure EVALUATION IS VISIBILITY.

A final group of examples exhibits yet another metaphorical structure. Although these instances still involve the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema, the underlying imagery differs.

42. N7.11-12: εἰ δὲ τύχῃ τις ἔρδων, μελίφρον᾽ αἰτίαν **ῥοαῖσι Μοισᾶν** ἐνέβαλε.

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[22] Traditionally, rhapsodes leaned on their staffs while reciting (Privitera 1982:180). The conceptualization of song as the rhapsode's staff may also underlie *Nemean* 4.15: τῷδε μέλει κλιθείς, "leaning on this song.".

[23] As in Doric, where it means 'to go' (Beekes 2010:463).

[24] For the imagery of light in *Isthmian* 4, see Spelman (2018:45-62). The motif of light also appears in *Isthmian* 6.62.

"If someone succeeds in an effort, he casts a honey-minded cause into the **Muses' streams.**"

43. **N7.62:** ὕδατος ὥτε **ῥοὰς** φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ᾽ **ἄγων** κλέος ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω·
    "Like **leading water streams** to my friend, I will praise him with authentic glory."
44. **I7.18–19**: ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί ὅ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον κλυταῖς **ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν** ἐξίκηται ζυγέν·
    "Because mortals forget what does not reach the highest point of wisdom, yoked on glorious **streams of verses.**"

In all three passages, song is represented as a river whose currents carry the deeds of the hero. This may reflect the conceptual metaphor SONG IS WATER FLOWING, which presupposes the primary metaphor PROCESSES ARE NATURAL FORCES. In this context, water functions as the medium through which heroic deeds reach their destination. The image conforms to a Conduit metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:10-11), where the WATER/SONG transmits glory to its final goal. In *Nemean* 7 (43), the destination is the victor himself, as Pindar explicitly states that the rivers led to him. In the other two cases, the goal appears to be the efficacy of the poetic work itself. In *Nemean* 7 (42), the pronoun τις refers to the victor himself (Cannatà Fera 2020:438), who therefore casts his deeds into the current like a stone. In *Isthmian* 7 (44), the stream of verses leads to the σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον, "the highest peak of wisdom," where the term σοφία clearly suggests a poetological reading. As Privitera (1982:218) notes, σοφία in this context refers specifically to poetic artistry. The streams of song are therefore conceived as channels guiding the poem toward its most refined and effective form.

While the presence of the water-flowing metaphor is clearly discernible in these passages, the experiential basis for this association is not immediately evident. In the first example, as noted, the concrete image involves a stone thrown into a river. In the remaining cases, a likely analogy is the well-established metaphorical parallel between song and ships in Pindar's poetic language.[25] In example (43), however, an alternative and potentially significant comparison can be drawn with *Iliad* 21.257-258: ὡς δ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἀνὴρ ὀχετηγὸς ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου ἄμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους ὕδατι ῥόον […] "As a man who guides its flow leads from a dusky spring a stream of water among his plants and garden plots..." The figure of the ὀχετηγός, the individual responsible for building irrigation channels to guide water across cultivated fields, may be evoked using the verb ἄγω in (43), thus situating the metaphor within an agricultural context.[26]

[25] Cf. e.g. *Pythian* 2.67-68.

[26] I am grateful to my supervisor, Lucien van Beek, for drawing my attention to this point.

In this instance of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, the song clearly represents the path, while the goal corresponds to poetic success or effectiveness. The source, in turn, may be identified with the poet himself. One passage suggests a conceptual shift from the natural origin of a watercourse (i.e., a spring) to the source of poetic composition.

45. P4.298-299: καί κε μυθήσαιθ', ὁποίαν, Ἀρκεσίλα, εὗρε **παγὰν ἀμβροσίων ἐπέων**, πρόσφατον Θήρᾳ ξενωθείς.

"And he would tell, Arcesilas, what a **spring of ambrosial verses** he found, when he was recently a guest at Thebes."

The metaphor MAKER OF SONG IS A WELL had already been identified in this passage, albeit outside the framework of CMT, by Gentili (1995:510).

In conclusion, three types of metaphorical motion involving song as subject have been identified in this section: travel and flowing, both associated with the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, and spreading motion, which corresponds to the EXPANSION schema. The following three sections will examine the secondary metaphors that emerge from the personification of song as a moving entity.

3.2. Sub-mappings from SONG IS MOVEMENT OF AN ENTITY

This section analyzes the presence of negative mappings, namely metaphors in which the absence of movement is associated with the ineffectiveness of song, stemming from the secondary metaphor SONG IS MOVEMENT OF AN ENTITY.

46. N5.1-2: Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' **ἐλινύσοντα** ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος **ἑσταότ**'·

"I am not a sculptor, so as to fashion **stationary** statues that **stand** on their same base."

Two elements in the opening of *Nemean* 5 (46) are particularly relevant: the description of statues using the verb ἐλινύω 'to be stationary' and the use of the perfect form of ἵστημι (ἑσταότα). These elements may be fruitfully compared with other passages in which the same verbs appear in a clearly poetological context.

47. N5.16-18: στάσομαι· οὔ τοι ἅπασα κερδίων φαίνοισα πρόσωπον ἀλάθει' ἀτρεκής· καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώτατον ἀνθρώπῳ νοῆσαι.

"**I will halt**, for not every exact truth is better when it shows its face, and silence is often the wisest thing for a man to observe."

In example (47), shortly after the verses cited in example (46), Pindar prepares to recount the fratricide committed by Peleus and Telamon, an episode that led to their exile from Aegina. Given that such a narrative would have been inappropriate in an ode celebrating an Aeginetan victor, the poet chooses to halt the narration by employing the future form of ἵσταμαι "to stand still, to halt". In this case, the

cessation of motion is mapped onto the interruption of poetic narration, producing the metaphor TO SHUT UP IS TO HALT.[27] This mapping becomes especially striking when contrasted with the immediately preceding image in which the poet invites the song to "go forth" (γλυκεῖ᾽ ἀοιδά, στεῖχ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Αἰγίνας, "Sweet song, go forth from Aegina") in example (40).

The association between the absence of praise and the absence of movement also emerges in *Isthmian* 2 (48).

48. I2.44-46: μήτ᾽ ἀρετάν ποτε σιγάτω πατρῴαν, μηδὲ τούσδ᾽ ὕμνους ἐπεί τοι οὐκ **ἐλινύσοντας** αὐτοὺς ἐργασάμαν.

"Let the son never keep silent his father's excellence nor these hymns, for I did not fashion them **to be still.**"

There, Pindar once again employs the verb ἐλινύω, that otherwise only occurs in (46). The correlation is therefore evident: the imagery in both passages casts ineffective songs as immobile statues, supporting the metaphor INEFFECTIVE SONG IS STILL.

3.3. TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO AWAKEN

From the personification of song as a moving entity, it follows that the beginning of the movement – that is, the moment when the entity is awakened – is metaphorically mapped onto the initiation of the song. This gives rise to a conceptual mapping TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO AWAKEN. Occurrences of this metaphorical pattern have been noted by Meusel (2019: 619-624), Jackson (2006), and Nünlist (1998:295-299), though not within an explicit CMT framework.

49. O9.47: ἔγειρ᾽ ἐπέων σφιν **οἶμον** λιγύν […]

"**Awaken** for them a clear-sounding **path of words…**"

50. I4.19-23: ὁ κινητὴρ δὲ γᾶς Ὀγχηστὸν οἰκέων καὶ γέφυραν ποντιάδα πρὸ Κορίνθου τειχέων, τόνδε πορὼν γενεᾷ θαυμαστὸν ὕμνον ἐκ λεχέων **ἀνάγει φάμαν παλαιάν** εὐκλέων ἔργων· **ἐν ὕπνῳ** γὰρ πέσεν.

"**The shaker** of the earth who dwells in Onchestus and at the sea bridge in front of the walls of Corinth, having provided this glorious hymn to the family, **wakes up the ancient fame** of glorious deeds from its bed; indeed, **it fell asleep**"

51. I8.1-4: Κλεάνδρῳ τις ἁλικίᾳ τε λύτρον εὔδοξον, ὦ νέοι, καμάτων πατρὸς ἀγλαὸν Τελεσάρχου παρὰ πρόθυρον ἰὼν **ἀνεγειρέτω κῶμον** […]

[27] A comparable passage, though based on a different conceptualization, appears in *Olympian* 1.52, where Pindar also begins the myth of Pelops but abruptly breaks off with ἀφίσταμαι 'to stand back': ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν᾽ εἰπεῖν· ἀφίσταμαι· "But for my part, I cannot call any of the blessed gods a glutton – I stand back."

> "In honor of youthful Cleandrus, let one of you go, O young men, to the splendid portal of his father Telesarchus **to awaken the revel** as a glorious requital…"

Analyzed from a CMT perspective, the mapping appears to instantiate the primary metaphor ACTIVITY IS WAKEFULNESS (Grady 1997:289), though in this case it is more narrowly defined, as it specifically pertains to the onset of poetic performance. In fact, as in (38) paragraph 3.1, the metaphor also presupposes TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO START MOVING.

This pattern is particularly evident in *Isthmian* 8 (51), where the expression occurs at the beginning of the ode: Pindar invites one of the young boys to initiate a festive choir in honour of Cleander (Carey 1981:185). A similar metaphorical structure is found in *Olympian* 9 (49), where the verb ἔγειρε "awake" is used at a pivotal moment: the transition to the myth of Deucalion and Pyrrha. Although not situated at the opening of the hymn, the imperative marks the beginning of a new narrative section. Notably, the subject of the verb is Pindar's own στόμα 'mouth', placed in emphatic hyperbaton, which may be understood as a metonymy for the poet himself.

The same conceptual relationship between awakening and poetic activation also appears in *Isthmian* 4 (50), where Poseidon is called κινητήρ, 'mover' derived from κινέω 'to move'. Poseidon is said to awaken fame, a term with clear poetological implications, especially given the preceding phrase πορὼν ὕμνον "providing the hymn". Moreover, as Meusel (2019:620) argues, 'fame' here acts as a phraseological substitute for song. In CMT terms, this can be interpreted as a metonymy, since being renowned often presupposes being the subject of poetic praise.

Significantly, this passage also attests a negative mapping: in verse 23, FAME/SONG, before being awakened by Poseidon and so becoming effective, is described as ἐν ὕπνῳ 'asleep'.[28] A comparable opposition between awakening and dormancy is also attested in the *Rigveda*, as will be explored in subsequent sections.

Underlying these passages is the image schema of CAUSED MOTION (Mandler 1992:595), where the initiation of movement – here, poetic activity – is brought about by an external agent (a boy, Poseidon, the poet's own mouth), who awakens or sets the song in motion.

3.4. TO CELEBRATE IS TO SET UPRIGHT

The metaphors analyzed so far presuppose horizontal motion. However, this section examines a different kind of bodily movement, namely, TO CELEBRATE IS TO SET UPRIGHT. In several cases, the act of praising someone in song is compared to the act of setting that person upright.

[28] In several passages, for example, *Pythian* 1.6-10, Pindar presents sleep in a positive light, as a beneficial effect of song. This aligns with the generally favourable connotation of sleep in early Greek thought and literature (Holton 2022:20-26).

52. **P4.59-60:** ὦ μάκαρ υἱὲ Πολυμνάστου, **σὲ** δ' ἐν τούτῳ λόγῳ **χρησμὸς ὤρθωσεν** μελίσσας Δελφίδος **αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ**·
    "Oh, blessed son of Polymnastos, it was you the oracle **lifted with the spontaneous cry** of the Delphic bee."
53. **I4.37-39:** ἀλλ' Ὅμηρός τοι τετίμακεν δι' ἀνθρώπων, ὃς αὐτοῦ **πᾶσαν ὀρθώσαις ἀρετὰν** κατὰ ῥάβδον ἔφρασεν θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.
    "But Homer, to be sure, has made him honoured among mankind, **who set straight his entire achievement** and declared it with his staff of divine verses for future men to enjoy."

In both passages cited above, the verb ὀρθόω appears. It implies upward movement and means 'to raise' or 'to set upright' (LSJ). For example, in *Iliad* 7.271-272, it describes the lifting of a person: ὁ δ' ὕπτιος ἐξετανύσθη […] τὸν δ' αἶψ' ὤρθωσεν Ἀπόλλων. "He lay stretched on his back… but Apollo soon set him upright."

A distinction is necessary here, since the same verb also applies to architectural metaphors common in Pindar,[29] where it means 'to erect'. For instance, in *Olympian* 3.3, as Verdenius has noted (1987:7-8), the passage appears to point in this direction: Θήρωνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ὕμνον ὀρθώσαις […] "After having raised up an Olympic victory hymn for Theron."

By contrast, this architectural sense is less likely in *Pythian* 4 (52), where Gentili (1995:445) argues in favour of the interpretation involving the lifting of a person. The poetological value of this passage is clear, while the previous example still merits brief discussion. The word κελάδῳ 'cry'[30] refers to the prophecy uttered by the Pythia, also known as the "Delphic bee." Since these oracles were delivered in hexameters, the passage has a clear poetic significance.
Similarly, in *Isthmian* 4 (53, already discussed in paragraph 3.1, example 41), the imagery seems to evoke a rhapsode setting himself upright with his staff before beginning to sing (Privitera 1982:180).

In both passages, the metaphorical structure is parallel: the singer (Homer or the Pythia) lifts (ὀρθόω) the addressee (σὲ, αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀρετὰν) through the medium of song (κελάδῳ, κατὰ ῥάβδον). This lifting celebrates and affirms the deeds of the addressee – either past or, in the case of prophecy, future.

Within the framework of CMT, this yields the mapping TO CELEBRATE IS TO SET UPRIGHT, which builds on Grady's (1997:282) primary metaphor FUNCTIONALITY IS ERECTNESS. Vertical orientation

[29] See Nünlist (1998:83-125); Meusel (2019:601-608).

[30] The poetological significance of κέλαδος and its interpretation within CMT have been discussed in Chapter 2, paragraphs 2.2-2.4.

here signifies the proper functioning or success of an action, in this case, praise. Like the mapping TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO AWAKEN, this metaphor relies on the CAUSED MOTION schema.

The act of lifting appears to refer to the performance of poetry rather than its composition. This interpretation aligns with the roles attributed to rhapsodes and the Pythia, as poetic performance, not composition, is typically associated with both figures.[31] Further confirmation of this reading comes from *Olympian* 6 (54):

54. O6.90: ἐσσὶ γὰρ **ἄγγελος ὀρθός**, ἠυκόμων σκυτάλα Μοισᾶν […]

"For you (Aeneas) are a **true messenger**, a message stick of the fair-haired Muses..."

The ἄγγελος ὀρθός, literally 'upright messenger,' is Aeneas, the trainer of the chorus (χοροδιδάσκαλος). This figure was responsible for preparing the chorus for recitation and was therefore not involved in the composition of the song itself – especially when, as in this case, he is a figure distinct from the poet.[32] Pindar, therefore, describes him positively as 'upright', in the sense that he appropriately conveys the song composed by the poet. This may suggest a sub-mapping EFFECTIVE POET IS ERECT, in which the poet's effectiveness is associated with an upright posture.

3.5. SONG IS PATH

A different metaphorical process can be detected when the song is not paralleled to an entity in motion but to the path on which an entity moves, in the mapping SONG IS PATH. Within the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, the song represents the PATH, that is, the medium through which the words reach their destination. The poetological value of such expressions has been previously discussed, albeit without recourse to CMT, by Becker (1937), Durante (1968), and Jackson (2006).

A primary metaphor analogous to FUNCTIONALITY IS ERECTNESS may be operative here; however, instead of implying verticality, the notion of the path presupposes a horizontal dimension. In this framework, the metaphor aligns more closely with A PROCESS IS MOVING ON A PATH, as the act of singing or composing is conceptualized as progression along a trajectory. Within this context, one of the most frequently employed terms to convey the SONG/PATH metaphor in Pindar is οἶμος. Given both the evident poetological significance of the expressions that incorporate this word and its high degree of conventionalization, the present section will be dedicated to an analysis of this term.

55. O9.47: ἔγειρ᾽ ἐπέων σφιν **οἶμον** λιγύν […]

[31] A comparable passage, though not poetological in meaning, occurs in *Nemean* 1.14-15: κατένευσέν τέ οἱ χαίταις ἀριστεύοισαν εὐκάρπου χθονὸς Σικελίαν πίειραν ὀρθώσειν κορυφαῖς πολίων ἀφνειᾶς· "With a nod of his locks, (Zeus) assured her (Persephone) that he would exalt fertile Sicily to be the best of the fruitful earth with her lofty and prosperous cities."

[32] As the poet may also assume the role of χοροδιδάσκαλος (Pape 1959:1366).

"**Awaken** for them a clear-sounding **path of words…**"

56. **P2.93-96:** φέρειν δ᾽ ἐλαφρῶς ἐπαυχένιον λαβόντα ζυγόν ἀρήγει· ποτὶ κέντρον δέ τοι λακτιζέμεν τελέθει **ὀλισθηρὸς οἶμος**· ἀδόντα δ᾽ εἴη με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁμιλεῖν.
"It helps to bear lightly the yoke one has taken upon one's neck, and kicking against the goad, you know, becomes **a slippery path**. May it be mine to find favor with the good and keep their company."
57. **P4.247-248**: μακρά μοι **νεῖσθαι κατ᾽ ἀμαξιτόν**· ὥρα γὰρ συνάπτει· καί τινα **οἶμον ἴσαμι βραχύν**· πολλοῖσι δ᾽ ἄγημαι σοφίας ἑτέροις.
"But it is too far for me **to go in the carriage road**; the right time is near, and **I only know a short tract,** and I guide many others to the art."

The term appears five times in Pindar's *Odes*, three of which carry poetological significance. In *Olympian* 9 (55, already noted as 49 in paragraph 3.3), it is part of a *kenning* for 'song' (Gerber 2002:44). In *Pythian* 2 (56), the metaphor intertwines with the chariot image:[33] just as an animal under a yoke should not rebel excessively but yield to power, so should men accomplish the will of the god, and so too the poet (Gentili 1995:405). Therefore, the 'slippery paths,' from a poetological perspective, represent an incorrect way of practising poetry, because they are not legitimated by the divinity. Finally, in *Pythian* 4 (57), since the subject of ἴσαμι is Pindar himself, the οἶμον βραχύν clearly possesses poetological value, standing for Pindar's poetic craft. In conclusion, the term can be interpreted either as 'song' or as the poet's way of composing.

Having assessed the poetological significance of the term, the hypothesis of its conventionalization may now be examined. In Homer, the word appears only once (*Il*. 11.24), with the concrete meaning 'band':[34] τοῦ δ' ἤτοι δέκα οἶμοι ἔσαν μέλανος κυάνοιο […] "On it (on the breastplate) were ten bands of dark cyanus." According to Kirk (1993:218-219), these were strips of unspecified material attached to the breastplate. The word appears only once with the meaning 'path' as it is found in Pindar, namely in vv. 289-291 of Hesiod's *Works and Days*: τῆς δ' Ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴνκαὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· "But in front of Excellence the immortal gods have set sweat, and the path to her is long and steep, and rough at first." Its metaphorical usage as 'path of song' is already attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, v. 451: ἀγλαὸς οἶμος ἀοιδῆς "splendid course of song". Given the root from which it derives, **seh₂/ sh₂*- meaning 'to bind' (Mayrhofer 1986 II:724-725),[35] it has been supposed (Jackson 2006:129) that the

[33] On the complexities and issues in the concluding part of *Pythian* 2, see Oates (1963) and Steiner (2011).

[34] A recent proposal (Valenti 2018:14) links the same root **seh₂-/sh₂*- "to bind" to the noun Σειρήν "siren," thereby reinforcing its association with poetry.

[35] The cognate word οἴμη, also derived from the same root and more frequent in Greek literature, is absent in Pindar.

meaning ‘song’, fully developed in Sanskrit (*sā́man-*), is secondary, derived from the original meaning ‘path’. In this case, Pindar would be employing the term in an advanced state of conventionalization, since in nearly all instances the word is used with a poetological sense.

In *Olympian* 9 (55), the term οἶμος is followed by two notable elements: the verb ἐγείρω and the adjective λιγύς, the latter of which has already been mentioned in Chapter 2, paragraph 2.5. due to its rarity in poetological contexts within Pindar’s *Odes*. While the association of ‘to awaken’ and ‘path’ will be examined in relation to *Rigveda* in paragraph 3.9, the juxtaposition of ‘clear’ with ‘path’ remains intriguing, particularly given the infrequent use of this adjective in poetic discourse. This combination may be better understood if the adjective is analysed through the lens of CMT. As explored in Chapter 2, the use of certain adjectives in specific contexts may be partially shaped by the metaphorical frameworks underpinning them. In particular, adjectives denoting loud sound tend to appear in connection with the chorus, whose presence produces a naturally expansive sonic effect. A similar mechanism may be at work in the present case. The activation of the path framework could have prompted a lexical choice distinct from that typically associated with the sound framework.

In CMT, music is frequently mapped onto a path in various modern languages (Johnson, Larson 2003:67), and this mapping, MUSIC IS PATH, can be aligned with SONG IS PATH, allowing for a comparison of their respective sub-mappings. Within the MUSIC/PATH framework, pitch is often conceptualised spatially, especially along horizontal or vertical dimensions (Rusconi, Kwan, Giordano, Umiltà, Butterworth 2005:196-197). More specifically, recent studies have demonstrated that high-pitched sounds tend to be synesthetically associated with smallness, a phenomenon known as the pitch-magnitude correspondence effect (Vainio, Myllylä, Wikström, Vainio 2024:2; Bien, ten Oever, Goebel, Sack 2012:670).

The adjective λιγύς appears frequently in pre-Pindaric usage to denote a high-pitched or shrill sound (Kaimio 1977:232), but it also occurs metaphorically in contexts that may be explained by the CMT association with smallness. This may account for Homeric instances where it describes the ἀγορητής, or ‘speaker,’ in ways that suggest clarity and conciseness rather than loudness or amplitude. For example in *Iliad* 3.213-215: ἦ τοι μὲν Μενέλαος ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόρευε, παῦρα μέν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολύμυθος οὐδ’ ἀφαμαρτοεπής […] “Menelaus to be sure spoke fluently, with few words, but very clearly, since he was not a man of lengthy speech nor rambling.”

In this light, it is plausible that the use of λιγύς in combination with οἶμος indicates a positive evaluation of the SONG/PATH as concise yet clear. This reading finds further support in *Pythian* 4 (62), where the poet’s composition is described as a οἶμον βραχύν, or ‘short road’, in contrast to the ἁμαξιτόν, the ‘carriage road’. The designation of Pindar’s poetry as a ‘short road’ does not suggest diminishment, but rather, as Gentili suggests (1995:494-495), underscores the poet’s skill in

condensing an extensive narrative, namely the expedition of the Argonauts, into a compact poetic form, thereby affirming the value of measure in mythological digression.

This may help explain the appearance of this adjective in the present context, as well as in its other secure attestation, *Olympian* 6.82-83: δόξαν ἔχω τιν᾽ ἐπὶ γλώσσᾳ λιγυρᾶς ἀκόνας, ἅ μ᾽ἐθέλοντα προσέρπει καλλιρόαισι πνοαῖς. "Upon my tongue I have the sensation of a clear-sounding whetstone, which I welcome as it comes over me with lovely streams of breath." Also in this case, the adjective functions synesthetically, describing the sharpness of the whetstone and suggesting conciseness and clarity.

As in examples (38), (42), (43), (44), whose metaphors involved the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, the question of the destination must be raised. A hint may be given in *Pythian* 4 (58), from the same passage of example (57) when Pindar affirms that he will lead others 'to the art' (σοφίας), and notably not to the addressee of the song. This would point towards the identification with effectiveness of song as the direction, analogously to the other metaphors sharing this schema.

Therefore, if within this framework the song is represented as a path, the poet becomes the one who walks upon it, in the metaphor TO COMPOSE IS TO PROCEED ON A PATH.

58. P4.247-248: καί τινα οἶμον ἴσαμι βραχύν· πολλοῖσι δ᾽ **ἄγημαι σοφίας** ἑτέροις.

"And I only know a short tract**,** and **I guide** many others **to the art.**"

It is more plausible to assume that proceeding along the path refers not to the performance of the poetry but rather to its composition. This is confirmed by the context of example (58): the passage occurs just after Pindar begins to describe the slaying of the serpent by Jason and then states that he does not have time to elaborate further, as the treatment must remain brief (Segal 1986:5-6).

3.6. Sub-mappings of SONG IS PATH

From the mapping SONG IS PATH, additional conceptual mappings derive, each characterizing the road in a specific way. Particularly relevant in terms of CMT are those examples that associate the SONG/PATH with adjectives drawn from the movement framework. One of the most significant sub-mappings consists in an opposition, wherein a straight path has a positive connotation, while a crooked path has a negative one. Both appear in the following example:

59. P2.83-86: φίλον εἴη φιλεῖν· ποτὶ δ᾽ ἐχθρὸν ἅτ᾽ ἐχθρὸς ἐὼν λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι, ἄλλ᾽ ἄλλοτε πατέων **ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς**. ἐν πάντα δὲ νόμον **εὐθύγλωσσος ἀνὴρ** προφέρει […]

"Let me befriend a friend, but against an enemy, I shall, as his enemy, run him down as a wolf does, stalking now here, now there, **on twisting paths**. And under every regime the **straight-talking man** excels…"

The passage in *Pythian* 2 (59) includes multiple poetological references. The compound adjective εὐθύγλωσσος must be attributed to the poet, as explained by Most (1985:118): Pindar emphasizes his own pre-eminence as a poet within the Hellenic world, grounded in his capacity to be acclaimed in any land regardless of its political constitution. Furthermore, and central to the present analysis, the opposition between εὐθύς and σκολιός holds explicit poetological significance.

Both adjectives have long been conventionalized as expressions of 'right' and 'wrong' modes of thinking or moral attitudes, a usage traceable since Epic Greek.[36] However, originally, they both imply a relation to movement, constituting a derivation of the secondary metaphor SONG IS PATH. Notably, the adjective εὐθύς, unattested outside of Greek, although its etymology remains debated,[37] appears originally to describe linear movement (van Beek 2017:133-141). This includes movement along a path, whether of a chariot, javelin, or arrow.[38]

The oppositional relationship between these adjectives in Pindar's *Odes* has already been noted by Hubbard (1985:98-100), albeit outside of a CMT framework. He connects their usage to Pindar's stance toward the subjects of his poetry: gentle in reference to friends, and harsh toward enemies. This is a critical observation, also emphasized by Most: Pindar's characterization of his poetic manner as σκολιός does not undermine his skill. Instead, it signals his orientation toward his addressees. The victor is praised positively, therefore, in a straight manner, while enemies are described unfavourably, hence the poetic paths become crooked.

In this light, a conceptual contrast emerges with a passage from *Pythian* 11 (60):

> **60. P11.38-40:** ἦρ᾽, ὦ φίλοι, **κατ᾽ ἀμευσίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινάθην**, **ὀρθὰν κέλευθον** ἰὼν τὸ πρίν·
>
> "Friends, maybe **I got lost in a forkroad where the roads crossed**, after having gone before **on a straight road**?

Pindar has just alluded to mythological episodes of questionable moral content, and he states that he has lost the ὀρθὰν κέλευθον "the straight path" and that he now stands at a crossroads. In this context, the contrast does not involve a crooked path but rather a forked one (τρίοδον), namely the presence

[36] For εὐθύς, see e.g. *Il*. 13.135: οἱ δ᾽ ἰθὺς φρόνεον, μέμασαν δὲ μάχεσθαι. "And their minds swerved not, but they were eager to fight." For σκολιός see e.g. *Il*. 16.387: οἳ βίῃ εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας […] "(men) who by violence give crooked judgments in the place of assembly…"

[37] For a recent overview of current etymological proposals, see van Beek (2017:143-146). Willi (2001), for instance, derives the term from **Hieud*^{h}-, the same root as Latin *iubēre*.

[38] Conceptualized within a juridical context together with δίκη to express a just verdict (van Beek 2017:133-141). The role of δίκη in poetry is of no secondary importance, as attested in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, where it is stated that inappropriate praise offends δίκη (cf. vv. 782-789).

of multiple routes. The implication is a choice between alternative poetological directions, rather than a moral or structural deviation.

Finally, it is possible to apply a well-known primary metaphor, in which difficulties in life are conceptualized as obstacles (Grady 1997:103), here within a poetological context.

61. N7.66-67: οὐχ ὑπερβαλών, **βίαια πάντ᾽ ἐκ ποδὸς ἐρύσαις·**

"Not being excessive, **having removed everything forced on my path.**"

A few lines earlier (43), he affirms: "Like leading water streams to my friend, I will praise him with authentic glory." Thus, in example (61) Pindar reassures the addressee that the praise will be appropriately measured.

The adjective βίαια has received multiple interpretations. Race (1997b:81) understands it as reinforcing the expression οὐχ ὑπερβαλών "not having exaggerated",[39] avoiding a laud that would seem far-fetched or unnatural. By contrast, Most (1985:189) suggests that βίαια may refer to reproachful or inappropriate language that could diminish the effectiveness of praise. According to this view, the participle ἐρύσαις is juxtaposed – but not directly opposed – to οὐχ ὑπερβαλών.

While scholarly consensus on the interpretation of βίαια remains elusive, the participle ἐρύσαις, in conjunction with the expression ἐκ ποδὸς, unambiguously suggests the removal of an object from one's path. This evokes a concrete image of displacing an obstacle on land, leading to the plausible conclusion that a conceptual mapping DIFFICULTIES TO THE SONG ARE OBSTACLES ON A PATH underlies this passage.

3.7. SONG IS MOVEMENT OF AN ENTITY in the *Rigveda*

In the *Rigveda*, though with some differences, several of the secondary metaphors identified in Pindar are also attested. To begin with, the three main types of movement involving song as subject will be examined: travel, spreading, and flowing.

Beginning with travel, the connection between movement and song in the *Rigveda* has already been noted by Meusel (2019:481-483), as previously discussed in paragraph 3.1. As the comparison within the CMT framework will demonstrate, several elements align with the travel imagery found in Pindar.

62. *RV* 3.54.14: *víṣṇuṃ **stómāsaḥ** purudasmám **arkā́ḥ** bhágasyeva kāríṇo yā́mani **gman*** |

"**The recitations, the chants have gone** to Viṣṇu of many wonders as singers on the road of Bhaga."

[39] The verb ὑπερβάλλω itself functions as a conceptual metaphor, originally denoting the act of throwing a spear or arrow beyond the mark in battle or contests (LSJ; cf. e.g. *Il*. 23.637), and from there developing the meaning 'to exaggerate.'

The example (62) shares several key features with the travel imagery found in Pindar (examples 38, 40). Firstly, the underlying image of travel is made explicit by *yā́mani* 'on the road.' The same term testifies the underlying SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema, as in examples (38), (42), (43), (44) in Pindar's odes. A notable difference, however, lies in the metaphorical destination: whereas in Pindar the goal of the poetic path is poetic effectiveness, in the *Rigveda* it is clearly a deity, in this case Viṣṇu (*víṣṇuṃ*).

Also the metaphoric process at play is parallel to Pindar: in fact, the phrase *iva kāríṇaḥ* "as singers" implies that the metaphor SONG IS MOVEMENT OF AN ENTITY entails a case of personification, whereby the song is used to refer to the singer who performs it, corresponding to the metonymy SONG FOR SINGER.

The EXPANSION image schema, already identified in Pindar's odes, is likewise active in the Rigveda. More than that, it appears to derive from the same concrete experience. The association between the spreading of light and that of poetry is, in the Rigvedic *corpus*, more explicit, more consistently developed, and in a significantly more advanced state of conventionalization. Particular attention should be given to the terms that exhibit the highest degree of this conventionalization, namely *arc* and its derivative *arká-*.

63. ***RV*** **1.009.10** *suté-sute nyòkase* ***bṛhád bṛhatá*** *éd aríḥ* | *índrāya śūṣám* ***arcati*** ||

"To him who is at home at every soma-pressing, to the **lofty** one, the stranger himself **chants** a **lofty**, lusty (chant) to Indra."

64. ***RV*** **3.54.02** ***máhi mahé*** *divé* ***arcā*** *pṛthivyaí*

"**I will recite** a **great** (**hymn**) to **great** Heaven and to Earth…"

The verb *arc* originally means 'to shine' yet its metaphorical meaning 'to sing' is widely attested. So entrenched is this metaphorical use that in instances where the verb means 'to sing,' the connection to the original meaning of light is no longer evident, to the point that two separate verbs have been posed (Mayrhofer 1986 I:114-115). However, within the framework of CMT, it is plausible to posit the existence of a single form, which has been thoroughly conventionalized through processes comparable to those found in Pindar's odes. The two meanings, in fact, can be connected via the mapping TO SING IS TO SHED LIGHT, which presupposes the primary metaphor IMPORTANCE IS EXTENSION and, inherently, the EXPANSION image schema.

This connection between the two meanings is proved by the fact that, even when the presence of light is not explicit in the above-mentioned passages, the verb *arc* often denotes a sound that spatially expands and resonates. In both of the cited instances, a polyptoton of two adjectives, *bṛhát* and *máhi*, denoting largeness either vertically or horizontally, simultaneously refers to the addressee (*bṛhatá índrāya*, *mahé divé pṛthivyaí*) and qualifies the verb *arc* adverbially (*bṛhád*, *máhi*). This strong spatial

connotation, emphasizing broadness, may be influenced by the conceptual shift from 'to shine' to 'to sing' in the semantic development of *arc*. Nevertheless, since the original meaning 'to shine' is still active in several contexts,[40] the possibility of full lexicalization could be excluded.

Furthermore, this high degree of conventionalization is also evident in the derivative noun *arká-*, which appeared in example (62). Although it can still mean 'gleam,'[41] when it appears metaphorically with the meaning 'song,' as in example (62), it can also occur in contexts not tied to the original image of spreading light.

Finally, the secondary mapping SONG IS WATER FLOWING is also found in *Rigveda*:

65. *RV* 8.44.25 *ágne dhr̥távratāya te samudrā́yeva* ***síndhavaḥ*** | ***gíro*** *vāśrā́sa* ***īrate*** ||

"Agni, like **rivers** to the sea, to you of steadfast commandments **do our hymns go forth** bellowing."

The verb *ar* means 'to set in motion, to stir' (Mayrhofer 1986 I:105-106), and its usage spans a variety of contexts, including the motion of liquids, the actions of singers, and the movement of prayers (Grassmann 1873:233-234). In *RV* 8.44.25 (65), however, the underlying concrete experience is unmistakably that of water flowing. Despite the scattered content of the hymn (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:1116), the expression *iva síndhavaḥ* "like rivers" explicitly parallels the songs (*gíro*) to flowing water. This implies the metaphor PROCESSES ARE NATURAL FORCES, as also found in Pindar. The underlying image is again that of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, in which the concrete destination is the sea (*samudrā́ya*), and the metaphorical target is a deity, in this case Agni (*ágne… te*).

From this secondary metaphor, the same sub-mapping also attested in Pindar can be observed, namely, MAKER OF SONG IS A WELL.

66. *RV* 8.49.6*: udrī́va* *vajrinn* ***avató*** *ná siñcaté* ***kṣárantīndra dhītáyaḥ*** ||

"Like a wellspring full of water for the one who pours it out, **the poetic thoughts flow** (for you), **Indra**, bearer of the mace."

In this instance, the poet is directly likened to a well filled with water (*udrī́va…avató*), from which poetic thoughts (*dhītáyaḥ*) flow (*kṣáranti*, from *kṣar*, 'to flow'). As in Pindar, this suggests the presence of a conduit metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:10-13): the SINGER/WELL functions as a vessel through which the POETIC THOUGHTS/WATER are conveyed.

[40] Cf. e.g. *RV* 3.44.02.

[41] Cf. e.g. *RV* 3.26.07.

3.8. DIFFICULTIES FOR THE POET ARE OBSTACLES ON A PATH in the *Rigveda*

The sub-mapping DIFFICULTIES FOR THE POET ARE OBSTACLES ON A PATH has been identified in Pindar (example 61 of paragraph 3.6). The underlying concrete experience appears to involve movement along a land path, as suggested by the expression ἐκ ποδὸς. A comparable sub-mapping is also attested in the Rigveda, though the underlying image may differ, as it is potentially associated with the secondary metaphor SONG IS WATER FLOWING.

67. *RV* 1.53.06: *té tvā mádā amadan táni vṛ́ṣṇyā té sómāso **vṛtrahátyeṣu** satpate | yát **kāráve** dáśa **vṛtrā́ṇy** apratí barhíṣmate ní sahásrāṇi barháyaḥ* ||

"These exhilarating drinks exhilarated you (Indra) and your bullish powers - these soma juices **at the smashing of obstacles**, o lord of settlements when you laid low ten unopposable **obstacles for the bard,** a thousand for the man who spreads the ritual grass**.**"

68. *RV* 6.44.15: *pā́tā sutám índro astu sómam **hántā vṛtráṃ** vájreṇa mandasānáḥ | gántā yajñám parāvátaś cid áchā vásur dhīnā́m avitā́ **kārúdhāyāḥ*** ||

"Let Indra be the one who drinks the pressed soma, who **smashes the obstacle [/*Vṛtrá*]** with his mace in his exhilaration, who goes to the sacrifice, even from far away, who is the good helper of insights, **providing nourishment to the bard."**

In both Rigvedic passages under consideration, the notion of obstacle is conveyed through the same term, *vṛtrá-*. In the plural, the word clearly signifies 'obstacles, as in (67). However, when used in the singular, its meaning becomes ambiguous due to the personification of the obstacle in Vedic mythology as the serpent *Vṛtrá*. This is the case in (68), where *vṛtráṃ* could be interpreted either as a specific obstruction or as a reference to the mythological serpent slain by Indra. This ambiguity is significant for determining the image underlying the metaphor.

In both Rigvedic cases, the obstacle affects the poet, referred to by the term *kārú*. Unlike in Pindar, where the poet is the agent who removes the obstacle, in the *Rigveda* it is Indra who performs this role. Notably, *sūkta* 1.53 repeatedly emphasizes the intimate relationship between Indra and the singers (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:168): the god is both dependent on their praise and reciprocates with benefits proportionate to their devotion.

The term *vṛtrá*, whether referring to the mythological serpent or to a generic obstruction, maintains a close association with water. In the myth of *Vṛtrá*, the slaying of the serpent, represented at once as a concrete barrier and as a divine adversary,[42] results in the release of the waters he had confined (Oberlies 2023:167-169).

[42] Cf. e.g. *RV* 1.32.5-8.

Accordingly, since in both Rigvedic examples it is Indra who liberates the bards from the *vr̥trá-*, and potentially from *Vr̥trá* itself in (68), and since the term is used for both physical and mythic obstructions, the underlying image may echo that of the myth: an obstacle blocks the singer, perhaps hindering the reception of benefits from their songs, and Indra is the agent who removes this hindrance, allowing the SONG/WATER to flow freely.

Additionally, the concept of *vr̥trá-*, in this case clearly meaning 'obstacle', as a blockage to the passage of liquids appears in another poetic context, this time in relation to a different divine figure, Soma, who, like Indra, is described as a "smasher of obstacles." This is exemplified in *RV* 9.17 (69):

69. *RV* 9.17.1. *prá nimnéneva* ***síndhavo ghnánto vr̥trā́ṇi*** *bhúrṇayaḥ | sómā asr̥gram āśávaḥ||*

"Like **rivers** along a downward slope, **smashing obstacles**, turbulent, the swift soma juices have been sent surging."

(3) *átyūrmir matsaró mádaḥ sómaḥ* ***pavítre*** *arṣati | vighnán rákṣāṃsi devayúḥ ||*

"The exhilarating drink of exhilaration, the soma, rushes **into the filter** beyond the waves, smashing aside the demons, seeking the gods."

(6) *abhí* ***víprā anūṣata*** *mūrdhán yajñásya* ***kārávaḥ*** *|*

"**The inspired poets, the bards**, **have roared to him** at the head of the sacrifice."

(7) *tám u* ***tvā*** *vājínaṃ* ***náro dhībhír víprā avasyávaḥ*** *|* ***mr̥jánti*** *devátātaye ||*

"**The men, the inspired poets**, **seeking help**, **groom you**, the prizewinning horse, **with their insights**, for the divine conclave."

In this *sūkta*, Soma's journey through the filter, which involves overcoming "obstacles", in this case the filter used in the preparation (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:1251), culminates in the granting of poetic inspiration, as stated in *pāda* 5. This inspiration is then transmitted to the poets who call upon his aid (*avasyávaḥ*). Here, the function of poetry is twofold: poets reinforce the power of Soma (or Indra), and in turn, the songs, once released from obstacles, confer benefits upon the singers.

It is worth noting that the release of water is, primarily, associated with the regenerative power of Indra's actions. The slaying of *Vr̥trá* and the subsequent liberation of the waters ensures nourishment for both the worshippers and the land. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the possibility that the same imagery is also employed in a poetological context, particularly given the number of poetic elements present in the passages discussed above.

3.9. TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO AWAKEN and SONG IS PATH in the *Rigveda*

As in Pindar, the *Rigveda* also attests the metaphorical mapping from wakefulness to the beginning of song, as demonstrated extensively by Meusel (2019:621-624) and previously by Jackson (2006).

However, comparison with the *Rigveda* makes it possible to identify the concrete experience underlying this mapping more securely, particularly through the association with the metaphor SONG IS PATH.

70. ***RV*** **7.10.01** ***vṛ́ṣā háriḥ śúcir á́*** *bhāti bhāśá́ dhíyo* ***hinvānā́ uśatī́r*** *ajīgaḥ* ||

*"*The bull, the blazing fallow bay, **radiates with his radiance**. Urging on our eager **insights**, **he has awakened them.**"

This example constitutes the first *pāda* of the *sūkta*. As in the case of Pindar, the awakening of song coincides with its beginning, following the mapping TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO START MOVING. The agent responsible for this awakening, is Indra, represented as a bull, which stimulates the *dhíyaḥ* or poetic thoughts of the singers, in a role comparable to that of Poseidon in Pindar (50). The concept of song is conveyed through the term *dhíyaḥ*, which functions metonymically. The poetic thoughts stand for the poet, according to the mapping THOUGHTS FOR SINGER.

This passage also permits an inference about the concrete experience underlying the metaphor TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO AWAKEN. Indra awakens the songs or singers through his radiance, implying the agency of light within the metaphor, as emphasized by Meusel (2019:623) and Jackson (2006:127), and expressed in the *figura etymologica bhāti bhāśá́*. The image is clear: Indra acts as the sun, whose light awakens living beings, and thus their poetic thoughts, initiating the song.

Light also plays a significant role in another passage, in which the awakening metaphor is interwoven with the path metaphor:

71. ***RV*** **7.75.01:** *ápa drúhas táma āvar ájuṣṭam áṅgirastamā* ***pathíyā ajīgaḥ*** ||

"She (Dawn) has uncovered the deceits, the disagreeable darkness; best of the Aṅgirases, **she has awakened the paths**."

As in the previous case, the *pāda* opens the hymn and reflects the mapping TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO START MOVING. Again, the role of light is explicit and forms the basis of the image of the awakening Dawn, who brings light to mortals. In this case, however, the object is the *pathyàḥ*, or paths. The same combination is found in Pindar, in (49), discussed in paragraph 3.3. Here, the image is clarified: the verb 'to awaken' is grounded in the concrete experience of living beings roused by sunlight.

Jackson (2006:130) explains the co-occurrence of these two metaphors by stressing the ritual function of "paths" in Vedic tradition: poets are often described as "pathfinders," a role also present in mythological narratives, such as the Vala myth, in which the Aṅgirases (whose poetic function is noted in Chapter 2, paragraph 2.6.) are praised for discovering the path of the imprisoned cows. Within this framework, poetic "paths" often evoke the ritual as a whole.

From the perspective of CMT, this is unsurprising given the presence of another primary metaphor associated with AWAKE/ASLEEP: ACTIVITY IS WAKEFULNESS (Grady 1997:289). The awakening of paths is thus mapped onto their activation, when singers begin to use them.

From the mapping TO BEGIN SINGING IS TO AWAKEN, the sub-mapping ABSENCE OF SONG IS SLEEPING is also attested, as in Pindar:

72. *RV* 1.53.01 *ny ù ṣú vā́cam prá mahé bharāmahe gíra índrāya sádane vivásvataḥ | nṓ cid dhí rátnaṃ **sasatā́m** ivávidat ná duṣṭutír draviṇodéṣu śasyate ||*

“Let us bring forward our speech for the great one, our songs for Indra, at the seat of Vivasvant. For never has anyone found a treasure **among those who are**, as it were, **asleep**. A poor praise hymn is not acclaimed among the givers of wealth.”

The subject of the verb *bharāmahe* “let us bring” is the group of singers (Jamison and Brereton 2014a:168), who, throughout the *sūkta*, as shown in paragraph 3.8 in relation to (67), emphasize the close link between the quality of their song and its effectiveness in attracting Indra’s favour. Thus, the participle *sasatā́m* “among those who are asleep” possesses clear poetological value, designating poets who will never receive Indra’s gifts (*rátnam*).

3.10. EFFECTIVE POET IS ERECT in the *Rigveda*

In paragraph 3.4. it has been examined how, in Pindar’s odes, verticality expresses the effectiveness of the singer as a man lifted up, in the sub-mapping EFFECTIVE POET IS ERECT. This secondary mapping is also attested in the *Rigveda*:

73. *RV* 10.115.09 *íti tvāgne vr̥ṣṭihávyasya putrā́ḥ- upastutā́sa ŕ̥ṣayo 'vocan | tā́ṃś ca pāhí gr̥ṇatáś ca sūrī́n váṣaḍ váṣaḷ íty **ūrdhvā́so** anakṣan námo náma íty **ūrdhvā́so** anakṣan||*

“So have the sons of Vṛṣṭihavya, the Upastutas, seers, proclaimed you, o Agni. Protect them - both singers and patrons. Saying “Vaṣaṭ, vaṣaṭ,” **(standing) upright** they have reached (you); saying “Homage, homage,” **(standing) upright** they have reached (you)”

In this passage, both singers and patrons are described with the adjective *ūrdhvá*, meaning ‘upright’ or ‘erect’ (Mayrhofer 1986 I:244). Their characterization as “upright” appears central to their correct ritual performance and pausibly to their prayers. This suggests the same metaphor identified in Pindar, EFFECTIVE POET IS ERECT, which rests on the primary metaphor FUNCTIONALITY IS ERECTNESS. The description of the singer as “upright” recalls the ἄγγελος ὀρθός of (54). The adjectives are moreover cognates, both deriving from the root **h₃rd^{h}uo-*.

The context is that of ritual, specifically the moment of sacrifice involving the *vaṣaṭ* call,[43] pronounced just before the offerings are placed into the fire (Oberlies 2023:229). This may help explain the choice of the adjective *ūrdhvá*: the offerings, in order to be effective, must be thrown into the fire, which plausibly rises. Thus, the movement of the singers might be paralleled with that of the fire. The adjective is indeed frequently applied to Agni, or fire in general (Grassmann 1873:274).

[43] The form is traditionally interpreted as "May [Agni] convey [the sacrifice]," from *vah* (Mayrhofer 1986 II:535-536). However, the interpretation remains uncertain (Oberlies 2023:229).

4. Conclusion

The present study has explored the poetological vocabulary of Pindar with the tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), with a primary focus on metaphors related to sound and movement. Its main aim has been to uncover the underlying conceptual structures that inform Pindar's lexical choices, and to examine whether these patterns can be traced back to earlier Indo-European conceptual frameworks through comparison with the *Rigveda*.

The central claim of this thesis is that behind the creative use of language in Pindar's odes, deeply rooted metaphorical structures can be reconstructed, grounded in embodied experience. From the two main mappings identified, SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND, and SONG IS MOVEMENT OF AN ENTITY, a coherent set of sub-mappings emerged, revealing the broad influence of the two metaphoric frameworks analyzed. Furthermore, the occurrence of comparable secondary mappings in the *Rigveda* supports the view that these conceptual associations can be traced back to an earlier stage of the Indo-European language.

In Chapter 2, the analysis of the mapping SONG/PRAISE IS LOUD SOUND led to the identification of the chorus as the most plausible reason for the prominence of metaphors denoting loud sound in Pindar's poetry. In these expressions, the association between song and loudness is conceptually grounded in the primary metaphors IMPORTANCE IS VOLUME and QUANTITY IS VOLUME/INTENSITY. The analysis of the metaphorical vehicles revealed an advanced state of conventionalization for several terms, such as κόμπος and κέλαδος. Furthermore, the comparison with the *Rigveda* revealed similar metaphorical processes, and sub-mappings, which notably are often linked to contexts involving collective recitation. Particularly significant is, within the Vedic terms analyzed, the case of *nav*, since it reached an advanced state of conventionalization, to the extent that its derived name, *nāvá-*, may be considered a fossilized metaphor.

Within the domain of movement metaphors, previous studies (Becker 1937; Durante 1968) have demonstrated a clear connection between expression denoting movement in poetological context in both Pindar and the *Rigveda*. Through the tenets of CMT, these earlier observations have been further supported by identifying the conceptual elements and the images underlying these associations. Moreover, the presence of highly specific sub-mappings – such as maker of song is a well – reinforces the conceptual link between Pindar's odes and the *Rigveda*. As noted in Chapter 1, secondary metaphors tend to be language-specific; thus, their recurrence in both *corpora* strengthens the idea of a shared foundation of language and thought.

Instances of advanced conventionalization have also been identified within this framework within this framework. However, the frequent use of movement-related terms in their literal meaning tends to hinder the progression toward full conventionalization. A particularly noteworthy example is arc, whose metaphorical sense 'to sing' became so widespread in *Rigveda* that scholars have proposed the existence of two different roots. From the perspective of CMT, however, the hypothesis of a single, highly conventionalized root appears more plausible.

CMT has also proven valuable in explaining combinations of metaphorical frameworks that might otherwise appear to be merely creative. A paradigmatic case is the association, discussed in Chapter 3 paragraph 3.5, of the noun οἶμος 'path' with the adjective λιγύς 'shrill'. It has been suggested that this pairing may stem, at least in part, from an unconscious association between small objects – in this case, a short path – and high-pitched sounds. Such a connection would support the interpretation, given by scholars in non CMT terms, that λιγύς here convey conciseness. This interpretation is further reinforced by the rarity of the adjective in Pindar's odes: as shown in Chapter 2, λιγύς is difficult to reconcile with the need to evoke broadly resonant sound. Rather, it appears within a different metaphorical framework, namely the mapping SONG IS PATH.

This work does not aim to compete with monumental and abundant scolarship on metaphor in Pindar and *Rigveda* –most notably, beyond the studies previously cited, the contributions of Meusel (2019) and, before him, Nünlist (1998). Rather, it seeks to approach metaphor from a different perspective, one that in some cases has served to reinforce earlier hypotheses, and in others, to depart from them. Naturally, much work remains to be done. This thesis has focused on two conceptual domains – sound and movement – chosen for their subtle yet pervasive presence within poetological vocabulary both in Pindar and *Rigveda*. Other metaphorical frameworks, such as building metaphors, deserve further investigation. Additionally, other Indo-European traditions – such as Avestan, or Hittite – could yield additional insights into the persistence and variation of conceptual metaphors across time and space.

In conclusion, the application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory to Pindar's poetry, supported by the comparative evidence from the *Rigveda*, has proven to be a productive approach for uncovering the conceptual foundations of ancient poetic expression. It suggests new perspectives on Pindar's lexical choices, reconsidering earlier views of poetic innovation, and draws attention to metaphorical structures that link Pindar's odes with the *Rigveda*. In this way, the study hopes to contribute to a deeper understanding of how ancient poets operated through interplay of word, sound, and motion.

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