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*Studi sul duale in miceneo,
nella poesia omerica
e nel teatro attico del V secolo*

– Variazioni morfologiche, dialettali, stilistiche –

Tesi presentata dalla Dott.ssa Barbara Fero

Coordinatore del Dottorato:
Chiar.mo Prof. Renzo Tosi

Relatore:
Chiar.mo Prof. Camillo Neri

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1. Morfologia.

1.0 Morfologia del Duale.

Malgrado la sua lacunosità, la situazione offerta dal greco antico è estremamente invidiabile in termini linguistici, in quanto offre un ampio spettro di varianti che consentono di inquadrare tendenze e mutamenti in prospettiva diatopica e diacronica. In questa sezione si tenterà brevemente di introdurre quelli che sono i principi determinanti che agiscono sulla produzione, preservazione e declino della categoria del duale in una prospettiva storico-linguistica.

La morfologia¹ del greco si presenta sin dalle sue fasi antiche, in tutte le sue caratterizzazioni dialettali, come flessiva² e altamente sintetica³. In linguistica

¹ «Morphology is the study of systematic covariation in the form and meaning of words. It is important that this form-meaning covariation occurs systematically in groups of words» (Haspelmath-Sims 2010, 2). «The term ‘morphology’ has been taken over from biology where it is used to denote the study of the forms of plants and animals. Its first recorded use is in writings by the German poet and writer Goethe in 1796. It was first used for linguistic purposes in 1859 by the German linguist August Schleicher, to refer to the study of the form of words» (Booij 2007, 6). Tra le varie teorie che popolano il panorama della morfologia inflessionale (*‘lexical morphology’, ‘referential morphology’, ‘incremental morphology’, etc.*: cf. Stump 2001a, 12), si intende qui sposare gli assunti dell’*inferential morphology*, come espressi da Stump (2001a, 2): «the systematic formal relations between a lexeme’s root and the fully inflected word forms constituting its paradigm are expressed by rules or formulas. In theories of this sort, the associations between a word’s morphosyntactic properties and its morphology are expressed by the morphological rules which relate that word to its root: the existence of the word *likes*, for instance, is inferred from that of the root *like* by means of a rule associating the appearance of the suffix *-s* with the presence of the properties ‘3sg subject agreement’, ‘present tense’, and ‘indicative mood’». Ciò equivale a dire che, in una forma come $\sigma\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\nu$, la funzione di $-\tau\eta\nu$ non si esaurisce nella desinenza stessa (se così fosse, $-\tau\eta\nu$ avrebbe una valenza quasi lessicale: è questo infatti quanto sostengono gli esponenti della *‘lexical morphology’*), ma pre-esiste alla desinenza e ne determina l’insorgenza.

² «We might define inflection as ‘the kind of morphology that is relevant to syntax’. According to that demarcation criterion, the morphological properties that play a role in agreement and government are clear cases of inflection. This comprises all those morphological properties of words that function as controllers: the marking of number on nouns [...] may play a role in determining the shape of adjectives and determiners with which it combines» (Booij 2007, 112f.). In questo senso, le lingue flessive sono necessariamente organiche e polisintetiche: un unico morfema (desinenza) è passibile di esprimere più valenze, e più entità morfologiche concordano (o, meglio, ‘sono concordate’) nell’affermazione di un’unica valenza.

³ «Ancient Greek has a large number of inflectional categories, both for nouns and verbs. Its morphology is highly fusional, with a fairly high degree of allomorphy, partly due to simplification of consonantal clusters or monophthongization of diphthongs» (Luraghi 2003, 3). ‘Fusionale’, in contrasto con ‘agglutinante’, indica che «different inflectional properties are often expressed by one and the same morpheme. [...] Such units that serve to express more than one morphological property are called *portmanteau morphs*» (Booij 2007, 42).

generale si è soliti distinguere tra *inherent inflection* e *contextual inflection*⁴: la prima riguarda la serie di modificazioni meccaniche che un lessema può subire per esprimere variazioni semantiche (espressione del caso, etc.), la seconda riguarda le modificazioni determinate da relazioni contestuali (concordanza, etc.)⁵. Ci si concentrerà in questo capitolo sul primo tipo di flessione.

Come si osserverà diffusamente nei paragrafi successivi, la flessione del duale è oscillante nelle sue attestazioni più antiche (micenee); solo parte delle marche inflessionali è ereditata dall'indoeuropeo, e si registra in generale un discreto ricorso a suppletivismo⁶ ed eteroclisi⁷. Recenti studi linguistici hanno evidenziato come il suppletivismo sia un fenomeno non solo naturale e pertinente alle lingue flessive, ma del tutto funzionale. «The splitting of an inflectional paradigm into subparadigms belonging to separate inflection classes may be more likely along one morphosyntactic boundary than along another» (Stump 2006, 308): tramite il ricorso ad alternanze radicali la lingua determina differenziazioni tra le categorie avvertite come preminenti⁸. Interessante è a questo proposito la posizione

⁴ «Inflection is the expression of morphosyntactic properties of lexemes. These properties either serve to express a particular meaning (inherent inflection), or are required in specific syntactic contexts (contextual inflection). In contextual inflection the relation between two elements in a syntactic configuration is marked either on the head or on the dependent. Contextual inflection indicates syntactic relationships between words» (Booij 2007, 122).

⁵ Un tentativo di calco dei due termini potrebbe essere 'flessione di base' e flessione 'contestuale': si vede bene che la prima sia oggetto di investigazione meramente morfologica, laddove la seconda implica mutamenti di ordine morfosintattico. In questo capitolo ci si occuperà soltanto della prima, mentre la seconda sarà oggetto precipuo del secondo capitolo.

⁶ «A radical form of formal variation in paradigms is the phenomenon of suppletion, where there is no phonological similarity between the different inflected forms of a lexeme. [...] Suppletive forms usually occur in particular with lexemes with a high frequency of use» (Booij 2007, 33s., 141). Il ricorso a temi differenziati implica in origine una differente caratura semantica, che spesso sfuma in favore di una unità paradigmatica. Radici suppletive, come le pronominali, implicano pertanto che temi differenti collaborino al paradigma di uno stesso lessema.

⁷ «In inflectional instances of stem suppletion, a lexeme's paradigm is built upon two or more stems whose differences do not follow from regular rules of inflectional exponence» (Stump 2006, 282); «heteroclisys refers to the property of a lexeme whose inflectional paradigm contains forms built upon stems belonging to two or more distinct inflection classes [...]. Heteroclisys is a widely observable phenomenon in natural language: it is not restricted to lexemes belonging to any particular syntactic category, nor are Indo-European languages the only source of examples» (*ibid.* 279).

⁸ «It is clear that whether a given inflectional category is privileged varies from language to language; that is, there does not seem to be any inflectional category that is universally privileged» (Stump 2006, 316).

del duale, che spesso induce fenomeni di eteroclisi, talvolta sotto forma di suppletivismo (pronome) piuttosto che alternanza apofonica (nome).

La flessione del duale si presenta, nelle fasi iniziali delle attestazioni, come difettiva⁹. In virtù di una maggiore trasparenza, e conformemente con la tendenza ergonomica della lingua, il duale è tuttavia soggetto in greco ad un sempre più sistematico inquadramento in classi paradigmatiche¹⁰. Tale meccanismo va sotto il nome di *grammaticalizzazione*¹¹: «at least since the time of Bopp (1816) it has been assumed that morphological affixes were originally full independent words. This assumption has in recent years led to a new framework in historical linguistics, ‘Grammaticalization’. Grammaticalization is conceived of as a unidirectional process, commonly involving the development of a full word to function word, cliticization and eventual fusion of the clitic with its host, becoming an affix» (Hoch 2010, 65; cf. anche Heine 2003, 575-601). Nello specifico, poiché si ha qui a che fare con categorie inflessionali, converrà fare ricorso al concetto di *morfologizzazione*¹²:

⁹ Tale difettivismo è stato spesso ritenuto sintomatico della perdita di funzionalità del duale (tra gli altri, cf. Chantraine 1953, 23; Wathélet 1970, 330-334); per contro, l’asimmetria nella presenza (o assenza) di marche di duale è, in una prospettiva sincronica, semplicemente sintomatica di un incompleto inquadramento in classi paradigmatiche della categoria (cf. anche Hierche 1987, Tichy 1990). Sebbene alcune forme siano ricostruibili per l’ie., è altrettanto evidente che la flessione del duale ricostruita manchi di sistematicità: d’altra parte «if we view defectiveness diachronically it is unavoidable that we see it in terms of arrested development or decay. But we should also bear in mind that the direction of change is relative to the object under observation [...]. One parameter is historical period; another parameter is register» (Baerman-Corbett 2011, 15s.). Sulla centralità del registro, soprattutto in attico, cf. par. 2.4.

¹⁰ «The term ‘paradigm’ is used here in a general sense to denote a set of linguistic elements with a common property» (Booij 2007, 8).

¹¹ Talvolta definita anche ‘grammaticization’ (Lehmann 2002, 8ss.): «grammaticalization is defined as the development from lexical to grammatical forms (or functional categories), and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms» (Heine 2001, 163; cf. anche Hopper-Traugott 1993); «a grammaticalization is a macro-change comprising changes in content, in content syntax (semantax), in expression, and in expression syntax (morphosyntax). The central change in a grammaticalization is a content change, typically from lexical to grammatical content (*grammation*), or from grammatical to more grammatical content (*regrammation*). It typically goes hand in hand with a semantactic change (*upgrading*), and is commonly followed by morphosyntactic change toward closer bonding (*integration*) and expression simplification (*reduction*)» (Andersen 2010, 123; cf. anche Hoch 2003, 449ss.; Hopper-Traugott 1993, Lehmann 1995, Heine 2003, 575-620).

¹² «Morphologization is often viewed as a kind of, or as a stage in, grammaticalization. But the types of change for which the term *morphologization* is appropriate are best kept apart from the common understanding of grammaticalization, for morphologizations are changes that affect grammatical expressions, i.e., they presuppose *grammation* or *regrammation*. A first definition of morphologization

linguisticamente, con tale nome si intende il processo irreversibile che fa sì che marche appositive, originariamente indipendenti, si sedimentino in determinate funzioni morfologiche fino a diventarne rappresentative e guadagnarsi un ruolo all'interno del paradigma: è questo il caso, ad esempio, della desinenza atematica *-ǝ, il ricorso alla quale è pervasivo nelle fasi più antiche¹³.

È possibile dunque ipotizzare che, in séguito all'insorgere della categoria e alla sua morfologizzazione, si sia precocemente verificata in greco una situazione coerente da un punto di vista semantico e morfologico, in quanto la funzione dell'espressione del duale era delegata a una specifica serie di marche flessive¹⁴, ma non necessariamente dal punto di vista fonologico, in quanto tali marche, esiti di processi differenti, non erano necessariamente poste in relazione, né riconoscibili come appartenenti alla stessa classe (si pensi alla distanza intercorrente tra la desinenza micenea per i maschili dei temi in *-a*, ovvero **-ae*, in rapporto ai temi in *-a* o agli stessi temi in *-o*).

Determinante sarà stato a questo punto l'intervento dell'*analogia*, «general cognitive mechanism underlying grammar and language as well as other human faculties» (Gaeta 2010, 149)¹⁵. Il processo analogico può essere definito come la serie

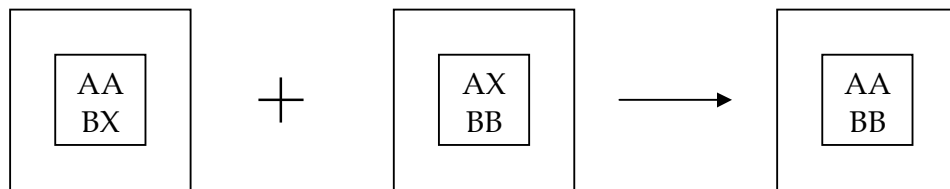
would be 'the kinds of change by which grammatical expressions become clitics or inflectional affixes'» (Andersen 2010, 123).

¹³ «The paradigm is often simplified by generalizing one allomorph to the detriment of the others» (Lehmann 2002, 52). Non sarà così tuttavia in tutte le fasi — né in tutti i dialetti greci — come si avrà modo di approfondire in séguito: la possibilità di fruire di variazioni tra miceneo, Omero ed epoca storica risulta dunque di vitale importanza per il riconoscimento di diverse fasi nel processo di grammaticalizzazione del duale in greco antico: «grammaticalization studies often convey the impression that the development from free form to clitic and then to affix are ineluctable stages of grammaticalization. However, no morphosyntactic changes occur of necessity, and when changes do occur, they often occur at a very slow rate, and they may be arrested at any stage» (Andersen 2010, 124).

¹⁴ «One may wonder why adpositions became grammaticalized at such an early time. Apparently, if one follows the development in Greek, this depends on two factors: in the first place, since spatial meaning of cases was generic, it was customary to specify it with an adverb; in addition, meaning extensions once triggered by the context became conventionalized and became part of the meaning of the particles. This happened especially with the development of nonspatial meanings. Thus, the particles started to build semantic constituents with nouns inflected in certain cases. Given their frequent co-occurrence, cases were increasingly felt as associated with certain particles and certain meanings of the particles, and ended up being governed when their contribution to the meaning of the phrase could no longer be associated to the meaning that they could express when occurring alone» (Luraghi 2010, 217).

¹⁵ «In spite of the importance of analogy, linguistics textbooks seem to struggle when it comes to offering a definition» (Campbell 1999, 89). «Analogy was taken to be the centripetal force which

di modificazioni ed adeguamenti¹⁶ sottesi alla creazione di paradigmi morfologici quanto più possibile omogenei e interdipendenti: «analogy is typically viewed as a process where one form of a language becomes more like another form due to an indirect association that is mediated by some higher-order generalization or pattern. While patterns can be observed across many linguistic categories, it is patterns between related words or word families that lead most often to analogical change» (Blevins&Blevins 2009, 4). Nella sua valenza più generale, l'analogia si configura come la relazione tra tre coppie interrelate, secondo lo schema seguente¹⁷:



Linguisticamente, molti tipi di analogia sono individuabili, a seconda del tipo di azione esercitata¹⁸, su quale parte del discorso, e in quale direzione¹⁹: un

keeps paradigms (of sounds, of lexical and grammatical morphemes, and of sentence structures) together» (Itkonen 2005, 67). L'analogia viene definita sinteticamente come una 'relazione di similarità', e «similarity is the most important holistic process in mental life. It is the basic axiom for all cognition» (Anttila 2003, 430). La sua azione è naturalmente imperante artefice di mutamento linguistico: «new words and sentences are being constantly created [...] on the analogy of old ones» (Sapir 1921, 37).

¹⁶ O, tecnicamente, 'adattamenti': «adaptation can be described as a process whereby old taxa are adapted to new taxonomic categories; it serves in particular to adapt grammatical forms to new word classes or morphological paradigms» (Heine 2001, 169).

¹⁷ Si tratta della cosiddetta *analogia proporzionale*: «proportional analogical changes are those which can be represented in an equation of the form, $a : b = c : x$ [...] for example: *ride: rode = dive: x*, where in this instance x is solved with *dove*. In this analogical change, the original past tense of *dive* was *dived*, but it changed to *dove* under analogy with the class of verbs which behave like *drive: drove, ride: rode, write: wrote, strive: strove*, and so on» (Campbell 1999, 90; cf. anche Itkonen 2005, 2).

¹⁸ In particolare, si possono distinguere livellamento analogico verticale o orizzontale ('vertical/horizontal levelling'): la desinenza duale del tema in *-o* per i casi diretti **-ō*, ad esempio, ha influenzato tramite livellamento orizzontale la desinenza duale per del tema in *-a* per i casi diretti **-ā*, la quale, a sua volta, ha influenzato tramite livellamento verticale la desinenza attica dello stesso tema per i casi indiretti **-āiv*: si ha dunque analogia verticale quando «a form is extended to other slots within the vertical dimension of the paradigm» (Gaeta 2010, 151). La stessa desinenza **-āiv* è stata al tempo stesso determinata, tramite livellamento orizzontale, anche dalla desinenza per i casi indiretti dei temi in *-o*, ovvero **-ōiv*: «horizontal leveling seems to be more frequent, as it is easy to multiply the examples and to reduce them to a proportional analogy» (*ibid.*; cf. anche Hock 2003, 441ss.).

¹⁹ Rispetto alla direzione del mutamento analogico, sembra esserci generale accordo solo su alcune tesi di base: «first, there seems to be a tendency for some categories (i.e. morphological contents) to be more basic (or less marked) than others [...]. Second, there is a general preference for more explicit

punto precocemente riconosciuto che sembra ormai generalmente accettato è la sensibilità del processo rispetto alle strutture inflessionali e ai paradigmi, nei quali più forte è la necessità di relazioni interne di reciproca evidenza e referenzialità²⁰: «analogical change seems to favour paradigmatic systematicity in that idiosyncratic patterning is eliminated in favor of more general (and frequent) patterns» (Gaeta 2010, 158).

In particolare, l'analogia risente del cosiddetto 'paradosso di Sturtevant' (1947, 109): «phonetic laws are regular, but produce irregularities. Analogical creation is irregular but produces regularity»²¹. L'analogia non ha una portata 'universale e senza eccezioni', per dirla con i Neogrammatici, né la sua azione può essere considerata ipoteticamente simultanea nel momento in cui si innesca: «analogical change, compared to sound change, usually takes place in a word-by-word fashion, thus intrinsically displaying the character of a tendency rather than the mechanism of a law» (Gaeta 2010, 154). Si tratta piuttosto di un processo non arbitrario, soggetto ad arresti e deviazioni, limitato a specifiche classi linguistiche e/o paradigmi. A titolo di esempio, si consideri che in epoca storica,

marking over less explicit marking. Finally, there seems to be a tendency to reduce multiple expression (including allomorphy) of the same morphological content inside and outside paradigms» (Gaeta 2010, 154s.). Queste tre tendenze confluiscono nel cosiddetto 'principio di trasparenza', su cui cf. oltre.

²⁰ «Paradigms are a central locus of analogy in grammar [...] there is evidence of word-based analogy in every language where analogical patterns have been investigated» (Blevins&Blevins 2009, 3, 5); «one main property of analogical change which has been repeatedly emphasized [is] its sensitivity to morphemes, i.e. to meaning and semantic content» (Gaeta 2010, 148). Con la sua PFM (Paradigm Function Morphology), che individua nei paradigmi i 'mattoni' su cui si costruisce l'intero assetto inflessionale, Stump porta alle estreme conseguenze questa visione: «in the domain of inflectional morphology, the primary object of analysis (both for the linguist and for the language learner) is the paradigm rather than merely the word. [...] Paradigms play a central role in the definition of a language's inflectional morphology. This centrality is manifested in a variety of ways: for example, the sequence in which inflectional rules apply in the realization of a word's morphosyntactic properties may systematically depend on the cell which that word occupies within its paradigm; members of the same paradigm may participate in relations of systematic homophony according to the cells which they occupy; the word form occupying a particular cell in one paradigm may be systematically deducible from that occupying the corresponding cell in another paradigm; and so on. In other words, paradigms are not the epiphenomenon that they are often assumed to be in other theories, but constitute a central principle of morphological organization» (2001a, 28, 32).

²¹ «Interestingly, the Neogrammarian definition of analogy entailed a significant change in the meaning of the term – instead of referring to synchronic regularity, it now was used to designate a historical phenomenon which was considered inherently irregular, in contrast to the “absolute regularity” of sound change» (Hock 2003, 444; cf. anche Campbell 1999, 95-97).

come si vedrà, svariati dialetti greci producono desinenze specifiche per i temi in *-a* sulla base dei temi in *-o*; tali desinenze, tuttavia, non sono uniformi, né simultanee, né appaiono indiscriminatamente in ogni dialetto.

Esistono alcuni principi, comunemente riconosciuti, alla base del mutamento analogico e, in generale, dei meccanismi di uniformazione morfologica. I principali sono tre:

- (1) Il cosiddetto 'universale di Humboldt', secondo il quale a una forma corrisponde uno e soltanto un significato²². Di conseguenza, ci si deve attendere che la lingua propenda naturalmente alla selezione di una forma, o strategia linguistica, sulle varianti disponibili²³;
- (2) Il principio di «constructional iconicity»²⁴ che, in accordo con l'universale di Humboldt, stabilisce che a più forme corrispondano più significati: «in other words, a semantic 'more' must correspond to a formal 'more,' which lies at the heart of the principle of constructional iconicity» (Gaeta 2010, 155). Ne risulta che, per un significato, la lingua tende gradualmente a circoscrivere le sue potenzialità ad una forma incontrovertibile;

²² «Perhaps the most widely accepted tendency of analogical change is the notion that leveling serves to establish the principle of "one meaning, one form" and to eliminate variation that does not serve a morphological purpose» (Hoch 2003, 445).

²³ «There are two [possible] deviations from Humboldt's universal: one form to many meanings or one meaning to many forms (the two can combine to give many-to-many form-function relationships). If a single meaning has more than one form (i.e. if there are several allomorphs for a particular morpheme) then we are dealing with nonuniformity. If there are many meanings for a single form (i.e. cases of homonymy or polysemy) we are dealing with lack of transparency» (Bauer 2001, 52).

²⁴ The principle of constructional iconicity claims that more form should correspond to more meaning: «in other words, a semantic 'more' must correspond to a formal 'more'» (Gaeta 2010, 155); «constructional iconicity arises when an increase in form reflects an increase in semantic complexity» (Bauer 2001, 59); «iconicity is the best-known semiotically derived parameter» (Dressler 2003, 463).

- (3) Infine, il principio di «morphotactic transparency», secondo cui le forme più frequenti saranno anche le più trasparenti²⁵, in quanto naturalmente selezionate per sopravvivere nella giungla delle varianti.

Un ulteriore principio, enunciato e formalizzato dal linguista Don Ringe (2004, 1112), si associa ai tre precedenti nel circoscrivere il raggio di (vari)azione e conservatività delle strutture morfosintattiche in prospettiva diacronica. Tale principio è noto come *Uniformity principle* (UP, principio di uniformità): «if the conditions of language use and acquisition cannot be demonstrated to have undergone any relevant alteration between the prehistoric and historical periods, nor between recorded history and the present, we must assume that the same types of language structures and language changes that we can observe today also underlie our historical records and were present in prehistory as well». Ciò equivale a dire che, in assenza di ulteriori informazioni, non è legittimo postulare per uno stadio linguistico assetti e strutture che non si trovino diversamente attestati in stadi successivi. Questo principio, come si vedrà, è di cruciale importanza, in quanto descrive e circoscrive drasticamente la gamma di speculazioni ammissibili in ambiti scarsamente documentati, stabilendo una connessione diretta, prioritaria e indissolubile tra forma e funzione su scala diacronica. La sua interconnessione con i tre principi sopra evocati in merito all'analogia è stringente, ma non necessaria.

Dal momento che il duale si configura, fin dai suoi albori, come un numero minoritario nei confronti dell'opposizione principale tra singolare e plurale (cf. par. 2.2), molte delle classi morfologiche di sua competenza presentano marcati segni di *sincretismo*²⁶. «Syncretism, where a single form corresponds to multiple

²⁵ «Full transparency means fully compositional meaning, as is generally the case with inflectional meanings [...]. On the parameter of morphotactic transparency, the most natural forms are those where there is no opacifying obstruction to ease of perception» (Dressler 2003, 464). Di conseguenza, le forme più 'opache' saranno anche quelle diacronicamente meno stabili, e passibili di essere eliminate.

²⁶ «When different slots of a paradigm are filled by the same phonological form, this is referred to as syncretism or *inflectional homonymy*» (Booij 2007, 129). Anche in questo ambito è possibile riscontrare tendenze, o quantomeno esprimere una sistematicità: «such generalizations that refer to different cells of a paradigm are called *rules of referral* since one form can be computed by referring to another form of the same paradigm [...] rules of referral can thus be used to express systematic patterns of syncretism» (*ibid.*). A titolo di esempio, in riferimento al duale nel nome in greco si potranno stabilire almeno 2 'rules of referral': 1), la desinenza del nom. corrisponde a quella dell'acc. e vice versa, così

morphosyntactic functions, is pervasive in languages with inflectional morphology» (Baerman 2004, 807). Attraverso i vari stadi di morfologizzazione, la riduzione dell'effettività di alcune classi attraverso processi di assimilazione è un processo del tutto endemico: «its interpretation highlights the contrast between different views of the status of morphology. For some, morphology lacks independent structure, and syncretism reflects the internal structure of morphosyntactic features. For others, morphological structure is autonomous, and syncretism provides direct evidence of this» (*ibid.*)²⁷.

In questo studio si intende inoltre focalizzarsi su un ulteriore passo evolutivo riconoscibile in greco: ci si riferisce qui al processo di *degrammaticalizzazione* e *regrammaticalizzazione* cui il duale è soggetto in attico. Su tale concetto si tornerà più ampiamente in séguito, nella sezione sintattica: basti qui accennare che, in una certa fase della lingua, per noi osservabile nella produzione letteraria del teatro attico del IV secolo, le categorie del duale, pur vive e attive seppur limitatamente ad alcune funzioni, vedono l'insorgere di nuove strategie per l'espressione della dualità, che si pongono rispetto ad esse in competizione²⁸. Differenti contesti mostrano, per l'espressione del duale, il ricorso a un nuovo tipo di costrutto, in cui l'espressione della dualità viene delegata ad aggettivi costruiti tramite apposizione dell'affisso numerale *δι-, la cui azione si riverbera sul nome ad essi concordato²⁹. Questo mutamento è, come si vede, di ordine morfosintattico, in

come la desinenza del gen. corrisponde a quella del dat.; 2) la desinenza per il gen. è la medesima del dat. indipendentemente dai temi.

²⁷ Strettamente inerente allo statuto sincretico di alcune categorie morfologiche è, naturalmente, la direzione del processo analogico che determina il sincretismo. Tali processi possono essere unidirezionali o bidirezionali (univocità), ovvero convergenti o divergenti (universalità): per esempio, il processo analogico che determina il caso obliquo *-αῖν a partire da *-οῖν si caratterizza come unidirezionale (*-οῖν determina *-αῖν, ma non viceversa), e convergente (tutti i membri del tema in questione presentano *-αῖν, senza deviazioni); «directional rules are a problematic notion within linguistics since they involve the overt stipulation of relationships between morphological objects, relationships which are independent of the morphosyntactic function that underlies them» (Baerman 2004, 825).

²⁸ «Simplifications are strictly speaking demorphologizations. But in the larger historical perspective, the complexity of a morphological system may wax and wane as different parts of it are elaborated or simplified, and in this perspective, elaboration and simplification are equally essential parts of the history of morphological systems» (Andersen 2010, 135).

²⁹ «Indo-Europeanists have long pointed out that the distinction between nouns and adjectives was weak in PIE, the only difference being that adjectives inflect for gender. In some languages, there are adjectives which do not even display gender variation» (Luraghi 2010, 217).

quanto la funzione viene espletata tramite meccanismi di ordine lessicale³⁰, semantico e sintattico piuttosto che meramente morfologico³¹.

Il degrado delle categorie morfologiche in favore di altre strategie nella realizzazione di una precisa funzione semantica va sotto il nome di degrammaticalizzazione³². Tale degrado è, tipologicamente, del tutto naturale e prevedibile nell'evoluzione diacronica della lingua³³; in greco antico, tuttavia, esso è

³⁰ Sembra qui rilevante introdurre il concetto di *lessicalizzazione*, che verrà trattato più estensivamente nel par. 2.4; con il termine '*lexicalization*' si definisce in linguistica la serie di processi (principalmente '*idiomatization*', '*univerbation*', '*coalescence*') tramite cui a una perdita di ordine fonologico e/o morfologico fa séguito la creazione di nuovi enti lessicali: «diachronically, lexicalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern» (Brinton-Traugott 2005b, 8). È stato suggerito che *grammaticalization* e *lexicalization* rappresentino aspetti diversi di un medesimo processo, in quanto entrambi coinvolgono processi di perdita che, agendo sul confine di parola piuttosto che sul corpo fonetico, determinano la produzione di nuovi elementi grammaticali; in proposito, cf. Brinton-Traugott 2005b, 3-20. Si discuterà in séguito se il processo che determina la creazione di aggettivi quantificatori in $\delta\iota$ - in attico debba essere considerato come un fenomeno di '*grammaticalization*' o '*lexicalization*'.

³¹ «Morphological change comprises changes in content, content syntax, expression, and morphosyntax. Since content is organized in paradigms, changes in content consist in the innovation (paradigmatization) of new grammatical categories; or in the loss of inherited grammatical categories, uncompensated or compensated with renewal; or they introduce new combinations of grams or simplify inherited combinations. Expression changes may accompany changes in content, or they may be adjustments of existing expressions for existing grammatical content, changes in the shape of expressions (including syncretism) or in their morphosyntax» (Andersen 2010, 133).

³² «Terms that have been used in a similar sense are demorphologization and 'upgrading'» (Heine 2001, 164); con questa etichetta si intende una serie di processi di '*bleaching*', di perdita funzionale, individuati da Heine (2001, 165) come «loss of grammatical meaning; mirror image reversal; lexicalization; euphemism; exaptation/adaptation; replacement». '*Degrammation*' e successiva '*grammation*' tramite il ricorso ad altre categorie sintattiche riflettono d'altra parte un'evoluzione naturale rispetto alla classe inflessionale del duale, come esemplificato anche dal gruppo slavo, in cui il duale era ben preservato ed esteso a tutte le serie flessive: «the medieval Slavic languages distinguish three numbers: plural vs. singular and, within the former, dual vs. plural. The dual is used for two individual referents (e.g. hands, brothers), the plural for an unspecified number greater than one. In most Slavic languages, the dual falls into disuse (*degrammation*) during the Middle Ages being replaced in usage by plural expressions. For some twentieth century dialects, a small number of lexemes are cited with dual expression and referent; e.g. Ukr. *dv-i korov-i.f* 'two cows,' *dv-i vedr-i.n* 'two buckets'. But co-occurrence with *dvi* 'two' suggests the noun endings may be nom. pl. allomorphs conditioned by the numeral (i.e. syntactic indexes rather than symbolic signs) (*regrammation*)» (Andersen 2010, 137).

³³ «Many widely cited examples of grammaticalization show unidirectionality from more to less complex structure, from more to less lexical, contentful status, and are morphological in nature» (Traugott 2010, 272). «The most robust generalizations emerging from the discussion are: (i) morphophonemic alternations are more commonly eliminated (through leveling) than introduced, and (ii) in cases where an analogical, new form coexists with the old form, it is the former which is

tutt'altro che compiuto in epoca classica: le due strategie convivono, e la categoria flessiva del duale resta vitale. L'emergenza di una strategia in competizione è tuttavia significativa, in quanto conveniente sia da un punto di vista ergonomico sia dal punto di vista del registro stilistico: si tratta infatti di un'innovazione, seppur produttiva³⁴, limitata ad un certo ambito e una certa necessità stilistica. Seppure non destinata – almeno sincronicamente – a trionfare sul ricorso canonico al duale morfologicamente espresso, quello ad un nuovo costrutto è tuttavia emblematico nel denunciare un indebolimento delle funzioni del duale, ormai passibili di essere trasferite su altre categorie, o espresse mediante differenti strategie linguistiche: tale processo possiede già *in nuce* le ragioni di quello che sarà il declino reale della categoria, che si estinguerà in Attica nel battito di un secolo.

1.1.0 Desinenze pronominali per il duale.

Un'ipotetica ricostruzione di desinenze *ie.* specifiche per il duale pone alcuni problemi di carattere metodologico. Tramite il metodo comparativo non è possibile, infatti, ricostruire forme univoche, tanto che alcuni studiosi giungono a negare alla categoria un'estensione a tutto l'ambito indoeuropeo, e preferiscono piuttosto pensare a un'innovazione indipendente delle singole lingue³⁵. Un simile atteggiamento sembra tuttavia alquanto radicale: sebbene ogni tentativo di ricostruzione sia problematico e non esente da obiezioni, la sola difficoltà di ricostruzione non comporta di per sé che si possa recisamente negare una filiazione da forme comuni. Sicuramente lo sviluppo di un numero duale appartiene ad uno

used in productive function, while the old form continues in marginal function (as in *brothers vs. brethren*)» (Hock 2010, 64).

³⁴ Il concetto di produttività è di estrema importanza, soprattutto in riferimento alla formazione di nuovi enti grammaticali ('*word-formation*'; cf. par. 2.4): «how can we measure the degree of productivity of a morphological pattern, and how can we rank the different patterns on a scale of productivity? We might count the number of different words (word types) of a certain morphological type, i.e. its *type frequency*, to be distinguished from the notion *token frequency*. The token frequency of a morphological class of words is the summed frequency of use of all the words of that particular type in a sample of language use» (Booij 2007, 69; see also Bauer 2001, 47-49).

³⁵ Cf. Kuryłowicz 1964, 240ss.; Watkins 1969, 46. Cf. tuttavia Winter (1984, 124): «it is a well-known fact that the nominal system of Proto-Indo-European (as well as the pronominal and verbal system) has to be reconstructed with three numeri – singular, plural and dual».

stadio recente del panorama indoeuropeo³⁶; tuttavia, come si vedrà, una parentela tra le forme di duale di almeno alcune delle lingue in questione è innegabile.

È ormai invalso nelle grammatiche classiche l'uso di iniziare ogni trattazione delle desinenze in una lingua partendo dalle categorie nominali. Tuttavia, la classe dei pronomi è tipologicamente una delle più stabili e conservative all'interno di un dominio linguistico³⁷, in particolare per quanto riguarda la definizione e preservazione di categorie di numero: «if the dual extends to non-pronominal agreement forms, it also, with more than chance frequency, extends to personal pronouns» (Plank 1989, 300). Questo è ragionevole, se si considerano da un lato un dato meramente empirico, ovvero l'alta condensazione di forme pronominali in un dominio linguistico³⁸, e dall'altro una sua plausibile implicazione psicolinguistica, ovvero la più marcata referenzialità di questa categoria: «Sind aber in einer Sprache Dualformen vorhanden, so finden sie sich auf jeden Fall beim Substantiv und/oder Pronomen, genauer bei den in der Sprechsituation so wichtigen Personalpronomina [...] Es gibt eine Skala der Referenzialität: Pronomina referieren, Substantive referieren und klassifizieren, Adjective klassifizieren. Am Ende der Skala stehen die Verben. Bringt man die eben vorgestellte Verteilung von Dualformen in indogermanischen Sprachen mit dieser Referenzskala in Zusammenhang, so zeigt sich, dass der Dual mehr bei den referierenden Wortarten, also beim Personalpronomen und Substantiv, seinen Ausdruck findet» (Lühr 2000,

³⁶ «Of course, such paucity and disparity of data is most probably a function of the late and limited emergence and extension of the dual category» (Shields 2004, 28).

³⁷ «While the very strong associations between the various personal pronouns actually exist, and many innovations can be traced to them with certainty, yet on the other hand it must not be forgotten that the strength of these associations is more or less overbalanced by a conserving force that is stronger in pronouns than anywhere else, namely the force of habit» (Petersen 1930, 164s.); «it is widely held that pronouns preserve the oldest forms of a language» (Whiting 1972, 331); «personal pronouns are on all the lists of relatively stable lexemes» (Nichols 2003, 292; sulla categoria del pronome, vedi anche Forchheimer 1953; Cysouw 2008). Inoltre, data la stretta connessione con l'espressione di agente e referente e la necessità di esprimere enti animati, il pronome presenta solitamente un alto grado di suddivisioni e gerarchie interne: «it is clear from the pronoun and agreement paradigms of the world's languages that Universal Grammar provides a highly constrained set of morphological features, and moreover that these features are systematically and hierarchically organized [...] Crosslinguistic variation and paradigm-internal gaps and syncretisms are constrained by the hierarchical organization of features in the universal geometry» (Harley-Ritter 2002, 482ss.; cf. in particolare tab. (6), p. 486).

³⁸ «Owing to their frequency, pronouns – and particularly personal pronouns (demonstratives work as third person pronouns in Ancient Greek) – are usually conservative and resistant to morpho-syntactic change» (Viti 2008, 3).

268s.)³⁹. Si è scelto dunque in questa sede di iniziare da questa categoria, che presenta peraltro questioni rilevanti anche rispetto alle successive analisi.

1.1.1 La categoria del pronome.

È ormai piuttosto radicata nel panorama degli studi la convinzione che le categorie pronominali siano da scindere nettamente rispetto a quelle nominali, in quanto geneticamente distinte. Originariamente, infatti, non sarebbe esistita una 'flessione pronominale' ma, piuttosto, singole forme di svariata genesi, sempre comunque demandate all'espressione della persona e non sensibili al caso⁴⁰. In uno studio del 1930, Petersen stabiliva polemicamente i seguenti assunti: «1) That there were no case-endings in the proper sense, but only stems and stems with added particles. 2) That these stems and stems with particles were often as yet not well limited syntactically, did not function, e.g. as genitive, dative, or accusative, but had the stem meaning only, emphasized by particles at times, while the syntactic function depended on the context» (Petersen 1930, 167).

A riprova di questo assunto, si consideri il pronome greco (specialmente nei poemi omerici): la ridondanza delle forme non cela il difettivismo⁴¹ delle radici,

³⁹ In questa direzione muovono anche gli studi di Matthias Fritz, che identifica nel pronome il punto focale della paradigmizzazione del duale indo-europeo: «the personal pronoun is a starting point of the *numerus* dual [...]. While pronouns in the first and second person feature the dual as grammatical category as far back as they can be traced, the dual category initially does not exist among substantives» (Fritz 2003, 191).

⁴⁰ «That these forms of IE personal pronouns, none of which had a case ending, properly speaking, but were merely stems or stems with particles, should have had any case meaning in the beginning, is impossible. The development of these into a real declension was a gradual process of adaptation, and the only question is how far this process had gone in IE times. [...] While some of these uncertainties of case usage may well be secondary, yet on the whole they bear witness to an original state of affairs when even those few beginnings of definite case usage found in the above paradigms had not been established, and when the forces which later distributed these stem forms and stems with particles among the different cases had not yet become thoroughly effective, although a beginning may have been made here and there: but the IE system of personal pronouns was essentially a group of stems and stems with particles which had not as yet become well differentiated in case usage» (Petersen 1930, 188ss.). «In an inflected language, novel lexemes presumably do not arise with all of their parts already in place; rather, the new lexeme arises as an isolated inflected form, and other cells are filled as need arises according to the rules at hand» (Baerman-Corbett 2011, 11).

⁴¹ «A survey of defectiveness leads us to the impression that morphological systems, far from being streamlined media for implementing grammatical meaning, are ad hoc assemblages of imperfectly

evidenziando piuttosto il ricorso ad una serie di espedienti differenti e concorrenti per l'espressione delle stesse funzioni⁴². Si nota, inoltre, un alto grado di suppletivismo: eclatante il caso della prima persona, in cui radici diverse distinguono non solo il singolare da duale e plurale, ma anche, all'interno del singolare, i casi diretti da quelli indiretti, e il nominativo dall'accusativo⁴³.

L'idea di morfemi indipendenti, 'grams', successivamente cliticizzati nella costruzione delle forme di pronomi a noi pervenute però, per quanto interessante nei suoi presupposti, ha spesso condotto ad una caccia alle streghe, nel tentativo di definire e ricostruire i 'grams' attivi nella costruzione del pronome, benché spesso caratterizzati da un esiguo corpo fonico⁴⁴. Si cercherà in questa sezione di attenersi quanto più possibile alle sole ipotesi solidamente radicate⁴⁵, e che trovino riscontro in forme attestate, nel tentativo di ridurre al minimo i margini di speculazione in materia.

coordinated parts. [...] This implies that a diachronic perspective on defective paradigms has an especially important place in characterizing their nature» (Baerman-Corbett 2011, 11).

⁴² «I pronomi personali, infatti, sono particolarmente soggetti a sviluppi fonetici non sistematici, a evoluzioni morfologiche irregolari – come ricaratterizzazioni delle desinenze, aggiunte di particelle, specialmente deittiche, interferenze e sostituzioni con altre forme all'interno del paradigma, per es. sostituzione del nominativo con l'accusativo – nonché all'influenza di elementi appartenenti ad altre categorie pronominali (per es. i dimostrativi), ecc.» (Kaczko 2006, 313).

⁴³ «Suppletion, the most unnatural option on the parameter of morphotactic transparency, originates in inflecting-fusional rather than in agglutinating languages. The many origins of suppletion must be strictly differentiated from the factors of maintenance (i.e., stability) of suppletion: those suppletive forms are best preserved which have high token frequency (thus storage is more economical than composition and decomposition by rule), have idiosyncratic meanings, are not natural members of large classes (e.g., auxiliaries in contrast to main verbs), or support each other analogically, as in antonyms [nom. 1° p. s. *egho(m) : du. *we- : pl. *nō-s/*ŋ-s] » (Dressler 2003, 468). Se consideriamo il suppletivismo nel caso estremamente emblematico del pronome di prima persona, si vede bene come tutti e quattro i requisiti siano soddisfatti. Stump (2006, 279) obietta che «the canonical instances of heteroclisis have the appearance of sporadic lexical exceptions and have therefore generally been dismissed as having no systematic role in the definition of a language's morphology», ritenendo per contro il fenomeno naturale e pertinente alle lingue flessive: «a lexeme whose root belongs to a defective inflection class cannot have a complete paradigm without being heteroclite; thus, heteroclisis must be systematic in languages with defective inflection classes» (*ibid.* 308).

⁴⁴ L'evoluzione degli studi non è sempre stata favorita dal ricorso a modelli basati sulle laringali, strumenti spesso utili per frazionare e giustificare le incongruenze; le forme 'anomale', nella primavera di laringali che ne è risultata, rischiano di venire talvolta appianate e ridotte al silenzio (cf. tra gli altri Liebert 1957, Sihler 1995, etc.), laddove è esattamente nelle differenziazioni linguistiche che si manifestano tracce importanti di sviluppi autonomi ed innovazioni.

⁴⁵ Quantomeno nel panorama degli studi: si includeranno quindi eccezionalmente in questa trattazione anche ipotesi talvolta datate o da respingersi, ma che, per autorevolezza (cf. Hirt, Brugmann, Cuny, Schwyzer, etc.), hanno condizionato la storia degli studi.

Che il pronome si configuri come categoria soggiacente a norme differenti da quella, per esempio, del sostantivo, è di per sé un assunto fuorviante; il sostantivo stesso, in origine, non soddisfaceva tutte le categorie di caso per tutti i sostantivi, ma soltanto quelle di volta in volta funzionali al sostantivo in questione; per contro, la gerarchia del pronome si basa indubbiamente sul sinecismo di temi differenti, ma ha subito, nelle singole lingue, un'organizzazione sistematica che ha portato ad una grammaticalizzazione delle singole forme, rendendone il comportamento in tutto e per tutto inquadrabile nei termini di 'flessione'⁴⁶: «uniform coding is preferred over non-uniform coding; [...] accordingly, suppletion is undesirable, uniformity of linguistic symbolization is desirable: both roots and grammatical markers should be unique and constant» (Gaeta 2010, 156).

Restano quindi validi due assunti: in primo luogo, è possibile osservare all'interno del pronome una certa permeabilità tra numeri e generi, probabile residuo di una fase di 'pre-grammaticalizzazione'⁴⁷: questo aspetto, parzialmente significativo anche per le categorie nominali, verrà ampiamente trattato in séguito. Secondariamente, quella del pronome è un'organizzazione sbilanciata, in quanto le tre persone rappresentate non sono tra loro equipollenti; non stupirà, dunque, di trovare in molte lingue flessioni difettive. Questo ha, naturalmente, una sua conseguenza immediata nella riorganizzazione interna della categoria.

Nella tensione tra situazione ereditaria e tendenze analogico-normative il quadro risultante si presenta ibrido, ed estremamente differenziato nelle singole

⁴⁶ «When personal pronouns are viewed not as individual elements but as a set, the stability of the entire paradigm can be affected by its phonological and morphological structure» (Nichols 2003, 292). Un impulso alla razionalizzazione è sensibilmente presente nella definizione delle categorie del pronome nelle singole lingue, e compensa ed attenua l'eterocliticità ed eterogeneità delle forme ereditate: «rather is the divergence of pronominal forms due to the way in which each language after receiving from IE times a few stem forms (sometimes with added particles) built up for itself a more or less complete paradigm with whatever means it possessed: adaptation of existing forms, new combinations with other particles, contamination of associated forms, and, perhaps most important of all, adoption of case endings of nouns and demonstrative pronouns» (Petersen 1930, 191).

⁴⁷ «In view of the similarity of dual to plural stems their relation to each other is of great importance» (Petersen 1930, 185). Il suppletivismo che caratterizza la categoria del numero è un indicatore attendibile di una mancata regolarizzazione del paradigma pronominale – così come di quello verbale, e nominale – in fase PIE; «the number system is defective in substantival as well as in verbal inflection. The personal pronoun never did introduce expressions for plurality, as suppletive paradigms indicate [...]; number accordingly was not consistently applied in late PIE and the early dialects in accordance with natural reference» (Lehmann 1974, 201s.).

lingue; tuttavia, alcune coordinate di ampio respiro sono comunque identificabili, ed è su queste che ci si soffermerà. In questo capitolo si procederà dunque fornendo un quadro delle attestazioni di forme di duale pronominali preservate in lingue ie., passando poi alle forme greche per evidenziare innovazioni e permanenze; si preciseranno infine differenziazioni dialettali e prosodiche, laddove esistenti, nel tentativo di produrre, alla fine di questa rassegna, se non una ricostruzione organica, quantomeno un quadro che risalti e privilegi le compatibilità piuttosto che le discordanze tra le singole lingue.

1.1.2 Prima persona duale.

Fondamentali, per tutto questo capitolo, le ricostruzioni in Petersen (1930, 164-167, 184-186), Schmidt (1978, 167-172, 182-192, 204ss.) e Ringe (2006, 57s.). La bibliografia minima per queste forme, così come per quelle riguardanti i pronomi di seconda e terza persona duale, include: Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/2 385s., 393s., 426s., 449ss.; Schwyzler, *GG* I 601; Chantraine 1953a, 266s. e 1961, 133, 136, 138, 141; Wathelet 1970, 291s.; Rix 1992, 179s.; Szemerényi 1996, 217 e n. 13, 14, 16. In particolare, si vedano, per il vedico, MacDonell 1910, 300; Sommer 1912, 393; Renou 1952, 229ss.; Wackernagel *AG* III 465; per l'avestico, Meillet 1908, 208s.; Misra 1979, 152ss.; per l'antico celtico, Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 217; Thurneysen 1946, 282; per l'antico slavo, Leskien 1909, 128; Lunt 1959, 52s.; Gardiner 1984, 42ss. (per lo sloveno, Tesnière 1925, 267); Schenker 1993, 90; per le lingue baltiche, Stang 1966, 257; per l'antico alto tedesco e il gotico, Petersen 1934, 64-67; Voyles 1981, 84; Ringe 2006, 208ss. (per l'antico anglosassone Rot 1982, 197s.); per l'antico nordico ed antico islandese, Guðmundsson 1972, 30-33, 68; Faarlund 2004, 16, 35s.; per il tocario, van Windekens 1944, 181ss.; Hilmarsson 1989, 42ss.

Per quanto riguarda il duale del pronome possessivo di prima persona, la situazione attestata in ambito ie. è rappresentata dalla seguente tabella:

	Nom.	Acc.	Gen.	Dat.
Gr.	Hom. $v\tilde{o}i$, att. $v\acute{o}$ ⁴⁸	Hom. $v\tilde{o}i$, $v\acute{o}$ ⁴⁹ ($v\tilde{o}\epsilon$) ⁵⁰ , att. $v\acute{o}$	Hom. $v\tilde{o}iv$, att. $v\tilde{o}v$	Hom. $v\tilde{o}iv$, att. $v\tilde{o}v$

⁴⁸ Monro (1882, 63) segnala tuttavia un'unica occorrenza omerica, su cui si tornerà in séguito, in cui la forma dei casi indiretti $v\tilde{o}iv$ funge da soggetto (*Il.* XVI 99). Kühner (*Gr.* 581, 586, 589, 591) divide le forme a seconda del tipo di dialetto in cui si trovino attestate (così, $v\tilde{o}\epsilon$ di Corinna, *PMG* 661, viene catalogato come dorismo, etc.); un tale approccio è naturalmente riduttivo, poiché se da un lato si tratta di attestazioni troppo esigue per ammettere inferenze dialettali, dall'altro si tratta comunque di attestazioni letterarie, dunque non esenti da un discreto margine di artificialità.

⁴⁹ Solo 2_x nei poemi omerici, a *Il.* V 219 e *Od.* XV 475.

Ved. ⁵¹	<i>vām</i> (RV) ⁵² , <i>āvām</i> (AB), <i>āvām</i> (ŚB), <i>nau</i>	<i>nau</i> , <i>āvām</i> (ŚB)	<i>āváyoh</i> (gen./loc.), <i>āváyos</i> (ŚB)	<i>āvabhyām</i> (dat./strum.), <i>āvābhyām</i> (AB), <i>āvát</i> ⁵³ (abl.)
Avest.	<i>vā</i>	<i>əəāvā</i> (< *āvā) ⁵⁴	encl. <i>nā</i>	* <i>nau</i> ⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Corinna, PMG 661 (Apoll. Dysc. *De pron.* 88); Antimaco, fr. 56 Matthews. Si noti tuttavia che *variae lectiones* sono attestate per *vōε* anche nei poemi omerici, sia in nom. (Il. IV 418) che in acc. (Il. XIV 344); cf. anche Kaczko 2006, 314, 320ss. Katz (1998, 207-210; *non vidi*), invertendo la tendenza interpretativa storica (che vede nelle forme con posteriori; Brugmann 1913, 289; Schwyzer, GG I 603 n.2), sostiene che queste forme siano quelle storiche di accusativo, mentre *vōi* sarebbe un esito secondario modellato su *σφῶι*(v). La spiegazione, artificiosa e non basata su dati concreti (due sole varianti omeriche), non sembra ammissibile.

⁵¹ Le abbreviazioni sono quelle di MacDonell 1910, 436: AB = *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, Kh = *Khila*, RV = *Rigveda*, ŚB = *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, TS = *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*.

⁵² «Daß *vām* nur an der einen Stelle RV 6, 55, 1 erscheint, hat um so weniger zu besagen als im ganzen Rgveda [i. e. VI 55] weiter überhaupt kein Nom. 1. du. (und kein orthotonierter Casus obliquus) vorkommt, weder das *āvām* der älteren noch das *āvām* der späteren Sprachperiode» (Sommer 1912, 393). Sommer cerca di conciliare i dati per ottenere una filiazione comune: lo studioso suggerisce che la forma Plr., e Pie., fosse **we-m*, con una marca di accusativo importata dal già disponibile accusativo del tema, in accordo con quanto accade nella 1° p. s. **eghom* (1912, 400ss.); si sarebbe quindi passati da un antico acc. ie. **ṛ-we* (Av. *āvā*) ad una forma *(*ṛ*)*we-m* (Ved. *āvām*); la stessa sonante lunga, come sottolineato sopra, sarebbe alla base del gr. *vó* e del got. *ugk* (1912, 400ss.). Si vede, tuttavia, che un tale impianto pecca di 'ariocentrismo', tentando di accordare alle forme indoarie una priorità piuttosto discutibile; in particolare, la contaminazione con il presunto accusativo, non dimostrabile, sembra comunque un'innovazione singola e separata del gruppo indoario. Schmidt (1978, 168) precisa invece che il nominativo protoario non continua ie. **wě* (o **wē*, suggerito dal solo protoslavo, cf. oltre), in quanto sarebbe stato in quel caso identico all'acc. di 2° p. du. **vā* (cf. oltre), e «zwei gleichlautende orthotone Formen der Dualpersonalia mit verschiedener Bedeutung hätten keine Überlebenschance gehabt»; la forma vedica *vām* sarebbe una costruzione analogica alla forma di 2° p. du. *yuvām* (Schmidt parla di «frühe gegenseitige Beeinflussungen»).

⁵³ Unica forma, a parte l'accusativo e l'unica occorrenza di nominativo *vām*, attestata nella *Ṛk-Saṃhitā*; «les autres formes en *āvā*- sont post-mantriques» (Renou 1952, 229).

⁵⁴ La forma è controversa: un'ipotesi tradizionale presuppone una comune origine, per questa e per il ved. *āvām*, dalla desinenza di duale Plr. **-āu* dei temi ie. in *-o* costruita come affisso al tema di prima persona **we-/o-* > **āvā-* (cf. Misra 1979, 152); ma, obietta giustamente Sommer (1912, 394), tale desinenza non è mai attestata in protoario per i pronomi, e, anche ammettendola, «trotzdem dürfte dieser, glaube ich, nicht zur Erklärung von *āvām* herangezogen werden; das Resultat einer Zusammenschweißung von **-ā* 'τόδε' mit dem Nom. du. *vām* konnte nur *āvām* lauten» (*ibid.* 395). Lo studioso ipotizza invece che la vocale iniziale sia l'esito della vocalizzazione di una sonante lunga **ṛ-*, che in greco avrebbe prodotto la forma *vó*; su questa ipotesi si tornerà in seguito.

⁵⁵ Cf. Wackernagel, AG III 466, 470s.; Schwyzer, GG I 600s.

ASI. ⁵⁶	въ, <i>vě</i> (slov. <i>ma</i> ⁵⁷)	иа, <i>na</i>	иаю, <i>naju</i> (gen./loc.)	иама, <i>nama</i> (dat./strum.)
Lit.	m. <i>mūdu</i> , f. <i>mūdvi</i> (<i>vėdō</i>) ⁵⁸	<i>mūdu</i> ⁵⁹	/	/
AGerm.	* <i>wet</i> > * <i>wit</i> ⁶⁰	* <i>ηə-we</i> ⁶¹ > * <i>unk^we</i> > * <i>unk</i>	* <i>unk^weraz</i>	* <i>unk^wiz</i>
Got.	<i>wit</i> , <i>ugk</i> ⁶²	<i>ugk</i> , <i>unkiz</i>	<i>unkara</i>	<i>unkiz</i>
ANord.	* <i>wi-t</i> (Mnord. <i>vit</i>) ⁶³	* <i>unk-iz</i> (Mnord. <i>okkr</i>)	* <i>unk-aru</i> (Mnord. <i>okkar</i>)	* <i>unk-iz</i> (Mnord. <i>okkr</i>)
Toch.	* <i>we-ne</i> (B <i>wenempa</i>) ⁶⁴	/	/	/

⁵⁶ «There apparently was a stem form **wě* or **wē*, of which the latter is the OBulg. *vě*» (Petersen 1930, 184). Le desinenze pronominali ricostruibili per il proto-slavo sono perfettamente omologhe a quelle della flessione nominale: nom./acc. m. *-a, f. -*ě*₂; gen./loc. *-oj-u; dat. *-*ě*₂-ma (Schenker 1993, 90).

⁵⁷ Poi divenuto *mīdva* tramite suffissazione del numerale *dva* (da cui *mīdva* per analogia col plurale; Tesnière 1925, 267), secondo uno sviluppo comune plausibilmente anche al gotico e al lituano (cf. note successive).

⁵⁸ «Die alte Form der 1. Pers. ist in žem. *vėdō* erhalten» (Stang 1966, 257); la forma può essere ricostruita a partire da **we-dwo*, con l'annessione alla radice del tema del numerale. L'uso di *wit* anche per il nom. è probabilmente un'estensione secondaria (cf. Stang 1966, 257; Schmidt 1978, 167).

⁵⁹ «Die oft zitierte singuläre Akk.-Form lit.-dial. *nuodu* ist eine Druckfehler für *mūdu*» (Schmidt 1978, 183).

⁶⁰ Quella del pronome è, come sottolineato, una categoria particolarmente conservativa, e le lingue germaniche ne forniscono una solida attestazione: forme di 1° p. du. *wit* (gen. *uncer*, dat. *unc*, acc. *uncit*) e 2° p. du. *git* (gen. *incer*, dat. *inc*, acc. *incit*) sono preservate, oltre alle lingue qui segnalate, anche in antico anglosassone, un dialetto germanico diversamente noto per la sua tendenza alla semplificazione morfologica (cf. Molinari 1980, 112s.; Rot 1982, 197s.). La ricostruzione implica, come per il lituano, la suffissazione del tema del numerale: «from the point of view of mechanical analysis the entire paradigm of the dual first person is clear enough, and much is clear also historically. Thus the equivalence of the nom. Goth. OSax. OE. *wit* Olcel. *vit* with Lith. *vėdu* is generally accepted, and this form in turn is analyzed as a compound of IE **we* with the numeral 'two'» (Petersen 1934, 64); dunque **we-dwō* o **we-dwe*, laddove **de-* costituirebbe la forma originaria del numerale, presente anche in **de-kmt*, e contaminata nelle varie lingue tramite suffissazioni e contrazioni fino a produrre esiti molto differenti (cf. Schmidt 1978, 169ss.; Cowgill 1985, 15s.; Shields 2004, 25; Ringe 2006, 209); similmente, alla 2° p. du., **jut* (non att.) < **yu-dwo*.

⁶¹ Secondo Katz (1998, 125s., 210-217, 224) la creazione di **ηə-we*, con un suff. di 2° p. du. *-*we* al posto del suff. *-*me* di 1° p. du., sarebbe un'innovazione germanica; cf. anche Ringe 2006, 209.

⁶² «Der Dual, welcher ursprünglich in allen idg. sprachen in gebrauch war, ist in der got. decl. nur noch beim persönlichen pron. der 1. und 2. person erhalten» (Braune 1900, 40).

⁶³ «First and second person pronouns have singular, dual and plural; the other categories have singular and plural only» (Faarlund 2004, 16). In antico islandese è attestata anche una forma di nom. du. *við*, presto passata a designare il plurale (laddove la forma originaria per il plurale *vér* è stata rigrammaticalizzata come forma di cortesia); lo stesso si verifica anche in faeroese all'antica forma du. *vit* (cf. Haugen 1982, 108). Per l'evoluzione delle desinenze di prima e seconda persona duale dal proto-germanico al proto-nordico e per gli esiti nelle singole lingue nordiche, cf. Guðmundsson 1972, 68; Haugen 1982, 92, 99s.

ie. ⁶⁵	*wě-, *nō ⁶⁶	*nō-/*ṇə-we ⁶⁷	?	?
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Come si osserva dalla comparazione delle forme, per il pronome di prima persona nom. du. si osserva un quadro abbastanza coerente: è possibile ipotizzare una radice ie. *wě-. Si noti che nei gruppi indoario, greco e, in misura minore, protoslavo, si registra l'esistenza di forme enclitiche ed enfatiche; «Sie ist eine sekundäre Neureung» (Sommer 1912, 403).

⁶⁴ «The first person dual is attested [in West Tocharian] only once, in *wenempa*, which is a comitative form to an underlying B **we-ne*» (Hilmarsson 1989, 42; «das Paral-Formans B *-ne*, A *-ṇ*, gilt auch bei Nomina und stammt wohl von dort», cf. Schmidt 1978, 171 n. 37). Krause (1954, 9) ha suggerito che la particella del Toc. B *-ne* sia utilizzata per distinguere duali naturali, dove sarebbe presente, da duali «okkasionell» (accidentali, espressi in Tocario dalla categoria del parale), con l'unica eccezione della forma *mlyuweñci*, 'fianchi'; Winter, tuttavia, ha addotto esempi a prova del fatto che «the line of division is by no means as neatly drawn as Krause suggests» (1962, 112). In Toc. A non ci sono attestazioni di pronome di prima persona al duale, se non forse nella forma, poi rigrammaticalizzata per il femminile, *ñuk*, e nella forma *nās*, spesso interpretata come *plurale maiestatis* (cf. van Windekens 1944, 181).

⁶⁵ A queste attestazioni va aggiunta anche la forma di nominativo plurale ittita **wēš*: «[der Nominativ] ist als idg. **we-y-s* wohl gleich got. *weis*» (Schmidt 1978, 171; cf. Melchert 1984, 92). Piuttosto accreditata è l'ipotesi che la radice **we-* si sia successivamente specializzata per il duale (pur non nascendo specificamente per questa categoria), mentre per il plurale si sarebbe aggiunta la marca di plurale **-y* similmente a quanto si registra per la radice **nō-*/**ns*, come si vedrà in séguito. È tuttavia altrettanto plausibile che la forma si sia specializzata per il duale già in epoca unitaria, e il gruppo anatolico si sia separato contemporaneamente/successivamente a questo processo di grammaticalizzazione: «the Hittite (and Common Anatolian) first-person plural endings, however, with their characteristic *-w-* (*-weni*, *-wen*) resemble Indo-European first-person dual endings, like Vedic *-vas*, *-va*, Lithuanian *va* [...] Anatolian may thus have originally had a dual in the verb, which was generalized for the first-person plural, on the base of the discourse-prominent first dual = 'you (sg.) and I'» (Watkins 2004, 564); tale estensione delle funzioni del duale al plurale è simile a quanto si registra per l'utilizzo dei pronomi duali come plurali in forme di cortesia in antico islandese, cf. *ad loc.*

⁶⁶ «Abg. *vě* lit. *vėdu* nebst germ.-got. *wit* sind zuverlässige Zeugen» (Sommer 1912, 393; cf. anche Petersen 1930, 184). La vocale lunga testimoniata da antico slavo e baltico è probabilmente frutto di una modificazione in funzione intensivo-espressiva: «der Zirkumflex [*vėdŏ*] deutet darauf, daß die Grundform nicht **vē* sondern **ve* gewesen ist» (Stang 1966, 257); «the emphatic lengthening – rather than a laryngeal – is probably responsible for the length seen in OCS *vě* < **wē*» (Shields 2004, 25; l'ipotesi resta comunque isolata). Contrariamente alla tendenza comune, che vede il nominativo politematico funzionale alla creazione di forme atone/toniche, Liebert (1957, 97ss.) ritiene che la radice **we-* esprimesse inclusività ('io e te'), laddove il tema **nō-*/**ṇ-* esprimerebbe esclusività ('io e lui'); l'ipotesi, per quanto suggestiva, non è tuttavia sostenuta da alcun dato concreto.

⁶⁷ Petersen (1930, 184s.) ipotizzava una forma sincretica per gen./dat./acc.: «This was **nō* according to Av. *nā*, Gr. *vó* nom. acc. and OBulg. *na* acc. Whether Skt. *nau* represents an IE by-form **nōu* or whether **nā* became *nau* through the influence of other duals, is uncertain». Sihler (1995, 373s.) ipotizza che fossero originariamente previste per l'accusativo due forme differenziate, una tonica **ṇh₁-we*, ed una enclitica **nōh₁-*. Un simile grado di specializzazione sembra tuttavia del tutto in contrasto con la fluidità riscontrata all'interno delle categorie pronominali; inoltre, lo studioso basa la sua ipotesi sulle sole attestazioni vedica, protoslava e greca.

Su questa ricostruzione è necessario spendere qualche parola. Come si è evidenziato, in uno stato arcaico è possibile ipotizzare una certa permeabilità tra le forme di duale e plurale; il tema **we* è utilizzato per il plurale, ad esempio, dal got. *weis*, dal lat. *vos* e dall'ittita *wēš*; il tema **no-s/*n-s*, poi divenuto peculiare del plurale, è a sua volta utilizzato da molti gruppi linguistici anche per i casi obliqui del duale. «Daraus sind zwei Schlüsse möglich: 1. Dual und Plural waren ursprünglich nicht geschieden, sie sind erst sekundär differenziert worden, in diesem Fall durch einen differenzierenden Zusatz an der Pluralform; 2. Wenn idg. **we* nur Dual war, muß es eine andere Form des Nom. plur. gegeben haben» (Schmidt 1978, 172). Un'implicazione conseguente, del tutto ammissibile, è che in uno stadio antico della formazione dei pronomi *ie*. l'unica opposizione marcata fosse quella tra singolare e non singolare; tale circostanza è, tipologicamente, del tutto naturale. La seconda opposizione pertinente alla maggior parte delle lingue sembra essere quella tra nominativo e non-nominativo⁶⁸; in virtù di questa differenziazione, e compatibilmente con l'emergere di una differenziazione per il duale, deve aver avuto luogo la precoce serie di inter-prestiti, riscontrabile in molti gruppi linguistici, tra il tema **we* e il tema **no-s/*n-s* – solo successivamente separati e marcati distintamente, l'uno per il duale e l'uno per il plurale, grazie all'azione uniformante di processi analogici.

É stato inoltre proposto che l'opposizione tra il tema **-we-* e il tema **-me-* rifletta anche una polarità inclusivo/esclusivo: «if the morphs in question are analysed on the basis of the entire system of particles, including various lexicalizations and grammaticalizations, one is led to the conclusion that the original opposition between **we* and **me* was that of exclusive vs. inclusive in a broad, non-technical sense» (Dunkel 2004, 22)⁶⁹. Su questa teoria si tornerà a proposito delle desinenze verbali.

⁶⁸ «Within each number [1°p./2°p.], the nominative was formed from a separate stem. Consequently, these were the only PIE nominals in which the acc. du. differed from the nom. du. [...] There was some sort of relation between the dual and plural stems. It looks as though the nom. du. was endingless, and the nom. pl. was formed with the pronominal (masc.) ending **-y*. But the relation of the oblique stems was more complex, the duals ending in **-h₃* while the plural ended in **-s-*» (Ringe 2006, 58).

⁶⁹ Di conseguenza, **-we-* rappresenterebbe il valore esclusivo-separativo, **-me-* quello inclusivo; Dunkel presenta esempi di questa possibile alternanza in particelle, composti nominali, deverbativi, suffissi e desinenze verbali: «The metanalysis of the two elements as first-personal verb-endings thus

Il greco non preserva la forma trādita: il pronome duale di prima persona è infatti costruito ricorrendo alla radice del plurale, **no-s/*n̄-s* – innovazione che il greco condivide con il gotico, dove è attestato un nominativo *ugk*⁷⁰. L'estensione dell'uso della radice del plurale alle forme duali è testimoniata anche altrove, ma in casi differenti dal nominativo: il vedico affianca al nominativo duale *vam* la forma *nau*, che viene utilizzata per i restanti casi (MacDonell 1910, 300); lo stesso si verifica in antico slavo, dove al nominativo duale *vě* rispondono il genitivo *naju* ed il dativo *nama* (Leskien 1909, 128 §100).

Per quanto riguarda i singoli casi, si registra un comportamento differente in greco tra l'uso omerico e il dialetto attico. I poemi omerici privilegiano decisamente l'uso della forma *vōi* per i casi diretti, con due sole occorrenze della forma *vó*, entrambe in accusativo (*Il. V 219, Od. XV 475*); in attico, al contrario, *vōi* non compare mai.

La forma *vōi* nasce verosimilmente dal tema di prima persona **nō-* ampliato plausibilmente da un suffisso sulla cui natura resta perplessità. È stato ipotizzato che si tratti di un suffisso deittico rafforzativo **-i⁷¹*, o di una marca **-Ϝi* caratterizzante il duale⁷², o del risultato dell'annessione al tema **nō-*, già utilizzato al duale per

provided complementary dual and plural number markers rather than, as in many languages of the world, differentiating (as would particles after the ending) a single verb-form into exclusive and inclusive» (Dunkel 2004, 23). Meno convincente è, tuttavia, la posizione dell'autore a proposito dei pronomi: «in the dual, however, no variants at all are found [...] it is obvious why this should be so: duals are by nature meant to exclude. Their whole purpose is to limit the predicate to exactly two subjects – otherwise one uses a plural» (*ibid.* 26); come si vedrà estensivamente in séguito, la finalità prioritaria del duale sembra al contrario essere stata quella inclusivo-associativa. Ciò è tanto più evidente proprio nei pronomi: «in fact the first and second person plural pronouns universally illustrate associative plural (group plural) meaning: 'we and you-PLU are semantically group plurals in that we normally means "I and some others" (rather than "more than one speaker") and the normal meaning of you is also "you and some others" rather than "more than one listener"» (Corbett-Mithun 1996, 6).

⁷⁰ Diversamente da quanto accade al singolare, dunque, il greco non differenzia il tema del nominativo da quello dell'accusativo. Il gotico estende anche al nominativo l'originario accusativo *ugk* formato sul grado \emptyset della radice – quindi *ugk* < **n̄-ge* (cf. il nominativo plurale *uns* < **ns*) – dove il suffisso **-ge* rappresenta lo stesso rafforzativo che spesso accompagna i pronomi personali e che troviamo, per esempio, in *ἐμέγε* (cf. Braune 1900, 66; Sommer 1912, 393, 396, 403; Cuny 1906, 40).

⁷¹ Suffisso preminentemente avverbiale, che si trova ad esempio in *οὔτος-ί, το-ῖ*: cf. Cuny 1906, 41; Lotspeich 1931, 140.

⁷² Secondo questa ipotesi molto citata, si tratterebbe dello stesso morfema rintracciabile in cret. *Ϝιχατι*, lat. *viginti*, aind. *vimśatī* (cf. Wheeler 1896, 137; Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/2 412s.). «A first typological principle relevant to the emergence of the dual in Indo-European languages is that primary exponents of the dual generally bear an etymological connection to the numeral '2'» (Shields

l'acusativo, della radice demandata al pronome di 1° p. du. nelle altre lingue ie., **-we* > **nō-we*⁷³. In quest'ottica, *vó* sarebbe forma parallela a *vōi*, ed altrettanto antica; l'innovazione si sarebbe poi estesa alla forma di 2° p. du. per analogia⁷⁴. L'origine del nominativo dall'acusativo lascia, di per sé, qualche perplessità; non si vede la necessità di ipotizzare una fase anteriore in cui proprio una forma pronominale di nominativo avrebbe dovuto essere assente. Inoltre, come si vedrà, se la forma *vó* appare solo all'acusativo, non altrettanto accade per la forma *σφώ*, per la quale 3 su 4 occorrenze sono al nominativo; bisognerebbe quindi giustificare il tentativo di accordare una presunta anteriorità alla prima persona piuttosto che alla seconda. In generale, ciascuna di queste ipotesi risulta difficilmente verificabile, nel tentativo piuttosto discutibile di conciliare morfemi ipotetici dalla dubbia struttura fonetica (***wě?* ***wi?* ***wh₁?*); inoltre, un vizio di forma sembra da imputarsi a tutte queste

2004, 22; cf. anche Corbett 2000, 267ss.). Come si è visto, sia le forme germaniche che baltiche implicano l'utilizzo di un suffisso-numerale, e così pure il duale nominale di nuova genesi in bretone e sloveno: «to my mind, on typological grounds, the origin of the Indo-european dual can indeed be traced to the affixation of the numeral '2' to first and second person personal pronouns as means of specifying 'we two' and 'you two'» (Shields, *ibid.* 25). Ragionevole pare tuttavia l'obiezione di Sommer (1912, 404): «wäre das idg. Wort für 'zwanzig' nicht, so würde ein **wi-* 'zwei' kaum jemals das Licht der welt erblickt haben, denn was sonst beigebracht worden ist – auf eine eingehendere Besprechung darf ich verzichten – ist so geartet, daß es im besten Falle auf einen ursprünglichen Sinn 'zwei' zurückgeführt werden kann, ebensogut aber auch auf einen anderen, etwa mit der Bedeutung 'getrennt, auseinander' oder gar 'gegen'. Contrario a questa posizione anche Petersen (1930, 185 n. 51), che vede nel *vōi* omerico un'innovazione greca di dubbia derivazione: «however, etymologies based on the identity of a single sound can never be more than a mere guess».

⁷³ L'ipotesi di Sommer (1912, 405ss.; accettata anche da Schwyzer, *GG* I 603 n.2) punta l'accento sul fatto che, nei poemi omerici, *vó* alterna con *vōi* soltanto all'acusativo; da questo lo studioso deduce una flessione arcaica con 1° du. nom. *vōi*, acc. *vó*, e 2° p. du. nom. *σφώ*, acc. *σφώ*; l'estensione di *vōi* al di fuori del nominativo sarebbe stata un'innovazione epica, mentre l'attico avrebbe proceduto in direzione opposta, estendendo *vó* (1912, 409). Con Sommer concordano anche Schmidt (1978, 172ss.) e Malzahn («*we/o* represents a morpheme with similar meaning, perhaps 'both'»: 1999, 220); in particolare, Schmidt procede affermando che sarebbe **we*, tema pronominale, ad avere poi determinato in greco l'insorgere della particella **wi-* 'caratterizzante il duale', e non viceversa, come sostenuto invece da Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß*, II/2 455; cf. anche Lotspeich 1931, 141). Va comunque sottolineato che **we* è ricostruzione ipotetica mai presente in greco, e non è comunque in nessun caso foneticamente equivalente a **wi*. Da un punto di vista generale, credo sia necessario guardare con discrezione a tutte le ipotesi che, come queste, cercano di motivare un'anomalia procedendo da un'altra anomalia; questo impianto è basato su due sole occorrenze, *Il. V* 219 e *Od. XV* 475, ed in entrambi i casi la forma alterna con il più frequente *vōi* – rispettivamente, a *Il. V* 224 e *Od. XV* 398. Cf. anche Rix 1992, 179s.

⁷⁴ Non dissimile la posizione di Sihler (1995, 381s.), che ipotizza che il nominativo si origini da una forma di acusativo tonico **nh₁-we* > ***ne-we*, adeguato in **no-we* per analogia con la forma enclitica **nō* (*vó*).

interpretazioni, ovvero il voler a tutti i costi identificare in questo suffisso, diversamente oscuro e non particolarmente produttivo, un morfema con una caratura semantica specifica per il duale.

Che la forma $v\tilde{\omega}i$ sia originaria per i casi diretti sembra indubbio⁷⁵: nei poemi omerici si trovano attestazioni del relativo aggettivo possessivo $\nu\acute{\omega}i\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (*Il. XV 39, Od. XII 185*), costruito su un tema $*v\tilde{\omega}i-$ che si può quindi ragionevolmente supporre antico⁷⁶. Si deve tuttavia evidenziare che la forma è epica, e la sua preservazione nei poemi omerici potrebbe essere stata favorita anche da esigenze di metrica, in quanto costituita da una sequenza $-\square\square-$ decisamente più versatile di un eventuale $*v\acute{\omega}t\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ($-\square\square$).

Il quadro ie. è abbastanza coerente anche al di fuori dei casi diretti: «für die übrigen kasus kann man, namentlich mit Hilfe des slavische Paradigmas, einen Stamm $*n\bar{o}-$ reklamieren, zu den sich ohne weiteres der altindische, ausschließlich enklitische AGD *nau* (avest. *nā*) stellt» (Sommer 1912, 393). Il greco è sincretico, ed utilizza la forma $v\tilde{\omega}iv$ per esprimere senza distinzione tutti i casi obliqui, in questo differendo dalla tendenza generale delle altre lingue ie.⁷⁷ Sebbene le origini di questa desinenza siano oscure, sembra plausibile accostare la terminazione per il duale dei casi indiretti della flessione pronominale con quella della flessione nominale $*-o\tilde{i}v$ (hom.)/ $*-o\tilde{i}v$ (att.)⁷⁸. Schmidt, per contro, ipotizza una filiazione dalla desinenza di dat.-loc. $*-iv$ riservata alla flessione pronominale: «die Endung ist sicher nicht zu trennen von der Dat. (eigentlich Lok.) Endung griech. $-i(v)$ der Personalia, alt vorliegend in der 2. Person hom. $\tau\epsilon\acute{i}v < *tew-in$ und im Plural dor.

⁷⁵ Wathélet (1970, 291) ipotizza che si tratti di un tratto eolico, «voire un élément mixte achéen et éolien, ce que confirmerait son accent propérispomène».

⁷⁶ Cf. anche l'antico irlandese *náthar* (Hillyard 2008, 353).

⁷⁷ Alcune lingue sono più conservative rispetto alla declinazione pronominale: in lituano troviamo 5 forme distinte per i casi del pronome (nom., acc., gen./abl., dat./strum., loc.), in vedico 4 (nom./cc., gen./loc.), abl., ed una forma con infisso in $*bh-$ valida per dat./abl./strum.), in antico slavo 4 (nom., acc., gen./abl./loc., e una forma con infisso in $*m-$ per dat./strum.) ed in gotico 3 (nom., gen., altri casi). Si noti che in gotico, lituano ed antico slavo il nominativo è formato da un tema diverso dagli altri casi (Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II 426s.).

⁷⁸ Rix (1976, 180) sostiene che la desinenza pronominale sia un prestito da quella nominale. Di opinione differente Hirt (1902, 300), per il quale nei pronomi si troverebbe la sopravvivenza di un antico locativo $*v\omega-iv$. Brugmann-Delbrück estendono ai pronomi l'azione della desinenza $*-iv$ ipotizzata per i sostantivi (*Grundriß* II 423).

ᾄμίν, ὄμίν» (1978, 185)⁷⁹; l'assorbimento anche della funzione di genitivo, oltre che di dativo, sarebbe avvenuto per analogia con la flessione nominale, dove la sola desinenza *-οιῖν accoglieva entrambi i valori.

Risulta problematico determinare in che posizione si ponga la forma attica *vó* rispetto alla forma omerica *vōi*, e, nello specifico, se si tratti di una variante antica o di un'innovazione dialettale relativamente recente. Il miceneo non è purtroppo di aiuto in questo senso, non essendovi alcuna attestazione sicura di pronomi personali per il duale (cf. Hajnal 1995, 55ss.). Si deve inoltre sottolineare che il pronome di prima persona duale è nei poemi omerici molto ben rappresentato, contrariamente a quanto accada in tragedia e in commedia⁸⁰.

Cuny e Meillet-Vendryes ipotizzano che le forme *vó* e *σφώ* siano arcaismi, forme non perfettamente grammaticalizzate e dunque non ancora inserite a pieno titolo nelle categorie morfologiche del numero⁸¹. Successivamente, con la grammaticalizzazione delle categorie pronominali, al tema originario **nō* vennero aggiunte marche desinenziali che ne permettessero un inquadramento nelle gerarchie di numero; così, per il plurale vennero adottate un'alternanza apofonica **nō-/*η-*⁸² e la desinenza **-s* tipica del nominativo, che andò a rivestire le funzioni di nominativo plurale; la forma per il duale venne invece dotata di un suffisso secondario, forse il **-φι* sopra citato⁸³. Si vede bene come una simile ipotetica genesi trascuri due fattori rilevanti; in primo luogo, la poesia omerica conosce per i casi

⁷⁹ Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß* II 412), al contrario, negano recisamente che la desinenza duale per i casi obliqui abbia alcunché in comune con la marca del dativo dei pronomi personali *ἐμίν, τεῖν, ἐῖν*.

⁸⁰ Si consideri, a solo titolo di esempio, che la forma *vōi* compare 51_x nei poemi (36_x nell'*Iliade*, 15_x nell'*Odissea*), laddove *vó* non compare mai in Eschilo, 4_x in Sofocle, 4_x in Euripide ma 15_x in Aristofane.

⁸¹ Cf. Cuny 1906, 41; Meillet-Vendryes 1953, 508. Della stessa opinione anche Buck (1933, 219), che definisce la forma *vōi* «probably a blend of *vó*». Si tratterebbe, in particolare, di forme non flesse esprimenti acc., o gen./dat.: «elle a été parfois augmentée d'une particule (hom. *vōi*, Δ 418) ou de désinences casuelles (*vōε* chez Corinne). Le gén.-dat. hom. *vōiv*, att. *vōiv* s'explique évidemment comme un fait d'analogie» (Meillet-Vendryes, *ibid.*). Anche Wathelet (1970, 291) si esprime in favore di *vó*, «qui semble être la forme étymologique».

⁸² Coerentemente con quanto accade nella declinazione nominale, dove l'alternanza vocalica radicale funge da ulteriore specificazione nella distinzione tra casi deboli e forti.

⁸³ Si deve inoltre sottolineare che, a séguito dell'annessione al tema del pronome della desinenza **-s*, la forma plurale avrà presto subito evoluzioni fonetiche conseguenti alla vocalizzazione della sonante iniziale; di conseguenza, seppur con esiti differenti nei dialetti (att. *ἡμεῖς*, eol. *ἄμμε*, dor. *ᾄμέ* < **ηs-(me-)*), la forma del pronome di prima persona plurale si sarà presto distaccata da quella del duale, mimetizzando e rendendo non più riconoscibile l'originaria parentela radicale.

diretti entrambe le forme $v\tilde{w}\iota$ e $v\acute{o}$, con netta predilezione per la prima, laddove in attico solo la seconda è attestata; in secondo luogo, l'unico aggettivo possessivo che il greco ha forgiato per il duale è legato alla prima forma.

Anche senza giungere ad affermare, con Meillet e Vendryes, che le forme $v\acute{o}$ e $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$ siano arcaismi ancora non pienamente grammaticalizzati, sembra verosimile che il tema di prima persona $*n\bar{o}$ sia stato percepito come una radice passibile di successive suffissazioni⁸⁴; in questa prospettiva si inquadra probabilmente anche la forma $v\tilde{w}\epsilon$ presente in Corinna (PMG 661), probabilmente una formazione analogica avente come modello la declinazione consonantica. L'ipotesi più interessante si deve probabilmente a Wackernagel (1916, 150ss.; cf. anche Schwyzer 1940): le forme $v\acute{o}$ e $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$ sarebbero, nel testo omerico, atticismi. Per quanto riguarda le relative ricostruzioni ie., il contributo è purtroppo datato⁸⁵; l'ipotesi di ascrivere $v\acute{o}$ e $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$ al dialetto attico, al contrario, non desta particolari problemi, risultando invece coerente con lo statuto particolarmente conservativo del dialetto attico, e con la prolificità delle forme in attico classico. Sembra dunque plausibile ammettere che le forme $v\acute{o}$ e $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$ siano formazioni proprie del dialetto attico, analogiche alla declinazione nominale dei temi in $*-o$. Resta aperta la questione se si tratti di arcaismi, ovvero forme ie. ereditate e preservate dall'attico, oppure di innovazioni – anche antiche – di questo dialetto; come si vedrà in séguito, lo stesso problema si porrà a proposito della desinenza di duale dei casi diretti $-\bar{a}$ per i temi in $-a$.

⁸⁴ Sommer (1912, 396) ipotizzava per $v\acute{o}$ l'esito della vocalizzazione di una sonante lunga $*\bar{n}$ -, perfettamente comparabile a quella (a suo avviso) operante nella forma vedica $\bar{a}v\bar{a}m$, con un esito $*-\bar{o}$ paragonabile alla desinenza nom. du. tipica dei temi in $*-o$; senza tuttavia entrare qui nel merito della discussione sulle sonanti lunghe, si può obiettare (con argomenti simili a quello dello stesso studioso, cf. n. 7) che l'esistenza di un tale esito è difficilmente postulabile in greco e, anche ammettendolo, si dovrebbe ipotizzare una forma eolica, laddove le occorrenze sono eminentemente attiche.

⁸⁵ Lo studioso non nega la possibilità che tali forme, a suo avviso enclitiche ereditate dall'ie., siano state presenti anche in eolico; tuttavia, un esito ortotonico, garantito dall'attico, non era altrettanto certo per l'eolico, e pertanto definire le forme come atticismi sarebbe risultato più prudente (*ibid.*, 151). Sulla base delle forme arie, lo studioso ricostruiva una forma di 1° du. nom. ie. $*wi$ (da cui, in gr., $*no-wi$), ed acc. ortotonico $*ove$ (~ scr. $\bar{a}v\bar{a}$, da cui, in gr., $*no-we > v\tilde{w}\epsilon$ di Corinna ed Antimaco) ed enclitico $*no(u)$. L'ipotesi è senz'altro suggestiva, nel suo tentativo di offrire un'organicità; tuttavia, la ricostruzione delle forme ie. è sostanzialmente inutilizzabile, basando le proprie comparazioni preminentemente – se non esclusivamente – sulle forme indoiraniche (Wackernagel stesso, d'altra parte, era in primo luogo un indoiranista).

Come si è visto, la genesi della forma $\acute{\omega}$ viene spesso ricondotta ad una presunta enclitica $*n\bar{o}$ ie.; in realtà, tuttavia, tale forma si manifesta come atona soltanto in vedico; l'idea di una filiazione ie. per la forma $\acute{\omega}$ non è più solidamente sostenibile dell'idea di una creazione analogica. Kaczko (2006, 327ss.) pensa che le forme siano arcaismi preservati in attico ed entrati tardi nella dizione epica; per quanto possibile, quest'ipotesi comporta un'ulteriore implicazione, ovvero che la lingua epica non abbia *mai* conosciuto queste forme prima di una certa epoca, né che ne abbia conservato tracce nella scansione metrica. La lingua epica ama le varianti, e le forme $\acute{\omega}$ e $\sigma\acute{\omega}$ sarebbero state reduplicati metricamente utili⁸⁶. Non si tratta, dunque, soltanto di affermare che si tratti di arcaismi, ma piuttosto che si tratti contemporaneamente di forme antiche *ed* estranee alla lingua epica – almeno fino ad un periodo piuttosto recente. Una tale situazione è possibile, ma merita, credo, cautela. In ogni caso, resta necessario precisare che l'assunzione tarda nel repertorio epico, comunque plausibile, non è tuttavia di per sé un argomento sufficiente a garantire per queste forme lo statuto di arcaismi ereditati⁸⁷.

D'altro canto, è possibile ipotizzare per queste forme un'evoluzione differente. In uno studio del 1864, Bieber esprimeva una una posizione che, seppur datata, ha il merito di preservare un approccio metodologicamente interessante: lo studioso (*ibid.* 14) proponeva infatti che la grammaticalizzazione del pronome di 1° p. du. fosse avvenuta in senso inverso rispetto a quello postulato solitamente – da $\tilde{v}\tilde{o}iv$, formazione antica, si sarebbero successivamente originate la forma contratta attica e la forma di nominativo $\tilde{v}\tilde{o}i$. Questa ipotesi si scontra, nuovamente, con la formazione dell'aggettivo possessivo $\tilde{v}\tilde{o}\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\tilde{r}\tilde{o}\varsigma$, a mio avviso uno degli elementi più significativi – e pertanto imprescindibile – nella considerazione della formazione

⁸⁶ Inoltre, così come la lingua greca difende le forme ad esiguo corpo fonico anziché smantellarle (cf. sopra), così «it is a common-place of language study that the forms which are used most frequently are generally the most irregular. The cause of this of course is the tendency to articulate carelessly forms which are used so much that they require no attention, but rather the strength of habit in the pronunciation of words in common use. We reproduce by memory forms which stand altogether by themselves and no longer fit into the present grammatical scheme» (Petersen 1930, 165).

⁸⁷ Questo passaggio sembra invece logicamente necessario in Kaczko (2006, 327ss.): per contro, pur ammettendo l'appartenenza di queste forme al dialetto attico, la mancata presenza nei poemi omerici nulla dice della loro genesi in attico: certo può trattarsi di arcaismi, ma altrettanto di innovazioni.

dei pronomi duali⁸⁸; è per contro vero che la forma $\nu\tilde{\omega}\iota\nu$ è ben conservata nei poemi omerici (14_x *Il.*, 12_x *Od.*), e ipotizzare una standardizzazione della declinazione a partire da casi indiretti non è affatto impensabile, se si pensa a quanto accade in attico per il pronome di prima persona plurale, acc. ion.-att. $\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ > nom. $*\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$ > $\eta\mu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$: «häufig wird bei den Personalpronomina der Nom. entweder vom Akk. ganz ersetzt oder von ihm lautlich beeinflusst, besonders im Anlaut» (Schmidt 1978, 173ss.).

Sebbene, quindi, la forma del nominativo $\nu\tilde{\omega}\iota$ sia probabilmente da difendere in quanto originaria, non si esclude che la forma $\nu\tilde{\omega}\iota\nu$ possa avere giocato un ruolo nella formazione della parallela variante attica di nominativo $\nu\acute{\omega}$, sulla cui genesi avrebbe potuto giocare un doppio influsso analogico: da un lato, l'esistenza di una forma pronominale di prima persona duale che, ai casi indiretti, presentava una desinenza accostabile a quella della declinazione nominale, e precisamente dei temi in $*-o$; dall'altro, la presenza negli stessi temi in $*-o$ di un nom. du. con desinenza $*-\tilde{o}$, formalmente equivalente al grado lungo del puro tema del pronome, in questo caso $*n\tilde{o}$; poste tali premesse, il passo verso la produzione di una variante di nom. du. $\nu\acute{\omega}$ risulta breve.

Naturalmente, si pone qui una difficile questione di cronologia relativa; tipologicamente, infatti, come accennato all'inizio del capitolo, le categorie del pronome tendono ad essere più arcaiche e conservative di quelle nominali; «the extension of the dual to nouns typically implies its extension to pronouns [...] what all of this seems to imply is that the ultimate origin of the dual category can often

⁸⁸ La creazione di un aggettivo possessivo relativo a due soli individui è una creazione propria, oltre che al greco, al solo germanico, dove la categoria del duale era solidamente attestata all'interno del pronome:

Pronome (acc.)	1° p. du. – Hom. $\nu\tilde{\omega}\iota$, Anord: <i>Okkr</i>	2° p. du. – Hom. $\sigma\phi\tilde{\omega}\iota$, Anord: <i>Ykkr</i>
Agg. poss. du. – Gr.	Hom. $\nu\acute{\omega}\iota\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, -η, -ον	Hom. $\sigma\phi\acute{\omega}\iota\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, -η, -ον
Agg. poss. du. – Anord.	<i>Okkarr</i> , -ur, -art	<i>ykkarr</i> , -ur, -art

(il gruppo slavo, in cui le categorie di numero sono caratterizzate da un'estrema regolarità – sia a livello di simmetria interna che nell'uso – possedeva un duale per ogni possessivo, ma non un possessivo caratterizzante il duale, cf. Gardiner 1984, 44ss.). Come si vede, anche in Anord. la formazione del possessivo avviene naturalmente a partire dall'*accusativo* del pronome duale (si consideri anche l'agg. poss. $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, sempre costruito sul tema dell'*accusativo*).

be traced to first and second personal pronouns» (Shields 2004, 23)⁸⁹. Se il duale fosse apparso in greco nel pronome prima che nel nome, come la tipologia dovrebbe suggerire, l'operazione analogica qui ipotizzata sarebbe un'inversione di causa ed effetto. Per contro, tuttavia, in miceneo non si rintracciano – complice, naturalmente, il tipo di comunicazione registrato – forme di duale per il pronome, laddove nel nome esso è vivacemente preservato; inoltre, simili meccanismi analogici, talora anche 'retroattivi' – ovvero, operanti da categorie più recenti a categorie più antiche – sono tutt'altro che da escludere per la formazione delle marche desinenziali, come si vedrà meglio a proposito della formazione della desinenza **-ā* per il nominativo dei temi in **-a*.

Senza assumere una posizione definitiva in merito, quindi, si vorrebbe in questa sede suggerire che un'evoluzione come quella suggerita nella tabella sottostante sarebbe, sebbene non esaustiva ed accertata in tutti i suoi passaggi, quantomeno verosimile⁹⁰.

Tema <i>*nō</i> di prima persona: <i>*nō-i</i> , nom./acc. 1° p. du. <i>*nō-in</i> , gen./dat. 1° p. du.	Adeguamento analogico: <i>x</i> : <i>*nō-in</i> = ἵππω : ἵπποιιν <i>*nō</i> : <i>*nō-in</i> = ἵππω : ἵπποιιν	Creazione di una variante analogica per il nom. 1° p. du. = νό
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1.1.3 Seconda persona duale

La situazione ie. rispetto al pronome di seconda persona duale è così sintetizzabile:

⁸⁹ Anche Croft (1990, 100) concorda nel definire i pronomi «as the word class most likely to mark the dual»: «frequently dual forms are found only with personal and demonstrative pronouns».

⁹⁰ Niente vieta che un'evoluzione di questo tipo si possa essere sviluppata in tempi antichi; al contrario, questo è quanto parrebbero suggerire le occorrenze delle forme pronominali 'attiche' (seguo Wackernagel 1916, 147-150, nel considerarli atticismi) già nei poemi omerici. D'altra parte, la lingua omerica, in quanto lingua poetica e lingua orale, è notoriamente aperta e favorevole alla ridondanza e alla presenza di varianti, soprattutto se – come in questo caso – metricamente alternative.

	Nom.	Acc.	Gen.	Dat.
Gr.	Hom. σφῶι ⁹¹ , σφῶ ⁹² , att. σφῶ	Hom. σφῶι, σφῶ, (σφῶε) ⁹³ , att. σφῶ	Hom. σφῶϊν, att. σφῶν	Hom. σφῶϊν ⁹⁴ , att. σφῶν
Ved.	γυvám ⁹⁵	γυvām, vām	γυvós (RV, Kh I.I 2), γυváyos (TS III 5.4), vām	vām (abl. γυvád RV, strum. γυvábhyām, γυvābhyām) ⁹⁶
Avest.	vā	/	γ ^a vākəm (PIr. *γυve-jo-m)	/
Asl.	ва, va	ва, va	ваю, bajo (gen./loc.)	вама, bama (dat./strum.)
Lit.	m. jūdu, f. jūdvi	/	/	/

⁹¹ A dispetto del lungo dibattito sulla formazione delle forme vῶι, σφῶι, Willi (2004, 219) ritiene che la forma di 2° p. du. «bereit relativ wenig Kopfzerbrechen», poiché un'appendice in digamma sarebbe pertinente alla radice (prova ne sarebbero gr. ἄμφω, scr. *ubháu*), con l'aggiunta di una particella *-i sedimentata sul tema (cf. Sommer 1912, 403ss.; Bolling 1933, 301ss.; etc.); tuttavia, si è già visto come la variante aria possa benissimo rappresentare un fenomeno di sandhi, mentre la vocale lunga del greco può essere il risultato di esiti molteplici (contrazione, allungamento organico della vocale radicale, analogia con la des. du. dei temi in -o, etc.). La presenza di digamma resta ammissibile, ma la sua origine resta controversa; un po' di mal di testa sembra comunque legittimo.

⁹² 4_x nei poemi omerici, solo nell'*Iliade* (Nom.: I 574, XI 782, XIII 47; Acc.: XV 146), di cui 2_x (XI 782, XIII 47) in posizione anteconsonantica – dunque, metricamente garantita. Esistono poi alcuni casi di vῶιν, σφῶϊν usati come nom.-acc., ma si tratta verosimilmente di sviluppi secondari (cf. Chantraine 1953a, 266s.).

⁹³ La forma σφῶε come 2° p. acc. du. è lezione di Demetrio Issione (*Il.* VII 280, X 552; Apoll. Dysc. *De pron.* 88.12-89.7); cf. anche Kaczko 2006, 314, 320ss.

⁹⁴ Solo una volta nei poemi omerici compare la forma contratta σφῶν (*Od.* IV 62), regolare in attico (Monro 1882, 63); è probabile che si abbia qui a che fare, nuovamente, con un atticismo. Brugmann (1913, 287-291, in particolare § 287) ha sottolineato che la forma ossitona σφῶϊν potrebbe non essere necessariamente una variante del regolare σφῶϊν; la desinenza operante potrebbe non essere qui quella comune alla flessione nominale quanto la stessa che si trova nella forma σφ-iv. A sostegno di questa tesi ha osservato che la forma σφῶϊν non si trova mai impiegata come genitivo.

⁹⁵ Regolarmente costruito sul tema ereditato dall'ie., *wō, con l'annessione di una particella specificamente indoiranica *-am: «diese Partikel tritt jedoch sonst nie an die enklitischen Formen der Personalia» (Schmidt 1978, 228; cf. anche Baunack, *MSL* 5 (1884), 20); il nominativo vedico di 1° p. du. *vām* sarebbe un'innovazione analogica alla forma di 2° p., costruita in base ad interferenze precoci tra le due declinazioni (cf. Schmidt 1978, 168; per una discussione della cronologia relativa delle forme indoir., cf. Schmidt 1978, 228ss.).

⁹⁶ «Au duel, le thème *γυvá-* est mieux attesté que le thème *āvá-* correspondant de la 1^{re} personne» (Renou 1952, 230).

AGerm.	*jut ⁹⁷	*uə-we ⁹⁸ > *ink ^w e ⁹⁹ > *ink ^w	*ink ^w eraz	*ink ^w iz
Got.	*ju-ƿ ¹⁰⁰	(*jnk ^w -iz) igqis ¹⁰¹	(*jnk ^w -ara) igqara	(*jnk ^w -iz) igqis
Anord.	*ji-t (Mnord. <i>þit</i> , <i>it</i>) ¹⁰²	*inkw-iz (Mnord. <i>ykkar</i>)	*inkw-aru (Mnord. <i>ykkar</i>)	*inkw-iz (Mnord. <i>ykkar</i>)
Toch.	*yu- > *ye- (B <i>ye-ne</i>) ¹⁰³	/	/	/
Ie.	*yu- ¹⁰⁴	*wō-/*uə-we ¹⁰⁵	?	?

⁹⁷ «Whether Goth. **jut* should not, however, rather be **jit*, is not as certain as appears at first sight, and as is believed by Germanists. It is impossible from a priori considerations to determine whether the associations between the second dual and the second plural *jus* were stronger or weaker than between the second dual and the first dual *wit*, and if the latter were predominant, Goth. **jit* is more probable than **jut*. Moreover, it will appear below that Germanic **jit* is a necessary presupposition for the analogy which in all probability gave rise to the base *inc* for the oblique cases of the second dual, and this fact favors Gothic **jit*, since it also uses **ink-*, and we have no reason for assuming that after it once had known **jit*, it subsequently changed it to **jut*» (Petersen 1934, 66).

⁹⁸ Secondo Katz (1998, 125s., 210-217, 224) la creazione di **uə-we*, con un suff. di 2° p. du. **-we* al posto del suff. **-me* di 1° p. du., sarebbe un'innovazione germanica; cf. anche Ringe 2006, 209.

⁹⁹ Sulla genesi di questa radice dalla forma ereditata ie. non esiste comune accordo. Sicuramente avranno giocato qui meccanismi di interazione analogica con la prima persona duale: «the moment we assume pre-Germanic **iit* (< **ie-t*) instead of **iut*, the proportion, although still subtle, is perfect: **uet* (*wit*): **un-k* = **iet* (*jit*): **in-k*. Undoubtedly, therefore, we here find a contributory, or more probably the major, cause of the abstraction of **in-k* as the base of the second person dual, although, where conditions are so complex, we must admit that also other analogies of which no one has thought, may have played their part» (Petersen 1934, 66).

¹⁰⁰ «Der nicht belegte nom. du. 2. p. ist mit sicherheit als *jut* zu erschliessen» (Braune 1900, 66); la forma è costruita, come quella di 1° p. du., sul tema pronominale tramite suffissazione del numerale **yu-dwo* (Ringe 2006, 209; cf. anche Braune-Ebbinghaus 1973, 91). «The Go. dual forms in the pronoun, ie. **jut*, *iqqis*, have a parallel in the Bavarian forms *es*, *enk*, though the latter are now used with a plural meaning. This parallel is not unique; as pointed out by Springer (1941, 14; 'German and West Germanic' GR 16, 3-20), remnants of dual pronouns are found in ON and Anglo-Frisian as well; in parts of Westphalia they are used to the present day» (Kufner 1972, 91).

¹⁰¹ Schmidt (1978, 220) riconduce la forma ad un ie. **ezgh^we-*, il cui tema sarebbe riconoscibile anche nel tema greco **σφϜ-* (**zgh^w-*) con successiva caduta di digamma. Sul tema del pronome greco di 2° p. du., tuttavia, cf. oltre.

¹⁰² Coerentemente con quanto segnalato per la 1° p. du., in antico islandese la forma arcaica di 2° p. du. *þið* è passata a marcare il plurale, mentre il plurale *þer* è stato reimpiegato come forma onorifica; lo stesso è accaduto in faeroese all'antico duale *tit* (cf. Guðmundsson 1972, 68; Haugen 1982, 108).

¹⁰³ «It is generally assumed that the second person dual *ye-ne* has traded its original *u/ū*-vocalism (cf. Lith. *jù-du*) for the vocalism of the first person pronoun at some stage in the history of Tocharian, cf. also the second person plural forms, B *yes* A *yas*, whose vocalism is often seen as analogical to that of the first person plural forms, B *wes* A *was*» (Hilmarsson 1989, 42, 44).

¹⁰⁴ «We would expect IE **wō*, which is the O Bulg. acc. *va*, and is found in Skt. *vām* < **v-am*, with the usual particle **-om*» (Petersen 1930, 185).

¹⁰⁵ Come per la prima persona, Sihler (1995, 373s.) ipotizza anche in questo caso una forma tonica **uh₁-we*, ed una enclitica **wōh₁-* all'accusativo.

Come si vede, rispetto al panorama ie. l'innovazione del greco è radicale; in ambito indoeuropeo la radice *σφ- per la seconda persona duale è isolata: «le thème est d'origine obscure» (Chantraine 1961, 138). Il greco si comporta coerentemente con quanto osservato da Greenberg (1988, 1) a proposito dell'incidenza del numero duale in categorie pronominali; laddove la prima persona è naturalmente incline ad esprimere una maggiore ricchezza rispetto al numero, complice anche la maggiore vicinanza al soggetto, la seconda persona è relativamente svantaggiata: «a comparison of languages which have pronouns in the dual number reveals a number of apparently exceptionless generalizations or, in some instances, tendencies. One of these is that the first person inclusive is a favored category among duals [...]. In contrast, the second person is a disfavored category».

La maggior parte delle lingue ie. sopra citate ricorre per il nominativo al tema pronominale *yu-. Un'attenuante per la sua assenza in greco può essere fornita dalla sua peculiare 'fragilità' fonetica (Willi 2004, 213); tale tema sarebbe stato infatti doppiamente vulnerabile, in quanto costituito su una base semivocalica e risultante in un monosillabo. D'altra parte, obietta Kaczko (2006, 320), «è noto che le forme con ridotto corpo fonico, come sarebbe *ῥώ, tendono a ostacolare la perdita di fonemi»; è invece significativo che tale forma non sia attestata, né in epica né, a livello epigrafico, in dialetti più conservativi; inoltre, va comunque rilevato che, anche successivamente a perdita di digamma, una forma *ώ avrebbe potuto conservarsi a lungo. Lasciando dunque a margine gli *argumenta e silentio*, basterà qui sottolineare che, per il nominativo, il greco semplicemente non preserva i temi più testimoniati in ambito ie., ovvero *we- e *yu-.

Per contro, il tema utilizzato dal greco è stato fonte di continuo imbarazzo, determinando l'insorgere di una consistente bibliografia in materia. È anzi curioso, sottolinea giustamente Kaczko (2006, 322s.), come spesso alle forme vώ e σφώ sia stato riservato un trattamento differente, dovuto allo statuto assai peculiare delle due: vώ, legittimata da una maggiore compatibilità con il quadro ie., è stata spesso guardata come forma antica o arcaismo, laddove σφώ, complice l'oscurità del tema,

è stata trattata alla stregua di un'innovazione¹⁰⁶. Colpisce come la tentazione normativa incida in questi casi più dell'evidente affinità morfologica e della coerenza flessionale delle due forme. Lo stesso tipo di atteggiamento 'impari' individuato dalla Kaczko rispetto alle forme $\nu\acute{o}$ e $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$ è, credo, identificabile anche nel profluvio di tentativi devoluti ad evocare per il tema di 2° p. du. $*\sigma\phi-$ una radice differente da quella di 3° p. du. e del riflessivo¹⁰⁷.

La tendenza senz'altro più diffusa tra gli studiosi è quella di collegare il tema $*\sigma\phi-$ ad altre forme pronominali – precisamente, a un'ipotetica forma $*swes$ ¹⁰⁸; questo tema originario $*\sigma\tau-$ sarebbe però entrato in competizione, per affinità di suoni, con il tema del riflessivo, fino a esserne soppiantato: «mir scheint von allen Deutungversuchen immer noch derjenige Brugmanns der beste zu sein, der die Doppelheit $*\sigma\tau\epsilon-$ und $*\sigma\phi\epsilon-$ bei der 3. Person auf die Entstehung eines $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$ neben $*\sigma\tau\acute{o}$ im Dual der zweiten befruchtend wirken läßt» (Sommer 1912, 410)¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁶ Chantraine (1953a, 266), parla di atticismo in relazione a $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$, mentre nessuna indicazione dialettale viene fornita per $\nu\acute{o}$, posto invece in relazione con il got. *na*; Wathelet (1981, 831) similmente trova che $\nu\acute{o}$ sia un arcaismo ereditato, non necessariamente peculiare dell'attico, mentre su $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$ non è possibile dire niente di conclusivo; «il problema di questa interpretazione è che Wathelet sembra considerare *nwv* una caratteristica arcaica nei poemi omerici; il fatto che sia attestata anche in attico appare incidentale, nel senso che l'attico avrebbe impiegato in questo caso, come in molti altri, una forma ereditata» (Kaczko 2006, 323).

¹⁰⁷ Sulla scia di Kaczko (2006, 316ss.), questi tentativi si possono categorizzare tendenzialmente in tre categorie: 1) ipotesi che cercano di identificare connessioni del tema greco di 2° p. du. $*\sigma\phi-$ all'interno del sistema pronominale; 2) ipotesi che isolano il tema $*\sigma\phi-$ dal sistema pronominale; 3) ipotesi che distaccano il tema da quello del riflessivo, ma ne decretano un'etimologia oscura. Quest'ultima è tuttavia una 'falsa categoria', in quanto a sostegno di tale assunto non vengono fornite ulteriori argomentazioni («le thème n'a évidemment aucun rapport avec le pronom de 3° personne», Chantraine 1961, 138; cf. anche Rix 1976, 179). Si tenterà quindi qui una rassegna sommaria delle altre due posizioni.

¹⁰⁸ Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß* II 2/1 385s.; ma l'ipotesi fu citata ed implicitamente accettata da molti indoeuropeisti, tra cui Sommer 1912, 409; Schwyzer, *GG* I 601; Schmidt 1978, 220ss.; etc.) ipotizzano una forma originariamente plurale, $*swe-s$, basata sulla comparazione tra ved. *vah*, celt. (cimr.) *chwi* e got. *iz-wis* (tuttavia plurali); tale forma, soppiantata dal tema $*\psi-s-me-$ e indi scomparsa dal plurale, avrebbe resistito nel nominativo duale $*sw\acute{o}$, simmetrico rispetto a quello di prima persona duale $*n\acute{o}$. La debolezza di questa costruzione risiede naturalmente nell'inversione di causa ed effetto; stante l'indimostrabilità dell'estensione di un ipotetico tema $*swe-$ al nominativo duale, foneticamente non è affatto automatico che da una forma $*sw\acute{o}$ si siano originate le greche $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$, $\sigma\phi\acute{o}$. L'ipotesi tuttavia, per quanto artificiosa, ha il merito di considerare una possibile permeabilità tra forme radicali di plurale e duale, su cui si tornerà in séguito.

¹⁰⁹ Tuttavia, «ich habe Bedenken gegen den Ansatz eines idg. anl. $*sw-$ neben $*w-$ im Pronomen der 2. Person» (Sommer 1912, 410). Sommer ipotizza che sulla forma originaria $*\tau\omega$ (ie. $*va$) si sia impiantata un'aspirazione, analogica a quella del plurale $*h\upsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon-$, e si avrebbe così $*h\tau\omega$, che sarebbe stato conseguentemente legato al tema di 3° p. rifl. $*h\tau\epsilon$ e $*\sigma\tau\epsilon$, fino a ottenere la forma finale, nuovamente

Schwyzler, in particolare, sulla base del got. *izwis* ventila cursoriamente l'ipotesi una forma reduplicata **wes-wes*¹¹⁰.

La seconda prospettiva che ha alimentato la critica ha cercato soluzioni al di fuori del sistema pronominale. Wackernagel (1887, 139-141) ricostruisce un aggettivo **zbhō* dal valore di 'entrambi' (~ ṓμφω, lat. *ambō*, got. *bai*), originariamente slegato dalla definizione della persona, e ricaratterizzato solo in séguito. Questa posizione, che vede i suoi antecedenti in Hirt e Cuny¹¹¹, è stata ripresa e formalizzata da Willi (2004, 216ss.), secondo il quale la forma sarebbe il risultato di **s-* mobile + **bhō*, 'entrambi', ed avrebbe pertanto avuto originariamente funzione di quantificatore (ṓμφω); a séguito della perdita della forma di 2° p. du. tràdita, tale forma **sphō* avrebbe subito una ri-grammaticalizzazione in funzione di quantificatore pronominale («Zahl-Pronomen») e sarebbe stato inquadrato nella flessione di seconda persona¹¹².

analogica, σφώ. Questa ipotesi lascia comunque perplessità dal punto di vista fonetico, così come quella di Seebold (1983, 30, 34ss.; cf. anche Sihler 1995, 382), secondo il quale la forma deriverebbe da una radice **sgh(u)w-*, originario aggettivo con valore di 'forte', successivamente passato a forma di cortesia, quella degli *Höflichkeitspronomen*, e così penetrato nel sistema pronominale. A riguardo si riprendono tuttavia le argomentazioni della Kaczko (2006, 317), che sostiene giustamente che, al di là di difficoltà fonetiche non trascurabili, difficilmente una forma di cortesia avrà potuto estendersi alla 2° p. du e alle 3° p. du./pl. senza tuttavia intaccare la 2° p. pl., dove sarebbe stata pertinente. Aggiungerei a questa obiezione che il trasferimento di temi da una categoria all'altra avviene tendenzialmente secondo il processo inverso, ovvero tramite la ricategorizzazione di pronomi già esistenti che vengono ad assumere valore di forme di cortesia (cf. il caso dell'antico islandese, Guðmundsson 1972, 68).

¹¹⁰ Allo stesso tema ricorre Katz (1998, 239s.); il tema greco deriverebbe dal grado \emptyset del tema di 2° p. **ws-* + un formante sempre di 2° p. **-we* > **swe* per aferesi + la desinenza di strumentale **-bhi*; l'ipotesi è tuttavia artificiosa, e comporta serie poco attraenti di «passaggi non documentati» (Kaczko 2006, 317).

¹¹¹ Cf. Hirt (1902, 301); Cuny (1906, 43s.). Secondo entrambi gli studiosi, sia la forma σφῶι che σφώ sarebbero esiti del sincretismo di una radice pronominale **σ-* di seconda persona con particella **φω*, presente anche in ṓμ-φω e nel gotico *bai*¹¹¹. Questa ipotesi viene citata, senza essere rigettata, anche da Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß* II/2.1 423s.; cf. anche Brugmann 1913, 287). Non prende invece posizione sulla genesi della forma Meillet (1937, 336-338, che applica alla 2° p. du. lo stesso processo relativo alla 1° p. du.: la declinazione sarebbe stata forgiata su una forma non flessa di gen.-acc. σφώ, omogeneo a *vó*, che avrebbe poi esteso il suo tema al resto dei casi. Di nuovo, la forma σφώ come tema non flessa ed arcaismo desta qualche sospetto; è per contro ragionevole dubitare dell'antichità di questa categoria pronominale, innovativa sotto ogni versante.

¹¹² «Dass die Form σφώ und nicht **φώ* lautet, darf dabei nicht weiter erstaunen [...] gerade zu σφώ eine Paralleform **φώ* zu postulieren, ist schon daher legitim, weil für das Lakonische und in einigen Passagen der nachhomerischen Hexametersprache in der Tat eine Form φιν neben σφιν belegt ist» (*ibid.*, 217s.).

A fronte di queste due divergenti spiegazioni, si registra una singolare resistenza ad ammettere la possibilità della provenienza di tali forme dalla stessa radice – quale che sia la sua ricostruzione ie. – che in greco produce i pronomi di terza persona; mi sembra, tuttavia, che non sia possibile respingere definitivamente questa eventualità. L'ipotesi di un prestito dal tema di terza persona con un adeguamento tramite l'uso di desinenze appropriate non pone problemi a livello morfologico (si pensi a forme come -μεθον)¹¹³; è eventualmente interessante il fatto che il prestito possa essere avvenuto dal tema di terza persona, ovvero del riflessivo. Anche in questo senso, tuttavia, una soluzione di questo tipo non sarebbe tipologicamente anomala: seconda e terza persona incarnano *ciò che non è il soggetto*; la prima persona è, tipologicamente, particolarmente sensibile e gerarchicamente meglio rappresentata all'interno di una categoria centripeta come quella del pronome.

Un elemento curioso, per certi versi imbarazzante, è costituito dal fatto che il numero duale sia difettivo in greco – ma difettivo in persone diverse a seconda della categoria considerata. All'interno del pronome, seconda e terza persona duale sono sincretiche almeno nei casi obliqui, mentre nel verbo è la prima persona ad essere carente; tuttavia, in accordo con quanto affermato sopra, il pronome definisce semanticamente la sfera del soggetto, laddove il verbo implica una proiezione verso l'esterno. La progressiva assimilazione o perdita di categorie è strettamente legata alla loro funzionalità.

Anche alla luce di questo, la creazione di una forma di pronome nominativo in greco a partire dall'accusativo – come si è visto, ipotizzata da molti – lascia interdetti. All'interno del pronome l'opposizione centrale si verifica tra soggetto e non-soggetto; se trasferito su categorie morfologiche, questo assunto implica un'opposizione tra prima persona/altre persone, e nom.-acc./casi obliqui. Tuttavia, come si è visto, il nominativo gode di uno statuto speciale all'interno della ricostruzione di forme ie, potendo usufruire di un tema specifico: sembra dunque difficile ipotizzare che il greco trasgredisca a questa tendenza, costruendo la sua

¹¹³ «Als griech. Besonderheit gibt es (nicht im Nom.) ein Personale der 3. Person du. mit dem Stamm σφω- (gleichlautend dem der 2. Person du.), der die Kennzeichen des griech. Personales der 3. Person plur. σφ- und der Dualpersonalia -ω- miteinander kombiniert» (Schmidt 1978, 182).

declinazione su un nominativo subalterno all'accusativo – dal quale, in epoca storica, non è più differenziato.

Per concludere: in assenza di dati maggiormente probanti, non è possibile affermare per il pronome di seconda persona né un'appartenenza né un'alterità rispetto al tema di terza persona; è per contro ragionevole supporre che le due serie pronominali, di 2° e 3° p. du., venissero *percepite* come appartenenti allo stesso tema¹¹⁴. La possibilità di una filiazione della 2° e 3° persone dallo stesso tema, benché indubbiamente curiosa, non sarebbe tuttavia sorprendente alla luce di un'interpretazione tipologica e semantica.

1.1.4 Terza persona duale.

	Nom.	Acc.	Gen.	Dat. (Abl. Strum.)
Gr.	σφωε (forma atona) ¹¹⁵	σφωε (forma atona), (σφε?) ¹¹⁶	σφῶϊν (forma atona)	σφῶϊν (forma atona)
Avest.	<i>ima</i> (PIr. *imō) ¹¹⁷	<i>ima</i> (PIr. *imō)	<i>āscā</i> (PIr. *ōus)	<i>ābyā</i> (PIr. *ōbhyō)

Le forme di terza persona duale sono, al pari di quelle di seconda, un'innovazione greca; il caso della terza persona pare tuttavia particolarmente eclatante, in quanto, come si vede, non è possibile ricostruire alcuna forma condivisa in ie. per tale persona¹¹⁸: «the third person was itself a morphologically

¹¹⁴ «Toutefois, leur proximité formelle a pu conduire à des confusions, et il est probable que les locuteurs grecs considéraient comme un seul mot les deux formes σφῶϊν et σφῶϊν» (Petit 1999, 245).

¹¹⁵ 2_x nell'*Iliade* (VII 280 e X 552), parallela alla forma *ωε* rilevata in Corinna ed Antimaco. L'ipotesi tradizionale vuole che *ωε* e *σφωε* siano innovazioni analogiche costruite sulla desinenza dei temi consonantici (cf. Cuny 1906, 41; Pisani 1973, 69). «Nōε, σφῶε (an zwei Homerstellen nach Demetrius Ixion) waren wahrscheinlich Neubildungen nach andern Dualen auf -ε» (Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/2 413); in ogni caso, la presenza di tali forme in Corinna ed Antimaco è tutt'altro che probante rispetto alla loro antichità, e potrebbe del tutto verosimilmente trattarsi di sviluppi secondari, com'è il caso delle forme di *ῶϊν* e *σφῶϊν* utilizzati in casi diretti (cf. Matthews 1996, *ad loc.*).

¹¹⁶ «There are, however, a handful of examples of the third person pronominal dual in other dialects outside Homer. Antimachus of Colophon uses σφῶ' and σφῶ, but, as Matthews 1996 notes, Antimachus often imitated Homer» (Hillyard 2008, 336).

¹¹⁷ Per la terza persona, come d'altra parte per il resto della declinazione pronominale, l'avestico segue la declinazione nominale; cf. Misra 1979, 159.

¹¹⁸ Nello specifico, né il gruppo indo-iranico, né il gruppo germanico offrono alcun termine di paragone per il tema greco *σφε-/*σφι- e solo all'interno dei gruppi slavo e, in misura minore,

weak category, because it was a very recent epic creation and therefore had not been fully incorporated into the grammatical system of the language» (Hillyard 2008, 415). Ciò non dovrebbe stupire, dato lo statuto geneticamente differente di questa persona, o, più propriamente, 'non-persona'; «whoever does not act a role in the conversation either as speaker or as addressed remains in the great pool of the impersonal, referred to as 'third person'» (Forchheimer 1953, 5s.)¹¹⁹. In greco, la distinzione dalla 2° p. du. resta garantita, in quanto le forme di 3° p. du. sono sempre enclitiche; tuttavia, è indubbio un certo margine di sovrapposizione tra le due flessioni: «die Formen der 3. Person unterscheiden sich von denen der 2. Person» (Schmidt 1978, 182).

Si escluderà naturalmente dalla seguente trattazione la situazione dell'attico, in cui la terza persona viene semplicemente espressa per via del pronome anaforico¹²⁰: «there is no trace of the third person dual pronoun in Attic, which is further evidence of its invention in epic times» (Hillyard 2008, 359)¹²¹. Quanto ai poemi omerici, la trattazione della terza persona duale dei pronomi personali è indissolubilmente legata a quella del riflessivo¹²². In particolare, è possibile identificare due *mainstreams*: l'ipotesi 'tradizionale' vuole che le forme del

baltico, si trovano forme di pronome, toniche ed atone, e di aggettivi rispettivamente a tema **s^e/bh-* per lo slavo e **sbhe-* per il baltico – ma, sfortunatamente, nessuna forma comparabile per il duale (cf. Gardiner 1984, 44ss.; Petit 1999, 300ss.).

¹¹⁹ «'Person' belongs only to *I/you*, and is lacking in *he*» (Benveniste 1971, 217); «we find many languages where the third person pronouns are not well integrated into the paradigm. Several of the ancient Indo-European languages are examples of this, as their third person pronouns retain a slight demonstrative force which is, of course, absent from the first and second person pronouns» (Lehmann 2002, 35). Non ci si soffermerà in questa sede sull'argomento, benché la letteratura in questo senso sia vastissima: per una trattazione relativamente al pronome, cf. la bibliografia in Forchheimer 1953, 4-7; Cysouw 2008; Harley-Ritter 2002, 486ss.

¹²⁰ «Die anaphorisch enklitischen σφ-Formen waren dem lebendigen Attischen ganz fremd, die reflexiv orthotonischen schon im V. Jahrhundert nur in Verbindung mit αὐτ- geläufig» (Wackernagel 1916, 166).

¹²¹ «Er braucht θ 317 das enklitische σφωε, das der Odyssee sonst fremd ist. – Dazu die oft besprochenen Stellen, wo der Dual gradewege von einer Mehrheit gebraucht ist: wenn es solche Stellen wirklich gibt. » (Wackernagel 1916, 215f.).

¹²² «L'une des conclusions majeures auxquelles conduit l'analyse comparative, c'est que le critère du nombre n'était pas pertinent dans le réfléchi en indo-européen: les mêmes formes pouvaient renvoyer aussi bien à des référents singuliers que duels o pluriels» (Petit 1999, 329; cf. anche Wackernagel 2009, 78s.); «com'è noto, in origine il riflessivo ie. era impiegato per tutte le persone e numeri; successivamente in greco il tema di riflessivo ereditato dall'ie. è stato limitato alla III pers. sg.; in seguito a questa prima innovazione (e probabilmente sul modello delle forme di I e II persona), è stato creato secondariamente un plurale e un duale di III persona» (Kaczko 2006, 315s. n. 13).

duale siano state condizionate – se non direttamente originate – dal tema del riflessivo **swe-*, mentre tentativi più recenti muovono nella direzione di contaminazioni con il tema pronominale anaforico **se-*, tramite successivi adattamenti analogici¹²³.

La seconda corrente è ben rappresentata dallo studio aggiornato ed esaustivo di Petit (1999, 246ss., 255s., 326ss.). Lo studioso riconduce le forme atone di terza persona duale $\sigma\varphi\omega\epsilon$, $\sigma\varphi\omega\nu$, e il ‘misterioso’ $\sigma\varphi\epsilon$, al tema **σφε-*, che produce anche i plurali di terza persona; la genesi prima di questo tema sarebbe per lo studioso da rintracciarsi nel tema del riflessivo¹²⁴, che avrebbe mutuato la possibilità di un uso anche anaforico dal tema pronominale anaforico **se-* poi scomparso in greco¹²⁵: tale uso anaforico sarebbe andato a costituire una potenzialità linguistica del tema alternativa a quella, più antica, riflessiva. Questo specifico impiego sarebbe visibile e produttivo nel sistema dei pronomi personali, dove sarebbe appunto alla base delle forme atone, come quelle di terza persona duale: «On peut aisément appliquer cette corrélation aux données grecques et

¹²³ L’unico punto su cui vige una certa sintonia è che tutto il tema si sia sviluppato a partire da un’antica forma di strumentale. Come si è già visto, si è spesso tentato di distaccare le forme pronominali di 2° p. du. dal riflessivo; sorti simili hanno subito anche le forme $\sigma\varphi\epsilon$ e $\sigma\varphi\iota$. Solmsen (1901, 199; cf. anche Hirt 1902, 303; Brugmann 1913, 288 § 287; Buch 1933, 220; Chantraine 1953a, 267) connette $\sigma\varphi\iota(\nu)$ quello del possessivo **sewe-/*swo-* (lat. **suos > suus*); la somiglianza tra le due forme avrebbe secondariamente portato ad una differenziazione di *numero*; da un lato **σφεῖο, σφιν, σφέ > *φεῖο, φιν, φέ*, con la successiva caduta di digamma, avrebbe generato il possessivo, specializzandosi nel singolare; per contro, da **σφεῖο, σφιν, σφέ* si sarebbero prodotte le forme note per il duale ed il plurale. Szemerényi (1964, 284s.) a sua volta si esprime in favore di una desinenza di strumentale che, innestandosi sul tema, avrebbe determinato la perdita del «Digamma-Spur» per successiva sincope; su un tale esito altri studiosi restano decisamente scettici (cf. Willi 2004, 205; Schmidt 1978, 145-147, 152; Petit 1999, 130-159, 327s., 416), proponendo invece di connettere sul tema pronominale anaforico (*non* riflessivo) **se-*: «in $\sigma\varphi(\epsilon)$ - eben nicht den Stamm des Reflexivums **sw(e)*- zu suchen, sondern ein altes anaphorisches Pronomen **se-*» (Willi, *ibid.* 207). Il maggior pregio di questo secondo approccio risiede nel concedere pari peso a tutte le occorrenze: invece di considerare le forme di duale, in quanto minoritarie, in una prospettiva normativa influenzata dallo ‘spettro’ del riflessivo (appartenenza/eterogeneità), si riconosce alle forme uno statuto autonomo, siano esse con o arcaismi.

¹²⁴ Questo processo di contaminazione sarebbe plausibilmente stato innescato a partire dal dativo $\sigma\varphi\iota$, probabile antico strumentale **se-bhei* successivamente re-interpretato come **sebh-ei*, e su una scansione erronea del tema sarebbe stata prodotta la neo-formazione ‘apofonica’ con grado vocalico \emptyset **s(e)bh-*. Su questo nuovo tema **s(e)bh-*, di ‘ispirazione’ anaforica e convenientemente simile al riflessivo, sarebbe quindi stata forgiata tutta la restante flessione: il paradigma di $\sigma\varphi\epsilon$ sarebbe pertanto frutto di produzione analogica.

¹²⁵ Ma questa antica opposizione sarebbe visibile, ad esempio, nella distinzione delle lingue italice tra **se-* anaforico e **swe-* riflessivo (cf. Leumann 1977, 462ss.; Petit 1999, 305).

considérer par conséquent l'apparition d'un pluriel dans le réfléchi grec comme un corollaire du fait que le thème **swe-*, dans la préhistoire de la langue, avait développé, à travers une opposition d'ordre accentuel, des emplois anaphoriques. À partir du moment où **swe-* a cessé d'être uniquement réfléchi, un thème spécifique a été employé pour le pluriel [et le duel]: ce fut **sbhe-* (gr. $\sigma\phi\epsilon-$) qui assumait ce rôle. Il s'ensuit que l'indifférence au nombre n'est ancienne que dans le thème **swe-*, seul réfléchi à l'origine, et qu'elle est secondaire dans le thème **sbhe-*, d'abord anaphorique» (Petit 1999, 329s.)¹²⁶.

La terza persona duale è indubbiamente caratterizzata, sia nei casi diretti che nei casi obliqui, da una certa artificialità formale, che la denuncia come innovazione modellata su categorie morfologiche già esistenti: per $\sigma\phi\omega\epsilon$ è plausibile ipotizzare l'esito dell'innesto sul tema $\sigma\phi(\epsilon)-$ delle desinenze caratterizzanti il duale nei temi in *-o* e consonantici $> \sigma\phi-\omega-\epsilon$, e a sua volta $\sigma\phi\omega\iota\nu$ altro non sarebbe che formazione analogica sulla desinenza dei temi nominali $^*-o\iota\iota\nu$ (cf. Willi 2004, 211)¹²⁷.

Per quanto le ipotesi di Petit e Willi sembrano ragionevoli, è evidente che niente di definitivo può essere stabilito, in quanto ogni processo ricostruttivo descritto presuppone molteplici fasi, spesso scarsamente testimoniate se non solamente ipotetiche. Si deve rimarcare che, ai casi diretti, $\sigma\phi\omega\epsilon$ non appare che due volte nei poemi, di cui una delle quali nella *Doloneia*, unanimemente ritenuta un inserimento tardo; due sole attestazioni sono un repertorio decisamente esiguo su cui fondare qualsiasi genere di affermazione. Con Cuny (1906, 46), l'esistenza di forme specifiche per il duale all'interno della flessione pronominale non è di per sé

¹²⁶ Il ricorso per la terza persona a tale tema è del tutto coerente, in quanto «in the most archaic ie. languages the reflexive pronoun reflecting served for all persons and gender» (Sihler 1995, 373s.; cf. anche Meillet 1937, 336s.). Petit (*ibid.* 252ss.) precisa, in particolare, che nelle forme omeriche è chiara la distinzione tra le forme in $\acute{\epsilon}$ - caratterizzanti il singolare e le forme in $\sigma\phi\epsilon-$ relative a duale e plurale: a questa categorizzazione sfuggono soltanto le forme $\sigma\phi\epsilon$, accusativo, e $\sigma\phi\iota$, dativo, non marcate per il numero (presumibilmente, non ancora pienamente grammaticalizzate). Si osserva qui, ancora una volta, una delle opposizioni principali tra le categorie morfologiche, ovvero quella tra singolare e non singolare, che ricalca perfettamente quanto avviene nel ricorso a temi differenti nei pronomi personali di prima e seconda persona (1° p. s. $^*egh\bar{o}(m) \neq$ du./pl. $^*n\bar{o}-/^*n-$; 2° p. s. $^*tew-/^*tu- \neq$ du. $^*sph- \neq$ pl. $^*y\bar{u}-$).

¹²⁷ Più scettico in materia Petit (1999, 239): «elle pourrait même en posséder la marque, dans sa finale $-\epsilon$, qui rappelle le duel athématique. La voyelle longue $-\omega-$ qui la précède est cependant inexplicable. la forme est inséparable de $\sigma\phi\omega\iota\nu$, qui pose des problèmes particuliers. Peut-être s'agit-il là d'une finale de duel $-\omega$ (type $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omega$), ensuite recharacterisée par $-\epsilon$. On ne saisit ni la motivation de cette finale thématique $-\omega$, ni la nécessité d'une recharacterisation; en définitive, la forme reste obscure».

un argomento sufficiente a provarne la produttività; non è possibile escludere definitivamente la possibilità di innovazioni circostanziate (celebre il *-μεθον omerico-sofocleo), dovute ad esigenze meta-letterarie o di pura simmetria all'interno della gerarchia linguistica.

1.1.5 Il pronome σφε.

Merita a questo punto una trattazione a parte la forma omerica σφε, che costituisce un interessante terreno di dibattito, particolarmente rilevante rispetto alla trattazione del duale. La forma compare 6x nei poemi omerici, e la sua posizione all'interno della flessione di terza persona non è del tutto chiara; nello specifico, sul suo valore morfologico e semantico non vige accordo: «la forme, assez rare, se trouve toujours employée en parlant de deux, comme il s'agissait d'un duel (Il. 11.111, 11.115; Od. 8.271, 21.192, 21.206); il ne s'agit pourtant pas d'un duel, mais d'un pluriel comme le prouve l'analogie des formes ὄμμε et ὕμμε» (Chantraine 1953a, 267)¹²⁸. Questo assunto piuttosto perentorio è stato generalmente accettato dalla critica, salvo essere rimesso recentemente in discussione da Willi (2004, 210): «die Aussage, σφε könne kein (sc. ursprünglicher) Dual sein, da die Form analog zu ὄμμε und ὕμμε gebildet sei, ist eine unzulässige *petitio principii*». Willi (*ibid.* 211s., 220) sottolinea che, in cinque casi su sei, il pronome viene utilizzato in riferimento a due elementi, e liquidare semplicemente – come fa Chantraine – i passi come 'non antichi' sarebbe riduttivo; «nach dem bisher Gesagten drängt sich die Vermutung auf, dass σφε im Ursprung genau das ist, was es zu sein scheint: eben ein Dual»¹²⁹.

Che la forma σφε sia stata originariamente un duale è un'ipotesi che si è affacciata da tempo nel panorama degli studi, pur senza ottenere approvazione

¹²⁸ «La forme σφε doit être un éolisme. Elle se retrouve en grec occidental, et, dans la littérature, les tragiques et les lyriques l'ont utilisée» (*ibid.*) – anche se, precisa lo studioso nella sua *Morphologie historique* (1961, 141), «en poésie l'emploi archaisant du thème σφε est artificiel et certaines formes du pluriel ont parfois servi de singulier: σφε (Eschyle, *Prom.* 9, Sophocle, *Ced. à Col.* 40, etc.)»; cf. anche Wathelet 1970, 290s.

¹²⁹ Willi (*ibid.* 220) ipotizza che il pronome ricostruito di 2° p. d. prevedesse una forma *sbh-oh₁; da questa radice sarebbe stata originato dunque un accusativo apofonico *sbh-h₁, il cui statuto enclitico sarebbe coerente con la forma atona di altre formazioni pronominali in accusativo, come ad esempio i vedici *nau, vām*.

concorde¹³⁰; si preferisce generalmente accordare alla forma un valore di accusativo non-marcato, senza esplicite caratterizzazioni di numero: «σφε est donc visiblement un accusatif, mais on ne saurait dire s'il est duel ou pluriel. Dans la majorité des cas, il renvoie à un référent duel, mais au moins une fois (*Il.* 19.265) il ne peut être que pluriel. On peut tout d'abord considérer que σφε est à l'origine un pluriel, quelquefois employé à propos d'un référent duel, comme ce peut être les cas dans un état de langue où le duel commence à s'effacer devant le pluriel. Ou bien on peut juger qu'il est avant tout un duel et n'est employé comme pluriel que de manière exceptionnelle, peut-être parce que sa valeur première s'est obliérée et qu'il est déjà sorti de l'usage courant» (Petit 1999, 23).

La prima ipotesi ventilata da Petit è assolutamente ragionevole¹³¹; il plurale è liberamente impiegato in greco, in ogni fase dell'esistenza del duale, anche per definire due elementi. Quanto alla seconda possibilità, essa dipende in larga misura da che cosa si intenda con 'in maniera eccezionale'; si deve, cioè, stabilire se 'eccezionale' includa usi abnormi, impropri o scorretti, o se si riferisca a semplici variazioni sul tema comunque tollerate dal mezzo letterario, la lingua epica. È pertanto necessario decidere che valore attribuire all'unico caso 'eccezionale' in cui la forma σφε non rappresenta semanticamente un duale, ovvero a *Il.* XIX 265; si deve, in altre parole, stabilire se ci si trovi qui di fronte ad un *lapsus* dell'aedo (ed il valore duale della forma ne verrebbe preservato), o a una rigrammaticalizzazione nell'uso della forma (il cui valore precipuo sarebbe dunque stato intaccato); questo secondo caso sembra ammissibile solo nel caso in cui la forma abbia già perso ogni caratura di duale. Merita ricordare che il duale in greco è, nella grande maggioranza dei casi, correttamente impiegato; le aberrazioni, che comunque esistono, si prestano a spiegazioni individuali e di carattere filologico piuttosto che indurre a generalizzazioni sulla categoria stessa.

¹³⁰ La prima *petitio* di appartenenza al duale per σφε si trova in Dyroff, «ursprünglich nur dualisch verwendet» (1892, 36; cf. anche Leaf I 337; Bolling 1933, 308); l'ipotesi è rigettata recisamente da Cuny (1906, 45).

¹³¹ Con un'unica precisazione, ovvero che si ritiene qui che il duale sia in greco una categoria ereditata, sebbene le forme siano spesso innovate; la sovrapposizione di plurale e duale è quindi una possibilità sintattica dovuta alla mancata obbligatorietà dell'impiego del duale (su cui si tornerà ampiamente in seguito), piuttosto che un fenomeno circostanziale, dovuto all'emergenza di una nuova categoria linguistica.

Conviene a questo punto prestare uno sguardo più ravvicinato alle occorrenze di σφε:

καὶ γάρ σφε πάρος παρὰ νηυσὶ θεῶσιν εἶδεν / ὅτ' ἐξ Ἴδης
ἄγαγεν πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς (*Il.* XI 111s.)

ὥς δὲ λέων ἐλάφοιο ταχείης νήπια τέκνα / ῥηϊδίως συνέαξε
λαβὼν κρατεροῖσιν ὁδοῦσιν / ἐλθὼν εἰς εὐνήν ἀπαλὸν τέ σφ'
ἦτορ ἀπηύρα (*Il.* XI 113-115)

εἰ δέ τι τῶνδ' ἐπίορκον ἐμοὶ θεοὶ ἄγγεα δοῖεν / πολλὰ μάλ'
ὄσσα διδοῦσιν ὅτις σφ' ἀλίτηται ὁμόσσας (*Il.* XIX 264s.)

ἄφαρ δέ οἱ ἄγγελος ἦλθεν / Ἥλιος ὃ σφ' ἐνόησε μιγαζομένους
φιλότῃτι (*Od.* VIII 270s.)

φθεγξάμενός σφ' ἐπέεσσι προσηύδα μελιχίοισι (*Od.* XXI 192)

ἐξαῦτίς σφ' ἐπέεσιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν (*Od.* XXI 206)

Alcune peculiarità nell'uso di questa forma saltano immediatamente agli occhi. Innanzitutto, su sei occorrenze, quattro si verificano negli stessi canti, e a distanza di pochi versi l'una dall'altra (*Il.* XI 111 e 115, *Od.* XXI 192 e 206). In *Il.* XI 111, prima occorrenza, si ha l'unica occorrenza della forma non in elisione¹³²; in *Il.* XI 115 e *Od.* VIII 271 la forma è elisa, ma la sua valenza breve è metricamente garantita. La restante forma iliadica, XIX 265, è l'unico caso in cui la forma venga utilizzata in riferimento a un plurale; infine, le ultime due occorrenze odissiache, XXI 192 e 206, prevedono l'elisione della vocale finale, metricamente inconsistente¹³³.

È dunque possibile dunque osservare che il trattamento della forma σφε non è affatto equipollente all'interno del repertorio omerico. In particolare, l'unico caso in cui il morfema si presenta non intaccato nel suo aspetto formale è in *Il.* XI

¹³² Si noti tuttavia che sia *Il.* XI 111 che XI 115 richiedono sinalefe di *-ηυ- nella scansione (rispettivamente in ⁵- e ⁶-).

¹³³ Le occorrenze di *Od.* XXI, in particolare, rappresentano certamente un *cluster*, come si vede dal contesto dialogico e dal ricorrere di ἐπέεσσι in entrambi i casi; variazioni sul tema ²- ἐπέεσσι προσηύδα ricorrono 7_x nei poemi (*Il.* V 30; *Od.* X 34, XI 99, XI 552, XII 36, XVIII 244, XXI 192).

111; a voler peccare di iper-scetticismo, si potrebbe affermare che la ragione che autorizza la ricostruzione della forma nelle altre occorrenze è proprio la sua presenza in questa sede¹³⁴. Sembra significativo che i casi in cui la forma, elisa, viene intaccata nel suo corpo fonico, siano proprio *Il. XIX 265*, ovvero l'unico uso 'dissonante' (ovvero, come plurale e non duale), e le due occorrenze del canto XXI dell'*Odissea*, concordemente appartenente alle fasi più tarde della redazione del poema.

Ritengo curioso che non si sia mai puntato l'accento sul fatto che le attestazioni siano così ravvicinate in due situazioni, al punto da far pensare a un fenomeno di *clustering*. Certamente la forma $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ potrebbe rappresentare un arcaismo, tuttavia la sua collocazione nei poemi, piuttosto che garantirne l'antichità, sembra suggerirne una certa artificialità: $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ potrebbe quindi per contro rappresentare una variante dialettale, o addirittura di una creazione *ad hoc*, utilizzata da alcuni aedi solo in punti precisi dei poemi¹³⁵. In particolare, se si pensa a un'innovazione, le caratteristiche morfologiche di questa forma si riducono a quelle deducibili dal contesto: in $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ si materializzano quattro aspetti, ovvero 'forma pronominale', 'accusativo', 'valore metrico mantenuto in iato', 'valore semantico di duale' (nei passi di *Il. XI*). La ripresa in *Il. XIX 265* sfrutta tutte queste potenzialità eccetto quella del numero, interpretando la forma come un plurale; gli impieghi odissiaci riprendono invece il valore numerico della forma, ledendone l'integrità fonica per un migliore adeguamento metrico. Una genesi artificiale della forma renderebbe ammissibili le variazioni sul tema riscontrabili nelle occorrenze successive, in quanto un margine di flessibilità sarebbe implicito nella forma stessa; le sue connotazioni morfologiche sarebbero per tanto del tutto esteriori, determinate *a posteriori* dal contesto. Questo tipo di spiegazione, in cui è naturalmente implicita un'evoluzione diacronica dell'utilizzo della forma, potrebbe

¹³⁴ Tutto quel che sappiamo delle altre forme elise è, infatti, che nei passi in esame è richiesta una forma di accusativo del tema * $\sigma\phi$ - con esito in vocale breve; se non possedessimo quell'unica occorrenza 'intera' a *Il. XI 111*, niente vieterebbe di ipotizzare una forma ** $\sigma\phi\tilde{\alpha}$, presente peraltro in eolico.

¹³⁵ L'evoluzione nell'uso all'interno dei poemi potrebbe rappresentare anche un'evoluzione cronologica: $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ appare per la prima volta metricamente integro, compatibilmente con la già sottolineata tendenza a preservare l'integrità dei monosillabi, laddove nelle ultime occorrenze la compattezza del corpo fonico andrà via via ledendosi per rispondere a una maggiore flessibilità metrica.

spiegare anche certi usi ‘artificiali’ della forma nella letteratura successiva: paragonando l’utilizzo di σφε (acc. sg.) in Aesch. *Pr.* 9 e Soph. *OC* 40¹³⁶ con le prime occorrenze omeriche, si può vedere come in questi casi venga soddisfatto il caso (accusativo), ma non il numero (duale).

In conclusione, la disposizione delle occorrenze omeriche sembra suggerire un deciso grado di artificialità – o, meglio, di *flessibilità* – implicito nella forma σφε: il fatto di rappresentare una forma non marcata (cf. Petit, Willi, etc.) potrebbe dunque rappresentare non una caratura genetica, quanto una *conseguenza* della genesi stessa della forma.

1.2.0. Desinenze nominali per il duale.

La situazione presentata dalla flessione nominale è interessante sotto svariati profili. Il quadro offerto dalla comparazione ie. è, come si vedrà, incredibilmente coerente sotto alcuni versanti – precisamente, i casi diretti dei temi in *-o* e consonantici. Per contro, non appena ci si allontana dalle forme di uso più comune, la situazione si presenta estremamente magmatica, e differenziata per aree dialettali: non è possibile tracciare ricostruzioni unitarie, ma solo linee di tendenza che definiscono isomorfe tra gruppi geograficamente contigui.

È plausibile ipotizzare in questi casi innovazioni individuali, non pertinenti all’intero dominio ie.; questo è coerente con la generale tendenza a ritenere la creazione di una categoria di duale come appartenente ad una fase tarda dell’ie. comune, con conseguente sviluppo e potenziamento delle singole categorie in fase ‘post-unitaria’ – sempre che sia legittimo parlare di ‘unità’. In ogni caso, non sorprende che le forme meglio preservate siano le più frequenti nell’uso: a questo proposito merita sottolineare, come si vedrà meglio in seguito, che le due desinenze solidamente attestate, **-ō* (< **-oh₁*?) per i temi in *-o*, e **-ǝ* (< **-h₁*?) per i temi consonantici, potrebbero a loro volta essere imparentate. Il ricorso alla desinenza atematica sembra essere stato pervasivo nelle fasi più antiche della grammaticalizzazione del duale; solo successivamente, spinte omogeneizzanti e

¹³⁶ Così, ἀμαρτίας σφε δεῖ θεοῖς δοῦναι δίκην / ὡς ἂν διδαχθῆ τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα / στέργειν φιλανθρώπου δὲ παύεσθαι τρόπου (Aesch. *Pr.* 9-11); ἄθικτος οὐδ’ οἰκητός· αἱ γὰρ ἔμφοβοι / θεαί σφ’ ἔχουσι Γῆς τε καὶ Σκότου κόρα (Soph. *OC* 39s.).

meccanismi analogici interni alle singole lingue ie. avranno operato come meccanismi di ‘regolarizzazione’ delle desinenze, con una conseguente differenziazione e creazione di desinenze specifiche non più uniformi. Da una prima fase di conservazione delle desinenze ereditate e di estensione della desinenza atematica, si registra quindi nelle singole lingue una tendenza all’omogeneità, con lo sviluppo di esiti specifici in specifici dominî linguistici.

1.2.1 Temi consonantici.

Per le desinenze discusse in questo capitolo, i riferimenti principali sono: studi generali sulle desinenze nominali gr. e i.-e.: Schwyzler GG I 545, 557, 565, 573, 575; Szemerényi 1996, 157, 160, 183, 186, 189-191; Malzahn 1999; per il miceneo, Hajnal 1995, 55-85; Lejeune, *Mémoires*; per il greco Rix 1992, 135, 141, 159; per il vedico, Renou 1952, 189ss.; MacDonell 1910, 178ss.; per l’avestico, Misra 1979, 100s.; per l’antico slavo Lunt 1959, 44-48, 60-63; Schenker 1993, 87-89; Huntley 1993, 139-142; Priestly 1993, 400-406; Stone 1993, 594s., 614-620; per il proto-celtico, Pokorny 1913; Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 165-168; per il gruppo baltico, Stang 1966, 183-198; per il tochario, Krause 1954, 1-17; Winter 1984, 124ss.; Hilmarsson 1989.

	Nom. du.	Acc. du.	Gen. du.	Dat. du.	Strum. du.	Loc. du.
Mic. ¹³⁷	<-(C)e> = *-ǵ ¹³⁸	<-(C)e> = *-ǵ	?	?	<-pi> = *-p ^{hi}	?
Gr.	*-ǵ, -ε	*-ǵ, -ε	-οἴtv, -οἴv, -οἴυv	-οἴtv, -οἴv, -οἴυv	*ō-bhi	/
Ved.	*-ā, *-au vácā, vácāu	*-ā, *-au vácā, vácāu	*-os padós	*-bhyām rájabhyām	*-bhyām padbhyām	*-os praticós
Avest.	*-ā, ha ^u rvatā ¹³⁹	*-ā, ha ^u rvatā	*-ā (PIr. *-āu), ha ^u rvatā	*-byā (PIr. *-byā), ha ^u rvatbya	*-byā (PIr. *-byā), ha ^u rvatbya	*-ō, *ha ^u rvatō

¹³⁷ Il duale è bene attestato in miceneo, per quanto oscurato dalle ambiguità della grafia e non sempre coerentemente applicato: tuttavia «pareilles inadvertances sont assez fréquentes dans nos documents, là même où le duel n’est pas en cause; elles n’autorisent donc pas à conclure à une décadence commençante de l’emploi du duel à l’âge mycénien» (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 53).

¹³⁸ La desinenza si trova impiegata già in mic. sia per il maschile che per il neutro (Hajnal 1995, 67).

¹³⁹ La desinenza avestica può risalire sia all’atteso *-ǵ, desinenza canonica ie. per i temi consonantici, sia a *-ō, analogico sui temi in -o; «hence, whether ie. -ǵ ending was retained in Avestan is uncertain, and consequently whether ie. -ǵ was retained in Protoiranian is also uncertain» (Misra 1979, 100). Si noti che il tema qui citato è sincopato per aplogia (* ha^urvatātā > ha^urvatā; Misra 1979, 149).

Air. ¹⁴⁰	(Acelt. *-ě) ríg	(Acelt. *-ě) ríg	(Acelt. *-ou) ríg	(Acelt. *-bhēm) ¹⁴¹ rīgaib	/	/
Asl.	m./f. -i, n. -ě	m./f. -i, n. - ě	-u	-ьma	-ьma	-u
Lit.	*-ě, žmûne	*-ě, žmûne	/	/	/	/
Toc.	B paiyye, A pe < Atoc. *-ä ¹⁴²	/	B eśanaisāñ, A aśnis ¹⁴³	/	/	/
Ie. ¹⁴⁴	*-ě (*-h ₁)	?	*-ous?	? ¹⁴⁵	?	?

Si è deciso in questa trattazione di partire dalle desinenze atematiche, in virtù della situazione estremamente favorevole, sia da un punto di vista comparatistico, sia sul piano della coerenza interna delle attestazioni. Come riscontrabile dalla tabella, la desinenza ricostruibile per i casi retti è *-ě: «dass

¹⁴⁰ Un'altra occorrenza è forse ravvisabile nella testimonianza epigrafica gallese /*cisiambos cattos vercobreto*/ "Cisiambos e Cattos entrambi (figli di, patr.) Vergobreto", secondo uno schema di duale riflesso nel patronimico del tutto affine a quello dei greci Ἀκτωρίωνε, Ἀτρεΐδα (si considerino anche forme plurali del tipo Τυνδαρίδαί, etc.); cf. Lambert 1994, 52; Malzahn 1999, 207 n.8.

¹⁴¹ Nei temi consonantici il dat. è ricostruito analogicamente sulla desinenza dei temi in -o; cf. Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 174.

¹⁴² Secondo Hilmarsson (1989, 95), attraverso una serie di adeguamenti fonetici: ie. **pod-e* (gr. πόδε), proto-toc. **pod-h₁e* > toc. com. **pæ* > A *pe*, B *pæ-āñæ* > *peiyæ* > *pai(y)ye*. «With reasonable certainty forms in *-e can be assumed to be reflected in B *šar-ne* 'hands' (if equatable with Gk. χεῖρε), *pärwā-ne* 'eyebrows': Gk. *ophrús*, etc.» (Winter 1984, 143).

¹⁴³ Dal tema di nom. *ek*, 'occhio'. L'antica desinenza ie. di gen. du. *-o(y)ous si sarebbe preservata, secondo Van Windekens (1944, 169), solo in toc. A *pissankämtwe* e in alcune forme di Toc. B: «B *eç(a)naisāñ* est le génitif du duel de *eç(a)ne* 'les deux yeux' et B *tainisāñ* le génitif du duel du pronom démonstratif: -ais- y répond à i.-e. *-ois- postulé par gr. -οιν» (*ibid.*). Anche Adams (1984, 398), ammettendo per il greco *-oĩv un antecedente *-οισιν, riscontra tra greco e Toc. B 'a startling common innovation' «such a rebuilding is, so far as I know, unique and thus highly probative of some special connection between Tocharian and Greek».

¹⁴⁴ Possibili residui di questa desinenza sono ipotizzabili anche in gruppi che non conservano una distinzione per il duale: «some scholars have seen a trace of the Indo-European dual in such forms as [Hittite] *šakuwa* (and Luvian *tawa* 'eyes', *iššara* 'hands', GÌR^{MEŠ}-*ta* = *pāta* 'feet'), comparing either Vedic dual *pādā* or Mycenaean Greek (*tiri*)*pode*, but the Anatolian ending is indistinguishable from the neuter plural» (Watkins 2004, 560). In ittita, «*utne* 'country' probably comes from IH *ūdhne* 'breasts'. The oblique cases, *utneyas*, etc., were developed from the nom.-acc. by analogy after it had come to be felt as a singular» (Sturtevant 1933, 166). Cf. anche il venetico *horvionte*, "gratulantés" (?); cf. Lejeune 1974, 245s. n. 123; Hajnal 1995, 55 n. 60.

¹⁴⁵ Per i casi indiretti, «the evidence presented by the daughter languages is incomplete and conflicting [...]. Even in those languages which do possess a morphologically characterized dual in the nominal system one must always reckon with the possibility that innovations overlie the original system» (Bammesberger 1982, 245).

Nella poesia omerica casi diretti di duale sono ben rappresentati per la flessione atematica: un'altissima percentuale di questi è costituita da participi presenti attivi in -ντε, anche metricamente piuttosto costanti, come si vedrà in séguito. La desinenza è rappresentata in tutte le categorie: nel participio, sia presente che perfetto (ἔσταότε, μεμαῶτε, etc.), nell'aggettivo (εὐρόε, μεγαλέτορε). Quanto ai sostantivi, le occorrenze si spartiscono significativamente tra coppie naturali (ῥοσε, πήχεε, τένοντε, χειῖρε, etc.)¹⁵¹ ed epiteti (διδυμάονε, ἠγήτορε, θεράποντε, κήρυκε, κοσμήτορε, μήστορε, etc.); la quasi totalità di queste forme ricorre più di una volta e non di rado in formula – a riprova che il ricorso alla desinenza è solido, diffuso e ben radicato nel tessuto connettivo dei poemi. Si hanno poi alcuni duali inclusivi (Ἀκτορίωνε, Μολίωνε), tra cui spicca la fortunata forma Αἴαντε, 20x.

Sembra di poter affermare che, in un periodo di consolidamento della flessione nominale, la desinenza atematica sia stata particolarmente produttiva: questa tendenza è già stata sottolineata per quanto riguarda le neo-formazioni pronominali νοε e σφοε (e, verosimilmente, σφε). A ulteriore riprova, si consideri che il greco, differentemente dalla maggioranza delle lingue ie., estende l'uso di questa desinenza anche ai temi semi-vocalici e sonantici, come si vedrà in séguito; inoltre, sembra che la desinenza sia stata adottata nella grammaticalizzazione di forme 'anomale' – prestiti, forme proto-greche o dalla flessione oscillante tra temi diversi: si considerino, ad esempio, gli omerici δμῶε (*Od.* XXI 244, XXII 114), λᾶε (*Il.* XXIII 329)¹⁵². Emblematico è poi il caso del duale atematico omerico υἷε¹⁵³, a cui risponde la forma attica tematica – ma con desinenza atematica – υἷεῖ/ύεῖ¹⁵⁴.

(dual *'apnm*, fem. pl. *'apnt*), Hebrew *'ōfān*. For the meaning note that words meaning 'wheel' are frequently used with the sense 'waggon'. Thessalian seems to have had a variant *καπᾶνᾶ*; this could be an articular **hāpānā*» (Szemerényi 1974, 150).

¹⁵¹ O coppie occasionali, ma 'di repertorio': si allude qui alle molte forme di duale relativo ad animali che ricorrono in sede di metafora: cf. ἄρνε, βόε, θῆρε, κύνε, λέοντε, etc. Vedi anche par. 4.0 s.v.

¹⁵² Per una discussione dettagliata di queste forme, cf. par. 4.0. Si consideri inoltre la forma epigrafica testimoniata dal dialetto laconico *επακοε* (*IG* V 1:1232; ma, *επακο* in *IG* V 1231).

¹⁵³ 16x nei poemi omerici (*Il.* II 679, 822, 831, 843, 865, V 27, 152, 542, XI 102, 329, XII 95, 99, XIII 345, XIX 365, XX 460, *Od.* XV 242), più alcune varianti testuali attestate (*Il.* V 159, XI 262, XII 128, XIII 792, XXI 34). A ulteriore riprova dell'oscillazione nella grammaticalizzazione del tema si considerino poi le varianti di duale υἷεε (*Il.* V 10) ed υἷε (*Il.* V 152); cf. par. 4.0.

¹⁵⁴ Si considerino le due occorrenze ἐνειμάσθην δὲ τῶ υἷεῖ οὐδὲ δέκα τάλαντα ἐκάτερος ἀποθανόντος (*Lys.* 19,46), e ἐστὸν γὰρ αὐτῶ δύο υἷεῖ (*Plat. Ap.* 20a); si cita infine la forma epigrafica *ηυε* (*IG* XII 775).

Prima di Omero, e almeno parzialmente ancora in Omero, in una fase di assestamento della flessione del duale, sembra che il ricorso alla desinenza atematica sia stato particolarmente produttivo, in quanto tale desinenza – complice l'assenza di sovrapposizioni ed omofonie con altre marche desinenziali – doveva plausibilmente essere percepita come caratterizzante il duale¹⁵⁵. Si tratta probabilmente di un'operazione antica, produttiva in epoche in cui la categoria non era ancora perfettamente marcata, e sforzi di grammaticalizzazione ammettevano un margine di creatività (come, appunto, l'estensione della desinenza atematica anche al di fuori dei suoi àmbiti di pertinenza); in epoche successive, come si vedrà, l'attico ricorre ad altri espedienti per soddisfare la stessa necessità, tramite il ricorso a procedimenti analogici in caso e *genere*.

1.2.2 Temi in semi-vocale (-i/-u).

	Nom. Du.	Acc. Du.	Gen. Du.	Dat. (Abl. Strum.) Du.
Gr ¹⁵⁶ .	*-ε (ῥίε, βόε ¹⁵⁷ , πηχέε ¹⁵⁸)	*-ε (ῥίε, βόε, πηχέε)	*-οῖν (βοοῖν, βασιλέοιν ¹⁵⁹)	*-οῖν (βοοῖν, βασιλέοιν)
PInd.	*-ī (Ved. <i>devī</i>), *-ū (Ved. <i>bāhū</i>)	*-ī (Ved. <i>devī</i>), *-ū (Ved. <i>bāhū</i>)	*-os (~ Strum.; Ved. <i>devyós</i> , <i>bāhvós</i>)	*-bhyām (Ved. <i>devībhyām</i> , <i>bāhubhyām</i>)
PIran ¹⁶⁰ .	*-ī (Av. <i>aži</i>) ¹⁶¹ ,	*-ī (Av. <i>aži</i>),	*-ā (Av. <i>aživā</i> , <i>pāsvā</i>)	(*-bhyām) *-byā

¹⁵⁵ La semplicità strutturale deve avere favorito il ricorso a *-ě come 'marca di compensazione', utile a colmare lacune ancora esistenti nell'assetto delle categorie di duale. A proposito, inoltre, della versatilità della forma, si deve sottolineare quanto detto in precedenza: il duale emerge verosimilmente in forme autonome, solo successivamente grammaticalizzate ed inserite in una gerarchia morfologica coerente: è dunque plausibile ipotizzare che la desinenza *-ě, pure caratteristica dei temi consonantici, abbia originariamente goduto di un certo margine di oscillazione tra le varie categorie (duale in 'animati', per es. nei pronomi), similmente a quanto si osserva per l'indifferenza al numero del caso di strum. in *-phi; da questo stato di relativa libertà, il ricorso alla desinenza sarebbe stato in un secondo tempo 'epurato' e limitato ai temi consonantici, a costruire il quadro che troviamo attestato infatti in età classica.

¹⁵⁶ L'adozione della desinenza atematica si estende anche agli aggettivi: cf. τάρφει (Od. VIII 379), τάρχε (Il. V 356, XXIII 545).

¹⁵⁷ La forma è, come ci si può attendere, bene attestata nell'epica: 2_x poemi omerici (Il. XIII 703, Od. XIII 32), 3_x Esiodo (Op. 436, 453, 608), 1_x H. Hom. Herm. (405), 1_x Apollonio Rodio (I 407).

¹⁵⁸ Come nel caso precedente, si tratta di forma obliterata dall'epica: 4_x Omero (Il. V 314, Od. XVII 38, XXIII 240, XXIV 347) 1_x H. Hom. Ap. (117), 1_x Apollonio Rodio (I 268), 1_x Quinto Smirneo (XIV 171).

¹⁵⁹ 1_x βοοῖν (Ar. frag. Nes. 1.4 K.-A.?), 1_x βασιλέοιν (Aesch. Th. 820).

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Misra 1979, 101.

¹⁶¹ Si sottolinea l'esistenza, tra questi temi, di un du. n. *aši*, forse paragonabile all'omerico ὄσσε < ie. *ok^wj- (se si accetta l'ipotesi di formazione da tema in semi-vocale; cf. Misra 1979, 101, 111).

	*-ū (Av. <i>pāsu</i>)	*-ū (Av. <i>pāsu</i>)		(Av. <i>ažibya, pasubya</i>)
PSlav.	*-i *-y	*-i *-y	*-bju *-ovu	*-bma ¹⁶²
PCelt ¹⁶³ .	*-ī (Ir. <i>muir</i>) *-ū (Ir. <i>mug</i>)	*-ī (Ir. <i>muir</i>) *-ū (Ir. <i>mug</i>)	*-iwou ¹⁶⁴ (Ir. <i>moro, mora</i>) *-owou (Ir. <i>mogo, moga</i>)	*-i-bhēm (Irl. <i>muirib</i>) *-u-bhēm (Irl. <i>mogaib</i>)
PBalt ¹⁶⁵ .	*-ī > *-i (Lit. <i>avì</i>) *-ū > *-u (Lit. <i>sùnu</i>)	*-ī > *-i (Lit. <i>avì</i>) *-ū > *-u (Lit. <i>sùnu</i>)	/	*-ìm, *-ùm (Lit. <i>avim, sùnnum</i>)
Toch ¹⁶⁶ .	*-h ₁ e (B <i>šarne, A tsarām</i>)	/	/	/

Come si vede, il trattamento dei temi semi-vocalici prevede per i casi diretti del duale, piuttosto uniformemente, l'allungamento organico della vocale tematica¹⁶⁷. Il greco innova, e tratta i temi in *-i* ed *-u* come se si trattasse di stemmi consonantici¹⁶⁸ (Shields 1982, 27ss.). È stato inoltre sottolineato come il greco adotti la desinenza **-ě* indiscriminatamente in temi sonantici monosillabici e polisillabici, differendo in questo da altri gruppi ie. – la cosiddetta area orientale (indo-

¹⁶² «The dat./inst. du. **-bma* [...] spread to the athematic stem» (Schenker 1993, 89).

¹⁶³ Cf. Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 171s.

¹⁶⁴ Desinenza analogica sui temi in *-u*; la desinenza regolare sarebbe stata ***-ijou* (Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 172).

¹⁶⁵ Sottolineano tuttavia Endzelins (1971, 165) e Shields (1982, 27) che in antico lituano si trovano forme che continuano l'ie. **-ě*: «in Daukša's writings one still find (from *žmuō* 'man') the nominative dual *žmūne* '(two) men' [...] in the old texts and in some dialects there are masculine nominative duals of past active participles with the ending *-ě*, e.g. *āuguse* 'having grown'».

¹⁶⁶ 'Le due mani' ~ gr. *χεῖρε*. S tratterebbe delle uniche attestazioni sicure per i temi in *-i*, eccettuate B *pār-wāne*, A *pār-wām*, 'sopracciglia' (gr. *ὀφρύς*); «in the same manner as the i-stem, non neuter u-stems formed their dual by adding the ending **-h₁* to their stem final», toc. A *šanwem* (Hilmarsson 1989, 70ss., 104ss.).

¹⁶⁷ Forse derivante da contrazione con **-h₁*, ricostruzione in laringale della desinenza atematica **-ě* (cf. Bammesberger 1982, 245s.): un simile processo è stato postulato anche per le vocali lunghe dei casi diretti del duale nei temi vocalici, cf. oltre.

¹⁶⁸ L'innovazione è già testimoniata in miceneo: «dual *a-ko-ro-we-e* Cn418; apparently variant spelling of dual (or dat. sg.?) *a-ko-ro-we-e* KN Ch 7100; description of oxen: possibly *akr-ōwee* 'with pointed ears'» (Baumbach 1971, 156s.). Ecclatante il caso di ie. **ok^wh-ī*, da cui si hanno l'av. *aži*, il sanscr. *ahī*, il lit. *nakti* e l'asl. *nošti*, ma il gr. *ὄφρε*. Similmente, all'ie. **bhāghū* – da cui, come si è visto, si ha l'avestico *bāzu* – il greco risponde con *πήχε* (cf. Misra 1979, 101).

iranico¹⁶⁹, baltico, slavo) – che mostrano esiti differenti per monosillabi e polisillabi¹⁷⁰.

1.2.3 Temi in *-o*.

	Nom. du.	Acc. Du.	Gen. Du.	Dat. Du.	Strum. Du.	Loc. Du.
Mic.	<-(C)o> = * <i>-ō</i> ? ¹⁷¹	<-(C)o> = * <i>-ō</i> ?	?	?	<-(C)o-pi> = * <i>-ō-p^{hi}</i> ?	?
Gr.	* <i>-ō</i> , <i>-ω</i>	* <i>-ō</i> , <i>-ω</i> ¹⁷²	- <i>οῖν</i> , - <i>οῖν</i>	- <i>οῖν</i> , - <i>οῖν</i>	* <i>ō-bhi</i>	/
Ved ¹⁷³ .	* <i>-ō</i> , * <i>-ōu</i> ¹⁷⁴	* <i>-ō</i> , * <i>-ōu</i>	* <i>-os</i>	* <i>-bhyām</i>	* <i>-bhyām</i>	* <i>-os</i>
Avest.	(Plr. * <i>-ā</i> / <i>*-āu</i> ,	(Plr. * <i>-ā</i> / <i>*-āu</i> ,	* <i>-ā</i> (Plr. * <i>-āu</i> , <i>ašva-y-āu</i>) ¹⁷⁶ ,	* <i>-byā</i> (Plr. * <i>-bhyām</i> ,	* <i>-byā</i> (Plr. * <i>-bhyām</i> ,	* <i>-ō</i> ¹⁷⁷ , <i>aspayo</i>

¹⁶⁹ Benché sia stato suggerito di leggere la desinenza *-ě* anche nel celebre dvandva *mātara-pitarau*, che gli antichi grammatici etichettano come ‘forma del Nord’ (Shields 1982, 27).

¹⁷⁰ «Ici le grec présente la désinence *-ε* non seulement dans les mots-racines *ξίε*, *σύε* en quoi il s’accorde avec le sanskrit, mais même dans le thème polysyllabiques de ce genre» (Cuny 1906, 21). Le lingue di area orientale presenterebbero invece la desinenza comune anche al greco **-ě* (< **eh₁*?), mentre i polisillabi mostrerebbero, come i temi vocalici, un allungamento organico della vocale radicale (temi in *-i*: des. **-ī*, temi in *-u*: des. **-ū*), determinato da contrazione con **-h₁* (cf. Szemerényi 1996, 184s.). Si può tuttavia ragionevolmente ipotizzare che siano le cosiddette forme ‘di area orientale’ ad essere innovative, secondo quello stesso influsso analogico che osserviamo operativo in greco nei temi in *-a*, ad ulteriore conferma della produttività di tale meccanismo: se l’allungamento quantitativo della vocale radicale viene recepito come marca identificativa del duale, tale caratteristica viene estesa ad altri temi che, in qualche misura, si prestano a riceverla.

¹⁷¹ Come si vedrà nella trattazione seguente, la ricostruzione è del tutto ragionevole, ma la grafia impedisce per il miceneo ogni affermazione definitiva («nicht sicher nachweisbar», Hajnal 1995, 67s.).

¹⁷² Differentemente da quella che doveva essere la tendenza generale ie., il greco è sincretico nel duale rispetto al genere, presentando – nei dialetti di epoca storica – la stessa desinenza per maschile e neutro, laddove il vedico mantiene una desinenza specifica di nom./acc. du. **-ī* (per es., *praticí*, nom. s. n. *pratyak*; cf. MacDonell 1910, 178ss.): «neuter N. A. in ie. had the same endings as fem. **-a* stems [ie. possibly **-ai*]; in Celt. (as in Gk. and Lat.) the masc. ending was taken over, but the neuter took eclipse» (Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 167; cf. anche Rix 1992, 135, 141, 159).

¹⁷³ «The dual is a fully functioning category, used not merely for naturally paired objects, like eyes, but for any collection of two. Notable in Vedic is the ‘elliptical dual’, with a noun in the dual signalling a conventional paired opposition: for example, *dyāvā*, literally ‘the two heavens’, for ‘heaven and earth’; *mātara*, literally ‘the two mothers’, for ‘mother and father’» (Jamison 2004, 684); sul duale inclusivo, cf. par. 2.5.

¹⁷⁴ Ma **-ī* per femminile e neutro. Le due desinenze **-ā*/**-āu* naturalmente altro non sono che ‘sentence-doublets’, varianti fonetiche e non morfologiche, come per primo ha evidenziato Meringer (KZ 28, 217ss.), con successive precisazioni da parte di Bechtel (1892, 285), accettate da Wackernagel (AG 107): la distribuzione proto-aria doveva presentare **-ō* antec consonantica, **-ōw* antevocalica ed **-ōu* in pausa (cf. Bolling 1902, 318); tuttavia, «au total, dans la RS., *-ā* apparaît 2.391 fois/*-āu* 293» (Renou 1952, 188); si noti, infine, che per i casi indiretti è attestata, seppur rara, anche la lettura **-bhiyām* con *glide*.

	<i>ašvā) aspā</i> ¹⁷⁵	<i>ašvā) aspā</i>	<i>aspayā</i>	*-byā), *aspābya	*-byā), *aspābya	
Air.	(Acelt. *ōu) ¹⁷⁸ in da fer ¹⁷⁹	(Acelt. *ōu) in da fer	(Acelt. *ōu) in da fer	(Acelt. *o-bhēm) don dib feraib	/	/
Asl ¹⁸⁰ .	m. *-a, f./n. *-ě ₂	m. *-a, f./n. *-ě ₂	*-u	*-oma	*-oma	*-u
Abalt.	*-úo (Lit. <i>výru</i>)	*-úo (Lit. <i>výru</i>)	/	*-ama ^x < *-āmus (Lit. <i>dievám</i>)	*-ama ^x < * <i>-āmus</i> (Lit. <i>dievam̃</i>)	/

¹⁷⁶ Così secondo Misra 1979, 119s.; diversamente Reichelt (1909, 387), con ipotetica derivazione da *-ās.

¹⁷⁷ Dal gen./loc. ie. *-ou; si noti che l'avestico è la sola, tra le lingue indoeuropee, a distinguere un loc. du. dal gen. du.: «All ie. languages show one common ending for genitive and locative dual, which was ie. *-ou or *-ous; lith. *dvėjaus* and *dvejau*, skr. *hastayoh* and *zastayō* from ie. *-ous and *-ou respectively» (Misra 1979, 101).

¹⁷⁵ Residui di duale si trovano anche in antico persiano, per esempio nel duale naturale neutro *ušīy* (strum. *ušībiyā*), 'le due orecchie > comprensione': «Avestan *uš-* 'ear', with abundant cognates in other languages (Gk. οὔς, Lt. *auris*, Got. *áusō*, Lith. *ausis*), has one dubious occurrence in the nom. sg., being otherwise in the dual *ušī*, with the meaning 'two ears' or the derived meaning 'power of understanding'» (Kent 1943, 224).

¹⁷⁸ Pedersen e Lewis riconducono la desinenza originaria celtica alla forma antico indiana, cf. sanscr. *ṛṣkāu*; similmente, la desinenza ricostruita di dat. du. *-bhēm viene fatta corrispondere a quella sanscrita, cf. *ṛṣkā-bhyām* (Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 167).

¹⁷⁹ Per quanto il tema resti invariato, il duale viene espresso dall'articolo: sg. *in fer*, pl. *ind fer* (cf. Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 165).

¹⁸⁰ Tracce di duale sono conservate ad oggi in alcuni dialetti, per esempio in sloveno ed in ucraino: «The vestigial dual found in a few feminine and neuter nouns is associated with the numerals 2, 3, 4. The feminine nominative-accusative dual is identical in form with the dative-locative singular (e.g. *rybi* 'two fishes'), the neuter with the corresponding locative singular (e.g. *tili* 'two bodies')» (Matthews 1949, 120); «The forms *plečima*, *ušima*, and *očima*, from *pleči* 'shoulders', *ušī* 'ears', and *oči* (*viči*) 'eyes' respectively, are vestigial oblique duals» (*ibid.* 124). «Nominals express number obligatorily in Slovene, but for referring to two entities the use of the dual is facultative. The fact that the plural is used in place of the dual in certain cases shows that in facultative number systems, if the dual-plural choice is not taken up, then the system reverts to a straightforward singular-plural choice» (Hillyard 2008, 32; cf. Priestly 1993, 440s.).

Toch ¹⁸¹ .	A <i>esäm</i> , B <i>aṃṣane</i> ¹⁸²	/	B <i>klautsnaisäñ</i> ¹⁸³ , A <i>klośnis</i> (<i>klautso</i> , 'orecchio')	/	/	/
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¹⁸¹ La situazione presentata dal tochario merita particolare attenzione: la categoria del duale è stata preservata, innovata e potenziata, producendo due diverse categorie, duale e parale. Tale distinzione formale è stata per lungo tempo ritenuta rispecchiare una distinzione semantica tra duali naturali ed accidentali: in Toc. B, ai duali naturali sarebbe riservata la forma **-ne*, mentre per i duali occasionali si farebbe ricorso alla forma senza **-ne*; infine, *-m* del Toc. A corrisponde a Toc. B **-ne*" (cf. Krause 1954, 1ss., e Krause-Thomas 1960, 76s.; Hilmarrson 1989, 9ss.). Winter (1984, 125, 141ss.) obietta tuttavia che «the line of division is by no means as neat as Krause suggests»: le forme con **-ne* sono sporadiche, e non rappresentano necessariamente duali naturali, laddove forme senza **-ne* descrivono invece spesso duali naturali (*paiyye* "piedi", *pauke* < **pokai* "braccia", *keni* "ginocchia", etc.). La differenza tra le due categorie potrebbe dunque essere puramente meccanica: «the occurrence of *ne*-less forms in restricted environments points to the nature of this alternation: *-ne* forms are more recent and generally productive» (*ibid.*); le varianti senza **-ne* saranno plausibilmente arcaismi, «permissible variants perhaps stylistically conditioned», mantenuti grazie all'organizzazione metrica e alla caratura poetica dei testi più antichi.

¹⁸² Dove *aṃṣane* deriva da **āns-ā*, e la desinenza **-ā* equivale a Atoc. **-u* < ie. **-ō* (Hilmarrson 1989, 11s.; Malzahn 1999, 204): «the dual category is on decline in Tocharian, and dual forms have been mostly replaced by plural ones. All the same, a considerable number of dual forms has been preserved, especially in West Tocharian, either directly continuing Indo-European dual forms, or extended with the element B *-ne*, A *-m*, whose status has been somewhat disputed» (Hilmarrson 1989, 1). Non troppo fondata la proposta di Van Windekens (1944, 166) «A *-m*, B *-ne* représentant un suffixe en **-n* + une désinence indo-européenne du duel, qui a disparu». Winter (1984, 147ss., 158) suggeriva di leggere nel suffisso i residui di ie. **nō*: «**-ne*, originally a pronominal form in concord with nonneuter noun in the nominative-accusative of the dual only in certain syntactic environments, became a regular concomitant of all otherwise insufficiently marked nominal duals, first as part of a nominal phrase with a dual head, then attached to a dual as a suffix and itself declined» (questa ipotesi viene tuttavia scartata da Hilmarrson 1989, 7ss.). Infine, Shields (1977, 61; 1980, 72; 1982, 29) suggerisce che il suffisso, riconoscibile anche in alcuni nom. pl. n. in sanscrito (*bhūvanāni* 'mondi', *śúcīni* 'i luminosi', e *vāsūni* 'possedimenti'), esprima semplicemente la valenza di non-singolare.

¹⁸³ La desinenza di Toc. B **-naisäñ*/**-naisi* preserva forse un elemento pronominale **-ois* cui si unisce la desinenza di gen. pl. ie. **-ōm* (cf. Van Windekens 1944, 169; Winter 1984, 147; Hilmarrson 1989, 61). Winter (*ibid.*), in particolare, ricostruisce un prototoc. **-oysu(n)*, e, producendo un'isoglossa unicamente *greco-tocharia, istituisce un (discutibile) parallelo con le forme arcadiche in **-oiv* (Schwyzer, GG I 557).

Ie ¹⁸⁴ .	*-ō (*-oh ₁) neut. *-oy(h ₁) ¹⁸⁵	*-əow(s) ¹⁸⁶	/	/	/	/
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La situazione attestata in ie. offre fortunatamente, per questa forma, un quadro piuttosto coerente – quantomeno nei casi diretti; la desinenza attestata per il nom./acc. m. du. è infatti, abbastanza uniformemente, *-ō¹⁸⁷. In passato, la variante aria *-ou veniva ricostruita anche in ie.¹⁸⁸, ma sembra che si possa ormai affermare che si tratti semplicemente di un ‘doublet syntactique’, una variante di *sandhi*, isolata al gruppo indo-ario (cf. Cowgill 1985, 27; Hilmarsson 1989, 9)¹⁸⁹ e di formazione successiva¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁴ «Restformen des thematischen Duals sind vermutlich auch in anderen Einzelsprachen bewahrt, die die Kategorie im Nominalbereich verloren haben. So führt man germ. **nasō* ‘Nase’ und aengl. *brua* ‘Augenbrauen’ jeweils auf einen alten thematischen Nominativ Dual auf *-ō zurück unter der Annahme, daß im Zuge des Aussterbens der Kategorie die thematische Dualflexion verallgemeinert worden ist» (Malzahn 1999, 204). Per alcune ipotesi di duali inclusivi epigrafici in latino, cf. Schwyzer 1891, 31 n. 7; Zimmermann 1912, 220; Leumann 1977, 405. «Within Italic, the postulation of dual forms in general, and dual-dvandvas in particular, has been much disputed. U. von Wilamowitz’s and W. Schulze’s discovery of old duals in the inscriptional *M. C. Pomplio* (CIL I².30) and *Q. K. Cestio* (*ibid.* 61) is generally rejected nowadays, e.g. by M. Leumann, who prefers to find -o for -os (nom. sg.) or perhaps for Oscan-type -ōs (nom. pl.)» (Puhvel 1977, 403). Infine, «Hittite retains a few traces of the dual, but only in the nom.-acc. There are several instances of the ending a < [possibly] IH ō, and probably one of the ending e of consonant stems» (Sturtevant 1933, 165s.).

¹⁸⁵ O semplicemente *-ih₁; cf. Malzahn 1999, 205, Ringe 2006, 41.

¹⁸⁵ O semplicemente *-ih₁; cf. Malzahn 1999, 205, Ringe 2006, 41.

¹⁸⁶ La presenza della laringale viene ricostruita soprattutto sulla base del trisillabismo di forme vediche di gen/loc. du. del tipo *pitrōs/pitros*, e con il sostegno del gen. in dittongo baltico, lit. *dviejau(s)*; cf. Hoffmann *Aufsätze* II 561; Hajnal 1995, 113.

¹⁸⁷ «Héritée pour le genre animé; secondairement étendue, par le grec, aux neutres thématiques. L’extension aux neutres est déjà acquise à date mycénienne» (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 49); cf. anche Schwyzer, GG I 557.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Brugmann 1905, 276; Cuny 1906, 9-14; Gray 1932, 195; Schwyzer, GG I 557; Sihler 1995, 265. Il fatto che la variante *-ou, con gusto anomalistico, sia stata ritenuta la forma più antica, ha talvolta determinato curiose inversioni di tendenza: Wheeler (1896, 135ss.) rifiutava l’idea che le desinenze vocaliche fossero in realtà prodotte dalla contrazione della vocale tematica con la desinenza atematica (peraltro identificata come non ie.) proprio sulla base della desinenza *-ou, da lui ritenuta originaria.

¹⁸⁹ Se si suppone che la desinenza di nom./acc. *-ō < *-oh₁, la forma sarebbe costituita dall’esito della laringale in posizione ante-vocalica, successivamente esteso anche a posizione pre-consonantica e in pausa (*ibid.*).

¹⁹⁰ Un punto estremamente significativo in questo senso emerge dalle statistiche di Malzahn (2004, 212): sul totale di occorrenze di nom./acc. du. nominale tematico nei testi vedici, in posizione anteconsonantica o in pausa ricorre la desinenza *-ā nel 93% dei casi: in posizione anteconsonantica, la stessa desinenza *-ā ricorre solo il 53% delle volte (contro, rispettivamente, a 7% e 47% di *-au). Tale tendenza si manifesta tuttavia in maniera ancora più lampante nel voc.: le occorrenze di *-ā in

In miceneo si trovano indubbiamente tracce a sostegno della desinenza ereditata $*-\bar{o}$, benché niente possa essere affermato in maniera definitiva: nella grafia $*/-o/$ confluiscono infatti le desinenze di nom. di tutti e tre i numeri: sg. $\langle -(C)o-s \rangle \sim$ du. $\langle -(C)\bar{o} \rangle \sim$ pl. $\langle -(C)o-i \rangle = *-(C)o$. La presenza del quantificatore diventa dunque fondamentale nella determinazione dei duali, benché nemmeno questo argomento possa essere considerato come conclusivo: è infatti plausibile ipotizzare che, anche in miceneo, il duale fosse facoltativo, come nelle stratificazioni linguistiche di epoca successiva. La sola presenza del quantificatore è dunque un elemento necessario, ma non sufficiente, al riconoscimento dei duali micenei.

Qualche aiuto in più viene tuttavia fornito dal neutro, dove nella grafia $*-o$ sono inclusi soltanto sg. e du.: il quantificatore diventa in questo caso necessario e sufficiente, in quanto se possiamo anche ammettere che al numero '2' venisse associata una forma plurale, di certo non è pensabile l'impiego di un singolare. Una situazione, dunque, rappresentata dall'iscrizione seguente, lascia ragionevolmente supporre che *pa-sa-ro* sia un duale:

PY Ta 716.1 *pa-sa-ro, ku-ru-so, a-pi, to-ni-jo* 2 */psalō/ ~ *ψάλω (ψάλων?)*¹⁹¹

Un altro caso di duale accompagnato dalla desinenza $*-pi$ si può forse rintracciare in *mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi* (PY La 635); la costruzione con il glide è testimoniata nei nomi di persona, e Hajnal (1995, 60) suggerisce che ci si possa trovare qui di fronte ad un toponimo, accompagnato dalla marca strumentale¹⁹².

posizione anteconsonantica o in pausa coprono il 100% delle occorrenze, in posizione antevocalica il 49%. Si può dunque affermare che $*-au$ è una variante, facoltativa e minoritaria, inizialmente esclusiva per le sedi antevocaliche: la sua estensione ad altre sedi, comunque limitata, sarà uno sviluppo successivo, riscontrabile in nom./acc. in virtù della loro maggiore frequenza.

¹⁹¹ Alternativamente, *«passalō 'gold' pegs' [Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 234; Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 346s., 403]. Sull'associazione resta scettico Hajnal (1995, 56): «doch bleibt die Bedeutung dieses Terminus auch unter Hinweis auf späteres ψάλιον "(Ring des) Kappzaum(s)" unklar, da fraglich ist, ob wir auf den Inventarlisten von PY Ta auch mit der Erwähnung von Zaumzeug rechnen dürfen».*

¹⁹² Un caso di toponimo al duale può forse essere letto anche nella famosa iscrizione arcadica DGE 664 (Meillet 1916, 124-126; sulle desinenze oblique arcadiche in $*-oiv$, cf. oltre).

I dialetti greci di epoca storica concordano nell'attestazione di *-ō come desinenza per i casi diretti dei temi in -o, come si può vedere dalla seguente tabella¹⁹³:

arcadico	τω Διδυμω	Orcomeno, 369 (DGE 664.25)
arcadico	προξενο, αυτο	Lousoi, V sec. (DGE 669.7.10)
delfico	δυο οβελω, φρυκτω	IV sec. (BCH 63, 183ss.)
eleo	το καταστατο	VI/V sec. (DGE 418.13)
laconico	επακο ¹⁹⁴	Tenaro, V/IV sec. (IG 1:1231)
argivo	ιλαρχω	Nemea, IV/III sec. (DGE 86.3ss.)
chìo	οιε τελεω	(GDI 3638)
beotico	δραχμαω, φαγανω	Khorsiai, IV/III sec. (SEG 24 nr. 361)

Il quadro è coerente nel suo insieme¹⁹⁵; come nel caso della desinenza atematica, si apre tuttavia una questione sulla morfologia della desinenza: *-ō o *-oh₁? In altre parole, è legittimo pensare che la vocale lunga rappresenti una situazione originaria, o è più corretto ipotizzare una contrazione risultante dall'incontro della desinenza atematica con la vocale tematica?

Nella seconda ipotesi, la desinenza atematica *-ě, nella sua 'veste laringale' *h₁, sarebbe in questo caso anche parte integrante della desinenza tematica *-oh₁. Quest'idea è di antica data, e si trova già nella grammatica omerica di Thiersch (1826, 69-72)¹⁹⁶; in ambito ie., è stata sostenuta da Liebert 1957, 92; Rix 1992, 141;

¹⁹³ Le occorrenze sono tratte da Maquieira 1984, 58s., e Hajnal 1995, 69.

¹⁹⁴ Μα, επακοε in IG V/1 1232; per l'estensione dell'utilizzo della desinenza dei temi consonantici *-ě, cf. oltre.

¹⁹⁵ Merita in questa sede aggiungere che la declinazione dell'aggettivo si allinea perfettamente a quella nominale, per quanto «pour la place du ton cette flexion présente quelques particularités. Lorsque les autres cas de la flexion sont périspomènes, le nominatif-accusatif duel est toujours oxyton: πλώ, ὀστώ; on n'a jamais la finale -ō que demanderaient les règles de la contraction» (Chantraine 1984, 46).

¹⁹⁶ Similmente, sempre secondo Thiersch (1826, 71), la desinenza *-ā sarebbe il risultato della contrazione della vocale tematica con la desinenza *-ě, da considerarsi, secondo l'autore, la forma ereditata esprimente i casi diretti del duale in ogni tema (naturalmente, Thiersch non poteva essere al corrente dell'esistenza di attestazioni di una desinenza micenea *-ō per i temi in *-a). Non sembra

Bammesberger 1982, 245; Watkins 1998, 66; Malzahn 1999, 205ss.; Hoenigswald-Woodard-Clackson 2004, 543. L'ipotesi ha naturalmente il pregio dell'uniformità, generalizzando la desinenza tematica a tutte le classi dei casi diretti. Tuttavia, sappiamo che questo non rappresenta la situazione *ie.*, in cui desinenze peculiari sono rappresentate ai casi diretti almeno per il femminile e il neutro, e un'opposizione di genere non può che essere secondaria rispetto ad un'opposizione di tema¹⁹⁷. Per quanto un'ipotesi di contrazione sia del tutto ammissibile in questa sede, colpisce comunque che il quadro *ie.* presenti una situazione assai coerente sulla desinenza a vocale lunga¹⁹⁸. Tale desinenza doveva essere percepita come marcata già in epoca piuttosto antica: emblematico il caso dei temi in *-a* micenei, che mutuano */-ō/ (e non */-ǝ/; cf. oltre) come desinenza di duale nei casi diretti: altrettanto significativa, in questo senso, è la forma beotica δρᾶχμαω.

In conclusione, converrà in questa sede limitarsi ad asserire che l'ipotesi di un'interazione della desinenza atematica nella formazione dei casi diretti tematici è di per sé altamente verosimile, ma indimostrabile, in quanto il processo di assimilazione dovrebbe essere avvenuto in data anteriore a ciascuna delle attestazioni.

1.2.4 Temi in *-a*.

	Nom. du.	Acc. Du.	Gen. Du.	Dat. Du.	Strum. Du.	Loc. Du.
Mic.	<-(C)o> *-ō ¹⁹⁹	<-(C)o> *-ō	?	?	?	?

invece sostenibile la proposta di Liebert (1957, 92), per il quale la desinenza dei temi in *-o* deriverebbe da *-o-h₁, mentre temi in *-a* da una non meglio spiegata laringale *-h₂, operante qui soltanto.

¹⁹⁷ In generale, la frammentazione delle desinenze ricostruibili in segmenti minori è un processo che richiede, di per sé, estrema cautela; riconoscere indiscriminatamente, come è stato fatto, una componente *-h₁ (o *-h₂, 'marca' del collettivo) a giustificazione di anomalie fonetiche all'interno della flessione del duale è un processo pericoloso, che rischia di contraddire i dati anziché favorirne la comprensione.

¹⁹⁸ Si consideri inoltre l'accentuazione: «a counterproof is furnished by the innumerable cases where a final long vowel or a final diphthong has the acute intonation, because it cannot be conceived as resulting from the contraction of a form with recessive accent. The dual endings -ῶ, -ᾶ (in the first two declensions) do not show any trace of the ending -ε and are therefore not conceived as resulting from contraction» (Kurylowicz 1932, 210).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 84. Cf. anche δρᾶχμαω in beotico, nell'iscrizione di Khorsiai SEG XXIV 361 (cf. Hajnal 1995, 69).

	<-(C)a-e> *-a-e (m.) ²⁰⁰	<-(C)a-e> *-a-e (m.)				
Gr.	att. *-ā, -ā	att. *-ā, -ā	-αῖν, -αῖν	-αῖν, -αῖν	/	/
Ved ²⁰¹ .	*-ō, *-ōu	*-ō, *-ōu	*-os	*-bhyām	*-bhyām	*-os
Avest.	*-e (PIr. *-ai, *ašvai), aspe	*-e (PIr. *-ai, *ašvai), aspe	*-ā (PIr. *-āu, ašva-y-āu), *aspayā	*-byā (PIr. *-bhyām, *-byā), aspābya	*-byā (PIr. *-bhyām, *-byā), aspābya	*-ō, aspayo
Air.	(Acelt. *-ai) in di tuaith ²⁰² , mnái	(Acelt. *-ai) in di tuaith, mnái	(Acelt. *-au?) in da tuath, ban	(Acelt. *-ā-bhis) don dib tuathaib, mnáib ²⁰³	/	/
Asl.	*-ě ₂	*-ě ₂	*-u	*-ama	*-ama	*-u
Abalt.	*-ah ₂ i ²⁰⁴ (Lit. *-i < *-iė, geriejī)	*-ah ₂ i (Lit. *-i < *-iė, geriejī)	/	*-óm	*-ōm	/
Toch ²⁰⁵ .	B swāñco, A swāñcem (*swh ₂ -nt-)	/	/	/	/	/
Ie. ²⁰⁶	? (*-ai?)	? (*-ai?)	/	/	/	/

La ricostruzione della desinenza di duale per i temi in *-a* presenta — in ie. e in greco — una situazione particolarmente complessa. Prima della decifrazione dei

²⁰⁰ Specialmente nei temi maschili in *-a* con nom. *-τας: mic. *e-qe-ta-e* (KN Am 821.1), hom. αἰχητᾶ (Il. VII 281) e vd. oltre.

²⁰¹ Manca, come prevedibile, un tema che presenti la declinazione compelta: si considerino tuttavia, a solo titolo di esempio, le forme duali vediche nom./acc./voc. *já, jáu*, gen./loc. *priyáyo*, dat. *priyábhyām*, strum. *jábhyām*.

²⁰² Si confronti con sg. *in tuath* e pl. *inna tuatha* (cf. Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 168).

²⁰³ La desinenza del dat. du. continua l'antico strum. ie. (sancr. *sēnā-bhyām*); ed è attestata nel gallico Ναμουσιχαβο. Il tema *ben* è riconducibile all'ie. **g^wen-ā*, 'donna', ed è estremamente interessante in quanto testimone dell'alternanza vocalica radicale **g^wen-ā*/**g^wη-ā* (sg. *ben*/du. *mnái*/pl. *mná*). Il dat. *mnáib* (/ *mnāb*/) è tuttora continuato dall'irlandese moderno *mnáibh* (cf. Lewis-Pedersen 1937, 168s.).

²⁰⁴ Si tratta di una delle desinenze di 'non-singolare' dei temi in *-a*, che alcune lingue, tra cui il gruppo baltico appunto, hanno riservato all'espressione del duale: cf. anche Aslav. *rocě*, sancr. *ásve*, airl. *mnái* (Stang 1966, 199). In greco e latino questa desinenza, probabilmente di origine pronominale, è stata mutuata per i casi diretti del plurale.

²⁰⁵ La desinenza a vocale lunga dei temi in *-a* potrebbe essere analogica sui temi in *-o* (Winter 1984, 143) oppure esito dell'incontro della vocale tematica con una desinenza **-h₂*, la medesima che caratterizza i collettivi, «naturally indifferent to grammatical numeral categories» (Hilmarsson 1989, 20).

²⁰⁶ «Though the reconstruction of the dual endings is (as usual) difficult, it seems clear that no more than three dual endings can be reconstructed [*i.e.* nom. tem., nom. atem., gen. atem.]; of course it is not surprising that syncretism was most extensive in the most 'marked' numbers» (Ringe 2006, 42).

testi in Lineare B si credeva di poter evocare in quanto forma originaria una desinenza ie. **-ai*²⁰⁷, soprattutto sulla base della testimonianza della desinenza del sanscrito **-ē*²⁰⁸; secondo questa ipotesi, il greco avrebbe ‘perso’²⁰⁹ questa desinenza nel duale, in quanto omologa a quella, di ascendenza pronominale, adottata per il plurale²¹⁰. Si tende ora piuttosto a pensare che esistessero, in ie., svariate modalità per costruire l’opposizione singolare ≠ non-singolare; nello specifico, la desinenza **-ai* sarebbe stata utilizzata da alcune lingue come plurale, da altre come duale – similmente a quanto accade, all’interno del pronome, al tema **no-s/*n-s*, passibile di rappresentare entrambi i numeri²¹¹. Il greco avrebbe dunque mutuato la

²⁰⁷ La teoria tradizionale voleva che il greco, come gruppi ie. (latino, baltico, slavo), avesse mutuato per la flessione nominale la desinenza di nom. pl. originariamente riservata alla flessione pronominale: dunque nom. pl. dei temi in *-o* = **-oi* anziché **-os*. Tale modificazione avrebbe generato analogicamente, nei temi in *-a*, **-ai* anziché l’atteso **-as*; conseguentemente, le desinenze del nom. du. e pl. sarebbero risultate coincidenti. Sempre secondo questa ipotesi, la creazione di una desinenza differente avrebbe avuto luogo per un procedimento di regolarizzazione analogica, del tipo ἵπποι : ἵππω = χῶραι : χῶρα; sarebbe stata cioè eliminata la forma anomala a favore di una forma più riconoscibile, caratterizzata da quella che era verosimilmente avvertita dai parlanti come la preminente marca di riconoscimento dei casi diretti del duale, ovvero l’allungamento organico della vocale radicale (cf. Cuny 1906, 14-16; Pisani 1959, 243; Ruijgh 1967, 83s.; Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 84; Moralejo 1983, 214ss.; Maquieira 1984, 55).

²⁰⁸ A titolo di esempio, ved. *ácve*, avest. *haēne*, lit. *ranki*, (lat. *duae*?); cf. Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/2, 198s., e Brugmann 1913, 270.

²⁰⁹ Il ricorso stesso all’idea di ‘perdita’ risulta alquanto ambiguo, in quanto implica una filiazione diretta da un presunto stadio ie. in cui la desinenza del duale per i temi in *-a* si suppone fosse **-ai*: questo, tuttavia, è indimostrabile. Si preferisce precisare che in ie. esisteva una desinenza **-ai*, su cui si tornerà a breve: quanto alla flessione nominale greca, niente si può dire più che essa è stata, almeno in uno stadio, difettiva, e deve il suo aspetto a una serie di innovazioni successive. In altri termini, «defectiveness occurs when the form paradigm of some lexeme is smaller than its content paradigm. Logically, this can be a result of arrested development, or decay. That is, it could be that the lexeme has had gaps from the very outset and never resolved them, or that it once had a viable paradigm, but has since lost parts» (Baerman-Corbett 2011, 11).

²¹⁰ Ma Moralejo 1983, 214 (cf. anche Pisani 1959, 243; Szemerényi 1966, 218; Ruijgh 1967, 84 n.53; Hajnal 1995, 86ss.) ritiene che questa desinenza possa essere adombrata in alcune dubbie sequenze mic. <-(C)a>, diversamente interpretate come plurali, o addirittura duali in **-ā* (per una discussione del problema, cf. oltre); sembra tuttavia che ogni inferenza su questa sequenza, per natura graficamente ambigua, non possa che essere a sua volta incerta e niente più che ipotetica; ogni speculazione teorica su una forma ***ai* di duale – non diversamente attestata in greco – non emerge oltre l’ambito del possibile.

²¹¹ «Evidence for the assumption that dual and plural were not clearly distinguished at an early period of Indo-European comes from the fact that the **ā*-stem ending **-ai* functions as a plural marker in Greek and Latin (cf. gk. *khōr-ai* ‘lands’, Lat. *port-ae* ‘doors’), whereas in sanskrit and Balto-Slavic the same ending marks the dual (cf. Skt. *bāl-e* ‘(two) maidens’, OCS *roc-ě*, Lith. *rank-i* < **-ai* ‘(two) hands’. Likewise the *o*-stem ending **-oi* furnishes nominative plurals for masculine nouns in Balto-Slavic (cf.

desinenza **-ai* per il pl. già in epoca micenea; una sovrapposizione con il duale sarebbe di conseguenza risultata non ammissibile.

Un unico parallelo, seppure indiretto, per questa desinenza in greco viene talvolta identificato nel duale ὄσσε. La forma, eminentemente omerica²¹², viene talvolta ricostruita come **/ok^w-je/*, dove **-ih₁* sarebbe forma residuale ('Reliktform') – ed unico esempio in greco – della desinenza di duale ie. per il neutro. Tale forma sarebbe sopravvissuta in greco come fossile, in virtù della sua estrema diffusione nel panorama ie.: si considerino i paralleli con Asl. *oči*, Lit. *akì*, Toc. B *eś(a)ne*, Toc. A *aśāṃ*²¹³.

Sulla base di questa desinenza, Georgiev (1975, 341ss.) e Watkins (1975, 368)²¹⁴ hanno proposto di ricostruire per i temi in *-a* un'uscita **-ah₂-ih₁*, dove **-h₂* sarebbe la desinenza dei collettivi innestata sul tema in *-a*, e **-ih₁* la desinenza di duale ie. riservata al neutro; l'incontro del tema e di questa desinenza avrebbe prodotto la fantomatica desinenza **-ai*. L'esito tuttavia non sembra del tutto evidente, così come non del tutto giustificato sembra un prestito proprio dal neutro; come si vedrà oltre, i temi in *-a* sono significativamente gli unici in cui appaia in greco qualche, seppur labile, distinzione di genere, e in nessuna delle desinenze attestate è ricostruibile un precedente **-ai*²¹⁵. La forma ὄσσε può essere un relitto

OCS *grad-i* 'cities', Lith. *výr-ai* < **-oi* 'men', but duals for neuters in Slavic and Sanskrit (cf. OCS *měst-ě* '(two) places', Skt. *phal-e* '(two) fruits')» (Shields 1982, 27s.).

²¹² 58_x nei poemi, escluse le varianti testuali (*Il.* I 104, 200, III 427, IV 461, 503, 526, V 82, 310, VI 11, XI 356, 453, XII 466, XIII 3, 7, 340, 435, 575, 616, XIV 236, 286, 438, 519, XV 578, 607, XVI 316, 325, 333, 645, 792, XVII 136, 167, 679, 695, XIX 16, 365, XX 393, 471, 476, XXI 181, 415, XXIII 396, 463, 477, XXIV 637, *Od.* IV 186, 662, 704, 758, V 151, VI 131, X 247, XII 232, XIII 401, 433, XIX 471, XX 204, 348); solo 2_x nei tragici (Aesch. *Pers.* 1065, Eur. *Tr.* 1315), probabilmente in forma di 'omerismi' (cf. par. 2.4).

²¹³ Tale desinenza veniva erroneamente identificata e sovrapposta da Georgiev (1975, 341ss.) alla desinenza atematica; in questo modo, le desinenze micenee <(C)a-e>, i temi consonantici, il neutro in sonante δούρε ed il noto ὄσσε venivano ricondotte ad una genesi comune. Occorre considerare tuttavia in questa sede anche il caso dell'ittita: «the common word *sakwa* (*ša-a-ku-wa*) 'eyes' is more naturally interpreted as a dual than as a neuter plural, since its cognates of similar stem (Gk. ὀπή 'hole', εἰς ὄπα 'face to face', Lat. *oculus* 'eye') are not neuter» (Sturtevant 1933, 166).

²¹⁴ «I have argued (*Evidence for laryngeals* 177) that the dual suffix found here is to be reconstructed as PIE *yE* [i. e. **-yeh₁*] (> Gk. **ye*, Toch. **y'e*, Skt. *i*)» (Winter 1984, 142; cf. anche Anghelina 2007, 7).

²¹⁵ Maquieira (1984, 56), concordemente agli autori sopra menzionati, identifica nella forma ὄσσε la desinenza di duale degli inanimati **-ih₁*, spingendosi ancora oltre; riprendendo il suggerimento di Rix (1992, 135) la studiosa propone di rinvenire la supposta desinenza ***ai* in alcune ambigue attestazioni micenee femminili in <(C)a-e>, «formes arcaizantes» (su cui si tornerà oltre) da **/-āje/*. Va tuttavia sottolineato che la semi-vocale **j* è preservata in miceneo sotto forma di *glide* (cf. Hajnal 1995, 89); l'ipotesi risulta quindi piuttosto artificiosa e *ad hoc*.

fortunatamente sopravvissuto in greco, ma può benissimo, più facilmente, derivare da un tema in semivocale *-i*, precisamente **ok^{wj}-*²¹⁶, regolarmente munito della desinenza attesa **-ē*²¹⁷: come si è osservato, i temi in semivocale e sonante sono stati in greco omologati a quelli in consonante. In definitiva, pertanto, la ricostruzione della desinenza **-ai* per il duale – in miceneo o greco classico – sulla sola evidenza della discutibile forma ὄσσε risulta da scartare.

A séguito della decifrazione dei testi micenei, sembra di poter affermare che l'assetto della flessione nominale dei temi in *-a* risenta di un'evoluzione complessa, in cui innovazioni ed adeguamenti analogici successivi si sono stratificati cronologicamente; «es versteht sich von selbst, dass dieses bild mit dem des späteren Griechisch nur schwer in Einklang zu bringen ist» (Hajnal 1995, 68). I problemi centrali, in particolare, si riducono a due:

1. Desinenza per i temi in *-a* (m./f.): mic. **-ō* ≠ att. **-ā*;
2. Desinenza mic. per i temi in *-a* m. (f.?) = **-a-e*.

1.

In séguito alla decifrazione delle tavolette micenee, Ventris e Chadwick (1973, 84) hanno rilevato che i temi in *-a*, sia femminili che maschili²¹⁸, avrebbero utilizzato inizialmente la stessa desinenza **-ō* riservata ai temi in *-o*; a titolo di esempio vengono riportate alcune forme, particolarmente rappresentative:

²¹⁶ Così Clackson (2007, 104), che sottolinea anche la peculiare posizione del neutro, in virtù della sua aderenza al collettivo, nei confronti delle classificazioni di numero: «if neuters did have duals, but not distributive plurals, we would be left with a curious situation in PIE. Neuters could be marked for a dual, but not a distributive plural; a PIE speaker would be able to count 'two yokes' but not 'three yokes'. This runs counter to the typological universal that the existence of a dual presupposes the existence of a plural».

²¹⁷ Cuny (1906, 18) ipotizza invece in questa forma una sopravvivenza di un nom./acc. du. n. **okwī* con l'annessione della desinenza atematica per il duale. «Somit ist eine Alternative Deutung von ὄσσε etwa als Dual eines *i*-Stammes **/okwi-/* nicht ausgeschlossen» (Hajnal 1995, 88s.). La spiegazione, che sembra essere ragionevole e poco 'costosa', tende tuttavia a passare inosservata nella maggior parte degli studi, complice probabilmente la volontà di rinvenire anche in greco una desinenza, qual è **-ih₁*, che sembra essere particolarmente produttiva per il duale nel panorama ie.

²¹⁸ La distinzione di sostantivi maschili e femminili all'interno dei temi in *-a* non risale all'ie. comune. Szemerényi (1968, 720) sottolinea come in greco, per contro, la produzione di maschili in *-a* è antica e risale all'età micenea. Lo stesso autore attribuisce (1966, 219) all'analogia con δύω un ruolo importante nell'estensione della desinenza **-ō* a temi in *-o* ed *-a*.

KN Sd 4401 .b	<i>i-qi-jo</i> ²¹⁹ , <i>a-ja-me-no</i> , <i>e-re-pa-te</i> , <i>a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no</i> , <i>po-ni-ki[-jo]</i>	
KN Sd 4415 .a	<i>wi-ri-ne-jo</i> , <i>o-po-qo</i> [...]	
PY Eb 338	<i>ke-ke-me-no</i> , <i>ko-to-no dwo</i> , <i>o-pe-ro-sa-de</i> , <i>wo-zo-e</i> , <i>o-wo-ze</i>	
PY Eo 278	<i>ti-qa-jo</i> , <i>po-me</i> , <i>e-ke-qe</i> , <i>dwo</i> , <i>ko-to-no</i> ²²⁰	
PY Sh 737	<i>pa-ra-wa-jo</i> 2	*παρείω < *παρῶϝj-ō ²²¹
PY Ta 709.2	<i>pu-ra-u-to-ro</i> 2	*πυραύστρω ²²²
PY Ta 715.3	<i>to-pe-zo</i> , <i>mi-ra</i> ₂ , <i>a-pi-qo-to</i> , <i>pu-ko-so</i> , <i>e-ke-e</i> ²²⁴ , <i>e-ne-wo-pe-zo</i> , <i>to-qi-de-jo</i> , <i>a-ja-me-no</i> , <i>pa-ra-ku-we</i>	*τόρπεζω ²²³

Questa desinenza *-ō si presta, nei temi in -a, ad un riconoscimento abbastanza agevole. Si è visto come nei temi in -o nell'unica grafia <-(C)o> confluisca il nom. di tutti e tre i numeri (*-os, *-ō, *-oi)²²⁵; nei temi in -a il grafema <-(C)a> cela il nom. sia sg. che pl., ma non il nom. du., inconfondibilmente marcato dalla grafia <-(C)o>. Posta dunque la situazione micenea²²⁶, si cercherà di passare brevemente in rassegna le attestazioni greche successive.

²¹⁹ Probabilmente */(h)ikk^wj-ō/ («hiqq^vjā 'the horse-vehicle, chariot'»: Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 206; Ventris-Chadwick 1973 361s., 394s.).

²²⁰ «Name of a kind of land-holding» (Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 214).

²²¹ Si noti tuttavia la variante παρειά in Il. III 35, XVI 159 e XVII 729 (cf. Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 233s.; Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 51 n.54-55). Non c'è dubbio che si abbia qui a che fare con «some form of the word corresponding to classical παρειά or παρήϊον, but the precise form is obscure; *paraujō (assuming a dual) one would expect to be written with either -u-jo or -wi-jo, and *parawājō (which might also be expected to appear with -u-ja-jo or -wi-ja-jo) does not correspond exactly to any reconstruction proposed for the classical forms» (Householder 1960, 188).

²²² «Dual *purastrō* (either f., or n.) 'fire-tongs'» (cf. Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 179, 241; Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 406). La forma πυραύστρω è attestata nell'iscrizione attica IG² II 47.18.

²²³ Una prova ulteriore a sostegno dell'interpretazione di *to-pe-zo* come duale è costituita dalla presenza del sg. dello stesso tema in PY Ta 715.2, *to-pe-za* 1 (cf. Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 240, 250; Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 410; Hajnal 1995, 55).

²²⁴ «Possibly *puxoekhee* 'containing box-wood'» (Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 198, 241; vd. anche Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 406).

²²⁵ «So darf man z.B. *ko-wo* KN Ai 194++ vor dem Zahlzeichen "2" sowohl als dualisches /*korwō*/ wie auch als pluralisches /*korwoi*/ verstehen» (Hajnal 1995, 56).

²²⁶ Isolata la posizione di Szemerényi (1966, 220) che legge nel grafema <(C)-o> del miceneo una desinenza *-oi, originariamente relativa al neutro duale e mutuata dai temi in -a: la connessione tra tema in -a (non originariamente vincolato al femminile: la distinzione di un genere specifico al duale in questi temi è invece, come si vedrà, innovazione attica) e genere neutro sembra tuttavia puramente teorica e speculativa.

Omero non fornisce, purtroppo, alcuna desinenza per i temi in *-a* femminili, e solo alcune isolate occorrenze per il maschile²²⁷; mancano, infatti, nei poemi, forme semanticamente funzionali all'espressione di tale desinenza, in quanto non si verificano casi in cui un nome, o una forma flessibile secondo le classi nominali (aggettivo, participio, etc.), si trovi impiegata in relazione a due elementi femminili. In Esiodo si trova invece, negli *Erga*, un significativo participio con desinenza **-ō* riferito a due divinità femminili (καλυψαμένω, *Erga* 198)²²⁸. Si devono inoltre ricordare anche alcune peculiari forme beotiche, in cui ci si è già imbattuti nelle pagine precedenti: si tratta delle formazioni beotiche di IV sec. ca. δραχμαω (*SEG* 24 nr. 361) e σκαφαω (*BCH* 98 [1974]: 645 nr. 1)²²⁹; queste forme sono particolarmente eloquenti, in quanto mostrano una flessione tematica con ricorso alla desinenza **-ō*.

²²⁷ Si fa qui riferimento a tre temi maschili in **-της* (αίχμητᾶ, κορυστᾶ, ὠκυπέτᾶ) e alla forma di duale inclusivo Ἄτρείδᾶ, che verranno trattati nel prossimo paragrafo. Wackernagel (1916, 217) condannava tutte le occorrenze come seriori interpolazioni attiche: «man darf in Erwägung ziehen, ob *-α* nicht erst durch die attische Redaktion in den Text gekommen ist. Einem Attiker waren Nominative auf *-αι* und Akkusative auf *-ας* von einem Paare gebraucht notwendig fremdartig». Questa generalizzazione sembra tuttavia da imputare a una tendenza 'iper-atticista' dello studioso: una serie di elementi, tra cui la coerenza di metro e concordanza nominale, sostiene per contro l'antichità di queste forme.

²²⁸ «The dual feminine καλυψαμένω preserved by the MSS. in *Erga* 198 and wrongly corrected by Rzach on the evidence of an inscription of the Second Century B.C., till a short while ago was paralleled only by the masculine τῶ καταστάτῳ of an archaic Elean inscription (Sixth or Fifth Century) and, of course, by the Attic article τῷ. However, the new Mycenaean evidence allows us to take this form not as an Atticism or a Doricism, but simply as an archaic feature preserved in poetic language. This fact may have some interest as a proof of the possibility of finding in Hesiod some archaisms not preserved in Homer» (Morpurgo Davies 1964, 151s.). Si osserva qui per inciso che la variante καλυψαμένᾶ è attestata in *schol. Eur. Med.* 439, coerentemente con lo sviluppo di forme in **-ā* all'interno di tutta la declinazione nominale (dunque aggettivo, articolo, participio) dei temi in *-a*. La situazione presentata da Esiodo è particolarmente interessante, in quanto, a fronte della pressoché totale assenza di forme di duale nella *Teogonia* (che si riducono alle due forme verbali περφαδέτην, v. 475, e φρασάτην, v. 892), gli *Erga* vedono un ricorso più cospicuo alla categoria, come si può osservare in par. 2.0; cf. Troxler 1964, 109-114; Hajnal 1995, 70; Wackernagel 2009, 108. Ci si può interrogare, in questo senso, su quanto ci sia in queste attestazioni di lingua viva e quanto consistente sia, per contro, il contributo giocato dalle preferenze stilistiche e e dalla tradizione epica; sull'argomento si tornerà comunque in séguito.

²²⁹ A queste forme è forse possibile aggiungere l'eolica ἐπιστατα, probabilmente forma contratta da **ἐπισταταω* (το επισταταο è attestato in beotico; cf. Hajnal 1995, 82). Va poi ricordata la forma corinzia πυκτα (*DGE* 122.9), che potrebbe rappresentare un du. m. su tema **-της* (del tipo dell'omerico κορυστᾶ) ο, più probabilmente, **πυκτας* in pausa con omissione di sigma finale. Sulla base di queste due occorrenze, Wackernagel (1916, 219s.) si spingeva ad affermare «daß man mehrere griechische Dialekte unabhängig von einander zu einem Dual auf *-ā* gekommen sein ließe [...]. Hier ist annähernde chronologische Fixierung möglich. Da *-ā* seit dem Ende des V. Jahrhunderts

In attico, com'è noto, la desinenza regolare dei temi in *-a è *-ā. Poiché i temi in -a sono in grande maggioranza femminili, tale desinenza è presto passata, per estensione, a determinare il femminile – anche all'esterno della sua categoria naturale – in articoli, aggettivi e participi²³⁰. In particolare, anche per le trattazioni successive, sembra opportuno sottolineare ancora una volta che il duale si presenta come categoria sincretica²³¹ in greco fin dai suoi albori, e quella del genere è la classe morfologica che presenta maggiori limitazioni²³²: la situazione micenea è alquanto ambigua, ma sembra di poter affermare con un certo margine di sicurezza che una desinenza differenziata secondo il genere sia riscontrabile solo all'interno dei temi in -a – ovvero, <-(C)a-e> per i *nomina agentis* a suffisso *-της. Il greco omerico, se si eccettua questa desinenza maschile per i temi in -a, non distingue maschile e femminile in alcuna altra classe morfologica²³³. È dunque evidente che la creazione di un 'femminile' per il duale, al di fuori dei temi nominali in -a, è un'innovazione attica.

In particolare, l'introduzione di una distinzione di genere all'interno del numero duale in greco ha probabilmente un impulso più lontano, ed estraneo alla categoria stessa: i maschili dei temi in -a si distinguono al nom. sg. per la presenza nella desinenza del *-ς caratterizzante, appunto, il nom., in questo divergendo dai

zurückweicht, kann -a nicht wohl später als im V. Jahrhundert in den Homertext eingedrungen sein».

²³⁰ Si citerà qui, a titolo di esempio, una selezione di forme da Sofocle, che costituisce in questo senso un vero repertorio: si hanno così, per il sostantivo, ἀδελφαῖν (OC 1290) e ἀδελφοῖν (Ant. 13); per l'aggettivo possessivo, σαῖν (Tr. 1066) e σοῖν (OC 365); per il pronome relativo, αἴνπερ (OT 822) e ὅπερ (Ph. 591); infine, per i participi, θανούσαιν (El. 985) e θανόντων (Ant. 14), λελειμμένᾱ (Ant. 58), παρεστώσαιν (OC 1111) e παρεστώτων (El. 1367).

²³¹ Il termine potrebbe risultare, in questa sede, ambiguo: si intende qui 'sincretico' da un punto di vista funzionale (es., un'unica forma esprime sia il gen. che il dat. dei casi indiretti). Indubbiamente il duale greco presenta una flessione ridotta rispetto a quella teorizzabile per l'ie.; in alcuni casi, il greco ha direttamente evitato la forma trādita (si pensi al pronome di prima persona duale). In una prospettiva diacronica, dunque, la definizione di sincretismo sarebbe impropria, in quanto non è chiaro se determinate categorie siano state mutuate e poi assimilate, o direttamente escluse: sarà pertanto più conveniente limitarsi a stabilire che, in epoca storica, il duale è in greco una categoria minoritaria e, come si è già evidenziato, non si pone in un rapporto paritario né equipollente rispetto alle altre categorie di numero.

²³² Ma questo non stupisce; si è già osservato come nel pronome, che presenta il più alto grado di differenziazione morfologica rispetto al duale, il genere non sia espresso. In particolare, è noto che tipologicamente, all'interno delle classi naturali, il genere risulta subalterno rispetto al numero; così l'universale 32 di Greenberg: «whenever a verb agrees with a nominal subject or object in gender it also agrees in number» (cf. Harley-Ritter 2002, 483, 514ss.).

²³³ Deve essere considerata separatamente la forma ὄσσε, su cui cf. sopra.

temi in *-o*, dove maschile e femminile convergono. La distinzione di genere, e, nello specifico, del genere maschile, è dunque una prerogativa originaria di questi temi, condizionata dall'influsso del singolare; la proporzione indicata di séguito avrà successivamente agevolato la creazione della desinenza du. **-ā* con il valore aggiunto di 'femminile':

temi in <i>-o</i> (= maschili)	temi in <i>-a</i> (prevalentemente femminili)
desinenza du. (maschile) <i>*-ō</i>	desinenza du. (femminile) <i>*-ā</i> ²³⁴

Resta aperta tuttavia una questione centrale, ovvero come si ponga questa desinenza all'interno della storia della lingua greca, e precisamente: si tratta di un arcaismo, o di un'innovazione attica?

Si è postulata l'esistenza di una desinenza in **-ā* anche per i temi in *-a* in miceneo, sulla base di alcune tavolette contenenti la forma */ko-wa 2/*²³⁵: in un lemma di così alto uso, la variante potrebbe essere un espediente (anche puramente grafico) per giustificare una distinzione, in questo contesto estremamente pertinente, tra maschile e femminile²³⁶. Questa posizione 'temperata' può tuttavia essere portata all'estremo, se si ipotizza che la variante rispecchi una distinzione anche morfologica: una tale ricostruzione costituirebbe un comodo antecedente

²³⁴ Il parallelo tra la desinenza di nom. dei temi in *-a* nei diversi numeri deve aver agito in favore dell'ultima fase di adeguamento: di fronte a un parallelismo come *i-qi-ja 1 ~ *ἰππία – i-qi-jo 2 ~ *ἰππίω – i-qi-ja 3 ~ *ἰππιαί* (rispettivamente, in KN Sd 0405, 0415, 0403), il passo analogico da **-ō* ad **-ā* doveva risultare breve: «a stable morphological system tends to have inflectional paradigms anchored by well-defined extra-morphological (i.e., phonological, semantic, syntactic) properties, which make the morphological relations between (nets of) words easily accessible and learnable. [...] Analogy has a basic economic effect on a morphological system in that it generally extends the domain of application of extra-morphological properties. By spelling out the conditions for system adequacy, we are able to predict the conditions for analogical changes to take place. In this light, the role played by analogy is a central one in favoring the organization of paradigms» (Gaeta 2010, 156).

²³⁵ Le tavolette tradizionalmente citate sono PY Aa 759, 775, 795: Ab 372.B., 379.B, 558.B; KN Ai 754, per la forma *ko-wa 2 ~ /korwā?/* (Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 212; Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 52); a queste, Moralejo (*ibid.*) aggiunge PY Ab 745.B *pa-ke-te-ja ri-ne-ja 2 ~ etnonimo + /lineijā?/*; PY Ub 1318.1 *di-pte-ra 2 di-pte-ra 4, e .5 e-ra-pe-ja 2 ~ /diph^herā elaph^hejā?/*; KN Ap 618.2 *we-ra-te-ja 2*; KN Sd 4415.b *i-qi-ja mi-to-we-sa ~ /hik^{wj}ā?/* (ma, cf. sopra KN Sd 4401.b *i-qi-jo a-ja-me-no*).

²³⁶ «Un duel *κοῦρῶ 'deux jeunes filles' eût été (non seulement graphiquement, mais oralement) identique à 'deux jeunes gens'. De là vient que, graphiquement, KOWA fonctionne comme une sorte d'idéogramme, indifférent au nombre» (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 52; cf. anche Pisani 1959, 242ss.; Ruijgh 1967, 84 n.53).

della forma attica. Come si è tuttavia anticipato, la grafia rende impossibile il riconoscimento di una simile scissione, in quanto in una medesima sequenza <-(C)a> potrebbero essere celate le forme *-ǎ, *-ā, *-ας ed *-αι²³⁷. Lejeune (*Mémoires* II 52s.), Moralejo (1983, 209ss.) ed Hajnal (1995, 77ss.) hanno catalogato le occorrenze della sequenza <-(C)a> in presenza del quantificatore, o di altri elementi che suggeriscano la potenziale presenza di una forma di duale; resta evidente, in ogni caso, che non è possibile affermare niente di risolutivo²³⁸.

Per contro, alcune considerazioni di ordine negativo meritano attenzione:

- i. Innanzitutto, come si è evidenziato, per quanto sporadiche, le attestazioni di forme di duale femminile dei temi in *-a* concordano nel presentare una desinenza *-ō (miceneo, Esiodo, iscrizioni beotiche); tale desinenza è inoltre epigraficamente testimoniata nello stesso attico, nell'articolo (nella forma τὸ ταμία, cf. Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/2 366; Threatte 1996, 91-94²³⁹). Merita ricordare che le categorie pronominali, a cui l'articolo può essere induttivamente ascritto, sono tra le più conservative; pertanto, sembra ragionevole confermare quanto precedentemente stabilito, ovvero che *-ō era originariamente la desinenza dei temi in *-a*²⁴⁰;

²³⁷ «Kann nicht schlüssig widerlegt werden, dass Dualformen von Feminina auf /-a/ zumindest nicht auch durch <-(C)a> ausgedrückt werden können (was auch immer sich hinter dieser Schreibung verbirgt)» (Hajnal 1995, 81). Già in miceneo sono inoltre attestati ricorsi al plurale in contesti che semanticamente implicherebbero il duale: su tale uso facoltativo si tornerà oltre. Quel che preme rimarcare qui è che un ricorso al plurale in queste sedi non sarebbe affatto sorprendente.

²³⁸ «Bei den Feminina ist der Befund nicht eindeutig. Klar ist einzig ein Ausgang <-(C)o>. Er ist in Pylos und Knossos für Substantive und v.a. auch für Adjektive belegt» (Hajnal 1995, 81). Moralejo stesso invita alla cautela, sottolineando peraltro che, su 11 esempi, 8 appartengono a due stessi scriba (21 a Pilo, 128 a Cnosso); nessuna forma è invece attestata a Tebe, Micene o Tirinto: «the duals in *-a* could be a sub-standard archaism tied to individual or dialectal practice or preference» (1983, 214). Particolarmente interessante è indubbiamente il caso di KN Sd 4415.b *i-qi-ja*; Lejeune (*Mémoires* III 278) suggeriva di leggere in questa forma un aggettivo sostantivato, con ellissi del sostantivo *φορ- per 'carro': si dovrebbe dunque leggere /hikk^wjā (wok^hā)/, 'carro con cavalli'. L'ipotesi, indubbiamente suggestiva, sembra tuttavia eccessivamente speculativa.

²³⁹ L'*unicum* è stato registrato in I³ 138.15 (anteriore al 434), ad opera di Fourmont. Si tratterebbe di un caso isolato; la forma, tuttavia, «has been emended since the time of Boeckh to τὸ δὲ ταμία (Old Attic Alphabet), as Fourmont seems to have made numerous copying errors elsewhere in his text» (*ibid.*).

²⁴⁰ Una parte piuttosto significativa in questo senso dev'essere stata giocata dall'analogia con δῶο ed ἄμφω: cf. anche Meyer 1896, 479; Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 50; Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 84.

- ii. Come si è osservato, la desinenza du. in $*-\bar{a}$ è preminentemente, se non esclusivamente, attica²⁴¹. Se si asseconda l'ipotesi che $*-\bar{a}$ sia un arcaismo, restano da spiegare almeno due problemi; il primo, riguarda la relazione tra miceneo ed attico riguardo a questa presunta isoglossa, ed è parzialmente adombrato nel secondo problema, a mio avviso insormontabile, costituito dall'assenza di etacismo in questa forma (Wackernagel 1916, 217-221; Pisani 1959, 241ss.; Szemerényi 1966, 221). Ipotizzare infatti che $*-\bar{a}$ si sia preservato (senza diventare $*-\eta$) all'interno di una desinenza – ovvero in un luogo necessariamente sensibile e 'protetto' – sebbene possibile, sembra improbabile, e in aperto contrasto con quanto accaduto, sempre peraltro all'interno del duale, alla desinenza verbale $*-\tau\eta\nu < *-\tau\bar{a}\nu$. L'accettazione di $*-\bar{a}$ in miceneo implica una successiva perdita della desinenza, e nuova 'creazione' (analogica) della stessa in attico: in altri termini, non sembra che si possa stabilire alcuna connessione genetica tra la pseudo-desinenza micenea e la desinenza attica, in quanto in attico avremmo inesorabilmente $**-\eta$. L'ipotesi ' $*-\bar{a}$ arcaismo' di Pisani sembra dunque da respingere.
- iii. Se $*-\bar{a}$ fosse presente già in miceneo, dovremmo comunque ipotizzare per questa desinenza una genesi differente da $*-a-e$, attestato in miceneo, come si è visto, in forma non contratta: ' $*-\bar{a}$ miceneo' dovrebbe dunque essere analogico sulla desinenza $*-\bar{o}$ dei temi in $*-o$, ovvero una neo-formazione. Si dovrebbe quindi supporre che un simile processo di creazione analogica sia stato già operativo in tempi antichi ed esteso a più dialetti, salvo tuttavia essere del tutto assente dalle nostre attestazioni, se si eccettua la sua radicata e ben documentata nell'attico di quasi un millennio dopo. Sembra dunque che, in un simile quadro, le premesse non verificabili prevalgano sul dato concreto.

²⁴¹ «Grundsätzlich sind die inschriftlichen Belege äusserst spärlich und beschränken sich vorwiegend auf das Attische» (Hajnal 1995, 82). Che, peraltro, anche l'attico presenti tracce della situazione antica, testimoniata dal miceneo, è visibile nelle forme epigrafiche di pronomi e nome in $*-\bar{o}$ del tipo τὸ ταμία (cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler 1900, 95s.; Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/2 366).

iv. Infine, non è secondario il fatto che, in miceneo, i temi in *-a* possedessero già una desinenza a noi attestata con certezza, ovvero **-ō̄*; ipotizzare una seconda desinenza **-ā̄* significa ammettere un caso di ridondanza proprio in una categoria minoritaria come il duale, il che sembra poco probabile. Se non avessimo la prova autorevole dell'attico, in cui il ricorso ad **-ā̄* è cospicuo e pervasivo, non credo si porrebbe il problema di ipotizzare una simile desinenza in miceneo, in quanto, da un lato, la desinenza di duale nei temi in *-a* è già soddisfatta e, dall'altro, le forme in cui la grafia <-(C)a> si presenta sono perfettamente comprensibili alternativamente, ovvero come nominativi plurali.

Resta, nel tentativo di identificazione di queste poche forme come duali, un margine di pregiudizio, che vuole una *regolarità* sottesa all'uso del duale piuttosto che del plurale²⁴², per cui si dà per scontato che, in tempi antichi (in miceneo), quando la categoria era più vitale (altro assunto non verificabile), in presenza di due elementi l'impiego del duale fosse *probabile*. Tale serie di postulati, tuttavia, dall'ipotetica 'regolarità' nell'impiego del duale a una sua maggiore presenza nel greco di epoca micenea, è tutt'altro che evidente.

La desinenza dei temi in *-o*, come si è visto, è tra le più stabili per il duale, non solo in greco – complice anche la sua marcata riconoscibilità fonetica, e la sua specificità all'interno del paradigma. Tale tendenza è nota in linguistica sotto il nome di *principio di trasparenza del paradigma*: le *parti principali*, ovvero le cellule-base della flessione morfologica, sono interconnesse e vincolate da

²⁴² Questo approccio è tanto più evidente in Moralejo (1983, 209s.); lo studioso afferma più volte la necessità di usare cautela nella confutazione degli undici esempi selezionati («the most orthodox and handy thing to do would be to see in it [one of the entries], despite the entry 2, a plural form ending in *-ai*»), ma successivamente sostiene la *regolarità* nella concordanza di categorie nominali ed 'accidenti' corrispondenti, salvo ammettere, poco dopo, che «the pondered and singularized application of these arguments – error, anacoluthon, syntactical laxity, lack of coherence between grammatical form and numerical entry – may rebut, one by one, the eleven examples». Sembra, insomma, che il ricorso alla regolarità sia spesso in queste indagini uno strumento non obiettivo, evocato a difesa di deduzioni teoriche, aprioristico e contrario al principio di uniformità (Ringe 2004, 1112), che dissuade dall'applicare a stadi linguistici non perfettamente noti di una lingua fenomeni che non siano validi e comprovati per le stratificazioni successive; su tutto questo si tornerà più estensivamente in fine di capitolo.

meccanismi di reciproca deducibilità²⁴³; «because principal parts are a distillation of the implicative relations that exist among the members of a lexeme’s paradigm, they also reveal an important domain of typological variation in morphology» (Finkel-Stump 2009, 13).

All’interno della flessione nominale, dunque, la desinenza **-ō* dei temi in *-o* ha sicuramente costituito un ruolo propulsore in quanto parte principale. È plausibile che questa posizione privilegiata abbia giocato da *trigger* nella successiva grammaticalizzazione del duale in altre categorie, tra cui quella dei temi in *-a*: «where a paradigm involves some aberrant alternation, speakers may lose the sense of connection between different parts of the paradigm, leaving them stranded» (Baerman-Corbett 2011, 14)²⁴⁴. In prospettiva diacronica, la stessa desinenza micenea **-ō* per i temi in *-a* potrebbe essere stata, originariamente, esito di un prestito analogico (come d’altra parte si può osservare nelle ‘artificiose’ forme beotiche del tipo $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\omega$), con conseguenti adeguamenti²⁴⁵. In definitiva, è quindi possibile postulare un’evoluzione di questo tipo:

Nom. du. temi in <i>-a</i> (Miceneo)	Mic. <i>*-ō</i> , <i>*-ae</i> (m.)	distinzione di <i>genere</i> al duale sul modello del singolare (<i>*-ας ≠ *-α</i>)
Nom. du. temi in <i>-a</i> (Omero)	<i>*-ā</i> (m.) < Mic. <i>*-ae</i>	contrazione in tempi antichi, non più rinvenibile metricamente
Nom. du. temi in <i>-a</i> (Attico)	Pgr. <i>*-ō</i> ≠ Att. <i>*-ā</i>	adeguamento analogico sui temi in <i>-o</i> : temi in <i>-o</i> : nom. du. <i>*-ō</i> = temi in <i>-a</i> : nom. du. <i>*-ā</i>
Nom. du. <i>femminile</i> (flessione nominale)	Att. <i>*-ā</i>	Creazione di genere femminile non limitatamente ai temi in <i>-a</i> (innovazione attica)

²⁴³ «We cannot but conclude that linguistic forms may and should be studied as types of patterning, apart from the associated functions» (Sapir 1921, 60).

²⁴⁴ «The attraction of analogical patterns may be due to the fact that they impose a measure of order on the typically arbitrary sound-meaning correspondences in a language [...]. This structural alignment will be very strong in word families, since words can be aligned at phonetic, phonological, categorial and inflectional feature points. In linguistic terms, the more shared features of different types a set of words has, the more likely the set will be used as the basis of analogical modeling» (Blevins&Blevins 2009, 5s.).

²⁴⁵ L’estensione di un tipo morfologicamente dominante tra categorie consimili è, come si è già evidenziato, tipologicamente plausibile e fortunato. Questo è tanto più vero all’interno di sistemi flessivi, dove la continuità tra categorie è supportato dall’espressione, tramite morfemi, di più elementi compatibili: «the type of similarity relations that are relevant in supporting analogy [...] must be “structured” in the sense that supporting analogs must all share a set of properties that are reliably correlated with class membership» (Albright 2009, 212).

2.

La desinenza <-(C)a-e> si trova attestata nei temi in -a in alcune tavolette di Cnosso²⁴⁶:

KN Am 821.1 /e-qe-ta-e, e-ne-ka, e-mi-to VIR 2 /ek^wetae/ ~ *ἐπήτα-ε²⁴⁷
KN C 1044 .a], we-qe-ta-e /werk^wetae/ ~ *ἐργάτα-ε²⁴⁸
KN Sp 4451 .b wo-ra-e / pa-ra-[ku]-we-jo²⁴⁹

La desinenza soddisfa originariamente, come si è evidenziato, la necessità di definire il maschile dei temi in -a (specialmente nei temi in *-της), già rappresentato al singolare da una forma differente dal femminile²⁵⁰. Questa prerogativa è variamente attestata all'interno del panorama greco; come si è visto, se ne trovano esempi in miceneo, in corinzio (πυκτα, DGE 122.9), nei poemi omerici²⁵¹

²⁴⁶ Cf. Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 53ss. e III 279s.; altri due esempi sono riportati da Hajnal (1995, 75 (2): PY Ub 1315.3b, e (3): KN Sd 4404.b), ma il riconoscimento di una possibile desinenza <-(C)a-e> è in questi casi più oscuro.

²⁴⁷ «The reading e-qe-ta-e in KN Am 821. 1 (formerly classified As), which was regarded with suspicion because of the unexpected form it produced for the dual of a masc. ā-stem, has been restored [...] That the word is a dual, is evident from the numeral 2» (Baumbach 1971, 165).

²⁴⁸ Cf. Baumbach 1971, 165.

²⁴⁹ «wo-ra-e KN Sp 4451, nom. dual of [wo]-ra, probably to be restored in Sp 4452, with the ideogram *151 CORNU, probably a horn» (Baumbach 1971, 177); «la meilleure interprétation est celle qui a été, dès 1961, proposée par Gallavotti: nom d'objet féminin duel worae [...] para[ku]wejo (fém. duel) 'en...'; appartenance de l'objet à l'équipement du char rendue probable et par le lieu de trouvaille des textes, et par la description d'un char (iqija) comme worawesa ('pourvu de wora') en KN Se 880» (Lejeune, *Mémoires* III 280; cf. anche Gallavotti 1961, 177s.).

²⁵⁰ «À tout le moins pourrait-on arguer que les masculins de la première déclinaison sont en majorité des noms d'agents, et que l'analogie a joué entre noms d'agents en -τήρ (duel -τήρε, myc. -te-re) et noms d'agent en -τάς (duel myc. -ta-e): rien, jusqu'ici, n'établit que le mycénien ait eu d'autres duels en ...a-e que ceux de ces noms d'agents» (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 56; cf. anche Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 84).

²⁵¹ «Ces formes ont parfois été considérées comme éolismes dans la mesure où le duel n'était très probablement plus employé à l'époque ionienne de la composition épique et où l'achéen paraît attester d'autres terminaisons» (Wathelet 1970, 237). Wackernagel (1916, 56) e Wathelet (*ibid.*) sostengono anche la possibilità che questa desinenza altro non sia che un tardo rifacimento attico: tale soluzione sarebbe motivata dall'impossibilità di sostituire *ā del tipo αἰκητά con *ἄε: d'altra parte, se la desinenza coincide con quella soluta micenea <(C)a-e>, la contrazione potrebbe essere avvenuta in qualunque momento tra XII ed VIII sec. ca., a seconda di quando si voglia fissare la redazione dell'*Iliade* e di quale/i dialetto/i si ritenga responsabile per la preservazione di tali forme.

(αἰχμητᾶ, *Il.* VII 281, difeso anche metricamente; κορυστά²⁵², *Il.* XIII 201 e XVIII 163; ὠκυπέτα²⁵³, *Il.* VIII 42 e XIII 24)²⁵⁴, in tragedia e commedia (στρατηλάτᾶ, *Eur. Ph.* 1362, πρεσβύτᾶ e φυλέτᾶ, *Ar. Av.* 337 e 368); l'impressione più netta che se ne ricava è comunque che la desinenza sia stata originariamente pertinente proprio ai temi maschili in *-της (cf. Leukart 1975, 175ss.)²⁵⁵.

Un'eventuale estensione di questa desinenza anche ai temi femminili è stata suggerita per il miceneo, ma rimane molto incerta; Ventris e Chadwick suggeriscono che la sequenza <-(C)a-e> rappresenti una semplice variante per il nom. pl. <-(C)-ai>, «possibly influenced by the dual of masculine a-stems» (Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 516); estremamente interessante in questo senso la proposta di Hajnal, che suggerisce di rintracciare nei temi in *-tā(s) due tipi di flessione in comeptizione (cf. anche Morpurgo 1961)²⁵⁶.

In ogni caso, la desinenza <-(C)a-e> sembra originariamente propria del maschile, e sulla sua struttura, in apparenza piuttosto trasparente, non vige accordo: una linea 'omologizzante', cui si è accennato precedentemente, vede nella grafia micenea il risultato di *-(C)-ai-e>, dove *-ai sarebbe la desinenza canonica ereditata dall'ie., cui si sarebbe sommata la desinenza degli atematici *-ě ad ulteriore specificazione (Lejeune, *Mémoires* III 280). Una tale ipotesi è possibile, ma

²⁵² L'epiteto si trova in fine di verso, dunque la quantità non è metricamente rilevabile; tuttavia, entrambe le volte appare nel sintagma δύο Αἴαντε κορυστά, in cui il valore duale è semanticamente garantito. L'aggettivo, inoltre, appare soltanto in questo sintagma formulare, in Τρώων ἔλεν ἄνδρα κορυστήν, in *clausola* (3x), e nei composti ἱπποκορυστής e χαλκοκορυστής.

²⁵³ Valgono le stesse premesse di cui sopra: la desinenza ricorre in corrispondenza del *longum* del secondo metro, ma è seguita da un gruppo di *muta cum liquida*; tuttavia, il contesto suggerisce qui l'utilizzo di un duale, ed anche in questo caso ci troviamo in sede formulare (ὕπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκοπόδ' ἵππω / ὠκυπέτα χρυσέησιν ἐθείρησιν κομόωντε).

²⁵⁴ Si segnala inoltre una forma estremamente importante su cui si tornerà in séguito, ovvero la forma associativa Ἀτρεΐδᾶ (*Il.* I 16, 375, XIX 310), costruita sul patronimica, che trova un seducente parallelo nella forma euripidea Θεσειδᾶ (*Hec.* 123): cf. par. 2.4 e 2.5.

²⁵⁵ L'origine dei temi maschili in -a sarebbe da postulare nei collettivi in *-ā, con influsso del nom. sg. sigmatico: così Κρήτᾶ : "area di Creta" = Κρητᾶς : "cretese" (cf. Leukart 1975; Hajnal 2005, 91).

²⁵⁶ In particolare, Hajnal (1995, 75, 89-105), comparando le situazioni vedica e micenea, sostiene l'interferenza di due modelli flessivi – il primo, a noi meglio noto, preservatosi nei temi maschili, con nom. sigmatico *-tās e gen. *-tao, e il secondo riservato agli astratti femminili e costruito quindi al nom. sulla desinenza del collettivo *-tah₂ > *-tā (si comparino gli omerici ἱππότα, μητιέτα), e con gen. sigmatico *-tas: «damit scheinen die Konsequenzen klar zu sein: wir finden tatsächlich innerhalb der griechischen Sprachüberlieferung deutliche Anzeichen vor, dass die Flexion der ā-Maskulinen ursprünglich nicht so normiert wie im ersten Jahrtausend ist» (Hajnal 1995, 104). La sopravvivenza del duale in iato sarebbe stata ammissibile sulla base di altre forme in iato già presenti nella flessione del singolare, specificamente il gen. /-tā'os/ e il dat. /-tā'i/.

sembra più tortuosa rispetto al dato pratico in nostro possesso: esistono forme (plausibilmente di duale) che si presentano nella veste grafica <-(C)a-e>, e sembrerebbero far pensare a un prestito dai temi consonantici²⁵⁷. Che la desinenza atematica *-ĕ sia stata particolarmente favorita all'interno della categoria del duale è già stato menzionato; inoltre, tale desinenza è passibile di fluttuazioni, per esempio per quanto riguarda il genere (cf. maschili dei temi in -a, se si accetta che questa sia l'origine del mic. <(C)a-e>), o l'espressione del duale in altre classi morfologiche: si citano nuovamente a titolo di esempio le già menzionate forme $\nu\omega\epsilon$ e $\sigma\varphi\omega\epsilon$, conii che attestano in maniera incontrovertibile che tale desinenza veniva percepita come marca caratterizzante il duale, al di là delle singole categorie morfologiche²⁵⁸.

Hajnal (1995, 84s.) sottolinea che la produttività della desinenza *-ae subisce un arresto nel corso del primo millennio, e «die Möglichkeit, dass es in späterem /-ā/ in Formen wie hom. ἄτρειδα weiterlebt, wird bezweifelt». Che la desinenza finisca per non essere più produttiva è comprensibile: lo iato tra due vocali anteriori, in epoca arcaica, doveva essere sempre meno tollerato, ed una desinenza specifica per una categoria così ristretta non doveva risultare ergonomicamente utile. Per contro, non sembra così improbabile rintracciarne le vestigia in una forma come ἄτρειδα²⁵⁹: ipotizzare che ci si trovi qui di fronte ad un

²⁵⁷ Su una linea simile si pone in effetti Ruijgh (1979, 75s.), che per giustificare lo iato ipotizza una desinenza */-ā^he/, dove l'aspirazione intervocalica non sarebbe prodotto di caduta di una sibilante vera e propria, ma analogica alle desinenze in iato prodotte dai temi in sibilante: si consideri ad esempio <tiriowee> ~ /tiriow^he/, PY Ta 641.2.

²⁵⁸ Questo è altrettanto vero in prospettiva sincronica: come si vedrà meglio nelle analisi statistiche, una delle categorie in cui il duale è indubbiamente meglio attestato è quella del participio presente attivo, sia nei poemi omerici che nei tragici: tale categoria è peraltro rappresentata nei poemi omerici da collocazioni metricamente stabili (cf. oltre). Che il duale sia maggiormente rappresentato nei participi che nei sostantivi colpisce, ma non stupisce: la marca di duale degli atematici doveva infatti in questa sede risultare particolarmente efficace e riconoscibile.

²⁵⁹ «Les duels homériques en *-ā, tous masculins (dans lesquels on a vu tantôt des atticismes, tantôt des vestiges d'une finale *-ai indo-européenne), pourraient être les héritiers des duels mycéniens en -ae» (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 56 n.71; Pisani 1959, 243). L'obiezione di Hajnal (*ibid.*), del tutto ragionevole, è che nessuna delle forme omeriche in *-ā può essere sciolta metricamente in *-ae; d'altra parte, due vocali contigue e in fine di parola facilmente avranno subito abbreviamento in iato e successiva contrazione, anche in fasi antiche: sembra quindi ammissibile che le forme in questione potessero presentarsi già contratte all'epoca della redazione dei poemi. D'altra parte, che i tre epiteti già menzionati (αἰχμητᾶ, κορυστᾶ e ὄκλυπέτᾶ) rispecchino l'antica formazione del *nomen agentis* in *-της con des. *-ae sembra indubbio: l'unica forma raminga resterebbe quindi il duale inclusivo ἄτρειδα, per il quale è tuttavia molto più verosimile ipotizzare l'adozione della stessa desinenza comune agli altri maschili in -a che non una ipotetica desinenza ereditata in *-ā o, tantomeno, un'intrusione della

atticismo sembra infatti prematuro, considerando la posizione della forma in luoghi omerici sensibili, e plausibilmente antichi²⁶⁰. Che la forma rispecchi invece un riflesso della desinenza in questione, pure già contratta, sembra verosimile. Molto dipende, ovviamente, dall'interpretazione che si vuole accordare alle forme di maschili in **-ā* attiche: si tratta di generalizzazioni della neo-desinenza **-ā* comune dei temi in *-a*²⁶¹, o eredi dell'antico **-ae*?

La seconda possibilità sembra seducente, se si accetta che la desinenza **-ǎ* dei duali atematici sia stata pervasiva e, come si evidenziava sopra, abbia giocato grande parte nella composizione delle forme di duale anche di altre categorie²⁶²: si ritiene, tuttavia, come stabilito sopra, che la desinenza generale per i temi in *-a* sia una neo-formazione attica analogica sui temi in *-o*; la desinenza duale dei temi in **-της* ereditati – che, come già menzionato, non rappresentano che una percentuale decisamente minoritaria del tema – a sèguito di regolare contrazione sarà confluita nel più ampio bacino della desinenza **-ā* dei temi in *-a*, da cui sarà stata ormai indistinta²⁶³.

In conclusione, si accettano in questa sede le seguenti tesi.

- i. La situazione micenea rispecchia verosimilmente un momento di fermento, in cui l'organizzazione interna delle categorie di duale non era

neo-formazione attica **-ā* per i temi in *-a*, proprio in una forma di indubbia antichità come questo duale inclusivo.

²⁶⁰ Il. I 16, 375 e XIX 310, con varianti testuali testimoniate anche in I 17, IV 437, XXIII 272.

²⁶¹ É questa la posizione di Wackernagel, che vede nelle sporadiche forme in *-ā* omeriche infiltrazioni attiche intervenute in uno stadio tardo su di un testo già maturo: «man könnte ein Indizium für Echtheit des homerischen *-ā* darin finden, daß Homer die Bildung auf das Maskulinum beschränkt und damit tatsächlich ein alteres Entwicklungsstadium darstellt, wodurch das Attische auch hindurch gegangen ist» (1916, 219).

²⁶² Questo tipo di procedimento può essere identificato come *'similarity-biased analogy'*: «in any process that distinguishes between categories, the rate of error in element identification or manipulation due to noise will be greater between more similar categories relative to less similar categories» (Wedel 2009, 89).

²⁶³ Non di questa opinione Hajnal (1995, 105), che generalizza per l'attico la conclusione che **-ā < *-ae* ereditato per contrazione, sia nei maschili che nei femminili: «sollten die erwähnten homerischen und attischen Dualia auf */-ā/* tatsächlich aus älterem **/-ǎe/* kontrahiert sein, würde dies sogar bedeuten, dass das Dualmorphem nie zu **/-āe/* ausgeglichen worden wäre. Wie gesagt ist zumindest dualisches */-ā/* des Attischen vorteilhafter als analogisches Neubliding nach thematischen */-ō/* aufzufassen. Denn attisch steht */-ā/* bei femininen *a*-Stamme, wo */-ǎ'e/* gerade nicht ursprünglich ist, sondern geneuert wäre».

ancora giunta a compimento, e le singole classi registrano ancora un certo grado di oscillazione nell'adozione dell'una o dell'altra marca desinenziale.

- ii. La desinenza **-ae* per i maschili dei temi in *-a* era diffusa in miceneo, e costituisce l'antecedente degli epiteti omerici in **-ā* αἰχμητῶ, κορυστῶ, ὠκυπέτῶ.
- iii. L'omerico Ἄτρειδᾶ trova la sua genesi nell'estensione della desinenza **-ae* > **-ā*, legittimata dal tema in *-a* maschile (anche se non con uscita in **-της*).
- iv. Le forme di duale in **-ā* ipotizzate da Moralejo sono da respingersi, in quanto non sostenute da elementi vincolanti, e fondate su un 'pregiudizio' deduttivo (obbligatorietà del duale in miceneo) non verificabile.
- v. La desinenza **-ā* imperversante in attico è una neoformazione analogica, e non un arcaismo (*pace* Pisani), come suggeriscono il mantenimento della desinenza antica **-ō*, già attestata in miceneo, nelle iscrizioni in pronome, articolo, participio (e la sua presenza in dialetti altri dall'attico, testimoniata da Esiodo e dalle iscrizioni beotiche).
- vi. La desinenza **-ā* attica ha origine differente dalla desinenza **-ā* attestata nei poemi omerici per i maschili dei temi in *-a*; precisamente, la desinenza attica sarà frutto di un adeguamento analogico volto a parificare temi in *-a/-o*: prova emblematica ne è la sempre maggiore identificazione della desinenza **-ā* attica con il *femminile*, fino alla vera e propria determinazione del genere.
- vii. Questo stesso adeguamento analogico avrà determinato l'esaurimento della desinenza **-ae* dei temi maschili in *-a* — classe piuttosto esigua che plausibilmente non necessitava di una desinenza esclusiva; per

contro, in ambito attico la desinenza si sarebbe, e sarà, verosimilmente contratta in $*-\bar{a}$, per confluire semplicemente nel più ampio bacino del duale dei temi in $-a$.

Il nuovo risalto funzionale conferito al genere in Attico si sarà verosimilmente innescato in termini di uso frequente in cui l'opposizione si rivelava necessaria ($\kappa\omicron\upsilon\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma/\kappa\acute{o}\rho\eta$); essenziale risulta in questo senso il caso di $\tau\omicron\theta\epsilon\acute{o}$, uno dei duali epigraficamente più frequenti. La forma è normale in riferimento a Demetra e Kore, e il tema è originariamente indifferente al genere; successivamente, però, le testimonianze epigrafiche registrano un incremento nel ricorso al neonato femminile, specialmente nella forma obliqua $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\nu$ ²⁶⁴.

Si sottolinea, incidentalmente, che da una situazione micenea indubbiamente asimmetrica e disomogenea, in cui si può riconoscere con certezza un'unica opposizione forte, ovvero tra desinenza 'comune' $*-\bar{o}$ e desinenza specifica per il maschile dei temi in $-a$, $*-ae$, si passa ad una situazione attica del tutto armonica, in cui l'opposizione centrale avviene, bilanciata e speculare, tra temi in $-o$ e temi in $-a$: si passa, dunque, da un'opposizione di genere decisamente sbilanciata (m. dei soli temi in $-a$ ²⁶⁵ <> m./f. dei temi in $-o$, f. dei temi in $-a$) a un'opposizione funzionale. Il processo di regolarizzazione delle classi morfologiche non potrebbe essere più evidente.

1.2.5 Casi obliqui.

In greco, com'è noto, un'unica desinenza esprime il duale per tutti i casi obliqui. La tendenza al sincretismo delle forme per il duale è uniforme nel dominio

²⁶⁴ « $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\nu$ occurs once in a private dedication of about the middle of the fourth century and in a graffito of about 300 BC, and it also appears very rarely in dedications after 200 BC. In dedications of the Roman Period occur both $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\nu$ and $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\tilde{\iota}\nu$, the latter less frequently. A single decree of the Augustan Period has $\tau\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\nu$ once alongside two occurrences of the feminine plural, but a sacred law, two imperial letters and two decrees have only the classical forms $\tau\omicron\theta\epsilon\acute{o}$, $\tau\omicron\tilde{\iota}\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\tilde{\iota}\nu$ » (Threatte 1996, 18f.).

²⁶⁵ E temi consonantici, se si accetta che nella desinenza <(C)- $a-e$ > la componente $*-\check{e}$ sia, ancora una volta, la desinenza atematica, < $*-h_1$ >.

ie.²⁶⁶: gen. e loc. presentano un'unica forma *-ows in antico indiano ed antico slavo, laddove in lituano ed avestico il loc. si distingue dal gen. per l'assenza di *-s finale²⁶⁷. In dat./abl./strum. si riscontra invece l'interazione dei morfemi a base *-bh/*-m identificati da Meillet e che, pur risultando produttivi in tutta l'area ie., adempiono a funzioni talmente diversificate nelle varie lingue da non lasciarsi facilmente ridurre ad un archetipo comune²⁶⁸.

La desinenza di duale per i casi obliqui è sincretica in greco anche rispetto ai diversi temi²⁶⁹; le occorrenze nominali omeriche in casi obliqui sono tuttavia 37_x (piuttosto sporadiche, se paragonate alle 275_x di forme nominali in casi diretti; si consideri che la sola forma ὄσσε appare nei poemi 57_x), ed il suo utilizzo è significativamente più variegato nell'*Odissea* che nell'*Iliade*²⁷⁰. In attico, al contrario, il ricorso ai casi indiretti del duale subisce una rivalutazione, ed il suo impiego è di uso comune²⁷¹: tale processo è probabilmente legato anche alla smaccata riconoscibilità della desinenza, isolata e non in competizione con altre classi morfologiche²⁷².

²⁶⁶ Con una generale tendenza a differenziare gen./loc. da una parte, e dat./abl./strum. dall'altra (Dubois 1977, 169); come si osserva dalla tabella, solo il lituano effettua un'ulteriore differenziazione accentuativa tra dat. e strum.: si tratta con ogni probabilità di un'innovazione (Stang 1966, 183).

²⁶⁷ Ved. *vrk-ayōs* (<*oyous, *-oy suffisso pronominale + *-os), lit. gen. *dviejaus* ≠ loc. *pusiau*; cf. Gray 1932, 195s.; Szemerényi 1996, 185.

²⁶⁸ Meillet definisce queste forme «types de caractère semi-adverbial»: cf. Cuny 1906, 26ss.; Meillet 1915, 298-300; Gray 1932, 191; Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/2 186-188, 262-269.

²⁶⁹ Nonché (ma questo non stupisce) rispetto ai generi: non si danno casi di duali obliqui per il femminile, e solo uno per il neutro, βλεφάρουιν. La neutralizzazione dell'opposizione tra gen e dat. non va sottovalutata: «nowhere else in Greek are the syntactical restrictions upon the use of case-forms so relaxed» (Levin 1971, 36ss.). In proposito, osserva Deplazes (1991, 47) che «-οιν wurde in ältester Zeit nur in der thematische Deklination und in dat. Funktion verwendet».

²⁷⁰ Merita rilevare che si tratta unicamente di duali naturali: 2_x βλεφάρουιν (*Il.* X 187, *Od.* XVII 490), 3_x ἡμιόνοιν (*Od.* VI 82, VII 2, VIII 124), 5_x ἵπποιν (*Il.* V 13, 107, XIX 396, XXIII 362, *Od.* XV 182), 2_x ὀφθαλμοῖν (*Od.* IV 115, 154), 8_x ποδοῖν (*Il.* XIV 228, 477, XV 18, XVIII 537, XXI 271, XXIII 770, *Od.* XVI 6, XIX 444), 2_x Σειρήνοιν (*Od.* XII 52, 167), 1_x σταθοῖν (*Od.* VI 19), 14_x ὄμοιν (*Il.* V 622, VIII 194, XIII 511, XV 308, XVI 40, 64, 560, 663, XVII 126, XIX 412, *Od.* VI 219, X 262, XIV 277, XXI 118). La desinenza è attestata anche nella flessione pronominale: 7_x ἀλλήλοιν (*Il.* X 65, XIII 708, XVI 765, XXII 128, *Od.* XVIII 38, XIX 384, XXI 15), 2_x ἀμφοτέρουιν (*Il.* V 207, *Od.* XX 327), 4_x τοῖν (*Il.* XI 110, XIII 66, XXIII 336, *Od.* XVIII 34).

²⁷¹ Si consideri, solo a titolo di esempio, che il numerale non appare mai declinato per i casi obliqui nei poemi omerici: per contro, in tragedia e commedia, δύο appare 103_x (13_x Eschilo, 11_x Sofocle, 42_x Euripide, 37_x Aristofane), δυοῖν 72_x (13_x Eschilo, 14_x Sofocle, 40_x Euripide, 5_x Aristofane).

²⁷² In quanto innovazione greca: cf. Deplazes 1998, 106-108, 172-177.

Forme di casi indiretti di duale sono state sospettate da voci autorevoli nella sequenza <-(C)o-i>, che costituirebbe il precedente dell'omerico *-οιυ²⁷⁶. Una forma di dat. du. potrebbe essere rappresentata da *a-pi-qo-ro-i* nella sequenza:

PY Fr 1205 *a-pi-qo-ro-i, we-ja-re-pe 2* /amp^{hik}woloι/~ * /ἀμφίπολοι/?²⁷⁷

Hajnal (1995, 61ss.) sottolinea tuttavia che nulla impedisce che ci si trovi qui di fronte a un semplice dat. pl. con lenizione della sibilante, nella forma /amp^{hik}woloι^{hi}/²⁷⁸. Come si è visto a proposito dei temi in *-a, gli unici casi ammissibili di duali esistono laddove sia possibile escludere sovrapposizioni con altre classi morfologiche (Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 49ss.): tracce di una desinenza *-oi devono quindi essere ricercate nei temi in *-a o consonantici, dove ogni tipo di congruenza con il dat. pl. <*-oi^{hi}> venga conseguentemente esclusa²⁷⁹. I temi consonantici non offrono alcun esempio riconducibile alla desinenza in questione²⁸⁰. Un caso emblematico è effettivamente rappresentato dalla forma *wa-na-so-i* presente 6x nella serie piliota Fr²⁸¹, per la quale si è postulata una derivazione dal tema /wanassǎ/, 'regina'²⁸².

²⁷⁶ Così Lejeune, *Mémoires* II 59ss.; Chantraine 1961, 52; Palmer 1963, 248; Ruijgh 1967, 78s., 84s.; forme di dat. du. sono state sospettate in *te-o-i*, PY Fr 1226 (Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 203), e di strum. du. in *se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-i*, PY Ta 707, Ta 714 («decorative motifs of ivory and gold on furniture: probably -karaāphi, -karaōiīn 'heads (of lions and another animal)', from a fem. stem karaā, but ka-ra-a-pi could be for kraa(t)phi (Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 180; Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 343, 395, 408; Lejeune, *Mémoires* I 171, 342) e [qo]-u-ka-ra-oi, PY Ta 714 (Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 180; Ventris-Chadwick 1973, 335, 407).

²⁷⁷ «Mit *a-pi-qo-ro-i* wären demnach die beiden Kultdienerinnen bezeichnet, welche stellvertretend für die Göttin Opfergaben empfangen» (Hajnal 1995, 61s.).

²⁷⁸ La teoria si trova già in Ruijgh 1967, 76-84; Szemerényi 1966: 217-225; Deplazes 1991, 172-177.

²⁷⁹ Al contrario, che ci si trovi qui di fronte a un dat. pl. sembra plausibile; numerosi sono i casi in cui il ricorso al duale viene evitato nei casi indiretti in miceneo, soprattutto nei casi di nomi di persona (cf. Hajnal, *ibid.*). Occorre tuttavia sottolineare che l'esistenza di una forma di gen./dat. du. mic. *-oi, sulla base dell'omerico *-οιυ, è di per sé un'ipotesi.

²⁸⁰ «Somit bleiben die mykenischen Tafeln auf den ersten Blick fuer den nachweis obliquer Dualformen auf /-oii(n)/ wenigstens fuer die dritte Deklinationsklasse unergiebig» (Hajnal 1995, 67).

²⁸¹ PY Fr 1219, 1222, 1227, 1228, 1235, 1251.

²⁸² «Pas d'exemple du génitif-datif sauf *peut-être* dans la série Fr de Pylos si, comme on l'a pensé, *wanasoi* (1222, 1227, 1228, 1235, 1251: scribe 2) avec variante *wanosoi* (1219) y appartient à *wanassa* [«The use in Cypriote of *ᾗασσα*, or more correctly *ῥάνασσα*, is well established», cf. Bowra 1934, 54s.]; en ce cas, forme oblique *ῥανάσσοιιν* (semblable à celle du type thématique), impliquant une forme de cas direct *ῥανάσσω (comme *τορπέζω*, etc.)» (Lejeune, *Mémoires* III 275; II 61s.; cf. anche Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 173; Ruijgh 1967, 85; Dubois 1977, 171s., 184s.). Tuttavia, la serie riguarda

Una possibile forma di duale, con desinenza di origine differente da quella in *-ουιν, è stata sospettata nella forma *a₃-ke-u*, che accompagna un sostantivo al duale (**τρίποδε) in una tavoletta piliota:

PY Ta 641.1 *ti-ri-po-de, a₃-ke-u, ke-re-si-jo, we-ke *201^{VAS} 2 /aigeus/*

La forma rappresenterebbe uno strumentale di duale, il cui significato sarebbe da ricondursi ad αῖξ quanto all'aspetto dei tripodi in questione (muniti di «Ziegenkopfpotomen»; cf. Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 169; Hajnal 1995, 67). La possibilità è indubbiamente suggestiva, data la sua compatibilità con la desinenza trādita per il gen. du., *-ows. L'iscrizione costituisce in ogni caso un terreno di dibattito estremamente interessante, in quanto solo due possibilità sono ammissibili: o *a₃-ke-u* rappresenta una forma di duale, ed in questo caso avremmo qui conservata una desinenza non altrimenti nota in greco per la categoria; o si tratta di un plurale, che tuttavia concorda con un duale, ad ulteriore conferma e attestazione della caratura sufficiente e non necessaria della categoria già in miceneo.

In epoca storica, forme oblique di duale sono variamente attestate nei diversi dialetti²⁸³:

donazioni di olio, a divinità o santuari, con indicazioni spaziali e temporali: «dagegen erhebt sich aber der gewichtige Einwand, dass nirgends auf dieser Serie Ölempfänger jeweils an zwei Gottheiten gemeinsam gerichtet sind [...]. Allein dieses philologische Argument rät somit von den Annahme ab, in *wa-na-so-i* liege die dualische Bezeichnung einer Doppelgottheit vor» (Hajnal 1995, 63s.) L'interpretazione stessa del tema come /*wanakjā*/ solleva qualche problema dal punto di vista fonetico: Hajnal (*ibid.*) passa in rassegna tutte le occorrenze della forma, ipotizzando che possa trattarsi della denominazione di un mese, o di una formazione deverbativa: «damit ist die Deutung von *wa-na-so-i* als feminine oblique Dualform engültig aufzugeben».

²⁸³ Per la tabella comparativa, cf. Hajnal 1995, 110ss.; «obliquen Dualformen zeigen, dass zusätzlich zumindest das Lochrische und Achäische einen mehr oder weniger lebendigen gekannt haben, und dass wir somit auch dort mit dualischen Nominativ-Akkusativ-Formen zu rechnen haben» (*ibid.* 69). Attestazioni di duale sono invece del tutto assenti in cretese, cipriota, ionico, lesbio e panfilio, ovvero nei dialetti di ambiente microasiatico e sud-occidentale; cf. anche Deplazes 1991, 47s., 53s., 106s., 138-150, 172-177.

Arcadico	τοὺς κρᾶναιον ²⁸⁴	<i>DGE 664,8 (369 a.C.)</i>
	ἰμεσοῦν τοὺς Διδύμοιον ²⁸⁵	<i>DGE 664,25 (369 a.C.)</i>
	Τυνδαριδαῖος	<i>SEG XI nr. 1045; LSAG 215 nr. 11 (500-480 a.C.)</i>
	ελλαν]οδικοντοιν	<i>SEG XI nr. 1168; LSAG 216 nr. 38 (V sec.?)</i>
	δυειν ο[βελ]οιν	<i>IG V/2 357,158s. (III sec.)</i>
Argivo	τοὶ φανακοὶ	<i>IG IV 566; DGE 79,2²⁸⁶</i>
	θιοῖον	<i>IG V 231; DGE 77; LSAG 168 nr. 3 (sec. VII?)</i>
	τ[ο]ιν πολιοῖον	<i>SEG XI nr. 1084 (sec. III)</i>
	α[νακ]οῖον	<i>SEG XVI nr. 245</i>
	τοῖν φανακοῖον	<i>SEG XXVI nr. 428 (400 a.C.)</i>
	δ[.]ο[.]κοροῖον	<i>SEG XXX nr. 1456 (470-450 a.C.)</i>
	τ[ο]ιν φανακοῖον τοῖν Διός	<i>SEG XXXII nr. 549 I B</i>
Beotico ²⁸⁷	τοῖν Διοσκοροῖον	<i>IG VII:1792</i>
Cefallenico	Διφός φοροῖον	<i>IG IX/1 649; DGE 430 (VI sec.)</i>
Corinzio	τοῖν	<i>SEG XI nr. 275 (VI sec.)</i>
Delfico	δυοῖον	<i>DGE 323,23 (400 a.C.); GDI 2502 B.14</i>
	πινακιοῖον	<i>GDI 2502 A.30 (IV sec.)</i>
Eleo	υ<ι>παδικοῖοις, δυοῖοις, τιμωμενοῖς, καυτοῖοις ²⁸⁸	<i>DGE 417,3.4.13 (V sec.)</i>

²⁸⁴ L'iscrizione completa recita ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ... ἐπὶ τὸ Βουφαγέον μεσάκοθεν τοὺς κρᾶναιον "in mezzo alle due fonti" (cf. anche Dubois 1977, 170).

²⁸⁵ Come nel caso precedente, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ὁπὲρ τὸ Διδύμων ἀπὸ τῶν ἰμέσοῦν τοὺς Διδύμοιον "in mezzo ai due gemelli" (Dubois 1977, *ibid.*).

²⁸⁶ Da τοὶ φανάκοι ἐμὶ Εὐδαμος ἀνέθεκε "Eudamo mi donò ai Dioscuri"; si confronti con l'iscrizione successiva in tabella, sempre offerta votiva ai discuri: Χαλκοδάμανς με ἀνέθεκε θιοῖον περικαλλῆς ἄγαλμα "Chalcodamante mi offrì ai due Dei, splendido dono" (Dubois 1977, 173s.).

²⁸⁷ In Beotico si trovano le prime attestazioni di duale nei casi obliqui (prima metà del VI sec.), seguite dai dialetti di Cefallenia, Elide e Focide (VI-V sec.); merita evidenziare che le desinenze allofoniche elee in -οῖοις, -οῖοις risalgono pertanto a uno stadio relativamente arcaico della grammaticalizzazione del duale nominale. Le ultime tracce di duale nei casi obliqui sono invece prevedibilmente da rintracciarsi in Attica, nella prima metà del IV secolo. Per una tavola sinottica delle testimonianze epigrafiche di duale nei casi obliqui, cf. Deplazes 1991, 148.

²⁸⁸ Probabilmente *καὶ αὐτοῖοις, con crasi e rotacismo; Dubois (1977, 175) aggiunge inoltre all'elenco «des formes nominales comme τετιμωμε]νοῖοις ου ὑπαδυκιοῖοις» (frammento mutilo di una placca di Olimpia, *DGE 417*).

Epidauro	ανφοιων	IG IV 1611; DGE 110; LSAG 182 nr. 12 (500-475 a.C.) ²⁸⁹
	ανακοιων	SEG XXVI nr. 451 (350 a.C.)
	αμφοιων	IG IV 951,88
Epirota	αυτο[ι]ν	SEG 23 nr. 471, nr. 697,20 (IV sec.)
Laconico ²⁹⁰	τ[αι]ν] θεαιν	IG V/1 583,8.9
	τοιων αγιωτατοιων θεοιων	IG V 1:594.3 (III sec.)
Locrese	τοιων κοραων	DGE 366, A.9f.24
Tessalico]ατοιων?	IG IX/2 1209,3
Thera	δυοιων	GDI 4736,14 (500 a.C.)

Le desinenze rappresentate si possono scandire in quattro tipologie:

1. *-οῖν, di cui l'omerico *-οῖν è verosimilmente un precursore²⁹¹, e la variante per i temi in -a in *-αιν una successiva creazione analogica²⁹²;
2. *-οιων/*-αιων testimoniati dall'arcadico (e dall'iscrizione di Epidauro); resta isolata la forma Τυνδαριδαυς (cf. Dubois 1977, 185; Rix 1992, 141);
3. *-οιοις testimoniato dalle iscrizioni elee;
4. *-ειν, forma recenziore su cui si tornerà in seguito.

Sforzi di unificazione, come si può bene immaginare, sono stati compiuti da più parti²⁹³. La *communis opinio* (cf. Hajnal 1995, 113ss.) cerca di uniformare i dati contrastanti rinvenuti nei singoli dialetti proponendo una desinenza *passee-partout* *-oi-əow(s), prodotto della fusione di una dubbia desinenza di origine pronominale

²⁸⁹ Cf. anche Dubois 1977, 170s. n. 5.

²⁹⁰ A ragione Hajnal esclude dalle occorrenze la forma Τυνδαριδαι (IG V/1 937), sostenuta invece da Cuny (1906, 468) e Dubois (1977, 174), in quanto indistinguibile dall'eventuale dat. Τυνδαριδαι[ς].

²⁹¹ Benchè il doppio iota in iato desti qualche perplessità, restando 'inexpliqué' (Wathelet 1970, 251): «comme l'ionien épique avait perdu l'usage du duel, on sera tenté d'attribuer le génitif-datif en -οιων de l'épopée à un dialecte antérieur, l'éolien ou l'achéen».

²⁹² Hajnal ascrive a questo gruppo anche la «Sonderform» elee in *-οιοις, benchè «die elische Erweiterung ist zwar in den letzten Einzelheiten unklar» (1995, 121).

²⁹³ Non senza valide motivazioni: «beachtenswert sind folgende zwei Punkte: 1), der (obl.) Dual ist auf ein einigermaßen zusammenhängendes Gebiet beschränkt; 2), auffallenderweise sind obliquendualendungen auch aus jüngerer Zeit da, während sie in älterer Zeit fehlen, so daß auch hier eine interdialektale Ausbreitung ins Auge gefaßt werden muß» (Deplazes 1991, 150).

*-oi²⁹⁴ con la desinenza ereditata di gen./dat. du. ie. *-əows. Come si vede, questo tentativo di ricostruzione procede per accumulo, e in effetti in questa desinenza trisillabica (!) non manca proprio nulla; attraverso serie di semplificazioni più o meno plausibili, tutte le forme greche risultano giustificate²⁹⁵. Si preferisce, tuttavia, assegnare una certa cautela ai tentativi di accorpamento di desinenze equipollenti, soprattutto laddove sostenute da un'unica attestazione: le varianti più eclatanti – ovvero l'elea *-οιοις e l'arcadica *-αιυς – come si vede bene, sono in effetti anche *hapax*. Inoltre, l'appartenenza del primo membro della desinenza, *-oi, ad una presunta flessione di ascendenza pronominale non risulta diversamente verificabile. «Was diese ganze Entwicklungslinie so unwahrscheinlich erscheinen lässt, ist nicht nur die Anhäufung von einander zuwiederlaufenden (wohlgemerkt innergriechisch-dialektal erfolgten) Lautentwicklungen, sondern auch die Tatsache, dass alle diese Lautentwicklungen ansonsten nirgends nachzuweisen und somit einzig auf die Erklärung der Dualendungen zugeschnitten sind» (Hajnal 1995, 116).

Seguono dunque alcune osservazioni specifiche sulle singole varianti.

²⁹⁴ L'idea di una contaminazione dalla flessione pronominale è stata, rispetto ai casi obliqui del duale, estremamente fortunata: «the distribution of *-oiin* in Greek seems to suggest a pronominal origin of the ending» (Winter 1984, 147). Questa ipotesi nasce dalla considerazione che, in area orientale, le desinenze a base *-bh/*-m per dat./abl./strum. du. si legano direttamente al tema nominale a grado zero, laddove nei pronomi sono precedute da un'appendice *-oy (lit. *vlīku* (sost.) ≠ *toju* (dim.), *dvoju* '2'); in sanscrito, inoltre, flessione nominale e pronominale si distinguono proprio sulla base di questo stesso morfema (es., gen. *-u/*-uju): si è dunque cercato di evidenziare una produttività del morfema anche nella desinenza greca, per il resto innovativa. Tale componente pronominale *-oy- si sarebbe estesa prima alla flessione numerale e pronominale, secondariamente a quella nominale (cf. Cuny 1906, 28, 48s.; Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/2 650s., 657-659; Wackernagel, *AG* II 99; Szemerényi 1996, 185).

²⁹⁵ La forma elea *-οιοις sarebbe il risultato della semplificazione dell'ipotetica desinenza proto-greca *-oijows (su cui cf. oltre) > *-οιιοις per dissimilazione > *-οιοις con semplificazione del *glide*; la forma arcadica *-οιους sarebbe esito di dissimilazione del dittongo, così *-οι-ου(ς) > *-οι-υς; la forma omerica ed attica (curiosamente accomunate, in questa partizione dialettale, dalla stessa desinenza) *-οι(ι)ν avrebbe origine simile a quella arcadica, con successiva assimilazione vocalica, da *-οι-ιυ(ς) > *-οι-ι(ς). Salta immediatamente agli occhi che, a fronte di un imperversante sigma ricostruito, la maggior parte delle forme attestate epigraficamente presenti finale in nasale: al di là delle evoluzioni vocaliche, relativamente conciliabili con i meccanismi di contrazione, assimilazione e dissimilazione dei singoli dialetti, si tende a non puntare sufficientemente l'accento sulla persistenza dell'elemento consonantico, a mio avviso tutt'altro che trascurabile.

1.

La desinenza preservata in attico è di gran lunga la meglio attestata. In passato molte ricostruzioni sono state proposte, ma si tratta prevalentemente di astrazioni, nessuna realmente convincente²⁹⁶. Hajnal propone in merito un'ipotesi interessante, ovvero che i duali in *-οιϋν derivino da formazioni di locativi plurali in */-oisi(n)/²⁹⁷. Il loc. ereditato */-oisi/, in séguito a caduta di sigma intervocalico, avrebbe attraversato una fase */-oi^hi/ con lieve aspirazione intervocalica: tale desinenza potrebbe essere celata anche nelle occorrenze micenee di <-(C)o-i> (<*-ois? *-oi^hi?>). Il prestito dalle categorie del plurale a quelle del duale sarebbe inizialmente avvenuto soltanto nel dativo, con successiva «Funktionserweiterung» anche per il genitivo. In particolare, Hajnal osserva che si danno casi in cui per il gen. du. viene mutuato il gen. pl., anche in dialetti in cui il duale obliquo è comunque preservato (es., argivo $\varphi\alpha\nu\alpha\rho\nu\nu$: IG IV 561, 564) e congettura conseguentemente un'operazione analogica di questo tipo:

gen. pl. <i>*wanak-ōn</i> > gen. du. <i>*wanak-ōn</i>	→	dat. pl. <i>*wanak-oi^hi(n)</i> > dat. du. <i>*wanak-oi^hi(n)</i> ²⁹⁸
dat. du. <i>*wanak-oii(n)</i>	→	gen. du. <i>*wanak-oii(n)</i>

Le iscrizioni argive rispecchierebbero uno stato intermedio di questo processo, in cui la desinenza importata dalle maglie del plurale è già attiva per il dat.

²⁹⁶ Cuny (1906, 33-36) ipotizzava una desinenza *-οιϋν con conseguente caduta di digamma e successive fasi di contrazione; la stessa ipotesi è stata in séguito sostenuta da Meillet (1916, 124ss.) sulla base delle iscrizioni arcadiche. «L'explication [...] ne repose su rien» (Dubois 1977, 170 n. 3). Gray (1932, 193, 196) riconosceva nella desinenza un suffisso deittico finale *-ιϋν comune anche ai pronomi personali ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν; l'appendice nasale finale è più spesso trascurata come sedimentazione di antico -v efclicistico. Cf. anche Rix 1992, 135.

²⁹⁷ L'ipotesi si basa sulla proposta di Baunack 1886, 174s. (MSL 5 (1884), 25), che riassume anche le posizioni della critica precedenti (Bopp, Schleicher). La stessa opinione è sostenuta da Henry (MSL XIII, 149ss.), e Hirt (IF XII, 283ss.). Hajnal (*ibid.* 116) ipotizza, verosimilmente, che la proposta sia in séguito caduta nell'oblio per via della scoperta delle desinenze arcadiche in *-oiun, e del conseguente tentativo di trovare una ricostruzione 'unificante'.

²⁹⁸ Secondo la cosiddetta 'four-part-proportion', comunemente applicata nell'analisi di processi analogici, che consente la comprensione di una marca flessiva all'interno di un paradigma se posta in relazione alle marche corrispondenti in classi differenti ed attigue (in questo caso, numero e caso); cf. Gaeta 2010, 149ss.

du., ma non per il gen. du.²⁹⁹. Si deve accordare a Hajnal che sicuramente le testimonianze di gen. pl. in tempi relativamente arcaici (VI sec.) sono di estremo interesse; tuttavia, il ricorso al plurale non desta problemi se si ipotizza che l'impiego del duale fosse facoltativo, teoria sulla quale si tornerà estensivamente in séguito.

Il modello di Hajnal ha il pregio metodologico di operare tramite comparazioni interne, senza postulare l'interferenza di desinenze ereditate non altrimenti ravvisabili in greco; resta tuttavia qualche perplessità sullo statuto di questa ipotetica desinenza **-oi^{hi}* in proto-greco. La desinenza du. ie. **-(ə)ows*, se ereditata in greco, sarebbe stata ammissibile, foneticamente stabile e non diversamente minacciata da pressioni analogiche o sincretiche; per contro, la genesi ipotizzata da Hajnal implica una sovrapposizione tra le classi di duale e plurale, certo non impossibile ma forse, in questo caso, in contro-tendenza: sembra, infatti, anti-economico che il greco abbia sostituito a una desinenza ergonomicamente 'conveniente' **-(ə)ows* – o, addirittura, creato *ex novo* per il duale – una desinenza che aveva invece lo svantaggio di essere già marcata.

In assenza di termini di paragone affidabili – sia interni che esterni al dominio greco – converrà quindi attestarsi su una linea più prudente; la desinenza che, passando da Omero, si afferma in attico e nella maggior parte dei dialetti, resta di origine ignota. Quale che sia il suo sviluppo, tuttavia, la mancanza di sovrapposizioni con altre classi morfologiche costituisce un elemento centrale nella sua sopravvivenza, al punto da ammettere, in epoca storica, margini di produttività. Come si è visto in precedenza, infatti, la sempre più simmetrica relazione tra caso, numero e persona nella geometria interna del nome favorisce lo sviluppo di un genere femminile anche per il duale, e tale innovazione si estende anche ai casi indiretti:

²⁹⁹ Ne consegue, tuttavia, che dovessero mancare, perlomeno in argivo, desinenze oblique specifiche per il duale, se si avverte la necessità di ricorrere al plurale: il duale sarebbe quindi scomparso dal dialetto, salvo essere poi re-integrato. Una simile implicazione meriterebbe maggiori argomenti; la (ri)creazione di una categoria morfologica non è equivalente alla sua perdita. Inoltre, per il principio di uniformità, non sembra esistano gli estremi per ipotizzare qui un'evoluzione complessa, dal momento che (sempre in argivo) una desinenza è attestata in epoca storica, ed è del tutto compatibile con quella testimoniata dalla maggior parte dei dialetti – ovvero, naturalmente, **-ouiv*.

attico ³⁰⁰	arcadico	locrese
τοιν Νικαιν	τοις κροναιου	τοιν κροαιν

In attico, il ricorso ad *-αιν per il femminile è pervasivo e, come si è visto, non si limita al puro sostantivo, investendo invece tutta la flessione nominale, e, secondariamente, quella pronominale: la tragedia, e in particolare la tradizione testuale sofoclea, è testimone preziosa di questo processo³⁰¹.

2.

La desinenza *-ουιν si pone in una posizione interessante; la sua morfologia è trasparente e si presta facilmente a essere ricondotta ai ranghi del duale in casi obliqui: tuttavia, sulla sua formazione manca una spiegazione unanime. Per inciso, un dato emerge comunque chiaramente dalle iscrizioni arcadiche, ovvero che l'espressione del duale si limita al nome, e non si estende all'articolo³⁰²: se si eccettua la flessione del pronome personale, che, come si è osservato, segue binari indipendenti, la flessione pronominale sembra in greco secondaria rispetto a quella nominale: questo dato non è irrilevante, soprattutto se si considera che per la desinenza obliqua del duale è spesso stata evocata l'interazione di un suffisso di origine appunto pronominale, ovvero *-οι-, soprattutto sulla base del modello ario.

La prima descrizione di queste desinenze, attestate in due iscrizioni da Orcomeno, si deve a Meillet (1916, 124-126). Kretschmer (1920, 215) propone che la grafia *-ου esprima un fonema intermedio tra /ǝ/ e /ǔ/ affermatosi in arcadico: dunque *ιμεσουιν ~ ἐν μέσουιν. Che la desinenza arcadica sia invece basata su un antico locativo è stato suggerito inizialmente da Meillet³⁰³ e riproposto in altri

³⁰⁰ La forma attica corrisponde a IG I² 369, 6; la forma arcadica e quella locrese sono tratte da Maquieira 1984, 58 n. 22.

³⁰¹ Cf. oltre, par. 2.4.

³⁰² Benché Dubois (1977, 182s.), sulla scia di Schwyzler, consideri la forma come *τοι-ι-ς, parallela al noto *τοι-ι-ν, in cui sia *-ν che *-ς sarebbero «amplifications» prive di valore morfologico; un tale assunto, metodologicamente inaccettabile, risulta difficilmente sostenibile.

³⁰³ L'autore (1916, 125) accosta la forma all'antico slavo *meždu*, antico loc. (e gen.: *-ou > *-u) fossilizzatosi in preposizione: la stessa desinenza si ritrova nei locativi gathici *anhwo*, *zastayō*, nei lituani *djevau(s)* "a due" e *pusiau* "a metà", e in alcuni temi – pronominali – in sanscrito (dimostrativo *enoh*, relativo *yoh*: cf. Wackernagel, AG III 98, 502; Renou 1952, §285; Dubois 1977, 176).

termini da Dubois³⁰⁴ e Deplazes (1991, 177); infine, secondo Lejeune (*Mémoires* II 58s.) e Ruijgh (1967, 91), la desinenza sarebbe stata rimodellata a partire da dativi plurali. Per contro, Hajnal (1995, 126) cautamente suggerisce che in questi esiti arcadici non sia da ravvisare una forma di caso obliquo duale, ma diretto: in $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\upsilon\nu$ $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\Delta\iota\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\iota\upsilon\nu$ (DGE 664,7S) sarebbe da ravvisare la forma $*\Delta\iota\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon(\nu)$, dove la desinenza sarebbe da motivarsi come variante in pausa della desinenza comune per i casi diretti del duale $*-\bar{o}h_1 > *-\bar{o}h_1u$ ³⁰⁵, con l'annessione di $*-\nu$ efelcistico: «diese Herleitung ist gewiss höchst hypothetisch». Restano in effetti vari elementi inspiegati – prima e imprescindibile la sparizione, nel processo, di iota; non credo sia ammissibile postulare in questo caso una variante grafica, in quanto si ha a che fare con un dittongo, né, per la stessa ragione, una 'Umgliederung' espressiva. Per la sua posizione intervocalica e per la mancanza di altre valide argomentazioni di ordine fonetico, sembra invece che iota costituisca parte integrante della desinenza.

Resta comunque da spiegare la presenza della sibilante nella forma $\tau\upsilon\nu\delta\alpha\rho\iota\delta\alpha\iota\upsilon\varsigma$; per quanto l'allofonia di sibilante e nasale sia attestata come tratto canonico in arcadico (cf. Buck 1955, 56; Hillyard 2008, 335), tale variabilità non è né tipologicamente solida, né uniformemente realizzata in arcadico.

3.

«Cette désinence -οιοις a été depuis longtemps interprétée ou bien comme la réfection d'un cas oblique duel à partir du datif pluriel en -οις étendu à la troisième déclinaison en éléen» (Dubois 1977, 183; cf. anche Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/2 658s.; Deplazes 1991, 177). Schwyzer (GG I 554 n. 1) ipotizza una dissimilazione a partire dalla desinenza composita sopra citata $*-oiiou(s)$, il cui primo membro sarebbe il suffisso pronominale di cui sopra, ed il secondo sarebbe

³⁰⁴ Secondo il quale (1977, 177ss.) sarebbe possibile postulare un'opposizione antica tra loc. sg. in $*-oi$ e loc. du. in $*-ou$ (cf. nota precedente; tale opposizione avrebbe determinato l'oscillazione tra le forme $*-οι\upsilon\nu$ e $*-ου\upsilon\nu$). La desinenza ereditata sarebbe tuttavia stata 'interpolata' con il noto tema pronominale, complice la tendenza emergente in greco e sanscrito a opporre desinenze monosillabiche ai casi diretti del duale e bisillabiche ai casi indiretti (merita tuttavia osservare che tale tendenza non è ristretta al numero duale, e che trova d'altra parte una giustificazione immediata nella condizione di forme maggiormente marcate in cui i casi diretti si trovano).

³⁰⁵ Lo stesso tipo di allungamento è già stato evidenziato nelle forme vediche di duale a 'desinenza lunga': in greco, tracce di questo trattamento sono probabilmente ravvisabili nella forma mic. $du-wo-u-pi$ (cf. oltre), e forse nell'omerico $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (*Od.* XVII 237).

rappresentato dalla desinenza di gen. ie. ereditata *-[ə]ows; semplificazione del glide e assimilazione di *-ou- > *-oi- giustificerebbero le forme a noi attestate. Si vede bene, tuttavia, come tale impalcatura risulti complessa e scricchiolante. Dubois (1977, 183s.) propone invece di leggere in questa forma la desinenza obliqua costruita sul nom. bisillabico, già omerico, δοιῶ. In generale, come già anticipato, queste soluzioni ‘estese’ destano sospetti: lunghe sequenze vocaliche in iato come queste male si sarebbero adattate alle restrizioni accentuative greche; inoltre, come si è visto, il tipo acrostatico sembra particolarmente fortunato nella declinazione nominale, e desinenze bisillabiche sarebbero state rapidamente soggette a contrazione.

In conclusione, la situazione dei casi obliqui del duale si presenta magmatica, e irriducibile: non sembra di poter ricostruire una genesi unitaria per i singoli espedienti ricavati da dialetti differenti per esprimere questa categoria. Ragioni di ordine meccanico avranno comunque favorito l’espressione di questi casi: ruoli significativi saranno stati giocati dalla simmetria interna, e da procedimenti di tipo analogico. Sembra ragionevole ipotizzare, con Deplazes (1991, 175-177), che la desinenza *-ouiv/*-oĩv, legittimata dalle lingue letterarie, abbia subito un’estensione ‘indotta dall’alto’³⁰⁶. Che tale desinenza, così come la sua estensione, sia affetta da un certo grado di artificialità, sembra evidente: in una prospettiva dialettale, l’assenza di una strategia unitaria resta, di per sé, eloquente.

³⁰⁶ Deplazes tratteggia tre fasi di questo processo: una prima, “nachmykenische”, che produsse il duale obliquo /-oi^{hi}/, analogico sul dat. pl. con sigma intervocalico. Su questa forma avrebbe interferito l’analogia con il dativo dei pronomi personali, muniti di nasale finale: la desinenza si sarebbe dunque canonizzata in /-oi^{hi}in/; conseguentemente, in una seconda fase si sarebbe affermata, e diffusa: «da sich eine solche Entwicklung wohl kaum an verschiedenen Stellen unabhängig voneinander vollzogen hat, ist in einer zweiten Phase mit der Ausbreitung des neu geschaffenen Dualausgangs zu rechnen» (1991, 176). Infine, questa stessa desinenza sarebbe stata estesa anche alle funzioni di genitivo, e al dominio degli atematici, originariamente estranei alla sua sfera d’inferenza. Questa impalcatura sembra ben fondata, a quadratura del cerchio, però, Deplazes ipotizza poi che la desinenza -οιοις elea fosse originariamente demandata alle sole funzioni del genitivo; se così fosse, tuttavia, si sarebbero probabilmente conservate entrambe le desinenze, in quanto differenziate – o, quantomeno, si sarebbero potute registrare tracce di una iniziale convivenza pacifica. La selezione di una sola forma, in accordo con l’universale di Humboldt e il principio di *constructional iconicity*, denuncia una sovrapposizione di ruoli tra le due desinenze, verosimilmente demandate a funzioni affini: la perdita di allomorfi in competizione si verifica necessariamente laddove avvenga una perdita funzionale, o dove si verifichi ridondanza. Sembra evidente che ci si trovi qui di fronte al secondo caso.

1.2.6 Sintesi delle desinenze.

	casi diretti				casi indiretti		
	miceneo		lingua omerica		greco miceneo	greco classico	
temi consonantici	<(C)-e> *-ě		*-ε		?	lingua omerica: *-οἴῃν	
temi in -i/-u	<(S)-e> *-ě		*-ε			arcadico: (*-αιυς?)	
temi in -o	<(C)-o>? *-ō		*-ω			*-αιυν/*-οιυν	
temi in -a	m. <(C)-a-e> *-ae	f. <(C)-o> *-ō	m. *-ā	f. ?	m. *-ā	f. *-ā	attico, laconico, locrese: *-αἴῃν/*-οἴῃν eleo: *-οιοις

1.3.0 Desinenze verbali per il duale.

Le desinenze verbali presentano, sul dominio ie., un alto grado di congruenze per il duale; desinenze specifiche sono ben attestate nei vari gruppi linguistici, con la consueta eccezione dei rami italico ed anatolico³⁰⁷.

La connessione delle desinenze verbali con quelle pronominali è stata registrata da tempo³⁰⁸: questa tendenza è decisamente sensibile anche nelle persone

³⁰⁷ «Wenn das Vorhandensein einer eigenen Dualkategorie im Idg. auch mit ziemlicher Sicherheit aus den spezifischen Formen im Indo-Iranischen, Griechischen, Baltoslawischen und Tokarischen erschlossen werden kann, so bleibt doch ihr Fehlen im Hethitischen auffallend; auch Italisch und Keltisch haben keine Spuren eines Duals beim Verbum» (Watkins 1969, 46).

³⁰⁸ «Verbs may exhibit contextual inflection in the form of person, number, and gender marking. The distinction between three persons for both singular and plural number is quite pervasive in the languages of the world. [...] The number of distinctions made by a particular language can sometimes be read off its system of pronouns» (Booij 2007, 138). Tale corrispondenza ammicca

del duale. Come si è già osservato, non vige comune accordo sull'autonomia del duale all'interno del dominio *ie.*³⁰⁹: il duale viene tipicamente etichettato come sviluppo tardo, soprattutto in base al polimorfismo pronominale e alla mancanza di uniformità nel paradigma nominale, al di fuori dei casi diretti (cf. Adrados 1985, 36s.; Shields 2004b, 176). La situazione verbale, in sé piuttosto coerente, sembra confermare questo assunto³¹⁰, e provare che desinenze esclusive per il numero si siano attestate in fasi, anche tarde, di *ie.* comune: «the system of verb endings clearly points to a period in which there was no verbal inflection for number [...] for the dual and plural are obviously defective» (Lehmann 1974, 201)³¹¹.

Come si osserva dalla tabella comparativa, esistono serie di desinenze diversificate secondo la persona, la diatesi e l'aspetto, benché la linea di demarcazione risulti piuttosto sfumata, con un frequente prevalere delle desinenze

plausibilmente al processo di agglutinazione (e poi fusione) per cui le marche esprimenti la persona, ancora allo stato di 'bound morphemes', si sono gradualmente cliticizzate sul tema verbale.

³⁰⁹ Eterogeneità delle forme e difettivismo, di per sé pertinente a classi morfologiche come quella pronominale, sono stati guardati come punti problematici: «schließlich ist das Fehlen von klar rekonstruierbaren Personalpronomen für den Dual (alle belegten Formen sind varianten der Plurale) ein eindrucksvolles Argument gegen die Annahme, daß der Dual dem idg. Verbum von Anfang an eigen war» (Watkins 1969, 46; cf. anche Kuryłowicz 1964, 240ss.); «the system of verb endings clearly points to an earlier period in which there was no verbal inflection for number [...] the number system is defective in substantival as well as in verbal inflection» (Lehmann 1974, 201s.). Una simile prospettiva sembra tuttavia superata: come si è visto, in particolare grazie agli studi di Schmidt 1978 e Petit 1999 è possibile riportare un po' di ordine all'interno dello stemma pronominale, e soprattutto dimostrare che, diversamente da quanto ritiene Watkins, non è necessario postulare che il duale abbia mutuato temi dalle categorie plurali; piuttosto, l'esistenza di stemmi concorrenti – marcati come non-singolari – avrà prodotto forme poi rigrammaticalizzate di volta in volta come duali piuttosto che come plurali.

³¹⁰ Il che è particolarmente emblematico, data la maggiore fluidità dei paradigmi verbali: «it appears, in Indo-European languages at least, that verbal systems undergo greater changes than nouns. If this is the case, it is not difficult to see why. Verbs typically refer to processes, actions and events, whereas nouns typically refer to entities. Representations of events are likely to have more salience in discourse, and speakers seek new ways of emphasising different viewpoints of events in discourse» (Clackson 2007, 114).

³¹¹ Così anche Adrados (1975, 626): «en cuanto al dual, debe considerarse, al igual que en el nombre, como una innovación de algunas ramas lingüísticas del indoeuropeo no anatolio [...] es claro que este sistema está modelado sobre el de las correspondientes personas de pl., con las que riman casi todas las formas indicadas para cada persona siguiendo el orden activa primaria y secundaria, media primaria y secundaria». Sulla preminenza delle desinenze primarie sulle secondarie, su cui Adrados si distanzia dalla *communis opinio*, cf. oltre.

secondarie³¹². Il greco, pur ereditando entrambe le serie, ha esasperato questa tendenza e non ha osservato sempre una separazione stringente tra le due serie³¹³; tale fluttuazione si è trasferita, in certa misura, anche nelle desinenze del duale³¹⁴.

1.3.1 Desinenze Primarie.

Per le forme citate nel presente capitolo si fa riferimento ai seguenti contributi: Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/3 638-642, 655-657; Schwyzer, *GG* I 666s.; Watkins 1969, 46ss. Si vedano, in particolare: per il vedico, Renou 1952, 252ss.; per l'avestico, Misra 1979, 185ss.; per l'antico slavo Lunt 1959, 80-85; Schenker 1993, 96; per il gruppo baltico, Schmaelstig 2000, 51ss.; il gruppo germanico Voyles 1981, 88; Molinari 1980, 86; Ringe 2006, 237ss.; l'antico nordico, Haugen 1982; per il tocharico van Windekens 1944, 299, 314. Per le possibili ricostruzioni ie. cf. Sihler 1995, 453-480, 570s., e il recente lavoro di Ringe (2006, 31ss.).

Per le desinenze primarie, la situazione ie. è la seguente:

	1° p. du. att.	2° p. du. att.	3° p. du. att.	1° p. du. med.	2° p. du. med.	3° p. du. med.
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³¹² La marca distintiva più forte e vitale resta il suffisso* *-i* che distingue nelle desinenze primarie le tre persone del singolare e la terza persona plurale dalle corrispondenti forme secondarie, non suffissate e più antiche, secondo l'antica e accreditata teoria di Bopp; cf. Szémerenyi 1999, 276ss., 370.

³¹³ Il greco ha perduto buona parte delle desinenze caratterizzanti il *perfectum* (tranne al singolare), ha ridotto le desinenze di imperativo ed ha favorito una generalizzazione delle desinenze secondarie; per quanto riguarda il duale, come si vedrà, non di rado si osservano esitazioni nell'utilizzo delle desinenze *-των/*-την (Cuny 1906, 56).

³¹⁴ Le desinenze restano comunque invariate nei vari dialetti; un prospetto delle attestazioni in attico si trova in Hasse 1893, 49-56.

Gr.	** <i>we(s)</i> ³¹⁵	-τον ³¹⁶	-τον	(-μεθον) ³¹⁷	-σθον	-σθον
Ved.	- <i>vas</i> ³¹⁸	- <i>thas</i>	- <i>tas</i>	- <i>vahe</i>	- <i>āthe</i>	- <i>āte</i>
Avest. ³¹⁹	- <i>vahi</i> (PIr. * <i>vas(i)</i> < ie. * <i>wes(i)</i>) ³²⁰	- <i>tō</i> (PIr. * <i>thas</i> < ie. * <i>thes</i>)	- <i>tō</i> (PIr. * <i>tas</i> < ie. * <i>tes</i>) ³²¹	* <i>vai</i> (PIr. * <i>vadhai</i> < ie. * <i>wedhai</i>)	- <i>te</i> (PIr. * <i>thai</i> < ie. * <i>thai</i>)	- <i>te</i> (PIr. * <i>tai</i> < ie. * <i>tai</i>) ³²²
Asl.	*-Въ, *-vě	*-та, *-tā	*-те, *-tě	*-Въ, *-vě	*-та, *-tā	*-те, *-tě

³¹⁵ Sembra suggestivo riscontrare in questa proto-forma di 1° p. du. att. **we* la stessa radice pron. ie. per il duale; «verbs may acquire the category of number by the agglutination of a personal pronoun» (Lehmann 2002, 51). La desinenza costituisce probabilmente il 'grande assente' della flessione del duale: «le grec semble avoir complètement perdu la distinction du duel à cette personne, chose curieuse si l'on réfléchit qu'il l'a bien gardée aux autres personnes, dans le noms et même dans les pronoms» (Cuny 1906, 58). Nel 1880 Sayce rintracciava una forma τιμάρες in panfilio (Ramsay-Sayce 1880, 252, probabilmente una 3° p. pl. aor.), e un residuo di tale desinenza sembra preservato in argivo, secondo la glossa di Esichio ἄγωγις ἄγωμεν (< **ωφις*, prima persona du. cong.). Per quanto plausibile come esito dialettale, la forma, *hapax* e foneticamente non del tutto trasparente, è da guardare con cautela a fini comparativi. «Before Hittite had been deciphered, Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß* III 2, 618) advanced the suggestion that Greek -μεν was formed on the analogy of a vanished first dual **φεν* (so that the Indo-European imperfect dual should be reconstructed as **we*, **wo*, **wen* [**won* (?)]; **tom*; **tām*)» (Gray 1927, 79).

³¹⁶ Sulla base della comparazione con gli esempi indo-iranici, Gray (1927, 243) sosteneva che la vocale tematica avrebbe dovuto essere **-o*; una forma media come «Gk. (ἐ)φέρεσθον seems to be a contamination of (ἐ)φέρεσθε and (ἐ)φέρετον < *(ἐ)φέροτον». Tuttavia, la vocale tematica è coerentemente **-ε* in tutta la flessione greca del duale, e la sola comparazione con il gruppo indoiranico non sembra terreno sufficiente ad autorizzare che questa sia stata una modificazione antica del greco.

³¹⁷ Due occorrenze di **-μεθον*, evidentemente ipercorrettismi, si trovano in Ateneo: πρότερον γὰρ συντριβησόμεθον, εἴτ' ἀπολούμεθον (GG III/2, *Epit.* II/1 17,23s.). Una manciata di casi appare, in esempi di coniugazioni verbali, anche in Elio Erodiano: ποιούμεθον (GG III,2 812,19), τυπούμεθον (GG III,2 812,20), τυπτόμεθον (GG III,2 813,5).

³¹⁸ La desinenza è già rara nella *Rk-Samhitā* (vd. Renou 1952, 252; cf. anche Jamison 2004, 687s.).

³¹⁹ Il caso del gruppo iranico è di estrema importanza per quanto riguarda l'uso del duale: nonostante, infatti, il numero sia ben preservato in antico persiano, si danno casi in cui, pur laddove perfettamente pertinente, non venga applicato: viene, per esempio, evitato lo σχῆμα Ἀλκιμανικόν, e, in presenza di due soggetti, il verbo sceglie il plurale (cf. Schmitt 2004, 727).

³²⁰ Si confrontino l'av. *usvahī* (PIr. **ušvas(i)* < ie. *ukwes(i)*) e il sanscr. *svahī* (PInd. **svas(i)* < ie. *swes(i)*; Misra 1979, 185). Si noti che il suffisso **-i* viene fatto risalire da Misra già ad uno stadio ie., laddove è forse più probabile ipotizzare uno sviluppo indipendente del gruppo iranico per distinguere desinenze primarie e secondarie.

³²¹ Si comparino ie. 2° e 3° p. du. **sthes*, **stes* > PIInd./PIr. **sthas*, **stas* > sanscr. *sthalī*, *stahī*. Come si osserva, in avestico, come in greco, la 2° e 3° persona sono sempre sincretiche. La convergenza del timbro vocalico desinenziale in *a* indistinto avrà sicuramente operato come fattore neutralizzante; tuttavia, maggior peso è probabilmente da imputarsi all'utilizzo sporadico di tali forme (cf. Misra 1979, 185).

³²² Cf. sanscr. 2° du. m. *venethe* e 3° du. m. *pṛcchete* (cf. Misra 1979, 187).

Lit.	*-va (ALit. -ava)	*-ta ³²³	/	/	/	/
PGerm ³²⁴ .	*-ōz (got. -ōs ³²⁵) < *-ō-wes	*-diz (got. -ts) ³²⁶ < *-tē/ōs	/	/	/	/
Toch ³²⁷ .	/	/	B *-tem < *-ton ³²⁸	/	/	B *-aitār? ³²⁹

³²³ «Samogitian Lithuanian has the lengthened ending *-tau*, reflexive *-tavos*, which was formed by adding the ending *-avā* (from the 1 dual) to the shortened ending *-t* (<*-ta)» (Schmaelstig 2000, 51; cf. anche Stang 1966, 405s.). Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß* II/3 669) riporta anche le forme di 1° p. du. *baírōs* e 2° p. du. *baírats*.

³²⁴ In antico nordico il duale è invece ristretto al solo pronome: «The verb has no distinct dual forms, so dual pronoun subjects have plural verb agreement: *vit hofum þetta átt at tala*, ‘the two of us have had talks about this (matter)’» (Faarlund 2004, 200).

³²⁵ Ma, per il congiuntivo, la desinenza attestata è quella trådita *-we: got. cong. 1°/2° p. du. *nimewa*, *nimets* (vd. Voyles 1981, 88; cf. anche Watkins 1969, 47). Una forma di duale è preservata anche nell’imperativo, nella prima persona *nimats*. Nei cosiddetti verbi deboli, le desinenze di duale, pur attestate, alternano con le forme del plurale – a denunciare i primi segni del declino della categoria.

³²⁶ La ricostruzione dei passaggi intermedi del protogermanico è particolarmente complessa, potendosi avvalere della testimonianza unica del gotico; in particolare, «the 2nd dual ending is especially unclear because it is possible that *uts* shape in Gothic resulted from a Gothic sound change whose effects were eliminated by morphological change in other, less isolated, morphemes» (Ringe 2006, 237; cf. anche Krause 1958, 261). Un po’ forzatamente, Cuny (1906, 60), sulla scia di Brugmann (1905, 628), ammette l’aspirazione anche nella forma germanica: «le gotique *-ts* représente probablement *-þs* (ancien *-þiz*) en vertu d’une différenciation».

³²⁷ Il duale è pressoché scomparso dalla flessione verbale tocaria. van Windekens (1944, 314) testimonia l’esistenza di una forma «A *tāken(a)s*, 3° pers. du parf. ind. act. de *tāk*- ‘être’».

³²⁸ «Les formes du duel sont limitées à deux exemples de la 3^e pers. prés. dans le dialecte B: *nestem* de B *nes*- ‘être’, *westem* < **weskem* de B *wesk*- ‘dire, parler’» (van Windekens 1982, II/2 271). La desinenza è verosimilmente un prestito dalle desinenze secondarie; van Windekens (*ibid.*) sottolinea tuttavia che ie. *-ton avrebbe prodotto Toc. B ***-te*; la bilabiale finale sarà con ogni probabilità analogica sulla corrispettiva desinenza del plurale. Le altre desinenze di duale attestate per il Tocario, ovvero Pret. 3° p. du. att. B *-ais, A *-enas, e Imper. 2° p. du. m. A *-ait, restano oscure (cf. Watkins 1969, 48).

³²⁹ «Si B *tasaitār* [...] n’est pas une forme du singulier avec une ‘umgekehrte Schreibung’ *ai* au lieu de *e*, mais une forme du duel, la comparaison de finale *-ait*- s’impose avec les finales des formes de duel thématiques indo-iraniennes telles que skr. *bhār-ete* ‘sie beide tragen’, av. *vīs-aēte* ‘sie stellen sich beide bereit’» (van Windekens 1982, II/2 277; cf. anche Schmidt 1974, 285ss.).

le.	*-w ^e /o ^s ³³⁰	*-thes ³³¹	*-tes	*-w ^e /o ^d h ₂ ³³²	? ³³³	?
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Nonostante la trasparenza della ricostruzione, la prima persona pone alcune problematiche. Il legame tra la desinenza *-we e quella, generalmente riconosciuta di prima persona plurale, in *-me, sembra infatti essere piuttosto stringente: il gruppo anatolico, a cui si affianca parzialmente il gruppo indo-iranico (cf. Wackernagel, AG II/2 880), evidenzia alla prima persona plurale un'alternanza di tipo fonetico tra i due allomorfi *-we/*-me, ittita *-wen(i)/*-men(i): se tale alternanza rispecchi anche un'opposizione di tipo morfonematico è stato oggetto di ingente bibliografia. Si deve innanzitutto sottolineare che in vedico, così come in ittita, le forme ad iniziale bilabiale *-m- appaiono soltanto dopo *-u, plausibilmente per evitare il glide che deriverebbe da contatto con una desinenza in approssimante; nonostante questo condizionamento sintattico, tuttavia, le forme in *-m- sono spesso state considerate le varianti originarie (già a partire dai grammatici indiani: cf. Kuryłowicz 1964, 151).

Emerge dunque chiaramente come l'ittita costituisca evidenza preziosa, anche se di ordine negativo. Sebbene non esistano, infatti, desinenze specifiche per il duale, la sola presenza del morfema, peraltro pertinente alla prima persona, è emblematica. A questo proposito, risulta fondamentale definire quale, tra le due varianti allomorfe, sia in ittita quella ereditata, e quale invece sia frutto di contaminazione fonetica. In proposito, sembra ancora valida la posizione di Sturtevant (1929, 30 n.15): «although the IE ending *uedha* belonged to the dual, Hittite makes it clear that the original first plural endings all began with *u*, which changed to *m* after *u*. Then IE generalized the *m*-forms in the plural, and utilized the

³³⁰ Cf. Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II 3/2 638s.; Gray 1927, 77s.; Meillet 1937, 230.

³³¹ Ringe (2006, 31) ritiene che 2° e 3° p. du. fossero indistinte: in questo caso, l'introduzione di dentale aspirata sarebbe un'innovazione del gruppo indo-ario. È stato suggerito (Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/3 625, 640; Gray 1927, 80) che anche la 2° p. pl. latina in *-tis e la forma umbra *eta-to* "siate" siano antichi prestiti dalle fila del duale.

³³² Una simile ricostruzione era già stata postulata dai grammatici di inizio secolo: *-wedh₂i/*-wodh₂i (Gray 1927, 242s.); Ringe (2006, 31) ricostruisce *-wós-d^hh₂, con vocalismo congruente alla 1° p. pl. (ma non alle altre persone del du.) e mantenimento di *-s caratteristico delle desinenze primarie; la sibilante è tuttavia attestata al medio solo nel gruppo germanico, e, per quanto teoricamente ammissibile, potrebbe benissimo costituire in questo gruppo un adattamento analogico alle forme dell'attivo.

³³³ «The unreconstructability of mediopassive dual and imperative endings is an artefact of the defective attestation of their reflexes: in effect, only Greek and Indo-Iranian (and, for the imperative, Hittite) provide any evidence, and yet they disagree» (Ringe 2006, 32).

u-forms in the dual»³³⁴. Richiamando il già citato principio di uniformità di Ringe, in mancanza di altri condizionamenti non sembra legittimo ricostruire per una fase protostorica alcunché di differente da quanto è possibile osservare in periodo storico in ittita: se la variante in bilabiale compare solo in presenza di condizionamenti fonetici, e la variante in approssimante si estende sul resto del dominio, la forma in approssimante sarà verosimilmente quella ereditata.

Questa affermazione non è priva di conseguenze. La sola presenza di una desinenza **-we* in uno stadio così antico ha infatti molto da dire rispetto alla natura stessa del morfema, che costituisce con ogni probabilità ancora una volta una marca di non-singolare³³⁵, poi rigrammaticalizzata come desinenza specifica per il duale: «on peut donc regarder hitt. *-weni* comme une ancienne désinence du duel, mais il se peut aussi que Sturtevant ait raison, et que l'alternance *-meni/-weni* soit antérieure à la distinction pluriel : duel. En tout cas, c'est un fait établi que l'indo-européen disposait à la 1re pers. du pluriel-duel d'une désinence offrant l'alternance **m/*w*» (van Windekens 1944, 299). La posizione è suggestiva, benché la sola evidenza dell'ittita sia argomento necessario ma non sufficiente, in quanto in questa lingua i due allomorfi esprimono un'oscillazione condizionata da contingenze fonetiche, e non un'alternanza di tipo morfologico³³⁶. Resta comunque plausibile un'originaria

³³⁴ «Now the IE languages agree in assigning the personal endings beginning with *u* to the dual number and those beginning with *m* to the plural number. In these verb forms they preserve no trace of the original phonological distribution, which is so clear in Hittite. Furthermore the IE languages agree in a tendency to use the suffix *men* for action nouns to the exclusion of the originally equivalent *uen*. Unless one can believe that the several IE languages independently introduced these striking innovations, one must conclude that they occurred in the parent speech after the separation from Hittite but before the separation from one another of the IE languages properly so called» (Sturtevant 1929, 33s.). Provocatoriamente, l'autore aggiunge (1933, 253s. n. 74) che questo non significa che la desinenza **wen* fosse già peculiare del duale, per il quale al contrario poteva non esserci alcuna desinenza ie. uniforme, così come un'altra desinenza differente, poi soppiantata da **-we/*-me*; giusto l'approccio scettico, non si vede tuttavia quale vantaggio dovrebbe venire dal postulare una des. di 1° p. du. differente e non diversamente attestata.

³³⁵ La stessa valenza di non-singolare è stata d'altra parte ipotizzata per la nasale di chiusura presente in tutte queste desinenze, sulla base della comparazione con alcuni nom. pl. n. in sanscrito, e nei duali tocari in **-ne/*-m*: «**-n* not only appears as a non-singular formant in nominal declension but also serves the same function in verbal structure. Thus, a nasal is found, e.g., in the following non-singular endings of the verb: third-person plural: Skt. *-anti, -anta, -ran*; Avest. *-ənti*, Gk. *-onto*, Lat. *-unt*, Go. *-and*, OCS *-omъ*, Hitt. *-anzi*; second-person dual: Skt. *-tan*, Avest. *-təm*, Gk. *-ton*, and third-person dual: Skt. *-tām*, Gk. *-tēn*» (Shields 1980, 72 n. 2).

³³⁶ Secondo Kuryłowicz (1964, 151ss.), entrambe le desinenze **-me/*-we* sarebbero state originariamente retaggio del plurale. La coesistenza dei due temi, tuttavia, non costituisce di per sé

coesistenza di due temi a base approssimante/bilabiale in ie., seppure ancora non grammaticalizzati secondo categorie di caso e numero: più che il fatto che **-we* non esprima il duale in ittita (lingua che, come già evidenziato, non possiede il duale), si deve quindi sottolineare che **-we* è testimoniato, per la prima persona, già in ittita³³⁷.

È stata ovviamente proposta anche la spiegazione inversa, ovvero che l'alternanza **-me/*-we* fosse già in origine di tipo morfologico e non puramente fonetico, e che la forma in approssimante abbia rappresentato la desinenza specifica per il duale già in fase ie.: l'ittita mostrerebbe dunque una fase di de-grammaticalizzazione, in cui l'opposizione funzionale si è persa, e resterebbe una pura alternanza di tipo fonetico³³⁸. In questo caso, tuttavia, resterebbe da spiegare perché, anche nel gruppo indo-iranico, il morfema a base bilabiale sia impiegato in due opposizioni di carattere completamente differente, una morfologica (1° p. pl./1° p. du.) ed una puramente fonetica.

Parzialmente aderente alla teoria della differenziazione morfologica è la posizione di Cowgill (1965, 69s.), che ipotizza una distribuzione pronominale caratterizzata da suffisso **-mé* per la 1° p. sg. e per il plurale, in contrasto con **-wé* per le 2° e 3° p. sg. e per il duale³³⁹. Sulla base di questa 'divisione di intenti' tra i due

un argomento in favore dell' 'appartenenza' alla classe del plurale, concetto di per sé fuorviante; come si è sottolineato, polimorfia, ridondanza e suppletivismo sono caratteristiche cogenti e pertinenti agli strati più arcaici delle categorie flessionali: «comme la 1^{re} pers. du pluriel et celle du duel sont psychologiquement liées, leurs désinences se sont influencées les unes les autres» (van Windekens 1944, 299).

³³⁷ «The fact that the Hitt. verb knows no dual might lead us to believe that the IE dual did not develop till after the separation of Hittite, but here even general considerations of probability protest, for the dual is a very primitive category which we expect to recede rather than advance at this comparatively late age. Then too we find an actual trace of it in the 1. pers. plural ending *-weni*, the *-we-* of which is the IE *-ue* Skt. *-va* of the 1. pers. dual, and we can be sure that Hittite made a plural out of the dual rather than that the others made a dual out of the plural» (Petersen 1932, 195).

³³⁸ «The relation of this dual meaning to the plural of Hittite is disputed, however, as also the relation of Hitt. *-weni* to the equivalent *-meni* which occurs after *u*-stems, e. g. in *arnu-mmēni* 'we bring'. That the latter contains the IE secondary *-me* of the 1 pl. as in Skt. *a-bhara-ma*, is of course certain, but that *-ue* and *-me* were mere phonetic variants (Sturtevant AJP 50. 360 ff.) arising by dissimilation of *uue* to *ume*, is made improbable by the need of assuming that the dual, which belongs to a primitive state of language (see introductory remarks), the elimination of which usually begins at quite an early date, must be supposed to have developed in IE after the separation of Hittite. It is therefore more probable that after the loss of the dual in Hittite, *-ue* and *-me* were used promiscuously for a while, and were then redistributed according to phonetic principles» (Petersen 1932, 197).

³³⁹ «Cowgill's approach to the dual and plural does have one significant advantage over all others: it alone allows connecting the verb-endings of the first-person dual and plural, both active and

suffissi, apprezzando che Cowgill «left the function(s) of this ‘morpheme **wé/*mé* undefined», Dunkel (2004, 18, 22ss.) propone di leggere nell’opposizione una polarità inclusivo (**mé*) vs. esclusivo (**wé*)³⁴⁰. Una simile opposizione è bene attestata tipologicamente, soprattutto in lingue con un sistema pronominale altamente differenziato secondo le categorie di numero: in tali sistemi, la possibilità di differenziazione aumenta quanto più ci si avvicina al soggetto³⁴¹. «The reality of coexisting forms [...] thus seems to be perfectly possible. The question now becomes whether we still prefer to explain half of them away as analogic creations (i.e. as not indicative of an earlier stage of the language) or instead to interpret this contrast as functional. The coherent functions of **we-* and **me-* outside the pronouns speak in my opinion for the second course» (Dunkel 2004, 25).

L’interpretazione di Dunkel ha il pregio di connettere l’alternanza con una variazione di tipo funzionale. Si deve tuttavia rimarcare che una polarità di tipo inclusivo/esclusivo non è attestata, se non indirettamente, su suolo ie.; se la necessità di tale forma fosse stata avvertita al punto da creare un’alternanza morfemica operante in *tutte* le persone, sarebbe plausibile attendersi di trovarne almeno riflessi nelle singole lingue. D’altra parte, la polarità inclusivo/esclusivo opera abitualmente in *concomitanza* con le categorie di numero, e non in *competizione*:

medio-passive» (Dunkel 2004, 19). La ricostruzione pronominale di Cowgill è così strutturata (per le forme greche, cf. Rix 1992, 177-180):

	sg.	du.	pl.
1° p.	<i>*m-mé > *mé</i> (gr.: acc. ἐμέ, με)	<i>*nh₃-wé</i> (gr.: acc. ἄνῳ, νό)	<i>*ns-mé</i> (gr. ἡμεῖς, ἄμέες, ἄμμεες)
2° p.	<i>*t-wé > *twé</i> (gr.: acc. τε, τφε, σε)	<i>*uh₃-wé</i> (gr.: /)	<i>*us-mé</i> (gr. ὑμεῖς, ὕμέες, ὕμμεες)
3° p.	<i>*s-wé > *swé</i> (gr.: tema *σφ-: sg. φε, εῖ; du. σφωε (σφε); pl. σφέας, ἄσφε)		

Sulla scia di questa divaricazione si pone Katz (1998, 279, 285: *non vidi*; cit. in Dunkel 2004, 20), che legge la contrapposizione come un tentativo di marcare 1° p. ≠ 2°, 3° p.; tale ipotesi, per quanto ragionevole su un piano meramente funzionale, è tuttavia falsificata dalla solida presenza di **-we* nella 1° p. du., come sopra evidenziato.

³⁴⁰ Ampia bibliografia su questa polarità si trova in Szemerényi 1996, 219. «The conclusion I draw from this material is that there is no imaginable reason to restrict the two elements’ distribution in the proto-language in any way. Both morphemes – we are now free to call them particles – were freely combinable, occurring both enclitically and orthotonically [...]. Whereas after verbal stems the exclusive and inclusive marks developed into complementary first dual and plural endings, in the pronoun they were appended to forms which were already marked (by **-h₃* and **-s*) for number, thus creating a contrast for each form» (Dunkel 2004, 24).

³⁴¹ Sulla partizione di tipo inclusivo/esclusivo in relazione alla prima persona cf. Greenberg 1988, 1-18; Corbett 2000, 168.

ci si dovrebbe, cioè, attendere che ogni persona possieda sia una variante inclusiva che una esclusiva, e non che tali marche si specializzino, legandosi stabilmente – e in modo asistemico – a differenti persone. Inoltre – e questa è forse la maggiore debolezza di questo impianto – non si vede perché la marca *inclusiva* dovrebbe definire il plurale, funzionalmente adibito a definire una molteplicità suddivisa nel suo interno (e quindi distributivamente intesa) e quella *esclusiva* il duale, che si applica invece naturalmente a enti pensati come unitari³⁴²: se anche la distinzione di Dunkel fosse ammissibile, ci si dovrebbe semmai attendere la partizione contraria. Che l'opposizione tra **me* e **we* abbia rappresentato in origine un'opposizione di tipo funzionale, in definitiva, sembra plausibile; il paradigma dei morfemi personali ricostruibile per l'ie. mostra tuttavia una situazione composita, in cui una separazione di compiti semplice ed efficace non sembra più rintracciabile.

Quanto a **-we* postulato per il duale, qualche traccia della desinenza sembra rintracciabile in un altro paradigma. È risaputo che il perfetto possiede serie di desinenze proprie (cf. Cuny 1906, 57): non sembra possibile ricostruire per questo aspetto in ie. tutte e tre le persone per il duale, benché forme in **-we* siano attestate per la prima persona in vari gruppi, al punto da spingere Ringe (2006, 33) a ricostruire **-we* per la 1° p. du. anche nella proto-lingua³⁴³. Se così fosse, si potrebbe qui registrare un parallelo 1° p. du. pret. **-we* ≠ 1° p. pl. pret. **-me* che farebbe da perfetta controparte alla situazione, più disomogenea, osservabile nelle desinenze secondarie e primarie. Un simile parallelo, se di originaria pertinenza del preterito, avrebbe potuto costituire un rapporto di base essenziale per successive estensioni

³⁴² Del tutto infondato sembra il tentativo di Dunkel di sostenere, con una presa di posizione quantomeno fuori dal coro, che «duals are by nature meant to exclude» (2004, 26); non sorprende che tale asserto non sia accompagnato da alcuna voce bibliografica. L'autore aggiunge poco dopo che «their whole purpose is to limit the predicate to exactly two subjects» (*ibid.*), fraintendendo tuttavia il valore stesso della definizione 'exclusive', che si riferisce alla 1° e 3° persone (di contro a 'inclusive', 1° e 2° persone), e che non implica nessun tipo di determinazione 'esclusiva' (se così fosse, non si vedrebbe alcuna differenza con la funzione inclusiva).

³⁴³ Similmente in Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß* II/3 674s.) si azzarda soltanto la ricostruzione di **-w^e/o* per la prima persona. Le attestazioni di desinenze di perfetto nelle altre lingue ie. sono scarse. In avestico si trovano soltanto le desinenze di 3° p. du., nella forma att. *-atarə* (PIr. **-atrr*) e med. *-āte* (PIr. – *āte*, sanscr. *cakr-āte*) (cf. Misra 1979, 192). In vedico sono attestate le desinenze 2° p. du. att. **-athur* e 3° p. du. att. **-atur* (cf. anche sanscr. *vid-atuh*, in perfetta corrispondenza con l'avestico; cf. MacDonell 1910, 314), calchi delle desinenze primarie con aggiunta del morfema **-r* che spesso funge da marca di perfetto. Il gotico mutua le desinenze primarie, e presenta 1° p. du. **-u*, 2° p. du. **-ts*.

analogiche, favorito anche dalla presenza della bilabiale nella 1° p. pl. in tutte le diatesi ed aspetti:

	1° p. pl.	1° p. du.
Desinenze perfetto	*-me	*-we
Desinenze secondarie	*-me	→ *-we
Desinenze primarie	*-m%/s	→ *-w%/s)

Se così fosse, si dovrebbe ipotizzare per la prima persona duale un procedimento di estensione inverso a quello comunemente ipotizzato, ovvero dalle desinenze del preterito a quelle secondarie e, successivamente, a quelle primarie. Vero è che le desinenze del preterito sono più marcate delle secondarie; ma è altrettanto vero che il rapporto tra le due serie non è di chiara dipendenza come quello tra secondarie e primarie. È dunque possibile postulare che, in una fase di relativa fluidità delle due desinenze, già esistenti e utilizzate come allofoni secondo le necessità del sandhi interno, la variante di prima persona non-singolare *-we sia stata grammaticalizzata come prima persona duale nel perfetto, e che tale estensione sia stata rapidamente estesa alle altre serie. È evidente che dovrebbe trattarsi in questo caso di uno sviluppo tardo, quantomeno successivo alla formazione di desinenze primarie e secondarie. Tale estensione sembra tuttavia quantomeno plausibile, considerando da un lato la relativa seriorità nella fissazione di terminazioni specifiche per il duale, e dall'altro l'estensione solo parziale di tale desinenza di 1° p. du. che, in effetti, in alcuni gruppi tace.

Incidentalmente, si sottolinea che, come per il pronome, si evidenzia nelle desinenze verbali una separazione piuttosto marcata tra 1° persona da un lato, e 2°-3° persone dall'altro: tale scissione, funzionale non meno che semantica, mette in guardia da facili tentazioni 'normative', ed invita alla cautela nell'elaborazione di prospetti tanto esaustivi quanto poco realistici.

Il greco, si sa, non mostra traccia della desinenza ie. sopra discussa³⁴⁴. Un possibile residuo (cong.) erede della forma ie. sembra essere adombrata nella glossa

³⁴⁴ Duhoux (2000, 131-134) suggerisce che la perdita della persona in greco potrebbe essere stata dovuta all'ambiguità intrinseca alla prima persona duale, passibile di esprimere due parlanti, o il

di Esichio ἀγώγης < **ἀγῶρες, che continuerebbe *-wes (cf. Pisani 1973, 106). Esichio riporta la glossa come argiva; altre testimonianze epigrafiche, come si è visto, conservano tracce di duale in questo dialetto³⁴⁵. L'idea la desinenza ie., a base di digamma, sia stata persa in quanto volatile e vulnerabile all'interno del paradigma, ha ricevuto in passato un coro di assensi (cf. Cuny 1906, 58s.); in una prospettiva funzionale, tuttavia, si può semplicemente obiettare che, se si fosse avvertita la necessità di tale desinenza, un sostituto sarebbe stato facilmente prodotto in sostituzione – ed in effetti è quanto accade, seppure in maniera decisamente circoscritta, per l'innovativa desinenza *-μεθον, attestata solo tre volte³⁴⁶, e sempre in letteratura: δεῦρό νυν ἦ τρίποδος περιδώμεθον ἢ ἐ λέβοτος (Il. XXIII 485)³⁴⁷, ἀλλ' Ἄιδης λαβὼν / ἀπεστέρηκε καὶ μόνα λελείμμεθον (Soph. El. 949s.) e νὸ μὲν οὖν ὀρμώμεθον (Soph. Ph. 1079). Si tratta sicuramente di un'innovazione greca, che cerca di fondere la desinenza di prima plurale -μεθα con la desinenza -σθον caratteristica delle seconda e terza persone duali³⁴⁸; la scarsità di occorrenze, l'indifferenza della desinenza a modi e tempi – addirittura in un perfetto, nel passo dell'*Elettra* – e la combinazione di morfemi indipendenti sono fattori decisivi nel denunciare

parlante e l'ascoltatore; questo fattore, tuttavia, non sembra conclusivo, in quanto spesso le forme verbali si manifestano in concomitanza con pronomi flessi al duale: semmai, potrebbe essere stata l'azione centripeta del pronome a rendere ridondante l'espressione del duale nel verbo. In ogni caso, questa considerazione, come ogni ipotesi basata su argomenti *e silentio*, nulla aggiunge al dato concreto, ovvero l'assenza della persona in greco.

³⁴⁵ Come il già menzionato θιυοῖν < *θεοῖν in un'iscrizione su vaso bronzeo del VI sec. (cf. Schwyzer 1923, 39).

³⁴⁶ Cinque, se si considerano anche le due occorrenze in Ateneo (cf. *supra*), come «faux archaïsmes» (Chantraine 1984, 307).

³⁴⁷ Si noti che West stampa περιδώμεθα: la variante in -μεθον è tuttavia attestata da Erodiano, e, tra gli altri, nei mss. Bibl. Brit. Add. ms. 17210 e inv. 128 (9 e 13 West), che preservano anche i duali (accettati da West) ἀμείβεσθον e νεμεσᾶτον (XXIII 492s.).

³⁴⁸ «Cette désinence est visiblement une création grecque sur -μεθα d'après la 2^e pers. duel -σθον» (Chantraine 1984, 307; cf. anche Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II 3/2 655; Schwyzer, *GG* I 672; Meillet-Vendryes 1979, 331). Il ricorso alla desinenza secondaria -μεθα piuttosto che della primaria -μεν può essere determinato dalla presenza di theta, foneticamente sibillino rispetto alle desinenze duali. Il contesto sintattico e fonetico delle tre occorrenze è tuttavia significativo: il ricorrere di vocali tematiche lunghe, tipiche del congiuntivo, associate a desinenze duali di imperativo, sottolinea contemporaneamente la necessità di sopperire all'assenza di una forma di prima persona imperativo duale, ed al tempo stesso la prassi di ovviare alle carenze dell'imperativo attraverso l'uso di congiuntivi esortativi; questa costruzione, quindi, mentre evidenzia la mancanza di una forma regolare, dall'altro tradisce l'uso consolidato del congiuntivo in sostituzione di essa.

l'artificialità della forma³⁴⁹, che difficilmente sarà mai stata retaggio della lingua d'uso³⁵⁰. Più probabilmente, Sofocle starà ammiccando ai poemi omerici, non per caso proprio in tragedie di pertinenza epica: come si vedrà in séguito, le uniche concessioni omericheggianti dei tragici si manifestano in tragedie a tema iliadico.

Per quanto riguarda le seconda e terza persona duale, il sincretismo proposto dal greco sembra porsi in contrasto unicamente rispetto al vedico, che connota con l'aspirazione la dentale della 2° p. du.; le altre lingue concordano invece nel ricorso per le due persone ad un unico morfema³⁵¹: «Greek -τον testifies to the primitive identity of the two persons in the present of the indicative. In the imperfect-injunctive Greek -τον/-την is in agreement with Indo-Ir. -tam/-tām. In Iranian -tām is attested for both persons» (Kuryłowicz 1964, 151).

Quanto alle desinenze medie, sembra piuttosto evidente che si tratti di formazioni secondarie: «as far as Greek is concerned, it has been clear that all dual middle forms are analogical creations. After the relation of the 2. pl. act. pres. φέρε-τε to φέρε-τον, the corresponding 2. and 3. dual, the middle 2. pl. φέρε-σθε induced the 2. and 3. du. φέρε-σθον» (Petersen 1936, 166).

³⁴⁹ «Tout le monde s'accorde pour voir dans *-μεθον une innovation du grec. [...] Il n'y a pas ici de trace de distinction entre les temps primaires et les temps à augment» (Cuny 1906, 59). Si potrebbe tuttavia obiettare che non si vede perchè tale differenza dovrebbe sussistere; è evidente che qui Cuny ha in mente l'ingiuntivo vedico e la sua prospettiva è influenzata da quella aria.

³⁵⁰ Questa idea si trova già in Elmsley, ed è più estensivamente motivata da Wackernagel (1926, 81s.): «beim Verbum des Griechischen haben wir Dualformen nur in der zweiten und dritten Person, während in der ersten Person in Fällen, wo der Dual angebracht gewesen wäre, die Endung der I.Plur. -μεν, -με(σ)θα gesetzt wird [...]. In den Grammatikern schon des altertums wurden diese Formen auf -μεθον durchweg als Formen des Systems aufgeführt, ganz parallel den andern medialen Formen. Der Engländer Elmsley, ein nicht genialer, aber sorgfältiger Kritiker, sah zuerst, dass nur diese drei Beispiele vorliegen [i.e. *Il.* XXIII 485, *Soph. El.* 949 e *Ph.* 1079]. In einseitiger Verwertung der gemachten Beobachtung behauptete er nun, es handle sich dabei um eine Erfindung der Grammatiker. Das ist natürlich töricht und schon von Hermann und Lobeck zurückwiesen worden. Vielmehr müssen wir darin eine Neubildung erkennen; nach der II. Person des Duals auf -σθον wurde gewagt in der I. Person eine entsprechende Dualform auf -μεθον statt des pluralischen -μεθα zu brauchen. Es ist eine Versuchsbildung, die in Attika zeitweilig zulässig war, die aber Plato oder die Komiker nie anwenden. Das homerische περιδώμεθον ist wohl attischer Eindringling; der Dichter wird περιδώμεθα gesagt haben».

³⁵¹ Tale morfema sarà plausibilmente stato mutuato dalle desinenze secondarie e generalizzato alla terza persona nelle primarie (così come all'imperativo); è dunque possibile ipotizzare che *-τον fosse principalmente marcato per il numero, e solo secondariamente per la persona. Incidentalmente, il greco è un 'pro-drop language', ovvero una lingua in cui l'espressione dei pronomi può essere omessa: di conseguenza, la determinazione della persona sarà verosimilmente stata più immediata in tempi principali che in tempi secondari, dove l'assenza di pronomi e la proiezione temporale dell'azione potevano stimolare la necessità di una distinzione tra seconda e terza persona.

L'affinità del greco al gruppo indo-ario è sensibile quanto la tendenza all'estensione sincretica degli stessi morfemi per esprimere il duale in domini differenti. È questo anche il caso dell'imperativo, che sembra opportuno trattare accanto alle desinenze primarie; le desinenze attestate sono le seguenti:

	2° p. du. att.	3° p. du. att.	2° p. du. med.	3° p. du. med.
Gr.	-τον	-των	-σθον	-σθων
Ved. ³⁵²	*-tam	*-tām	*-āthām	*-ātām
Lit.	*-ta	/	/	/
Got.	-ts	/	/	/
Toch.	/	/	B *-ait ³⁵³	/
Ie. ³⁵⁴	*-tom ³⁵⁵	*-tām	?	?

Come si vede, l'affinità con il gruppo indo-iranico è stringente; per contro, il greco adotta desinenze sincretiche, in quanto la 2° p. du. coincide con le desinenze primarie e secondarie, mentre la 3° p. du. è debitrice del plurale³⁵⁶. La desinenza di 3° p. du. media *-σθων è a sua volta frutto di evidente contaminazione tra le desinenze medie secondarie *-σθον/*-σθην e la vocale lunga caratterizzante il plurale³⁵⁷. Adeguamenti analogici sono qui all'opera in alto grado; la creazione del

³⁵² Il vedico utilizza per l'imperativo/ingiuntivo le desinenze primarie (cf. MacDonell 1910, 317).

³⁵³ «B *pyamtsait* de B *yām*- 'faire' constitue le seul exemple d'une forme de duel de la 2^e per. moy.: celle-ci fait partie du groupe de formes d'impératif B [...] qui sont construites sur un thème de prétérit à suffixe -s-» (van Windekens 1982 II 2, 297).

³⁵⁴ Si cita anche l'incerta forma umbra *habituto* (Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II/3 675).

³⁵⁵ «In the 2du. and 3du. it appears that the secondary ending was likewise used in the imperative» (Ringe 2006, 32).

³⁵⁶ «The Imper. Ending -των is found in ἔστων (Il. I 338) and κομείτων (Il. VIII 109). As to ἔστων in *Od.* I 273, where it is usually taken as a Plural, see § 173» (Monro 1891, 6). L'allungamento della vocale desinenziale (*-τον > *-των) che produce 3° p. du. ἔστων sarà verosimilmente dovuto ad analogia con le forme di 3° p. sg. ἔστω e 3° p. pl. ἔστων (idem dicasi per l'analogica forma media in -σθων).

³⁵⁷ Cf. Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II 3/2 639-641, Meillet-Vendryes 1970, 335 e Szemerényi 1999, 287. Sulla base di un'osservazione di Wackernagel su *-σθε è stato spesso proposto di stabilire una connessione tra la desinenza -(σ)θον e la corrispondente forma vedica *-dhvam* < ie. *-dhvom*; secondo tale ipotesi, un'antica forma in *-θου avrebbe visto in greco la caduta del digamma, mentre in vedico avrebbe portato ad una sonorizzazione della dentale precedente (cf. Cuny 1906, 63; Schwyzer, *GG* I 670s.). Questa ipotesi, tuttavia, non spiega le origini della sibilante precedente la desinenza, se non in

duale, all'interno dell'imperativo, nonostante il suo deciso grado di produttività, risulta artificiale, e dipendente dalle desinenze principali.

In sintesi, la situazione delle desinenze primarie è in greco emblematica: a fronte di una certa continuità rispetto al panorama ie., si osservano discontinuità sensibili, come l'assenza della prima persona e il sincretismo di seconda e terza. La carenza di una desinenza specifica per la prima persona, in una lingua che possiede il duale tra le sue categorie flessionali, sembra tipologicamente minoritaria, benché attestata. In particolare, in greco essa si pone in contrasto con la presenza di serie specifiche per la prima persona nel pronome – categoria comunque più vicina, e sensibile, al parlante. È certo plausibile che la desinenza sia stata persa precocemente; il quadro stesso presentato dalle altre persone, per quanto contenente echi di desinenze ie., appare già rimodellato e livellato. Il fatto che il pronome sia, già nei poemi omerici, ben marcato per il duale, potrebbe avere giocato un ruolo nella costituzione di un paradigma verbale difettivo: laddove il dominio del pronome è più marcato, quello del verbo sembra più debole, e viceversa.

Si osservino in questo senso le desinenze di duale specifiche per le tre persone, attraverso un processo *à rebours*, nelle categorie flessionali del pronome e del verbo. Si è evidenziato come la terza persona sia una non-persona e le forme di duale pronominali siano del tutto artificiali; per contro, il verbo presenta desinenze di duale morfologicamente ben marcate, estensivamente usate, e distinte in primarie e secondarie. La seconda persona presenta una rispondenza tra pronome e verbo più omogenea: il pronome è stabile e trasparente, ed il verbo presenta categorie distinte rispetto alla diatesi, benché sincretiche rispetto al modo. La prima persona osserva la tendenza inversa rispetto alla terza: il pronome è forte, pluritematico, e ricorre (prevedibilmente) al duale più che le altre due persone insieme; il verbo, per contro, tace.

Incidentalmente, risalta il fatto che nei poemi omerici il duale verbale sia implicato soprattutto in contesti dialogici. Le seconda e terza persona sembrano in questi contesti maggiormente pertinenti: la specificazione di due elementi, in cui il

termini analogici; d'altra parte, il riferimento ad un procedimento analogico sarebbe di per sé sufficiente a spiegare l'origine di questa forma, che erediterebbe la base originaria $-\tau\omicron\nu$ omologandola al resto delle desinenze medie dell'imperativo, uniformemente caratterizzate dalla presenza del gruppo $*-\sigma\theta-$ nella diatesi media.

parlante non è incluso, può esprimere un valore distributivo, come si vedrà in séguito, al fine di selezionare due specifici individui, all'interno di una moltitudine, che agiscono simultaneamente, come un unico ente. La prima persona, per contro, con la sua inclusione del parlante, non avrebbe finalità 'deittiche', ma esprimerebbe un puro dato numerico, passibile tuttavia di essere espresso, con una limitazione delle marche flessionali, dalla più ricca e politematica categoria del pronome di prima persona. Questa scissione tra prima persona, da un lato, e seconda e terza, dall'altro, all'interno del paradigma verbale – e, contestualmente, in ambiti dialogici e narrativi – trova un evidente parallelo nella situazione dell'imperativo, dominio verbale in cui, di nuovo, la prima persona è mancante.

Resta evidente che questa partizione non offre alcuna spiegazione per l'assenza di una prima persona duale, prodotto di evoluzioni di tipo diacronico e difficilmente riducibile all'interazione di fattori circostanziali; tuttavia, il diverso peso delle diverse persone e categorie morfologiche all'interno del dominio linguistico sicuramente avrà giocato un ruolo nella selezione di forme a dispetto di altre, come la frequenza stessa delle diverse forme sembra confermare.

1.3.2 Desinenze secondarie.

Per quanto concerne invece le desinenze secondarie, la situazione è la seguente:

	1° p. du. att.	2° p. du. att.	3° p. du. att.	1° p. du. med.	2° p. du. med.	3° p. du. med.
Gr.	/	-τον	-τᾶν ³⁵⁸ , att. την	/	-σθον	-σθην
Ved.	-va	-tam	-tām	-vahi	-āthām	-ātām
Avest.	-va (PIr. *-va < ie. *-we)	-təm (PIr. *-tam < ie. *-tom)	-təm (PIr. *-tām < ie. *-tām)	-vaidī (PIr. *-vadhi < ie. *-vedhə)	*-təm (PIr. *-tham < ie. *-thām)	-təm, -the (PIr. *-tam < ie. *-tām) ³⁵⁹

³⁵⁸ Che il vocalismo centrale sia quello ereditato è provato dalle testimonianze dialettali di terza persona *-tām: beotico ἀνεθέτᾶν, eleo λείτᾶν, dorico κτισσάσθᾶν (probabile contaminazione; cf. Gray 1927, 244).

³⁵⁹ Nessuna attestazione di desinenze di 2° p. du. med.; le quattro forme di duale secondarie medie sono alla 3° p. (*jasaētəm, asrvātəm, da'iditəm, zayōiθe*; cf. Misra 1979, 190). «Whether the Aryan

Asl.	*-БЪ, *-vĕ ³⁶⁰	*-та, *-tā	*-тє, *-tĕ	*-БЪ, *-vĕ	*-та, *-tā	*-тє, *-tĕ
Lith.	*-va < *-wā	/	/	/	/	/
Got. ³⁶¹	-u ³⁶²	-uts	/	/	/	/
Ie. ³⁶³	*-w ^{e/o}	*-tom	*-tām	*-we-d ^h ₂ ³⁶⁴	?	?

Sembra esserci giudizio piuttosto concorde sul fatto che le desinenze primarie siano, come videro Bopp e Szemerényi, debentrici delle secondarie³⁶⁵: «the Greek syncretism, -τον in the primary series of ending versus the difference -τον/-την in the secondary series, throws an interesting light on the original relation between the primary and secondary endings. Syncretism or defectivation is as a rule characteristic of a founded (derived) series whereas distinctions are maintained or created in the basic (fundamental) series» (Kuryłowicz 1964, 152).

Il grado di concordanza tra le varie lingue è in queste serie – soprattutto quella attiva – sintomatico³⁶⁶. La desinenza di seconda persona, come anticipato e

secondary dual forms of the 2. and 3. persons, go back to IE origins, there is no way of deciding, although the age of the secondary endings in general makes it probable» (Petersen 1936, 167).

³⁶⁰ «With -ĕ either by analogy with the first dual pronoun vĕ or < IE *-vĕs» (Gray 1927, 242); «Slaw. *-vĕ dem Einfluß des Pronomens vĕ zuzuschreiben ist» (Watkins 1969, 47).

³⁶¹ «The would-be symmetrical paradigm appears to have broken down in the 1-2 dual and plural of the middle voice. The dual can not be reconstructed at all» (Roberts 1935, 227). Una sopravvivenza dell'antico duale è stata ammessa «possibly in the stereotyped Old Saxon *wita* 'let us'» (Gray 1927, 77).

³⁶² Come nel caso delle desinenze primarie, è il congiuntivo a preservare la desinenza ie. di 1° p. du.: cf. Ind. *nemu*, *nemuts* con Cong. *nemiwa*, *nemits* (Voyles 1981, 89).

³⁶³ La ricostruzione suggerisce vocale radicale a grado apofonico pieno, peculiarità poi trasferita sulle forme primarie (cf. Malzahn 2004, 51, 54). In tocario nessuna desinenza secondaria è preservata; esistono invece tre attestazioni per le desinenze del *perfectum*: «les formes du duel sont limitées à des exemples de la 3^e personne, un dans le dialecte A et deux dans le dialecte B: A *tākenas* de A *tāk* 'être', B *ltais* de B *länt*-, *lät*- 'sortir' et B *stāmais* de B *stām*- 'être debout, se trouver, être'. On y trouve comme caractéristiques propres du duel A *-enas*, B *-ais*» (van Windekens 1982, II/2 286). Secondo van Windekens (*ibid.*) la desinenza di Toc. A conterrebbe lo stesso suffisso *-en- caratterizzante i casi diretti del parale (A *-ṇ, B *-aine); le desinenze del duale procederebbero dall'adozione della desinenza di preterito tipica della 2° p. pl. *-s.

³⁶⁴ «It is possible that this was in its entirety originally a dual ending which later became plural [in Hittite] when the Hittite dual disappeared. In that case Hitt. *-wata < IE *-wedhā became *-wasta* through contamination with *-was = IE *-wos* of the dual active» (Petersen 1936, 167).

³⁶⁵ «Except in the 2du. and 3du., which are puzzling [...], it is clear that the active secondary endings were the 'basic' members of the paradigm» (Ringe 2006, 32). Indubbiamente le desinenze del duale pongono problemi supplementari: nonostante il disappunto di Ringe, tuttavia, una dipendenza delle forme primarie dalle secondarie sembra evidente persino in questa categoria.

³⁶⁶ «Donde existe la correspondencia más exacta es entre el ai. y el gr. en las des. secundarias activas [...]. En otras lenguas no hay correspondencia exacta en ningún caso, pero cuando existen formas

come si vedrà estensivamente in séguito, sembra essere stata particolarmente marcata, al punto da essere estesa anche alle primarie, e all'imperativo³⁶⁷. Le desinenze medie, che coerentemente distinguono 2° e 3° p. du, sono evidentemente modellate, laddove presenti, sulle attive³⁶⁸. Per quanto riguarda il passivo, la desinenza – ancora sincretica – sembra essere stata -σθην³⁶⁹. Esistono in particolare, nei poemi omerici, alcune forme incerte: μιάνθην (*Il.* IV 146)³⁷⁰, φράνθεν, ἀάσθην (*Il.* XIX 136).

Nella seconda e terza persona duale, la flessione verbale greca adotta comportamenti peculiari. Esiste infatti, come anticipato, un certo margine di variabilità nell'adozione di desinenze primarie o secondarie³⁷¹. Il miceneo non è purtroppo, in questo caso, di alcun supporto, in quanto solo un'arbitraria forma di duale è stata rinvenuta nelle tavolette³⁷².

Quanto ai poemi omerici, la storia del testo si intreccia alla storia degli studi. La relativa fluidità nell'adozione di desinenze primarie o secondarie – che si

activas de 2° y 3° de dual en todo caso comienzan por *-t*: se trata de reelaboraciones de la antigua *-t* de la 2° 3°. cf., por ejemplo, 2° du. gót. *-ts*, 3° du. aegl. *-te*» (Adrados 1975, 627).

³⁶⁷ Così in tocario (cf. van Windekens 1982, II/2 271) e greco, dove, come si è visto, l'ampliamento analogico si estende anche alla terza persona.

³⁶⁸ «En la voz media, sólo el i.-i. presenta un sistema completo, que hemos calificado de secundario» (Adrados 1975, 627); «for the distinction between secondary -σθην and primary -σθον in the 3. du., as ἐ-φερέ-σθην imperfect beside φέρε-σθον es., the model was furnished by the corresponding distinction in the active, as ἐ-φερέ-την beside ἐ-φέρε-τον. In the 1. pl. the rare -μέθον, which occurs three times in the older poets, e.g. in περι-δώμεθον, is certainly adapted from the plural -μεθα after the duals in -σθον» (Petersen 1936, 166s.)

³⁶⁹ Si sottolinea qui incidentalmente il caso di ἐτύχθην (Monro 1891, 43), forma verosimilmente residuale che appare solo in Eschilo e negli oracoli sibillini, esito di *ε-τυχ-σ-σθην.

³⁷⁰ Da *μιᾶν-σθην: «the subject is mhroiv, which is Dual in sense; and the Dual might well be restored throughout the sentence (τοίω τοι, Μενέλαε, μιάνθην αἵματι μηρῶ εὐφύεε, κνήμαι τε κ. τ. λ.). The explanation of μιάνθην as a dual is due to Buttmann (*Ausf. Spr.* ii. 244, ed. 2)» (Monro 1891, 44).

³⁷¹ «Le fait que dans les temps primaires *-ton* fonctionnait à la fois comme désinence de deuxième et de troisième personne eut pour conséquence que dans les temps secondaires également la deuxième et la troisième personne confondirent leurs emplois; [...] des faits analogues se sont produits en vieux-slave où *-te* désinence primaire (pouvant représenter **-thes* et **-tes*) n'a subsisté que comme troisième eprsonne (primaire et secondaire) et où *-ta* désinence secondaire remplissait aussi les fonctions de désinence secondaire à la seconde personne» (Cuny 1906, 61; cf. Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* III/1 353).

³⁷² «Les phrases comprenant un verbe sont très rares dans nos textes. On ne s'étonnera pas de ne pas avoir encore d'exemple sûr de phrase verbale avec verbe au duel. l'ensemble du document pylien Va 15 demeurant très obscur, il reste arbitraire d'interpréter la fin de la première ligne (don't le début est mutilé) *ouqe eto 43katere 2* par οὔτε ἔστον (...) τῆρε (δύο)» (Lejeune *Mémoires* II 49; cf. Hillyard 2008, 330).

ritrova parzialmente attestata, con esiti talora opposti, in attico³⁷³ – ha determinato l’insorgere di tendenze interpretative contrastanti. Da un punto di vista analitico e descrittivo, resta ancora insuperato il bilancio di Monro³⁷⁴, che registra i cinque casi canonici di ‘anomalie’ omeriche³⁷⁵:

1. *-τον appare in tempi storici per la terza persona, invece dell’attesa desinenza *-την, in tre imperfetti omerici: ἐτεύχετον (*Il.* XIII 346)³⁷⁶, λαφύσσετον (*Il.* XVIII 583)³⁷⁷ e διώκετον (*Il.* X 363 – sempre che non si tratti di un presente). Che si tratti di tre imperfetti, di cui due privi di aumento, non è un elemento trascurabile, considerata la genesi dell’imperfetto dal tema del presente³⁷⁸; una contaminazione con le desinenze primarie sembra plausibile. Si deve inoltre sottolineare che tutte e tre le forme sono *hapax*, e che in tutte le occorrenze il metro non ammetterebbe *-την;

³⁷³ «Es bestand also Neigung, zwischen -τον im Präsens, -την in den Augmenttempora zu scheiden» (Schwyzer, *GG* I 667).

³⁷⁴ Monro (1891, 3), apprezzando la ‘flessibilità’ delle desinenze di duale omeriche, ammetteva sia -τον che -την come desinenze *regolari* secondarie attive per la 3° p. du., accogliendo le ‘anomalie’ nel novero delle varianti legittime; similmente, come si vedrà, Elmsley (1809, 69s.) considerava -την come la desinenza corretta secondaria, sincretica, per il duale in attico.

³⁷⁵ Otto nel bilancio di Monro, che aggiungeva καμέτην a *Il.* VIII 448, λαβέτην a *Il.* X 545 e ἠθελέτην a *Il.* XI 782, come testimoni di una tendenza, di segno inverso rispetto a quelle analizzate sopra, verso l’estensione di *-την a scapito di *-τον. Si tratta in realtà di varianti zenodotee, contro cui sono attestati gli aristarχει καμέτον (codd. **Z** e **Ω** West), λάβετον (**Ω** West) e ἠθέλετον (**Ω** West).

³⁷⁶ «In correct writers τέτευχα is the pf. of τυγχάνω (for in *Il.* XIII 346 in ἠρώεσσι τετεύχατον or τετεύχετον is f.l. for ἐτεύχετον)» (*LSJ*⁹ 1832f.). West sceglie tuttavia il perfetto τετεύχατον: le lezioni tramandate dai codici mostrano un alto grado di variabilità (τετύχατον/τετύχετον/ἐτεύχατον/ἐτεύχετον). Né perfetto né imperfetto (attestato ancora 2_x, *Il.* XVIII 373 e *Od.* XVIII 35) risolvono, comunque, l’ambiguità della desinenza. Come anticipato, ἐτεύχετον è un *hapax*; si veda tuttavia la formula (αὐτίκα δ’ ἐξ ὀχέων) σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλλο χαμῆζε, 8_x *Il.* (III 29, (IV 419), V 494, VI 103, (XI 211), XII 81, XIII 749, (XVI 426)), in cui la radice ricopre sempre la stessa posizione 4_{τευχε}:- ἐτεύχετον potrebbe essere in tale sede condizionato dalla formula, salvo presentare desinenza primaria/secondaria di 2° p. in accordo con la necessità di vocale breve. Si noti che, al di là della collocazione in formula, τεύχεσι(v) compare nella stessa sede metrica ancora 8_x nell’*Illiade* (IX 80, X 151, X 182, 480, XIII 738, XVI 156, XVIII 269, 518) e 1_x nell’*Odissea* (XXI 74).

³⁷⁷ Il verbo ricorre solo 3_x nei poemi, le altre due volte nella formula τῆς δ’ ἐξ αὐχέν’ ἔαξε λαβὼν κροατεροῖσιν ὀδοῦσι / πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ θ’ αἶμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει (*Il.* XI 176, XVII 64).

³⁷⁸ «Auch die unrichtige Verwendung von διώκετον K 364, ἐτεύχετον N 346, λαφύσσετον Σ 583 im Sinne einer III. du. praeteriti könnte so beurteilt werden. Aber hätte das Metrum nicht auch einen Dichter, für den der Dual etwas lebendiges war, zu einer solchen Inkorrektheit des Ausdrucks veranlassen können?» (Wackernagel 1916, 215).

2. secondo la stessa tendenza, per le desinenze medie si trova *-σθον invece di *-σθην in alcuni passi³⁷⁹: ἀφίκεσθον (*Il.* XIII 613)³⁸⁰ e θωρήσσεσθον (*Il.* XVI 218)³⁸¹.

Come si vede, la tendenza rispecchia un timido tentativo di generalizzazione della desinenza a timbro *-ῶ a spese di quella storica di terza persona a timbro *-ῆ. Occorre chiedersi a che cosa debba essere imputata questa oscillazione – se sia, cioè, lo specchio di una fase di pre-grammaticalizzazione, in cui le desinenze non sono ancora strettamente marcate (ma ciò sembra improbabile, dato che la distinzione tra 3° p. du. secondaria e primaria è ereditata)³⁸²; se ci si trovi di fronte a un periodo di declino, e relativa confusione, nell'adozione delle desinenze (ma che un eventuale declino comporti confusione è, come si è visto, teoria abusata e non del tutto fededegna); se, piuttosto, le anomalie non esprimano la convivenza di tendenze contrastanti, specchio di trattamenti differenti in differenti dialetti³⁸³.

³⁷⁹ Monro riportava anche πέτεσθον a *Il.* XXIII 506, ma alcuni mss. (9, 13, 48 West e tutti Ω) hanno restituito l'atteso πετέσθην.

³⁸⁰ Tuttavia ἀφίκεσθον sembra essere variante riportata da codd. sulla base di Didimo. La variante ἀφικέσθην è attestata da Aristofane; sia Allen che West pubblicano ἐφίκοντο. Si sottolinea inoltre che, se la forma fosse un aoristo, ci si dovrebbe attendere iota lungo, metricamente incompatibile; una desinenza di duale in questa sede resta dunque difficilmente ammissibile.

³⁸¹ Il verbo compare tuttavia solo un'altra volta al duale (con la desinenza *-σθον), sempre in fine di verso, a *Il.* XIII 301 (τὸ μὲν ἄρ' ἐκ Θρήκης Ἐφύρους μετὰ θωρήσσεσθον); un'eco formulare è dunque ammissibile. Al di là dell'elemento formulare, questa occorrenza sembra comunque la più emblematica tra le forme 'anomale': una variante *-σθην sarebbe del tutto ammissibile, data la posizione in fine di verso, eppure non è mai attestata, a testimonianza di una insistita preferenza per la forma θωρήσσεσθον. La collocazione in clausola avrebbe d'altra parte tollerato senza problemi la variante θωρήσσεσθην. Sulla scansione del verso, «Ep. Poets mostly use ā in arsi, ă in thesi; but in trisyll. forms with stem ἀνήε always ā-; so also Trag. in Iyr., Soph. *Tr.* 1011, *OT* 869» (*LS*)⁹ 138; cf. Schwyzer, *GG* I 568; Chantraine *DELG* 87; si veda anche *Il.* XVI 215); «l'a initial qui ne peut s'expliquer de façon sûre (prothèse? ou alternance?) se retrouve dans arm. *ayr*, gen. *arn*» (Chantraine *DELG* 88).

³⁸² Così già Monro (1891, 6): «in Sanscrit we find that in the historical tenses the 2 Dual ends in -*tam*, 3 Dual in -*tām*, answering perfectly to the Greek -τον, -την. This therefore is to be regarded as the original rule». Più genericamente, Chantraine (1984, 308) osserva che, nel verbo, «les formes de duel étaient mal fixées et il s'est produit des flottements, en particulier aux temps secondaires».

³⁸³ «The exceptions which have been quoted are evidently due to the tendency towards uniformity: and it is to be noticed that this tendency seems to have acted in Homer in the direction of making all Duals end in -τον, -σθον, whereas in Attic the tendency was to extend the Endings -την, -σθην to the Second Person» (Monro 1891, 6). In questa direzione anche Wackernagel (1916, 215), che si attesta su posizioni comunque caute: «irre ich nicht, so ist ein Beweis für äolischen Ursprung des homerischen

Sembrirebbe darne conferma la situazione dell'attico. Come anticipato, in attico si registra la tendenza opposta, ovvero la generalizzazione di -την nelle desinenze secondarie: «dagegen brauchen attische Dichter (auch ohne metrische Not) und Prosaiker nicht selten Formen auf -την als 2. Pers. Du. Imperf. und Aor. (im Optativ als 2. Pers. nur -τον, z. B. εἶητον ὀρθῶτον)» (Schwyzer, GG I 667)³⁸⁴. Due casi emblematici si trovano nell'*Edipo re* e nell'*Alceste*:

σφῶν δ', ὃ τέκν', εἰ μὲν εἰκέτην ἤδη φρένας / πόλλ' ἂν
παρήνουν (Soph. OT 1511s.)

μοι χάριν / τοιάνδε καὶ σὺ χῆ τεκοῦσ' ἠλλαξάτην
(Eur. Alc. 660s.)

Altri esempi significativi sono rintracciabili in prosa³⁸⁵:

καὶ μὴν, ὦ Ἑρξίμαχε, εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἀριστοφάνη, ἄλλη γέ πη ἐν
νῶ ἔχω λέγειν ἢ ἢ σὺ τε καὶ Πausanίας εἰπέτην (Plat. Symp.
189c.3)³⁸⁶

πότερον δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πάντα νῦν μόνον ἐπίστασθον ἢ καὶ αἰεί;
καὶ αἰεί, ἔφη. καὶ ὅτε παιδία ἦσθην καὶ εὐθὺς γενόμενοι
ἠπίστασθε πάντα; ἐφάτην ἅμα ἀμφοτέρω. (Plat. Euthyd.
294e.8-10)³⁸⁷

Duals, wie für das Fehlen des Duals bei den Ioniern, die das Epos übernahmen, daraus zu entnehmen, daß die Dualformen der Verba contracta mit Ausnahme von αἰνεῖτον σ 64, δορπεῖτην ο 302, ἐφομαρτεῖτον Θ 191 (Variante -ῆτον) und Ψ 414 und von κομείτην Θ 113 (nebst κομείτων Θ 109) die Pänultima äolisch vokalisiert zeigen: συναντήτην π 133, ἀπειλήτην λ 313, προσασθήτην Λ 136, X 90, συλήτην Ν 202, φοιτήτην Μ 266, während die sonstige Flexion aller dieser Verba rein ionisch-attisch ist. Also die Endung der III. Dualis kam bei diesen Verben in der Form -ήταν zu den Ioniern. Aber weil sie selbst kein -εῖτην -άτην besaßen, ließen sie das η der Pänultima stehen, wie andere nicht ionisierbare Äolismen. Wie -την für -τᾶν in diese und die andern Dualformen (z. B. βαητην ἐβήτην) hineinkam, ob vielleicht erst auf attischem Boden, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis.

³⁸⁴ Cf. Hasse 1893, 49-56.

³⁸⁵ Elmsley (1809, 70) rintracciava come forme anomale di duale anche Plat. *Euth.* 191c εὐρέτην e 198e ἐπεδημείτην, ἐμαθέτην.

³⁸⁶ Sempre che il passo non sia volutamente ammiccante: si noti anche il duale 'omerizzante' νῶ.

³⁸⁷ Quest'ultimo esempio sembra essere particolarmente emblematico: ad ἐπίστασθον (2° p. du. 'corretta') si pongono in parallelo ἦσθην ed ἠπίστασθε, il primo pertinente rispetto al numero (ma non alla persona, 3°), il secondo rispetto alla persona (ma non rispetto al numero, pl.). Sembra che, come più volte anticipato rispetto alle concordanze, vi sia qui una tendenza a evitare la ridondanza (e, forse, l'omeoteleuto, naturalmente indotto dalla ripetizione della stessa desinenza): criteri stilistici non meno che eufonici potrebbero qui essere all'opera. Infine, la desinenza -την si ripresenta in

Τί δῆτα οὐ καὶ σύ τε καὶ ὁ Μέγιστος, ὃ ξένη, ἐκοινωνησάτην
ἡμῖν τῇ πολιτείᾳ; (Plat. *Leg.* 753a.6)

δὴ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐλεγέτην αὐτὸ εἶναι σφὸ τὸ πρὸς πόλεμον (Plat.
Leg. 705d.5s.)

Una testimonianza indiretta è infine costituita dal famoso 'elogio dei
tirannicidi' riportato da Ateneo (XV 695b = *Carm. Conv.* PMG 896):

ἀεὶ σφῶν κλέος ἔσσεται κατ' αἴαν / φίλτατ' Ἀρμόδιος καὶ
Ἀριστογείτων / ὅτι τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην / ἰσονόμους τ'
Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην

Che una simile alternanza appaia in tragedia (e mai in Aristofane), da un
lato, e nella prosa platonica, dissipa il dubbio che possa trattarsi di un
colloquialismo. La tendenza era stata accolta come sintomatica di alternanza dell'uso
dalla scuola anglosassone, che ha accolto spinte normalizzatrici: nel suo commento
alle *Nuvole*, Elmsley³⁸⁸ propone di reintegrare -την come desinenza pertinente di 2°
p. du. anche in favore di -τον trādito. Un simile atteggiamento è emblematico, come
emblematica è la tendenza regolarizzante all'opera in attico, perfettamente
paragonabile alla tendenza omerica, rispecchiata dai 5 casi di Monro, ad uniformare
le desinenze secondarie su -τον. In una direzione o nell'altra, la pressione analogica
sarà evidentemente da addebitarsi a due fattori concomitanti: il primo riguarda il
parallelismo con le desinenze primarie, nelle quali la forma -τον è sincretica;
secondariamente, il paradigma del duale, se applicato regolarmente, risultava

ἐφάτην, 'correttamente' impiegata, quasi a ripristinare caratterizzazioni morfologiche stringenti dopo
le licenze dell'emistichio precedente.

³⁸⁸ «In *Nub.* 1506. vera scriptura esse videtur: τί γὰρ μαθόντ' ὕβριζέτην εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς / καὶ τῆς
σελήνης ἐσκοπεῖσθε τὴν ἔδραν; Priorem versum insigni diversitate emendarunt librarii et editores,
quippe qui nescirent secundam personam dualem nunquam a tertiam diversam fuisse. Eodem ductus
errore Brunckius εἰχετόν γ' edidit in *Soph. Oed. Tyr.* 1511. ubi recte vulgo repraesentatur: Σφῶν δ', ὃ
τέκν', εἰ μὲν εἰχέτην ἦδη φρένας. Ita quoque Scolion omnium celebratissimum apud Athen. p. 695. B.:
'Αεὶ σφῶν κλέος ἔσσεται κατ' αἴαν, | φίλτατ' Ἀρμόδιε κάριστόγειτον, | ὅτι τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην, |
ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην. [...] Porro scribendum est καμέτην *Il.* Θ. 448. λαβέτην *K.* 545. ἐπέτην
Λ. 775. ἠθελέτην 781. ἠλθέτην *Aesch. Agam.* 1216. ἐφύτην *Soph. Oed. Col.* 1379. ἐβάτην 1696.
ἀπεφυγέτην 1739. ἐλαχέτην 1746. εὐδαιμονοίτην *Eurip. Med.* 1073. ὀρώτην *Alc.* 273. ἠρκεσάτην *El.*
1300. ξυνομύτην (ubi malim ξυνομύτον) *Aristoph. Eq.* 236. ξυνεβήτην *Vesp.* 867. ἠλθέτην *Av.* 112.
Thesm. 1158. ἐμελλέτην *Plut.* 103. φθανοίτην 485. Plura exempla inter-- legendum observata enotare
neglexi» (Elmsley 1809, 69s.)

sbilanciato, in quanto -τον soddisfa le funzioni di tre desinenze (2° p. du. e 3° p. du. primarie, 2° p. du. secondaria): un simile sbilanciamento avrà plausibilmente indotto la regolarizzazione, per influsso analogico, della restante forma anomala, la 3° p. du. secondaria -την.

In particolare, i due tipi di estensione – -τον omerico, -την attico – privilegiano categorie differenti: generalizzando -τον si opera una semplificazione, un processo di ‘bleaching’ sia della distinzione tra persone che tra desinenze principali/secondarie. Nelle istanze di estensione di -την, la differenziazione tra desinenze secondarie e primarie viene mantenuta, risultando ‘più canonica’ di quella tra persone, in quanto in entrambe le serie le 2° e 3° p. du. tendono al sincretismo (circostanza, come si è visto, tipologicamente frequente in panorama ie.)³⁸⁹. Come si è registrato per le desinenze indirette dei casi obliqui, è probabile che dialetti diversi abbiano adottato comportamenti diversi; ancora una volta, i dati a disposizione non permettono conclusioni definitive, ma garantiscono comunque alla categoria una certa fluidità, a testimonianza di una morfologizzazione tarda e parziale³⁹⁰.

1.3.3 Desinenze del perfetto.

Merita qui un’analisi più accurata un altro ambito di discreta variabilità, ovvero quello del perfetto. Le attestazioni di voci del perfetto al duale sono piuttosto scarse in tragedia e commedia (0_x in Eschilo, 3_x in Sofocle, 3_x in Euripide, 3_x in

³⁸⁹ L’estensione della desinenza di 2° anche alla 3° persona riposa dunque deduttivamente su una proporzione analogica a quattro termini: se, infatti, tre termini sono identici e il quarto si distacca, è auspicabile che questa anomalia venga livellata analogicamente per estensione della desinenza maggioritaria; si procederà dunque da uno stadio 3 : 1 a un ideale *4 : *0. Questa appare essere, in effetti, la tendenza registrata nei poemi omerici. Il procedimento inverso, ovvero di estensione della desinenza secondaria di terza persona anche alla seconda, pure obbedisce a un meccanismo di bilanciamento interno del paradigma, in quanto l’asimmetria 3 : 1 viene risolta in un più simmetrico 2 : 2; tuttavia, in questo caso, si produrrà una maggiore ricchezza morfemica rispetto al paradigma *4 : *0, in quanto *due* desinenze vengono mantenute.

³⁹⁰ Il processo è perfettamente sintetizzato nella duplice osservazione di Kuryłowicz (1964, 151): «the hypothesis of a secondary split in the 1st p. plur./dual, i.e. of the rise of a special ending of the dual, is borne out by the palpably late differentiation of the 3rd/2nd p. dual which took place independently in the various IE languages. Most instructive is the Indo-Ir. split between *t-* (3rd p. dual) and *th-* (2nd p. dual). The non-aspirated stop is to be considered as the original form, *th-* being the result of an Indo-Iranian innovation».

Aristofane)³⁹¹. Una panoramica delle occorrenze porterebbe tuttavia a pensare che nell'attico di fine V sec., al perfetto, alla 3° p. du. si potesse trovare comunemente la desinenza -τον³⁹²:

ἡ μὲν ἐς τάφον / λέβητα κοσμεῖ, τὸ δ' ἐφέστατον πέλας
(Soph. *El.* 1400s., 3° p. du.)³⁹³

ANT. πῶς εἶπας; IO. αἰχμὴν ἐς μίαν καθέστατον
(Eur. *Ph.* 1273, 3° p. du.)

ἦδ', οὐδὲν ἄλλο· δεινὰ γὰρ δεδράκατον
(Eur. *IT* 1169, 3° p. du.)³⁹⁴

Data la scarsità delle occorrenze nella produzione teatrale, risultano fondamentali per ogni ulteriore inferenza le attestazioni rintracciabili in prosa e, specificamente, in Platone³⁹⁵:

οὕτω δεινὸν γέγονατον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις μάχεσθαί τε καὶ
ἐξελεγχεῖν τὸ ἀεὶ λεγόμενον (Plat. *Euthyd.* 272a.8ss., 3° p. du.)

τοῦτο εἴτε αὐτὸ ἠρώκατον εἴτε καὶ παρ' ἄλλου του ἐμαθέτην
φθόρον τινὰ καὶ ὄλεθρον τοιοῦτον (Plat. *Euthyd.* 285a.8s., 3° p. du.)³⁹⁶

δύο δὲ λεκτέον ἐκείνω, διότι χωρὶς γέγονατον ἀνομοίως τε
ἔχετον (Plat. *Tim.* 51e.1s., 3° p. du.)

³⁹¹ Sofocle: *El.* 950, 1401, *OC* 1369; Euripide: *IT* 1169, *Ph.* 1273, *IA* 862; Aristofane: *Pl.* 421, 429, 529. Su queste occorrenze, solo 3, si riferiscono alla 3° p. du.: cf. oltre.

³⁹² «The Perfect-Stem is formed by Reduplication, and is liable to vary with the Person-Endings. This variation is the rule in the Homeric Perfect. In Attic it survives in a few forms only» (Monro 1891, 22).

³⁹³ Altre due forme di perfetto sono attestate in Sofocle: ἀλλ' Ἴαιδης λαβὼν / ἀπεστέρηκε καὶ μόνα λελείμεθον (Soph. *El.* 949s., 1ª p. du.); ὑμεῖς δ' ἀπ' ἄλλου κοῦκ ἐμοῦ πεφύκατον (*OC* 1369, 2ª p. du.).

³⁹⁴ Solo un'altra voce perfetta si trova in Euripide, ma si tratta di una 2° p. du.: ἦ μόνω παρόντε δῆτα ταῖσδ' ἐφέστατον πύλαις; (*IA* 862).

³⁹⁵ Nel *corpus* platonico si trovano infatti 26, duali verbali; sono qui citate solo le 3° p. du. del perfetto. Nessuna forma di perfetto è attestata in Tucide, Senofonte o nei retori.

³⁹⁶ Il caso sembra particolarmente emblematico: la terza persona è ribadita nell'aooristo ἐμαθέτην, quasi ad indicare che, laddove disponibile, la desinenza -την è passibile di essere impiegata; evidentemente, dunque, nel perfetto la desinenza non era percepita come pertinente.

ΞΕ. Μέχρι μὲν τοίνυν ἐνθαῦτα ὁ σοφιστὴς καὶ ὁ ἀσπαλιευτὴς
ἅμα ἀπὸ τῆς κτητικῆς τέχνης πορεύεσθον. ΘΕ. εἰκατον γοῦν.
(Plat. *Soph.* 222a.2ss.)

ἐξ ἴσου τό τε ὄν καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀπορίας μετειλήφατον (Plat.
Soph. 250e.6s.)

(Gorgia e Polo) ὅ γε εἰς τοσοῦτον αἰσχύνῃς ἐληλύθατον (Plat.
Gorg. 487b.2s.)

γενομένης γὰρ τελευτῆς καὶ αὐτὸ τετελευτήκατον (Plat. *Phileb.*
24b.2)

Come emerge dalla situazione sopra delineata, la desinenza -τον per la 3° p. du. del perfetto sembra essere qui stata non solo frequente e solidamente attestata, ma, ancor più significativamente, uniforme: in altre parole, l'adozione di -τον per la 3° p. du. del perfetto nell'attico letterario di fine V sec. non sembra solo una tendenza, ma la *regola*. Di per sé, ciò non dovrebbe stupire: il perfetto si allinea ai tempi principali sotto una molteplicità di aspetti, desinenze incluse. Che ciò avvenga per il duale non sarebbe sorprendente.

Non era tuttavia così in Omero. Si trovano nei poemi 6_x forme verbali del perfetto al duale³⁹⁷, per un totale di 12_x occorrenze. Nonostante il numero piuttosto esiguo, da un punto di vista flessionale la situazione risalta immediatamente come congruente al suo interno; si citeranno qui solo le forme utili ai nostri fini, ovvero quelle di 3° p. du.:

μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφι μέλαινοι / πίμπλαντ' ὅσσε δέ οἱ
πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι εἴκτην (*Il.* I 103s. = *Od.* IV 661s.)

στήτην ἐγγυὸς ἰόντε, δέμας δ' ἄνδρεςσιν εἴκτην (*Il.* XXI 285)

αἰεὶ γὰρ δίφρου ἐπιβησομένοισιν εἴκτην (*Il.* XXIII 379)

ἄμφω δ' ἐκγεγάτην φαεσιμβρότου Ἥελίοιο (*Od.* X 138)

³⁹⁷ Οὐνερο ἀνώγετον (*Il.* IV 287), εἴκτην (*Il.* I 104, XXI 285, XXIII 379, *Od.* IV 662), εἴκτον (*Od.* IV 27), ἐκγεγάτην (*Od.* X 138), μέματον (*Il.* VIII 413, X 433), πεπύσθην (*Il.* XVII 377), τετάσθην (*Il.* IV 536, XIV 404).

δύο δ' οὐ πω φῶτε πεπύσθην / άνέρε κυδαλίμω, Θρασυμήδης
 Ἄντίλοχός τε (Il. XVII 377s.)

ὥς τῶ γ' ἐν κονίησι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι τετάσθην (Il. IV 536)

τῆ ῥα δύο τελαμῶνε περιὶ στήθεσσι τετάσθην (Il. XIV 404)

Come si vede, non si hanno nel perfetto oscillazioni nell'applicazione delle desinenze, ed il comportamento omerico è coerente: il perfetto riceve le desinenze secondarie, e di conseguenza la 3° p. du. è marcata da -την/-σθην. Questo non ha, tuttavia, alcuna relazione o implicazione rispetto alla situazione attica; come si è visto, dialetti diversi adottano strategie diverse, soprattutto rispetto a un '*minor number*' come il duale. Che il dialetto attico abbia selezionato le desinenze primarie nell'espressione del duale non sarebbe anomalo, se non esistesse il precedente omerico. La situazione omerica ha probabilmente giocato da canone normalizzante, tanto che la maggior parte delle grammatiche tradizionali – quando riportino desinenze per il duale nel perfetto – concorda nel prevedere -τον per la 2° p. du., ma *-την per la 3° p. du (così, ad esempio, Rix 1992, 242).

Questa importante divaricazione, che non sembra essere stata evidenziata prima d'ora, ha una portata considerevole sul grado di grammaticalizzazione del duale in greco. Si considerino, nella tabella sottostante, le desinenze verbali attestate:

	poemi omerici		attico	
	2° p. du. att.	3° p. du. att.	2° p. du. att.	3° p. du. att.
desinenze primarie	-τον	-τον	-τον	-τον
desinenze secondarie	-τον	-την (-τον)	-τον (-την)	-την
desinenze del perfetto	-τον	-την	-τον	-τον

Risulta piuttosto evidente che in entrambi i dominî, poemi omerici e teatro attico, l'asimmetria del paradigma determina l'insorgere di spinte regolarizzanti, siano esse operanti in direzione orizzontale – com'è la tendenza in attico, ovvero a favore di uniformità rispetto alle persone e differenziazione rispetto alla diatesi – o verticale – come sembra essere invece il caso dei poemi, dove la distinzione tra le

persone viene *tendenzialmente* preservata a discapito della differenziazione delle diatesi³⁹⁸.

Sembra dunque, per citare Corbett, che la distinzione tra persone sia più canonica nei poemi omerici, laddove la differenziazione della diatesi è più canonica in attico. I confini tra gli ambiti di ingerenza delle due desinenze -τον e -την sono smussati; questa variabilità costituisce esattamente un indicatore del fatto che la grammaticalizzazione del duale è, in entrambi gli ambiti, instabile, e suscettibile di spinte normalizzatrici. Quel che si osserva è una pulsione analogica che mira all'estensione di -τον alla 3° p. du. secondaria nella poesia omerica e alla 3° p. du. del perfetto in attico, e, in controtendenza, di -την alla 2° p. du. secondaria in attico. Un'ulteriore discriminazione è rappresentata dal perfetto, categoria oscillante tra le serie primaria e secondaria, che adotta in effetti le prime in attico, le seconde nella *Kunstsprache* omerica: ciò è verosimilmente dovuto ad una sistematizzazione tarda e gracile del duale verbale, basata sulla polarità tra -τον e -την (-σθον e -σθην); quest'unica polarità di base è stata di volta in volta utilizzata per esprimere ogni opposizione di cui la lingua avvertisse la necessità – fosse essa di tempo, diatesi o persona.

1.4 Morphological conclusions.

Throughout this survey of attested endings and paradigms, some general utterances may surface. Indo-European reconstructed morphemes have been accommodated by Greek only up to a certain degree³⁹⁹: even though some of the endings are unmistakably inherited, it is possible to appreciate a high extent of

³⁹⁸ Si può tuttavia osservare che anche in Omero una tendenza concomitante a marcare la differenza tra persone sembra in atto, sia essa dovuta a influenze dialettali o posteriori, come risulta evidente dai 5 casi di Monro citati precedentemente: l'estensione della desinenza -τον alla 3° p. du. in sporadiche forme verbali (e, vale la pena ricordarlo, in prevalenza imperfetti, dunque costruiti sul tema del presente che, naturalmente, sceglie di norma desinenze principali) va nella stessa direzione normalizzatrice rispetto alla persona che è all'opera in attico.

³⁹⁹ «Indo-European had an almost complete inventory of dual nouns, pronouns (we have no evidence for the third person), verbs and adjectives. This system was inherited by Proto-Greek and various changes occurred. The first person verbal dual was quickly replaced by the plural, the second and third person verbal dual forms were subject to analogical remodelling; the inherited second person pronoun was replaced with the form σφῶιν after a series of changes and analogical remodellings on the basis of the first person pronoun» (Hillyard 2008, 358).

invention and renewal. Albeit the results of such mechanisms are quite varied, some tendencies are overtly abiding. It is in fact possible to observe on the one hand that almost every category resorted, to some degree, to suppletivism; on the other hand, that different dialects and varieties are liable to adopt different forms. The originally bound morphemes inflecting for the dual become at a certain point more and more productive⁴⁰⁰, undergoing paradigmaticization: analogical levelling⁴⁰¹ and extension⁴⁰², meant as the impulse to symmetrical re-assessment of morphemes into balanced paradigms⁴⁰³, played a major role at some stage of the process.

The situation of the pronoun proves striking to this end⁴⁰⁴: despite the lack of evidence in Mycenaean, different forms are attested between Homer, where $\nu\tilde{\omega}ι/\sigma\varphi\tilde{\omega}ι$ for direct cases are prevailing, and Attic, where the ordinary forms are $\nu\acute{\omega}/\sigma\varphi\acute{\omega}$ ⁴⁰⁵. The 3rd person, a non-person as we saw, is the key-witness of different strategies at work: in Homer the form is built on a stem-root highly reminding of the one of the 2nd person, mingled with the expected dual (athematic) ending. In

⁴⁰⁰ Thus implying that the function fulfilled by the inflectional dual should have been increasingly needed: «the productivity of the paradigm slot depends on the productivity of the individual processes which fill the paradigm slot [...]. Any productivity that might attach to paradigm slots must therefore be reducible to productivity of individual processes» (Bauer 2001, 15).

⁴⁰¹ «Analogical levelling reduces the number of allomorphs a form has; it makes paradigms more uniform. In analogical levelling, forms which formerly underwent alternations no longer do so after the change» (Campbell 1999, 92). This is, for example, the case of the *a*-stem declension, where the Mycenaean gender split in direct cases gets neutralized and levelled in the uniform Attic **-ā*.

⁴⁰² «Analogical extension (somewhat rarer than analogical levelling) extends the already existing alternation of some pattern to new forms which did not formerly undergo the alternation» (Campbell 1999, 94). So it happens in the Attic *a*-stem, which borrows the alternation direct/oblique of the *o*-stem **-ō/*-oîn* adjusting it on its thematic vowel.

⁴⁰³ The concept of symmetry is innerly linked to analogical mechanisms: «in a more technical (not necessarily linguistic) sense, the terms *symmetry* and *asymmetry* are used to describe geometric patterns, or relationships between two elements in a set [...]. In set theory, the terms *symmetry* and *asymmetry* are used to refer to binary relationships between elements in a set. This is by far the most common usage of the two terms in linguistics» (Citko 2011, 3f.).

⁴⁰⁴ «It seems that the treatment of IE personal pronouns has been largely under the dominance of a priori considerations. Owing to the fact that nouns and demonstrative pronouns had developed a definite and complicated declension, it has been assumed that the same system of cases must have existed for IE personal pronouns. An unprejudiced application of the principles of comparison will likely yield a far different result» (Petersen 1930, 167).

⁴⁰⁵ Whichever their value, it is fairly evident that both forms are built on the same 'morph': «boundness of morphemes is also created through allomorphy. Allomorphy is the phenomenon that a morpheme may have more than one shape, corresponds with more than one morph. A morph is a particular phonological form of a morpheme» (Booij 2007, 31). The allomorphy in the pronoun testifies for the coarse situation of the more archaic stages of the language, when dual number was not yet perfectly accommodated into the paradigms in an univocal and unambiguous way.

particular, *-ε* for direct cases is notable itself, as the morpheme appears to be the most marked dual ending in the first phases of grammaticalization. Attic answers building its 3rd dual personal pronoun on the anaphoric *αὐτός*⁴⁰⁶, to which also a gender distinction is applied, in accord with the situation set out in the noun: so we have a gender split, with masculine *αὐτόν/αὐτοῖν* and feminine *αὐτή/αὐταῖν*.

Gender plays a major role in noun inflection as well⁴⁰⁷: the paradigmaticization of the noun is affected by a high degree of complexity. Mycenaean, Homeric and Attic evidence offers contrasting results: so, if the *o*- and athematic-stem prove consistent throughout different layers of the language, sonantic stems align to the athematic stem in Homer (and probably Mycenaean), as in *βόε*, *λῶε* and *πήχεε*, and Attic, as in *σκέλει* and *ῥῆι*, in contrast with the general alignment to the vocalic-stem endings in Indo-European. Even more stratified is the situation of the *a*-stem, which entails in direct cases *<-ō>* in Mycenaean and *-ā* in Attic, whereas for the masculine Mycenaean has *<-a-e>* and Homer *-ā*. The rise of a gender distinction in the *a*-stem is symptomatic, as it enhances the inner conflict between the semantic value of the stem, chiefly represented by feminine terms, and the morphological value of the ending, originally dependent on the *o*-stem, as it is evident in Mycenaean *<-o>*⁴⁰⁸.

⁴⁰⁶ «Attic inherited a similarly defective system to the one seen in Homer but regularisation of the defective dual nominal system occurred, leading to regular use in Attic inscriptions and texts. There is no trace of the third person dual pronoun in Attic which is further evidence of its invention in epic times» (Hillyard 2008, 359).

⁴⁰⁷ «The classification of nouns into different genders is quite an intriguing phenomenon because of its strong arbitrariness. [...] Linguists assume that originally there must have been some semantic motivation behind the different classes, a motivation that became opaque in the course of history» (Booij 2007, 129f.).

⁴⁰⁸ The Attic innovation is constrained by frequency: the most part of the *a*-stem is of course represented by semantically feminine items. The alignment of gender and declension has been phrased by Stump (2001b, 303f.) as a «general tendency in human language: a preference for declensional systems in which a nominal's membership in a particular declension class is both a necessary and a sufficient correlate of its membership in a particular gender class». To put it in typological-universal terms: a declensional system is preferred if sameness of declension entails sameness of gender. «This preference for one-to-one correlations between gender-class membership and declension-class membership can be plausibly motivated by considerations of learnability. In an 'ideal' system employing the same subclassification of nominals for both syntactic and purely morphological purposes, a nominal stem's gender and its declensional properties would always be mutually predictable; thus, an inflectional system in full conformity with these principles would be more learnable than a system in which gender-class membership and declension-class membership varied arbitrarily. [In early Romance] the second declension becomes largely masculine: as a

It has been stated that the 1st dual person is the more marked, being the closest to the speaker; such assumption is confirmed by both frequency and transparency of pronominal forms, where the 1st dual is far more attested and consistently employed than the other persons. Yet a 1st dual is completely absent in the verbal paradigm – except for the scarcely attested *-μεθον*, whose artificiality is denounced by its employment in composed forms and its indifference to diathesis and tense. The 2nd and 3rd dual persons draw on the same verbal endings, despite the unbalance of the system: the expected paradigms should in fact present us with **-τον* for 2nd and 3rd primary active, **-τον* and **-την* respectively for 2nd and 3rd secondary active; all the same, **-σθον* for 2nd and 3rd primary middle, while **-σθον* and **-σθην* for 2nd and 3rd secondary middle. Such unbalance, where the proportion among the forms is 3 : 1, determines the rise of analogical bends, according to which there is a sensible tendency in Homer towards the regrammaticalization of **-τον*/**-σθον* as 2nd dual ending, and **-την*/**-σθην* as 3rd dual ending; in Attic, on the other side, the emerging stimulus hints at the uniformation of **-τον*/**-σθον* as primary and **-την*/**-σθην* as secondary endings. This pattern is apparent in the different treatment of the perfect, which aligns to historical tenses and receives secondary endings in Homer, being instead marked by primary endings in Tragedy, in conformity with principal tenses.

We may hence conclude that in different stages and dialects the dual conveys different attitudes in respect of both frequency and consistency: only a diachronic perspective allows a comprehension of evolutions and variations. This long survey of different choices in dual marking allows some insight on its variation in inherent as well as contextual inflection. It is possible to determine two stages in the development of the Greek dual. First the category arises, and it undergoes morphologization – widely understood as the process whereby lexical items and constructions come to serve grammatical functions. The steps of this process are quite evident in Mycenaean and Homer, where the situation is coarse and not yet

consequence, most second declension feminines either become masculine (e.g., *fraxinus* “ash tree” > Port. *freixo*) or shift to the first declension (e.g., *amethystus* “amethyst” > Port. *ametista*); both sorts of developments promote greater conformity to our principle» (Stump 2001b, 304f.).

thorough. Thus early on the process, consistently with Humboldt's universal, single morphs are liable to express single functions⁴⁰⁹.

In a second stage, when specific morphemes have been marked, paradigms are deeply affected by analogy⁴¹⁰: re-organization and internal re-assessment lead to implementations and disambiguation in the paradigm⁴¹¹, in conformity with morphotactic transparency and the principle of constructional iconicity⁴¹². This tendency towards 'regularization' is brilliantly displayed in Attic⁴¹³: the whole *a*-stem paradigm is analogically based upon the *o*-stem, and the re-assessment leads to the introduction of a new gender distinction⁴¹⁴.

We have focused hitherto on the sole morphological surface of the problem – *i.e.*, on inherent inflection: yet variations are to be registered in the syntactic

⁴⁰⁹ «Inflectional markings tend to develop historically from full words or phrases by a gradual process of grammaticization. Affixal inflections can arise from free expressions comparatively easily» (Stump 2001a, 20). We already remarked how the function of 'dual' + 'direct cases' is, for instance, chiefly expressed by the same morpheme, namely the 'athematic' ending *-ε*. The morpheme has been extended far beyond its original domain: so in Ancient Greek it is re-employed in semi-vowel stems and heteroclitics as well as in the Homeric 3rd dual pronoun.

⁴¹⁰ «The term "analogy" can be and has been used in a variety of meanings. Some of these definitions clearly conflict, but there is also a certain commonality. This lies in the fact that at least since the time of the Neogrammarians, analogical change in effect means extension. Differences and disagreements concern the domain and motivation of the extension» (Hoch 2003, 456). It is common knowledge that analogy mostly affects the categories which display a paradigmatic, *i.e.* morphologically conditioned, alternation.

⁴¹¹ «Thus, any analogy seems to be possible provided that an improvement in terms of the systematicity of a certain paradigm is aimed at» (Gaeta 2010, 157). The central role and influence played by paradigms led Stump (2001a) to individuate them as 'leading men' within morphology: «paradigms are not the epiphenomenon that they are often assumed to be in other morphological frameworks, but are central to the definition of a language's inflectional system» (*ibid.* xii).

⁴¹² As we saw, this procedure is better known as Sturtevant's paradox: sound change is regular and causes irregularity; analogy is irregular and causes regularity. That is, the mainly regular sound change can pull regular paradigms apart; analogy is in general irregular, in that it does not occur in every case where it could, but when it does, the result is greater regularity in morphology. Hence, the original spread of the dual marking *nom./acc. *-h₁e*, even though phonologically regular, produces asymmetric results (**-ε* in the athematic stem *vs.* **-ω* in the *o*-stem, and **-ī/*-ū* in the sonantic stems in other *i.e.* domains). Analogy produces in turn *nom./acc. *-ā* in the *a*-stem, which is not genetically motivated, yet proving paradigmatically consistent.

⁴¹³ Increased symmetry in paradigms leads in turn to increased consistency in application: so, if in Homer the dual usage is 'intermittent', in Attic, as we will better see further on, dual is a minor number, optional but semantically pertinent and highly sensible to internal noun-phrase agreement.

⁴¹⁴ We already underlined how analogy is not a mere 'borrowing' of pre-existing grams, working instead on binary equations (*i.e.* *o*-stem : *-ō* = *a*-stem : *-ā*). Thus, in the process of formation of bright new paradigms, analogical operations may induce (or may participate in inducing) the introduction of a number of distinct markings, as it is the case of the feminine gender in Attic (noun, article and pronoun).

demeanour and phenomenon of the dual as well – that is, in contextual inflection. In the second chapter of the thesis we will hence focus on the interplay of the morphological and the syntactic facets of the dual⁴¹⁵: recent trends in linguistics⁴¹⁶ – grammaticalization⁴¹⁷, typology and internal reconstruction⁴¹⁸, in addition to the ‘evergreen’ comparative method – will suffice a profitable toolkit of investigation on some of the most glaring inconsistencies, namely the ‘intermittent’ agreement in Homer, the sensibility of number values to animateness, the existence of register-induced variations and the inclusive dual.

Early studies on the dual were mainly concerned on its lack of compulsoriness and consistency in agreement: albeit traces of this fluctuation can be recollected in Mycenaean already⁴¹⁹, the issue is notoriously displayed in Homer⁴²⁰. It will be shown how metrical necessity⁴²¹ and the use of the numeral⁴²² certainly

⁴¹⁵ Focusing on the interplay of morphologic and syntactic layers would lead to an attempt to «reconstruct earlier syntactic stages in order to better understand, not only the general mechanisms of language change, but also the possible developmental paths of certain synchronic structures» (Barðdal-Eythórsson 2010, 6); «reconstruction of past stages in order to explain the present is one of the most crucial tasks in any historical science: it is precisely by addressing such issues that historical syntax may cease to represent a relatively peripheral and somewhat outlandish subdomain of independently successful scientific paradigms, such as traditional historical linguistics or formal theories of grammar» (Ferraresi-Goldbach 2008, 10).

⁴¹⁶ The typological approach has been criticized in relation to syntactic reconstruction, for it does not – allegedly – account for the directionality of change, nor for the stimulus of it. Watkins (1976, 324) is rather pessimistic about the possibility of reconstructing the syntax of PIE or parts of it (see also Ferraresi-Goldbach 2008, 6).

⁴¹⁷ The major virtue of this approach consist in its eagerness to gradience and merge of diverse patterns rather than the triumph of uniform and unidirectional laws: grammaticalization is hence «essentially diachronic, essentially gradualist, and in its synchronic consequences involving co-existence of more and less grammaticalised variants in the same variety» (Denison 2001, 121).

⁴¹⁸ «Internal reconstruction can be thought of as a hypothesis generating methodology, and [...] engaging in internal reconstruction is a license to be creative and propose possible scenarios, i.e. historical hypotheses, that are constrained only by the plausibility offered by what is known about language and language change in general» (Joseph 2010, 55, 57).

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Lejeune 1958-1963, 52; Georgiev 1975, 343.

⁴²⁰ «True enough, complex morphological patterns are often transmitted through time with great fidelity, giving evidence of the human ability to acquire quite intricate, seemingly arbitrary patterns of morphological signs. But whenever a change occurs at some historical stage, provided the attestation is sufficiently ample, it invariably shows that morphological change proceeds through stages of ordered variation and demonstrates that morphological systems are subjected to a fine-grained analysis, with respect to both their grammatical content and the correlated patterns of expression, as they are passed on through time» (Andersen 2010, 118f.).

⁴²¹ Cf. Cuny 1906, 488-496; Hierche 1987; Fortassier 1989, 348-354; Hillyard 2008, 314f..

⁴²² Cf. Delbrück 1893, 140; Gonda 1953, 15.

played a role in either preserving archaic forms or hastening the demise of the category; yet the mixture of dual and plural in Homer is not inconsistent, as it obeys to competing alternative constraints making both synchronic and diachronic sense. It is possible in fact to appreciate a general but not rigid adherence to the *animacy hierarchy* (see *infra*): the higher up the hierarchy the noun, the generally more likely the dual is to be used; conversely, the lower down the hierarchy the noun, the generally more likely the plural is to be employed⁴²³.

Further on we will delve into an evaluation of the dual in Attic. Surprisingly enough, the presence of dual forms is subject to a marked increase from Aeschylus to Aristophanes. Contextual factors – such as presence in dialogues, semantic pertinence and register constraints – favour the understanding of this trend. As far as contextual inflection is concerned, albeit still functional, the purely morphological marking seems to be in Attic less and less convenient, as competing strategies arise, producing in turn the development of new periphrasis and syntactic constructions⁴²⁴. The paradigmatic structure of dual marking is thus forced into competition with an alternative expedient, represented by adjectives developed by regrammation into quantifiers, such as δίδυμος, δισσός, διπλοῦς and other δι-compounds⁴²⁵. Despite localized and context-related, this newborn construction proves relevant in the consideration of the productivity and functionality of the dual.

In a nutshell: the dual value has at an early stage been expressed by means of morphological inflection, accordingly with the syntetic-fusional status of the Ancient Greek language. The dual has hence been grammaticalized into paradigms via morphophonemic extension and analogical changes.

⁴²³ «The loss of the Greek dual took place from the bottom of the animacy hierarchy and spread upwards» (Hillyard 2008, 389) (the 'further' from the speaker one gets, the less likely semantic agreement is to occur, Corbett 2000, 54-88).

⁴²⁴ «The history of syntactic systems is a history of pattern replacement and reanalysis» (Jeffers 1976, 4).

⁴²⁵ The morphosyntactic position of these adjectives is debatable: «still unresolved, admittedly, is the issue of whether compounds are syntax or morphology» (Joseph 2003, 479); «adjectives are predicated of nouns, rather than being dependents [...]. Since adjectives are case marked in the same way as nouns, they bear some specification of their function independent of the noun they are apposed to» (Luraghi 2010, 217, 225).

In a second stage, within the boundaries of a specific slice of the Attic literary production – namely, Tragedy – a contrasting strategy arises, which proves productive and competing with the morphological dual marking⁴²⁶. Morphosyntactic changes are natural⁴²⁷, unmarked and ergonomically convenient; the competing construction is in fact no more involved in inflection but rather in derivation, namely compounding: its sphere of influence falls within the domain of contextual inflection and syntactic relations⁴²⁸. Whether it represents a dialectal or rather a stylistical innovation – an utterance⁴²⁹, so to say, restricted to a specific environment⁴³⁰ – constitutes one of the kernels of the following chapter. In the next section we will try to determine, by means of comparisons between the language of Homer, Tragedy⁴³¹ and the Old Comedy⁴³², if the arising strategy represents a fact of dialect, a sociolect⁴³³ or even an idiolect⁴³⁴.

⁴²⁶ We may hence register a contest between inflectional and derivational strategies (compounding, see par. 2.4). The relation between inflection and derivation has been widely discussed: «one possible view is that word-formation is pre-syntactic, and inflection is post-syntactic. Word-formation (compounding, derivation, etc.) serves to enlarge the set of lexical items that can be inserted into syntactic structure. Inflection, on the other hand, may be claimed to be post-syntactic because the specific form of a lexeme may depend on its syntactic context (contextual inflection)» (Booij 2007, 120). The best criteria for distinguishing inflection from derivation are the obligatoriness of inflection, the fact that it is organized by means of paradigms, and that it is normally a word without its inflectional endings (= the stem) that forms the basis for word-formation. It is nevertheless clear that the boundary between the two is not extremely sharp.

⁴²⁷ Here naturalness refers specifically to what is universally preferred on one given parameter: «naturalness is a relative, gradient concept: a phenomenon X is more or less natural than Y. Change from a less natural to a more natural morphological phenomenon may then be called “natural/preferred/unmarked morphological change.” Thus, naturalness studies in diachronic change usually do not deal with absolute constraints on change but minimally with tendencies or maximally with “soft constraints” or defaults» (Dressler 2003, 461).

⁴²⁸ Such a shift is not uncommon; «languages may have syntactic alternatives to the morphological expression of grammatical and semantic content» (Booij 2007, 185). Nevertheless, since the line separating morphology and syntax cannot but being blurred, it is central to investigate terms and conditions on the division of labour between the two in this respect.

⁴²⁹ «“Utterances” may be loosely defined as something uttered by a specific person at a specific time and place» (Barðdal-Eythórsson 2010, 8); according to what he regards as a ‘pragmatic-intentionalist’ approach, Dover (1997, 13) states that «practically all utterance is ‘goal-directed’, designed to cause a change in the hearer».

⁴³⁰ «Where a phenomenon whose distribution in classical literary prose is not universal cannot be associated exclusively with a period of history or a region of the Greek world, it is usually possible to ascribe it to the language expected of a particular genre» (Dover 1997, 95).

⁴³¹ «Whatever the situation may have been in cultivated conversation, the dramatic evidence is unambiguous. A similar point may be made for syntax with the use of the dual. As often with syntactic features, the difference between tragedy and comedy is here quantitative rather than qualitative» (Willi 2002, 123).

Nevertheless, be the phenomenon pervasive or not, it still appears to be prime in the identification of the loss of the dual as a formerly functional loss. In the end, the degrammation and consequent loss of the dual is not a homogeneous process, but rather presents multiple paths of diachronic change⁴³⁵, due to the interplay of separate constraints which trigger the onset of independent strategies of syntactic compensation.

⁴³² «Whenever tragedy can be contrasted with prose, Old Comedy aligns itself sometimes with tragedy, sometimes with prose, according to the dramatic function of a passage; in the course of the fourth century the alignment of comedy with prose is progressive» (Dover 1997, 98).

⁴³³ «The terms refer to speech variation that is correlated with social distinctions: immediately the term is more complicated than the unmarked term dialect, which refers of course to regional dialect [...] The question to be considered is whether there is evidence for a prestige variety within Attica, or simply for the recognition that different social groups speak in different ways» (Colvin 2004, 116f.).

⁴³⁴ Dealing with a handful of authors is indeed not a desirable situation for generalizations; yet «the discussion on reconstruction often does not consider the limitations of the corpora. We necessarily have to deal with texts which perhaps have to be ascribed to a single author or a special genre or a regional variety [...]. We think that it is one of the tasks of linguists to make abstractions from the data and find generalizations which enable us to make tentative predictions» (Ferraresi-Goldbach 2008, 10).

⁴³⁵ «Stability or instability is a matter of competing forces [...] Diversity arises when some element is relatively unstable and therefore prone to replacement in various ways» (Nichols 2003, 283); «parameter settings do not change abruptly, but rather that change proceeds via competition between two alternative parameter settings during periods of syntactic variation» (Pintzuk 2003, 509).

2. Syntax.

2.0.0 History of the studies.

The status of the dual in Ancient Greek has been culpable for a huge volume of scholarly literature. The optionality of the choice of the plural rather than the dual for two items has led several scholars to talk about inconsistent, intermittent or even irrational usage⁴³⁶: yet limits and effects of such optionality have divided the critics. Linguistic and philological studies are predictably entangled: it is often difficult to tell them apart, as the most part of linguistic enquiries has been, especially in the eighteenth century, Euro-centric, Ancient Greek being one of the main fields of investigation.

It is fairly evident that the question of the position of the dual is not immune by genre considerations either. The Homeric *Kunstsprache*⁴³⁷ is by nature a merge of diverging impulses: it appears then essential to scan the mostly accepted theories about the blend of dialects portrayed in the poems, as converging layers such as dialect, metrics and register entangle in the decipherment of the phenomenon. Tragedy and Comedy share instead some common ground, at least in the adherence to the same dialect and, in some occasion, to spoken language. We will hence try to sketch the history of the modern critics on the matter⁴³⁸, as it influenced the treatment and consideration of the dual in our texts, in order to question whether the dual is to be regarded as the reflection of a specific dialect or rather as an archaism, shared in ancient stages of composition by multiple dialects – and, in reflection, whether in specific passages it represents a high register feature, a quirk, a persistence or an everyday language trait.

⁴³⁶ See Ohler 1884, 4; Wackernagel 1926, 77f. Meillet 1921, 145, 155-164; Schwyzer, GG II 46f.; Chantraine 1953b 22-29; etc.

⁴³⁷ See Meillet 1937, 145-64; Schwyzer, GG II 607; Chantraine 1953b, 22-35; Wathélet 1970, 330-334.

⁴³⁸ An enquiry based on ancient critics would probably require a study *per se*. In a nutshell, the name of the dual is to be derived by the Latin translation *dualis* of the label assigned to the feature by ancient Greek grammarians, δῦϊκός (scil. ἀριθμικός). The feature has since been looked with suspicion. In Choeroboscus' commentary on Theodosius (GG IV/1 134,8ff.) it is asserted that the dual is a late form, covering domains originally pertaining to singular and plural (see Wackernagel 1926, 73f.; Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 102). «The great Friedrich August Wolf pronounced a very similar judgement more than a hundred years ago (1831, 51): “the dual is neither required nor welcome. When the Romans were shaping their language, the Greeks did not yet have a dual. It is a mere refinement, which gradually found its way into the language, like the ablative in Latin”. This is the most perverse thing that one could possibly say about the history of the dual» (Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 102f.).

Von Humboldt (1827)

The forefather of studies on the dual is to be worthily indicated in the person of Wilhelm von Humboldt. He dedicated to the subject the article *Über den Dualis*, which he read to the Berlin Academy in 1827 and later published in its *Proceedings* (1830). Here Humboldt showed how the dual is to be found in all parts of the world: he proclaimed he would have pursued the history of the dual more extensively in a second article; unfortunately, despite his intention, he never fulfilled his purpose. Yet «eine Reihe zum Theil recht tüchtiger Einzeluntersuchungen leistet dafür annähernd Ersatz» (Wackernagel 1885, 189). The importance of this contribution relies in the scientific perspective that Humboldt adopts, according to which the dual is not considered as anything striking, but rather as a phenomenon natural and admissible in a variety of languages⁴³⁹.

Monro (1882)

Monro did not dedicate any monographic contribution to the subject. Yet, according to an inner ‘anomalistic’ sensibility – common to Wackernagel, Debrunner, and many other linguists of his time – he proved keen to delve into isolated problems involving the feature (1891; see par. 4.0). Monro is attentive in tracing single phenomena of duals in Homer back to different causes – or dialects: «the Dual is wanting in the earliest Æolic, whereas it is in living use in Homer, and also in Attic down to the 5th century B.C. It is true, as Fick urges, that the loss of the Dual may have taken place in Æolic between the 9th and the 7th centuries. But the gap thus made between the earliest known Æolic and the supposed Æolic of Homer is a serious weakening of his case» (1891, 394). His comments are naturally restricted to the Homeric epics; despite not systematic, they appear accurate, and valuable.

Ohler (1884)

⁴³⁹ «Since Humboldt, it has been taken as read that the dual is not a late phenomenon, no ‘refinement’, but that it is, on the contrary, something very old indeed» (Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 103).

Ohler's work is an interesting summary, often neglected by latter critique. In perfect eighteenth century's fashion, it represents a list of instances and uses more than a pattern-oriented linguistic enquiry⁴⁴⁰. Once again, he is mainly concerned with agreement, which constitutes the ground on which founding judgements on the 'regularity' of the category; yet Ohler is accurate in his analysis, which represents a further pace towards a 'typology' of the homeric dual. In particular, he distinguishes the following options (S = Subject (noun/pronouns), V = Verb, P = attributive participle):

Dual S + Plural V	Plural S + Dual V	Dual S-P, Plural V	Plural S-P + Dual V	Dual S-V + Plural P ⁴⁴¹	Plural S-V + Dual P ⁴⁴²	Dual S + Plural V-P ⁴⁴³	Plural S + Dual V-P ⁴⁴⁴
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His enquiry leads him to the conclusion that the dual was not obligatory in Homer⁴⁴⁵. It is apparent from the scheme that, though every possible combination is legit, some are preferred; in perfect agreement with typological predictions, it appears that in Homer internal noun phrase agreement is preferred over agreement between other morphological features within the sentence. Ohler also stresses that the use of the dual seems more consistent within metaphors⁴⁴⁶.

He finally dedicates some time to «seltene Arten der Anwendung des Duals» (1884, 23-25). First of all, there are those scarcely attested cases in which a dual is employed to define *two* pairings: apart from the most notorious passage (*Il.*

⁴⁴⁰ Although he makes some interesting generalizations: «dabei verdient erwähnt zu werden, dass bei ὄμοιον, wie überhaupt beim Genitiv oder Dativ Dualis is aller Substantiva ohne Ausnahme niemals ein Adjectivum steht» (1884, 5), validiting the incomplete integration of the oblique case within the inflectional patterns of agreement.

⁴⁴¹ Only 6x: *Il.* XII 366, 421, XXIV 281; *Od.* V 266, VIII 313, IX 430.

⁴⁴² «Davon sind nur wenige Beispiele zu verzeichnen, nämlich *Il.* XI 621, XII 171, XVI 428, XVII 735, XXIII 212» (1884, 16).

⁴⁴³ «Derartige Beispiele sind selten, nämlich nur *Il.* III 313, XII 135, XVI 218; *Od.* XXI 188» (1884, 16).

⁴⁴⁴ Again, the examples are few, precisely 5x: *Il.* V 10, VIII 332, IX 4, XXIII 381, 500.

⁴⁴⁵ «Aus all diesem geht zur Genüge hervor, dass der Dual schon in den ältesten Zeiten nicht als eine notwendige, sondern mehr zulässige und deshalb nicht sehr gebräuchliche Form angesehen wurde; er muss von den Griechen allmählich als überflüssig betrachtet worden sein» (1884, 3).

⁴⁴⁶ «Im allgemeinen kann man wohl sagen, dass Homer bei Übergängen sowie bei Anreden und Gleichnissen bezüglich der Anwendung des Duals ziemlich regelrecht verfahren ist» (1884, 19).

VIII 185), Ohler includes in this category cases in which the dual applies to items referred to more than two people – a usage that we could better define as ‘distributive’⁴⁴⁷.

Wackernagel (1877, 1916, 1926)

Wackernagel turned to the dual many times throughout his long and productive career. A major virtue of his approach is that he is committed with a broad and linguistic perspective: treading the same path as Humboldt’s, he looks at the dual as a cross-linguistically spread option⁴⁴⁸.

⁴⁴⁷ That is type .v in Debrunner’s classification (1927, 15). This is the case, for instance, of *Il.* X 187 ὡς τῶν νήδυμος ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρουιν ὀλώλει, which we could roughly translate as “as sweet sleep blew out on the eyes of them (both)”. Yet the dual is here referred to the eyelids as autonomous entities, no matter how many ‘the owners’ – be them two, or many. The same might be said for *Il.* IX 503, XIII 340, XXIII 362, *Od.* XIX 428, XX 348, XI 211, 223.

⁴⁴⁸ In Wackernagel for the first time the dual number is put into a ‘sociolinguistical’ perspective, as the category is linked to small societies, in which the entity of the ‘pair’ is relevant: «wir können danach sagen, reif entwickelte Kultur und Gebrauch des Duals schliessen sich nahezu aus. Umgekehrt, wo wir die allesprimitivsten Dualgebrauch» (Wackernagel 1926, 75). Wackernagel also follows Cuny in stating that the presence of the dual is persistent early on in almost every Indo-European language, whereas the tendency towards reduction and elimination is diachronically sensible. «Da können wir erstens sagen, wo wir eine Sprache auf einer ältern Stufe kennen lernen, da ist sicher der Dualis zu treffen und desto voller im Gebrauch, je altertümlicher die Sprache ist, und zweitens ist so gut wie überall ein Verschwinden zu konstatieren» (Wackernagel 1926, 75). Nowadays the dual survives within the Indo-European domain only in Baltic and Slavic, and even here only in individual languages, e.g. in Lithuanian of the Baltic languages, and in Slovene (in Carniola), Sorbian (in Lusatia) and in Slovincian (in Pomerania) of the Slavic group. As relics, pronominal dual forms exist in Modern Frisian; clearly related to those of Gothic, Old Swedish, Old English, and Old Saxon, they are now lost in several North Frisian dialects but documented as current in the 1920s. The old dual germanic forms nom. *-ōs* and gen. *-enk* are attested in Bavarian from the Middle High German period, but with pl. meaning. «The dual has since vanished from Baltic: indeed, Delbrück reported (1893-1900, I 144) that it was already extinct in Latvian and obsolescent in Lithuanian. For Latvian Endzelins (1923, 291) reports only fossilised remains» (Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 105 n.15). Langslow (*ibid.*) points out that the dual is chiefly attested in the Slavic family, chiefly in Slovene (or Slovenian), in Sorbian (or Wendish, or Lusatian, spoken in the German cities of Cottbus (Lower Sorbian) and Bautzen (Upper Sorbian)), and Slovincian (closely related to Cassubian, spoken in north central Poland but extinct since the mid-20th century): see also Comrie & Corbett (1993, *Index s.v.* ‘dual’), Priestly (1993, 399), Schenker (1993, 60-121), Stone (1993, 593ff.). Instances of dual are missing in the Anatolian and the Latin-Italic groups. «Quintilian reports (I 5,42f.), certain scholars regarded *-e-re*, the variant of the pl. 3 perfect ending *-e-runt*, as a dual form. Perhaps they were comparing the final *-e* with the Greek dual in *-ε*. Quintilian easily refutes the theory by adducing places in Vergil and others where such forms in *-e-re* appear with plural function» (Wackernagel-Langslow, *ibid.*).

Wackernagel believes that the intermittent adoption of the dual in the poems is to be linked with the strong influence of the Ionic dialect, in which the dual had been early abandoned⁴⁴⁹. According to the scholar, the «sehr wenig konsequent» use of the dual is to be ascribed to these Ionian rhapsodes; he furtherly adduces that irregular uses of the dual may be the result of rhapsodic interpolations and variations, as it happens elsewhere in later epic compositions⁴⁵⁰ (es. *H. Hom. Ap.* 456, 487, 501, where Apollo talks to his future ministers – glaringly more than two). A dual in place of the plural could have been accepted by a great many of the ancient critics of Homer – ‘not the worst of them either’, but it is not meaningless that it had been decidedly refused by Aristarchus⁴⁵¹.

It is his conviction (1916, 54) that the Ionian readers of Homer knew no more – or anyway not in an active way – the dual, whose relics belonged to the former Aeolic layer⁴⁵², Wackernagel aligns to the old school, according to which the duals could by no means represent ancient Ionisms, but rather evidence of an Aeolic phase⁴⁵³. Yet some instances of the dual could be determined by Attic infiltrations in the text⁴⁵⁴, as it happens to be the case of the most debated περιδόμεθον (*Il.* XXIII

⁴⁴⁹ «Diese Ablehnung des Duals durch die Ionier hat sehr stark auf die epische Dichtung abgefärbt. Der Schatz der Wörter und Wortformen, den wir bei Homer treffen, ist uralt ererbt. Die homerischen Dichter, die ihn verwenden, waren Ionier. Daher ist der Dual, der eben zu den Erbstücken gehörte, bei Homer ausserordentlich häufig, aber dessen Gebrauch sehr wenig konsequent» (1926, 77f.).

⁴⁵⁰ «Ja, diese Dichter gingen noch weiter; weil der Dual für sie nicht lebendig war, verfielen sie gelegentlich sogar darauf, die Dualformen nur als Spielarten der Pluralformen zu fassen und auch von einer Mehrheit zu verwenden [...]. Auch bei andern Nachahmern Homers, z. B. im Apollhymnos, bei Aratos, bei den Epikern der Kaiserzeit, ist diese Unsicherheit sehr oft zu treffen. Ähnlich hat Apollonius Rhodios z. B. σφώϊτερος ‘euch zweien gehören’ im Sinne von σφέτερος ‘ihm gehörig’, verwandt; er hat also für die Dualbedeutung dieses Possessivums auch kein Gefühl mehr gehabt» (1926, 78).

⁴⁵¹ «Der Meister der Homerkritik», according to Wackernagel: among the other ‘more indulgent’ grammarians figure instead Zenodotus, Eratosthenes, and Crates.

⁴⁵² The theory which purposes different dialectal layers alternating diachronically in the redaction of the poems will be discussed further on.

⁴⁵³ «Irre ich nicht, so ist ein Beweis für äolischen Ursprung des homerischen Duals, wie für das Fehlen des Duals bei den Ioniern, die das Epos übernahmen [...]. Im ganzen haben die epischen Dichter ionischer Herkunft den dualischen Formenbestand übernommen und wohl auch manches davon an ihrem eignen Wortschatze nachgebildet, obwohl sie in ihrer lebendigen Sprache keinen Dual mehr besaßen, aber auch eben wegen dieses Mangels, in bunter Mischung mit den Dualformen auch von Zweiheiten Pluralformen gebraucht. Sie haben aber auch gelegentlich, weil ihnen das lebendige Gefühl für die Gebrauchs-sphäre des Duals abging, ihn mit Übertreibung verwendet» (1916, 215).

⁴⁵⁴ «In Attika, wo der Dual um 400 noch in voller Blüte stand, lag es nahe im Homerischen Text solche Plurale, für die man im Attischen Duale gebraucht hätte, in Duale umzuwandeln» (1916, 216).

485)⁴⁵⁵, for the dual «bildete ein Stück der epischen Sprachtradition, aber die Ionier, die dem Epos seine Gestalt gaben, hatten ihn aus ihrer eigenen lebendigen Rede verloren und waren daher in der Verwendung dieses Erbstücks unsicher. Und vielleicht hat dann umgekehrt wieder die attische Überlieferung Duale an Stelle von Pluralen in den Homertext eingeschwärzt» (1926, 35).

Attic constitutes the most reliable field of investigation for the feature⁴⁵⁶. The dual is epigraphically preserved since the first attestations, disappearing quite quickly in the turn of half a century, after the Peloponnesian war. Now, the strong pertinence of the dual to the Attic dialect is sensible under many respect; one of the most prominent of these is represented by the 'Atticist reaction' of the Second Sophistic: «zu den Stücken nun, worin man es den Attikern nachtun wollte, gehörte auch der Dual. Für die Gelehrten galt er als attisches Spezifikum; dies war insofern berechtigt, als die neben der attischen wichtigste Literatur, die ionische, den Dual nicht kannte» (1926, 80)⁴⁵⁷.

As far as consistency is regarded, the contribution offered by Wackernagel is once again precious, for he is mainly concerned with grammatical necessity and

Wackernagel treated the Attic influence on the dual extensively, with unequalled heed: «da der Dual ein besonders deutliches Anzeichen des Attizismus ist», he focused on peculiarities of the feature both in Homer (1877, 1916) and in Attic, following its functional and syntactical development (1920) from the most ancient layers (1943).

⁴⁵⁵ «Das homerische περιδόμεθον ist wohl attischer Eindringling» (1926, 82).

⁴⁵⁶ «Wir kennen das Attische sehr viel genauer als die andern Dialekte, und zwar in chronologisch fixierten Denkmälern, namentlich vom Beginn des peloponnesischen Krieges bis auf Alexander den Grossen. Gerade in diesem Jahrhundert nun ist der Dual im Attischen zuerst allmählich zurückgewichen und dann verschwunden. Man kann in den Inschriften eine ganz bestimmte Stufenfolge beobachten: bis gegen 409 werden alle Arten von Dualformen gebraucht; von da an tritt ein Schwanken ein, und eine Dualendung nach der andern hört auf, zuerst die Verbalen Dualformen um 380, dann solche auf -ει wie in τείχει, dann die auf -α der ersten Deklination; am längsten halten sich die obliquen Formen auf -οιν und -αιν. Schliesslich hört der Dual ganz auf, ausser in der Bezeichnung der beiden Göttinnen Demeter und Persephone, also in sakralem Gebrauch: noch spät bezeichnete man sie mit τὸ θεῶ, τοῖν θεοῖν. Zu dem, was die Inschriften lehren, stimmt die Literatur aufs beste» (1926, 79).

⁴⁵⁷ Aristarchus tried to explain the well-spread Homeric usage of the dual with Homer being in fact Attic by birth (*schol. Il. XIII* 197). «It makes sense that anyone striving for a form of expression as close as possible to Attic should resurrect the dual as well, completely extinct as it was» (Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 112). The dual has been undertook by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in some nominal forms, and by Lucian in the pronoun too: «Lucian seems to mock Atticism in e.g. *Lexiphanes* and *The Teacher of Rhetoric* but to speak from within it in *The Solecist*. For an excellent brief survey of Atticism, with remarks on Lucian and on lexicography (including the other great lexicon, Moeris's Attic Lexicon), see Whitmarsh (2006, 41-7), who notes that 'lexical Atticism' is already implied by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (late 1st BC)» (*ibid.* n.1).

functional pertinence. In his lecture XV he analyses «in welchen Fällen der Dual angewandt wird» (*ibid.* 82)⁴⁵⁸: his major achievement relies in his identification of the main function of the dual as a chiefly ‘ambal’ function (par. 2.2.2). «Einmal ist der Dual von Homer bis zu den attischen Rednern herabüblich und in den Inschriften zu belegen, wenn eine natürliche Gepaarteheit gegeben ist, eine Paarheit, nicht eine abstrakte Zweiheit, bei solchen Begriffen also, wo wir im Deutschen ‚beide‘ sagen können, wenn es sich darum handelt, Zusammengehöriges zusammenzufassen. Dies ist namentlich bei Gliedmassen der Fall» (1926, 83)⁴⁵⁹. As we will see immediately, this conception is bound to be a very fortunate one.

Brugmann-Delbrück (1897-1916)

In Brugmann’s wide survey we find a rich coverage of different functions of the dual in the Indo-European background. Brugmann follows Wackernagel in accepting that the dual opposes to the plural as its main function is to express parity: «formantisch scheint der Dual ein Singular gewesen zu sein, dessen wesentliche Bildungselemente ursprünglich die Paarigkeit oder Gepaarteheit ausdrückten» (*Grundriß* II 2/1 195)⁴⁶⁰.

His survey begins with an extensive bibliographic survey on the subject in the eighteenth century, to which we refer for further details. He then analyses the

⁴⁵⁸ As far as I know, Wackernagel is also the first one to recognize that the first person dual (and plural) does not correspond to two (or more) ‘T’, thus underlining the inner ambiguity of the feature (see also Greenberg 1988).

⁴⁵⁹ This is the prime function of the category; Wackernagel in fact stresses (*ibid.*) that the dual occurs also in epigraphic inventories when referring to a natural pair (e.g. τὸ ἐνφιδίω, “two earrings”), or in relation to well-known pairings, as it happens for Demeter and Persephone, τὸ θεῶ (or in the Lakonian variant τὸ σίω (Kastor and Poludeukes), attested by Aristophanes and Xenophon. It is hereby to be remarked that θεός is originally indifferent to gender, the distinction being a secondary innovation. Anyway, in Attic the dual is the natural choice for things which get along in pairs: in Attic documents dealing with the administrative body comprising two stewards of the treasury, we find τὸ ταμίᾱ, that is to say, not any two stewards but the pair established as a public institution; in the same fashion Plato refers to the υἱέε Περικλέους, “the two sons of Pericles”, as it was well known that Pericles had two sons; and so on.

⁴⁶⁰ Similarly, even though not explicitly, it is clear that the opposition of the dual’s which proves domineering over time is the one vs. the singular (and not vs. the plural): «aber auch in den meisten von den Sprachzweigen, in denen zu Beginn ihrer geschichtlichen Überlieferung der Dual noch lebendiger Numerus war, ist er im Lauf der Zeit durch den Plural verdrängt worden» (*Grundriß* II 2/1 451).

conditions of the feature in every morphological category (noun⁴⁶¹, pronoun, verb) throughout different i.-e. domains. Brugmann is extremely ‘modern’ – and, for once, not biased by the impressive harmony of the Indo-Aryan syntax – in recognising that full agreement within the sentence should have not been the rule for the dual in protostoric times⁴⁶² (or, at least, that such congruence is not liable to be reconstructed for the i.-e. syntax): «waren nun zwei Nomina attributiv oder prädikativ miteinander verbunden, so wird, wenn das eine dualisch war, das andere daneben oft pluralisch gewesen sein; denn die strenge Kongruenz des Altindischen scheint nicht den Zustand zu repräsentieren, der einmal war» (*Grundriß* II 2/1 450). Brugmann distinguishes between two chief separate developments of the dual number, namely the ‘natürliche Dual’ and the ‘elliptische Dual’: «die beiden Hauptgebrauchsweisen des Duals stehen ihrem Ursprung nach, wie es scheint, in einem schwesterlichen Verhältnis zu einander» (*Grundriß* II 2/1 454).

The section regarding syntax has been compiled by Delbrück alone, following in the late Brugmann’s footsteps (*Grundriß* III/1 133-146). He states from the very beginning that there is a basic opposition between a primary ‘ambal’ value, which denotes the two entities as a single cell, and a secondary, arithmetic value, which denotes the entities as being in number of two: «der Dual wird gebraucht, um die Einheit zweier durch Natur oder Geschiche zusammengehöriger Wesen zu bezeichnen, also da wo wir unser beide anwenden können [...]. In einem Gegensatz dazu steht die Zahl zwei, welche aus der mit eins beginnenden Zahlenreihe herausgehoben wird» (*ibid.* 133). Delbrück then sketches 5 types of duals:

⁴⁶¹ Nominal dual endings (see *Grundriß* II 2/1 195-210) are displayed according to stem (in vowel, semi-vowel or consonant) and case (nom./acc., dat./abl./instr., gen./loc). In particular, the long debated neuter ὄσσε is regarded as a *i*-stem noun adopting the athematic ending *-ě* (**ok^{wj}-ě*), just as the *s*-stem does (Att. σκέλει, see *Grundriß* II 2/1 202). On the basis of the oblique epigraphic occurrences of παίδοι, θανό(ν)τοιοι (du.), a morpheme **-ɸiv* is postulated for the oblique: such morpheme would have then coalesced with the neuter i.-e. dual ending **-oi*, thus producing the notorious **-oĩv* (Att. **-oĩv*). On this ending, the nominal *a*-stem oblique ending (Att.) **-aĩv* is subsequently forged, being later extended to pronouns (ταĩν) as well.

⁴⁶² «Wenn wir mit Recht davon ausgegangen sind, dass die dualische Gestaltung eines Substantivums eine nicht bloss durch den Zahlbegriff gegebene Beziehung von zwei Gegenständen zu einander bedeutet hat, und dass für zwei Gegenständen ursprünglich auch die Pluralform zulässig gewesen ist, so hat bei den Substantiva eine Ausbreitung des Duals über seinen anfänglichen Bereich stattgefunden» (*Grundriß* II 2/1 463).

Natural Dual	(~ <i>Grundriß</i> II 2/1) «Namen von Gliedmassen», «paarige Geräte» and «Paare zusammengehöriger Wesen»
Elliptic Dual	To define two individuals, the name of the preminent is marked by a dual ending: Αἴαντε, Κόστορε, etc.
Elliptic Dual with Sylleptic Member	= Elliptic Dual + further specification of the second member: **Αἴαντε δύο Τεῦκρος τε (see Wackernagel 1877)
,Two' and ,Both' + Dual	Common construction to define accidental pairs (on compulsoriness: see <i>Grundriß</i> III/1 140f.)
Dualia tantum	Nouns which always (and only) appear in the dual: e.g. ὄσσε

His approach has the virtue to effect an empirical classification, based on factual evidence, by recognizing functions pertinent to the category. Such conception will be further developed by Debrunner (see *infra*).

Cuny (1906, 1928, 1930)

Cuny devolved many efforts to the dual, first in his DPhil dissertation (1906), and then in his comparative studies, later affected by a clear Nostratic imprinting (1928, 1930)⁴⁶³. His 1906 dissertation is committed with a descriptive approach, sometimes biased by a 'romantic' view⁴⁶⁴. Since redacted before the deciphering of Mycenaean and the discovery of Hittite and Tocharian, the dissertation refers to an extremely reduced Indo-European background. As for comparative reconstructions, Cuny usually considers Indo-Aryan data only and, in some scarce cases, the Slavonic evidence, due to the authoritative influence of his mentor Meillet's slavonic interests.

By comparing the compulsivity of the use of the dual in different Indo-European languages, Cuny (1906, 67-77) reaches the belief that the dual was

⁴⁶³ By Cuny's enquiries we get the overall impression that «while the dual is in every instance an ancient category, there is visible nearly everywhere the tendency to put it in the background, that nearly everywhere attempts are made to get rid of the dual, as of a piece of ballast, a form that is essentially superfluous» (Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 103).

⁴⁶⁴ «Le duel n'en était pas moins un organisme délicat et compliqué qui put d'assez bonne heure sembler un luxe à côté du pluriel» (Cuny 1906, 77).

originally used loosely for natural duals, whereas in all other occasions (accidental duals, etc.) the presence of the quantifier (δύω/δύο, ἄμφω) was mandatory. In order to document his perspective, Cuny accords huge space to Attic idiolects, both in poetry and prose, by sketching different usages throughout different authors. The diachronical development of the language mirrors, according to him, a sensible decrease in the adoption of the dual. When dealing with Drama, Cuny enhances the atypical internal development of Tragedy, pursuant to which the percentage of dual forms increases from Aeschylus to Euripides: «les formes du duel tout d’abord exclues des œuvres littéraires y auraient été admises ainsi peu à peu» (1906, 88)⁴⁶⁵. Cuny attributes this development to a rising tendency toward an ‘atticisation’ of the language of Tragedy⁴⁶⁶: furthermore, he stresses how Sophocles «va plus loin dans cette voie que son prédécesseur» (1906, 90). The rehabilitation of the dual culminates with Aristophanes. Interestingly enough, Cuny believes that Comedy and Tragedy sway each other in the process: «la langue dramatique est en effect sensiblement une, au moins dans le dialogue, c’est pourquoi on a admis une influence possible d’Aristophane sur Sophocle et Euripide» (1906, 91f.).

As aforementioned, Cuny took a Nostratic turn in his mature career, believing that the dual represented one of the more striking joints between the Indo-European and Semitic languages⁴⁶⁷. The elliptical dual was believed to be a

⁴⁶⁵ «On peut dire que chez Eschyle l’emploi du duel augmente en fréquence avec le temps. Il en est de même chez Sophocle [...]; il est visible que chez Sophocle comme chez Eschyle, l’emploi du duel suit une marche ascendante. On peut faire enfin des observations analogues sur l’œuvre d’Euripide. Les pièces qui présentant le moins de duels sont parmi les plus anciennes [...]. On peut donc dire avec vraisemblance que dans la langue tragique l’emploi des formes du duel devient de plus en plus fréquent au cours du V^e siècle avant notre ère. Comme la plus ancienne des pièces d’Eschyle, les *Suppliantes*, ne contient encore aucun exemple positif du duel, c’est peut-être à ce poète qu’il faut attribuer le premier pas dans l’atticisation du style tragique au point de vue qui nous occupe» (1906, 89f.).

⁴⁶⁶ «Cette remarque s’accorde bien aussi avec l’évolution qu’avait suivie en général le style de la tragédie au cours du V^e siècle. Eschyle cultive le style «sublime» et ce n’est pas la dernière fois qu’on aura l’occasion de remarquer ici que les auteurs qui écrivent dans ce genre évitent l’emploi du duel» (1906, 91). In the roughly fifty years-interval that stands between Aeschylus and Sophocles, there is a shift towards realism in the tragic language, which in Sophocles «coïncide, on l’a vu, avec une augmentation du nombre des duels employés. L’observation est également vraie pour Euripide qui mit des petites gens sur la scène et exagéra parfois le naturel jusqu’à tomber dans la trivialité» (*ibid.*).

⁴⁶⁷ He was not alone in this belief: see at last Fontinoy (1969) and Levin (1971), who entertained a quarrel with Szemerényi on the issue on «General Linguistics» (1975). Cuny (1930, 54ff.) traced 4 similarities in morphology: a 1st person personal pronoun; a common feminine nominative; a common masculine oblique; a common feminine oblique. Without even discussing the alleged

Nostratic feature, whose existence was to be encountered in Semitic languages as well⁴⁶⁸. Cuny ignored that the use of elliptical structures, be they comitative, associative or asyndetic, is striking all around the world, as typology illustrates (see par. 2.5).

Meillet (1916, 1918)

Just as his pupil Cuny, Meillet was attracted by the dual, which he treated in depth in an article appeared in 1918. Before this article, he had focused on the dual (1916) by dealing with the surprising oblique nominal endings $-\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon$, $-\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ which are found in some Arcadian inscriptions⁴⁶⁹ (par. 1.2), and with a possible dual pronominal form *va* in a unique Avestan occurrence. His work reflects the belief that «l'emploi du nombre duel était régulier en indo-européen là où il s'agit de deux object [...]. Au contraire, l'emploi du duel est capricieux et incohérent chez Homère» (1918, 145). Consistently with the common trend of his age, he values the feature in terms of an alleged 'regularity' which, in his consideration, is in Homer neglected⁴⁷⁰.

As regards the inflectional system, the scholar believes that the absence of a specific ending for the *a*-stem in Homer is an archaism⁴⁷¹; the ending $-\bar{a}$ of the

connections, it is evident how such conception is hardly sustainable, since two over four similarities are based on the feminine, which is, for the dual, a notoriously late introduction in Ancient Greek.

⁴⁶⁸ Cuny relies in this respect on Grünert's *Die Begriffspräponderanz und der Dual a potiori im Altarabischen* (Wien 1886): he quotes examples such as *al-ābawani* "the two fathers = father and mother", *al-qamarāni* "the two moons = moon and sun" or, with proper names, *al-Yasūmāni* "the two Yasūm = Hais and Yasūm" (1930, 10f.; see also Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II 57f.).

⁴⁶⁹ «Depuis la découverte des formes arcadiennes $\mu\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, $\delta\iota\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$, on sait que cette forme, assez énigmatique et sans doute secondaire, en $-\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ ($-\omicron\iota\upsilon$) n'est pas panhellénique» (1918, 148f.). The reason why Meillet defined these forms as secondary relies in the fact that $*-\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ was to him (as to Brugmann, Cuny, etc.) to be traced back to a $*-\omicron\iota\tau\iota\upsilon$, underlying the arcadian $-\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ too. For the very same reason, he spends some words trying to motivate the loss of a reconstructed oblique $*\delta\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (*ibid.*).

⁴⁷⁰ We saw how this biased conception of regularity affects the most part of the enquiries on the category. Besides, 'irregularity' is almost always meant as 'default agreement' – this is true in Meillet's definition as well: the scholar defends otherwise the functional integrity of the category, narrowing his 'inconsistency' to its behaviour in respect of agreement.

⁴⁷¹ Like Cuny, Meillet has in mind a reconstructed feminine $*-ai$ ending, drawn by comparisons between the slavic and indo-iranian groups. The absence of a dual $*-ai$ in Ancient Greek would be explained by its overlap with the nominative plural. Yet, as we saw, the lack of occurrences in Homer does not seem proof enough to affirm an absence of the ending in the stem at all; besides, Meillet

masculine *a*-stem should instead be analogical to the *o*-stem. «On a peine à trouver des exemples de au neutre», if we except ὄσσε⁴⁷²: hence, «le neutre a donc, pour sa part, contribué à l'élimination du duel» (1918, 147). This «capricieux» usage in feminine and neuter is to Meillet evidence of the fact that «le poète n'avait guère le sentiment du duel dans ces formes» (*ibid.*). This is an important statement, for Meillet recognizes that the resort to the dual is not irrational in the poems: «le poète a encore pleinement le sens de la valeur duelle des formes. Il n'emploie guère le duel au lieu du pluriel» (1918, 153). Throughout a survey of peculiar passages, he tries to prove how the dual is inherent in the text, when employed. If ever, in *loca* where a dual appears even though not expected – e.g. in *hapax* like γῦπε, λᾶε, ποταμῶ, etc. – the reason for its use is in Meillet's opinion a stylistical one: «le duel a une valeur expressive là où il n'est pas purement traditionnel» (*ibid.*)⁴⁷³.

Meillet's view on the dual in the poems relies in the end on external and internal elements. On an external, *i.e.* comparative, perspective, the dual is a decaying category in Greek, for it presents reduced in inflectional paradigms and 'irregularly' employed (lack of agreement). Yet on an internal perspective the dual is still understood and correctly resorted to, even though often for stylistical more than morphological reasons: «la seule incertitude qui subsiste est celle-ci: on ne saurait dire si le parler ordinaire des poètes conservait encore des restes de duel, ou si l'usage qui est fait du duel dans la langue épique tient uniquement à une tradition littéraire» (1918, 164).

Debrunner (1927)

In a paramount article appeared on «Glotta» in 1927, Debrunner lay the foundation for a functional interpretation of the morphological dual. His

could not rely on the support of the Mycenaean, in which endings for the *a*-stem are nonetheless attested, though differing from the alleged Indo-European *-ai.

⁴⁷² «ὄσσε, qui n'est accompagné d'aucune forme de cas oblique, est une pure survivance» (1918, 151).

⁴⁷³ «D'autre part, il est imaginable que, sauf le cas où le duel était employé en vue de l'expression, le poète n'y ait recouru que là où le vers se faisait plus aisément avec le duel [...]. Inversement, il a pu arriver que le duel, qui faisait l'effet d'un ornement poétique, ait été substitué parfois à une forme de pluriel» (1918, 161).

contribution will be extensively dealt with in par. 2.2.2; in this survey, the basic premises of his enquiry will be sketched.

Debrunner makes an attempt to an outline including all possible properties inherent to the category. «Matematische Formeln und Symbole tun der Sprachwissenschaft hier und da gute Dienste, indem sie sprachliche Erscheinungen schärfer erfassen helfen und zugleich veranschaulichen» (1927, 14). Starting from this assumption, the scholar traces – in a similar fashion to Ohler’s, yet in more punctual details – patterns of agreement of the dual within the Indo-European system, expressing such patterns by means of algebraic formulas. He thus recollects 8 tipologies (with sub-categories):

1. <i>Natural dual</i> (1 × 2)	2. <i>Dual with '2'</i> (2 × 1)	3a. <i>Elliptic dual</i> (2a = 1a + 1b)	4a. <i>Asyndetic double dual</i> (2a + 2b = 1a + 1b)	5. <i>Distributive dual</i> (x × 2)	7. <i>Dual for two pairs</i> (2 × 2)	8. <i>Asymmetric Dual</i> (1 + x = 2)
		3b. <i>Elliptic dual with sylleptic member</i> (2a + 1b = 1a + 1b)	4b. <i>Copulative double dual</i> (2a 'and' 2b = 1a + 1b)	6. <i>(Pseudo-distributive dual</i> (2 × x)		

In his prospectus, much space of which is devoted to Ancient Greek occurrences and uses, Debrunner has in mind the situation of the Indo-Aryan languages where, as foretold, the dual was extensively and compulsively used. As a consequence, some of Debrunner’s categories (3b, 4a-b) are tainted by the Indo-Aryan usage. Besides, since his main aim is to describe all diverse manifestations of the dual, Debrunner includes in his prospectus also categories which are not solidly attested in Greek, such as (6)⁴⁷⁴.

⁴⁷⁴ Quite the contrary, in fact: the only occurrences of these categories are to be found in the ‘Homeric’ *Hymn to Apollo* (456, 487, 501), where they appear completely out of context, as more than two people are surely involved: see par. 2.2.2.

It can be argued that a flaw of his enquiry relies in the fact that it is not clear to which extent his prospectus should be valid – in other words, if it aims to answer to peculiar uses in Greek and Indo-Aryan only, or in the whole Indo-European background. Yet he adopts a purely ‘Neo-Grammarians’ and almost clinical approach by splitting all options in ‘mathematic’ categories, in the aim to avoid speculation: such an attempt is, on a methodological point of view, essential, as it basically distinguishes from what is attested and what is not, allowing no space for exceptions and personal interpretations.

Bolling (1933)

Bolling goes with the flow of those who believe that the dual is an inheritance from Aeolic, later accepted by Ionic-speaking poets, with a naturally resulting deviation from the earlier usage⁴⁷⁵. Bolling explains the mixture of dual and plural usage in Homer by corrections made by Ionic readers in post-Pisistratean times⁴⁷⁶, by Attic copyists at the beginning of the IV century BC, and by ‘mistakes’ made by the poets themselves, in «what seem like desperate attempts to preserve the integrity of the category»⁴⁷⁷ (Hillyard 2008, 298)⁴⁷⁸. The theory, surely suggestive,

⁴⁷⁵ «Just how far this deviation extended during the composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is a question about which, in my opinion, the linguists have been led astray by a misunderstanding of the philological evidence» (1933, 298). The scholar tries in fact to analyse each and every problematic passage involving a dual, in order to sort different explanations. Yet this conception is animated by the positivistic persuasion that all anomalies may, in the end, be justified.

⁴⁷⁶ His position is in this regard problematic: he believes in fact that a Ionic interpolation is to be seen in the conversion of -τε, -σθε into -τον, -σθον (and not the contrary!) in many passages to avoid hiatus; yet, even if such conversion should be accepted, we would expect Ionic to proceed in the opposite direction – unless Bolling is using the label ‘Ionic’ to refer to ‘Ionic-Attic’ readers.

⁴⁷⁷ The dual had represented an interesting feature to Bolling (1902) in Vedic too: in this language the scholar tried to defend the antiquity of the ending *-āu* over the ending *-ā* (despite Meringer’s contribution in «KZ» XXXVIII, where for the first time it has been stated that the two endings are just allomorphs, *i.e.* sandhi variants).

⁴⁷⁸ Bolling makes some compelling remarks, yet as a whole his study lacks accuracy. Sometimes statements of his, as seen, prove wrong. Sometimes he misinterprets former scholars: «whether the dual is also used for the plural is a more difficult problem. In 1916 Wackernagel, *SUH* 55, still left it an open question; but in 1926 in his *Vorlesungen* 1.78-9 he maintained that examples do occur, and in the following year Debrunner 16-17 endorsed this opinion. It requires, I think, modification» (1933, 306). It is relieving that Bolling disregards the ‘dual-for-plural’ option; as we saw, neither Wackernagel nor Debrunner accepted it. What Wackernagel does is merely enhancing passages

does hardly account for all mismatches in agreement which the dual may be credited for. The ‘false’ uses of the dual (*i.e.* dual for pairs, the Embassy of *Iliad* IX, etc.) are motivated in a similar fashion: Bolling believes that *Il.* VIII 185 is an interpolation. Occasionally, Bolling even proposes that the use of the dual is a mistake on the part of the poet – which seems quite a simplistic solution⁴⁷⁹.

Chantraine (1948-1953)

Chantraine never dedicated to the matter a monographic contribution: yet, in both his *Morphologie historique* and in the *Grammaire homérique* he makes some sensible statements. As far as morphology is concerned, he appreciates a number of collateral phenomena, namely the verbal inflection seeming, in the dual, more reduced than the nominal one⁴⁸⁰; Attic nom./acc. du. for the *a*-stem $\bar{\alpha}$ depending on the *o*-stem⁴⁸¹, in contrast with Mycenaean and Homer⁴⁸²; Attic innovations like $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$, or the occasional feminine of the pronoun ($\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\alpha$, etc.; Chantraine 1984, 124, 147).

where a dual is problematic; Debrunner’s study, on the other hand, is committed with a descriptive approach rather than an inductive, and subsequently predictive one.

⁴⁷⁹ This kind of assessments should be disregarded, in that they align with the tendency to see problems in ancient texts as the result of ancient ‘mistakes’, rather than assuming misinterpretations by part of the modern readers.

⁴⁸⁰ Starting from the lack of the 1st person. We find in Chantraine again the bias, chiefly of the ‘French school’, according to which the dual is a decaying category: «toutefois cette catégorie a tendu à disparaître, plus ou moins vite selon les dialectes. C’est l’attique qui sur ce point s’est montré le plus conservateur. Dans le système du nom, les formes de duel paraissent mieux conservées que dans celui du verbe qui présente beaucoup de flottements» (1984, 28, 307f.). This last observation is meaningful: together with Wackernagel, Chantraine is one of the few scholars who focused on the stages of the loss of the dual, in the attempt to recollect which, among the various morphological categories owning a dual, were the more productive and long-lasting.

⁴⁸¹ «Le grec a perdu la vieille désinence *-ai* répondant au skr. *-e*. Il l’a remplacée par $\bar{\alpha}$ d’après l’analogie de la flexion thématique en $-\omega$: $\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$ ». Yet Chantraine’s assessments are sometimes influenced by the *i.-e.* reconstructions: as an instance, he believes (1984, 50) that $-\alpha\iota$ for the nom./acc. pl. of the *a*-stem is not a loan from the pronominal inflection, but rather a re-grammaticalized dual ending («on peut donc admettre que $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\iota$ continue pour une part un ancien duel»), a prejudice that we met already in Cuny.

⁴⁸² «Homère et les tablettes mycéniennes présentent des témoignages qui divergent singulièrement entre eux. Homère n’a ce duel en $\bar{\alpha}$ qu’au masculin et n’a aucun duel au féminin. Le mycénien a \bar{o} au féminin, et semble présenter au masculin, dans les noms d’agent en $-\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, ion. att. $-\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ une forme *-lae*: analogie des noms d’agent athématiques en $-\tau\eta\varrho\text{-}\epsilon$?» (1984, 56).

As for the *Grammaire*, like Monro he focuses mainly on striking usages in the Homeric poetry. Chantraine believes that the duals belong to the 'Aeolic phase'. The Ionic poets involved in the final stages of composition did not understand the dual anymore: therefore, they replaced the dual forms with the plural where metrically possible. His specific notations are dealt with in par. 4.0.

Vendryes (1952)

Vendryes aligns to the French school, glaringly depending on Meillet, Cuny and Tesnière in his general attitude⁴⁸³: as a consequence, his contribution suffers from the same assumptions which bias his forefathers and, in general, the dual across the centuries. The dual is treated as a universal category, relentlessly doomed to decline; properties and treatment of the category are assumed to be cross-linguistically the same, regardless to functional differences in different domains. Yet the main interest of Vendryes' rests precisely on an affirmation of principle, namely that the dual is an archaic category, which belongs «dans les conceptions de la mentalité primitive» (1952, 94), and that its preminent value was a collective one – hence, two items equal *one* pair, once again⁴⁸⁴. As a consequence, «dès que le nom de nombre devient nécessaire à l'expression du duel, on peut dire que ce dernier, en tant que nombre, est menacé; car la dualité s'introduit dans la série des nombres, autrement dit dans la pluralité» (*ibid.* 98)⁴⁸⁵.

⁴⁸³ «On peut affirmer que l'indo-européen commun possédait un duel; de même le sémitique commun. Le duel se rencontre aussi dans certains dialectes du finno-ougrien, et dans des langues indigènes de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique. C'est, semble-t-il, un trait universel du langage humain. Partout aussi se manifeste une tendance à l'élimination du duel. Plus ou moins tôt dans la plupart des langues connues, le duel disparaît; là même où il reste en usage, il donne l'impression d'une catégorie précaire, flottante et peu vivante» (1952, 91).

⁴⁸⁴ «Dans des langues où la notion du collectif est restée si vivante, le duel trouvait naturellement à se maintenir pour désigner tous les objets qui sont doubles. Cela confirme l'hypothèse que le duel figurait originellement non pas sur le plan de la pluralité, mais sur celui du collectif, et qu'il a suivi le destin de ce dernier» (1952, 101).

⁴⁸⁵ Beside the correctness of such statements, this perspective seems methodologically questionable, as it intends to produce generalizations despite the consistency of the premises: when comparing endings from different language families, not for once Vendryes (but the same might be said about Cuny) make reference to phonetic laws or vocalic treatments: their main aim affects their procedure. The evolution that Vendryes sketches, even if agreeable, results quite deterministic if not supported by factual evidence. It seems hereby instructive to mention a last follower of the French 'dual-dealers', namely Fontinoy (1969), who provided his doctoral dissertation on the dual in Semitic

Gonda (1953)

Like Vendryes, Gonda is interested in generalisations and sociological implications: after embracing the ‘ambal’ conception⁴⁸⁶, which he finds thriving across languages⁴⁸⁷, he regards the duals as a kind of collective. Gonda indulges in the common bias, according to which the dual is *by nature* a decaying category⁴⁸⁸; subsequently, he concentrates on the use of the dual following a numeral. He finds (1953, 14f.) that the numeral is likely to occur: in lists within inscription, with a merely arithmetic value (contrast with 3, 4, etc.); where any other qualifier, such as article or adjective, is missing; to express determined measures (e.g. *δυσὸν τάλαντοις*). In the 4th century BC different tendencies emerge: on the one side, the oblique quantifier always attracts an oblique dual, whereas a direct quantifier frequently goes along with a plural; on the other side, the dual is increasingly liable to define accidental pairs⁴⁸⁹. As regards Homer, he believes that «the epic language which possessed the dual was used by poets who were not acquainted with it in their own tongue. But there is in their poems hardly an instance of a dual where a

with an introduction on «la dualité dans la psychologie, l’ethnologie et la numération». After stating that «psychologiquement, toutes les espèces de pluriels de l’homme primitif, y compris le duel, sont des collectifs» (1969, 6), Fontinoy distinguishes between «duel numératif» (accidental) and «duel massif» (natural). Having in mind the Semitic situation – strongly diverging, in this respect, from the Indo-European one: see par. 2.1.1 – he credits the dual feature with an optional «idée emphatique, ou augmentative» (1969, 16), sometimes «diminutive», or even «dépréciative». Finally, in offbeat to the general trend, he states that the accidental, merely arithmetic, value is the most archaic for the category. It is apparent how all of these inferences, right or wrong, are scientifically inadmissible.

⁴⁸⁶ On an anthropological point of view, his generalisation are hardly agreeable, as the author continuously refers to ‘the primitive man’, a rather acceptable concept, with no distinction in language or culture. «The symmetry of the human body, the duality of sex, the occurrence of various pairs of entities and phenomena, such as heaven and earth [...] have without any doubt not failed to impress on mankind the fundamental importance of the pair-concept’» (1953, 5f.).

⁴⁸⁷ The author (1953, 7) offers a handful of nice examples, such as Hungarian *fél kéz* “half of a pair of hands” (*fész* conveying the idea of ‘half’), and Irish *dí súil* “the (two) eyes”, but *leth-súil* “a single eye” (= half of the eyes).

⁴⁸⁸ His statements are in this respect ungrounded, and definitely unattainable: «it may even be said that it has tended to disappear where civilization had reached a certain stage of development, or rather, when a definite mental or cultural structure was given up» (1953, 11).

⁴⁸⁹ «From these facts it is sufficiently clear that the Attic dual was on the one hand conventional, and on the other dying. It would be unwarrantable to suppose this Attic usage to have been similar to the role played by this category in prehistoric Greek» (1953, 15).

plural was the proper form» (1953, 15f.)⁴⁹⁰. Furthermore, in the poems the dual quantifier rarely accompanies a plural, and even more rarely a dual⁴⁹¹; if it does, the accompanied word probably appears elsewhere without quantifier. The main function of the quantifier seems consequently to be, in Homer, an emphatic one (1953, 17)⁴⁹².

Schwyzler (1953-1959)

Schwyzler's and Debrunner's enquiry naturally follows in the footsteps of Brugmann and Delbrück. The relative sections of the *Grammatik* trace a precious summary of scholarly literature on the dual in the eighteenth century (II 46)⁴⁹³, making a number of sensible observations rather than proposing a cohesive theory. In consonance with the German tradition, the oldest use of the dual is to express naturally coupled pairs (natural dual), e.g. the duals used for body parts like ὄσσε and τένοντε. A less ancient use is represented by the so-called accidental dual (par. 2.2.2), which, in Schwyzler's assessment, requires the presence of the quantifier δύο/δύο, and whose main value is to describe two things which come in a pair by chance: «dies gilt auch für das Attische» (GG II 49)⁴⁹⁴. It is nevertheless stressed that

⁴⁹⁰ This is untrue; let us think of the Embassy of *Iliad* IX, the most glaring contradiction to this remark.

⁴⁹¹ «Although we were aware of the risks of laying too much stress on the difference between the categories, δύο (δύο) with the dual and δύο (δύο) with the plural, we may, generally speaking, be justified in concluding that the Homeric facts reflect a linguistic usage» (1953, 19): this would consist, according to the author, in recurring to the first construction (2 + dual) when referring to a pair, and to the second (2 + plural) when defining two independent items. This distinction seems far too broad to account for all Homeric cases; besides, in this hypothesis metrical influences are not addressed at all.

⁴⁹² «He never explicitly states, but quite obviously implies that a possible explanation for the mixture of dual and plural is that the dual was in the process of being lost at the time of Homeric composition. He cites the comparison of the loss of the dual as signalled by numerals in Attic. Attic had a complete dual inventory and used the dual regularly, but by the beginning of the 4th century the dual was starting to be lost and replaced by the plural. This started in nouns which followed a modifier, as the modifier already conveyed the idea of duality and the number of the dual was semantically unnecessary» (Hillyard 2008, 303).

⁴⁹³ The texts Schwyzler refers to are chiefly syntheses of dual usages listed by author or genre; even though extremely useful on a methodological perspective, they do not widen their horizons to linguistic comparisons, not adding much to our knowledge.

⁴⁹⁴ «In einzelnen Fällen sind formale Bedingungen für die Setzung des Duals oder Plurals maßgebend» (GG II 49); Hillyard (2008, 300) argues in this respect that «since the plural can also be found expressing both these concepts, Schwyzler-Debrunner cannot make a neat rule and are forced to eventually admit that there is generally no discernible pattern to dual usage».

the numeral 'two' is found more often followed by a plural noun than a dual, as well as body parts nouns are naturally keen on the dual. Finally, inconsistencies in Homer are motivated by dialectal merge and misunderstandings⁴⁹⁵.

Wathelet (1970)

Wathelet's main focus is on dialects: as a consequence, he tries to uncover the mark of origin of the dual in the poem, questioning whether it should be ascribed to an Achean, Aeolic or rather Ionic stage. «La question présente même un aspect paradoxal: la conservation du duel est un archaïsme et le plus ancien monument de la littérature grecque [*i.e.* Homer and Hesiod] ne l'utilise que fort peu et de manière irrégulière» (Wathelet 1970, 330). The scholar is quite objective in rejecting an inclusion of the dual within Aeolic only on the basis of its antiquity: «une telle position *a priori* devait être écartée» (*ibid.*). He enhances how almost all the dual forms are formulaic, a further sign that the dual entered the text in a, more neutrally, archaic stage⁴⁹⁶, being then preserved thanks to its pervasive presence within the formulaic *repertoire*.

Like Wackernagel (1916, 56f.), Wathelet believes that the masculine dual ἄτρειδα is a late intruder in the text, «un atticisme de graphie, susceptible de recouvrir un pluriel ἄτρειδαί» (1970, 332); unlike Wackernagel, and in agreement with Chantraine (1953a, 306), he also believes that the Homeric forms συναντήτην, προσωδήτην, συλήτην, φοιτήτην (see par. 4.0) are not affected by an 'Aeolic' contraction, but rather «il s'agit chaque fois de verbes 'contractés' qui suivent la flexion athématique, ainsi qu'il arrive en achéen et en éolien» (*ibid.*).

⁴⁹⁵ «Dagegen ist in Kolonialdialekten der Dual früh ungebräuchlich geworden, so im Äolischen und Ionischen Kleinasien; dies spiegelt sich in dem unsicheren, teilweise sogar fälschlich archaisierenden Dualgebrauche Homers (vgl. die Lit.)» (GG II 46f.).

⁴⁹⁶ «Nous manquons de précision pour la période intermédiaire; dans l'hypothèse d'une influence éolienne, les dialectes du continent européen possédaient certainement le duel tandis que le lesbien l'avait perdu sans doute assez tôt, après la migration éolienne, mais à un moment impossible à déterminer exactement» (1970, 331f.).

Diver (1987)

Diver, in quite an original fashion, believes that the Homeric dual was not used to denote number, but rather to focus attention⁴⁹⁷. Starting from a counting of a selected token of natural duals, he remarks that ὄσσε is the only one always appearing in the dual⁴⁹⁸, while all others prefer the plural. His explanation is linear: «there must be something special about ὄσσε», namely that «in the Greek lexicon ὄσσε meant not the eyes as mere organs of sight but the eyes as windows of the soul» (Diver 1987, 110f.)⁴⁹⁹.

His approach, clearly based on no philological grounds⁵⁰⁰, has received a striking amount of attention, possibly because of its adaptability to problematic passages. Yet the distance between such an escamotage and the ‘surgical’ approach of Debrunner’s, who wrote sixty years before Diver, is sensible.

Hierche (1987)

Hierche embraces a cautious yet rational position: it is his conviction that the Homeric language has a basically regular number system, which has been

⁴⁹⁷ «The dual, as an increment of precise information, is introduced into a passage, or onto a word, that the author wants to highlight» (1987, 6); «this leads to some extremely awkward argumentation. For example, according to his theory, body-part nouns are more likely to be in the plural as they are always of subordinate interest. This however forces him to unconvincingly explain the use of the dual in ὄσσε as due to the noun never being used to mean ‘eyes’ but rather ‘mirror of the soul’» (Hillyard 2006, 63 n.3).

⁴⁹⁸ No mention is given on the fact that a plural for ὄσσε is not attested at all; besides, many Homeric natural duals, such as βλεφάροιιν, πήχεε and τένοντε are missing from his list.

⁴⁹⁹ «First, it is never used as an instrument of seeing; second, its two chief uses are, 1) as a symbol of life vs. death, an eclipse of the entire person, and 2), as part of the description of someone in the grip of a powerful emotion [...]. It is only reasonable that so important a conception should be regularly highlighted with the extra precision of the dual» (*ibid.*).

⁵⁰⁰ That the author is not interested at all in the morphological evidence is self-apparent since the introduction of the article, where he offhandedly disposes of all his predecessors: «usually, something is regarded as arbitrary either because it is completely chaotic or because it departs from some accepted norm. In the latter case, of course, the trouble may actually be that the accepted norm should never have been set as a norm in the first place. The norm offered by grammars of Greek is that the dual is used for natural pairs. The purpose of this paper is to show that that norm is not supported by the language itself» (1987, 99).

disrupted by the use of formulae inherited from older epic traditions⁵⁰¹ and the loss of certain morphological dual forms⁵⁰². Secondly, metre and textual corrections played minor roles.

Hierche is not a supporter of the Aeolic phase (cf. par. 2.2); yet he believes that mismatches are to be adduced to the Ionic composition of the poems⁵⁰³. Even if reasonable in its general organisation, his theory risks being at times contradictory⁵⁰⁴.

Fortassier (1989)

Fortassier (1989, 349) believes that the use of the dual in Homer «n'est pas sans raison, ni sans art»⁵⁰⁵: each and every dual in the text can be explained by the

⁵⁰¹ Hierche (1987, 34) finds that inconsistencies can occur when several formulas are unified (e.g. *Od.* 475-486); if certain elements within formulas are substituted, then clashes between dual and plural occur. Moreover, the use of formulae in inappropriate circumstances allegedly led to some surprising circumstances: this should be the case, for instance, of *Il.* VIII 185 and IX 182ff.

⁵⁰² This explanation should motivate ὄσσε agreeing with plural, dual and singular adjectives and verbs: these occasions, belonging to fixed formulae, should have been absorbed into epic language when there was uncertainty as to the morphological status of ὄσσε. If this were the case, given the fact that ὄσσε is the only example we have of a possible neuter dual ending in Greek (< *ok^w-iH₁), the clash may have happened relatively early (see Hierche 1987, 34; Hillyard 2008, 313).

⁵⁰³ Generally, Hierche believes that the Homeric dual originated in Ionic when the dual was still in use. At this stage the dual, he believes, was probably missing quite a few forms; most of the formulae using the dual, though, originated long before this time. Gradually, the dual was lost in Ionic and the poets kept on owning verses which they could not *understand* anymore. This development, though reasonable, bears misunderstandings in the value to be attributed to the 'understanding' of the dual: forms entrenched in oral memory might well have been understood, even if anymore productive. What seems to be relevant is hence productivity. As long as the dual appears flexible and varied in the poems, we should assume that it was, to some extent, in use. 'Alive' and 'dead', referred to the dual, are but labels: if the feature proves *en vogue* textual problems should be motivated otherwise.

⁵⁰⁴ For instance, formulae *are* part of the metric: if they induce modifications, the metric is involved. Also, the verb seems the most resilient feature in relation to the dual, appearing outside of formulaic contexts and proving flexible in the adoption of different endings: were Hierche's explanations exhaustive, we might expect the dual to be used even less evenly and consistently.

⁵⁰⁵ This point is, on the contrary, magnified: «l'entrelacement, harmonieux et expressif, du pluriel et du duel, est l'apanage d'Homère, et porte comme sa signature [...] ainsi s'agit-il non d'incohérence, mais de rigoureuse précision et de grand art» (1989, 352). This idealized perspective does not account for strictly morphological problems, on which the article seems more slippery: for instance, Fortassier assumes «que la langue allait à l'élimination du duel, à commencer par le duel féminin» (1989, 349); such a statement, though, seems not too well founded. Surely the homeric dual is defective: whether this mirror an incomplete (and in process) paradigmaticization, or a partial loss, is less clear. Besides, to postulate a feminine in a proto-language before Homer is in contradiction at least with the uniformity

poet using it for a particular semantic reason⁵⁰⁶ which falls into two specific circumstances, which are nothing but naturalness (natural duals) and formularity. He then lists the 27_x in which a dual in -ε is to be found in hiatus⁵⁰⁷.

Tichy (1990)

The contribution of Tichy is interesting insofar as, for the first time, the dual is not seen in a deterministic perspective, privileging instead a synchronic evaluation of the dual at the time of the redaction: the scholar believes that many of the inconsistencies are indebted with the defective nature of the Homeric dual⁵⁰⁸. Tichy believes that the duals are to be traced back to an Aeolic phase of composition of the poems⁵⁰⁹: the redaction of the poems should allegedly have taken place in a moment in which the paradigmatisation of the feature would not yet have been completed⁵¹⁰. It is striking to notice how Tichy's position is polar to Fortassier's: while Fortassier supports a 'fall from heaven', with the disruption of an originally

principle (par. 1.5). The Homeric dual may have lost the feminine, but it may as well not have introduced it yet, as our first attestations of a feminine appear in Attic.

⁵⁰⁶ The semantic value is in fact privileged in Fortassier's perspective: «Homère n'emploie le duel que dans deux cas très précis: lorsque existe entre deux sujets, ou deux objets, une continuité totale, indissoluble, par lequel ils font bloc, séparés du reste du monde; lorsque se présentent ensemble deux actions, exactement identiques» (*ibid.*).

⁵⁰⁷ Mostly participles: ἀναίξαντε, εἰδότε, ἔόντε, ἰόντε, κείοντε, βαλόντε, βάντε, etc. Yet the listed participles appear, with more than chance frequency, within the third meter (³-ντε; see *infra*): the hiatus, more than 'expressif', would reasonably be induced by formulaic constraints.

⁵⁰⁸ Lacking, in particular, endings for the direct cases of the feminine and the neuter, and for the oblique case of almost every nominal category, except for the *o*-stem (1990, 183). A flaw of this approach rests in the preminence assigned to genders over stems: if it is arguable whether the number system was yet completely developed in Homer, it is common knowledge that the gender system was not. Nevertheless, this assessment does not impair the integrity (or even the existence) of all the Ancient Greek known stems even in the most ancient layers.

⁵⁰⁹ «Üblicherweise wird der Dual zu den Äolismen der homerischen Sprache gerechnet. Diese Ansicht muß allerdings mit einer Einschränkung versehen werden: wie die Verbalendungen -την und -σθην < *-tān, *-st^hān zeigen, handelt es sich – falls das Äolische überhaupt beteiligt war – um Äolismen in ionischer Lautform» (1990, 185).

⁵¹⁰ As a consequence, Attic should be immune by this consideration, for the paradigms present with full inflections, where «der Ablauf der Analogieprozesse ist im wesentlichen klar» (1990, 172). The lack of a feminine in Homer would support this position; besides, 'Numerussuppletion' (or rather, 'unease' in the adoption of a dual ending) should be detected in Attic as well, for example in the dual of the semi-vocalic stems (*i.e.* γονεῖς, τοκεῖς, if we except the most ambiguous Homeric τοκῆε, for which cf. par. 4.0).

intact system, Tichy sticks to the incompleteness of the inherited paradigm, combined with poetic experimentations placing the dual in new contexts⁵¹¹.

The scholar is aware that this explanation does not provide justification for all inconsistencies in Homer: she then adduces the role of metre and euphony, arguing that the use of formulas and «typischer Szenen» might have masked an otherwise coherent number system involving the dual. Nevertheless, wherever the dual is wanting – in Homer as well as, to a lesser degree, Attic – Tichy assumes a morphological motivation⁵¹².

Cooper (1972, 1998)

Cooper's main interest is represented by syntax: as a consequence, he focuses on duals showing up in different features within the same sentence in order to trace patterns of agreement⁵¹³. He recognizes that «when two individuals are

⁵¹¹ «Wenn sie einen traditionellen Gegenstand behandeln, greifen sie – wie man vermuten darf, ohne bewußte Archaisierungstendenz, vielmehr gewohnheitmäßig und aus ökonomischen Gründen – auf feststehende Formulierungen zurück, die diesem gegenstand zugeordnet sind. In freier gestalteten Partien nutzen sie die Möglichkeit, Einzelformen in neue Kontexte zu übertragen oder, zur Vermeidung metrisch unbequemer Pluralformen, nach vorhandenen Mustern neu zu bilden» (1990, 181): this failed re-enactment should account for the instances of «falsche Duale». By means of this framework, even if slightly approximative, Tichy makes an attempt to reject conceptions based on modern sensibility, denying an ‚irrational‘ or ‚simply decaying‘ usage: «im Grossen und Ganzen ist die Verteilung homerischer Dualbelege indes weder verstechnisch begründet, noch entspricht sie einfach dem Zufallsprinzip» (1990, 177).

⁵¹² This position implies some consequences: for instance, the Attic normal usage of οὔατα, γόνατα and τοξεῖς should be justified by their stem-classes and genders being incomplete in the system which Attic inherited. Similarly, gaps in Homer are the legacy of a defective paradigmaticization, depending on an even barer dual system than Attic: furthermore, according to Tichy and in contrast with Attic, in the Homeric poems the process of paradigmaticization comes to a setback, as the dual did not undergo a complete process of analogical creation and extension to fill out the gaps in its paradigm. This may well be, although a necessary implication arises: if originally the plural was liable to be used in place of the dual, we shall expect the dual, when arising, to remain facultative – according to our preliminary remarks. If, on the other side, the dual were born mandatory, gaps in the paradigm would have been better filled (*i.e.* the notorious 1st person in the verb).

⁵¹³ Hence, ἄμφω is preferably employed to express communal intents, whereas δύο mainly expresses distributivity: «in Thucydides ἄμφω is confined to the language of international agreements. The form emphasizes the agreement between the parties. Ἄμφοτεροι is intermediate in meaning between ἄμφω and ἐκάτερος [...]. Δύο is the cardinal number and so an arithmetical idea» (Cooper 1998, I 86). ἄμφω and ἀμφοτέρως also represent exceptions to the ‘rule’ according to which pronouns (even when adjectivally used) reject the article: ἄμφω and ἀμφοτέρως always occur instead along with the article (*ibid.* 476-479).

understood to be the subject, the dual is not compulsory but facultative» (1998, III 2684), both in Homer and in Attic. When looking at the occurrences of the quantifiers⁵¹⁴, he finds that δύο presents in Attic mainly with plural forms, whereas the oblique δυοῖν proves eager to align to dual forms⁵¹⁵. The author also makes interesting observations on agreement: for once the stress is not on default agreement in number⁵¹⁶, but in gender. He notices in fact that the feminine is less strictly encompassed within agreement rules – unsurprisingly, as a split in gender in the dual is a senior Attic innovation, not perfectly befitting in inflectional patterns⁵¹⁷; «infraction of the general rule for agreement in gender of dual articles and pronouns with feminines is actually a special rule or exception to itself [...]. In a few places masculine dual participles are also used as common in gender with feminine duals» (1998, II 927)⁵¹⁸. Notwithstanding his very accurate *repertoire* of options, Cooper states that the slack interest of the dual in agreement is nothing but a symptom of its decline⁵¹⁹: «the dual exhibits slightly old-fashioned or familiar

⁵¹⁴ «Since the dual conception does not relate directly to the succession of integers, δύο is only an approximate match for dual grammatical forms. This slight inherent discrepancy, and also the use of the alternative form δυοῖν in place of the undeclined genitive and dative δύο, as well as the general tendency to the plural anyway, cause the word to present a complex pattern of usage when associated directly to substantives in Attic authors» (1998, I 86f.).

⁵¹⁵ «Plurals with δυοῖν occur only in two places in Thuc., not at all in Xen. *An.*, or in other earlier literary texts or inscriptions» (1998, I 87).

⁵¹⁶ «Dual and plural alternate in succession within the same sentence, and there is no obvious reason for this apart from the general stylistic law of variation» (1998, II 1017).

⁵¹⁷ Cooper's perspective (1998, II 928f.) on the matter is nevertheless a semantic rather than a strictly morphological one: he believes in fact that the resort to the feminine is in certain passages applied to give a 'colloquial colour': it would hence represent a hypocoristic feature useful in relation to well-known pairs, such as sisters (καὶ ταῦτ' ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ὃ ξένοι, βουλήσομαι / καὶ ταῖνδ' ἀδελφαῖν καὶ πατρὸς κυρεῖν ἐμοί, Soph. OC 1289f.), intimate or obscene body-parts (εἰ δ' οὖν ἴδοι τις αὐτῶν ἀποκρυπτομένος εἰς τὰ κοχῶνα τοὺς θεοῦ ἀπόμυνον, Ar. Eq. 424; see also 484), natural (feminine) duals (χεροῖν σαῖν, Soph. Tr. 1066; χεροῖν ἐμαῖν, Soph. OT 821).

⁵¹⁸ Yet Cooper (*ibid.*) quotes only the three following occasions: ἄλλοτε μὲν πόνον ἔμπεδον εἶχομεν / ἐν πυμάτῳ δ' ἀλόγιστα παροῖσομεν / ἰδόντε καὶ πατούσᾶ (Soph. OC 1674-1676); νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ἔφη, διάκεισθον, ὥσπερ εἰ τῷ χεῖρε ἅς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῶς συλλαμβάνειν ἀλλήλοιν ἐποίησεν, ἀφεμένω τούτου τράποιντο πρὸς τὸ διακωλύειν ἀλλήλω, ἢ εἰ τῷ πόδε θείᾳ μοίρᾳ πεποιημένω πρὸς τὸ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοιν, ἀμελήσαντε τούτου ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλω (Xen. Mem. II 3,18f.); δεῖ αὖ νοῆσαι ὅτι ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ δύο τινὲς ἐστὸν ἰδέα ἄρχοντε καὶ ἄγοντε (Plat. Phaedr. 237d). Despite the first example being debatable (par. 4.1), as it may be easily seen, Cooper's assessment is a biased one: the statement that gender agreement is here neglected is tautological, for aorist participles – in perfect agreement with the athematic stem – do not exhibit any gender distinction at all.

⁵¹⁹ «This variation and the usage of the Attic dual needs to be put into diachronical context to be made understandable [...]. This is a picture of the dual as a part of the conjugations and declensions which was rapidly dying out in Classical times» (1998, II 1016). This 'picture' is mainly built on single

qualities. The pathetic colour which the dual sometimes exhibits is thus a consequence of reminiscence and sometimes sentimental revival» (1998, II 1017)⁵²⁰. As proof he adduces first the parallel of Semitic languages, where agreement is fully realized as long as number features are functional, and, secondly, epigraphical evidence. Yet both arguments do not prove reliable: in the first case, making diachronic comparisons between two – and two only – genetically unrelated languages is a rather fallible enterprise⁵²¹; in the second, the epigraphic evidence that we have from Attic is far from conclusive⁵²². Cooper simply adheres to the ancient bias according to which ‘lack of agreement’ means irrefutably ‘unavoidable decay’: still, such equation is far from doubt-proof (par. 2.2.2).

Cooper (1972) also raises an issue quite often neglected, namely the emendation, in most classical texts, of the feminine dual forms τᾶ, ταῖν, ταύτᾶ, ταύταιν, with the corresponding *o*-stem endings⁵²³. He believes that such pronouns are too often emended, whereas dual feminine forms denote the precise intention of establishing a colloquial, intimate register. Sure enough, the gender of the noun

authors’ portraits (*ibid.*): «in Aristophanes, who is both relatively early and also light-hearted, there are many duals. In the virtually contemporary but very serious Thucydides they are much less often found»; luckily, it does not slip his notice that «in many matters of style he tended to look to Ionia», a fact which strongly influenced his stylistical choices. But then Cooper continues: «Plato, who is certainly serious, but also an artist of dialogue which is facetious and colloquial, takes a median position». It does not seem methodologically proper to discuss an issue on the basis of the different attitudes of different authors. Surely we are not dealing with a real language, but rather with a piece of – extremely controlled – literature: nevertheless, an unprejudiced analysis cannot refrain from generalizations which should apply to all the given corpus.

⁵²⁰ This conception is applied to the Homeric dual as well: «although it is facultative, the Homeric dual is not for that reason without expressive value. Especially when applied to living persons it can have a homely and even pathetic tone» (1998 III, 1930). Such idea, even though not carried to its extremes as it had been by Diver (1987), does not bear any deeper insight on the matter; a ‘sentimental’ explanation does not seem entirely relevant to the far more complicated structure and technique of the poems.

⁵²¹ For example, in many Arabic dialects, as we have seen, the dual only survives in natural duals: but this is not the most widespread pattern, nor are there universals in regard of ‘the last form to disappear’. Besides, we know that in North- and West-Germanic verbal dual forms were the last to decay, whereas in Slavic languages the prize is due to the pronoun.

⁵²² See Threaght’s enquiries, *infra*.

⁵²³ «There is a tendency in the dual of all adjectival words of the first and second declension for forms of common gender to be used in preference to specifically feminine forms. Critics have attempted to make this tendency absolutely prevalent through emendation [...]. Where such critical efforts have been widely accepted, as in the currently general substitution of τῶ, τοῖν, τούτῳ, τουτούιν, and the like for the specific feminine forms τᾶ, ταῖν, ταύτᾶ, ταύταιν, and the like, consistency has been gained by sacrifice of important stylistic value» (Cooper 1998, I 88; see also III 1931).

affects the gender of the article, or the possessive: yet, it seems dangerous to see in this process a holistic choice, rather than a mechanic process. The invention of a feminine, and its extension to the pronouns, is a late Classical phenomenon, as we will shortly see in Threatte (see *infra*). This innovation is roughly contemporary to the last stages of the Peloponnesian War⁵²⁴, which extends to all literary production, and seems particularly well attested wherever a hypocoristic trait is intentionally preserved. It is, hence, an innovation of the spoken language, which is more and more often rendered in literature – and in dramatic dialogues especially. It does not seem to represent an isolated lead, but rather an analogical and predictable development of the language.

Threatte (1996)

Threatte documents the morphology of the Attic dialect as preserved by the epigraphic evidence. With regards to the dual, the most common instance is represented by τὸ θεῶ, referring to Demeter and Kore⁵²⁵. The contribution is extremely relevant in reference to the introduction of the feminine within Attic nominal declensions, which Threatte records diachronically by listing all attestations in his corpora. The scholar enhances how the feminine was never systematically introduced in pronouns and articles, having been replaced in these features by the common m./n. forms: adjectives and other modifiers appear instead «to occupy a middle position, hesitating between thematic and α -stem forms in the feminine, although the evidence suggests that the later were normal» (1996, 91)⁵²⁶. The evidence is not conclusive in regards of participles either.

⁵²⁴ This – extremely coarse – datation is provided on the base of the Attic evidence: such feminine forms are sometimes to be met as literary, especially Sophoclean, variants, and enter epigraphical record not before than 350 BC (Threatte 1996, 21, 91-94).

⁵²⁵ The theme is originally indifferent to gender; the new creation ταῖν θεῶν starts spreading in the first half of the IV century, becoming common in the Roman Period (1996, 20). Interestingly enough, there are no instances of a direct case **τὰ θεῶ.

⁵²⁶ «The feminine forms of adjectives of the thematic declension normally employ the $-\alpha$, $-\alpha\iota\upsilon$ endings in the dual (cf. λιθίναιν, numerous instances of ἀργυρῶ, χρυσῶ, etc.), but there are also a few cases of adjectives with the thematic termination $-\omega$ modifying feminine dual nouns: thus κλίμακε μεγάλω occurs in the companion inventories, I³ 386.111 and I³ 387.121 [...]. So also σφραγῖδε λιθίνω in another inventory, II² 1388.45 (398/7), which has the feminine dual σφραγῖδε ὑαλίνα ποιμίλα *ib.* 85-86» (*ibid.*). For further references see Cooper 1972, and par. 1.2.

The feminine appears hence to be in the dual a hypercorrective form, not perfectly integrated within the paradigm; in later times, it even allows for artificial uses⁵²⁷, in the very same way as the dual itself has been adopted by the Second Sophistic as an exclusive, chiefly Attic, trait. Opposite to Cooper, who is mainly concerned with literary examples, Thraette only describes the epigraphical evidence, although enhancing that «Cooper and others could be right in urging retention of *a*-stem dual pronominal forms in literary texts, where they are frequently attested in MSS, especially of poetry and drama, despite their absence from Attic inscriptions» (1996, 93; see also Schwyzer, *GG* I 557; Cooper 1972).

Hillyard (2006, 2008)

Hillyard's DPhil thesis focuses on the domains (and inconsistencies) of number features in Homer. His research is committed with a descriptive approach, listing all mismatches in agreement in the attempt to find an 'all-inclusive' solution.

As far as the dual is concerned, he makes an innovative attempt to introduce the Animacy Hierarchy (see par. 2.3) to Homeric grounds, in order to motivate the different degree to which the dual is preserved in different morphological items. A virtue of his investigation is represented by the width of his scope, not restricted to morphologically expressed duals, but extending to all contexts in which a dual would be semantically relevant⁵²⁸.

His undertaking is nevertheless problematic under many respects. One of these is represented by the choice of the source for his data: the use of outdated editions distinctly affects the quality of his statistics and, therefore, conclusions⁵²⁹. Besides, he embraces some arguable stances, among which stands out the decision of

⁵²⁷ This seems to be the case of the an Attic decree of 230 ca. after Christ (1996, 93).

⁵²⁸ Instances of the dual are hence compared with instances of plurals occurring where a dual would be legitimate. According to his count (370ff.), in reference to two objects the dual is employed 201_x in the *Iliad* and 64_x in the *Odyssey*, whereas the plural 935_x and 444_x respectively; hence we do have, in semantically pertinent contexts, 265 dual vs. 1375 plural nouns.

⁵²⁹ He does refer in fact to Allen's editions of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (notwithstanding more recent works, first of all West's adjourned and all-around Teubner *Iliad*). No textual problem nor variant is considered in his lists, as they are based on the choice of the editor, neglecting the *apparatus* at all.

treating all dual occurrences as equipollent⁵³⁰. As a consequence, all textual problems – and notably the Embassy of *Iliad* IX – get obliterated and result levelled with more reliable dual occurrences.

On a broader perspective, Hillyard engages in an updated survey of scholarly studies on the dual. He reasonably states that «some theories, like those of Diver, Bolling and Cooper, can be disregarded, as Diver’s does not make intuitive or linguistic sense, and Bolling’s relies heavily on personal opinion» (2008, 324). Besides, he spots a common trend which runs through many exponents of the ‘French school’, namely Cuny, Meillet, Chantraine and Wathelet, according to which the duals encompassed in the poems are the results of the interactions of different dialectal layers entangled together: «this argument ascribes the use of the Homeric dual to the *Kunstsprache* in its strictest interpretation» (*ibid.*). By his part, Hillyard (2008, 417f.) believes that the dual was originally obligatory⁵³¹, and that in the poems it is not, as often claimed, an Aeolic relic, but a Ionic trait⁵³². Such a position has the virtue of being disruptive with the tradition; still, it does not seem necessary to postulate for the dual a genesis within Ionic, for which we do not have any further evidence⁵³³.

⁵³⁰ In dealing precisely with the Embassy episode, Hillyard states in fact: «I will not discuss these surprising uses of the dual in detail [*i.e.* *Il.* 9.168-182], but I do include them in my counts and explanations of normal dual usage, as I believe that we need to look at all uses of the dual (even those which seem unexpected) to gain a true impression of overall usage» (2008, 290). One wonders whether such passage could ever be regarded as ‘normal dual usage’.

⁵³¹ He is led to this conviction by the fact that is possible to trace some patterns (by means of the Animacy Hierarchy, par. 2.3) in the use of the dual in the poems. From an original situation of ‘regular usage’, the plural should have interfered with the dual starting from less animate items (*e.g.* the default agreement in *δοῦρε δύω κεκορυθμένα χαλκῶ*) (Hillyard 2006, 74).

⁵³² «I propose that the main explanation for the apparently incoherent mixture of dual and plural forms referring to two objects or entities in Homer is the fact that from Proto-Greek until Classical Greek the dual category was gradually being eroded. When Homeric verse reached the final phases of composition in the hands of Ionic bards, the dual was at a mid-point between regular use and total loss, although it still remained a living part of the spoken language of the time. Similarly to many other languages, Homeric verbal and adjectival forms referring to two things agree in number with their noun, pronoun or (in the case of some adjectives where the subject is not explicit) the verb. In particular cases this agreement pattern was disrupted by morphological loss and/or metrical convenience» (Hillyard 2008, 326f.).

⁵³³ It is of course reasonable to assume that Ionic knew the dual too, in its most ancient stages: yet the uniformity principle, together with the lack of evidence in this sense, invites to be cautious in this respect.

Be it ascribed to Aeolic, or rather to a mixture of different dialects, the persistence of the dual seems nevertheless to be the result of a stratified and elaborated inheritance. What emerges throughout this survey of scholarly contributions is an appreciable tendency which aims at finding different explanations to different phenomena: this attitude seems extremely sensible, chiefly in relation to the homeric texts, which are by nature heterogeneous. Despite the fascination of wholly comprehensive explanations, it seems hence safer to assume that the dual in our texts is an archaism, which roots in layers of (oral) composition tracing back in time to the Dark Ages and beyond.

2.0.1 Dialectal perspectives: Homeric *Kunstsprache*.

It is common knowledge that the poems display a distinct Ionic surface. Yet the underlying *Kunstsprache* deeply affects the structure of the poetry, as elements from other dialects prove resistant, deeply embedded in the texture and relentlessly solid. An Aeolic presence is undeniable: many Aeolic forms resist every attempt to conversion into Ionisms. An Achaean component has often been claimed as well, being sometimes adduced as the heir of the Mycenaean dialect⁵³⁴.

At the cost of oversimplification, current issues in Homeric dialects may be gathered into two mainstreams: the Aeolic Phase theory and the Diffusion theory. Supporters of the first 'party' believe that the epic tradition originated in the Bronze Age, whence it passed to thrive in Thessaly after the collapse of the Mycenaean civilisation. From here it was transported to Asia Minor with Aeolic speaking colonists. The songs hence received a first conformation in an Aeolic-speaking area: the Ionian shape of the text should hail from the Ionians in Asia Minor, who took over and adapted the rhapsodic poetry during the time of their expansion to Aeolic speaking territories⁵³⁵. The Diffusion theory proposes instead that the Aeolic

⁵³⁴ This last assumption seems nonetheless based on unreliable pretenses; it has time and again been shown how the Achaean dialect shares with Mycenaean no more traits than the other dialects do: «si tratta di una massa di materiale quantitativamente cospicua, ma di valore diseguale» (Durante 1971, 38). See chiefly Ruijgh 1957, and Hiersche 1970, 87ff. for a review of the basic bibliography.

⁵³⁵ See Ritschl 1834, Fick 1885, Wathelet 1970, Parry 1971, Janko 1982. A variation to this theory is represented by the so-called Euboeic theory (West 1988), according to which the last stage of composition should have taken place not in Eastern but in Western Ionic speaking areas - namely, Euboea.

features in Homer are the outcome of a continuous East Greek tradition starting with the Mycenaeans, which was transported to Asia Minor by colonists during the Dark Ages⁵³⁶.

The question as to whether the dual in Homer is to be ascribed to a specific dialect may certainly bear some interest. Ionian, a rather innovative dialect, does not preserve any vital instance of dual⁵³⁷. Yet, given its closeness to Attic under many other respects, it seems quite safe to assume that the dual should have been present in Ionian as well, albeit lost at a reasonably early moment⁵³⁸.

It has been often suggested that the mixture of dual and plural in Homer can be due to the early loss of the dual in Ionic: as a consequence, the poet(s) involved in the final phase of composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not understand the dual, and replaced it with the plural where the metre allowed (see Chantraine 1953a, 23; Wathélet 1970, 330-334). This, however, is not enough. The most part of the dual in the poems is in its proper place, and cases are given of duals preserved even where a substitution with a plural would have been allowed. The factual evidence of the poems is stratified, and does not allow a unitarian explanation⁵³⁹.

The position of Aeolic, on the other side, is more tricky. In dealing with nominal inflection we saw that seldom epigraphic instances of duals occur in Aeolic-speaking areas. As a consequence, we must assume that the dual had been preserved to a certain extent by (some) Aeolic dialects throughout the Dark Ages.

⁵³⁶ See among the others Wackernagel (1916, 54). «Sotto il profilo dialettologico si tratterebbe essenzialmente di una tradizione unitaria, perchè creata nell'ambito di dialetti che discendono tutti dal "greco dell'Est" [...]. Questi elementi sarebbero stati assunti dagli aedi ionici o perché offrivano comode alternative metriche a forme ioniche inutilizzabili nell'esametro, o perché le forme reali dei dialetti eolici erano in molti casi sentite come preferibili alle antiche forme ioniche, divenute troppo obsolete per essere comprese dagli aedi e dal loro pubblico» (Passa 2008, 116).

⁵³⁷ Despite the presence of some hardened and idiomatic forms: «Troviamo in Erodoto, sia pure in poche occorrenze, il duale (p. es. δσοῖν ὀδοῖν I 11,2), ormai scomparso nello ionico del suo tempo: decidere se si tratti di un omerismo o di un atticismo è impossibile» (Morani 1999, 207).

⁵³⁸ It has, accordingly, been purposed that the homeric dual could be a Ionian feature: « The continuity seen in the Mycenaean, Homeric and Attic Ionic evidence for the loss of the dual suggests that this was a gradual process which occurred in the East Greek dialect group, and indicates that the Homeric dual did not necessarily originate in Aeolic, but could be from early Ionic» (Hillyard 2008, 360).

⁵³⁹ Among the involved factors, as mentioned, we can recall functional loss (subsequently, the dual started to weaken where it was morphologically weak or redundant, and where it was marked least consistently within the paradigms), metrical necessity, the use of the numeral.

Yet if we consider the situation offered by Hesiod⁵⁴⁰, we are faced with a status which is quite different, and most certainly less varied, than the one portrayed by Homer⁵⁴¹. Nevertheless, the dual may have been perceived as an epicism, as Apollonius' poetry enhances⁵⁴².

The dual endings preserved in the poems are not, or not always, the same that Attic testifies to us, the more striking example being the 3rd personal pronoun. Still, wariness is of the essence, as the only reliable inference we can collect about the homeric duals is that these forms are with more than chance frequency archaisms (cf. par. 4.0). This is true for ὄσσε⁵⁴³, as well as for the uncontracted oblique forms in *-οῖν: whichever their formation, no clue points in favour of one or another dialectal genesis. It seems hence safer to assume that the consideration of the homeric forms of dual does not allow to acknowledge any tie to any specific dialect.

On the contrary, it seems that precisely this status of archaisms, possibly untied by any specific dialectal collocation, constitutes part of their fortune. Epic poetry validated the preservation of such forms as they were old-fashioned soundings, cherished to the audience and firmly entrenched in the texture of the

⁵⁴⁰ Where the dual is strikingly rare, appearing almost solely in the *Erga* (the only forms in the *Theogony* being πεφραδέτην, v. 475 and φρασάτην, v. 892): ἀρίστω (v. 438), ἄρσενε (v. 437), βόε (vv. 436, 453, 608), ἐρίσαντε (v. 439.), ἔχοντε (v. 438), ἴτον (v. 199), καλυψαμένω (v. 198), τώ (vv. 438, 439). Many dual occurrences stir up instead in the debated *Aspis*: δερχομένω (v. 236), διδυμάονε (v. 49), δράκοντε (v. 233), ἐγειρέσθην (v. 176), ἔικτον (v. 90), ἐμαρνάσθην (v. 238), ἐπικυρτώνοντε (v. 234), ἐπίσχετον (v. 350), ἦστην (v. 50), καρχαρόδοντε (v. 303), κασιγνήτω (v. 50), κλάζοντε (v. 406), κοτεόντε (v. 176), κύνε (v. 303), λέοντε (v. 402), μαστιέτην (v. 466), νῶι (v. 358), νῶιν (v. 350), ὄσσε (v. 390), παῖδε (v. 49), ποδοῖν (v. 158), τένοντε (v. 419), τρεέτην (v. 171), τώ (vv. 170, 235), φρονέοντε (v. 50).

⁵⁴¹ Yet Aeolic is usually believed to have not been so keen on the dual: «The Dual is wanting in the earliest Aeolic, whereas it is in living use in Homer, and also in Attic down to the 5th century B.C. It is true, as Tick urges, that the loss of the Dual may have taken place in Aeolic between the 9th and the 7th centuries. But the gap thus made between the earliest known Aeolic and the supposed Aeolic of Homer is a serious weakening of his case» (Monro 1891, 394); ür die Aeoler ist der Sachverhalt nicht ganz ins klare zu bringen; jedenfalls haben sie den Dual sehr früh eingebüsst» (Wackernagel 1926, 77).

⁵⁴² Apollonius is quite creative in his resort to the dual: Homeric echoes and *iuncturae* are hence accommodated in the poetry, yet varied within the author's specific diction. See *Index*.

⁵⁴³ «The fact that ὄσσε only occurs in the dual nominative-accusative and the fact that we find some singular, some plural and some dual adjectives, verbs and participles in agreement suggests that there may have been morphological uncertainty even at the time of composition as to its exact grammatical status» (Hillyard 2008, 331). Be it as it may, the form shall have been preserved by virtue of its collocation in metrical formulas and because of its transparency, as the ending was immediately recognisable as the one of the athematic stems.

verse. As they were archaisms, they perfectly fit into the epic diction. Since they were not the direct legacy of any distinct dialect, they cut a fine figure as suitable bricks of verse, just as many others we can find in Homer⁵⁴⁴. The tenure of the dual in the homeric poems, and the motivation of its preservation even where not metrically conditioned, lies in their firm formulaic roots no less than their register value: the dual in Homer is a high register feature, a precious heritage deliberately applied to heighten the tone of the composition.

The contrary may be true for Attic. As we will see (par. 2.4), the dual is well rooted in Tragedy from its very first attestations, undergoing a curious increase in Attic from Aeschylus to Aristophanes⁵⁴⁵. This event may not mirror the concrete usage of the dual, but only its perception in literature: it not, in fact, objective to just assume that the feature was at a certain stage revived. More probably, it was gradually allowed within a polished and highly controlled piece of literature, such as Tragedy. Hence, if the feature slowly emerges, reaching its peaks in Aristophanes, it is plausible to assume that it was first censured and then re-enabled.

⁵⁴⁴ Ironically, the only dialect poor in duals is Ionian, whose deep influence in the poems is not at stake: we can trace Ionic back into the seventh century BC without being able to find the slightest trace of a dual («troviamo in Erodoto, sia pure in poche occorrenze, il duale (p. es. $\delta\upsilon\omicron\iota\nu\ \acute{o}\delta\omicron\iota\nu$ I 11,2), ormai scomparso nello ionico del suo tempo: decidere se si tratti di un omerismo o di un atticismo è impossibile», Morani 1999, 207; see also Wackernagel 2009, 108). It seems however impossible to tie down facultativity to a certain era (in Mycenaean, as we saw, there are examples of mismatches in agreement, e.g. KN Sd 4415; see par. 1.2): even in Attic, where the feature is lively, mismatches are allowed: «les mêmes inconséquences dans l’emploi du duel se retrouvent, on le verra, jusque dans les deux auteurs attiques par excellence, Aristophane (445-380) et Platon (427-347). Le premier écrit, il est vrai, dans la langue toujours un peu conventionnelle de la poésie dramatique. Mais le second est le représentant le plus autorisé de la prose attique» (Cuny 1906, 82; see also Meisterhans-Schwyzler 1900, 309-378). In the Dark Ages the dual, «although it seems to have been lost at an early stage in Lesbian, cretan and Cypriot, it survived in certain mainland dialects, e. g. Elean, Arcadian, Boeotian, Laconian and especially Attic (as much in inscriptions as in literary texts). Certain Doric dialects (e.g. Laconian) seem to have employed the dual as long as they were the native vernacular, but thereafter they lost ground to the *koine*, which shows no trace of the dual» (Hillyard 2008, 328).

⁵⁴⁵ «Il est possible que pour la tragédie comme pour la prose attique, il y ait eu une évolution identique. Les formes du duel tout d’abord exclues des œuvres littéraires y auraient été admises ainsi peu à peu. Mais le manque de documents antérieurs à Eschyle ne permet pas d’être affirmatif sur ce point. Du moins cette évolution est-elle clairement visible dans les œuvres de Sophocle et d’Euripide» (Cuny 1906, 88).

2.0.2 Dialectal perspectives: Attic.

If in the Homeric poetry the melange of dialects conditions and affects the shape of the diction, in Attic we face a completely different picture. The dialectal facade is organic and consistent in its linguistic and morphological features; nevertheless, the literary production is characterised by diverging and centrifugal stylistical issues. Comforted by a more extensive evidence, we can trace instances of different idiolects for every author we deal with. The choice to narrow this enquiry to the Drama of the 5th century BC and Aristophanes is due to chronological necessity: the arch of time described by these authors provides in fact reliable evidence for a linguistical as well as stylistical evaluation⁵⁴⁶. Besides, the possibility to compare language of Tragedy and Comedy proves chiefly relevant in the definition of peculiarities of genre, especially as regards the elaboration of alternative strategies to define duality⁵⁴⁷. There are, hence, within the very same domain, many entangled layers of investigation: the dual may and must be considered in a dialectal, sociolectal and idiolectal perspective.

As for the first aspect, the morphological arrangement of the dual has been observed in chapter 1. We may enhance a progressive tendency towards

⁵⁴⁶ «L'interêt de la tragédie grecque au point de vue du duel consiste en ceci : 1° c'est un genre qui s'est développé sur le sol proprement attique; 2° la langue qu'emploie la tragédie — et c'est une conséquence de ce qui précède — est le dialecte attique; 3° le plus ancien tragique à nous connu, Eschyle, est sensiblement plus ancien que les auteurs qui ont commené à écrire en prose attique, tel que Gorgias par exemple, né en 480 (après les débuts d'Eschyle)» (Cuny 1906, 88).

⁵⁴⁷ They differ in the resort to lexicon as well. As a quick glance to the Aristophanean tokens will reveal, the dual applies in Comedy variously to natural and accidental duals: in both fields, though, the author's choice diverge from the Tragic's. As far as natural duals are concerned, they are scarce in Tragedy — except for neutralised forms, such as χε(ι)ροῖν and ποδοῖν, which would not hinder a high register composition: see e.g. ὄσσε (Aesch. *Pers.* 1065, Eur. *Tr.* 1315) — whereas Aristophanes provides a wide range of possibilities: γνάθων (*Pax* 1308 and *Eccl.* 502), δοχμαῖν (*Eq.* 318), κοθόρωνω (*Ec.* 346), κοχώνᾱ (*Eq.* 424,484), μηρώ (*Nu.* 966, *Pax* 1039), ὀφθαλμιδίω (*Eq.* 909), ὀφθαλμοῖν (*Nu.* 980), ὀφθαλμῷ (*Ach.* 1027, 1029, *Nu.* 362, 411, 495, *Ves.* 432, *Lys.* 298, 1026), Περσικά (*Lys.* 229f.), πόδε (*Nu.* 150, 966, 983, *Ves.* 608, *Pax* 279, *Th.* 1183, *Ra.* 1192, *Ec.* 346, 1109, 1165), ποδοῖν (*Pax* 7, 319, *Av.* 35, 1146, *Lys.* 1310, 1317, *Th.* 956, *Ec.* 483, 545, *Pl.* 291), πόρνᾱ (*Ach.* 527), σκέλει (*Pax* 325, 820, 825, 889, *Av.* 54, 1254, *Lys.* 823, *Th.* 24, 256, *Ec.* 265), σκελίσκοιν (*Ec.* 1167), σκελοῖν (*Pax* 241, *Lys.* 1172), χεῖρε (*Eq.* 79, *Nub.* 506, *Pax* 35, *Av.* 623, *Lys.* 434, *Ra.* 201, 1029, 1192, *Pl.* 739), χειροῖν (*Eq.* 826), χερσοῖν (*Ra.* 1348, 1362). The same variety is sensible on the ground of accidental duals: Tragedy mostly applies them to individuals occasionally paired together (be them siblings or companions), whereas Aristophanes employs them with great liberty in reference to pragmatic lexicon and ordinary items: for instance κάδω (*Av.* 1032, 1053), λόφω (*Pax* 1222), ξύλω (*Lys.* 291, 307), ὀβολῷ (*Ves.* 52, 1189, *Ra.* 141), πλάστιγγε (*Ra.* 1378), σπίνω (*Pax* 1149), etc.

transparency and paradigmatisation, reflected, for instance, in the creation of a feminine gender⁵⁴⁸. Analogical pressure is at work, as it is sensible within the distribution of dual endings in the verb⁵⁴⁹. The lexicon in which the dual presents diverges from the Homeric one too: sensible is, for example, its presence in neuter themes in *-μα, -ματος*⁵⁵⁰.

⁵⁴⁸ Whose introduction is roughly contemporary to the *corpus* we are focusing on (despite the difficulty of the textual tradition: see par. 1.2 and Cooper 1927): «toutefois le duel féminin est en général identique au masculin et au neutre, τῷ, τοῖν (quelques exceptions, cf. τᾶ, Aristophane *Can.* 424 et 484, Sophocle *Ant.* 769; ταῖν Lysias XIX, 17, Platon, *Polit.* 260c)» (Chantraine 1984, 124). Other variants (allegedly colloquial) arise on the numeral: «le gén. dat. δυεῖν de l'attique récent semble résulter d'un traitement phonétique de δυοῖν. La flexion a été diversement altérée : en laconien et à Érétrie (Schwyzer 800) nom. acc. δυε (d'après κόρακε)» (*ibid.* 147). «In the Classical Period the normal form is δυοῖν, frequently attested in both genitive and dative. The first securely dated text with δυεῖν is an inventory of 329/8 with δυεῖν once and δυοῖν several times. Two other texts of about 330 also have δυεῖν, and it was clearly normal by the beginning of the third century, although there is a case of δυοῖν in an inventory dated as late as 285/4 BC. The spelling δυεῖ occurs for δυεῖν in only one text, a cleruch's decree dated fin. s. IVa» (Threatte 1996, 415).

⁵⁴⁹ An increasingly neat split occurs between endings with vocalic tone /*ō*/ for the second dual person (*i.e.* *-την, *-σθην) and endings with vocalic tone /*ē*/ for the third dual person (*i.e.* *-την, *-σθην). This tendency is supported by the epigraphic evidence: «the third person dual of the aorist indicative is fairly well attested in the Archaic and earlier Classical periods, always with the termination -την [...]; in two Attic metrical inscriptions the termination -τον is used in a historical tense. The dual of the perfect has -τον in the third person, cf. π[ε]ποέκατον I³ 164.21 (L.); πεποέ]κατον I³ 151.2 (both 440-425) decrees. The primary ending -τον occurs otherwise only in verse, cf. συμβάλλετον (present indicative) II² 3606.11 (ca. 175 p.) ded. (L.)» (Threatte 1996, 454). Interestingly enough, «second person dual verb forms are unattested in Attic inscriptions» (*ibid.*), and are curiously scarce both in the Homeric and Attic *corpora*: the fact seems nonetheless due to the peculiarity of our evidence (third persons being favoured in narrative) more than to a linguistic phenomenon. Furthermore, the subjunctive (only 4_x in Tragedy: Soph. *OC* 1377f., *Ph.* 1080, Eur. *Ph.* 585) as well as the optative (again, only 4_x in Tragedy: Eur. *Alc.* 273, *Med.* 1073, *Ph.* 1208, *IA* 716) are generally avoided (still, there is an increase in the late production, which may induce to think that the lack of endings in moods other than the indicative in earlier production may be due only to the scarcity of evidence); «mais comme la même tendance se constatera encore chez les prosateurs tels que Platon ou Xénophon, il faut en conclure qu'elle répondait à une réalité dans la langue vivante a moins d'admettre une influence profonde de la langue dramatique sur celle de la prose, ce qu'on ne peut pas non plus nier absolument. On verra en effet que, même dans la prose, les emplois du duel se se développent qu'au fur et à mesure des progrès réalisés dans la tragédie ou la comédie» (Cuny 1906, 110). Cuny also stresses that the language of Tragedy preferred primary endings (perhaps also for metrical convenience?), thus contrasting with the Attic prose: «il semble au contraire que chez Platon et les autres prosateurs les désinences moyennes et surtout les désinences secondaires moyennes du duel soient employées de préférence à celles de l'actif» (1906, 108); «le plus-que-parfait actif présente de plus graves difficultés. La langue épique offre au pluriel et au duel quelques formes athématiques comparables à celles du parfait [...]: en attique, au duel les seules formes attestées sont ἧστον et ἧστην» (Chantraine 1984, 201).

⁵⁵⁰ «Ce sont des hétéroclites en -α(τ)- pour lesquels on trouve, il est vrai, des duels dans Homère (δοῦθε par exemple) mais don't la forme n'a jamais été bien établie, à cause de la concurrence que lui faisait le collectif en -α (devenu en grec commun un pluriel [incidentally, in Ar. *Lys.* 542 we find the

As for syntactic considerations, agreement seems to have been more persistent than in the Homeric poetry: while it is almost ever respected within noun phrases, default agreement between target and controller is nonetheless common⁵⁵¹. However, the dual remains facultative, as it presents uniquely where relevant – that is to say, where two tightly and significantly tied items are involved⁵⁵².

A sociolectal description of the feature is unattainable, yet some evidence may help us circumscribing it⁵⁵³. The use of the dual is meaningfully rare in lyrical sections of Attic Tragedy. Conversely, Aristophanes indulges in adopting it. This fact corroborates the idea that the dual, being an archaic feature of the language, could have been perceived as a vernacular trait, hence a colloquialism⁵⁵⁴. This possibility will be explored in depth in par. 2.4: let it suffice here to stress that Tragedy and Comedy converge in depicting the phenomenon as specific of a middle

collective τὰ γούνα, perhaps a Homerism]). La remarque est valable pour tous les neutres en général mais particulièrement pour ceux-ci don't la formation pouvait paraître obscure [...]. Le témoignage des formes en -ματε qu'on trouve dans Aristophane reste donc entier puisque la seule forme exactement comparable ὄμματα est un mot poétique (qui se retrouvera aussi dans Platon à titre d'exception apparente) et qui, de plus, est un nom d'organe pair» (Cuny 1906, 166f.). As it has been remarked, neuters, as well as themes in dentals, proved uneasy in adopting dual endings: natural duals such as **ουατε, **γουνατε, etc. are meaningfully absent in the Homeric poetry. This absence may be conditioned by the animacy hierarchy (see par. 2.3), or by the fact that the Homeric language had not developed such themes in width.

⁵⁵¹ The situation displayed by Aristophanes is intriguing, as we will see further on: in the latest of his comedies, the *Plutus*, dual and plural forms combine within the very same sentence, in a quite homeric fashion (see, for instance, *Plu.* 509; the same may be observed, *i.e.*, in *Plat. Leg.* X 892e).

⁵⁵² We can hence safely – and unambiguously – argue that its usage is *regular*. «There are several meanings of the word 'regular' as applied to morphological processes, and these need to be distinguished. The first is that for some scholars 'regular' seems to mean transparent, that is 'without any morphophonemic irregularities of form' [this definition is nonetheless improper, see par. 2.2.1]. The second meaning of 'regular' is that a process is regular if and only if it is the process used to create the majority of appropriate forms in the language» (Bauer 2001, 54).

⁵⁵³ «Social varieties of speech are commonly designated social dialects or sociolects» (Colvin 2004, 95). On dialects and dialectal censure, see also Colvin 2004, Cassio, Willi 2004.

⁵⁵⁴ As a note, the presence of a distinctive trait in Aristophanes is by no means a guarantee on its register status. There are precise criteria according to which establishing what, in a specific dialect, might be regarded as colloquial. First of all, «we can distinguish 'non-colloquial' (or 'formal') from 'colloquial' (or 'informal') style negatively: by the absence from the former of phenomena which we have grounds for identifying as colloquial» (Dover 1997, 61). In addition to this negative approach, Dover lists some positive characteristics that may signal a piece of language as colloquial, such as oaths, conservative or traditional lexicon, the demonstrative affix -i, miscellaneous colloquialisms, etc. Only an accurate textual analysis may nonetheless bear reliable evidence in favour of either a colloquial register or not.

register. As a typical Attic trait, early abandoned by many dialects, it is possible that the dual sounded as a brightly epichoristic feature.

Nevertheless, on a purely 'register-oriented' consideration, it does not appear probable for the dual to have been a low register trait, considering its frequency in literature. Besides, its sharp preference for dialogues – as Plato's production confirms – seems to speak in favour of a familiar feature, perhaps consciously introduced in emotionally high peaks of the dramatic production in order to add an intimate shade. Because of this private and informal shade, its usage in lyrical parts would have in turn been felt as unbecoming.

It would be tantalising to learn whether this vernacular trait were shared by other dialects – if so, which ones, and how this condivision heightened or decreased its register value⁵⁵⁵: we have some evidence, in fact, that «certain idioms within Attica were disparaged, and for the corollary that others were approved» (Colvin 2004, 118). Be it as it may, we can safely assume that the feature was an ordinary trait of Attic's. This inner quirk could have constituted the key of either its adoption, on Aristophanes' part, or avoidance, on the Tragic's part.

This argument is furtherly favoured by the emergence of a competing strategy, chiefly adopted in high register sections, to compensate the unavailability of the dual in sections where it was probably felt as inappropriate. This strategy consists in substituting the inflectional dual with a 'quantifying' adjective, agreeing with the noun in every number: *i.e.* sg. διδυμα φρήν (Eur. *IT* 655), du. δισσὼ στρατεγῶ (Aesch. *Th.* 816), pl. διπλοῖ βασιλῆς (Soph. *Aj.* 959f.). This expedient is missing in Aristophanes, except for verses in which he explicitly mimics Tragedy: Οιδίπου δὲ παῖδε διπτύχῳ κόρῳ (*fr.* 558.1 Edmonds). This process, despite its initial restriction to a specific genre, is destined to be widespread and domineering in Attic, as proved by the epigraphic evidence⁵⁵⁶. The extent and domain of this alternative

⁵⁵⁵ I am grateful to Andreas Willi for this challenging suggestion. Were it so, the dual would belong to the huge domain of dialectal specificities obliterated by Aristophanes and effaced by the tragic production pursuant to their strongly marked status. Unfortunately, the epigraphic evidence in our possession is too scarce to help us determine whether the dual was, at the end of the 5th century, a phenomenon shared by Attic with some other dialects – and, if so, to which extent. Nevertheless, even within the sole domain of Attic, it seems apparent that stylistical choices on the dual were affected by its dialectal markedness.

⁵⁵⁶ There is a constant strain between newborn and already existing strategies. If one of them undergoes functional loss, the other compensates increasing its range of functions and domain.

device will be analysed further on (see par. 2.4): let it here suffice to stress that, as the language of Theatre is strongly committed with requirements of style, the dual, being a marked trait, is not immune by them at all. On the contrary, the acceptance or reject of this feature within the language of drama involves precise poetic choices, and is affected by register constraints.

Much has been written on the ‘sudden death’ of the dual: let us hence depict a brief diachronical sketch. As the dual appears stable and consistently employed throughout all the 5th century BC, its decline is both sensible and quick. It is well-known, by inscriptions and literary production, that the dual underwent a decrease at the turn of the century and quickly decayed in the first half of the 4th: in Middle Attic (409-378 according to Meisterhans-Schwyzler 1900, 199f.) δύο is found only in conjunction to plural nouns⁵⁵⁷. The dual disappears in verbal forms, in the inscriptions, in 395 ca.; as Wackernagel (1926, 79) rightly underlines, it proceeds from the verb throughout the noun (*a*-stem, athematic stem and finally *o*-stem)⁵⁵⁸; pronominal forms, well recognizable, might allegedly have been the last one to disappear, together with idiomatic forms such as τὸ θεῶ, τοῖν χειροῖν⁵⁵⁹.

Accordingly, δι-compounds, originally restricted to a specific genre, enhanced their faculties as to include the ones of the obsolete inflectional duals: «quelle peut être la signification historique [...] est facile à saisir si l’on réfléchit que διττοί ne se rencontre dans les inscriptions attiques pour suppléer δύο et le duel qu’à partir de l’an 300» (Cuny 1906, 150).

⁵⁵⁷ «C’est à dire qu’à cette époque (398), dix ans après les premiers exemples de pluriels remplaçant des duels, il n’y avait plus de règle fixe [...]. Et tel est bien aussi l’état que laisse entrevoir la tradition manuscrite des meilleurs auteurs du V^e siècle» (Cuny 1906, 84).

⁵⁵⁸ In the athematic stem, we find «ἡυῖ P³ 833.1 (ca. 480-470?); P³ 954.2 (= P² 775) (ca. 440?); cf. perhaps ὕῃ P³ 726 (= P² 698) (ca. 480-470?); ὑέοιν unplished ded. pointed out to me by Mrs. D. Peppas-Delmousou (s. IV a.)» (Threatte 1996, 221). «Les formes duelles en -ει disparaissent vers 367 avant notre ère; celles en -α vers 342, celles en -ω (si on fait abstraction de la formule τὸ θεῶ) vers 341, celles en -ε vers 334 [...]; celles en -οιν et -αιν ne cessent d’être attestées qu’au commencement de la période macédonienne (vers 329)» (Cuny 1906, 84-87).

⁵⁵⁹ The article, rising stronger in the Homeric poetry and extensively applied in Attic, is consistently agreed in the dual up to his final exhaustion: «the demonstrative *ho, hē, tó* acquired the function of a definite article after Homer, and it agrees in all inflectional categories with the noun it determines; in the course of time it came to be increasingly merged and attached to the noun it determined» (Luraghi 2003, 3f.). «Der Artikel bildet also eine Art Gegenstück zum Dual; beide finden sich in den verschiedensten Sprachen, aber der Dual als eine zurückweichende Altertümlichkeit, der Artikel als eine sich herausbildende Neuerung. Der Dual ist ein Kennzeichen des sprachlichen Konservatismus; der Artikel ein solches des Fortschrittes, der sprachlichen Kultur» (Wackernagel 1928, 128).

The Attic prose mirrors this process quite well⁵⁶⁰: the use of the dual is consistent and syntactically pertinent in Plato. Among the rhetors, Lysias makes the fullest use of the dual; in Demosthenes only -οῖν is to be scarcely found; Dinarchus, the latest of the orators, has no dual at all. On the language of Comedy, Langslow's *addendum* to Wackernagel (2009, 111) proves interesting: «it is striking that the poets of the New Comedy, although in general they reflect everyday language more faithfully than those of the Old Comedy, still use the dual. Menander (frs. 200, 411, 491 in *PCG* VI.2) and Diphilus (fr. 72 in *PCG* V) attest genitives in -οῖν and -αῖν, and Bato (fr. 3, 2 in *PCG* IV) as late as the third century may have the form χυτρῶδε».

The Koine, which grew out of Attic, shows the use of the dual in its latest phase. Earlier prose-writers have only the same old -οῖν to offer: Aristotle uses it only in isolated instances, and Polybius is the same, using *e.g.* ἀμφοῖν ('both')⁵⁶¹. Otherwise, in the whole of Greek literature until the time of Augustus, the dual is unknown, which means that for Greek speakers it was definitely drained. But then we get the remarkable phenomenon of the reanimation of the corpse. The Second Sophistic did, in fact, resurrect the dual from extinction, chiefly on behalf of Dionysius of Alcyon and Lucian of Samosata: «erstens nehmen selbst inschriftliche Denkmäler der Kanzleisprache an dieser Künstelei teil. In Attika wird nicht bloss das alte Sakrale τὸ θεῶν weitergeführt, sondern in einem Tempelinventare auch χρυσῶν οἰνάνθα, 'zwei goldene Weinblüten' gesagt. Und in einem Briefe tyrischer Kaufleute in Puteoli vom J. 174 n. Chr. (*IG* XIV 380) erhält Z. 19 sogar die Datierung nach den römischen Consuln dualische Form: Γάλλῳ καὶ Φλάκκῳ Κορινθιανῶν ὑπάτοι» (Wackernagel 1926, 81)⁵⁶². Their usage of this feature is completely artificial, insisting on recurring forms and idioms cleared by literary inheritance: «da hier der Dual aus einem literarischen Stück aufgeführt ist, kommt er für uns nur halbwegs in Betracht. Das sind wohl nicht die einzigen uns aus der Kaiserzeit

⁵⁶⁰ Meillet (1937, 7) stresses that the use of the dual is nevertheless fickle and, even in authors who prove eager on it (*e.g.* Plato, Xenophon, etc.), it mostly occurs in nouns in gen., under the pressure of δυῶν.

⁵⁶¹ «De Foucault (1972: 69) registers also χερῶν 'hands', χερσῶν 'horns', μερῶν 'parts', μηρῶν 'thighs', each usually accompanied by ἀμφοῖν, which also occurs alone» (Langslow 2009, 111 n.30).

⁵⁶² Wackernagel (*ibid.*) closes his brief survey with a 'treat': in Athenaeus traits his Ὀνοματοθήρας character in a purely Attic fashion, making him pronounce the most dainty 1st person dual verbal ending: πρότερον συντριβησόμεθον, ἔπειτα ἀπολούμεθον (*Deipn.* 3,98a).

gebliebenen Belege» (†Wackernagel†-Debrunner 1943, 190)⁵⁶³. Nevertheless, this reprise is extremely meaningful on a dialectal perspective, as it stresses once again that, be it shared with other dialects or not, the dual was perceived as a chiefly Attic, vernacular trait – a fact which deeply influences the consideration of this feature within the Attic literary production (see par. 2.4).

2.1.0 Historical syntax and linguistic frameworks.

«In historical-comparative research of today, syntactic reconstruction is, at best, a highly controversial enterprise and, at worst, a stranded endeavour»
(Barðdal-Eythórsson 2010, 1).

Despite the strict interrelation between morphology and syntax, mechanisms and tools available to ‘decipher’ morphological change hardly apply to syntactic change. In dealing with morphology we found some basic patterns which help understanding the directionality of change: iconicity, transparency and analogy are basic criteria to discriminate whether a change is possible, and probable, or not. In syntax boundaries of variation are more blurred. For instance, analogy, which controlled many a change in morphology, is not a suitable approach to understand syntactic features, far more sensible to co-occurring and merging forces⁵⁶⁴. The comparative method itself, creditable of impressive results in Indo-European linguistics and beyond⁵⁶⁵, proves barely effective when applied to syntax⁵⁶⁶. This is

⁵⁶³ As Langlow stresses, «Schmidt (1893) catalogues the decline of the dual in prose authors from Aristotle to Dionysius of Halicarnassus and its subsequent revival. Hermann Diels (1910: 1153–5) shows that the dual is hardly used in the Hippocratic corpus (there are a few examples in particular texts, including *On Regimen*, *On Diseases III*, *On Diseases of Women*) and that its use in *On Glands* provides another argument against the authenticity of this text» (2009, 111 n. 31).

⁵⁶⁴ As *inconcinnitas* is a standard option of syntactical constructions, redundancy is not only tolerated but, to some extent, favoured: more devices fulfilling the same function are often regarded as a value-added, insofar as they allow register, social and stylistic variation.

⁵⁶⁵ «The comparative method is central to historical linguistics, the most important of the various methods and techniques we use to recover linguistic history» (Campbell 1999, 108).

⁵⁶⁶ Part of the reason rests on the fact that this framework «is based on cognate form-meaning pairings, which are not generally assumed to be found in syntax. That is, in order for a reconstruction to be possible, the input for the relevant correspondence sets must consist of a form side and a meaning side, as only (lexical) items that are inherited from an earlier stage can be cognates, i.e. inherited items with the same form and the same meaning» (*ibid.*).

partly due to the very structure of the method, which casts about form-meaning comparisons: such parallels are, even between related languages, reasonably scarce, for both 'form' and 'meaning' are represented in syntax by complex structures rather than words, and cannot in turn be easily compared⁵⁶⁷.

Another difficulty is represented by the kind of changes that syntactical items may undergo, which may be internally or externally induced⁵⁶⁸. According to Campbell (1999, 226), all syntactic changes may be reduced to three basic mechanisms: reanalysis⁵⁶⁹, extension⁵⁷⁰ and borrowing⁵⁷¹. By defining the processes syntactic items may be subject to, it may be possible to trace patterns in syntactic variation: even though it is not possible to determine whether change is liable to occur or not, it is useful to investigate in which direction, when occurring, a change is liable to evolve⁵⁷². Changes within complex systems comply with diverse interrelated factors, colluding in complex ways. «That more than one cause is frequently involved in a particular change also makes prediction difficult [...]. Given that multiple causes frequently operate simultaneously in complex ways to bring

⁵⁶⁷ This assumption, even though irreproachable from a logical point of view, is still subject to restrictions represented by the frequency and repetitiveness of some functions, always occurring in the very same formal adjustment (we can hence evoke *patterns*): «a basic idea of modern linguistics is that the relation between the meaning and form of a simplex word is arbitrary [...]. Happily enough, the arbitrariness in the form-meaning relation of linguistic expressions is reduced by their having a layered structure: sentences are not holistic signs, and can be divided into constituents and ultimately words (syntactic structure), and words in their turn may have internal structure themselves (complex words)» (Booij 2007, 207).

⁵⁶⁸ For instance, functional loss is an internally conditioned phenomenon, depending on functional clashes and contrasts within the same language, whereas borrowing can be conditioned by language contact phenomena.

⁵⁶⁹ «Reanalysis changes the underlying structure of a syntactic construction, but does not modify surface manifestation [...]. An important axiom of reanalysis is 'reanalysis depends on the possibility of more than one analysis of a given construction'» (*ibid.* 227). This is the case, for example, of ancient duals re-interpreted as plural masculine genitives in some slavonic languages (see Janda 2000).

⁵⁷⁰ «Extension results in changes in surface manifestation, but does not involve immediate modification of underlying structure» (*ibid.* 227).

⁵⁷¹ «Syntactic borrowing is much more frequent and important than some scholars have thought in the past» (*ibid.* 230). A syntactic borrowing is usually induced by socio-historical factors, such as foreign influence or context-related constraints (two or more languages cohabiting the same, or neighbouring, domains); «just as borrowing can complicate lexical reconstruction, it can be a serious obstacle to syntactic reconstruction as well» (*ibid.* 244).

⁵⁷² «It is important to distinguish what is impossible to predict (for example, that a change will occur, which change will occur, when a change will occur, and so on) from what is possible to predict (the nature of the changes that do occur, the conditions under which they can occur, what changes cannot occur)» (Campbell 1999, 296).

about particular linguistic changes, to explain linguistic change, we must investigate the multiple causes and how they jointly operate in some cases and compete in others to determine the outcome of linguistic change» (Campbell 1999, 297). Hence a syntax-oriented enquiry on the value of the dual is due. It is central to determine which functions are not allowed to the category, and which shift in functions are not eager to occur. The available evidence proves precious in this respect, testifying to diachronically varied strata: internal reconstructions are hereby possible.

As we appreciated, the dual number has been alive and well in several languages within the Indo-European domain; it is hence of the essence to provide a solid method whereby comparing uses and functions in different language settings. It may be valuable in this respect to address untried frameworks, namely from general linguistics, to effect suitable diachronic reconstructions⁵⁷³.

2.1.1 Internal Reconstruction and Construction Grammar.

«Internal reconstruction is like the comparative method applied to a single language. It is a technique for inferring aspects of the history of a language from what we see in that language alone. Lying behind internal reconstruction is the fact that when a language undergoes changes, traces of the changes are often left behind in the language's structure, as allomorphic variants or irregularities of some sort. The things that are compared in internal reconstruction, which correspond to the cognates of the comparative method, are the forms in the language which have more than one phonological shape in different circumstances, that is, the different allomorphs of a given morpheme, such as those found in alternations in paradigms, derivations, stylistic variants and the like» (Campbell 1999, 201)⁵⁷⁴.

⁵⁷³ «Reconstruction of past stages in order to explain the present is one of the most crucial tasks in any historical science: it is precisely by addressing such issues that historical syntax may cease to represent a relatively peripheral and somewhat outlandish subdomain of independently successful scientific paradigms, such as traditional historical linguistics or formal theories of grammar» (Ferraresi-Goldbach 2008, *Intr.* X).

⁵⁷⁴ One of the basic assumptions of internal reconstruction is that allomorphs and variants are based on a unique, original form. By comparing all different devices fulfilling the same function, it is possible to postulate a proto-form (reconstructed). When applied to syntax, the natural fulfilment of such assumption is the reconstruction of functions underlying a specific device, in order to

As it is apparent, internal reconstruction works at its best when dealing with phonological and morphological items; nevertheless, some attempts have been made to apply its very tenets to syntax as well⁵⁷⁵. A first problem to be met may regard the object of such enquiry, namely the definition itself of 'syntactical item': while in fact morphological items can be loosely defined as words, morphemes, or anyway isolated bricks in the morphological wall, syntactical items may be represented by phrases, sentences or, more in abstract, constructions.

A recent linguistic framework, namely Construction Grammar (CG), builds on the premises of internal reconstruction and tries to overcome this difficulty by regarding syntactic features as form-function couplings, just as lexemes are: such structures are to be called *Constructicons*. Similar form or similar function alone are not enough to establish correspondences as a basis for reconstruction: if, though, a joined form-function correspondence is established, it is possible to compare different syntactic constructicons in different stages of a language⁵⁷⁶.

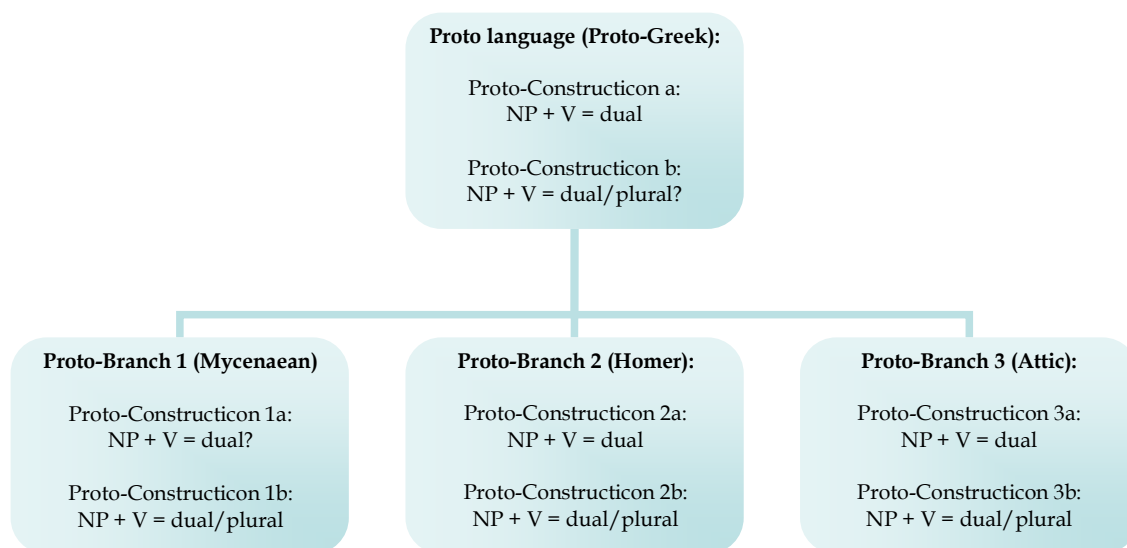
Let us try and apply such preamble to the Ancient Greek dual. Our evidence vouches for different patterns of agreement in historical times: noun phrase and controlled verb may clash in the dual, or rather present with a contrasting dual/plural agreement – even singular, in the already quoted case of ὄσσε (see par. 1.2). According to CG, the patterns of noun phrase agreement which are consistently witnessed throughout different stages of the language are liable to

reconstruct the proto-function(s) originally pertinent to a specific category: this is precisely what will be attempted in regards of the dual in par. 2.2.0.

⁵⁷⁵ A strong limitation to the method is constituted by the domain itself: internal reconstruction has control over internal changes, being far less reliable over externally induced, and not self-referential/transparent, changes: «the method may be reliable if later changes have not eliminated (or rendered unrecognisable) the context or contexts which condition the change that we would like to recover as reflected in alternations in the language [...]. However, internal reconstruction can be difficult or impossible if later changes have severely altered the contexts which conditioned the variants that we attempt to reconstruct» (Campbell 1999, 216).

⁵⁷⁶ Or even in different and not related languages, according to this framework: this perspective is nevertheless not relevant here. As far as diachronic development within the same language is concerned, the major goal is «to reconstruct earlier syntactic stages in order to better understand, not only the general mechanisms of language change, but also the possible developmental paths of certain synchronic structures» (Barðdal-Eythórsson 2010, 6).

be reconstructed in the proto-language as well⁵⁷⁷. A construction pattern may hereby be sketched in the following way:



The table is to be read as follows: it is not certain whether a proto-language enabled agreement between dual and plural within noun phrases and/or noun phrases and verb. Still, if we comply with possible developmental paths of agreement through subsequent stages, we appreciate that Constructicon b is fulfilled in every case: the only missing piece of evidence is represented by Constructicon 1a, which is never attested, except for one dubious form. Nevertheless, we can safely figure that, if noun and verb are liable to mismatch, they might as well plausibly match. Pursuant to the already met Uniformity Principle (see par. 1.0), we can hence infer that Constructicon b, which is evenly displayed by later layers of the language, could have existed in the Proto-language too. As for Constructicon a, its presence in the Proto-language is supported only by branches 2 and 3: its reconstruction is nevertheless plausible, for internal agreement is typologically (and logically) more likely to occur than mismatch.

⁵⁷⁷ The restriction of the spectrum to the sole dual number does not affect nor impair the reliability of the results: «the whole Constructicon of a given language does not have to have been worked out in order for syntactic reconstruction to be possible, but only the constructions of relevance for the research issue» (Barðdal-Eythórsson 2010, 19). In other words, the breadth of the specimen is not, in contrast with cross-linguistic approaches, relevant to the quality of the outcome.

Conforming to CG, we should then assume that lack of agreement has been tolerated already in the proto-language: in other words, the dual was liable to align to plural in internal (and perhaps external) noun agreement in the proto-language already⁵⁷⁸. Such inference will be supported by the Uniformity principle itself: if all the evidence corroborates the dual being facultative in later layers of the language, then it should have been facultative in the proto-language as well. That is to say: the dual in Greek has been genetically facultative⁵⁷⁹.

This inference is of central relevance, as we will explore when focusing on agreement (see par. 2.2). Let it be enough here to say that it is possible to effect diachronic investigations within the same language, by means of internal reconstruction and construction grammar, as long as we dispose of chronologically split stages offering comparable evidence. This kind of investigation is, so to say, a ‘vertical’ one, for the focus is on diachronic variations within the same domain. There is of course an alternative way of tackling the problem, a chiefly ‘horizontal’ one, which involves the consideration of as many linguistic patterns as possible in order to find comparable evidence: this is precisely the aim of linguistic Typology.

2.1.2 Typology.

The label of Typology is usually employed to refer to a specific linguistic trend, stemmed from to the work of Joseph Greenberg, which focuses on patterns

⁵⁷⁸ This utterance is nevertheless restrained into a theoretical, i.e. reconstructed, perspective, as it figures as a deductive inference; «the product of linguistic reconstruction cannot be a real language with sociolinguistic depth. We have rather to do with a generator principle of algebraic nature» (Ramat 1976, 189).

⁵⁷⁹ Such a statement could seem overtly and unduly simple; we need of course further evidence and support in order to falsify such assumption, as we will indeed attempt to do in par. 2.2. Nevertheless, it seems here central to assert some ground parameters and second a general tendency towards simple yet firm linguistic patterns. «Binarity of parameter settings, of choices between clear Aristotelian categories, and so on, is an understandable move, and a reasonable heuristic. Systems embodying binarity and economy are apparently simpler to describe, and their mathematical properties are easier to state. Questions about the power of the grammar and hence of its falsifiability can be asked and answered. Such approaches started very much as top-down analyses, even if the drive over the last twenty or so years has been increasingly towards modularity by interaction of relatively simple explanatory principles» (Denison 2001, 121).

that occur systematically across languages⁵⁸⁰. The major aim of typology lies in the attempt to infer universal statements⁵⁸¹ on language comparing data from a wide range of attested languages⁵⁸², on the assumption that ‘the broader the specimen, the merrier’⁵⁸³: cross-linguistic evidence obtained on a broad-spectrum enquiry is hereby liable to bear by viable information on «the range of variation found across languages and the limits placed on this variation» (Comrie 1989, 6), in order to produce generalisations⁵⁸⁴ by abstraction and identify language universals⁵⁸⁵. The

⁵⁸⁰ «Since the 1970s a group of “functional-typological” linguists have sought to answer the question of how speakers can use the “bricolage” or “jerry-built structure[s]” (Bolinger 1976, 1) of language to impart information, and to get things done. As well as seeing language as a cognitive capacity, this approach privileges language as a device for communication between speakers and addressees. Crucially the assumption is that there is a causal relationship between meaning and linguistic structure, and furthermore that external factors may shape language structure» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 3).

⁵⁸¹ «Universals of language are considered to be tendencies, not absolutes, and are usually of a general cognitive nature, not autonomous and not specific to language» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 4); [hence, every linguistic inference «becomes theoretically interesting if it enables us to predict certain properties of a language on the basis of other properties [...]. Thus, an *implicational universal* is a restriction on the class of possible natural languages» (Booij 2007, 43).

⁵⁸² «Linguists advocating this approach have tended to concentrate on universals statable in terms of relatively concrete rather than very abstract analyses, and have tended to be open, or at least eclectic, in the kinds of explanations that may be advanced for the existence of language universals», thus opposing to generative approaches, who have conversely advocated «stating language universals in terms of abstract structures and have tended to favour innateness as the explanation for language universals» (Comrie 1989, 2). «To a considerable degree, the difference between the generative and typological approaches can be traced to the different traditions to which Greenberg and Chomsky responded. The generative approach represents a reaction against behaviouristic psychology, while the typological approach represents a reaction against anthropologic relativism» (Croft 2003, 4).

⁵⁸³ «The problem with which we are faced is establishing a representative sample of human languages in order to be able to carry out work on language universals that is both manageable in practical terms and likely to be free of bias from concentrating unduly on a single language or group of languages» (Comrie 1989, 9).

⁵⁸⁴ «Typological generalizations – language universals – is the formation of generalizations over our observations. And the functional-typological approach constructs explanations of the generalizations over what we have observed. In this sense, typology represents an empirical scientific approach to the study of language» (Croft 2003, 2). This method is also inductive, as inferences are induced by pragmatic evidence, and its models include notions we met dealing with morphology, such as economy, iconicity, competing motivation, defunctionalisation and renovation.

⁵⁸⁵ There is of course an aprioristic assumption underlying the choice of such an extensive and theoretically equitable field of investigation: typological approaches treat human language as a homogeneous phenomenon, assuming that the evolution of individual languages is not relevant to the cause of the investigation, and that all human languages spoken today represent the same level of evolution. It is fairly evident how this assumption may conflict with the prerequisites of historical

notion of universals of human language, produced by Greenberg in the early '50s, reflects the belief in features existing beyond the essential sets of properties which hold for every specific language.

Two firm grounds of this approach are chiefly significant to the philologist: on the one hand, since the goal is to trace universal patterns in language, typological enquiries are naturally unrestricted to genetic language families, as representativeness needs be defined as absence of genetic, areal, or typological bias; on the other hand, provided that all languages are equal, typological enquiries ought to avoid europocentrism and cultural bias and treat every language sample as equivalent. Given these two remarkable aspects, it is easy to see how a typological approach proves profitable to internal reconstruction analyses, albeit necessarily bound by diachronic variation and constraints.

A major contribution of typology to our field of investigation is represented by the individuation of the *Animacy Hierarchy* (par. 2.3), according to which the closer an item is to the speaker, the wider range of features will be disposable to it. As we will see, this inference bears a lot of consequences in respect of number features, and optionality of them.

Typology is an extremely suitable device to determine implicational universals on specific features. Yet its sphere of influence is mainly concerned with synchronic patterns, since it is a prerequisite of a cross-linguistic analysis that all the involved domains are regarded as they were in the same stage of developments, in order to be theoretically equal. Besides, syntactic reconstructions naturally induce diachronic enquiries: the typological approach has been criticised in this respect (Watkins 1976, 306), for it does not explain the directionality of change, nor the stimulus of it⁵⁸⁶. Be it as it may, the generalisations offered by typology serve nonetheless as empirical evidence of well-spread patterns, which prove cross-linguistically domineering and potentially favoured in language changes. It

linguistic analyses, which by default focus on diachronic variations assumed to be arbitrary, pertinent and universal in their effect (according to the Neogrammarians' view).

⁵⁸⁶ «Watkins – in contrast to Lehmann – is rather pessimistic about the possibility of reconstructing the syntax of PIE or parts of it: “this reciprocal pattern of leftward gapping in the first clause, rightward in the second, has absolutely nothing to do with ‘OV’ or ‘VO’ typology; it has to do with the elevated poetic style and the variation of grammatical parallelism” (Watkins 1976, 324)» (Ferraresi-Goldbach 2008, 6).

has been said that interest in universals originated in the person of Joseph Greenberg, the canonical date being fixed in his identification of implicational universals⁵⁸⁷ in morphology in 1960⁵⁸⁸: with a chronological paradox, though, the first 'typological' cross-linguistic classification of the dual number is at least of a century older, being ascribed to Wilhelm von Humboldt (1827), who produced a famous taxonomic description of the dual number across world languages⁵⁸⁹.

Following in Humboldt's footsteps, a typological classification of the dual number in a modern acceptance has been carried out by Plank (1989). Plank is rather enthusiastic on Humboldt's method⁵⁹⁰, which prompts him to produce an attempted typology of the dual number – which is still creditable of distinct insight. More generally, typological studies intertwined with number features in a notorious monograph by Corbett (2000). Corbett's work is tantalizing under every respect: starting from a strikingly huge collection of data, he delves into a broad-spectrum analysis of all number options cross-linguistically available. His conclusions, still valid and dependable, constitute the milestone of number studies. More recently, a DPhil thesis (Hillyard 2008) vied with the many and capricious realisations of number features in Homer. Despite the interest of the subject, Hillyard's work is

⁵⁸⁷ «Not all the typological universals are absolute ones; some are statistical tendencies only. For instance, there are many more languages that only use suffixes (Turkish is an example) than there are languages that only use prefixes. Hence, there is a suffixing preference in natural languages. Yet, there are languages that are exclusively prefixing, so there is no absolute universal involved here. Many of the universals discussed in Greenberg are of this statistical nature» (Booij 2007, 44).

⁵⁸⁸ Important exponents of functional-typology include Givón, Haiman, Comrie, Hopper, Thompson, Croft and Corbett.

⁵⁸⁹ In Plank's (1989, 293) ironic terms, «his topic this time seemed particularly arid and of pathetic marginality as he confined himself to a single grammatical category, and one ostensibly as insignificant as the dual». Indeed his investigation revealed precious, for *Über den Dualis*' intent was not, as before in comparative linguistic had been, an outstretched documentation of an entire language: the prime aim of Humboldt's was «to dissect the 'organisms' under investigation and to compare their constituent parts, no matter how insignificant they might appear, across the entire realm before trying anew to systematise the wholes. The dual was the first category to be subjected to such treatment after the manner of the anatomist» (*ibid.* 295).

⁵⁹⁰ «With *Über den Dualis* comparative grammar arguably entered, or could have entered, a new era» (Plank 1989, 294). Yet the statement that «Humboldt's conspectus of the dual itself has remained un superseded» (*ibid.* 295) is hardly indisputable. Despite its undeniable importance, Humboldt's 'classification' is a questionable list of bizarre linguistic behaviours, lacking interest in generalisation. He is usually more concerned on witnessing exotic phenomena rather than finding patterns or universal laws regulating them.

problematic under many respects, as we will see in dealing with the Animacy Hierarchy (par. 2.3).

Typology is strictly intertwined with grammaticalisation, as they both focus on patterns of variation between languages. In this perspective, both typology and grammaticalisation result suitable for our purposes, as they offer viable criteria for inductive predictions.

2.1.3 Grammaticalisation and Lexicalisation.

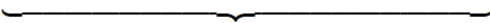
As forementioned, the expression of the dual will face in Tragedy some overlap between the inflectional dual feature and a concurring strategy, represented by adjectives with a quantifier-associative value (δίδυμος, δισσός, διπλοῦς, etc.). The morphological and syntactic value of these constructions will be investigated further on (par. 2.4); for a better understanding of such linguistic development, the resort to Grammaticalisation⁵⁹¹, and Lexicalisation⁵⁹², proves central⁵⁹³. The adjectives at issue are in fact the result of the conflation of a quantifier (δίς) and a qualifier component: such process of word-formation may be ascribed to a more general strategy, compounding, which is cross-linguistically widespread, representing the main character in language change.

⁵⁹¹ Meant as the process by which «an independent word with independent meaning may develop into an auxiliary word and, if the process continues, it ends up as a grammatical marker or bound grammatical morpheme. Jerzy Kuryłowicz's (1965, 52) much-cited definition is: "Grammaticalisation consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status"» (Campbell 1999, 238).

⁵⁹² «The term 'lexicalization' has been used for two very different phenomena. Synchronically it has been used for the coding of conceptual categories. Diachronically it has been used variously for 'adoption into the lexicon' or 'falling outside the productive rules of grammar' [...]. Like lexicalization, 'grammaticalization' (also called 'grammaticization') can be conceived synchronically and diachronically. However, in the case of grammaticalization, the majority of the work has been either historical or typological (with focus on implications for change). What is common to all studies of grammaticalization is the attempt to understand how syntactic and morphological patterns are structured, how and why grammatical categories arise, and how free combinatorial and fixed patterns interact» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 18, 22).

⁵⁹³ «In recent years questions have frequently been raised about the relationship between 'lexicalization' and 'grammaticalization'. The two terms, like many other linguistic terms, have been used to refer ambiguously to phenomena viewed from the perspectives of relative stasis ('synchrony') or of change over time ('diachrony'), to the process and to the results of the process, and also to theoretical constructs modeling these phenomena» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 2).

We already dealt with grammaticalisation and the set of changes it is liable to imply on a morphological perspective. Now the issue will be tackled from a chiefly syntagmatic, discourse-oriented perspective: changes occur as long as they are functional to the speech act⁵⁹⁴. From a diachronical point of view, it is generally accepted that grammaticalisation broadly describes a gradual change of state from free to bound morphemes through increasingly synthetic constructions: «grammaticalization changes analytic into synthetic constructions» (Lehmann 2002, 17)⁵⁹⁵. The process may be sketched by means of the following table, although «incomplete and simplified»⁵⁹⁶:

level	Discourse	Syntax	Morphology	Morphophonemics	
technique	isolating	> analytic	> synthetic-agglutinating	> synthetic-flexional	> zero
phase		↑	↑	↑	
process					loss
		grammaticalization			

(Lehmann 2002, 12)

The pattern hereby described proves cross-linguistically consistent: bound morphemes proceed to increasingly synthetic strategies. The expression of syntactic relations then gradually shifts from morphological to syntactic operations: as functional loss overcomes, morphemes are depleted and their role is replaced by competing analytic strategies. A concept inherent to this assessment is *gradience*:

⁵⁹⁴ «Since its inception, grammaticalization has been conceptualized as in some way related to the lexicon. But since its inception it has also been conceptualized as related to discourse phenomena [...]. While the suggestion that discourse precedes syntax has been questioned, the importance of discourse and especially of constructions has nevertheless become central to most research on developments known as grammaticalization» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 24; see also Traugott 2003).

⁵⁹⁵ The opposite direction of change may sometimes be appreciated, and the labels of innovation/renovation have been accorded to the case: «in theory, the distinction between innovation and renovation is entirely clear. Innovation is revolutionary; it creates grammatical categories that had not been in the language before. Renovation is conservative; it only introduces new forms for old categories» (Lehmann 2002, 19).

⁵⁹⁶ «This picture is incomplete and simplified, because it represents only two of the factors involved in grammaticalization [*i.e.* condensation and coalescence] and because it pretends a perfect correlation between these two. Nevertheless, it suffices to illustrate the range of the grammaticalization process and the phases conventionally recognized in it» (*ibid.*).

«most changes occur in very small structural steps, typically with innovative uses coexisting alongside older ones» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 26)⁵⁹⁷. The diachronic paths of development of a language are to be seen as a *continuum*, that is the series of modifications determining the introduction of new parameters⁵⁹⁸: «typically, a continuum is established from ‘non- or unproductive’, to ‘semi-productive’, to ‘productive’; this continuum corresponds roughly to the continuum from lexical to grammatical» (*ibid.* 17)⁵⁹⁹. To a phase of morphologisation, which we described through chapter 1, possibly follows a phase of ‘demorphemicisation’, in which complex inflectional structures vie with newborn alternative constructions. Our Attic adjectives, covering the scope of the dual, could hold this role.

The rise of these constructions hence determines some problems: first of all, it is to be asked whether this is a universal rather than a genre-related or an individual strategy – in other words, to what extent it is functional. Secondly, redundancy in morphological features is tolerated synchronically, proving nonetheless diachronically unstable: there is a constant strain between newborn and already existing strategies⁶⁰⁰. It is hence to be questioned whether the arising strategy will play a role in the demise of the inflectional dual and, if so, in which way and functions will they conflict and counteract.

⁵⁹⁷ *Gradualness* is the counterpart of *gradience*, when applied to long-course modifications: «‘gradualness’ is thus a primarily diachronic term characterizing changes from one state to another over time. It should be contrasted with ‘gradience’, which is a synchronic term characterizing the continuum between one linguistic category and another» (*ibid.* 27).

⁵⁹⁸ The notion of a continuum is also related to another phenomenon distinguishing lexical and grammatical categories, namely, the feature of productivity. Broadly construed, productivity entails the speaker’s readiness to produce novel combination: it is «fundamentally concerned with the ability of a speaker to produce new forms» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 16) and is mirrored in the relative frequency of a form: «the continuum models of the lexical/grammatical split and of the lexicon fit better with the historical facts of change, which is often (though not always) gradual in the sense that change occurs by very small steps» (*ibid.* 18).

⁵⁹⁹ In frequency studies an issue of central importance is the distinction between type and token frequency: «*type frequency* concerns the number of categories or constructions with which an item co-occurs [...]. By contrast, *token frequency* concerns the number of instances of a form. Type frequency of word formation may correlate with productivity» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 17). Although of extreme interest, such approach will not be undertaken in the present enquiry, given the scarcity of our cross section: the number of $\delta\iota$ -adjectives occurring in Tragedy does not seem conspicuous enough to reach any purely statistical conclusion.

⁶⁰⁰ «The morphological rules of a language [...] indicate how new lexemes and word forms can be made, and they function as *redundancy rules* with respect to the established complex words of a language» (Booij 2007, 18).

Compounding and word-formation are a sensible field in language, for both lexicon and grammar are concerned⁶⁰¹. As the process involves the formation of new lexical items, lexicon is involved: yet the process by which two lexical items conflate is purely grammatical. «Despite general consensus that some kind of distinction needs to be made between lexical and grammatical classes, where to draw a boundary between them, or whether there is a boundary at all, continues to be a matter of some heated debate» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 15). It is hence to be discussed whether the formation of $\delta\iota$ -adjectives, and the function they cover⁶⁰², is to be regarded as an act of lexicalisation or grammaticalisation.

2.1.4 Summary.

Syntactic reconstructions, albeit posing on delicate grounds, may nonetheless prove reliable if some preliminary requirements are fulfilled. Successful reconstructions, as with morphological reconstructions, depend on the nature of the evidence preserved. Shift in function, especially functional loss, is to be regarded as one of the major causes of syntactic variation; every analysis of the syntactic value of an item cannot be regardless of internally reconstructed functions as well as its formal, phonological shape.

General Linguistics offers very many layers of investigation, which turn out suitable to a broad-spectrum analysis on the Ancient Greek dual. In particular, it is possible to handle the problem from a diachronic or rather a synchronic point of view. In the first case, the main focus will be on differences, and we will delve into the evolution of use and functions of the dual, chiefly concentrating on variation. Such an approach will be pursued by means of internal reconstruction and historical

⁶⁰¹ «If such a distinction is made, 'grammar' is the set of categories, patterns, and organizing principles evidenced by language, most essentially abstract patterns of semantics, syntax, morphology, and phonology that at least in theory permit infinite combinations. By contrast, the 'lexicon' is a finite list (for any individual) of (more-or-less) fixed structural elements that may be combined» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 4).

⁶⁰² It is, in particular, central to define the position of adjectives in relation to nouns, and their role and scope within the noun phrase. According to Brinton-Traugott (2005a, 14), «a noun is a symbolic structure for what is conceptually a thing, i.e., a concept conceived statically and holistically; a verb is a symbolic structure for a concept that is construed as relational and mentally viewed across time; an adjective (or other modifier) is a symbolic structure for a concept construed relationally, but scanned holistically». For a brief review on the issue of lexical/grammatical classes, see *ibid.*

linguistics (par. 2.2). In the second case, the main focus will be on similarities: we will hence try to detect the functions underlying the dual feature in Ancient Greek. To this purpose, it will be of paramount importance to resort to the support offered by typological studies and cross-linguistic investigations, in order to recollect specific functions relevant to the category, as for instance the influence of the Animacy Hierarchy (2.3) or the inclusive dual (par. 2.5).

Finally, the approach of novel constructions to fulfil functions inherent to the inflectional dual will be dealt with reference to trends focusing on language change and reanalysis, namely grammaticalisation and lexicalisation (par. 2.4).

2.2.0 General assumptions.

Before entering the forest of problems pertaining to the Greek dual, a broader survey on the linguistic position of the dual number is needed: to this purpose, a general introduction to the linguistic categorization of number features is due.

As it has been more and more frequently remarked, the deceptively simple guise of number features led quite often to underestimations. Typological studies⁶⁰³ have proved that, despite its presumed accessibility, number exhibits great diversity in surface realizations across languages⁶⁰⁴. Number may be marked cross-linguistically by means of different strategies⁶⁰⁵: as it is plain, Ancient Greek expresses number by means of morphological and syntactic means.

⁶⁰³ See parr. 2.1.0 for a general survey and 2.2.0 in relation to the dual.

⁶⁰⁴ «Several instances of interesting systems which are essential for appreciating the full range of possibilities [...] are found in languages which have few speakers and are clearly endangered» (Corbett 2000, 3). This shall not be surprising: in small communities the definition of sub-groups and smaller entities seems reasonably pertinent, and number values deeply intertwine with social bonds and kinship relations. It is here to be remarked that almost every branch of the Indo-European family (except, as far as we can tell, for the Anatolian and Italic branches) owned a dual number in archaic ages: this seems consistent with the status of societies based on smaller number of individuals, in which familiar links and marriage ties were central.

⁶⁰⁵ Number can be marked formally by stem formation and inflection. Corbett (1994, 203) differentiates 4 types of number-marking features. The first type resorts to separate lexical items (number words: ἄμφοω χεῖρας, *Il.* VIII 135). The second type uses syntactic means – agreement being one of the preminent devices used for marking number (ἄμφοω χεῖρα, *Il.* IV 523, XIII 549, etc.). The third type uses morphological means: inflectional and fusional languages belong to this group (χεῖρα, *Il.* XIII 534, XXI 115, etc.). A fourth, restricted method finally exists: lexical marking/suppletion (to

There are many common assessments linked to the category, which do no justice to the wide range of possibilities⁶⁰⁶ number may exhibit. For instance, languages are expected to mark number by means of basic – and consistent – oppositions, which should allegedly apply with the same criteria to all the available morphological items: in other words, we expect number to be expressed. Yet systems where number owns a fairly extended hierarchy allow number marking to be applied only to certain morphological categories⁶⁰⁷ and, even here, the domain of the single number features may not be the same. In other words, number features may be *asymmetric*. Divergence may hence appear according to many aspects, such as definiteness, domain, obligatoriness, and so on.

A simple example is immediately available: number may, or may not, bear a definite value⁶⁰⁸. Apace with systems where number values are definite and refer to

some extent, it might be the case of the homeric dual ὄσσε, *Il.* I 104, 200, etc.). Corbett's hierarchy proceeds from a low to an increasing degree of fusionality. The four analysed strategies all describe semantic agreement; there also exist a 'zero' type, the so-called 'default agreement', occurring when the lexical item does not show any kind of agreement with the expressed number (es., '27' + singular noun). This option, adopted cross-linguistically quite frequently, should occupy the least fusional position of the hierarchy (hence 'zero'), insofar as the quantifier and the noun does not show morphological connections. It is nevertheless to be remarked that cases in which quantifier and noun partially mismatch are nevertheless present in Ancient Greek (as ἄμφο + plural proves) and testify for a generally flexible number agreement.

⁶⁰⁶ Such range is outlined by Corbett (2000, 19-38) by means of the following descending hierarchy: general-number (not really a number, being unmarked and outside the number system; see *infra*), singular, plural, dual, trial, paucal (to define indefinite small groups, as opposed to the plural defining bigger indefinite groups), quadral (allegedly attested within the Austronesian family, and anyway restricted to personal pronouns), greater plural (or 'plural of abundance', used as a hyperbole in opposition to the 'simple' plural), composed numbers (such as the Breton 'plural-dual' *daou-lagad-où*, 'some pairs of eyes': cf. Hemon 1975, 42).

⁶⁰⁷ «When languages have nominal number, as we find in Slavonic, typically not all the nouns are involved. In some languages number is restricted to a small subset of the nouns and pronouns, in others it is of greater importance. Smith-Stark suggested that plurality 'splits' a language if "it is a significant opposition for certain categories but irrelevant for others". The type of evidence he produced concerned marking of the noun phrase for number (usually by marking on the noun itself) and agreement in number (mainly verbal agreement but with some instances of agreement within the noun phrase)» (Corbett 1994, 203).

⁶⁰⁸ A number feature such as the paucal is indefinite by nature. Its value does not only depend on the absolute value of the items it is referred to, but also on its relative position in relation to other number features, i.e. the plural: for instance, if the paucal is meant to be contrasted with a larger number of items, it is liable to stand for 'a handful' (2-5), whereas commonly it defines numbers around a dozen – clearly considering that its range varies considerably according to context and domain. Nevertheless, it is once again evident how number values cannot be fixed once and for all, being instead conditioned by 'neighbouring' features.

a precise number of entities, systems exist in which number may refer to an indefinite choice of items. According to this split, the value of a definite dual number, which will invariably signify '2', will diverge from the value of an indefinite dual number, which might mean 'a couple', thus implying 'two, or maybe more, or maybe less'⁶⁰⁹.

Another common bias regards the alleged 'regularity' of number categories. It has persistently been shown that morphological categories are usually expected to be symmetric and to wield control on the same range of items. In other words, we might expect the domain of every single number category to equal the others'. The idea of paradigms being balanced and evenly distributed in their inner organization is the legacy of old trends of prescriptive grammar: we already saw how the domain of the dual in the *n*-stem is by no means comparable to the one of the athematic stem. Accordingly, number categories are liable to wield different ranges of functions in different domains. A second example seems relevant to this point: in a system which owns a dual number, alongside of a singular and a plural, the domain of the dual will plausibly cover only instances affecting two items⁶¹⁰, which will be reasonably less than cases involving a plurality of items or even a single one. A system allowing a singular, a dual and a plural would hence not be symmetric: still, this disposition does not affect nor denies the balance of the system itself⁶¹¹.

As number values are intertwined among themselves, the domain of a number value does not only define the number itself, it affects the system as a

⁶⁰⁹ «The paucal is used to refer to a small number of distinct word entities. It is similar to the English quantifier 'a few' in meaning» (Corbett 2000, 22). Even in systems in which number is definite, some categories may occasionally carry an indefinite value: in Italian "fare due passi" does not mean taking *two* exact steps, as well as "un paio di mele" (just as in English), especially if said by someone going on errands, does not need refer exactly to *two* apples. Such development is not common for the dual (and even in the above quoted examples it is only occasional), albeit uses of the kind are to be found in some domains, for example in a few Arabic dialects (cf. Blanc 1970, 45).

⁶¹⁰ There are 'exceptions' to this statement, insofar as the dual is used in certain systems as a minor number, whose function is to cover for a small number of items (say, 2 to 5; this peculiar function is otherwise referred as 'paucal': cf. Corbett 2000, 22-26).

⁶¹¹ «This hierarchy ranks singular above plural, and plural above dual. It expresses that singular forms are less marked than plurals, and plurals are less marked than duals. This means that if a language has a dual (that is, a word form with 2 as the value for the category number), it has also a plural, and if a language has a plural, it also has a singular. Hence, this hierarchy restricts the variation space of natural language: certain types of logically possible languages are excluded, such as a language with singular and dual only» (Booij 2007, 44).

whole: «in terms of category structure and the changes it experiences, no category stands alone. All categories are sewn up in a multi-textured fabric of relations to other categories and other levels of categorization. A change in a given category is necessarily influenced by and impacts upon the structure of many others» (Janda 2000, 75). A tricky case in this sense is represented by number paradigms differentiated «in a more subtle way, according to whether the use of particular values is ‘obligatory’ or ‘facultative’» (Corbett 2000, 43)⁶¹². If number marking rests upon a basic opposition singular <> plural, every further number value may theoretically be optional. As a consequence, obligatoriness affects the domain of that category no less than the others’⁶¹³.

Another simple example proves pertinent to this end: if we refer to the same model portrayed above, where we deal with a threefold number system (singular, dual, plural), we may encounter two situations: the dual number could be mandatory, as it was in Vedic and Classic Sanskrit⁶¹⁴, but it may also be facultative (cf. Greenberg 1966, 28; Corbett 2000, 42-44, 46f.)⁶¹⁵, as it is in fact the case of Slovene⁶¹⁶. In the first case, the coverage of the dual will narrow to ‘2’ items, while the plural will be in charge of ‘3’ to ‘many’ items. Yet if the dual is facultative, there will be a certain degree of overlap between the dual’s and plural’s coverage, as the

⁶¹² Facultativity seems to be working in inverse ratio to the Animacy Hierarchy (for which see par. 2.3); in a hierarchy of number features, the lower in the hierarchy, the more the chances for the feature to be facultative. In other words, in a conjunctural system owing a basic opposition singular <> plural, then a dual and then a trial, assuming that such system allows facultative number features, the trial will have more chances to be facultative – or rather will be facultative more frequently – than the dual (Corbett 2000, 47f.).

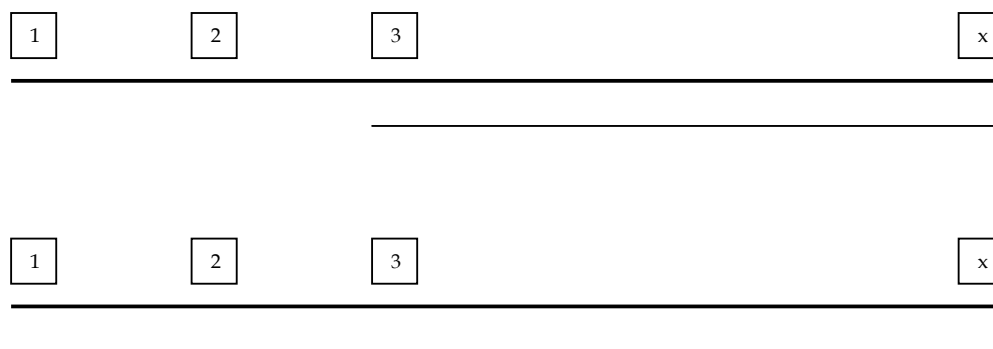
⁶¹³ «For many languages, expression of number on nouns is not obligatory» (Booij 2007, 126). Such languages usually have a general form for nouns which is unspecified as to number, and stands outside the number system: see *infra*. It is also admissible that a language marks number obligatorily, but only in certain morphological features: «for instance, it may be the case that in a certain language only personal pronouns (all three persons) and nouns denoting kinship relations are marked for number» (*ibid.*). Number expression may finally differ as to which features are liable to show overt number marking, usually at one with the Animacy Hierarchy prediction (see par. 2.3).

⁶¹⁴ In Sanskrit, «the dual number is in regular use and of strict application, the plural practically never referring to two objects» (MacDonell 1927, 180).

⁶¹⁵ In Slovene, dual marking in (semantically) natural duals, like ‘two eyes’, as well as in explicitly coupled elements, is perceived as redundant. Something similar may be spotted in Homer where, if the quantifier (δύω, δύο or ἄμφω) is expressed, the following noun is likely to appear in the plural.

⁶¹⁶ The dual is customary when two items are involved; yet, in presence of natural duals, dual marking usually occurs only if a quantifier (‘two’ or ‘both’) is expressed, as it seems to be the case in Ancient Greek: if the quantifier is omitted, the plural is prevalent (cf. Priestly 1993, 440f.; see also Tesnière 1925).

plural will be liable to cover for '2' to 'many' items (cf. Saussure 1916, 161; Corbett 2000, 20). This divergence may be displayed by the following illustration.



Let us assume that the two examples represent number options in two threefold languages (owing singular, dual, plural), whose first one has an obligatory system, while in the second one every feature may be optional. In both cases, the thicker line represents the whole domain of number, and the thinner line the coverage of the plural. It is fairly evident that the domain of the plural is wider in the second case than in the first, for here the plural may also fulfil functions which should be otherwise carried by the dual number.

In a nutshell, we can resume some ground parameters:

- (1) Number marking may be definite or not;
- (2) Number marking may be facultative (*i.e.* it does not need be applied to all morphologically available items);
- (3) Number marking does not need be symmetric (*i.e.* the domain of every number feature may be different from the others’);
- (4) Number marking in a category affects the others (*i.e.* number features are intertwined , as their coverage is co-dependent).

So much as regards negative assumptions. If we move on to positive assessments, there are some universal⁶¹⁷ inferences which prove to be valid

⁶¹⁷ The term is here employed according to a typological perspective: (implicational) ‘universal’ is hence every assessment which proved to be true so far within the broadest possible range of languages. The term does not hereby bear any inferential control: a universal is true as long as it is

cross-linguistically on number systems. First of all, the most important aspect of number marking is that it works by means of counteractions, every value resting on basic oppositions. We saw above how the domain of every number feature affects the domain of the others: a direct consequence of this is that no number feature is independent.

Indo-European languages rest on a basic opposition singular-plural⁶¹⁸. Additional categories, whenever appearing, necessarily depend on this basic polarity: as a consequence, every further feature will have to oppose to both the main characters of the basic polarity – that is, to both singular *and* plural. Hereby, if a dual number feature occurs in a system of this kind, it will need be opposed to the singular *and* the plural. Such assessment is of central importance: it implies in fact that the dual, in order to exist, needs be differentiated by both the singular and the plural. If the opposition to the singular is apparent, the dual marking more than one element, the opposition to the plural seems more tricky, yet it is crucial: the dual contrasts with the plural as it expresses two elements behaving like one. The original value of the dual number should then be recollected in the semantic value of a pair, a cell, a ‘twin’-set: a single item comprehensive of two limbs (see par. 2.2.2).

This is an extremely important utterance, often neglected: the genetic opposition of the dual to the plural is self-evident if we consider the distribution of some of the most common employments of the dual, such as natural duals. A peculiar case is represented by the homeric form ὄσσε⁶¹⁹. Meaningfully enough, in three occurrences ὄσσε agrees with a singular verb. This could of course be a case of gender outranking number, as ὄσσε is a neuter, and may be behaving as a collective:

validated via pragmatic substantiation, being induced by the sole existing data. Wherever any counterproof arises, the universal ceases to be valid.

⁶¹⁸ The singular-plural opposition is the primary one, on which almost every system is built. Even though cross-linguistically widespread, this setting is not the only possible one. Another well-attested system envisages a so-called ‘general number’, where a separate form lacking number expression opposes to all other number features respectively: a language of this sort is for instance (Classic) Arabic, which provides a set of opposition such as general number <> singular, general number <> dual, general number <> plural. Being unmarked, the general number may sometimes be exploited to express the singular itself. (Corbett 2000, 11-15).

⁶¹⁹ With its 57_x appearances in the poems (33_x of which in formulaic diction) ὄσσε is the most frequently attested dual form in the poem, and, like clockwork, it is obscure. The issue has been addressed already (see par. 1.2): what seems relevant here is only that, whichever its formation, ὄσσε is ‘in disguise’, as its ending reminds of the athematic stem – and this is likely to represent one of the reasons of its survival: namely, its markedness.

nevertheless, for the scope of this investigation, be the agreement the result of a singulative rather than a collective usage, it still proves that the form had been perceived as a sole item⁶²⁰.

If we apply this inference to the theoretical framework stressed earlier, it is plain to see how morphological constructions are constrained both by their internal relevance and by the external pressure of counterbalancing categories. In the case of the dual, in order to remain functional the category has to maintain this binary opposition to both the singular and the plural: as soon as one of the two, namely the one with the plural, starts to get lost, the integrity of the feature is no more safe. In other words: the dual number genetically rests on a twofold opposition; any impairment to this balance is liable to determine a loss in function, which in turn may trigger shrinkage in the inner organization of the feature.

Not only all number features in a system are intertwined: they also are hierarchically disposed. So, no plural may exist without a singular, no dual without a plural, and so on. In particular, as regards the dual, Greenberg's universal 64 (1963, 94) proves prime: «no language has a trial number unless it has a dual. No language has a dual number unless it has a plural». As a consequence, the dual is more marked than the plural, which is, in turn, more marked than the singular. The outcoming hierarchy results as follows:

Singular > Plural > Dual⁶²¹

It ought to be asked how to merge the hierarchy hereby stated with the possibility of facultativeness. Cross-linguistically, facultativity tends to concentrate on 'the last choice' – *i.e.* the more marked. In other words, optional numbers are less constrained and more keen toward flexibility. It seems hence possible to reach at least one assessment, namely that "if there is facultative number, it must involve the

⁶²⁰ There is, of course, another alluring explanation: Diver, in 1987, purposed that ὄσσε's peculiar demeanour is son of a misunderstanding, in which the form is by no means a natural dual, meaning instead 'mirror of the soul': everything makes sense now, and we all feel relieved.

⁶²¹ «This is true in three senses: in the sense of Greenberg's claim, that more languages have plurals than have duals; also in the sense that for languages which have both, speakers use the plural more frequently than the dual, and they also use the singular more frequently than the plural; and third, for languages which have both values, there will be as many or more nouns with the plural as compared to the dual» (Corbett 2000, 39).

last choice” – in our case, the dual. This is consistent with the definition itself of facultativity in number marking: «facultative number is found where marking of number is required, but not all number distinctions are obligatory» (Corbett 2000, 48). Nothing excepts for a system, like Ancient Greek seems to have been, to present equipped with a major split between the two most widespread numbers singular and plural, and then a further option, the dual, which will eagerly be bound and determined in its domain, depending on both the major ones and being inherently facultative.

Facultativity may, and generally is, constrained by the number hierarchy. Yet another aspect seems to be one of the party: namely, there seems to be some interrelation between facultativity and definiteness too. We just saw as, in number systems based on a basic opposition singular <> plural, accessory number features may be available and not necessarily be used – they may, in other words, be optional. Fanciful numbers like dual, trial, etc. *may* here be facultative, as less marked. Dependent numbers like the dual are then liable to be expressed only when salient, provided that, if number is marked, it has to be the appropriate one: so, you can decide not to mark the dual, but if you do, it has to be employed specifically for two items. In other words, definiteness overcomes – or rather constrains – facultativity, for optionality ends where number values cease to be correct⁶²².

In conclusion, it is possible to outline some general assessment relative to the dual number:

- (5) Number marking is based on basic oppositions (*i.e.*, singular *vs.* plural);
- (6) In number systems based on the main polarity singular <> plural, accessory number categories will oppose to both the entities of the basic polarity (*i.e.* dual \neq singular \wedge dual \neq plural);

⁶²² Such inference is of paramount importance, as we will see in regards of some Homeric textual problems: number has to be appropriate, and consistent. As for what is meant by ‘consistence’, only grammar is entitled to answer. According to grammar, then, mismatches in agreement should not bother us, for they are inbred to the system; discrepancies in number, as duals used to define five people, should. Facultativity secures the pertinence of plurals even where semantically a dual would fit; yet the accuracy of number values rests intact, for definiteness grants for semantic consistence. In other words, facultativity redeems (alleged) syntactic mismatches, while definiteness preserves semantic consistence.

- (7) If a number feature loses one of its opposition (*i.e.* dual <> plural), functional loss, hence defectivism and internal shrinkage, are likely to occur;
- (8) In *definite* number system based on a basic opposition singular <> plural, accessory number categories may be facultative;
- (9) If number marking in the accessory categories is applied, it must be the appropriate one (*i.e.* accessory facultative categories, when applied, must be definite).

If we roughly accommodate this theoretical framework to the situation displayed by Greek, some direct implications arise. According to (4)-(7), the Greek dual is determined and constrained by its opposition to both singular and plural. As a consequence, it rests alive and functional as long as these polarities (dual \neq singular \wedge dual \neq plural) stay alive and functional.

We observe that in Ancient Greek the plural is liable to be used for two items, due to countervailing circumstances; besides, the dual, if applied, should refer *exactly* to two items. Consequently, the Greek dual appears to be a definite (1) and facultative (2) number. Its chief function is defined by its opposition to the plural (6), which compels for the dual to imply a pair, a twinned cell.

Since every category is intertwined with the others (4), a shift in uses and function in the plural may affect uses and functions of the dual, and *vice versa*; correspondingly, the domain of the Greek plural has been liable to overlap the domain of the dual in every stage of the language (4).

As far as anomalies are concerned, we saw how agreement is not the litmus test to make inferences on the consistency of the category. Clashes between dual and plural shall not be seen as thorny, for they are inbred to the system; number features which are subordinate to the basic polarity do not need be systematic, nor develop full-blown agreement when occurring. This inference allows facultativity as a legit trait to the dual, for the category is a secondary and optional one, whose functions are constrained⁶²³.

⁶²³ We already portrayed the morphological asset of the Greek dual, characterized by suppletion and leaning to an increasing degree of paradigmaticization by means of analogical processes. As far as syntax is concerned, we can again observe intermittent resort to the feature, confirming that the status

As a consequence, mismatches in agreement should not bother us. Mismatches in definiteness – as duals used to define five people (see *e.g.* *Il.* IX 168-192 and par. 3.0) – on the contrary, should: in a determinate system, as Ancient Greek proves to be, number shall be definite (1) and, accordingly, correct.

On a broader perspective, since typology validates the possibility for the Greek dual to have been genetically facultative, relevance and constraints to the category must be sought in functions. It is an educated assumption to maintain that the original valence of the dual was in fact to express parity, standing in opposition both to the singular and to the plural: the high percentages of natural duals, and the existence of a category like the inclusive dual, provide evidence for this assumption. As long as the polarities underlying the category rest dependable, the integrity of it is preserved; as soon as the opposition ceases to be functional, loss in functions occur, as we will see in more detail further on.

2.2.1 A Typology of the dual.

Treading the same path as Humboldt's, yet provided with the toolkit of modern typology, Plank (1989) attempted, in a very accurate and comprehensive article, to set a typology of the dual number across languages. His starting point is Humboldt's own enquiry, which Plank regards as unequalled⁶²⁴. «Humboldt's

of the dual is that of a minor number, liable to be applied but not mandatory. The sphere of interest of the dual does not extend to all semantically inherent items – which is, every group of two items – but only to context-induced genetically-related pairs – which is, coupled items whose bond is relevant, and needs be expressed: «from a typological perspective, number can be divided into optional and obligatory. Many languages have optional number – the speaker uses a particular number only if number is salient» (Corbett 1994, 203). A meaningful example is represented nowadays by a handful of Slavonic dialects: «in Slavonic, the plural number is obligatory [...] however, the Slovene dual is optional: the speaker is not forced to use the dual to refer to two items (Priestly 1993, 440f.). A somewhat similar situation exists in Sorbian; in some Sorbian dialects the plural replaces the dual to a greater or lesser extent (Stone 1993, 614)» (*ibid.*).

⁶²⁴ Such enthusiasm is under some respects difficult to enjoy: Humboldt's study, although admirable, is a descriptive digest lacking any intent of theoretical generalisation. The only limit of Plank's research rests precisely in this shared approach: in his consideration of a wide range of languages, Plank deals with similarities and differences as they are all equally weighing and potentially interrelated. There are a few diachronic leniencies, and practically no individual argumentation: all languages, and data from them, are treated as equipollent, equally meaningful and potentially related – which is not of course necessarily the case. Stratification, internal reassessment and low-scale processes (such as analogy, syncretism, archaisms, etc.) may produce deceptive 'anomalies'.

fundamental insight is that the dual is not a universally uniform category, and to this conclusion he is led by a priori reasoning as well as by empirical analysis [...]. To Humboldt it was self-evident that the different extensions of the dual brought to light by empirical observation were not arbitrary formal patterns. To him the crucial differences between languages were a matter of different *Auffassungen der grammatischen Formen nach ihrem Begriff*» (Plank 1989, 296, 312).

Resting on Humboldt's classificatory criteria, Plank draws up a cross-linguistical typology of the dual number, in order to infer some implicational universals. Taking into account virtues and restrictions inherent to the typological method itself, his approach will be hereby undertaken and followed step by step, so as to detect generalities and constraints to the feature.

A preliminary classification might be effected in relation to the morphological categories which exhibit such number feature⁶²⁵. In this respects, the first implicational universal Plank deals with is the following:

- (1) "If the dual extends to nouns, it also extends to personal pronouns".

This does not surprise, for it has already been stated that the pronoun usually holds preminence over the noun. Plank argues that there are languages which infringe such statement – as an instance, the Semitic family, many dialects of which show a residual dual restricted to nouns of body parts (natural duals)⁶²⁶. We clash here against one of the major limitations of typology, namely its focus on synchronic evidence. Internal reconstruction assures in fact that the Semitic group

Furthermore, not all values bear the same influence or domain: it is hence important to our purpose to dampen stances too strict in order to produce a consistent, complex and realistic picture.

⁶²⁵ Humboldt split them into: a) languages with dual in the pronoun; b) languages with dual in the noun; c) languages with a dual not limited to these two values. As many have shown (Cuny 1906, 2; Gray 1939, 181; Plank 1989, 297) such distinction is a merely theoretical one; there is no cross-linguistic evidence for a dual being attested in the noun while absent in the pronoun. As we will see, there are hierarchies which condition the spread of a feature within a language system.

⁶²⁶ The situation is quite varied within the Semitic domain: we can cite Akkadian, Eblaite, Old North Arabian, Old South Arabian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew alongside Classical Arabic as old–indeed, older–Semitic languages in which the dual is a living category. «In Phoenician and Punic, and the modern Arabic dialects, it is true, the dual survives sporadically, and only in nouns; it is vestigial also in Aramaic and not attested in Ge'ez» (Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 104 n.8).

owned a dual in pronominal and verbal category as well⁶²⁷; as the feature started to get lost, scarce relics survived in a restricted yet very conservative area, as natural duals prove to be⁶²⁸. The situation displayed by Hebrew is peculiar in this respect, and warns against too shallow generalisations. As forementioned, in Hebrew the dual is limited to some natural 'duals' and to some biblical constructions, attested in spoken language, in which the original dual value have been superseded by a chiefly 'paucal' value. Such forms present with an adverbial feminine suffix *-(a)t* followed by the dual morpheme *-ayim*, expressing emphasis or iteration⁶²⁹:

<i>rikmatayim</i> (Judges 5,30)	<i>atsaltayim</i> (Ecclesiastes 10,18)	<i>arba'atayim</i>	<i>shivatayim</i> (Genesis 4,15, 4,24)	<i>rish'atayim</i> (Judges 3,8)	<i>hamor-hamoratayim</i> (Judges 15,16)
(bedmate)	(lazy)	(four)	(seven)	(cruel)	(heap)
«one or two bedmates»	«extremely idly»	«many a time» ⁶³⁰	«many a time»	«twice as cruel»	«heaps upon heaps»

⁶²⁷ «The dual was marked by a set of endings attached to the singular base of the noun following the feminine marker if one was present. The evidence of Old Akkadian, Ugaritic, Sayhadic and Arabic indicates that the dual was regularly employed to indicate 'two' of anything. In later Akkadian, in Hebrew and in early Aramaic the use of the dual came to be restricted to words for naturally occurring pairs of objects and certain time words. In later Aramaic, in Ethiopic and in some of the Mahrian languages the use of the dual has become obsolescent or has been lost entirely» (Fontinoy 1969, 13). In Classical Arabic the dual is in the verb limited to 2nd and 3rd person (and 3rd person only in southern Arabic dialects; cf. Plank 1989, 306). The dual is attested is nevertheless attested in pronouns, nouns and adjectives, with obligatory alignment to noun agreement. In the pronoun, the dual was available to 1st and 2nd person only, according to the Animacy Hierarchy: a correlation between this distribution and the persistence of natural duals has been sketched by Plank (1989, 311f.).

⁶²⁸ This is a very common development, representing «a transitional stage between the unlimited use of the dual, as in Proto-Semitic, and its eventual loss. Analogous intermediate stages with a purely nominal dual are also attested in Indo-European, viz. in Irish and possibly Polish and elsewhere in earlier phases of Slavonic (Tesnière 1925)» (Plank 1989, 297).

⁶²⁹ Data from Tobin (2000, 89-91): «the number of dictionary entries of nouns which appear in the dual (i.e., for which the dual is their only 'accepted' plural) is severely limited (ca. 140)». This peculiar employ highlights an emphatic value for the feature, by then regarded as a 'minor number': «le duel, comme le pluriel, peut comporter une idée emphatique, ou augmentative» (Fontinoy 1969, 17). Such specialisation is a specific innovation of the Semitic family.

⁶³⁰ Aside of this *duel augmentative* it is said (Fontinoy 1969, 18) to have existed in Hebrew a *duel diminutif* too: «dans Num. 9:22, le duel *yômayim*, 'deux jours', est interprété comme l'expression d'une petite quantité. Il existe donc un duel diminutif». Fontinoy (*ibid.*) also spots a *duel dépréciatif*: «dans Prov. 28:6, on nous parle avec mépris de l'homme 'tortueux par rapport à deux chemins'». Yet the scholar belonged to an anomalist trend, which rooted back in Meillet's and Cuny's interests: a hereditary taint of his rests in an excessive hunger for abnormalities and 'exceptions'. In this case, the pejorative shade is given by the context rather than by the function underlying the form: besides, a unique occurrence does not seem proof enough to classify a whole type.

As it appears, these forms are no longer duals, being affected by regrammaticalisation (reanalysis). It would then be incorrect to desume any inference on the universal value of the dual using them as evidence. The dual has in contemporary Hebrew, as well as in the most part of Semitic dialects, been refunctionalised or lost in some categories. The presence of a dual in nouns only is thus comparatively unstable diachronically: this situation does not therefore infringe our universal, although synchronic evidence seems to contradict it⁶³¹. We can arguably perfect our statement by observing that “if the dual extends to nouns, it also extends, *or has historically extended*, to pronouns”.

Hence pronouns display a certain degree of priority in respect of nouns, which are in turn favoured with respect to other categories, by them controlled. Subsequently, a second universal may be formulated as follows:

- (2) “If the dual extends to non-pronominal agreement forms, it also extends to both personal pronouns and nouns”⁶³².

More specifically, we can enhance a distinct preminence of pronoun over any other morphological feature:

- (3) “If a dual is differentiated for any form of non-pronominal agreement features, there will also be a dual in pronouns”⁶³³.

⁶³¹ In his taxonomy of the dual in languages across the world, Humboldt himself included the Indo-European and Semitic languages among those which exhibit the dual feature in every inflectional class, on the grounds that the dual had historically been pervasive and appeared in all sentence structures which could possibly accommodate it. «Since he aimed at a taxonomy of dual extensions as complete as was feasible, it was of course inconsistent for him to classify certain languages by particular stages of their development, viz. the earliest one reconstructible» (Plank 1989, 300).

⁶³² In this respect, Plank (1989, 299f.) again remarks that Gothic shows a dual in the 1st and 2nd verbal dual person, whereas it is absent in the noun (the same situation is controversially adduced for North Semitic Akkadian): a more neutral phrasing should hence be “if the dual extends to non-pronominal agreement forms, it also, with more than chance frequency, extends to personal pronouns”. Yet we know that if it possible to reconstruct a dual in Proto Indo-European, noun endings are the most favoured categories. The alleged inconsistency is once again a matter of perspective – synchronic rather than diachronic – and does not deny the validity of the universal.

⁶³³ Plank’s more cautious formulation relates with persons only: «if a dual, or any other number, is differentiated for a particular person of non-pronominal agreement forms, there will also be a dual, or other number, for this person in pronouns» (1989, 307). Plank’s assessment is confirmed by the

This assumption seems fairly evident, given the reliance of clause agreement on pronouns. There is nonetheless a degree of divarication within pronominal categories as well, as cross-linguistic evidence shows that persons are not evenly represented. It has been widely explored how persons in pronoun are not equal in power: the 1st person is overriding the 2nd, which is in turn overriding the 3rd. As a consequence, another universal ensues:

- (4) “If the 3rd person differentiates a dual, so does the 2nd. If both 3rd and 2nd persons differentiate a dual, so does the 1st (but not *vice versa*)”.

The first assessment of this implicational universal seems more reliable than the second. «Restrictions of the dual to the 1st and 2nd person are attested in Gothic, in the other older Germanic languages, in Slovenian at one point of its history [...]. Restrictions of the pronominal dual to the 2nd and the 3rd person, a comparatively rare pattern, are in effect in Classical Arabic, in Aleut, and possibly at some stage of the development of Ancient Greek (where the 1st person apparently was the first victim, followed by the 2nd, as the dual was lost)» (Plank 1989, 303). Despite the last inference being hardly sustainable, it is nevertheless true that the 1st person proves weak in Ancient Greek, as shown by verbal endings. It has already been remarked how the reason of this absence can rely in a bundle of conjoined factors: if the power of pronouns is chiefly deictic, then 1st person pronouns should theoretically be the less marked, being in fact the closer to the subject: every utter specification on number or gender could be redundant. As a matter of fact, we saw how gender specifications in the pronoun normally arise in the 3rd person – the farther from the speaker.

The typology of pronominal duals reveals then more complicated than it appears. It must here be once again remarked that the pronominal domain is the

number inflection of verbs displayed by Greek. Yet the validity of the preminence of pronouns extends beyond the concept of ‘person’, investing all other inflectional categories (adjective, participle, verb, etc.). Moreover, our focus is on morphological categories, and the way in which they interact.

least symmetric and more conservative within a language: «thus, in spite of some overlap, the correspondance between dual and other number regularities is far from perfect in the domain of personal pronouns» (Plank 1989, 306). It may still be safely stated that there is a clash between the control of the 1st person, naturally more animate and closer to the speaker, and the 3rd person, farther and less determined, and precisely for this reason more in need of further specifications. Cross-linguistically, the 1st person retains nonetheless a slight priority over the 3rd within pronominal categories, as closeness to the speaker seems prevailing; the universal shall hence be implemented as follows:

- (5) “If only one person differentiates a dual, it will very likely be the 1st rather than the 2nd or the 3rd”.

As far as the verb is concerned, the situation proves quite varied as well⁶³⁴. It appears that number marking shows a tendency to be less differentiated with (non-pronominal) agreeing than with agreed-with forms. On these grounds, Plank (1989, 307f.) parallels all non-pronominal agreeing categories, searching for blends in the behaviour of verbs, adjectives and pronouns. He does conclude that it is not possible to trace any regular interdependency; there are nevertheless three important patterns of alignment, which may be sketched as follows:

- (6) “The dual does not extend to noun-phrase-external agreement unless it extends to personal pronouns”.
- (7) “The dual does not extend to non-pronominal noun-phrase-internal agreement unless it extends to noun”.

⁶³⁴ Due also to the different role of verbal features: «broadly speaking, number is of two types: nominal number quantifies individuals, while verbal number quantifies events» (Corbett 1994, 202). Only within the Indo-European domain, and considering the eldest situation attested in every single language, the dual is in verbal inflection restricted to: 1st and 2nd person in Lithuanian; 1st and 3rd in some verb paradigms of Avestan; 2nd and 3rd in Ancient Greek and Slovenian. Yet it is possible to reconstruct all three persons in PIE. It is apparent that defectivism and individual loss make it impossible to make any (synchronic) universal inference.

- (8) “In noun-phrase internal agreement, if adjectives inflect for the dual, so do demonstratives”.

That is to say, pronoun has a preminent role within the sentence: hence, if the dual is not allowed within pronominal features, it will not be allowed in any other inflectional class. Secondly, the noun has control over noun-phrase internal agreement: clearly no element within noun phrases will be allowed a dual feature if the noun is not.

Finally, the universal (8) asserts the preminence of adjectives over other pronouns. This picture is consistent with the situation displayed by Greek: demonstrative pronouns are far more attested in the Attic theatre⁶³⁵ than in the Homeric poetry⁶³⁶, whereas adjectives are to be found, in all stems and cases – despite the neat majority of direct cases over oblique ones – in Homeric poems already.

Let us now focus on noun. As it will be more and more evident, every number value is strictly dependent on the system it belongs: its domain is constrained on the one hand by its relation with other values in the system, and on the other hand by its semantic value. The domain of the dual is hence dependent on the relation it partakes with singular and plural – and other number values, were they to appear – and on its semantic pertinence. As for the latter aspect, the dual entertains a special relation with naturally coupled items: it will hence be predictable to find it chiefly in presence of twinned or genetically bond pairings⁶³⁷.

⁶³⁵ 36_x in total, with a distinctively high pitch in Sophocles, immediately followed by Aristophanes: 3_x Aesch. (1_x τῶδε, 2_x τοῖνδε), 18_x Soph. (1_x ἐκείνω, 1_x ἐκείνοι, 1_x κείνοι, 1_x τοιῶδε, 6_x τῶδε, 3_x τοῖνδε, 1_x τούτω, 4_x τούτοι), 4_x Eur. (2_x τῶδε, 2_x τοῖνδε); in Old Comedy, 11_x Ar. (2_x ἐκείνω, 1_x τῶδί, 4_x τῶδε, 1_x τοῖνδε, 1_x τούτω, 2_x τούτοι)

⁶³⁶ 10_x *Il.* (1_x κείνω, 2_x τοῖω, 1_x τοιῶδε, 4_x τούτω, 2_x τῶδε), 3_x *Od.* (1_x κείνω, 1_x τούτω, 1_x τῶδε). It is to be remarked that all the forms appear in Homer in direct cases, according to the general tendency of the poems toward preserving the dual better in direct cases of nominal inflectional classes.

⁶³⁷ Such approach has been defended by Fritz (2003, 191) too, resting on disputable morphological arguments: «in the case of the terms for paired body parts duality is lexically founded. To these terms for body parts was added a particular suffix, that probably did not initially have the meaning ‘pair’, which of course was already provided in the terms for paired body parts. Instead, this meaning would perform a deictic function, emphasizing the *inalienability* of the body parts. While inalienability is a property of all body parts, since most body parts are present in pairs, a reinterpretation of the suffix from an indication of inalienability to one of a paired quality could take

«In the nominal domain the dual may also be choosy. In addition to languages where either all nouns or no nouns have a dual, there are those where only some nouns have, or are most likely to avail themselves of, this category. According to Humboldt, if only some nouns have a dual, it will always be those denoting ‘objects which in nature occur in pairs’. Such natural pairs are for example the twin body-parts and sense-organs [...], couples of beings of opposite sex (animals, humans, deities), opposites in terms of kin relations, the twin constituent parts of various artifacts» (Plank 1989, 308).

Such assumption may hereby be formulated as:

- (9) “If in any language some nouns are eligible for dual marking while others are not, the criterion is whether or not they denote natural pairs”.

This statement appears problematic under some respects. First of all, this is a diachronically-conditioned inference: languages which exhibit a dual feature restricted to natural duals have reasonably known a more widespread nominal dual in former stages. Moreover, this assumption relies on strictly semantic grounds: to accept it, we have to assume that natural duals occupy, in a dual-based hierarchy, a preminent position, insofar as they fulfil the chief potentials of the dual number. This assumption seems agreeable, being nevertheless a rather theoretical one; we will explore it in more depth in par. 2.3.

On the other hand, Ancient Greek offers a striking sample in this respect. Natural duals are attested but not exclusive, and, most of all, not uniformly represented: alongside of extremely common forms such as Homeric $\chi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\rho\epsilon$ and Attic $\chi\epsilon\rho\tilde{\omega}\tilde{\iota}\nu$, other body parts (knees, ears, etc.) are utterly neglected. In some cases, as it was with pronouns, redundancy might play a role. Naturally coupled items, such as eyes and ears, are in fact meant as a pair up to the extent that they could need not be defined by means of any utter morphological specification. «Natural-pair nouns,

place. The symbol PIE **-i* is a stem suffix for terms for body parts. Since the dual meaning is also contained in the dual forms of personal pronouns, which are indicated by PIE **-h₁*, this clear indicator is transferred to body parts, where, combined with the existing suffix, it continues to serve as a stem suffix. This is primarily caused by the fact that further cases are formed, based on the nominative/accusative type, and that several of the concerned body parts terms retain the stem element as such yet in the individual IE language».

destined to be the first to receive dual marking if the salience of an experiential and cognitive category has the casting vote, should be the class offering more resistance to the grammaticisation of the dual if the prime objective is to avoid redundancy» (Plank 1989, 322). This is the case of many languages, in which the expression of the dual is avoided precisely where its semantic value is, so to say, 'sufficient'⁶³⁸. Redundancy is not a measurable concept, nor does it display the same assessment cross-linguistically. In morphology redundancy is a basic process of agreement: by means of redundancy different classes comply with one another and entangle. The evaluation of redundancy in syntax may be quite differentiated from domain to domain: it may be encouraged, as it may well be avoided, due to semantic superstructures such as urge to simplification, stylistic fashion or variation.

To sum up, the expression of the dual in noun may be extensive or selective, and in the second case it will arguably be sensible to natural duals – by preference or exclusion. The noun's and the pronoun's domains do not interfere, being not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, we appreciate a certain degree of merge between the two, especially in inflectional classes. Resting on this fact, Plank (1989, 310f.) attempts to analyze paths and patterns of '*rendez-vous*' between the two domains, in order to effect some predictions.

His first inference is nevertheless curious. Trying to link 3rd pronominal person and nominal domain, he asserts that «if the pronominal dual does not extend to the 3rd person, there very likely is no nominal dual at all, or, if there is one, it is restricted» and, as a completion to the preceding, «if the extension of the pronominal dual is limited and includes the 3rd person, all nouns or at least some of them (from the permissible classes) have a dual». Such a statement seems a bit vague, not to say irrational; besides, no tentative explanation for such description is provided, nurturing the impression that this pattern, if even reliable, is quite

⁶³⁸ «There are languages which limit their nominal dual precisely to nouns other than those denoting natural pairs, among them Greenlandic Eskimo (before the dual became obsolete) [...]. Since the singular form of a number of natural-pair nouns in various varieties of Eskimo in fact seem to be fossilised duals, and since the nominal dual applies to all nouns in Yup'ik [a Greenlandic dialect], Eskimo appears to be another (sub-)family where the sphere of nominal dual has shrunk, with the distinction between natural-pair and other nouns serving as the demarcation line. In Ancient Greek [...], the dual, precariously holding out against the plural, found significantly less favor than with other nouns (Cuny 1906, 362, 496, 507; Meillet 1922; Diver 1987). Here the nouns denoting prototypical dyad, parents (τοῦτεῖς, γονεῖς), shun the dual completely» (Plank 1989, 309).

randomly subsumed. True enough, the 3rd pronominal person is the farther from the speaker, and it is not that distant from a nominal apposition: for instance, in a clause like “he, Achilles, my son”, the three forms proceed from the most to the less determinate and close to the speaker: “he” is allegedly someone who is close enough to be pointed at, whereas the proper name individuates a single and sole person, not necessarily present nor close: the kin noun, finally, even though not as specific as the proper name is, designates someone who is unmistakably identifiable. Yet, from a purely semantic perspective, the three forms could in the sentence be referred to the very same person – who happens to be him, *and Achilles, and my son*.

The example shows that semantics is a potent constraint, which can easily be deceptive. Plank believes that the 3rd person plays a key-role in linking the nominal and the pronominal domains of dual marking: «it is as if the 3rd person provides the foothold that enables the nominal dual to enter the pronominal domain, and, if not dual-worthy itself, acts as a barrier preventing the pronominal dual from spreading to the nominal domain. Formally, of course, the 3rd person is also transitional between genuine personal pronouns and nouns, being represented by demonstratives in what could well be the majority of languages» (1989, 311). Such a position might well be acceptable in a purely theoretical linguistical perspective, but appears problematic if projected onto generalisations. The connection, if existent, is nor pervasive nor formally assured (the 3rd person being well accommodated into the hierarchy of the pronoun); the semantic motivation determining this alleged link has not been satisfactorily explained either.

A slight anticipation is hereon required. As it will be seen in par. 2.3, one of the most reliable predictive notions of typology is the so-called Animacy Hierarchy, according to which, roughly, the more an item is animate, the wider range of optional features it will be provided with. A standard hierarchy should then encompass the following scale:

Pronoun (1st > 2nd > 3rd) > kin human > non-kin human > non-human animate > inanimate noun

The Animacy Hierarchy is of course consistent with Plank’s attempt to link 3rd person and nominal domain: as in my above-proposed example, the 3rd person is the less animate of pronominal persons, whereas proper names are the more

animate of nouns⁶³⁹. The clause “he, Achilles, my son” proceeds from more to less determinate, but also from more to less animate: nonetheless, the three involved referents are semantically equivalent, being in fact liable to refer to the same individual.

Plank provides his theory with the contribution offered by the Animacy Hierarchy: in his consideration, natural duals are the more animate among nominal duals, as well as 1st and 2nd pronominal persons – speaker and addressee, a prototypical natural dyad – are more animate than the 3rd person⁶⁴⁰. This implication is of extreme interest: natural duals are not, by nature, more animate than, for example, a dual describing a couple of individuals – quite the contrary instead. Yet their preminence is due to the specificity of the dual feature, which by nature relates with genetically coupled items. The favour accorded by the dual value to natural duals is a critical inference, which will prove extremely relevant throughout the next chapters. It may be sketched as follows:

- (10) “If the dual is subject to Animacy constraints, then natural duals are to be considered more animate than other nominal duals”.

⁶³⁹ We assume here, and discuss later on (par. 2.3), that proper names are to be paralled with kin names, insofar as they discriminate distinct individuals. The peculiar determination of proper names is apparent in their distaste toward numbers other than the singular: in this sense they appear to be even more animate than kin names, for we could have two brothers, but we will plausibly have just one Achilles. It is nevertheless true that we do still have two Ajaxes, Αἶαντες. The problem will be discussed in par. 2.5.

⁶⁴⁰ He then proceeds (1989, 311) trying to link the preminent position granted to this pronominal dyad, composed by 1st and 2nd persons, to the preminent position allegedly held by natural duals: «if the nominal dual is restricted to natural pairs, the likeliest pronominal dual is that of the 1st and perhaps 2nd person», and «if the nominal dual is restricted in terms of animacy, the likeliest pronominal duals are those of 1st and 2nd person». It is debatable whether the action of the Animacy Hierarchy, meant as focus on ‘the more animate’ both in pronouns and nouns, should lead to any kind of parallelism between the two domain: it is in fact unclear, once again, how (and why) 1st and 2nd personal pronouns should be more strictly related to natural duals instead of to the 3rd person, as it would be obvious. In the attempt to find suitable patterns of prediction, Plank sometimes undertakes the risk of formulating statements which may result quite mechanical, if not even lumbering. On a methodological perspective, typology proves helpful as long as its assertions are transparent, and consistent with generally recognised patterns of development. Implicational universals might easily be falsified, and a sole contrary occurrence could harm the building, if they are not sustained by strong theoretical generalisation. Although empirically forged, hence, such universals need to be theoretically motivated.

A further argument supports the priority assigned to natural duals in adopting the dual value. It has long been theorized that the basic function underlying the dual is a chiefly *ambal* one (see par. 2.2.2), the dual denoting a strictly bound couple; in fact, as we underlined, the dual is to oppose to the plural precisely because it denotes more than one item, yet acting as a single cell. This ‘singulative’ conception has time and again been challenged, proving nonetheless sensible and apparent in several manifestations of the category. If the basic function of the dual is to express parity – hence a ‘*paral*’, or ‘*ambal*’ function – it seems consequential for natural duals to be the most eligible field of application for the value⁶⁴¹.

Let us hence resume some conclusions by the implicational universals hereby traced. Cross-linguistical comparisons as well as typological notions such as the Animacy Hierarchy sustain a set of inferences relative to the category, namely that the pronoun overpowers the noun, which in turn conditions all elements in internal noun phrase agreement. In particular, natural duals behave as if they were the more animate items to which a dual would apply: their preminence is semantically induced, and affects the nominal class as a whole.

It is undeniable that, in the discrimination of categories bearing a dual, redundancy plays a role. It is nevertheless debatable whether it works as a restrictive force or rather as a propulsor. It seems that, far from indulging in generalisations, this force applies with varied effects depending on single language

⁶⁴¹ Plank discriminates between languages which own a dual with an ‘*ambal*’ conception and languages which have a ‘*duo-paucal*’ one – meaning that the dual works as a paucal, an undetermined and indefinite (small) number of items, not in necessary opposition to a polarity singular <> plural, as we saw in our general assumptions. In the first group, given the *ambal* conception, the dual will be more likely to present with coupled categories: the ‘*pronominal dyad*’ speaker and addressee (1st and 2nd person) in the pronoun, natural duals in the noun. In the second group, the dual will likely be extended to all number-inflecting pronouns and nouns; «if the dual extends to all number-inflecting nouns and pronouns, its conception will be that of a *duo-paucal* rather than of an *ambal*» (*ibid.* 317). Such a split seems not too justified, the line between the two conceptions being often blurred: in Ancient Greek it is not (anymore?) possible to isolate the *ambal* function from the others pertinent to the category. Since languages are flexible and polysemic, every value is liable to undertake more functions as long as they do not conflict among one another. The *paral* value may well have been the preminent function of the dual: this does not imply that there exist languages in which the dual applies to all and only genetically coupled items, in opposition to languages in which the category has only a quantifying meaning; the potential of the value seems far more complicated.

domains. General assessments on the dual value are hence possible: nevertheless, specific attitudes shall be conceived in every single language, as the category is interrelated with and unseparable by other features in the system.

2.2.2 Functions of the dual.

«The supposed *raison d'être* of the dual is functional» (Plank 1989, 319).

There is general agreement on the fact that the morphological feature of the dual has been originally designed to denote two homologous, or genetically related, items⁶⁴². «The ambal conception ties in well with dual notions» (Plank 1989, 316)⁶⁴³: it has been seen (par. 2.2.0) how this conception represents one of the most solid layers on which the dual opposes to the plural – as the two items in question (should) behave as a single cell⁶⁴⁴.

Less agreement is to be found on other functions pertaining to the category. In an eminent article (1927), Debrunner tried to sketch all the proprieties potentially available to the dual feature. The major virtue of this approach rests in the attempt to trace the functions underlying the category: since the *raison d'être* of the dual is functional, only by telling what is possible from what is not it will be reasonable to detect improper uses, modifications, new coinages and, eventually, interpolations⁶⁴⁵.

⁶⁴² «Der Dual wird gebraucht, um die Einheit zweier durch Natur oder Geschichte zusammengehöriger Wesen zu bezeichnen, also da wo wir unser beide anwenden können, z. B. *áśāu* ὄμω die beiden Schultern, *áśvāu* ἵππω die beiden Pferde, welche als Wagengespann zusammengehören, *aśvínāu* die beiden als ein Paar gedachten Götter, τὸ θεῶ» (Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* III/1 133).

⁶⁴³ «It is natural pairs and the speaker-addressee dyad (in a sense also a natural pair) which are particularly prone to give rise to it. The class of natural-pair nouns and pronouns of the 1st person, or 1st person inclusive where in contrast with an exclusive, accordingly should be most dual-worthy whenever the extension of such a dual is restricted» (*ibid.*).

⁶⁴⁴ «[This conception] has recently been challenged in the careful study of Fontinoy (1969) who concludes, not uncontroversially, though, that in Semitic the more specific ambal conception has evolved from more general duo-paucal origins» (*ibid.*) Unluckily, Fontinoy's contribution does not appear nowhere near as accurate as Plank's is: his enquiry, albeit rich in details and subcategorisations, is more interested in anomalies than generalisations. Fontinoy's conclusions are explicitly polemical against common assumptions on the functions of the dual – which do not necessarily need be false.

⁶⁴⁵ This approach proves for instance central in the debate about the Embassy of *Iliad* IX; although a range of perspectives is available to the well-read reader, some of them are definitely inadmissible,

Debrunner's analysis had the merit to rest on empirical grounds, being based on the evidence of the Indo-European languages and, chiefly, Ancient Greek. Nevertheless, this inductive premise also constitutes the limit of his enquiry: in order to account for all the existing occurrences of duals – even the debatable ones – he puts on the same level uses which are common and frequently witnessed, and uses which are scarcely attested in Greek – if not missing at all.

We will make a brief outline of his types, before delving into any further consideration.

- i. *Natural dual* (1×2), that is naturally coupled items, of the type τὸ ὄφρα λυμῶ⁶⁴⁶;
- ii. *Dual with '2'* (2×1), of the type ἄρνε δύο⁶⁴⁷;
- iii. *Elliptical dual*, with its two variants:
 - a) *Simple elliptical dual* ($2a = 1a + 1b$), e.g. Κάστορε (which does not refer to “2 Kastor(s)”, but rather to “1 Kastor plus 1 Polydeukes”);
 - b) *Elliptical dual with sylleptic member*⁶⁴⁸ ($2a + 1b = 1a + 1b$), e.g. ἀμφοῖν Πυθέα τε “both of you, with Pytho (= Apollo)” = “you both, you and Apollo”;
- iv. *Double dual*, which presents in two variants⁶⁴⁹:

for they imply functions which are not inherent to the Greek dual. So, it has been seen how the Greek dual is not compulsory, yet semantically relevant and, most of all, determinate: as a consequence, it must be employed for two, and two only, entities. It is debatable whether the dual may apply to two groups as well (Debrunner's category vii, see *infra*); in the whole Homeric poems only one occurrence is attested, namely at VIII 185f.: Ξάνθε τε καὶ σύ, Πόδαργε, καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπε τε δῖε / νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνετον. Yet, even if this type were allowed, we should nonetheless recall that the dual implies for the two items (or groups) to be homologous: we should hence assume that in the Embassy the two alleged (sub-)groups – referred to with a dual – were ‘homologous’. This is in no way possible, since we are dealing with five elements, an odd number, not liable to be splitted into two even groups. We must hence accept that the duals in the passage, as we have it, are inappropriate.

⁶⁴⁶ «Die Formel für den gewöhnlichsten Dualgebrauch der idg. Sprachen» (1927, 14); the formula is to be read as ‘1 form to define 2 items’.

⁶⁴⁷ The formula should mean that the numeral ‘2’ is used to mark an otherwise single (1) form.

⁶⁴⁸ The definition of ‘sylleptic dual’ is not Debrunner's (nor Delbrück's), but Corbett's; the second member (b), the one not named (but still included) in the inflectional dual (2a), is nevertheless specified as a later *addendum* (1b); see par. 2.5.

⁶⁴⁹ The distinction, as we will see (par. 2.5), is not only a formal one, representing instead a fundamental intuition. Many languages are provided with elliptical constructions to define two or

- a) *Asyndetic double dual* (2a + 2b = 1a + 1b), e.g. ved. *mitrā(du.)-várūnau(du.)* “(both) Mitra and (both) Varuna” = “Mitra and Varuna”;
- b) *Copulative double dual* (2a ‘and’ 2b = 1a and 1b), e.g. ved. *pitárā(du.) mātárā(du.) ca* “(both) father and (both) mother” = “father and mother”;
- v. *Distributive dual* ($x \times 2$), e.g. *Il. X 187*, ὡς τῶν νήδυμος ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρουιν ὀλώλει “thus sweet Sleep blew out on every pair of eyelids”⁶⁵⁰;
- vi. *Pseudo-distributive action* ($2 \times x$), e.g. *H. Hom. Ap. 456*, τίφθ’ οὕτως ἦσθον τετιήοτες; “why are you (pair by pair) so concerned?”⁶⁵¹;

more participants in a process: the resort to asyndetic constructions rather than associative/instrumental ones changes in turn the ways and functions of the constructions themselves.

⁶⁵⁰ Debrunner underlines that Ohler is wrong in treating as ‘distributive duals’ two occurrences of ἵπποι followed by a dual participle, as in *Il. XVI 370f.*, πολλοὶ δ’ ἐν τάφρῳ ἐρυσάραματες ὠκέες ἵπποι / ἄξαντ’ ἐν προώτῳ ῥυμῶ λίπον ἄρματ’ ἀνάκτων, or verb, as in *XVII 426-428*, ἵπποι δ’ Αἰακίδαο μάχης ἀπανεύθεν ἐόντες / κλαῖον, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτα πυθέσθην ἠνιοχοιο / ἐν κονίησι πεσόντος. In the first case the participle cannot, by any means, be in the dual, nor can it be referred to some otherwise unspecified couples of horses: it seems far more plausible that ἄξαντ(α) is instead a neuter, referring to all the horses with a collective value (Debrunner traces a possible precedent, which could have triggered a mismatch in the dual, in the case of *Il. VI 38-40*, ἵππῳ ... / ... ἀγκύλον ἄρμα / ἄξαντ(ε). As for the second case, if this were a distributive dual, we should assume that a distributive value is implied every time that a plural, or more singular, subjects are combined with a dual verb of motion (σχῆμα Ἀλκμανικόν, cf. Fraser 1910). This inference, although reasonable, seems unnecessary: we do not have any elements to decide whether the two subjects are in this case, as in many others, to be taken together or rather each one separately, for both functions are allowed by the Greek (historical) dual; moreover, we already noted how the cases in which non-dual subjects agree with a dual verb are themselves restricted.

⁶⁵¹ This category of Debrunner’s is highly debatable in Greek, for its only evidence would be constituted by three passages of the *Hymn to Apollo* (456, 487, 501) in which the dual is used to refer to a decidedly broader mass of people. The choice of building a whole type on these grounds seems arguable; the use of the dual in the context does not seem appropriate, representing more probably an ‘epicising trait’ applied by a later rhapsod in order to grant to his poetry a characteristic epic shape. So believes Debrunner too: «bei diesen eingesprengten Dualen plötzlich an die zwei Rudererreiben zu denken, ist gar keine Veranlassung, und dieser Gedanke zerfließt endgültig in nichts, wenn man sieht, daß die zwei ersten Stelle nur schlechte Abklatsche anderer Stellen sind: 456 stammt aus Δ 423 τίφθ’ οὕτως ἔστητε τετηπότες, „was steht ihr so verblüfft da?“. Da die Ruderer sitzen, mußte ἔστητε ersetzt werden, ἦσθε paßte aber schlecht ins Versmaß, so setzte der Dichter den Dual, dessen Bedeutung ihm seine (jonische) Umgangssprache nicht geben konnte, da sie ihn verloren hatte» (1927, 16).

- vii. *Dual for pairings* (2×2), e.g. *Il.* VIII 185f., Ξάνθε τε καὶ σύ, Πόδαργε, καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπε τε δῖε / νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνετον “Xanthus and you Podargus, and Aethon, and divine Lampus, now pay me back your attendance”;
- viii. ‘*Asymmetric dual*’ ($1 + x = 2$), e.g. *Il.* V 487, ἀλόντε “you and the other men”⁶⁵².

Among these types, only first, third and fifth are, according to Debrunner, originary⁶⁵³. The fourth appears to be later than the third, but still arguably ancient. The others correspond to – more or less appropriate – secondary extensions. It is quite easy to agree with such distinction. Types i and iii imply an ‘ambal’ conception of the dual; accordingly, the dual is employed to determine a cell behaving in harmony. Type v binds together two entities which, differently from types i and iii, act separately, and yet are meant as a unity. By distinguishing these three specific types, Debrunner is enhancing once again the basic value of the dual – which is, to express parity.

Still, it is apparent that some of his types are scarcely represented, if not dubious at all. We will hence try to treat them one by one, in order to highlight – or question – the necessity of every category.

- a. **Natural dual.** «Le duel naturel était originellement le plus répandu» (Vendryes 1952, 98). The natural dual is, across languages which own a dual feature, uniformly the best represented. This label applies to all items genetically paired and homologous: according to Brugmann and Delbrück (*Grundriß* II 2/1, 455-457; III/1, 135-137), it

⁶⁵² (Sarpedon, speaking to Hektor): τὴν δ’ ἔστηκας ἀτὰρ οὐδ’ ἄλλοισι κελεύεις / λαοῖσιν μενέμεν μαι ἀμυνέμεναι ὄρεσσι. / μή πως, ὡς ἀψῖσι λῖνοι’ ἀλόντε πανάργου ... (*Il.* V 485-487). Yet the interpretation of the dual as referred to ‘one’ and ‘many’, just as Debrunner’s type viii itself, seems questionable.

⁶⁵³ «Von den 8 Gruppen, die wir oben unterschieden haben, reichen die erste, dritte und fünfte sicher in die idg. Urzeit zurück, die vierte wohl wenigstens mit ihren Anfängen; die siebente ist nur ein Sonderfall der fünften oder ein Mittelding zwischen der ersten und fünften, ihre Möglichkeit also für die Ursprache gegeben. Die sechste und achte sind lediglich okkasionelle Erweiterungen oder Abzweigungen der Grundbedeutung des Duals, des Paarigen; sie können daher zeitlich nicht festgelegt werden» (Debrunner 1927, 24).

includes «Namen von Gliedmassen»⁶⁵⁴, «paarige Geräte»⁶⁵⁵ and «Paare zusammengehöriger Wesen»⁶⁵⁶. Hence, the label applies not only to body parts but, more in general, to ‘items which go in two’ (ἴππῳ, δοῦρε, etc.): in this dissertation, for the sake of clarity, we will nevertheless stick to the more widespread definition, according to which natural duals are only body-parts nouns. Natural duals are in Greek well-spread, even though not ‘out-matching’: in particular, it has been underlined how some expected natural duals (ears, knees, etc.) are completely missing, possibly because of morphological reasons⁶⁵⁷. Furthermore, the category is partially overlapping the following type, as many occurrences of well-attested natural duals present along with the quantifier. In general, it may be safely stated that this typology mirrors one of the most ancient functions underlying the category, to which it appears perfectly inherent.

- b. **Dual with ‘2’**⁶⁵⁸. This is another well-spread type, even though possibly secondary to the first one. In this respect, it is debatable how far the presence of the quantifier might be considered significant in respect of the morphological feature of the dual: namely, to which extent the presence of a quantifier should lead us to question the self-sufficiency of the inflectional dual feature. «Historically the ‘correct’ collectivising [i.e. *ambal*] conception is supposed everywhere to have been the basis of the dual. The implication is that

⁶⁵⁴ «Ebenso im Griechischen, wo freilich der Plural häufig an die Stelle des Duals getreten ist» (*ibid.*).

⁶⁵⁵ «Aus dem homerischen Griechisch gehört δοῦρε hierher, welches zwar gewöhnlich mit δύο verbunden wird, aber doch auch so vorkommt, dass man übersetzen muss: die beiden zu einer vollständigen Ausrüstung gehörigen Speere [...]; aus dem Attischen z. B. κοθόρον, ἐνφίδιον (in στεφάνη ἐνφίδιον ὄρμος ὑποδερίς ein Kopfband, die beiden (zu einer weiblichen Toilette gehörigen) Ohringe, eine Kette, ein Halsband, vgl.» (*ibid.*).

⁶⁵⁶ «Attisch τὸ θεῶν, τοῖν θεοῖν (Demeter und Persephone) τοῖν ἀνάκοιν (den Dioskuren, vgl. τὸ σιῶν), τοῖν Νίκαιν den zwei auf der Burg befindlichen Nikestatuen. Von menschlichen Wesen erwähne ich τὸ ταμία die beiden Schatzmeister der Demeter und Persephone, ebenso παίδων in der alten Inschrift σῆμα τόδε Κύλων παίδων ἐπέθηγεν θανόντων [...] seinen beiden einzigen Söhnen» (*ibid.*).

⁶⁵⁷ They all belong in fact to secondary dental stems: cf. par. 2.3.

⁶⁵⁸ «Wenn in der Rede auf zwei erwähnte Dinge zurückgekommen wird, erscheinen sie nunmehr als mit einander verbunden, als zusammengehörig, und so diene der Dual seit urindogermanisch Zeit auch dazu, zwei erwähnte Dinge zusammenzufassen» (Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II 2/1, 457).

diachronically the duo-paucal is superimposed on the ambal, the basic conception which is, however, destined to be retained, if not in altogether pure form» (Plank 1989, 316)⁶⁵⁹. The scholar believes that in Greek the quantifier customarily induces the inflectional dual marking; he does not miss, though, that «Ancient Greek is problematic. Whether δύο ‘two’ and ἄμφω ‘both’ are particularly conducive to the dual, as is often claimed, or not, they certainly do not preempt its use. (But then, its avoidance with natural pairs, too, is only a tendency here.) What seems to hold absolutely is this implication between two uneconomical uses of the dual: “if a nominal dual is used even if contextually redundant, its extension includes natural pair nouns”» (*ibid.* 323). On the value of the quantifier there is no common agreement either: sometimes it is been said, as by Plank, to instigate the dual, some others to compensate the lack of it: finally, it has been argued that the quantifier is added wherever a dual is employed to refer to an occasional, temporary pairing⁶⁶⁰ – that is to say, to connote an ‘accidental dual’⁶⁶¹.

- c. **Elliptical dual.** Probably the most striking of the uses of the dual: this type has also been called ‘inclusive dual’, since by the name of one of the components of a pairing both are included. Still, the definition of ‘elliptical dual’ seems more pertinent, as the morphological value of the feature relies on an ellipsis. The most interesting aspect of such construction relies in the fact that a proper

⁶⁵⁹ «Die zweite Gruppe bedeutet Übergang vom paarigen zur Zweiheit, d. h. zum Oberbegriff; weil alles Paarige eine Zweiheit bildet, kann zum paarigen Dual das Zahlwort ‚zwei‘ treten (Typus τοῦτε δύο); von solchen Fällen aus und durch äussere Kongruenz traten auch unpaarige Begriffe bei ‚zwei‘ in den Dual (Typus κήρυκε δύο „zwei - vorher noch nicht als Paar zusammengefasste - Herolde“») (Debrunner 1927, 24f.); «es ist ja auch natürlich, dass sich neben zwei früh der Dual einstellte, weil die zu der dualischen Einheit verbunden Dinge eben der Zahl nach zwei sind» (Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* III/1 134).

⁶⁶⁰ Accordingly, «kommt der Dual überhaupt für eine Zweiheit vor, auch wo es sich nicht um eine natürlich gegebene Zweiheit handelt. Aber da ist von Homer an die feste Regel, an die man sich ruhig halten kann, dass δύο (δύω), das Zweierzahlwort, dabeistehen muss» (Wackernagel 1926, 84).

⁶⁶¹ «Toutefois le nom de nombre **du(w)o* n’était d’un emploi obligatoire que là où il était question de deux êtres unis *occasionnellement*» (Cuny 1906, 73; see also Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II 2/1, 457f.)

name, presumably undeclinable, may be treated as it were a common name, and inflected in a like manner. Moreover, the inflected stem is not constituted by a label denoting two differentiated items⁶⁶²: it is instead represented by one of the two members itself. The presence of such construction in Greek has been recognised *via* the form Αἴαντε, and possibly Ἄκτωρίονε and Μολίονε (see Wackernagel 1877, Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II 2/1, 458-461). There exists a further specification of this type, namely Debrunner's (2a + 1b = 1a + 1b): the only possible instance of the sort in Greek is possibly to be read in (δύω) Αἴαντε... Τεῦκρος τε⁶⁶³ in the battle at the Achaean Wall, in the *Iliad*, as noticed by Wackernagel (*ibid.*). It seems that this latter construction is nevertheless indebted to the 'simple' elliptic dual: the extension by means of a sylleptic member would have possibly been induced by the necessity of specifying the second member – Teucer, in our case – not named in the first cell. Such construction seems, by a merely morphological point of view, even more striking, since *two* semantic items are implied by means of *three* morphological values. Still, the device should have been in place in an oral context, where the sylleptic member may have appeared as a simple deictic element, semantically null⁶⁶⁴. For a further discussion of the type, see par. 2.5.

- d. Double dual.** By this label another marginal function is pointed at, according to which both members of a coupling are marked in the dual. Just as type iii, this construction is liable to be applied to proper names too; unlike type iii, though, no examples of

⁶⁶² Be it a patronymic, as in the case of Ἀτρεΐδα, or rather an epithet, as in Διοσκόρω; cf. par. 2.5.

⁶⁶³ In particular, ἐς δ' ἐνόησ' Αἴαντε δύω, πολέμου ἀκορήτω / ἐσταότας, Τεῦκρόν τε νέον κλισίηθεν ἰόντα (*Il.* XII 335f.) and Αἴαντες τε δύω Τεῦκρός θ', ὃς ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν / τοξοσύνη, ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν σταδίῃ ὕσμίνῃ (*Il.* XIII 313f.).

⁶⁶⁴ This possible explanation will be considered in further detail in par. 2.5: it will suffice here to anticipate that the elliptic dual with sylleptic member is always found, outside Greek as well, in this precise order, with the sylleptic member following. The contrary would have been a morphological nonsense: this structure seems instead tolerated because of its chiefly oral pertinence. In particular, it appears that the need of such sylleptic specification relies precisely in the ambiguity of the first member: in other words, the need of a sylleptic member denounces an increasing opacity of the sole elliptic construction, possibly anymore perfectly understood.

this type seem to occur in Greek, if we except the dubious Ἄκτωρίωνε Μολίονε⁶⁶⁵ (see par. 2.5 and 4.0 *ad l.*).

- e. **Distributive dual.** The effectiveness of this category deserves some remarks. With this type, in fact, Debrunner hints at situations in which the dual, marking one morphological item, applies semantically to many. Even if rational, such possibility does not actually find many applications – not, at least, when the dual marks nominals. The situation seems slightly different in the case of verbs: Delbrück (*Grundriß* III/1 134) underlines the actuality of the Alkmanic figure (see Fraser 1910, 25), according to which two singular features can agree with a dual head (es., a dual noun with two singular adjectives, or even two singular noun phrases with a dual verb). It appears that here we are dealing again with syntactic arguments: the verb carries a distributive propriety in respect of two individuated items. Two factors emerge: first, the basic conception of this function is arithmetic, hence accidental (and not ambal), as the two items are separate and not otherwise related; second, the verb which is carrying the action is mostly a verb of motion. This fact seems perfectly in agreement with the inner value of this type, expressed by verbal features rather than nominal ones, whose major function relies in the definition of temporary couples, not permanently related, and yet acting as a binomial cell.
- f. **Pseudo-distributive dual.** This alleged function of the dual surely appears remarkable: it would in fact imply, according to Debrunner, that an even group is addressed by the dual, thus meaning that the group is considered as acting splitted in pairings. Only one case is to be found in the poems, namely at *Od.* VIII 35, 48⁶⁶⁶. Yet the passage has

⁶⁶⁵ καί νύ κεν Ἄκτωρίωνε Μολίονε παῖδ' ἀλάπαξα / εἰ μή σφωε πατήρ εὐρὸν κρείων ἐνοσίχθων / ἐκ πολέμου ἐσάωσε, καλύψας ἤερι πολλῇ (*Il.* XI 750-752).

⁶⁶⁶ «Ganz klar ist κούρω... δύω καὶ πεντήκοντα θ 35, 48: δύω hat rein äußerlich den Dual κούρω (und Vs. 49 βήτην) nach sich gezogen (Delbrück *Vergl. Synt.* I 143). Den Dual auf die zwei Ruderreihen zu

long been looked at as incorrect, the dual probably being ‘attracted’ by the presence of the numeral: this function should hence be disregarded⁶⁶⁷.

- g. **Dual for couples.** In a way, this type expresses a sub-value of types v and vi, in which the dual value has a distributive value, reflecting only on two couple (and not many, as in type vi). Only one case is attested in the poems⁶⁶⁸, at *Il.* VIII 185f., where two pairs of horses are addressed with a dual⁶⁶⁹. The use seems reasonable⁶⁷⁰: the foundation of a whole type for it is more debatable, since we could here easily be facing a specific case of distributive dual, the imperative being applied to both couples respectively. «Doch geht der Dual nicht bloss auf zwei Einzelwesen, sondern auch auf zwei Gruppen von Dingen» (*Grundriß* II 2/1, 454; see also Debrunner 1927, 24).

beziehen, in die sich die 52 Jünglinge wahrscheinlich nachher gruppierten (Ohler 1884, 24) ist gänzlich überflüssig» (Debrunner 1927, 17).

⁶⁶⁷ Other possible cases have been adduced, but they do not appear pertinent: «ebenso unnötig ist es, den Dual ποδοῖν τ 444 von Lärm eines Jagdgesolges (Ohler 1884, 24) auf die zwei Gruppen ἀνδρῶν τε κυνῶν zu beziehen; hier kommen wir mit dem einfachen distributiven Dual aus, wobei wir dem Dichter gestatten werden, von „zwei Füßen“ zu sprechen, selbst wenn er außer den Menschen auch an die vierbeinigen Hunde denkt» (Debrunner 1927, 17). As anticipated, Debrunner (*ibid.*) applies the type to three passages of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, where the dual is employed to refer to a community (Apollo speaking to the Cretans): τίφθ' οὕτως ἦσθον τετιήστες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν / ἔκβητ(ε) (v. 456); ἰστία μὲν πρῶτον κάθετον λύσαντε βοείας (v. 486); εἰς ὃ κε χῶρον ἵκεσθον ἴν' ἔξετε πίονα νηόν (v. 501). In this case, the anomaly is glaring. There is no way in which the duals may be fitted in the text; it is far more plausible that the composer of the hymn had oral memory of the dual, but interpreted it as an epic variant to the plural (in a most ‘zenodotean-fashion’). Not surprisingly, the three of them are verbal forms. Moreover, they all belong to the final section of the Hymn, which has been individuated as later. The duals in the hymn, far from representing an isolated and autonomous category, would hence represent a case of ‘refunctionalisation’ of the mark, yet betraying its original properties. As a consequence, this type does not mirror a peculiar function of the dual, nor a secondary one, but rather a reflection of its loss.

⁶⁶⁸ Another debatable instance may be constituted by the Embassy of *Iliad* IX, if we wish to see there engaged two couples. Finally, a possible occurrence is found in *Il.* V 487; still, the passage could be corrupted (cf. par. 4.0 *ad loc.*).

⁶⁶⁹ In the passage, Hektor is speaking to his horses: Ξάνθε τε καὶ σύ, Πόδαργε, καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπε τε δῖε, / νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνετον... (*Il.* VIII 185f.). As a note, horses are usually to be found in pairings.

⁶⁷⁰ Bolling’s comments (1933, 307) appear here completely out of place: «these duals became ‘false’ only if he [Hektor] is driving a four-horse team, and the opening line of his speech is genuine. Although Leaf defends the line, the weight of editorial opinion is against it; and I shall merely refer to Wilamowitz’s condemnation of the verse». See also Wilamowitz 1920, 46.

- h. **‘Asymmetric dual’**. The definition may appear deceiving, and it is definitely not Debrunner’s: in the author’s intentions, this category should include all occurrences in which a dual defines two separate member, only one of which is specified. Yet this alleged type is very scarcely represented (if represented at all), and all his effective realisations include one member and a group⁶⁷¹: such uses seem nonetheless more plausibly to represent late adaptations or interpolations. Again, the existence of such a type in Greek should be disregarded.

Throughout his survey of functions, Debrunner traces a quite clear path of development in the preminent functions of the dual: the «Übergang vom Paarigen zur Zweiheit» (1927, 24) is the first step in the process of degrammaticalisation that will lead further on to increasing functional loss in the category. We mentioned that not all his types are effectively operating in Greek: in particular, types (iv,) vi and viii seem highly questionable.

In sketching an outline of the fundamental functions of the dual, much depends on the basic proprieties one decides to focus on. Brugmann’s and Debrunner’s main aim was to be inclusive, and do justice to all the different kind of contexts the dual may be found in. In a similar fashion, debrunner tried to produce a ‘typology’ of the dual, regardless of frequency and productivity. Besides, if we consider the preceding categorisation, a major split seems to emerge: all functions may be divided between permanent duals and accidental duals. The first category denotes all genetically coupled items⁶⁷² – hence, natural duals, recurring pairings, elliptical duals. The second one, items which are coupled occasionally⁶⁷³.

⁶⁷¹ Debrunner quotes only another example: (Antilochus speaking to his horses) οὐ σφῶϊν κοιμῶν παρὰ Νέστορι ποιμένι λαῶν / ἔσσεται, αὐτίκα δ’ ὕμμε κατακτενεῖ δῶξεί χαλκῶ / αἶ κ’ ἀποκηδήσαντε φερώμεθα χεῖρον ἄεθλον (Il. XXIII 411-413). The participle ἀποκηδήσαντε should be referred to Antilochus on the one hand, the horses on the other (so Ameis-Hentze too); yet the conclusion is far from necessary, as the participle does not create any problem as if in reference to the two horses only.

⁶⁷² Precisely, we should here refer to Brugmann-Delbrück’s definition of natural duals, hereby including all ‘things which usually go in pairs’ (natural duals, but also horses, spears, etc.).

⁶⁷³ Brugmann-Delbrück also distinguished between a primary dual, used to determine two items (or a twofold item) when occurring for the first time in a discourse, and a secondary dual, employed to

In this distinction, the chronological aspect is stressed: what seems relevant is the duration of the couple throughout time. This approach is nevertheless significant and, as we see, it has been a domineering condition of grammarians: yet, it does not seem conclusive. As far as we can see, the dual has been used to express temporary couples in Greek in its farther attestations: the Mycenaean lists are meaningful in this respect. Assuming that the dual was not *originarily* liable to cover for accidental couple is nothing but a theorisation, even though reasonable.

This inference, like the categorisation itself, embodies an attempt to answer the question as to where is the dual allowed, which is its domain and, in the end, which are its limits. We already saw that answers to this questions are to be found empirically, considering the dual's basic oppositions within the Greek inflectional number system (par. 2.1.1-2.2.0).

Another issue is represented by the position of the quantifier. Much attention has been dedicated to its presence (or absence): in order to realise whether it modifies the participation of the dual, it seems compulsory to address some enquiries to the issue. As an instance, it may be suitable to describe the relation between a highly representative category, as natural duals are, and the quantifier in Homeric poems.

	βλεφάρουι ν	μηρ ώ	ὄσσ ε	ὄφθαλμοῖι ν	ὄφθαλμ ώ	πήχε ε	ποδοῖι ν	τένοντ ε	χεῖρ ε	ὄμοιι ν	ὄμ ω
Tot.	2	5	57	2	2	4	8	5	12	14	4
with δύω	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
with ἄμφω	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	5	2	/	/
formula s	/	4	33	2	/	/	8	3	10	13	2

define two already cited items: this second function should be called 'anaphoric dual'. The distinction, even though interesting, does not seem relevant to an outline of the basic functions pertaining to the category: it defines in fact a syntactic, and not a morphological, propriety of the dual. The category has been sometimes conceived as a sub-group of accidental duals: «le terme de duel *anaphorique* sert aussi à désigner le cas où des mots de nature quelconque se mettent au duel parce que les objets de la représentation (sujets logique) sont deux et qu'il sont énumérés successivement» (Cuny 1906, 75). Again, the distinction appears to be based on syntactic rather than morphological arguments – *i.e.*, on temporary rather than permanent proprieties.

Strikingly enough, natural duals are in Homer never accompanied by the quantifier δύω and, only in two cases, by the quantifier ἄμφω. The former case is represented by 5_x of τένοντε (*Il.* IV 521, V 307, X 456, XIV 466; ἀμφοτέρως at *Il.* XXII 396), and 2_x of χεῖρε (*Il.* IV 523, XIII 549). Yet it does not seem irrelevant that the quantifier hereby involved is ἄμφω. Sinews are by any means natural duals: still, just as the other limbs, do not necessarily act together (as, for example, eyes do). The same might be said for χεῖρε. It is hence not by chance that these duals occur with ἄμφω, not with δύω: the form is here employed in its originary, semantic value, and not merely as a quantifier. In all these 7_x passages the stress is on the fact that *both* the sinews are being severed, and *both* the hands are being raised. Furthermore, the combination ‘ἄμφω + natural dual’ always appears in formulaic contexts: the original ‘inclusive’ meaning of ἄμφω shall have been preserved within canonised phrases⁶⁷⁴. This is partly true for all the natural duals above: they all seem keen to present within formulas, where their original autonomous status, untied by the use of the quantifier, could have been preserved by both repetition and pertinence to the formulaic *repertoire*.

In a nutshell, natural duals are not eagerly found together with the quantifier; when it happens, it is always with ἄμφω, in a strictly ‘ambal’ value. It has been remarked that the main part of natural duals is formulaic: in order to trace some patterns, let us also test the presence of the quantifier with other influential Homeric duals, namely with formulaic forms on the one hand, with hapax on the other. The aim of this brief sketch is to enhance whether frequency in use induces any kind of modification in the resort to the quantifier. Two tokens have been chosen for each class: ἄνδρε/ἀνέρε and ἵππω for formulaic duals, ἄρνε and κασιγνήτω for *hapax* in the dual⁶⁷⁵.

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. the syntagm ἀπὸ δ’ ἄμφω κέρσε (ῥέξε) τένοντε, always in *clausola* (*Il.* V 307, X 456, XIV 466) and κάππεσεν ἄμφω χεῖρε φίλοις ἐτάροισι πετάσσας (*Il.* IV 523, XIII 549).

⁶⁷⁵ The choice has consciously been made in favour of a human and a non-human item for every category: we may anticipate that the aim of this decision is to show that Animacy (par. 2.3) does not seem to be involved, if not marginally, in the adoption of the quantifier. The use of δύω or ἀμφω is semantically rooted; their presence (or absence) seems rather to be a matter of how specified/unspecified an item is.

The duals ἄνδρε and ἀνέρε occur respectively 10_x and 5_x in the poems⁶⁷⁶. The first form appears in 9_x out of 10_x occurrences with the quantifier δύο/δύο⁶⁷⁷; the second, in 3_x out of 5_x. Strikingly enough, the two occurrences of ἀνέρε without the quantifier are formulaic⁶⁷⁸ –just as all occurrences of ἄνδρε. The contrary happens in the case of ἵππω. The form appears 17_x in the *Iliad* and twice in the *Odyssey*⁶⁷⁹: over these 19_x occurrences, 10_x are formulaic. The form never occurs with the quantifier.

As far as *hapax* are concerned, ἄρνε occurs just once in the poems (*Il.* III 246), in a book relatively poor in duals, accompanied by the quantifier δύο. Conversely, κασιγνήτω occurs once in the *Odyssey* (XXI 216), without any quantifier: yet in the passage it is used by Odysseus talking to his loyal servants, which he addresses as “Telemachus brothers and companions”⁶⁸⁰, and whose he already referred too in the dual: the situation is intimate, and no further specification is needed.

A pattern seems to arise. What appears to be determinant in the presence or absence of the quantifier is how individuated the dual themselves are: horses and spears are always to be found in pairings, and any further specification would be redundant. *Vice versa*, men and other non-related individuals are only occasionally paired, and their temporary status of pairing needs be remarked by the quantifier. As a pledge, δοῦρε never occurs with the quantifier, whereas παῖδε and υἱε almost always do. This pattern cannot be regarded as strict, nor it is always consistently applied. It is reasonable to assume that there has been an originary tendency

⁶⁷⁶ 10_x ἄνδρε (*Il.* V 244, 303, XI 432, XX 286, XXIII 659, 802, *Od.* IV 27, IX 90, X 102, XVI 244), 4_x ἀνέρε (*Il.* XI 328, XII 421, 447, XVI 218, XVII 378); never in the oblique form. We may wonder whether it is of any relevance that the oblique form of the quantifier is never attested in Homer; the use of an oblique noun requiring a non-existent oblique quantifier might have determined some unease.

⁶⁷⁷ The only occurrence infringing this pattern is nevertheless peculiar, since the two men in question have already been mentioned, and are in the verse utterly specified by a demonstrative: τοιῶδ’ ἄνδρε κατακτείνας καὶ τεύχε’ ἀπούρας (*Il.* XI 432).

⁶⁷⁸ 2_x ἀνέρε δήμου ἀρίστω, in clausola (*Il.* XI 328, XII 447).

⁶⁷⁹ 14_x ἵππω (*Il.* V 230, 237, 356, 588, VI 38, VIII 41, 127, 136, XIII 23, XVII 486, 501, 504, XXIII 545, *Od.* IV 20), 5_x ἵπποιιν (*Il.* V 13, 107, XIX 396, XXIII 362, *Od.* XV 182).

⁶⁸⁰ Τηλεμάχου ἐτάρω τε κασιγνήτω τε ἔσσεσθον (*ibid.*); ἐτάρω is a *hapax* as well, and it does not require any quantifier either. The situation is not an unicum: in book III of the *Iliad*, which we already said to be ungenerous in duals, when Helen refers to the Dioskouroi (in the Teuchoskopia), she says that δοίω οὐ δύναμαι ιδέειν κοσμήτορε λαῶν / Καστορά θ’ ἵπποδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεια / αὐτοκασιγνήτω, τὼ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ (*Il.* III 236-239). Once again, the context speaks for itself: the first dual, more impersonal, refers to the κοσμήτορε, which are re-asserted to be two; then the speech shifts to personal grounds, with Helen referring to them as blood-relatives. They are αὐτοκασιγνήτω, and have already been mentioned: therefore, no quantifier is needed anymore.

towards the use of the quantifier in presence of accidental duals, whereas it should have been omitted with genetic, or common, pairs. This distinction has probably been loosened as times went by: other kind of constraints overwhelmed the former distinction, and the relation between quantifiers and inflectional duals weakened by virtue of overpowering forces, such as metrical necessity and formulaic adjustment.

In conclusion, we can roughly sketch the following path of agreement: in presence of permanent duals, the quantifier is redundant and mostly omitted; in presence of accidental duals, the quantifier is favoured and, even if not compulsorily, it is generally expressed.

Let us now focus on Attic, to see whether there are significative differences on this respect⁶⁸¹.

	κοχώνᾱ	μηρῷ	ὄσσε	ὀφθαλμιδίῳ	ὀφθαλμοῖν	παρηΐδᾱ
Tot.	2	5	2	1	1	1
with δύο/ἄμφω	/	/	/	/	/	/
	ποδοῖν	σκεῖλει	σκελοῖν	χεῖρε	χειροῖν	χεροῖν
Tot.	22	10	4 ⁶⁸²	6	6	107
with δύο/ἄμφω	1 ⁶⁸³	/	/	/	1 ⁶⁸⁴	/

It is immediately evident how Attic agrees with Homer in treating natural duals as self-sufficient items, which do not need any kind of further specification by the quantifiers' part. All the natural duals included in this second table are peculiarities – seldom coinages or diminutives – of Aristophanes', if we except

⁶⁸¹ In the list have been omitted all body parts nouns in the dual which do not represent natural duals, such as the Aristophanean γνάθοιν (*Pax* 1308; *Ec.* 502), λόφοιν (*Pax* 1214), λόφω (*Pax* 1222), πτέρυγε (*Av.* 1229), πτερόγειν (*Av.* 574, 697), πτερῷ (*Ach.* 1103), στομάτοιιν (*Ra.* 880), etc., be it because they are not commonly paired ('the two mouths') or commonly found in use ('the two wings').

⁶⁸² 1x σκελίσκοιν (*Ec.* 1167) has been included in the count.

⁶⁸³ In *Ar. Av.* 35, ἀνεπτόμεθ' ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ποδοῖν: it seems nevertheless that the remarks made on τένοντε and χεῖρε apply here as well, as ἄμφω is not needed to remark that the feet are indeed two, but rather it carries a confirmative value.

⁶⁸⁴ In *Ar. Eq.* 826, with parodic intent, as a high register compound contrasting the low register verb μυστιλάομαι: ἀμφοῖν χεροῖν / μυστιλάται τῶν δημοσίων. In *Soph. El.* 206 there is no quantifier, yet with χεροῖν the adjective διδύμος is inflected: for this peculiar usage, see par. 2.4.

ὄσσε (Aesch. *Pers.* 1064, Eur. *Tr.* 1315: probably a Homeric allusion⁶⁸⁵, cf. par. 4.1 *ad loc.*), παρηΐδᾶ (Eur. *El.* 1023), and the widespread ποδοῖν⁶⁸⁶ and χε(ι)ροῖν⁶⁸⁷. Basing on these counting, we can hence safely assume that natural duals are uncommitted to the presence of the quantifier. If it does nevertheless appear, it would probably be for semantic reason: as a consequence, we will expect to find ἄμφω or δύο/δύο⁶⁸⁸.

An incidental comment seems due. There is a sensible difference between the two domains – Homeric poems, Attic drama – in the application of the dual in nominals: in Homer it converges to commonly used items, almost ever encompassed within the formulaic system; in Attic the use is unrestricted, and liable to be applied to all nouns, even to new coinages (Aristophanes). Yet in both domains there is a

⁶⁸⁵ The practice is not common in Tragedy, yet there are some instances of such praxis (cf. par. 2.4). In this respect, it is also to be remarked that the scarce occurrences of the direct case χεῖρε are oddly at stake with the very common χε(ι)ροῖν: the situation is precisely the opposite of the Homeric one, where χεῖρε was domineering. We are probably dealing here with another Homeric allusion: this hypothesis seems sustained also by the Aeschylean (*Ag.* 1559) and Euripidean (*Andr.* 115) occurrences, both showing περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα, possibly mimicking the renowned verses of the *Nekyia* where Odysseus laments μητρερ ἐμή, τί νύ μ' οὐ μίμνεις ἐλέειν μεμαῶτα / ὄφρα καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο φίλας περὶ χεῖρε βαλόντε / ἀμφοτέρω κρυεροῖο τεταρπόμεσθα γόοιο; (*Od.* XI 210-212).

⁶⁸⁶ 3_x Aesch. (*Pers.* 516, *Ch.* 207, 982), 5_x Soph. (*Aj.* 247, *OT* 718, 1034, *El.* 567, *Ant.* 855), 4_x Eur. (*Andr.* 1139, *Ion* 495, *IA* 206, 213), 10_x Ar. (*Pax* 7, 319, *Av.* 35, 1146, *Lys.* 1310, 1317, *Th.* 957, *Ec.* 483, 545, *Pl.* 291).

⁶⁸⁷ 7_x Aesch. (*Pers.* 194, 201, *Th.* 473, 855, *Ch.* 161, 362, (*Pr.*) 917), 32_x Soph. (*Aj.* 618, 729, 1047, *El.* 54, 326, 431, 476, 712, 1091, 1129, 1132, 1350, *OT* 821, 912, 1031, 1466, *Tr.* 265, 488, 566, 1066, *Ant.* 57, 264, 1109, 1345, *Ph.* 655, 1150, *OC* 483, 838, *frr.* 149.3, 149.7, 314.226, 482 R.²), 66_x Eur. (*Alc.* 201, 612, 847, 1142, *Med.* 370, 784, 981, 1003, 1412, *Her.* 226, 578, *Hip.* 1220, 1360, *Andr.* 1158, *Hec.* 526, 527, 1125, *Supp.* 590, 886, 1166, *El.* 506, 813, 819, 1160, *HF* 631, 1342, *Tr.* 377, *IT* 373, 382, 1044, 1047, 1367, 1417, *Ion.* 1174, 1187, 1440, 1443, *Hel.* 1386, 1600, *Ph.* 1316, 1351, *Or.* 113, 377, 429, 517, 1340, 1458, 1477, 1493, *Ba.* 495, 738, 858, 949, 1068, 1128, 1140, 1237, 1240, 1280, *IA* 601, 1112, *Cyc.* 171, 379, 630, *fr.* 223.39, 282.19 K.), 2_x Ar. (*Ra.* 1348, 1362).

⁶⁸⁸ For obvious reasons (*i.e.* the lack of formulae) we cannot extend to Attic the attempt we made on the Homeric poems; yet it is possible to detect differences in Tragedy as well. Let us compare two Sophoclean usages in the same tragedy, the *Antigone*, both involving kin lexicon. The quantifier is consciously expressed in *Ant.* 13f., δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ἐστρεφῆμεν δύο / μιᾷ θανόντοιν ἡμέραι διπλῆ χειρὶ, and 55f., τρίτον δ' ἀδελφῶ δύο μίαν καθ' ἡμέραν / αὐτοκτονοῦντε. In both passages the quantifier is expressed to mark a contrast: two siblings, only one day (in the second passage, the contrast is even more sensible, marked by a decreasing *climax*: “third... two brothers... one day”). On the opposite, the quantifier is missing at v. 561, τὸ παῖδε φημὶ τῶδε; the involved siblings, Antigone and Ismenes, have been mentioned already, they are clearly specified: no further quantifier is required. We can recall here Gonda's proposal (1953, 15; cf. par. 2.0.1), according to which the use of the article or other determiners discourages the presence of the quantifier: it might be true, but it seems that this inference is nothing but a description of the effects of the hereby analysed phenomenon, namely that if two items are specified (and nothing specifies more than a determiner), they will not need any quantifier. We can hence infer, and the evidence agrees, that article and quantifier are in the same (dual) noun-phrase mutually exclusive.

tendency toward the repetition of fixed, recurring forms: apart from natural duals, for instance, we already noticed the pervasiveness of *δοῦρε* in the poems⁶⁸⁹; snakes in Tragedy are curiously often two⁶⁹⁰, while in Aristophanes *σκέλει* is extremely popular⁶⁹¹, and so on. It appears that, even where its usage is unrestricted, there is a pattern of ‘calcification’ of the dual in either current or prised forms. Be it the result of undermining functional loss or just a common stylistic procedure, what emerges is that the resort to the category, in the poems as well as in the drama, is not neutral.

Let us approach some conclusions to this section. It appears that the most inherent function to the dual is to express genetically coupled pairs, be they animate or not. In this huge group are comprised natural duals, recurring pairs (*δοῦρε*, *ἵππω*, etc.), and elliptical duals. Such couplings may also be individuated as permanent duals, as opposed to accidental duals, which are meant to define temporary pairings. There are no grounds for inferring that accidental duals were not originally expressed *via* the inflectional dual; still, it can be stated that accidental duals are more likely to involve the presence of the quantifier. These are, of course, only empirical patterns, which do not have any predictive effect, nor state any morphological rule: literary motivation, such as metrical necessity or stylistic variation, are domineering in the determination of the presence, or absence, of the quantifier, and overpower strictly morphological factors.

Besides, it seems reasonable to accept that, within our literary frames – both the Homeric poems and the Attic Tragedy – the dual is subject to a certain degree of adaptability; presence of the quantifier and duration throughout time of the designed couples do not seem inner properties of the feature. What remains binding in the definition of the dual are its morphological proprieties, as sketched in par. 2.2; the dual is in Ancient Greek facultative, abiding by its value being determinate, hence restricted to two items. These two characteristics are sufficient (yet necessary) to a description of the feature, insofar as they encompass, and confine, all functions inherent to it.

⁶⁸⁹ 8_x *Iliad* (*Il.* III 18, X 76, XI 43, XII 298, 465, XIII 241, XVI 139, XXI 145), 6_x *Odyssey* (*Od.* I 256, XII 228, XVI 295, XVIII 377, XXII 101, 125).

⁶⁹⁰ Aesch. *Ch.* 1047; Soph. fr. 596 R.²; Eur. *Ion.* 23.

⁶⁹¹ The term surfaces in Euripides (*Cyc.* 183) and it is probably a privilege of comic diction: in Aristophanes it appears 10_x in direct cases, 2_x in the oblique.

2.3 The Animacy Hierarchy.

A macroscopic contribution of typology to the understanding of the Greek dual is the determination of the Animacy Hierarchy. This parameter, which proves to be of striking relevance, has been first fixed by Silverstein (1976), mainly explored by Comrie (1981, 33f.) and Croft (1990, 127-130), then applied to number by Corbett (2000) and to number in Homer by Hillyard (2006, 2008).

Grammatical features in many languages adhere to the principles of what is variously known as the *Animacy Hierarchy*, the *Topicality Hierarchy*, the *Definiteness Hierarchy* or the *Personal Hierarchy*. With these labels it is usually referred to a set of constraints to the possible patterns of distribution of grammatical values, depending on the ‘degree of animateness’ of the target: the more an item is alive and close to the speaker, the more disposable linguistic choices it will get⁶⁹². The same kind of prediction applies to number usage: informally, the ‘more animate’ a nominal is, the more likely it is to specify number⁶⁹³. According to cross-linguistic enquiries, number values are not always, and not necessarily, equally distributed in the categories of a language system. If a number value only applies to certain categories, we might expect them to be the ‘more animate’: number will accordingly be more marked – both semantically and syntactically – at the top end of the hierarchy, whereas default numbers will surface at the lower end. Hence, a higher animate noun is more likely to show agreement than a lower animate or inanimate⁶⁹⁴.

⁶⁹² Croft (1993, 127) refers to definiteness as to the propulsive pressure determining the hierarchy: «there is a clustering of animacy and definiteness, so that the higher a direct-object noun phrase is found on the animacy and/or the definiteness hierarchy, the more likely it is to be marked with a case marker». As it appears, the hierarchy is interested in variety rather than frequency: the more a noun phrase is animated, hence marked, the wider the range of options available to it.

⁶⁹³ The hierarchy encodes «the likelihood of participation in a speech event. Thus, the speaker is always and the addressee is virtually always involved in the speech event. Of the third person nouns, one is more likely to talk to something which is rational and human, then human, then inanimate. One is unlikely to communicate with an inanimate object» (Smith-Stark 1974, 669).

⁶⁹⁴ The effects of such hierarchy are immediately apparent in concrete terms. Let us think of the most common τὰ ζῷα τρέχει: the collective is commonly less keen to specify number than the plural – incidentally, the collective is also less animate than the plural. «The implicational universal describing the cross-linguistic pattern is: “if a language uses a nonzero case marking for a direct object on the animacy/definiteness hierarchies, then it uses a nonzero case marking for direct objects higher on the hierarchies”» (Croft 1993, 128). Croft’s definition appears equally suitable if adapted to our purposes by substituting ‘number’ to ‘case’, and every kind of noun (noun phrases hereby included) to ‘direct object’.

According to Corbett, the most animate category is represented by pronouns⁶⁹⁵: the closer to the subject, the more animate, so 1st person is more animate than 2nd, and so forth. Further refinements to the hierarchy can be made depending on the language in question, and the set of number values available⁶⁹⁶. The traditional hierarchy, as set by Smith-Stark and accepted by Comrie, Croft and Corbett, is the following:

Speaker (1st p.) > addressee (2nd p.) > 3rd p. > kin > human > animate > inanimate

A concise yet essential remark is due. The Animacy Hierarchy, as above intended, does not effect any prediction on frequency: it merely states a priority-setting in the availability of number categories, for nouns at the head of the hierarchy might be privileged with number choices unavailable for nouns at the bottom of the hierarchy⁶⁹⁷. In other words, it makes prediction on optionality – not

⁶⁹⁵ «In all versions of the Animacy Hierarchy, pronouns occupy the top segments, but there is some disagreement as to the way in which the pronouns should be arranged. Corbett (2000, 62-66) proposes that they become progressively less animate the further from the speaker one moves: for example, the first person pronoun is more animate than the second person, which is more animate in turn than the third person. Dixon, however, splits the pronouns with first and second persons as equally animate and the third person as less animate. His reasons for doing this are understandable: the first and second person pronouns refer to the speaker and addressee, whereas the third person refers to another entity. The object referred to by a third person deictic or pronouns is almost the same ‘distance’ from the speaker as an object which was referred to using a proper noun» (Hillyard 2008, 38f.).

⁶⁹⁶ «Although a considerable amount of evidence justifies the existence of the Animacy Hierarchy, it is complicated to explain precisely the reasons why pronouns and nouns high up the animacy scale are more predisposed to mark number consistently. When examined closely, the Animacy Hierarchy is actually a composite of three distinct but related functional dimensions: *Person* (first, second < third), *Referentiality* (pronoun < proper name < common noun) and *Animacy* (human < animate < inanimate)» (Hillyard 2008, 42). In addition to these parameters, the hierarchy determinates a further split, between human ≠ non-human. Greenberg defines the hierarchy in relation to the act of speaking: «the hierarchy encodes the likelihood of participation in a speech event. Thus, the speaker is always, and the addressee is virtually always involved in the speech event. Of the third person nouns, one is more likely to talk to something which is rational and human, then human, then animate. One is unlikely to communicate with an inanimate object» (Greenberg 1966, 42).

⁶⁹⁷ On this respect Hillyard may perhaps be misled in his investigation. A quantitative analysis is only a collateral way to verify the action of the Hierarchy; another way could be looking at the variety of forms, insofar as more forms should imply more eagerness of the feature to apply. The hierarchy merely states «a monotonic decrease in the likelihood of a particular outcome» (Corbett 2000, 70); once such outcome is attested, 1_x or 20_x should not theoretically be any different. Yet, even though not directly, it may be argued that the hierarchy *affects* frequency, for we are entitled to expect a far more

frequency. Nevertheless, frequency is secondly involved, for nouns at the head of the hierarchy are keener towards several number options than nouns at the bottom. If we apply this inference to our purposes, it ensues that, as an instance, a noun meaning ‘brother’ will more probably have a chance to mark a dual number than a word for ‘spear’. Yet in Ancient Greek a dual number is available for both ‘brother’ and ‘spear’⁶⁹⁸.

The distinction hereby made proves of the essence: the Animacy Hierarchy is only concerned with optionality⁶⁹⁹. If frequency is involved, it is just as a consequence: as number is more marked at the head of the hierarchy, in fact, an animate will be given the option of the dual more frequently, and we might subsequently expect to find it more often expressed at the top rather than at the bottom of the hierarchy.

This inference constitutes the starting point of the present chapter. According to the Animacy Hierarchy, duals should be eager to appear in pronouns and human animates rather than inanimates. We will hereby try and falsify such hypothesis.

spread usage of a certain value in those categories which are by nature located at the top of the hierarchy and, as a consequence, keen to be more differentiated.

⁶⁹⁸ As predictable, the two nouns have not been randomly chosen: surprisingly enough, ἀδελφός does never occur in Homer (it is meaningfully frequent in Tragedy instead), while δοῦρε appears 14_x (*Il.* III 18, X 76, XI 43, XII 298, 465, XIII 241, XVI 139, XXI 145, *Od.* I 256, XII 228, XVI 295, XVIII 377, XXII 101, 125). We will deal this divergence further on.

⁶⁹⁹ It is fairly evident that the Animacy Hierarchy describes a trend rather than a rule: the choice of a number in a language is constrained by a plurality of factors, which cannot be narrowed, as we will see, to a univocal principle. In order to explain the inconvenient use of a (dual) number in some domains, the label of ‘minor number’ has sometimes been evoked, where ‘minor’ refers to the defectiveness in the application (hence in syntax rather than in morphology): «minor numbers are a subsidiary part of the number system of certain languages. They are remnants of an earlier Major system which has undergone changes and lost various forms. They do require a relaxation of the typology of number which the Animacy Hierarchy provided, but the odd exception to a typology does not necessarily invalidate it. The problem with Corbett’s Minor Number Theory is that it completely fails to provide convincing reasons as to *why* some languages have Minor Number and others do not. Minor Number is not a solution to the problem, but merely a synchronic label for all the languages which do not conform to the Animacy Hierarchy» (Hillyard 2008, 45). Despite the validity of Hillyard’s objection, we already stated that typology is an inbred synchronical framework, and all of its assumption are to be intended in this respect. It is desirable to come to observe an internal consistency into a specific synchronic domain; yet, wherever not possible, a diachronic investigation is due. With a hint of Neo-Grammarians optimism, even when synchronically failing, the principles of the Animacy Hierarchy could be diachronically restored.

The idea of applying the Animacy Hierarchy to the ‘inconsistencies’ of the dual had attracted Hillyard too (2008, 370ff.) in his more general study on number in Homer. Since based on different criteria⁷⁰⁰, his counts result unfit for the present investigation, as they include nouns only⁷⁰¹. The omission of personal pronouns is cumbersome, as we shall see, for it contravenes a cornerstone of the hierarchy itself, namely the priority assigned to distinct persons, singled out and close to the speaker, over other animates, not included in the dialogical process⁷⁰².

In respect of the principles of Corbett’s Animacy Hierarchy, the table has been implemented with personal pronouns⁷⁰³, nouns and names, according to the following criteria: substantivized adjectives have been counted as nouns, and distributed according to their ‘animacy’; nouns of divinities and akin (θεός, Κήρ,

⁷⁰⁰ Some of Hillyard’s choices prove controversial in their premises. As an instance, Hillyard regards proper names as kin names, «on the basis that your kin are the people you (in theory) know best and the better you know a person, the more likely you are to know their personal names» (2008, 377). Even though the incorporation seems reasonable, the motivation is untenable. A rhapsod singing Odysseus’ deeds does not make of him a kin to anyone in the audience. The merger between the two categories is legitimate because a kin is more definite than a generic human being, as well as an individual called by his own name is; whether a kin or a called-by-name-individual is closer to the speaker is debatable and, in the end, not relevant to the present enquiry. Hillyard paces along slippery grounds when dealing with natural duals too: he declares to «have placed the body parts in the inanimate category. Although they are part of a human being, in Homer they are almost never considered as animate beings in their own right, but rather as tools of an animate, as any other inanimate object might be» (*ibid.*). Nobody would question that natural duals are inanimate. True enough, verbs are liable to agree with them in the dual, proving that *two* entities are involved in the action. Yet this tendency of natural duals towards agreement is understandable if we consider that they presumably represent archaic and very conservative notations. While counting them among inanimates, Hillyard neglects to notice that they constitute a strikingly high percentage of the whole counting, and that the hierarchy results dramatically modified if they are kept apart and counted as a separate group from other inanimates. We will come back to this aspect.

⁷⁰¹ The exclusion of verbal forms is predictable, and reasonable: a verb is rarely in Homer the head of a sentence, reflecting instead a condition already expressed by the noun it relates with.

⁷⁰² Even within nouns, Hillyard’s counts diverge from the present ones: this clash is due, on the one side, to the resort to different critical edition (Allen in Hillyard’s case, West in the present enquiry), on the other side to the role played by textual problems, which Hillyard disregards. In this chapter we will hence cautiously refer to the results of his enquiry, quoting his counts and proportions only where they sensibly diverge.

⁷⁰³ Which Hillyard includes in his 2006’s article, but leaves aside in his major work (2008). «In all versions of the animacy hierarchy, pronouns occupy the top segments but there is some disagreement about ordering» (Hillyard 2006, 72): sometimes 1st and 2nd persons are considered as equal, since referring to proper participants to the speaking process, while the 3rd person is left lower down, as referring to another entity.

Σειρήν) have been regarded as kin names⁷⁰⁴; other pronouns⁷⁰⁵, adjectives and participles have been excluded⁷⁰⁶. All categories have been considered as mutually exclusive⁷⁰⁷. The count of forms in the poems results as follows:

	1 st person ⁷⁰⁸	2 nd person ⁷⁰⁹	3 rd person ⁷¹⁰	Proper names	Kin names	Non-kin human	Non-human animate	Inanimate	Tot. ⁷¹¹
<i>Iliad</i>	50	25	11	32	27	30	28	102	305
<i>Odyssey</i>	28	8	7	/	9	14	8	44	118

Some considerations arise. Two glaring ‘infractions’ to the Animacy Hierarchy seem particularly tricky – namely, the amount of non-kin if compared to kin nouns, and the amount of the inanimate⁷¹². Striking is the position of personal

⁷⁰⁴ The decision is of course an arbitrary one: yet the category of kin names seemed the more appropriate, since divinities are animate and specified entities. Sure enough they are not human; on the other side, religious lexicon goes along with the familiar one in representing one of the closest spheres of interest of the subject.

⁷⁰⁵ The number of pronouns is remarkably high (*Iliad* 164_x: ἀλλήλοιν 4_x; ἀμφοτέρω 1_x; ἀμφοτέρω 12_x; αὐτό 11_x; κείνω 1_x; τοῖν 3_x; τοίω 2_x; τοιόδε 1_x; τούτω 4_x; τώ 125_x); were they included, whichever the category they would be assigned, they would change the proportions considerably. They will be nevertheless excluded from the count, in order to avoid redundancy. Pronouns exhibit a chiefly anaphoric function, occurring to remark an already expressed person or item (*i.e.*, σφῶϊ μὲν· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικ’ ὀτρυνέμεν· οὐ τι κελεύω· / αὐτὸ γὰρ μάλα λαὸν ἀνώγετον ἴφι μάχεσθαι, *Il.* IV 287f.; ὃ πέπον ὃ Μενέλαε διοτρεφὲς οὐκέτι νῶϊ / ἔλπομαι αὐτὸ περ νοστησέμεν ἐκ πολέμοιο, *Il.* XVII 239f.). Their inclusion in the counting will hence be redundant in respect of the already expressed pronoun, or noun, they refer to.

⁷⁰⁶ Adjectives and participles are admittedly a fundamental brick of the noun phrase; yet the propriety they express is not a permanent one, nor can it be linked with an exclusive asset of nouns. For instance, βάντε could be referred to two brothers, two anonymous human beings or to two lions. Participles constitute a flexible constituent in syntax: their inclusion in the table could alter the results rather than clarifying them.

⁷⁰⁷ Like Hillyard does, *e.g.* kin, non-kin human, non-human animate (contrast Corbett’s categories, where every category includes all noun of that category and lower on the scale: this choice reveals chiefly important when coming to natural and formulaic duals, see *infra*).

⁷⁰⁸ In the *Iliad*, 36_x νῶϊ, 1_x νώ, 13_x νῶϊν. In the *Odyssey*, 15_x νῶϊ, 1_x νώ, 12_x νῶϊν.

⁷⁰⁹ In the *Iliad*, 11_x σφῶϊ (2_x unstressed), 4_x σφῶ, 10_x σφῶϊν. In the *Odyssey*, 1_x σφῶϊ, 2_x σφῶ, 5_x σφῶϊν.

⁷¹⁰ In the *Iliad*, 3_x σφῶε, 5_x σφῶιν, 3_x σφῶε; in the *Odyssey*, 1_x σφῶε, 2_x σφῶιν, 4_x σφῶε. The dubious form σφῶε has nonetheless been included in the count, for it is here believed that it accounts for a dual (*cf.* par. 1.1).

⁷¹¹ The divergence between *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is sensible, both in personal pronouns (91_x in the *Iliad* vs. 43_x in the *Odyssey*) and nouns (219_x in the *Iliad* vs. 75_x in the *Odyssey*; they total amount of nouns was 201_x in the *Iliad* and 64_x in the *Odyssey* in Hillyard’s countings).

⁷¹² The percentage of the inanimate in respect of the other categories is strikingly high in Hillyard’s counting as well, which includes plural nouns too (in semantically ‘dual’ contexts): in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* he counts 127_x kin/proper names, 88_x non-kin human nouns, 314_x non-human animate nouns and 1015_x inanimate nouns. It is nonetheless to be noted that the relative high percentage of the

names too, quite well represented in the *Iliad* while completely absent from the *Odyssey*⁷¹³.

Let us comment on the percentages up to here. There is a notable decrease, both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in the occurrences of personal pronouns from 1st to 3rd person – according to the prediction of the hierarchy. It is questionable whether personal names should be counted among kin nouns or human nouns, or simply be kept apart. The group is chiefly composed by instances of the inclusive dual Αἴαντε and of the associative Ἄτρεΐδᾶ: both labels refer to eminent pairings of the *Iliad*⁷¹⁴, which seem to be in turn more marked than both simple human and kin noun. For the time being they will then be considered as an independent group. As predictable, human animate refer mainly to craft nouns (surgeon, herald, etc.) or epithets (chieftain, counselor, etc.). In like fashion, non-human animate are chiefly animals, many a time appearing within metaphors, as we will see. Finally, the percentage of inanimate is appallingly high in respect of our expectations. Before tackling this awkwardness, it seems appropriate to give a full prospectus of the involved forms.

	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	Proper names	Kin names	Non-kin human	Non-human animate	Inanimate
<i>Iliad</i>	νῶϊ 36 _x	σφῶϊ 11 _x	σφῶε 3 _x	Αἴαντε 25 _x	αὐτοκασιγνήτω 1 _x ⁷¹⁵	ἄνδρε 6 _x	ἄρνε 2 _x	βλεφάροιν 1 _x
	νῶ 1 _x	σφῶ 4 _x	σφῶιν 5 _x	Ἀκτωρίωνε 2 _x	θεῶ 1 _x	ἄνερε 5 _x	βόε 1 _x	δοῦρε 8 _x
	νῶιν 13 _x	σφῶιν 10 _x	σφε 3 _x	Ἄτρεΐδᾶ 3 _x	Κῆρε 2 _x	ἡγήτορε 4 _x	θῆρε 1 _x	κρουῶ 1 _x
				Μολίωνε 2 _x	παῖδε 8 _x	θεράποντε 4 _x	ἵπποιιν 4 _x	λαε 1 _x
					υῖε 15 _x	ιητῆρε 1 _x	ἵππω 13 _x	λέχεε 1 _x
						κήρυκε 2 _x	κάπρω 1 _x	μηρώ 4 _x
						κοσμῆτορε 3 _x	κύνε 1 _x	ῥοσε 44 _x

non-human animate is due to the very high proportion of plural nouns (280_x on 314_x): isolating dual nouns only, he obtains a proportion similar to ours (kin: 56, human: 41, animate: 34, inanimate: 134).

⁷¹³ If we except Σειρήνοιν, hereby regarded as a deity noun.

⁷¹⁴ As we will see (par. 2.5), the strategy itself to inflect a proper name, and even more in the dual, is far from obvious. Proper names are often undeclinable; if ever, patronymics and epithets (i.e. Τυνδαρίδαι) are liable to be inflected to describe a entity of strictly linked (brothers, sisters) individuals. In this sense, the form Ἄτρεΐδᾶ is peculiar in respect of the more common Ἄτρεΐδαι; the form Αἴαντε, far more attested than the corresponding Αἴαντες, is even more striking.

⁷¹⁵ The apposition has been included in the count for it binds together two singular subjects, Kastor and Poludeukes (σκήμα Ἀλκμανικόν, cf. Fraser 1910, 25ff.).

						κυβιστητήρε 1 _x	λέοντε 5 _x	ὄφθαλμῶ 2 _x
						μήστωρε 1 _x		πήχεε 1 _x
						φῶτε 3 _x		πόδε 1 _x
								ποδοῖν 6 _x
								ποταμῶ 1 _x
								τελαμῶνε 1 _x
								τένοντε 5 _x
								τρίποδε 1 _x
								χεῖρε 10 _x
								ῶμοιν 10 _x
								ῶμο 4 _x
Tot.	50	25	11	32	27	30	28	102
<i>Odyssey</i>	νῶι 15 _x	σφῶι 1 _x	σφωε 1 _x	/	ἐτάρω 1 _x	ἄνδρε 4	αἰετώ 1 _x	βλεφάρουιν 1 _x
	νῶ 1 _x	σφῶ 2 _x	σφωιν 2 _x		κασιγνήτω 1 _x	δμῶε 2 _x	βόε 1 _x	δοῦρε 6 _x
	νῶιν 12 _x	σφῶιν 5 _x	σφε 4 _x ⁷¹⁶		παῖδε 3 _x	ἐπαμύντορε 1 _x	γῦπε 1 _x	μηρῶ 1 _x
					Σειρήνουιν 2 _x	θεράποντε 2 _x	ἡμιόνουιν 3 _x	ὄσσε 13 _x
					τοκῆε 1 _x	κούρω 3 _x	ἵππουιν 1 _x	ὄφθαλμοῖν 2 _x
					υῖε 1 _x	κυβιστητήρε 1 _x	ἵππω 1 _x	πήχεε 3 _x
						ξεινώ 1 _x		ποδοῖν 2 _x
								σταθμοῖν 1 _x
							χεῖρε 11 _x	
								ῶμοιν 4 _x
Tot.	28	8	7	/	9	14	8	44

Despite the forementioned disparities, the hierarchy thus obtained seems quite consistent: yet some adjustments are possible, in order to produce a tidier outcome. As it appears, many forms recur identical in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: it will hence be acceptable to blend the results of the two domains together, for the proportions between single categories will not be altered. The only category which behaves quite differently in the poems is the one represented by proper names: once the discontinuity has been remarked, it seems nevertheless possible to incorporate it into kin nouns, and postpone comments to the following discussion.

Let us also leave pronouns aside for a moment, and focus on discrepancies in the noun only. Despite some minor oscillations in relative percentages – the

⁷¹⁶ Four occurrences of a plausible σφε in apocope (*Od.* III 440, VIII 271, XXI 192, 206) have hereby been included.

aforesaid majority of non-kin in respect of kin nouns, which we will deal with latelý – the most glaring inconsistency remains the huge number of inanimate forms: Hillyard was himself struck by the fact that such items, allegedly at the bottom of the hierarchy, seemed instead quite keen to embrace the dual⁷¹⁷. When looking at single elements in the category, though, it is easy to notice that a huge part of the inanimates is constituted by body parts nouns. This does not surprise, for the dual is the realm of naturally coupled items: natural duals are reasonably favoured within the category. There are some exceptions to this assessment: not all coupled body parts are favoured by the dual: we never meet forms like **ὠτέ, **γούνατε, **δούρατε⁷¹⁸. Still, natural duals constitute a substantial portion of the total amount of forms, partly due to their widespread presence within formulas. It will hence be proper to count them separately, in accordance with their specific status. With a slight modification to the hierarchy, then, the glaring inconsistency disappears. If, in fact, we split the ‘inanimate’ category between simple inanimate items and natural duals, putting the latest at the head of the hierarchy, we gain a more reassuring result.

Natural duals	Proper and kin names	Non-kin human	Non-human animate	Inanimate
βλεφάροιιν 2 _x	Αἴαντε 25 _x	ἄνδρε 10 _x	αἰετώ 1 _x	δοῦρε 14 _x
μηρός 5 _x	Ἄκτωρίονε 2 _x	ἄνερε 5 _x	ἄρνε 2 _x	κροινώ 1 _x
ὄσσε 57 _x	Ἄτρεΐδα 3 _x	δμῶε 2 _x	βόε 2 _x	λαῖ 1 _x
ὀφθαλμοῖιν 2 _x	Μολίονε 2 _x	ἐπαμύντορε 1 _x	γῦπε 1 _x	λέχεε 1 _x
ὀφθαλμῶ 2 _x	αὐτοκασιγνήτω 1 _x	ἠγήτορε 4 _x	ἠμίονοιιν 3 _x	ποταμῶ 1 _x
πήχεε 4 _x	ἐτάρω 1 _x	θεράποντε 6 _x	θήρε 1 _x	σταθμοῖιν 1 _x
πόδε 1 _x	θεῶ 1 _x	ιητήρε 1 _x	ἵπποιν 5 _x	τελαμῶνε 1 _x

⁷¹⁷ He tries nevertheless to justify the phenomenon, yet without giving any proper explanation: «when the dual was being lost, it was preserved for particular morphological or semantic reasons in certain nouns [e.g. inanimates]; [this] is probably the most convincing explanation for the dual percentage being higher in the inanimates than the animates» (2008, 380).

⁷¹⁸ Prof. Hainsworth (private communication) rightly stresses how this might be linked to their being secondary *t*-stems. This absence is evident in the Homeric poetry; analogy would create a dual form eventually, like in Attic κύματα (with the numeral) at Plat. *Resp.* 472a. This seems a satisfactory explanation. It is also possible to note that all of these are neuter stems: compare with f. m. μηρός, m. ὀφθαλμός, m. πῆχυς, m. τένων, m. χεῖρ, m. ὄμος, m. πούς – a primary dental stem. Apparently, neuter is not the prevailing gender choice for dual body parts, probably by virtue of a certain degree of ‘animatedness’ in such pairings: the only neuters in the Homeric poems are βλέφαρον and the questionable ὄσσε. Outside the realm of body parts, the well-spread Homeric δοῦρε probably accounts for the absence of **δούρατε in later literature. For a further discussion of the matter, see each corresponding entry in the commentary to Homeric forms (par. 4.0).

ποδοῖν 8 _x	κασιγνήτω 1 _x	κήρυκε 2 _x	ἵππω 14 _x	τριπόδε 1 _x
τένοντε 5 _x	κῆρε 2 _x	κοσμήτορε 3 _x	κάπρω 1 _x	
χεῖρε 21 _x	παῖδε 11 _x	κούρω 3 _x	κύνε 1 _x	
ῥμοῖιν 14 _x	Σειρήνοιν 2 _x	κυβιστητῆρε 2 _x	λέοντε 5 _x	
ῥμω 4 _x	τοκῆε 1 _x	μήστωρε 1 _x		
	υῖε 16 _x	ξεινώ 1 _x		
		φῶτε 3 _x		
125	68	44	36	21

The decision to put natural duals at the head of the hierarchy is, of course, arbitrary. Still, as we have seen (par. 2.2.0), the category of the dual typologically shows a strong bond with naturally coupled items, which seem to be a highly persistent (and resistant) *locus* for the category, even when functionally lost⁷¹⁹: so it happens in fact for instance in some Arabic, as well as Slavic dialects. The decision of giving priority to natural duals into the hierarchy should hence be not too distressing: even if hardly animate⁷²⁰, natural duals are, semantically, the most pertinent place in which a dual could be expected to present, being genetically homogeneous pairings working as a single cell, but split into two limbs⁷²¹.

It is hence possible to read the freshly obtained table. The ‘new’ inanimate deprived of natural duals, chiefly composed by tools and goods⁷²², figures as the scancer category of duals in the poems: in perfect agreement with the Animacy Hierarchy, then, the lest conspicuous is also the less animate. They all are *hapax*,

⁷¹⁹ We underlined how the dual is a gooseberry in the liaison between singular and plural. It needs oppose to both, and in such a tension it gets clenched: as a matter of fact, it appears that natural duals are more easily carried in everyday language and get more easily entrenched in orality, up to the point of resulting in many languages as the last duals to survive.

⁷²⁰ But we already mentioned the related gender-issue, see note above: the main part of natural duals is described by non-neuter stem, thus enhancing their originally marked status.

⁷²¹ This operation determines, as a consequence, an interference with the animacy principle: yet, it is an extremely pertinent one, because it is likely and obvious for the dual to apply mainly to natural duals. Corbett’s hierarchy as we ‘borrowed’ it is a general one, liable to be applied to all number features: it is concerned with finding the most universally possible pattern of prediction for number values. Yet the peculiarity of the dual rests on its paral value, and, as a consequence, natural duals result less marked than other possible dual options.

⁷²² Except for ποταμῶ, *Il.* V 773, referred to Simoeis and Skamandros, the two rivers distinctive of Troy. By some means, the collocation of the two rivers in this category is problematic, for they show a certain degree of animacy, being even personified in *Il.* XXI 305-384: to some extent, the two behave as a fixed pairing, and their condition is hence enhanced and raised from a merely inanimate level (in a quite similar fashion to what is often done in the poems with pairings of horses); see par. 4.0 *ad loc.* for a comment on the passage. The two rivers hence appear to be bearers of some animacy; they will nevertheless be counted as inanimate in the present enquiry, for the sake of both clarity and consistency.

with the exception of the widespread δοῦρε. At a closer look, though, it appears that δοῦρε's thriving presence in the poems is justified by its constant collocation within formulas⁷²³.

Upwards the hierarchy, we encounter non-human animate: the group is entirely composed by animals. Of all the attested instances, 9_x occur within metaphors⁷²⁴. Moving furtherly high, non-kin humans are by their part represented by nouns of crafts and heroic epithets: many of these, especially in the latter category, belong to formulaic expressions⁷²⁵. Epithets like ἡγήτορε, κοσμήτορε and μήστορε provide the rhapsode with a suitable equipment of titles to address pairings of heroes: such device proves chiefly viable in the *Iliad*, which does in fact concentrate all occurrences of the three epithets. The same function is fulfilled, as an instance, by labels like οὐκ ἀέκοντε, ἐμμεμαῶτε, εὔ ειδότε, κορυστά, κραταιά, μεμαῶτε, πεπνυμένω, μέγα φρονέοντε, ὠκυπέτα, chiefly occurring in formulaic expressions⁷²⁶.

As far as kin nouns are concerned, the very same function to qualify paired heroes – or brothers – is accomplished by nouns like αὐτοκασιγνήτω and

⁷²³ 3_x δοῦρε δύο κεκορυθμένα καλκῶ, in *clausola* (*Il.* III 18, XI 43, *Od.* XXII 125); 3_x εἴλετο δ' ἄλκιμα δοῦρε in *incipit* (*Il.* XI 43, XVI 139, *Od.* XXII 125); 8_x δύο δοῦρε, always in verse-end in the *Odyssey* (*Il.* X 76, XII 298, XXI 145; *Od.* I 256, XII 228, XVI 295, XVIII 377, XXII 101).

⁷²⁴ *Iliad*: βόε (XIII 703), θῆρε (XV 324), κάπρω (XI 324), κύνε (X 360), λέοντε (V 554, X 297, XIII 198, XVI 756). Just once in the *Odyssey*: βόε (XIII 32). Yet to a certain extent all the couples of animals in the poems are iconic. The presence within metaphors bestows on the pairs an emblematic value: in this sense, the vultures of *Od.* XI 578 are fixed too, as they are the bearers of eternal punishment to Tityos. Fixed couples are also to be read in the two sacrificial lambs of *Il.* III 103, 246, the two lions carved on Achilles' shield at *Il.* XVIII 579 and, of course, all the heroes' paired horses, especially Diomedes' (*Il.* V 13, 107, XIX 396, 230, 237, 356, 588, VI 38, VIII 41, 127, 136, XIII 23, XVII 486, 501, 504, XXIII 362, 545, *Od.* IV 20, XV 182).

⁷²⁵ 2_x ἄνδρε δύο περὶ τῶνδε κελεύομεν ὃ περ ἀρίστω (*Il.* XXIII 659, 802); 3_x ἄνδρε δύο κρίνας, τρίτατον κήρυχ' ἄμ' ὀπάσσας (*Od.* IV 27, IX 90, X 102); 6_x ἄνδρε δύο (*Il.* XIII 659, 802, *Od.* IV 27, IX 90, X 102, XVI 244); 2_x ἄνδρε δήμου ἀρίστω (*Il.* XI 328, XII 447); 2_x² – τὸ δμῶε (*Od.* XXI 244, XXII 114); 4_x Ἄϊαντ' Ἀργείων ἡγήτορε (*Il.* IV 285, XII 354, XVII 508, 669); 2_x³ – ἡγήτορε χαλκοχιτώνων (*Il.* IV 285, XII 354); 3_x⁴ – κοσμήτορε λαῶν (*Il.* I 16, 375, III 236); 2_x² – δοιὸ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς (*Il.* XVIII 604, *Od.* IV 18); 2_x⁴ – μήστορε φόβοιο (*Il.* V 272, VIII 108).

⁷²⁶ 3_x⁴ – μάχης εὔ ειδότε πάση (*Il.* II 283, V 549, XII 100); 2_x¹ ὧς οἴ' γ' ἐμμεμαῶτε νέκυν φέρον (*Il.* XVII 735, 746); 2_x³ – δύο Αἴαντε κορυστά (*Il.* XIII 201, XVIII 163); 2_x⁵ ἔε κραταιά (*Il.* XIII 345, *Od.* XV 242); 5_x⁴ – μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι (*Il.* V 244, 569, VI 120, XX 159, XXIII 814); 2_x Αἴαντε πρώτῳ προσέφη μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτῷ (*Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555); 4_x⁴ – πεπνυμένω ἄμφω (*Il.* III 148, VII 276, IX 689, *Od.* XVIII 65); 3_x³ – μέγα φρονέοντε (*Il.* XI 325, XVI 758, 824); 2_x ὑπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκοπόδ' ἵππω / ὠκυπέτα χρυσέησιν ἐθειρήσιν κομόωντε (*Il.* VIII 41f., XIII 23f.).

κασιγνήτω, παῖδε, τοκῆε and υἷε. Among these, παῖδε and its synonym υἷε display an extremely high percentage of formulaic occurrences⁷²⁷.

Throughout this bird's eye survey a couple of elements arise. Every category is affected by a high percentage of formulaic material, which best condensates in the most represented nouns (δοῦρε, λεόντε, ἡγήτορε and so forth up through the hierarchy). Variations in frequency are just an epiphenomenon, and a counter-product, of the Animacy Hierarchy: yet they constitute suitable grounds for further inferences. As far as frequency is concerned, it is hence sensible how at a very high rate the appearance of a dual is constrained by context-related, and chiefly metrical, necessity.

It is notorious that the Homeric *Kunstsprache*⁷²⁸ is shaped by the overwhelming power of formulas. Morphosyntactic relations are seldom outranked by metrical constraints. It seems hence reasonable to make an attempt to include formulaic compulsion into our consideration. Let us hence move on to another table, this time implemented with a specific slot reserved to formulaic occurrences⁷²⁹.

Formulaic duals	Natural duals	Proper and kin names	Non-kin human	Non-human animate	Inanimate
Αἴαντε 8 _x	βλεφάρουιν 2 _x	Αἴαντε 17 _x	ἄνδρε 1 _x	αἰετώ 1 _x	δοῦρε 2 _x
ἄνδρε 9 _x	μηρώ 1 _x	Ἀκτωρίονε 2 _x	ἄνερε 3 _x	ἄρνε 2 _x	κρουνώ 1 _x
ἄνερε 2 _x	ῥοσσε 24 _x	Ἀτρεΐδᾶ 1 _x	ἐπαμύντορε 1 _x	γῦπε 1 _x	λαε 1 _x
Ἀτρεΐδᾶ 2 _x	ὀφθαλμῶ 2 _x	αὐτοκασιγνήτω 1 _x	θεράποντε 1 _x	θῆρε 1 _x	λέχεε 1 _x
βῶε 2 _x	πόδε 1 _x	ἐτάρω 1 _x	ἡτῆρε 1 _x	ἵππουιν 1 _x	ποταμῶ 1 _x
δμῶε 2 _x	ποδοῖιν 6 _x	θεῶ 1 _x	κούρω 1 _x	ἵππω 8 _x	σταθμοῖιν 1 _x
δοῦρε 12 _x	τένοντε 2 _x	κασιγνήτω 1 _x	ξεινώ 1 _x	κάπρω 1 _x	τελαμώνε 1 _x
ἡγήτορε 4 _x	χεῖρε 11 _x	παῖδε 8 _x	φῶτε 1 _x	κύνε 1 _x	τρίποδε 1 _x
ἡμιόνουιν 3 _x	ῶμουιν 1 _x	Σειρήνουιν 2 _x			
θεράποντε 5 _x	ῶμω 2 _x	τοκῆε 1 _x			
ἵππουιν 4 _x		υἷε 8 _x			
ἵππω 6 _x					

⁷²⁷ 3_x 2 — δύο παῖδε (*Il.* XI 126, XXII 46, *Od.* XI 307); 6_x υἷε δύο (*Il.* II 679, 831, 843, XI 102, 329, XII 95); 2_x υἷε κραταιῶ (*Il.* XIII 345, *Od.* XV 242).

⁷²⁸ The definition has been first produced by Meister (1921). The Homeric language consists of linguistic forms from a variety of dialects and ages, seasoned with some completely artificial creations. The *Kunstsprache* arose due to the oral transmitted nature of the poetry of which it consists, and the various dialect phases of epic which the language went through.

⁷²⁹ In the following table, the quality of being formulaic will be privileged over other qualities of the single items. Hence natural duals, where formulaic, will be included in the formulaic duals count. This precision seems due, for formulaic natural duals are a conspicuous amount on the total (72_x, 33_x of which are represented by ῥοσσε); deciding where to allocate them does make a difference on the final count, as we will see further on.

κῆρε 2 _x					
κῆρυκε 2 _x					
κοσμήτορε 3 _x					
κούρω 1 _x					
κυβιστητήρε 2 _x					
λέοντε 5 _x					
μηρώ 4 _x					
μήστωρε 1 _x ⁷³⁰					
Μολίονε 2 _x					
ὄσσε 33 _x					
ὀφθαλμοῖν 2 _x					
παῖδε 3 _x					
πήχεε 4 _x					
ποδοῖν 2 _x					
τένοντε 2 _x					
ὔϊε 8 _x					
φῶτε 1 _x					
χεῖρε 10 _x					
ὄμοιν 13 _x					
ὄμω 2 _x					
161	52	43	10	16	9

As it is apparent, formulaic duals are overwhelming. That is to say, if a dual is to occur, it is likely to occur within formulas.

Such outcome is not by any means surprising, as the main part of homeric material is formulaic. Yet the concentration of duals in formulas outranks by far its presence in all the other categories together.

At a quick glance at the table, it appears immediately how all categories but formulaic duals are chiefly represented by *hapax*. Such statement is infringed by a handful of isolated forms⁷³¹, which do nonetheless bear something in common: they prove to be the most productive in formulaic duals. In other words, the nouns which have the more formulaic occurrences also have the more *non* formulaic occurrences. The following table only considers the most frequently attested forms:

⁷³⁰ Albeit the epithet occurring just once in the dual, the noun phrase μήστωρα φόβοιο is to be found 4_x (*Il.* VI 97, 278, XII 39, XXIII 16), 2_x of which in the whole-verse formula ἄγριον αἰχμητὴν κρατερόν μήστωρα φόβοιο.

⁷³¹ The major representatives of non-formulaic occurrences are ὄσσε 24_x, Αἴαντε 17_x, χεῖρε 11_x, παῖδε 8_x, ὔϊε 8_x, ἵππω 8_x, ποδοῖν 6_x, ἀνέρε 3_x; only 2_x non-formulaic occurrences for βλεφάροιν, ὀφθαλμῶ, τένοντε, ὄμω, Ἀκτωρίονε, Σειρήνοιν, ἄρνε, δοῦρε.

Formulaic occurrences	Non-formulaic occurrences
ὄσσε 33 _x	ὄσσε 24 _x
Αἴαντε 8 _x	Αἴαντε 17 _x
χεῖρε 10 _x	χεῖρε 11 _x
παῖδε 3 _x	παῖδε 8 _x
ὔϊε 8 _x	ὔϊε 8 _x
ἵππω 6 _x	ἵππω 8 _x
ποδοῖν 2 _x	ποδοῖν 6 _x

Frequency is by no means meaningful. It seems safe to infer that forms which occur quite frequently within formulas are subsequently ratified outside formulas as well. On the other side, these forms are probably testifying for archaic layers in the poems, where the dual was still well-spread and not constrained to formulaic grounds⁷³². The case of ὄσσε is emblematic: its presence in formulas is sensible, and yet it is commonly used outside formulas as well⁷³³. Strikingly enough the form, the real ‘champion’ of Homeric duals, is almost inexistent in later literary production.

Formularity affects the choices in lexicon, infringing the natural tendency asserted by the Animacy Hierarchy⁷³⁴. We can think of the two patterns as

⁷³² When dealing with formulas, the usual restrictions apply, namely that our counts cannot but be arbitrary, as based on the only formulaic material we have; nothing prevents forms counted as hapax from having been included in formulaic repertoires now lost.

⁷³³ Non-formulaic occurrences of ὄσσε: *Il.* I 200, III 427, IV 503, 526, XI 453, XII 466, XIII 340, 435, 575, XIV 286, 519, XVI 316, 792, XVII 136, 167, XX 393, 471, XXIII 477, XXIV 637, *Od.* IV 186, 758, V 151, XII 232, XX 348.

⁷³⁴ A last counterproof is available. If we apply animacy principles to the column of formulaic duals only, we obtain the following table:

Formulaic natural duals	Formulaic kin and proper names	Formulaic non-kin human	Formulaic non-human animate	Formulaic inanimate
μηρό 4 _x	Αἴαντε 8 _x	ἄνδρε 9 _x	βόε 2 _x	δοῦρε 12 _x
ὄσσε 33 _x	Ἄτρείδᾱ 2 _x	ἀνέρε 2 _x	ἠμιόνοι 3 _x	
ὀφθαλμοῖν 2 _x	Μολίονε 2 _x	δμῶε 2 _x	ἵπποιν 4 _x	
πήχεε 4 _x	παῖδε 3 _x	ἡγήτορε 4 _x	ἵππω 6 _x	
ποδοῖν 2 _x	ὔϊε 8 _x	θεράποντε 5 _x	Κῆρε 2 _x	
τένοντε 2 _x		κῆρυκε 2 _x	λέοντε 5 _x	
χεῖρε 10 _x		κοσμήτορε 3 _x		
ὄμοιν 13 _x		κούρω 1 _x		
ὄμω 2 _x		κυβιστητήρε 2 _x		
		μήστορε 1 _x		
		φῶτε 1 _x		
72	23	32	22	12

The situation is quite mixed up. Natural duals are still overwhelming, but chiefly because of the excessive power of ὄσσε. Proper and kin names are not so well-represented – but we must keep in mind that dual proper names are obsolete, as they represent a relic of ancient associative functions.

counteracting forces, directing the choices in number features in compliance with different, and not necessarily clashing, criteria. What emerges from the present issue is hence a basic consideration: frequency and animacy are deeply interrelated in the consideration of the forms. Opposite to forms occurring once, which generally are distributed according to animacy criteria, we have recurring forms, which surely are well-attested within formulas, but prove productive outside formulas as well.

A handful of implications arise. On the one hand, it may certainly be said that formularity preserved privileged forms. On the other hand, the contrary may be said as well, namely that privileged forms have been spread up to the point to get fixed within formulas. The two processes do not seem to be conflicting, representing instead two overlapping aspects of the same process of preservation of the feature. The dual has probably been perceived, at a certain stage, as an archaism, but this did not hamper its preservation; conversely, it may plausibly have favoured it.

We may safely assume that the dual had been vital at a certain stage of the redaction of the poems: if it has been preserved and transmitted via formulas it is not only by chance, but rather because it was perceived as an archaism. The point at stake is not which parameter, between frequency and formularity, triggered the other in this process of preservation, rather than to observe that the two are intertwined and working in the same direction.

Let us now recollect what has been explored so far. It appears that animacy principles generally apply to the dual number in the Homeric poems; with some slight deviations, the Animacy Hierarchy covers quite well the distribution of dual forms in the homeric poems. Yet the dual number, thanks to his couple-friendly attitude, shows a preference for natural duals. We discussed how such predilection is semantically, and typologically, motivated: natural duals have hence been separated, in order to show where they are to be placed in the animacy ranking. As a general prediction, we expect natural duals to outrank animacy – and they surely do. There is, though, a further factor at stake: among natural duals, the presence of formulaic material is glaring. The influence of formularity is overwhelming in the poems: in relation to this enquiry, this phenomenon alerts us on the fact that we are

the most varied set is represented by human nouns, mainly epithets – perfectly fitting within formulas. Even though not completely distraught, then, this hierarchy proves to be no more dependent on animacy principles more than stylistical and formulaic necessity.

not dealing here with a natural language, but with a rather peculiar piece of literature. The fact that animacy principles are themselves constrained is a precious indication on patterns and compulsions at work in our quite characteristic piece of evidence. In particular, it emerges from our data that formularity plays the major role in the distribution of the feature among the various categories. Consequently, formulaic features outweigh both natural duals *and* animacy. This is no more a hierarchy based on naturalness, of course; the fact should not surprise, though, since we are to deal with a non-spontaneous, artificial language. On the contrary, the fact that the influence of formulas supersedes the expected Animacy Hierarchy has much to say about the degree of naturalness (or non-naturalness, in this case) of the Homeric use of number values. As we will appraise further on (par. 2.4), the use of the dual is not neutral in the Homeric poems nor in Attic. The same might well be said about any number feature, if not any feature, within literary production: the selection of a specific form is always conditioned and affected by criteria which no longer relate only to naturalness criteria, being instead based on stylistical, and sometimes explicitly individual choices.

In conclusion, the fact that the Animacy Hierarchy applies to the Homeric poetry is rewarding, and extremely meaningful in relation to the pertinence of the duals in the text; besides, the fact that the Animacy Hierarchy is constrained is perfectly reasonable, since we are dealing with a cross-section of literary language.

2.4.0 The rise of competing strategies in Attic.

«'When I use a word', Humpty Dumpty said
in a rather scornful tone, 'it means just what
I choose it to mean – neither more nor less'»
(L. Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass*).

Throughout the former paragraphs, it has been repeated that a morphological feature rests vital as long as the underlying function is. Conversely, if functional loss occurs, the feature – slowly or quickly – fades out, and compensatory strategies arise.

In Attic, as mentioned, the dual is well-preserved and functional. In terms of grammaticalisation, all endings have been analogically shaped in order to

consistently fill their slots in relative paradigms (see cap. 1): morphologisation and paradigmatisation have hence occurred. As for its syntactic arrangement, the dual is in Attic once again facultative, although agreement is better respected than in the Homeric poems: the language of tragedy and comedy indulges in full agreeing phrases⁷³⁵, although partial agreement is not impossible⁷³⁶.

A first remark immediately arises. The evidence we have for Attic is far more varied and ‘marked’ than the epic diction is. In the Homeric poems, in fact, the sway of metrical constraints heavily affects the liberty of poetry, producing formulaic segments and recurring forms. Conversely, even in a restricted segment of literary Attic – Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes – the use of the dual appears resilient and diverse. Its pertinence is semantically induced: the feature emerges wherever relevant. Accordingly, natural duals are eager to present with dual endings. Patterns are to be found in the relative percentage of the dual in different morphological features: for instance, the oblique ending is in Attic definitely more frequent than the direct one. Still, the range of nouns for which a dual is viable appears unrestricted.

Besides, it is possible to register in Attic the emergence of a competing strategy, consisting in the use of compound adjectives provided with a suffix *δι- and agreed with nouns – in all numbers – to express duality. This expedient proves chiefly suitable, as we shall see, in contexts where the inflectional dual

⁷³⁵ The most ancient attestation of a dual in the Attic theatre is in Aeschylus’ *Persae*: ἐδοξάτην μοι δύο γυναῖκ’ εὐδείμονε ... μεγέθει τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπεστάτα πολὺ / κάλλει τ’ ἀμώμω καὶ κασιγνήτα γένους / ταύτοῦ (180-186). Compare with the full-blown dual agreement in the opening of the *Antigone*: τρίτον δ’ ἀδελφῶ δύο μίαν καθ’ ἡμέραν / αὐτοκτονοῦντε τῷ τάλαιπῶρῳ μόρον / κοινὸν κατειργάσαντ’ ἐπαλλήλοιν χεροῖν. / νῦν δ’ αὖ μόνᾳ δὴ νῶ λειλιμμένα σκόπει / ὅσῳ κάκιστ’ ὀλοῦμεθ’ εἰ νόμου βία / ψῆφον τυράννων ἢ κράτη παρῆξιμεν. / ἀλλ’ ἔννοεῖν χρῆ τοῦτο μὲν γυναῖχ’ ὅτι / ἔφρυμεν ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ μαχομένα (vv. 55-62); the only two non-matching items are γυναῖκα (the dual is never attested: yet the theme is a heteroclite) and ἔφρυμεν (the verb naturally lacking the 1st person dual).

⁷³⁶ Again in the opening of the *Antigone*, we have ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεις μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων / οὔθ’ ἠδὺς οὔτ’ ἀλγεινὸς ἵκετ’, ἐξ ὅτου / δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ἐστραγήθημεν δύο / μιᾷ θανόντων ἡμέρα διπλῆ χερί (vv. 11-14); the verses belong to a «dense cluster of duals [...] describing natural but frustrated pairings – murderous brothers, disunited sisters, sister and dead brother, dying bride and groom» (Griffith 1999, 121). The ending of θανόντων is not metrically conditioned (as the 5th foot is liable to substitution) and, even if it were, a dual ending *-οιν would be equally long. It may be said that the plural here distances and distinguishes the two brothers from the two sisters, in the dual; the argument does not seem cogent though, as the multiplication of duals in the passage appears to be an aware device to insist simultaneously on both couples. Be it as it may, we still may infer that, for stylistical reasons, the dual, being facultative, may be interchangeable with the plural (not *vice versa*, of course).

appeared somehow inappropriate, be it for functional or stylistical reasons. Before delving into any further assessment, let us linger on our evidence. In the following paragraphs (2.4.1, 2.4.2, 2.4.3), instances of duals are listed *per* author and play. Attestations in lyrical parts are enhanced in bold character. In paragraph 2.4.5 a linguistic overview on compounds and their specificities will be tackled, in order to approach some conclusions in par. 2.4.6.

2.4.1 Aeschylus.

Persae 16x: γυναικ(ε) (181), ἐδοξάτην (181), εὐείμονε (181), ἐκπρεπεστάτᾱ (184), ἀμάμω (185), κασιγνήτᾱ (185), αὐτᾱ (191), αὐτώ (191), χεροῖν (194, 201), ποδοῖν (516), ἀμφοτέρᾱ (720), δυοῖν (720, 736), στρατευμάτοιν (720)⁷³⁷, γαῖν (736), ὄσσε (1065)

Septem 22x: χεροῖν (473, **855**⁷³⁸), ἄνδρε (478), ξυνοίσετον (510), ἀνδροῖν (681), ὀμαίμοιν (681), κεῖσθον (810), ἀμφοῖν (812), δισσώ (816), στρατεγῶ (816), ὀμοσπόροιν (820), βασιλείοιν (820), βασιλείοιν (829), **διπλαῖν (849)**, **μερίμναιν (849)**, **ἀδελφοῖν (863)**, **ἀνακτοῖν (921)**, **δυοῖν (921, 960)**, **τοῖνδε (921)**, **ἐρξάτην (923)**

Supplices 2x: βασιλέων (298), **χεῖρ(ε) (756)**

Agamemnon 11x: ἐδειξάτην (651), φθείροντε (652), ἦλθετον (1207), δῖς (1384), δυοῖν (1384), οἰμωγμάτοιν (1384), ἐπραξάτην (1443), **χεῖρ(ε) (1559)**, ἀμφοῖν (1648), τοῖνδε (1648), κρατοῦντε (1673)

Choephoroi 23x: **χεροῖν (161, 362)**, ἐστον (207), περιγραφά (207), ποδοῖν (207, 982), τῶδε (207), νῶιν (234), ἄμφω (254, 563), ἔχοντε (254), γυναικοῖν (304), δυοῖν (304, **944**, 1047), ἐτεῖνατον (510), μιμουμένω (564), εἰχέτην (760), **μιαστόροιν (944)**, χεροῖν (982, 1055), δρακόντοιν (1047), χεῖρ(ε) (fr. 7 R²)

⁷³⁷ The form belongs to a στιχομυθία, and is therefore syntethic and dense: διπλοῦν μέτωπον ἦν δυοῖν στρατευμάτοιν. The adjective διπλοῦς fulfils the duty to bear a reciprocal value, also stressed by the singular of the noun it qualifies (διπλοῦν μέτωπον = δύο μέτωπα).

⁷³⁸ The occurrence in lyrical parts is not markedly telling: the form is, in the oblique dual, a hardened and stereotyped one, employed almost adverbially. See *infra*.

Eumenides 4_x: δυοῖν (428, 600), παρόντων (428), μισμάτων (600)

(*Prometheus*) 7_x: σφῶιν (12), δυοῖν (778, 867), ποίοιν (779), λόγοιν (790), ἠπείροιν (790), χειροῖν (917)

Instances of duals are, in the relative chronology of Aeschylus', more frequent in the most archaic tragedies. In particular, it is sensible the presence of a distinct feminine ending in the *Persae* already – a coinage which could have been epichoristic, hence 'epurated' in serior production. In all Aeschylean production, few are the personal pronouns.

The *Them* are quite prolific in the resort to the dual, whose major function is to stress reciprocity. Accordingly, there is a neat increase of dual forms in the second part of the Tragedy⁷³⁹. The resort to δι-compound adjectives as equivalent to the dual is attested since the most archaic production⁷⁴⁰. In the *Them*, twice are they inflected in the dual (δισσὸ στρατεγῶ at v. 816, διπλαῖν μερίμναι at v. 849). Duality is hence marked both by inflectional and semantic devices: the cohabitation of two different devices shall have not been perceived as redundant here.

The forms χεῖρε, χειροῖν are hardly constrainable. The dual is canonical for this noun in Attic: just as in the Homeric poetry, though, the plural is tolerated as well. The direct form χεῖρε (Ag. 1559, and possibly *Th.* 756, both in lyrical sections) is canonical in Attic, despite curiously scarce in tragic production: a distinctive 'Homeric sounding' may have been perceived as connaturate to it. Such an inference is indeed impossible to determine, as the Attic direct form is homologous to the Homeric one. Nevertheless, the fact that the direct form is almost entirely missing in the tragic repertoire – in glaring contrast with the high presence of the oblique – is suspicious⁷⁴¹, even more if we consider that χεῖρε is well rooted in Aristophanes⁷⁴².

⁷³⁹ The same might be said about the *Agamemnon*, where the dual more and more often arises, as the tragedy evolves, to bind together ill-chosen couples: πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα (vv. 651f.), Cassandra and Apollo (v. 1207), Cassandra and Agamemnon (v. 1443), Clytaimnestra and Aegisthos (vv. 1648, 1673).

⁷⁴⁰ Their range of appliance being strikingly similar to the one of quantifiers: compare with, e.g., δυοῖν γυναικοῖν, δυοῖν χειροῖν, δυοῖν δρακόντων (*Coeph.* 304, 944, 1047).

⁷⁴¹ The two synonyms χειροῖν and χεῖρε provide metrical variance. The direct form χεῖρε occurs 2_x (Aesch. Ag. 1559, Eur. *Andr.* 115), the oblique χειροῖν 105_x (Aesch. *Pers.* 194, 201, *Th.* 473, 855, *Ch.* 161, 362, (*Pr.*) 917, Soph. *Aj.* 618, 729, 1047, *Ant.* 57, 264, 1109, 1345, *Tr.* 265, 488, 566, 1066, *OR* 821, 912, 1031, 1466, *El.* 54, 326, 431, 476, 712, 1091, 1129, 1132, 1350, *Ph.* 655, 1150, *OC* 483, 838, *frr.* 149.3, 149.7,

In the *Agamemnon*, the context of the dual fairly suggests a Homeric echo: the clause *περὶ χειῖρε βαλοῦσα* is reminiscent of the *περὶ χειῖρε βάλλοντε* of the *Nekyia* (*Od.* XI 211; see also *Od.* XXI 223). It is plausible for the clause to have been a verse-end formula of epic repertoire (—⁵—⁶—), reprised by Euripides (*Andr.* 115) as well.

As enhanced, incontrovertible Homerisms are extremely rarefied: this may be due on the one side to the challenged ‘dialogue’ entertained by Tragedy with the Epics and, on the other, to the non neutral condition of the dual itself, a markedly ‘Attic’ feature. Nevertheless, a fortunate case results relevant to our purposes: twice in the surviving tragic production we encounter the *homerikotaton* ὄσσε: in the *Persae* (v. 1065), *δαιίνου δ’ ὄσσε*, and in the *Trades* (vv. 1315f.), *μέλας γὰρ ὄσσε κατεκάλυψε*. Whether the first instance echoes an epic phrasing it is impossible to say; in the Homeric poetry no strict comparisons surface. The Euripidean occurrence, however, bears the memory of the Homeric verse-end formula *τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν* (5_x, *Il.* IV 461, VI 11, XV 578, XVI 325, XXI 181)⁷⁴³.

A final echo might be concealed by the condensation, not solely Aeschylean, of duals in the lexicon of kinship (*ἀδελφ-, *(αὐτο)κασιγνητ-, etc.) in tragedies of Theban argument⁷⁴⁴. the fact is obvious, the motivation naturally being semantic and not morphological; still, the thematic evidence seems to speak in favour of a pattern.

314.226, 482 Lloyd-Jones, Eur. *Alc.* 201, 612, 847, 1142, *Med.* 370, 784, 981, 1003, 1412, *Her.* 226, 578, *Hipp.* 1220, 1360, *Andr.* 1158, *Hec.* 526, 527, 1125, *Supp.* 590, 886, 1166, *El.* 506, 813, 819, 1160, *HF* 631, 1342, *Tr.* 377, *IT.* 373, 382, 1044, 1047, 1367, 1417, *Ion.* 1174, 1187, 1440, 1443, *Hel.* 1386, 1600, *Ph.* 1316, 1351, *Or.* 113, 377, 429, 517, 1340, 1458, 1477, 1493, *IA.* 601, 1112, *Ba.* 495, 738, 858, 949, 1068, 1128, 1140, 1237, 1240, 1280, *Cyc.* 171, 379, 630, fr. 223.39, 282.19 Collard-Cropp), its variant *χειροῖν* 6_x (Aesch. *Ch.* 982, 1055, *Soph. El.* 206, 1394, Eur. *Ion.* 1493, *Rh.* 887). Surely the oblique is in Attic more vital than the direct nominal dual ending: still, the discrepancy between the two endings is extraordinary, and cannot be accounted for by merely morphological arguments.

⁷⁴² 13_x, if we consider both direct and oblique forms: 10_x *χειῖρε* (*Eq.* 79, *Nu.* 506, *Pax* 35, *Av.* 623, *Lys.* 434, *Ra.* 201, 1029, 1192, *Plu.* 739), 1_x *χειροῖν* (*Eq.* 826) and 2_x *χεροῖν* (*Ra.* 1348, 1362).

⁷⁴³ 2_x *ἐν δὲ μετόπῳ πῆξε πέρησε δ’ ἄρ’ ὄστέον εἶσω / αἰχμὴ χαλκείη τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν* (*Il.* IV 461, VI 11); 2_x *δούπησεν δὲ πεσῶν τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν* (*Il.* XV 578, XVI 325). A variant to the formula is attested at *Il.* XVII 136 *κάτω ἔλκεται ὄσσε καλύπτων*.

⁷⁴⁴ 2_x *ἀδελφῷ* (*Soph. Ant.* 55, Eur. *Ph.* 1437), 1_x *ἀδελφαῖν* (*Soph. OC* 1290), 2_x *ἀδελφοῖν* (Aesch. *Th.* 863, *Soph. Ant.* 13), 1_x *ἐκγόνουιν* (*Soph. OT* 1474), 2_x *ἐμφύντε* (*Soph. (Ant.* 145), *OC* 1113), 2_x *κασιγνήτω* (*Soph. Ant.* 21, Eur. *Ph.* 1267), 1_x *ὀμαίμοιν* (Aesch. *Th.* 681), 2_x *ὀμοσπόροιν* (Aesch. *Th.* 820, Eur. fr. 360.36 Collard-Cropp?), 6_x *παῖδε* (*Soph. Ant.* 561, *OC* 493, 531, 1640, Eur. *Ph.* 1208, 1219), 3_x *παίδοιν* (*Soph. OC* 365, 818, Eur. *Ph.* 1349), 1_x *τέκνω* (Eur. *Ph.* 1428), 1_x *τέκνοιν* (Eur. *Ph.* 1263). Beside single occurrences, couples of brothers and sisters are persistently addressed to in the dual in the Theban saga.

2.4.2 Sophocles.

Ajax 13_x: ποδοῖν (248), χερσῶν (618, 729, 1047), βροτοῖν (1028), δυοῖν (1028, 1304), περιστελοῦντε (1170), ἀμφοῖν (1264), σφῶιν (1265), δραπέτην (1285), ἀριστέοιν (1304), ἠθελησάτην (1387)

Antigone 44_x: ζώσαιν (3), νῶιν (3, 21, 50, 558), ἀδελφοῖν (13), δυοῖν (13), θανόντοιν (14), κασιγνήτω (21), τῷ (21, 56, 561, 769), ἀδελφῷ (55), αὐτοκτονοῦντε (56), τάλαιπῶρω (56), ἐπαλλήλοιν (57), κατειργάσαντ(ε) (57), χερσῶν (57, 264, 1109, 1345), λελειμμένῃ (58), μόνῃ (58), νῷ (58), γυναικ(ε) (61), μαχομένῃ (62), στυγεροῖν (144), τοῖν (144), αὐτοῖν (145), φόντε (145), ἔχετον (146), στήσαντ(ε) (146), ἄμφω (147, 770), ἄτα (533), παῖδε (561), τῷδε (561, 769), κόρῃ (769), αὐτῷ (770), ποδοῖν (855), κεκευθότοιν (911), βλέποντε (989)

Trachiniae 8_x: χερσῶν (265, 488, 566, 1066), ἀμφοῖν (521), δυοῖν (941), σαῖν (1066)

Oedipus Tyrannos 44_x: δυοῖν (581, 640, 1280, 1373), σφῶιν (581, 667, 1495, 1511), κακοῖν (640), ἀμφοῖν (683), αὐτοῖν (683), ποδοῖν (718, 1034), κείνοιν (785), ἠλαυνέτην (805), ἐμαῖν (821, 1462), χερσῶν (821, 912, 1031, 1466), αἶνπερ (822), οῖν (1373, 1463), ἐθέσθην (1453), ἀπωλλύτην (1454), ἀθλίαιν (1462), οἰκτρᾶν (1462), παρθένοιν (1462), τοῖν (1462, 1466, 1472), μετειχέτην (1465), φίλοιν (1472), δακρυρροοῦντοιν (1473), ἐγγόνοιν (1474), ἐμοῖν (1474), σφῷ (1486, 1488), νῷ (1504), τούτοιν (1504), ὦ (1504) ὄντε (1505), εἰχέτην (1511)

Electra 52_x: χερσῶν (54, 326, 431, 476, 712, 1091, 1129, 1132, 1350), διδύμαιν (206), χειροῖν (206, 1394), ἀμφοῖν (370), δυοῖν (467, 1320), ποδοῖν (567), ἐξισώσαντε (738), ἠλαυνέτην (739), παύσετον (795), νῶιν (882, 918, 1038, 1297), λελείμμεθον (950), μόνῃ (950), κασιγνήτω (977), τῷ (977, 1401), τῷδε (977, 981, 982), ἐξεσωσάτην (978), ὦ (978, 979), ἀφειδήσαντε (980), προυστήτην (980), τούτῳ (981), νῷ (984), ζώσαιν (985), θανούσαιν (985), πράσσοντε (1003), λαβόντε (1006), τοῖνδε (1133), ἐπελθόντοιν (1297), ἀπαλλαχθέντε (1335), παρεστῶτοιν (1367), σφῶιν (1367), τοῖν (1367), ἐφέξετον (1369), προσκύσαντ(ε) (1374), αὐτοῖν (1376), ἐφέστατον (1401)

Philoktetes 24x: ἀμφοῖν (25), ποίω (118), νῶιν (133, 779), οἷν (426), ὀλωλότοιιν (427), ἄνδρε (539, 591), ἐπίσχετον (539), εἴσιτον (541), χωρεῖτον (541), ἄλλοιν (543), δυοῖν (543), τῶδε (591), ὄπερ (591), σφῶιν (627), χεροῖν (655, 1150), νώ (1080), ὀρμώμεθον (1080), ἰόντ(ε) (1221), λέοντε (1436), συννόμω (1436), φυλάσσετον (1436)

Oedipus Coloneus 83x: νῶν (29, 1184, **1670, 1683**), δυοῖν (329, 496, 818), ἐκείνω (337), κατεικασθέντε (338), σφῶν (342, 496, 1110, 1257, 1375, 1392, 1411, 1425, 1543, 1696, 1740), ἐκείνοιιν (344), σφῶ (344, 1408, 1435, 1444, 1543), ὑπερπονεῖτον (345), δυσμόροιν (365, **1672**), παῖδοιν (365, 818), σοῖν (365), τοῖν (365, 372), τρισαθλίοιν (372), ἄμφω (417), ἐξεπίστασθον (417), αὐτοῖν (423, 430), οὔσαιιν (445), παρθένοιιν (445), τοῖνδε (445, 1290), αὐτᾶῖν (446), εἰλέσθην (448), τῶ (448, 1600), ἀμφοῖν (483, 1425), χεροῖν (483, 838), κλύετον (493), παῖδε (493, **531**, 1640), κακοῖν (496), πράσσετον (500), **ἄτα (531), θεαῖν (683), μεγάλοιιν (683)**, σκήπτροιν (848), τούτοιιν (848, 859, 1149), μόναιιν (859), πάρεστον (1102), ἐστόν (1107), παρεστῶσαιιν (1111), ἀναπαύσατον (1113), ἐμφύντε (1113), ἀδελφαῖν (1290), ἀξιῶτον (1377), ἐξατιμάζητον (1378), ἔφυτον (1378), τοιῶδε (1379), κομίζετον (1411), πονεῖτον (1412), ἔξετον (1436), χαίρετον (1437), μολούσα (1601), πεφύκατον (1669), **ὅτινε (1673), ἰδόντε (1676), παθούσα (1676), ἔβητον (1695), φλέγεσθον (1695), ἐλάχετον (1746)**

Fragments (Lloyd-Jones) 15x: χεροῖν (149.3, 149.7, 314.226, 482), νεκροῖν (210.47), τοῖν (210.47), νῶιν (297), δράκοντε (596), εἰληφότε (596), ἀμφοῖν (755.2, 867.2), θροοῦντε (861.2), ἠπειρώ (881), τῶ (881, 957.1)

In Sophocles δι-compounds are widespread, yet they usually do not inflect in the dual (the only instance in the dual being *El.* 206, διδύμαιν χεροῖν), a fact which could describe an aspect of the author's idiolect⁷⁴⁵. Sophocles is, however, keener on

⁷⁴⁵ Nominal oblique duals are frequently accompanied by the quantifier: see, e.g., *Aj.* 1028 δυοῖν βροτοῖν and 1304 δυοῖν ἀριστέοιν, *Ant.* 13 ἀδελφοῖν δυοῖν, *OT* 640 and *OC* 496 δυοῖν κακοῖν etc. The fact had been remarked by Cuny (1906, 150f.): «quand un nom (il s'agit avant tout du duel occasionnel) est accompagné de δύο, les tragiques l'emploient presque toujours au duel»; still, our evidence describes a pattern more than a rule, as the dual is facultative and not conditioned.

the dual than the other Tragicists are, especially as far as personal pronouns⁷⁴⁶ are concerned – meaningful, in this respect, is the concentration in the *Oedipus Coloneus*⁷⁴⁷.

Some incidental remarks may be made on single tragedies. In the opening of the *Antigone*, extraordinarily rich in duals⁷⁴⁸, the form αὐτοκτονοῦντε deserves special attention⁷⁴⁹. The prefix αὐτο- in compounds widens its range of semantic referents, describing not only the sphere of the self, but also the sphere of the *alter*, with a subsequent reciprocal value⁷⁵⁰. So, αὐτοφονία is properly ‘suicide’ (Aesch. *Eu.* 336), but αὐτόφονος is ‘someone who murders his own (relatives)’, hence ‘murderer’ (Aesch. *Ag.* 1091, *Th.* 850). The latter value is borne by the adjective αὐτοκτόνος and the adverb αὐτοκτόνως too (Aesch. *Ag.* 1635, *Th.* 681, 734, 810, *Eur. Med.* 1254) and by the very Sophoclean αὐτόχειρ⁷⁵¹. Compounds with reciprocal

⁷⁴⁶ The same is true for other pronouns as well (relatives, indefinites, etc.), in which Sophocles’ usage is more varied and insisted than the other Tragicists. Well-rooted is also the presence of a specific ending for the feminine: for further discussion, see par. 1.2.

⁷⁴⁷ Where a surprising peak is to be registered: 4_x νόν (vv. 29, 1184, 1670, 1683), 5_x σφώ (vv. 344, 1408, 1435, 1444, 1543), 11_x σφῶν (vv. 342, 496, 1110, 1257, 1375, 1392, 1411, 1425, 1543, 1696, 1740). Many factors concur to this astounding fact: duals are easily associated to the Theban saga (engaged in tightly related pairings of brothers and sisters), Sophocles makes more varied a use of the pronouns than the other Tragicists, and pronouns prove particularly pertinent to the context of the play, bearing both an affective and deictic power.

⁷⁴⁸ We can trace, in a quite Homeric fashion, ‘clusters’ of duals in Sophocles (predictably tied, almost ever, to heroes of the Theban saga), as if the appearance of one form could trigger the sudden rise of many – even with an affective, more colloquial and intimate value. Apart from the notorious opening of the *Antigone* and the closure of the *Oedipus Coloneus*, the same phenomenon takes place in the end of the *Oedipus Tyrannos* (1462-1474, 1486, 1488, 1504; note, however, that all verses after v. 1424 are expunged by Dawe 1973 I, 266-273 and 2006, 192f.).

⁷⁴⁹ «Though the αὐτο- prefix in S: sometimes has no more than a vaguely intensive or emphatic force, in this play it frequently ‘speaks of the blood-tie as a place of incest, of parricide <and fratricide>, and of suicide’ (Loraux 1986:167)» (Griffith 1999, 120).

⁷⁵⁰ The fact is due by the interplay with the second member of the compound, the ‘right-wing’, and by the result of this interplay in numbers other than the singular, where the propriety expressed by the compound reflects on a plurality of referents. Hence, if αὐτο-κασιγνήτος is one who is κασιγνήτος to someone else (and will hardly exist in absolute terms, without any referent), αὐτοκασιγνήτω are two who are κασιγνήτω, even in absolute terms – hence, to each other. It is apparent how, in the plural, the prefix αὐτο- naturally tends to reflect on the referents of the compound rather than on someone who is ‘external’. On compounding and its properties, see par. 2.4.5.

⁷⁵¹ The form appears 9_x in Tragedy (1_x Aeschylus, 5_x Sophocles, 3_x Euripides; no occurrences in Aristophanes), 4_x in lyrical parts. The preminent value of the compound is reflexive, literal and pragmatic: ‘in person, with his/her own hands’ (Aesch. *Supp.* 592 πατήρ φυτουργός αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ, *Soph. Ant.* 1175 Αἴμων ὄλωλεν· αὐτόχειρ δ’ αἰμάσσειται, 1315 παίσασ’ ὑφ’ ἧπαρ αὐτόχειρ αὐτήν, *Aj.* δισσοῦς Ἀτρεΐδας αὐτόχειρ κτείνειν ἔχων, *OT* 1331f. ἔπαισε δ’ αὐτόχειρ νιν οὐ- / τις, *Eur. El.* 1160 (Murray) ἔκανεν αὐτόχειρ πέλεκυν ἐν χερσῶν λαβοῦσα), *IA* 873 παῖδα σὴν πατήρ ὁ φύσας αὐτόχειρ

value provide useful synthetic variants, which will have been chiefly suitable in lyrical sections (see *infra*).

There is an interesting reprise between *Ant.* 58f. νῦν δ' αὖ μόνᾳ δὴ νό λειμμένᾳ σκόπει / ὄσφ κάκιστ' ὀλούμεθα and *El.* 950 Ἄιδης λαβὼν / ἀπεστέρηκε καὶ μόνᾳ λειμμέθον: the nexus μόνᾳ λειμμένᾳ is re-enabled with an interesting variation in the verb's artificial 1st person dual in *-μεθον (see also *Il.* XXIII 485, *Soph. Ph.* 1079 and par. 1.3). The *Trachiniai* are definitely scarce in duals – the only forms being almost adverbial.

In the *Electra*, we may notice an insisted use of χερῶν (vv. 54, 326, 431, 476, 712, 1091, 1129, 1132, 1350). It has been stressed how the form is hardened in its structure: duals like ἠπείρουιν, λόγουιν, ποδοῖν, χε(ι)ροῖν are in Attic being treated as idiomatic expression (e.g. ἀμφοῖν, δυοῖν)⁷⁵², their employment being almost adverbial⁷⁵³. Subsequently, χερῶν appears to be a less marked form, stirring up relatively often in lyrical sections too (see *infra*). Besides, the high condensation in the *Electra* suggests an aware choice, especially if compared to the striking percentage of occurrences in the Euripidean *Orestes* (vv. 113, 377, 429, 517, 1340, 1458, 1477, 1493)⁷⁵⁴. The image of tragic resolutions perpetrated by two hands – *i.e.*

μέλλει κτανεῖν). To this value a second shade is added, deriving from an abstraction and resulting in a reciprocal value, mirrored in *Soph. Ant.* 900f. ἐπεὶ θανόντας αὐτόχειρ ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ / ἔλουσα κάκῳσησα (if we refer αὐτόχειρ to θανόντας ὑμᾶς, as it would be natural considering its position within the noun phrase) and *Eur. Ph.* 880 ἐγγυὸς δὲ θάνατος αὐτόχειρ ἀτοῖς Κρέον. In both cases the reciprocal value is induced by the compound referring to a plural.

⁷⁵² This fact proves extremely significant for an objective evaluation of some tragedies: for instance, our last tragedy, *Eur. Ba.* exhibits an average count of duals, 13_x; yet the major part of them is constituted by forms of χερῶν, the 'real' counting being composed by νῶν, βακχεύοντ(ε) and γέροντε only (vv. 194, 251, 365).

⁷⁵³ It appears that χερῶν (on χεῖρε less certainty is allowed: see *supra*) has undergone morphological bleaching, as its dual value is almost irrelevant to the use and understanding of the form. This process is cross-linguistically domineering for natural duals: in Semitic languages, for instance, the only surviving duals are relics, representing old natural duals. The same is true in many Slavic dialects, in which the dual has been lost, leaving foxilised forms in the gen. and instr. of nouns for body parts (as a phenomenon of refunctionalisation: see Tesnière 1925a, Janda 1998, 2000, Tobin 2000 and Igartua 2005). So it happens in Czech *svýma očima* 'both eyes' (instr. du.), Polish *oczami/oczami/oczami* 'eyes' (gen. pl. = old du.), *uszu/uszami* 'ears' (gen. pl. = old du.), *oczami/oczy* 'eyes' (instr. pl. = old du.), *uszami/uszami* 'ears' (instr. pl. = old du.), Slovak *očami/očami* 'eyes' (gen. pl. = old du.) and *ušami/ušami* 'ears' (instr. pl. = old du.), Ukrainian *очима/очима* 'eyes' (instr. pl. = old du.) and *плечима/плечима* 'shoulders' (instr. pl. = old du.), Bulgarian *ръце/ръце* 'hands' (nom. pl. = old du.), Russian *колени/колени* 'body part' and *коленями/коленями* (instr. pl. = old du.).

⁷⁵⁴ Yet the percentage is strikingly high in the *Bacchae* too (vv. 495, 738, 858, 949, 1068, 1128, 1140, 1237, 1240, 1280). This phenomenon could be due to an increased functional loss of the form in late

two siblings – is both highly pragmatic and iconical, hence eager to be metaphorically associated to Electra and Orestes.

At *Ph.* 1436, the form *λέοντε* could be an epicism (compare with *Il.* V 554, X 297, XIII 198, XVIII 579). The form occurs within a simile, with agreed epithet – a construction which is closely mindful of descriptions of Iliadic heroes⁷⁵⁵: also compare with Eur. *Or.* 1401f., *λέοντες* / ἼΕλλανες δύο διδύμω (Orestes and Pilades).

2.4.3 Euripides.

Alcestis 14_x: *χεροῖν* (201, 612, 847, 1142), **σφῶν** (271), **ὄρῳτον** (272), **σφῶ** (405), **ἔχοντε** (470), **σχετλίω** (470), ἠλλαξάτην (661), *δυοῖν* (712), *ἄπαιδε* (735), *ἔμαῖν* (847), **διαβάντε** (902)

Medea 13_x: *χεροῖν* (370, 784, 981, 1003, 1412), *νῶν* (871), *εἰσελθόντε* (969), *σφῶν* (1021, 1025, 1036), *εὐδαιμονοῖτον* (1073), **δυοῖν** (1289), **παῖδοιν** (1289)

Heraclidae 9_x: *γερόντοι* (39, 653), *δυοῖν* (39, 653), *ἀμφοῖν* (180), *χεροῖν* (226, 578), *σαῖν* (578), *νῶν* (640)

Hippolytos 7_x: *ἔχοντε* (387), *ἦστην* (387), *δυοῖν* (515, 894), *μοίραιν* (894), *χεροῖν* (1220, 1360)

Andromacha 12_x: *χεῖρε* (115), *γυναικοῖν* (178), *δυοῖν* (178, 476), **ἐργάται** (476), **τεκόντοι** (476), *δισσαῖν* (516), *ἀνάγκαιν* (517), *παύσασθον* (691), *νῶν* (752), *ποδοῖν* (1139), *χεροῖν* (1158)

Hecuba 14_x: *δυοῖν* (45), *νεκρώ* (45), *παῖδοιν* (45), *Θησείδα* (123), *τώ* (123), *συνεχωρεῖτην* (125), *χεροῖν* (526, 527, 1125), *ἀδελφώ*

tragedy, according to which *χεροῖν* become more and more indifferent to morphological markers and acted properly as an adverb. It is worth recalling that *χεροῖν* – as well as the phrase *τῷ θεῷ* – is one of the last duals to be consistently found in Attic production (throughout the 4th-3rd centuries BC), as well as in the prose of the Second Sophistic – as a permanence in the usage. «grammatical markers shift over time from primarily referential meanings to less referential, more pragmatic, meanings» (Traugott 1980, 47). The form will hence have been soon fossilised: «sometimes one inflectional subcategory becomes invariably associated with a grammaticalized lexical item, and gets petrified on it» (Lehmann 2002, 118, 121).

⁷⁵⁵ The simile of the two lions is traditional for heroes engaging in the battle together: its adoption for Philottetes and Neoptolemos is significant, as it mirrors their renewed cohesion. The characterisation of the two as *συννόμω* is nonetheless innovative, as the epithet is alien to the Homeric language.

(896), τώδε (896), κρυφθῆτον (897), **Διοσκούροι** (943), **τοῖν** (943)

Supplices 14x: θεᾶιν (33), ἐμώ (140), παῖδ(ε) (140), ἐλθόντε (142), φρυγάδε (142), δισσοῖν (146), κνωδάλοιν (146), ἐκλίποντ(ε) (147), δυοῖν (486, 1157), λόγoin (486), χερσῶν (590, 886, 1166), χειρ(ε) (772)

Electra 31x: δυοῖν (95, 536, 649), νῶν (105, 232), ἀμφοῖν (232), χερσῶν (506, 813, 819, 1160) ἀδελφοῖν (536), ὄντοιν (649), ἀνηρεῖσθον (928), ὄντ(ε) (928), πονηρώ (928), **ἀγαθοῖν** (990), **κούροι** (990), **τοῖν** (990), παρηίδᾶ (1023), νύμφᾶ (1033), συγγόνω (1063), ματαίω (1064), ἀξίω (1064), **παῖδε** (1292), ἀδελφῶ (1298), θεῶ (1298), ὄντε (1298), ἠρκέσατον (1300), νό (1347), σώσοντε (1348), στείχοντε (1349)

Hercules 8x: λευκοπώλω (29), τώ (29), ἐκγόνω (30), νῶν (321), ἀμφοῖν (328), χερσῶν (631, 1342), δυοῖν (995)

Troades 4x: χερσῶν (377), **δυοῖν** (817), **πιτύλοιν** (817), **ἔσσε** (1315)

Iphigenia Taurica 34x: ἀπαλλαχθέντε (106), προσφέροντε (112), κρύψαντε (119), Διοσκόρω (272), θάσσετον (272), ξένοι (310, 1178, 1188, 1333), τοῖν (310, **898**, 1178, 1188, 1333, 1369), χερσῶν (373, 382, 1044, 1047, 1367, 1417), νῶν (482), κακῶ (488), ἀδελφῶ (497), ἐστόν (497), κασιγνήτω (498), **Ἀτρεΐδαι** (898), **δυοῖν** (898), **μόνοι** (898), δεδράκατον (1169), ἀγγέλλοντε (1182), ἀμφοῖν (1369), νεανίαι (1369)

Ion 23x: φρουρώ (22), φύλακε (22), δισσω (23), δράκοντε (23), νῶν (411), **ποδοῖν** (495), ὄντ(ε) (518), δυοῖν (580, 848, 1585), νόσω (591), ἐλθόντοιν (848), ἐχθροῖν (848), ἀμφοῖν (986), χερσῶν (1174, 1187, 1440, 1443), τοῖνδε (986), χειροῖν (1493), σφῶν (1557), εἰσακούσατον (1570), ἠπίροιν (1585)

Helena 36x: ἐστόν (138, 285), λόγω (138), ὁμοιωθέντε (140), Διοσκόρω (284, 720), λεγομένω (284), τώ (284), δυοῖν (571, 647, 731), ὄντοιν (647), πρόσδοτον (700), κακοῖν (731), ἱκετεύοντε (825, 981), πείσαντε (828), νῶν (832, 1038, 1040, 1055), νό (981), νεκρῶ (986), οἰκτρῶ (1094), φῶτ(ε) (1094), ῥίπτοντ(ε) (1096), χερσῶν (1386, 1600), σῶ (1664), σωτήρε (1664), κασιγνήτω

(1664), παριππεύοντε (1665), παῖδε (1680), ἴστον (1684), γεγῶτ(ε) (1685)

Phoenissae 68x: ξυνάπτετον (37), πεσόντε (69), τώ (69, 1219₂), ξυμβάντ(ε) (71), ἀλλάσσοντ(ε) (74), χειρ(ε) (104, 1403), δυοῖν (423, 584, 951, 1257, 1349), σφῶν (460), λόγω (559), κακῶ (582), μέθετον (584₂), μόλητον (585), ἥμαρτον (874), πότμοιν (951), τοῖνδε (951), δρασεῖετον (1208), ἐμῶ (1208), παῖδ(ε) (1208), μέλλετον (1219), παῖδε (1219), σῶ (1219), ἠλλαξάτην (1246), λαμπρῶ (1246), μαργῶντ(ε) (1247), δισσοῖν (1263), τέκνοι (1263), ἄνδρ(ε) (1267), ἀρίστῳ (1267), κασιγνήτῳ (1267), ἐκνεύοντε (1268), ἀλλήλοιν (1269, 1698), καθέστατον (1273), **αἰμάξετον (1299)**, **ἠλθέτην (1300)**, χειροῖν (1316, 1351), παῖδοιν (1349), ἐλθόντε (1361), διπλῶ (1362), δισσῶ (1362), στρατηγῶ (1362), στρατηλάτῃ (1362), ἀμοφοῖν (1403, 1459), ἀπεστερημένοιν (1403), ἀρπάσαντε (1404), συμβαλόντε (1405), ἀμφιβάντ(ε) (1406), ἐλειπέτην (1428), πεσόντ(ε) (1428), τέκνω (1428), γηροβοσκῶ (1436), ἀδελφῶ (1437), προδόντ(ε) (1437), φιλτάτῳ (1437), παρηγορεῖτον (1449), φίλῳ (1659), κεῖσθον (1698), τῶδ(ε) (1698)

Orestes 29x: νό (50, 1052), θήξαντ(ε) (51), ἤκετον (87), χειροῖν (113, 377, 429, 517, 1340, **1458, 1477, 1493**), τοῖν (121), Διοσκόρῳ (465), τιμῶντε (465), δυοῖν (501), στείχοντ(ε) (880), σφῶ (916), ἀμοφοῖν (1051), δρᾶσαντε (1061), κατθανόντοιν (1066), νῶν (1123), **διδύμῳ (1402)**, **δραμόντε (1492)**, νεκρῶ (1536), ἄνδρ(ε) (1555), αὐτῶ (1555), δισσοῖν (1555), λεόντοιν (1555)

Iphigenia Aulidensis 20x: **Αἶαντε (192)**, **συνέδρῳ (192)**, **ποδοῖν (206, 212)**, χειροῖν (**601**, 1112), ἀμοφοῖν (846, 1280), ἐφέστατον (862), μόνῳ (862), παρόντε (862), μόνοιν (863), πάσχετον (887), ἱκετεύοντε (1002), ἐμῶ (1153), παῖδ(ε) (1153), τῶ (1153), ἐπεστρατευσάτην (1154), μαρμαίροντ(ε) (1154), συγγόνῳ (1153), φίλῳ (1247)

Bacchae 13x: νῶν (194), βακχεύοντ(ε) (251), γέροντε (365), χειροῖν (495, 738, 858, 949, 1068, 1128, 1140, 1237, 1240, 1280)

Cyclops 7x: χειροῖν (171, 379, 630), σκελοῖν (183), φῶτε (397), διπλοῖν (461), χαλινοῖν (461)

Rhesus 13x: μολόντε (586), δρόσαντε (590), κτανόντε (591, 619), λιπόντε (595), σφῶν (597), περιπολοῦντ(ε) (773), φῶτε (773), ἀνεχωρείτην (775), ἐπτηξάτην (775), θείνοντε (784), κέλσαντ(ε) (793), **χειροῖν** (887)

Fragments (Collard-Cropp) 31x: παῖδε (62a.2), σῶ (62a.2, 495.18), ἐμῶ (208.1), παῖδ(ε) (208.1), χειροῖν (223.39, 282.19), δυοῖν (223.59, 362.9, 495.28), σφῶν (223.71, 223.108, 223.111), λευκῶ (223.98), πάλω (223.98), τῶ (223.98, 495.7), λαβόντε (223.110), νῶν (271.b), ὁμοσπόρω (360.36), παρόντοιιν (362.9), πραγμάτοιιν (362.9), εἰσιδόντε (495.7), θείοιν (495.7), γνωρίσαντε (495.14), αὐταδελφῶ (495.18), ἀδελφοῖν (495.28), σοῖν (495.28), ὀρῶντ(ε) (495.37), ἐσθλοῖν (520.3), ἀμφοῖν (F 1132.43)

As for many other aspects of its production, Euripides proves to be innovative on several grounds, as well as a precious witness for some conservative phenomena. For instance, in the Euripidean production at least three example of inclusive usages are preserved. First and foremost, at *IA* 192, in the first stasimon, a fine Αἴαντε appears. The form, reminiscent of Iliadic echoes, has long been detected as an ancient elliptical dual, one of the few ones preserved in the epic diction (see parr. 2.2.2 and 2.5). Originally, its value would have been to address two individuals genetically related and tightly paired, namely Ajax and his brother Teucer: subsequently, its value should have shifted to the definition of ‘two individuals named Ajax’, hence the Telamonian and the Oilean. Strikingly enough, Euripides witnesses for this second usage, the meaning of the elliptical construction being even specified in the following verses: κατεῖδον δὲ δυ’ Αἴαντε συνέδρω / τὸν Οἰλέως Τελαμωνός τε γόνον τὸν / Σαλαμῖνος στέφανον (vv. 192-194)⁷⁵⁶. The lyrical *antisTrphe* pans throughout an epicising inspection of the Achaean army: the context is consciously solemn, and the form is awarely blinking to the *Iliad*. Were Αἴαντε still understood as referred to the two sons of Telamon, this would have been the perfect context to prove it: Euripides testifies instead that, at his time, the form was tied beyond question to Ajax the Telamonian and the Oilean. This factor provides us in

⁷⁵⁶ Just as observed for Sophocles’ λέοντε συννόμω (see *supra*), the diction is conservative in structure and innovative in terms: the epithet σύνεδρος is in fact unattested in the Homeric poems.

turn with a suitable – even if relatively late – *terminus ante quem* for the loss of the comprehension of the elliptical dual.

The second elliptical construction is a more widespread one. At *IT* 898 we meet Ἄτρεΐδαιν: by means of the name of the ancestor, expressed by the patronymic, two of the descendants are meant. The construction is elliptic insofar as none of the two is named⁷⁵⁷. The epithet is usually associated to the well-known Iliadic Ἄτρειδᾶ, namely Agamemnon and Menelaos⁷⁵⁸: here, instead, it refers to Electra and Orestes (see par. 4.0 *s.v.* Ἀκτορίωνε). Associatives of this kind are widely attested in Tragedy in the plural (compare with Τυνδαρίδαι, Eur. *El.* 1295, *Hel.* 1476, *Or.* 1689, Ar. *Lys.* 1301). A sub-category of this species is represented by the Dioskouroi, etymologically *Διὸς-κούρω, on which see *infra*⁷⁵⁹.

Another instance of this construction is represented by the isolated dual τὼ Θησεΐδᾶ, by which the two sons of Theseus' are referred to, Acamas and Demophon. It is impossible to establish to which extent the form was traditional; indeed its elliptical structure, its dual value and its mythical consistence corroborate the idea of it being an echo of epic diction.

Epic, and strictly Homeric, echoes are in Euripides better recognisable than in the other authors, also due by the greater variety of available evidence. A distichon riddled with Homeric echoes is to be found at *Ph.* 1267f., ἀλλ' ἄνδρ(ε) ἀρίστῳ καὶ κασιγνήτῳ σέθεν / ἐς θάνατον ἐκνεύοντε κωλύσαι σε δεῖ. The phrase is highly traditional (see par. 4.0); κασιγνήτῳ is epicising as well – whereas Attic

⁷⁵⁷ Still, such structure is not, properly, an elliptical dual either, as it is not the name of the major member to express both (e.g. **Ἀγαμέμνονε, in the case of the 'usual' Atreidai).

⁷⁵⁸ Many are also the occurrences in the plural: Aeschylus 7_x (*Ag.* 44, 123f., 203, 400, 451, *Ch.* 322, 407), Sophocles 28_x (*Aj.* 57, 97, 251, 445, 461, 469, 620, 667, 717, 931, 948, 960, *El.* 1068f., *Ph.* 314, 323, 361, 389, 396, 455, 510, 585f., 598, 872, 1285, 1384, 1390, fr. 887.2), Euripides 15_x (*Andr.* 1028, *Hec.* 510, 1091, *El.* 451, *IT* 142, 186, *Or.* 810, 818, 1538, 1552, *IA* 928, 1254, 1577, *Rh.* 365, 718): with a stronger dual valence, see also δισσοῦς Ἄτρεΐδας and δικρατεῖς Ἄτρειδᾶϊς at Soph. *Aj.* 57, 251, δισσοί τ' Ἄτρεΐδαι at Eur. *Hec.* 510.

⁷⁵⁹ Incidentally, two brief textual remarks call for attention. At *Hel.* 1664 the two Dioskouroi refer to themselves as τὼ σῶτῆρε δ' ἡμεῖς σὼ κασιγνήτῳ διπλῶ. The pattern of agreement of διπλοῦς is by any means odd: default agreement in a noun phrase with masculine noun is otherwise unattested. We would rather expect διπλῶ (unattested by *codd.*), which would be unproblematic both on the syntactic and metrical perspective. Secondly, in fr. 223.98 Collard-Cropp the form λευκοπῶλω (λευκῶ πῶλω) is attested: with all certainties, the epithet refers to the Dioskouroi, as the comparison with Eur. *HF* 29 would confirm. See also par. 4.0 *s.v.* Μολίονε.

preferes αὐτοκασίγνητος – and so is the ‘ablative’ pronoun σέθεν, built on the epic local particle *-θεν.

Another Homerism – perhaps epicism – is to be recognised in *Tr.* 1315, μέλας γὰρ ὅσσε κατεκάλυψε, which immediately recalls of the formulae τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσε κάλυψεν (5_x, in verse-end: *Il.* IV 461, VI 11, XV 578, XVI 325, XXI 181), ἀμφὶ δὲ ὅσσε κελαινὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν (2_x, in verse-end: *Il.* V 310, XI 356), τὼ δέ οἱ ὅσσε / νύξ ἐκάλυψε μελαίνα (*Il.* XIV 438), τὸν δὲ κατ’ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν (3_x, in verse-end: *Il.* V 659, XIII 580, XXII 466). Other possible traits of epic diction may be concealed in χεῖρε (*Andr.* 115; see *supra*) and κεῖσθον (*Ph.* 1698 = *Aesch. Th.* 810; on κεῖμαι in connection with corpses, see also *Il.* V (685), 848, VIII 126, XV 118, XVII 300, XIX 9, XXII 73).

As far as δι-compounds are concerned, Euripides appears more inclined than Sophocles to arrange them in noun phrases inflected in the dual: for instance, see *Supp.* 146 δισοῖν κνωδάλοιν, *Andr.* 516f. δισοῖν ἀνάγκαιν, *Ion.* 22 δισῶ δράκοντε, *Hel.* 1664 διπλῶ κασιγνήτω, *Ph.* 1263 δισοῖν τέκνοι, 1362 διπλῶ στρατηγῶ, δισῶ στρατηλάτῃ, *Or.* 1555 δισοῖν λεόντοι, *Cyc.* 461 διπλοῖν χαλινοῖν⁷⁶⁰.

Curious is the case of πιτύλοιν (*Tr.* 817). The term belongs to the poetic, and chiefly Euripidean, lexicon (2_x *Aesch.*, *Pers.* 976 and *Th.* 856; 10_x *Eur.*, *Alc.* 798, *Her.* 834, *Hipp.* 1464, *HF* 816, 1187, *Tr.* 1123, 1236, *IT* 307, 1050, 1346): extremely interesting is, in this respect, the Aristophanean coinage πιτυλεύσας (*Vesp.* 678). Its adoption in the dual is possibly an innovation by Euripides which reaches a bizarre, ossimoric effect.

Finally, the (dual) lexicon of the *Cyclops* glaringly belongs to a colloquial register. This is perhaps the case of σκελοῖν (v. 183), for which Aristophanes provides a significant basis for comparison: see σκέλει (*Pax* 325, 820, 825, 889, *Av.* 54, 1254, *Lys.* 823, *Thes.* 24, 256, *Ec.* 265), σκελοῖν (*Pax* 241, *Lys.* 1172) and σκελίσκωιν (*Ec.* 1167).

⁷⁶⁰ The use of the quantifier alone, in combination with a noun inflected in the dual, is common as well: e.g. *Andr.* 178 δυοῖν γυναικοῖν, 476 δυοῖν ἐργάται, τεκόντοι. The *incipit* δυοῖν γερόντοι is in the *Heracleidae* repeated at v. 39 and v. 563. «Elle est facile à saisir si l’on réfléchit que διττοί ne se rencontre dans les inscriptions attiques pour suppléer δύο et le duel qu’à partir de l’an 300» (Cuny 1906, 150).

2.4.4 Notes on the Tragic usage of the dual.

Tragedy provides us with a glaring degree of variance. It appears, in particular, that register variation and figures of speech influence the distribution and pertinence of the dual. For instance, looking at the tragic *corpus* altogether, it immediately emerges that dual appearances are isolated and scarcely represented in lyrical sections – even more if we exclude from our consideration adverbial and idiomatic forms like ἀμφοῖν, δυοῖν, ποδοῖν, χεροῖν. The only extant relevant passages are the following⁷⁶¹:

διπλαῖν μεριμναῖν δίδυμ' ἄνορέα† κακά (Aesch. *Th.* 849)⁷⁶²

κλαιομένης μου / μινύθει τοῖνδε δυοῖν ἀνάκτοι (Aesch. *Th.* 920f.)⁷⁶³

⁷⁶¹ Dual forms incidentally occur also at Soph. *OC* 683 (μεγάλαιν θεαῖν), 1672 (δυσμόροιον = Heteokles and Polynices), 1676 (ιδόντε καὶ παθοῦσα) Eur. *IA* 192 (δὺ' Αἴαντε συνέδρω), *Med.* 1289 (δυοῖν τε παίδοιν). These syntagms are nevertheless too scarce to provide useful material for any stylistical evaluation.

⁷⁶² The verse belongs to the *mes.* I to the III stasimon. The noun phrase in the dual stands in conjunction with a 'pseudo-collective' δίδυμ' ἄνορέα† κακά (v. 849). The dual is emended in διπλαῖ μεριμναῖ by Hutchinson (-αι in cod. **M**^c West); ἀνορέα is found in **ΜΙΒδελ** West. Other conjectures have been advanced by Wilamowitz (1914, 115: «ἀνορέα (ἠνορέη) non minus absonum quam Hermannii ἀγανόρε(ι)α sumptum e versum ne certo quidem *Pers.* 1028. fuerit, puto, φανερὰ δὴ κακά»), Tucker (ὄρᾶν: *def.* Page), Brown (γοερά *vel* μογερά), West (ἀν<ακτ>όρεα). Except for Tucker's, all hypotheses preserve the structure with default agreement NP (du.) + ADJ (n. pl.). The verse is a beautiful instance of duality being expressed by means of δι-compounds in lyrical sections. The διπλαῖ μεριμναῖ (compare with the δισσιῆ μεριμνα of Eur. *Hec.* 897) reflects on all the collectivity in multiple κακά (pl. n.), which are διδύμᾱ as two are the makers of them, Eteocles and Polynices. «The combination of *autodēla* (self-evident) and *autoPhna* (self-slain) with *dipla*, *diduma* (twofold) and *dimoirā* (doubly-fated) in these lines synthesizes the common destiny of the brothers» (Dawson 1970, 105; yet 'twofold' is ambiguous, as «διδύμᾱιν μεριμναῖν would mean, not 'double sorrow' but 'two sorrows'», Hutchinson 1985, 188). The reduplication of evils persists in the following verse, as the ill-fated heroes' πάθη are depicted as αὐτοφόνα δίμορα τέλεα (v. 850): in the cluster of adjectives, reciprocal (αὐτοφόνα), dual (δίμορα) and collective (τέλεα) values are entangled. The idea of a μόρσιμον Fate is notoriously implicit in the Saga since Stesichorus: in Tragedy its duality is insisted upon, as in the δικρατεῖς λόγχας στήσαντ' ἔχετον / κοινοῦ θανάτου μέρος ἄμφω (Soph. *Ant.* 144-147), the κακά of the δυσμόροιον παίδοιν (Soph. *OC* 365) and the choice between δυοῖν πότμοιν (Eur. *Ph.* 951).

⁷⁶³ The «causalen genitivus» (Gröneboom 1966, 238) belongs to the *str.* 3 of the *kommos* (δοῖον is attested in **M** West): its deictic persistence, stressed by the demonstrative and peculiar in lyrical section, plausibly supported a gesture by the chorus. The verses after v. 860 could be interpolated.

πλὴν τοῖν στυγεροῖν ὦ πατρὸς ἐνὸς / μητρὸς τε μιᾶς φύντε
καθ' αὐτοῖν / δικρατεῖς λόγχας στήσαντ' ἔχετον / κοινοῦ
θανάτου μέρος ἄμφω (Soph. *Ant.* 144-147)⁷⁶⁴

παῖδε δύο δ' ἄτα ... ματρὸς κοινᾶς ἀπέβλαστον ὠδῖνος (Soph.
OC 531f.)⁷⁶⁵

ὦ διδύμα τέκνων ἀρί-/στα †τὸ φέρον καλῶς φέρειν χροῖ / μηδ'
ἄγαν οὕτω† φλέγεσθον (Soph. OC 1693-1695)⁷⁶⁶

τεκόντοιιν θ' ὕμνον ἐργάταιν δυοῖν / ἔριν Μοῦ-/σαι φιλοῦσι
κράινειν (Eur. *Andr.* 476-479)⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁴ The verses are the last of *str.* II (according to Dawe) of the *parodos*. «Στυγεροῖν here is both 'wretched' (Eur. *Tr.* 1017, *Il.* XVI 723) and 'hated' (by gods, by each other — perhaps by others too) (Griffith 1999, 152). As it has been stressed, the tendency toward reduplication responds to an inner — and natural — pattern of the Theban saga, animated by pairs of kins. Eteocles and Polynices are hence addressed in the dual (τοῖν στυγεροῖν ... ὦ φύντε ... καθ' αὐτοῖν στήσαντε ... ἔχετον ἄμφω), and even their spears have a double power, being δικρατεῖς (and not **δικράτᾱ, probably to avoid any overlap of the same morphological feature, the dual, to address different referents). The contrast with v. 144f. πατρὸς ἐνὸς / μητρὸς τε μιᾶς (φύντε) enhances the crack between the two brothers, a broken cell. On θανάτου μέρος see n. 23.

⁷⁶⁵ The dystic is part of a lyrical *amoeboeus* between Oedipus and the chorus (vv. 510-548). It has been purposed to refer δύο ἄτᾱ to Eteocles and Polynices (see Rodighiero 1998, 198f.). Yet a connection with Antigone and Ismene seems more plausible: if referred to the sons, in fact, «il brusco salto logico può disorientare, e soprattutto non è giustificato dai versi successivi, in cui si parla collettivamente della discendenza di Edipo. In *Ant.* 533 Creonte infuriato si rivolge a Ismene e chiama lei e la sorella δυ' ἄτα, il che fa pensare a un'espressione di stampo proverbiale (astratto per il concreto: = δύο ἄτη "due persone sciagurate"). È difficile non pensare che Sofocle qui non abbia in mente proprio il passo dell'*Antigone*» (Avezzi-Guidorizzi 2008, 270). The idea of a proverbial expression is seductive, and it would temper the presence of an isolated dual in the lyrical passage of the *Antigone*. The plural ἄται is attested by Q A U Y Dawe; παῖδε is conjecture by Elmsley.

⁷⁶⁶ The verses belong to a strophic *amoeboeus* (*str.* I) among Chorus, Antigone and Ismene. Text and colometry are Dawe's (*def.* Ferrari); φέρειν χροῖ *del.* Hermann, χροῖ *del.* Elmsley, μηδ' <ἐν> *coni.* Dindorf, ἄγαν {οὔτω} *del.* Burton, ὦ διδύμα τέκνων ἀρίσ-/ τα τὸ φέρον καλῶς φέρειν / μηδ' <ἐ> γ' ἄγαν φλέγεσθον *Dain*, ὦ διδύμα τέκνων ἀρίσ-/ τα τὸ θεοῦ καλῶς φέρειν / μηδ' <ἐτ'> ἄγαν φλέγεσθον *Lloyd-Jones-Wilson*, ὦ διδύμα τέκνων ἀρίστα / τὸ [φέρων ἐκ] θεοῦ καλῶς φέρειν [χροῖ] / μηδ' <ἐτ'> ἄγαν [οὔτω] φλέγεσθον *Avezzi-Guidorizzi*. The dual is attested in T Dawe (vs. διδύμα ἄριστα of the *rell.*). On the traditional *Motiv* of the καλῶς φέρειν, see Rodighiero 1998, 235. «Sebbene il significato sia complessivamente chiaro, e si riconduca a una massima religiosa tradizionale invocata anche in precedenza da Antigone, il passo nella sua forma è molto controverso. Il testo dei manoscritti è non metrico e presenta inoltre tracce evidenti di interpolazioni dovute a una glossa marginale. Vari gli interventi proposti, nessuno irrefutabile» (Avezzi-Guidorizzi 2008, 380).

⁷⁶⁷ Text and colometry are Garzya's: the verses belong to the II *stasimon*, *ant.* I. The dual noun phrase τεκόντοιιν ... ἐργάταιν δυοῖν (A V B M Garzya) is controversial: agreement is infringed in τεκόντοιιν ... ἐργάται L and τεκτόνοιιν ... ἐργάται P. Duplicity is pervasive in the passage, reflecting the conflict between Andromacha and Hermione: echoes surface in διδύμα λέκτρα (v. 465, *str.* I), δίπτυχοι

δυοῖν / τοῖν μόνοιιν Ἀτρειδαίν ἰφραίνοι† / κακῶν ἔκλυσιν
(Eur. *IT* 897-899)⁷⁶⁸

It is sensible that these few instances of duals are strictly and consciously employed to define couples of siblings. They are nonetheless *always* accompanied by the quantifier or by a δι-compound. This fact constitutes a primary clue for an objective evaluation of the feature, as lyrical parts are stylistically more controlled. The absence, or rather avoidance, of the dual in these sections is perfectly consistent with another striking event: the percentage of dual forms in Tragedy is inversely proportional to the diachronic development of it – namely, Euripides is more inclined to use the dual than Aeschylus. The earlier plays which have been preserved are meaningfully scarce in duals, whereas a fair increase is to be registered in the production of the last quarter of the 5th century BC, with significant peaks in the ‘Theban tragedies’⁷⁶⁹.

This fact is surprising, and demands clarification. It is perhaps tempting to think of a *impromptu* change in the language: but this temptation must be resisted. It does not in fact appear realistic to just assume that the dual was at a certain point ‘revived’ – or re-enacted, as in the case of the Atticism – one may wonder whether the reason should not be adduced to non strictly morphological motivations. In other words, it appears that it is not the dual itself, but its acknowledgement within the language of Tragedy, that undergoes a fair increase – not to even mention

τυραννίδες (v. 471f., *ant.* I; at v. 473 οὐδὲ γ’ ἐνὶ πόλεσι *coni.* Garzya) and δίδυμα γνῶμα (v. 480, *str.* II; or δίδυμᾶ γνῶμᾶ, see Barone 1997, 86).

⁷⁶⁸ The verses belong to Iphigenia’s lyrical monody (vv. 827-899). Text and colometry are Platnauer’s, «φανεῖ initio sequentis supplet l [def. Sansone]» (*ad. l.*); πόροι *coni.* Bergk, δυοῖν τλημόνοιιν *coni.* Tucker (a different, anapaestic colometry has been purposed by Bruhn and observed by Schröder; see also Platnauer 1938, 135). The dual defines a tight bond between the siblings, which are isolated by means of μόνοιιν: yet the dual ending contrasts with the semantic value of the qualifier, producing an oxymoric effect.

⁷⁶⁹ Among the plays, the most productive in duals are in fact the *Oedipus Coloneus* and the *Phoenissae* (despite its length, the number of dual forms is relatively high). The fact is clearly justified by semantic motivation: many couples of siblings are involved. Yet they belong to the final stages of their respective authors’ production: had the dual been inappropriate, it would have been wanting. In a way, these tragedies provide the more transparent ‘sample’ for our evaluation, as they stress what the use of the dual may be in a context where it proves both vital and pertinent.

Aristophanes, where the dual is thriving⁷⁷⁰. The curious absence of duals in the most ancient layers of Tragedy, as well as from lyrical parts in all its stages, points to a deliberate form of censure.

The relevant question is hence why, in a language in which the dual is preserved and viable, an alternative expedient emerges. Our assumption is, accordingly, that the dual was perceived as a strictly Attic, lively and colloquial feature⁷⁷¹. This inference seems confirmed by the high condensation of duals in

⁷⁷⁰ This is true for both natural duals (*Pax* 1308 and *Ec.* 502 γνάθῳιν, *Eq.* 318 δοχμαῖν, *Ec.* 346 κοθόρῳ, *Nu.* 966 and *Pax* 1039 μηρώ, *Nu.* 980 ὀφθαλμοῖν and *Ach.* 1027, 1029, *Nu.* 362, 411, 495, *Vesp.* 432, *Lys.* 298, 1026 ὀφθαλμῳ, *Lys.* 229f. Περσικά, 10_x πόδε, 10_x ποδοῖν, 10_x σκέλει, 2_x σκελοῖν, 9_x χεῖρε, 1_x χειροῖν, 2_x χεροῖν) and accidental duals (*Ra.* 896 ἀνδροῖν, *Av.* 107 βροτώ, *Vesp.* 59 δούλω, *Vesp.* 928 κλέπτῳ, *Vesp.* 7 κόρῳιν, *Ra.* 475 and 1280 νεφρώ, *Av.* 433 ξένῳ, *Av.* 337 and *Plu.* 508 προεσβύτῳ, *Eq.* 1350 ὀήτορε, *Av.* 368 συγγενεῖ, *Av.* 368 φυλέτῳ). Incidentally, natural duals are the first ground on which some difference arise: not only is the lexicon different (widespread are ὀφθαλμῳ, in contrast with the ‘tragic’ ὄμμα, and χεῖρε, a notorious ‘absent’ in tragic production – possibly because of its Homeric echo, see *supra*) but it shows a fair propensity to adjustments and affective characterisations: contrast σκέλει (*Pax* 325, 820, 825, 889, *Av.* 54, 1254, *Lys.* 823, *Thes.* 24, 256, *Ec.* 265) and σκελοῖν (*Pax* 241, *Lys.* 1172) with σκελίσκῳιν (*Ec.* 1167). The dual is often in Aristophanes an elided place for stylistical phenomena, in accordance with his taste in puns and limericks, which leads him to eagerly indulge in coinages and parodic usages (*i.e.* *Av.* 574 πετεταιπτερούῳιν) as well as diminutives (compare *Ach.* 1103 πτερώ with *Av.* 1229 πτέρυγε and *Av.* 574 and 697 πτερούῳιν). Hence, on the one side the dual occurs combined with high register lexicon, be it to ‘temperate’ sacral or religious terms (*Thes.* 83, 89, 296 and *Ec.* 443 Θεσμοφόρῳιν, *Thes.* 1229 Θεσμοφόρῳ: 20_x τῳ θεῳ, *Vesp.* 1396, *Lys.* 51, 112, 148, 452, 681, 731, *Thes.* 383, 566, 718, 875, 897, 916, *Ra.* 671, *Ec.* 155, 156, 158, 532, *Plu.* 1006, vs. 12_x τῳ σῳ, *Ach.* 905, *Pax* 214, *Lys.* 81, 86, 90, 142, 983, 1095, 1105, 1171, 1174, 1180) or in a sly reprise of epic and high register *iuncturae* (*Ach.* 811 βοσκήματε, *Plu.* 416 κατοδαίμονε, *Thes.* 956 καρπαλίμῳιν, *Av.* 398 μαχομένῳ, *Eq.* 239 and *Plu.* 893 μαρωτάτῳ, *Ec.* 744 and 787 τρίποδ(ε); on a note, extremely interesting are *Plu.* 508 προεσβύτῳ and *Av.* 368 φυλέτῳ, which echo the masculine dual ending of -της compounds in *-ῳ of the Homeric αἰχητῳ, κορυστῳ, ὠκυπέτῳ). On the other side, the dual characterises colloquial and low register expressions, chiefly the pragmatic vocabulary of ordinary tools or crafts: *e.g.*, γεωροῳῖν (*Ach.* 1036), εἰνούχοῳιν (*Ach.* 117), κάδῳ (*Av.* 1032 and 1053), κασαλβάδοῳῖν (*Ec.* 1106), λόφοῳιν (*Pax* 1214), λόφῳ (*Pax* 1222), ξύλω (*Lys.* 291 and 307), ὀβολῳ (*Vesp.* 52, 1189 and *Ra.* 141), οῖν (*Pax* 1018, 1076a, 1077a, 1112, *Av.* 566), πλάστιγγε (*Ra.* 1378), σπίνῳ (*Pax* 1149), στομάτῳιν (*Ra.* 880), τρόπῳ (*Nu.* 482), τροχοῳῖν (*Nu.* 31). Such vocabulary, according to comic proposals, is not immune by raunchy and salacious colloquialisms either (*i.e.* fr. 377.1 βινουμένῳ, *Eq.* 424 and 484 κοχώνῳ, *Ach.* 527 πόρνῳ, etc.). Finally, widespread is in the use of diminutives in the dual, a reflection of Aristophanes’ attitude towards idioms, coinages and familiar lexicon: see *Plu.* 416 ἀνθρωπαρίῳ, *Av.* 585 βοιδαρίῳ, *Ach.* 1036 βοιδίῳιν, *Ra.* 269 κωπίῳ, fr. 14.1 λυχνιδίῳιν, *Av.* 672 ὀβελίσκοῳιν, *Eq.* 909 ὀφθαλμιδίῳ, fr. 588.2 παιδίῳ. A special mention is deserved by the *Clouds*, in which the contrast between the two λόγῳ is persistently enhanced by the dual (λόγῳιν at vv. 114, 244, 886, 1336, 1337, λόγῳ at vv. 112, 882).

⁷⁷¹ «Sous la pression de la langue populaire, la langue de la tragédie a admis peu à peu des formes que les langues poétiques antérieurs ne présentaient que sporadiquement et irrégulièrement» (Cuny 1906, 161). Curiously, Cuny (*ibid.*) believes that «dès 427, Aristophane élargit encore le cadre des emplois du duel, et Sophocle, aussi bien qu’Euripide, ont sans doute subi son influence, car on constate dans les dernières de leur pièces un progrès dans l’emploi du duel, tant au point de vue de

Plato's dialogues⁷⁷². Accordingly, the progressive adherence of Tragedy to issues of 'realism' may have included the rehabilitation of a quite peculiar and concrete trait, such as this. Yet this feature proved ill-suited to the higher sections of the tragic production, where a polished and utterly smooth diction was expected. This necessity plausibly triggered the onset of alternative strategies, in order to express the idea of duality without any resort to the most ordinary dual.

De facto, tragic authors consistently resort to an alternative expedient to express coupled items and individuals – namely, compound-adjectives built on the numeral affix δι-, agreeing with the noun expressing the pair. That this device is an innovation of Tragedy seems furtherly supported by the fact that evidence for these adjectives is rarefied in the Homeric epic:

δίζυγος: πέπνυται· παρὰ δέ σφιν ἐκάστω δίζυγες ἵπποι / ἐστᾶσι (Il. V 195f. = X 473f.)⁷⁷³

δίπλακος⁷⁷⁴: ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἰστόν ὕφαινε / δίπλακα πορφυρέην πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους (Il. III 125f. = XXII 440f.); καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν χρυσέῃ φιάλῃ καὶ δίπλακι δημῶ / θείομεν (Il. XXIII 243f.); κλαίοντες δ' ἐτάροιο ἐνηέος ὄστέα λευκὰ / ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν (Il. XXIII 252f.)⁷⁷⁵; καὶ οἱ ἐγὼ χάλκειον ἄορ καὶ δίπλακα δῶκα / καλὴν πορφυρέην καὶ τερμιόεντα χιτῶνα (Od. XIX 241f.).

διπλός: αὐτὴ δ' αὐτ' ἴθυνεν ὅτι ζωστήρος ὀχῆες / χρύσειοι σύνεχον καὶ διπλός ἦντετο θώρηξ (Il. IV 132f. = XX 414f.); ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαῖναν περονήσατο φοινικόεσσαν / διπλῆν ἐκταδίην, οὐλὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη (Il. X 133f.); χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὐλὴν ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς / διπλῆν (Od. XIX 225f.).

la fréquence que de la qualité des exemples». Still, that Euripides could have been affected by Aristophanes seems – on this respect – a 'tragic' inversion of perspectives.

⁷⁷² «On verra par l'étude consacré à Aristophane, que c'est chez cet auteur que l'emploi du duel est à son apogée (si l'on tient compte que de la langue littéraire. Aussi peut-on dire que, malgré la différence des genres, si Eschyle avait ouvert la voie à Sophocle et Sophocle à Euripide, de même Aristophane a fourni à Platon une langue dégagée des préjugés, qui jusque-là avaient empêché d'admettre dans la littérature ces formes trop spécialement attiques» (Cuny 1906, 160).

⁷⁷³ The double progressive *enjambement* raises the idea of non *antique* verses (as it also supported by their presence in non *antique* books); the combination of *δίπλακος* and *πορφύρεος* is reprised in the Odyssean instance, and could be concealed as well in *Od. XIX 225* *χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὐλὴν ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς / διπλῆν*: see *infra s.v. διπλός*.

⁷⁷⁴ See also par. 4.0 *s.v. δίπλακα*.

⁷⁷⁵ The passage is a clear reprise, by clustering, of the former one. Again the compound could be an innovative feature in the poem, as it is not firmly rooted in one of the most archaic and conservative places of the *Iliad* (the same is true for the occurrence in *Od. XIX*).

δίπτυχος: (μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον) κατά τε κνίση ἐκάλυψαν / δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὁμοθέτησαν (*Il.* I 460f. = II 423f., *Od.* III 457f.⁷⁷⁶, XII 360f.); δίπτυχον ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχουσ' εὐεργέα λώπην (*Od.* XIII 224).

As it emerges, not only these adjectives are scarce; even when they do appear, they are employed in their pragmatic, concrete meaning⁷⁷⁷. Their value is hence purely semantic: they are primarily qualifiers, whose quality also involves a shade of duality⁷⁷⁸. Conversely in Attic, as we will see, in these compounds the value of quantifiers overrules the value of the qualifiers, their main function being to stress the dual entity of the noun they determine⁷⁷⁹.

In Tragedy, as anticipated, the structure (δι-suffix + adjective) is flexible and productive, and its range of interest is wide. The number in which the noun-phrase is agreed shows some fluctuation, with a discrete preference for the plural. The semantic number is expressed by the adjectives, used as quantifiers, and their valence is transferred on the head by internal noun-phrase agreement. This expedient is applied to different adjectives, but three are definitely popular – δίδυμος, δισσός, διπλοῦς⁷⁸⁰.

δίδυμος⁷⁸¹:

- Aeschylus 4_x: *Pers.* 676 (ἀμάρτιον), 1033 (λοπρός), *Th.* 782 (κακόν), 849 (μέριμνα).

⁷⁷⁶ The dystic exhibits a slight variation in the first hemiverse: κατά τε κνίση ἐκάλυψαν is here substituted by πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν.

⁷⁷⁷ Accordingly, δίζυγος is only used for horses, δίπλακος for fabric, διπλόος refers to cloaks and garments and δίπτυχος is a synonym of 'double-folded'. To the list it may perhaps be added δισθανής, a *hapax*, formed – differently to the others – on *δισ-: σχέτλιοι οἱ ζῶοντες ὑπήλθετε δῶμ' Ἀΐδαο / δισθανέες ὅτε τ' ἄλλοι ἅπαξ θνήσκουσ' ἀνθρώποι (*Od.* XII 21f.).

⁷⁷⁸ This aspect is apparent, insofar as these adjectives are never employed in metaphorical way. Besides, in quite a materialistic fashion, to define two elements the Homeric language naturally resorts to the dual, or to δύο/δύο and the plural.

⁷⁷⁹ This propriety is inherent to the suffix expressing the quantifier, whose quality broadens over the whole compound: «numbers can merge with the stem-root in order to produce compounds liable to be used as quantifiers» (Lehmann 2002, 51). On compounding, see par. 2.4.5.

⁷⁸⁰ There are some attestations in the fragments as well: δίδυμος 1_x Aesch. (fr. 191.1 Radt (χθονός)), 2_x Eur. (fr. 594.3 Nauck (ἄρκτος), 8.2 Page (τέκνον) (≈ 73a.2 Snell)); διπλοῦς 3_x Aesch. (fr. 20a 156.16 Mette (δασμόν), 26b 239.4 Mette (γλώσσημα), 40c 45.4 (λύκος)), 3_x Soph. (fr. 210.31 Radt (?), 314.96 Radt (?), 701.1 Radt (δράκων)), 2_x Eur. (fr. 16.22 Page (ἔρω), 997.1 Nauck (φύσις, = 81.29 Austin); δισσός 1_x Aesch. (fr. 26.B.239.2 Mette (τραῦμα)), 4_x Eur. (fr. 495.46 Nauck (ἀδελφός), 66.24 Austin (κόρος), 929a.1 Snell (πνεῦμα), *Antiop.* 21.1 (λόγος)).

⁷⁸¹ No occurrences in Homer; διδυμάων appears 4_x, with concrete value: *Il.* V 548 = VI 26 (παῖδε), XVI 672 = 682 (ὑπνος καὶ θάνατος).

- Sophocles 4x: *Ant.* 966 (ἀκτῆ), *El.* 206 (χείρ), 1080 (ἐρινός), *OC* 1693 (τέκνον).
- Euripides 18x: *Med.* 433 (πέτρα), *Hipp.* 1345 (πένθος), *Andr.* 124 (λέκτρον), 464 (λέκτρον), 480 (γνώμη), *HF* 657 (ἦβη), *IT* 455 (ὄδε), 655 (φρήν), *Ion* 188 (φῶς), *Hel.* 206 (ἄγαλμα)⁷⁸², 220 (τέκος), *Ph.* 825 (ποταμός), 1288 (τέκος), 1296 (θήρ), 1526 (μαστός), *IA* 548 (τόξον), *Or.* 1402a (λέων).

διπλοῦς⁷⁸³:

- Aeschylus 18x: *Pers.* 165 (μέριμνα), 720 (μέτωπον), 950 (ὁδός), *Supp.* 619 (μίασμα), 1009 (οἴκησις), *Th.* 643 (σῆμα), 849 (μέριμνα), *Ag.* 325 (συμφορά), 537 (ἀμάρτιον), 642 (μάστιξ), *Ch.* 375 (μάραγμα), 761 (χειρωναξία), 931 (συμφορά), 938 (λέων), 938² (Ἄρης), 973 (τυραννίς), *Eu.* 129 (ὄξυς), 944 (ἔμβρυον).
- Sophocles 26x: *Ant.* 14 (χείρ), 51 (ὄψις), 53 (ἔπος), 170 (μοῖρα), 1233 (ξίφος), *Aj.* 242 (μάστιξ), 959 (βασιλεύς), *Tr.* 331 (λύπη), 619 (χάρις), *OT* 20 (ναός), 288 (πομπός), 607 (γνώμη), 809 (κέντρον), 938 (δύναμις), 1135 (ποιμνίος), 1249 (ἀνήρ, τέκνον), 1257 (ἄρουρα), 1261 (πύλη), *El.* 539 (παῖς), 1071 (φύλοπις), *Ph.* 17 (ἐνθάκησις), 793 (στρατηλάτης), 1024 (στρατηγός), 1370 (χάρις), 1371 (χάρις), *OC* 1094 (ἄρωγῆ).
- Euripides 24x: *Alc.* 519 (μῦθος), 1057 (μέμψις), *Med.* 1185 (πῆμα), 1315 (κακόν), *Her.* 1043 (κέρδος), *Andr.* 1212 (τέκνον), *Hec.* 518 (δάκρυα), 1197 (πόνος), *Supp.* 333 (χάσμα), 1035 (πένθημα), 1086 (βίος), *El.* 492 (ἄκανθα), *HF* 937 (πόνος), 950 (ὀπηδός), *IT* 688 (λύπη), *Hel.* 494 (ὄνομα Τυνδάρειον), 1664 (κασίγνητος), *Ph.* 1362 (στρατηλάτης), *Or.* 633 (μέριμνα), *Rhes.* 163 (κέρδος), 395 (ἀνήρ), 423 (ἀνήρ = 395), *Cyc.* 461 (χαλινός), 468 (κώπη).

δισσός:

- Aeschylus 4x: *Pers.* 957 (τύραννος), *Th.* 817 (στρατηγός), *Ag.* 122 (Ἀτρεΐδαι), *Ch.* 867 (/).
- Sophocles 9x: *Ant.* 971 (Φινεΐδης), *Aj.* 49 (πύλη), 57 (Ἀτρεΐδαι), 947 (Ἀτρεΐδαι), *Tr.* 101 (ἄπειρος), 172 (πελειάς), *El.* 645 (ὄνειρος), *Ph.* 264 (στρατηγός), *OC* 324 (προσφώνημα).
- Euripides 39x: *Alc.* 760 (μέλη), *Med.* 273 (τέκνον), 1395 (τέκνον), *Her.* 35 (παῖς), 854 (ἀστήρ), 917 (παῖς), *Hipp.* 258 (ψυχή), 385 (αἰδώς), 928 (φωνή), 1161 (πόλις), *Andr.* 75 (γύψ), 516 (ἀνάγκη), 909 (λέχη), *Hec.* 123 (μύθος), 510 (Ἀτρεΐδαι), 897 (μέριμνα), 1051 (παῖς), *Supp.* 132 (γαμβρός), 146 (κνώδαλον), *El.* 926 (δίαιλος), *HF* 662 (δίαιλος), *IT* 124 (πέτρα), 264 (νεανία), *Ion* 23 (δράκων), 1003 (σταλαγμός), 1127 (πέτρα), *Hel.* 8 (τέκνον), 505 (φύλαξις), 1643 (Διόσκοροι), *Ph.* 57 (κόρη), 427 (γαμβρός), 1243 (νεανίας), 1263 (τέκνον), 1362 (στρατηγός), *IA* 768 (Διοσκοῦροι), *Or.* 818 (Ἀτρεΐδαι), 1555 (λέων), *Ba.* 919 (Θῆβαι), *Cyc.* 379 (ἐταῖρος).

⁷⁸² In reference to the Dioskouroi, in the form διδυμογενές: Κάστορος τε συγγόνου τε / διδυμογενές ἄγαλμα πατρίδος.

⁷⁸³ 4x the Homeric poems: *Il.* IV 133 (θώρηξ), X 134 (χλαῖνα), XX 415 = IV 133 (θώρηξ), *Od.* XIX 225 (χλαῖνα).

As it appears, in Attic these adjectives are resilient, and liable to be applied to a range of items: their meaning is neutralised, as they are re-employed as a morphosyntactic expedient – their chief value being to mark a dual value on the noun they determine. It is fairly evident that the domain of this construction overlaps to the one of the inflectional dual. Its conception is not merely accidental: δι- adjectives do preferably apply to twofold items, cells with two limbs – thus perfectly reflecting the ambal conception, which we described as connaturate to the dual.

It is legitimate to question whether this strategy is an innovation of a single author. Still, its usage is testified in Aeschylus already, and variations among the three Tragicists are not sensible enough to infer any individual preference. Hence, it appears that the phenomenon is unrestricted to a single author and his idiolect: it is, however, restrained to genre⁷⁸⁴. If we abandon the domain of Tragedy, in fact, this construction results significantly scanted. A good litmus test is offered by Aristophanes. On the three adjectives used as ‘samples’ in Tragedy, δισσός is absent, whereas δίδυμος appears once and διπλοῦς a handful of times, always with a concrete value⁷⁸⁵.

Nevertheless, tragic echoes may be traced, by all means with consciously parodic purpose:

ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν δίθρονον κράτος Ἑλλάδος ἦβας / ζύμφορα τάγαν (*Ra.* 1284f.)⁷⁸⁶

⁷⁸⁴ «Where a phenomenon whose distribution in classical literary prose is not universal cannot be associated exclusively with a period of history or a region of the Greek world, it is usually possible to ascribe it to the language expected of a particular genre» (Dover 1997, 95).

⁷⁸⁵ In the *Lysistrata* we meet both δίδυμος and διπλοῦς once, the second used in an almost adverbial value (v. 589 πλεῖν γ’ ἢ τὸ διπλοῦν αὐτοῦ φέρομεν) and the first employed as an epithet (v. 1281 ἐπὶ δὲ δίδυμον ἀγέχορον Ἰήιον). At *Nu.* 639f. Strepsiades complains with Socrates to have been robbed of a διχοινίκω: ἐναγχος γάρ ποτε / ὑπ’ ἀφιταμοιβοῦ παρεκόπην διχοινίκω (Blaydes corrected in διχοινίκου, referring it to the ‘robber’; even so, the materialistic shade remains: see Wilson 2007 I *ad l.*). Once again, the prefix is used in a chiefly pragmatic way, specifying a unity of measure of two χοίνικες. The same may be said of the διπλάσιος ψόφος of the *Peace* (v. 55; see also διπλασίως at v. 1578): the value is concrete and the term plausibly belongs to the colloquial register, never appearing in Tragedy (compare with δίπτυχος). The adjective διπλοῦς occurs once again the *Peace* (v. 137), meaning rather ‘more’: ἀλλ’ ὃ μέλ’ ἄν μοι σιτίων διπλῶν ἔδει. In this case the compound is used as an intensive, its value being comparable to the one of δῖς – by any means relished by Aristophanes (7x: *Nu.* 546, 1417, *Pax* 1181, *Lys.* 360, *Ra.* 1154, 1155, 1178).

⁷⁸⁶ In a shrewd parody of cytarodic poetry, ‘Euripides’ (or rather Aristophanes, on his behalf) hints at one of the higher peaks in Tragedy. The reference is here explicit, and cheeky: a couple of verses before Euripides had already picked on the *Agamemnon* (*Ra.* 1276 = *Ag.* 104), and another citation will

σὺ δ' ὦ Διὸς διπύρους ἀνέχου-/σα λαμπάδας ὄξυτάτας χεροῖν Ἐκάτα (*Ra.* 1361-1363)⁷⁸⁷

Οιδίπου δὲ παῖδε διπτύχῳ κόρω (*fr.* 558.1 Edmonds)⁷⁸⁸

The evidence Aristophanes offers us is poignant in its scarcity. Not only this structure is almost unattested outside Tragedy: it is perceived, and pointed at, as a typical tragic expedient. Tragedy sorted it to answer to a precise need – namely, a high register necessity. Lyrical section demanded a refined device to express duality, as the inflectional dual was apparently perceived as inadequate. In turn, suppletive strategies were produced. Both the shortage of duals in Aeschylus, the more controlled of the Tragicists, and the density of duals in dialogic sections, point to this conclusion⁷⁸⁹.

follow immediately later (*Ra.* 1289 = *Ag.* 111f.). Therefore, *Ag.* 108-111 ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν δίθρονον κράτος Ἑλλάδος ἦβας / ξύμφρονα τάγαν / πέμπει ξὺν δορὶ καὶ χερσὶ πράκτορι... unfolds in *Ra.* 1284f. ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν δίθρονον κράτος Ἑλλάδος ἦβας / ξύμφρονα τάγαν / φλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ.

⁷⁸⁷ The passage needshardly to be commented. It belongs to the famous parody of Euripides' monodies by Aeschylus, within the agon. The reference is probably not related to any specific tragic passage: however, the 'speaking' lexicon (ὄξυτάτος is more commonly associated to ξίφοι, χεροῖν is a *passepourtout* and adjectives in δι-, as we have seen, provide suitable variants in lyrical sections: the structure is easily accommodated here, despite the meaning being quite trivial) suffices an immediate acknowledgement. Another *tragikotatos* clause appears at *Thesm.* 982f. ἔξαιρε δὴ προθύμως / διπλῆν χάριν χορείας (χαίρειν R Wilson): the lyrical collocation, the lexicon and the abstract conception would support the idea of an intentional echo of the tragic *repertoire*. Interesting, yet loose, is in this respect the comparison with the, by no means later, *Phoetetes* (1370f.): διπλῆν μὲν ἐξ ἐμοῦ κτήση χάριν / διπλῆν δὲ πατρός (τε K Lloyd-Jones-Wilson).

⁷⁸⁸ 'The double son (du.) double kids (du) (!)' of Oidipous clearly mimicks and mocks the deluge of duals which innerly characterise, as it has repeatedly stressed, the 'failed' couples of siblings of the Theban saga.

⁷⁸⁹ It is not possible to bring this inference to its extreme consequences, namely to argue that the morphological dual gets slowly restricted to accidental couples, as this freshly coined construction gains control on the domain of ambal couples. The evidence is too skimpy to allow for any categorical stance. Still, it is a fact that a phrase like δικρατεῖς Ἀτρεῖδαι will hardly mean 'a double Atreida', but 'two of the Atreidai = the two Atreidai'. Such a shift is perfectly conceivable in an open domain such as compound words: «the high degree of abstractness (or *vagueness*) of the meaning contribution of compound structure makes compounding an extremely flexible device from a semantic point of view» (Booij 2007, 210; see par. 2.4.5).

As a result, we may enhance a large use in Tragedy of this structure. As the line between their respective domain is blurred, the two strategies do sometimes entangle⁷⁹⁰:

οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται / δισσὼ στρατηγῶ (Aesch. *Th.* 815f.)⁷⁹¹

θανάτους ἀκεῖς διδύμαιν χειροῖν (Soph. *El.* 206)⁷⁹²

δισσὼ στρατηγῶ καὶ διπλῶ στρατηλάτᾱ (Eur. *IA* 1362)⁷⁹³

As it appears, the ‘old-fashioned’ inflectional dual and its refined variant, expressed by adjectival quantifiers, inhabited the same domain, and did – for a while – share control over the same literary field. The interplay of two contrasting strategies within the same domain is nothing uncommon in syntax: «there are admittedly cases where the new construction entirely and almost instantly replaces the old one, taking a function and shape maximally similar to the old ones [...]».

⁷⁹⁰ They are not, hence, mutually exclusive, as Cuny (1906, 147) stated: «quand un substantif, même désignant des choses, devrait se mettre au duel (même purement occasionnel) et que ce substantif est accompagné du mot δισσός, ou d'un mot analogue composé de δι-, il prende la forme du pluriel». Nevertheless, redundancy – as a pattern, not as a rule – is generally avoided: see *infra*.

⁷⁹¹ As in the more debated passage of the *Phenissae* (see *infra*), the verse was deleted by Gilbert (see also West 1992 *ad l.*). Interesting in this verse is once again the possibility of agreement between dual and plural (within a ῥῆσις ἀγγελική).

⁷⁹² The ‘double duality’, expressed simultaneously by the dual ending and the δι-adjective, determine a resulting meaning “the double couple of hands = two pairs of hands” (see Diggle 1994, 156, and Finglass 2007, 164, who quotes as a parallel Pind. *P.* II 9 χερὶ διδύμα). On a close comparison, in Breton forms with a revived duals like *daou-lagad-où* (‘two’-N-pl.) express ‘two or more pairs of eyes’ (Hemon 1975, 42, and Corbett 2000, 36); on the feminine, see par. 1.2, Threatte II 91-95, and Cooper 1972. The ending is customary in noun phrases, rarefied in pronouns and shifting in articles and participles: «the manuscript tradition of many authors, including S., affords many instances of distinctive feminine duals not only in nouns and adjectives, but also in articles, demonstratives and relatives (cf. e.g. 985, *Ant.* 769, *OR* 1462-3, *OC* 445, 1290). In the belief that they were later insertions, many editors (e.g. Pearson’s *OCT*) have emended all such pronominal forms to -ῶ and -οῖν» (Finglass 2007, 406). Pearson’s procedure is maintained in Dain’s *Belles Lettres* and Dawe’s *Teubner* editions: feminine duals do however surface at times in the *apparatus* of Lloyd-Jones’s and Wilson’s *Clarendon* edition.

⁷⁹³ The verse is expunged by many editors: «del. Valck (inanem tautologiam iam notaverat Barnes); versus fort. confectus e var. lect. δισσοῖ ad 1360 adnotata (e 1243) et in trimetrum suppleta» (Mastronarde 1988 *ad l.*). An alteration is indeed admissible, yet redundancy does not appear to be motive enough for rejecting the verse: besides, the epithet might have been traditional for Eteocles and Polynices in the Theban saga (as we have seen, it occurs identical at Aesch. *Th.* 816). Many codd. reconstitute plurals for the duals (δισσοῖ **Cr^s Aa^s** στρατηγοῖ **Cr^s χ^s XaL** δισσοῖ {διπλῶ} **Cr^s L** στρατηλάται **Cr^s Mt χ^s** Mastronarde).

More often, however, the new and the old constructions coexist for some time. As long as such a situation obtains, the two categories tend to be functionally non-identical, so that we have two categories where we formerly only had one» (Lehmann 2002, 19).

Two typical tragic situations may be analysed, as they account for the described competition, providing tricky examples of this trend. It proves in fact significant to observe the preferences, expressed by tragic authors, in referring to two notorious and well established pairings, the two Atreides and the two Dioskouroi.

The two Atreides are often defined in Homer by means of an elliptic construction built on a dual patronymic, Ἄτρεΐδᾶ⁷⁹⁴. Since the elliptical dual is no more available in Tragedy, to stress the permanent relation between the two brothers δι-compound adjectives are employed: the construction appears 17_x in the Attic drama in reference to the Atreidai (7_x in lyrical sections)⁷⁹⁵.

Μενέλαος ἄναξ ἦδ' Ἄγαμέμνων / διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ
δισκήπτρου / τιμῆς ὀχυρὸν ζεῦγος Ἄτρεΐδᾶν (Aesch. Ag.
42-44)⁷⁹⁶

ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν δίθρονον κράτος Ἑλλάδος ἦβας / ζύμφρονα ταγάν
πέμπει (Aesch. Ag. 109f.)⁷⁹⁷

κεδνὸς δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο λήμασι δισσοῦς / Ἄτρεΐδας
μαχίμους ἐδάη λαγοδαίτας / πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς (Aesch. Ag.
123-125)⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁴ 3_x (plus some textual variants): *Il.* I 16, 17 (Bentley), 375, VI 437 (Ixio), XXIII 272 (ex. 9 h Ω).

⁷⁹⁵ Namely, Aesch. Ag. 42-44, 109f., 123-125, Soph. *Aj.* 251, 389f., Eur. *Andr.* 473f., *Or.* 816-818.

⁷⁹⁶ «Both genitives depend on ζεῦγος, and both are in different ways epexegetical; first the ζεῦγος, the 'pair', is identical with the Atridae, and secondly the ζεῦγος, the 'two coupled together', constitute the double kingship, the δίθρονος καὶ δίσκηπτρος τιμή» (Fraenkel 1950 II, 28).

⁷⁹⁷ Text and colometry are Page's (West has ζύμφρονα ταγάν / πέμπει).

⁷⁹⁸ The variant δισσοῖς *coni.* Canter; λογοδαίτας is in **M V** West. «The interpretation of the seer [...] connects with the eagles the δύο λήμασι δισσοῦς Ἄτρεΐδας, and thus brings their differences sharply into prominence» (Fraenkel II 69f.); «this use of δισσοῖς is unusual, but it is unfortunate that scholars have gone on echoing the verdict of Lobeck (on *S. Aj.* 151) and Dindorf that the word will not do here [...]» (*ibid.* 75f.).

πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας δόμων / ἄνδρας διπλῆ μάστιγι
τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ / δίλογχον ἄτην φοινίαν ξυνορίδα (Aesch. Ag.
641-643)

καὶ δὴ πὶ δισσαῖς ἦν στρατηγίσιν πύλαις (Soph. Aj. 49)

δισσοὺς Ἀτρείδας αὐτόχειρ κτείνειν ἔχων (Soph. Aj. 57)⁷⁹⁹

τοίας ἐρέσσουσιν ἀπειλὰς δικρατεῖς Ἀτρεῖδαι (Soph. Aj. 251)

ἐχθρὸν ἄλημα τοῦ τε δισ-/σάρχας ὀλέσσας βασιλῆς (Soph. Aj.
389f.)⁸⁰⁰

πᾶς δὲ στρατὸς δίπαλτος ἄν με χειρὶ φονεοί (Soph. Aj. 408)⁸⁰¹

ῥμοὶ ἀναλγήτων / δισσῶν ἐθρόησας ἄναυδ' / ἔργ' Ἀτρειδᾶν τῷδ'
ἄχει (Soph. Aj. 946-949)

ξύν τε διπλοῖ βασιλῆς / κλύοντες Ἀτρεῖδαι (Soph. Aj. 959f.)

δισσοὶ στρατηγοὶ χῶ Κεφαλλήνων ἄναξ (Soph. Ph. 264)

ῶ διπλοῖ στρατηλάται, / Ἀγαμέμνων, ῶ Μενέλαε (Soph. Ph.
793f.)

γελώμενος πρὸς σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν Ἀτρέως / διπλῶν στρατηγῶν
(Soph. Ph. 1023f.)⁸⁰²

† οὐδὲ γὰρ † ἐν πόλεσι δίπτυχοι τυραννίδες / μιᾶς ἀμείνονες
φέρειν (Eur. Andr. 473f.)

δισσοὶ τ' Ἀτρεῖδαι καὶ λεὼς Ἀχαικός (Eur. Hec. 510)

ὄθεν πόνωι πόνος ἐξαμεί-/βων δι' αἵματος οὐ προλεί-/πει
δισσοῖσιν Ἀτρεΐδαις (Eur. Or. 816-818)

⁷⁹⁹ The plural quantifier *δοίους* (pap. Oxy. 2093 Dawe ante corr.) is a senior alteration.

⁸⁰⁰ The form *βασιλῆς* is in LT Dawe (*βασιλεῖς* *rell.*). The same oscillation may be registered at Aj. 959f. (see *infra*): «*βασιλῆς* rec. *βασιλῆς* nostri codd. *βασιλεῖς* conī. T» (Dawe 1984 *ad l.*).

⁸⁰¹ The text is Dawe's (*δίπαλτος ἄν / με* Lloyd-Jones-Wilson).

⁸⁰² Many codd. adopt *δισσῶν* (AUY Dawe), probably on the basis of Ph. 264. The adjective *dissovς* may have been perceived as more elegant on the one side (as its absence in Aristophanes would confirm), less marked on the other, being built on **δι-* suffixated with *-τος*: in the right wing of the compound the semantic weight is hence null.

As it appears, the main value of the construction is here to express parity: this is fairly evident in the occurrences in which the adjective agrees with a singular head (Aesch. *Ag.* 42-44, 109f., 641-643, Soph. *Aj.* 408). It is quite consistent that the most part of these occurrences is located within lyrical sections; besides, the feature is thriving in the most ancient tragic plays, and chiefly in Aeschylus, whereas in Euripides its appliance is sensibly inferior – even in tragedies in which the two Atreidai are well-rooted (as it is the case, e.g., of the *Iphigeniae*, *Electra* and *Helen*, *Orestes*, etc.).

The contrast between the two strategies is even more sensible if we focus the enquiry on the two Dioskouroi. This kin-related couple is often referred to in the dual⁸⁰³: this trait is epigraphically preserved in different dialects, and provides one of the most ancient and recurring attestations of duals (see par. 1.2). References to the Dioskouroi are never to be found in Aeschylus and Sophocles: one may wonder whether this fact is a natural consequence of the Dioskouroi being not pertinent to the survived tragedies, or rather if, considering the huge distribution of the twins in ritual and epigraphic data, the form were not perceived as a popular and overly common one. Nevertheless, in Euripides the construction with δι-compounds is well-rooted, as it is the mention of the pairing in the dual, 6x: strikingly enough, the two strategies to express duality are in this case mutually exclusive⁸⁰⁴. The couple is defined by means of a dual chiefly in dialogical parts, in relation to Helen – who is usually added as a sylleptic member; δι-compounds emerge in lyrical parts (Eur. *Hec.* 943, *IA* 768f.), where the dual was plausibly felt as too pedestrian.

ὦς τὴν Λάκαιναν σύγγονον Διοσκόροιν / Ἑλένην ἴδοιμι (Eur. *Hec.* 441)

τὰν τοῖν Διοσκούροιν Ἑλέναν κάσιν Ἰδαῖόν τε (Eur. *Hec.* 943)

Ἄγαμέμνονος παῖ, κλυθι· δίπτυχοι δέ σε / καλοῦσι μητρὸς
σύγγονοι Διόσκοροι, / Κάστωρ κασίγνητός τε Πολυδεύκης ὄδε
(Eur. *El.* 1238-1240)

⁸⁰³ Only one occurrence in the Homeric poems, in the *Teuchoskopia* (*Il.* III 236-238: δοιῶ δ' οὐ δύναμαι ἰδέειν κοσμήτορε λαῶν / Κάστορά θ' ἰππόδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα / αὐτοκασίγνητῷ τῷ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ).

⁸⁰⁴ Notice that all Euripidean instances belong to his late production, an element which seems in favour of a stylistically low characterisation of the form Διοσκόρω/Διοσκόροιν (in the dual).

εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς θάσσετον Διοσκόρω (Eur. *IT* 272)

τὸ τοῦ Διὸς δὲ λεγομένω Διοσκόρω / οὐκ ἐστὸν (Eur. *Hel.*
284f.)⁸⁰⁵

οὐκ ἄρα γέροντα πατέρα καὶ Διοσκόρω / ἥσχυνας οὐδ' ἔδρασας
οἷα κλήζεται (Eur. *Hel.* 720f.)

δισσοὶ δέ σε Διόσκοροι καλοῦμεν / οὐς Λήδα ποτὲ ἔτικτεν
Ἑλένην τε (Eur. *Hel.* 1644f.)⁸⁰⁶

τὰν τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι δισ-/σῶν Διοσκοῦρων Ἑλέναν (Eur. *IA* 768f.)

τιμῶντε μ' οὐδὲν ἦσσον ἢ Διοσκόρω (Eur. *Or.* 465)

Let us summarise the issues up to here. Despite the active participation of the dual to the language of Attic theatre, some aspects denounce it as a colloquial, even vernacular trait – certainly, not a high register feature. To meet the need of expressing duality in high register sections, a competing strategy arose. Accordingly, compound adjectives provided with the suffix *δι-* gradually specialised in describing twofold cells, thus compensating, and slowly eroding, the function originally covered by the inflectional dual.

It is apparent that the strategy is a specific innovation of the Attic theatre. It is apparent as much that such venture is not the initiative of a single personality: as seen above, the Tragics are in fact quite consistent among one another in the resort to it. It is, finally, apparent that such device is a register-conditioned expedient. A quick glance to Aristophanes proved meaningful in this respect: as it appears, *δι-*compounds are not an option in Old Comedy, being almost completely absent. On the contrary, Aristophanes is rich in duals, which are consistently used whenever two items are implied.

We may then indulge in some stylistical evaluation. For one thing, it is natural to observe that the consideration of the dual in Attic is by no means the same

⁸⁰⁵ Incidentally, *δισσὸν κόρω coni.* Schmidt (see also Dale 1967 *ad l.*): compare with Ar. fr. 558.1 Edmonds, see *supra*.

⁸⁰⁶ A different scansion is adopted by Dale (1967 *ad l.*): *δισσοὶ δέ σε / Διόσκοροι καλοῦμεν οὐς Λήδα ποτὲ / ἔτικτεν Ἑλένην τε.*

as in the epic. In the Homeric poetry, duals are mostly archaisms embedded in formulas, consciously preserved and employed as to garnish and trim, conferring a somehow archaic shade (see par. 4.0): we can hence argue that, in the texture of the poems, the dual is a high-register device. Conversely, in Attic they are perceived as a middle- (if not even low-) register device, and are accordingly employed: they flourish in vividly sketched episodes and dialogues, a trait which is perfectly consistent with their frequent adoption in Plato's dialogues and in Aristophanes⁸⁰⁷.

Besides, in the initial rejection of the dual in Tragedy a role might have been played by its insisted presence in the Homeric poems: the feature may have been perceived as an epic-marked form, and thus avoided as exceedingly obsolete⁸⁰⁸. It has been remarked that, meaningfully enough, Homerisms are scant in Tragedy. Even more meaningfully, these instances present in lyrical sections in tragedies of Iliadic setting, plausibly representing aware Homeric allusions.

Strategies arise and decline, but they are customarily triggered by external necessity. Even if this expedient is restricted to a genre, and to a precise extent – a register condition – it is nonetheless extremely significant, in which it foreshadows implications on the stylistical value of the use of the dual number.

2.4.5 Poetic compounds between word-formation and lexicalisation.

It has been said that adjectives based on a δι- suffix undergo a modification in their syntactical value, shifting from concrete to abstract, from qualifiers to quantifiers. They do, of course, remain qualifiers – a value which is inherent to their condition of adjectives⁸⁰⁹: nevertheless, the proportion between the two members of the compound – namely, the quantifying prefix and the qualifying body – changes, in favour of the first one. This inference brings us to the core of the present paragraph: the phenomenon which takes place in Attic is a kind of

⁸⁰⁷ «Whenever tragedy can be contrasted with prose, Old Comedy aligns itself sometimes with tragedy, sometimes with prose, according to the dramatic function of a passage; in the course of the fourth century the alignment of comedy with prose is progressive» (Dover 1997, 98). Interestingly enough, Dover (*ibid.*) quotes to this end precisely the case of Eur. *Hel.* 1043 δίστομος ξίφος.

⁸⁰⁸ Even in common nouns such as χεῖρε, overlaps with the Homeric diction are strictly neglected. In turn, we do only have χεῖρες in the tragic repertoire or, in the dual, χερῶν/χειρῶν: see *supra*.

⁸⁰⁹ As a basic definition we can borrow Denison's (1999, 119), according to whom adjectives are simply «words which qualify nouns».

re-functionalisation. Adjective based on $\delta\iota$ - are compounds, therefore they consist of two parts. What we may observe in Tragedy is a change of ranks in the balance between the two lexical parts, which determines a role exchange in which wing is to result domineering.

Compounds are the chief expression of word-formation⁸¹⁰, one of the most common devices of morphological operations⁸¹¹. Compounding (also called composition) can be roughly defined as the combination of lexemes into larger words. Its defining property consists in the range of means provided by morphology for extending the set of words of a language in a systematic way. On a semantic perspective, this conflation is regulated by the so-called *compositionality principle*: «the meaning of a complex expression is a compositional function of that of its constituents, and the way they are combined» (Booij 2007, 27). Albeit the quite generic formulation, the principle states that, provided that we infer relevant patterns and combinatorial rules, the relation between the meaning of constituents of complex words may be inspected as not completely arbitrary, but cumulative and (at least partially) motivated.

This process will be here treated from a paradigmatic perspective⁸¹², according to which the creation of new compounds is to be seen first and foremost as the surfacing of a systematic pattern of form-meaning relationships in a set of established words: such pattern secondarily extends to new suitable cases matching the pattern, thus resulting in new words⁸¹³. We understand compounding as giving

⁸¹⁰ «Word formation occurs productively in morphology and includes, among many other processes, compounding and conversion. Idiosyncratisation of syntax may arise through reanalysis that catches on in the community and is replicated by speakers» (Brinton-Traugott 2005, 8).

⁸¹¹ The other is affixation: «they are the prototypical cases of *concatenative morphology*, in which morphological constituents are concatenated in a linear fashion. Compounding and affixation are the most widespread types of morphology since they create words with a high degree of *transparency*, that is, words of which the formal morphological structure correlates systematically with their semantic interpretation» (Booij 2007, 34). Morphological operations also include reduplication, tonal or internal modification (Ablaut and Umlaut), and so on.

⁸¹² This approach can be contrasted to a syntagmatic approach to morphology, according to which morphemes are the basic brick on which morphology is ordered and built: «in short, morphology might be seen as morpheme syntax, as the set of principles that tell you how to combine free and bound morphemes into well-formed words» (Booij 2007, 9).

⁸¹³ «In this approach [i.e. paradigmatic morphology], it is not denied that the word *swimm-er* consists of two constituent morphemes, but they are not the basic building blocks. Instead, words and relationships between words form the point of departure of the morphological analysis, and

rise to complex lexical items consisting of two or more lexemes; *i.e.*, instances of compounding are semantically compositional⁸¹⁴. For instance, let us consider our case: we are dealing with compound adjectives whose prefix is represented by the quantifier – sometimes also called pre-determiner – δίς (*δι- in composition)⁸¹⁵. Let us hence assume a pattern of compound formation such as the following⁸¹⁶:

- (1) Pattern $[X]_A : [\delta i-X]_A$ “double-Xed/a pair of X-qualified (N)”
 hence, $[*κρστ-]_A = \delta i-κρστής$ (N), $[*λόγγχ-]_A = \delta i-λογγχος$ (N)

The first part of the compound is represented by the quantifier δίς. The formula expresses the process of composition whereby an adjective is supplied with a number value. Still, the semantic value of ‘double’ is not restricted to the adjective, applying to the head-noun as well. Accommodating the noun in our setting, the pattern becomes:

- (2) Pattern $[[X]_A + [N_2]]_{NP} : [[\delta i-X]_A + [NP]]_{NP}$ “a pair of X-qualified Ns”
 $*κρστ-ής : \delta i-κρστ-ής$ ⁸¹⁷; $λόγγχη : \delta i-λογγχος$

Let us provide a practical example for this pattern. We already met the verse *δισσοὶ δέ σε Διόσχοροι καλοῦμεν* (Eur. *Hel.* 1644). Were the value of the suffix

morphemes have a secondary status in that they figure as units of morphological analysis» (Booij 2007, 10).

⁸¹⁴ For instance, «the adjective *edible* not only means that something can be eaten, but also that it can be eaten safely. This idiosyncratic meaning aspect of *edible* recurs in the derived noun *edibility*» (Booij 2007, 12).

⁸¹⁵ The process is cross-linguistically natural: consider for instance Pali *dujivha*, ‘two-tongued’ (= a snake), *dumunhā* = ‘two-faced’ (deceitful). The *ambal* value is inherent to the compound too: «it is interesting to notice that [in Vedic] forms of the base *dv-* are repeatedly used in such compounds as clearly denote some representation or other of the ‘dualité unité’ concept» (Gonda 1953, 45).

⁸¹⁶ As a brief *legenda*, A denotes the adjective and N the noun of a dual noun phrase (NP). This paradigmatic pattern is liable to a syntagmatic interpretation as well: the pattern can be interpreted as a morphological rule for the attachment of quantifiers to qualifiers.

⁸¹⁷ In particular, this adjective is a ‘formally complex’ one (Booij 2007, 17), for its nominal head (i.e. the pure **κρστής*) does not occur as a words of its own. Possible words can function as building blocks in word-formation: this is of course a fairly common situation in Ancient Greek compounds. This process is called *synthetic compounding* (Booij 2007, 90f.), as it supplies a simultaneous conflation of compounding (*δι-) and derivation (*-ης). As a note, the adjective on which the fusion of the prefix is effectes is itself a compound-member: as forms add one to another, the same do meanings, and every *langue* is hence liable to «to coin new polymorphemic words (words consisting of more than one morpheme) through the concatenation of morphemes, and of morphemes with words that are themselves polymorphemic» (Booij 2007, 9).

limited to the adjective it is attached to, we would expect the clause to mean “we call you, Dioskoroi, (each one of you) double”: the numeric value of the suffix should distributively apply to all the entities designed by the plural noun. Yet it is elemental that the compound does not bear this value anymore. The meaning of the suffix extends to affect the noun it qualifies: hence, we get the proper result “we call you, Dioskouroi, (who are) double”. Incidentally, notice that the Dioskouroi, as a *single* cell, are double – individually, they are not. Once again, the ambal conception proves pertinent and essential to the understanding of this structure.

The pattern we just focused on exhibits an alteration to the originary value of the adjective: the suffix is no more autoreferential, being instead projected outside the compound, on the noun. As soon as the pattern is established, it proves productive and keen to be extended⁸¹⁸: in other words, it establishes new productive synchronic rules for compounding⁸¹⁹. The pattern which determines $\delta\iota$ -compounds reasonably surfaced from already existing adjectives, in which the semantic value of the suffix described a materialistic aspect of the interested adjective. Subsequently, as the pattern proved effective, the device will have increased in productivity: the suffix $\delta\iota$ - will accordingly have been extended to other viable adjectives⁸²⁰. So to say, once the abstract systematic pattern behind some specific words becomes transparent, it will also become functional to other relevant – or suitable – items.

⁸¹⁸ Thus the compound strategy $[\delta\iota-X]_A$ is an instance of paradigmatic word-formation, in which a new word is formed by replacing one constituent with another. The equation is customarily made by means of existing and similar items: such a case of word-formation represents a peculiar case of analogy. It is hereby possible to appreciate how analogy operates not only on a purely inflectional level, being instead productive in morphological creation processes, as well as morphosyntactic strategies.

⁸¹⁹ We already argued that central, in the definition of new word formation, is the consideration of frequency and productivity: we understand productivity as the ability of word-forming elements to be used to form new linguistic expressions, and it is a gradient concept. Three prerequisites for productivity are frequently mentioned in the literature: frequency, semantic coherence and the ability to make new forms. They all result realised in our $\delta\iota$ -compounds. Nevertheless these factors, «while equated with productivity by some scholars, rather seem to be prerequisites for productivity than productivity itself» (Bauer 2001, 32).

⁸²⁰ «The productivity of compounding in many languages is largely due to its semantic transparency and versatility. When a new compound is formed, we already know the meaning of its constituents, and the only task we face is to find out about the semantic relation between the two parts» (Booij 2007, 75).

In respect of functions, another slight distinction is due. Our grammatical entities have been up to here named compounds, although a more exact label should be *derived words*: «the crucial distinction between compounds and derived words is that in compounds each of the constituents is a form of a lexeme, whereas derivation involves affixes, that is, non-exemic morphemes. However, the distinction is not always so clear-cut, because a lexeme may develop into a derivational morpheme» (Booij 2007, 85). This is precisely what happened in Ancient Greek: $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ is still a bound morpheme in Homer, where it works as pure quantifier. In Attic instead it is already a left-handed fusional morph, whose value is transferred on the compound with the general meaning of ‘double’⁸²¹. We will nevertheless keep on using the term ‘compound’ in the same sense of derived word as a simplification⁸²².

In chapter 1 wide attention has been devolved to grammatical transformations, such as grammaticalisation, morphologisation, paradigmatisation and so forth. It may be hereby useful to better focus on *lexicalisation*⁸²³. As well as grammaticalisation affects grammatical items, lexicalisation involves lexical items⁸²⁴: it can be defined as the phenomenon by means of which a compound-lexeme once coined becomes increasingly fusional, up to the point of reaching the status of a

⁸²¹ The form is still widespread in Aristophanes (7x: *Nu.* 546, 1417, *Pax* 1181, *Lys.* 360, *Ra.* 1154, 1155, 1178) – another conservative trait, perhaps, borne out by colloquial language.

⁸²² «The phenomenon of lexemes becoming affixes is a cross-linguistically widespread phenomenon, and an instance of grammaticalisation» (Booij 2007, 86) The boundary between compounding and derivation is nonetheless blurred: grammatical morphemes are either function words or bound morphemes; affix-like morphemes that still correspond to a lexeme are called *affixoids*. Hence, $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ is a bound morpheme in Homer, whereas $\delta\iota-$ is a (truncated) affixoid.

⁸²³ «Several broad definitions can be found in the literature: (a) ordinary processes of word formation, (b) processes of fusion resulting in a decrease in compositionality, (c) processes of separation resulting in an increase in autonomy. Definition (a) occurs primarily in discussion of dynamic processes available to speakers synchronically that give rise to nonce forms, which may or may not come to be conventionalized and accepted later by other speakers (a process called ‘institutionalisation’). Definitions (b)–(c) occur primarily in discussion of change) (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 32).

⁸²⁴ It has sometimes been discussed whether grammaticalisation and lexicalisation may be paired as counterfaces of the same process or if they represent different grammatical changes. grammaticalisation operates by means of the same devices available to lexicalisation; still the former’s sphere of action seems broader, as grammaticalisation, but not lexicalisation, may involve: functional shift or reanalysis; decategorialisation (loss of characteristics of the original category and adoption over time of characteristics of a new one) (Hopper-Traugott 1993); shift to a more systematic type frequency due to host-expansion, syntactic expansion, and, in some cases, paradigmatisation and obligatorification (Lehmann 1982); typological generality: changes are replicated across languages and time (cf. Brinton-Traugott 2005, 6).

single complete lexical unit, a simple lexeme⁸²⁵. In such terms, the formation of $\delta\iota$ -adjectives implies coalescence and fusion of a $\delta\iota$ - prefix (based on the quantifier morpheme $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta$) on common adjectives.

It may be questioned whether the creation of $\delta\iota$ -compounds is to be ascribed to lexicalisation⁸²⁶ rather than to morphologisation⁸²⁷. Compounding is understood as encompassing the basic elements, combinatory principles, and semantic function of new word formation, and consequently seen as a subbranch of morphology⁸²⁸: «productive word formation occurs in morphology. The synchronic potentials of word formation need to be distinguished from processes of change; otherwise, it becomes impossible to separate productive from unproductive word formation, compositional from non-compositional combinations, or idiosyncratic lexicalisation from productive grammaticalisation» (Brinton-Traugott 2005, 5).

On the other hand, we assumed that grammaticalisation is conceived of as a historical change that results in the production of new functional forms. As we see, grammaticalisation requires functional innovation: the solution to the issue relies in

⁸²⁵ «When viewed in its own right, not narrowly as evidence of counterexamples to grammaticalisation, lexicalisation can crucially be seen to involve: 1) *Idiomatisation*: loss of semantic compositionality (e.g. *hobnob* “speak chummily with someone” < ME *hab ne-hab* “have not-have” (via the drinking toast *hob* or *nob* “give or take”); 2) *Univerbation*: fusion, bonding, and loss of morphological boundaries (e.g. *nuts-and-bolts* “practical details”, not **bolts and nuts*); 3) *Coalescence*: loss of phonological structure (e.g. OE *hlæfdige* “loaf dough-er” > *lady*, *forcastle* > *fo’c’sle* “sleeping quarters under front deck of ship”») (Brinton-Traugott 2005, 5). Compounds are hence originated in word-formation, by means of univerbation and fusion, and result in the production of a sole lexeme.

⁸²⁶ At a first glance, the affiliation of such compounds to lexicalisation phenomena would appear legitimate: «in the context of very broad characterizations of lexicalisation, little or no distinction has been made between word formation and lexicalisation. Traditionally, lexicalisation refers to routine processes of word formation, such as compounding, derivation, and conversion» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 33). Yet a further variable is in our case represented by the syntactic value of adjectives, by nature modifiers: the affixation with a quantifier changes the way in which they modify the noun they relate to, determining a shift in their meaning – and, as a consequence, in their grammatical value. Such broad definition is hence inappropriate, and Brinton and Closs-Traugott themselves object that «word formation and lexicalisation should be treated as separate phenomena» (*ibid.*).

⁸²⁷ «The processes of lexicalisation and grammaticalisation have often been compared in recent work on the factors that shape language. Both involve a cognitive process of routinisation, the automation of frequently recurring sequences, but they differ in their output: the first creates lexical items, while the second, as now more generally understood, creates grammar» (Mithun 2001, 251).

⁸²⁸ «A major problem for theories of grammar has been where to locate word formation [...]. Views on word formation depend crucially on conceptions of both the lexicon and morphology, and the ways in which the latter interfaces with syntax, phonology, semantics, and the lexicon» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 91).

both productivity and frequency of the new compounds⁸²⁹. We might hence rephrase the question as to whether the new compound form does acquire more grammatical functions than the former separated adjective⁸³⁰: the answer seems to be yes. In fact, these $\delta\iota$ -adjectives work *both* as quantifiers *and* qualifiers, fulfilling simultaneously the function of defining and expressing the dual value of the head noun. Subsequently, $\delta\iota$ -adjectives, as they are compounds, are not concerned with lexicalisation, but with word-formation – hence, morphologisation, a kind of grammaticalisation.

Besides, the fact that the strategy proves to be productive and analogically spread throughout similarly rooted adjectives is a further argument in favour of active word-formation, hence grammaticalisation⁸³¹. There are some consequences to this inference: in a paradigmatic perspective, the swelling does not regard the mere productivity of the prefix $\delta\iota$ -, but the productivity of the function here underlying: if the compound [$\delta\iota$ -x] comes to mean not only ‘double Xs’ but ‘the pair of Xs’, the function [pairing] underlying the category spreads together with the freshly coined device. The creation of a new path of word-formation is gradual, *i.e.* occurs in small, local, overlapping steps, sometimes in ambiguous or indeterminate contexts. In the aforementioned case, the process is apparent in Tragedy, but the strategy undergoes frequent overlaps with the canonical inflectional strategy. It is, in other words, a gradient phenomenon⁸³². «The coining of new words does not change the system, in

⁸²⁹ «Although word formation processes such as clipping, conversion, or blending allow for the production of new lexical items from existing lexical items, these processes are relatively unproductive compared to “rule-governed” grammatical processes. It is important to recognize that productivity is a “gradient concept”, ranging from relatively idiosyncratic patterns (e.g., the voice alternation of the fricative in the pair *north-northern*) to relatively regular ones (e.g., the derivation of an adjective from a noun by *-y* as in *earth-earthy*) to highly regular ones (e.g., the derivation of an agent noun from a verb by *-er* as in *sing-singer*)» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 17).

⁸³⁰ the shift towards ‘more grammatical’ is a prerequisite for the ‘membership’ to this group: in Brinton’s and Closs Traugott’s (2005a, 99) definition, in fact, grammaticalisation involves a change «whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use parts of a construction with a grammatical function. Over time the resulting grammatical item may become more grammatical by acquiring more grammatical functions and expanding its host-classes».

⁸³¹ «Diachronically, grammaticalisation is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use parts of a construction with a grammatical function. Over time the resulting grammatical item may become more grammatical by acquiring more grammatical functions and expanding its host-classes» (Brinton-Traugott 2005, 8).

⁸³² «Language routinely exhibits gradient boundaries in the synchronic state; linguistic change may proceed by means of, perhaps even because of, gradient stages» (Denison 2001, 123). This statement

this terminology, but does (or may) change the norm. By changing the norm the coinage has changed the way in which the language is used; the language after the event is subtly different from the way it was before» (Bauer 2001, 28). A wonderful example is offered by the definition of the Dioskouroi, addressed both in the dual or by δι-compounds + plural, according to stylistical necessity.

It has been stated that the respective domains of the two strategies are not neatly separated, proving instead intertwined and keen on overlaps⁸³³. The case of the Dioskouroi is nonetheless emblematic, as it enhances that the two strategies stand in glaring competition. It is possible to appreciate that inflected dual number in the noun and dual marking in the compound-adjective are prone to be mutually exclusive. One of the two strategies is necessary – which one of the two being determined by the register – and sufficient. Both are unwelcome: redundancy is avoided⁸³⁴.

This element may, at a first glance, appear to be in contrast with the attitude that Attic displays toward the inflectional dual in agreement: organic and full-agreeing clauses are in fact customary in Attic literature. Yet, marking the dual by two different and simultaneous strategies might have produced idiosyncrasies, as well as redundant, unpleasant effect. As for the first aspect, the progressive abandon of the elliptical dual (see par. 2.5) and some peculiar Homeric usages⁸³⁵ point to a progressive adherence of the language to univocal and unambiguous constructions, in accordance to Humboldt's universal and the principles of constructional iconicity and morphotactic transparency (see par. 1.1).

does not, however, carry any implication on chronological developments: «gradience in change does not necessarily mean gradualness chronologically» (*ibid.*); «a problem for word-formation with the distinction between synchrony and diachrony is that it is frequently the case that a diachronic event is the evidence for a synchronic state» (Bauer 2001, 27).

⁸³³ «Cross-linguistic evidence shows that although change never has to happen, grammatical categories are regularly recruited cross-linguistically from similar sources [...]. Since earlier and later forms coexist, this means that similar kinds of polysemies are repeatedly found cross-linguistically» (Brinton-Traugott 2005a, 28).

⁸³⁴ Typologically, in every language there is a constant strain between newborn and already existing strategies: by selecting the functions inherent to each of the two, the language gradually circumscribes their respective domains. «The morphological rules of a language [...] indicate how new lexemes and word forms can be made, and they function as *redundancy rules* with respect to the established complex words of a language» (Booij 2007, 18).

⁸³⁵ For instance the alleged 'double dual' at *Il.* VIII 185f., Ξάνθε τε καὶ σύ, Πόδαργε, καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπε τε δῖε / νῦν μοι τήν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνετον.

As for the second aspect – and its evaluation in different contexts and genres of a language – redundancy constitutes a tricky, hardly explored and promising field for further researches, which might hopefully cast some light and insight on a number of phenomena, like the still challenging demeanour of the Homeric epics in agreement.

2.4.6 Conclusions.

As we underlined, it is a loss in function to trigger the rise of competing strategies. Even if the dual is alive and consistently applied in Attic, we can observe in Tragedy that its functions are restricted, both on the merely functional side – as the opposition with the plural is gradually being lost – both on the stylistical side – as the dual is perceived as a colloquial trait. Hence, the creation of new ergonomic strategies is relevant in the description of the expressive devices the authors were provided with and, in turn, in the determination of the processes which will lead, in a close lapse of time, to the dismantling of the category.

The arch that ties the epics together with the Attic drama and comedy describes a transparent process of evolution, and devolution, of the inflectional category of the dual in Ancient Greek. In chapter 1 we underlined that the dual is at an early stage grammaticalised by means of morphological grams, which in turn determine the creation of a paradigm by morphophonemic extension and analogical changes. This stage is manifest in the Homeric poetry, where variants cohabitate in peace, redundant and not yet reduced in organic paradigms. The key-issue to the decay of the category must be recollected in a functional loss. We stressed how this functional loss may be identified in the weakening of the opposition with the plural. Nevertheless, this change does not imply a sudden exhaustion; it triggers instead the onset of competing strategies.

It has been stated that every mutation in a grammatical system does not only alter the category in which it takes shape – it affects every relative feature⁸³⁶.

⁸³⁶ «Change in one part of a language may have consequences for other parts. [...] At the crux of much debate concerning the explanation of linguistic change is thinking about the outcome of cases where a change in one side of a language has consequences for another side of the language» (Campbell 1999, 287).

The decrease in the use of a specific strategy has a reflection on the other strategies enabled in a specific language⁸³⁷. Hence, the function of expressing the 'ambal', or genetically coupled items, nomore perfectly fulfilled by morphological categories and unsatisfactorily absorbed by the plural, is encompassed by alternative constructions.

A sample of this process is portrayed by the adoption of $\delta\iota$ -compound adjectives to express parity. This expedient is not uniformly received nor extensive in Greek: it is not a dialectal nor a idiolectal phenomenon, being instead restricted to a specific genre, Tragedy. These adjectives are pragmatically used in the Homeric poetry, and neglected by Aristophanes: only tragic authors re-functionalise them, as a way to compensate for the too vernacular dual. All the evidence copes hence to define the construction as a stylistical, high register expedient.

Yet, the innovation is of extreme significance both for a stylistic and linguistic evaluation of the dual: it helps in fact determining a discrete divergence between the Homeric language, in which duals are chiefly high register forms, and the Attic dialect, in which the dual is a living language trait, not perfectly fitting in high register compositions, at the point to setting in motion alternative devices.

Be the phaenomenon pervasive or not, it still appears to be prime in the identification of the loss of the dual as a formerly functional loss. In the end, the process of degradation of the dual is not homogeneous, but rather presents with multiple paths of diachronic change. On a methodological perspective, no number feature, as every morphological feature, is an island, being instead intertwined in a web of relations and constraints with its neighbouring categories. As a consequence, change in one feature affects the features to it related. The decline of the dual is just a consequence in the rise of competing necessities. Every modification or functional loss is then to be sought not only within a single category, but by focusing on closely related features as well as on the rise and development of alternative functional strategies.

⁸³⁷ «Languages with polysynthetic constructions generally offer their speakers analytic constructions as well. [...] Such options would not coexist so systematically alongside of the bound morphemes if they were functionally equivalent to them. The alternatives do indeed serve different functions» (Mithun 2001, 242).

2.5.0 The Elliptical Dual in the Homeric poems.

«Mais l'emploi le plus remarquable
du duel est ce qu'on désigne sous le nom
de *duel elliptique*» (Cuny 1930, 10).

It has long been recognised that Ancient Greek preserves one of the most ancient functions realised by the dual. We will here privilege the nineteenth century name 'elliptical dual' over the most widespread 'inclusive dual'⁸³⁸, as the second is affected by an inner ambiguity⁸³⁹. With this label a handful of cases, chiefly Homeric, is addressed: «der elliptische Dual» is used to denote two entities which are not necessarily the same, but always occur together⁸⁴⁰. In par. 2.2.2 it has been shown that two subcategories are attested for this very special kind of dual, namely the simple elliptical dual⁸⁴¹ and the elliptical dual with sylleptic member⁸⁴². In Greek

⁸³⁸ Other names have been assigned to the function – such as associative duals, duals *a potiori*, etc.: «duals *a potiori* (also known as elliptic duals) and sylleptic duals, two species not in Humboldt's collection, are particularly clear manifestations of the ambal conception» (Plank 1989, 327 n. 22). As for associatives (dual and plural), Corbett (2000, 101) states that they «consist of a nominal plus a marker, and denote a set comprised of the nominal (the main member) plus one or more associate members» (see also *ibid.* 101-111).

⁸³⁹ In linguistics, in fact, 'inclusivity' is a propriety, mostly related to dual or plural pronouns. It has been remarked that personal pronouns are not, in cases other than the singular, the mere 'plural' of the person they represent: accordingly, 'we' does not mean '2 or more me', but rather 'me + someone else'. Thus, a 1st person *inclusive* pronoun will refer to 'me and you' (1st + 2nd p. sing), as these subject are closer to the speaker; a 1st person *exclusive* will refer to 'me and him/her' (1st + 3rd p. sing.). It is apparent that such distinction does not apply in the case of the elliptical dual.

⁸⁴⁰ See par. 2.2.2 and Wackernagel 1877, 538-546; Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* II 2/1 458-461; III/1 137-139; Edgerton 1909, 115; MacDonell 1916, 268-270; Corbett 2000, 228-230.

⁸⁴¹ Type iii.a in Debrunner's typology, expressing (2a = 1a + 1b), e.g. Κάστωρε (= not "2 Kastor(s)", but "1 Kastor + 1 Polydeukes"). «Even the marginal category of the dual has unexpected distribution and uses. The dual does not just denote that there are two of something: it can also be used as an associative marker, in a construction standardly referred to as the *elliptical dual* in grammars [...]. Languages which have lost the dual can use the plural as an associative to denote pairs: in Latin *Castorēs*, the plural of the name 'Castor', is used to denote the semi-god Castor and his twin Pollux. The dual is reconstructed for pronouns, animate nouns and inanimate nouns, but it is likely that its usage was optional at least with words denoting inanimates (that is, the lower end of the 'animacy hierarchy'). Note that in the two early IE languages with a paradigmatic dual, Greek and Sanskrit, pairs of body parts, such as hands, eyes, legs, knees etc., may be denoted either by the plural or by the dual, and the plural is in fact more common for bodypart terms in Homeric Greek (for example, in the frequent Homeric formula to describe Achilles 'swift of foot', the plural 'feet', not the dual 'two feet', is used)» (Clackson 2007, 100f.).

⁸⁴² Type iii.b, namely (2a + 1b = 1a + 1b), e.g. ἀμφοῖν Πυθέα τε "both of you, with Pytho (= Apollo)" = "you both, you *and* Apollo"; the second member (b) is not explicitly expressed in the inflectional

we find examples of the first type, and possibly relics of the second. Before delving into the linguistic arrangement of this category, let us linger on the Greek evidence.

Close to the end of the nineteenth century, Wackernagel (1877) recognised that the Iliadic use of Αἴαντε might raise some legitimate concern as to who is meant by the form. The dual Αἴαντε occurs 23_x in the *Iliad*⁸⁴³, 7_x of which with the quantifier δύο⁸⁴⁴. Some specific epithets are linked to the form: twice we have δύο Αἴαντε κορυστὰ⁸⁴⁵, thrice Αἴαντε μεμαῶτε (*Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555, XVII 531). The form without metathesis Αἴαντε μεμαῶτε appears once only, at *Il.* XIII 197⁸⁴⁶. The ancient perfect μεμαῶς (< *μέμαα, competing with μέμονα, from the apophonic stem *μεν-/*μον-/*μγ-: see Chantraine, *DELG* 685) presents a zero grade vocalism with radical (uncontracted) inflection, thus reflecting an ancient formation⁸⁴⁷. Few are the cases in which the epithet is untied to the notorious Αἴαντε⁸⁴⁸, whose it is

dual (2a), being still named as a later *addendum* (1b). «Pronouns in the sylleptic dual refer to a pair, and are accompanied by a noun denoting the subordinate member of the pair already included in the pronominal reference (as, e.g., in Old English *wit Scilling* “both Scilling and I”, “we-two Scilling”)» (Plank 1989, 327 n. 22). «The construction is not restricted to the dual; in languages with a dual, however, the sylleptic dual will tend to be frequent because conjoining most often involves two conjuncts» (Corbett 2000, 233 n. 11).

⁸⁴³ In II 406, IV 285, V 519, VI 436, (VII 311), X 228, XII 265, 335, 354, XIII 46, 47, 197, 201, XVI 555, 556, XVII 507, 508, 531, 669, 732, 747, 752, XVIII 163. Incidentally, the plural Αἴαντες is remarkably scarce, appearing only 5_x in the *Iliad* (VII 164, VIII 79, 262, XIII 313, XVIII 157; the dative Αἴαντεσσι occurs 5_x too, *Il.* IV 273, 280, XII 353, XVII 668, 707); *Il.* VII 164 and VIII 262 would nonetheless preserve the originary elliptical value (τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' Αἴαντες θοῦρον ἐπιειμένοι ἀλκίην: see Edgerton 1910, 115).

⁸⁴⁴ *Il.* II 406, V 519, VI 436, X 228, XII 335, XIII 201, XVIII 163. Only once ἀμφοτέρω Αἴαντε, at *Il.* XII 265.

⁸⁴⁵ An extremely interesting nexus, also containing one of the few *a*-stem duals of the *Iliad*.

⁸⁴⁶ Interestingly enough, less than two hundred verses before μεμαῶτε is attested; in such occasion, the form is not liable to substitution with *μεμαῶτε – just as all other occurrences of μεμαῶτε. This prevailing variant has probably been preserved because of its closeness to Ionic forms with metathesis (*-ηο- > *-εω-). The radical alpha is short in μέματον too, *Il.* VIII 413 (in a verse plausibly late, as the surprising amount of ‘Attic correptions’ enhances: πῆ μέματον; τί σφῶϊν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μαίνεται ἦτορ;) and X 433 (εἰ γὰρ δὴ μέματον Τρώων καταδῦναι ὄμιλον).

⁸⁴⁷ Monro (1891, 29) enhances how perfect participles generally root on the weak grade: yet if the stem ends in vowel, it may exhibit regressive lengthening to avoid contraction with the vowel of the perfect ending *-(φ)ως, *-(φ)οτος. Nevertheless, both the formulae in which the epithet relates to the Αἴαντε, μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι (5_x, in *clausola*: *Il.* V 244, 569, VI 120, XX 159, XXIII 814) and Αἴαντε πρώτῳ προσέφη μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτό (2_x: *Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555) do not allow any restitution of a form with ‘long’ stem (see former note): that is to say, the epithet entered the formulaic repertoire in its Ionic (in which, is worth recalling, a dual form appears at least awkward) shape.

⁸⁴⁸ Only 5_x, in the verse-end formula μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι: *Il.* V 245, 570, VI 120, XX 160, XXIII 815. It is plausible that the extension of the formula, originary restricted to the Αἴαντε, to other heroes, is an innovation: the locations of such occurrences seem to speak in his sense as well.

arguably a specific quality. Two formulaic clauses blend epithet and elliptical dual together⁸⁴⁹:

Αἴαντε πρότω προσέφη μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτῶ (Il. XIII 46, XVI 555)

Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἠγήτορε (Il. IV 285, XII 354, XVII 508, 669)

The character of Ajax himself bears quite an archaic shade⁸⁵⁰: persistent is his characterisation as φέρων σάκος ἤτε πύργον (VII 219, XI 485, XVII 128)⁸⁵¹, leading us to believe that the character is at least as ancient as the ἑπταβόειον shield he carries: «if Ajax and his shield are inseparable, it follows that the person of Ajax was celebrated in poetry when the tower shield was in vogue; and that is long before the Trojan War» (Page 1959, 235)⁸⁵².

Given such evidence, Wackernagel (1877, 305) posed a negative assessment: were Αἴαντε meant to describe “two individuals named Αἴας”, namely the Telamonian and the Oilean, the resort to the dual would be a linguistic abuse, as «Lokrer und Salaminer haben keine Gemeinschaft irgend welcher Art». The two individuals are not homologous nor genetically related; they only share a name,

⁸⁴⁹ Nappi (2002, 224f.) registered the metrical collocations available in the *Iliad* for the form, sketching five options: 1) in (a spondee) *incipit* up to bucolic diaeresis, producing the two combinations 1a) Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἠγήτορε | name of a hero (XVII 508, 669), and 1b) Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἠγήτορε | χαλκοχιτώνων (IV 285, XII 354); 2), before the pentemimeres caesura, the first foot being constituted by a monosyllab (V 519, VI 436); 3) before the ephthemimeres caesura (II 406, X 228, XII 335); 4) before the trochaic caesura (XII 265, XIII 197, XVII 507, 531, 732, 752); 5) in verse-end (XIII 201, XVIII 163).

⁸⁵⁰ The epithet ‘Telamonian’ is interesting too, as it expresses a patronymic, Τελαμών being son of Aeacus. Patronymics in *-jos/*-ijos are allegedly old and Aeolic-made, having been replaced in other dialects by forms in *-idēs (see Chantraine 1933, 38). The suffix *-jos was in use already in the Mycenaean archives, as some inscriptions attest (e.g. PY Aq 64.15 and An 654.8,9, see Ventris-Chadwick 1959, 176, 191).

⁸⁵¹ Always in *clausola*; Page (1959, 234) underlines that «nobody else has a shield that is ἑπταβόειον or is carried ἤτε πύργον». The qualifier ἑπταβόειον appears 5x (Il. VII 220, 222, 245, 266, XI 545), always in relation to Ajax' σάκος.

⁸⁵² Ajax' imponent size and his shield mirror each other, as emblems of static force: τῆ ῥα δῶω τελαμῶνε περὶ στήθεσσι τετάσθην / ἦτοι ὁ μὲν σάκεος ὁ δὲ φασγάνου ἀργυροήλου, Il. XIV 404f. The τελαμῶνε echo by paronymology the main virtue of the hero, consisting in his persistent τελάσσαι ἤτε πύργον (it has been argued that ‘Telamonian’ could in fact originate in a speaking epithet, later remodelled as a patronymic: so Aitchison 1964, 133). This typology of shield dates back to LH I-II (1600-1400 BC) and was clearly perceived as a specific attribute to Ajax (compare with Il. XVI 106 ff.). Meaningfully enough, the archaic and quite concrete term τετραθέλυμνον appears just once (Il. XV 478) in relation to Teucer's shield.

and the dual rarely applies to proper names, unless in presence of kinship⁸⁵³: «if Ἀϊάντε was a very ancient term, it cannot have meant “the two persons who happen to be called Ajax”; but it could have meant “Ajax and his brother”; and the *Iliad* indicates that this is just what it did mean at an earlier period» (Page 1959, 236)⁸⁵⁴. The form makes hence much more sense if read as an elliptical dual, indeed a rarefied construction in historical literature – yet quite pervasive in ancient times⁸⁵⁵.

⁸⁵³ On Ἀκτορίωνε, Ἀτρεΐδα and Μολίονε see par. 4.0 *ad l.* and *infra*. As a note, the only allowed circumstance in which a proper name may be carrying a non-singular ending is in presence of elliptical or patronymic constructions. The same may be said for Mycenaean, where the dual was not used with proper names: «wie weiter unten angesichts der Betrachtung des Nominativ/Akkusativ Duals gezeigt wird ist bereits im Mykenischen zumindest der kollektive Dual aufgegeben» (Hajnal 1995, 63).

⁸⁵⁴ The coverage of the dual is of course in historical times unrestricted to twin cells alone: yet «it was not intended to stretch so far as to cover two completely unrelated objects or persons who merely happen to have the same name» (*ibid.*). A slightly improper parallel may be evoked: by saying “the Addams” we hardly mean “two or more unrelated individuals called ‘Addams’”, but rather “two or more related individuals going by the name of ‘Addams’”, *i.e.* husband and wife (who acquires the surname of the husband), or the whole Addams family.

⁸⁵⁵ «Ich will vorausschicken, dass es in vorhistorischer Zeit Gebrauchsweisen des Duals gab, die uns befremden und die in der Überlieferung des Griechischen nicht erscheinen. Im ältesten Indischen kann ein Wort für einen Begriff, der mit einem andern gern gepaart wird, in den Dual gesetzt werden, um das ganze Paar auszudrücken. Ich will das in griechischer Form wiedergeben; es kann also z.B. πατέρε etwa in dem Sinne ‚Vater und Mutter‘ gebraucht werden. Noch seltsamer ist eine zweite Ausdruckform, die uns auch im ältesten Indischen begegnet, die darin besteht, dass man die beiden in Betracht kommenden Wörter nebeneinander im Dual gibt, also z.B. der Begriff ‚Eltern‘ ausgedrückt wird durch πατέρε μητέρε» (Wackernagel 1926, 82). The classic example, originarily provided by Wackernagel (1877, 303), is ved. *mitrā* (du.), or ved. *varuṇā* (du.) “Mitra and Varuna”. The Vedic type is a subcategory of the notorious *dvandva* compounds (see Edgerton 1910; MacDonell 1916, 268-270; Jamison 2004, 693): most widespread is the dual *Kṛṣṇau* “Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna” (85x *Mahabharata*). The construction is naturally available in the plural too: for instance, Δευκαλίωνες “Deucalion and Pyrrha” (Theoc. 15,141). Latin too provides some examples: *Castores* “Castor and Polydeukes” (Verg. *Georg.* III 89) and *Romuli* “Romulus and Remus” (Tert. *De Corona* 12; Plin. *Nat.* XXXIV 23), which Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß* II 2/1 458) call “pluralisierter Dual”. In ON we have *fedgar* “father and son”; *mæðgur*, “mother and daughter” (see Edgeworth-Mayrhofer 1987, 186; Nappi 2002, 213). As a note, it is striking how in ON gender overcomes the expected kin relation: hence, *fedgar* is not “father and mother” but “father and son”; compare with ved. *pitārā mātārāu*. An example for OIr is brought by Lewis-Pedersen (1937, 194): *conráncatar* (3rd plur.) *Dubtach* “he and Dubtach met”. A dubious case is attested in Hittite too: «the clearest instance [for a relic of elliptical dual] is the formulaic phrase *hasa hanzasa* (*ha-aš-ša ha-an-za-aš-ša*), ‘grandchild (and) great-grandchild’, which shows this form in acc. as well as nom. Syntactically it is to be compared with the IE elliptical dual (Skt. *Mitrā* ‘Mitra and Varuna’, Homeric Ἀϊάντε, etc.). Its precise correspondence with the “*devata*”-*dvandvas* (*Mitrā-Varuṇā*, etc.) confirms Edgerton’s ascription of that type to primitive IE» (Sturtevant 1933, 165). «Contrast Ἀκτορίωνε ‘the twin sons of Aktor’, and see Hainsworth (1993) on *Il.* 11.750 and Richardson (1993) on *Il.* 23.638. The allusion to Umbrian is to the formula *ueiro pequo* ‘men

That Ajax and Teucer are not only brothers⁸⁵⁶, but a well known *duet* and a deeply rooted heroic couple is constantly asserted by the *Iliad*. Teucer bears ancient traits as well, chiefly by means of his *status* of archer – the only one of the Achaean army, if we exclude Philoktetes and Meriones⁸⁵⁷. The two brothers are also coupled in respect of their peculiar, and extremely archaic, fighting technique⁸⁵⁸: times and again Teucer intrudes among the enemies' ranks to hit a mark with his arrows, finding a sudden shelter behind Ajax' shield, *πάϊς ὧς ὑπὸ μητέρῳ* (*Il.* VIII 271). The two heroes form a tightly tied pairing: it is apparent how their conception as a

and animals', which W. (1910, 295-8) suggested might continue an IE dual-dvandva *uīrō-pek^wō* (with both elements in the dual) seen also in Avestan *pasu-vira*. This is unlikely in view of the word-divider and the fact that the outcome of inherited *-ō should be written -u in Umbrian, not -o, and the phrase is nowadays regarded as a neut. pl. collective (from IE **uīrā-pek^wā*), an idea that goes back to Thurneysen. This would be the only known example of an animate collective; see Clackson (2007, 103)» (Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 115 n. 6; see also Schwyzer, *GG* II 50f.; Clackson 2007, 100f.). On the alleged *ueiro pequo*, Clackson (2007, 184) remarks: «the comparison of the Avestan and Umbrian forms may reveal much more: both nouns in Avestan *pasuuā vīraiiā* are in the dual [...]. Unfortunately, the uncertainties of the phonology of Umbrian written in the Latin alphabet leave the question undecided, and we have already noted that the ending of these Umbrian words could be explained as an original neuter plural or collective marker».

⁸⁵⁶ Wackernagel (1877, 308) is well aware of the fact that brotherhood, or the existence of a close companion, is a necessary yet not sufficient value for a name to be viable for elliptical constructions: forms like **Ἀγαμέμνονε*, **Ἰδομενῆε*, **Ἀχιλλῆε* or **Διομήδη* are accordingly never attested. The fact is enhanced by the necessity of the dual itself; it has been repeatedly stressed how, being the dual facultative, the need for it to be employed arises only in presence of two closely tied elements: the use of this specific morphological category is functional, not mechanical. Ajax and Teucer are a pair ratified by the epic tradition: their genetic closeness is just one factor in their ambal conception, which allows them to be perceived – and subsequently described, by means of an elliptical dual – as a single cell.

⁸⁵⁷ Teucer's name appears 29x in the *Iliad*: VI 31, VIII 266, 273, 281, 292, 309, 322, XII 336, 350, 363, 371, 372, 387, 400, XIII 91, 170, 182, 313, XIV 515, XV 302, 437, 458, 462, 466, 484, XVI 511, XXIII 859, 862, 883. As an archer, he is defined ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν at *Il.* XIII 313; he is mentioned in relation to his bow at *Il.* VI 30, VIII 261-331, XII 350, 363, XV 436-483, XVI 508-512, XXIII 850-883. As well as Ajax' shield, his bow bears an ancient shade, as it mirrors an archaic fighting technique: the hero would hence arguably be of Mycenaean descent (so Lorimer 1950, 289f.). The etymology of the two heroes' names would support such assessment: Mühlestein (1967, 47f.) connected Αἴας to αἰόλος, on the basis of Cretan boionyms; Pindar (*I.* 6,35) paronymically linked it to αἰετός. As for Teucer, Windekens (1958, 447f.) rather imaginatively proposed a Pelasgic stem-root **deuq-/*duq-*, producing in its zero-grade the *nomen rei actae* (**deuq-s-* > τῶξον, βιός: the vocalic outcome is nonetheless problematic) and in the normal grade the *nomen agentis* (**deuq-* + the Gr. suffix *-τρος = **Τευκτρος* > *Τεῦκρος*). Such effort, working on the suggestion of the archer *Τεῦκρος*, is otherwise unfounded.

⁸⁵⁸ So it happens at *Il.* XII 361-404, XIII 170-186, XV 436-483.

single item, working by means of two limbs, perfectly befits the conception of the dual itself, as expression of binomial cells⁸⁵⁹.

There is no doubt that, in the *Iliad* as we have it, the form has been steadily reinterpreted (and somewhere perhaps even conceived) as relating distributively to the Telamonian and the Oilean Ajax: yet the evidence speaks in favour of a reading of the form as the legacy of a former stage of the epic poetry, in which it was a sole epithet of Ajax and his legitimate companion, Teucer.

Some places in the *Iliad* support this assessment: in the ἐπιπόλησις (IV 223ff.), Agamemnon lingers ἐπ' Αἰαντέσσι (v. 273) and addresses them by the notorious formula Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἡγήτορε χαλκοχιτώνων (v. 285)⁸⁶⁰, followed by an exhortation (vv. 285-291) rich in duals. That he is talking to the Telamonian and Teucer is enhanced by the fact that the two lead the very same contingent⁸⁶¹, and are eagerly combined in the dual by virtue of their fighting technique.

A most revealing passage is to be found at *Iliad* XIII 198-203. Teucer kills Imbrios (v. 170)⁸⁶², Hektor intervenes to prevent the corpse from being spoiled, yet the two Ajaxes succeed:

⁸⁵⁹ «The dual is a sharply individualized and specialized type of the Indo-European noun with sharply limited use. Its primitive value was 'ambal' rather than dual. It stood for a unity made up of a natural alliance of two. Indo-European **ekwōu* meant not 'two horses' but 'a span of horses' [...]. In its original meaning it was evidently a collective singular» (Wheeler 1896, 137). Wackernagel's purpose did not encounter generalised *consensus* (the French school remained skeptical: see Chantraine 1953, II 29); among the supporters, see nonetheless Page 1959, 232ff.; Merkelbach 1960, 273ff.; Durante 1971, I 115ff.; Janko 1992, 48.

⁸⁶⁰ The epithet, 23_x the *Iliad* (I 371, II 47, 163, 187, 437, III 127, 131, 251, IV 199, VI 454, VII 275, 444, VIII 71, X 136, 287, 367, XII 352, XIII 272, XV 56, XVII 414, XVIII 105, XXIII 575, XXIV 225), is archaic as well. In Pylian tablets a *ka-ko* is attested, even though the connection remains uncertain (χίτων appears to be a Lydian loanword: see Chantraine, *DELG* 1243).

⁸⁶¹ The Oilean would be out of place here, being chief of the Locrians (see *Il.* XIII 712-722); «So ist Aias der Lokrer schon als verächtlicher Held gedacht, wie in Iliupersis und Odyssee» (Wilamowitz 2006, 174, «nämlich wegen der Schändung Kassandras am Athene-Bild»; on the alternance Οἰλεύς/Ἰλεύς see *ibid.* 205, 242). «Only a poet who had no clear vision, indeed no vision at all, of the scene he is describing could combine this exceptional and indeed unique contingent of semi-savage Locrians with the highly conventional troops of another chieftain – merely because the two leaders happen to have the same name» (Page 1959, 237).

⁸⁶² The verse appears awkwardly 'epesegetic': Teucer is here defined Τελαμώνιος, almost a *unicum* in the poems (compare with *Il.* VIII 281, 283, where the version implying that Teucer is an illegitimate son is credited, and XV 462, where the patronymic is plausibly borrowed by Ajax, along with Teucer in the scene). The epithet is plausibly intended to explain who the υἱὸς Τελαμῶνος of v. 177 is, and could be the result of a later attempt of disambiguation (see also the 'Attic correction' of δὲ πρῶτος at

ὥς τε δὺ' αἶγα λέοντε κυνῶν ὑπο καρχαροδόντων
 ἀρπάξαντε φέρετον ἀνά ῥωπήϊα πυκνά
 ὑψοῦ ὑπὲρ γαίης μετὰ γαμφηλῆσιν ἔχοντε
 ὥς ῥα τὸν ὑψοῦ ἔχοντε δῶ Αἴαντε κορυστὰ
 τεύχεα συλήτην· κεφαλὴν δ' ἀπαλῆς ἀπὸ δειροῆς
 κόψεν Ὀϊλιάδης ...

Some details reveal the antiquity of the passage⁸⁶³, magnifying the awkwardness of the intervention of the Oilean: «the smaller Ajax pops into the scene suddenly, and out of it again immediately, having done his simple duty: which was, to bring the term Αἴαντε into line with modern opinion» (Page 1959, 238). The abrupt appearance of the Oilean reflects an attempt to clarify a passage which could have become obscure to the latter rhapsods and audience⁸⁶⁴. The Telamonian and the Oilean appear again coupled in a simile, at *Il.* XIII 701-708, whose references are blurred (see also par. 4.0 s.v. βόε):

Αἴας δ' οὐκέτι πάμπαν Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς υἱός
 ἴστατ' ἀπ' Αἴαντος Τελαμωνίου οὐδ' ἠβαιόν
 ἀλλ' ὥς τ' ἐν νειῶ βόε οἴνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον
 ἴσον θυμὸν ἔχοντε τιταίνετον· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα σφι

v. 170). Notice that later on, outside formulaic clauses, Teucer is again μεμαῶς (Τεῦκρος δ' ὠρμήθη μεμαῶς ἀπὸ τεύχεα δῶσαι, v. 182).

⁸⁶³ There are ten dual forms in five verses (one of which is the notorious κορυστὰ, a rare *a*-stem masculine epithet: 3_x ἔλεν ἄνδρα κορυστήν in verse-end, *Il.* IV 457, VIII 256, XVI 603). The noun αἶξ roots in the i.-e. background, being frequently connected with warlike descriptions (αἶγα 2_x: ἦ ἔλαφον κερσὸν ἦ ἄγριον αἶγα, *Il.* III 24, XV 271); on the αἰγίς see *Il.* V 738-741 and Chantraine, *DELG* 30, 36 (at v. 198 Zenodotus adjusted in αἶγε; see also Leaf 1900, II 18). The epithet χάρκαρος (2_x *Il.*, here and at X 360), allegedly a substrate term, only appears in this compound (~ *kar(a)-, 'stone'? see Chantraine, *DELG* 502). Substrate terms could be ῥωπήϊα (4_x *Il.*, 3_x ῥωπήϊα πυκνά in *clausola*; possibly linked to ῥώψ, see Chantraine, *DELG* 982; πυκνός ~ πύκα, i.-e. *puk- 'steady', see Chantraine, *DELG* 953; Pokorny, *IEW* 849) and γαμφηλαί (3_x *Il.*; see also XVI 489, XIX 394) as well, both only in the plural. On the simile of the two lions, compare with *Il.* V 550-560 (Agamemnon and Menelaos), X 296-298 (Odysseus and Diomedes), XVIII 574-586 (Achilles' shield) and see par. 4.0 *ad l.*

⁸⁶⁴ «L'intrusione di Aiace Oileo al v. 203 si spiega con l'interpretazione che l'ultimo poeta diede di Αἴαντε: per lui, che non comprendeva più questa forma antichissima, Αἴαντε doveva indicare i due eroi designati con il nome di Aiace, e quindi, nella sua prospettiva, l'intervento di Aiace Oileo al v. 203 non era assolutamente fuori posto» (Nappi 2002, 216).

προυμνοῖσιν κεράεσσι πολὺς ἀνακηκίει ἰδρώς·
 τὸ μὲν τε ζυγὸν οἶον εὐξοον ἀμφὶς ἐέργει
 ἰεμένω κατὰ ὄλκα, τέμει δέ τε τέλσον ἀρούρης·
 ὧς τὸ παρβεβαῶτε μάλ' ἔστασαν ἀλλήλοιιν.

Even if the mention of the Oilean is explicit, many are the elements which betray an originary connection to Teucer. First of all, we find a striking concentration of duals; secondly, the reciprocity of the fighting action (v. 702 ἴστατ' ἀπ' Αἴαντος Τελαμωνίου οὐδ' ἠβαιόν, v.704 ἴσον θυμὸν ἔχοντε τιταίνετον, v. 708 τὸ παρβεβαῶτε μάλ' ἔστασαν ἀλλήλοιιν) and the archaic features in lexicon⁸⁶⁵ suggest a firmly rooted and traditional phrasing. Chiefly interesting is, finally, the clause ἴσον θυμὸν ἔχοντε, which recurs again at *Il.* XVII 719-721 νῶϊ μαχησόμεθα Τρωσίν τε καὶ Ἔκτορι δίῳ / ἴσον θυμὸν ἔχοντες ὁμώνυμοι, οἱ τὸ πάρος περ / μίμνομεν ὄξυν Ἄρηα παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες (references to the Αἴαντε(ς) also at vv. 707, 732, 747, 752)⁸⁶⁶. Wackernagel (1877, 305) stresses that it is unclear why the Telamonian and the Oilean, chieftains of different contingents, should fight ἴσον θυμόν⁸⁶⁷.

Another passage appears relevant to our aim, as it suggestively reveals how a new interpretation has been roughly superimposed on the former, archaic value. At *Il.* XII 342 Menestheus urges a herald to call the Αἴαντε to battle,

⁸⁶⁵ The dative νεῖῳ is a *hapax legomenon*, as well as ἀνακηκίει, ἰεμένω, ὄλκα, τέμει, παρβεβαῶτε. The dual βόε (see par. 4.0 *ad l.*) is embedded in the formula βόε οἶνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον (with ἄροτρον as a *hapax*; notice that οἶνοψ is a chief epithet of πόντος, in the verse-end formulae ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον (9x: *Il.* II 613, V 771, VII 88, XXIII 143, *Od.* I 183, II 421, III 286, IV 474, V 349) and ἐνὶ οἶνοπι πόντῳ (7x: *Il.* XXIII 316, *Od.* V 132, 221, VII 250, XII 388, XIX 172, 274; 1x οἶνοπα πόντον, *Od.* VI 170). The form τέλσον appears again in conjunction with ἀρούρης at *Il.* XVIII 544, with ἰεμένοι at v. 547.

⁸⁶⁶ Formulaic echoes are apparent in the phrase: ἴσον θυμόν is a peculiar quality of the two quoted passages; ὄξυν Ἄρηα 7x *Iliad*; τιταίνω 8x (2x in the dual, *Il.* XIII 704, XXIII 403).

⁸⁶⁷ Subsequently Merkelbach (1960, 270) proposed to emend, at v. 720, ὁμώνυμοι (*hapax* in the *Iliad*) with ἀδελφεοί. Incidentally, it must be underlined that, if the latest readers of the poem tried to gloss and enlighten the (by then) obscure Αἴαντε, such attempts of clarification are restricted to punctualisations and parenthetical remarks, and never involve tradition and myth: that is to say, even if Ajax the Major and the Lesser are here and there named together in the *Iliad*, there is no memory of deeds or enterprises involving the two of them. The fact that, despite the epesegetic need to bind the two heroes closer, no episode involving them both arised, may be interpreted as a sign of lateness for these very same explanatory interventions, as they remained on the surface of the myth, not comprimising nor affecting deeper layers of it.

ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον⁸⁶⁸: should the both of them not be available, ἀλλὰ περ οἷος ἴτω Τελαμώνιος ἄλκιμος Αἴας / καὶ οἱ Τεῦκρος ἅμα σπέσθω τόξων ἐν εἰδῶς (vv. 349f.). Once the message is delivered, the Telamonian leaves the Oilean in place (vv. 367-369) and hastens to support Menestheus, together with Teucer⁸⁶⁹. As the two fight side by side, Poseidon incites the Αἴαντε, at *Il.* XIII 46f. and 60. It appears that the whole episode, which brims over *Iliad* XII and XIII, involved once Ajax and Teucer, having subsequently been integrated with the figure of the Oilean, who appears here and there to justify the deluge of duals and Αἴαντε in the scene (*Il.* XII 354, 365f., XIII 46-48, 55f., 60, 66-68)⁸⁷⁰. Yet the Oilean should not be there, for he has been left in another spot of the wall.

Page (1959, 273) believes that v. 350 has been interpolated in order for the Αἴαντε of v. 343 to refer to the Telamonian and the Oilean; the verse, hence repeated at v. 363, would also justify the presence of Teucer in the scene. In his footsteps, Merkelbach (1960, 269f.) would expunge a high number of verses (XII 336, 344, 345, 348-350, 357, 358, 361-363, 365-370), in the idealistic attempt to reconstitute the 'originary shape' of the episode. Yet such an effort seems both highly expensive and unnecessary: if the scene has, as it appears, been remodelled, we might expect the rhapsode(s) to have done it in depth, and with adequate accuracy. The mere deletion of annoying verses is indeed a most invasive procedure. Nappi (2002, 218) followed Wackernagel (1877, 308) in believing that Teucer's recurring name may be revealing of a half obliterated case of elliptical dual with sylleptic

⁸⁶⁸ Precisely, αἴψα δ' ἐπ' Αἴαντε προίει κήρυκα θεώτην / ἔρκεο, δῖε Θεῶτα, θεῶν Αἴαντα κάλεσσον / ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον (*Il.* XII 342-344). At v. 343 the plural Αἴαντα was already emended by Zenodotus in Αἴαντε (pap. 9 and codd. T^s W West; see also Denniston 1959, 368).

⁸⁶⁹ Who is here strikingly defined as being κασίγνητος καὶ ὄπατρος to Ajax (v. 371). Which the originary value of κασίγνητος was is still debatable, and this passage is one of the 'indicted' ones; it may be questioned in fact whether it just conveys a blood tie («certains employes homériques indiquent que κασίγνητος peut désigner le frère, et le cousin gérmane du côté mâle, ce qui constitue un archaïsme», Chantraine, *DELG* 503), or it specifically states brotherhood by the mother's part («brother [...] especially of those born from the same mother», see *LSJ*⁹ 882). In the second case, this passage would stand in contrast with *Il.* VIII 281-283. Be it as it may, the epithet shall have been perceived as partly obscure (or rather generic), and anyway insufficient to define the nature of the bond between the two heroes, as it need be furtherly stressed by the syncopated and psilotic ὄπατρος.

⁸⁷⁰ At v. 66 the plausible insertion of the Oilean is enhanced by some linguistic traces: τοῖν is rare (3_x: *Il.* XI 110; XIII 66; XXIII 336; oblique forms of the pronouns are generally scant in the Homeric poetry, as we have, apart from τοῖν, only 4_x ἀλλήλοιν and 1_x ἀμφοτέρουιν), and its use as a partitive is unique; however, the position of Ὀϊλῆος in the fourth metre, followed by the final clause ταχὺς Αἴας, is traditional (9_x: *Il.* II 527, XIII 66, 701, XIV 442, 520, XVII 256, XXIII 473, 488, 754).

member (see par. 2.2.2, type iii.b). This hypothesis is supported by two specific passages:

ἐς δ' ἐνόησ' Αἴαντε δύω πολέμου ἀκορήτω
ἔσταότας Τεῦκρόν τε νέον κλισίηθεν ἰόντα (XII 335f.)⁸⁷¹

Αἴαντες τε δύω Τεῦκρός θ' ὄς ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν
τοξοσύνη ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν σταδίῃ ὑσμίνῃ (XIII 313f.)

If the elliptical dual is *per se* a surprising usage of the dual, the option with sylleptic member is so even more. In the elliptical dual, to some extent the function – *i.e.* to express a couple – prevails on the form – *i.e.* just one of the two is explicitly mentioned. In the variant with sylleptic member, the second member, formally absent in the main cell in the dual, is reintegrated, by means of an additional limb: hence, the formal expression of this feature may be sketched as (2a + 1b), where *a* is Ajax, in the dual, and *b* is Teucer, in the singular: hence, Αἴαντε(ς) δύω ... Τεῦκρός τε.

The portion of scholarly critics supporting Wackernagel's proposal has long been engaged in finding the more examples they could of such usage. Elliptical constructions prove in fact deeply rooted worldwide; their special type with sylleptic member, yet scantly, is surprisingly well-known either⁸⁷². Two aspects have nevertheless, to some end, been neglected:

⁸⁷¹ The interpretation may appear problematic in the passage, as the sylleptic member is separated from the dual by almost a verse. Yet the interval is filled by epithets of the heroes, one of which – ἀκορήτω, a traditional Iliadic epithet (6_x, 3_x in the battle at the Achaean wall; see also Chantraine, *DELG* 565f.) – is even in the dual, thus insisting on the value of pair of the two. The passage may be paralleled by *Mitrā tanā na rathyā Varuṇo yaç ca sukratuḥ sanāt sujātā tanayā dhrtavratā* (RV VIII 25,2; cf. Edgerton 1909, 111). The distance is justified by the function of the supplementar limb, which clarifies the 'content' of the cell – in our case, Αἴαντε. Such precisation shall have felt chiefly useful in a contest of oral recitation, in which the additional mention of one of the two member involved shall have perceived as subsequential; see *infra*.

⁸⁷² Vedic attests many cases of the type with sylleptic member: ved. *āvāni Varuṇa ça* "we both and Varuna" = "me and Varuna" (RV VII 88,3); *yuṣvām Indraś ca* "both you and Indra" = "you and Indra" (RV VII 97,10). «Although in the earliest Greek the original form of the construction as seen in Aryan has disappeared, or almost disappeared, still it has left a very significant trace in the fact that the nouns in the 'Alcmanic figure' are invariably such as refer to persons and things associated by usage, and therefore felt to form a natural group» (Fraser 1910, 26). Corbett (2000, 229-233) provides a huge

- i. First, the connective feature employed to bind together the elliptical cell and its sylleptic member varies a lot depending on the reference domain;
- ii. Second, such a structure is characterised by an inner asymmetry. If, in fact, everything works semantically, as two individuals are implied, formally we are less serene, as a formula like (2a + 1b) gives an obvious '3' as a result. It is not by chance that Edgerton (1909, 110), with unconcealed annoyance, defined it as «both pleonastic and highly illogical». This formal inconsistency has sometimes been swept under the carpet; yet it is of extreme significance, as it encompasses the reason and need of such a construction.

2.5.1 Elliptical constructions cross linguistically.

Since Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß* II 2/1 458-461; III/1 137-139) and Schwyzer (GG II 50-52), elliptical constructions have been recognised across the Indo-European languages. All outlines based on Indo-European evidence distinguish three subcategories: the simple elliptical dual (type iii.a), the elliptical dual with sylleptic member (type iii.b), and the double dual (type iv)⁸⁷³. An

amount of cross-linguistic evidence: Oir. *icind tricha bliadne band condricfem and ocus tù* "at the end of 30 bright days we will meet (du.), (me) and you"; Oir. *de ronsat sid ocus Fergal* "they reconciled, (him) and Fergal"; Osl. *oběma sū Aleksandromū* "both with Aleksander" = "Helen and Aleksander"; Osl. *načesta se biti sū Acilešemū*, "both started fighting with Achilles" = "Hektor and Achilles started fighting"; Lith. *jėdu su savo mergà* "they both and his fiancée" = "he and his fiancée"; OE *wit Scilling song ahōfon* "both of us Scilling sang a song" = "me and Scilling sang a song"; ON *Þit Guðrun* "both of you Guðrun" = "you and Guðrun"; ON *ver Baglar* "we (pl.) Bagla" = "me and Bagla"; Slov. (Sorb.) *smej z nan-om šach gratei* "we (du.) with (my) father played (du.) chess" = "me and my father played chess". Examples are well-attested outside the i.-e. domain as well: so in Hungarian forms like *János-ék* (ass. marker) "John and his family/friends" are frequent (Corbett-Mithun 1996, 1), and in Yup'ik, an Eskimo language, we have *Cunan-kuk ayag-tuk* "Chuna (du.) left (du.) = Chuna and his friend left", *Cunan-kuk arnaq=llu ayag-tuk* "Chuna (du.) with the woman left (du.)", *Franky-nkuk ayag-llru-uk* "Franky (du.) went (du.) = Franky and his companion went".

⁸⁷³ Let us hereby linger on this type. Event though not so widespread as elliptical duals, the double dual has a good entourage: the type is expressed by Debrunner's formula (2a + 2b) = (1a + 1b), meaning that both individuals are marked by the dual, yet two elements only are implied. The construction proves prolific outside the i.-e. domain as well: in the Finno-Ugric language Mansi we

incidental remark is hereby due. In the wake of the Vedic evidence (see MacDonell 1916, 268-270), where all three types are attested, the double dual has been interrelated with elliptical duals: yet elliptical it is not. As the label itself reveals, this type is redoubled: both individuals are expressed, no ellipsis is involved. If ever, the type appears affected by redundancy instead⁸⁷⁴. The difference surfacing in the expression is the result of a different underlying function: in double duals, single individuals are signalled to be part of a dual cell by means of an arbitrary dual gram, working as a connector and neutralised for the expression of number⁸⁷⁵. In elliptical duals, the context is the opposite: two elements are reduced in the expression of one alone. Subsequently, we must keep the two types apart.

We are hence left with proper elliptical duals only (types iii.a and iii.b). If the first type is more transparent, the second one presents in a variety of ways. It has long been noticed that the sylleptic members more readily applies to pronominal duals (or plurals), by nature elliptical⁸⁷⁶. Furthermore, differences arise as to how the sylleptic member is connected to the first member. In particular, we may be presented with three situations:

- (1) Simple asyndetic connection (2a 1b): ON *þit Guðrun* “you (du.) Guðrun” = “you (sg.) and Guðrun”;

may find *ēkwa-y ōjka-y ōl-ēy* “women (du.) men (du.) live” = “a wife and a husband live”. Still, the double dual seems abnormal in Ugric languages, and nevertheless unrelated to elliptical duals – consistently with what stated *infra* (see references and further bibliography in Corbett 2000, 228).

⁸⁷⁴ The dual marker may in these cases be misleading: in a form like *Mitrā-Vārunā* the expression of number is reiterated on both elements involved in the act, determining a morphological idiosyncrasy. The form is a *dvandva* compound, a structure putting nouns or conjoined entities in a coordinative relation. Corbett (2000, 229) enhances that the type with inflection on both nouns in the compound is restricted to duals: «here the hearer’s knowledge of the world would have been sufficient to ensure understanding (there was only one Mitra [and one father, and one mother, etc.])». Furthermore, in cases other than direct ones, only the second members inflects – a further argument supporting the nature of compound of the construction. Indeed an anomaly in the form-meaning cell is at work: it merely does not deal with elliptical construction. Double duals mark the participation in the dual cell on both elements involved: the dual morpheme works anymore as a quantifying gram, but rather as a determiner.

⁸⁷⁵ Precisely, in *pitārā-matarā* the ending *-ā of the dual does not express the morphological value ‘two’, as it does not mean ‘two mothers’ or ‘two fathers’: it merely binds *one* mother and *one* father together.

⁸⁷⁶ In a form like *vōi*, for instance, it is not specified who the second member is. This physiological open-endedness is even more sensible in a 3rd person dual form, like *σφῶε*: see Corbett 2000, 231.

- (2) Copulative connection (2a 'and' 1b): Ved. *yuvām Indraś ca* "you (du.) and Indra" = "you (sg.) and Indra";
- (3) Comitative connection (2a 'with' 1b): Lith. *jėdu su savo mergà* "they (du). with his fiancée" = "he and his fiancée"⁸⁷⁷.

Variations on the connective strategy reflect different grades of tightness in the relation between the main element and its sylleptic member. It is essential to stress as by now that the sylleptic member is always a pospositive: the contrary is typologically impossible. This element proves of chief importance in the understanding of this construction, as we will see further on.

It might well be asked whether is it possible to retrace any evidence on the relative chronology of the various types of elliptical dual – namely, types iii.a and iii.b, with its (1), (2) and (3) connective options. Within type iii.b, the three varieties plausibly reflect subsequent stages in the internal evolution of the construction, from simple to more complex. Type (1), with its asyndetic relation, shall hence have been the most archaic one: in order to utterly specify the second member, it has been merely juxtaposed to the dual cell. The interplay between the two is furtherly clarified by type (2): by means of the copulative coordination the main element and its sylleptic member form an hendyadis and are subsequently isolated within the connective tissue of the clause⁸⁷⁸. Type (3) stresses that the sylleptic member belongs in the main element, enhancing the associative value of the construction: the comitative particle adds an inclusive shade.

It is probably the third type that better enhances the chief value of this elliptical dual: it is a clarification of the simple elliptical dual (type iii.a). As we have seen, Greek Αἶαντε started, at a certain point of its evolution, to be increasingly opaque: the dual bears a strictly morphological value, and does not reveal who the

⁸⁷⁷ «Brian Joseph has drawn our attention to the existence of first person comitative constructions like the Russian *my s Borisom idjom* "we with Boris are going = Boris and I are going", where the plurality of the first person pronoun is at logical odds with its apparent referent, although not its containing DP» (Harley-Ritter 2002, 485 n. 3). Other examples come from Corbett (2000, 231f.): *my s toboy* "we with you (sg.)" = "me and you", *oni s Parnok* "they with Parnok" = "she and Parnok", *naši s toboj vospominanija* "us with your memories" = "my and your memories".

⁸⁷⁸ It is to be noticed that, in the main part of the i.-e. languages that own this construction, the viable particle fulfilling this duty is almost ever the i.-e. clitic **kw*: compare Ved. *āvām varuṇa śa* with Gr. (according to Wackernagel, see *supra*) Αἶαντε ... Τεῦκρός τε.

second member is. In order to untie the difficulty, the sylleptic member was added, providing the identity of the – up to there unnamed – second participant. This sylleptic member shall have worked as a void recipient, a parenthetical remark: its form was a mere appendix of the dual cell, while its meaning was null, being the second individuals already included in the dual cell. In a construction of the type *Αἴαντε Τεῦχος τὲ* we hence have a formal (2a + 1b) mirroring a semantic (2a + 0b): *Τεῦχος* is semantically null, as its presence has been asserted already by the simple elliptical dual *Αἴαντε*. Hereby the inconsistency of a (2 + 1) giving an outcome ‘2’ is solved.

The evolution of the value might hence have proceeded from simple to more complex, namely from iii.a, in which form and content were consistent yet opaque, to iii.b, in which, according to the principle of morphotactic transparency, the form is more transparent, despite the content being unbalanced ($2a + 1b = 1a + 1b$)⁸⁷⁹. This asymmetry in content, once clarified in its developmental pattern, proves understandable: yet the mismatch between form and content remains surprising. Accordingly, it has been long questioned whether, on a purely linguistic perspective, these ‘portmanteaus’ are representatives of special numbers⁸⁸⁰. Having answered how they arose, it might hence prove valuable to wonder «why these uses can be available, particularly since number frequently is a relatively clear reflection of semantics» (Corbett 2000, 219).

⁸⁷⁹ Brugmann-Delbrück (*Grundriß* II 2/1 460f.) and Corbett (2000, 229) agree on this developmental pattern. Conversely, Edgerton (1909, 114) supported an evolution from iii.b to iii.a: «in the somewhat primitive stage of the language it became necessary, for the sake of clearness, to express the other member: this was done, rather naively, by simply adding the singular of the supplementary noun. In later times the pleonastic and illogical character of these phrases came to be felt, and they subsequently disappear».

⁸⁸⁰ Their intermittent respect of the Animacy Hierarchy (proper names usually overcome pronouns) and their asymmetric and non-transparent respect of the form-content axiom ($2a = 1a + 1b$) would seem to speak in this respect. Corbett-Mithun (1996, 1) state that «associatives should not be treated as additional numbers. Associativity and number are realised separately, which shows that associatives are a separate category interacting with number». Corbett (2000, 109; see also Corbett-Mithun 1996, 12f.) adds a reasonable hypothesis: «if a language has a (major) dual and a plural, associative meanings if available will be equally available for both, whether or not there is special morphology for expressing associative meanings». Hence, in Ancient Greek associatives are realised *via* the same morphological devices which provide number inflection (*i.e.* the associative-elliptical dual employs the ‘normal’ dual ending), yet their domain – and meaning – is different. Thus, we can have *Αἴαντε* and *Castores* (1 major item + 1/more associate(s)), as well as ‘normal’ number categories (dual *χεῖρε*, plural *ἴπποι*, representing groups of homogeneous items).

2.5.2 Asymmetry in sylleptic constructions.

It has been argued that type iii.b is plausibly a direct evolution of type iii.a, having arisen to clarify the identity of the implicit member⁸⁸¹. This process may be furtherly enlightened by a comparison effected on modern English. Let us consider a speech act consisting of a sentence like *yesterday we went to the pub, with Caterina*. Such a sentence is once again twofold: in a written context, it would clearly have two controllers, 'we' and 'Caterina'. Yet, in a colloquial context, it might be acceptable for the comitative 'with Caterina' to refer to a subject already included in 'we': hence the controller is the plural 'we', which – elliptically – includes Caterina too. Given the second case, to grant understanding two conditions are required:

- ~ A comitative particle must be involved (sentences like ***yesterday we went to the pub, Caterina* or ***yesterday we went to the pub, and Caterina* hardly make any sense)⁸⁸²;
- ~ The sentence must be a colloquial, *i.e.* an oral product.

As regards the first requirement, we have already seen how, among the three attested strategies to connect a sylleptic member, (3) proves to be the more complex and effective at once. As for the second requirement, its importance is utmost. The need to specify an implicit member and the possibility of a semantically null specification are both achievable in an oral context, which relies on the diachronic progress of clauses in the speech. In our sentence, 'with Caterina' is included in the main controller 'we' only by virtue of its oral nature.

⁸⁸¹ It is furtherly evident that the double dual does not belong in these ranks: if the semantic content is borne by the major cell (in our case Αἴαντε), and the sylleptic member is a 'semantic zero', there is no reason why it should it take a dual ending. Were it to, there would be a clash with the major cell: such an operation would be in contrast with the underlying function of the construction, which is, as said, *elliptical*. The double dual is once again revealed as an independent product of single languages, whose genesis and function is neatly differentiated by the ones of the elliptical dual.

⁸⁸² Such inference is consistent with the hypothetical (relative) chronological development that we traced for the three connective strategies of the sylleptic member: the comitative particle is the more transparent and explicit, even more in an analytical language not provided with elliptical constructions.

Therefore, an incidental specification, effecting no alteration in the general structure of the sentence, is the result of an oral speech practice. This condition proves compulsory to the understanding of the sylleptic member – in other words, the sylleptic member may be semantically null *only* in an oral context. The case of the Αἴαντε confirms this statement: such form must have been renowned and acknowledged by an audience acquainted with epic poetry. Where not, it will have been provided with a sylleptic enlargement⁸⁸³, specifying the identity of the implicitly involved individual. Such addition, unbothering in oral poetry, would nevertheless have been disturbing if operated in written transmission, which is naturally subdued to more cogent constraints⁸⁸⁴.

This is precisely what could have happened in the Homeric text: an originary $(2a + 1b) = 2$, meaning Ajax *and* Teucer, once turned opaque must have been refunctionalised as $(2a + 1b) = 3$, meaning *two* Ajaxes + *one* Teucer. In other words, the originally elliptical dual, helped by the existence of another individual named Ajax in the Achaean army, will have become a simply accidental dual⁸⁸⁵. In

⁸⁸³ It may be plausible that the sylleptic extension itself is the result of the need to specify who the second member was to an audience who did not (or nomore) easily understand it. Once again, the developmental pattern we traced proves consistent: the most ‘elliptical’ form is also the most archaic.

⁸⁸⁴ It is self evident that, in written production, a period or sentence is perceived as a whole, for morphological relations are urging: the arbitrary oral ‘compromise’ $(2a + 1b) = 2$, once written, will have been much more unstable, as $(2a + 1b)$ must have been expected to give a ‘3’ as an outcome.

⁸⁸⁵ The idiosyncrasy of type iii.b might have quickened the loss of type iii.a itself. It has been argued that the form Αἴαντε might have started to be felt as opaque precisely where a sylleptic member was involved: the underlying idea might have been, so to say, “if Teucer is mentioned already, he cannot be part of the cell in the dual: hence, Αἴαντε = ‘two Ajaxes = Telamonian and Oilean’”. Yet this equation was liable to be applied to other elliptical duals of the type iii.a in the Homeric texts, and gradually the old elliptical Αἴαντε (Telamonian and Teucer) will have been read as an accidental Αἴαντε (Telamonian and Oilean). As we have seen, many places in the *Iliad* comply with this utterance: even formulas based on the dual Αἴαντε prove relatively young in the lexical equipment of the rhapsode. All of this corroborates the idea that the elliptical dual with sylleptic member, unstable by nature, could have represented one of the steps in the loss, or better regrammaticalisation, of the simple elliptical dual Αἴαντε itself. We can express this process as a gradual transformation of elliptical duals into accidental duals, starting from type iii.b and proceeding to type iii.a: the conversion from type iii.b elliptical (Telamonian and Teucer) to type iii.b accidental (Telamonian and Oilean + Teucer) determines, *via* analogical adjustments, the conversion from type iii.a elliptical (Telamonian and Teucer) to type iii.a accidental (Telamonian and Oilean).

the interplay between form and meaning, the first one will have finally overcome (and modified) the second⁸⁸⁶.

2.5.3 Conclusion.

The elliptical dual is an extremely archaic feature, expressing what commonly goes in linguistics by the name of associative. This value mainly applies to pronouns and proper names, and defines the interplay between a major member and its conjunct. The existence of this construction, cross-linguistically widespread, has been sustained in Ancient Greek too, in forms such as Ἄκτορίωνε, Μολίονε and the notorious Αἴαντε.

Two aspects have often been neglected, namely the comitative and oral value of the device. Both aspects are nevertheless enhanced by a variation on the theme of the structure, namely the elliptical dual with sylleptic member.

As for the first aspect, the ways in which a sylleptic member is added to the major cell, from simple asyndetic juxtapositions to comitative connectives, highlight how the main function related to the category is to couple individuals who act together – hence, a comitative-associative function.

As for the second argument, it is sensible how this construction, which shall have been extremely suitable to define tight pairings, proves chiefly functional within oral production: only in an oral context, in fact, understanding is granted. The unbalance between form and content, which gives (on a purely morphological perspective) an awkward outcome, is in fact solved in a context of speech, in which the natural progress of clauses and the deictic power of the sylleptic member, expressing a null morphological value, shall have made the structure not only intelligible, but more transparent than a simple elliptical dual.

⁸⁸⁶ In the end, this outcome cannot surprise: «the higher frequency/less marked a form is, the more entrenched the form will be in memory [...]. Since the higher frequency form is more entrenched, the more likely it is to remain irregular (i. e. resist restructuring)» (Croft 2003, 115).

3. *Iliad IX.*

3.0 The duals and the embassy of *Iliad* IX.

The duals in *Iliad* IX have constituted an intriguing conundrum for the Homeric scholars over the decades⁸⁸⁷. In the mayhem of contributions, a general appreciation immediately arises: there may be no evaluation of the embassy without inferences on the conception of the *Iliad* itself. If one believes that the *Iliad* is the product of a unique and unswerving mind, then every attempt will be made to preserve its integrity. Conversely, if one focuses on minute and incidental problems, the nature itself of the *Kunstsprache* will necessarily lead to a 'secessionist view'. As *naïve* as this elucidation appears, it conditioned all comments which have been, and will possibly be made, on the episode.

It is indeed tempting to briskly damn the awkward duals of vv. 182-198 as corrupted. Yet again, a plain denial of the integrity of the scene involves a wider denial on the integrity of the poem itself. Such a strong intervention has been rejected by most critics, for the book stands out in the framework of the *Iliad*, as it offers a key to a moral interpretation of the recounted events⁸⁸⁸: «the ninth book is the vital hinge of the plot», for by it «the plot turns from simple to complex» (Griffin 1995, 19f.). The duals are problematic in their shape, but the episode of embassy is not – if ever, it deserves attention on a narratological perspective. Rather than seeking clear-cut rifts and fractures, it seems essential to understand joints and turning points within the episode, in the attempt to clarify its conception and how –

⁸⁸⁷ Comprehensive accounts on early scholarly critics are to be found in Drerup 1921a, 350 n. 4; Segal 1968, 101-104; Heubeck 1974, 71-73. As we will widely explore, the history of interpretations of *Iliad* IX is strictly entangled with the history of trends in the *querelle*: after a full-blown analytical season, the acknowledgement of formulaic and traditional traits in the scene – which surfaced roughly in the aftermath of the oralist blooming – led to more conciliatory positions. Finally, the last decades saw various attempts (listed in Wyatt 1985, 399f. n. 2) to break with old academic stances and look at the issue from new angles, which sadly led often to neglect – if not even contradict – the textual evidence.

⁸⁸⁸ I am deeply indebted with Prof. Hainsworth for this piece of advice, which always kept me from taking too simplistic a stance on the matter. The linguistic arrangement of the book, especially of its most infamous passage (vv. 168-192), is strongly suspicious, and invites to rule in favour of an interpolation. Notwithstanding, «the new complexity of plot implies also a new complexity of moral atmosphere: no one is simply right» (Griffin 1995, 7). Precisely this conception has been rejected by part of the critics (*e.g.* Page 1966, 301-304), for it mirrors a moral representation which is not echoed elsewhere in the *Iliad*. Caution is hence of the essence, as a clear-cut excision, if relieving on a strictly textual perspective, may impair the integrity of the Iliadic poetry as a work of art.

and, possibly, at what point of the composition – did it bloom in the framework of the *Iliad*.

Every satisfying account for the scene shall comply with the textual evidence – and the weight of its morphological features. As it has been widely explored, there are functions underlying the dual, which limit and condition its possible values. It is capital to stress once again what is possible for the category and what is not: many are the theories smoothing the ‘irrational’ duals of *Il.* IX 168-192 implying usages which would be awkward at the least. Thus, a negative approach is required, before getting to some positive assessments.

We will hence proceed with a brief analysis of the passage, focusing on lexical and linguistic features, knots and internal allusions. Scholarly perspectives will then be scanned, trying to seclude allowable from unacceptable positions. Finally, a tentative sketch of the development of the scene will be arranged.

3.1 Grammatical issues.

Let us tackle at once the core of the issue. Nestor’s assignment (vv. 162-172), involving five people, is followed by a lapse of verses of preparation – purification and libation; afterwards, the proper embassy takes place (vv. 182-196), setting out on an eerily dual *incipit* τὸ δὲ βάρτην (v. 182 = v. 192). The choice of the dual is maintained along the following 18 verses. Formularity, as we will extensively see, plays a major role in vv. 182-198. A fact that does not seem to have been adequately stressed is that Achilles greets the ambassadors in the dual too (v. 197f.): the number affects the stylistical features of the episode both on an internal (Achilles)⁸⁸⁹ and external perspective (the narrator)⁸⁹⁰.

⁸⁸⁹ Yet indeed not Nestor’s, who safely recurs to the plural (unless πιθέσθων, v. 167, and ἐπέσθων, v. 170, must be read as duals).

⁸⁹⁰ «No less odd is the disappearance of the dual after 198 [...]. It would be prudent therefore, whatever assumptions are made about the textual integrity of this book, to concede that the duals in 182-198 are incidental, not integral, to the poet’s conception of the embassy» (Hainsworth 1992, 85). Moreover, we may argue that the dual affects a specific portion of the embassy, the one of the displacement from Nestor’s to Achilles’ tent. That this choice cannot be determined by any purely semantic argument is self apparent, as there is no reason why the same ambassadors should be instructed in the plural, leave and arrive in the dual, and depart again in the plural.

The verses preceding the dual-troubled scene (vv. 182-198), from Nestor's instructions to the actual departure of the expedition, have often been neglected⁸⁹¹. In the *Appendix* to this paragraph lies a short review of formulaic instances, *hapax* and uncommon forms. It immediately appears that 'bricks' extremely traditional in lexicon and formulae alternate in the passage with others whose materials are more opaque. Let us scan them briefly:

- ◆ vv. 168-172: Nestor's assignment on the conduct of the expedition⁸⁹²;
- ◆ vv. 173-181: a ritual scene of purification⁸⁹³ and banquet preceding the departure of the delegation;
- ◆ vv. 182-185: a traditional scene involving heroes/heralds walking onshore;
- ◆ vv. 186-191: description of the 'hero at rest';
- ◆ vv. 192-198: courtesy and welcome among Achilles and the embassy.

The material of the whole passage is quite diverse, as verses of highly formulaic *prestige* (odd blocks) entangle with verses whose structure and *iuncturae* are unknown to the rest of the poem (even blocks)⁸⁹⁴. The fact is not itself surprising,

⁸⁹¹ With a slight exception for v. 168, Φοίνιξ μὲν πρότιστα δίφιλος ἡγησάσθω, which has been «tendentiously interpreted at least since the time of Aristarchus to ease the difficulty of the dual verbs at 182ff. [...]. In a normal context ἡγεῖσθαι means 'lead' with a nuance of commanding or guiding. Another specialized meaning is appropriate at this point, for Phoinix does not have the status to command Aias and Odysseus, nor does it make sense to have him show Akhilleus' friends the way to Akhilleus' quarters. In the present context ἡγεῖσθαι must be given its weakest sense, 'lead the way', so as to lend some dignity, perhaps, to the ambassadorial procession; the alternative is Higher Criticism or special pleading» (Hainsworth 1992, 82).

⁸⁹² Vv. 168-170 are unusual in phrasing and syntax. At v. 168 ἡγησάσθω controls a singular verb subject, Φοίνιξ: it is questionable whether we should assume that the verb implicitly controls the following verse too (with a distributive value: ἡγέομαι should hence be used in absolutive way, meaning 'to procede, to lead the way'), or that v. 169 is an elliptical verse as to the verb (except that v. 170 is not); both ways, it appears legitimate to wonder «aus ἡγησάσθω ist hier welches Verbum zu entnehmen?» (Ameis-Hentze 1872, 85). Furthermore, at v. 169 the adjective μέγας is postponed, adding a determinative/objective shade: we shall hence read 'Ajax the great' (as if it were opposed to 'Ajax the minor'), a weird phrasing, not familiar to the poem (by his parts, δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς is impossible to pinpoint, as it is one of the most frequent formulaic - and verse-end - epithets). The partitive κηρύκων in *incipit* is suspicious either (both ἅμα and ἐπέσθων make this verse depend on the former(s)).

⁸⁹³ In particular, vv. 174-177 are «a short typical scene in heavily formular style» (Hainsworth 1992, 83): see *Appendix* at the end of the chapter.

⁸⁹⁴ A succession of traditional vocabulary and less familiar (to us) phrases is nothing uncommon within the Homeric poetry. Besides, such turnover serves a double aim: on the one hand, formulaic clauses support the memory of the rhapsod and jog the one of the audience; on the other hand, *ad hoc* references serve to adapt otherwise prefabricated structures to the present context.

nor disturbing: the mere alternance of more and less formulaic materials does not imply any recognition of different phases in the process of composition. We intend nonetheless to stress that few details are specific to the scene (*e.g.* vv. 180f., see *Appendix*): the texture of the passage is riddled with formulaic echoes, as well as vv. 182-198 are, sewn together *via* unmarked verses, which provide a viable device to tighten these *typische Szenen* to the context.

We must therefore assume that, if reshuffles and innovations have affected the scene, the stitching points of the operation are not visible anymore⁸⁹⁵; they might have nevertheless left traces in the phrasing, as well as in repetitions and hesitations in the syntax⁸⁹⁶. Sensible is also the attempt to assign a diachronic array (Φοίνιξ μὲν πρότιστα... αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα... δὲ) to the odd formation, which hardly made sense as such⁸⁹⁷.

A most discussed issue concerns the relevance of the episode within the framework of the poem. Let us hence dwell into some intertextual references.

Il. I 212-214 (the whole episode is anticipated by the prediction of Athena):

ᾧδε γὰρ ἐξερέω τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται·
καί ποτέ τοι τρὶς τόσσα παρέσσεται ἀγλαὰ δῶρα
ὑβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε· σὺ δ' ἴσχεο πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν.

⁸⁹⁵ No matter how seducing the hypotheses of an original, or alternative, version complying with two envoys only, «Phoinix being added to expand the scene and vary its emotional range», it must be borne in mind that by no means can we «recapture an earlier form by simply cutting out Phoinix from the text as we have it» (Griffin 1995, 23).

⁸⁹⁶ On knots and shifts in the sequence of verses, see the *Appendix*. On the uncertainties in leadership as well as in pertinence of the characters to the episode, compare with vv. 223f., νεῦσ' Αἴας Φοίνικι· νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς / πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλῆα: «it is in regard to verse 223 that critics speak with the greatest confidence: and it was the absurdity of the statement that when Ajax nodded to Phoinix, Odysseus arose and spoke, that made Christ certain of “festen Boden unter den Füßen”» (Scott 1912, 75). Here too, Phoinix is said to be part of the scene, yet his role and function are gawkily integrated in it.

⁸⁹⁷ This attempt to a diachronical development is sensible in the following expedition as well: first the embassy leaves (vv. 178-185), then we are informed of the situation at Achilles' tent, with the hero and his companion melancholy singing (v. 186-191), and then we appreciate that the expedition *leaves* (βάτην, v. 192 – they went, and not they came). Our perspective is nomore from Achilles' tent, but we are once again on the Achaean side. Such inversions usually stitch together events which would follow a chronological development; yet precisely the diachronic disposition of the events is awkward here (on contrivances on focus and time in Homer see De Jong 1987, 2004, 2007 and Collins 1988, building on focalisation categories set by Genette 1972).

Il. XI 609f. (Achilles speaks as if he ignores the embassy⁸⁹⁸):

νῦν οἴω περὶ γούνατ' ἐμὰ στήσεσθαι Ἀχαιοὺς
λίσσομένους· χρεῖω γὰρ ἰκάνεται οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτός.

Il. XVI 72f., 84-86 (again, the embassy appears neglected in Achilles' words⁸⁹⁹):

εἷ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων / ἦπια εἰδείη⁹⁰⁰
ὡς ἄν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἄρῃαι
πρὸς πάντων Δαναῶν ἀτὰρ οἱ περικαλλέα κούρην
ἂψ ἀπονάσσωσιν ποτὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πόρῳσιν.

Il. XVIII 448f. (speaking with Hephaestus, Thetis refers to the embassy⁹⁰¹):

τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες
Ἀργείων καὶ πολλὰ περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνόμαζον·

Il. XIX 140f. (in the moment of the reconciliation, Agamemnon mentions the embassy⁹⁰²):

δῶρα δ' ἐγὼν ὅδε πάντα παρασχέμεν ὅσσα τοι ἐλθῶν
χθιζὸς ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ὑπέσχετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

What is apparent is that, in a huge portion of the poem – roughly the central one – the embassy is neglected, re-surfacing only after *Iliad* XVIII. Another small note must be added: at *Il.* IX 198f., Achilles welcomes the ambassadors calling them φίλοι (v. 197) and φίλτατοι (v. 198 ~ v. 204); yet he is elsewhere enraged with

⁸⁹⁸ See also Page 1966, 304-307; Kirk 1962, 214f.; Tsagarakis 1971, 257, 262 (for a comparison with the λίσσόμενος Priam). The awkwardness has been tentatively read as a confirmation by Achilles' part: "now I believe it convenient for the Achaeans to come to me on bended knees" (which, in fact they do, or rather just did); «to myself, however, this appears a desperate remedy» (Page 1966, 306). Incidentally, v. 610 is strikingly similar to *Il.* IX 197 χαιρέτον· ἦ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἰκάνετον – ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ. This brief exchange between Patroklos and Achilles and the one in *Iliad* IX may have originally been disposed in reversed order in the plan of the poem. The concept of χρεώ permeates the passage at *Iliad* XI: compare with v. 606, where Patroklos, with unaware tragic irony, asks Achilles τί δέ σε χρεῶ ἐμεῖο; (~ v. 609 κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή).

⁸⁹⁹ Kirk (1962, 214f.) tries to soften the inconsistency by postulating a *lapsus* of memory; later on (1973, 128) he underlines that «Achilles passionately rejects the embassy in the ninth *Iliad*, and in his speech heroic formulas are distorted so as to cast doubt on the ethos they were designed to express». Tsagarakis (1971, 263f.) believes that the verses express the subjective perspective of Achilles, whose hope for an adequate compensation, involving amends by part of Agamemnon, has been frustrated. This perspective, which focuses on the lack of apology or flattery by Agamemnon's part, has been pursued by Wyatt's too (1985, 401f.).

⁹⁰⁰ On the ἦπια εἰδείη see Schadewaldt 1938, 129 and Page 1966, 310.

⁹⁰¹ Yet Aristarchus athetized the whole passage (*Il.* XVIII 444-456: so in *schol.* bT West).

⁹⁰² As it is apparent, references to the expedition are punctual and sporadic, to such an extent that many scholars assumed that they were *ad hoc* insertions whose purpose was to establish a connection with an episode lately introduced in *Iliad* IX (so Grote 1853, 179; Page 1966, 311f.).

all Achaeans for taking Agamemnon's side (e.g. *Il.* I 240f., 299, IX 316)⁹⁰³. Each and every of these inconveniences might be toned down, were they alone: «Pylamenes, who died in the Fifth Book, is resurrected in the Thirteenth; and nobody cares. Schedios is killed by Hektor not once but twice; we do not weep for him. Chromios is killed three times, and innumerable eyes are dry» (Page 1966, 305). The embassy is instead a stumbling block: one element on which there is general agreement in the critics is at least that this evidence cannot simply be disregarded as if we were dealing with a minor *lapsus*.

The reference in *Iliad* XVIII does not by itself bear too many concerns⁹⁰⁴. More troublesome appears the precise mention in *Iliad* XIX, which undoubtedly relies on the embassy. It is still safe to infer that there is a strong connection between the embassy – an aborted reconciliation, after all – and the effective reconciliation of *Iliad* XIX: if internal allusion it is, then it holds good at least, if not only, between these two parts of the poem⁹⁰⁵.

3.2 Scholarly interpretations.

It has by now become traditional to introduce every inference on this passage by quoting Schadewaldt's famous 'yield' (1938, 37), according to whom the embassy would constitute the most glaring problem of the whole *Iliad*⁹⁰⁶. This

⁹⁰³ It has been questioned whether the greeting shall express a real pleasure – be it for the Achaeans being in need or out of sincere surprise – or if it merely comes out of a contrived rule of etiquette: see Wilamowitz 1920, 41; Hammer 1997, 12.

⁹⁰⁴ Apart from Aristarchus' rejection, the verses appear to lie on a *Motiv*, as it appears a traditional feature that the elderly plead the hero to dispel the catastrophe by means of *περικλυτὰ δῶρα*. Besides, the connections with *Iliad* IX, if even there, is loose, as Odysseus and Ajax are unlikely to be defined *γέροντες Ἀργείων*.

⁹⁰⁵ On this point it must be admitted that Page's defense is less solid than usual: the author's plain distaste for the episode of the reconciliation («out of place in the story and ill-executed in its context») enthralled him into chiefly aesthetic and stylistic arguments. However, to assume that *Il.* XIX depends on *Il.* IX does not imply that all what is there in between does: if «the embassy was added to an *Iliad* which neither had it nor allowed for it», it is perfectly admissible that «the reconciliation was added later still» (Page 1966, 311). Even in the main frame of the plot, «books 9 and 19 contribute to a symmetrical patterning which recurs at roughly equal intervals throughout the epic, dividing it into three approximately equipollent blocks» (Davies 1995, 6; see also Edwards 1992, 263).

⁹⁰⁶ Wilamowitz confessed himself defeated by the passage as well (1916, 64f.). Such agnosticism is contrasted, at the other extreme, by Page's unswerving and trenchant stance (1966, 297-315), according to which «the unprejudiced» cannot but recognize that not only Phoinix is superimposed

embarrassing circumstance triggered the flourishing of a number of proposals – many of which simply impossible. Before diving into the hotchpotch of theories, let us hence linger on some negative assessment. As it has been amply explored (see par. 2.2.2), the dual is originally meant to define only specific sets of coupled items, namely homogeneous and genetically established pairs. According to this statement, all explanations which imply an use of the dual to express two unbalanced items or groups (e.g. 2 + 3, 1+ 4, etc.) shall be merely disregarded.

Moreover, the dual is not customarily employed to refer to two couples – the only partial exception being *Il.* VIII 185f., for which see par. 4.0 *ad l.* – nor does it eagerly apply to purely accidental pairings, with no similarities in rank or function. It would hence be reasonable to find expressed in the dual two ambassadors, an archetypical couple, or even Ajax and Odysseus, heroes who are equal in status; not so easily could we adjust to a dual expressing Phoinix and Ajax, or Phoinix and Odysseus.

Hypoteses based on a biased understanding of grammatical features are innerly noxious, as based on arbitrary inferences. In the angst of finding a conciliation for the annoying duals, many theories converged on excusing the duals, searching for intertextual explanations. Yet if upholding the text involves a slanted reading, such defense must be disregarded as methodologically mischievous. Thus said, many are the still surviving proposals. Following the *prospectus* made by Hainsworth (1992, 86), they can be sketched as follows:

- i. Dual and plural are used interchangeably to refer to more than one object or entity ('Zenodotean position'). Debrunner (1927, 17) argues that this use of the dual is an abuse of basic grammatical rules, and therefore must be treated as an example of Homeric *Kunstsprache* at work⁹⁰⁷. Yet circumstances that verify such assessment are incredibly scant and dubious (*Il.* V 487?, *Od.* VIII 35, 48), making this theory «pure fiction»

on Odysseus' and Ajax's embassy, but that this *Urgesandtschaft* had itself been superimposed on an *Iliad* which knew no embassy at all.

⁹⁰⁷ «In den vielbesprochenen Dualen der anerkannt jungen Presbeia bin ich ebenfalls geneigt, Sprachfehler des Dichter zu sehen; aber selbst wenn die Duale dualisch gemeint sein sollten, könnten damit nur zwei Einzelne, Ajas und Odysseus, gemeint sein, nicht wie Ohler (1884, 24) meint, zwei Gruppen»; see also Segal 1968, 101; Hillyard 2008, 288.

(Page 1966, 299): the misuse is rather to be read as an anomaly than as a proper possibility of the *Kunstsprache*⁹⁰⁸.

- ii. Köhnken (1975 and 1978⁹⁰⁹) proposes that the pairing of Odysseus and Ajax is the essence of the embassy; the other members are socially, hence grammatically, invisible⁹¹⁰ (a close perspective is embraced by Wyatt⁹¹¹). How 'social' should relate to 'morphological' is nevertheless yet to define⁹¹²; despite the – undeniable – social prominence of Odysseus and

⁹⁰⁸ This view, «popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has been shown to be impossible. Homer does on occasion offer plurals for duals, but not duals for plurals. And besides, there simply are too many dual forms in immediate succession for this account to be credible» (Griffin 1995, 52).

⁹⁰⁹ In response to Thornton (1978, 1f.) according to whom the difficulties are a mere product of «too narrow a notion of the meaning of the dual [...]». It is clear that in Homer the dual can denote not only two as a number, but also groups or one item and a group». The examples the scholar puts forward are as biased as her statement: *Il.* II 123 (ἄμφω Achaeans and Trojans), V 485 (two pairs of horses ἀποτίνετον: see par. 4.0 *ad l.*), XVI 371 (two pairs of horses ἄξαντ(ε): see par. 4.0 *ad l.*), XVII 387 (Achaean and Trojan soldiers μαρναμένοι), XXIII 413 (ἀποκηδήσαντε: see par. 4.0 *ad l.*). All examples may be dismissed as they portray a plain distributive value (type v. Debrunner, see par. 2.2.2), referring to equal and homogeneous items (two armies, two pairs of horses, etc.).

⁹¹⁰ West (2010, 219) too aligns to this perception, asserting that «the duals in in 182-198 take no account of them». Who, on the other hand, should the duals take account of is not so self evident, as they relate to a five-members group: there is no evidence to support the thesis that the duals refer to the heroes rather than to the heralds (on Boll's and Segal's insight on the formulaic *Motiv* of the two ambassadors, see *infra*). Indeed heralds are elsewhere treated as an appendix, e.g. *Od.* X 102 ἄνδρε δύο κρίνας τρίτατον κήρυχ' ἄμ' ὀπάσσης (see also Hainsworth 1992, 85f.). Besides, Griffin (1995, 51) argues that neither v. 223 nor v. 311 suggest that the poet makes any hierarchical distinction. «Insbesondere aus den oben zitierten Versen 520-523 geht klar hervor, daß Phoinix sich selber nicht auf eine Stufe mit Aias und Odysseus stellt, denn die ἄνδρες ... ἄριστοι, von denen er sichtlich distanziert spricht, sind die vornehmsten und tüchtigsten Krieger [...]. Diese Feststellung bedeutet nicht, daß nicht auch Phoinix (wie die beiden Herolde) Mitglied der Gesandtschaft ist, wohl aber, daß auf Grund ihres Ranges im griechischen Heer Odysseus und Aias die eigentlichen Gesandten sind, vor denen auch Phoinix zurücktreten muß» (Köhnken 1975, 27f., 29; see also Hillyard 2008, 288).

⁹¹¹ Even though he accepts that the duals refer to Odysseus and Ajax, he believes that the embassy, in Agamemnon's intention, «involved the two heralds and a bald recitation of Agamemnon's gifts. This embassy did not take place [...]. This psychologically prior embassy with its grammatically correct duals was superseded by the actual embassy with its problematic duals» (1985, 402). «Psychologically», just as Köhnken's «socially», does nonetheless appear loosely connected with the (morphologically) uncontroversial patency of the duals.

⁹¹² On a syntactical perspective, the scholar pinpoints a μέν-Satz characterised by πρώτιστα (v. 168), hence followed by an adversative αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα (v. 169), which he parallels with *Il.* II 404f., *Od.* III 57f. (see *supra*). The formulaic structure of the passage is typical of catalogues: besides, it does not appear irrelevant to our purposes to stress that both cases present with Nestor 'in *incipit*', a fact that supports the idea that Phoinix acts in the present occasion as a substitute for Nestor: see *infra*.

Ajax, the explanation neglects the semantic evidence of the embassy in favour of an otherwise unknown 'hierarchical' factor⁹¹³.

- iii. Aristarchus' thesis, accommodating the most part of the unitarians⁹¹⁴, detached Phoenix from the embassy and sent him ahead, thus ensuring that the duals refers to Odysseus and Ajax (with the heralds ignored). This, however, creates problems with Achilles's surprise at *Il.* IX 193 and puts strain on the meaning of ἡγησάσθω (see Leaf I 384 *ad l.*; Tsagarakis 1973, 197-199; Hainsworth 1992, 82 and n. 2)⁹¹⁵.
- iv. Gordesiani (1980, 163-174) splits the embassy into two groups: Odysseus and Ajax, and Phoenix and the heralds, and assumes that the duals only apply to the first group⁹¹⁶. Such an inference is grammatically

⁹¹³ The author (1978, 13f.) also minimises the comparison with the embassy of *Iliad* I, treated as an internal allusion: «die Parallelisierung der Szenen [...] erklärt jedoch die zunächst überraschende Reduktion der Gesandtschaft des I auf die beiden Aristoi Aias und Odysseus, die von vornherein für diesen Zweck als ein Paar zusammengeordnet worden waren (v. 169): die Achill ehrende Aussendung der beiden Geronten im I steht im Kontrast zu der Achill beleidigenden Mission der beiden Herolde im A».

⁹¹⁴ Despite its apparent grammatical difficulties, this so-called Aristarchean position has been welcomed – and almost desperately sheltered – by unitarians, as it offered a viable *escamotage* against multiple authorship: so Rothe 1910, 229-231; Schadewaldt 1938, 137f.; Mazon 1948, 176f.; Focke 1954, 157-266, 280f.; Reinhardt 1961, 233-242; van der Valk 1964 II, 257-259. Even Wilamowitz, who otherwise refused to take a stance on the matter, comments – with the perspective of an aesthete – that if Phoenix is eliminated «damit würde der Edelstein aus der Krone dieser jungen Dichtung ersten Ranges gebrochen» (1920, 65). Yet in the text there is «not a word about “special positions”, except that Phoenix is to have the special position of leading this embassy [...]. To give it as a reason for excluding him from the company of the ambassadors is, I suggest, an absurdity» (Page 1966, 300).

⁹¹⁵ A partisan interpretation of ἡγέομαι raises methodological concerns, as subjective interpretation of objective features leads to peaks of nonsensical interpretations – such as Diver's (1987), according to whom the dual was a mere instrument to «focus attention». Similar assessments, beside untrue, are simply un-Greek. In the contrail of Aristarchus is to be placed Ailshie, who pursues a rather imaginative reading of the episode, devoted to minimise the difficulties and not committed at all with textual problems: he candidly declares that «it is immaterial to me whether indeed there were two or more separate embassies» (1965, 97).

⁹¹⁶ His interpretation is once again grounded on the opposition between ἡγησάσθω (= Phoenix, v. 168) and ἡγεῖτο (= Odysseus, v. 192): «der Dichter und Achilleus ignorieren in den oben schon genannten Zeilen Phoenix aus irgendeinem Grunde, obwohl er an so und so vielen anderen Stellen gleichberechtigtes Mitglied der Gesandtschaft ist [...]. Desgleichen ignorieren der Dichter und Achilleus während des Kernstückes der Szene die beiden Herolde, obwohl Nestor sie ausdrücklich den Gesandten beigesellt und sie mit Odysseus und Aias zu Agamemnon zurückkehren» (1980, 167).

inconceivable, as a split into non homogeneous groups is not allowed by the dual⁹¹⁷; furthermore, the dual is formularily committed to a *Gesandtschaftszene* involving two heralds, rather than two heroes (see *infra*).

- v. Nagy (1999, 50-4) argues that at *Il.* IX 182 the dual refers to Odysseus and Ajax but at *Il.* IX 192, when Odysseus has taken charge of the conversation, Ajax and Phoenix are the referents⁹¹⁸. This theory appears to be a finicky attempt to preserve the appropriateness of the duals, even at the cost of straining syntactical connections.
- vi. The analyst view (see Bergk 1872, I 543⁹¹⁹; Bethe 1914, 76f. n. 7⁹²⁰; Drerup 1921a, 350 n. 4; Von der Mühl 1952, 167-169; Page 1959, 297-304⁹²¹;

This explanation sounds nonetheless contrived: even if we accept the 'Aristarchean' interpretation of v. 168, the heralds are never said to have come separately by the heroes, together with Phoenix: besides, there would be no reason for such association.

⁹¹⁷ In favour of a dual for plurals, Gordesiani (1980, 173) quotes the notorious occasions at *Il.* V 487 (ἀλόντε, see par. 4.0 *ad l.*) and VIII 186 (ἀποτίνετον, see par. 4.0 *ad l.*), adducing «eine faktische Indifferenz ihrer Verwendung». Yet again one swallow (or even two) does not make a summer: both the occurrences have a transparent textual motivation, and we are not authorised to compromise the functional entity of a morphological class for the sake of justifying an inconvenient passage.

⁹¹⁸ Yet the passage is consequential, and a change of subject is not supported by any textual proof. In Nagy's purposes (*ibid.*), the shift would be furtherly motivated by Odysseus being an arch-enemy to Achilles; «apart from the very questionable myth, and the oddity of supposing that wise Nestor would select as envoy to Achilles a man whom he hated, or that Achilles would say of such a party that they are 'my dearest friends' (197f., 204, 521f.), it has been pointed out that at 9.182f. the dual forms are used not by Achilles, but by the poet» (Griffin 1995, 52). For the very same reason it would appear striking if, with Segal (1968, 101-114), the duals referred to the heralds at vv. 182-185, and to the heroes at 192-198.

⁹¹⁹ «Hatte schon der Dichter selbst, dem der Entwurf der Ilias und Odyssee verdankt wird, durch Einführung neuer Gestalten die Dichtung belebt und ihr bunte Mannichfaltigkeit verliehen, so folgen die Fortsetzer auch hierin bereitwillig dem Vorgange des Meisters, wenn schon mit ungleichen Erfolge. So hat erst eine spätere Hand den Phoenix, welcher der alten Ilias fremd war, im neunten Buche nicht eben geschickt eingefügt; dieser Diaskeuast arbeitete so flüchtig, daß er nicht einmal darauf bedacht war, seine Zuthat mit der älteren Dichtung völlig in Einklang zu bringen; denn es haben sich noch deutliche Spuren erhalten, dass ursprünglich nur zwei Gesandte an Achilles abgeschickt wurden, Odysseus und Ajas» (*ibid.*).

⁹²⁰ The author insists on the role of Phoenix, central to the *Zornmotiv* and enhancing Achilles character; «auch ich glaube nicht an eine Presbeia ohne die Ph.-Rede. Um sie zu halten, brauch Ph. aber nicht in Agamennons Rat gewesen zu sein. Die Duale 182 ff beweisen ebenso wie die Verhandlung, daß er nicht erst kam. So muß also irgendeine Umarbeitung des einzel Gedichtes der Presbeia vorgenommen sein» (*ibid.*).

⁹²¹ Page's rendition is incisive and thorough, and unsurpassed within the analytical critique. His objections may be resumed as follows: 1), Phoenix is announced, and then «mislay himself» from the

Leaf I 370f.; Shipp 1972, 267; Griffin 1995, 52) denies the integrity of the text, either assuming that the embassy scene consists of two versions of the same story stitched loosely together⁹²², or that the character of Phoinix has been added at a later date⁹²³.

The first theory, the so-called 'Zenodotean', rests on the undying prejudice of the dying Homeric dual; being untrue and 'un-Homeric', it must be rejected. Theories from ii. to v. are variations on a theme, as they preserve the embassy and its duals, and seek in the text support for it. The duals are hereby variously justified as relating to two actual members of the expedition, be they the same (theories ii.-iv.) or be they changing throughout (theory v.). Some of these position do not

scene; 2) he 'leads' the expedition, yet he is not the first speaker; 3) «the notion of man's responsibility and heaven's retribution is here introduced into a world which opposes and rejects it» (*ibid.* 301; compare with *Il.* XIX 86f.). He then adds some remarks in the case against the original pertinence of a compensatory embassy to the poem, namely 4) the remainder of the *Iliad* reveals no awareness that this embassy has ever occurred, if we except XVIII 448f. and XIX; 5) that amends have been attempted is denied by Achilles himself, at XI 609f. and XVI 52-61, 83-87; 6) the reconciliation of *Il.* XIX, the only place in the poem in which there is mention of the embassy, depends on it. Hence, we should postulate a development such as *Ur-Ilias* > + embassy (*Il.* IX) > + Phoinix in the embassy (*Il.* IX) > + reconciliation (*Il.* XIX).

⁹²² West (2010, 13f., 218-220) aligns to this theory, while trying to preserve a non-dissective view in regards to authorship: the embassy shall hence be the result of authorial expansion. The poet of the *Iliad* wrote a first embassy with two envoys only, adding Phoinix in a later stage: «he ought then to have rewritten the following passage to get rid of the duals, but he neglected to do so» (2010, 13). This option, however, does not make the duals admissible: if they are awkward in a purely analytical perspective, they are even more if considered as the result of a single mind's intent. Against an oralist view, West precises that «if our text were the unamended transcript of a single piece of oral composition, then, after listing five men in 168-170, he would automatically have continued with plural pronouns and verbs as they made their way to Achilles» (*ibid.*). We must nonetheless accept, as West does, that a poet acquainted with writing and involved in the creation of a poem such as the *Iliad* should have been even more capable of personal intervention than a humble rhapsod, engaged in the performance of traditional song: once again, that such a skilled poet did not intervene in the text to amend it would be surprising at the least.

⁹²³ «If there is one point of agreement among disbelievers in the unity of the *Iliad* it is that Phoenix had no part in the original version of the Presbeia of book 9» (Scott 1912, 68). Variations to this theory propose either that Phoinix's introduction is a serior modification («da ist die radikale Meinung [...] vorzuziehen, nach der Phoinix zuerst fehlte und einer Umredigierung des I angehoert, die vor dessen Aufnahme in die Ilias stattgefunden hat», Von der Mühlh 1952, 168f.), or that it was «an episode taken from some different but doubtless similar context, and adapted to the original story, in which Aias and Odysseus were the only two envoys, by some probably slight alteration of the text here [*Il.* IX 168], in 223 and 622. Here as elsewhere we have good reason to be grateful for the conservatism which has preserved us the original dual» (Leaf I 384), as these duals are «exhibit number one in the case against unitary authorship» (Page 1959, 297).

exclude some degree of textual corruption either – which is instead solidly at the basis of the various theories resumed by point vi.

We believe that a rate of textual corruption is undeniable. Indeed the passage is erratic, and does not appear acceptable as it is. Supposing that the duals are used awarery would imply serious chronological consequences⁹²⁴; we may, otherwise, assume that the corruption only regards the connective joints of the episode, which should have been roughly inserted in a differently structured frame. Some compromising positions have been undertaken – the poet expresses in the dual an alternative version he had in the back of his mind (cf. Jaeger 1954, 423f. n. 37; Whitman 1958, 344 n. 25; Kirk 1962, 218). Yet such attempts towards a mediation do not reach any conclusive solution⁹²⁵.

A major shift in perspectives has been determined by Segal (1968): undertaking the path of Boll⁹²⁶, the scholar proposed to compare the dispatch of the messengers with its counterpart at *Il.* I 322-329 (and neighbourhood)⁹²⁷. Such

⁹²⁴ The solution has not been completely disdained by Kirk (1973, 128): «this [adaptation of formulaic materials] belongs to a poet working in a developed oral tradition, but with a broader conception of life than the tradition had allowed for. That may well mean Homer himself – but the passage is without real parallel, and certainly does not entail that other untypical passages are also Homeric. They may, for example, be later than Homer». For the dual to be improperly used we should come much downward the chronological arch of Greek literary production: dialectal variations considered, the most significant parallel remains the often quoted case of the *Hymn to Apollo* – whose datation is with no doubt far later – where the dual works merely as an epic feature, bleached of any morphological content. Yet «the fact that the lines were allowed to stand – to avoid the labor of recasting the passage – shows a certain lack of sensitiveness for the meaning of the forms; and yet is quite different from using the forms ‘falsely’, when one is composing more freely. It is the limit at which the poets of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* seem to have stopped, the next step brings the ‘false’ duals of the Homeric Hymns and the later epos» (Bolling 1933, 307f.). As for the persistence of the dual, «allowed to stand», it seems worth recalling that «such confusion was either unnoticed by the audience or – and this would be the case with the Homeric epics – was quietly tolerated, for the acceptability of a text depends on its *auctoritas* as much as its intelligibility» (Hainsworth 1992, 86f.).

⁹²⁵ «The influence of an earlier tale or earlier version where the embassy consisted of only two men asks us to believe that a past tradition could make Homer fly in the face of grammar, the most primary requirement of even the simplest poet» (Segal 1968, 103).

⁹²⁶ I could not find the contributions of this author *prima manu*: they are *Zur homerischen Presbeia*, in «ZöstG» LXVIII (1917/1918), 1-6 and *Noch einmal zur homerischen Presbeia*, in «ZöstG» LXIX (1919/1920), 414-416.

⁹²⁷ Such parallelism has been denied, despite the differences in perspectives, by both Schadewaldt (1938, 128) and Von der Mühl (1952, 168f.). Wyatt (1985, 400) argues that «Homer nowhere refers to the “embassy” as an embassy [...]. All we know is what Homer tells us, and he in no way states or implies that the mission in 9 is a canonical or uncanonical version of anything». Yet the embassy *is* an embassy: an undefined number of people are sent as ambassadors to come to terms with Achilles, and their dispatch is described by means of strongly formulaic means: either the theme is canonical,

comparison enhances how dispatching *two* heralds constituted a traditional feature in a *Gesandtschaftszene*⁹²⁸. Adding to the strictly incriminated verses (182-198) the preceding section of the embassy, some «striking and unmistakable» similarities emerge:

v. 166 ~ I 322: two heralds are sent to the κλισίην Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος (in *clausola*)

vv. 175f. = *Il.* I 470f.

v. 182 τὼ δὲ βάτην παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
 ~ I 327 τὼ δ' ἀέκοντε βάτην παρὰ θῖν' ἄλδς ἀτρυγέτοιο
 (~ XIX 47 τὼ δὲ δύω σκάζοντε βάτην ἼΑρεος θεράποντε)⁹²⁹
 (2 – παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης = *Il.* I 34)

v. 185 = I 328: Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἐπί τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθην

v. 186 τὸν δ' εὔρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείη
 ~ I 329 τὸν δ' εὔρον παρὰ τε κλισίη καὶ νηϊ̄ μελαίνη

v. 197 χαίρετον· ἦ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἰκάνετον· ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ
 ~ I 334 χαίρετε κήρυκας Διὸς ἄγγελιο ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
 (2 κηρυκῶν: I 334 = IX 174)

or *Il.* IX 182-198 is a clumsy attempt to sew otherwise separated songs within a unique episode, regardless to the mistakes made in the process – namely, the duals. That the theme is canonical only appears to be a more economic solution.

⁹²⁸ «That an embassy is a theme in the repertoire of Ionian minstrels cannot be demonstrated, but is suggested by 11.139-40, and if it were it would be reasonable to suppose that the dual would be part of its diction: note that the dual occurs at 9.689 and perhaps at 170 (ἐπέσθων) with specific reference to the heralds» (Hainsworth 1992, 86). Eurybates obeyed Agamemnon's orders at *Il.* I 320 (together with Talthubios: «in Sparta the Talthubidai were the family or guild of heralds, presumably from pre-Homeric times on [...]. Thus both names seem to be generic ones for heralds. In the *Iliad* Talthubios is more frequently cited than Eurubates; he goes on various errands (the two heralds are described as ὄτρηνῶ θεράποντες, busy helpers, in 321), as well as performing sacred and other public duties; but it is Eurubates who accompanies the embassy to Akhilleus at 9.170. There he is partnered by Odios, a third Achaean herald who receives no other mention (he has a Trojan ally as namesake, one of the two Halizonian leaders, 2.865 and 5.39)» (Kirk 1992a, 85). The name Eurybates is also borne by one of Odysseus' fellows, *Il.* II 184 and *Od.* XIX 244-248, perhaps designating the same person, as Loudon (2002, 67-69) believes. «A Greek Odios (or rather Hodios, heralds being great travellers and go-betweens) is otherwise unknown» (Hainsworth 1992, 83); «the names, presumably felt as 'Road Man' and 'Far Walker', are appropriate to envoys» (Griffin 1995, 96f.).

⁹²⁹ One of the two subjects involved is Odysseus, and (ὄτρηνῶ) θεράποντε is an epithet of the heralds. The parallel has been noticed by Loudon (2002, 63) as well.

There are some further implications in this comparison: I 329 and 334 are reprised respectively by IX 186 and 197; yet the first ones are separated by a slack of five verses, whereas the last ones by eleven. Besides, the ‘missing’ verses (I 330-333) could not have been borrowed, as they were strictly connotated: there is no reason why Achilles should have been displeased with this embassy, which should instead fulfil his *ego* (we are in fact repeatedly told about his pleasure, as the heralds are felt as – or merely said – φίλτατοι, IX 197, 198, 204). The heralds of *Iliad* IX, on their part, had no reason to feel ταρβήσαντε καὶ αἰδομένω (I 331)⁹³⁰, nor to just remain silent (I 332). All the same, the verses preceding and following the most clearly formulaic ones are in charge to enforce the connection of the dispatch to the situation of *Iliad* IX: so do vv. 182f.⁹³¹, and 193-197; vv. 188-191 figure as a gloss of the former ones, being hardly formulaic, and v. 192 reprises v. 182.

Embracing this position, Louden insists on similarities in structure between the embassies in *Iliad* I, IX and XIX, all dominated by the figure of Odysseus and/or the heralds⁹³²: Odysseus returns Chryseis (I 307-318), two heralds remove Briseis (I 320-348), Odysseus and two heralds propose to return Briseis (IX 178-669)⁹³³,

⁹³⁰ Even less if the dual are meant to refer to the most prominent characters, Ajax and Odysseus, who are perfectly entitled to speak to Achilles as equals.

⁹³¹ Not riddled with fear, as in *Il.* I 322ff., but with hope in the success of the expedition: let us hereby recall how the invocation of Poseidon, among all gods, results quite curious in the passage (see also Leaf I 385). Bowra (1950, 19; see also Tsagarakis 1971, 260f.) believes that «the embassy comes with all the appearances of suppliants making a secret request in the name of the gods». Segal (1968, 104 n. 16) stresses that at *Il.* IX 362 Poseidon is evoked by Achilles while threatening to leave, «a motif which perhaps serves to balance the prayer of 183 and reflect on the fruitlessness of the embassy».

⁹³² He stresses that «the underlying type-scene, which occurs not only in Book 9, but also in Books 1 and 19, may be characterized as a delegation, with the following rough shape, *Agamemnon dispatches Odysseus to lead a delegation to return a companion dear to Akhilleus* (2002, 63; see also 2006, 122-127). In each case Odysseus leads the delegation shortly after an assembly or council has met which focuses on Akhilleus (1.57-305, 9.11-176, 19.45-276)». Let us add that it is once again Odysseus to settle the *querelle* in *Iliad* I (on behalf of Agamemnon: see also Hammer 1997, 7f.).

⁹³³ As the paradigm involves a (usually feminine) companion dear to Achilles, Louden (2002, 66) believes that in *Iliad* IX the involved companion is Phoinix, who is ‘returned’ to Achilles: the feminine trait would be maintained, within Phoinix’s speech, by the reference to Kleopatra-Patroklos (*ibid.* 73). Such analogy appears nonetheless too strained. The scholar is very concerned about defining who the original pair should have been, finding his answer by appointing Odysseus and Eurybates for this role. Yet if the canon reflects a type-scene, the theme should have been by nature flexible and liable to be adapted to a variety of situations. If ever, the most consistently recurring trait appears to be the presence of two heralds, rather than Odysseus.

Odysseus returns Briseis (XIX 238-249). All missions are preceded by Agamemnon ἐπιτέλλειν (I 326, IX 179, XIX 192) to set the delegation in motion.

What clearly emerges is that the *Gesandtschaftszene* in *Iliad* IX is an imitation, enriched with an enlargement, of the former one in *Iliad* I⁹³⁴. Yet the fact that the scene is manifestly archetypal does not, once again, justify the 'error'. The connection with *Iliad* I does instead exacerbate the contrast: either the embassy relies on a formulaic canon, reflecting a situation in which two individuals only were involved⁹³⁵, or the poet consciously established a link between the two episodes, markedly neglecting the duals⁹³⁶. The two possibilities are mutually exclusive, and lead to a compelled choice. If we favour the morphological evidence, the duals came before the embassy as we have it⁹³⁷; if, conversely, the episode arose first, the formulaic duals followed in the path, inappropriate yet traditional. In other words, it is necessary to decide whether chicken or egg.

I am keen to believe that the poet would have been skilled enough to avoid grammatical difficulties when required to⁹³⁸: the flexibility of formulaic structures provided him with a huge outfit of variants, which allowed for adaptations and

⁹³⁴ It seems sterile to indulge in questioning whether the topicality of the scene casts a light or a shadow on the two heralds themselves (*pace* Tsagarakis 1973, 196): the semantic content of the episode lies beyond its phrasing, and the fact that these verses are clearly formulaic does not by itself deprive the heralds of their pertinence, as they had been mentioned before in the scene (vv. 170, 174).

⁹³⁵ In this case, the connection should be the product of an archetype of *Gesandtschaftszene*, and the similarities between *Iliad* I and IX would stem from the recourse to an identical set of formulae (not direct dependence of IX from I, then, but common filiation from a *Gesandtschaftszene repertoire*).

⁹³⁶ This is precisely the position of Segal (1968, 105): «why would a consummate poet (as we believe Homer to be) encumber his narrative with a difficulty of this nature? Homer has, I suggest, risked the strained, even if not ungrammatical, effect of using the heralds as subject in order to point up as vividly as possible the connection with Book 1». The internal allusion between the two episodes is undeniable. Yet if the expedition, as it appears, involves five persons, the effect is, *pace* Segal, highly ungrammatical and, moreover, decidedly un-Homeric.

⁹³⁷ It is a fact that we cannot recapture any *Urgesandtschaftszene* from the embassy as it is now: if we indulge in the idea of progressive stages in the development of the scene, we still have to accept that diverse layers merged into one another and, no matter how glaring the incongruity, no excision of words or verses can «be performed with surgical neatness» (Hainsworth 1992, 87).

⁹³⁸ «Had he been moved to speak differently, he would have spoken differently» (Wyatt 1985, 400). Oddly enough, Wyatt uses this very same argument in the opposite direction, objecting that «the poet – Homer – chose to use the duals in *Iliad* 9, and these duals are therefore evidence of the poet's intent and not of prehistoric or previous stages of the epic» (*ibid.*). The real question here appears to be *when* did the poet undertake this undeniable choice: for the dual to be appropriate, in fact, it seems necessary to postulate an embassy with two participants only. There seem to be no other reasons why, in a time in which the dual was still alive and decent, such infraction would have been committed, or tolerated.

sophisticated variations on the theme. Besides, the inconsistency does not involve a single spot, appearing instead reiterated on a span of almost twenty verses: we have to accept that, whichever their value, the duals are here an aware device.

Chicken, then. All difficulties considered, the view that treats Phoinix as a serior insertion still results the more persuasive. The text presents elsewhere problems and incongruities, and a reader's attitude may change as to whether they involve discontinuities in the compositional process or not. I believe that it is not possible to untie the knot of *Iliad* IX only by means of minor adjustments: the text preserves the memory of an archetype – be it a formulaic theme or a full-blown episode – with two members only, Ajax and Odysseus.

I find it suggestive to think, with Griffin (1995, 24), that this paramount episode might have been performed in a longer as well as in a shorter version⁹³⁹. Still, the real trigger of the dual must have been a *Gesandtschaftszene*, involving two heralds, at work in *Iliad* I as well. In other words, the formulaic material provided by an already existent type-scene met the necessity to depict an expedition involving two members, Odysseus and Ajax. The reduplication of the standard two-members expedition into a two-couples expedition would have been striking, yet endurable⁹⁴⁰. The device collapses only when Phoinix partakes in the merry group. It is apparent that Phoinix is the intruder. The adaptation of a type scene suitable for two generic individuals to two specified heroes is perfectly reasonable, as well as grammatically conceivable. The insertion of a third – or rather fifth – isolated member is glaringly ungrammatical. Besides, the central question does not appear to be anymore how or why character and speech were added, but rather when – namely, in which stage of the composition.

By means of his allegorical speech, Phoinix magnifies a morale affecting all the poem – a poem which would have been self reliant without. The insertion of

⁹³⁹ «I think it is likely that this, the turning point of the plot and a masterpiece of Homeric poetry, was sometimes asked for and performed separately. It might be performed in a longer or shorter version to fit the exigencies of time and the mood of the audience» (*ibid.*). Thus also Janko (1998, 8), who believes that «we have a blend of two versions of the story [...]. The poet had sound poetic reasons for wanting to involve Phoenix in the Elders' meeting; Achilles could then invite him to stay in his hut – a motif later repeated with Priam in *Iliad* 24. But Homer never went back to erase the tell-tale duals, where the ambassadors were only Ajax and Odysseus. Without a faithful dictated text, I cannot explain the duals».

⁹⁴⁰ So it happens at *Il.* VIII 145, which is likewise under formulaic pressures: see ἕπρω, par. 4.0.

Phoinix shall have been one of the last innovations on an already structured sequence of songs, operated briefly before the written redaction of the poem⁹⁴¹. That the episode belongs to the most recent layers of the poem is revealed linguistically by a number of phenomena and convergences shared with the later books of the *Iliad*⁹⁴² and, semantically, by the fact that «the poet has at least partly turned Epic into Tragedy: he has inserted a layer of guilt-culture into the fabric of shame-culture» (Page 1966, 303)⁹⁴³.

We may hence align to Leaf's persuasion that «the book has grown by a process of accretion» (I 371)⁹⁴⁴. The analytical view entails for the episode to root in «an embassy of Aias and Odysseus only, then including Phoinix, and finally incorporating the story of Meleagros, apparently part of another and in some ways unsuited to its context» (*ibid.*).

Another possibility seems nonetheless worth exploring, namely that Meleager's tale may have preceeded the introduction of Phoinix – in other words,

⁹⁴¹ This perspective is consistent with the evidence offered by visual arts, whose earliest extant representatives date no earlier than the end of the seventh century (a bronze relief from Olympia, 620 BC: see Griffin 1995, 53), and include Phoinix in the expedition.

⁹⁴² And the former ones of the *Odyssey*: for details see Leaf I 370; Page 1966, 327f. n. 9. «J. Griffin has pointed out a remarkable difference between speech and narrative in Homer; speeches are much less prone to use set formulae, and much more likely to use words not found elsewhere in Homer, especially terms for sophisticated moral concepts» (Janko 1998, 4). Incidentally, if we accept that the reconciliation in *Iliad* XIX has been purposely and awaraly built following the embassy of *Iliad* IX, it follows, with Page (1966, 331 n. 20), that «the Twenty-third Book [...] must have been added to the *Iliad* later than the Nineteenth; a consequence in harmony with the well-founded belief that the last two Books are among the latest stages in the development of the poem».

⁹⁴³ «It is likely that this great poet interpreted the action of the *Iliad* as a whole [...]. In particular, the death of Patroclus must have assumed a novel colour in his eyes. Achilles' rejection of Agamemnon's apology is now to be regarded as a sin, an action freely willed [...]. He must therefore be punished, and the punishment will be the loss of his dearest friend» (*ibid.*).

⁹⁴⁴ This I do believe to be the most persuasive direction to take: far from be «misguided and outdated», the analysts' resolution in favour of multiple authorship, despite the «suffocating amount of chaff in their harvest» and the fact that «they never achieved a consensus on the details of how the *Iliad* evolved» (West 2010, 5), still reveals actual in its utterances – at least in regards of parts of *Iliad* IX. Parts, we say, as we do not need to go too far with this utterance: yet a sacred conception of the poem must be avoided, for it prevents an objective perspective. The definition of 'multiple authorship' may itself be, in the present occasion, misleading: to identify multiple hands in the process of creation of the poem may appear nowadays unrealistic, even though suggestive. Setting aside the delicate issue of the author (cf. Nannini 2010), internal developments may still be retraced. *Iliad* IX reveals how progressive stages in the formation and composition of the poem may (and must) be sought: the identification of stitching points and sews in the fabric is a healthy and necessary process, and an obligate, where not even fortunate, direction to pursue.

that Phoinix's creation may be utterly functional to his speech⁹⁴⁵. While, in fact, the allegorical tale is somehow needed⁹⁴⁶ – or at least useful – in the development of the *Iliad*, Phoinix as an actant is not. The only needed element was for a character to be apt to deliver this tale: this function implied specific narratological characterisations and, in absence of most viable – and most renowned – actants, Phoinix entered the poem. We will explore this assumption and its implications in the next paragraph.

3.3 Narratological Addenda.

Even if we were comfortable with Phoinix on morphological grounds, still his presence in the poem would figure as somehow odd, as his collocation within the plan poses some thorny problems; he first conjures up out of nowhere, side by side with Achilles' archenemy – a curious location, for Achilles' alleged mentor and friend – when he volunteers, unrequested, to join in the embassy. He is later mentioned among the chieftains of the Myrmidons (*Il.* XVI 196)⁹⁴⁷. Athena then takes his semblance to arouse Menelaos (*Il.* XVII 553-562)⁹⁴⁸; finally, Phoinix appears while

⁹⁴⁵ That the tale of Meleager and Phoinix' intervention might have been modelled on an *Iliad* whose plot was complete already has been first suggested by Plutarch (*De Poes.* 26f), as Nannini (1995, 37) stresses.

⁹⁴⁶ «L'oscuro rifiuto dei doni da parte di Achille nel IX libro si spiega come un espediente (apportunamente ancorato alla tradizione, e da essa suffragato, tramite il paradigma di Meleagro) che consente, secondo il meccanismo della fiaba, di raddoppiare la sequenza delle funzioni proppiane di allontanamento-divieto-infrazione» (Nannini 1995, 11; on the tale and its functions, see also *ibid.* 33, 36f., 47, 82f.; on the development of the book, 77 n. 45).

⁹⁴⁷ «All critics who remove Phoinix from the Presbeia agree that these verses were added subsequent to his appearance in the ninth book» (Scott 1912, 68). Phoinix is here listed as the chieftain of the 4th (on a total of 5) platoon: τῆς δὲ τετάρτης ἦρχε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ. The epithet γέρον ἱππηλάτα is a privilege of Nestor's: consistently enough, in the *scholia* B (= *schol.* BCEFT West) the metrically equivalent γεγήνιος ἱππότα, again Nestor's monopoly. On the relevance of the epithet, see *infra*. Incidentally, it is to be noticed that Phoinix is the only one – among the five chieftains of the Myrmidons – whose origins and genealogy are not specified.

⁹⁴⁸ [Athena] πρῶτον δ' Ἀτρεὺς υἷὸν ἐποτρύνουσα προσήδα / ἴφθιμον Μενέλαον ὃ γὰρ ῥά οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦεν / εἰσαμένη Φοῖνικι δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν / “σοὶ μὲν δὴ Μενέλαε κατηφείη καὶ ὄνειδος / ἔσσεται εἴ κ' Ἀχιλλῆος ἀγαθοῦ πιστὸν ἑταῖρον / τείχει ὑπο Τρώων ταχέες κύνες ἐλκῆσουσιν· / ἀλλ' ἔχειο κρατεροῦς ὄτρυνε δὲ λαὸν ἅπαντα” / τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε βοῆν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος· / “Φοῖνιξ, ἄττα γεραῖε παλαιγενὲς, εἰ γὰρ Ἀθήνη / δοίη κάρτος ἐμοί, βελέων δ' ἀπερύκοι ἐρωήν ...”. As it has been stressed already (see par. 4.0, n. 103), the fact that Athena assumes precisely Phoinix appearances to sort an effect on Menelaos is striking, insofar as no former relationship between the two characters has been registered. As Scott (1912, 71-73; see for all the relevant passages) explained,

offering consolation to Achilles for Patroklos' death (*Il.* XIX 310-312)⁹⁴⁹ and during the funerary games (*Il.* XXIII 359-361)⁹⁵⁰. At last, he vanishes into thin air.

Even his characterisation is twofold: on the one hand, he is represented as an old friend and a trustee to Achilles. On the other hand, he is a liege-man and a stranger, whose authority is often questioned. The character is also provided with a distressing past (vv. 434-605)⁹⁵¹: after being banished from his native country for having seduced his father's bride, he wandered as an exile, being finally given shelter by Peleus. Yet the theme sounds oddly familiar: manslaughter, exile, and shelter finally found at Phthia are capital coordinates of Patroklos' story as well: as a child, we are informed by the *Iliad*, he was in fact given shelter by Peleus, after having murdered a playmate in a fit of rage, while casting lots: εὔτέ με τυτθὸν ἔοντα Μενόϊτιος ἐξ Ὀπόμεντος / ἤγαγεν ὑμέτερόνδ' ἀνδροκτασίης ὑπο λυγρῆς / ἤματι τῷ ὅτε παῖδα κατέκτανον Ἀμφιδάμαντος / νήπιος οὐκ ἐθέλων ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι

each and every time a God assumes the form of a person, a detailed description is added, unless the person is well-known – with no exception in Homer, beside this passage. Furthermore, Phoinix has been sketched as an ally of the 'Achillean party': his intervention would be far more effective on an Antilochus – who is, in fact, to be evoked in a hundred of verses (v. 653). Yet the relationship between Achilles and the rest of the Achaean army has been strained since the episode in book IX. To rescue Patroklos' corpse an impartial character is needed, and Menelaos is probably one of the few apt to fulfil this duty: he did not partake in the embassy, he is not one of the mightier – and most resentful – heroes, and he has not duly received the focus of the narrator yet, not having accomplished a proper ἀριστεία. The occasion of Patroklos' death offers him a suitable opportunity to act as one of the main character of the epics, as he is expected to be. The choice to disguise Athena in the resemblance of Phoinix will have been triggered by the need of a character close to Achilles' party, yet familiar to the Achaean army too: besides, *Iliad* IX provided a good precedent for an otherwise unknown Phoinix. Nevertheless, despite the apparent necessity of the character in the passage, its abrupt introduction remains slightly awkward.

⁹⁴⁹ Achilles asks to be left alone with Patroklos' corpse, and only a few of his more intimate companions remain: δοῖω δ' Ἀτρεΐδα μενέτην καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς / Νέστωρ Ἰδομενέως τε γέρον θ' ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ / τέροντες πυκινῶς ἀκαχήμενον. With a customary Homeric turnaround, the enemies of yesterday are now numbered among the closest friends: In particular, Phoinix stands alongside to Nestor, who lends him once again his chief epithet, γέρον ἱππηλάτα.

⁹⁵⁰ παρὰ δὲ σκοπὸν εἶσεν / ἀντίθεον Φοῖνικα ὅπασα πατρὸς εἶο / ὡς μεμνητο δρόμου καὶ ἀληθείην ἀποεῖποι. The epithet ἀντίθεος appears 48_x in the poems, 13_x in *incipit*; its adoption in relation to Phoinix, who is constantly treated as a subordinate, is merely formulaic.

⁹⁵¹ Heroes' breed and deeds are notorious, and generally given for granted in the epics; the fact that Phoinix 'feels the need' to engage in a long account about his past is itself suspicious and, as we will see, make us question his storyline as a well-timed addition. Incidentally, at *Il.* IX 447 Phoinix refers he "left Hellas" (οἶον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα), crossing the border and reaching Thessaly, domain of Peleus: van der Valk (1964, II 257-259) registers a difficulty here, insofar as southern Thessaly is commonly indicated as Hellas as well.

χολωθείς (XXIII 85-88)⁹⁵². Befitting the dynamics, identical the asylum. The *topos* seems well grounded in the poems, appearing elsewhere; nevertheless, its connection with Phthia⁹⁵³ and Peleus is a constant trait⁹⁵⁴. We may hence assume that the composer was acquainted with a formulaic ‘murderous-exile’ *Motiv*, which supplied a suitable background for actants with shady genalogies gravitating around Phthia. By highlighting minor auxiliaries, the poet enhances the major character in reflection – namely, Achilles. The original scheme possibly forecast for the exile also to be a murderer: this quality is realised in Patroklos’ and Epeigeus’ cases, and implied – even though aborted – in Phoinix’ characterisation too⁹⁵⁵.

⁹⁵² According to Rosner (1976, 319) the right comparison would be with Achilles, for «just as Achilles’ self-imposed exile is caused by a dispute with Agamemnon over a maiden, so is Phoinix exiled by his father [...]. The murder attempt is followed by Phoenix’s incarceration. Achilles, too, is “locked away” from the rest of the Greeks» (*ibid.* 316). Apart from the questionable ‘incarceration’, the connection appears unconvincing.

⁹⁵³ It has been purposed (Nagy 1979, 184f.) to connect Φθίη to the stem *φθι- (accepting the suggestion by Schulze 1892, 505; see also Chantraine, *DELG* 1200, whose idea that «Φθίης équivaudrait donc à οἱ φθίμενοι “les trépassés”, les Myrmidons seraient littéralement “les spectres terrifiantes” seems nonetheless too radical), on the basis of Plat. *Crit.* 44b ὃ Σώκρατες, ἡματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἵκοιο ~ *HippM.* 370c (ἰκοίμην) = *Il.* IX 363. Consequently, the κλέος ἄφθιτον of *Il.* IX 413 should parallel and contrast an ἀκλεής βίη in Φθίη: thus should be read the opposition at *Il.* XIX 329f. between φθίσεσθαι... ἐνὶ Τροίῃ and Φθίηνδε νέεσθαι. Steinhart (2007, 283) parallels the pun with a quotation of Strattis (fr. 17 K.-A.) by Athenaeus (XII 76,2-6) in reference to the ‘consumpted’ Cynesias: ὅλον δρᾶμα γέγραφεν Στράτις / Φθιώτην Ἀχιλλεῖα αὐτὸν καλῶν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ / ποιήσει συνεχῶς τὸ Φθιῶτα λέγειν· παίζων οὖν εἰς / τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ ἔφη “Φθιῶτ’ Ἀχιλλεῦ” ἄλλοι / δ’ αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης (compare with Euripides’ quotation in the *Frogs* 1264). The (para-)etymology underlying the limerick could nevertheless be a post-Homeric one; the reference appears anyway too scant to allow any further inference.

⁹⁵⁴ Prosperity is innerly connected to Peleus, as he has been blessed by the gods with ἀγλαὰ δῶρα (*Il.* XVI 380f., XXIV 534-537); Heath (1992, 399) believes that they «serve as a constant reminder of the epic’s major characters, especially Achilles». The theme of the exile is itself pervasive. At *Il.* XVI 570-574, as soon as Patroklos engages in the battle, a warrior of the Myrmidons is killed; his name, otherwise unknown, is Epeigeus. We immediately discover that he was a refugee too: he was in fact cast from his native city after committing murder – by mistake, again – and he eventually found protection at Peleus’ court: βλήτο γὰρ οὐ τι κάκιστος ἀνὴρ μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσιν / υἱὸς Ἀγακλῆος μεγαθύμου δῖος Ἐπεγεύς / ὅς ῥ’ ἐν Βουδείῳ εὔ ναιομένῳ ἦνασεν / τὸ πρῖν· ἀτὰρ τότε γ’ ἐσθλὸν ἀνεψιὸν ἐξεναρίζας / ἐς Πηλῆν ἰκέτευσε καὶ ἐς Θέτιν ἀργυρόπεζαν. The lexicon differs among the episodes, if not in terms, at least avoiding formulaic repetitions – a further proof in favour of a well founded *Motiv*.

⁹⁵⁵ At *Il.* IX 458-461 the poet feels in fact the urge to affirm that he was *willing* to murder his own father, and he abstained from his crave in order not to become a patricide: τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ βούλευσα κατακτάμεν ὅξεί χαλξῶ / ἀλλὰ τις ἀθανάτων τρέψε φρένας, ὅς ῥ’ ἐνὶ θυμῷ / δήμου θῆκε φάτιν καὶ ονειδέα πόλλ’ ἀνθρώπων / ὡς μὴ πατροφόνος μετ’ Ἀχαιοῖσιν καλεοίμην. The verses are suspect, and only preserved by Plut. (*Quom. adul. poet. aud.* 26f, *Quom. adul. ab am.* 72b); West expunges them. It is

All of this corroborates the idea of a punctual invention, apt to serve a higher duty – to wit, to deliver the tale of Meleager. Were not it for this speech, Phoinix would not be needed at all⁹⁵⁶: the tale appears more relevant to the development of the plot than Phoinix himself, for it grants the audience the key to a reading of the further developments: by ceasing his wrath, Meleager prevented himself from dire events⁹⁵⁷. The hero is a fair reduplication of Achilles⁹⁵⁸: even his saving wife has a speaking name, as Κλεοπάτρη creepily recalls Πάτροκλος. The metaphor is Achilles-proof⁹⁵⁹.

likely that the idea of patricide would have made the audience less sympathetic towards Phoinix, who was instead meant to be the carrier of useful information in the scene.

⁹⁵⁶ Phoinix does not belong to any celebrated *saga*, as the poet is compelled to add information to his background, *via* the ‘murderous-exile’ *Motiv*. This procedure adds evidence to the general consistency of Phoinix as a rough-sketch character, marginally inserted in the *Iliadic* texture. What we know about him, we know from his speech, which he is designed precisely to pronounce. Phoinix’s speech encompasses a brief account on his origin (vv. 434-495), a warning against arrogance (vv. 496-526), and a metaphorical tale (vv. 527-605) – a folkloristic theme, by which an actant is intended to give the protagonist good advice. On the valence of this tale, see also Eichholz 1953; Wilcock 1964, 141-154; Rosner 1979; Finlay 1980; Scodel 1982, 129; Brenk 1986, 83; Hammer 1997, 13; Avery 1998; on the educational scope of the episode, see Jaeger 1936, 36, 39; on the *Motiv* of the seduction on behalf of the stepmother (~ Hippolytus), and chiefly *Il.* IX 455f., see Steinrück 1998; on the «Λιταί-Allegorie» see Bethe 1914, 74-76; Thornton 1984; Arieti 1988; Schröder 2004; «that the Λιταί passage in 9 and the Ἴατη passage in 19 also contain a high proportion of ‘late’ linguistic features, ‘untraditional words and forms, etc.’, ‘a novel and untraditional style’, has also long been recognized» (Davies 1995, 6).

⁹⁵⁷ Mesmerising is Dodds’ suggestion (1959, 6), according to which «the notion of *Ate* as a punishment seems to be either a late development in Ionia or a late importation from outside: the only place in Homer where it is explicitly asserted is the unique Λιταί passage in *Iliad* Book Nine, which suggests that it may possibly be a Mainland idea, taken over along with the Meleager story from an epic composed in the mother country». Unfortunately, there is no evidence enough to support such inference – which remains nonetheless intriguing.

⁹⁵⁸ Strikingly enough, even in the offer of compensation: «scenes of quarrelling between hero and chieftain no doubt existed in the poetic tradition, but it is much less easy to suppose that there existed extensive scenes in which a hero was offered satisfaction but rejected it» (Griffin 1995, 21).

⁹⁵⁹ On the structure of the tale, see Morrison 1992, 119-124. Phoinix recalls (vv. 527-605) that Meleager fell prey to a terrible anger and abandoned his companions in arms; nobody was able to talk him out of his wrath, not even offering him wonderful gifts (~ Agamemnon’s compensation) – only the love for his cherished wife Kleopatra (~ Patroklos) eventually dissuaded him from his obstinacy. Thus *Iliad* IX marks a turning point in the master plan of the poem, and it has rightly been said to represent the «moral nadir» of Achilles, who has not appeared since the wrath of *Iliad* I: «Achilles is in almost exactly the same situation as Meleager; but where Meleager relents – though barely in time – Achilles does not, with an ironic mixture of results» (Arieti 1988, 4); still, «the hero cannot bring himself to accept the offered compensation, causes the death of his dearest friend, and instead of triumphing finishes in remorse and despair, accepting death» (Griffin 1995, 7). This minute tale triggers a whole new key to the reading of the entire epic. On the structure of the tale, see also Morrison 1992, 119-124.

The redundancy of the *topos* of the exile to Phthia is, after all, meant to accomplish the same purpose: Peleus' wisdom is pervasive, reminding the audience that forgiveness can settle conflicts⁹⁶⁰. There is a sort of alert message echoing all around Achilles; it is amplified by the array of strangers, exiles and murderers concentrating around Phthia, and it is reduplicated in Phoinix's tale. Phoinix's speech bears the very same function of all other characters gathering around Phthia: Achilles shall be wise, and desist from his wrath⁹⁶¹.

It is hence possible to infer another folkloristic theme encompassed in the building of the character, namely the *topos* of 'the old wise man giving good advice'⁹⁶²: in order to get through a mazy situation, a challenged hero is often asked to seek the advice of an elder counselor, who shows him a way out – often by means of a tale⁹⁶³. It is convenient that the *Iliad* ignores the tradition of Chiron as Achilles' preceptor, presenting instead an otherwise unknown Phoinix as Achilles'

⁹⁶⁰ Phthia is reached by people who ended up killing or damaging someone close by negligence; Peleus' indulgence redeems them all. The message is borne to Achilles under the false pretenses of his father, his *ad hoc* mentor, and his friend, in disguise under the metaphorical name of Kleopatra.

⁹⁶¹ By avoiding his guidance, Achilles triggers fateful consequences. In this sense, *Iliad* IX reveals fundamental to the plan of the poem. The interconnection between different episodes is a central trait of the building of the poem: the contents of *Iliad* IX invest and modify all the poem, as well as the *Iliad* – by itself describing a mere portion of the war – invests and modify all the saga of Troy, for it narrates «an episode not as vital as the Judgement of Paris or the Sack of Troy, but one which is made to be the key to the whole war by dextrous management» (Griffin 1995, 6).

⁹⁶² Athena's apparition in *Iliad* XVII, where the goddess encourages Menelaos to defend Patroklos' corpse while disguised as Phoinix, has been repeatedly cited. Scott (1912) underlines that Gods usually assume the appearances of authoritative figures in the attempt to persuade the heroes to do something; we can trace other examples of this attitude. When Athena sends Agamemnon the οὔλον ὄνειρον (*Il.* II 20-22), it bears resemblance with Nestor; in the battle at the Achaean wall, Poseidon takes the appearances of Calchas (*Il.* XIII 43-46) and, later on, of Thoas (*Il.* XIII 215-218); Apollon tries to deceive Achilles by taking the guise of Agenor (*Il.* XXI 599-601); and so on. It is easy to notice how, in all of the occurrences, the reference-figure is to be found among elderly people.

⁹⁶³ This scheme is continuously applied in the *Odyssey*: Telemachus seeks Nestor's and Menelaos' advices, Menelaos seeks Proteus' advice. Each one of them is served with a tale settled in old times: and every tale is a metaphoric one. Nestor tells Telemachus about the unfaithfulness of Clytaimestra (*Od.* III 193-316), Menelaos about Helen's unfaithfulness (*Od.* IV 266-289). Both stories are meant to invite Telemachus not to be too confident on Penelope's loyalty (the advice should sound as «looking for your father is fine, but don't leave your mother alone for too long»). As for Menelaos, when trying to leave Egypt, he is suggested to seek the advice of Proteus – not exactly a philanthropist, but still an authoritative figure: he is repeatedly mentioned as the wise Old Man of the Sea, γέρον ἄλιος νημερτής. And Proteus delivers to Menelaos an account of the lots of the Achaean heroes, lingering over the doom of Agamemnon and Odysseus (*Od.* IV 492-560). Once again, the tale sounds as a negative *exemplum*: «do not follow in their footsteps, come back home as soon as you can».

preceptor⁹⁶⁴. Yet another old man in the *Iliad* usually acts as guidance, in a far more successful fashion than Phoinix's: Nestor embodies the moral conscience of the Achaean army, the right arm of the leading heroes. It is notorious how in many occasions, to appease a quarrel, Nestor delivers a long account over a hero, whose behaviour is relevant to the involved circumstances. In all of these cases, Nestor's intervention is successful, and the quarrel is settled⁹⁶⁵.

Unlike Phoinix, Nestor is a deeply rooted and elaborate character, whose presence is persistent in the poems. He would have been the perfect candidate to deliver a persuasive speech to Achilles; but, unfortunately, he was not available to fulfil this duty. Nestor may in fact be of no use to Achilles, since he already performed the task of moral advisor of Agamemnon in his tent: this justifies the introduction of Phoinix⁹⁶⁶.

That the function prevails on the character seems true on a linguistic perspective too. The only epithets assigned to Phoinix do not lend any additional nuance to the character⁹⁶⁷: it is striking instead that the use of such epithets is limited

⁹⁶⁴ The *Iliad* is acquainted with this tradition too: at XI 830-832 a wounded Eurypylos pleads Patroklos for some of the remedies he learnt from Achilles, taught on his part by Chiron, the *δικαιότατος* among the Centaurs (as well as Asclepius' teacher of medicine, *Il.* IV 218f.; see also Nannini 1995, 122 n. 24). Both traditions are attested in vase paintings (see Robbins 1993, 3 n. 4, 4 n. 9). Chiron is also known as giving to Peleus for his wedding the famous spear, which Achilles alone can handle (*Il.* XVI 141-144 = XIX 388-391): «the passages in Books 16 and 18 [i.e. *Il.* XVIII 82-85] together indicate a source, common to the *Iliad* and the *Cypria*, in which the story of the wedding was told» (Robbins 1993, 11; see also Mackie 1997).

⁹⁶⁵ The theme is deeply-rooted, and linked to Nestor's figure from the very beginning. To settle the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, Nestor tells a tale from his youth, about the obedience of the Centaurs (*Il.* I 254-284). The underlying message should be that even the Centaurs know when to yield: as a result, Achilles and Agamemnon temporarily yield. When the hero who is to face Hektor in a duel shall be chosen, Nestor recalls his youth, when he bravely fought with the mighty Ereutalion (*Il.* VII 124-160). He has thus stressed that bravery is needed, even whence the enemy seem too strong. As a consequence, nine Achaean warriors stand up for the Achaean army. Then again, when he wishes to persuade Patroklos to fight on Achilles' behalf, he reminds of his youth, when he defended Pylos from the Epeans, contrary to his father's will, even though young and unexperienced (XI 656-803). The underlying message this time recommends to the brave hero to expose himself for the sake of his companions. We know the events following to this.

⁹⁶⁶ We would expect a character with such important a function to gain a major presence in the framework of the plot: Scott (1912, 77) commented in this regard that «the presence of Nestor made it impossible for another old man of decidedly inferior rank and ability to play more than a humble part in the economy of the poem».

⁹⁶⁷ It shall be useful in this respect to compare *Il.* IX 432 ὄψε δὲ δὴ μετέειπε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ, with v. 438 σοὶ δὲ μ' ἔπειπε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐδης: the same epithet is used both for Peleus and

to certain characters, namely elderly men of the generation preceding Troy. When applied to Phoinix, these are not augmentative epithets; they rather compensate what the character is lacking in authority. This striking difference is manifest when we consider that Nestor is almost ever personally involved in his tales: he indulges in his own youth, his own deeds. His ventures arouse respect because he himself behaved as a hero. Conversely, there are no deeds nor magnitude in Phoinix' past: as a consequence, his audience do not linger on his advice. In *Iliad* IX not only he does not receive an appropriate answer, but he is briefly dismissed. The function of modifying events for the best, closely related to the 'old wise man giving good advice' -*topos*, is in Phoinix's case unfulfilled. As an imitation of Nestor, he is a crude one: he is equipped with the same outfit of *clichés*, epithets and functions, but he does not reach the same goals⁹⁶⁸.

To resume to this point, Phoinix's characterisation is a bare one, realised by the merge of two *topoi*: the *topos* of the exile finding shelter in Phthia, and the *topos* of the old wise man telling a metaphorical tale. On a narratological point of view, he is a stereotypical helper-character, depicted through explicit characterization, modelled on two archetypes adapted together. Still, his function is hardly fulfilled, as his target to prevent Achilles from a doomed choice is not going to be met. This aspect is not irrelevant either: indeed Phoinix engages in significant actions – yet, he repeatedly reveals unsuccessful.

This trait raises another issue. As Phoinix appears as a belittled Nestor, his figure is deprived of the authority he should bear: consequently, his main function is aborted. This treatment of the character might involve the recourse to irony. Another factor points in this direction, namely the comparison among the three appointees' speeches. The three representatives of the Achaeans are quite differentiated among themselves, and the speeches they deliver differ significantly one from another, both in length and content, as they mirror the personality of each speaker⁹⁶⁹:

Phoinix, in the attempt to establish a connection between the two of them (also under the effect of a cluster).

⁹⁶⁸ As a consequence, «the old and evidently familiar story-pattern of the hero's withdrawal and triumphant return [e.g. Meleager] takes on a new intensity and a darker atmosphere» (Griffin 1995, 20) – perhaps even seasoned with a hint of irony: see *infra*.

⁹⁶⁹ Odysseus' speech is tempting and conciliatory: he tries to belittle Agamemnon's faults by saying that he is willing to make amends (vv. 225-263), and then he enumerates the gifts Agamemnon is

- ❖ First intervention: Odysseus (vv. 225-306) – 81 verses
Achilles' answer (vv. 308-429) – 121 verses

- ❖ Second intervention: Phoinix (vv. 434-605) – 171 verses
Achilles' answer (vv. 607-619) – 12 verses

- ❖ Third intervention: Ajax (vv. 624-642) – 18 verses
Achilles' answer (vv. 644-655) – 11 verses

It is easy to notice that Achilles' answers are quite well arranged in respect of every speech: as Odysseus is Agamemnon's spokesman, Achilles' answer is passionate and extensive; Ajax stirs up a discussion among equals, focusing on honour and bravery. The only contrasting answer is received by Phoinix: after his passionate oration, Achilles' answer is almost staggering, as he briefly asks his old friend not to love Agamemnon more than himself, inviting him to rest. Yet, Achilles' answer makes more sense if we consider it from a different perspective.

Nestor chooses Phoinix because of his personal connection to Achilles; the rest of the group endures him, without trust in the success of his speech – and, in fact, Odysseus promptly precedes him (vv. 223f.). Being elderly is not, in Phoinix's case, a value-added but rather a vice. Achilles is the only one taking him into consideration, yet his words are rough-and-ready, driven by sympathetic reasons more than respectful ones: he lets him say his piece, and then dismisses him abruptly, sending him to bed – twice. It seems significant that, over six mentions of the character, four are employed to specify that he is going to sleep – to be

offering (vv. IX 264-299 = 122-157); Achilles proudly refuses, saying that he will leave the day after and that Phoinix is allowed to stay and sleep there if he wishes (vv. 307-429); Phoinix bursts into tears and begs Achilles to change his mind: he first tells his unfortunate story (vv. 430-495), then he tries to appeal to Achilles' feelings and begs him to be compassionate (vv. 496-526); finally he tells the tale of Meleager, trying to adapt his fate to Achilles' (vv. 527-605). Achilles answers briefly, refusing to change his mind, and inviting him again to stay and sleep at his tent (vv. 606-619). Finally, Ajax takes a stand, and his speech is straightforward and concise: he pushes Odysseus into coming back to the Achaeans, for Achilles has no mercy upon the army's fate (vv. 620-642). Achilles understands his reasons, yet he is obstinate on his positions (vv. 643-655). Once back, the ambassadors – except for Phoinix, who remains at Achilles' (vv. 690-692) – report to Agamemnon on Achilles' answers (vv. 656-713). The succession of contrasting and progressive speeches stands in parallel with *Iliad* I and VI: see Lohmann 1970, 213-288; Brenk 1986, 79.

correct, he is *sent* to sleep by Achilles⁹⁷⁰. Even Phoinix's emotional and well-structured tale is discredited by his audience. It does not own the dignity nor the effects of Nestor's tales; it is just an overly long, weak and perhaps even boring tale from an old, subordinate man. An ironic shade, even if not aware, is undeniable⁹⁷¹.

To approach some conclusions, in Phoinix's character two *topoi* entangle – the one of the murderous-exile finding shelter in Phthia, and the one of the wise old man giving advice through a metaphorical tale – revealing him as punctually contrived and late inserted in the plot. The first *topos* is functional to establish a connection between Achilles and Phoinix through their common emotional bond to Phthia; the second one serves the aim to put Meleager's tale on the lips of a helper-advisor actant. Both these functions show that the introduction of Phoinix is asserved to his function, and namely to the necessity to act as a bearer of Meleager's tale. Hence the story of Meleager, possibly an independent epic song, may well have preceeded the creation of Phoinix⁹⁷².

⁹⁷⁰ All the references to Phoinix in the embassy are meaningful in this respect: first Nestor designates him as a participant to the embassy. He is then mentioned by Achilles while replying to Odysseus, as he says that Phoinix is invited to stay and sleep at him, if he wishes to. Achilles's mention serves as an introduction for Phoinix, who stood in the background up to here; Phoinix begins his never-ending speech, and he is quickly dismissed – and, once again, he is invited to stay and sleep. Without waiting for his reply, Achilles makes a sign to Patroklos, who arranges a bed for Phoinix. We are informed that Phoinix stays and goes to sleep after Ajax's speech. Last time we hear about Phoinix is at the end of the episode, when Odysseus and Ajax are back at Agamemnon's tent, and Odysseus cares to specify that Phoinix is sleeping at Achilles'.

⁹⁷¹ We may legitimately doubt on this point: if Phoinix's insertion is the work of a poet who remodelled an already existing embassy, lately fixing the character firmly within the plot by means of brief appearances in the most 'Achilleans' parts of it, then it is possible that the very same poet assigned a specific, grotesque shade to the character. On the one side, this characterisation serves the aim to distinguish him by wise Nestor. Besides, the disruption of Phoinix's authority does not disturb his function: the focus is on Achilles, the kernel of the episode is constituted by his reactions. Phoinix is merely his 'stooge': his inappropriateness would have possibly made the audience even more sympathetic. Hard not to call to mind the limping pair of 'old men giving good advice' of Euripides' *Bacchae*, Tyresias and Cadmus (vv. 170-369). Once again, the addition of vivid and even ironic traits in this challenged book reflects an almost tragic taste.

⁹⁷² The three steps of composition should be inverted as to obtain 1) embassy of Ajax and Odysseus; 2) tale of Meleager, and 3) insertion of Phoinix as bearer of good advice. The tale of Meleager lends a tragic shade to the episode, introducing Achilles' guilt: the pure necessity to wedge the story in the plot triggered the introduction of a stereotyped Phoinix. The rehash fulfils the need to enhance the episode, «punto algico della nostra *Iliade*», by adding a deviation liable to «protrarre in modo artificiale (e pertanto tale da richiedere sforzi di integrazione e di razionalizzazione, di volta in volta ritenuti insufficienti) l'ira, ma non con un semplice secondo movimento, bensì con un'evoluzione che si pone come reinterpretazione globale, al fine di incorporare l'ira iniziale in una diversa prospettiva che, del tutto conseguentemente, porta al XXIV libro» (Nannini 1995, 133 n. 1).

The appointment of the tale to the *Iliad*, and of Phoinix to the tale, has possibly been due to the urge to add consistency and moral significance to the plot, in a moment in which the – already existent – different episodes of the *Iliad* have been collected and put together in a single poem. The composer may have voluntarily insisted on the fallible traits of the character, in order to create a misleading effect; he did so by altering the two analysed *topoi*, introducing an ironic shade and creating an almost tragic character. As we stressed, the functions Phoinix encompasses are all neglected: he is an exile, but not a murderer, for we need him to be not guilty if we are to feel sympathetic towards him; he is an old man, but not wise nor authoritative, and the speech he delivers fails in helping Achilles. Yet, it could not be otherwise; the *Iliad* already owns Nestor as a helper-advisor character, and the plot requires Phoinix to be doomed to failure. Were not it so, Patroklos would not die, Achilles would not kill Hektor – and we would not have the *Iliad* at all.

3.4 Appendix: morphological and metrical features, vv. 167-192.

v. 168: compare with *Il.* II 404f. Νέστορα μὲν πρότιστα καὶ Ἴδομενῆα ἄνακτα / αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' Αἴαντε δὺω καὶ Τυδέος υἱόν, and *Od.* III 57f. Νέστορι μὲν πρότιστα καὶ υἱάσι ὄπαζε / αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισι δίδου χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιβήν.
³ –διίφιλος 10_x (only in this position in the poems, usually followed by noun + epithet in the last two metres).

v. 169: αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ(α) in *incipit* 20_x (52_x tot.). Compare Αἴας τε μέγας with *Il.* V 610 (= XII 364, XIII 321, XIV 409, XV 471, 560, XVII 628, XXIII 708, 722) μέγας Τελαμόνιος Αἴας in *clausola*, and XVI 358 Αἴας δ' ὁ μέγας in *incipit*⁹⁷³. Δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς 102_x, always in verse-end.

v. 170: ἴκηρυκ – δέ 7_x (*Il.* III 245, VIII 517, XI 685, XVIII 504, 558, *Od.* I 109, XX 276); on Odios and Eurybates see n. 24.

v. 171: no manifest parallels⁹⁷⁴.

⁹⁷³ As it appears, apart from the formulaic epithet in verse-end, the only occurrences in which μέγας is employed not as a generic qualifier but rather as a distinctive epithet are IX 169 and XVI 358: in this second case, the purpose is clearly to distinguish the Telamonian from the Ὀϊλιάδης (v. 330). The resort to μέγας to identify the Telamonian seems nonetheless odd, and possibly a later feature.

⁹⁷⁴ The imperative φέρετε is odd, as «such imperative forms are normally aorist, not (as here) present, except from verbs in -μι. This unique form has parallels in vedic formulae» (Griffin 1995, 96).

v. 172: ἰόφρα δι- ~ *Il.* VII 340, 439; Δι_x Κρονιδ_x ~ *Il.* V 419; αἶ κ' ἐλεήση in *clausola* at *Il.* VI 94, 275, 309, XXIV 301, 357, *Od.* XIII 182 too.

v. 173 = *Od.* XVIII 422⁹⁷⁵

v. 174: the metrical collocation ²κηρυ_x is customary (17_x over 51_x total occurrences of the noun: *Il.* I 334, II 50, 437, 442, VII 274, IX 10, *Od.* I 146, II 6, III 338, VII 178, VIII 474, XIII 49, 64, XVI 328, XVII 173, XIX 135, XXI 270; αὐτίκα κηρυ_x in *incipit* also at *Il.* II 442 and XXIII 39). Except for the first metre, the verse recurs identical at *Od.* XXI 270 κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν (the clause ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν is formulaic, 6_x: *Il.* III 270, IX 174, *Od.* I 146, III 338, IV 216, XXI 270; also compare with *Il.* VI 266, IX 171, *Od.* IV 213).

v. 175 = *Il.* I 470, *Od.* I 148, III 339, XXI 271 (see also *Il.* VIII 232, *Od.* II 431).

v. 176 = *Il.* I 471, *Od.* III 340, VII 183, XXI 272 (+ *Od.* XIII 54 and XVIII 425, only for the first three metres).

v. 177 = *Od.* III 342, 395, VII 184, 228, XVIII 427.

v. 178: the *incipit* is paralleled by *Il.* III 142 (ὄρματ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο) and *Od.* XXIV 8, with metrical variation (ὄρμαθοῦ ἐκ πέτρης).

v. 179 = *Il.* X 203, *Od.* III 417, 474. Verses in which someone is instructed by an authority figure are common in the poems: compare with *Il.* II 336 (τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ; τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε in *incipit* also at *Il.* III 96, 455, X 219, 233, XIV 109, XIX 76, XXIII 889, *Od.* II 157, 409, III 330, XI 342, XVII 151, 369, XVIII 422, XX 350, XXI 101, XXIV 442, 451). Many are the variants on the *incipit* τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἤρχε: see *Il.* V 420 = *Od.* VII 47, XIII 374 (θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη), VII 445 = XXI 287 (Ποδειδάων ἐνοσίχθων), IX 179 = X 203, *Od.* III 417, 474 (Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ; see Kirk 1992a 151), XVII 628 (μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας), XXII 167 = XXIV 103, *Od.* I 28 (πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε), *Od.* X 224 (Πολίτης ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν), XVII 100 = XIX 103, 508 (περίφρων Πηνελόπεια), XVII 184 (συβώτης ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν). Also compare with τοῖσι δὲ... ἤρχετο μύθων (*Od.* XV 166, 502), a clear variant suitable to names unfitting to the former options.

v. 180: the verb δενδύλλω is a *hapax* («jeter un coup d'œil, faire un clin d'œil», see Chantraine, *DELG* 262 and *LSJ*⁹ 378; the only other occurrence appears in *Ap. Rh.* III 281 ὄξεα δενδύλλων). The phrase ἐκ ἑκαστον is a *hapax* too: the pronoun ἑκαστος never occurs elsewhere in the poems with a preposition (if ever, we would be more inclined to expect καθ' ἑκαστον). The dative Ὀδυσσῆι appears again 9_x in the poems, almost only in the *Odyssey*, almost always in the metrical collocation ¹—Ὀδυσσῆι (4_x ¹—Ὀδυσσῆι μεγαλήτορι). The junction δὲ μάλιστα is itself out of its most current position (¹—δὲ μάλιστα 14_x on 18_x total instances).

⁹⁷⁵ As Hainsworth (1992, 83) stresses, ἐᾶδῶτα — *ᾶ- plausibly being an Aeolism — only occurs within this formula.

v. 181: *πειρᾶν* (δ') ὡς in *incipit* at *Il.* IV 66, 71 as well; the aorist *πεπιθεῖν*, 8_x, often occurs in moods other than the indicative, and only in the *Iliad*. The epithet ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα is in *clausola* also at *Il.* II 674, 770, IX 698, X 323, XVII 280, XXII 278, *Od.* XI 470, 551, XXIV 18 (Πηλεΐων_x 32_x in verse-end): its position in the poems and the form of the patronymic make the clause appear as a secondary formation.

v. 182: 4_x τὸ δὲ βάτην (*Il.* IX 182, 192, X 469, XXIII 710), all in *incipit* except for the last one (τὸ δε in *incipit* 23_x, τῷ δέ 19_x). 6_x ²—παρὰ θῖνα (*Il.* I 34, XIX 40, *Od.* IV 432, IX 46, XIII 220, XIV 347; compare with 7_x ³—παρὰ θῖνα); ²—παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης = *Il.* I 34. The *iunctura* πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης occurs 8_x, always in *clausola* (*Il.* I 34, II 209, VI 347, IX 182, XIII 798, XXIII 59, *Od.* XIII 85, 220), clashing with ἄλός ἀτρυγέτοιο (7_x, 6_x in verse-end).

v. 183: πολλὰ μάλ(α) in *incipit* (always in apocope) 13_x, never before *Iliad* IX. The middle participle εὐχομεν_x often appears in the second metre, 31_x (16_x ὡς τ' ἔφατ' εὐχομεν_x)⁹⁷⁶. The phrase γαιήχῳ Ἐννοσιγαίῳ also occurs in *clausola* at *Il.* XIV 355⁹⁷⁷; yet the epithet always appears as ³—γαιήχ_x (18_x; ³—γαιήχος Ἐννοσίγαιος 6_x).

v. 184: ῥηϊδίως in *incipit* 23_x; *πεπιθεῖν* is probably in a cluster with *πεπίθειεν* at v. 181 (as the same metrical position would suggest). At *Il.* I 103 (= *Od.* IV 661) μέγα connotes the μένος affecting Achilles' φρένες; the array is mimicked by the *iunctura* μεγάλας φρένας (internal allusion or merely formulaic echo?). The epithet Αἰακίδαο (26_x, 18_x in verse-end) never occurs before this verse (if we exclude two occurrences in the Catalogue of the ships, *Il.* II 860 and 874).

v. 185 = *Il.* I 328; Μυρμιδόνων in *incipit* 9_x. The phrase ³—κλισίας καὶ νῆας appears 8_x (*Il.* I 328, VIII 220, IX 185, 652, XI 617, XIII 144, 167, 208)⁹⁷⁸. The imperfect ἰκέσθην appears 6_x (*Il.* I 328, IX 185, XIV 283, XXIII 215, *Od.* II 150, X 117), almost always in verse-end⁹⁷⁹.

v. 186: τὸν δ' εὔρον in *incipit* 3_x (*Il.* I 329, IX 186, *Od.* IV 3); notice the similarity between *Il.* I 329 τὸν δ' εὔρον παρ' τε κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ, and vv. 185f. The 'match' φρένες-τέρομαι is predictably widespread in the poems⁹⁸⁰. The phrase φορμίγγι λιγείῃ occurs again in *clausola* at *Il.* XVIII 569⁹⁸¹.

⁹⁷⁶ Once the variant ὡς τ' ἔφατ' εὐχομένη (*Il.* VI 311), and once ὡς ἔφαν εὐχόμενοι (*Il.* X 295).

⁹⁷⁷ It is nevertheless surprising that the two ambassadors (whoever they are) decide to plead Poseidon, who is glaringly on the Trojan side (tragic irony?). A tentative connection between heralds and Poseidon has been sketched, even though not persuasively.

⁹⁷⁸ 4_x ²—παρὰ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν (*Il.* VIII 220, XI 617, XIII 167, 208; see also ²—παρὰ τε κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ 3_x), 3_x Μυρμιδόνων ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκεσθ_x (*Il.* I 328, IX 185, 652); also compare with ²—ἐπὶ κλισίας καὶ νῆας εἴσας (*Il.* I 306).

⁹⁷⁹ Except for *Il.* XIV 283; the verb is combined with ἐπὶ νῆας at *Od.* X 117 too.

⁹⁸⁰ Two situations typically give rise to τέροψις in Homer: banqueting (*Il.* XI 780, *Od.* I 26, 258, 369, IV 17, 194, V 201, VIII 429, X 124, XIII 27, XV 400; cf. also Latacz 1966, 202f.) and listening to heroic poetry (*Il.* I 474, IX 186-189, XVIII 526, *Od.* I 347, 422, IV 17, VIII 45, 91, 368, 429, XII 52, XIII 27, XVII

v. 187: *καλη_x δαιδαλέη_x* in *incipit* = *Il.* XVI 222, XVIII 612, (*καλη_x* in *incipit* 31_x, 23_x followed by another agreeing adjective, especially *χαλκείη* and *χρυσείη*). The second part of the verse appears more original, and strictly inherent to the context: on the lyre, see West (1981; 1992, 26f., 50-53)⁹⁸². The verb in ‘tmesis’, with *ἐπί* used adverbially, frames the *ἀργύρεον ζυγόν* (the crossbar of the *φόρμινξ*, a *harpax*).

vv. 188-191: these verses are almost a gloss of the former ones⁹⁸³: as usual in the Homeric poetry, a brief aetiological *excursus* is analeptically introduced to enhance the present context (the *figura etymologica* ἄρετ’ ἐξ ἐνάροων clashes with the participle *ὀλέσσας* in controlling the object *πόλιν Ἡετίωνος*, a clear echo of *Il.* I 366). Specifically, v. 188 is quite free from formulaic echoes; at v. 189, ¹(τ)η_x ὄ γε is a scarcely attested *incipit* (11_x: *Il.* I 190, II 694, III 409, V 673, IX 189, 565, X 504, XXI 113, *Od.* II 327, III 217, IV 821; more attested is the sequence ¹—_x ὄ γε, 60_x). The final phrase *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* is not so common (3_x, *Il.* IX 189, 524, *Od.* VIII 73 (*ἀειδέμεναι*); see also *ἐργ’ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, *Od.* I 338): the hiatus led some scholars to postulate *κλέα* < *κλέε(α)*, or *κλέα*: see also Hainsworth 1992, 88. The verse retraces in contents v. 186. At v. 190, only *σιωπῆ* in verse-end is formulaic, 27_x (*ἐγένοντο σιωπῆ* 16_x). The participle *δέγμενος* appears 4_x, always in *incipit* (*δέγμενος... ὅπ(π)ποτε* 3_x, *Il.* II 794, IX 191, XVIII 524; compare with *Od.* VIII 87, ...*τοι ὅτε λήξειεν ἀείδων*). It has been said that the epithet *Αἰακίδης* is not the preminent for Achilles: here it follows in the footsteps of v. 184.

v. 192: *τὸ δὲ βάτην* reprises v. 182 (*τὸ δὲ βάτην προτέρω* = *Il.* X 469); *ἠγεῖτο* followed by the name of the chieftain is a common structure in the Catalogue of the ships (*Il.* II 567, 638, 851), absent elsewhere. The value to be assigned to *ἠγέομαι* constitutes a major field of debate (compare with v. 168, *Φοῖνιξ μὲν*

385). In both cases an idea of physical satisfaction is implied – and stressed, in the second case, by the mention of the body part, namely the *φορῆν*, in which the pleasure thickens (another typical way of reaching *τέρψις* as a physical satisfaction is by sleeping, e.g. *Il.* XXIV 3, 636, *Od.* IV 295, XXIII 255, 346; see also Latacz 1966, 177f.). «Le verbe signifie ‘trouver une pleine satisfaction de son désir’, qu’il s’agisse de la nourriture, de l’amour physique, aussi de gémissements, souvent avec un complément au génitif» (Chantraine, *DELG* 1108). The idea of ‘filling’ is inherent in the stem-root (cf. *schol.* D [= *schol.* A² *Il.* XI 780], Hesych. τ 582 H. *τε<τα>ρπόμε<σ>θα*: *ἐμπλησθῶμεν*), and it is also displayed by Sanskrit’s outcomes *tṛpyati*, *tṛpṇōti*, *tṛmpāti* and *tṛpti-h*, *tṛpti-h* (‘se rassasier, se satisfaire’; cf. Boisacq 1950, 958 and Chantraine, *DELG* 1108; ‘to satisfy one’s self, become satiated or satisfied’, Latacz 1966; ‘to satiate’, Beekes, *EDG* 1470). To this extent, the formula *ὀλοῖο τεταρπόμεσθα γόοιο* (*Il.* XXIII 10, 98) appears extremely significant, as it is an ‘innovation’ of *Iliad* XXIII. The idea of obtaining satisfaction through the act of grieving never appears outside the Homeric poetry or before this book; it is a prolific one though, and it is reprised in *Il.* XXIV 513 and in the *Odyssey* (IV 372, XI 212, XV 400, XIX 513). An interesting variation on this theme is provided by the *Odyssey*, by means of the formula *ἦ δ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν τάρφθη πολυδακρύτοιο γόοιο* (XIX 213, 251, XXI 57).

⁹⁸¹ See also the variant ⁴—*φορμίγγα λίγειαν* 7_x (*Od.* VIII 67, 105, 254, 261, 537, XXII 332, XXIII 133). The act of playing the lyre is shared by Achilles only with Apollo (*Il.* I 603, XXIV 63).

⁹⁸² Patroklos silently indulges Achilles, according to a pattern familiar to the character: compare with *Il.* I 345, IX 205, XI 616.

⁹⁸³ On typical scenes of arrival and welcoming of visitors see Arend 1933, 28-35.

πρώτιστα δίφιλος ἡγησάσθω): that here the verb means invariably 'to come further' is enhanced by the following hemi-verse *στὰν δὲ πρόσθ' αὐτοῖο*. The epithet *διος Ὀδυσσεύς* is pervasive, 102_x in the poems.

v. 193: *ταφὸν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς* in *clausola* is formulaic, 102_x (*Il.* IX 193, XI 777, XXIII 101; the same scheme at *Od.* XVI 12 (συβώτης)).

v. 194: ³— λιπὼν ἔδος ~ λιποῦσ' ἔδος (*Il.* XXIV 144); ⁴— ἔδος ἔνθα θάασσεν ~ ἔδος ἔνθοσ ἐέργει (*Il.* XXIV 544).

v. 195: the *incipit* *ὡς δ' αὐτὸς* appears 12_x (*Il.* III 339, VII 430, IX 195, X 25; *Od.* III 64, VI 166, IX 31, XX 238 = XXI 203, 225, XXII 114, XXIV 409): the *nexus* ³— *-ἐπεὶ ἴδε* recurs 9_x (*Il.* V 510, VIII 397, IX 195, XVI 247, XXII 236, *Od.* XI 390 = 615, XXI 83, XXIII 92). The collocation ⁵*φῶτα(ς)* is found 14_x (*Il.* II 164, 180, VI 188, IX 195, XIII 483, XVI 785, XVII 552, XXIII 671, *Od.* IV 530, 778, VI 199, VII 144, XII 123, XVII 365); *ἀνέστ_x* in *clausola* is extremely frequent, 22_x⁹⁸⁴.

v. 196: *τὸ καὶ δεικνύμενος προσέφη* + subj. = *Od.* IV 59 (Μενέλαος)⁹⁸⁵. The epithet in verse-end *πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς* 30_x (24_x preceded by *προσέφη*).

v. 197: *χαίρετον* in *incipit* also at *Od.* XV 151 (compare with *χαίρετε*, in *incipit* 4_x: *Il.* I 334, XXIV 706, *Od.* XIII 358). The phrase *φίλοι ἄνδρες* is reprised at v. 198, *οἱ... φίλτατοὶ ἔστων*, and v. 204, *οἱ γὰρ φίλτατοι ἄνδρες ἐμῷ ὑπέασι μελάθρῳ*. Also compare with *ἦ φίλον ἄνδρα*, *Il.* XXII 168. The verb appears in the same position at *Il.* X 118 = XI 610, XVIII 385 = 424, *Od.* IV 29, 139, 322, V 449, VII 147, XIII 278, XXIII 7 (= 27, 108), 36, XXIV 281. The *nexus* *ἦ τι μάλα* is a *hapax* (*ἦ μάλα* is frequent, but not in this position); *μάλα χρεώ* also occurs in verse-end at *Il.* XI 409, XVIII 406, XXIII 308⁹⁸⁶.

v. 198: the middle participle only here appears in this position (3_x *σκυζομεν_x* in *incipit*)⁹⁸⁷. The superlative *φιλτατ_x* occurs in this collocation 11_x⁹⁸⁸.

⁹⁸⁴ 18_x *ἀνέστη* (6_x *τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη*, 6_x *ἐνθεν ἀνέστη*): *Il.* I 68, 101, II 76, VII 354 (= 365), IX 195, XVIII 410, XXIII 635, XXIV 597, *Od.* II 224, V 195, XII 439, XVIII 157 (= XXI 139, 166, XXIII 164), XXI 243, 392.

⁹⁸⁵ The clause is possibly a variant on the metrically equivalent *τὸν/(τὴν) δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη*, 91_x in the poems.

⁹⁸⁶ The passage offers the closest comparison, with its final *οὔ τι μάλα χρεώ* (which is attested as a variant at *Il.* IX 197 as well, in pap. Ant. 158 ~ 486a West). Hainsworth (1992, 89), on the basis of Did/A) underlines that the sequence is a member of a formulaic set, in which *ἦ/οὔ/τόν/τῷ* may alternate, and even be followed by a pronoun (min, se, etc.).

⁹⁸⁷ The phrase is possibly induced by the widespread *ἀχνομεν_x περ* (usually in *clausola*). For the combination middle participle + *περ* in this metrical collocation also see *Il.* VI 85, XIII 57, 419, *Od.* II 219, VII 297.

⁹⁸⁸ *Il.* V 378, VI 91, 272, IX 198, XV 111, XVI 433, XXII 233, XXIV 334, 748, 762, *Od.* XVI 445 + *Il.* I 581 (*φέρτατος*) and *Od.* IV 614 (*τιμηέστατον*); also compare with *Od.* VIII 284, *ἦ οἱ γαίῳων πολὺ φιλάττη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων*.

4. Homeric words.

4.0 Commentary to the Homeric Forms.

«Quasi nessuna parola è ingenua per un omerista» (Nannini 2010, 4).

ἀγήρω. The form occurs twice in the poems, in the verse-end formula ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε (*Il.* XII 323, XVII 444⁹⁸⁹). The double epithet, built on a double litote (by means of the privative alpha), is semantically ascendent, granting to the phrase an epicising shade. The formula is moulded upon well established formulaic materials. Janko (1981, 382) argued in favour of an oldest type -- ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήραος -- -- 9_x⁹⁹⁰; the contraction of ἀγήραος to ἀγηρώς is a serior development which «permitted many variants to arise» (Hainsworth 1992, 353). In our formula the adjective presents contracted, as the uncontracted form would be metrically impossible (*ἀγηράω); both the occurrences do not allow the restoration of the short thematic vowel. The adjective plausibly derives from *ἀ-γηῖρασ-ος; the fall of sigma in intervocalic position eased the contraction. The formulaic phrase ³-- ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε in all likelihood does not pertain to the most ancient layers of the *Kunstsprache*; a certain degree of artificiality is sensible, as displayed by both the contraction of the theme and the flexibility assigned to privative alpha, naturally short for ἀγήραος and metrically long (as usual) for ἀθάνατος⁹⁹¹.

⁹⁸⁹ See also *H. Hom. Dem.* 242, καὶ κέν μιν ποίησεν ἀγήρων τ' ἀθανάτόν τε.

⁹⁹⁰ To this alleged originary scheme several later layers have been superimposed: 1) ἀθάνατος -- καὶ ἀγήραος; 2) ἀγήραος ἀθάνατος τε (of which ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε represents a useful dual variant, sharing the same metrical and syntactical shapes); 3) ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρας, a variant to 1) with suppression of a dactylum and contraction of the thematic vowel of ἀγήρα- with the ending; 4) ἀθάνατος καὶ ἄγηρος, with normalisation of the stem ἀγήρ-; both 3) and 4) are post-Homeric «rarities» (Janko 1981, 383). Janko treats the three formulaic shapes as successive steps in the development of the formula. That they originated each in the former one is hardly arguable; yet they do not need be mutually exclusive, as metrically differentiated variants may have coexisted in the repertoire. Contracted forms might have hence coexisted with the originary uncontracted forms, fulfilling different needs within the texture of the verse.

⁹⁹¹ According to the so-called "1st Schulze's Law": «In vocabulis quae a tribus brevibus incipiunt sequente longa, poetae potuerunt quidem praeter primam tertiam quoque, in iis quae a tribus brevibus incipientia in ancipitem (vocalem longam s. brevem cum consona) exeunt, etiam alteram vel tertiam ictu efferre, sed malebant in omnibus primam, a qua consuetudine non recedunt nisi causa est peculiaris» (Schulze 1892, 140; see also 141-143).

ἄγνυτον. The *hapax*, a 3rd dual person, exhibits a short thematic vowel, in contrast with the stem *αγνῦ- of the singular; such Ablaut is an archaic trait. The passage is highly canonical: two heroes involved in a battle scene, Polyetes and Leonteos, repeatedly referred to in the dual⁹⁹², are first compared to oaks resisting winds and storms (*Il.* XII 132-134), and then to boars, frantically abiding to be tackled (*Il.* XII 145-150)⁹⁹³. The metaphor is keen on duals, thus insisting on the idea of two warriors fighting closely, such as in the case of the two Αἴαντε.

ἀειρέσθην. The tense of the form is debatable. It could represent a non augmented imperfect, as well as a form of the aorist ἄειρα – which is to be found in the same book of the present form, two hundred of verses later (*Il.* XXIII 700). Nevertheless, the form is non-canonical under both metrical and morphological respects⁹⁹⁴.

⁹⁹² In particular, notable is the high incidence of the demonstrative pronoun τῷ (*Il.* 131, 135, 145, 146). The structure of the passages has been indicated as problematic (Hainsworth 1992, 332-334; West 2001, 217).

⁹⁹³ The metaphor also bears an interesting example of the adaptive potential of Homeric phonology. At verse 147 the poet uses δέχῃται as a 3rd plural (semantically, a 3rd dual) person, *δεχ-νται. The sonorisation of the semi-vowel implies for this form an athematic inflection; such a phenomenon would be artificial, were the stem a thematic one. The verb *δεκ- (Aeolic, Ionic, Cretan)/*δεχ- (Attic) allows for an athematic inflection, such as in the forms δέκτο (*Il.* II 420, XV 88, *Od.* IX 353; see also ὑπεδέκτο, 5_x, always in *clausola*), δέγμενος (*Il.* II 794, IX 191, XVIII 524; see also ³-δεδεγμένος 5_x and ³-ποτιδέγμενος 3_x), δέχθαι (*I.* 23, 377): the sonorised ending *-ᾶται could hence be the result of a dialectal outcome (Leaf I 107f. *ad Il.* II 769; Chantraine 1953a, 296; Hainsworth 1992, 334). The phenomenon, born within the athematic stem, will have secondarily been extended to semi-vocalic themes as well (optative forms, ἦμαι, κείμαι, heteroclitics, etc.), the extension resulting in the creation of suitable allomorphs. Such expedient is common in the poems, representing a useful device to provide the poet with feasible metrical segments wherever required. Intriguing forms are ἀκηχέαται (*Il.* XVII 637, except for **Z** and **Ω**; see Chantraine 1953a, 435), βεβολήατο (*Il.* IX 3; hardly athematic, if ~ βάλλω; so Chantraine, *DELG* 162), δειδέχατο (*Il.* IV 4, IX 671, XXII 435, *Od.* VII 72: δειδίσκομαι? *LSJ*⁹ 372, or *δη-δεχ-, Chantraine, *DELG* 271), κεκλήατο (*Il.* X 195; ath. *κάλημι? Chantraine, *DELG* 484f.), πεποτήαται (*Il.* II 90; ποτέομαι? Chantraine, *DELG* 892).

⁹⁹⁴ It is in fact a *hapax*, and the only occurrence of the stem in the second meter (¹- - ἀείρεσθην), if we except a modification to this verse in *Od.* XIII 83, ὑψός' ἀείρομενοι ῥίμφα πρήσσοισι κέλευθον (see Leaf II 507; Richardson 1992, 225). On a semantic perspective, the emphasis given to the sudden excitement of the horses (ῥίμφα, Diomedes being μάλα σχεδόν) would speak in favour of an aorist: yet the ambiguity is here an inner trait of the homophony, and possibly a value-added to the passage.

ἀέκοντε. The form is printed by editors either in this shape or in the contracted (Attic?) form ἄκοντε (< *ἄφέκοντε; see West 2001, 263). The problem may be posed in Wackernagel's term (1916, 168): «warum wurde denn gerade ἀέκοντε, wenn es ursprünglich war, durch Kontraktion entstellt alle sonstigen Formen von ἀέκων unangetastet gelassen?»⁹⁹⁵. The mss. present with both contracted and distressed forms⁹⁹⁶. At *Od.* X 489 we meet the only non-dual occurrence of the participle; the form presents 11_x in the poems, 10_x of which within the common verse-end formula (μάστιξεν δ' ἵππους) τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην⁹⁹⁷.

ἀθανάτω. See ἀγήρω.

ἀθλήσαντε. The verb appears in the poems only in aorist participles (*Il.* VII 453, XV 30). The long stem-vowel seems unclear (contraction? Ablaut? *ἄθλ^ε/ο- < *αφεθλ^ε/ο-, see Chantraine, *DELG* 21)⁹⁹⁸, though necessary in this metrical position: the theme *ἄθλη- is nevertheless regular in nominal compounding (ἄθλημα, ἄθλησις, ἀθλητής, etc.).

Αἴαντε. The inclusive dual Αἴαντε is solid and well-grounded in Homer. The proper name appears 28_x to define more than an individual⁹⁹⁹, firmly

⁹⁹⁵ «Nicht sicher attisch ist die Kontraktion in ἄκοντε. Ob die Ionier ἄκων nach dem Lautgesetz oder ἀέκων in Interesse der deutlichen Entsprechung mit ἐκὼν sagten, läßt sich vorderhand nicht ausmachen. Und für das älteste Attisch wird ἀέκων neben αἰων bekanntlich durch Drakons Gesetze gesichert. Daß für Homer selbst ἄκοντε statt ἀέκοντε unursprünglich ist, wird durch das Fehlen der Kontraktion in alien andern Formen des Wortes und durch die metrische Verwendung von ἄκοντε nahe gelegt» (*ibid.*).

⁹⁹⁶ «Dans les dérivés qui ne sont pas attiques la contraction attique n'a pas été introduite: ἀεκαζόμενος (*Z* 458, etc.), ἀέκητι (*α* 79, etc.)» (Chantraine 1953a, 28).

⁹⁹⁷ *Il.* V 366, VIII 45, XXII 400, *Od.* III 484, 494, XV 192. The varied *incipit* μάστιξεν δ' ἵππους is to be met at *Il.* V 768, X 530, XI 281, XI 519. See also τὸ δ' αἴξαντε πετέσθην (*Il.* XV 150) and τὸ δὲ σπεύδοντε πετέσθην (*Il.* XXIII 506).

⁹⁹⁸ The stem might have been resilient as to metrical shape and value: such permeability might have been induced by modification in its initial part, as ἄ(φ)εθλος is attested both with and without initial contraction, (Chantraine 1953a, 32). «Le texte homérique présente normalement la forme non contractée»; all exceptions are to be found wherever the text is affected by «traits linguistiques 'récents' (3, 126; 8,363; 19,133, ces deux derniers passages à propos des Travaux d'Héraclès)» (*DELG* 21).

⁹⁹⁹ Namely, in numbers other than the singular. As a remark, not a single occurrence is preserved of an inclusive dual in oblique cases. At *Il.* XII 342f., «Aristarchus and the vulgate are for the singular Αἴαντα in both lines, but clearly the dual is right, not only in view of 344, but also of 353f.» (West

representing the better attested inclusive form in the poems. Among these instances of the name, all of which predictably present in the *Iliad*, 22_x are in the dual, 6_x in the plural¹⁰⁰⁰. The quantifier shows up 6_x on the whole dual occurrences¹⁰⁰¹ and 4_x on the plural¹⁰⁰². The dual frequently co-occurs with the epithet μεμαῶτε – both in formula (Αἴαντε πρότω προσέφη μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτώ, 2_x: *Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555) and hyperbaton. For a further discussion see par. 2.5.

αἴξαντε. The verb αἴσσω (as an Atticism for αἰίσσω)¹⁰⁰³ occurs variously in the dual in the poems (αἴξαντε 4_x: *Il.* VI 232, XII 148¹⁰⁰⁴, XV 150, *Od.* X 117; αἴσسونτε 1_x: *Il.* XII 148; αἰχθήτην 1_x: *Il.* XXIV 97; ἀναίξαντε 3_x: *Il.* XXIII 733, *Od.* VIII 361, XIX 31). The rather striking incidence may have been favoured by the reciprocal value of the verb, which possibly fostered its use in dual forms, subsequently fixed within the texture of the verse. Kirk (1992b, 190) enhances that at *Il.* VI 232 «a rather inelegant rhyme is produced after θωνήσαντε and echoed by 233 πιστώσαντο»¹⁰⁰⁵. The participle is always accompanied by a 3rd dual imperfect

2001, 219). A strict reference to the Telamonian Ajax and Teucer seems more explicit at *Il.* IV 273, 280, XIII 197 (see also Wackernagel 1877, 302-310; Page 1959, 235-238; Kirk 1992a, 159; par. 2.5).

¹⁰⁰⁰ It is to be remarked, though, that all plural forms are metrically constrained, for they need a final long vowel (5_x ²Αἴαν³τες / ⁻³τας, once ¹Αἴαν²τες).

¹⁰⁰¹ Almost ever within the noun phrase Αἴαντε δύο, enhanced by metrically sensible locations: 2_x before the masculine caesura (¹- Αἴαντε δύο / καὶ: *Il.* V 519, VI 436), 2_x straddle the trochaic caesura (²- Αἴαντε / | δύο: *Il.* X 228, XII 335). The noun phrase ἀμφοτέρω Αἴαντε also occurs once (*Il.* XII 265).

¹⁰⁰² At *Il.* XIII 162 the quantifier is substituted by an adjective agreed with the noun, Αἴαντας δαιοῦς; such demeanour is fairly common in Attic (see par. 2.4).

¹⁰⁰³ In Homer the first syllable is never contracted, with initial alpha always scanned long (except for *Il.* XXI 126): «l'ā doit reposer sur *φαίφικω (Chantraine 1953a, 17; the author appears nevertheless more cautious in *DELG* 39).

¹⁰⁰⁴ In the passage, δοχμῷ τ' αἴξαντε represents «an authentic detail, [as] the tusks of the boar do not point forward, cf. λικριφίς αἴξας (*Od.* XIX 451), of the boar that wounded the young Odysseus» (Hainsworth 1992, 334). See also ἄγνυτον.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Nevertheless, that internal rhyme produces cacophony in the Homeric verse is an arbitrary assumption: see, for instance, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἔσται σιγῇ πόλεμος δὲ πέπανται (*Il.* III 134); πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγυδὲ ἀλός, νέσται Πύλου ἡμαθέεντος (*Il.* IX 153, 295) and, in the dual, πλησίαι αἴ γ' ἦσθην, κακὰ δὲ Τρώεσσι μεδέσθην (*Il.* IV 21, VIII 458). Internal rhyme and repetition are stylistical devices chiefly functional in an oral performing context. Attempts to undercut the poet's awareness in their usage are the result of «anachronistic criteria»: «modern demarcation of artistic and inartistic repetition tends to be much too rigid: repetition may not always be organised in such a way as to be immediately recognizable as a rhetorical figure, but if it draws attention to what is important, points a contrast, or clarifies an argument, it is performing an essential rhetorical function» (Easterling 1973, 33f.).

(μαχέσθην at *Il.* XII 145, πετέσθην at *Il.* VI 232, XV 150), thus implying the idea of variation on a standard pattern¹⁰⁰⁶.

As a note, it is to be remarked that the participle occurs twice in a peculiar metrical position, which proves particularly productive for active participles in the dual¹⁰⁰⁷.

αἰνεῖτον. Verb with 'Attic contraction (Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 215; cf. cap. 1.3).

αἴσσουντε. See αἴξαντε, δοχμῶ.

αἰχμητᾶ. This form is one of the few occurrences of masculine *a*-stem duals in the poems (3_x, the others being κορυστᾶ and ὠκυπέτᾶ: see *ad ll.*); among them, this is the only one which is metrically granted (1ᾶμφω 2δ' αἰχμητᾶ, *Il.* VII 281). The noun occurs also in *Il.* V 197 as a nominative singular (Chantraine 1953a, 199; *DELG* 41); yet Kirk (1992b, 81) rightly underlines that «γέρον αἰχμητὰ Λυκάων is presumably modelled on γέρον ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς etc. (4_x *Iliad*, similarly 4_x with Phoinix and Oineus), and αἰχμητᾶ could have been repeated with other aged warriors with — — names»¹⁰⁰⁸. The stem-root originally designates something

¹⁰⁰⁶ In particular, the merge of αἴξαντε and πετέσθην (*in clausola* at *Il.* XV 150) is in turn a modification to the more widespread τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην (cf. *ad l.*). The junction with κατ' ἵππων, which Kirk (*ibid.*) found recurrent in the poems (see *Il.* XI 423, XX 401), might simply be secondary on the formulaic pattern.

¹⁰⁰⁷ The position ³-ντε covers 57_x active participles in the dual in the poems (roughly the 45%); other eligible metrical positions are ⁵-ντε (33_x, 26% of the total) and ⁶-ντε (35_x, 27% of the total). Only 4_x participles are located in other than these preferred positions: ¹-στάντε, ²-ἀέκοντε, ²-ἀρπάξαντε, ⁴-κλαίοντε (see *ad l.*).

¹⁰⁰⁸ It seems reasonable to assume that αἰχμητᾶ has been superimposed over ἱππηλάτα's metrical shape, undertaking its syntactic (and possibly, semantic) function too. The feasibility of the epithet ἱππηλάτα in relation to old wise men is apparent: γέρον ἱππηλάτα =, *in clausola*: 9_x *Il.* (IV 387, VII 125, IX 432, 438, 581, XI 772, XVI 196, XVIII 331, XIX 311), 2_x *Od.* (III 436, 444). The term is used as an epithet to Peleus 4_x, Phoinix 3_x, Nestor 2_x, Oineus 1_x, Tydeus 1_x, being always applied to a hero of the generation before the Iliadic one. The phrase might in turn have been supported by the fortune of the widespread γερῆνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ, always *in clausola*: 21_x *Il.* (II 336, 433, 601, IV 317, VII 170, 181, VIII 112, 151, IX 162, 179, X 102, 128, 138, 143, 157, 168, 203, 543, XI 516, 655, XIV 52 + 3_x the sole ἱππότης Νέστωρ *in clausola* at IX 52, XVI 33, XXIII 89), 9_x *Od.* (III 102, 210, 253, 386, 397, 405, 417, 474, IV 171; ἱππότης is also used as an epithet to Peleus 2_x, Oineus 1_x, Tydeus 1_x). As it is apparent, there is a predictable 'pitch' in the occurrences in *Od.* III (the book is settled in Nestor's realm) and *Iliad* X (Nestor is the main character of the first part, the preparation of the Δολονεΐα). The shortened alpha

sharp, spear-like¹⁰⁰⁹; its extension to the bearer of a spear may be seen as a case of metonymy.

Ἄκτορίωνε. The form is problematic. There are 3_x in the *Iliad* (II 621¹⁰¹⁰, XI 750, XXIII 638). The first one, hardly the most reliable, belongs to the *Κατάλογος νεῶν*: here the two Ἄκτορίωνε are said to be Amphimachus and Talpius, sons of Kteatos and Eurytos respectively¹⁰¹¹. It is immediately apparent that, despite the form being shaped as a patronymic, it points to a forefather rather than to the father(s) of the heroes.

In *Iliad* XI, Ἄκτορίωνε appears in conjunction with Μολίωνε, an epithet occurring twice in the scene (XI 709, 750: see also Μολίωνε). Recalling past ventures, Nestor names the Μολίωνε as Epean heroes, sons of Poseidon, who partook in the Heracleian deeds¹⁰¹². The interplay between Ἄκτορίωνε and Μολίωνε constitutes the kernel of the problem¹⁰¹³, as it is questionable whether they both are patronymics, or different kind of epithets; furtherly obscure is the presence of παῖδε (v. 750)¹⁰¹⁴.

of epithets originating in της-compounds – such as ἱππότα, νεφελεγηρέτα, etc. – has been traced back to ancient vocatives (Kirk 1992b, 283); besides, these formations are quite ancient and conservative ones (see also αἰχμητᾶ and κορυστᾶ).

¹⁰⁰⁹ This value is probably attested in the Mycenaean *a-i-ka-sa-ma* (Chadwick-Baumbach 1963, 169).

¹⁰¹⁰ In an attempt to clarify the inconsistency of the ‘double patronymic’, West publishes *ad l.* Ἄκτορίωνος (on the basis of pap. 40, 104, 150 and Ω) – which could be sustained by the presence of παῖδε.

¹⁰¹¹ The verses may be compared with Ap. Rh. *Arg.* I 71f., εἶπετο δ’ Εὐρυτίων τε καὶ ἀλκίηεις Ἐριβότης / υἱες ὁ μὲν Τελέοντος, ὁ δ’ Ἰῶου Ἄκτορίδαο. In Apollonius’ genealogy, the patronymic Ἄκτορίδης is attested, in a peculiar ‘Doric’ genitive, also at *Arg.* II 911, 916.

¹⁰¹² The passage belongs to a long speech by Nestor, in which the Gerenian horseman tries to persuade Patroklos to bring Achilles back to the field by impersonating him. The two Molions, who belong to the same generation as Nestor’s (at least in the present tale), are recalled as if they were familiar characters in a possibly well-known saga: they are mentioned *en passant*, and their descent by Poseidaon is taken for granted (πατήρ εὐρὸν κρείων ἐνοσίχθων, XI 751; see also Pind. *O.* 10,26). Tales by Nestor hardly happen by chance in the poems: they usually bear a strong significance to the context (see *Il.* I 254-284, VII 124-160; compare also with the Kleopatra/Patroklos tale of Phoinix’ in *Il.* IX 434-605). In the present situation, the forefather of Patroklos, meaningfully named Aktor, is immediately evoked at v. 785: this element could have influenced the ‘double’ genealogical mark of Kteatos and Eurytos (see also the unrelated Μολίων of XI 322).

¹⁰¹³ Still valid the brief overview by Leaf (I 514) who, nonetheless, takes for granted that Ἄκτορίωνε and Μολίωνε refer to the same couple: «the two names are both obscure. In form they are of course patronymics, but they cannot both be so in reality, for they appear together in 750, and Homer never uses two patronymics together» – even less three, if we recall that the two heroes are said to be sons of the Ἐνοσίχθων. «The ordinary explanation is that Aktor was their nominal father, as Heracles is called son of Amphitryon, and that Μολίων is a metronymic [...]. This is unlikely: the form Μολίωνε is

The last occurrence is quite tormented. It appears in the context of the funerary games for Patroklos. Some elements are strikingly close to the passage in *Iliad* XI, namely that once again the two heroes are recalled by Nestor, and in relation to the Epeans; yet some difficulties to arise. There is a glaring inconsistency, which has not yet been properly stressed, between the episodes in *Il.* XI (and the rest of the tradition) and the one in *Il.* XXIII as to the Μολίωνε's alliance¹⁰¹⁵: it appears curious that the two warriors, whom Nestor would have gladly killed (XI 750), are then recalled as if they were allies (XXIII 638)¹⁰¹⁶. Nevertheless, the last passage appears troubled under many respects¹⁰¹⁷, and it raises the impression that its presence within the scene could be functional¹⁰¹⁸.

against it, and metonymics are almost unknown in Greece» (*ibid.*; see also Wackernagel 1877, 307; Kirk 1992a, 219f.; Wilamowitz 2006, 315, 343-350).

¹⁰¹⁴ The 'normal' Homeric structure would await the genitive of the name of the father together with terms like παῖδε(ς), υἱε(ς), etc.; two patronymics (in the dual!) followed by an apposition constitute a rather unusual phrase.

¹⁰¹⁵ Epeans and Pylians should have formed a common pair in the epic tradition (see also *Od.* XXIV 430f.). Let us collect all the elements we own in this respect. Pursuant to *Il.* IX 685-761, a struggle arose between Epeans and Pyleans (who had been recently depleted by Herakles' fury, vv. 690f.), and Nestor proved himself up to the point that he would have killed the Molions too, if their father Ἐνοσίχθων would not have saved them. The tale is rich in topical and speaking details: the theft of the four mares from Neleus (vv. 698-702); the twinned heroes, still young and οὐ πω μάλα εἰδότε θούριδος ἀλκῆς (v. 709f.), the bastion between two rivers (v. 711), Agamedes skilful of φαρμακά (vv. 740f.), a God saving the heroes hiding them in the mist (vv. 750-752). According to Pind. *O.* 10,26-34, the Μολίονε are finally killed by Herakles to obtain compensation by the ἄεκων Augeias: we understand that they had aligned to Augeias' and the Epeans' side, having dismantled Herakles' Tyrrhian army. It is sensible how Pylians and Epeans are consistently on opposite sides (even in the former generation, Neleus having been overcome by Herakles and the Epeans); the passage in *Il.* XXIII results subsequently obscure. Another tradition (epigram by Olenos, Kaibel 790.3) reports the Μολινίδα (and not **Μολιονίδα, otherwise not attested) being killed by Herakles, «und ein Liebling von ihm, Polystratos, umgebracht wurde» (Wilamowitz 2006, 345).

¹⁰¹⁶ The memory is settled at the funerals of Amarynkeus, an Epean hero, possibly brother to Aktor (whose son Dioreas meets death at *Il.* IV 517-526). Yet, as we have seen, in the generation of Neleus, Augias and his brother (among which should figure Amarynkeus and Aktor too), the two people were enemies (*Il.* XI 694ff.).

¹⁰¹⁷ First, the value of πλήθει πρόσθε βάλλοντες seems uncertain (the difficulty was not alien to Leaf II 516 already): πλήθει clearly refers to the magnitude (size, or number) of the couple, whereas βάλλοντες seems to imply a middle value despite the active diatesis. An interpretation as "standing forward because of their size" seems involute, as well as inappropriate: even accepting that the Aktorions were two, it is unclear why they should be winning 'because of their dimensions' – unless the composer were acquainted with the version of the myth according to which the two heroes shared the same body (see Μολίονε). Were it so, the two Ἀκτορίωνε should be Siamese twins; however, there is no further specification in this sense, not here, nor in the other *Iliadic* occurrences. More cautiously, Leaf (*ibid.*), resting on Lehrs, enhances that a short-circuit in the phrase might have been triggered by an interaction with the phrase τοὺς σοὺς πρόσθε βαλόν (XXIII 572), with the same metrical structure.

The scholarly critics has often treated the two epithets, Ἀκτορίωνε and Μολίονε, as synonyms, meant to define the same pairing: to a certain degree, they appear indeed to work accordingly in the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, that they have originally been interchangeable epithets is far from certain. The only facts which rest consistent throughout the poems are that Amphimacos and Talpios (addressed as Ἀκτορίωνε at *Il.* II 621) are sons of Kteatos and Eurytos (that is, the Μολίονε). The Μολίονε themselves (addressed as Ἀκτορίωνε at *Il.* XI 750) participated in the Epean war, and in the Heracleian saga. Whichever its etymological value¹⁰¹⁹, Μολίονε seems hence to bear a definite meaning, namely Kteatos and Eurytos¹⁰²⁰; they are the canonical heroes whom Nestor is referring to in *Iliad* XI. The value of Ἀκτορίωνε seems more shifty. The form was reasonably born a patronymic, but its usage seems resilient.

This is not the only difficulty we meet, as the passage is rich in peculiar phenomena: οὔνεκα in the rare meaning ‘that’ in place of ‘because’ (Leaf *ibid.* and I 468 *ad Il.* XI 21; furthermore, οὔνεκα δὴ occurs 3_x in *incipit* in the *Iliad*, the other two occurrences always expressing self justification; see III 403 (Helen), XIV 112 (Diomedes); ἄγαμαι joined with περί; δίδυμοι used as a substantivised adjective – a *hapax* in the *Iliad*, which is rather acquainted with διδυμάτων (4_x: V 548, VI 26, XVI 672, 682; δίδυμος occurs once in *Od.* XIX 227, though referred to pipes); the repetition of ἔμπεδον ἠνιόχου(εν) (vv. 641f.), ἄρα scanned with second α long, the sudden shift of subject at v. 643.

¹⁰¹⁸ The syntax in *Il.* XXIII 634-638 highlights that, at the moment of composition of the passage, the canonic structure of the πένταθλον was ratified (on the Games, see Leaf II 468f. and *ad Il.*, Richardson 1992, 201-203, 238f.): the stress posited on the agonistic aspect of the scene (and its canonisation) seems glaringly close to the mention of the Μολίονε in Pind. *O.* 10,24-77, where the aetiology of Olympic games is central. This conformity could indeed represent a further argument in favour of the lateness of the passage. Another element may be provided by Wilamowitz (2006, 343-350), according to whom both epithets refer to the symbolism of the Dioskouroi (see Μολίονε); the conflation of the Ἀκτορίωνε, Dioskouroi from Elis, with the Μολίονε, would mirror an attempt to merge different heroic echoes in a single crisis.

¹⁰¹⁹ Hesychius (μ 1567 L.) explained the dual form as μαχηταί. καὶ Μολιονίδαι· γυναικός τινος υἱοί. Chantraine (*DELG* 709) dubiously hints at a possible hypocoristic formation (e.g. Ἀρχίμολος ~ μολεῖν). Ruijgh (1967, 10) underlines that the form *Μολιῶν could be hidden in a Mycenaean tablet (PY Cn 1287,9): this form would delong to noun with suffix -ῖων, -ῖωνος, mainly anthroponyms, to be differentiated by nouns in -ῖων, -ῖωνος, usually patronymics (and also including the notorious Ἀκτορίωνε). It could be postulated that Μολίονε is an elliptical dual, in which Μολίων is the preminent member of the couple; “the two Molions” should hence be “Molion and his brother/companion”, with Ἀκτορίωνε figuring as a patronymic. Yet Kteatos and Eurytos too are said to be Ἀκτορίωνε, and it seems decidedly too lumbering to assign two couples of sons to an otherwise quite obscure Aktor (Kteatos and Eurytos on the one side, the Μολίονε on the other; furthermore, the reference to the second couple in the passage would be completely arbitrary). Besides, Aktor is said (*Il.* II 621, XVI 14) to be the father of Menetius’ too.

¹⁰²⁰ This inference is confirmed by Pindar too: [Herakles] Ποσειδάριον / πέφνε Κτεάτον ἀμύμονα, / πέφνε δ’ Εὐρυτιον, ὡς Αὐγέαν λάτριον / ἀέκονθ’ ἐκὼν μισθὸν ὑπέρβιον / πράσσοιτο (*O.* 10,26-30 Maehler-Snell): the heroes are furtherly called, a few verses later, Μολίονες ὑπερφίαλοι (v. 34).

In this respect, it does not seem objective to regard all passages as equally reliable. The short passage in *Iliad* XXIII seems to have been modelled *ad hoc* on the basis of an already existing episode in *Iliad* XI¹⁰²¹; Ἄκτορίωνε subsequently designates two coupled (and maybe legendary) heroes of Epean origins. The epithet Ἄκτορίωνε was probably a patronymic in origins, lately applied to any suitable couples of Augias' and Aktor's lineage, from Poseidon downwards¹⁰²². The mention in *Iliad* II reflects this extended usage of the 'once-patronymic', which comes to be treated as a bred-name. See also Μολίονε and par. 2.5.

ἀλειψαμένω. In the hendyadis τὼ δὲ λοεσσαμένω καὶ ἀλείψαμένω: the stem occurs in the same metrical position at *Il.* XIV 171, 175 (similarly, forms of *λοέω – all participles – occur in the same metrical position at *Od.* I 310, VI 96, VIII 427).

ἀλλήλουιν. The oblique dual of the reciprocal pronoun ἀλλήλουιν is desultory (4_x *Il.*: X 65, XIII 708, XVI 765, XXII 128, 3_x *Od.*: XVIII 38, XIX 384, XXI 15), whereas the direct form is entirely absent from the *Iliad* (2_x *Od.*: XXI 36, XXIII 109)¹⁰²³. As the pronoun's main function is the expression of reciprocity, its preference for oblique cases seems perfectly reasonable¹⁰²⁴. Yet the bent of the occurrences seems to suggest an increase in the use in the last stages of the poems (5_x out of 9_x in the last six books of the *Odyssey*); this tendency is consistent with the situation portrayed by tragedy, where the resort to *ἄλληλος is variously attested. The expression of reciprocity seems to have been assigned to an alternative construction in the most archaic strata of the poems. The *Iliad* in particular sees a high degree of instances of disjunctive-compounds with a -θεν suffix, such as ἀμφοτέρωθεν/ἐτέρωθεν (see *ad l.*).

¹⁰²¹ The connection of the Μολίονε to Nestor could in fact be a variant of *Il.* XI, whereas their presence could have been originally encompassed within the Heraklean saga. The *agenda* of the passage is apparent, namely the celebration of the pentathlon games, maybe with an allusion to Olympic ones.

¹⁰²² The form has hence been more loosely used as an epithet, perhaps by the paraetymology ἄγω/ἀκταίνω (see Chantraine, *DELG* 65; LSJ⁹ 59) ~ Ἄκτωρ.

¹⁰²³ Quite different is the behaviour of ἀμφοτέρω (19_x: *Il.* IV 521, V 156, V 261, VII 280, VIII 115, X 552, XII 265, XII 344, XII 357, XIII 60, XIII 783, XXIII 814, *Od.* IV 282, XI 212, XI 256, XI 319, XXIII 53, XXIII 351, XXIII 354) and ἀμφοτέρωιν (2_x: *Il.* V 207, *Od.* XX 327).

¹⁰²⁴ Such behaviour is apparent in the plural too, where 60_x accusative instances counterbalance the 75_x in oblique cases (30_x genitive, 45_x dative).

ἄλόντε: At *Il.* V 487 the dual ἄλόντε is generally explained as a distributive¹⁰²⁵. The stem-vowel is spelled long in the passage: it has been purposed to trace it back to a *ἔ(Ϝ)αλο-¹⁰²⁶. Both ἄψίς and πάναγρος are *hapax* too¹⁰²⁷. It does not seem to have been stressed how close this occurrence is to the ‘improper’ duals in the *Hymn to Apollon*: speaking to the Cretan ministers, the God orders ἰστία μὲν προῶτον κάθετον λύσαντε βοείας (*H. Hom. Ap.* 487). It seems fair that at some point the dual came to be perceived as an epicism and has been here accordingly employed. West rightly expunges vv. 487-489.

ἁμαρτήσαντε. The form, published in West’s edition, posits some problems. West (*Praef.* XXX) accepts the Aristarchean correction *ad l.* and, following Wackernagel (1916, 170), postulates that the ὁ-form is an Attic vulgarisation; yet the form ἁμαρτήσαντε is more solidly attested by the codd.¹⁰²⁸ (see also Chantraine 1953a, 16).

¹⁰²⁵ Implying ὅμεῖς καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες, Debrunner type vi; see par. 2.2.2 – «but more probably it refers to Hector and Paris» (Monro 1891, 159). Such an use is nevertheless not originary, and not consistent with the basic function of the dual – that is, to conjoin equals. The same problem is encountered at *Od.* I 38, in the variant πέμψαντε, which «could have been written only by a speaker of Attic and not later than the 5th century. If the line were essential, that would lead to valuable conclusions; this, however, is far from being the case, and the line is probably to be judged an interpolation διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐτέρως φέρεσθαι» (Bolling 1933, 300).

¹⁰²⁶ Thus many of the time-honoured readers of Homer: «ἦλω *was taken* (*Od.* 22. 230) should perhaps be written ἔάλω. The Stem *Ϝᾶλω- appears in the Moods (ἄλώω, ἀλόφην, ἀλῶναι, ἀλόυς), except in the form ἄλόντε (*Il.* 5. 487), where the metre requires ᾶ» (Monro 1891, 61). «Schulze KZ. 29, 236 f. schließt aus dem seltsamen ἄλόντε E 487 und aus dem ebenfalls seltsamen ἀλῶναι Hipponax fr. 74, 1 auf einen gleich wie im Attischen gebildeten Indikativ ἐάλων zurück» (Wackernagel 1916, 301); «mais ἐάλων n’est ni homérique ni ionien (on a toujours ἦλων) et l’on lit avec a bref ἀλοῦσα en B 374, Δ 291, etc.» (Chantraine 1953a, 18; in *DELG* 63 the author proposes instead to connect the form to lat. *salto*).

¹⁰²⁷ The adjective πάναγρος is related to ἄγρος, which never appears in the *Iliad* (LSJ⁹ 1295). For λίνου is also attested the variant λίνου(ο) (Allen); the only other occurrence of the term appears in *Od.* XIII 73 (see also the compound λινοθήρεξ in the *Catalogue*, *Il.* II 529, 830). Both Leaf (I 227f.) and Kirk (1992b, 110f.) suspect that the peculiar use of λίνου exposes the periphrasis as “un-Homeric”.

¹⁰²⁸ Namely by ms. 9 and codd. Z, Ω West.

ἀμείβεσθον. This is the only middle form of the verb in non historical tenses attested in the poems¹⁰²⁹ (yet middle endings are prevailing in the Homeric imperatives¹⁰³⁰); the form is adapted on a verse-end formulaic structure¹⁰³¹.

ἀμφοτέρωθεν. Compounds based on ἄμφω are broadly used in the poems as quantifiers to bind together two items involved in the same action; together with duality, their function is usually to express parity. The same value is sensible in the compounds ἀμφοτέρωθεν¹⁰³² and ἀμφοτέρωσε¹⁰³³, structurally on a par with ἐτέρωθεν¹⁰³⁴, ἐτερώθι¹⁰³⁵ and ἐτέρωσε¹⁰³⁶ (the stem ἐτερο- clearly expressing a disjunctive, distributive value: see *ad ll.*). Such compounds are usually referred as adverbs, namely because of their undeclinable status.

This inference is nevertheless unsatisfactory. The morphemes -θεν, -θι, -σε, which we could define allative, illative and perlative, display in the poems an ambiguous behaviour: on the one hand, they appear flecational, insofar as they merge with nominal stems in order to express change in space (even figurate); on the other hand, their applicability is strongly constrained, and the suffix itself is unchangeable – that is to say, indifferent to both number and gender¹⁰³⁷. We could hence evoke for these items an instance of ‘incomplete grammaticalisation’: the grams, once

¹⁰²⁹ Yet the stem occurs in the same metrical position (after the feminine *caesura*) at *Il.* III 171, 228, IV 403, IX 409, XIII 823, XV 684, XXIII 489, *Od.* II 83, IV 286, 382, 398, X 328, IX 272, 287, 368, X 487, 503, XI 180, 215, 563, XII 115, XVI 91, XVII 393, XXIV 285 (25_x out of 32_x total occurrences of the verb).

¹⁰³⁰ 26_x dual imperatives in the poems (5_x in the *Odyssey*): ἀποτίνετον (*Il.* VIII 186), ἄπτεισθον (*Od.* IV 60), δηριάσθον (*Il.* XXI 467?), ἔμβητρον (*Il.* XXIII 403), ἔπεισθον (*Il.* XXII 450), ἐπέσθων (*Il.* IX 170), ἐρύκεσθον (*Il.* XXIII 443), ἔρχεσθον (*Il.* I 322), ἔστων (*Il.* I 338), ἐφάρμαρτεῖτον (*Il.* VIII 191, XXIII 414), κομείτων (*Il.* VIII 109), κρινάσθων (*Od.* VIII 36), μάχεσθον (*Il.* VII 279), ὀτρύνετον (*Il.* XII 367), παύεσθον (*Od.* XXI 228), πιθέσθων (*Il.* IX 167), σπεύδετον (*Il.* VIII 191, XXIII 414), τιταίνετον (*Il.* XXIII 403), φερέσθων (*Il.* XXIII 809), φράζεσθον (*Il.* XX 115), χαίρετον (*Il.* IX 197, *Od.* IV 60, XV 151).

¹⁰³¹ Χαλεποῖσινι ἀμείψασθαι ἐπέεσσιν at *Il.* XXIII 489, ἀμείβεσθον at v. 492, ἀμείβομένω at *Od.* III 148; see also νῶι μὲν ὧς ἐπέεσσιν ἀμειβομένω στυγεροῖσιν 2_x, *Od.* XI 81, 465.

¹⁰³² *Il.* V 726, XII 55, 431, XV 313, 669, XVI 563, XVII 440, XVIII 502 (Zen Arph), XX 170, XXIII 628, *Od.* V 235, VII 113, X 88, 167, XII 58, XXI 408, XXII 80, 404.

¹⁰³³ *Il.* VIII 223, XI 6, XII 287, XVII 440 (*h T W*), XX 170 (*Did D*).

¹⁰³⁴ *Il.* I 247, III 230, V 668, VI 247, VII 311, 419, 430, VIII 55, IX 666, XI 56, 215, 647, XII 415, XIII 489, 835, XIV 388, XV 501, XVI 427, 733, 755, 763, XVII 138, XVIII 32, 243, XX 3, 51, 164, XXII 79, *Od.* VII 130, XI 83, XVI 43, XXI 368, XXII 211.

¹⁰³⁵ *Il.* V 351, XV 348, XXIII 231 (*R*), *Od.* IV 531, XII 235.

¹⁰³⁶ *Il.* IV 492, VIII 306, 308, XIII 543, XIV 18, XX 151, XXIII 231, 697, *Od.* XVI 163, 179, XIX 470, XXII 17.

¹⁰³⁷ That the lengthening is not a direct result of the process of suffixation, seems clear if we compare, for instance, with ἄμφω, whose compounds commonly use the stem *αμφο-.

bound morphemes, combine with the stem-root with no restrictions as to gender or number, that is to say, to the paradigmatic features: a clear sign that these items have not (yet?) partaken in the paradigmatisation phenomenon.

What seems relevant to our purposes is the fact that, when the phenomenon occurs with the pronominal roots ἀμφοτερο-, ἔτερο-, (ἐο-), the merge determines lengthening of the thematic vowel. The lengthening could be nothing else but the adverbial ‘ending’ of the stem-root: hence, the suffixation *via* ‘lative’ grams should occur on adverbial roots. Yet the preservation of long pre-desinential vowel could be induced also by the resemblance with the common dual ending for the *o*-stem: these pronouns carry in fact a strictly reciprocal value, borne by the suffix *τερ-. They all mean roughly ‘either the one or the other/here or there’: it is thus apparent that a semantic dual value is implied¹⁰³⁸.

ἀμφοτέρωθι, -σε. See ἀμφοτέροθεν.

ἀναΐξαντε. See also αΐξαντε.

ἀναρρήξαντε. 3_x of the verb ἀναρρήγνυμι in the poems, all aorists in the same metrical position (¹ – ~ ἀνα-; compare with *Il.* VII 461, XX 63)¹⁰³⁹.

ἀνασχομένω. Middle participles of the verb always place in this metrical location¹⁰⁴⁰.

ἄνδρε. The two semantic homologous ἄνδρε and ἀνέρε constitute suitable variants producing counteracting formulaic *iuncturae*¹⁰⁴¹; they

¹⁰³⁸ It is also given the case in which suffixation takes place via athematic suffixation: this is the case, for instance, of ἑκατέρωθεν.

¹⁰³⁹ The passage belongs to the depiction of Achilles’ shield: the topical scene of the two lions hunting their prey is in the passage enhanced (with a hint to the βοὸς μέγαλοιο βοείην in a verse-end *iunctura* which echoes tones usually reserved to heroes), being built on formulaic materials (σμερδαλέ_x 36_x, always in *incipit*: «adjectif ép. et ion. en -άλεος où il peut être associé pour le sens avec λευγαλέος, ἀργαλέος, θαρσαλέος, etc.», Chantraine, *DELG* 1026) and in conformity with the widespread use within similes; see also λέοντε.

¹⁰⁴⁰ That is, ¹ – ~ ἀνα- 12_x (2_x of which in the dual, *Il.* XXIII): *Il.* III 362, XI 594, XII 138, XV 298, XVII 234, XXII 34, XXIII 660, 686, *Od.* XIV 425, XVIII 95, 100, XIX 448.

belong to the huge store of epithets the rhapsod resort to (see also *παῖδε, υῖε*, etc.). The noun is almost ever accompanied by the quantifier¹⁰⁴² (see par. 2.2.2 and 2.3).

ἀντιάσητον. The verb ἀντιάζω always occurs in the aorist and in verse-end¹⁰⁴³ (ἀντιόω appears in principal tenses¹⁰⁴⁴). The form represents one of the scarce subjunctive duals in the poems¹⁰⁴⁵.

ἀνώγετον. The form derives from the perfect stem ἀνώγα (see par. 1.3 and Monro 1891, 30; Ruijgh 1957, 128f.; Chantraine, *DELG* 94¹⁰⁴⁶).

ἄξαντε. The participle is, at *Il.* XVI 370, used in relation to πολλοὶ ἵπποι. Monro (1891, 159) proposed to read in the form a dual induced by the horses being in couples, with a distributive value ('group of pairs': type vi according to Debrunner, see par. 2.2.2). It seems in the passage more plausible to assume that the apocope hides a neuter plural – either referred to the horses as a collective, with unusual (but not impossible) gender default agreement, or to the carriage(s), with

¹⁰⁴¹ See, for instance, the two possible combinations with the adjective ἄριστος, a) ἄνδρε δύο περὶ τῶνδε κελεύομεν ὅ περ ἀρίστω (2_x, *Il.* XXIII 659, 802) and b) ἀνέρε δήμου ἀρίστω, in *clausola* (2_x, *Il.* XI 328, XII 447).

¹⁰⁴² Except for *Il.* XI 432, where the noun is nevertheless accompanied by the demonstrative τοιῶδε, in relation to two already mentioned individuals (the brothers Karopos and Sokos). The same is true for ajnevre: the only occasions in which the quantifier is distant (but is nonetheless present in the preceding/former verse) is when dealing with two brothers (*Il.* XI 328, Hippodamon and Hypeirochon; XVII 377, Thrasymedes and Antilochus).

¹⁰⁴³ Except for *Il.* XXIV 62 (ἀντιάσθε, with *diectasis*) and *Od.* XXII 28 (ἀντιάσεις, in the second metre). It is to be noticed that the verb is attested 4_x in the optative, always in verse-end (*Il.* XIII 290, *Od.* XII 88, XIII 292, XXI 402).

¹⁰⁴⁴ Both the verbs are denominatives from ἀντί (see Chantraine, *DELG* 92).

¹⁰⁴⁵ In a total amount of 10_x (1_x in the *Odyssey*): ἐθέλητον (*Il.* IV 346, V 233), ἐποτρύνητον (*Il.* VI 83), ἐρίζητον (*Il.* XII 423), ἔχητον (*Il.* XVII 445), γνῶτον (*Od.* XXI 218), λίπησθον (*Il.* XXIII 407), νεμεσᾶτον (*Il.* XXIII 494), πέσητον (*Il.* XI 325), φέρητον (*Il.* XIII 199). In our passage (*Il.* XII 356, within the *Τευχομαχία*) the form refers to the two Αἴαντε, repeatedly addressed in the dual by the herald Toos. Interestingly enough, the direct speech, opening with the canonical Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἡγήτορε, is somehow abruptly interrupted by the principal (v. 355) and then resumed, again in the dual (ὄφρα... ἀντιάσητον | ἀμφοτέρω).

¹⁰⁴⁶ In particular, Chantraine (*ibid.*) attests Homeric formations from a newly coined present ἀνώγω: that this is not the case, seems proved by the internal consistence of the regarded verses (*Il.* IV 286, σφῶϊ μὲν... οὐ τι κελεύω would hardly be followed by an imperative; v. 287 continues αὐτὸ γὰρ μάλα λαὸν ἀνώγετον ἴφι μάχεσθαι, with a resultative value).

anacoluthon. Anyway, it is apparent here a clumsy attempt to adapt the *incipit* formula ἄξαντ' ἐν πρώτῳ ῥυμῶ (Il. VI 40)¹⁰⁴⁷.

ἀπαλθήσεσθον. The syntax of Il. VIII 405 is tricky: after menacing Athena and Hera willing to join the battle, Zeus pledges that not even in ten years ἔλκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον, ἃ κεν μάρπτῃσι κεραυνός¹⁰⁴⁸. If the verb refers to Athena and Hera – as we would expect, given the dual – the accusative ἔλκεα is slightly inappropriate. We could hence assume that the verb governs an accusative of relation, or otherwise that the verse is affected by semantic agreement¹⁰⁴⁹.

ἀπειλήτην. Verb with 'Aeolic vocalisation' (Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 214f.; Schwyzer, GG I 667; par. 1.3)¹⁰⁵⁰. Monro remarks that these forms are perfectly consistent with cases of non-thematic forms in which a vowel preceding the ending is long except before -ντ and -ι (e.g. inf. κίχη-μέναι)¹⁰⁵¹. Such long vowel should allegedly be long by nature (according to an ancient proposal by Curtius). Yet the occurrence of long pre-vocalic vowels in clearly thematic roots seems quite a coincidence at the least. It seems rather amenable to postulate a case of

¹⁰⁴⁷ The present participle ἄγοντε is found once, at Il. XII 330, in verse-end; present participles from the stem ἄγ- occur in this metrical location in 12_x over 19_x total instances. See also Janko 1992, 363.

¹⁰⁴⁸ The tense of the verb itself is a complex one, expressing a conditional future shaped by κεν, with implicit prothasis ('if this happens'; see also Kirk 1992b 330).

¹⁰⁴⁹ It seems nonetheless certain that the verb refers to the two goddesses, and not to the wounds; in this second case, we should justify the unique structure of the verb, bearing an almost passive meaning. It is striking already that the verb, quite isolated in the poems (3_x: ἄλθετο, Il. V 417, and ἀπαλθήσετον, Il. VIII 405, 419), eagerly appears in the future, despite Chantraine's view that this tense represents one of the forms «les plus anciennes» (DELG 60). We may otherwise think of a formula, borrowed by a context in which two specific wounds were more pertinent.

¹⁰⁵⁰ «The following Homeric forms are usually regarded as instances of 'irregular contraction.' of verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω: (-αω): συναντή-την *met*, συλή-την *spoiled*, προσσαυδή-την *spoke to*, φοιτή-την *went about* [...]; (-εω): ἀπειλή-την *threatened*, ὀμαρτή-την *met* [...]. These forms cannot be explained by the ordinary contraction with the thematic ε or ο: e.g. *φοιτή-την cannot come from *φοιταετην» (Monro 1891, 20).

¹⁰⁵¹ «On the other hand, as Curtius has shown, they agree exactly with those Non-Thematic forms in which the vowel before the Ending is long except before -ντ and -ι, such as the present κίχη-μέναι, ἀή-μέναι, and (as we may add by anticipation) the Passive Aorists in -ην and -θην. [...] These facts seem to show that the formation now in question is of high antiquity, and Curtius even maintained that it was older than the ordinary conjugation of the verbs in -αω, -εω, -οω. In these verbs, as he pointed out, there is evidence to show that the vowel before the thematic ending was originally long» (Monro, *ibid.*).

‘deviant’ contraction, which issues *-η for *-εε or *-αε (instead of *-ει, *-ᾶ required by ordinary rules)¹⁰⁵².

ἀποκηδήσαντε. The verb is a *hapax* in the poems. Semantically it can be connected to ἀκηδέω (~ ἀκηδής; see Chantraine, *DELG* 522f.), although its formation is likely to be secondary to κῆδος and the adjective κηδέος (*hapax* at *Il.* XXIII 160). The passage is interesting, insofar as the form appears pronounced by Antilochus in relation to his horses¹⁰⁵³, who are ennobled for the sake of the situation¹⁰⁵⁴.

¹⁰⁵² We may otherwise suppose, with Wackernagel (*ibid.*), that the contraction belongs to an earlier (pre-Hellenic) period. Wathelet (1970, 333), following Chantraine (1953a, 306), suggests a different interpretation: «il s’agit d’un verbe en -εω, athématique et, dans ce cas, c’est un trait mixte achéen et éolien, ou bien thématique e h masque la contraction lesbienne de ε + ε. On aurait ainsi une graphie éolienne».

¹⁰⁵³ Which are, predicably, two: it seems hence superfluous to postulate, with Ameis-Hentze, that ἀποκηδήσαντε implies ἐγὼ καὶ ὑμεῖς, as in Debrunner’s type viii ($x + 1 = 2$; see par. 2.2.2). such interpretation is offered by Richardson too, 1992, 217, who is concerned with the “odd” agreement between φερόμεθα and ἀποκηδήσαντε. «Leaf condemned it as ‘too far-fetched’ [*i.e.* the distributive explanation], and gave what I consider the fundamentally correct explanation [...]. Antilochus begins by placing the blame upon the horses, but includes himself finally in the failure: ‘if you two losing heart (get the worse prize)’, ‘if you two losing heart, we get the worse prize’» (Bolling 1933, 300). The ‘agreement’ problem appears in the end to be a ‘faux problème’, as the verb do not need agree with the participle (ἀποκηδήσαντε, you two horses: φερόμεθα, we, the ‘team’). Once again, it shall be remarked that the Homeric language is by nature progressive, undergoing modification during the process of oral production.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *Iliad* XXIII is interesting in this respect, as it deliberately echoes some successful expedients used elsewhere in the poems: the scene immediately reminds of the ‘humanised’ speaking horses of Achilles’ (*Il.* XIX 408-417). Another innovative trait of the book is the emphasis assigned to Antilochus was to become Achilles’ elided companion in the *Aethiopsis*: μείδησεν δὲ ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς / χαίρων Ἀντιλόχῳ, ὅτι οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἑταῖρος (XXIII 556f.). The rhapsode was possibly accustomed with the preminent role played by the hero in *Aethiopsis*, with which the episode would establish a consequential link. Another interesting trait is represented by the characterisation of Menelaos’ figure, usually depicted as, even if not young, an ‘immature’ hero, foreshadowed by his brother figure (*e.g.* *Il.* III 204-224, Antenor in the *Τευκοσκοπία*, *Il.* VII 94-122, the «quixotic» – as to Kirk 1992b, 230 – resolution to duelling with Hektor, etc.). In the funeral games Menelaos’ role counterbalances Antilochus’, who is the new archetype of the young hero. Perhaps we can read in this depiction an attempt to sketch a chronological development within the poem itself, with the young and daring Menelaos of the beginning turned in a wise and solid king towards the end of the poem.

ἀποκριθέντε. The verb is a *hapax* in the poems. Nevertheless, passive (dual) participles from the stem of κρίνω are well represented (5_x, 4_x of which in the dual)¹⁰⁵⁵.

ἀπομορξάμενω. The form is a *hapax*: it constitutes a clash between the *incipit* δάκρυ ὁμορξάμενος/-ον (3_x: *Il.* XVIII 124, *Od.* VIII 88, XI 530) and the *clausola* ἀπομόρξατο δάκρυ (2_x: *Il.* II 269, *Od.* XVII 304)¹⁰⁵⁶.

ἀποτίνετον. The verb is found in a peculiar passage (*Il.* VIII 185f.), where an imperative is used to address two couples (type vii by Debrunner, see par. 2.2.2)¹⁰⁵⁷. The plural *ἀποτίνετε would imply hiatus¹⁰⁵⁸. The use of a dual in such context is surely atypical, but it does not appear ‘out of order’, as one of the chief functions of the category is to express strictly paired, homologous items – and such description would surely apply to two spans of horses. Besides, the dual is not a random choice, as it appears again at v. 191 (ἐφομαρτεῖτον καὶ σπεύδετον). The circumstances are nonetheless extraordinary, for the horses – who are usually expected to be in just one pair – are reminiscent of the Mares of Thrace, namely

¹⁰⁵⁵ On a total of 14_x passive participles in the poems (3_x εὐνηθέντε, 1_x στρεφθέντε, 1_x βλαφθέντε, 1_x ἐφορμηθέντε, 1_x μεταστρεφθέντε, 1_x καταθέντε, 1_x ἐπιθέντε, 1_x ἐπιδινηθέντε). As regards compounds of κρίνω, 1_x ἀποκριθέντε (*Il.* V 12), 2_x διακριθέντε (*Il.* VII 306, XX 212), 1_x κριθέντε (*Od.* VIII 48, but the passage is controversial, see *ad l.*; besides, all the other dual occurrences present in the metrical location ¹–~ ἀπο-). As for ¹–~διακριθέντε, Homer consistently builds passive forms on a theme *διακριθε- (9_x *κριθε-, vs. Ionic-Attic διακριθείς); «les formes son constituées d’après l’analogie des aoristes en -άνθεν des verbes en -αίνω» (Chantraine 1953a, 112; *DELG* 584).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Yet the stem seems ancient (see rad. forms (ἀπ)ομόργνω, *Il.* V 416, 798, XVIII 414), despite the opacity of its etymology (~ ἄμολγος? ἀμέργω? See also Chantraine, *DELG* 799).

¹⁰⁵⁷ The theme occurs 18_x in the poems (5_x in the *Iliad*, 13_x in the *Odyssey*). The future of τίνω is unknown to the *Iliad*, except for I 128f., αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ / τριπλῆ τετραπλῆ τ’ ἀποτείσομεν, where the variant ἀποτίσομεν (papp. 56, 524, *schol.* h139⁶³⁶ and codd. **Z** and **Ω** West) seems more appropriate (read “we Achaeans three and four times will be honoured (τίω)”, the middle value being borne by the future, instead of “we Achaeans three and four times will avenge (τίνω) (her)”, with the object (Chryseid) unexpressed; the verb is rarely to be found in an intransitive use); confusion between the forms of τίω (< *τι- ~ τιμάω, see *LSJ*⁹ 1795f., 1800) and τίνω (< *τει-/*τι-) is nonetheless variously attested in the codd. (see Chantraine, *DELG* 1123). In the *Odyssey*, the future of τίνω usually carries a negative shade (to repay > to pay back), as in the *iuncturae* ὑπερβασίην ἀποτεῖσαι (*Od.* XIII 193; XXII 64, 168) and βίας ἀποτεῖσεται (ἐλθών) (*Od.* III 216, XI 118, XVI 255, XVII 540). The form ἀποτινέμεν appears in the same metrical position at *Il.* III 286, 459), both times with an accusative τιμῆν: the value is the same expressed in the interested passage, where the verb might be glossed as ἀποτιμάω (see *LSJ*⁹ 223, s. v. II 1).

¹⁰⁵⁸ P. Fay 210 (= West 198) bears α]π[ο]τεινε[τον *ad l.*; ἀποτίνετον is nonetheless preferable in sense.

Podagros, Lampon, Deimos and Xanthos: as we can see, only the third one differs¹⁰⁵⁹ (but Δεῖμος would not have been allowed by the metre)¹⁰⁶⁰. Hektor, self ordained ‘Herakles’ of the scene, is about to face another Diomedes: the echo is explicit. Besides, we could postulate that the horses involved are just two: if so, the verb would be in the appropriate number, and the epithets, two for each horse, would be reduplicated in order to enhance the scene¹⁰⁶¹.

ἀποτμήξαντε. The genitive λαοῦ is suspect; 2_x the aorist participle 1 – ἀποτμήξας (*Il.* XXII 456, *Od.* X 440; see also ἀποτμέξαντες at *Il.* XI 468).

ἄρθμήσαντε. The verb ἄρθμέω is dubiously connected by Chantraine (*DELG* 101f.) to ἄραρίσκω, as a denominative of ἄρθμός. The form is a *hapax* (see also Kirk 1992 II 275).

ἀριζήλω. The adjective appears within the description of Achilles’ shield, referring (together with χρυσεῖω, χαλῶ, μέγάλω: vv. 517f.) to Ares and Athena¹⁰⁶², peculiarly said to be manifest ὅ τε θεῶ περ. The form is built over the augmentative prefix ἀρι- and δηλόω (Chantraine 1953a 169, *DELG* 108).

ἀρίστω. The form is chiefly formulaic, being a fixed epithet for ἄνδρε/άνερε: 2_x ἄνερε δήμου ἀρίστω (*Il.* XI 328, XII 447); 2_x ἄνδρε δύω... ὅ περ ἀρίστω (*Il.* XXIII 659, 802). Etymology possibly connected to the prefix *ἀρι- and *αραρίσκω (Chantraine, *DELG* 106f.).

Ἄτρειδα. Even though not so widespread as Αἴαντε is, the associative dual Ἄτρειδα is dependable in the *Iliad*; apart from the two epithets

¹⁰⁵⁹ The name Αἴθων may however be attracted by the presence of Πόδαργος: Αἴθη and Πόδαργος are elsewhere linked together as the names of the Atreidai’s horses (*Il.* XXIII 295, 409, 525).

¹⁰⁶⁰ All the names are nevertheless canonical, both in their genealogy and metrical placement: compare with *Il.* XIX 400, Ξανθε τε καὶ Βαλία τηλεκλυτὰ τέκνα Ποδάργης (Ξάνθος in *incipit* at *Il.* XVI 149f., XIX 420 too). Λάμπος seems to be inbred in the Trojan peerage (unrestrained to horses: *Il.* III 147, XV 526, XX 238; see also *Od.* XXIII 246).

¹⁰⁶¹ A problem of this hypothesis relies in the copulative καὶ linking the two parts of the verse: were the epithets in asyndetic coordination (Ξάνθε τε καὶ σὺ Πόδαργε, - Αἴθων Λάμπε τε δῖε) the syntax would have appeared more persuasive, as all the names would have figured as appositions.

¹⁰⁶² «The only distinctive Hellenic touch in the shield» (see Leaf II 307, 608).

Ἄκτορίωνε and Μολίονε, whose nature is dubious, and to some extent the Sirens (see *ad l.*), Ἀτρείδα is the only associative dual in the poems (see par. 2.5). This kind of constructions, where an associative dual is built by means of a patronimic, proves well attested in Attic too¹⁰⁶³. Chantraine (1953a, 19) observes that this dual «pourrait être un éolisme»¹⁰⁶⁴; Wackernagel (1916, 217) believes that it is an Attic infiltration in the text¹⁰⁶⁵. Such conjecture seems debatable, as associatives built on the patronimic do not appear to be a typical Attic feature (on the contrary, the parodic Ἀχαρνίδα in Ar. *Ach.* 322 denounces the form as a high register device)¹⁰⁶⁶; the form alternates with the plural, as the semantic value of the patronimic is overriding in respect to the semantic value of the dual feature¹⁰⁶⁷. Furthermore, as it has been more extensively shown in par 2.4, the adoption of the dual competes in Attic with the introduction of a new strategy to express strictly bond pairs, of which the two Atreidai represent the chief expression.

αὐτοκασίγνητω. This is the only occurrence of the form in the dual (7_x, always in *incipit*); the Homeric lexicon prefers other terms to express

¹⁰⁶³ The associative patronymic for the Atreidai (usually in the plural) appears 7_x in Aeschylus, 28_x in Sophocles, 17_x in Euripides and never in Aristophanes (the dual Ἀτρείδαῖν occurs only in Eur. *IT* 898: see parr. 2.4 and 2.5). See also Τυνδαρίδα (Eur. *El.* 1295) and παῖδες Τυνδαρίδα (Eur. *Hel.* 1486; with a curious metronymic, the epithet refers to the two Dioscouroi, Helen's σωτήρη, v. 1500).

¹⁰⁶⁴ As far as the form's metrical shape is concerned, it is to be remarked that «un patronyme **Ἀτρήιδης étant métriquement exclu, on a créé par 'abrègement' Ἀτρείδης» (1953a, 105).

¹⁰⁶⁵ «Wo nicht die episch traditionelle Zweiheit von Nachkommen des Atreus zu bezeichnen ist, Agamemnon und Menelaos, sondern eine vom Dichter neu konstruierte, da greift er sofort zum Dual» (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁶⁶ He adduces as a further argument the fact that the full declination of the label is shaped by Attic: «Eigentümlich ist auch die Beschränkung auf den Nominativ und Akkusativ. Es heißt stets Ἀτρείδης Ἀτρείδῃσι(v). Ist der Dual der 1. Deklination nachträglicher Attizismus, begreift mans: für -ῃσι(v) ließ sich -αῖν gar nicht einsetzen, und von -ῃσ' lag es zu weit ab. Wenn die in einem Scholion überlieferte Variante Ἰππασίδῃσιν zu Λ 431 δοιοῖσιν ἐπεύξει Ἰππασίδῃσιν wirklich mehr sein sollte als ein alter Schreibfehler, so kann sie nur einen aus irgend einem Spätlingkopf entsprungenen Kompromiß zwischen -ῃσιν und -αῖν darstellen. Echt kann die Form keinesfalls sein. Ionisch kann sie nicht sein, weil die Ionier keinen Dual besaßen; und eine äolische Form, etwa -αῖν oder -αῖν, hätte man nicht zu -ῃν ionisiert» (*ibid.*). The parallel seems nevertheless too strained; The two Atreidai are not frequently attested in the plural, but the form is supported by other dual pairings such as Αἴαντε, Μολίονε and Ἄκτορίωνε – with no need to adduce textual problems. Besides, there are no restrictions to an Attic innovated declination, built on an archaic – Homeric – dual form.

¹⁰⁶⁷ As predictable, since the original function of the formation is collectivising, regardless to the number of the heirs: see for instance, only in Tragedy, Αἰακίδα (Eur. *Rh.* 240), Δαναΐδα (Eur. *Suppl.* 130, *IT* 359, *Or.* 933, *IA* 352), Ἐρεχθείδα (Eur. *Med.* 824), Θησεΐδα (Eur. *Tro.* 31), Πελοπίδα (Eur. *Hel.* 1242), Πρωταμίδα (Aesch. *Ag.* 537, Eur. *Hel.* 358f.).

brotherhood¹⁰⁶⁸. The passage is slightly awkward, as the brief mention of the two absent twins abruptly closes the *Τευχοσκοπία*, with an impromptu interference by the narrator (vv. 243f.). At v. 238, *αὐτοκασιγνήτω* is hemmed by the masculine caesura, and followed by the almost ‘glossing’ phrase *τὸ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ*¹⁰⁶⁹: «le mot est devenu un équivalent “poétique” de ἀδελφός, mais certains emplois homériques indiquent que ἀδελφός peut désigner le frère, et le cousin germain du côté mâle, ce qui constitue un archaïsme, voir notamment *Il.* 15,545» (Chantraine, *DELG* 503).

ἀχνυμένω. The epithet is strictly formulaic: 3_x ἀχνυμένω κῆρ, in *clausola* (*Il.* XIX 57, XXIII 284, 443), to be compared with ἀχνυμεν_x κῆρ 13_x, and ἀχνυμεν_x περ, 23_x¹⁰⁷⁰.

βαλέτην. The form appears just once, at *Il.* V 574. In the section, various pairs of heroes follow one another in close succession, as if they were mutually ‘attracted’; as coupled heroes are a highly canonical epic feature, it might be assumed that each one of them triggered the following, as a sort of ‘semantic’ (and, in turn, morphological) clustering¹⁰⁷¹. The incipit of *Il.* V 574, τὸ μὲν ἄρα δειλῶ

¹⁰⁶⁸ In particular, this is the only term expressing reciprocity, whereas the patrilinear and genealogic perspective is preferred: hence, couples of brothers are named after the father, if not even to the forefather (see Ἀκτορίωνε); we never find in the poems terms such as **ἀδελφώ, **συγγενῆ (or **συγγενέε); the stem of *ajdelfovs* is relatively scarce in singular and plural too). Such terms are well established in Attic (ἀδελφώ, ἀδελφά, κασιγνήτω, ξυγγενεῖ, etc.).

¹⁰⁶⁹ The verb (ἐ)γείνατο appears in the same metrical position 15_x; γείνατο μήτηρ in *clausola*, 10_x. The construction is nonetheless synesthetic, as the dative is properly an ethical one; yet the meaning is transparent.

¹⁰⁷⁰ In particular, ⁵ἀχνυμέν_x κῆρ (*Il.* VII 428, 431, XIX 57, XXIII 165, 284, 443, XXIV 773, *Od.* X 67, XII 153, 250, 270, XXII 188, XXIV 420); ²ἀχνυμεν_x περ (*Il.* II 270, XIII 419, *Od.* VII 297), ⁴ἀχνυμεν_x περ (*Il.* VIII 125, 317, XII 178, XV 133, XVII 459, *Od.* IV 549, 553), ⁵ἀχνυμεν_x περ (*Il.* I 241, 588, XV 561, XVIII 112, XIX 8, 65, XXII 424, XXIV 523, *Od.* IV 104, VIII 478, X 174, XVI 147XXI 250); see also ¹ἀχνυμένη περὶ 2_x (*Od.* XI 388, XXIV 21).

¹⁰⁷¹ The first two couples are represented by the two Ajaxes, and Odysseus and Diomedes (v. 519), rousing the Achaeans to the battle. Meanwhile, Aeneas kills the twin sons of Diocles, Orsilochus and Crethon (vv. 541-550), serving the two Atreidai (552) and suddenly compared to two lions; vv. 541-560 display a strikingly high degree of agreement, all forms referred to the twins being invariably in the dual (see λέοντε). Next, Menelaos and Antilochus appear, fighting together (v. 560ff.): the dual is employed first with a reciprocal value, to define Antilochus and Aeneas facing each other (vv. 568-570), then with an inclusive value, defining Antilochus and Menelaos acting together (vv. 572-576). Eventually, Hektor kills a last couple of heroes, Menesthes and Anchialus (vv. 607-610).

βαλέτην, demands the final vowel in ἄρα to be scanned long¹⁰⁷². The initial sequence ¹–μὲν ἄρα is elsewhere followed by a group *muta cum liquida*, to allow alpha to be scanned long (compare e.g. with *Il.* XII 131, XVI 597, XXIII 200; *Od.* XII 134).

βάτην. Beside (ἐ)βήτην with full-lengthened root vowel, the poems also attest βάτην, «avec un ᾶ ancien très curieux» (Meillet 1918, 163), with no sensible divarication in frequency¹⁰⁷³. Except for this form, the aorist always presents in the lengthened degree *βη-. Rix (1976, 214) states that βάτην should have been created *ad hoc* on the basis of the root-vowel of the present. According to Ruijgh (1978, 306), who does not believe that the dual is vital anymore in the poems, it is far more plausible that a dual form has been inherited than created by analogy, even more if the result of such creation is morphologically ambiguous¹⁰⁷⁴. It seems hence plausible for the form to be a mere allomorph «avec une trace d’alternance dans le duel, thème βᾱ-/βα- (*gwe₂- / *gw₂-)» (Chantraine 1984, 161), offering a suitable metrical variant – despite (ἐ)βήτην perfectly accommodating within the hexameter¹⁰⁷⁵.

βήτην.

See βάτην.

¹⁰⁷² The phrase has a euphemistic value for ‘dead’ according to Leaf (I, 233), or an even stronger one, according to Kirk (1992b, 117), as «δειλός in Homer always has a strongly pathetic ring».

¹⁰⁷³ As regards βήτην, the form appears 12_x (8_x *Il.*, 4_x *Od.*; augmented only at *Il.* VI 40), whereas βάτην appears 8_x (7_x *Il.*, 1_x *Od.*, always without augment); unsurprisingly, in all these occurrences *-ᾶ is metrically constrained (second short vowel of the feet). «Taken at face value, βάτην seems to be an archaic form that is likely to prove inherited zero-grade root allomorphy at least for the dual» (*ibid.*; see also Bammesberger 1982, 48). Yet it would be curious for such root-alternance to show up only in the dual, and not in the singular. Notice that the only augmented occurrence of ἐβήτην occurs in verse-end just as ἐδύτην (see *ad l.*), with which the form also shares the same metrical shape.

¹⁰⁷⁴ «A notre avis, cette forme de duel est plus ancienne; noter que le duel avait déjà disparu dans l’ionien contemporain d’Homère. En effet, βά-την est parallèle à ἐ-τέ-την, ἐ-δό-την, ἐ-φά-την etc. (cf. aussi des formes moyennes telles que σύ-το, χύ-το, βλή-το < *g^{wh}l₁-to). On peut conclure que le degré zéro est ancien dans l’indicatif tant de l’aoriste radical que du présent radical au duel et au pluriel, et au moyen» (*ibid.* 306).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Thus according to P. M. Wilson (PhD thesis, 1993) quoted by Malzahn (2004, 55f.); she nevertheless objects that there are only two other – and debatable – cases of metrical shortening of a vowel in verbs, namely in the allomorphs ὑπέρβασαν/(ἔ)βῆσαν/(ἔ)βάν and ἔστασαν/(ἔ)στῆσαν. The augmented ἐβήτην occurs just once, at *Il.* VI 40, where the augment is required by metre.

βλαφθέντε. Just once, at *Il.* VI 39; the passage presents some metrical difficulty¹⁰⁷⁶.

βλεφάροιν. The form is one of the scarce instances of indirect nominal cases. For its ‘distributive’ use in *Il.* X 187, see par. 2.2.2; the *locum* accomplishes the formulaic segment ⁴—βλεφάρου_{xx} ~ ⁶—=, well established throughout the poems (*Il.* XXIV 637, *Od.* II 398, V 271, 493, VIII 522, XII 338, XIII 79, XIX 590, XX 54, XX 86, XXIII 17), often in conjunction with the phrase νήδυμος ὕπνος. The other occurrence of the form, *Od.* XVII 490, is instead in *clausola* – a *unicum* for the term.

βόε. Twice in the poems, in the formula βόε οἴνοπε πηχτὸν ἄροτρον (*Il.* XIII 703, *Od.* XIII 32). In the first passage, the bull are metaphorically compared to the two Ajaxes, as if in a yoke¹⁰⁷⁷: as Wackernagel (1877) has shown, the whole passage should have originally referred to Ajax and Teucer, whose battle technique seems more appropriate to the context¹⁰⁷⁸: see par. 2.5.

γεγάτην. The form is interesting under many respects: it is one of the few occurrences of dual pluperfects in the poems¹⁰⁷⁹, and it is athematic, built on a zero-grade stem root¹⁰⁸⁰. This peculiarity is nonetheless shared by other

¹⁰⁷⁶ At v. 39, both ὄζω and μυρικίνω should undergo ‘correction’; the adjective μυρικίνος, on the other hand, should be scanned with first iota long (an interference might have been played by the noun μυρίκη, see *Il.* X 466f., XXI 18; besides, masculine and neuter forms of the adjective would hardly enter the hexameter). Apart from these difficulties, verses 39f. present with a markedly spondaic rhythm, which seems curiously in contrast with the frantic escape of the horses.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Interesting is also the epithet of the two βόε, οἴνοπε, and its position: as a simple adjective, οἴνοψ is a specific quality of the sea (οἴνοπ_x πόντ_x in verse-end 12_x): otherwise, we only find it within compounds (οἴνοπέδος, οἴνοπληθής, οἴνοποτάζειν, οἴνοποτήρ). This is the only variation to these patterns. Besides, ‘wine-coloured’ is not the first epithet one would pick for oxes; in the formula it lends an idea of amity and fertility, evoking ploughing and sowing altogether.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Yet, in the passage, the main characters are clearly specified in Ajax Telamon and Oileus (vv. 701f.), and it is not possible to individuate strong textual *caesurae*; attempts to make sense of a largely ambiguous construction must have been made since the most archaic stages of composition.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Only three certain forms (we are hereby excluding the alleged cases of ‘perfects with secondary endings’, e.g. εἶκτην): γεγάτην (and ἐκγεγάτην), πεπέσθην, τετάσθην.

¹⁰⁸⁰ «Le plus-que-parfait actif présente de plus graves difficultés. La langue épique offre au pluriel et au duel quelques formes athématiques comparables à celles du parfait [...]: duel γεγάτην (x 138) de γέγονα» (Chantraine 1984, 201).

pluperfects, such *πεπύσθην*, and *τετάσθην*¹⁰⁸¹; lack of thematic vowel and Ablaut may hence constitute archaic means to characterise the pluperfect – and distinguish it from the perfect, also considering their overlap in the endings (see par. 1.2).

γῶτον. A *hapax* (*Od.* XXI 218), the form is a contracted subjunctive (Chantraine 1953a, 56f.)¹⁰⁸². See also *πιστωθῆτον*.

γῦπε. The passage has been much debated, appearing suspect to many commentators: «Sie haben aber auch gelegentlich, weil ihnen das lebendige Gefühl für die Gebrauchs-sphäre des Duals abging, ihn mit Übertreibung verwendet» (Wackernagel 1916, 215)¹⁰⁸³. Still, the proposal by Debrunner (1927, 19; see also par. 2.1.1) to interpret *γῦπε*¹⁰⁸⁴ as a distributive dual seems perfectly acceptable: besides, distributive usages (*σχῆμα Ἀλκμανικόν*) are widely attested throughout the poems.

¹⁰⁸¹ Peculiar is the position of *εἴκτην*, as we will enhance (see *ad l.*), as the form appears to be a perfect, though showing athematic inflection and secondary endings; it is hence possible that such characteristics originally defined the *praeteritum* rather than a specific tense of it (see also *μέματον*). Besides, *εἴκτην* is an extremely reliable and rather archaic form, whose structure is surely dependable.

¹⁰⁸² The subjunctive is generally rare (in the dual), 15x: *ἀντιάσητον* (*Il.* XII 356), *γῶτον* (*Od.* XXI 218); *ἐθέλητον* (*Il.* IV 346; V 233); *ἔλκητον* (*Od.* XIII 32); *ἐπιβῆτον* (*Od.* XXIII 52); *ἐποτρύνητον* (*Il.* VI 83); *ἐρίζητον* (*Il.* XII 423); *ἔχητον* (*Il.* XVII 445, *Od.* VI 183); *λίπησθον* (*Il.* XXIII 407); *νεμεσᾶτον* (*Il.* XXIII 494); *παρστέητον* (*Od.* XVIII 183); *πέσητον* (*Il.* XI 325); *πιστωθῆτον* (*Od.* XXI 218); *φέρητον* (*Il.* XIII 199).

¹⁰⁸³ «Eine Ausnahme bietet Homer λ 578, wo es in der Schilderung der Büsser im Hades heisst γῦπε δὲ μιν... ἦπαρ ἔχειρον ‚zwei Geier frassen an seiner Leber‘. Es ist kein gegebenes Paar, sondern eine beliebige Zweiheit, es sollte heissen δύο γῦπε. Wieder handelt es sich um eine ganz späte Einlage; ein Dichter hat sie verfasst, für den der Dual etwas Totes war, und hat da den Gebrauch des Duals übertrieben» (Wackernagel 1926, 84). Such *threnchant* a judgement may have been influenced by the collocation itself of the dual, in Minos' Hades; as the verses have been suspected of being a late addition, the vultures followed down the same cline: «der umgekehrte Fall, bloßes γῦπε ‚2 (beliebige) Geier‘ λ 578, statt δύο γῦπε, ist wohl fälschlicher Archaismus» (Schwyzer, GG II 49); Of a different opinion Bolling (1933, 305): «the criticism of λ 578 does not seem justified. The poet has not said ‘two vultures’ which would be γῦπε δύο but ‘a pair of vultures’, because he imagines them either to be mates, or to be united by Zeus into a team (cf. ἵππω) for the purpose of this punishment. There is no occasion to interpret as ‘a pair of vultures on each side’ (2 × 2), cf. χ 181 τὸ δ’ ἔσταν ἑκαθέρετε παρὰ σταθμοῖσι μένοντε».

¹⁰⁸⁴ A *hapax*, although the plural appears 6x (once dat.), in the verse-end formulaic type ἐνθάδε γῦπες ἔδονται 2x / κύνες καὶ γῦπες ἔδονται 2x.

δαμέντε. 2_x, both in clausola (*Il.* V 559, XVI 326): the dual is a variation on the *iunctura* (χείρσσιν) ὕπ' 4-- 5-- δαμέντες (see also *Il.* X 310, 397, XI 821)¹⁰⁸⁵.

δειλώ. Once at *Il.* V 574, in a dense and 'dual-sensitive' passage (see βαλέτην), and 2_x ᾄ δειλώ, in *incipit* (*Il.* XVII 443, *Od.* XXI 86); see the well spread ¹ᾄ δειλ_x 5_x (*Il.* XI 441, 452, 816, XVI 387, XVII 201, XXIV 518, *Od.* X 431, XI 618, XIV 361, XVIII 389, XX 351, XXI 288).

δηριάσθων. From δηριάομαι, a denominative of δηρίξ¹⁰⁸⁶; the form appears in its 'proper' metrical place, in *clausola* (compare with δηριάσθαι, at *Il.* XVI 96 and XVII 734, δηριθήτην, 3rd dual¹⁰⁸⁷, at *Il.* XVI 656 and δηριάσθων, 3rd dual?, at *Il.* XXI 467). Interestingly enough, 3_x out of 7_x total occurrences of the verb are in the dual, a trait which might be due to the inner reciprocal value of the stem-root.

διακρινθέντε. See ἀποκρινθέντε.

διαστήτην. The first dual form of the poems (*Il.* I 6) has a strong evocative power, as it breeds the first characterisation of the two main responsables of the μῆνιν, Agamemnon and Achilles. The verse-end *iunctura* διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε is highly emblematic itself: the inclusive function of the dual and the static value of the verb ἴστημι are contrasted – and denied – by the reciprocal prefix δια- and the

¹⁰⁸⁵ The formulaic phrase is built on the verb in tmesis (χερσί) ὑπο-δάμνημι, with a passive value (a well attested use in the poems, despite Chantraine, «rares les formes à préverbes», *DELG* 250): see *Il.* IV 479, V 564, 563, X 452, XI 444 (= XVI 848), 749, 821, XV 2, XVI 420, XX 143, XXIII 675, *Od.* IV 790, XVII 252. «Duals stress the pathos of the brothers' last journey together [...] the phrasing is unusual and thus powerful» (Janko 1992, 359). This archaic construction gradually gives way to simple forms of δάμνημι with an 'instrumental' dative, e.g. *Il.* XII 37, 403, XIV 353, XVII 2, 320 (= 337), XVIII 461; χηρὶ δαμείξ at *Od.* III 410, VI 11.

¹⁰⁸⁶ 2_x in the poems, always in accusative (*Il.* XVII 158, *Od.* XXIV 515); «les verbes dénominatifs sont plus fréquent que le substantif» (Chantraine, *DELG* 275).

¹⁰⁸⁷ West also attests the variant δηρινήτην in **Ω** – either from δηρινηθ-, in **R**, or from διρινη θετην, in **C**^c and **G**^a – which is intriguing, as no other form of δηριάομαι exhibits a nasal infix. Janko (1992, 406) argues in favour of the second variant attested: if so, this form has been adapted to the paradigm of dhriavomai, although «the older form is θέτην, but the short vowel of dual and plural root-aorists is often altered by analogy, e.g. βήτην beside βάτην (Chantraine 1953a, 378); θήτην presupposes the lost singular *ἔθην, just as -βλήτην (*Od.* XXI 15) is from *ἔβλην. Everyone has been misled by the texts' lack of word-division, combined with the extreme rarity of a word-end after a fifth-foot spondee».

inner separative value of ἐρίζω. Aorist participle and finite verb, whose interaction is deep and almost ‘hendiadic’, bind together hoxymoric ideas, producing a powerful clash. Curiously enough, despite its influential position, the form was soon misinterpreted by commentators¹⁰⁸⁸.

διδυμάονε. The adjective is chiefly Homeric: 4_x in the poems, two of which in the dual¹⁰⁸⁹. Unlike its (Attic) relative δίδυμος, the epithet is used in Homer in its pragmatic, bare value: twice it defines twins, twice it describes twinned concepts (ὔπνος καὶ θάνατος, *Il.* XVI 672 = 682). As in many other instances, the Homeric lexicon encompasses concrete connotations: it is not possible to foresee in the poems traces of the abstraction which will lead, in Attic, to mould the adjective – and other compounds based on δι- such as διπλοῦς, δισσός, etc. – into an alternative device to the purely morphological dual (see par. 2.4).

δινείσθην. The form completes in enjambement the formulaic ὄσσε φαεινῶ¹⁰⁹⁰ closing the former verse (*Il.* XVII 679f.). The phonetic shape of the verb denounces its recent formation: the diphthong implies contraction, following the loss of digamma. It is impossible to reconstitute *δινευέσθην, which would fit within the hexameter only if scanned *δινε-φε-σθην¹⁰⁹¹. Besides, curious is at v. 679 the address to Menelaos on behalf of a usually external third person omniscient

¹⁰⁸⁸ The finite verb has undergone a curious development: as the dual ceased to be understood, the form was re-interpreted as a complement of the participle, meaning ‘woman’: διὰ στήτην ἐρίσαντε, “quarreling about a woman” (σ DThr. XI 24; see Tzetzēs, *Exeg. Il.* 68.11; Eust. 21.42, 918.55; Hes. *Lex.* σ 1838.1, <στήτα>· γυνή; see also LSJ⁹ 1645). The coinage was a fortunate one, as the freshly grammaticalised and pseudo-Doric form στήτα, ‘woman’, is to be found in Theoc. *Syr.* 13f., ψυχὰν ᾗ, βροτοβάμων / στήτας οἴστρε Σαέττας, and Dosiad. *Bom.* 1-3, Εἴμαρσένος με στήτας / πόσις Μέροψ δίσαβος / τεῦξε.

¹⁰⁸⁹ 2_x³—διδυμάονε (*Il.* V 548, VI 26). The equivalent δίδυμος appears twice, to define once again twins (*Il.* 641) or twofold pipes (*Od.* XIX 227). «Les noms en *-āων ont conservé leurs ā éolien» (Chantraine 1953a, 20).

¹⁰⁹⁰ 6_x in the *Iliad*, always in verse-end (XIII 3, 7, XIV 236, XVI 645, XVII 679, XXI 415); possibly a morphological variation on the singular dative φαεινῶ, which occurs 24_x in *clausola* ((ἀκόντισε) δουρὶ φαεινῶ 22_x). A similar reuse of formulaic material, again with ὄσσε, is apparent at v. 695f.

¹⁰⁹¹ Chantraine (*DELG* 285) believes instead that the theme is built on a nasal enlargement (*i.e.* κινέω ~ κίνυμαι), and it is to be linked to δῖεμαι.

narrator; this closer focus confers a sympathetic shade to the scene, and seems to be a trait peculiar to the rhapsod (compare with v. 702)¹⁰⁹².

(δίπλακα). The use of δι-compounds to express the dual is not yet established in the Homeric poetry¹⁰⁹³, whereas it will become vigorous in the Attic poetic production (see par. 2.4). In Homer we only find a handful of attestations of δίδυμῶν, δίδυμος (always with concrete value) and δίπλακος, in the formulaic *iunctura*, up to the masculine caesura, (ἢ ἰστὸν ὕφαινε...) / δίπλακα πορφυρέην (2_x, *Il.* III 126, XXII 441); yet the value of the adjective is material, meaning ‘twofold canvas’ (and not, as it would be in the later literature, ‘two canvases’).

διώκετον. Monro (1891, 3) argued that this form should have been a 3rd person dual non-augmented imperfect with ‘improper’ ending, probably to

¹⁰⁹² Personal addresses to Menelaos happen 7_x (*Il.* IV 127, 146, VII 104, XIII 603, XVII 679, XXIII 600) and naturally induce closer participation, as well as the breakage of the ‘sacred’ boundary separating narrator and audience. In this passage, the choice of zooming on Menelaos’ figure, in the climax of pathos following Patroklos’ death, is itself interesting; similarly, it seems surprising that Athena, in order to incite Menelaos, assumes the form of Phoinix (v. 555), whose relation with Menelaos is non-existent in the rest of the poem. Besides, Phoinix’ presence in the *Iliad* is itself intermittent, and anyway functional to Achilles’, showing slack connections with the rest of the army (*Il.* IX 168-693, XVI 196, XIX 309-312, XXIII 358-361; see par. 3.0). Another interesting feature of the scene is the emphasis on Antilochus’ figure (vv. 652f., 682ff.), whose role was to become prominent in the following *Aithiopsis*. It appears, here as elsewhere, that who composed the latest parts of the poem was aware of the aftermath included in the *Aithiopsis*: this seems reasonable, if we accept that many of the episodes originated in songs sung separately in roughly contemporary times. Yet there is no evidence to assume for the *Iliad* any dependency on the *Aithiopsis*: especially in its most archaic parts, the *Iliad* is a self sufficient work, whose autonomy is upheld by both the internal development of a linear *fabula* and the antiquity of its innermost linguistic material.

¹⁰⁹³ As a matter of fact, they are relatively rare in the poems: δίπλακος occurs again in *Iliad* XXIII and once in the *Odyssey*: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν χρυσῆ φιάλῃ καὶ δίπλακι δημῶ / θείομεν (XXIII 243f.); κλαίοντες δ’ ἐτάροιο ἐνήεος ὄστέα λευκά / ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσῆν φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν (XXIII 252f.); καὶ οἱ ἐγὼ χάλκειον ἄορ καὶ δίπλακα δῶκα / καλὴν πορφυρέην καὶ τερμύοντα χιτῶνα (*Od.* XIX 241f.). As it appears, all these instances are indebted with the same formulaic lexicon (φιάλη, πορφυρέης, etc.); the same may be said for διπλός 4_x, again engaged with cloaks and garments: αὐτὴ δ’ αὐτ’ ἵθυεν ὅθι ζωστήροσ ὀχῆες / χρύσειοι σύνεχον καὶ διπλός ἦντετο θώρηξ, *Il.* IV 132f. = XX 414f.; ἀμφὶ δ’ ἄρα χλαῖναν περονήσατο φοινικέεσσαν / διπλῆν ἐκταδίην, οὐλῆ δ’ ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη, *Il.* X 133f.; χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὐλῆν ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς / διπλῆν, *Od.* XIX 225f. Other attested compounds are δίζυγος 2_x (παρὰ δέ σφιν ἐκάστω δίζυγες ἵπποι, *Il.* V 195 = X 473), δίπτυχον 1_x (δίπτυχον ἀμφ’ ὄμοισιν ἔχουσ’ εὐεργέα λώπην; yet 4_x ¹δίπτυχα in a whole-verse formula, adverbially employed and in the same metrical position) and δισθανής (a *hapaax*, yet built on the prefix *δι-): σχέτλιοι, οἱ ζῶοντες ὑπήλθετε δῶμ’ Ἀΐδαο, δισθανήεες, ὅτε τ’ ἄλλοι ἅπαξ θνήσκουσ’ ἄνθρωποι (*Od.* XII 21f.). There are instead no occurrences of δισσός, which will be pervasive in Attic; see also par. 2.4.

avoid the sequence --, **διωκέτην¹⁰⁹⁴ (cf. par. 1.3; Chantraine 1953a, 95. See also ἐτεύχετον and λαφύσσετον). Yet it seems more reasonable to postulate a present in the passage¹⁰⁹⁵: the verses belong in fact to a simile, which consistently employs present tenses in its first part (ἐπείγετον, v. 361)¹⁰⁹⁶.

δμῶε. The form, occurring twice toward the end of the *Odyssey* (*Od.* XXI 244, XXII 114), is morphologically interesting, in which it adopts the athematic ending -*ě* despite its vocalic stem. It has been seen (par. 1.2) how such extension is prolific in the early stages of grammaticalisation of the Greek Dual. Apart from the athematic stem, in fact, the ending -*ě* – or *-*h₁e*, according to laryngealists – proves common to masculine *a*-stem nouns and adjectives, chiefly in -της (mycenaean type *e-ge-ta-e*; Homeric αἴχμητής, κορυστής, ὠκυπετής; for Ἄτρεΐδα, see *ad l.*), to semi-vocalic (Homeric βόε, δοῦρε, εὐρέε, λᾶε, ὄσσε?, περικαλλέε, ταρφέε, τάχεε, τοκῆε, υῖε) and sigmatic stems (λέχεε, πήχεε)¹⁰⁹⁷; in pronouns, it has been regrammaticalised in the formation of the 2nd and 3rd person dual pronouns σφῶε and σφωε (plus νωε in Corinna) and, possibly, to the anaphoric pronoun σφε (par. 1.1). All of this concurs in showing that the gram should have been very

¹⁰⁹⁴ Compare with occurrences of the 3rd singular person imperative in the same metrical position (3 – -διώκετο: *Il.* XXI 602, *Od.* XVIII 8). In the Homeric poetry only the present stem is attested.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Hainsworth aligns instead to Monro, still recognizing that «the grammarians’ dogma, that the 2nd person dual of the historic tenses had -τον, -σθον, the 3rd person -την, -σθην, is correct historically (cf. Skt. -tām, -tām) but poorly maintained in Greek [...]. Leaf asserts that in similes the leading verb should be in the subjunctive, the following in the indicative after δὲ τε, a grammatical nicety for which this poet had no feeling» (1992, 191).

¹⁰⁹⁶ Moreover, the passage is riddled with *hapax* and peculiar constructions: ὧς ἄρα φωνήσαντε (v. 349) is a formulaic, common *incipit*; ἐπεδραμέτην (v. 354) itself is isolated, if we except the 3_x cluster occurrences at *Il.* XXIII (see *ad l.*); προφερέστερ_x (v. 352) appears other 3_x in the *Odyssey* (1_x superl.), always in the same metrical position; ἐλκεμέν_x appears in *incipit* here for the first time, being reprised by the cluster of *Il.* XVIII 156, 176 and *Od.* XVIII 12; δουρηεκέ_s (v. 357, with adverbial value) is a *hapax*, as well as κεμάδα (v. 361); κερχαροδός (v. 360) appears twice in the poems, referred to dogs and in dual contexts (compare with *Il.* XIII 198; see also Hes. *Theog.* 180); the *iunctura* εἰδότε θήρης is a unique variant moulded on εἶ εἰδότε πάσης (θήρη appears only twice elsewhere, *Il.* V 49 and *Od.* IX 158, both times in *clausola*; see εἰδότε); ἐπείγετον (v. 361) is a *hapax*, as well as μεμηκώς (v. 362); ἐμμενές ἀεί, twice in *clausola* (vv. 361, 364), is a cluster reprised in the *Iliad* only in XIII 517, and in *Od.* IX 386, XXI 69.

¹⁰⁹⁷ The ambiguous treatment of semi-vowel athematic stems (δμῶε, λᾶε, etc.) may be paralleled with what Monro (1891, 6) registers for the verbs: «in the Middle, the forms -ᾶται, -ᾶτο are regular after consonants and the vowel ι (including the diphthongs ει, η, οι, & c.); the forms -νται, -ντο after ᾶ, ε, ο. After υ, η both forms are found: e.g. εἰρύ-αται, εἰρύ-ατο, but λέλυ-νται, κέχυ-νται; βεβλή-αται (*Il.* 11.656), but μέμνη-ντο, ξυμβλή-ντο; even ῆ-ντο (*Il.* 3.153) as well as ῆ-ατο (for *ῆσ-ατο)».

prolific in the early stages of grammaticalisation, being perceived as a characteristic marker of the dual value. In particular, it seems that the ending has constituted a suitable morpheme to be lent by heteroclitites, whose status was slightly uncertain. The behaviour of heteroclitites provides us with useful information on the current patterns of morphological inflection: since $\delta\mu\tilde{\omega}\epsilon$ aligns to the non-vocalic stems in adopting an ending $-\tilde{\epsilon}$, we can infer that such ending was at the time productive and liable to be extended beyond the limits of its original domain.

As for the etymology, the noun $\delta\mu\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ has been said to be a «terme archaïque, peut-être achéen» (Chantraine, *DELG* 289, on the basis of Kretschmer 1929, 71f.¹⁰⁹⁸). Two hypothetical reconstructions have been provided for it: either the form belongs to the \mathcal{F} -stem ($*\delta\mu\omega\mathcal{F}-\epsilon$; there are no visible signs of contractions, as the stem-root vowel is long already), or it derives from the substrate lexicon. In this second case, its adaptation and late insertion into inflectional paradigms could have implied fluctuations: in favour of this hypothesis stand the swings between thematic and athematic inflection¹⁰⁹⁹. Cf. also $\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\epsilon$.

$\delta\omicron\rho\pi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\eta\nu$. Denominative verb with ‘Attic contraction’ (Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 215; cf. cap. 1.3). The uncontracted form would fit in the hexameter as well. The verb is rare in the poems (3_x, *Od.* VII 215, VIII 539, XV 302), and anyway absent from the *Iliad*.

¹⁰⁹⁸ «Etymologische ist $\delta\mu\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ wohl nicht zu $\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ „Haus“ etc. zu stellen, wie noch Boisacq annimmt, weil die Ableitung eines Nomens von einem Nominalstamm ohne Sekundärsuffix auffallend wäre, sondern wahrscheinlicher ist die Deutung, die das Wort mit $*\delta\alpha\mu\alpha-$ „bezwingen“ und seiner Gruppe in Verbindung bringt [...]. Das Fehlen von $\delta\mu\omega\nu\varsigma$ und seiner Gruppe in der ionisch-attischen Prosa gibt zu der Vermutung Anlaß, daß dieses Wort achäischen Ursprungs ist. Auch das aus dem Indogermanischen ererbte $*\delta\alpha\mu\alpha-$ ($\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\eta\mu\iota$, $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\nu}\omega$, $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$) scheint nur äolisch zu sein, da es bei Homer und Sappho vorkommt, sonst aber auch auf die Dichtung beschränkt ist, die es aus dem Epos haben wird» (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁹⁹ The stem shows in fact the themes $*\delta\mu\omega-$ / $*\delta\mu\omega\text{-}\text{o-}$, $*\delta\mu\omega\text{-}\text{i-}$ in the construction of the feminine (Chantraine, *DELG* 303). Yet the extension of the ending $-\epsilon$ outside the borders of the athematic inflection is a phenomenon unrestricted to this specific form. This inference implies two consequences: on the one hand, it does not seem methodologically correct to assume an original sonant in each and every heteroclitite bearing this ending; on the other hand, the ending could have been *originally* unrestricted to athematic stems, representing a bound morpheme liable to express the dual, later grammaticalised and included within the athematic paradigm.

δοῦρε. The term is so common in the poems that it has times and again been addresses as a natural dual (thus by Brugmann, Schwyzer, etc.; see par. 2.2.2): «ebenso ist vom Standpunkt homerischer Ausrüstung aus δοῦρε ‚die beiden Speere‘ die Bezeichnung eines natürlich gegebenen Paares, denn zwei Speere pflegte der held mit sich zu führen» (Wackernagel 1926, 83). The stem appears 15_x in the poems, only 2_x in the dative δουρέσσι, and its use is highly formulaic¹¹⁰⁰. It is to be remarked that adjectives always present agree with the noun in a (collective) neuter (δοῦρε δύο κεκορυθμένα καλκῶ, ἄλκιμα δοῦρε)¹¹⁰¹, exhibiting default agreement for number: this is perfectly consistent with the animacy hierarchy (see par. 2.3). On the contrary, adjectives always present inflected for both gender and number with a natural dual like ὄσσε (1_x ἀδακρύτω, 1_x δεινώ, 2_x περικαλλέ(ε)¹¹⁰², 6_x φαινώ: only once ὄσσε φαινά, *Il.* XIII 145, but out of its usual collocation and metrically constrained). See also χεῖρε.

δοχμῶ. On the passage, see ἄγνυτον.

ἐβήτην. See βάτην.

ἐδύτην. At *Il.* VI 19 the verb is used intransitively, with a ‘lative’ accusative – as peculiar to the stem root (Chantraine, *DELG* 304, *LSJ*⁹ 463): the *iunctura* γᾶϊαν ἐδύτ_x is reprised at *Od.* XXIV 106. The dual appears two more times, in the formulaic phrase ὅπλοισ’ ἔνι δεινοῖσιν ἐδύτην (*Il.* X 254, 272 – fairly a cluster), in combination with a surprising dative¹¹⁰³.

ἐεισάσθην. The form is debatable. Given its morphological shape, one would be tempted to connect it to οἶδα: ἐεισάσθην < *φε-φειδ-σα-σθην, from the

¹¹⁰⁰ 3_x δοῦρε δύο κεκορυθμένα καλκῶ, in *clausola* (*Il.* III 18, XI 43, *Od.* XXII 125); 3_x εἶλετο δ’ ἄλκιμα δοῦρε, in *incipit* (*Il.* XI 43, XVI 139, *Od.* XXII 125); 8_x δύο δοῦρε (always in verse-end in the *Odyssey*: *Il.* X 76, XII 298, XXI 145, *Od.* I 256, XII 228, XVI 295, XVIII 377, XXII 101; on the «δοῦρε-system», see also Kirk 1992a, 268.

¹¹⁰¹ That the adjectives are all neuters is granted by the metre, requiring short alpha.

¹¹⁰² Indeed the metre also allows **περικαλλέα; (*Od.* XIII 401, 433) yet the form is immediately followed by the participle ἐόντε, and such a tight mismatch would appear surprising.

¹¹⁰³ Maybe deceptively triggered by the formulaic dative in the whole-verse formula δεύτερον αὖ θώρεκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνε, 4_x (*Il.* III 332, XI 19, XVI 133, XIX 371). The stem-root δῦ- rarely merges, with particles, even less with cases other than the accusative (compare with *Od.* XXII 201).

apophonetic stem *φειδ-/*φοιδ-/*φιδ-. Besides, forms of sigmatic aorist from the stem are relatively scarce in the poems¹¹⁰⁴. Others have tried to connect it to εἶμι, or rather ἴημι: in both cases, the theme (and its apophonetic condition) is not transparent¹¹⁰⁵. Janko (1992, 288) supports a derivation from ἴεμαι, ‘be eager’, for «verbs connoting eagerness often take a future infinite» (see also Chantraine 1953b, 310). Finally, ἐεισάσθην may be paired with εἶσομαι (LSJ⁹ 496), from the stem-root *φει-, ‘to hasten’¹¹⁰⁶. This last hypothesis appears to be the most persuasive: the form would hence be an archaism, whose integrity will have been preserved by its metrical frame and semantic value.

ἐζέσθην. 4_x in the poems, always in *incipit*. At *Od.* XV 134 the dual is slightly ‘improper’¹¹⁰⁷; yet semantically it appears transparent, and the phrasing would surely have been conditioned by the formulaic use of ἐζέσθην. The same is true for *Il.* VIII 74, in which the use is even more striking (see κῆρε); it is possible to infer, also by virtue of its formulaic frequency, that the form ἐζέσθην

¹¹⁰⁴ Except for the middle participle, 8_x 1- -ἐεισαμεν_x (τῷ μιν ἐεισαμεν_x προσέφη/προσεφώνεε + subject, in *incipit*); 1_x the imperative ἐείσαο (*Il.* IX 645) and 9_x 3- -ἐείσατο (though only once in the *Iliad*, XV 415). An etymology connecting ἐεισάσθην to *ειδ- would anyway be problematic both semantically and syntactically, as the finite verb should be used in an absolutive way, “the two of them appeared”. Moreover, the stem is very conservative in its *Ablaut*, and we should expect, for a 3rd dual person, a reduced degree *ιδ-.

¹¹⁰⁵ For a nexus with εἶμι, Rocci 1970, 542, 550; for ἴημι, Montanari, 1999, 595, 940. Any connection to εἶμι should be rejected: no aorist is in fact preserved in the Homeric poetry, and an imperfect would allegedly present as **ἠείσθην/**ἠίσθην (metrically unadmissible). Besides, any connection to ἴημι should at least imply a problem of μεταχαρακτηρισμός, as the form should be read **εἶσθην; even assuming an artificial further ‘augment’, which would solve the problem of the aspiration, a sigmatic aorist (with a zero-grade theme!) would appear isolated.

¹¹⁰⁶ The form is fairly an aorist – as the reduplication confirms – and it would constitute a *hapax*; yet both semantically and morphologically the association would appear reasonable. On this «uniquement homérique» root, Chantraine (*DELG* 327; but see also 1953a, 293, 412) comments that «la majorité des formes [among which he makes no mention of ἐεισάσθην] présentent un digamma initial et répondent à un présent (φ)ίεμαι “s’élancer”; on a pensé que l’orthographe originelle devait être (φ)ίσομαι, ε(φ)ίσατο, (φ)ίσατο, mais la forme à diphtongue ει- est plausible»; a form *εἶσάσθην would be metrically acceptable in our passage. The semantic continuity is probably responsible for the association of the form to the paradigm of ἴημι.

¹¹⁰⁷ Menelaos (with Helen, apparently, and Megapenthes; v. 100ff.) leads Telemachus, and an *ad hoc* recalled Pisistratus (v. 131), within the hall of the palace. The participants to the scene are more than two, but the dual is clearly referred to Telemachus and Pisistratus only, who have been paired and addressed by means of a dual elsewhere in the poem (e.g. IV 20, 27-29, 60-62, 160, XV 5?). We would expect a pronoun, or other syntactic feature to agree with the verb in the dual. The subjects involved in the process are here invested by the σχῆμα Ἀλχμανικόν; despite syntactically distant, the rhapsod may still recall the two referents by the dual, aided by the formulaic power of the form.

should have been perceived as ‘prestigious’ enough to apply even in places where its dual connotation could have been ambiguous.

εἰδότε. The form occurs 7_x, 4_x of which in the clausola μάχης εἶδότε πάσης¹¹⁰⁸. Perfect participles are rare in variety, yet prolific in attestations (ἐοικότε 2_x¹¹⁰⁹, ἐμμεμαῶτε 2_x, μεμαῶτε 9_x, παρβεβαῶτε 1_x); see also μεμαῶτε.

εἴκτην. The form is an archaism, exhibiting redoubling, radical conjugation, lack of contraction following loss of digamma, lack of augment – if the form is, as it appears, a pluperfect¹¹¹⁰ – and apophonetic variation – *o*-grade for the singular, *ø*-grade for dual and plural: *φε-φίκτην (Meillet 1918, 163; Wackernagel 1926, 208; Chantraine 1984, 190; Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 266). The form appears in hiatus in the formula ἀχνημένος· μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαινοι / πίμπλαντ’ ὅσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι εἴκτην (*Il.* I 103f. = *Od.* IV 661f, where a pluperfect value seems acceptable. Conversely, in both *Il.* XXI 285 and XXIII 379 the context would rather require a perfect – unless we postulate a resultative value for the form, which would act as a historical present. Be it as it may, the two latter occurrences raise the suspect that, at a certain point, the secondary ending of the 3rd dual might have been accepted for the perfect as well¹¹¹¹. On the tense, see also ἐκγεγάτην.

¹¹⁰⁸ The other occurrences appear to be variations to the nexus, where the structure ‘participle + genitive’ is maintained (εἰδότε χάρις, θήρης, θούριδος ἀλκῆς). The perfect participle has a resultative value, just as the finite tense, implying the semantic step “having known” (past) > “being acquainted with” (present). As for its metrical position, dual and plural forms influence each other in the preferred place for the participle: 1_x 4–εἰδότε, 4_x 4–εἰδότες, 6_x 5–εἰδότε, 1_x 5–εἰδότες.

¹¹⁰⁹ The dual 3–ἐοικότε is clearly a variation on 3–ἐοικότες 18_x, covering all occurrences of the plural participle.

¹¹¹⁰ Yet, compare with 3rd singular ἐόκει (12_x in clausola: with augment, < *ἐ-φε-φοικ-ει) and middle εἴκτο (1_x, *Il.* XXIII 107; with internal hiatus and without augment, *ø*-grade in the singular): see also Chantraine 1953a 517f., *DELG* 354. Fluctuations between *o*- and *ø*-grade in the perfect stem are also evident in the participles ἐοικώς/εἰκώς.

¹¹¹¹ This seems furtherly supported by the fact that, falling in verse-end, the value of the ending is *indifferens*: were it felt as inappropriate, it would have easily been ‘emended’ in *εἴκτον.

εἴκτων. Again an archaism (*φέ-φικτων), although secondary to εἴκτην, of which absorbs role and metrical position (at verse-end, in hiatus)¹¹¹². See εἴκτην.

εἰλυμένω. The participle shows an interesting construction at *Il.* XVII 492, being used in absolutive (passive) value with a relational accusative: τὼ δ' ἰθὺς βήτην βοέης εἰλυμένω ὄμους / αὔησι στερεῆσι. The overlap with the semantic field of *έλώω (LSJ⁹ 538) and the impossibility to restore digamma cooperate in suggesting that the passage should not belong to the most archaic layers of the poems.

εἰπόντε. At *Il.* XXI 298, the participle is morphologically consistent, as Poseidon and Athena just intervened, but semantically deceptive, as Athena did not technically say anything; yet the construction fills in a metrical pattern of response¹¹¹³.

έκγεγάτην. Monro (1891, 61) believes that all middle forms of perfect in Homer are instead non-augmented pluperfects (hence the secondary endings): so τετάσθην, εἴκτην, έκγεγάτην should be considered as pluperfects. Such consideration, even though plausible, would imply that the pluperfect is broadly attested (in the dual!) in Homer already; on the other side, forms of perfects with secondary endings which do not obey to this principle still exist, such as έσθην (*Il.* XVIII 517) and πεπύσθην (*Il.* XVII 377). Middle secondary endings are not evidence enough to establish that these forms are pluperfects. See also Chantraine 1984, 190, 201.

¹¹¹² Incidentally, *Il.* XXI 285 is impressive on a purely stylistical perspective: (Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀθήνη) στήτην έγγυς ἰόντε, δέμας δ' άνδρεσσιν εἴκτην. With epanadiplosis, the verse opens and closes with a dual verb; the first part of the verse, up to the feminine caesura, is semantically oxymoric, yet the junction of aorist and participle grants for the tightness of the action. In the second hemi-verse, δέμας is used adverbially (perhaps an ancient accusative of relation); stylistical refinement is pursued throughout the following verse as well (by means of the anaphoric consonance χειρὶ... χεῖρα, ἐπὶ... ἐπέεσσι).

¹¹¹³ Compare with *Il.* V 133, VIII 425, XI 210, XV 100, 149, 405, XVIII 202, XXIII 212, XXIV 188, *Od.* I 319, VI 41, XV 43, 454.

ἐμισγέσθην. See εὐδόντε.

ἐμμεμαῶτε. «Seul composé attesté chez Homère» (Chantraine, *DELG* 685; Kirk 1992b, 72) of the archaic perfect μέμονα; see μεμαῶτε.

ἐνισκίμφαντε. From ἐνσκίμπω, commonly associated to σκήπτω; in Homer, only in the *iunctura* in *incipit* οὐδὲ ἐνισκίμφθη, of which our form is possibly a variant.

ἐοικότε. The form is canonical, being typically associated to animal similes¹¹¹⁴ – lions, in the passage (*Il.* XII 146; see λέοντε). The perfect is archaic, resting on an apophonically *o*-grade¹¹¹⁵ stem-root with redoubling in *φ*, **φε-φοικ-*; see also εἴκτην.

ἐπεδραμέτην. The form appears once in *Iliad* X, then 3_x in less than forty verses in Book XXIII (418, 433, 447), always in the same metrical position (1 – ἐπιδραμέτην); this is a clear case of clustering.

ἐπέσθην. Form of the verb ἔπομαι offer a variety of endings and diatheses in the poems: ἐπέσθην (*Il.* V 551), ἔπεσθον (*Il.* XXII 450), ἐπέσθων (*Il.* IX 170), (ἀμφὶ) ἔπετον (*Il.* XI 776)¹¹¹⁶, ἐσπέσθην (*Il.* III 239). The verb ἐπέσθην appears in *clausola*, a common position for 3rd dual person verbs with secondary endings¹¹¹⁷.

¹¹¹⁴ The plural εἰκότες appears 19_x, all within similes – be it referred to animals (τεττίγεσσι, λείουσι 3_x, ὄρνισι, σύεσσι, σφήγεσσι, κύνεσσι, θήρεσσι), or other non perfectly humanised creatures (παισίν, Γίγασιν, ξείνοισιν), trees (ἐλάτησιν) or other natural elements (φύλλοισιν 2_x, ψαμάθοισιν, νεφέλεσσι, ἀκτίεσσι, ἡλίοιο, ἴρισσιν).

¹¹¹⁵ A *o*-grade participle εἰκώς is attested too: *Il.* IV 79, VI 389, IX 399, X 122, 238, XI 638, XIII 225, XIX 286, 350, XXI 254, XXII 151, 459, XXIII 66, *Od.* II 383, IV 122, V 337, 353, VII 20, 291, VIII 194, XII 79, XIII 143, XIV 157, XVIII 139, XXII 288. It does not seem irrelevant that 19_x out of 25_x occurrences are represented by the feminine εἰκυῖα: the *o*-grade form **εοικυῖα (—=) would not, in fact, easily fit within the hexameter (compare with εἰδυῖα/ἰδυῖα). Whether the two grades originally reflected a morphologic partition (perfect/pluperfect?) or they arose from the necessity of metrical alternative options seems impossible to determine.

¹¹¹⁶ The verb is in tmesis in the verse (ἔπω 'Α', *LSJ*⁹ 678).

¹¹¹⁷ Compare with γενέσθην 3_x, γουναζέσθην 1_x, ἔσθην 1_x, ἐσιδέσθην 1_x, ἡγησάσθην 4_x, ἰκέσθην 5_x, μαχέσθην 2_x, μεδέσθην 2_x, πεπύσθην 1_x, πετέσθην (14_x, 8_x of which within the verse-end formula τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην, *Il.* V 366, 768, VIII 45, X 530, XI 281, 519, XXII 400, *Od.* III 484, 494, XV 192), πιθέσθην 1_x, τετάσθην 2_x.

ἐπίοσσομένω. The form, characterised by internal hiatus (Chantraine 1953a, 92; *DELG* 811f.), is of extreme interest, insofar as it represents one of the few preserved terms from the stem *ok^w- – except for the widespread ὄσσε; to this last form the verb ὄσσομαι is depending, as verbal compounds are chiefly built on the stem *ὀπ-.

ἐπιταρρόθω. The adjective is of unknown etymology¹¹¹⁸. However, in its 8_x instances in the poems (7_x in the *Iliad*), it always occurs in verse end, followed by a copula. The dual occurrence does not infringe this pattern¹¹¹⁹.

ἐρίσαντε. The semantic field of struggle is predictably rich in the dual. Forms of the verb ἐρίζω (ἐρίζητον, *Il.* XII 423 and ἐρίσαντε, *Il.* I 6) and ἐρίδαινω (ἐρίδαίνετον, *Il.* I 574; XVI 765) come from the stem-root *ἐρι- (~ ἔρις) ; it does not seem possible to establish any connection to the obscure ἐρείδω (ἐρείδεσθον, *Il.* XXIII 735, and ἐρειδομένω, *Il.* XIX 49; Chantraine, *DELG* 366, 372).

ἐρχομένω. At *Il.* X 65f., Agammemnon addresses Menelaos suggesting αὔθι μένειν, μή πως ἀβροτάξομεν ἀλλήλοιιν / ἐρχομένω. The passage is interesting in its simultaneous expression of reciprocity and inclusivity: the dual is pertinent, as the heroes are conjoined in the action of leaving (ἐρχομένω), notwithstanding their parting paths (μή ἀβροτάξομεν ἀλλήλοιιν)¹¹²⁰.

ἔσθην. Arranged in the description of the two cities of Achilles' shield (*Il.* XVIII 516-519), the passage is interesting under many respects.

¹¹¹⁸ It has been connected to ἐπίρροθος (LSJ⁹ 664) and, more dubiously, to ταρρόθος (which is, according to Chantraine, a secondary formation: *DELG* 361).

¹¹¹⁹ The pronoun τοῖω appears in the dual in this occasion only (still, compare with τοίη at *Il.* V 808, 828). The reiterated stress on the subject, first by means of the demonstrative and furtherly *via* the pronoun νοῖ, enhances the extraordinary circumstance of *two* gods rising to uphold Achilles.

¹¹²⁰ The verb ἀβροτάζω is a *hapax* in the poems: the aorist subjunctive, with a strikingly artificial short vowel, «tiré de l'aor. ἤμβροτον avec chute de m par nécessité métrique» (Chantraine, *DELG* 5, who is well aware that the form resembles an «archaism peut-être artificiel caractéristique de la *Doloneie*»).

An expedition is led by two gods¹¹²¹, whose description reflects epic tones: in a chiasmic arrangement, the two golden gods in golden dresses are dressed – the internal object-accusative is canonical for this *iunctura*: εἵματα ἔννομι in clausola 18_x. In all three verses (517-519), the adjectives denoting the gods are enclosed by the masculine *caesura*. (see Monro 1891, 27; see also ἀριζήλω).

ἔσσαμένω. The *iunctura* ἥερα ἔσσαμένω (v. 281) is unique in Homer, yet it is quite «Hesiodic» (ἥερα ἔσσαμεν_x 3_x *Erga*, 125, 223, 255), as many other elements in the scene¹¹²². The *iunctura* ῥίμφα πρήσσοντε κελεύθον occurs 3_x (once in the non-dual variant with πρήσσουσι, *Od.* XIII 83)¹¹²³. All the scene is animated by a scene of urge, contaminating both Hera and Hypnos¹¹²⁴; on the Διὸς ἀπάτη see εὐδόντε. Incidentally, ἥερα and ἥερόεις are elsewhere linked to Hades, with an originary meaning of “suspended, unseen” (‘brumeux’, Boisacq 1950, 315;

¹¹²¹ At v. 516, the verb referring to the leader of the ambush is singular, being nonetheless followed by two subjects, Ares and Athena: the last one will have been triggered by the overwhelming power of formulaic echoes (the endyadic Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη appears 41_x, always in *clausola*). The verb hence displays a distributive value, applying *individually* to each God, characterised by an overflow of adjectives (striking in the dual, e.g. ἄμφω χρυσεῖω, καλῶ, μεγάλω, ἀριζήλω, vv. 517-520). Notice that v. 518 encompasses four spondaic meters, and three are in v. 519. The *iunctura* ὡς τε θεῶ περ, despite the assertive power of περ, rests awkward, as it is referred to two actual gods.

¹¹²² This is true in relation to both themes (e.g. Death and Sleep being brothers, v. 231 ~ *Il.* XVI 672, 682 and *Theog.* 212, 756ff.; the oath on the Στυγὸς ὕδωρ at v. 271, ~ *Theog.* 783ff.; the Titans at vv. 278f.; etc.) and lexicon (see the *formula* ἀτρογέτοιο θαλάσσης, v. 204 ~ *Theog.* γαίης/γῆς ἐν φιλόττητι εὐνηθῆναι, v. 314, 331-3, 360 ~ *Theog.* 380; etc.); see Janko 1992, 196.

¹¹²³ That the clause is a formulaic segment is apparent by the fact that ῥίμφα, 19_x in Homer, occurs otherwise always in *incipit*. The formant ἥερ-, quite productive in the poems – always in its Ionic shape, is undoubtedly linked to ἀήρ (Chantraine, *DELG* 26f., 407), possibly to ἀείρω (Meillet 1925, 9f.); ¹ – – ² ἔσσαμεν_x 4_x in the poems (3_x εἵματα ἔσσαμένως, 1_x τεύχεα ἔσσαμένως). As Janko (1992, 198) stresses, love is depicted as a καλύπτων mist times and again in the epic poetry (*Il.* III 442, *H. Hom. Aph.* 243, *Il.* XIV 343, XVI 350, etc.; compare with *Il.* XIV 343f.).

¹¹²⁴ At v. 230ff., Hera visits Hypnos (personified only here and at *Il.* XVI 672, 682, together with his twin Θάνατος) at Lemnos, where he dwells. At v. 281, it is peculiar the *iunctura* Λήμνου τε καὶ Ἴμβρου ἄστν: the noun should distributively refer to both the cities (σκήμα Ἀλκμανικόν). Alternatively, it may be assumed that one of the two names does not refer to a city but to a tutelary deity; finally, the two islands bond together could be the abodes of the twin Gods (both cities were to become Athenian cleruchies; cf. also the temptative correction, “quidam apud sch¹”, Λήμνιοι κατὰ μέγα). The landscape of the Aegean islands, where Thetis is said to have held her palace too (*Il.* XIII 33) is nonetheless blurred: Tenedos, Samos, Lemnos and Imbros provide useful metrical variants in hendyadic structures (*Il.* II 634, XIII 33, XIV 281, XXIV 78, 753, *Od.* VIII 294, etc.; see also ² – Ἰθάκης τε Σάμοιό τε, 4_x *Odyssey*).

Chantraine, *DELG* 26f.; Beekes, *EDG* 27)¹¹²⁵. The adoption of such epithet in this context is not free by implications, conveying to the scene an eerie and somehow ‘sneaky’ shade of *κατάβασις*.

ἐτέρωθεν, ἐτέρωθι, ἐτέρωσε. See ἀμφοτέρωθεν.

ἐτεύχετον. Third person dual imperfect with ‘improper’ ending, probably to avoid the sequence – – – (**ἐτευχέτην)¹¹²⁶: see par. 1.3; Monro 1891, 3; Chantraine 1953a, 95; Janko 1992, 91¹¹²⁷ and *λαφύσσετον*.

εὐδόντε. The Διὸς ἀπάτη represents one of the few ‘private’ moments of the *Iliad*, and yet it is an extremely prude one: all situations of physical pleasure are euphemistically rendered in the *Iliad* by verbs simply addressing the act of lying together or, by metonymy, the bed¹¹²⁸. The secretive atmosphere is maintained by means of a lexicon continuously echoing illicit liaisons: it is probably to be read in this respect the odd, and surely gauche, catalogue of past amours proudly made by Zeus (v. 315-327)¹¹²⁹, as well as the awkward *iunctura* φίλους

¹¹²⁵ In *H. Hom. Ap.* III 493 appears in connection with πόντος, in *H. Hom. Herm.* 172, IV.234, IV.359 it defines Maya’s and Hermes’ ἄντρον. A bizarre but emblematic phenomenon appears in *Hymn. Hom.* IV.359, ἄντρον ἐν ἠερόεντι κατὰ ζόφον; ἠερόεις is referred to ἄντρον, but ζόφος appears nonetheless, as an echo of the traditional formula ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα, 6_x (*Il.* XII 240, XV 191, XXIII 51, *Od.* XI 57, 155, XIII 241).

¹¹²⁶ «The grammarians’ dogma, that the 2nd person dual of the historical tenses had –τον, –σθον, the 3rd person –την, –σθην, is correct historically, but poorly maintained in Greek» (Hainsworth 1992, 191; see par. 1.3).

¹¹²⁷ «Most good MSS have teteuvcaton, not –eton, which Aristarchus accepted as a perf., noting that a preterite is really needed» (*ibid.*): Janko accepts that metrical convenience triggered here the creation of an artificial pluperfect, allowed by the dual being obsolete already in Ionic.

¹¹²⁸ The participle εὐδόντε occurs here only in the poems (v. 334); the sineddoche of the bed appears in εἰς εὐνήν φοιτῶντε, v. 296, and λεξάσθην, *hapax* at v. 350 (contrast with *Il.* III 411, Helen loathing to be κείνου πορσανεούσα λέχος, and Paris endyadic evocation of when ἐμίγην φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῆ, v. 445). Similarly, ἐνηθέντε (v. 314) appears 3_x within the *formula* φιλότητι τραπέομεν ἐνήθέντε, in verse-end (*Il.* III 441, XIV 314, *Od.* VIII 292), in the only explicit contexts of physical love of the *Iliad*. At *Il.* XIV 314 note the variation ἐν φιλότητι, secondary and possibly due to metrical necessity (the structure is reprised at v. 331, ἐν φιλότητι... εὐνηθῆναι): the dative covers the function of an instrumental in the passage (notice that the group *muta cum liquida* in τραπέομεν does not split), and the preposition is redundant.

¹¹²⁹ «Zeus’s solicitation is a hugely distended version of Paris’ (III 438-446) – a dismissal of all else in favour of intercourse, because the burgeoning desire he feels» (Janko 1992, 197f., 201). As well as in the case of Paris, insulted by Helene strikingly behaving as an equal (*Il.* III 428-436), the scene is keen

λήθοντε τοκῆας (v. 296), most certainly unnecessary for the gods of the gods, and plausibly formulaic.

εὐνηθέντε. See εὐδόντε.

εὐρέε. One of the few uncontracted dual adjectives¹¹³⁰. The *iunctura* εὐρέε τ' ὄμω (Il. XVI 791, XXIII 380) perfectly covers the two last meters of the verse¹¹³¹.

ἐφάμαρτεῖτον. Twice in the poems, in the *incipit* hendyadys ἀλλ' ἐφάμαρτεῖτον καὶ σπεύδετον. It is debatable whether the contracted *-εῖ is a mechanical fact or rather a metrical expedient (see also ἠγεῖσθην). Be it as it may, the form appears senior (for the so-called 'Attic contraction', see Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 215, and cap. 1.3). An alternance between ἀμαρτεῖν and ὀμαρτεῖν is testified by the sources¹¹³² (see also Wackernagel 1916, 231f.; DELG 70f., 796); see also ἀμαρτήσαντε.

on comical lights, thanks to the folkloristic motif of a god/hero subdued by his own lust. The typical intro «οὐ γὰρ πῶ ποτέ» (Il. III 442 = XIV 315) works well with Helen, not as much with Hera; yet Paris continues with a single and precise οὐδ' ὄτε (v. III 443, evoking a – probably well-known – episode in Cyprus), to which Zeus' long anaphoric catalogue of οὐδ' ὄτε (v. XIV 317, 319, 321, 323, 326, 327) stands in grotesque contrast. Zeus seals the regrettable list of past enterprises by stating, not quite elegantly, that none he ever craved for so much, οὐδὲ σεῦ αὐτῆς; the clause, if not precisely chivalrous, has the merit to close the catalogue in *Ringkomposition*, and return to his desire for the δολοφρονεῦσα (v. 329) Hera.

¹¹³⁰ All from the σ-stem; see also *τάρφεε* (Od. VIII 379) and *ταχέε* (Il. V 356, XXIII 545). In the nominal inflection, we also find *λέχεε* (Il. XXIV 648), *πήχεε* (Il. V 314, Od. XVII 38; XXIII 240; XXIV 347) and the most debated *τοκῆε* (Od. VIII 312; see *ad l.*).

¹¹³¹ Interesting is also, at Il. XVI 792, the use of *στρεφεδίνηθεν*: the verb «dit d'yeux qui chavirent, est une combinaison, créée par le poète, de *στρέφομαι* et *δινόμαι*» (Chantraine, DELG 1063; cf. also Schwyzer, GG I 645 n.1). The form, a passive aorist, is a *hapax*, and it may be wondered whether in the passage it is meant as a 3rd person singular or plural; the dual ὄσσε would allow agreement in both cases. At Il. XXIII 380f., the clause εὐρέε τ' ὄμω / ...κεφαλὰς καταθέντε πετέσθην is vividly conceived, rendering the idea of the two horses' warm breath over Eumelos' shoulders.

¹¹³² Variations are attested only in the case of the second occurrence, at Il. XXIII 414: ἀμαρτεῖν is preferred by Dydimus' Aristarchus codex (a), ὀμαρτεῖν by (b) and by pap. 13, codd. Z and Ω West (the verb also appears at Il. XII 412). Allen restored ἐφάμαρτεῖτον in both passages, whereas West preserves the bequeathed ἐφάμαρτεῖτον. The stem possibly originates from the very same root of ἀμαρτεῖν > ἀμαρτή < dev. ἀμαρτέω – and, according to Wackernagel (1916 170f.), att. ὀμαρτεῖν.

ἐφιζανέτην. The verb is a secondary formation¹¹³³, which only appears in *Iliad* X¹¹³⁴.

ἐχόντε. The form occurs 4_x, 3_x of which in the same, privileged metrical position (2–ᾗχοντε), which proves particularly productive for active present participles (see note 19).

ζωσαμένω. It is sometimes possible to trace evidence of the re-employment of the same poetic material, organised according to varied strategies: is this the case of *Il.* XXIII 685, τὸ δὲ ζωσαμένω βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα, and 710, ζωσαμένω δ' ἄρα τὴ γε βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα. Formularity is not a viable label to describe this phenomenon (if we do, of course, exclude the verse end), which rather represents a case of *clustering*¹¹³⁵. An internal allusion¹¹³⁶, with partial adaptation of the poetic material, is a hypothesis also supported by the context, which implies the repetition of two «Typeszenen» of boxing matches, in the frame of Patroklos' funeral games; the alternation βήτην/βήτην is itself ratified by the attestation of both form elsewhere in the poems.

¹¹³³ Always in the imperfect in the poems: the form is linked to the stem-root *σεδ-/*(σι-)σδ- (ἔζομαι, ἕζω; Chantraine, *DELG* 313f.). In general, forms of ἕζανω are only attested in late books (*Il.* X 26, 92, 578, XVIII 25, XX 11, XXIII 258, *Od.* V 3, XXIV 209). At *Il.* X 25f., οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῶ / ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζανε, the reiteration of the preposition ἐπὶ is striking, and certainly due to a clash with the formulaic *clausola* ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροι(σ)ι- 6–-, strictly odyssean (6_x: II 398, V 271, XII 338, XIII 79, XIX 590, XX 54); the correction ἐπιπτεν is found in many codd. (except 685, Z and Ω West).

¹¹³⁴ The immediate succession of two «typischen Szenen» of purification and banquet is to be found at *Il.* XIX 304 too (ἀλειφεῖν λίπῳ 2_x: *Il.* XIV 171, *Od.* VI 227).

¹¹³⁵ At a closer distance, see *Il.* VIII 109, τούτῳ μὲν θεράποντε κομείτων and 113, Νεστορέας μὲν ἔπειθ' ἵππους θεράποντε κομείτην. It is to be remarked that the more resilient part of the verse, in respect of the dual, seems once again to be constituted by the verb, liable to be adapted to different contexts just by the alternation of the endings.

¹¹³⁶ An internal allusion is possibly to be found in *Od.* I 109, κήρυκες δ' αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὀτρηνῶι θεράποντες, echoing *Il.* I 321, τὴ οἱ ἔσαν κήρυκε καὶ ὀτρηνῶι θεράποντε (given the evident distance between the two passages, phenomena of repetition, formularity or clustering are here to be excluded).

ἠβήσαντε. The participle carries an inceptive value ('as soon as they grew young', *Il.* V 550)¹¹³⁷. The passage glaringly encompasses clusters of paired heroes who align in succession; see also βαλέτην.

ἠγείσθην. The form, exhibiting 'Attic' contraction, occurs once *per* poem; see αἰνεῖτον. The occurrence at *Il.* II 731 may have been conditioned¹¹³⁸ by the strong influx of the structure «Ξ τε καὶ Υ ἠγησάσθην», widespread in *Iliad* II¹¹³⁹.

ἠγήτορε. The epithet, when in the dual (4_x: *Il.* IV 285, XII 354, XVII 508, 669), is peculiar to the Αἴαντε: the formula Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἠγήτορε has a markedly spondaic rhythm¹¹⁴⁰ and covers the first four meters, leaving the *coda* of the verse available for the insertion of a further character¹¹⁴¹.

ἠθελέτην. The form occurs twice in *incipit* (*Il.* X 228, XVII 432)¹¹⁴², in interesting circumstances. At *Il.* X 220f., Diomedes asked one of his companions to *join* him in his offensive in the Trojan camp, for it will be safer if *two* heroes go¹¹⁴³; triggered by the petition of two volunteers, both the Αἴαντε arise (v. 228), the verb

¹¹³⁷ On a narratological perspective, the passage constitutes a brief parenthesis on the two sons of Diocles (see Μολίονε), Krethon and Orsilochon. The two brothers are recalled in the moment of their death. A brief excursus analeptically follows on their breed (vv. 543-547), then we are informed in a *climax* that the brothers are even διδυμάονε (v. 548). At v. 550, the particles cluster μὲν ἄρα marks a turning point, enhancing the denouement about to follow, namely their departure for Ilion (v. 549) and from life (v. 550), bringing us, by *Ringkomposition*, back to the present of the storyline (the *iunctura* τιμὴν ἀγνόμενος is reminiscent of *Il.* I 159; the reference is again to the Atreidai, see also *Il.* VI 446, κλέος).

¹¹³⁸ Unique is also the epithet δύο παῖδε / ἱητῆρ' ἀγαθῷ (due to the fact that the two chieftains are sons of Asklepios); that the designation is 'gold dust' is confirmed by the fact that ἱητῆρ is one of the few non-normulaic duals for human beings (see par. 2.3), proving not to be a well-spread label.

¹¹³⁹ 4_x (620, 678, 864, 870), always followed by patronymic information; compare with ἠγησάσθω (*Il.* IX 168) and ἠγησάσθαι (*Il.* XXII 101, *Od.* X 263), always in verse-end.

¹¹⁴⁰ The propensity towards a slow pace is even more sensible in the whole-verse formula Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἠγήτορε χαλκοχιτώνων, in which further solemnity is assigned by the stress 'on the downbeat', marking the initial syllable of three over four words.

¹¹⁴¹ For instance Menelaos, *Il.* XVII 508, or Meriones, *Il.* XVII 669. In the plural, the epithet appears 9_x in the whole-verse formula (ῶ φίλοι) Ἀργείων ἠγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες.

¹¹⁴² Also compare with ἐνθ' ἐλέτην, with the same metrical shape, in *incipit* at *Il.* VII 8, XI 328.

¹¹⁴³ With a quite intricated periphrasis, Diomedes adds in fact that σύν τε δὲ ἐρχομένω, καί τε πρὸ δ τοῦ ἐνόησεν / ὅπως κέρδος ἔη (v. 224f.); the use of σύν τε and καί τε is surprising, as well as the lack of a binomial partition of the syntax after the indication of two required members.

ἠθελέτην¹¹⁴⁴ marking the beginning of an anaphoric catalogue of the most prominent heroes (ἔθειλ_x appears 5_x in five verses, 227-231).

At *Il.* XVII 432 the form relates to Achilles' horses, unwilling to leave nor to stay: their despair is shared even by Zeus, who addresses the δειλώ at vv. 443-455. The humanisation of the two horses is apparent, as it invests into the choice of a verb of will, ἠθελέτην, to describe their 'emotions'¹¹⁴⁵.

ἦσθην. The form appears twice in *incipit* (*Il.* VIII 445, *Od.* VII 232), and twice in the *formula* πλησίαι αἶ γ' ἦσθην, κακὰ δὲ Τρώεσσι μεδέσθην (*Il.* IV 21, VIII 458)¹¹⁴⁶. Apart from being one of the few strictly 'feminine' formulae of the poems, the internal rhyme, the parallelism of the syntax and the morphological alignment in the verbs bestow it a value of closure¹¹⁴⁷.

θεράποντε. The epithet mainly relates to Ares, preserving its inner archaic shade, which enhances the value of *attending* matters of war¹¹⁴⁸. Hence, it seems sensible in the poems that θεράπων has not yet been perfectly regrammaticalised as a noun, as it still fulfils his duty of active participle.

ιεμένω. The form is a *hapaax* in the dual, and its metrical scan is slightly unclear: the first two meters of the verse display in fact an ascending, 'anapaestic' rhythm (ιεμένω κατὰ ὄλκα, 1~ – 2~ – 3~). The disposition may be

¹¹⁴⁴ With absolute value. Incidentally, the two Αἴαντε are the first to stand by virtue of their number; yet *two* heroes would not be required, as Diomedes already counted himself in the expedition. Also to be noticed is the epanadiplosis framing Odysseus' character, ὁ τλήμων (v. 231)... ἐτόλμα (v. 232; from a stem-root *τελ-*h*₂/*τολ-*h*₂/*τλ-*eh*₂; see Chantraine, *DELG* 1088ff.).

¹¹⁴⁵ It is remarkable that the pair is persistently referred to by means of duals, throughout roughly twenty verses: πυθέσθην (v. 427), ἐνισκίψαντε (v. 437), μυρομένω, τώ (v. 441), δειλώ, σφῶι (v. 443), ἔστον ἀγήρω τ' ἄθανάτω τε (v. 444), ἔχητον (v. 445), σφῶιν (v. 451), σαώσετον (v. 452), τώ, βαλόντε (v. 457). This is quite a high concentration, usually reserved to similes, or heroes acting in couple.

¹¹⁴⁶ Compare with μεδέσθηω (*Il.* II 384) and μεδέσθαι (*Il.* XVIII 245), always in *clausola*.

¹¹⁴⁷ Closeness is also vividly depicted in the scene: πλησίος relates to πέλας (bysyllabic stem-root *πελ-*h*₂/*πλ-*eh*₂) and enhances the physical and mental proximity of Athena and Hera, conferring an idea of intimacy to the description: the goddesses are in harmony, in counteropposal to the disharmony they mean to trigger within the Trojan army.

¹¹⁴⁸ And not simply 'serving'. The epithet occurs 57_x in the poems, 7_x of which in the final clause θεράποντε(ς) ἄρῃος. The diverse usage of the epithet reflects in a relatively flexible metrical disposition: as far as the dual is concerned, 3_x 2–θεράποντε (*Il.* VIII 109, XI 255, *Od.* XVI 253), 2_x *clausola* (*Il.* I 321, XIX 47).

influenced by the *enjambement* of the former verse: nevertheless, the passage is controversial¹¹⁴⁹. In order to allow a dactylic scan, we shall evoke the 1st law by Schulze (see ἀγήρω, n. 2), according to which, in order for a *tribrachion* to enter a hexameter, one of the three syllables – usually the first one – must be scanned as long (ἱεμένω κατὰ ὄλκα, 1 – ~ 2 – ~ 3 – ~, with feminine *caesura*).

ἰθυνθήτην. Passive forms are rare in the poems¹¹⁵⁰, and usually appear in the 3rd person (for both metrical and semantic reasons)¹¹⁵¹.

ἰκέσθην. The form is very productive, almost always in verse end¹¹⁵². As they present with the same morphological shape, it may be debated whether our forms reflect aorists rather than imperfects; the context does not always supply evidence enough for a conclusive assessment. The verse Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἐπὶ τε λκισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθην (*Il.* I 328 = IX 185) has been claimed to be a formulaic expedient suitable for a «Botschaftszene», thus partaking in the most debated issue of the duals of the Embassy of *Iliad* IX (see par. 3.0).

¹¹⁴⁹ The enjambement is both semantic and phonetic: notice the sixth meter of v. 706, and its vocalic ending, ἐέργει. The participle ἱεμένω is linked with βόε (τό, v. 706, in hyperbaton) within a simile referring to Ajax Telamonios and – allegedly – Oileus (v. 701; see Wackernagel 1877); middle forms of the participle currently present with particles (e.g. ἄμφω ἰέσθην ἐπὶ ἵστορι, *Il.* XVIII 501, Achilles' shield). The term ὄλκα is a *hapax* itself; Payne Knight suggested to reconstitute an old Aeolic *αϝλκα (see also LSJ⁹ 2032, West *ad l.*) which, however, does not solve all problems.

¹¹⁵⁰ 13_x (only 2_x in the *Odyssey*): αἰχθήτην (*Il.* XXIV 97), δηριθήτην (*Il.* XVI 756), δινηθήτην (*Il.* XXII 165), εἰσιάσθην (*Il.* XV 544), ἐταρπήτην (*Od.* XXIII 300), ἰθυνθήτην (*Il.* XVI 475), κλινθήτην (*Il.* X 350), κυκηθήτην (*Il.* XI 129), μιάνθην? (*Il.* IV 146), πειρηθῆτον (*Il.* X 444, the only 2nd person in the *Iliad*), πιστωθῆτον (*Od.* XXI 218) and ὠρηθήτην (*Il.* V 12, XVII 530).

¹¹⁵¹ In general, the 2nd person is strongly disadvantaged in respect of the 3rd (slightly more than 1/4 of the occurrences: 68_x 2nd person verbs in the dual, 235_x 3rd person verbs in the dual): these circumstances indeed rely on the contingency of the narratives. Yet there are categories in which the disparity is even more sensible: in secondary endings, the real 'domain' of the 3rd person (80_x active and 48_x middle dual forms in the *Iliad*, 27_x active and 17_x middle dual forms in the *Odyssey*), the 2nd person is practically invisible (no occurrences in the *Odyssey*, 9_x active and 2_x middle in the *Iliad*). The comparison is striking: among forms with secondary endings, 172_x are in the 3rd person, 11_x in the 2nd. So sensible a variance may still be indebted with narratological necessity; besides, such split suggests a form of 'censure', maybe conditioned by the already mentioned unbalanced disposition of verbal dual endings (-τον covering three different tense and aspects, -την just one: see par. 1.3). In between analogical pressure and semantic constraints, the historical ending for the 2nd dual person, currently not so needed, may have been increasingly felt as the 'odd one out'.

¹¹⁵² 6_x (*Il.* I 328 = IX 185; XIV 283; XXIII 215, *Od.* II 150; X 117). See also the 2nd dual variant ἴκεσθον at *Il.* VIII 456.

ἰόντε. The participle occurs 3_x, in the same metrical position (1—-ἰόντε)¹¹⁵³. At *Il.* VI 120 the dual is a variation on the verse-end formula ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἰόντες, 11_x in the poems. At *Il.* I 567 the integration of ἰόντε is hardly sustainable¹¹⁵⁴; it seems conversely agreeable at *Il.* XVII 103¹¹⁵⁵.

ἵππω. As we would expect for a currently used term, ἵππω/ἵπποιον present in a variety of metrical collocations¹¹⁵⁶. It does not seem worthwhile to stress how horses are essential in the heroic conception; it appears more interesting to focus on the devices the poet exerts to this end. Let us consider, as an instance, *Il.* VIII 41f. (= XIII 23f.): ὑπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ' ἵππω / ὠκυπέτα, χρυσέησιν ἐθείρησιν κομόωντε. The horses are ennobled by means of three high register epithets: χαλκόποδε (*harax* to the formula)¹¹⁵⁷, ὠκυπέτα (with the rare dual ending -ā of masculines: see ὠκυπέτα) and κομόωντε (with διέκτασις)¹¹⁵⁸. This connotation clearly enhances an attempt to 'humanisation' which, in a similar

¹¹⁵³ As a remark, participles in *-ἰόντε(ς) occur in this very same position 28_x.

¹¹⁵⁴ «For Zenodotus a reading ἰόντε is quoted with an ἐκ πλήρους writing that is surprising. Such writings are found in the Timotheos papyrus (c. 350 B.C.), and by various errors show that its scribe has undertaken to expand forms which were previously written with elision. We are justified in believing the same thing of the makers of the MSS which Zenodotus used. All, then, that is traditional is IONΘOTE, and ἰόντε is merely an interpretation (not at all surprising) by Ionicistic scribes which Zenodotus has perpetuated. For us it has no binding force, and we may with Leaf take IONΘOTE as ἰόντα ὅτε, tho the closest parallel is ὄλεθρόν τιτι χραισμεῖν H 143, Λ 120, Υ 296» (Bolling 1933, 304; see also Segal 1968, 101).

¹¹⁵⁵ Interestingly enough, the dual appears integrated by Zenodotus and excised by Aristarchus (see Erbse IV 350): «dass Zenodot den Dual mit absicht hergestellt hätte, kann kein Mensch glauben; die Wahrscheinlichkeit liegt für eine Conjectur Aristarchs. Bei Homer ist aber in der Caesur der hiat legitim, so dass natürlich ἰόντε die richtige Lesart ist; dazu kommt, dass im Nomen sich der Dual länger hielt, Zenodot hat also eine ältere, gute Überlieferung bewahrt» (Wilamowitz 2006, 208).

¹¹⁵⁶ 14_x ἵππω (*Il.* V 230, 237, 356, 588, VI 38, VIII 41, 127, 136, XIII 23, XVII 486, 501, 504, XXIII 545, *Od.* IV 20) and 5_x ἵπποιον (*Il.* V 13, 107, XIX 396, XXIII 362, *Od.* XV 182) in the poems. It is remarkable that the noun never occurs with a quantifier (see par. 2.2.2). *Il.* V 237 is in a cluster with 230; in both instances the address σὺ... αὐτός in the first part of the verse is sealed by the clause καὶ τεὸ ἵππω.

¹¹⁵⁷ The epithet is reserved to horses, and so is καλλίτριχος, 18_x — once in the dual, at *Il.* XVII 504. The term is an adpositing noun; were it an adjective, we should expect *καλλίτριχῶ; see *ad l.* At *Il.* VI 38, the horses are ἀτυζομένῳ; middle participles of ἀτυζομαι show a definite inclination to presenting in the fourth metre (ἀ⁴τυζ-), and our form behaves accordingly (9_x over 11_x total occurrences). See also βλαφθέντε.

¹¹⁵⁸ Despite the markedly poetic register, the formula does not need be ancient: the *iunctura* ὑπ' ὄχεσφι is slightly surprising, as the ablative value is already borne by *-φι, and so it is the 'distraction' of χρυσέησιν, metrically reset by synizesis and rhyming with ἐθείρησιν. It is significant that all epithets are inflected in the dual, according to the animacy hierarchy: the horses are in the context enhanced, hence animate.

fashion, takes place elsewhere too (e.g. Achilles' speaking horses, *Il.* XIX 408-417, or Antilochus' address, *Il.* XXIII 403-416: see ἀποκηδήσαντε).

ισχανέτην. The combined effect of reduplicated intensive present-stem and imperfect endings sketches the idea of a persisted, lengthened labour. The subjects of the effort are the Αἴαντε¹¹⁵⁹, here defined ἐμμεμαῶτε (v. 746, probably in a cluster with v. 735), an epithet which indeed echoes μεμαῶτε¹¹⁶⁰, but hardly occurs elsewhere in the poems.

καλλιρρόω. By appearing inflected in the dual, the epithet – occurring only in the *Iliad* (3x, always in connection with water) – enhances the polarity of the two springs it relates to, κρούνω, which should have been rather typical and renowned. The dual is in this place perfectly pertinent, although both noun and adjective are *hapax*: the twinned springs figure as limbs of a twofold passage, whose antithetic state – one inflamed, the other chill – metaphorically reminds of the rivers of Hades¹¹⁶¹.

¹¹⁵⁹ As a remark, in the passage it is never specified *who* the two Αἴαντε are: only the Telamonios takes an individual stance (v. 716), but it remains doubtful whether in the intention of the composer the other one should have been Teucer rather than the Oileus. See Αἴαντε and par. 2.5.

¹¹⁶⁰ 9x, but twice referred to the two Αἴαντε: Αἴαντε πρώτῳ προσέφη μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτῷ (*Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555).

¹¹⁶¹ The infernal landscape, as it emerges from the poems, is unclear. Yet at *Il.* XXIII 73 an infernal river is mentioned (identified with Styx so far); the *Odyssey* precises (with a rather apparent aetiological intent) that Cocytus Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορροή (v. 514), whereas the conjoining of two rivers, with no reference to the relative temperatures, takes place ἔνθα μὲν εἰς Ἀχέροντα Πυριφλεγέθων τε ῥεουσι (v. X 513). Hesiod knows, among the infernal rivers, only Styx: *Theog.* 383, 389ff., 775ff.; the same river is mentioned in *Hymn. Hom.* II.259, II.423; III.84-86; IV.519. «The boundary between the worlds of the living and the dead was marked by a stream or a body of water, as frontiers between people often are in the upper world» (West 2007, 389; see also West 1997, 155 and West 2007, 389-191). One of the infernal rivers known in later sources, and precisely Styx, should nonetheless be frozen: *στυγ- portrays an original value of «verhaßt» (Hoffmann 1950, 342), 'cold, harsh, stern' (Frisk, *GEW* 822; cf. *infra*). «Στύξ ist = στύξ f. "das Verhasste, Frost", vgl. Hofmann, *Et. Wb. d. Griech.*, S. 342» (Georgiev 1958, 43; see also Boisacq 1950, 921; Pokorný 1033ff.; Frisk, *GEW* 812f.; Chantraine, *DELG* 1066).

καλλιτριχε. Only once in the dual, at *Il.* XVII 504: the epithet is an adposition to ἵππῳ, built on the compound καλλι-τριξ and echoing the verse-end formula καλλίτριχας ἵππους¹¹⁶².

καππεσέτην. Aeolic form, with syncope and merge of the preposition to the stem (καππεσ_x 21_x, 17_x in *incipit*; compare with (παρᾶ)κάββαλ_x 8_x).

καρχαρόδοντε. The epithet appears only twice in the Homeric poetry; the compound is hereby of more ancient attestation than κάρχαρος itself, «"qui coupe, qui scie", avec des dents aiguës comme une scie» (Chantraine, *DELG* 502)¹¹⁶³.

καταπτήτην. «Aussi la seule forme personnelle active de cet aoriste» (Meillet 1918, 163; see also Chantraine, *DELG* 948); the image of the two horses aghast by Zeus' thunderbolt is vividly described, the verb being enhanced in between the two *cesurae*.

κελευτιόωντε. Only two occurrences of the frequentative participle (*Il.* XII 265, XIII 125), arguably from a present κελευτιάω, with διέκτασις (Schwyzer, *GG* I 732 n.5; Chantraine, *DELG* 512; *LSJ*⁹ 936).

κῆρε. At *Il.* VIII 70 the form was condemned by Wilamowitz (1916, 43)¹¹⁶⁴ and regarded as an anomaly by Wackernagel¹¹⁶⁵. The passage is indeed

¹¹⁶² 11_x in the poems (see also καλλιτριχα μῆλα, *Od.* IX 336, 469). The stem is athematic (whereas we would expect the denominative adjective to be thematic): compare with καλλίτριχας < *καλλι-τριχγς.

¹¹⁶³ «Forme à redoublement expressif d'un radical *khar-. On rapproche skr. *khāra* "dur, pointu", etc., persan *kār(ā)*, "rocher, épine", etc.» (*ibid.*). Compare with Hesiod (5_x: 2_x ἄρπη, *Theog.* 175, 180, and 3_x κύνες, *Op.* 604, 796; (*Sc.* 303)) and Aristophanes (*Eq.* 1017 (κύνες), + the *iunctura* in verse-ending αὐτῶ τῶ κάρκαρόδοντι (*Vesp.* 1031, *Pax* 754).

¹¹⁶⁴ «They were athetised by Aristarchus, and there is no reason to presume that his motive was to get rid of this instance of a 'false' dual. The lines are plainly a gloss on the close of line 72, and stand in glaring contradiction to the δύο κῆρε of line 70, which, as the scholia point out, it would be absurd to interpret distributively – two for each side. If the interpolator so understood it, even he did not use the dual 'falsely'; cf., for instance, Ψ 500-1» (Bolling 1933, 306).

¹¹⁶⁵ Wackernagel (1926, 78) argued that the 'anomaly' of the κῆρε being just two was to be considered, together with the inconsistencies in the following verses 186, 191 (where ἀποτίνατον, ἐφομαρτεῖτον and σπεύδετον, 'pay back, come along and hurry' are employed in an address to four horses, see *ad l.*), as evidence that sometimes the dual might have been employed for the plural, in a much 'zenodotean' fashion. Yet the fact could be due to later usages narrowed to the passage, or the book,

odd: Zeus (referred to simply as by πατήρ, v. 69) puts on a scale the δύο κῆρε of Achaeans and Trojans; it appears that the lot of the Achaeans is doomed, as their *two* κῆρες (plur.) ἐξέσθην (dual, v. 74). It is evident that either the dual noun (v. 70) is improper, or the dual verb is simply attracted in the dual (v. 74) by the proximity to the noun¹¹⁶⁶. It has been questioned whether the Keres were two only, and which should their status have been¹¹⁶⁷.

κιοίτην. The only optative in Homer appears in the last book of the *Iliad* (XXIV 285); complex forms are rare in the dual, as they are likely to be late.

κλαίοντε. At *Il.* XXII 427 we meet the only occurrence of a dual active participle located in ⁴–ντε¹¹⁶⁸: yet the innovation is once again acting on formulaic material, as the endyad γοόωσα τε μυρομένη τε¹¹⁶⁹ provides the archetype for our κλαίοντε τε μυρομένω τε.

κλινθήτην. See διακρινθέντε.

κομείτην. Verb with ‘Post-mycenaean contraction’¹¹⁷⁰ (Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 215; cf. cap. 1.3). Both this and the following form belong to the eighth book of the *Iliad*, which has already been pointed to as rich in late phenomena.

only: the scholar himself added that book 8 was probably the most recent in the *Iliad*. In his 2009’s translation of the *Vorlesungen*, Langslow (2009, 109 n.25) adds that «this view is based on the fact that *Iliad* 8 contains a relatively large number of (i) verses suspected by the Alexandrian critics, and (ii) so-called ‘plus-verses’ (inappropriate insertions of Homeric verses from other books). See the introduction to the book in Kirk (1992, 293f.), with further references. Kirk tends to espouse the view expressed by W., to the effect that the text of book 8 ‘remained fluid later than elsewhere’; S. West (1967, 12f., 75) is more skeptical».

¹¹⁶⁶ Either way, the second dual denies the first one (the κῆραι may in fact be two, *one* for each army, or many – namely four, *two* for each army). West (*ad l.*), following Aristarchus, athetises vv. 73f. Compare also with *Il.* XXII 210f., a reprise of the first occurrence, in which the verse ἐν δὲ τίθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο is followed by the exegetical adjoin τὴν μὴν Ἀχιλλῆος, τὴν δ’ Ἑκτορος.

¹¹⁶⁷ On the matter, see the huge bibliography collected by Ercoles 2011, 315f. n.5-6.

¹¹⁶⁸ The form also occurs at *Il.* XI 136, XXII 90, in the opening *formula* ὡς τὸ γε κλαίοντε προσασυδῆτην.

¹¹⁶⁹ With διέκτασις, in *clausola*; *Il.* VI 373, XXIII 106; see also γοόωντα τε μυρόμενόν τε, *Od.* XIX 119.

¹¹⁷⁰ «Les formes κομείτων, κομείτην et πειρηθῆτον (*Il.* VIII 109, 113, X 444) comportent chacune la contraction irréductible de deux voyelles de timbre *e*, contraction qui est, comme on l’a vu, postérieure à l’époque mycénienne» (Wathelet 1970, 333).

κομείτων. See κομείτην.

κομῶντες. The form presents with διέκτασις (see also κελευτιόωντες)¹¹⁷¹.

κορυστά. Many and diverse are the epic formations derived from the stem *κορυθ- (κορυθαίολος¹¹⁷², κορυστής and its compounds χαλκο- and ἵππο-κορυστής, etc.). The simple formant in *-της is reasonably the most ancient: in the dual, κορυστά is exclusive to the δύο Αἴαντε (*Il.* XIII 201, XVIII 163, in verse-end). See also αἰχμητά.

κοσμήτορες. An innerly 'dual' epithet (never in the plural, and reserved to the Ἄτρεΐδα)¹¹⁷³, the form is later borrowed to define the Dioskoroī (*Il.* III 236). The *nom d'agent* builds on the denominative verb κοσμέω, although the etymology is uncertain: «dérivé en -μος ou en -σμος, mais de quoi?» (Chantraine, *DELG* 571).

κούρω. The awkward usage of *Od.* VIII 35, 48 is unparalleled (see par. 2.2.2, Debrunner's type vi). The most surprising fact is that, in both instances, a dual verb immediately follows (κρινάσθων at v. 36¹¹⁷⁴, βήτην at v. 49), as

¹¹⁷¹ «Zwischen dem vom Dichter gesetzten κομῶντες und dem in unserm Texte überlieferten κομῶντες and nicht (oder wenigstens selten) ein unmetrisches κομῶντες, sondern die Rezitatoren zerlegten bei Einführung der ihnen geläufigen Kontraktionsform in den Vers sofort dem Metrum gemäß den Kontraktionsvokal in zwei Silben» (Wackernagel 1916, 227).

¹¹⁷² Whose usage is almost exclusively restricted to Hektor (39x the epithet, 38x the final phrase κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ; 1x Ἄρης, *Il.* XX 38). The epithet never appears in the *Odyssey*.

¹¹⁷³ Thus in the long formula ἦλθε θεὸς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν [...] / λυσόμενός τε θυγάτρα φέρων τ' ἀπερσεισ' ἄποινα / στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσίν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος / χρυσέφ' ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ καὶ λίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς / Ἄτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύο κοσμήτορες λαῶν (*Il.* I 12-16, reprised alike at *Il.* 371-375). Even the metrical difficulty at the beginning of v. 15, χρυσέφ' ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, is transferred unchanged in the following passage (Lehrs tried to solve it postulating ἄν σκ-). Four identical verses are gold dust, even in Homeric poetry; yet the depiction of Chryses' status (whose name is itself speaking) and intentions, with the mention of Apollo (who is shortly to trigger the events governing the poem), is intentionally prestigious, emblematic and fundamental to the incoming dramatic developments.

¹¹⁷⁴ «Alcinoo oscilla dalla prima persona (ἐρῶσομεν, v. 34) alla terza (κρινάσθων, v. 36) e alla seconda (ἔκβητ, v. 38). Κρινάσθων è al medio con un soggetto indefinito sottinteso, quindi κούρω è accusativo duale» (Hainsworth 1982, 250).

to prove that the referent is deliberately meant as a dual entity¹¹⁷⁵. Distributive values have been adduced – by all odds improperly. The dual is in the context applied persistently, yet not consistently: the forms are dominated, and attracted, by *δύω*¹¹⁷⁶. This is not, however, reason enough to accept this usage as generally admissible for the dual.

κρινθέντε. See *διακρινθέντε*.

κυβιστητήρε. The form should designate «celui qui saute la tête la première, acrobate qui fait la roue», being a denominative from a «verbe expressif d'origine inconnue» (Chantraine, *DELG* 594)¹¹⁷⁷. The noun occurs 3_x, 2_x in the dual (*δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστητήρε κατ' αὐτοῦς / μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους, Il. XVIII 604f., Od. IV 18f.*).

κυκηθήτην. The stem's original value is probably to be traced in the act of stirring liquids (Chantraine 1953a, 212, and *DELG* 597; LSJ⁹ 1006; see also Shipp 1953, 33). The stem will have passed for extension from 'mixing' to the meaning of 'mixing up', hence 'confusing'. This secondary semantic value is enhanced in the passage by the passive; yet it is unclear whether the dual refers to Pisander and Hippolochus, or to their two horses¹¹⁷⁸.

¹¹⁷⁵ The same may be appreciated in *Il. IX 197*; after the (in)famous platoon of five persons has reached Achilles' tent, he persists in the eccentricity, addressing them with a *χαίρετον*; other duals follow.

¹¹⁷⁶ Precisely, «un duale irrazionale generato dal successivo *δύω*» (Hainsworth 1982, 250). See also Bolling 1933, 306; see also Debrunner 1927, 17; Chantraine, *DELG* 567f. and Brugmann-Delbrück, *Grundriß* III/1 143, where OCS *dŭva na dęsete koša* (dual) 'twelve baskets' is cited as a parallel.

¹¹⁷⁷ «On est tenté d'évoquer certains mots attesté dans *l'EM* et d'ailleurs obscur: *κύβη· κεφαλή* [~ *κύμβη*]» (*ibid.*). West athetizes *Il. XVIII 604*, *μετὰ δὲ σφιν ἐμέλλετο θεῖος ἀοιδός / φορμίζων*. The passage (*Il. XVIII 603-606*) is problematic in its close resemblance to *Od. IV 15-19*; following Wolf, scholarly literature has long believed the Odyssean passage to be secondary to the Iliadic one, and restored the 'missing' verse in the *Iliad*. Yet West (2001, 250-252) underlines that such assumption is the result of a post-Aristarchean tradition (possibly Seleucos): «this ancient critic [...] had to postulate that the *Iliad* passage, being the source of the *Odyssey* passage, originally contained everything that the latter contained. If it did not so in current texts, he inferred that Aristarchus must have shortened it» (*ibid.* 252). Therefore, the re-insertion of the verse seems a hypercorretism.

¹¹⁷⁸ A decisive role is hence played by *δέ*. In the first case, *δέ* should bear a slightly conclusive value ('then'): in favour of this hypothesis stands the fact that the second *τώ* (v. 130) clearly refers to the two sons of Antimachos, as they entreat *ἐκ δίφρου*. In the second case, the value would be plainly exegetical; this hypothesis is supported by the aversative *δὲ αὖτε*, which sets quite strong an

λαβέτην. The only dual forms of λαμβάνω present in the very same metrical position (³–λαβετην/-τον)¹¹⁷⁹. At *Il.* VI 232, in the famous scene of the exchange of the arms' equipment between Diomedes and Glaukos, the presence of dual forms is strikingly arranged. The heroes are referred to in the dual only in two moments of the episode: when they meet to struggle¹¹⁸⁰, and roughly a hundred verses later, when they shake hands to engage in their notoriously unbalanced agreement (vv. 234-236).

λαῖε. The term, a *hapax*, presents in hyperbaton and with the quantifier δύο. As in the case of the two springs of *Il.* XXII 147 (see καλλιρρόω), the dual arises to stress a well known, twofold sign. The long vowel may reveal the form as one among many «termes dialectaux que l'ionien ne connaît pas» (Chantraine 1953a, 22; see also Monro 1891, 91; Bowra 1934, 62f., *DELG* 609f. and δμῶε)¹¹⁸¹.

λαμπέσθην. Twice in the poems, in the formula τῶ δὲ οἱ ὄσσε / λαμπέσθην (*Il.* XV 607f., XIX 365f.). Like λεξάσθην (*Il.* XIV 350) and μαχέσθην (*Il.* V 575, XII 145) the form is a 3rd dual passive aorist – an otherwise scarcely represented category¹¹⁸².

λαφύσσετον. Third person dual imperfect with 'improper' ending, probably to avoid the sequence –υ– (**λαφυσσέτην): see par. 1.3 and Monro 1891, 3; Chantraine 1953a, 95. See also ἐτεύχετον.

opposition, probably in order to stress the shift in subject ('the two (= horses) were *hence* bewildered', v. 129; 'the two (= heroes), *on the other hand*, implored', v. 130).

¹¹⁷⁹ Compare *Il.* VI 233, χεῖρας τ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην with *Il.* XXIII 711, ἀγκὰς δ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην.

¹¹⁸⁰ At v. 120f., συνίτην μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι... ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἰόντε. The choice is perfectly consistent, as the two heroes are coupled in their longing for fighting. Similarly, when they finally find an agreement, they are portrayed as acting together (ὦς ἄρα φωνήσαντε, καθ' ἵππων αἴξαντε / χεῖρας τ' ἀλλήλων λαβήτην καὶ πιστώσαντο, vv. 231f.), since they share the same will toward the exchange.

¹¹⁸¹ Note that «un cas favorable à la contraction est celui où les deux voyelles en contact ont le même timbre» (Chantraine 1953a, 30). Despite the lack of agreement in the critics, it is plausible that the term relies upon an originary *ɸ*-stem; this would be consistent with the choice of an athematic ending, as it appears to be the domineering trade in Homer (par. 1.1).

¹¹⁸² Yet in all quoted passages the dual valence is granted by both semantic and (in the case of μάχεσθαι) formulaic relevance.

λεξάσθην. See also λαμπέσθην.

λέοντε. The noun offers a relatively high percentage of instances in the dual¹¹⁸³. The image of two lions as surrogates of fighting heroes is prototypical (see βαλέτην and Wilamowitz 2006, 267f.)¹¹⁸⁴; in each and every instance, the term occurs within similes, the lions embodying Achaean heroes¹¹⁸⁵. All of this concurs in supporting the idea that there could have been a repertoire of formulaic material explicitly intended to define twinned heroes in the act of assaulting their prey, *via* the metaphor of wild lions.

λευκώ. The adjective occurs in the dual always verse-end; see also λῶε. At *Il.* V 314 the clause ἐχεύατο πήχεε λευκώ is interesting: the association of λευκός and a verb which usually defines the act of pouring raises the impression that

¹¹⁸³ «Toutes les fois qu'il est question du groupe classique des "deux lions", dans des comparaisons ou autrement, ils sont nommés au duel, λέοντε E 554, K 297, N 198, Π 756; mais, à côté de λέοντε Σ 579, on trouve au génitif pluriel λεόντων Σ 585. Et la forme λεόντουιν n'apparaît pas» (Meillet 1918, 149). It is also to be stressed that λέοντε occurs 3_x in the canonical position of dual present active participles (3-ντε).

¹¹⁸⁴ This fact is exemplarily displayed by the fact that two hunting lions are represented on Achilles' shield (*Il.* XVIII 579-586). As the scene is conventional, the lexicon every time employed is in its most part formulaic: 4_x²— λέοντε (*Il.* V 554, X 297, XIII 198, XVIII 579). At *Il.* X 297, the *incipit* βάν ρ' ἔμεν is probably attracted by v. 273; the formula chiefly indicates heroes rising to a resolution (compare with *Il.* XII 106 and XIV 38, warriors moving to an attack, *Od.* VIII 56, XVIII 428, XIX 429); διὰ νόκτα μέλαιναν occurs *in clausola* also at *Il.* X 394, 468 (cluster). At *Il.* XIII 198-202, the lions are so strictly conceived as a pair that agreement always takes place in the dual: this is reasonable, as the two lions are here pointing at the two Ajaxes. «The scansion μεμᾶότε, by metrical lengthening, is paralleled at 2.818» (Janko 1992, 71 and 416). Interesting is the hyperbaton of v. 198, with the two lions surrounding the goat; at v. 199, compare ἀρπάζαντε with *Il.* V 556 (ἀρπάζοντε). At *Il.* XVI 756-758 again agreement is perfectly realised: we even find the only case of a dual relative pronoun in the poems (v. 767). The *clausola* μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον of v. 758 is echoed in v. 824 (see also *Il.* XI 325, XVI 258, 429). Finally, the scene of *Il.* XVIII 579 repeats *Il.* XVII 61-67, both in semantics, structure and aim (see also Edwards 1992, 227f.); λαφύσσετον (see *ad l.*) is an imperfect with 'improper' primary ending for which metrically convenient parallels are found at *Il.* X 361, 364 and possibly XIII 346.

¹¹⁸⁵ Orsilochus and Crethon, *Il.* V 554-560; Diomedes and Odysseus, *Il.* X 297; the 'two Ajaxes', *Il.* XIII 197-202. The pattern is varied at *Il.* XVI 756-761, where the two lions are Patroklos and Hektor, fighting each other to earn the corpse of Cebriones.

the formulation could be the result of the adaptation of a structure originary meant for pouring-scenes (e.g. libation)¹¹⁸⁶.

λέχεε. The dual is uncertain but admissible. The form ἐγκονεοῦσαι appears recent, given both its feminine ending and the absence of the stem from the rest of the *Iliad*¹¹⁸⁷.

λήθοντε. See εὐδόντε.

λοεσσαμένω. From a present *λοέω¹¹⁸⁸: aeolic form, as well as μαχεσσαμένω. See also ἀλείψαμένω.

μαχναμένουιν. The form, twice in verse-end, is the only oblique dual participle in the Homeric poetry¹¹⁸⁹. At *Il.* XVII 386 the form is uncertain, and not accepted by West; nevertheless, the dual is hardly to be interpreted with Ohler (1884, 25), Ameis-Hentze, and Leaf, as referring to the two armies. It seems simpler to believe that the dual fulfils here a distributive function, applying to each and every pair of hands and eyes respectively (see par. 2.2.2).

ματήσετον. At *Il.* V 233. This is a serior form: such assumption is based both on the tense and the apophonic grade of the stem-root (*ματ-ᾱ-σε- > *ματ-η-σε- with 'Attic' modification of the vowel).

μαχέσθην. The form occurs twice (*Il.* V 575¹¹⁹⁰; XII 145¹¹⁹¹), in duel contexts. Interestingly enough, in both passages the form is strongly embedded

¹¹⁸⁶ The form πήχεε is a *hapax* in the *Iliad*; the *Odyssey*, in similar contexts, prefers a verb like βάλλω (XVII 38, XXIV 347). See also λευκός with γάλα 3_x (*Il.* IV 434, V 902, *Od.* IX 246) and ὕδωρ 3_x (*Il.* XXIII 282, *Od.* V 70, XII 172).

¹¹⁸⁷ Compare αἶψα δ' ἄρα στόρεσαν, διοὶ λέχε' ἐγκονέουσαι with αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ στόρεσαν, πυκινὸν λέχος ἐγκονέουσαι (*Od.* VII 340, XXIII 291).

¹¹⁸⁸ Possibly *λοφε- (~ lat. *lauo?): aor. λοέσσαι < *low-θ₁-sai (Pokorny *IEW* 692; Chantraine, *DELG* 664).

¹¹⁸⁹ Yet the stem should be ancient: in support of this thesis stand the fact that the verb only inflects for the present, and that it does not relate to any deverbative formation. Its presence in the first book of the *Iliad* aligns to this idea. See Chantraine, *DELG* 668.

¹¹⁹⁰ This passage is extremely interesting, as dual features are reduplicated, both syntactically and semantically, in subsequent scenes. First Aeneas murders both the sons of Diocles (v. 542), who came

within the syntax, as other features align to the verb in the dual¹¹⁹². See also λαμπέσθην.

μαχεσσαμένω. Cf. λοεσσαμένω.

μεδέσθην. See ἥσθην.

μεμαῶτε. The two alternants μεμαῶτε and μεμαῶτε are phonetic variants on the same developmental pattern: the stem of the perfect implies in fact long vowel (*μεμαῶ-φοτε > *μεμαῶ-οτε)¹¹⁹³, but the loss of digamma caused methathesis in the Ionic forms (*μεμαῶ-φοτε > *μεμαῶ-ωτε; see Monro 1891, 29; Chantraine, *DELG* 685 and 1984, 191)¹¹⁹⁴. We encounter the finite form μέματον at *Il.* VIII 413 and X 433: once again, the dual inflection is favoured by the semantic valence of the verb.

to Iliion for the sake of the two Atreidai (v. 552): they fall like two lions killed by men (v. 560: see λέοντε). Aroused by their death, two heroes, Menelaos and Antilochos, resist Aeneas and get ahold of the two corpses. The dual operates in the scene as a magnifying lens, triggering a chain reaction which determines the onset of multiple couples: we can hereby postulate a ‘semantic clustering’ phenomenon. Yet the scene is very consistent in the adoption (or rejection) of the dual: as long as they figure as a couples, at least in Aeneas’ eyes, Menelaos and Antilochos are in fact referred to in the dual (571-575). On the other hand, soon the two heroes start fighting separatedly, and twenty verses later they are nomore a couple to Hektor (v. 590), who sees them (plur.) fighting.

¹¹⁹¹ Like the former one, this scene is impressive in its resort to the dual. Two heroes, Polipetes and Leonteus, treated as a strictly bond pair (v. 135f.), are first compared to firm trees (just as the sons of Diocles in *Il.* V 560) and then to wild boars. It is apparent that the junction of the metaphors of trees withstanding an assault and wild animals mounting one is highly topical. The two heroes are combined in a pair in the whole scene (XII 124-172). The use of the dual is less binding than in the episode of *Il.* V: yet the value is persistent within the metaphor (vv. 145-150: see also ἄγνυτον).

¹¹⁹² The high frequency of duels is notorious; the stem behaves accordingly, proving prone to the dual. 2_x μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον (*Il.* VII 279, XVI 824), μάχεσθον (*Il.* VII 279) and μαχέσθην (*Il.* V 575, XII 145), always in verse-end.

¹¹⁹³ Just once, at *Il.* XIII 197 (and once in the plural, *Il.* II 818): long alpha is metrically granted. «The parfait μέμονα répond exactement pur la forme à lat. *memini*» (*DELG* 685); on the apophony between μέμαμεν (*με-μγ-μεν) ≠ μέμονα, «vieille alternance», see Chantraine 1953a, 23, 69, 71, 100. Interestingly enough, the epithet applies in the passage to the two Ajaxes (see also following note), just as in many of its occurrences, granting the antiquity of the pairing and its characterisation.

¹¹⁹⁴ 12_x in the plural, 9_x in the dual (all dual occurrences in the *Iliad*); in relation to the Ajaxes, 3_x (*Il.* XIII 46, XVI 5555, XVII 531). At *Il.* V 244 Kirk (1992b, 85) enhances that «a sense of urgency is conveyed by the alliterative μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι preceded by two rhyming words, ὀρόω κρατερώ» (μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι 5_x in verse-end – 3_x the duel-formula ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέρων συνίτην μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι; for the formulaic system of μάχεσθαι, Kirk 1992b, 120). As a note, when referred to the Ajaxes the epithet carries an inclusive value (‘both willing to fight’), whereas in all other passages it refers to two opposite contestants in an incoming duel, hence bearing a distributive value (‘each one willing to fight’).

μηρώ. The epithet θαλερός is uniquely referred to μηρώ at *Il.* XV 113: when not treated as a synonym of ἀιζήος (or in hendyadis with it)¹¹⁹⁵, the adjective usually relates to tears¹¹⁹⁶, or to someone's spouse¹¹⁹⁷, hence bearing a pathetic shade and an idea of abundance. In connection to μηρώ, it will encompass a similar value to the first usage: by sineddoche the thriving legs allude to strenght of the young hero.

μήστωρε. The only dual compound in -τωρ in the poems appears twice, as a fixed epithet of Aeneas' horses, μήστωρε φόβοιο¹¹⁹⁸.

μιάνθην. «The form μιάνθην (*Il.* 4.146) is now generally taken as 3 Plur., for ἐμίανθεν, or ἐμιανθήσαν. The 3 Plur. in -ην is found occasionally on inscriptions in other dialects; but that is very slight ground for admitting it in Homer. In any case it is later than -εν, and due to the analogy of the other Person-Endings» (Monro 1891, 42f.). Were it a dual, the form should be derived by *μιᾶν-σθην, with sigma falling in between consonants (*e.g.*)¹¹⁹⁹.

Μολίονε. The form represents a dual patronymic-associative noun, by which Eurytos and Kteatos, sons of Aktor, are designated¹²⁰⁰. Apart from

¹¹⁹⁵ Namely, at *Il.* III 26, X 259, XI 414, XIV 4, XVII 282; compare with the arm. *dalar* 'green, fresh' (Chantraine, *DELG* 420f.).

¹¹⁹⁶ Thus in the majority of the Odyssean instances: *Il.* II 266, VI 496, XVII 696, XXIII 397, XXIV 9, 794, *Od.* IV 556, 705, X 201, 409, 457, 570, XI 5, 391, 466, XII 12, XVI 16. XIX 472, XXII 447.

¹¹⁹⁷ *Il.* III 53, VI 430, VIII 156, 190, *Od.* VI 66, XX 74.

¹¹⁹⁸ Compare with μήστωρα φόβοιο 4_x (just like the dual variant, in verse-end): *Il.* VI 97, 278, XII 39, XXIII 16 (see also Kirk 1992a, 364, and 1992b, 87f.). As predictable, the high register does not ever apply to anyone else but heroes (when in the singular): paired horses, in their privileged position of 'mirrors' of paired heroes, are the only possible referents of epithets which would otherwise be reserved to human beings.

¹¹⁹⁹ On the usage at *Il.* IV 146: «the subject is μηροί, which is Dual in sense; and the Dual might well be restored throughout the sentence (τοίω τοι, Μενέλαε, μιάνθην αιματι μηρώ εὐφύεε, κτλ.)» (*ibid.*).

¹²⁰⁰ They were nephews of Augeias, king of the Epeians, and belong to the Heracleidae generation. As sons of Aktor, they are also called Aktorione (see *ad l.* and *Ov. Met.* VIII 308). Later sources are fruitful on fantastic versions of the myth, but in the poems there is no mention of extraordinary circumstances. Nestor remembers them (*Il.* XI 709, 750) taking part, yet boys, in an Epean expedition against Neleus and the Pylians, and then (*Il.* XXIII 638) defeating him in a funerary chariot race. Other sources add that Heracles entrusted the conduct of the war to the Moliones when he marched against Augeias (their grandfather); but he was subsequently attacked and beaten by them and, in revenge,

the dual occurrences, the only other instance of the term appears in *Il.* XI 322, when a Μολίων, together with his king Thymbreus, is killed by Diomedes and Odysseus; both the names seem nonetheless to be common, and they may have been here applied without relevance to any specific character, only in order to enhance the situation. Be it as it may, the character here involved is unrelated to our twinned heroes.

According to a version of the myth (known already to Ibychus, fr. 285 *PMG*, according to Athenaeus II 50, 28-34), the heroes were Siamese twins, ἄλικας, ἰσοκεφάλους, ἐνιγυίους, ἀμφοτέρους γεγαῶτας ἐν ὠέφ ἀργυρέω. The version is nonetheless unknown to Homer¹²⁰¹.

Interestingly enough, in later literature the twins are referred to as Μολιονίδαι (Athen., Plut.)¹²⁰² as well as Μολιονε(ς)¹²⁰³; yet the second form is usually adopted as an adjective – an usage which is strikingly similar to the Ἄκτορίωνε Μολιονε παῖδε of *Il.* XI 570. It is possible that the form shifted from pure patronymic to bred-name as the genealogy loosened its ranks, similarly to what may have happened in the case of Ἄκτορίωνε.

he finally murdered and stew them, a folkloristic *motiv* (Apolloed. II 7; Pind. *O.* 10,33; Paus. VIII 14.6). On the problem, see also the beautiful survey in Nappi 2002, 213f., nn. 14-17.

¹²⁰¹ Unless we see an allusion to that in Nestor's πλήθει defeat (*Il.* XXIII 639).

¹²⁰² The mythical element of the Siamese twinned (which possibly traces back to Ibycus, see *infra*), is frequently highlighted: διδυμάονε γείνατο παῖδε / Ἄκτορι κυσαμ]ενη καὶ ἐρικτύπῳ ἐννοσιγαί[ωι / ἀπλήτῳ, Κτέα]τον τε καὶ Εὔρυτον, οἷσι πόδες [μ]έν / ἦν τέτορες, κεφαλαὶ δὲ δύο ἰδὲ χεῖρες... (ps.-Hes. frag. 17a.13); ὁ δὲ Μολιονιδῶν φόνος ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους [...] οὐδὲν ἐστὶ μεταίτιος (Plut. *Mor.* V 28, 400e.9); ...τοὺς Μολιονίδας ἐκείνους, συμφυεῖς τοῖς σώμασι γεγονέναι δοκοῦντας, καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι κοινῶς τοῖς πατρῷοις χρήμασι καὶ φίλοις καὶ δούλοις οὕτως ἄπιστον ἡγοῦνται καὶ τερατῶδες ὡς τὸ χρῆσθαι μίαν ψυχὴν δυεῖν σωμάτων χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς (Plut. *Mor.* VI 34, 478c.7-9); ὡς περ οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς Μολιονίδας οἶονται, τοῖς μὲν ἠνωμένους μέρεσι τοῖς δ' ἀποκρινομένους, ἀλλὰ δύο σώματα ταῦτόν ἔχοντα χροῶμα, ταῦτόν δὲ σχῆμα, ταῦτόν δὲ βᾶρος καὶ τόπον (Plut. *Mor.* XIII 74, 1083c.6); Σισυφίαν δὲ μολεῖν χθόν' ἐκάλυεν ἀνέρα νείκη ἀμφὶ Μολιονιδῶν οὐλομένῳ θανάτῳ (Paus. *Per.* V 2, 5.8); Ἴβυκος δὲ ἐν πέμπτῳ μελῶν περὶ Μολιονιδῶν φησι (Athen. *Deipn.* II 50, 28f. = *Ib.* frag. 4.2 Bergk); see also Eust. *Comm. ad l.*

¹²⁰³ Τοὺς τε λευκίππους κόρους τέκνα Μολιονας κτάνον (Athen. *Deipn.* II 50, 30f.); see also Dioid. *Bibl.* IV 37, 5.6. As they are λευκίπποι κόροι, Wilamowitz (2006, 346f.) assumed that they are to be regarded as Dioskouroi: «sonst sind dies Ampion und Zethos, die Dioskuren von Boeotien, und Kastor und Polydeukes, die Dioskuren von Sparta. Idas und Lynkeus, die Dioskuren von Messenien, haben die Leukippiden als Bräute. Die Dioskuren von Therapnae [Kastor/Polydeukes] sind in Silbernem Ei geboren, so auch die Molionen [...]. Die Molionen sind Dioskuren. Διός sind sie nicht, aber Ποσειδῶνος. Poseidon ist auch Ahne des Nestor [Odyssee 11,235-257]».

νεμεσῶτον. The contraction, with progressive assimilation (*νεμεσα-η-τον), could be an Attic phenomenon¹²⁰⁴.

νεωτέρω. The only comparative dual adjective in the poems (if we except a plausible προτέρω, *Il.* IX 192)¹²⁰⁵.

νοστήσαντε. The verse undergoes a sudden braking, realised by means of three spondaic meters in its end; the metrics mirrors a semantic shift, as it seals with death a brief parenthesis on Phaenops' sons¹²⁰⁶.

νῶϊ. The coexistence of νῶ and νῶϊ in the poems has led to many attempt to trace different morphological, etymological or dialectal shades in the two forms: «eher sind attischen Ursprungs verdächtig die Stellen mit einsilbigem νῶ σφῶ im Nominativ und Akkusativ» (Wackernagel 1916, 310; see par. 1.1)¹²⁰⁷. Some mismatches in the use of oblique in place of direct forms – or *vice versa* – may be adduced to metrical constraints and textual corruption¹²⁰⁸.

¹²⁰⁴ The verb is a poetic formation on the normal grade root *νεμ-ε-σαω; «flexion analogiques des autres verbes en -άω, -άομαι; l'alternance entre -σ- et -σσ- a des raisons métriques [...] le radical νεμε- n'est pas expliqué: on a supposé une analogie de formes comme γενέτωρ, γενεσις» (Chantraine, *DELG* 743f.; see also 1953a, 358).

¹²⁰⁵ We can here observe the same lengthening of the thematic vowel preceding the suffix *-τεω- that we encounter in adverbs of the type ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ἐτέρωθεν; see *ad l.* On the narratological function of Nestor and his speeches, see par. 3.0.

¹²⁰⁶ Namely, Xanthos and Thoon – one among the many pairs of brothers quickly crossing Diomedes' ἀριστεία. Four meters over six are spondaic (2nd, 4th, 5th, (6th)); the change in register is stressed by the increased use of rhetorical devices, such as the lithote οὐ ζώντε put close to μάχη (with a postposition of ἐκ) yet separated by it by the feminine *caesura*. The *iunctura* ἐξάινυτο θυμόν in verse-end is formulaic (see also *Il.* V 848, XX 459; the verb ἐξάινυμαι only occurs within this clause). Still, the addition of ἀμφοτέρω in *enjambement* at v. 156 creates a striking conflict in the target of the verb, which hereby controls a 'double accusative' (the sense is nonetheless granted *via anacoluthon*).

¹²⁰⁷ «Νῶ σφῶ sind ganz selten und decken sich mit den gleichwertigen attischen Formen; also besteht ein gewisser Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, daß die Verse, worin sie vorkommen, von attischen Dichtern herrühren. Wohl kann auch das Äolische νω besessen haben. Die Form stammt aus der Grundsprache. Nur war sie da enklitisch und, ob sie auch im Äolischen wie im Attischen zu der orthotonischen Verwendung gelangt ist, die durch die Mehrzahl der obigen Homer-stellen gefordert wird, ist fraglich» (*ibid.*).

¹²⁰⁸ Let us recollect all the inconsistencies relating to the 1st person dual pronoun. The possibly Attic νῶ appears just 2_x in the whole Homeric poetry (vs. νῶϊ 51_x; see also Kirk 1992b, 82f.). The variant νῶε is to be found in Corinna, *PMG* 661 and Antimachus, frag. 56 Matthews; in the *Iliad*, a textual variant νῶε is attested in IV 418 (nom.) and XIV 344 (acc.). At *Il.* XI 767 the preserved *incipit* ¹νῶϊ ²ἐνδον is awkwardly spondaic: West, accepting a proposal by Christ (so did La Roche and Ludwich as well),

νοῖτερος. Twice in the poems (νοῖτερον at *Il.* XV 39, νοῖτέρην at *Od.* XII 185). The Homeric poems hence display a number opposition in possessive adjective (ἡμέτερος/νοῖτερος and σφέτερος/σφώϊτερος); even if not constantly applied, the separation is arguably archaic (see par. 1.1).

ξυμβλήτην. «La seule forme personnelle active de cet aoriste» in the *Odyssey*: Meillet (1918, 163) assumed that is was an archaism. The form has Ionic shape, yet the dual is ‘un-Ionic’; besides, the combination with ἀλλήλοιιν is redundant, as the reciprocal value is borne already by *ξυν¹²⁰⁹.

ἄορίζετον. The verb ἄορίζω is rare¹²¹⁰, and its relationship with ὄαο uncertain (Chantraine, *DELG* 711).

οἴχεσθον. The form is plausibly a historical present – were it an imperfect, we should expect the secondary ending *-σθην. Besides, a present tense would befit, lending the scene a continuative value¹²¹¹.

integrates: νοῖ [δὲ] ἔνδον (νοῖν, unwelcome to Aristarchus, is attested in **H**). «Andere Fassung, nicht Interpolation», says Wilamowitz (2006, 300), who compares with *Il.* XVI 99 (see *infra*): «ebenso wechselt die Zweisilbigkeit νοῖ und Einsilbigkeit νοῖ» (*ibid.*; see also Chantraine 1953a, 266). At *Il.* XVI 99 νοῖν appears as a nominative, probably interpolated (in codd. 60 **Z Ω** West; see Monro 1882, 63; Bolling 1933, 302; Wilamowitz 1916, 122.). The form is metrically secure; accepting a correction by Hermann, West tries to temper the difficulty by inserting an optative ἐκδύμεν (vs. the preserved ἐκδύμεν, **T R W**). The oblique νοῖν is conjectured once again in direct functions (acc.) by Zenodotus at *Il.* VIII 377 (thus also 399 **D F^a T W G** West). For further discussion see par. 1.1.

¹²⁰⁹ Compare with the chiefly Iliadic ξύμβλη(ν)το 5_x (*Il.* XIV 27, 29, 231, XXIV 709, *Od.* VI 54) and the Odyssean ξυμβλήμενος (4_x, in the same metrical position of ξυμβλήτην: *Od.* XI 127, XV 441, XXIII 274, XXIV 260). Furthermore, we should expect a short thematic vowel in duals and plurals of root aorists (see Janko 1992, 406, and δηρινθήτην). The wish for a dual may have been triggered by ἀλλήλοιιν, always in verse-end (7_x, 4_x preceded by a dual verb).

¹²¹⁰ 2_x finite forms: *Il.* VI 516, XXII 127; 1_x inf. οαρίζεμεναι, *Il.* XXII 127; ὄοριστός 3_x, in verse-end. The verb consistently controls a dative argument: in the passage, it triggers one of the few oblique occurrences of non-personal pronouns, ἀλλήλοιιν.

¹²¹¹ The form appears within a speech by Paris to Hektor, referring to their brothers Deiphobos and Helenos. The periphrasis is sophisticated: οἶω Δηίφοβός τε βίη θ’ Ἐλένοιο ἄνακτος / οἴχεσθον μακρῆσι τετυμένω ἐγκείησιν / ἀμφοτέρω κατὰ κείρα. The first verse answers to (and repeats) Hektor’s irked query at v. 770, where the two names are followed by a short catalogue of Trojan warriors. With a chiasmic inversion, Paris answers that the other ἔταροι δὲ εκατέκταθεν (v. 780, with an imperfect in which an iterative value is still maintained by the present theme) before turning to the two brothers of his. Two long *hyperbaton* frame the period, namely οἶω... οἴχεσθον, τετυμένω...

ὀρίνετον. Only at *Il.* IX 5. The verse has a problematic spondaic incipic (see also *Il.* XXIII 195), due to the ambiguous scansion of Βορέης (< *Βορ-ἰης?)¹²¹².

ὀρμένω. An archaic, athematic outcome from the stem of ὄρνυμι; thematic forms are nevertheless attested in the present tense (ὀρόμενος, ὀρνύμενος; Chantraine, *DELG* 824).

ὀρμηθήτην. Verb with ‘Aeolic vocalisation’ (Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 215; cf. par. 1.3)¹²¹³. See also ἀπειλήτην.

ὄσσε. The etymology of the form has been widely explored (see parr. 1.2, 2.2.1)¹²¹⁴. With a total of 57_x (44_x in the *Iliad*, 13_x in the *Odyssey*), ὄσσε is by far the most commonly attested dual in the Homeric poems. It has been repeatedly stressed how the neuter dual on three occasions agrees with a singular verb (*Il.* XII 466 δεδήει ‘blazed’¹²¹⁵, XXIII 477 δέρεται ‘looks’, *Od.* VI 132 δαίεται ‘blazes’). It may be wondered whether we should think in these cases of gender

ἀμφοτέρω (both in *enjambement*); a closer hyperbaton frames, in turn, τετυμμένω, which is enclosed syntactically between μακρῆσι and ἐγγεῖησιν, and metrically between the feminine and the bucolic *caesura*. Some words are embedded within formulaic patterns (βίη + proper name: *Il.* II 658, XI 690, XIII 770, XV 640, XVII 24, XVIII 117, XXIII 859, *Od.* XI 296; ἐγγεῖησιν 8_x in *clausola*, μακρῆς ἐγγεῖησιν 2_x; ² – κατὰ χεῖρα ~ *Il.* XI 252), but the general structure of the period has a large scale effort, has it enhances the heroic condition of the two Trojans warriors whom Paris, apologetically, tries to excuse in front of Hektor for their absence from the battlefield.

¹²¹² Leaf (I 372) proposes to scan the first syllable as long due to the arsis, and -έης as one feet by synizesis; «but whichever alternative we adopt, the scansion is evidence of late origin».

¹²¹³ Kirk (1992b, 54f.) stresses how the passage is rich in duals: ἦστην (v. 10) is a *hapax*, representing a variant on the more common ὕε δύο (6_x, 5_x in *incipit*); μάχης εὔ ειδότε πάσης is again formulaic (see *ad l.*), and vv. 11f. tightly counterbalance each other: «ἀπὸ χθονός balances ἀφ’ ἵππου, and ὄρνυτο matches ὀρμηθήτην (v. 12)» (*ibid.*).

¹²¹⁴ In considering ὄσσε, ὀσσομένω may offer some further evidence: it is in fact questionable whether we should hypothesise ***ok^{wj}-o-men-ō* – if hence *-j- belongs to the stem (**ok^{wj}-e* ~ lat. *oculus*) – or rather ***ok^w-o-men-ō*; in this second case, *-j- in **ok^w-je* would belong to an ancient neuter dual ending (see par. 1.2). See also compounds with Attic phonetic shape, of the type τριοττίς (Chantraine, *DELG* 812f.).

¹²¹⁵ «Δεδήει ‘is on fire’ is for *δέδηε (δεδηε-ε): the weak stem is δāv- (δαίω for δαϜ-ιω, cf. καίω ἔκηα)» (Monro 1891, 23).

overcoming number in agreement¹²¹⁶, or rather if this is not an effect of the inclusive value of the dual (according to which two coupled items figure as just *one* pair).

ὄτρύνετον. The two homophones (imperative, *Il.* XII 367, and indicative, *Il.* XIX 205) appear in different places, yet in the same metrical position (³–ὄτρύνετον). From the same stem¹²¹⁷ is also attested the dual ὄτρηρώ, a secondary formation (so Schwyzer, *GG* I 482)¹²¹⁸.

ὄφθαλμῶ. The stem is rare in the poems, overcome by the widespread ὄσσε¹²¹⁹. The oblique ὄφθαλμοῖν had been conjectured by Bentley at *Il.* XX 282, feeling the urge of a genitive in the passage; yet West (2001, 257) argues that a dative may be in place, as in *Od.* VI 235, VIII 19, XXII 463.

παπταίνετον. Forms from this stem are not frequent in the poems¹²²⁰: this is the only finite form in the poems¹²²¹. A dual instance is also attested in the participle (παπταίνοντε, *Od.* XXII 380).

¹²¹⁶ If so, a ‘plural’ neuter, hence a collective – even if dual – triggers a collective singular verb; in other words, the notorious τὰ ζῶα τρέχει should give in this context a variant **τὸ ζῶον τρέχει. The phenomenon could be enabled by the gender of the noun: being it a neuter, it classifies down the animacy hierarchy, and allow a default number agreement. See also par. 2.4.

¹²¹⁷ A zero-grade with long stem-root vowel *ὄ-τρῦν-ν-, *-ν- being a present infix and *ὄ- a vocalic prothesis (or a prefix: Chantraine, *DELG* 835).

¹²¹⁸ The epithet occurs just twice in the *Iliad*, yet in quite archaic contexts: at *Il.* I 321 it is an epithet of the κῆρυκε about to leave to Achilles’ tent (in the archetype-scene which has been paralleled to *Iliad* IX; see par. 3.0). At *Il.* VI 381 it properly qualifies a servant; the verse, a variation to a common structure of answer-type formulas, has a spondaic *incipit*, first hastened by the anapaestic ταμίη, and closing with the customary verb in tmesis προσειπέϊν.

¹²¹⁹ At *Il.* XIII 474, the *incipit* ὄφθαλμῶ, δ’ ἄρα οἱ πυρὶ λάμπετον is a variation on the verse-end formula ὄσσε δὲ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι εἴκητην (*Il.* I 104, *Od.* IV 662).

¹²²⁰ «Formation intensive à redoublement *πα-πτ-αινῶ suffixé en *-αίνῶ» (Chantraine, *DELG* 856); possibly linked to πέτομαι, the verb indicates the act of looking around (in Homer, it is also preceded by adverbial forms of πᾶς, es. πάντοσε). The stem occurs 11_x, all in the active participle (7_x the nom. παπταίνων; 5_x πάντ – παπταίν_x in *incipit*, 2_x δεινὸν παπταίνων in *incipit*) except παπταίνετον.

¹²²¹ The construction is remarkable too: the verb answers to the verse-end phrase δὲ μοι ὄσσε (see *Od.* XX 204, with the same thematic repertoire: ἔκαμον δὲ μοι ὄσσε / πάντη παπταίνοντι. Also compare with (ἐν) δὲ οἱ ὄσσε in *clausola* 4_x, *Il.* XVI 792, XIX 16, *Od.* VI 131, X 247). The dative of interest of the personal pronouns agrees, in a strong hyperbaton, with the joined participle of the following verse εἰσορόωντι, creating the striking effect of two separate, contemporary actions: ‘(my) eyes went wandering as I was looking around’. The textual tradition reports some correption the dual: interestingly enough, the forms is always amended with singular verbs (παταίνετο Z, παπταίνεται Ar^{ab} West), maintaining the ‘singulative’ value of the cell ὄσσε.

παρβεβαῶτε. This syncopated perfect participle is a *hapax*¹²²²; see εἰδότε. The form appears in a quite conservative place, namely a simile – where dual agreement is strictly respected¹²²³.

πειθέσθην. The form recurs in the very same four-verses in *Il.* II 831-834 ~ XI 329-332¹²²⁴; still, it appears quite clearly that the excerpt in the *Catalogue* is indebted with the passage in *Iliad* XI¹²²⁵.

πεινάοντε. The lack of contraction is metrically secure, as the two vowels need be scanned without synizesis (²πεινά³οντε). The structure of the verse is chiasitic, with two dual forms framing two active dual participles, the two limbs being parted by the feminine *caesura*: ἄμφω πεινάοντε, μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον¹²²⁶.

πειρηθῆτον. Verb with 'Post-mycenaean contraction': see κομείτην. «On notera que, dans πειρηθῆτον, l'hypothèse d'un verbe contracté athématique est exclue puisque l'on se trouve devant un subjonctif aoriste passif» (Wathelet 1970, 333)¹²²⁷.

¹²²² We can postulate a derivation similar to the one of μεμαῶτε: *βε-βᾶ-ος > *βεβᾶως with metathesis (alpha is accordingly to be scanned short, whereas in the perfect stem we would expect a full grade).

¹²²³ For a discussion of the passage, see βόε. In the verse, ὡς τὸ παρβεβαῶτε μάλ' ἔστασαν ἀλλήλοιον, despite the fusion of preposition and verbal stem, granted by the syncope, the meaning of the participle does not seem to be the most common «se mettre à côté, franchir, transgresser» (Chantraine, *DELG* 158): acting as a bound morpheme, the preposition seems to control separately both finite and non-finite verb. On the one hand, in fact, παρά expresses proximity, as it usual does with verbs of movements; on the other hand, it maintains its innerly ablative value of specification of the origin, enhancing that the two oxes are 'approaching, coming closer' by standing παρά – with βαίνω expressing movement in a slightly oxymoric contrast to the stative ἔστασαν.

¹²²⁴ Ἰτε δύο Μέροπος Περκωσίου ὃς περὶ πάντων / ἦδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὖς παῖδας ἔασκε / στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα: τὸ δέ οἱ οὐ τι / πειθέσθην: κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτιο.

¹²²⁵ Where the verses result more appropriate: the final clause of v. 332 hints in fact to the impending death of the two heroes, who are in fact to die in the immediately following verses (333f.), on behalf of Diomedes; see also *Ap. Rh. Arg.* I; on the names of the two heroes, Hainsworth 1992, 262f.

¹²²⁶ See also *Il.* XVI 758, μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον again in verse-end; compare with μέγα φρονέοντε πέσητον, *Il.* XI 325.

¹²²⁷ Yet it seems valid Chantraine's objection that «là où la metrique l'impose la contraction est réalisée» (1953a, 43).

πενθείετον. The verb is either an epicism, or a late lengthened form¹²²⁸; it derives from the denominative πενθέω (Chantraine 1953a I 349, *DELG* 861).

πεπνυμένω. A passive perfect participle with present sense¹²²⁹.

πεπύσθην. From the perfect zero-grade stem of the «vieille famille de mots» *πευθ-/ *πυθ- (< ie. *b^heud^h-/*b^hud^h-, Chantraine, *DELG* 954f.). If we assume that in the Homeric poems, just like in Attic, the simple perfect exhibits primary endings, then we shall assume that this form is a pluperfect¹²³⁰; besides, the context would easily allow for a simple perfect, and this would not be the only case at all of mismatch in the adoption of the dual endings in the perfect (see par. 1.3).

περιδόμεθον. The form is possibly an 'Attizismus'¹²³¹ (Wackernagel 1916, 216; see also Chantraine 1953a, 15, and par. 1.2).

πεσόντε. Twice in the turn of fifty verses (*Il.* V 561, 610; possibly a cluster), in the formulaic *intro* τὸ δὲ πεσόντ' ἔλεησε + proper name of the hero.

¹²²⁸ Were it the result of contraction, though, we would expect a *properispomenon*, and one epsilon less (the diphthong *ει is nevertheless metrically due).

¹²²⁹ See LSJ⁹ 1363 and Chantraine 1953a, 103; *DELG* 883f., 920. As for the etymology of the stem, «l'ensemble est sémantiquement cohérent, mais morphologiquement obscure» (*DELG* 884). The form could possibly originate from a zero grade stem-root with long radical vowel (~ *ὀ-τῶ-νῶ). From the normal grade, πνείοντε, *Il.* XIII 385, and ἐμπνείοντε, *Il.* XVII 502.

¹²³⁰ A pluperfect would befit instead a handful of verses later, at *Il.* XVII 427 (in place of the transmitted πυθέσθην) — once again, in relation to humanised horses.

¹²³¹ «So die meisten Handschriften, den Venetus A voran, und wenn man aus dem Schweigen der Scholien dies schließen darf, aile antiken Ekdoseis. Das sich in einer Minderzahl der Handschriften und in einigen Zitaten findende περιδόμεθα ann Neuerung einer Zeit sein, der wie überhaupt der Dual, so diese I. Dualis fremd geworden war. Daß Hesych nicht bloß s. v. δεῦρο, sondern auch als Lemma περιδόμεθα bietet, gibt immerhin zu denken [...]. Haben diese Vermutungen recht, so muß περιδόμεθον ein nachträglich eingeschwärzter Attizismus sein. Und tatsächlich ist es wohl so. Die Form auf -μεθον ist nicht allein bloß im Attischen belegt, sondern überhaupt eine Neuschöpfung, von der man zweifeln darf, ob sie panhellenisch war. Ware sie auch äolisch gewesen, sollte man sie bei Homer öfters erwarten. In Attika war die Bildung im V. Jahrhundert schon wieder im Absterben und ist daher so wenig belegt. Ist dies ailes richtig, so handelt es sich hier um einen Attizismus bei Homer, für den wir den terminus ante quem bestimmen können» (*ibid.*). It is to be remarked that scant yet significant are the hypercorretisms in the dual in the poems: see e.g. *Il.* XIII 613, XVI 218, XXIII 506 and Janko 1992, 122, 265, 346, 363.

πετέσθην. See ἀέκοντε.

πήχεε. See λευκώ.

πιστωθῆτον. Contracted subjunctive (Chantraine 1953a, 56f.). See also γνῶτον.

πληγέντε. One of the few participles relating to feminine subjects in the *Iliad* (so does προφανέντε, *Il.* VIII 378), displaying number overcoming gender in agreement¹²³². The stem is an ancient, Ionic, aorist participle (9_x the athematic passive *πληγ- in the poems; another dual participle stems from the sigmatic aorist, πλῆξαντε, *Il.* V 588).

ποδοῖϊν. One of the most representative natural duals, the term always occur in the oblique case (only two instances of the direct case, in apocope: *Il.* VII 190) and in verse-end (8_x total instances: 2_x περὶ τε κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῖϊν, *Od.* XVI 6, XIX 444; see also *Il.* XVIII 537, ἔλκε ποδοῖϊν, and XXIII 770, ἐλθὲ ποδοῖϊν).

ποιμαίνοντ(ε). Hainsworth (1992, 237) believes that the participles is a dual agreeing with ὦ, v. 104. Default number agreement with an inanimate neuter accusative would not surprise either: yet the ‘tricky’ ὦ could provide motive for agreement in the dual.

ποταμῷ. The form is slightly problematic in the perspective of the Animacy Hierarchy (par. 2.3); despite their patent inanimate status, the two rivers distinctive of Troy, Simoeis and Skamandros, are at *Il.* V 773 referred to in the

¹²³² A ‘pure’ feminine for the passive stem is attested in *πληγεῖσα*, *Il.* XVII 296 (κόρυς) and in the three-verses formula Ζεὺς δ’ ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηὶ κεραινον / ἠ δ’ ἐλελίχθη πᾶσα Διὸς πληγεῖσα κεραινω / ἐν δὲ θεοῦ πλῆτο· πέσον δ’ ἐκ νηὸς ἅπαντες .*Od.* XII 415-17 = XIV 305-307). yet, these are senior sections of the Homeric poetry: it is admissible that a feminine form could not have been available in the most ancient stages of composition – at least, not for the dual (so Tichy 1990; compare with καλυψαμένω, Hes. *Erga* 198 (feminine) vs. καλυψαμένᾱ, σ Eur. *Med.* 439; see par. 1.2.

dual. Yet the two rivers actively partake in the actions of the war, being even personified in *Il.* XXI 305-384¹²³³.

πρήσσοντε. The form is a curious ‘compromise’: the shape is Ionic, the ending is nonetheless unknown in Ionic¹²³⁴. Yet it is plausible to assume that such participle entered the poems *via* Attic borrowing. See also ἔσσαμένω.

προσαυδήτην The long pre-desinential vowel allows for some possible explanations. First, we could evoke an ‘Aeolic vocalisation’ (Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 215; cf. par. 1.3). Besides, since the verb is a denominative from αὐδά, it could have preserved a long radical vowel. Finally, the length could result from a contracted stem-root, following nonetheless the athematic conjugation: the mutation of the stem vowel *-ā in *-η should be due to an Atticisation of such forms (Wathelet 1970, 333¹²³⁵; Chantraine 1953a, 306). See also ἀπειλήτην.

προτέρω. The form is characterised by an inner ambiguity, as it could represent the well attested adverb, as well as a form of the adjective, inflected in the dual¹²³⁶. Only one another comparative is attested in the poems, νεωτέρω (*Il.* I 259; see *ad l.*).

προφανέντε. See πληγέντε.

¹²³³ «Little is said about the Simoeis elsewhere [...]; it is mentioned by itself at 4.475 and 20.53 and together with Skamandros/Xanthos at 6.4 and 12.22. confirmation that the two rivers met is provided by 21.307ff., where Skamandros calls on Simoeis to help contain Akhilleus (fighting in the river itself) by increasing its own flood; thus there is no reason for suspecting 774» (Kirk 1992b, 138). Furthermore, the two rivers are in the poem treated as a strictly bond couple of siblings, as Skamandros calls on Simoeis as his brother: φίλε κασίγνητε, σθένος άνέρος άμφοτέροί περ | σχώμεν (*Il.* XXI 308f.). On the *clausola* άμφοτέροί περ (*άμφοτέρω περ?) compare with (νῶί περ) άχθυμένο κήρ 3_x (*Il.* XIX 57, XXIII 284, XXIII 443), άχθυμένο περ 1_x (*Od.* IV 549).

¹²³⁴ 2_x ῥίμφα πρήσσοντε κέλευθον, in *clausola* (*Il.* XIV 282, XXIII 501). Still, at *Od.* IX 491 the plural is to be found in the very same metrical position (4 – πρήσσοντες); besides, these are the only occurrences of the participle in the poems. See also άειρέσθην.

¹²³⁵ «Les verbes constituent donc des éléments mixtes qui ont reçu par analogie une “teinture” ionienne, les α longs étant passés à η» (*ibid.*).

¹²³⁶ The same might be said for πρώτω (*Il.* IV 343, XIII 46, XVI 555). The form έναντίω seems to be fluctuating too, as it exhibits a ‘pseudo-adverbial’ shape (~ έναντίως); that an adverbial usage would not have been inappropriate in the context seems furtherly supported by the variant έναντίον (p. Oxy 3662 = 572 West, codd. Y O). In this circumstance, the inner reciprocal value of the adjective has probably favoured the choice of the dual.

σαώσετον. Forms in the future are scarcely attested, and usually appear in the serior parts of the poems: 4_x over 12_x¹²³⁷ arise in *Iliad* 5, a book rich in duals anyhow¹²³⁸.

σκάζοντε. The formula τὸ δὲ βάτην (4_x *incipit*, *Il.* IX 182, 192, X 469, XXIII 710) is here nicely adapted to the necessity of the context: the two heroes are hence depicted as they σκάζοντε come, ἔγχει ἐρειδομένω (*Il.* XIX 49 f.); both the hero's sword and the verb ἐρείδω – rendering the idea of something steady, firmly rooted – are bearers of epic values, here parodically reshaped on order to minimise the heroes themselves, humanised and weakened in the moment of the loss.

σπεύδετον. See ἐφραμαρτεῖτον.

σπλάγκνε? The form is to be rejected; according to Wackernagel (1926, 87; Wackernagel-Langslow 2009, 120) the intestines and what goes with them – the German word *Eingeweide* (like English intestines) is itself *plurale tantum* in normal usage – constitute a single mass within which it is not possible to pick out individual parts.

στάντε. At *Il.* XI 622, it is unclear who are the subjects addressed *via* the participle¹²³⁹. Its collocation is striking on a metrical perspective

¹²³⁷ ἀπαλήθεσσετον (*Il.* VIII 405, 419), ἀποίσετον (*Il.* V 257), ἐθελέσετον (*Od.* VIII 316), ἔσεσθον (*Od.* XVI 207, XXI 216), ματήσετον (*Il.* V 233), οἴσετον (*Il.* V 232), πειύσεσθον (*Il.* XXIII 707), πελάσσετον (*Il.* X 442).

¹²³⁸ 92_x in the whole book (note that the *Iliad* counts a total of 1100 dual forms). The fact is indeed semantically conditioned, as Diomedes' ἀριστεία stages many duels (accompanied by dual similes).

¹²³⁹ After the wounding of Machaon, Achilles sends Patroclus to Nestor's tent (vv. 608-615), and Patroclus agrees to go (v. 616f.). Then the subject suddenly shifts to the plural (οἱ δ' ὅτε δή, v. 618), and then to the dual at v. 622. It is unclear who the dual refers to: it may be addressing the heroes coming back to the war, Nestor and Eurymedon (note that Nestor has not been mentioned since v. 597, and the two have not been said to be together anyway), or it could have been attracted by the conjoined presence of Achilles and Patroclus (yet on a semantic perspective the dual would be completely out of place), or to Patroclus and Nestor, the main characters of the following scene. It is nonetheless curious to find duals in a scene involving at least four characters (Nestor, Eurymedon, Patroclus and Hecamede, v. 624); that the dual is employed consciously, seems nonetheless proved by its reiterated use at v. 628 (σφωῖν) and v. 642 (τὸ... ἀφέτην). Since the syntax is loose, it may be preferable to accord priority to the semantic value, according to which it is probable that the duals

too, as it represents the only active dual participle in *incipit* of the Homeric poems (on a total amount of 136_x).

στήτην. See διαστήτην and εἴκτον.

συλήτην Verb with ‘Aeolic vocalisation’ (Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 215; cf. cap. 1.3) or contracted verb following the athematic conjugation (Wathelet 1970, 333; Chantraine 1953a, 306). See also προσωδήτην.

συμβάλλετον. At *Il.* IV 453 the dual is slightly elliptical: the simile focuses on the confluence of rivers – the fact that *two* rivers are involved is not specified by any other means than the dual ending of the verb. Besides, rivers in number of two are canonical (see ποταμῶ), and so could be the depiction of their confluence – as it appears by *Il.* V 774, where the form is used in the same metrical position (³— συμβάλλετον) to shape the very same image.

συναντήτην. Verb with ‘Aeolic vocalisation’ (Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 215; see par. 1.3) or contracted verb following the athematic conjugation (Wathelet 1970, 333; Chantraine 1953a, 306); the form appears just once, at *Od.* XVI 333 (compare with συναντέσθην, *Il.* VII 22, with ‘non-lengthened’ thematic vowel). See also προσωδήτην.

συνίτην. At *Il.* XXIII 815, δεινόν δερχομένω is a variation to the *incipit* formula δεινόν δερχομεν_x (*Il.* III 342, XI 387).

συνοχωχότε. Epithet of Tersites’ shoulders, following in *enjambement* the phrase τὸ δὲ οἱ ὄμω (~ τὸ δὲ οἱ ὄσσε in *clausola*, 8_x)¹²⁴⁰: «συν-οχωχότε ‘leaning

refer to Nestor and Patroclus: yet the passage could be an ‘imperfect’ bridge, involving the adaptation of formulaic material, meant to introduce the following episode, central to the plot of the poem. Nestor’s tale (vv. 655-803) will in fact stir Patroclus to pity, triggering the fatal chain of events leading to his death and Achilles’ return to battle. Still, the poet is perfectly aware of the prominence of the episode, as it appears by the eloquent proleptic hint at v. 605: κακοῦ δ’ ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή.

¹²⁴⁰ *Il.* XIII 616, XIV 438, XV 607, XVII 695, XIX 365, XXIII 396, *Od.* IV 704, XIX 471. Notice that the phrase often constitutes a ‘brick’ in formulaic structures: τὸ δὲ οἱ ὄσσε / δακρυόφι πλησθεν, 4_x (*Il.* XVII 695, XXIII 396, *Od.* IV 704, XIX 471), ε τὸ δὲ οἱ ὄσσε / λαμπέσθην, 2_x (*Il.* XV 607, XIX 365).

together', from συν-έχω (ὀκωχή 'a stay' or 'buttress', ἀν-οκωχή = ἀνωχή 'staying, cessation')» (Monro 1891, 23; see also Schwyzwr GG I 766)¹²⁴¹.

σφε. The 3rd person dual pronoun is scarcely attested – and often emended – in the poems, possibly by virtue of its late introduction¹²⁴². The status of the form σφε is uncertain¹²⁴³. See par. 1.1

σφῶ. As for the 1st person dual pronoun, some inconsistencies are to be enhanced in the usage of this pronoun¹²⁴⁴ and of its equivalent σφῶ¹²⁴⁵. A single occurrence of the contracted oblique σφῶν is also attested: «auf den ersten Blick stellt sich als starker Attizismus das σφῶν in dem Verse δ 62» (Wackernagel 1916, 308)¹²⁴⁶.

σφῶϊτερος. See νῶϊτερος.

¹²⁴¹ «Si l'on admet l'orthographe -κωχότε, c'est un exemple correct de parfait de sens intransitif à redoublement dit attique, que l'on retrouve dans les formes nominales συνοκωχή, ἀνωκωχή. Toutefois, la leçon de beaucoup la mieux attestée est συνοκωκότε [...]. De toute façon, la forme est artificielle et ne saurait être ancienne» (Chantraine, *DELG* 1070).

¹²⁴² 4x: *Il.* I 8 (confused with σφῶε, pap. 1, 263a, 706, 707?, 711, 717, gloss. *h₅*, Aristarchus and codd. **Z** **Ω** West; σφῶϊ correption by Zenodotus, Seleucos and Dionysius Sidonius), X 546 (σφῶ in cod. **Z** West, σφῶϊ according to Zenodotus), XI 751, *Od.* VIII 317, «er braucht θ 317 das enklitische σφε, das der Odyssee sonst fremd ist» (Wackernagel 1916, 215f.).

¹²⁴³ «Wackernagel recognizes that in Homer σφε is dual, and seeks to explain as σφῶ the two passages in which it seems to be plural. The first (*Il.* X 113) needs no defense: the doe is imagined as having a pair of fawns, and the shift from the plural τέκνα to the dual σφε is not surprising. Compare the similar simile in *Od.* IV 335. The other passage is *Il.* XIX 264. [...] The presumption is therefore in favor of σφε rather than σφῶ. We are brought again to the question raised in connection with Γ 279 as to who punished perjury. If the answer is a pair of chthonic deities, then it is probable that this hemistich has been lifted from a context in which sfe referred to them - for instance a pair of gods who ἀνθρώπους τίυσθον ὅτις σφ' ἀλίτηται ὁμόσας. A poet who did so showed a lack of proper feeling either for the number of aoe or for the case construction» (Bolling 1933, 308).

¹²⁴⁴ Interestingly enough, at *Od.* XVII 431 the form is employed as a pronominal adjective.

¹²⁴⁵ The direct variant σφῶ appears 4x in Homer, in the *Iliad* only (I 574, XI 782, XIII 47 (nom.); XV 146 (acc.)); twice (XI 782, XIII 47) the form is metrically secure. On σφῶ as a possible Atticism, see Wackernagel 1916, 310 (the scholar believed that the original inflection of the 2nd dual person was nom. νῶϊ σφῶϊ, acc. νῶε σφῶε.), par. 1.1 and νῶϊ.

¹²⁴⁶ «Somit liegt eine sehr starke Abweichung von einem konstanten epischen Brauche vor, etwas sehr Altes oder etwas sehr Junges. Der äolischen Schicht kann die einsilbige Form unmöglich angehören. Auch nicht der ionischen: denn das Ionische hat keinen Dual» (*ibid.*). Yet the scholar defends the form against σφῶν, which is „absurd“.

τείνυσθον. The tradition attests some oscillation between *τει- and *τι⁻¹²⁴⁷; in this second case, as long iota would be metrically needed, we would have a ‘non-Ionic’ dual with Ionic shape (e.g. πρήσσοντε; see Wackernagel 1916, 239; Chantraine 1953a 303).

τετάσθην. Ancient form of the zero grade middle perfect stem *τε-τυ-σθην (normal grade *τεν- > *τεν-ιω, τείνω; Chantraine, *DELG* 1092)¹²⁴⁸. Whether the form is a perfect or rather a pluperfect is uncertain¹²⁴⁹; see ἐκγεγάτην.

τετίησθον. A bizarre, isolated form, with «pas d’étymologie» (Chantraine, *DELG* 1109; «perhaps cognate with Lat. *quiēs*», LSJ⁹ 1779). This is the only finite form in the poems¹²⁵⁰: the perfect value is granted by the redoubling.

τεώ. The possessive, with a distinctive Aeolic shape, appears twice (καὶ τεὸ ἵππῳ, in *clausola: Il. V* 230, 237), to qualify Aeneas’ horses.

τηλυγέτω. The two sons of Phaenops are at *Il. V* 153 defined as τηλυγέτω, «old Epic epithet of children, of uncertain origin and sense» (LSJ⁹ 1788; 8_x in the poems, 7_x 2τηλυγετ_x; see also Kirk 1992b, 74)¹²⁵¹. To my knowledge, no attempts have been made to establish a connection with *θηλ- (< *dhē, Chantraine, *DELG* 435; cf. lat. *fēlāre, filius*)— we should in this case assume a dialectal, psilotic

¹²⁴⁷ «Praesens athematicum medium fuit olim *τινυμαι; sed prima syllaba apud nostrum semper longa est. In P 398 ἀπετίλυτο metri gratia potest esse producta, at τίνυσθον Γ 279, τίνυνται Τ 260 non ita licet explicare. Veri simillimum est, ad exemplar aoristi τεισ- factum esse τείνυμαι, quod in titulis recentioribus invenitur» (West *Praef.* XXXVf.). Segal (1968, 101) condemned the dual as dubious; it seems nonetheless plausible to accept that it elliptically alludes to Hades and Persephone.

¹²⁴⁸ Incidentally, the common natural dual τένοντε (5_x, all in the *Iliad*; 3_x ἄμφω⁵— τένοντε, V 307, X 456, XIV 466) is an ancient present participle from this stem.

¹²⁴⁹ The context does not provide any support either: in both cases (*Il. IV* 536; XIV 404) a perfect would appear more appropriate, yet a pluperfect would befit too. In the second instance, the verb ‘couples’ (in a parallelism) with ῥυσάσθην (from a bisyllabic stem *ρεσ-υ-/*ρεσϝ-, «groupe archaïque et compliqué» ~ ἔρῳμαι; see Chantraine, *DELG* 376), an aorist, stressing the punctual aspect of the action.

¹²⁵⁰ A present linked to the root is not attested elsewhere. Participles occur 14_x in the homeric poetry, all in semi-fixed collocations (3_x 3— τετιηότες; 3_x τετιηότι θυμῷ in *clausola*; 6_x φίλον τετιημένος ἦτορ in verse-end + once the variants τετιημένοι, *Il. VIII* 437, and τετιημένη, *Od. IV* 804)

¹²⁵¹ «La finale de τηλύγετος fait penser à ἀτρώγετος, Ταύγετος: s’agit-il d’un terme de substrat?» (Chantraine, *DELG* 1114). See also νοστήσαντε.

outcome: if so, the originary value should be postulated in 'born by woman (or even breast-fed?) ~ human'¹²⁵².

τιλλήσθην. A non-augmented imperfect, possibly an Atticism¹²⁵³.

τιταίνετον. Twice in the poems, in the same metrical collocation (³ – ~ τιταίνετον), yet expressing different moods¹²⁵⁴.

τοκῆε. «Bei Homer heißt es stets τοκῆες, in Attika trotz der sonstigen Anhänglichkeit an den Dual stets γονῆες, beides pluralisch trotz der Zweiheit des Begriffs. Ludwich beruft sich allerdings auf θ 312 τοκῆε δύο, aber das ist ein Hyperepizismus des späten Dichters» (Wackernagel 1921, 287f.)¹²⁵⁵.

τρίποδε. The form is plausibly a dual (despite the apocope, *Il.* VIII 290). The occurrence is fascinating, in the light of the Mycenaean type *ti-ri-po-de* (PY Ta 641.1, Lejeune *Mémoires* II 49f.; see par. 1.2).

¹²⁵² The epithet could have later on lost its original meaning, persisting in the *Kunstsprache* as a heroic epithet. Incidentally, the range of compounds of *θηλυ- + *γεν-/*γον- is wide and diverse.

¹²⁵³ Attestations are in fact scarce, and only present in the senior parts of the poems (5_x the verb: *Il.* XXII 78, 406, XXIV 711, *Od.* X 567, XV 527). «Ce verbe, avec un suffixe *-y^o-, ne saurait être une formation primaire [...]. Peut-être issu de πτίλον "plume", avec une dissimilation du π» (Chantraine, *DELG* 1119).

¹²⁵⁴ Indicative at *Il.* XIII 704, imperative at *Il.* XXIII 403; compare with μάχεσθον, indicative at *Il.* XVI 758 and 824, and imperative at *Il.* VII 279.

¹²⁵⁵ «Wenn wir sagen, dass ein Paar durch den dual ausgedrückt werde, so ist eins auffällig, nämlich dass der Ausdruck für ‚Eltern‘, in der älteren Sprache τοκεῖς, im Attischen γονεῖς, durchweg pluralische Form hat, ohne dass man einen Grund wüsste. Bei Homer kommt immer (37mal) τοκῆες vor; nur an einer Stelle, θ 312, haben wir den Dual τοκῆε, im Liede von Ares und Aphrodite, das eine sehr junge Zutat ist. Diese Übertreibung des Dualgebrauchs ist ein Beweis dafür, dass er für den Dichter nicht mehr lebendig war. Ebenso heisst es im gleichen Sinne regelmässig οἱ τεκόντες, οἱ φύσαντες, οἱ φυτεύσαντες, οἱ γεννήσαντες, wohl nie τὸ τεκόντε u. dgl.» (Wackernagel 1926, 83; see also Wackernagel 1916, 215f.). «In Attic a man's parents are invariably called (quite surprisingly) his τοκῆς or γονῆς and in Homer too the plural τοκῆες is repeatedly used; but once, θ 312, Hephaistos speaks of his parents as τοκῆε δύο. This is in one of the latest parts of the Odyssey – the Tale of Ares and Aphrodite – and we can only believe that the poet has slipped, using the dual where it would certainly be expected, but is for some unknown reason barred» (Bolling 1933, 305).

υῖε. Just as *παῖδε*, the form is widely attested in the homeric poetry, supplying a – metrically and formularily – profitable ‘brick’¹²⁵⁶. As regards its prosodic shape, «on notera la place du ton dans υῖος, υῖι chez Homère: la barytonèse semblerait indiquer que ces formes sont éoliennes» (Chantraine 1984, 95; see also Monro 1891, 91)¹²⁵⁷.

ὑποδύντε. Twice in the formula τὸν μὲν ἔπειθ’ ὑποδύντε δύω ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι (*Il.* VIII 332, XIII 421), in relation to the corpse of a fallen hero. At *Il.* XVII 717 the formulaic material differs, yet the context complies with this pattern: the two ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι are named in Meriones and Menelaos, in charge of taking Patroklos’ corpse away from the battlefield¹²⁵⁸.

φαάνθεν. A *hapax*, displaying διέκτασις; clearly not a dual, albeit the form still preserves some unusual traits¹²⁵⁹. Its usage is interesting in the passage: as the stem **bhe-h₁* carries the double valence of ‘enlighten’ and ‘explain’, Achilles’s eyes dart and, at the same time, reveal to *him* (οἱ, v. 200) the sudden appearance of Athena.

φαινώ. A common epithet of ὄσσε, always occurring in the formulaic phrase ὄσσε φαινώ, in verse-end: as a variation on the theme, we also

¹²⁵⁶ Incidentally, the stem in sonant (< *υῖος; that the original tone *υ is granted by the comparison with other Indo-European languages) requires the athematic ending, consistently with the general attitude of semi-vocalic stems in Homer; yet a dissimilation from *υῖυ-ε seems too lumbering to postulate, and we could possibly assume that the dual was created on a stem already shaped as *υῖ- (*υῖος > *υῖος), and analogically ‘paradigmatised’ within the thematic conjugation.

¹²⁵⁷ The form is well attested in Attic too, even though contracted: «duel, nom. acc. υῖεῖ (Plat. *Ap.* 20a) noté υῖε (I. G. *P.* 775), gén.-datif υῖέοιν (Plat. *Leg.* 186a)» (*ibid.*).

¹²⁵⁸ Thus creating an interesting convergence, as νέκρον is the argument of both the preceding ὑποδύντε and the following αείραντες (v. 718; a long final syllable is metrically needed); the two participles hereby describe the chronological development of the action.

¹²⁵⁹ «Cet aoriste semble répondre au thème de présent φαινώ et il est probable que φαάνθεν est une grafie pour *φαιενθεν» (Chantraine 1953a, 81). The expected passive aorist would be φαάνθη, as in *Il.* XVII 650; besides, the final ‘epheletic’ ν is legit, as it presents in an *indifferens* position, but not needed nor conditioned by prosodic phenomena. As a wild guess, we could postulate that the common ὄσσε originally triggered a dual aorist, φάανθην (*θααν-σθην), later corrupted in the tradition of the text.

encounter ὄσσε φαεινά (exhibiting number neutralisation and gender agreement; only once, *Il.* XIII 435)¹²⁶⁰.

φοιτήτην. Verb with ‘Aeolic vocalisation’ (Monro 1891, 6; Wackernagel 1916, 215; cf. cap. 1.3) or contracted verb following the athematic conjugation (Wathelet 1970, 333¹²⁶¹; Chantraine 1953a, 306). See also προσαιδήτην.

φρονέοντε. The participle appears 4_x 3_x of which in the same metrical position, in the *iunctura* ³— μέγα φρονέοντε¹²⁶². The full-grade stem is attested in the homeric poetry chiefly in the present participle: if Leumann (1950, 115f.; see also Chantraine, *DELG* 1228) is right in identifying its origin in compound-adjectives in *-φρων, namely εὖ φρών, we can assume that the combination of verb and a preposition or adverb employed as a qualifier, even in tmesis, responds to an archaic usage¹²⁶³.

φωνήσαντε. Formulas meant to introduce or close a direct speech are predictably the most common ones. This is obviously true also in the case of dual forms¹²⁶⁴: φωνήσαντε occurs 3_x, always in the *incipit* formula ὧς ἄρα φωνήσαντε (*Il.* VI 232, X 349, *Od.* XXIV 361)¹²⁶⁵.

¹²⁶⁰ Precisely, as ὄσσε φα³εινά. The *iunctura* in the dual occurs instead 6_x in verse-end (*Il.* XIII 3, 7, XIV 236, XVI 645, XVII 679, XXI 415), 3_x of which within the formula (πάλιν) τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινώ (*Il.* XIII 3, 7, XXI 415). As a note, the homophone singular dative φαεινῷ recurs 24_x in verse-end.

¹²⁶¹ «Les verbes constituent donc des éléments mixtes qui ont reçu par analogie une “teinture” ionienne, les α longs étant passés à η» (*ibid.*).

¹²⁶² *Il.* XI 325, XVI 758, 824, the first occurrence showing μέγα φρονέοντε πέσητον, contrary to the other two, μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον; compare with *Il.* XVI 258, ³— μέγα φρονέοντες ὄρουσαν.

¹²⁶³ 10_x in the whole-verse formula ὅ σφιν εὖ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν (see also *Od.* VII 158, εὖ φρονέησι, and *Od.* XI 445, εὖ φρεσὶ μήδεα οἶδε). As far as μέγα is concerned (frequent in homeric compounds: see *DELG* 674f.: «le mot s’est bientôt dit de ce qui est “important, considerable” et a même pris parfois un sens social»), compare μέγα φρονέοντε (μάχεσθον) with μέγα φρονέων ἐβεβήκει in verse-end, 3_x (*Il.* XI 296, XIII 156, XXII 21), μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφιμελάναι / πίμπλαντο (*Il.* I 103f. = *Od.* IV 661f.; notice the position of ἀμφί) and μεγάλας φρένας (*Il.* IX 184).

¹²⁶⁴ Let us consider e.g. the verbs ἀμείβω (νόη μὲν ὧς ἐπέεσσιν ἀμειβομένω στυγεροῖσιν 2_x, *Od.* XI 81, 465, and, in verse-end, χαλεποῖσιν ἀμειβεσθον ἐπέεσσι, *Il.* XXIII 492, which repeats the same *iunctura*, with the infinitive, at v. 489 ~ χαλεποῖσιν ἀμειβομένο ἐπέεσσι, *Od.* III 148) and αὐδάω (ὧς τὼ γε κλαίοντε προσαιδήτην 2_x in *incipit*, *Il.* XI 136, XXII 90). There is even a speech-type formula reserved to the selection of the Ajaxes: Αἴαντε πρώτῳ προσέφη μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτῷ 2_x, *Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555.

¹²⁶⁵ A plural variant is attested at *Il.* V 239 (still in *incipit*).

φῶτε. The term, of unknown ethimology, is a solely homeric feature¹²⁶⁶. The *iunctura* ²— δύο φῶτε appears twice, probably in a cluster (*Il.* V 572, 608).

χαλκοπόδε. Strikingly enough, the only occurrence of πόδε does not refer to ‘two feet’ — as the epithet is exclusively applied to (pairs of) horses. See ἵππῳ and ὠκυπέτα.

χεῖρε. It is usually said that a feminine inflection for the dual is absent from the poems. It seem relevant to this point to enhance the behaviour of the well attested χεῖρε: natural duals, as it has been argued (par. 2.3), are eager toward the expression of number. At *Il.* XXI 115f. and *Od.* XXIV 397f. the noun, usually accompanied by ἄμφω, agrees in *enjambement* with the feminine ἀμοτέρως, exhibiting gender agreement and default number agreement; similarly, at *Od.* XI 211 we meet φίλας περὶ χεῖρε βαλόντε. As number naturally overrides gender, it might be inferred that, were a feminine inflection available, it would have been suitable here, where the meter was less constraining (*incipit*). Yet agreement is null for number: the feminine should have either been awkward or non-existent (Tichy 1990, 172ff.).

ὠκυπέτᾱ. Twice in the poems, in the extended formula ὑπ’ ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ’ ἵππῳ / ὠκυπέτα χρυσέησιν ἐθείρησιν κομόωντε (*Il.* VIII 42, XIII 24). The metrics do not help in deciphering the quantity of the ending, followed by a *muta cum liquida* group. Still, the formula is interesting on the perspective of the agreement: according to the animacy hierarchy, in neuters gender should overcome number: ὠκυπέτα could hence be a collective in *-ᾱ. Yet we saw to which extent the noble ἵππῳ are peculiar, being both formulaic and almost ‘humanised’ by virtue of their heroic value. Moreover, the epithet χαλκόποδ’ is in all

¹²⁶⁶ 3_x in the dual, 5_x in the plural (4_x ⁵φῶτες). Rare in Tragedy (Aesch. *Pers.* 925, Soph. *Aj.* 1251, 1358 (a possible ‘Homerism’); in the dual: Eur. *Hel.* 1094, *Cyc.* 397, *Rh.* 773), even more in prose. The fact that the first occurrences are in the dual, and the plural finds a ‘fixed’ collocation only later in the poems, may imply that the term was originally peculiar in the dual. The lack of gender distinction in a term belonging to the lexicon of human status and relations, although surely conditioned by the athematic inflection, is a conservative and archaic trait.

likelihood in the dual; we can hence expect ὠκυπέτα to follow the same path of behaviour, and be in the dual as well¹²⁶⁷. See also αἰχμητᾶ, and ἵππω.

ὄμω. Even though expressing naturally coupled items, the term often occurs in the plural too; besides, it has been argued that, for a natural dual, the expression of number morphologically may have been perceived as redundant (see par. 2.2.2). Many formulaic phrases are linked to this root¹²⁶⁸.

¹²⁶⁷ Besides, we stressed how compounds with the suffix -της are the only ones to preserve a dual ending for the *a*-stem: see par. 1.2. As a note, the oxymoric contrast between χαλκοπόδ(ε) and ὠκυπέτα is remarkable, merging the idea of strenght and speed, feet and ‘wings’.

¹²⁶⁸ To be precise, *all* occurrences in the dual are formulaic: 11_x (ὄμοιν): *Il.* VIII 194, XV 308, XVI 40, 64, XVI 560, 663, XVII 126, XIX 412; *Od.* VI 219, XIV 277, XXI 118; 2_x the two-verses formula ἐσπάσατ’ οὐδ’ ἄρ’ ἔτ’ ἄλλα δυνήσατο τεύχεα καλὰ / ὄμοιν ἀφελέσθαι· ἐπείγετο γὰρ βελέεσσιν (*Il.* V 622, XIII 511; ὄμοιν *in incipit* at *Od.* X 262 too); 2_x μετάφρενον εὐρεε τ’ ὄμω, *in clausola* (*Il.* XVI 791, XXIII 380); 2_x ὄμω *in clausola* (*Il.* II 217, 265).

4.1 Sintagmi formulari omerici.

- ἀγήρω:** 2_x (ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε, *in clausola*): *Il.* XII 323, XVII 444.
- ἀέκοντε/ἄκοντε:** 10_x (τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 366, 768, VIII 45, X 530, XI 281, 519, XXII 400, *Od.* III 484, I494, XV 192¹²⁶⁹.
- ἀθανάτω:** 2_x (ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε, *in clausola*): *Il.* XII 323, XVII 444.
- Αἴαντε:** 2_x (Αἴαντε πρώτῳ προσέφη μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτῷ): *Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555; 4_x (Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἠγήτορε, *in incipit*): *Il.* IV 285, XII 354, XVII 508, 669; 2_x (δύω Αἴαντε κορυστά, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIII 201, XVIII 163.
- αἴξαντε:** 2_x (²αἴξαντε): *Il.* XII 145¹²⁷⁰, *Od.* X 117.
- ἀλλήλουιν:** 7_x (*clausola*): *Il.* X 65, XIII 708, XVI 765, XXII 128, *Od.* XVIII 38, XIX 384, XXI 15.
- ἀμειβομένω:** 2_x (νῶι μὲν ὡς ἐπέεσσιν ἀμειβομένω στυγεροῖσιν): *Od.* XI 81, 465¹²⁷¹.
- ἀμφοτέρωιν:** 2_x (*clausola*): *Il.* V 207, *Od.* XX 327.
- ἀμφοτέρω:** 15_x (*incipit*): *Il.* IV 521, V 156, 261, VII 280, X 552, XII 265, 344, 357, XIII 60, 783, *Od.* XI 212, 256, 319, XXIII 53, 351; 4_x (²ἀμφοτέρω): *Il.* VIII 115, XXIII 814, *Od.* IV 282, XXIII 354¹²⁷².
- ἄμφω:** 2_x (ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῷ φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε): *Il.* I 196, 209; 2_x (κάππεσεν ἄμφω χεῖρε φίλοις ἐτάροισι πετάσσας)¹²⁷³: *Il.* IV 523, XIII 549; 2_x (ἐξαύδα, μὴ κεῦθε νόφ, ἴνα εἶδομεν ἄμφω): *Il.* I 363, XVI 19; 3_x (κύσσε δέ μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλά): *Od.* XVI 15, XVII 39, XIX 417¹²⁷⁴; 4_x (πεπνυμένω ἄμφω, *in clausola*): *Il.* III 148, VII 276, IX 689, *Od.* XVIII 65; 3_x (ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 307¹²⁷⁵, X 456, XIV 466; 2_x (³— τὸ δ' ἄμφω): *Il.* VI 19, *Od.* XVIII

¹²⁶⁹ Variazioni alla formula con modifica del participio si trovano a *Il.* XV 150 (τὸ δ' αἴξαντε πετέσθην) e XXIII 506 (τὸ δὲ σπεύδοντε πετέσθην).

¹²⁷⁰ Con sinalefe di ἐκ δὲ τὸ αἴξαντε.

¹²⁷¹ Ma, cf. anche *Il.* XXIII 489, χαλεποῖσιν ἀμείψασθαι ἐπέεσσι, e 492, χαλεποῖσιν ἀμειβομένω ἐπέεσσι, in fine di verso, possibili modelli per *Od.* III 148, χαλεποῖσιν ἀμειβομένω ἐπέεσσι.

¹²⁷² Si noti tuttavia che questa sede è di norma occupata dalle altre forme di *ἀμφοτέρω-, ovvero il gen. plur. ἀμφοτέρων (13_x, 2_x *in incipit*) e ἀμφοτέρωθεν (8_x, 9_x *in clausola*); questa tendenza potrebbe avere condizionato la collocazione della forma duale in tale sede. Va sottolineato che le due sedi evidenziate (*incipit*/dopo il primo metro) coprono l'intera casistica delle occorrenze di ἀμφοτέρω.

¹²⁷³ Cf. anche *Il.* XXIII 731 (ἐπὶ δὲ χθονὶ κάππεσον ἄμφω, *in clausola*).

¹²⁷⁴ Nella variante κύσσ' ἄρα μιν κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ἄμφω φάεα καλά.

¹²⁷⁵ Nella variante ἄμφω ῥῆξε τένοντε.

89¹²⁷⁶; 3_x (⁴ἄμφω χεῖρ~): *Il.* XVIII 414, *Od.* VIII 135; XVIII 89; 2_x (ἄμφω ἰέσθην, *in incipit*): *Il.* XVIII 501, *Od.* III 344.

ἀναΐξαντε: 2_x (¹— ἀναΐξαντε): *Od.* VIII 361, XIX 31¹²⁷⁷.

ἀνασχομένω: 3_x (¹— ἀνασχομένω, *in incipit*): *Il.* XXIII 660, 686, *Od.* XVIII 95.

ἄνδρε: 2_x (ἄνδρε δύο περὶ τῶνδε κελεύομεν ὃ περ ἄριστω): *Il.* XXIII 659, 802; 3_x (ἄνδρε δύο κρίνας, τρίτατον κήρυχ' ἄμ' ὀπάσσας): *Od.* IV 27, IX 90, X 102; 6_x (ἄνδρε δύο, *in incipit*): *Il.* XXIII 659, 802, *Od.* IV 27, IX 90, X 102, XVI 244.

ἀνέρε: 2_x (ἀνέρε δήμου ἄριστω, *in clausola*): *Il.* XI 328, XII 447.

ἄριστω: 2_x (ἄνδρε δύο περὶ τῶνδε κελεύομεν ὃ περ ἄριστω): *Il.* XXIII 659, 802; 2_x (ἀνέρε δήμου ἄριστω, *in clausola*): *Il.* XI 328, XII 447.

ἀπαλθήσεσθον: 2_x (έλκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον, ἅ κεν μάρπησι κεραινός): *Il.* VIII 405, 419.

ἀποστρέψαντε: 2_x (¹— ἀποστρέψαντε, *in incipit*): *Od.* XXII 173, 190¹²⁷⁸.

Ἄτρεΐδα: 2_x (Ἄτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύο κοσμήτορε λαῶν): *Il.* I 16, 375.

αὐτώ: 2_x (Αἴαντε πρώτω προσέφη μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτώ): *Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555.

ἀχθυμένω: 3_x (ἀχθυμένω κῆρ, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIX 57, XXIII 284, 443.

βαλόντε: 2_x (χεῖρε βαλόντε, *in clausola*): *Od.* XI 211, XXI 223; 4_x (*clausola*): *Il.* XVII 457, XXIII 97, *Od.* XI 211, XXI 223¹²⁷⁹.

βάτην: 4_x (τὸ δὲ βήτην, *in incipit*): *Il.* IX 182, 192, X 469, XXIII 710¹²⁸⁰.

βήτην: 2_x (τὸ δ' ἰθὺς βήτην, *in incipit*): *Il.* XII 330, XVII 492; 2_x (τὸ βήτην, *in incipit*): *Il.* XIV 281, *Od.* XVII 200; 3_x (*incipit*): *Il.* XIV 285, XVI 327, *Od.* VIII 49.

βόε: 2_x (βόε οἴνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIII 703, *Od.* XIII 32.

βουλεύσαντε: 2_x (τὸ γ' ὧς βουλεύσαντε διέτμαγεν / ἢ μὲν ἔπειτα): *Il.* I 531, *Od.* XIII 439¹²⁸¹.

δειλώ: 2_x (ἃ δειλώ τί, *in incipit*): *Il.* XVII 443, *Od.* XXI 86.

δείσαντέ: 2_x (²— δείσαντε,): *Il.* V 233, VIII 136¹²⁸².

διακρινθέντε: 2_x (¹— διακρινθέντε): *Il.* VII 306, XX 212.

διδυμάονε: 2_x (³— διδυμάονε): *Il.* V 548, VI 26.

¹²⁷⁶ 7_x (⁴δ' ἄμφω): *Il.* V 307, VI 19, X 456, XI 782, XIV 466, XXI 89; *Od.* XVIII 89.

¹²⁷⁷ Ma, cf. anche (plur.) *Il.* VII 106 e *Od.* XXI 300, XXIV 50 e αἴξαντε.

¹²⁷⁸ Cf. anche *Od.* III 162, οἱ μὲν ἀποστρέψαντες ἔβαν νέας ἀμφιελίσσας.

¹²⁷⁹ Anche al plurale, quasi sempre in fine di verso: cf. *Il.* XI 454, 529, XVII 742; *Od.* VIII 501, XX 382.

¹²⁸⁰ Tutte le occorrenze *in incipit* eccetto l'ultima (ζωσαμένω δ' ἄρα τὸ γε βήτην ἐς μέσσον ἀγῶνα).

¹²⁸¹ La forma dievtmagen appare 5_x nei poemi, di cui 4_x con valore semantico di duale (*Il.* I 531, VII 302, XII 461; *Od.* XIII 439).

¹²⁸² Ma, vedi anche ²—δεισαντ_x, *Od.* IX 236, 396, XII 224, XXII 39.

- δμῶε:** 2_x (²— τὸ δμῶε): *Od.* XXI 244, XXII 114.
- δοιῶ:** 2_x (δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτούς, *in clausola*): *Il.* XVIII 604, *Od.* IV 18.
- δοῦρε:** 3_x (δοῦρε δὺν κεκορυθμένα καλκῶ, *in clausola*): *Il.* III 18, XI 43, *Od.* XXII 125; 3_x (εἶλετο δ' ἄλκιμα δοῦρε, *in incipit*): *Il.* XI 43, XVI 139, *Od.* XXII 125; 8_x (δύο δοῦρε): *Il.* X 76, XII 298, XXI 145, *Od.* I 256, XII 228, XVI 295, XVIII 377, XXII 101¹²⁸³.
- δυοκαίδεκα:** 3_x (δυοκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῶ, *in clausola*): *Il.* VI 93, 274, 308; 2_x (δυοκαίδεκα πάντες ἀρίστοι, *in clausola*): *Il.* X 560¹²⁸⁴, *Od.* XVI 251; 2_x (δυοκαίδεκα πάντων): *Od.* XIX 578, XXI 76; 6_x (⁴— δυοκαίδεκα): *Il.* II 557, XX 225, *Od.* XIV 13, XVIII 293, XIX 578, XXI 76.
- δύο:** 2_x (²— μέγα ἔργον ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιν): *Il.* V 303, XX 286; 2_x (ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο): *Il.* VIII 70, XXII 210; 2_x (²— δύο φῶτε, *in incipit*): *Il.* V 572, 608; 2_x (²— δύο δ' ἄνδρες, *in incipit*): *Il.* XIII 499, XVIII 498; 2_x (²— δύο παῖδε, *in incipit*): *Il.* XI 126, XXII 46; 5_x (καὶ δύο δοῦρε, *in clausola*): *Od.* I 256, XII 228, XVI 295, XVIII 377, XXII 101; 2_x (καὶ δὺ' ἐόντε, *in clausola*): *Il.* XII 171, XIII 236; 2_x (ἔνθα δὺν νύκτας δύο τ' ἦματα ⁵— ⁶—): *Od.* V 388, IX 74; 2_x (καὶ ρ' ἔτεκεν δύο παῖδε, *in incipit*): *Od.* XI 262, 307.
- δύω:** 2_x (ἄνδρε δὺν περὶ τῶνδε κελεύομεν ὅ περ ἀρίστω): *Il.* XXIII 659, 802; 2_x (Ἀτρείδα δὲ μάλιστα δὺν κοσμήτορε λαῶν): *Il.* I 16, 375; 2_x (δὺν Αἴαντε κορυστά, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIII 201, XVIII 163; 3_x (²— Αἴαντε δὺν): *Il.* II 406, X 228, XII 335; 2_x (τὸν μὲν ἔπειθ' ὑποδύντε δὺν ἐρήρηες ἑταῖροι): *Il.* VIII 332, XIII 421; 6_x (ὔϊε δὺν, *in incipit*): *Il.* II 679¹²⁸⁵, II 831, 843, XI 102, 329, XII 95; 6_x (ἄνδρε δὺν, *in incipit*): *Il.* XXIII 659, 802, *Od.* IV 27, IX 90, X 102, XVI 244; 3_x (δοῦρε δὺν κεκορυθμένα καλκῶ, *in clausola*): *Il.* III 18, XI 43, *Od.* XXII 125; 2_x (²— λέοντε δὺν)¹²⁸⁶: *Il.* V 554, X 297; 3_x (δὺν χρυσοῖο τάλαντα, *in clausola*): *Il.* XVIII 507, XXIII 269, 614; 2_x (σὺν δ' ὅ γε δὴ αὖτε δὺν μάρψας ὀπλίσσατο): *Od.* IX 311, 344;

¹²⁸³ Il sintagma si attesta in fine di verso in tutte le occorrenze odissiache.

¹²⁸⁴ Nella variante in accusativo δυοκαίδεκα πάντας ἀρίστους.

¹²⁸⁵ Non *in incipit* (Θεσσαλοῦ ὔϊε δὺν Ἡρακλείδαο ἀνακτος); cf. anche *Il.* II 822 e XII 99 (δὺν Ἀντήνορος ὔϊε *in clausola*), e XIII 345 (δὺν Κρόνου ὔϊε κραταιῶ).

¹²⁸⁶ Sintagma situato subito dopo la cesura femminile, fino alla fine del verso. Varianti con lo stesso schema metrico a *Il.* XIII 198 (λέοντε κυνῶν ὑπο χαρκαροδόντων) e *Il.* XVIII 579 (λέοντε δὺ' ἐν πρώτῃσι βόεσσι).

- 3_x (³— δὺω καὶ εἴκοσ-): *Il.* II 748, *Od.* IX 241, X 208; 3_x (δὺω καὶ πεντήκοντα, *in clausola*): *Od.* VIII 35, 48, XVI 247.
- ἐδύτην:** 2_x (ὄπλοισιν ἓνι δεινοῖσι ἐδύτην, *in clausola*)¹²⁸⁷: *Il.* X 254, 272.
- ἐζέσθην:** 4_x (*incipit*): *Il.* VII 59, VIII 64, *Od.* XV 134, XXII 379.
- ἐθέλητον:** 2_x (*clausola*): *Il.* IV 346, V 233.
- εἰδότε:** 3_x (μάχης εὖ εἰδότε πάσης, *in clausola*)¹²⁸⁸: *Il.* II 283, V 549, XII 100.
- εἴκτην:** 2_x (πίμπλαντ' ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι εἴκτην)¹²⁸⁹: *Il.* I 104, *Od.* IV 662; 4_x (*clausola*): *Il.* I 104, XXI 285, XXIII 379, *Od.* IV 662¹²⁹⁰.
- ἐλέτην:** 2_x (ἐνθ' ἐλέτην, *in incipit*): *Il.* VII 8, XI 328¹²⁹¹.
- ἐλθόντε:** 2_x (ἐλθόντ' ἐξαπίνης, *in incipit*): *Il.* IX 5, XV 325.
- ἐμαρνάσθην:** 2_x (¹— εμαρνάσθην): *Il.* VII 301, XVII 382.
- ἐμμεμαῶτε:** 2_x (ὦς οἴ' γ' ἐμμεμαῶτε νέκυν φέρον, *in incipit*)¹²⁹²: *Il.* XVII 735, 746.
- έόντε:** 2_x (ὄσσε πάρος περικαλλέ' έόντε, *in clausola*): *Od.* XIII 401, 433; 2_x (καὶ δυ' έόντε, *in clausola*): *Il.* XII 171, XIII 236.
- ἐπεδραμέτην:** 4_x (¹— ²ἐπεδραμέτην): *Il.* X 354, XXIII 418, 433, 447.
- έσεσθον:** 2_x (*clausola*): *Od.* XVI 267, XXI 216.
- έσσαμένω:** 2_x (¹— ²έσσαμένω)¹²⁹³: *Il.* XIV 282, XXIII 83.
- έστατον:** 2_x (έστατον άχρυμένω κῆρ, *in clausola*): *Il.* XXIII 284, 443.
- έστων:** 2_x (μάρτυροι έστων, *in clausola*): *Il.* I 338, *Od.* I 271.
- εὐνηθέντε:** 3_x (τραπέιομεν εὐνηθέντε, *in clausola*): *Il.* III 441, XIV 314¹²⁹⁴, *Od.* VIII 292.
- εὐρέε:** 2_x (εὐρέε τ' ὄμω, *in clausola*): *Il.* XVI 791, XXIII 380¹²⁹⁵.
- έφαμαρτεῖτον:** 2_x (άλλ' έφαμαρτεῖτον καὶ σπεύδետον ⁵— ⁶—): *Il.* VIII 191, XXIII 414.
- έχέτην:** 2_x (³— έχέτην): *Il.* V 569, XVIII 580.
- έχητον:** 2_x (⁴— ασιν ⁵— έχητον, *in clausola*): *Il.* XVII 445, *Od.* VI 183.

¹²⁸⁷ *In clausola* anche a *Il.* VI 19.

¹²⁸⁸ Ma 6_x (⁵εἰδότε): *Il.* II 823, V 11, 549, 608, X 360, XII 100.

¹²⁸⁹ In fine di verso altre due volte, a *Il.* XXI 285 e XXIII 379.

¹²⁹⁰ Cf. anche *Od.* IV 62, άνδρε δὺω γενεῆ δέ Διὸς μεγάλοιο εἴκτον.

¹²⁹¹ Ad *Il.* V 576, ένθα Πυλαμμένα έλέτην άταλαόνω Ἄρηι, sembra di poter vedere una variazione sul tema; cf. anche ήθελέτην.

¹²⁹² Cf. anche *Il.* XIII 785 (¹— ²έμμεμαῶτες).

¹²⁹³ Lo stesso schema metrico incipitario anche in *Il.* X 577 (τὼ δέ λοεσσαμένω) e *Od.* III 137 (τὼ δέ καλεσσαμένω).

¹²⁹⁴ Entrambe le occorrenze iliadiche nella forma 'estesa' ²— φιλότητι τραπέιομεν εὐνηθέντε.

¹²⁹⁵ Adattata al plurale in *Od.* XVIII 68, φάνεν δέ οἱ εὐρέες ὄμοι (sempre in fine di verso).

- ἡγήτορες:** 4_x (Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες, *in incipit*)¹²⁹⁶: *Il.* IV 285, XII 354, XVII 508, 669;
2_x (ἡγήτορες χαλκοχιτώνων, *in clausola*): *Il.* IV 285, XII 354.
- ἠθελέτην:** 2_x (*incipit*): *Il.* X 228, XVII 432.
- ἠμιόνουιν:** 3_x (*clausola*): *Od.* VI 82, VII 2, VIII 124.
- ἦσθην:** 2_x (πλησίαι αἶ γ' ἦσθην, κακὰ δὲ Τρώεσσι μεδέσθην): *Il.* IV 21, VIII 458; 2_x
(*incipit*): *Il.* VIII 445, *Od.* VII 232.
- θεράποντε:** 3_x (²— θεράποντε): *Il.* VIII 109, XI 255, XVI 253; 2_x (*clausola*): *Il.* I 321, XIX
47.
- ιέσθην:** 3_x (¹— ²ιέσθην): *Il.* XVIII 501, XXIII 718, *Od.* III 344.
- ικέσθην:** 2_x (Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἐπί τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθην): *Il.* I 328, IX 185; 5_x
(*clausola*): *Il.* I 328, IX 185, XXIII 215, *Od.* II 150, X 117.
- ιόντε:** 3_x (¹— ἰόντε)¹²⁹⁷: *Il.* X 468, XI 324, XXI 285¹²⁹⁸.
- ἵπποιϊν:** 2_x (²ἵπποιϊν): *Il.* V 13, *Od.* XV 182; 2_x (⁴ἵπποιϊν): *Il.* V 107, XIX 396.
- ἵππω:** 2_x (⁵καὶ τεὸ ἵππω): *Il.* V 230, 237; 2_x (ταχέ' ἵππω, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 356, XXIII
545; 2_x (ὑπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκοπόδ' ἵππω / ὠκυπέτα χρυσέησιν
ἐθειρήσιν κομόωντε): *Il.* VIII 41, XIII 23.
- ἴτην:** 2_x (³— ἴτην): *Od.* IX 430, XXI 244¹²⁹⁹.
- κῆρε:** 2_x (ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο): *Il.* VIII 70, XXII 210.
- κήρυκε:** 2_x (²— κήρυκε): *Il.* I 321, IX 689.
- κιοίτην:** 2_x (ὄφρα λείψαντε κιοίτην, *in clausola*): *Il.* XXIV 285, *Od.* XV 149.
- κλαίοντε:** 2_x (ὡς τὼ γε κλαίοντε προσαυδήτην, *in incipit*): *Il.* XI 136, XXII 90.

¹²⁹⁶ La formula è una ulteriore specializzazione rispetto all'uso formulare dell'epiteto ἡγήτορες, che si presenta quasi esclusivamente nel quarto *metron* (³— ἡγήτορες, 24_x: *Il.* II 79, III 53, IX 17, X 301, 533, XI 276, 587, 816, XII 376, XIV 144, XVI 164, XVII 248, XXII 378, XXIII 457, *Od.* VII 98, 186, VIII 11, 26, 97, 387, 536, XI 526, XIII 186, 210); si veda in particolare la formula ³—ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες (23_x), in cui l'epiteto è sempre preceduto da un genitivo plurale riferito ad uno degli eserciti (Ἀργείων, Δαναῶν, Μυρμιδόνων, Τρώων, Λυκίων nell'*Iliade*; ¹— ²Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες nell'*Odissea*, a coprire tutte le occorrenze odissiache di ἡγήτορες).

¹²⁹⁷ La tendenza di participi con desinenza *-οντε(ς) a collocarsi in questa sede è assolutamente sistematica, e produttiva. Per le sole forme in *-ιοντε(ς): *Il.* I 606, IX 421, XI 136, XII 374, XIV 37, 340, XVI 601, XVII 103, 502, XXII 70, 90, XXIII 58, *Od.* I 424, III 396, VII 229, IX 49, 294, 401, 413, X 241, XII 311, XIV 266, XVI 368, XVII 435, XVIII 428, (XXI 179), XXII 203, XXIV 415.

¹²⁹⁸ A *Il.* VI 120 la forma al duale è una variazione alla formula *in clausola* ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἰόντες, 11_x nei poemi.

¹²⁹⁹ Tre occorrenze complessive della forma nei poemi; la restante si colloca, a *Il.* I 347, nella stessa sede metrica, e presenta tuttavia un dattilo anziché spondeo in quarto metro. Che la posizione tra terzo e quarto metro sia sensibile sembra tuttavia suggerito anche dalla formula συνίτην μεμάωτε μάχεσθαι (3_x: *Il.* VI 120, XX 159, XXIII 814), sempre in fine di verso.

- κοιμηθέντες:** 2_x (ὑπνω ὑπο γλυκεροῦ ταρπόμεθα κοιμηθέντες): *Od.* IV 295, XXIII 255¹³⁰⁰.
- κομοώντες:** 2_x (ὑπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκειτο χαλκοπόδ' ἵππω / ὠκυπέτα χρυσέησιν ἐθείρησιν κομόωντες): *Il.* VIII 42, XIII 24.
- κορυστά:** 2_x (δύω Αἴαντες κορυστά, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIII 201, XVIII 163.
- κοσμήτορες:** 3_x (κοσμήτορες λαῶν, *in clausola*): *Il.* I 16, 375, III 236.
- κούρω:** 2_x (²— κούρω): *Od.* VIII 35, XV 151.
- κραταιώ:** 2_x (ῥε κραταιώ, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIII 345, *Od.* XV 242.
- κρινθέντες:** 4_x (²— κρινθέντες): *Il.* V 12, VII 306, XX 212¹³⁰¹, *Od.* VIII 48.
- κυβιστητήρες:** 2_x (δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστητήρες κατ' αὐτοὺς / μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους): *Il.* XVIII 604s., *Od.* IV 18s.
- λαβέτην:** 2_x (¹— ²ἀλλήλων λαβέτην): *Il.* VI 233, XXIII 711¹³⁰².
- λείψαντες:** 2_x (ὄφρα λείψαντες κιοίτην, *in clausola*): *Il.* XXIV 285, *Od.* XV 149.
- λέοντες:** 4_x (²— λέοντες, *in incipit*): *Il.* V 554, X 297, XIII 198, XVIII 579¹³⁰³; 2_x (²— λέοντες δύο): *Il.* V 554, X 297.
- λευκώ:** 2_x (πήχεε λευκώ, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 314, *Od.* XXIII 240.
- λιπέτην:** 2_x (²— λιπέτην): *Il.* X 273, *Od.* III 485.
- λισσομένω:** 3_x (¹— ²λισσομένω(ι)): *Il.* V 491, XXII 91, XXIII 609.
- μάχεσθον:** 2_x (μέγα φρονέοντες μάχεσθον, *in clausola*): *Il.* VII 279, XVI 824¹³⁰⁴.
- μεδέσθην:** 2_x (πλησίαι αἶ γ' ἦσθην, κακὰ δὲ Τρώεσσι μεδέσθην): *Il.* IV 21, VIII 458.
- μεμαῶτες:** 5_x (μεμαῶτες μάχεσθαι, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 244, 569, VI 120, XX 159, XXIII 814; 2_x (Αἴαντες πρώτῳ προσέφη μεμαῶτες καὶ αὐτῷ): *Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555.
- μενέτην:** 2_x (³— μενέτην): *Il.* VIII 79, XIX 310.
- μένοντες:** 2_x (παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 572, *Od.* V 227¹³⁰⁵.

¹³⁰⁰ La forma al duale di *Il.* XXIV 636 è probabilmente una variazione alla formula, che apparteneva verosimilmente al repertorio comune agli ultimi canti dell'*Iliade* e all'*Odissea*.

¹³⁰¹ A *Il.* V 12 si trova la forma composta ἀποκρινθέντες, διακρινθέντες a *Il.* VII 306 e XX 212.

¹³⁰² Si consideri l'assonanza, sia fonetica che semantica, tra i due versi (χεῖρας τ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην, *Il.* VI 233; ἀγχὰς δ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην, *Il.* XXIII 711).

¹³⁰³ *Il.* V 554 presenta primo metro spondaico. Cf. anche *Od.* VIII 136 (καὶ μάλα περ φιλέοντες, *in incipit*); si noti che il nome dell'eroe Leonteo, strutturalmente affine, appare sempre in quarto metro (nella formula Λεοντεὺς ὄζος ἄρηος, 3_x: *Il.* II 745, XII 188, XXIII 841).

¹³⁰⁴ Il verbo compare al duale (in tempi finiti) tre volte nella forma μάχεσθον (*Il.* VII 279, XVI 758, 824) e due nella forma μαχέσθην (*Il.* V 575, XII 145), sempre in fine di verso.

μῆρε: 2_x (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρε κἀ καὶ σπλάγχχν' ἐπάσαντο): *Il.* I 464, II 427.

μηρώ: 4_x (ὦ πεπλήγετο μηρώ, *in clausola*): *Il.* XII 162, XV 113, 397, *Od.* XIII 198¹³⁰⁶.

μήστωρε: 2_x (μήστωρε φόβοιο, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 272, VIII 108¹³⁰⁷.

μνησαμένω: 2_x (¹—²μνησαμένω, *in incipit*): *Il.* XIII 48, XXIV 509.

Μολίονε: 2_x (³— Μολίονε): *Il.* XI 709, 750.

νεωτέρω: 2_x (³— νεωτέρω(ι)): *Il.* I 259, *Od.* XVIII 31, 52.

νῶι: 18_x (*incipit*): *Il.* V 34, 235, VIII 428, IX 48, XI 767, XIII 238, XIV 314, XVII 505, 719, XIX 415, XXI 456, XXII 245, *Od.* IV 282, XI 81, 225, 465, XV 398, XX 50; 5_x (*clausola*): *Il.* VIII 109, 352, XVII 238, 489, *Od.* XXIII 108; 2_x (νῶι δ' ἔπειτα, *in clausola*): *Il.* XI 776, *Od.* X 333; 3_x (ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶι μεδώμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς): *Il.* IV 418, V 718, XXIV 618¹³⁰⁸.

νῶιν: 5_x (*incipit*): *Il.* XI 347, XIII 326, XVII 511, *Od.* XVI 295, XXII 152; 8_x (³νῶιν): *Il.* VIII 374, XV 217, 437, XXIII 91, *Od.* IV 172, XIV 193, XVIII 13, 366.

οἴνοπε: 2_x (βόε οἴνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIII 703, *Od.* XIII 32.

ορίνετον: 2_x (³— ορίνετον): *Il.* IX 4, *Od.* XXI 87.

ῥοσσε: 5_x (τὸν δὲ σκότος ῥοσσε κάλυψεν, *in clausola*): *Il.* IV 461, VI 11, XV 578, XVI 325, XXI 181¹³⁰⁹; 2_x (μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιναί πίμπλαντ' / ῥοσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι εἴκτην): *Il.* I 104, *Od.* IV 662¹³¹⁰; 3_x (πᾶν δ' ὑπεθερμάνθη ξίφος αἵματι· τὸν δὲ κατ' ῥοσσε / ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή): *Il.* V 82, XVI 333, XX 477; 6_x (ῥοσσε φαιενώ, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIII 3, 7, XIV 236, XVI 645, XVII 679, XXI 415¹³¹¹; 2_x (ῥοσσε πάρος περικαλλέ' εόντε, *in clausola*): *Od.* XIII 401, XIII 433; 2_x (ἀμφὶ δὲ ῥοσσε κελαινὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν, *in*

¹³⁰⁵ Ma varianti con la forma al duale sono riportate anche per παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες, in fine di verso a *Il.* XVII 721, e per la formula ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ στέωμεν καὶ ἀλεξώμεσθα μένοντες (*Il.* XI 348, XXII 231); su 21_x (duale/plurale), il participio ricorre 18_x in fine di verso.

¹³⁰⁶ 2_x nella formula che copre l'intero verso ᾤμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καὶ ὦ πεπλήγετο μηρώ (*Il.* XV 397, *Od.* XIII 198). Cf. anche *Il.* XVI 125, μηρὸ πληξάμενος ad inizio di verso.

¹³⁰⁷ Ma μήστωρα φόβοιο 4_x (*Il.* VI 97, 278, XII 39, XXIII 16), di cui 2_x nell'epiteto in accusativo ἄγριον αἰχμητὴν κρατερὸν μήστωρα φόβοιο, che copre l'intero verso (la variante al duale potrebbe essere una riduzione).

¹³⁰⁸ Nella variante ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶι μεδώμεθα διε γεραϊέ.

¹³⁰⁹ 2_x nella formula su due versi ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ πῆξε, πέρησε δ' ἄρ' ὅστεον εἴσω / αἰχμὴ χαλκείη, τὸν δὲ σκότος ῥοσσε κάλυψεν (*Il.* IV 461, VI 11) e 2_x nella formula δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, τὸν δὲ σκότος ῥοσσε κάλυψεν (*Il.* XV 578, XVI 325). Cf. anche la variazione alla formula a *Il.* XVII 136, κάτω ἔλκεται ῥοσσε καλύπτων.

¹³¹⁰ Cf. anche *Il.* XIII 473, ὀφθαλμῶ δ' ἄρα οἱ πυρὶ λάμπετον.

¹³¹¹ 3_x nella forma (πάλιν) τρέπεν ῥοσσε φαιενώ (*Il.* XIII 3, 7, XXI 415).

clausola)¹³¹²: *Il.* V 310, XI 356; 8_x (τὸ δέ οἱ ὄσσε, *in clausola*)¹³¹³: *Il.* XIII 616, XIV 438, XV 607, XVII 695, XIX 365, XXIII 396, *Od.* IV 704, XIX 471; 3_x (ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIX 16, *Od.* VI 131, X 247¹³¹⁴; 2_x (δέ μοι ὄσσε, *in clausola*)¹³¹⁵: *Il.* XXIII 463, *Od.* XX 204.

ὄτρύνετον: 2_x (³— ὄτρύνετον): *Il.* XII 367, XIX 205.

ὀφθαλμοῖν: 2_x (χλαῖναν πορφυρέην ἄντ' ὀφθαλμοῖν ἀνασχών): *Od.* IV 115, 154.

παῖδε: 3_x (²— δύο παῖδε): *Il.* XI 126, XXII 46, *Od.* XI 307.

πασσαμένω: 2_x (¹— ²πασσαμένω): *Il.* VII 255, *Od.* IV 61.

πειθέσθην: 2_x (ὤϊε δὺν Μέροπος Περωκσίου ὃς περὶ πάντων / ἦδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὓς παῖδας ἔασκε / στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα· τὸ δέ οἱ οὐ τι / πειθέσθην· κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.): *Il.* II 834, XI 332.

πειρήναντε: 2_x (σειρῆν δὲ πλεκτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πειρήναντε): *Od.* XXII 175, 192.

πεπνυμένω: 4_x (πεπνυμένω ἄμφω, *in clausola*): *Il.* III 148, VII 276, IX 689, *Od.* XVIII 65.

πεσόντε: 2_x (τὸ δὲ πεσόντ' ἐλέησε, *in incipit*): *Il.* V 561, 610¹³¹⁶.

πετέσθην: 8_x (τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην): *Il.* V 366, 768, VIII 45, X 530, XI 281, 519, XXII 400, *Od.* III 484, 494, XV 192¹³¹⁷.

πήχεε: 2_x (ἄμφι δὲ παιδὶ φίλω βάλε πήχεε, *in incipit*): *Od.* XVII 38, XXIV 387; 2_x (πήχεε λευκῶ, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 314, *Od.* XXIII 240¹³¹⁸.

ποδοῖν: 2_x (περὶ τε κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῖν, *in clausola*): *Od.* XVI 6, XIX 444¹³¹⁹.

πρήσσετε: 2_x (ῥίμφα πρήσσετε κέλευθον, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIV 282, XXIII 501¹³²⁰.

¹³¹² Si confronti con τὸ δέ οἱ ὄσσε / νύξ ἐκάλυψε μελαίνα, *Il.* XIV 438, e τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννή νύξ ἐκάλυψεν, 3_x (*Il.* V 659, XIII 580, XXII 466).

¹³¹³ Il sintagma costituisce spesso formula *in enjambement*: τὸ δέ οἱ ὄσσε / δακρυόφι πλησθεν, 4_x (*Il.* XVII 695, XXIII 396, *Od.* IV 704, XIX 471), e τὸ δέ οἱ ὄσσε / λαμπέσθην, 2_x (*Il.* XV 607, XIX 365).

¹³¹⁴ Si consideri anche la clausola adattata in versione ridotta a *Il.* XVI 792, στρεφεδίνηθεν δέ οἱ ὄσσε.

¹³¹⁵ Le due varianti ricorrono tuttavia allo stesso repertorio semantico: πάντη δέ μοι ὄσσε / Τρωϊκόν ἄμ πεδίον παπταίνετον εἰσορόοντι (*Il.* XXIII 463s.) e ἔκαμον δέ μοι ὄσσε / πάντη παπταίνοντι πρὸς ἡροειδέα πέτρην (*Od.* XII 232s.).

¹³¹⁶ Cf. anche la variante τὸν δὲ πεσόντ' ἐλέησε, a *Il.* XVII 346, 352.

¹³¹⁷ 6_x nella formula di intero verso μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην (*Il.* V 366, VIII 45, XXII 400, *Od.* III 484, 494, XV 192) e 3_x nella variante μάστιξεν δ' ἵππους· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην (*Il.* V 768, X 530, XI 519). Ad *Il.* XV 150 si trova la variante τὸ δ' αἶξαντε πετέσθην, a *Il.* XXIII 506 τὸ δὲ σπεύδοντε πετέσθην. La forma verbale passiva al duale si trova *in clausola* anche a *Il.* XVI 149 e XXIII 181.

¹³¹⁸ Particolarmente interessante l'occorrenza iliadica, che presenta elementi pertinenti a entrambe le formule (ἄμφι in prima sede, il riferimento al figlio φίλος, e il sintagma πήχεε λευκῶ *in clausola*).

¹³¹⁹ Ma cf. *Il.* XVIII 537, ἔλκε ποδοῖν, e *Il.* XXIII 770, ἐλθε ποδοῖν. La forma ricorre sempre *in clausola* nei poemi (8_x).

προσαυδήτην: 2_x (ὡς τὼ γε κλαίοντε προσαυδήτην, *in incipit*): *Il.* XI 136, XXII 90.

προτέρω: 2_x (τὼ δὲ βάτην πρότερω, *in incipit*): *Il.* IX 192, X 469.

προφανέντε: 3_x (²— προφανέντε, *in incipit*): *Il.* VIII 378, XVII 487, XXIV 332.

πρώτω: 2_x (ΑἶνANTE πρώτω προσέφη μεμαῶτε καὶ αὐτῶ): *Il.* XIII 46, XVI 555.

σαώσετον: 2_x (³— σαώσετον): *Il.* V 224, XVII 452.

σπεύδετον: 2_x (ἀλλ' ἐφαμαρτεῖτον καὶ σπεύδετον ⁵— ⁶—): *Il.* VIII 191, XXIII 414.

στήτην: 4_x (*incipit*): *Il.* I 332, XV 155, XXI 285, *Od.* XVII 261.

συμβάλλετον: 2_x (³— συμβάλλετον): *Il.* IV 453, V 774.

συνίτην: 3_x (ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέρων συνίτην μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι): *Il.* VI 120, XX 159, XXIII 814.

σφῶε: 2_x (²σφωε): *Il.* I 8, XI 751.

σφῶι: 2_x (ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ σφῶι, *in incipit*): *Il.* VII 280, X 552.

σφῶιν: 8_x (³σφῶιν): *Il.* VIII 402, 413, 416, XV 155, XXIII 408, *Od.* XI 319, XXI 209, XXIII 52.

τένοντε: 3_x (ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 307¹³²¹, X 456, XIV 466.

τέρπεσθην: 2_x (*incipit*): *Od.* V 227, XXIII 301¹³²².

τετάσθην: 2_x (*clausola*): *Il.* IV 536, XIV 404.

τεῶ: 2_x (^δκαὶ τεὸ ἵππω, *in clausola*): *Il.* V 230, 237.

τιταίνετον: 2_x (³— τιταίνετον): *Il.* XIII 704, XXIII 403.

τοίω: 2_x (*incipit*): *Il.* V 559, XXI 289¹³²³.

τούτω: 2_x (εἰ τούτω κε λάβοιμεν, *in incipit*): *Il.* V 273, VIII 196.

υῖε: 6_x (υῖε δῶ): *Il.* II 679, 831, 843, XI 102, 329, XII 95¹³²⁴; 2_x (υῖε κραταιῶ, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIII 345, *Od.* XV 242.

ὑποδύντε: 2_x (τὸν μὲν ἔπειθ' ὑποδύντε δῶ ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι): *Il.* VIII 332, XIII 421.

φαινώ: 6_x (ὄσσε φαινώ, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIII 3, 7, XIV 236, XVI 645, XVII 679, XXI 415¹³²⁵.

¹³²⁰ Ma πρήσσοντες- ⁶—in fine di verso anche a *Od.* IX 491; si tratta inoltre delle tre sole occorrenze del participio nei poemi.

¹³²¹ Nella variante ἄμφω ῥῆξε τένοντε.

¹³²² Ma i due versi mostrano palesi affinità: *τερπέσθην* πιλότητι παῶ ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες (*Od.* V 227) e *τερπέσθην* μῦθοισι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνέποντες (*Od.* XXIII 301). Si considerino anche i due imperativi *τέρπεσθον* (*Il.* IV 10) e *τέρπεσθω* (*Il.* IX 337), sempre ad inizio verso.

¹³²³ Cf. anche *Il.* XI 432, *Od.* XVII 421 e XIX 77.

¹³²⁴ Tutte le occorrenze *in incipit*, eccetto *Il.* II 679. La forma υῖε compare *in incipit* anche a *Il.* II 865 e V 542.

- φερέτην:** 2_x (Μηκιστεὺς ἐκίοιο καὶ δῖος Ἀλάστωρ / νῆας ἔπι γλαφυρὰς φερέτην βαρῆα στενάχοντα): *Il.* VIII 334, XIII 423.
- φρονέοντε:** 3_x (³— μέγα φρονέοντε): *Il.* XI 325, XVI 758, 824¹³²⁶.
- φωνήσαντε:** 3_x (ὡς ἄρα φωνήσαντε, *in incipit*): *Il.* VI 232, X 349, *Od.* XXIV 361¹³²⁷.
- φῶτε:** 2_x (²— δύο φῶτε): *Il.* V 572, 608.
- χαλκόποδε:** 2_x (ὕπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκοπόδ' ἵππω / ὠκυπέτα χρυσέησιν ἐθειρήσιν κομόωντε): *Il.* VIII 41, XIII 23.
- χεῖρε:** 2_x (κάππεσεν ἄμφω χεῖρε φίλοις ἐτάροισι πετάσσας): *Il.* IV 523, XIII 549; 3_x (ἔζετο χεῖρε πετάσσας, *in clausola*): *Il.* XIV 495, XXI 115, *Od.* IX 417¹³²⁸; 5_x (⁵χεῖρε)¹³²⁹: *Il.* XIII 534, *Od.* XI 211, XII 442, XXI 223, XXIII 87.
- ῶ:** 4_x (ὦ πεπλήγετο μηρῶ, *in clausola*): *Il.* XII 162, XV 113, 397, *Od.* XIII 198; 2_x (ὦ τ' ὄρεος κορυφῆσι, *in incipit*): *Il.* XVI 757, 824; 2_x (ἄνδρε δύο περὶ τῶνδε κελεύομεν ὦ περ ἀρίστῳ): *Il.* XXIII 659, 802.
- ὠκυπέτα:** 2_x (ὕπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκοπόδ' ἵππω / ὠκυπέτα χρυσέησιν ἐθειρήσιν κομόωντε): *Il.* VIII 42, XIII 24.
- ῶμοιιν:** 2_x (ἐσπάσατ' οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' ἄλλα δυνήσατο τεύχεα καλὰ / ῶμοιιν ἀφελέσθαι· ἐπείγετο γὰρ βελέεσσιν): *Il.* V 622, XIII 511¹³³⁰; 11_x (²ῶμοιιν): *Il.* VIII 194, XV 308, XVI 40, 64, XVI 560, 663, XVII 126, XIX 412, *Od.* VI 219, XIV 277, XXI 118¹³³¹.
- ῶμο:** 2_x (μετάφρονον εὐρεε τ' ῶμο, *in clausola*)¹³³²: *Il.* XVI 791, XXIII 380.
- ὠρμηθήτην:** 2_x (*clausola*): *Il.* V 12, XVII 530.

¹³²⁵ 3_x nella formula (πάλιν) τρέπεν ὅσσε φαεινῶ (*Il.* XIII 3, 7, XXI 415). Si noti che l'aggettivo compare, nel dativo singolare φαεινῶ, 24_x in fine di verso.

¹³²⁶ La prima occorrenza presenta μέγα φρονέοντε πέσητον, le restanti μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον. Il participio (plur.) si colloca nella stessa sede metrica ad *Il.* XVI 258, μέγα φρονέοντες ὄρουσαν.

¹³²⁷ La stessa sequenza si osserva a *Il.* V 239, dove il participio appare al nominativo plurale, e a *Il.* XIX 418, al genitivo singolare.

¹³²⁸ Ma χεῖρε πετάσσας si trova in fine diverso anche a *Od.* V 374 (αὐτὸς δὲ πρηνῆς ἀλὶ κάππεσε χεῖρε πετάσσας) e XXIV 397 (Δολίος δ' ἰθὺς κίε χεῖρε πετάσσας).

¹³²⁹ La forma χεῖρε si presenta in questi casi seguito da una forma verbale (2_x χεῖρε βαλόντε); cf. anche *Il.* VIII 450, XIII 77, XVI 244, XXIII 687 e *Od.* XX 237, XXI 202.

¹³³⁰ La forma si trova in prima sede anche a *Od.* X 262.

¹³³¹ Le due collocazioni metriche qui riportate coprono l'intera casistica delle occorrenze di ῶμοιιν nei poemi.

¹³³² Anche le altre occorrenze del duale (*Il.* II 217, 265) si collocano in fine di verso.

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