

ALCMAN'S MUSES: ALCMAN *PMGF* 28 (85 CALAME), THE ΦΙ-CASE AND THE SYNTAX OF DIVINE INVOCATION IN GREEK AND INDO-EUROPEAN

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Abstract: In this article a new interpretation of the problematic form οὐρανίαφι (Alcman *PMGF* 28 (85 Calame)) is proposed on the basis of a both a fresh examination of the history and prehistory of the φι-case and an overview of the syntax of coordinated pairs in various Indo-European languages.

Keywords: Alcman, textual transmission, Greek historical grammar, case syntax, Indo-European poetics

‘Alcman’s οὐρανίαφι, or ὠρανίαφι, remains unique and incredible’ (Page (1951) 127).

I.

The one-line fragment Alcman *PMGF* 28 (85 Calame) is a genuine problem. The text as transmitted yields little sense, and yet no convincing emendations have been proposed. Nor are they likely to be, since, as we shall see momentarily, the crux and source of all difficulties in the line – the form ὠρανίαφι – appears to have been accurately transmitted. The purpose of this paper is to propose a new interpretation of the line. Here is the fragment as presented in Davies (left) and Calame (right):

28 ΣΑ Hom. *Il.* 13.588 (3.512 Erbse)

τῆι φῖ παραγωγῆι ὁ ποιητῆς Ὅμηρος κατὰ τριῶν
κέχρηται πτώσεων, ἐπὶ γενικῆς δοτικῆς αἰτιατικῆς
... ἐπὶ δὲ κλητικῆς Ἀλκμᾶν ὁ μελοποιὸς οὕτως·

Μῶσα Διὸς θύγατερ λίγ’ αἰέισομαι ὠρανίαφι

ἔστι γὰρ οὐρανία.

ΣLips. Hom. *Il.* 2.233 (1.102 Bachm.) ἀπὸ
κλητικῆς οἶον οὐρανία οὐρανίαφι· οὐρανίαφι λίγ’
αἰέισομαι. Ap. Dysc. *Adv. Gr. Gr.* 2. 1. 1 p. 165
Schm. ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι καὶ κατὰ κλητικῆς
τὸ οὐρανία οὐρανίαφιν. *An. Ox.* 1. 293. 22 Cramer
ἀπὸ κλητικῆς ὡς τὸ οὐρανίαφι· οὐρανίαφι γ’

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85 (28 P)

Μῶσα, Διὸς σύγατερ, λίγ’ αἰέισομαι, ὠρανίαφι

(I) Sch. Hom. *Il.* 13, 588a (III, p. 512, 29 ss. Erbse): πτύοφιν· πτύου. ... τῆι φῖ παραγωγῆι ὁ ποιητῆς Ὅμηρος κατὰ τριῶν κέχρηται πτώσεων, ἐπὶ γενικῆς, δοτικῆς, αἰτιατικῆς. ... ἐπὶ δὲ κλητικῆς Ἀλκμᾶν ὁ μελοποιὸς οὕτως· [1]· ἔστι γὰρ οὐρανία. (II) Sch. Lips. Hom. *Il.* 2, 233 (I, p. 102, 31 ss. Bachmann): (de vocabulo νόσφι) ἀπὸ κλητικῆς οὐρανία, οὐρανίαφι, [1]. αὐται αἰ διὰ τῆς φῖ συλλαβῆς ἐπεκτάσεις τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου φυλάττουσι ... (III) Ap. Dysc. *Adv.* 575 (I, p. 165, 5 ss. Schneider-Uhlig): (de exitu -φιν) καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἄρα τὰ προκείμενα μόρια οὐκ ἔχεται ἐπιρρηματικῆς παραγωγῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρὰ

author’s. I adopt the conventional formula Σ^x to designate the scholia found in the manuscript designated X, for example Σ^{Li} are the scholia found in the Li(psiensis) ms. of the *Iliad*. (Families are referred to in normal font, for example A, bT, etc.)

ἀείσομαι. *Et. Gud.* 411.16 ἀπὸ κλητικῆς οἶον· οὐρανίαφι φίλη γα εἴσομαι. *Et. Mag.* 800. 10 ἐν κλητικῇ, ὃ οὐρανία, λίγ' αἶων καὶ οὐρανίαφι. *Et. Sym. cod.* V *ibid.* μούσα λίγεια οὐρανίαφι

λίγ' αἶεσ. ante ὠραν. *Et. Mag.* (in λίγ' αἶων καὶ corruptum): post ὠραν. *rell.*: corr. Bergk ὠραν. ΣΑ Hom.: οὐραν. *rell.* de ὠρανόφιν cogitat Page, *Alcman: The Partheneion*, p. 127 (οὐρανόφιν iam Dronke ap. Bergk)

ὠρανίαφι pro nomine proprio intellegit Maehler ad Bacch. 4. 7sq. (2. 72 n.18) coll. fr. 27. 1 *supr.*; vide et fr. 67 *infra.* de verbo fut. ἀείσομαι hic et in fr. 29 *vid.* S. Fogelmark, *Studies in Pindar with Particular Reference to Paeon 6 and Nemean 7* (1972) p. 94

II.

The first step is to verify the reality of the form ὠρανίαφι, through a complete examination of the relationship of the texts which quote the line.¹

II.i.

The witnesses may be broken down into four basic classes. It is important to note at the outset that the wording of the fragment itself is of almost no significance for the establishment of these relationships. It is rather the broader evidence of the entire context, together with what is known generally about the affinities of these different texts, which allows us to construct a stemma. The four classes are: (a) the Homeric scholia to *Iliad* N 588, (b) the Epimerismi Homerici, (c) the Byzantine etymologica and, standing quite apart from the other three, (d) Apollonius Dyscolus. This emerges clearly from a simple juxtaposition of the texts:²

(a) Homeric scholia:

(I) Σ^A ad N 588a:

τῇ φῖ παραγωγῇ ὁ ποιητῆς Ὅμηρος κατὰ τριῶν κέχρηται πτώσεων, ἐπὶ γενικῆς, δοτικῆς, αἰτιατικῆς.

“ἢ ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν” (N 308): ἔστι γὰρ ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, ἢ ἐπ' εὐθείας Ἡσίοδος· “ὁδὸς δ' ἑτέρηφι παρελθεῖν”: ἔστι γὰρ ἑτέρα. ἐπὶ δὲ κλητικῆς Ἀλκμάν ὁ μελοποιὸς οὕτως· “Μῶσα, Διὸς θύγατερ, ὠρανίαφι λίγ' ἀείσομαι”: ἔστι γὰρ οὐρανία.

¹ Doubts about the reality of our form recur in discussions of -φι: *cf.* for example Morpurgo-Davies (1969) 47. As she notes there, both von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1900) 55 and Page (1951) 127 (the

Ἀλκμάνι καὶ κατὰ κλητικῆς τὸ οὐρανία ‘οὐρανίαφιν (ουρανιαφιν cod.)’ (IV) An. Ox. I, p. 293, 22 ss. Cramer: (de exitu -φιν) ἀπὸ κλητικῆς, ὡς οὐρανίαφι· ‘οὐρανίαφι γ' ἀείσομαι’ (V) EGud. 411, 16 s. Sturz: νοσφιζοίμεθα· ... ἰστέον ὅτι τῆς φῖ συλλαβῆς παραγωγή κατὰ πᾶσαν πτώσιν γίνεται· ... ἀπὸ κλητικῆς, οἶον· ‘οὐρανίαφι φίλη γα’ εἴσομαι’ (VI) ESym. cod. V ap. EMag. 799, 49 ss. Gaisford: καὶ ἐν τῇ κλητικῇ οἶον ‘Μούσα λίγεια οὐρανίαφι’ (VII) EMag. loc. cit.: φρητρήφι· ... δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι αἱ διὰ τοῦ φῖ ἐπεκτάσεις κατὰ πᾶσαν πτώσιν γίνονται. ... καὶ ἐν τῇ κλητικῇ, ὃ οὐρανία, ‘λίγ' αἶων καὶ οὐρανίαφι’

θύγατερ (I) et (II): corr. Sitzler² post σύγατερ τιν add. Hartung ὠραν. λίγ' ἀείσομαι omnes test.: corr. dubitanter Bergk⁴ quod probavit Page⁵ (*cf.* (VII)), ὠρανίαφι φί<λα> λίγ' ἀείσομαι Kalinka ap. Diehl (*cf.* (V)) ὠρανίαφι (I), οὐρανίαφι cett. test.: οὐρανόφιν Dronke ap. Bergk⁴, ὠρανίαφιν Hartung, ὠρανόφιν dub. Page²

(Ib) Σ^{Ge} *ibid.*:

τῇ φῖ παραγωγῇ ὁ ποιητῆς κατὰ τριῶν κέχρηται πτώσεων, ἐπὶ γενικῆς, δοτικῆς καὶ αἰτιατικῆς. <ἐπὶ> γενικῆς μὲν οὕτως “ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀπὸ <πλατέος> πτυόφιν” (N 588): ἔστι γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ πτύου. ἐπὶ δὲ δοτικῆς “Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίηφι” (X 107): ἔστι γὰρ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπὶ δὲ αἰτιατικῆς “ἢ ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν” (N 308): ἔστι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά. ἢ ἐπ' εὐθείας Ἡσίοδος, “ὁδὸς δ' ἑτέρηφι μετελθεῖν”: ἔστι γὰρ ἑτέρα. ἐπὶ δὲ κλητικῆς Ἀλκμάν ὁ μελοποιὸς οὕτως “Μῶσα, Διὸς θύγατερ, ὠρανίαφι λίγ' ἀείσομαι”: ἔστι γὰρ οὐρανία.

passage from which the epigraph of this paper was taken) were sceptical of the form.

² In what follows I maintain Calame's enumeration of the witnesses (I–VII).

(b) Epimerismi Homerici:

(II) Σ^{Li} ad B 233 (νόσφι):

ιστέον δὲ ὅτι ἦδε ἢ διὰ τῆς φῖ συλλαβῆς παραγωγή κατὰ πᾶσαν γίνεται πτώσιν· καὶ ἀπὸ εὐθείας μὲν, οἷον ἑτέρη ἑτέρηφι· “ὄδος ἑτέρηφι παρελθεῖν”·

ἀπὸ γενικῆς, οἷον χαλκός χαλκοῦ χαλκόφι, νόστος νόστου νοστόφι καὶ νόσφι· ἀπὸ δοτικῆς, οἷον βίη βίηφι· “Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίηφι” (X 107), ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν βίᾳ, φρήτηρ φρήτηρηφι (B 363)· ἀπὸ αἰτιατικῆς, ὡς δεξιόν δεξιόφι· “ἦ ἐπὶ δεξιόφι παντὸς στρατοῦ ἢ ἀνὰ μέσους” (N 308), ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ δεξιόν· ἀπὸ κλητικῆς, οἷον οὐρανία οὐρανίαφι· “οὐρανίαφι λίγ’ αἰείσομαι”·

αὗται δὲ αἰ διὰ τῆς φῖ ἐπεκτάσεις τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου φυλάττουσι, χωρὶς τοῦ νόσφι καὶ ἴφι· ταῦτα γὰρ μετῆλθον εἰς ἐπιρρηματικὴν σύνταξιν.

(IV) Ep.Hom. v 6 Dyck ms. O:

ιστέον δὲ ὅτι ἢ διὰ τῆς φῖ συλλαβῆς παραγωγή κατὰ πᾶσαν πτώσιν γίνεται· καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν εὐθείας, ἑτέρη ἑτέρηφι·

ἀπὸ γενικῆς, χαλκός χαλκοῦ χαλκόφι, νόστος νόστου νοστόφι καὶ ἐν συγκοπῇ νόσφι· ἀπὸ δοτικῆς, ὡς τὸ βίη βίηφι· “Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίηφι (X 107)”, φρήτηρ φρήτηρηφι (B 363)· ἀπὸ αἰτιατικῆς, οἷον δεξιόν δεξιόφιν, ὡς τὸ “ἦ ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν παντὸς στρατοῦ” (N 308), ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν· ἀπὸ κλητικῆς, ὡς τὸ οὐρανίαφι· “οὐρανίαφι γ’ αἰείσομαι”·

αὗται δὲ αἰ διὰ τῆς φῖ ἐπεκτάσεις τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου φυλάττουσι, χωρὶς τοῦ νόσφι καὶ ἴφι· ταῦτα γὰρ μετῆλθον εἰς ἐπιρρηματικὴν σύνταξιν.

(Va+b) Ep.Hom. v 6 Dyck ms. G + Et.Gud.

ιστέον δὲ ὅτι τῆς φῖ συλλαβῆς παραγωγή κατὰ πᾶσαν πτώσιν γίνεται· καὶ ἀπὸ εὐθείας μὲν, ὡς ἑτέρη ἑτέρηφι· “ὄδος δ’ ἑτέρηφι παρελθεῖν”·

ἀπὸ γενικῆς, οἷον χαλκός χαλκοῦ χαλκόφι· “πλάγχθη δ’ ἀπὸ χαλκόφι χαλκός” (Λ 351)· ἀπὸ δοτικῆς βίη βίηφι· “Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίηφι” (X 107), ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν βίᾳ, φρήτηρ φρήτηρηφι (B 363)· ἀπὸ αἰτιατικῆς, οἷον δεξιόν δεξιόφιν, ὡς τὸ “εἶτ’ ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν – ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν – παντὸς στρατοῦ” (N 308)· ἀπὸ δὲ κλητικῆς, οἷον “οὐρανίαφι φίλη γ’ αἰείσομαι”·

αὗται δὲ αἰ διὰ τῆς φῖ ἐπεκτάσεις τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου φυλάττουσι, χωρὶς τοῦ νόσφι καὶ ἴφι· ταῦτα γὰρ μετῆλθον εἰς ἐπιρρηματικὴν σύνταξιν.

(c) Byzantine etymologica:³

(VI) Et.Mag. 800.5–10:

δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι αἰ διὰ τοῦ φῖ ἐπεκτάσεις κατὰ πᾶσαν πτώσιν γίνονται, ἐν τῇ εὐθείᾳ, ἑτέρη, οἷον· “ὄδος δ’ ἑτέρηφι παρελθεῖν κρείσσων”· ἐν γενικῇ, χαλκοῦ, οἷον· “πλάγχθη δ’ ἀπὸ χαλκόφι χαλκός” (Λ 351)· ἐν δοτικῇ, βίη βίηφι·

ἐν αἰτιατικῇ, δεξιόν, οἷον· “ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν παντὸς στρατοῦ” (N 308)· καὶ ἐν κλητικῇ, ὡς οὐρανία, “λίγ’ αἶων καὶ οὐρανίαφι”·

αὗται δὲ αἰ διὰ τοῦ φῖ ἐπεκτάσεις τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου φυλάττουσι, χωρὶς τοῦ νόσφι καὶ ἴφι· ταῦτα γὰρ μετῆλθον εἰς ἐπιρρηματικὴν σύνταξιν. Χοιροβοσκός.

(VII) Et.Sym. ms. V ibid.:

δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι αἰ διὰ τῆς φῖ ἐπεκτάσεις κατὰ πᾶσαν πτώσιν γίνονται, ἐν τῇ εὐθείᾳ, οἷον· “ὄδος δ’ ἑτέρηφι παρελθεῖν κρείσσων”, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρα· ἐν τῇ γενικῇ, οἷον· “πλάγχθη δ’ ἀπὸ χαλκόφι χαλκός” (Λ 351), ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ· ἐν τῇ δοτικῇ βίηφι καὶ τολμηρῇ κραδίηφι, ἀντὶ τοῦ βίᾳ καὶ καρδία· ἐν αἰτιατικῇ, οἷον· “ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν πάντα στρατόν [sic]” (N 308), ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ δεξιά· καὶ ἐν τῇ κλητικῇ, οἷον· “Μοῦσα λίγεια οὐρανίαφι”·

αὗται δὲ αἰ διὰ τῆς φῖ ἐπεκτάσεις τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου φυλάττουσι, χωρὶς τοῦ νόσφι καὶ ἴφι· ταῦτα γὰρ μετῆλθον εἰς ἐπιρρηματικὴν σύνταξιν. οὐτως ὁ Χοιροβοσκός.

³ It should also be noted that at Et.Gen. s.v. φρήτηρηφι (Miller (1868) 303) οὐρανίαφι and ἑτέρηφι are given as examples of the φῖ-formation, reflecting, one way or another, the ancient discussions we are examining. The Et.Gen. entry itself adds no new information.

(d) Ap. Dysc. *Adv.* 165.2–8:

ἡ δὲ προκειμένη παραγωγή οὐκ ἔχει τῆδε, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιρρηματικὴ γινομένη. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ γενικὴν ἐστίν, ὡς τὸ χαλκόφιν καὶ πασσαλόφιν, καὶ ἐν δοτικῇ, ὡς φρήτρηφι, καὶ ἐν αἰτιατικῇ, δεξιόφιν, ἀριστερόφιν. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἄρα τὰ προκείμενα μόρια οὐκ ἔχεται ἐπιρρηματικῆς παραγωγῆς. ἔστι δὲ παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶν καὶ κατὰ κλητικῆς τὸ οὐρανία οὐρανίαφιν, τῶν τοιούτων πλεονασμῶν οὐ κρατούντων τὰς πτώσεις.

II.ii.

The Epimerismi Homerici (henceforth Ep.Hom.), a Byzantine compilation of explanations of words originally keyed to the first three books of the *Iliad* (in the order B-Γ-A) and later rearranged alphabetically, emerge from these juxtapositions as the central core, from which elements have been adapted into classes (a) and (c).⁴ The basic structure of the Ep.Hom. discussion consists of an introductory statement (ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ...), reflecting a schoolmasterly style of speaking, followed by the list of φι-derivations arranged according to the underlying case representation, and then a final statement regarding the adverbial usage of -φι in the cases of ἴφι and νόσφι. Witness (II), the Li(psiensis) ms. of the *Iliad* (14th century; see Erbse (1969) xxiii–iv for a description), clearly derives directly from the Ep.Hom., and has thus been included in class (b). The scholia in Li represent a conflation of the notes found in manuscripts B and T (see Erbse (1969) xxiv for discussion); since our note is not found in those manuscripts, the compiler of Li has clearly included this material directly from the Ep.Hom.

The relation of the class (c), the Byzantine etymologica, to the Ep.Hom. is particularly close. The introductory and final statements appear in both of these versions, the latter verbatim, the former with modification of the introductory formula (ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ~ δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι). The examples of underlying genitive, dative and accusative are basically the same as those given in the Ep.Hom., but the etymologica add a nominative example which is absent from the Ep.Hom. The etymologica, further, add a significant piece of information in the final statement: according to both, the discussion quoted is drawn from the works of the grammarian Choeroboscus (ninth century). Why is this information absent from the Ep.Hom.? The answer is easy: because the Ep.Hom. are the work of Choeroboscus being cited in the corresponding passages of the etymologica. (See Dyck (1983) 5–7 and (1995) 23–24 for various arguments for Choeroboscus as the author of our Ep.Hom.) The exact route, however, by which the note has made it into Et.Sym. and Et.Mag. is not entirely clear.

That leaves class (a), the scholia to *Iliad* N 588. Though later, witness (Ib), the Genevese *Iliad* (Ge, 13th century), is not derived from the Venetus A (tenth century), for it adds material which is not found there but is found in the corresponding Ep.Hom. discussion.⁵ Erbse in his apparatus suggests that the scholion in A has been interpolated from **h** (one of the ancestors of Ge). It might also be suggested that the agreement of Ge and A represents the presence of this discussion in 'Ap.H.' (the ancestor of both A and **h**).⁶ But this is unlikely, since the material here is clearly a condensed version of what is found in the Ep.Hom., perhaps reflecting an earlier recension, and adapted to the explanandum πτυόφιν, while 'Ap.H.' probably predates Choeroboscus (and anyway is unlikely to have contained pieces of school instruction). In other words, we are here dealing with horizontal transmission from Ep.Hom. into **h** and (thence?) into A.⁷

Now all of this takes us no further back than the Byzantine classroom of the ninth century AD! Fortunately, the third testimonium in Calame's ordering, that of Apollonius Dyscolus (henceforth Ap.Dysc.), who flourished in the second century AD, allows us to draw a line between Byzantine

⁴ See Dyck (1983–1995) for text and discussion of the tradition of the Ep.Hom.

⁵ In fact, A's omission of this material is the result of a mechanical scribal error, *saute du même au même*,

where the 'même' in question is the word αἰτιατικῆς.

⁶ On this, see Erbse (1969) lvii.

⁷ And so the *x* in Erbse's margin should be replaced by *Ep.Hom. (Choer.)*.

grammatical instruction and that of the Imperial period. Juxtaposition of Ap.Dysc. with the Ep.Hom. discussion reveals a number of structural identities, even though the wording itself is quite different:

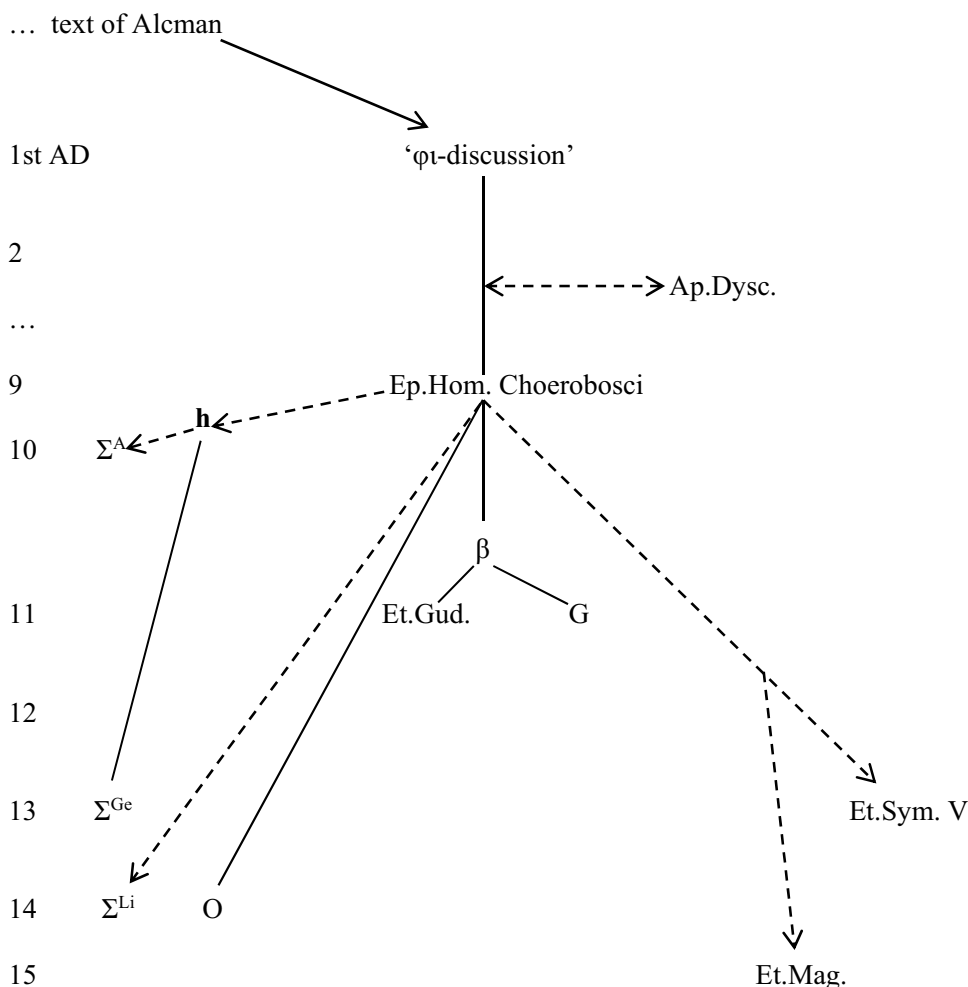
(Va+b) Ep.Hom. v 6 Dyck ms. G + Et.Gud.:	(III) Ap.Dysc. <i>Adv.</i> 165.2–8:
(a) ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τῆς φῖ συλλαβῆς παραγωγή κατὰ πᾶσαν πτῶσιν γίνεται·	(a') ἡ δὲ προκειμένη παραγωγή οὐκ ἔχει τῆδε, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιρρηματικὴ γινομένη.
(b) καὶ ἀπὸ εὐθείας μὲν, ὡς ἑτέρη ἑτέρηφι· “ὁδὸς δ' ἑτέρηφι παρελθεῖν”·	['*b']
(c) ἀπὸ γενικῆς, οἷον χαλκός χαλκοῦ χαλκόφι· “πλάγχθη δ' ἀπὸ χαλκόφι χαλκός” (Λ 351)·	(c') καὶ γὰρ κατὰ γενικὴν ἐστίν, ὡς τὸ χαλκόφιν καὶ πασσαλόφιν,
(d) ἀπὸ δοτικῆς βίη βίηφι· “Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίηφι ” (X 107), ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν βία, φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν (B 363)·	(d') καὶ ἐν δοτικῇ, ὡς φρήτρηφι,
(e) ἀπὸ αἰτιατικῆς, οἷον δεξιόν δεξιόφιν, ὡς τὸ “εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξιόφιν – ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν – παντὸς στρατοῦ” (N 308)·	(e') καὶ ἐν αἰτιατικῇ, δεξιόφιν, ἀριστερόφιν. ...
(f) ἀπὸ δὲ κλητικῆς κτλ.	(f') ἔστι δὲ παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι καὶ κατὰ κλητικῆς τὸ οὐρανία οὐρανίαφι.

The relationship between these two texts is difficult to assess. The parallels are evident: not only is the discussion organized according to case, the examples are nearly identical. Further, the idea that the type in -φι is a real case form, rather than an adverb, is common to both classes. On the other hand, the wording is quite different, and Ap.Dysc. makes no mention of the two counter-examples. Further, the discussion in Ap.Dysc. proceeds without citations of the relevant verses. In principle, two explanations are available for these patterns. First, if we take the absence in Ap.Dysc. of material found in the Ep.Hom. at face value, we might imagine a common source for both texts. According to this line of thinking, the broad similarity between Ap.Dysc.'s list of φῖ-derivatives and that of Choeroboscus would suggest that this arrangement was a received way of analysing the use of -φι as encountered in poetic texts (Homer *imprimis*), and thus might reflect grammatical instruction in the Alexandrian tradition as it existed under the Empire at least, whatever the ultimate origin of the discussion. Since we cannot pin down the exact details, we may simply refer to this common source as the ancient 'φι-discussion'.

Alternatively, we might imagine that the material missing from the text of *Adv.* has either been telescoped out of the text via abridgement in the course of its own transmission or that the full discussion of these matters belonged to the realm of oral teaching in the school of Ap.Dysc. (and here we may suppose that Ap.'s son Herodian may have played a role). In the latter case, which seems more likely, the *Adv.* text would simply be referring to material treated more fully elsewhere. Whichever variant of this alternative scenario we choose, it remains quite unclear whether the 'φι-discussion' originated with Ap.Dysc. In principle, it could derive from any of his predecessors in the Alexandrian tradition.

II.iii.

The foregoing discussion may be summarized in the following stemma (where note again the alternative possibility that the 'φι-discussion' derives from Ap.Dysc.):



II.iv. The Wortlaut of the fragment

Bearing in mind our stemma, it is possible to suggest the following developments. The *Iliad* scholia Σ^A and Σ^{Ge} (I, Ib) provide the best text, which must reflect pretty closely the Choeroboscan original. Both present an identical text (at least according to Erbse's ed.):

Μῶσα, Διὸς θύγατερ, ὠρανίαφι λίγ' ἀείσομαι.

In addition to preserving the line complete from start to finish, these texts preserve the characteristic ω -vocalism of the presumed Alcmanic original in two places (Μῶσα, ὠρανίαφι). The manuscripts of the Ep.Hom. themselves, along with the Σ^{Li} derived from them, present a truncated text which has undergone various minor corruptions. The οὐρανίαφι λίγ' ἀείσομαι of Σ^{Li} represents in all likelihood the reading of the shared (hyp)archetype, which has given O's οὐρανίαφι γ' ἀείσομαι through omission of the syllable $\lambda\iota$, i.e.:

οὐρανίαφι λίγ' ἀείσομαι → οὐρανίαφι <λι>γ' ἀείσομαι.

The other branch of the tradition, represented by G and Et.Gud., shows dittography:

οὐρανίαφι λίγ' ἀείσομαι → οὐρανίαφι {φι} λίγ' ἀείσομαι

This was normalized in turn to an identically pronounced:

οὐρανίαφι φίλη γ' αἰέσομαι

As is to be expected, the text found in the etymologica is the most corrupt:

Et.Mag. (VI): λίγ' αἴων καὶ οὐρανίαφι

Et.Sym. (VII): Μῶσα λίγεια οὐρανίαφι

Various routes resulting in these corruptions may be proposed, without changing the fact that these readings add nothing significant to the picture the remaining texts paint. The line which appeared in the Choeroboscan original is thus to be set up as:

Μῶσα, Διὸς θύγατερ, ὠρανίαφι λίγ' αἰέσομαι.

This text is not unproblematic; the order of words produces two tribrachs, which is inconceivable in one line of Alcman (and anyway does not produce a clearly metrical sequence). Hence the transposition of ὠρανίαφι to line-end imposed by all editors since Bergk must be correct, producing a lyric hexameter with 4/5 dieresis (i.e., dactylic tetrameter plus adoneus):

Μῶσα, Διὸς θύγατερ, λίγ' αἰέσομαι, ὠρανίαφι

The transposition resulting in the unmetrical text transmitted is likely to have taken place relatively late in the transmission. The Et.Mag. version, however, is not evidence for the original order, but rather yet another transposition, triggered presumably by the intrusive and anticipatory gloss ὦ οὐρανία which precedes. It thus resembles the more correct sequence of modern editors by sheer chance.

The transposition evidently results from a feeling that the sequence Μῶσα, Διὸς θύγατερ should go syntactically with ὠρανίαφι. In other words, at some point, no longer anchored down by metrical considerations, the tradition has 'corrected' the discontinuous syntax which the line in fact displays, as will be discussed in greater detail later. With this clear picture of the transmission of the line we may now turn to its interpretation.

III.

The next step is to eliminate some interpretative possibilities.

III.i.

First, the possibility of textual corruption may be eliminated. Given the very late attestation of the actual wording of the fragment, it is of course in principle possible that the line is marred by further corruptions, beyond the transposition already discussed. Two suggestions along these lines regarding ὠρανίαφι have been made, as can be conveniently read in Calame's apparatus. Kalinka ap. Diehl suggests ὠρανία φί<λα> λίγ' αἰέσομαι,⁸ that is to say, an omission of the type which actually did occur in the mss. of the Ep.Hom.⁹ The text would then mean 'my dear, heavenly one' or the like. Secondly, Dronke ap. Bergk⁴ suggests οὐρανόφιν (picked up hesitantly by Page as ὠρανόφιν). The form will have meant 'in' or 'from heaven'. But quite apart from the metrical and semantic considerations which might be marshalled against such suggestions, the nature of the

⁸ There is a small error in Calame's apparatus which I have silently corrected in the reproduction of his text given at the beginning of the paper.

⁹ But there the omission was a true case of haplogly.

transmission on its own renders suggestions of this kind rather implausible. The line owes its preservation precisely to the anomalous form which such suggestions attempt to get rid of. The anomalous form will have been in the text as far back as we can trace it, that is, at least to the time of Ap.Dysc. (second century AD) and pretty certainly before. If there is a corruption in ὠρανίαφι, it would have to be exceedingly old and entrenched, such that a mistake which produced what appears to be nonsense was not more or less immediately corrected by users with access to the entire text of which the line formed a part, not to mention the whole corpus of Alcman which we have lost. Seen from the perspective of these general objections, the specific mechanisms proposed to get rid of οὐρανίαφι are extraordinarily weak. If the mistake were so simple as Kalinka's proposal supposes, I doubt that it would not have been corrected; if we are dealing with a corruption of οὐρανόφιν, how are we to imagine the corruption to have taken place? Random replacement of letters is not freely assumable. Further, why 'in' or 'from heaven' in the first place?

III.ii.

A second theoretical possibility is that the ancient grammatical tradition was in fact correct: ὠρανίαφι was indeed functionally a vocative. Of course, from the perspective of current linguistic knowledge, this suggestion is absurd (for a review of the history of the φι-case, see the next section). This is worth mentioning precisely because, despite its apparent absurdity, this is the unanimous ancient position regarding the interpretation of the line. Given that, it is incumbent on us to see how the line came to be so construed.

The vocative interpretation, as we may call this ancient position, was in all likelihood enabled by the interpretation in antiquity¹⁰ of ὠρανίαφι as the equivalent of Οὐρανία, as attested in the Hesiodic list of nine muses (*Th.* 77–79, at 78). Faced with an inexplicable text, ancient readers evidently made a guess: the Muse addressed was the Ourania of the Hesiodic list; Ὠρανίαφι was thus in apposition to Μοῦσα, and hence was, by some poetic licence, a kind of vocative. From this we may infer that the line was not obviously syntactically connected with what followed, but stood as a self-contained unit. The significance of this inference is that, in principle at least, we have all that we need in front of us to solve the problem the line poses – that is to say, we have the line itself.

IV. -φι

IV.i.

In order to make further progress, we must take a brief excursion into the history of the φι-case as a whole.¹¹ The purpose of this overview is not primarily to propose any new interpretations (though I will be providing a new synthesis of what is known, which may be read independently of the specific purposes of this paper). Instead, the ultimate goal within the present context is to summarize the *status quaestionis*, for only with this in mind will it be possible to return with greater confidence to the interpretation of our fragment. Four basic issues recur in the diachronic assessment of the form and are worth mentioning at the outset. (1) What is the relationship of -φι(ν) to -φίς? (2) What number do the forms in -φι encode? (3) What kinds of case-function do the forms in -φι have? (4) To what declensions are such forms made?

¹⁰ See Maehler (1997) for a modern statement of this interpretation.

¹¹ Modern interpretation of this form was, as is well known, affected radically by the decipherment of Linear B and the realization that Mycenaean Greek possessed a separate instrumental case. See Schwyzler (1939) 551 for

earlier literature. The foundational discussion of the Mycenaean and Homeric facts is Lejeune (1956), to be supplemented by the excellent presentations of Nieto-Hernandez (1987) and, within the larger framework of Mycenaean local cases, Waanders (1997). See further Ruijgh (1995) 68–73; (2011) 274–77; Thompson (1998).

IV.ii.

As is well known, PIE had a number of **b^h*-cases. The understanding of these forms has been put on a completely new footing by the recent discussion of J. Jasanoff (2009). He shows, following J. Kuryłowicz (1964), that the ultimate starting point is an adverbial formant **-b^hi* attested in the formations **h₁e/ob^hi* (> Ved. *abhi*, etc.),¹² **h₂ent-b^hi* (> ἀμφί, etc.) and **k^wo-b^hi* (> Hitt. *kuwapi*, L. (*alicubi*)). On this basis were created in post-Anatolian PIE the set of familiar case forms: (a) a dat.-abl. pl. **-b^hi-os*, (b) a dat.-abl.-instr. dual **-b^hi-ōm* (vel sim.) and, what interests us here, (c) an instr. pl. **-b^h[i̯]-is*, with the same instr. pl. ending **-is* seen both in a number of fossils, as well as in the thematic (< pronominal) instr. pl. itself, **-ōis* < ***-oi-is* (see Jasanoff for the full argumentation).

The exact prehistory of the Greek forms is difficult. First, alphabetic Greek attests both -φι(ν) and -φίς, while Mycenaean has forms in <-pi>, a writing which of course may represent /-p^hi/, /-p^hin/ or /-p^his/. The Mycenaean forms in <-pi> are in the overwhelming number of instances (a) plural,¹³ (b) instrumental in function¹⁴ and (c) made to athematic (first and third declension) stems.¹⁵ This is exactly the distribution one would expect for the inherited instrumental pl. **-b^his*,¹⁶ and suggests strongly that <-pi> is a writing of /-p^his/. However, this analysis has the great inconvenience of quite radically separating the Mycenaean state of affairs from what we encounter in the first millennium, where we otherwise find some indications of continuity. First of all, the distribution of -φι by declensional type in the oldest, formulaic layers of Homeric poetry is generally consistent, if not identical, with that of Mycenaean <-pi>: the archaic-looking forms are almost exclusively made to athematic stems.¹⁷ Further, at least one subtype of athematic stems (s-stems)

¹² For a parallel formation cf. **h₁e-ti* (with ablative **-ti*, as in Hitt. -z, Luw. -*ti*) ‘from this’ > ‘further, in addition’: Gk ἔτι, L. *et*, Ved. *ati* ‘beyond, excessive’.

¹³ Three counter examples (not to speak of the special issue of *wi-pi-ō*, for which see below in text) have been proposed, none of them convincing: *ma-ra-pi* (PY Cn 418.3), *e-ru-ta-ra-pi* (KN Ld 573, 785) and *ko-no-ni-pi* (KN K 432.2). For Cn 418.3 *re-u-]kq*, *ma-ra-pi*, *pe-ko*, *a-ko-ro-we* BOS+SI 1 Hajnal proposes the interpretation /leukos malamp^hi perkos ak^hrōwēs/, where the second and third words are supposed to mean ‘mit Schwarz gesprenkelt’, thus yielding ‘a white (ox), sprinkled with black, of no colour’. However, if we are really dealing with a substantivization of the adjective /malas/* = Classical μέλας (as for example τὸ μέλαν, ‘ink’, or to the thematic **molh₂-o-*, Skt. *malam*, ‘black spot, defilement’), a more convincing approach would be to set up a concrete meaning ‘black spot’ and translate /malamp^hi perkos/ as ‘speckled with black spots’. (The a-vocalism indicates that we have separate generalizations of an ablauting (amphikinetic) **mélh₂on-* / **m̥l̥h₂ŋ-*; for a slightly different view, see Peters (1980) 162–65). Likewise, the context of the three instances of *e-ru-ta-ra-pi* allows the plural interpretation just as easily as the singular (see Hajnal (1995) 149–50). For *ko-no-ni-pi*, see the discussion of Panayotou (1985) (strangely not mentioned by Hajnal in his chapter on this problem). She argues on the basis of iconographical evidence that a vase with a single band or ring is referred to in KN K 432.2; however, the absence of a clear interpretation of the word itself, together with the defective context of the KN tablet, renders this example far too unclear.

¹⁴ In addition to strictly instrumental function, the Mycenaean instrumental case may have had a separa-

tive/ablative function, according to the theory codified by Ilievski (1961). The most recent monographic treatments of the Mycenaean case system come to divergent conclusions: Hajnal (1995) 153–225 (pro); Waanders (1997) 83–107 (contra). This famous crux of Mycenaean philology cannot be dealt with in any detail here. I am inclined to join the contrarian position.

¹⁵ Myc. forms in *-o-pi* (KN Se 891.A *e-re-pa-te-jo o-mo-pi*, B *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi* and PY La 635 *mo-ro-ko-wo-wo-pi*) are probably to be interpreted as duals: Hajnal (1995) 56–61. I would guess that dual <-pi> represents a different morpheme (for example /-p^hin/*).

¹⁶ Remember that **-b^hi* had no status as a case ending proper. The Armenian instr. sg. in *-v/-b* is best interpreted as an inner Arm. innovation, back-formed from the pl. *-vk’/ -bk’* < **-b^his*.

¹⁷ Especially noteworthy are the obviously old phrases at line end: ἴφι ἀνάσσει* -εις -ειν # (A 38, 452, Z 478) < *ἴφι φανάσσει (adonic clausula), ἴφι μάχεσθαι # (A 151, B 720, Δ 287, E 606, M 367, Σ 14, Φ 486), χεῖρεςσι πεποιθότες ἠδὲ βίηφι # (M 135) with various transformations: τεράσσει πεποιθότες ἠδὲ βίηφι # (M 256), πεποιθῶσι(ν) τε βίηφι # (Δ 325), # Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίηφι πιθήσας (X 107), etc. and the formulaic ἀπὸ νευρήφι(ν) (always in the sequence ... ⁴ — ⁵ — (— — #)), in two basic formulae: (a) Π 773 ἰοί τε πτερόεντες ἀπὸ νευρήφι θορόντες, and its transformation across line break O 313–14 ἀπὸ νευρήφι δ’ ὀιστοί | θρωσκον; and (b) Θ 300 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἄλλον οἰστον ἀπὸ νευρήφιν ἴαλλεν (see further Θ 309, N 585, Φ 113); (παρὰ / ἀπὸ) ναῦφι(ν) with one (clearly derivative) exception in the sequence (—)³ — — | i.e. before trochaic caesura, for example: B 794 δέγμενος ὁπότε ναῦφιν ἀφορηθεῖεν Ἀχαιοί, Σ 305 εἰ δ’ ἔτεον παρὰ ναῦφιν ἀνέστη διος Ἀχιλλεύς. Three s-

are exclusively plural.¹⁸ Finally, while the case functions encoded by -φι in Homeric poetry are considerably more varied than the clear instrumental (and possible ablatival) values assigned to the Mycenaean case,¹⁹ the non-Homeric epigraphical examples (discussed below) are best interpreted as reflecting the old instrumental. By contrast, the first millennium forms in -φίς,²⁰ which *should* be the continuants of the old plural, have the wrong distribution: they are rare, not clearly plural and have an especially adverbial look – in other words, in all of these we seem to be dealing with the addition of secondary adverbial -ς to -φι. Finally, the one quasi-word equation which links the Mycenaean material with the first millennium is the name *wi-pi-no-o* /wīp^hino^ho-/, which, taken together with the familiar first millennium type (for example *Ἰφιάνασσα* (Homeric *ἴφι ἀνάσσειν*) etc.), shows that Mycenaean certainly had reflexes of **-b^hi* as well.

Given all this, the most productive line of approach seems to me to be one which combines the two areas in which Mycenaean differs most evidently from the first-millennium material: that is, we should see in the loss of the final -s which probably stood in the Mycenaean form part of the *same process* that resulted in the expansion of case and number readings. Once the late PIE process described by Jasanoff had been carried out, the formant **-b^hi* remained confined to a number of strictly adverbial formations, with little scope for renewed productivity absent some further analog-

stems participate in very common formulae: (a) ὄχος, ὄχα: ... σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφι (E 219 etc.) and variations; (b) στήθος, στήθεα: ... διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσε – ον (E 41 etc.); and (c) ὄρος, ὄρεα: ... κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες (Δ 452) and various modifications.

During the latest stages of the tradition this formation became a kind of mannerism, a development made possible by its complete obsolence in the Ionic vernacular. It is only at this stage that the second declension type in -όφι acquires a mild productivity. Note especially the following four subtypes: (a) -όφι standing in for the genitive singular to thematic stems 'where an older technique would have used -oo before a double consonant' (Shipp (1971) 70), for example K 347 αἰεὶ μιν ποτὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατόφι προτιελεῖν (: *ἀπὸ στρατόο προτιελεῖν); θ 67=105 κὰδ' δ' ἐκ πασσαλόφι κρέμασεν φόρμιγγα λίγειαν (: *ἐκ πασσαλόο κρ-), cf. Ω 268 κὰδ' δ' ἀπὸ πασσαλόφι ζυγὸν ἤρεον ἡμιόνοιον; (b) standing in for other underlying forms which will not fit in the hex., for example ὄστεόφι μ 45, etc., apparently for gen. pl. cretic ὄστεών; (c) replacing unmetrical underlying forms in the first and third declensions: δακρυόφι for δακρύων: P 696 etc. #δακρυόφι πλῆσθεν [first foot, possibly 'Daktylisierung' of *δάκρυοφι]; ἐσχαρόφι for gen. sg. ἐσχάρης: for example ε 59 #πῦρ μὲν ἐπ' ἐσχαρόφιν μέγα καίετο; and (d) spreading into realm of -όθι, especially in αὐτόθι ~ αὐτόφι (see Chantraine (1958) 239–41). Compare further θύρηφι = θύρηθι (ξ 352).

In contrast with the foregoing, θεόφιν (5X II., thrice in the formula θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος, twice in the prepositional phrase ἐκ θεόφιν) stands apart and has the look of some antiquity (and note also Alcman *PMGF* 12.4]σοφιν]). Perhaps in θεόφιν we should see an old dual, no longer understood as such? (Another possibility, impossible to verify, is that the formula is a remodelling of a phrase involving the s-stem *θεσ- (: L. *fas* and possibly Ved. instr. *dhiṣ-ā* < **d^hh₁s-*, and with full grade Arm. *ηἷρ di-k' < *d^heh₁-s-[+]*) – a word which seems to have disappeared 'at the last minute', as it survived long enough to participate in the creation of the cpds.

θέσκελος, θεσπέσιος and θέσφατος – for example *θέσφι μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος.)

Note finally that the formations in -φι known from Hesiod and the hymns (cf. Troxler (1964) 70–73) add nothing new to the picture just sketched, with the possible exception of the adverb ἐν(ν)ηφιν (*Op.* 410), on which see below, n.25.

¹⁸ Thus ὄρεσφι (7× II.), ὄχεσφι (22×) and στήθεσφι (7×), all exclusively plural. Likewise, the formulaic system shows that ναῦφι was considered to be a plural: it has been recruited to fill the empty plural slot before the trochaic caesura, exactly the metrical sedes for the singular νηός (for example T 194 #δῶρα δ' ἔμῃς παρὰ νηός ἐνεγκέμεν ..., Λ 602 #φθεγζάμενος παρὰ νηός), where a gen. pl. νηῶν cannot replace νηός. When the meter allows it, at verse end, the poets *always* employ νηῶν, as in: H 419 ... ἐυσσελιῶν ἀπὸ νηῶν#, Π 305, P 383, Ω 780 ... μελαινώων ἀπὸ νηῶν#, O 69, 601 ... παλιώξιν παρὰ νηῶν#, M 114 ... ἀγαλλόμενος, παρὰ νηῶν#. First declension stems, by contrast, are generally singular: thus βίηφι (11×), κεφαλῆφι (7×, but note five of these in K!), γενεῆφι (3×), ἐτέρηφι (3×), φαινομένηφι (4×), ἀγέληφι (2×), ἀγλαίηφι (2×) and, with one instance each, ἡνορέηφι, Φθήφι, φρήτηφι, δεξιτερῆφι, ἦφι and κρατερῆφι all unambiguously singular; νευρήφι (6×), παλαμῆφι (3×), κλισίηφι (1×) and εὐνήφι (1×) are ambiguous between sg. and pl.

¹⁹ For the functions of Homeric -φι, see the discussions of Meister (1921) 135–46; Chantraine (1958) 234–41; Shipp (1953) 1–17; and, post-decipherment, Lejeune (1956); Shipp (1971) 69–70; Nieto-Hernandez (1987); Waanders (1997). Waanders (1997) 79–80 provides a convenient synthesis, distinguishing three basic local and three grammatical roles for the Homeric φι-case: locative, separative and perlativ; comitative, partitive and beneficiary. In almost all instances of local roles the specific function of -φι is determined by the presence of a preposition or preverb.

²⁰ In addition to the clearly adverbial ἀμφίς we have the adverb λυκριφίς.

ical push. The most likely scenario, therefore, would involve the coexistence in some salient word or group of words of the inherited adverbial formant $-p^hi < *b^hi$ and the instr. pl. $-p^his < *b^his$, creating the conditions for confusion as to what the correct ending was. At the same time, the adverbial form in $-p^hi$ would have been unmarked for number and would have had a considerably broader set of possible case-readings than the simple instrumental functions assigned to $-p^his$, creating the conditions for expanded case and number readings. The clearest, and possibly the only, candidate for such a word in the attested material is the already mentioned Myc. $wi-pi^{\circ}$, alphabetic ἴφι. The word (along with the much less clear νόσφι) is expressly analysed as an adverb in the ancient grammatical tradition (as in the Ep.Hom. passages canvassed above), but obviously, in phrases like ἴφι ἀνάσσειν, ἴφι μάχεσθαι, is susceptible to case readings. It is synchronically singular, but it has been suggested²¹ that the word may have also had a plural (crucially, with a singular or collective sense) already in the protolanguage. This would be reflected in the morphologically renewed ἴνες (concretized as ‘sinews’)²² and L. *vīrēs*. If that is so, it is not difficult to imagine the coexistence of practically synonymous $*wīp^hi$ and $*wīp^his$ for some stage of early Greek. On this basis it is easy enough to motivate the creation of new singulars, perhaps beginning in the same semantic area (: βίηφι) and going from there.²³ Incidentally, this path would explain the predominance of singular readings in feminine stems. On the other hand, old instrumental plurals like $*oresp^his$ will have acquired a metrically convenient doublet $*oresp^hi$. (Later, the tradition will have renewed forms like $*oresp^his$ with v -mobile as ὄρεσφι.) At this stage, the poets were free to expand the use of this convenient ending as an all-purpose ‘oblique’ substitute.²⁴

Thus, we have a model which accounts for both the formal and semantic divergences between Homeric and Mycenaean Greek without imposing a radical break between the two. The process of confusion between instrumental and adverbial readings which led to the expansion of $-φι$'s functions in poetry seems to be only incipient in other varieties of the language. This is shown by the handful of epigraphic examples: Boeotian ἐπιπατροφιον (*REG* 12 (1899) 53–112, l. 28), Nemean πατροριστι (*SEG* 23.178.5), Arcadian πατριαφι (*SEG* 37.340.17–18) and Cyrenaean καροφι (*SEG* 20.756).²⁵ (We may also add here the non-Homeric Ibycean (*PMGF* 334)

²¹ For example by Ruijgh (1995) 73 with n.260; contra, Hajnal (1995) 140–47, unconvincingly.

²² For this surprisingly common phenomenon, cf., for example, αἰών, ‘life-force, lifetime’ ~ ‘backbone’, G. Leib ‘life’: ‘stomach’, OCS *životь*, ‘life’, R. *živót*, ‘stomach’, Akkadian *napištum*, ‘life’: ‘neck, throat’.

²³ As already suggested *in nuce* by Ruijgh (1995) 73.

²⁴ That is, an alternative to the dative in its locative, instrumental and beneficiary functions, and to the genitive in its ablative function. Since the dative has swallowed up instrumental case functions, it is easy to see how the equivalences such as βίηφι = βίη set the stage for the reanalysis of $-φι$ as a kind of alternative dative-locative. How exactly the separative function spread depends in part on our view of the Mycenaean instrumental. If we accept the view of Ilievski (1961), of course, we can simply invoke this separative use for the early stages of the epic tradition. If we reject that view, as we probably should, we might suppose, with Ruijgh (2011), that in constructions like ἀπὸ ναῦφι we are in fact dealing with dative substitutes as well, made within an ‘Achaean’ phase of the tradition (Arcado-Cypriot, as is well known, construed ἀπύ and the like with the dative). However, it certainly cannot be ruled out that the process was a completely artificial one, and involved the reinterpretation by poets of words like νευρήφι (for example

in οἰστόν ἀπὸ νευρήφι ἰαλλεν), where, as Meister (1921) 141 notes, ‘berührt sich die instrumentale und die ablativische Gebrauchssphäre’.

²⁵ A few other forms have been claimed for Boeotian: thus Hesiodic ἐνηφι in the verse *Op.* 410 μηδ’ ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἐς τ’ αὔριον ἐξ τε ἐνηφι is evidently to be analysed as a temporal adverb meaning ‘(on) the day after tomorrow’; it is a certain colloquialism in the judgement of Troxler (1964) 73. Troxler’s certainty is not justified – and of course the problematic hiatus, which is unetymological, casts a shadow over the form generally. (For further discussion of this and the v.l. ἐνηφι, see West (1978) *ad loc.*) The same goes for the Hesychian lemmata adduced in this context: π 1070 πασσαλόφιν· τοῦ πασσάλου. ὁ δὲ σχηματισμὸς Βοιωτίος (Ω 268. θ 67.105) and ι 189 ἴδηφιν· ἴδαις. Βοιωτοί (so Latte; Troxler gives the text of Schmidt’s second edition, ἴδηφιν· ἴδης; the ms. has ἴδης). In the first case, we are simply dealing with a Homeric form (as Lejeune (1956) 188 notes, the correct Boeotian would of course be $*πατταλόφιν$), for which someone in antiquity had a theory (for the ancient theory of an Aeolic origin of the $-φι$ -cases, see further Σ^p (ed. Cramer, *An. Par.* III (Oxford 1841) 160.8) *ad Il.* Γ 338, with Σ *ad Opp. Hal.* 1.709; the modern revival thereof of Solmsen (1901), reasonable at the time of writing, was shown to be incorrect with the

Λεβυαφιγενής.)²⁶ The classic discussion of these epigraphic examples, written before the Arcadian form came to light, is that of A. Morpurgo-Davies (1969). While the Cyrenaean form is quite impossible to interpret securely,²⁷ the other three show an unmistakable pattern. The first two, as Morpurgo-Davies argues, are clearly based on an instrumental-adverbial *πατρόφι, 'by the father, fatherwise', which must have been employed in a construction of the form *πατρόφι ὀνομάζειν, 'to name s.o. by their father'. The new Arcadian form is obviously related. In both cases the boundary between instrumental and adverbial readings is very slight.

Summing up the discussion so far, we may say that the developments outlined here make it possible, in principle, to suggest for any given first millennium form in -φι either singular or plural value (though with an expectation of plural value in consonant stems and singular value in first declension stems). The proliferation of case functions (basic instrumental functions as well as ablatival and dative-locative functions) is a feature properly of poetic texts (and in particular, of the epic tradition), whereas the epigraphic examples are best understood as comitative-instrumental overlapping with adverbial. At this point it is absolutely crucial to point out that the ancient interpretation of ὠρανίαφι as a vocative in our fragment is an indication that we are *not* dealing with one of the usages of the φι-case familiar from poetry. Put another way, if there were Homeric parallels for the phraseology of our fragment, ancient readers would have noticed them, and the whole mirage of -φι κατὰ κλητικὴν would never have arisen in the first place. We reach a paradoxical interim conclusion: we are looking for a usage sanctioned by the diachronic analysis of the form, but *without* an obvious parallel in attested first-millennium poetry.

V.

Before I offer my own solution, let me deal briefly with two more recent suggestions made in light of the Mycenaean data.

V.i.

M. Sinatra (1980) opts for an instrumental-ablative explicitly on the basis of P. Ilievski's analysis of Mycenaean toponyms. She writes:

nel nostro frammento, come nel fr. 27, dice che è figlia di Zeus, mettendo però in evidenza che è una delle Uranidi. Questo significa ὠρανίαφι, che grammaticalmente si può definire complemento di appartenenza: 'o Musa, figlia di Zeus, nel numero delle Uranidi', oppure 'appartenente (-φι) alla stirpe di Uranos (ὠρανία-)'. La forma in -φι è qui in funzione di delativo, e ὠρανίαφι vale (ἐκ) τῶν Ὀρανιῶν τις.

decipherment of Linear B). The second case is more tantalizing. If we accept Latte's interpretation (1953), we gain a form which has no obvious Homeric parallels, and thus has the chance of independence. The meaning 'in the woods' is not bad for a fossilized adverb; *cf.* Ved. *vanar-* 'id.' (as compositional first member). If we accept Schmidt's interpretation (1867), we have a form of the proper noun Ἰδη, and are thus fully within the realm of poetry (hence we might think of a *varia lectio* *Ἰδηφιν μεδέων for formulaic Ἰδηθεν μεδέων). Finally, for a discussion of Hesychius ε 5692 ἐρέεσφι τέκνοις and the doubtful (see Latte's ed.) ε 7104 εὔρέσφι γυναιξίν, see the definitive remarks of Lejeune (1956) 188. The evidence for -φι (beyond *πατρόφι itself) in Boeotian (or Aeolic generally) is thus not particularly compelling, though presumably the ancient doctrine referred to above (however inappropriately applied) was arrived at by

someone with more knowledge of Boeotian than we currently possess; hence we may imagine that this dialect had at least one or two other, unattested, adverbial-instrumental forms beyond *πατρόφι.

²⁶ See Trümper (1986) 86–87 for a discussion. The word seems to be based on a template 'toponym-φι-γενής', not otherwise attested, and hence reflects a local use of -φι.

²⁷ I am in agreement with Morpurgo-Davies (1969) 49: 'I would rather prefer to believe that Κάροφι, if it is in fact connected with Κῆρες, is a form extracted from an archaic religious formula, probably not understood any more and used by somebody who did not have -φι in his normal spoken language. If this were so, it would be vain to discuss the original meaning of Κάροφι, as there is no hope to reconstruct the phrase from which it came'.

The combination is brilliant on its own terms, but on closer consideration presents insurmountable interpretive and grammatical difficulties. First, this is perhaps the least appropriate context to invoke the genealogy of the Muses as daughters of Earth and Heaven, which is of course securely attested elsewhere for Alcman (see below). All archaic poets had the right to adopt or even create novel genealogies – no one expected or expects a consistent or systematic approach. But what is impossible is that a poet should contradict himself in the same verse! The Διὸς θυγάτηρ of this verse cannot simultaneously be ‘nel numero delle Uranidi’. The author is aware of this problem, which is why she suggests the paraphrase ‘appartenente alla stirpe di Uranos’. Where are there parallels? It is not beyond the realm of imagination that, let us say, the famous Athenian aristocrat Callias might be addressed (perhaps by one of his κόλακες) ὦ Καλλία, Ἴππονίκου παῖ, ὁ ἐκ τῶν Κηρύκων. But this hypothetical example depends crucially on the well-known designation of the priestly γένος. The same cannot be said of Οὐρανία, which nowhere plays a similar rôle. Secondly, the poet could probably have expressed the partitive notion (ἐκ) τῶν Ὀρανιῶν τις with the genitive pl. Ὀρανιάων. Further, it requires separative -φι without preposition, à la Ilievski, when it is not clear that such a usage even exists.

V.ii.

G. Hinge ((2006) 155–56), aware of the grammatical problem with Sinatra’s proposal, offers instead the following:

Es mag sein, dass ὠρανίαφι vielmehr eine künstliche Bildung nach den vielen separativen Ortsadverbien auf -ίαθεν ist [which he lists] ... ὠρανίαφι ist deshalb kein Ablativ oder Lokativ an sich (geschweige denn Vokativ), sondern ein Ortsadverb, das als Attribut zum Vokativ Μῶσα steht.

The interpretation as ‘Ortsadverb’ seems highly forced. First, there are no real parallels for such an artificial creation. More importantly, there is no conceivable rationale for it, when some expression involving the noun οὐρανός would do the same job.

VI.

Now, to the solution. The Mycenaean and epigraphic evidence suggests that our first step should be to look to core functions of the instrumental case for an understanding of our text. As it turns out, there is a well-documented use of the instrumental in close proximity with the vocative which makes perfect sense of our fragment: the *comitative instrumental*.²⁸ The entire phrase Διὸς θύγατερ ... ὠρανίαφι, it will be argued, was modelled on traditional phrases combining two divine names, the first in the vocative, the second in the instrumental, in the form:

DN₁[VOC.] + DN₂[INSTR.] ‘DN₁ together with DN₂’

This form of invocation is amply attested in the Old Indo-Iranian languages; it is seen in its most basic form in the refrain to RV 1.19 *marúdbhir*_{INSTR.} *agna*_{VOC.} *á gahi*, ‘Come here, O Agni, together with the Maruts!’. At this point in the argument we must take a short excursion into the place of this construction (which I will refer to henceforth as *agne marúdbhih*) within two domains: the syntax of nominal coordination generally and the traditional employment of this and related forms

²⁸ Interestingly, this interpretation has been partially anticipated in passing by Ruijgh, in a review of Calame’s edition (Ruijgh 1989). He writes: ‘À notre avis, il est probable que ὠρανίαφι servait d’ epithète à un nom féminin au dat. sing. figurant dans le vers suivant. Ce vers perdu a pu commencer, par exemple, par Μναμοσύνα σὺν ματρὶ ... Dans cette hypothèse,

l’opinion erronée s’expliquerait en admettant que ces grammairiens ont méconnu l’enjambement. Noter que Μναμοσύνα est attesté chez Alcman en combinaison avec Μῶσαι (8 P). Chez Hésiode et Pindare, Μνήμοσυνη est fille du Ciel (Οὐρανός)’. On the identification with Mnemosyne, see below in text.

of coordination within divine invocations (that is, as a *hymnisches Stilelement*). The main point of this excursus is not to offer any novel interpretations, but, as was the case with the discussion of -φι above, to contextualize fully the interpretation offered for our fragment; it is hoped that it may likewise be of some independent interest.

VI.i.

Old and conservative modern Indo-European languages show a rather intricate system of nominal coordination. The full typology to be introduced presently really only applies to nouns which stand in a certain stable relationship, one of synonymy or antinomy, merism, common or parallel spheres of influence and the like ('mother and father', 'heaven and earth' and so on). For coordinations of such nouns, we must distinguish combinations of two individual nouns from combinations of individual noun with plural noun (combinations of plural nouns will not be dealt with here). For two singular nouns, we may distinguish three basic, related types: (I) the normal, (II) the dualic and (III) the illogical, which is an amalgam of the first two types. For coordinations where one of the nouns is plural, the dualic is impossible,²⁹ and hence for such groups only the normal type is logically possible.

The normal type comes in three varieties:

- Ia. Asyndetic: X Y
- Ib. Standard: X Y-*k^{ve}*³⁰
- Ic. Comitative: X [prep.]³¹ Y_[INSTR.]

Examples: Ia: Vedic RV 10.147.5c *mitró váruṇo ná māyī*,³² Lith. *dangaūs žēmės Põnas*, 'lord of heaven (and) earth' (Mažvydas 370), Toch. A *pācar mācar* (A 395 a 4), etc. Ib: RV 1.2.7 *mitrām ... váruṇam ca*, etc. Type Ic requires a more extended discussion. While a few scattered examples of this construction combining two singular nouns may be found in Indo-Iranian (RV 1.114.3 *atrim muñcatho gaṇéna*, 'you two released Atri together with his troop', OAv. Y.43.1 *utaiiūiī tēuuīšīm*, 'might along with stability', YAv. *haoma yō gauua*, 'Haoma which is together with milk'),³³ the only language family that has fully grammaticalized this construction as a true means of coordination is Balto-Slavic: see the Russian type *отец с матерью*, 'father and mother', which takes a plural verb; the corresponding Baltic type (Lith. *tėvas sū sunumī*, 'father and son', *pàts sū pačià*, 'husband and wife') is not susceptible to the same test, as there is no distinction between singular and plural in the third person.³⁴ (Examples are also known from Greek and Latin, but they have

²⁹ Or, almost so; later Vedic indeed attests plural dvandvas like *indrāmarutaḥ*, based on the old dual dvandvas to be discussed below. This type, which enjoyed some productivity in post-Vedic Sanskrit, is clearly secondary (Wackernagel (1930) 156–57).

³⁰ This may be expanded to X-*k^{ve}* Y-*k^{ve}*. In Indo-Iranian, at least, we find two further stylistically marked alternatives: (a) inversion, Y-*ca* X (for example OAv. *mazdāšca ahurāṅhō*) and (b) ellipsis of the first member, [x] Y-*ca* (for example Y.28.3 *yaēibiīō xšaθrəmcā aṅzaonuamnam varədaīī ārmaitīš*, with ellipsis of some noun coordinated with *xšaθrəm*). See Klein (1985) for an exhaustive treatment of *ca* in the RV. Note that inversion occurs almost exclusively with vocatives, and is thus a *hymnisches Stilelement*. Other coordinators (Gk *καί*, L. *et*, Skt *uta*, etc.) are mainly *einzel sprachlich* and in any case not relevant for this discussion.

³¹ The PIE instrumental by itself had comitative ('together with') readings, but in many languages rein-

forcement via some prepositional or adverbial element is obligatory, for example Common Slavic *съ*, Lith. *sù*, Latv. *ar*, all governing the instrumental case.

³² But note that asyndeton is overwhelmingly employed in the RV in the case not of two, but of three or more entities; cf. the extremely common sequence *mitró váruṇo aryamā* etc. In Vedic, in fact, coordination of two related individual entities proceeds normally via *ca* or by means of one of the strategies of type II (so correctly Sittig (1922) 57). *Asyndeton bímembre* (sometimes called *sollemne*) is much more common in languages like Latin and Tocharian.

³³ But note that this only one of two interpretive possibilities, as outlined by Hoffmann in his article on the phrase (Hoffmann (1976) 475–82). The other possibility is that we see ellipsis of *iristo* or *iriθiēti*, hence 'which is (mixed) with milk'.

³⁴ But cases where the nouns so paired stand in an oblique case relationship with the main verb show that

the look of independent, *ad sensum* creations.)³⁵ The evidence just reviewed suggests that the comitative instrumental was occasionally used to join singular nouns in the protolanguage, but that the usage had not become completely grammaticalized to the stage that we find in Balto-Slavic. Nonetheless, coordination of singular nouns by this means was nowhere near as common as it was in the case of singular with plural, as a survey of the examples shows. The vast majority of instances of the free comitative instrumental in both Vedic and Old Avestan occur when one individual divinity is paired either with a collectively named (plural) group of divinities or with a group of fellow divinities named individually. In fact, this type occurs with vocatives in the majority of cases, and will be discussed below; for non-vocative coordination one may cite (with Delbrück (1888) 123) RV 1.1.5 *devó devébhīr ā gamat*, 4.54.6 *ādityaír no áditiḥ śárma yaṃsat*. Further, on the basis of such adnominal instrumentals Indo-Iranian has created the new type *índro marutvān*, ‘Indra together with the Maruts’: 1.100.1d *marútvaṅ no bhavatu, v indra ūtí*.³⁶

The comitative instrumental is further represented in two usages of the dative in Classical Greek: (a) the dative of military accompaniment (Homeric δ 8 τὴν ἄρ’ ὄ γ’ ἐνθ’ ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι πέμπε νέεσθαι) and (b) expressions involving the dative plural of the pronoun αὐτός. Especially interesting in this context is the Iliadic ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφι, ‘horses together with their chariots, chariots and all’.

The dualic comes in two varieties (see the fundamental Wackernagel (1930) 149–56):

- Ia. Elliptical:³⁷ *X+Y → X_[DUAL]
 Iib. Dvandva: *X+Y → X_[DUAL]-Y_[DUAL]

The Vedic expressions involving the divinities of heaven and earth provide classic examples: thus Ia *dyāvā* = ‘heaven (and earth)’ (RV 3.6.4b *antár dyāvā*, ‘between heaven (and earth)’); Iib *dyāvā-prthivī́*, *dyāvā ... prthivī́* (2.12.13a *dyāvā cid asmai prthivī́ namete*, ‘even heaven and earth bow before him (Indra)’).³⁸ The latter type recurs with astounding frequency with principal divine combinations (the so-called *devatā-dvandva*-type).³⁹ J. Wackernagel, of course, in his famous discussion of the Homeric dual showed that type Ia could be invoked to account for Homeric Αἴαντε, and hence the construction must have been more widespread within the prehistory of Greek.⁴⁰ Type Iib has been seen as the prototype for the Catullan phrase *Veneres Cupidinesque* (with plural replacing long-defunct dual endings).⁴¹ There is some evidence for this construction in Balto-Slavic as well.⁴²

the analysis as true coordination is correct: see for example Latv. BW 2692. 8 *ziejla nīesia viesti tāvam* (dat.) *ar moti*, ‘die Meise brachte Nachricht dem Vater und der Mutter’ (Endzelīns (1923) 494).

³⁵ Greek: Thuc. 3.109.2 κρύφα δὲ Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατήγων <τῶν> Ἀκαρνάνων **σπένδονται** τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι κτλ.; Latin: Terence HT 473–74 *Syrus cum illo vostro consusurrant*, Liv. 21.60.7 *ipse dux cum principibus capiuntur*. As one of the referees points out, further examples may be found at Kühner-Gerth i.86; Schwyzer-Debrunner 608–09; Braswell (1982) especially 224.

³⁶ Cf. further OAv. *aōjōnvaḥ rafānō* (Y.28.6), ‘aid and strength’.

³⁷ This is the traditional term; the construction is however perhaps better named ‘associative’, since examples like *dyāvā* = ‘heaven (and earth)’ in effect mean ‘heaven (and his well-known associate)’. For associative, see Corbett (2000) 101. A significant advantage of the term is that it allows us to see such duals as a subtype of a larger category of associatives which also encompasses

plural types meaning ‘X et al. and co.’ and the like.

³⁸ Insler (1998) shows, based on syntactic and metrical evidence, that dual dvandvas are in origin univerbations.

³⁹ Thus the common type with both members accented *indrā-sómā(u)*, *mitrā-vāruṇā(u)*, *indrā-bḥaspātī*, *indrā-viṣṇū*, *agnī-sómā(u)*, YAv. *miθra ahura* (Yt.10.113 and 145); with one member accented: *indrāgnī*; and the marginal *indravāyū* with first member in stem form (Insler (1998) 285). The classic discussion of these forms in their relation to the *vāyav indraś ca* construction (see below in text) is Jamison (1987). For the elliptical type, cf. *mitrā* (acc. to *pādapatha*) at RV 1.14.3 and 1.36.17 (despite the doubts of Oldenberg (1909) *ad loc.*).

⁴⁰ Wackernagel (1877).

⁴¹ So Wackernagel (1910) 296, with reference to earlier literature.

⁴² In Old Russian conjoined personal names were occasionally both put in the dual; see Sobolevskii (1907 [1962]) 205 for examples such as Петра и Павла [not

The illogical construction is created by amalgamating the result of IIa with one of the three strategies constituting type I:

- IIIa (= IIa + Ia). *X+Y → X_[DUAL] Y
 IIIb (= IIa + Ib). *X+Y → X_[DUAL] Y-*k^we*
 IIIc (= IIa + Ic). *X+Y → X_[DUAL] Y_[INSTR.]

This is the construction that has naturally attracted the most attention; the collection of Sittig (1922) provides a basic overview. It occurs almost exclusively with pronouns. So for IIIa (illogical asyndetic) we find examples involving the dual pronouns of the first and second persons across the Old Germanic languages: OE *Widsith* (ASPR iii.149–53) 103–04 *Donne wit Scilling ... song ahofan*, ‘then we two (, me and) Scilling ... raised up a song’; OIce. *Vǫlundarkviða* 40.3–4 *sátod íþ Vǫlundr / saman í hólmi?*, ‘did you two (, you and) Vǫlundr sit together on the island?’. Examples of IIIb: RV *bṛhaspáte yuvám indrás ca*, Vedic prose TS 2.4.4.1 *tā bṛhaspatís cānvavaitām*, ‘these two (, he) and Bṛhaspati went after (them)’; exceptionally, with two nouns usually paired in dual dvandva: RV 8.25.2ab *mitrā ... vāruṇo yás ca sukrātuḥ*.⁴³ A Greek example is Pindar *I.5.19–21* τὴν δ’ ἐν Ἴσθμῶ διπλόα θάλλοις ἄρετά, | Φυλακίδα, κεῖται, Νεμέα δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν | Πυθέα τε κτλ. with paraphrase Σ 21a ad loc. (p. 244 Drachmann) ἀμφοτέροισ ὑμῖν, σοὶ τε καὶ τῷ Πυθέα. (Pytheas, of course, is Phylakidas’ brother.) As expected, the examples of IIIc come from Balto-Slavic, where they are quite regular: thus Lith. expressions such as *mudù su bróliu* ‘we two (, me) and my brother’, or, with replacement of the obsolescent dual pronoun, *mēs su bróliu*, for which Russian has exactly *мы с братом*, ‘we (, me) and my brother’.

What happens when such groups are addressed? Indo-Iranian shows a rich system of forms of address: for conjunctions of two singular divinities the standard method is either the vocative of the dual dvandva (*dyāvāprthivī*) or elliptical dual (*dyāvī*)⁴⁴ or a transformation of the standard construction Ib. What has always attracted attention is that the vocative transformation of the X Y-ca construction is incomplete: X goes in the vocative, but Y retains the case form appropriate to the matrix clause (and this is nominative in all but a few cases): this is the infamous *vāyav indrás ca* construction (Zwolanek (1970)). Thus for every divine pair for which a dual dvandva is attested (above n.39), we also find the construction at hand (Jamison 1987).⁴⁵ This construction recurs in Greek, in the famous *Iliad* passage Γ 276 Ζεὺ πάτερ Ἴδιθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε, | **Ἡέλιός θ’**, ὃς πάντ’ ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ’ ἐπακούεις. For our purposes here the key type to register is the one in which a divinity in the vocative is paired with a group of collectively or individually named fellows (*agne marúdbhīḥ*). Indeed, while this type is known outside direct address, the majority of instances in fact involve vocatives.

The following examples (coordinated DNs in bold) give an idea of the construction:

Петръ и Павлъ] Христова апостола посласта мя къ тобѣ, ‘Peter and Paul, the two apostles of Christ, sent me to you’. The supposed duals *tewu motinu*, ‘father, mother’, adduced by Sittig (1922) 61 for Old Lithuanian, are falsely interpreted, however. The combination appears at Širvydas (or Sirvydas) *Punktai* (1629) (ed. Specht 1929) p. 217, section 4 *sužieduotine nutekiedama ažu wiro / aplaydzia tewu / motinu / giminy / namus / tewikfciu* (with Polish tr. *Oblubienicá idac za mał opuŝeza oycá / mátkę / rodzinę / dom / y oyczynę*), ‘the bride, when she gets married, leaves behind father, mother, family, house, fatherland’, where we are simply dealing with dialectal (eastern) realization of the final -q of the acc. sg. as -u (for this change see, for example, Zinkevičius (1966) 82–83), as is normal for this writer (Specht (1929) 14; Zinkevičius (1988) 260).

⁴³ And cf. further the type RV 7.88.3 *á yád ruháva vāruṇas ca nāvam*.

⁴⁴ Sic RV 4.56.5a, with feminine/neuter dual ending!

⁴⁵

Vāyu- + Indra-:	<i>indravāyú</i>	
	<i>vāyav indrás ca, indrás ca vāyo</i>	
Indra- + Soma-:	<i>indrā-sómā(u)</i>	<i>indrás ca soma</i>
Varuṇa- + Mitra-:	<i>mitrā-vāruṇā(u)</i>	
	<i>vāruṇa mītrás ca, mitra ... vāruṇás ca</i>	
Bṛhaspati- + Indra-:	<i>indrā-bṛhaspātī</i>	
	<i>bṛhaspate ... indrás ca, indrás ca ... bṛhaspate</i>	
Indra- + Viṣṇu-:	<i>indrā-viṣṇū</i>	<i>indrás ca viṣṇo</i>
Agni- + Indra-:	<i>indrāgnī</i>	<i>agna indrás ca</i>
Agni- + Soma-:	<i>agnī-sómā(u)</i>	<i>agnís ca soma</i>
Dyau- + Prthivī-:	<i>dyāvā-prthivī</i>	<i>dyaús ca prthivi</i>

5.60.8ab *ágne marúdbhiḥ śubháyadbhir ḥkvabhiḥ, sómam piba mandasānó gaṇasribhiḥ*
 ‘O Agni, drink with enjoyment the soma together with the Maruts, (those) bright praise-singers, the brilliant host’

3.51.8ab *sá vāvaśāná ihá pāhi sómam, marúdbhir indra sákhibhiḥ sutám naḥ*
 ‘So willingly (come) here and drink the soma, O Indra together with the Maruts, (your) companions, (the soma) which we have pressed’⁴⁶

Old Avestan notoriously joins singular DNs by means of the comitative instrumental:⁴⁷

Y.28.6 *vohū gaidī manañhā* *dāidī ašā dā darəgāiū*
 ərəšuuāiš tū uxδāiš mazdā *zaraθuštrāi aojōṅvhaṭ rafəṇō*
 ‘Come together with good thought – give, together with order, gifts of long life and through correct utterances, O Mazda, (give) to Zarathustra support and strength’

Note the basic parallel with RV 1.19: *gaidī* ~ *gahi* (imperative) : *vohū manañhā* ~ *marúdbhir* (instrumental) : *ágne* ~ *mazdā* (vocative). Old Avestan seems to exploit the ambiguity between instrumental of means and comitative. The specific pairing *vohū manañhā* (instr.), *ašā* (instr.), *mazdā* (voc.) appears to take on a life of its own; see, for example:

Y.34.6 *yezī aθā stā haiθīm* *mazdā ašā vohū manañhā*
 ‘If you are (pl.) truly thus, O Mazda together with order, with good thought’

Y.33.7 *ā mā [ā]jidūm vahištā* *ā x’aiθiīcā mazdā*
 darəšaṭcā ašā vohū *manañhā ...*
 ‘Come hither to me, O best ones, (come) hither, O self-commanding ones, O Mazda,⁴⁸ and (come forth) boldly, together with order, with good thought’

Y.34.5 *kaṭ vδ xšaθrəm kā ištīš* *šīiaoθanāi mazdā yaθā vā hahmī*
 ašā vohū manañhā *θrāiīōidiīai drəgūm yūšmākəm ...*
 ‘What is your (pl.) command? What is (your) desire for a deed, O Mazda together with order, with good thought, that your poor one be protected, even as I sleep’

Interestingly, constructions of the type *ágne marúdbhiḥ* must have been widespread in the prehistory of eastern Iranian. Only thus can we account for the remarkable development whereby the instrumental-ablative plural has actually become the vocative plural in Khotanese, as well as the obviously parallel use of the Pašto oblique plural (which derives from the instr.-abl.) for the vocative. In Khotanese a thematic noun such as *gyasta-*, ‘god’ (: Av. *yazata-*), makes a nom.-acc. pl. *gyasta* and an instr.-abl. pl. *gyastyau* (usually with the postposition *jsa* < **hacā*) which is identical to the voc. pl. *gyastyau!*⁴⁹ It is as if speakers reinterpreted phrases like *balysa gyastyau*, ‘O

⁴⁶ See further 1.171.5c (*marúdbhir vṛṣabha*), 3.60.7ab (*indra ṛbhúbhīr*), and with groups of individually named divinities, RV 1.14.10 ‘O Agni, together with Indra [*indrena*], Vāyu [*vāyúnā*] (and) all the hosts of Mitra [*viśvebhiḥ ... mitrásya dhāmabhiḥ*]

⁴⁷ The analysis of instrumentals of the so-called *Problemwörter* has been controversial within the history of Avestan scholarship. This is not the place for a full doxography. I mainly follow Humbach (1991) in the interpretation of the passages given here. Kellens and Pirart (1989–1992) 2.16–20 present a slightly different

view. See also West (2011) 26–27.

⁴⁸ Taking *x’aiθiīcā mazdā* as an example of ‘inverted’ *ca* (cf. above n.30).

⁴⁹ The exact prehistory of the ending *-yau* is not entirely clear; one way or another it reflects the spread of instr. pl. *-bis* to the thematic stems (where recall the inherited ending was **-ōis* > Av. *-aiš*). To be more precise, the diphthong *-au* reflects long **-ā-* plus the reflex of intervocalic *-b-*; the *-y-* must then reflect the palatalizing effect of the following *-i-*. Thus **-ābis* looks like the most reasonable ‘late Old Saka’ preform.

Buddha *together with* the devas', as asyndetic 'O Buddha (*and*) O devas'. It is likely that the same reanalysis was made in the prehistory of Pašto, where we have paradigms like pl. rect. *paštānā*, 'Pashtuns', pl. obl. *paštano* = pl. voc. *paštano*.⁵⁰

VI.ii.

Within the Greek tradition, invocations of a precisely parallel form are quite common. The following two invocations display the pattern DN₁[VOC.] σὺν DN₂[DAT.] and may be understood as modernized continuations of the *agne marúdbhih* type:

(a) *PMG* 871.1–3 (archaic song of the Elean women):

ἐλθεῖν ἦρω Διόνυσε
Ἄλειων ἐς ναὸν
ἀγνὸν σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν

(b) Pindar *Pae.* 6.1–2:

Πρὸς Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς σε, χρυσέα
κλυτόμαντι Πυθοῖ,
λίσσομαι Χαρίτεσ-
σίν τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίτῃ

All of the pieces are now in place for an interpretation of our line. The juncture Μοῦσα, Διὸς θύγατερ ... Ὠρανίαφι meant 'O Muse, daughter of Zeus ... *together with* the daughter(s) of Ouranos'. The hyperbaton produced by the interposition of λίγ' ἀείσομαι is unpleasant but unavoidable on any interpretation. Of course, a more radical means of eliminating the problem is available: emendation to λίγ' ἄειδέ μοι. However, the transmitted programmatic first person future suits the presumed choral setting well.⁵¹ Instead, we may suppose that junctures of the form DN₁[VOC.] DN₂-φι were known to the poet and that dissociation of the two DNs was possible under certain circumstances. The easiest way to make sense of this is to suppose that such combinations were interpreted by poets as equivalent to overtly conjoined phrases. In other words, the template DN₁[VOC.] DN₂-φι was, at some level, glossed as 'O DN₁ *and* DN₂'.⁵² The incipit of the Pindaric Paian just quoted has a parallel structure: Πρὸς Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς σε, χρυσέα κλυτόμαντι Πυθοῖ, λίσσομαι Χαρίτεσσίν τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίτῃ. The principle addressee is the vocative Πυθοῖ, addressed 'together with the Graces and Aphrodite', with a first person verb intervening. For Alcman, then, Ὠρανίαφι must have been a grandiose variant of Ὠρανία(ι) τε or σὺν Ὠρανία/-αισι.

The last problem to be confronted is the identity of Ὠρανία or Ὠρανίαι. Our diachronic survey indicated that either singular or plural was a possibility, especially for first declension stems. The *agne marúdbhih* construction was found to occur overwhelmingly with singular plus plural combinations. It is quite impossible to say, then, which number is to be preferred. The line itself allows us to rule out the plural interpretation. This is because it is inconceivable that the leading Muse invoked, a daughter of Zeus, should be called upon together with a group of 'Ouranian' Muses to which she does not belong.⁵³ But a singular Ὠρανία is easy to parallel. We may again take one of Pindar's Paians as our guide. At *Pae.* 7b 15–17 the poet prays:

⁵⁰ According to Morgenstierne (1942) 95 the ending -ο may < *-aw < *-āb is.

⁵¹ We do not have a sufficient amount of Alcmanic ἀρχαί to determine any habitual patterns. To be sure, the two clearest cases involve imperatives (*PMGF* 14(a) Μῶσ' ἄγε, Μῶσα λίγηα πολυμελές ... νεοχμὸν ἄρχε παρσένοις ἀείδην, *PMGF* 27 Μῶσ' ἄγε Καλλιόπα θύγατερ Διὸς | ἄρχ' ἐρατῶν φεπέων ...), but this does not justify emendation, of course. For the programmatic

future, on which much has been written (mainly à propos of Pindar), see, for example, D'Alessio (2004).

⁵² They were thus just a step away from the development seen above in Khotanese and Pašto. More importantly, this means that the ancient vocative interpretation was close to the truth; their mistake was to take οὐρανία as modifying or in apposition to Μοῦσα.

⁵³ Again, it is true that in *PMGF* 5 fr. 2 ii 28–29 we find the Muses genalogized as daughters of Γῆ and

ἐ]πέυχο[μαι] δ' Οὐρανοῦ τ' εὐπέπλω θυγατρὶ
 Μναμ[ο]σύ[ν]α κόραισὶ τ' εὐ-
 μαχανίαν διδόμεν.

The daughter of Ouranos invoked here in conjunction with the Muses is their *mother*, Mnamosuna. Alcman himself paired these two (one way or another)⁵⁴ at the beginning of *PMGF* 8, at l. 9 of the papyrus:

Μῶσαι Μναμοσύνα μ[

All we have to imagine, then, is that in our poem one leading Muse (say, *Καλλιόπα*) is being invoked as the representative of the Muses as a whole, together with Mnamosuna.^{55 and 56} In a strange way, this structure parallels that of the Alcmanic chorus of young women, in which two choral leaders appear to stand out, one a senior and the other a junior partner.⁵⁷

Whatever identity we assign to Ὠρανία (and it is impossible to achieve certainty), the larger implications of this study do not change. The fragment we have been analysing only makes sense on the assumption that collocations of the type DN₁ DN₂-φι existed within the tradition of poetry of Alcman's predecessors. Can we say more about this tradition? One might suppose, given the highly archaic quality of this morphosyntagm, that we have before us a feature of an old tradition of hymnic composition, one rooted, perhaps, in the Peloponnese. One might imagine that over the course of the seventh century the documented influx of foreign musicians and poets transformed this tradition into the choral lyric familiar from Alcman and his successors, and that during this process features of the earlier style were taken over. However we imagine the exact details of its preservation, the juncture Μῶσα ... Ὠρανίαφι may take its place beside the other early Greek counterparts, known from epic (*Ζεῦ πάτερ ... Ἥελίος τε, Αἴαντε*), of the naming system more fully attested in Indo-Iranian.

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necessarily Οὐρανός, for which the writer adduces Mimnermus as a parallel. By contrast, at *PMGF* 27, as in our fragment, the Muse is invoked as θυγάτηρ Διός, according to the standard genealogy. On the whole issue, see Calame (1983) 385–87 and the literature cited there.

⁵⁴ It is not clear that the joining of the papyrus fragments that produces the text as given is correct. See Davies' (1991) *PMGF* apparatus for an alternative placement and W.S. Barrett's restoration Μῶσαι μ[ακαίραι, τὰς Διὶ Μν]αμοσύνα μ[ι]γείσα. In this case, the genealogy remains the standard one, but the juxtaposition of the female divinities no longer stands out.

⁵⁵ And note that C.J. Ruijgh proposes the same interpretation in his review of Calame, a discussion which

anticipates my interpretation (see above n.28). I cannot endorse his idea that the following line began Μναμοσύνα σὺν ματρὶ (vel sim.), but it seems likely that some reference to Mnamosuna was present.

⁵⁶ Would Alcman's audience have been likely to recognize the reference, given that Οὐρανία is in Hesiod attested as a name of one of the Muses and a daughter of Mnemosyne? Given the fluidity of the tradition at this early stage regarding the number, names and genealogy of the Muses, I do not think anything can be said with any certainty.

⁵⁷ See the classic discussions of Calame (1977) *passim*.

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