LINGUISTIC AND FORMULAR INNOVATION IN THE MYTHOLOGICAL DIGRESSIONS IN THE ILIAD

WAYNE B. INGALLS

MILMAN PARRY'S STUDIES of Homer's style placed a heavy emphasis on the strength of the tradition, and appeared to minimize the poet's originality and creativity, to the distress of many scholars. Although our understanding of the making of Homeric verse has developed since Parry's day, the issue of originality continues to be the focus of considerable interest.

In a paper entitled "Mythological Paradeigma in the *Iliad*," Malcolm Willcock examined innovation in several mythical paradeigms, that is, myths introduced for consolation or exhortation. He discovered evidence which suggests that Homer invented details, even central details, of these mythical paradeigms. Achilles, for example, in Book 24, encourages Priam to eat despite his sorrows by telling him the story of Niobe, who lost her twelve children but remembered to eat. Willcock suggests that the detail of Niobe's eating is an invention of the poet since it never occurs in any retelling of the myth except for Lucian when quoting Homer himself and is as apposite to its function in *Iliad* 24 as it is irrelevant to and inharmonious with the kernel of the Niobe story—"the mother . . . petrified by grief." ³

¹Parry could well be accused of overstating the case, as the following quotation suggests: "Traces of originality remain, perhaps; but of an originality that does no more than rearrange the words and expressions of the tradition without important modifications. The poet's greatest originality in the handling of epithets would have been to use some noun-epithet formulae a little more or a little less frequently than other poets," L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère (Paris 1928) 103–104, translated and reprinted by A. Parry in The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry (Oxford 1971) 82–83. Typical of the reaction to Parry's views are the words of H. T. Wade-Gery: "The most important assault made on Homer's creativeness in recent years is the work of Milman Parry, who may be called the Darwin of Homeric studies. As Darwin seemed to have removed the finger of God from the creation of the world and of man, so Milman Parry has seemed to some to remove the creative poet from the Iliad and Odyssey." The Poet of the Iliad (Cambridge 1952) 38–39. Much ink has been spilt on the topic over the last thirty years. See James P. Holoka, "Homeric Originality: A Survey," CW 66 (1972–73) 257–293 for a useful bibliography.

²Consider only three recent titles. M. Nagler, Spontaneity and Tradition: A Study in the Oral Art of Homer (Berkeley 1975), B. Fenik, Homer: Tradition and Invention (Leiden 1978), and J. Latacz, Homer: Tradition und Neuerung (Darmstadt 1979).

³CQ N.S. 14 (1964) 141-154 (the quotation is from 141). Willcock's work was based upon earlier studies including R. Öhler, Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung (Diss. Basel 1925), J. T. Kakrides, "Die Niobesage bei Homer," RhM 70 (1930) 113-122 and Homeric Researches (Lund 1948), D. Mulder, Die Ilias und ihre Quellen

Willcock's argument is based primarily on the narrative structure, since in his view the details of the myth are invented to further the narrative purpose. But there are two other types of evidence which lend support to Willcock's thesis, and the first of these is linguistic. The eight paradeigms which Willcock studied are full of relatively late linguistic features.

The most recent and comprehensive treatment of linguistic lateness in Homer is G. P. Shipp's Studies in the Language of Homer² (Cambridge 1972) (hereafter cited as Shipp). In his first edition (Cambridge 1953, reprinted Amsterdam 1966), Shipp listed those forms designated recent by Paul Chantraine in the first volume (Phonétique et morphologie) of his Grammaire homérique (Paris 1942; 1953³) and examined their location in the Iliad. He discovered that many of the late features are found in the developed similes, while most of the remainder occur in digressions, descriptions, comments, and other passages which fall outside the narrative. In his second edition, Shipp extended his investigations to the Odyssey and added material from Chantraine's second volume, Syntaxe (Paris 1953), as well as other authorities. This additional material confirmed his earlier findings and showed that they apply equally to the Odyssey.⁴

⁽Berlin 1910), F. Wehrli, RE Suppl 5 (1931) 575 s.v. Leto, P. Von der Mühll, Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias (Basel 1952), C. Robert, Die griechische Heldensage (Berlin 1920), E. Howald, "Meleager und Achill," RhM 74 (1925) 1-12, E. Sachs, "Die Meleagererzählung in der Ilias," Philologus 98 (1933) 16-29, W. Schadewaldt, Iliasstudien³ (Leipzig 1959), M. Noé, Phoenix, Ilias und Homer (Leipzig 1940), and W. Kraus, "Meleagros in der Ilias," WS 63 (1948) 8-21.

⁴In the first edition of his Studies, Shipp refrained from drawing explicit conclusions about the authenticity of similes, but he does speak of "the poets of the similes" (29), and his other comments reveal that he often regards "late" or "recent" to mean post-Homeric. On the isolated transitive use of the present in -σκ- in ἐπιβασκέμεν in Iliad 2.234, for example, he comments, "Zenodotus' athetesis of 231-4 is supported by the subjunctives 232 μίσγεαι, 233 κατίσχεαι also" (38). D. J. N. Lee, The Similes of the Iliad and Odyssey Compared (Melbourne 1964) was less circumspect; on the basis of Shipp's findings, Lee argues that many similes are interpolations, a view supported by Shipp in his second edition, 208-222. Such a view could not, of course, go unchallenged. C. J. Ruijgh, L'élement achéen dans le langue épique (Assen 1957) 22-25 and F. W. Householder and G. Nagy, "Greek," in T. Sebeok, ed., Current Trends in Linguistics 9 (The Hague 1972) 741-743, both argue that because late features are distributed throughout the corpus, the similes, even though they contain the majority of neologisms, cannot be an intrusive element. P. Chantraine, RPh 29 (1955) 73, objects that the similes cannot easily be excised from the text. G. S. Kirk, The Songs of Homer (Cambridge 1962) 201-203, maintains that the similes, late features and all, belong to the final monumental stage of composition, i.e., to Homer himself. This view accords best with both the linguistic evidence and the argument of artistic unity. See further William C. Scott, The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile (Leiden 1974), Carroll Moulton, Similes in the Homeric Poems (Göttingen 1977), and my "Formular Density in the Similes of the Iliad," TAPA 109 (1979) 92-93.

An examination of the eight mythical paradeigms studied by Willcock with reference to Shipp's discussion reveals that they display an unusually high number of late forms. The 187 verses they fill contain 67 recent linguistic features. This total may be compared with the first 187 verses of *Iliad* 16, which contain 17 late forms. An appendix lists these features with an explanation of why they are regarded as late and a reference to Shipp's discussion.

That Nestor's reminiscences or the exemplum of Meleager are replete with late features will come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the history of Homeric scholarship. Most of these passages have been condemned as interpolations from antiquity for both linguistic and structural reasons. While the narrative structure suggests that the poet has invented details in the myths, the linguistic evidence indicates that the poet used less traditional language in his innovations.

The mention of less traditional language leads to the second type of evidence to support Willcock's thesis, the evidence of the formulas. If the poet used recent linguistic forms in his mythological inventions, how did he incorporate the late forms into the traditional formular patterns? In other words, has the use of the recent forms required changes in the formulas in these passages?

In the first paradeigm, Nestor's memories of helping the Lapiths (1.260-273), some indication of formular modification can be found. There is a cluster of unusual linguistic features precisely where the old warrior makes his point.

```
καὶ μαχόμην κατ' ἔμ' αὐτὸν ἐγώ κείνοισι δ' ᾶν οὕ τις τῶν οῦ νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαχέοιτο καὶ μέν μευ βουλέων ξύνιεν πείθοντό τε μύθω (271-273).
```

The phrase $\kappa a l \mu a \chi \delta \mu \eta \nu$ of $\epsilon \gamma \omega$ is found in 7.154. In 271, it appears that this combination has been separated and expanded by inserting the unusual and possibly contemporary expression $\kappa a \tau' \epsilon \mu' a \ell \tau \delta \nu$. In the next verse

⁶G. S. Kirk, "Studies in Some Technical Aspects of Homeric Style," YCS 20 (1966) 117-118 gives reasons why Iliad 16 is a good example of typical Homeric narrative.

⁶The brief descriptions of Shipp's reasons for designating the words in the appendix as "late" ought not to be taken as an indication that I simply accept all of his views. Householder and Nagy (above, note 4), 783–784, suggest, for example, that $\phi op \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota$ in 7.149 is a vestige of the Mycenaean (Arcado-Cyprian) phase of epic transmission. Obviously a thorough discussion of all of the 67 features in Willcock's paradeigms, however desirable, is beyond the scope of the present paper.

- ⁷A. Hoekstra, Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes: Studies in the development of Greek epic diction (Verh. Amsterdam Letterkunde N.S. 71.1 [1965]) sought for and found evidence of modifications in formulas made possible by the introduction of recent linguistic features into the epic Kunstsprache.
- ⁸J. B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford 1968), demonstrated that the modification of formulas was a normal process in Homeric composition. He examined formular mobility and the expansion, separation, and modification of formulas

(272), the formula οἶοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσ', which normally fills the verse to the masculine caesura in the third foot, has been extended to the feminine caesura in the same foot. It is then followed by a regularly recurring structure ἐπιχθόνιος/ν + noun or verb into which is incorporated the unusual form $\mu a \chi ἐοιτο. Io$ Finally, it is possible to posit a prototype *καὶ μὲν βουλάων which has been modified after quantitative metathesis to καὶ μέν μεν βουλέων. Ii

In Agamemnon's speech of exhortation to Diomedes (4.370–400), the late features are spread more evenly throughout the passage and there is less evidence of formular modification to incorporate them. Yet the use of the short stem declension of $T\nu\delta\epsilon\dot{\nu}s$ in verse 372 appears to adapt existing formular patterns. Compare

| ήμὲν) | Τυδείδην/ς | δουρικλυτόν | 10.109 |
|-----------|------------|--------------|--------|
| τοὺς μὲν} | | δουρικλειτός | 11.333 |
| τὸν μὲν | | δουρικλυτός | 23.681 |

with

Occasionally, indeed, metrical irregularities arise from the incorporation of recent linguistic features into the formular texture of the verse. The Consolation of Dione (5.382-404) provides good examples of this phenomenon. In 387, for example,

by resorting to synizesis, the poet is able to use the dative of $\chi \acute{a}\lambda \kappa \epsilon o \nu$ in the initial position where the word normally falls in the formular verse

χάλκεον. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε.

Thus, the synizes is in the first foot may reflect the poet's difficulty dealing with $\chi \acute{a} \lambda \kappa \epsilon o \nu$.

by declension, conjugation, etc. For the purpose of the present study, separation or expansion are only significant insofar as they allow the poet to employ recent linguistic features.

⁹This expression occurs four more times in the *Iliad*; three times in a repeated verse (5.304 = 12.449 = 20.287) and once separately (12.383). The longer form appears once in the *Odyssey* $(8.222\ \ \sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\iota)$. While it may seem unlikely that the elided form is older or more traditional than the unelided form, the evidence seems to reveal a formula modified to allow the use of a late form.

¹⁰The citation of analogical formulas can be perilous. See further "The Analogical Formula in Homer," *TAPA* 106 (1976) 211-226.

¹¹ Compare Hoekstra (above, n. 7) 34-35, 56-58. Not everyone agrees that βουλέων resulted from quantitative metathesis. K. Meister, Die Homerische Kunstsprache (Leipzig 1921, repr. Stuttgart 1966) 159, and F. Bechtel, Die Vocalcontraction bei Homer (Halle 1908) 113-115, both include βουλέων in a list of forms resulting from quantitative metathesis. So also P. Chantraine, Grammaire 69. Shipp², however, regards the form as a contraction (174). In either case, it must be recent.

Shipp regards the form 'E $\rho\mu$ éa as a dactyl in 390 as a late feature (23). Again, it would appear that the poet employed 'E $\rho\mu$ îs in the traditional position for the trisyllabic 'E $\rho\mu$ eias. Needing a dative, he produced the hiatus 'E $\rho\mu$ éa èξήγγειλεν....

In connection with the same passage Shipp remarks upon formular irregularities as evidence of late composition (248). He notes that the expression νίδι Διδι αἰγιόχοιο in 5.396 is an untraditional combination, a mixture of Διδι νίδι (7x Iliad; once Odyssey) and Διδι αἰγιόχοιο (11x Iliad; 9x Odyssey). More might be said. The expression follows the pattern of κούρη/αι Διδι αἰγιόχοιο (5x Iliad; 9x Odyssey) and is paralleled by θύγατερ Διδι αἰγιόχοιο in 5.815. A clue to the poet's reason for creating this unusual expression may be found in the first half of the verse, εὖτέ μιν ωὐτδι ἀνήρ, where a unique crasis occurs, but following a clear formular precedent:

| τοῖσι ἕκαστος \ | | 2.805 |
|------------------|------|--------|
| ἦ ῥ' οὐχ οὖτος (| | 15.471 |
| ώς έπεσ' έσθλὸς | ἀνήρ | 16.600 |
| ὄφρα μέν οὖτος) | | 18.257 |

Having solved one metrical problem by using the unusual form $\omega \dot{\nu} \tau \dot{\delta} s$ in the first half of the verse, the poet had to create a new combination to fill out the verse with the meaning he intended.

Others have already noted evidence of formular modification in the Meleager episode. A. Hoekstra, for example, suggests that the recurrent πολλέων ἐκ πολίων may be derived from an earlier prototype *πολλάων πολίων and that ἐξ ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος of 9.566 may reflect an ancient *ἀράων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος comparing ἐπέων κεχολωμένος in 11.703.12 The expression Ἰδεώ θ', ὄς in 9.588, moreover, although unique, according to Hoekstra shows "a syntactic type of enjambement which is likely to be traditional."¹³

Shipp observes that a striking feature of the Meleager story is a "tendency to vary formulaic combinations," and he adduces four examples (271): in 9.536 Διὸς κούρη μεγάλοιο which normally refers to Athena is applied to Artemis; ¹⁴ in 538 δῖον γένος ἰοχέαιρα occurs for "Αρτεμις ἱοχέαιρα; in 560 Φοῖβος 'Απόλλων, which regularly fills the verse after the bucolic diaeresis, has been put in the genitive and moved to the beginning of the verse, a practice followed elsewhere only in the Odyssey and Hymns; in 564 ἐκάεργος 'Απόλλων (10x Iliad) is expanded to ἐκάεργος ἀνήρπασε Φοῖβος 'Απόλλων.

The two final paradeigms offer relatively little evidence of formular modification. In 18.399, the verse ending ἀψορρόου 'Ωκεανοῖο which em-

¹²Hoekstra (above, n. 7) 36.

¹³ Hoekstra 32-34.

¹⁴Cf. D. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad (Berkeley 1963) 328.

ploys the extended form of $\dot{a}\psi\dot{o}\rho\rho\sigma$ seems a formula in its own right.¹⁵ The form $\chi\rho\epsilon\dot{\omega}$ on the other hand, although clearly formular in use—

| $\hat{\eta}$ τ ι \ | | 9.197 |
|-------------------------|-----------|--------|
| τὸν δὲ (| | 11.409 |
| τῷ με (| μάλα χρεώ | 18.406 |
| ού τι) | | 23,308 |

exists beside a parallel formula using $\chi\rho\dot{\eta}$, $\nu\hat{\nu}\nu$ $\sigma\epsilon$ $\mu\dot{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$ $\chi\rho\dot{\eta}$ (Iliad 3x). Hoekstra suggests that a tendency developed to use $\chi\rho\epsilon\dot{\omega}$ instead of $\chi\rho\dot{\eta}$ once $\chi\rho\dot{\eta}$ began to be felt as a verbal form, out of place without an infinitive following. But whatever the explanation, the formula in question is evidently a late development.

What can we conclude from this discussion? In the eight mythical paradeigms in which Willcock found structural evidence that the poet invented details to suit his narrative purpose, we have found linguistic and formular evidence to support Willcock's thesis. First, the passages contain an inordinately large number of late linguistic features and, secondly, there is much evidence of the formular modification necessary to incorporate the new language into the traditional verse. The work of Willcock and others makes it clear that Homer was not a complete slave to his tradition.¹⁷ I hope I have shown that, when innovating, he used newer language which he incorporated into the traditional patterns of utterance, the formulas.

Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax

 15 It recurs once in *Odyssey* 20.65. Compare βαθυρρόου 'Ωκεανοῖο (*Iliad* 7.422 and 14.311; *Odyssey* 11.13 and 19.434), a likely formular variant.

¹⁶Hoekstra (above, n. 7, 37) also notes that it occurs at the verse end with synizesis and is therefore recent.

¹⁷See also J. H. Gaisser, "Adaptation of Traditional Material in the Glaucus-Diomedes Episode," *TAPA* 100 (1969) 165-176, B. K. Braswell, "Mythological Innovation in the *Iliad*," *CQ* N.S. 21 (1971) 16-26, and M. M. Willcock, "Ad Hoc Invention in the *Iliad*," *HSCP* 81 (1977) 41-53.

APPENDIX

LATE FORMS IN THE PARADEIGMS STUDIED BY WILLCOCK

| Nestor's Reminisco | ences of a | Assisting the Lapiths 1. 260–273 | |
|--------------------|------------|--|--------------------------|
| Καινέα | 264 | short stem declension of | |
| θησέα | 265 | proper nouns in -ευs | Shipp ² 65 |
| κατ' ξμ' αὐτόν | 271 | $\kappa \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha}$ + acc. in specialized sense of | 11 |
| | | "by myself" | Shipp ² 133 |
| μαχέοιτο | 272 | secondary to μαχήσομαι | Shipp ² 95–96 |
| βουλέων | 273 | contraction of a genitive plural in $-\alpha\omega\nu$ | Shipp ² 174 |

| Binding of Zeus 1. 396-406 | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|--|---|
| Βριάρεων | | Atticism | Shipp ² 55 |
| Exemplum of Tydeus | 4. 3 | 70-400 | |
| Τυδέϊ | 372 | short stem declension of proper names in $-\epsilon v$ | s Shipp ² 65 |
| ἐστρατόωνθ' | 378 | new formations in -άω | Shipp 03 Shipp ² 97 |
| παραίσια | 381 | involving $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha$ "beyond," "against" | Shipp ² 133–134 |
| πρὸ ὀδοῦ | 382 | only here in Homer; elsewhere only in Attic | Shipp 133 134 Shipp ² 243 |
| άγγελίην | 384 | noun based on adjectival form | Shipp 243 Shipp ² 129 |
| Τυδη | 384 | short stem declension of proper names in $-\epsilon v$: | |
| Καδμεΐωνας | 385 | artificial extension of Καδμεΐοι at verse-end | Shipp- 03 |
| ξείνος | 387 | unusual hostile suggestion | Shipp ² 243, 230 Shipp ² 243–244 |
| Καδμείοισιν | 388 | Aeolic extension of $-\epsilon \iota os$ | |
| άεθλεύειν | 389 | metrical variant for $\dot{\alpha} \epsilon \theta \lambda \omega$ | Shipp ² 250 |
| | | | Shipp ² 101–102 |
| Καδμεῖοι | 391 | molossus ending in fourth foot | Shipp ² 204 |
| ἀναερχομένῳ | 392 | hiatus (reading Mss, not Bentley au | C1: 0.044 |
| 1 1/ | 200 | ἀνερχομένω) | Shipp ² 244 |
| τὸν υἰόν | 399 | "'his son' as in later Greek" | Shipp ² 244 |
| ἀμείνω | 400 | contraction of comparative in -yos- | Shipp ² 75 |
| "Αρειον | 4 07 | Attic form of 'Αρήϊον | Shipp ² 244 |
| The Consolation of D | ione | 5. 382-404 | |
| χαλκέω | 387 | with synizesis | Shipp ² 189 |
| χ | | | with reference |
| | | | to Shipp ¹ 135 |
| 'Ερμέα | 390 | with synizesis and hiatus | Shipp ² 17, 23 |
| "Ηρη ὅτε | 392 | hiatus | Shipp 17, 23 Shipp ² 248 |
| ωὑτὸς | 396 | crasis only here | Shipp ² 248 |
| υίδς Διδς αίγιόχοιο | 396 | | Shipp ² 248 |
| σιος Διος αι γιοχοίο | 370 | untraditional combination | 3mpp- 246 |
| Nestor's Killing of E | reutha | | |
| ἀκούσαι | 129 | with accusative and participle | Shipp ² 144 |
| θυμὸν | 131 | for ψυχήν (cf. M. Leumann, Homerische | |
| | | Wörter [Basel 1950] 221) | Shipp ² 259 |
| ἡβῷμ' | 133 | contraction | Shipp ² 159 |
| κορυνήτην | 138 | "built on noun" | Shipp ² 258 |
| σιδηρείη κορύνη | 141 | iron weapon (cf. H. Lorimer, Homer and | |
| | | the Monuments [London 1950] 119) | Shipp ² 259 |
| φορῆναι | 149 | hybrid with Aeolic stem and Ionic ending | Shipp ² 83-84 |
| οὐδέ τις ἔτλη | 151 | "normally with an infinitive" | Shipp ² 259 |
| παρήορος | 156 | secondary sense (cf. Leumann. ibid. 228) | Shipp ² 259 |
| πολλός τις | 156 | "as often in Herodotos" (cf. Ameis-Hentze | |
| | | Anhange 47) | Shipp ² 259 |
| m, , , , , , , , | | | |
| The exemplum of Me | | 9. 524–605 | |
| μέμνημαι | 527 | with accusative and dependent clause cf. LS | |
| κουρήτες | 529 | "escaped Aeolic barytonesis of κούρητες" | Shipp ² 270 |
| θαλύσια | 534 | Doric festival name | Shipp ² 244, 270 |
| χλούνην | 539 | "isolated" | Shipp ² 270 |
| έθων | 540 | n-stem refashioned as -nt- stem | Shipp ² 195 |
| αὐτῆσιν ῥίζησι | 542 | idiomatic use of αὐτός | Shipp ² 278 |
| πολλέων | 544 | contraction | Shipp ² 175 |

| θηρήτορας | 544 | Doric? | Shipp ² 270 |
|--|-------------|---|-----------------------------|
| κακῶς $ην$ + dative | 551 | paralleled only in simile 324 | Shipp ² 270 |
| οίδάνει | 544 | secondary to Attic-Ionic οίδέω | Shipp ² 86 |
| Εὐηνίνης | 557 | Doric or Aetolian | Shipp ² 270 |
| *Ιδεω | 558 | contraction of gentive in $-\bar{a}o$ | Shipp ² 171-172 |
| τῶν τότε | 559 | article combined with adverb | Shipp ² 136-137 |
| ἐπώνυμον | 562 | recurs only in Odyssey | Shipp ² 270 |
| άρέων | 566 | contraction of genitive plural in -άων | Shipp ² 147 |
| ή εροφοῖτις | 571 | secondary meaning of ἀήρ | Shipp ² 273, 271 |
| έξ 'Ερέβεσφιν | 572 | $-\phi\iota$ with preposition as genitive | Shipp ² 70 |
| πιότατον | 577 | later superlative in -τατος | Shipp ² 76 |
| ψίλην | 580 | recurs only in Odyssey | Shipp ² 270 |
| ἄροσιν | 580 | recurs only in Odyssey | Shipp ² 270 |
| τῶν | 592 | defining relative | Shipp ² 138 |
| ἀμαθύνει | 593 | present in -ύνω not from -v- adjective | Shipp ² 94 |
| ἐτέλεσσαν | 598 | with meaning "pay" | Shipp ² 199 |
| <i>ἐντ</i> αῦθα | 601 | Attic spelling | Shipp ² 13 |
| ἐπί | 602 | with dative for purpose or genitive (so OCT) | Shipp ² 133 |
| τιμῆς | 605 | for τιμήεις contraction after loss of digamma | Shipp ² 19-20 |
| Hurling of Hephaestos from Olympus 18. 394-405 | | | |
| Εὐρυνόμη | 399 | epanalepsis | Shipp ² 298 |
| άψόρροος | 399 | extension of ἄψορρος | Shipp ² 298 |
| χρεώ | 4 06 | reduced form of χρειώ to act as χρή | Shipp ² 31 |
| Niobe 24. 602-617 | | | |
| ήβώοντες | 604 | irregular metrical lengthening | |
| | | of denominative in -α | Shipp ² 159 |
| Λ ητο $\hat{\iota}$ | 607 | contraction | Shipp ² 188 |
| ໄ σάσκετο | 607 | freely created iterative | Shipp ² 89 |
| | | | |