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ΠΕΛΟΜΑΙ: TO BE OR ... TO BECOME?

Abstract: The dictionaries indicate for πέλομαι (πέλω): 1. *to become*, 2. *to be*. A scrutiny of the Homeric occurrences, and comparison with the use of other verbs, such as γίγνομαι, φύομαι, ὄρνυμαι, φαίνομαι etc., in similar contexts reveals, to my mind, that πελομαι (πελω) never, or hardly ever, simply means 'to be' – in many contexts, it rather means 'to turn out (to be)', 'to manifest oneself as ...', the *aorist* often being used to express 'just now manifested (yourself, himself) as ...', i.e. quasi-equivalent to εἰ, εστίν, in the same way as tragic εφυ(ς). Together with .Mycenaean *qe-ro-me-no*, probably 'becoming', 'destined/going to be', and West Greek τέλομαι = εσ(σ)ομαι, we have a pretty recognizable offspring, semantically speaking, of the Indo-European root *k^wel- 'to turn'. The occurrences of (mostly) πελω in Aeschylus appear to point roughly in the same direction; the findings for the cognate verb τελεθω (in Homer and later on) are by and large similar.

§ 1. Introduction: πέλομαι/πέλω; the Indo-European root *k^wel-; Mycenaean *qe-ro-me-no*.

Πέλομαι (-ω) is known especially from Homer. It is used as a substantive verb and as a copula. Its practical meaning is more or less the same as that of either γίγνομαι or εἰμί. As the English verbs 'to become' and 'to be' do not run exactly parallel to Greek γίγνομαι and εἰμί, I shall use Greek paraphrases most of the time, as it is my intention to investigate the semantic value of πέλομαι within the Homeric vocabulary. – The active is much less frequent than the middle: in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* together, we find 26 (or 25) active forms as against 84 middle forms[1]. The forms in Homer are: active

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[1] The only active *aorist* form is ἔπλεν in M 11: (10) ὄφρα μὲν "Εκτωρ ζωὸς ἔην καὶ μήνι' Ἀχιλλεύς | καὶ Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος ἀπόρθητος πόλις ἔπλεν, | τόφρα δὲ καὶ μέγα τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν ἔμπεδον ἦεν. The aorist in a protasis with ὄφρα 'as long as' is unexpected; Leaf (reading ἦεν) a.l.: "vulg. ἔπλεν, a *vox nihili*; ... ἦεν, which has the excellent support of P (it had previously been conj. by Heyne and Brandreth). The cause of the change was no doubt an objection to end two consecutive lines with ἦεν." – Ruth Neuberger-Donath (1980) undertook an analysis of the use of πέλομαι/πέλω according to its diathesis. Her conclusion is (9 f.): "Die Opposition πέλω : πέλομαι läßt sich mithin durch zwei Antithesen fassen: a) Das Aktivum bezeichnet zufällige, vorübergehende – *akzidentelle* – Begegnung zweier Elemente; das Medium zeigt an, daß eine bestimmte Eigenschaft oder Erscheinung charakteristisch für das Subjekt – ihm *inhärent* – ist. b) Beim Aktivum ist die Umwelt in die Zweiheit Subjekt – Handlung (eig. Zustand) miteinbezogen, das Verhältnis ist *statisch*, die Handlung *extrovert*; das Medium bezeichnet eine Wandlung, die

πέλει (8 *Il.*, 6 *Od.*) and πέλε(ν) (6 *Il.*, 5 *Od.*) (for ἔπλεν see n. 1); middle πέλεται (7 *Il.*, 3 *Od.*), πέλονται (4 *Il.*, 12 *Od.*), πέλευ (1 *Il.*), πελέσκεο (1 *Il.*), πέλοντο (1 *Il.*, 1 *Od.*), πέληται (2 *Il.*), πελώμεθα (1 *Il.*), πέλωνται (1 *Il.*), πέλοιτο (2 *Il.*, 2 *Od.*), ἔπλεο/ἔπλευ (6 *Il.*), ἔπλετο (21 *Il.*, 19 *Od.*). As one can see, ἔπλετο is by far the most frequent form, making up for almost half of all the middle forms; some forms occur only in the *Iliad*, but there is no form that only occurs in the *Odyssey*. The sum total of forms of πέλομαι in the *Iliad* exceeds the total in the *Odyssey* by 25% in absolute numbers; however, on account of the different lengths of the *Iliad* (15,693 lines) and the *Odyssey* (12,110 lines), the relative frequency of πελ- in both poems is by and large the same. So far for statistics.

Formally, Homeric πέλομαι corresponds to West Greek τέλο-μαι, the latter being used as future of εἰμί/ἠμί 'to be' (with τέντ αι < *τέλται for τέλεται, like ἔσται for ἔ(σ)σεται). The forms πελ- and τελ- jointly point to an older form *k^wel-. Obviously, Homeric πέλομαι with π- < *k^w- before ε is an Aeolism (and in later poetry an epicism – with the *possible* exception of Aeolic poetry). The Indo-European root *k^wel- is the basis of a variety of words in Greek and elsewhere: κύκλος 'wheel' (<*k^{we}-k^wl-, with reduplication); πόλος 'axis of the celestial sphere', 'pole', also, *i.a.*, 'orbit (of a star)', 'centre (of the circular threshing-floor)'; Lat. *colō* 'to inhabit a place' (older meaning, perhaps: 'to turn the soil', 'to plough'[2]; compare Greek δί-πολος, τρί-πολος 'ploughed twice'/'~ three times'[3]); pro-

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sich in oder um das Subjekt hin vollzieht, ohne aktive oder passive Beteiligung der Umwelt, die Handlung ist *dynamisch* und *introvert*." As for Neuberger-Donath's classification as *sum*, *existo* on the one hand, and *evenio*, *fio* on the other, I cannot see what exactly (pre)determines her choice – is it the labels in Ebeling's *Homeric lexicon*? – Note that (e.g.) πέλεται, πέλει, and ἔπλετο are *not* metrically equivalent; the choice between those forms, *when* the verb πέλομαι/πέλω has been selected for use, is not 'free'. Metrical constraints on the choice of forms and on the position of those forms in a verse must not be left out of the discussion.

[2] The semantics of *colō* can be explained along different lines: A. 'to plough' → 'to till' → 'to inhabit' – or 'to move about in a place' → 'to inhabit' (cp. [frequentative] *versor* [: *vertor*]? – and πολέω, see note 3); B. 'to turn [caringly] around a person' (cp. Greek ἀμφίπολος, Lat. *ancilla*) → 'to look after' & 'to worship' – or 'to cultivate [a piece of land]' → 'to cultivate [the relationships with] people and gods'? – I have a preference for the line of semantic development formulated as 'to plough' → 'to inhabit' (expression of the relationship between agriculture and a sedentary way of life, as against seminomadism; cp. *agri-col-a*, *col-ōnus*). In the semantic field of 'care', the agricultural meaning may well be basic, and *agri cultura* may be the foundation of *cultura* in general.

[3] Mycenaean *a-ko-ro-qo-ro* and *mo-ro-qo-ro* probably also belong here: man's name Ἀγρό-$κ^w$ολος '[plougher →] tiller of an ἀγρός' (originally perhaps a person who ploughed waste-land [the original meaning of ἀγρός] to make it apt for sowing), man's name Μ^{h}ορό-$κ^w$ολος ('tiller of a μ^{h}όρος [piece of land']). And poetic Greek has πολέω and πολεύω 'to plough', also intransitive: 'to go about', 'to range over', 'to haunt'.

bably *colus* 'distaff', etc.[4] Greek πάλιν 'back', 'again' almost certainly belongs in the *k^wel*- family also: acc. sg. of the nominal stem (disyllabic: Lindeman form) *k^wḷi*- 'turn'[5].

Words for 'wheel' deriving from *k^wel*- are found in many Indo-European languages, from the Germanic languages in the West to the Tocharian dialects in the Far East[6]; the *wheel*-words definitely strike me as old. That being the case, the root *k^wel*- must have been suited to give the wheel a name. Hence I suspect that the original meaning of *k^wel*- must have been 'to turn around a central point (pivot, axis, etc.; also a person who occupies a "central" position)'. Compare Myc. *a-pi-qo-ro*, later Greek ἀμφίπολος 'attendant', 'maid-servant' (in Homer, there are often *two* ἀμφίπολοι, who "circle" on both sides, on the left and on the right [ἀμφί], of the mistress attended); α 352 ἀμφιπέληται 'goes around', 'circulates'[7]; and also περιτέλλομαι 'to go/come around' (of time)[8], with aor. (gen. abs.) περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, denoting the year-*cycles*; περί-πολος 'going the rounds', 'patrolling'; poetic ἀκρο-πόλος 'high-ranging', 'lofty', said of mountains - perhaps a case of enallage, as the word has the appearance of an (adjective) agent noun. In the semantic sphere of 'circling' about flocks or herds (or 'making [flocks/herds] go round') we find the Greek words αἰ-πόλος, βου-κόλος (with κ < k^w after *u*), poetic οἰο-πόλος (: οἶς 'sheep'[9]), then, by semantic widening ("occupying oneself with ..."), ὀνειρο-πόλος, οἰωνο-πόλος, δικασ-πόλος, θαλαμη-πόλος, θυη-πόλος, etc. The ways of

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[4] *Collus/collum*, Germanic *hals* 'neck', does not belong in the *k^wel*-group, I believe; rather, it derives from *kel*- 'to rise', and is therefore akin to *collis* 'hill'.

[5] Double zero grade */k^{w}l-i-/ cannot be original: one would expect paradigmatic ablaut */k^{w}el-i-/, */k^{w}l-ey-/ (if the noun was proterodynamic). The explanation of */k^{w}l-i-/ is to be looked for in paradigmatic *levelling*.

[6] Sanskrit *cakrá*- (n.; in Vedic sometimes m.); Avestan *caxra*- (m.); Germanic *χ^{w}éχ^{w}lan/χ^{w}ey^{w}lán* (Old English *hwēol, hweowol, hweozol*, Old Icelandic *hjól*, etc.); Tocharian *kukäl* (A), *kokale* (B) 'wheeled vehicle' (*pars pro toto*). Old Church Slavonic has unreduplicated *kolo* (neuter *s*-stem). – For the explanation of πλήμνη 'nave' as < *κ^{w}λήμνᾱ from the extended root *k^wel-h₁*-, see Waanders 1992: 594. The extended root *k^wel-h₁*- may also account for τελέθω < *k^wḷh₁-ed^{h}elo*- (*ibid.*), which must still have been alive in the Ionic dialect of Homer's time–otherwise, we would expect *πελέθω in Homer, taken over from his Aeolic predecessors.

[7] α 351-2: τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι, | ἥ τις ἀιόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται. "for that song people praise rather which goes around as more novel to the (or *both*: ἀμφι-) ears of the listeners".

[8] Also 'to rise above the horizon' (Alcaeus, Aratus): some degree of confusion with ἀνατέλλω 'to rise' (of heavenly bodies) < *tel*- may have been caused by formal similarity. – (-)τέλλομαι may go back *k^wlh₁-yé|ó*-: h₁ could explain the *e*-vocalism of *κ^{w}έλγομαι; cp. εἴρω < *ϝέρyω < *wrh₁-yé|ó*-, Arc. ζέλλω < *γ^{w}έλyω < *g^{w}lh₁-yé|ó*-.

[9] There is a homonym with first member related to οἶος 'alone', meaning 'lonely' (of places), 'solitary' (of persons); cp. ἀκρο-πόλος (text) for the possible enallage when applied to places.

the semantic ramifications involved are not always easy to follow – often, one can arrive at the same end-point by different routes.

Hypotheses concerning the semantic prehistory of the Greek verb πέλομαι/τέλομαι may take different forms:

– Hypothesis A: 'to turn around' → 'to develop' (intrans.), 'to come about', 'to turn out', 'to become' (≈ γιγνομαι[10]); compare *wert-: Lat. *verto(r)* 'to turn' (trans. act./intrans. pass.), Gothic *wairθan* 'to become' (German *werden*); compare also English 'to *turn* pale', etc.

– Hypothesis B: 'to turn around' → 'to move around in a place' (compare Lat. *versor* 'to pass one's time [in a place, among people, etc.]' – but note that *versor* is a *frequentative*), 'to be in a place' [to be *somewhere*, with local complement] (≈ εἰμί) → 'to be in a certain position/condition/state' [to be *so-and-so*, with predicative complement] (≈ εἰμί).

A priori, then, both 'to become' and 'to be' can be argued for as the older (Proto-Greek?) meaning of **kʷέλομαι*[11]. However, the value of West Greek τέλομαι as a future of εἰμί/ἠμί 'to be'[12] might rather point to 'to become' as the older meaning, the difference between *becoming* (**kʷέλομαι* ≈ γίγνομαι) and *going to be* (**kʷέλομαι* ≈ ἔ(σ)σομαι) perhaps being largely a matter of nuance.

It may be in order to go briefly into Mycenaean *qe-ro-me-no* before analyzing the Homeric data for πέλομαι. The Mycenaean text where *qe-ro-me-no* is found registers sons of female flax-workers:

PY Ad 697 ⎰ .a   e-re[•]qe-ro-me-no
          ⎱   da-mi-ni-ja r̥i-ne-ja-o ko-wo VIR

Δαμνίαι λινειάhων κόρϝοι ἐρε[•]...όμενοι [number left blank]. "At Damnia, sons of flax-workers, who...: {so-and-so many} MEN."

In the lacuna between *re[* and *]qe* there is room for one sign and possibly a word divider. The followig supplements have been proposed: (a) *e-re[-e]qe-ro-me-no* ἐρέhεν γʷηλόμενοι 'wishing to row', and (b) *e-re[-ta]qe-ro-me-no* ἐρέται κʷέλομενοι 'be(com)ing rowers'. In view of the close dialectal relation between Arcado-Cypriot and Mycenaean (all belonging to the 'Achaean' branch of Greek), an *e* vowel in the verb 'to wish' in Mycenaean, as against an *o* vowel

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[10] Γίγνομαι, originally 'to be born', 'to come into being' (cp. γένος, γονεύς, γένεσις, κασί-γνητος, Lat. *gignō, [g]nātus, genetrīx*, German *Kind*, etc.), may have replaced **kʷέλομαι* in the sense 'to become'.

[11] The matter may be more complicated than being simply a choice between two possibilities: hypotheses A and B are not really mutually exclusive.

[12] Cp. German *werden* + inf. to express the future tense.

in Arcado-Cypriot (as in Attic-Ionic), is unlikely (although not entirely excluded)[13]; moreover, the palace administration presumably was not interested in what the sons of the flax-workers *wanted* (or *preferred*). On balance, option (b) is more plausible. Then: 'to be', or 'to become'? Since Mycenaean uses the participle *e-o* ἐhών, pl. *e-o-te* ἐhόντες to express 'being', it is unlikely for *qe-re-me-no* κʷελόμενοι to express the same thing. As I suggested at the Athens colloquium (Waanders 1992: 596), it is tempting to attribute to κʷελόμενοι the meaning 'going to be' (practically future value, like *i-jo-te* ἰόντες 'destined to go'), *i.e.*, κʷέλομαι ≈ γίγνομαι or even ≈ ἔσομαι[14].

Now if, on account of Mycenaean *qe-re-me-no* and West Greek τέλομαι, we consider hypothesis A (above) the likelier one, we should nevertheless be aware that the use of πέλομαι (-ω) in *Homer* may (in certain instances) diverge from its use in earlier times: for *Ionic aoidoi* πέλομαι (-ω) must have been an archaism, perhaps not always correctly understood any more. In several inherited phrases it *could* be interpreted by them as a poetic equivalent of εἰμί, and also be used in that sense in lines of their own making (as also by later poets in *their* poetry)[15]. I shall now analyze a selected number of occurences of πέλομαι in Homer and see if we can get any wiser.

§ 2. Πέλομαι (-ω) as a substantive verb.

First of all, let us consider some instances with an action noun or the like as the subject of ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ[16].

(2.1) Γ 2-3   Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν ὄρνιθες ὣς
ἠΰτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό·

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[13] Arcadian and Cypriot βόλομαι, Attic-Ionic βούλομαι < *-ol-no*. If the -o- of βόλομαι stems from a perfect from *βέβολα (as has been sugested), the Mycenaean present *may* have been γʷέλομαι; however, the semantic side of the matter is decidedly in favour of κʷελόμενοι.

[14] The verb ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ is attested for Mycenaean in the text PY Ad 686: *o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-[to* οὐ παρογένετο *did not present himself.* – The future of EINAI is probably attested for Mycenaean, viz. if *e-so-to* in KN Am 600.a represents 3 pl. ἔσονται. – κʷελόμενοι, as against ἐσόμενοι, may specifically express that the men are *trained* ("evolutionary" process) to be rowers.

[15] Type *μάχη πέλεται for which one could (semantically, not metrically) substitute both μάχη γίγνεται (original value?) and μάχη ἐστί; henceforth, it would be possible, for Homer and later poets, to use πέλεται (etc.) as a metrically convenient alternative for ἐστί (etc.). – As far as Aeschylus is concerned, I have not found many occurrences markedly different from those in Homer, but the preponderance of the active is remarkable; for a selection of Aeschylean instances, see Appendix I. – It may be rewarding to re-examine ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ/ΠΕΛΕΙΝ in other post-Homeric poets as well.

[16] Capitals are used for *lexemes*.

The subject κλαγγή belongs in the semantic category of 'sounds'; comparable to Γ 3 is A 49 δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο, further K 523 Τρώων δὲ κλαγγή τε καὶ ἄσπετος ὦρτο κυδοιμός, and ξ 412: κλαγγὴ δ' ἄσπετος ὦρτο συῶν αὐλιζομενάων. If it is correct to say that a κλαγγή 'comes into being' (γένετο) or 'rises' (ὦρτο), πέλει in Γ 3 could be a poetic equivalent of γίγνεται (which itself would be metrically impossible)[17]. However, in λ 605 we find κλαγγή ... ἦν: ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κλαγγὴ νεκύων ἦν οἰωνῶν ὥς; this might seem to weaken the supposition πέλει ≈ γίγνεται, but the situations described in Γ 2-3 and in λ 605 (and the instances with ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ and ΟΡΝΥΣΘΑΙ) are different insofar as the noise in the nether world is continuous, whereas the sound produced by the cranes (and pigs etc.) is 'developing': emerging and growing louder. Provisionally, we may assume πέλει ≈ γίγνεται in Γ 3.

Some more instances of 'sounds' may be helpful to shed light on the matter: Ξ 396 οὔτε πυρὸς τόσσος γε πέλει[18] βρόμος αἰθομένοιο (no comparable instances with ΕΙΝΑΙ or ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ) – Τ 365 τοῦ καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν καναχὴ πέλε, ...; in ζ 82 we find καναχὴ ἦν ἡμιόνοιιν, but other 'odontic' sounds prove that collocation with ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ is not unusual: K 375 ἄραβος δὲ διὰ στόμα γίγνετ' ὀδόντων;[19] Λ 417–8, Μ 149–50 ὑπαὶ δέ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων | γίγνεται; Ν 283 πάταγος δέ τε γίγνετ' ὀδόντων. Are we dealing again with continuous (ζ 82) vs. emerging, 'developing' (K 375, etc.)? – Δ 450 ἔνθα δ' ἅμ' οἰμωγή τε καὶ εὐχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν; idem Θ 64. There are no comparable instances with ΕΙΝΑΙ or ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ, but there is one with the perfect form δέδηε: υ 353 οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί. This does not take us much further.[20] – Ξ 400 ὅσση ἄρα Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἔπλετο φωνὴ ... (perhaps "had come about", "had risen"; cp. the aorist participle ἀυσάντων in the next line). We may compare: μ 86–7 τῆς ἤτοι φωνὴ μὲν ὅση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς | γίγνεται; μ 396 βοῶν δ' ὣς γίγνετο φωνή. In Σ 221 γένετ(ο) may be copula (I am not certain): ὣς τότ' ἀριζήλη φωνὴ γένετ' Αἰακίδαο. As the subject of γένετο we further find in Homer the sounds ἰαχή (Δ 456, Μ 144, Ο 396, Π 366)[21] and χρόμαδος γενύων (Ψ 688). With φωνή as subject we further find the verb forms ἀμφὶ ... ἵκετο (Λ 466) and (αἰθέρ') ἵκανεν (Ο 686), verbs of motion/'displacement', not of 'being there'.

(2.2) Λ 737   ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πυλίων καὶ 'Επειῶν ἔπλετο νεῖκος, | ...

Νεῖκος is often found as the subject of ὄρωρε(ν) (*e.g.*, Γ 87, Μ 348), twice of the plpf. ὀρώρει (Ρ 384, Σ 497–8). ΟΡΝΥΣΘΑΙ is to be associated semantically with ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ (*process*, *incident*) rather than with ΕΙΝΑΙ (*state*). True enough, the use of the perfect stem ὀρωρ- brings association with ΕΙΝΑΙ near, but ἔπλετο, being an aorist form, does not allow for a paraphrase with a form of ΕΙΝΑΙ; therefore, we arrive at ἔπλετο ≈ ἐγένετο. Moreover, there are instances of subject νεῖκος with forms of ΟΡΝΥΣΘΑΙ belonging to another than the perfect stem: fut. ὀρεῖται (Υ 140), aor. subj. ὄρηται (π 98 116, υ 267), as well as instances with ἐτύχθη (Λ 671, φ 303), where there is no *state* value involved. – Compare also Ψ 490 καί νύ κε δὴ προτέρω ἔτ' ἔρις γένετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν, | εἰ μὴ ...

(2.3) Μ 271   ... νῦν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἅπασι

Here we have an aorist again, this time with a more or less 'actual' value; for such actions/processes which have been completed just before the moment of utterance, cp. Rijksbaron 1994: 28 (ex. no. 61). Like *sub* (2.2), we here arrive at the (near-)equivalence ἔπλετο ≈ ἐγένετο, verging on ≈ ἐστί; compare the way that aor. ἔφυ is used in later Greek (especially Attic tragedy), more or less with the same value as pf. πέφυκε.[22] The dilemma "≈ ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ or ≈ ΕΙΝΑΙ?" will, of course, become more acute in the case of present stem forms of ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ.

From Hesiod we may quote *Th.* 836 καί νύ κεν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἀμήχανον ἤματι κείνῳ, | ... | εἰ μὴ ..., where ἔπλετο ≈ ἐγένετο, *not* with 'actual' value; compare Θ 130, Λ 310 "Ενθα κε λοιγὸς ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα *γένοντο*, | ... | εἰ μὴ ...

As for ἔργον ἔπλετο one further remark: to the semantic field of 'happening', 'coming into existence', 'coming to the fore' (etc.), where the afore-mentioned verbs ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ, ΟΡΝΥΣΘΑΙ and ΤΕΥΧΕΣΘΑΙ (: νεῖκος ἐτύχθη) belong, we may also reckon ΦΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ. As parallels for Μ 271 we may thus adduce: Λ 734 ἀλλά σφι προπάροιθε φάνη μέγα ἔργον "Αρηος, and Μ 416 μέγα (*not* predicative) δέ σφι φαίνετο ἔργον.

(2.4) Τ 221   αἰψά τε φυλόπιδος πέλεται κόρος ἀνθρώποισιν

We also find in Ν 636 πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστί, 'of all things there is (exists) a moment of satiety' (one has had enough of all things at a certain moment). I do not believe that Ν 636 is reason enough to interpret πέλεται in Τ 221 as ≈ ἐστί: contrary to the general

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[22] Note that we don't have a perfect of ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ (*πέπολα); nor do we expect one for the literal (durative) meaning 'to turn around'. Moreover, a phrase like *πέπολε ϝέργον would be metrically impossible. – Professor Ruijgh suggested to me that the use of ἔπλετο when it implies ἐστί (i.e., ἔπλετο ≈ ἐστί) may have been the model for the tragic use of ἔφυ (instead of πέφυκε) ≈ ἐστί.

statement of N 636, I believe that αἶψα in T 221 indicates the (soon felt) 'development' of κόρος (to its peak of intensity), so that the interpretation ≈ γίγνεται is the likelier option.

(2.5) Ω 524   οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο

Compare κ 202 ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις ἐγίγνετο μυρομένοισιν; idem κ 568. In Ω 524 the interpretation ≈ γίγνεται 'comes about' is possible, although ≈ ἐστί is not entirely excluded.

Note the prospective subjunctive (with the practical value of a future) in the following passage:

(2.6) Γ 280–7 φυλάσσετε δ᾽ ὅρκια πιστά·
     εἰ μέν κεν ...
     ...
     ...
     εἰ δέ κ᾽ ᾽Αλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος
  285 Τρῶας ἔπειθ᾽ ῾Ελένην καὶ κτήματα πάντ᾽ ἀποδοῦναι,
     τιμὴν δ᾽ ᾽Αργείοις ἀποτινέμεν ἥν τιν᾽ ἔοικεν,
     ἥ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ᾽ ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.

"... compensation, which will be paid/be realized/be put to effect also among future generations of men". Τιμή in the pregnant sense of "*payment* of compensation" is practically equivalent to an action noun, and therefore liable to 'execution'. – Cp. N 659 *ποινὴ* δ᾽ οὔ τις παιδὸς *ἐγίγνετο* τεθνηῶτος (and ποινῆς in Γ 290).

(2.7) I 590–3 καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἐΰζωνος παράκοιτις
     λίσσετ᾽ ὀδυρομένη, καί οἱ κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα
     κήδε᾽, ὅσ᾽ ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἁλώῃ.
     ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, ...

The sorrows of people whose city has been taken *come over* them, *happen to* them (≈ γίγνεται). What happens in such circumstances is described by the *actions* in *ll.* 593–4 ("they kill the men, fire consumes the city, and others take away the children and the slender-waisted women").

A quality noun as subject is found in the following line:

(2.8) N 237   συμφερτὴ ("when united") δ᾽ ἀρετὴ πέλει ἀνδρῶν καὶ
     μάλα λυγρῶν

'shows itself', 'becomes manifest'. Compare Ψ 374 τότε δὴ ἀρετή γε ἑκάστου | φαίνετ᾽; see sub (2.3) for ΦΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ and the 'eventive' semantic field. Compare also, however, ξ 402 οὕτω γάρ κέν μοι ἐϋκλείη τ᾽ ἀρετή τε | εἴη ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους, where ἐϋκλείη 'fame' (ἐϋκλείη τ᾽ ἀρετή τε: handiadys) is to be held responsible for the choice of ΕΙΝΑΙ: ideally, fame is everlasting.

If in some of the instances of ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ dealt with so far the interpretation ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ ≈ ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ is probable, and in

some other instances at least plausible, this would plead for hypothesis A. Nevertheless, there is reason to be cautious: in ω 211 ἐν (in Laertes' house) δὲ γυνὴ Σικελὴ γρηῦς πέλεν, we definitely connot interpret πέλεν as ≈ ἐγίγνετο; however, if it is 'lived' ('moved about'; cp., *e.g.*, -πολος in ἀμφί-πολος and ἀκρο-πόλος), we may taste some difference between πέλεν and plain ἦν 'was'.[23] Thus, the question may not be simply a matter of choosing between the interpretations ≈ ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ or ≈ ΕΙΝΑΙ. However that be, in case of doubt it is often hard to tell how (or: if) we can decide the matter; what about, *e.g.*, E 729 τοῦ (: δίφρου) δ' ἐξ ἀργύρεος ῥυμὸς πέλεν· ...? Is πέλεν ≈ φύετο, i.e. virtually ≈ γίγνετο?[24] Anyway, because of τοῦ δ' ἐξ it seems extremely doubtful that πέλεν can be paraphrased with ἦν.[25] Compare, with ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ, Ξ 415-6 δεινὴ δὲ θεείου γίγνεται ὀδμὴ | *ἐξ αὐτῆς* (: oak-tree), X 150 ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς | γίγνεται *ἐξ αὐτῆς* (: a stream).

   With a local complement ὅσσον τ' ἐπί, we find ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ in

(2.9) K 351   ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἀπέην ὅσσον τ' ἐπὶ οὖρα πέλονται
               ἡμιόνων ...

Compare O 358-9 *ὅσον τ' ἐπί* δουρὸς ἐρωὴ | *γίγνεται*, ... We may assume that πέλονται in K 351 ≈ γίγνονται.[26] – With predicative ὅσσο- we have Ψ 431 ὅσσα δὲ δίσκου οὖρα κατωμαδίοιο πέλονται, | ..., and θ 124 ὅσσον τ' ἐν νειῷ οὖρον πέλει ἡμιόνοιιν, | ..., where we may also suspect near-equivalence to ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ. The οὖρον 'develops', so to speak, over a certain distance, until the limit is reached (like as the δουρὸς ἐρωή *γίγνεται* over a certain distance).

§ 3. Πέλομαι (-ω) as a copula.

(3.1) A 284   (Achilles) ἕρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο

Other instances of ἕρκος as a predicative complement have the (final) infinitive ἔμεν, ἔμμεναι for copula: Δ 299 ἕρκος ἔμεν πολέμοιο, E 316 ἕρκος ἔμεν βελέων, ω 224 αἱμασιὰς λέξοντες ἀλωῆς ἔμμεναι ἕρκος. Now in the case of latently present qualities, which in the appropriate circumstances may become manifest (courage: in battle, etc.), Greek can use ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ 'appear to be', 'to prove

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[23] Πολεύω (later πολέω) might have given rise to the use of *active* πέλω in the sense of 'versari'; later on, the Ionic poet Homer, using Aeolic πέλομαι/πέλω, may not have been aware of the distinction between πέλομαι 'fieri' and πέλω 'versari' any more.

[24] Cp. the adjective προσφυής in τ 58 θρῆνυν ... προσφυέ' ἐξ αὐτῆς, used of a part which "grows from" the main body.

[25] εἶναι ἔκ τινος means 'to be a descendant of ...'

[26] Classified by Neuberger-Donath as *existo* (1980: 2).

oneself ...', 'to turn out to be ...' (to *obtain* a qualification, *be attri-buted* a qualification),[27] and A 284 may be intended to express that Achilles (over and again) "becomes" (proves himself) a fence against evil war for the Achaeans. – In the case of ἕρκος ἔμεν / ἔμμεναι ἕρκος, the final infinitives, one could argue, denote the goal which is the end-point of ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ.

(3.2) ζ 108　　(Artemis) ῥεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι·

Compare O 490 ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτος Διὸς ἀνδράσι γίγνεται ἀλκή, | ...

Instances with practically actual value of the *aorist* (cp. 2.3) are not rare:

(3.3) A 417-8 ὠκύμορος καὶ ὀιζυρὸς ... | ἔπλεο

Likewise A 505-6 ὃς ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων | ἔπλετ' ... The subject was born with his qualities. – With the same adjective, but a different verb, α 266, δ 346, ρ 137 πάντες κ' ὠκύμοροί τε γενοίατο πικρόγαμοί τε, and Σ 95 ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι.

(3.4) B 480　　βοῦς ... μέγ' ἔξοχος ἔπλετο πάντων, in a comparison (gnomic aorist; at the same time visualizing: one ox in particular catches the eye by virtue of his rising high above the others, manifests himself as μέγ' ἔξοχος). But ἔξοχος with ἦν: Ξ 118, ἦεν: σ 205.

(3.5) H 31　　... ἐπεὶ ὣς φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ

Further, *i.a.*, Ξ 337 ἀλλ' εἰ δή ῥ' ἐθέλεις καί τοι φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ, and ν 145 ἔρξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις καί τοι φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ. Beside φίλον ἔπλετο we find both φίλον ἐστί(ν) (*e.g.*, A 541, η 320, κ 66) and φίλον γένοιτο (Δ 17, H 387, η 316).

(3.6) I 54　　καὶ βουλῇ μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας ἔπλευ ἄριστος

Likewise Ψ 891 ἠδ' ὅσσον δυνάμει τε καὶ ἥμασιν ἔπλευ ἄριστος. Further we find *inter alia* ἄριστος ἔην (e.g. B 580), ἄ. ἐών (Ψ 357), ἄ. ... εὔχεται εἶναι (e.g. A 91), but also ὃς ἄριστος ... τέτυκτο (Z 7).

(3.7) Π 29　　σὺ δ' ἀμήχανος ἔπλευ, 'Αχιλλεῦ

Compare K 167 σὺ δ' ἀμήχανός ἐσσι, γεραιέ, where we find ἐσσι before consonant, as against ἔπλευ before vowel in Π 29.

Of the 'actual' use of the aorist there are yet more examples. In some of the above instances (3.3)–(3.7) at least, we are probably dealing with 'latent qualities manifesting themselves' ("you/X have/has just turned out to be ..."; see *ad* 3.1). The real problems are to be expected when the present stem is used: in those cases, ambiguity may arise as to whether ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ ≈ ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ or ≈ ΕΙΝΑΙ.

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[27] Compare Herodotus I 95.2: Καί κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι 'Ασσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ...

(3.8) Δ 158   οὐ μέν πως ἅλιον πέλει ὅρκιον αἷμά τε ἀρνῶν

With subject ἔπος and predicate ἅλιον we find: Ω 92 οὐδ᾽ ἅλιον ἔπος ἔσσεται, Ω 224 καὶ οὐχ ἅλιον ἔπος ἔσσεται. I hardly dare suggest that πέλει in Δ 158 functions as a (near-)equivalent of ἔσ(σε)ται, cp. Myc. qe-rome-no and West Greek ΤΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ (see § 1). (Lattimore translates: "Still the oaths and the blood of the lambs *shall not be called vain*, ..." [my italics].) Compare also the sequel: (if not immediately, Zeus) ἐκ δὲ καὶ ὀψὲ τελεῖ (fut.).

(3.9) Ι 134   ἣ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει, ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν

The usual expression is ἣ θέμις ἐστί (*e.g.*, Β 73, Ι 33 276, Τ 177); further we find οὐ θέμις ἐστί(ν). Here πέλει ≈ ἐστί may seem obvious, although it cannot be entirely excluded that πέλει here means 'turns out to be' (*i.e.*, ≈ γίγνεται); or 'which "circulates" as the θέμις of men'?[28]

(3.10) Λ 390-2   κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλκιδος οὐτιδάνοιο.
ἥ τ᾽ ἄλλως ὑπ᾽ ἐμεῖο, καὶ εἴ κ᾽ ὀλίγον περ ἐπαύρῃ,
ὀξὺ βέλος πέλεται, καὶ ἀκήριον αἶψα τίθησιν·

"In *my* hands the βέλος becomes a sharp one"; both ὑπ᾽ ἐμεῖο and ἀκήριον αἶψα τίθησιν in the immediate context unequivocally show that in Λ 392 πέλεται ≈ γίγνεται.[29] – The superlative ὀξύτατον is found in Ξ 345 (᾽Ηέλιος) οὗ τε καὶ ὀξύτατον πέλεται φάος εἰσοράασθαι. Here the exact value of πέλεται is hard to make out; however, one could argue that the φάος *manifests itself as* (: γίγνεται) ὀξύτατον to the eye of the beholder (εἰσοράασθαι), at those moments when one looks into it.

(3.11) Λ 604   (a way of acting) κακοῦ δ᾽ ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή

The *aorist* + ἀρχή is found in Χ 116 ..., ἥ τ᾽ ἔπλετο νείκεος ἀρχή 'became the beginning of strife'. Although the reasoning "if ἔπλετο ≈ ἐγένετο, then πέλεν ≈ ἐγίγνετο" is not imperative, I believe that in Λ 604 πέλεν ≈ ἐγίγνετο makes excellent sense (in fact, better sense than ≈ ἦν): 'was developing into the beginning of evil for him' (the omniscient narrator sees that this action initiated Patroclus' doom).

Some further probable or possible instances of ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ ≈ ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ are the following:

(3.12) Ν 103   ἐλάφοισιν ..., αἵ τε καθ᾽ ὕλην | θώων πορδαλίων τε
λύκων τ᾽ ἤια πέλονται

"become the prey of..." (≈ γίγνονται).

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[28] Cp. Dutch *in omloop zijn* 'to be in *circulation*'.

[29] Cp. Leaf's commentary *a.l.*: "πέλεται is not merely = ἐστίν." Neuberger-Donath, however, classifies this instance as *existo* (1980: 1).

(3.13) Ο 38   (Let Gaia and Ouranos and the water of the Styx be wit-
nesses) ὅς τε μέγιστος | ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει
μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι

"turns out to be the strongest and most formidable oath", or simply
"is"? Or ≈ ἔσσεται? – cp. A 239 ὁ δέ τοι μέγας ἔσσεται ὅρκος.

(3.14) Π 315 ... πρυμνὸν σκέλος, ἔνθα πάχιστος | μυῶν ἀνθρώπου
πέλεται

"becomes thickest", "reaches its maximum thickness" (≈ γίγνεται)

(3.15)'Ψ 748-9 (a κρητήρ) ...
        καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεὺς θῆκεν ἀέθλιον οὗ ἑτάροιο,
        ὅς τις ἐλαφρότατος ποσσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πέλοιτο

"(for the one) who would prove to be (qualify as) the ..." (≈
γίγνοιτο)

(3.16) Ω 218-9 Μή μ' ἐθέλοντ' ἰέναι κατερύκανε, μηδέ μοι αὐτὴ
        ὄρνις ἐνὶ μεγάροισι κακὸς πέλευ· ...

"do not yourself become (manifest yourself as) a bird of ill omen"
(≈ γίγνευ)

§ 4. Conclusion

The question whether πέλομαι (-ω) in Homer is equivalent to
γίγνομαι or εἰμί cannot in every instance be answered with absolute
certainty; moreover, the choice as between just those two possibi-
lities may prove too limited. In one instance one could make a good
case for πέλεν ≈ ἦν, *viz.* ω 211 ἐν δὲ γυνὴ Σικελὴ γρηὖς πέλεν, yet
there may be more to it – *vide supra*, § 2, last paragraph but one. In
(3.13), "is" is a *possible* interpretation. On the whole, however, the
interpretation of ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ as ≈ ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ is very attractive, on
account of parallel expressions with other non-static verbs like
ΟΡΝΥΣΘΑΙ, ΦΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ, etc., and the extensive use of the aorist
with an 'actual' value (like ἔφυ in later [poetic] Greek) also speaks
in favour of the near-equivalence ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ ≈ ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ.
Combining these findings with the value of West-Greek ΤΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ
and the probable value of Mycenaean *qe-ro-me-no*, one may con-
clude that Homeric ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ is primarily used to express 'to co-
me about', 'to arise', 'to manifest oneself/itself (as)', 'to turn out to
be' (hypothesis A, § 1), rather than merely 'to be'; even where we
connot use a paraphrase with ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ, ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ may yet
exhibit a dynamic quality ('to move around', 'to circulate', in a spa-
tial sense: first part of hypothesis B, § 1), rather than the static qua-
lity of ΕΙΝΑΙ.[30]

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[30] The same seems to hold good for ΤΕΛΕΘΕΙΝ as well, *pace LSJ* ("*come into
being* ... then simply *to be* so and so, ..."). For examples, see Appendix II.

Appenndix I. Selected instances of ΠΕΛΕΙΝ in Aeschylus.[31]

(I.1) (subst. verb) *Ag.* 971:

(Κλ.) καὶ σοῦ μολόντος δωματῖτιν ἑστίαν,

θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνει μολόν·

970   ὅταν δὲ τεύχῃ Ζεὺς ἀπ᾽ ὄμφακος πικρᾶς

οἶνον, τότ᾽ ἤδη ψῦχος ἐν δόμοις πέλει

ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ᾽ ἐπιστρωφωμένου.

ψῦχος πέλει in 971 obviously means something like 'coolness comes into existence, arises' (or simply 'comes'?; cp. γίγνομαί που 'to come to a place', 'to arrive at ...' – note the preceding θάλπος ... *μολόν.*) Comparable in a way is *Eum.* 750 γνώμης δ᾽ ἀπούσης *πῆμα γίγνεται* μέγα, ...

(I.2) (subst. verb) *Eum.* 588:

᾽Ορ. ἔκτεινα· τούτου δ᾽ οὔτις ἄρνησις πέλει.

"no denial presents itself"; cp. οὐ ... τις πρῆξις πέλεται in Ω 524 (2.5). (Πέλεται, γίγνεται etc. + action noun as *subject* is, in a way, the passive or intransitive counterpart ['is brought about' – 'comes about'] of ποιεῖσθαι/ποιεῖν + action noun as *object*.) Cp. also *Ag.* 20 νῦν δ᾽ εὐτυχὴς *γένοιτ᾽ ἀπαλλαγὴ* πόνων.

(I.3) (subst. verb or copula?) *Pers.* 526:

(᾽Ατ.) ἔπειτα γῇ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς δωρήματα

ἥξω λαβοῦσα πέλανον ἐξ οἴκων ἐμῶν·

525   ἐπίσταμαι μὲν ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἐξειργασμένοις,

ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν εἴ τι δὴ λῷον πέλοι.

"(I know it is a sacrifice after accomplished acts), but yet I sacrifice in case things may turn for the better hereafter.", ≈ γίγνοιτο, rather than εἴη, I believe.

(I.4) (copula) *Supp.* 340:

Βα. πῶς οὖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐσεβὴς ἐγὼ πέλω;

"how am I to prove myself pious towards you?", ≈ γίγνωμαι. Cp. *Eum.* 66 ἐχθροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς οὐ *γενήσομαι* πέπων.

(I.5) (copula) *Ag.* 392:

(Χο.) κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον

τρίβῳ τε καὶ προσβολαῖς

μελαμπαγὴς πέλει

"like bronze (coins) of inferior quality, by wear and tear he becomes black (loses his shine)", ≈ γίγνεται (comparatum and comparandum are mixed up in this comparison).

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[31] There are only 4 or 5 instances of middle ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ in Aeschylus, as against over 20 instances of active ΠΕΛΕΙΝ.

(I.6) (copula) *Ag.* 939:

Κλ.   μή νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῇς ψόγον.

'Aγ.   φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.

Κλ.   ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητός γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει.

Clytaemnestra is trying to persuade Agamemnon to tread on the purple πετάσματα; Agamemnon at first refuses, but asked by Cl. what Priam would have done in a like situation, Ag. has to admit that Priam would certainly have trodden on ποικίλα. "Then don't be afraid of people's censure", Cl. insists. "What people say is very powerful", Ag. replies. "But one who does not arouse jealousy does not (deserve to) become the object of envy", probably ≈ γίγνεται, rather than ≈ ἐστί.

There are two instances of the middle form πέλῃ (ind.) which are likely to be interpreted as "you are " (or at best "you turn out to be", φαίνῃ – but this may seem a little far-fetched), I.7 and I.8:

(I.7) (copula) *Eum.* 149:

(Xo.)   ἰὼ παῖ Διός, ἐπίκλοπος πέλῃ,

...

(I.8) (copula) *Eum.* 199:

Xo.   ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, ἀντάκουσον ἐν μέρει·

    αὐτὸς σὺ τούτων οὐ μεταίτιος πέλῃ,

200   ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἔπραξας ὡς παναίτιος.

"you are not guilty thereof together with others", you do not merely share in the guilt, but you alone are guilty of all.

On the other hand, 'to become' is probable in:

(I.9) (copula) *Supp.* 810:

(Xo.)   ἴυζε δ' ὀμφάν, οὐράνια

    μέλη λιτανὰ θεοῖσι †καὶ

810   τέλεα δέ μοι πῶς πελόμενά μοι

    λύσιμα μάχιμα δ'† ἔπιδε, πάτερ,

...

In whatever manner the text is to be corrected (either καὶ or δέ has to go, and the first or the second μοι; πῶς should be πως), it seems likely that τέλεα ... πελόμενα ≈ τέλεα ... γιγνόμενα ≈ τελούμενα.

Two instances with adverb εὖ, and one with καλῶς, seem to mean "turn out well":

(I.10) *Ag.* 500:

(Kl.)   εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανεῖσι προσθήκη πέλοι.

(I.11) *Ag.* 255:

(Χο.) πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τἀπὶ τούτοισιν εὖ πρᾶξις, ...

Cp. *Ag.* 674, *Cho.* 782 γένοιτο δ' ὡς ἄριστα, and *Supp.* 454 γένοιτο δ' εὖ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν (likewise with cupitive optatives).

(I.12) *Supp.* 122:

(Χο.) †θεοῖς δ' ἐναγέα τέλεα πελομένων καλῶς

ἐπίδρομ' ὁπόθι θάνατος ἀπῇ†.

"When things go well"? – the general sense of these lines is not particularly clear, however.

Appendix II. Selected instances of ΤΕΛΕΘΕΙΝ.

(II.1) Η 282   νὺξ δ' ἤδη τελέθει· ἀγαθόν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι.

"already night is falling; ..." (=Η 293)

(II.2) Ι 441   (ἀγορέων) ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσι

"(assemblies) where men become/manifest themselves as ..."

(II.3) Μ 346-7   ὧδε γὰρ ἔβρισαν Λυκίων ἀγοί, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ

ζαχρηεῖς τελέθουσι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.

"who (*up to now, for a long time have*) manifest(*ed*) themselves as furious", "~ (*have*) show(*n*) their fury" (=Μ 359-60).

(II.4) δ 85   ... Λιβύην, ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι.

"... Libya, where lambs [become horned:] grow horns at once (soon after they are born)"

(II.5) η 51-2   ... θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων

ἔργοισιν τελέθει, εἰ καί ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ἔλθοι.

"manifests himself as better", "shows his superiority"

(II.6) ρ 485-6   καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,

παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας,

...

"becoming of all sorts", "assuming all possible shapes"

(II.7) τ 328   ἄνθρωποι δὲ μινυνθάδιοι τελέθουσιν.

"men become (: manifest themselves as, appear to be) shortlived" (cp.3.3)

(II.8) *hDem.* 240-1 (Demeter looks after little Demophon):

τοῖς δὲ μέγα θαῦμ' ἐτέτυκτο

ὡς προθαλὴς τελέθεσκε, ...

"how precocious he showed himself each time"?, ≈ ἐγίγνετο (ἑκάστοτε)? – or "how prococious he was", ≈ ἔσκε?

(II.9) h XXX (to Earth) 5: *ἐκ σέο δ' εὔπαιδές τε καὶ εὔκαρποι τελέθουσι*

"are born", "spring'

(II.10) Hes. *Sc.* 398-9:

(393)   ἦμος ...

τῆμος δὴ κέγχροισι πέρι γλῶχες τελέθουσι

τούς τε θέρει σπείρουσιν

"beards develop/grow around the millet grains which they sow in the summertime"

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