An Artificial *i*-Stem in Non-Primary Derivation: The Morphology of Mycenaean *te-mi-dwe* and Homeric τερμιόεις[*]

PAOLO SABATTINI

University of California, Los Angeles

This paper clarifies the morphological development of Homeric τερμιόεις 'fringed, hemmed, edged' and re-examines its relationship with Mycenaean *te-mi-dwe* 'wedged'. Earlier accounts, notably Meier (1975: 75), interpret τερμιόεις as preserving an archaic *i*-stem base, with the once-attested Linear B form *ţe-mi-we-te* (neuter nominative dual) taken as direct evidence for such a formation in Mycenaean. Through a reassessment of the Linear B dossier, I argue that this form is more plausibly explained as a scribal error for *te-mi-de-we-te*, consistent with the *id*-stem base attested elsewhere in the corpus. I further show that only the *id*-stem variant yields metrically acceptable forms in hexametric poetry, whereas a Proto-Greek *i*-stem-based **termi-went-* would not scan without the addition of linking *-o-*, a feature absent in Mycenaean and demonstrably secondary in Homeric **-went*-adjectives. I therefore argue for a reversal of the trajectory described by Meier. Rather than preserving an older form, Homeric τερμιόεις is best viewed as an innovative reshaping influenced by poetic constraints and contamination with other -ιόεις adjectives. This proposal aligns with recent findings in the study of artificial *i*-stems in the Homeric *Kunstsprache*, chiefly van Beek 2022a and Lundquist 2023.

---

1 Introduction

The equation of Mycenaean *te-mi-dwe* /termidwen(t)/ 'wedged' with Homeric τερμιόεις 'fringed, hemmed, edged' is well established in the scholarship, despite some formal and semantic mismatch between the two forms. Both *-went-*deriva-tives, the Mycenaean form is built on an *id*-stem *termid-* while the Homeric one displays an *i*-stem base *termi-*. Later τερμιόεις also features a linking vowel -*o*- in its formation (*termi-o-(w)ent-*), which is absent in the second-millennium anteced-ent (*termid-went-*). This difference is regularly observed in all *-went-*derivatives built on athematic stems (see Lejeune 1958:9–10): there are no attested forms in Mycenaean with a linking vowel,[1] whereas it has become the norm in Homeric and later Greek—with the sole exception of χαρίεις 'graceful', discussed below in §3. The etymological dictionaries connect *te-mi-dwe* and τερμιόεις with τέρμα 'end, boundary' (cf. Latin *termen* 'boundary' and Vedic *su-tárman-* '(a ship) providing a good crossing'), itself a *-men-*stem action noun from either PIE **terh₁-* 'rub' (*GEW* 880 and *DELG* 1107; cf. *LIV*² 632–3) or **terh₂-* 'cross' (*EDG* 1469; cf. *LIV*² 633–4). The semantic interpretation of both *-went-*adjectives is mostly contextual and aided by lexicographers and scholiasts. In the Linear B records, *te-mi-dwe* is a technical designation for a type of chariot wheels featuring wedges or chocks to secure the spokes to the hub or the rim (see below §2). On the other hand, τερμιόεις in the Homeric epics describes an ἀσπίς 'shield' and a χιτών 'tunic', perhaps qual-ifying them as having some sort of outer rim and lower hem respectively (see below §3). Both interpretations are held together by the basic meaning of τέρμα as an 'endpoint' and still follow the same reasoning of ancient lexicographers, whereby τερμιόεις is generally something 'that reaches down to one's feet' (see, e.g., Hesych. τ 539 H.-Cunn. τερμιόεσσα· μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἀποτερματιζομένη). This extends to the derivational bases for the two adjectives: in Mycenaean, *te-mi* /termis/ (5× on KN V 280) is taken to designate a 'foot' or 'support' for tables (see *DMic*. II 327–8[2]), while τερμίς (or τέρμις) is glossed as πούς 'foot' by Hesychius, its only attestation (Hesych. τ 542 H.-Cunn.). Both forms, attested in the nomina-tive singular in all instances, are uninformative about their inflectional class (*i*- or

---

1   A potential counterexample to this statement is *o-wo-we* /ohwowens/ NOM.SG.M 'provided with handles', which some have taken to represent an early example of linking -*o*- (see, e.g., Haug 2002:56). Here I follow de Lamberterie's (2009) etymology of the form as **owsn̥-went-* (cf. alph. Gk. οὖς 'ear', GEN.SG οὔατος), whereby the -*o*- is the phonological outcome of **n̥*.

2   Unless explicitly cited, *DMic. Supl.* should be understood to contain no relevant changes or additions concerning the material in question.

id-stem), and the Hesychian *glossa* may rather stand for τ' ἑρμίς (cf. ἕρμα 'prop, support'; see n. 19 below).

In this paper, I focus on one point of dissimilarity between the two forms, namely the different stems of their bases, *-id-* in Mycenaean *te-mi-dwe* and *-i-* in Homeric τερμιόεις. Changes of inflectional class between *i-* and *id*-stems are abundantly observed in Greek, and they are easily explained in terms of morphological reanalysis driven by the opaque NOM.SG, VOC.SG, and DAT.PL, which surface as -ις, -ι, and -ισι respectively in both formations. What is puzzling about the *te-mi-dwe*/τερμιόεις pair is the directionality of this reanalysis, with an earlier *id*-stem resurfacing as an *i*-stem in later times. In first-millennium Greek, in fact, this phenomenon crucially proceeds in the opposite direction: for example, μῆτις 'wisdom, skill' inflects as an *i*-stem in Homer (see, e.g., *Il.* 2.169 ACC.SG μῆτιν) while *id*-stem forms are attested in post-Homeric authors (see, e.g., A. *Ch.* 626 ACC.PL μήτιδας, Hdt. 7.141.13 DAT.SG μήτιδι). According to Buck and Petersen (1945:14), this is a general tendency due to the unproductivity of *i*-stems vis-à-vis the "continuous encroachment of the -ις, -ιδος declension." In his monograph on *id*-stems, Meier (1975:11–6) reaffirms this tendency and further specifies its historical circumstances. Old *i*-stems can develop *id*-inflection on the model of barytone *id*-stems,[3] as in the case of ὄπις 'glance', hence 'divine regard or vengeance' (cf. Lith. *akìs* 'eye'), which next to the expected ACC.SG ὄπιν displays innovative ACC.SG ὄπιδα and GEN.SG ὄπιδος. This tendency is attested, according to Meier (1975:12–4), since Mycenaean times and continues in Homeric and post-Homeric Greek. At the same time, he observes the opposite pattern, whereby some barytone *id*-stems develop a secondary *i*-stem ACC.SG -ιν, as in ἔρις 'strife' (ἐριδ-, cf. ἐρείδω 'prop, support').[4]

In Meier's (1975:75) account, Mycenaean *te-mi-dwe* is then one early example of this *i*- to *id*-stem change. He assumes an original *i*-stem formation with a *-*mi*-suffix, which would be corroborated by an alternative spelling of the form on KN

---

3   Meier (1975:11, 16–7) distinguishes between oxytone and barytone *id*-stems, such as πατρίς 'fatherland', GEN.SG πατρίδος, vs. ἱκέτις 'female suppliant', GEN.SG ἱκέτιδος, respectively. Oxytone *id*-stems express a variety of meanings and/or functions: they form toponyms, ethnics, patronymics, *Motionsfeminina*, names of objects, as well as adjectives and diminutives (see, more recently, Balles 2008:205, 215–6, 229, 245, 304). Barytone *id*-stems, on the other hand, are essentially feminine counterparts to masculine agent nouns in -ᾱς/-ης, such as ἱκέτης 'suppliant' (cf. Balles 2008:233–4).

4   The etymological connection between ἔρις and ἐρείδω, assumed by Meier, is now rejected by Beekes (*EDG* 459), who believes the form must be originally an *i*-stem. But see also van Beek (2022a:262 n. 38), who upholds Meier's proposal.

Sf 1811.3, *ṭe-mi-we-te*. Meier reads this form as /termiwente/ NOM.DU.N and takes it as a relic of the old *i*-stem formation beside the already normalized *id*-stem in all other Mycenaean occurrences of the lexeme. It follows that Homeric τερμιόεις preserves the archaic *i*-stem formation.[5] While this solution is attractive in principle, I contend that it lacks empirical support. The Mycenaean evidence for an archaic *i*-stem formation boils down to a single token which is better explained as a scribal error, as I show in §2. Additionally, the archaic status of Homeric τερμιόεις hinges on the assumption that linking *-o-* is also an early phenomenon in the history of Greek. As I argue in §3, however, this feature more likely developed relatively late in the Homeric *Kunstsprache*. Without the presence of linking *-o-* from the outset, an *i*-stem-derived **termi-went-* would be at odds with hexametric scansion while an original **termid-went-* would not incur such a problem. I therefore characterize the base of Homeric τερμιόεις as an innovative *i*-stem based on an earlier *id*-stem. Recent scholarship, such as van Beek 2022a and Lundquist 2023, has recognized this directionality of change in some Homeric *i*-stems, thereby challenging textbook examples of the *i*- to *id*-stem trajectory. I present these comparanda in §4, then bring the paper to a conclusion in §5.

2 The Mycenaean evidence

2.1 te-mi-dwe *in the Linear B corpus*

The adjective *te-mi-dwe* /termidwen(t)/ 'wedged' is attested, in different inflectional forms, sixteen times on fifteen different Linear B tablets (twelve from Knossos, three from Pylos), all dealing with chariot wheels (series S-). The complete dossier, including find spots and scribal hands, is given in table 1. Always attested in the neuter, *te-mi-dwe* is a specifier of the Mycenaean word for 'wheel', a neuter **-men*-stem *a-mo* /armo/ (see *DMic.* I 57–8; cf. alph. Gk. ἅρμα 'chariot'), mostly expressed through the logogram ROTA in the dossier. The adjective is in complementary distribution with another **-went*-derivative, *o-da-twe-ta* /odatwenta/ NOM.PL.N, whose base belongs with alphabetic Greek ὀδούς 'tooth' (stem ὀδοντ-) but goes back to a zero grade **h₁dṇt-* (or **h₃dṇt-*; see *EDG* 1049 s.v. ὀδών and 1047–8 s.v. ὀδύνη). Alternative spellings of the form, such as *o-da-ke-we-ta* (KN 3×) and *o-da-ku-we-ta* (KN 2×) /odakwenta/, presuppose a variant stem *odak-*,

---

5   This account is also in Lejeune 1958:20, Bader 1974:15–6, and Ruijgh 1976:12, 1979:211.

found in the alphabetic Greek adverb ὀδάξ 'by biting with the teeth'.[6] The interpretation of these designations goes back to Crouwel (1981:87–8),[7] who argues that they describe two different ways in which the spokes of wooden wheels were attached to the felloes. The adjective *o-da-twe-ta* would then indicate "spokes morticed into the felloe like 'teeth', in the same way as on actual, contemporary Egyptian chariot wheels." As for *te-mi-dwe*, it would designate "spokes with wedges on either side where they meet the felloe," with archaeological parallels in Iron-Age mainland Greece. This account is still essentially accepted in more recent treatments, such as Bernabé and Luján 2008:208, with the alternative suggestion that the wedges would secure the spokes to the hub of the wheel instead (see also Bernabé 2019:516).

Table 1. Occurrences of *te-mi-dwe+* on Linear B tablets (after *KT*[6] and *PT*[3])

Parsing	Transcription	Spelling	Tablet	Scribe	Find spot
NOM.SG.N	termidwen(t)	*te-mi-dwe*	KN So 894	—	Bull Relief Area
NOM.PL.N	termidwenta	*te-mi-dwe-ta*	KN So 894	—	Bull Relief Area
			KN So 4429	130	Arsenal
			KN So 4448	130	Arsenal
			KN So 4449	130	Arsenal
			KN So 4431	131?	Arsenal
			KN So 4434	131	Arsenal
			KN So 4439	131	Arsenal
			KN So 4445	131	Arsenal
			PY Sa 791	26	Room 7 + Chasm
			PY Sa 793	26	Room 7
		te-]ṃi-d̮w̮ẹ-ta	KN So 1053	—	Bull Relief Area
NOM.DU.N	termidwente	*te-mi-dwe-te*	KN So 4437	130	Arsenal
			KN So 4433	131	Arsenal
		te-mi-de-we-te	PY Sa 1266	26	Room 7 + Chasm
	termi(d)wente	*]t̮ẹ-mi-we-te*	KN Sf 1811	—	Arsenal

2.2 t̮ẹ-mi-we-te *and its relationship with the KN So tablets*

Let us now consider the morphology of *te-mi-dwe*. As shown in table 1, the attested spellings would all support a reading *termidwent-*, presupposing an *id*-formation,

---

6   Whether ὀδούς and ὀδάξ are etymologically related is somewhat unclear, and openly challenged by Beekes (*EDG* 1046), who thinks they were only secondarily associated by speakers via folk-etymology.

7   Crouwel's suggestion first circulated ap. Ruijgh 1976:12–4, 1979:211–3.

except for one. The spelling *te̦-mi-we-te* on KN Sf 1811, given in (1), features the notation *-we-* instead of expected *-dwe-* or *-de-we-*.

(1)   Text of KN Sf 1811 (recto), after *KT*[6]

.1	]	CAPS	1̦2	[		
.2	]	CAPS	2̦4	[		
.3	]te̦-mi-we-te	ROTA	*ZE*	21		
.4	]	ROTA	*ZE*	8		
.5	o-da-]ke̦-we-ta	ROTA	*ZE*	7	a-mo	1̦[
.6	]o-da-ke-we-ta	ROTA	*ZE*	17̦2		
.7	]	*vacat*				

Since both elements of a /dw/ cluster are always notated in Linear B (see, e.g., the personal name *wi-**do-wo**-i-jo* /Wi**dw**ohios/; cf. Del Freo 2019:144), this spelling has been interpreted in two different ways:

i.   As evidence for a morphological variant of the form, /termi-wente/, which would derive from an *i*-stem base **termi*-, rather than *termid*-.[8]

ii.   As a scribal error, specifically an omission of *-de-* from the target sequence *te-mi-de-we-te* (1× on PY Sa 1266).[9]

As mentioned in §1, the validity of option i is crucial to Meier's (1975:75) reconstruction of an original *i*-stem **termi*- behind the *te-mi-dwe*/τερμιόεις pair and it would feed into his overarching argument for an early *i*- to *id*-stem change in the history of Greek. This hypothesis qualifies *te̦-mi-we-te* as an archaic outlier within an otherwise innovative dataset. Although in Mycenaean one can find changes in progress and variation between archaic and innovative forms,[10] I contend that this is not such a case. The tablet KN Sf 1811, on which *te̦-mi-we-te* is attested, belongs to the same macro-context of discovery as most So tablets in the dataset, the Arsenal, i.e., an external building to the Knossos palace proper possibly connected with the storage of chariots and weaponry (see Driessen 1996). The common find spot suggests that the recording and/or storage of these tablets happened in close

---

8   See Lejeune 1958:20 and 1968:35 n. 62; *Docs*[2] 584 (= *New Docs* 1036); Meier 1975:75; Ruijgh 1976:12 and 1979:211; Viredaz 1983:149–50; *DMic*. II 328 s.v. *te-mi-dwe*; Bernabé 2019:516 n. 27.

9   See *Docs*[2] 584 (= *New Docs* 1036); *DMic*. II 328 s.v. *te-mi-dwe*; Bernabé 2019:516 n. 27.

10   To mention but a few examples, although each is to some extent debated: unassibilated vs. assibilated *$t^{(h)}i$; the outcomes of *$n̥$ in a labial environment, with ⟨o⟩ [ɒ] being archaic and ⟨a⟩ [a] innovative; the archaic athematic DAT.SG ending *-ei* being replaced by the inherited LOC.SG *-i*. See Thompson 2021 for a recent discussion with additional references.

relationship. Such a relationship is reflected by their content as well, as KN Sf 1811 is a so-called "totaling" tablet, i.e., it lists the total numbers of *te-mi-dwe* and *o-da-twe-* wheels, whereas the So tablets describe the material, typology, and decoration of wheels (see Crouwel 1981:87; Bernabé 2019:513–5). KN Sf 1811 is the only tablet outside of the KN So series to use such terminology, and the only feature that grants this document being assigned to a separate series is that its first two entries record chariot frames (logogram CAPS*us*) before listing wheels. Although a specific scribal hand for KN Sf 1811 has not been identified, one could add that all scribal hands found to be active in the Arsenal area seem to form a coherent cluster in terms of paleographic features (see Driessen 2000:151; Firth and Skelton 2016: 173–5). Finally, Driessen (1996:487) has identified quantitative correspondences between the number of chariot frames and wheels listed on KN Sf 1811 and of those listed in the other Arsenal tablets, suggesting that this document might be "the totalling tablet inventorying the chariot bodies and wheels in the palatial stores." All these elements combined would indicate that KN Sf 1811 and the spelling *ṭẹ-mi-we-te* should rather be assessed in terms of linguistic homogeneity and continuity with the rest of the dataset. To explain the form as bearing witness of an archaic *i*-stem, one could perhaps imagine that the unidentified scribe of KN Sf 1811 was one or two generations older than the rest of the Arsenal scribes, and that their idiolects differed precisely in this feature, with the shift of *i*- to *id*-stem becoming generalized in that exact span of time. Though theoretically possible, this scenario is at the very least hard to support independently.

I therefore argue that option ii provides a more solid explanation for the spelling *ṭẹ-mi-we-te*. The omission hypothesis, whereby the scribe failed to notate a syllabogram *-de-* in the target sequence *te-mi-de-we-te* is appealing for two reasons. First, the spelling *te-mi-de-we-te* instead of *te-mi-dwe-te* with a "complex" sign is indeed attested—though at Pylos instead of Knossos.[11] Second, KN Sf 1811 is the only one of the Arsenal tablets in which both *te-mi-dwe* and *o-da-twe-* wheels are recorded.[12] The scribal choice to deviate from the consistent use at Knossos of the "complex" syllabogram *dwe* and opt for the "analytic" notation *-de-we-* may then be influenced by this fact. The document attests twice the variant of the

---

11   Syllabograms are defined as "complex" when they have a *CCV* structure, thus representing con-
       sonant clusters with a single grapheme (see, e.g., Del Freo 2019:133–4).

12   The only other example, outside of the Arsenal area, is KN So 984, found in the area of the Bull
       Relief, i.e. inside the Knossos palace proper. On this document, a spelling *o-da-tu-we-ta* is found
       together with *te-mi-dwe* and *te-mi-dwe-ta*. According to Bernabé (2019:517–8), this document
       should be ascribed to a separate registration than the other So tablets, based on its peculiar ter-
       minology and scribal hand.

adjective with a base *odak-*, spelled *o-da-ke-we-ta* (cf. *o-da-ku-we-ta* mentioned above), and in this case an "analytic" spelling is likely the only option available to the scribe. Linear B, as far as we know (see Del Freo 2019:134), did not have a "complex" sign *-kwe-*, while it did have *-dwe-* (hence *te-mi-dwe*) and *-twe-* (hence *o-da-twe-ta*).[13] Therefore, the scribe might have intended to notate *o-da-ke-we-ta* and *te-mi-de-we-ta*, both with an "analytic" notation and a *-Ce-we-* sequence, for the sake of uniformity, but incurred an omission slip in the process. Additionally, the Pylian evidence included in table 1 is again useful because it shows, in the case of Hand 26, that even the same scribe might use both a spelling with the complex sign (*te-mi-dwe-ta* on PY Sa 791 and 793) and the "analytic" one (*te-mi-de-we-te* on PY Sa 1266). The scribal error hypothesis therefore explains how and why an intended form /termidwente/ could surface as *ṭe-mi-we-te* while also accommodating the archeological, paleographic and textual relationship between KN Sf 1811 and the rest of the Arsenal tablets.

2.3 A parallel formation in the Pylos Ta series

To conclude the discussion of the Mycenaean material, it is worth mentioning a morphological parallel in the Pylos Ta series. In the context of a registration of furniture and paraphernalia for ritual banquets, the unambiguous *id*-stem *to-qi-de* /torkʷidei/ DAT.SG.F (3×) is used to describe tables and is taken to designate carved decorations 'with spiral (motifs)' (see Piquero 2021:46).[14] Within the same series of tablets, all recorded by the same scribe (Hand 2), a *-went*-derivative of this very *id*-stem is attested, namely *to-qi-de-we-sa* /torkʷidwessa/ NOM.SG.F, with reference to a vessel (*qe-ra-na* /gʷelanā/ 'vessel for pouring' or /gʷheranā/ 'vessel for hot water'; see *DMic*. II 195) again 'with spiral (motifs)'. Functionally and semantically, the dative of the base with instrumental value and this *-went*-derivative are

---

13   More precisely, the sign inventory of Linear B already contained a series of syllabograms, the *q*-series, that could be used to represent a cluster /kw/—instead of a putative *kw*-series. The *q*-series was generally used for sequences with labiovelar stops, within which *-qe-* [kʷe]. Sometimes, it was also used for etymological **kw/*k̂w* (as opposed to **kʷ*), the most prominent example being *i-qo* /ikkwoi/ NOM.PL 'horse' < **h₁ek̂wo-*. Nonetheless, †*o-da-qe-ta* is nowhere attested in Linear B, which might suggest it would not be a suitable spelling for more recent *kw*-clusters, or when a syllable or morpheme boundary was in between the two sounds. Elaborating further on this suggestion would however exceed the scope of the present article.

14   On the root etymology of this form, see Jiménez Delgado 2017:37, van Beek 2022b:68–9, and Sabattini 2023:139–40.

therefore equivalent and interchangeable within the idiolect of one scribe.[15] Not only does this attest to the vitality and productivity of *-went-stems in Mycenaean, compared to a more crystallized and poetic usage in first-millennium Greek (as already pointed out by Lejeune 1958:6–8), but more specifically of *-id-went-stems, as it were. I take this as additional evidence that, especially in the context of a *-went-derivative like *te-mi-dwe*, it is uneconomical to posit two parallel formations in Mycenaean, one with an *i*-stem and one with an *id*-stem base. The examination of the Homeric evidence, coming up in the following section, corroborates this claim.

3 The evidence from epic poetry

3.1 τερμιόεις *in the Homeric poems and Hesiod's* Works and Days

After Mycenaean, *te-mi-dwe* resurfaces in the Homeric poems as τερμιόεις. The adjective is attested once in the NOM.SG.F τερμιόεσσα in *Iliad* 16.803, where it describes the shield (ἀσπίς) of Patroclus as he is struck by Apollo, moments before he is killed by Hector. It also appears in the ACC.SG.M τερμιόεντα in *Odyssey* 19.242 with reference to a cloak (χιτῶνα) that Odysseus, in disguise as Aethon, mentions to Penelope as part of his mendacious tale. The line-end καὶ τερμιόεντα χιτῶνα of the *Odyssey* is also found in Hesiod's *Works and Days* 537 in the context of advice on how to face the winter cold. All these occurrences are given in (2) with text and translation.

(2)   Occurrences of τερμιόεις in Homer and Hesiod[16]

  a.   Hom. *Il*. 16.802–3

                αὐτὰρ ἀπ' ὤμων
        ἀσπὶς σὺν τελαμῶνι χαμαὶ πέσε τερμιόεσσα·

                and from his shoulders
        the edged shield with its strap fell to the ground.

---

    b.   Hom. *Od*. 19.241–3

καί οἱ ἐγὼ χάλκειον ἄορ καὶ δίπλακα δῶκα
καλὴν πορφυρέην καὶ τερμιόεντα χιτῶνα,
αἰδοίως δ' ἀπέπεμπον ἐϋσσέλμου ἐπὶ νηός.

I, too, gave him a sword of bronze, and a beautiful
purple cloak of double fold, and a fringed tunic,
and with all honor sent him off on his benched ship.

    c.   Hes. *Op*. 536–7

καὶ τότε ἕσσασθαι ἔρυμα χροός, ὥς σε κελεύω,
χλαῖνάν τε μαλακὴν καὶ τερμιόεντα χιτῶνα·

And that is when you should put on a defense for your skin, as I bid you:
a soft cloak and a tunic that reaches your feet.

Commentators, ancient and modern alike, have sought a semantic interpretation for the adjective that would match the sense of τέρμα as 'endpoint' and the materiality of both shields and tunics. The task is perhaps easier in the case of a tunic, in which one can imagine a fringe or hem that extends at the bottom of the garment (see already Helbig 1887:174–5 with drawings).[17] As for the ἀσπίς, which refers to both round and oblong shields, one could imagine an edge extending outwards around the shield or a "long" shield that reaches down to the ground (see Trümpy 1950: 24).[18] More recent lexica still echo these interpretations (*BrDAG* 2101: 'fringed, hemmed'; *CGL* 1371: 'edged, bordered'), though not without some caution (see O'Sullivan in *LfgrE* IV 402). As for commentaries, the *Basel Commentary* (Brügger 2018:348–9) offers a comprehensive but largely conservative overview of Iliadic τερμιόεσσα. It leans toward an interpretation as 'furnished with a rim' and concludes that the Mycenaean evidence is suggestive but ultimately

---

17   See also the *D-scholia* on Hom. *Od*. 19.242 (after Ernst 2006:355): τερμιόεντα· οἱ μὲν "τέλειον, συναποτερματιζόμενον ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι, ποδήρη", οἱ δὲ "σύμμετρον, καὶ μήτε ἐνδέοντα μήτε ὑπέρμετρον" ("According to some, 'complete', 'covering the body in full, up to the end', 'reaching to the feet'; according to others, 'well-fitted', as in 'neither falling short nor exceeding the measure'"). Cf. Hesych. τ 538 H.-Cunn. τερμιόεντα· ποδήρη, καὶ εὔμετρον, τὸν μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν τερματιζόμενον ("Reaching down to the feet, and also well-fitted, ending neatly at the feet").

18   See also also the *D-scholia* on Hom. *Il*. 16.803 (after van Thiel 2014:495): τερμιόεσσα· ποδήρης, ἡ ὅλον τὸν ἄνθρωπον σκέπουσα, μεγάλη ("Reaching to the feet, guarding the man all over, large in size"). Cf. Hesych. τ 539 H.-Cunn. τερμιόεσσα· μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἀποτερματιζομένη ("Reaching down neatly to the feet").

inconclusive for understanding the Homeric usage, mentioning comparanda like μητιόεις 'wise in counsel' for morphological parallels. No strong claim is made about the form's diachronic development. By contrast, Janko (1994:413) explicitly supports a historical connection between τερμιόεσσα—which he translates as 'edged'—and Mycenaean *te-mi-dwe*, remarking on the metrical reshaping of the form and characterizing it as an archaic term whose meaning was reinterpreted in epic performance. The following sections further clarifiy the conditions and motivations behind such refashioning.

3.2 *The shape of* τερμιόεις *in the early* Kunstsprache

The epic occurrences of τερμιόεις—which in this case correspond to the total occurrences in alphabetic Greek, excluding commentators and lexicographers—all solidly display an *i*-stem base for the **-went*-derivative.[19] This fact, if taken at face value, feeds into the reconstruction of an *i*-stem form **termi-*, which would be preserved as an archaism, viz-à-viz the already innovative Mycenaean evidence, which displays *termid-*. I, however, argue that the adjective τερμιόεις could only surface with an *i*-stem base in a relatively late phase of the evolution of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*. The form as we have it is metrically acceptable in the dactylic hexameter because it features a linking *-o-* between the *i*-stem base and the derivational suffix **-went-*. This ensures that the word always begins with a dactyl, e.g., τερ.μι.ό.εν.τα, – ◡ ◡:– ◡. As the evidence discussed in §3.3 shows, linking *-o-* in **-went*-stems is arguably a late development in the Homeric diction, which implies the existence of earlier forms without such linking vowel. It follows that, if the adjective featured an *i*-stem base since before the development of linking *-o-*, it would have the shape **termiwenta* (with the *w*-glide restored). Such a form, though, would result in a cretic (**ter.mi.wen.ta*, – ◡ – ◡) and would never scan in a dactylic hexameter. If instead we posited an *id*-stem form **termidwenta*, i.e., just as in Mycenaean, this one would scan, since it would contain a spondee: **ter.mid.wen.ta*,

---

19 The base of the adjective is only attested once as a *glossa* in Hesychius, but it is printed between *cruces* by Hansen and Cunningham: †τερμίς†· πούς (Hesych. τ 542 H.-Cunn.). The editors now consider this form an interpolation of contextual material into the apograph and suggest, in their *apparatus*, the segmentation τ' ἑρμίς based on Hesych. ε 5958 L.-Cunn. ἑρμίς· τόρνος. ποὺς κλίνης (cf. ἕρμα 'prop, support'). Even if one took the entry at face value, in the absence of any oblique form it would still be impossible to establish whether this was an *id*-stem (with oxytone accentuation in the NOM.SG, as printed by the editors) or an *i*-stem (with a barytone NOM.SG τέρμις, as per Meier 1975:75). Moreover, already Meier (1975:75) admits that τερμίς (or τέρμις) could be a back formation from the **-went*-derivative τερμιόεις. Be that as it may, the form has no heuristic value in deciding this matter.

− − ⋮ − ⌣. It is then this last form, with an *id*-stem rather than an *i*-stem base, that would be metrically close enough to the attested τερμιόεντα, with dactylic structure, to be its precursor.[20] As illustrated in (3), in both metrical positions in which τερμιόεις is attested, an *id*-stem precursor would offer a metrically viable alternative to the transmitted forms.[21]

(3)   Occurrences of τερμιόεις in Homer with proposed reconstruction

    a.   *Il.* 16.803

ἀσπὶς ⋮ σὺν τελα⋮μῶνι χα⋮μαὶ πέσε ᴮ|ᴰ τερμιό⋮εσσα
− − ⋮ − ⌣ ⌣⋮ − ⌣ ⌣⋮ − ⌣ ⌣ ᴮ|ᴰ τερμιδ⋮ϝεσσα

    b.   *Od.* 19.242

καλὴν ⋮ πορφυρέ⋮ην καὶ ⋮ τερμιό⋮εντα χι⋮τῶνα
− − ⋮ − ⌣ ⌣⋮ − − ⋮ τερμιδ⋮ϝεντα ⌣⋮ − ×

I therefore envision an original adjective essentially equivalent in form with Mycenaean *te-mi-dwe*, i.e., a shared archaism with an *id*-stem base and without linking vowel, belonging to the earlier stage of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*. This form would be the only one metrically acceptable. Only after the development of linking -*o*-, the *id*-stem version of the adjective and an *i*-stem variant would become metrically equivalent and a potential substitution possible. This is when a form like attested τερμιόεις could first appear in the Homeric *Kunstsprache* and ultimately be the only surviving variant in the textual tradition. This proposal, summarized in table 2, characterizes the *id*-stem variant as archaic, thus reversing Meier's (1975:75) account and providing further confirmation to my conclusion on the Mycenaean evidence in §2.

---

20   The two shapes, $C−⌣⌣−×\breve{V}$ (as in *termio(w)enta*) and $C−−−×\breve{V}$ (as in *termidwenta), are similar in both metrical structure and localization within the hexameter—but they are not identical. According to Hagel's (2004) tables, both shapes occur in the same four positions in the Homeric poems—ending in the 7th, 11th (= trochaic caesura), 19th, or 24th (= verse-end) mora—though words shaped like *termidwenta* also display a few marginal occurrences at the 18th mora (restricted to the *Iliad*). The main difference lies in the relative frequency with which they are localized in two of these slots: $C−⌣⌣−×\breve{V}$ is found verse-finally in about 75 % of cases across the Homeric poems and, secondarily, at the trochaic caesura (~16%, with a peak of ~25% in the *Iliad*), whereas $C−−−×\breve{V}$ shows the reverse preference (~34% at verse-end, ~50% at the trochaic caesura).

21   This preform is also posited by Le Feuvre (2016:194), who mentions it in passing when discussing the relative lateness of the allomorph -όϝεντ- as opposed to -ϝεντ- (cf. §3.3 below). Attested τερμιόεις, she comments, would be "refait et remplaçant la forme étymologique *τερμίδ-ϝεντ-."

Table 2. Proposed trajectory of changes from Homeric *termidwent-* to *termioent-*

Early *Kunstsprache*	*ter.mid.wen.ta*	†*ter.mi.wen.ta*
	– –ᷤ– ᴗ	– ᴗ – ᴗ
Linking -*o*- develops	*ter.mi.do.wen.ta*	*ter.mi.o.wen.ta*
	– ᴗ ᴗᷤ– ᴗ	– ᴗ ᴗᷤ– ᴗ
Transmitted text	*ter.mi.do.en.ta*	*ter.mi.o.en.ta*
	– ᴗ ᴗᷤ– ᴗ	– ᴗ ᴗᷤ– ᴗ

A few points remain to be established: first, the motivation for this directionality of changes, i.e., from *id*- to *i*-stem, and whether it is an isolated example in the development of epic diction or reflects a more general tendency; second, why there is no trace in the textual tradition of a variant *termidoenta, albeit metrically well-formed. I address these questions in §4.

3.3 Further evidence for the lateness of linking -o-

To establish the relative chronology of linking -*o*-, once again one should look at the Mycenaean data first. Although the status of this morphophonological operation in compounding, where it mostly belongs, is debated (see Meißner and Tribulato 2002:320–3 for a discussion of the main issues), it is clear that *-*went*-derivatives in Mycenaean are built on bare athematic stems with no intervening vowel (see Lejeune 1958:9–10 and the forms discussed in §2 above). At least within this morphological class, it is then safe to say that linking -*o*- is not attested in the one second-millennium dialect we know. Nonetheless, some authors generally qualify it as early within the history of Greek, based on its distribution in the Homeric *Kunstsprache* (see, e.g., Meißner and Tribulato 2002:320–1: "the simple observation that [linking -*o*-] is a highly frequent phenomenon in Homer should suggest that its starting point is very old"). At a closer look, however, it can be shown that this is not the case.

Lejeune (1958:9 with footnotes) discusses some metrical constraints dictated by hexametric poetry in relation to the rise of linking -*o*-, and a couple of forms he mentions imply that *-*went*-derivatives entered the *Kunstsprache* without any linking vowel. One such case is φοινῑκόεις, attested as ACC.SG.F φοινῐκόεσσαν (*Il*. 1×, *Od*. 2×) and NOM.PL.F φοινῐκόεσσαι (*Il*. 1×), which has undergone Metrical Shortening (MS). The length of the ῑ in its base φοινῑκ- is in fact secured by its occurrences in Homer, such as *Il*. 6.219 Οἰνεὺς [1]: μὲν ζωσ[2]:τῆρα δι[3]:δου φοί[4]:νικι φα[5]:εινόν[6]:, where the open syllable -νι- corresponds to the longum of the fifth dactylic foot. The MS in φοινῑκόεις is needed to avoid a cretic (– ᴗ –) in

φοι:νῑκόεσ:σαν, under no conditions allowed in hexametric poetry. Once again, one can posit a stage of oral composition in which linking -*o*- had not yet developed, and the adjective had shape *φοινῑκϝεσσαν (as also argued in Ruijgh 2011:278 and Le Feuvre 2015:469 n. 77). As shown in (4), such a form would scan in both the metrical positions in which we find φοινῐκόεις, namely after the bucolic diaeresis (4a)–(c) and after the first dactylic foot (4d).

(4) Occurrences of φοινῐκόεις in Homer with proposed reconstruction

  a. *Il*. 10.133

   ἀμφὶ δ' ἄ:ρα χλαῖ:ναν περο:νήσατο $^{B|D}$ φοινῐκό:εσσαν
   – ⏑ ⏑:–   –:– ⏑ ⏑:– ⏑ ⏑ $^{B|D}$ φοινῑκ:ϝεσσαν

  b. *Od*. 14.500

   καρπαλίμως, ἀπὸ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλε $^{B|D}$ φοινικόεσσαν

  c. *Od*. 21.118

   ἦ, καὶ ἀπ' ὤμοϊν χλαῖναν θέτο $^{B|D}$ φοινικόεσσαν

  d. *Il*. 23.717

   αἵματι ^{1}: φοινικό:εσσαι ἀ:νέδραμο:ν· οἳ δὲ μά:λ' αἰεί
   – ⏑ ⏑ ^{1}: φοινῑκ:ϝεσσαι ⏑:–   ⏑ ⏑:   – ⏑ ⏑:   – ×

I take this as evidence that the form entered the Homeric *Kunstsprache* with no linking -*o*- nor cretic sequence, and with the original length of the -ῑ- intact. It was then adapted via MS so that it might still fit its metrical position. Moreover, this argument can be expanded to all *-*went*-stems with consonantal bases in Homer, given in (5). In most of them, in fact, linking -*o*- counts as the second short element of a dactylic biceps, e.g., (5a) αἱματοεντ- (– ⏑ ⏑:–). This word-initial metrical structure would therefore be spondaic if we posited a stage in which linking -*o*- had not yet developed and /w/ was preserved, e.g., *αἱματϝεντ- (– –:–).

(5) Other *-*went*-stems with consonantal bases in Homeric Greek

  a. αἱματόεις 'bloody' (*Il*. 18×, *Od*. 1×), cf. αἷμα 'blood'

  b. ἀστερόεις 'starry' (*Il*. 9×, *Od*. 4×), cf. ἀστήρ 'star'

  c. ἠερόεις 'misty' (*Il*. 5×, *Od*. 4×), cf. ἀήρ 'mist'

  d. κλωμακόεις 'stony' (*Il*. 1×), cf. κλῶμαξ (post-Hom.) 'heap of stones'

  e. νιφόεις 'snowy' (*Il*. 4×, *Od*. 1×), cf. νίφα ACC.SG 'snow'

The only non-dactylic stem in the Homeric material, namely (5e) νιφοεντ-, also patterns in the same way metrically. Since its base goes back to a preform *$snig^{wh}$*- (see *DELG* 740–1 s.v. νείφει), this form causes even a preceding light syllable to scan heavy "by position" (see, e.g., *Il*. 13.754 ῏Η ῥα, καὶ ¹⫶ ὁρμή²⫶θη ὄρε³⫶ϊ νιφό⁴⫶εντι ἐ⁵⫶οικὼς⁶⫶). This implies that, whichever its position in the line, the sequence νιφο- always corresponds to the dactylic biceps. It follows, then, that a hypothetical form *$snip^hwent$*- would be always metrically equivalent to νιφοεντ-.

Another form that Lejeune (1958:9 with n. 19) mentions as responding to metrical convenience is χαρίεις 'graceful' (*Il*. 8×, *Od*. 8×). This is the only *-went*-derivative built on an athematic stem that does not display linking -*o*-. Although a version of this form with linking -*o*-, i.e., χαριτόεις, is attested in a fragment of Anacreon (fr. 142 *PMG*), Lejeune comments that it is not admitted in hexametric poetry as it would contain a tribrach (e.g., χᾰ.ρι.το.εν ‿ ‿ ‿ �條) and could not scan. This then characterizes χαρίεις as direct evidence of a stage in which linking -*o*- had not developed, a relic that could not be replaced by its innovative variant *metri gratia*. One can also add that, in this case, all attested instances of χαρίεις in Homer cannot be traced back to a hypothetical form *χαριτϝεντ-, as this word shape would introduce cretics in the attested localizations. Since attested χαρίεις begins with two light syllables, it is always placed in the biceps of a dactylic foot (e.g., *Il*. 5.905 τὸν δ' ῝Η¹⫶βη λοῦ²⫶σεν, χαρί³⫶εντα δὲ ⁴⫶ εἵματα ⁵⫶ ἕσσε⁶⫶). In all cases, a form such as *χαριτϝεντα would feature a light syllable too few and could not scan. To go back to τερμιόεις, this form can therefore be characterized as an "anti-χαρίεις," in that a hypothetical form *τερμί(ϝ)εις would not scan because it would contain a cretic (– ‿ –), so only τερμιόεις, with linking -*o*-, is admitted. On the other hand, no version of χαρίεις with linking -*o*- (either attested χαριτόεις or hypothetical *χαριόεις) could be used in hexametric poetry—at least without Metrical Lengthening of the first brevis of a tribrach (cf. West 2018:363–5).

A final form worth mentioning, discussed by Le Feuvre (2016:192–5), is τροφόεις 'well-fed' or 'crystallized' (hence 'rich in salt crystals'), attested in the phrase κύματά τε τροφόεντα (*Il*. 1×, *Od*. 1×). Based on the relationship between κύματά τε τροφόεντα and the phrase τρόφι κῦμα (*Il*. 1×), Le Feuvre takes the adjective τροφόεις as a derivative of a noun τρόφις meaning 'coagulation, crystallization'. This adjective originally would have shape *τροφίεις and only later would be changed to attested τροφόεις to match the innovative and productive version of the *-went*-suffix with linking -*o*-. Since a form *τροφιόεις would have featured an initial tribrach, the only acceptable form for it was then τροφόεις. All the above examples not only show that linking -*o*- arose secondarily within the development

of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*, but also that *-*went*-adjectives as a derivational class were particularly prone to remodeling.

4 Homeric τερμιόεις and artificial *i*-stems

The observations put forward in §3 describe a historical development whereby an original stem *termidwent-, the only one possible *metri gratia*, became metrically equivalent to an innovative *i*-stem variant only after the rise of linking -*o*-. At this stage, my proposal implies the presence of two alternative stems, *termidowent- and *termiowent-, of which only the latter survives in the extant tradition. One question remains to be addressed, namely what justifies the creation and rise to prominence of an *i*-stem alternant *termiowent- if *termidowent- was still metrically licit. Beyond the abovementioned proneness to reshaping that *-*went*-stems display, at least part of the answer lies in the behavior of *i*- and *id*-stem nouns. I have already mentioned in §1 how Meier (1975:13) recognizes that some original *id*-stems build secondary *i*-stem ACC.SG -ιν in Homer. He mentions the examples listed in (6).

(6)   Homeric *id*-stems with secondary ACC.SG -ιν according to Meier (1975:13)

     a.   γλαυκῶπις 'bright-eyed': γλαυκώπιδ- (*Il*. 6×, *Od*. 4×), γλαυκῶπιν (*Od*. 1×)

     b.   ἔρις 'strife': ἔριδ- (*Il*. 31×, *Od*. 4×), ἔριν (*Od*. 4×)

     c.   θοῦρις 'fierce, tough': θούριδος (*Il*. 21×, *Od*. 1×), θοῦριν (*Il*. 6×)

     d.   Κύπρις, epithet of Aphrodite: Κύπριδα (*Il*. 2×), Κύπριν (*Il*. 1×)

The form θοῦρις (6c) was also recently re-examined by van Beek (2022a, esp. 260–1), who provided a more detailed account of the creation of the accusative θοῦριν. This *i*-stem form would be a replacement of an older form, either *θοῦρον or *θούρην, under the influence of the formulaic phrase θούριδος ἀλκῆς GEN.SG 'fierce fighting spirit'. Van Beek (2022a:265–71) also takes θούριδος as an artificial form, created on the basis of *θούρου or *θούρης by contamination with the antonym ἄναλκις 'cowardly, without strength'. Van Beek, in line with Meier (1975:12), believes that ἄναλκις, unlike θοῦρις, was originally an *i*-stem. Lundquist (2023:92), however, argued that ἄναλκις itself was born "as a bona fide -ιδ-stem." The adjective is attested 17× with an oblique stem ἀνάλκιδ- in the Homeric poems (*Il*. 13×, *Od*. 4×) and only once as an ACC.SG ἄναλκιν in the *Odyssey*. Beyond this purely quantitative datum, Lundquist is able to show how ἄναλκιν results from the adaptation of formulaic material originally containing ἀνάλκιδα to match the syntax of its specific context. We can therefore add ἄναλκις

to the forms in (6) as another example of an *id*- to *i*-stem change in Homer. These comparanda show that a shift from *id*- to *i*-stem morphology is a functioning feature of epic diction. But is such alternation, and the optionality it implies, sufficient to account for the eventual predominance of the *i*-stem variant in τερμιόεις? It does render the change I am proposing possible, and one could argue that the survival of only one version of the adjective is just an accident of tradition. But rather than attributing this outcome to chance, I shall consider whether other linguistic or stylistic pressures made the *i*-stem preferable within oral composition.

When discussing artificial formations in the epic language, van Beek (2022a: 264) remarks that such mechanisms, whose linguistic motivations are often unarticulated, can be seen as contaminations. In the domain of epic oral composition, contaminations would be driven by the co-occurrence of similar words in the same metrical positions. In this perspective, original *termidowent-* and especially its projected development *termidoent-* would be an outlier within Homeric *-went-* adjectives, as the only *-idoent-*stem, as it were. On the other hand, one can find many forms that match attested τερμιόεις in both shape and metrical position. Examples are offered in (7), but one should note that the formal similarity in most of them only holds at a surface level, granted by a stem ending in -ιόεντ-, and is not etymological.

(7)   Forms with -ιόεντ-/-ιόεσσαν occurring in the same positions as τερμιόεις

   a. τειχιόεις 'walled', cf. τεῖχος '(city) wall':

      Il. 2.559   οἳ δ' Ἄργός τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν (cf. *Il*. 2.646)[22]

   b. ὀκριόεις 'rugged', cf. ὄκρις 'jagged point':

      Il. 4.518   χερμαδίῳ γὰρ βλῆτο παρὰ σφυρὸν ὀκριόεντι (cf. *Il*. 8.327)[23]

   c. μητιόεις 'wise in counsel', cf. μῆτις 'skill, wisdom':

      Od. 4.227   τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα

---

22 A connection between τερμιόεις and τειχιόεις 'walled' is already in *GEW* 880 s.v. τέρμα, where Frisk suggests these are parallel formations.

23 Although ὀκριόεις is taken by Lejeune (1958:9) as built on an *i*-stem, its base ὄκρίς is only attested after Homer as an *id*-stem (see A. *Pr*. 1016 ὀκρίδα). Additionally, an *id*-stem formation would again be preferable *metri gratia*, if we posit a preform *okrid-went-* instead of *okri-went-*. The presence of the *muta cum liquida* cluster in the form, at any rate, would have allowed for more metrical flexibility.

d.   λειριόεις 'like a lily', cf. λείριον 'lily':

   Il. 13.830   μεῖναι ἐμὸν δόρυ μακρόν, ὅ τοι χρόα λειριόεντα
   Il. 3.152   δενδρέῳ ἐφεζόμενοι ὄπα λειριόεσσαν ἱεῖσιν

e.   σκιόεις 'shadowy', cf. σκιά 'shadow':

   Il. 5.525   ζαχρειῶν ἀνέμων, οἵ τε νέφεα σκιόεντα[24]
   Il. 12.157   ἅς τ' ἄνεμος ζαής, νέφεα σκιόεντα δονήσας

f.   ἠϊόεις 'rich in crops', cf. ἤϊα 'provisions for a journey':

   Il. 5.36   τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα καθεῖσεν ἐπ' ἠϊόεντι Σκαμάνδρῳ

g.   ἰόεις 'violet-colored, dark', cf. ἴον 'violet:

   Il. 23.850   αὐτὰρ ὃ τοξευτῇσι τίθει ἰόεντα σίδηρον

There seem to be grounds to imagine that aberrant *_termidoent_- was replaced over time by τερμιόεις by lexical contamination with these other *-_went_-adjectives. These forms were formally equivalent at a synchronic level (i.e., once linking -_o_- had developed), and since the shift from _id_- to _i_-stems was independently active in the poetic grammar of the bards, these factors could co-operate in favoring an artificial _i_-stem formation such as τερμιόεις, instead of a more marked *_termidoent_-.

5 Conclusions

In the philological discussion carried out above, I have challenged an established account of the morphology of Mycenaean _te-mi-dwe_ 'wedged' and Homeric τερμιόεις 'fringed, hemmed, edged'. Meier (1975) and other authors have sought to reconcile these two forms with the general tendency whereby _i_-stems develop secondary _id_-stem inflection and claimed that Mycenaean attests an already innovative _termid_- while the Homeric poems retain an archaic _termi_- as the base for this *-_went_-derivative. A crucial piece of evidence for this line of thought is the once-attested Linear B spelling ṭ̣e-mi-we-te /termiwente/ NOM.DU.N, deemed to be direct evidence of a competing _i_-stem variant of the form in Mycenaean. Through a close examination of the complete dossier of _te-mi-dwe_ in the Linear B corpus, I have instead argued that the spelling ṭ̣e-mi-we-te is better taken as a scribal error for a target sequence _te-mi-de-we-te_ /termidwente/, attested elsewhere in Mycenaean. This interpretation fits more satisfactorily the relationship of this form

---

24   Cf. *Il*. 11.63, *Od*. 1.365 (= 4.768 = 18.399), 5.279 (= 7.268), 8.374, 10.479, 11.334 (= 13.2), 11.592, 23.299.

and its document with the other recordings in the dataset, based on identical find spot, shared terminology and paleographic features, and content—presumably referring to the same inventory registration. The only known shape of the adjective that we can ascribe to Mycenaean, therefore, features an *id*-stem base. Additionally, I have shown that this is also the only version of the adjective that would be admitted in hexametric poetry at an early stage of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*. Attested τερμιόεις, with an initial dactyl, can only scan in the hexameter due to the presence of linking *-o-*. This morphological feature is absent in Mycenaean and demonstrably secondary in a number of Homeric **-went*-adjectives, which grants positing a preform **termiwent-*. This form would feature an initial cretic and not be metrically licit, while an *id*-stem variant **termidwent-* would scan. The transmitted *i*-stem form of the adjective is therefore not archaic but rather an innovation facilitated by the emergence of linking *-o-* in **-went*-formations, which allowed τερμιόεις to achieve dactylic scansion and supersede its *id*-stem predecessor. I explain the preference for τερμιόεις as paralleling the creation of artificial *i*-stems elsewhere in Homer, ultimately driven by lexical contamination with other -ιόεις adjectives.

References

Bader, Françoise. 1974. *Suffixes grecs en -m-: Recherches comparatives sur l'hétéroclisie nominale*. Geneva: Droz.

Balles, Irene. 2008. *Nominale Wortbildung des Indogermanischen in Grundzügen: die Wortbildungsmuster ausgewählter indogermanischer Einzelsprachen* I: *Latein, Altgriechisch*. Hamburg: Dr. Kovač.

van Beek, Lucien. 2022a. Artificial Word Formation in the Epic Tradition: θοῦρος ('fierce') and the Formula θούριδος ἀλκῆς. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 142.255–73.

———. 2022b. *The Reflexes of Syllabic Liquids in Ancient Greek*. Leiden: Brill.

Bernabé, Alberto. 2019. Testi relativi a carri e ruote. In Del Freo and Perna 2019, 511–50.

Bernabé, Alberto, and Eugenio R. Luján. 2008. Mycenaean Technology. In Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World* I, 201–34. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.

BrDAG = Franco Montanari. 2015. *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*. Leiden: Brill.

Brügger, Claude. 2018. *Homer's* Iliad*: The Basel Commentary: Book XVI*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Buck, Carl D., and Walter Petersen. 1945 [1970]. *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives, Arranged by Terminations with Brief Historical Introductions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

CGL = James Diggle, Bruce Fraser, Patrick James, Oliver Simkin, Anne Thompson, and Simon Westripp. 2021. *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crouwel, Joost H. 1981. *Chariots and Other Means of Land Transport in Bronze Age Greece*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson.

Del Freo, Maurizio. 2019. La scrittura lineare B. In Del Freo and Perna 2019, 123–66.

Del Freo, Maurizio, and Massimo Perna (eds.). 2019. *Manuale di epigrafia micenea*[2]. Padua: Libreria Universitaria.

DELG = Pierre Chantraine. 1968–80 [2009]. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*. Paris: Klincksieck.

DMic. = Francisco Aura Jorro. 1985–93. *Diccionario Micénico*. 2 vols. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

DMic. Supl. = Francisco Aura Jorro, Alberto Bernabé, Eugenio R. Luján, and Juan Piquero. 2020. *Suplemento al* Diccionario Micénico. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Docs[2] = Michael Ventris and John Chadwick. 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*[2]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Driessen, Jan. 1996. The Arsenal of Knossos (Crete) and Mycenaean Chariot Forces. In Marc Lodewijckx (ed.), *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies*, 481–98. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

———. 2000. *The Scribes of the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos: Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of a Linear B Deposit*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

EDG = Robert S. P. Beekes. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Leiden: Brill.

Ernst, Nicola. 2006. Die D-Scholien zur Odyssee. Ph.D. diss., Universität zu Köln.

Firth, Richard J., and Christina Skelton. 2016. A Study of the Scribal Hands of Knossos Based on Phylogenetic Methods and Find-Place Analysis. *Minos* 39.159–88.

GEW = Hjalmar Frisk. 1960–72. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Winter.

Hagel, Stefan. 2004. Tables beyond O'Neill. In François Spaltenstein and Olivier Bianchi (eds.), *Autour de la césure*, 135–215. Bern: Peter Lang.

Hansen, Peter A., and Ian C. Cunningham (eds.). 2009. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* IV: Τ–Ω. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Haug, Dag. 2002. *Les phases de l'évolution de la langue épique: Trois études de linguistique homérique*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Helbig, Wolfgang. 1887. Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert. *Archäologische Untersuchungen*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Janko, Richard. 1994. *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV: *Books 13–6*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jiménez Delgado, José M. 2017. Mycenaean Words Related to τρέπω and στρέφω: A Story of Conflation. *Indo-European Linguistics* 5.31–48.

KT[6] = José Luis Melena and Richard J. Firth (eds.). 2019. *The Knossos Tablets*[6]. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.

de Lamberterie, Charles. 2009. En hommage à Michel Lejeune: mycénien *o-wo-we* et le nom de l'«oreille» en grec. In Frédérique Biville and Isabelle Boehm (eds.), *Autour de Michel Lejeune: Actes des journées d'étude organisées à l'Université Lumière-Lyon 2-Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2–3 février 2006*, 79–116. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient.

Latte, Kurt, and and Ian C. Cunningham (eds.). 2020. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* IIa: E–I. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Le Feuvre, Claire. 2015. Ὅμηρος δύσγνωστος: *Réinterprétations de termes homériques en grec archaïque et classique*. Geneva: Droz

———. 2016. Le type τρόπις, στρόφις, τρόφις et le problème de τρόφι κῦμα (*Il.* 11, 307). In Alain Blanc and Daniel Petit (eds.), *Nouveaux acquis sur la formation des noms en grec ancien: Actes du colloque international, Université de Rouen, ERIAC, 17–18 octobre 2013*, 179–202. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.

Lejeune, Michel. 1958. Études de philologie mycénienne. *Revue des Études Anciennes* 60.5–26.

———. 1968. Chars et roues a Cnossos: Structure d'un inventaire. *Minos* 9.9–61.

LfgrE IV = Bruno Snell (ed.). 2010. *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* IV: P–Ω. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

LIV^2 = Helmut Rix and Martin Joachim Kümmel (eds.). 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*^{2}. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Lundquist, Jesse. 2023. The Source of Strength: ἀλκί, ἀλκι-, ἀναλκιδ-, and Related. In David M. Goldstein, Stephanie W. Jamison, and Anthony D. Yates (eds.), *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, 81–100. Hamburg: Buske.

Meier, Michael. 1975. -ίδ-: *zur Geschichte eines griechischen Nominalsuffixes*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Meißner, Torsten, and Olga Tribulato. 2002. Nominal Composition in Mycenaean Greek. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 100/3.289–330.

Most, Glenn W. (ed. and trans.). 2018. *Hesiod,* Theogony, Works and Days*, Testimonia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Murray, Augustus T. (ed. and trans.). 1995. *Homer,* Odyssey II: *Books 13–24*^{2}. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

——— (ed. and trans.). 1999. *Homer,* Iliad II: *Books 13–24*^{2}. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

New Docs = John T. Killen (ed.). 2024. *The New Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Piquero, Juan. 2021. The Tables of the Pylos Ta Series: Text and Context. In Rachele Pierini, Alberto Bernabé, and Marco Ercoles (eds.), *Thronos: Historical Grammar of Furniture in Mycenaean and Beyond*, 43–54. Bologna: Pàtron.

PMG = Denys L. Page (ed.). 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PT^3 = José Luis Melena and Richard J. Firth (eds.). 2021. *The Pylos Tablets*^{3}. Leioa: Universidad del País Vasco.

Ruijgh, Cornelis J. 1976. *Chars et roues dans les tablettes mycéniennes: La méthode de la mycénologie*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

———. 1979. Faits linguistiques et données externes relatifs aux chars et roues. In Ernst Risch and Hugo Mühlestein (eds.), *Colloquium Mycenaeum: Actes du sixième Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel du 7 au 13 septembre 1975*, 207–20. Geneva: Droz.

———. 2011. Mycenaean and Homeric Language. In Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and Their World* II, 253–98. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.

Sabattini, Paolo. 2023. Syllabification-Driven Changes in Mycenaean: The Case of Liquid Vocalization. In David M. Goldstein, Stephanie W. Jamison, and Anthony D. Yates (eds.), *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*, 135–55. Hamburg: Buske.

Solmsen, Friedrich, R. Merkelbach, and M. L. West (eds.). 1990. *Hesiodi* Theogonia*, Opera et Dies*, Scutum³. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

van Thiel, Helmut. 2014. *Scholia D in Iliadem: Proecdosis Aucta et Correctior 2014 secundum Codices Manu Scriptos*. Cologne: Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Köln.

Thompson, Rupert. J. E. 2021. Mycenaean Scribes and Mycenaean Dialect: Interpreting Linguistic Variation in the Linear B Documents. In John Bennet (ed.), *Representations: Material and Immaterial Modes of Communication in the Bronze Age Aegean*, 309–27. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Trümpy, Hans. 1950. *Kriegerische Fachausdrücke im griechischen Epos: Untersuchungen zum Wortschatze Homers*. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn.

Viredaz, Rémy. 1983. La graphie des groupes de consonnes en mycénien et chypriote. *Minos* 18.125–207.

West, Martin L. (ed.). 2000. *Homeri* Ilias II: *Rhapsodias XIII–XXIV et Indicem Nominum Continens*. Munich: Saur.

——— (ed.). 2017. *Homerus,* Odyssea. Berlin: De Gruyter.

———. 2018. Unmetrical Verses in Homer. In Dieter Gunkel and Olav Hackstein (eds.), *Language and Meter*, 362–79. Leiden: Brill.