Homeric BH ΔΊENAI: A Serial Verb Construction in Greek?

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§1   The Problem(s)

[**1.1**] Only in Homeric Greek, a set of relatively fixed collocations:

(1)
βῆ δ' ἰέναι	24x	βῆ δὲ θέειν	9x
βῆ δ' ἴμεν	34x	βῆ δ' ἐλάαν	1x
βῆ δ' ἴμεναι	15x		

[**1.2**] As clear in (1), the vast majority (73/83) contain one of three infinitival variants of the verb 'to go', Aeol. ἴμεναι, ἴμεν, or Att.-Ion. ἰέναι; among these, some variation in person/number (3rds. βῆ, 1sts. βῆν, 3rdpl. βάν) and in the intervening particle (either δέ or ῥα), with representative examples in (2-4):

(2)   ὣς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ φίλωι ἐπιπείθετο πατρί,
       βῆ δ' ἴμεναι θάλαμόνδ', ὅθι οἱ κλυτὰ τεύχεα κεῖτο
       'So [Odysseus] spoke, and Telemachos obeyed his dear father,
       and he set out toward the chamber where the famous weapons lay.'

                                                                          (*Od.* 22.108-9)

(3)   οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἠρήσαντο Διὸς κούρηι μεγάλοιο,
       βάν ῥ' ἴμεν ὥς τε λέοντε δύω διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν
       'When [Diomedes and Odysseus] had prayed to the daughter of great Zeus,
       they set out like two lions through the black night.'

                                                                          (*Il.* 10.296-7)

(4)   ὣς ἔφαθ'· οἵ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἠδ' ἐπίθοντο
       βάν δ' ἴμεν, ἦρχε δ' ἄρά σφιν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.
       'So [Diomedes] spoke, and [the Achaians] listened well and obeyed him.
       They set out, and Agamemnon, lord of men, was first among them.'

                                                                          (*Il.* 14.133-4)

[**1.3**] Syntactic behavior of the infinitive in these expressions remains unexplained; impossible are:

i. *verbal complement*: this function only with modal verbs (ἐθέλω, δύναμαι, etc.)

ii. *'infinitive of purpose'*: viz. 'he went to go...'; while plausible in (e.g.) (2-3), yields only semantic pleonasm when no destination or goal is specified, as is the case in (e.g.) (4); note that this feature distinguishes it from superficially similar structures, e.g. *Od.* 7.14 ὦρτο πόλίνδ' ἴμεν 'he rose to go to the city', where simple purposive readings are available (*pace* Létoublon 1985:127)

[1.4] Until recently, this syntactic issue generally neglected, likely owing to the 'semantic non-problem problem', i.e. the basic intepretation of the expression is clear: it indicates a movement away from the location of the action, often at the conclusion of a verbal exchange, as in (e.g.) (2)

> ▶ The case-form of the infinitive is discussed by Wackernagel (1928:261-62), Schwyzer-Debrunner (*GG* II: 359-60), and Vanséveren (2000:76-78); the syntax briefly by Létoublon (1985:127-28), as well as the semantics in more detail (*op. cit.* 137-38); this literature reviewed more extensively in Yates (2011:3-6)

§2   New Hypotheses

[2.1] Two hypotheses have now independently emerged regarding the collocation βῆ δ' ἰέναι and its variants, Yates (2011) and most recently, García Ramón (2013)

[2.2] García Ramón (2013) posits a syntactic calque on Anatolian periphrastic inceptive constructions: Hitt. *dāi-* 'place' / *tiya-* 'step' + inf. / 'supine', HLuw. *ta-* 'step' + inf. = 'to begin to X', e.g. Hitt. (5-6) and HLuw. (7):

> (5) $^{\mathrm{D}}$U-*aš Tašmišui* **memiškiwan daiš**
>   'The Storm-god **began to speak** to Tasmisu.'
>
> <div align="right">(KUB 17.7 iv 49)</div>
>
> (6)   *pānzi* DINGIR-*LUM ŠA* $^{\mathrm{URU}}$*Astata iwar* **ēššuwan tianzi**
>   'They go—**begin to worship** the god in the manner of the city of Astata.'
>
> <div align="right">(KUB 5.6+ 17)</div>
>
> (7)   *wá/i-na* | **i-zi-i-sa-tú-na ta-ya** ("FLUMEN")*há-pa + ra/i-sá* | OMNIS-*MI-i-sá* |
>   'And every river-land will **begin to honor** him.'
>
> <div align="right">(Karatepe §XLVIII Hu.)</div>

[2.3] *prima facie* cannot be ruled out; some semantic similarities (cf. Yates 2011:58), and the diffusion of syntactic structures from Anatolia has potential parallel in the σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν (cf. Watkins 2000:3), the use of a singular verb with animate plural subject

[2.4] However, restriction of non-finite form to *verbs of motion* wholly unexplained in Greek! From (5-7), plainly no such restriction in Hittite or Luwian

> ▶ García Ramón (2013) offers just one example of an inceptive construction with nonfinite verb of motion: *iyanniwan* [*dāi*]*r* (KUB 14.1 vs. 1 74); even here, though, an imperfect match, since we find here *dāi-* 'place'—the original and predominant type, with later extension to *tiya-* 'step', likely via homophonous 3$^{\mathrm{rd}}$pl. pres. (*tiyanzi*) as pivot; a Luwian source is triply problematic: (i.) verb is primarily 'stand' (< PIE **steh$_2$-*), only secondarily step; (ii.) for García Ramón, the non-finite verb is crucially a locative case-form, but the Luw. infinitive does not reflect a locative; (iii.) the ex. in (7) is (to my knowledge) *hapax* in Hier. Luw.

[2.5] Building on Yates (2011), I will offer an alternative proposal for βῆ δ' ἰέναι, arguing:

> i. that there is a direct relationship in Homeric Greek between βῆ δ' ἰέναι and βάσκ' ἴθι (§3)
>
> ii. that βάσκ' ἴθι reflects an inherited Indo-European syntactic type, namely, the PIE QUASI-SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION (QSV) (§4)
>
> iii. that the *irregularity* of βῆ δ' ἰέναι may be explained as the product of a poetic 'transformation' of regular βάσκ' ἴθι, a process with near analogue in the development of QSV in other IE languages (§5)

§3   βάσκ' ἴθι: the Source of βῆ δ' ἰέναι?

[**3.1**] βάσκ' ἴθι occurs 6x in Homeric epic, only *Iliad*: 2.8, 8.399, 11.186, 15.158, 24.144, 24.336

[**3.2**] βάσκ' ἴθι also treated by García Ramón (2013), though divorced from βῆ δ' ἰέναι ("βάσκ' ἴθι is not the present of βῆ δ' ἴμεν"); crucial evidence is the absence of 'responsion' in (8), where we find not ᵡβῆ δ' ἰέναι but simplex βῆ:

> (8)   **βάσκ' ἴθι**, οὖλε Ὄνειρε, θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
>
> . . .
>
> ὣς φάτο· **βῆ** δ' ἄρ' Ὄνειρος, ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσεν,
> καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκανε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
> '"**Go forth**, destructive Dream, to the swift ships of the Achaians!"
>
> . . .
>
> So [Zeus] spoke; and the Dream **set out** when it heard the speech,
> and swiftly arrived at the swift ships of the Achaians.'
>
> (*Il.* 2.8, 16-17)

[**3.3**] However, at least as compelling positive evidence for a relationship is the responsion apparent in (9), where βάσκ' ἴθι (*v.* 336) is 'narrated' by βῆ δ' ἰέναι (*v.* 347):

> (9)   **βάσκ' ἴθι**, καὶ Πρίαμον κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
> ὣς ἄγαγ᾿, ὡς μήτ' ἄρ τις ἴδηι μήτ' ἄρ τε νοήσηι
>
> . . .
>
> **βῆ δ' ἰέναι** κούρωι αἰσυιητῆρι ἐοικώς
> πρῶτον ὑπηνήτηι, τοῦ χαριεστάτη ἤβη
> '"**Go forth**, and lead Priam to the hollow ships of the Achaians
> in such a way that none [of the Danaans] should see or perceive him..."
>
> . . .
>
> And [Hermes] **set out**, looking like a princely young man,
> newly-bearded, whose youth is most graceful.'
>
> (*Il.* 24.336-7, 347-8)

[**3.4**] Further indirect support added by 'correlative' phrasal pairs, where βάσκ' ἴθι / βῆ δ' ἰέναι are collocated with identical lexical items, e.g. (10-11):

> (10)   a.   "**βάσκ' ἴθι**, Ἶρι ταχεῖα, λιποῦσ' ἕδος Οὐλύμποιο
> **ἄγγειλον** Πριάμωι μεγαλήτορι Ἴλιον εἴσω"
> '"**Go forth**, swift Iris, leaving behind the seat of Olympos!
> **Bring word** to great-hearted Priam within Ilion..."'
>
> (*Il.* 24.144-5)
>
> b.   **βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀγγελέων** πρὸς δώματα ποιμένι λαῶν
> '**He set out** to the halls **to bring word** to the shepherd of the peoples.'
>
> (*Od.* 4.528)

(11)　a.　"**βάσϰ' ἴϑι**, Ἶρι ταχεῖα, Ποσειδάωνι ἄναϰτι
　　　　　πάντα τάδ' **ἀγγεῖλαι**, μηδὲ ψευδάγγελος εἶναι."
　　　　　'"**Go forth**, swift Iris! To lord Poseidon
　　　　　bring word of all these things, and do not be a false messenger."'

<div align="right">(Il. 15.158-9)</div>

　　　b.　**βῆ δ' ἴμεναι** διὰ δώμαϑ', **ἵν' ἀγγείλειε** τοϰεῦσι,
　　　　　πατρὶ φίλωι ϰαὶ μητρί· ϰιχήσατο δ' ἔνδον ἐόντας
　　　　　'**She set out** through the halls **to bring word** to her parents,
　　　　　her dear father and mother. And she found them within.'

<div align="right">(Od. 6.50-1)</div>

[**3.5**] Significant shared features support clear interrelationship:

　　i.　*metrical localization*: βῆ δ' ἰέναι overwhelmingly line-initial (83/86 = 96.5%), βάσϰ' ἴϑι exclusively in this position; imperative predictable in line-initial position, but this localization of βῆ δ' ἰέναι probably best explained by association with βάσϰ' ἴϑι

　　ii.　*lexical identity*: the same two lexical roots, suppletive *g^wem- / g^weh_2- 'go, come' and *h_1ei- 'go' occur in both expressions in the same order

　　iii.　*semantics*: in §4, I'll discuss in greater detail the semantics of βάσϰ' ἴϑι, which I'll argue parallel other expressions of the same syntactic type; then in §4.8, I'll show that that βῆ δ' ἰέναι exhibits the same semantic properties

　　iv.　*syntax*: theoretical basis for a connection between βάσϰ' ἴϑι and βῆ δ' ἰέναι first established by Watkins (1975:96-97), who suggested that they, along with Hittite phraseological construction and (obliquely) English *go get* construction originate in a common underlying syntactic type of which βάσϰ' ἴϑι is representative; in Yates (2013), I've argued that this type is, specifically, the PIE Quasi-Serial Verb Construction

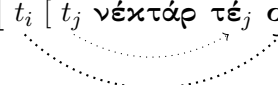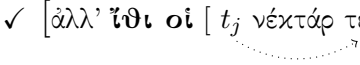# §4　What is βάσϰ' ἴϑι? The PIE Quasi-Serial Verb Construction

[**4.1**] Contra García Ramón (2013), βάσϰ' ἴϑι reflects an inherited syntactic type, productive both within Greek and more broadly, Indo-European: the PIE Quasi-Serial Verb Construction (QSV) (cf. Yates (2013); Hock (2002, forthcoming)); it consists of two imperatives—the first a verb of motion—identically marked for person, tense, and number; crucially, both verbs appear to be monoclausal, as in (12) Homeric Greek, where ἴϑι hosts the pronominal clitic οἱ which is an argument of στάξον:

(12)　ἀλλ' **ἴϑι** οἱ νέϰτάρ τε ϰαὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινὴν
　　　στάξον ἐνὶ στήϑεσσ', ἵνα μή μιν λιμὸς ἵϰηται.
　　　'But **go pour** nectar and lovely ambrosia into him,
　　　in [his] breast, so that hunger will not reach him.'

<div align="right">(Il. 19.347)</div>

▶ For the IE comparanda, see Yates (2013); more generally, on the Hittite 'phraseological construction', see van den Hout (2003, 2010), Hoffner and Melchert (2008: 324-29) (cf. Koller 2011); on Vedic, Hock (2002, forthcoming); on Latin, (Fortson 2008: 41, 200); on Classical Armenian, Kölligan (2012); and on Greek, Yates (2011, 2013) and Hock (forthcoming)

[**4.2**] Why not $^{\mathrm{X}}$ ἀλλ' ἴθι **νέκταρ τέ οἱ**...? The 'special' property of QSV already in PIE is to be treated as a single prosodic unit (ι), i.e. (13b) rather than normal (13a):

(13)   a.

$^{\mathrm{X}}$ $\big[$ ἀλλ' ἴθι $\big]_\iota$ $\big[$ t_i $[$ t_j **νέκτάρ τέ**$_j$ **οἱ**$_i$ καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινὴν $\big]_\phi$ στάξον $\big]_\iota$

✓ $\big[$ ἀλλ' **ἴθι οἱ** $[$ t_j νέκτάρ τε$_j$ καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινὴν $\big]_\phi$ στάξον $\big]_\iota$
b.

▶ For the unmarked clitic order, cf. *Il.*5.359 δός δέ μοι ἵππους 'And give me horses'; the pre-movement position of the clitic is evident when an initial conjunction is present, e.g. *Il.* 23.75 καί μοι δὸς τήν χεῖρ(α) 'And give me (your) hand'

[**4.3**] Continuation of QSV into Classical Greek guaranteed by certain examples in prose authors, e.g. (14-15); in (14), clitic argument μοι of ἔξευρε is hosted by (ἴθι); in (15), the phrase headed by τόν, which is the nominal object of εἰπέ, undergoes movement left of ἴθι:

(14)   **ἴθι** μοι **ἔξευρε** καὶ τὰ τοῦ μάντεώς τε καὶ μαντικῆς
     '**Go find out** for me also those (which) are of the seer and the seer's art ...'

(Plat. *Apol.* 538e.2-3)

(15)   τὸν δὲ δὴ βελτίους ποιοῦντα **ἴθι εἰπὲ** καὶ μήνυσον αὐτοῖς τίς ἐστιν.
     '**Go proclaim** (their) improver and reveal to them who is.'

(Plat. *Apol.* 24d.6-7)

[**4.4**] Function of βάσκ' ἴθι? Strong possibility suggested by formal and lexical similarities with deictic-directional serial verb constructions (SVCs) very frequent in productively verb-serializing languages (e.g. West Africa, Oceania, New Guinea; cf. Aikhenvald (2006: 39-40, 47-50)); in this type, a motion verb imparts its deictic orientation to construction as a whole, e.g. (16) Akan (Niger-Congo) and (17) Tetun Dili (Austronesian):

(16)   *Ebo* **so-a**   *adaka no* **ko-o**   *skuul*
     Ebo **carry-PAST** box   the **go-PAST** school
     'Ebo **carried** the box **to** school.'

(cf. Givón 1995: 227-8)

(17)   **lori** *hahaan* **bá!**
     take food   go
     '**Take** the food **over there**!'

(cf. Hajek 2006: 241)

[**4.5**] A similar function is generally observed in modern English QSV—informally, the *go get* construction (cf. Zwicky 1969; Pullum 1990); rather than pure exhortatives, *come / go* have clear deictic function in (18); in particular, deictic conflict in (18d) results in confusion or ungrammaticality

(18)   a. **Put** the hat on the shelf.

b. **Go put** the hat on the shelf.

c. **Come put** the hat on my head.

d. $^{?*}$ **Go put** the hat on my head.

[**4.6**] βάσϰ' ἴϑι most likely to be understood in the same way, i.e. as the result of projecting the centrifugal deictic orientation of ἴϑι/ἰέναι onto deictically-neutral βάσϰε/βῆ (cf. Létoublon 1985:137)

[**4.7**] βάσϰ' ἴϑι is, then, aspectually ingressive (-σϰε-), spatially centrifugal (εἶμι 'go (there)', i.e. away from the speaker), and directed toward a specific destination or (accomplishing a) a goal—this last property stemming both from this deictic quality and imperatival modality; in §4.8, it will become clear that these semantic properties find exact match in βῆ δ' ἰέναι

§4.8   The Semantics of βῆ δ' ἰέναι

[**4.8.1**] Yates (2011:52-60, 86-7) argues that βῆ δ' ἰέναι similarly shows three prototypical semantic properties: (i) ingressive aspect; (ii) centrifugal deixis; (iii) goal-orientation

[**4.8.2**] Properties (ii) and (iii) are apparent in the elevated frequency of goal complements (44/73 = 60.3%)—either destination or purpose (fut. ptcpl., rel. clause of purp., etc.)—relative to deictically-neutral simplex βῆ (98/207 = 47.3%); this contrast, which is exemplified in (19-20) vs. (21), already approaches levels of statistical significance ($.05 < p < .06$)

(19)   **βὰν δ' ἴμεναι πόλεμόνδε** ϑεοὶ δίχα ϑυμὸν ἔχοντες
'And the gods **set out for war** with hearts divided.'

(*Il.* 20.32)

(20)   **βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀνστήσων** ὅν ἀδελφεόν, ὅς μέγα πάντων // Ἀργείων ἤνασσε
'And **he set out to rouse** his brother, who ruled mightily over all the Argives.'

(*Il.* 10.32)

(21)   **βῆ** δ' ἀϰέων παρὰ ϑῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο ϑαλάσσης
'And **he walked off** silently beside the shore of the loud-roaring sea.'

(*Il.* 1.34)

[**4.8.3**] Moreover, a radical divergence ($\chi^2 = 5.17$, $p = .023$) between forms of the collocation with Aeol. ἴμεναι / ἴμεν (34/49 = 69.4%) and Att.-Ion. ἰέναι (10/24 = 41.6%), the latter patterning more closely with simplex βῆ

▶ The data depends on editorial judgement, since both ἴμεναι and ἰέναι frequently coexist in mss.; figures here are based on the text of West (1998, 2000) for the *Iliad* and Allen (1922a,b) for the *Odyssey*

[**4.8.4**] If we therefore exclude forms with ἰέναι, the very strong tendency for the collocation to select a goal becomes clear—again vs. βῆ, $\chi^2 = 7.71$, $p = .005$; statistical analysis thus confirms goal-orientation as a prototypical property of the collocation

[**4.9**] With the semantic match established, it remains only to explain the development βάσϰ' ἴϑι $\Rightarrow$ βῆ δ' ἴμεν(αι)

§5 The Development of βῆ δ' ἰέναι

[**5.1**] Parallels for this development offered by Hittite, Classical Armenian, and modern English, which all show QSV-like indicative structures with two identically-marked monoclausal verbs, the first being a verb of motion; building on the proposal of Zwicky (2003, 2012) for English QSV, Yates (2013) argues for a semantic, prosodic, and syntactic reanalysis of imperatival structures, whence the extension to non-imperatival modality

▶ Similarly already Dunkel (1985) for Hittite 'phraseological construction', who points to potential parallel in ἔσθι 'eat!' ⇒ ἐσθίω 'I'm eating!'; the basic naturalness of this process further supported by Modern Greek, where QSV-like imperatival constructions have been extended by some speakers to other finite verbal forms (cf. Bjorkman 2009)

[**5.2**] Though Greek shows no evidence for such a generalized extension, possible as a poetic development? Given the emergence of βάσκ' ἴθι as a unitary, formulaic syntagm in Homeric language, the need may have arisen for a corresponding 'narrative' aorist:

$$
(22) \quad
\left.
\begin{array}{l}
\text{βῆ δ' ἰέναι} \\
\text{βῆ δ' ἴμεν} \\
\text{βῆ δ' ἴμεναι}
\end{array}
\right\}
\quad \longleftarrow \quad \text{βάσκ' ἴθι}
$$

$$
3^{\text{rd}} \text{ report} \quad \longleftarrow \quad 2^{\text{nd}} \text{ imperative}
$$

[**5.3**] Evidence for this origin? Most compellingly, the 'correlative' pairs discussed in §2, e.g. (23), where both βάσκ' ἴθι and βῆ δ' ἰέναι are collocated with the same lexemes and functionally parallel:

(23) (=10)

a. "**βάσκ' ἴθι**, Ἶρι ταχεῖα, λιποῦσ' ἕδος Οὐλύμποιο
ἄγγειλον Πριάμωι μεγαλήτορι Ἴλιον εἴσω"
'"**Go forth**, swift Iris, leaving behind the seat of Olympos!
Bring word to great-hearted Priam within Ilion...."'

(*Il.* 24.144-5)

b. **βῆ δ' ἴμεν ἀγγελέων** πρὸς δώματα ποιμένι λαῶν
'**He set out** to the halls **to bring word** to the shepherd of the peoples.'

(*Od.* 4.528)

[**5.4**] The limited evidence for direct responsion likely owes primarily to two factors:

i. *infrequency of* βάσκ' ἴθι: only 6x in Hom., specialized to Zeus

ii. *semantic change*: because of its marginal status in the grammar, βῆ δ' ἰέναι syntactically opaque and diachronically prone to semantic bleaching; this development evident in distribution of forms of the collocation with productive Att.-Ion. inf. ἰέναι (vs. ἴμεν(αι)), which seem to have lost original 'purposive' semantics, patterning rather as metrical variants of simplex βῆ

▶ On the diachronic semantics, cf. Létoublon (1985:127): "...le sens de la formule ne soit plus très bien compris des grecs, peut-être dès l'époque homérique."

§5.5   The Syntax of βῆ δ' ἰέναι

[**5.5.1**] But why infinitive ἰέναι / ἴμεν / ἴμεναι?

[**5.5.2**] 'Transformation' subject to lexical and semantic identity, preserving relationship $*g^w em$- / $g^w eh_2$- $\sim$ $*h_1 ei$-; putative ^{X}βῆ δ' ἐλθών—probably the default means of expression, cf. μολὼν λαβέ 'come get (it)'—thus ruled out (protypically centrifugal εἶμι but centripetal ἤλ(υ)θον); same objections apply to QSV-like ^{X}βῆ δ' ἦλθε, as well as general unwillingness for speakers to fully generalize a marginal syntactic pattern

> ▶ A potential ^{X}βῆ δ' ἴων might introduce an aspectual mismatch (pres. ptcpl. vs. ingressive aor.), and further, is metrically problematic (_◡_); the absence of ^{X}βάσκ' ἴμεν can only be attributed to a preference for a narrative aorist

[**5.5.3**] Infinitive as optimal candidate? Lexico-semantic identity maintained, and for the process, cf. Eng. ꜱᴍᴀʟʟᴘʀᴇꜱ. *go get* ⇒ ꜱᴍᴀʟʟᴘʀᴇᴛ. *went to get*; moreover, in this configuration βῆ δ' ἰέναι parallels 'single-marking' SVCs in which "there is one verbal constituent that is evidently the morphosyntactic locus, plus one or more others that **appear to be in some non-finite governed category also used in subordination**" (Zwicky 1990:8; cf. Aikhenvald (2006))

[**5.5.4**] In addition, infinitive frequently interpretable in this context; prototypical instantiation of βῆ δ' ἰέναι oriented towards goal, admits 'purposive' function of infinitive common in Homer

§6   Summary: The Evolution of βῆ δ' ἰέναι

[**6.1**] Greek has inherited from Proto-Indo-European the Qᴜᴀꜱɪ-Sᴇʀɪᴀʟ Vᴇʀʙ Cᴏɴꜱᴛʀᴜᴄᴛɪᴏɴ, which syntactic type is directly continued by βάσκ' ἴθι

[**6.2**] βάσκ' ἴθι was integrated into formulaic Homeric diction, and served as the impetus for the creation of a corresponding aorist βῆ δ' ἰέναι used to 'narrate' the action of βάσκ' ἴθι immediately subsequent to it and in same metrical position

[**6.3**] From this original locus, βῆ δ' ἰέναι was generalized to post-discourse contexts, where it is frequently found, and as a device to mark transitions between scenes in the dramatic narrative; in this function, βῆ δ' ἰέναι flourished, even generating analogic formations with infinitives of verbs of motion (βῆ δὲ θέειν, βῆ δ' ἐλάαν)

[**6.4**] With the connection to βάσκ' ἴθι increasingly unclear, syntactically opaque βῆ δ' ἰέναι was subject to semantic bleaching, and came to be used only as a metrical variant of simplex βῆ; consequently, it was lost entirely after the Homeric period

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