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, δρυμαι, φανομαι 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 εί, εστίν, in the same way as tragic εφ(ς). Together with Mycenaean qe-ro-me-no, probably 'becoming', 'destined/go to be', and West Greek τέλομαι = εσ(σ)ομαι, we have a pretty recognizable offspring, semantically speaking, of the Indo-European root *kweλ- 'to turn'. The occurrences of (mostly) πελω in Aeschylus appear to point roughly in the same direction; the findings for the cognate verb τελεθώ (in Homer and later on) are by and large similar.

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

Πελομαι (-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 ειμί. As the English verbs 'to become' and 'to be' do not run exactly parallel to Greek γίγνομαι and ειμί, I shall use Greek paraphrases most of the time, as it is my intention to investigate the semantic value of πελομαι 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

¹ The only active aorist form is ἐπλεν in M 11: (10) δφρα μὲν Ἑκτωρ ζωός ἑν καὶ μήνι Ἀχλεύς | καὶ Πριάμοι άκακτος ἀπόρθητος πόλις ἐπλεν, | τόφρα δὲ καὶ μέγα τείχος Ἀχαιών ἐμπεδον ἥν. The aorist in a protasis with δφρα 'as long as' is unexpected; Leaf (reading ἥν) a.l.: "vulg. ἐπλεν, a vox nihili; ... ἥν, 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 ἥν." – 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 τέλομαι, the latter being used as future of είμι/ήμι ‘to be’ (with τένται < *τέληται for τέληται, like ἔσται for ἔ(σ)σεται). The forms πελ- and τελ- jointly point to an older form *kwel-. Obviously, Homeric πέλομαι with π- < *kwel- before ε is an Aeolism (and in later poetry an epicism – with the possible exception of Aeolic poetry). The Indo-European root *kwel- is the basis of a variety of words in Greek and elsewhere: κύκλος ‘wheel’ (<*kwe-kwl- 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’; compare Greek δί-πολος, τρί-πολος ‘ploughed twice’/~ three times); pro-

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 [: verior]? – and πολέω, see note 3); B. ‘to turn [carefully] 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-go-ro and mo-ro-go-ro probably also belong here: man’s name Ἄγρο-κόλος ‘[plougher →] tiller of an ἄγρος’ (originally perhaps a person who ploughed waste-land [the original meaning of ἄγρος] to make it apt for sowing), man’s name Μορό-κόλος ‘tiller of a μορός [piece of land]’. And poetic Greek has πόλεω and πολεύω ‘to plough’, also intransitive: ‘to go about’, ‘to range over’, ‘to haunt’. 
bably *colus* ‘distaff’, etc. Greek πάλιν ‘back’, ‘again’ almost certainly belongs in the *kwel*-family also: acc. sg. of the nominal stem (disyllabic: Lindeman form) *kwel-* ‘turn’.

Words for ‘wheel’ deriving from *kwel*- are found in many Indo-European languages, from the Germanic languages in the West to the Tocharian dialects in the Far East; the wheel-words definitely strike me as old. That being the case, the root *kwel-* must have been suited to give the wheel a name. Hence I suspect that the original meaning of *kwel-* 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’, ‘maidservant’ (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 ἀμφίπεληται ‘goes around’, ‘circulates’; and also περιτέλλομαι ‘to go/come around’ (of time), with aor. (gen. abs.) περιπλομένων ἔνιαυτών, 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 < kw after w), poetic οίο-πόλος (: οίς ‘sheep’), then, by semantic widening (“occupying oneself with ...”), ὀνείρο-πόλος, δικασ-πόλος, θαλαμη-πόλος, θυη-πόλος, etc.}

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4. Collus/collum, Germanic hals ‘neck’, does not belong in the *kwel*-group, I believe; rather, it derives from *kel- ‘to rise’, and is therefore akin to collis ‘hill’.

5. Double zero grade */kwel-i-/ cannot be original: one would expect paradigmatic ablaut */kwel-i-/, */kwel-ey-/ (if the noun was protodynamic). The explanation of */kwel-i-/ is to be looked for in paradigmatic levelling.

6. Sanskrit cakra- (n.; in Vedic sometimes m.); Avestan caxra- (m.); Germanic *χʷezχʷlan/χʷeyʷlän (Old English hwēol, hweowol, hweogol, Old Icelandic hjól, etc.); Tocharian kukāl (A), kokāle (B) ‘wheeled vehicle’ (pars pro toto). Old Church Slavonic has unreduplicated kolo (neuter s-stem). – For the explanation of πλήμνη ‘nave’ as < *kwel-ήμνα from the extended root *kwel-h-, see Waanders 1992: 594. The extended root *kwel-h- may also account for τελέθω < *kwel-h-ey- (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. a 351-2: τήν γὰρ ἀοίδην μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ’ ἀνθρώποι, ἧς τις ἀνώτατη νευτάτη ἀμφίπεληται. “for that song people praise rather which goes around as one novel to the (or both: ἀμφί-) 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 *kwel-h-ey-: h₁ could explain the e-vocalism of *k νέλγομαι; cp. εϊρω < *fεγό < *wrh₁-ey-ō, Arc. ζέλλω < *gʷel-ey-ō-

9. There is a homonym with first member related to ὀιος ‘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 wairðan ‘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] (≈ ειμί) → ‘to be in a certain position/condition/state’ [to be so-and-so, with predicative complement] (≈ ειμί).

A priori, then, both ‘to become’ and ‘to be’ can be argued for as the older (Proto-Greek?) meaning of *κυέλομαι\(^{11}\). However, the value of West Greek τέλομαι as a future of ειμί/ήμι ‘to be’\(^{12}\) might rather point to ‘to become’ as the older meaning, the difference between becoming (*κυέλομαι ≈ γιγνομαι) and going to be (*κυέλομαι ≈ ξ(σ)ομαι) 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-ref[•]qe-ro-me-no \\
\}  
da-mi-ni-ja ri-ne-ja-o ko-wo VIR

Δαμνίαι λινευάων κόρῳ ἔρη[•]...όμενοι [number left blank]. “At Damnia, sons of flax-workers, who...: {so-and-so many} MEN.”

In the lacuna between ref and qe there is room for one sign and possibly a word divider. The followwig supplements have been proposed: (a) e-ref[-e]qe-ro-me-no ἔρηθεν γυνῆλόμενοι ‘wishing to row’, and (b) e-ref[-ta]qe-ro-me-no ἔρεται κυέλομενοι ‘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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\(^{10}\) Γιγνομαι, originally ‘to be born’, ‘to come into being’ (cp. γένος, γονεύς, γένεσις, κασι-γνητος, Lat. gignô, [g]nâtus, genetrix, German Kind, etc.), may have replaced *κυέλομαι 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)\textsuperscript{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 ἐθῶν, pl. e-o-te ἐθόντες to express ‘being’, it is unlikely for ge-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 ίόντες ‘destined to go’), i.e., κʷέλομαι ≈ γίγνομαι or even ≈ ἔσομαι\textsuperscript{14}.

Now if, on account of Mycenaean ge-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)\textsuperscript{15}. I shall now analyze a selected number of occurrences 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\textsuperscript{16}.

\begin{equation}
(2.1) \Gamma\ 2-3\ \ Τρώες\ μὲν\ κλαγγὴ\ τ᾽\ ἐνοπῆ\ τ᾽\ ἰσαν\ δρνιθες\ ὡς\ ἠυτε\ περ\ κλαγγὴ\ γεράνων\ πέλει\ οὐρανόθι\ πρό.
\end{equation}

\textsuperscript{13} Arcadian and Cypriot βόλομαι, Attic-Ionic βούλομαι < *-ol-no. If the -o- of βόλομαι stems from a perfect from *βέβολα (as has been suggested), the Mycenaean present may have been γ'νέλομαι; however, the semantic side of the matter is decidedly in favour of κννελόμενοι.

\textsuperscript{14} The verb ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ is attested for Mycenaean in the text PY Ad 686: o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-fio οὐ παρογένετο did not present himself. ‒ The future of ΕΙΝΑΙ is probably attested for Mycenaean, viz. if e-so-to in KN Am 600.a represents 3 pl. ἔσοντοι. ‒ κʷελόμενοι, as against ἔσομενοι, may specifically express that the men are trained (“evolutionary” process) to be rowers.

\textsuperscript{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 ἔστι (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.

\textsuperscript{16} Capitals are used for lexemes.
The subject κλαγγή belongs in the semantic category of ‘sounds’; comparable to Γ 3 is A 49 δεινή δὲ κλαγγή γένετ’ ἀργυρόειον βιοίο, further K 523 Τρώων δὲ κλαγγή τε καὶ ἀσπετος ὥρτο κυδοιμός, and Ξ 412: κλαγγή δ’ ἀσπετος ὥρτο σων αὐλιζομενάως. If it is correct to say that a κλαγγή ‘comes into being’ (γένετο) or ‘rises’ (ὥρτο), 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 ... ἣν ἄμφι δὲ μιν κλαγγή νεκύων ἣν οἰωνών ὡς; 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 ΠΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ 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 πέλει18 βρόμος αἴθομένοιο (no comparable instances with ΕΙΝΑΙ or ΠΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ) – Τ 365 τοῦ καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν καναχή πέλε, ...; in ζ 82 we find καναχή ἣν ἥμιονοιν, but other ‘odontic’ sounds prove that collocation with ΠΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ is not unusual: Κ 375 ἀραβος δὲ διὰ στόμα γίγνετ’ ὀδόντων;19 Λ 417–8, Μ 149–50 ὅπως ἐν τε κόμπος ὀδόντων | γίγνεται; Ν 283 πάταγος δὲ τε γίγνετ’ ὀδόντων. Are we dealing again with continuous (ζ 82) vs. emerging, ‘developing’ (Κ 375, etc.)? – Δ 450 ἑνθὰ δ’ ἄμ’ οἴμωγὴ τε καὶ εὐχωλῇ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν; idem Θ 64. There are no comparable instances with ΕΙΝΑΙ or ΠΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ, but there is one with the perfect form δέδηε: υ 353 οἴμωγὴ δὲ δέδηε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί. This does not take us much further.20 – Ξ 400 δόσῃ ἄρα Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἔπλετο φωνὴ ... (perhaps “had come about”, “had risen”; cp. the aorist participle ἀνοσάντων in the next line). We may compare: μ 86–7 τῆς ἤτοι φωνῇ μὲν δὴ σκυλάκος νεογιλής | γίγνεται; μ 396 βοών δ’ ὡς γίγνετο φωνῇ. In Σ 221 γένετ(ο) may be copula (I am not certain): ὡς τότ’ ἀριζήλη φωνῇ γένετ’ Αἰακίδαο. As the subject of γένετο we further find in Homer the sounds ιαχή (Δ 456, Μ 144, Ο 396, Π 366)21 and χρόμαδος γενύων (Ψ 688). With φωνῇ as subject we further find the verb forms ἄμφι ... ἰκετο (Δ 466) and (αἰθέρ’) ἰκανεν (Ο 686), verbs of motion/‘displacement’, not of ‘being there’.

17 The manuscripts of Homer have both γιγν- and γιν-; the time of the change γιγν- > γιν- (: γίνομαι and γίνωσκω) cannot be fixed with certainty, and γιν- in the text of Homer may be due to ‘modernisation’. – I shall write γιγν- throughout.
18 Si vera lectio; πέλει is found in Et. Mag. 214.36 – the MSS have ποθι/ποτ’.
20 Can we use Μ 35 τότε δ’ ἄμφι μάχη τ’ ἐνοπτῃ τε δεδήει (past state; followed by imperfect verbs) and h.Apoll. 360 θεσπεσίη δ’ ἐνοπτὴ γένετ’ ἀσπετος, ... (past event) as indirect evidence for the value of πέλεν in Δ 450?
(2.2) Λ 737 ἀλλ’ ὁτε δή Πυλίων καὶ Ἐπειών ἔπλετο νεῖκος, | ...

Neîkos is often found as the subject of ὄρωρε(ν) (e.g., Γ 87, Μ 348), twice of the plpf. ὄρωρε (Ρ 384, Σ 497–8). ὈΡΝΥΣΘΑΙ is to be associated semantically with ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ (process, incident) rather than with ΕΙΝΑΙ (state). True enough, the use of the perfect stem ὄρωρ- 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 ὈΡΝΥΣΘΑΙ belonging to another than the perfect stem: fut. ὄρειται (Υ 140), aor. subj. ὄρηται (π 98 116, ν 267), as well as instances with ἑτύχθη (Λ 671, φ 303), where there is no state value involved. – Compare also Ψ 490 καὶ νῦ κε δὴ προτέρω ἔτ’ ἔρις γένετ’ ἀμφοτέροισιν, | εἰ μή ...

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

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 ≈ ἔστι; 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 acute in the case of present stem forms of ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ.

From Hesiod we may quote Th. 836 καὶ νῦ κεν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἀμήχανον ἥματι κείσω, | ... | εἰ μή ..., where ἔπλετο ≈ ἐγένετο, not with ‘actual’ value; compare Θ 130, Λ 310 Ἕνθα κε λοιγος ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γένοντο, | ... | εἰ μή ... 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 ἑτύχθη) belong, we may also reckon ΦΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ. As parallels for Μ 271 we may thus adduce: Λ 734 ἀλλά φι προπάροιθε φάνη μέγα ἔργον "Ἀρηνος, and Μ 416 μέγα (not predicative) δέ σφι φαίνετο ἔργον.

(2.4) Τ 221 αἱψά 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 ≈ ἔστι: contrary to the general...

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 ἔργον would be metrically impossible. – Professor Ruijgh suggested to me that the use of ἔπλετο when it implies ἔστι (i.e., ἔπλετο ≈ ἔστι) may have been the model for the tragic use of ἔφυ (instead of πέφυκε) ≈ ἔστι.
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 πρήξις πέλεται κρυεροίο γόοι
Compare κ 202 ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις πρήξις 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' ὄρκια πιστά:
εἰ μέν κεν ...
...
εἰ δὲ κ' 'Αλέξανδρον κτείνη ξανθός Μενέλαος

τιμή in the pregnant sense of “payment of compensation” is practically equivalent to an action noun, and therefore liable to ‘execution’. – Cp. Π 659 ποινή δ' οὖ τις παιδός ἐγίγνετο τεθνηώτος (and ποινῆς in Γ 290).

(2.7) Ι 590–3 καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἐὕζωνος παράκοιτις
λίσσετ' ὀδυρομένη, καὶ οἱ κατέλεξεν ἀπαντά κηδε', δὲ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἀστυ ἄλώη.

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) Ν 237 συμφερτή (“when united”) δ' ἄρετή πέλει ἄνδρών καὶ μᾶλλα λυγρῶν

‘s' shows itself’, ‘becomes manifest’. Compare Ψ 374 τότε δὴ ἄρετή γε ἐκάστου | φαίνετ'; see sub (2.3) for ΦΑΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ and the ‘eventive’ semantic field. Compare also, however, ξ 402 οὔτω γάρ κέν μοι ἐυκλείη τ' ἄρετή τε | εἴη ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι, where ἐυκλείη ‘fame’ (ἐυκλείη τ' ἄρετή 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 ο 211 ἐν (in Laertes’ house) δὲ γυνὴ Σικελή γρηγὺς πέλεν, we definitely cannot 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 ≈ ΠΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ 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 τού (ὁ δίφρου) δ’ ἐξ ἀργύρεος ῥυμῶς 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 ΠΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ, Ξ 415-6 δεινὴ δὲ θεείου γίγνεται ὡμῇ ἦν | ἐξ αὐτῆς (: oak-tree), X 150 ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς | γίγνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς (: a stream).

With a local complement ὅσον τ’ ἐπί, we find ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ in

(2.9) Κ 351 ἄλλ’ ὅτε δὴ ἃ ἀπέν ὅσον τ’ ἐπὶ οὗρα πέλονται ἡμίόνων ...

Compare Ο 358-9 ὅσον τ’ ἐπὶ δουρὸς ἐρωῇ ἦν | γίγνεται, ... We may assume that πέλονται in Κ 351 = γίγνονται.26 – With predicative ὅσον- we have Ψ 431 ὅσα δὲ δίσκου οὗρα κατωμαδίοιο πέλονται, | ..., and Θ 124 ὅσον τ’ ἐν νειώ οὗρον πέλει ήμίονοις, | ..., where we may also suspect near-equivalence to ΠΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ. The οὗρον ‘develops’, so to speak, over a certain distance, until the limit is reached (like as the δουρὸς ἐρωῇ γίγνεται over a certain distance).

§ 3. Πέλομαι (-ω) as a copula.

(3.1) Α 284 (Achilles) ἔρκος Ἀχαιοίσιν πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο

Other instances of ἔρκος as a predicative complement have the (final) infinitive ἔμεν, ἐμμεναι for copula: Δ 299 ἔρκος ἔμεν πολέμοιο, Ε 316 ἔρκος ἔμεν βελέων, ω 224 αίμασιας λέξοντες ἄλως ἐμμεναι ἔρκος. Now in the case of latently present qualities, which in the appropriate circumstances may become manifest (courage: in battle, etc.), Greek can use ΠΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ ‘appear to be’, ‘to prove

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 ὅρην ... προσφυε’ ἐξ αὐτῆς, used of a part which “grows from” the main body.
25 εἶναι ἐκ 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 attributed a qualification),\textsuperscript{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 ερκος έμεν / έμμεναι ερκος, the final infinitives, one could argue, denote the goal which is the end-point of ΠΓΝΕΣΘΟΙ.

\(\text{(3.2) } \zeta 108\) (Artemis) ρεία τ’ ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δὲ τε πάσαι:

Compare O 490 ρεία δ’ ἀρίγνωτος Διὸς ἀνδράσι γίγνεται ἄλκῃ, | ...

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

\(\text{(3.3) } A 417-8 \) ὀκυμορος καὶ ὀϊζυρὸς ... | ἐπλευ

Likewise A 505-6 δς ὦκυμωρώτατος άλλων | ἐπλετ’ ... The subject was born with his qualities. – With the same adjective, but a different verb, a 266, δ 346, ρ 137 πάντες κ’ ὀκυμοροι τε γενοίατο πικρόγομοι τε, and Σ 95 ὀκυμορος δῇ μοι, τέκος, ἐσσεαι.

\(\text{(3.4) } B 480\) βοὺς ... μέγ’ ἔξοχος ἐπλετο 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 ἰν: Ξ 118, ἰεν: σ 205.

\(\text{(3.5) } H 31\) ... ἐπεὶ δς φίλον ἐπλετο θυμφ

Further, i.a., Ξ 337 άλλ’ εἰ δὴ ρ’ ἐθέλεις καὶ τοι φίλον ἐπλετο θυμφ, and ν 145 ἐξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις καὶ τοι φίλον ἐπλετο θυμφ. Beside φίλον ἐπλετο we find both φίλον ἐστί(ν) (e.g., A 541, η 320, κ 66) and φίλον γένοιτο (Δ 17, H 387, η 316).

\(\text{(3.6) } I 54\) καὶ βουλὴ μετὰ πάντας ὀμῆλικας ἐπλευ ἄριστος

Likewise Ψ 891 ἦδ’ δςσον δυνάμει τε καὶ ἡμασιν ἐπλευ ἄριστος. Further we find inter alia ἄριστος ἐν (e.g., B 580), ἀ. ἐων (Ψ 357), ἀ. ... εὔχεται εἰναι (e.g. A 91), but also ὀς ἄριστος ... τέτυκτο (Π 7).

\(\text{(3.7) } Π 29\) σφ δ’ ὀμῆχανος ἐπλευ, 'Ἀχιλλεύ

Compare Κ 167 σφ δ’ ὀμῆχανος ἔσσι, νεραιέ, where we find ἔσσι before consonant, as against ἐπλευ 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 ≈ ΠΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ or ≈ ΕΙΝΑΙ.

\textsuperscript{27} Compare Herodotus I 95.2: Καί κως οὔτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοίοι Ἀσσυρίοις ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ...
(3.8) Δ 158  οὐ μέν πως ἄλιον πέλει ὅρκιον αἰμα τε ἀρνών
With subject ἐπος and predicate ἄλιον we find: Ω 92 οὐδ᾽ ἄλιον ἐπος ἔσσεται, Ω 224 καὶ οὐχ ἄλιον ἐπος ἔσσεται. I hardly dare suggest that πέλει in Δ 158 functions as a (near-)equivalent of ἔσ(σε)ται, cp. Myc. ge-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 ὑψε τελεί (fut.).

(3.9) I 134 ἦ ἑμις ἀνδρώτων πέλει, ἀνδρών ἥδε γυναικῶν
The usual expression is ἥ θέμις ἐστί (e.g., Β 73, I 33 276, Τ 177); further we find οὐ θέμις ἐστί(ν). Here πέλει ἦ 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 κωφόν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρός ἀνάλκιδος ὀὐτιδάνοιο.
"In my hands the βέλος becomes a sharp one"; both ὑπ’ ἐμείο and ἀκήριον αἴσθα τίθησιν in the immediate context unequivocally show that in Λ 392 πέλεται ≈ γίγνεται. 29 – The superlative δέοτατον is found in Ξ 345 (‘Ἡλίος) οὐ τε καὶ δέοτατον πέλεται φάος εἰσοράσθαι. Here the exact value of πέλεται is hard to make out; however, one could argue that the φάος manifests itself as (: γίγνεται) δέοτατον to the eye of the beholder (εἰσοράσθαι), at those moments when one looks into it.

(3.11) Λ 604 (a way of acting) κακοῦ δ᾽ ἀρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή
The aorist + ἀρχή is found in Χ 116 ..., ἦ τ᾽ ἐπλετεν νείκεος ἀρχή ‘became the beginning of strife’. Although the reasoning “if ἐπλετεν ≈ 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 ≈ ΠΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ are the following:

(3.12) Ν 103 ἐλάφοισιν ..., αἰ τε καθ᾽ ὡλην | θώων πορδαλίων τε λύκων τ᾽ ἥμα πέλονται
“become the prey of...” (≈ γίγνονται).

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 exis to (1980: 1).
(3.13) O 38  (Let Gaia and Ouranos and the water of the Styx be wit­nesses) δς τε μέγιστος | ὄρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει
μικάρεσσι θεοίσι
“turns out to be the strongest and most formidable oath”, or simply “is”? Or ≈ ἔσσεται? – cp. A 239 ὅ δὲ τοι μέγας ἔσσεται ὄρκος.

(3.14) Π 315 ... πρυμνόν σκέλος, ένθα πάχιστος | μινων ἀνθρώπου πέλεται
“becomes thickest”, “reaches its maximum thickness” (≈ γίγνεται)

(3.15) Ψ 748-9 (α κρητήρ) ...
καί τὸν Ἀχιλλεύς θήκεν ἀέθλιον οὔ ἐτάροιο,
δς τις ἔλαφρότατος ποσσι κραιπνοίσι πέλεται
“(for the one) who would prove to be (qualify as) the ...” (≈ γίγνοιτο)

(3.16) Ω 218-9 Μὴ μ’ έθέλοντ’ ιέναι κατερύκανε, μηδέ μοι αὐτή ὄρνις ἐνι μεγάροισι κακός 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 possibilities may prove too limited. In one instance one could make a good case for πέλεν « ήν, viz. ω 211 ἐν δὲ γυνὴ Σικελή γρηύς 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 ἐφύ 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 conclude that Homeric ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ is primarily used to express ‘to come about’, ‘to arise’, ‘to manifest oneself/itself (as)’, ‘to turn out to be’ (hypothesis A, § 1), rather than merely ‘to be’; even where we cannot use a paraphrase with ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ, ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ may yet exhibit a dynamic quality (‘to move around’, ‘to circulate’, in a spatial sense: first part of hypothesis B, § 1), rather than the static quality of EINAI.30

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.
Appendix I. Selected instances of ΠΕΛΕΙΝ in Aeschylus.31

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

(Κλ.) καὶ σοῦ μολόντος δωματίτιν ἐστὶν,
θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνει μολόν.

970 ὅταν δὲ τεῦχῃ Ζεὺς ἀπ’ ὀμφακὸς πικρὰς
οῖνον, τότ’ ἠδη ψύχος ἐν δόμοις πέλει
ἀνδρός τελείου δώµ’ ἐπιστρωφώμενον.

ψύχος πέλει in 971 obviously means something like ‘coolness comes into existence, arises’ (or simply ‘comes’?; cp. γίγνομαι ποῦ ‘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:

‘Ὡρ. ἐκπεταίη τούτου δ’ οὕτως ἅρνησις πέλει.

‘no denial presents itself’; cp. οὗ ... τις πρήξις 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/ποιείν + action noun as object.) Cp. also Ag. 20 νῦν δ’ εὐτυχῆς γένοιτ’ ἄπαλλαγὴ πόνων.

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

(‘Ἀτ.) ἐπείτα γῆ τε καὶ ψυχιτοῖς δωρήματα
ἡξο λαβοῦσα πέλανον ἐξ οἴκων ἐμὼν.

525 ἐπίσταμαι μὲν ως ἐπ’ ἐξειργασμένοις,
ἀλλ’ ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν εἴ τι δὴ λιφὸν 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 εἶν, I believe.

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

Βα. πῶς οὖν πρὸς ύμᾶς εὐσεβῆς ἐγὼ πέλοι;

“how am I to prove myself pious towards you?”’, ≈ γίγνωμαι. Cp. Eum. 66 ἔχθροίσι τοῖς σοῖς οὖ γενήσομαι πέπων.

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

(Χο.) κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον
τρίβω τε καὶ προσβολαῖς
μελαμπαγῆς 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).

31 There are only 4 or 5 instances of middle ΠΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ in Aeschylus, as against over 20 instances of active ΠΕΛΕΙΝ.
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 ꞌγίγνεται, rather than ꞌέστι.

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

(I.7) (copula) Eum. 149:
(Χο.) ἰὼ παἱ Διός, ἐπίκλοπος πέλη,
...

(I.8) (copula) Eum. 199:
Χο. ἄναξ ᾿Απόλλον, ἀντάκουσον ἐν μέρει:
αὐτός σὺ τοῦτον οὐ μεταίτιος πέλη,
200 ἀλλ’ εἶς τὸ πᾶν ἐπραξάς ως παναιτιός.

“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:
(Χο.) ἵυζε δ’ ὀμφάν, οὐράνια
μέλη λιτανά θεοἴσι ἡκαὶ
810 τέλεα δὲ μοι πῶς πελόμενα μοι
λύσιμα μάχιμα δ’ ἐπίδε, πάτερ,
...

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

Two instances with adverb ἐὕ, and one with καλῶς, seem to mean “turn out well”:

(I.10) Ag. 500:
(Κλ.) ἐὕ γαρ πρὸς ἐὕ φανεῖσι προσθήκη πέλοι.
(I.11) Ag. 255:
(Χο.) πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τάπι τούτοισιν εὖ πράξις, ...

(I.12) Supp. 122:
(Χο.) τθεοὶς δ' ἐναγέα τέλεα πελομένων καλώς ἐπίδρομ' ὁπόθι θάνατος ἀπή†.

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

Appendix II. Selected instances of ΤΕΛΕΘΕΙΝ.

(II.1) Ἡ 282 νῦξ δ' ἥδη τελεθεὶ ἀγαθόν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι.
“already night is falling; ...” (=Ḥ 293)

(II.2) ἰ 441 (ἀγορέων) ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἄριστα, ἀριστεράς τελέθουσι “(assemblies) where men become/manifest themselves as ...”

(II.3) Μ 346-7 ὤδε γάρ ἐβρισαν Λυκίων ἁγοί, οἵ τὸ πάρος περ ἰαρηθεῖς τελέθουσι κατὰ κρατεράς 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' ἄνδρες ἀφαρ κεραοί τελέθουσι. “... Libya, where lambs [become horned:] grow horns at once (soon after they are born)”

(II.5) η 51-2 ... θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πάσιν ἀμείνων ἐργοισιν τελέθει, εἰ καὶ ποθὲν ἄλλοθεν ἔλθοι. “manifests himself as better”, “shows his superiority”

(II.6) ρ 485-6 καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποίσι, παντοίοι 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) ἩΔεμ. 240-1 (Demeter looks after little Demophon):
τοῖς δὲ μέγα θαύμ' ἐτέτυκτο καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποίσι, παντοίοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας, “how precocious he showed himself each time”? , ≈ ἐγίγνετο (ἔκαστοτε)? – or “how precocious he was”, ≈ ἔσκε?

(II.9) ἦ XXX (to Earth) 5: ἐκ σέο δ' εὐπαιδές τε καὶ εὐκαρποὶ τελέθουσι “are born”, “spring’
(II.10) Hes. Sc. 398-9:

(393) ἡμος ...
     τήμος δή κέγχροισι πέρι γλώχες τελέθουσι
     τούς τε θέρει σπείρουσι

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

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