ByzantineParticles, a Case Study:
Juxtaposed τε καί and δέ in Medieval Dodecasyllables

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ARTICLES in Byzantine texts have hardly been investigated, even though they are important indicators of language evolution and change. To study them in a metrical context proves to be especially illuminating, since the metre provides a prosodic framework, and at the same time the particles can provide us with more information on the functioning of Byzantine metre, about which in-depth research is only just beginning to emerge. Investigation of the particles τε and δέ appears especially meaningful in this regard, since on even a brief glance their word order and function seem to have changed by Byzantine times. In this paper I examine this systematically in order to provide insight into not only the functioning of the Byzantine dodecasyllable metre but also the changed usage of particles such as τε and δέ.

1. Introduction

Byzantine metre has mostly been studied in comparison with its earlier counterparts (especially the classical iambic trimeter, from which the dodecasyllable evolved)1 or its later successors (the metres of Modern Greek folk songs).2 Only in the past few years has it started to be examined for its own value and in its


own right, most notably by Lauxtermann. Byzantine particles, similarly, have been largely ignored by scholars, the main exceptions being Tonnet and Soltic. As Wahlgren has remarked, “there is still much work to be done on Greek particles. Most Greek later than the early imperial period remains practically uncharted.” Medieval Greek particles are usually passed over on the assumption that they are used exactly as in classical texts (and therefore do not deserve specific attention) or because they are supposed to have disappeared in all medieval texts.

The combination of metre and particles—that is, the prosodic features of particles—has never been studied for the Byzantine dodecasyllable, although Soltic has done some pioneering work for the political verse. Despite this underappreciation, Byzantine particles can give us a host of information about metre and prosody in general. They were kept (rather artificially) alive throughout the Byzantine period and their use clearly evolves over time. It is a common misconception that, simply because their use is linked to a more artificial (atticizing) language, they are not worth studying. This is a gap we hope to fill here.


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The textual corpus that will be our focus consists of Byzantine book epigrams. These are metrical inscriptions in a manuscript, on a subject that is in some way related to the manuscript. Kominis has described them as “epigrams in and on books”\(^8\) and Lauxtermann characterized them as “poems that are intimately related to the production of literary texts and manuscripts.”\(^9\) They are an interesting set of texts, since they cover a wide range of subjects, registers, and metres, thus giving us a more or less overall view of Byzantine poetic language. It is for this reason that book epigrams are a valuable corpus for this paper: they can give indications of linguistic evolutions or preferences over the entire span of the Byzantine era, whilst still remaining a coherent set of texts. Any detected evolutions can then be verified by checking for them in other Byzantine poetic texts, which is what has been done for this paper.

More specifically, our corpus consists of the book epigrams collected in the Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams (available at http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/). The Database distinguishes between ‘occurrences’ and ‘types’, occurrences being individual epigrams exactly as they are found in the manuscript and types being a sort of normalised ‘super-texts’, an umbrella under which one or more variants of the same text are collected.\(^{10}\) Only the occurrences will be the focus of this paper, since the particular idiosyncrasies of each epigram can be of importance for the interpretation and analysis of the text.\(^{11}\)

2. A separated pair

The first particle to be examined is τε, most notably in combination with its loyal companion καί. Indeed, throughout the
history of the Greek language, τε and καί form a tightly knit pair. τε is a very old word with Indo-European roots (related to Sanskrit ca and Latin -que) whose function is to connect two parallel nouns, pronouns, or verbs, but also with a universalizing sense (illustrated in Latin quisque but also in Greek ὡς τε or ὡς τε). καί, on the other hand, has the function of introducing an addition, both in a connective way (joining words, phrases, clauses, or sentences) and a responsive way, where it has the adverbial meaning of “also” or “even.” Both can be used on their own, but together they reinforce and complement each other. They can occur juxtaposed or with several words separating them, with a noticeable difference between several genres as to the percentages of juxtaposed and separated τε καί. This sort of diverse usage is no different in later Byzantine texts.

Our focus will be on the dodecasyllabic poems, which constitute by far the largest part of our corpus of book epigrams. The juxtaposed pair τε καί occurs relatively frequently in the dodecasyllabic epigrams (312 times), which most likely has to do with the connection between accentual poetry and the commatic asianic style. Indeed, Valiavitcharska states that the rhythm of Byzantine accentual poetry and that of Byzantine rhetorical texts (which are the rhythmical heir to the asiantic style of Hellenistic times) are very similar, since both make use of

15 Of the 9952 occurrences that are currently in the DBBE, 6934 (70%) are in dodecasyllables (date checked: 4 December 2018).
16 Relatively frequently, because we must keep in mind that we are dealing with medieval texts, which make overall significantly less use of the classical particles. However, compared to the occurrence of separated τε … καί (192 times) or of τε … τε (31 times), for example, we may state that juxtaposed τε καί occurs relatively frequently.
short, prosodic units that are chained together in a larger text.\(^{17}\)

As such, both poetry and oratory exhibit the commatic style, i.e. a fragmented style that puts emphasis on the concatenation of units and the rhythm that is the result thereof. Blomqvist\(^{18}\) has noted that there is a remarkable correlation between the commatic style and the use of juxtaposed τε καί. He concluded that “juxtaposition of τε καί might be a characteristic of asianism,” and since the asianic style strongly influenced the commatic style in Byzantine times,\(^{19}\) it is no surprise that this same characteristic appears frequently in accentual poems as well. We therefore have a rather large number of occurrences of juxtaposed τε καί in our corpus to work with.

It is striking how often juxtaposed τε καί is divided by the caesura (or \textit{Binnenschluß}),\(^{20}\) as for example:\(^{21}\)

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1] + Αἶνος θ(ε)ῶ χάρις τε || καὶ δόξα πρέπει·
  \end{itemize}

τῷ δόντι τέρμα || τῆς γραφῆς φθάσαι σθένος

Kalabruta – Monè Megalon Spèlaion 12 f. 203\(^{r}\)

http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/85

Of all the occurrences of juxtaposed τε καί in the dodecasyllabic part of the corpus (312), no less than 74\% (231) are separated by the caesura, a significant proportion.

Before investigating this further, however, we must make sure that this is not something characteristic of book epigrams alone, but also occurs in other Byzantine texts. We have therefore examined several texts from different genres throughout the

\(^{17}\) V. Valiavitcharska, \textit{Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantium, the Sound of Persuasion} (Cambridge 2013) 23 ff.; cf. H. B. Dewing, “The Origin of the Accentual Prose Rhythm in Greek,” \textit{AJP} 31 (1910) 312–328. A text can thus be both asianic and atticist at the same time, as many Byzantine texts in fact are. This is because the asianic style involves a rhythmical component, while the atticist style involves a lexicological and morphological component.


\(^{19}\) Valiavitcharska, \textit{Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantium} 57 ff.

\(^{20}\) Maas, \textit{BZ} 12 (1903) 282.

\(^{21}\) Unless otherwise stated, DBBE ID-numbers refer to occurrences and the texts are cited from the DBBE website.
Byzantine period. They were written by different authors, on different subjects, at diverse dates. They have in common only their metre, the dodecasyllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>τε καί juxtaposed</th>
<th>τε καί separated</th>
<th>% τε καί separated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expeditio Persica – Pisides22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versus – Constantine Rhodios23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iambi de variis argumentis – Stoudites24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metaphrasis odarum – Geometres25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Mariam Sclerenam – Psellos26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versus vari – Mytilenaios27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epigrammata – Maupoules28</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epitaphius29 + Catamyomachia30 – Prodromos</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versus de poematum generibus – Tzetzes31</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmina – Manuel Philes32</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epigrammata – Planoudes33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Occurrences of juxtaposed τε καί for each author, with number and percent of those separated by caesura


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We can see some differences from author to author (without any real chronological evolution, but perhaps with a certain relation to the linguistic register), but with a clear tendency to prosodically break up the pair τε καί, since all the authors (except Psellus) separated them in at least half of the cases. We may therefore conclude that the prosodic separation of our duo is something characteristic for Byzantine dodecasyllabic texts in general. Our question of course is: why?

The caesura that breaks up these two particles also breaks up the entire verse into two cola (κόλα) or metrical half-verses. It is important to understand that the metrical cola that make up the dodecasyllable function in the same way as so-called intonation units or information units. The theory of information units is part of the theoretical framework of Cognitive Linguistics, most thoroughly investigated by Wallace Chafe. He finds that speech is not uttered in long strings or whole sentences, but rather in short ‘chunks’. These chunks have not only a semantic,
syntactic, and prosodic unity, but also a cognitive foundation, because speaking in information units allows the speaker to cognitively structure what he is about to say whilst also allowing the listener to process what is being said. They are, in short, tightly connected to the pragmatics of language and how language functions in the linguistic mind. The metrical cola of the Byzantine dodecasyllable have a very similar function, in that they also have prosodic, semantic, syntactic, and therefore cognitive unity.\textsuperscript{37} This means that verses in the Byzantine dodecasyllable are broken up into two (or more)\textsuperscript{38} prosodic parts that have some level of cognitive autonomy.

The semantic and syntactic unity of the metrical colon means that καί very regularly occurs at the beginning of a new colon, for it introduces a new coordinated noun, word group, or clause (cf. the original meaning and use of καί). This would certainly account for καί systematically being on the right side of the caesura. Then why is τε not on the same side as καί, right next to its loyal companion? Since the pair τε καί was often thought to connect two linguistic items more tightly than simple καί or simple τε,\textsuperscript{39} one might expect that they would form one tight union as well. Further consideration, however, shows that it makes perfect sense for τε to be on the other side of the caesura, at the end of the colon. First of all, τε is an enclitic particle, hence always attached to the preceding word. It would therefore be entirely impossible for τε to feature at the very beginning of a colon. Moreover, it seems that the particle has undergone a slight change in function by medieval times. Whatever the


\textsuperscript{38} This can be illustrated by example (1) above. The first verse not only has the main caesura at B7, but we can also assume a smaller caesura at B4 (see below).

function of τε in antiquity, it becomes more of a rhythmically structuring particle in Byzantine times, with the function of corroborating the rhythmic pauses in a text. Whether it occurs in the second position of a clause as in example (2.a), as a fore-runner for καί as in (b), or as part of an enumeration as in (c), τε seems to have a clear tendency to occur in the neighbourhood of the caesura:

(2)

(a) ἀνδρονίκου τε ἡ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν τονάλων:~
   DBBE 4843, Milan – Bibl. Ambrosiana P 38 sup. f. 97v
   http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/4843

(b) τὸν Ἀμαλήκ τε ἡ τὸν νοητὸν συντρίβον καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου ἡ παχίδας καὶ τοὺς λόχους
   Athos – Monê Megístês Lauras B 86 (Eustratiades 206), end of MS.
   http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/9433

(c) Μακροὺς τε λήρους ἡ ἀστικῶν ἀθυρμάτων ·:
   Δόξαν κενήν τε ἡ πάμπαν ἐκφύγοις φόβω ·:
   Milan – Bibl. Ambrosiana A 152 sup. f. 213r
   http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/571

In addition to being positioned in the second place in an information unit (P2), as it was in ancient times, it now also becomes quite common to put τε anywhere before a caesura. Of course, in some cases, e.g. (2.a), P2 occurs exactly before the caesura, so these two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. Thus, we can assume that τε receives an extra function which it did not have in ancient times and which has more to do with the structuring of the rhythm than with semantics (see below).

3. Diatresis

The fact that, in 74% of the cases, τε καί brackets the caesura raises the question whether τε καί always entails some sort of

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pause, even when it does not surround the caesura. In other words, can we assume some sort of metrical pause in the cases where τε καί occurs far from the main caesura, as in the following two examples:

(3)  

(a) Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ πόνος Ἰωάννου τοῦ πίκλην Πλουσιαδηνοῦ τάχα καὶ θύτου ψάλτου τε καὶ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πρωτόπαπα δὲ Βιτζα Χάνδακος Κρήτης.


(b) θάψων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φονευτοῦ σωμάτ(ον)· καὶ μὴ καταλ(υ)σ(ίν) μόνον σὺ δειγάσεις· ὅτωσι γὰρ ἐγιγάσαστο τάυτα τὰ τρία ἐξαγόρευσιν ἐν τῶλην τε, καὶ κόπ(οv) +

Meteora – Monè Metamorphoseos 553 f. 338v http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/140

This would certainly make sense, given the postpositive character of τε and the rhythmically structuring function of τε just described.

And it indeed seems to be so, for the remaining 26% of cases of juxtaposed τε καί in dodecasyllables are not random, but suggest an entirely new pattern of fixed places in the verse where a second metrical pause can, but does not always, occur. We are dealing here with secondary caesurae, which were most likely often audible but not as prominent as the main caesura, and which effectively divided the verse into three segments rather than two. This kind of threefold division has been discussed by Fränkel and Janse for the classical hexameter.42

Marc Lauxtermann discusses secondary caesurae in Byzantine poetry and calls these secondary pauses “diaireses.”43 This is not to be confused with the diaeresis in ancient metres, since it is simply a slightly less strong pause in comparison with the main


43 Lauxtermann, Byzantine Poetry II 265–384.
caesura. He assumes that there can be a diairesis at B4 when the main caesura is at B7, or a diairesis at B8 when the main caesura is at B5. However, our corpus suggests further possibilities as well. Table 2 shows that no less than 21.5% of juxtaposed τε καί in dodecasyllabic book epigrams have a diairesis at B3 when the caesura is at B7 or a diairesis at B9 when the caesura is at B5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diairesis</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total: 13 (4.5%)</td>
<td>Total: 67 (21.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B4</td>
<td>B8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (1.5%)</td>
<td>9 (3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: τε καί with diairesis B4 or B8 vs. B3 or B9.

This means that we have more occurrences of a diairesis at B3 or B9 than at B4 or B8 (the diaireses that Lauxtermann suggested). Moreover, all instances of juxtaposed τε καί occur either around the main caesura, around the diairesis as Lauxtermann defined it, or around the diairesis at B3 or B9. As such, the diairesis at B3 or B9 is the missing piece of the puzzle. We repeat example (3), showing a diairesis at B3 with a caesura at B7 (3.a) and a diairesis at B9 with a caesura at B5 (3.b):

(a) Θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ πόνος Ἰωάννου τοῦ πίκλην Πλουσιαδηνοῦ τάχα καὶ θύτου ψάλτου τε καὶ ἄρχοντος Ἰωάννου Ἐνκλησιῶν δὲ Βιτζα Χάνδακος Κρήτης.

(b) Θάψων τῶν σώμα τοῦ φονευτοῦ σωμάτ(ον)· καὶ μη καταλ(υ)σ(ίν) μόνον σῦ δειξάσείν· ὅτωσο γὰρ ἐγκόρασατο τάντα τὰ τρία ἐξαγόρευσίν II β. ἐντῶλην τὲ, καὶ κόπ(ον) +

As mentioned, if we add the number of occurrences where τε καί brackets the caesura to the number where τε καί suggests a diairesis at B4 or B8 and the number where B3 or B9 is suggested, then we have a full 100% of all occurrences of juxtaposed τε καί. This means we are not dealing with mere tendencies, but what seems to be a rule: juxtaposed τε καί always surrounds a caesura or diairesis and this diairesis can be positioned at B3 or B9 as well as B4 and B8.

This is not confined to book epigrams. The other corpus of randomised Byzantine texts exhibits the same pattern:
Throughout all Byzantine history, it seems to be relatively common to place juxtaposed τε καί around a diaeresis at B3 or B9. This means that a dodecasyllabic verse cannot be divided only into two cola of five and seven syllables, but that these cola can be split up yet again into segments of three and four syllables. An example of this is in Psellus’ *In Mariam Sclerenam*, line 361:

(4) τὸ λαμπρὸν ὄμμα ||⁴⁵ γῆς ὀμοῦ τε καὶ πόλου.

Let us now consider Lauxtermann’s *principle of pairing*,⁴⁴ which holds that the Byzantine metres came into being through the pairing of two shorter cola. As such, the dodecasyllabic emerged from the pairing of a five-syllable colon (pentasyllable) and a seven-syllable colon (heptasyllable). However, it now seems that these paired cola can themselves be split up into even smaller parts. This may actually be some relic from a caesura in the older, shorter verse types, out of which the dodecasyllable originated (i.e. pentasyllable plus heptasyllable). This can be illustrated by a book epigram that is composed entirely in heptasyllables:⁴⁵

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⁴⁴ Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm* 51.

⁴⁵ This epigram is presented by the scribe in a peculiar way, with the first and last letters of each verse aligned and forming the vertical sentence σός εἰμι τίμιε σός. Not all verses are marked here with a metrical break, because,
As we can see, for the majority of the verses (11 out of 15) we can assume a rather weak metrical pause at B3 and B4, corroborating that the caesurae in the earliest, shorter verse types live on in the diaireses of Byzantine metre. The metrical break in these heptasyllables is quite weak and not mandatory (it does not occur in every verse), which is reflected in the diaireses of Byzantine metre, which are likewise not mandatory in every verse. Thus, it might be feasible to say that the newly-found diaireses at B3 and B9, as well as the diaireses at B4 and B8 which were postulated by Lauxtermann, are in fact relics of a caesura in the older and shorter verse types. However, more research is needed before anything conclusive can be said about this.

4. The hexameter: an isosyllabic metre?

There is an interesting parallel in the treatment of juxtaposed τε καί in dodecasyllables on the one hand and in hexameters and elegiacs on the other. Although the latter are quantitative metres, based on the alternation between long and short syllables with regard to the matter at hand, we are focusing on those that have a noticeable pause or break at B3 or B4.

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and so having little in common with the isosyllabic medieval metres (such as dodecasyllables and political verses), there are similarities to be discerned.

Lauxtermann says of the hexameters of Georgios Pisides: “the Pisidian hexameter was well on the way to becoming a truly accentual metre: a 17-syllable verse (spondaics are avoided); divided into two hemistichs, 8 + 9, by a caesura after the eighth syllable (the ‘feminine’ caesura); with an obligatory stress accent on the penultimate at line end.”\footnote{Lauxtermann, \textit{Byzantine Poetry} II 301.} Whilst the prosodic features of the hexameter are of course maintained (though not always rigorously), it seems that it is becoming more of an isosyllabic metre in the minds of some writers, in the same way as the dodecasyllable and the political verse. This includes subdividing the verse into smaller cognitive chunks (information units), with a distinct caesura to separate them. The differentiation between long and short syllables had of course long been lost to the Byzantine ear, and consequently the hexameter had become nothing more than a way for authors to show off their high education (or lack thereof). It thus no longer sounded particularly pleasing to the ear; so it seems logical that it would be slightly adapted in order to assume at least some audible rhythmicality. That explains why the hexameter becomes a semi-isosyllabic metre with two or more metrical cola. In this respect, it is interesting to see what happens to juxtaposed τε καί in the hexametrical book epigrams.

First of all, it is important to note that juxtaposed τε καί does not occur nearly as often in hexameters or elegiacs as it does in dodecasyllables or political verse. Single τε or doubled τε, on the other hand, occurs much more frequently in hexameters than in dodecasyllables. This of course has to do with the difference in style that accompanies these metres.\footnote{Each metre seems to have been more or less connected with a certain register, and texts written in a particular metre elicit the expectation that the text will exhibit this or that style. While hexameters and elegiacs were more connected to an epic language, dodecasyllables exhibited a continuum of} As was mentioned above,
juxtaposed τε καί is linked to a more commatic style,⁴⁸ which hexametrical epigrams do not exhibit—at least not to the same extent. It follows that single or doubled τε was felt to be a more epic and ‘Homeric’ option than the combination τε καί, and it lent itself perfectly to the hexameter.

In the entire corpus of book epigrams, we find 19 occurrences of juxtaposed τε καί in hexameters or elegiacs. In the elegiacs, τε καί features only in the hexametrical lines, which may or may not be a coincidence. Of these 19 occurrences, more than 52% (10 occurrences) surround a caesura after the eighth syllable, for example:

(6) ζήτα δ’ ἄρ’ ἀνδρομάχης τε || καὶ ἔκτορος ἔστ’ ὀφριστής

Cologny (Geneva) – Bibl. Bodmeriana 85 f. 56v
http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/7603

Two other occurrences have a caesura after seven syllables, three a caesura after nine syllables, and one after three. It thus seems that the same locations are preferred for caesurae in the hexameter as in the accentual metres, and the caesura after eight syllables (which does seem to be favoured) reminds one very much of the political verse. Of course, the hexameter has not become an entirely accentual metre and is still predominantly an archaic, prosodic metre, but it is interesting to see a second dimension added to the poem, almost as though a see-through sheet of paper with new additions is placed over a drawing. The original is still there, but it receives an extra layer.

5. τε and δέ

The second particle on which we will focus is δέ. Its original use is as a connective particle, with a semantic meaning ranging from “and” to “but” and everything in between.⁴⁹ However, it

more or less classicizing language, and political verse was often used for the vernacular (in later Byzantine times). For more on register in Byzantine learned texts see M. Hinterberger, *The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature* (Turnhout 2014).

emerges that its function has changed in the Byzantine texts and it has become almost interchangeable with τε. Whereas δέ in ancient texts was always found in the second position of an information unit and sometimes in correlation with a preceding μέν,50 it is now often postponed until later in the verse, sometimes in the very last place of a colon instead of the second place. Moreover, δέ is found very often to adhere to the left side of the caesurae, in the same way as τε does.

Surveying the occurrences of δέ in our corpus of dodecasyllabic book epigrams, we have noted where each deviating δέ was positioned in the verse. By “deviating” is meant any δέ that does not occur in the second position of the clause, except cases where δέ is pushed to the third position by prepositions and proclitics, such as articles or καί,51 as for example:

(7) ὁ βοῦς δέ χριστοῦ διὰ λουκᾶς αὐλακεργάτης

Paris, BnF – gr. 71 f. 186c
http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/9991

The article ὁ is not felt to be P1 by the Byzantine writer, but is felt to be one word with βοῦς. Therefore, δέ is not located at P3 but at P2. At the same time, the positioning of δέ in this verse may also suggest a caesura at B3—so immediately following δέ.

Two interesting tendencies can be discerned in deviating positions of δέ: δέ postponed until it immediately precedes the caesura (137 times), and a use of δέ καί which strikingly resembles the use of τε καί (27 times). Compare this with 689 occurrences of δέ in P2, which is the classical usage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>τε in P2</th>
<th>τε preceding caesura</th>
<th>δέ καί</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>689 (80.8%)</td>
<td>137 (16%)</td>
<td>27 (3.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: τε in regular P2 vs. deviating positions

In general, there are not many instances of δέ in our corpus when compared to classical texts, corroborating the generally accepted thesis that particles had disappeared in the spoken


language by this time. However, they do still occur and the majority still adhere to Wackernagel’s law; but the remaining 19.2% of deviating positions cannot be ignored.

Several examples of δὲ postponed so that it immediately precedes the caesura and also of δὲ καὶ instead of τε καὶ are found in the following epigram:

(8) Ἀκουε τοῖνν τῶν ἐπιστολῶν βάθη.

"In the following epigram: cedes the caesura and also of δὲ καὶ instead of τε καὶ are found in the following epigram:

8 Several examples of δὲ postponed so that it immediately precedes the caesura and also of δὲ καὶ instead of τε καὶ are found in the following epigram:

5 Ἡ πρὸς τῶν κορινθίων, ώς πίστιν οὐ τηροῦντας ἡκριβωμένως.

10 Τὴν δί τη γετάρτην πρὸς γαλάτας μὴ κόπους αὐτῶ παρασχεῖν.

15 Ἐκ τὴν φιλίππων τῶν κατοίκους ἐγγράφει.

20 Πρὸς τὶς κολασσα ἐγγραψεν ἀρχίππῳ πλέον.

25 Πρὸς τῶν πατρίων, διὰ τῶν θεοῦ κακῶν.

30 Τὴν τέξιν αὐτήν, καὶ διδάσκειας πόθων.
ψέγει δὲ λοιποὺς, οὐ τὸν ὀνησιφόρον· 35
Τιμοθέω δηλοῖ (δὲ) ἵπτεν πᾶν ρέον
cαι τὴν ἐκατοῦ νῦν τελευτὴν μηνύει·
tὰς αἰρέσεις φύναι δὲ (καὶ) μὴ θαυμάσει(ν)
grάψαις πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ πορευθῆναι(αί) τάχους.
τὸ σπένδομαι γὰρ δείγμα τρανὸν τοῦ τέλους· 40
Εξῆς δὲ τίτω κληρικῶν καταστάσεις,
(καὶ) θεσμὸν ἐκτίθησε τῆς ἐκκλησίας·
Δέδεκτο (καὶ) φιλήμων τὴν δῖς ἐπτάδα·
tὸν δούλον ὀνήσιμον εἰς ἐλευθέρω(ν)
ἐλθόντα τάξιν (καὶ) μεμορτυρήκότα,
σκέλων τῇ θλάσιν ὡς κεκαρτηρηκότα
ῥόμης ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἐν χρόνοις τοῦ τερτύλου:—
Paris, BnF – gr. 224 f. 1r
http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/2410

We find four instances of δέ postponed so as to immediately precede the caesura (3, 5, 30, 36), two instances where δέ occurs in P3 so as not to separate two syntactically corresponding words (18, 21), and two instances of δέ καί (12, 38). All the while, however, we still see δέ in its ‘regular’ P2 position as well, indicating that displacement was a change in progress and had certainly not become the norm.

6. The function of τε and δέ

Both τε and δέ received a different and new function in Byzantine times, compared to ancient usage. What exactly is this function and was it the same for both?

First, all these deviating particles might seem merely a further argument to belittle the function of particles in Byzantine texts, as they definitely were in decline. As Soltic has said, this decline is not merely a reduction in frequency (they are not used as often), but also a reduction in variety (only a limited number of particles are still regularly used) and in function (their discourse role has become bleached).52 Obviously, they were no longer used in spoken language, so what is to be gained in studying them? This must be put in perspective, however, for the ‘abnormal’ use of particles had begun well before the Byzantine

52 Soltic, SO 88 (2014) 140.
period. Horrocks mentions the “frequently odd placement of the ‘second position’ connective and discourse particles” even in texts as early as dialogues by Plato, Menander, or Aristophanes.\(^53\) Evans cites misplaced particles in non-literary papyri from the third century B.C.\(^54\) However, the study of particles from the Byzantine period is still valuable, since much information can be gained about shifting preferences and evolution in usage. We must discard the rigid idea of what particles should look like according to the classical scheme and accept a change in function as the centuries go by. So what can we gather from the information about τε and δέ in Byzantine book epigrams?

The function of τε and δέ has become quadruple, in the way that Soltić has described.\(^55\) First, there is a stylistic function of these particles. This is illustrated by τε in its single or double use in the hexameter, giving the language a more ancient look, but also by the abundance of juxtaposed τε καί in dodecasyllabic epigrams, thus giving these texts a very commatic style.

Second, there is the metrical function: it serves as a metrical filler, in order to achieve the required number of syllables.

Third is the rhythmical or prosodic function, in which the particles are indicative of the information unit boundary. This is the function that has become very predominant in Byzantine dodecasyllables. It structures the metre and guides the pronunciation of the verse by making the metrical pause more audible. In this way, we can see the particle as a ‘filled pause’, since it lengthens and corroborates the metrical/discourse break.\(^56\) We can define a filled pause as a discourse marker that implies a pause in the discourse, in the same way as a breathing pause.


does, but, in contrast to a breathing pause, it is filled with a linguistic expression. Heeman and Allen describe it as follows: “Discourse markers tend to be used at utterance boundaries, and hence have strong interactions with intonational phrasing.”\(^{57}\) As such, τε and δέ occurring immediately before the caesura and/or diairesis can be considered to function as filled pauses.

Fourth, these particles have a pragmatic function, since both τε and δέ serve as discourse markers. Schourup has called these words “evincive”: “a linguistic item that indicates that at the moment at which it is said the speaker is engaged in, or has just then been engaging in, thinking; the evincive item indicates that this thinking is now occurring or has just now occurred but does not completely specify its content.”\(^{58}\) This can be linked yet again to the way in which metrical cola of Byzantine metres function as information units.\(^{59}\) Whereas the discourse function was most prominent in ancient texts, the stylistic and the rhythmic/prosodic functions have become prevalent in Byzantine times.

7. Conclusion

In the corpus of Byzantine book epigrams, the word order of the particles τε and δέ easily catches the eye, and deeper investigation suggests that this peculiar location is not confined to book epigrams but is a recurrent phenomenon in Byzantine poetry. The positioning of both τε and δέ, which favours the neighbourhood of the caesura much more in Byzantine than in ancient texts, suggests that their original, classical semantic meaning has become bleached to the point of being nothing but empty phonological signifiers (“filled pauses”). As such, they signal the approach of a break in pronunciation, thus highlighting

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the very prominent caesura. This ‘functionalisation’ (transformation into a purely functional word) seems to be a general tendency for particles in the Byzantine period, since their original use gradually fades because of their extinction in the spoken language. This also explains why τε and δέ seem to have become almost interchangeable in our corpus, as their semantic meaning has come to be forgotten. However, it is also important to note that this is not a watertight rule and both τε and δέ are still used in their original context, that is, in the second position of a colon (P2).

Despite and perhaps even because of this, they can still give us important information about the pragmatics of Byzantine metre. For instance, we can safely assume that there was the possibility to add diaireses or secondary pauses to the verse, apart from the main caesura, simply by considering the positions of these particles. We can conclude that not only B4 and B8 are possible (as suggested by Lauxtermann), but also B3 and B9. These diaireses are possibly a remnant of a verse break in the earliest short verse types, out of which the dodecasyllable and political verse later emerged. With the pairing of these shorter verse types into the whole verses that we have, the smaller, original caesurae were retained, thus creating a secondary pause in the larger end product. However, more research about this is needed.

Despite the semantic bleaching and general decline of particles in Byzantine texts, the fact that they yet remain in use is significant and makes them worthy of scholarly interest. We must not invoke the classical particles and call every divergent

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60 The idea of ‘semantic bleaching’ is employed in works about grammaticalisation: L. J. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers in English: Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions* (Berlin/New York 1996) 65. Soltic, *Late Medieval Greek πολιτικὸς στίχος Poetry* 55, defines grammaticalisation as “the gradual evolution of conceptual expressions into DMs [discourse markers].” However, we cannot speak of true grammaticalisation in the case of τε and δέ, as they do not show increased frequency and their main function has become a rhythmical one rather than a discourse one. This is why I have chosen the slightly unusual word ‘functionalisation’ to indicate their evolution into a semantically empty functional word.
use wrong, since they have simply changed and evolved, which does not justify disapprobation. Much work remains to be done on Byzantine particles, but I hope to have shown that, contrary to common believe, they do deserve our attention.61

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