

Ο ΟΜΗΡΙΚΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΣ

ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ

Ο ΟΜΗΡΙΚΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΣ

Από τα Πρακτικά
του Ε' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια
(11-14 Σεπτεμβρίου 1987)



ΙΘΑΚΗ 1990

<i>Hubert Petersmann</i> , Das Walten der Götter über Haus und Hof in Homers Odyssee Η πρόνοια των θεών για το σπιτικό στην Οδύσσεια του Ομήρου	159
<i>A. Μαζαράκης Αιμιάν</i> , Λατρευτικά δείπνα στις κατοικίες των αρχόντων των πρωτογεωμετρικών και γεωμετρικών χρόνων Ritual Meals inside the Rulers' Dwellings in the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods	177
<i>Σ. Ι. Λάκωνης</i> , Το αρχαίο σπίτι της Ηπείρου: ομηρικές επιβιώσεις The Ancient House of Epirus: Homeric Survivals	201
<i>W.-D. Heilmeyer</i> , Geometrische Wagen in Olympia Γεωμετρικά άρματα στην Ολυμπία	227
ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ	241
ΕΥΡΕΤΗΡΙΑ	243
α' Γενικό ευρετήριο	
β' Πίνακας ομηρικών χωρίων	

The Semantics of Oikos and its Semantic Field in the Odyssey

THE SEMANTIC field corresponding to "to live", "place in which one lives", "home" is a complex one in Homer—I refer specifically here to the Odyssey. Along with general concepts, it covers others related to the precise place in which one lives and also at times refers to those who live in this space, at others to family belongings. There are terms which refer to both the general and specific meaning; and there are fundamentally specific terms. We shall here be concerned with those terms which occupy this vast semantic spectrum: οἶκος above all; but we shall also discuss specific terms related to the precise place in which one lives (δόμος and δῶμα) above all. We leave aside terms referring to the diverse rooms or installations of the house and others with a basically human or economic value. That is, we centre on οἶκος and its family and on certain terms which serve as contrast to same.

The family of οἶκος, so prolific in later Greek, takes up a very restricted space in the Odyssey (and in the Iliad). Following Dundes's concordance (I have followed the re-edition by Olms, Hildesheim 1971), it can be reduced to the following:

a) The term οἶκαδε, that is, the fossilized accusative of οἶκος with the lative particle -δε. It is always governed by verbs of movement (ἔγω, ἀπάγω, βαίνω, εἶμι, ἐλαύνω, ἔπομαι, ἔρχομαι, ἔεμαι, ἰκνέομαι, νέομαι, νίσσομαι, νοστέω, πέμπω, ὑπεξάγω). Its frequency is high: the Odyssey offers 52 examples (including those with elision, οἶκαδ'). It most often appears in formulae that are repeated.

b) The term οἶκος. Statistics for this are as follows: Acc. sg. οἶκον 51; idem with -δε 20; Dat.-Loc. οἶκοι 3, οἶκοι 5, οἶκῳ (generally with ἐν, ἐνὶ) 50; G. sg. οἶκοιο 3; οἶκου 10; Acc. pl. οἶκους 3; G. pl. οἶκων 1. The rareness of the pl. should be noted: of the examples given, those of the Acc. are numerative and the G. one is also this in all probability (ἐκ δὲ νέκυς οἶκων φόρεον καὶ θάπτον ἔκαστοι).

The same goes for a N. pl. in P 738); the D. pl. is lacking in both the Od. and Il.

c) The term *οικία*, of which there are 11 examples, is only once a N. pl. and the rest an Acc. pl. The sg. and the other cases are missing; it is either a subject (μ 4 *οικία και χοροί εἰσι*) or else, in almost all other instances, a direct object (with *δαίνομαι*, *ἔχω*, *νέμω*, *ναίω*, *ὀπάζω*), or otherwise it is finally an Acc. after *διά* (β 154 *ἤϊξαν διὰ οικία και πόλιν ἀντῶν*). Note that in some examples such as those given above in μ 4 and β 154, the plural is a numerative; more often it is a non-numerative plural, doubtless a discontinuous one as in examples like the formula ι 505, 531 *Ἰθάκη ἐνι οἴκι' ἔχοντα*.

d) The term *οἰκέτις* "servant": 5 examples.

e) The verb *οἰκέω* "to dwell": only one example ζ 204.

This is the situation with which we are faced, one which does not differ much from that of the Iliad and Hymns (the terms are the same, although the frequencies vary slightly), but very different from later Greek in that here the number of derived terms is very high. The system also varies greatly: the play between *οἶκος*, *οἰκία* and *δῶμος*, *δῶμα* which we find in Homer has been substituted by that which occurs merely between *οἶκος* and *οικία* (N. sg. fem., not the n. pl. as in Homer), for *δῶμος* and *δῶμα* were reserved for poetic language.

On this basis we can begin to work to improve the view of things which the dictionaries give us. For LSJ, as for *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* by R. J. Cunliffe (1924), *οἶκος* denotes either dwelling or residence in the wider sense or one's specific "house", indifferently (also a "cave", ι 478, a "tent", Ω 471); it may refer to the inhabitants or to their belongings. A few examples are left out which refer to some particular part of the house: thus Penelope's rooms in α 356 or a separate building in which the miller's wife lives (υ 105).

This is not inaccurate, but should be specified in more detail to include it in a consideration of the whole semantic field of "dwelling".

For to begin with, it is quite remarkable that the word *οἶκαδε* is only found in the Acc. sg. and at this precisely in lative use; that *οἶκος* should practically be a *singulare tantum* (there is minimum development of the plural) which at times is equivalent in use to *οἶκαδε* (*οἶκόνδε* is often used instead of *οἶκαδε*, whilst *οἶκον*

is also on occasion a lative with verbs of movement), only the metrical schema and the formulae varying; that there are other uses of *οἶκος* in diverse cases of the sg., at times with a different meaning to that of *οἶκαδε* in the lative; and that *οἰκία* is merely a pl., with a meaning that only partly coincides with that of *οἶκος*.

Οἶκαδε, *οἶκόνδε* and many uses of *οἶκον* only denote "residence" in a vague sense, as a place of dwelling. It is a question of "going", "leaving", "returning", "sending", etc. to one's "house" quite simply. Really, there is no distinction or precision, neither is one intended. If the cyclops asks for *δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσεῖα πολυπύρθιον οἶκαδ' ἔλθεσθαι* "stop Odysseus, the destroyer of cities, from returning to his home", he makes no distinction between the city of Ithaca and his specific house or palace. And this is what most often occurs. In a formula *οἶκόνδε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν* (ε 204, etc.), the two concepts handled are almost synonymous with each other, the second doing no more than specifying the former. Of course contrary to what happens with the fossilized formula *οἶκαδε*, in variations of the above-mentioned formula such as ζ 315 *οἶκον ἐυκτίμενον και σῆν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν*, ε 42 *οἶκον ἐς ὑψόροφον και ἐῆν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν*, *οἶκος* has become a specific house.

But this is not what is original or even general: in *οἶκαδε* only the general meaning is given, and the same goes for *οἶκόνδε*; in lative *οἶκον* there are now the two meanings; in the other cases we shall see that only the specific meaning is given; and this is exclusive also in *οικία*. All this is typical of Greek and we shall see that it does not fit in with data from other Indo-European languages. But it is strictly in accordance with the noun/verb relationship in Greek: alongside *οἶκος*, we have a denominative *οικέω*, albeit rare (*ναίω*, *ναιετάω* are more frequent), which means simply "to reside" and no more.¹ Obviously, it derives from the "general" use of the root, which on the other hand, is confirmed as Indo-European as we shall see below. Here we find the substantives **uik-* and **uoikos* and a different denominative verb **uikéti* "to go", witnessed by O.I. *visati*, Av. *visaiti*: it perhaps meant at first "to go home" in the general sense.

1. Cf. Michel Casivitz, *Le Vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien*, Paris, Kincksieck, 1985, p. 73ff.

As against what occurs in IE, where the nouns of this root at times give meanings such as "community", "village", "house" too, Greek has in principle maintained them merely to denote, with verbs of movement and the lative, "place of residence" and "house", without a distinction. But there have not been the other specializations. The very fact of the predominance of the sg. in lative use indicates this older general meaning. We could interpret these sg. forms as continuous mass nouns (not numerative), but they are really remains of a non-numerical use. Note that the sole uses of the word in Mycenaean are KN As 1519.11 *wo-i-ko-de* (there is no longer *wik-*) and TH Of 36.2 *wo-ko-de*.

However strange this might seem, Greek has in principle only retained the general meaning of the IE root **uik-*, **uoik-* whilst it availed itself of other terms for "house" in the concrete sense (*δόμος*, *δῶμα*, *μέγαρα* plus the "economic" terms). However, it gradually developed other uses of *uoikos*, which are conditioned by the distribution and use of the diverse cases; and it also developed to the same end the *plurale tantum* (in its origins another numerically nondifferentiated form) *οἰκία*.

One may sum up by stating that although the lative use *οἶκον* "house" is rare (ξ 167 οὐτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔτι οἶκον ἐλεύσεται: α 128, π 356 ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε), this specific use is the only non-lative one of *οἶκον*, as likewise of the G. and the D. (always local), and also of the N. One should note the N. is rare (and more so in the Il.) and the plural very rare indeed; that the meaning "house" is very broad and may refer to any place of dwelling (a cave, a tent, as is stated above), and that the existence of this meaning is to be deduced from distributional facts such as the concordance with a demonstrative or a verb that implies it is a specific *οἶκος*, at times with reference to the belongings contained therein or to its inhabitants. In other instances, the distributional facts cannot be formalized so easily, but the context indicates that it is a concrete *οἶκος*, belonging to someone, inhabited by his family and a place in which his belongings are kept. In sum, the "general" *οἶκος* has dropped certain possibilities of development that were exploited by other Indo-European languages and was left as a form that was indifferently equivalent to either *πατρίς* (and *πατρίδα*

γαῖαν etc.) or *δόμος*, *δῶμα*, *μέγαρα*. It was predominantly used in the lative, as a substitute for *οἶκαδε*, which had only a general use. But even in this construction, in the right contexts, it came to have the specific meaning of "house". Moreover, in order to express only this, with synonymy with regard to the above-mentioned words, various case and contextual uses of the word were developed.

To be more precise, the concrete meaning of *οἶκος* is given in:

a) a large number of the 50 examples of *οἶκον*: specifically in 23 of them, according to my counting. Most often, *οἶκον* is a direct object with verbs that mean "to destroy", "to ruin", "to devour" (*ἀπόλλυμι*, *διαρραίω*, *ἔδω*, *κατακείρω*, *κατέδω*, *κῆδω*, *τρύχω*), "to enlarge" (*ὑφάλλω*), "to dwell" (*ναίω*), "to give" (*δίδωμι*, *ἐπιτρέπω*), "to govern" (*ἔχω*). It is easy to see that an economic meaning and/or one of government and possession is implied. Most often the determiners (adjectives, Genitives, etc.) complete this characterisation as an individual *οἶκος*.

The exception are several examples of *κατὰ οἶκον* "at home", with identical determinations to those mentioned.

b) All the examples in the G., either *οἶκοιο* (3) or *οἶκου* (10). There is a first type in which the G. is a determiner in such a way that one can see that it is a concrete *οἶκος* (α 397 *οἶκοιο ἀναξ ἔσομαι*, δ 596 *οὐδέ κέ μ' οἶκου ἔλοι πόθοσ*). In the other examples, the G. determines a verb, either directly or by means of a preposition *ἐκ* or *ἀπό*: "to look after" the house (τ 23, 161 *οἶκου κῆδεσθαι*) or else "to leave, to distance oneself, to throw out of, far from, from the house", with specific determinations.

c) All the local examples: besides *κατὰ οἶκον* (see above), *οἶκοι* (3 examples), *οἶκοι* (5 examples), *οἶκω* (50 examples).

In the cases of *οἶκοι* and *οἶκω* the context makes it clear that it is somebody's "home": Aegisthus's, Odysseus's, etc., or that of different gods (θ 324 *θηλύτεραι δὲ θεαὶ μένον αἰδοῖ οἶκοι ἐκάστη*); there is a reference to the belongings in the house (χ 398), to the wife and mother who live in it (ν 42, ο 15).

In the case of *οἶκω* there is an overwhelming majority of the use with *ἐν* or *ἐν* and a determiner that indicates the owner of a specific "house": types like *σῶ (ῥ) ἐνὶ οἶκω*, *οἶκω ἐν ἀλλοτριῶ*, *οἶκω ἐν ἡμετέρω*, *οἶκω ἐν Αἰγίσθοιο (Ὀρτυλόχοιο)*, *ἐν ἐμῶ οἶκω*. Certainly in other instances the adjunct determiner is missing and there is only *ἐνὶ οἶκω*,

ἐν... οἶκῳ but the broader context leads one to an identical conclusion. As far as I can see, there are only two examples without ἐν, ἐνί: β 186 σφὶ οἶκῳ δῶρον ποτιδέγμενος and π 70 τὸν ξεῖνον ἐγὼν ὑποδέξομαι οἶκῳ. In them, the context once more leads one to the same conclusion. One should add that there is frequent mention of belongings, servants, women, ritual acts (τ 288) in the house.

d) All the uses in the N. (7). This is without a doubt the more secondary development: in the Il. as has already been said, there is only one example. It is easy to see that part of these examples have arisen from passive or middle transformations of the examples with a direct object: the house "is devoured", "it is destroyed", "it is enlarged". In other instances there are various determinations: with the G. (ν 265 οἶκος ἔδ'... Ὀδυσῆος), with demonstratives (the former example, also α 232 οἶκος ἔδ' ἀφνειός, ν 34 οἶκος μὲν τοι ἔδ' ἐστὶ), possessives (β 64 οἶκος ἐμὸς διόλωλε), possessive or sympathetic datives of the personal pronouns (δ 318, ω 208), and there is reference to the belongings.

e) All the plural uses, which as has been seen are restricted to very few. The three examples of οἶκους are numerative plurals: ζ 9 ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει, καὶ ἐδείματο οἶκους would clearly seem to refer to the fact that Nausithous, upon founding Scheria, built "houses"; whilst the formulaic verse (β 140, 375) ὑμὰ κτήματ' ἔδοντες ἀμειβόμενοι κατὰ οἶκους uttered by Telemachus tells the inhabitants of Ithaca that the suitors are plundering from house to house. As for the only example of the G. pl., ω 417 ἐκ δὲ νέκυς οἶκων φόρεον καὶ θάπτον ἕκαστοι, it means that the corpses of the suitors were taken out of their respective houses to be buried.

This means that once the specific "house" had been developed, it was logical that a need should have been felt for a numerative plural "houses": its very scant development once more bears witness to the late, secondary nature of this evolution. The rareness of οἶκεύς "servant", dependent upon this very meaning, means the same.

To my mind, then, this evolution is to be reflected in certain statistical facts:

1. οἶκ- is reduced to generic meaning and lative case, in which it alternates with οἶκον (this also in Myc.), which is generic and specific.

2. οἶκον in certain constructions has the sole specific and concrete meaning of "house" and from here onwards, forms of the G. and D. spread with this exclusive, specific meaning. We think that the specific meaning is always secondary.

3. A more recent phase of the process consists of the extremely rare development of plurals.

As may be seen οἶκον in the general meaning rather than a *singulare tantum* (with the above-mentioned recent exceptions), was a non-numeral form: it was only to be determined contextually whether it was "one" particular house. And there was no room for the distinction between a continuous and a discontinuous meaning, as happens in the case of the sg./pl. distinction in the mass nouns.

This lacuna was filled in by a new form which was created for the specific use: οἰκία (pl., not to be confused with the later sg. οἰκία), a creation exclusive to Greek to indicate "house" with the meaning of a discontinuous mass noun "ensemble of rooms or buildings". It is a positive term as against οἶκος with its at times generic, at others specific, meaning.

Yet that this is also a secondary development is to be seen because, as has been said above, οἰκία appears almost only in the Acc.: that is, in the oldest use to my mind, of the "special" meanings of οἶκος. It is a variant of οἶκον, with the above-mentioned distinctive feature; and when the other cases of οἶκος were created, there was no time to create a G. and D. for οἰκία. Neither was there to create a sg. οἰκίον. What was indeed created was a numerative οἰκία (β 254 διὰ τ' οἰκία καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν. Cf. also μ 4).

Οἰκία almost always appears as a direct object with the same verbs as οἶκον: δίδωμι, ναίω, ὑπάζω (an above-mentioned prepositional usage διὰ τ' οἰκία is added). It is therefore a substitute with a distinctive feature and a different metrical value (as had already occurred with οἶκον, οἶκόνδε with regard to οἶκαδε). As from here, a sole example of the use in the N. was created: μ 4 οἰκία καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἥελίοιο. Of course, οἰκία bears the same relationship to the subject of belongings, woman, etc., as the specific sense of οἶκος.

Thus we think that the Homeric language (and we cannot state the same outright for the Mycenaean one), developed a new term

for "house" in the concrete sense of "family dwelling", "place of keeping for the family's belongings". The oldest meaning of οἶκ-, οἶκον is presupposed which in turn had narrowed down its older Indo-European meaning and of which the second term produced a denominative οἰκέω that still had a general meaning. It is now a matter of establishing the relationship of the new term οἶκος to older terms such as νηός, μέγαρον/-α, δόμος/-αι, δῶμα/-τα.

For οἶκος and οἰκία cannot by any means suffice to indicate "residence" or "house". They have a restricted case and number use and the contexts in which they appear are also restricted. They do not allow one to distinguish between the different types of human habitation or between the whole and its parts; they are not applied to gods. They only very vaguely refer to a building, the οἶκος may simply be a cave. Its relation to the verbal system (ναίω, ναιετάω then the rare οἰκέω) indicates the fundamental simple meaning "to dwell". It is a Greek development that made way within a partially preserved Indo-European system that had even been developed in Greek itself.

In fact, alongside οἶκ-, οἰκο-, with generic meaning and only with a specific one in secondary developments which we might call "architectonic", we find four words of Indo-European origin in the Odyssey that mean "house" in the specific, architectonic sense and which only secondarily developed either even more specialized meanings at times or else a generic meaning. But even in as far as they coincide with οἶκ-, οἰκο-, they display differences that were useful to the poet. I leave to one side concrete terms that refer to diverse parts of the house.

These terms have already been mentioned and are νηός, μέγαρον, δόμος and δῶμα. As against οἶκ-, οἰκο-, the relationship of which to the verbal system is not etymological, δόμος (and without a doubt δῶμα) is related to δέμω "to build" (contrary to Benveniste's opinion, see below), νηός to ναίω; only μέγαρον is in an asymmetrical position, the same as οἶκ-, οἰκο-.

Let us begin with νηός > νηός, which can be dealt with rapidly. Its relation to ναίω implies that the older meaning is simply "place of dwelling". But it is well known that its sole meaning became "temple", at times a provisional structure made of branches (A 39), at others most likely a true building (ζ 10, μ 346). Diachronically,

there is an evolution; synchronically, we would say that νηός is a positive term, for the other nouns, which are negative, indifferently denote either a human or divine dwelling. Although οἶκος really only very rarely, and doubtless by analogy, had a "non-human" use (cf. A 606, ι 478): it depends on the fact that the older use is the lative one.

As has been said, δῶμα always has a specific use: it refers to a building that can be a dwelling for men or for gods; far more often than οἶκος may refer, besides to the whole building, to one of its parts (above all to the main room or μέγαρον). Its diverse determinations guarantee these interpretations: whether they be with the G. of the owner, with the demonstrative or possessive, with "architectonic" adjectives (referring to its characteristics) or simply in broad contexts that denote that the δῶμα should be interpreted as we have stated. The use may be lative (with or without a preposition), local (δώμασι, κατὰ δῶμα, etc.) or as the direct object of verbs of the type of "to look after", "to build", "to dwell in", etc.: ἐσθίω, ἔχω, θεῖω, κομίζω, ναίω, νοσφίζομαι, τίθημι, etc. All this practically coincides with the "specific" uses of οἶκος.

The difference in use depends on the fact that, wherever οἶκος is ambiguous, δῶμα is not so: more specifically, in the lative use. Besides, as has been said, in the use to indicate the dwellings of gods. Moreover, in those cases in which οἶκος is rare (N., G. and D. sg., the whole of the pl.), δῶμα is frequent; and in the pl. δώματα often indicates not the numerative (various δώματα), which certainly exists, but the discontinuous mass noun. In fact, δῶμα and δώματα are equally frequent and practically synonymous to each other although in principle one must bear in mind that δῶμα indicates the whole ensemble of building, δώματα the existence of several rooms within it: it thus magnifies the base noun. That is, δῶμα offers a possibility that οἶκος lacks.

All this may easily be checked in the *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos*, Lief. 11 (Göttingen 1984): for this reason and because our main theme is οἶκος, I will not give examples. But in this same lexicon one may check that δῶμα, despite all, does not take up the whole field of "house" or "building", neither δώματι nor δωμάτων are to be found, and in these cases the continuous/discontinuous distinction is impossible. On the other hand, there is no lack of examp-

les of synonymy with οἶκος (in the specific sense of this word), with reference at times to the inhabitants or belongings in the house. For the rest, the metrical schema is the same (— ∪), although the fact that one word ends in a vowel and the other in a consonant may introduce differences; besides, one may also play with the possibility of variants δῶμα/δῶματα/δῶματι. But this is not the main reason for the choice, but the existence of the other differences which nevertheless disappear in some interchangeable examples with a specific meaning and with reference to men in an identical building. Even in these, there is the difference related to number, and often, to the formulary system.

The use of δῶ is similar but has a much more restricted distribution. One should bear in mind that δῶ, however much some linguists might think that it comes from a lative particle (see the bibliography in Frisk's and Chantraine's etymological dictionaries), it is for the epic tradition a simple synonym of δῶμα with a more restricted distribution: it is to be understood thus as "house" in the specific sense.² It is a seldom-used word (13 examples in the Odyssey), one which is always placed at the end of a line of verse, which most likely has something to do with its origin in a particle, although it later became assimilated to δῶμα. Except for one exception in which it is a N. (α 392), in the rest it is an Acc.: generally a lative one and rarely a direct object (with ἐπέφραδε, ἕδη), in one instance it has local value (λ 17 κατ' ... δῶ). Just like δῶμα, it has both human and divine use, takes the G., possessive and "architectonic" adjectives (χαλκοβατέες, ὑψηροφές, etc.). It is therefore an equivalent of δῶμα but with restrictions with regard to cases, lack of the sg./pl. opposition and fixed final position. Of course, the metrical and formulary difference is important.

I now go on to δόμος and sum up, for brevity's sake, the evidence in the *LfgE* and in Ebeling's work. The meaning here is also the "special", architectonic one which at times includes reference to the inhabitants and wealth of the household; the owner may be divine (rarely) or human: the meaning "temple" even appears (η 81 and examples in the *Il.*). Its distributions and constructions

2. This was already the meaning of the word in Mycenaean, where only *do-de* (= δῶδε) is to be found: TH Of 26.2-3, 31.1-2, 33.1. This use speaks against the etymology of δῶ as a particle.

are the same as those we have already seen. Sg. and pl. alternate almost always with continuous and discontinuous values respectively, or otherwise as synonyms; the *LfgE* only gives one example of a numerative pl. in the *Od.* (ἔθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κείται in δ 127 = I 382, another in Σ 290 and three in the Hymns). What, then, is the difference?

One is that δόμος is used in sg. and pl. in all cases: the numeric opposition may occur in all of them. Another, obviously, is the different metrical schema and the different formulary system. A further one is the lack of specialization to indicate the "parts" of the house. In general terms, one could therefore say that δῶμα and δόμος function as synonyms, but with a different diffusion of their case system and with different metrical and formulary schemata. The restrictions of δῶ are greater.

From the point of view of the relation to the verb, we already saw that its etymological situation is different to that of οἶκος. Δόμος appears alongside δέμω: it is an etymological relationship (see below), but in Homer there is no δόμον δέμειν or equivalents (there is ζ 9 ἐδείματο οἴκους). Neither is there in the case of δῶμα, the etymological relationship of which with δόμος and δέμω is not on the other hand quite clear: here (as in the case of οἶκος) we find ποιέω, τίθημι, τεύχω. In fact, all the "house" nouns, both those which appear isolated without any etymological relationship to a verb, and these others, made up a common system that was independent of the verbs.

Let us finally discuss μέγαρον/-α, also Indo-European and without an etymological relationship to a verb. It has a "special", architectonic use, either for a man's house or palace, or (rarely) a god's, even for a tent; sometimes it is used for the main room which we call μέγαρον (of men and women).³ Its constructions and determinations are the same as those we have already seen and there is reference to the inhabitants and wealth of the house. On the other hand, as is the case with δόμος, all the cases are represented. And the existence of one form of sg. alongside another of plural is habitual, with the sense of continuous and discontinuous mass (there is no numerative plural).

3. Cf. on the Homeric palace: Alan J. B. Wace, *A Companion to Homer*, London, Macmillan, 1962, p. 489ff.

With regard to δῶμα, the more similar term, then, the difference lies in the more specialized meaning of the word when it denotes a "part" of the house, and in its more complete case use, and of course, in the metrical and formulaic differences. With regard to δόμος, in the fact that μέγαρον lacks the meaning "divine" as likewise that of denoting a part of the house: this, apart from the metrical and formulaic differences.

This is the complex range of terms for "house" in the generic and specific meanings: it is not a case of a simple semantic system, and together with the semantic data there are others related to the presence or absence of certain cases, to the sg./pl. opposition, to the existence of "secondary" meanings, to the metrical and formulaic features. Before attempting to schematize all this, we shall sum up the foregoing by trying to place this system in relation to the Indo-European one which preceded it.

The Indo-European system may be reconstructed through the Indo-European vocabulary.⁴

Here we find, alongside diverse terms for "parts" of the house, others with a more general sense:

*dómos, *dóm "house", cf. O.I. dámas, Lat. domus, Arm. tun (<*dóm), etc.

*ghordhos, *ghortos, "enclosure", cf. O.I. grhas, Goth. gards, "house", Hitt. gurtas "fortress", O. Ice. gardhr "enclosure, patio", O. Ir. gort "field", Lat. hortus, Gr. χόρτος.

*ksītis "establishment, colony", Cf. O.I. ksītis (and Gr. κτίζω).

*pl̄(is) "citadel", cf. O.I. pūr, Gr. πόλις, Lith. pilis.

*uoikos "village, clan", cf. O.I. viś- "room", véśas "neighbour", Lat. uicus "district", Goth. weihs "village", Alb. vis "place".

*uostu "dwelling, house", cf. O.I. vāstu "house, place", Gr. ἄστυ "city", O. Ire. foss "permanence, repose".

The different origins of the words can be clearly seen, among which *uoik-, *uoikos are originally related to "to dwell", and the same goes for *uostu. Other roots have more specific original meanings. However, Greek specialized the other roots in diverse direc-

4. Cf. Delamarre, *Le vocabulaire indo-européen. Lexique étymologique thématique*, Paris 1984.

tions and maintained the older sense of *uoik-, *uoiko-, specializing same as "house" and rejecting the other specializations; but at the same time it preserved words that had come from the root of δέμω "to build" which with *uoikos make up a supplementary system to which μέγαρον —which is also Indo-European— was added.

I am aware that Benveniste⁵ separated Gr. δόμος from Lat. domus which he referred to the "family", and that this has been accepted by, for example, Chantraine, S.V. δόμος. Only this word would come from δέμω. This is impossible for there is total coincidence in the form and the reference to the inhabitants or wealth of the house as we have seen is normal in all these words.

The points of coincidence and opposition within the vocabulary we have studied can be better summarized from three points of view.

I. The semantic one, on the basis of the distributions and contexts and, more precisely, on the determinations.

	General	Special	Human Total	Human Part	Divine	Temple		
οἶκαδε } οἶκόνδε }	+	-	}	+	-	-		
οἶκία	-	+						
οἶκον	+	+						
οἴκου, -οι, -ω } οἴκων, -ους }	}	+	-	-	-	+		
νηός								
δῶμα				+	+	+	-	
δῶ					+	-	+	-
δόμος					+	-	+	+
μέγαρον					+	+	+	-

5. *Vocabulario de las Instituciones Indoeuropeas*, Sp. trans., Madrid 1983, p. 182.

II. The use of numbers and cases:

	Sg.	Pl. num.	Pl. disc.	Paradigm	
				Complete	Defective
οἶκ-	+	-	-	-	+
οἶκο-	+	+	-	-	+
οἶκία	-	+	+	-	+
νηός	+	+	-	-	+
δῶμα	+	+	+	-	+
δῶ	+	-	-	-	+
δόμος	+	+	+	+	-
μέγαρον	+	-	+	+	-

III. Metre and formulary system. This subject requires a separate study, which would be complementary to this one.

ΟΙ ΣΗΜΑΣΙΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΡΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΗΜΑΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΔΙΟ ΣΤΗΝ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ

(Περίληψη)

ΟΙ ΛΕΞΕΙΣ που καλύπτουν αυτό το σημασιολογικό πεδίο συνδέονται μεταξύ τους με ποικίλους τρόπους χωρίς να μπορούν να ενταχθούν σε ένα κανονικό σχήμα. Η Οδύσσεια μας προσφέρει τη δυνατότητα να έχουμε την εικόνα μιας ορισμένης χρονικής στιγμής στην εξέλιξη αυτού του σχήματος. Η δομή του είναι πολύ διαφορετική από τη δομή του ινδο-ευρωπαϊκού σχήματος που προηγήθηκε· διαφέρει ακόμα και από τη δομή του συστήματος αυτού στη μεταγενέστερη αττική φάση.

Πρώτα πρώτα υπάρχει ο αρχαϊκός τύπος οἶκαδε (από την απολιθωμένη αιτιατική οἶκα του ουσιαστικού οἶξ και το μόριο δε) που σημαίνει την κίνηση προς ένα τόπο: η ρίζα έχει την έννοια του *uik (κατοικώ, διαμένω), χρησιμοποιείται χωρίς διάκριση και για τον ενικό και για τον πληθυντικό και σημαίνει «κατοικία», «πατρίδα». Τον τύπο οἶκαδε τον συμπλήρωσε ο τύπος οἶκόνδε, οἶκον, ανάλογα με τις μετρικές ανάγκες.

Η έννοιά τους ήταν ως ένα σημείο η ίδια, αναπτύχθηκε όμως και μια καινούρια, πιο εξειδικευμένη σημασία (μόνο «το σπίτι», όχι «η πατρίδα»). Οι τύποι οἶκον, οἶκω, οἶκος και άλλοι που ανήκουν στην ίδια οικογένεια (οἶκέω - οἶκεύς) χρησιμοποιούνται μόνο με αυτή την εξειδικευμένη σημασία και διαφοροποιούνται στον ενικό και στον πληθυντικό. Παράλληλα αναπτύχθηκε και ένας σπάνιος γνήσιος πληθυντικός.

Υπάρχει ωστόσο και ένας άλλος τύπος, (τὰ) οἶκία, που απαντά μόνο στον πληθυντικό και δηλώνει ένα διηρημένο σύνολο. Σημαίνει μια «κατοικία» που χωρίζεται εσωτερικά σε διάφορα δωμάτια. Έτσι η γλώσσα είχε πια τη δυνατότητα να αντικρίσει την ανθρώπινη κατοικία από μια άλλη σκοπιά.

Αυτές οι εξειδικεύσεις της ρίζας *uik δεν ήταν αρκετές. Οι λέξεις που βγήκαν από τη ρίζα αυτή παίρνουν ποικίλες σημασίες και παρουσιάζουν κενά στους αριθμούς και στις πτώσεις, που καλύφθηκαν από ένα σύνολο λέξεων με διαφορετική προέλευση.

Από το ναίω, που σημαίνει «κατοικώ», προήλθε το όνομα νηός, που πήρε την ειδική σημασία «κατοικία του θεού».

Υπάρχουν ακόμα ορισμένες λέξεις από τη ρίζα *dem που σημαίνει χτίζω: δῶμα, δῶ (με αβέβαιη ετυμολογία) και δόμος. Με το δῶμα οι επικοί ποιητές έχουν στα χέρια τους μια λέξη που άλλοτε μας δίνει τη δυνατότητα να καταλάβουμε αν έχουμε να κάνουμε με ενικό ή πληθυντικό και άλλοτε όχι. Άλλοτε σημαίνει την «κατοικία» ως ένα ενιαίο σύνολο και άλλοτε ως ένα διηρημένο σύνολο. Για παράδειγμα το δῶματα σημαίνει «διάφορες κατοικίες», τις περισσότερες φορές όμως «μια κατοικία με εσωτερικές διαιρέσεις», γενικά ένα παλάτι. Ο τύπος αυτός δεν παρουσιάζει πολλά κενά (όμως το δῶματι και δωμάτων δεν υπάρχουν καθόλου). Είναι μόνο ως ένα σημείο συνώνυμο με τα οἶκος και οἶκία και τα μετρικά τους σχήματα διαφέρουν.

Το δῶ έχει την ίδια έννοια, είναι όμως ένας αρχαϊσμός με πολύ περιορισμένη χρήση. Αυτός ο τύπος και το οἶκόνδε είναι οι μόνοι κοινοί στον Όμηρο και στα Μυκηναϊκά. Την ίδια σημασία έχει και το δόμος που παρουσιάζει λιγότερα κενά και εντάσσεται σε ποικίλες τυποποιημένες εκφράσεις και μετρικά σχήματα.

Το μέγαρον, τέλος, οφείλει την τύχη του σε μια εξειδικευμένη έννοια, στα μετρικά χαρακτηριστικά του και στις δυνατότητες που έχει να εντάσσεται σε τυποποιημένες εκφράσεις.

Αυτό το πολύπλοκο σύστημα έδωσε τη δυνατότητα στον Όμηρο να αποτυπώσει την έννοια την «ανθρώπινης κατοικίας» και το «κτίριο» με

ποικίλες σημασιολογικές αποχρώσεις. Οι όροι ταυτίζονται ως ένα σημείο σημασιολογικά, άλλοτε πάλι παίρνουν εξειδικευμένες σημασίες. Ο ποιητής ξεκινά και επωφελείται από αυτή την ποικιλία σε σημασιολογικές αποχρώσεις, πτώσεις και τυποποιημένες εκφράσεις που του προσφέρει αυτό το σημασιολογικό πεδίο με την ποικίλη λεξιλογική δομή.

Πώς ερμηνεύονται οι ειδικοί όροι που χρησιμοποιούνται στην εισήγηση

General meaning: η πατρίδα, ο τόπος ή το σπίτι όπου κατοικεί κανείς, χωρίς διάκριση.

Dative: η αιτιατική που δηλώνει την κίνηση προς ένα τόπο.

Mass nouns: τα ονόματα όπου δεν διαφοροποιείται σημασιολογικά ο ενικός από τον πληθυντικό (όπως στα αρχαία ελληνικά το κρέας και το ἄλς).

Non numerative use of a word: σημαίνει ότι δεν υπάρχει σημασιολογική αντίθεση ανάμεσα στον ενικό και στον πληθυντικό (ο τύπος μπορεί να είναι στον ενικό ή στον πληθυντικό).

Non numerative plural: δηλώνει ένα διηρημένο όλο όπως το οἰκία, δηλαδή ένα σπίτι που το αντικρίζουμε ως εσωτερικά διηρημένο.

Non numerative singular: δηλώνει ένα όλο ως αδιαίρετο σύνολο (όπως ένα σπίτι χωρίς αναφορά στις εσωτερικές του υποδιαιρέσεις).

Numerative plural (γνήσιος πληθυντικός): δηλώνει πολλά σύνολα (π.χ. πολλά σπίτια).

Numerative singular (γνήσιος ενικός): δηλώνει ένα σύνολο (π.χ. ένα σπίτι).

Specific meaning (εξειδικευμένη έννοια): ο συγκεκριμένος τόπος κατοικίας.

Πώς οργανώνονται σε σύστημα οι ποικίλοι όροι που ανήκουν στο σημασιολογικό πεδίο του όρου οἶκος

Συνοπτικά το σύνολο των όρων που μας απασχόλησε θα μπορούσαμε να το δούμε από τρεις οπτικές γωνίες.

I. Η σημασιολογική με βάση τη χρήση των πτώσεων, τα συμφραζόμενα και πιο συγκεκριμένα τους ποικίλους προσδιορισμούς.

	Γεν.	Ειδ.	Για θνητούς		Για θεούς	Ναός
	έννοια	έννοια	Σύνολο	Μέρος		
οἶκαδε } οἰκόνδε }	+	-				
οἰκία	-	+	+	-	-	-
οἶκον	+	+				
οἴκου, -οι, -ω }						
οἴκων, -ους }						
νηός			-	-	-	+
δῶμα	-	+	+	+	+	-
δῶ			+	-	+	-
δόμος			+	-	+	+
μέγαρον			+	+	+	-

II. Πώς χρησιμοποιούνται οι αριθμοί και οι πτώσεις:

	Ενικός	Παραδείγματα						
		Πληθυντικός γνήσιος	Πληθυντικός μη γνήσιος	Χωρίς κενά	Με κενά			
οἶκ-	+	-	-	-	+	(μόνο οἶκαδε)		
οἶκο-	+	+	(σπάνιος)	-	-	+	(όχι -οι, -οις)	
οἰκία	-	+	(1 παρ.)	+	-	+		
νηός	+	(1 παρ.)	+	(1 παρ.)	-	-	+	(μόνο -όν, -ούς)
δῶμα	+	+	(σπάνιος)	+	-	+	(όχι δῶματι, -ων)	
δῶ	+	-	-	-	-	+	(μόνο ονομ. - αιτ. εν.)	
δόμος	+	+	(1 παρ.)	+	+	-		
μέγαρον	+	-	-	+	+	-		

III. Μετρικό σύστημα και τυποποιημένες εκφράσεις: αυτό το θέμα απαιτεί ξεχωριστή μελέτη που θα συμπλήρωνε την έννοια αυτή.