

related passages is available in de Martino & Vox (1996:308–317). A recent and comprehensive work on deixis in Ancient Greek texts is Edmunds (2008), which includes a linguistic section, a historical introduction to the studies of deixis, and a survey of the challenges offered by Greek and Latin deictic markers. Beside the mentioned attention to the subjective idea of orientation rather than the objective location of referents (supported by Bonifazi in Felson (2004)), Bakker (2010:152–161) explicitly prompts interpretations of deictic markers in light of the discourse function of the referents in longer stretches of texts.

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## Deixis in Linguistics and Poetics

### 1. DEFINITION

The term 'deixis' refers to the linguistic role of situating a referent or action in time and space. The deixis-bearing parts of speech are pronouns,

adverbs, and verbs. Pronominal deixis is often associated with the three persons of conversational discourse: first person (proximal deixis), third person (distal deixis), and second person (intermediate deixis). Deixis is opposed to anaphora (the function of reactivating a prior referent) and cataphora (the function of invoking a subsequent referent).

Poets use deixis in various ways to achieve a range of effects. Ocular deixis occurs most transparently in embedded structures that include a full speech situation; for poems first performed live, the reference of deictics ('here', 'this', 'now') may be problematic for later audiences and readers. Poets manipulate deictic systems to give all audiences vivid experiences and to transport them vicariously across space and time.

## 2. LINGUISTICS OF DEIXIS

The term *deixis* was first employed in a grammatical context by Apollonius Dyscolus in his treatise *Peri Antōnumías* ('On the Pronoun') in reference to the demonstrative force of a pronoun. It has since been used as a more general designation for the linguistic role of situating a referent or action in time (temporal deixis) and space (spatial deixis). The deixis-bearing parts of speech are pronouns ('this'/'that'), adverbs ('here'/'there'), and verbs. In this last category deixis is conveyed both grammatically and lexically. Grammatical verbal deixis is represented by tense, which situates an action or state in time ('I run'/'I ran'), and lexical verbal deixis is associated with actions which are inherently directional ('come'/'go', 'give'/'take', 'buy'/'sell'). All types of deixis presuppose some fixed point or *origo*, the deictic center which serves as a source of deictic perspective. The unmarked *origo* is here and now (*hic et nunc*). In pronominal deictic systems the *origo* is typically the first person or speaker (*ego*). Deixis is most richly represented in conversational interaction. Every non-monologic conversation involves a speaker and an addressee (*tu*). Together these constitute *speech-act participants*. In the process of conversation the interlocutors may refer to a third individual, a *non-speech-act participant*. Whereas in a normal conversation the addressee must be within earshot of the speaker, the position of the third person may vary: s/he may be nearby, at a distance, or completely absent. Because the position of a third person referent relative to the

speaker and the addressee is not fixed, languages universally differentiate third person referents by degree of distance from the speaker. The most widely encountered deictic distinction is 'this' (near me: proximal deixis) vs. 'that' (far from me: distal deixis).

Some languages distinguish a third, intermediate degree of deixis. Frequently this position is associated with the second person or addressee ('that near you'). This is the familiar three-way deictic system of Latin represented by the forms *hic*, *iste*, and *ille*. The relationship of *hic* and *ille* is clearly proximal ('this') vs. distal ('that'); and the relationship of *iste* with *tu* is rendered clear by the occurrence, especially in Plautus, of such collocations as *ex istac tua sorore* 'from that sister of yours' (*Stich.* 111), and *anulum . . . istunc tuom* 'that ring of yours' (*Mil.* 771). An even more pervasive three-way system of personal deixis is reflected in Classical Armenian, where an entire panoply of forms coded by *s*, *d*, and *n* signal first, second, and third person deixis, respectively.

In addition to deixis, another discourse role associated with pronouns, adverbials, and, to a lesser extent, verbs is the simple function of referring without localizing. In most instances this role involves the reactivation of a referent already introduced within the discourse. The term traditionally employed for this function is *anaphora*, again first used (in its adjectival form *anaphoric*) by Apollonius Dyscolus in the treatise mentioned above. Subsequent refinements in terminology distinguished this backward-referring role from forward-directed reference or *cataphora* (the colon-function [:]). Thus, in Latin, in addition to the deictic pronouns *hic*, *iste*, and *ille*, one finds a purely anaphoric pronoun *is/ea/id*. In some languages anaphoric pronouns may also possess a deictic value, as is the case with English *that*. From a discourse perspective the purest form of anaphora is represented by the correlative construction, found in all old Indo-European languages, in which an initial relative pronoun is followed by an anaphor whose sole function is to continue the reference of the relative. In Latin such a construction is *qui . . . is* 'which one . . . that one'. When this construction is inverted to *is . . . qui*, *is* assumes a cataphoric role.

In Greek *hóde* and *hoûtos* are opposed to (*e*)*keînos*. The first two are proximal deictics, although differentiated along the axes cataphora/anaphora and first vs. second person. Thus, *hóde*

often refers to something which follows and *hoûtos* to something already mentioned; and *hóde* often refers to something in the sphere of the speaker, *hoûtos* to that in the sphere of the addressee, as in the following Homeric examples:

- (1) *hóde: naì mà tóde skēptron...*  
‘Verily, by *this* sceptre (sc. here in my hand)...’ (Il. 1.234)
- (2) *kaí poté tis eípēsin idōn katà dákrū khéousan-/ Héktoros hēde gunē...*  
‘And someday someone may say, seeing (you) shedding a tear, “*This* is the wife of Hector...”’ (Il. 6.459–60)
- (3) *hoûtos: taûta mēn hoûtō dē telēō, géron, hōs sū keleúeis. / all’ áge moi tóde eipé...*  
‘*These things* (sc. just mentioned) shall I accomplish, old man, just as you urge. But come, tell me *this*:...’ (N.B. cataphoric *hóde*) (Od. 4.485–6)
- (4) *tis d’ hoûtos katà néas anà stratòn érkheai oîos*  
‘Who is *this* (= *are you*) (who) comes alone by the ships through the camp?’ (Il. 10.82)

Particularly telling, in the case of *hoûtos*, is the employment of this form by the Attic dramatists in direct address, with or without an accompanying *sú*:

- (5) *hoûtos sú, pôs deúr’ êlthes?*  
‘*You there*, how have you come hither?’ (Soph. OT 532)
- (6) *ô hoûtos, Aías, deúterón se proskalô*  
‘O (*you*) *there*, Ajax, I am summoning you a second time’ (Soph. Aj. 89)
- (7) *hoûtos tí poiéis?*  
‘*Hey there*, what are you doing?’ (Aesch. Supp. 91)

As opposed to *hóde* and *hoûtos*, (*e*)*keînos*, like English *that*, is both distal deictic and anaphoric. Cf. (8, 9), respectively. In the latter role it approximates *ho/tó-*, which in Homer preserves the original anaphoric value which underlies its later development into a definite article. Cf. *tô* in (8) and *toîsi* and *toû* in (10):

- (8) ... *hoîton dē thaumázomen Héktora dîon / ... / tōi d’ aiei pára heîs ge theôn, hōs loigòn amúnei-/ kai nún hoi pára keînos Árēs brotōi andrì eikós*

‘How we wonder at glorious Hector! / ... / Beside *him* always is one of the gods, who drives off destruction. And now beside him is *Ares there*, like unto a mortal man’ (uttered by Diomedes, as he sees Hector attacking from afar) (Il. 5.601–04)

- (9) *nún dē épos eréon pálin ángelos eîm’ Akhilēi. / eû dē sū oîstha, geraîè diotrepheís, hoîos ekeînos, / deinòs anēr...*

‘And now, uttering (the) word, I shall go back as a messenger to Achilles. For well do you know, old man nourished by Zeus, of what sort *he* is –, a terrifying man’ (Il. 11.652–54)

- (10) *ho/tó-: ... toîsi dē Néstōr / hēduepēs anórouse... / toû kai apò glóssēs mélitos glukíōn rhéen audé*

‘And Nestor, he of sweet words, rose up among them... / And from the tongue of *him* flowed speech sweeter than honey’ (Il. 1.247–9)

### 3. POETIC USES OF DEIXIS

The study of deixis from a poetic perspective goes back to Bühler, who distinguishes ocular deixis from imagination-oriented deixis. The former has already been treated in section one but has special relevance within poetics. The latter, according to Bühler, characterizes those relations in time and place that are brought into existence by the very act of an author or speaker pointing at them, e.g., in a fictional universe. Although imagination-oriented deixis builds upon and is constrained by the linguistic properties of deixis, skillful poets radically expand its uses.

We shall illustrate the versatility of these two types of deixis as they are implemented in two victory odes of Pindar, first in lines spoken by secondary speakers and then by the primary speaker, *ego*. In our two examples the poet, commissioned to celebrate athletic victors, ingeniously exploits deixis to actively engage his audiences, take them on a poetic journey, and enlarge their world-view. Pindar’s victory odes, or *epiníkia*, were premiered in live performance, most often upon the victor’s return home; many were probably re-performed on subsequent occasions.

#### 3.a. Ocular Deixis (*demonstratio ad oculos*)

Thirty-eight of Pindar’s forty-five odes contain embedded myths in which the first person

narrator recounts heroic exploits from the past, often including quoted exchanges between characters and sometimes prayers and prophecies. Only here, in mythic discourse, do we find full speech contexts, with embedded speakers and addressees, together with an audience of onlookers. Under these circumstances the deictic pronouns, adverbs and verbs are fully intelligible. Consider, for example, the following passage from *Isthmian* 6, spoken at a banquet in king Telamon's palace. Heracles prays to Zeus in the presence of his Aeginetan host and an assemblage of banqueters:

- (11) *nûn se, nûn... / líssomai paída thrasùn ex Eriboías / andrì tòiðe, xeînon hamòn moírdion telésai; / tòn mèn árrektion phuán, hósper tóde dérma me nûn periplanátai / thēros... 'Now, now, I beg you [O father Zeus], bring to term a bold child from Eriboia for this man here, my fated guest-friend, a child unbreakable in nature, just as this pelt [that] now surrounds me of the beast [which I once killed...]' (Isthm. 6.44–47)*

Heracles' discourse is rife with deictic markers as he points to the time ('now'), Zeus ('you'), his host [Telamon] ('this man here'), and his lion-skin ('this pelt') – all of which are visible to the internal audience at the toast (ocular deixis) and intelligible to the external audience, once they construct in their mind's eye an image of the immediate surroundings of Heracles' prayer (imaginative deixis).

Ocular deictics in the poem as a whole ('this city here', 'this festival here', and deictic verbs such as 'arrive', 'welcome', 'receive') that once pointed to objects or activities in the 'here and now' of a first performance are a challenge for later interpreters to decipher. To identify their referents, one must knowledgeably reconstruct the original performance context, which has since disappeared or been effaced. The identity of *ego*-references within a victory ode is particularly vexing, since at times, even at a première, they point to the chorus of citizens as they perform the ode in the polis of the victor (ocular deixis), at other times in the same ode to Pindar in the act of composing the ode (imaginative deixis).

### 3.b. *Imaginative Deixis (Deixis am Phantasma)*

Authors may create a universe of discourse outside themselves and purposely yield their position in the slot '*ego/nunc/hic*' to imagined events and characters. In this type of imaginary displacement, time and space are not to be understood concretely within the lifetime and before the eyes of the speaker/composer/external audience as in ocular deixis. Instead, the author has created a new *origo* as the place where "I," "here," and "now" intersect. Once a new *origo* is imagined into existence, it becomes a *cynosure* for all the coordinates newly perceptible to the mind's eye.

To illustrate this, consider the myth of *Pythian* 9, where the first person narrator, *ego*, recounts Apollo's abduction of the nymph Cyrene to Libya to become his bride and queen of the land. In the following portion Cheiron prophesies to the young Apollo after offering his advice on courtship:

- (12) *táutai pósis híkeo bâssan / tánde, kai méleis hupèr póntou / Diòs éxokhon potì kâpon enéikai; / éntha nin arkhépolin théseis... nûn d'... Libúa / déxetai eukléa númphan... próphrôn*  
**You have come to this glen here** [in Thessaly] as [future] husband to this one and **you will carry** (her) across the sea to the furthest garden of Zeus [in Libya]; **there** you will make her queen of the land... **and now... Libya will receive** the illustrious nymph warmly' (*Pyth.* 9.51–56)

Here, as in *Isthmian* 6, the speech situation is complete: god and centaur converse about the maiden at Mt. Pelion in Thessaly in the mythic past. An afferent verb ('you have come') marks Apollo's arrival at 'this glen here', the initial *origo*. Then, with a mixture of distal and proximal deictics, Cheiron prophetically transports Apollo from Thessaly to Libya, using an efferent verb ('carry'). The distal adverb 'there' points in the direction of Libya and initiates Apollo's imaginative journey, while the deictic adverb *nûn d'* ('and now') and deictic verb ('will receive') complete the shift. Libya (Cyrene) in North Africa is the new *origo*, both in Cheiron's discourse and in Apollo's imagination as he receives the prophecy. For Pindar's external audience, this use of deixis in a myth to transport a listener

imaginatively from one location to another is both transparent and intelligible.

What Cheiron does for Apollo in the Cyrene myth, Pindar regularly achieves in the victory ode as a whole through the use of a network of deictic forms. That is, he too takes his external audiences on vicarious journeys, transporting them to the site of the games, to his hometown of Thebes, and to various places in mythic time. When the first performance site is clearly marked as the victor's homeland, he regularly 'returns' them to this primary *origo*. Indeed, in skillful hands, poetic deixis is a powerful linguistic tool that can enlarge the horizons of live audiences as well as readers.

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## Denominal Verbs

Denominal verbs are derived from nominal lexical bases (adjectives or nouns, although upon rare occasions from other word-classes as well) by means of derivational morphemes (usually suffixes). Denominal verbs are generally formed by means of the addition of the suffix *\*-jo/e-* to a nominal base of any declension. By means of this suffix the PIE stems of the → present tense were derived. Later on, a complete conjugation developed, which is considered to be a Greek innovation.

This suffix has a primary use, when added directly to a root (such as *\*klaw-jō > klaīō* 'to cry'), as well as a secondary use, when attached to a suffixed root (such as *\*p<sup>h</sup>a-n-jō > phainō* 'to show'). The meaning of *\*-jo/e-* in IE is very difficult to reconstruct; it is used as a generic suffix to form derived verbs.

The suffix was most productive in forming denominatives, especially those from vowel-stems: the so-called → contract verbs ending in *-āō* from *-ā-stems* (such as *timāō* 'to honor', from *tīmē* 'honor', and *nikāō* 'to conquer', from *nīkē* 'victory'), as well as the verbs in *-ēō* from *-o-stems* (such as *noēō* 'to have sense', from *nóos* 'mind') or from *-ā-stems* (such as *agrēō* 'to take', from *ágrā* 'hunting'). The verbs ending in *-ōō* are a Greek innovation and are either factitive in meaning (*dēlōō* 'make clear', from *dēlos* 'clear') or instrumentative (*thanatōō* 'put to death', from *thánatos* 'death'). The suffix was also productive in the formation of denominatives in *-eūō* derived from *ēu-stems* (such as *basileūō* 'to be king', from *basileús* 'king'). By reanalysis, these suffixes can be applied to any nominal base (such as *phronēō* 'to have understanding', from *phrén*, gen. *-enós* 'mind').