Α

SHORT HISTORICAL LATIN GRAMMAR

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PREFACE

TEACHERS of Latin Grammar have for a long time felt the need of a book which will exhibit the historical development of Latin Accidence and explain the anomalies of Latin Declension and Conjugation, which will explain, for example, how itineris became the Genitive of iter, how volo, vis, vult differ from lego, legis, legit, why the Comparative of magnificus should be magnificentior, why the Preposition circum should have a by-form circa. In this Short Historical Latin Grammar, designed for the Universities and the Higher Forms of Schools, I have tried to present this information in an intelligible and, if possible, interesting form. While making full use of the discoveries of Comparative Philology, which have in recent years added so much to our knowledge of Latin, I have avoided the technical vocabulary of that science, and in quoting parallels to Latin words have restricted myself to the Greek, to the exclusion of Sanscrit, Gothic, and the other Indo-European languages. It is true that each and every problem of the Latin language has not yet been solved, but for all that the stability of most of the results reached by the methods of Comparative Philology is beyond question; and every one who has studied the

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subject with any minuteness knows which results are certain and which may have to be modified by subsequent research. I have endeavoured to steer a middle course between leaving difficulties untouched and offering explanations which may have to be discarded later. For a discussion of questions which are still sub judice, and for a detailed account of the evidence on which judgements in this book are grounded, I refer the reader to my larger work, The Latin Language (Clarendon Press, 1894).

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CONTENTS

Introduction	on .									PAGE 1X
CHAP. I. ALI										1
								•	٠	
II. Pronunciation, Accentuation, and Changes										
0	F Soun	D		•	•	•	•	•		8
III. No	UN.	•				•		•	•	37
IV. AD	JECTIVE	: .		•		•				63
V. Pro	ONOUN									6 9
VI. VE	RB.							•		86
VII. AD	VERBS	•	•		•					118
VIII. Pr	EPOSITI	ons								126
IX. Con	JUNCTI	ons	AND	Inte	RJEC	TION	s			136
X. His	STORY (of L	ATIN	Sou	NDS	•				148
XI. Fo	RMATIO	n of	Wo	RDS						160
APPENDIX A	SPECI	MENS	OF	Eari	Y L	ATIN		•		175
" В.	List	of Si	PELL:	INGS						179
" C.	List o	F H	IDDE	n Qu	ANTI	TIES				181
INDEX										т8:

INTRODUCTION

LATIN was the language of the Latini, who inhabited ancient Latium, the plain at the mouth of the Tiber. The subsequent greatness of Rome, the chief town of Latium, made the Latin language in time the language, not only of the whole of Italy, but also of the Roman provinces, Gaul, Spain, and the like. The languages of modern Italy and these other countries where Latin was formerly spoken are called 'Romance languages'; and it is possible with the help of inscriptions and parchments to trace step by step the way by which, after the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476 A.D.), the 'Vulgar Latin' of Italy, France, Spain, &c., passed into the form of modern Italian, French, and Spanish; how, for example, Latin caballus, a horse, became Italian cavallo, Spanish caballo, Portuguese cavallo, Provençal cavals, French cheval, Roumanian cal.

A language is never stationary; and if what may be called the 'modern Latin' of the Romance languages has developed in this way, we may be sure that ancient Latin had a corresponding development. Of this we may mark several stages: (1) Prehistoric Latin, the language in its earliest form, (2) Preliterary Latin, till the beginnings of literature at Rome in the latter part

of the third century B.C., (3) Early or Old Latin, as used by the earliest writers, Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Plautus, Ennius, and the like, (4) Republican Latin, till Cicero's time, (5) Classical Latin, the Latin of the 'Golden Age' from Cicero to Augustus, (6) Silver Age Latin, of the earlier writers of the Empire, (7) Late Latin, till the fall of the Western Empire.

The Romans took at all times a keen interest in their language. Some of the greatest names of Roman History are connected with reforms of spelling or grammar, statesmen like Appius Claudius Caecus, Scipio Africanus Minor, Julius Caesar, and the Emperors Augustus and Claudius. The earlier writers, e.g. Ennius, Accius. Lucilius, were Grammarians as well as Poets. The studies of Grammar and Phonetics, imported from Greece in the last century of the Republic, were prosecuted with the utmost zest for many centuries, the most famous names being, in the time of Cicero, M. Terentius Varro; in the first century A.D., Probus, the elder Pliny, Velius Longus; in the second century, Aulus Gellius; in the third, Marius Plotius Sacerdos; in the fourth, Nonius Marcellus, Donatus, Charisius, Diomedes, Macrobius, Martianus Capella; and in the sixth, Priscian.

Their writings, such as have been preserved to us, give us a great deal of information, not only about the language of their own time, but also of the earlier stages of Latin. For these earlier stages we have further the help of the old inscriptions, few of which however are prior to the second century B.C. Our materials therefore for a Historical Grammar of Latin from c. 250 B.C. onwards are fairly complete.

For the still earlier periods we have the help of the kindred languages of Italy, the Oscan, Umbrian, &c.

They are closely connected with Latin and throw a great deal of light on the origin of Latin forms and constructions. In fact, if we had enough of these 'dialectal' inscriptions there would be few problems of the language which remained unsolved. But unfortunately there has not yet been any systematic and thorough search for the records of these kindred stocks, and the inscriptions that have been discovered are tantalizingly meagre.

For the earliest history of all we must fall back on the Science of Comparative Philology. The discovery in recent years that some Asiatic languages (Indian, Persian) and most European are so closely connected that they must have sprung from a common parent language, usually called the 'Indo-European,' has brought into existence a new study, the comparison of these languages with each other in order to find what this parent language was. By comparing the various Romance words for 'horse,' just mentioned, it would be possible to conjecture the form of the Latin prototype from which they have all descended, caballus. In the same way we can guess at the early form, what is called the 'Indo-European' form, underlying any cognate group of words in the various Indo-European languages; e.g. Lat. māter, Dor. Gk. μάτηρ, Sanscrit mātár-, Old Irish māthir, Old Slavonic mater-, Armenian mair, Old English modor, point to something like mātēr as their prototype. We may similarly trace back inflexions to an 'Indo-European' form, and may out of these conjectured words and inflexions construct an 'Indo-European' alphabet.

Of the various members of the I.-Eur. family the most closely related to Latin and the Italian languages

seems to be the Celtic group (Irish, Welsh, and in ancient times Gaulish). Thus in Celtic as in Latin we have a Passive in -R (ch. vi. § 6), a Dat. Pl. of the Third Declension in -bhos (e.g. Gaulish matrebos, O. Ir. matrib, Lat. matribus), a Future in -BH- (e.g. O. Ir. carub, 'I will love,' quasi 'carabo,' Lat. amabo); and Irish Nouns in -tiu, e.g. mitiu (ancient stem mention-) correspond to Latin in -tiō, e.g. mentio (ch. xi. § 12).

For our knowledge of the relationship of Latin to the other Indo-European languages we are most indebted to Corssen, and to the three great Comparative Philologists of the day, Brugmann, Osthoff, and Johannes Schmidt; for the history of Early Latin to Ritschl and Buecheler.

NOTE.

Paragraphs in small type may be omitted by all but advanced students. An asterisk prefixed to a word indicates that the word does not occur in the extant literature. Italic type is, as a rule, used for Latin words, stems, and inflexions.

A SHORT

HISTORICAL LATIN GRAMMAR.

CHAPTER I.

THE ALPHABET.

§ 1. THE Greeks of Chalcis in Euboea had at an early time founded colonies at Cumae and other spots on the coast of Campania—colonies which took a leading place among those mercantile centres of Southern Italy which played so great a part in Italian civilisation. It was from these Chalcidic neighbours of theirs that the Latins first learnt the art of writing.

The connexion of the Latin with the Greek Alphabet is seen plainly enough, even when we look at the later forms of the two, the forms which we are in the habit of using in editions of the classical authors:—

(Latin) ABCDEFGH IKLMN OP (Greek) ABΓΔΕ ZH(\hat{e}) ΘΙΚΛΜΝΞ(x) ΟΠ (Latin) QRSTV X [YZ] (Greek) ΡΣΤΥΦΧ(ch) ΨΩ.

But when we go farther back and compare the forms of the letters on the earliest Latin inscriptions with those on the earliest Euboean inscriptions, we see that the two alphabets are one and the same:—

 $(Early\ Latin)\ \triangle\ B\ C\ (\langle)\ D\ F\ \Box\ B\ \Box\ B$ IKL $(Early\ Euboean)\ A\ B\ C\ (\langle\)\ \triangleright\ E\ (\check{e})\ F\ Z\ H\ (\hbar)\ \oplus\ \ |\ k\ V$ (Early Latin) MNo □QRSTVX the fact being that the Latins took over bodily from the Greeks of Campania the written signs by which these Greeks expressed the various words and sounds of their language. Now it is clear that the sounds of the Latin language were not in every case the same as the sounds formed by Greek lips, so that a Greek alphabet could not be a perfectly suitable means of expressing Latin words and syllables; and, in fact, we find that it took a great number of years before the borrowed alphabet was altered and improved to the satisfaction of the borrowers.

§ 2. One of the first alterations made was the disuse of the signs for the three Greek aspirates, θ , ϕ , χ . These were written in the Chalcidic alphabet \bigcirc (\bigoplus), Υ (\bigoplus), Υ (\bigoplus), Υ (\emptyset), Υ (\emptyset), Υ (\emptyset), and expressed sounds unknown to the Latins, (1) the sound of t followed by an h-sound (something like our th in 'ant-heap'), (2) the sound of p followed by an h-sound (cf. our 'up-hill'), (3) the sound of t followed by an t-sound (cf. our 'int-t-t-orn'). Since these sounds never occurred in any Latin word, the three signs were never used in writing Latin, and dropped out of the Latin alphabet t. This then was the first departure of the borrowed alphabet from its original.

¹ The use of X for x, Ψ for ch, and the order X, Ψ , Ψ are features of what are called the 'Western' Greek Alphabets, as opposed to the Ionian, &c.

² Though they were not used to indicate sounds, they were put to another function, that of numerical signs. ① was employed as the sign of 100, and became in time adapted in form to the initial of

- \S 3. Again the k- and g-sounds of the Greeks had not the same sharp distinction as the corresponding sounds had from Roman lips, so that when a Greek pronounced his letter k, he often seemed to a Roman to be pronouncing a g-sound 1 and not a k-sound. This led to the use of the third letter of the borrowed alphabet, written sometimes circularly, C, sometimes with an angle, (, in a promiseuous fashion, now for a g-sound, now for a k-sound, so that the written signs AC or A(might express either the syllable ag or the syllable ac. This encroachment of the sign (or (on the sphere of the sign K was aided by the custom of writing K in two parts I(, with the upright part I separate from the angular part (, a custom which led to K being regarded as an awkward double symbol, of which ((apparently the right-hand half of the symbol) was a short and convenient expression; and the result of all this was that the letter K practically went out of use, C or (being retained in the double capacity of a k-sign and a g-sign².
- § 4. Another double sign was reduced in the same way, namely fH. This fH was a letter, or rather a lettergroup, which expressed in early Greek words a sound that came nearest to the sound of early Latin f (ch. ii. § 6 n.), and was at first used by the Latins as a sign for this sound. In time it too was simplified by the dropping

centum and written C; \bigoplus was made the sign of 1000, and came to be written \bigcap , \bigcap , and finally M, like the initial of mille; while D, the half of \bigoplus , became the sign of 500, just as V, 5, is the upper half of X, 10; V indicated 50 and came to be written \bot and finally \bot .

¹ Greek κόμμ, gum, was written by the Romans gummi; Greek κυβερνῶ is in Roman spelling guberno.

² Thus on a very old inscription, called the Dvenos inscription, we have VIR(O (virgo) and (O)MI) (cōmis) side by side.

of one of its parts, and was written without the H as a single sign, f. Thus fec- of fecit would be first written FHEK (or FHE(), then FEK. The sign for f became in this way identical with the sixth letter of the borrowed alphabet, and opened the way to a further change. this sixth letter, the Digamma, was used in the Chalcidic alphabet to express the w-sound heard in the beginning of such early Greek words as Foivos, the same as in the Latin vinum or the English wine. After a while the sound was dropt by the Greeks and became quite unfamiliar to them, so that we hear of Greek visitors to Italy finding the greatest difficulty in pronouncing Latin words like vinum, veni. The nearest they could come to the proper pronunciation was the use of the vowel u instead of the consonantal w-sound, u-i-num, u-e-ni. It was perhaps through Greek influence that the Romans came to use the sign of the vowel u, V, for this w-consonant as well as for the vowel, so that for a time V and F were employed promiscuously to express the w-sound, in precisely the same way as we found K and C or (to have been used promiscuously for the k-sound. The result in both cases was the same. The sign that had encroached on the province of the other sign ousted its rival; and for the future F held exclusively the function of representing the f-sound, while the w-sound was expressed by V, the same sign as did duty for the vowel u.

 \S 5. Of the first six letters of the borrowed alphabet two have thus in course of time come to express quite different sounds from the sounds which they expressed in the original alphabet. C or \langle , which in the original expressed the g-sound, has come to express the k-sound; F, originally the sign of the w-sound, has become the

sign of the f-sound. The seventh letter was likewise affected. Greek Z was the letter for the soft s-sound ('voiced' s) of our 'as,' &c., a sound in use among the Latins at the time when they borrowed their alphabet. But as centuries went on, this soft s-sound assumed in Roman lips the sound of r (ch. x. § 19), so that the Gen. Plur. termination of the First Declension (ch. iii. § 4), at first pronounced -asom with soft s, and written A Z OM, came to be pronounced and written -arom (later -arum); and the sign Z fell out of use in writing. This is a change in the Roman alphabet to which we can give a date. We are told that it was Appius Claudius Caecus, the famous censor of 312 B.C., who was the author of this reform; and Roman tradition preserves a curious story that one of his arguments against the letter was, that the sound which it properly expressed, the soft s-sound, gave the mouth the appearance of the grinning teeth of a skull. In its place in the alphabet he put a new letter, G, which was coming into use as a symbol of the q-sound, and was employed, for example, by Sp. Carvilius Ruga (consul in 293 B. c.) in the writing of his name (RVGA, instead of the older RVCA), just as L. Papirius Crassus, dictator in 339 B. C., was the first of his family to write his name PAPIRinstead of PAPIZ. This new letter G was nothing but the letter C slightly altered by the addition of a small stroke to show that the g-sound and not the k-sound was meant. The expression of the g-sound had thus a curious history in Latin. First the symbol C was used; then this symbol come to be used also for the k-sound; finally this later use ousted the older use altogether, and a new symbol was devised for the g-sound.

§ 6. The alphabet of Appius Claudius remained the official Roman alphabet of twenty-one letters:—

ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRSTVX.

The letters Y and Z are sometimes added, but are not strictly speaking Roman letters. They are nothing but the Greek Upsilon and Zeta, which came to be used in Cicero's time in writing Greek loan-words, e.g. cymba, zona, gaza, where previously u and s (ss) had been used, e.g. cumba, sona (Plaut.) (so classical buxus, cupressus, guberno, massa, &c.), just as we use the Spanish letter ñ in writing the Spanish loan-word 'cañon,' or the French letter c in writing the French loan-word 'façade.' They were never used in writing Latin words, except occasionally in a few words which were wrongly believed to be Greek loan-words, e.g. lacryma, inclytus; much as we write 'rhyme' instead of 'rime,' owing to an idea that it represents the Greek ρυθμός. And though the Latin writers on Grammar usually include them in the Roman alphabet, they are careful to make a distinction between them and the other letters. Similarly th, ph, ch, rh were at the end of the Republic used for the more exact expression of Greek loan-words like Corinthus, Philippus, Achilles, Rhodus, words which were earlier written with t, p, c, r (cf. tus, paenula, a coat, calx, lime, from Gk. θύος, φαινόλης, χάλιξ), and found their way even into genuine Latin words like pulcer, from polio, wrongly referred to Gk. πολύχρους and written pulcher (cf. ch. ii. § 6).

§ 7. Traces of the Older Alphabet. So conservative were the Romans that the old forms and significations of the letters were often retained in isolated cases. C retained its old signification of the g-sound in C., Cn., the contractions for the proper names $G\bar{a}\bar{v}us$ (older $G\bar{a}vios$, connected with gaudeo, $g\bar{a}v\bar{s}us$) and Gnaeus (older Gnaiuos, connected with (g)nascor, (g)natus). K was retained in the proper name Kaeso, written shortly K.; and there were old-fashioned

people even in Imperial times who in their correspondence always spelt karissime with k, not c (cf. the spellings Kalendae, interkalaris, kalumnia, and other words where the guttural precedes a). The old five-stroked form of M was retained as symbol of the proper name Mānius, and came to be written M, while the ordinary form of the letter was used as symbol of Marcus. Legal phraseology was especially retentive of old forms; thus the -e of jure dicundo, solvendo aere alieno is a relic of the very early usage of denoting the e-diphthong by E as in the early Greek writing.

§ 8. Other modifications of the Alphabet. Some changes of the original form of writing were permanent, others lasted only for a time. To the first class belongs the practice of writing double a consonant which was pronounced double (ch. ii. § 9), a practice introduced by the poet Ennius. Thus buca was the old spelling of bucca. To the second belong such changes as :-(1) writing double a long vowel, $(a, e, u, and o?)^1$, e.g. paastores, a practice introduced by the poet Accius, but soon dropped; (2) writing EI for long i. This practice came in about the middle of the second century B.C., when the diphthong ei (ch. x. § 11) had come to be pronounced like long i, and remained till the beginning of the Empire; indicating a long vowel (a, e, o, u) by a stroke above, called the apex, e.g. PASTORES (first two centuries of the Empire); (4) indicating a long i by the tall form of the letter, e.g. MILIA. This tall form was also used to denote the y-sound and also for initial i; (5) indicating a doubled consonant by a curve above, called the sicilicus, e.g. osa (time of Augustus). Many, or most, of these practices were borrowed from Oscan² orthography. Another change introduced, but without much success, by the poet Accius, was borrowed from Greek, viz. the use of g for n before g, c, e. g. aggulus, agcora (cf. Gk. άγκυρα). Equally short-lived were the additions to the Roman alphabet by the Emperor Claudius, viz. |- for the ü-sound of optimus, &c. (ch. ii. § 1); g for g for g for g (Tac. Ann. xi. 14). The byforms of E and F, which found favour with the uneducated classes, viz. || (often confused on inscriptions with I) and ||, are interesting, because they must have originated from writing on wood, where the scratching of horizontal lines was not easy to read.

¹ II indicated the double y-sound of words like aio, Maia, written by Cicero aiio, Maiia (ch. ii. § 3).

⁹ Oscan is the name given to the language of the Samnites, who lived in Samnium and Campania. So that Campania, the birth-place of the Roman alphabet (§ 1), continued to influence Roman writing for many centuries.

CHAPTER II.

PRONUNCIATION, ACCENTUATION, AND CHANGE OF SOUND.

& 1. Vowels. The rule for the pronunciation of the Latin Vowels is simple enough. Give the vowels the same sound as in Italian, letting the long vowels have what is called the 'close' sound, the short vowels the 'open.' The 'open' sound is precisely what is given to short vowels in English; e. g. the e of 'led' is open e, and Latin sed should be pronounced with exactly the same vowel; the o of 'not' is open o, and so was the o of Lat. nota. The short Latin vowels accordingly offer little difficulty to English lips. But though the 'close' sound is in English, as it was in Latin, associated with the long vowels, our long vowels, e.g. the long e-vowel 1 in 'they,' 'say' 'fate,' 'fail,' the long o-vowel in 'know,' 'no,' are really not simple vowels but diphthongs; for 'they,' say,' 'fate,' 'fail,' are in reality pronounced with the close e-sound followed by y, 'know,' 'no,' with the close osound, followed by w. So, if we would pronounce the long vowels of Latin with exactness, we must take care to give them the simple sounds of the French or Italian vowels, pronouncing, for example, the \bar{e} of $s\bar{e}$ - $d\bar{e}s$ like the

¹ By 'the e-vowel' is meant the Continental e-vowel, the sound of Germ. 'See' (cf. Engl. 'say'), not of Engl. 'see,' which has rather the 'i-vowel' (Germ. 'sie,' Fr. 'si'); by the 'a-vowel' the Continental a-vowel of Germ. 'sah,' Engl. 'father,' not of Engl. 'say.'

e-sound of Fr. 'été,' and not like the ēy- or ēi-sound of Engl. 'say.'

Latin a had however the same quality, when long and when short, the only difference being in quantity. a of păter is the same sound as the a of mater, only uttered more rapidly. Here too, if we aim at exactness, we must not give the short Latin a the same sound as our 'short a-vowel,' though we may give the long Latin a the sound of our a in 'father.' For our 'short a' is really a different sound from our 'long a,' standing in fact halfway between an ă and an ĕ, as we see, if we compare our pronunciation of words like 'man,' 'hat' with the German of 'Mann,' 'er hat.' The German vowel is the same as the a of Engl. 'father' or Germ. 'Vater,' while our 'man,' 'hat,' 'bat' have in them something of the sound of 'men,' 'bet.' Latin pater then should not be pronounced like our 'patter,' but with the a-sound of 'father' rapidly uttered.

Another exception to this rule of the different quality of long and short Latin vowels is furnished by the -it of the 3 Sg. Pres. Ind. of the Fourth Conjugation. This i was a long vowel till the second century B. C., when it was shortened owing to the difficulty found by the Romans in keeping up the long sound of a vowel before a final -t (§16). But this -it, when it became a short syllable, retained the quality, though not the quantity, of long i, so that the -it of, let us say prodit, from prodeo, or vincit from vincio, or condit from condio, had the close i-sound (Fr. si, Ital. si), unlike the -it of prodit, vincit, condit from prodo, vinco, condo, which had the

¹ This was a Roman 'cockneyism' of the fourth or fifth cent. A.D., for we hear of a mispronunciation at that time by the lower classes at Rome of stätim so that it sounded like stëtim.

open *i*-sound of our 'it,' 'bit.' And it is probable that some other short Latin vowels also, which were originally long, continued to retain the close sound of the long vowel (see § 16). In *dies*, where it stood before a vowel, *i* had the close sound, like our sound of 'the' before an initial vowel.

The short i of optimus, which took the place of u in the spelling of Julius Caesar's time, had a sound 'between u and i,' the sound of German modified u (writen \ddot{u}) or the u of Fr. lune; and a preceding v seems to have given any short i this sound in the time of the Empire, e. g. v r, v r r g o, $v r t u s^1$.

Here is a scheme of the pronunciation of the Latin vowels:—

- Ā Engl. a in 'father.'
- Ă the same more rapidly uttered.
- Ē Fr. é in 'été.'
- Ĕ Engl. e in 'led.'
- I Fr. i of 'fini.'
- I Engl. i of 'in.'
- O Fr. au in 'chaud.'
- Ŏ Engl. o in 'not.'
- U Germ. u in 'gut.' (Plautus compares the repetition of the pron. tu to the hooting of an owl. The y-sound which we insert before u in 'tune,' &c. was unknown in Latin.)
- Ŭ Engl. u in 'full,' oo in 'good.' (What we often

call 'short u,' e. g. the vowel-sound in 'but,' is not a u-sound at all, but is properly called 'the obscure vowel.')

Care should be taken to give long vowels their correct sound, both as regards quantity and quality, in whatever position they stand in the word. Thus the i of notis must be pronounced with the same length and with the same close sound as the i of $s\bar{\imath}$; the e of $l\bar{e}x$ must be the same as the e of legis; illex, 'lawless,' must be pronounced differently from illex, 'alluring'; non must have the o-sound of nonus; bellus and stella should differ as Ital, 'bello,' which has open e, and 'stella,' which has close e, and this close e should be pronounced long; similarly möllis and corolla (from corona), and so on. The long sound was always given to a vowel before ns, nf. Thus the preposition in, pronounced like our 'in,' became in- (more like our 'e'en') in compounds like inficio, insilio; con- (Engl. 'con') became con- (more like Engl. 'cone') in consul, &c.; and the n eventually disappeared in pronunciation, as it disappeared in O. Engl. fīf 'five' (Germ. fünf), gos 'goose' (Germ. Gans).

It will be found that the rhythm of Latin poetry will be much improved by giving the Latin vowels their proper sounds, instead of the English sounds, as we may see, if we reflect how a French or Italian line would suffer if we were to pronounce the vowels in it like English vowels. But the full appreciation of Latin poetical rhythm can only be attained, when we learn to assign the proper difference of duration to the long and short vowels, by dwelling, for example, on the first syllable of māter double the time that the voice rested on the first syllable of păter.

§ 2. Diphthongs. The rule for the pronunciation of

Latin Diphthongs is also an easy one:—Give both vowels of the diphthong their own vowel-sounds, and combine the two sounds in one syllable. Thus the diphthong of neu, the shortened form of nē-vē, combines in one syllable the e-sound and the u-sound: ain (a monosyllable) of ain vero? has the a-sound and the i-sound of disyllabic ais in close combination.

The diphthong ae had originally the ordinary a-sound followed by the e-sound, just as ae is pronounced in Welsh (e. g. maen 'a stone'), although by the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire the first part must have begun to degenerate into the sound of our 'short a' in 'man,' 'bat,' a sound which, as we saw, approaches the open e-sound of 'men,' 'bet;' for at a later period 1 we find ae pronounced as a simple vowel exactly like a lengthened open e; the first syllable of aequus, just, and ĕjuus, a horse, differing merely in duration of utterance, and in no other respect. Oe, which is found in a few legal and poetic words like foedus, amoenus, as well as the Greek loan-word poena (ch. x. § 11), must have had its first element similarly affected, the o having the sound of German modified o (written \ddot{o}), for we find oe sometimes used to express the long Greek v, which had a sound like German modified u. The a of au was influenced too by the accompanying u in the direction of the sound of our a in 'water,' 'wall,' with the result that au ultimately reached the sound of long o (open o). Thus the first element in these diphthongs was affected by the second in the same way as we have seen the Latin vowels to be affected by a neighbouring consonant (p. 10 n.).

¹ The pronunciation of as as e (open e) and of au as o (open o) was a feature of country dialects (cf. plostrum, olla) much earlier. Cicero himself in his letters often uses the more homely forms with



Scheme of Latin Diphthongs.

AE Pronounce with the vowel of 'man' rapidly followed by the e-vowel.

AU Pronounce with the vowel of 'water' rapidly followed by the *u*-vowel.

EU as in Ital. 'neutro' (e followed by u).

OE Pronounce with Germ. ö rapidly followed by the e-vowel.

UI as in Ital 'colui' (u followed by i).

§ 3. Consonants. The Latin Consonants do not offer much difficulty. We may give b, p, d, t, g, c, the English pronunciation, being careful however always to give the two last the 'hard' sound which we are in the habit of giving to Greek γ and κ , and never the 'soft' (palatalized) sound, which the letters have in English words before vowels like e, i. We must pronounce the c of civitas, as of cavitas, and the g of agito, as of ago, like the c of our 'cavity' and the g of our 'ago,' not like the c of our 'city' and the g of our 'agitate,' 'age.'

V had the sound of our w, j the sound of our y; and if we give these letters their proper sound, we shall not have much difficulty in seeing the etymological relation of $n\bar{e}$ -re and neu (with the final \check{e} dropt, \S 12), $c\check{a}$ -v \check{i} -tum and cautum, jam and \check{e} t \check{i} am, &c., nor in understanding how

o, e.g. loreola for laureola, and his rival Clodius was the first of the gens to change the name Claudius to its plebeian form Clodius, with the view of conciliating the mob. There is a story of Vespasian being reproved by a certain Florus for using the pronunciation plostrum and turning the tables on his critic by addressing him as 'Flaurus.' Cicero's contemporary, Varro, found this 'rustic' as a convenient expression of the open e-sound of Gk. η in $\sigma\kappa\eta\nu\eta$, &c., which he wrote scaena; but an attempt to change the name Caecilius to the rustic form Cecilius (like Claudius to Clodius) was successfully laughed down by Lucilius in the century before (Lucil. ix. 10 M.): 'Cecilius pretor' ne rusticu' flat.'

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the caw of a crow could be mistaken for a cry of $\check{a}v\check{e}$, $\check{a}v\check{e}$ (Phaedrus). Between vowels 1j was doubled in pronunciation; ejus, for example, was pronounced ' $\check{e}y$ -yus,' (with open e) and was often written EIIVS (p. 7n.). R, called the 'littera canina,' because its sound resembled the growl of a dog (cf. hirrio, to growl), must be given the trilled sound of French and Italian r.

Final m should not be sounded, but the preceding vowel should be pronounced as a nasal vowel, so that, e. g., -om will sound like Fr. 'on.' In poetry when the next word begins with a vowel the a of, e. g. illam igitur is elided like the a of illa igitur, the only difference being that the a of illam is nasal. Before g the letter n (as in angulus) had the same sound as our n in 'angle.' S must always have the 'hard' sound that it has in our noun 'use,' never the 'soft' sound of our verb 'to use'; so pronounce usus like our noun, not like our verb.

Scheme of Latin Consonants.

B as Engl.

C as Engl. k.

D as Engl.

F as Engl.

G as Engl. g in 'ago,' not as g in 'age.'

H as Engl.

J as Engl. y.

K as Engl.

L as Engl.

M as Engl., but when final Lat. -m should be dropped and a nasal pronunciation given to the preceding vowel, e. g. Lat. -om like Fr. on.

¹ V was often dropped between vowels, especially similar vowels; e.g. lǎvābrum (the old form) became lābrum, a bath, sī vīs became sīs, 'if you please.' Cf. our 'Hawarden' pronounced with loss of w.

N as Engl.

P as Engl.

Q as Engl.

R as Scotch or Continental r, stronger than r in 'opera.'

S as Engl. s of the noun 'use,' never as s of the verb

T as Engl.

V as Engl. w.

X as Engl.

§ 4. Greek Letters. To these we may add the Greek letters, y, z, th, ph, ch, which, as we have seen, occur only in Greek loan-words (ch. i. § 6). Y (Greek Upsilon) had the same modified u-sound as the i of optimus; z had the soft s-sound of our verb 'to use'; th, ph, ch, were pronounced as in our 'ant-heap,' 'up-hill,' 'ink-horn.'

§ 5. The Pronunciation of V. The use of the sign v, which suggests to us a sound like that of Engl. v for Lat. vos, &c., is of quite a late date. V and u were not distinguished in Latin inscriptions or early MSS., the discrimination in MSS. of the capital form V for consonantal u, and of the Uncial form U for vocalic u being of a late date. Even now we generally print the texts of the older Latin writers, Plautus, Terence, &c., with u (and i), not with v (and j), partly to give their language an archaic appearance, but mainly because a large number of words which in the Classical period, or the Empire, had the w- (and y-) sound, had in earlier times the sound of the vowel; lārua, a spectre, mask, for example, is a trisyllable in Plautus, never a disyllable; cf. Plautine miluos, a kite, relicuos (gratis), for class. milvus, reliquus (gratis). The sound of our v (labiodental) is indeed the sound to which Latin v (bilabial) ultimately developed (e.g. Ital, 'vostro,' from Lat. voster, has our v-sound, as Ital. 'giurare,' from Lat. jurare, our j-sound) and the change probably began with initial v; but whether Cicero's preference of con- to com- in compounds like convocat, convalescit, can be taken as evidence that vocat, valescit, had already in his time a labiodental sound is very doubtful. Intervocalic v certainly retained its bilabial sound till much later, as we see from mispronunciations of the Empire like paimentum for pavimentum.¹ B, which from a bilabial mute (our b) had between vowels become a bilabial spirant (our w), is regularly used for intervocalic v in the third century A.D., and it was probably not till the fifth century that Latin v came to be sounded like our v. After r, the bilabial spirant v came in Imperial Latin to be sounded like the bilabial mute b, whence spellings like corbus (Fr. corbeau) for corvus, and the classical ferbui, Perf. of ferveo.

§ 6. The Pronunciation of H, TH, PH, CH. Greek θ , ϕ , χ had been in loan-words expressed by t, p, c in the Latin of the Republic. Plautus puns on Chrysălus (Crusalus) and crucisalus, from crux and salio (Bacch. 362), on Charinus (Carinus) and careo (Pseud. 736), on Thălem Acc. (Talem) and talentum (Capt. 274). We find also b for ϕ in old spellings like Ennius' Bruges for Φρύγεs, and in ballaena for φάλλαινα, a whale, and the Vulgar Greek pronunciation of χ as k-kh has left traces of itself in the conversational Latin of Plautus (Acc(h)eruns for 'Aχέρων', and in the form admitted into classical usage, bracc(h)ium for $\beta pa\chi low$. But at the time of Cicero, when the Greek study of Phonetics was introduced into Rome by Tyrannio, the teacher of Cicero's friend Atticus, it was felt necessary to express the Greek Aspirates more accurately by th, ph, ch; and this pronunciation was carefully followed in polite circles. The struggle to attain the new shibboleth of fashion led to ludicrous misapplications of the h-sound by the uneducated classes, which have been satirized by Catullus in his famous epigram on Arrius (84):-

'Chommoda' dicebat, siquando commoda vellet dicere, et 'hinsidias' Arrius insidias.

Nigidius, a Grammarian of Cicero's time, emphasized the importance of correctness in the use of the letter \hbar : rusticus fit sermo si adspires perperam; and the dropping of \hbar seems to have been even in the time of St. Augustine an unpardonable breach of manners (Confess. I. 18: si contra disciplinam grammaticam sine adspiratione primae syllabae 'ominem' dixerit, displiceat magis hominibus, quam si contra tua praecepta hominem oderit, quum sit 'homo'). Cicero (Crator 48. 160) tells us that he was forced in spite of his convictions to yield so far to popular usage as to pronounce pulcher, Cethegus, triumphus, Karthago, though he still adhered to Orcivius, Mato, Oto, Caepio, sepulcrum, corona, lacrima. Quintilian (i. 5. 20) says: diu deinde servatum ne consonantibus



¹ There was at all times a tendency to drop v before the accent. The conversational form of avunculus in Plautus' time was aunculus, (cf. French 'oncle'), a trisyllable.

[veteres] adspirarent, ut in 'Graccis' et in 'triumpis.' Erupit brevi tempore nimius usus, ut 'choronae,' 'chenturiones,' 'praechones' adhuc quibusdam in inscriptionibus maneant, qua de re Catulli nobile epigramma est. By the fifth century A.D. Greek ϕ had become a spirant, differing from Lat. f only in being bilabial, while f was labiodental f; and from this time onward f is the normal equivalent of ϕ in Greek loan-words, e. g. strofa (Gk. $\sigma\tau\rho\phi\eta$); cf. Ital. filosofia, &c. The difference between the two sounds in Greek witness who could not pronounce the first letter of the name Fundanius (Quint. i. 4. 14).

Between vowels the omission of h was sanctioned by current usage in a number of words, such as nēmo (for *nē-hēmo), debeo (dehibeo), praebeo (praehibeo), praeda (for *prae-hēda, from prehendo). By the first century A.D. prendo and nil had established themselves in current usage, also deprendo, though reprehensus was heard as well as reprensus.

§ 7. The Pronunciation of TI, CI, &c. The same wave of Syncope that passed over later Latin, reducing vetulus to veclus (cf. Ital. vecchio), &c. (§ 13), made 'Tityus' out of Titius, 'hodye' out of hodie, 'uncya' out of uncia, &c. Through this combination of y with a preceding consonant in unaccented syllables, a new series of sounds, unknown in Latin, has arisen in Romance. Latin simia, a monkey, has become Fr. singe (through 'simya'), Lat. apium, parsley, Fr. ache (through 'apyum'), Lat. rabies Fr. rage (through 'rabyes'), Lat. cambiare, Fr. changer (through 'cambyare'). became identified with gi, ge, and Latin j (our y), and has assumed in Italian the sound of our j, e.g. Ital. giorno from Lat. diurnus; while ty has developed in Italian into the sound of ts, a sound reduced in French to an s-sound, in Spanish to a sound like our th in 'thin' (written in Spanish z), e. g. Ital. piazza, Fr. place, Span. plaza, all from Lat. platea through 'platya.' The grammarians of the later Empire have fortunately left us a good many remarks on this change of sound, so that we can trace pretty clearly the course of its development in Latin. The palatalization of t seems from their account to have begun in the fourth cent. A. D., and to have been fairly established by the fifth. About the same time cy became assibilated; and so confusions of -ci- and -ti- before a vowel are common in late inscriptions and in MSS. (§ 10).

The palatalization of c before e, i, e. g. decem, was much later than

¹ Latin f was originally bilabial, but became labiodental in the last centuries of the Republic. Its bilabial character is seen from old spellings like im fronte, comfluont (class. confluent).

the palatalization of cy, e.g. decies, certainly not before the sixth or seventh centuries A.D. For no grammarian hints at a difference of sound in c before a broad and before a narrow vowel, although the assibilation of ti, ci, before a vowel is mentioned again and again. Greek transcriptions of Latin words with cinvariably reproduce it by K, in cases like KHN∑ON for censum, KPH∑KHN∑ for Crescens; Latin loan-words in Welsh (first to fifth centuries) show that Latin c was hard in all positions, e. g. Welsh cwyr (Lat. cera), ciwdawd (Lat. civitatem), and similarly German Keller (Lat. cellarium), Kiste (Lat. cista), &c.; it is not till the seventh century that spellings like paze for pace assert themselves on inscriptions. G before e, i may have assumed the sound y at a somewhat earlier period. But the dropping of g between two vowels in late spellings like vinti for viginti (the precursor of Ital. venti), trienta for triginta, cannot be dissociated from spellings like frualitas for frugalitas, where it is dropt before a broad vowel, and points merely to intervocalic g having become, when pretonic, a spirant, like g of German Tage, just as intervocalic b became a w-sound in the third cent. A. D. (§ 5).

§ 8. The Pronunciation of L, R. The Latin writers on Grammar tell us that l had a 'pinguis' or 'plenus sonus' in two cases, (1) when it ended a word or when it was followed by another consonant, e. g. sol, silva, albus, (2) in combinations like fl, cl, e. g. flāvus, clārus; and an 'exilis' or 'tenuis sonus,' (1) at the beginning of a word, e.g. lectus, lana, lupus, and especially (2) double l, e.g. ille, Metellus, Allia. The development of Lat. lin the Romance languages points to post-consonantal l having been pronounced with what phoneticians call an 'off-glide,' e.g. clarus (Ital. chiaro from clyaro), and preconsonantal l with an 'onglide,' e. g. alter (Fr. autre from aultre). I.-Eur. & in Latin became o before l, e. g. volo, but remained before ll and before l followed by the vowels e or i, e. g. velle, velim, which points to U. le. li. having had more the palatal l-sound. So in Spanish the sound known as 'l mouillée' is given to Latin II, e.g. caballo, 'a horse,' the sound given by Italian to Lat. li before a vowel (ly), e. g. miglia (cf. our 'million'), bigliardo (our 'billiards').

The repetition of l in a word was avoided by the substitution of r for one l. The I.-Eur. suffix -tlo- (ch. xi. § 9), Lat. -clo-, became -cro- after a stem with l, e. g. fulcrum from fulcio, sepulcrum from sepelio, lavācrum from lavo, simulācrum from simulo; and the Latin Grammarians prescribed the use of the suffix -ris when the stem contained an l, of -lis when it contained an l, e. g. auguralis, mölaris. The reluctance of the Romans to begin two successive syllables with a consonant followed by r is seen in forms like praestīgiae for praestrigiae, legerdemain, incrēbui for increbrui.

Metathesis of r (and l) was as common in bad Latin as in bad

English, and mispronunciations of the kind are often censured by the Latin Grammarians. We have in Plautus, e. g. *Phyrgio* (Aul. 508) for *Phrygio*, corcotarii (Aul. 521) for crocotarii. Colurnus is the Adjective from cŏrūlus, a hazel.

At the end of the third century B. c. the (dialectal?) substitution of l for d found its way into the literary language in a few words, where it seemed to be sanctioned by etymology. Dingua (cf. Engl. 'tongue') became lingua (by analogy of lingo, I lick), dacruma (cf. Gk. $\delta \acute{a} \kappa \rho \nu$) became lacruma (by analogy of lacer?), dautia, the entertainment of ambassadors, became lautia (by analogy of lautus), *odeo (cf. Gk. $\delta \acute{a} \acute{b} \acute{b} \acute{b} \acute{b} \acute{c}$) became oleo.

Another temporary pronunciation, which did not however leave a permanent mark on the language, was the substitution of an r-sound for d before f and v about the same period. This is seen in old spellings like arrena for advina, arfari for adfari, and is preserved in the legal formula scribendo arfuerunt (written SCR. ARF.).

§ 9. Syllable-Division. A caution too must be given about the pronunciation of Latin Syllables, which should follow the Italian more than the English fashion. Each syllable should be pronounced distinctly, with its due share of utterance; it should never end in a consonant, if the consonant can possibly be pronounced at the beginning of the next syllable. And double consonants must be pronounced double, as in Italian, with one at the end of the first syllable and the other at the beginning of the second. So pronounce pro-fu-gus, not 'prof'gus,' be-ne, not 'ben-e,' ma-gnus, rather than 'mag-nus,' bucca and penna like our 'book-case,' 'pen-knife,' and so on 1.

Double s and double l passed in certain circumstances into the lengthened sound, hardly distinguishable in the case of these consonants from the repeated sound, and were reduced to single s and single l; ss, after a diphthong or long vowel, ll, after a diphthong. Thus caussa, glossa, 'a difficult word,' or 'the explanation of

¹ A mispronunciation like 'jusit' for jussit, 'ile' for ille was, we are told, one to which the Greeks were especially liable.

a difficult word' (Gk. $\gamma\lambda\hat{\omega}\sigma\sigma a$), formossus, paullum, the spellings of Cicero's time, became at the beginning of the Imperial Age causa, glosa, formosus, paulum. So with ll between long i and another i, e.g. milia, Plur. of mille, vilicus, a farm-bailiff, from villa, and with nn in cōnubium, cōnecto, cōnitor for cŏnnubium, &c.

A double consonant at the end of a word is not found in Latin. Thus we have miles for *miless from the stem milit-with the Nom. Sg. suffix -s (ch. iii. § 8); es, thou art, for *ess from the root ĕs-, to be, with the 2 Sg. suffix -s (ch. vi. § 19); hoc for *hocc (cf. hoc-ci-ne) from the Neut. Pron. *hŏd with the particle c(e) (ch. v. § 3). Before a word beginning with a consonant these would at all times have their double s, c reduced to single s, c, and this pronunciation gradually came into fashion before a vowel also. But in the time of Plautus we find the last syllable of such words always a long syllable, and even in the classical time hoc (and after its example hic, ch. v. § 3) is found as a syllable long by position, pronounced, though not spelt, hocc before an initial vowel, with short o and double c.

'Doublet'-forms like these, ĕs before an initial consonant, *ĕss before an initial vowel (cf. our 'a' before a consonant, 'an' before a vowel) are common in Latin. On ac (for *atc) and atque, nec and neque, proin and proinde, see § 12. Final d, which was at an early period dropt in pronunciation after a long vowel, passed through this 'doublet' stage, the d-less forms having been originally confined to cases when an initial consonant followed. In the time of Plautus the only relics of -d after a long vowel are the monosyllables mēd, tēd, sēd, haud. They have the d-less form before a consonant, e. g. mē tamen, hau scio, and the first three often before a vowel too, e. g. me enim as

well as med enim. By the classical time the d-less forms, me, te, se, have driven the d-forms off the field, but the form haud continued to assert itself.

§ 10. Orthography. Latin spelling was phonetic. representing the actual sounds uttered in pronouncing the word, the cases where a spelling was due to Grammarians' theories being few and exceptional. Such a 'grammarians' spelling' was the bs of urbs, which was pronounced (and often spelt) ps, it being impossible to pronounce b along with the Latin s, which had the hard (unvoiced) sound of our noun 'use' (§ 3). The spelling with b is due to the analogy of the Gen., Dat., &c., urbis, A variety of spelling may generally be taken to represent a variety of pronunciation. For example spellings like hospicium for hospitium (from hospes,-itis), concio for contio (from co(n)uentio), nuncius for nuntius (from noventius) are spellings not earlier than the fifth cent. A.D., when ti and ci had both, before a vowel, come to be sounded with an s-sound (§ 7); spellings like hereo for haereo are later than the fourth cent. A.D., by which time ae and e (open e) had become indistinguishable in pronunciation ($\S 2$): spellings like *autor* for *auctor* are also late and point to the pronunciation of ct as tt (cf. Ital. otto from Lat. octo). On the other hand optumus, maxumus, &c. are early spellings, before the time of Augustus (see § 1); so are the double-consonant forms, caussa, formossus, &c. (see § 9); equos, &c., loquontur, &c., are the oldest spellings, then ecus, locuntur, then in Trajan's time equus, loquuntur (see p. 31). The uncertainty about the pronunciation of h (§ 6) is reflected in spellings like arena for harena, olus for holus, vegetable, ariolus for hariolus, a soothsayer, humeo and humidus for umeo and umidus. Often a wrong spelling is due to a perverted etymology; thus deliro was written delero, as if connected with Gk. $\lambda\eta\rho\hat{\omega}$; letum was written lethum (cf. Engl. lethal) and referred to Gk. $\lambda\dot{\eta}\theta\eta$; sepulcrum from sepelio (§ 8) was fantastically derived from se, without, and pulcer, misspelt pulcher, and was written sepulchrum (on pulcher, sylva, &c. for pulcer, silva see ch. i. § 6; cf. Engl. 'sepulchre,' 'sylvan'); cena appears at a very early time as coena, through confusion with Gk. $\kappaour\dot{o}s$; comminus (cum and manus) was wrongly written cominus on the analogy of eminus and so on.

& 11. Accentuation. The rules of the Latin Accent are so simple that it was never found necessary to indicate by accent-marks the syllable on which the accent was to fall, as was done in Greek. In Latin the quantity of the penultimate syllable regulates accentuation, as the quantity of the final in Greek. When the penultimate syllable is long, the accent rests upon it; when short, on the antepenultimate, e.g. decores, décores. This is also the natural English practice. There are however a few points of difficulty. Monosyllables with a long vowel, like flos, mos, res, had a 'Circumflex' Accent, the voice rising first and then falling slightly, and so had long final syllables of words whose last vowel has been dropt by Apocope or Syncope, e.g. illic, 'there,' from *illice, nostrás, 'of our country,' from nostrātis (Plaut.), audīt for audīvit, addúc for addūce, while monosyllables or apocopated finals with a naturally short vowel had the ordinary 'Acute' Accent, e. g. níx (nivis Gen.), párs, illinc from *illim-ce. Again the Voc. and Gen. Sg. in -i of Nouns in -ius, -ium, were from the beginning of the Empire, or earlier, pronounced with the accent on the paenultima, even when the paenultima was short, e.g. Valéri, Vergili, tugúri. This accentuation, introduced by Latin

writers on Grammar under the mistaken idea that these forms were contractions of an earlier Valérii, Vergílii, tugúrii, &c. (ch. iii. § 6), was observed in the speech of the educated classes (cf. § 12 on nostrás). Further some of the usages of what is called 'Sentence-Accentuation' must be noticed, for the accent which a word would bear, if uttered separately, may be different from the accent assigned to it, when standing with other words in a sentence. The Greek Preposition $\pi \rho \delta s$, for example, had, if mentioned by itself, an acute accent. But in the sentence its accent was obscured by the Noun which it governed, e. g. πρὸς πόλιν, and this by the Greek system was expressed by replacing its acute with a grave accent. Similarly in Latin a Preposition, say súpra, or a Relative, say quális, were in sentences like supra moenia stat, talis est qualis Cicero fuit, united with the following word into a word-group which took the ordinary accent of a single word, supra-moénia, qualis-Cícero. The Adverb supra and the Interrogative qualis were not subordinated, but retained their independent accent, súpra habitat, quális fuit Cicero? Other words which became subordinate or enclitic in the ordinary utterance of the sentence were: -(1) the various parts of the Substantive Verb, e.g. amátus-est (often written by the Romans amátust), (2) the Personal and Possessive Pronouns, unless specially emphasized, e.g. in-me, id-me (cf. Gk. $\pi\rho\delta$ $\mu\epsilon$, $\pi\rho\delta$ $\sigma\epsilon$, or our 'for him,' with him,' with the stress of the voice on 'for,' 'with,' unless the Pronoun is emphasized, as in 'for me, but not for thee'), meusdóminus, mea-dómina (Ital. Madonna), (3) the Demonstrative Pronouns, when unemphatic, e.g. ille-dominus (pronounced with Syncope of -ĕ, ill'-dóminus). From this unemphatic use of the Demonstrative Pronoun has

sprung the Romance Definite Article, e.g. Ital. 'il padre,' Span. 'el padre,' (4) Conjunctions like et, sed, (5) Auxiliary Verbs, such as volo in volo-scire, cave in cave-fácias. Such Auxiliaries have in the languages derived from Latin been reduced to mere Tense-signs, e.g. Fr. 'j'aimerai' from Lat. amare-ha(be)o, 'j'ai fait' from Lat. ha(be)o-factum. The subordination of many of these words was indicated by the Roman way of writing; the Preposition was often written along with its Noun in one word, just as it was along with its Verb in a Compound Verb, incurrum, like incurro (cf. imprimis, óbviam, ádmodum, dénuo, for de novo, § 15), while Auxiliaries like lubet, volo, were in certain cases similarly treated, e.g., quólibet, quámvis, quantúmvis. And spellings like quomodo, quare, postridie (for posteri die), decemviri show that these Nouns, modus, res, dies, vir, were subordinated in Latin speech, just as in English 'thing,' 'kind,' 'part,' &c., are used without stress in phrases like 'something (nothing) of that kind,' 'some parts of England.' The Enclitics -que, -ve are examples of I.-Eur. Enclitics (cf. Gk. $\tau \epsilon$, * $f \epsilon$ in $\eta - \hat{\epsilon}$ from * $\hat{\eta} - F \epsilon$).

We saw above (§ 9) that the Latin pronunciation, like modern Italian, gave each syllable its due share of utterance, while the English slurs the unaccented syllables, and so has, for example, reduced 'fantasy' to 'fancy' and has given 'minute' (Lat. minūtum) the sound of 'mĭnĭt'. But this difference between Latin and English is not more than one of degree. For the Latin Accent was like ours a stress-accent; at all events it was an accent mainly of stress, though this stress was probably accompanied by a slightly higher tone than the tone of the unstressed syllables. And like all languages with stress-accent Latin had, though not to the same extent as

English, the tendency to weaken the unstressed syllable, a tendency still seen in its modern representative, the Italian language (cf. Ital. 'gridare' from Lat. quirītare' to shout,' 'shout for protection,' 'balsimo' from Lat. balsāmum, 'albero' from arbōrem). The Latin stress-accent left traces of itself at all periods of the language in the Syncope, the Weakening, and the Shortening of unaccented vowels, three processes which have so materially altered the appearance of the language that they must be treated in detail in separate paragraphs.

§ 12. Syncope of Unaccented Vowels. For a century or two before the literary period the law of accentuation which was mentioned in the last paragraph, the 'Paenultima Law,' as it is called, did not prevail. Every word was at that time accented on the first syllable. Long words had, of course, as they had at all periods of the language, a secondary accent as well as the main accent 1, but in them, as well as in shorter words, the main accent rested on the first syllable. The change to the Paenultima Law of Accentuation began in these long words with the substitution of the main accent for the secondary, the secondary for the main; e.g. témpestàtibus became tèmpestátibus, élemèntum became èleméntum (like our 'èleméntal'). The change to the Paenultima Law was not wholly completed at the beginning of the literary period, for the accent was still on the first syllable of words like fácilius, báliněum (later balneum), that is to say words of the scansion $\circ \circ \circ \hookrightarrow$, in the time of Plautus. Instances of Syncope under the Early Accent Law are: (1) of Prepositions in Compounds, e.g. anculus, an

¹ Cf. any English long word, say 'characteristical,' which has the main accent (') on the antepenultimate, the secondary (') on the first syllable.

old word for 'servant' (whence ancilla), for *ambi-quolus (Gk. ἀμφί-πολος). By Syncope of this kind the old Preposition ambi was reduced to am- in Compounds; similarly the old Preposition endo, indo, or indu was reduced to ind-, in-, and became confused with the Preposition in; e.g. induperator came to be pronounced as imperator, indugredi as ingredi; (2) of the second syllable of the first member of a Compound, e.g. hospes for *hosti-pet-s, from hostis in its old sense of 'a stranger'; princeps for *prīmi-ceps; forceps, the smith's tongs, for *formi-ceps from formus, hot, connected with Greek θερμός (ch. x. § 18); quindecim from quinque and decem; undecim, from ūnus and decem; vindemia, vintage, for *vīnĭ-dēmia, from dēmo; (3) of the first syllable of the Reduplicated Perfect of a Compound Verb, e.g. rettuli for re-tetuli (ch. vi. § 10), repperi for re-peperi, reccidi for re-cecidi, where the double consonant preserves a trace of the Syncope.

When a short vowel following r was syncopated, the pronunciation of r without a vowel (as in the final syllable of Fr. 'sacre,' &c.) led to the form er. Thus *sacro-dos, *sacri-dos became sacerdos; *sacro-lom became *sacerlom, Similarly -li-appears in the syllable after the accent as ŭl (older ŏl) in facultas, &c. A syllable like vi, vě became after Syncope u in autůmo for *avi-tumo (cf. Gk. οίω for dF-ιω), auceps for *avi-ceps. But forms like labrum for the older lavabrum, dinus for divinus, audissem for audivissem, and the like, are not due to Syncope, but to the habit of dropping v in pronunciation between two vowels, especially similar vowels (§ 3 n.). Nor should we refer to Syncope such a change as dixti for dixisti, misse for misisse, debilitare for debilitatare, idolatria for idololatria, where, owing to the unpleasant effect of two neighbouring syllables having the same sound, one has

been suppressed. Saeclum is not a syncopated form of saeculum, for saeclum is the older, while in saeculum a vowel has been inserted between the c and the l to aid pronunciation, like the parasitic $\check{\imath}$ of mina, a Greek loan-word, $\mu\nu\hat{a}$, with which we may compare Fr. 'canif,' a German loanword, 'Knif,' or the parasitic u of Tecumessa (Tékungoa), for which Tecmessa was first used in Cicero's time 1. On this ending -culus, -culum, and -clus, -clum, see ch. xi. § 9.

Later instances of Syncope, after the time when the Paenultima Law had come in, are calfacio, for calĕ-facio, originally calē-facio (§ 16), lamna, a bar of metal, from lammĭna (Plaut.), objūrgo, to scold, from objūrigo (Plaut.). Soldus (Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 65 metuentis reddere soldum), for sŏlĭdus, is the form that represented the ordinary pronunciation of every-day life, and caldus, we are told, was the form approved by the Emperor Augustus; though it was only in a few words that Syncope after a short syllable under the Paenultima Law was admitted into the literary language, e.g. valde, of which the full form vălide is still found in Plautus.

Syncope of the final syllable was a great feature of the Oscan and other Italic languages, but not of Latin. The Oscan word for 'Campanian,' for example, was Campans, while the Latin was Campānus; and Plautus mimics this Oscan pronunciation in his cruel sneer at the conquered Campanians (Trin. 545):

Campáns genus

Multó Surorum iam antidit patientia,

'friend Campans is now far ahead of the Syrian race in endurance.' Final -ris is syncopated in Adjs. like acer, Masc. of the stem ācri-, but this Syncope, like that of -rös in ager (Gk. ἀγρός), &c. (ch. iii. § 6), is pre-Latin, earlier

¹ Other examples of the Parasitic Vowel in the early forms of Greek loan-words are the Plautine techina, drachuma, Alcumena.

than the separate existence of the Latin dialect of the Italic language. The -tis of words like nostrātis, 'our countryman,' of which the full forms only are known to Plautus, is usually said to have been reduced to -(t)s in nostrās, &c. by Syncope; but the new Nominative may rather be due to the analogy of a declension like amans Nom., amantis Gen., where -s in the Nom. case corresponds to -tis in the Gen. case. A Gen. Pl. like deum is sometimes called a 'contracted' form of deorum, but most mistakenly: for -um (Gk. $-\omega \nu$) is the earlier suffix of the Gen. Pl. of the Second Declension, while -orum, formed on the analogy of -ārum of the First Declension, was an innovation introduced about the beginning of the literary period (see ch. iii. § 6). But a final -ĕ (-ĭ) was dropped in pronunciation, especially in words closely joined with the word that followed them, e.g. nec for neque, ac (i.e. *atc) for atque, neu for neve, seu for sive, quin for quine (ch. ix. § 15), tot for *toti (cf. töti-dem). Three Imperatives, which were much used in word-groups, lost their final $-\check{e}$ in the second century B.C., $d\bar{u}c$, $d\bar{u}c$, and fac. In Plautus the full forms are still used, when there is anything of a pause after the word; cf. Mil. 256 dice, monstra, praecipe, and especially Rud. 124:

tu, síquid opus est, díce. Die quod té rogo. (On fer see ch. vi. § 14.)

§ 13. Details of Latin Syncope. The conditions under which Vowel-syncope was carried out differed at different periods. A vowel between n and m was not syncopated, because the consonant-group nm was difficult to pronounce, e. g. anima not anma, though in the Romance development of the Latin language we find that Syncope has been pushed a stage further, e. g. Old Fr. anme, alm, arme, Fr. âme, Span. alma, Ital. alma (in poetry). (So frigidus appears in all the Romance languages in a syncopated shape, e. g. Ital. freddo, Fr. froid, &c.). Analogy also may often prevent Syncope, or, after words have been syncopated, may restore them

to their original form. Thus porgo, for example, was restored to porrigo by the analogy of the Perfect porrexi; and the analogy of other Adjectives in -idus, where this termination was preceded by some uncombinable consonant, e. g. frigidus, may account for the existence of unsyncopated Adjectives like calidus; for the consonants in calidus, l and d, are of a kind that would easily combine. There are then two cases in which Latin vowels resisted Syncope; (1) when they stood between consonants which did not easily combine, (2) when in whole classes of words Syncope was prevented or effaced by the analogy of unsyncopated forms. With these exceptions it seems to have been the rule in Early Latin that ě, i in the syllable after the accent always suffered syncope, unless they were long by 'position.' This ě, ĭ, might be original č, i, or the reduced (posttonic) form of original ă (ŏ). The Early Latin accent fell, as we have seen, on the first syllable of each word, so that every &, i in a second syllable, not long by position, must have suffered Syncope.

The new law of accentuation, the Paenultima Law, brought with it the possibility of a new variety, namely, suppression of the syllable preceding the accent, Pretonic Syncope. It is often difficult to say whether a case of Syncope is pretonic or posttonic. In words like ardere, ardorem, for example, we say that the Syncope of i of aridere, aridorem is due to the new accent on the penult, aridére, aridórem; but it might possibly be referred to the influence of the old accent on the first syllable, aridere, aridorem. Forms like artæna (Gk. ἀρύταινα), perstroma (Gk. περίστρωμα), both used by Lucilius, and both borrowed no doubt after the old Accent Law had ceased to operate, are clearer cases of Pretonic Syncope. And the influence of the following accent, rather than the mere addition of extra syllables, seems to be the real factor in the Syncope in the literary period of such words as frigdária (Lucil.) beside frigidus, caldárius beside cálidus, portórium beside pórtitor, postridie beside pósteri, altrinsecus beside álteri. The unaccented -vi- of avidus, which resisted Syncope in the simple adjective-form, succumbed to the influence of the following accent in the lengthened Derivative *avidere, audere, to dare, properly 'to have a mind for'; cf. si audes, if you please (Plaut.), class. sodes.

The analogy of these lengthened Derivatives, e. g. ardere, ardorem, caused or aided the Syncope of the simple Adjective, e. g. ardus (Lucil.). Similarly aet- for aevit- in aetas may have come into use first in the lengthened cases aetitis, aetiti, aetitim, or in Derivatives like aeternus. But in the literary period, as in the earlier, there was always the tendency to Syncope, and a word like aridus would, we may be sure, in the careless utterance of every-day speech

be pronounced ar'dus, though circumstances might operate in preventing this form from being accepted in literary Latin. Quintilian (i. 6. 19) tells us that Augustus stigmatized as a piece of affectation the use of calidus for caldus: non quia id non sit latinum, sed quia sit odiosum, et, ut ipse Graeco verbo significavit, $\pi\epsilon\rho i\epsilon\rho\gamma\sigma\nu$, and yet a Grammarian some centuries after (Appendix Probi 198. 3. K.) puts calda under the same condemnation as frigda, virdis.

Posttonic Syncope, under the new accent-law, seems, during the Republic and Early Empire, to occur only when the accented vowel is long, e.g. bārca (our 'barque'), from *bārica, a word introduced at the time of Caesar's naval displays in the Circus, although we find it in the period of the Early Literature in words of four or more syllables where three short syllables preceded the final, e. g. bălineum (Plaut. and Ter.), a spelling which did not yield for some time to later balneum. Opitumus was the form in use about the beginning of the literary period, but soon became optumus. These words, as we saw above (§ 12), had in the time of Plautus and Terence the accent on the first syllable, bálineum Similarly opificina (Plaut.), accented producing balneum. &c. òpificina, produced officina; pueritia, accented puéritia, produced the puertia of Horace (C. i. 36. 8). But forms like caldus from călidus, virdis from viridis, domnus for dominus, veclus for vetulus, are a feature of colloquial or Vulgar Latin, and were not as a rule established in the language till the later Empire; though valde, older välide (Plaut.), and a few other words were current at a much earlier time.

The same wave of Syncope that reduced viridis, dominus, vetulus, &c., to disyllable forms attacked u, i in hiatus (before a vowel). As early as the latter half of the first century A.D. tenuis varied between a disyllable and a trisyllable; cardus, for carduus, a thistle, mortus, for mortuus, &c., are the precursors of the Romance forms (Ital., Span. cardo; Ital. morto, Span. muerto, Fr. mort); while the similar reduction of i (e) led to that palatalization of consonants which has so transformed the whole appearance of the Romance languages, e. g. Ital. piazza, Span. plaza, Fr. place from Vulg. Lat. *platua, Lat. platua, &c. (see § 7).

§ 14. Weakening of Unaccented Vowels. The \check{a} of ago remains unchanged in the simple Verb, where it has the accent, but in a compound like aligo it has by the classical period become $\check{\imath}$. This change is not known in Greek (e.g. $\mathring{a}\pi \acute{a}\gamma \omega$ like $\mathring{a}\gamma \omega$), and is an effect of the Latin Stress-accent. In the period of the Early Literature

we find \check{e} instead of \check{i} , e.g. abego (Plaut.), and before a labial u, e.g. surrupui, surruptus (Plaut.) from sub and rapio; ĕ is the vowel still found in the classical age before r, e. g. peperi from pario, but memini from the root men-, or before a consonant-group, e.g. remex from remus and ago, princeps from primus and capio. Even diphthongs were changed through loss of stress, their first element being affected, ai became i (through ei), au became ū (through eu), e.g. occīdo (earlier occeido) from caido (class. caedo), occlūdo from claudo. But not long vowels, e.g. invādo from vādo, irrēpo from rēpo, imploro from ploro. Unaccented o became u about the same time that \breve{e} passed in the unaccented syllable to \breve{i} ; and \breve{u} , especially when an i followed in the next syllable, passed into \tilde{i} or into that \ddot{u} -sound which was written \tilde{i} (§ 1); e.g. exsoles is the old Latin form of exules, from which comes exilium; quercubus became quercibus (cf. optumus and optimus, & 1). But ŏ, when not before a Labial, remains, e.g. in Compounds like invoco, advoco, and even before a Labial when a vowel precedes, e. g. filiolus 1. In the final syllable it was invariably reduced 2, e.g. vicus, older -os (cf. Gk. olkos), although after u or v the spelling with o was long retained to avoid the awkward collocation uu, e.g. vivos, divos, equos (written ecus in the Augustan Age, later equus, § 10). In the Imperial Age the fashion of preserving in Compounds the vowel of the Simple Verb came in, so that consacro, for example,

¹ So ĕ remains after i, e. g. ebrietas, societas, parietem.

² So è became i, e. g. matris Gen. from *matrès, lègis 2 Sg. from *legès, legit 3 Sg. from *legèt. But as a final vowel è took the place of i, e. g. mare for *mari, triste for *tristi (ch. iii. § 8), and perhaps of any short vowel. If a consonant is added, -è becomes i again, e. g. illè but illic (used for ille in the Dramatists). Hence sicine, hoccine, &c., for sī-c(è), hoc-(cè) with the Interrogative -ne added, quippini for quippe with ni, and the like.

was now written for consecro, the older spelling; and at the same time the Accent was, at least in the vulgar speech, shifted from the Preposition to the Verb; e.g. demorat is the Vulgar Latin form of demoratur, whence Ital. dimora, Fr. demeure; from renégat, Ital. reniega (cf. Shakespeare's 'renége').

§ 15. Details of Latin Vowel-weakening. These changes of short vowels and diphthongs are proper to the syllable next the accent, the weakest syllable in every language with Stress-accentuation, that is to say to the second syllable of every word under the Early Accent Law (§ 12). A syllable with a secondary accent, like the paenultima of *párricaida (so accented under this law), would not be liable to change, but often did in fact change its vowel after the analogy of kindred words, where the same vowel followed immediately on the accent, e. g. *óc-caido; whence O. Lat. paricidas (ch. iii. § 4). On the other hand, the analogy of the simple word with accented root-vowel would often save the vowel of the Compound from being changed, e. g. rades et subrades (XII Tab.), where the ă of rades is not weakened as it is in praevides (on an early inser.), later praedes. And at any period in the history of the language the sense of the relation of a Compound to a simple word might lead to the restoration of a vowel to its accented quality. This 'Recomposition' was stimulated by the grammatical studies imported from Greece towards the close of the Republic, and prosecuted with zest for many centuries, so that in the period of the Early Literature, the change of unaccented vowels is more the rule than it is later, e.g. the weakening of the diphthong ae (ai) in O. Lat. forms like consiptum, obsiptum. The analogy of the Nominative preserved from change the vowel in the Oblique Cases of arborem, fulguris, &c., as on the other hand the analogy of the Oblique Cases has substituted & for i in the Nom. integer; and the analogy of the Compound Verb has changed the spelling of the little used Simple Verb in spicio, plico. Compounds, too, which were made for the occasion, or were rarely employed, like O. Lat. hosticapas, a conqueror of the enemy (ch. iii. § 4), urbi-capus (Plaut.), would escape the change which befel a word established in use, like prin-ceps, muni-ceps. But with these exceptions the change of the short vowels and the diphthongs of the second syllable is very regular in Latin; though the oldest inscription extant, Manios med fefaked '

¹ The letter f is written fH (ch. i. § 4).

Numasioi, 'Manius me fecit Numerio,' belongs to an epoch when this law was not in operation, and when Latin was less removed from the state of the other Italic languages, which do not change the unaccented vowel (cf. Umbr. Propartio-, Lat. Propertius).

The usual course taken by the weakened vowel might be altered by other Phonetic Laws. It is, for example, a Phonetic Law of Latin that \check{e} became \check{e} before ng, e. g. tingo from *tengo (Gk. $\tau \acute{e} \gamma \gamma \omega$) (ch. x. § 4). Hence we have infringo, confringo, and not *infrengo, *confrengo, &c., as compounds of frango. The same law of the influence of l on a preceding vowel that leaves velim, velle beside volo, volt (§ 8), gives us O. Lat. famelia as the earlier stage of familia, the Collective of familus, O. Lat. *famolos. The Latin tendency to assimilate the vowel of neighbouring syllables (cf. momorit, from earlier memorit, ch. vi. § 10) was especially antagonistic to the Law of Weakening in Compounds like exemo, elego, neglego, the better spellings, and explains why we have surripto beside surrupui in MSS. of Plautus, and in class. Lat. incolumis (incolomis Plaut., &c.), monumentum (as well as monimentum), elementum, sepelio, coluber, segetis Gen., Seneca, tremebundus, alacris, aucupis Gen.

Examples of the older spelling of weakened vowels are:—in medial syllables (1) o for u: on early inscriptions, consolverunt, in MSS. of Plautus exsolutum, incolomis, (2) u for i: on early inscriptions, oinumama ('Unimamma,' an Amazon), testumonium, in MSS. of Plautus magnufice, sacruficem, carnufex. Manufestus, dissupo, victuma are the anteclassical, manifestus, dissipo, victima, the classical spellings, like optumus and optimus (§ 7), (3) e for i: on early inscriptions, meretod 'merito,' oppedeis 'oppidis,' in MSS. of Plautus abegit, of Lucretius accèdo. We have in final syllables, e.g. O. Lat. cosentiont 'consentiunt,' dederont, nequinont 'nequeunt,' opos, Venos, filios, Luciom, donom, Salutes Gen. Sg.

Other examples of the change in classical forms are:—(1) & before a consonant-group: inl&x from O. Lat. lacio, I allure, genetrix (beside genitor), obstetrix (cf. constituo), condemno (older condumno); expers from pars; perennis from annus; incestus from castus; fefelli from fallo; miles (older miless, § 9) from stem milit:; remex Nom. from ago, (2) & before r: aequipero, impero, pauper, all from paro; cineris Gen., (beside cinis Nom.), (3) ü, i before a Labial: incipio, decipio, and other Compounds of capio, surripui (also surpui). U remains in nuncupo, occupo, contubernium, which seem to be old forms preserved, while the o of vinolentus, somnolentus (cf. sanguinolentus) may be due to the analogy of vino lentus, &c., (4) i in other short syllables: dimidius from medius, Jupiter (better spelt Juppiter) from pater, sistite (cf. Gk. iotate), compitum 'ubi viae competunt,' dimico from maco

(cf. macto), in (earlier en) used enclitically (§ 11). U has become i in satira (and satura), inclitus (and inclutus), supercilium (cf. Gk. κύλα, the part under the eyes), but remains in tutudi, pecudem, contumax, &c. O has become u in venustus from Venus, older Venos, angustus, vetustus, and the like, alumnus (cf. Gk. τρεφόμενος), homullus from homon-lo-, &c., sum (earlier som', an enclitic (§ 11).

Examples in Greek loan-words are:—tessera (τέσσαρα), Agrigentum, ('Ακράγαντα Acc.), Hecuba, O. Lat. Hecoba ('Εκάβη), machina (Dor. μαχανά), epistula and epistola (ἐπιστολή), Achivi ('Αχαιοί), olivum (ἔλαιον), trutina (τρυτάνη), talentum (τάλαντον), phalerae (φάλαρα), balineum (Plaut.) and balneum (βαλανεῖον).

Long Vowels, as we have seen, did not suffer change. Deliro is the correct form, from tira, a furrow, not deliro (§ 10). The change of to i in delinio (beside delinio), suspicio (Noun) is found also in the case of accented twhen the following syllable has an i in hiatus, e.g. Plinius from plenus, filius, lit. 'a suckling,' from filo. Anhilus (older anhellus) has come from *an-inslus, the a of halo, from *ansio, having been changed to e while its quantity was still short. Profestus is a compound of fistus (cf. firiae), not of fastus, fas (cf. nefastus).

Compounds with per, 'very,' are Separable Compounds 1 (like bene facio, ārē facio; cf. Lucr facit are), and do not change the vowel, e. g. persalsus (beside insulsus), persapiens (beside insipiens), perfacilis (beside difficilis), so that Lucilius was right in his objection to the use of pertisus by Scipio Africanus Minor:

Quó facetiór uideare et scíre plus quam céteri, 'Pértisum' hominem, non pertaesum, dícis.

Ăv, ŏv become u, e.g. eluo from lavo, denuo for de novo.

§16. Shortening of Unaccented Vowels. So sensitive was the Roman ear to the difference between a long and a short vowel (§ 1) that a long vowel was shortened through loss of stress only in special positions, namely in the final syllables of disyllabic words whose first syllable was short. In such a word as $c\acute{a}v\bar{e}$ the Romans found themselves unable to maintain the length of the final \bar{e} , especially when the main stress of the voice rested on the initial syllable of the following word, e.g. in phrases like $cave-f\acute{a}cias$ (§ 11). We ourselves, if we pronounce a phrase of this kind, feel that the short

¹ Cf. per pol saepe peccas, Plaut.

syllable că- exercises a shortening influence in this position upon the following long syllable $-v\bar{e}$. usually now given to this law of shortening of Latin Vowels is the 'Law of the Breves Breviantes,' i.e. the law of the short (syllables) shortening (a following long syllable); and this law plays a great part in the prosody of the Republican Dramatists, whose verses reflect the pronunciation of every-day life, and so exhibit forms like căvě-fácias, vŏlŏ-scíre, as well as vŏlŭptátem, egestátem, where the syllable scanned as a short syllable is long, not by nature, but by 'position.' It is this Law of Breves Breviantes which has effected the shortening of the final vowel of iambic words used in close connection with or subordination to other words. e. g. běně, mălě (cf. bene-fácio, male-fácio, male-sánus), citô, modo, mihi, tibi, sibi. The finals of these words, though in poetical diction they often appear with the long quantity, were no doubt in ordinary speech by Cicero's time short or at least half-long vowels. Quintilian tells us that the -e of the salutation have (ave) was in his time pronounced long only by pedants, and the reduction of cale facio (properly written as two words) to calfacio points to an intervening stage when only calefacio was heard. From Auxiliaries like volo the shortening of the final -ō spread to other iambic Verbs, and finally, by analogy, to all Verbs in the first few centuries of the Empire, and the shortening of final -ā of Nouns (e.g. terra, originally * terrā), which was fully effected before the literary period (ch. iii. § 4), had taken the same course.

In the absence of stress, certain final consonants caused in the second century B. C. the shortening of preceding long vowels, viz. (i) -l, e. g. tribunăl Ovid, but bacchanāl Plaut., both from earlier -āle (§ 12), (2) -r, e. g.

exemplăr Hor. from earlier exemplāre, class. mittăr, mittör, stridör, curër, but -ār, -ōr, -ēr in Plautus, (3) -t,¹ e. g. class. mittăt, mittët, curăt, audĭt, dixit, but -āt, -ēt, -īt in Plautus. Before final -m too, which was in pronunciation dropped ², giving the preceding vowel a nasal sound (§ 3), we know that the short quantity was used, e.g. rĕm (stem rē-).

Any long vowel or diphthong, even when accented, which preceded another vowel was reduced in quantity in Latin pronunciation, e.g. illius became illius, prachendo became prehendo. So in the utterance of the sentence a final long vowel would be reduced before an initial vowel. This tendency is often reflected in poetry, e.g. qui amant Virg., especially in the older poetry, and no doubt contributed its share to the shortening of final $-\bar{a}$, $-\bar{o}$, which has just been mentioned. This explains why the Law of Breves Breviantes affected long vowels when final, but less frequently when preceding a final -s, -n, &c. (e. g. viden).

One other case of the shortening of long vowels calls for mention, namely the shortening of the long monosyllable $s\bar{\imath}$ in $s\bar{\imath}quidem$, and (in the older poetry) of $m\bar{e}$, $t\bar{e}$, $t\bar{u}$, in $m\bar{e}quidem$, $t\bar{e}quidem$ $t\bar{u}quidem$, which has been compared to our shortening of 'sheep,''know,'&c., when a syllable is added, e.g. 'shep-herd,''know-ledge.' Probably the vowel did not, strictly speaking, become a short vowel, but changed its accent from a circumflex to an acute (§ 11).

¹ We find a similar difficulty in giving the o of 'note' as long a sound as the o of, let us say, 'node.'

² The dropping or weakening of final consonants in Latin was another result of the Stress-Accentuation. We find on plebeian inscriptions ama for amat, fecerun for fecerunt, &c. In the earlier poetry it is the rule, not the exception, that final s before an initial consonant does not lengthen a preceding short vowel by 'position,' but Cicero (Orator 48. 161) tells us that this pronunciation was in his time considered 'subrusticum.' It occurs only once in Catullus (cxvi. 8): tu dabi' supplicium.

CHAPTER III.

THE NOUN.

§ 1. Declension. The I.-Eur. Noun had three Genders, Masc., Fem., and Neuter; three Numbers, Sing., Dual, and Plural; and at least eight cases, Nom., Gen., Dat., Acc., Voc., Abl., Instrumental, and Locative. The Dat., Abl., Instr., and Loc. were not always distinguished in the Plural (cf. Athenis, 'for A.', 'from A.', 'with A.', 'at A.').

The three Genders are retained in Latin, but of the Numbers the Dual has disappeared. Traces of it remain in the Numeral $du\bar{o}$ Nom., $du\bar{o}bus$ Dat., $du\bar{o}$, afterwards $du\bar{o}s$, Acc. (on octō see ch. iv. § 5), and in the Pronoun ambō Nom., ambōbus Dat., ambō, afterwards ambōs, Acc. (cf. Greek δύο, older δύω, and $\check{a}\mu\phi\omega$, both of which are Duals).

Of the Cases the Voc. hardly survives, except in the Singular of the Second Declension (e.g. domine Voc., dominus Nom.), for elsewhere the Nom. is used instead; and even in the Second Declension we find, e.g. puer Nom. used as Voc. in classical Latin, though in the Latin of Plautus' time the Voc. is puere (on deus, &c., Voc. see § 6). The Instrumental may survive in some Adverbs like modo, cito, though this is doubtful (ch. vii. § 1). The Locative Sing. of the First Declension, ending in -āi (a long diphthong) which passed in time into -ae,

was identical in form with the Gen. and Dat. Sing., and came to be looked upon as a Genitive case (e. g. Romae, at Rome, had the same form as Romae, of Rome, and was called a Genitive); in the Second Declension it ended originally in -ei, later -ī, and was used as a Genitive as well as a Locative, passing under the name of Genitive (e. g. Corinthī, at Corinth, had also the sense 'of Corinth'); in the Third Declension it ended originally in -ī, later -ĕ, and was used as an Ablative, as well as a Loc., under the name of Ablative (e. g. Carthaginĕ, at Carthage, had also the sense 'from Carthage'). (On these and other traces of the Locative see §§ 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13.)

The I.-Eur. Cases were indicated sometimes by the addition of suffixes, e.g. -s for Nom. Sg. Masc., -m for Acc. Sg., sometimes by a modification of the stem 1, e.g. pater, Nom. Sg. of the stem pater-, 'a father,' sometimes by both, e. g. patr-os or patr-es Gen. Sg., patr-om Gen. Pl. of the same stem. In these Genitives we see not merely the addition of the suffix -os or -es (Gen. Sg.) and the suffix -om (Gen. Pl.), but also the modification of the stem from pater- to patr-. This modification of the stem played a great part in the I.-Eur. Declension, but has been effaced in Latin by the natural tendency to make one case like another in everything but the suffix. Thus the Acc. Sg. of pater was originally *paterem, but has become patrem on the analogy of patr-is, patr-i, patr-e, as in Homer we find the Gen. Sg. πατέρος on the analogy of πατέρα Acc.

By 'Heteroclite' Declension is meant the appropriation of different stems to different cases. An example of I.-Eur. Heteroclite Declension is the declension of certain

¹ By 'stem' is meant that part to which the case-suffixes are added to form the different cases.

Neuter Nouns¹, which had an R-stem in the Nom, and Acc. Sg., but an N-stem in the Gen., Dat., &c.; and Latin fëmur Nom., fëminis Gen. retains this ancient type. Examples of Latin Heteroclite Declension are the declension of (1) iter, a journey, where the stem iter- is used in the Nom. and Acc. Sg., but the stem itiner- for the other cases, e.g. itineris Gen., itineri Dat.2, (2) senex, an old man, with the stem senec- (cf. senec-io, an old man, Senec-a, ch. xi. § 11) in the Nom. Sg. and the stem seni-(or sen-) in the other cases 3, (3) supellex, furniture, a Fem. Noun (or rather an Adjective agreeing with res) derived from super and lego, I lay, with the stem supelleg- (for super-leg-, ch. xi. § 19) in the Nom. Sg. and the stem supellectili-(for super-lectili-, this lectilis being Verbal Adj. from lego as coctilis, cookable, from coquo) in the other cases. The rarity of \bar{I} -stems caused the \bar{I} -stem vis to be declined like the numerous S-stems (ch. xi. § 19) in the Plural, vires, &c., though we have vis, the older Nom., Acc. Pl. even in Lucretius (iii. 265 multae vis; ii. 586 vis multas).

'Defective' Nouns are for the most part obsolete Nouns, isolated cases of which have been preserved in adverbial phrases, e.g. dicis causa, for form's sake, secus (ch. vii.), forte, by chance (cf. forsitan, ch. viii. § 35), sponte, willingly. Instar, an equivalent (e. g. instar

¹ Sanguis, M. may be a relic of a Neuter I-stem with -i in the Nom. and -n- in the other cases. Hence the confusion between its I- and its N-stem. In Lucr. we have sanguen Neut. (i. 837, &c.) and sanguīs (for sanguin-s) Nom. (iv. 1050); sangui Abl. in Ennius.

² The stem itiner- seems to be a patchwork of the R-stem of the Nom. iter- and the N-stem of the Gen. iten-. So jecinoris, beside jecoris, from jecur. In the older poetry we find that the classical usage has not yet established itself, e.g. ignoti iteris sumus, 'we do not know the road,' Naev.; and even Lucretius has concussos itere (v. 653) and itinerque sequatur (vi. 339).

³ Priscian quotes from Plautus a Gen. Sg. senicis.

montis equus 'a horse as large as a hill'), connected with *insto*, to be steady, in equipoise,—of a balance, is perhaps an Inf., *instar(e)* (cf. *exemplar(e)* ch. ii. § 16), used as a Noun.

§ 2. Gender. The reason why certain nouns are masculine, others feminine, and others neuter in Latin, is not always to be found. In I.-Eur. the names of fruits were neuter, and so in Latin, e. g. $m\bar{a}lum$, an apple (Gk. $\mu\eta\lambda \delta ov$), while the name of the mother-tree, that bears the fruit, is feminine in Latin, e. g. $m\bar{a}lus$, an apple-tree (Gk. $\mu\eta\lambda \delta a$). The names of the months and winds are masculine in Latin, because they are really Adjectives agreeing with mensis or ventus, e. g. Januarius (mensis), Februarius (mensis), Martius (mensis), Auster (ventus), Caurus (ventus), Favonius (ventus). The reason why the names of rivers are masculine in Latin seems to be that fluvius (cf. amnis) is masculine, just as they are masculine in Greek because $\pi \sigma \tau a\mu \delta s$, a river, is masculine.

But the proneness of Nouns to take a new Gender by analogy of a Noun, which had the same termination or a kindred meaning, or with which they were often joined in speech, made great confusion among the original Genders of Latin. Thus the occasional feminine Gender of dies may be due to the analogy of nox, a word with which it is frequently joined, e.g. dies noxque maesta, dies noxque longa, or to the fact that most Nouns with the termination -iēs are feminine.

The Fem. Gender was originally associated with Abstract Nouns, e.g. Lat. optio, choice. But if an Abstract Noun came to be used as a Concrete, it would change its gender; and so optio, in the sense of 'a centurion's assistant,' was masculine. Similarly agricola, literally 'field-tillage' (from ager, a field, and colo, I till),

became masculine in the sense of 'a field-tiller;' (and this is the reason why A-stems (i. e. First Declension Nouns), which were associated with the Fem. Gender in I.-Eur., are often masculine in Latin. O-stems (i.e. Second Declension Nouns) were similarly associated with the Masculine (with Nom. Sg. in -os, classical Lat. -us) and the Neuter Gender (with Nom., Acc. Sg. in -om, class, Lat. -um); but we have a few feminine O-stems in Latin, e.g. names of trees like mālus. In Latin these feminine O-stems show a tendency to pass into the Fourth Declension, e.g. domus, a Second Decl. Noun till Sulla's time (§ 6). The confusion of masculine and neuter O-stems may be illustrated by the words collum, the neck, which in Plautus is collus, and which was masculine in I.-Eur. (cf. Germ. Hals, 'the neck,' Masc.), and uterus, which in Plautus as in I.-Eur. is neuter, uterum. The heteroclite declension of masculine nouns like locus, with Neuter Plural loca, is usually the result of a primitive practice of using a Fem. Sg. Collective A-stem as a Plural of a masculine O-Thus loca, originally a Fem. Sg. meaning 'a collection of spots,' 'a district,' was used as the Plural of locus, 'a single spot,' and received the declension of a plural, locorum Gen., locis Dat., &c. A good parallel is supplied by the Greek $\mu\hat{\eta}\rho a$, meaning 'a mass of thigh-bones', which was originally a Fem. Sg. Collective, but was treated in common use as if it were a Plural of unpos, 'a single thigh-bone.' The origin of the Neut, Pl. in -a from a Collective Fem. Sg. explains the use in Greek (and the earliest Sanscrit) of a Singular Verb with a Neuter Plural Noun, e.g. μῆρα καίεται.

§ 3. Number. Some nouns are from their nature confined

to the Singular or to the Plural Number. Abstract Nouns are naturally Singular, though the Plural is often found in a concrete sense (e. g. opera, work, exertion, operae, workmen; auxilium, help, auxilia, auxiliary troops), occasionally with transference of this concrete sense to the Singular (e.g. accedes opera agro nona Sabino, 'you will be thrown in as ninth hand on my Sabine farm,' Hor. Sat. ii. 7. 118). The use of the Plur. in certain words dates from Indo-European times, e.g. tenebrae, and in names of parts of the body, e.g. praecordia (cf. Gk. φρένες), cervices (cervix was a poetic innovation). Often a Noun has a different sense in the Singular and in the Plural, e.g. aedes, Sg. a single room, hence 'a temple,' Pl. a house (cf. Homer's δόμος and δόμοι). Liberi is Plur. of the Adj. liber, 'the freeborn children of the house,' as opposed to the vernae.

§ 4. The First Declension. The Latin First Declension consists of A-stems. These A-stems were, as we saw in the last paragraph, originally feminine, but sometimes became masculine, when they changed their meaning from an abstract to a concrete sense. Agricola, from ager and colo, indicated originally the abstract idea of 'fieldtillage,' and in this sense was feminine, like fuga, flight (Greek $\phi v \gamma \dot{\eta}$), or any other Abstract Noun. It became masculine when it passed to the concrete sense of 'a man who tills the fields,' by the same transition as is seen in our words 'relation', 'youth,' which meant originally 'relationship,' 'youthhood,' then secondly 'a related person,' 'a youthful person,' In Greek these Masc. Concrete A-stems took an -s in the Nom. Sg. like Ostems, e. g. νεανίας, a youth (from a lost νεανία, the period of youth), with the same ending as véos, young; and in two very early Latin words we seem to have a trace of

a similar usage, viz. hosticapas, a capturer of the enemy, and paricidas, or parricidas, a murderer.

But if Masc. \bar{A} -stem Nominatives in -as ever existed beside Fem. \bar{A} -stem Nominatives in -a in Latin, they had dropt out of use as early as the time of Plautus, for with him, as with all subsequent writers, the Nom. Sg. ending of masculine and feminine \bar{A} -stems alike is -a. This -a must have been originally long (cf. Gk. $\chi \omega \rho \bar{a}$), but had been shortened at a very early period, first in iambic words like $f \bar{u} g a$, $m \bar{o} r a$ (see ch. ii. § 16), then by their analogy in all words. Even in the earliest poetry there is no trace of $-\bar{a}^2$.

The Gen. Sg. ended originally in $-\bar{a}s$, an ending which is common in feminine Nouns in the early poetical language 3 , and which, owing to the conservative spirit of Roman Law, was retained in the legal phrase pater-familias, lit. 'head of the household.' Masculine \bar{A} -stems, following the analogy of O-stems (2 Decl.), took the ending $-\bar{a}$, an ending which they added to the final $-\bar{a}$ of their stem, e. g. $agricol\bar{a}-\bar{\imath}$, and this ending came to be assumed by feminine \bar{A} -stems too as early as the time of Plautus (cf. § 5). Through the Roman habit of shortening a long vowel before another vowel (ch. ii. § 16), $-\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$ became $-\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$, and the two vowels were united into a diphthong -ai, class. ae (ch. x. § 11).

¹ The word is spelt with one r in the ancient spelling, in which a double consonant was never written double (ch. i. § 8).

² Ennius' 'Et densis aquilā pinnis obnixa uolabat' is a case of lengthening in arsi like his 'Sic expectabat populūs atque ora tenebat.' This lengthening in arsi was an imitation of Homer's prosody.

³ Examples are Latonas, escas, Monëtas, Liv. Andronicus; Terras, fortunas, Naev.; vias Enn. Even in Virgil the commentator Servius favours the reading auras for aurae in Aen. xi. 801.

The full ending $-\bar{a}i$ did not quite disappear from use in speech till the time of Terence; and poets like Lucretius and Virgil, who love to insert archaic forms in their lines for the sake of poetic effect, offer many examples of this form, e. g. aulai Aen. iii. 354; aurai, vi. 747; aquai, vii. 464. Notice the dignity which it lends to a famous passage of Lucretius (i. 84-6):

Aulide quo pacto Triviai virginis aram Iphianassai turparunt sanguine foede Ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum.

To Martial it seemed typical of the uncouth, early Latin poetry (xi. 90. 5):

Attonitusque legis 'terrai frugiferai,'
Accius et quicquid Pacuviusque vomunt.

The Dative Sg. ending was originally $-\bar{a}i$ (a long diphthong; cf. Gk. $\chi \omega \rho a$). This ending, according to its position in the sentence, would assume the forms $-\bar{a}i$ or -ai (the ordinary diphthong, with the first element short); and in early inscriptions we find both these forms, e.g. IVNONEI LOVCINA and LOVCINAI, 'to Juno Lucina,' PROSEPNAI, 'to Proserpine'. In time, however, the second form, -ai, was preferred to the other and developed into the classical -ae.

The Locative Sg. ending was likewise $-\bar{a}i$, which became -ae at the same time as Gen. -ai (originally- $\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$) became -ae. Examples of Locatives (called Genitives by the Latin writers on Grammar and their modern imitators) are *Romae*, at Rome, *militiae*, at warfare, on the field, and Plautus' phrase for 'next door,' 'at the next house,' viz. *proxumae viciniae*.

In the Acc. Sg. ending, -am, the a was originally long

¹ This was at first wrongly read prosepalis, and supposed to be a Genitive. An early Latin 'Genitive in -ais' is a fiction.



(cf. Gk. $\chi \omega \rho \bar{u} \nu$), but, like all long vowels before final -m in Latin (ch. ii. § 16), became short.

The Abl. Sg. had originally $-\bar{a}d$. This final -d, like every final d after a long vowel (ch. ii. § 9), was dropt in pronunciation before the time of Plautus, though we find it used by Naevius in his Epic:

Noctu Troiad exibant capitibus opertis, 'cloaking their heads they passed at night-time from Troy.'

The Nom. Pl. in Latin, as in Greek, discarded the original ending $-\bar{as}$ for an ending modelled after the Second Declension, viz. the diphthong -ai, written and pronounced in the classical period -ae. But -as remained in dialects of Italy, and some think that a dialectal Nom. Plur. of this type is found in a play of Pomponius, descriptive of life in an Italian country town:

Quót laetitias ínsperatas módo mi inrepsere ín sinum.

The Gen. Pl. ending in I.-Eur. was -āsōm, which by the Latin laws of sound became $-\bar{a}r\breve{o}m$, classical $-\bar{a}r\breve{u}m$, e. g. dearum (see ch. x. § 19; ch. ii. §§ 9, 14), by the Greek, first $-\bar{a}\omega v$, e. g. Homeric $\theta\epsilon\acute{a}\omega v$, then $-\hat{\omega}v$, e. g. Att. $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}v$.

The Dat., Abl., Loc., or Instr. Plur. (these cases, as we have seen, are not always to be distinguished in the Plural) had originally the ending -ais (one syllable), which became-eis(ch.ii.§14), then-īs(ch.x.§11). In old Latin we find another ending -ābus (cf. the ending of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Declensions); and in legal language this was kept up in a few nouns for the sake of distinguishing them from cognate O-stems, e.g. filiabus (but filiis Masc.), deabus (but deis Masc.), libertabus (but libertis Masc.), just as we, without the same justification, keep up the old Plural suffix in a few words like 'oxen,' but have dropped it in the rest, e.g. 'shoes' (earlier 'shoon').

The Acc. Plur. had -ās from -āns.

CH. III

5. Thus the scheme for the First Declension will be:-

> Sing. £5

-ā, which became -ă.

(1) -ās, retained in familias. Gen.

(2) $-\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$, which became $-\hat{a}\bar{\imath}$, -ae.

 $-\widehat{ai}$, which became $-\widehat{ai}$, -ae. Dat.

same as Dat. Loc.

Acc. $-\bar{a}m$, which became $-\bar{a}m$.

 $-\bar{a}d$, which became $-\bar{a}$. Abl.

Plur.

Nom. $-\widehat{ai}$, -ae.

-āsōm, which became -ārŭm. Gen.

Dat. 1 (1) -ābus (from -ābhŏs), retained in filiabus, &c.

Loc. $\int (2) -\widehat{ais}$, which became -eis, then -is.

Acc. -ā8.

. Abl. same as Dat., Loc.

Greek Proper Names sometimes retain their Greek declension in poetry, e. g. Pēlīdes, Acc. Peliden, Gen. Pl. A'rīdum (cf. amphorum, drachmum)1, though Cicero gives these Masculine names the O-stem Gen. in -ī, e.g. Aristidi, thus repeating the early formation of the Gen. Sing. in $-\bar{a}-\bar{i}$ (see above § 4). And in epitaphs of slaves, freedwomen, and the like, we often find the Greek Gen. Sg. in -ns expressed in Latin characters by -aes, e.g. Faustinaes, Anniaes (Greek n had the long, open vowelsound of later Latin ae; see ch. ii. § 2).

§ 6. The Second Declension. The Latin Second Declension consists of O-stems, which are either Masculine (with Nom. Sg. in -os, class. Lat. -ws), or Neuter

¹ The poetic caelicolum is a Graecism.

(with Nom., Acc. Sg. in -ŏm, class. Lat. -ŭm). The few Fem. O-stems, e. g. domus, a house (Gk. δόμος Masc.); colus, a distaff (Gk. πόλος Masc.), nurus, a daughter-in-law (Gk. rvός), and names of trees (§ 2) like mālus, an apple-tree, laurus, a laurel-tree, tend to pass into the Fourth Declension (Nom. Pl. laurūs and lauri, &c.). Pelagus, a Greek loan-word (πέλαγος, -εος) is curiously treated as a Second Declension Noun in Latin, much as words like poema in the Plural, e. g. Dat., Abl. poematis.

In the Nom. Sg., masculine RO-stems 1 dropped at a very early period the final -ŏs, when a short vowel preceded the r, e.g. vir, not *viros (*virus), satur, not *saturos (*saturus), ager (cf. Gk. aypós); but not when a long vowel preceded the r, e. g. sevērus, amārus. Plautus. however, uses socerus for socer and Ennius volturus for class. vultur, -ŭris Gen., and in classical Latin we have uiërus (older uterum, § 2). Compounds of gero, fero show usually -ger, -fer, but not morigerus (Plaut.), from mos and gero, 'complying with a man's humour,' 'complaisant,' Other exceptional Adjectives are ferus (but sēmifer) and pro-perus (the latter, like pauper, from paro). Numërus. humërus, ërus, pirus (cf. jūni-pirus, lit. 'Juno's pear,' like jū-glans 'Jove's acorn') are not RO-stems, for their r was originally s. IO-stems took in familiar language the ending -is, as well as -ios (class. -ius), in the Nom. and in the Gen. $-\bar{\imath}$, in the Acc. -im, in the Voc. $-\bar{\imath}$. For example, in an early law of Plautus' time, the Decree of the Senate against Bacchanalian orgies (the S. C. Bacch.), the consuls' names are written in the ceremonious form. Marcius, Postumius, while the secretaries' names have the

¹ Not LO-stems. Lucretius' famul infimus (iii. 1035) is a direct imitation of Ennius' famul oltimus, 'famulus ultimus.' Ennius seems to have borrowed the form from his native Oscan.

other ending, Claudi(s), Valeri(s), Minuci(s) (p. 36 n.). (On equos, ecus, equus, &c., see ch. ii. § 10.)

[сн. 111

For the Gen. Sg. the Locative was used with the ending -ei (which would become in classical Latin -ī), but in the IO-stems with the ending -ī. This -ī of IOstems seems to have encroached at an early period on the other. In the Augustan age it became the fashion to use -ti as the ending of the Gen. Sg. of IO-Noun-stems, e. g. praedii, consilii, Virgilii, as -ĭī had been at a previous period used in Adjectives, e.g. patrii sermonis egestas Lucr. Varro, in his edition of the plays of Plautus, found that the plays of another dramatist, Plautius, had been confused with them, owing to the similarity of the Gen. Case, Plauti fabulae.

The Dat. Sg. ending was -ōi (the long diphthong; cf. Gk. olkw), which, according to its position in the sentence, would assume the forms -ō or -oi (the ordinary diphthong). These two 'doublets' are both found in very early Latin (cf. Numasioi 'Numerio,' p. 33), but the contest between them was decided before the literary period in favour of the first. (Contrast the history of the Dat. Sg. of the First Declension, § 4).

The Voc. Sg. had -ĕ, an ending which remained unchanged, e.g. domine, though we find the Nom. occasionally, e.g. deus (always), vos O Pompilius sanguis (Hor. A. P. 292). (On the variation of ĕ with ŏ in I.-Eur. declension and conjugation see ch. x. § 12.)

The Abl. Sg. ended originally in -od, class. -o (ch. x. § 17) e.g. Gnaiuod 'Gnaeo' on a Scipio epitaph. A byform in $-\bar{e}d$ (class. \bar{e}) was reserved for Adverbial Ablatives, e. g. facilumed 'facillime' on the S. C. Bacch. (see ch. vii. § 4).

The Nom. Plur. Masc. of O-stems borrowed the ending of the Pronoun Declension, viz. -oi (e. g. Gk. oikou like ovroi), which ir Latin became first -ei, then -v (ch. ii. § 14). The o-diphthong is seen in a very early phrase, pilumnoi poploi (i. e. pilumni populi), 'the tribes armed with the pilum,' a description of the Romans in the Carmen Saliare, the ancient hymn of the leaping priests of Mars. In the Latin of Plautus' time we find an -s added to this ending for Pronouns, e.g. heis or his (class. hi) illeis or illis (class. illi), but not for Nouns; although, on inscriptions of a century later, we find the irregular Nom. Pl. magistreis or magistris for magistri, &c.

The Nom. Acc. Neut. Plur. in -a had originally $-\bar{a}$, which like the -a of the Nom. Sg. of the First Declension (§ 4) had become short before the literary period. (On the origin of the Neut. Plur. in -a from a Fem. Collective Sing., see § 2).

The proper Gen. Pl. ending $-\bar{o}m$, which became $-\bar{o}m$ (ch. ii. § 16), then $-\bar{u}m$ (ch. ii. § 14) in Latin, was retained in a few Genitives like deum, nummum, triumvirum. But an ending $-\bar{o}r\bar{o}m$ (class. $-\bar{o}r\bar{u}m$), originating in the Pronoun Declension, where it followed the analogy of the $-\bar{a}r\bar{u}m$ of \bar{A} -stems (§ 4) (e. g. illorum like illarum), spread from Pronouns to Adjectives, where it was found useful in the discrimination of Gender (e. g. bonorum beside bonarum), and ultimately to Nouns (e. g. filiorum beside filiarum). In Nouns it did not succeed in fully asserting itself against the proper ending -um till the time of Cicero, who tells us that he yielded to the new fashion in certain words, but not in others. He allowed pro deorum fidem! or prodeum fidem! but only triumvirum, sestertium, nummum, &c. (Orat. 46. 155). One of these Genitives Plural, sestertium

¹ We have duonoro(m), the old form of bonorum, in an early epitaph of one of the Scipio family in the phrase duonoro optumo uiro, i. e. 'bonorum optimum virum,' where the last word may be Gen. Pl. or Acc. Sg.

(sc. mille), 'a thousand (of) sesterces,' came to be regarded as a Neuter Singular and formed a Plural sestertia.

The Dat., Abl., Loc., Instr. Plural ending was -ois (cf. Gk. oĭκοις), which became -eis (ch. ii. § 14), then -īs (ch. x. § 11). The oldest form of the ending appears in the ancient Carmen Saliare, in the word priviciois, i. e. prīvšcūlis, with the sense of singulis. The Acc. Pl. ending is -ōs, from -ŏns.

§ 7. Scheme of the Second Declension.

Sing.

Nom M. -ös, which became -üs. (dropped in RO-stems, e. g. ager).

N. -ŏm, which became -ŭm.

Gen. -ī, properly the Gen. suffix of IO-stems.

Dat. $-\delta \hat{i}$, which became $-\delta$.

Loc. -ei, which became -ī.

Acc. $-\delta m$, which became $-\breve{u}m$.

Voc. -ĕ.

Abl. $-\bar{o}d$, which became $-\bar{o}$.

Plur.

Nom. M. -oi, which became -ei, then -i.

N. -ā, which became -ă.

Gen. (1) $-\bar{o}m$, which became $-\check{o}m$, then $-\check{u}m$.

(2) -ōrum, originally proper to Pronouns, then to Adjectives also.

Dat. Loc. $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Loc.} \end{array} \right\}$ -ois, which became -eis, then -is.

Acc. -ōs (from -ŏns).

Voc. same as Nom.

Abl. same as Dat., Loc.

§ 8. The Third Declension. This should properly be

divided into two declensions, (1) Consonant-stems, (2) I-stems, but these two are so similar and so intermixed in certain cases, that the Latin writers on Grammar joined them into one. I-stems have a Gen. Pl. in -ium, an Acc. Sg. in -im, and an Abl. Sg. in -i (earlier -id); Cons. Stems have a Gen. Pl. in -um, an Acc. Sg. in -em, and an 'Abl.' (properly Locative) Singular in -ĕ (earlier -ĭ). But, e. g., vāti-, an I-stem, has vatum Gen. Pl., and most I-stems assumed in time the Cons.-stem Acc. Sg. and 'Abl.' Sg., although Neuter I-stems kept the Abl. in -ī for the sake of distinction from their Nominative Case (e.g. mari Abl., mare Nom.). And Consonant-stems sometimes show the I-stem endings. The Gen. Plur. is the case where the distinction between Consonant and I-stems has been best In the Nom. Sing. some I-stems retain their i, e. g. vest-i-s, but it is lost in sors (sortis Plaut.), Arpinas (Arpinatis, Plaut.), imber (stem imbri-), &c. (see ch. ii. § 12).

The Consonant-stems consist of (1) Guttural-stems, e. g. dux (stem duc-, the weak form of the root deuc-, to lead), rex (stem reg-, the lengthened form of the root reg-, 'to stretch,' 'to govern'), nux (stem nug-, the weak form of a root meaning 'to be wet,' 'to snow'). (2) Labial-stems, e. g. princeps, caelebs 2. (3) Dental-stems, e. g. pes (stem ped-), heres (stem hered-), anas (stem anat-), comes (stem com-t-from cum and eo). The numerous NT-stems are mostly Present Participles, e.g. serpens (stem serpent-), lit. 'crawling,' cliens, lit. 'hearing,' obeying,' rudens, lit. 'rattling,' oriens (sc. Sol) 3. (4) S-stems, e.g. cinis (stem

¹ The g of this root was a 'Labiovelar' guttural (see ch. x. § 18), like gw (cf. ninguit). Between vowels a g of this kind became v in Latin (ch. x. § 18); so we have in the Genitive niv-is.

² A word of uncertain derivation. The etymology of the Roman Grammarians 'quasi caelestium vitam ducens' will not do!

³ Gens, mens, &c. are I-stems, gen-ti-, men-ti- (ch. xi. § 12).

cinis.), tellūs (stem tellūs.), honor, older honos (stem honos. The r has found its way into the Nom. from the Oblique Cases, where s stood between vowels and so became r by the Latin phonetic law), opus, earlier opos (stem opos., opes.), Venus, earlier Venos (stem venos., venes., originally neuter and meaning 'glamour,' whence venenum for *venes.num, lit. 'a love-philtre'). (5) N-stems, e.g. homo, -inis, sermo, -onis, caro, -nis, with the M-stem hiems, -mis. (6) R-stems, e.g. frater, -tris, conditor, -toris, fur, fūris. (7) A few L-stems, e.g. sal, sol.

The Nom. Sg. of Masc. and Fem. Nouns adds -s to the Stem, but in Neuter Nouns the bare Stem is used. Examples are of Masc. and Fem. I-stems, fini-s, civi-s, vesti-s, sors (sorti-s Plaut.), pars, and of Masc. and Fem. Cons.-stems, princep-s, dūx for *dūc-s, herēs for *herēd-s; of Neuter I-stems, marĕ (originally *marĭ, ch. ii. § 14 n.), trīste, Neut. of trīstis, originally *tristī (cf. Gk. ἴδρις, ἴδρις, ἴδρις ψith Lat. tristis, tristis, triste), of Neuter Cons.-stems, allēc, caput, aes (I.-Eur. ἄyĕs-; cf. aënus for *ayĕs-nos), crūs, opus, carmen, vēr. (On Fem. Noms. in -ēs, see § 13).

The -ĕ of Neut. I-stems was often dropped (cf. ch. ii. § 12), so that animāle (properly the Neuter of the Adj. animalis) became animal with consequent shortening of the ā before final l (ch. ii. § 16); calcāre (sc. ferrum), a spur, lit. 'the (iron) fastened on the heel (calx),' became calcăr; lacte, the form found in Plautus, became lact and then lac, owing to the difficulty of pronouncing -ct at the end of a word, the same difficulty as we have with a group like -mb in 'lamb'; *corde (Gen. Pl. cordium) in the same way became cord, a form that should perhaps be written in lines of Plautus where the word is scanned as a long syllable, then cor.

Masc, and Fem. R- and N-stems formed their Nom.

Sg. in a different way, R-stems in (1) $-\bar{o}r$, e. g. $d\tilde{u}t\bar{o}r$ (class. $d\tilde{u}t\tilde{o}r$), (2) $-\bar{e}r$, e. g. $m\tilde{a}t\bar{e}r$ (class. $m\tilde{a}t\tilde{e}r$) (cf. Gk. $\delta\omega\tau\omega\rho$, $\pi a\tau\eta\rho$), N-stems in $-\bar{o}$ (Gk. $-\omega\nu$), e. g. $c\tilde{u}r\bar{o}$, flesh, originally 'a portion of anything,' then 'a portion of flesh ' (connected with Gk. $\kappa\epsilon i\rho\omega$, to cut), $\hbar\delta m\bar{o}$, connected with $\hbar\tilde{u}mus$, the ground ¹. (On this \bar{e} and \bar{o} see ch. x. § 12.)

The Gen. Sg. ending of Cons.-stems was (1)-ës, (2)-ös. Of these the former was adopted in Latin, and became in class. Lat. -is (ch. ii. § 14), e.g. reg-is. There are traces of the latter in early spellings on inscriptions like nominus for class. nominis, hominus for class. hominis². I-stems properly took -eis, which would be in class. Lat. -is, but there is no instance of a Latin I-stem using any other than the Cons.-stem ending, e.g. turris, partis (on an inser. of the second cent. B. c. we find partus).

The Dat. Sg. ending of Cons.-stems was -ai, which became -ei and in class. Lat. -ī, e. g. regi, and Latin I-stems show the same ending, e. g. turri. (On the -e of jure dicundo, &c., see ch. i. § 7).

In the Acc. Sg. m was added to the stem, making in Latin Cons.-stems -em (ch. x. § 14), e. g. reg-em, and in I-stems -im, e. g. turrim. But the I-stems came almost all in time to take the Cons.-stem ending, e. g. turrem, partem. When an I-stem Acc. was used as Adverb however the older ending was retained, e. g. partim (but saltem with -tem by analogy of au-tem); and -im is invariable in vim (an \(\bar{1}\)-stem, \(\xi\) 10).

The Abl. Sg. ending of I-stems was -id, which became -i in the latter part of the third cent. B. C. (ch. x. § 17),

¹ In Old Latin we have a by-form homo (cf. nomo for *no-homo) and a by-declension in -ōnis, -ōni, &c., e.g. Enn.: Volturus in spinis miserum mandebat hemonem.

² On a leaden bullet (glans) used in the siege of Perusia is carved the 'Trochaic' line: Antoni calve, peristi Caesarus victoria.

e. g. turrī. Cons.-stems used their Locative, ending in -ἔ (class. Lat.-ĕ), instead of an Ablative, e. g. reg-ĕ, Cartha-gin-ĕ, as the Gk. Loc. was used as Dat., e.g. γέροντ-ἴ. These two endings are often exchanged, e. g. for I-stems turrĕ, partĕ, for Cons.-stems majorī and in early Latin militī Plaut., conentionid (i. e. 'contione') on the S. C. Bacch.

The Loc. Sg. ending of I-stems was -ĕyǐ (Gk. $\pi o \lambda \epsilon(y)\iota$), which in Latin would become -ei, class. -ī, e.g. luci, in daylight, of Cons.-stems -ĭ (sometimes omitted in I.-Eur. Locatives), class. Lat. -ĕ. The use of the Cons.-stem Loc. as an Ablative, e.g. Carthaginĕ, from Carthage, had this result, that Cons.-stems sometimes took the I-stem ending for the sake of distinction; e.g. $rur\bar{\imath}$, in the country, might be contrasted with $rur\check{e}$, from the country. I-stems often show the Cons.-stem ending, e.g. $m\bar{a}n\check{e}$, in the morning.

The Nom. Plur. ending of Masc. and Fem. Cons.-stems was properly -ĕs, which would be in class. Lat.-is(ch.ii.§ 14), and of I-stems -ĕyĕs (Gk. $\pi \acute{o} \lambda \epsilon(y) \epsilon s$), in Latin -ēs (ch. x. § 13). But there is no trace of a Latin Cons.-stem with any but the I-stem ending 1. I-stems sometimes show -eis, class. -īs, properly the ending of their Acc. Pl. (see below).

In the Gen. Pl. $-\bar{o}m$ (Lat. $-\bar{o}m$, then $-\bar{u}m$, ch. ii. §§ 16, 14) was added to the stem, so that reg-um, turri-um are correctly formed examples of a Cons.-stem and an I-stem. But the usual interchange is found. We have $v\bar{a}tum$ from the I-stem $v\bar{a}ti$ -, ferentium Masc. from the NT-stem ferent- (cf. Gk. $\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu\tau$ - $\omega\nu$), and the like ²; though as a rule the formation of the Gen. Pl. is the best test whether a Third Decl. Noun is an I-stem or a Cons.-stem. The distinction was better preserved in this case than in the Acc. and Abl. Sg.



¹ Plautus' canës is a mere shortening like vidës, avë (ch. ii. § 16).

² Caesar used panium, Verrius panum; Caesar partum, Pliny partium.

In the Dat., Abl., Instr., Loc. Plur. the I.-Eur. ending was -bhos, Lat. -bos, class. -bos. An I-stem Dat. like turri-bus is regular; but the Cons.-stems borrowed the i of the I-stems to form their Dat., e. g. reg-i-bus instead of *reg-bus, milit-i-bus instead of *milit-bus.

The Acc. Pl. was formed by adding -ns to the stem. Latin Cons.-stems show -ēs from -ens, Lat. I-stems -īs from -ins, e.g. regēs, turrīs. By the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire this distinction came to be lost sight of, and turres, partes, and the like, were allowed instead of turris, partis. (On the occasional use of -is in the Nom. Pl. by confusion with the Acc., see above.)

§ 9. Scheme of the Third Declension.

I. Consonant-stems.

Sing.

Nom. M., F. (1) -8.

(2) Vowel lengthened in R- and N-Stems, e. g. datōr (class. datŏr), homō.

N. The bare stem.

Gen. -ĕs, which became -ĭs.

Dat. -ai, which became -ei, then $-\bar{i}$.

Loc. -i, used also as Abl.

Acc. -ĕm (from an original -em).

Abl. (see Loc.).

Plur.

Nom. M., F. (the I-stem ending was used).

N. -a.

Gen. $-\delta m$, which became $-\delta m$, then -im.

 $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \text{Dat.} \\ \text{Loc.} \end{array}\right\}$ (the I-stem ending was used).

Acc. -ēs (from -ĕns from an original -ens).

Abl. (same as Dat., Loc.).

II. I-stems.

Sing.

Nom. M., F. -ĭs.

N. -i, which became -ë (dropped in animal, &c.).

Gen. (the Cons.-stem ending was used).

Dat. (the Cons.-stem ending was used).

Loc. -ei (from -ĕyĭ), which became -ī.

Acc. -ĭm.

Abl. -id, which became -i.

Plur.

Nom. M., F. -ēs (from -ĕyĕs).

N. -ia.

Gen. -ium.

Dat. Loc. \} -ibŏs (from -i-bhŏs), which became -ibŭs.

Acc. -īs (from -ĭns).

Abl. (same as Dat., Loc.).

§ 10. Other Third Decl. Stems. Nouns like bos, Jupiter (better spelt Juppiter) must be treated separately. They are Diphthong-stems bov-, Jov-(I.-Eur. gwou-, dyeu-), the latter being the same stem as is found in dies (§ 13). Bos is probably not a true Latin word, I.-Eur. gw being represented by v, not b, in Latin (ch. x. § 18), but a word of some country dialect. Its Gen. Pl. boum stands for bov-um with loss of v before u (ch. x. \S 13); its Dat. Pl. $b\bar{u}bus$, $b\bar{o}bus$ (from gwoubhos) shows \bar{o} , \bar{u} , the long vowels to which the original diphthong ou developed in Latin (ch. x. § 11). Ju-piter (cf. Diespiter) is, of course, a compound, like Mars pater, its first part showing \bar{u} (older ou), the sound to which the original diphthong eu developed in Latin (ch. x. § 11). In early Latin we find the spelling Diovem, Diove, &c. (see ch. x. § 13). On vis

(Gk. \tilde{t}_s , $\tilde{\iota}$ - $\phi\iota$), an I-stem (Acc. vim), and its wrong declension as an S-stem in the Plural, vires, virium, &c., see § 1. $S\bar{u}s$ (Gk. $\hat{v}s$) was originally a \bar{U} -stem, with stem $s\bar{u}$ -before Consonants (e. g. $s\bar{u}$ -bus; cf. Gk. \hat{v} -v), $s\check{u}(v)$ - before vowels (e.g. su-is, su- \bar{i} , su-em). Navis was an I.-Eur. Diphthong-stem nāu- (Gk. $va\hat{v}s$), but has passed in Latin, like I.-Eur. U-stem Adjectives, e. g. $l\check{e}vis$ (Gk. $\check{e}\lambda\alpha\chi\acute{v}s$) (ch. iv. § 1; ch. xi. § 13), into the I-declension.

§ 11. The Fourth Declension. The Fourth and Fifth Declensions do not preserve their individuality so well as the others. The Fourth, consisting of U-stems, does not always keep itself separate from the Second, while the Fifth is closely connected with the First. In the ordinary Latin of every-day life it is doubtful to what extent of their declension U-stems would show a different treatment from O-stems; and even the most careful writers decline only a few Fifth Declension Nouns, e.g. dies, res, throughout in what may be called a Fifth Declension form. The U-stems of the Fourth Declension are Masculine or Neuter. There are a few Feminines, e. g. domus, laurus, which seem to have been originally O-stems (see § 6); but it is possible that at an earlier period there were more, for there are traces of Abstract U-stems like metus, fear (cf. Ion. Gk. ἀρτύς, a fitting, F., but Lat. artus, a limb, M.), having been Feminine in early Latin, e.g. nec metus ulla tenet, Ennius.

The U-declension being in a manner the property of the educated section of the Roman world, was greatly subjected to the theories of Grammarians. The proper Nom. Sg. Masc. ending -ŭs was by some Grammarians pronounced -ūs, just as some made the -u of Nom. Sg. Neut. long, others short; the I.-Eur. Gen. Sg. ending -eus, in Latin -ous, then -ūs (ch. x. § 11), was by many

discarded for the Gen. Sg. ending of U-stems (§ 10), -uis, e.g. senatuis, domuis (cf. Ter. Haut. 287 eius anuis causa, 'to oblige that old woman'), an ending which suited the Dat. Sg. ending -ŭī, older -uei (from I.-Eur. -ĕwai). Emperor Augustus, who like his great predecessor, Julius Caesar, paid great attention to matters of Grammar, and once cashiered an officer for using the vulgarism isse instead of ipse, always made the Gen. Sg. of domus This domos, if it be anything more than a coinage of Augustus to suit some theory of his own, may be a genuine relic of another I.-Eur. ending -ous, which would be in Latin -ous, then -os (ch. x. § 11'. But the Second Declension form of the Genitive, used in popular Latin, steadily maintained itself against all these rules and theories of the Grammarians, and Quintilian in the first century A. D. declares senatī to be as good a Genitive as senatūs. In the Dative, beside $-u\bar{\imath}$, there is an occasional use of $-\bar{u}$, which seems to be the Locative ending (cf. noctū, in the night), from I.-Eur. -eu (ch. x. § 11). (On the use of this Locative in the Second Supine, see ch. vi. § 16).

In the Nom. Plur. we should expect $-\check{u}\check{e}s_j-\check{u}\check{i}s_s$, from I.-Eur. -ĕwĕs (Gk. $(\pi\acute{\eta}\chi\epsilon(F)\epsilon s)$), but the Acc. ending is used instead, $-\bar{u}s_s$, from -ŭns. The Gen. Pl. often shows -um (the Second Declension ending) as well as the U-stem ending - $\check{u}um$, older - $\check{u}\check{o}m$, from - $\check{u}\check{o}m$ (ch. ii. §§ 14, 16) (I.-Eur. - $\check{e}w\check{o}m$, Gk. $\pi\acute{\eta}\chi\epsilon(F)\omega\nu$) e. g. mille passum or mille passuum, a mile, lit. 'a thousand (of) paces.' In the Dat. Pl. - $\check{u}bus$ became by the Latin laws of sound - $\check{u}bus$ (ch. ii. § 14), but the older form was kept up for the sake of distinction in words like arcubus, 'to bows' (cf. arcibus, 'to citadels').

As regards Neuter U-stems the Latin Grammarians

disputed, as we have seen, whether the -u of the Nom. Sg. was short or long. The Augustan poets certainly show the scansion $corn\bar{u}$, &c., though the length of the u is difficult to justify. There was usually a Second Declension by-form in -um, e.g. cornum, Lucr. ii. 388:

Praeterea lumen per cornum transit.

§ 12. Scheme of the Fourth Declension.

Sing.

Nom. M. -ŭs.

N. -u.

Gen. (1) $-\bar{u}s$ from -eus.

(2) -uis from -ŭwes, the Ū-stem suffix.

(3) -1, the O-stem suffix.

Dat. -uī, older -uei, from -ĕwai.

Loc. $-\bar{u}$ from -eu (used also as Dat.).

Acc. $-\breve{u}m$.

Abl. $-\bar{u}d$, which became $-\bar{u}$.

Plur.

Nom. M. (see Acc.).

N. -ua.

Gen. (1) -uŭm from -ĕwōm.

(2) -um from -om, the O-stem suffix.

Acc. $-\bar{u}s$ (from -uns).

Abl. (same as Dat., Loc.).

§ 13. The Fifth Declension. This may be called the E-declension, for all the Nouns that belong to it end their Nom. Sg. in $-\bar{e}s$ and show the long vowel \bar{e} in at least some cases. But it is a veritable medley of most widely differing stems. We have (1) Verbal Noun-stems in $-\bar{e}$, e.g. $sord\bar{e}$ - (cf. $sord\bar{e}$ -re Inf., $sord\bar{e}$ -facio, &c.), with Abl.

sordē and Gen. Pl. sordērum (in Plautus, but in late Latin sordium); similarly from facio, faciēs, and from specio, speciēs. (2) Verbal Nouns in -iēs derived from Third Conj. Verbs whose Present has -o, not -io, e.g. rabies from rabo, scabiēs from scabo, perniciēs from a lost 3 Conj. Verb neco, along with its synonym permitiēs. (3) Nouns in -iēs, which are not Verbal Nouns, e.g. temperiēs, derived from tempus, especially Nouns in -tiēs from Adjs., e.g. vastitiēs, from vastus, mollitiēs from mollis, seguitiēs from segnis, amicitiēs from amicus. (4) diēs, with stem dyēw-, a by-form of dyew-, meaning 'sky,' 'day.' The stem dyew- is the stem of Jovis Gen., Jovi Dat., &c. (§ 10). (5) rēs, with stem rēy-, and spēs, with stem sphēy-.

Dies and res are the most consistently declined according to what is called the 'Fifth Declension,' e.g. Abl. diē, rē, Gen. Pl. diērum, rērum, Dat. Pl. diēbus, rēbus. Next comes spēs, which however is given by Ennius a Nom. Pl. spēres, as if it were an S-stem (cf. vīres Nom. Pl. of the I-stem vis, § 1). But the Verbal and other Nouns in -ies belong as much to the First Declension as to the Fifth, for they have by-forms in -ia, e.g. vastitia, temperia, effigia, and the farther back we go in the literature the more does this side of their nature show itself. Plautus the ie-forms are generally confined to the Nom., Acc. Sg., while he prefers -iae in the Nom. Pl., e.g. intemperiae, and in the Dat. Sg., e. g. materiae, -iā in the Abl. Sg., e.g. barbariā, -iīs in the Abl. Pl., e.g. mollitiis, and so on (but facië Abl., specië Abl.). After his time the number of Nouns in -ies and the number of cases to which this E-declension is extended steadily increases, though the Plural is always reserved by good writers for the \bar{a} -forms. All this points to those IE-stems having been originally IA-stems; and as we know that

the presence of i had in certain circumstances the effect of giving \bar{a} the sound of \bar{e} (open \bar{e}) in Latin 1, it seems likely that the greater part of the Fifth Declension Nouns are due to this change of sound. Verbal Nouns in $-\bar{e}s$, on the other hand, have affinity with I-stems (cf. $pl\bar{e}b\bar{e}s$ and $pl\bar{e}b\bar{s}$), and most of them show the \bar{E} -declension to a very limited extent only, e.g. $t\bar{a}b\bar{e}$ Abl. 2 Requie Abl. (for requiete), requiem Acc. (for requietem), may be due to the false analogy of the Nom. Sg. requies (for *requiet(i)s).

The formation of the Cases is closely modelled on the First Declension, \bar{e} being substituted everywhere for \bar{a} . The Gen. Sg. has -eī, which was allowed to keep its long \dot{e} when an i preceded, e. g. faci $\dot{e}i$, but shortened it in other circumstances, fiděi (in early Latin fidēi, e. g. plenu' fidei at the end of a hexameter line of Ennius). This shortening was in accordance with the Latin custom of shortening a long vowel before another vowel (ch. ii. § 16), and in point of fact affected the ending -ieī as well, changing it to $-i\hat{e}i$, then to $-i\hat{i}$; for the Republican writers have facii, pernicii, progenii, &c. Some Grammarians changed this ending $-i\bar{i}$ to $-i\bar{e}$, in order that the Genitive might show the e-vowel, which was the distinguishing mark of the Fifth Declension; and Julius Caesar, we are told, stamped with his approval forms like specie and die. Others preferred the old Gen. in -ies (like -as, the old Gen. of the First Declension, § 4); and we hear of

¹ Jājunus became jējunus, and Jēnuarius was the vulgar form of Jānuarius (cf. Italian Gennaio) (p. 10 n.).

² Many so-called Nominatives in -ēs are really Nominatives Plural of I-stems, e. g. ambāgēs, nūbēs (with a by-form nūbis), saepēs (with a by-form saeps). Some feminine animal-names seem to be dialectal, e. g. fēles, pālumbes. They take the I-stem declension.

a great controversy as to whether dies or die was the form used by Virgil in a line of the Georgies (i. 208):

Libra dies somnique pares ubi fecerit horas, and whether the same poet wrote dii 'of the day' or dei 'of the god' in Aen. i. 636:

Munera laetitiamque dei.

The $-\tilde{e}i$ of $fid\tilde{e}i$, and the like, also appears as $-\tilde{i}$, e.g. fami (Lucilius), tribunus plebi, with a by-form in $-\tilde{e}$, e.g. fide in Horace (C. iii. 7.4):

Constantis juvenem fide.

The Genitive of res, spes is as a rule a monosyllable, that of fides a disyllable in Plautus and Terence, writers who follow the conversational language of their time.

The Dat. Sg. has also by-forms, possibly due to the theorizing of Grammarians, possibly genuine relics of an ancient divergence of declension, e.g. faciēī, fidēī (the forms generally accepted), faciī, faciē. In Plautus and Terence the treatment of the Dat. Sg. is the same as that of the Genitive. The grammarian Aulus Gellius tells us that purists preferred facie to faciei.

Of the other cases we need mention only the Dat. Abl. Pl. in $-\bar{e}bus$, found in $r\bar{e}bus$, $di\bar{e}bus$.

§ 14. Scheme of the Fifth Declension.

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	-ē8.	-ē8.
Gen. (1)	$-\overline{e}\overline{\imath}$, $-\widecheck{e}\overline{\imath}$, $-\widehat{e}\widehat{\imath}$, $-\overline{\imath}$.	-ērum (cf. 1 Declārum).
(2)	$-\bar{e}$ (changed from $-\bar{i}$) .
(3)	-ēs (cf. 1 Declās).	
Dat. (1)	$-\bar{e}\bar{\imath}$, $-\check{e}\bar{\imath}$, $-\widehat{e}\hat{\imath}$, $-\bar{\imath}$.	-ēbus (cf. 1 Declābus).
(2)	-ē.	
Acc.	-ĕm from -ēm.	-ēs (from -ēns).
Abl.	$-\bar{e}$ from $-\bar{e}d$.	(same as Dat.).

CHAPTER IV.

THE ADJECTIVE.

§ 1. Distinction of Gender. It is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the Adjective and the Noun. Words like veteranus, veteran, tiro, recruit, are as much Adjectives as Nouns, e.g. veteranus exercitus, tiro exercitus; and the declension of the Adjective was the same as that of the Noun, though it occasionally trended on the Pronoun Declension 1, e.g. totius, Gen. of totus, like illius, Gen. of ille (ch. v. & 8). A distinguishing feature of the Adjective is its distinction of the three Genders; thus veteranus, -a, -um is an Adjective, veteranus M. a Noun. To indicate these the Adjective Declension took advantage of the connexion of O-stems with the masculine and neuter and of A-stems with the feminine (ch. iii. § 2), e.g. I.-Eur. něwos M., něwā F., něwom N., Lat. novus, nova, novum. (On Nom. Sing. Masc. -er for -rus, see ch. iii. δ 6). Besides the vowel a the vowel i was associated with the feminine gender (cf. Lat. neptis beside nepos), and U-stem Adjectives, for example, formed their Fem. in this way, so that e.g. tenuis is properly the feminine form. The ending -ia (e.g. Gk. φέρουσα for *φεροντγα) may have been an old Latin formation of the feminine

¹ In German the 'Strong' Declension of the Adjective (where the Adj. is not preceded by the Def. Article) is a trace of the Pronoun Declension.

Pres. Part., but was early relegated to the function of forming Abstract Nouns, e.g. pollentia, abundantia (cf. repulsa, an Abstr. Noun, beside repulsas, -a, -um; textura beside texturus, -a, -um). In Latin the distinctions of gender in the Adjective have been greatly effaced 1. Tenuis was used as Masc. as well as Fem., and all the U-stem Adjectives show the same treatment, e.g. brevis (Gk. βραχύς), pinguis (Gk. παχύς); ferens, &c. became the Fem. form too, though an earlier stage of the language probably had *ferentis, &c. (ch. ii. § 12); and, since final -nt became by a phonetic law of Latin ns (ch. x. § 17). ferens is also the Latin representative of *ferent Neut. (Gk. φέρον for *φεροντ). Similarly Neuters like duplec (cf. the Neut. Noun allec) became assimilated to the Masc. form duplex. The distinction, however, is kept up in O-stem Adjectives in Latin even better than in Greek, for the Greek usage of the Masc. form of Compound O-stem Adjs. as a Fem., e.g. ροδοδάκτυλος 'Hώς 2, is unknown in Latin, and in RI-stems the fashion came in of distinguishing the Masc. in -er from the Fem. in -ris, e.g. ācer M., ācris F. O-stems lost their distinction between Masc. and Fem. only when they passed into I-stems.

This was a course often taken by Latin O-stem Adjectives. Thus O. Lat. inermus, -a, -um is class. Lat. inermis, -is, -e, and the word hilärus, a word which the Romans borrowed from the Greek (Gk. iλαρός), just as we borrow terms of the finer nuances of feeling from the French (e.g. triste), soon became hilaris.

§ 2. Comparison. The I.-Eur. suffixes used to form the Comparative and Superlative of Adjectives were

¹ Vetus M., F., N. was originally a noun (Gk. (f) éros, a year).

^{2 &#}x27;Poδοδάστυλος was really a noun in apposition to 'Hώς, 'Dawn Rose-finger.' This is the origin of this curious Greek usage.

-yes- (weak grade -is-, ch. x. § 12), -isto- (e.g. Gk. ήδίω Acc. for $*\hat{\eta}\delta i\sigma\sigma a$, Engl. sweeter, with r from s; Gk. $\tilde{\eta}\delta i\sigma\tau\sigma s$, Engl. sweetest), and to some extent also -tero- (-ero-) and -temo- (-emo-) (Gk. ἡδύτερος). In Latin the suffix -yes- (-is-) was used for the Comparative, e.g. suavior from suaviōs with ending -yōs, the Ō-grade of -yĕs- (ch. x. § 12), but -temo- is found only in 'Superlatives' like intimus, ultimus, and -tero- is used to form Adverbs, e.g. breviter (Gk. βραχύτερος) and local Adjectives, e.g. dexter (Gk. δεξιτερός has this suffix in the same function; see ch. xi. § 8), as we have -temo- in the local Adjectives finitimus, maritimus (ch. xi. § 7). But -mo- and -emo- appear as Superlative suffixes in summus for *sup-mus (ch. x. § 16), infimus and imus, and (appended to the Comparative suffix -is-) in maximus for *magisimus (ch. ii. § 12), sacerrimus for *sa- crisimus (ch. ii. § 12), facillimus for *facilisimus (ch. x. § 19). Neither the origin of the usual Superlative ending - issimus nor the date of its introduction are clear, e.g. purissimus, Old Lat. purimus.

§ 3. Irregular Comparison. The irregular Comparison of simple Adjectives like 'good,' 'bad' is a relic of a very early time when different roots were used to express a Positive, a Comparative, and a Superlative (Gk. ἀγαθώς, ἀμείνων; Engl. good, better), e.g. Lat. bonus (older duonus 1), melior, optimus (older opitumus from the root op- of opto, opes, &c.). The coexistence of such forms as benevolus and benevolens produced a type of Comparison like magnificus, magnificentior, magnificentissimus; while frūgī, which was a Dative Case of a noun, 'for fruit,'

Honc oino ploirume cosentiont Romai Duonoro optumo fuise uiro,

¹ Thus on a Scipio epitaph:

^{&#}x27;hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optimum fuisse virum.'

'fit for bearing good fruit' (cf. Plaut. tamen ero frugi bonae), had recourse for its Comparative and Superlative to the Adj. frūgālis. The retention of v in the Positive, with its suppression (ch. ii. § 12) in the other Degrees, causes the anomaly in the Comparison of dives (but cf. Ter. Adelph. 770 dis quidem esses, Demea), ditior, dītissimus; jūvenis, jūnior. Plus, plurimus, older *plois, *ploisomos, come from plo-, a grade (ch. x. § 11) of ple-(ch. vi. § 3), which is a development of the root pel-, 'to fill' (Gk. $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\eta s$, $\pi\lambda\epsilon\ell\omega\nu$ from $*\pi\lambda\eta-\gamma\omega\nu$, $\pi\lambda\epsilon\ell\sigma\tau os$ from *πληιστος, Lat. plē-nus, plērique). Major comes from *mahior from a root magh-, while magis, maximus show another form of the root, viz. mag-. Nequior and nequissimus are curious coinages for the Comp. and Superl. of the indeclinable Adi. nē-quam, lit. 'a no-how' (cf. O. Lat. negualia, nuisances, drawbacks). (Gk. ἀκίων), lacks a Positive in Latin, though it has one in Greek, ἀκύς. Potis, the Positive of potior, desirable, has the sense of 'able,' e.g. potis sum (class. possum, ch. vi. § 23), and is in Greek the Noun πόσις, a master, lord.

§ 4. Numerals. Of the Latin Cardinal Numbers 1-3 are inflected: ūnus, -a, -um; duō (a Dual form, ch. iii. § 1), -ae, -ō; trēs, -ēs, -ia (Plur. of an I-stem, tri-); not 4, as Gk. τέσσαρες, -ες, -a. The Numeral Adverbs from 5 upwards end in -iens or -ies, the I.-Eur. ending -yĕnt (ch. x. § 17). For the fraction 'half' we have sēmi- (I.-Eur. sēmǐ-, Gk. ἡμι-, O. Engl. sām-, whence our 'sand-blind'), while as an Adjective dīmĕdius (from dis and medius) was used. 'One and a half' is sesquǐ-, for *sēmisque, with the same syncope as is seen in sestertius, 'two and a half,' for *sēmis-tertius (cf. Germ. drittehalb).

§ 5. Scheme of the Latin Numerals.

Card.	Ord.	Adv.
1. unus, older oinos (IEur. oinos, Eng. one; cf. Gk. olos, alone, for olfos).	primus, older *prismos (cf. pris-cus, &c.).	sĕmel (from sem- 'one,' Gk. ɛls for sems; Lat. singuli, sim- plex, &c.).
 duo (IEur. duo, Gk. δύω and δύο) (in Compounds bi-, older dui-, e.g. bidens). 	secundus (lit. 'following'). alter (lit. 'other of two') (so in O. Eng. 'other' is used for 'second').	bis from duis.
3. tres (IEur. treyes, Gk. τρείς) (in Compounds tri-, e. g. tri-pes).	ter-tius.	ter from *ters.
4. quattuor from *quotvor(ĕ)s (IEur. quetwor-, Dor. Gk. τέτορες).	quartus.	quäter from quë- trüs.
 quīnque from *quenque (I Eur. pĕnquĕ, Gk. πέντε). 	quīn(c)tus.	quinquie(n)s.
6. sex (IEur.seks and sweks, Gk. %).	sextus.	sexie(n)s.
7. septem (IEur. septem, Gk. επτά).	septimus.	septie(n)s.
 ŏctō, a Dual-form, lit. 'two sets of four' (IEur. ŏktō, Gk. ὀκτώ). 	octāvus for *octō- vus (ch. x. § 8).	octie(n)s.
 nŏvem (IEur. nĕwen, Gk. ἐν-νέα). 	nonus.	novie(n)s.
 děcem (ÍEur. děk°m, Gk. δέκα). 	decimus.	decie(n)s.
 viginti (IEur. wi-(d)k°mti, a Dual-form, lit. 'two decades,' Dor. Gk. Fεί- κατι, Att. Gk. εἴ-κοσι). trigintā, lit. 'three decades,' 	vīcēsimus, older vicensumus for *vicent-lumus.	vīcie(n)s.
&c.		
100. centum (IEur. (d)kemtom, lit. 'a decade' [sc. of decades], Gk. έ-κατόν).		
1000. mille, originally a Neut. Sing. I-stem 1, e. g. mille peditum, with Plur., e. g. tria milia peditum.		

¹ Plautus has the Abl. milli. So in Old Latin ducentum, trecentum, &c. are used as Nouns with the Gen. of the thing specified, e.g. argenti sescentum, Lucilius.

Distributive Numerals have the suffix -no-, e.g. $b\bar{\imath}-ni$, ter-ni and $tr\bar{\imath}-ni$, but the Distributive of unus is formed differently, singuli (from the root sem-, 'one,' whence semel). Multiplicative Numerals have -plex, from the root plek-, 'to fold' (Lat. im-plico, Gk. $\pi\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\kappa-\tau\omega$), e.g. simplex, and Proportional -plus (from the root pel-, 'to fill'), e.g. simplus. (On $qu\delta tus$, see ch. v. § 8.)

CHAPTER V.

THE PRONOUNS.

§ 1. Personal. Egő represents an I.-Eur. ĕgō (Gk. ἐγώ). This was the I.-Eur. form used for the I Pers. Sing. Pronoun when subject to the verb, while another stem was employed for the same Pronoun when considered as object, viz. me-. This me- is the stem of the Latin Dat. mǐhī (often pronounced as one syllable, mī, like nīl from nihil, ch. ii. § 6), which was in older Latin mě-hei, and of the Abl. mē, older mēd (ch. ii. & q). The use of different stems in the Nom, and in the other cases is one of the peculiar features of the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension, about which more information will be found below (§ 3). For the Accusative we find exactly the same form used in Latin as for the Abl., viz. mē, older mēd, so that the Abl. seems to have taken the place of the Acc. in Latin in much the same way as the Dat. 'him' took the place of the Acc, in English. For the Gen. the Gen. Sing. Neut. of the Possessive Pronoun is used, mei, e.g. amicus mei, lit, 'a friend of mine;' but in older Latin we find occasionally a Gen. formed with -es, the Gen. Sing. Suffix of Nouns (ch. iii. § 1), viz. mis, as in this line of Ennius:

Ingens cura mis cum concordibus aequiperare,
'My earnest care to match with men like-hearted to me.'

We have thus:

Nom. ego (originally egō, then shortened to egŏ, ch. ii. § 16).

Gen. mei (Gen. Sg. Neut. of meus).

Dat. mihi (from mě-hei, ch. ii. § 14. On the second part -hei, see below on tibi).

Acc. me (really Abl.).

Abl. me (from med, with the Abl. Sing. Suffix -d, ch. iii. § 1).

 $T\bar{u}$ represents an I.-Eur. $t\bar{u}$, seen in the Homeric form $\tau b - \nu \eta$, while the ordinary Greek $\sigma \dot{\nu}$, older $\tau \dot{\nu}$, represents an I.-Eur. $t\bar{u}$. This is another feature of the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension that forms with short and with long vowel are found side by side (cf. ch. ix. § 1). For the oblique cases the I.-Eur. stem was twe- and (when unemphatic) te-. Lat. $t\bar{\imath}b\bar{\imath}$ was earlier $t\bar{\nu}-be\bar{\imath}$. The b which appears here and in the Dat. of the Reflexive Pronoun, $t\bar{\imath}b\bar{\imath}$, may be a relic of a Pronoun-stem bhe-, so that $t\bar{\imath}-b\bar{\imath}$ would be originally a Compound; and the b of $t\bar{\imath}-b\bar{\imath}$ has been similarly referred to the Pronoun-stem ghe-, the same as appears in the Demonstrative $t\bar{\imath}$ (§ 3). The other cases have the same formation as the 1 Pers. Sing. Pronoun; and like Gen. $t\bar{\imath}$ beside $t\bar{\imath}$, we have in the older literature a Gen. $t\bar{\imath}$ beside $t\bar{\imath}$.

Nom. $t\bar{u}$ (the I.-Eur. form, unchanged).

Gen. tui (Gen. Sg. Neut. of tuus, meaning literally 'of thine').

Dat. tibi (from *te-bei), with the same change of tĕ- to tĕ-, through the unaccented use of the word, ch. ii. § 14, as of mĕ- to mĕ- in mihi).

Acc. te (really Abl.).

Abl. te (from ted).

In the First Plural Pronoun the one I.-Eur. stem ne-

(nŏ-) (Gk. νῶι Dual, ἡμεῖs from I.-Eur. n°s-me-, Engl. us from I.-Eur. n°s), is used in Latin to the exclusion of the other stem wĕ- (wŏ-) (Engl. we). Nōs is perhaps properly Acc. and not Nom. Nō-bīs, older no-beis, adds to *nobei (cf. *te-bei, *se-bei) the plural suffix -s. For the Genitive, besides the Gen. Sing. Neut. of the Possessive, nostri, e. g. amicus nostri, lit. 'a friend of ours,' the Gen. Plur. was used, nostrum or nostrorum; and it came to be the rule that the latter form should be employed whenever the idea of plurality was strongly present. This we have omnium nostrum (in Plautus omnium nostrorum) 'of all of us,' pars nostrum (pars nostrorum) 'a part of us,' &c. Obsolete forms are (1) of the Dat. Abl. nis, with -is of Second Declension Nouns (ch. iii. § 6), (2) of the Acc. enos, in the Hymn of the Arval Brothers:

Enos, Lases, iuuate; Enos, Marmor, iuuato, 'Nos, Lares, juvate; nos, Mars, juvato.'

Nom. nos (perhaps properly Acc.).

Gen. nostri, nostrum (really Gen. Sing. Neut. and Gen. Plur. of the Possessive).

Dat. Abl. nobis (older no-bei-s, with the suffix -bei of ti-bi, si-bi increased by the plural suffix -s).

Acc. nos.

Võs shows the I.-Eur. 2 Plur. stem wĕ- (wŏ-), for the other I.-Eur. stem yu- (Gk. $i-\mu\epsilon is$, Engl. you) was, like the I.-Eur. 1 Plur. stem wĕ- (wŏ-), discarded in Latin. Its declension is similar to that of nos.

Nom. vos (perhaps properly Acc.).

Gen. vestri, vestrum (Gen. Sing. Neut. and Gen. Plur. of the Possessive).

Dat. Abl. vobis (older vo-bei-s).

Acc. vos.

The Reflexive Pronoun (I.-Eur. stem swe- and, when unaccented, se-) is similarly declined; but we have no Old Lat. Gen. sis, like mis and tis, and (a common feature of the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension) the same forms are used for the Singular and for the Plural.

Gen. sui (Gen. Sg. Neut. of suus, lit. 'of his,' 'of theirs').

Dat. sibi (from *se-bei, as tibi from *te-bei, on which see above).

Acc. sē (really Abl.).

Abl. $s\bar{e}$ (from $s\bar{e}d$).

§ 2. Possessive. Meus is I.-Eur. měyŏs (ch. x. § 13; ch. xi. § 3), tuus, older *touos, I.-Eur. těwŏs (ch. x. § 4; ch. ii. § 15), suus, older souos, I.-Eur. sĕwŏs. From the Relative and Interrogative Pronoun was formed after the same type cujus, older *quoiios, a form which was avoided by purists under the idea that it was nothing but the Gen. Sg. cujus used by vulgar error as an Adjective, cujus, -a, -um. Virgil however stamped the form with his approval in the line (Ecl. iii. 1):

Dic mihi, Damoeta, cujum pecus? An Meliboei? a line which his critics parodied:

Dic mihi, Damoeta, 'cujum pecus' anne Latinum? 'Tell me, Damoetas, is 'cujum pecus' good Latin?'

Beside I.-Eur. sewos (Gk. $\epsilon o s$) there was another I.-Eur. form swos (Gk. δs for $\star \sigma F o s$), which appears in O. Lat. forms like sas, sis, as in a line of Ennius (imitated by Lucretius iii. 1025):

Postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancu' reliquit.

These must not be confused on the one hand with O. Lat. sas, sos for eas, eos (§ 3), nor on the other with

the monosyllabic pronunciation of suas, suis, &c., as in this line of Lucretius (v. 420):

Ordine se suo quaeque sagaci mente locarunt.

In this line the u of suo was pronounced like Lat. v (our w), and similarly the e of meo, meos, &c., was pronounced like Lat. j (our y) in such a line as that of the old Scipio epitaph:

Virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulaui, 'I made my character crown the merits of our race.'

For the Possessive of the Plural Pronouns the suffix used was -tero- (Gk. $\dot{\eta}\mu\dot{\epsilon}$ - $\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma$ s); so 1 Pl. nos-ter, 2 Pl. ves-ter, older vos-ter (ch. x. § 8).

These Possessives are really Adjectives, not Pronouns, and properly belong to chapter iv. They have the ordinary Adjective declension, the only point that calls for mention being the Voc. Sing. Masc. of meus, which is $m\bar{\imath}$, a contraction of * $m\bar{\imath}\bar{\imath}$. On the use of their Gen. Neut. as Gen. of the Personal Pronouns see the last paragraph.

Both the Possessive Adjectives and the Personal Pronouns are often strengthened by the addition of the Particles -mět, -ptě (on which see § 3), e. g. ego-met, tibi-met, sibi-met, nos-met, vos-met, mea-met, suis-met, mihi-pte, meā-pte, suo-pte. Tu often adds the Particle -tě, and becomes $t\bar{u}$ -tě- (cf. tu-ti-met, ch. ii. § 13), a form not to be confounded with Acc. $t\bar{e}$ -tē; for this Acc. form is merely the Acc. $t\bar{e}$ doubled for the sake of emphasis (cf. $s\bar{e}$ - $s\bar{e}$).

§ 3. Demonstrative. There was a great variety of Demonstrative Pronoun-stems in I.-Eur., some of which appear in some languages as Adverbs, Conjunctions and Particles only, but as Pronouns in others. Thus the stem

¹ Plautus uses *meus* with a Second Decl. Noun whose Nom. is used for a Vocative, e. g. Asin. 664 da, méus ocellus, mea rosa, mi ánime, mea uolúptas.

kĕ- (kŏ-) appears in Latin in the Adverb ce- of cĕ-do, 'give here,' and in the Particle -ce of hujus-ce, illis-ce, &c., but in English it supplies the ordinary Third Sing. Pronoun 'he'; and on the other hand the stem ghĕ-(ghŏ-) of Lat. hĕ-c (O. Lat. hĕ-c), ho-c appears as a Particle in Greek oὐ-χί, ναι-χί. Latin Conjunctions like nam, nem-pe, e-nim, dum are all descendants of I.-Eur. Pronoun-stems which in other I.-Eur. languages appear as actual Pronouns; and so are Latin Particles like -pĕ of nem-pe, quippe, -dem of ejus-dem, ibi-dem, -tem of au-tem, i-tem, &c., as well as the Pronominal Particles mentioned in the preceding paragraph -pte, -met, and the like.

The stems used in Latin for Demonstrative Pronouns are:

(1) I.-Eur. sĕ- (sŏ-), which seems to have been originally confined to Nom. Sg. Masc. and Fem., a stem tĕ- (tŏ-) being used elsewhere (Gk. ὁ and ὅs, for *σο, *σο΄s, Masc. ἡ, for *σᾱ, Fem., το΄, for *τοδ, Neut., το΄ν Acc. Sg. Masc., &c.). This stem is found independently in the Old Latin Demonstrative sam 'eam,' sos 'eos,' sum' eum,' as in this line of Ennius:

Constitit inde loci propter sos dia dearum.
'Then (inde loci) the heavenly goddess took her stand beside them.'

But in classical Latin it appears in independent form only as an Adverb or Conjunction, tum, tam, &c.; while in Pronouns it is always a pendant to some other stem, e. g. ille for *ol-se, where it is a pendant to the stem ol-(see below), is-te, &c.

(2) I.-Eur. ghĕ- (ghŏ-) supplies Lat. hǐc Masc., from O. Lat. hĕ-c ¹, haec Fem., for hai-c, hoc Neut., for *hod-c,

Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe, 'hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem.'

¹ This form is found on a Scipio epitaph:

all augmented by the Particle -ce. The scansion of hic as a long syllable, e. g. Virg.

Manibusque meis Mezentius hic est,

represents a pronunciation 'hicc,' which followed the lead of 'hocc' (cf. hocci-ne) for *hod-c. Hicc and hocc would be the pronunciation before vowels, hic and hoc before consonants (cf. ch. ii. § 9 on these doublets). But hic with a long i was an Adverb, 'here,' and hoc with long o was the Ablative. The unaccented use of the Demonstrative (ch. ii. § 11) led to the change of O. Lat. hec to class. Lat. hic (ch. ii. § 14), and similarly of the Neut. hoc (hocc) to huc (hucc), though the last form came to be reserved for the Adverbial sense of 'to this place,' 'hither,' e.g. huc venio, in Plautus hoc uenio (ch. ix. § 5). The i of hai-c is a peculiarity of the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension (cf. quae, O. Lat. quai, Fem. Sg. of the Pron. stem quo-, § 6).

(3) I.-Eur. ŏl- (Lat. ŭl-tra, ŭl-timus; see ch. viii. § 41), a grade of the root al- of Lat. al-ius, Gk. άλλος, appears with the I.-Eur. stem se- (so-) appended in Lat. ille from *ol-se. (On the change of ls to ll, as in velle for *vel-se, see ch. x. § 19.) The Neuter we should expect to be *ultud from *ol-tod; but this form was adapted to the pattern of the Masc. and Fem. and became ollud, class. The change of o to i must be referred to the unaccented use of this Pronoun, which culminated in its reduction to a mere Definite Article in late Latin (ch. ii. § 11). Ille, older olle, seems to stand for an original ŏl-sŏ, with weakening of final ŏ to ĕ (ch. ii. § 14), sŏ being one form of the Nom. Sing. Masc. in I.-Eur. (Gk. & for *\sigma_o). The other form sos (Gk. \(\tilde{o}_s \) for *\sigma_os, 'he') appears in O. Lat. ollus for ŏl-sŏs, but *illus was discarded in the classical language (cf. below on ipse and ipsus).

(4) From I.-Eur. I- (ei-) and ĕyŏ- (Engl. it) comes the Latin 'Anaphoric' Pronoun (i. e. the pronoun which refers to something previously mentioned) is Masc., ĕa Fem., from ĕyā (ch. x. § 13), ĭd Neut. Augmented by a combination of the Particle -pĕ with the Pronoun-stem sĕ- (sŏ-), a combination which expresses 'self,' it forms the Latin Pronoun of Identity, ipse M. for I-p(ĕ)-sŏ, ipsa F., ipsum¹ N. In class. Latin the first part of this combination remains undeclined in its bare stem-form i-psa, i-psum, &c., but in the earlier literature we have declension of the first part with or without declension of the second, e.g. ea-pse (and ea-psa?), eum-pse (and eum-psum?). Augmented by the Particle -dem it expresses 'the same,' idem, older ĭs-dem, Masc. (ch. x. § 19), ea-dem Fem., ĭdem (not *id-dem) Neut.

The Declension of these stems followed the L-Eur. Pronoun Declension, which, as we have seen, was very different from the Noun or Adj. Declension, though it became more and more assimilated to this in course of time, and in Greek had come to be almost identical. It is this Greek assimilation of the Pronoun- to the Noun-Declension which makes the Greek Pronouns easier to learn than the Latin. The Nom. Acc. Sg. Neut. was formed, not like O-stem Nouns in -m, e.g. donum, but in -d, e. g. is-tud (I.-Eur. tŏd, Gk. τό for *τοδ), illud; the Nom. Sing. Fem. (with which went the Nom. Acc. Plur. Neut.; see ch. iii. § 2) ended in -ai, e.g. O. Lat. hai-ce, class. haec; while for the Nom. Sing. Masc. the bare stem was used, e.g. Lat. hic, for ghe- with Particle -ce, ille (O. Lat. olle) for ŏl-sŏ (Gk. ὁ for *σο). But the Noun-



¹ We should expect *iptud. Like O. Lat. ollus beside olle (class. ille) is O. Lat. ipsus beside ipse. Plautus seems to use the form ipsus where special emphasis is intended.

endings were used side by side with these from a very early time, e. g. I.-Eur. sŏs M. (Gk. ős 'he' for *σος), sā F. (Gk. $\hat{\eta}$ for * $\sigma \bar{a}$), and so we find in Latin illa, for ol-sa, beside O. Lat. illaec, for ol-sai with Particle -ce, and along with O. Lat. olle we have O. Lat. ollus, for ol-sos. (Cf. O. Lat. ipsus beside ipse, class. ista beside O. Lat. istaec, ip-sum Neut., &c.) The suffix -oi, -ei (the Loc. Sing. suffix of Noun O-stems, ch. iii. § 6) was in the I.-Eur. Pronoun Declension used in a case which seems to have acted not only as a Locative but also as a Dative and as a Genitive. Thus Greek µoı, which we call a Dative, has the function of a Genitive in such a phrase as μητέρι μοι 'to my mother.' In Latin illī, older ol-lei from ol-soi or ol-sei (ch. ii. § 14), was both Dative 'to him' and Locative 'in that place,' 'there,' and though by the classical period it had been found convenient to distinguish the two uses by restricting illi to the Dat. sense, and the form with the Particle -ce, illic, to the Loc, this distinction is unknown to Plautus, who uses illi and illic equally as Dat. and as Loc. The Genitive received a distinguishing mark in Latin by the addition of the Noun Gen. Sing. suffix -os (ch. iii. § 1) to this Dat.-Loc.-Gen. form, hujus (pronounced huyyus, ch. ii. § 3), older *hoios, from *hoi with an appended -os; so ejus (pronounced eyyus) from ei, illius 1 from illi, &c. In the rapid utterance of ordinary speech these new Genitives assumed, when unaccented (ch. ii. § 11), the pronunciation illis, istis, ipsis, huis, eis. Thus we have illi(u)s modi (four syllables) Ter. Ad. 441, or in one word illimodi (cf. cui-

¹ Originally illius, then through the Latin shortening of a long vowel before another vowel, illius. Alterius is found in dramatic verse as well as alterius, though the long penult could not appear in dactylic poetry.

cuimodi), with s dropped before m as in primus for *prismus (ch. x. § 19). The Nom. Plur. Masc. suffix of Ostem pronouns, viz. -oi, was in Latin (as in Greek) borrowed by O-stem Nouns (see ch. iii. § 6).

Scheme of the Demonstrative Pronoun Declension.

Sing.

*	7	
(Stem ghĕ-, ghŏ-)	(Compound of Stems ŏl- and sŏ-)	(Stem ei-, ĭ-)
Nom. M. hic, O. Lat. hic (for ghe with Particle -ce).	ille, O. Lat. olle (from ol-sŏ) (also O. Lat. *ollos, ollus from ol-sŏs).	is (i with Noun Nom.Sg.suffix -s).
F. hace, O. Lat. haic (from ghai with -ce).	illa, O. Lat. olla (from ol-sā) (also illaec, O. Lat. *ollaic like haic).	ea (from ey-ā).
N. hoc (from *hŏd with -ce).	illud, O. Lat. *ollod ollud (from ol- sŏd).	id (the IEur. form unchanged).
Gen. hujus, O. Lat. *hoios (with addition of Gen. suffix-östo Dat.).	illius (from Dat. illi with -ŏs).	ejus (from Dat. ei with -ös).
Dat. huic, O. Lat. hoic (from *hoi with -ce).	illi, O. Lat. *olloi, ollei (from ol-soi).	ei, O. Lat. eei (from eyoi).
Acc. M. hunc, O. Lat. honc (from *hom with -ce).	illum, O. Lat. *ollom (from ol-som).	eum, O. Lat. eom (from eyom).
F. hanc (from *ham with -ce).	illam.	eam.
Abl. M. hoc (from *hōd with -ce).	illo, O. Lat. *ollōd (from ol-sōd).	co, O. Lat. cod (from eyōd).
F. hac (from *hād with -ce).	illa.	ea.
	illīc, O. Lat. ollei, olleic (from ol-sei).	

Plur.

(Stem ghĕ-, ghŏ-)	(Compound of Stems öl- and sö-)	(Stem ei-, ĭ-)
Nom. M. hi, O. Lat. *hoi and (unaccented) hei.		ei (from ey-oi).
F. hae, O. Lat. *hai and haic.		eae.
N. haec, O. Lat. *hai and haic.	illa (with Noun Neut. Pl. ending).	ea.
Gen. M. horum (from ghō-sōm).	illorum, O. Lat. ollo- (rom ch. viii. § 28).	eorum.
F. harum (from ghā-som).	illarum, O. Lat. olla-	earum.
Dat. Abl. M. his, O. Lat. *hois and (un- accented) heis.	illis, O. Lat. ollois, which became olleis.	eis.
F. his, O. Lat. *hais and (unaccent- ed) heis.	illis, O. Lat. *ollais, olleis.	eis.
Acc. M. hos (from ghons).	illos.	eos.
F. has (from ghans).	illas.	eas.

§ 4. The Particle -ce. This Particle, as we have seen, belongs to the stem ke-, ko- (Gk. ἐκεί, a Locative Adverb, Lat. citer, cĕ-do, Engl. he, him). It is employed as an enclitic Particle in other languages of the I.-Eur. family beside Latin; for example, the gh of our 'though' is nothing but this appended -ke. It conveyed the sense of 'here,' so that hosce beside hos in Latin is much like 'these here' beside 'these' in English, and the addition of the particle would not make any perceptible difference in the sense. In the earlier authors we find -ce added or withheld at will; üle and illic (ch. ii. § 14), illum and illunc, illud and illuc, &c., stand side by side in the pages of Plautus and Terence, as tum and tunc in classical Latin. But by Cicero's time the forms with -ce have been made use of to distinguish synonyms. To Plautus illi and illic were synonyms in the senses 'to him' or 'in that place.' The classical writers reserve illi for the first, illic for the second sense. Similarly illud 'that thing' was distinguished from illuc 'to that place, 'hae 'these women' from haec 'these things'.' The particle clung closest, as was natural, to the Demonstrative hic 'this,' of

Virgil has the old form in Georg. iii. 305: Haec quoque non cura nobis leviore tuendae.

which only the ce-forms are found in the Nom. Sing. Masc. hic (never hi), Fem. haec (never hae or ha), Neut. hoc (never hod), Dat. Sing. huic, Acc. Sing. Masc. hunc (never hum), hanc (never ham), and so on. The tendency of Latin pronunciation to syncope of final -ë (ch. ii. § 12) reduced -ce to -c, but the full form of the Particle is seen, for example, when the Interrogative -ne is added, hici-ne, hocci-ne (on the change of -ë to -i- see ch. ii. § 14 n).

§ 5. O. Lat. forms of the Demonstratives. A Nom. Plur. Masc. his, older heis (hisce, heisce) is found on inscriptions and in Plautus and even, according to the Grammarians, in Virgil, Ed. iii. 102:

His certe, neque amor causa est, vix ossibus haerent. A Dat.-Abl. hībus occurs in Plautus Curc. 506: parissumi estis hibus, like ībus, from is, in Plaut. Mil. 74 ibus dinumerem stipendium.

The old form ollus was still used in Cicero's time in the announcement of a public funeral: ollus leto datus est, Quirites; and when the herald made his proclamation at the elections he used the phrase olla centuria and not 'illa centuria,' just as we keep up the old Norman French 'oyez, oyez' in Royal Proclamations. Virgil and the later Epic poets are fond of the forms olli, ollis, e. g. Virg. A. i. 254:

Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum, a line in which some of the Latin commentators understood olli as an Adverb with the sense of 'at that time,' 'then.' Ōlim, an Adverb derived from a by-stein ōl-, had originally this meaning, 'at that time,' e. g. Plaut. Truc. 65 olim quom caletur maxime 'at the hottest time of the year.'

An early Acc. Sg. Masc. of is, viz. im or em, is preserved in that clause of the Twelve Tables which gives directions how to subpoena a witness; si in ius uocat, ni it, antestamino; igitur em capito, 'If A summon B and B refuses to go, A must first take a bystander to witness, then lay hands on B.'

§ 6. Relative, Indefinite, and Interrogative.

The I.-Eur. Relative-stem yo- (Gk. 5s for *yos) does not supply the Latin Relative, which shows the stem quo-, a stem originally proper (with qui-, quu-) to the Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns (Gk. τ (s; and τ (s, π 00; and π 00, Engl. who?) but used also as a Relative (Engl. who). I.-Eur. quo-, qui-, quu- appear in the Latin qui?, quis?, si-quis, ali-culi, &c. We may roughly distinguish quī- (stem quo-) as the Relative, quis (stem qui-) as the Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun, though the stems

frequently overlap; e.g. in the Latin of Cato and the earliest inscriptions ques is the Nom. Pl. of the Indefinite, $qu\bar{i}$ (quei) of the Relative 1; but in class. Lat. both are $qu\bar{i}$. In the Dramatists quis is the Fem. of the Interrog., quae of the Relative, but qui, the I-stem Abl., which probably was originally confined to the Interrog.-Indef. use, is also Relative, e. g. Ter. Ad. 477 psaltriam parauit, quicum uiuat, and queis, also written quis (ch. x. § 11), which was originally Rel. only, is also Interrog.-Indef. The I-declension Neuter Pl. quia survives only as a Conjunction (ch. ix. § 12). In the Italic languages (as in Celtic and elsewhere) a curious declension of the Relative (and Interrogative) was in vogue, a case-form of the Relative-stem being prefixed to a Demonstrative, like modern Greek ποῦ τόν for ὄν in such a sentence as αὐτὸς είνε ὁ ἄνδρας ποῦ τὸν είδα, 'that is the man whom I saw.' The old spelling of the Dat. Sg. of qui, viz. quoiei, shows it to be a compound of this kind, having for its second element the Dat. Sg. of is (O. Lat. eiei), so that quoiei represents quō-eiei; and Gen. Sg. quoiios, then quoius (class. cujus) will consequently represent quō-eius. Whether this method of declension was used in other instances in Latin does not appear. Another feature of the Italic Relative is its tendency to append the Pronominal Particle i (of Gk. ούτος-t, &c.); and this is utilized in Latin as the discriminating mark of the Nom. Sg. Masc. of the Relative, quī (O. Lat. quoi) from quo-ī. On the Possessive cujus, -a, -um, older quoius, -a, -um, with

¹ Cato began his *Origines* with the words: siques homines sunt, quos delectat populi Romani gesta discribere; and on the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus, an inscr. of Plautus' time, we have: sei ques esent, quei sibei deicerent necesus ese Bacanal habere, 'siqui essent, qui sibi dicerent necesus ese Bacchanal habere.'

stem q^{u_0} -yo- formed by means of the Adjective-suffix yo- (ch. xi. \S 3) from the stem q^{u_0} -, see above (\S 2).

Singular.

Relative.

Interrogative-Indefinite.

Nom. M. qui, O. Lat. quoi (from quo, the bare stem, with the Particle I). quis (from stem qⁿi- with Noun Nom. Sing. suffix -s) and as an Adj. qui ¹.

F. quae, O. Lat. quai (from quai).

quae, and as an Adj. qua (with the Nom. Sing. ending of the Adj. Decl.) [in O. Lat. quis (stem qui-)].

N. quod (Pronominal Neu- quoter of stem quo-).

quid (Pronominal Neuter of stem qui-).

Gen. cujus, O. Lat. quoios (from quō Instr. with appended *eios Gen. of is).

Dat. cui, O. Lat. quoiei (from quō Instr. with appended eiei Dat. of is). Quoi was still the spelling in Quintilian's youth.

Acc. M. quem (stem qui-).

F. que

Abl. M. quo (stem $q^{n}o$ -) F. qua { [and in O. Lat. qut (stem $q^{n}i$ -)].

Plural.

Nom. M. qui, O. Lat. quoi and (in unaccented time) [in O. Lat. ques use quei (stem quo-). (stem qui-) for In-

F. quae, O. Lat. quai (same as Sing.). \(\) terrog.-Indef.only]. N. quae, O. Lat. quai (same as Fem. Sing.).

Gen. M. quorum (stem quo-).

F. quarum (stem quo-).

Dat. Abl. quibus (stem qui-) [O. Lat. *quois, and in unaccented use queis, also spelt quis, comes from stem quo-, and was originally Rel. only].

Acc. M. quos (stem quo-) [O. Lat. quis (stem qui-) for Interrog.-F. quas (stem quo-) Indef. only].

§ 7. Derivatives of the Rel. and Interrog.-Indef. Pronouns are:

ali-quis, a compound of the stem ali-, some (connected

¹ The distinction of qui Adj. (e.g. qui homo venit?) and quis Pron. (e.g. quis venit?) is later than Plautus.

with alio-, other), and the Indef. Pron.; ec-quis, which prefixes *ece (connected with ecce) to quis; quis-nam, which appends the Interrogative Particle nam (ch. ix. § 6) to the Interrog., as quī-dam (for *quis-dam, like īdem for is-dem) appends a similar Particle from the Pronoun-stem do- (§ 3) to the Indefinite; quī-vis adds vis, you wish, and quī-libet adds lubet (libet), it pleases; on the appendage -cumque of quicumque, see ch. ix. § 2; quisque, each, has in Old Latin the sense of quicumque¹, e. g. Plaut. Capt. 798 quemque offendero 'whomever I come across'; quis-quam, any, lit. 'anyhow,' was used especially in negative sentences, its I-stem Abl. being employed as an Adv. in nē-quīquam, in vain, lit. 'not anyhow'; quis-piam is a Compound of *quispe (the I-stem Abl. of which is the Adverb quippe, for quīpe) with jam, as nunciam of nunc with jam.

- § 8. The Pronominal Adjectives. These are:
- (1) ălius from I.-Eur. ălyo-(Gk. ἄλλο) with by-forms ² alis in Nom. Sg. Masc. and alid in Nom. Sg. Neut. (cf. Cornelis for Cornelius, ch. iii. § 6). The derivative Adj. alienus is for ali-īno- (by Dissimilation) with the suffix -īno- (ch. xi. § 5).
- (2) alter is formed from the root al-, seen in alyo-, by the addition of the suffix -tero- (ch. xi. § 8), while other I.-Eur. languages show a similar formation from the root an- (Germ. an-der, Engl. o-ther, from 'on-ther'). It is often used (like O. Engl. ôder) as an Ordinal Numeral, 'second.' A stem altro- appears in altrin-secus, altrovorsus (Plaut., later altrorsus).

¹ So had the simple Indefinite quis, e.g. in an old plebiscitum: eum quis uolet magistratus multare, dum minore parti familias taxsat, liceto, 'what magistrate soever desires to fine him, may do so up to less than half of his belongings.'

² e. g. Catullus lxvi. 28: quod non fortior ausit alis. Lucretius i. 263: quando alid ex alio reficit natura.

- (2) ullus is formed with the LO-suffix (ch. xi. § 9) from unus (see ch. iv. § 4), which also belongs to the Pronoun Declension, Gen. unius, Dat. uni. The opposite of ullus is nullus with the negative prefix ne- of n-usquam, n(e)utiquam (ch. ix. § 17); and ullus was coined on the type of nullus, *ne-ullus, 'not a little one,' 'not even one,' so that there was a time in Latin when nullus was in use but not Like nullus, but used properly of persons, while nullus was used normally of things, is nēmo from *ně-hěmo. (On hemo, a by-form of homo, see ch. iii. § 8 n.) Nullus is scarcely used as a substantive till late Latin, but nullius and nullo take the place of neminis and nemine in class. Latin. As the Neuter of nullus nihil (usually pronounced nīl) is employed, a compound of the negative në- and hilum. (On the scansion nihil, earlier nihil, see ch. iii. § 16.)
- (4) sōlus is connected with the Adverb sē, sēd-, apart (e. g. sēd-itio, lit. 'a going apart'), and is formed from sō-, a grade of sē- (see ch. x. § 12) with the suffix -lo (ch. xi. § 9).
- (5) tōtus may be connected with the I.-Eur. teutā, 'a community,' whence the name Teuton, and be derived from the root teu-, 'to swell,' 'be large' (cf. Lat. tumeo).
- (6) ŭter is one of those Latin Relative (Interrog.-Indef.) forms beginning with u- (cf. ubi, ut) which seem to come from the stem qu- (§ 6). With the addition of -que, ever (cf. O. Lat. quisque, § 7), it becomes uterque and in Plautus we find a rare form sēd-utraque Nom. Sg. Fem., 'each separately' (Stich. 106). The opposite of uter is neuter (a trisyllable) with the negative prefix nē- of nēqueo, &c. Alteruter is a compound of alter and uter, sometimes with both elements declined, sometimes with the second only (cf. § 3 on ipse).

All of these take the Pronominal Gen. and Dat. Sg. in -ius and -i, but only alius takes the Neut. Sg. (Nom.-Acc.) in -d, aliud (cf. Gk. ἄλλο for *ἄλλοδ). True to their Adjectival character however they admitted more readily than ille, iste and the other Demonstrative Pronouns the Noun Declension forms in these cases, e.g. unae rei (Gen.), Cic.; tam nulli consili, Ter.; coloris ulli, Plaut.; alterae legioni, Caes. For the Gen. Sing. of alius the Romans discarded alĭus, which was liable to confusion with the Nom., and used the Gen. Sing. of alter instead, alterĭus. (On the scansion see § 3 n.)

There are other Adjectives called 'Pronominal' Adjectives, because they are derived from Pronoun-stems. These like the Possessives (§ 2) belong to the Adjective Declension. From the stem to-, te- comes Lat. tālis (I.- Eur. tāli-; cf. Gk. τηλί-κος), tan-tus, tŏt, older tŏtĭ-, preserved in toti-dem (I.-Eur. toti-; cf. Gk. τόσ(σ)ος for *rorios), and (with O-suffix, ch. xi. § 2) totus (e.g. Manilius iii. 420: detrahitur summae tota pars, quota demitur). From the Relative (Interrog.-Indef.) stem comes Lat. quālis (Gk. πηλί-κος), quantus, quŏt, older quŏtĭ- (I.-Eur. quŏtĭ-; cf. Gk- $\pi \acute{o}\sigma(\sigma)$ os from * $\pi o\tau \iota os$), and (with O-suffix) quotus (e. g. Horace Epp. i. 5. 30: tu quotus esse velis rescribe, 'write back how many other guests you wish to meet you,' lit. 'which number in the series you wish to be'). Cottīdie may come from *quŏtĭtus, a by-form, and stand for quot(i)tī-die, with Syncope of i. (On cē-teri, see ch. ix. § 4, and on ambō, a Dual like the Numeral duō, ch. iii. § 1.)

CHAPTER VI.

THE VERB.

§ 1. Thematic and Athematic. The I.-Eur. Verb had two Conjugations, (1) the Thematic, in which the Person-suffixes were attached to the Verb-root by means of a connecting Vowel, ĕ or ŏ (ch. x. § 11), called the Thematic Vowel, e.g. Gk. $\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \gamma - o - \mu \epsilon \nu$, $\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \gamma - \epsilon - \tau \epsilon$, where the suffix of the First Person Plural, $-\mu \epsilon \nu$, and the suffix of the Second Person Plural, -re, are attached to the root of the Verb, $\lambda \epsilon \gamma$, by means of the Vowels o and ϵ ; (2) the Athematic, in which the Person-suffixes were attached directly to the Verb-root without the help of this connecting vowel, e.g. Gk. $\tilde{i}-\mu\epsilon r$, $\tilde{i}-\tau\epsilon$. The Thematic Conjugation had its 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. in -ō, and used the diphthong oi in its Optative, e.g. Gk. λέγ-ω, λέγ-οι-τε. The 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. of the Athematic Conjugation had the suffix -mi, and in the Optative ie was used in the Sing. Act., elsewhere ī, e.g. Gk. εΐμι, ἱστα-ίη-ν, ίστα-ῖ-μεν (ἱσταῖμεν). The so-called 'irregularity' of Latin Verbs like sum, eo, volo, is mainly due to the fact that they belonged to the I.-Eur. Athematic Conjugation. The root of the Verb sum is es- (cf. Inf. es-se), and es-t, es-tis, differ from leg-i-t, leg-i-tis merely in the absence of the connecting vowel & (class. Lat. &, ch. ii. § 14). So i-s (older *ei-s), i-tis (older *ei-tis) from the root ei-, 'to go'; vul-t (older vol-t), vul-tis (older vol-tis) from the root wel-, 'to wish' (ch. ii. § 8; on vis see § 23). The -m of sum is the Athematic -mi of the 1 Sg. Pres. Ind.; and the $i\bar{e}$ (\bar{i}) of the Optative appears in the so-called 'Subjunctive,' $s-i\bar{e}-s$ (class. $s\bar{i}s$), $s-\bar{i}-tis$. But in Latin a great many thematic forms are mixed with these Athematic Verbs. Thus their First Singular Pres. Ind. is usually thematic, $e-\bar{o}$ from ey- \bar{o} (ch. x. \bar{s} 13), $vol-\bar{o}$, and their Third Plural of the same tense, e.g. $eunt^1$ from ey- \bar{o} nt (ch. ii. \bar{s} 14). And throughout the Latin Verb we shall find a strange mixture of thematic with athematic forms.

§ 2. The First Conjugation. To this Conjugation belongs the large number of Derivative Verbs from A-stem Nouns, e.g. from planta, a plant, plantare, to plant, 'to make into a plant,' from fuga, flight, fugare, to put to This form of Verb became associated with flight. a Transitive sense, 'to make,' 'reduce anything to a certain state or condition,' and was extended to Verbs derived from other stems, if these Verbs had this transitive meaning, e.g. colorare, to make coloured, from color, scelerare, to make guilty, from scelus, pulverare, to turn into dust, to cover with dust, from pulvis. A section of the First Conjugation Verbs belongs to a very ancient type, such as stā-re from the root stā-, 'to stand,' in-trā-re, where trā- is a Verb-root, a derivative of the root ter-, 'to go through, 'pierce.' This ancient type belonged properly to the Athematic Conjugation, while Derivatives like fugare were thematic and used the suffix -vo- to form their Present Tense. The two types have been blended in Latin in such a way that both form their 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. thematically, with the addition of this suffix -yo-, and the rest of their Persons athematically; and so we have: intro (from -tra-yo) like fugo (from -ga-yo); fuga-s like intrā-s, fugā-tis like intrā-tis.

¹ The athematic form would be i-nt, a form which seems actually to have been in use.

The First Conjugation was the favourite Latin Conjugation, and verbs taken from other languages were impressed into it 1, e.g. propīnare, to drink a person's health, from Greek προπίνειν, atticissare, to ape the Athenian fashion, from Greek ἀττικίζειν. It includes the numerous class of Iteratives or Frequentatives, e.g. pulso, I strike frequently, the Frequentative of pello, formed from Perf. Part. Pass.-stems or rather from the Fem. of these used as a Noun (cf. offensa beside offensus, repulsa beside repulsus). They sometimes double the TO-suffix, e.g. fac-ti-to, ven-ti-to.

O. Lat. soněre, e.g. Lucr. iii. 156:

Caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus,

comes directly from the root swen- (Lat. son-, ch. x. § 13) as legere from the root leg- (see § 4), and formed its Perfect and Supine regularly, sonui, sonitum. Sonāre, a Derivative from a lost Verbal Noun sona, existed side by side with sonere and in time ousted the Third Conj. form, though the Third Conj. Perf. and Supine were retained. Hence the irregular conjugation: sono, sonui, sonitum, sonare. Similarly the coexistence of im-plico (3 Conj.) from the root plek-, 'to fold' (cf. Gk. $\pi\lambda\epsilon\kappa\omega$) and im-plico (I Conj.) from a lost Verbal Noun of the First Decl. (cf. Gk. πλοκή) gave rise to the blended conjugation: implico, implicui and implicavi, implicitum and implicatum, implicare. In the case of celo from a lost Verbal Noun cela, concealment, from the root cel-, the Third Conj. form cělo is found only in Compounds, e. g. oc-culo (from ob and celo); while in profligare beside fligere, occupare beside capere, &c., it is the First Conj. form which appears in the Compounds, and the Third Conj.

 $^{^{1}}$ So in German loan-verbs take the ending -ieren, e. g. commandieren.

form in the Simple Verb. (On $d\tilde{a}re$, with $d\tilde{a}$ -, the weak grade of the root $d\tilde{o}$ -, 'to give,' and on $st\tilde{a}re$ from the root $st\tilde{a}$ -, 'to stand,' see § 23).

§ 3. The Second Conjugation. Here too we may discriminate an ancient type of Athematic Verbs, e.g. im-plē-re with the root plē-(cf. P. P. P. implē-tus), a by-form of the root pel-, 'to fill,' from the great mass of Derivative Verbs, e.g. claude-re, to be lame, derived from the O-stem Adjective claudus, lame. These Derivatives of the Second Conjugation contrast with the Derivatives of the First in that they are derived not from A-stems but from O-stems and have not a transitive but an intransitive meaning. Clarere, for example, means 'to be clear,' while clarare means 'to make clear.' Like the Derivative Verbs of the First Conjugation these Derivatives of the Second formed their Present Tense stem originally with the suffix -yo- and belonged properly to the Thematic Conjugation. In Latin the intermixture of the thematic and athematic forms has had the same result as in the First Conjugation, namely that the First Sing. Pres. Ind. was formed thematically with the YÖ-suffix, the other Persons athematically, e.g. impleo (from -ē-yō) like claudeo; claudē-s, claudē-tis, like implē-s, implē-tis.

But there is a further element of confusion in the Second Conjugation. The I.-Eur. Causative and Intensive Verbs, whose Present-stem was formed in -ĕyŏ- with the O-grade of the root (ch. x. § 12), were attracted into this Conjugation in Latin; and so, e.g. moneo, I remind, cause to remember (with Present-stem mŏnĕyŏ-) the Causative of the Verb-root men-, 'to remember,' is a Second Conjugation Verb. Another verb of this form with Causative meaning is torreo, I cause to become dry, from the root ters-, 'to be dry.' Another with Causative

or Intensive meaning is noceo from the root nec- (Lat. nex). The absorption of these verbs into the Second Conjugation brought about the strange result that though the Second Conjugation type is associated with an intransitive sense, a small body of verbs of this Conjugation have a decidedly transitive meaning.

The intransitive character of these Second Conj. Verbs, the E-Verbs as they may be called, is due to the fact that the Verb-stem with this suffix -ē- had an intransitive sense. In Greek the Verb-stem with the Ē-suffix was used as a Passive, e. g. ε-τύπη-ν, I was struck, or merely an Intransitive, e.g. -μάιη-ν, I was in a state of madness. In Latin this intransitive Verb-stem in ē appears in calē-facio, to put into a state of warmth, calë-fio, to be put into a state of warmth, closely connected with it are Verbal Noun-stems in e, e.g. sordēs Plur. (cf. sordē-facio), the declension of which varies between the Fifth and the Third Declension (see ch. iii. § 13). There are a large number of these Verbs in -eo indicating state or condition in Latin, e.g. caleo, time, paveo, each with a corresponding Noun in -or (an S-stem, ch. iii. § 8; ch. xi. § 18), e. g. calor, timor, pavor, and an Adj. in -i-dus, e.g. calidus, timidus, pavidus. 'Inceptive' Verbs, which denote the passing into a state or condition, e.g. calesco, to pass into the state of warmth, liquesco, to pass into a liquid state, are so closely associated with Intransitive E-Verbs that they are often used as their Present Tense, e.g. inardesco (inardeo is not found), convalesco (not convaleo). fact it is a law of Latin that in composition with the Prepositions cum, ex, in, Prepositions which convey the idea of 'becoming,' these E-Verbs must form their Present Tense in -esco, unless the Preposition retains its separate force, e.g. e-luceo, to shine out (not 'to pass into a shining state'), co-haereo, to be united with (not 'to pass into a united state'). So remote are these Verbs from a transitive sense that a construction like horrere aliquem, pavere aliquem is not found before Cicero's time. To make Transitives of them the Auxiliary Verb facio was brought into requisition, e.g. pavē-facio, calē-facio.

Third Conj. Verbs which had an intransitive meaning tended to pass into the Second Conjugation. Thus fervo, the older form, e. g. Virg. Aen. iv. 567:

Jam fervěre litora flammis,

became in class. Lat. ferveo. (Cf. fulgeo from fulgo, scateo from scato, intueor from intuor.)

§ 4. The Third Conjugation. This is the common receptacle for Verbs of all kinds but the Derivative YÖ-Verbs, derived from Nouns or Adjectives, which belong to the First, Second, and Fourth. Such Derivatives from U-stems however are included in this Conjugation, e.g. statuo from *statuyo, derived from status. Verbs in -io not derived from Nouns or Adjectives, which for a time wavered between the Third and Fourth Conjugations, have been mostly absorbed by the Third, such as facio (2 Sg. facis 3 Conj., but older facis 4 Conj.), pario (Inf. parere, but in Plautus parire). The Derivatives from Nouns and Adjectives are distinguishable from them by their Perfect in -ivi and P. P. in -itus, e.g. finivi, finitus, though even this form of the Perf. Ind. and Part. Pass, occurs in a few Third Conj. Verbs like lacesso, which had by-forms in -io, *lacessio, *capessio. The types of Verb which it contains are therefore very numerous. We have (1) the common type of Thematic Verb., with the ordinary form of the root, e.g. leg-ō from the root

leg-, dīco (older deico) from the root deic-, dūco (older douco with ou for I.-Eur. eu, ch. x. § 11) from the root deuc-. (2) with Reduplicated Root, e.g. gi-gn-o (Gk. γί-γν-ομαι) from the root gen. (3) with Nasalized Root, the nasal being either inserted in the root, e.g. ju-n-g-o from the root jug- (I.-Eur. yeug-, weak form yug-), to join, li-n-quo from the root liq-, leiq-, to leave, or appended, e.g. sterno from the root ster-, to strew, lin-o from the root li-, lei-, to smear. Sometimes a syllable is appended, e.g. sternuo, I sneeze, minuo, a type of Verb which corresponds to Greek Verbs in -νυμι or -νυω, e.g. πτάρ-νυ-μαι (cf. $\mu \iota - r \dot{\nu} - \theta \omega$). (4) with YÖ-suffix, e.g. specio¹. These wavered between the Fourth and Third Conjugations, unlike the Derivatives from I-stems with I Sg Pres. in -io from*-iyō, e.g. finio, which belong exclusively to the Fourth (see below, § 5). (5) 'Inceptives' with the SKOsuffix, which are not rightly called 'Inceptives,' since they denote the passing into a state or condition, 'becoming' rather than 'beginning,' e. g. calēsco, I become warm, liquesco, I pass into a liquid state (§ 3), and the archaic 'Inceptive' of sum, ĕsco (used by Lucretius). modifications of the Root by Reduplication, Nasalization, addition of YO- and SKO-suffixes were made with the object of forming a Present-Tense Stem, and were properly discarded in the Perfect and the tenses related to the Perfect. The stem gigno- of gigno had the idea of 'continued production,' so that gigno meant 'I continue to produce,' 'I am in the state of producing.' To form the Tenses expressing momentary, past action such a stem could not be used; so we find the Perfect genui exhibiting the root in the form gen-, not in the form

¹ Y in Greek after a consonant became τ, so Gk. σκέπτομαι, for σκεπ-yo-μαι, corresponds to Lat. specio.

gign- (cf. Gk. ℓ - $\gamma \epsilon \nu r$ - δ - $\mu \eta \nu$ 2 Aor., beside $\gamma i \gamma r$ - δ - $\mu a \nu$ Pres.). These Tense-stems will be discussed afterwards (§§ 7–12); but meanwhile we may point out that by a not unnatural confusion a stem which properly belonged only to the Present Tense was often retained throughout the Verb (e. g. junxi, junctus retain the n of the Pres.-stem), or a stem was used in the Present which properly belonged to other Tenses, e. g. r u d o, beside r u d o (older *r e u d o), geno Lucr. (On the use of 'Inceptives' in -s c o as Present of Intransitive E-verbs, e. g. incalesco, not *incale o, see above, § 3.)

& 5. The Fourth Conjugation. This like the First and Second, consists mainly of Derivative Verbs. These are not merely Derivatives from I-stems, e.g. finio (Pres.stem fini-yo-) derived from the I-stem finis, but Derivatives of various origin, all showing the usual Derivative Present-stem suffix -yŏ-, e.g. custōdio, I am a guard, from custos. As the First Conj. Derivatives had a transitive, the Second Conj. Derivatives an intransitive sense, so the Fourth Conj. Derivatives are to some extent associated with the idea of a mental or bodily state, especially a state of disease, e.g. raucio, I am hoarse, dentio, I am teething. Desiderative Verbs (which were used more in conversational Latin than in the literary language) belong to the Fourth Conjugation, e.g. esŭrio, I am hungry, I desire to eat, emptărio, I desire to buy. They are formed with the YÖ-suffix from Verbal Noun-stems in -tor-, e.g. esŭrio (older *esŏrio) from esor (ed-tor-), an eater, emptŭrio (older *emptorio) from emptor, a buyer, and must be distinguished from a small class of Verbs in -urio (also written -urrio), e. g. ligurrio, I lick, scatūrio, I gush, which are Derivatives from Verbal Nouns in -ūris, e.g. securis, an axe (from seco), or -ūra, e.g. figura (from fingo).

The Fourth Conjugation is connected with the Third

by the accident that a large number of Verbs of the Third Conjugation had by-forms made with the YOsuffix, e.g. pinsio beside pinso (cf. lacessivi, &c., from *lacessio, a by-form of lacesso), and that several of the YÖ-verbs did not retain this suffix throughout their Conjugation, e. g. facio has Inf. facere, cupio has Inf. cupere. Facio and cupio are by the classical period entirely separated from any connexion with the Fourth Conj., though Plautus has facīs, cupīs like audīs, and a hexameter line of Ennius ends with corde cupitus; and the same is true of adgredior (but adgredimur Plant.), adorior (but adorītur Lucr.), morior (but morīmur Enn.), and the like. It is perhaps to the connecting-link furnished by these Verbs in -io of the Third Conjugation that we should refer the remodelling of the Imperf. and Fut. Ind. of the Fourth Conj. on the type of the Third, which was fully effected before the classical period; finiebam replacing the older finibam, finiam the older finibo (see §§ 8, 9).

§ 6. The Voices. The three Voices of Greek, Active, Middle, and Passive, are in Latin Grammars reduced to two, Active and Passive. The Latin Deponents however take to some extent the place of the Greek Middle, and sequor is an example of an I.-Eur. Middle which appears in the I.-Eur. languages with the Middle or Passive endings (e. g. Gk. $\xi\pi\sigma$ - $\mu\alpha\iota$, Early Irish sechur). These endings are explained in § 21. In the Italic and Celtic languages their distinguishing feature is the letter r (e. g. Lat. sequor, sequitur; O. Ir. sechur, sechethar), and there are traces that the passive R-forms were originally restricted to an Impersonal use in which this r was added immediately to the root of the verb. If this be so, a supposed form ama-r would in very early times mean 'there is loving' and would govern an Accusative

Case; later it would receive a Personal suffix, *ama-to-r (class. Lat. amatur, ch. ii. § 14), and gradually take the Noun as a Subject not as an Object. Amar hominem would become amatur hominem, then amatur homo. This Impersonal use of the Passive was a great feature of Latin, e.g. itur in antiquam silvam, Virg.; PRIVATVM. PRECARIO ADEITVR, 'No Admittance,' on an inscription. (On the Fut. Inf. Pass. amatum iri see § 15.) In the early literature we find occasionally the Noun in the Accusative, e.g. vitam vivitur Enn.

Another trace of the I.-Eur. Middle in Latin is the Perfect Active, whose ending -ī (older -ei) shows it to be a Middle and not an Active form (see § 10), so that a Perfect like reverti goes naturally with a present revertor. On the other hand the earlier Perfects gavisi 1, solui, ausi were in classical Latin replaced by the usual Deponent type of Perfect, gavisus sum, solitus sum, ausus sum; and, by a curious attraction, coeptus sum, desitus sum were used when a Pass. Inf. followed, e. g. urbs coepta est aedificari 2.

The I.-Eur. Middle was associated with Verbs indicating states of feeling, operations of the senses, condition of life, &c.; and the Latin Deponents are still true to this type, e.g. reor, vereor, irascor, contemplor, poetor, dominor, auguror, aemulor³. Like the Reflexive use of the Greek Middle is Lat. cingor for cingo me, &c. Examples of Frequentative Middles are hortor (Frequentative of O. Lat. horior), meditor (from a lost medor, Gk. μέδομαι), imitor (from a lost imor; cf. imā-go), nitor for

¹ e. g. Liv. Andronicus: quoniam audiui paucis gauisi.

² So in the early writers potestur, poteratur, possetur, nequitur, nequitum, e. g. Lucr. iii. 1010: quod tamen expleri nulla ratione potestur.

³ Lat. -ari corresponds to Greek -ευειν, e. g. Lat. dominari to Greek τυραννεύειν, 'to be a tyrant,' 'to play the part of a tyrant.'

*nivitor (from a root with a Guttural; cf. nixus, and see ch. x. § 18).

As in Greek ἀποθυήσκω—a Verb of Active form—is used as the Passive of ἀποκτείνω, so in Latin vapulo is the Passive of caedo, to beat, vēneo (venum eo) of vendo, to sell, fo of facio, to make. The older Inf. fiere 1 was in classical Latin changed to suit the form of the ordinary Passive Inf. and became fieri, much as Plautus uses vēniri for vēnire.

§ 7. Tenses. The Present. The various Tenses of the Verb had each their Tense-stem, formed from the root of the Verb by the addition of some suffix or by some other modification (e.g. Reduplication, § 10). In addition, the Past Tenses might be distinguished by the Prefix of the Augment ĕ-, a Demonstrative Particle signifying 'then,' 'there;' but in the earliest Greek and Sanscrit literature this Particle is often omitted and in Latin there seems to be no trace of it. The formation of the Present-stem has already been treated in the account of the Latin Conjugations. To indicate the idea of present or continued Action we have seen that the root of the Verb was modified in the First, Second, and Fourth Conjugations by the addition of a YO-suffix; e.g. amā-yŏ-, is the Present-stem of the Verb amare, to love, whence 1 Sg. Pres. Ind. *amā-yō, which became amo; so pleo for *plē-yō (stem plē-yō-), &c. Third Conjugation Verbs show various modes of forming the Present-stem, such as (1) Reduplication, e. g. gigno (stem gi-gnŏ-; cf. Gk. γίγνομαι) from the Root gen-, (2) N-suffix, e. g. ster-n-o from the root ster-, li-n-o from the root lei-, or N-infix, e.g. pă-n-g-o from the root pag-, this n disappearing usually

¹ Ennius in the description of Homer's Metempsychosis has: memini me fiere pauom, 'I remember becoming a peacock.'

in the Perfect, &c., e.g. strā-vi, ħ-vi, pĕ-pĭg-i or pēg-i. A common Third Conjugation type however shows the ordinary form of the root with no addition but the thematic vowel (e.g. leg-o from the root leg-; dīco, originally deic-o, from the root deic-). The SKO-suffix gave the notion of becoming, and so was adapted to the Present Tense, e.g. incalesco, I become warm, Perf. incalui (see § 3).

- § 8. The Imperfect. This Tense belongs to the Present system, being really the Preterite of the Present Tenses. Its Preterite sense is given to it in Latin by the addition in the First Pers. Sing. of -bam. The -bam of this Tense is really an Auxiliary Verb, a Preterite of the I.-Eur. root bheu-, 'to be' (Lat. fui, O. Lat. fuo; cf. ch. x. § 16), appended to a Verb-stem, e. g. amā-bam, vidē-bam, legē-bam, audī-bam (class. audie-bam, remodelled after the Third Conjugation, § 5). Eram stands alone in dispensing with this Auxiliary. It is a Preterite from the root es-, 'to be,' of the same formation as -bam from the root bheu-.
- § 9. Future. Like the -bam of the Imperfect, the $-b\bar{o}$ of the Future conceals an Auxiliary Verb, a Future, or rather Subjunctive of the root bheu-, 'to be.' $Er\bar{o}$, which corresponds to the Homeric $\epsilon\omega$, Att. $\tilde{\omega}$ (from * $\epsilon\sigma\omega$), is a corresponding Subjunctive from the root es-, 'to be,' with that future sense which belonged to the Subjunctive in early times (p. 100 n.). This formation of the Future in -bo is peculiar to the three Conjugations, which are especially the Conjugations of Derivative Verbs, that is to say to the First, Second, and Fourth, e.g. $am\bar{a}$ -bo, $vid\bar{e}$ -bo, and in Early Latin $aud\bar{a}$ -bo, though by the classical period the Fourth Conj. Future was remodelled on the pattern of the Third Conjugation, audiam like legam (§ 5). This so-called Future of the Third and Fourth Conjugations is nothing but the Subjunctive (§ 13), the \bar{A} -Subjunc-

tive form being used in the First Person Singular, the E-Subjunctive forms in the other Persons, e.g. legam (originally legā-m, ch. ii. § 6), legē-s, lege-t (originally legē-t, ch. ii. § 16). (On these Subjunctive forms see § 13.)

§ 10. Perfect. The completeness with which the Verb-system has been preserved in Greek in contrast with Latin is nowhere more clearly seen than in the While Greek preserves separately Preterite Tenses. (1) a First Aorist, better called the S-Aorist, e.g. έ-δειξ-a for *ε-δεικ-σ-α, from the root δεικ-, (2) a Second Aorist, better called the Weak-root Aorist, because it shows the weak root (ch. x. § 12) of the verb, e.g. $\tilde{\epsilon}$ - $\pi \iota \theta$ -ov from $\pi \tilde{\iota} \theta$ -, the weak form of the root $\pi \epsilon \iota \theta$ -, I.-Eur. bheidh-, (3) a Perfect, showing the Reduplicated Verb-root, e.g. $\mu \epsilon \mu o \nu a$, we find in Latin all three mixed up together into a single Preterite, which we call the Perfect Tense, and all driven into the same groove of declension. The S-Perfect, which corresponds to the Greek First Aorist e. g. dixi, earlier deix-ei (like ξ-δειξ-a), the true Perfect, e.g. memin-i (like Gk. μέμον-a), and Perfects like tidi, scidi, which some compare with the Greek Second Aorist, are all declined in the same way: dixi, dixisti, dixit; memini, meministi, meminit; scidi, scidisti, scidit. On the other hand we have in Latin a type of Preterite which is not found in Greek, the V-Perfect, e.g. amā-v-ī, mon-u-ī, audī-v-ī, the origin of which is not known.

The declension too of the Perfect shows traces of having been pieced together from various materials. The ending $\bar{\imath}$ (older ei) of the First Person Singular is I.-Eur.-ai, the ending of the Middle Voice. The Third Sing. of the Perfect Middle had the same ending in I.-Eur., but in Latin -t (the usual 3 Sg. suffix, § 20) has been added to distinguish the Third from the First Person,

-ei-t becoming -īt, then -ĭt (ch. ii. § 16). The Third Person Plural in -runt, older -ront (ch. ii. § 14), shows the same r that appears often in the 3 Pl. of the I.-Eur. Verb. The First Person Plural is an Active form, e.g. meminimus (cf. Gk. $\mu\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$).

Although the I.-Eur. Perfect had as a rule a Reduplicated stem, there were a few Unreduplicated Perfects, e.g. woid-, the Perfect-stem from the root weid-, 'to see, know' (Greek olda represents the Active, Lat. vidi the Middle), sēd-, the Perfect-stem from the root sed-, 'to sit' (Lat. sēdī). In the second example the raising of the root-vowel from ĕ to ē seems to take the place of Reduplication, parallel to which we find in Latin pēgi (beside pěpřígi), lēgi (root lěg-), ēgi (root ag-) and the like. But undoubtedly the original Perfect-type had Reduplication, and most apparently Unreduplicated Perfects in Latin like tüli, scidi were Reduplicated at an earlier period of the language 1, and lost their Reduplication first in Compounds under the Early Accent Law (ch. ii. § 12), then by analogy in the Simple Verb also. Re-tetuli became $ret(\check{e})tuli$ (hence always spelt with double t) with Syncope of e, at-tetuli became attuli, and so on, until at last the use of -tuli in Compounds led to the use of tuli in the Simple Verb. Similarly we have cucurri but concurri, incurri, &c.

The Vowel of the Reduplication Syllable was originally ĕ, but owing to the Latin tendency to Assimilation (ch. ii. § 15) adapted itself to the vowel of the following syllable, e.g. cucurri, momordi. This was the formation in vogue at the classical period, but in the earlier literature we find cecurri, memordi, &c.; and even Cicero and Caesar seem to have allowed the older forms.

¹ Tetuli is the only form known to Plautus; cf. O. Lat. scicidi.

100

The shortened forms of the V- and S-Perfects, e.g. audisti for audivisti, dixti for dixisti, are produced by two tendencies of the language, (1) the tendency to drop v between two vowels, especially between two similar vowels, such as i-i (cf. obliscor an old by-form of obliviscor, I forget, sis for si vis, 'if you please,' dinus, an old by-form of divinus) (ch. ii. § 12), (2) the tendency to drop one of two similar neighbouring syllables (cf. sēmodius for *semi-modius, idolatria for *idolo-latria, &c., ch. ii. § 12). We have dixti for dix-isti, misti for mi-sisti, where the two syllables are similar, but not, e.g. *cepsti for ce-pi-sti, where the two syllables have not similarity of sound.

- § 11. Pluperfect. Like the Imperfect in -bam, and Future in -bo, the Pluperfect in -eram is an Auxiliary formation, -eram being the Preterite of the root es-, 'to be' (§ 8), which is added to the Perfect-stem, e.g. amāveram, monu-eram, dīx-eram, memin-eram, audīv-eram.
- This Tense adds to the § 12. Future-Perfect. Perfect-stem the Auxiliary ero (§ 9), as the Pluperfect adds eram, e.g. amāv-ero, monu-ero, dīx-ero, memin-ero, audiv-ero. In Early Latin there were forms in -880, which are replaced in classical Latin by Fut.-Perf. forms, but which are of an entirely different origin, e.g. amasso. They seem to have been originally Subjunctives of some S-tense, like the Greek S-Aorist, and are in fact the exact equivalents of Greek Futures like τιμήσω, which stands for τιμασσω, and is properly the Subjunctive 1 of

¹ I.e. the Athematic Subjunctive, which had ο, ε where the Thematic had ω, η. Thus τιμήσομεν (cf. τείσομεν Subj. in Homer) is Athematic, τιμήσωμεν Thematic. The I.-Eur. Subj. had often a Fut. sense, a feature of the old language which is still retained in the Greek of Homer, e. g. Od. xvi. 437 οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται.

ἐτίμησα. Similarly dixo (cf. faxo) may be compared with Gk. δείξω. (On the Optative of this Latin S-Aorist, amassim, &c., see § 13.)

§ 13. Moods. The Subjunctive. As the Latin Perfect Tense combines Perfect- and Aorist-forms (§ 10), so the Latin Subjunctive Mood includes the relics of the Optative along with the genuine Subjunctive forms. Optative are all the so-called 'Subjunctives' in -im. They show the Athematic Optative, which properly had -i\vec{e}- in the Singular, -\vec{i}- in the Plural (\vec{§} 1), a type preserved only in Old Latin siem, si\vec{e}s, si\vec{e}t, s\vec{i}mus, s\vec{t}its (sient); and even that has by the classical period been reduced like the rest to the uniform use of the \vec{i}-forms, sim, s\vec{i}s, sit. So edim, edis, edit; velim, velis, velit, and in the older language duim, duis, duit.

Of the two Subjunctive-types, the A-Subjunctive and the E-Subjunctive, the former is used by the Second, Third, and Fourth Conjugations, e.g. cale-am, cale-as, cale-at; leg-am, leg-as, legat; audi-am, audi-as, audi-at, the latter by the First, e.g. am-em, am-ēs, am-et. reason for the use of the E-type in the First Conjugation is that the A-type must have been confused with Pres. Indicative forms, e.g. amās, amat. The Ē-type was also pressed into the service of the Third and after its model (§ 5) of the Fourth Conjugation in the capacity of a Future Indicative (§ 12 n.), this type being chosen for the sake of distinction from the Pres. Subjunctive: though curiously enough in the First Person Singular of the Future, the A-form was used, e.g. legam, leges, leget; audiam, audies, audiet. The reason for the retention of the A-form in this Person was that this single Person had been in use as a Future long before the fashion was introduced of dropping the proper

Future-tense (§ 9) and using Subjunctive-forms in its place. Audiam had established itself in use before audies, audiet replaced audibis, audibit, &c., and though we find traces of a temporary effort at uniformity by the substitution of audiem, faciem, &c., the old-established form maintained its ground.

The E-type was adopted by the true Subjunctive of sum, if we may infer this from the fact that sem and not sam is the Auxiliary used in the formation of the Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive, e.g. amā-rem, $am\bar{a}$ -res, $am\bar{a}$ -ret, with r from an older s (ch. x. § 19); amavis-sem, amavis-ses, amavis-set. Vellem comes from *vel-sem (ch. x. § 19), ferrem from *fer-sem (ch. x. § 19). But from fuo, an obsolete Pres. of which fui is the Perfect, we have fuam in Old Latin; cf. Virg. Aen. x. 108 Tros Rutulusve fuat nullo discrimine habebo. seems to stand for *fuerem, as Marcipor, an Old Latin slave-name, for *Marcipuer. Edim and edam, duim and duam are the last examples of the coexistence of rival Optative and Subjunctive forms in Latin. They illustrate how, the Opt. and Subj. having become identical in meaning (both edim and edam have the meanings 'Oh that I may eat, 'let me eat,' ([that] I may eat'), one of the forms (usually the Optative) was dropped as superfluous. The old Optative sense is preserved in the ante-classical Optative-forms in -ssim, e.g. amassim, which occur in early Latin prayers, e.g. Juppiter prohibessis scelus: di mactassint, and the Augural formula: bene sponsis beneque uolueris. These forms in -ssim, often called Perfect Subjunctives, are the Optative Mood of the forms in -880, e.g. amasso, mentioned in § 10; they are better called Precatives.

§ 14. Imperative. In the 2 Sg. Act. of the Present



Imperative the bare stem of the Verb was used, e.g. Athematic ei (class. Lat. $\bar{\imath}$) from the root ei-, to go, Thematic lege from the root leg-, to gather. But a particle was often added, e.g. $-\theta \iota$ in Gk. $\bar{\iota}$ - $\theta \iota$, &c.; and so $-t\bar{\varrho}$ (which became $-t\bar{\varrho}$, ch. x. § 17) (Abl. Sing. of the Demonstr. Pronoun stem to-, ch. v. § 3) to the 2, 3 Sg., e.g. es- $t\bar{\varrho}$, older $est\bar{\varrho}$ (Gk. $\bar{\ell}\sigma$ - $\tau\omega$). The addition of $-t\bar{\varrho}$ 'from that,' 'thereupon,' to the 2 Sg. Pres. Imperat. gives it a Future Imperat. sense, e.g. Hor. C. iii. 14. 23:

Si per invisum mora janitorem Fiet, abito,

'if the surly porter detain you, go away,' lit. 'go away thereupon.' Memento is I.-Eur. mementod (Gk. $\mu \in \mu \acute{a}\tau \omega$). The 2 Plur. of the Future Imperative adds -te (the 2 Plur. suffix, e. g. abi-te) to the Sing. form, e. g. abito-te.

Fer, vel (used as a Conjunction, ch. ix. § 3), es are regularly formed Athematic Imperatives from the roots fer- (I.-Eur. bher-), vel- (I.-Eur. wel-), es-. Another is -do (originally -dō, ch. ii. § 16) of ce-dō, give here, from ce-, the Demonstr. Particle (ch. v. § 4) and the root dō-, to give' (cf. Gk. δl - $\delta \omega$, Imperat. of δl - $\delta \omega$ - μl). The genuine Imperat. of dare has been preserved in this Compound only, for dā follows the Analogy of the First Declension. But dic, duc, fac are Thematic Imperatives, representing an earlier dice, duce, face (ch. ii. § 12), and so is em (used as an Interjection, ch. ix. § 18), properly the Imperat. of emo, I take. (Cf. Catullus xxvii. 2: inger mi calices amariores, instead of 'ingere mi.')

§ 15. Infinitive. The I.-Eur. Infinitive was merely a Case (usually Dat. or Loc. Sg.) of a Verbal Noun. Thus Lat. da-rī (O. Lat. da-sei) is Dat. of an S-stem like the Noun generi, Dat. of the S-stem genus (ch. xi.

§ 18); Lat. da-rē (earlier da-si) is Loc. of the same stem (on generē, Loc. used as Abl., see ch. iii. § 8); similarly es-sē from the root es-, to be, dedis-sē, fer-rē for *fer-sē (ch. x. § 19), vel-lē for *vel-sē (ibid.). For Inf. Pass. of the Third Conjugation we have the Dat. not of an S-stem but of a Root-stem (ch. xi. § 19), e.g. leg-ī (not leger-ī). Thus the Latin Inf. Pass. differed from the Inf. Act. only conventionally, the Dat. case being reserved for the one use, the Loc. for the other, and had no distinctive Passive suffix. Whether this is present in the O. Lat. by-forms legier, darier, &c., is not certain.

For the Perfect Inf. Passive the Perf. Part. Pass, was used with the Auxiliary Verb esse, e.g. constat id factum esse, constat ea facta esse; for the Fut. Pass. the 1st Supine with iri, Inf. Pass. of eo, to go, e.g. constat id factum iri, constat ea factum iri. The Fut. Act., e.g. constat id eventurum (esse), is most naturally explained as a combination of the Fut. Part. Act. with esse; though its Old Latin indeclinable use, e.g. credo inimicos meos dicturum (from a speech of C. Gracchus), has suggested the theory that it is a compound of the 2nd Supine in -tū with a supposed old Inf. of sum, viz. *erum (from *esŏm), dicturum for *dictū-erum being in time made personal dicturus, -a, -um (the Fut. Part. Act.) in the same way as O. Lat. 'dicendum est orationem' changed to class. Lat. 'dicenda est oratio' (§ 18).

§ 16. The Supines. The First Supine, used after

¹ Iri is Impersonal Passive like Virgil's itur in antiquam silvam (§ 6), so that the sentence literally means 'it is agreed that there is a going to do these things.' A quotation from a speech of Cato: contumelia mihi factum itur, shows the same tendency to make this Impersonal Passive personal as produced vita vivitur out of O. Lat. vitam vivitur (§ 6).



a Verb of motion, is the Acc. Sg. of a Verbal Noun, a TU-stem (ch. xi. § 13), e.g. ire spectatum, lit. 'to go to the seeing,' like ire domum, to go to the house, ire Roman, to go to Rome.

The Second Supine, used after an Adjective, is the Loc. Sg. (ch. iii. § 11) of the same Verbal Noun, e. g. agilis cursu, nimble in running. This Loc. Sg. in $-\bar{u}$ of U-stems often played the part of a Dat. (cf. curru for currui in Virgil); and we find the Second Supine used not only as a Locative, but as a Dative, e. g. (fabula) lepida memoratu, pleasant for telling, where in the older language the Dative proper in -ui is used, e. g. lepida memoratui (Plaut.), as well as the Locative, e. g. ridicula auditu (Plaut.) ¹.

This TU-stem bulks largely in the language of Plautus and the older Dramatists, e. g. obsonatu redeo, I return from buying food for dinner, essum vocare, to invite to dinner, nuptum dare, to give in marriage. In Aul. 736 perditum ire is used almost like perdere:

Quamóbrem ita faceres méque meosque pérditum ires líberos,

(cf. Bacch. 565 mi ires consultum male, 'you would go and thwart my interests'). The use of the Accusative without a Preposition is common in early Latin in phrases like i malam crucem, go and be hanged (Plaut.), suppetias ire, to go to help, infitias ire, to deny, exsequias ire, to go to a funeral. The Supine use thus arose naturally out of the tendencies of the language. Like nuptum dare and nuptum ire are vēnumdare or vēnundare (vendere) and vēnum ire (vēnire); pessumdare or pessum dare and pessum

Sunt nobis quaestu et cultu, 'They are our trade and pursuit.'

¹ In Plaut. Rud. 294 this Loc. plays the part of a Predicative Dative:

ire, which may be regarded as survivals of the Plautine idiom.

§ 17. The Participles. The I.-Eur. Participles were merely Verbal Adjectives formed with the various suffixes mentioned in ch. xi. Thus for the Perf. Part. Pass. the TO-suffix was used to form certain Verbal Adjectives which in Latin took the function of Perfect Participles Passive (Gk. $\theta\epsilon$ - τ ós, Lat. $cr\bar{e}$ - $d\tilde{i}$ -tus, re- $pl\bar{e}$ -tus), or the NO-suffix (Engl. bound-en; cf. Lat. $pl\bar{e}$ -nus Adj.). For the Gerundive the YO-suffix was used in various I.-Eur. languages, traces in Greek being words like $\delta\gamma$ - ι os, venerable, 'worthy of veneration' from $\delta\zeta$ 0 μ a ι 1, and in Latin, eximius, 'worthy of being taken out,' from exemo, to take out.

The Pres. Part. Act. (and all Active Participles, except the Perfect) 2, took the suffix -ĕnt- (-ŏnt-, -nt-; ch. xi. § 12), e. g. Gk. φέρ-ων, -οντος, Lat. fer-ens, -entis. The Pres. Part. Middle (or Passive) was formed in -mĕnŏ- (-mono-, -mno-; ch. xi. § 12), e. g. Gk. φερό-μενος, but dropped at an early period out of use in Latin; though it is found in the 2 Pl. Ind. Pass., e. g. ferimini (sc. estis; see § 21), and in nouns like alumnus (cf. Gk. ὁ τρεφόμενος, see ch. xi. § 6). (On 2 Pl. Imper. ferimini, see § 21.) The Fut. Part. Act. in -tūrus is probably a formation with the suffix -rŏ- from a TU-stem Verbal Noun, e. g. scriptūrus (stem scripturŏ-) from the stem scriptū- of scriptus, -ūs, pictūrus from the stem pictū- of pictus, -ūs, &c., like Gk. iσχῦ-ρός from iσχΰς. (For

¹ Aegrōtus may be a trace of a Latin O-Conjugation like Greek δηλόω.

² Its suffix was -wes-, -us-. Some find traces of a Perf. Part. Act. in Latin in words like cadā-ver, papā-ver; others in O. Lat. gnārūres Plur., knowing (e. g. Plaut. Most. 100). Memor is not a Perf. Part., but an Adj. derived from a Perf. Part. stem, as Gk. κεκραγμός (Eurip.) is a Noun derived from κέκρāγα.

another explanation, see § 15.) For a Participle the Latin writers, especially the poets, often substituted an Adjective, e. g. lacer for laceratus (lacerum crudeliter ora Virg.), and these Adjectives or 'truncated Participles' have to some extent encroached on the Perf. Part. Pass. in the Romance languages, e. g. Ital. trovo beside trovato, 'found.' (On Verbal Adjectives in -bilis, see ch. xi. § 12.)

The close relation between Participles, Adjectives, and even Nouns is seen in words like rudens, a rope, lit. 'rattling'; benevolens, a friend, used as a Noun by Plautus 1. It was this close relationship of benevolens and benevolus, insciens and inscius, indigens and indigus, congruens and congruus, &c., which led to a type of Comparison like benevolus, -entior, -entissimus (ch. iv. § 3). Very early examples of Pres. Participles used as Nouns or Adjectives are dens, a Pres. Part. of the root ed-, to eat, and sons, a Pres. Part. of the root es-, to be, so that dens properly means 'the eater,' sons 2, 'being,' 'truly being,' whence 'truly charged,' 'guilty.' (Our 'sooth' is the same word.) The Perf. Part. Pass. had the same tendency to become an Adjective, e. g. citus, swift, lit. 'bestirred'; cătus, originally sharp³, from the root cō-, to sharpen (cf. cos, a whetstone), then (metaphorically) (1) piercing, of sounds, e.g. cata signa, Enn., 'the shrill clarions,' (2) shrewd, of persons; lātus, O. Lat. stlātus (ch. x. § 19), broad, lit. 'extended,' from the root stel-, to spread,

¹ So Engl. friend is properly a Pres. Part. (Goth. frijonds, 'loving').

² Sons has the ONT-stem, a form of the Stem of which traces occur in Athematic Verbs in Latin like so, voto (suntis Gen., beside iens Nom.; voluntas beside volens).

³ Varro tells us the word had this meaning in his native district,

extend. Of Past Parts. Pass. as Nouns we have e.g. natus, a son, legatus, a lieutenant, deputy. When used as Adjectives, they sometimes passed into I-stems, the favourite form of stem for Adjectives (ch. xi. § 12), e.g. fortis, O. Lat. forctus, originally P. P. P. of the I.-Eur. root dhergh-, 'to establish'; in-gens, lit. 'unknown' (Engl. uncouth), from the root gen-, to know. When used as Nouns the Neuter often appears, e.g. lectum, a bed, tectum, a roof, fatum, destiny, lit. 'something spoken,' from the old phrase fari fatum alicui, to lay a doom or spell on one, and (especially in the case of Abstract Nouns) the Feminine, e.g. offensa, repulsa.

The Past Part. Passive took, as a rule, in I.-Eur. the weak grade (ch. x. § 12) of the Verb-root, e. g. clŭ-tofrom cleu-, to hear (Gk. κλυτός, Lat. in-clutus); Lat. dŭc-tus from dūco. The Perfect Ind. Act. has however sometimes influenced its vocalism. The same influence caused the substitution of -sus for -tus, the s-form being originally and properly confined to Dental Verb-stems, e.g. tensus for *tend-tus, ūsus (older ūssus) for *ut-tus, flexus for *flect-tus, salsus for *sald-tus, perculsus for *per-celdlus from the root celd-, to strike (cf. clādes) (dt and tt became by the Latin Law of Sound ss, ch. x. § 17). But where the Perfect Ind. took s or x, this consonant was given by false analogy to the Part., e.g. farsus from farcio, Perf. farsi for *farc-si; fixus from figo, Perf. fixi; tersus from tergo, Perf. tersi, just as the analogy of haesi produced the late form haesurus and hausi (P. P. P. haustus) hausurus beside hausturus. But in the earlier literature we have the forms with -tus, e. g. tertus. (So in Plautus pulto for class. pulso, § 2.)

§ 18. The Gerund and Gerundive. The Gerundive (Adj.) in -ndo- has beside it a Gerund (Neut. Noun)

in -ndo-, which seems to stand to the Gerundive in the same relation as an Impersonal to a Personal Verb, eundum est in antiquam silvam being Impersonal like itur in antiquam silvam. The Adjectival use seems to have been the original one 1. In the older Latin writers, when this formation is turned into finite form, i. e. when a statement is made by means of it, the usual method is to employ the Gerund with est governing an object, e.g. agitandum est vigilias, imperandum est servis, carendum est urbe; but in the classical Latin the Gerund is preferred if the Verb is one which governs the Accusative, e. g. agitandae sunt vigiliae, but still as before, imperandum est servis, carendum est urbe; and the transition from the impersonal to the personal mode of expression, marked by a construction like Plautus' nominandi istorum copia (a construction allowed by Cicero with a Gen. Pl. for the sake of euphony, e. g. facultas agrorum condonandi) is like the transition from 'factum itur contumeliam' to Cato's 'contumelia factum itur' (§ 15 n.).

In the third and fourth Conjugations we find in Early Lat. both -ondo- (e. g. agundus) and -endo- (e. g. agendus), the latter being selected as the classical form (but secundus beside sequendus). This agondo- or agendo-seems to be formed from *agom, Acc. Sg. of a Verbal Noun, and do-, a Verbal Adj. stem meaning 'giving' or 'causing.' Similarly luendus stands for *luem-dus (cf. lues), curandus stands for *curam-dus (cf. cura), ruben-dus for *rubem-dus (cf. rubē-facio). The combination of

¹ Curiously enough the construction of the Gerundive Gen. of Purpose, e.g. Tac. Ann. ii. 59 Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis, occurs not only in the early Latin writers, e.g. Lucilius, but also was a usage of the Umbrian language, so that its antiquity cannot be denied.

IIO

Active and Passive sense which is so peculiar a feature of the Latin Gerundive forms, e. g. 'agitandum est vigilias' Act., and 'agitandae sunt vigiliae' Pass., may be explained from the double sense that can be attached to an expression like *ruborem dare*, (1) to blush, Neut., (2) to cause to blush, Act.

With the Gerundive suffix are evidently connected the suffixes of Adjectives in -bundo-, -cundo-, &c., e. g. errābundus, irācundus, fācundus (from fari), rubšcundus, rotundus. The b of the first of these seems to belong to the root bheu- of fui, &c., the c of the second to the Diminutive suffix seen in rubi-care, albi-care, &c.

§ 19. The Person-endings. The I.-Eur. Person-endings were slightly different in Primary Tenses (the Present Ind., Future Ind., &c.) and in Secondary Tenses (the Preterites Ind., the Tenses of the Optative Mood, &c.). Thus -ti was the 3 Sg. Primary suffix, -t the 3 Sg. Secondary suffix of the Active Voice. In the Perfect Tense an entirely different set of Endings was in use, e. g. -ă 1 Sg. Act., -thă 2 Sg., &c.; and in the Imperative the persons were often distinguished by the addition of Particles (see § 14).

In Passive and Deponent Verbs, Latin departs widely from the I.-Eur. scheme of Passive or Middle Personendings (contrast Lat. feror, sequor with Gk. φέρο-μαι, έπο-μαι, ferimur, sequimur with Gk. φερό-μεθα, έπο-μεθα). Latin, as well as the kindred languages of ancient Italy and the Celtic family of languages, uses as the characteristic mark of its passive and deponent flexion the letter r (cf. Old Irish sechur 1 Sg., sechethar 3 Sg., sechemmar 1 Pl., sechetar 3 Pl. with Lat. sequor, sequitur, sequimur, sequuntur). This r cannot be connected with the Reflexive Pronoun swe- (ch. v. § 1) (Lat. sē Acc.), seeing

that s between vowels does not become r in the Celtic languages as in Latin (ch. x. § 19), so that Irish sechur could not represent a form sequo-se. On the early Impersonal use of these r-forms, see § 6.

- § 20. (a) Active. 1 Sg. The Primary suffix of the Athematic Conjugation (§ 1) was -mi (e. g. Gk. $\tau i\theta \eta \mu \iota$, $\epsilon l\mu \iota$, I am, for $\epsilon \sigma \mu \iota$, Lat. sum); in the Thematic the 1 Pers. ended in $-\bar{o}$ (e. g. Gk. $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \omega$, Lat. lego). The suffix in the secondary Tenses of both Conjugations was -m, e. g. Gk. $\epsilon \phi \epsilon \rho o \nu$, for $* \hat{\epsilon} \phi \epsilon \rho o \mu$, Lat. eram, sim (an Optative, § 13), ama-bam, amaveram, &c. The Latin Perfect shows the I.-Eur. Middle ending -ai, e. g. dedi, older dedei, vidi older veidei. (On -ei from earlier -ai, see ch. ii. § 14.)
- 2 Sg. -sĭ and -s were the I.-Eur. suffixes (e. g. Gk. $\tau(\theta\eta-s)$, $\dot{\epsilon}-\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon-s$, Hom. Gk. $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma-\sigma i$; Lat. $\dot{\epsilon}s$ [earlier *ess, ch. ii. § 9], agis [earlier *agĕs, ch. ii. § 14], eras). The Latin Perfect shows -stī, older -stei, e. g. dedisti. (On the Imperative 2 Sg. Act., see § 14.)
- 3 Sg. -tĭ (Primary) and -t (Secondary) were the I.-Eur. endings (e.g. Gk. ἐσ-τί, τίθη-σι for τιθη-τι, ἔ-φερε for *ἐ-φερε-τ; Lat. est, agit [earlier *aget, ch. ii. § 14], erat). The Secondary ending often appears in Early Latin as d, e. g. feced 'fecit,' sied 'sit' on the Dvenos inscription (ch. i. § 3 n.). In the Latin Perfect the ending was -eit (class. -it, ch. ii. § 16), being the I.-Eur. Middle ending -ai (Lat. -ei) with t added to distinguish it from the First Person which likewise ended in -ai (Lat. -ei). The long quantity -it is found in Plautus and the older writers; and even in Ovid we have it after i in the compounds of eo, e.g. interit, abit, redit. (On the Imperative 3 Sg. Act., see § 14.)
- 1 Plur. In Latin we have in all tenses the ending -mös (class. -mus, ch. ii. § 14), while in the other I.-Eur.

languages we have a variety of endings, e. g. Att. Gk. $\phi \epsilon \rho \rho - \mu \epsilon \nu$, $\epsilon - \phi \epsilon \rho \rho - \mu \epsilon \nu$, Dor. Gk. $\phi \epsilon \rho \rho - \mu \epsilon \nu$, $\epsilon - \phi \epsilon \rho \rho - \mu \epsilon \nu$.

- 2 Plur. The ending -tě of Gk. $\phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \tau \epsilon$, $\hat{\epsilon} \phi \hat{\epsilon} \rho \epsilon \tau \epsilon$, &c., appears in Latin only in the Imperative, e.g. fer-te. (On the 2 Plur. of the Future Imperative in $-t\delta t\tilde{\epsilon}$, e.g. fer-tote, see § 14.) Elsewhere it was replaced by $-t\tilde{\iota}s$ (older $-t\tilde{\epsilon}s$, ch. ii. § 14), e.g. fer-tis (cf. dedistis).
- 8 Plur. The I.-Eur. suffixes end with -Y in Primary but not in Secondary Tenses, viz. -ŏntĭ (-entĭ, -ontĭ, ch. x. § 12) and -ŏnt (-ent, -ont). The form tremonti for tremunt is quoted from an interesting passage, but one of doubtful reading, from the Carmen Saliare:

Cumne (?) tonas, Leucesie, prai tet tremonti,

'cum tonas, Leucesie, praetremunt te,' and -ont is often found in the early literature and inscriptions, e.g. cosentiont, 'consentiunt' on a Scipio epitaph (ch. iv. $\S 3$ n.). The endings of the Perfect, $-\bar{e}runt$ and $-\bar{e}re$ (earlier $-\bar{e}r\bar{i}$) are difficult to explain. The Imperative seems to add the same particle * $t\bar{o}d$, as is seen in the 2 and 3 Sg. (\S 14), to a 3 Pl. form, e.g. ferunto for *feront- $t\bar{o}d$.

In Old Latin we find 3 Pl. Pres. Ind. forms in -nunt, e. g. dănunt 'dant,' nequinont 'nequeunt,' explenunt 'explent,' which have been explained by the theory that the 3 Pl. of the Pres. Ind. had once ended in -n, *dan, *nequīn, *explēn, and that these forms were a second time provided with a 3 Pl. suffix, much as Greek cl, thou art, for *èa, took a fresh 2 Sg. suffix and became cls.

§ 21. (β) Passive (Deponent). 1 Sg. The Italo-Celtic ending was -ōr in the Pres. Ind., e. g. O. Lat. $sequ\bar{o}r$, class. $sequ\bar{o}r$ (ch. ii. § 16), O. Ir. sĕchur, apparently an addition of Passive -r (§ 6) to the Active ending -ō (§ 20). Those Tenses and Moods which in Latin formed their

- 1 Sg. Act. in -m substitute in the Passive -r for -m, e. g. fera-r Fut. and Subj., fereba-r Impft., except in the Perfect group, where a periphrastic form is used, e. g. latus sim, latus essem, not 'tulerir,' 'tulisser'; also latus ero, not 'tuleror.'
- 2 Sg. The Latin endings are (1) -re, the same as the Imperative 2 Sg., from I.-Eur. -so (e. g. Gk. έπου for έπεο from έπε-συ, Lat. seque-re, p. 31 n.); that is the usual form in Old Latin and even in Cicero; (2) -ris, which adds to this the ending -s of the 2 Sg. Act., *sequere-s becoming sequeris (ch. ii. § 14). Some think -re a weakening of -ris. But -is did not become -e in Latin, e. g. militaris. Isolated spellings like tribunos militare for militaris on an old inscription are not sufficient proofs of this change.
- 3 Sg. The Italo-Celtic ending is -tŏr (e. g. Lat. sequitur from *sequetŏr, O. Ir. sechĕthar), formed by adding Passive -r to the I.-Eur. Secondary ending -tŏ (e. g. Gk. $\dot{\epsilon}$ - $\phi\dot{\epsilon}\rho\dot{\epsilon}$ - τo). The Imperative changes to -r the -d of the Particle -tōd, which it appends to its bare stem in the Active (§ 14), e. g. fertor Pass. beside ferto(d) Act.
- 1 Plur. The Italo-Celtic ending is -mor (e. g. Lat. sequimur for *sequomor, O. Ir. sechemmar), formed by changing to r the s of the Active -mos (§ 20).
- 2 Plur. In Latin the Nom. Plur. of the old Pres. Part. Pass. is used with ellipse of estis, e.g. ferĭmĭnī, (Gk. φερόμενοι, § 17), in the Present Tense and analogical formations in the others, e.g. fereba-mini, fera-mini, ferre-mini. The 2 Pl. Imper. ferimini may be the same with ellipse of este, or an old Infinitive (Gk. φερέμεναι) used in Imperatival sense.
- 3 Plur. The Italo-Celtic ending is -ntor (e. g. Lat. sequentur from *sequentor, O. Ir. sechetar), formed by adding Passive r to the I.-Eur. Secondary ending -nto

(Gk. $\dot{\epsilon}$ - $\phi \dot{\epsilon} \rho o$ - $\nu \tau o$). (Cf. Gk. $\ddot{\epsilon} \mu$ - $\pi \lambda \eta$ - $\nu \tau o$ with Lat. imple-ntur). In the Imperative the d of the particle -tod appended in the 3 Pl. Act. (§ 20) is changed to -r, e. g. feruntor Pass. beside ferunto(d) Act.

§ 22. Scheme of the Latin Person-endings.

Singular.

Plural.

Active.

I. Ind.

I Pers -m(i) (Athematic Pri- -mos, class.-mus, e.g. sumus, legimary), e.g. sum.

-ō (Thematic Primary), e. g. lego.

-m (Secondary), e. g. eram, legebam.

2 Pers. -s(i) (Prim.), e. g. es for *es-s(i), legis from *legĕs-(i).

-s (Sec.), e. g. eras, legebas. 3 Pers. -t(i) (Prim.), e. g. est, legit

from *legět(i). -t (Sec.), e. g. eras, legebat. mus; eramus, legebamus.

-tes, class. -tis, e.g. estis, legitis; eratis, legebatis.

-nt(i) (Prim.), e.g. sunt, legunt from legonti. -nt (Sec.), e.g. erant, legebant. (But see ch. x. § 17.)

II. Imperat.

1 Pers. (the Subjunctive is used), e. g. legam.

2 Pers. Pres. (the Verb-stem is used), e.g. es (Athem.), lege (Them.).

'Fut.' (adds to(d) 'thereupon'), e. g. es-to, legito from *lege-tod.

3 Pers. (same as 2 Pers. 'Fut.').

(the Subjunctive is used), e.g. legamus.

-tě, e.g. es-te; legi-te.

-tōte, e. g. es-tole, legi-tole.

-nto from -nto(d), e.g. sunto, legunto.

Passive and Middle.

I. Ind.

1 Pers. -ōr (Act. -ō), class. -ŏr, e.g. legor. -r (Act. -m), e. g. legebar.

2 Pers. (1) -rĕ from -sŏ, e. g. legere.

(2) -ris (-re with added -s), e. g. legeris.

3 Pers. -tor, class. -tur, e.g. legitur. -ntor, class. -ntur, e.g. leguntur.

-mor, class. -mur, e.g. legimur.

(Nom. Pl. Masc. of Pres. Part. Pass. is used), e. g. legimini.

II. Imperat.

- I Pers. (the Subjunctive is used), e. g. legar.
- e. g. tegar. 2 Pers. -re from -so, e. g. legere.
- 3 Pers. -tōr, class. -tŏr, e. g. legitor.
- (the Subjunctive is used), e.g. legamur.
- (the Nom. Plur. Masc. of the Pres. Part. Pass.), e. g. legimini. -ntör, class. -ntòr, e. g. leguntor.

§ 23. Some Irregular Verbs.

The irregularity of many verbs consists in their use of different roots for different tenses. The Substantive Verb shows the root ES- in some tenses, the root BHEUin others, e. g. Perf. fui; and the heteroclite conjugation of verbs like 'to be,' 'to go,' seems to date from the I .-Eur. period. Other Latin examples are fio (for *fwio, from bhw-, a weakened form of the root bheu-) and factus sum; ferio and percussi; fero and tuli (from the root of tollo, Gk. τετλάναι); tollo (for *tol-no) and sustuli (Compound with Prep. sub, subs); vescor and pastus sum; arguor and convictus sum; reminiscor and recordatus sum; medeor and medicatus sum; surgo differs from surrexi and surrectus in being syncopated (cf. porgo and porrigo); vis beside volo comes from a root vei-, which had the same meaning as the root vel-, to wish. (On vel-, e.g. velim, and vol-, e. g. volo, see ch. ii. § 8.)

Other verbs, classed as Irregular, are the Defective Verbs: coepi, the Present of which, coepio, is found in O. Lat., e.g. neque ego lites coepio, Plaut., and is a compound of cum and apio, to fasten, whence apiscor and aptus; inquam, perhaps a Subj.-Fut., 'I will say,' from the root seq"-, to speak (cf. O. Lat. inseque or insece 1), other parts of which are Pres. Ind. inquis, inquit, inquiunt and Imper. inque (Plaut.); aio, for *ahio from the

¹ Ennius' translation of 'Ανδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα was: inseque (insece), Musa, uirum,

116

root agh-, 'to say,' and infit are other Defective Verbs of kindred meaning to inquam. (Cf. our Defect. Vb. 'quoth.')

The irregularity of verbs like sum, eo, volo, &c., consists, as we have seen (§ 1) in their having belonged to the Athematic Conjugation (hence 1 Pl. sumus, volumus with \tilde{u} not \tilde{i}), of which there are not so many remains in Latin as in Greek (e. g. all the Greek verbs in -µ are athematic). Edo, to eat, is thematic in I Sg. Pres. Ind. ěd-ō, but athematic in the other persons, which often show a by-form ed-, e. g. essem Impft. Subj. for *ed-sem, esse Inf. for *ed-se. Fero has been attracted into the Athematic Conj., fer-s 2 Sg., fer-t 3 Sg., ferrem Impft. Subj. for *fer-sem, ferre Inf. for *fer-se, fer Imper. (root DO-, in weak form Lat. dă-) was originally athematic and must have been declined $*d\bar{o}m(i)*d\bar{o}-s$, $*d\bar{o}-t$, $*d\check{a}-mos$, *dă-tes, dant (cf. Gk. δίδωμι, δίδομεν, and cf. ch. x. § 12); but the ă of dămus, dătis, &c., has caused its partial transference to the First Conjugation type. (On cĕ-dŏ, Imperat., see § 14.) It was confused with another -do, meaning ' to place ' or 'put' (root DHE-, Gk. τί-θη-μι), to which belong the Compounds condo, 'to put together,' subdo, 'to put under,' &c., and which must have been declined *con $d\bar{e}$ -m(i), *con- $d\bar{e}$ -s, *con- $d\bar{e}$ -t, *con- $d\bar{a}$ -mos, *cond \bar{a} -tes, &c. Here the i to which a was reduced in the unaccented syllable (ch. ii. § 14), con-dĭ-mus, con-dĭ-tis, &c., caused the transference of condo, subdo, &c., to the Third Conjugation type. I.-Eur. dh when initial became f in Latin (ch. x. § 17), so that the simple verb would be $*f\bar{e}-m(i)$, *fē-s, with Plur. *fă-mos, &c. A derivative from this is $f\ddot{a}c$ -io, with the c of which we may compare the κ of Gk. ĕ-θηκ-a. Sto was another Athematic Verb (root STĀ-, Gk. ἴστημι for *σί-στα-μι, Pl. ἵ-στα-μεν), with an original declesion, *stā-m(i), stā-s, stā-t, *stă-mos, *stă-tes, stant, but in a verb of this kind the transference to the First Conjugation was easy. Sto had in Early Latin the transitive sense of Gk. $l\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota$, e. g. med Mano statod, 'set me (as an offering) to Mānus' (the Good Deity; cf. Mānes, immanis, lit. 'not good') on the Dvenos inscr. (ch. i. § 1 n.), but in class. Lat. this sense was given to the transitive form si-sto (Gk. $l\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota$ for $*\sigma\iota-\sigma\tau\bar{a}-\mu\iota$), which appears as a Third Conj. Verb.

Compounds of these Athematic Verbs are possum, nolo, malo. Possum is found in the older writers in its uncompounded form potis sum and pote sum, e.g. potis est Lucr. i. 452, potesse i. 665. Pote is properly the Neuter of potis, e.g. pote est (class. potest), 'it is possible,' but the Masc. (and Fem.) and Neut. forms are used of any gender and of any number, e.g. potis est, 'it is possible' Ter. Phorm. 379; credo equidem potis esse te, scelus Plaut. Possum stands for pote-sum (on the Syncope of-ë see ch. ii. § 12), possim for pote-sim, &c.; and possem, posse (for potessem, potesse) have followed their analogy. contraction of māvolo (Plaut.), comes similarly from măgĕ (a by-form of magis, which was wrongly treated as an Adj. magis with Neut. mage) united into a word-group (ch. ii. § 11) with vŏlo; and nōlo from the Negative nĕ- and volo. *Mág(e)-volo became mavvolo, written māvolo; *něvolo (O. Lat. ně-vis, ně-volt) became *něvolo (ch. x. § 4) and with loss of v between vowels (ch. ii. § 12) $n\bar{o}lo$. The Imperat. noli may be due to the use of nolis (Opt.) in Imperatival sense, the -s being dropped to suit the type of the Imperative 2 Sg.

CHAPTER VII.

ADVERBS.

§ 1. Origin of Latin Adverbs. I.-Eur. Adverbs were for the most part cases of Nouns, Adjectives, and Pro-The cases most frequently found in Latin are the Accusative (cf. Gk. πρότερου Acc. Sg. Neut., μακράν Acc. Sg. Fem., κρύφα Acc. Pl. Neut.), the Ablative (or Instrumental? cf. Gk. $\delta\lambda\eta$, $\lambda\delta\theta\rho\bar{a}$), and Locative (cf. Gk. οἴκοι, ἀναιμωτεί, ἐκουτί). Often we find Latin Adverbs retaining case-forms which have become obsolete in the ordinary declension. Thus -im, the original form of the Acc. Sg. ending of I-stems (ch. iii. § 8), which in classical Latin was replaced by the -em of Consonantstems (e.g. partem from the stem parti-, like militer from the stem milit), is retained in Adverbs like partim, and in the Adverbial Accusatives of Verbal Noun I-stems. Examples of these are: raptim from an old *raptis 1, -is Gen. (Verbal Noun of rapio), sensim from *sensis (Verbal Noun of sentio), uni-versim from *versis (Verbal Noun of Again nox, an old equivalent of noctu, seems to be an early by-form of noctis Gen.; $-\bar{e}$ (older $-\bar{e}d$), the suffix by which Adverbs derived from Adjective O-stems are formed in Latin, is an Abl. Sg. suffix (parallel with $-\bar{o}$, earlier $-\bar{o}d$, ch. iii. § 6), which has been reserved for Adverbs alone. The Adverbial suffix -tus (I.-Eur. -tos) of

¹ These old Verbal Nouns in -tis, -sis became obsolete and were replaced by IŌN-stems, raptio, -onis Gen., sensio, -onis Gen., versio, -onis Gen. (ch. xi. § 12).

fundi-tus, divini-tus, &c., is in some I.-Eur. languages used to form the Abl. case of Nouns.

The Adverbs derived from Pronouns, e.g. ibi, illinc (i. e. illim with the Particle -ce, ch. v. § 4), are not easily referred to their proper cases, owing to our ignorance of the full number of the case-suffixes used in the I.-Eur. declension of the Pronoun (cf. ch. v. § 4).

Often an independent word has been relegated to the function of an Adverbial suffix. Thus versus and versum (older vorsus, vorsum, ch. x. § 8), the Nom. and Acc. Sg. of the Perf. Part. Pass. of verto, appear in quāquāversus (-m), aliōvorsum (contracted aliorsum, ch. ii. § 12), retrōvorsum (contracted retrōrsum, retrōsum), rūrsus (-m) for reversus (-m). Tenus of hāctenus, aliquātenus, &c., is the Acc. Sg., used adverbially, of the old neuter noun tenus, a stretching (ch. xi. § 18), used by Plautus in the sense of a string or snare (ch. viii. § 39). In the Romance languages mente, Abl. of mens, is the chief Adverbial suffix, and is often added to already formed Adverbs, e.g. Ital. quasimente.

Adverbs like aliovorsum, aliquatenus are thus really composed of two independent words alio vorsum, aliquatenus. Other examples of Adverbial word-groups are (1) Prep. and Noun: ad-fătim, sufficiently, lit. 'to weariness' (cf. fatīgo), ad-mŏdum, de-nuo for de novo (ch. ii. § 14), aēdŭlo from se, an old by-form of sine (ch. viii. § 36) and dolo, ī-līco from in and sloco (old form of loco, ch. x. § 19); (2) Verb and Verb: ī-licet, scī-licet, vide-licet; (3) Conj. and Verb dum-taxat (ch. v. § 7 n.), &c.

The Comparative Degree of the Adverbs derived from Adjectives is in Latin, as in Greek, expressed by the Acc. Sg. Neut. of the Comparative of the Adjective, e.g. pejus, longius (Gk. σοφώτερον); the Superlative by the

old Abl. Sg. in -ē (older -ēd) of the Superl. of the Adj., e.g. pessime, longissime (in Greek by the Acc. Pl. Neut., e.g. σοφώτατα). Adjectives (and Participles) of the Second Declension (O-stems) form their Adverbs in -um (Acc. Sg. Neut.), -ē (Abl. Sg.) or -ō (Abl. Sg.); Adjectives of the Third Declension, in -ter (Nom. Sg. Masc., § 2), e.g. multum, amice, subito, breviter; but in the earlier literature Adverbs in -ter from O-stem Adjectives are common, e.g. amiciter. Cicero in his earlier writings used humaniter, but finally discarded it for humane.

§ 2. Nominative Adverb forms. The Nom. Sg. Masc. of an Adjective might become an Adverb by being used without reference to number or gender. Just as potis, M. F., able (Gk. πόσις, a master), became crystallized, so to speak, when used with esse, -potis sum, potis es, potis est ille, potis est illud (ch. vi. § 23), so rūrsus (reversus) gradually passed into an Adverb when it came to be used, not merely in phrases like rursus eo, rursus is, rursus it ille, but also in rursus it illa, rursus eunt illi. In the earlier literature rursum (Acc. Sg. Neut.) competes with rursus, prorsum (pro-vorsum) with prorsus, sursus (sub-versus) with sursum, dēmus (cf. Gk. rougs) with demum, &c.; but by the classical period one of the rival forms generally has the monopoly, e.g. rursus, prorsus, sursum, demum. Such Latin Nom. Adverb forms end in (1) -s, e. g. rursus, and other compounds of versus; deinceps, in O. Lat. declined, deincipis Gen., deincipi Dat., &c., like princeps; ēminus and comminus (ch. ii. § 10), compounds of manus, as Gk. $a\dot{v} \dot{v} \dot{\chi} \epsilon \iota \rho$ of $\chi \epsilon l \rho$; intrinsecus, extrinsecus, &c., compounds of an old Adj. secus, following (cf. secundus). (2) -r. This is a very numerous class, comprising all the Adverbs in -ter, e. g. breviter. These are Nominatives Singular of a formation with the suffix -tero- (ch. xi. § 8), which in

Greek often assumed a Comparative sense (e. g. βραχύτερος, shorter), but not always, e. g. δεξιτερός, on the right, not 'more on the right.' Thus breviter corresponds exactly in formation to Gk. βραχύτερος, as ager to Gk. àγρός (ch. iii. § 6). The i before ter belonged properly to Adverbs from I-stem or O-stem Adjectives (e. g. breviter from brevis, stem brevi-, humaniter for *humano-ter, ch. ii. § 14, beside audāc-ter from audax, stem audāc-), but has been extended to Cons.-stem Adjectives too, e.g. fallaciter from fallax. NT-stems have -nter, e.g. vehementer, impudenter, by Dissimilation, for -nti-ter (ch. ii. § 12). On simulter from *simli-ter, faculter from *facli-ter, see ch. ii. § 12. Another example of an Adverb in -r is nuper, Nom. Sg. Masc, of an Adj. nupero-, for *novi-pero-, from novus and paro. The Adj. is used by Plautus Capt. 718:

Recens captum hominem, núperum, nouícium, 'A man just captured, newly acquired, a newcomer.'

§ 3. Accusative Adverb forms. The Adverbial use of the Accusative Case was a great feature of I.-Eur. syntax. In Homer, for example, we find that δεινόν, βαρύ, &c., are the usual Adverb forms, not δεινώς, βαρέως. In Latin we have (1) Acc. Sg. Neut. of Adj. in -um, e. g. commodum (beside commode); plērumque from an old Adj. plērus¹, connected with plēnus, full; sursum, and other compounds of versum (see § 2); a few Superlatives like minimum (usually minime), potissimum; in -e, e. g. facilĕ, an old form of which was facul (ch. ii. § 12), used by Lucilius in his description of the Roman patricians:

Peccare inpune rati sunt
Posse, et nobilitate facul propellere iniquos,
simul (older semul), the Acc. Sg. Neut. of similis; impūne

1 E. g. Pacuvius: periére Danai, pléra pars pessúm datast, 'the
Danai are lost, the greater part gone down.'

from impunis (in and poena, ch. xi. § 12), but I-stem Adjs. as a rule formed their Adverbs in -iter, the formation in -ë being reserved for poetry, e. g. dulce ridentem, . . . dulce loquentem, Hor. (2) Acc. Sg. Fem. of Adj. in -am, e. g. perpěram, falsely, wrongly (sc. viam), from perpěrus (per and paro), with the same sense of per as in perjurus, swearing falsely (Gk. πάρα of παρακόπτω, I forge money, &c.) (ch. viii. § 26). (3) Acc. Pl. Fem. in -as, e. g. alias (sc. vices). The Acc. Pl. Neut., e.g. torva tueri, is almost confined to poetry. (4) Acc. Sg. of Noun, in -tim, e.g. praesertim from sero, lit. 'in the front row'; tolūtim, at a trot (connected with tollo); passim from pando; statim, at once, lit. 'standing,' 'on the spot' (like ilico, § 1); and many in -atim derived from Nouns, e. g. guttatim, in drops, from gutta, gradatim from gradus. The Nouns in -tis have, as has been mentioned, become obsolete, being replaced by forms in -tio, e.g. statio. But the Nouns remain from which other Acc. Sg. Adverbs are derived, e. g. vicem, maximam partem, id genus (cf. Gk. χάριν, Acc. Sg. of $\chi d\rho \iota s$). Virile secus (e.g. trecenti occisi sunt virile secus, 'three hundred were killed of the male sex') is Acc. Sg. Adverbs in -fariam, indicating division, e.g. bi-fariam, quadri-fariam are Acc. Sg. Fem. of Adjs. in -farius (cf. Gk. -φάσιος from -φατιος, e. g. τριφάσιος).

§ 4. Abl. and Locative Adverb forms. From O-Stem Adjs. we have Abl. Adverb forms in (1) -5, older -ēd, e. g. facillime, which is written on the S. C. Bacch. FACILVMED; this is the usual formation of Superlative Adverbs; valde (valide Plaut.), ferme, Superl. of fere; (2) -5, older -ōd, e. g. certo (beside certe), vero (beside vere). (On cilo, modo, bene, male, see ch. ii. § 16.) From O-Stem Nouns we have, e. g. vulgo (from vulgus), principio. The Third Declension 'Abl.' (originally a Consonant-stem

Locative, ch. iii. § 8) in -ĕ appears in forte, sponte, opere of magnopere (for magno opere), tantopere, &c., temere, lit. 'in the dark,' from a lost Neuter temus, -eris, darkness. The Abl. Pl. in -is is seen in gratis (gratiis Plaut.), for nothing, lit. 'for mere thanks' (cf. Ter. si non pretio, at gratiis); foris, outside, lit. 'at the doors' from fora, a door (Gk. θύρα), used with verbs of rest, e. g. foris manere, while foras, the Acc. Pl., is used in a phrase like foras exire, to go outside. Of Abl. Sg. Fem. in -ā examples are eadem (sc. opera), at the same time, dextera (sc. parte), on the right, recta (sc. via), directly, extrā, suprā, contrā. Abl. Sg. Neut. of the last is seen in contro-versia.

§ 5. Pronominal Adverbs. These show various suffixes: (1) -bī (older -bei) with locative sense, e. g. ibī, ubī (on ibĭ, ubĭ see ch. ii. § 16); (2) -I (older -ei), the Locative O-stem suffix, e.g. O. Lat. illi, isti, there, which in classical Latin always have the particle -ce appended (ch. v. § 4), illī-c, istī-c; (3) -ō (older -ōd), the Abl. Sg. Neut., to indicate motion to (originally route or direction), e. g. eo, quo, isto, alio, porro. O. Lat. hoc, istoc, illoc are probably Acc. Sg. Neut., for class. Lat. huc, istuc, illuc points to -oc with short o, but with c doubled in pronunciation (ch. v. § 3); (4) -ā (older -ad), the Abl. Sg. Fem., to indicate direction, manner, &c., e. g. qua, ea, praeter-ea; (5) -im, to indicate motion from, e.g. illim, istim, which in class. Lat. always append the particle -ce, illine, istine (cf. hine, dehine); (6) -nde, with similar sense, in unde, inde; this inde is shortened by Syncope of the final vowel (ch. ii. § 12) to -in in the Compounds proin, dein, exin, &c. Other endings like -dam of quondam (cf. quidam, ch. v. § 7), -dem of quidem, tandem, with the sense of 'exactly,' 'precisely' in ibi-dem, tanti-dem (cf. idem for is-dem, ch. v. § 3, and is demum),

-tem of *item, -ta for *i-la, are apparently case-forms of pronominal stems (cf. ch. v. § 3), as -quam of unquam, usquam (cf. quisquam, ch. v. § 7) appears to be Acc. Sg. Fem. of the stem quo- (ch. v. § 6). Saltim, lit. 'by a leap,' Acc. Sg. of an old Verbal Noun *saltis from salio (§ 3), became in class. Lat. saltem on the analogy of autem, *item, &c.

§ 6. Adverbial Word-groups. Other examples are:
(1) in -per, parum-per, from parum, Acc. Sg. Neut. of parus, little, a by-form of parvus, and the Preposition per; sem-per from *sem 'one,' Acc. Sg. Neut. (Gk. ev for sem) and the same Preposition 1; so paulis-per, tantis-per, aliquantis-per, and in O. Lat. topper, immediately (for *tod-per. (On tod, Gk. \tau o(\delta), Acc. Sg. Neut. of Demonstr. stem to-, see ch. v. § 3.) (On nuper, see § 2.)

From ob-viam was formed the Adj. obvius, as from sē-dulo (cf. se dulo malo on an old Agrarian Law), the Adj. sedulus. Like obviam (and inter-vias with vias Acc. Pl.) is ob-iter, a word regarded with suspicion by purists, though the Emperor Augustus gave it his sanction, and reproved Tiberius for using per viam instead. Ilicet, scilicet, videlicet have in the earlier writers the construction of ire licet, scire licet, videre licet², e.g. Plautus Capt. 469:

Ilicet parasiticae arti maxumam malam crucem, & 'The profession of diner-out may go hang itself on the highest possible gallows.'

Lucretius i. 210:

Esse videlicet in terris primordia rerum.

¹ The Adj. sempiternus stands for *semperternus as praestigiae for praestrigiae (ch. il. § 8).

² So also fortasse, an S-Aorist Imperative (ch. vi. § 12) of a lost verb fortare from fortis (like affirmare from firmus) meaning 'to as sert.' Cf. Plaut. Asin. 36 te fortasse dicere, 'perhaps you say.'

Virgil revived the use of *ilicet*, but gave it curiously the sense of *ilico*, e.g. Aen. xi. 468:

Ilicet in muros tota discurritur urbe.

A Preposition with a Noun (or Adj.) appears also in in-cassum, in vain, lit. 'into the empty' (cf. cassa nux Plaut.); im-primis and cum-primis. Actūtum is merely actū, lit. 'on the act,' followed by tum, then

CHAPTER VIII.

PREPOSITIONS.

§ 1. History of Latin Prepositions. Prepositions are Adverbs, which came to be specially used in connexion with certain cases of the Noun or in composition with a Verb. In the early stage of I.-Eur. languages the cases alone were sufficient to indicate the sense, but as the force of the Case-suffixes became weakened, or as the necessity for clearer definition was more recognized, the Case-suffix was strengthened by the addition of an Adverb. Thus ire monte might mean 'to go out of the mountain 'or 'to go down from the mountain.' To indicate the first sense, the Adverb ex was used, ire monte ex; to indicate the second, the Adverb de, ire monte de : ex-ire monte, de-ire monte. Those Adverbs which, owing to their meaning, are most frequently associated with particular cases of Nouns, or are used in composition with Verbs, are called Prepositions; and the process, by which Latin Adverbs became Prepositions, may be seen in operation at various periods of the language. Thus contra, which has hardly passed the Adverb stage with Plautus and Terence, is a Preposition in classical Latin and governs an Accusative Case; coram is not a Preposition till Cicero's time; simul in Augustan poetry and Silver Age prose; retro not till

Late Latin (e.g. vade retro me, 'get thee behind me'). It is customary now in writing Latin to write the Preposition and the Verb in one word, e.g. exire, but not the Preposition and the Noun, e.g. ex monte, although the Romans usually wrote exmonte, &c., and always pronounced the Prep. and Noun as one word-group (ch. ii. § 11). This close union of the Preposition with its Verb and Noun led at an early time to the syncope of the final short syllable of a Preposition, e.g. indò-gredior became *ind-gredior, a form confused with in-gredior (cf. O. Lat. induperator and class. imperator).

In the later stages of a language the use of Prepositions increases more and more. In Latin this culminated in the loss of Case-suffixes, and the use of Prepositions in their place, as we see in the Romance languages (cf. Fr. 'je vais à Rome' with Lat. 'vado Romam'). As early as the first cent. A.D., a grammarian points out that in manus aqua is the phrase in vogue instead of the older aqua manibus. New distinctions of prepositional meaning were expressed by compounding Prepositions with one another, e.g. de-ex, de-sub, ab-ante (Fr. avant), just as I.-Eur. Prepositions often had a Particle appended to define their meaning. Such Particles were (1) s(ĕ), Gk. $-\sigma \epsilon$ (e.g. Gk. $\delta \psi$, $\epsilon \xi$, Lat. abs, ex, sus-); (2)-d(\check{e}), Gk. δόμου-δε (e.g. Lat. prōd-eo, O. Lat. postid, antid); (3) -n(ĕ) (e. g. Germ. vo-n, Lat. pone for *pos-ne). They are related to the Pronominal stems mentioned in ch. v. § 3.

In the earlier stage of every language the Prepositions must have been used with great elasticity, sometimes with one case, sometimes with another, the fixing down of Prepositions to a particular case being a late feature. Thus in potestatem esse instead of in potestate esse is a usage of archaic Latin. Their position too

varied in course of time. In L.-Eur. the Preposition seems to have preceded the Verb, but to have followed the Noun, while between the Prep. and the Verb a Particle or Enclitic Pronoun might be inserted (cf. O. Lat. anti-d-eo, sub vos placo, the archaic phrase for supplico vos retained in Latin prayers, ob vos sacro for obsecro vos). In classical Latin a Preposition, especially a monosyllabic Preposition, precedes the Noun (hence 'Pre-position'), except in particular circumstances (e. g. metu in magno), but in the older literature often follows it, just as our 'in here' was earlier 'here-in.'

§ 2. List of Latin Prepositions.

(1) Ab, from, is I.-Eur. ap (Engl. of, off), a curtailed form of apo (Gk. aπo), of which another curtailment was po (Lat. po-situs, pono for po-s(i)no, O. Lat. po-lubrum, a wash-basin, po-lire). The form ap- appears in ap-erio, and was no doubt the pronunciation of the word before an initial p, t, c, &c., e.g. ab templo; ab is due to the same Latin preference of final -b to -p as substituted ob for op (see below). The form abs (pronounced and often written aps, ch. ii. § 10), in which the Preposition is augmented by the Particle -s(ĕ) (Gk. ἄψ), is used in Composition before t, c, e.g. abs-traho, abs-condo, while before p it is, by a law of Latin phonetics (ch. x. § 20), reduced to s, e.g. as-porto for *aps-porto, as-pello for *aps-pello; it appears also in the O. Lat. phrase absque me (te, &c.) esset (foret), equivalent to 'si sine me esset,' where que (ch. ix. § 2) seems almost to have the sense of 'if' (cf. O. Engl. 'an' for 'and'); at a later period absque me, &c., was used without the verb, and absque came to take the sense of sine, without. \bar{A} may be another form of ab as \bar{e} of ex, e.g. ā-mitto for ammitto, ab-mitto, as ē-mitto for *emmitto, ex-mitto (ch. x. § 20). Au- of au-fugio, au-fero, however, represents an entirely different I.-Eur. Preposition awe, which was brought into requisition in these Compounds before an initial f to avoid confusion with the Compounds of ad, e.g. affero. A curious Preposition af, used in Cicero's time occasionally in account-books, with the name of the person from whom money had been received, may be a mere (Greek?) trick of writing, with the symbol F (the Greek Digamma) employed to denote the u- or w-sound.

- § 3. (2) Ad, at, to, I.-Eur. ăd (Engl. at) is a different word from the Conjunction at, I.-Eur. ăt, though often confused with it in Roman spelling. On the old form ar, e. g. arfuerunt, arvorsum, due to the phonetic change of d to an r-sound before f, v, see ch. ii. § 8.
- § 4. (3) Ambi-, around, on each side, I.-Eur. ambhi (Gk. ἀμφί), a Locative of the same stem as I.-Eur. ambhō, 'both' (Gk. ἄμφω, Lat. ambō), appears in Latin compounds in the form am- before a consonant, e.g. amplector, ăm-icio for am-jicio (see ch. ii. § 12). This must be distinguished from ăn-, a curtailment of I.-Eur. ănă, 'on' (Gk. ἀνά, Engl. on) in an-helus, an-quiro, an-tennae, an-testari.
- s. (4) Antě, before, I.-Eur. antǐ (Gk. ἀντί, opposite, instead of; Engl. an-swer), a Locative Sing. of some stem connected with Lat. antes, rows (Engl. end) of μετίτις which Gk. ἄντα, opposite (cf. ἄντην), is another case. In anti-stes, the i of I.-Eur. anti, not being final, does not sink to ĕ (ch. ii. § 14 n.).
- § 6. (5) Apud, which is also spelt aput, seems to be the I.-Eur. Preposition apo (of which Lat. ab is a curtailment), augmented by the Particle d(ĕ) or t(ĭ), and must have been originally *apod or *apot (cf. Dor. ποτί).
 - § 7. (6) Circum, around, the Adverbial Acc. Sg. of

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circus (Gk. κρίκος, a ring), is the older form. In class. Lat. a by-form circā appears, first found in Cicero, a formation on the type of suprā, extrā, &c. (ch. vii. § 4), which was originally employed with verbs like esse owing to a feeling that circum was suitable only for verbs of motion, e.g. legatos circum civitates mittere, 'to send ambassadors a tour of the states,' ire circum urbem, 'to go a circuit of the city.' Circĭter, an adverbial formation like breviter (ch. vii. § 2), came to be restricted to the logical sense of 'about,' 'almost,' e.g. Plaut. loca haec circiter, 'hereabout.' The form circō appears in the Adverb id-circo, as circa in quo-circa, also with logical sense.

- § 8. (7) Cĭs, cĭtrā, on this side, are formed from the I.-Eur. pronominal root kǐ-, 'this' (Gk.-κι of οὐκί, πολλάκι, Engl. he), exactly as their opposites uls, ultra, on that side, from the I.-Eur. pronominal root ŏl-, 'that' (ch. v. § 3), the first by the addition of the particle s(ĕ), the second (an Abl. Sg. Fem.) with the suffix -tero- (ch. xi. § 8). The Adv. citrō (Abl. Sg. Neut.) corresponds to citra as ultrō (e. g. ultro citroque) to ultra.
- § 9. (8) Clam, an Adverbial Acc. Sg. Fem. from the root kel-, 'to hide' (Lat. celo, occido, &c., ch. vi. § 2), had in O. Lat. a by-form clam-de, whence was formed the Adj. clandestinus. It governs the Acc. (not the Abl.), and has in the Comedians another, apparently a Diminutive form, clanculum, e.g. Ter. clanculum patres.
- § 10. (9) Cum, older com (a form still retained in Composition, e.g. com-es, a companion), is I.-Eur. kom. (On the change of o to u in Latin, see ch. ii. § 4, and on the loss of -m in co-eo, &c., ch. ii. § 3.)
- § 11. (10) Contra, formed from com, cum with the suffix -t(e)ro- (ch. xi. § 8), is in the earlier literature contră, e.g. Enn.:



quis pater aut cognatu' uolet nos contră tueri? 'What father or kinsman will care to look us in the face?'

an Acc. Pl. Neut., but in class. Lat. contrā like citrā (Abl. Sg. Fem.; see above). The Abl. Sg. Neut. controappears in contrō-versia.

- § 12. (11) Cōram, in presence of, is an Adverbial Acc. Sg. Fem. of an Adj. *corus, compounded of cum and ōs, Gen. ōris, the face.
- § 13. (12) Dē, down from, concerning, is an Abl. Sg. form like Adverbs in -ē (ch. vii. § 4). (ch. **).
- § 14. (13) Dis-, apart, comes from an unaccented by-form of the root dwo-, dwi-, 'two,' wanting the w (cf. ch. v. § 1 fin. on swe and se). With the w the same formation expressed the Numeral Adverb, dwis (Lat. bis, ch. iv. § 5). Before a vowel dis- becomes, by the phonetic law of Latin, dir- (ch. x. § 19), e.g. dir-imo, and before voiced consonants di- (ch. x. § 19), e.g. di-moveo.
- § 15. (14) Ergā, ergō. Erga, originally local (e.g. Plaut. quae erga aedem sesed habet, 'the woman who lives opposite the temple'), may represent an e *rega, like e regione, opposite, and ergo an e *rego, lit. 'from the direction,' then 'on account of' (cf. Germ. wegen, originally 'von Wegen'). Erga is not restricted in the earlier literature to the expression of friendly feeling, e. g. Plaut.:

ne málus item erga mé sit, ut erga illúm fuit.

§ 16. (15) Ex, out of, I.-Eur. ĕks (Gk. $\xi\xi$), adds to a Preposition ek the Particle se. In Latin compounds it often appears before the letter f in the form ec- (cf. Gk. $\epsilon \kappa$) in MSS., e. g. ecfatus. Before voiced consonants it was ē, e.g. ē-mitto, ē-lego (like tēla for *tex-la, ch. x. § 20).

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- § 17. (16) Extrā is formed from ex as contrā from cum, com.
- § 18. (17) In, older en, is I.-Eur. ĕn (Gk. ἐν, Engl. in). The same form is used in Latin and other languages with the two senses (1) in, (2) into, but in Greek the second is distinguished by the addition of the particle sĕ, ἐνς, Att. εἰς. The O. Lat. Preposition endŏ, indŭ (I.-Eur. ĕndŏ; cf. Gk. ἔνδον), when reduced by Syncope to ind- (ch. ii. § 12), e.g. ind(u)-gredior, ind(u)-perator, was confused with in, e.g. in-gredior, im-perator, and so dropt out of use. Thus Terence uses in-audio only, though Plautus still retains ind-audio.
- § 19. (18) Infrā is an Abl. Sg. Fem. like extra, connected with the Adj. inferus.
- § 20. (19) Inter, between, is formed from in by the addition of the suffix -tero- (ch. xi. § 8).
- § 21. (20) Intrā is an Abl. Sg. Fem. of the same formation as inter, while intro is an Abl. Sg. Neut. (cf. ultrā and ultrō), and intăs has the Adverbial ending -tŏs (ch. vii. § 1). Intus wavers between an Adverb and a Preposition in such a phrase as Virgil's tali intus templo, 'in such temple within,' or 'within such temple.'
- § 22. (21) Juxtā, first used as a Preposition by Caesar, is Abl. Sg. Fem. of a stem juxto-, connected with jungo and meaning 'adjoining.'
- § 23. (22) Ob, I.-Eur. ŏp(ĭ) (Gk. ὅπι-σθεν), apparently a variety (ch. x. § 12) of ĕpĭ (Gk. ἐπί), often retains its -p in Latin spelling in Compounds like op-tineo, op-erio (see ch. ii. § 10). In classical Latin it has the sense of 'before' (e. g. ob oculos ponere, to describe), or 'on account of,' but in the earlier literature also of 'around,' 'to,' 'near,' &c.
 - § 24. (23) Pălam, like its opposite, clam, an Acc.

Sg. Fem. of some stem connected with <u>pālari</u>, to wander, be dispersed abroad. It is not found as a Preposition till the Augustan Age.

§ 25. (24) Pěněs (governing the Acc., usually of a person) is a suffixless Locative (ch. iii. § 8) of penus -ŏris, from the root pen- of penitus, peně-tro.

§ 26. (25) Per, through, connected with I.-Eur. pěrō, 'I transport, bring or pass through' (cf. Gk. $\pi\epsilon\ell\rho\omega$, Lat. ex-perior), corresponds to Gk. $\pi\epsilon\rho\ell$ in its intensive sense (e. g. per-longus, Gk. $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota-\mu\eta\kappa\eta$ s); to Gk. $\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}$ in its sense of wrong or injury (e. g. per-jurus, per-do, per-fidus; Gk. $\pi\alpha\rho-\dot{\alpha}\mu\nu\nu\mu\iota$, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha-\beta\alpha\dot{\alpha}\nu\omega$), these two Gk. Prepositions being really different cases of the same root pěr-, as are also Lat. $pr-\bar{o}$, pr-ae.

§ 27. (26) Post, O. Lat. postě, for *pos-tř, often became in Compounds through loss of t (ch. x. § 20) pos; e. g. posquam was according to some Grammarians the proper spelling in Virg. Aen. iii. 1; pō-merium for pos(t)-moerium. With addition of the suffix -ně (§ 1) it becomes pōne.

§ 28. (27) Prae, before, is a Dative formation from the root per- (see above). Prae-sens has the old sense of 'being in command' (cf. prae-fectus, prae-positus) in the inscription on the Columna Rostrata, praesented dictatored olorom' praesente dictatore illorum.'

§ 29. (28) Praeter, past, except, is formed from the preceding by means of the suffix -tero-like the Adverbs breviter, &c. (ch. vii. § 2).

§ 30. (29) Pro is I.-Eur. pro (Gk. πρω-ί, early). It retains in class. Lat. the short vowel before f, e.g. proficiscor, pro-fundo (but pro-ficio); but in the early literature pro- is much more frequent than it is in the classical period; the Adj. pro-bus (cf. super-bus, Gk. ὑπερ-

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134 f The Prepositions. [CH. VIII] profest, produce, pro is augmented by the particle -de (§ 1).

§ 31. (30) Procul is formed from pro by the KO-

suffix (ch. xi. § 11), and some L-suffix.

§ 32. (31) Prope adds to pro the particle -pe. Superl. proxime we should expect *prop-(i)s-ime (ch. iv.

§ 33. (32) Propter, near, on account of, is formed from prope by means of the suffix -tero-, as praeter from

prae, circiter from circum.

§ 34. (33) Rě-, back, has a by-form rěd-, with the addition of the particle -de (§ 1), which in class. Lat. remains in red-eo, &c., but is before a consonant discarded for re- in reduco (O. Lat. red-duco), &c. From re- was formed the Adverb retrō, like in-trō, ci-trō, ul-trō.

§ 35. (34) Secundum, according to, close behind, is the Adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of secundus, following (ch. vi. § 18). In plebeian Latin secus (Nom. Sg. Masc. of an Adj.-stem seco-, 'following') was used for secundum. The Adverb secus of phrases like secus accidit, non secus atque (Comp. sequius) has been referred to this Preposition on the theory that it originally meant 'following but coming short of,' 'less.'

§ 36. (35) Sině for *sěně, from s(w)ě-, the Reflexive Pronoun-stem (ch. v. § 1) and the particle -ne (§ 1). Early Latin there was another Preposition with the sense of 'without,' sēd, later sē (ch. ii. § 9), an Abl. form of the same Pronoun; e.g. se dolo, without guile whence the Adv. sedulo, ch. vii. § 6) se fraude esto 'let it be without hurt, it shall be free from penalty, are phrases of common occurrence in Laws of the Republic.

§ 37. (36) Sub is I.-Eur. ŭpŏ (Gk. ὑπό for ὑπό) with



a prefixed particle s. Sub-ter and sub-tus are formed from sub as in-ter and in-tus from in.

§ 38. (37) Super is I.-Eur. uper (Gk. υπέρ for ὑπέρ) with a prefixed particle s. Super-në adds the particle -në (§ 1). Suprā is an Abl. Sg. Fem. (ch. vii. § 4).

§ 39. (38) Těnůs is Adverbial Acc. Sg. of a Neuter S-stem tenus, -éris, derived from the root ten-, to stretch, and meaning in old Latin 'a cord,' e.g. Plaut.

pendébit hodie púlcre; ita intendí tenus.

Prō-tenus, protinus, a Compound of this Preposition, had the sense of (1) 'forward,' 'onward' (of space or time), e.g. en ipse capellas Protenus aeger ago, Virg.; sic vives protinus Hor.; (2) without interval of space, e.g. Virg. A. iii. 416:

cum protinus utraque tellus Una foret,

of the traditional connection of the Italian and Sicilian shores; (3) without interval of time, forthwith (its usual sense).

§ 40. (39) Trans is connected with the Verb *trareof in-trare, pene-trare. On the change of trans-mitto to
tras-mitto, trā-mitto, see ch. ii. § 3; ch. x. § 20.

§ 41. (40) Ultra is derived from *ils* as *citra* from *cis*. This *uls* shows the <u>root</u> ol- of the Pronoun *ille*, O. Lat. olle (ch. v. § 5) with the particle -se (§ 1).

§ 42. (41) Usque is formed from the I.-Eur. Prep. ud (Engl. out) in the same way as absque from ab. Its Prepositional use, e.g. usque radices, is due to a curtailment of the proper phrase ūsque ad, much as in Attic Greek ωs (for ωs εls) came to be used as a Preposition, e.g. ωs τὸν βασιλέα lέναι.

(42) **Versus** (see ch. vii. § 1).

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CHAPTER IX.

CONJUNCTIONS AND INTERJECTIONS.

§ 1. Origin of the Conjunctions. As Prepositions are hardly separable from Adverbs of Locality, so Conjunctions are closely connected with Pronominal Adverbs. These Pronominal Adverbs, as we have seen (ch. vii. § 5), are not always capable of being referred to their proper case form (e.g. ibi, ubi), owing to our imperfect knowledge of the declension of the I.-Eur. Pronoun. Nor is it easy to find their cognates in the various I.-Eur. languages; so rapidly does the meaning of a Conjunction Thus Latin enim, which in the older literature is a particle of asseveration, 'indeed,' had by the classical period appropriated the sense of 'for'; and in French pas (Lat. passus) and point (Lat. punctum) have acquired a negative sense from their use in the phrases 'ne...pas,' 'ne . . . point.' A feature of I.-Eur. Conjunctions is their tendency to append other Conjunctions or conjunctive Particles (e.g. $\dot{\omega}_s$ in Greek may append $\delta \dot{\eta}$, $\pi \epsilon \rho$, &c., $\dot{\omega}_{S} \delta \dot{\eta}$, $\ddot{\omega}_{\sigma} \pi \epsilon \rho$); and this habit puts another obstacle in the way of identifying cognate Conjunctions in different languages, for in one language they may appear extended by one particle, in another language by another. The exact form of these conjunctive Particles is also a difficult thing to ascertain; we often see parallel stems

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in -o, -i, -u, &c., (e.g. quo-, que-, qui-, quu-, are all various forms of the Relative and Interrogative Pronounstem, ch. v. § 6; -tĕ and -tĭ appear in Gk. $a\tilde{v}$ - $\tau\epsilon$, $\tilde{\epsilon}$ - $\tau\iota$), and parallel forms with long and with short vowel (e.g. Lat. ně- and nē-, the Negative Particle); and the tendency was always present to adapt the ending of one Conjunction to the ending of another Conjunction of similar meaning (e.g. Lat. saltem for saltim, adapted to au-tem, i-tem). It is therefore best to designate these conjunctive Particles according to their consonants, and in tracing the origin of the Latin Conjunctions to mention such Pronouns (or pronominal Particles) as (1) the T-pronoun of Lat. tam, i-tem, u-t(i), Gk. av-τε, έ-τι, hot (2) the D-pronoun of Lat. dum, ibi-dem, Gk. δή, δέ, δ-δε, β (3) the DH-pronoun of Gk. έν-θα, (5) the P-pronoun of Lat. quip-pe, nem-pe, (5) the N-pronoun of Lat. num, nam, nem-pe, quis-nam.

§ 2. (1) Conjunctive.—Que, et, atque, ac, quoque, $-Qu\check{e}$, I.-Eur. $q^{u}\check{e}$ (Gk. $\tau \epsilon$), apparently the bare stem of the Relative quo-que- (ch. v. § 6), is in Latin, as it was in I.-Eur., an enclitic appended to the first word of the sentence. Through Syncope, to which final -ĕ was always liable in Latin (ch. ii. § 12), it became -c in ac for *atc (at-que), &c., and probably often had this sound before an initial consonant in the rapid utterance of every-day life. I.-Eur. -que gave a relative and indefinite sense to Pronouns (e.g. Hom. ős τε), and so in Early Latin, though in the classical period the fuller ending -cunque was preferred; e.g. quem-que Plaut. for quem-cunque in Mil. 156: quemque in tegulis Videritis alienum; so quis-que, each (ch. v. § 7). This -cunque, -cumque (O. Lat. -quomque) seems to be nothing but cum-que, 'whenever' (Hor. C. i. 32. 15 mihi cumque

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salve Rite vocanti), like quando-que. In O. Lat. atque often signifies 'forthwith,' e.g. Plaut. Most. 1050:

quóniam conuccáui, atque illi me éx senatu ségregant,

and Virgil uses the word sometimes in this archaic sense, e.g. Georg. i. 201:

> Non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit, atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alveus amni.

Quoque has some part of the Pronoun-stem quo-, que-, as its first element. Et is the I.-Eur. Adverb eti (Gk. eti, further), used in Latin, as in Gothic (ib, 'and'), for the copula. In etiam, et is associated with the Adverb jam, now, the j(y) becoming the vowel i by the Latin phonetic law in the middle of a word, as in medius from I.-Eur. mědhyŏs (Gk. $\mu \epsilon \sigma(\sigma) \sigma$) (ch. x. § 13).

- § 3. (2) Disjunctive.—Ve, aut, vel, sive, seu. — $V\check{e}$ is I.-Eur. we (Hom. Gk. $\mathring{\eta}$ - $(F)_{\epsilon}$), a particle which had also the sense of 'as,' 'like' (e.g. Lat. ce-u, § 10). Aut is compounded of I.-Eur. au (Gk. av, again, Engl. eke from Goth. au-k [quasi $a\tilde{v}-y\epsilon$]), and the T-pronoun (§ 1). Věl is the old 2 Sg. Pres. Imperative of volo, I wish (ch. vi. § 14), and means literally 'choose,' as Germ. wohl (e.g. Homer, wohl der grösste Dichter, 'Homerus vel summus poeta') was originally Imper. of wollen. Sivě is compounded of si, older ei (§ 13), and eve. Before -u, the curtailed or syncopated form of -ve (as -c of -que, -n of Interrogative -ne), the ei-diphthong was by the Latin phonetic law reduced to ĕ, as in deus from dei(u)us (ch. x. § 13).
- § 4. (3) Adversative.—At, ast, sed, autem, atqui, tamen, ceterum, verum, vero.—At is the I.-Eur. Abverb ati, 'back,' 'from,' used in Latin, as in Gothic

(ap-pan, 'but'), as a Conjunction. Ast, found in old laws with the sense 'if further,' e.g.:

si parentem puer uerberet, ast olle plorassit, puer diuis parentum sacer esto,

had originally the sense of 'further' merely, being *ad-stī, a derivative from the Preposition ad like post(i) from the Preposition po (ch. viii. §§ 2, 27). It came to be used exclusively in conditional sentences and so acquired the notion of 'if further' and even of 'if,' e.g. in the curious law of the XII Tables which refers to the use of gold in dentistry:

Neue aurum addito, at cui auro dentes iuncti escunt, ast im cum illo sepeliet uretue, se fraude esto.

'No gold shall men put in a tomb; but, when the deceased has his teeth fastened with gold, if they bury or burn him with that gold, it shall not be a punishable offence.'

The Augustan poets revived the use of the word, as a substitute for at, where the metre required a long syllable; and in the second cent. A. D. it passed into prose. Sed, in early Latin sedum, is a compound of c s(w)ĕ, the Reflexive Pronoun stem (ch. v. § 1) with the particle dum. With its loss of -um compare non for noenum (§ 17). Autem adds the particle -tem (cf. i-tem) to the I.-Eur. Adverb au (Gk. av, Engl. eke from au-k, p. 138), which is probably identical with the Preposition au- of au-fero, au-fugio (ch. viii. § 2). Atqui adds to the Conjunction at the particle qui, so often used by the early Dramatists as a mere particle of emphasis (e. g. Hercle qui, utinam qui, ut qui Plaut.), apparently either the Abl. Loc., or Instr. Sg. of the Relative. Tamen, however, 'none the less,' is clearly related to tam, so, 'equally much,' which was in the early literature used in the sense of tamen (cf. class. tam-etsi and tamen-etsi). Ceterum is the adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of the stem cetero- (Nom. Pl. ceteri), from cē- the lengthened form of the Pron. stem cĕ- (ch. v. § 4), as cetera in such a line as Virg. A. ix. 656: cetera parce puer bello, 'for the rest—you are a boy—deal sparingly with war,' is an adverbial Acc. Pl. Neut. Verum is similarly an adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of verus, true, and verō an adverbial Abl. (Instr.?) Sg. Neut. of the same.

- § 5. (4) Limitative and Corrective.—Quidem, immo.—Quidem shows the stem of the Indefinite Pronoun quis (ch. v. § 6) with the particle dem (ch. v. § 3). Immō is perhaps *in-mō, 'in magis,' from *mō an old Comparative, 'more.'
- § 6. (5) Explanatory.—Enim, nam, namque, quippe, nempe.—Enim is in O. Lat. an asseverative particle merely (cf. class. enim-vero), a usage imitated by Virgil, e. g. A. viii. 84:

Quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Juno, mactat sacra ferens.

It comes from an I.-Eur. Pronoun stem ěno-, 'this,' 'that.' Nam, Acc. Sg. Fem. of no-, another form of this stem, is often used in O. Lat. in questions, e.g. quid cerussa opus nam? 'why, what is the use of paint?' Plaut. (cf. quisnam, and in O. Lat. poetry quianam, 'why?;' cf. Virg. A. v. 13, x. 6), whithout that definite sense of 'for,' 'because' to which the word is restricted in the classical literature (but cf. uti-nam). Quippe for quō-pe, adds the particle pe (§ 1) to the Loc. Instr. Sg. of the Pronoun. Nempe adds the same particle to a form *nem, which is the same case-form of the N-Pronoun as -tem is of the T-Pronoun (ch. v. § 3).

§ 7. (6) Conclusive.—Ergo, itaque, igitur.—Igitur had in O. Lat. the sense of tum as in the first law

of the XII Tab.: si in ius uocat, ni it, antestamino, igitur em capito (ch. v. § 5). On *ergo*, see ch. viii. § 15.

§ 8. (7) Optative.—Ut, utinam.—Ut, in wishes, e. g.:

Juppiter ut Danaum omne genus pereat,

is the Conjunction ut, that (older uti, ch. ii. § 12), with suppression of the idea 'I wish' or 'do thou grant.' In utinam the final i of ut(i) is retained (so in neuti-quam, pronounced as a trisyllable with the first two syllables short), and nam has its older sense of a strengthening particle 'indeed' (§ 6).

§ 9. (8) Interrogative.—-Ne, nonne, num, utrum, an, anne, cur, quare.—In class. Latin -ne is the general interrogative particle, while nonne is limited to questions which expect an affirmative, num to those which expect a negative answer. This distinction is unknown to Plautus, who uses nonne hardly at all (-ne being used instead), and num, numquis without a negative sense occasionally. It is easy to see how these meanings came to be attached to nonne, 'is . . . not,' and num, 'now,' e. g. nonne haec ita sunt?, 'is not this the case?'; num haec ita sunt?, 'now is this the case?' (with emphasis on the word 'is').

-Në is I.-Eur. në. Num is the I.-Eur. num, 'now' (Gk. $\nu\nu\nu$; cf. nunc for num-c(e), ch. v. § 4). Utrum is the Adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of uter (ch. vi. § 8), like Gk. $\pi \acute{o} \tau \acute{e} \rho o \nu$. An is the same as Gk. $\check{a} \nu$ 'in that case.' $C\bar{u}r$ (O. Lat. $qu\bar{o}r$) is I.-Eur. $q^u\bar{o}r$, related to Engl. 'where,' and is quite unconnected with $qu\bar{a}$ -re (cf. cui rei Plaut., quam-ob-rem).

§ 10. (9) Comparative.—Ut, uti, quasi, ceu, quam.
—On ut, see § 8. Quăsi, 'as if,' comes from qua Neut. Pl.
'as' and si. Ceu, which is restricted to the Epic and

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Lyric Poets and a few Silver Age prose writers, is compounded of the Pronoun stem ko-, ke- (ch. v. § 4) and the particle -we, 'as, like' (§ 3), and stands for *cē-ve (cf. cē-teri). Quam is Acc. Sg. Fem. of the Relative, as tam of the Demonstrative. The two words are combined in tanquam.

§ 11. (10) Temporal.—Quum, quando, dum, donec, ut, ubi.— Quum, O. Lat. quom, is an Adverbial Acc. Sg. Neut. of the Relative. Quando is Acc. Sg. Fem. of the Relative with the I.-Eur. Preposition do, 'to,' so that quam-do will mean 'to what' (time). In Plautus quando is mainly temporal, though by Terence's time it is mainly causal, as quandoquidem is at all periods of the Dum, which is often a mere asseverative particle, e.g. age dum (Gk. åyε δή), quidum, how so?, primumdum, first of all, is an Acc. Sg. of the Pronoun stem do- as tum of to-, quum of quo-. Gk. δή is another case-form of the same stem. The temporal sense is clearly seen in non-dum, etiam-dum, inter-dum. Donec is in O. Lat. donicum, which is compounded of *do-ne (the Prep. do, to, and the N-pronoun, § 1) and cum, when, and meant 'to when,' 'till when' (cf. quo-ad). Donicum was wrongly apprehended as donec-cum instead of donecum and so with omission of cum became donec. Donique of Lucretius (ii. 1116), &c., adds to *done the particle -que, 'ever' (cf. quando, when, quandoque, whenever; also de-ni-que). Ut from u-ti (cf. uti-nam) adds to the Relative stem quu- (ch. v. § 6) the Particle or case-suffix -ti (§ 1). On ubi see ch. vii. § 5.

§ 12. (11) Causal.—Quum, quoniam, quod, quia, quippe.—On quum see § 11. Quoniam is a compound of quum (quom) and jam, the j(y) becoming by the law of Latin phonetics vocalic in the middle of a sentence (ch.

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x. § 13). Its oldest sense is temporal, 'when now' (with Pres. Ind., the Pres. tense being required by the jam), e. g. Plaut. Trin. 112:

> Quoniam hinc iturust ipsus in Seleúciam, mihi cónmendauit uírginem;

and it is possible to trace its gradual development from a temporal to a causal sense in the course of Latin Literature. Quod is Acc. Sg. Neut. of the Relative O-stem (ch. v. § 6), used like Homeric ő in such a line as Od. i. 382:

Τηλέμαχον θαύμαζον δ θαρσαλέως άγόρευε.

In Plautus it is always, or almost always, subject or object of a relative sentence, e.g. Capt. 586:

filium tuum quod redimere se ait, id ne utiquam mihi placet. Quiă is an Acc. Pl. Neut. of the Relative I-stem (ch. v. § 6), and has the same double meaning as quod, (1) that, (2) because. On quippe see § 6.

13. (12) Conditional.—Si, nisi, ni, sin, sive, seu, modo, dummodo.—Si, O. Lat. sei, is a Loc. Sg. of the Pronoun stem so-, seen in Lat. ip-se, ip-sa (ch. v. § 3). Sic, so, is the same word with the enclitic -c(e) appended (ch. v. § 4). Nisi is a compound of the Negative në (§ 17) with si, and means literally 'not if'. Ni, I.-Eur. nei, perhaps the Negative në with the deictic particle -ī of Gk. ούτοσ-ī, &c., had originally the sense of non or nē, as in quid-ni, quippi-ni, and still retains this sense in Virgil's line: ni_teneant cursus (A. iii. 686). It came however to acquire the sense of nisi from its use in such phrases as si in ius uocat, ni it XII Tab., 'if he summons him (and) he does not go; 'id ni fit, pignus dato Plaut., 'lay me a wager in the event of that not happening,' lit. 'that does not happen, lay me a wager.' Sin is a compound of si and ně, not the Negative ně, for the negative sense of sin, 'if not,' is hardly attached to the word in the time of Plautus, but the Demonstr. suffix seen in alioquin beside alioqui, &c. (§ 15). On sīve and seu see ch. ii. § 12. Mŏdŏ is the adverbial Abl, Instr.?) Sg. of modus, measure, limit (cf. Hor. quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus?), 'only,' dum-modo, 'while only.' A common sense of the word is the temporal sense, 'only a little while ago'.'

§ 14. (13) Concessive.—Etsi, quamquam, quamvis, licet.—The formation of all these words is evident: et-si, 'even if,' quam-quam (reduplicated), quam-vis, 'how you wish' (like quantum-vis, 'however much you wish,' or quam-libet, 'how you please'), licet, 'it is allowed,' 'granted.'

§ 15. (14) Final.—Ut, quo, quominus, quin, ne, neve, neu, nedum.—On ut see § 11. Quō is the Abr. [Instr.?] Sg. Neut. of the Relative, used with comparatives, quo facilius like eo facilius. Quominus adds to quo the Comparative minus, 'less,' used in a negative sense (cf. minime, 'by no means,' parum sciens, 'ignorant'). Quōn as a Final Conjunction, is composed of quō, how (Abl.?, Loc.?, Instr.?) and the Negative Particle nĕ. In some instances it represents qui (Nom. Sg. Masc.) with Negative nĕ, e.g. nemo fuit quin sciret (qui nesciret); and the same form was extended to sentences like nulla mulier fuit quin sciret, just as potis Masc. Sg. is universalized in the phrase potis est and used with Neuter or Plural Subjects (ch. vi. § 23). Quin in affirmations, e.g. hercle quin recte dicis, Plaut., is



¹ This was emphasized in the Praenestine dialect by the addition of tam (tam modo, inquit Praenestinus, 'e'en now, as Praenestine folk say,' Plaut. Trin. 609).

§§ 14-16] Concessive, Final, Asseverative. 145

merely the Adverb qui of hercle qui, &c. (§ 4) with the Demonstrative suffix -nĕ (so atquin and atqui, alioquin and alioqui, ceteroquin and ceteroqui). Quin in commands, originally with Ind. (and so usually in Plautus), e. g. quin dicis?, then by 'constructio ad sensum' with Imper. (so usually in Terence), e. g. quin dic, is the Adverb qui with the Unterrogative Particle -ne, how not?', 'why not?'. Quin in a sentence like Plaut. Trin. 360:

i. e. 'eumne dicis qui comedit?' &c., is qui Nom. Sg. with the same particle (cf. Mil. 13 quemne ego seruaui? 'you mean the man whose life I saved?'). Nē is I.-Eur. nē, a variety of I.-Eur. ně (§ 1). Nēve adds to this the enclitic -vē, 'or,' which in neu is reduced by Syncope (ch. ii. § 12). For nēdum (especially used by Livy, also by Cicero, but rarely by the other authors) ne alone is occasionally found. An early instance of the word, which is not employed by Plautus, is Ter. Haut. 454:

satrapa si siet amátor, numquam súfferre eius sumptús queat ; nedúm tu possis,

Fuller

lit. 'ne(dum) tu te posse credas, dico satrapam non posse,' or 'satrapa non potest, nondum tu potes,' with which we may compare Plaut. Amph. 330:

uíx incedo inánis, ne ire pósse cum onere exístumes.

Nedum is related to ne, as vixdum to vix, nondum to non; cf. Liv. xxiv. 4. I puerum vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem modice laturum.

§ 16. (15) Asseverative Particles.—Ne (nae), -ne.— $N\bar{e}$ is the better spelling, though there may have been a by-form nae (older *nai), as the cognate Greek word $\nu\dot{\eta}$ had a by-form νai (cf. $\delta\dot{\eta}$ and δai). - $N\check{e}$ affirmative is

found in the Dramatists with Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns, e.g. Plaut. Mil. 565:

égone si post húnc diem muttíuero, etiam quód egomet certó sciam, dato éxcruciandum mé.

(On $n\bar{e}$ and $n\bar{e}$, see § 1; cf. $n\bar{e}$ and $n\bar{e}$ Negative, § 17)

§ 17. (16) Negatives.—In-, ne-, nec, non, haud, ve..-Nĕ- (I.-Eur. nĕ) is prefixed, not only to Verbs, e.g. ne-queo (Engl. can-not), ne-scio, O. Lat. ne-vis (ch vi. § 23), ne-parcunt, &c. (cf. O. Engl. nille, nolde), but also to other parts of speech, e. g. ně-fas, n(e)-utiquam, neüter (nē-, I.-Eur. nē, appears in nēquēquam); in-(I.-Eur. en, Gk. àr-, à-) and vê- (I.-Eur. wĕ), a curtailment of I.-Eur. awĕ (ch. viii. § 2), only to Adjectives 1. Non is O. Lat. noenum (for *nĕ-oinom, i. e. *ne unum, 'not one,' ch. iv. § 4), with the same loss of -um (originally before an initial vowel only) as is seen in nihil from nihilum. Noenu (e.g. Lucr. iii. 199 noenu potest) should be written noenus, and represents *ne unus Nom. Sg. Masc. (cf. demus and demum, ch. vii. § 2). Haud, which is confined within narrower limits than non in O. Lat., being used especially with Adjectives and Adverbs, usually immediately before the negated word, and never in questions, is (like Gk. où) connected with I.-Eur. awe (cf. above), and should properly be spelt aud. The initial h- was added to distinguish the word from aut. (On the O. Lat. by-form hau, used before consonants, e.g. hauscio, see ch. ii. § 9.) Nec in O. Lat. has the sense of non. Thus Catullus (lxiv. 83) uses the phrase funera nec funera to express the Greek τάφοι ἄτοφοι; the Laws of the Twelve Tables had ast ei

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¹ Improbare, infiteri, ignoscere, 'not to notice,' 'to overlook' (cf. Ter. Haul. 218 et cognoscendi et ignoscendi) are seeming exceptions.

custos nec escit (ch. vi. § 4), 'si autem ei custos non erit;' Plautus (Most. 240) has nec recte si illi dixeris. The neg- of negotium, neglego (also spelt neclego) seems to be a trace of this usage.

Interjections.—Many Latin Interjections are borrowed from the Greek, especially the exclamations used at musical or other entertainments, e.g. euge, sophōs, palin, as ours come from the Italian or French, e.g. bravo, da capo, encore. Of genuine Latin words, some are old Imperatives 1, e. g. em, lo, Imper. of emo, I take (cf. em tibi, 'take that!,' 'there's for you!') (cf. § 3 on vel). Em (not to be confused with hem, an Interjection of terror, grief, &c.) was later superseded by $\bar{e}n$ (Gk. $\tilde{\eta}v$), which in the Republican writers is used only in rhetorical questions, e.g. ēn-unquam? Em joined with ille (in the Acc. Case) produced ellum², ellos, &c. of the Comedians. So ecce, an Interjection of similar meaning, from the Pronoun stem ěko-, ěke- (ch. v. § 3), joined with the Acc. of hic (wanting the enclitic -c(e)) produced eccum (for *ecce-hum), eccos (for ecce-hos), &c. Pro (wrongly spelt proh) is the Preposition or Adverb pro (ch. viii. § 30), forth, 'away with it!' Vae, I.-Eur. wai, is the same word as our Noun 'woe.'

The names of deities occur in hercle, me-hercules (sc. juvet), me-dius fidius ('the god of good faith,' from fides), pol (a curtailment of Pollux), &c.; eccere is either an invocation of Ceres, or ecce re, 'lo indeed.'

¹ Our 'lo' is Imper. of 'look.'

² Ello is an Interjection used in parts of Italy at the present day.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF LATIN SOUNDS 1.

§ 1. A. Original or 'Indo-European' a occurs (I) in the First Declension, e.g. Lat. filiā Abl., filiārum, filiābus (ch. iii. § 4), familiās Gen. Sg. (ch. iii. § 4). In the Nom. Sg. -ā was shortened to -ă earlier than the literary period (ch. ii. § 16), e. g. filiă (contrast Gk. $\pi \in \lambda \in (\bar{a})$; and in the Acc. Sg. we have $-\bar{a}m$ not $-\bar{a}m$ (Gk. πελείαν), because a long vowel was always shortened before a final -m in Latin (ch. ii, § 16). (2) In the First Conjugation, e.g. fā-ri (Dor Gk. φāμί), with its Derivatives fā-ma (Dor. Gk. φάμā), fābula. (3) In Verb-roots like gnā-, strā-, developments of the primitive Verb-roots gen-, to produce, ster-, to strew, e.g. Lat. gnā-tus (class. natus), born, produced, strā-tus, strewn. From tel-, to carry, we have tlā-, e. g. lātus for *tlātus; from stěl-, to spread, stlā-, e. g. stlātus, class. lātus, broad, lit. 'spread out' (§ 19). From the older form stlātus came stlāta or stlatta, sc. navis, whence the Adj. stlattarius, 'imported in a stlata navis', used by Juvenal (vii. 134 stlattaria purpura). Other examples are grā- of grā-num from the root ger-, to rub, wear away, make old (Gk. γέρων), crātes from the root cërt-, to bind, weave together. (4) The Noun suffix -tat-, (ch. xi. § 12), e.g. novitās for -tāt-s (ch. iii. § 8), with stem novitāt- (Dor. Gk. νεο-τατ-). (5) The Adj. suffix -aco-, -ac- (ch. xi. § 11), e. g. měracus, vērāx (cf. Gk. véāf). (6) The Ā-Subjunctive (ch. vi. § 13), e. g. lěgāmus, legātis. (7) Words like frāter (cf. Gk. φράτωρ), māter (Dor. Gk. μάτηρ), fāgus, a beech-tree (Dor. Gk. φāγόs), suāvis for *suādvis (Dor. Gk. 'a bús).

Latin ā often represents an original ă, which has been length-

¹ The weakened form of the vowels when unaccented have already been described in ch. ii. §§ 14, 15. Here we are concerned with the true (unweakened) Latin equivalents of the original or Indo-European sounds.

ened, e. g. quālus (older quallus), a basket, for *quăs-lus (cf. quăsillus), hālo for *ănslo (§ 20) from the root an-, to breathe, ans-, to be fragrant.

§ 2. Å. I.-Eur. ă occurs in (1) some Verb-roots, e. g. ag-, to drive, Lat. ăgo (Gk. ἄγω), with lengthened form āg-, Lat. amb-āges, and its Derivatives, agro-, a field, Lat. ăger (Gk. ἄγρόs), lit. 'where oxen are driven in ploughing,' scab-, to scrape, dig, Lat. scăbo (Gk. σκάπτω), with a by-form scöb-, e. g. Lat. scöbis, sawdust, ar-, to plough, Lat. ăro (Gk. ἀρόω), sal-, to leap, Lat. sălio (Gk. ἄλλομαι). (2) The Prepositions ăpŏ (Gk. ἄπο), Lat. ăb, ăp-crio (ch. viii. § 2), ăd (Engl. at), Lat. ăd. (3) Words like sal-, salt, Lat. sal for *sal-s (ch. iii. § 8) with stem săl- (Gk. ἄλ-s), dacru-, a tear, O. Lat. dăcru-ma (Gk. δάκρυ), class. lacruma (ch. ii. § 8), alyo-, other, Lat. dius (Gk. đλλοs).

There was another \check{a} -sound in I.-Eur., which occurred in the weakened forms (§ 12) of Roots with \bar{A} , \bar{E} , \bar{O} . Latin examples are $d\check{a}tus$ (Gk. $\delta\sigma\sigma\dot{o}s$) from the root $d\bar{o}$ -, to give, of Lat. $d\bar{o}$ -num (Gk. $\delta\dot{\iota}$ - $\delta\omega$ - μ , $\delta\dot{\omega}$ - $\rho\sigma\nu$); sătus (Gk. $\dot{\epsilon}\tau\dot{o}s$) from the root sē-, to throw, throw seed, of Lat. sē-men (Gk. $\ddot{\iota}$ - $\tau\mu$ for * $\sigma\dot{\iota}$ - $\tau\mu$, $\dot{\tau}$ - μ); stătus (Gk. $\sigma\tau\dot{\alpha}\tau\dot{o}s$) from the root stā-, to stand, set up, of Lat. stā-re (Dor. Gk. $\ddot{\iota}$ - $\sigma\tau\ddot{a}$ - μ for * $\sigma\iota$ - $\sigma\tau\ddot{a}\mu$). The \check{a} of păter-, Lat. păter ($\pi\ddot{a}\tau\dot{\eta}\rho$), is an \check{a} of this kind, the word being a Derivative from the root $p\bar{a}$ -, to protect, and meaning literally 'the protector'.

Ă occurs after l, m, n, r in the weakened forms of É-roots (§ 12) in frăngo, frăgilis from the root bhrèg-, 'to break', flăgro from the root bhlèg-, to burn (Gk. $\phi \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \omega$), grădus, a step, from the root ghrèdh-, 'to step', &c.

§ 3. E. I.-Eur. ē occurs in (1) Some Verb-roots like sē-, to throw, throw seed, Lat. sē-vi, sē-men, (Gk. ιη-μι, η-μα, § 2), plē-, Lat. im-plēr-e, plē-nus (Gk. πίμ-πλη-μι, πλή-ρηs), a development of the primitive root pel-, to fill, dhe- (dhey-), to suckle, Lat. fe-mina, fe-lo (usually fello) (Gk. $\theta \hat{\eta} - \sigma \theta \alpha i$, $\theta \hat{\eta} - \lambda v s$, $\theta \eta - \lambda \dot{\eta}$), whence $f \bar{\imath}$ -lius for felius (ch. ii. § 15), nē-, to sew, spin, Lat. nē-re, nē-men (Gk. νη̂-ν, νη̂-μα), and other Verbs of the Second Conjugation (see ch. vi. § 3). Lat. $r\bar{e}$ -s is from a root $r\bar{e}$ - $(r\bar{e}y$ -), Lat. $sp\bar{e}s$ from a root $sp(h)\bar{e}$ -(sp(h)ey-) (see ch. iii. § 13). (2) The Optative suffix, -ye-, found in the Sing. Persons of the Athematic Conjugation (ch. vi. § 1), e.g. O. Lat. sies (Gk. είης for *ἐσ-ιη-ς). (3) The Ē-Subjunctive (ch. vi. § 13), e. g. amēs, amē-mus, amē-tis. In 1 Sg. amēm, 3 Sg. amēt (amēt Plaut.), this ē was shortened by the Latin law that a long vowel is shortened before final -m, -t (ch. ii. § 16). It was similarly shortened before -r (ibid.) in the Nom. Sg. of TER-stems (ch. ii. § 16), e. g. pater (Gk. πατήρ), mater (Gk. μητήρ).

Latin & is sometimes due to the fusion of two vowels, e. g. prendo from prehendo, tres from *treyes (§ 13), sometimes to lengthening

by 'Compensation,' e.g. télum, a web, for *tex-lum, venënum for *venës-num (§ 20).

§ 4. É. This was a very common vowel in the I.-Eur. language (§ 12). It occurs, for example, (1) In a large number of Presents of the Thematic Conjugation (ch. vi. §§ 1, 4), e. g. Lat. lego (Gk. λέγω), sequor (Gk. έπομαι). (2) In Neuter ÉS-stems (ch. xi. § 18), e. g. Lat. genus (Gk. γένος), tenus (Gk. τένος) decus (from root decoof decet. (3) In the Reduplication syllable, e. g. Lat. mě-mini (Gk. μέ-μογα). This ě was assimilated in class. Lat. in mō-mordi (older me-mordi), &c. (ch. vi. § 10). (4) In words like the First Pers. Pronoun, Lat. ègo (Gk. èγώ), the Adj. mědhyo-, Lat. mědius (Gk. μέσος, older μέσος), the Numerals 'seven,' 'ten,' Lat. septem, dècem (Gk. έπτά, δέκα). Final δ- was found in (5) Voc. Sg. of O-stems (ch. iii. § 6), e. g. Lat. lupě (Gk. λύκε), (6) 2 Sg. Imperat. Act., e. g. Lat. legě (Gk. λέγε). On the dropping of this ĕ in dīc, dūc, fūc, see ch. ii. § 12.)

Lat. ĕm, ĕn often represents the I.-Eur. M-, N-vowel (in Gk. a, § 12), e. g. in (1) The Acc. Sg. of the Third Decl., e. g. patrem, (for *paterem, ch. iii. § 1) (Gk. πατέρα). (2) The numerals cĕntum (Gk. ἐ-κατόν), septĕm (Gk. ἐπτά), decĕm (Gk. δέκα). (For other examples see § 12.)

Latin & represents I.-Eur. ey before a vowel in & for *&yō, from the root ei-, to go; in the suffix -eus (I.-Eur. -eyos) of words like aureus, &c. (§ 13).

Before v L-Eur. e became ŏ in Latin, e. g. novus (L-Eur. newo-, 'new'). On sŏ- for swe- see § 13.

§ 5. \(\bar{\textsf{I}}\). For examples of I.-Eur. \(\bar{\textsf{v}}\) we may take (\(\bar{\textsf{v}}\)) The Adjective-suffix -\(\bar{\textsf{v}}\), \(\epsilon \) cop-\(\bar{\textsf{v}}\), \(\epsilon \) ee ch. \(\text{xi.} \) \(\bar{\textsf{s}} \), \(\epsilon \), \(\text{cut}\) suffix -\(\bar{\text{i}}\), \(\text{cut}\) of the Athematic Conjugation (ch. vi. \(\bar{\text{s}}\) \(\bar{\text{s}}\), \(\epsilon \), \(\epsilon

Classical Lat. $\bar{\imath}$ comes from earlier ei (§ 17) in words like $d\bar{\imath}co$ from the root deic- (Gk. $\delta\epsilon i \nu \nu \nu \mu$), $f\bar{\imath}do$ from the root bheidh-(Gk. $\pi\epsilon i \theta \nu$), and endings like those of tu-tud- $\bar{\imath}$ Perf. from I.-Eur. -ai (ch. vi. § 10), Corinth- $\bar{\imath}$ Loc. Sg. from I.-Eur. ei- (ch. iii. § 6), populi Nom. Pl. from I.-Eur. -oi (ch. iii. § 6). It is often impossible to decide whether Lat. $\bar{\imath}$ represents an earlier -ei or I.-Eur. $\bar{\imath}$. But the two are distinguished on the earliest inscriptions, till c. 150-B. c.

Lat. i has arisen from a fusion of two vowels in nil, nilum from *në-hilum, 'not a thread' (cf. Lucr. nec proficit hilum), sis for si vis, if you please, and the like, and from lengthening by 'Compen-

sation' in words like nīdus from *nīsdus (Engl. nest), dīduco from dīs-duco.

§ 6. I. K-Eur. i occurs in (1) The Weak form (§ 12) of EI-roots, e.g. Lat. in-dico from the root deic-, to point, say (Lat. dīco, Gk. δείκνυμι), Lat. fīdes (Gk. ξ-πιθ-ον) from the root bheidh-, 'to persuade' (Lat. fīdo, Gk. πείθω), Lat. red-itus from the root ei-, to go (Lat. ī-re, Gk. ε̄-μμ), Lat. mǐ-nu-o (Gk. μΙ-νύ-θω), mīnor, less, from the root mei-, to lessen. (2) The I-stem Declension (ch. iii. § 8), e. g. ovī-s '(Gk. δ(F)ιs), ovī-bus. (3) The Demonstrative and Interrogative (and Indefinite) Pronouns, Lat. i-s, qui-s (ch. v. §§ 3, 6). (4) The Suffix of the Comparative -is- (Gk. Superlative -is-to-, &c.), e. g. Lat. magis, mag-is-ter, min-is-ter i-

§ 7. Ō. I.-Eur, ō occurs in (1) Verb-roots like dō-, to give, Lat. dō-num, dō-s (Gk. δί-δω-μι, δῶ-ρον), pō-, to drink, Lat. pō-tus, pō-culum (Gk. πέ-πω-κα), gnō-, to know, Lat. gno-tus, gnō-sco, class. nō-tus, nō-sco (Gk. γνω-τόs, γι-γνώ-σκω), a development of the primitive root gĕn-, to know. But we have no Ō-Conjugation in Latin (cf. aegrōtus) as we have an Ā-Conjugation, e. g. stā-re from root stā-, and an Ē-Conjugation, e. g. plē-re from root plē-. (2) I Sg. Pres. Ind. of the Thematic Conjugation (ch. vi. § 1), e. g. Lat. legō (Gk. λέγω), O. Lat. sequōr, class. sequòr (ch. ii. § 16). (3) Nom. Sg. of R-, N-, S-stems, e. g. O. Lat. da-tōr (ch. ii. § 1), class. datòr (cf. Gk. δώ-τωρ), honōs (cf. Gk. alδώs), homō (cf. Gk. κύων). This ō is continued through the oblique cases in datōris, datōri, &c., honōris, honōri, &c., ratiōnis, ratiōni, &c. (4) Abl. Sg. of O-stems, e. g. Lat. agrō from -ōd (ch. iii. § 6).

An I.-Eur. ō, which was a by-form of ōu (§ 11), appears in ōs, the face, mouth, ōs-culum (with a by-form aus-culum, Plaut.). Latin ō has arisen by fusion of vowels in cō-pula for cò-ăpula, from O. Lat. apio, to tie, fasten, with Part. aptus, fit, cōgo from cǒ(m) and ăgo, cōpia from co- and -opia (cf. in-ŏpia), and from the lengthening of ŏ by 'Compensation' in pōno for *po-s(i)no, from the Preposition (a)pŏ (ch. viii. § 2) and sino (cf. pŏ-sŏtus), pōne, behind, for *pos-nŏ (ch. viii. § 27).

\(\bar{\textit{0}}\) (open o, ch. ii. \\$ 2) is the rustic form of au in plostrum for plaustrum, Cl\(\bar{o}\) dius for Claudius; and Lat. \(\bar{o}\) of r\(\bar{o}\) bus, &c., represents I.-Eur. ou (\\$ 11).

§ 8. Σ. I.-Eur. ŏ occurs in (1) The O-grade of Ě-roots (§ 12), e. g. Lat. dŏmus (Gk. δόμοs) from the root dem-, to build, tŏga, from the root teg-, to cover. (2) The O-grade of Ă-roots, e. g. Lat. scŏbis, saw-

¹ In the Oscan and Umbrian dialects the words corresponding to Lat. *magister* and *minister* were used as Comparatives, 'greater,' 'less.'

dust, from the root scab, to scrape, dig (Lat. scabo, Gk. σκάπτω).
(3) The O-Declension with Nom. -ös, M., -öm N. (Gk. -os, -oν), O. Lat. -ös, -öm, e. g. O. Lat. Luciös, donöm, class. Lat. rivos, but Luciüs, donüm (ch. ii. § 14). (4) The Nom. Sg. of Neut. ÉS-stems, e. g. O. Lat. opös, Venös (cf. Gk. γένοs), class. opüs, Venüs, genüs (ch. ii. § 14). (5) The Thematic Vowel, e. g. 3 Pl. -ont(i), O. Lat. cosentiont, class. consentiunt (ch. ii. § 14). (6) Words like the Numeral 'eight,' the Noun 'master,' Lat. ŏcto (Gk. δπτώ), pötis, able (Gk. πόσιs, master), the Prepositions 'forth' and 'with,' Lat. prö-ficiscor, cŏm-es.

Before v Lat. δ became \tilde{a} , e. g. cavus, older corus, lavo (Gk. $\lambda o \acute{\nu} \omega$). So apparently $\tilde{\sigma}$ became \tilde{a} in octavus from octo.

After initial v Lat. ŏ became ĕ in the middle of the second century B c., e.g. versus, older vorsus. Scipio Africanus Minor is said to have brought the new spelling into fashion.

§ 9. $\overline{\mathbf{U}}$. I.-Eur. $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$ occurs generally in the grade of a EU-root, as I.-Eur. $\overline{\mathbf{l}}$ in the grade of an EI-root, e. g. dhūmo-, 'smoke,' Lat. fūmus (Gk. $\theta\overline{\mathbf{u}}\mu\delta\mathbf{s}$), from the root dheu-, 'to move violently,' mūs-, 'a mouse,' Lat. $m\overline{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{s}$ (Gk. $\mu\widehat{\mathbf{v}}\mathbf{s}$).

Class. Lat. \bar{u} may represent I.-Eur. eu as well as \bar{u} . It may also stand for earlier Lat. eu, a weakening of I.-Eur. au, e. g. defrūdo from de and fraudo (ch. ii. § 14), &c. But in the older language, till c. 150 B. c., eu is always written ou, e. g. douco (I.-Eur. eu) for class. dūco. (Cf. the similar account of $\bar{\imath}$ and ei, § 11.) \bar{U} represents \bar{u} lengthened by 'Compensation' in dūmus from dūsmus, a bush.

§ 10. Ŭ. I.-Eur. ŭ occurs generally in the weak grade of a EUroot, as I.-Eur. ĭ in the weak grade of an EI-root, e. g. yŭgo- Neut., 'a yoke,' with yüg-, the weak grade of the root yeug-, 'to join.' Latin examples are jügum, dŭx from dūco (root deuc-), inclūtus (Gk. κλῦτόs) from the root cleu-. I.-Eur. ŭ appears in the declension of U-stems, e. g. artŭs Nom. Sg., artŭm Acc. Sg., artŭbus Dat. Pl.; in the Prepositions ŭpŏ (Lat. s-ub, ch. viii. § 37), ŭpĕr (Lat. s-ūper, ch. viii. § 38), &c.

§ 11. The Diphthongs. The I.-Eur. diphthongs appear in Latin in the process of reduction to simple vowels. By Cicero's time ae (from I.-Eur. ai) and au are the only survivors, and even they tend in rustic or colloquial speech to single sounds, \bar{e} , \bar{o} , e.g. 'Cecilius,' $pl\bar{o}strum$ (ch. ii. § 2); ei (whether I.-Eur. ei or the reduction in the unaccented syllable of I.-Eur. ai, oi, ch. ii. § 14) had become $\bar{\imath}$ in the beginning of the second century B. c.; eu (whether I.-Eur. eu or the unaccented form of I.-Eur. au, ch. ii. § 14), which appears on early inscriptions as ou, had become \bar{u} at the end of the third century B. c. I.-Eur. ou became a slightly different sound, which came to be written \bar{o} or \bar{u} . I.-Eur. oi passed (through oe) into \bar{u} at the beginning of the second century B. c., though oe was retained in

some words of the official or legal style, like foedus, a treaty (cf. poena, a Gk. loan-word), and poetical words like amoenus, foedus, foul.

The long diphthongs, which were not common in I.-Eur., had some of them 'doublet'-forms (ch. ii. § 9) even in the I.-Eur. period; e. g. §i appeared as §i or § (e. g. r§s, Lat. r§s), §u as §u or § (e. g. §ktő, Lat. $ct\~o$). In Latin, when they were followed by a Consonant, the long element must have been shortened by the rule that any long vowel was shortened before y, w, n, m, l, r, &c. followed by a consonant¹; when final, the second element might be suppressed, just as in later times a short final vowel was suppressed after a long syllable in words like exemplār(e), nēv(e) (ch. ii. § 12).

Examples are: (1) ai. Lat. aedes, lit. 'where the fire is kept up,' from the root aidh-, 'to burn' (Gk. a'\(\theta\)\(\omega\)\(\omega\)\). The 1 Sg. Perf. Middle ended in -ai, whence Latin (unaccented) -ei, e. g. dedei, later -i, dedī (ch. vi. \(\frac{1}{2}\)\ 10); the Dat. Sg. of Cons. stems had the same ending, e. g. O. Lat. IVNONEI, class. Junonī (ch. iii. \(\frac{1}{2}\)\ 8).

- (2) au. Lat. augeo from the root aug-, 'to grow,' 'be strong' (Gk. avfw); Lat. au-t, au-tem from I.-Eur. au (Gk. av) (ch. ix. § 3; cf. the Prep. au- of au-fugio, ch. viii. § 2).
- (3) ei. Lat. dīco, older deico, from the root deic-, to show, say (Gk. δείκνυμ); fīdo, older feido, from the root bheidh-, 'to trust,' 'cause to trust' (Gk. πείθω).
- (4) eu. Lat. dūco, older douco, from the root deuc-, to lead (Germ. ziehen); ūro, older *ouso, from the root eus-, to burn (Gk. εὕω for *εὕhω).
- (5) oi. Lat. unus, older oinos, oenus, from I. Eur. oinos (Gk. οἶνη, the ace); munus from moin- (Germ. ge-mein); utor from the O-grade of the root eit- (Gk. οἶτος); cunae from the O-grade of root kei-, 'to lie' (Gk. κοῖ-τη beside κεῖ-μαι). The Nom. Plur. Masc. of the Second Declension ended in -oi, which, being unaccented, became in Latin -ei, e. g. populei, later -ī, populē (ch. iii. § 6).
- (6) ou. Lat. bōbus, būbus, Dat. Pl. of the stem gwow-, an ox (ch. iii. § 10); rōdus, rūdus (also raudus), unhewn stone, rough metal, &c. from the O-grade of the root reudh-, 'to be red,' whence also rōbus, rōbigo; nūtrix, older nōtrix, from the O-grade of root neud-. When ou arose in Latin from Syncope, it is treated like I.-Eur. ou. e.g. nuntius, older nontius, from noventius; nundinae, older nondinae, from *novem-dinae.
 - (7) -āi. Lat. aevum (Gk. al(F) dv) perhaps represents I.-Eur. $\bar{a}iw$ -.

¹ Thus ventus comes from ve- (Gk. $\ddot{a}(F)\eta$ - μ , to blow); lentus is a cognate of lenis.

- I.-Eur. -āi was the ending of the Dat. Sg. of the First Declension (Gk. $\chi \omega \rho q$), and became in O. Lat. -ā as well as -ai (ch. iii. § 4).
- (8) au. I.-Eur. au of the stem nau-, 'a ship' (Hom. Gk. $\nu\eta\hat{v}s$), appears in Latin before a consonant as au (the ordinary diphthong), e.g. nau-fragus, nau-stibulum; so perhaps the au of I.-Eur. klau-, 'a key,' in claudo.
- (9) §i. The doublet-form § (see above) appears in Lat. res, spes (ch. iii. § 13), and Locatives of the Fifth Declension like die (crastini) (ch. vii. § 13).
- (10) §u. I.-Eur. §u appeared in the Nom. Sg. dyĕus, 'the sky,' which should have as Latin equivalent, -ous (class. -ūs) from -ĕus. Latin diĕs however shows the vocalism of the I.-Eur. Acc. Sg. dyĕm (Gk. $Z\hat{\eta}\nu$ -a, Lat. diĕm from diĕm, ch. ii. § 16).
- (11) ōi. I.-Eur. ōi, the ending of the Dat. Sg. of the Second Declension, appeared in O. Lat. as ō or oi (ch. iii. § 6).
- (12) ōu. The doublet-form ō (see above) appears in Lat. ' Dual' ō of duō, ambō, octō (ch. iii. § 1). On bōs (I.-Eur. gwōus) see ch. iii. § 10.
- § 12. Vowel-Gradation. A root like pet- of Gk. πέτεσθαι, to fly, appears in the form pt- in Gk. πτέσθαι, the shorter form being a syncopated form of the other due to loss of accent in the I.-Eur. period. Similarly the root ei-, 'to go' (Gk. εl-σι, Lat. it, older ei-t, ch. vi. § 20), loses the ĕ of the diphthong in the Perf. Part. Pass. 1-to- (Gk. &-170s, Lat. -itis), where the accent falls on the suffix; and eu becomes ŭ, through loss of accent, in I.-Eur. bhŭgå, 'flight' (Gk. φυγή, Lat. fuga) from bheúgō, 'I flee' (Gk. φεύγω); while en, em, er, el, similarly reduced, appear before a vowel as n, m, r, l, e.g. Gk. γί-γν-ο-μαι, Lat. gi-gn-ō, beside Gk. γέν-ος, Lat. genus, but before a consonant, on, om, or, ol, reduced sounds which in Greek appear as a, ρa, λa, e. g. φατός from φεν-, to kill, δρακών from δερκ, to glance, in Latin as en, em, ol, or, e.g. tentus (Gk. τα-τός) from ten-, 'to stretch,' cor for cord (ch. ii. § 9) (Gk. κραδίη, καρδία). These reduced forms pt, bhug, ton, &c., are called the 'weak' grades of these E-roots pet-, bheug-, ten-. When the root had a long vowel, the weak grade shows in Latin the vowel ă, in Greek the short form of the vowel of the root, e.g. da-tus (Gk. δο-τός) from the root do-, 'to give' (Lat. do-num, Gk. δω-ρον), să-tus (Gk. έ-τός) from the root sē-, 'to throw seed' (Lat. sē men, Gk. ημα for *σημα), stă-tus (Gk. στα-τός) from the root stā-, 'to stand, set up' (Lat. stā-men, Gk. στή-μων).

E-roots had beside a 'weak grade' also an 'O-grade,' e. g. dŏmŏ'a house' (Gk. δόμος) from the root dĕm-, 'to build' (Gk. δέμω).

Latin examples of the O-grade are domus; procus, a suitor, from the root prec-, to ask (Lat. precor); toga, from the root teg-, to cover (Lat. tego); moneo, from the root men-, to remember (Lat. me-min-i from

*me-men-ei); torreo, from the root ters-, to be dry (Gk. $\tau \ell \rho \sigma o \mu a \iota$) They had also a 'long grade',' sometimes with ē, e. g. I.-Eur. rēg-, 'a king' (Lat. rēx), sometimes with ō, e. g. I.-Eur. bhōr-, 'a thief' (Gk. $\phi d \rho \rho$).

These Gradations of Vowels are seen not only in root-syllables, but in Suffixes. For example, the appearence of -ë in the Voc. Sing. of O-stems (Lat. equë, Gk. $i\pi\pi\epsilon$) and the alternation of -os Nom. Acc. Sg. with -es- in the other cases of Neuter ES-stems (Gk. $\gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon(\sigma)$ -os, $\gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon(\sigma)$ -i, &c.; Lat. gen-us, gen-er-is, gen-er-i from *gen-os, *gen-es-es, *gen-es-ai, &c. ch. iii. § 8) are parallel to the variation of ĕ and ŏ in dĕmō and dŏmŏs. Similarly -ēn, -ōn (with -ĕn, -ŏn) in the declension of N-stems (see ch. iii. § 8), -ēr, -ōr (with -ĕr, -ŏr) in the declension of R-stems are parallel to the variation of ĕ with ē and ō in rĕgō and rēg-s, bhĕrō and bhōr(s).

§ 13. Y, W. I.-Eur. y is Latin j, which had the sound of our y (ch. ii. § 3', e. g. jugum (I.-Eur. yŭgŏm, Gk. $\langle \nu\gamma \acute{\nu}\nu \rangle$). In the middle of a word after a consonant this became the vowel i^2 , e. g. medius (I.-Eur. mědhyŏs, Gk. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma(\sigma)os$). In Jupiter, Jovem Acc. (O. Lat. Diovem), the j has come from I.-Eur. dy-, but after other initial consonants the y was dropped, e.g. suo for *syuo (Engl. 'sew'); heri for *hyesi (Gk. $\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}s$). Between vowels y was dropped in Latin, e. g. trēs from I.-Eur. trēyės; formō for formā(y)ō like Gk. $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\pi}(y)\omega$ (ch. vi. § 2).

I.-Eur. w is Latin v, which had the sound of our w (ch. ii. § 3), e.g. vidi from root weid-, 'to see, know' (Gk. $(F)oi\delta a$, Engl. wit). Initial dv- became b, e.g. bellum (older duellum), bonus (older duonus), bis (older duis; cf. duo). Initial swe- became soider soider, e.g. soror from I.-Eur. swesor (Gk. topes Pl.). Before u, v was dropped in the ending vus; e.g. divus (older deivus) became vus vus

§ 14. M, N. I.-Eur. m, n remain unchanged in Latin, e.g. m in mater (I.-Eur. māter-); medius (I.-Eur. mědhyo-); -m (Gk. - ν) of the Acc. Sing. and Gen. Plur., e.g. terram, dominum, terrarum, dominorum; n in norus (I.-Eur. něwo-); nāvis (I.-Eur. nāu-).

Lat. em, en often represent not I.-Eur. m, n but I.-Eur. em, en (Gk. ă) in the weak grade (§ 12) of E-roots, e. g. tentus (Gk. $\tau a - \tau o s$),

¹ This grade is thought to have arisen from the suppression of a following short vowel, e. g. rēg-s Nom. Sg. from an older rĕg-ŏ-s, bhōr(s) Nom. Sg. from an older bhŏr-ŏ-s.

² Cf. etiam for et jam, nunciam for nunc jam.

³ In Gk. -py- became πτ, so that Latin Verbs in -pio, e. g. sapio, correspond to Gk. Verbs in -πτω, e. g. τύπτω, χαλέπτω.

- I.-Eur. to stretch; '-em of the Acc. Sg. of Consonant stems, e.g. patrem (Gk. πατέρα). Thus -men of the Nom. Acc. Sg. Neut. is I.-Eur. -mon, e.g. sēmen (Gk. ħμα).
- § 15. L, R. I.-Eur. l, r remain unchanged in Latin, e. g. linquo from the root leiqu- (Gk. $\lambda\epsilon(\pi\omega)$; rego from the root reg- (Gk. δ - $\rho\epsilon\gamma\omega$); rüber from I.-Eur. rüdhro- (Gk. $\dot{\epsilon}$ - $\rho\bar{\nu}\theta\rho\delta$ s).
- Lat. δl, δr are representatives of I.-Eur. •l, •r in the 'weak grade' (§ 12) of E-roots, e. g. pulsus, older *poltos (Gk. παλτόs), from the root pel-; cor, older cord- (Gk. κραδίη, καρδία); fors from I.-Eur. bh•r-ti- (O. Engl. gebyrd, 'fate') from the root bher- (Lat. fero); cornus, cornel (Gk. κράνοs).
- § 16. P, B, BH. I.-Eur. p is Lat. p, e. g. pecu (I.-Eur. pĕku-, Germ. Vieh, 'cattle'); septem (I.-Eur. sĕptem, Gk. $\ell\pi\tau\dot{a}$). P becomes m before n or m, e. g. somnus for *sop-nos (cf. sop-or). I.-Eur. b is Lat. b, e.g. bibo (for *pibo, by Assimilation; I.-Eur. pibō. Before n or m Lat. b became m, e.g. scamnum for *scāb-num (cf. scābellum). I.-Eur. bh, when initial, became Lat. f, when medial b, e. g. fero (I.-Eur. bhĕrō, Gk. $\phi \ell \rho \omega$, Engl. bear); frater (cf. I.-Eur. bhrātor-, Gk. $\phi \rho d\tau \omega \rho$, Engl. brother); nebula (Gk. $\nu \epsilon \phi \ell \lambda \eta$). A good example of f and b is the word for a beaver, fiber (I.-Eur. bhĕbhru-).
- § 17. T, D, DH. I.-Eur. t is Lat. t, e.g. ten-tus from the root ten-, 'to stretch.' Before l it was dropped when initial, e.g. lātus, carried, for *tlatus, P. P. P. of fero, tuli; but became c when medial; thus the suffix -tlo- (ch. xi. § 9) became -clo- in Latin, e.g. cubiclum or cubiculum. I.-Eur. d is Lat. d, e. g. decem (I.-Eur. děkem, Gk. δέκα). (On l for d in lingua, earlier dingua, &c., see ch. ii. § 8.) Final -d was dropped after a long vowel toward the end of the third cent. B. C., though it is found in Plautus in med, ted, sed (class. me, te, se), as well as haud (ch. ii. § 9; ch. iii. § 4). Final-nt became Lat. -ns, e. g. quotiens (ch. iv. § 4). I.-Eur. dh became f in Latin, which in proximity to r became b; but in the middle of a word between vowels d is found; e. g. fumus, I.-Eur. dhūmo- (Gk. θυμός); rūber (stem rūbro-), I.-Eur. rŭdhrŏ-, (Gk. έ-ρυθρός); fīdo, I.-Eur. bheidhō (Gk. πείθω for *φειθω). A good example of f and d is fă-c-io beside con-do, both from the root dhe- of Gk. τί-θη-μι (ch. vi. § 23). T, d or dh before t became a sibilant, Lat. ss, e. g. Lat passus, for *pat-tus, from patior; egressus, for *egred-tus, from egredior; confisus (older confissus, ch. ii. § 9) with -ss- from -dht-.
- § 18. K, G, GH. We must distinguish in I.-Eur. (1) The Palatals, k, g, gh, e.g. kentom, 'hundred' (Lat. centum, Gk. ξ-κατόν), for which some I.-Eur. languages have a Sibilant. (2) The Gutturals Proper, k, g, gh, e.g. kërt-, 'to plait' (Lat. crātes, cartilāgo, Gk. κάρταλος, basket), which remain Gutturals in all I.-Eur. languages. (3) Labio-

velars, qⁿ, g^w, gh^w, e.g. qⁿetwor-, 'four' (Lat. quattuor, Gk. τέσσαρες), qⁿo-, the Relative (Lat. qui, quō, &c.; Gk- ποῦ), which become Labials in some languages.

I.-Eur. Palatal k, g, gh are Latin c, g, h, e. g. centum, gnōsco (Gk. γιγνώσκω), hortus (Gk. χόρτος). The I.-Eur. Gutturals Proper, k, g, gh are likewise Latin c, g, h, e. g. crātes, jugum (Gk. (υγόν), hostis (Engl. guest). I.-Eur. Labiovelar q is Latin qu, e. g. quattuor, qui; gw is Latin v, but after a consonant gu, and before a consonant g. e. g. vīvus (I.-Eur. gwīwo-), venio (Gk. βαίνω, Engl. 'come'); unguo from the root ongw-; agnus (I.-Eur. agwno-, Gk. ἀμνός for *άβνος): ghw is Lat. f, when initial, but between vowels v, after a consonant gu, and before a consonant g. e. g. formus (I.-Eur. ghwormo-; cf. Gk. θερμός); nivem Acc. Sg. (Gk. νίφα) and ninguit, both from the root (s)neighw-, 'to snow,' be wet, whence Engl. 'snow.'

Lat. c became g before n, e. g. ilignus from ilex. Initial gn became n at the beginning of the second century B. c., e. g. $(g)n\bar{o}sco$ (cf. co-gnosco), (g)natus (cf. co gnatus).

§ 19. S. I.-Eur. s remains in Latin, e. g. septem (I.-Eur. septem, Gk. $\epsilon \pi r \dot{a}$), but between vowels took the soft or voiced sound (as in our Verb 'use,' while our Noun 'use' has the hard or unvoiced sound) and passed in the fourth cent. B. c. into r^1 , e. g. $-\bar{a}rum$ from earlier $-\bar{a}s\bar{o}m$ in the Gen. Pl. of the First Declension (ch. iii. § 4), generis from *genesės (Gk. $\gamma \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\epsilon}(\sigma)$ os), arboris from *arbosės. Before a consonant like d, l, m, n, the s was dropped, e. g. $n\ddot{u}rus$ from I.-Eur. snuso- (Gk. $\nu \dot{\nu} \dot{\nu} \dot{\nu}$), with lengthening of the preceding vowel, e. g. $n\bar{u}\dot{u}s$ from nisdo- (Engl. nest). Before r in the middle of a word s became b, e. g. sobrinus for *sučsrinus from I.-Eur. swesor-, 'a sister.' After r and l it was assimilated, e. g. porrum from *porsum (Gk. $\pi \rho \dot{u}\sigma \dot{\nu} \dot{\nu}$), collum for colso- (Germ. Hals).

In early Latin we find a group stl- at the beginning of a few words corresponding to class. l; e. g. stlis (also stis) was the old form of lis, retained in the legal phrase decenviri stlitibus judicandis in Cicero's time (Cic. Or. 46. 156); stlocus and slocus, of locus; stlātus, of lātus, broad (§ 1).

§ 20. Consonant Groups. The difficulty of pronouncing certain consonant-groups often led to a consonant being dropped or else assimilated to its neighbour.

¹ See ch. i. § 5. Livy speaking of Sp. Furius Fusus, the consul of 464 B. c., says that some of the early historians spelt the name Fusio- (iii. 4. I Furios 'Fusios' scripsere quidam). The only instances in classical Latin of intervocalic s are (1) words where ss originally stood, e. g. formosus, (2) loan-words, e. g. gaesum (Gaulish).

We have just had one instance, stl- and sl- becoming l-. Similarly gn- became n- in the middle of the second century B.C., e.g. natus, older gnatus. Examples of the loss of a consonant in a group (cf. our 'hal(f)penny,' 'Satur(n)day,' 'be(t)st,' 'cas(t)le,' 'go(d)spel') are:—

- (1) 1(c)t, 1(c)s, r(c)t, r(c)s, r(t)c, s(c)t, c(t)s, r(t)s or r(d)s, e.g. ultus for *ulctus, mulsi for *mulcsi, fortis, O. Lat. forctis and forctus, tortus for *torctus, torsi for *torcsi, corculum for *cort-culum from cor(d), pastum for *pasctum, now for *nocts, ars for *arts, arsi for *ardsi.
- (2) r(g)n, r(g)m, r(d)n, r(b)m, e.g. urna for *urgna (cf. urceus), tormentum for *torgmentum from torqueo, orno for *ordno (cf. ordino), sarmentum for *sarbmentum from sarpo.
- (3) (t)sc, (c)sc, (p)sp, (p)st, (p)sc, (s)ps, (n'gn, (r)st, (r)sc, e.g. esca for *etsca from ĕdo, disco for *dicsco (cf. di-dic-i), asporto for *apsporto from abs and porto, ostendo for *opstendo from obs and tendo (but obstinatus), Oscus, older Opscus (Obscus), ipse for *is-pse, ignis for *engnis (I.-Eur. engni-), fastigium for *farstigium (Engl. bristle), Tuscus from *Turscus.
- (4) (c)sn or (g)sn, (c)sl or (g)sl, (c)sm or (g)sm, e.g. luna for *lusna from *lucsna, telum for *teslum from *tecslum, ala for *asla from *acsla, subtemen for *subtesmen from *subtesmen.

The loss of a consonant in a group is often really due to Assimilation. Thus the loss of s in hordeum for *hors-deum (Germ. Gerste) cannot be separated from the assimilation of s to r in the group rs, e.g. horreo for *horseo. Examples of Assimilation are furnished by the Preposition in Compounds, e.g. pc, oc-caeco, suc-curro, pf, of-ficio, bg, suggero, &c., &c. This Assimilation of the Preposition was the rule in Early Latin; e.g. Plautus

§ 20]

puns on assum, 'I am here' and assum, 'roasted' in Poen. 279:

Mílphio, heus ubi tu és? Assum apud te eccum. Át ego elixus sís uolo;

but the introduction of grammatical studies brought in the fashion of writing the Preposition in its independent form, ad-sum, &c. Other examples of Assimilation of Consonants are: 1d, percello for *per-celdo (cf. clādes); In, collis (cf. Gk. κολωνός)¹; 1s, collum (Germ. Hals). When s was assimilated to a following voiced consonant the consonant was at first written double, e.g. quallus from *quāslus (cf. quasillus²), but afterwards single, the vowel being lengthened by 'Compensation,' quālus. So aula and olla (older aulla) for *auxla (cf. auxella); vēlum (older vellum) for *vexlum (cf. vexillum); anhelus (older anhellus) for *an-enslus (ch. ii. § 15).

Ulna had originally a vowel between l and n (cf. Gk ἀλένη).

² The Diminutive quasillus was a recent formation, made after the .Phonetic Law, by which s became between vowels r in Latin (§ 19), had ceased to act.

CHAPTER XI.

FORMATION OF WORDS.

I. NOUN- AND ADJECTIVE-STEMS.

- § 1. Stem-suffixes. For the forming of words we find sounds combined into 'roots,' and these developed into 'stems.' Thus the sounds t, e, and g are combined into the root tåg-, 'to cover' (Lat. teg-o, teg-men, tectus for *teg-tus, tog-a with Ö-grade of root, ch. x. § 12), which is further developed into the stems tögā- (Lat. Nom. Sg. togā, earlier togā, Gen. Pl. togā-rum, &c.), tegmen- (Lat. Nom. Sg. tegminis, earlier *teg-men-es, &c.) by the addition to the root of the stem-suffixes -ā-, -men-. It is these stem-suffixes, used in the making of Nouns and Adjectives, which will be treated in §§ 2-19.
- § 2. (1) -Ŏ-, -Ā-. -Ŏ-, which should rather be called the Ě-Ŏsuffix, since it alternates with -ĕ- (e.g. I.-Eur. Voc. Sg. of Masc. Ö-stems ended in -ĕ, e.g. ekwĕ, 'O horse,' Lat. equĕ), was associated with the Masc. and Neut. Gender. -A-, which should rather be called the A-suffix, since it alternates with a (e.g. I.-Eur. Voc. Sg. of Fem. A-stems ended in -ă, e.g. ekwă, 'O mare') was associated with the Fem. Gender. Hence the O- and A-suffixes were used in Adjectives, e.g. I.-Eur. newo- Masc. and Neut., newa- Fem. (Lat. novos, novom, nova). The A-suffix is very common in Abstract Nouns (Nomina Actionis), e.g. I.-Eur. bhugā 'the action of fleeing' (Gk. φυγή), Lat. fuga, from the weak grade (ch. x. § 12) of the root bheug-, 'te flee' (Gk. φεύγω; cf. Lat. fugio). The O-suffix is used in a great variety of ways. An example of its use in Nomina Agentis is Lat. procus, a suitor, from the O-grade (ch. x. § 12) of the root prek-, 'to ask' (cf. Lat. precor). Other examples of the suffix are: parcus. sparing, from parco, I spare; dolus, a statagem, from the O-grade of a root del-, 'to deceive'; jugum, a yoke, from the weak grade of the root yeug-, 'to join.'
- § 3. (2) -IŎ-, -IĀ- (-YŎ-, -YĀ-). These I.-Eur, suffixes were used to form (a) Verbal Adjectives, especially Gerundives, the Neuter and Fem. being often employed as Verbal Nouns, e.g. socius from the O-

grade of the root sequ-'to accompany' (Lat. sequor); eximius, which had originally the sense of eximendus (e.g. Ter. Hec. 66: utin eximium neminem habeam? 'am I to make no exception?'); studium from studeo; exuviae from exuo; pluvia from pluo. (b) Adjectives derived from Nouns, especially Compound Adjectives, the Neuter and Fem. being often used as Abstract Nouns, e.g. patrius from pater; somnium, a dream, from somnus, sleep; falsi-jurius from falsus and jus; jur(i)gium from jus and ago; litigium from lis and ago; judicium from pus and dico; aedificium from aedes and facio; vindēmia from vinum and demo. (c) Adjectives which have a sense of comparison or distinction, indicating a special locality, direction, &c. e.g. I.-Eur. mědhyo-(Gk. $\mu\ell(\sigma)\sigma\sigma$ s), Lat. medius; I.-Eur. šlyo- (Gk. ālos), Lat. alius. Gk. $\delta\epsilon\ell$ is has this suffix, while Lat. dexter (Gk. $\delta\epsilon\ell$ ite ρ s) has the TERO-suffix, which has the same force (§ 8). Also some Ordinal Numbers, e.g. Lat. tertius.

A notable use of this suffix in Latin is in the formation of Proper Names. While in all, or most, of the other L.-Eur. languages Compounds were used for Proper Names, the son taking a Compound slightly varied from the father's (e.g. Gk. Δινο-κράτης, son of Δινο-κλῆς, Germ. Walt-bert, son of Wald-ram), the Latins used simple stems with this IO-suffix, e. g. Lūcius, Stātius, which correspond to some contracted or pet-names in the other L.-Eur. nations, e. g. Gk. Ζευξίας, for the more ceremonious Ζεύξ-ιππος, Λεῦκις beside Λεύκ-ιππος.

The ending -eus (from -e-yo-s) arose from the addition of this IO-suffix to O-stems, e.g. aureus, made of gold, from aurum (stem auro-, aure-, gold), and came to acquire the sense of material, 'made of,' 'composed of.' It was in time assigned to any stem; e.g. in flammeus. made of fire, it is added to an A-stem; in viteus, made of a vine, to an I-stem; in corneus, made of horn, to a U-stem. The ending -tōrium, which arose from the addition of the IO-suffix to TER-stems (see below), indicated the place or instrument of an action, e. g. auditorium, 'the place of hearing,'deversorium for *devert-torium (ch. x. § 17), 'a lodging-place,' scalp-torium, 'an instrument for scratching,' and corresponds to Gk. -τηριον of βουλευ-τήριον, έργασ-τήριον, both indicating place, καυσ-τήριον, 'instrument for burning,' κρι-τήριον, 'means of judging.' Similarly we have -monium, -monia from MENstems (see below), e.g. ali-monia and ali-monium (cf. ali-men-tum), flamonium from flamen, an ending extended to tristi-monia, sancti-monia, &c. A common ending of Abstract Nouns is -ttia (often -ities, ch. iii. § 13), e.g. lactitia from lactus (stem lacto-), -itium, e.g. servitium from servus (stem servo-), flagitium, lanitium. These are formed on the type of militia from miles (stem milit-). From N-stems we have, e. g. cŏlōnia, in O. Lat. 'a dwelling place' (Plaut. Aul. 576: ut conmutet coloniam). § 4. (3) -UŎ-, -UĀ- (-WŎ-, -WĀ-). This suffix is much used

in Adjectives denoting colour, e.g. helvus (Engl. yellow from I.-Eur. ghel-wo-), furvus (older *fus-uos; cf. fus-cus; on the change of s to r see ch. x. § 10), flavus, ravus. Greek Verbal Adjectives in -760s for -τε Fos, with Gerundive force, e.g. διωκτέος, requiring to be pursued. capable of being pursued, are in Latin represented by formations in -uus, e. g. caeduus, excipuus, praecipuus, conspicuus, pascuus, and aruus (Plaut. Truc. 149: non aruos hic sed pascuos ager est; whence arvum), while another class of Verbal Adjectives, derived from Verbal Noun TI-stems (see below) and denoting state or condition, end in -tivus, e.g. furtivus from the Verbal Noun-stem furti-, of which the Acc. Sg. survives in the Adverb furtim (ch. vii. § 3), nativus, captivus, votivus. Examples of Adjectives with the UO-suffix derived from Nouns are: annuus from annus; Minerva (O. Lat. Menerua of four syllables) for *Menes-ua from I.-Eur. měnos Neut. (stem měněs-), 'intelligence' (Gk. μένος); strēnuus (cf. Gk. στρηνος, health); patruus from pater.

§ 5. (4) -NÖ-, -NĀ-. This I.-Eur. suffix was chiefly used in the formation of Verbal Adjectives, usually with the force of a Perfect Participle Passive, e.g. Lat. plenus, lit. 'filled,' donum, lit. 'a thing given.' In Greek we find some Adjectives of Time in -twos, derived from a Locative Case ending in i, e.g. χειμερι-νός, ἐαρι-νός, ἐσπερι-νός, and correspondingly in Latin hibernus, vernus, vesperna, the evening meal. Adjectives in -inus in Latin, like fāginus, juncinus show an I.-Eur. suffix -ĭno-, denoting material or origin, e.g. Gk. φήγ-τνος, made of beech-wood, βύβλινος, made of papyrus, &c. The suffix -īvos in Greek, denoting species, occurs frequently with the names of animals, e. g. δελφακ-ίνη from δέλφαξ, κορακ-ίνος from κόραξ; and similarly in Latin we have bovinus, equinus, suinus (Engl. swine), fibrinus, &c., the feminine often being employed with ellipse of caro, flesh, e.g. vitulina, veal, suina, pork. Latin -īnus is often due to the addition of the NO-suffix to IO-stems, e.g. Latinus from Latium (though, when the suffix -ino-, and not -no-, is added, we have -ienus, e.g. alienus, from alius, laniena from lanius), or to I-stems, e. g. marinus from mare, piscina from piscis. The suffix -tinus of diu-tinus, cras-tinus, pris-tinus, &c., is more strictly the second part of a Compound than a suffix, representing a word for 'time' derived from the root ten-, 'to stretch,' just as -gnus of privignus, represents a word derived from the root gen-, 'to produce.' The -gnus of ilignus, sălignus, lărignus, on the other hand, shows the suffix -no-, the g being the development before n (ch. x. § 18) of the final c of the stems ilic-, salic-, laric-, and was by their analogy extended to other tree-adjectives like abiegnus from abiës (stem abiet-). Similarly -anus, the ending of Adjectives formed with the NO-suffix from A-stems (e.g. silvanus from silva, arcanus from arca,

decimanus from decima, sc. pars, the tenth part, tithe, e.g. ager decimanus, land paying tithes, an Adjective which somehow acquired the sense of 'large,' 'huge,' e.g. decimanus acipenser, 'a huge sturgeon') is extended to Adjectives from other stems, e.g. urbanus from urbs (stem urbi-). By the addition of this NO-suffix to Nomina Agentis in -or we get -urnus, e.g. taciturnus, while ÉS-stems give -ēnus (ch. x. § 19), e.g. aēnus from aes; venenum, lit. 'philtre,' 'love-potion,' from Venus (stem venes-); egenus (cf. eges-tas): we have -ūna from a U-stem in tacuna. A common use of the NO-suffix in Latin is to form Distributive Numerals, e.g. quaterni, bini, trini, terni (ch. iv. § 5). The termination -ina is found in sarcina from sarcio, pāgina from pango (cf. compāges), angina from ango.

§ 6. (5) -ΜĚΝὄ-, -ΜĚΝĀ-, (-MNŎ-, -MNĀ-). This suffix was used in the Middle or Passive Participles of Thematic Tenses of the I.-Eur. Verb (e.g. Gk. φερό-μενος); and although these Participles were lost in Latin, traces of this formation remain in the 2 Pl. Pres. Ind. e. g. legimini for legimini estis (ch. vi. § 17); perhaps also the 2 Pl. Pres. Imper. e. g. legimini; alumnus, δ τρεφόμενος; fēmina from the root dhē-, 'to suckle'; Vertumnus, the god of the changing seasons, from verto; calumn-ia from O. Lat. calvor, to deceive. Stems with this suffix often stand side by side with MEN-stems, e.g. columna beside column, terminus beside termen and termo.

The ending -mnus in Latin often arises from the addition of the NO-suffix to a stem ending in a Labial (ch. x. § 16), e. g. somnus for *sop-nus (cf. sopor), damnum (cf. Gk. δαπάνη), scamnum (cf. scabellum), &c.

§ 7. (6) -MŎ-, -MĀ-. Of this suffix, used to form Adjectives, Nouns, especially Masculine Nouns but sometimes Fem., and Superlatives (ch. iv. § 2), Latin examples are: formus, warm (Gk. θερμός, Engl. warm) from the root gh-er-; fūmus (Gk. θῦμός) from the root dheu-; animus (Gk. ἄνεμος); fama (Gk. φήμη); palma (Gk. παλάμη); minimus, summus for *supmus (ch. x. § 16). The suffix -tĕmŏ-(ch. iv. § 2) had a local rather than a superlative meaning, e.g. maritimus, finitimus; but intimus, ultimus, citimus have acquired a superlative force; similarly optimus, if from ob. (But ef. p. 65.)

§ 8. (7) -RŎ-, -RĀ-. This suffix in its various forms was used to make Adjectives and Concrete Nouns, e.g. L-Eur. rǔdhro-, 'red', from the weak grade of the root reudh- (Gk. ἐ-ρῦθρόs), Lat. rǔber; L-Eur. ἄgro-, 'a field,' from the root ag-, 'to drive' (Gk. ἀγρόs), Lat. ager. In Latin the Nom. Sg. ending -rŏs became after a short vowel -er (ch. iii. § 6), as is seen in these two examples, but not after a long vowel, e.g. plērus (ch. vii. § 3), gnārus, mātūrus (cf. pēnūria). The suffixes -ĚRŎ-, TĚRŎ- became Comparative Suffixes

in Greek (ch. iv. § 2), though their original sense was rather that of likeness, of equal than of greater degree (cf. Hom. Gk. $\theta\eta\lambda\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma$ s, feminine, not 'more feminine'). Latin Adverbs in -iter have the TERO-suffix (ch. vii. §2), e.g. breviter (Gk. $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma$ s); so have magis-ter, minis-ter, ci-ter, ex-ter; while with a prefixed -as-(cf. Gk. -a\delta\- of $\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\delta s$, -a\delta s, -a\delta s, a wild dove) we have -aster, a suffix implying imitation, e. g. oleaster, a wild olive, 'like the true olive,' and often used in a contemptuous sense for 'a poor imitation,' e. g. peditaster, with Dim. peditastellus in Plaut. Mil. 54:

at péditastelli quía erant, siui uíuerent,

'they were tag-rag and bob-tail infantry; so I spared their lives.' The local sense of the TERO-suffix (Gk. δρέστερος, living in the hills, ἀγρότερος, living in the country) appears in -ter of paluster, telluster, and -ester of campester, silvester. The same suffix is used in Possessive Pronouns in Latin, e.g. vester, as in Gk., e.g. ὑμέτερος, and in various pronominal and locative Adjectives, with the sense of 'like,' 'in the direction of,' e.g. alter, uter, i-terum, citer (Engl. hither), exter (cf. dexter, δεξι-τερός, sinister), to which Adverbs with -tro- correspond, e.g. citro, citra, extra.

This suffix -TERO- must be distinguished from the suffix -TRO-, which was used to form Neuter Nouns indicating an instrument, &c., e. g. arātrum, 'an instrument for ploughing,' a plough, and from the Latin suffix -cro-, which represents the stem cero-, making. from the root cer-, to make (cf. Lat. creare), e.g. lūdi-cer, or stands by Assimilation for -clo- when an l precedes, e. g. involū-crum for *involucium. This -clo- (I.-Eur. -TLO-, § 9) is a suffix closely associated with -tro-, forming Neuter Nouns which indicate a tool or instrument. Another suffix, -DHRO-, (Lat. -bro-) is used in the same way, though in Latin it affects also the Feminine gender, -bra, e.g. těrěbra, a gimlet, borer, from tero, to bore; crībrum, a sieve, from cerno, to sift. But Lat. -bro-, -bra represents an original -sro-, -srā- (ch. x. § 19) in teněbrae from *temus, darkness, whence temere (ch. vii. § 4), cerebrum. Lat. -orus of honorus, decorus. canorus, odorus, &c., stands for -ōsus (ch. x. § 19), arising from the addition of the O-suffix to S-stems; we have -ērus in e.g. severus, procerus. § 9. (8) -LÖ-, -LĀ-. This suffix in its various forms was

y 9. (8) -LO-, -LA-. This sumx in its various forms was used for Nomina Agentis (Nouns and Adjectives), and often came to denote an instrument, while as a secondary suffix it was specially used to form Diminutives. Thus Engl. shovel, literally 'an instrument with which one shoves' meant originally 'the shover'; Engl. throstle is a Diminutive. Latin examples are: lögülus, a picker, from lego; pendulus, hanging, from pendo, pendeo; vinculum, a bond, 'an instrument for binding,' from vincio;

cistula, a little chest, from cista. The Diminutive suffix is added a second time in cistella, a jewel-box, &c. A common Diminutive suffix is -colo-, a combination of the two Diminutive suffixes -KO-(§ 11) and -LO-, e.g. auri-cula, a little ear, cor-culum, a little heart, which when added to Adjectives, esp. Comparatives, gives the sense of 'somewhat,' e.g meliusculus, somewhat better. From Diminutive -culum must be distinguished the -culum¹, -clum from I.-Eur. -TLO-, used to form Neuter Nouns denoting the instrument with which an action is performed or the place of its performance, e.g. věhiclum (rehiculum), 'that by which one is carried,' pō-clum (poculum), 'that out of which one drinks,' cubi-clum (cubiculum), 'the place where one lies down.' The suffix -DHLO- (in Latin -bulum) had much the same function, e.g. stă-bulum, 'a place for standing.' The presence of an l in the first part of the word causes a dissimilation of -clum to -crum, -blum to -brum, in ambulā-crum, 'a place for walking, '&c. Nouns in -ēla, like querela, sequela, are derived from Neuter ES-stems, so that querela stands for *queresla, sequela for *sequësla (ch. x. § 19).

§ 10. (9) -TŎ-, -TĀ-. This suffix was used to form (1) Verbal Adjectives, which in Latin became Perfect Participles Passive, e. g. geni-tus from the root gen- (see ch. vi. § 17). (2) Ordinal Numbers, e. g. quin c)tus (ch. iv. § 5). Abstract Nouns in -TA- are found beside Perf. Participles Pass. in -to-, e. g. Gk. γενετή, birth, Lat. deprensa (for *deprend-ta, ch. x. § 17). The TO-suffix is often added to the MEN-suffix (§ 15) in neuter nouns, e.g. Lat. cognomen-tum beside cognomen, such forms being apparently the Neuter of Participles, formed not from verbs but from nouns (cf. Engl. 'crested,' 'horned'); e. g. cognomentum points to a *cognomentus beside cog-nominatus, like sceles-tus beside scelera-tus. The forms with -mentum are, as a rule, those used by prose writers, the forms with -men being relegated to poetry. With -mentum, Plur. -menta has been compared the Greek Plur. -ματα, e.g. στρώματα (Lat. strämenta), κασσύματα (cf. Lat. assūmenta). Similar are arbus-tum, salic-tum, while arboretum is a quasi-participle from arboresco, like acetum, vinegar, from acesco; so nuc-etum, ilic-etum, &c. The -cetum of ilicetum, &c., and the -ctum, of salictum, &c. were extended by false analogy, e.g. bū-cetum, vire-ctum.

§ 11. (10) -KO-, -KĀ-. I.-Eur. -ko-, the -y of Engl. 'stony,' 'angry,' &c., is used mainly in the formation of Adjectives from (1) Adverbs, e.g. anti-cus, of place, anti-quus, of time, posti-cus, reci-procus from reco- (Prep. re-) and proco- (Prep. pro). (2) Nouns, e.g. belli-cus,

¹ This is the form with the Parasitic Vowel (ch. ii. § 12).

civi-cus. The suffix had often a Diminutive sense, which in Latin was usually expressed by the compound suffix -KO-LO-(§ 9), e. g. seni-culus (but also sene-ca). Other forms are -ĭcus, e. g. histriōn-icus, -ficus, e. g. rus-ticus, -īcus, e. g. am-icus, -ācus, e. g. mĕr-acus; and with addition of the YO-suffix (§ 3) -ĭcius (Derivatives from Nouns and Adjectives), e. g. patrīcius, -ficius (Derivatives from Perf. Participles Pass.), e. g. dediticius (also novicius).

- § 12. (II) Suffixes ending in I. (Nouns and Adjectives of third Declension.) I-stems were closely associated with Adjectives; and a good many O-stem Adjectives in Latin have become I-stems, e.g. inermis (O. Lat. inermus), sterilis (sterilus Lucr. ii. 845), sublimis (sublimus Lucr. i. 340 sublimaque caeli). U-stem Adjectives have also become I-stems (ch. iv. § 1), e. g. brevis (Gk. βραχύς), levis (Gk. ἐλαχίς). Verbal Adjectives in -lis are by-forms with Passive sense of Active Verbal Adjectives in -lus, e.g. bibilis, 'easily drunk,' beside bibulus, 'easily drinking.' So Verbal Adjs. in -bilis, connected with the DHLO-suffix, e.g. ama-bilis, no-bilis, sometimes derived from the P. P. P. stem, e. g. sensibilis, flexibilis. -TI- was the suffix of Verbal Nouns as -TO- of the Perfect Part. Pass. (§ 10), e.g. Gk. πίστις beside πιστός. These Nouns were of the Fem. gender and had, like the P. P. P., the weak grade (ch. x. § 12) of the root. Latin examples are: mens for mon-ti-, from the root men-, 'to think'; fors for bher-ti-, from the root bher-, 'to bear'; mors for mer-ti-, from the root mer-. In Latin, as in Celtic, we find this suffix enlarged by an EN-suffix (§ 15), e.g. mentio, Acc. mentionem; ratio. Acc. rationem; datio, Acc. dationem; and this compound suffix supplanted almost entirely the older TI-suffix. The suffix -TATI-(or -tat-), used to form Fem. Abstract Nouns, derived from Adjectives and Nouns, and the similar suffix -TUTI- (or -tut-) exhibit this TI-suffix added to the TA- and TU-suffixes, e.g. Lat. juventus (cf. juventa), juventus. We find a form of the suffix -tūt- augmented by an N-suffix, -tūdo, Gen. -tūdinis, e. g. servitūdo beside servitūs. The Īsuffix was used in forming Feminines in I.-Eur. and appears augmented with c in Lat. genetrix, cornix, &c.
- § 13. (12) Suffixes ending in $\check{\mathbf{U}}$. (Nouns of fourth Decl.) U-stem Adjectives passed in Latin, as we have seen (§ 12), into I-stems, e. g. gravis (Gk. $\beta a\rho \dot{\nu}s$). The suffix -TU- (like the suffix -TI-, § 12) was used to form Verbal Nouns, e. g. spectatus, and its Acc. Sg. became the First Supine (ch. vi. § 16), e. g. spectatum ire, its Loc. Sg., the Second Supine (ibid.), e. g. spectatu pulcer. (On the passage of Fem O-stems into the U-declension, see ch. iii. § 6.)
- § 14. (13) -YĒ-, -Ē-. (Nouns of fifth Decl.) These have been already discussed in ch. iii. § 13.
 - § 15. (14) Suffixes in -N. (Nouns of third Decl.) An Adjective

which is used as a Noun takes this suffix 1 , e.g. Rufo, 'the Red,' beside rufus, red (cf. $\Sigma \tau p \acute{a} \beta \omega r$) beside $\sigma \tau p a \beta \acute{o}s$); and so we find many Latin nicknames in $-\bar{o}$, Gen. $-\bar{o}nis$, e.g. Naso, Capito, with terms of contempt like bibo, aleo. The more respectful formation was in $-\bar{o}nus^2$, e.g. patronus.

The MEN-suffix was used to form Neuter Verbal Nouns, e. g. tegmen, a covering, from tego, to cover. On the connection of cognomen and cognomentum, &c., see § 10; and on Verbal Nouns in -TI-EN-, e.g. captio, -onis Gen., see § 12.

- § 16. (15) Suffixes in -R. (Nouns of third Decl.) I.-Eur. Neuters in -r (-or) seem to have substituted n for r in the oblique cases (cf. Lat. fĕmur, Gen. feminis, ch. iii. § 1), which has led to such curious declensions in Latin as it-in-er-is, jec-in-or-is and joc-in-er-is.
 -TER- is the suffix used for forming (1) words of relationship, e. g. pa-ter, ma-ter, (2) Nomina Agentis, e. g. da-tor (Gk. δοτήρ and δάστωρ), which in Latin show the O-grade of the suffix (ch. x. § 12).
- § 17. (16) Suffixes in Dentals, Gutturals, &c. (Nouns of third Decl.) When a Verb-root ending in a vowel formed the second part of a compound the T-suffix was used, e.g. Lat. com-es (stem com-it-)from the root ei-, 'to go,' anti-stes from stā-, 'to stand,' sacer-dōs from dō-, 'to give.' The NT-suffix (-ent-, -ont-) was used to form the Pres. Part. Act., e.g. ferent- (Gk. φέροντ-), sont- (Gk. ων; ch. vi. § 17).

The WENT-suffix, like our '-ful,' was added to Noun stems to form Adjectives, with the sense 'possessed of,' 'abounding in,' and occasionally 'resembling,' e. g. Gk. χαρίεις for *χαρι-Γεντ-ς, possessed of grace, graceful. In Latin it is augmented by the TO-suffix (§ 10), e. g. dolosus (Gk. δολόεις) for *dolo-venssus, nivosus (Gk νιφόεις) for *nivo-venssus, with ss for tt (ch. x. § 17). Older spellings of this suffix are -onsus, -össus (ch. x. § 19 n.).

Examples of Guttural Suffixes in Latin are Adjectives in $-\bar{a}x$, expressing tendency or character, e. g. bibāx, dicāx, rapāx, pervicāx (cf. $-\bar{a}cus$, § 11). (On Fem. -trix see § 12.)

§ 18. (17) Suffixes in -S. (Nouns and Adjectives of third Decl.) The ÉS-suffix (varying with -ös-, &c., ch. x. § 12) was used to form Neuter Abstract Nouns with E-grade of root (ch. x. § 12) and accent on the root, e.g. I.-Eur. génős Nom. Sg., génős- in oblique Cases (Gk. γένος, γένος) tat. genus, older *genos, generis,

¹ This is the origin of the German 'weak' declension of the Adjective, where the Adj. is preceded by the Def. Article, e. g. des rothen, Gen. Sg., die rothen Nom. Acc. Pl.

² Hence Gk. Λητώ (Dor. Λᾶτώ) became Lātōna.

from *geneses, ch. iii. § 8). These Neuter-stems became Adjectives by transferring the accent to the suffix and substituting -es for -es in Nom. Sg. Masc., -es in Nom. Sg. Neut., e.g. Gk. εὐγενήε Masc., -νέε Neut. Beside them we find occasionally Masc. or Fem. Nouns with -es in Nom. Sg., a formation which came into great favour in Latin, e.g. tenor Masc. (from *tenēs, p. 52) beside tenus Neut. (Gk. τένος, a string) from the root ten-, 'to stretch.' But Adjective S-stems were avoided in Latin (cf. degener, bicorpor), the usual way of making an Adj. from a Neuter S-stem being to add the TO-suffix (§ 10), e.g. scelès-tus, funës-tus, jūs-tus. A case of these Neuters was used as an Infinitive in various I.-Eur. languages, e.g. Lat. gignerė (Loc. Sg.), amarī (Dat. Sg.) (see ch. vi. § 15). The YES-suffix was used to form Comparatives, Lat. -ior Nom., -iōris Gen., e.g. melior, melioris (from meliōs, *meliōs-es) (ch. iv. § 2).

§ 19. (18) Suffixless Forms. Nouns formed directly from the root, without any suffix except those of the cases, are especially frequent as the second element of a Compound, and take in this position the function of a Nomen Agentis, e. g. au-spex, 'seer of birds,' from the root spec, to see; parti-ceps, 'taking a share.' They are also found independently, e. g. Lat. dix, a leader. The Lat. Third Conj. Inf. Pass., e. g. agi, seems to be the Dat. of a suffixless Verbal Noun (ch. vi. § 15).

§ 20. Composition. Compounds are seldom resolvable into two intact words like Gk. Διόσ-κουροι, Lat. juris-jurandi, patres-familiarum. The same is true of Reduplicates, which arose out of the habit of repeating a word for the sake of emphasis (cf. 'a great, great deed') or mimicry (cf. Lat. mur-mur); for one element is reduced almost beyond recognition, either the second element (in 'broken' or curtailed Reduplication), e g. Lat. bal-b-us, gur-g-es, or more usually the first, e.g. ci-cind-ela, a glowworm'. So in Compounds the full stem without the case suffixes is generally used in the first part of the Compound, e. g. juri-dicus (contrasted with juris-jurandi), patri-cida (contrasted with patres familiarum).

In Latin, owing to the weakening of unaccented vowels (ch. ii. § 14), every vowel in the final syllable of such a stem was liable to change under the early accentuation of the first syllable of each word (ch. ii. § 12), the usual reduction of a short vowel being to i (ch. ii. § 14).

I is thus the Latin 'Composition-Vowel' par excellence, usually representing L-Eur. δ, which is found not only with O-stems, e. g. Gk. $l\pi\pi\delta\delta a\mu os$ (cf. Lat. belli-ger), but also often

¹ Lat. gur-gul-io, the throat, quer-quer-us, shivering, give equal prominence to both elements.

with Ā-stems, e. g. Gk. Νικό-μαχος beside νικη-φόρος (cf. Lat. ali-ger), N-stems, e. g. Gk. ἀκμό-θετον (cf. Lat. homi-cīda), and appended to many Consonant-stems, e. g. Gk. δρακοντ-ό-μαλλος (Lat. ped i-sequus).

Composition does not play so great a part in Latin as in Greek (cf. Liv. xxvi. ii. 4 quos 'androgynos' vulgus, ut pleraque, faciliore ad duplicanda verba Graeco sermone, appellat). The early dramatists and other imitators of Greek poetry incurred the censure of Quintilian for their attempts to reproduce Greek compounds like κυρταύχην in Latin, as in Pacuvius' description of dolphins:

Nérei repándirostrum, incúruiceruicúm pecus;

and Virgil uses a periphrasis like (Averna) sonantia silvis (A. iii. 442), where an earlier poet might have employed a compound like silvisonus¹. The compound Proper Names of other I.-Eur. languages are, as we have seen (§ 3), replaced in Latin (and the other Italic languages) by Adjective IO-stems, such as Lūcius.

II. VERB-STEMS.

§ 21. Tense-stems. The formation of the Present-stem of the Verb has been discussed in §§ 2-5 of ch. vi. We have seen that the Derivative Verbs of the First, Second, and Fourth Conjugations, that is to say, derivatives from A-stems, O-(E-)stems, and I-stems, exhibit a Y-suffix; e.g. fugo from fuga (stem fugā-) represents *fugā-yō as Gk. τιμώ from the A-stem τιμή represents *τιμά-γω and τιμώμεν represents *τιμάγομεν; similarly clareo stands for *clare-yo, finio for *fini-yō. Similar Derivatives from U-stems belong to the Third Conjugation, e.g. statuo for *statu-yō, which includes a large number of varied Present-forms, especially (1) Reduplicated, e. g. gi-gn-o from the root gen-. (2) With N-suffix or N-infix, e.g. ster-n-o from the root ster-, li-n-qu-o from the root leigu- (Gk. λείπω). (3) With SKO-suffix, e.g. $(g)n\bar{o}$ -sco from the root $gn\bar{o}$ -; while a large number show the ordinary form of the root with no addition but the thematic vowel, e.g. leg-o from the root leg-. The formation of the Perfect-stem has been treated in § 10 of the same chapter, with enumeration of the chief Latin types, (1) The Reduplicated Perfect, e. g. me-min-i (Gk. µέμον-a) from the root men-, the Reduplication being often dropped, sometimes at a recent stage, e.g. class. Lat. tuli for O. Lat. te-tul-i, sometimes as far back as the I.-Eur. period, e.g. vīd-i (Gk. (f)οίδα). The Long-vowel Perfects like egi from ago, pegi (beside pe-pig-i) from păngo (root pag-) may be included in this class. (2) The S-Perfect,

¹ Cf. silvifragus, used by Lucretius, who however complains that the 'patrii sermonis egestas' prevented him from reproducing the Greek compound δμοιομέρεια, i. 832

corresponding to the Greek First Aorist, e.g. dixi (O. Lat. deix-ei) like Gk. i-δειξ-a, from the root deic-. (3) the V-Perfect, peculiar to Latin, e.g. al-u-i from the root al-, fugā-v-i, fmī-v-i, statui (O. Lat. statu-v-i), re-plē-v-i from the root plē-, clar-u-i for *clarē-v-i, mon-u-i for *monĕ-v-i (ch. ii. § 15 fin.), and perhaps cāvi, fāvi, &c., if their āv stands for āvr, *cav-v-i, *fav-v-i¹. The difference between Present and Perfect of the same Latin Verb, e.g. sīno, sīvi, which so often puzzles the beginner, is due to the fact that a separate stem was used for either Tense, it being the exception and not the rule that a Present-stem formation should be retained throughout the conjugation of the verb, e.g. Perf. junxi (but Gk. i-ζευξ-a) with the N-infix of the Present ju-n-g-o (cf. Gk. ζευγ-ν̄-μ).

Examples of the relation of the Perfect- to the Present-stem in Latin are: -I. Reduplicated Perfect. (a) With Reduplicated Present, bibo, bibi; sisto, stiti; sīdo (for *sī-s(ĕ)d-o), sīdi. (b) With N-Present, tă-n-go, te-tig-i (cf. Hom. Gk. τεταγών); tu-n-do, tu-tud-i; pu-n-go, pupug-i; pello (for *pel-n-o) 2, pe-pul-i. The n of tondeo belongs to the root, for it is a Causative from the root tend- (Gk. τένδω). (c) With SKO-Present, disco (for *dic-sco, ch. x. § 20), di-dic-i. (d) With Y-Present, par-i-o, pe-per-i. Tuli, which has drifted apart from its original N-Present tollo (for *tol-n-o) and associated itself with fero. while tollo has adopted as its Perfect the compound su(b)s-tuli, was in O. Lat. a Reduplicated Perfect, te-tul-i. The Reduplication Syllable has likewise dropped off in scidi (O. Lat. sci-cid-i), fidi with their N-Presents sci-n-do, fi-n-do (from the I.-Eur. root bheid-, Engl. bite), and some verbs whom the loss of their Reduplication has left in a form resembling the Present-stem, e. g. verto, verti; cūdo, cūdi, while others retain distinctive features, e.g. rūp-i from rŭ-m-po, where the N-Present has the weak-grade of the root reup- (Engl. be-reave); similarly fūd-i from fŭ-n-do (root gheud-, Germ. giessen), vīc-i from vi-n-co (root weik-), liqu-i (cf. Gk. λέ-λοιπ-a) from li-n-quo (root leiqu-, Gk. λείπω); fūg-i (Gk. πέ-φευγ-a) beside fŭg-i-o, a Y-Present with the weak grade of the root bheug- (Gk. φεύγω); similarly sēdi beside sèdeo (cf. Gk. εζομαι for *σεδ-yo-μαι, a Y-Present), legi 3 beside lego, a Root-Present. The absence of Reduplication in vid-i, O. Lat. veidei (from woid-ai, ch. x. § 8), dates from I.-Eur. times (Gk. olda for Foid-a), and must have been equally old in Verbs beginning with a vowel, like ēdi from ēdo, ēmi 3 from ēmo. We cannot settle the

¹ Hence not, e. g. *cāram like fugāram, *cassem like fugassem.

² Pulsus should be *pultus (I.-Eur. pol-to-), and probably was in O. Lat., for pulto is Plautus' form of the Frequentative.

³ The -lego of neg-lego (ch. ix. § 17), 'I do not care for,' dī-ligo (*dis-lego), 'I care for exceedingly,' has been referred to a different Verb

exact age of forms with ē in Perfect and ă in Present (cf. ăgo, ēgi), like făc-i-o, fēc-i (Gk. ἔ-θηκ-α), jăc-i-o, jēc-i, cap-i-o, cēp-i, O. Lat. ăpio (coepio), *ēpi (cŏ-ēpi, class. coepi, a disyllable). These have Y-Presents, while fră-n-go, frēg-i, pă-n-go, pēg-i have N-Presents.

II. S-Perfect. (a) With Root-Present, dico (O. Lat. deic-o), dixi (O. Lat. deix-ei, Gk. έ-δειξ-a); -leg-o, -lex-i (Gk. έ-λεξ-a); reg-o, rex-i (Gk. ω-ρεξ-a); teg-o, tex-i (Gk. έ-στεξ-a); dūco (O. Lat. douco from *deuc-o), dūxi. In uro (O. Lat. *ouro from *euso, Gk. evw for *evhw), ŭs-si (cf. Gk. εὖσα for *εὖσ-σ-α) the Perfect has the weak-grade of the root. (b) With N-Present, (1) N-infix, jungo, junxi (cf. Gk. ξ-(ενξ-a); pingo, pinxi; plango, planxi; stringo, strinxi; exstinguo, exstinxi; fingo, finxi. They all retain this n in the Perfect, though not always in the P. P. P., e. g. jūnctus, exstinctus, plānctus, but pictus, strictus, fictus; (2) N-suffix, temno, tempsi for tem-s-i. (c) With Y-Present, saep-i-o. saep-si; haurio (for *aus-i-o), hausi (for *aus-s-i, ch. ii. § 9); haereo (for *haeseo), haesi (for *haes-s-i); a-spic-i-o (Gk. σκέπτομαι for *σκεπ-yo-μαι, p. 92), a-spex-i (Gk, ε-σκεψ-ά-μην); maneo, man-s-i. On the forms fulsi for *fulc-si from fulcio, fulsi for *fulg-si from fulgeo, mulsi for *mulc-si from mulceo, mulsi for *mulg-si from mulgeo, and with similar loss of Guttural in the Consonant-group, alsi, mersi, farsi, sparsi, tersi, tersi, tursi, see ch. x. § 20. The Assimilation (ch. x. § 20) of a Dental to the s of the Perfect produced ss, e.g. concuss-i from concutio, jussi from jubeo with b for original dh (ch. x. § 17), which after a long vowel or diphthong was by the Phonetic Law of classical Latin (ch. ii. § 9) reduced to single s, e.g. clausi (older claussi), vasi (older vassi), suasi (older suassi), laesi (older laessi). The same happened in the case of roots ending in s, e.g. ges-si from the root ges (Pres. gero with r for intervocalic s, ch. x. § 19, üssi (see above), hausi and haesi (see above). Pres-s-i shows us that premo must have had a by-form *preso (cf. Gk. $\tau \rho \epsilon \mu \omega$ and $\tau \rho \epsilon (\sigma) \omega$). The apparent discrepancy between vivo and vixi is due to the fact that the root ends in gu (ch. x. § 18), which in Latin became v except before and after a consonant. Hence vivo for gueiguo (cf. Engl. 'quick,' in the sense of 'living'), but vixi for *vig-si, victus Noun for *vig-tus. Similarly veho (vexi, vectus) has an

⁽cf. Gk. d-λίγω, I care for), which took an S-Perfect, -lexi. Hence neg-lexi, di-lexi, but e-legi, de-legi, col-legi. Intellexi however offers a difficulty. The difference in the Perfect of the compounds of emo, 'I take,' has been referred to a discrimination between emo with its acquired sense, 'I buy,' and emo with its original sense, 'I take.' Hence coemi, 'I bought up,' beside compsi, dempsi, prompsi, sumpsi (S-Perfects).

intervocalic gh in its normal Latin form h (ch. x. § 18). Cf. fruor, fructus sum; fluo, fluxi; struo, struxi.

III. U-Perfect. This is the Perfect par excellence of Vowel-Verbs, e. g. re-plē-v-i from the root plē-, fugā-v-i from the Derivative of the stem fugā. But we find it also with roots ending in l, e.g. alo, alui; colo, colui; molo, molui; con-sulo, con-sului; sal-i-o (Gk. άλλομαι for *σaλ-yo-μai), salui. Cf. gem-ui, gen-ui, rap-ui, ap-er-ui, and op-er-ui (see ch. vii. §§ 2, 23). We have (a) a SKO-Present in $(g)n\bar{o}$ -sco (Gk. γ ί-γνω-σκω); (g)nō-vi; pāsco, pā-vi; crē-sco, crē-vi; quiē-sco, quiē-vi; sci-sco, scī-vi; (b) an N-Present in sĭ-n-o (root sei-), sī-vi, of which one Compound de-sino retains the true Perfect desivi or, with loss of intervocalic v (p. 14 n.), desŭi, but another, pono for *po-s(i)no (ch. vii. § 2), came in the classical period to assume a new Perfect posui through the influence of the P. P. P. positus 1; li-n-o (root lei-), li-vi; sper-n-o (from root sper-), sprē-vi (from a by-root sprē-); ster-n-o (from root ster-), strāvi (from a by-root strā-); cer-n-o, crē-vi; (c) a Reduplicated Present in sero (for *si-sō; cf Gk. ἵημι for *σι-ση-μι), sē-vi from the root se-. The Perfects arcessivi, lacessivi, petivi, &c., point, as we have seen (ch. vi. § 4), to a by-form of the Present, *arcessio, *lacessio, *petio, like pinsio beside pinso. Quaesivi from *quaessio, a similar byform of O. Lat. quaes(s)o (e.g. Enn. mari quaesentibu' uitam) has become associated with a related Present quaero from *quaiso (with single s). Quaeso, prythee, is not the same form as quaero (ch.x. \S 19).

The other Tense-stems are discussed in ch. vi. §§ 8, 9, 11, 12, and the Mood-stems in § 13 of the same chapter.

§ 22. Verb-stems. Of suffixes used in forming Verb-stems, as opposed to Tense-stems, may be mentioned (1)-dh-, e. g. Gk. $\kappa\nu\dot{\eta}$ - θ - ω beside $\kappa\nu\dot{\alpha}\omega$. (2) -d e. g. Gk. $\check{\epsilon}\lambda$ - δc - $\mu \omega$ from the root wĕl- (Lat. volo), which may be nothing but the Verb-stems dhē- 'to put,' and dō- 'to give.' Thus Lat. $c\dot{r}\dot{c}do$ (with d for I.-Eur. dh, ch. x. § 17) meant originally 'I set heart to,' the first part of the word being connected with cor, the heart. (3)-t-, e. g. Gk. $\pi\dot{\epsilon}\kappa$ - τ - ω (Lat. pec-t- ω) beside $\pi\dot{\epsilon}\kappa$ - ω , which seems connected with the P. P. P. suffix -to-. (4) -s-, e. g. Gk. $\delta\dot{\epsilon}\psi\omega$ beside $\delta\dot{\epsilon}\phi\omega$, $\tau\rho\dot{\epsilon}$ - (σ) - ω beside $\tau\rho\dot{\epsilon}$ - μ - ω , which seems as the ES-suffix of Nouns, e. g. Gk. $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\sigma$, stem $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\sigma$ -(Gk. $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\dot{\epsilon}(\sigma)\omega$, $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\tau\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\sigma$ - $\tau\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\sigma$ - $\tau\dot{\epsilon}$



¹ Pö-si-tus was regarded as pos-itus with Verb-stem pös-; and so a Perfect pos-ui was coined on the type of al-ui, al-itus, mon-ui, mon-itus, &c. But the older writers have invariably posivi, e. g. Catullus xxxiv. 7: quam mater prope Deliam Deposiuit oliuam.

sometimes called 'Intensives' or 'Desideratives' of capio, incipio, facio, lacio, is connected with the Tense-formation (amasso, &c.) discussed in ch. vi. § 12. Other Latin endings are: (6) -lo and -illo of Diminutive Verbs, e. g. conscribillo Catull. (7) -co of albico, fódico, &c., another Diminutive suffix (§ 9). (8) -ro of lamb-ero, con-sid-ero, is like-ro of the Derivative temperare from tempus. (9) -igo of navigo, &c., is nothing but the Verb ago, as -fico of aedifico¹, &c., is the Verb facio, both having the form of Derivatives from Compound Verbal Nouns (cf. remigo from remex, Gk. οἰκοδομέω from οἰκοδόμος). Verbs in -lo, -illo, -co, -ro similarly show the Derivative Verb type and follow the First Conjugation. On Iteratives or Frequentatives in -to (-so), derivatives from Perf. Part. Pass. stems, see ch. vi. § 2, and on Desideratives in -tūrio (-sūrio), derivatives from Verbal Nouns in -tor, see ch. vi. § 5, on verbs in -ūrio, -urrio, e. g. ligurrio, derivatives from Verbal Nouns in -ūra, see ch. vi. § 5.

¹ A Compound Verb, composed of a Noun and a Simple Verb, takes in Latin the form of a First Conj. Derivative, e. g. aedifico from aedificus, in Greek the form of a Second Conj. Derivative, e. g. δικοδομέω from οἰκοδόμος.

APPENDIX A.

SPECIMENS OF EARLY LATIN.

§ 1. The Dvenos-inscription. (Sixth to fourth cent. B.c.) (written on a sacrificial vessel):—

Ioueis (?-ues) at deiuos qoi med mitat, nei ted endo cosmis uirco sied asted, noisi Ope Toitesiai pakari uois. Duenos med feced (? feked) en Manom einom. Die noine med Mano statod.

Iovios (?) ad deos qui me mittet, ne te indo comis Virgo sit adstet, nisi Opem Tuteriae pacrem¹ vis. Bënus² me fecit in Mānum enim³ (? unum), Die noni (? noveni) me Mano stato (i. e. sistito). 'Who offers me to the Gods of the Sky, may Proserpine not be kind to thee nor stand by thee, unless thou wouldest have the Help of Tuteria appeased. Benus made me for Manus indeed. On the ninth day set me (as offering) to Manus.'

- § 2. The Scipio Epitaphs (from end of third to middle of second cent. B.c.) (in Saturnian Metre):—
 - (a) Honc oino ploirume cosentiont R[omai] Duonoro optumo fuise uiro, Luciom Scipione; filios Barbati Consol, censor, aidilis hic fuet a[pud uos]: Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe: Dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto[d].

Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optimum fuisse virum, Lucium Scipionem: filius Barbati consul, censor, aedilis hic fuit apud vos: Hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem; dedit Tempestatibus aedem merito.

¹ A RI-stem Adj. from the root of pax. Al. pacare (2 Sg. Pres. Ind.) vobis.

² Cf. bene beside bonus.

³ With the same use of enim as Virgil's tibi enim, tibi, maxima Juno (A. viii. 84). The translation given above, which supposes that the sense of the inscription is that the bowl is to be used in sacrifices to the Di Manes and not to the Di Jovii, with the exception of 'Ops Tuteriae,' is by no means certain. Some decipher the last words as Duenoi ne med malo stated, 'Beno ne a me malum state,'

176 Specimens of Early Latin. [APP. A

(b) Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus, Gnaiuod patre prognatus fortis uir sapiensque, Quoius forma uirtutei parisuma fuit, Consol, censor, aidilis quei fuit apud uos, Taurasia, Cisauna Samnio cepit, Subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abdoucit.

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus, Gnaeo patre prognatus fortis vir sapiensque, cuius forma virtuti parissuma fuit, consul, censor, aedilis qui fuit apud vos, Taurasiam, Cisaunam, Samnio (Abl.) cepit, subigit omnem Lucanam obsidesque abducit.

(c) Quei apice, insigne Dialis flaminis, gesistei, Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia breuia, Honos, fama uirtusque, gloria atque ingenium; Quibus sei in longa licuiset tibe utier uita, Facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum. Quare lubens te in gremium, Scipio, recipit Terra, Publi, prognatum Publio, Corneli.

Qui apicem, insigne Dialis flaminis, gessisti, Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia brevia, honos, fama virtusque, gloria atque ingenium; quibus si in longa licuisset tibi uti vita, facile factis superasses gloriam majorum. Quare libens te in gremium, Scipio, recipit terra, Publi, prognatum Publio, Corneli.

(d) Magna sapientia multasque uirtutes Aetate quom parua posidet hoc saxsum. Quoiei Vita defecit non Honos honore, Is hic situs, quei nunquam uictus est uirtutei. Annos gnatus XX is l[oc]eis mandatus. Ne quairatis honore quei minus sit mandatus.

Magnam sapientiam multasque virtutes aetate cum parva possidet hoc saxum. Cui Vita defecit non Honos honorem, is hic situs, qui nunquam victus est virtute. Annos natus viginti is (? iis) locis mandatus. Ne quaeratis honorem cur minus sit mandatus.

- (e) (On Cn. Scipio Hispanus, praetor 139 B.C.) (Elegiacs):—
 Virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulaui,
 Progenie mi genui, facta patris petiei,
 Maiorum optenui laudem, ut sibei me esse creatum
 Laetentur; stirpem nobilitauit honor.
- § 3. The Decree of Aemilius Paulus (189 B.C.):—
- L. Aimilius L. f. inpeirator decreiuit utei quei Hastensium seruei in turri Lascutana habitarent leiberei essent, agrum oppidumque, quod ea tempestate posedisent, item possidere habereque iousit dum poplus senatusque Romanus uellet. Act. in castreis A.D. xii. K. Febr.
 - L. Aemilius L. f. imperator decrevit uti qui Hastensium servi in turri

Lascutana habitarent liberi essent, agrum oppidumque, quod ea tempestate possedissent, item possidere habereque jussit dum populus senatusque Romanus vellet. Act. in castris A.D. XII. K. Febr.

- § 4. The Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus (186 B.C.).
- Q. Marcius L. f., S. Postumius L. f. cos. senatum consoluerunt N. Octob. apud aedem Duelonai. Sc. arf. M. Claudi M. f., L. Valeri P. f., Q. Minuci C. f. De Bacanalibus quei foideratei esent ita exdeicendum censuere. Neiquis eorum Bacanal habuise uelet. Seiques esent, quei sibei deicerent necesus ese Bacanal habere, eeis utei ad pr. urbanum Romam uenirent; deque eeis rebus, ubei eorum uerba audita esent, utei senatus noster decerneret, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur. Bacas uir nequis adiese uelet ceiuis Romanus neue nominus Latini neue socium quisquam, nisei pr. urbanum adiesent isque de senatuos sententiad, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur, iousiset. Censuere. Sacerdos nequis uir eset. Magister neque uir neque mulier quisquam eset. Neue pecuniam quisquam eorum comoinem habuise uelet, neue magistratum, neue pro magistratud neque uirum neque mulierem quiquam fecise uelet. Neue post hac inter sed conjourase neue comuouise, neue conspondise, neue conpromesise uelet, neue quisquam fidem inter sed dedise uelet. Sacra in oquoltod ne quisquam fecise uelet, neue in poplicod, neue in preiuatod, neue exstrad urbem sacra quisquam fecise uelet, nisei pr. urbanum adieset, isque de senatuos sententiad, dum ne minus senatoribus C adesent quom ea res cosoleretur, iousiset. Censuere. Homines plous Voinuorsei, uirei atque mulieres sacra ne quisquam fecise uelet, neue inter ibei uirei plous duobus, mulieribus plous tribus, arfuise uelent, nisei de pr. urbani senatuosque sententiad, utei suprad scriptum est. Haice utei in couentionid exdeicatis ne minus trinum noundinum; senatuosque sententiam utei scientes Eorum sententia ita fuit: sei ques esent, quei aruorsum ead fecisent quam suprad scriptum est, eeis rem caputalem faciendam censuere. Atque utei hoce in tabolam ahenam inceideretis: ita senatus aiquom censuit; uteique eam figier ioubeatis, ubei facilumed gnoscier potisit; atque utei ea Bacanalia, sei qua sunt, exstrad quam sei quid ibei sacri est, ita utei suprad scriptum est, in diebus X quibus uobeis tabelai datai erunt faciatis utei dismota sient.
- Q. Marcius L. f., S. Postumius L. f. cons. senatum consulverunt N. Octob. apud aedem Bellonae. Sc. adf. M. Claudius M. f., L. Valerius P. f., Q. Minucius C. f. De Bacchanalibus qui foederati essent ita edicendum censuere. Nequis eorum Bacchanal habuisse vellet. Siqui essent, qui sibi dicerent necesse esse Bacchanal habere, ei uti ad pr. urbanum Romam venirent, deque eis rebus, ubi verba eorum audita essent, uti senatus

noster decerneret, dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent quum ea res consuleretur. Bacchas vir nequis adiisse vellet civis Romanus, neve nominis Latini, neve sociorum quisquam, nisi pr. urbanum adiissent, isque de senatus sententia, dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent quum ea res consuleretur, Censuere. Sacerdos nequis vir esset. Magister neque vir neque mulier quisquam esset: neve pecuniam quisquam eorum communem habuisse vellet, neve magistratum, neve pro magistratu neque virum neque mulierem quisquam fecisse vellet. Neve posthac inter se coniurasse neve convovisse, neve conspondisse, neve compromisisse vellet, neve quisquam fidem inter se dedisse vellet. Sacra in occulto ne quisquam fecisse vellet, neve in publico, neve in privato, neve extra urbem sacra quisquam fecisse vellet, nisi pr. urbanum adiisset, isque de senatus sententia, dum ne minus senatoribus C adessent quum ea res consuleretur, iussisset. Censuere. Homines plus V universi, viri atque mulieres sacra ne quisquam fecisse vellet, neve interibi viri plus duobus, mulieribus plus tribus, adfuisse vellent, nisi de pr. urbani senatusque sententia, uti supra scriptum est. Haec uti in contione edicatis ne minus trinum nundinum, senatusque sententiam uti scientes essetis. sententia ita fuit: siqui essent qui advorsum eā (Adv.) fecissent, quam supra scriptum est, eis rem capitalem faciendam censuere. Atque uti hoc in tabulam ahenam incideretis: ita senatus aequum censuit; utique eam figi iubeatis, ubi facillime nosci possit; atque uti ea Bacchanalia, siqua sunt, extra quam siquid ibi sacri est, ita uti scriptum est, in diebus X; quibus vobis tabellae datae erunt, faciatis uti dimota sint.

§ 5. The Spoleto Inscription (c. 180 B.C.).

Honce loucom nequis uiolatod neque exuehito neque exferto quod louci siet neque cedito nesei quo die res deina anua fiet. Eod die quod reidinai causa fiat sine dolo cedre licetod. Seiquis uiolasit, Ioue bouid piaclum datod. Seiquis scies uiolasit dolo malo, Iouei bouid piaclum datod et a. CCC moltai suntod, eius piacli moltai-que dicatore exactio estod.

Hunc lucum nequis violato neque evehito neque efferto quod luci sit neque caedito nisi quo die res divina annua fiet. Eo die quod rei divinae causa fiat sine dolo caedere liceto. Si quis violassit, Jovi bove piaclum dato. Siquis sciens violassit dolo malo, Jovi bove piaclum dato et a. CCC multae sunto, ejus piaculi multaeque dicatori exactio esto.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF SPELLINGS. (Cf. ch. ii. §§ 10, 14; ch. x. § 20.)

abicio, adicio, &c. better than abjicio. &c. adulescens (Noun), not adolescens. aequipero, not aequiparo. aerumna, not erumna. aestimo: aestumo is the older spelling. afui, &c, not abfui, &c. Alexandrea, Dareus, &c. is the spelling of the Republic; Alexandria, Darius, of the Empire. ālium, better than allium. amoenus, not amenus. ancora, better than anchora. anguīla. anulus, not annulus. arcesso: accerso is a vulgar form. artus, artare: arctus, arctare are earlier spellings. auctor, auctoritas, not autor, autoritas (ch. ii. § 10). Autumnus, not Auctumnus. belua, not bellua. beneficium, &c., better than benificium, &c. bracchium and brachium. bucina, not buccina. caecus, not coecus. caelebs, not coelebs. caelum, not coelum. caementum, not cementum. caenum, not coenum.

caerimonia and caeremonia, not cer-. caesaries, not cesaries. caespes, better than cespes. caestus, not cestus. Camena, not Camoena, cena, not coena, though this misspelling was of early date (ch. ii. 6 10). ceteri, not caeteri. claudo, not cludo. clipeus: clupeus is the older spelling. comminus, not cominus (ch. ii. § 10). condicio, better than conditio. conecto, conitor, coniveo, conubium, better than connecto, &c. conjunx, better than conjux. contio, not concio (ch. ii. § 10). convicium, not convitium. cottidie and cotidie, not quotidie. culleus, not culeus. damnum, not dampnum. deliro, better than delero (ch. ii. § 10). dicio, better than ditio. dinosco: dignosco is the older spelling. dissipo: dissupo is the older spelling (ch. ii, § 15). distinguo, not distingo. elegans, better than eligans. emptus, &c., not emtus, &c.

epistula, better than epistola. erus, better than herus. existimo (see aestimo). exsanguis, exscindo, &c., better than exanguis, excindo. facinorosus, better than facinerosus. faenus, and fenus, faenum, and fenum, not foenum. fecundus, not foecundus. femina, not foemina. fetus, not foetus. frenum, not fraenum. futtilis, better than futilis. genetivus, better than genitivus. genetrix, better than genitrix. gleba and glaeba. Hadria, not Adria, haedus, not hedus. harena, probably better than arena (ch. ii. § 10). harundo, probably better than arundo. haruspex, probably better than aruspex. hedera, better than edera. helluo, better than heluo. heres, not haeres, nor eres. hiems, better than hiemps. holus and olus. hordeum, not -ium. ilico, not illico. inclitus, and inclutus (older); not inclytus (ch. i. § 6). incoho and inchoo. indutiae, not -ciae. infitiae, not -ciae. intellego, better than intelligo. jucundus, better than jocundus. Juppiter, better than Jupiter. lacrima, and lacruma (older): not lachrima, nor lachryma, nor lacryma (ch. i. § 6). libet: lubet is the older spelling. littera, better than litera.

litus, better than littus. maereo. maestus. notmoereo, moestus. malevolus, &c., probably better than malivolus, &c. manifestus: manufestus is the older spelling (ch. ii. § 15). mercennarius, not mercenarius. milia, not millia (ante-class.) (ch. ii. § q). mixtus, not mistus. monumentum and monimentum. multa: mulcta is the old spelling. murena, probably better than muraena. nactus and nanctus. navus, better than gnavus (older). në 'verily,' better than nae (ch. ix. § 16). neglego, better than negligo. negotium, not negocium. nenia. not naenia. nequiquam and nequicquam. novicius, not novitius. nummus, better than numus. nuntio, not nuncio (ch. ii. § 10). oboedio, not obedio. obscenus, better than obscaenus: not obscoenus. onustus, better than honustus. otium, not ocium. paelex and pelex, not pellex. Paeligni, not Peligni. paene, not pene nor poene. paenitet, not penitet, nor poenitet. paulum; paullum is the older spelling. percontor, probably better than percunctor. perennis, not perennis. pernicies, not pernities (p. 60). pilleus, better than pileus. Pollio and Polio. pomerium, better than pomoerium.

pontifex; pontufex is the older spelling. praesepe, better than praesaepe. prelum, not praelum. pretium, not precium. proelium, not praelium. proscaenium, probably better than proscenium. pulcher, superseded pulcer (ch. i. quattuor, better than quatuor. quoties: quotiens is the older spelling. raeda, better than reda: not rh-. Raetia, not Rhaetia, reccidi, not recidi. recipero: recupero is the older spelling. religio: relligio is the older spelling. reliquiae; relliquiae is the older spelling. repperi, reppuli, rettuli, not reperi, repuli, retuli (ch. vi. § 10). restinguo, not -go. saeculum, not seculum. saepes, saepio, better than sep-. saeta, better than seta. sario, not sarrio. satira and satura (older): not satura. scaena, better than scena (p. 13 n.). sepulcrum, better than sepulchrum (ch. ii. § 10). sescenti, better than sexcenti. sētius, not secius. solacium, not solatium.

sollemnis, not sollennis, nor sollempnis. sollers, not solers. sollicito, not solicito. spatium, not -cium. stilus, not stylus. suboles, not soboles. sucus, better than succus. sulphur and sulpur, not sulfur (ch. ii. § 6). suscenseo, better than succenseo. suspīcio, better than suspitio. taeter, not teter. temno, not tempno. tempto, better than tento. thesaurus; thensaurus is the older spelling. Thrax and Thraex. tingo and tinguo. toties: totiens is the older spelling. transmitto, &c., and tramitto, &c. tus, better than thus (ch. i. § 6). umerus, better than humerus. umor, umidus, better than humor, humidus (ch. ii. § 10). unguo and ungo. valētudo, not valitudo. Vergilius, not Virgilius (late), (cf. p. 10 n.). Verginius, not Virginius (late). vertex: vortex is the older spelling. vicesimus, commoner than vigesimus. victima: victuma is the older spelling (ch. ii. § 15).

vilicus, not villicus (ante-class.)

(ch. ii. § 9).

(For details about these spellings the student should consult Georges, Lexikon der Lateinischen Wortformen, Leipzig, 1889; Brambach, Hülfsbüchlein für Lateinische Rechtschreibung, third ed., Leipzig, 1884; or the larger work by the same author, Die Neugestaltung der Lateinischen Orthographie, Leipzig, 1868. The spelling of Quintilian's time should be our model.)

APPENDIX C

LIST OF 'HIDDEN' QUANTITIES. (See p. 10 on ns, nf.)

abiēanus. āctus (P. P. P. & Noun). afflictus. aliörsum (for aliövorsum). ārdeo (Cf. āridus). būstum. calēsco, and other 'Inceptives' of 2 Conj. Verbs. catella (Dim. of catena). chirūrgus (Gk. χειρουργός). cinctus. compsi, comptus. conjūnx. contio (probably). lēx. corolla (Dim. of corona). crāstinus (from crās). crēsco. crīspus. cūnctus. dēmpsi, dēmptus. dīxi, dictus. dignus (probably). dūxi (probably), dŭctus. ēsca. Etrūscus (cf. Etrūria). existimo (from ex and aestimo, as excīsus from ex and caesus). exstinctus. festus (cf. feriae). fīxus. fictus. flīctus. flösculus (Dim. of flös). frăngo, frāctus. frūstra (from fraus). fünctus. fürtim, fürtivus, fürtum (from für).

georgicus (Gk. γεωργικός). hēsternus. illex, lawless (but illex, alluring). introrsum (for introvorsum). jūnxi, jūnctus. jūrgo (older jūrigo, from jūs and ago). jūstus (from jūs) lärdum (older läridum). lārva (older lārua, trisyll.). lātrina (older lavātrina). lātro, I bark. lēctus. lictor. lūctor. lūctus (cf. lūgeo). lūstrum, expiation. lūx. mālle (older māvelle). Mānlius (from Mānius). Mārcus, Mārcellus, &c. Mārs (cf. Mavors). māssa (Gk. μάζα). mercēnnarius (for *mercēd narius). mīlle. mīlvus (older mīluos, trisyll.). mūsculus (Dim. of mūs). nāscor. nefāstus (from fās). nölle (from *novelle, ch. vi. § 23). nondum (cf. non). nongenti (from * novengenti). nonne, nonnūlli (cf. non). nōsco. nūllus (see üllus). nundinae (older noundinae).

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nūntius (from noventius).
nūtrio.
ōsculum, ōscillum (Dim. of ōs).
ōstium (cf. ōs).
Paelianus.
palūster (from palūs).
pāsco, pāstus, pāstor.
pistor.
plēbs.
plēctrum (Gk. πληκτρον).
Pōllio.
prēndo (older prehendo).
princeps (cf. primus).
prīscus, pristinus.
privignus.
prompsi, promptus.
prorsus (older provorsus).
pūblicus, Pūblius (from pūbes).
pūrgo (older pūrigo, from pūrus
   and ago).
quārtus.
auiesco.
quinque, quintus, quindecim, &c.
quōrsus (older quōvorsus).
rāstrum (from rādo).
rēxi, rēctus.
rēgnum.
roscidus (from ros).
rōstrum (from rōdo).
rūcto.
rūrsus (from re-vorsus).
rūsticus (from rūs).
sānctus.
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scēptrum (Gk. σκήπτρον).

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scīsco.
scriptum.
sēgnis.
semēstris. (from mēnsis).
sēsqui- (from sēmisque).
sēstertius (from sēmis).
Sēstius.
signum (probably).
sīstrum (Gk. σείστρον).
sölstitium (cf. söl).
stāgnum.
stīlla.
suēsco.
sūmpsi, sūmptus.
sūrsum.
tāctus.
tēxi, tēctus,
trīstis.
üllus (Dim. of unus).
ŭltra, ŭltimus.
ŭnguo, ūnctus.
ŭssi, ŭstus.
ūsque.
usūrpo (older *usūripo).
vāllum.
vāsculum (Dim. of vās).
vāstus.
vēndo (cf. vēnum do).
vērnus (from vēr).
vīctus, vīctor.
nīlla.
vindemia (from vinum and demo).
Vīpsanius.
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(For the evidence of these quantities, the student may consult Marx, Hülfsbüchlein für die Aussprache Lateinischer Vokale in Positionslangen Süben, second ed., Berlin, 1889, a book to be used with great caution; Gröber, Vulgärlateinische Substrata Romanischer Wörter, a series of articles in the Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie, vols. i-iv; also Christiansen, De Apicibus et I longis inscriptionum Latinarum, Kiel, 1889. The weakening of a vowel in Composition is a proof that the vowel was short, for long vowels were not affected by loss of accent (p. 31). Thus inermis attests ärma, infringo attests frängo, &c.)

viscus.

nīxi.

INDEX

A, pronunciation, 9; phonetic changes, 148 sq. -ā, shortening of, 35. a, ab, abs, Prep., 128. abego for abigo, 33. Ablative (see Declension). Ablaut (see Gradation). absque, 128. ac (see atque). accedo for accido, 33. Accentuation, 22 sqq. Accheruns, Plaut., 16. Accius, doubling of vowel, 7; gg, Accusative (see Declension). Achivi, 31. Active, endings (see Verb). actulum, 125. Acute Accent, 22. ad, Prep., 129. adeo, Adv., 123. Adjective, 63 sqq. Adverbs, 118 sqq. adversus $(\cdot m)$, Prep., 119. ae, pronunc. of, 12. aedes, 42, 153. aegrotus, 151. aenus, 52. aequipero, 33. -aes in Gen. Sg., 46. aes, 52. aetas, 29. af, Prep., 129. affatim, 119. ager, 149. Agma, 7. agnus, 157.

agricola, 40. Agrigentum, 34. AI (see Diphthongs). -ai of Gen., Dat. Sg., 43 sq. aio, 115; ain, pronunc. of, 12. ala, 158. alacer, 33. Alcumena, 27. alias, Adv., 122. alienus, 83. alioqui (-n), 145. aliorsum, 119. aliquis, 82. -ālis (see Suffix -LI-). alius, 83. Alphabet, I sqq. alter, 67, 83; -žus, Gen., 77 n. alternis, Adv., 123. alteruter, 84. altrinsecus, 29. alumnus, 106. am-, Prep., 129. ambages, 61 n., 149. ambi-, Prep., 129. ambo, 37. amoenus, 12. amphorum (Gen. Pl.), 46. an, Conj., 141. an-, Prep., 129. Anaptyxis (see Parasitic Vowel). ancilla, 26. anhelo, 34, 129. animal, 52. anquiro, 129. ante, antes, 129. antennae, antestari, 129.

ballaena, 16.

anticus, antiquus, 165. antistes, 129. Aorist (see Tense-Stems). aperio, 128. Apex, over long vow., 7. apiscor, aptus, 115. Apocope, 28. Appius (see Claudius). apud, 129. ar for ad, Prep., arfari, arfuerunt, arvena, 19. arboretum, arbustum, 165. ardeo, ardus, 29. artaena, 29. Article, Def., 23. artus, a limb, 57. arvum, 162. -âs, e. g. nostras, 28. -as, Gen. Sg., 43. asp- for absp-, e.g. asporto, 158. Aspirates, Gk. in Lat. orthogr., 6, 15 sq.; pronunc. of, 16. Assimilation, of Prep. in Comp. Vb., 158. -asso, -assim, Vb.-forms in, 100, 102. ast, 139. -aster, e.g. peditaster (see Suffix -TERO-). at, Conj., 138. Athematic, Conjug., 86. atque (ac), 20, 28, 137. atqui (-n), 139, 145. AU, pronunc. of, 12; phonetic changes, 153. au-, Prep., 128. auceps, 26. audacter (-iter), 121. audeo, 29. ave (see have). augeo, 153. aula (olla), 159. aus- (os-) in osculum, &c., 151. aut, 138. autem, 139. autor for -ct-, 21. autumo, 26. Auxiliary Verbs, accent of, 24. auxilla, 159. avunculus, aunc-, 16 n.

B, pronunc., 16; phon. changes, 156.

balneum, balin-, 30. barca, 30. bellum, O. Lat. duellum, 155. bene, 175; -ĕ, 35. BH, phon. changes of, 156. -bi of ibi, &c., 123. bibo, 156; i, Perf., 170. bicorpor, 168. -büis (see Suffix -DHLO-). bis, 67. bonus, O. Lat. duonus, 155. bos, 56. -bra (see Suffix -DHRO-). bracchium, 16. Breves Breviantes, 34 sqq. brevis, 64. Broken Reduplication, 168. Bruges for Phryg-, 16. -brum (see Suffix -DHRO-). bs, pronunc. of, 21. bucetum, 165. -bulum (see Suffix -DHLO-). -bundus, e.g. errabundus, 110. buxus, 6. C, the letter, 3; pronunc., 13, 17. C. for centum, 3 n.; for Gaius, 6. cadaver, 106. Caecilius, Cec-, 13. caelebs, 51. caelicolum, Gen. Pl., 46. calamitas, kad-, 19. calcar, 52. caldarius, 29. caldus for -lid-, 27, 30. calefacio, calf-, 27, 35. calumnia, calvor, 163. calx, lime, 6. Campans for -nus, 27. campester, 164. canes, Nom. Sg., 61 n.

cano, cecini, 170.

capio, cepi, 171.

caro, flesh, 53. Cases (see Declension).

causa, -ssa, 20.

catus, 107.

cardus for -duus, 30.

Catullus on Arrius, 16.

canorus, 164.

capesso, 172.

Causative Vbs., 89. caveo, cavi, 170; cautum, 13. cavus, 152. -ce, Particle, 79. Cecilius for Caec-, 13. cedo, 103. -cello, 108. celo, 88. cena, -oe-, 22. -cendi, Perf., 170. centum, 67. cerebrum, 164. cerno, crevi, 172. cervix (Sg., Plur.), 42. ceterum, Conj., 139; ceteroqui (-n), -cetum (see Suffix -TO-). ceu, 141. -ch- (Gk. χ), -cch-, Plaut., 16. Change of Unaccented Vowel (see Weakening). Chi (see Aspirates). -ci- and -ti-, 17. circum, -a, Prep., 129 sq.; circiter, Circumflex Accent, 22. cis (citra), 130. citus, 107; -tŏ, Adv., 35. -cl- for -tl-, 156. dades, 108. clam (clanculum), clandestinus, 130. Claudius (App.), reforms alph., 5; (Emp.), reforms alph., 7. claudo, 154. clavis, 154. cliens, 51. Clodius, 13 n. Close Syll., quant. of vowel, App. C. -clum (-culum) (see Suffix -LO-). Cn. for Gnaeus, 6. -co of albico, &c., 173. coena (see cena). coepio, 115; -plus sum, 95. cogo, 151. collis, 159. collum, 159; gender of, 41. colonia, 161. coluber, 33. colurnus, 19. colus, 47. com- (cum), Prep., 130.

comes, 51. comminus, -m-, 22, 120. como, -mpsi, 171 n. Comparison, of Adj., 64 sqq. Compensation, length by, 159. compitum, 33. Compounds (Noun and Adj.), 168; (Verb) 173; Separable, conecto, conitor, conubium, spelling of, 20, Conjugations (see Verb). Conjunctions, 136 sqq. conscribillo, 173. Consonant, pronunc. of, 13 sqq.; lost in group, 157. contio, 54. contra, 130. controversia, 123. contubernium, 33. contumelia factum itur, 104 n. copia, 151. copula, 151. cor, 52. coram, 131. corbus for corvus, 16. cornix, 166. cornus, cornel, 156, corona, spelling of, 16. cos, 107. cosentiont, Scipio Epit., 112. cottidie, 85. couentionid, 54. crastinus, 162. crates, 148. crebesco for -br-, 18. credo, 172. cresco, -ēvi, 172. -cubi. 80. cudo, -di, 170. cuicuimodi, 77. cujus, Poss., 72. -culi, Perf., 170. -culo-, Dim. (see Suffix -LO-). cum Prep. (see com); Conj. (see quum); the spelling, 21. cunae, 153. -cundus, IIO. -cunque, 137. cupressus, 6. cur, 141. curro, cucurri, cec-, 99.

D, phon. changes of, 156; final, after long vow., 20. -d, Abl., 45. dacruma, O. Lat. for lacruma, 19. -dam of quidam, &c., 83. damnum, 163. danunt, 112. Dative (see Declension). dautia, 19. de, Prep., 131. deabus, 45. debeo, 17. debilito, 26. decem, 67. decimanus, 163. Declension (Noun, Adj.), sqq.; (Pron.), 69 sqq. decorus, 164. Defective Nouns, 39. degener, 168. Degrees of Compar. (see Comparison). deinceps, 120. deinde (dein), 123. delenio, 34. deliro, 22. -dem of idem, &c., 76. demo, -psi, 171. Demonstratives, 73 sqq. demum, 120. Denominative (see Derivative). dens, 107. Dentals (see D, T, TH). dentio, 93. denuo, 34. Deponents, 94 sqq. Derivative Verbs, 93. Desideratives, 93 desitus sum, with Pass. Inf., 95. deus, 155; Voc., 48. dexter, 65. DH, phon. changes of, 156. dicis, Gen., 39. dīco, Imper., 28; -xi, 171. dies, pronunc., 10; gend., 40; decl., 60. Diespiter, decl. of, 56. dilexi, Perf., 171 n. dimico, 33. dimidius, 66. Diminutives, 164 sq. dingua, O. Lat. for lingua, 19.

dinus for divinus, 26. Diovem, 56. Diphthongs, pronunc., 12 sq.; phon. changes of, 152. dis-, Prep., 131. disco, didici, 170. Dissimilation of l, r, 18. dissipo, spelling of, 33. Distributives (see Numerals). diutinus, 162. dives, dis, Compar., 66. Division of Syll., 19. divus (cf. deus), 155. dixo, 101. do of condo, 116. do, I give, decl. of, 116; datus, 154. doceo, 89. domnus for dominus, 30. domus, decl. of, 41. donec, -icum, -ique, 142. donum, 154. dos, 151. Double Cons., pronunc. of, 19; written, 7; at end of word, 20; Vow., 7. Doublets, 20. drachuma, 27; drachmum (Gen. Pl.), 46. Dropping (see Loss). Dual, traces of, 37. ducentum, O. Lat., 67 n. duco, Imper., 28; -xi, 171. duellum, 155. Dvenos Inscr., App. A. dius, O. Lat. for bis, 155. duim, 101. dum, 142. dummodo, 144. dumus, 152. duo, 67. duonus, 155; duonoro(m), 49 n. -dus, e.g. pallidus, 90. E, phon. changes of, 149 sq.; for ae, 12. -ĕ, loss of, 28. -ē of Adv., 120. e, ex, Prep., 131. E-grade of Root (see Gradation).

eādem, Adv., 123.

ecce, eccere, eccum, 147. ecquis, 83. Ecthlipsis, 157 sqq. ecus for equus, 21. edo, decl., 116; ēdi, 170; edim, IOI. ego, 69. EI, phon. changes of, 153; for ₹, 7. -ēla (see Suffix -LO-). elego, 33. elementum, 33 -ēlis (see Suffix -I-). Elision, of -m, 36; -s, 36 n. (see Hiatus). ellum, 147. -em- for I.-Eur. om, 155. em, Interj., 147. em, 'eum,' 80. eminus, 120. emo, emi, empsi, 171 n. -endus, -undus (see Gerund). -en- for I.-Eur. en, 155. en, Interj., 147. Enclitics, 23 sqq. endo, indu, 132. enim, 140. Ennius, double cons., 7. enos, Carm. Arv., 71. -ens, -entia, -entium (see Suffix -NT-). -entior, Compar., 107. enunquam, 147. -ēnus (see Suffix -NO-). eo, Adv., 123. eo, Vb., 86; itum, 154. -er- for r-vowel, 26. -er for -ros, 47; for -ris, 64. eram, 97. erga, ergo, 131. ero, 97. -ēs, Nouns in, 61. -ēsimus, -ensumus, 67. -esso, Vb.-forms in, 172. (e)st, (e)s, Procope of, 23. -ester (see Suffix -TERO-). et, Conj., 137. Eta (Gk.), Lat. ae, 13 n. etiam, 138. etsi, 144. -etum, e.g. arboretum, 165. EU, phon. changes, 153.

-ex of remex, &c., 33, 173. exemo, 33. eximius, 106. expers, 33. explenunt, II2. exsequias ire, 105. extemplo, 124. extra, 132. F, the letter, 3 sq.; pronunc., 17; from I.-Eur. bh. dh. gh (see BH, DH, GH). facesso, 172. facies, 60. facilis, facul, 121; facillimus, 65; facilumed, S. C. Bacch., 122. facio, 116; faxo, 101; fac, 28; feci, 171. facultas, 26. faculter, 121. facundus, 110. fama, 148. fames, 61. familia, 33; -as, Gen., 43. famul for famulus, 47 n. -fariam, 122. fatum, 108 fecundus, 110. feles, 61 n. femina, 163. Feminine (see Gender). femur, decl. of, 39. -fendo, Vb., -di, Perf., 170. fere, ferme, 122. feriae, 34. ferio, percussi, 115. fero, 116; Imper., 103; tuli, 99, 115. ferveo (-vo), 91 ; -bui, 16. festus, 34. fiber, 156. fides, 61. Fifth Decl., 59 sqq. figo, -xi, 171. figura, 93. filius, 34 ; filiabus, 45. Final, Cons., 36 n.; Vow., 34 sqq. findo, fidi, 170. fingo, -nxi, 171. finitimus, 65.

-eus, -eum (see Suffix -IO-).

fio, 96, 115; fleri, 96. gigno, 96; geno, 93. flagro, 149. glosa, spelling of, 20. Gnaeus, 6. flavus, 162. fluo, -xi, 172. gnaruris, 106 n. fodico, 173. gnatus (nat-), 157. fodio, fodi, 170. -gnus (see Suffix -NO-). foras, foris, 123. Gradation of Vowels, 154. forceps, 26. gradus, 149. forem, 102. granum, 148. gratis (-iis), 15, 123. formosus, (-ss-), 20, 167. formus, 26. gravis, 166. fors, 156; forte, 39. Greek, Aspirates (see Asp.); fortasse, 124 n. Loan-words, parasitic vow., 27; fortis, O. Lat. forctus, 108. for nuances of feeling, 64; for Fourth Decl., 57 sqq. exclamations, 147; Misprofrango, 149; fregi, 171. nunc. of Lat., 17, 19 n.; Orthofrater, 156. graphy, influence on Lat. 7. Frequentatives, 88. guberno, 3 n., 6. gurgulio, 168 n. frigdaria, 29. frugi, frugalior, 66. Gutturals, letters, 3 sqq.; phon. fruor, fructus sum, 172. changes, 156. fuam, 102. fuga, 160. fugio, fugi, 170. H, pronunc. of, 16; dropped bet. fui, 97. vowels, 17; from I.-Eur. gh fulgeo (-go), 91. (see GH). fulvus, 162. haereo, -si, 171; -surus, 108. fumus, 156. halo, 149. Fundanius, Gk. mispron. of, 17. haud, 146; hau, 20. funditus, 119. have, pronunc. of, 35. fundo, fudi, 170. haurio, -si, 171; -surus, 108. funera nec funera, 146. helvus, 162. fungor, 92. hem, 147. furvus, 162. heri, 155. Fusii for Furii, 157 n. Heteroclite, Nouns, 38; Verbs, Future, 97; Fut. Perf., 100; 115; Comparison, 65. Fut. Imperat., 103. hic, Pron., decl. of, 74; pronunc., 20; hoc, pronunc., 20. G, letter, 5; pronunc., 13, 17 sq.; hic, Adv., 78, 123. phon. changes, 157; written Hidden Quantity, App. C. for n, 7. hilaris, 64. Gaius, 6. hoc, Adv., 75, 123. gaudeo, 172. hoccine, 20, 31. Gender, 40 sq.; in Adj., 63 sq. homo (hem-), 53. genetrix, 33. honorus, 164. Genitive (see Declension). hordeum, 158. geno for gigno, 93. hortor, 95. gens, 51 n. hospes, 26. hosticapas, 43. genus, 150. Gerund, 108 sqq. hostis, 157. -gg-, written for ng, 7. huc, Adv., 123. GH, phon. changes of, 157. humerus (see um-).

I, tall form, 7; doubled in aiio, &c., 7 n.; symbols of long, 7; pronunc., 9 sq.; phon. changes, 150; Lat. i for atonic vow., 30; for ĕ bef. ng, 33. I-stems, mixed with Cons.stems, 51 (see Suffix -I-). I-Subjunctive (Opt.), 101 sq. ibi, 123. -ic of illic, &c., 123. -icius, -icus (see Suffix -KO-). idcirco, 130. idem, 76. ideo, 123. idolatria, 26. -idus, e.g. pallidus, 90. -ie(n)s of Numeral Adv., 66. igitur, 140. ignis, 158. ignosco, 146 n. -igo of navigo, &c., 173. -iit of abiit, &c., 111. ilicet, 124. ilico, 119. ilignus, 162. -īlis, -ĭlis (see Suffix -I-). illac, Adv., 123. ille, 75. illex and illex, 11. illic, illim, Adv., 123. -illo of Dim. Vbs., 173. illuc, Adv., 123. -im of sensim, &c., 118; of illim, &c., 123. im, 'eum,' 80. imago, 95. imitor, 95. immanis, 117. immo, 140. Imperative, 102 sq. Imperfect, 97. impero, 33. Impersonal Pass., 94 sq. implico, 88. imprimis, 125. improbo, 146 n. impune, 121. imus, infimus, 65. in, Prep., 132; bef. s-, f-, 11. in-, Neg-, 146; with Verb, 146 n. -ina (see Suffix -NO-). incassum, 125.

Inceptives, 90. incesso, 172. incestus, 33. incipisso, 172. inclutus (-lit-), 108; spelling of, 6. incolomis, the spelling, 33. incurvicervicum pecus, Pacuv., 169. indaudio, 132. inde, 123. Indefinite Pronouns, 80 sqq. indu (see endo). indugredior, induperator, 26. Infinitive, 103 sqq. infit, 116. infiteor, 146 n. infitias ire, 105. infra, 132; infimus, imus, 65. ingens, 108. inlex, 33 (see illex). inquam, 115. insequo, -co, 115. instar, 39. Instrumental, 37. integer, 32. intelligo, -lexi, 171 n. inter, 132. Interjections, 147. Interrogative, Particles, 141. intra, -tro, 132. intrare, 87. intrinsecus, 120. intus, Adv., Prep., 132. -inus (see Suffix -NO-). -ior (see Comparison). ipse, 76; isse, 58. Irregular Verbs, 115 sqq. is, Pron., 76. -issimus (see Comparison). -isso, Vb., 172. istac, istic, istuc, Adv., 123. iste, 74. -it, 3 Sg. Perf., 111. item, 139. -iter, Adv., 120. Iteratives, 88. iterum, 121. -itia (-itium) (see Suffix -IO-). J, pronunc., 13 sqq.; I.-Eur. Y, phon. changes of, 155. jacio, jeci, 171.

jam, 76.

libertabus, 45.

Januarius, Jen-, 10 n. jecur, decl. of, 39. jejunus, jaj-, 10 n. jubeo, jussi, 171. jucundus, 110. juglans, 47. jugum, 152. -ium, Gen. Pl., 54. jungo, junxi, 93. juniperus, 47. Juppiter, 56. jurigo, O. Lat., 27. justus, 165. juvenis, Compar., 66. juxta, 132. -ix of cornīx, &c., 166.

K, the letter, 3, 6; phon. changes of, 156 sq. K. for Kaeso, 6.

L, pronunc., 18, 26; phon. changes, 156; for d, 19; for r, 18; for tl-, 156. L for quinquaginta, 3 n. Labials, phon. changes of, 156. Labiovelar Gutturals, 157. lābrum, 14 n., 26. lac, lact(e), 52. lacesso, 172. lacrima, 19; spelling, 6, 16. lambero, 173. lammina, lamna, 27. laniena, 162. larignus, 162. larva (-rua), 15. Latona, 167 n. Part., lātus, Adj., 148, 107; lavo, 152; -luo in Compds., 34. laurus, 47. lautia, 19. legitimus, 65. lego, 97; legi and -lexi, 170. Lengthening, by Compensation, 159; bef. nf, ns, II. -lens (-lentus) (see Suffix -NT-). lentus, 153 n. Letters (see Alphabet). letum (-th-), 22. lĕvis, 166. -li- syncopated after cons., 26.

licet, 144. ligurrio, 93. lingua, 19. lino, livi, 172. linguo, liqui, 170. -U- for ld, ln, ls, 159; pronunc., 18. Declension); (see Locative Adv. use of, 37 sq. locus, -ca Plur., 41; O. Lat. stlocus, 157. Long Vowel, orth. of, 7. loreola, 13 n. Loss, of Cons. in Group, 157 sqq.; of final syll. in -m, 146; of final -ĕ, 28. luci (claro), 54. Lucretius, use of Compds., 169. luna, 158. M, pronunc., 14; phon. changes, -m, vow. shortened bef., 36; dropped, final syll. nihil(um), 146. M for mille, 3 n. M. for Marcus, 7. M'. for Manius, 7. macto, 34. magis (mage), 117. magister, 151. Maia, -ii-, 7 n. major, 66. malĕ, 35. mālo, Vb., II7. mālus, mālum, 40. māne, 54. maneo, -nsi, 171. manifestus (-nuf-), 33. mānus, Manes, 117. Marcipor, 102. maritimus, 65. Masculine (see Gender). massa, 6. mater, 148. mavolo, II7. maximus, 66.

meditor, 95. medius, 155.

mehercle, 147.

medius fidius, 147.

melior, 65. memini, 98. memor, 106 n. -men (see Suffix -MEN-). mens, 51 n.; -mente, Adv., 119. -mentum (see Suffix -TO). merto for -so, 108. -met of egomet, &c., 73. Metathesis, 18. metus, F. (O. Lat.), 57. meus, 72; mi, Voc., 73. miles, scansion of final syll., 20. militiae, 44. mille, 67; milia, spelling of, 20. milvus (-uos), 15. mina (µvâ), 27. Minerva, 162. minister, 151. minor, minimus, 65. mis, Gen., 69. mitto, misi, 171. tam modo modo, 144; -ŏ, 35; (Praen.), 144 n. modus in Word-groups, 24. moneo, 89. -monium, -monia (see Suffix -IO-). Months, Gender of, 40. monumentum (-nim-), 33. Moods, for sqq. mordeo, momordi (mem-, O. Lat.), 99. morigerus, 47. morior, mortuus, 30. mors, 156. mulceo, -lsi, 158. mulgeo, -lsi, 158. multus, Comparison, 66. murmur, 168. mus, 152. Mutation of Vowels (see Grada-N, pronunc., 14; phon. changes, 155; for nn, 20. Naepor, 102. nam, namque, 140. Names, Proper, 161; in -o, 167. Nasal, pronunc. (see M, N); Gutt. (see g for n); Vb.-stem, 96; 3 Pl., e. g. danunt, 112. natus (gn-), 157. navis, 57.

-nde of unde, &c., 123. -ne, Interrog., 141. -ne, Affirm., 145. ně-, Neg., 146. nē (nae), Affirm., 145. nē, Neg., 145. nebula, 156. nec, 'non,' 146. nec (see neque). nedum, 145. nefas, 146. Negatives, 146. neglego, 33, 147; -xi, 171 n. negotium, 147. nemo, 17. nempe, 140. neptis, 63. nequam, Comparison, 66; noqualia, 66. neque (nec), 20, 28. nequeo, 146; nequinont, 112. nequiquam, 83, 146. nescio, 146. Neuter (see Gender); in -r, decl. of, 39. neuter, 84. neutiquam, 146. neve (neu), 145; neu, pronunc. of, 12. -nf-, lengthening of yow. bef., II. ni, 143. nihil (nil), 84, 150. nis, Dat., Abl., 71. nisi, 143. nītor, 96. nix, 51. noceo, 90. noenum (-ŭ), 146. nolo, 117, Nominative (see Declension); Adv. use of, 120. non, 146. nonne, 141. nonus, 67. nos, 71. nosco, novi, 172. noster, 73. nostrás, &c., accent of, 22, 28. Noun, 37 sqq. novem, 67. novicius, 166.

olle, 80.

novus, 150. nox, Adv., 118. -ns-, vow. long before, 11. nubes, 61 n. nullus, 84. num, 141. Numasioi (Praen. fibula), 33. Number, 41. Numerals, 66 sqq. numerus, 47. nummum, Gen. Pl., 49. nunc, 141. nuncupo, 33. nundinae, 153. -nunt, 3 Pl., e.g. danunt, 112. nuntius, 21. nuper, Adv., 121. nurus, 47. nutrix, 153.

O, pronunc., 8; phon. changes, 151; for e with w, l, 150, 18; ō for au, 12; for ou, 153. O stems (see Suffix -O-); blend with U-stems, 46. $-\bar{o}$, shortening of, 35. ob (obs), Prep., 132. ob vos sacro, 128. obiter, 124. objurgo, 27. obliviscor, -lisc-, 100. obstetrix, 33 obtineo, spelling of, 132. obviam, 124. occillo, 173. occulo, 88. occupo, 33. ocior, 66. octo, octavus, 67. odorus, 164. OE, pronunc., 12; spelling, 152. (See OI.) offensa, 108. officina, 30. OI, phon. changes of, 153 sq. oinos, 67. Oinumama, 33 -ol- from el, 18; from el, 156. oleo, 19. olim, 80. oliva, 31.

olla (aula), 12, 159.

-onus, beside -o, 167. opera, 41. operio, 132. opificina, 30. Optative, 101 sqq. optimus, 30. optio, 40. -or, e. g. calor (see Suffix -S-). Orthography, 21 sq., App. B. -os, e. g. O. Lat. calos, 52. os, mouth, 151. -ōsus (see Suffix -WENT-). OU, phon. changes of, 153; for eu, 153. P, phon. changes of, 156. Pacuvius, use of Compds., 169. pacnula, 6. Palatalization of Cons. bef.y, 17. palumbes, 61 n. pango, pepigi, and pegi, 170 sq. papaver, 106 n. Papirius Crassus, his use of r for z, 5. Parasitic Vowel, 27. paricidas (O. Lat.), 43. pars, 52; partem (Adv.), 122. Participles, 106 sqq. Particles, Conjunctive, 137. parum, parumper, 124. parvus, Comparison, 65. pasco, pavi, 172. passim, 122. Passive, 94 sqq. passum (mille), 58. pater, 149; p. familias, 43. patronus, 167. paulatim, 122; paulisper, 124. pauper, 33, 47. -pe, Particle, 137. pecto, 172. peditastellus, 164. pejor, 65. pelagus, 47. pello, pepuli, 170. penes, Prep., penetro, Vb., penitus, Adv., 133. -per, e. g. paulisper, 124. per, Prep., 34, 133. percello, -culsus, 108. percussi, Perf. of ferio, 115.

perdo, 133. perennis, 33. Perfect, 98; formation of, 169 sqq. perfidus, 133. pergo, perrexi, 115. Periphrastic Tenses, 113. perjurus, 133. pernicies and permities, 60. perperam, 122. Personal Pronouns, 69 sqq. Person-endings, 110 sqq. perstroma, 29. pertisus, 34. pessum, 105. peto, -ivi, 172. Phi (see Aspirates). pilumnoi poploi (Carm. Sal.), 49. pinguis, 64. pinso, -io, 94. pirus, 47. plango, -nxi, 171. plaustrum, plostrum, 13 n. plebes, 61. plecto, 172. plenus, 162. -pleo, -plevi, 170. plerumque, plerus, Adj., 121. plico, 32. Plinius, 34. Pluperfect, 100. Plural, only (see Number). plus, plurimus, 66. pŏ-, Prep., 128. poema, decl. of, 47. poena, 12. pol, 147. polio, 128. polubrum, 128. pomerium, 133. pone, Prep., 133. pono, 128; posui (posivi), 172. -por for puer, 102. porrigo, porgo, 29; porrexi, 115. porrum, 157. portorium, 29. posco, poposci, go. Possessive Pron., 72 sq. possum, 117. post, postid, &c., 133. postridie, 29. Post-tonic Syncope (see Syn-

cope); Vowel-change (see Weakening). postumus, 163. potior, Adj., 66. polis, 120. potis (pote) sum, 117. prae, 133; prai tet tremonti, Carm. Sal., 112. praebeo, 17. praeda, 17. Praenestine, tam modo, 144 n. praes, 32. praesens, 133. praesertim, 122. praestigiae, 18. praeter, 133. prehendo, pre-, 36; prendo, 17. premo, -ssi, 171. Prepositions, 126 sqq.; written with Noun, 24; assim. in Comp. Vb., 158; accent, 24. Present, 96. Pretonic Syncope (see Syncope); Vowel-change (see Weakenprimus, 67. princeps, 26, 31. priscus, 67. pristenus, 142. priviclois, Carm. Sal., 50. pro, prōd-, Prep., 133. pro, Interj., 147. probus, 133. Procope, (e)st, 23. procul, 134. procus, 154. profestus, 34. proinde, proin, 123. promo, prompsi, 171 n. Pronominal, Adv., 123; Adj., 83 sqq.; Particles, 137, 73, 79 Pronouns, 69 sqq. Pronunciation, 8 sqq. prope, 134. Proper Names, Italic, 161. Propertius, 33. properus, 47. propino, 88. propler, 134. prorsus (-m), 120. Prosepnai, 44.

quoque, 138.

prosum, Vb., 134. protinus, (-tenus', 135. proximus, 134; proxumae viciniae, 44. -pse, -pte, Particles, 76. puer, -re, Voc., 37; -por in Compd., 102. puertia, 30. pulcer, spelling of, 6, 16. -puli of impuli, &c., 170; pulsus, 156. pulto (-so), 170 n. pungo, pupugi, 170. Q, phon. changes of, 157. qua, Adv., 123. quaero, -sivi, 172. quaeso, 172. qualis, 85. qualus, 149. quam, 142; -libet, -vis, 144; -quam, 144. quando, 142. Quantity, 11; list of 'Hidden,' App. C. quantus, 85. quare, 141. quartus, 67. quasi, 141. quasillus, 159 n. quater, 67. quattuor, 67. que, 137. querela, 165. querquerus, 168 n. qui, Pron., 80 sqq.; Adv., 139. quia, 143; -nam, 140. quicumque, -dam, -libet, -vis, 83. quidem, 140; siq-, &c., 36. quin, 144 sq. quinque, 67; quindecim, 26: -n(c)tus, -ngenti, &c., 67. quippe, 140. quis, 80 sqq.; -nam, -que, -piam, -quam, -quis, 83. quo, Adv., 123; Conj., 144; -circa, 130. quod, Conj., 143. quom (see quum). quominus, 144. quondam, 123. quoniam, 142.

quorsus, 120. quot, 85; -idie (see cott-). quotus, 85. quum, 142. R, pronunc., 14, 18, 26; phon. changes, 156; r for s, 157; for d, 19; for l, 18. -r, long vow. shortened bef., 34. rabies, 60. ratio, 166. ratus, 154. raucio, 93. re-, red , Prep., 134. reccidi, Perf., 26. reciprocus, 165. Recomposition, 31 sq. recta, Adv., 123. (see Weakening. Reduction Shortening). Reduplicated, Pres., 169; Perf., 169 sq.; Noun, 168. Reflexive Pron., 72. rego, rexi, 171. Relative Pron., 80 sqq. relicuos, O. Lat., 15. remex, 31. reor, ratus, 154. repandirostro-, Pacuv., 169. repperi, reppuli, Perf., 26. repulsa, 108. requies, 61. res, 60; in word-group, 24. retro, 134, 127. retrorsum, 120. rettuli, Perf, 26, 99. reverti, Perf. of -tor, 95. rex, 155. Rho, Lat. transer. of, 6. -ri-, syncop. after cons., 26. -ris and -er in Adj. M., F., 27. Rivers, Gender of, 40. -ro, e. g. lambero, 173. robigo, 153. robus, Adj., 153. rodus, 153. rotundus, 110. -m- for rs, 157 sq. ruber, 156. rubicundus, 110. rudens, 51.

rūdo, 93. rudus, 153. Ruga (see Carvilius). rumpo, rupi, 170. ruri, (-e), 54. rursus (-m), 120. Rustic Latin, o for au, e for ae, 12 n. S, voiced written z, then r, 5; pronunc., 14; phon. changes, 157; s for ss, 19. -s dropped, 36 n. sacellum, 26. sacerdos, 26. saepes, 61 n. salignus, 162. salio, salui, 172. saltem, 124. sanguinolentus, 33. sanguis, -guen, 39 n. sarcina, 163. satur, 47. satus, 154. scabo, 149. scaena (sce-), 13 n. scamnum, 156. scaturio, 93. scilicet, 124. scindo, scidi, 170. Scipio Afr., ve- for vo-, 152; pertisus, 34. sclis (stl-), 157. scobis, 149. SCR. ARF., 19. se, Pron., 72 se (sed), Prep., 134. seco, 88. secundum, Prep., 134. secundus, 67. secus, Noun, 122; Adj., 120; Adv., Prep., 134. sed, Conj., 139. sedeo, sedi, 99. sedulo, 119. sedutraque, 84. seges, -getis, Gen., 33. semel, 67. semi-, 66. se(mi)modius, 26.semper, -iternus, 124. senatus, decl. of, 58.

Seneca, 33. senex, decl. of, 39. Sentence-Accent, 23. seorsum, 120. sepelio, 33. septem, -decim, &c., 67. sepulcrum, spelling of, 16. sequius, 134. sequor, 94. serpens, 107. serpo, -psi, 171. sero, sevi, 172; satus, 154. sescenti, 67. sesqui-, 66. sestertius, 66; -ium, 49. seu, sive, 138. severus, 47. sex, 67. Shortening of Vow., 34 sqq. si, 143. sic, 143: Sicilicus, mark of double cons., sido, sidi, 170. siem, IOI. similis, 121. simplex, -plus, 68. simul, 121. simulter, 121. sin, 143. sine, 134. Single Cons. for Double, 7, 20. singuli, 68. sino, sivi, 172. sĭquidem, 36. sis for si vis, 14 n. sisto, 117. sive, seu, 138. -so, Vb.-forms in, 172. so-, O. Lat. Demonstr., 74. sobrinus, 157. socer, -rus, O. Lat., 47. sodes, 29. soldus for -lid-, 27. soleo, solitus sum, 95. solus, 84. somnolentus, 33. somnus, 156. sono, sonui, 88. sons, 107. sordes, 59. soror, 155.

sors, O. Lat. sortis, 51. spargo, sparsi, 171. species, 60. Specimens of Early Lat., App. specio, 92; spic-, 32. Spellings, List of, App. B. sperno, sprēvi, 172. spes, 60. spondeo spopondi, 99. -ss- for tt, 156; reduced to s, 19. -(s)so, Vb.-forms in, 172. statim, 122. stated (Dvenos inscr.), 117. status, 149. Stem, 38 n., 160; -suffix (see Suffix). sterno, stravi, 172; stratus, 148. sternuo, 92. stetim for statim, 9 n. -stinguo, -nxi, 171. stl-, O. Lat., stlis, stlocus, 157. stlattarius, 148. sto, decl. of, 117; steti, 170; status, stramen, stratus, 148. Stress-Accent, 24. strideo, stridi, 170. stringo, -nxi, 171. Strong, Root-grade (see Gradation). struo, -xi, 172. studium, 161. suadeo, -si, 171. suavis, 148. sub, sus, Prep. 134; sub vos placo, 128. Subjunctive, 101 sq. Subordinate Words, 23 sq. subtemen, 158. subter, 135. suesco, -evi, 172. Suffixes (Noun, Adj.), 160 sqq.; -O-, -Ā-, 160; -IO-, 160 sq.; -UO-, 161; -NO-, 162; -MENO-, 163; -MO-, 163; -TEMO-, 163; -RO-, 163; -ERO-, -TERO-, 163 sq.; -TRO-, 164; -DHRO-, 164; -LO-, 164; -TLO-, 165; -DHLO-, 165; -TO-, 165; -KO- 165; -I-, 166; -TI-, 166; -TION-, 166; -TAT(I)-,

166; -TŪT(I)-, 166; -Ū-, 166; -TU-, 166; -YE-, -E-, 59 sqq.; -N-, 166 sq.; MEN-, 167; -R-167; -TER-, 167; -T-, 167;, -NT-, 167; -WENT-, 167; Gutt., 167; -S-, 167; -ES-, 167; -YES-, 168. (Verb), 172 sq.; -dh-, 172; -d-, 172; -t-, 172; -8-, 172; -88-, 172; -10 and -illo, 173; -co, 173; -ro, 173; -igo, 173. Suffixless Stems (Noun, Adj.), 168. sullis for si vultis, 16 n. sum, decl. of, 86; es, 2 Sg., scansion of, 20; fui, 115; es, Imper., 103; sim, O. Lat. siem, 101; eram, 97; ero, 97; forem, 102; essem, 102; (e)st, Procope, 23. summus, 65. sumo, -psi, 171 n. suo, 155. supellex, decl. of, 39. super, 135. superbus, 133. supercilium, 34. Superlative Degree, 65 sq. superne, 135. Supines, 105. suppetias ire, 105. Suppression of Syll., e. g. ido(lo)latria, 26. supra, 135. surgo, surrexi, 115. surrupui, 31, -rip-, -rp-, 33. sursum (-s), 120. sus., Prep. (see sub). sus, sow, 57. suspīcio, 34. sustuli, 115. suus, 72. Syllable, Division of, 19; Suppression of (see Suppression; Syncope). sylva, the spelling, 22. Syncope, 25 sqq. T, phon. changes, 156. tabes, 61. talis, 85. tam, 142; tam modo. 144 n.

tōtus, 84.

tamen, 139. tango, tetigi, 170. tanquam, 142. tantus, 85; -tidem, 123. Tarentum, 34. techina, 27 n. Tecumessa, 27. ted, 70. tego, texi, 171. tela, 159. telum, 158. -tem of item, &c., 123. temere, 123 tenebrae, 164. tenor, tenus, Noun, 168. Tense-Stems, 96 sqq., 169 sqq. tenuis, pronunc., 30. tenus, Prep., 135; haclenus, &c., 119 -ter, Adv., 120. ter, 67. terebra, 164. terminus, termo, 163. tero, trivi, 172. tertius, 67. tertus, O. Lat. for tersus, 108. tessera, 34. tetuli, Perf., 170. Thematic Conjugation, 86. Theta (see Aspirates). -ti- and -ci- confused, 17. tibi (see tu) -ticus (see Suffix -KO-). -tim, Adv., 122. tingo, 33 -tinus, Adj. (see Suffix -NO-); Adv. (see tenus). tis, Gen., 70. -tīvus (see Suffix -UO-). Tmesis, 128. toga, 160. tollo, sustuli, 115. tolutim, 122. tondeo, totondi, 170. Tone-Accent, 24. topper, 124. -torium (see Suffix -IO-). tormentum, 158. torqueo, torsi, 171. torreo, 89. tot, 85 tŏtus, 85.

-tra, Adv., 123. trans, trā-, Prep., 135. Trees, gender of, 40. tremebundus, 33. tremo, 171; tremonti, 112. tres, tri-, tredecim, &c., 67. tribunal, 35. triumphus, spelling of, 16. -tro, Adv., 123. -trum (see Suffix -TRO-). -tt- for ct, 21. tu, decl. of, 70. -tudo (see Suffix -TŪT(I)). tueor (tuor), 91. tuli, 115. tum, tunc, 79. tundo, tutudi, 170. -turio (see Desideratives). -tus (-sus), P. P. P. 108; of funditus, &c., 118. tūs, 6. Tuscus, 158. tute, Pron., 73. tuus, 72 U, the letter, 4, 15; pronunc., 10; phon. changes, 152; ŭ for ŏ, 10; for unaccented vow. bef. labial, 31; from av, ov, 34. -u of cornu, &c., scansion of, 59. U-stems (see Suffix -U-). ubi, 123. -uc, Adv., 123. ·ūcus (see Suffix -KO-). -ūgo (see Suffix in Gutt.). UI, pronunc., 13. -uis, Adj., 63. -ul- for li, 26. -ūlis (see Suffix -LI-). ullus, 84. ulna, 159 n. uls, ultra, 135. ultus, 158. ululo, 168.

-um (-orum), Gen. Pl., 49.

of (see Syncope).

Unaccented Vowel, Weakening

of (see Weakening); Syncope

umerus, 47.

unde, 123.

unā, Adv., 123

undecim, 26, 67. undique, 137. -undus (see Gerund). unguo, -nxi, 171. unquam, 84, 124. unus, 66. Upsilon, Lat. transcr. of, 6; pronunc. of, 15. upupa, 168. urgeo, -si, 171. urna, 158. uro, ussi, 171.
-urrio (-ūrio), Vbs. in, 93. -us, Gen., e.g. nominus, 53; Neuts. in (see Suffix -ES-). usque, 135. ut, 141. uter, Pron., 84. uterus, 41. utinam, 141. utor, 153; usus, 156. utrimque, 123. utrum, 141. -uus (see Suffix -UO-). V, the letter, 4, 15; pronunc., 13, 15; phon. changes, 155; dropped bet. vowels, 14 n., 16n. V for quinque, 3 n. vae, 147. valde, 27, 122. Valeri (Voc., Gen.), accent of, vapulo, 96. Variation of Vowels (see Gradation). vates, 51. -ve, Conj., 138. vě- for vo-, 152. vē-, Prefix, 146. vegetus, 33. veho, -xi, 171. vel, 138. Velar Guttural (see Guttural). relim (see volo). velum, 159. vendo and veneo, 96, 105. venenum, 52. veneo, 105. venio, veni, 170. ventus, 153 n. Venus, 52.

Verb, 86 sqq.; Conjugations, 86 sqq.; Voices, 94 sqq.; Tenses, 96 sqq.; Moods, 101 sqq.; Person-endings, sqq.; Iterative, Causative, &c. (see Iterative; Causative, &c.); Verb-stem suffixes, 172 sq.; Tense-stem suffixes, 169 Vergilius, spelling of, 10 n. vero (-e), Adv., 122; Conj., 138. verro, -ri Perf., 170. -versus (-m), Adv., 119. versus (-m), Prep., 135. verto, -ti, Perf., 170. Vertumnus, 163. verum (-0), Conj., 140. vester, 73. vestis, 51. vetus, 64 n. vicem, Adv., 122. vicesimus, vicies, &c., 67. viciniae, Loc., 44. victima (-uma), 33. videlicet, 124. video, vidi, 99; viden, pronunc. of, 36. viginti, 67. vilicus, spelling of, 20. vinco, vici, 170. vindemia, 26. vinolentus, spelling of, 33. vir, 47. virectum, 165. virus, 150. vis (Noun), decl. of, 39. vis (Verb) (see volo). viso, 172. vitam vivitur, 95. vivo, vixi, 171. vivus, 161 sq. vŏ-, O. Lat. for vĕ-, 152. -vo- unaccented changed to vu, 31. Vocative (see Declension); of IO-stems, accent, 22. Voices, 94 sqq. volo, I wish, decl. of, 86; relim, IOI. volturus, 47. voluntas, 107 n. vos, decl. of, 71.

Vowel, Grades (see Gradation); Quantity (see Quant., Shortening, Lengthening); pronunc. of, 8 sqq. vultur (see volturus). vi-, pronunc. of, 10.

W, phon. changes of, 155.

Weak, Grade of Root (see Gradation).

Weakening of Unaccented Vowel, 30 sqq.

Winds, gender of, 40.

Word-Groups, 23 sq.

X, the letter, 2. -x (see Suffixes in Gutt.). X for decem, 3 n.

Y, the letter, 6; Gk. (see Upsilon); I. Eur., phon. changes of, 155.

Z, the letter, 5, 6.
Zeta, Lat. transcr. of, 6; pronunc. of, 15.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

P. 7, l. 3 ab im., for and || read and ||

P. 18, 1 27, for clarus read clarus

P. 47, l. 9 ab im., for humërus read umërus

P. 55, l. 5 ab im., for -om, which read -om, which

P. 73, l. 7 ab im., for tū-tě- read tū-tě

P. 76, l. 7, for $\check{\imath}$ - $p(\check{e})$ -sŏ read is- $p(\check{e})$ -sŏ

P. 90, l. 12, for -μάνη-ν read ε-μάνη-ν

P. 159, l. 3 ab im., for auxella read auxilla

P. 98, l. 12 ab im., to Greek Second Aorist add this note: Attigas, attulas, and similar forms used by Plautus in Prohibitions, e.g. ne me attigas, are more certain traces of the Strong Aorist in Latin. Cf. p. 93 on rudo, geno.

P. 115, l. 11 ab im., to a root rei- add (whence invitus).