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PREFACE

The present volume is a companion volume to *The Sounds of Latin*, which first appeared in 1932 (second revised edition 1940, third revised edition 1945). It was my expectation, when *The Sounds* was published, that *The Forms of Latin* would be ready for printing in about two years; but a multiplicity of other demands upon my time and energies has resulted in an unexpected and unpardonable delay.

This volume treats of word formation and the inflections of Latin, as announced in the Preface to *The Sounds*, except that the stem formation of nouns and adjectives has been excluded; this topic would have occupied more space than can be here apportioned to it, and has already been treated in admirable detail by Manu Leumann in the fifth edition of Stolz-Schmalz's *Lateinische Grammatik*, pages 191-254.

The sections are, as in *The Sounds*, arranged thus: main text, containing all matter of primary importance, but excluding citations except cross-references; then, in smaller type, notes giving exact references, including a sample passage in which any peculiar word or form may be found (or the passage, if the word or form be unique), and also subordinate remarks or limitations not essential to the understanding of the main text, but subsidiary or supplementary thereto.

It is hoped that the use of this volume will lead to a better appreciation of the history of the Latin declensions and conjugations among English-speaking classicists; other treatments in English are either out of date or lacking in detail. Users will do the author a favor by informing him of such misprints and other errors as they may notice.

General acknowledgement is made at this point to the studies of previous scholars, whose views have been accepted or rejected, in most instances, without specific reference; but the interpretations of the forms which are here given have not been adopted without prolonged study of the evidence, and they are therefore not mere borrowings from the works of others. In some few points, I hope, I have presented views which are original with me; but the opportunity for such originality has become very limited.

The University of Pennsylvania's Committee on the Publication of Research has supported the publication of this volume by an appropriation from the Ella Pancoast Widener Fund, and the American Council of Learned Societies has contributed a subvention from its funds. My grateful appreciation is herewith expressed for both these grants, as well as for the Council's previous grant, appropriated for clerical and other assistance in the preparation of the two volumes (*The Sounds* and *The Forms*), a small balance of which remained for application to the present volume; and to the Linguistic Society of America, whose good agencies have created the opportunity of publishing both volumes.

R. G. K.

July 1, 1946.

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The most important treatments of the forms of Latin will be found in the following volumes:

- F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg 1902; 2d ed. 1914), detailed; with a supplement, *Kritische Erläuterungen zur lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg 1914).
- F. Stolz and J. H. Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik: Laut- und Formenlehre*, 5th ed., revised by M. Leumann and J. B. Hofmann (München 1926); detailed, with rich bibliography of divergent views.
- E. Kieckers, *Historische lateinische Grammatik*, vol. 2 (München 1931); detailed, with developments in the Romance languages.
- A. Ernout, *Morphologie historique du Latin* (Paris 1914; 2d ed. 1927); clear presentation of the normal forms and of the less uncommon older forms.
- C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Chicago 1933; reprinting with some alterations, 1937); excellent but brief presentation of generally accepted views on normal forms.
- F. Neue, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, 3d ed., revised by C. Wagener, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1902, 1892, 1897, 1905): exhaustive collection of the forms with their places of occurrence, but the historical interpretation often out-of-date.

There are two excellent etymological dictionaries of Latin:

- A. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1906, 2d ed. 1910; vol. 1 [A-L] of 3d ed., revised by J. B. Hofmann, 1930-8).
- A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue latine* (Paris 1932; 2d ed. 1939).

These and other volumes and journals which are cited in abbreviated form are easily identified by reference to the above and to the following list:

- NW^s = Neue, *Formenlehre* (see above).
- IHL = Sturtevant, *Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* (Baltimore, 1942).
- CP = *Classical Philology*.
- DLZ = *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*.
- Eph. Ep. = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.
- KZ = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, begründet von A. Kuhn.
- Lg. = *Language*, journal of the Linguistic Society of America.
- NSc. = *Notizie degli Scavi*.
- Philol. = *Philologus*.
- ROL = *Warmington's Remains of Old Latin* (see below).
- TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.

An attempt has been made to give in the notes a citation for all unusual forms; it has been impossible, without undue use of space, to indicate whether the occur-

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rence is unique or is a sample taken from several or many occurrences. The names of Latin authors and their works will be readily recognizable in the abbreviated form, but the following specifications for older fragmentary authors are needed:

Ennius and Accius: by line number according to Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, vol. 1 (1935; Loeb Classical Library).

Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Pacuvius, Accius: similarly acc. to Warmington, vol. 2 (1936). Lucilius, *Laws of the XII Tables*: similarly acc. to Warmington, vol. 3 (1938).

Most of the older authors are cited also by the source of the fragments (those not in Warmington's volumes solely thereby), as follows:

Fest. with page and line number followed by M, = Festus and the excerpts of Paulus Diaconus, edition of Müller.

Non. with page and line number followed by M, = Nonius Marcellus, edition of Mercer. Charisius, Diomedes, Priscianus, etc., with volume, page, and (usually) line number followed by K, = *Grammatici Latini*, edition of Keil.

There is an occasional citation from CGL, = *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, edited by Loewe and Goetz.

Forms drawn from Latin inscriptions are mostly cited from CIL, = *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*; numbered inscriptions of vol. I are cited from the second part of the second edition, unless other specification is made. Abbreviations are sometimes used for two important inscriptions:

SCdB = *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, CIL 1.581 (no. 196 of ed. 1), of 186 B.C.

Mon. Anc. = *Monumentum Ancyranum*, containing the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Augustus's own account of his achievements which was by his desire inscribed and set up after his death throughout the Empire; named from the fact that the chief known copy was found at Ancyra in Asia Minor.

The usual abbreviations are used for grammatical terms; the following are used for languages and dialects:

Aeol.	Aeolic	IE	Indo-European
Att.	Attic	Ion.	Ionic
Av.	Avestan	Ital.	Italian
BS	Balto-Slavic	Lith.	Lithuanian
clLt.	Classical Latin	lLt.	Late Latin
Cl.	Celtic	Lt.	Latin
Cyp.	Cyprian	OCS	Old Church Slavonic
Delph.	Delphian	oIr.	Old Irish
Dor.	Doric	oLt.	Old Latin
Eng.	English	oPers.	Old Persian
Fal.	Faliscan	oPr.	Old Prussian
Fr.	French	Osc.	Oscan
GAv.	Gāthīc Avestan	pIE	Proto-Indo-European
Germ.	German	pIt.	Proto-Italic
Gk.	Greek	pLt.	Proto-Latin
Gmc.	Germanic	Praen.	Praenestine
Got.	Gothic	Skt.	Sanskrit
Hom.	Homeric	Umb.	Umbrian

BIBLIOGRAPHY, ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS

A few of these terms might be defined:

Proto- (or Primitive) Indo-European, Indo-European before the division into different dialects or languages.

Proto- (or Primitive) Italic, Italic before the division into different dialects or languages.

Proto- (or Primitive) Latin, Latin before the appearance of inscriptional or literary records.

Old Latin, Latin from the appearance of records down to about 80 B.C.

Classical Latin, Latin from about 80 B.C. to about 100 A.D.

Late Latin, Latin of a later period showing changes from the standard sounds and forms of Classical Latin.

Italics are used for words and phrases cited as linguistic material.

Small capitals indicate Latin words cited from inscriptions; italic minuscules in such words indicate letters no longer to be read.

Bold-faced type indicates Oscan and Umbrian words written in the native alphabet; italics indicate Oscan and Umbrian words written in the Latin alphabet (the sources of these words may be located in Buck's *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, Boston 1904, 2d ed. 1928; or in von Planta's *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, 2 vols., Strassburg, 1892-7).

Meanings of non-Latin words in a comparison are in general given, if not the same as that of the preceding word.

The hyphen, in addition to its regular uses, is used to indicate incompleteness:

servo- 'the stem *servo*' *-issimo-* 'the suffix *issimo*'

t- 'initial *t*' *-t* 'final *t*'

-t- 'medial *t*' *-lu-* 'medial *lu*'

* indicates a hypothetical or non-existent form.

: is used between words or forms or sounds compared with each other, and especially between different ablaut-grades of the same element.

() encloses a sound which may or may not be pronounced, the variation being either phonetically regular or at the speaker's option; also a sound which was subject to loss by syncope.

[] encloses a sound lost in PIE by regular phonetic process, but susceptible of being restored by analogy.

The numbering of sections in *The Forms of Latin* begins with §201, which permits reference to *The Sounds of Latin* by §1 to §200. In the notation of sounds two changes have been made from that in *The Sounds*: *ɨ* and *ʉ* are used for the semivowels in pre-literary forms, instead of *y* and *w*; *qu* and *gu* are used in Latin words rather than *qv* and *gv*, unless the consonantal nature of the semivowel is to be especially emphasized.

CHAPTER I. THE FORMS OF NOUNS

§201.¹ INFLECTION IN LATIN. Latin is an inflectional language; that is, many of its words are subject to modification of form, a process which is called inflection. The inflection of a noun, adjective, or pronoun is called declension, and the inflection of a verb is called conjugation. The inflectional changes are in Latin made almost exclusively by additions or changes at the end of the words, that is, by suffixes.

A list of inflectional forms is called a paradigm; the paradigm of a noun, adjective, or pronoun is called a declension, and that of a verb is called a conjugation. But the list of inflectional forms of a word is often spoken of as the inflection or the inflections of the word, or as its declension or conjugation. The terms declension and conjugation may also be used, and commonly are used, to denote the type or class of inflectional forms rather than the list of forms belonging to the word.

Nouns are in Latin grouped together into five declensions, and verbs into four conjugations.

¹ §1 to §200 are sections in *The Sounds of Latin*.

§202. DECLENSION, THE FORM-MODIFICATION OF NOUN-STEMS. Noun-Stems, with which for the present purpose may be included the stems of adjectives and of pronouns, are in Latin, as also in many other languages, subject to certain variations or additions in the final syllable or syllables, to indicate modifications in their relations to the other words of their clauses and sentences, or to indicate modifications in their own meanings. The forms of nouns which result from the modifications indicating the varying relations to other words, are called case-forms; those which result from the modifications changing the meaning of the stem itself, are the forms of other genders or numbers. But in adjectives used as such (that is, not substantivized), all changes, for gender and number as well as for case, indicate varying relations to other words; in pronouns, changes for gender and number show varying relations to other words as well as change of meaning in the stem itself.

While alteration of form to show change of gender is not exclusively a matter of inflection, it is convenient to deal with this topic at this point.

§203. THE GENDER OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

I. Latin continued the pIE practice of attributing to nouns a grammatical gender, masculine or feminine or neuter, in accordance with which the modifiers (chiefly adjectives) and pronouns referring to them were of the same gender. In general, names of living beings were of masculine or feminine gender according to their natural sex; names of non-living objects might be of any gender, as might also abstract nouns, though abstracts were most commonly feminine.

II. Difference of gender was indicated variously: by the use of etymologically unrelated words, as in *pater* and *māter*, *frāter* and *soror* (so also in Eng. *father* *mother*, *brother* *sister*); by variation in the stem vowel, *-ō-* denoting the masculine and *-ā-* the feminine, as in *filius filia*, *bonus bona*; by change in the case-ending, as in masc. *bonus* and neut. *bonum*, masc.-fem. pl. *vēlōcēs* and neut. pl. *vēlōcia*; by addition of or change in the suffix, as in *rēx* 'king' and *rēgīna* 'queen', *gallus* 'cock' and *gallīna* 'hen'.

III. While the origin of grammatical gender-forms, so far as it applies to words denoting objects or ideas without natural sex, is a very complicated and difficult problem upon which there is no agreement among scholars, certain features are observable within Latin itself, where, with a few exceptions, they were inherited from an earlier stage of the language (pLt. or pIt., or even pIE).

III.A. Thus most *-ā-* and *-ē-* stems are fem.; most *-ō-* stems are masc., except those with nom. in *-m*, which are neut.; most abstracts and collectives are fem., as *avaritia mors juventūs multitūdō*, though there are exceptions, such as neut. *studium silentium* and others in *-um*, and masc. *labor sopor* and others in *-or*.

III.B. Many names of things and actions became masc., by personification, such as *cingulus* 'belt', *culler* 'knife'; abstracts often became collective concretes in meaning, and then became individualized,¹ as *custōdia* 'act of guarding, body of guardsmen, a guardsman',² and all masculines of the first declension, such as *agricola* (originally 'field-tillage'), *scriba* (originally 'act of writing').

III.C. Some nouns take their gender from a generic word: thus rivers are masc. after *fluvius* and *amnis*, cf. *Sēquana*; winds are masc., after *ventus*, cf. *Aquilō Auster*; trees and plants are fem., after *arbor planta*, cf. *fāgus quercus*.

III.D. Diminutives usually have the gender of the word from which they are made: *homō homunculus*, *arbor arbuscula*, *cor corculum*.³

III.E. Adjectives which become substantives through the ellipsis of the substantive which they modify, take their gender from that substantive: thus names of months, e.g. *Aprīlis*, are masc. after *mēnsis* M.; *grammatica* F., sc. *ars* F.; *Persicum* N. 'peach', sc. *mālum* N.; *patria* F., sc. *terra* F.; and similarly the gender of a noun may come from an omitted appositive, as in *Eunūchus ācta*,⁴ sc. *fābula*.

III.F. Some single words became masc. or fem. because of their derived meanings. Thus *Venus* 'goddess of love' became fem., though by origin the same as Skt. *vānas-* N. 'desire'; *flāmen* 'priest', masc. by meaning despite its neuter form, as name of action.⁵

Some words changed their gender to follow the model of a word of related meaning: thus *vīrus* N. 'poison', after *venēnum* and *pūs*,⁶ cf. Gk. *íos* M. 'poison'; *volgus* N.,⁷ by influence of Gk. *πλήθος* N. 'multitude, rabble', cf. Skt. *varga-s* M. 'division, group'; *pelagus* N. *-ō-* stem, borrowed from Gk. N. *-es-* stem *πέλαγος* 'sea', changing its declension in Latin, but keeping its neuter gender by the influence of the original word and of the Latin neuters *mare* and *aequor* (of kindred meaning).

IV. A noun is said to be of common gender if without change of form it may denote beings of both sexes, as *cīvis hostis*, although the adjective modifiers change form to agree with the actual sex.

V. A noun is called epicene if without change of form it is used to denote beings of both sexes, though it remains unchanged in grammatical gender, as is shown by the failure of adjective modifiers to change their form; thus *lepus* 'hare' is always masc.,⁸ *volpēs* 'fox' is fem., *grūs* 'crane' is fem.⁹

VI. Many nouns vary in gender within Latin, with or without change of form. Thus *diēs* 'day' is M. or F. (as F., usually in the meaning 'fixed day, appointed time'); *optiō* 'choice' is F. as an abstract, but M. in the meaning 'centurion's assistant'. *Mendum* 'error' is N., with a collateral *menda* F.; *collum* 'neck' is N., but there was a frequently used oLt. *collus* M., in the same meaning. *Jocus* M. 'jest' has a pl. *joca* N.; *locus* M. 'place' has two plurals, *loca* N. and *locī* M., in slightly different meanings.

¹ Cf. Eng. *youth* 'a time of life', *the youth* 'the young men in that time of life', *a youth* 'a young man in that time of life'. ² Ov. Met. 8.684; similarly such words as *optiō* (§203.VI), and *pugiō* M. 'dagger', though originally meaning 'act of stabbing'. ³ But in Greek there were diminutives of neuter gender used as women's names, some of them appearing in the characters of Roman comedy, e.g., *Erōtium* in Plt. Men.; cf. also the German neuter diminutives *Männchen*, *Mädchen*, *Kindlein*, from *Mann* M., *Magd* F., *Kind* N. ⁴ Ter. Eun. didasc. ⁵ Note that *senium* N. 'old age' takes a masc. adj. in Ter. Eun. 302 *illum senium* 'that old man'. ⁶ Possibly also aided by the influence of a collateral neuter form corresponding to Skt. *vīṣa-m* N. 'poison'. ⁷ Also (rarely) masc. in oLt. (citations in Non. 230.20-34 M), and even in Verg. Aen. 2.99, Caes. BG 6.14.4. ⁸ Quint. 1.6.12; so also *lupus* in oLt., since Enn. Ann. 72 W had to use *lupus fēmina* for 'she-wolf', as in his time *lupa* meant only 'prostitute'. But masc. in Hor. Sat. 2.8.87, to indicate a gastronomic rarity.

§204. THE NUMBER OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES. In PIE there were three grammatical numbers, singular, dual, and plural, of which the dual has left but a few traces in Latin.

I. The singular form normally denotes one individual of the kind, as *homō* 'a man'. But it may denote one individual as the type of all, as *homō* 'man in general', thus making it equivalent to 'all men', as in *homō mortālis est*.¹ The singular form may also be inherently collective in meaning, and hence logically plural, as *populus* 'people (= nation)',² *multitudo*, *volgus*, *grex*, *juventūs*³ used for *juvenēs*, *senectūs*⁴ for *senēs*.

The singular of a word denoting a material may denote either a limited amount of the substance, as *lac* '(the) milk (of which mention has been made)', or an unlimited quantity, as *lac* 'milk (in general, all of it)'.⁵

II. The plural form may denote a numerical plurality, as *hominēs* in *trēs hominēs*, *paucī* or *plūrēs hominēs*, where the men are thought of as individuals; or it may denote a collective totality of all the units of the kind, as *hominēs* in *hominēs ferunt* 'men say'. There are also plural nouns which have no corresponding singular forms; these usually denote a unity made up of parts, such as *castra* 'camp' (the space surrounded by a line of *castella* 'redoubts', earlier called *castra*) and *scālae* 'stairs' (composed of a series of steps).⁶

III. Some nouns of singular form do not normally form a plural; these are especially names of persons and places, abstracts, names of materials. Yet they not infrequently form plurals in special meanings: *Catōnēs*⁷ 'men like Cato', *Caesarēs* 'members of the Caesar family', *Galliae*⁸ 'Hither and Farther Gaul',

*mortēs*⁹ 'instances of death, deaths', *vērītātēs*¹⁰ 'true sayings, truths', *virtūtēs*¹¹ 'kinds of virtue, virtues', *audāciae*¹² 'acts of boldness', *vīna* 'kinds of wine, wines', *aera*¹³ 'bronze statues, bronzes'.

IV. The dual form was original in words meaning 'two' or 'both', and in natural pairs, as 'two eyes', 'two hands'; it was then extended to artificial pairs, as the two horses of a chariot, and in some languages, finally, to any two objects of the same kind. In Latin, however, it survives only in four words: *duo* 'two', *ambō* 'both', *octō* 'eight' (= two sets of four finger-tips), *vīgintī* 'twenty' (= two tens).¹⁴ The last two were indeclinable in Latin; but *duo*¹⁵ (older *duō*, = Gk. Hom. *δύω*) and *ambō* were declined as plurals, with a few forms retaining as a stem-element the *-ō* which is the sign of the dual of *-ō-* stems. Thus *duo* and *ambō* are nom.-acc. M. N., but later were replaced by masc. acc. *duōs ambōs*, and rarely by neut. *dua*.¹⁶ The dat.-abl. *duōbus ambōbus* are formed on the dual nom.; gen. *duōrum ambōrum* are regular by either system, but *duom durum*¹⁷ also is frequent. In the fem., *duo* is rare, the usual forms being *duae duārum duābus duās*; similarly *ambae*, etc.¹⁸

V. The 'elliptic dual' is the dual of a substantive used to designate the object itself and another connected or associated with it: thus Skt. *dhanī* 'two days = a day and a night', *mitrā* 'Mitra and Varuna'. In Latin these occur only in the plural form: *Castōrēs*¹⁹ 'Castor and Pollux', *socerī*²⁰ 'socer et socrus', *Cererēs*²¹ 'Ceres and Proserpina'.

¹ Cf. the French use of the singular with the generic article, as in *l'homme est mortel*. ² Cf. Eng. *ten people* (= *persons*). ³ Cf. Verg. Aen. 2.63-4, where *Trojāna juventūs* has first the sing. verb *ruit* and then the pl. *certant*. ⁴ Cic. de Sen. 8.26. ⁵ Similarly *faba* 'bean' had no plural form (Varro LL 9.38, Prisc. 2.176.5 K), nor had *cicer* (Varro LL 8.48); nor has Eng. *wheat*. ⁶ Cf. Varro LL 9.68-9; one step was a *gradus*. ⁷ Cf. Eng. *Washingtons, Caesars*. ⁸ Cic. Prov. Cons. 2.3; cf. Eng. *the Carolinas*. ⁹ Juv. 1.144. ¹⁰ Gell. 18.7.4. ¹¹ Cic. de Off. 1.15.46. ¹² Cic. in Cat. 2.5.10. ¹³ Hor Carm. 4.8.2. ¹⁴ On alleged duals of Decl. II in *-ō*, see §234.n8. ¹⁵ By iambic shortening, §128.II; *duō* Plt. MG 1384. ¹⁶ Chiefly post-republican; DVA CIL 4.1990 (Pompeii). ¹⁷ Regular *-ō-* stem genitive. ¹⁸ Citations of forms of *duo* and *ambō* in NW² 2.276-84. ¹⁹ Plin. NH 10.43.60.121. ²⁰ Verg. Aen. 2.457. ²¹ As in CERERVM CIL 10.1585.

§205. THE STEM-CLASSES OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES. The stems of nouns and adjectives, to which the endings were added to make the forms of the various cases and numbers, are named by their final sounds. In pIE, there were such stems ending in *-ā-*, *-ō-* (varying with *-ē-*), *-ī-* (varying with *-ei-* and *-oi-*), *-ū-* (varying with *-eu-* and *-ou-*), and the various consonants; also a few in *-ī-*, *-ū-*, and the long diphthongs, notably *-ēi-*, *-ēu-*, *-āu-*. Contraction of the final vowel of the stem with the vowel beginning the case-ending often makes it impossible to divide the form as it stands, into stem and ending.

§206. THE STEM-CLASSES IN LATIN. The stem-classes of pIE did not remain unaltered in the transition into Latin, since phonetic changes and analogical levelings took place, as will be described at the appropriate places. The stem-classes were in Latin reclassified into five declensions, according to the likenesses of the Latin paradigms.

I. Declension I (-ā-stems) includes all stems ending in -ā- and -iā-; such as *rta*, *māteria*.

II. Declension II (-ō- stems) includes stems in -ō- (varying with -ē-), with certain variations in the paradigm if the stems ended in -uo- and -vo-, -ro- and -, -io-: *hortus verbum*, *patruos avos bīduom aevom*, *ferus ager tener*, *famulus*, *ius cōsiliū*.

III. Declension III (consonantal stems and -ī- stems) includes all stems ending in a consonant (including the semivowel -v-, from PIE *gʷh*; as second part of devocalic diphthongs; as second part of antevocalic *ū*) and in -ī-. The declension of consonantal stems and that of -ī- stems were originally quite different, but became united in Latin in one declension as the result of phonetic processes that gave to the two sets identical endings in some case-forms, and of the assimilation in other case-forms, of the endings of the one set also for the other.¹ These may be thus further classified:

stems in dental stops: *nepōs nepōt-is*, *ferēs ferent-is*, *pēs ped-is*, *lapis lapid-is*.

stems in labial stops: *daps dap-is*, *trabs trab-is*.

stems in guttural stops: *vōx vōc-is*,² *rēx rēg-is*.

stems in -s- (mostly becoming -r- by rhotacism, §163.II, §166.II): *labōs labor labōr-is*, *arbōs arbor arbor-is*, *Cerēs Cerer-is*, *mūs mūr-is*, *genus gener-is*, *tempus tempor-is*, *cīnis cīner-is*.

stems in -n-: *sermō sermōn-is*, *ordō ordin-is*, *carō carn-is*, *liēn liēn-is*, *nōmen nōmin-is*.

stems in -m-: *hiems hiem-is*.

stems in -r-:³ *fūr fūr-is*, *dator datōr-is*, *pater patr-is*, *carcer carcer-is*.

stems in -l-: *sōl* (probably from **sāyel*), *sōl-is*; *sāl* (properly *sāll*, from **salod*), *sal-is*; *fel fell-is* (from **feln-*); *mel mell-is* (from **melit* **melites*, §138.III, §123, §141.VII; possibly influenced also by the form of its semantic opposite *fel fellis*).

stems in -v-: *nīx niv-em* (from **snigʷh-*, cf. Gk. acc. *νίφα*, Eng. *snow*); *bōs bov-is* (PIE nom. **gʷōus*, acc. **gʷō[u]m*, gen. **gʷoynos*, as in Skt. *gāuṣ gām gavās*, Gk. *βοῦς βῶν βοός*; §120.I, §153.VI, §167.II.C); *sūs su-is* and *grūs gru-is* (original -ū- stems), with -u- graphic in Latin for -uv- before vowels; *Juppiter* for older *Jūpiter* (from voc. **d̥ieu pater*, Gk. *Ζεῦ πάτερ* 'Zeus father'), *Jov-is Jov-i Jov-em Jov-e*; *nāvis nāv-is nāv-i nāv-em nāv-e* (stem **nāu-*, as in Skt. nom. *nāuṣ*, Gk. *ναῦς*; mostly with -i- stem forms in Latin).

stems in -ī-: *hostis*, *mors* (§123.VI), *mare*, *animal* (§123.V); adj. *animālis*, *fortis*, *pār* (M. *pārr* from **paris*, N. *par* from **pari*); certain remodeled adj. which in PIE were -ō- and -ū- stems (§207.I, VII).

IV. Declension IV (-ū- stems) contains stems ending in -ū-: *manus*, *metus*, *nū*; and one remodeled -ū- stem: *socrus* (Skt. *svasrū-ṣ*).

V. Declension V (-ē- stems) contains -iē- stems and some which were originally -iā- stems:⁴ *aciēs*, *māteriēs*; and a few words from other classes: *rēs*, *diēs*, *ēs*, *fidēs*; along with scattering forms of other words.⁵

¹ For details of the amalgamation of the two types of declension, see §245-272, esp. §5 and §260. ² Stem PIE *yoqʷ-*, becoming *yoḱ-* before the consonantal ending in nom.

vōx and extended in this form throughout the paradigm. ³ On the PIE neuter stems with *-r* in nom.-acc. sg. and *-n-* elsewhere, see §258. ⁴ Confused because *-īā-* and *-īē-* have in common the weak grade *-ī-*. ⁵ Details in §288.

§207. CHANGES OF STEM-CLASS. Apart from the changes mentioned in §206, there are numerous examples of transfers of single words and groups of words from their original stem-classes to other classes. The most important of these changes are the following:

I. Many adjectival *-o-* stems, especially those in *-lo-* and compounds, changed to *-i-* stems: *agilis* (Skt. *ajirds*), *humilis* (Gk. *χαμαλός*), *inermis* (oLt. *inermus*¹), *imberbis* (and *imberbus*),² *sequester* (after *equester*). A few nouns also made this change: *collis* (= Lith. *kálnas*), *caulis* (= Gk. *καυλός*), *imber* (= Skt. *abhrás*).

II. A few *-o-* stems have become *-u-* stems: *nurus* (Gk. *νύος*), after *socrus*, related in meaning; some forms of *domus* (= Gk. *δῶμος*, Skt. *dāmas*).

III. Neuter plurals of Decl. III often took alternative *-o-* stem forms in the gen. and dat.-abl., because of the identity of the ending in the nom.-acc. Thus to *holus holera* were made *holerōrum*³ *holerīs*,⁴ to *poēma poēmata* were made *poēmatōrum*⁵ *poēmatīs*,⁶ to *ancīlia* was made *ancīliōrum*.⁷ To *vāsa*, pl. of *vās* (= Umb. *vas*), were made *vāsōrum*⁸ *vāsīs*,⁹ and a new sg. *vāsum*,¹⁰ similarly to *jūgera*, pl. of **jūgus* (= Gk. N. *ζεύγος* 'yoke, pair'), was made a new sg. *jūgerum*.

IV. Of the *-s-* stems, *modus* (cf. *modes-tus*) became an *-o-* stem, and *sēdēs* (cf. Gk. N. *ἔδος*) and *mōlēs* (cf. *moles-tus*) became *-i-* stems.

V. Of the *-i-* stems, *pulvis* became an *-s-* stem after the semantically related *cinis*; *vōmis* also became an *-s-* stem, and from its new gen. *vōmer-is* came a new nom. *vōmer*.

VI. Some *-u-* stems went over to the *-o-* stems: *mergus mergī* (but Skt. *madgú-* 'a waterbird'); *senātus* formed also a gen. *senātī*; *versus* 'verse' formed pl. *-o-* stem forms¹¹ as well as the *-u-* stem forms. The *-u-* stem seen in Gk. *γένυς* 'chin' became a Latin *-ā-* stem *gena* 'cheek', by the influence of *māla* 'jawbone', when it became desirable to avoid confusion with *genū* 'knee'.

VII. Adjectival *-u-* stems disappeared in Latin,¹² being replaced by *-ī-* stems which were drawn from the PIE fem. stem in *-ī-*: thus *svāvis* (masc. as well as fem.) was formed from PIE fem. nom. **syādyāi* (Skt. *svādvī*) to masc. **syādus* (Skt. *svādūṣ*, Gk. *ῥῆις*), by addition of nom. *-s* and shortening of the long vowel. Similarly *tenuis*, *levis*, *brevis*, *gravis*, *mollis* (§261).

VIII. The *-ī-* stem *vīs* had normally only nom. *vīs*, acc. *vīm*, abl. *vī* in the sing., which are regularly made from the *-ī-* stem; the plural was *vīrēs vīrium vīribus vīrīs*, in which *vīs* is felt as an *-s-* stem, suffering rhotacism and taking the endings of *-i-* stems; cf. §273.

IX. *Senex* and *supellex* are peculiar. To the oblique cases *sen-is sen-ī* etc. the nom. would have been **sō*,¹³ formed in imitation of **juyō* 'youth', Skt. *yuvā*, Lt. *juven-is* (with *-i-* stem nom.); but the unusable **sō* was replaced by *senex*, corresponding to Skt. *sanaka-s* 'old', with syncope of the stem-vowel.¹⁴ *Supellex* from **super-lec-ti-s*, has its oblique cases from *supellecti-lī-s*, a derivative adjective in form.

X. Nouns and adjectives having forms in use which belong to a different declensional type, are called Heteroclites. In addition to those listed above,

such as *inermis*, *imberbis*, *domus*, *versus*, and many plural neuters, there were some names of trees, such as *pīnus* and *laurus*, which varied between *-u-* and *-o-* stems; nom. *pecu*, gen. *pecūs*, and nom. *pecus*, gen. *pecoris* and *pecudis*; those of Decl. I like *māteria* and *luxuria*, with collateral nom. of Decl. V, *māteriēs* and *luxuriēs*,¹⁵ etc. In addition, there are also nonce-formations, especially in the poets, such as abl. *lapī*¹⁶ instead of *lapide*, as though *lapis* were an *-i-* stem, and acc. *hērem*¹⁷ instead of *hērēdem*, as though *hērēs* were an *-i-* stem like *volpēs* or an *-ē-* stem like *fidēs*; not all of these can be listed and explained in this volume, though examples will be given in sufficient number and variety to make clear all the principles involved.

¹ Plt. Bac. 966. ² Citations in Non. 493 M. ³ Lucil. 515 W, ap. Non. 490 M. ⁴ Cato, Agr. 149.2. ⁵ Varro ap. Charis. 1.141.29-31 K. ⁶ Varro, LL 7.2. ⁷ Hor. Carm. 3.5.10. ⁸ Varro, LL 5.126. ⁹ Varro, LL 5.121. ¹⁰ Plt. Truc. 54. ¹¹ Citations in NW² 1.782.

¹² Except *Idūs* 'Ides', which functioned as a substantive; and the late formations *anguimanus centi-manus longi-manus*, which occur (until very late times) only in the nom. sg. masc. and in Lucretius's acc. pl. masc. *anguimanūs* (2.537, 5.1303, as an epithet of elephants). Julius Obsequens (fl. c. 375 A.D.) has the *-ā-* stem fem. nom. *quadri-mana* (Prodig. 51.111) and the masc. nom. pl. *quadru-manēs* (Prodig. 14.73), formed after *quadrupedēs*, which occurs in the same phrase.

¹³ Declensional type, *virgō virgin-is*. ¹⁴ But *senex* is seen in its derivative *senectūs* 'old age', etc., and in the voc. pl. *senicēs* (Plt. Cist. 373; only occurrence). ¹⁵ Details in §288.IV. ¹⁶ Enn. Ann. 385 W, ap. Prisc. 2.281.8 M. ¹⁷ Naev. Com. 63 W, ap. Non. 486.29 M.

§208. THE STEMS OF LATIN NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES. The stem of a noun or adjective is that to which the case-ending is added; but despite the simplicity of this formula, it is not always easy to make the division: for the final stem-vowel has often contracted with the initial vowel of the ending, and phonetic changes of several types may take place. We may however restore the original nom. and acc. cases of Declensions I, II, IV, V as terminating in¹ *-ā -ā-m*, *-o-s² -o-m*, *-u-s³ -u-m*, *-ē-s -ē-m*; it is then easy to see that these Declensions contain stems ending in *-ā-*, *-ō-*, *-ū-*, *-ē-* respectively. The difficulty is in Declension III, where the consonant-stems and the *-i-* stems have become almost indistinguishable,⁴ by leveling to the form of one type or the other, so that the two are rarely kept distinct; the best plan is here to operate with the gen. pl., dropping the *-um* to determine the stem: thus *homō hominū*, stem *homin-*; *pēs pedum*, stem *ped-*; *hostis hostiū*, stem *hosti-*; *ars artium*, stem *arti-*.⁵

The stems thus determined are the stems in Latin, and not necessarily the original PIE stems.⁶ Thus *hospes hospitum* has the stem *hospit-* in Latin, but this stands for an earlier **hosti-pot-*, or perhaps rather **hosti-poti-*, changed to a consonant-stem. In *genus generum* the stem from the Latin standpoint is *gener-*, but it was originally **genes-*, changed by rhotacism; since there are also real original *-r-* stems, such as *pater* and *dator*, it is essential to call *genus* an *-s-* stem.

These simple criteria, however, must sometimes be supplemented by other procedures, in determining the stems.

¹ These endings are altered by iambic shortening of *-ā*; by shortening of long vowels before *-m*; by weakening of short vowels. ² This *-os* disappeared in many stems in *-ro-*,

§243. I; neuters had *-om* in nom. as in acc. * The neuters in *-ū* (and *-ū* by iambic shortening) hardly confuse the picture. * Thus while consonant-stems have regularly nom. *-s*, gen. *-is* (< *-es*), acc. *-em* (< *-m*), *-i-* stems have nom. *-i-s* and (with syncope) *-s*, gen. always *-is* (as in consonant-stems), acc. usually *-em* (from consonant-stems) and only rarely their original *-i-m*. * Neuters also may be handled in this way, since the suffixless nom.-acc. often has developments which disguise the stem; thus *animal animālium*, stem *animāli-*. Where the gen. pl. does not occur in cLt., the nom. pl. neut. differentiates the stems: *cor corda*, stem *cord-*, cf. *animal animālia*, stem *animāli-*. * Numerous transfers from one stem-class to another in the development from pIE to Lt., are noted in §207.

§209. CASE-FORM AND CASE-FUNCTION. Case is that modification of nouns which serves to show the relation to the other ideas in the the sentence, expressed by the other words. Case commonly means case-form, a modification of the form of the word; it is sometimes, though rarely, used to mean case-function.

I. To illustrate both form and function, we may use the sentence *dominus servom videt* 'the master sees the slave'. The endings of the nouns show that it is the master who sees the slave, not the slave who sees the master; in English, where the nouns have no difference in form for the nom. and the acc., the functions are indicated by the order of the words, the subject preceding and the object following the verb. But in Latin, whatever the order of the words, the meaning is not changed, except that the word put first is emphasized: *servom dominus videt* 'it is the slave (and not some other person) that the master sees', *videt dominus servom* 'the master sees (rather than beats or calls or the like) the slave'.

II. It is to be remembered that case-form and case-function are two very different matters; for one and the same case-form may have more than one function, as for instance in Latin, where the dative may express indirect object or possessor or purpose, and one and the same function may be expressed by different case-forms, as in *ūnus multōrum*¹ or *ūnus ē multīs* 'one of many'. So also we may say *Caesarī liber est* or *Caesar librum habet*, and *Caesar Galliam subēgit* or *Gallia ā Caesare subācta est*, without changing the idea, although the grammatical structure of the sentences has been greatly altered.

III. It is also to be remembered that the correspondences between case-form and case-function which exist in one language may fail to appear in some other language. Thus the dative of the possessor, seen in *Caesarī liber est*, is entirely without parallel in English. On the other hand, modern English has (outside the personal and relative pronouns) no variation in form to show the difference between subject and object functions, expressed in Latin by nominative and accusative forms; to distinguish these functions, modern English employs word order.

¹ Hor. Sat. 1.9.71-2.

§210. THE TYPICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE CASES IN PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN. The pIE language had eight cases, the typical meanings of which are here listed: Nominative: the form used independently or in lists, and as the subject of a finite verb.

Vocative: the form used for calling or addressing a person (or personified thing).

Accusative: the form used as direct object of a verb, or to denote the goal.

Genitive: the form denoting dependence on another noun.

Dative: the form denoting the indirect object of the verb, or that with an interest in the action of the verb; sometimes also the goal.

Ablative: the form denoting 'from' ideas: separation, place from which, source, origin, etc.

Locative: the form denoting place where and time when.

Instrumental: the form denoting 'with' ideas: accompaniment, association, instrument, means.

All these cases survived into Latin, though there are only a few locative forms remaining in specifically locative functions. Most of the locative forms and all the instrumental forms were in Latin merged with the ablative forms to constitute a new ablative case of more comprehensive function.¹

¹ For this reason, the Latin grammars classify the uses of the ablative as 'true ablative', 'locative ablative', 'instrumental ablative'.

§211. THE CASE-ENDINGS IN PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN. The following are the endings which served to make the case-forms in *PIE*:¹

I. The endings of the cases in the singular number.

Nom. sg. M.-F.: (1) *-s*; (2) suffixless, usually with long-grade vowel in the ultima; (3) in some pronouns, *-i*.

Voc. sg. M.-F.: the bare stem, *-o-* stems having *-e* and *-ā-* stems having *-ə*.

Acc. sg. M.-F.: *-m*, becoming *-m̃* after consonants.

Nom.-Acc.-Voc. sg. N.: *-m* to *-o-* stems, otherwise suffixless; in some pronouns, *-d*.

Gen. sg.: *-es*, varying with *-os* and *-s*; *-so*; *-sjo*.

Dat. sg.: *-ei*.

Abl. sg.: for *-o-* stems, *-d* preceded by a lengthened vowel; otherwise, apparently the same as the gen.

Loc. sg.: suffixless or *-i*, with last vowel of stem in *-e-* or *-ē-* grade.

Inst. sg.: for *-o-* stems, the lengthened stem vowel *-ē* or *-ō*; *-bhi*, more common as basis for plural endings.

II. The endings of the cases in the plural number.

Nom.-Voc. pl. M.-F.: *-ēs*; in pronouns, also *-i*.

Acc. pl. M.-F.: *-ns*, becoming *-m̃s* after consonants and *-s* after long vowels.

Nom.-Acc.-Voc. pl. N.: *-ā* (*-āi* in some pronouns) to *-o-* stems; *-ī* to *-i-* stems; *-ū* to *-u-* stems, *-ə* to consonantal stems.

Gen. pl.: *-ōm*; in pronouns, *-sōm*.

Dat.-Abl. pl.: uncertain, but Indo-Iranian indicates *-bhios*, Italic and Celtic indicate *-bhos*.

Loc. pl.: *-s* (extended to *-su* in Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic, to *-si* in Greek).

Inst. pl.: *-eis* in *-o-* stems; otherwise *-bhis*.

III. The endings of the cases in the dual number:

Nom.-Acc.-Voc. dual: $\bar{o}$ or $\bar{o}u$ to $-o-$ stems; $\bar{a}i$ to $\bar{a}-$ stems; $\bar{i}$ to $-i-$ stems, $\bar{u}$ to $-u-$ stems.

Other dual cases: endings not certainly determinable.

¹ Some doubtful endings are omitted from this list, as well as some not surviving into Italic.

§212. THE CASE-ENDINGS IN LATIN. In Italic the instrumental as a separate case was lost, though some of its forms survive as dat.-abl. pl., and as adverbs. The locative plural forms survive only in a very few adverbs; the locative sing. was a regular form of frequent use in Oscan and Umbrian, but survived only sparingly into Latin. The other case-forms were utilized in Latin with their original values, except for the following transfers (and a few sporadic non-standard forms):

The Nom. sg. contains one voc. (*Juppiter*) and a few nom. dual or pl. (*genū*, *cornū*).

The Voc. sg. consists entirely of nom. forms except those in $-e$ to $-o-$ stems (*serve*), those in $\bar{i}$ to $-io-$ stems (*filh*), and *Juppiter*.

The Gen. sg. contains many forms with ending $\bar{i}$, replacing the $-o-$ of $-o-$ stems, and extended to other classes; this ending is found also in Celtic.

The Dat. sg. contains a few locative forms.

The Abl. sg. contains many loc. forms (those in $-e$ to consonantal stems; types *pede*, *homine*).

The Nom.-Acc. sg. N. of some adjectives is the masc. nom. (types *audāx*, *praesēns*).

The Dat.-Abl. pl. consists of dat.-abl. forms in $-bhos$ and of inst. forms in $-eis$.

The normal paradigms of Latin are derived from the terminations presented in the accompanying Table, where the last stem-vowel is included with the ending; the actual forms there indicated did not necessarily exist in PIE times, for many of the combinations were put together at a later date.

Stems in	$\bar{a}-$	$\bar{i}-$	cons.	$\bar{i}-$	$\bar{u}-$	$\bar{i}-$
Singular						
Nom. MF	$\bar{a}$	$-os$	$-s, +$	$-is$	$-us$	$\bar{e}s$
Voc. MF		$-e$				
Acc. MF	$\bar{a}m$	$-om$	$-m$	$-im$ $\bar{m}^6$	$-um$	$\bar{e}m$
Nom. Acc. N		$-om$	—	$-i$	$\bar{u}^7$	
Gen.	$\bar{a}s$ $\bar{a}-\bar{i}^3$	$\bar{i}$	$-es$	$-es^8$	$-ous^8$	$\bar{e}-\bar{i}^3$
Dat.	$\bar{a}i$	$\bar{o}i$	$-ei$	$-e\bar{i}ei$	$-e\bar{u}ei$ $\bar{e}u$	$\bar{e}[i]$ $-e-\bar{i}^9$
Abl.	$\bar{a}d^3$	$\bar{o}d$	$-i$ $\bar{i}d^6$	$\bar{i}d^3$ $-i^6$	$\bar{u}d^3$	$\bar{e}d^3$

Stems in	-ā-	-ō-	cons.	-i-	-ū-	-ī-
Loc.	-āi	-ei	-i	-ei -oi ³		
Plural						
Nom. Voc. MF	-āi ²	-oi ¹	-eīes ⁵	-eīes	-eyes	-ēs
Acc. MF	-āns ⁴	-ons	-ns -ins ⁵	-ins -ns ⁶	-uns	-ēns ⁴
Nom. Acc. N		-ā	-ā ³ -īā ⁵	-īā ³	-ūā ³	
Gen.	-āsōm ¹	-ōm -ōsōm ²	-ōm -īōm ⁵	-īōm	-ūōm	-ēsōm ³
Dat. Abl.	-āis ³	-ōis	-ibhos ⁵	-ibhos	-ubhos	-ēbhos

+ means with lengthened stem-vowel in last stem-syllable.

— when alone, means without suffix or lengthening of vowel.

¹ Pronominal ending.

² After model of ending of -ā- stems.

³ After model of ending of -o- stems.

⁴ New in pIt, where pIE had -s for -ns after long vowel.

⁵ After model of ending of -i- stems.

⁶ After model of ending of consonant-stems.

⁷ Dual or plural form used as sing.

⁸ Or -eus.

⁹ After *rēī-ei, dative of rēs.

Greek nouns and adjectives taken into Latin were commonly assimilated to the corresponding Latin declension. But if the nominative was an unchanged transliteration of the Greek and not identical with a Latin paradigmatic type, the accusative commonly and other forms sometimes had the Greek endings; if the nom. was an unchanged Gk. spelling and also identical with a Lt. type, the acc. optionally and other forms rarely might have the Gk. endings. Greek case-forms were mainly used in names of persons and places, and in ethnic adjectives. The chief Greek endings found in Latin borrowings are the following:

Nom. sg. -ās -ēs (masc. -ā- stems); -os (-o- stems); -ōn (-ōn- stems).

Voc. sg. same as nom. sg. without the final s.

Acc. sg. -n (vowel-stems; from pIE -m), -a (consonant-stems; from pIE -m).

Gen. sg. -os (consonant-stems).

Nom. pl. -oe (-o- stems); -ēs (consonant-stems).

Acc. pl. -ās (consonant-stems).

Gen. pl. -ōn (all stems; from pIE -ōm).

See §213 for -ā- stems, §225 for -o- stems, §245 for consonantal stems, §260 for -i- stems, §274 for -ū- stems, §275 for diphthongal stems, §276 for -u- stems.¹

¹ Citations for the separate forms will not be given in the notes, but may be found in NW².

§213. THE DECLENSION OF *-ā-* STEMS. A list of Latin forms is given, with comparable forms from other languages:

Sg.

Nom.	<i>-ā</i>	<i>terrā</i> , Osc. <i>vīú</i> 'via', Umb. <i>muta mutu</i> 'multa', Gk. <i>χώρα</i> 'terra', Skt. <i>āsvā</i> 'equa', Lith. <i>rankà</i> 'manus'.
Acc.	<i>-ām</i>	<i>terrām</i> , Osc. <i>vīam</i> , Umb. <i>totam</i> 'civitatem', Gk. <i>χώραν</i> , Skt. <i>āsvām</i> , Lith. <i>rañkà</i> .
Gen	<i>-ās</i>	oLt. <i>terrās</i> , ¹ Osc. <i>eītuas</i> 'pecuniae', Umb. <i>totar</i> , Gk. <i>χώρας</i> , Lith. <i>rañkos</i> .
	<i>-ā-ī</i>	clLt. <i>terrae</i> .
Dat.	<i>-āi</i>	<i>terrae</i> , Osc. <i>deīval</i> 'deae', Umb. <i>tote</i> , Gk. <i>χώραι</i> .
Abl.	<i>-ād</i>	<i>terrā</i> , Osc. <i>toutad</i> 'civitate', Umb. <i>tota</i> .
Loc.	<i>-āi</i>	<i>terrae</i> , Osc. <i>vīaf</i> , Umb. <i>tote</i> , Gk. <i>Νεμέα</i> 'Nemeae'.

Pl.

Nom.	<i>-āi</i>	<i>terrae</i> , Gk. <i>χώραι</i> .
Acc.	<i>-āns</i>	<i>terrās</i> , Osc. <i>vīass</i> , Umb. <i>vitlaf</i> 'vitulas', Gk. <i>χώρας</i> .
Gen.	<i>-āsōm</i>	<i>terrārum</i> , Osc. <i>egmazum</i> 'rerum', Umb. <i>urnasiaru</i> 'ordinariarum', ² Gk. <i>χώραν</i> (< <i>-āōn</i> < <i>-āsōm</i>).
Dat. Abl.	<i>-āis</i>	<i>terrīs</i> , Osc. <i>kerssnafs</i> 'cenis', Umb. <i>tekuries</i> 'decuriis', Gk. <i>χώραις</i> .

Greek loanwords have in Latin also certain case-forms of Greek types, or at least non-Latin types:

Fem. *Circ-ē*, acc. *-ēn*, gen. *-ēs*, abl. *-ē*; *Ēlectr-ā*, acc. *-ān*; *Īphigenī-ā*, acc. *-ān*. Masc. *Anchīs-ēs*, voc. *-ē -ā*, acc. *-ēn*, abl. *-ē -ā*; *Aenē-ās*, voc. *-ās -ā*, acc. *-ān*.

Dat. sg. in *-ē* occurs, but may represent the rustic pronunciation or the later pronunciation of *ae* (§38).

Gen. pl., rarely *-ōn* instead of Lt. *-ārum*.

Sporadic heteroclitc forms, with Lt. endings: *Īrēn-ē -ētis -ētī*; *Daphn-ē -ēnis -ēnī*; *Nīci-ās -ātis -ātī -āte*.

¹ Naev. BP 46 W, ap. Prisc. 2.198-9 K. ² Or 'urnariarum'.

§214. THE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR: The *-ō* of the Osc.-Umb. forms can come only from *-ā*, which therefore is the original sound in Latin also; here it suffered ambic shortening (§128.II), first in words of iambic value, such as *fuga* and *toga*, and then the shortening was analogically extended to words with long penults, by the proportionate influence of the accusative ending: *fugā* is to *fugām* as *terrā* is to *terrām*.¹ Forms with apparent *-ā*, such as *agēā*² and *Phaedrā*,³ are imitations of the Greek; an occasional metrical lengthening also is found.⁴ IlLt. IVLIANE⁵ has *-ē* in imitation of Gk. words, in which *-ā* after most sounds became *-ē* in Ionic-Attic (σκηνή 'tent'; but *χώρα*).

The masculines of this class (§203.III.B) have the same ending as the feminines: *scriba*, *agricola*. oLt. *hosticapas*⁶ 'hostium captor' and *pāricidas*⁷ 'paricide, murderer' have taken *-s* merely in imitation of Gk. masculines of Decl. I, such as *νεανία-s* 'young man', or of the nom. of Lt. Decl. II.

Nouns in *-iā-* seem originally to have had nominatives in *-īā*, which would give Italic *-īā*,⁸ but there is no evidence for such a form in Latin.⁹

¹ Under the 'laryngeal' theory (cf. Sturtevant, *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*), the pre-IE ending may have been *-ax*, which became *-ā* in pIE before an initial consonant and *-ā* before an initial vowel; the *-ā* was generalized in Osc.-Umb., and the *-ā* in Latin. But such a variation within Italic should not be unnecessarily assumed; it is probable also that pIt. *ā* weakened in Latin (§126.III.C), in which instance nom. *-ā* in Lt. cannot have come from pIt. *-ā*.

² 'Gangway (on ship)': *-ā* apparently in Enn. Ann. 533 W, despite origin from Gk. *ἀγυῖα*; but length of vowel not certain, cf. Warmington's note, ROL 1.201. ³ Ovid, Rem. Am. 743.

⁴ Such as *aquilā* in Enn. Ann. 151 W; but in Catull. 64.186 the ultima of *nūlla* in *nūlla spēs* has merely syllabic length, the syllabic division being *nūl-las-pēs*. ⁵ CIL 5.494. ⁶ Fest. 102.13 M. ⁷ Fest. 221.17 M. ⁸ Cf. Gk. *πρόνια* 'lady'; *μοῖρα* 'fate' from **mor-īā*.

⁹ Some scholars think that this nom. in *-iā* and its acc. in *-īdm* were influences favoring the spread of *-ā* from *-ā* in the nom. of other *-ā*-stems; but for this result the *-iā* would have had to persist into Proto-Latin (after the split from the Oscan-Umbrian dialects), and of this there is no evidence whatsoever.

§215. THE VOCATIVE SINGULAR: The pIE had the ending *-a¹* (reduced ablaut-grade to *ā*); but there is no evidence that in this declension the Lt. voc. is other than the nom. form in vocative use.

¹ Seen in Umb. voc. *Tursa* 'Torra', etc.; for pIE *-ā* became Umb. *-ō*.

§216. THE ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR: The stem *-ā-* before the acc. *-m* has the regular shortening of long vowels before final *m* (§128.I); oLt. MAGNA SAPIENTIA¹ merely lacks the *-m* in the writing, since final *m* was weakly pronounced (§56).

¹ CIL I.11.

§217. THE GENITIVE SINGULAR: The old ending *-ās*, from *-ā-* + *-es*, survives in a few oLt. forms such as *terrās*,¹ *viās*,² and in cLt. *pater familiās*, *māter familiās*,³ *familiās* in these phrases is the only word in which the *-ās* genitive remained standard. The usual form is a replacement of *-ās* by *-āī*, in which *-ī* was taken from the gen. of Decl. II. In the older language this *-āī* remained dissyllabic before vowels, so that only its second syllable was elided before initial vowels,⁴ and occasionally elsewhere, as in *comoediāī*,⁵ *rēx Albāī Longāī*,⁶ from the older poets the dissyllabic form was occasionally taken over even by Vergil.⁷ But usually the *-āī* was contracted to a single syllable,⁸ as in cLt. *viae*; the diphthong, having originated late, did not weaken, but developed as if in an accented syllable (§121).

The ending *-aes* in plebeian BONAES FEMINAE⁹ for *bonae fēminae* has taken on *-s* in imitation of the corresponding Gk. gen. in *-ης*.

¹ Naev. BP 46 W; cf. Prisc. 2.198-9 K. ² Enn. Ann. 428 W, ap. Prisc. 2.199.5 K. ³ But *familiae* also was used in these phrases. ⁴ As in Plt. Bac. 307 *Diānā(ī) Ephesiae*, Persa 409 *pecūniā(ī) accipiter*; if these emendations of ms. readings are correct. ⁵ Plt. Poen. 51.

⁶ Enn. Ann. 31 W, ap. Pomp. 5.297.30-1 K. ⁷ Lucr. 1.29 *militiāi*, etc.; Verg. Aen. 3.354 *aulāi*, etc. ⁸ oLt. writings with -AI, as in FORTVNAI (CIL 1.443) do not show the distinction between dissyllabic -ā-i and diphthongal -ai. ⁹ CIL 6.6573; late *e* for *ae* is seen in gen. LIBERATES CIL 4.5855.

§218. THE DATIVE SINGULAR: The stem-vowel -ā- + dat. ending -ei gave -āi, which in Italic lost the -i before an initial vowel, since it there became intervocalic *i̇* (§178.II); thus oLt. MATVTA,¹ etc. But usually the diphthong survived, as was regular before consonants, retaining the long vowel by the influence of the long vowels in the paradigm (§121); it therefore did not weaken when later it became a short diphthong, but developed to -ae as though in an initial (= accented, §122) syllable: oLt. FORTVNAI,² cLt. *Fortūnae*. This -ai of the dative was never dissyllabic like the genitive ending.³ oLt. DIANE,⁴ FORTVNE⁵ show rustic *ē* from *ai* (§38). Such forms as ANTONIAI AVGVSTAI⁶ in the time of Claudius, and similar later forms, are archaizing spellings. lLt. VICTORIE⁷ has *ē* representing the later sound of *ae* (§38).

¹ CIL 1.379. ² CIL 1.397. ³ Except the *aqvāi* of Lucr. 1.453, an imitation of the genitive for metrical convenience. ⁴ CIL 1.376. ⁵ CIL 1.48. ⁶ CIL 6.921. ⁷ CIL 4.2221.

§219. THE ABLATIVE SINGULAR ended in Italic in -ād, a new formation after the -ōd of the -ō- stems: thus oLt. SENTENTIAD.¹ The loss of -d after long vowels (§141.X) gave the cLt. form in -ā: *sententiā*.

¹ CIL 1.581.8.

§220. THE LOCATIVE SINGULAR had the ending -āi, formed by adding the loc. case-ending -i to the stem-vowel; its further history is identical with that of the dative -āi: oLt. ROMAI,¹ cLt. *Rōmae*, lLt. ROME² (§38).

¹ CIL 1.561. ² CIL 11.628.22 (216 A.D.).

§221. THE NOMINATIVE PLURAL originally ended in -ās, from the stem-vowel + -es; this is seen in Osc. *aasas* 'arae' and Umb. *iuengar* 'juvencae', and survived in Latin in a few dialectal forms, such as the *laetitiās inspērātās* of Pomponius¹ and the oLt. MATRONA of inscriptions from Pisaurum² (without -s, §53). The regular Latin form ended in -āi, made after the -oi of Decl. II; as a form of late origin, this diphthong, when shortened, developed as in an accented syllable, to -ae (§121): oLt. TABELAI DATAI,³ cLt. *tabellae datae*.

¹ Pomponius Bononius, ap. Non. 500.30 M; he was a writer of fabulae Atellanae, a literary form originating with Oscan writers. ² CIL 1.378 and 379; Pisaurum bordered on Umbria. ³ CIL 1.581.29.

§222. THE ACCUSATIVE PLURAL: The pIE ending of this case was -ns; but *n* was lost in pIE between a long vowel and final *s*, so that the original -ā-ns became -ās, as in Skt. *āśvās* 'equas'. This -ās was in Italic replaced by a restored

-āns, seen in Osc. -ass and in Umb. -af; in developing into Latin, -āns became -āns (§97.II), then -ās (§171.VI): *viās, equās*.¹ The -ās of Plautine *liberās*² is due to iambic shortening (§128.II).

¹ Greek also followed this same line of substitution and series of phonetic changes, as is shown by Cretan *ῥιμᾶνς* = Attic *ῥιμᾶς*. ² Plt. Persa 845 (anapaestic).

§223. THE GENITIVE PLURAL in pIE had -ōm, contracted from -ā- + -ōm, as is seen in Lith. gen. pl. *rañky* to *rankà* 'hand', OCS *rakŭ*; but in pIt. and in pGk. they made a new form with the pronominal ending -sōm, giving -ā-sōm, which developed regularly to Lt. -ārum (§163.II, §166.II; §128.I, §126.II.A): *equārum*. An occasional form in -um is found, in foreign names, in compound words, in weights and measures; these are mostly masculines, and are in imitation of the -um genitive of Decl. II: *Dardanidum*,¹ *agricolum*² and *agricolārum*,³ *Graiugenum*⁴ and *Graiugenārum*,⁵ *drachmum*⁶ after *nummum* of Decl. II, but also *drachumārum*.⁷

¹ Verg. Aen. 2.242. ² Lucr. 4.586. ³ Lucr. 2.1161. ⁴ Verg. Aen. 3.550. ⁵ Lucr. 1.477. ⁶ Implied by Varro, LL 9.85. ⁷ Plt. Trin. 425.

§224. THE DATIVE-ABLATIVE PLURAL has in Italic the ending -āis, made on the -ā- of the stem in imitation of the -ōis of -o- stems, and developing regularly in Latin (§120.II, §127.II) to -āis -eīs -ēs -īs: oLt. SOVEIS,¹ NVGES,² cLt. *suīs, nūgīs*.

In -iā- stems, contraction was not possible until the stage -iīs was reached, about 150 B.C.; therefore in Plautus it is always *grātīīs*,³ but later as an adverb the word became *grātīs*.⁴ Cf. also Vergil's *taenīs*⁵ for *taeniīs*; COLONIS and MANVBIS both in the Mon. Anc.⁶ But the dissyllabic -iīs was normal at all periods, by the influence of words where the -īs was not preceded by *i*.

With a preceding diphthong (cf. §241), the normal orthography was *Baīs*⁷ for *Baiīs*, MAIS for *Maiīs* (§179.IV.B, §25), though *Maiīs*⁹ is attested.

Such a form as *filiīs*¹⁰ served both for -o- stems and for -ā- stems, and *dīs* 'goddesses'¹¹ also occurs. But for clearness a new form was created, with the -bus of Decl. III:¹² *deābus*,¹³ *filiābus*,¹⁴ *libertābus*,¹⁵ especially where the word was used in contrast with the corresponding masculine. In popular speech the -ābus form had some further extensions, such as AMICABVS,¹⁶ FEMINABVS.¹⁷

¹ CIL 1.364; unweakened -ais nowhere appears except in Oscan, and the -as in DEVAS CORNISCAS SACRVM (CIL 1.975) points to a gen. sg. despite Festus's *Corniscārum dīvdrum locus* (64.7 M), rather than to a dialectal dat. pl. in -ais miswritten -as (cf. Sommer, Kr. Erl. 102-3). ² CIL 1.1861. ³ Plt. Asin. 5, for *grātīeis*; Enn. Ann. 166 W, ap. Cic. Rep. 1.16.25, has *Nōnīs Jūnīs* (metrically assured), but *Jūnīs* must be *Jūnjeis*, with consonantizing of the antevocalic *i* (§129.II). ⁴ Mart. 5.16.10, etc. (cf. *ingrātīs* Lucr. 3.1069, etc.); and in this form taken into English as an adverb. ⁵ Verg. Aen. 5.269. ⁶ Mon. Anc. 4.27, 3.8; note the *i longa* (§22.II). ⁷ Hor. Carm. 2.18.20. ⁸ CIL 2.1174. ⁹ Prop. 4.5.36; written *malis* in the ms. ¹⁰ Plt. Poen. 1128. ¹¹ Varro, RR 3.16.7; for contraction, cf. remarks on masc. *dīs* (§237). ¹² Perhaps supported also by *duābus, ambābus*. ¹³ CIL 2.432, etc. ¹⁴ Liv. 24.26.2; etc. ¹⁵ CIL 1.1278, etc. ¹⁶ CIL 6.7671. ¹⁷ CIL 8.9108.

§225. THE DECLENSION OF -ō- STEMS.¹ The table of comparable forms is as follows:

Sg.		
Nom.	-os	<i>hortus</i> , Osc. <i>hūr̄z</i> , ² Umb. <i>Ikuvins</i> ² 'Iguvinus', Gk. <i>χόρος</i> 'grass', Skt. <i>kāmas</i> 'desire'.
Voc.	-e	<i>horte</i> , Umb. <i>Serfe</i> 'Cerre', Gk. <i>χόρτε</i> , Skt. <i>kāma</i> .
Acc.	-om	<i>hortum</i> , Osc. <i>hūrtūm</i> , Umb. <i>poplom</i> 'populum', Gk. <i>χόρον</i> , Skt. <i>kāmam</i> .
Gen.	-ī	<i>hortī</i> .
Dat.	-ōi	<i>hortō</i> , Osc. <i>hūrtūf</i> , Umb. <i>pople</i> , Gk. <i>χόρτω</i> .
Abl.	-ōd	<i>hortō</i> , Osc. <i>sakaraklūd</i> 'templo', Umb. <i>poplu</i> , Skt. <i>kāmād</i> .
Loc.	-oi -ei	<i>bellī</i> , Osc. <i>comenei</i> 'in comitio', Umb. <i>kumne</i> , Gk. <i>οἶκοι</i> <i>οἶκτι</i> 'domi', Skt. <i>kāme</i> .
Pl.		
Nom.	-oi	<i>hortī</i> , Gk. <i>χόροι</i> .
Acc.	-ons	<i>hortōs</i> , Osc. <i>felhūss</i> 'muros', Umb. <i>vitluf</i> 'vitulos', Gk. <i>χόρους</i> (Cretan - <i>ous</i>).
Gen.	-ōm	<i>virum</i> , Osc. <i>Nūvlanūm</i> 'Nolanorum', Umb. <i>pihaclo</i> 'piaculorum', Gk. <i>χόρων</i> .
	-ōsōm	<i>hortōrum</i> .
Dat.-Abl.	-ōis	<i>hortīs</i> , Osc. <i>nesimois</i> 'proximis', Umb. <i>uesclir</i> 'vasculis', Gk. <i>χόρους</i> , Skt. (inst.) <i>kāmāis</i> .
Neuter		
Sg. Nom.-Acc.	-om	<i>jugum</i> , Osc. <i>tōuticom</i> 'publicum', Umb. <i>persklum</i> 'sacrificium', Gk. <i>ζυγόν</i> , Skt. <i>yugām</i> .
Pl. Nom.-Acc.	-ā	<i>juga</i> , Osc. <i>comono</i> 'comitia', Umb. <i>iuka iuku</i> 'preces', Skt. (Vedic) <i>yugā</i> .

Greek loanwords have in Latin some forms with Greek endings, though they are mostly assimilated to the Latin paradigm; there are the following types: Masc. and fem.: *Meleagr-os Lesb-os*, acc. -*on*.

Neut. nom.-acc. *Īlion*; diminutives as women's names, usually latinized: *Philēmatium*, but inscriptions often have nom. *PHILEMATI-O*, gen. -*ONIS*, dat. -*ONI*. 'Contracted' type: *Panthūs*, voc. *Panthū*.

'Attic' type: *Androg-eōs*, gen. -*eō* (and latinized -*ēi*), heteroclite acc. -*eōna*.

Plural forms not common: nom. *Adelphoe* (play of Terence), gen. *Satyricōn* (work of Petronius).

¹ Certain forms of stems in -*io-*, -*yo-*, -*uo-*, -*ro-*, -*lo-* are reserved for special discussion in §240-§244. ² With syncope of the -*o-* in the ultima.

§226. THE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR in PIE ended in -*os*, which is the stem-vowel + ending -*s*; this appears unchanged in oLt. *TRIBVNOS*,¹ and with regular weakening² (§126.II.A) in *tribūnus*, *hortus*. In oLt. *CORNELIO*³ the -*s* was weak and therefore not written (§53). The form *damnās* for *damnātus* has lost the -*o-* by syncope; it was probably dialectal.

¹ CIL 1.49. ² Shortly before 200 B.C. ³ CIL 1.8.

§227. THE VOCATIVE SINGULAR in PIE ended in *-e*, the vowel of the stem, without added ending. It is unchanged in Latin, as in *tribūne*, *horte*. But the adj. *meus* had voc. *mī*, which is the old enclitic gen. **mei* **moi* (hardly for **meje* with syncope, §123.V, and monophthongizing). Yet the nom. form was often used as voc., as in Plautine *meus ocellus*, *mī anime*,¹ and in *deus* (*dee* being awkward, though it was analogically remade and used in ILt.).

¹ Plt. Asin. 664.

§228. THE ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR had in PIE the regular *-m* attached to the stem-vowel *-o-*; this is seen unchanged in oLt. LVCIOM,¹ and with regular weakening, in *hortum*. In oLt. OPTVMO¹ the final *-m* was not written because it was weak in pronunciation (§56).

¹ CIL 1.9.

§229. THE GENITIVE SINGULAR of *-ō-* stems had in Gk. and in Skt. an ending which went back to *-o-sjo*; but this was replaced in Celtic and in Latin by *-ī*:¹ *hortī*, *virī*. This *-ī* was an original *-ī* and not derived from a diphthong; for the older inscriptions have *-I* in this ending and thus distinguish it from the nom. pl. *-EI* (from *-oi*, §127.II; cf. §234): gen. LATINI VRBANI and pl. OINVORSEI VIREI of the SCdB.² This *-ī* is of uncertain origin, but most probably³ the form is by origin a fem. nom. adjective derived from the masc. substantive, of the type of Skt. fem. nom. *pāpī*⁴ to masc. nom. *pāpas* 'evil'—this formation being specialized to mean 'belonging to', and becoming stereotyped in this use. Such a form is still seen in Latin in *gallī*, gen. of *gallus* 'cock', and with a suffix in *gallī-na* '(belonging to the cock, mate of the cock,) hen'; similarly from the consonantal stem *rēx* 'king' there was a **rēgī*⁵ which, with extension by the same suffix, is seen in *rēgī-na* '(belonging to the king, wife of the king,) queen'. About 150 B.C., the original *ei* became identical in sound with the original *ī* (§110.II, §127.II), and the two writings no longer represented different sounds; from that date onward, consequently, there was confusion in the writing, the first occurrence of *-ei* in the genitive being in 146 B.C.: COGENDEI, DISSOLVENDEI.⁶ Ennius's *Mettheo Fufetioeo*⁷ 'Metti Fufetii' has merely a transliterated imitation of the Homeric genitive ending *-ωω*.

¹ Oscan and Umbrian used *-eis*, transferred from *-i-* stems. ² CIL 1.581.7, 21, 19; 186 B.C. ³ So F. Sommer, Hdb.¹ 371 n.3. A less convincing view is that of J. Wackernagel, *Mélanges de Saussure* 125-52, that this form is identical with the Skt. adverb in *-ī* used especially with forms of the verb *kṛ-* 'make', cf. Lt. *compendī facere*. ⁴ Skt. fem. also *pāpā*, to the *-ā-* stem (like Lt. *bona* to *bonus*). ⁵ Cf. Skt. *rājñī* 'queen' to *rājā* 'king' (stem *rājan-*). ⁶ CIL 1.632. ⁷ Enn. Ann. 139 W, ap. Quint. 1.5.12.

§230. THE DATIVE SINGULAR of *-ō-* stems in PIE ended in *-ōi* (from *-o-* + *-ei*), which shortened in pIt. if the next word began with a consonant (§120.III): thus oLt. (Praen.) NVMASIOR¹ 'Numerio' and (gloss) *populoi Rōmānoi*.² But

before a vowel the *-i* of the diphthong became consonantal, and disappeared because intervocalic (§120.III, §178.II), which gave the usual form: *Numeriō*, *populō*, *hortō*.

¹ CIL 1.3. ² Marius Viet. 6.12.1, 6.17.20 K.

§231. THE ABLATIVE SINGULAR: The original ending *-ōd* (from *-ō- + -ed*¹) remained unchanged in oLt., as in *GNAIVOD*,² *POPLICOD*,³ but with the loss of final *-d* after long vowels, about 200 B.C. (§141. X), the usual classical form in *-ō* developed: *Gnaeō*, *publicō*. In some ablatives of iambic value, used as adverbs, the iambic shortening operated, giving *citō*, *modō*; but older *citō* and *modō* even as adverbs sometimes remain in Plautus.⁴ An alternative form of the abl. in *-ēd* (from *-e- + -ed*), used as an adverb, is also found: *impigrē*, *facillimē*. The ablative is clearly shown by oLt. *FACILVMED*⁵ and *RECTED*,⁶ Osc. *amprufid* 'improbe'. By iambic shortening, *male* and *bene* have *-ē*.⁷

¹ The quality of the vowel in *-ed* is not determinable; for another theory of this ending, see Sturtevant, Lg. 8.1-10. ² CIL 1.7. ³ CIL 1.581.15. ⁴ But *citō* as abl. of the adjective, and *modō* as abl. of the noun, always keep the long *-ō*. ⁵ CIL 1.581.27. ⁶ CIL 1.365, from Falerii. ⁷ From **bēnēd *malēd*; iambic shortening could not have taken place here before the loss of final *-d*, about 200 B.C. (in **bened *maled* the *-d* would have remained, being after a short vowel, §141.X), and yet *benē* and *malē* are the only forms in Plautus, some of whose extant plays were produced at just about that time. But *bene* and *male*, being frequently used words, would undergo the iambic shortening very quickly after the loss of *-d*.

§232. THE LOCATIVE SINGULAR ended in stem-vowel *-e-* or *-o-* + ending *-i*; both *-ei* and *-oi* are found in Greek, but Oscan has only *-ei* (§225), so that the Latin forms, though weakening prevents the distinction of the diphthongs (§127.I-II), are probably from *-ei* rather than from *-oi*. The forms which survive are only scattered forms, such as *domī*, *Corinthī*, *quīntī* in *diē quīntī*,¹ *peregrī* (which became *peregrē* after adverbs in *-ē*; §231). *Humī* is probably not by origin the loc. of an *-o-* stem,² but is itself the starting-point for a stem *humo-* in Latin, since the word is an *-m-* stem in other languages.

¹ Also *diē quīntē*, acc. to Gell. 10.24.1; probably in imitation of adverbs in *-ē*, or to give the same ending to both words. ² Apparently *humī* is identical with Gk. *χαμῖ* 'on the ground', an adverb of uncertain case-formation, to an *-m-* stem.

§233. THE INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR seems to have ended, in pIE, in *-ō* and *-ē*, the stem-vowel contracted with another vowel as case-suffix, or merely with lengthening; it is probably found in *quō* 'whither', *eō* 'thither',¹ and has been claimed for many adverbs in *-ō* and *-ē*, but without cogency.

¹ The meaning of *quō* and *eō* is unsuitable to the ablative case, though the forms would be the same after the loss of *-d*, about 200 B.C.; but there are also adverbs of the ablative form, such as *meritō* 'deservedly', oLt. *MERITOD* (CIL 1.33).

§234. THE NOMINATIVE PLURAL in pIE ended in *-ōs* (from *-ō- + -es*), which remained in Indo-Iranian, in Germanic, and in Oscan and Umbrian: Osc. *Núv-*

lanús 'Nolani', Umb. *Ikuvinus* 'Iguvini'. This was replaced in Latin by -ō- + the pronominal plural ending -i, giving -oi,¹ which weakened in a regular way through -ei and -ē to -ī, the last stage being reached not long before 150 B.C. (§127.II): oLt. FOEDERATEI,² VIREI,² PLOIRVME,³ cLt. *virī*, *plūrimī*. The *pilumnoe poploe* 'pilati populi' of the Carmen Saliare⁴ still shows the original quality of the diphthong.

To this ending there was sometimes added in older Latin an -s from the nom. pl. of Decl. III: oLt. MAGISTREIS,⁵ MAGISTRES,⁶ MINISTRIS.⁷ The nom. pl. of *deus* was **deiyoī*, which became **dēyē* **dējē* **dē* and finally cLt. *dī* (§110.II, §181.VII, §127.II); *dēī* was remade after *deus*; *dīī* is merely graphic for *dī* (§88. IV.B). Such forms as *Adelphoe* (the name of the play of Terence) are merely transliterations of the Gk. pl. form in -oi.⁸

¹ The development in Greek was identical, but independent. ² CIL 1.581.2 and 19. ³ CIL 1.9. ⁴ Fest. 205a.24 M; with *oe* graphic for *oi*. ⁵ CIL 1.364. ⁶ CIL 1.1447. ⁷ CIL 1.681.

⁸ When two sons of the same father are denoted by abbreviations before the gentile name, the gentile name is usually put in the plural; therefore in CIL 1.30 M. C. POMPLIO NO. F. DEDRON HERCOLE 'Marcus and Gaius Pompilius, sons of Novius, gave (this) to Hercules', the form POMPLIO has been by some taken as a dual, made after the Greek dual in -ω (*ἄνω* 'two horses'), but it is only a singular without the -s (§226), used instead of the normal plural. So also in CIL 1.61, and (very rarely) in later inscriptions.

§235. THE ACCUSATIVE PLURAL in PIE had -ons (from -o- + -ns), which in Latin lost the *n* before final -s, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (§171.VI.E): *hortōs*, *lupōs*.

§236. THE GENITIVE PLURAL of -ō- stems originally had -ōm, a contraction of -ō- + -ōm (or possibly of -ō- + -ōm), which developed through -ōm to -um (§128.I, cf. §97.II and §126.II.A): oLt. ROMANOM,¹ ROMANO² (§56), *verbum*,³ *amicum*,⁴ *Aetōlum*,⁵ *famulum*.⁶ This ending remained usual in legal terms, notably in weights and measures and in official titles, and was not infrequent in compound adjectives and in stems containing -r-: *nummum*,⁷ *dēnarium*, *modium*,⁸ *praefectus fabrum*,⁹ II VIRUM,¹⁰ *socium*,¹¹ *deum*, *magnanimum*,¹² *superum*,¹³ *liberum*.¹⁴

But the usual form of the genitive plural was in -ōrum, made in imitation of the -ārum of -ā- stems (§223): *verbōrum*, *virōrum*. The oldest reliable occurrence in an inscription is DVONORO¹⁵ 'bonorum', about 200 B.C.

The gen. pl. *sēstertium*, to *sēstertius* 'sesterce', was most commonly used with a form of *mille* expressed or omitted; when the pl. *mīlia* was omitted, *sēstertium* came to be felt as a collective singular neuter, whence a new nom.-acc. pl. *sēstertia* used with a distributive numeral as in *sēstertia dēna*¹⁶ 'decem milia sestertium'; less often with a cardinal, as in *sēstertia centum*¹⁷ 'centum milia sestertium'. The singular *sēstertium* was used with a multiplicative adverb to mean *centēna mīlia sēstertium*: nom.-acc. *sēstertium deciēns*,¹⁸ also gen. as in *sēstertiī centiēs*¹⁹ and abl. as in *quadrāgiēs sēstertiō*.²⁰

¹ CIL 1.2.2.p.95. ² CIL 1.2.2.p.96. ³ Plt. Asin. 153. ⁴ Ter. HT 24. ⁵ Verg. Aen. 11.308. ⁶ Verg. Aen. 11.34. ⁷ Plt. Men. 542; also *nummōrum* Plt. Trin. 152, etc. ⁸ Cic. Verr. 3.46.

111. ⁹ Cic. pro Mur. 35.73. ¹⁰ CIL 1.585.28. ¹¹ Verg. Aen. 5.174. ¹² Verg. Aen. 3.704. ¹³ Verg. Aen. 1.4.

¹⁴ For the remaining examples, and others, along with discussion, Cic. Or. 46.155-6, Varro LL 8.71, 9.85. Many modern books speak of this ending as 'contracted' from *-drum*, and print it *-dm*; but the *-um* ending is older than the *-drum* ending, and therefore cannot be derived from it. Also, all vowels are short in Latin before final *-m*.

¹⁵ CIL 1.9. But also *olorom* in the Columna Rostrata of 260 B.C., CIL 1.25.10, of which however we have only a later copy of early imperial times, with some false archaisms, so that the forms are not reliable; and *nōdōrum* is quoted from Liv. And. Od. 28 W, ap. Prisc. 2.469.17 and 2.538.12 K. The *-drum* form is the commoner form in the plays of Plautus.

¹⁶ Cic. Ver. 2.3.50.119. ¹⁷ Sall. Cat. 30.6. ¹⁸ Cic. Ver. 2.2.7.20. ¹⁹ Cic. Phil. 2.37.95. ²⁰ Varro, RR 3.17.3.

§237. THE DATIVE-ABLATIVE PLURAL of *-ō-* stems in Latin inherited the form of the pIE instrumental in *-ōis* (from *-o-* + *-eis*), which developed regularly through *-ōis* to oLt. *-eis* and *-ēs*, and cLt. *-īs* (§120.II, §127.II): oLt. *privicloes*¹ 'priviculis, privis', CASTREIS,² LEIBEREIS,³ Praen. SVEQ⁴ 'suisque'; cLt. *castrīs*, *liberīs*, etc.

From *deus* came normal *dīs*,⁵ but also *deīs*⁶ and *dīīs*,⁷ by the same processes as in the nom. pl. (§234); *DIVVS*⁸ was made on the model of *deābus* (§224) or of *Mānibus*, with which it was constantly associated in epitaphs in the phrase *DIS MANIBVS*.

oLt. *MIEIS*⁹ is monosyllabic, as the meter of the inscription shows; the pronunciation was accordingly *m̥eis*, with dissimilative writing to avoid repetition of the *e* in *-eei*.¹⁰

¹ Fest. 205a.21 M (for ms. *privicloes*); the *-oe-* merely orthographic for *-oi-*. ² CIL 1.614. ³ CIL 1.588.9. ⁴ CIL 1.62; for omission of *-s*, cf. §53. ⁵ As in Mon. Anc. 1.26. ⁶ As in CIL 1.1596 (probably with *ei* = *i*); Catullus 4.22, the dissyllable metrically assured, as against *dīs* 76.12. ⁷ As in CIL 6.108 dīIs (341 A.D.); CIL 7.705 dīIsq. ⁸ CIL 2.325. ⁹ CIL 1.15. ¹⁰ On dissimilative writings of vowels, cf. TAPA 43.35-56, esp. 48-9.

§238. THE NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER of *-ō-* stems retained the pIE *-om* (stem-vowel + neut. *-m*¹): oLt. *DONOM*,² *DONO*,³ *DONV*,⁴ cLt. *dōnum*. From **ne-hīlom* came *nīhīlum* (§88.IV.B), and with elision *nīhil* (§128.I) and *nīl* (with contraction, §191.III.A). From **ne oīnom* 'not one' with elision came **noen*,⁵ whence *nōn* (§112.VI). There are also three neuters of Decl. II ending in *-us* (from *-os*): *vīrus*, *volgus*, *pelagus*;⁶ for their interpretation, see §203.III.F.

¹ Apparently the same element which is the acc. ending of masculines and feminines. ² CIL 1.28. ³ CIL 1.27. ⁴ CIL 1.47. ⁵ The form *noenu* as in Lucr. 3.199 is rather masc. *noenus* (= *nūllus* in use), the *-s* not making position (§53.n3); but *noenu* 'non' is found in Lucr. 4.712, and *noenum* 'non' is cited from Varro by Non. 144.2 M. For other occurrences, mostly by textual emendation, see NW² 2.581-2. ⁶ These three words have no plurals, except acc. *pelagē*, a Greek form used by Lucr. 5.35.

§239. THE NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER of *-ō-* stems was by origin a nom. sg. of the *-ā-* stem, with collective meaning; the earlier ending *-ā* is seen in Osc. *prūftū-set* 'posita sunt' and in Umb. *veskla vesklu* 'vascula' (in Osc.-Umb. final *-ā* became *-ō*). In Latin, by iambic shortening (§128.II) this

final *-ā* was shortened in such words as **jugā*, becoming *jugă*; and because of the identity in the other case-endings the words of non-iambic value, such as **bellā*, also acquired the short vowel, as in *bellă*. The only survivals of the original long vowel in Latin neuter plurals are in the multiples of ten, such as *trī-gintā* 'three tens', *quadrā-gintā* 'four tens', and up to *nōnā-gintā* 'nine tens'; this *-gintā*, the plural of a consonant-stem (§259, §336), shows the original quantity of the vowel, which here escaped analogical influence of the paradigm because the forms were indeclinable.

§240. THE DECLENSION OF *-iō-* AND *-iō-* STEMS: These became identical in pIt. or in pLt., by the vocalizing of postconantal *ĭ* (§179.III) and the loss of intervocalic *ĭ* (§178.II), so that they need not be differentiated here. The peculiarities of their declension are the following:

I. Nom. Sg.: normal, *Cornēlius*, *fīlius*, *alius*, and lacking *-s* (§53), CORNELIO;¹ with dialectal or plebeian syncope, CAECILIS,² *alis*,³ and the same lacking the *-s*, CORNELI.⁴

II. Voc. Sg.: the regular form of republican times shows the *-ie* contracted to *-ī* (§191.III.D): PVBLI,⁵ CORNELI,⁶ *fīlī*. The forms *fīlie*,⁶ *Cornēlie*, etc., are new analogical forms merely; but outside of proper names the *-ie* became normal, and it was invariable in adjectives: *ēgregie*.⁷

III. Acc. Sg.: normally *fīlium*, etc.; the rare forms of the type POPIDI,⁸ found notably at Pompeii, were taken over from Oscan, which had syncope in this ending (Osc. *Pakim* 'Pacium'); it lacks also the *-m* (§56).

IV. Gen. Sg.: The ending *-iī* contracted to *-ī* in preliterate times, as in oLt. POMPONI,⁹ cLt. *fīlī*. The first certain occurrence of a remade analogical *-iī* (*-us*: *-ī* = *-ius*: *-iī*) in nouns is *imperīī*, in Propertius.¹⁰ In MVNICIPER¹¹ the *-ei* is graphic for *-ī* (§22.I). But adjectives seem almost always to have the dissyllabic ending, as in *patriī*,¹² PII.¹³

V. Loc. Sg.: The ending is regularly dissyllabic, as in *Sūnīī*,¹⁴ so that it must have been for *-iei* or *-ioi* (not for *-iī*, like the gen.); but contraction took place later, as in *Aegī*.¹⁵

VI. Nom. Pl.: Here the *-iī* was always dissyllabic in the older language, notably in Plautus and Terence, where the values are assured by the meter,¹⁶ as also in later poets, who have *radīī*,¹⁷ *fluvīī*.¹⁸ But when the older *-iei* had passed through *-iē* to *-iī* (c. 170–150 B.C.; §127.II), the opportunity for contraction was present, and we find occasionally such forms as FLOVI,¹⁹ *Gabi*,²⁰ *Crustumērī*,²¹ also, with added *-s* (§234), VEITVRIS as well as VITVRIES²² on the same inscription of 117 B.C.²³

VII. Dat.-Abl. Pl.: The situation was the same as in the nominative, that contraction occasionally took place after older *-ieis* had become *-iīs*. Thus Vergil has *sociīs*,²⁴ but *cōnūbīs*,²⁵ and the Mon. Anc. has both MVNICIPIS and MVNICIPIIS.²⁶

¹ CIL 1.8. ² CIL 1.1036. ³ Also nt. *alid* for *aliud*; Prisc. 3.8.1, 3.77.12 K; cf. also §321, with note 23. ⁴ CIL 1.12. ⁵ CIL 1.10. ⁶ Liv. Andr. Od. 2 W, ap. Prisc. 2.305.10 K. ⁷ Cf. Gell. 14.5. ⁸ CIL 1.1663b. ⁹ CIL 1.546. ¹⁰ 1.6.34. ¹¹ CIL 1.592.1.6. ¹² Lucr. 1.832; Verg. Aen. 11.374. ¹³ CIL 2.4754 (time of Caracalla); very rare, PI CIL 3.4767 (alongside

PII). ¹⁴ Ter. Eun. 519. ¹⁵ Lucr. 6.585. ¹⁶ Plt. Aul. 519, 521, Men. 18; Ter. Ad. 46. ¹⁷ Lucr. 1.147. ¹⁸ Verg. Aen. 1.607. ¹⁹ CIL 1.584.23, 117 B.C.; ov to avoid vv = uv, §181.n6; cf. Kent, TAPA 43.41-2. ²⁰ Prop. 4.1.34, ²¹ Verg. Aen. 7.631. ²² For the -e-, §127.II.n6. ²³ CIL 1.584.-25,42. ²⁴ Aen. 1.309. ²⁵ Aen. 3.136, despite *cōnūbiā* 4.316. ²⁶ 3.23, 4.27.

§241. THE DECLENSION OF -eīō- AND -aīō- STEMS: These appear in Latin with nominatives in -eius and -aius or -aeus.

I. Voc. Sg.: To the nom. -eius the voc. is of the type *Pompei*, with two pronunciations: -ei monosyllabic,¹ as a diphthong (§179.IV.B), by contraction of -ēi (from -eī < -eīe, with -ī after the contracted -ī of voc. *fili*), and as two syllables, with the value -eīi,² remade after the genitive by the identity of gen. and voc. *fili*.

II. Gen. Sg.: This form is of the type *Pompeī*,³ pronounced -eīi; the -īi- was properly lost before *t*, but was restored by analogy of other case-forms where it stood before other vowels (§179.IV.B).

III. Nom. and Dat.-Abl. Pl.: These have normally the endings -eī and -eīs, with values -ei-ī and -ei-īs, as in nom. VERTVLEIEIS⁴ (with added -s, cf. §234) and abl. *Circeīs*,⁵ the restoration of the -īi- is as in the genitive.⁶

IV. Nouns in nom. -aius,⁷ unless the -a- is in the initial syllable, are shown by the lack of vowel weakening (§127.III) to be of dialectal rather than of pure Latin origin. The endings are similar to those of -eius nouns: gen. ANNAI,⁸ nom. pl. *Graī*,⁹ dat. *Graīs*,¹⁰ all with -aīi or -aīīs.

V. The praenomen *Gālus* was trisyllabic, with gen. *Gālī*.¹¹ It seems to be from **gāvios*, cf. Osc. gentile name *Gaaviis*, from which it can hardly be separated; but the loss of the -v- has not been explained in any regular way.

¹ As in Hor. Carm. 2.7.5. ² As in Ovid, ex Ponto 4.1.1. ³ Stat. Silv. 2.7.115; Mart. 2.14.-10, 5.10.5. ⁴ CIL 1.1531. ⁵ Hor. Sat. 2.4.33. ⁶ Intervocalic -īi- and -ī- are the same in significance. ⁷ Writings with -aeus, gen. -aeī, show the usual Latin diphthong *ae* instead of the *ai* which should remain before *i*; §114.III and Kent, TAPA 43.36-8. ⁸ CIL 6.11670. ⁹ Verg. Aen. 1.467. ¹⁰ Verg. Aen. 2.786. ¹¹ Allen, Harv. Stud. Class. Phil. 2.71-87; cf. *Gālus* Cat. 10.30, Mart. 11.36.8; *Gālum* Mart. 5.14.5; gen. GAI CIL 11.1421.37 (4 A.D.); adj. abl. *Gālāno* Stat. Silv. 4.9.22.

§242. THE DECLENSION OF -uo- AND -vo- STEMS: types *suos*, *servos*, *coquos*.

I. Inasmuch as the change of *ō* to *ū* in final syllables was retarded by a preceding *v* or *u*, the endings -vos and -uos remained as normal writings in Latin until the end of the Republic, although the pronunciation had doubtless changed some decades earlier (§126.II.A).¹ The basis for delay in the change of the sound was a dissimilative resistance to the development of two successive sounds nearly or quite alike (§190), and an avoidance of the writing vv (cf. §25) for a value *vu* or dissyllabic *ūū*. The forms were therefore written *servos suos flāvōs* in the nom., and *servom suom flāvom* in the acc. masc. and nom.-acc. nt. sg.²

II. Words in -quos might lose the *u* before *ō* (§181. VI), giving **cocos* from *coquos*, but the *u* was restored after the other cases (*coquī coquō* etc.), giving again *coquos*, which a second time lost its *u* when the *o* became *u* by weakening (§126.II.A), so that *cocus* resulted, which also was remade to *coquos*. There is the same history for acc. *coquom* and for *aequos aequom*.

III. These words had in republican times a gen. pl. in *-om* (corresponding to *-um* in other types) as well as the form in *-ōrum*: *sovom*.³ This orthography is found sporadically in inscriptions of imperial times: *CERVOM*,⁴ *AEDITVOM*.¹ As between *-om* and *-um*, manuscript spellings are of course not trustworthy.

IV. The words *deus* and *dīvos* developed from one original stem: **deiyos* **deiyā* **deiyōi* **deiyom* regularly gave *deus dīvī dīvō deum*, and a complete paradigm was filled out for *deus* and for the new nom. *dīvos*. On the voc. of *deus*, see §227; on the plural forms *dī* and *dīs*,⁶ see §234, §237.

¹ Sturtevant, CP 11.202-7; Pron. of Greek and Latin² §124. ² E.g., *svos* CIL 1.583.3, *svom* CIL 1.593.34 (alongside *svvm* in line 32; 45 B.C., the oldest occurrence of *-uu-* in this form). ³ CIL 1.727, c. 80 B.C. ⁴ CIL 2.2660d, c. 125 A.D. ⁵ CIL 6.2202. ⁶ E.g., *dī* Verg. Aen. 2.190, *dīs* 3.12.

§243. THE DECLENSION OF *-ro-* STEMS.

I. In the nom. sg., when the *-ro-* followed a consonant, the *-o-* was lost by syncope, the *-r-* became vocalic and developed to *-er-*, and the *-s* was assimilated to the preceding *-r-* and the long *-r* shortened because final (§124, §164.III). Thus we have *SAKROS* in a very old inscription,¹ but elsewhere *sacer*; *ager*, corresponding to Gk. *ἀγρός*, Skt. *ājra-s*; *faber* from **fabros*. When a short vowel preceded the *-ros* in a word of three or more syllables, the process was somewhat simpler: **teneros* **teners* **tenerr* *tener*; similarly *vesper* = Gk. *ἑσπερος*; *furcifer*; *satur* (from **saturos*). The adjectival nominatives *super* and *infer*,² developed in this way, were replaced by remade forms *superus* and *inferus*.³ In dissyllables, *-ros* remained after a vowel, as in *merus*, *ferus*; but the monosyllabic *vir*, from **viros*, followed the semantically related *gener*, *socer*, *puer*.⁴ Final *-ros* remained also after long vowels, as in *clārus sevērus mātūrus*, and when the *-r-* was the product of rhotacism, as in *umerus* (from **omesos*, cf. Umb. loc. *onse*); but *armiger* and others in *-ger* (from **-gesos*, cf. *ges-tus*) lost the *-os* by likeness to words in *-fer*, such as *furci-fer* *Lūci-fer* (cf. verbs *gerō ferō*).

II. The old voc. sg. of *-ro-* stems ended in *-re*, as is shown by Umb. *Tefre* 'O Tefer'; but the Lt. vocatives lost the *-e* as they lost the vowel in the nom., or else they are merely the nom. form used as voc. Plautus however regularly has the voc. *puere*,⁵ possibly the old form, but more probably a new form made for clearness of meaning, since in the speech of his time *puer* meant either 'boy' or 'girl',⁶ and in the voc. a clear distinction was often desirable. The form *puere* was colloquial, and was used also by Caecilius Statius and by Afranius;⁷ *puer* is the only voc. used by Terence,⁸ who was more careful in his style.

¹ CIL 1.1. ² Cato, Agr. 149.1, *super inferque vicinus*. ³ Liv. Andr. Od. 31.2 W, ap. Prisc. 2.96.7 K. ⁴ The oldest authors used also a remade *puerus*, acc. to Prisc. 2.231.13 K, but without naming the authors. ⁵ Plt. Most. 308, 843, etc. ⁶ Cf. Prisc. 2.231.13-232.5 K, citing Liv. Andr. Od. (16 W) and Naev. BP (24 W). ⁷ Ap. Prisc. 2.231.16-20 K. ⁸ As in Eun. 624, Ad. 940, etc.

§244. THE DECLENSION OF *-lo-* STEMS: The only peculiarity is in the nom. sg.; *famul* for *famulus*, developed like *tener* from **teneros*, was used once by Ennius,¹

but is only an imitation of Oscan *famel* (Ennius came from Oscan-speaking Campania), and the form was copied from him by Lucretius.² Some late forms like *MASCEL*³ merely represent the development of a syncopated *māsculus* (from *māsculus*), with a second syncope and development as in *ager* (§243.I).

¹ Enn. Ann. 314 W, ap. Non. 110.10 M. ² Lucr. 3.1035. ³ CIL 2.1110.

§245. THE DECLENSION OF CONSONANTAL STEMS: The table of comparable forms is as follows:

Sg.

Nom.	-s	<i>vōx</i> , Osc. meddīss 'judex', Gk. <i>θρίξ</i> 'hair', Skt. <i>vāk</i> .
	+	<i>pater</i> , Gk. <i>πατήρ</i> , Skt. <i>pitā</i> .
		<i>sermō</i> , Gk. <i>ἀγών</i> 'contest', Skt. <i>rājā</i> 'king'.
Acc.	-η	<i>vōcem</i> , Gk. <i>τρίχα</i> , Skt. <i>vācam</i> .
Gen.	-es	<i>vōcis</i> , Skt. <i>vācās</i> , cf. Gk. <i>τρίχως</i> .
Dat.	-ei	<i>vōcī</i> , Osc. medfkeī , Skt. <i>vācé</i> .
Abl.	-i	<i>vōce</i> , Gk. (dat.) <i>τρίχι</i> , Skt. (loc.) <i>vācī</i> .

Pl.

Nom.	-ēs	<i>vōcēs</i> , ¹ Osc. humuns ² 'homines', Gk. <i>τρίχες</i> , Skt. <i>vācas</i> .
Acc.	-ης	<i>vōcēs</i> , Gk. <i>τρίχας</i> , Skt. <i>vācas</i> .
Gen.	-ōm	<i>vōcum</i> , Osc. fratrūm 'fratrum', Gk. <i>τρίχων</i> , Skt. <i>vācām</i> .
Dat.-Abl.	-bhos	<i>vōcibus</i> , ³ Osc. <i>ligis</i> ⁴ 'legibus', cf. Skt. <i>vāgbhyās</i> .

Neuter

Sg. Nom.-Acc.		<i>genus</i> , Umb. erus , ⁵ Gk. <i>γένος</i> , Skt. <i>jānas</i> .
Pl. Nom.-Acc.	-ā	<i>genera</i> , Umb. <i>uaso</i> 'vasa', cf. Gk. (Hom.) <i>γένεα</i> .

In view of the great variety of consonant-stems, these forms can serve only as samples. The various stem-classes will be taken up under the separate cases, as far as they show differences of formation.

Greek loanwords have case-forms of the following types, along with others having latinized endings:

- n- stems: *Trīt-ōn*, acc. -*ōna*, gen. -*ōnos*; familiar words usually latinized, like *Plat-ō*, acc. -*ōnem* (exception, *Apoll-ō*, acc. *Apoll-īnem*).
- r- stems: *āēr*, acc. *āera*, gen. *āeros*; *Hect-or Nest-or*, acc. -*ora* (latinized -*orem*, rarely oLt. -*ōrem*).
- d- stems: *Phyll-is*, voc. -*i*, acc. -*ida*, gen. -*idos*; *Pall-as*, acc. -*ada*, gen. -*ados*; *Mīnōis*, dat. *Mīnōidī*.
- ant- stems: *Calchās*, voc. -*ā*, acc. -*anta* and -*ān* (latinized forms of Decl. III and Decl. I; gen. -*antis* and -*ae*, etc.).
- t- stems: *Chrem-ēs*, voc. -*ē*, acc. -*ēta*; acc. *Darēn* to *Darēs* (latinized forms of Decl. III and Decl. I; gen. -*is* -*ētis* and -*ae* to *Philolach-ēs*, etc.).
- es- stems of types *Sōcrat-ēs* *Dēmōsthen-ēs* *Aristophan-ēs* *Diogen-ēs* *Diomēd-ēs*: these have mostly forms of the type of *Anchīsēs* (Decl. I, §213) or of *sēdēs* (Decl. III, §261), occasionally of the type *Chrem-ēs* -*ētis*; Gk. ending acc. -*ēn*, voc. -*ē*, as well as latinized forms; sometimes gen. -*ī*, as of Decl. II.
- es- of type *Eteocl-ēs*: mostly like preceding, but also acc. *Eteoclēā*, gen. *Eteoclēōs*; on *Herculēs*, see §248.n5.

-es- stems, neuter: *cētos*, pl. nom.-acc. *cētē*, *Tempē*.

Masc.-fem. pl. nom. -ēs, acc. -ās are found in the same words: *Trō-ēs -ās*, *Phryg-ēs -ās*, *Arcad-ēs -ās*; same endings in Celtic *Allobrog-ēs -ās* are perhaps by Greek influence rather than direct from Celtic.

¹ Ending from Latin -ī- stems. ² With syncope of the short vowel of the ending. ³ From the -ī- stems. ⁴ With -is from -ifs, from -ifos. ⁵ A neuter -s- stem of uncertain meaning.

§246. ABLAUT VARIATION IN CONSONANTAL STEMS. In general, masc. and fem. nouns with stems ending in a consonant or a diphthong, which in pIE showed ablaut variation in the final syllable of the stem, are divisible into two groups: (a) those with lengthened vowel in the nom. sg., and normal grade in other forms; (b) those with lengthened vowel in the nom. sg. (not infrequently extended to acc. sg. and nom. pl.), normal grade in the voc. acc. loc. sg. and nom. pl., zero grade in gen. dat. sg., acc. gen. dat.-abl. pl. In neuter nouns, -s- stems had -o- grade in nom. acc. sg., -e- grade otherwise; -n- stems had -e- grade in loc. sg., otherwise zero grade. Latin usually (but not always) leveled the entire paradigm to the use of one vowel; except that the nom. sg. often has the long vowel while the other cases have the corresponding short vowel. The details, including some exceptions to the preceding, are now given.

I. A few dental stems are of type a: *pēs ped-is*, *abiēs abiet-is*, *ariēs ariet-is*, *pariēs pariet-is*.

II. Participial stems in -nt- have generalized -ent-, from pIE -ent- and -nt-: *ferēns*¹ *ferent-is*. The -o- grade is seen only in *sāns* 'guilty', *īnsōns* 'innocent', to *esse*, from which we have also *ab-sēns prae-sēns*, with -ent-; and in *eunt-em* etc., the oblique cases of *iēns* 'going', cf. Gk. acc. *lóvra*.

III. Masc. and fem. nouns in -n- are of several kinds. Some have the long vowel in the nom. sg., and otherwise the short vowel: -ō[n]² -on-³ in *homō homin-is*, *orīgō orīgin-is*, *ordō ordin-is*. One has variation between long vowel and zero grade; -ō[n] -n- in *carō carn-is*.⁴ Many generalized the -ōn- throughout: *sermō sermōn-is*; this includes the type *nātiō nātiōn-is*, which properly had the variation -īōn- -īn-, as in Umb. **natine** 'natione'.⁵

Neuters with nom.-acc. -m̃ have Lt. -men: *nōmen*, *agmen*. This -men-, with weakening, appears in all other cases: *nōmīn-is*, etc.; it represents pIE strong -men- and weak -m̃- before consonants, replacing -mn- before vowels (cf. Skt. gen. *nāmn-as* 'nominis'), a leveling due in part at least to the nom.-acc. -men.

IV. The only -m- stem in Lt. is *hiem-s hiem-is*; old nom. **hiō* was replaced by *hiem-s* under the influence of *hiem-is* from **hiom-es*.

V. In -r- stems, the suffix -tōr- was extended in Lt. throughout: *datōr* (§128.I), *datōr-is*.⁶ *Soror* is from **syesō[r]*, and also extended the long vowel throughout. *Pater māter frāter* had the long vowel in the nom., with Lt. shortening: cf. Gk. *πατήρ*, Skt. *pitā*; the other cases have -tr-, from original -tr- and from -ter- with syncope or by analogy: *patrī*, Skt. *pitṛé*, and *patrem*, Gk. *πατέρα*, Skt. *pitṛam*, etc.

VI. Monosyllabic -s- stems had in Lt. the long vowel throughout: *mās mār-is*, *glīs glīr-is*, *flōs flōr-is*, *mūs mūr-is*; exception pl. *Lārēs*, to which a singular *Lār*⁷

Lār-is was remade. Polysyllables originally had the long vowel only in the nom. sg., as in *Cerēs Cerer-is*, *arbōs arbor arbor-is*; but most of them extended the long vowel throughout, as in *labōs labor*, *labōr-is*. Neuters had *-os* in nom. acc. sg., and *-es* in other forms: *genus gener-is*, Gk. γένος γένε-ος; but in many the *-os* was extended throughout: *pectus pector-is*, and *-ur* from *-os* was also extended: *fulgur fulgur-is* (§125.II.E, §166.II). The difference of the vowels disappeared when syncope⁸ and contraction produced monosyllables: *jūs* from **iēuos*, *rūs* from **reuos*, *aes* from **aiōs*.

Comparatives had nom. masc. *-ōs*⁹ (used also for fem.), neut. *-os*, with *-ōs* extended to all other forms: *major majus majōr-is*.

¹ With long vowel because of the *-ns*, §171.VI.E. ² The nasal lost in pIE when final after a long vowel; §167.II.B. ³ With vowel weakening in Lt.; §125.II.A. ⁴ Forms with *-en-* lost the *-e-* by analogy or by syncope.

⁵ The grade *-in* appears in Lt. only in *festinō* and *opinor*, denominative verbs to **festiō*, gen. **festin-es* (cf. *-i-* stem in adv. *cōnfestim*), and **opiō*, gen. **opin-es*. Inscriptional OPEINOD (CIL 1.547) is not 'opinor', with assimilation of the *-d* to the following initial *d-*, but 'ob illud', cf. Skt. demonstrative *ena-*, which gives a basis for the diphthong.

⁶ The zero grade of this suffix is seen in the Skt. fem. *-trī*, and, with an extension, in Lt. *nū-trī-x*. ⁷ Ov. F 5.141; cf. Prisc. 2.326.7 K. ⁸ Probably starting in the oblique cases.

⁹ Attested in *longiōr* Plt. Am. 548, *stultiōr* Bac. 123.

§247. THE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR OF MASCULINE AND FEMININE CONSONANTAL STEMS was in pIE formed in three ways, all of which survived into Latin: (1) adding *-s*; (2) lengthening the last vowel in the stem; (3) lengthening the last stem-vowel and adding *-s* also.

I. The *-s* ending is used chiefly in stems ending in stops, in monosyllabic *-s*-stems, and a few others: *mīles* (stem *mīlet-* in gen. *mīlit-is*), oLt. *mīless*,¹ with final syllable long when antevocalic because of the long final consonant (*-ss* from *-ts*, §165.VI); *novitās*, Gk. νεότης (gen. *-tāt-is*, *-τητ-ος*); *prīnceps* (stem *prīncap-* in gen. *prīncip-is*), *dux* (gen. *duc-is*), *rēx* (gen. *rēg-is*), *duplex* (stem *duplac-* in gen. *duplic-is*); *mūs* (< **mūs-s*, cf. gen. *mūr-is*), *flōs* (< **flōs-s*, cf. gen. *flōr-is*), with shortening of *-ss* (§162.II).

II. Formation with lengthened stem-vowel is found in polysyllabic *-s*-stems, and in *-n-* and *-r-* stems: *pūbēs* (gen. *pūber-is*, whence new nom. *pūber*; cf. Gk. ἀληθής 'true', gen. ἀληθέος < *-es-os*); *arbōs arbor* (§166.II; gen. *arbor-is*); *honōs honor* (gen. *honōr-is*, the long vowel of the nom. being extended throughout the paradigm); *amor* from older *amōr*,² *Cerēs* (*Cerer-is*); *fidēs* (which has gone into Decl. V; but cf. *fidus-tus*); *spēs* (also of Decl. V, but cf. pl. *spērēs*³). *N*-stems: *liēn* (*liēn-is*); *ordō*⁴ (*ordin-is*), *carō*⁴ (*carn-is*), *sermō*⁴ (*sermōn-is*, with long vowel extended).⁵ *R*-stems: *pater* (§128.I; Gk. πατήρ), *soror* (from *-ōr*), *dator* (from *-ōr*, cf. older *gubernātōr*⁶).

III. With long vowel and added *-s*: *pēs* (*ped-is*), cf. Gk. πούς (Dor. πώς; gen. ποδ-ός); *pariēs abiēs ariēs* (from *-ēt-s*, gen. *-et-is*).⁷

IV. Many nominatives underwent changes. *Ferēs* (masc.-fem.) seems to be fem. nom. in *-nī* (Skt. *bhāratī*), becoming a *-i-* stem *-entīs* and with syncope *-ēns*.⁸ *Pecten* is a new form, made to the gen. *pectin-is* (cf. Gk. κτεIs, gen. κτεν-

bs). *Vōmi-s*, an old *-mi-* stem, followed the type of *cinis ciner-is*, and got gen. *vōmer-is* etc., whence a new nom. *vōmer*. *Cornicen* is new, with neither *-s* nor lengthening, after gen. *cornicin-is*; similarly, after the form of the stem in the oblique cases, the *-r-* stems *passer carcer*, the *-s-* stem *mulier* (cf. *mulieb-ris* from **-es-ris*), the *-l-* stems *cōnsul exsul*. *Hiems* is new for **hiō* (= Gk. *χίωv*, cf. §125.II.A, §125.I.B), after *hiem-is* (< **hiom-es*). *Sōl* is contracted for **sāyel* (or **sāyēl?*). *Venus* (< *-nos*, neuter *-s-* stem by origin), *flāmen*, *lepus*, *sāl* (for *sāll* from **sald* or **salod*) are suffixless neuter nominatives which have become fem. or masc. by meaning or otherwise. *Jūpiter*, whence *Juppiter*, is a vocative (§248). For *conjux* (gen. *conjug-is*) there was usually substituted *conjūnx*, with *-n-* from *conjungō*; but the *-n-* did not extend into the other cases. *Sanguis* is remade from nt. *sanguen*,⁹ gen. *sanguin-is*; the new **sanguin-s* gave *sanguīs*,¹⁰ changed to *sanguīs*¹¹ after the nom. of *-ŷ-* stems.

¹ Plt. Aul. 526; Horace's *palūs*, AP 65, to gen. *palūd-is*, may be after *lacūs* (*-ū-* stem), if it be not a mere textual corruption. ² Plt. Merc. 590. ³ Enn. Ann. 122 W, ap. Fest. 333a.5-8 M. ⁴ For loss of final *-n* in pIE after a long vowel, see §167.II.B.

⁵ For parallel variations in the stem-vowel, cf. Gk. *ἡγεμὼν ἡγεμῶν-ος* 'leader', *κύων κυν-ός* 'dog', *ἀγών ἀγων-ος* 'contest'. With iambic shortening, *homō* (Lucr. 6.652), *mentīō* (Hor. Sat. 1.4.93), and by extension *Nāsō* (Ovid, Tr. 3.3.74). *Apollō Apollinis*, like *ordō ordinis*, although all Greek dialects agree on *-ων -ωνος*; perhaps Lt. retained the Gk. accent on *-pōl-*, with resultant shortening of the penultimate vowel in the oblique cases, and vowel weakening (Gk. voc. *Ἀπολλων*, with *-ōn*, can hardly be a factor, since Lt. did not borrow the Gk. voc. form): dat. *APOLENEI* CIL 1.368 (about 180 B.C.), but gen. *APOLONES* CIL 1.37 with *-ōn-* after the Greek. *Aniō Aniēn-is* has an unusual vowel variation, leading to levelings: nom. *Aniō* (as in Prop. 3.22.23), whence acc. *Aniōn-em* (Enn. Ann. p. 562 W, ap. Serv. ad Aen. 7.683), and gen. *Aniēn-is* (Cic. de Fin. 2.73), whence nom. *Aniēn* (as in Cato ap. Prisc. 2.208.3 K); but the name, being that of a Sabine river, is probably not Latin by origin, nor is that of *Neriō Neriēn-is*, wife of Mars (other forms also occur).

⁶ Plt. Rud. 1014. ⁷ Or these three may have merely *-ess*, without vowel length, remaining long in verse because of the metrical convenience after two short syllables. ⁸ Or masc. *-ēns* may come from *-ent-s*, and only the fem. as described above. ⁹ Enn. Ann. 120 W, ap. Cic. de Rep. 1.41.64. ¹⁰ Verg. Aen. 10.487, etc. ¹¹ Verg. Aen. 2.639, 5.396, Ge. 3.508; cf. the *-i-* stem in *ex-sanguī-s*.

§248. THE VOCATIVE SINGULAR of these stems in Lt. was the nom. form used as voc., with one exception: *Jūpiter Juppiter* (§182.III), from **d̥jeu pater*,¹ exactly represented in Gk. *Zeū πάτερ*; this became in Lt. the regular nom. also. From a few consonantal stems there is sporadically an *-o-* stem voc.: *DITE*² to *Dīs*, *Harpagē*³ to *Harpax*. The regular voc. *Herculē Herculē* is also an *-o-* stem form, like Lt. (Vestinian) dat. *HERCLO*,⁴ Osc. dat. *hereklūf*.⁵

¹ Cf. pIE nom. **d̥jēus pater*, with lengthened vowels and *-s*: seen in Gk. *Zeὺς πατήρ*. ² CIL 1.1012. ³ Plt. Pseud. 665. ⁴ CIL 9.3414. ⁵ The usual Lt. nom. *Herculēs* (*-ēs* transliterated from Gk.) has a full complement of forms as an *-l-* stem (abl. *-e* and *-ī*), also an *-o-* stem gen. *Herculī* (Varro LL 8.26, etc.). The rare voc. *Herculēs* (Cic. in Verr. II.5.72.186; CIL 6.319; etc.) is the Lt. nom. as voc.

§249. THE ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR had the regular ending *-m*, which after a consonant automatically became *-m̄*, whence plt. *-em*, remaining unchanged in Lt. (§103.I, §126.I): *ped-em*, *patr-em*, *sermōn-em*, *ordin-em*, *carn-em*, *labōr-em*.

§250. THE GENITIVE SINGULAR had in Lt. the PIE ending *-es*, which is found unchanged in a few oLt. forms: *SALVTES*,¹ *VENERES*,² with vowel weakening (§126.I), cLt. *salūtis*, *Veneris*, *pedis*, *patris*. The *-os* grade of the suffix was regular in Gk., as in *πατρός*, and is found in a few inscriptional Latin forms, mostly of country origin and early date: *NOMINVS*³ 'nominis', *REGVS*⁴ 'regis', *CAESARVS*⁵ 'Caesaris'. The oLt. adv. *nox*⁶ 'by night' may be a gen. **nokt-es*, with syncope, or may be the nom. as adverb.

¹ CIL 1.450. ² CIL 1.451. ³ CIL 1.581.7. ⁴ CIL 1.730; insc. of Rome, c. 83-80 B.C.
⁵ CIL 11.6721.13; 41 B.C. ⁶ XII Tab. 12 W, ap. Macrob. Sat. 1.4.19.

§251. THE DATIVE SINGULAR had the ending *-ei*, seen unchanged in Oscan, appearing in Latin successively as *-ei* *-ē* *-ī* (§127.I), all appearing together in one inscription: *IVNONE SEISPITEI MATRI*,¹ oLt. *VIRTVTEI*,² cLt. *virtūtī*, *matrī*. Writing with *-e* may be a mark of country pronunciation, but is also the archaic orthography in legal phrases, such as *iūre dīcundō*.

¹ CIL 1.1430. ² CIL 1.7.

§252. THE ABLATIVE SINGULAR of consonant stems was regularly an original locative in *-i*, becoming *-e* (§126.IV): *pede*, *patre*, *genere*. But not infrequently the *-īd* of *-i*-stems (§266) was taken over, as in *AIRID*,¹ *VIRTVTEI*,² *audācī*. *DICTATORE*³ is an artificial form with the abl. *-d* added to the usual abl. in *-e*; *COSOLE*⁴ is similar, unless the *d* is to be taken as the initial of the next word.

¹ CIL 1.38; *AIRE* 1.383. ² CIL 1.11. ³ CIL 1.25. ⁴ CIL 1.19.

§253. THE LOCATIVE SINGULAR in *-i* was the form which in consonantal stems normally became the abl. in Latin; because of the confusion of meanings (loc. 'in', abl. 'from'), it was necessary to develop a new form for loc. use, and the ending *-ī* of *-o*-stems was so used: *rūrī*, *Carthāginī*, *temperī* 'betimes'. But *rūre* and other forms in *-e* are found in loc. meanings as well as in abl. meanings.¹ *Penēs*² 'in the power of' is an old suffixless loc. to *penus penoris*.

¹ Thus *rūre* as abl., Prop. 2.23.20; as loc., Hor. Epist. 1.7.1. ² With *-es*-grade of suffix, despite the generalization of *-os*- in the paradigm; similarly, *temperī*.

§254. THE NOMINATIVE PLURAL had in IE *-ēs*, as is shown by Skt. *vācas* 'voces', Gk. *πόδες* 'pedes', and by the syncopated form in Osc. *humuns* 'homines'; but in Lt. it had always *-ēs*, the simplest source for which (in view of other transfers between consonant and *-i*-stems) is the nom. pl. ending of the *-i*-stems, where *-ēs* (from *-eī-es*) was regular: *hominēs*, *pedēs*, *vocēs*. Plautine *pedēs*,¹ *turbīnēs*,² by iambic shortening (§128.II); *Phrygēs*³ and the like are Greek words with the Gk. ending. *praitoris*⁴ is by analogy of the *-i*-stem nom. of the type *FINIS* (§267). The numeral *quattuor* as masc. represents *-orēs*, with syncope etc. as in nom. sg. *tener* (§243.I).⁵

¹ Plt. Stich. 311. ² Plt. Trin. 835. ³ Verg. Aen. 1.468. ⁴ CIL 1.20. ⁵ This form was in Lt. used also for the fem.; for its use as neut., see §259.

§255. THE ACCUSATIVE PLURAL had the ending *-ns*, seen also in Gothic *fōt-uns* 'pedes', Gk. *πόδας*, Skt. *paddas*; this had its regular development to Plt. *-ens*, Lt. *-ēs*: *pedēs*, *vōcēs*, *honōrēs*. Sometimes the ending *-is* was taken over from *-i-* stems (§268): *urbis* (and *urbēs*), *audācis* (and *-ēs*), rarely except in words where the gen. had already taken over *-ium*; this gave a proportional analogy gen. *-ium* : acc. *-is* in *-i-* stems as gen. *-ium* : acc. *-x* in consonant stems. In adjectives, such as *audācis*, the *-is* ending became the normal form. Greek words, especially proper nouns, were often taken over into Latin with their Greek ending *-ās*: *Cycladās*;¹ this was limited to words which used the Gk. ending *-ēs* in the nom. pl. (§254).

¹ Verg. Aen. 3.127.

§256. THE GENITIVE PLURAL had the ending *-ōm*, which underwent regular shortening in Latin (§128.I) and then weakened to *-um* (§126.II.A): oLt. (Praen.) *POVMILIONOM*¹ 'of dwarfs', cLt. *pedum*, *vōcum*. Very commonly the ending *-ium* of *-i-* stems was taken over by consonant stems: *civitatium* (and *civitatum*), *audācium*, *adulēscēntium*.² The present participle as adjective usually had *-ium*, as in *parentium*; but as substantive *parentum* was more usual, being favored by the requirements of dactylic verse. *Plūrium* probably followed the semantically related *omnium*, though other comparatives kept *-um*, like *maiorum*.³ The original consonant stems *mēnsis*, *canis*, *juvenis*, which have taken in Lt. new nominatives of *-i-* stem type, have *mēnsum*⁴ (also *mēnsium*), *canum*,⁵ *juvenum*, which properly belong to consonant stems. Late MESERO MESERVUM⁶ for *mēnsum* is by the influence of the semantically related *diērum*.⁷ Archaic *rēgērum*⁸ for *rēgum*, and similar forms, are analogical to the *-ārum* of *-ā-* stems, or after *rēs rērum*. Lucretius made *ālituom*⁹ for *ālītum*, from metrical necessity, perhaps by the association of *praepes* 'swiftly flying', gen. pl. *praepetum*, with *impetus* 'swoop', gen. pl. *impetuum* (abl. *praepete* induced an abl. *impete*¹⁰ for *impetū*).¹¹ Late FRATRIVM¹² was probably by the influence of *socrum*, *nurum*.

¹ CIL 1.569. ² Varro LL 8.67 prescribed *dentum*, but elsewhere only *dentium* is found.

³ Probably favored by the *-ōrum* of *-o-* stems. ⁴ Plt. Most. 81; Ovid, Met. 8.500. ⁵ Verg. Aen. 4.132. ⁶ Resp. CIL 6.2662; 3.2602. ⁷ Also MESORVM CIL 10.623 and elsewhere, in imitation of *annōrum*. ⁸ Gellius ap. Charis. 1.54.26 K. ⁹ 2.928, etc.; followed by Verg. Aen. 8.27. ¹⁰ Lucr. 4.416, etc.; or *impete* merely as sg. to pl. *-ibus*, cf. *praepet-e -ibus*. ¹¹ Or *ālituom* was originally an *-uo-* stem adj., nom.-acc. nt., used in the phrase *ālituom genus*, as in Lucr. 5.801, then felt as a gen. pl. (reff. in note 9); if so, probably *āles ālit-is* was remade from *ālituo-* after *praepes*, because of likeness of meaning. ¹² CIL 8.4202.

§257. THE DATIVE-ABLATIVE PLURAL had in Italic and Celtic the ending *-bhos*, as in Gallic *matrebo* 'matribus', Osc. *luisarifs* 'lusaribus' = 'lusoriis'; this ending was closely related to Skt. inst. pl. *-bhiḥ*, dat.-abl. *-bhyas*. It regularly became *-bus* in Latin (§135.I, §136.III); consonant stems regularly took over *-i-* from *-i-* stems, making an ending *-ibus*; for *-bhos* added direct to consonants

would have given clusters subject to much change, making the forms hard to recognize and understand. Thus we find *rēg-ibus*, *ped-ibus*, *homin-ibus*. *SENATORBVS*¹ is an error, since *SENATORIBVS* stands twice² in the same inscription. The *e* in the penult of *TEMPESTATEBVS*³ is an inaccurate writing for the open *ɪ*.

¹ CIL 1.581.6. ² Lines 9, 18. ³ CIL 1.9.

§258. THE NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER OF CONSONANT-STEMS was the bare stem: *caput*, but late *capus* perhaps by the influence of *corpus*; *cor* (< **kord*), cf. gen. *cord-is*; *lac* (< **lakt*), cf. gen. *lact-is*, with old and late Lt. nom.-acc. *lacte* after *i*-stems; *fel*, gen. *fell-is* (-*ll*- < -*ln*-); *nōmen*, Gk. *ὄνομα*, Skt. *nāma* (< -*mṇ*). *S*-stems: *far* (< **fars*), gen. *farr-is*; *genus*, Gk. *γένος*, Skt. *jānas* (< **ḡenos*); *opus*, oLt. *oPOS*;¹ *melius* (< -*os*); *ōs*, *ōr-is*; *aes* (< **aḡos*²), Skt. *dyas*; *os*, *oss-is*; *vās*, *vās-is*;³ *fulgur* (§161.III), *fulgur-is*. *R*-stems: *marmor*, *murmur*, *vēr*.

Some stems had in PIE the nom.-acc. in -*r* or -*ṛ*, changed to -*n̄*- in the other cases: Skt. *yakr-t*, gen. *yakn-ds*, Lt. *jecur*, gen. *jecor-is*⁴ after the nom., and *jecinoris* by contamination of the two stems; *femur*, gen. *femin-is*⁵ (whence a new nom. *femen*⁶) and *femor-is* after the nom.; *iter*, gen. *iter-is*⁷ after the nom. and *itiner-is* (whence a new nom. *itiner*⁸) by contamination; *über*, whence gen. *über-is*. As the oblique cases in cLt. are normally made from the stems in *jecinor-is* *femor-is* *itiner-is* *über-is*, it will be noted that the original paradigm, represented by *femur femin-is*, failed to maintain its ground.

Neuter adjectives originally had the same formation, but in Latin the nom.-acc. nt. of consonant-stems took over the masc. form: *duplex* (original form seen in Umb. *tuplak*, the bare stem), *duplic-is*; *audāx*, *audāc-is*; *praesēns*, *praesent-is*; *inops*, *inop-is*. But *vetus* 'old' and *über* 'rich' are old nt. nouns ('year' and 'udder' respectively) functioning as nom. adjectives of all genders;⁹ *dēgener*¹⁰ and *memor*¹¹ are apparently made from the oblique stems seen in *dēgener-is* and *memor-is*, and also function in all genders.

¹ CIL 1.546. ² With syncope, before loss of intervocalic *ɪ* (§178.II). ³ Originally *vās-is*, cf. pl. *vāssa* in Plt. Mer. 781 (ms. A). ⁴ As in abl. *jecore* Varro LL 5.79, 5.112; forms like *jocur*, *jocinoris* *jocineris*, are of Augustan times and later (cf. §88.III.D)—citations in NW² 1.837-9. ⁵ As in abl. *femine* Verg. Aen. 10.788. ⁶ Attested in Fest. 92.3 M. ⁷ As in abl. *itere* Lucr. 5.653. ⁸ Lucr. 6.339. ⁹ But masc. *veter* Enn. Ann. 15 W, ap. Prisc. 2.97.9 K. ¹⁰ Not for **dē-genus*, but a back-formation from *dēgenerāre*. ¹¹ Precise formation uncertain; cf. §423.n5.

§259. THE NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER of consonant-stems originally ended in -*ə*, seen in Gk. *φέροντα* 'ferentia', Skt. *bharanti*; this became Italic -*a*, and disappeared in (neuter) *quattuor*¹ (§123.V; like many other short vowels when final). Elsewhere it was replaced by -*ā*, from the neuter plural of -*o*-stems (§239), which was then shortened (§128.II) in Latin, as in *capita*, *nōmina*, *genera*, *pectora*, *ōra*, *ossa*; but the earlier long vowel is evidenced by Osc. *petiro-pert* 'four times',² and by -*gintā* in the multiples of ten (§336)). Many consonant-stems, especially adjectives, took -*ia* from -*i*-stems (§272), as in

audācia, ferentia;³ *plūra*, when compounded, formed *complūria* (perhaps influenced by *omnia*) as well as *complūra*. On *ossua* for *ossa*, see §287.

¹ Lt. *quattuor* never took the *-ā*, except in the compound *quadrā-gintā*. ² Final *-ā* became *-ō* in Osc.-Umb. ³ But *silenta* is recorded by Gell. 19.7.7 as used by Laevius.

§260. THE DECLENSION OF *-ī*-STEMS. The table of comparable forms is as follows:

Sg.		
Nom.	-is	<i>ignis</i> , Osc. <i>aīdīl</i> ¹ 'aedilis', Umb. <i>fons</i> ² 'favens', Skt. <i>agnīṣ</i> 'fire', Gk. <i>πόλις</i> 'city'.
Acc.	-im	<i>turrim</i> (and <i>ignem</i> ³), Osc. <i>tiurri</i> , ⁴ Umb. <i>ocrem</i> 'arcem', Skt. <i>agnīm</i> , Gk. <i>πόλιν</i> .
Gen.		<i>ignis</i> . ⁵
Dat.	-eīeī ⁶	<i>ignī</i> , U. <i>ocre</i> , Skt. <i>agnāye</i> .
Abl.	-īd ⁶	<i>ignī</i> (and <i>igne</i> ³), Osc. <i>slaagid</i> 'regione', Umb. <i>ocri</i> .
Pl.		
Nom.	-eīes	<i>ignēs</i> , Osc. <i>trīs</i> 'tres', Umb. <i>foner</i> , Skt. <i>agnāyas</i> , Gk. <i>πόλεες</i> .
Acc.	-ins	<i>ignīs</i> (and <i>ignēs</i> ³), Umb. <i>auif</i> ⁷ 'avis', Gk. (Ion.) <i>πόλῖς</i> , Goth. <i>gastins</i> 'guests'.
Gen.	-(i)īōm	<i>ignium</i> , Osc. [a]īttfūm 'portionum', Gk. (Ion.) <i>πολίων</i> .
Dat.-Abl.	-ībhos	<i>ignibus</i> , Osc. <i>luisarifs</i> ⁸ '*lusaribus = lusoriis', Umb. <i>avis</i> ³ 'avibus', cf. Skt. <i>agnībhyaḥ</i> .
Neut.		
Sg. Nom.-Acc.	-i	<i>mare, animal</i> , ⁹ Umb. <i>uerfale</i> 'templum', Skt. <i>vāri</i> 'water'.
Pl. Nom.-Acc.	-iā	<i>maria, animālia</i> , Umb. <i>trio</i> 'tria'.

Greek case-endings of the following types are found in Latin in some loan-words, alongside latinized forms (note acc. *-im*, abl. *-ī*):

Nom. *Par-is* *Thet-is*, voc. *-i*, acc. *-in*; heteroclite stem with Latin endings, *-id-is* etc.

Dat.-abl. pl. *Metamorphōs-esin*.

¹ With syncope, and assimilation of the *s* to the preceding *l*. ² With syncope. ³ With ending from consonant-stems. ⁴ With graphic loss of *-m*. ⁵ This ending in Skt.; but perhaps *-(i)īeī* in pIE. ⁶ After *-o*-stems, in Italic. ⁷ With *-f* from *-ns*. ⁸ With syncope in final syllable, and assimilation of *-fs* to *-s* in Umb. ⁹ With loss of final short vowel (§123.V) and shortening before *-l* (§128.I).

§261. THE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE OF *-i*-STEMS. The old form is seen unchanged in *hostis, ovis, fortis*; and with oLt. writing of *e* for *i*, in *AIDILES*,¹ *MILITARE*.² In many words, notably those with only two syllables in the stem, in which the *i* was preceded by two consonants or by a long vowel and a single consonant, the *-i-* was lost by syncope (§123.VI): *mors*, Skt. *mṛtīṣ*; *dōs* from **dōtis*; *hospes* for **hos-pot-s* from **hosti-potis*, after *hospitem* from **hosti-potim*, and then becoming a *-t*-stem (gen. pl. *hospitum*); fem. *ferēs* from **ferent(i)s*,³ remade from pIE fem. **bherntī*, seen in Skt. *bharatī*. Stems in *-ātis*

appear unchanged in old Latin, but later, perhaps by dialectal (Oscan, Volscian, etc.) influence, have the syncopated form: *Arpīnātis*⁴ and later *Arpīnās*,⁵ *quōiātis*⁶ and *cuiās*;⁷ likewise *Samnītis*⁸ and *Samnīs*.⁹ Stems in *-ri-* suffer changes similar to those in *-ro-* (§243.I): M.-F. **ākris* became *ācer*, for both genders,¹⁰ and *ācer* was standardized as masc. by the identity with *-o-* stem adjectives in the masc., such as *niger*, *tener*, but *ācris* was restored for the fem., where *nigra*, *tenera* could offer no analogical support.¹¹ **Paris* became *pār* (i.e. *pārr*). Some stems in *-li-* gave nom. *-il* after gen. *-ilis*, etc., such as *vigil* < **yeg-lis*, *pugil* < **pug-lis*;¹² but they mostly kept or restored *-lis*: *animālis*, *fidēlis*, *facilis*. The ending *-is* was extended to a few consonantal and diphthongal stems: regularly in *mēnsis*, cf. Gk. *μήν*; *juvenis*, for **jūuō*, Skt. *yuvā*; *canis*, for **kūō*, Skt. *śvā*; *nāvis*, cf. Gk. *ναῦς*, Skt. *nāūs*; and sporadically to a few others, such as *carnis*¹³ for *carō*, *gruis*¹⁴ for *grūs*.

pIE *-u-* stem adjectives were in Italic transformed into *-i-* stems, through the fem. *-ī*, becoming Italic *-ī-s* in the nom.;¹⁵ thus Skt. *svādūṣ*, fem. *svādvī*, Gk. *ῥδύς*, but Lt. *svāvis*; Skt. *tanūṣ* *tanvī*, Gk. *τανν-* (in compounds only), but Lt. *tenuis*; Skt. *gurūṣ* *gurvī*, Gk. *βαρύς*, but Lt. *gravis*; Skt. *laghūṣ* *laghvī*, Gk. *ἐλαχύς*, but Lt. *lēvis*; Av. *mərəzu-* (in compounds only), Gk. *βραχύς*, but Lt. *brevis*; Skt. *mṛdūṣ*, but Lt. *mollis*.

Some Lt. *-i-* stems had a nom. in *-ēs*, which seems to represent several origins. In certain words this was probably an inherited survival of the long-grade formation of the nom. sg. in *-ēi-s*,¹⁶ with monophthongization which may have started in the acc. and been extended to the nom. (as in *bōs rēs diēs* §275.II–III, §288.II; cf. §120.I): *caedēs clādēs fāmēs vāllēs aedēs*¹⁷ *vātēs volpēs*, oLt. *canēs*.¹⁸ In others the *-ēs* may represent the nom. of an *-es-* stem, masc. or fem., as in *mōlēs* (cf. *moles-tus*), *sēdēs* (cf. Gk. nt. *ἕδος*); in still others, the *-ēs* may be the ending of the nom. pl., used as a collective singular: *nūbēs*, *prōlēs*; for others, not even a conjecture can be made. In most there is a collateral form in *-is* also: *caedis clādis fāmis vāllis, aedis*,¹⁹ *vātis*,²⁰ *canis*,²¹ *sēdis nūbis*. *Plēbēs* has also a consonant-stem nom. *plēbs*.²²

¹ CIL 1.8. ² Masc., CIL 1.49; cf. §53. ³ For shift from *ī*-stem to *ī*-stem, cf. §273. ⁴ Cato ap. Prisc. 2.337.21 K. ⁵ Cic. Off. 1.7.21. ⁶ Plt. Curc. 407. ⁷ Liv. 27.19.9. ⁸ Cato ap. Prisc. 2.337.25 K. ⁹ Lucil. 183 W, ap. Cic. de Orat. 3.23.86. ¹⁰ Fem., Naev. BP 48 W, ap. Prisc. 2.153.7 K. ¹¹ Rarely also *ācris* M., as in Enn. Ann. 365 W, ap. Prisc. 2.153.14 K. ¹² The analogy of gen. *vigilis*, etc., has given *-il* rather than the phonetically regular *-ul* (§124, §88.III.B, §91.IV.A before final *l*); cf. gen. pl. *vigilvm*, CIL 8.822. ¹³ Liv. And. Od. 45 W, ap. Prisc. 2.208.21 K. ¹⁴ Phaedrus 1.8.7. ¹⁵ Plural *īdūs* 'Ides', in substantive use, remained as a *u*-stem; *dēnsus* is an *o*-stem altered from a *u*-stem, cf. Gk. *δαρύς*. ¹⁶ Cf. the long grade in Skt. nom. fem. *vr̥kī-s* = Lt. *volpēs* (?). ¹⁷ CIL 1.594.2.1.33. ¹⁸ Varro, LL 7.32. ¹⁹ CIL 1.593.30. ²⁰ Plt. MG 911. ²¹ Regular in classical Latin. ²² Hor. Epist. 1.1.59; *PLEBS* CIL 2.34; etc.

§262. THE VOCATIVE SINGULAR of *-i-* Stems was the bare stem, with the stem-vowel in a strong grade, as in Skt. *agne*;¹ but Greek has this vowel in the weak grade, as in *πῶλι*. Latin used the nominative form as vocative: *ignis*, *hostis*.

¹ Skt. *e* is ambiguous for pIE *ei* and *oi*.

§263. THE ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE originally had *-i-m*, still seen in Lt. *sitim tussim Tiberim*¹ and a few others, and in the adverbs *statim partim* etc. But this was normally replaced by the *-em* of consonant-stems (§249): *hostem ovem partem piscem*.² Some are found in both forms: *febrim puppim turrim* and *febrem puppem turrem*.

¹ These words do not have the collateral form in *-em*. ² Note also oLt. PARTI CIL 1.37, (Praen.) PISCIM CIL 1.560.

§264. THE GENITIVE SINGULAR had in pIE the strong grade of the stem-vowel with the ending *-s*: *-eis* in Osc. *aeteis* 'partis', *-ois* in Goth. *anstáis* 'favoris'; ambiguous, Skt. *agnēs*. This has been entirely replaced in Latin by the consonantal-stem ending: *hostis, fortis, ignis*; possibly through the likeness of synco-pated nominatives to those of consonant-stems, since *i*-stem nom. *pars* : gen. *partis* as consonant-stem nom. *dux* : gen. *ducis*. oLt. PARTVS¹ continues the gen. ending *-os*, cf. similar forms in consonant-stems (§250), to which *-os* properly belongs.

¹ CIL 1.582.12.

§265. THE DATIVE SINGULAR probably continues the original *-ei-ei*,¹ the strong grade of the stem-vowel + the regular ending, becoming *-eei* (§178.II), *-ēi* (§191.II), *-ei* (anteconsonantal development generalized, §120.III), *-ī* (§127.I): *partī, ovī, fortī*; or less probably these forms have the ending of consonant-stems, taken over as in the acc. and gen. sg.²

¹ But cf. §260.n5. ² Phonetically possible, but even less likely, is origin of the dat. *-ī* from the loc. form, suffixless with strong grade *-ei* or lengthened grade *-ēi*, or the same with loc. suffix *-i*, giving *-ei-i* and *-ēi-i*.

§266. THE ABLATIVE SINGULAR had in Italic the ending *-īd*, in imitation of the *-ōd* of *o*-stems: oLt. LOVCARID¹ 'lucari', cILt. *partī*,² *ignī*,³ *amnī*.⁴ But in many words this *-ī* was replaced by the *-e* of consonant-stems (§253), either optionally or regularly: *parte*,⁵ *igne*,⁶ *amne*.⁷ oLt. NAVALE⁸ is a mistaken product of attempted archaism.

¹ CIL 1.401 (insec. of Apulia). ² Lucr. 1.1111. ³ Verg. Aen. 2.312. ⁴ Verg. Aen. 8.473. ⁵ Note PARTI CIL 1.583.51, PARTE id. 65; PARTEI (EI graphic for ī) CIL 1.593.25,27, PARTE id. 30,54. ⁶ Verg. Aen. 8.255. ⁷ Verg. Aen. 11.457. ⁸ CIL 1.25.17.

§267. THE NOMINATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE in pIE ended in *-ei-ēs*, the strong grade of the stem-final + the regular case-ending; this lost the intervocalic *ī* in pIt., whereupon the like vowels contracted (§178.II, §191.II): *hostēs, partēs, trēs* (= Skt. *trāyas*). As the nom. and acc. forms of consonantal stems were alike, the nom. of the *-i*-stems occasionally took the acc. *-īs*: FINIS,¹ CEIVEIS,² *puppīs*,³ but such forms never became standard.

¹ CIL 1.584.13. ² CIL 1.583.77. ³ Varro LL 8.66.

§268. THE ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE in pIE ended in *-i-ns*, which yielded Lt. *-īs* (§171.VI.E): *hostīs, partīs, trīs*. While this was normal through Republican times, the *-ēs* of consonantal stems quite early began to pass into *-i-* stems, and we find CEIVES¹ in 111 B.C., and a generalization of *-ēs* in imperial times.²

¹ CIL 1.585.73. ² Mon. Anc. has OMNES 4.20, OMNIS 5.32.

§269. THE GENITIVE PLURAL almost invariably kept its original *-(i)ǵōm* in Latin, in the regular form *-ium*: *hostium, partium*. While many consonant-stems took the *-ium* of *i*-stems, the *-i-* stems rarely took the *-um* of consonant-stems; but we find variations *vātium* and *vātum*,¹ *apium*² and *apum*,³ and some others. *Volucrum caelestum agrestum parentum silentum*⁴ were transferred for metrical reasons, since the poets avoided the elision of *-um* in the ending *-ium*. From the consonant-stems which took *-is* in the nom. sg. (§261), we have always *juvenum* and *canum*;⁵ *mēnsium*⁶ and *mēnsu*⁷ are both frequent, and occasionally *mensuum*,⁸ perhaps by association with the gen. *īduum* and the neut. adj. *annuum*. The old diphthongal stem *nāv-is* always has *nāvium*. From *mare* there is a single occurrence of *marum*,⁹ and none of the expected *marium*.¹⁰

¹ Verg. Aen. 4.65. ² Ov. Met. 15.383. ³ Liv. 21.46.2. ⁴ Respectively Verg. Aen. 3.216, 7.432, Ge. 1.10, Aen. 2.448, 6.432. ⁵ Verg. Aen. 4.132. ⁶ Suet. Jul. 40. ⁷ Ov. Met. 8.500. ⁸ Cic. ad Fam. 3.6.5. ⁹ Naev. BP 15 W, ap. Prisc. 2.352.5 K. ¹⁰ Despite Mart. Cap. 3.§299.

§270. THE DATIVE-ABLATIVE PLURAL always shows the old ending *-bhos* attached directly to the stem, giving Lt. *-ibus*: *hostibus, partibus*. The influence of the rest of the paradigm prevented the *-i-* from varying with *-u-* (§125.I.F). The *o* of *NAVEBOS*¹ 'navibus' is an artificial archaism, and the *e* is an inaccurate writing for the open *ǵ* (here probably an attempt at archaism).

¹ CIL 1.25.6 and 8.

§271. THE NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER was the bare stem, in *-i*, which either became *-e* (§126.IV) or was lost (§123.V): *mare, sedīle*; adjj. *forte, facile* (remade for *facul*¹), *ācre* (remade for *ācer*, cf. masc. and fem. forms, §261). Substantivized adjectives from *-āli* and *-āri* kept the shortened forms, such as *animāl*, *tribūnāl*,² *calcār*,³ with vowel shortened before *-l* and *-r* (§128.I); but when used as adjectives they restored the final vowel so as to fit into the regular paradigm: *capitāle*,⁴ *salūtāre, tribūnāle*. Adjectives like *suāvis* (§261) have neut. *suāve* as though original *i*-stems. Neut. *pār*,⁵ for **pār* from **pari*, got its length from M.-F. *pār*⁶ (§261, cf. §164.III).

¹ As adv., cited by Non. 111 M, from Lucilius, Pacuvius, and Accius. ² Ov. Am. 1.10.40. ³ Ov. Ars Am. 2.732. ⁴ Plt. Most. 475. ⁵ Hor. Sat. 2.3.248. ⁶ Properly *pārr*, retained before vowels.

§272. THE NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER of *-i-* stems was in pIE indicated by lengthening of the stem-vowel,¹ a form which survived into Lt.

only in *trī-* of *trīgintā* 'three tens';² elsewhere it was replaced by the *-ā* which marked this form in *-o-* stems, and passed also into consonant-stems, extending into *-i-* stems as *-i-ā* and then *-iā* by iambic shortening (§128.II):³ *tria*, Umb. *trio* (in *trioper* 'thrice'), from **triā*; *maria*, *omnia*, etc.

¹ Perhaps this *-ī* was a contraction of stem-vowel *-i-* with the *ə* which was the ending of neuter consonant-stems in the nom.-acc. pl. ² Cf. the identical Skt. (Vedic) *trī* 'three', neut. pl. ³ The last two syllables had the proper quantities for an iambus, though there was no accent on the short syllable when the word had three or more syllables.

§273. THE DECLENSION OF STEMS IN *-ī-*: PIE stems in *-ī-* mostly became *-ī-* stems in Latin: thus *nepti-s*, but Skt. *naptī-s*; *pēlvīs*, but Skt. *pālavi*; and adjectives like *tenuis*, which came from the PIE fem. in *-y-ī* of (masc.) *-u-* stems (§261). The only *-ī-* stem which persisted in Latin was *vīs*, the regular nom., with regular acc. *vīm* (§128.I) and abl. *vī*; gen. *vīs*¹ and dat. *vī* are practically non-existent. Acc. pl. *vīs*² was rare, but gave rise to nom. pl. *vīs*.³ The usual plural is *vīr-ēs -īs -ium -ibus*, with *-i-* stem declension, from *vīs-* felt as a stem probably by the influence of *mōs mōr-ēs* and of *vir virī* (cf. the similar alternation between *spē-s* and *spēr-ēs*, §288.II). Perhaps *glīs* 'dormouse', gen. *glīr-is*, also was an *-ī-* stem, remodeled by association with *mūs* 'mouse', gen. *mūr-is*.

¹ Varro LL 8.7. ² Lucr. 2.586. ³ Lucr. 3.265.

§274. THE DECLENSION OF STEMS IN *-ū-*: PIE **syekrū-* 'mother-in-law' gave Skt. *śvaśrū-s*, but became a *ū-* stem in Lt.: *socrus*. PIE **sū-s* gave Gk. *śs* and Lt. *sūs*, which is declined as though the stem were *su-*,¹ the *-v-* not written after *u* (§181.IX); the endings are those of consonant-stems, except that for *suius* there occur also *sūbus*,² which may be original **sū-bhos*,³ and *sūbus*,⁴ from *sūbus* with shortening by the influence of the short vowel in *suēs suom* (and *suum*, §125.II.G). *Grūs* is similarly declined, as a stem in *-uv-* with consonant-stem endings, but without special forms.⁵

The corresponding Greek loanwords may have the following forms in Latin: Nom. *Tēth-ys*, voc. *-y*, acc. *-yn* and *-ya*, gen. *-yis*, dat. *-yī*, abl. *-ye*.

¹ In general, *ū* becomes *uv* before a vowel, but remains before consonants. ² Lucr. 5.969. ³ Cf. Skt. dat.-abl. pl. *sū-bhyas*; in the Skt. paradigm, *ū* and *uv* vary according to note 1. ⁴ Lucr. 6.974. ⁵ Except the *i-* stem nom. *gruis*, Phaedr. 1.8.7.

§275. THE DECLENSION OF DIPHTHONGAL STEMS.

I. PIE **nāus* (Skt. *nāúṣ*, Gk. *naūs*) became Lt. *nāv-is*, which was declined as an *i-* stem; with the optional variations acc. *nāvem*, rarely *nāvim*, abl. *nāve* and *nāvī*. oLt. *nāvērūm*¹ was made after the fifth declension; *NA VEBOS*² is an artificial archaism (§270).

II. PIE acc. **g*ōm* to nom. **g*ōus* (*u* of diphthong lost before *-m*, §120.I) is seen in Skt. acc. *gām*, nom. *gāúṣ*, Gk. acc. (Hom.) *βῶν*, nom. (Ion.-Att.) *βῶς*; it gave pIt. acc. **gwōm*, whence Umb. *bum* for **bōm* (§153.VI), which was borrowed by Lt. and gave nom. *bōs*. The rest of the paradigm came from the

stem *bov-* as in gen. *bov-is*, Skt. *gavás*, Gk. *βο(ρ)ός*, with the endings of consonant-stems. For abl. *bove* the *-i-* stem *BOVID*³ is found once. The gen. pl. has the variations *bovom*, *boum*, *bovum* (§125.II.G, §181.VIII); *bovērum*⁴ after *-ē*-stems. For *bovibus* there is often *būbus*⁵ from original **g^hou-bhos*,⁶ and *bōbus*⁷ after *bōs*.⁸

III. The stem **d̥ieū-* occurs in the voc. **d̥ieū pater*, Skt. *d̥yo pitar*, Gk. *Zeῦ πάτερ*, Lt. *Jūpiter Juppiter* (§182.III), used also as nom. The other cases are formed on the same stem **d̥ieū-*, pl. **d̥ioy-*: *Jovem Jovis Jovī Jove*;⁹ the pl. cases are rare. Monosyllabic nom. **d̥iēus* in Skt. *dyāūs*, Gk. *Zeús*; dissyllabic **d̥iēūs* (§167.I) in *diūs* in *nudiūstertius* 'now the third day' and in *Dīus Fidius* 'God of Oaths'. Acc. **d̥iē[u]m* in Skt. *dyām*; **d̥iē[u]m* in Lt. *diem* (§128.I), whence nom. *diēs*, becoming an *-ē-* stem (§288.II). Dissyllabic **d̥ieū-* gave sporadic forms such as oLt. *DIOVEM*.¹⁰ Loc. **d̥iēū* gave Lt. *diū* 'by day, for a long time.'

IV. For convenience attention should be called to *sūs su(v)is*, *grūs gru(v)is*, §274; to *rēs*, §288.II; and to *nix niv-is*. *Nix* is a stem in *-g^h-*, becoming Lt. *-v-* (§159.III), cf. Gk. acc. *νίφα*, Eng. *snow*, Lith. *sniėgas*; the declension is regular, except that the gen. pl. is *nivium*.¹¹ The verb *nīnguit* 'snows' induces (very rarely) forms with *-ngu-*: gen. *nīnguis*,¹² abl. *nīngue*,¹³ acc. pl. *nīnguēs*.¹⁴

V. Greek diphthongal stems appear in Latin according to the following types: *-eu-* stems: *Orph-eus*, voc. *-eu*, acc. *-ēā* (*-ēā* to *Īdomen-eus* and *Īlion-eus*, with two preceding short syllables), gen. *-eos*, dat. *-ei* (diphthongal); also latinized as *-ēō-* stem, *-eus -eum -eī -eō -eō*. Nom. remade (as in some Gk. dialects) to *-ēs*: *Ulix-ēs*, voc. *-ēs -e*, acc. *-ēn -em*, gen. *-is -ī -ēī*, abl. *-ē*. The Macedonian king was *Pers-eus*, voc. *-eu*, acc. *-ea*, gen. *-eos*, dat. *-ei* (diph.); or *Pers-ēs*, voc. *-ēs*, acc. *-ēn -em*, gen. *-is -ī*, abl. *-ē -ā*; or *-ēō-* stem, *-eum -ēī -eō -eō*. *-ōi-* stems (fem.): *ēch-ō Dīd-ō*, acc. *-ō -ōn -ūn* (so various Gk. dialects), gen. *-ūs*, dat. *-abl. -ō*; also latinized as *-ōn-em -is -ī -e*.

¹ Lucil. ap. Charis. 1.54.25 K. ² CIL 1.25.6 and 8. ³ CIL 1.366. ⁴ Varro LL 8.74. ⁵ Plt. Most. 62. ⁶ For the formation, cf. Skt. *go-bhyas*. ⁷ Hor. Epod. 2.3. ⁸ Or *bōbus* possibly with rustic contraction of *ou* to *ō*, §117.II. ⁹ *Jovī Jove* = Skt. dat. *dyāve*, loc. *dyāvi*; *iovos* (CIL 1.563) with nom. formation of *-o-* stems. ¹⁰ CIL 1.558 (Praeneste); similarly gen. *DIOVIS* CIL 1.361, *DIIVOS* CIL 1.360 (on *-os* §250), and other forms with *di-*; new nom. with *-i-* stem form, *Diovis* Varro LL 5.66, *Jovis* Enn. Ann. 61 W, as well as *IOVIS* CIL 3.6443. ¹¹ But *nivum* in one late passage, NW² 1.426. ¹² Or *nīguis*, Charis. 1.91.25 K. ¹³ Apul. ap. Prisc. 2.279.14 K. ¹⁴ Lucr. 6.736; also *nivēs* Lucr. 5.746, 6.107.

§276. THE DECLENSION OF *u*-STEMS. The table of comparable forms is as follows:

	Sg.	
Nom.	<i>-us</i>	<i>manus</i> , Gk. <i>ἡδύς</i> 'sweet', Skt. <i>sūnúṣ</i> 'son', Goth. <i>sunus</i> .
Acc.	<i>-um</i>	<i>manum</i> , Gk. <i>ἡδύν</i> , Skt. <i>sūnúm</i> , Goth. <i>sunu</i> .
Gen.	<i>-eus -ous manūs</i> , Skt. <i>sūnós</i> , Goth. <i>sunaus</i> . ¹	Osc. <i>castrous</i> 'fundī', Umb. <i>trifor</i> 'tribūs',
Dat.	<i>-eyei -yei manuī</i> , <i>-ēu</i> ²	Skt. <i>sūndve</i> , <i>krátve</i> 'strength'. Umb. <i>trifo</i> 'tribui', Skt. <i>sūnāú</i> .

Abl.	-ūd ³	<i>manū</i> , Osc. <i>castrid</i> , ⁴ Umb. <i>mani</i> .
	Pl.	
Nom.	-eues	<i>manūs</i> , Gk. ἡδέες, Skt <i>sūndvas</i> .
Acc.	-uns	<i>manūs</i> , Gk. (Cretan) <i>uivrs</i> 'filios', Goth. <i>sununs</i> .
Gen.	-(u)uōm	<i>passum passuum</i> , Gk. (Ion.) γουρῶν 'genuum', Av. <i>pasvqm</i> 'pecuum'.
Dat.-Abl.	-ubhos	<i>manibus arcubus</i> , Umb. <i>berus</i> ⁵ 'verubus', cf. Skt. <i>sūnūbhya</i> s.
	Neut.	
Sg. Nom.-Acc.	-u	<i>cornū</i> , ⁶ Gk. μέθυ 'wine', Skt. <i>mādhū</i> 'honey'.
Pl. Nom.-Acc.	-ū	Skt. (Vedic) <i>mādhū</i> .
	-u-ā ⁷	<i>cornua</i> , Umb. <i>berva</i> 'verua', <i>pequo</i> 'pecua'.

Greek loanwords have the following forms, in addition to those with latinized endings: *Cap-ys* *Cot-ys*, voc. -y, acc. -yn, gen. -yos, dat. -yŕ.

¹ Gothic shows -ous; the others do not distinguish -eus and -ous. ² Original locative ending. ³ Italic formation, after -ōd of -o- stems. ⁴ In Osc. and Umb., ū became ī in final syllables. ⁵ With -s < -fs < -fos. ⁶ -ū is properly an old dual or plural ending. ⁷ After -o- stems.

§277. THE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE OF *u*-STEMS has nom. -s added to the stem, and is absolutely unchanged in Lt. *manus*; the same form functions in Latin as vocative, though the PIE vocative was the bare stem in -u or -eu.

§278. THE ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR MASCULINE AND FEMININE shows in Lt. no change from the PIE -um: *manum*.

§279. THE GENITIVE SINGULAR had in PIE the strong grade of the stem vowel + the weak grade of the case ending: -eu-s and -ou-s, remaining in Italic, where they became confused in -ous (§116): Lt. *manūs*, *fructūs*, CONVENTVVS;¹ SENATOVVS² is an archaic writing. If Augustus really used a gen. *domōs* rather than *domūs*, as Suetonius³ states, the -ōs was a country pronunciation for the product of earlier -ous (§117.II). In DE SENATV SENTENTIA⁴ the -s was omitted because another s followed.

There were also other forms of the gen. of *u*-stems. Varro⁵ is said to have used only a form in -uis; this was made analogically: nom. *rēx*, dat. *rēgī* are to gen. *rēgis* as nom. *domus*, dat. *domuī* are to a gen. *domuis*,⁶ a type of which we find also *senatuis*,⁷ *anuis*,⁸ and a few others. oLt. SENATVOS⁹ has the gen. ending -os as in Gk. (Ion.) γουρῶς < *gonyos 'knee', cf. the -os gen. of a few consonantal stems in Latin (§250). In TOTIVSQVE DOMVI¹⁰ the dat. form is used as gen., by influence of the identity of the two case-forms in -ā- stems, *domus* being fem. like the -ā- stems.

The genitive of -u- stems often also assumed -o- stem forms, perhaps only after nom. -os, acc. -om of -o- stems had become identical with the -us -um of -u- stems; thus *senatī*,¹¹ *quaestī*,¹² *tumultī*.¹³

Neuters also had gen. *-ūs*, as in *cornūs genūs*; the nt. gen. in *-ū*, cited by grammarians,¹⁴ seems to come from use by medical writers of such phrases as *cornū būbū*,¹⁵ which they felt as one word inflected on the second part only, like gen. *olusātrī*¹⁶ to *olus-ātrum*.

¹ CIL 2.2416; §22.I. ² CIL 1.2197; §35.II. ³ Aug. 87. ⁴ CIL 1.1529.3. ⁵ Ap. Gell. 4.16.1. ⁶ Varro Sat. Men. 522, ap. Non. 491.21 M. ⁷ Charis. 1.143.12 K. ⁸ Ter. HT 287. ⁹ CIL 1.581.8,17,21,23. ¹⁰ CIL 6.2067.11. ¹¹ CIL 1.636 (135 B.C.); Plt. Cas. 536. ¹² Plt. Aul. 83. ¹³ Plt. Cas. 649. ¹⁴ Charis. 1.31.4-8 K; etc. ¹⁵ Cels. 5.22.2. ¹⁶ Plin. NH 12.12.26.45.

§280. THE DATIVE SINGULAR had properly the case ending *-ei* added to the zero-grade of the stem vowel, the case-ending being in the accented grade; therefore *-yei* or *-uyei* (§167.I). In some languages, however, this case took the strong grade by leveling to the loc. and the acc.; therefore *-eyei*. The two terminations became identical in Latin (§125.II.D and §181.III;¹ §127.I): oLt. SENATUEI,² cILt. *equitātū*,³ *ūsū*.⁴ There was also a dative in *-ū*, common in Latin poetry because of its metrical convenience,⁵ and prescribed in neuters;⁶ this was an old suffixless locative in a strong grade of the stem-vowel, possibly lengthened *-ēu*, as in Skt. loc. *sūnāu* 'flio', but perhaps merely *-eu*, both of which would give Lt. *-ū*⁷ (§120.II, §116, §127.VI): *currū*,⁸ *anū*.⁹ NVRVAE¹⁰ has taken the ending of the semantically related *filiae*.

¹ By the influence of the paradigm, the postconsonantal *-y-* became vocalized after any consonant, not merely after *t* and *n*. ² CIL 1.586.12. ³ Caes. BG 1.18.10. ⁴ Plt. Ps. 1129. ⁵ *-ū* after a long syllable, or after two short syllables, was impossible in dactylic verse. ⁶ Charis. 1.31.5 K. ⁷ It is unlikely that the dat. in *-ū* was a new form, made in Lt. after the dat. in *-ō* of Decl. II and in *-ī* of Decl. III; for Umb. has a dat. in *-ō* = Lt. *-ū*, and the conditions for such an analogy did not exist in Umb. ⁸ Verg. Aen. 3.541. ⁹ Lucil. 304 W, ap. Non. 399.1 M. ¹⁰ CIL 1.2192.

§281. THE ABLATIVE SINGULAR had *-ūd* in Italic, after the *-ōd* of *o*-stems: oLt. CASTVD,¹ to *castus -ūs*; MAGISTRATVO,² miswritten for *-TVD*; PEQVLATVV,³ with *-uu* to show length (§22.I); cILt. *senātū*, *manū*.

¹ CIL 1.360. ² CIL 1.581.12. ³ CIL 1.587.5.

§282. THE NOMINATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE is directly derived from PIE *-eyes*, the strong grade of the radical vowel with the regular plural *-ēs*, with syncope of the vowel of the final syllable:¹ *magistrātūs*, MAGISTRATVVS.²

¹ This is more likely than that the Lt. nom. pl. is the acc. pl. as nom. because of the identity of nom. and acc. pl. in some other stem-classes. ² CIL 10.3678.

§283. THE ACCUSATIVE PLURAL MASCULINE AND FEMININE also came directly from the PIE *-u-ns* (§171.VI.E): *lacūs*, LACVVS.¹

¹ CIL 9.1644.

§284. THE GENITIVE PLURAL in pIE ended in *-y-ōm*, seen in Gk. (Ion.) γονῶν from **gonyōm*; after the shortening of the long vowel before *-m* (§128.I), the *y* was lost before *ō* (§181.VIII) and the *ō* was weakened to *u* (§126.II.A):¹ *passum*,² *currum*,³ EXERCITVM.⁴ But the form ending in *-uom* *-uum* was restored by analogy of the endings of *-i*-stems: acc. *-īs*, dat.-abl. *-ibus*, are to gen. *-ium* as acc. *-ūs*, dat.-abl. *-ubus* are to *-uum*: *passuum*.

¹ It seems less probable that the *ō* was lost by syncope and the *y* became vocalic; §124, cf. adv. *parum* from *parvom*. ² Plt. Men. 177. ³ Verg. Aen. 6.653. ⁴ Mon. Anc. 5.40.

§285. THE DATIVE-ABLATIVE PLURAL had *-u-bhos*, with its regular development in Latin, the *u* having the varying sound in open medial syllables before a labial (§125.I.F), but for the most part becoming *i* by the influence of *-ibus* in *-i*-stems: *manibus*, *genibus*. But some words vary between *-ibus* and *-ubus*, such as EIDIBVS¹ and IDVBVS,² and the occasional LACVBVS,³ SPECVBVS;⁴ *arcubus quercubus tribubus* are the only forms for these words,⁵ and *arcubus artubus partubus* were prescribed⁶ for distinction from the corresponding forms of *ars ars pars*.

¹ CIL 1.1025. ² CIL 4.5380; Pompeii. ³ Alongside DOMIBVS, CIL 8.51. ⁴ Verg. Ge. 3.376. ⁵ Except TREBIBVS 'tribubus', CIL 1.398. ⁶ Pomp. 5.194.10-20 K.

§286. THE NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR NEUTER was in pIE the bare stem in *-ǔ*, seen in Skt. *mādhū*. But Latin shows *-ū*, either an old nom.-acc. pl. or an old nom.-acc. dual of the *-u*-stems; in favor of the dual is the fact that the commonest *-u*-stems were *cornū* and *genū*, and both 'horns' and 'knees' commonly come in pairs. Probably the *-ǔ* of the original form underwent some phonetic change (loss, §123.V; or weakening to *-e*, §126.V), which obscured the relation to the rest of the paradigm. The form in *-ū* was free for other utilization, whether dual or plural, for the dual as a category was no longer used in Italic, and a new nom. pl. in *-uā* (§287) had been created; and so it was used for the nom.-acc. sg.: *genū*.¹

¹ As in Verg. Aen. 1.320; short *-u* in this form, supported by Diom. 1.308.16 K, is without metrical support, and is expressly rejected by Prisc. 2.362 K. By transfer to *-o*-stems, nom. *cornus* M. (Varro, Men. p. 120 Oehler), nom. *cornum* N. (Varro RR 3.9.14), acc. *cornum* N. (Ov. Met. 5.383).

§287. THE NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE PLURAL NEUTER in pIE ended in *-ǔ*, the lengthened stem-vowel;¹ this was replaced in Italic by the usual *-ā*, taken from *-o*-stems, which is seen in Latin with regular generalization of the shortened vowel (§128.II): *cornua*, *genua*, *verua*. Occasionally *ossua*² was used for *ossa* 'bones', in imitation of the semantically related *cornua* and *genua*;³ nt. *artua* 'joints' occurs once,⁴ by association with *membra* and *ossa*, for the usual masc. pl. *artūs*.

¹ Possibly utilized as sg., §286; the *-ū* may have been a pIE contraction of *-u-ǔ*, cf. §272. nl. ² As in CIL 1.1219, etc.; with a derivative adj. *ossuārius*. ³ Not from an alleged col-

lateral -u-stem, **ossu-*; Gk. *ὄσσω* seems to be from **ostejo-*, cf. Skt. nom. *ásthi*, rather than from **osteyo-*, and even pIE **ostu-* would not yield Italic *ossu-*. ⁴ Plt. Men. 855.

§288. THE DECLENSION OF *ē*-STEMS is peculiarly Italic, although it has its basis in pIE; the remodeling is so extensive that a table of comparable forms is impossible. Some general remarks may however be made.

I. Most nouns of this declension are original -(i)ǵē- stems, ablauting with *ī* as zero-grade, with some transformed -(i)ǵā- stems, remade to -iē- stems because of the zero-grade *ī* which they had in common. It is unnecessary, and perhaps impossible, to distinguish them, but some collateral forms may be given: Lith. *žėmė*, Russian *zemblya* 'land', from *ǵhemǵē; Skt. *devī* 'goddess', gen. *devyās*.¹

II. Others are *diēs*, an original diphthongal stem (§275.III), starting in acc. **dīēm* from pIE **d(i)ǵēm* (Skt. *dyām* 'sky') from **d(i)ǵēum* (§120.I); *rēs*, starting in acc. **rēm* from pIE **rēm* (Skt. *rām* 'wealth') from **rēm*; *spēs*, an original s-stem,² as is shown by the old plural *spērēs* and the denominative verb *spērāre*; *fidēs*, an original s-stem, as is shown by the adj. *fidus-tus*; *plēbēs*, another s-stem (cf. Gk. neut. *πλῆθος* 'crowd'), varying with the consonantal stem *plēbs*, gen. *plēbis*.³

III. There are scattering forms from other stems which have -ēs in the nom. sg. Such are *contāgēs*, abl. *contāgē*,⁴ *famēs*, gen. *famī*, abl. *famē*,⁵ *lābēs*, dat. *lābei*,⁶ *pūbēs*, dat. *pūbē*,⁷ abl. *pūbē*,⁸ *quiēs* (usually gen. *quiēt-is*, etc.), abl. *quiē*,⁹ *requiēs*, usually gen. *requiēi*¹⁰ and (rare) *requiē*,¹¹ acc. *requiem*,¹² abl. *requiē*¹³ (less often *requiētis*,¹⁴ *requiētem*,¹⁵ *requiēte*¹⁶); *tābēs*, abl. *tābē*.¹⁷

IV. This declension was not built out in full. Only *diēs* and *rēs* have a complete plural. Some other words, notably abstracts that have acquired a concrete meaning, have the nom. and acc. pl.: *aciēs*, *faciēs*, *speciēs*, *spēs*. Other abstracts, such as *fidēs*, *perniciēs*, have a complete singular only; still others have only nom. and acc. sg. in normal use, with variant -ā- stem forms of these cases, and the rest of the sg. in the -ā- stem forms: *luxuriēs* and *luxuria*, *māteriēs* and *māteria*. Fifth-declension forms other than those here specified are extremely rare, and mostly late in the imperial times.

¹ There is evidence for acc. -ǵēm, seen in Gk. *πότνια* 'dominam'; but from this starting point it is difficult or impossible to explain the long vowel in the Lt. nom. -iēs. It is also very difficult to establish the existence of original -ē- in the stem-ending, since -ǵā became -ǵē in Lith., -ǵē became -ǵa in Russian, Skt. does not distinguish ǵā and ǵē, and Gk. has nom. -a from -a, acc. -av from -em, gen. and dat. with -ā- from -ā- (all with preceding ǵ or i).

² This is more probable than that nom. *spēs*, to an original root noun *spē-*, gave rise to the verb *spērāre* by analogy to *jūs* (-s-stem, §246.VI) and *jūrāre*, and that *spērēs* (Enn. Ann. 122 W) came from *spērāre* by back-formation.

³ The plural is *plēbēs plēbium plēbibus*, from *plēbs*. ⁴ Lucr. 3.734; and *contāgē* Lucr. 4.311. ⁵ Resp. Cato and Lucil. ap. Gell. 9.14.10-1; Verg. Aen. 3.218, and elsewhere. ⁶ Cic. pro Sest. 8.20 (or *lābei* with *ei* for *i*, as dat. of third decl.?).; abl. *lābi* (Lucr. 5.930) has the ending of -i- stems. ⁷ Plt. Pseud. 126. ⁸ Anth. Lat. 108 Riese. ⁹ Afranius and Laevius ap. Prisc. 2.242 K. ¹⁰ Prisc. 2.367.8 K. ¹¹ Sallust ap. Prisc. 2.367.8 K. ¹² Verg. Aen. 4.433. ¹³ Ov. Met. 13.317. ¹⁴ Cic. ad Att. 1.18.1. ¹⁵ Cic. de Fin. 5.54. ¹⁶ Cic. de Div. 1.22. ¹⁷ Lucr. 1.806.

§289. THE NOMINATIVE SINGULAR of stems in long vowels was in pIE the bare stem, without suffix: Skt. *devī* 'goddess', Lith. *žėmė* 'earth'; but the iē-stems took

in Latin the usual *-s*: *aciēs*, *faciēs*. Other words of this declension had the *-s* by better right. *Diēs* was made after acc. **diēm*¹ (§288.II); *merīdiēs* is a nom. formed upon the locative phrase *mediū diē*. *Rēs* was similarly formed upon acc. **rēm*. *Spēs*, as a monosyllabic *s*-stem, had the long grade of the root and the nom. *-s*, the long *-ss* being shortened, as in *mūs*. *Fidēs* and other *s*-stems of more than one syllable had the lengthening of the vowel of the last syllable, like Skt. *durmanās*, Gk. *δυσμενής* 'warlike'. Some others with sporadic forms of the fifth declension had the *-ēs* found in some *-i*-stems (§261); such perhaps is *famēs*.

¹ This is more probable than that *diēs* came direct from pIE **d(i)ǵeus*, with loss of the *u* of the long diphthong; for the diphthong is represented in Skt. *dyāús*, Gk. *Zelus*, Latin *nu-diūs-tertius*.

§290. THE ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR had in pIE either *-i-m* or *-(i)ǵem*, seen in Skt. *devīm* 'goddess', Gk. *πόρτιαν* 'lady'; or possibly *-(i)ǵem*, as in Lith. *žemę* 'earth'. This last form, with vowel shortened before *-m*, appears in Lt. *aciem*, *faciem*; and the ending *-em* was extended to all words of this declension in which it did not develop regularly. *Diem* is from **diǵem* < **d(i)ǵeum* (§120.I), cf. Skt. *dyām* 'sky'. *Rem* is similarly from **rēm* < **rēm*, cf. Skt. *rām* 'wealth'. For *s*-stems the *-ē* was extended as a stem-final, and *-m* added: *fidem*, *spem*, etc.

§291. THE GENITIVE SINGULAR was originally *-ǵēs* in the *-i*:-*ǵē*-stems, that is, the stem vowel in the grade *-ǵē* + the gen. ending *-s*; this is seen in Skt. *devyās* 'deae'. There are a few such forms in older Latin: *rabiēs*,¹ and by extension *diēs*.²

Commonly, however, the ending is the *-i* of *-o*-stems, added to the stem in *-ē*, which produced such a form as *diēi*.³ This ending was subject to several phonetic developments. A long vowel was shortened before a vowel unless a vowel preceded (§183): *spēi*,⁴ *rēi*,⁵ *fidēi*.⁶ The combination *ēi* was subject to contraction to a diphthong *ei*, as in *rei*,⁷ or to a monophthong *ē* (properly only after *i*, §127.V), as in *rē*,⁸ or to *ī*, as in *FIDI*,⁹ *PLEBI*,¹⁰ *famī*,¹¹ *plēbei*.¹² But by the analogy of the *-ēi* of *diēi* and *aciēi* there were also *rēi*,¹³ *fidēi*.¹⁴ Conversely, *diēi* sometimes became *diēi* after *rēi* etc., with contraction to diphthong or to monophthong *ē* after *i*, as in *diē*,¹⁵ or to *ī* by likeness to endings where there was no preceding *i*: *diī*.¹⁶

Thus *diēs* had genitive forms *diēs*, *diēi*, *diei* (diphthong), *diē*, *diī*; and *rēs* had *rēi*, *rēi*, *rei* (diphthong), *rē*. When the orthography is *-ei*, the phonetic value can be determined only by metrical evidence or by grammatical comment.

¹ Archaic in Lucr. 4.1083. ² Enn. Ann. 392 W, ap. Gell. 9.14.5; but Gell. 5.12.5 seems to have erred in taking *Diēspiter* as 'father of Day', rather than as 'Father Day'. ³ Verg. Aen. 9.156. ⁴ Charis. 1.55.12 K. ⁵ Plt. Men. 494. ⁶ Manil. 2.605. ⁷ Plt. Persa 65. ⁸ Cic. Phil. 7.2.5 (Vat. ms.). ⁹ CIL 2.5042. ¹⁰ CIL 1.582.16. ¹¹ Cato and Lucilius ap. Gell. 9.14.10-1. ¹² Varro, LL 5.81, with *ei* for *ī*. ¹³ Plt. MG 103. ¹⁴ Enn. Ann. 330 W, ap. Cic. de Sen. 1.1. ¹⁵ Verg. Ge. 1.208. ¹⁶ Verg. Aen. 1.636.

§292. THE DATIVE SINGULAR is infrequent in Lt., but datives of *rēs*, *diēs*, *spēs*, *fidēs* are readily quotable. Here the pIE dat. **rēiei*, seen in Skt. *rāyē*, is the basic form, giving **rēi rēi rei*¹ and *rē* after the gen.: monosyllabic *rei*,² *rē*,³ remade *rēi*,⁴ *rēi*.⁵ From this model were made *fidē*,⁶ *diēi*,⁷ *fidēi*,⁸ etc. Among inscriptional forms are the following (writings with -ei are of course ambiguous as to value): *rei*,⁹ *spei*,¹⁰ *fidei*,¹¹ *fidi*,¹² *fide*,¹³ the value is probably *ēi* when *i longa* (§22.II) was used, as in *spei*,¹⁴ *fidei*.¹⁵

For abstracts the dative is poorly attested, though it must rest on pIE *-iēi* (*-iē- + -ei*), as in Skt. *devyāt* 'deae'; *faciē*¹⁶ and *perniciē*,¹⁷ *faciēi*¹⁶ and *aciēi*¹⁸ are attested. When there was an alternative nom. in -ia, the gen. and dative commonly ended in -iae: *materiae*.

¹ With phonetic changes as in the gen. ² Plt. As. 182; elided at Amph. 674. ³ Plt. Merc. 300; Cic. Phil. 9.1.2 (Vat. ms.). ⁴ Lucr. 1.688. ⁵ Hor. Carm. 3.24.64. ⁶ Hor. Serm. 1.3.95. ⁷ Manil. 5.699. ⁸ Manil. 3.107. ⁹ CIL 1.586.8. ¹⁰ CIL 1.46, 1.674. ¹¹ CIL 1.674. ¹² CIL 12.1.p.214. ¹³ CIL 1.369; in this insc., the *e* may be the intermediate stage between *ei* and *i*, §127.I. ¹⁴ CIL 12.1.p.248. ¹⁵ CIL 6.148; late 2d cent. after Christ. ¹⁶ Gell. 9.14.21-4, quoting *faciē* from Lucilius, where some grammarians, he says, read *faciī*. ¹⁷ Liv. 5.13.5. ¹⁸ Prisc. 2.366.6 K.

§293. THE ABLATIVE SINGULAR goes back to Italic *-ēd*, formed in imitation of the *-ōd* of *-o-* stems: *diē*, *rē*, *speciē*. The *-d* is seen only in Fal. FOIED¹ 'hodie' (from **ghōd diēd*; §128.III, §141.III).

¹ NSc. 1887.273.

§294. THE LOCATIVE SINGULAR is in Lt. found only in *diē* in certain phrases: *mediū diē*, *quintū diē*, *septimū diē*, *prīdīē*, *postrīdīē*, *cotīdīē*; the adjective form clearly shows the locative origin. Loc. *diē* seems to be stem **diē-* + loc. *-i*, making Italic **diēi*, whence *diē* by shortening (§120.III) and development to *ē* after *i* (§127.V).

§295. THE NOMINATIVE PLURAL of Lt. *-ē-* stems may have started in *rēs*,¹ from pIE **rējes*, seen in Skt. *rāyas*; after *rēs*, also *diēs*,² *spēs*,³ and a few abstracts in concrete meaning, such as *aciēs*.⁴ But there was also in oLt. the plural *spērēs*,⁵ from the original *s-*stem.

¹ Plt. Amph. 417. ² Plt. Asin. 311. ³ Plt. Bac. 370. ⁴ Liv. 25.34.9. ⁵ Enn. Ann. 122 W, ap. Fest. 333a.5-8 M; both nom. and acc.

§296. THE ACCUSATIVE PLURAL may also have started in *rēs*,¹ from pIt. **rējens* < pIE **rējns*, seen in Skt. *rāyds*. After this, by addition of *-ns* to the *ē*-stem, came *diēs*,² *spēs*,³ and an occasional abstract in concrete meaning, such as *aciēs*.⁴

¹ Plt. Poen. 129. ² Plt. Poen. 228. ³ Plt. Most. 406. ⁴ Verg. Aen. 6.788.

§297. THE GENITIVE AND THE DATIVE-ABLATIVE PLURAL.

I. The genitive was formed in *-ērum*, after the *-ārum* of *-ā-* stems: *rērum*,¹

diĕrum.² This is occasionally extended to other stems with nom. pl. in *-ēs*: *sordĕrum*³ to *sordēs*, *regĕrum*⁴ to *rĕgēs*, *MESERVVM*⁵ to *mĕnsēs* after *diĕrum*.

II. The dative-ablative attached the ending *-bhos* to the stem in *-ĕ-*, even as the same form of stems in *-i-* and *-u-* attached the same ending to the stem: *rĕbus*,⁶ *diĕbus*.⁷

III. Such forms as *faciĕrum faciĕbus*, *speciĕrum speciĕbus*, *faciĕrum māteriĕrum*, though discussed by grammarians,⁸ were not in existence in classical times; but those ending in *-ĕrum -ĕbus* were formed and used by late authors.

¹ Plt. Aul. 54. ² Cato, Agr. 2.2. ³ Plt. Poen. 314. ⁴ Gellius ap. Charis. 1.54.25-6 K.

⁵ CIL 3.2602. ⁶ Plt. Amph. 510; or *rĕbus* may perhaps be equated direct with Skt. *rābhyaś*, with the usual slight variation in the case-suffix. ⁷ Plt. Cap. 168. ⁸ Prisc. 2.367.14-368.3 K, discussing Cic. Top. 2.7.30, and quoting *faciĕrum* from Cato the Censor; Diom. 1.305.2-5 K.; etc.

CHAPTER II. THE FORMS OF ADJECTIVES

§298. THE FORM-VARIATIONS OF ADJECTIVES. Adjectives are subject to change of form to show gender, case, and number, and also to show the degrees of comparison.

§299. THE GENDER OF ADJECTIVES. Adjectives had three genders, the forms varying to show agreement with the nouns which they modified. In pIE there were different forms for the nominatives of each gender, and to a considerable extent in the other cases. The IE adjectives in *-ǵ-*, however, became Latin *-ǵ-* stems by remodeling of the feminine nominative in *-ǵī* (§261).

I. In Latin, as in pIE, the *-o-* stems were masculine-neuter, with a corresponding feminine in *-ā-*: *bonus bonum*, fem. *bona*; *sacer sacrum*, *sacra*; *tener tenerum*, *tenera*. In other stems Latin used the same stem for masculine and feminine, and the same formation in the nominative: *fortis*, *melior*, *audāx*. Masc. *ācer*¹ and fem. *ācris*² are specializations, *ācer* being the normal phonetic development retained for masculine use by the influence of *-ǵ-* stem nominatives such as *sacer tener*; while *ācris* is the restored analogical form used as feminine where there was no such influence to favor *-er* (§124).

II. The neuter uses the same stem as the masculine, but there is a difference in the formation of the nominative of all numbers, which in the neuter is used also as accusative:³ sg. masc. *bonus sacer tener*, nt. *bonum sacrum tenerum*; masc. *fortis ācer*, nt. *forte ācre* (§124); masc. *melior* (from *-ōs*), nt. *melius* (from *-os*). But stems ending in stops used the masculine of the nominative singular as neuter also: *audāx*,⁴ *duplex* (but Umb. *tuplak*, lacking *-s*), *ferēns* (but Skt. *bhārat*, lacking *-s*).

III. Adjectives of which the second element was a noun might acquire forms for all genders: thus from *animus* came the adjective *magnanim-us -a -um*. The adjectives *vetus* 'old' and *uber* 'rich' were by origin old neuter substantives, and as adjectives had the same form as nominative of all genders, but acquired the masc.-fem. forms acc. sg. *veterem ūberem*, nom.-acc. pl. *veterēs ūberēs*. The masc. substantive *victor* and its fem. *victrix* were often used as adjectives,⁵ and from the fem. came the neut. pl. in *victricia arma*,⁶ probably helped by the semantically related *fēlicia* 'successful'.

¹ Masc. *ācris* Enn. Ann. 365 W, ap. Prisc. 2.153.14 K. ² Fem. *ācer* Enn. Ann. 395 W, ap. Prisc. 2.153.10 K. ³ The vocative of the neuter has the same form, but is naturally very rarely used. ⁴ Acc. neut. *audāx* Ter. Eun. 644; *duplex* Liv. 7.7.5; *ingēns* Verg. Aen. 3.658. ⁵ *Victor equos* Verg. Ge. 3.499; *victricēs ratēs* Ovid Met. 15.754. ⁶ Verg. Aen. 3.54.

§300. THE DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES. Adjectives were in the main declined like substantives with the same stem-finals; the peculiarities of adjectives are few, and follow here.

Adjectival stems in stops adopted for the neuter nominative the masculine form with the ending *-s*, probably because such inherited forms as **audāc* **duplec* **ferend* (< *-nt*, §138.III) had finals which were apart from the usual patterns of the language; the same form served also as accusative neuter, which was always identical with the nominative.

Stems in *-(i)ǵo-* have uncontracted forms in the singular, such as gen. *patrǵi*,¹ voc. *Bromie*,² but the lack of contracted forms may result from the scarcity of these types in early verse (where the scansion would indicate the number of syllables) and in republican inscriptions.

Many stems in consonants took the *-ī* of *-ǵ-* stems in the abl. sg., *-ia* in the nom.-acc. nt. pl., *-ium* in the gen. pl.; but participles in *-nt-* preferred abl. *-e*.

Certain semi-pronominal adjectives had *-tus* in the gen. sg. and *-ī* in the dat. sg. (§321).

¹ Lucr. 1.832. ² Plt. Men. 836.

§301. THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES. The usual form of the adjective is called the positive degree, that which is normally indicated in English with the adverb *more* is called the comparative,¹ that which is indicated by *most* is called the superlative. These three are the Degrees of Comparison. There are no specific ways in which the positive degree is indicated; but there are certain suffixes used to form the comparative and the superlative, like English *-er* and *-est*. An alternative is the use of the adverbs *more* and *most* in English, and that of their equivalents in Latin.

At the moment, we consider only the formation by suffixes. For the comparative, these suffixes are *-ǵōs/-īs-* and *-ro-*; for the superlative, *-to-* and *-mo-*: both with extensions of various kinds.

¹ The Latin comparative may express also the ideas conveyed in English by *rather* or *too*, and the Latin superlative those given in English by *very* or *extremely*.

§302. THE COMPARATIVE SUFFIX *-ǵōs*. PIE *-ǵōs*, varying with *-is-*, is the oldest comparative ending, and remained as the regular formation in Italic:

**neǵos*, Lt. *novos* (§85.II); comp. **neǵ-ǵōs*, Lt. *novior*, Skt. *navyāds-*.¹

Lt. *mag-nus*; comp. **mag-ǵōs*, Lt. *maior* (§150.III), which shows also that this suffix was originally added to the root of the positive and not to the stem.

From an adverb: **pri-ǵōs*, Lt. *prior*.

This comparative is an *-s-* stem, with the long vowel of the suffix extended (as in *labōs labor*, §247.II) throughout in Lt., except that the nom.-acc. sg. nt. retains its original *-ǵos*, with weakening: **pri-ǵos* becomes *prius*.

The comparative *plūrēs*, nt. sg. *plūs*, is from the root in *plēnus*, Gk. *πλήρης*: **plē-ǵōs*, nt. *plē-ǵos*. oLt. PLEORES² shows the regular development, but otherwise the forms have followed the nt. sg., which developed **plēos* (§178.II), **pleos* (§183), **pleus* (§126.II.A), *plous* (§116): PLOVS,³ *plūs*.⁴

Lt. *minor* is a masculine made to a neuter *minus*, by the influence of the opposite *maior maius*; *minus* is properly an *-s-* stem neuter substantive, **minos* from **minǵos*, with the *minu-* seen in Lt. *minuere*, Gk. *μνίθω*.

The form *prīmōrēs* is analogical, by the contamination of *prīmus* and *prior*; for *x* : *prīmōrum* = *priōrēs* : *priōrum*.

The zero-grade *-is-* of this suffix is seen in the adverb *mag-is*; in *sin-is-ter*, cf. OHG *win-is-tar*; in *prīmus* from **pri-is-mos*, cf. *prior* (above); and in a few others.

¹ Skt. masc. nom. *nāvyañ*, for **-āns* with intrusive *-n-*; usually Skt. had not *-yas-*, but *-iyas-*, as in *nāvīyāñ*; for both peculiarities, cf. Gk. *ἡδυν* 'sweeter', Skt. *svādīyāñ*. The feminine corresponding to Skt. *navīyasī* does not appear in Greek nor in Italic. ² CIL 1.2. ³ CIL 1.581.19, 20; cf. §35.n2. The *ploera* alongside *plūrēs* in certain mss. of Cic. de Leg. 3.3.6 is an unreliable attempt at archaizing in a quoted legal text. ⁴ The greater influence of *plūs* on the whole paradigm is accounted for by the lack of any masculine or feminine singular. There seems to have been no ablaut-grade *plō-* to the root *plē-*; the assumption of such a grade would make easier the explanation of some of the forms of *plūs* and of *plūrimus*.

§303. THE COMPARATIVE SUFFIX *-ro-*. The comparative *-ro-* is found chiefly in the forms *-ero-* and *-tero-*, the latter showing combination with a suffix *-te-* : *-to-*. This *-tero-* originally indicated likeness, as in Skt. *vatsa-tard-* 'like a calf' (*vatsd-* 'calf'), Lt. *māter-tera* 'like a mother, = mother's sister'; it became the regular comparative suffix in Indo-Iranian and in Greek. In Latin we find *-ero-* and *-tero-* in a few words, mostly pronominal or local, denoting the distinction of one from the other of two: *īferus*, Skt. *ādharma-s*; *superus*, Skt. *ūpara-s*; *nos-ter*, cf. Gk. *ἡμέ-τερος*; *al-ter*; *u-ter*; *dexter*, Gk. *δεξι-τερός*; *exterus*, Osc. *ehtrad* 'extra', Umb. *apehtre* 'ab extra'; *re-trō*, abl. adv. to comparative of *re-* 'back'; abl. *con-trā*, abl. *contrō-* in *contrō-versia*, to *com-*; *posterus*, *poster-ior* (with double suffix), Osc. *pūstiris* 'posterius', Umb. *postera* 'posteras'. It is sometimes combined with the comparative *-is-*, as in *sin-is-ter*, *mag-is-ter*, *min-is-ter*, cf. Osc. *minstreis* 'minoris'.

§304. THE SUPERLATIVE SUFFIX *-to-*. The suffix *-to-* in the superlative function is seen in certain ordinal numerals: *quārtus*, *quīntus*, *sextus*; *tertius* with an added suffix, cf. Skt. *tṛtīya-s*. In combination with the comparative *-is-* it formed the regular primary superlative suffix in PIE, seen in Gk. *ἡδ-ιστος*, Skt. *svād-iṣṭha-s*, Eng. *sweet-est*. In Latin this is found only in the adverb *iuxtā* from **iug-istād*, to a lost adjective **iugos* 'attached'.

§305. THE SUPERLATIVE SUFFIX *-mo-*.

I. The suffix *-mo-* varied with *-mo-* (or *-mmo-*) according to the nature of the preceding sounds, and therefore appears in Latin as *-mo-* or *-imo-* (from *-amo-*, §103.II, with weakening); possibly it is to be identified with the *-mo-* of *septimus* to *septem*, *decimus* to *decem*:

summus, Umb. *somo* 'summum', from **ks-upo-mos*, Skt. *upamā-s*, to *sub*, Skt. *upa*.

adj. *dēmus* and *dēmum*, both only as adverbs, to *dē*; whence *suprēmus* as its opposite in meaning, *extrēmus*, *postrēmus*.¹

minimus, from **minu-mos*, cf. §302.

īnfimus (§136.III), Skt. *adhamā-s*, to comp. *īnferus*; with syncope, *īmus*, Osc. *imad-en* 'ex imo'.²

prīmus, from **pri-is-mos*, cf. §302.

quotumus, to *quot*, after the ordinals *septimus decimus* (the usual *quotus* is only *quot* made declinable, like the ordinals '7th' to '10th').

fem. *brūma* 'shortest (day), winter solstice', from **breχūimā* or **breχumā*, to *brevis*.

II. A commoner form in Latin is the extension *-timus* or *-simus*. *-timus* came from *-t.mo-*, a combination of *-to-* and *-mo-*; it originally denoted nearness in kind or place, as in Skt. *go-tama-s* 'ox-like', Lt. *mari-timus* '(dwelling) near the sea', *finītimus* '(dwelling) near the boundary', *lēgitimus* 'connected with the law, legal'. This is the regular secondary suffix of the superlative in Indo-Iranian, to comparatives in *-tara-* from pIE *-tero-*; it appears in Latin mainly in words denoting place, where a like comparative exists or can be implied: *ci-timus* to *citer citrā*; *ul-timus* to *ultrā ulter-ior*; *ex-timus* to *exterus extrā*; *in-timus* to *intrā inter-ior*; *op-timus*³ to *ops*; *dex-timus*⁴ to *dexter*; *sinis-timus*⁴ to *sinister*.

III. The Latin suffix *-simus* seems to have come in part from *-t.mos* added to dental stems (*-tt-* > *-tst-* > pIt. *-ss-*, §144), and in part from *-mos* added to *-s-* stems:

vīcē(n)simus, *trīcē(n)simus*, from *-nt-t.mos*; cf. §341.E.

pessimus from **ped-t.mos*; cf. *peior* from **ped-īōs*.

**nessimō-* 'nearest', Osc. abl. pl. *nesimois*, OIr. *nessam*, from **nedh-t.mo-*.⁵

maximus to *mag-nus*; cf. Skt. *-s-* stem *māhas-* 'greatness'.

The combination of comparative *-is-* + superlative *-mo-* may be another source for *-simo-*: **plē-is-mo-*, whence oLt. nt. pl. *plīsima*,⁶ replaced in classical Latin by *plūrimus*, with *-ū-* after *plūs* (§302).⁷ Perhaps in some instances this combination suffered syncope of the *-i-*, before the completion of rhotacism: oLt. *ōximē*⁸ 'ocissimē' from **ōk-is-mē*, to comp. *ōcior*; *proximus* perhaps from **proq^u-is-mo-*, cf. *prope* from **proq^ui* (§132.II); possibly *maximus* rather from **mag-is-mo-* than as given above. *Medioximus*⁹ to *mediocris*.

IV. The suffix *-simo-* was regular to stems in *-ri-* and *-ro-*, if the nominative ended in *-er-*: *ācerimus* from **ākri-samos* (syncopated to **ākrs-*, whence **ākers-*, §123.I, cf. §124; then *-rr-*, §164.III); *celerrimus* to *celer* (*-i-* stem); *tenerrimus* from **tenero-samos*; *pauperrimus*; etc. There are sporadically others: the adv. *mātūrrimē*¹⁰ was made by analogy of *celerrimē*, alongside the regular *mātūrisimē*,¹¹ from *mātūrus*. oLt. *pūrimē*¹² 'purissime' is similarly for *pūrrimē*, with oLt. single consonant for double (§21). An occasional *veterrimus*¹³ for the usual *vetustissimus* is formed on the occasional nom. *veter*¹⁴ for the usual *vetus*.

V. Similarly, *-simus* is added to a few *-li-* stems: *facillimus* from **fakli-samos* (§164.III), *difficillimus*; *simillimus*, *dissimillimus*; *humillimus*; and a few others sporadically.

VI. The common superlative suffix in Latin is *-issimus*, the origin of which is obscure, like that of *-simus*. The most probable theory is that it is comparative *-is-* + superlative *-simus*; perhaps it is actually for *-is-timus* as a counterpart to comparative *-is-ter*,¹⁵ with *-timus* replaced by the more usual *-simus*. Examples: *cārissimus*, *fortissimus*, *audācissimus*.

¹ There is no evidence for an Italic adverb **suprē* **extrē* **postrē*, from which these adjectives in *-ēmus* could be formed directly. ² There is no reason to suppose that the cluster *-rjm-*, arising by syncope, should not have been reduced to *-m-* in Oscan. ³ Probably **opi-tamos* by origin, with syncope; oLt. *OPITVMA* CIL 1.1206 probably has a restored *-i-*, after *legiti-mus* etc.; on the variation *-imus -umus* in this suffix, see §125.I.F. ⁴ Fest. 74.3, 339a.1 M; whence also *soll-istimus* Fest. 298b.26, both being technical words of augural practice. ⁵ The oIr. shows earlier *-sam-* or *-som-*, with neither of which the Osc. *-sim-* can be reconciled; perhaps Oscan had syncope of the vowel, and a later anaptyxis. ⁶ Fest. 205a.17 M. ⁷ oLt. *PLOIRVME* 'plurimi' CIL 1.9 is an attempted archaism, cf. §302 and n4. ⁸ Fest. 195.1 M. ⁹ Plt. Cist. 512, 611. ¹⁰ Caes. BG 1.33.4; whence adj. *mātūrrimum* Tac. Ann. 12.65. ¹¹ Cic. pro Caec. 2.7; adj. *mātūrrissimā* Cornif. Rhet. ad Her. 4.17.25. ¹² Fest. 252.9 M. ¹³ Plt. Truc. 172. ¹⁴ Enn. Ann. 15 W, ap. Prisc. 2.97.9 K. ¹⁵ Cf. *magister minister sinister*, §303, and pIE *-is-to-* as superlative, §304.

§306. GENERAL VIEW OF COMPARISON IN LATIN.

I. In pIE, *-jōs -istos* went together as primary suffixes of comparison, added directly to the root of the word, and not to the stem of the positive: Skt. *svā-dū-ṣ* 'sweet', (stem) *svād-īyās-*, *svād-iṣṭha-s*; Gk. *αλοχ-πός* 'shameful', *αλοχ-ῖων*, *αλοχ-ιστος*. The endings *-teros -tmos* similarly served as secondary suffixes, added to the stem of the positive: Skt. *āmā-s* 'raw', *āmā-tara-s*, *āmā-tama-s*; Gk. *ώπός*, *ώπότερος*, *ώπότερος* (with replacement of *-mos* by *-tos*). Latin kept *-jōs* as the regular comparative suffix, in the form *-ior*, and developed *-simus* and *-issimus* for the superlative.

II. Even in the oldest times it was the practice to vary the roots used in the different degrees, in certain common adjectives. There are the following examples in Latin:

bonus, from **d̥yenos*; *melior*, from root seen in Gk. *μᾶλα* 'rather'; *optimus*, to *op-s* 'help'.

malus, cf. Eng. *small*; *peior*, *pessimus*, to root **ped-*.

multus, with root as in *melior*; *plūs*, *plūrimus*, to root in *plē-nus* (§302, §305.III).

parvos, to root in *parcō*; *minor*, *minimus*, to root in *minuere* (§302, §305.I).

III. Latin shows other irregularities of a slighter nature, in the following: *juvenis*; comp. *jūnior*, with syncope and contraction, but in imperial times also *juvenior*, formed anew from *juvenis*.

dives; comp. *divitior* and *dītior*, superl. *divitissimus* and *dītissimus*; the short forms, with loss of *-v-* between vowels of like quality, and subsequent contraction (§181.VII), are the more usual forms.

vetus; rarely *veterior* *veterrimus*,¹ usually *vetustior* *vetustissimus* (from *vetustus*).

adv. *diū*; but *diūtius* *diūtissimē*, with *-t-* from *diū-tinus*.²

frūgī, dat. of purpose as indecl. adj., replacing **frūgālīs*,³ from which came *frūgālīor* *frūgālīssimus*, as well as the adj. *frūgālīter*.

nēquam 'not in any way', adv. as indecl. adj. 'worthless', with *nēquior* *nēquissimus* from an extracted stem **nēquo-*, used only as a basis for derivatives.

oLt. *benevolēns*⁴ was largely supplanted by *benevolus*,⁵ but *benevolentior* *benevolentissimus*⁶ remained the only comparative and superlative.

oLt. *malevolēns*⁷ was similarly replaced by *malevolus*,⁸ but *malevolentissimus*⁹ remained (no example of the comparative occurs).

oLt. *maledīcēns*,¹⁰ replaced by *maledicus*;¹¹ *maledīcentior maledīcentissimus*¹² remained.

Adjectives in *-ficus* followed these models (despite an occasional form like oLt. *mūnificior*,¹³ *beneficissimus*¹⁴): *beneficus*,¹⁵ *beneficentior*¹⁶ *beneficentissimus*.¹⁷

These are purely analogical, since a participial adjective in *-ficiēns* would have *-ficiēntior -ficiēntissimus*.

pīus has regular *pīssimus*,¹⁸ but also *pientissimus*,¹⁹ by the model of *beneficentissimus* and *benevolentissimus*, words of related meaning.

IV. The forms in *-ero-* and *-tero-* were not felt by the Romans to be real comparatives, but virtual positives, and therefore might take additional suffixes of comparison. Thus from *exterus* came *exter-ior*, *extrē-mus*; from *superus* came *super-ior*, *suprē-mus*; etc. But late forms like *extrēmior*²⁰ and *minimissimus*²¹ are abnormal.

V. Many adjectives take not the suffixes, but the periphrasis with *magis* and *maximē*: *mīrus*, *magis mīrus*, *maximē mīrus*. This is true especially of stems in *-ido-*, *-eo-*, *-io-*, *-uo-*;²² yet there are sporadic forms like *assiduior*,²³ *industrior*,²⁴ *strēnuissimus*,²⁵ and the regular *pīssimus*, which is more usual than *pientissimus*.

¹ Resp. Plt. Bac. 1150 ap. Prisc. 2.265.1 K, Truc. 172. ² Occurring Plt. MG 503, Rud. 1241; *diūturnus* was not a source for the *-t-*, as it does not occur until Cicero's time. ³ Cf. Quint. 1.6.17. ⁴ Plt. Capt. 390. ⁵ Cic. de Or. 2.79.322. ⁶ Resp. Cic. ad Fam. 3.3.1, 5.16.6. ⁷ Plt. Capt. 583. ⁸ Cic. ad Fam. 2.17.7. ⁹ Cic. ad Fam. 1.7.7. ¹⁰ Plt. Merc. 410. ¹¹ Cic. pro Mur. 6.13. ¹² Resp. Plt. Merc. 142, Cic. pro Flac. 3.7. ¹³ Cato ap. Fest. 155.1 M. ¹⁴ Cato ap. Prisc. 2.92.1 K. ¹⁵ Plt. Epid. 117. ¹⁶ Seneca de Ben. 1.4.5. ¹⁷ Cic. de Amic. 14.51. ¹⁸ As in CIL 2.36. ¹⁹ As in CIL 2.22; on dubious forms of a positive *pīens* see Hülssen, Philol. 56.385-8. ²⁰ Apul. Met. 1.8, p. 37. ²¹ Arnob. 5.7. ²² But stems in *-quo-* *-vi-* *-gvi-* *-ui-* have the regular forms; e.g., *antīquos*, *brevis*, *pinguis*, *tenuis*. ²³ Varro, RR 2.9.16. ²⁴ Plt. Most. 150. ²⁵ ~all. Cat. 61.7.

CHAPTER III. THE FORMS OF PRONOUNS

§307. THE PERSONAL AND REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS. The pronouns of the first and second persons, in Latin as in pIE, used different stems in the singular and in the plural, the first and second persons singular (in pIE, also the first plural and the second plural) having in addition a special form for the nominative only. The pronoun of the third person was in Latin either the determinative pronoun, inherited from pIE, or the demonstrative pronouns, which were Latin remodelings of pIE material; but the reflexive of the third person was an old pIE word, using the same stem and the same forms for both numbers. The following are the stems, in pIE form:

1st sg.: nom., *eǵō; other cases, *me/o-.

1st pl.: nom., *ye-; other cases, *ne/o-.

2d sg.: nom., *tū; other cases, *teye/o-, *tue/o-, *te/o-.

2d pl.: nom., *iū-; other cases, *ye/o-.

3d refl.: *seye/o-, *sye/o-, *se/o-.

The history of the Latin forms now follows, without attempt to explain forms or stems not found in Latin, except where they shed light on the forms under discussion.

§308. THE PRONOUN OF THE FIRST PERSON.

I. Nom. sg. pIE *eǵō, Gk. ἐγώ, cLt. *ego*¹ by iambic shortening (§128.II). Also pIE *eǵō; with added -m,² Skt. *ahám*,³ the same in oLt. *egom-et*, with enclitic -et = Lt. *et*, Gk. ἔτι 'yet', but felt to be *ego-met*,⁴ whence -met⁵ in *mihi-met*,⁶ *tūti-met*,⁷ etc. *Equidem* from *ego quidem*, with haplology.

II. Acc. sg. pIE *me unaccented, as in Gk. με; pIE *mē accented, seen with acc. -m from nouns, in Skt. *mām*; but with -d drawn from neuter pronouns such as *id*, *istud*, in oLt. MED,⁸ cLt. *mē*⁹ (losing -d after long vowel, §141.X); occasionally reduplicated, *mēmē*.¹⁰

III. Gen. sg. pIE *mei and *moi, enclitic form used as gen.-dat.-loc., seen in Skt. *me*, Gk. dat. μοι; with added genitival -s, oLt. *mīs*¹¹ (with vowel weakening, as the word was unaccented; §127.II). From *mei was made a declinable possessive adjective *mejos, of which the gen. *meī* functioned as genitive of the pronoun in Latin.¹²

IV. Dat. sg. pIE *meghi, seen, with added -am, in Skt. *māhy-am*; remade in pIt. with the dative ending of nouns, to *meghei,¹³ seen in Umb. *mehe*, and in oLt. MIHER¹⁴ (with weakening in the first syllable because the whole word was unaccented), whence *mihi* and by iambic shortening *mihi*. From *mehei, by loss of -h- and contraction (§152.III.A; §191.III.A), or direct from pIE encl. *mei or *moi (see above, under III), came the alternative form *mei, *mī*.¹⁵ In Lt. verse both *mihi* and *mī* are common, as is also *mihi*,¹⁶ with the long vowel restored after the ending of dat. *illī istī ipsī* (not iambic in value and therefore not subject to iambic shortening).

V. Abl. sg.: pIE **med* unaccented, as in Skt. *mat*, and pIE **mēd* accented, as in oLt. *mēd*,¹⁷ cLt. *mē* (§141.X).

VI. Nom.-acc. pl.: Lt. *nōs* is the accented form of pIE acc. **nōs*, Av. acc. *nā*, used in Lt. as nom. also; the unaccented pIE **nos* is seen in Skt. acc.-gen.-dat. *nas*. In the Arval Song¹⁸ is found ENOS, probably for *ēn nōs* 'here we are!' with nom. *nōs*, but possibly acc. with *e-* by influence of *ego*.

VII. Gen. pl.: As in the gen. sg., the gen. of the possessive adj. functions as gen. of the pronoun: *nostrum* 'of ours' = 'of our people, of us'; for clarity, oLt. at times used *nostrōrum*¹⁹ as masc. gen. and *nostrārūm*²⁰ as fem. gen. The form *nostrī*, made on the model of sg. gen. *meī*, was unknown to Plautus, but was used by Terence;²¹ *nostrum* and *nostrī* are both used in classical Latin.

VIII. Dat.-abl. pl.: In Latin,²² a stem *nō-* was extracted from *nōs*, on which a dat.-abl. was formed by adding *-bhei* (seen in *tibi*, *sibi*, q.v.; and note 13 on *mihi*), pluralized by adding *-s* in imitation of the dat.-abl. of *-ō-* stems: cLt. *nōbīs*. oLt. *nīs*²³ seems to be an imitation of the *-ō-* stem forms, favored by acc. *nōs*; cf. also *hīs* to acc. *hōs*.

¹ oLt. *egō*, as in Plt. Aul. 457, cannot be regarded as certain. ² Cf. Gk. *ἐγώ* from **egō-m*. ³ With aspirated *gh*, perhaps by influence of dat. **meghi*. ⁴ Plt. Amph. 598. ⁵ *-met* = Skt. *-mat* in abl. *asmat* 'nobis', as taken by Thurneysen, KZ 27.175, is impossible, since an original final vowel is needed to prevent the voicing of the final *-t*, §138.III. ⁶ Plt. Amph. 597. ⁷ Ter. HT 374. ⁸ CIL 1.3. ⁹ An acc. *mehe* for *mē*, quoted by Quint. 1.5.21 as used by old tragic writers, is probably an artificial analogical formation after the relation of dat. *mihi* to *mī*. ¹⁰ Prisc. 2.592.6 K. ¹¹ Enn. Ann. 131 W, ap. Prisc. 3.3.7 K. ¹² Gen. *mī* of Nigid. Fig., ap. Gell. 13.26.4, indicates that the gen. *meī* was sometimes contracted to a monosyllable. ¹³ For **me-bhi* by influence of the *-g-* in the nom. (the 2d person had *-bhi*, §309.IV); possibly the *-ei* was not the nominal dat. *-ei*, but the *-ei* of the enclitic gen.-dat.-loc. **mei* (IV). ¹⁴ CIL 1.1206. ¹⁵ Dat. *mē* in an augural formula, Varro LL 7.8, probably has *ē* as an older variant of *ei* (§110.II, §127.I); dat. *mei* of Nigid. Fig., ap. Gell. 13.26.4, is either the antecedent of cLt. dat. *mī*, or a writing for old **me(h)ei*. ¹⁶ Hor. Sat. 1.9.61, 71, 73. ¹⁷ Plt. Amph. 663. ¹⁸ CIL 1.2. ¹⁹ Plt. Poen. 540. ²⁰ Plt. Truc. 252. ²¹ Phorm. 172, And. 765. ²² No forms of the plural personal pronouns are extant in Italic dialects outside of Latin; but the formation of Umb. *uestra* 'vestrā' indicates that the nom.-acc. probably agreed with Latin. ²³ Fest. 47.3 M; it is unlikely that the NOIS of the Duenos Inscription is its pre-form. A semblance of monosyllabic *nōbīs* in Plautus (as in Curc. 84, Merc. 699, 894) is caused by textual corruption elsewhere in the line.

§309. THE PRONOUN OF THE SECOND PERSON. Apart from the nom. sg., which has a special form, the paradigm is quite like that of the first person pronoun; the stem of the oblique cases of the singular is **tue-* in Skt. and Gk., **te-* in Italic.

I. Nom. sg. pIE unaccented **tu*, as in Gk. Dor. *τὺ*, Ion.-Att. *σύ*,¹ Skt. *tvām* (with *-am* from *ahām* 'I'); pIE accented **tū*, as in Lt. *tū*, Gt. *pū*, OCS *ty*. In *tū-quidem*² the shortening is caused by the addition of the enclitic (§128.III). By reduplication, *tū-te*,³ from **tū-tū*; *tūtime*⁴ is *tūte* with the *-met* of *egomet*, and vowel weakening, while *tūtemet*⁵ has kept the vowel of *tūte*.

II. Acc. sg. pIE unaccented **tue*, Gk. *σὺ*; accented **tūē*, in Skt. encl. *tvā* and, with added acc. *-m*, accented *tvām*; **tē*, with *-d* as in acc. *mēd*, in oLt. *ted*,⁶ cLt. *tē*. Rarely *tētē*,⁷ like *mēmē*.

III. Gen. sg. pIE **t(y)ei* **t(y)oi*, as in Gk. dat. *σοί*, Skt. gen.-dat. *te*; from this,

with gen. -s, oLt. *tīs*,⁸ like *mīs*. The regular Latin gen. is *tuī*, gen. of the possessive adjective.

IV. Dat. sg. pIE **t(ʷ)e-bhi*, as in Skt. *túbhyam*, with vowel of the nom. and added -am; remade in Italic to **tebhei*, with dative ending, Osc. *tfei*, Umb. *tefe*, Lt. TIBEI,⁹ TIBE,¹⁰ *tibi*,¹¹ *tibi*,¹² cf. remarks on *mihi*.

V. Abl. sg. pIE **tʷed* (properly unaccented), Skt. *tvát*; pIE **téd* (accented), oLt. *tēd*,¹³ cLt. *tē*.

VI. Nom.-acc. pl. pIE **ʷos* (enclitic), Skt. acc.-gen.-dat. *vas*; pIE **ʷōs* (accented), Av. acc. *vā*, Lt. *vōs*, properly acc. only, but used as nom. also.

VII. Gen. pl., as in the first person, forms of the possessive adjective: oLt. *vostrī*¹⁴ *vostrum*, masc. *vostrōrum*,¹⁵ fem. *vostrārum*,¹⁶ cLt. *vestrī* *vestrum* (§91.III).

VIII. Dat.-abl. pl., oLt. *voBEIS*,¹⁷ cLt. *vōbīs*, formed like *nōbīs*.

¹ With σ - from oblique cases having σ - from *tʷ*-. ² Lucil. 486 W, ap. Non. 184.19 M. ³ Plt. Capt. 581. ⁴ Ter. HT 374. ⁵ Lucr. 1.102. ⁶ CIL 1.4. ⁷ Verg. Aen. 12.891. ⁸ Plt. MG 1033. ⁹ CIL 1.632. ¹⁰ CIL 1.10. ¹¹ Hor. Sat. 1.3.27. ¹² Hor. Sat. 1.3.35. ¹³ Plt. Cas. 90. ¹⁴ Ter. And. 765. ¹⁵ Plt. Aul. 321. ¹⁶ Plt. Psd. 186. ¹⁷ CIL 1.581.29.

§310. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN OF THE THIRD PERSON. The stem and the case endings of the reflexive vary precisely as do those of the second personal pronoun; but the reflexive has no nominative, and the singular forms function as plural also.

Acc. **seye* **syē*, Gk. Hom. $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\tau}$, $\acute{\epsilon}$; **sē*, with -d as in acc. *mēd tēd*, oLt. *SED*,¹ cLt. *sē*. Reduplicated *sēsē*² is common.

Gen. *suī*, gen. of the possessive adjective.

Dat. **se-bhi*, remade to **se-bhei*, seen also in oPr. *sebbei*; oLt. *SIBEI*,³ cLt. *sibi*,⁴ *sibi*,⁵ see remarks on *mihi*.

Abl. **sēd*, oLt. *SED*,⁶ cLt. *sē*.

¹ CIL 1.581.13. ² Verg. Aen. 1.314; oLt. *SESED* CIL 1.364. ³ CIL 1.581.4. ⁴ Hor. Sat. 1.1.32. ⁵ Hor. Sat. 1.1.75. ⁶ CIL 1.62.

§311. THE POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES. These adjectives are normally used for the genitive of the personal and reflexive pronouns,¹ except as objective genitive and genitive of the whole.

I. The original genitives **mei* **moi* (Skt. *mē*), **teye* (Skt. *tdva*), **seye* **syē* were made declinable adjectives to agree with the nouns which they modified, as -o/-ā- stems:

**mejōs*, Lt. *meus*; cf. **mojōs*, OCS *mojŭ*, and Gk. $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{o}s$ to acc. $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$.

**teyōs*, oLt. *tovam*,² unaccented cLt. *tuos*³ (§125.II.D), Gk. Hom. $\tau\epsilon\acute{o}s$.

**seyōs*, oLt. *sovereis*,⁴ unaccented cLt. *suos*, Gk. Hom. $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{o}s$.

**syōs*, Gk. $\acute{o}s$ 'his', pLt. **sos* (§181.VI), whence oLt. possessives *sīs*, *sās*,⁵ demonstratives *sum*,⁶ *sam*,⁷ *sōs*,⁸ and *sa-psa*⁹ 'ipsa' (cf. §313).

II. To the short-vowel form of *nōs vōs* (seen in Skt. *nas vas*), with the suffix -tero-, were made *noster* and oLt. *voster*,¹⁰ cLt. *vester* (§91.III);¹¹ for the suffix, cf. Gk. $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\acute{o}s$ 'our', $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\tau\epsilon\acute{\rho}\acute{o}s$ 'your'. Late Latin remade *voster* after *noster*, as is shown by Ital. *vostro*, Fr. *votre*.

III. These adjectives had few peculiarities of declension in classical times. But voc. sg. *mī* in the masc. is the old enclitic gen.,¹² and there were contracted plural forms *mī mīs*, like *dī dīs* to *deus*, and by the same processes as *deī dīl*, *deīs dīs* there were *meī mīl*, *meīs mīs* (§234, §237).

¹ Similarly *aliēnus* usually replaces the gen. of *alius* and *alter*. ² CIL 1.1805. ³ oLt. tva CIL 1.10, nom. pl. nt. ⁴ CIL 1.364. ⁵ Resp. Enn. Ann. 154 W, ap. Fest. 301a.21 M; Ann. 107 W, ap. Fest. 325a.20 M. ⁶ Enn. Ann. 105, 136 W, ap. Fest. 298b.2-6 M. ⁷ Enn. Ann. 230 W, ap. Fest. 325a.27 M. ⁸ Enn. Ann. 21, 156, 244, 347 W, ap. Fest. 301a.11-8 M. ⁹ Enn. Ann. 406 W, ap. Fest. 325a.29 M. ¹⁰ Plt. St. 664. ¹¹ Umb. abl. *uestra* may indicate that the earliest form in Italic was **yestero-*, from an *e*-grade of the pronominal stem, which in Latin became *voster* after the vowel of *noster*, then reverted to *vester* by §91.III. ¹² §308. III; hardly the regular vocative **meje*, losing its final vowel by syncope.

§312. THE GENDER-INDICATING PRONOUNS. The pronouns which have separate forms for the different genders, in at least some of the cases, also commonly function as adjectives. These include the old PIE **so sā tod*; the determinative *is* and its compound *idem*; the demonstratives *hic*, *iste*, *ille*; the emphatic *ipse*; the interrogative-indefinite-relative *quī quis* and its compounds and derivatives. These are discussed separately in the following paragraphs.

The special features of the pronominal declension are the following, seen in some or in all of these pronouns: (1) the nom. sg. masc. without suffix; (2) a deictic or emphatic *-i*, added to certain masc. and fem. nom. sg., and to certain nom.-acc. neut. pl. forms, especially if the enclitic *-ce* is to be attached to a form ending in PIE *-ā*; (3) the nom.-acc. neut. sg. in *-d*; (4) the gen. sg. in *-sjo*, which is the basis for genitives like *eius*, *cuius*; (5) the dat. sg. of all genders in *-ei*, which started in and spread from the personal pronouns *mihi tibi sibi* (§308.IV); (6) the nom. pl. masc. in *-i*,² sometimes kept as a general plural suffix in forming other plural cases; (7) the gen. pl. in *-sōm*.³

¹ Hardly from an extension of the loc. *-ei* of semi-pronominal *-o-* stems, in dative use, despite Osc. dat. *altrei*, identical with loc. *altref* in formation; for this does not motivate the identity of the Latin dative in all genders. ² This passed in Latin into substantive and adjective *-o-* stems, and thence into *-ā-* stems. ³ This passed in Latin into substantive and adjective *-ā-* stems, and thence into *-o-* stems.

§313. THE PIE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN had nom. sg. **so sā tod*, appearing in Skt. *sa-s sā tad*, Gk. *ὁ ἡ τό*; the other forms were all from the stem **to-*. This is found in Latin in the adverbs *tum*, *tun-c*, *tam*, *tam-en*, *top-per*;¹ in the derivatives *tot* (from **toti*), *tā-lis*, *tan-tus*, etc.; in the fut. inv. ending *-tō* (from *-tōd*, §409); probably as the second element in *iste* (§317) and *ille* (§318).

The archaic pronoun *sum sam*, *sōs sās*, used especially by Ennius,² may belong to this stem, or may be the possessive stem **so-* from **syo-* (§311.I), in either instance with extension of the stem beyond its usual range; for there seems to be a close connection between demonstrative **so-* and reflexive **syo-*, cf. Lt. *sī* 'if' from loc. **sei* 'in this case, thus', as compared with Osc. *svaf* 'if', Umb. *sve* 'if', from loc. fem. **syaī*. The reflexive stem may in fact be only an extension of the demonstrative **so-* by an added element.

The stem **so-* with an added enclitic is seen in oLt. nom. fem. *sapsa*,³ with declension in both parts, and oLt. acc. masc. *sumpse*,⁴ with declension only on the first part (for these forms, and the nature of the enclitic element, see *ipse*, §319).

¹ Naev., Acc., Enn., Pac., ap. Fest. 352b.4-24 M. ² Ap. Fest. 298b.2-6, 301a.11-21, 325a.17-27 M. ³ Enn., Pac., ap. Fest. 325a.28-32 M. ⁴ Plt. Truc. 159 (corr. Bergk).

§314. THE DETERMINATIVE *is*. The determinative *is* appears with several forms of the stem, easily recognized in the pre-forms which are given in the history of the several case-forms. The basic stem is *i-*, seen especially in *is* and *id*. The strong ablaut-grade is *ei-*, seen in **eḡ-om*, Skt. nom. sg. masc. *aydm*, in which the *-om* is an attached particle; this developed regularly into Lt. *eum*, which, by the identity with other accusative endings, came to function as acc. sg. masc., and yielded then a stem **eḡo-*, whence a corresponding fem. **eḡā*.¹ Another pronominal stem, pIE **e-*, is the basis of gen. *eius*.

I. Nom. sg. masc. **i-s*, Lt. *is*,² Osc. *iz-ic*, Gt. *is*. Neuter **i-d*, with pronominal *-d*: Lt. *id*, Osc. *id-ic*, Skt. *id-ām*. Fem. **eḡā*: Lt. *ea*, Osc. *io-c*.

II. Acc. sg. masc. *eum*, Osc. *ion-c*, from **eḡom*, as explained above; fem. *eam*, Osc. *ia-k* (for *ian-k*), from **eḡām*; nt. *id*, same as nom. pIE **i-m* gave Skt. *im-am*, oLt. *im*,³ with *em*⁴ as its analogical replacement, as in substantives; reduplicated *em-em* 'eundem', see §315. oLt. *ivm*⁵ has followed the vowel of nom. *is*, as has also the rather doubtful fem. *iam*.⁶

III. Gen. sg. pIE **e-sḡo*, with pronominal ending, Skt. *asyá*; with gen. *-s*, Italic *eiḡos* (§164.VI), Lt. *eius* pronounced *ei-ḡos* (§25), as is shown by inscriptional writings *EIIVS*, *EIIVS*, *EIIVS*,⁷ as well as by other evidence. Plautus has normally *eius*⁸ with long first syllable, but also *ē-iūs*⁹ by the influence of *eum*, etc., and monosyllabic *eis*,¹⁰ with syncope. There is an occasional late writing like *AEIVS*¹¹ (§38).

IV. Dat. sg. **eḡi-ei*, with dative ending,¹² after gen. **eḡi-os*; from this came the spondaic *ēi* in Plautus,¹³ phonetically *ei-ḡei*, reduced to one long syllable when elided.¹⁴ As the final diphthong had not become a monophthong in the time of Plautus, the condition for the loss of intervocalic *ḡḡ* (before *ṛ*, §179.IV.B) had not yet developed, and his monosyllabic *ei*¹⁵ must be from another source. Probably **eḡi-ei* got a doublet **eḡei* by the influence of acc. **eḡom*, etc.; this gave *ēei*¹⁶ and by contraction the monophthongal *ei*, which is the common form in Plautus. In later Latin,¹⁷ three forms are found: the archaic *ēi*,¹⁸ phonetically *ei-ḡi*; the monosyllabic *ī*,¹⁹ often written *ei*; and in post-republican times *ēi*,²⁰ analogical to *eum eō* etc. Inscriptional *EIEI*²¹ is phonetically *eḡi-ei*; *EI*²² is ambiguous as to number of syllables; *EIEI*²³ and *IEI*²⁴ must be for *ēei* or *ēi*. The fem. took the same form as the masc., though an occasional oLt. *eae*²⁵ is found.

V. Abl. sg. **eḡōd -ād*, oLt. *EOD*²⁶ *EAD*,²⁷ cLt. *eō eā*; also in *anteā*, *intereā*, *posteā*, *praetereā*, *proptereā*.

VI. Nom. pl. masc. **eḡoi*, developing like the remade dat. sg. **eḡei* to oLt. *ei*,²⁸ cLt. *ī*,²⁹ both commonly written *ei*. The form *ēi*³⁰ is restored by influence of *eum*, *eō*, etc.; the writing *īi*³¹ is only graphic for *ī*. Inscriptions show forms *i*,³²

EI,³³ EEI,³⁴ IEI.³⁵ There are also forms with the pluralizing -s, as in nouns (§234): *īs*,³⁶ *EIS*,³⁷ *EEIS*,³⁸ *IEIS*.³⁹ The fem. *ēae* and neut. *ea* are quite regular.

VII. Acc. pl. *eōs*, *ēas*, *ea*, without peculiarity.

VIII. Gen. pl. fem. *ēarum* from **eǵā-sōm*; whence masc.-nt. *eōrum* as in nouns. oLt. *eum*⁴⁰ is analogical to the older nominal gen. in -um (not the original pIE gen., which was **eisōm* as in Skt. *eṣām*, Osc. *eisun*-k).

IX. Dat.-abl. pl. **eǵōis* **eǵāis*,⁴¹ pLt. **eeis*, whence the same variety of forms as in nom. pl. masc.: monosyllabic *eis* *īs*,⁴² restored dissyllabic *ēīs*,⁴³ and *īs* graphic for *īs*. Inscriptions show monosyllabic *is*,⁴⁴ *īIs*,⁴⁵ dissyllabic *EEIS*,⁴⁶ *IEIS*,⁴⁷ an abnormal *EEIS*⁴⁸ must be by influence of the dat. sg. oLt. fem. *ēābus*⁴⁹ is to be explained like *īliābus* (§224). A well-attested form *ībus*, in the earlier poets,⁵⁰ is clearly **ei-bhos*, corresponding to Skt. dat.-abl. *ebhydās*; but it cannot be determined whether the **ei-* is the strong grade of the *i-* of nom. *is*, or is pronominal root **e-* as in *eius* (q.v.) + pluralizing -i of pronouns.⁵¹

¹ This is the most probable theory of the origin of the *eo-/ēā*-stem; on the difference in the vowel of the particle -om from that in Lt. *id-em*, see §315. ² *EIS* CIL 1.583.9, 24, 83 is an error of writing for nom. *is* (the usual form even in this inscription), perhaps under the influence of gen. *eius*, dat. *eiei* and *ei* (all used in this inscription). ³ XII Tab. 8.12 W, ap. Macr. 1.4.19. ⁴ Fest. 77.9 M. ⁵ CIL 1.401. ⁶ Varro LL 5.166, 8.44; but ms. variation between *e* and *i* is frequent. ⁷ Respectively in CIL 2.1923, 1953, 4157. ⁸ Plt. Most. 975. ⁹ Plt. Poen. 882. ¹⁰ Plt. MG 801. ¹¹ CIL 5.4444. ¹² See §312 with n1. ¹³ Plt. Bac. 525. ¹⁴ Plt. Most. 481. ¹⁵ Plt. Capt. 428; it is less probable that such instances are not the long monosyllable, but two short syllables, *ēī*, by iambic shortening from *ēei*. ¹⁶ Plt. Merc. 869. ¹⁷ After -*ei* became -*i* (about 150 B.C.; §127.I-II), **eǵǵī* would become *ēī* and *ī*, but these forms are the same as those which had earlier developed from the remodeled **eǵei*. ¹⁸ Lucr. 2.1136. ¹⁹ Catull. 82.3. ²⁰ Ovid, Hal. 34. ²¹ CIL 1.583.12. ²² CIL 1.583.20. ²³ CIL 10.1453.10. ²⁴ CIL 1.592.2.12, with dissimilative writing of *i* for *e* to avoid *ee*; TAPA 43.47-56. ²⁵ Cato Agr. 142. ²⁶ CIL 1.366. ²⁷ CIL 1.581.24. ²⁸ Not certainly identifiable in Plt. because of the possible variations in scansion. ²⁹ Not identifiable because of the manuscript confusion of *ī* and *hī*. ³⁰ Plt. Merc. 869, properly *eei*; rare in dactylic verse. ³¹ §22, cf. *dī dei dīi*; a common writing of imperial times, as in *iI* CIL 10.444.16. ³² CIL 2.1964.1.16. ³³ CIL 1.585.11. ³⁴ CIL 10.1453.8. ³⁵ CIL 1.587.1.7. ³⁶ Pacuv. 237 W, ap. Char. 1.133.4 K. ³⁷ CIL 1.582.16. ³⁸ CIL 1.581.4. ³⁹ CIL 1.698.3.12. ⁴⁰ Fest. 77.8 M; CIL 1.593.52. ⁴¹ Here, as often, the restorations represent the pIE sounds involved, rather than the sounds as they were when the forms originated, presumably in pIt. ⁴² Attested in the cpd. *īdem*, Lucr. 2.693, etc. ⁴³ Plt. Rud. 73, Ter. Eun. 250; rare in dactylic verse, but found in Manil. 2.744, Juv. 14.30 (*īdem*). ⁴⁴ CIL 1.594.2.2.32. ⁴⁵ Mon. Anc. 1.18. ⁴⁶ CIL 1.581.25. ⁴⁷ CIL 1.589.1.5. ⁴⁸ CIL 1.586.11. ⁴⁹ Cato, Agr. 152. ⁵⁰ Plt. MG 74, etc., ap. Non. 486.16 M; *ībus* in Lucr. 2.88 etc. rests only on emendation, but if correct is by analogy of *quībus*. ⁵¹ Forming the nom. pl., but often retained before the endings of other plural cases, notably in Skt. and Av.

§315. THE PRONOUN OF IDENTITY *īdem*. To forms of *is* an enclitic particle -em was attached, making a pronoun of identity: *id-em*, abl. *eōd-em* *ēād-em*. This particle was originally -om, as was seen in the derivation of acc. *eum* = Skt. nom. *ayam*, §314; it still appears as -om in Osc. *īs-īd-um* 'īdem', *pīd-um* 'quidquam', and the conversion to -em in Latin was perhaps by influence of the oLt. *em-em*¹ 'eundem' for **im-im*. Very early, by wrong division of *īdem*, -dem was extracted and attached to other forms: **is-dem* became *īdem* (§166.III). though

analogy of the separate forms retained the *s* elsewhere, as in *eiusdem*, *eōsdem*; and *m* became *n* before *d* (§169.IV), as in *eundem*, *eandem*.

Nom. sg. masc. *īdem*, EIDEM;² with restored *s*, *isdem*,³ and with faulty spelling EISDEM,⁴ EISDIM.⁵

Nom.-acc. neut., with faulty spelling, EIDEM⁶ alongside correct IDEM;⁷ masc. as neut. acc., EVNDEM.⁸

Dat. sg. *īdem* (written *eidem*), IDEM;⁹ occasionally *ēdem*;¹⁰ remade fem., late EAEDEM.¹¹

Nom. pl. masc. *īdem*,¹² IDEM,¹³ *ēdem*,¹⁴ EIDEM;¹⁵ with added *s*, ISDEM,¹⁶ EISDEM.¹⁷

Dat.-abl. pl. *īdem*,¹⁸ *ēidem*,¹⁹ ISDEM,²⁰ EISDEM,²¹ IISDEM.²²

¹ Fest. 76.12 M; on *em* for *im*, see §314.II. ² Resp. Plt. Aul. 249; CIL 1.638.9. ³ Plt. Amph. 945. ⁴ CIL 1.698.2.9. ⁵ CIL 1.610. ⁶ CIL 1.589.2.20. ⁷ CIL 1.589.2.27. ⁸ CIL 8.19174. ⁹ Manil. 3.73; CIL 6.5778. ¹⁰ Juv. 14.122. ¹¹ CIL 6.28881. ¹² Plt. As. 342; Lucr. 1.165. ¹³ CIL 3.3286. ¹⁴ Plt. MG 758. ¹⁵ CIL 1.582.17. ¹⁶ CIL 6.2041.56. ¹⁷ CIL 1.583.27, 1.1511. ¹⁸ Lucr. 2.693. ¹⁹ Juv. 14.30. ²⁰ CIL 1.593.3. ²¹ CIL 1.589.2.27. ²² CIL 1.593.5.

§316. THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN *hic*. The root of *hic* is **ǵhe/o-*, fem. **ǵhā-*; the enclitic *-*ke* 'hither' was originally added to all forms, including the nom. pl. *hīs*, except nom. *hī*. Apparently, the -*ce* remained before a vowel, where the -*e* of -*ce* was elided; but suffered syncope of the -*e* before a consonant, whereupon in many combinations the -*c* also was lost because of the heavy consonantal combinations that resulted. In cILt. the -*c* remains in the singular forms except the genitive, and in the nom.-acc. pl. neut.

I. Nom. sg. masc. **ǵho* suffixless + -*ke*, with weakening in unaccented position (§125.II.A, I.C); oLt. HEC HIC,¹ cILt. *hic*. This *hic* is regular in Plautus and appears occasionally in later poets;² but is normally remade to *hicc*³ after nt. *hocc*, and therefore is a long syllable.⁴ Fem. **ǵhā-* + deictic -*i* + -*ke*: *haec*. Neut. **ǵho-* + pronominal -*d* + -*ke*, > **hocce*: oLt. HOCE,⁵ HVC,⁶ HOC;⁷ *hocc* proved by metrical value in many passages⁸ (§185.II.D).

II. Acc. sg. masc. **hom-ke*, fem. **hām-ke*, with assimilation of the nasal to the palatal position, give HONCE⁹ HONC¹⁰ *hunc*, HANCE¹¹ *hanc*.

III. The gen. sg. was formed like the gen. of *quī* and *is*: **ǵho-sjō* + gen. -*s*, > **hojjos*: older *hoijus*, later *huijus* with weakening in unaccented value (§127.IV): HOIVSCE,¹² HVIVS,¹³ *huiusce*;¹⁴ HOIVSQVE¹⁵ and HVIVSQVE¹⁶ have -*que* by the influence of gen. *cuiusque*. The usual *huius*¹⁷ (also with -*ce*¹⁸) is dissyllabic, but there is a syncopated monosyllabic form which is phonetically *huis*.¹⁹

IV. Dat. sg. **ǵhojji-ei*, formed on the gen., like the dat. of *is* and *quī*: always with -*ke*, giving **hojjeike*, whence oLt. dissyllabic *huic*, pronounced *hui-jeic*,²⁰ and monosyllabic *huic*,²¹ where the loss of -*jji-* was perhaps by the influence of the syncopated gen. *huis*; for in Plautus's time the condition for the loss of intervocalic -*jji-* (before *t*, §179.IV.B) had not yet developed. In cILt. there is only the monosyllabic *huic*,²² but in Silver Latin there is resolution to a dissyllabic *hū-ic*.²³ Inscriptions give HOICE HOIC HVIC.²⁴ Fem. *hae*,²⁵ after nouns, occurs rarely in oLt.

V. Abl. sg. masc.-neut. **hōd-ke*, fem. **hād-ke*, give **hōkke* **hākke*, and then (§185.II.E) HOCE²⁶ *hōc* and HACE²⁷ *hāc*.

VI. Nom. pl. masc. **ho-i*, and with *-s* also **hoi-s* and **hois-ke*: HEI²⁸ *hī*,²⁹ HEIS,³⁰ HEISCE³¹ *hīsce*,³² Fem. **hāi* and **hāi-ke*: *hae* (the usual form) and *haec*³³ (rare, but proved by *haeci-ne*³⁴). Neut., same as fem. sg.: HAICE,³⁵ *haec*.

VII. Acc. pl. regular: *hōsce*³⁶ *hāsce*,³⁷ *hōs*³⁸ *hās*.³⁹

VIII. Gen. pl. regular: *hōrunc*⁴⁰ *hārunc*,⁴¹ *hōrum*⁴² *hārum*.⁴³

IX. Dat.-abl. pl. masc.-neut. **hōis*, fem. **hāis*: *hīsce*,⁴⁴ *hīs*.⁴⁵ oLt. *hībūs*⁴⁶ came by imitation of *ībus*, since **hoi-bhos* would hardly develop regularly to *hī-* in the face of *huius* from **hoiḡhos*, *hūc* from **hoic*.

X. When the enclitic *-ne* is added to forms in *-ce*, the vowel was retained and weakened: *hicine*, *haecine*, *hocine*,⁴⁷ but from about 50 B.C. occasional forms are found lacking the vowel: *haecne*,⁴⁸ *huncne*.⁴⁹

XI. The accusative forms **hom* **hām* *hōs* *hās* are found, without *-ce*, in combination with *ecce*, in the older language: *eccum* 'here he is', *eccam*, *eccōs*, *eccās*;⁵⁰ nt. pl. *ecca* occurs but once,⁵¹ and is formed without the deictic *-i* and the enclitic *-ce*, as an unemphatic form (like the indef. nt. pl. *qua*).

XII. The adverbs *hic* *hūc* *hōc* *hinc* belong to *hic*: *hic* 'here' is loc. **hei-ke*; *hūc* 'hither' is loc. **hoi-ke*; *hōc* 'hither' occurs in oLt. and is formed like *quō* 'whither' and *eō* 'thither'; *hinc* 'hence' is **him-ke*, with the obscure formation seen in *in-de* 'thence'.

¹ Both in CIL 1.9. ² Plt. Persa 544; Verg. Aen. 4.22; etc. ³ HICC EST CIL 9.60. ⁴ Verg. Aen. 4.591. ⁵ CIL 1.581.26; cf. §21. ⁶ CIL 1.364, from Falerii; the vowel shows dialectal influence. ⁷ CIL 1.1202. ⁸ Plt. As. 494; Verg. Aen. 2.664. ⁹ CIL 1.366. ¹⁰ CIL 1.9. ¹¹ CIL 1.582.8. ¹² CIL 1.583.56. ¹³ CIL 2.2102. ¹⁴ Sall. Cat. 15.1. ¹⁵ CIL 1.756.4. ¹⁶ CIL 6.975a. 2.21. ¹⁷ Plt. Amph. 265. ¹⁸ Plt. Poen. 1257. ¹⁹ Plt. Amph. 51. ²⁰ Plt. Amph. 702; with change of *oi* to *ui* as in the gen. ²¹ Plt. MG 1059. ²² Lucr. 2.934; Verg. Ecl. 1.20: from both earlier values, as the condition for loss of *-iḡ-* was now present. ²³ Stat. Silv. 1.1.107. ²⁴ Resp. CIL 1.582.26, 1.590.30, 1.1212.3. ²⁵ Cato, Agr. 14.3. ²⁶ CIL 1.401. ²⁷ CIL 1.582.7, with HAACE in line 12. ²⁸ CIL 1.1216. ²⁹ Plt. Asin. 914. ³⁰ CIL 1.1319.7. ³¹ CIL 1.675.7. ³² Plt. MG 486. ³³ Plt. Poen. 1171. ³⁴ Plt. MG 1166. ³⁵ CIL 1.581.22. ³⁶ Plt. Asin. 737. ³⁷ Plt. Amph. 350. ³⁸ Plt. Men. 104. ³⁹ Plt. Rud. 772. ⁴⁰ CIL 1.1211.5; Plt. Merc. 399. ⁴¹ Plt. Merc. 832. ⁴² Plt. Amph. 874. ⁴³ Plt. Bac. 578. ⁴⁴ Plt. Men. 1012; Hor. Sat. 1.3.70. ⁴⁵ Plt. Aul. 155. ⁴⁶ Plt. Curc. 506. ⁴⁷ Plt. Epid. 541, 574, Merc. 356 resp. ⁴⁸ Prop. 5.3.11. ⁴⁹ Stat. Theb. 9.421. ⁵⁰ Plt. Rud. 1209, 1174, 309, 663 resp. ⁵¹ Plt. Rud. 1154.

§317. THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN *iste* is of uncertain origin, except that it is the same as Umb. *esto-*. It may be the pron. *is* + **so sā tod* (§313), starting from **is-so* **eḡā-sā* **id-tod*, with *is* generalized as first part and *to- tā-* generalized as second part; or the first part may be the pronominal root **e-*, + *s* from the stem affix **sme* seen in certain cases, as dat. Umb. *esmei*, Skt. *asmāt*, this *es-* then being changed in Latin to *is-* by the influence of *is*. The Latin declension is only on the second part, and closely resembles that of *hic*; but the particle *-ce*, though added to many forms, did not become standard anywhere.

I. Nom. sg. masc. **isto*, Lt. *iste*, *istic*.¹ Fem. *ista*, and *istaec*² with deictic *i* before *-ce*. Neut. *istud*, *istuc*;³ late *ISTVM*.⁴

II. Gen. sg. *istius*⁵ was formed on the *-o-* stem gen. **istī*, by addition of *-jos* taken from the preforms of *eius*, *huius*, *cuius*. The long vowel is retained by the influence of the dative *-ī*, but a syncopated form *istīs*⁶ also was used in oLt.,

from which, with loss of *s* and compensatory lengthening (§184.I.B), came the phrasal adverbs of the type *istimodī*.⁷ Later, *istius*⁸ was used by the poets, with regular shortening of the antevocalic long vowel (§183).

III. Dat. sg. *istī* from loc. **iste-i*, cf. Osc. dat. *altrei* 'alteri'. oLt. sometimes has fem. *istae*⁹ for clarity; late Latin has occasionally masc. *istō*.¹⁰

IV. Other forms are quite regular, with only the oLt. optional addition of *-ce*: *istum* and *istunc*,¹¹ *istam* and *istanc*,¹² *istō* and *istōc*,¹³ *istā* and *istāce*,¹⁴ *istāc*,¹⁵ plural fem. *istae* and *istaec*,¹⁶ neut. *ista* and *istaec*,¹⁷ *istōs* and *istōsci-ne*,¹⁸ *istās*; *istōrum*, *istārum*; *istīs* and *istīsce*.¹⁹ For such forms as *istōci-ne*,²⁰ cf. similar forms of *hic*, §316.X.

¹ Plt. Trin. 923; sometimes *iste* in the comedy is one long syllable, by syncope of the second vowel, or is two shorts because in proclitic position the syllabic division was shifted to *i-ste*, as in Plt. Persa 520 *ist' quī* or *i-ste quī*; cf. Sommer, Hdb. 3 427 and Kr. Erl. 115-7. No sure decision between the two interpretations can be reached.

² Plt. MG 516. ³ Plt. Men. 242; *istucc* before a vowel, Asin. 705. ⁴ CIL 5.1703. ⁵ Plt. Bac. 252. ⁶ Plt. Most. 746. ⁷ Plt. Trin. 930. ⁸ Ovid, ex Ponto 4.6.38. ⁹ Plt. Truc. 790. ¹⁰ Apul. Met. 5.31. ¹¹ Plt. Bac. 584. ¹² Plt. Curc. 151. ¹³ Plt. Amph. 378. ¹⁴ Old formula quoted by Cato, Agr. 132.2. ¹⁵ Plt. Poen. 1306. ¹⁶ Plt. Men. 520. ¹⁷ Plt. Most. 388. ¹⁸ Plt. Asin. 932. ¹⁹ Plt. Rud. 745. ²⁰ Plt. Ps. 83.

§318. THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN *ille* is an altered form of older *olle* which contains the radical seen in Lt. *ultrā*, *ōlim*, Umb. *ulo* 'thither', with a second element **so* **sā*, generalized with the *s*-form (§313);¹ the change to *i-* was by the influence of *is*, *iste*, *ipse*. The declension is precisely like that of *iste*; forms of *ille* (not those of *olle*) may take *-ce* like those of *iste*.

I. Forms of *olle*: only in archaic texts, including quotations from old laws, and as a conscious archaism in Lucretius and Vergil, with occasional uses in later poets; not used by Plautus and Terence. Nom. sg. *olle*² from **ol-so*, with a rare remodeling to adjectival declension, *ollus*,³ fem. *olla*.⁴ Dat. *ollī*.⁵ Nom. pl. *ollī*.⁶ Acc. *ollōs*,⁷ neut. acc. *olla*.⁸ Gen. *olorom*,⁹ *OLLARVM*.¹⁰ Dat.-abl. *oloes*¹¹ (§21), *OLLEIS* alongside *ILLEIS*,¹² *ollīs*.¹³

II. Forms of *ille*: Nom. sg. *ille* and *illic*,¹⁴ *illa* and *illaec*,¹⁵ *illud* and (acc.) *ilhuc*.¹⁶ Acc. *illum* and *illunc*,¹⁷ *illam* and *illanc*.¹⁸ Gen. *illūs*, *illīs*,¹⁹ *illī-modī*,²⁰ *illūs*,²¹ late *ILLEIVS*²² after *eius*; oLt. fem. rarely *illae*.²³ Dat. *illī* and *illīc*,²⁴ very rarely oLt. fem. *illae*,²⁵ late masc. *illō*,²⁶ late *ILLUI*²⁷ (after *huic*) is the source of Ital. *lui* 'he' and Fr. *lui* 'to him, to her'. Abl. *illō* and *illōc*,²⁸ *illā* and *illāce*,²⁹ *illāc*.³⁰ Pl. nom. masc. *ILLEI*,³¹ *illī*, *illīsce*,³² fem. *illae* and *illaec*,³³ nt. *illa*, *illaec*,³⁴ rare *illace*.³⁵ Acc. *illōs* and *illōsce*,³⁶ *illās* and *illāsce*,³⁷ nt. like nom. Gen. *illōrum* *illārum*. Dat.-abl. *illīs* and *illīsce*.³⁸

¹ Hardly **ol-nos*, seen in OCS *lani* 'in the previous summer', from **ol-nī*. ² Fest. 230b. 15-6 M. ³ Old formula in Varro LL 7.42. ⁴ Formula in Varro LL 7.42. ⁵ Enn. Ann. 124 W, ap. Varro LL 7.42; Cic. Leg. 3.3.9; Verg. Aen. 1.254. ⁶ Cic. Leg. 2.8.21; Verg. Aen. 5.580. ⁷ Cic. Leg. 2.8.19. ⁸ Cic. Leg. 2.9.21. ⁹ CIL 1.25.10. ¹⁰ Marini, Act. Arv. p. 233. ¹¹ Fest. 19.3 M. ¹² CIL 1.756.3. ¹³ Cic. Leg. 3.3.7; Lucr. 1.672; Verg. Aen. 6.730. ¹⁴ Plt. Men. 125; in the comedy, also *ille* (Ter. Hec. 120) and *illic* (Plt. MG 586) as one long syllable, by syncope of the second vowel, or as two shorts because in proclitic position the *-ll-* was

shortened before the accent (§185.III); cf. Sommer, Hdb.² 429-30 and Kr. Erl. 115-7. ¹⁵ Plt. Most. 935. ¹⁶ Plt. MG 570. ¹⁷ Plt. Merc. 272. ¹⁸ Plt. Most. 1158. ¹⁹ Plt. Ps. 1091. ²⁰ Cato ap. Prisc. 2.228.3 K. ²¹ Verg. Aen. 1.16. ²² CIL 6.14484. ²³ Char. 1.158.19 K. ²⁴ Plt. Men. 304. ²⁵ Cato Agr. 153. ²⁶ Reff. ap. NW² 2.427. ²⁷ CIL 10.2564. ²⁸ Plt. Men. 317. ²⁹ Cato, Agr. 132.1 (old formula). ³⁰ Plt. Amph. 818. ³¹ CIL 1.1570.5. ³² Plt. Most. 510. ³³ Plt. Bac. 1154. ³⁴ Plt. Men. 852. ³⁵ Cato, Agr. 141.1 (old formula). ³⁶ Varro RR 2.5.11 (old formula). ³⁷ Varro RR 2.2.6 (old formula). ³⁸ Plt. Men. 307.

§319. THE EMPHATIC PRONOUN *ipse* is of uncertain origin;¹ the view² that it is *is* + enclitic *-pse*, to be equated with Sicilian Doric acc. $\psi\epsilon = \sigma\phi\epsilon$ 'them', starting in the accusative and extended from that case, is not convincing. A review of the history of the forms may lead to a more probable theory.

Ia. The word is *ipse ipsa ipsum*, declined on the second part only, throughout classical Latin, and in great part even in Plautus.

Ib. But in Plautus, and in some of the other older writers, forms are found in which the first part is declined, while the second is invariable: thus nom. fem. *eapse*,³ acc. *eumpse*,⁴ *eampse*,⁵ abl. *eōpse*,⁶ *eāpse*,⁷ fem. pl. *eaepse*.⁸

Ic. There are traces also of old forms in which both parts were declined, as in *sapsa* (§313): nom. fem. *eapsa*,⁹ acc. *eumpsum*,¹⁰ *eampsam*,¹¹ abl. *eopso*,¹² though manuscript corruption makes some instances rather uncertain. To this class may however belong also nom. sg. *ipsus*,¹³ which is in Plautus quite as common as *ipse*: *ipsus* being for **is-psos*, while *ipse* is assimilated to the type of *iste ille*.

Id. Apparently *ipse* consists of two declinable stems, that seen in *is* and *eum*, and a stem **so-sā-*. In the acc. sg. *eum-p-sum eam-p-sam* a parasitic *p* developed (§169.V), and this *p* was extended throughout the paradigm, avoiding awkward combinations of sounds. Latin however did not favor doubly declined words, and after a short period of fluctuation between declining only the prior element and declining only the second, the declension of the second only became standard, and *ipse* fell into the group of *iste* and *ille*.

Ie. It remains to identify the stem which thus eventuated in *-pse*. There are two possibilities: PIE demonstrative **so sā tod* (§313), which we have seen as the second element of *iste*, and it is unlikely that the same combination of stems would yield two pronouns differing as much in meaning as do *iste* and *ipse*; and the possessive adjective **syos*, which as possessive survived in the forms *sīs* and *sās* (§311.I). Inasmuch as *sy* lost the *ɥ* before *ō* (§181.VI), the forms nom. masc. **sos*, acc. **som* would be regular, and from these an extension of the stem without *ɥ* might occur. The nominative forms, in the second part, show perfect agreement with the possessive: *ip-sus ip-sa ip-sum* with **sos sā sum* from **syos syā syom*; but if the PIE demonstrative were the origin, we should expect **ipsud* like *istud*, and *ipsud* occurs only in very late times, in imitation of *istud illud*. For the development of an emphatic meaning, a possessive is as good a source as a demonstrative: *ipse haec fecit* 'his-own-he (= he himself) did this.'

II. The early forms have already been catalogued. Nom. *ipsus* (from **is-p-sos*) was early replaced by *ipse* in imitation of *iste ille*. The first element was generalized, and the stem was *ipso-*, fem. *ipsā-*. Gen. *ipsius*,¹⁴ after *istiūs illiūs*, *ipsīs*,¹⁵ *ipsī*,¹⁶ *ipstus*,¹⁷ late IPSVIVS,¹⁸ after *huius*; fem. IPSEIVS¹⁹ IPSAIVS,²⁰ as

though formed on gen. fem. **ipsae*. Dat. *ipsi*, by the same influence. In late times *ps* became *ss* (§43): nom. *ISSE*,²¹ *ISSA*,²² Martial's *issa*²³ as name of a pet dog seems to be an early example of this pronunciation.

¹ Osc. *essuf*, *esuf* and Umb. *esuf*, even if meaning 'ipse', are insufficient basis for positing an Italic **epso-* as the basis for them and for Lt. *ipse*. ² Kretschmer, DLZ 1894.70-1. ³ Plt. Curc. 161. ⁴ Plt. Persa 603. ⁵ Plt. Rud. 1278. ⁶ Plt. Curc. 538. ⁷ Plt. Trin. 974; also in *reāpse* (= *rē eāpse*, Fest. 286b.2-8 M), used even by Cicero ad Fam. 9.15.1. ⁸ Plt. Ps. 833. ⁹ Plt. Cas. 602. ¹⁰ Plt. Truc. 114. ¹¹ Plt. Truc. 133. ¹² Plt. Curc. 538, Bac. 815. ¹³ Plt. Merc. 481, alongside *ipse* 466; older *ipsos*, Lex Numae ap. Fest. 6.2 M. ¹⁴ Plt. Capt. 287. ¹⁵ Ter. HT 576. ¹⁶ Afranius, ap. Prisc. 2.227.8 K. ¹⁷ Verg. Aen. 1.114. ¹⁸ CIL 10.5939. ¹⁹ CIL 3.2240. ²⁰ CIL 3.14014. ²¹ CIL 4.148. ²² CIL 4.1589. ²³ Mart. 1.109.

§320. THE INTERROGATIVE-INDEFINITE-RELATIVE PRONOUN *quī quis*, which was interrogative-indefinite in pIE and acquired use as relative in Italic (and some other IE branches), was like certain other pronouns used also as adjective. Its forms are derived from two stems: pIE masc.-neut. **q^uo-*, fem. **q^uā-*, and pIE **q^ui-*. It is not necessary here to specify the differences in the uses in which alternative forms for the same case were employed, but only to give the development of the forms.

I. The stem **q^uo-/q^uā-* yields the following forms:

I.A. Nom. sg. masc. **quo-i*, with deictic *-i*: oLt. *qvoī*,¹ *qoi*,² *qvei*³ (in unaccented position, §128.II), *qve*,⁴ cLt. *quī*, Osc. *pui*, Umb. *poi*. Fem. **quā* and **quā-i*: Lt. *qua* (in certain uses)⁵ and *quae*, Osc. *paī*. Neut. **quo-d*: Lt. *quod*, Osc. *pod*. Acc. masc. **quo-m*: only as conj., *quom*, later *cum*; fem. **quā-m*: *quam*, Osc. *paam*. Abl. **quō-d quā-d*: *quō*, *quā*.

I.B. Gen. sg. **q^uo-sjō*, seen in Skt. *kasya*, + gen. *-s*, giving pIt. **quojōs* (§164. VI), becoming Lt. *quouis* to the end of the Republic, and then *cuius* (§127.IV), being of the type of *huius* and (less closely) of *eius*: *qvoivs quouis*,⁶ with syncope, *quois*,⁷ *quoismodī*,⁸ later orthography, *cvivs*,⁹ *cvivs*,¹⁰ *cvilivs*,¹¹ *cvilivs*,¹² with *q* for *c* before *u* (§15.I), *qvivs*,¹³ *qvilvsqve*.¹⁴ Late colloquial fem. forms, *qvaeivs*,¹⁵ *qveivs*.¹⁶

I.C. Dat. sg. **quojī-ei*, formed on the gen. as in *is* and *hic*: oLt. *qvoiei*,¹⁷ Plautine *quōi*,¹⁸ (disyllabic, since elision leaves one long syllable) and *quoi*,¹⁹ cLt. *quoi* persisting to some extent into the first Christian century,²⁰ but the form *cui* with vowel weakening coming in also in Augustus's time;²¹ the Silver Latin and later poets occasionally used a disyllabic form *cūi*.²² Distinctive forms for the genders were sometimes made: masc. *qvei*²³ after *quem*, *qvo*²⁴ after nouns; fem. *qvai*.²⁵

I.D. Plural forms to the **q^uo-/ā-* stem show no peculiarities. Nom. **quo-i*, *qvei*,²⁶ *quī*; fem. **quā-i*, *quae*; nt. **quā-i* and **quā* like the nom. sg. fem., *quae* and *qua*. Acc. **quo-ns*, *quōs*; fem. **quā-ns*, *quās*. Gen. *quōrum*, *quārum*. Dat.-abl. **quōis quāis quīs*.²⁷

II. From the stem **q^ui-*, in which the fem. has no forms differing from the masc., there are the following: Nom. sg. **qui-s qui-d*, Lt. *quis*²⁸ *quid*, Gk. *tis ti*. Acc. sg. masc.-fem. **qui-m*, remade to *quem* like nouns. Instr. **quī* or abl. **quīd*, Lt. *quī*, for all genders and even with plural antecedents.²⁹ Nom. pl.

QVES,³⁰ *quēs*;³¹ nt. *quia* as conjunction only. Gen. *quium*³² or *cuium*,³³ very rarely. Dat.-abl. *quibus*, in regular use.

¹ CIL 1.1. ² CIL 1.4. ³ CIL 1.7. ⁴ CIL 1.1861. ⁵ Esp. indefinite, as in Plt. Most. 920, Verg. Aen. 2.94. ⁶ CIL 1.7; Varro LL 8.44. ⁷ Lucr. 1.149. ⁸ Plt. Most. 642. ⁹ CIL 10.4842.47 (time of Augustus). ¹⁰ CIL 2.4587. ¹¹ CIL 2.1964.3.55-6. ¹² CIL 2.1964.1.60. ¹³ CIL 1.1297. ¹⁴ CIL 2.1964.2.45. ¹⁵ CIL 10.5409. ¹⁶ CIL 3.1846. ¹⁷ CIL 1.11; 1.583.10; 1.585.68; also QVOE I 6.1932a, QVOE 1.593.109. ¹⁸ Plt. Men. 493. ¹⁹ Plt. Men. 783; also CIL 1.583.60. ²⁰ Quint. 1.7.27. ²¹ CIL 10.4842.64 alongside QVI in line 33. ²² Mart. 1.104.22; Juv. 3.49. ²³ CIL 1.1222. ²⁴ CIL 10.2311.6 (about 100 A.D.). ²⁵ CIL 2.89. ²⁶ CIL 1.581.2. ²⁷ Verg. Aen. 1.95, and very commonly; but apparently not in inscriptions.

²⁸ When in oLt. the form *quī* (normally relative) is used for *quis* (normally interrogative), as in Plt. Aul. 350 *quī vocat?*, it may be that *quī* has developed from *quis* by loss of the *s* before certain consonants and compensatory lengthening (§184.I.B); or perhaps the two forms had not yet been specialized as to their uses. The *quirquir* of the oLt. augural formula (Varro LL 7.8) is probably for *quisquis*, the first part being assimilated to the second in **quisquir est*, where the final *-s*, being intervocalic, is rhotacized; cf. the rhotacism of final *-s* in the later Umbrian.

²⁹ Plt. Men 391 masc., MG 767 fem., Merc. 488 nt., Pseud. 487 pl. fem., Aul. 502 pl. nt. ³⁰ CIL 1.581.3. ³¹ Pac. 237 W, ap. Prisc. 3.9.16 K; acc. *quēs* is mentioned by Charis. 1.162.2 K without citations. ³² Cato ap. Serv. ad Aen. 1.95; but the *quoum* of Plt. Trin. 534 is probably a ms. error for *quōrum* (the *cuium* of the Amb. ms. cannot be for *quī-um*, since the meter demands two long syllables). ³³ Ap. Charis. 1.162.2 K, but justifiable only as a variant orthography for *quium*.

§321. SEMI-PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES. There are ten adjectives of semi-pronominal meaning, which normally have the gen. sg. in *-ius*, dat. *-ī*. These are the following:

ūnus 'one', from **oinos*.

ūllus 'any (one)' in negative context, from **oinolos*.

nūllus 'none, no one', from **ne ūllus*, with elision.

sōlus 'sole, alone', of uncertain etymology.

tōtus 'all', from **toqitos* 'stuffed', ptc. to **toqeō*.

uter 'which (of two)', from **q^u-teros*; for stem **q^u-* alongside **q^u-o-*,¹ cf. Lt.

ubi, Umb. *pufe*, Skt. *kuhā*; loss of *c-* (for *qu-* before *u*, §153.III) by wrong division of combinations like *NECVTRO*,² cf. *aliquis alicunde unde*, etc.

uterque 'both', which is the preceding + *-que*.

neuter 'neither', from **ne* + *uter* (§40.n1).

alius 'other (of three or more)', from **alios*, Gk. ἄλλος.

alter 'other (of two)', from **ali-teros*, comparative to preceding.

I. The gen. in *-ius* and the dat. in *-ī* are of the same origin as the identical endings of *iste* and *ille* (§317, §318); as in those pronouns, the gen. may have not only *-ius*, but *-īs* with syncope, and *-ius* with shortening. Examples are *ūnius*,³ *tōtius*,⁴ *ūnīs modī*,⁵ *sōlis*,⁶ *ūnīus*,⁷ *ūllīus*,⁸ *nūllīus*,⁹ *tōtīus*,¹⁰ *utrīus*.¹¹ To all these words, however, occasional examples are found in authors or are mentioned in the grammarians, of the gen. in *-ī* and *-ae*,¹² dat. in *-ō* and *-ae*: thus gen. *ūnī*,¹³ *ullī*,¹⁴ dat. *vllo*,¹⁵ *tōtō*,¹⁶ *ūnae*,¹⁷ *nūllae*,¹⁸ *sōlae*,¹⁹ etc. The dat. in *-ae*, by its occurrences in early authors, seems to be a survival of the original fem. form, not yet entirely replaced by the dat. in *-ī*, which was originally only masc. and neut.

Gen. *neutrī* was regular in grammatical phrases,²⁰ probably by likeness to (*generis*) *masculīnī* and *feminīnī*.

II. *Alius* had fem. *alia*, neut. *aliud*, cf. *-d* in Gk. ἄλλο (whence ἄλλοδ-απὸς 'of another country'), Skt. *anya-d*; neut. *aliūm*²¹ is very late. The syncopated forms *alis aliđ*²² apparently started in reduplicated phrases like *aliđ ex aliđ*,²³ *alis alibi*,²⁴ and spread thence. Gen. *aliūs*²⁵ was rare, as were also the alternative *aliŭ*²⁶ and *aliae*,²⁷ and was normally replaced by the gen. of *alter*, or by the possessive adjective *aliēnus*. Regular dat. *aliŭ*²⁸ was sometimes contracted to *alī*,²⁹ and was occasionally replaced by *aliō*³⁰ and *aliae*.³¹ Plural *aliŭ* and *aliŭs* were sometimes contracted to *alī* and *alis*.³²

III. *Alter* has an occasional syncopated form, attested by the meter: nom. fem. *altra*,³³ gen. *altrīus*,³⁴ etc. The gen. was *alterīus* in older Latin,³⁵ where the meter permitted this form, but in dactylic verse was of necessity *alterīus*,³⁶ gen. *alterī* does not occur, and *alterae*³⁷ is extremely rare; for the genitive of *alter* was usually replaced by the possessive adjective *aliēnus*. The dat. was *alterī*,³⁸ the variant fem. *alterae*³⁹ was not infrequent in oLt., but *alterō*⁴⁰ was extremely rare.

¹ Not *u* by weakening, as taken in note 6 to §153. ² CIL 6.1527d.64 (shortly before 1 B.C.). ³ Verg. Aen. 1.251. ⁴ Lucr. 6.682. ⁵ Ter. HT 205. ⁶ Metri gratia, Ter. HT 129. ⁷ Verg. Aen. 1.41. ⁸ Catull. 4.3. ⁹ Lucr. 1.926. ¹⁰ Lucr. 6.679. ¹¹ Hor. Epist. 1.17.15. ¹² Gen. in *-ae* virtually limited to mention by grammarians, with citations, and to very late authors. ¹³ Catull. 17.17. ¹⁴ Plt. Truc. 293. ¹⁵ CIL 9.984 (late). ¹⁶ Prop. 4.10.57. ¹⁷ Cato Agr. 19.1. ¹⁸ Prop. 1.20.35. ¹⁹ Plt. MG 356. ²⁰ Starting with Varro, as in LL 9.62. ²¹ As in CIL 3.2098. ²² Catull. 66.28 and 29.15 resp.; ALIS CIL 1.756.10; ALED CIL 4.1837.10, with *e* for *i* because *ŭ* was open and approached *e* in sound. ²³ Lucr. 1.263, etc., a metrically convenient phrase; cf. also *quid est aliđ*, Catull. 29.15, which suggests that imitation of *quis quid* was a factor. ²⁴ Sall. ap. Charis. 1.159.31 K. ²⁵ Caes. ap. Prisc. 2.303.24 K. ²⁶ Varro RR 1.2.19. ²⁷ Lucr. 3.918. ²⁸ Plt. MG 1076. ²⁹ Lucr. 6.1227, and inscriptions. ³⁰ As in CIL 5.8738. ³¹ Plt. MG 802. ³² CIL 6.10247.7 and 1.756.10 resp. ³³ Plt. Persa 226. ³⁴ Plt. Capt. 306. ³⁵ Enn. Sat. 17 W (omit the inserted *tū*), ap. Donat. ad Ter. Ph. 339 (iambic); Ter. And. 628 (cretic). ³⁶ Verg. Aen. 2.667; Hor. Epist. 1.2.57; in an asclepiadean, Hor. Carm. 3.24.22; etc. ³⁷ Ter. And., 2d ending, verse 2. ³⁸ Plt. Bac. 462. ³⁹ Plt. Rud. 750. ⁴⁰ As in CIL 6.36653 (late).

§322. OTHER PRONOMINAL FORMATION. Other types of pronominal formation, some already mentioned incidentally, may here be classified into groups.

I. Reduplication is seen in the common *sēsē* and the rare *mēmē*, *tētē*; in *quisquis* and its forms, cf. Osc. *pispis*; perhaps in *tūte*, if from **tū-tu*.

II. Prefixed elements are seen as follows:

- A. **e-d*, nt. nom. to root on which *eius* is formed (§314.III), is in *ecce* from **ed-ke*; in *eccum*¹ from **ecce hom* (acc. to *hic*, without *-ke*), *eccam*,² etc.; in *eccillum*,³ etc.; in *eccistam*.⁴
- B. *em*, by origin imperative *eme* 'take'; also in *ellum*⁵ etc. from **em illum*.
- C. *et* 'and' is the prior element in *ecquis* and its forms.
- D. *ali-*, the first part of *alius*, *alter*, adv. *aliter*, is the prior part of *aliquis*.

III. Suffixed elements are seen as follows:

- A. *-ce* is the second part of *ecce*, and is suffixed to forms of *hic*, whence it spread

more or less to forms of *iste* and *ille*; it belongs to a root seen in Lt. *cis*, *citrā*, *cedo* 'give here', Eng. *he*, *him*, Lith. *šis* 'this one'.

- B. *-met*, originating in *egom-et* (§308.I), occurs attached to personal and reflexive pronouns and possessives such as *tūtīmet*,⁶ *vōsmet*,⁷ *meāmet*,⁸ *suīsmet*.⁹
- C. *-em* is found in *quid-em* and *id-em eōd-em eād-em*, whence *-dem* in other forms of *idem* (§315).
- D. *-pse* is found in forms of *ipse*, §319, where its origin is explained, and certain other uses are given.
- E. *-pte*, of unknown origin, but of the same meaning as the proper form of *ipse*, is found added to a few forms of the personal pronouns, *mēpte*,¹⁰ *mihīpte*,¹¹ *vōpte*,¹² (from **vōs-pte*), and to abl. sg. forms of the possessives: *meōpte*,¹³ *meāpte*,¹⁴ *tuōpte*,¹⁵ *suāpte*,¹⁶ *nostrāpte*.¹⁷

IV. The pronoun *quī quis* is found in many combinations; those not yet mentioned are the following:

quīs-que, with Lt. *-que*, Gk. *τε*, Skt. *ca* 'and'.

quī-cumque, with acc. *quom* and *-que*.

quīs-quam, wherein *-quam* is the acc. sg. fem. of the same stem.

quī-dam, in which *-dam* is of uncertain origin.

quippe is **quid-pe*, but *-pe* has no close cognates that are certain.

quīs-piam has *-pe* + adv. *iam*.

quīs-nam has *-nam*, the same as the conj. *nam* 'for', apparently the acc. sg. fem. of the pronominal stem **no-*.

quī-vīs has the 2d sg. verb *vīs*, and starts in *quem-vīs* and other accusative forms.

quī-libet has the impersonal verb *libet* 'pleases', and must have started in the dative *cui-libet*.

¹ Plt. MG 540. ² Plt. MG 319. ³ Plt. Merc. 435. ⁴ Plt. Curc. 615. ⁵ Plt. Curc. 278.

⁶ Ter. HT 374. ⁷ Plt. Most. 96. ⁸ Plt. Poen. 446. ⁹ Liv. 2.19.5. ¹⁰ Plt. Men. 1059. ¹¹ Cato ap. Fest. 152.9 M. ¹² Cato ap. Fest. 379.10 M. ¹³ Plt. Most. 156. ¹⁴ Plt. Truc. 471. ¹⁵ Plt. MG 605. ¹⁶ Plt. Merc. 970. ¹⁷ Ter. Ph. 766.

CHAPTER IV. NUMERALS AND NUMERICAL WORDS

§323. NUMERALS AND NUMERICAL WORDS may be divided into the following classes: cardinal numerals; ordinal numerals; multiplicative adverbs; multiplicative adjectives; distributive adjectives; other derivatives and compounds. We shall first discuss the cardinals, with a summary of the other numerical words drawn from each, and then the method of formation of each of the other groups.

§324. THE NUMERAL ONE, which has three different roots in pIE.

I. pIE **oino-* in Gt. *dins*, Eng. *al-one*, oPr. *ains*, Lith. *v-ienas*, Umb. *unu* 'unum', oLt. acc. masc. *oino*, cLt. *ūnus*. This stem is found in Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, and in Gk. *ολή* 'one on dice'; **oiqo-* in Skt. *eka-s*, **oiyo-* in oPers. *aiva-*, Av. *aēva-*, Gk. *olos* 'lone', (Cyp.) 'one'. The stem **oino-* is common in derivatives and compounds, with weakening as in *ūnicus*, Goth. *đinahs*; with analogical weakening, as in *ūni-stirpis*; with syncope, as in *ūllus* from **oino-los*; with elision, as in *ūn-oculus*. The neuter *ūnum* became *ūnun-* before *-d-* and was reduced to *ūn-* by haplology, in *ūn-decim*, *ūn-dēvīgintī*.

II. pIE **sem-*, seen in Gk. masc. *εἰς* from **sem-s*, neut. *ἐν*; *sem-per* '(one throughout), always'; *semel* 'once' from neut. *sem-li* (to *similis*), + *-s* from *bis*, **tris*; *sin-gulī*, with *i* before *ϑ*, whence *sim-* in *simplex*, *simplus*.¹

III. pIE adv. **pri* 'before', Gk. *πρὶν* 'before'; Lt. *prior* from **pri-ḡōs*, *prīmus* from **pri-is-mos*, cf. Pael. *prismu* 'prima', and Lt. *prīs-cus*, *prīs-tinus*.

¹ Some of these words probably had the zero grade **sm-*, but the distinction between this and pIE **sem-* disappeared in pIt., where both became **sem-*; the zero grade is certain where Greek has *ἀ-*, as in *ἀπλός* 'onefold', = Lt. *simplus* in meaning.

§325. THE NUMERAL TWO is mainly from one root, with a scattering of derivatives from other sources.

I. pIE **d(u)yo-* and its derivatives.

A. pIE dual **d(u)yo[u]*, seen in Skt. *dvā dvāu*, *duvā duvāu*; Gk. *δώδεκα* '12', Hom. *δίω* '2'. **duyo* in oLt. *duō*¹ (rare), and oLt. cLt. *duō* by iambic shortening; *duo-decim*, *duo-dē-vīgintī*. Pl. cpd. nom. *duo-virī*, gen. *duum-virum*, whence *duumvirī* etc. with generalization of *duum-* after the invariable *centum* in *centumvirī*, gen. *centumvirum*; and a sg. *duovir* or *duumvir*.²

B. **du-* shortened from *duō*, but influenced by *-u-* of *quadru-*: *du-centī*; *duplex*, Umb. nt. *tuplak* 'duplex'; *du-bius*.

C. **d(u)yi-*, with *-i-* from *tri-* '3': **dyis*, Skt. *dviṣ*, Gk. *δῖς*, Lt. *bis*; *bīnī* from **dyis-noi*; *biduom* from **dyis-diyom*; **dyi-* in compounds such as *bi-pēs*, *biennium*, *bīgae* (from **dyi-ḡug-*). Prefix **dis* in *dis-trahere* etc. is from **dyis* by loss of *y* (§167.II.A). But *di-* in older Lt. words for *bi-* is of Osc.-Umb.

origin³ (§141.IX), as in *diennium*,⁴ in late Latin words, such as *dinummiu*,⁵ it is by the influence of Gk. δι- in *dis* 'twice'.

II. Lt. *ambō* 'both', Gk. ἀμφω, an old dual form, the second part of which is identical with the second part of Skt. *u-bhāu* 'both'.

III. The first element of *vi-gintī* 'two tens' seems to be a dual **yi* of the stem seen in Skt. adv. *vi* 'apart',⁶ and while Latin does not show whether it was originally **yi* or **yei*, Gk. Dor. *φτκατι* clearly indicates the long vowel.⁷

IV. *Iterum* 'again, a second time' is a nt. adv. to the stem seen in Skt. *titara* 'the second of two', comparative to the stem seen in Lt. *is*.

V. *Alter* 'one or other of two, second' is for **ali-teros*, comparative of the root seen in *alius*.

VI. *Secundus* 'second' is from **sequondos*, gerundive participle to *sequor* 'follow'.

¹ Plt. MG 1384; *duō* also in same verse. ² Liv. 2.42.5. ³ Where *dy* became *d*. ⁴ CGL 4.330. ⁵ Cod. Theod. 14.27.2. ⁶ A less probable theory for the prior element is that *vi-gintī* is **dyi-dkmtī*, with loss of the prior *d* by dissimilation. ⁷ Gk. Att. *ετκοσι* from **ε-φτκοσι* with prothetic vowel; Hom. *ετκοσι* graphic for *ε(φ)τκοσι*.

§326. THE NUMERAL THREE has only one stem in pIE and in Italic.

I. pIE **trejēs*, a regularly declined *-i-* stem: Skt. *trāyas*, Gk. *τρεῖς*, Osc. *trīs*, Lt. *trēs*, *trēdecim* from **trēs-decem*. The pIE neut. pl. **trī* still survives in *trī-gintā*. Pl. cpd. *trēsuirī* or *triumvirī*, sg. *triumvir*, like *duovirī* etc. (§325.I.A).

II. Stem **tri-* in adv. **tris*, Gk. *τρίς*, Lt. *ter* with *-er* after *quater* (§95.n1); whence *ternī* from **tris-noi*, *tertius* from **tri-tijos*, *ter-geminus*, etc. But *tri-* is restored after *tria* etc., or else the original development is retained, in *tri-bus* 'tribe', *tri-ceps*, *tri-geminus*; *trīnī* is perhaps a restoration after *bīnī*, rather than a direct development from **tris-noi*. By assimilation, *tri-* became *trē-* in *trē-centī*.

§327. THE NUMERAL FOUR had in pIE the form masc. **q̥^huōres*, neut. *-rə*, the ablaut grade varying in both syllables. Latin and Aeolic Greek show the reduced vowel in the first syllable, but most languages have there a vowel which optionally or necessarily comes from a full-grade *e*, introduced after the initial syllable of **p̥eṃq̥e* '5', **s(ʷ)ek̥s* '6', **sept̥m* '7'.

I. The cardinal is Skt. *catvāras*, *-ri*, Goth. *fidvōr*, but Gk. Delph. *τέρες*; Aeol. *πέρυες* and Lt. *quattuor* show the reduced vowel, the Lt. form standing for both masc. and neut., with phonetic loss of the endings. An old **quatuor* was replaced by **quātuor* after the long vowel of *quīnque*, and then the vowel was shortened and the consonant lengthened (§182.III).¹

II. The first part of *quadrā-gintā* is an Italic nt. pl. **kwaturā* (or perhaps **kwatworā*), with syncope; there is no convincing explanation of the *-d-*.

III. The stem **q̥vetru-*, Latin *quadru-*, came by an IE metathesis of *-yr-* (§75): thus **q̥vetru-s*, Av. *ča-θruš*, Lt. *quater*; compounds such as *quadru-pēs*, varying with *quadri-pēs* (§125.I.F). *Quaternī* is probably not from **kwatrus-noi*, but formed to *quater* by the analogy of *ternī* to *ter*; *quadrīnī* after *bīnī*,

trīnī; *quadrīgae* after *bīgae*; *quadrī-duom* after *bī-duom*. *Quadrin-gentī* has *-in-* by the analogy of *septin-gentī*.

IV. The old ordinal **q*tru-tō-s* is seen in Osc. *trutom* 'quartum'; in Lt. it seems to have been replaced by an analogical **kwatwor-tos*, reduced by haplology to *quartus*, the older vocalism of the second syllable remaining in Praen. *qVORTA*.²

¹ Lg. 3.12-4. ² CIL 1.328.

§328. THE NUMERAL FIVE was **penq*ē* in pIE, which is seen in Skt. *pāñca*, Gk. *πέντε*. Lt. *quīnque* has the Italo-Celtic assimilation of initial *p* to *kw* of the next syllable (§132.II), the Latin change of *e* to *i* before *η* (§88.IV.A), and length of the vowel from *quīnctus*; *quīn-decim* and *quīn-gentī* have lost the *-e-* by syncope and suffered reduction of the resulting consonant group; *quīnquā-gintā* has the *-ā-* after *quadrā-gintā*. In compounds, there are *quīnqui-plex*, with vowel weakening; *quīnque-folius*, with *-e-* kept after the simplex; *quīnquennis*, *quīnc-ūnx*, with elision; *quīncu-plex*, with *-u-* after *quadru-plex*.

The ordinal **penq*-tos* is seen in Gk. *πέμπτος*, Lith. *peñktas*; Lt. *quīnctus*, with the *-c-* retained in the consonantal group by the influence of the cardinal, and the vowel lengthened before *-nct-* (§173.IV), but the phonetically regular *quīntus* (§161.IV) gradually supplanted it. *Quīnī* is from **kwenk-snoi* (§164.IV). *Pompeius*, *Pontius* (= Lt. *Quīnctius*) have Osc.-Umb. *p* from *q**, cf. Osc. *pompe* '5'.

§329. THE NUMERAL SIX was pIE **syeks* or **seks*, the former seen in Gk. dial. *ἑξ*, the latter in Goth. *saihs*, Lt. *sex*. With regular reduction of the consonant groups, *sē-decim*, *sēnī* from **seks-noi*, *ses-centī*, *Ses-tius*; but with *-k-* restored after *sex*, *sextus*, *Sextius*, *sexdecim*, *sexcentī*. *Sex-ā-gintā* has *-ā-* after *quadrā-gintā*, *quīnquā-gintā*.

§330. THE NUMERAL SEVEN was **septm* in pIE, seen in Skt. *saptā*, Gk. *ἑπτά*, Lt. *septem*, seen also in *septem-plex*, and with slight phonetic changes in *septen-decim*, *septin-gentī*, *septen-triōnēs*; with elision, *sept-ūnx*; stem *septu-* after *quadru-quinqu-*, in *septu-ennis*; *Septi-montium* shows the common junction vowel of Lt. compounds, replacing the *-u-* of *septu-*; *septēnī* from **septem-snoi* or by influence of *sēnī*. *Septuāgintā* is probably **septem-ā-gintā* weakened to **septimā-gintā*, then influenced by *quīnquāgintā*. The ordinal *septimus* (Skt. *saptamā-s*) is merely the cardinal made declinable.

§331. THE NUMERAL EIGHT was pIE **oktōu* and **oktō*, a dual, probably 'two sets of finger tips': Skt. *aṣṭāu aṣṭā*, Gk. *ὀκτώ*, Gt. *ahtau*, cLt. *octō*, later *octō*¹ by extension of iambic shortening. *Octō* in *octō-gintā*,² but also later *octuā-gintā*³ after *septuāgintā*, and OCTAGINTA⁴ after *sexāgintā*; *octōdecim*; *octin-gentī* after *septin-gentī*; *octōnī* from **oktō-snoi*. Stem *octu-* like *septu-*, in *octu-plus*, *octu-plex*; *octi-* like *septi-*, in *octi-pēs*. The ordinal *octāvus* is from **oktōy-os* (§99.IV), the cardinal made declinable.

¹ Mart. 2.57.8. ² Cic. Sen. 19.69. ³ Colum. 3.3.9, ms. c. ⁴ CIL 3.2.p.810.

§332. THE NUMERAL NINE was PIE **neṃn*, in varying ablaut grades: Skt. *ndva*, Gt. *niun*, Gk. *év-eta*,¹ Lt. *novem* with *-m* for *-n* after *septem decem*; original *-n* remains in the ordinal *nōnus*² from **noyen-os*, the cardinal made declinable, and in *nōn-ā-gintā*, with *-ā-* after *sex-ā-gintā*; the nasal is ambiguous in *noven-decim* (rare), *nōn-gentī*, *nūndinum* (§117.II). *Nōnin-gentī*³ after *septin-gentī*; *novēnī* from **noyen-snoi*, or after *sepiēnī*.

¹ The Greek form offers special difficulties which cannot be discussed here. ² With syncope of the *-e-*, and development to *ō* by the influence of the *-o-* in *novem* (instead of to the regular *ū*, §117). ³ Colum. 3.3.9, ms. a.

§333. THE NUMERAL TEN was PIE **dékṃ*: Skt. *dāśa*, Gk. *δέκα*, Gt. *tathun*, Lt. *decem*; declinable as ordinal, Skt. *daśamās*, Lt. *decimus*, whence *ūn-decim*us, *ūn-decim*; *dēnī* from **dek-snoi*, after *sēnī* from **seks-noi*. Compounds *decem-virī*, *decem-peda*. Derivatives *decu-plus* with stem *decu-* after *quincu-*, *dec-ennis* with stem *deco-* (elided) or *dec-*.

§334. THE NUMERALS ELEVEN TO NINETEEN were in Latin, as in most IE languages, additive or dvandva compounds, in which the smaller numeral¹ preceded *decem*; *decem* took the form *-decim* in imitation of the ordinal *decimus*, and not the expected weakened form *-dicem* (§125.I.C). But for '18' and '19' the usual forms were *duodēvigintī* and *undēvigintī*. There were also occasional combinations of the types *decem et trēs*, *tribus et decem*, *decem trēs*, *decem ac novem*, *decem septemque*;² *decem novem*.³

¹ Details of development in §324-§332. ² Resp. Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. 7.20, 35.99; Liv. 37.30.7; Caes. BG 2.4.9; Nepos, Cato 1.2. Full lists in NW² 2.286-9. ³ Caes. BG 1.8.1.

§335. THE NUMERAL TWENTY was an IE dual compound, 'two tens', **u̯i* (§325.III) + *(*d*)*kṃtī*, Latin *vigintī*; the second part is a *ti*-abstract to **dékṃ*, cf. Lith. *dešimtīs* '10' and Skt. *vi-śattī-ṣ* '20', Gk. (Dor.) *ῥίκατι* and (Att.) *εἰκοσι*.¹ In *vigintī*, the oldest inscription with VEIGINTI² is too late to prove original *vei-* rather than *vī-*; the *-g-* seems to be an IE variant (§130.IV); the *-i-* for *-e-* (pIt. *-em-* from pIt. *-ṃ-*, §103.I) is assimilated to the quality of the other vowels. The ordinal is *vīcē(n)simus* from PIE **-kṃt-t-mos* (§144); rarely *vīgēsīmus*, with *-g-* after *vigintī*.

¹ Lt. has dual *-ī*; Lith. and Skt. have sg. *-i-s*; Gk. *-ī* is peculiar. ² CIL 1.1570.6.

§336. THE TENS FROM THIRTY TO NINETY were neuter plurals, compounded of the cardinals and a *t*-stem abstract of *decem*, (plural) *(*d*)*kōmtā* 'tens', becoming Gk. *-κοῦτα*, Italic **-konta*, remade to *-ā* like all Italic neuter plurals, and with *-gi-* after *vigintī*. The prior element is the regular cardinal in *octō-gintā*; old neuter plurals in *trī-gintā*, *quadrā-gintā*; forms with extended *-ā-* from *quadrā-gintā*, in *quīnquā-gintā*, *sexā-gintā*, *septuā-gintā*, *nōnā-gintā*.¹

¹ Details, with variant forms, in §325-§332.

§337. THE NUMERAL ONE HUNDRED was PIE **kṛtóm* (from **dkṛtóm*), a -to-abstract to **dekṃ* 'ten', as 'decade (of tens)'.¹ Skt. *śatám*, Gk. *ἐκατόν*,² Eng. *hund-red*, Lt. *centum*. In compounds, *centum-virī*; but stem *centu-* (after *quadru-* *quincu-*) or *cento-*, with vowel-weakening, in *centi-manus*, *centi-ceps*, *centuplex*.

¹ Cf. Gt. *tathuntē hund* '100', in which *tathuntē* is gen. pl. of *tathun* '10'. ² The *ἐ-* is of uncertain origin, cf. TAPA 42.81-2.

§338. THE HUNDREDS FROM 200 TO 900 were compounds of the cardinals with *centum*. Older Latin gives some examples of these as indeclinable neuters: *quīn-centum*,¹ *argentī sescentum ac mille*;² at least the second of these is substantival, like the Skt. (declinable) *dvi-śatám* '200'. But regularly Latin has these numerals as declinable adjectives, the second part being -*gentī* after a nasal (§130.IV): *du-centī*, *tre-centī*, *quadrin-gentī*, *quīn-gentī*, *ses-centī*, *septin-gentī*, *octin-gentī*, *nōn-gentī*.³

¹ Fest. 254b.19-20 M; with *c* in the value of *g*, §15.III. ² Lucil. Sat. 1049 W, ap. Non. 493.-27 M. ³ Details of the development of the prior part, and variant forms, in §325-§332.

§339. THE NUMERAL ONE THOUSAND varies in the IE branches, being Skt. *śahśra-m*, to which Gk. *χίλιοι χίλιοι* is related; Gt. *būsundi*, Lith. *tūkstantis*, OCS *tysesta*, mutually related; Latin *mille*, which stands by itself. Most of these words were by origin probably adjectives modifying an implied neuter **kṛtóm* '100', so that the meaning was 'strong (hundred)' or the like; Gmc. and BS seem to go back to an earlier **tūs-kṛtī*, a compound abstract of the same meaning. Latin *mille* was an original adjective **meisli* that became substantivized; probably a consonant was lost before the -s-, though no certain etymology can be reached.¹ In classical Latin, *mille* was an indeclinable adjective in the singular, but a declined substantive *mīlia* (§177.III) or *mīllia* (with -*ll-* after the singular) in the plural; in older Latin the singular also was a declined substantive, of which abl. *mīllī* is attested.²

¹ On this whole subject, cf. TAPA 42.69-89. ² Plt. Bac. 928; Lucil. 511 W, ap. Gell. 1.16.-10-3, with discussion.

§340. THE DECLENSION OF CARDINAL NUMERALS: In PIE, the cardinals 1 to 4 were inflected adjectives; 5 to 10 were invariable, though 8 was a dual; 20 was a dual, the tens from 30 to 90 were neuter plurals; 100 was a singular neuter, which was inflected in some later languages and was invariable in others; the multiples of 100 were like 100 in this respect, or were declinable derivative adjectives; 1000 was like 100; but some of the indeclinables and neuter declinables were accompanied by feminine abstract substantives.

In Latin only 1 to 3, the multiples of 100, and 1000 were inflected; in late Latin even 2 and 3 tended to become invariable, but occasional inflected forms of normally invariable cardinals are found.

I. *Ūnus*: gen. *ūnus*, dat. *ūnī*, §321.I; pl. used in agreement with plurals having

singular or group meaning, as in *ūna castra* 'one camp', or in contrast with the pl. of *alter* 'other (of two)'.

II. *Duo*, inherited as nom.-acc. masc., and extended for use as nom.-acc. nt. (for which the original form was PIE **d(ʷ)uoi*, Skt. *dvé*); for its declension in Latin, see §204.IV. *Ambō* 'both' was in Latin declined like *duo* (§204.IV).

III. *Trēs* has regular plural declension of *-i-* stems.

§341. THE ORDINAL NUMERALS were declinable adjectives, with the following formations in Latin:

A. To *ūnus* there are the comparative *prior* 'former of two', from **pri-ǵōs*, and the superlative *prīmus* 'first of three or more', from **pri-is-mos*.

B. To *duo* there are the comparative *alter* 'one or other of two', with the comparative adverb *iterum* 'again, a second time', and the participle *secundus* 'following, second of a series'.

C. The suffix *-o-* makes certain ordinals declinable in the function of ordinals: *septimus*, *octāvos*, *nōnus*, *decimus*. Similarly *quotus* to *quot*; not original, but formed in Italic after **quoti* (= Skt. *kati*) lost its final vowel (*quotus* hardly the direct equivalent of Skt. *katihd-s*); remade occasionally to *quotumus* by influence of *septimus decimus*.

D. The superlative suffix *-to-* formed other ordinals: *quartus*, *quīn(c)tus*, *sextus*; and with an added *-ǵo-*, *tertius*.

E. The superlative suffix *-t.mo-* forms the higher ordinals: *vicē(n)simus* from **ǵi-kmt-t.mos*, also *vīgēsīmus* after *vīgintī*; same formation and same product in *trīcēsīmus* *trīgēsīmus*, etc.; *-ē(n)simus* extended as suffix in *centēsīmus*, *ducentēsīmus*, etc., and in *millēsīmus*.

F. The compounds *prīnceps* *terticeps* *quarticeps* *quinticeps* *sexticeps* were used as ordinals in the list of altars used for the *Sacra Argeorum*;¹ the starting point was *prīnceps*, and their use was presumably limited to the ritual.

¹ As quoted by Varro LL 5.47-54.

§342. MULTIPLICATIVES are found in two sets, adjectives and adverbs.

I. Multiplicative adjectives are compounds of the numerals with either of two stems:

A. With *-plo-*, from the root in *plēnus* 'full': *sim-plus* 'simple, single', Gk. *ἀπλός*; *du-plus*, *triplus*, *quadruplus*, *octuplus*, *decuplus*, *centuplus* 'hundredfold'.

B. With *-plek-*, related to root in *plicāre* 'to fold': *simplex*; *duplex*, Umb. nt. *tu-plak* 'two-tined fork'; *triplex*, *quadruplex*, *quīnquplex* or *quīncuplex*,¹ *centuplex*.

II. Multiplicative adverbs were formed in various ways:

A. *semel* 'once' is nt. **sem-li* (cLt. *similis*) + *-s* from *bis*, cf. Gt. *simlē* 'once (upon a time), formerly'.

B. With adverbial *-s*: *bis* from **dyis*, *ter* from **tris*, *quater* from **kwatrus*.

C. With nt. suffix *-ǵnt* as in Skt. nt. *kīyat* 'how many', *īyat* 'so many', becoming Italic *-ǵent -ǵend* + adv. *-s*, yielding Lt. *-iē(n)s*;² this probably started in Latin in *quotiēns totiēns*, in view of the Skt. derivatives to pronominal stems, just cited:

quīnquīēs sexiēs septiēs octiēs noviēs deciēs, centiēs ducentiēs etc., *milliēs*; with haplology, *vīciēs* from **vī-centiēs*, *trīciēs* and *trīgiēs*, etc.

¹ *quīnquīplici* or *quīncuplici* Mart. 14.4.2; also the verb *quīnquīplicāri* Tac. An. 2.36. An abl. ptc. *octuplicātō* (or *octi-*) occurs Liv. 4.24.7. There are a few other forms to various numerals in later authors. ² On the weakness and usual loss of the *n* in *-iēs*, see §171.VI.E.

§343. DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS, so far as they occur in Italic, are plural adjectives, with meanings typified by *bīnī* 'two each, two at a time, two sets of'.

I. 'One each' is *singulī*,¹ from **sem-glo-*,² cf. Gt. *dīna-kls* 'single'.

II. 'Two each' and 'three each' are formed upon the multiplicative adverbs with the suffix *-no-*, extracted from **oi-no-s* > *ūnus* 'one': *bīnī* from **dūis-noi*; **trīnī* from **tris-noi*, replaced by *ternī* after *ter*, and a restored *trīnī* after *bīnī*; *quaternī* after *quater*, but *quadrīnī* after *bīnī trīnī*.

III. From **dūis-noi* **tris-noi* a suffix *-snoi* was extracted,³ which was added to higher ordinals: *quīnī* from **quīnq-snoi*, *sēnī* from **sex-snoi* (or **sek-snoi?*), *septēnī* from **septem-snoi*, *octōnī* from **oktō-snoi*, *novēnī* from **novem-snoi*, *dēnī* from **dec-snoi*; *vīcēnī* from **vī-cent-snoi*, also *vīgēnī*; *tricēnī*, *quadrāgēnī*, etc.; with analogical *-ēnī*, *centēnī*, and with haplology *ducēnī*, *trecēnī*, *quadrīngēnī*, etc.; *millēnī*.

¹ Very rarely the singular form of *singulī* occurs, as in Plt. Cist. 701 *singulum vestigium*.

² Possibly by dissimilation for **sem-gnos* 'born one at a time'; cf. Fest. 33.13 M *bignae* 'geminae, quia bis una die natae sunt', and context of *singulī* in Varro, RR 2.10.8, Liv. 40.4.2, also Skt. *eka-ja-* 'born or produced alone or single' (Leumann ap. Stolz-Schmalz² 202; there seems to be no basis for a pIE suffix *-glo-*). ³ Some of these formations may have been made direct with *-noi* attached to a modified cardinal ending in a long vowel, in imitation of *bīnī*, etc.

§344. FRACTIONS were variously expressed in Latin:

I. 'Half' was an inseparable element **sēmi-*, as in Skt. *sāmi-jīvas* 'half-alive', Gk. *ἡμι-βιος*, Lt. *sēmi-vīvos*; with elision in *sēm-uncia*, with syncope in *sin-ciput*, with haplology in *sē-modīus*, whence *sē-lībra*. *Sēsqui-* '1½' from **sēm(i)s-que*, cf. Gm. *anderthalb* '1½', as in *sēsqui-pēs*; so also *sēs-tertius* for **sēmis-tertius*, cf. Gm. *drittehalb* '2½'.

II. 'Half' was expressed also by the adj. *dīmidius* from **dis-medi-us*, and by the substantivized neuter *dīmidium*.

III. The *as* or unit of weight and value was divisible into 12 parts, each of which was called an *uncia* 'ounce'.

A. *Uncia* 'one ounce', from **oino-kīā* 'unit'; *quīnc-ūnx* 'five ounces'; *sept-ūnx* 'seven ounces'; *dē-ūnx* 'an ounce off, eleven ounces', cf. *ūn-dē-vīgintī*; *sēsc-ūnx* 'one and a half ounces'.

B. *Triēs* 'third, four ounces', substantivized participle to **triēre* 'divide by three'; *sextāns* 'sixth, two ounces', from **sextāre*; *quadrāns* 'fourth, three ounces', from *quadrāre*; *dextāns* from **dē-sextāns* 'sixth off, ten ounces'; *dōdrāns* from **dē-quadrāns* 'fourth off, nine ounces'.

C. *Bēs* (properly nom. *bēss*, to gen. *bēssis*), from **duo assis*, that is, *duo partēs*

assis 'two thirds of an *as*, eight ounces'; *sēmis* (gen. *semissis*) 'half-*as*, six ounces',¹ from **sēmi-as*.²

IV. Ordinary fractions were expressed by the use of *pars* 'part'. The numerator, if one, was regularly omitted: *quarta pars* 'one fourth'. The denominator, if one more than the numerator, was regularly omitted: *trēs partēs* 'three fourths'. Fractions of other types seem not to occur in classical Latin, but in later times such locutions as *trēs quīntae* 'three fifths' are found, with omission of *partēs*.

¹ Sometimes merely 'half' (adj. or subst.). ² For other fractions and multiples of weights and measures, see Varro LL 5.169-74; also Walde LEW (any edition) s.v. *bes*, Ernout-Meillet DELL s.v. *as*, Harper's Lat. Dict. s.v. *as*.

CHAPTER V. INDECLINABLES

§345. INDECLINABLES. There are also several kinds of indeclinable words, which may be divided into the following classes according to their functions:

I. Invariable words functioning as substantives or adjectives: *centum*, *mille*,¹ *quot* 'how many', *tot* 'so many', *frūgī* (dat. sg. subst. as adj.) 'thrifty', *nēquam* (acc. sg. fem. adj.) 'worthless; damage', *alpha*, etc.

II. Invariables functioning as (a) adverbs,² (b) prepositions and prefixes,³ (c) conjunctions,⁴ (d) interjections.⁵ Most of these are case forms, stereotyped in special uses, though some are very old invariables, whose origins in PIE are utterly obscure, and others which are interjections are mere onomatopoeias.

III. Of the stereotyped case-forms, some are forms still in case use, such as nom. *fors*; others are case-forms no longer in living use, such as loc. *hīc*; others are adjectives with ellipsis of a substantive, like abl. *ūnā* and *hāc*, sc. *viā*; or the remainder of the paradigm may be no longer in use in Latin, such as loc. *temere* 'rashly, without reason', properly 'in the dark', to **temus* = Skt. *tāmas* 'darkness'. The adverb sometimes shows an older unaltered form of the stem or the ending, than does the case-form in actual use: thus loc. *temperī* 'betimes' to *tempus*, with vowel gradation as in *genus generī*,⁶ but *tempor-is* -ī etc. with extension of the -o- of the nom.-acc.; and -i- stem acc. *partim* as adv., but analogical *partem* as substantive.

IV. There are also certain adverbial formations in extended use, which will be discussed in the next section.

¹ Indeclinable in the singular, except that there is sometimes an abl. *mīllī* in oLt.: see §339. ² §346-351, §356. ³ §352-§354. ⁴ §355. ⁵ §357. ⁶ Or perhaps *temperī* got the -er- from the semantically related *vesperī*, loc. to stem *vespero*-.

§346. ADVERBIAL FORMATIONS IN LATIN. The following formations were living methods of making adverbs in Latin, apart from the more or less sporadic types in §347-§351:

I. From -o- stem adjectives, adverbs ending in -ē were made, such as *rēctē*, *impigrē*; so regularly from superlatives, such as *maximē*, *facillimē*. The -d of oLt. *FACILVMD* and *RECTED*,¹ and of Oscan *amprufid* 'improbē', mark the form as ablative; the -ē of *benē* and *malē* developed by iambic shortening; cf. §231.

II. From -o- stem adjectives there were also ablative adverbs in -ō (from -ōd): oLt. *MERITOD*,² cLt. *meritō*; *crēbrō*, *continuō*, *falsō*, etc.

III. The acc. sg. nt. was the regular adverb of the comparative, as in *minus*, *facilius*; it served also in some -o- and -i- stems: *multum nimium parum ceterum*, *facile immane*.

IV. The ending -ter or -iter was widespread in adverbs from adjectives, such as *breviter*. It seems to have started in *aliter* 'otherwise', properly nom. sg. masc. **ali-teros*;³ the adjectival form *alter* had analogical syncope after fem. *altera* from **aliterā* (§123.I). From *aliter* the ending passed to adjectives of

related meaning, in *pariter*, *similiter*, and finally to others: *graviter* to *gravis*, *largiter* to *-o-* stem *largus*, etc. Syncope is seen in *audācter* from **audāciter*, and perhaps haplology in *lubenter* and *sapienter* from *-ntiter*, though these may be the product of the analogy of *audācter*.

V. The adverbial ending *-tus* started in *intus*, Gk. ἐντός, and spread to *sub-tus* based on *sub*, *penitus* on *penes*, *funditus* on *fundus*, etc. This is apparently the same ending **-tos* seen in Skt. *nāma-tas* 'from the name', cf. Gk. gen. ὀνόμα-τος, though this identity is disputed. *Penitus* became also a declinable adjective; *subitus*, if of this origin,⁴ meant 'down from there' by etymology, and was adjective only.

VI. The ending *-tim* started in the accusative of *-i-* stems, like *partim*, *statim*, *raptim*, also with the variant consonantism seen in *cursim*, *passim*,⁵ *sēparātīm*, *certātīm*. From these the endings *-tim* and *-ātīm* came to be used with distributive meaning: *nōminātīm* to *nōmināre* in form and to *nōmen* in meaning; *tribūtīm* to *tribus*, *guttātīm* to *gutta*.

¹ CIL 1.581.27 and 1.365. ² CIL 1.33. ³ For the development to an adverb, cf. Plt. Truc. 172 *longē aliter est amīcus atque amātor*. This theory was advanced by Leumann in Stolz-Schmalz⁶ §213a. ⁴ The normal meaning 'sudden' seems difficult to derive if *subitus* is taken as participle of *subire*. ⁵ §144.

§347. CASE-FORM ADVERBS, apart from the regular categories just listed, are of great variety, and may be summarized as follows:

I. Nom. Masc. and Fem.: *fors* = *fors sit an*, also in the phrases *forsitan*, *forsan*; *versus*; *satis*; perhaps *comminus* as cpd. adj., cf. Gk. adj. αὐτόχειρ 'with one's own hand'.

II. Acc. Masc. and Fem.: *maximam partem*, *bifāriam*, *quam*; *tam*, whence *iam* for **im*; *aliās*, *forās*.

III. Nom.-acc. Neut.: *primum*, *recēns*, *sat* for **sati*; *saepe* to **saipis*; *magis* with zero-grade of comparative suffix; *cētera*.

IV. Genitive: *nox* 'by night', with syncope of the vowel in the case-ending, cf. Gk. gen. νυκτός (but cf. §250); *dius* 'by day', = Skt. gen.-abl. *divds*, PIE **diyos*; *tantī*, *parvī*, expressing indefinite value.

V. Ablative: including true ablative forms, *meritō* (oLt. MERITOD¹), *oppidō*, *modō* and *citō* with iambic shortening,² *extrā*, *dextrā* (sc. *manū*); instrumental forms, such as *quō* 'whither', *forīs*, *alternīs* (sc. *vicibus*); locative forms, such as *forte* 'by chance', *noctū*, *temere*.

¹ CIL 1.33. ² §128.II; but also sometimes with *-ō*, preceding the shortening: *citō* Plt Cist. 748, *modō* Plt. Pseud. 689.

§348. ADVERBS WITH SPECIAL SUFFIXES, not demonstrably case-forms, and not among the common adverbial formations of §346, include the following: **-dhe* in Skt. *kuhā*, Osc. *puf*, Umb. *pufe*, Lt. *ubt* with final vowel remodeled after *tibt*; Skt. *iḥā*, Umb. *ife*, Lt. *ibt*.

**-ti* in Skt. *āti* 'over', Gk. ἔτι 'yet', Lt. *et*; Osc. *auti*, Umb. *ote*, Lt. *aut*; *aut-em* with enclitic; Lt. *ut*, *uti-nam*, and *utī* after *ubt tibt*.

*-*tā* in *ita* by iambic shortening; with added particles *ita-que*, *it-em* (with elision) after *id-em*, *iti-dem* after *idem* (with vowel weakening); oLt. *aliuta*² 'aliter'.
 *-*s* in Gk. *δῖς*, Lt. *bis*; Gk. *ἄψ* 'back', Lt. *abs*; Gk. *ἐξ*, Lt. *ex*; whence *ops-*, *sup-* (§353.I-II).

*-*r* in oLt. *quōr*, cLt. *cūr*.

*-*im* in oLt. *illim istim*, cLt. *illinc, istinc, hinc*; of uncertain origin because of its 'from' meaning, making it unlikely that it is accusative *im* to nom. *is*, despite oLt. *im* 'tum', *in-de*, *ex-im ex-inde*, *de-in deinde*, *pro-in proinde*, cf. also *un-de*.

¹ Always *utī* in verse, where the quantity of the final vowel can be determined. ² In a law of Numa, quoted by Fest. 6.1-2 M; for formation, note that *id* is to *ita* as *aliud* is to *aliuta*.

§349. VERB-FORMS AS ADVERBS OCCASIONALLY OCCUR.

Indicatives: *vel* 'or' from **uel-si*; *crēdō* 'perhaps'; *igitur* with vowel weakening, starting in such a phrase as *quid agitur?*; -*vīs* and -*libet* as enclitic particles (§322.IV).

Imperatives: *age*, Gk. *ἄγε*; *em* 'there!' from *eme* 'take'.

§350. PHRASAL ADVERBS CONSIST OF VARIOUS KINDS OF WORD GROUPS:

I. Preposition and case-form: *ob-viam* 'in the way, meeting'; *ad-fatim* 'to weariness, abundantly, enough'; *quem-ad-modum*; *sēdulō* from **sēd dolōd*; *inter-eā*, *ant-eā ante-hāc*, *post-eā posthāc*, in which, by an older usage, the prepositions govern the ablative and not the accusative, but *inter-im*, *post-modum*.

II. Adverb with case-form not governed by it: *post-modō*, *eā-tenus*, *quāquā-versus*.

III. Substantive with adjective in agreement: *quā-rē*, *hodiē* from **hōd diēd*.

IV. Case-form or stem with enclitic: *sem-per*, *quid-em*.

V. Phrases containing a verb: *scīlicet* = *scī licet* 'know thou, it is permitted'; *dum-taxat* = *dum tetigerit*; *sīs* 'please' = *sī vīs*.

VI. Miscellaneous: *identīdem* from **idem t(um) idem*; *forsitan* 'perhaps' from *fors sit an*.

§351. ADVERBS FROM PRONOMINAL STEMS are very abundant, and are formed in the various ways which have been enumerated. A selection of these adverbs is given here:

From stem **to-*: *tum*, *tunc*, *tam*, *tandem*, *tanquam*, *topper*.

From **s(y)o-*: *sī*, *sī-c*, *sī-ve seu*.

From **i-*: *ita*, *item*, *itidem*, *iterum*, *ibī*, *inde*, *ideō*, *eō*; *jam* after *tam*.

From **do-*: *dōnec* etc., *quandō*, *endo*, *dum*, *quī-dam*, *un-de in-de*.

From **e-*: *e-castor*, *e-depol*.

From **no-* **eno-*: *nam*, *quis-nam*, *nem-pe*, -*ne* in *pōne dōnec* etc.; *enim*.

From **gho-*: *hīc*, *hūc*, *hinc*, *hōc*, *hāc*.

From **quo-*: *quom cum*, *quam*, *quō*, *quā*, and their compounds; *quōr cūr*; perhaps also the enclitic *-que*.

From **qui-*: *quid*, *quidem*, *quī*, *quippe*, *quīn*, and their compounds.

From **q^u*-: *ut, utinam, utī, ubi, unde, umquam*, and their compounds.

From *illo*:- *illī illūc, illūc, illō illōc, illāc, illim illinc*.

From *isto*:- *istī istūc, istūc, istō istōc, istāc, istim istinc*.

§352. PREPOSITIONS are a special class of indeclinables, used to govern substantives in oblique cases, and mostly also used as prefixes to verbs. With them, for convenience, may be included a few other indeclinables which, at least in Latin, are found only as verbal prefixes.

Originally all these were adverbs, added to the sentence to make precise either the meaning of the verb or the meaning of the case-form, or both; except for a few strictly verbal prefixes, they were separate words, still seen as such in *ob vōs sacrō*,¹ *sēque gregārī*,² Hom. *ἐκ μὲν τοι ἐπέω*³ 'and I will tell thee'. At a later time they became associated either with the substantive as prepositions, or with the verb as prefix. In connection with substantives some may optionally follow rather than precede, cf. Lt. *haec inter*,⁴ (regular) *mēcum*, Umb. *tota-per* 'pro civitate', and in this position they are properly called 'postpositions'. We may divide prepositions into those which are demonstrably inherited from an older linguistic stage, and those which seem to have developed within Italic or Latin.⁵

¹ Fest. 190b.2 M. ² Lucr. 1.452. ³ Od. 4.376. ⁴ Hor. Sat. 2.6.59. ⁵ Only prepositions governing accusative or ablative are included in the following account, along with verbal prefixes; therefore *grātīa, causā, finī*, which are attended by the genitive, are excluded.

§353. INHERITED PREPOSITIONS AND VERBAL PREFIXES may be divided into several groups, according to form; Italic derivatives are listed here:

I. Locatives, suffixless or with *-i*:

**enter*: Skt. *antar*, Osc. *anter*, Lt. *inter*.

**en* **eni* **ni*: Gk. *ἐν ἐνι*, Lt. *in* and with added particle *en-do*, oLt. *indu-perātor*,¹ Skt. *ni* 'down', *nīḍa-s* 'nest', Lt. *nīdus* from **ni-sd-os*.

**uper* **uperi*: Skt. *upari*, Gk. *ὕπερ*, Lt. *s-uper* with prefixed element, and compound *in-super*.

**anti*: Skt. *anti*, Gk. *ἀντι*, Lt. *ante*; *antid-eā* after *postid-eā*.

**ambhi*: Gk. *ἀμφι*, Lt. prefix in *ambi-dēns*, *amb-ustus*, *am-plector*, *am-iciō*.

**epi* **opi*: Skt. *api*, Gk. *ἐπι*, Lt. *op-* in *op-eriō op-ortet* and generalized *ob*, also *ops-* (after *ex ap-s*) in *os-tendō*.

**peri*: Skt. *pari*, Gk. *περι*, Lt. *per* as prep. and prefix, and as enclitic in *sem-per parum-per* etc.

II. Adverbs in *-ō*, not identifiable with any special form:

**apo*: Skt. *apa*, Gk. *ἀπό*, Lt. *ap-* in *ap-eriō*, generalized *ab*, also *abs* (after *ex*) as prep. and prefix in *abs-cidō*, *abs-tineō*, *as-portō*; *af*, dialectal from *ap*,² *ā* by §164.IV,³ with enclitic, *abs-que*.

**po*, in ablaut relation to preceding: Lt. prefix *po-* in *po-lire*, *pōnere* from **po-sinere*, *po-situs*; **posti* with *-s* from *ex*, *abs*, and *-ti* from **anti*, Lt. *post*; also *postid-* in *postid-eā*, with *-d* after *prō/prōd-*; *pōne* from **post-ne*, with emphatic enclitic *-ne*.

**pro*: Skt. *pra*, Gk. *πρό*, Lt. prefix *pro-* in *pro-bus*, *pro-ficiscor*; Italic **prōd* in

imitation of ablatival adverbs and prepositions (*retrō*, *contrō*-, etc.), Osc. *pru*, Lt. *prō*, with original final in *prōd-est*.

**upo*: Skt. *upa*, Gk. *ὑπό*, Lt. *s-ub* with prefixed element, and *sub-ter* after *inter*; *sup-* after *ex aps*, in *sus-cipiō*, *sus-pendō*, *sus-tineō*, *sur-ripiō*.

III. Adverbs in *-s*:

**egh-s*: Gk. *ἐξ*, Lt. *ex*, whence *ē* by §164.IV.³

**dyis*, **dis*: Gk. *διά* with *-a* after *μετά*, Gt. prefix in *twis-standan* 'go apart', Lt. prefix *dis-* in *dis-cēdō*, *dir-imō*, *dif-fidō*.

Extensions of this *-s* in *aps*, *ops-*, *sup-*, **posti*, see above.

IV. Miscellaneous formations:

**ad*: Gt. *at*, Lt. *ad*, dial. *ar-* (§141.V); to this same root, **dō* in oLt. *endo indu-*, *in-di-gena*, *quan-dō*, OE *tō* 'to', and instr. **dē* in Lt. *dē*.

**ana*: Gk. *ἀνά*, Lt. prefix in *an-hēlare*.

**aye*: Skt. *ava* 'down', Lt. prefix in *au-ferō au-fugiō*; to the same root, **uē* in Lt. conj. *-ve* 'or', prefix in *vēcors*, *vēscor*.

**ko* **kom*: Gt. prefix *ga-*, oIr. *com-*, Osc. prep. *com*, prefix *com-*, Lt. prefix in *com-mūnis*, *con-ferō*, *co-eō*, prep. *cum* with vowel weakening.

**pr-*: Lt. *por-* in *porrigō*, *polliceor*.

**pri-*: Gk. *πρίν* 'before', Lt. *prior*, *prīmus* from **pri-is-mos*.

**prai*: Gk. *πράι*, Osc. *prai*, Lt. *prae*; also *prae-ter* after *inter*. These three belong to one and the same root, along with **peri* and **pro*, given above.

**sēd*, abl. to reflexive stem **s(ū)e-*: oLt. *SED FRAVDE*, cLt. *sēd-itiō*, *sēpōnō*; *se-* in *so-lvō*, *so-cors*, and *sō-* in *sōbrius*.

Lt. *sine* replaced oLt. prep. *sēd sē*, but never became a prefix; it is therefore probably not ancient, though it appears in the older Latin, and may be formed from *sēd* as was *pōne* from *post*;⁴ **sēd-ne*, becoming *sine* by shortening before the enclitic (§128.III), as in *quāsi* from **quam-sei*, *nīsi* from **nei-sei*, *hōdiē* from **hōd diēd*, and weakening in the first syllable of the unaccented word, as in *mihi* from **mehei*, *tibi* from **tebei*.

**ud* **ūd*: Skt. *ud-*, Gt. *ūt*, Germ. *aus*, Eng. *out*; with *-s* from *ex* etc., and encl. *-que*, Lt. *usque*, cf. *absque* for formation; *usquam*, *uspīam*.

¹ Enn. Ann. 87 W; etc. ² CIL 1.638 AB REGIO . . . AF CAPVA; 1.1853 AB CASTELLO . . . AF VINEIS . . . AF VILLA . . . AF *castello* . . . AB SECETE. In Osc. and Umb. *p* became *f* before *t*; probably *af* developed thus from *ap*, and was used to avoid possible confusion with assimilated forms of *ad* (*ap c-* and *ad c-* > *ac c-*; etc.). ³ For another origin of the prepositions *d* and *ē*, see Sturtevant, Lg. 15.145-54. ⁴ Cf. TAPA 73.54-7, where other views are discussed.

§354. NEW PREPOSITIONS AND VERBAL PREFIXES which seem to have developed these uses in Italic or in Latin include the following classes:

I. Nom. masc.: pres. ptc. *trāns* to *in-trāre*; perf. ptc. *versus*, *adversus*.

II. Acc. masc.-fem.:

circum, also *circā* after *intrā* etc., and *circiter* after *inter* etc.

clam, to the root in *cēlare*, and the diminutive *clam-cūlum*.¹

palam, formed like its opposite *clam*.

cōram, remade after *clam* and *palam*, from **co-ōre* 'at the face'.

III. Nom.-acc. neut.:

prope from **pro-qui*, to **pro*, with its comparative *propius*, and *prop-ter* after *inter*.

simul, neut. to *similis* (cf. *facul* to *facilis*, §124).

procul, neut. to adj. **procilis* or **proculus* (cf. cognomen *Proculus*, applied to the child of a father who at the time of the child's birth was *ā patriā procul*, or *procul progressus aetāte*, Fest. 25.2 M).

secundum, *versum*, *adversum*, all participles.

apud, probably perf. ptc.; *secus*, *tenus*,² nt. acc. substantives; to the roots in *ap-īscor*, *sequor*, *ten-dō*.

IV. Ablatives, with perhaps some instrumental forms:

contrā, *extrā*, *infrā*, *intrā*, *juxtā*, *citrā*, *suprā*, *ultrā*.

contrō-, *intrō*, *retrō* as prefixes (not used as prepositions) in *contrōversus* and derivatives, *intrōdūcō* etc. and adv. *intrō*, *retrōgradior* and adv. *retrō*.

proximē, superlative to *prope*.

V. Miscellaneous:

With -s: *cis*, cf. *citrā*, Eng. *him*, *hither*; *uls*, cf. *ultrā*, *olle*.

Prefix *red-* and *re-*, Umb. *reuestu* 'revisited', Lt. *red-eō*, *re-ferō*; probably **ur-* extended from root *ur-*, zero-grade of **yer-* 'turn' (*vertō* is another extension of the root), becoming Italic **red-* by §181.V, §138.III.

Adv. *ergō* from **ē rogō* 'from the direction', altered to prep. *ergā* after *extrā*.

Adv. *prīdiē* and *postrīdiē*, locative phrases, sometimes governing accusative³ by likeness to *ante* and *post*.

¹ With acc., Ter. Ad. 52. ² Variant to masc. *tenor tenōr-is*; cf. §423.n5: ³ But commonly with the possessive genitive, in *prīdiē eius diēi*, etc.

§355. CONJUNCTIONS are indeclinables which serve to modify a sentence or a clause, especially to indicate the logical relation existing between two sentences or clauses, or between a subordinate clause and a main clause. According to the relation of the propositions which they connect, they are divisible into coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Many of the adverbs already mentioned are usable in this way; only the most important of the conjunctions will be here listed.

I. Conjunctions meaning 'and', 'but', 'or', 'for'.

-que, from pIE **q̥e*.

et, from pIE **eti*.

at, from pIE **ati*; *at-quē*, with instr. or abl. *quē*.

atque, shortened *ac*, from (prep.) *ad* + *-que*.

ast, from **ad-s-ti* (cf. *post* from **po-s-ti*), also from (prep.) *ad*.

sed, a short-vowel form of (prep.) *sēd* (§353.IV).

-ve, from pIE **ue*, cf. Skt. *vā*.

aut, from **auti*.

vel, probably 2d sg. **uel-si*, to *volō*.

nam, acc. fem. of pronominal stem **no-*.

enim, to pronominal stem **eno-*; either *i*-stem acc., or (more probably) with ablative *-im*, like *hinc* (§348). Cf. Osc. *inim* and Umb. *ennom*.

II. Negatives, from PIE **ne* and its various forms:

**ne*, prefix in *ne-sciō*; *ne-que* and *nec*, Skt. *naca*, Gt. *nih*; *nōn*, oLt. *noenum*,¹ from **n' oinom*, with elision of final (for *ō*, cf. §112.VI).

**nē*, Lt. *nē*, Osc. *nī*, Skt. *nā*.

**nei*, Lt. *nī*; also in *nisi* from **nei-sei* (§128.III).

Here belong also enclitic *-ne* in its various uses, and the negative prefix **n-*, Lt. *in-*, Gk. *á-*, Skt. *a-*, Gmc. *un-*.

III. Interrogative conjunctions, apart from those derived from the interrogative pronominal stem, are the following:

-ne, enclitic, identical in origin with the negative.

nōnne, from *nōn* + encl. *-ne*.

num, possibly acc. of pronominal stem **no-*, but more probably the PIE particle **nu* 'now', in the variant form **num*, seen with enclitic in *nun-c*.

an, either identical with Gk. *án*, Gt. *an*, or from *at* 'but' + *-ne*; if the latter, then the entire form survives in *anne*.

IV. Conjunctions from the interrogative-relative stem:

From **q#o-* *q#ā-*: *quom cum* and derivative *quoniam*; *quam* and its compounds; *quod*; *quō*; etc.

From **q#i-*: abl. *quī*; *quīn*, which is abl. *quī* + *-ne*, but in some uses is nom. *quis* + *-ne*; neut. pl. *quīa*.

From **q#u-*: *ut*; *ut utī*; *utrum*.

V. Conjunctions from pronominal root **do-*:

dum, acc.; also in a number of combinations.

**dō*, abl. or instr., in *dōnicum*, from **dō-ne-quom*, with several collateral forms; *quandō*, from *quam-dō*.

VI. Conjunction *sī* 'if', is loc. sg. masc. or neut. **sei* of pronominal stem **s(y)e/o-*, cf. loc. fem. in Osc. *sval* 'if'; also in various combinations: *et-sī*, *sīn* from **sei-ne*, *sive seu* from **sei-ve* **seiv'*; *nisi* from **nei-sei*; *quasi* from **quam-sei*.

VII. Conjunction *ceu* 'like' is from **cē-ve*, with elision, or from **cei-ve*; or possibly from **cai-ve*—the prior element of disputed identity.

¹ Found in Enn. Ann. 361 W, ap. Cic. Off. 1.24.84, and elsewhere; cf. §238, and note 5.

§356. PARTICLES is a category which may be set up to include certain IE adverbs, without apparent case-terminations, though they cannot properly be separated from other Adverbs, among which most of them have already been listed. Those found in Latin are *ne-* and related negatives (§355.II); deictic *ī* in *quī*, *haec*, etc.; conjunctions *-que*, *an*, *at*, *-ve*; prefix *vē-* in *vē-cors*, etc.; enclitic *-pe* in *nem-pe*; **ce* 'hither' in *ce-do*, *cēdō* from **ke-sd-ō* to root *sed-*, *hic*, *sic*, *illaec*, etc.; **g-* in *negōtium* from **neg'* *ōtium*, *negāre*; **nu* in *num*, *nunc*, *nudiūs*, etc.; and others in the preceding lists.

§357. INTERJECTIONS are exclamatory words, mostly onomatopoeic, like *heu*, *heia*, *st*; but some other classes in Latin may be noticed:

I. Borrowings from Greek: *euge*, *sophōs*, *palin*, Gk. *εὖγε*, *σοφῶς*, *πάλιν*.

II. Imperatives: *em*, *age* (§349).

III. Names of gods, and phrases containing such names:

meherculēs, sc. *iuvet*, with shortening of acc. *mē* before enclitic.

hercle, voc. of god's name, which was originally an -o- stem in Italic.

mehercule, a contamination of the preceding two.

mecastor, *mediūsfidius*, sc. *iuvet*.

pol, shortened vocative of *Pollūx*.

ecastor has a first element **ē*, perhaps instr. sg. to pronominal stem **e/o-*, shortened before enclitic.

edepol, like the preceding, with -de- for **dē* from **dee*, voc. of *deus*, shortened before enclitic.

IV. Miscellaneous:

vae, Gt. *wdi*, Eng. *woe*.

prō 'O', identical with prep. *prō*.

ecce, from neut. **ed* + encl. **-ke* 'hither'.

eccerē, from *ecce* + *rē* 'in fact'.

CHAPTER VI. THE FORMS OF VERBS

§358. THE PIE VERB AND ITS MODIFICATIONS.

I. The verb of the pIE language appears to have been subject to modifications of form to express Voice, Mood, Tense, Person, and Number, as follows:

Voices, two: active, middle (§371); probably not a passive.

Moods, five: indicative (§373), found in all tenses; subjunctive (§374), in present, aorist, and possibly perfect tenses; optative (§375), in present, aorist, and possibly perfect tenses; injunctive (§376), in imperfect and aorist tenses; imperative (§377), in present and aorist tenses; also various verbal nouns (§411, §425) and adjectives (§418).

Tenses, five or six: present, imperfect, aorist, perfect, pluperfect, perhaps future.

Numbers, three: singular, dual, plural.

Persons, three: first, second, third. In pIE the personal endings of primary tenses and those of secondary tenses were mostly different, and those of active forms were different from those of middle forms; the perfect indicative singular also had in part a separate set of personal endings.

II. The pIE verb was, in the present tense system, divisible into two conjugations: the non-thematic or *-mi* conjugation, in which the present stem did not end in a variable thematic vowel *-e/o-*, and the first person singular of the present indicative active had the personal ending *-mi*; the thematic or *-ō* conjugation, in which the present stem ended in a variable thematic vowel *-e/o-*, and the first person singular of the present indicative active had as personal ending the lengthened thematic vowel *-ō*. The two may be typified by Greek *τιθημι* and *λῶω* respectively. But in all the historical languages, and presumably even in pIE, the non-thematic forms were giving way before the extensions of the thematic forms.

III. In the transition from pIE through pIt. to Latin, there were lost the middle voice (but cf. §371.II); the dual number; the augment (§360), and with it the original forms of the imperfect and the pluperfect; the future and the passive, if these forms really existed in pIE.

Of the inherited forms, Latin fused the perfect and the aorist forms into a single tense, which we call the perfect; the primary and the secondary personal endings into a single set; the subjunctive and the optative forms into a single mood, which we call the subjunctive; the thematic and the non-thematic conjugations of pIE into four new conjugations.

Latin also developed, as new forms: periphrastic imperfect and future indicatives in *-bam* and *-bō*; future and future perfect indicatives from subjunctive forms; analogical forms for the pluperfect indicative and subjunctive; a passive voice, mainly by the use of an *r*-suffix and of periphrastic forms with *esse*, but also by retention of some old forms of the middle voice.

The conjugational forms of the Latin verb in its classical form are made upon two tense-stems: that of the present tense, upon which are built all forms of the present, the imperfect, and the future (except the future infinitive and participle active); and that of the perfect active, upon which were built all forms of the perfect, the pluperfect, and the future perfect, and with which is closely associated the perfect participle passive, along with the future infinitive and participle active and the supines.

§359. THE ABLAUT GRADES IN THE VERB. Specific ablaut-grades of the vowels were characteristic of certain form-categories of the verb in pIE, and some of these variations are still to be seen in Latin, though regular phonetic changes have obscured many of them, and leveling and new formation have eliminated others. The most important of these categories are here listed, with limitation essentially to those whose products still remain in Latin.

I. The normal accented or ē grade occurred in pIE:

- A. In the radical syllable of non-thematic presents and imperfects, in the singular of the indicative: *es-t*, Gk. *ἐσ-τι*; *ī-s*, Gk. *ἐλ*, Skt. *é-ṣi*.
- B. In the radical syllable of the same, in the suffixless 2d sg. inv. act.: *es*; *ex-ī*, Gk. *ἐξ-ει*.
- C. In the radical syllable of thematic present-tense stems, where the root was accented in pIE: *ferō*, Gk. *φέρω*; *fīdō*, Gk. *πείθω* 'I persuade'.
- D. In the reduplicating syllable of the perfect tense: *meminī*, cf. Gk. *μémνημαι*.
- E. As the thematic vowel in the 2d and 3d sg. and 2d pl. of the pres. ind. and inv. act.: *agis agit*, Skt. *ājasi ājati*; *age agite*, Gk. *ἄγε ἄγετε*.

II. The zero grade occurred in pIE:

- A. In the radical syllable of non-thematic presents and imperfects, in the dual and plural indicative active, and throughout the indicative middle: *s-unt*, cf. *es-t*; *dā-mus*; Gk. *ἴ-μεν*¹ 'we shall go', but Lt. *ī-mus* with *ī-* after *īs* etc.
- B. In the radical syllable of the same, when the personal ending is *-dhi* or *-tōd*: Gk. *ἴ-θι* 'go thou', *ἴ-τω* 'let him go', but Lt. *ī-tōd* with *ī* as in *īmus*.
- C. In the radical syllable of thematic present-tense stems and aorist-tense stems,² when the thematic vowel bore the pIE accent: *rūdō*, Skt. *rudā-mi*, cf. Gk. *γλῦφω* 'I carve'; Gk. *λείπέ* 'leave thou!'
- D. In the radical syllable of thematic present-tense stems with *i*-reduplication: *gi-gn-ō* 'I beget', Gk. *γί-γν-ομαι* 'I am born'.
- E. In the radical syllable before the present-tense suffix *-ske-*: *poscō*, Skt. *prcchā-mi*, from **prk-skō*; *crē-scō*, with zero grade in the first syllable of the dissyllabic base **kerē-*.
- F. In the radical syllable of present-tense stems with nasal infix or ablauting nasal suffix:³ *jungō*, Skt. *yundjmi*; *linō*, Skt. *lināmi*.
- G. In the radical syllable of the reduplicated perfect, in the plural indicative active and all forms of the indicative middle: *de-di-mus*, Skt. *da-di-mā*, from **de-dā-*.
- H. In the radical syllable of verbal adjectives in *-tōs*: *dīctus*, Skt. *diṣṭā-s* 'pointed out'; *dūctus*, *dātus*, cf. strong grades in *dīcō*, *dūcō*, *dōnum*.

III. The δ -grade occurred in pIE:

- A. In the radical syllable of the perfect indicative singular active: Gk. *πέποιθα* 'I trust in', to *πείθω* 'I persuade'; Gk. *οἶδε* 'he knows', Lt. *vīdit*.⁴
- B. In the radical syllable of causative present-tense stems with suffix *-eje-*: *mon-eō* 'I cause to think, warn', to root *men-* 'think'; *noc-eō* 'I harm', to root in acc. *nec-em* 'violent death'.
- C. As the thematic vowel of the first singular and first and third plural: *ferō*, *fer-i-mus* (with vowel weakening), *fer-u-nt*; Gk. *φέρω*, *φέρονεμν*, (Dor.) *φέρουσι*.

IV. The $\tilde{e}$ -grade occurred in pIE in the indicative singular active of the sigmatic aorist: **ē-dēik-sm*, Gk. *ἔδειξα* 'I showed', Lt. *dixī* (§120.II); **ē-q*ēi-sm*, Skt. *ācāiṣam* 'I punished', Gk. *ἔτευσα* 'I paid'.

V. Long vowels also characterize a number of Latin perfects; some of these are long vowels of the normal accented grades, as in *fēcī* to *fāciō*, *frēgī* to *frangō*,⁵ while *cēpī* to *capiō*, *ēgī* to *agō*, are analogical to these rather than original. In others the long vowel of the perfect has the same quality as the short vowel of the present: *scābī* to *scābō*,⁶ *fōdī* to *fōdiō*,⁷ *ēmī* to *emō*,⁸ but the exact history of the vowels is uncertain.

¹ Present form with future meaning. ² The thematic second aorists of Greek. ³ The ablauting suffixes are *-nā/-nə-* and *-neu/-nu-*; the strong grade stood in the singular of the present and imperfect indicative active. In Latin forms of these origins the suffixes are leveled; §382. ⁴ §112.III; but *vīdit* may have had analogical *-ei-* rather than *-oi-* (Sturtevant, Lg. 10.6-16), nor is there any other Latin perfect in which direct development from the *o*-grade is demonstrable, because of the confusion resulting from vowel weakening. ⁵ Fourth ablaut series, §69. ⁶ Fifth series, or second? ⁷ Third series? Cf. addendum to §69. ⁸ First series.

§360. THE AUGMENT was an element which in pIE was prefixed to the imperfect, aorist, and pluperfect indicative, to show past time; it bore the accent, and the verbal form was enclitic to it. By origin it was a particle **e*, possibly of pronominal origin. Forms with the augment are normal in Indo-Iranian, Armenian, and Greek; but no such forms appear in Italic. Example: pIE **é-bherom* 'I was bearing', Gk. *ἔφερον*, Skt. *ābharam*.

§361. REDUPLICATION, or the repetition of the initial sound or sounds with a vowel, is an important method of stem-formation in verbs; it is found chiefly in two tense-stems.

I. Reduplication with *-e-* is seen in the usual pIE formation of the perfect: *meminit*, Gk. *μέμνε* 'he desires'; *cecīdī* to *cadō*, *cecīdī* to *caedō*, *fefellī* to *fallō*; *peperī*, Fal. *PEPARAI*, to *pariō*. Assimilation of the *-e-* to the vowel of the second syllable, as in *didicī*, *spopondī*, *pupugī*, took place in Latin when the second syllable of the perfect had the same vowel as the first syllable of the present (§189. III); thus *stetī* was apportioned to *stō*, but *stīti*¹ to *sistō*.

Roots with initial *st-* *sp-* *sc-* should have *stest-* etc., as in Gothic *ga-staistald* 'I got' to *ga-staldan*; but they usually lost by dissimilation either the first *s*, as in Skt. *tasthāu* 'I stand' to root *sthā-*, or the first *t*, as in Gk. *ἔστηκα* 'I have placed myself, I stand', or the second *s*, as in Lt. *stetī*, *spopondī*, oLt. *scicidī*.²

II. Reduplication with *-i-* was a method employed in forming a few present-tense stems: *sistō*, Gk. *ἵστανμι* (both with dissimilative loss of the first *t*); *gignō* 'I beget', Gk. *γίγνομαι* 'I am born'; *discō* from **di-dk-skō*, cf. causative *doceō*; *sīdō* 'I sit down', Gk. *ἵκω* 'I seat', from **si-sd-ō* to root **sed-*; *serō* 'I sow', from **si-s-ō* replacing **si-sē-mi* (§381.II), cf. perf. *sē-vī*.

¹ But the prior vowel of *stīlī* originated by vowel weakening in compounds, whence it was transferred to uncompounded forms. ² Later *scidī* by syncope in compounds; §390.III.

§362. COMPOSITION IN VERBS may be seen in the augment and the reduplication, already discussed (§360, §361), and in the following types:

I. With an adverb: *op-prīmere*, *per-ferre*, and others with 'prepositional' prefixes, along with some not used as prepositions, such as *po-* in *po-līre*, *por-* in *por-rigere*; *bene-facere*, and others with modal words; *ne-scīre*, *nōlle*, and others with negatives.

II. With a substantive as object: *animadvertere*, from *animus advertere*; or as goal: *vēneō* from *vēnum eō*.

III. In denominative verbs to compound substantives: *aucupārī* to *auceps*, *rēmīgāre* to *rēmex*, *aedificāre* to **aedifex*.

IV. In the causative types *calē-faciō*, *calē-fīō*.

V. In the tense types *cūrā-bam*, *cūrā-bō* (§395.I.A-B).

§363. THE THEMATIC VOWEL.

I. The thematic vowel is a vowel *-e-* or *-o-*, standing in many tense-formations at the end of the theme or stem, and therefore in most instances immediately before the personal endings;¹ *-e-* in the 2d and 3d sg. and the 2d pl., and *-o-* in the 1st sg. and 1st and 3d pl. Thus the present of *agō* comes from **ag-ō -e-si -e-ti -o-mos -e-tes -o-nti*.² This vowel may be attached directly to the root, as in the example just given, where it is more clearly seen in Gk. 1st and 2d pl. *ἄγομεν ἄγετε*, or may be the concluding element of a tense-suffix, as in *δάκ-νο-μεν δάκ-νε-τε* 'we bite, you bite'.

II. A tense with a thematic vowel is called a thematic tense, and a tense-suffix with a thematic vowel is called a thematic tense-suffix; similarly we speak of thematic forms and of thematic tense-systems. Formations lacking the thematic vowel are called non-thematic or athematic: thus Greek *εἶμι* 'I shall go' and *ἔ-μεν* 'we shall go' are forms from a non-thematic tense-stem *ei-* varying with *i-* (which is also the bare root), while *δείκ-νυ-μεν* 'we show' is a non-thematic form with a non-thematic tense-suffix *-nu-*.

III. The original thematic verbs of IE were the *-ō* conjugation, and the original non-thematic verbs were the *-mi* conjugation (§358.II). These two conjugations were combined and regrouped in Italic into four new conjugations, characterized by the vowels *ā ē ē ī*, which are most easily seen in Latin in the present infinitive active before the final *-re* (the grouping in Oscan and Umbrian is essentially the same as in Latin). This new grouping resulted from the development and fate of the thematic vowel in Italic and in Latin; the following phenomena took place:³

A. The 1st sg. present in Latin always shows the thematic ending: original

in **koiśā-ǵō* **moneǵō* **bherō* **fīni-ǵō*, Lt. *cūrō moneō ferō fīniō*. Non-thematic verbs replaced *-mi* by *-ō*.⁴ **snā-mi* gave Skt. *snāmi*, but Lt. *nō*.

B. The 2d and 3d sg. and 2d pl. show the falling together of the two types by loss of intervocalic *ǵ* and subsequent contraction of the vowels of the thematic forms: *-ā-ǵe-si -ā-ǵe-ti -ā-ǵe-tes* and *-ā-si -ā-ti -ā-tes* alike gave Lt. *-ās -at -ātis*. In Conj. II, *-e-ǵe-si* and *-ē-si*, etc., alike gave *-ēs*, etc. In Conj. III, where the verbs are almost exclusively thematic stems, there is regular weakening of *-e-si -e-ti -e-tes* to *-is -it -itis*. In Conj. IV, the development is like that in I and II: *-i-ǵe-si* and *-ī-si*, etc., gave *-īs*, etc.

C. The 1st pl. behaved similarly, except that the thematic vowel *-o-* weakened to *-e-* (§125.II.A) before the contraction: thematic *-ā-ǵo-mos > -āemos > -āmus*, like non-thematic *-ā-mos*; so also *-e-ǵo-mos* and *-ē-mos* gave *-ēmus*, *-i-ǵo-mos* and *-ī-mos* gave *-īmus*. In Conj. III, *-o-mos* weakened regularly to *-imus*, the orthography being *-imus* rather than *-umus* (§125.I.F) because of the influence of the endings *-is -it -itis*.⁵

D. The 3d pl. shows non-thematic endings in Conjugations I and II: *-ā-nti -ē-nti > -ant -ent*, replacing the products of thematic *-ā-ǵo-nti -e-ǵo-nti*; but it has thematic forms in III and IV: *-o-nti > -unt* as in *ferunt*, *-i-ǵo-nti* in *fīniunt*, whence *-iunt* replaced original non-thematic *-ī-nti*.

E. In the imperative, the thematic vowel developed as when before similar indicative endings.

F. In the passive, the forms developed similarly to the corresponding forms of the active; except that the thematic 2d pl. in *-i-minī* is from *-o-menoi*, being by origin a participle with omitted copula (the *-o-* first weakened to *-e-* as in the 1st pl.).

¹ But the optative suffix comes between the thematic vowel and the personal endings.

² Comparison with Greek forms is illuminating in both active and middle voices, except in the 2d and 3d sg. active. ³ This account is limited to forms of tenses in which thematic and non-thematic forms originally ran parallel to each other. ⁴ Exceptions: *sum* from **s-o-m(i)*, remade from **ēs-mi*, cf. Skt. *āsmi*; *inquā-m*.

⁵ *Volumus* and its compounds *mālumus*, *nōlumus*, have *-u-* because of the back vowel in the preceding syllable (§125.I.F) and the lack of forms with thematic *-i-* (cf. *vīs volī voltis*); *quaesumus* follows *volumus* because of similarity of meaning; *sumus* is regular from **somos* (§91.IV.B) and is followed by *possumus* and other compounds (which also have no accompanying forms in *-is -it -imus* to induce *-imus*; but *simus* was used by Augustus, according to Suet. Aug. 87, and is found in Late Latin, including some inscriptions).

§364. THE THEMATIC VOWEL IN TABULATION. The preceding account will be clearer in tabulation, as follows:

Conj.	1st sg.	2d sg.	3d sg.	1st pl.	2d pl.	3d pl.
thematic	<i>-āǵō</i>	<i>-āǵesi</i>	<i>-āǵeti</i>	<i>-āǵomos</i>	<i>-āǵetes</i>	<i>-āǵonti</i> ²
non-them.	<i>-āmi</i> ¹	<i>-āsi</i>	<i>-āti</i>	<i>-āmos</i>	<i>-ātes</i>	<i>-ānti</i>
Latin I	<i>-ō</i>	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-at</i>	<i>-āmus</i>	<i>-ātis</i>	<i>-ant</i>
thematic	<i>-eǵō</i>	<i>-eǵesi</i>	<i>-eǵeti</i>	<i>-eǵomos</i>	<i>-eǵetes</i>	<i>-eǵonti</i> ²
non-them.	<i>-ēmi</i> ¹	<i>-ēsi</i>	<i>-ēti</i>	<i>-ēmos</i>	<i>-ētes</i>	<i>-ēnti</i>
Latin II	<i>-ēō</i>	<i>-ēs</i>	<i>-et</i>	<i>-ēmus</i>	<i>-ētis</i>	<i>-ent</i>

Conj.	1st sg.	2d sg.	3d sg.	1st pl.	2d pl.	3d pl.
thematic ⁴	-ō	-esi	-eti	-omos	-etes	-onti
non-them. ⁵	-emi ¹	-esi	-eti	-amos	-etes	-enti ²
Latin III	-ō	-is	-it	-imus	-itis	-unt
thematic ⁶	-iḡō	-iḡesi	-iḡeti	-iḡomos	-iḡetes	-iḡonti
non-them.	-imi ¹	-isi	-iti	-imos	-ites	-inti ²
Latin IV ⁷	-iō	-is	-it	-imus	-itis	-iunt

	2d sg. pass. ind.-imv.	2d pl. pass. ind.-imv.	2d-3d sg. fut. imv.	pres. inf. act.	pres. ptc. act.
thematic	-āḡeso	-āḡomenoi	-āḡetōd	-āḡesi	-āḡents
non-them.	-āso	-āmenoi	-ātōd	-āsi	-ānts
Latin I	-āre	-āminī	-ātō	-āre	-āns
thematic	-eḡeso	-eḡomenoi	-eḡetōd	-eḡesi	-eḡents
non-them.	-ēso	-ēmenoi	-ētōd	-ēsi	-ēnts
Latin II	-ēre	-ēminī	-ētō	-ēre	-ēns
thematic	-eso	-omenoi	-etōd	-esi	-ents
non-them.	-əso	-əmenoi	-ətōd	-əsi	-ənts
Latin III	-ere	-iminī	-itō	-ere	-ēns
thematic	-iḡeso	-iḡomenoi	-iḡetōd	-iḡesi	-iḡents
non-them.	-iḡso	-iḡemenoi	-iḡtōd	-iḡsi	-iḡnts ³
Latin IV ⁷	-īre	-īminī	-ītō	-īre	-īēns

¹ -mi was replaced by thematic -ō. ² This ending was analogically replaced in Lt. by the product of the non-thematic ending. ³ This ending was analogically replaced in Lt. by the product of the thematic ending. ⁴ Denominative verbs to *u*-stems, with -je/ḡo- suffix, took this same form, as the intervocalic ḡ disappeared: *statuō statuis statuit* to noun *statu-s*, from **statu-ḡō -ḡesi -ḡeti*. ⁵ There were a few verbs of this type, such as Lt. *vomit* = Skt. *vāmiti*. ⁶ Also a few -je/ḡo- denominatives to consonant-stems, like *custōdiō* from **-d-ḡō*, in which the ḡ, being postconsonantal, assumed vocalic function in Latin, and the product was identical with that of the thematic verbs in -i-ḡō etc. ⁷For verbs of Conj. IV which by iambic shortening (§128.II) passed into the type *faciō facere* of Conj. III, see §369.

§365. THE LATIN FIRST CONJUGATION includes present formations of the following types:

I. Non-thematic verbs with roots ending in -ā-: *nō nāre*, Skt. *snā-mi*; for *fārī*, Gk. *φημί* 'I say'; *in-trāre*; perhaps *stāre*, cf. Gk. (Dor.) *ιστάμι* 'I place' (though *stāre* may belong under II, as equivalent of Av. present *stā-ya-*).

II. Primary verbs with dissyllabic roots ending in pIE -ā/ə-, with thematic suffix -je/ḡo-: *domāre crepāre sonāre secāre*; cf. perf. *domuī crepuī sonuī secuī*, ptc. *domitus crepitus sonitus sectus*, for evidence of **doma-* etc.

III. Secondary verbs, denominative to -ā- stems, with thematic suffix -je/ḡo-: *fugāre* to *fuga*, *cūrāre* to *cūra*, cf. Gk. *τιμάω* 'I honor' to *τιμή* 'honor'; with extensions to other stems such as *nōmināre* to *nōmen*, *piscārī* to *piscis*, especially the participial type *pulsāre* to *pulsus*, *ventāre* to *ventum*.

§366. THE LATIN SECOND CONJUGATION includes present formations of the following types:

I. Non-thematic verbs with roots ending in *-ē-*: *com-plēre*,¹ cf. Skt. inv. *prā-si*; perhaps *nēre* 'to sew', *flēre* 'to weep', though they may belong under II.

II. Primary verbs with root extended by *-ē-*, a combination seen in certain second aorists of Greek functioning as intransitives or passives: *ἐφάνην* 'I appeared' to *φαίνω* (from **φανίω*) 'I show', *ἐμάνην* 'I was mad' to *μαίνομαι* (from **μανίομαι*) 'I am mad'.² Latin examples: *vidēre habēre*, but mostly intransitive like *tacēre jacēre sedēre licēre*. That this formation was non-thematic is indicated by the Greek, but this cannot be taken as entirely conclusive for Latin.

III. Thematic denominatives to *-e/o-* stems, such as *albēre* to *albus*,³ *clārēre* to *clārus*.

IV. Causatives with *-o-* grade of the root, and suffix *-eje-*,⁴ such as *monēre nocēre movēre*.

¹ Cf. Gk. reduplicated *πλεπλημι*. ² Often, as here, with presents in *-je/-jo-*; so also in Balto-Slavic. ³ Cf. Gk. *φιλέω* 'I love' to adj. *φίλος* 'dear'. ⁴ Cf. Gk. *φορέω* 'I carry' to *φέρω*.

§367. THE LATIN THIRD CONJUGATION includes present formations of the following types:

I. Root-thematic verbs such as *agere dicere ducere regere*, and (with root unaccented and therefore in weak grade) *rudere*.¹

II. Those with thematic suffixes *-ne-* *-ske-* and the less common *-te-* *-de-* etc. (§385), such as *cernere spernere*,² *crēscere poscere*,³ *nectere, tendere, quaesere* (older *quaessere*).

III. Thematic verbs with nasal infix, such as *rumpere vincere*.⁴

IV. A few denominatives to *-u-* stems, such as *statuere* to *status*, *acuere* to *acus*, *metuere* to *metus*.⁵

V. A few reduplicated verbs, such as *gignere* and *sīdere*, which are thematic, and *sistere*, which may be thematic or may have the root-vowel generalized in the weak grade.⁶

VI. A few radical verbs in *-u-*, either non-thematic or with primary *-je-*: *ruō*; *fluō* (from **flog^hō* in cpds.); *solvō*, older *so-luō*; *voluō* (with *-u-* extension as in Gk. *ἐλίσσω* 'I wind, bend'); extended to two verbs with suffix *-nu-*: *minuō sternuō*.

VII. A few non-thematic verbs of type **yema-ti*, Skt. *vāmiti*, Lt. *vomit*; probably here also *linō linis linīt*, with suffix *-nā/nə-*, Skt. *lināti* 'smears', with generalized weak grade.

¹ Cf. Gk. *ἀγω, πείθω* 'I persuade'; weak grade in *γλύφω* 'I engrave'. ² Cf. Gk. *δάκνω* 'I bite'.

³ Cf. Gk. reduplicated *γίγνόςκω* 'I learn'. ⁴ Cf. Gk. *λαμβάνω* 'I take', with added nasal suffix.

⁵ Cf. Gk. *δακρύω* 'I weep', to *δάκρυ* 'tear'. ⁶ Cf. Gk. *γίγνομαι* 'I am born', *ἵζομαι* 'I seat myself', *ἵσταμεν* 'we place'.

§368. THE LATIN FOURTH CONJUGATION includes present formations of the following types:

I. A few radical verbs, monosyllabic and non-thematic: *sciō scīre*, perhaps *fiō*.

II. Primary verbs with roots extended by *-i-* or *-ī-*, non-thematic or with thematic *-je-*; and others with *-je-* attached directly to the consonant of a mono-

syllabic root (it is often impossible to determine which of these possibilities is realized in a specific verb): *farcīre fulcīre dormīre venīre audīre*. For verbs of these types which have in part passed into Conj. III, see §369.

III. Denominatives to *-i-* stems, such as *finīre* to *finis*, *mollīre* to *mollis*, *vestīre* to *vestis*, *partīrī* to *pars* (stem *parti-*); a few to consonant stems, such as *custōdīre* to *custōs*, *fulgurīre* to *fulgur*; with some extensions to other stems, as in *servīre* to *servos*, *saevīre* to *saevos*, *gestīre* to *gestus* (stem *gestu-*).

§369. THE LATIN THIRD CONJUGATION, TYPE *facio facere*. Certain primary verbs of Conj. IV (§368.II) have by iambic shortening¹ and the change of *ĭ* to *ē* when final or before *z* in the process of change to *r* (§128.II, §126.IV, §95.III) been in part transferred to Conj. III; the most important of these are *capīō* (Gt. *hafja* 'I lift'), *cupīō* (Skt. *kúpyati* 'he is angry'), *facīō* *fodiō* *fugiō* *gradior* *jaciō* *morior* *orior* *pariō* *patior* *quatiō* *rapīō* *sapiō*, and their compounds; *porriciō*, compounds of *laciō* and *speciō* like *alliciō* and *aspiciō*; rarely the denominative *potior* (to adj. *potis*). From a number of these we still find occasional forms of Conj. IV: *cupīret*,² *morīrī*,³ *adgredīrī*,⁴ etc.

While this change applied properly to all such verbs with short radical syllable, since these had the conditions for iambic shortening, there were some which resisted the process: *venīre* by the influence of *īre*, with related meaning; *ferīre*, to avoid confusion with certain forms of *ferre*; *reperīre*,⁵ *amicīre*,⁶ *aperīre* *operīre*,⁷ to avoid a succession of three short syllables, which made metrical difficulties; *experīrī*, after *reperīre*, with related meaning; *polīre* (replacing **po-linere*) after its perfect *polīvī*; *salīre*, not clear.

¹ Unless some had dissyllabic stems in *-ĭ-* without the thematic suffix; such stems would belong in Conj. III by origin. ² Lucr. 1.71. ³ Plt. Asin. 121. ⁴ Plt. Truc. 461. ⁵ Cpd. of *re-* + *pariō parere*. ⁶ Cpd. of *am-* 'ambi' + *jaciō jacere*. ⁷ Cpd. of *ap-* *op-* + **veriō*, Lith. *-veriu* 'I close'.

§370. LATIN IRREGULAR VERBS, in their present-tense systems, show the following resemblances to and variations from the normal conjugations; details of the forms are given later:

I. *Sum esse* and the compounds vary from all the conjugations. The compound *possum* has as prior element either masc. *potis* or neut. *pote*, generalized for all genders and both numbers: thus *potis est*, *potis sunt*, *POTISIT* (= *potis sit*),¹ and (with elision or syncope of *-e* of *pote*) *possum potes potesse*,² while *posse* is analogical to *possum*.

II. *Volō velle* has non-thematic forms, some of which have been made thematic, but like *sum* it retains the optative as present subjunctive. The compound *nōlō* is for **ne-volō*; *nevīs nevōlt nōltis*³ occur, but the usual forms for these are *nōnvīs nōnvōlt nōnvōltis*; other forms are analogical to forms of *volō*, except that *imv. nōlī* etc. are based on subj. (original opt.) *nōltis* etc. Old *māvolō*⁴ and its forms are from **magis-volō* or **mage-volō*; *mālō* and similar forms show contraction, probably analogical, since *āo* seems elsewhere to yield *ō* rather than *ā*.

III. *Eō ire* was originally non-thematic, but has by phonetic processes mainly taken on forms of Conj. IV, except for a few forms such as *eō eunt eunt-em ibam*

ibō. The compounds follow *eō*, except *ambiō*, which has gone entirely into Conj. IV; *nequeō* started in **neque it* 'it does not go', and from it came *queō* by back-formation, both following *eō* in their forms.

IV. *Dō dare* has come to agree with the forms of Conj. I, except the short *a* in all forms except *dās dā*; its late compound *circumdō* agrees with *dō*. But the earlier compounds of *dāre*⁶ and the compounds of pIt. **pa-*⁶ (from pIt. **dhā-*; seen, with extension, in Lt. *faciō*) have assumed forms of Conj. III as a result of vowel weakening of the short radical vowel, and analogical formations.

V. *Edō ēsse* 'eat' was a non-thematic verb which has assumed only a limited number of thematic forms; in the surviving non-thematic forms, the root is *ēd-* before a consonant, as in *ēs ēst ēstis ēsse*, and *ed-* before a vowel, as in subj. (opt.) *edim*.

VI. *Ferō ferre* is of Conj. III, with some forms which have lost the thematic vowel by syncope (§381.I), such as *fers fert fertis ferre*.

VII. *Fīō fiere* is an old non-thematic formation which has passed into Conj. IV except for the infinitive (and the analogically formed inf. subj.) and the antevocalic *ī* of some forms.

VIII. *Aiō* is a defective verb, **aiō* from **ag-ō* (§150.III), with forms varying between Conj. IV and Conj. III; pres. *āis āit* from **aiōis *aiōit* (§179.IV.B), often contracted to a diphthong *ais ait* (never **aes *aet!*). The inf. was *āibam* etc., often dissyllabic *aibam*; or *aiēbam*, etc.

IX. *Inquit* 'says' was defective, with forms of the type of *capiō capere*; 1st sg. *inquam* irregular, like *fuam* (§388). The stem is **en-sq^he-*, weak-grade aorist of **seq^h-* 'say', cf. pres. inv. Liv. Andr. *īn-sece*⁷ = Gk. (Aeol.) *ēv-vene*,⁸ aorist ind. 2d sg. *ēvi-σπες*.⁹

¹ Resp. Lucr. 1.452; Plt. Poen. 227; CIL 1.581.27. Also *potest* may be not from **pote est* with elision, but for **potist*, haplologic for *potis est* (§195), with the vowel quality influenced by *est*. ² Plt. Bac. 559. ³ Plt. Most. 762, 110; Caecil. 4 W, ap. Diom. 1.386.19 K. ⁴ Plt. Merc. 422; *māvelim* Merc. 356. ⁵ Including *dēdere dīdere ēdere prōdere reddere trādere*. ⁶ Including *abdere addere condere indere obdere perdere subdere*. ⁷ Odys. 1 W, ap. Gell. 18.9.5. ⁸ Hom. Od. 1.1. ⁹ Hom. Il. 24.388.

§371. VOICE is that modification of the verb-form which indicates the nature of the subject's relation to the action or existence denoted by the verb. The PIE verb had forms of two voices, active and middle; it probably did not have special forms for the passive voice.

I. The Active Voice consists of forms denoting that the subject performs the action of the verb or is in the state of existence denoted by the verb. The forms of the active voice, in all essentials, remained in Italic and in Latin.

II. The Middle Voice consists of forms denoting that the subject acts on itself or on something belonging to itself or for its own benefit: thus Gk. act. *παύω* 'I stop (somebody)', mid. *παύομαι* 'I stop myself, halt'; act. *ἀγοράζω* 'I buy (for another person)', mid. *ἀγοράζομαι* 'I buy for myself'; act. *λούω* 'I wash (the child)', mid. *λούομαι* 'I wash (my own body)'. The middle voice was lost in Italic as a form except in a few endings; it was lost as a meaning except in the so-called deponent verbs, such as *vēscor* 'I feed myself', *potior* 'I make myself master (*potis*)',

etc. The middle meaning is seen also in some passive forms of verbs which have also active forms: *cingitur*¹ 'he girds himself', *ferrum cingitur*² 'he girds the sword on himself', *galeam induitur*³ 'he puts the helmet on himself', *implentur veteris Bacchī*⁴ 'they fill themselves with old wine', *nōdō sinūs collēcta fluentīs*⁵ 'having gathered the flowing folds of her (own) dress with a knot'; but such usages are a borrowing from the idiom of Greek, where the middle voice forms remained in regular use with middle meaning and most of its forms functioned in meaning also as passives.

III. The Passive Voice consists of forms denoting that the action of the verb is directed upon the subject. The passive in Latin is a new form, derived by the use of an *-r* suffix (§403) and of some middle endings, and by periphrastic forms; even the verbs of middle meaning in Latin (see II) have the passive forms.

IV. Active forms do not always convey active meaning, nor do passive forms always convey passive meaning.

A. Active verbs of intransitive meaning are closer in meaning, to the passive than to the transitive active; thus *cadunt* 'they fall, are killed' functions as passive of *caedunt* 'they strike down'; *vāpulō* 'I take a beating, I am beaten', as passive of *verberō* 'I beat'.

B. It was an IE idiom, that a suffixless aorist or perfect active functioned in an intransitive sense, as the corresponding tense to a present middle. Thus Latin has perfects *revertī assēnsī meminī* to *revertor assentior reminīscor*; so also Greek has 2d aor. *ἔστην* 'I stood' to pres. mid. *ἵσταμαι* 'I station myself, I stand'; perf. *ἄλωλα* 'I am lost' to pres. mid. (as passive) *ἄλλυμαι* 'I perish'.⁶

C. The verbal adjective in *-to-* was normally a passive participle in Latin, but occasionally had active meaning: thus *arbitrātus* 'having thought', *pōtus* 'having drunk, drunken', *conjūrātus* 'having conspired', *placitus* 'having given pleasure, pleasing'. On this meaning of the form rests the Latin use of the type *ausus sum* as perfect to *audeō*, *gāvīsus sum* to *gaudeō*, *solitus sum* to *soleō*, *cōnfīsus sum* to *cōnfīdō*.

D. The Latin deponents, which are verbs of passive form and active meaning, are, as has been said, really middle forms, now felt to have active meaning.⁷

E. There is a so-called 'impersonal' passive of intransitive verbs, used to emphasize the action rather than the actor or actors: *concurritur*⁸ 'there is a clashing together (of the opposing soldiers)', *pugnātum est*⁹ 'fighting went on (between the Romans and the Helvetians)'. Only rarely is the logical subject indefinite; it is almost always made clear by the context.¹⁰

¹ Verg. Aen. 11.486. ² Verg. Aen. 2.510-1. ³ Verg. Aen. 2.392-3. ⁴ Verg. Aen. 1.215.

⁵ Verg. Aen. 1.320. ⁶ Cf. Gk. transitive active forms: 1st aor. *ἔστησα* 'I placed' to pres. *ἵστημι* 'I place'; 1st aor. *ὤλεσα* 'I destroyed' to pres. *ἄλλωμι* 'I destroy'. ⁷ But deponents have the pres. ptc. act., since there is no corresponding passive form; they have the fut. inf. act. and fut. ptc. act., since the gerundive normally has the passive meaning; they have the perf. ptc. pass. regularly with active meaning, but rarely with passive meaning. ⁸ Hor. Sat. 1.1.7. ⁹ Caes. BG 1.26.1. ¹⁰ Cf. A. A. Deckman, A Study of the Impersonal Passive of the

ventum est Type (Univ. Penna. diss., 1920).

§372. THE MOODS which were present in pIE were the Indicative, the Subjunctive, the Optative, the Injunctive, the Imperative; these are taken up in

the following sections (§373–§377), to show their developments into Latin. In summary, the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative survived in the same functions in Latin; the optative became merged into the subjunctive; the injunctive became either subjunctive or imperative, but occasionally indicative.

§373. THE INDICATIVE MOOD had no mood sign of its own, and its formations are to be found under the treatment of the appropriate tenses (see §379).

§374. THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD expressed originally either volition or futurity, both of which are ideas of uncertainty of fulfillment; in PIE it was made with the mood-sign *-e/o-* to a non-thematic indicative stem ending in a consonant, with a lengthened vowel to a non-thematic indicative stem ending in a vowel, with *-ē/ō-* to a thematic indicative stem; and it took either primary or secondary personal endings. In Italic it had either the first or the third of these mood-signs, or the sign *-ā-*; and so far as is shown by extant forms, it may have continued the variation in the personal endings until the two sets were fused into one.

I. The subjunctive with *-e/o-* as sign had in Italic the paradigm *-ō -es(i) -et(i) -omos -etes -ont(i)*; it functions in Latin only as indicative, in the future and the future perfect tenses.

**es-ō es-es(i) es-et(i)* etc., Lt. fut. *erō eris erit* etc., cf. Skt. subj. *dsā-mi dsas(i) dsat(i)* etc.

oLt. *faxō¹ capsō² -s-* aorist subj. as fut. or fut. perf. ind.

Lt. fut. perf. *viderō -ris -rit* etc., from an *-s-* aor. subj. **yeidi-s-ō* etc.; whence a fut. perf. suffix *-erō*, attached to the Lt. perf. stem of any origin: *dix-erō* to the *-s-* aor., *cecid-erō* to the reduplicated perf. The fut. perf. ind. had prevaillingly *-īs -imus -itis*, and the perf. subj. (§375.II) prevaillingly *-īs -imus -itis*, as was historically correct; but as the functions of the two tenses were not markedly different, there were confusions in both directions, especially as many forms of each type were unusable in certain meters: thus fut. perf. *viderīs³ placārīs⁴ viderīmus⁵ fēcerīmus⁶ viderītis⁷*, and perf. subj. *meminerīs⁸ advēnerīs⁹ vēnerīmus¹⁰ ēgerīmus¹¹ dixerītis¹²*. The fut. perf. replaced *-unt* by *-int* in the 3d pl., partly in imitation of the perf. subj. and partly to avoid confusion with the perf. ind. in *-ērunt*.

II. The subjunctive with *-ē/ō-* as sign originally had *ō* in 1st sg. *-ō¹³*, 1st pl. *-ōmos*, 3d pl. *-ōnti*, but extended the *ē* throughout the tense in Italic, giving a paradigm *-ēm -ēs -ēt -ēmos -ētes -ēnt* (becoming *-ē-* before *-m -t -nt*, §128.I, §97.II); it was employed as follows in Latin:

Conj. I, pres. subj., **-āxēm -āxēs* etc., giving Lt. *cūrem cūrēs* etc.

Conj. III, fut. ind., except the 1st sg.: **-ēs -ēt* etc., giving *agēs aget* etc.; same formation in *volēs, frēs*, etc.

Conj. IV, fut. ind., except the 1st sg.: **-iḡēs -iḡēt* etc., giving *fīniēs fīniet* etc., and similarly *capiēs capiet* in the verbs partly transferred to Conj. III (§369).

Imf. subj. of all verbs, an *-ē-* form extended to the *-s-* aorist (an original non-thematic tense in which short-vowel subjunctives properly belonged): *fo-r-em* (perhaps the original starting-point of this formation: **bhu-s-ēm*; note likeness

to inf. *fore*); *es-s-em* *essēs* etc.; *cūrā-r-em*, *monē-r-em*, *fīnī-r-em* and *cape-r-em*, *vel-l-em* (§164.III); *rege-r-em* analogical to the pres. inf., cf. *cūrārem cūrāre* etc.¹⁴

Plpf. subj. of all verbs, *amāvissem*, *vīdissem*, etc.: this is an analogical formation, impf. ind. **es-ām* (Lt. *eram*) is to impf. subj. **es-sēm* (Lt. *essem*), as plpf. ind. **yeidis-ām* (Lt. *vīderam*) is to **yeidis-sēm* (Lt. *vīdissem*).

III. The subjunctive with *-ā-* as sign is found only in Italic; it is found in all dialects, cf. Osc. *deicans* 'dicant', Umb. *emantur* 'accipiantur'. This *-ā-* seems to be the same root extension seen in oLt. *fuat*, in inf. *eram*, in inf. suffix *-bam* *-bās* etc.; §388. The *-ā-* subjunctive was used in Latin where the *-ē-* subjunctive was utilized as a future indicative, or would have been identical with the present indicative, therefore in the present subjunctive of Conj. II, III, IV: *-eīām* as in *moneam*, *-ām* as in *regam*, *-iīām* as in *audiam* and *capiam*, and the other persons correspondingly. It was used also as the 1st person sg. of the fut. ind. in Conj. III and IV, the forms therefore being ambiguous.

Other uses are in the oLt. injunctives *fuat tulat advenat*,¹⁵ functioning as subjunctives; imperfect indicative *eram* and the formative *-bam*, etc.¹⁶ The subj. *crēduam*¹⁷ etc. for *crēdam* etc. is induced by the parallel forms (2d sg.) *duās*¹⁸ from root **dou-*, *dēs* from root **da-*.

¹ Plt. Men. 157. ² Plt. Bac. 712; see §392.III for extensions of this type. ³ Verg. Ge. 3.465. ⁴ Hor. Carm. 3.23.3. ⁵ Lucr. 1.156. ⁶ Catul. 5.10. ⁷ Ov. Met. 2.516. ⁸ Ter. HT 1026. ⁹ Verg. Aen. 1.388. ¹⁰ Plt. Bac. 1132. ¹¹ Verg. Aen. 6.514. ¹² Plt. MG 862.

¹³ The original 1st sg. subj. in *-ō* to thematic stems was identical with the indic. form, cf. Gk. indic. and subj. *ἄγω*; the subjunctive value is seen in Latin in deliberative questions of the type *quid ago?* (Plt. Bac. 1196, etc.), though the form was no longer felt to be subjunctive and gave rise to the use of purely indicative forms in deliberative questions, as in *quid agimus?* (Plt. MG 250, etc.). ¹⁴ Unless the Latin form is to be equated directly, so far as formation is concerned, with Gk. future type *μενῶ* from **men-es-ō*, despite aor. *ἔμεινα* from **e-men-s-η* 'I remained'. The relation to the inf. is only accidental, not genetic.

¹⁵ Resp. Plt. Aul. 233; Acc. 64 W, ap. Macrob. 5.607.2 K; Plt. Ps. 1030. ¹⁶ For indicative formations of this type, see §388 and §395.I.A. ¹⁷ Plt. Poen. 747; upon this stem, seen also in opt. *crēduīs* etc. (§388), was formed the fut. (or fut. perf.?) ind. *con-crēduō*, Plt. Aul. 585, with the ending of fut. ind. *erō*, fut. perf. *fuero*. ¹⁸ Plt. Aul. 238.

§375. THE OPTATIVE MOOD had in pIE the sign *-ǵē-* varying with the zero-grade *-ī-*; it employed the secondary personal endings.

I. In tenses where the indicative stem was non-thematic, the optative took *-ǵē-* in the sg. act., and *-ī-* in other forms. Such optatives to present stems, where they survived in Latin, functioned as present subjunctives. Thus the verb *esse* had in oLt. *siem*,¹ *siēs*,² *siēd*³ and *siet*,⁴ *sīmus*, *sītis*, *sient*⁵ (from **s-ǵ-ént*), and with leveling *sim sīs sit, sint*; for the sg., cf. Skt. *syām syās syāt*. oLt. POTISIT⁶ is for *potis sit*. In other verbs, the *-ī-* has been generalized: *velīm velīmus, edīm, duīm, crēduīs*.⁹

II. An optative to the s-aorist, with generalized *-ī-*, became the Latin perf. subj.: **yeidi-s-ī-m yeidi-s-ī-mos* gave Lt. *vīderīm vīderīmus*, etc. From the relation of *vīderīm* to ind. *vīdī*, the *-erī-* was extended as a formative for the perf. subj., whatever the Lt. perf. formation: *di-x-erīm* to the *-s-* aor. *di-xī*, *amāv-erīm* to the *-v-* perf. *amāvī*, *cecid-erīm* to the reduplicated perf. *cecidī*, *sēd-erīm* to the long-

vowel perf. *sēdī*. The 3d pl. always has *-int* from *-ī-nt*; on confusion with fut. perf. forms in *-is -imus -itis*, see §374.I.

III. An aorist optative is seen also in oLt. forms such as *faxim faxīs faxit faximus*,¹⁰ functioning as perf. subj.; for extensions of this type, see §392.III.

IV. In thematic tense-stems, the original optative had the thematic vowel *-o-* + optative *-ī-*, which became *-oi-*, as in Gk. *φῆποις* 'feras', Skt. *bhāreṣ*; but of this formation no traces remain in Italic.

¹ Plt. Amph. 399. ² Plt. Amph. 924. ³ CIL 1.4. ⁴ Plt. Amph. 392. ⁵ CIL 1.581.30; Plt. Amph. 209. The *-ī-* was consonantized before the following vowel in the original formation; for Lt. *i*, see §179.III. ⁶ CIL 1.581.27. ⁷ Plt. Aul. 430. ⁸ Plt. Aul. 672. ⁹ Plt. Capt. 605; the formation was similar to that of *crēduās*, §374.III. ¹⁰ Resp. Plt. Merc. 826, Most. 808, Men. 861, Truc. 60.

§376. THE INJUNCTIVE MOOD consists of indicative forms with secondary personal endings, but without the prefixed augment. It is possible that this type of form originated in prohibitions, when the augmented form was used with **mē* 'not', the initial vowel being contracted with the vowel of the negative; whereupon by wrong word division an unaugmented verb-form was created. These injunctives survived into Latin, or are the models for Latin formations, as follows:

I. The imperatives of the 2d sg. pass. and the 2d pl. act. (§408.I, §407.II).

II. The subjunctives with mood-sign *-ā-* (§374.III).

III. Certain indicatives with stem-suffix *-ā-*: the imperfect tense-suffix *-bam* (§395.I.A), the imperfect *eram* (§395.I.A), the present 1st sg. *inquam* (§388).

§377. THE IMPERATIVE MOOD, like the indicative, has no special mood-suffixes, but only special personal endings (§407-§410).

§378. TENSE is a form-category commonly understood to mean 'time', as indeed the term does etymologically; for tense is merely the Latin *tempus*, used in this meaning as a translation of Greek *χρόνος* 'time', which the Greek grammarians applied to the verb to denote the tense-category because to the Greeks the distinction of time among the tenses was the most obvious feature. But the original differences among the tenses were rather those of the kind of the action,¹ the following meanings having been present in pIE: (1) action perfective or aoristic, that is, either momentary or carried through to completion; (2) action imperfective or durative, that is, either incomplete or continuing or repeated; (3) state resulting from a previous act.²

Many other types of meaning may be expressed by tenses, and no language exhausts the possibilities, which are almost infinite.³ Each tense in any specified language usually denotes several shades of meaning, and periphrases are commonly used for clarity, if ambiguity might otherwise result. In fact, a tense may be defined as a set of forms having a meaning in common, from which they differ among themselves only in that by their modifications of form each form within the tense is limited with respect to its subject, being appropriate for use

only with a subject of a particular person or number or gender, or some combination of these categories.⁴

Latin has inherited from PIE a number of methods of indicating these differences, which, in their Latin developments, include the following, not all of which come under the conventional rubric of tense:

A. One tense-form may express several ideas; thus the Latin imperfect expresses past action continuing, durative, conative, inceptive, iterative, simultaneous with another past action.

B. Various methods of formation are found in the present tense-stem, though the differences of meaning among these variants is usually rather uncertain; thus *gignō*, (*g*)*nāscor*, oLt. *genō*, all from the root **ġen-* 'beget'; *remīnīscor*, *moneō*, *meminī*, all from the root **men-* 'think'.

C. A compounded verb often expresses the perfective meaning corresponding to the imperfective meaning expressed by the simple verb; thus the compound *cōnficit* 'he finishes doing, completes, accomplishes' is the perfective to the imperfective *facit* 'he does, makes'.

D. Likewise, since the present stem is commonly of imperfective meaning and the perfect is commonly perfective, we find the correspondence of uncompounded present to compounded perfect, as in pres. *tollō*, perf. *sustulī*.

E. Suppletion, or use of a different root, may show the present as imperfective and the perfect as perfective: pres. *ferō* to root **bher-*, but perf. *tetulī tulī* to root **tel-*, cf. Gk. pres. *φέρω*, fut. *οἶσω*, aor. *ἔφερον*, all from different roots; pres. *sum* to root **es-*, perf. *fuī* to root **bhu-*, cf. Eng. *am* and *is* (root **es-*), *be* and *been* (root **bhu-*), *was* and *were* (root **yes-*).

F. Periphrases may be used, as in *factūrus sit*, used to make clear that the subjunctive refers to a time future to that of the verb on which it depends; for *faciat* may denote either time simultaneous with or time future to that of the verb on which it depends.

¹ Called temporal aspect; German Aktionsart. ² In the indicative, each of these ideas could originally be expressed (a) as present or future (that is, incomplete), or (b) as past (that is, complete). ³ Cf. Gray, *Foundations of Language* 211-6, esp. 215. ⁴ Some slight further modifications are possible.

§379. THE TENSE-FORMATIONS OF LATIN are listed here, for convenience of reference:

A. Pres. ind.: various, §380-§387.

B. Impf. ind.: periphrastic with *-bhya-*, §395.I.A; *eram*, §388.

C. Fut. ind.: periphrastic with *-bhya/o-*, §395.I.B; subjunctives in *-ā-* and *-ē-*, §374.II-III; *erō*, §374.I.

D. Perf. ind.: *-s-* aorists, §392.I; reduplicated perfects, §390; long-vowel perfects, §391; *-v-* perfects, §393; *dixitī surrexe* and the like, §392.n9; *finiit* and the like, §394; *putāsse complērunt nōstī abīsse* and the like, §393.II.

E. Plpf. ind.: an analogical formation, §393.IV.

F. Fut. perf. ind.: a short-vowel subjunctive to an *-s-* aorist formed upon a root ending in *-i-*, §374.I and §393.IV.

G. Pres. subj.: subjunctives in *-ā-* and *-ē-*, §374.II-III; non-thematic optatives, §375.I.

H. Impf. subj.: *-ē-* subjunctive to *-s-* aorist, §374.II.

I. Perf. subj.: optative to the *-s-* aorist of a root in *-i-*, §374.I.

J. Plpf. subj.: an analogical formation, §374.II.

K. Miscellaneous: type *tulat*, §374.IV; type *capsō*, §374.I; type *faxim faxīs*, §375.III; types *indicāssō indicāssim*, §392.III.

L. Other periphrastic tense-formations, §395.I.C, II. A-E.

§380. PRESENT-TENSE FORMATIONS are of many different types. Attention must be paid to the following features:

A. The ablaut grade of the vowel of the root: whether strong throughout the tense, or weak throughout the tense, or varying within the tense.

B. The presence or absence of reduplication of the root.

C. The presence or absence of a suffix; and where there is a suffix, whether the suffix terminates in the thematic vowel, or in another vowel or diphthong showing ablaut variation.

D. In the absence of a suffix, the presence or absence of the thematic vowel *-e/o-* terminating the verbal root as tense-stem,

E. The presence or absence of a nasal infix.

F. The possible extension of the root by addition of a long vowel or diphthong, so that the root becomes dissyllabic, the vowels of both syllables being in a single ablaut grade or in varying ablaut grades.

§381. PRESENT-TENSE FORMATIONS, WITHOUT SUFFIX OR INFIX, NON-THEMATIC; three types:

I. Monosyllabic root, showing ablaut variation, without reduplication; type Gk. *ἐλ-μι ἐλ-ς ἐλ-σι*, *ἔ-μεν ἔ-τε ἔ-ασι* 'go', a present with future meaning.

Root **ei-/i-* 'go': **ei-mi*, replaced by thematic **eḱ-ō*, Lt. *eō*; **ei-si* **ei-ti*, Lt. *īs it*, Skt. *éṣi éti*; whence pl. *ī-* in *ī-mus ī-tis*, despite original *ī-* in Gk. and in Skt. *imás ithá*; *eunt* also with analogical strong grade, and with thematic vowel, from **eḱ-o-nti*, unlike Skt. *yánti* from pIE **ǵ-énti*. Suffixless inv. **ei*, Lt. *ī*, Gk. *ἐξ-εἰ* 'go out'; pl. with analogical long vowel, *īte*; fut. inv. *ītō*, etc.

Root **es-/s-* 'be': **es-mi*, Skt. *dsmi*, Gk. *ελμι*, replaced in Italic by **som(i)*, thematic after Italic 1st pl., with weak grade of root, Lt. *sum*, Osc. *súm*, Praen. *asom* 'adsum'¹ (original **esmi* would give Lt. **em*, an unusable form; and **es-ō* for **es-mi* would give **erō*, identical with the fut. ind.). **es-si* became **esi* in pIE (which shortened long consonants), as in Skt. *dsi*, Gk. *ελ*; remade to **essi* in some languages, as in Gk. Hom. *έσσι*, oLt. *ess* (§162.II), cLt. *es*. **es-ti*, Skt. *dsti*, Gk. *ἐστί*, Lt. *est*. **s-mos* (Skt. *smás* from pIE **s-més*), becoming thematic **somos*, Lt. *sumus*, after 3d pl. **s-onti*. **s-tes* (cf. Skt. *sthá* with different ending), changed to root-grade of sg. in Lt. *estis*, cf. Gk. *ἐστέ*. **s-énti*, Skt. *sdnti*, Gk. Dor. *ἐντι*, Osc. *sent*; for remodeled **s-onti*, Lt. *sunt*, see §402.I. The strong grade of the root is seen in inv. *es estō estōte*, extended in pl. *este*; weak grade in *sunto siem sim* etc.

Root **bheu-/bhu-* 'become': oLt. *rv²* 'be thou'.

Root **yel- yǵ-* 'wish': the non-thematic forms remaining in Latin are 2d sg. **yel-si*, Lt. (as conj.) *vel* 'or'; **yel-ti*, Lt. *volt vult*; **yǵ-tēs* (or **yel-tes* after the sg.?), Lt. *voltis vultis*; *velle, velim, vellem*, etc. But *volō volumus volunt* have assumed thematic forms.

Root **yei-* 'wish', in 2d sg. **yei-si*, Skt. *véṣi*, Lt. *vis*.³

Root **ed-* 'eat', with long grade **ēd-*: non-thematic forms with the long grade in ind. *ēs ēst ēstis*, impv. *ēs ēstō*, inf. *ēsse*, etc.;⁴ the root becomes *ēs-* before *s*, and is generalized in this form before *t* (kept as showing the ending, despite usual Italic *ss* from PIE *-d-t-*, §144) and final (impv. *ēs* for **ēd!*); with the normal grade in opt. (as subj.) *edim*; cf. also *d-ēns* 'tooth', perhaps ptc. to the weak grade. But in somewhat later texts regular thematic forms also are found for most of these.

Root **bher-* 'bear': possibly non-thematic in indic. *fers fert fertis*, impv. *ferte fertō fertōte*, inf. *ferre*, and some others; but more probably these are thematic forms with syncope of the thematic vowel,⁵ since this verb normally has thematic forms in Greek and several other languages.

II. Monosyllabic roots, showing strong ablaut-grade in the singular and weak grade in the plural; reduplicated. Type Gk. *δίδωμι* 'I give', *δίδομεν* 'we give'.⁶

Root **dō-/dǎ-*, becoming Italic **dō-/dǎ-*: **re-di-dǎ-mos*, Lt. *reddi-mus*; **re-di-dǎ-tes*, Lt. *redditis*; whence *reddō reddis reddit reddunt* as of Conj. III, partly by extension of the products of vowel weakening and partly by analogy. As the reduplication was lost in compounds by syncope, it disappeared in the simplex also: **dō-mi* (replaced by **dō-ō*), **dō-si*, **dō-ti*, **dǎ-mos -tes -nti*, whence Lt. *dō, dās* (for **dōs*, after *ǎ* of other forms), *dat* (from **dāt* for **dōt*, like the 2d sg.), *dāmus dātis dānt*. Likewise impv. *dā* for **dō*, seen in oLt. *ce-do* 'give here' (by iambic shortening, §128.II). Thus *dō dāre* became virtually a verb of Conj. I, except for the *ǎ* of most forms; but its older compounds such as *reddō reddere, trādō trādere*, suffered weakening of the *ǎ* and extension of the weakened vowel, and went to Conj. III.⁷ The root **dō-* is seen unchanged in the nouns *dōnum* and *dōs*.

Root **dhē-/dhǎ-*, becoming Italic **pē-/pǎ-*: **kom-dhi-dhǎ-mos *kom-dhi-dhǎ-tes*, Lt. *condimus conditis*, cf. Gk. *τίθεμεν τίθετε*; whence *condō condis condit condunt*, like the identical development in *reddō reddis* etc., placing the verb in Conj. III. So also the other compounds of this root (*ab- ad- con- in- ob- per- sub-dō*); but the uncompounded verb is *faciō*, formed differently.

Root **stā-/stǎ-*, 'place, stand'⁸ becoming Italic **stā-/stǎ-*: **si-stǎ-mos *si-stǎ-tes*,⁹ Lt. *sistimus sistitis*, cf. Gk. *ἵστανμεν ἵσταντε*; 1st sg. **si-stǎ-mi* replaced by **sistǎ-ō*, Lt. *sistō*; *sistis sistit sistunt* by analogy, as in the preceding verbs, placing *sistō sistere* in Conj. III. In compounds the reduplication might be lost by haplology, so that alongside *cōnsistō cōnsistis* a type which kept and extended the long ablaut grade of the singular was preserved: *cōnstō constās constat*, pl. *constāmus* etc., belonging to Conj. I; from this a new simplex *stō stās* etc. was extracted, also in Conj. I.¹⁰

Root **sē-/sǎ-* 'sow', becoming Italic **sē-/sǎ-*: **si-sǎ-mos *si-sǎ-tes*, Lt. *serimus*

seritis, with extension of the short vowel as in the preceding verbs, *serō seris* etc., which thus belongs to Conj. III. The long vowel is still seen in perf. *sevē* and in the noun *sēmen*.

III. Dissyllabic bases, unreduplicated, with second syllable in zero grade; the first syllable in strong grade or in zero grade:

**uema-*: *vomit*, Skt. *vdmiti*.

**bhū-*: *fit* etc.

**gupi-*: *cupis* etc., cf. perf. *cupi-vit*.¹¹

Verbs like *vomit* passed into Conj. III by vowel weakening; those like *cupit* passed into Conj. IV, or, by iambic weakening, into Conj. III (§369), modifying their terminations slightly to conform in part to the model of the conjugation. Certain other verbs, with the zero grade in the first syllable and the full grade in the second syllable, naturally passed into Conj. I and II:

**snā-*: *nās*, Skt. *snāsi* 'thou bathest'.

**plē-*: *com-plēmus*, cf. Skt. *āprāt* 'he filled'.

**vidē[i]-*: *vidēs*, cf. OCS *vidi-tŭ* 'to see'.

**lūbhē[i]-*: *lubet*, cf. Skt. *lūbhyati* 'he desires'.

A few verbs of this type have full reduplication, and as their bases end in *-ā* they belong to Conj. I: *murmurat*, *tintinnat*, *ululat*.

¹ CIL 1.560; cf. Turnbull, Lg. 5.15-7. ² CIL 1.2. ³ Unless *vīs* is really from **uel-si*, resisting the change of *-ls-* to *-ll-* (§164.III) because of the importance of the *-s* for the understanding of the form (cf. the persistence of *-rs* in *fers*); whereafter **vols* became **vois* (perhaps extant in the *vois* of CIL 1.4), then **veis*, *vīs* (§112.III; Lg. 2.217; but cf. Sturtevant, Lg. 10.6-16). ⁴ Thus *est* Verg. Aen. 4.66, *esset* Ge. 1.151, *esse* Plt. Men. 918; complete list of forms and occurrences in NW³ 3.614-6.

⁵ The syncope of the thematic vowel is unusual, but may have been induced by similar non-thematic forms of *edō*, *volō*, *sum*. Yet the Vedic Skt., while having usually thematic forms of the type *bhārati*, shows also numerous non-thematic reduplicated forms of the type *bībharti*, and twice has *bhārti*, the precise correspondent of Lt. *fert* as non-thematic. ⁶ In these roots Greek shows gradation *ō* : *ē*, *ē* : *ē*, *ā* : *ā*, an analogical series of long and short vowels, instead of *ā* from *ə* as the weak grade of all three long vowels. ⁷ Also *dē-dē-ē-prō-dō*, and *vēndō*. Later compounds follow *dō dāre*, without weakening: *circumdō pesumdō satisdō*; and *mandō* has gone completely to Conj. I, with *mandāre*.

⁸ 'Stand' properly only in the middle voice, 'place one's self'; cILt. has *stō* as intransitive 'stand', *sistō* as transitive 'place', but in oLt. *sistō* is sometimes intransitive. In compounds, both *stō* and *sistō* mean (intrans.) 'stand', except that *praestō* has some meanings derived from 'place before', and takes a direct object (the accusative with *circumstō*, *circumstō*, *superstō*, *superstō*, and *insistō*, and with *praestō* in other meanings, goes rather with the prefix; sporadic single occurrences with other compounds are found in late authors). ⁹ For the reduplication of *st-* with *s-*, see §361.

¹⁰ This interpretation of *sistō* *sistere* and *stō* *stāre* parallels that of *reddō* *reddere* and *dō* *dare*, and partly parallels that of *con-dō* *-dere*. But the reduplicated *stā-* has assumed thematic forms in Aryan: Skt. *tiṣṭhati*, Av. *hištaiti*, and this may be the origin of Lt. *sistō* *sistere*; Aryan, oIr., Germanic, Balto-Slavic have a present stem **stā-je-*, which may be the origin of Lt. *stō* *stāre*. But the reduplicated formation with alternating ablaut grades is clearly the older formation, and is still found in Greek; and the *-ā* of Lt. ptc. *stātum* is in harmony with it. ¹¹ For uncertainties as to the exact original formation of presents like *fit* and *cupiō*, see §369 and §368.I-II.

§382. PRESENT-TENSE FORMATIONS, WITH NON-THEMATIC SUFFIX: of these, PIE had two types, with suffixes *-nā/nā-* (Gk. κλνᾶμι κλνᾶμεν 'mix') and *-neu/nu-* (Skt. *sunōmi sunumds* 'press out'); only slight traces remain in Italic.

I. The *-nā-* suffix, extended to all forms, is seen in *aspernātur, compellat, inclināt, consternat*, as compared with *spernere pellere cline sterner* (with thematic suffix *-ne/no-*, which may be only a remodeling of the weak grade *-nā-*); but these may be only examples of the tendency of compound verbs to assume the forms of Conj. I as real or simulated denominatives, cf. *occupāre*¹ to *capere, prōstīgāre* to *flīgere*. The same is seen in *dēstinat obstinat praestinat*, as compared with *stat*; perhaps the sporadic oLt. 3d plurals in *-nunt* belong here, to the weak grade *-nā-* remade with thematic vowel: *danunt*² 'dant', *prōdīnunt*³ 'prodeunt' (after *prōd-īmus* etc.), *redīnunt*⁴ 'redeunt', *explēnunt*⁵ 'explent', etc. *Līnō līnis līnit*, as compared with Skt. *līnāmi*, seems to have the generalized weak grade, and then to have passed into Conj. III by vowel weakening, the remaining forms taking the apparent thematic suffix *-ne/no-*; similarly *stern-ō -is -it*, Skt. *stṛṇāmi*.

II. *Minuō minuere* (cf. Skt. *minōti*) and *sternuō sternuere* (cf. Gk. πτάρνυμαι) have generalized the weak grade *-nu-* and assumed thematic forms.

¹ Properly denominative to an abstract **kapā*, cf. *dīcāre* to **dikā* (Gk. δίκη 'right, law') and *dīcere*; but *aucupārī* is direct denominative to *auceps* 'bird-catcher'. ² Plt. Most. 129; CIL 1.1531.7; etc. ³ Fest. 229a.22 M. ⁴ Enn. ap. Fest. 236a.13, cf. 287.1 M. ⁵ Fest. 80.1 M.

§383. PRESENT-TENSE FORMATIONS, THEMATIC, SUFFIXLESS.

I. Most commonly these are the bare root with the thematic vowel; usually the root bears the accent and therefore has the vowel in a strong grade:

**bhérō: ferō*, Gk. φέρω.

**bhéidhō: fidō*, Gk. πείθω 'I persuade'.

**áǵō: agō*, Gk. ἄγω, Skt. *ájā-mi*.

**déukō: dūcō*, Gt. *tiuha*.

**déikō: Lt. dicō; vādō; rōdō; etc.*

In others, the thematic vowel is accented, and the root is therefore in a zero grade: *nivīt; dī-vidō*, Skt. *vidh-* 'be empty'.

Several factors interfere with the clarity of their history in Latin: *oc-culō* may be of either type, since weakening would lead to *-u-* from either original; *ind-uō* has the strong root weakened, cf. Umb. *an-ouihimu* 'induator', though by itself its origin is ambiguous; *ruō, pluit, plicō* are apparently from weak grades, but really have their vowels by decomposition, that is, from compounded forms, in which the strong grades of the vowels are affected by weakening; oLt. *vortō* for *vertō* has taken the vowel of the perfect *vortī*, since Umb. *couertu* 'convertito' proves an original *-e-* for the present.

II. These presents are in some verbs reduplicated with *-i-*, the root then being unaccented and in the weak grade:

**ǵen-*, pres. **ǵi-ǵn-ō: gignō*, cf. Gk. mid. γίγνομαι 'I am born'.

**sed-*, pres. **si-sd-ō: sīdō* 'I sit down', Gk. ἴζω 'I seat'.

**pō[i]-*, pres. **pi-b-e-ti: bibīt* (with consonantal assimilation), Skt. *pībati*.¹

III. These presents may have a nasal infix, the root being unaccented and therefore in the zero grade:

**ǵeug-*, pres. **ǵu-n-ge-ti*: *jungit*.

**reup-*, pres. **ru-m-pe-ti*: *rumpit*.

**pāḱ/ǵ-*, pres. **pə-n-ǵō*: *pangō*.

These nasal-infix stems sometimes have an additional suffix, as in *vinciō* to *vincō*, *sanciō* to **sancō* (with root as in *sac-er*), *nanc-īscor* (with root as in *nac-tus*).

Originally the infix appeared in two ablaut-forms, motivated by a shift of accent: Skt. 1st sg. *yu-nā-jmī* 'jungō', 1st pl. *yu-ñ-jmās*; but no traces of the distinction remain in Italic. Further, the nasal infix belongs only to the present tense-stem, and should not appear elsewhere in the verb: thus *linguō reliquī relictus*, *pangō pepigī*; but in Latin it is often extended, as in *jūnxi jūctus* to *jungō*, *pīnxi* (but *pictus*) to *pingō*, *vīnxi vīctus* to *vinciō* (for distinction from *vīci victus* to *vincō*), etc.

¹ The voicing of the second *p* in the reduplicated form is difficult to explain, unless it was due to the presence of an Indo-Hittite laryngeal; cf. Sturtevant, Lg. 16.83-4, IHL §80c.

§384. PRESENT-TENSE FORMATIONS, WITH THEMATIC -*sḱe-* SUFFIX.

I. The -*sḱe-* suffix was sometimes added to the root in a zero grade: **prḱ-skō*, Lt. *poscō*, Skt. *prcchā-mi*; perf. *poposcī* keeps the -*sc-* by the influence of the present. One verb has reduplication: **di-dḱ-skō*, Lt. *discō*, to root in *decet* and *doceō*.

II. This suffix was more commonly added to a dissyllabic base ending in -*ā*-*ē*-*ō*-: *hiā-scō*, *crē-scō*,¹ (*g*)*nō-scō*¹ (which may originally have been reduplicated, cf. Gk. γιγνώσκω). It was added in Latin also to dissyllabic bases ending in -*ī*- as zero grade of -*ēi*-: thus to **dolē[i]*- of *dolēre* was made *per-dolīscō*, and to **tacē[i]*- of *tacēre* was made *con-ticīscō*. This type was widely extended in Latin, notably with inchoative meaning, under the influence of the common verb *crēscō* 'I grow': *rubēscō* 'become red' to *rubēre*, *scīscō* to *scīre*, *lapidēscō* to *lapis lapid-is*, *gemmāscō* and *gemmēscō* to *gemma*, *mītēscō* to *mītis*, *longīscor* to *longus*.

III. This suffix is added to stems already provided with other formative elements, in *nancīscor*, *conquinīscō*, *frūnīscor*. *Misceō* is for **mig-ske-*, plus causative suffix -*eje-*.

¹ Dissyllabic value is seen in the reconstructed full-grade forms **ḱerē-* and **ǵenō-*.

§385. PRESENT-TENSE FORMATIONS WITH THEMATIC SUFFIXES -*te-* -*de-* -*dhe-* -*ne-* -*se-* -*ye-*, none of which is at all common; the question may be raised as to whether the consonant of the suffix really belongs to the suffix or is more properly to be taken as a root-determinative.¹

I. The suffix -*te-*/-*to-* is found in:

pec-tō, cf. Gk. πέκτω and πέκω.

nītor, from **nīvītor*; cf. root in *cō-nīveō*.

II. The suffix -*de-*/-*do-* is found in:

sallō, from **saldō*, cf. Gt. *salta*.

trūdō, cf. Gk. τρύνω 'I torture'.

fundō from **ghu-n-dō* (with nasal infix), cf. Gt. *giuta* and Gk. *χέω* with fut. *χεύομαι*, showing root **gheu-*.

tenđō, cf. *ten-eō*.

per-cellō from **-keldō*, cf. *clādēs*, but perf. *per-culī* without *-d-*.

III. The suffix *-dhe-/-dho-* is seen in:

gaudeō, from **gāye-dhejō* (note added *-eje-* suffix), cf. Gk. *γηθόμαι*.

IV. The suffix *-ne-/-no-*, perhaps in some instances a remodeling of non-thematic *-nə-* (§382.I), is seen in:

li-nō li-nis li-nit etc., cf. perf. *lē-vī*, without *n-* suffix.

cer-nō from **kri-nō* (§95.n1), cf. Gk. *κρίνω* from **kri-njō*.

tollō from **tj-nō*; *pellō* from **pel-nō*; *sinō*, *spernō*, *sternō*, *con-temnō*.

V. The suffix *-se-/-so-* appears in several forms:

-se-/-so-: oLt. *quaes-sō*, cILt. *quaesō*, formed on *quaes-* in *quaerō*; *vīsō* from **vīd-sō*, to *videō*.

-sse-/-sso-, extracted from oLt. *quaessō*, with desiderative meaning because of the meaning of *quaessō*: *pete-ssō* to *petō*, and *petissō* like *capissō*; *capissō* to *capiō*, and *capessō* after *petessō*; *lācessō* to *laciō*.

-ese-/-eso-, seen in *qu-eror qu-es-tus* to root in Gk. *κωκῶ* 'I wail'; *g-erō g-es-tus* to root **ag-/g-* seen in *agō*. This suffix appears in *pr-es-sī pr-es-sus* alongside the *-em-* of present *pr-emō*, cf. Gk. *τρέω* from **tresō* alongside Gk. *τρέμω*, Lt. *tremō*.

VI. The suffix *-ye-/-yo-* appears in:

vī-vit, Skt. *jī-vati*, with Lt. perf. *vīxī* by analogy of oLt. *fīvō fīxī* (which had *-v-* from *-gʷ-*).

struō to root seen in *sternō*; with perf. *strūxī*.

tinguō may be the same as Gk. *τρέγω*, with variation between velar and labiovelar (§153.V), or may have the added suffix *-ye-*.

¹ The distinction between root-determinatives and suffixal consonants cannot be defined with precision; probably root-determinatives are by origin very old suffixes which have become so united with the root that their phonetic and semantic behavior is more that of an integral part of the root, than that of a suffix.

§386. PRESENT-TENSE FORMATIONS WITH THEMATIC SUFFIX *-je-/-jō-*; these may be divided into three groups:

I. The *-je-/-jō-* suffix may be primary, that is, attached directly to a verbal root. This verbal root may be accented and therefore in a strong grade: *speciō*, Skt. *pdśyāmi*; *ap-eriō op-eriō*, Lith. (with altered accent) *už-veriu* 'I shut'. In others the root is unaccented and therefore in the zero grade: *orior*, from **r-jō-r*, to root **er-*. It is often quite impossible to separate with certainty these verbs from those of the non-thematic type, as the following examples show:

nat 'swims', Skt. *snāti* and *snāyati*.

in-trat, Skt. *trāti* and *trāyati* 'rescues'.

cupit, Skt. *kupyati* 'is angry'; but *rāvīō* 'speak hoarsely', Skt. *rāuti* and *rāvīti* 'cries out'.

Further details are given under the various conjugations, where such forms are classified (365.I-II, §366.I-II, §367.VI-VII, §368.I-II, §369).

II. The *-ġe/-ġo-* suffix is added to verbal stems that already have one formative element: reduplicated *tintinniō*; with nasal infix, *vinciō* to *vincō*, *sanciō* to **sancō* (§383.III).

III. The *-ġe/-ġo-* suffix is the normal means of forming verbs from nouns and adjectives. Such verbs are called denominatives: type, Skt. *arthā-ya-ti* 'he seeks' to *ārtha-* 'goal'. The denominatives are very numerous in Latin; the following represent phonetically regular types:

To *-ā-* stems: *fugāre* to *fuga*; *cūrāre* to *cūra*; *plantāre* to *planta*; cf. Gk. *τιμάω* 'I honor' to (Dor.) *τιμᾶ* 'honor'.

To *-e/-o-* stems: *albēre* to *albus*; *ardēre* to *āridus*; *audeō* to *avidus*; cf. Gk. *φιλέω* 'I love' to *φίλος* 'dear'.

To *-u-* stems: *statuere* to *status*; *metuere* to *metus*.

To *-i-* stems: *finīre* to *finis*, *lēnīre* to *lēnis*.

To consonant-stems: *custōdīre* to *custōs*, *fulgurīre* to *fulgur*.

A. The *-āre* denominatives of Conj. I became and remained a productive type in Latin, extended to stems of all classes: thus *dōnāre* to *-o-* stem *dōnum*, *piscārī* to *-i-* stem *piscis*, *aestuāre* to *-u-* stem *aestus*, *nōmināre* to consonant-stem *nōmen*. In some verbs this formation had causative meaning, as in *gravat* 'makes heavy' to *gravis*; in others it denoted activity of the subject, as in *jocātur* 'he jests' to (pl.) *joca*.

Aa. The *-iāre* which belongs to denominatives of *-iā-* stems, like *īnsidiārī* to *īnsidiaē*, and the *-erāre* formed to *-es-* stems, like *dē-sīderāre* to *sīdus sīder-is*, were sometimes used to form desideratives: *ad-lūdīāre* to *lūdus*, *equiāre* to *equa*, *re-cuperāre* to *capiō*, *tolerāre* to *tollō*.

Ab. The *-icāre* which starts from such verbs as *duplicāre* to *duplex*, and the *-igāre* which starts from such as *rēmīgāre* to *rēmex* and *nāvigāre* to *nāvem agere*, were sometimes used to form verbs of causative meaning: *albicāre* 'to whiten' to *albus*, *levīgāre* 'to lighten' to *levis*.

Ac. Denominatives in *-tāre* and *-sāre* formed to participles in *-tus* and *-sus* were very numerous in Latin, and often had frequentitive or intensive force: *ventāre* to *ventum*, oLt. *pultāre* to the older ptc. **pultus*, *pulsāre* to the later ptc. *pulsus*, *pōtāre* to *pōtus*. Verbs in *-itāre* were formed to ptc. in *-itus*, like *habitāre* to *habitus*; and *-itāre* became a suffix used even where the participial formation was different, as in *agitāre* despite *āctus*, *clāmitāre* despite *clāmātus*, *volitāre* to *volāre* 'to fly', even such double formations as *ventitāre* to *ventāre*, *cursitāre* to *cursāre*, *dictitāre* to *dictāre*.

Ad. Some other types of *-āre* denominatives had extension. The *-lāre* as in *stīllāre* to *stīlla*, and the *-illāre* as in *scintillāre* to *scintilla*, were productive in making verbs of diminutive force, such as *ventilāre* to *ventus*, *cōnscrībīllāre* to *cōnscrībēre*.¹ But verbs in *-issō* *-issāre* 'speak or behave in a certain way' start from *atticissō* 'I speak with an Athenian accent', borrowed from Gk. *ἀττικίζω*: oLt. *patrissat* 'takes after his father'.²

B. The denominative type in *-ēre* was extended in the intransitive meaning: *calēre* 'to be hot', *rubēre* 'to be red'. With added *-skō*, these became inceptives: *in-calēscere* 'to become hot', *rubēscere* 'to become red'. The same stems were

in many instances made transitive by composition with *faciō*, and intransitive by composition with *fiō*: *calēfaciō*, *calēfiō*.

C. Certain denominatives in *-ire* came to denote a state of body or of mind, as in *sitire* 'to be thirsty' to *sitis*; this was extended to other stems, such as *saevire* 'to be savage' to *-o-* stem *saevos*, *largiri* 'to be lavish' to *-o-* stem *largus* 'broad'. With a preceding element which has not been identified, type *-urire* has desiderative force, as in *scripturire*, *nupturire*, *esurire*, *habiturire*; there is also a type in *-urire* or *-urrire*, such as *scaturire*, *ligurire* or *scaturrire*, *ligurrire*. A type in *-utire* or *-uttire* was used of indistinct sounds, as in *balbutire*, *frigutire* or *-uttire*; these seem to start from onomatopoeic bases.

¹ Verbs in *-cināri*, denoting habitual activity (*latrōcināri*, *lēnōcināri*, *vālicināri*, etc.) are extensions from nouns in *-cen*, of which *cornicen*, *oscen*, *tubicen* were original; whence *cornicinium*, *oscinium*, and also *tibicinium* to *tibicen*, etc.; whence *tibicināre*, *latrōcinium* and *latrōcināri*, etc.; Ernout, *Mélanges Linguistiques Vendryes* 141-55. ² So also, with extension, in the nonce-word *sicilicissitat* 'talks with a Sicilian accent', *Plt. Men.* 12.

§387. THE PRESENT-TENSE FORMATION WITH THEMATIC SUFFIX *-eje-/ejo-*, attached normally to the *o*-grade of the root, usually had causative meaning: thus *noceō* 'I cause to die', weakened to 'I harm', to *nex* 'murder', *necō* 'I kill'; *moneō* 'I cause to think, warn', to **men-* 'think'; *torreō* 'I make dry, parch', to the root **ters-* 'dry' seen in *terra* 'land'. The *e*-grade appears in *terreō* 'I frighten' to root **ters-* 'fear', cf. **tres-* in Skt. *trāsati*, and Lt. *tremi*, *trepidus*, with other extensions; the *e*-grade avoids confusion with *torreō* 'I parch'.

Zero-grade of the root is seen in *jubeō*, by analogy with the zero-grade of the ptc. *jussus*; original *-ou-* is seen in Skt. *yodhayati* 'he leads to war', and possibly survives in oLt. *IOVBEATIS*,¹ with *ou* graphic for *ū* (§35.n2). The root **srebh-*, as in Lith. *srebiū* 'I swallow', seems to have the zero-grade in Lt. *sorbeō* from **srbh-* (§106.I), which is found in some presents from this root in Baltic and Slavic. *Misceō* also has the zero-grade, by contamination of **moiḡ-sk-eje-* seen in Skt. *mekṣdyati* 'he stirs around', with the present formation seen in Gk. *μισγω* from **miḡ-skō*.

In other verbs this suffix may give iterative or intensive meaning, and then these verbs may replace the primitive; thus *spondeō* has replaced **spendō* = Gk. *σπένδω* 'I pour, promise'.

¹ CIL 1.581.27; the same analogical *ū* in perf. *iussit*, though the older form with strong grade appears in oLt. *IOVSIT* (CIL 1.614) and *IOVSIENT* (CIL 1.581.9).

§388. TENSE STEM WITH ADDED *-ā-* occurs in Italic in a variety of forms, both in Latin and in Oscan-Umbrian; it is found also in oIr. and in Lith., cf. Lith. pret. *būvo* 'was', = Lt. subj. *fuat* in form. This *-ā-* seems originally to have been added to the bare root, to form a past tense: Lt. *eram* from **es-ā-m* serves as imperfect indicative, while periphrastic forms ending in *-bam* etc. from **bhy-ā-m* etc. formed the imperfect of all other verbs (§395.I.A). Isolated forms like *tulat* survived as oLt. subjunctives, and the *-ā-* stem was used in the present subjunc-

tive of Conjj. II–IV, as well as in the 1st sg. fut. ind. of Conjj. III–IV (§374.III). An isolated form is seen in *inquam*, 1st sg. pres. ind. to 3d sg. *inquit*; no explanation of its utilization has been found.

The Latin plpf. ind. is an analogical formation: fut. *erō* is to imf. *eram* as fut. perf. *viderō* (**yeidisō*) is to plpf. *videram* (**yeidisām*); this type of formation was extended to all verbs.

§389. PERFECT-TENSE FORMATIONS. The pIE aorist and perfect tenses coalesced in Italic into a single tense, known as the perfect. The Latin forms may be grouped into five classes: the reduplicated perfect, the long vowel perfect, the sigmatic aorist, the *-vī* perfect, the *-ī* perfect. The special personal endings used in the perfect are discussed in the sections devoted to personal endings.

§390. THE REDUPLICATED PERFECT was a pIE formation, in which the singular of the indicative active had the *o*-grade of the root, and the other indicative forms had the zero-grade. In Italic the reduplicated perfect is normally developed from an extension of the grade of the root which stands in the present indicative, as is shown by Praen. *FHEFHAKED*¹ ‘fecit’ to *faciō*, Fal. *PEPARAI*² ‘peperi’ to *pariō*; but vowel weakening has commonly obscured this, and often the phonetic changes would confuse the various ablaut-grades:³ thus *pepulī* would result alike from **pepel-*, **pepol-*, **pepl-*.

I. Forms with unchanged *e*-reduplication are seen in the following:

*cecinī*⁴ to *canō*; *cecidī*⁵ to *cadō*; *cecīdī* to *caedō*; *peperi* to *pariō*.

*pepigī*⁴ to *pangō*; *tetigī*⁵ to *tangō*; oLt. *tetini*⁶ (later *tenuī*) to *teneō*.

*pepulī*⁵ to *pellō*; *meminī* to *re-minīscor*; *dedī* to *dō*.

pependī to *pendō*; *tetendī* to *tendō*.

II. The *e* of the reduplication was changed to *i o u* by assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable, if the first syllable of the present tense had the same vowel as the second syllable of the perfect (§189.III):

siti to *sistō*; but *steti* (cf. §361.n1) to *stō*.

didici to *discō*.

oLt. *memordi*,⁷ later *momordi*, to *mordeō*.

oLt. *peposci*,⁷ later *poposci*, to *poscō*.

oLt. *spepondi*,⁷ later *spopondi*, to *spondeō*.

totondi to *tondeō*.

oLt. *cecurri*,⁷ later *cucurri*, to *curreō*.

tutudi to *tundō*.

III. The reduplicating syllable might be lost in compounds,⁴ by syncope and reduction of the resulting consonant group, and the shortened form might pass into the uncompounded verb:

incidi to *incidō*, *conci* to *concidō*; but *cecidī* to *cadō*.

incidi to *incidō*, *conci* to *concidō*; but *cecidī* to *caedō*.

*dēcucurri*⁸ and *dēcurre*⁸ to *dēcurreō*; but *cucurri* to *curreō*.

*rettulī*⁹ to *referō*, *abstulī* to *auferō*, *sustulī* to *tollō*; whence *tulī* for oLt. *tetulī*,¹⁰ as perf. to *ferō* (by suppletion, since the form *tetulī* is made on the root in *tollō*).

rescidī to *rescindō*; whence *scidī* for oLt. *scicidī*,¹¹ to *scindō*.

diffidī to *diffindō*; whence *fidī* to *findō*.

contigī to *contingō*, but *tetigī* to *tangō*.

respondī to *respondeō*, but *spopondī* to *spondeō*.

*intendī*¹² to *intendō*, but *tetendī* to *tendō*.

compulī to *compellō*, but *pepulī* to *pellō*.

perculī to *percellō*, *incendī* to *incendō*, *dēfendī* to *dēfendō*, *prehendī* to *prehendō*; to which the separate uncompounded verbs do not occur.

*vortī*¹³ to *vertō*, *vellī*¹⁴ to *vellō*, *verrī*¹⁴ to *verrō*, *fervī* to *fervō*, and the like, presumably reduplicated forms which lost the reduplication in composition.

bibī to *bibō*, analogical to the preceding type rather than an original reduplicated form.

But *dedī*, *stetī*, *stitī*, *bibī*, *didicī*, *poposcī* normally kept the vowel in compounds: *abdidī*, *condidī*, *crēdidī*, etc. The double compound *abscondō* more often has perf. *abscondī* than *abscondidī*.¹⁵ Other verbs in *-dō* sometimes wrongly had perfects in *-didī* by analogy, as for example *dēscendidī*¹⁶ to *dēscendō*, *mandidī*¹⁷ to *mandō* 'I chew'.

¹ CIL 1.3. ² IF 32.84-6. ³ The original o-grade may be preserved in oLt. perf. *vortī* (cLt. *vertī*, §91.III) and in oLt. *spepondī*, cLt. *spopondī*, as perf. of **spendō* (= Gk. *σπένδω*): but *vortī* may have *-or-* from *-r-*, and *spepondī* may have *-o-* from *spondeō*, which replaced **spendō* in Lt.

⁴ Compounds often transfer to other perfect types: *cecini* to *canō*, but *praecinuī* to *praecinō*; *pepigī* to *pangō*, but *impēgī* to *impingō*; *pepercī* to *parcō*, but *compersit* (Ter. Ph. 44) to *compercō*; oLt. *tetinī* to *teneō*, but *continū* to *contineō*, whence *tenuī*. ⁵ Some reduplicated perfects of Latin may be original reduplicated thematic aorists: with *tetigī* cf. Gk. Hom. *τερᾶν* 'seizing', with *pepulī* Hom. *ἀμπεπάλων* 'brandishing', with *cecidi* Hom. *κεκἀνόμνo* 'they withdrew'; but there is no certainty that in the Greek forms the aorists are original rather than mere remodelings of less convenient perfect forms. ⁶ Acc. and Pacuv. ap. Non. 178.7-13 M. ⁷ Ample citations in Gell. 6.9.2-8. ⁸ Livy 25.17.5 and 26.51.4, resp.

⁹ There is no certainty that *reitulī* *reccidī* *repperī* testify to the consonant of the reduplication, since they may stand for **red-tetulī* *-cecidī* *-peperi*, cf. *red-* in *red-eō*; especially as *reddidī* looks like *red-didī* (although the present is *reddō*, which may be either **re-didō* or **red-didō*, with syncope). ¹⁰ Plt. Men. 381. ¹¹ Acc. ap. Gell. 6.9.16. ¹² Plt. Bac. 793. ¹³ Plt. Amph. 121. ¹⁴ Hardly *-s* aorists, with *-ll-* *-rr-* from *-ls-* *-rs-*, especially as pres. *verrō* is for **versō*, to which an *-s* aorist would be **versī* (*-rs-* from *-rss-*, §164.III), and *vellō* has ptc. *volus*. ¹⁵ Plt. Merc. 360. ¹⁶ Valerius Antias ap. Gell. 6.9.17. ¹⁷ Prisc. 2.419.13 K; a purely analogical form, since *mandō* 'I chew' has no connection with *dō* 'I give'; but *reddō* *reddere* is to *reddidī* as *mandō* *mandere* is to *x* (= *mandidī*).

§391. LONG-VOWEL PERFECTS are found in Latin in a number of verbs, and are derived from various sources, as the Latin long vowel may go back to a strong-grade long vowel of Ablaut Series 4-6 (§69), or to a long-grade vowel of Ablaut Series 1-3 (§69.V), or may be developed from a diphthong as normal grade or o-grade or lengthened grade (§69, cf. §120.II). This type may have started as a development from certain pIe perfects of roots in which the vowel was both preceded and followed by a stop or s;¹ the plural of the perfect indicative active then had radical *ē* as normal grade to *ə*, or as lengthened grade to a short vowel. Other Latin forms go back to strong aorists, that is, aorists without special suffix;² some are from reduplicated perfects that have lost their reduplication,³

and *vīdī* is an old unreduplicated perfect. When the root began with a vowel, the length in the perfect may be due to contraction with the *e* of the reduplication, not separated from the radical vowel by a consonant; but this is quite uncertain. In some instances, also, the vowel of the perfect may have taken the quality of the vowel in the present stem, instead of that which would be normal in the perfect. In all instances Latin verbs show one and the same vowel extended throughout the perfect tense, unlike the variations of ablaut grade present in pIE.

Perf. *ē* to pres. *e*: *sēdī* to *sedeō*, cf. Gt. *sat* 'he sat', *sētum* 'we sat'.

ēdī to *edō*, cf. Gt. *ētum* 'we ate'.

vēnī to *veniō*, cf. Gt. sg. *qam*, pl. *qēmum*.

*lēgī*⁴ to *legō*; *ēmī* to *emō*.

Perf. *ē* to pres. *a* (from pIE *ə* and *a*):

fēcī to *faciō*, cf. Gk. aor. *ἔθηκα*.

jēcī to *jaciō*, cf. Gk. aor. *ῆκα*.

frēgī to *frangō*; *pēgī*⁵ (chiefly in cpds.) to *pangō*; *ēgī*⁵ to *agō*.

cēpī to *capīō*; *coepī* from older *co-ēpī*,⁶ to root in *apīscor*.

Perf. *ā* to pres. *a*: *scābī* to *scabō*.

Perf. *ō* to radical *o*: *ōdī* to root seen in *odium*; *fōdī* to *fodiō*.

Perf. *ī* to pres. *i*: *līquī* to *linguō*, cf. Gk. perf. *λέλοιπα*.

*vīdī*⁸ to *videō*, cf. unreduplicated perf. Gk. *οἶδα*, Skt. *veda*, Gt. *wāit*.

vīcī to *vincō*; *īcī* to ptc. *ictus*.

Perf. *ū* to pres. *u*: *fūgī* to *fugiō*, cf. Gk. *πέφυγα*.⁹

rūpī to *rumpō*; *fūdī* to *fundō*.

Some others are not conclusively formations of this type, since the present also has a long vowel: *ex-cūdit*¹⁰ to *cūdō*, *cō-nīvī*¹¹ to *cō-nīveō*. Ennius's *contūdīt*¹² to *tundō* is only an optional variation for *contūdit*¹³ at a time when usage was not settled.¹⁴

¹ As in *sēdī*; extended in *vēnī*. ² As in *fēcī*, *jēcī*, *frēgī*. ³ For example, *līquī* and *fūgī*, as shown by the Greek forms. ⁴ But -s-aorist in *dīlēxī* *intellēxī* *neglēxī*, to *dīligō* 'I love', *intellegō* 'I understand', *neglegō* 'I disregard', with mental applications which separate them from *legō* 'I gather, read' and its other compounds. ⁵ The -ē- in *pēgī* and *ēgī* is analogical; note the original *ā* in Gk. Dor. *πῆᾱγα* 'I am fixed', and in oIc. *ōk* (from **āga*). ⁶ Plt. *Cas.* 701; pres. *coepiō* *coepere* is only a back-form made from the perfect, and had no real existence. ⁷ The *ī* and *ū* of perfects come from diphthongs; cf. the Greek forms. ⁸ On the radical vowel of *vīdī*, cf. §112.III and App. to same. ⁹ In this form the Gk. perf. has replaced the regular perf. *ou* by the vocalism of the pres. *πέφυω*. ¹⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 1.174. ¹¹ Ninnius Crassus ap. Prisc. 2.478.14 K; but -s-aorist *conīxī*, Turpilius ap. Prisc. 2.478.16 K. ¹² Enn. Ann. 515 W, ap. Prisc. 2.518.21 K. ¹³ Enn. Ann. 382 W, ap. Prisc. 2.518.13 K; for **contutūdīt*, with lost reduplication, §390.III. ¹⁴ Similarly *adjuverit* (Plt. Rud. 305) etc. for the usual perf. *jūvī* etc. (§393), though here the short-vowel form is probably analogical in compounds, where other verbs that have reduplicated perfects lose the reduplicating syllable (§390.II).

§392. SIGMATIC AORIST FORMATIONS have a suffix containing -s-, from which the name sigmatic is derived. In pIE, the sigmatic aorist had the root in the lengthened *e*-grade in the indic. sing. act., in the zero grade in other indic.

forms., and the *ē*-grade in the subjunctive; but in Italic all forms had the vocalism of the indic. sing. act., extended throughout.

I. The suffix is normally *-s-*, as in the following:

Root *deik-*: aor. **ēdeiksm*, Gk. *ēdeika* 'I showed', Lt. *dixi*, to pres. *dicō*.

Root *uegh-*: aor. **ēuegh-sm*, Skt. *āvākṣam*, Lt. *vēxi*, to pres. *vehō*.

rēxi to *regō*; *trāxi* to *trahō*; *sēnsi* to *sentio*; *clausi* to *claudō*.

scripsi to *scribō*; *saepsi* to *saepiō*; *sparsi* to *spargō*; etc.

haesi (from **haes-si*) to *haereō*; *hausi* to *hauriō*.

The perfect often shows the influence of the present stem on its consonants or vowels: *jūnxi* to *jungō*, with the nasal infix of the present; *gessi* to *gerō*, with the short vowel of the present. Others were influenced by the participle: *volsi* for oLt. *vellī*,¹ after *volsus*; *ūssi* with *ū* after *ūstus*; *jūssi* after *jussus*, despite oLt. *iovsit*.² The *x* of *vīxi* to *vivō* came by the model of oLt. *fiwō*³ *fixi*, or the like; that of *strūxi* to *struō* by the model of *fluō*⁴ *flūxi*.

The sigmatic aorist survived in Latin as a perfect essentially in verbal roots ending in a pIE stop or *s*; but it had some extensions in Latin: *mānsi* to *maneō*; *contempsī* (§169.V) to *contemnō*; *dēmpsī cōmpsī prōmpsī sūmpsī* to *dēmō cōmō prōmō sūmō*, despite *ēmī* to *emō*.

II. The Latin imperfect subjunctive is probably an *-s-* aorist formation, though in this the *s* is with few exceptions attached to a stem ending in a vowel; the pluperfect subjunctive is analogically formed to the imperfect (§374.II).

III. The oLt. *faxō capsō* are *-s-* aorist subjunctives functioning as future (or future perfect) indicatives (§374.I), and oLt. *faxim faxis* etc. are *-s-* aorist optatives functioning as present (or perfect) subjunctives (§375.III). In this formation the verb always has the vocalism of the present tense (cf. *faxō* but *fēcī*); it is therefore not an inheritance from pIE, but a new form in Italic (or in Latin; the *-s-* aorist is not found in Oscan-Umbrian). The type is extended in oLt. to *-ā-* stems (Conj.I), and rarely to *-ē-* stems (Conj. II): ind. *amāssō adcūrāssis* *occeplāssit licēssit*,⁵ subj. *cūrāssis prohibēssis prohibēssit*.⁶ The *-ss-* indicates lack of rhotacism, by the influence of the unchanged *-s-* in *faxō* etc.⁷ All these forms were felt rather as belonging to the present-tense system rather than to the perfect, for a 3d sg. passive in *-tur* was sometimes formed: *iussitur MERCASITVR turbāssitur faxitur*.⁸ even an active infinitive of future value was occasionally formed (§416.III).⁹

IV. The apparent aorist suffix *-is-* was attached to a form of the root with the *e*-grade in the aorist indicative active; this form is by origin an *-s-* aorist to a dissyllabic root ending in *-i-* as weak grade of *-ēi-*. Thus from **ueidi-s-* we have *vidis-ti vidis-tis*, *vidis-se*, and the tenses *videram viderō viderim viderissem*. This *-is-* element was extended to corresponding forms of other verbs, whatever the method of formation of the perfect: to *-s-* aorists, as in *di-x-is-ti*¹⁰ etc.; to reduplicated perfects, as in *cec-in-is-ti* etc.; to long-vowel perfects, as in *cēp-is-ti* etc.; to *-vī* perfects, as in *amāv-is-ti*¹¹ etc.

¹ With *-ll-* from *-ls-*, §164.III. ² CIL 1.614; cf. §387.nl. ³ With *-v-* from intervocalic *-gʷ-*, §157.III. ⁴ For **flowō*, also with *-v-* from *-gʷ-*. ⁵ Resp. Plt. Cas. 1001, Persa 393, Rud. 776, Asin. 603. ⁶ Resp. Plt. Poen. 553, Aul. 611, Pseud. 14.

⁷ Similarly in Greek the aorist *s* remains after vowels, as in ἔδωρα, after ἔδειξα and other aorists where it is postconsonantal. But *irrauserit* (Cic. de Or. 1.259 ap. Prisc. 2.539.3 K) to *rāviō* (Plt. Poen. 778; not to *ir-rauciō* nor to *ir-raucēscō*, which do not occur until later either simple or compounded) is formed from a collateral stem in a dental, cf. fut. ptc. *rausūrō* (Lucil. 594 W) and the type *claudō clausī clausus*. * Resp. Cato Agr. 14.1, CIL 1.585.71, Cic. de Leg. 3.4.11, Livy 22.10.6 (the last two in quoted legal documents of an earlier period). * Or *faxō* etc. were perhaps from original PIE *-se-* desideratives.

¹⁰ oLt. and the poets have *dixī cōflūxet prōmisse accestis* etc. (resp. Ter. HT 341; Lucr. 1.987; Catullus 110.5; Verg. Aen. 1.201) for *dixistī cōflūxisset prōmisse accessistis* etc., by haplogy (§195); not by syncope, for forms of this type occur only as an alternative to original *-sis-*. Another view, however, is that they are original *-s-* aorist forms, without the added *-is-*: *dixī* from **deik-s-tei*, etc. ¹¹ For forms like *complēssem amārunť audistī nōram*, see §393.II.

§393. THE LATIN *-vī* PERFECT is limited to Latin, but it is not an entirely new creation; it is based on an old form, as is shown by the strong ablaut-grades of the root in the perfects *sēvī sīvī lēvī*, which do not agree with the grades of the Latin presents *serō* (**sisō*, remade from **si-sē-mī*), *sinō*, *linō*, and are therefore not analogical vowels in Latin, but old inherited vowels. But these forms do not have the *-o-* grade of the perfect singular, nor the zero-grade of the other perfect forms, nor the *-s-* suffix of the sigmatic aorist: they must therefore be a re-modeling of the athematic root-aorist:

Root **sē-*, PIE aor. **é-sē-m*, changed to Lt. *sē-vī*; cf. *sēvī satus* with *fēcī factus*.

**sperē-*, aor. **é-sprē-m*, Lt. *sprē-vī*; cf. pres. **sperēmō*, Lt. *spernō*.

**sterē-*, Lt. pres. *sternō*, ptc. *strātus*, whence *strā-vī* for **strē-vī*.

trīvī from **trēi-ya-*, to pres. *terō*, cf. ptc. *trītus* and Gk. *τρίβω*.

crēvī to *crēscō*; *cīvī* to *ciō cīre* (usual in cpds.) or *cieō ciēre*.

This *-vī* is from earlier *-yai*,¹ in which the diphthong is the ending of the 1st sing. perfect middle. It seems to come from the strong aorist **é-bhū-m*, Gk. *ἔβην* 'I grew', remade to pre-Latin **bhū-ai*, becoming **fweī*² (cLt. *fuī*). From this, *-vei* was felt to be an ending of the 1st sg. perfect.³ This ending was substituted quite regularly in many strong aorists, as in *sēvī* replacing **esēm*, (*gnōvī* replacing **egnōm* (Gk. *ἐγνων*), *plēvī* replacing **eplēm*. It was attached to most verbal stems ending in a long vowel: *amāvī*, *finīvī*. But when the preceding vowel was short, the short vowel + *-vī* resulted in *-uī* (§125.II.D): by the ratio of *amāvī* to *amātus*, *finīvī* to *finītus*, we find *monuī*⁴ from **moni-vī* to *monītus*, *domuī* from **doma-vī* to *domītus* from **doma-tos*,⁵ etc. Stems in *-u-* lost the *-v-* after *-u-* (§181.IX): *adnuī*, *īstituī*, though oLt. sometimes lengthened the *u*: *adnuī īstituī*;⁶ *solvī* for *solui*⁷ (§129.I) from **solu-vī*, to *solvō* (older **soluō*); *voluī* similarly from **volu-vī*, to *volvō* (from **voluō*).⁸

Where *-vī* was attached directly to a consonant, it became *-uī* (cf. §181.III). This has several types: *-vī* attached to present stems, as in *seruī* to *serō*, *rapuī* to *rapiō*, *voluī* to *volvō*; *-vī* to *-s-* aorists, as in *messuī* to *metō*, *nexuī* (and *nexī*) to *nectō*, *pexuī* (and *pexī*) to *pectō*; *-vī* to perfects, as in *praecinūī* for *prae(ce)cinī*. *Tenuī* replaced oLt. *tetīnī* as perf. of *teneō*; *posuī* replaced *posivī* as perf. of *pōnō* (from **po-sinō*), by the influence of *po-situs*; iLt. *ferbuī*⁹ for **ferruī* replaced *fervī*, to *fervēre* and *fervēre*.

Where the present stem ended in *-v-* + a short vowel, analogy to the participle (**moqītus* > *mōtus*, **laqātus* > *lautus*, **ḡuyātus* > *jūtus*) seems to have produced

such forms as **moxy-yai* **laya-yai* **iyya-yai*, whence by syncope **moxyei* **layyeyi* **iyyyeyi*, whence *mōvī lāvī jūvī*¹⁰ by influence of the long-vowel perfects *fēcī fōdī* etc.

I. The termination *-īvī*, belonging to the perfect of *-i-* denominatives such as *finīvī*, was extended to some primary verbs of Decl. IV, as in *cupīvī* to (oLt.) *cupīre*; thence, by similarity of meaning, *quaesīvī* to *quaesō*, *petīvī* to *petō*, and finally to verbs in *-essō* because of *quaesō* (older *quaessō*), as in *laccessīvī arcessīvī*.

II. Some perfect forms have contraction of *-ēvī-* *-īvī-* to *-ē-* *-ī-* after the loss of *-v-* between like vowels:¹¹ *complērunt cōnsvēris audīstī audīssēm*¹² for *complēvērunt cōnsvēveris audīvistī* etc. These led to analogical contractions of *-ēvī-* to *-ē-*,¹³ as in *cōnsvēstī cōnsvēssēt implēssem*;¹⁴ of *-āvī-* *-āvī-* to *-ā-* in the common forms of Conj. I, such as *amāstī amārunt amāsse*; and less often, of *-ōvī-* *-ōvī-* to *-ō-*, as in *nōrunt nōsse nōssem summōssēs dēvōrō*.¹⁵ But such forms as *audīt*¹⁶ for *audīvit* and *inritāt*¹⁷ for *inritāvit* are rare, since they were identical with the present forms.

III. The forms in *-īī*, like *petīī finīī, petīīt audiīt, petīerat audīerat*, etc., seem not to belong here, but to be of a separate origin; see §394. These also were a source for contracted forms with *ī*, such as *īstī* for *īstīī*.

¹ On whether this ending was *-ai* or *-ei*, see §397.II and note 6. ² Whether **fūvei* or **fūveī* is immaterial here; but a number of forms indicate *-ū-*: *fūimus* Enn. Var. 10 W, ap. Cic. de Or. 3.42.168; *fūit* Plt. Capt. 555; *fūimus* Plt. Capt. 262; etc. Metrical evidence proves *-ū-* in most occurrences, even in Plt.; *fv* verr CIL. 1.1297 is ambiguous.

³ Another theory is that the *-vī* perf. was based on the formation seen in Skt. perf. 1st sing. (reduplicated) *jajñāu* 'I knew', *papṛāu* 'I filled' (PIE roots **ǵnō-* **plē-* > Skt. *jñā-prā-*), to which the middle personal ending was added in the Latin remodeling. With the loss of the reduplication, we find Lt. (g) *nōvī plēvī*, whence the type was extended. Against this theory is the fact that the Skt. *-u* ending occurs only in reduplicated perfects, while no Latin perfect has both reduplication and *-vī* suffix. ⁴ oLt. *moneris monerint* (Pacuv. 36, 116 W) are only poetical variants of *mōnūē-* to avoid an inconveniently long succession of short syllables. ⁵ PIE base **domā-/ə-*, becoming pIt. **domā-/ā-*, Lt. *domā/ī-*. ⁶ Resp. Enn. Ann. 133 W, Plt. Most 86.

⁷ Catull. 2.13; cf. §129.I for *-lv-* from *-lu-*. But *-lu-* remained in the perf. if the pres. had no *-u-*, as in *volūī* to *volō*, *colūī* to *colō*, *alūī* to *alō*. ⁸ Earlier *-u-* is seen in the Gk. cognate *ἐλώω*. ⁹ Earliest occurrence probably *ferbuerat*, Stat. Silv. 4.5.16; *-bu-* from *-vu-* postconsonantal, to reinforce the consonantal sound in the unusual sequence consonant + *-vu-* + vowel. ¹⁰ On an oLt. optional *jūvī*, see §391.n14. ¹¹ The theory that these forms are original *-s-* aorists without the *-vi-* suffix, is unlikely because they become commoner after Plautus, and the 3d pl. had an original *r* in the ending, not an *s*. ¹² Resp. Lucr. 6.197, Cic. de Orat. 1.34.157, Verg. Aen. 11.295, Tib. 1.10.12. ¹³ But *-ī-* from *-ivī-* is rarely if ever found. ¹⁴ Resp. Cic. ad Att. 3.22.1, Lucr. 1.629, Verg. Aen. 4.605. ¹⁵ Resp. Plt. Poen. 1386, Ter. And. 952, Tib. 1.10.11, Hor. Sat. 1.9.48, Acc. p. 558 W, ap. Non. 98.11 M. ¹⁶ CIL 3.37. ¹⁷ Lucr. 1.70.

§394. THE LATIN PERFECT IN *-īī* can hardly be an intermediate stage between the forms *-īvistī -īvisse* and *-īstī -īsse*, etc., for the condition for loss of *-v-* is that it should stand between vowels of like quality; though one might suspect analogical extension, still the older language shows quite definitely a great predominance of forms without *v* in the perfect of *eō*, and a retention of the *v* in the perfects of primary verbs, such as *scīvī sīvī*. Probably the source of the *-īī* perfect is the perfect of *eō*, which in older Latin (e.g., in Plautus and Terence)

was nearly always *ī īistī īit īimus īistis īere īerunt*; forms like *īvī īivistī* were only beginning to appear. Contracted forms like *īstī*¹ are of course from *īistī*.

The original form of this perfect² of *eō* is uncertain, since the lack of an initial consonant in the root pIE **ei-* makes difficulty as to reduplication. The most probable pre-form is **ī-ī-ai*, the zero-grade of the root with or without lengthening of the vowel quality, with a semivowel *ī* as a glide to separate the vowels;³ from this the Lt. *ī* developed regularly. The rest of the paradigm follows regularly in Italic or perhaps rather in Latin.

By the influence of perfect *ī* and its forms came *petī* for *petīvī*, *audierat* for *audīverat*, and other similar forms of the perfect system; these were favored in dactylic verse, as they avoided many inconvenient successions of syllables.

oLt. ADIESE ADIESENT ADIESET⁴ for *adiisse* etc., and INTERIEISTI⁵ for *interiīstī* have dissimilative writings -IE- and -IEI- for -ii-.⁶

¹ Plt. Trin. 939. ² The root **ei-* seems to have formed no aorist in pIE. ³ The formation in Skt. perf. 3d sg. *īyāya*, 3d pl. *īyās*, seems hardly to be a regular type of reduplication with which the ancestor of Lt. *ī* can be directly equated, but rather to be formed on the root *yā-* 'go', a collateral Skt. form of the same root, in the same way as Skt. perf. 3d sg. *uvāca*, 3d pl. *ūcās* to root *vac-* 'speak' (pIE **yeq-*). ⁴ CIL 1.581.7, 8, 17. ⁵ CIL 1.1603. ⁶ TAPA 43.50.

§395. PERIPHRASTIC TENSE-FORMATIONS. These appear either as compounds, the elements being amalgamated into a single word, or as phrases of two separate words.

I. Periphrastic Compounds are seen in the *-bam* imperfect indicative, the *-bō* future indicative, and the future infinitive active.

A. The impf. ind. (except *eram*) was always a form in *-bam -bās -bat* etc., for older *-bām -bās -bāt* etc., an old injunctive **bhūām* formed to the root *bhu-* in the same way as *eram* was formed to the root *es-* (§388); cf. also Lith. *būvo* 'was' from **bhuyāt*, which gave also oLt. (subj.) *fuat*. This impf. formation goes back to pIt., for it is seen in Osc. *fufans* 'erant' (as though Lt. **fūbant* to *fuī*). The first part of the compound was either a participle, or an infinitive, or a case-form in *-ā-* or *-ē*¹ of a substantival stem: perhaps most probably an infinitive of the regular Latin type, ending in **-si* (Lt. *-re*). Thus **uidēsi + bhūām*² > **uidēzi-bām*, whence, by syncope and loss of *z* before *b* (§166.III), *vidēbam*; similarly *amābam*, *ībam*, oLt. *scībat*,³ etc. The loss of *z* accounts for the length of the *-ē-* in *dicēbat*, despite the *ē* of *dicere*. Such forms as *sciēbam cupiēbam audiēbam* have *-iē-* by the influence of the ptc. *sciēns* etc., alongside *dicēbam* and *dicēns*, and other participles of the first three conjugations. The defective verb *aiō* has both *āibat* (often contracted to dissyllabic *ai-bat*⁴) and *aiēbat*. *Dābam* has the vowel of *dāre*, just as *amābam* has that of *amāre*.

B. The future indicative in *-bō -bis -bit* etc. has as its second element a short-vowel subjunctive (§374.I) of the root *bhu-*, **bhūō bhūes(i) bhūet(i)* etc.: *amābō carēbō*,⁵ *ībō quībō*, oLt. *dicēbō dormībō*,⁶ *dābō*.⁷ The prior element is the same as in the imperfect.

C. The fut. inf. of the type *dictūrum* and its derivative fut. ptc. *dictūrus* are explained in §416.I.

II. Periphrastic Phrases were used variously, as follows:

A. The perfect tenses passive of all moods were formed by the perf. pass. ptc. and forms of the verb *sum*.

B. The fut. act. ptc. was used with forms of *sum* to express future time in its various relations, with greater exactness; thus *amatūrus sum, eram*, etc. This is called the First or Active Periphrastic Conjugation.

C. The gerundive was used with forms of *sum* to express obligation or necessity; thus *amandus sum*, etc. This combination was usually passive in meaning, and is called the Second Periphrastic Conjugation.

D. Occasionally transitive verbs are found with the object modified by a perfect participle, the phrase having almost the value of a compound tense:⁸ *illa omnia missa habeo, nōn perfectum reddat quod prōmiserit, missum faciō Tiresiam senem, quī effectum dabō*.⁹

E. There are a few other miscellaneous uses of verbal phrases.

a. The infinitives of the types *dictus esse, dictūrus esse, dicendus esse* come under types A, B, C above; the rare fut. inf. pass. of the type *dictum iri* is explained in §417.

b. The pres. ptc. act. with the verb *sum* was sometimes used in oLt., as in *SCIENTES ESETIS*,¹⁰ and also in lLt., but in such instances the participle may be taken as an adjective.

c. The pres. pass. 2d pl. of the ind. is a participle with omission of the copula *estis*; thus *agiminī* is in form equal to Gk. ἀγόμενοι (§405). The same form of the inv. is the same participle with omission of *este* (§408.II, with note 1).

¹ A form in *-ē* might be a loc. in *-ē[i]*, to an *-i-* stem. ² Cf. older English *I was a-seeing*, with prep. and gerund, now *I was seeing*, felt to contain a participle. ³ *Lucr.* 5.934. ⁴ *As* in *Plt. Pseud.* 1083. ⁵ *Fal. CAREFO, PIPAFO* 'bibam' (*NSc.* 1887.273), if genuine, show by the *f* that the *b* of the Lt. fut. is from earlier *bh*. ⁶ *Resp. Novius ap. Non.* 507.2-4 M, *Plt. Trin.* 726; normally Latin has *dīc-am -ēs, dorm-iam -iēs*, etc., in *Conjj. III-IV* (§374.II-III). ⁷ In old cpds., *reddidō* (*Plt. Men.* 1038, etc.) by weakening; but commonly replaced by regular forms of *Conj. III*, such as *reddam* (*Plt. Bac.* 767, etc.). ⁸ Romance languages prove the use of various verbs as auxiliaries in lLt.: the perfect tenses of transitive verbs show the use of *habeō* and *teneō*, while those of intransitive verbs show also the use of *sum* and *siō*; the passive voice shows the use of *sum, fiō, veniō*; the Romance future is from the infinitive + *habeō*, as in *Fr. chanterai*, *Ital. canterò* from *cantāre habeō*, and the Romance conditional is from the infinitive + *habēbam*. ⁹ *Resp. Plt. Pseud.* 602, *Asin.* 122, *Amph.* 1145; *Ter. Eun.* 212. ¹⁰ *CIL* 1.581.23.

§396. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS of the verb forms in pIE seem to have been the following, the best evidence coming from the paradigms of Sanskrit and Greek, though some evidence comes from other languages also:

	Active				Middle		
	Primary			Secondary	Primary		Secondary
	thematic	non-them.	perfect		reg.	perf.	
Sg. 1	-ō	-mi	-a	-m	-ai	-ai	?
Sg. 2	-e-si	-si	-tha	-s	-sai	-sai	-so
Sg. 3	-e-ti	-ti	-e	-t	-tai	-ai	-lo
Pl. 1	{ -o-mes -o-mos	{ -mes -mos		{ -me -mo	{ -medhai -medha		
Pl. 2	?	?		-te	?		?
Pl. 3	-o-nti	{ -ēnti -ōnti -nti -ri		{ -ēnt -ōnt -nt -r	{ -ntai -rai		{ -nto -ro

The endings of the dual are omitted from the table, since they did not survive into Latin.

The first plural *-mes/mos* appears also as *-mesi/mosi*.¹ In the third plural, the type *-ēnti* represents the ending bearing the accent, *-ōnti* the ending bearing the secondary accent, *-nti* the ending without accent; *-ēnti* and *-ōnti* are attached only to stems ending in consonants. The *-r-* endings of the third plural competed with those having *-nt-*, but are much less common in extant forms.

The primary endings were used in pIE in the primary tenses of the indicative; but the perfect had some special endings in the singular, as is shown in the table.

The secondary endings were used in pIE in the secondary tenses of the indicative, and in the optative and the injunctive.

Both primary and secondary endings were used in pIE in the subjunctive.

¹ Possibly the primary middle *-medhai* is only the secondary *-medhə* with *-i* attached; for pIE *əi* and *ai* have identical developments in all languages, and can be distinguished only by their relations to other vowels in the ablaut series.

§397. THE ENDINGS OF THE FIRST PERSON SINGULAR ACTIVE.

I. Primary tenses of thematic stems had *-ō*, the lengthened thematic vowel: **bherō*, Lt. *ferō*, Skt. *bharā-mi*,¹ Gk. *φέρω*, Gt. *batra*; with contraction in *fugō*, from **bhugā-ǵō*; fut. *amābō*, fut. perf. *dīxerō*. This *-ō* was extended to original non-thematic forms: **snā-mi*, Skt. *snā-mi* 'I bathe', Lt. *nō*; *pleō*, *volō*. In words of iambic value the *-ō* was subject to iambic shortening, which was then extended to polysyllables and finally even to verbs with long penult: *volō vetō eō sciō*, *nesciō dīxerō*, *findō*.²

Lt. *sum*, Praen. *asom*³ 'adsum', Osc. *súm*, for **s-o-mi* or **s-o-m*,⁴ replacing original **esmi* (§381) in imitation of 1st pl. **somos*, cf. the relation of *eram* to *erāmus*; oLt. *esum*⁵ is artificially made with the *e-* of 2d sg. *es*, 3d sg. *est*.

II. The perfect had in pIE the ending *-a*, as in **uoida*, Skt. *vēda*, Gk. *οἶδα*, Gt. *wāit*. But Latin always has *-ī*, from *-ai*,⁶ the middle ending in the perfect as well as in the other tenses: **de-d-ai*, Skt. *dadé*, Lt. *dedī*; Skt. *tutudé*, Lt. *tutudī*; **uoidai* or **ueidai*,⁷ OCS *vědě*, Lt. *vidī*. From such forms the *-ai* which became Lt. *-ī* was extended to all other perfect and aorist formations: *cecinī*, *dīxī*, *amāvī*, etc.

III. Secondary *-m*⁸ is seen in Lt. in the impf. and plpf. ind., the long vowel-subjunctives (including the formation serving as fut. ind.), the optative forms (functioning as subjunctives), and injunctives: *cūrābam videram*, *moneam cūrārem vīdissem regam*,⁹ *siem sim velim dīxerim*, *inquam*.

¹ With double ending, *-ō-mi*. ² Resp. Catull. 6.16; Hor. Sat. 1.1.104, 1.6.119; Verg. Aen. 3.602, 2.735; Hor. Sat. 1.4.104; Prop. 3.9.35. ³ CIL 1.560, as interpreted by Turnbull, Lg. 5.15-7. ⁴ With loss of the final short vowel in pIt., or at least in pre-literary times, primary *-mi* and secondary *-m* would become indistinguishable in Italic languages. ⁵ Varro LL 9.100. ⁶ Vowel quality shown in Fal. PAPAIAI 'peperi', IF 32.84-6. But Praen. COEPI (COECI 'coegi' Warmington, ROL 4.198) and COFECI (CIL 1.560), and DEDI (CIL 1.60), though before 200 B.C., have the monophthong, much earlier than in the city of Rome itself (§127.-II); cf. Lg. 5.22. ⁷ If with radical *-ei-*, it has this diphthong by analogical leveling; cf. Sturtevant, Lg. 10.11. ⁸ See note 4. ⁹ Both pres. subj. and fut. ind. Futures like oLt.

ostendē recipiē (Fest. 201a.23, 286b.21; cf. Cato ap. Quint. 1.7.23) for *-am* have *-ē* after *-ēs -et* etc., and lack the *-m* by the model of first persons in *-ō*. But forms like *dīcem accipiem*, found sporadically in mss. of Plautus (Pseud. 214, MG 676), while clearly analogical to other forms of the future, are probably mere creations (or errors) of copyists.

§398. THE ENDINGS OF THE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR ACTIVE.

I. Primary *-si* loses its vowel and appears as *-s* in Latin (§123.V): **es-si*,¹ oLt. *ess*,² cLt. *es*, Gk. (Hom.) *ἔσσι*; **uei-si*, Lt. *vīs*,³ Skt. *vēṣi*; *plantās*, *dūcis*, etc. *Fers* kept *-rs* by analogy to other second persons in *-s*, instead of changing *-rs* to *-rr* (§164.III).

II. Perfect *-tha* is seen in pIE **uoid-tha* > pIE **uoiṣtha* (§4.17), Skt. *vēṭtha*, GAv. *vōistā*, Gk. *οἴσθα*. This ending, remade to *-thai* by the model of the perf. 1st sg. in *-ai* (§397.II), is seen in Lt. *vidistī*, from **ueidi-s-thai* (for stem, §392.IV); whence by the relation of *vid-istī* to 1st sg. *vid-ī*, *-istī* was separated as an ending, and spread to all other perfects: *gessistī plantāvistī cecidistī* etc. oLt. GESISTEI⁴ shows the original diphthong in the ending; but oLt. INTERIEISTI⁵ has a dissimilative writing *-IEI-* for *-ī-*. On *dixtī* for *dixistī*, §392.n9; on *amāstī* for *amāvistī*, etc., §393.II; on *īstī* for *iistī*, §394.

III. The secondary ending *-s* remains unchanged in Latin: *legās legēs eris dixeris* etc.

¹ Cf. §162.II. ² As in Plt. Rud. 142, where *ess* is proved by its syllabic length kept before an initial vowel. ³ If this be the correct derivation; cf. §381.n3. ⁴ CIL 1.10; for *gessistī*. ⁵ CIL 1.1603; cf. TAPA 43.50. In CIL 8.21179.13, LEGEISTI is a false archaizing spelling for *legistei*.

§399. THE ENDINGS OF THE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR ACTIVE.

I. Primary *-ti* became Lt. *-t* (§123.V): **es-ti*, Lt. *est*, Umb. *est*, Osc. *est*, Gk. *ἔσσι*, Skt. *dsti*, Gt. *ist*; **age-ti*, Lt. *agit*, Skt. *djati*; so also all others. But non-thematic *est* 'is', *ēst* 'eats', *volt*, and syncopated *fert* keep the *-t* after the consonant only by the influence of other third singulars in *-t*, since *-t* after these consonants would normally be lost (§139.VI).

II. Perfect *-e* was remodeled in Italic. oLt. FECED,¹ Praen. FHEFHAKED² 'fecit', Osc. deded 'dedit', point to pIt. *-ed*, which is the pIE ending *-e* extended by the secondary ending *-t*, to give a clearer resemblance to other forms of the 3d person; *-t* became *-d* in pIt. (§138.III). But oLt. shows also forms in *-eit*, such as FVVEIT³ 'fuit', POSEDEIT⁴ 'possedit', indicating an original diphthong in the final syllable; so also Plautus has regularly *astitūt prōmpsūt exhibūt*⁵ with long ultima when the next word begins with a vowel. Apparently this ending, like that of the 2d person, was remodeled in pLt. to *-ai-t*, either after the *-ai* of the 1st person, or by direct use of the 3d personal ending *-ai* of the perfect middle. This ending was extended to all 3d sg. perfects in Latin, and the primary *-t* (from *-ti*) replaced the secondary *-d* (from *-t*). A few early occurrences such as VOVIT,⁶ FVIT CENVIT,⁷ which are too early to have *i* as the product of a diphthong, must contain the *-e-t* ending,⁸ which also is attested by FVET DEDET alongside CEPIT on the same inscription.⁹

III. Secondary *-t* became pIt. *-d* (§138.III), seen in oLt. SIED¹⁰ 'sit', ESED¹¹

'esset', and in forms of the perfect quoted above. The *-d* was early leveled to the primary *-t*: so *sit, erat, esset*, etc.

¹ CIL 1.4. ² CIL 1.3. ³ CIL 1.1297. ⁴ CIL 1.584.28. ⁵ Plt. MG 213, 824, 832; this length is different from the length in *peterēt, amittēbāt, erūt* (Verg. Aen. 1.651, 5.853, 12.883), where the ultimas have a short vowel, but have syllabic length by retention of the final consonant as part of the final syllable of the word, instead of the normal carrying over of the final consonant to begin the initial syllable of the following word, when the following word begins with a vowel. ⁶ CIL 1.607, 217 B.C. ⁷ CIL 1.581.24, 26, 186 B.C. ⁸ Praen. FECID and DEDIT, CIL 1.561, are of this earlier period, but the diphthong seems to have become a monophthong earlier at Praeneste; cf. the similar development in the 1st sg. of the perfect, §397.n6. ⁹ CIL 1.9, 200 B.C. ¹⁰ CIL 1.4. ¹¹ CIL 1.1; the secondary ending forbids us to take the form as future, = *erit*.

§400. THE ENDINGS OF THE FIRST PERSON PLURAL ACTIVE.

I. Primary *-mos*¹ is the only ending found in Latin, whether in primary or in secondary tenses; some languages show the ablaut variation *-mes*: **bhero-mos*, Lt. *ferimus*, cf. Gk. (Dor.) *φέρωμες*, Skt. *bhārāmasi*. The non-thematic form remains in *īmus*, but has been replaced by the thematic formation in other originally non-thematic verbs, such as *sumus, volumus* (§381.I); on *-umus* in these verbs and their compounds, and for occasional *simus*, see §363.n5.

II. The perfect has *-imus* in all Latin verbs. This probably started in such forms as reduplicated PIE **de-da-mos*, Lt. *dedimus*, Skt. *dadimā* (with secondary ending); PIE **ste-sta-mos*, Lt. *stetimus*, Gk. *ἔσταμεν*, Skt. *tasthimā*.² The relation of *dedimus* to *dedī*, *stetimus* to *stetī*, brought about the separation of *-imus* as personal ending; cf. the similar process in Skt., where *tutudimā* (= Lt. *tutudimus*) has an *-i-* which belongs neither to the root nor to the ending, but was extended from forms of other verbs in which it represented the final *-a-* of the root.³

¹ Hardly from *-mosi*, with loss of the final vowel; but this added *-i* is seen in Skt. ² The Greek and the Sanskrit show variation in the reduplication (§361.I) and in the personal ending. ³ Skt. *i* before the ending is the direct development of *a* in Indo-Iranian; but the Lt. *i* comes by weakening of the *a* which results from *a*.

§401. THE ENDINGS OF THE SECOND PERSON PLURAL ACTIVE.

I. Latin has *-tis* as ending of the second person plural active, in all tenses of the indicative and the subjunctive.¹ This *-tis* must be from *-tes*, a remodeling of secondary *-te* with the *-s* of the 2d sg. and of 1st pl. *-mos*; cf. the variation in PIE 1st pl., between primary *-mes -mos* and secondary *-me -mo*.² Non-thematic *ēstis*, from *edō* 'I eat', keeps the *-tis* to mark the form; for phonetically regular **ēsīs* from **ed-tes* (§144) would be obscure, as lacking the characteristic ending.

II. The perfect tense adds this *-tis* to the *-is-* already discussed (§392.IV), as in *vid-is-tis*; whence *-istis* as personal ending in *dedistis, dixistis*, etc. For forms of the type *amāstis*, §393.II; for those of the type *accectis*, §392.n9.

III. The PIE secondary ending *-te* appears in Latin only in the injunctive functioning as imperative: **age-te*, Lt. *agite*, Gk. *ἄγετε*; **es-te*, Lt. *este*, Gk. *ἐστέ*; and in its extension, the future imperative: *agitōte, estōte*.

¹ In these, Greek uses only the secondary *-te*. ² The relation of Italic *-tes* to the Skt. primary endings in present 2d pl. *bhāra-tha* and 2d du. *bhāra-thas* (apparently PIE *-the* and *-thes*) is uncertain.

§402. THE ENDINGS OF THE THIRD PERSON PLURAL ACTIVE.

I. Primary *-nti* became Lt. *-nt* (§123.V); its typical form is seen in thematic verbs: pIt. **bhero-nti*, Skt. *bhāranti*, Gk. (Dor.) *φέρωντι*, Gt. *batrand*, Lt. *ferunt*. Similarly, with or without contraction, or with analogical leveling (§363.III.D), *nant plantant*, *vident moment*, *finiunt*, etc. The *-ont* is still seen in oLt. COSENTIONT¹ = *cōsentiunt*, and in *volvont statuont*, where *v* or *u* precedes (§126.II.A). oLt. *tremonti* 'tremunt', if correctly transmitted,² shows the full ending.

In *sunt* from older **sonti* there is a remodeling, for the original PIE form was **s-énti*, Skt. *sānti*, Gk. (Dor.) *ἐντι*, Osc. *sent*, Umb. *sent*. In pre-Latin the vowel was changed to agree with other third plurals showing the thematic vowel *-o-*; unless indeed Latin keeps the PIE ending *-onti*, proper in compounds where the primary accent fell on the prefix and the secondary accent on the second part. In this instance, Latin *sunt* would get the vowel from compounds like **prat-sōnti*, Lt. *praesunt*, aided of course by the thematic third plurals in *-o-nti*.

The form *eunt* is a similar thematic form **eḡ-onti*, replacing original non-thematic **ḡ-énti*, Skt. *yānti*; the strong grade of the root has been extended to the plural (§381.I), and **eḡ-enti* has been brought into agreement with thematic *-onti*. Lygdamus's *neunt*³ to *neō nēre* 'sew' is a nonce-form used metri gratia instead of *nent*, by the model of *eō eunt*.

oLt. *danunt*⁴ for *dant* seems to have a *-ne/no-* suffix, like *si-nō* (§385.IV); thence, by analogy to *damus datis danunt*, there are a few sporadic forms like *prōdīnunt*⁵ 'prodeunt', *explēnunt*⁶ 'explent'—cf. *īmus ītis īnunt*, etc.

II. The third plural of the perfect shows in Latin three endings, of which the oldest is *-ēre*, formed by the addition of *-ri* or *-ro* to a root-form ending in *-ē-*, properly such as *vidē-*, but remade to *vidē-*⁷ after other perfect forms: whence *vidēre* (§126.IV or II.B). The ending *-ri* was a PIE ending, primary active, competing with the usual *-nti*; *-ro* was secondary middle, competing with *-nto*. Primary middle *-rai* is seen in Skt. 3d pl. perf. mid. *caḡr-iré*, and *-ro* in 3d pl. plpf. mid. *acagr-ira-n*, with added *-n* from *-nt*, both from root *kar-* 'make'.

From such forms as *vidēre*, the ending *-ēre* was extracted, and extended to other perfects, such as *dīxēre*, *cedidēre*. The ending *-ērunt* is a remodeling of *-ēre* to bring it into accord with the usual termination of 3d plurals, such as *dīcunt*, *faciunt*, etc.: thus *dīxērunt*, *fēcērunt*. From *amāvērunt complēvērunt* etc. came contracted forms *amārunť complērunť*⁸ etc.; but in popular speech these shortened forms, by comparison with the pluperfect doublets *amārant amāvērant* etc., were again lengthened to *amāvērunt* and the like.⁹ These popular forms were sometimes used by the poets for metrical convenience: *stetērunt*,¹⁰ *subēgērunt*,¹¹ *vertērunt*,¹² etc.¹³ oLt. DEDROT DEDRO,¹⁴ from Pisaurum, are local for syncopated *-(e)ront*. oLt. DEDERI¹⁵ is for *dedēre*, with *-i* graphic for *-e*.

III. Secondary *-nt* would have become pIt. *-nd*¹⁶ (§138.III); but this was replaced prehistorically in Latin by primary *-nt* from *-nti*, whose *-t* did not change to *-d* because at the time of the change of *-t* to *-d* it was still pro-

tected by the final vowel. Thus the 3d plurals of tenses which properly take secondary endings always have *-nt* in Latin: oLt. *sient*, cLt. *sint*, *erant*, etc.¹⁷

¹ CIL 1.9. ² Carm. Sal. ap. Ter. Scaur. 7.28.11 K; Fest. 205a.18 M. ³ Ap. Tibull. 3.3.36. ⁴ CIL 1.1531.7, Plt. Capt. 819, etc.; hardly for **dant-ont*, with double ending, the short form seeming meaningless, whence *danunt* by dissimilative loss of the prior *t*. ⁵ Enn. Ann. 158 W, ap. Fest. 229a.22 M. ⁶ Fest. 80.1 M. ⁷ The strong-grade vowel *-ē-* indicates a zero grade in the initial syllable, **yēdē-*, as in Lt. pres. inf. *vidē-re*; but remodeling with the strong grade is seen in OCS *vidē-ti* 'to see' from **yeidē-*, *vēdē-ti* 'to know' from **yoidē-*. Another theory, which makes the *-ē-* part of personal ending, is given by Sturtevant Lg. 16.180-1, IHL §51h. ⁸ Others regard the short forms *amārunť* etc. as original *s*-aorists formed on the present-tense stem; but this theory is rendered less probable by the fact that no third plurals **amāre* **complēre* etc. occur, with the oldest ending *-re*. ⁹ For this theory, see C. F. Bauer, The Latin Perfect Endings *-ere* and *-erunt* (Lang. Diss. No. 13 of the Linguistic Society of America, 1933). ¹⁰ Verg. Aen. 3.48. ¹¹ Plt. Bac. 928. ¹² Hor. Epod. 9.17. ¹³ The *-ērunt* ending is the basis for the forms in the modern Romance languages: Ital. *fecero*, Fr. *firent*, from *fēcērunt*. ¹⁴ CIL 1.378, 379; but Bauer §57 (see note 9, above) thinks these forms too early to have the *-ē-* in the ending, and explains them as having syllabic writing in the *-dr-*, in which a letter has the value of its name: *-de-r-* or *-d-er-*, for *-dēr-*. See Sounds of Latin §16. ¹⁵ CIL 1.37. ¹⁶ Perhaps surviving in Fal. *rīfīqōb* 'finxerunt' (Herbig, IF 32.74-8; *q = g*, §15.I), in form equal to **fīfigond*, reduplicated perfect with thematic vowel (from the present) and secondary personal ending. ¹⁷ In Osc.-Umb. the *-nd* seems to have become *-nn* and then *-n*, to which *-s* was added from the other plural endings: Osc. *deicans* 'dicant', Umb. *sins* 'sint'; cf. Kent, IF 53.41-4 (1935).

§403. THE R-PASSIVES OF ITALIC. There are personal endings containing *-r-*, in Hittite, Tocharian, Indo-Iranian, Celtic, and Italic. In Indo-Iranian these *r*-endings are found only in the 3d plural, which suggests that in pIE there were endings *-ri* *-r* *-rai* *-ro* competing with *-nti* *-nt* *-ntai* *-nto*.¹ In Celtic and Italic the *r*-endings agree in form and in use:²

pIt.-Clt.	<i>-ōr</i>	<i>-etor</i>	<i>-e/o-mor</i>	<i>-e/o-ntor</i>
Old Irish	<i>sechur</i>	<i>sechethar</i>	<i>sechemmar</i>	<i>sechetar</i>
Latin	<i>sequor</i>	<i>sequitur</i>	<i>sequimur</i>	<i>sequuntur</i>

I. The Italic 3d pl. passive is seen in Umbrian as primary *-nter*, secondary *-ntor*; in Oscan, as *-nter* for all tenses; in Latin, as *-ntor*. Thus we find primary Umb. *ostensendi* (for *-nter*) 'ostendentur', Osc. *karanter* 'vescuntur', and secondary Umb. *emantur* 'accipiuntur', but Osc. (sg.) *sakahīter* 'sanciatuť'.³ Several combinations of the *-nt-* and the *-r-* endings will yield these Italic forms;⁴ but the most probable combinations are primary *-nti* + *-ri* > *-ntri*, whence pIt. *-ntŕ* and then *-nter* (§124), and secondary *-nt* + *-r*, whence pIE *-ntŕ* and pIt. *-ntor* (§106.I).⁵ This Italic *-ntor* is seen in Lt. *feruntur*, *emantur*, *amābuntur*, etc.

II. The 3d sg. passive formed primary *-ter*, secondary *-tor*, on the model of the pl. *-nter* *-ntor*; the primary ending is seen in Osc. *uincter* 'vincitur', Umb. *herter* 'oportet'. In Latin the secondary form prevailed: *fertur*, *emātur*, *amābitur*, etc.

III. The 1st sg. passive has *-r* as ending, apparently extended from the endings of the 3d person of both numbers. Thus it was added to *-ō*, as in oLt. *fateōr*,⁶ cLt. *fateor*, with shortening before final *r* (§128.I). When the 1st person ended in *-m*, the *-r* merely replaced the *-m*:⁷ Lt. *ferar*, *monērer*, etc.

IV. The 1st pl. passive has in Latin the ending *-mur*, which seems to be the active *-mos* with *-s* replaced by the passive *-r*:¹ *amāmur*, *amābāmur*, etc.

¹ Skt. gives evidence for *-r-rai-ro*, but not for *-ri*; Hittite has only *-ri*. ² But in Celtic the *r*-endings (which may there be for *-ro* rather than for *-r*) are limited to the 1st and 2d sg. and 1st pl. of deponents, and the 3d sg. and 3d pl. of true passives. ³ Osc.-Umb. has also a type in which the *-r* replaces the final consonant which is the personal ending of the active: thus Umb. *ferar* 'feratur', passive to **ferād* 'ferat'. Italic *-nter* can come only from pIt. *-ntṛ*, which could come from pIE *-nt-ri -nt-ro*; Italic *-ntor* could come from pIE *-ntṛ -ntor -nto-ri -nto-ro*. The double endings of Hittite are 1st sg. *-aḫḫari* = pIE **-ōri*, 3d sg. *-tari* = pIE **-tori*, 3d pl. *-ntari* = pIE **-ntori*. Skt. has a rare ending *-ran* = pIE *-ro-nt*. The lack of agreement among the various combinations in the different languages makes it unlikely that the compound endings already existed in pIH. ⁴ The next most likely origin for Italic *-ntor* is *-nto-r*. ⁵ Plt. Asin. 62. ⁶ Cf. note 3. ⁷ Another view is that it is the secondary *-mo* of the 1st pl., + the passive *-r*; but there is no evidence that the secondary *-mo* survived into Italic.

§404. THE ENDINGS OF THE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR PASSIVE.

I. The pIE secondary *-so* became Lt. *-re*, used both in primary and in secondary tenses; the source of its spread was the injunctive, used both as indicative and as imperative: pIE **seq*eso*, Gk. inv. *ἔρεο*, Lt. ind. and inv. *sequere*, whence *-re* in *sequēbāre sequēre* etc. The form in *-re* is much commoner than the form in *-ris*, even in the present indicative; cf. II.

II. Lt. *-ris* in *sequeris* etc. is analogical, starting in the present indicative for distinction from the imperative, by the analogical relation of pass. ind. *x* : inv. *agere* as act. ind. *agis* : inv. *age*. The *-ris* forms are relatively much less common in the other tenses than in the present indicative.¹

III. oLt. *-rus*, as in VTARVS² and SPATIA RVVS,³ seems to be an old form with original *-so* with *-s* of the active attached before the weakening of final *-o* to *-e* (§126.II.B).

¹ See Clara M. S. Müller, Glotta 15.137-42. ² CIL 1.1702. ³ CIL 1.1732.

§405. THE ENDING OF THE SECOND PERSON PLURAL PASSIVE: this form is in Latin a periphrasis consisting of the present participle of the middle voice, with a form of the verb 'to be', the latter omitted: *feriminī* (*estis*) = Gk. *φερόμενοι* (*ἔστέ*); whence *-minī* in other tenses, as in *ferēbāminī ferāminī* etc.¹

¹ The 2d pl. inv. pass. is the same participle with omission of *este* 'be ye'.

§406. THE IMPERATIVE FORMS are either (a) the bare stem, or (b) the stem with special endings, or (c) injunctives (§376), or (d) combinations and modifications of these types.

§407. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE PRESENT IMPERATIVE ACTIVE.

I. The second person singular is in Latin the bare stem; non-thematic forms are seen in *es*¹ *nā plē*, *ce-dō dā* (§381.II), and thematic forms in *rege* and, with contraction, *cūrā monē fīnī*. The oLt. *dīce dūce face*² appear in cLt. as *dīc dūc fac*, by syncope; but compounds of *faciō*, with weakening, have the regular for-

mation, such as *cōnfice* to *cōnficiō*. *Fer* is also by syncope (rather than non-thematic, §381.I), though **fere* does not occur; *inger*³ for *ingere*⁴ is the poet's invention for the sake of the meter. Praen. MISC⁵ for *miscē* probably has syllabic writing, with *c* for *ce* (the name of the letter; §16). To *nōlō* is formed *nōlī*, after the much used subjunctive *nōlīs*. The interjection *em* 'there!' is by origin the inv. *eme* 'take', with syncope.

II. The second person plural is in Latin an injunctive with the secondary ending *-te*: *este*, Gk. *ἐστέ*; *agite*, Gk. *ἀγέτε*; etc. In *ferite* and in oLt. *cante*⁶ for *canite* there is syncope. oLt. *cette*⁷ (pl. of *cedo*) is syncopated for **ce-date*, cf. *date*.

¹ *ēs* (Plt. Cas. 248) to *edō* 'eat' is analogical to *es* 'be thou', since *es* 'thou art' : *es* 'be thou' = *ēs* 'thou eatest' : *ēs* 'eat thou'. ² Plt. MG 256, Poen. 1229, Men. 946, respectively. ³ Catull. 27.2. ⁴ Plt. Pseud. 157. ⁵ CIL 1.560. ⁶ Carm. Sal. ap. Var. LL 7.27. ⁷ Naev., Enn., Acc., Pac., ap. Non. 84-5 M; probably Plt. Merc. 965.

§408. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE PRESENT IMPERATIVE PASSIVE.

I. The second singular is an injunctive, with the middle secondary ending *-so*, becoming *-re* in Latin (§163.II, §166.II; §126.II.B): **seq*eso*, Lt. *sequere*, Gk. *ἑπεο*; *amāre*, *monēre*, *regere*, *audīre*.

II. The second plural is a plural participle, with omission of the verb 'be': **seq*omenoi* (*este*), Lt. *sequiminī*, cf. Gk. ptc. *ἐπόμενοι*.¹

¹ This form is hardly an infinitive in imperative use, like Hom. *ἀγόμεναι*, Aeolic inf. as inv., phonetically equal to Lt. *agiminī*; for Benveniste, Origines de la Formation des Noms en Indo-européen 129-31, has shown that the *-ai* of the inf. in Gk. and Skt. is a separate particle of undetermined origin and meaning, and that therefore Lt. inv. forms in *-minī* should not be equated with Hom. infinitives ending in *-ai*.

§409. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE FUTURE IMPERATIVE ACTIVE. The so-called future imperative is a command to do something, but not necessarily to do it at once; the basic ending **-tōd* is a pronominal ablative meaning 'from (= after) this (time)'. Forms with this ending were not originally restricted to any special person or number,¹ but were specialized in Latin for the 2d and 3d sg., and in Greek for the 3d sg.

I. The second and third singular has the non-thematic oLt. DATOD,² cLt. *datō*, Gk. *δότε*; oLt. ESTOD,³ cLt. *estō*,⁴ Gk. *ἐστω*; thematic oLt. EXFERTO,² cLt. *fertō*, with syncope; oLt. EXVEHITO,² cLt. *vehitō*, Skt. (Vedic) 2d du. *vahatāt*; oLt. VIOLATOD,² cLt. *violātō*. Perf. *mementō* (= Gk. *μἐμάρω* 'let him be eager') is **memptōd*, regularly formed from the stem of *meminī*; perfects, because originally denoting a present state resulting from a past action, are capable of forming imperatives. But *mementō* and its plural *mementōte* are the only perfect imperative forms in Latin.

II. The second plural has the same *-tōd* + 2d pl. *-te*, giving *-tōtte* (§145.II),⁵ whence *-tōte* (§185.II.E): *estōte datōte fertōte violātōte*.

III. The third plural is an analogical formation: inv. *x* : ind. **agonti* = inv. **agetōd* : ind. **ageti*, whence *-ntōd* as ending: *feruntō*, Gk. Dor. *φερόντω*; oLt. SVNTOD,² cLt. *suntō*.⁶

IV. The third singular forms FVNDATID, PARENTATID, PROIECITAD in a Lucernian

inscription⁷ are dialectal contaminations: *-ātād* from *-ātōd* and Osc. subj. *-ātd* (from *-āēd*),⁸ *-itād* from *-itōd* and Osc. subj. *-iād*.

¹ In Vedic Skt., usually 2d sg., but also 1st sg., 3d sg., 2d du., 2d pl.; in later Skt., usually 3d sg.; cf. Whitney, Skt. Gram.³ §571.b. ² CIL 1.366; this inscription has both forms in *-tōd* and forms in *-tō*, cf. Lg. 5.21-2. ³ CIL 1.401. ⁴ Note *ēstō* 'eat' to *edō*, rather than **ēssō* (cf. §144), by the influence of ind. *ēst* in its relation to other similar imperatives. ⁵ This *-tt-* originated in pIt. and not in pIE, and therefore does not come under §144. ⁶ Forms like *amentō* (Sacerd. 6.436.6 K), after the subjunctive, and *scribentō* (Sacerd. 6.439.22 K), after the future, are merely inventions of the grammarians. ⁷ CIL 1.401. ⁸ Rather than Oscan *-tt-* perfect subjunctives.

§410. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE FUTURE IMPERATIVE PASSIVE.

I. The third singular and third plural are regularly made by replacing active *-d* with passive *-r*: *dator agitor fertor, dantor aguntor feruntor*. oLt. *ūtītō*, vTVNTO² are merely active forms to a deponent verb, and passive CSENTO³ lacks the *-r* in writing.

II. There is also a rare archaic form in the 2d and 3d sg., ending in *-minō*, apparently a remodeling of 2d pl. pres. *-minī* after the future in *-tō(d)*:⁴ so oLt. 2d sg. *progredīminō*,⁵ 3d sg. FR VIMINO.⁶ As 3d sg. it seems to occur only in laws.⁷

¹ Perhaps these forms were first developed at such a date that the *-d* had already been lost after a long vowel; i.e., about 200 B.C. (§141.X). ² Resp. Cato Agr. 96.2, CIL 1.589.I.8. ³ CIL 1.583.77. ⁴ This *-minō* can hardly be equated directly with the *-mu* of Umb. *persnīmu* 'precator'; despite von Planta, Gram. d. osk.-umb. Dialekte 2.310-3. ⁵ Plt. Pseud. 859. ⁶ CIL 1.584.32; but 3d pl. *appellaminō*, Cic. de Leg. 3.3.8 (if a correct reading), is a false archaism in a quoted law of earlier times. ⁷ Latin has no form for the 2d pl. fut. inv. passive, although the grammarians invented a form in *-minor* as a 2d pl. *-minī* remade with the *-or* of *-tor -ntor*: *probāminor*, Prob. 4.162.17 K.

§411. THE INFINITIVE is a verbal noun, an isolated case-form from a stem which normally has otherwise disappeared from use; it has itself the syntax of a noun in its relation to the words on which it depends, but it has the adjuncts of a verb depending upon it itself. The case-form so employed is usually the nom.-acc. neut., or the dative, or the locative. Infinitives are found in Latin in the present, the perfect, and the future tenses.

§412. THE PRESENT INFINITIVE ACTIVE.

I. In Latin this is normally the locative singular of an *-s-* stem: thus in non-thematic presents **es-si, esse; *ēd-si, ēsse; *xel-si, velle* (§164.III); **plēsi, plēre*, Skt. (inv.) *prāsi*. In thematic presents: **gene-si, genere* (identical with the abl. of *genus*); *regere, plantāre, monēre, fīnīre*;¹ primary verbs such as *venīre, capere, fugere*, with *-i-si -i-si -t-īe-si -īe-si*, cf. §369. *Fer-re*, probably with syncope for **ferere*; CEDRE,² probably only graphic for *caedere*; *posse* for *potesse*³ (from **pote esse*, with elision), after *possum* (from **pote sum*, with syncope and assimilation).

Where in the oLt. poets the final syllable is metrically accented, as in *fingeré prōmērē*,⁴ there is no real lengthening of the vowel, but only the use of a short syllable where metrically syllable anceps is permitted, as before a caesura in a long trochaic verse. Conversely, such forms as oLt. *bīber*, TANGER, ILt. *HABER*,⁵ represent a form which lost the *-e* by syncope in rapid speech.

II. On **erum* 'esse', see §416.I.

III. The prior element in the types *plantā-bam plantā-bō*, *arē-faciō arē-fīō*, was probably an infinitive in *-si* (§395.I.A-B, cf. §362.IV).⁶

¹ Romance forms show a remodeling of many infinitives in lLt.: thus *esse* became lLt. *essere*, whence Ital. *essere*, Fr. *être*; *velle* became *volēre*, seen in Fr. *vouloir*; *cadere* became *cadere*, as in Fr. *é-choir*; *plēre* becoming **plire* is seen in Fr. *rem-plir*. ² CIL 1.366, from Umbria; or possibly with syncope, which was more extensive in Umb. than in Lt. ³ Plt. Bac. 559. ⁴ Plt. Asin. 250, Pseud. 355. ⁵ Resp. Fannius ap. Charis. 1.124.2 K, CIL 1.501, CIL 8.8369. ⁶ But *vidē-licet ī-licet scī-licet* had an imperative as prior element rather than an infinitive.

§413. THE PRESENT INFINITIVE PASSIVE of Latin started in the form typified by *agī* = Skt. *-aje* (in compounds only, as in *nir-āje* 'to drive out'); this may be either **ag-ei*, dative of a root-noun, or **age-i* (or **ago-i*), locative of an *o*-stem. The latter view is made more probable by the presence in Oscan of an infinitive formed in the *o*-stem: **ago-m*, Osc. *acum* 'agere'; **deiko-m*, Osc. *deicum* 'dicere'. That the infinitive in *-ī* is passive in meaning and the infinitive in *-re* is active, is only a matter of specialization, without basis in the original meaning of the forms.

I. The infinitive in *-ī* belongs by origin to Conj. III, as in *agī dīcī dūcī*. The earliest writings of the ending with *-ei* are in SOLVEI MITTEI, in 117 B.C.,¹ and therefore too late to establish the diphthong as original; but it is almost impossible to find an origin for an original long vowel here. Therefore oLt. PAKARI in the Duenos Inscription,² if an infinitive, must be an active form with unweakened (or miswritten?) *-i* for later *-e*.³ *Ferrī* for **ferī*, to *ferō*, has taken *-rr-* from the active *ferre*. *Fierī* is a passivizing of oLt. *fiere*,⁴ and oLt. *vēnīrī*⁵ is similarly formed for *vēnīre* 'to be sold', to make the form accord with the meaning.

Verbs of Conj. III with present-tense suffix keep the suffix in this form: *sternī* to *sternō* with suffix *-ne-*, *nōscī* to *nōscō* with suffix *-ske-*, etc.

II. Infinitives of the other conjugations add the *-ī* to the stem in *-s-*: *plantār-ī* *monēr-ī* *fīnīr-ī*, though proportionally the *-ī* should replace the active *-re*. But formations like **plantā-ī* **monē-ī* would lead to phonetic products quite out of the general pattern of Latin infinitives.

III. The passive infinitive in *-ier*, found in oLt. and in the poets, is probably a combination of the passive in *-ī* and the active *-ere*, with syncope of the final vowel. This perhaps originated for clearness where the pres. inf. pass. was identical with the perf. ind. act.; so *dēfendī vortī* were at times changed to *dēfendier*⁶ *vortier*.⁷ From such forms the ending spread to other verbs of Conj. III, such as *dūcier*⁸ *ūtīer*,⁹ and to verbs of other conjugations, such as *laudārier*¹⁰ *mentīrier*,¹¹ though its use was largely to fill out the metrical requirements of verses.¹²

¹ CIL 1.584.44. ² CIL 1.4. ³ Despite the fact that if infinitive it must have an intransitive or reflexive meaning. ⁴ See NW³ 3.11. ⁵ Plt. Persa 577. ⁶ Verg. Aen. 8.493. ⁷ Plt. Rud. 886. ⁸ Ter. Eun. 572. ⁹ CIL 1.10; Ter. Ph. 603. ¹⁰ Hor. Sat. 1.2.35. ¹¹ Plt. MG 779. ¹² Thus in Plt. Rud. at the end of verses 67, 120, 145, 254, 599, 601, 607, 886, 1242, 1250, and in the middle of 367.

§414. THE PERFECT INFINITIVE ACTIVE in Latin has as its ending *-si*, taken from the present, and added to the perfect stem in *-is-*, which started in certain verbs and extended in the 2d sg. and 2d pl. perf. ind., and throughout the plpf. and fut. perf. ind. and perf. and plpf. subj. (§392.IV): *vīdis-se*, *tutud-isse*, *dix-isse*, etc. On *amāsse complēsse nōsse*, §393.II; on *isse* for *iisse*, §394; on *dixē* for *dixisse* and the like, §392.n9.

§415. THE PERFECT INFINITIVE PASSIVE in Latin is composed of the perfect participle passive with the present infinitive of the verb 'to be': *factus esse*, etc.

§416. THE FUTURE INFINITIVE ACTIVE.

I. The normal form of this infinitive has in Latin the type *factūrus esse*, in which the *esse* is more commonly omitted than expressed. In oLt. it sometimes appears as an uninflected form in *-um*, without regard to gender, number, and case of its subject, as in *nōn putāvī hoc eam factūrum*.¹ It is therefore by origin an invariable form, of the type *factūrum*; the only plausible interpretation is that it is a supine in *-ū* (§425.II) + an inf. **esom* 'to be', identical with Umb. *erom*, Osc. *ezum*; thus **factū ezom*,² with loss of the *e-* by syncope within the phrase, became *factūrum* 'to be in a doing, to be about to do'.³ As virtually the only use of the future infinitive is as the main verb of indirect statement, with an accusative subject, this form in *-ūrum* was soon felt to be an accusative masculine singular in agreement with its subject, and it acquired an inflection like that of the perfect participle *factus*; *esse* was then added to *factūrus*, by likeness to *factus esse*.

In this way the indeclinable future infinitive became also a future participle; for some peculiarities in its formation, see §421.

II. The isolated *fore*, competing with *futūrus esse* as future infinitive of *sum*, is **bhu-si*, formed to the root of *fuī* as *esse* is formed to *est*.

III. To the archaic type fut. perf. ind. *-āssō*, perf. subj. *-āssim* (§392.III), there is occasionally an infinitive in *-āssere*, which has future meaning (rarely present meaning): thus *impetrāssere*⁴ to *impetrāssō*, from *impetrō*. The formation is modeled on the present infinitive of Conj. III: *quaerō quaerere*, *quaessō quaessere*.

¹ Laberius ap. Gell. 1.7.12, who cites in 1.7.1-15 a number of examples in support of Cic. in Verr. 5.65.167 *hanc sibi rem praesidiō spērant futūrum*; cf. also *habitūrum* Plt. Truc. 400 with fem. sg. subject, and *pollicitū sēsē factūrum omnia*, Cato ap. Prisc. 2.475.23 K.
² Strictly, rather **lou ezom*, the supine having original *-ēu*. If this origin be correct, it decides against the abl. in *-tūd* as original for the supine, for **-tūd esom* would hardly have become *-tūrum*; the fut. inf. was certainly formed before the loss of *-d* after long vowels.

³ Some deny this origin on the ground that infinitives of the type **esom* are not otherwise known in Latin; they regard Lt. fut. ptc. as of the same origin as adjectives of the type *mā-tūrus*, and nouns such as *nātūra cultūra*, the future idea being seen also in the desiderative idea of *partūrīre ēstūrīre* (but note the short vowel here!); cf. also the Gk. adj. γλαφρός 'hollow', λῆξις 'strong', both having *-ro-* suffix attached to *-ū-* stems. By this theory the Latin fut. inf. is developed from the fut. ptc., instead of the reverse; against it, in addition to the history of the Lt. fut. inf. as given in §416.I, is the variation in vowel quantity between ptc. *stātūrus* and noun *stātūra*, and also the lack of a ptc. **nātūrus* (there is only a rare *nāscitūrus* of imperial times) to *nāscor* despite the existence of a common noun *nātūra*.
⁴ Plt. Aul. 687, MG 1128, etc.

§417. THE FUTURE INFINITIVE PASSIVE in Latin is composed of the supine in *-um* (§425.I) with the (impersonal) present infinitive passive of *eō ire*: thus *factum irī*, oLt. *praedatum irier*.¹ The form is merely the infinitive to the verbal periphrasis seen in the passive in *contumēlia quae mihi . . . factum itur*,² and in the active in *quōr tē is perditum?*³ It was little used except by Cicero. In ILt. such forms as *datūrī*, *dēfēnsūrī*,⁴ occur, with loss of *-m-* as in *circuitus* for **circum-itus*.

¹ Plt. Rud. 1242. ² Cato ap. Gell. 10.14.3. ³ Ter. And. 134. ⁴ NW² 3.177.

§418. PARTICIPLES are verbal adjectives, having themselves the paradigms and syntax of adjectives, but having the adjuncts of verbs: direct objects (of transitive actives), agents (with true passives of transitive verbs), indirect objects, etc. They occur in Latin in the present and the future active, and in the perfect and the future passive, with traces of the present middle and the perfect active. The future passive is commonly called the gerundive.

§419. THE PRESENT ACTIVE PARTICIPLE was formed in pIE with the suffix *-nt-*, becoming *-ŋt-* after consonants, but varying with *-ent-* and *-ont-* in the paradigm of thematic forms, and in the participles formed upon unaccented non-thematic stems.¹

I. In Latin, the usual *-ent-* represents both *-ent-* and *-ŋt-*, as well as the *-ēnt-* and *-eje-nt-* of forms of Conj. II; in Conj. I, *-ant-* stands for *-ānt-* and *-aje-nt-*. Examples: *nāns dāns plantāns, implēns monēns, dūcēns ferēns cupiēns fīniēns*. But *iēns* is from **iēnts*, by decomposition from compounds such as *abiēns* (§179. III), since the separate form should have been merely **i-ents*, cf. Skt. *yant-*; ILt. *PRAETEREENS*² occurs with *-e-* after the *e-* of *eō*, alongside *PRAETERIENS* in the same inscription; ILt. *IENTIBUS*³ for *euntibus* (III), after *iēns*.

II. While Latin *-ent-* is always ambiguous between *-ent-* and *-ŋt-*, the suffix probably has the form *-ent-* in *ab-sēns prae-sēns*, cf. Osc. *praesentid* 'praesente', Gk. Dor. nom. pl. *ἐντες* 'being' (from **s-entes*). Caesar's *ēns*⁴ was formed by analogy, *x : est = potēns : potest*; but *potēns* was properly the participle of **potēre*, perf. *potuī*, and not of *posse*.

III. The suffix appears in the form *-ont-* in the declension of *iēns*, as in *euntis euntī* etc.; in *velont-*, from which came *voluntās* (from **yelonti-tāt-s*); and in *s-ōns* 'guilty' (originally 'being', from *esse*), *in-sōns* 'innocent' (originally 'not being'),⁵ cf. Gk. Att. *ὄν*, Ion, *έων* 'being'.⁶

IV. The present participle was often utilized in Latin as a substantive: *oriēns* 'rising (sun), east'; *dēns* 'tooth', an old ptc. to *ed-* 'eat'; *parēns* 'parent', to *pariō* 'bring forth', in a form without the *-i-*.⁷ Many functioned outright as adjectives, such as *benevolēns, absēns, praesēns*. One even became a preposition: *trāns*.

¹ The variations are most clearly seen in Sanskrit; *-nt-* for *-e-nt-* or *-o-nt-* in thematic presents is probably merely extended from non-thematic presents. ² CIL 2.3256. ³ CIL 6.10241.12. ⁴ Ap. Prisc. 3.239.7 K. ⁵ But the connection of *sōns insōns* with *sum* could no longer have been felt by the Romans who used the words. ⁶ On *flexuntēs*, see Hofmann ap. Walde, LEW² s.v. ⁷ Perhaps a strong aorist (type of Gk. 2d aorist *ἐλιπον* 'I left').

§420. THE PERFECT PASSIVE PARTICIPLE of Latin, as of several other IE branches, was formed by the pIE suffix *-to-*, which bore the accent. This suffix functioned also in some words, in pIE, in Italic, and elsewhere, to make adjectives from nouns, of such types as *barbā-tus* 'provided with a beard', *aurī-tus* 'provided with ears', *cochleā-tus* 'shaped like a snail-shell', *aegrō-tus* 'afflicted with illness'.

I. As the *-to-* was accented, the verbal root was regularly in the zero-grade: root **deik-* in *dīcō*, but ptc. **dik-tos*, *dictus*, Skt. *diṣṭds*; **ten-* in *teneō*, but ptc. **tṇ-tos*, *-tentus*, Gk. *τατός*; **sē-* in perf. *sēvī*, ptc. **sə-tos*, *satus*; **ġnō-* in *(g)nōscō*, ptc. **ġna-tos*, *co-gnitus*; **stā-* in *stāre*, ptc. *stātos*, nt. *statum*, Skt. *sthīds*; **ei-* in 2d sg. *īs*, ptc. **i-tos*, nt. *itum*, Gk. *ιρός*; **eus-* in *ūrō*, ptc. **us-tos*, *ustus*, Skt. *uṣṭds* 'illuminated'. Dissyllabic bases normally have the zero-grade in the second syllable: *domā-re*, but **doma-tos*, *domitus*; *lavā-re*, but **lava-tos*, *lautus* (with syncope;¹ *lōtus* with popular *ō* for *au*, §41);² *secā-re*, but **seca-tos*, *sectus* (with syncope), cf. perf. *secuī*. Similarly in Conj. II, where many bases are dissyllabic, ending in *-ēi-* varying with *-ē-* and *-i-*: *tacē-re* but *taci-tus*, *licēre* but *licitum*, *habēre* but *habitus*. The causative suffix *-eje-* (§387) appears in the grade *-i-*, as in *moni-tus* to *moneō*, *doctus* (with syncope³) to *doceō*; *mōtus* for **movitos*⁴ probably by influence of perf. *mōvī*; *mixtus* for **miksitos*, remade from causative participle **moiksitos* (to stem in Skt. *mekṣdyati*) with the vowel of *misceō*.

Many verbs show the influence of the present stem in the participle: *jūctus* to *jungō*, cf. Skt. *yuk-tds*; *pāstus* for **pāsc-tos* to *pāscō*, root **pā-*; oLt. *surtus*⁵ for *surrēctus* after *surgō*. Many verbs with stems in a long vowel keep this vowel in the participle: *cūrātus fugātus*, *implētus*, *finītus audītus cupītus*; others vary between this and a more archaic type: *ex-plicātam*⁶ and *im-plicītus*;⁶ *perītus* (as adj.) and *expertus*. Denominative verbs to *-u-* stems lengthened the *-u-* in the participle: *statūtus* to *statuō*, *acūtus* to *acuō*, whence *volūtus* to *volvō*, *secūtus* to *sequor* (older **sectus* attested in *sectārī* 'to follow', but lost because of ambiguity with ptc. of *secāre* 'cut'), *locūtus* to *loquor*, etc.; whence also *ū* in primary verbs, as *jūtus* to *juvō*, *ad-nūtus* to *nuō* (despite older **nūtus* attested in verb *nūtāre*).⁷

Other verbs show the influence of the perfect in the participle: *(g)nōtus* to *(g)nōscō* after *nōvī*, cf. *co-gni-tus* (above); *dē-lētus* to (analogical) present *dē-leō* after *dē-lēvī*, cf. *linō lēvī lītus*; *sprētus* to *spērno* after *sprēvī*; *con-cītus*⁸ to *con-ciō* after *con-cīvī*, despite regular *cītus* (as adj.) to *ciō cieō*. But *lātus* to *tetuli* is an old form, **llā-tos*, = Gk. Dor *τλᾱτός* 'enduring'; *pōtus* 'drunk' to root **pōi-* is also an old form, through like the preceding not of the original type seen in Skt. *pīds* 'drunk': note that neither of these has Italic forms from which these participles can be made analogically.

The consonants before the suffix underwent the regular phonetic changes: *auctus* to *augeō*, *scrīptus* to *scrībō* (§130.I); nt. *sessum* to *sedeō*, *ūsus* to *ūtōr* (§144); *ultus* for **ulc-tos* to *ulc-īscor* (§161.II); *tostus* for **torsitos*, to *torreō* (§175.III); *ēemptus* to *emō* (§169.V).

Similarly the radical vowels were subject to regular and analogical changes: *cultus* to *colō* (§107.I, §91.IV.A); *factus* but *cōn-fectus* (§125.III); *sēnsus jūctus* (§184.II); *āctus fissus*⁹ (§184.III); *gressus* for **grassus*¹⁰ by decomposition;

oblātus for **oblāvitus* (§181.VII); *ēemptus* for **em-los* to *emō*, after *dēemptus sūmptus prōmptus* to *dēmō sūmō prēmō*, which are compounds of *emō*.

II. Verbs with roots ending in pIE *t d dh* developed Italic participles in -*ss-* from the pIE combination of two dentals (§144); this -*ss-* was shortened to -*s-* after long vowels, diphthongs, and consonants (§185.II): *concussus* to *concutiō*, *rīsus* to *rideō*, *jussus* to *jubeō* (root **ǵudh-*); *fūsus* to *fundō*,¹¹ nt. *sessum* to *sedeō*, and *cessum* probably from **ce-sessus* to *cēdō* from **ce-sd-ō*; *vīsus* to *videō*, whence *gāvīsus* to *gaudeō* (from **gāǵideō*, but not related to *videō*!); *volsus* to *vellō* (with -*ll-* probably from -*ld-*); *ēsus* to *edō*.¹² As many of these had -*s-* perfects (*concussī*, *rīsī*, *jussī*), the participial suffix in the form -*so-* was extended to many other verbs with -*s-* perfects: *haesus* to *haereō* after *haesī*, *mulsus* to *mulgeō* after *mulsī*, *pressus* to *premō* after *pressī*; and especially to those with -*ll-* and -*rr-*, such as nt. *cursum* to *currō* (with -*rr-* from -*rs-*), *versus* to *verrō* (-*rs-*), *falsus* to *fallō* (-*ln-*) after *salsus* to *sallō* (-*ld-*), *pulsus*¹³ to *pellō* (-*ln-*) after *perculsus* to *percellō* (-*ld-*). As in the last two, similarity of sound or of meaning is often a basis for analogical extension of the -*so-*; so also *lāpsus* to *lābor* after (nt.) *cāsum* to *cadō*. The -*n-* of *mēnsus* 'measured' to *mētor* is by influence of *pēnsus* 'weighed' to *pendō*; the loss of -*t-* in *cēnsus* 'assessed' for **cēnstō*- (seen in Osc. *ancensto* 'not listed') to *cēneseō* is by influence of *mēnsus*. *Nīxus* 'leaning' to *nītor* after *flexus* 'bending' to *flectō*, perf. *flexī* (the -*t-* of *flectō* is a present suffix, §385.I); but *nītor* has also *nīsus* by analogy to dental stems, though *nītor* is properly **nīvitor*, to *nīveō* (only in *cō-nīveō*) from **kneig***heǵō*.¹⁴

III. The ptc. *mortuos*, to *morior* 'die', is peculiar in form; it is an old form **mortos* (pIE **mṛtos*, Skt. *mṛtās*), which has taken -*uos* from its opposite *vīvos* (as has also OCS *mrtvŭ*).

IV. Several combinations of this suffix with a preceding vowel became productive in later times, as formatives of participles. Thus -*lto-*, as in *monitus domitus* and the like, gave lLt. *fugitus bibitus*; -*lto-* was extended like perf. -*lŵ-* (§393.I), giving *quaesitus* after *cupitus* through similarity of meaning, and then *arcessitus* etc. to verbs in -*essō*, and this formation gave the -*ido* of Spanish participles; -*lto-*, starting in *statutus* and other denominatives to -*u-* stems, was somewhat extended in Latin (above, I) and then had a wide extension in lLt., giving the types seen in Ital. *ved-uto* 'seen' and Fr. *vend-u* 'sold'.

V. Many of these participles were used also as other parts of speech: thus *citus* and *ratus* as adjectives; *lēgātus lēctum fātum offēnsa* as substantives; *versus* and *adversum* as prepositions.

¹ With syncope after -*v-*, §123.II. ² Also *lavātum* after the forms of Conj. I. ³ The generalization of the syncope form was promoted by the phonetic resemblance to *dictus* and *ductus*, as well as by a certain kinship in meaning. ⁴ Only Liv. Andr. ap. Fest. 296.6 M (text has *sortus*). ⁵ Plt. Pseud. 926. ⁶ Plt. Merc. 14. ⁷ But *sūtus* to *suō* has original long vowel; *rūtus* to *ruō* always with short vowel; so with all cpds. of both verbs. ⁸ As in *concūta*, Lucr. 2.267; *percūta*, Plt. Cas. 628. ⁹ To *findō*, and this is an exception to 'Lachmann's Law', cf. §184.III and Lg. 4.181-90. ¹⁰ Attested by the verb *grassāri*. ¹¹ But *exfusi* 'effusi' (Fest. 81.10 M) is from a present without the -*d-*, like Gk. *χρῆς* 'poured' to *χέω*. ¹² *Comēsta* in Cato Agr. 50.2 (also in late writers) is influenced by the -*t-* of *expōtus*, which pairs with it in meaning (despite collocation *comēssum expōtum*, Plt. Trin. 406). ¹³ Original ptc. **pultus* is attested by verb *pultāre*, used by Plautus and Terence. ¹⁴ An old ptc. **nictus*

to *niveō* is attested by the verb *nictāre*; the *gnitus* of Fest. 96.11 M is probably for *gnictus*, and both this and *gnixus* (Fest. l.c.) are old forms retaining the initial consonant (*kn-* > *gn-*, §160.III.A), perhaps by the influence of *genibus* in the common phrase *genibus nixus* 'kneeling'.

§421. THE FUTURE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE is, as we have seen (§416.I), a future active infinitive that has been made declinable.¹ Its formation, being upon the supine, normally agrees with that of the perfect passive participle, replacing *-to-* or *-so-* by *-tūro-* or *-sūro-*: *factus* and *factūrus*, *missus* and *missūrus*. But occasionally there are divergences, usually in the use of *-itūrus*: *oritūrus* to *orior*, but *ortus*; *moritūrus* to *morior*, but *mortuos*; *paritūrus* to *pariō*, but *partus*; *fruitūrus* to *fruor*, but *fructus*. Other variations include extensions of *-ātūrus* in Conj. I: *sonātūrus* to *sonāre*, but *sonitus*; *secātūrus* to *secāre*, but *sectus*; *juvātūrus* to *juvāre*, but *jūtus*; *stātūrus* to *stāre*, but *stātum*. To sum the future participle is *futūrus*, made on the stem of *fuī*, which had in Latin no supine or perfect participle.²

¹ For another theory, which makes the fut. ptc. original and the basis of the fut. inf., see §416.n3. ² But a ptc. **futus* (= Gk. nt. *φύτω* 'grown, a tree') is proved by Cato's use of *futāre* 'saepius fuisse', cited by Fest. 89.3 M.

§422. THE FUTURE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE, OR GERUNDIVE, was by origin a middle participle, present in meaning, as in *oriundus* 'rising, originating', *secundus* 'following, second'. It was presently specialized to express a passive idea, either future or that of obligation or necessity.¹ Its suffix is invariably *-ndo-*.

I. This suffix may be attached to the verbal stem in the form characteristic of the conjugation: so *piandus*² of Conj. I, *videndus* of Conj. II. But in Conj. III and Conj. IV. the older forms show the thematic *-o-*: oLt. *ferundus*, *faciundus*, *conveniundus*, *eundum*. This *-ond-* form was later replaced by a form with *-end-*, after the model of *-andus* *-endus* to pres. ptc. *-ant-* *-ent-* in the first two conjugations: thus *x* : *ferent-* *facient-* = *piandus* *videndus* : *piant-* *vident-*. Accordingly cLt. has normally *ferendus* *faciendus* *conveniendus* etc. But the old type remained in many legal terms, such as *rēs repetundae*, and in *eundum*, where the present participle had the stem *eunt-* (except in nom. *iēns*).

II. The origin of the *-ndo-* is obscure. The most reasonable theory is that the form is a compound of an accusative noun with a verbal adjective *-dos* 'giving'.³ **cūrām-dos* > *cūrandus* 'care-giving, which must be cared for', **fugiōm-dos* > *fugiundus* 'flight-giving, which must be fled from', etc.

¹ For a different view, according to which the gerund is original and the gerundive is a derivative of it, see §424 note 1. ² Cf. Umb. gen. sg. *pihaner*, where *-n-* stands for *-nn-* from *-nd-*.

³ That the second element is *-do-* 'giving' and not *-dho-* 'making' (with root as in *faciō*), is shown by the Osc. and Umb. *-n-* and *-nn-*, which can come from *-ndo-* but cannot come from *-ndho-*.

§423. MISCELLANEOUS PARTICIPIAL FORMATIONS.

I. In PIE there was a present participle of the middle voice, with the suffix *-meno-*, seen in Gk. *φερόμενος*; the plural of this, in *-menoi*, appears in the Lt.

-*minī* which is the ending of the 2d pl. pres. ind. and inv. pass. (§405, §408.II). The same suffix is found also in *fē-mīna*, cf. Gk. *θῆ-γατο* 'suckled'; probably also in *vehemēns* from **uehomenos* to *vehō*, and in *clēmēns* from **kleiomenos* 'leaning toward' to the root in *clīnō*, both with syncope and transfer to the -*ent-* stems. The form -*mno*¹ appears in *alumnus* to *alō*, in oLt. *pilumnoe* (§234), in *columna*, and possibly in *autumnus*, *Vertumnus*.² Derivatives of this suffix are seen in *alimōnium* and *calumnia*.

II. In pIE there was a perfect active participle with the suffix -*yes-* -*ynos-* -*us-*, in some languages alternating with -*yot-*; cf. Gk. *εἰδ(ε)ώς* 'knowing', gen. *εἰδ(ε)ότος*, Skt. nom. acc. nt. *vid-vāt*, gen. *vid-ús-as*. This form is found in the Osc. pf. ptc. *sipus* 'sciens', from masc. **sēp-yōs* or nt. **sēp-yos*, to the equivalent of Lt. *sapiō*; this ptc., generalized in the nt. form, is the basis for some of the perfect tenses of Oscan and Umbrian. The nt. in -*yot* is seen in Lt. *apud* (originally 'having reached', to the root in *apīscor*);³ a formation like Osc. *sipus* is seen in oLt. *sībus* 'clever, keen' and in its compound *persībus*;⁴ -*yes-* is seen in *cadā-ver*, *papā-ver*.⁵

III. The perfect *meminī*, because of its present meaning, formed a ptc. *meminēns* in oLt. and lLt., after the model of the present participle.

IV. Several other suffixes develop into participial formatives in other languages, but not in Latin. Thus -*no-* gives participles in Gmc. and in Skt., like Eng. *written* and Skt. *pr-ṇās* 'filled' (in cpds.), and from the same root Lt. adj. *plē-nus*; Skt. *saṇnds* and *bhinnds*, but Lt. *sessum* and *fissus*, with the -*to-* suffix. The suffix -*īo-* or -*iīo-* is seen in Skt. *yaj-yas* 'worthy of worship', Gk. *ἄγιος* 'holy', but the only example of this in Latin is *eximius*, to *eximō*. The suffix -*lo-* makes participles in Slavic, and appears in a few adjectives in Latin such as *crēdulus* 'believing', *pendulus* 'hanging', and with change of stem-vowel (§207.I) in *agilis*, cf. Skt. *ajiras*; perhaps also, with an extension, in *filius filia*, to the same root as *fēmina* (II).⁶

V. Latin has two semi-participial formatives used in a few words, -*bundus* and -*cundus*, as in *rubi-cundus jū-cundus*, and *mori-bundus treme-bundus*. Of these, -*bundus* is probably related to *fuī* as a gerundiye, the initial becoming -*b-* in medial position in the word; -*cundus* probably arises by wrong division of a gerundive wherein -*c-* immediately preceded the -*undus*.⁷

¹ Seen in Gk. *βέλεμνον* 'missile', Av. *barəmnō* (= Gk. *φερόμενος*, with different grade in the suffix). If -*mn-* was in pIE reduced to -*m-* after a long vowel, as some scholars have held, this -*mno-* may appear as the suffix -*mo-* in *opī-mus* and *patri-mus* (cf. *patri-tus*). ² Unless these two are Latin remodelings of Etruscan words, as is fairly likely. ³ But *caput* is hardly the similar formation to *capiō*. ⁴ To an alternative form of the root in *sapiō*, with Osc. *ī* from *ē*; *sībus* Fest. 336.3 M, *persībus* Plt. and Naev. ap. Fest. 217a.26 M. ⁵ But *secus* 'alongside, otherwise' (to *sequor*) and *tenus* 'stretch, as far as' (to *tendō*) probably do not belong here; they are nt. substantives in -*os*, like *genus*. Nor does the grade -*us-* appear in *gnār-ur-ēs*, which is rather a back-formation to **gnāruriō* 'I desire to know'. *Memor memor-is* also has been claimed as a perf. ptc., to *meminī*, starting in the oblique cases where the stem would be **memn-us-*; but there are several difficulties in the development. ⁶ Though the -*ī-* instead of -*ē-* makes difficulty; cf. §98.III and note 3. ⁷ Possibly the starting point was *secundus* (Sommer, Kr. Erl. 183-4).

§424. THE GERUND is a verbal noun, the neuter of the gerundive in substantival use, like nt. *bonum* 'a good thing, goodness' from adj. *bonus* 'good'.¹ Thus for *belli gerendi cupidus*, with the gerundive modifying *belli*, there might be substituted *bellandi cupidus* 'desirous of warring', with the neuter gerundive as substantive.² This practice was then extended to other than intransitive verbs.³ The forms of the gerund functioned as oblique cases of the infinitive, but was never used as direct object (nor, of course, as subject).

¹ The gerund has not been found in the remains of the other Italic dialects, though the gerundive is freely used in them. ² A different theory is maintained by Sturtevant, Lg. 20.206-11 (1944), as also by W. H. Kirk, TAPA 73.293-307 (1942) and E. A. Hahn, TAPA 74.289-306 (1943): that the gerund is original, being an -e/o- extension of the neuter stem having -tn- in the oblique cases to nom.-acc. -tr (§258), this -tn- becoming -nd- in Italic or pre-Latin (§167.IV); and that from this gerund there developed an adjectival form, the gerundive, starting in phrases where the gerund, so far as endings are concerned, might be misunderstood as an adjective modifying a near-by noun. This theory has much to commend it, though certain difficulties remain which have not been satisfactorily cleared up. ³ The gerundive construction is much more common than the gerund with an object.

§425. THE SUPINE is a -tu- stem substantive of verbal action, found in Latin in two forms. These supine forms have the appearance of isolation because other case-forms of the same stems have largely disappeared in Latin; but *vīsus occāsus āctus* and some others still remain with a full paradigm. Originally the root bore the accent, and was therefore in the strong grade;¹ but leveling has brought the supine in Latin into agreement with the grade of the -to- participle, which originally had the accent on the suffix and the root therefore in the weak grade. A striking example of leveling is seen to supine *quaesitum* after ptc. *quaesitus*, despite -tu- stem substantive *quaestus*.²

I. The supine in -um is an accusative, used to express goal (and therefore purpose): *grātulātum monitum questum petītum, piscātum abire* 'to go off to catch fish',³ *nūptum dare* 'to give in marriage'.

II. The supine in -ū is a locative in -ēu⁴ or an ablative in -ūd,⁵ felt in Latin as an ablative of specification: *facile factū* 'easy in doing', *miserabile vīsū* 'pitiable in respect to the seeing'.⁶ It is very rare except in certain words, the commonest being *factū vīsū dictū nātū*.

¹ This formation, with strong grade of the root, serves as the regular infinitive in classical Sanskrit: *dātum* 'to give', *jētum* 'to conquer'. ² Probably *lātum* (Plt. Most. 433) is a supine, 'to wash (it)', contracted from *lavātum*; cf. §420.n2. ³ Plt. Rud. 898. ⁴ Origin from -ēu is made more probable by the accepted theory of the origin of the fut. ptc. act., cf. §416.I and note 2. But this does not forbid a later reenforcement of the -ū forms as supines, by addition of an ablative -d. ⁵ Not loc. in -ēu as dative of purpose, despite the rare dative forms in *lepida memorātū* 'nice to say' (Plt. Bac. 62), *divisū facilis* 'easy to divide' (Liv. 45.30.2). ⁶ The supines were in oLt. used also in other syntactical meanings: (*vīlicus*) *prīmus cubitū surgat, postrēmus cubitum eat* 'let the farm boss be the first to get up from bed, let him be the last to go to bed' (Cato Agr. 5.5); *opsōnātū redeō* 'I'm coming back from marketing' (Plt. Men. 288); and the datives in the preceding note.

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The following are the Latin writers to whose works reference is made for words and forms; that part of the name which is used in full or abbreviated form in the citations, is given in small capitals:

- | | |
|---|---|
| L. ACCIUS, 170-c. 86 B.C. | M. Valerius MARTIALIS, c. 40-102. |
| L. AFRANIUS, born c. 150 B.C. | MARTIANUS CAPELLA, fl. c. 400-50. |
| L. APULEIUS of Madaura, fl. c. 160. | Cn. NAEVIUS, c. 269-199 B.C. |
| ARNOBIUS Afer, fl. c. 295. | Cornelius NEPOS, c. 99-24 B.C. |
| Stattus CAECILIUS Comicus, c. 219-166 B.C. | P. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS, fl. 60 B.C. |
| C. Julius CAESAR, 100-44 B.C. | NINNIUS CRASSUS, fl. c. 90 B.C. |
| M. Porcius CATO, 234-149 B.C. | NONIUS Marcellus, fl. c. 300. |
| C. Valerius CATULLUS, c. 87-54 B.C. | NOVIUS Comicus, fl. c. 90 B.C. |
| Aurelius Cornelius CELSUS, fl. c. 50. | P. OVIDIUS Naso, 43 B.C. to 18 A.D. |
| Flavius Sospater CHARISIUS, 4th cent. | M. PACUVIUS, c. 220-132 B.C. |
| M. Tullius CICERO, 106-43 B.C. | PHAEDRUS, fl. c. 20-45. |
| Junius Moderatus COLUMELLA, fl. c. 50. | T. Maccius PLAUTUS, c. 254-184 B.C. |
| CORNIFICIUS, fl. c. 82 B.C. | C. PLINIUS Secundus (the Elder), 23-79. |
| DIOMEDES, 4th cent. | POMPEIUS, 5th cent. |
| Aelius DONATUS, fl. c. 350. | POMPONIUS Bononius, fl. 90 B.C. |
| Q. ENNIUS, 239-169 B.C. | PRISCIANUS Caesariensis, c. 500. |
| C. FANNIUS M. f., born c. 174 B.C. | M. Valerius PROBUS, fl. c. 60. |
| Pompeius FESTUS, perhaps 2d cent. (including abstract by Paulus Diaconus, c. 725-97). | Sex. Aurelius PROPERTIUS, 49-15. |
| A. GELLIUS, c. 130-80. | M. Fabius QUINTILIANUS, c. 35-95. |
| Q. HORATIUS Flaccus, 65-8 B.C. | Marius Plotius SACERDOS, fl. c. 300. |
| ISIDORUS, c. 570-636. | C. SALLUSTIUS Crispus, 86-35 B.C. |
| JULIUS OBSEQUENS, fl. c. 699. | L. Annaeus SENECA, 4 B.C. to 65 A.D. |
| D: JUNIUS JUVENALIS, c. 60-140. | SERVIVS, c. 400. |
| C. Decius LABERIUS, 105-43 B.C. | P. Papinius STATIUS, c. 40-96. |
| LAEVIUS, fl. c. 100 B.C. | C. SUTONIUS Tranquillus, c. 75-160. |
| L. LIVIUS ANDRONICUS, c. 284-202 B.C. | C. Cornelius TACITUS, c. 55-120. |
| T. LIVIUS Patavinus, 49 B.C. to 17 A.D. | M. TERENTIUS Afer, c. 194-159 B.C. |
| C. LUCILIUS, 180-103 B.C. | Q. TERENTIUS SCAURUS, fl. c. 100-115. |
| T. LUCRETIVS Carus, c. 96-55 B.C. | Albius TIBULLUS, c. 54-19 B.C. |
| Ambrosius Theodosius MACROBIUS, fl. c. 400. | Sex. TURPILIUS Comicus, c. 183-103 B.C. |
| MANILIUS (Astronomica), fl. c. 10-30. | VALERIUS ANTIAS, fl. c. 90 B.C. |
| | M. Terentius VARRŌ, 116-27 B.C. |
| | P. VERGILIUS Maro, 70-19 B.C. |

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A complete index of the Latin words seems useful; only those which are glosses, or mere cross-references, or are introduced merely to elucidate other words or forms, have been omitted.

In alphabetizing, *i* and *j* have been considered identical; and similarly *u* and *v*. The writing is always *i* and *u*, never *j* and *v*, except *V* as initial of a few proper nouns and ethnic adjectives.

Quantities are not marked to distinguish two forms of the same word. Thus *hostis* includes both *hostīs* and *hostīs* (of whatever case), and *sequere* includes *sequēre* (2d sg. ind. and inv.) and *sequere* (2d sg. fut.).

The references are by sections and their divisions; two references within the same section are separated by commas.

The Roman numerals of the subsections are changed to Arabic and immediately followed by a small letter denoting a subdivision (322.2d = §322.II.D): but with a further subdivision the capital is kept (386.3Ab = §386.III.A.b).

An n before a numeral denotes a note (392.n9 = §392 note 9).

+ after the reference indicates that other forms of the caption word are to be found there (to nom. noun or adj., other forms of the declension; to 1st or 2d sg. verb, other forms of tense or of tense-system). Section-number with + includes the entire section.

§379 contains an index to the formations of the tenses.

To find all information about such a form as *diem*, look first for references under *diem* and then consult *dies* for additional references followed by +; for *sunt*, look first for *sunt* and then under *sum* for references followed by +.

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