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THE VENETIC LANGUAGE

BY

M. S. BEELER

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PREFACE

THE FIRST collection to include all Venetic inscriptions then known was that of Mommsen in 1853: *Die nordetruskischen Alphabete auf Inschriften und Münzen*, but Mommsen made no attempt to distinguish or study the different languages represented by his material. This task fell to Carl Pauli, who in the first volume of his *Altitalische Forschungen (Die Inschriften nordetruskischen Alphabets*, Leipzig, 1885) succeeded in deciphering the various alphabets and in assigning the inscriptions to the various languages of the peoples of north Italy. He argued (pp. 112 ff.) for the Indo-European character and the specific Illyrian affinity of Venetic, without making any attempt to interpret the inscriptions. The first steps in this direction were taken by Deecke in a review of Pauli's book, but most of his suggestions were vitiated by a predilection to connect as many of the Venetic forms as he could with Greek words, and therefore his work has little value except his suggestions regarding the purpose of the puncts and his recognition of the existence of *theta* in the alphabet. Extensive excavations at Este in the various necropolises and on the site of the sanctuary of *Re·i·tīia* had been carried on between 1876 and 1885 (Prosdocimi *NdSc* 1882.5-37; Ghirardini *ibid.* 1883.383-414; *id. ibid.* 1888.3-42, 71-127, 147-173, 204-214, 313-380), and the considerable additions which they supplied to the corpus of Venetic inscriptions influenced Pauli to attempt a comprehensive treatment of the alphabet and language on the basis of a new edition of all the material. This work (*Die Veneter und ihre Schriftdenkmäler*, Vol. 3 of *Altitalische Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1891) established more solidly the results regarding the alphabet attained in his previous volume and made considerable and significant progress in the interpretation of the inscriptions; it remained for more than forty years the point of departure for all further investigation, and was the occasion of several further studies of particular phases of the dialect. The reviews of Thurneysen, G. Meyer, and von Planta, particularly the first, contained several valuable suggestions, and the articles of Torp, Lattes, and Danielsson made some important contributions to the interpretation of particular words and special features of the dialect. The most fruitful treatment of several aspects of Venetic since Pauli, however, was the article by Sommer *IF* 42.90-132, 1924; Sommer vindicated the old view of Mommsen that the alphabet was of Etruscan origin, established the double value of the symbol ·|· (i.e., ·i· as well as *h*), recognized the endings -*ii* and -*o·i·* as those of the genitive and dative singular respectively of *o* stems and -*as* and -*a·i·* as the corresponding endings of *ā* stems, and made several attractive interpretations of individual words, e.g., *lo·u·zeroφo·s* 31 = Latin *liberi* 'children'; *·a·hsu·s* 167 = Germanic **ansuz*, Old Icelandic *ǫss* 'god'; *sselboisselboi* 157 = Old High German *der selb selbo* 'sibi ipsi'; *vhratere·i·* 6 = Latin *fratri*; *vhax·s·θo* 150 = Latin *fecit*.

R. S. Conway had felt as early as 1903 that Pauli's text "was often far from sound" and that "little heed was taken of the provenance and archaeological surroundings of particular inscriptions" (*PID* 1.3), and had considered that the most important step that could be taken in the study of the language was

a new edition of the inscriptions which would supply this data, and which would continue and complete the study of the non-Latin idioms of ancient Italy which he had begun in his *Italic Dialects*, Cambridge (England), 1897. In the interests of such an edition he made several trips to Italy to examine the material at firsthand, and his collection, published in 1933 as the first volume of the *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, contains very full notes and trustworthy readings of all the inscriptions available up to ca. 1930. Although Conway, misled by his unfortunate misconception of the nature of the Venetic puncts, did not make much progress in interpretation, following Pauli in most points, the publication of this work together with that of Sommer gave a new impetus to the study of the language, and several subsequent articles, notably by H. Krahe of Jena and E. Vetter of Vienna, have shed considerable light on many disputed points.

But since the time of Pauli's book the linguistic features of Venetic have not received treatment as a whole, although the work which has been done has altered our conceptions in many important respects. The task, therefore, of summarizing the results of that work and more particularly of assembling all the available evidence which may throw light on the phonetic character of the language seems opportune now that its study has been placed on a new footing by the publication of Conway's edition.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Joshua Whatmough for suggesting this subject and for much valuable assistance while it was being written. I am also much indebted to Professor Archer Taylor.

M. S. B.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AJPh** *American Journal of Philology*, 1880 ff.
- BphW** *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1881 ff.
- BSL** *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, 1871 ff.
- C.I.Att.** *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*
- CIE** *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*
- CIL** *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- ClPh** *Classical Philology*, Chicago, 1906 ff.
- Etr.** Etruscan
- GGA** *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, Göttingen, 1739 ff.
- Gl** *Glotta, Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache*, Göttingen, 1909 ff.
- Holder** A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, Vols. 1–3, Leipzig, 1896–1907
- HSCP** *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Boston, 1890 ff.
- IE** Indo-European
- IF** *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1891 ff.
- IJ** *Indogermanisches Jahrbuch*, 1913 ff.
- JRAI** *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
- KZ** *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ed. Adalbert Kuhn, Berlin, 1852, ff.
- Lang.** *Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America*, 1925 ff.
- Lex.PN** *Lexikon Altilyrischer Personennamen*, by H. Krahe, Heidelberg, 1929
- NdSc** *Notizie degli Scavi di antichità, communicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Rome, 1876 ff.
- PID** *The Prae-Italic Italic Dialects of Italy*, by R. S. Conway, J. Whatmough, S. E. Johnson, Cambridge, Mass., 1933
- Reallex. d. Vorgesch.** *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, ed. Max Ebert, Berlin, 1924–1929
- Rend. Ist. Lomb.** *Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Milan
- Rh.M.** *Rheinisches Museum*
- RIGI** *Rivista indo-greco-italica di filologia, lingua, antichità*, Naples, 1917 ff.
- V.** Venetic
- WklPh** *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, Berlin, 1884 ff.
- ZfdA** *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 1841 ff.
- ZONF** *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung*

THE VENETIC LANGUAGE

BY

M. S. BEELER

I. THE VENETI

THE VENETIC language was recorded in about 190 inscriptions found in what is now the Italian province of the Veneto and on two sites in Carinthia in Austria, just across the summit of the Alps. Of these, approximately 148, of which 62 have only letters and ornaments but no words, come from Este (the ancient Ateste), which was the seat of the cult of the goddess *Re·i·tia* and the center of the so-called Atestine culture. This city was situated on the river Adige (Athesis, with which name that of the city is no doubt connected), whose course in ancient times was some nine miles to the north of its present channel, and at the foot of the southern slope of the Euganean Hills, which were apparently the earliest inhabited locality in the lower Po plain both because of the protection they afforded against the frequent floods to which the lowlands were at that time subject and because of the great fertility of their volcanic soil. It was from this center that the carriers of that culture expanded, founding first the other settlements in the plain and afterwards penetrating into the Alpine valleys. There are fourteen inscriptions from Padua (Pata-vium), which during Roman times was the chief town of the district and the birthplace of Livy, two from Vicenza (Veicetia), two from Oderzo (Opiter-gium), three from Treviso (Tarvisium) and Belluno (Bellunum), five from various sites in the valley of the Piave (Plavis) and adjacent valleys, three from the region of Trieste (Tergeste), thirteen from the Gurina plateau in the upper valley of the Gail (Licus), and seven from Würmlach, near Mauthen.

This evidence of the inscriptions for the geographical distribution of the speakers of this language agrees generally with that of the archaeological remains of the Atestine culture, except for the Istrian sites, which show distinctive forms. The only site in this region that has been thoroughly investigated is Este; here evidence for occupation during the Bronze Age has been discovered in several localities, but the characteristically "Atestine" culture in which the inscriptions subsequently appear begins only with the Iron Age, i.e., ca. 1000-900 B.C. Some authorities are of the opinion that this culture, which emerges, as it were, almost fully developed at the very beginning of the period, was the product of the earlier Bronze Age people. Others attribute it to a new wave of immigrants, who occupied this territory at the same time that the so-called Northern Villanovans were settling in Bologna and the Southern Villanovans moving into Etruria and Latium. In any event, the similarity in the forms and patterns of the culture that began to develop at Este about 900 B.C. with those of contemporary objects at Bologna is so great that there is ground for legitimate doubt that the inhabitants of the two areas were of completely different cultural origins. Divergence and independent development appears only after the lapse of some 200 years.

Prosdocimi, the Italian archaeologist who in 1876–1882 carried on extensive excavations in Este and its environs, proposed, in an article in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1882, pp. 5–37, to divide the Iron Age, pre-Roman civilization of Este into four periods, and such a division is generally recognized today with the exception that Prosdocimi's first period is now thought to be based on insufficient evidence. Accordingly, using the chronology suggested by Ghirardini¹ and modified by Randall-MacIver,² we may regard the second Atestine period as beginning about 900 B.C., the third about 500 B.C., and the fourth about 350 B.C. Roman influence becomes dominant after the middle of the second century, and the native culture seems to be extinguished by the beginning of the empire.

During the four hundred years of the second period there is ample evidence to show that the Atestines were actively engaged in trade with the regions along the middle Danube in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, and with the northern Balkans, but practically nothing to prove that there was any intercourse with Italy south of the Appenines or with other Mediterranean centers. Only with the beginning of the third period about 500 B.C. do Etruscan and other southern influences become notably strong. In this connection it is to be remembered that the Etruscans had begun to establish colonies in the Po Valley at the end of the sixth century, that at Felsina near Bologna apparently dating from about 520 B.C.

It must have been also about this time that the use of writing became known at Este. For, as will be shown, the script is definitely of Etruscan origin, and the oldest inscriptions at Este (e.g., *PID* 150, which exhibits an alphabet of archaic type) are upon objects which have been assigned to the end of the second or the beginning of the third period. And although the inscriptions may be later than the vases and other objects on which they are found, perhaps another argument for the introduction of writing about 500 B.C. may be drawn from the following consideration. One of the features characteristic of the native Atestine script is punctuation, in which initial vowels, and consonants in final syllabic position, are provided with points, or strokes, one on each side of the letter, or, occasionally, only one after the letter. Now it has been shown that this system was probably derived from a practice observed in certain inscriptions of the sixth century from the southern Etrurian cities of Veii, Narce, and Tarquinii. Furthermore, Vetter thinks³ that the Etruscan practice died out about 450 B.C., and this if true would give a *terminus ante quem*.

Atestine culture reached its culmination in the fifth century, after which a marked decline set in. The fourth period showed strong foreign influence, most likely Gallic: the great majority of the inscriptions belongs to this time, and the number of Gallic names that now appear among the native material is very considerable. Roman political control commenced with the peaceful foundation of the colony at Aquileia in 184 B.C., and to this period are probably

¹ *NdSc* (1888), pp. 324–325.

² D. Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age in Italy*, pp. 7 ff.

³ *Gl.* 27 (1938) 159.

to be assigned the few inscriptions written in the native language but in the Latin alphabet, e.g., *CIL* 5, no. 2674; *ibid.* no. 2780.

These Atestines are known in classical literature, from the fifth century on, as Veneti: 'Everoi Herodotus 1.196; *Obéveroι* Polybius 2.17. They, like the Romans, had a tradition, which is at least as old as Cato,⁴ that their forebears had fought at Troy with the Trojans and after the defeat had come to the head of the Adriatic and founded a colony there under the leadership of Antenor and his sons (Livy 1.1; Virgil, *Aen.* 1.242 ff.; Strabo 12.3.8). It was surely felt that the similarity of their name with that of the 'Everoi, a people of Asia Minor mentioned by Homer (*Iliad* 2.852) as allies of the Trojans, confirmed this tradition.

II. THE INSCRIPTIONS

The objects on which these inscriptions occur, and presumably therefore the subject matter of the inscriptions themselves, can be divided into two general categories: sepulchral and votive. To the first belong (1) a group of nineteen epitaphs on truncated stone pyramids found in or near Este (*PID* 112-128), with which is to be included the tombstone from Monte Pore (159); (2) a series of inscriptions on vases, mostly cinerary, from Este (129-139), together with two (150-151) from Padua; (3) several "epitaphs" on blocks or tablets of stone (141-149) from Padua; and (4) various tombstones and epitaphs from the Alpine valleys. Among the votive inscriptions by far the largest and most important group comes from one site, the Fondo Baratela near Este, of which practically all the examples are dedications to a goddess *Re·i·tīia*, so that a temple presumably existed on this site. This temple, if we may judge from inscription *PID* 33, which shows consistently the use of *θ* for *t*, a spelling which otherwise is practically limited to Padua and therefore leads us to suppose that it was written by a person of Paduan origin, may have been a sanctuary common to the Veneti and not merely that of a local divinity. These votive inscriptions of the Fondo Baratela are divided into three groups: (1) fourteen bronze tablets (1-14), which show in addition to the votive inscription itself, the letters of the alphabet arranged either in the regular alphabetic order or in particular combinations with special letters (e.g., no. 1 has all the letters of the alphabet in combination each with each of the three sonants *r*, *n*, and *l*: e.g., *sr*, *sn*, *sl*; *tr*, *tn*, *tl*; *φr*, *φn*, *φl*); (2) a series of bronze pins (15-98) from five to ten inches long, twenty-two of them bearing votive inscriptions to *Re·i·tīia* and all dedicated by women, perhaps related in some way or other to the supposed healing and maieutic character of the goddess; (3) thirteen inscriptions (99-111) on the abaci of stone pedestals, or on the pedestals themselves, these pedestals being intended to support some small piece of bronze sculpture as the dedication. In addition to these examples from Este, there are a few other votive inscriptions found elsewhere, notably the *lo·u·zera·i·* situla (or pail, 162) of Pieve di Cadore, the two *lah·v·nah* dedications (164) from the Isonzo valley, and the several bronze plates (166-172) from the Gurina.

⁴ "Venetos Troiana stirpe ortos auctor est Cato," Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 3.130.

III. THE ALPHABET

1. ETRUSCAN ORIGIN

The alphabet in which these inscriptions are written forms one of a group of similar alphabets which were used in various parts of north Italy in pre-Christian times, and which are usually called the north-Etruscan alphabets. That the Venetic alphabet in particular is in fact derived from the Etruscan is now certain, despite the attempts of Pauli and Deecke to relate it directly to a Greek source. Its Etruscan origin is clearly shown by the close resemblance in the forms of the letters, the lack of the letters *b*, *d*, and *g*, the confusion of *t* and *θ*, the position of *o* at the end of the alphabet (indicating that it was added later; Etruscan did not use the letter *o*), the use of the perigram *vh* for *f*, and by the peculiarly Etruscan form of *z* (Venetic \times , Etruscan \neq , earlier \perp or \perp). The resemblance, which Vetter (*Gl* 24.114 ff.) has pointed out, between the Venetic system of punctuation and that of some early Etruscan inscriptions is a very strong confirmation of this theory. In only two or three points does the Venetic alphabet differ considerably from the Etruscan, notably in the inverted *l* (\perp , Etruscan \perp) and *u* (\wedge , Etruscan \vee), innovations introduced according to Sommer *IF* 42.91 to facilitate the engraving; the *p* (\perp , Etruscan \perp), with the extra hasta to avoid confusion with the new form of the *l*; and the *h* (usually $\cdot|\cdot$ or $||$, occasionally \boxplus , Etruscan \boxplus), formed by turning the inherited symbol on its side, then leaving off the horizontal strokes, and shortening the two side strokes.

2. $\cdot|\cdot$

It was the merit of Pauli to prove conclusively (pp. 95 ff.) the value of this symbol as *h* by pointing out the parallelism of Venetic *vh* on the one hand (graphically corresponding to *f* in the Latin alphabet: see below under *vh*) and the early Etruscan and Praenestine Latin (FBE: FBAKED = *vhevoked*, i.e., **fefaked*; cf. Oscan *fefacid*) use on the other of F \boxplus = *vh* for *f*. Such spellings as the Boeotian *Fhekáδαμοε* and the Pamphylian *Fhε* may possibly be compared. The obvious conclusion from this, made by Pauli and many later transcribers (e.g., Conway), was that this symbol everywhere had the value of *h*, even when it did not occur in combination with *v*. But this was going too far; for as Sommer, *loc. cit.* pp. 103 ff., pointed out, the evident parallelism that exists between the two Paduan inscriptions nos. 141 and 142 in the epichoric alphabet and the inscription of the Canevóti situla no. 157 in the Latin alphabet, the two former of which show case endings in *-e·|\cdot* and *-o·|\cdot* before the word *e·kupertari·s·* whereas the latter has forms in *-ei* and *-oi* before *ecupetaris*, makes practically certain that the two are to be closely compared and that the Venetic case endings in the forms concerned are to be read as *-ei* and *-oi*. Such a reading receives considerable support from the large number of forms ending in *-ai*, *-ei*, and *-oi* which occur in several inscriptions in the Latin alphabet on cinerary vases found together with apparently similar inscriptions in the epichoric alphabet at Este in 1928, and published in the *NdSc* Vol. 9

(1933). (Cf. Whatmough *ClPh* 29.281-292). For example, the construction and word order of Prof. Whatmough's no. 21 (*fougontai. fugisoniai. ...igdinai. ego*) corresponds exactly to that of *PID* no. 129 (*va·n·te·|· vho·u·xo·n·tio·|· ·e·xo*), both of which have the same word, which can hardly be anything but the nominative case of the first person singular personal pronoun,¹ preceded by the name of the person commemorated in the same case. We observe that these inscriptions in the Latin alphabet have endings in *-i* in positions where we find *·|·* in the Venetic alphabet. In view of the very frequent pointing of letters in Venetic, a usage which will be discussed below, the *form* of the letter as a pointed *i* offers no difficulty. (It is to be noted that the second constituent of the *u* diphthongs is always pointed; accordingly we should expect that of the *i* diphthongs also to be so equipped). We have then to recognize a thoroughgoing confusion between the sign for *h* and that for pointed *i* (*i* occurs frequently without the puncts), and which of the two values is to be attributed to the symbol in any particular case must be decided on etymological or other external grounds, and not on the epigraphic evidence. Those examples in which I believe that it ought to be transcribed as *h* are assembled in the article under that heading and those in which it is to be transcribed as *i* under the headings of that letter and of the *i* diphthongs; although there are, as Sommer (p. 114) remarked, several cases where our scanty knowledge of the language does not permit us definitely to decide.

3. *t* AND *θ*

Although Pauli, both in the first (p. 54) and third (pp. 130 ff.) volumes of his *Altitalische Forschungen* denied the existence of *θ* in Venetic, basing his argument on the apparently promiscuous use of the two symbols \bigcirc and \odot for *o* (e.g., *·e·x⊙* beside *·e·x⊙*), the original distinction between them according

¹ From the seventh to the fifth centuries B.C., and sporadically later, it was common usage in Greece and Italy to represent inscriptions as speaking in the first person. The following examples will illustrate this custom:

Sigeum. Early sixth cent. B.C. Φανοδικὸς ἐμὶ τὸρμοκράτεος τὸ Προκομησιδῆς . . . Buck, *Greek Dialects*, rev. ed., 1928, p. 164.

Naxos. Seventh or early sixth cent. B.C. Νικάνδρη μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἡκηβῆδιδι ἰοχαερῆι . . . *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Tanagra. Sixth cent. B.C. Ἐπι Φηκαδάμοε ἐμὶ. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

Cebrene. Fifth cent. B.C. Σ[γάλλ]α πῖ Σθενελαί ἐμμι τὸ Νικιαλαί τὸ Γαυκῶς. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Praeneste. Ca. 600 B.C. Manios med fhefhaked Numasioi. Diehl, *Allateinische Inschriften*, 1921, p. 63.

Corchiano near Falerii. Sixth cent. (?). med Loucilios feced. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Rome. Fourth cent. B.C. . . duenos med feced . . . *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Capua (Oscan). Sepiéis Heleviéis súm. Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, 1928, p. 251.

Herculaneum (Oscan). Herentatels súm. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Siena (Etruscan). mi murs arnsal vetes nufres laris vete mulune lasia petruni mulune = "Io (sono) l'urna di Arnth Vete Nufre; Laris Vete ha dedicato; La(r)thia Petruni dedicato." Pallottino, *Elementi di Lingua Etrusca*, 1936, p. 84.

Veii (Etruscan). mi-ni muluvanice mamarce apuniie venala = "Mi ha dedicato Mamarce Apuniie . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 85.

? (Faliscan.) eco quito iventosio titias duenom duenas salutem voltene = "Ich (bin) ein Krug des I.—Gutes (einen Guten?) aus dem Besitz der Titia, einer Guten—Gesundheit (schickt sie) dem Volto." Vetter, *Gl* 27.149 ff., 1939.

Civita Castellana. Sixth cent. B.C. (Faliscan.) eko kaisiosio. *CIE* 8163.

This practice was then transmitted, along with the alphabet, from the Etruscans to the Veneti, and survived longer in that relatively remote region than it did elsewhere.

to which \odot had the value of θ and \circ that of o , and the subsequent confusion in which either of the symbols could be used either for o or for θ , were recognized by Deecke (*GGA* 1886.56), Thurneysen (*BphW* 9.287), and Torp ("Bemerkungen," p. 11) from the presence of the one or the other on the alphabetic tablets of Este in the position which was occupied by θ in the Greek alphabet. This interpretation was confirmed by the equation of the *ecupetaris* of the Canevói situla in the Latin alphabet (published by Lattes in 1901: *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, ser. 2, 34.1132, cf. Danielsson *Skrifter* 13.4 ff.) with the *e·kupe* \odot *ari·s·* of 141 and the *e·kupe* \circ *Oari·s·* of 142 in the native alphabet. This spelling showed Latin *t* corresponding to Venetic \odot and o , and we find within the native alphabet itself an alternation of *t* with \odot : *who·u·xo·n·tah* 16 must be compared with *who...xo·n·tha* 33, *lemeto·r·na* 26b with *leme θ o·r·na* 33, *zona·s·to passim* with *zona·s· θ o* 33 (and with *vha χ ·s· θ o* 150, which presumably shows the same ending), and perhaps *sahnate·i· passim* with the *shnathia* of 33, which is surely to be restored to **sahnath θ e·i·*.

Of the approximately twenty-four occurrences of θ in Venetic eighteen come from Padua, and of the remaining six, from Este, four are on one inscription, no. 33. But there is only one certain occurrence of the letter *t* at Padua (*plete·i·* 142), the provenance and present location of no. 147, which contains *re·i·tevio·i·* and *lo·r·tt* and which is also assigned to Padua, being unknown. Such a confusion of the two signs is further common in Etruscan (Fiesel, "Namen," p. 10), Greek τ being reflected both as *t* and as θ , and Greek θ both as θ and as *t*, with apparently no distinction in value. In Umbrian we have two instances of the use of θ apparently with the value of *t*: *furfa θ* I b 1 (cf. *furfant* VI b 43) and *purtuwi θ* IV 20 (cf. *purdovitu* VI a 56). This alternation in spelling is also fairly common in Messapic (Whatmough *PID* 3.597). It is evident, then, that the use of these two signs in Venetic reflects merely a local variation in the spelling, and that the same phonetic value is to be assigned to both of them.

Parenthetically it is worth noting that in Venetic *k* does not alternate with χ nor *p* with ϕ in the same way that *t* does with θ ; this state of affairs is surely to be connected in some way with the fact that the earliest Greek alphabets knew θ but were unacquainted with χ and ϕ .

That the value of the sound written indiscriminately *t* or θ was that of a stop and not of an aspirate seems clear from the equation of *e·kupe θ ari·s·* with *ecupetaris*, as well as from the etymological value of the sound: the secondary middle ending of the third person singular *-to* and *- θ o* are equivalent to Greek *-ro* and Sanskrit *-ta*; the agent suffix *-tor-* (*- θ or-*) corresponds to Latin *-tor-* and Greek *-rop-*. It appears, then, that of two symbols borrowed from Etruscan with practically identical value one, θ , was generalized with that value at Padua, and the other, *t*, at Este and elsewhere in the Venetic territory with the same value. Indeed, the fact that all the other Venetic inscriptions besides those of Padua have *t* for the voiceless dental stop indicates that their writers received their alphabet from Este and not from Padua, which is another proof, if one were needed, that the former city was the chief town of the district during pre-Roman times.

4. ϕ , z , χ

The Venetic alphabet lacks the letters *b*, *d*, and *g*, but the phonemes represented in native words with the letters ϕ , z , and χ are spelled in the corresponding Latin words with *b*, *d*, and *g*; these same letters ϕ , z , and χ also reproduce the *b*, *d*, and *g* of the language of the neighboring Gauls. The phonemes in question, therefore, were doubtless voiced and, presumably, plosive as well. The fact that two of them are represented with the symbols for the corresponding Greek voiceless aspirates does not necessarily imply their fricative or aspirate character, although it was apparently this orthographic circumstance that led Pauli (p. 400) and Hirt (*Die Indogermanen* 2.606) to declare that they were fricatives. These symbols were the only ones available to the Veneti for the notation of whatever type of voiced stop or fricative occurred in their language and would be used regardless of the nature of those consonants. Lack of the usual signs for the voiced stops does not indicate that such phonemes were lacking in the language, but only that the source alphabet did not have such signs. The Etruscan alphabet had discarded the inherited *b*, *d*, and *g* at a very early period, and it is therefore to be regarded as the only possible source of the Venetic alphabet.

As indicated above, the available evidence, such as it is, indicates that ϕ , z , and χ were voiced stops, unless a good argument to the contrary can be adduced. And Thurneysen (*WklPh* 9.291), on the basis of such evidence, sees ". . . keinen Grund zu zweifeln, daß ϕ z χ einfach als die venetische Schreibung wirklicher Mediae *b d g* zu betrachten sind." The only thoroughgoing attempt to prove the fricative character of these phonemes is that of Sommer *IF* 42.96 ff.; his principal argument was based on the case of z alone, and he assumed that if z represented a fricative, by analogy ϕ and χ probably did also. This assumption might be allowed, but I believe that he failed to establish a convincing proof for z . He pointed out that *t* and θ were used interchangeably, and that therefore θ had the value of a voiceless dental stop. But the fact that θ was not used in *zona·s·to*, etc., indicates, according to him, that the phoneme represented by z in that word was at least nearer to a sibilant than to θ (*t*), because Etruscan z apparently had the value of a sibilant or affricate (it reproduces Greek ζ , i.e., *zd* or at least *ts*, and it also alternates frequently with *s*, e.g., *veliza* side by side with *velisa* and *utuze* = *'Oδυσσεύς* side by side with *utuse*, cf. Fiesel, "Namen," pp. 56–57), and this is supposed to point to a fricative pronunciation. But we are not justified in determining the value of a sound solely from the symbol which is used to represent it, and all we can say is that the existence of a spelling consistently different from θ (*t*) indicates that the Venetic language had a sound which was phonemically distinct from the voiceless dental stop. I do not see why this phoneme could not have been the voiced dental stop; it is the simplest way to interpret the obvious equation of the Venetic name *ve·r·ko·n·za·r·na* 32 and the Gallic name *Vercondari-dubnus* (Livy *Epit.* of Bk. 139); unfortunately there are no other examples as telling as this. But it also permits a simple interpretation of the occurrence of z in the alphabetic position of *t* in *PID* 4, and of the spelling *tona·s·to* in no. 28 in

place of the common *zona · s · to*. We may well agree with Thurneysen (*Gl* 21.5) that “. . . es sich bei ϕ χ z ja deutlich um *willkürliche* Veränderung des etruskischen Lautwertes handelt.”

The choice of the letter *z* for *d* and not θ , as we might have expected from the analogy of the other two voiced stops, surely rested on the circumstance that θ had already been taken over with the value of *t*, whereas ϕ and χ had not as yet been employed and so could be used for the labial and palatal stops respectively. As noted above, Venetic ϕ does not regularly alternate with *p*, nor χ with *k*; the practice regarding these letters is like that in Umbrian, where *t* and θ alternate, but never ϕ and *p* nor χ and *k*.²

Sommer's other arguments are, it seems to me, even weaker than his principal one. He says that since the Veneti borrowed their *o* from a source other than Etruscan (presumably some Greek dialect) there is no reason to suppose they would not also have borrowed the symbols for the mediae—*b*, *d*, and *g*. The fact that such a borrowing was not made indicates that such sounds did not exist in Venetic. But the cases are not parallel: there was no sign in the borrowed Etruscan alphabet that could be used for *o*, and although for a time perhaps the *u* symbol may have done service both for *u* and for *o* as it did in the Umbrian alphabet, the need was still felt for two separate symbols for the two phonemes, and the *o* symbol was accordingly borrowed from the first Greek alphabet with which the Veneti became acquainted. But *b*, *d*, and *g* were quite adequately represented by the symbols ϕ , *z*, and χ , and there was no cause for abandoning them in favor of other signs which were in no way superior for the purpose of representing the sounds.

Further, I do not think that we can draw any phonetic conclusions from the fact that the combination of palatal and *s* is always spelled $-\chi s-$. Sommer (pp. 100 ff.) would have it that such a writing indicates an aspirate value for χ . But this was the traditional spelling both in archaic Greek and in Etruscan (here the commonest transcription of Greek ξ is χs : Fiesel, “Namen,” pp. 44–48) for such a combination, and although it may well have been intended to indicate some change in the articulation of the palatal in Greek in this position (otherwise we should not have had the later use of the special symbol ξ for the combination), nothing certain can be said about the articulation of the palatal in Etruscan. The Veneti may have regarded the combination of letters $-\chi s-$ merely as a digraph for a simple sound in which, accordingly, the separate symbols did not have their usual independent values.

5. \acute{s} AND *s*

In the case of the sibilants we have an alternation in spelling somewhat similar to that observed between *t* and θ , although, as was the case with the dentals, a

² If the hypothesis of Sommer and Hammarström of the Boeotian origin of the Etruscan alphabet is correct, there is some slight evidence that the letter *z* may have had, at least locally or temporarily, the value of *d*. For it is precisely in that region of Greece that original Greek ζ (= *zd*) had been assimilated to a sound later spelt initially as δ -, medially as $-\delta\delta$ -. If the alphabet was borrowed at a time when this change of pronunciation, but not of spelling, had taken place, *z* might then have been taken over with the value of some sort of dental stop. The equation of the Etruscan *ziunithe* and *euzicle* with the Greek $\Delta\iota\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\delta\eta\varsigma$ and $\text{Ἐ}\tau\rho\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$ (Fiesel, “Namen,” p. 13) would lend support to such a theory.

local distinction cannot be discovered in the use of the two different symbols. San (*M*, transcribed *ś*) and sigma (*σ*) both occur in Venetic, and our task is to determine if there was any difference in the sounds represented by them. In our discussion of this problem we shall do well to start with the older Greek alphabets. The use of san in the older Doric dialects (Thera, Crete, Corinth, Argos) in the same positions where we find sigma in the Ionic inscriptions (Miletus, Naxos, Samos, Athens), and the later spread of sigma at the expense of san in the Doric area suggests that the distinction here was merely orthographic, one of the two symbols for the two sibilant phonemes of Phoenician being generalized in the one group of dialects and the other in the other. The distribution of the two letters in Etruscan (Pauli, pp. 172 ff.; Fiesel, *op. cit.* p. 12) has not been satisfactorily established; in many words they are used interchangeably: Gk. Περσέης is spelled both *perse* and *perśe*; *Αδωνίς = *atunīś* and *atunīs*; Σίσυφος = *sīspeś*; Τειρεσίας = *terasiasś*. As will be observed, Etruscan seems to have a penchant for using san in word-final position. Now in view of the Etruscan origin of the Venetic alphabet, we ought not be surprised if no definite distribution of the two letters can be established for Venetic.

And this is what we find. Although sigma is by far the more frequent symbol, san does occur in seven different words: *śahnate·i·*, *·a·hsu·ś·*, *vo·k·tśes*, *vhaφαhtśa*, *iūwa·n·tśa·i·*, *vesoś*, *v·e·ske·ś·*. Can any correlation be discovered between the use of san and particular positions (initial or final) in the word or in particular clusters? Sommer *IF* 42.128 n. 1 (cf. Vetter *Gl* 15.10) suggests that the spelling with *ss-* in *sselboisselboi* in no. 157 in the Latin alphabet is the reflection in that alphabet of Venetic *ś-*, and that initially the sibilant had acquired a greater intensity than elsewhere, such intensity being indicated by the spelling with san. But of the five words in the native alphabet that show an initial sibilant (*śahnate·i·*, *śirka* ?, *so·u·ana*, *stati*, *se·χ·tio*) only one is spelled with san, and here the consistency in the spelling in the six occurrences of the cult epithet *śahnate·i·* may be explained as due to adherence to an archaic, established spelling because of its magical efficacy. Here too, *ś* occurs before a back vowel, whereas *s-* appears before back vowels, front vowels, and consonants. Again, Ribezzo's assertion (*RIGI* 8.272) of a special value for final *-s* can rest only on *vesoś*, *·a·hsu·ś·*, and *v·e·ske·ś·*, whereas there are approximately fifty examples of the spelling with final sigma. It appears, then, that no correlation between the two letters and particular word-positions can be made (in the combination *ts*, *s* is always san; cf. *vo·k·tśes*, *vhaφαhtśa*, *iūwa·n·tśa·i·*, and in *PID* no. 120 *tśa·r·*; hence in no. 180 Pauli's *votto·s·* is to be preferred to Conway's *votso·s·*; but no satisfactory interpretation of this graph is obvious), and it is therefore likely that the use of the different symbols does not reflect the existence of two phonemes. The alternation between *·a·hsu·ś·* 166 and *·a·hsu·s·* 167 has been explained (Pauli, p. 170; Sommer, *loc. cit.*, p. 117) on chronological grounds, since the bronze plate of 166 is considerably older than that of 167; this could mean that san was the older symbol, which was gradually disappearing before the spread of sigma, as happened in Greek, since it was superfluous to have two letters for the same phoneme.

In the case of *vhaφαhtsa* and *iiwa·n·tsa·i·* it has been asserted by Conway *PID* 1.198, sec. 56 (and accepted by Whatmough *HSCP* 44.118 and Krahe *IF* 53.67) that there is an assibilation of *-tj-* to *-ts-*, hence these forms would be derived from older **vhaφαtia* and **iiwantia*. But such an assibilation does not take place under identical conditions in the word *re·i·tiii·i·* and in many patronymics (or gentilicia) in *-io-* (e.g., *who·u·xo·n·tiii·i·*, *iuwa·n·tiii·i·*, *·o·s·tiii·i·*). Possibly there is to be recognized in these two words a suffix with *-s-*, as in *vhu·χ·siii* beside *vhuxia*, *φοχσο·s·*, *vo·χ·sii*.

6. PUNCTATION

One of the most characteristic features of Venetic writing, and one of the most disputed points in the interpretation of the inscriptions, is the very frequent occurrence of puncts, or dots; these apparently were intended to belong to individual letters, both vowels and consonants, and each letter so provided usually has two, one before and one after, although occasionally there is only one, which follows the letter. The normal position is halfway between top and bottom of the letter. A great many different explanations of the purpose of these puncts have been advanced,³ varying from the idea of Lattes that they were used not to separate but to join together the separate words, to that of Conway that they indicated the position of the word accent. But the explanation of Deecke, the first (*GGA* 1886.66 ff.) to deal with the problem, that those letters were pointed which either formed a syllable by themselves (i.e., initial vowels) or constituted the final sound of the syllable, appears, with certain important modifications subsequently made, to be the most satisfactory. Thurneysen (*WklPh* 9.287 ff.) limited Deecke's formulation to include, besides vowels not immediately preceded by a consonant, only the final *consonants* of syllables and pointed out that in this shape the Venetic usage was similar to that of many systems of writing which ultimately derive from syllabaries.

Hempl (*loc. cit.* p. 344) noticed the close parallelism that exists in respect to the punctuation between the Venetic system and that of certain Etruscan inscriptions, notably the Capua Tablet and the long Narce inscription (*CIE* 8412); but to Vetter belongs the credit of having soundly established such a parallelism on the basis of a new series of Etruscan inscriptions found at Vei and published in the *NdSc* for 1930, pp. 306 ff., and of determining the norms of application of the puncts so exactly that a ninety per cent degree of correctness in the 256 pointed letters is obtained. As Vetter remarks, this is no larger a percentage of error than would be expected in the letter of a person of average education today. His formulation (p. 115) of the norm is practically that of Thurneysen, except that he admits that certain consonant clusters such as *-tn-*, *-tr-*, *-kn-*, *tk-*, *-zn-*, *-kl-*, and *-mn-* may stand at the beginning of the syllable, and that the first member is therefore not pointed. The second constituents of the *i* and *u* diphthongs have puncts, as might be expected.

³ For a bibliography of the question see: G. Herbig, *Realex. d. Vorgesch.*, 14.117 f.; to which the following items should be added: B. Sládeček, *Μνήμα* (*Festschrift für Zubatý*, Prague, 1925), pp. 235-248; G. Hempl, "Mediterranean Studies," pp. 343 f.; E. Vetter, "Die Herkunft des venetischen Punktiersystems," *Gl.* 24.114-133.

But a further fact not observed by Vetter may throw light on one of the puzzling problems confronting the student of Venetic. Conway (*PID* 1, pp. 87–88) confessed that he could discover no satisfactory explanation of the purpose of the alphabetic tablets (*PID* nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6a, 6c, 8, 10) which have frequent groups of letters in series, along with the constant repetition of the four letters *a k e o*. For the latter I can suggest no improvement on interpretations previously made, unsatisfactory as these may seem to some. But an examination of the eighteen inscriptions given by Vetter on pp. 124–125 as perfectly preserved and therefore best illustrating the system of punctuation reveals that there were thirteen occurrences of consonantal clusters: *tn* (twice), *tk*, *zs*, *kn*, *tr*, *tl*, *kl* (twice), *mn*, *vh*, *tš*, *χs*, twenty-one if *vh* be admitted as a cluster, in which the first element was not provided with puncts and which therefore must have been regarded as standing in syllabic initial position. Of these clusters all except *tk* consist of consonant followed by one of the continuants *n*, *r*, *l*, or *s*(*š*). A further examination of all the Venetic inscriptions shows that in all clusters consisting of consonant other than *r l n* plus *r l n* only one (the *·m·n·* of *loltio·m·n·o·i·* of 136e) has the first element provided with puncts.

With clusters whose second element is *s*(*š*) the situation is different: of *ts* there are eight examples (2, 3, 99 twice, 100, 152, 180, *CIPh* 29.283), of which all except one (the doubtful *votso·s·* of 180; perhaps to be restored as *votto·s·*: cf. *vo(t)e·i·iio·s·* 100, 111) have the *t* pointed. Of the four examples of *tš* (1, 112, 120, 182) the first three do not point the *t*, the fourth does. Of the four clear examples of *χs* (23, 25, 160, 180) two point the *χ*, two do not. In the two examples of *φs* (6a Cordenons, 165) the *φ* is not pointed. In the two examples of *ks* (both in the same inscription, 165), *k* is not pointed. In the sole example of *zs* (34) *z* is not pointed. Two of the three examples (136, 160, 163) of *ss* do not point the first *s*; the third has *vas·seno*. For *rs* we have the fragmentary *....ar·s·* of 4. In none of the six examples (2, 3, 10, 168, *CIPh* 29.285, *ibid.* 287) of *ns* is *n* pointed (except possibly *kavaron:s·* in 168). The list is completed by *lav·s·ko·s·* in 158. That is, of thirty-two clusters with *s* as second element, approximately twenty-one do not point the first consonant; eleven do.

From this it must be concluded that it was regular practice (the *tk* of 30, as well as the *·m·n·* of 136e, must then simply be taken as errors) to regard all clusters made up of consonants other than *r l n* plus *r l n*, and only such clusters, as permissible in syllabic initial position. For the evidence respecting *-s*(*š*)- shows that usage in regard to this consonant fluctuated: sometimes the first element was pointed, in accordance with the regular rule to point all consonants the first members of clusters whose second element was not *r l n*; sometimes, and more frequently, it was not, possibly because *s*(*š*) was, like the liquids and nasal, a continuant. Parenthetically, it is worth noting that *z* never occurs in clusters in positions comparable to those of *s*; this corroborates other evidence for the nonsibilant character of the sound.

Now an examination of the best-preserved (*PID* no. 1) of the alphabetic tablets above mentioned shows combinations of all consonants except *r l n* (and *h*) and including *vh* (a digraph), each one with each of the three letters

r l n. Two other clusters are included in the series: *vh* and *kv* (of the latter no certain example is found in the inscriptions). None of these clusters in any of the nine alphabetic tablets on which they are found has puncts. It is obvious, therefore, that the learning of the alphabet by the Veneti involved, first, a knowledge of all the individual letters of the alphabet as written without puncts—line one, including the *a k e* and *o* of lines 2 to 5, of *PID 1*; secondly, of the same letters as written with puncts (*h* is never pointed)—line nine of the

8 7



Venetic Inscription PID 1.

same inscription; and thirdly, of all the clusters whose first element was not pointed—lines 10, 11, 12, 13. The tablets are thus examples of the model which had to be copied by each learner of the alphabet and knowledge of which sufficed to write the language if one observed the simple rules that initial vowels, final consonants, the second elements of diphthongs, and the first consonants in all clusters other than those listed, were pointed.

Once the system has been definitely established it is of some service in reading inscriptions of doubtful interpretation, notably in the division of words: e.g., if a pointed consonant is followed by a pointed vowel, a word division must be made between the two letters, but if neither is pointed, then they both belong to the same syllable. But even here the punctuation is not generally useful, for it is of no value, for instance, when one word ends with a consonant and the next begins with one, and when the preceding word ends

with a vowel and the following one begins with a consonant; and hence in some inscriptions it is still uncertain whether a division ought to be made, and if so, where; e.g., in no. 152: is *katu·s·ia·o·s·* one word or two (presuming that the *i* has consonantal value)? And, in no. 148: is *ho·s·θihavo·s·* only one word, or, if more than one, where are we to make the division?

In respects other than that of word division the Venetic puncts indicate nothing which is not already obvious, and the word division itself could be much more simply and efficiently marked by use of a special word divider, such as is common in the inscriptions of other languages of ancient Italy. It is evident, then, that such a system was invented neither for Venetic nor for Etruscan. Vetter therefore agrees with Thurneysen in referring its origin to some system of syllabic writing similar to the Sanskrit Devanāgarī, in which the sign for the consonant implies a following *a* vowel, and a special symbol, the *virāma*, is necessary to indicate that the consonant alone is to be understood. The Etruscans, according to his theory, became so accustomed to a similar practice, in which the puncts performed the function of the *virāma*, while still using some hypothetical syllabary, that when they took over the Greek script they continued for a while to apply it to the new alphabet, cumbersome and unnecessary as it was there. Since the eastern Mediterranean origin of the Etruscans seems fairly well established, one may point to several different systems of syllabic writing found there: the Cretan linear scripts, the Cypriote syllabary, the Hittite hieroglyphs, and the cuneiform itself. Although the Etruscan application of the system appears neither thoroughgoing nor consistent, the Veneti evidently regarded it as a necessary element of their writing and therefore made use of it with an astonishingly high degree of regularity.

IV. THE INDO-EUROPEAN CHARACTER OF VENETIC

Venetic is an Indo-European language. Some of the evidence which proves this point is the following:

a) The contrast between the inflectional endings of two series of names, one with *-os*, *-oi*, and *-on* (like the nominative, dative, and accusative singulars respectively of IE *ǒ* stems), and the other with *-a*, *-as*, and *ai* (like the nominative, genitive, and dative singulars of IE *ā* stems).

b) The verbal ending *-to*, presumably that of the third person singular of the secondary indicative middle, Greek *-ro*, Sanskrit *-ta*.

c) A large number of derivative suffixes, e.g., *-jo-*, *-no-*, *-so-*, *-tor-*, which can be abundantly paralleled in the languages of the IE family.

d) Many striking lexical correspondences, such as *·e·χo* (= Lat. *ego*, *mexo* = Gothic *mik*, *zoto* = Greek *ἐ-δοτο*, *lo·u·zera·i·* = Latin *Libera*).

e) The characteristically Indo-European nature of the vowel alternation in *vo·u·χo·n·tah* and *vhuxia* (Pauli).

V. VENETIC PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

The central problem which confronts us in the study of Venetic is the question of its affinities within the Indo-European group. The answer is conditioned upon an adequate descriptive and historical phonology and morphology of

the language. This is attempted in the section that follows. In a language known as imperfectly as is Venetic, historical phonology and morphology are inextricably connected and are best treated together.

We desire to know two things about the phoneme represented by each letter or digraph of the Venetic alphabet: its phonetic value; and its correspondences in other Indo-European languages. The treatment under each letter is therefore twofold: under (1) is collected the evidence for an approximation to the phonetic character of the phoneme in question; and under (2) etymologies are suggested for as many as possible of those words in which that phoneme occurs. Under (2) there will necessarily be involved a discussion of morphological questions. At the end of the section the results are summarized under two headings: (A) the Venetic reflexes of the Indo-European phonemes and (B) Venetic morphology.

For (1), besides what little information may be gleaned from the few cases of variant spelling within Venetic, the principal source will have to be the spellings used in Venetic for words borrowed and transliterated from other languages (largely Celtic; e.g., $\phi\omicron\cdot i\cdot iio\cdot s\cdot 6$ = Celtic *Boius*; $ve\cdot r\cdot ko\cdot n\cdot za\cdot r\cdot na\ 32$ = Celtic *Vercondari-dubnus*; $\phi\omicron\chi\cdot so\cdot s\cdot 180$:: Gallic *bogio-*, Holder 1.462); and those in other languages (almost exclusively Latin) for words borrowed and transliterated from Venetic. But in both cases we make the assumption that words are spelled in both languages approximately according to sound and that they are not merely transliterated into the borrowing language by substituting the letter most closely resembling in *form* the corresponding letter of the lending language. For example, we assume that the spelling *ecupetaris* 157 in the Latin alphabet gives us direct evidence for the sounds of this word, which we accordingly suppose to have been those ordinarily represented by the Latin letters, the values of which we know from other sources, and that it is not a mere transliteration or transcription of the word which is spelled in the epichoric alphabet as $e\cdot kupe\thetaari\cdot s\cdot 141, 142$. As the greater part of the Venetic alphabet was borrowed from the Etruscan and ultimately from the Greek, in both of which languages we have independent evidence for the values of the symbols, this justifies us in supposing that the sounds for which the Veneti used the letters resembled those of the same letters in the lending alphabet; yet in the absence of corroborative testimony such evidence is untrustworthy, as we have seen in the case of ϕ , χ , and z .

1. VENETIC NOMENCLATURE

If we could establish some principle of regularity in the Venetic system of personal nomenclature we should have an important key to the interpretation of many inscriptions. Did each of the Veneti have only one name, being distinguished when necessary from other persons having the same name by the addition of the name of his father in the genitive case (as in the Greek *Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους*)? Or did he have two names, the first his own personal name and the second a compound of the name of his father with the word for *son* (or *daughter*), as in Icelandic (*Þórhalla Ásgrímsdóttir, Leifr Eiríksson*)? Or, thirdly, did his name consist of his own personal name together with that

of his father (or mother) with a derivative suffix standing in an adjectival relation to it, a practice which appears in the Aeolic dialects and which was the source of the Italic gentilicia?¹ Now it must be admitted that none of these formulas will apply to all the Venetic personal names; however, a sufficiently large number follow a fixed pattern that we may suppose was the norm, while names not in agreement with it represent abnormal deviations, the explanation of which is in many cases quite uncertain because of the paucity of material. The norm is of the third type and may be phrased as follows: the regular Venetic personal name consisted of two parts, a praenomen (*the name* *κατ' ἐξοχήν*) and a patronymic which in masculine names was regularly formed with the suffix *-iio-* (sometimes *-χ(e)no-*: cf. nos. 123, 126, 142; three times we seem to have a suffix *-ari-*: 141, 150, *PID* 1.165, n. vii), and in feminine names with the suffix *-na* (or, once, with the Gallic termination *-iika-*: 29). Several examples are found where both the primary praenomen and derivatives from it occur with either or both of these regular suffixes. Whether these patronymics still functioned as such or had already become gentile names as in Italic is impossible to determine. But we can say that no evidence has been adduced to support the contention of the presence of matronymics in Venetic; Conway's attempt (*PID* 1.200 f.) rests upon a false interpretation of such inscriptions as no. 16: *ϑο·υ·χο·ν·ταϑ ϑο·υ·χο·ν·τνα ζο·σ·το·ρε·ι·ττια·ι·*, in which he takes the first word to be the genitive of the feminine *ϑο·υ·χο·ν·τα*, the mother's name. As shown below, it is quite possible to take the first name of no. 16 as a nominative, in which the *-h* indicates the length of the preceding vowel, the long final *-a* of the nominative singular of Indo-European *ā* stems.

Good examples of the general type are, for masculine names: *va·n·te·i·ϑο·υ·χο·ν·τιο·ι·* 129; *vo·l·t̄iomno·i·iwa·n·t̄iio·i·* 113; for feminine names: *ner·ka lemeto·r·na* 26; *ϑhuxia·u·r·klehna* 17; *ka·n·ta ruma·n·na* 21. Examples of patronymic formation are: *a·kut·s·* 100 side by side with *a·kuti·o·i·* 114 and *akutna·i·* 132; *o·s·t̄·s·* 152 and *o·s·t̄iio·i·* 125a (cf. *o·s·t̄ia·re·i·* note 7); *ϑο·υ·χο·ν·ταϑ* 16 and *ϑο·υ·χο·ν·τνα* 16; *lemeto·r·na* 6 and *lemeto·r·na* 26; *īiwa·n·t̄·s·* 3 and *īiwa·n·t̄iio·i·* 113 (cf. *īiwa·n·t̄sa·i·* 112); *e·xe·s·t̄·s·* 99, and *e·xe·s·t̄iio·i·* 125a and *e·xe·s·tn̄* 117. But this system has many exceptions: only one name appears, either the praenomen (27, 149b, 166) or the patronymic (19, 126, 131, 132, 134); or both names have the forms of praenomina (99); or those of patronymics (114, 125a). In some cases apparently three names occur (2, 3, 142), but the relation among them is, in view of the ambiguity of some of the case forms, quite uncertain; it is possible that the third word may not be a name at all, but a qualifying epithet. The evidence does not permit us to recognize the presence in Venetic of something analogous to the Italic cognomina.

But besides this system I think I have a few examples of a type resembling that of the Norse compounds mentioned above: Venetic compounds formed by combining the name of the father in its stem form with the word for 'son' or 'daughter.' Instances are to be recognized in the following three forms:

¹ F. Solmsen, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 137 ff.

va·n·t·kenia 30 (cf. *va·n·t·s·* 2, 99, 136 bis 1), where the element *-kenia* means 'daughter' and is to be connected with the Sanscrit *kanyā* 'girl, daughter'; *kupri·konio·i·* 149a, in which the second element shows the word for 'son' which stands in ablaut relationship (similarly Sanskrit, since it fails to palatalize the *k*, shows the same *o* grade) to *-kenia*; *koli·vhiila* 15, where the second element indicates some degree of relationship in the female line and is to be connected with the root **dhēḡ-* 'suck,' Latin *filius*. In these two latter compounds the first element may be exactly parallel to that of the Norse compounds quoted above: that is, it may be inflected and stand in the genitive case, representing the genitive singular of hypothetical *ō* stems **kupro·s·* and **kolo·s·* (for the genitive in *-i(i)* of *ō* stems see below under *i*).

2. VENETIC LETTERS AND DIGRAPHS

i

Venetic *i* corresponds (1) to *i* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to Indo-European *-i-* and *-ī-* in cognate words.

1. *iθuria* 127 :: *Iturius* CIL V 2036, Belluno; *Iturius* *ibid.* 8110⁹⁶ Trieste.

kvito 136 bis VII :: Gallic *kuitos* 337.

ki·l·lo·s· 163 :: Macedonian Κίλλης *Lex.* PN 30; Messap. *kilahiaihī* 409, *keilias* 468.

vo·l·ti·χno·s· 123, *volti·χenei* 126 :: *Volti·mesis* CIL V 461, 465 Piquentum in Histria.

e·kupeθari·s· 141, 142 :: *ecupetaris* 157.

2.a. IE. *-i-*:

e·kupeθari·s· 141, 142, 157; *kluthiari·s·* 150.

These words very likely contain the same suffix that appears in *o·s·tiiare·i·* (PID 1.165, note vii), which obviously is not an *ō* stem; hence *e·kupeθari·s·* and *kluthiari·s·* are probably *i* stems, not *ō* stems of the type of Old Latin *Cornelis*, *alid*, Lith. *kelj̄s*, *kēl̄j̄* beside *kēlias*, which we might have expected on the analogy of the Latin suffix *-arius*, *-alius*. Then *o·s·tiiare·i·* will be some oblique case of a hypothetical nominative **o·s·tiiari·s·*, formed with the suffix **-ari-* from the base that appears in *o·s·t·s·* 152 and *o·s·tiio·i·* 125a. This oblique case may well be the dative: in Messapic we have the dative *vastei* beside the nominative *vastī*, which may represent a phonetic development from the IE ending **-ejei* (Skr. *-aye*), or it may represent the IE suffixless locative (Torp *IF* 5.199), or even the *-ēi* of consonant stems, which may have been partially confused with the *i* stems, as in Latin.

·u·r·kli 114 'grave'? presumably the nominative singular neuter of an *i* stem.

2.b. IE. *-ī-*:

vo·χ·sii 25b, *re·i·tii* 25a, *enoni* 157, *lo·u·ki* 143, *]eve·s·θii* 146, *kupri-* 149a, *koli-* 15.

Sommer pp. 110 f. recognized genitives singular masculine of *o* or *ō* stems in the first three forms, with an ending *-i* as in Latin, Messapic, Lepontic, and Celtic (cf. also such Sanskrit forms as *stambhī-kr-* 'make firm'). In the first two words the length of the vowel is indicated by its doubling, but the spelling with the single letter in *lo·u·ki*, *kupri-*, and *koli-* does not militate against interpreting these words also as genitives. Elsewhere in Venetic no distinc-

tion is made in the spelling of vowels which are etymologically both long and short, so we may suppose the final long vowel of the genitive singular masculine was spelled indifferently with the single or with the double letter.

-vhiila 15 :: Latin *filius*, Lettish *dīle* 'sucking calf.'

u

Venetic *u* corresponds (1) to *u* in the Latin alphabet and (2) to Indo-European *-ū-* and *-ũ-* in cognate words.

1. *·u·ko* 136 bis III :: *Vcconis CIL* III 5084, S. Leonhard, Oberlavan; *id. ibid.* 5463 S. Dionysen an der Mur.
a·kuti·o·i· 114 :: *Acutius CIL* V 2783, Padua.
musθo·i· 149b :: *Mustius CIL* V 2998, Padua; *id. ibid.* 2822, Padua.
pupone·i· 141 :: *Pupius CIL* V 1353, Aquileia; Faliscan *Puponio(s)*, Deecke *Die Falisker* 153.
tu·r·kna 136 :: *Turc-iacus CIL* V 2438, Ferrara.
ithuria 127 :: *Iturius CIL* V 8110⁹⁶, Trieste.
e·kupeθari·s· 141, 142 :: *ecupetaris* 157.
krum. 136 bis VI :: *Crum-elonā CIPh* 29.292.22,25.
ruma·n·na 21 *roman.* 22 'Rōmāna' :: Goth. *Rūmōneis* 'Romani.'

The alternation of *-o-* and *-u-* may indicate that the long *o* vowel was very close in Venetic and tended to be raised to *-u-*; such a change was, however, late and not thoroughgoing: it affected this word borrowed from Latin but it did not affect the first vowel of *zona's'to*, which is almost certainly long, nor the *o* of *mexo* and *e'xo*, which if we are to judge from the Greek *εγώ*, was also long. See Whatmough *HSCP* 42.145.

vhrutana·i· 136b :: Latin *Frutis* (Krahe *IF* 53.66).

2.a. IE *-ū-*:

- a·hsu·n·* 167 :: accusative singular of a *u* stem (Germ. **ansun*), cf. Skr. *sūnām*, Gr. *πῆχυν*, Lat. *manum*, Lith. *sūny*. *·a·hsu·s·* 166, 167, the accusative plural of the same word, presumably has the vowel long, by compensatory lengthening accompanying the loss of *n* of the accusative plural suffix **-ns* before the *s*.
- katu·s·* 152, if such a division be made, may be the nominative singular of a *u* stem.
- klubiiari·s·* 150 :: Latin *in-clūtus*, Gr. *κλυτός*, Skr. *çrūtā*.
- e·ku-peθari·s·* 141, 142 :: Skr. *açva-*, Lat. *equus*.

Here the *-u-* appears to represent the vocalization of consonantal *-u-* which accompanied the loss of the stem vowel, a case of *Samprasāraṇa*; cf. O.Sax. *ehū-skalk* 'horse-servant.'

vhuxiia 17, 20, 27, 28, 29, 30, 136a; *vhux·s·iia* 18, 23 :: Lat. *fūg-io*, Gk. *ἐ-φύγ-ον*.

The stem **vhux-*, as Pauli p. 233 noted, appears to contain the zero grade of the frequent **vho·u·x-*, hence the vowel must be short.

2.b. IE *-ũ-*:

a·kuti·o·i· 114 :: Lat. *acūtus* (?).

If this etymology is correct and *a·kuli·o·i* does contain a long vowel, then it is extremely unlikely that such a long vowel would be lost by syncope. Accordingly we ought to keep this word and *a·k·tonia·i* 104 strictly separate and to regard the combination *-k·t-* in the latter word as primary, not secondary. The importance of this will be realized when we come to deal with the diphthong *ei*.

e

Venetic *e* corresponds (1) to *e* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE *-ĕ-* and *-ē-* in cognate words.

1. *ve·n·noni·s* 144 :: *Vennonius* CIL V 1444, Aquileia.
eġetore·i 136d :: *egetorei* CIPh 29.292.28.
ġen·the·i 144 :: *Gentius* Livy 42.29.
·e·n·nonio 136 bis IV :: *enonio* CIPh 29.290.7.
vhrema 136c :: *Frema* NdSc 1926.356.
ne·r·ka 26b, 32, 34 :: *nerca* PID 1.117.3; *id.* CIPh 29.291.19.
ve·r·ko·n·za·r·na 32 :: *Vercondari-dubnus* Livy Epit. 139.
v·e·ske·ś 136 bis V :: *vesces* CIPh 29.291.17.
peso 136 bis VI :: *Lepont. pešu* 334.
- 2.a. IE *-ĕ-*:
lo·u·zera·i 162, *lo·u·zerofo·s* 31 :: Gk. ἐλεύθερος, Lat. *libera*, Falisc. *loferta*.
·e·n·θo·l 143 :: Gk. ἐντός, Lat. *intus*.
sselboisselboi 157 :: OHG *der selb selbo*.
-ke 31 :: Lat. *-que*, Gk. *-τε*, Skr. *ca* (Sommer p. 121)?
the·r·mo·n 143 :: Lat. *termo*, Gk. *τέρμων*.
per 167 :: Lat. *per*, Gk. *περί*.
·e·xo, mexo *passim* :: Lat. *ego*, Gk. *ἐγώ*, Old Norse *ek*.
·e·s·t 152 :: Lat. *est*, Gk. *ἔστι*.
-kenia 30 :: Lat. *re-cens*, O.Ir. *cen-el* 'kind, sort,' Skr. *kanyā* 'daughter.'
vhratere·i 6 :: Gk. *φράτερι*.
vesoś 126 :: *Ves-clevisis* (gen. sg.) CIL III 3038 Flanona in Dalmatia, Gk. *ἑάων* (< **yesāsōm*) 'goods,' *Iliad* 24. 528; Skr. *vāsu-* 'good.'
e·ku·peθari·s 141, 142 :: Lat. *equus*, O.Ir. *ech*, O.Sax. *ehu-skalk*.
volti·ġenei 126 :: Gk. *-γενης*, Thracian *-ġēnys*, Lat. *-gena*.
- 2.b. IE *-ē-*:
vhethiana 24 :: Lat. *fēti-ālis*, IE **dhēti-* (Krahe *IF* 53.68).
ka·n·te·s 100, *kuxe·s* 158.

These two forms, judging from the construction in which they occur, are nominatives singular. As such they may be compared with the type represented by the Lat. nominative singular *sedēs*, Vedic *pānthāh*; cf. A. Meillet 'La Flexion de *pānthāh* en védique et les nominatifs en *-ēs* du latin,' *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, pp. 3-6.

vok·t·ses 182, *os·te·s* 161, *ve·i·ne·s* 161, *v·e·ske·ś* 136 bis V.

It is uncertain in what case these forms are: if nominative, they may be compared with the forms just discussed; if genitive, they may represent the development in unaccented position of the IE *-eis* of *i* stems. Such a development could be compared to that of IE *-ous* in the *u* stem *vesoś* 126.

o

Venetic *o* corresponds (1) to *o* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE *-ō-, -ō-, -ou-* (in unstressed final syllables), and *ə*² (schwa secundum).

1. *molo(n)* 108, 144 :: *Mollo CIL V 2974*, Padua.

ve·r·ko·n·za·r·na 32 :: *Vercondari-dubnus Livy Epit.* 139.

mo·l·z·onke·o 2, *mo·l·z·na* 32, *mo·l·t·one·i* 124 :: Messap. *mold-ahias* 418, 524; *mold-atthiaiai* 396.

tomatorio·i 115 :: *Domator CIL V 449*, Piquentum in Istria (Krahe *IF* 53.65).

vo·l·tiχno·s 123 :: *Voltognas CIL III 13402*, Emona in Pannonia Superior.

·o·s·t·s 152, *·o·s·tiio·i* 125a, *·o·s·tiiare·i* Note VII, *ho·s·θihavo·s* 148, *os·te·s* 161 :: *Ostus CIL III 3806*, Igg; *id. CIL V 2221*, Altinum; *Hostius IIIs.* 10726, Igg; *Osti-ala V 2906*, Padua.

vo·l·tiiomno·s 3, 5, 6, 113, 125, 140 :: *Voltiom. CIL V 2906*, Padua.

vhō·u·χo·n·tah 16 :: *fougontai CIPh 29.291.21*, *Feucontis CIL IIIs.* 10722 Nauportus in Upper Pannonia.

·e·χetore·i 31, *exetore·i* 136d :: *egetorei CIPh 29.292.28*.

·a·t·to 166 :: *Atto CIL III 6010²⁶*, Virunum in Noricum.

ve·n·noni·s 144 :: *Vennonius CIL V 1444*, Aquileia.

2.a. IE *-ō-*:

1) Nominative singular of masculine *o* stems (Gk. *οἶκος*, Old Latin *Manios*); as examples: *ho·s·θihavo·s* 148, *ki·l·lo·s* 163, *koveziko·s* 186, *lav·s·ko·s* 158, *χahvo·s* 165, *φοχso·s* 180, *χo·l·tano·s* 162.

2) Genitive singular ending *-ōs* of *n* stems (Skr. *rājñas* :: *rājā*): *makkno·s* 127, *χαλχno·s* 135.

3) Dative-ablative plural ending **-bhōs* (Lat. *-bus*, Messapic *-bas*, Gallic *βo*): *·o·posofo·s* 1, *lo·u·zerofo·s* 31, *andeticobos* 157.

4) Nominative-accusative singular neuter of *o* stems ending in *-ōn* < **-ōm* (Gk. *οἶνον*, Lat. *iugum*, Skr. *yugām*): *μαχello·n* 169.

5) Secondary ending *-ō* of the third person singular middle (Gk. *ἔδο-το*, Skr. *ádi-ta*): *zoto passim*, *zona·s·to passim*, *zona·s·θo* 33, *vhaχ·s·θo* 150.

·o·p 5, 9, 18 :: Oscan *úp*, Latin *ob*.

·e·n·θo·l 143 :: Gk. *ἐντός*, Latin *intus*.

porah 1, 31 :: Skr. *pāra* 'best.'

vrota·i 164 :: Lat. *verto* (:: *Vorto* > **Vroto*), Vetter, *Gl* 20.72.

2.b. IE *-ō-*:

zona·s·to passim :: Lat. *dōnāre*, *dōnum*, Gk. *δῶρον*.

·e·χo, *mexo passim* :: Gk. *ἐγῶ*, Latin *ēgō* (< *ēgō*).

·e·χetore·i 31, *lemetor* 6 :: Gk. *δῶρωρ*, Lat. *dātōr*, Skr. *dātā*.

The original length of the vowel in the oblique cases, i.e., *exetore·i* 136d and *lemetore·i* 136 bis II, and in the derivatives, i.e., *·e·χetoriio·i* 114 and *lemetor·na* 26b is not determinable; if it was short, it represented the normal grade of the suffix, as in Greek *δῶρωρα*, if long, the analogically extended lengthened grade, as in Latin *dātōrī*.

2.c. IE -ou-:

vesós :: genitive singular of a *u* stem (cf. Skr. *vásu*- 'good'): Oscan *castrous*,
Lith. *sūnaus*, Goth. *sunaus*, Skr. *sūnōṣ*.

The diphthong was apparently monophthongized in an unaccented position.

whoχonta 32 :: *who·u·χo·n·t*—16, 130, 29, 129.

The date of no. 32, as indicated by the decadence of the cult inferred from the presence of two dedications on the same pin, is late; hence the spelling, if not merely a mistake, may represent a change toward monophthongization of the diphthong -ou- even in a supposedly accented syllable.

2.d. IE ə² (schwa secundum):

tola·r· 169.

This word is regarded by Clafin, *Lang.* 12.26, as the third person singular of the impersonal passive with the ending -*r* as in Umbrian *ferar*, Old Irish *canar*. She derives it from the disyllabic heavy base **telā-*, and supposes that the second syllable shows the normal grade of the base, that is *-ā-*. If this is true, we expect the reduced grade in the first syllable, as in Doric *ε-λαῦ*, Latin (*t*)*lātus*. From **tə²lār* we get *tola·r·*, as similarly Latin *tulam* stands for older **tolām* < **tə²lām*.

zoto passim.

Indo-European had in the root-aorist of the root **dō-* the reduced grade of the vowel, as shown by Skr. *ádita*, from **e-də-to*. Since the reduced grade of long vowels appears in Venetic as *a* (*phaχ·s·θo*, from **dhəksto*), the first *o* of *zoto* cannot represent this 'schwa' but must have been reformed after the analogy of the normal grade, as it was in Greek. (Cf. Gk. *zōro* side by side with *διδωμι* and Skr. *ádita* side by side with *dádāmi*.)

a

Venetic *a* corresponds (1) to *a* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to Indo-European *-ā-*, *-ā-*, and *-ə¹* (schwa primum) in cognate words.

1. *iuva·n·tiio·i·* 113 :: *Ivantioi* PID 1.117.13.

e·kupeθari·s· 141, 142 :: *ecupetaris* 157.

·a·t·to 166 :: *Atto* CIL III 6010²⁶, Virunum in Noricum.

a·kuti·o·i· 114 :: *Acutius* CIL V 2783, Padua.

χahvo·s· 165 :: *Gavius* CIL V 2960, Padua.

vhrema 136 c :: *Frema* NdSc 1926.356, Padua.

ve·r·ko·n·za·r·na 32 :: *Vercondari-dubnus* Livy *Epit.* 139.

φu·k·ka 15 :: *Bucca* CIL III 3788, Igg in Pannonia Superior.

ka·n·ta 21, 22 :: *canta* CIPh 29.290 f. 10, 12, 13.

va·n·t·s· 2, 99 :: *vanti* CIPh 29.290.7; *vantio* *ibid.* 9.

ne·r·ka 26b, 32 :: *nerca* PID 1.117.3; *id.* CIPh 29.291.19.

χαλχο·s· 135 :: *Galg-estes* CIL V 164, Pola; *Galg-estia* CIL V 163, Pola;
Glagus CIL V 3679, Verona.

2.a. IE -ǎ-:

a·kut·s· 100, *akutna·i·* 132, *a·kuti·o·i·* 114 :: Lat. *ācutus*.

ka·n·ta 21, 22 :: Skr. *kānta* 'beloved, happy.'

aza·n· 6a, 17, 24 :: Lith. *ādata* 'needle.'

akeo 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10 :: Lat. *acus* 'needle,' Gk. *ἄκος* 'remedy' (?).

·a·hsu·s·, ·a·hsu·n· 166 :: Germ. **ānsuz*, O. Icel. *ǫss*.

Here the lengthening of the vowel in Venetic is secondary, accompanying the loss of *n* before *s*.

2.b. IE -ā-:

maxello·n· 169 :: Gk. *μάχ-ανᾶ*, *μηχ-ανή*, *μῆχος* 'means, contrivance.'

vhratere·i· 6 :: Skr. *bhrātar-*, Gk. *φράτηρ*, O.Ir. *bráthir*.

zona·s·to passim :: Lat. *dōnā-re*.

sahnate·i· 3, 18, 29, 31, 100, 106 :: Lat. *sānus*, *sānātio*.

Here the length of the vowel in the first syllable is indicated by the following -*h*. This appears to imply that Venetic maintained the IE distinction between long and short vowels.

tola·r· 169 :: Doric *ἐρλᾶν*, Lat. (*t*)*lātus*.

who·u·xo·n·tah 16, *vhremahs·tnah* 20, *vhuxiah* 30, *porah* 31, *ne·r·kah* 32a ::

Gk. *τιμή* (*χώρα*), Skr. *sēnā*, Osc. *vtú*.

These forms have presumably retained the long -*ā* of the nominative singular feminine of *ā* stems, and supposedly therefore other examples of the same case which are spelled without the final -*h* also have the vowel long; for the spelling see under *h*.

2.c. IE ə¹ (schwa primum):

vhaχ·s·θo 150 :: Latin *fācio* and New Phrygian *αδ-δακερ²*, side by side with

Lat. *fēci*, Skr. *dādhami*, Gk. *τιθημι*, Lith. *dėti*.

The early date of this inscription (ca. 6th century B.C., perhaps the oldest Venetic inscription) makes Italic influence unlikely. Hence the view of Ribezzo (*RIGI* 8.273-274), which was adopted by Walde-Hofmann, 3d ed., p. 440, that the Venetic word owes its initial *f-* to Latin influence is to be rejected. The word is pure Venetic, and in its treatment of the reduced grade of long vowels as -*a-*, Venetic agrees with all Indo-European languages except Indo-Iranian.

ii

Venetic -*ii-* (spelled also with the single letter, -*i-*) corresponds (1) to -*i-* (from -*ī-*) in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE -*ī-* in cognate words.

1.a. Postconsonantal:

vo·l·tiiomno·s· 3, 5, 6, 113, 125, 140 :: *Voltiom. CIL* V 2906, Padua.

who·u·xo·n·t-iika 29 :: *Soc-iaca NdSc* 1933.128, 18; *Turst-iaca ibid.* 51;

Turc-iacus CIL V 2438, Ferrara; *Andet-iacae CIL* V 2438, Ferrara.

a·kuti·o·i· 114 :: *Acutius CIL* V 2783, Padua.

iuwa·n·tiio·i· 113 :: *wantioi PID* 1.117.13.

lo·u·kio 140 :: Lat. *Lucius*.

·e·n·nonio 136 bis IV :: *enonio CIPh* 29.290.7.

ithuria 127 :: *Iturius CIL* V 8110⁹⁸, Trieste; *Ityrius ibid.* 2036, Belluno.

a·riiun·s· 3 :: Etr. *arunθ*, *arnθ*, Lat. *Arruntius*.

¹ Perhaps we have here a phonetic change similar to that in Lithuanian *srubd* 'soup' side by side with Lith. *sriubà* (*id.*), the insertion of an -*i-* between -*r-* and -*u-*; one may compare the well-known Oscan change by which a glide vowel is inserted before *u* after dentals (Osc. *tiurri*, Lat. *turri*). Cf. also Boeotian *τιοχα* = *τιχη*, *διοτο* = *διο*.

² See J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 128 ff.

1.b. Intervocalic:

fo·i·iio·s 6 :: Celtic *Boius*, Runic *baijaR* *ZfdA* 66.250.

ta·i·io·s 118 :: *Tai* [*CIL* V 2700, Este; *Tai ibid.* 4670, Brescia.

Other examples of intervocalic *-i-* are: *visehio* 123;*r·klehio·i* 119, *θo·u·peio* 148; *vo·t·tehio·s* 100, 111;].*e·hiio* 176.

1.c. Initial:

iuwa·n·tiio·i 113 :: *wantioi* *PID* 1.117.13; *wantia* *CLPh* 29.291.14; *wanta* *ibid.* 15; *wantina* *ibid.* 16.

iiwa·n·t·s 3.

iiwa·n·tša·i 112.

2. The IE suffix *-iǵo-* *-iǵā-* (Skr. *yājya*, *yājīya*, Gk. *ἄγιος*, Skr. *rājya*, Goth. *reiki*, Lat. *rēgius*) was extensively employed in Venetic in the formation of patronymics, as pointed out above:

iuwa·n·tiio·i 113 :: *iiwa·n·t·s* 3, *iiwa·n·tša·i* 112.

tomatorio·i 115 :: *Domator* *CIL* V 449, Piquentum in Istria.

a·kuti·o·i 114 :: *a·kut·s* 100.

·e·n·nonio 136 bis IV :: *e·n·nons* 136 bis III.

who·u·χo·n·tio·i 129 :: *who·u·χo·n·t-iiaka* 29, *who·u·χo·n·tna* 16, *who·u·χo·n·te·i* 130.

·o·s·tiio·i 125a :: *·o·s·t·s* 152.

·e·χetorio·i 114 :: *·e·χetore·i* 31.

·eχe·s·tiio·i 125a :: *e·χe·s·t·s* 99.

Other examples of its use are recognized in *kreviniai* 161; *vhuχi(i)a* 17, 20, 28, 29, 30, 136a; *vhu·χ·sīa* 18, 23; *·e·r·monio·s* 152; *iθuria* 127.

3. The IE suffix **-eǵo-* (Skr. *hiranyāya*, Gk. *χρῖσος*, Lat. *aureus*) appears in the following forms (for the spelling with *h* see under that letter):

vo·t·tehio·s 100, 111 :: *votto·s* 180.

visehio 123.

θo·u·peio 148.

Postconsonantal *-i-* appears 37 times spelled with the double letter (*-ii-*), and 32 times with the single (*-i-*). The best explanation of this is that the spelling with double *-i-* represents an older, more phonetic (i.e., *-iǵ-*) spelling of the sound which consisted of the vowel followed by its corresponding glide, and that the spelling with single *-i-* was a subsequent simplification of orthography, perhaps under Latin influence. This supposition, which presumes that the Venetic forms represent the prior (*-iǵo-*) form of the IE suffix *-iǵo-*, *-ǵo-*, is confirmed by the fact that in none of the 69 certain occurrences of this sound is the preceding consonant provided with puncts—which indicates that that consonant was followed by a vowel. Both examples (*·e·r·monio·s* 152, and *kreviniai* 161, given by Pauli as *·e·r·mon·io·s·* and *krevin·ia*) which are adduced by Sommer p. 113 to support the view that postconsonantal *-i-* had consonantal value, appear in the *PID* without those medial puncts favorable to his view.

v

Venetic *v* corresponds (1) to Latin *v* (*u*), and (2) to IE *ʷ*. It appears in all positions.

1.a. Initially before vowels:

ve·r·ko·n·za·r·na 32 :: *Vercondari-dubnus* Livy *Epit.* 139.

v·e·ske·ś 136 bis V :: *vesces* *ClPh* 29.291.17.

va·n·t·s 2,99,136 bis I; *va·n·te·i* 129; *va·n·t·kenia* 30 :: *vanti* *ClPh* 29.290.7; *vantio* *ibid.* 9.

ve·i·-χno·i 142 :: *Vei-tor* *CIL* V 1807, Ad Tricesimum; *Veius* *CIL* V 1356, Aquileia.

votto·s 180, *vo·t·tehio·s* 100, 111, *voθo* 150, *votna* 18 :: *Vott-icius* *CIL* V 1829, 1830, Iulium Carnicum; *id.* *CIL* III 4735, Teurnia in Noricum.

vo·l·t·tiomno·s 3, 5, 6, 113, 125, 140 :: *Voltiom*, *CIL* V 2906, Padua; *Voltimesi* *CIL* V 461, Piquentum in Istria.

vo·l·tiχno·s 123 :: *Voltoḡnas* *CIL* III 13402, Emona in Upper Pannonia; Rhaetic *va·l·tikinu* 237.236.

vas·seno 136 :: *va·sino* *ClPh* 29.292.24; Krahe *IF* 53.65.

vesoś 126 :: *Vesonius* *CIL* V 961, Aquileia; *Vesius* *CIL* V 3825, Verona; *Vesclevisis* *CIL* III 3038, Flanona in Dalmatia.

ve·n·noni·s 144, *ve·n·na* 169 :: *Vennonius* *CIL* V 1444, Aquileia; *id.* *ibid.* 2876, Padua.

1.b. Medially between vowels:

iüwa·n·t·iio·i 113, *iüwa·n·t·s* 3 :: *iwantioi* *PID* 1.117.13.

χahvo·s 165 :: *Gavius* *CIL* V 2160, Altinum; Faliscan *cavio*; Oscan *Gaaviis*; Lat. *Gāius*.

ze·i·vo·s 152 :: Old Lat. *deivos*.

kreviniai 161 :: *Creveni* (*Geog. Namen* 19), Krahe *IF* 53.70.

The following examples are probably to be grouped under this heading, although no certain parallels for them have been discovered: *kavaron·s* 168, *re·i·tevio·i* 147, *koveziko·s* 186,]*ve·s·θii* 146.

1.c. Medially before or after consonants:

lav·s·ko·s 158, *lah·v·nah* 164 :: Raetic *lavisešeli* 215a; Whatmough *PID* 1.153.

e·r·vaθ 145.

2. IE *ʷ*:

v·rota·i 164 :: Lat. *verto* (:: *vorto* > **vrotō*); Vetter *Gl* 20.72.

vesoś 126 :: Skr. *vāsu*.

iüwa·n·t·s 3 :: Lat. *iüwāns* 'defend, help, please.'

vo·l·ti·χno·s 123, *vo·l·t·tiomno·s* 3, 5, 6, 113, 125, 140 :: Lat. *volo*, Goth. *wiljan*, Lith. *vėlyti*.

ze·i·vo·s 152 :: Skr. *devd*, O.Pr. *deiwans*, O. Icel. *tívar*. (For this word see under the diphthong *e·i·*.)

Venetic *v* had no doubt the value of a consonantal *ʷ*, not of a fricative, for it is transcribed with Latin *u* when that letter still had such a value.

ei

The diphthong *e·i·*, with the exception of three or four forms with it in the stem syllable, occurs chiefly in inflectional endings. Stem *e·i·* appears in the following:

re·i·tiia·i· passim :: Rhaetic *reite* 227, *ritiei* 224, *ritie* 225.

The ordinary derivation of *re·i·tiia·i·*, or *rehtia·i·*, from the same base as the Latin *rectus* presupposes a Venetic change of *-kt-* to *-ht-* or *-it-*, as in the Oscan *ehtrad* from **ektrad* and the Umbrian *aitu* from **agitōd*, Latin *agitō*. But the combination *-kt-* is preserved in Venetic, if we may judge from *a·k·tonia·i·* 104 and *vok·t·ses* 182 (cf. *Actius CIL* V 1054, Aquileia; *id. CIL* V 3435, 3562, Verona). Hence it is preferable to connect the name of the goddess of Este with that of the neighboring³ Rhaetic divinity.

ve·i·χno·i· 142 :: *Vei-tor CIL* V 1807, ad Tricesimum.

ve·i·ne·s· 161 :: Messap. *veinan* 'suam,' from **sye + i + no-*, Goth. *seina*, *meina*; Torp *IF* 5.200?

·u·r·kle·i·na or *·u·r·klehna* (i.e., **urklēna*)? Sommer p. 114.

ze·i·vo·s· 152 :: Skr. *devá*, O.Pr. *deivans*, O. Lat. *deivos*.

Although this word is usually read *lehvo·s·*, that reading rests upon the interpretation of the sign Υ , which occurs only here, as an imperfect *l* (usually Γ) and requires a change of the diphthong *ai* (Latin *laevus*, Gk. *λαίος*) to *ē*. But we may regard that sign with equal justification as a miswritten *l* (Υ instead of the regular χ or \times) or as a *z* (ζ). (For the alternation of *l* and *z* (d) in Venetic see under *t*.) And the diphthong *ai* is preserved in *a·i·mo·i·* 31, 134a; *ta·i·io·s·* 118, and *voñajco* 159. Hence it is better to revive the suggestion of Thurneysen *WkIPh* 9.291 and Ribezzo *RIGI* 8.273 and regard the word as having the cognates indicated above. For the form cf. Mess. *deivas* 484.

The *e·i·* in the following inflectional endings is best taken as that of the dative singular of consonant stems. Cf. Cyprian $\Delta_{\text{fει-φιλδ}}$, Oscan *Diúveí*, *paterei*, *medíkeí*, Lepontic *pivonei* (see Solmsen *KZ* 44.161 ff.):

eχetore·i· 136d :: *egetorei ClPh* 29.292.28;

pupone·i· 141 :: Fal.-Etr. *puponio*, Deecke, *Die Falisker* 153; cf. v. Blumenthal *IF* 47.51.

lemetore·i· 136 bis II: cf. *lemetor* 6.

vhratere·i· 6.

pilpoθe·i· 149a.

The following three words are datives, probably of *i* stems. For a discussion of the form see under *i*.

·o·s·tiiare·i· Note vii.

šahnate·i· 3, 18, 29, 31, 100, 106. (Latin **Sānātis*.)

χen·θe·i· 144; cf. Lat. *gens*, *gentis*, *gentium*.

³ Magrè, where the Rhaetic dedications to *reite*, etc., were found, is less than 75 miles from Este; and a close relationship between the two peoples is very probable, for the special type of Rhaetic alphabet there employed shows distinct evidence of having been borrowed from the Venetic alphabet; the resemblance in punctuation is especially striking. Cf. Whatmough, *Classical Quarterly* 17.63.

It is not possible to determine in the following forms whether the ending is that of a consonant or of an *i* stem; but in either, a dative is required by the construction: *ontei* 157, *plete·i·* 142, *mesne·i·* 159, *kane·i·* 162, *va·n·te·i·* 129.

The *re·i·tie·i·* of 17 (and possibly also of 19), beside the usual *re·i·tiia·i·*, may, if it is not merely a misspelling, offer evidence of an incipient change analogous to that of the tautosyllabic umlaut of Latin and some Germanic dialects: Latin *filiae* for an older **filiāi*, later becoming *filiē*; Icelandic *steinn* beside Goth. *stains*. As it stands, *who·u·xo·n·te·i·* 130 might be the dative of a hypothetical **who·u·xo·n·t·s·* (cf. the masculine nominative singular *fougo* *CILPh* 29.290.4 in Latin script), like *va·n·te·i·* beside the nominative *va·n·t·s·*. But it stands in agreement with the feminine *ka·n·ta·i·* and hence is better regarded as the dative singular feminine of *who·u·xo·n·tah* 16; and *e·i·* for *a·i·* is parallel to *re·i·tie·i·*.

oi

With the exception of the borrowed *φo·i·iio·s·* 6, which has this diphthong in the stem syllable (cf. Runic *baijaR* *ZfdA* 66.250; the word is connected by Pokorny *Zeitschrift f. Kelt. Phil.* 20.323 with the root **bheǵ-*, **bhoǵ-* 'strike,' Irish *benim* 'I strike,' Russian *boj* 'battle'), it occurs only as an inflectional ending, where it presumably represents the IE *-ōi* of the dative singular of *o* stems (Ionic *ατῶι*, Old Latin *Numasioi*, Lat. *equō*, Oscan *Abellanūi*). There are about twenty examples of this formation, e.g., *appioi* 157, *sselboisselboi* 157 (these two forms in Latin script), *a·vhro·i·* 136 bis I, *musθo·i·* 149b, *iua·n·tiio·i·* 113, *a·kuti·o·i·* 114; besides agreeing in form with the *o* stem dative singular of related languages, all such Venetic forms can be construed as datives—they perform the syntactic function of datives. Whether the first element of this secondary long diphthong remained long, as in Ionic, or was shortened, as in the Eretrian *τοῖ δῆμοι* from *τῶι δῆμοι*, is of course impossible to say.

ai

This diphthong appears in the stem syllable of genuine Venetic words:

a·i·mo·i· 31, 134a :: *Aimus Patavinus* *CIL* V 6899, near Ivrea in Lombardy; *Aimus* *CIL* V 6926, *ibid.* Cf. Sommer p. 121; Krahe *Gl* 23.131; Vetter *Gl* 24.129.

ta·i·-io·s· 118 :: *Tai* *CIL* V 2700, Este; *id. ibid.* 4670, Brescia.

voñajco 159.

xra·i·ko·i· 136 bis V (= *Graecus*) would seem to have been borrowed from some other Italic dialect.

For *kra·e·hk·* 162 see under *h*. The reading of *vhae·s·thinio·i·* 149 is uncertain: Conway *ad loc.* suggests the possibility of *ve·stinio·i·*, which perhaps ought to be preferred since the diphthong *ai* appears to be retained as such.

As an inflectional ending of *ā* stems, presumably a dative singular from IE **-āi* (Gk. *χῶρᾱ*, Ionic *τῆι*, Lat. *equae*, Goth. *gibai*, Lith. *rañkai*), this diphthong occurs more than forty times, e.g., *re·i·tiia·i·* *passim*, *vhrutana·i·* 136b, *musicata·i·* 163, *kreviniai* 161, *pora·i·* 1, *akutna·i·* 132.

ou

This is the only *u* diphthong which appears in Venetic. Neither *au* nor *eu* occur, but *ou* corresponds to IE and Illyrian *eu*. The fate of IE *au* and *ou* in Venetic is unknown. In this change of *eu* to *ou* Venetic agrees with the other Indo-European languages of Italy: cf. Lat. *dūco* from *douco* :: **deukō* = Goth. *tiuha* 'lead'; Oscan *touto* 'civitas' :: **teutā* = Goth. *þiuda* 'people'; Umb. *totam* 'civitatem' (Umb. *o* from *ou*); Messap. *taotoras*, *totor*. (The variant spelling in this word may indicate that *ou* from *eu* had become *ū*: see Whatmough *PID* 2.601 ff.) Cf. Krahe *Gl* 17.93 ff.

lo·u·zeroφo·s 31, *lo·u·zera·i* 162 :: Gk. ἐλεύθερος, Osc. *Lúvfréts*, Lat. *liberī* (< **leibero* < **lōūbero* < **loufero*–; cf. Falisc. *loferta* 'libertina').
ϑo·u·χo·n·tah 16, *ϑo·u·χo·n·tna* 16, *ϑo·u·χo·n·tio·i* 129, *ϑo·u·χo·n·tiika* 29 :: *fougontai* *ClPh* 29.291.21; *Feucontis* (gen. sg.) *CIL* IIIs. 10722, 10723 *Nauportus* in Upper Pannonia.

Kretschmer *Einl.* 267 compares the base with that of Gk. φέγω, Lat. *fūgi*, Lith. *bauginti*. For *ϑoχonta* 32 see under *o*.

lo·u·kio 140, *lo·u·ki* 143 :: Lat. *lūcus*, O. Lat. *loucom*, Osc. *lúvkeí* 'in lūcō', Gk. λευκός, Goth. *liuhap*.

θo·u·p·eio 148 :: Τεπ-αλος (Stephanus of Byzantium s.v.), a historian of Ἐλεῖα in Elea. There is some evidence of "Illyrian" influence in Elea (v. Blumenthal *IF* 49.169; *id. Gl* 18.153), so that this comparison is not as unlikely as it might at first appear.

so·u·-ana 28 :: Gallic *Sou-nus*, Holder 2.1622.

The Venetic word is formed with the same suffix *-ana* that is seen in *ϑeli-ana* 24, and in the Illyrian *Teutana* side by side with *Teuta*, and *Κυννάνη* with *Κύννα*. Cf. Krahe *Gl* 17.93. The corresponding masculine form of this suffix, *-anos*, is to be seen in *χo·l·tano*'s 162, of which the root *χo·l·t-* may be compared with Icelandic *goltr* 'boar' < **galtu-* (for the alternation of *t* and *d* in Venetic see under *z*; for the meaning cf. Lat. *Verres* and V. *turkna*). This masculine form of the suffix surely occurs also in [PRONTANOS], *CIL* 5.2674, in the Latin alphabet, from Este. Mommsen's note on this inscription reads: "Descripti neque praetermittere volui, etsi mihi creditur inter epichoricae dialecti monumenta potius referenda esse, licet perscripta elementis Latinis."

m

Venetic *m* corresponds (1) to *m* in the Latin alphabet and (2) to IE initial and medial *m*.

1. *a·i·mo·i* 31, 134a :: *Aimus Patavinus CIL* V 6899, near Ivrea in Lombardy; *Aimus CIL* V 6926, *ibid.*

makkno·s 127 :: *Macconis CIL* V 1464, Aquileia.

ϑhrema 136c :: *Frema NdSc* 1926.356, Padua; *id. ibid.* 1933.128.18, Padua.

musθo·i 149b :: *Mustius CIL* V 2998, Padua; *id. ibid.* 2822, Padua.

tomatori·o·i 115 :: *Domator CIL* V 449, Piquentum in Istria.

vo·l·tiiomno·s 3, 5, 6, 125, 140 :: *Voltiom. CIL* V 2906, Padua.

mo·l·z-onke·o 2, *mo·l·z-na* 32 :: Messapic *mold-ahias* 418, 524; *mold-atbehiai* 396.

molo(n) 108, 144 :: *Mollo CIL* V 2974, Padua; *Μόλων Ἀθηναῖος ἄρχων C.I.Att.* 2.57.

krum. 136 bis VI :: *Crum-elonía ClPh* 29.292.22,25. For the word division in 136 bis VI see Vetter *Gl* 24.131.

2. *meχo passim* :: Goth. *mik*.

According to Sommer pp. 130 f. this word, as well as its Gothic congener, is an analogical formation from an inherited **mē* (Skr. *mā*, Gk. *μe*, Lat. *mē*, Irish *mé*) directly on the pattern of the nominative *·e·χo*, without the use of the particle *-γε* seen in Gk. *ἐμέγε*, with which the Gothic form is usually compared.

maxello·n 169 :: Gr. *μᾶχ-ανᾶ* Goth. *magan*.

This word, which contains the IE *suffixum instrumenti -ilo-*, may be the name of the "implement" or "tool" to which the bronze plate on which it appears was attached. Torp, "Bemerkungen" 10.

θe·r·mo·n 143 :: Gk. *τέρων*, Lat. *termo*, *terminus*.

·e·r·monio·s 152 :: Germanic **ermana-*, **ermena-*, Goth. **Aírmana-* (*reiks*).

vo·l·tīio·mno·s 3, 5, 6, 125, 140 :: Avestic *yaza-mna-*, Gk. *βέλε-μνο-ν*, *στά-μνο-ς*, Lat. *alu-mnu-s*, *autu-mnu-s*.

Benveniste *BSL* 34.5-21 tries to prove that the original form of the middle participial suffix was **mno-*, not **meno-* or **mēno-*; the Venetic form appears to confirm this.

ruma·n·na 21, *roman* 22 :: Goth. *Rūmōneis*, Lat. *Romana* (Deecke *GGA* 1886.69; Pauli *Altital. Forsch.* 3.335; Hirt *Indogermanen* 2.605; Whatmough *HSCP* 42.145. But according to Krahe *IF* 53.68 it is "zu gewagt" to see the Latin *Romana* in *ruma·n·na*).

lemetor(e·i·) 6, 136 bis II, *lemeto·r·na* 26b, *lemeθo·r·na* 33 :: *Lemonius CIL* V 2974, Padua; Ligurian *lemo-* 'elm,' Whatmough *ClPh* 29.290.10; Etr. *lemni*, *lemnitru*, Schulze, "Eigennamen" 161 n. 5.

vhrema 136c, *vhremah·s·tna* 19, 20, 25b, 115a, 131, 144 :: Lat. *fremo*, OHG *breman*. Kretschmer *Einl.* 267.

kara·n·mn·s 2, *kara·nmniio·i* 142 :: Lat. *vehemens*.

Conway suggests in the *Index s.v.* that we have partially syllabic writing here, and that the word ought to be read **karāneméns* or **karānemenés*; the pointing of the first *n*, however, appears to forbid the insertion of a vowel between it and the following *m*, although it is possible to recognize one either between the *m* and the *n* or between the *n* and the *s*; if we do the former we should have a form **kara·n·men·s*, comparable to the Latin *vehemens*, the ending of which is derived by Brugmann *Grundriss*, 2d ed., 2.1.231 from a participial ending **-menos*.

n

Venetic *n* corresponds (1) to *n* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE *n* and IE final *m* in cognate words.

1. *ve·r·ko·n·za·r·na* 32 :: *Vercondari-dubnus* Livy *Epit.* 139.

va·n·t·s 2, 99, 136 bis I; *va·n·t* 30; *va·n·te·i* 129; *van·tio·i* 136 bis II :: *vanti ClPh* 29.290.7, Este; *vantio ibid.* 9, Este.

ne·r·ka 26b, 32, 34 :: *nerca PID* 1.117.3, Este; *id. ClPh* 29.291.19, Este; *nircae ibid.* 290.2, Este; Messapic *nerikiden* 474.

xen·the·i· 144 :: Gentius, rex Illyriorum, Livy 42.29, Krahe *IF* 53.70.
e·n·nons 136 bis III, *·e·n·nonio* 136 bis IV :: *ennonioi* *ClPh* 29.290.10,
 Este; *Enno* *CIL* III 3861, Emona in Pannonia Superior; *id.* *CIL* V 1924,
 Concordia.
ka·n·ta 21, 22, 118, 130; *ka·n·te·s·* 100 :: *canta* *ClPh* 29.290. 11, 12, 13
 Este; *Cantius* *CIL* V 8356, Aquileia; *id.* *ibid.* 335, Parentum in Istria.
vhren·mo 153 :: *Fren* [*CIL* V 2581, Este.
ve·n·noni·s· 144; *ve·n·na* 169 :: *Vennonius* *CIL* V 1444, Aquileia; *id.*
ibid. 2876, Padua.
iwa·n·tiio·i· 113 :: *Ivantioi* *PID* 1.117.13, Este.
who·u·xo·n·tah 16 :: *fougontai* *ClPh* 29.291.21.

2.a. IE *n*:

ka·n·ta 21, 22, 118, 130; *ka·n·te·s·* 100 :: Skr. *kanta* 'happy,' Lith.
ne-apý-kanta 'hate.'
zona·s·to passim :: Lat. *dōnum*, *dōnāre*.
-kenia 30, *-konio·i·* 149a :: Skr. *kanyā*, Gr. *καυός*.
·e·n·θo·l· 143 :: Gk. *ἐνρός*, Lat. *intus*.
šahñate·i· passim :: Lat. *sānāre*.
ve·i·-χno·i· 142, *vo·l·ti·χno·s·* 123 :: Gk. *νεο-γνός*, *κασι-γνή-τη*, Lat. *mali-*
gnus, *přivi-gñus*, *gi-gno*.
volti·χenei 126 :: Lat. *īndi-gena*, *přimi-genus*, *multi-genus*; Gk. *Διο-γένης*,
 'Ευ-γένης.
vo·l·tiio·mno·s· 3, 5, 6, 125, 140 :: Gk. *βέλε-μνο-ν*, etc. (See under *m*.)
iwa·n·t·tiio·i· 113 *et al.*; *who·u·xo·n·t·io·i·* 129 *et al.* :: Lat. *ferē-nt-is*,
 Gk. *φείγο-ντ-ος*, Skr. *bhāra-nt-am*.

The following 14 forms show the suffix *-na*, IE **-no-*, **-nā-*, used in Indo-European for the formation of adjectives and nouns expressing various kinds of relationship to the root, among them that of personal relationship, descent, 'Abstammung' (Brugmann *Kurze verg. Gram.* 324 f.); in Venetic it is employed in the formation of patronymics in women's names; cf. a similar practice in Russian.

akut·na·i· 132. cf. *a·kut·s·* 100.
e·xe·s·tn [117. cf. *e·xe·s·t·s·* 99.
who·u·xo·n·t·na 16. cf. *who·u·xo·n·t·tiio·i·* 129, *who·u·xo·n·tiiaka* 29,
fougo *ClPh* 29.290.4.
vhremah·s·t·na 19, 20, 25b, 131, 144; cf. *]hremastoi* 121.
lah·v·-na·i· 164; cf. *lav·s·kos* 158.
lemeto·r·-na 26b, *lemeθo·r·-na* 33; cf. *lemetor* 6, *lemetore·i·* 136 bis II.
mo·l·z·na 32; cf. *mo·l·z·onke·o·* 2.
mu·s·kia·l·-na·i· 136a.
ruma·n·-na 21. *Rōmānus* as a cognomen is frequent at Este; see Pauli 335.

Borrowed into Venetic, the stem *roman-* (cf. Conway's note to No. 22: "The *o* in *roman* . . . seemed to me clearly traceable.") was provided with the suffix *-na* to make it conform to the Venetic type.

katak-na 25a. cf. Celtic *Catacus*, Holder 1.837. Sommer *IF* 42.110.

tu·r·k-na 136. cf. *Turc-iaco* *CIL* V 2438, Ferrara.

Turciacus shows the characteristically Celtic suffix *-iaco-*, so that we may regard its base also as Celtic and connect it with **turcos*, O.Ir. *torc* 'boar.' For the meaning cf. Lat. *Verres* as a proper name.

·u·r·kle·i·-na 17. cf. ...*·r·klehioi* 119, *urclesoni* *ClPh* 290.6.

ve·r·ko·n·za·r·-na 32. cf. *Vercondari-dubnus* Livy *Epit.* 139.

zsiak-na 34; cf. *Diacū* *CIL* III 5084, St. Leonhard in Kärnten.

vot-na 18; cf. *votto·s·* 180, *voθo* 150, *vo·t·tehio·s·* 100, 111. Sommer *IF* 42.113.

If we may judge from the following series of forms, the nominative of *n* stems ended in *-o*, as in Latin:

·a·l·lo 35.

·a·t·to 166; cf. *Attunis* *CIL* III 4937, Virunum in Noricum.

vhren·mo 153.

ha·r·to 181. Other nouns certainly in the nominative case appear on the Wurmlach rock, e.g., *votto·s·*, *φοχσο·s·*, *kovezikos·s·*, *rošicos·s·*; this noun may therefore also have been a nominative.

...*o·l·zo* 102; cf. *mo·l·zonke·o·* 2, *mo·l·tone·i·* 124.

peso 136 bis VI.

·u·ko 136 bis II; cf. *Veconis* *CIL* III 5084, S. Leonhard, Oberlavant;

·u·kona 135 (Vetter *Gl* 24.247 f.).

voθo 150.

This word is compared by Conway Index s.v. with the Latin *Otho*, *Othonis*, but this is impossible, since initial *v-* is preserved in Venetic.

molo(n) 108, 144.

Both occurrences of this word may be read either with or without the final *n*; in the latter case the *n* would belong to the following word, but both inscriptions are so fragmentary that we are unable to tell what the following letters are.

θe·r·mo·n· 143.

Krahe *IF* 53.70 suggested that this word is an abbreviation of **θe·r·monios·s·*, which would be an *io* extension of the stem seen in Latin *termo*, *termonis*, Gk. *τέρμων*.

But if the nominative of *n* stems followed the pattern of the corresponding stems in Latin and ended in *o*, what are we to say of *e·n·nons* 136 bis III, which is interpreted by Whatmough *ClPh* 29.285 as a nominative singular masculine? Does it offer an example of an alternative formation comparable with the Oscan nominative singular *fruktatiuf* from **fruktatiōns*? Or is it possibly a genitive singular which has undergone syncope of a short vowel in the final syllable, which is Torp's ("Bemerkungen" 6) interpretation of *kavaron·s·* 168a? But if these forms are genitives, what is *ve·n·noni·s·* 144, which appears at first sight to be a genitive in *-is* from *-es* as in Latin? Thurneysen (*WklPh* 9.290), however, recognized *on* stem genitives in *χαλχνο·s·* 135

and *makkno·s* 127 (cf. *Macconis CIL* V 1464, Aquileia), a formation equivalent to Skr. nominative *rājā*, genitive *rājñas*, Lat. *caro, carnis*. But *pupone·i* 141 would seem to be the dative singular of an *n* stem with the *ō* grade generalized throughout the paradigm (v. Blumenthal *IF* 47.51). And *·e··n·nonio* 136 bis III appears to be the nominative singular, with loss of final *-s*, of a derivative in *-ǰo-* from a name parallel to the *Enno* of *CIL* III 3861, Emona in Pannonia Superior, and its genitive is to be recognized in *enoni* 157 (Sommer *IF* 42.127). All of these variant forms of *n* stems might be explained as dialectal variations, or as due to analogical levelings in various directions, but the dearth of our material does not permit us to set up a satisfactory paradigm for this stem class.

2.b. IE final *-m*:

maxello·n 169.

This word is the object of the verb *tola·r* 'dedicates' (Clafin *Lang.* 12.26), and is therefore the accusative singular of an *o* stem, either masculine or neuter.

·a·hsu·n 167 (cf. *·a·hsu·s* 166, 167).

·a·hsu·n is governed by the postposition *per*, and presumably is the accusative singular of a *u* stem.

aza·n 6a, 17, 24.

This word occurs, as the object of the verb *zona·s·to*, on bronze pins dedicated to *Re·i·tūia* and hence is probably the Venetic word for the pin itself and the accusative singular of an *ā* stem. This change of IE final *m* to *n* Venetic has in common with Messapic, Greek, Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, and Hittite.

Sommer *IF* 42.117 interprets *·a·hsu·s* 166, where it follows the verb *zona·s·to*, as the accusative plural of a *u* stem meaning something like 'herma,' and cognate with Germanic **ansuz*, Old Icelandic *óss* 'god.' This necessitates the assumption that *n* was lost before *s* in Venetic, a change which, if his etymology is correct, is confirmed by the first syllable of the word; the *h* following the *a* indicates the length of that vowel which arose by compensation when the *n* was lost. Conway's comparison with Greek *ἄξoves*, Lat. *axis* cannot stand, because the group *ks* is preserved in Venetic, as will be shown. Whatmough's comparison (*CIPh* 29.291) of *v·e·ske·ś* 136 bis V and *vesces CIPh* 29.291.17 with the Latin *Vescens* would be in line with this change.

The *·vho·u·χota* of 136 bis V is equated with *·vhoχonta* 32 by Whatmough (*CIPh* 29.286), who supposes a loss of *n* before *t* and compares the *kata* of 121 and 117 with the more usual *ka·n·ta* of 21, 22, 118, 130. We may add *kvito* 136 bis VIII (so rightly read by Vetter *Gl* 24.131¹ instead of Whatmough's *kai·to*) and compare the Gallic *kuitos* 337 and Latin *Quintus*. This same loss of *n* before *t* appears frequently in a series of Latin inscriptions from Este (Conway *PID* 1.111 ff.): *titini, titni, titinia*, and *titinio* side by side with *tintini* and *tinteni*.

r

Venetic *r* corresponds (1) to *r* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE *r* in cognate words.

1. *·ve·r·ko·n·za·r·na* 32 :: *Vercondari-dubnus* Livy *Epit.* 139.

- ne·r·ka* 26b, 32, 32, 112 :: *nerca* PID 1.117.3; *id.* CIPh 29.291.19; *nircae* *ibid.* 290.2; Messapic *nerikiden* 474.
- e·kupehari·s·* 141, 142 :: *ecupetaris* 157.
- ituria* 127 :: *Ityrus* CIL V 2036, Belluno; *Iturius* *ibid.* 8110⁹⁶, Trieste.
- exetore·i·* 31, 136d :: *egetorei* CIPh 29.292.28, Este; *Egtorei* CIL V 2780, Este.
- vhrema* 136c, *vhremah·s·tna* 19, 20, 25b, 115a, 131, 144 :: *frema* NdSc 1926.356, Padua; *id.* NdSc 1933.128.18, Este; *id.* Vetter *Gl* 23.201, Montebelluna.
- u·r·kli* 114, *·u·r·kle·i·na* 17 :: *urclesoni* CIPh 29.290.6.
2. *lo·u·zerofo·s·* 31, *lo·u·zera·i·* 162 :: Lat. *liber*, Gk. *ἐλεύθερος*.
re·i·tīia·i· *passim* :: Rhaetic *reite* 227.
- porah* 1, 31 :: Skr. *pāra* 'excellent,' 'best,' Pauli, 261; Torp, "Bemerkungen," 8.
- per* 167 :: Lat. *per*, Gk. *περί*.
- a·tra* 152 :: Lat. *in-trā*, *ex-trā*. Torp, "Bemerkungen," 12.
- vrotā·i·* 164 :: Lat. *verto*. Vetter, *Gl* 20.72.
- tola·r·* 169 :: Umb. *fera-r*, Osc. *sakrafti-r*, Irish *cana-r*. Claffin, *Lang.* 12.23 ff.

l

Venetic *l* corresponds (1) to *l* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE *l* in cognate words.

1. *vo·l·tīiomno·s·* 3, 5, 6, 125, 140 :: *Voltiom*. CIL V 2906, Padua.
vo·l·tīχno·s· 123 :: *Voltofnas* CIL III 13402, Emona in Pannonia Superior. Krahe *IF* 53.65.
- χalχno·s·* 135 :: *Galg-estes* CIL V 164, Pola; *Galg-estius* CIL V 759, Aquileia; *Glag-us* CIL V 3679, Verona: by metathesis for **Galg-us*, Pauli 401; Whatmough *HSCP* 44.113.
- molo(n)* 108, 144 :: *Mollo* CIL V 2974, Padua.
- lemetor* 6, 136 bis II :: *Lem-onius* CIL V 2974, Padua; *lem-onei* CIPh 29.290.10.
- u·r·kli* 114, *·u·r·kle·i·na* 17 :: *urcle-soni* CIPh 29.290.6.
2. *klubiari·s·* 150.

The element *-ari-* is common to *klubii-ari·s·*, *e·kupehari·s·*, and *ostiiarei*, and so is probably to be regarded as a suffix. This suffix *-ari-* is perhaps parallel to the Latin *-āri-*, which ordinarily occurs in words which contain an *l* in the stem and hence is usually regarded as being derived by dissimilation of liquids from the more common *-āli-*, which itself is derived from a *li* extension of *ā* stem nouns. This suffix forms *i*-stem nouns in Latin, and above we found independent evidence for supposing that the Venetic nouns in *-ari·s·* are *i* stems. Possibly, then, the origin of the Venetic suffix is the same as that of the Latin: the stem *klubii-* contains an *l* which may have dissimilated suffixal *li* to *ri*. It is likely that the *r* form of the suffix was generalized at the expense of the form in *l*.

The form *klubii-* reminds one strongly of the Sanskrit abstract noun, *ḥṛuti-* 'hearing, formed with the suffix *-ti-* and the reduced grade of the base **kleu-* 'hear.' A semantic development from the idea of 'hearing' to 'what is heard, report, rumor, fame' is attested elsewhere, and the whole name might mean something like 'having fame, famous.' The element *tī* is probably to be recognized also in *vo·l·tīχno·s·*, *voltīχenei*, and *vo·l·tīiomno·s·*; before a consonant it is spelled with single *i*, before a vowel with double.

- lo·u·zera·i·* 162, *lo·u·zeroφο·s·* 31 :: Lat. *liber*, Gr. *ἐλεύθερος*.
lo·u·kio 140, *lo·u·ki* 143 :: Lat. *lūx*, *lūcus*, *Lūcius*, Gr. *λευκός*, Lith. *laũkas*, Skr. *loká-* 'open space, world,' OHG *lōh* 'Gebüsch, grove.'
μαχello·n· 169. The IE suffixum instrumenti *-llo-*, *-tro-* is to be recognized in this word: Gk. *ἐχέτλη* 'plow-handle, ἄροτρον 'plow,' Lith. *árklas* 'plow,' Lat. *pōculum*, Skr. *pātra-*.
tola·r· 169 :: Lat. *tulī*, Gk. *τλήναι*, Skr. *tuláyati*, Goth. *þulan*.

p

Venetic *p* corresponds (1) to *p* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE *p* in cognate words.

1. *e·kureþari·s·* 141, 142 :: *ecupetaris* 157.
purpone·i· 141 :: East Italic *púrúnnum* 350; *Purpius* CIL V 2396, Ferrara; *id. ibid.* 1353, Aquileia.
þo·u·peio 148 :: *Τεύπαλος*, Stephanus of Byzantium s.v.; Etr. *þurpites* CIE 2338, Clusium?
*plete·i·*⁴ 142 :: *Plaetoris* CIL V 1358, Aquileia.
kupri-konio·i· 149a :: *Cupro-genia* CIL X 1568, Pozzuoli.
2. *porah* 1, 31 :: Skr. *pára*.
per 167 :: Lat. *per*, Gk. *περί*.
·o·p 5, 9, 18 :: Osc. *úp*, *op*, Gk. *ἐπί*.
·o·posoφο·s· 1 :: Lat. *opus*, Osc. *úpsannam*, Skr. *ápas*.

In *kaþsam*...165, compared by Conway (Index s.v.) with Latin *capsa*, we may have a survival of the early Greek spelling of *p* + *s* as *þs* (Attic *φσέφισμα*) in Greek probably intended to indicate a weak aspiration of *p* before *s*.⁵ We may compare the similar spelling of *k* + *s* as *χs* which also appears in Venetic. In Venetic, however, these spellings may well be mere orthographic survivals without phonetic significance.

þ

Venetic *þ* corresponds (1) to *b* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE initial *b-* and medial *-bh-* in cognate words.

1. *e·þ·* 1 :: *Eb-uri* CIL V 3541, Verona; *Eb-urus* CIL III 4167, Savaria in Pannonia Superior.
þu·k·ka 15 :: *Bucca* CIL III 3788, Igg in Pannonia Superior; *Buccus* *ibid.* 3788.
þhaþahtsa 1 :: *Fabatus* CIL V 5342, Como.
þo·i·iio·s· :: *Boius* CIL V 579, Trieste; Runic *þaiþaR* ZfdA 66.250.
veþe... 103 :: *Vebenus* CIL III 11635, Matucaium in Noricum.
·o·poso-þo·s· 1, *lo·u·zero-þo·s·* 31, *visþio-þos* 123 (restored by Krahe IF 53.65 from *visþioþo·i·*) :: *andetico-bos* 157. (For *kaþsam* . . . 165 see the preceding section.)

2.a. IE initial *b-*:

- þu·k·ka* 15 :: Lat. *bucca*, Gk. *βυκ-άνη*, Skr. *buk-kāra*.

⁴ Since the first letter of this word is not provided with puncts, which indicates that it did not begin with a vowel, Vetter, *Gl* 24.130 prefers this reading to Conway's *alete·i*. Conway himself admits the possibility that the first letter is *p*.

⁵ E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, 2d ed., pp. 90–91.

2.b. IE medial *-bh-*:

vhaφαhtsa 1 :: Lat. *faba*, O.Pr. *babo*, Russian *bob*, IE **bhabhā* (Walde-Hofmann 436).

·*o*·*poso*·*φo*·*s*· 1, *lo*·*u*·*zero*·*φo*·*s*· 31, *visehio*·*φos* 123 :: Skr. *deve-bhy-as*, Gk. *ναῦ-φι*, Lat. *igni-bus*, Osc. *luisari-fs*, Mess. *laidehia-bas* 526, *logeti-bas* 526, Gallic *ματρε-βο*.

sselboisselboi 157 :: OHG *der selb selbo*.

The OHG word is derived by WP 2.457 from a Germanic **selba-*, which is formed from an *-(*o*)*lo-* extension of the pronominal root **s(ψ)e-* by means of the derivative suffix **-bho-*.

φo·*i*·*iios* 6 and *φoχso*·*s*· 180.

These are generally regarded as borrowed from Celtic and therefore not decisive in determining the etymological value of *φ*. *φoχso*·*s*· may well be a formation with the Venetic suffix *-so-* (*vhu*·*χ*·*siia*, *vo*·*χ*·*si*, *iūwa*·*n*·*t*·*sa*·*i*·, *vhaφαhtsa*) from the root **bhāgh-*, **bhōgh-*, which appears in the common Gallic *bogio-* (Holder 1.462) and in the Irish *bág* 'battle.' For *φo*·*i*·*iio*·*s*· see under *oi*.

vh

Venetic *vh* corresponds (1) to *f* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE initial *bh-* and initial *dh-* in cognate words.

1. *vhrema* 136c :: *Frema NdSc* 1926.356, Padua; *id. ibid.* 1933.128.18, Este; *id. ClPh* 29.291.17, Este.

vho·*u*·*χο*·*n*·*tio*·*i*· 129 :: *fougo PID* 1.117.11, Este; *id. ClPh* 29.290.4, Este; *fougoniai ClPh* 29.291.20, Este; *Fougonia CIL* V 2780, Este; *Feucontis CIL* III 10722, 10723, 10724, Nauportus in Pannonia Superior.

vho·*u*·*χο*·*n*·*tah* 16 :: *fougontai ClPh* 29.291.21.

vhren·*mo* 153 :: *Fren* [*CIL* V 2581, Este.

·*a*·*vhro*·*i*· 136 bis I :: *Afer CIL* V 5864, 5976, Milan.

vhrutana·*i*· 136b :: *Frutis* (Krahe *IF* 53.66).

vhaφαhtsa :: *Fabatus CIL* V 5342, Como.

2.a. IE initial *bh-*:

vhrema 136c, etc. :: Lat. *fremo*, OHG *brēman*, Skr. *bhrámati*, Kretschmer, *Einl.* 267.

vhaφαhtsa :: Lat. *faba*, O.Pr. *babo*, IE **bhabhā*.

vhuxiia 17, 20, 28, 29, 30, 136a; *vho*·*u*·*χο*·*n*·*tiika* 29, etc. :: Lat. *fugio*, Gk. *φεύγω*, Lith. *bauginti*.

vhratere·*i*· 6 :: Lat. *frātri*, Gk. *φράτρι*, Skr. *brhātar-*. Torp, "Bemerkungen" 6; Sommer *IF* 42.124; Vetter *Gl* 20.39.

2.b. IE initial *dh-*.

vhaχ·*s*·*θο* 150 :: Lat. *facio*, Gk. *ἔθηκα*, New Phrygian *ad-δακετ*, Skr. *dā-dhāmi*, IE **dhak-s-to*. Conway *JRAI* 46.223; Sommer *IF* 42.126. For a discussion of this word see under *a*.

vhētiana 24 :: Lat. *fēti-ālis*, IE **dhēti-*. Krahe *IF* 53.68.

·*vhiila* 15 :: Lettic *dīle* 'sucking calf,' Lat. *filius*, Umb. *feliuf* 'sucking pigs,' Gk. *θηλή* 'nipple,' IE **dhēǵ*, **dhǵi* > **dhī*.

This word, which, like *-kenia*, may well denote some degree of relationship in the female line, exhibits the initial treatment of IE **dh-* in this compound which was formed after the

change of IE medial **dh* > Venetic *d* (written *z*) had taken place. The only other occurrence of medial *vh* in Venetic is in *·a·vhro·i*: 136 bis I, which is best taken as a borrowing from Latin or some other Italic dialect. As far as we can determine, then, *vh* occurs regularly only in the initial position, a fact strikingly reminiscent of the situation in Latin.

The digraph *vh* occurs on the alphabetic tablets of Este in combination with *r*, *l*, and *n* in a situation parallel to that of the other single letters; that is, beside such combinations as *tn*, *tl*, *tr*; *pl*, *pn*, *pr*; etc., we find *vhr*, *vhl*, and *vhn*. I have shown above that the phoneme expressed with this perigram corresponds to that written with *f* in the Latin alphabet. The source of this device evidently lies in a similar usage in the oldest Etruscan, in which Pauli, pp. 99 ff. has pointed out five examples of *vh* = *f*. To this Etruscan practice is also traced the use of *vh* for *f* on the sixth-century Praenestine fibula: *vhe*:*vhaked*; cf. Oscan *sefacid*.

t (θ)

Venetic *t* and θ correspond (1) to *t* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE *t* in cognate words.

1. *tu·r·k·na* 136 :: *Turc-iacus* CIL V 2438, Ferrara.
eḡetore·i· 136d :: *egetorei* CIPh 29.292.28.
ka·n·ta 21, 22 :: *canta* CIPh 29.290. 10, 12.
va·n·t·s· 2, 99, 136 bis I :: *vanti* CIPh 29.290.7; *vantio* *ibid.* 9.
ta·i·io·s· 118 :: *Taius* CIL V 4670, Brescia; *Tai* CIL V 2700, Este.
musḡo·i· 149b :: *Mustius* CIL V 2822, Padua.
e·kupeḡari·s· 141, 142 :: *ecupetaris* 157.
ḡen·ḡe·i· 144 :: *Gentius* Livy 42.29.
·o·s·t·s· 152 :: *Ostus* CIL III 3806, Igg in Upper Pannonia.

2.a. IE *t*:

- zona·s·-to* *passim* *zona·s·-ḡo* 33, *zo-to* *passim*, *vhax·s·-ḡo* :: Gr. ἐλίε-το, Skr. *abháva-ta*.
·e·s·t 152 :: Lat. *est*, Gk. ἔστι, Skr. *asti*.
maḡe-tlo·n· 169 :: Lat. *pō-culu-m*, Lith. *ār-kla-s*, Skr. *pā-tra-m*, Gk. ἄρο-τρο-ν.
·e·n·ḡo·l· 113 :: Gk. ἐνρός, Lat. *intus*.

The common "Illyrian" *-st-* formant (*Tergeste*, *Bigeste*, *Ateste*, *Apenestai*, *Grumbestini*, *Ladesta*, *Praeneste*, *Armistae*) is probably to be recognized in *]hremasto·i·* 121; *vhremah·s·tna* 19, 20, 25b, 131, 144; *e·ḡe·s·t·s·* (cf. *eḡe-tore·i·* 136d); *]eve·s·ḡii* 146.

The Indo-European suffixum *agentis -tor-* (Lat. *dā-tōr-em*, Gk. δώ-τορ-α Skr. *dā-tār-am*) appears in *lemeto·r·na* 26b, *lemeḡo·r·na* 33, *lemetore·i·* 136 bis VI; *eḡetore·i·* 136d, 31.

z

Venetic *z* corresponds (1) to *d* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE *d* and to IE medial *dh* in cognate words.

1. *ve·r·ko·n·za·r·na* 32 :: *Vercondari-dubnus* Livy *Epit.* 139.

mo·l·z-onke·o· 2, *mo·l·z-na* 32, *..o·l·zo* 123 (?) :: Messapic *mold-ahias* 418, 524, *mold-attheiai* 396.

zsiak-na 34 :: *Diac-ū* CIL III 5084, St. Leonhard in Kärnten.

The spelling *zs* may possibly be an attempt to represent a palatalization of the **d*- which took place before the consonantal *-i*, a sound similar to the English affricate *-dʒ*- which often arises under like conditions.

2.a. IE *d*:

zona·s·to passim :: Lat. *dōnum*, *dōnāre*, Gk. *δίδωμι*.

ze·i·vo·s· 152 :: Messap. *deivas* 484, O. Lat. *deivos*, O.Pr. *deiwans*.

zoto passim :: Gk. *ἔδοτο*, Skr. *ādita*.

aza·n· 6a, 17 24 :: Lith. *ād-ata* 'needle.'

2.b. IE medial *dh*:

lo·u·zerofo·s· 31, *lo·u·zera·i·* 162 :: Gk. *ἐλεύθερος*, Osc. *Lúwfr̥ets*, Lat. *lībera*.

There is some evidence of an alternation between the phonemes *d* and *t* in Venetic itself and between Venetic and Illyrian. Thus we have *tona·s·to* 28 as against the regular *zona·s·to*; *mo·l·z-onke·o·* and *mo·l·z-na* are to be compared with *mo·l·t-one·i·* 124 and *molot* 136 bis IV (this last form, according to Whatmough CIPh 29.286, shows anaptyxis from an older **molt*); *tomatorio·i·* 115 is taken by Krahe IF 53.65 to stand for **zomatorio·i·*, i.e., **domatorio·i·*, and as such to be connected with the Istrian *Domator* CIL V 449, Piquentum. Cf. also *z* in the alphabetic position of *t*, PID 3, l. 1. We have further the alternation between *Patavium* and Πάδοα, *Atria* and *Adria*, **Ἀδρ-ιον ὄρος* in Illyria and the river name **Ἀτρι-ανός* in Venetia, *Δαυλάντιον* and *Ταυλάντιοι* in Illyria, *Budua* and *Butua*. For the whole problem see Krahe *Geogr. Namen* 66. Since the **d* in the case of *zona·s·to* beside *tona·s·to* and *mo·l·z-na* beside *mo·l·tone·i·* is demonstrably primary, we should be careful not to assign all the examples of this alternation merely to the voicing of *t* in the neighborhood of voiced sounds. That the dental stops usually were kept distinct is plain; that they were occasionally confused is also plain, but the cause for the unvoicing in *tona·s·to* is obscure. We can only state the facts of this alternation without attempting to establish a causal relationship in each case. The alternation between *vo·u·xo·n·tah* 16 and *Feucontis* CIL III 10722 would seem to be of the same nature; as would that of Rhaetic *va·l·tikinu* 237 with Venetic *voltiχenei*.

k

Venetic *k* corresponds (1) to *c* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to Indo-European *k̂* and *k* (possibly also to *kʷ*) in cognate words.

1. *ve·r·ko·n·za·r·na* 32 :: *Vercondari-dubnus* Livy *Epit.* 139.

ne·r·ka 26b, 32, 34, 112 :: *nerca* PID 1.117.3; *id.* CIPh 29.291.19. Messapic *nerikiden* 474.

zsiak-na 34 :: *Diacū* CIL III 5084, St. Leonhard in Kärnten.

·u·r·kle·i·na 17, *·u·r·kli* 114, *...r·klehio·i·* 119 :: *urcle-soni* CIPh 29.290.6.

ka·n·ta 21, 22, 118, 130 :: *canta* CIPh 29.290 f. 10, 12.

- e·kupehari·s* 141, 142 :: *ecupetaris* 157.
tu·r·k-na 136 :: *Turc-iacus* CIL V 2438, Ferrara.
a·kuti·o·i 114 :: *Acutius* CIL V 2783, Padua.
makkno·s 127 :: *Macconis* CIL V 1464, Aquileia.
v·e·ske·ś 136 bis V :: *vesces* ClPh 29.291.17.

2.a. IE *k̑*:

- klu-thi-ari·s* 150 :: Lat. *inclutus*, Gk. κλυτός, OChSl *slava* 'fame,' Lith. *šlovė* 'honor,' Skr. *çrutí*.

But in view of Lith. *klausyti* 'hear,' which shows the palatal stop even in a member of the satem group of languages, this case is ambiguous: the Venetic *k* may represent either the Indo-European palatal *k̑* or the Indo-European 'pure velar' *k*, sounds which appear to have alternated with each other in the base **kley-*.

- e·ku-pehari·s* 141, 142 :: Lat. *equus*, Gk. ἵππος, Old Lithuanian *eschwa* 'mare,' Skr. *açva* 'horse,' IE **eḱ-wo-s*.
kat-akna 25a :: Gallic *Cat-ācus* Holder 1.837, O.Ir. *cath* 'battle,' O.Eng. *heabo* 'strife,' Skr. *çat-ru* 'enemy.'

This word, however, may well be a direct borrowing from the Celtic, in which case, of course, Venetic initial *k* does not have etymological significance.

2.b. IE *k*:

- kenia* 30, *-konio·i* 149a :: Skr. *kanyā*, Gr. *καίως*, Lat. *re-cens*.
lo·u·ki 143 :: Lat. *lūcus*, OHG *lōh* 'grove,' Lith. *laukas* 'field,' Skr. *lokā* 'open space, place; world.'
ka·n·ta 21, 22, 118, 130 :: Skr. *kanta*, Lith. *ne-apý-kanta* 'hate,' Lat. *cārus*, O.Ir. *caraim* 'I love.'

2.c. IE *ky*:

- ke* 31 :: Lat. *-que*, Gk. *τε*, Skr. *ca*.

Sommer, p. 121, who sets up this equation, warns us against putting too much faith in such a change, which is assumed on the basis of a single occurrence, especially in an enclitic. Vetter's suggestion (*Gl* 24.127) that we have another example of this word in *mo'l-zonke·o* 2, which he would divide *mo'l-zon-ke·o*, would, besides setting up in *·o* a word or abbreviation which does not elsewhere occur in Venetic, require that a verb in the singular number, as *zona·sto*, be combined with a plural subject: *va·n't-s* et *mo'l-zo·n* dedit! It must therefore be rejected.

X

Venetic *χ* corresponds (1) to *g* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to IE *ǵ*, *g*, *ǵh*, and *gh* in cognate words.

1. *xahvo·s* 165 :: *Gavius* CIL V 2160, Altinum; *id. ibid.* 2960, Padua; *id. ibid.* 2582, Este; Osc. *Gaaviis*, *Gaviis*.
eçetore·i 136d :: *egetorei* ClPh 29.292.28.
vho·u·xo·n·tah 16 :: *fougontai* ClPh 29.291.21.
çen·the·i 144 :: *Gentius* Livy 42.29.
vo·l·tiçno·s 123 :: *Voltofnas* CIL III 13402, Emona in Pannonia Superior.
çalçno·s 135 :: *Galgestes* CIL V 164, Pola; *Galgestia* CIL V 163, Pola.
xra·i·ko·i 136 bis V :: *Graecus*.

2.a. IE *ǵ*.

·e·χo, *mexo passim* :: Lat. *ego*, Gk. ἐγώ, Goth. *ik*, OChSl *aze*.

ve·i·-χno·i· 142, *vo·l·ti·χno·s·* 123, *volti·χenei* 126 :: Lat. *mali-gnus*,
genus, Gk. νεο-γνός, γένος, Skr. *jánas*.

χen·θe·i· 144 :: Lat. *gens, gentis*, Skr. *jāti*.

2.b. IE *g*:

vhuxiia 17, 20, 28, 29, 30, 136a; *vhō·u·χo·n·tna* 16; etc. :: Lat. *fugio*, Gk.
φεύγω, Lith. *bauginti* 'cause to flee, terrify.' Kretschmer *Einkl.* 267.

2.c. IE *ǵh*:

χalχno·s· 135 :: Goth. *galga* 'stake, cross, gallows,' Lith. *žalgð* 'long thin
pole, rod.' Kretschmer *Einkl.* 267; cf. Latin *Scipio* (*scipio* = 'staff') for a
similarly applied 'Spitzname.'

2.d. IE *gh*:

χalχno·s· 135 :: Goth. *galga*, Lith. *žalgð*.

maxello·n· 169 :: Gk. μηχανή, Goth. *magan* 'be able, can,' OChSl *moga* 'to
be able.'

Although the correspondences assembled under the heading *k* were in many cases ambiguous and would not alone suffice to determine the centum or satem character of Venetic, those gathered here demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that we must regard our dialect as belonging to the western, or centum, group of Indo-European languages. Particularly important in this regard are ·e·χo and *mexo*, and the patronymic suffixes -χno- and -χen-.

The combination of palatal with *s* is spelled χs in the five instances in which it occurs: *vhū·χ·sīia* 18, 23; *vo·χ·sīi* 25b; *φοχσο·s·* 180; *χsetos PID* 1.182, *vhax·s·θo* 150. *se·χ·tio* 136 bis VII is attractively regarded by Whatmough *ClPh* 29.285 as standing for **se·χ·stio* and so comparable with Latin *Sextius*, the second *s* having been carelessly omitted by the engraver under the influence of the initial *s*; it therefore would belong in this group. Now in *vhū·χ·sīia* we probably have an IE voiced palatal, whereas the χ of *vhax·s·θo* doubtless stands for IE *k*: Lat. *facio*, Gk. ἔθηκα, Phrygian ἀδδακετ. If the restoration of *se·χ·tio* to **se·χ·stio* is correct, the χ would represent also an IE voiceless palatal: cf. Lat. *sex, sextus*, Gk. ἕξ, Goth. *saihs*. It would seem, then, that χs was the method employed to represent a combination of palatal or velar with *s*, whatever the origin of the former; that it did not have its usual Venetic value in this combination is quite likely. Now Etruscan usually represents Greek ξ with χs (Fiesel "Namen" 47), and in Greek itself Athenian inscriptions which are older than the introduction of the Ionic alphabet in 403 B.C. spell the combination of palatal stop and *s* as χσ: ἔδοχσεν (i.e., ἔδοξεν) side by side with δοκέω. It seems best to regard the Etruscan spelling as a direct borrowing from the Greek, and not necessarily meaning that χ had the value of an aspirate in that combination in Etruscan. In a similar fashion, the Veneti adopted the spelling directly from Etruscan. We have observed what is probably a parallel in the writing of *p + s* in *kaψsam...* 165. Since -*ks*- is preserved, Conway's comparison of ·a·hsu·s· 166 with Gk. ἄξονες, Lat. *axis*, which would require a change of *ks* to *hs*, is to be rejected.

s (ś)

Venetic *s* corresponds (1) to *s* in the Latin alphabet, and (2) to Indo-European *s* in all positions in cognate words.

1. *musθo·i·* 149b :: *Mustius CIL V 2822*, Padua; *id. CIL III 5175*, 5176, Celeia in Noricum.
v·e·ske·ś· 136 bis V :: *vesces ClPh 29.291.17*.
vesoš 126 :: *Vesius CIL V 3825*, Verona; *Vesonius ibid.* 961, Aquileia; *Ves-clevesis CIL III 3038*, Flanona in Dalmatia.
peso 136 bis VI :: Lepontic *pešu* 334.
e·kupeθari·s· 141, 142 :: *ecupetaris* 157.
·o·s·t··s· 152, *·o·s·tīio·i·* 125a :: *Ostus CIL V 2221*, Altinum; *id. CIL III 3806*, Igg in Pannonia Superior.
vas·seno 136 :: *vasino ClPh 29.292.24*.
2. Because of the great variety in the related languages of the treatments of *s* according to its different positions in the word, it is appropriate to treat that phoneme under various headings corresponding to positions initially, medially between vowels, medially before and after consonants, and finally.
 - 2.a. Initially:
 - stati* 154.
 - sīrka* 156.
 - sselboisselboi* 157 :: OHG *der selb selbo*.
 - se·χ·tīo* 136 bis VII :: Lat. *Sextius*. Whatmough, *ClPh 29.285*.
 - śahnate·i·* 3, 18, 29, 31, 100, 106 :: Lat. *sānāre*, **sānātis*.
 - so·u·ana* 28 :: Gallic *Sounus*, Holder 2.1622.
 - 2.b. Medially between vowels:
 - vesoš* 126 :: Skr. *vāsu-* 'good.'
 - vas·seno* 136 :: *vasino ClPh 29.292.24*.
 - visehio-* 123 :: *Viseus CIL V 5064*, Trentino; *Visaeus CIL V 5063*, Val di Non.
 - vaso* 151a.
 - ossoko·s·* 163.
 - lassik.* 160.
 - peso* 136 bis VI :: Lepontic *pešu* 334.
 - musicata·i·* 163.
 - o·posoφo·s·* 1 :: Lat. *operibus*.
 - 2.c. Medially before and after consonants:
 - mešne·i·* 159. For the preservation of *s* before *n* cf. the following Latin forms from the Venetic district: *mani-snavius*, *udisnam*, *Arusna. PID No. 153a*.
 - e·χe·s·t·s·* 99, *·eχe·s·tīio·i·* 125a;]*eve·s·θii* 146; *vhremah·s·tna* 19, 20, 25b, 115a, 131, 144;]*hremasto·i·* 121.

These words all contain the *st* formant so common in "Illyrian" and of which I have given examples under *t*.

zona·s·to passim, vhaχ·s·θo 150. The *s* here is the sign of the sigmatic aorist: Lat. *dixī*, Gk. *ἔλυσε*, Skr. *āvākṣam*.
mu·s·ki·a·l·na·i 136a :: *Musci-onius* CIL V 7797, Genoa. For the *nā* suffix see under *n* above; for the "Illyrian" *al* suffix cf. Krahe, *Lex. PN* 147: *Acalius, Cabaletus, Ostiala, Sibalis*.
vhaφαht·śa 1 (cf. *Fabatus*), *φοχ·so·s·* 180 (Gallic *bogio-*), *vhuxsia* 18, 23 (*vhuxia*), *iūwa·n·t·śa·i* 112 (*iūwa·n·tiio·i·*), *vok·t·śes* 182, *vo·χ·sii* 25b (cf. the abbreviated *voχ·l·* 134a, formed with a different suffix, Krahe *Gl* 23.113).

It is best to regard all these words as containing some sort of *s* suffix; Conway's derivation of *iūwa·n·tśa·i* and *vhaφαhtśa* from older **iūwantjari* and **vhaφαhtja* is, as I have shown, improbable in view of the lack of assibilation in such cases as *re·i·tiia·i*.

2.d. Finally:

The termination *-o·s·* of the nominative singular of *o* stems is very frequent, e.g.: *φοχso·s·* 180; *ossoko·s·* 163, *χο·l·tano·s·* 162; *vo·t·tehiio·s·* 100, 111; *·e·r·monio·s·* 152; *votto·s·* 180; *vo·l·tiχno·s·* 123; *φο·i·iio·s·* 6; *kalro·s·* 159; *ki·l·lo·s·* 163; *koveziko·s·* 186; *χahvo·s·* 165; *ho·s·θi·havo·s·* 148.

There are two examples of the nominative singular in *-i·s·* of *i* stems: *e·kupeθari·s·* 151, 142; *kluthiari·s·* 150.

The ending *-φο·s·*, which occurs in *·o·posoφο·s·* 1 and *lo·u·zeroφο·s·* 31, corresponds to that of *andeticobos* 157 and to Messapic *-bas*, Lat. *-bus*, and Gallic *-βο*, and is to be regarded as that of the dative-ablative plural.

Conway's interpretation of the 'ah' endings as the genitive-dative singular of *ā* stems does not permit him to account for the *vhremahs·tnas* of 115a, which, it seems, can be nothing else, from the Indo-European point of view, than the genitive singular of an *ā* stem: cf. Old Latin *familias*, Gk. *χώρας*, Gothic *gibos*, Lith. *mergōs*. (It is just possible that the *kapiahies* of 115a, which occurs side by side with *vhremahs·tnas* and presumably therefore is in the same case, may be the genitive singular of an *-iē-* stem; cf. Skr. *bṛhatyās*, Gk. *φερόβσης*, Old Lat. *faciēs*.)

The two inscriptions 127 (*iθuria makkno·s·*) and 135 (*·u·kona χαλχνο·s·*), in which it is preferable not to interpret the two names as belonging to the same case, but rather as standing in a case relationship to one another, are paralleled by the pair 25a (*re·i·tii katakna*) and 25b (*vo·χ·sii vhemah·s·tna*), in which the first words respectively are rendered by Sommer *IF* 42.109f. as genitives singular of masculine *o* or *īo* stems dependent upon a feminine name in the nominative singular. We might expect, then, that the forms in *-o·s·* would be in the same case, that is, the genitive singular, and it is as such that they are explained by Thurneysen *WklPh* 9.289 as representing a genitive of the type that appears in Sanskrit *n* stems as *rājñas* beside the nominative *rājā*. The nominative of *makkno·s·* would be **makkō* and of *χαλχνο·s·*, **χαλχō*.

vesoś 126 preserves the final *-s* of the genitive singular of *u* stems (Osc. *castrous*, Goth. *sunaus*), and *·a·hsu·s·* 166 and 167 that of the accusative plural of such stems.

The nominative singular *ka·n·te·s·* 100 may represent the type of the Latin nominative singular *sēdēs*, whereas certain other forms in *es* (*vok·t·šes* 182, *kuxē·s·* 158, *ve·i·ne·s·* 161, *os·te·s·* 161, *v·e·ske·š·* 136 bis V) whose case is uncertain may be either nominatives of the same type or genitives of *i* stems, the Indo-European ending *eis* (Osc. *Lwkanateis*, Goth. *anstais*) having become monophthongized to *es* in unaccented position. Since the *i* of *i* stems is preserved in the nominative singular in *e·kupeθari·s·* and *klubiari·s·*, it is best to take the nominatives *va·n·t·s·* 2, 99, 136 bis I; *iūwa·n·t·s·* 3; *e·xe·s·t·s·* 99; *a·kut·s·* 100 as those of consonant stems. Regarding certain other forms ending in *-s* (*ariūns* 3, *kavaron·s·* 168, *e·n·nons* 136 bis III, *luk·s·* 165, *m·elnk·s·* 165, *kara·n·mn·s·* 2) whose case is likewise uncertain, one cannot be positive, but in the absence of any cogent evidence for the medial or final syncope of short vowels or for syllabic writing one may take them as nominative singular of consonant stems.

In a few words final *-s* seems to have been dropped, but since it is regularly written in this position we may assume, as in the loss of *n* before *t*, only that it was rather weakly sounded, if indeed we do not have to deal with anything more serious than careless spelling:

se·χ·tio 136 bis VII :: Lat. *Sextius*.

vas·seno 136.

Sommer *IF* 42.112 suggests that this inscription (*tur·kna vas·seno*) belongs to the type of *iθuria makkno·s·* etc. discussed above, and that the final *-s* of the genitive singular of a consonant stem has accordingly been lost.

θo·u·peio 148 and]·*e·hio* 176.

These ostensible nominatives contain the same suffix found in *vo·t·tehio·s·* 100, 111, and have, therefore, lost the final *-s*.

kvito 136 bis VIII :: Gallic *kuitos* 337, Lat. *Quintus*.

·e·n·nonio 136 bis IV.

vaso 151a (?).

h

No definite phonetic value can be attributed to the letter *h* in Venetic. As Thurneysen (*WklPh* 9.291) and Sommer (*IF* 42.115) observed, it had apparently become merely an orthographic device and was used (1) to indicate that the preceding vowel was long, as in Umbrian and modern German (but this usage was not consistent); (2) after a vowel in combination with a following *-ii-* (*-i-*) to indicate that *-ii-* (*-i-*) had a consonantal value, as in Messapic (e.g., *moldahias*, i.e. **molda-ja-s*; cf. Krahe *Gl* 17.91); (3) initially; (4) in combination with *v* as a symbol for the phoneme written as *f* in Latin (see under *vh*).

1. *·a·hsu·s·* *·a·hsu·n·* 166 :: Germ. **ansuz* (Feist, *Goth. Etym. Wb. s.v. ans*), O. Icel. *ǫss* 'god.' Here the length of the vowel was a result of compensation which accompanied the loss of *n* before *s*.

śahnate·i· 3, 18, 29, 31, 100, 106 :: Lat. *sānus, sānātio*.

χahvo·s· 165 :: Osc. *Gaaviis* (Buck nos. 42, 58).

vhaφαhtsa 1 :: Lat. *Fabātus*.

kra·e·hk 162 :: Goth. *Krēks*, Lat. *Graecus*.

The Venetic and Gothic forms may well be derived from the Latin through the medium of the Etruscan (Jacobsohn, *ZfdA* 66.223 ff.). This would account for the unvoicing of the initial consonant, and for the monophthongization of the diphthong *ai* to the long *ē* that appears in Gothic; this was the usual treatment of that diphthong in Etruscan. We may then suppose that in this particular word *ae* was taken over from Etruscan merely with the value of a long *ē*, the length of which was then indicated by the following *h*. However, *χα·i·ko·i·* 136 bis V appears to be a direct borrowing from the Latin *Graecus*, and preserves the *g* (written *χ*) and the *ai* diphthong.

lah·v·-na·i· 164, *lav·-s·ko·s·* 158.

In view of Krahe's objections (*Gl* 20.192 ff.) to Vetter's connection (*Gl* 20.70 ff.) of *lahvna·i·* with Messapic *lahona*, namely, that we would not expect *h* from **ǵh* (Gk. *λεχῶ, λοχία*) and *δ > ā* both in Venetic and Messapic, it is better not to relate the Messapic and Venetic forms with each other, but rather to see in Venetic itself different formations from a base **lāv-* by means of the suffixes *-nā-* and *-(i)sko-*. Cf. Lat. *Lāv-inius*.

vhremah·s·tna 19, 20, 25b, 131, 144 ::]*hremastoi* 121, *vh[r*]*to·s·* 111.

If, as seems likely, these latter two names are fragments of a hypothetical **vrhema·sto·s·*, we should be justified in regarding *vhremah·s·tna* as the feminine derivative in *-nā* from the stem of that word. If this is admitted, then the *h* in this latter name must be a sign of the length of the preceding vowel, and the word is to be regarded as a derivative by means of the formant *st* from a stem **vhremā* (cf. *vhrema* 136c). The form *fremaistini*, restored by Whatmough in a fragmentary Latin inscription from Este (*CIPh* 29.291.18), is suspect because of the shape of the suffix: as Thurneysen remarked (*WklPh* 9.288), the Venetic shape of this suffix is always *-na*, never *-ina*.

In the following five *ā* words Sommer (p. 115) recognizes the nominative singular: *vo·u·χo·n·tah* 16, *vhremah·s·tnah* 20, *vhuxiah* 30, *porah* 31, *ne·r·kah* 32. Venetic would, then, have preserved the long *ā* of the nominative singular: Osc. *vtū*, Gk. *χῶπα*, Skr. *kanyā*. On the analogy of the other inscriptions nominatives are to be expected in these five, and if we do not accept Sommer's interpretation we are required to assume either a genitive or a dative in *-a·i·*. But we have pointed out under *s* that the regular Venetic genitive of *ā* stems ends in *-as*; therefore we should have to call the forms datives. But if we examine such an inscription as No. 16 (*vo·u·χo·n·tah vo·u·χo·n·tna zona·s·to re·i·tiia·i·*) we see that this is impossible: we already have one dative (*re·i·tiia·i·*) in the sentence, and it is not likely, to say the least, that the word *vo·u·χo·n·tah* should be read with a final diphthong and regarded as being in agreement with it. The reason *h* usually was not written in the nominative singular was, as Sommer remarked, to avoid the danger of confusion with the dative.

2. *vo·t·tehiio·s·* 100, 111; *visehioφo·s·* 123,]·*e·hiio* 176;]·*r·klehio·i·* 119; (*θo·u·peio* 148).

These forms appear to contain the *-eio-* suffix, and as such are to be kept distinct from *θo·i·iio·s·* 6 and *ta·i·iio·s·* 118, in which the *·i·* is to be read as *-i-* and regarded as part of the

stem: cf. the exact equivalent of *þo'ri'io's* in the Germanic *baijaR*, on a very early Runic inscription (*ZfdA* 66.250).

3. *ha·r·to* 181.

Possibly to be connected, as by Sommer 116, with the name stem *Art-* which is frequent in Venetic and Illyrian territory: *Artanus CIL V* 4088, between Mantua and Cremona; *Artorius CIL V* 2566, Este; *Artoria CIL V* 714, region of Trieste; *Artius CIL III* 13385, near Budapest; *Artilius CIL V* 4535, Brescia.

ho·s·θihavo·s 148.

Connected by Deecke (*GGA* 1886.54), Thurneysen (*WklPh* 9.291), Sommer (*IF* 42.115), and Krahe (*Lex. PN* 56 s.v. *Hostilius*) with the frequent *host-* and *ost-* of North Italy and Illyria, the spellings with and without *h* occurring side by side without apparent significance: *Ostus CIL III* 3806, Igg; *Hostila CIL IIIs.* 10746, Igg; *Ostila CIL III* 3853, Emona; *Hostili CIL V* 4965, Camunni; *Hostius CIL IIIs.* 10726, Igg; *Ostia CIL V* 2906, Padua. Conway's guess that *ho's* (*si sic dividendum*: Index s.v.) might mean 'hīc, this' appears to have been influenced by the Greek *θs*; but *θs* stands for an older **ios* (Skr. *yas*) or an older **sos* (Skr. *sas*), and both initial *s-* and initial *i-* are preserved in Venetic.

With this use of *h* initially with no apparent phonetic value may perhaps be compared the *h* of the French *huile*, from Latin *oleum*.

3. THE EVIDENCE FOR VOWEL SYNCOPE IN VENETIC

I have referred above to the lack of any cogent evidence for the syncope of medial vowels or of final vowels in closed syllables. When we compare the Venetic *lo·u·zera·i·* with its preservation of the medial short *e* as in Greek *ἐλεῖθερος*, with the Oscan *Lúvfrēts*, which has suffered medial syncope; Venetic *lo·u·zerofo·s·*, *·o·posofo·s·*, and *andeticobos*, with the vowel of the final syllable fully preserved, with, e.g., Oscan *luisarifs*; Venetic *e·kupehari·s·* and *klubiiari·s·* with Oscan *ceus* < **cevis* and *aidil* < **aidilis*; and Venetic *vo·l·tiumno·s·* and *·e·r·monio·s·* with Oscan *hūrz* < **hortos* and Umbrian *Ikwins* < **Iguvinos*, we feel that such an assumption of the syncope of medial or final short vowels must be backed by very strong evidence in order to receive support.

Conway⁶ has this to say in this regard: "Precisely the same syncope (of an unaccented syllable) is a marked feature of Osco-Umbrian and Venetic (e.g., the name *Ermon* derived from a stem *erimo-*; *Kastko-* beside *Casticius*: Pauli *Veneter* 321). . . . Apart from its (medial syncope's) *a priori* probability it rests upon what I regard as the direct evidence of the puncts which appear in the middle of words in Venetic script." In *PID* 1.194.41, however, he thinks that this evidence indicates that ". . . the place of the accent in nouns seems to coincide with that common in Greek," and that Venetic ". . . retained the primitive accent in these nouns [-*ti* abstracts], shown in Sanskrit." Now it would seem that if Venetic preserved so faithfully the *position* of the Indo-European accent, it might be expected that the Indo-European nature of that accent would have been kept—that it would have been a pitch and not a stress accent. And if it had had a pitch accent we should expect the full preservation of the vowels of unaccented syllables, as in Greek, which is what we seem to

⁶ *Annual of the British School at Athens* 8.149, 1901.

have in Venetic, if the examples quoted above were rightly interpreted. But we can, of course, say nothing about either the position or the nature of Venetic accent from the fact that its medial vowels are preserved; for the preservation of medial and final short vowels and of the original diphthongs is a marked feature of the oldest Latin, even though that language presumably had already at that stage a strong initial stress accent. Hence I can see no reason for Conway's "a priori probability" of syncope, and must therefore examine the examples which are adduced to support it.

The inscription (No. 31) which contains the supposed *erimo-* reads, in Conway's transcription: *mexo zona · s · to šahnateh rehtiih porah · e · χetor e · r · iimoh kelo · u · zeroφo · s ·*; it is fully discussed by Sommer, pp. 119 ff. It has been thought that a confirmation of this reading lies in the fact that the name *kelo* has a Messapic parallel in *kelonihī*, 415. In our inscription, however, it would have to be interpreted as cognomen, for the presence of which in Venetic we have seen that there is no certain evidence. The form *eriimoh* is supposed by Conway to be the genitive of the father's name, but we now know that the Venetic genitive of *o* stems ended in *-i-*; it might also be a dative, so far as the form is concerned, but in that case would be difficult to interpret. A way out of these difficulties is offered by Sommer, who, by making slight emendations of the doubtful letters (in roman type), obtains a reading: *mexo zona · s · to šahnate · i · re · i · tiiā · i · porah eχetore · i · a · i · mo · i · -ke lo · u · zeroφo · s ·*, that is, *me donavit sanati (?) Re · i · tiae Pora pro Egetore Aemoque liberis*. This gives us the name *a · i · mo · s ·*, which as we have seen, is well attested for Venetic territory and occurs in the Venetic inscriptions themselves (134a: see Krahe *Gl* 23.113); and it deprives us of *eriimoh*, from which, accordingly, *ermon* cannot be derived.

Regarding Conway's second instance, namely, the Venetic *ka · s · t · ko(s)* compared with the Latin Casticius, it is by no means certain that *ka · s · t · ko(s)* stands for an older **kastiko · s ·*. The *-ko-* suffix may quite plausibly have been added directly to a base **kast-*: cf. *Casto CIL* V 1044, Aquileia; *Casta CIL* V 1009, Aquileia; *Casto CIL* V 205, Pola. Conway's *osite · s ·* 161 is read by Pauli as *os · te · s ·*, a reading which, in view of *· o · s · t · s ·* 152, *· o · s · tiiio · i ·* 125, *· o · s · tiiare · i ·* note VII, *ho · s · θihavo · s ·* 148, and the common Latin names in *ost-* (*host-*) is to be preferred and regarded as original.

Ne · r · ka 26, 34 is often compared with the Messapic *nerikiden* 474 and regarded as having lost the medial short *i*; but even if the words are to be connected, they may represent different formations by means of the suffixes *-ko-* and *-iko-* from a base **ner-*.

Messapic *vaanetos* 548 has been compared with Venetic *va · n · t · s ·* 2, 99; but in the absence of any other evidence for medial syncope had best be kept apart.

vo · l · tiχno · s · 123 is not derived from *voltiχenei* 126, but merely shows a different ablaut grade of the suffix, *-gno-* beside *-geno-*. In *vo · l · tiiomno · s ·* the original shape of the suffix was, as noted, *-mno-* and not *-meno-*. *musicata · i ·* and *vhratere · i ·* show the preservation of presumably short medial vowels.

To be sure, to judge from some late Latin forms from the Venetic district, syncope may have begun to take place at the end of the Venetic period; as,

egtorei CIL V 2780, Este, compared with the Venetic *·e·χetor*; and the presence of such Latin forms as *titni* and *tinteni* side by side with one another at Este. But there are no certain examples within Venetic itself.

4. SUMMARIES

In the following section are summarized under (A) the Venetic reflexes (insofar as these can be determined) of the Indo-European phonemes, which are listed according to Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 52; and under (B) is given a short morphology of the language, according to the interpretation here adopted.

A. PHONOLOGY

1. Vowels:

IE \acute{i}	= V. <i>i</i> .	<i>e·kupeθari·s·</i>
\tilde{i}	= \tilde{i} .	<i>vo·χ·sīi, -vhiīla.</i>
\tilde{u}	= <i>u</i> .	<i>klubiari·s·</i>
\tilde{u}	= <i>u</i> .	<i>a·kuti·o·i·</i>
\check{e}	= <i>e</i> .	<i>·e·χo, lo·u·zera·i·</i>
\bar{e}	= <i>e</i> .	<i>vhetiana.</i>
δ	= <i>o</i> .	<i>·o·p, -to in zoto, zona·s·to.</i>
\bar{o}	= <i>o</i> .	<i>zona·s·to.</i>
\check{a}	= <i>a</i> .	<i>ka·n·ta.</i>
\bar{a}	= <i>a</i> .	<i>vhratere·i·</i>
∂^1	= <i>a</i> .	<i>vhaχ·s·θo.</i>
∂^2	= <i>o</i> .	<i>tola·r·</i>

2. Semivowels:

IE \acute{y}	= V. <i>-iyo-</i> .	<i>·o·s·tiio·i·</i>
ψ	= <i>v</i> .	<i>vesoś.</i>

3. Diphthongs:

IE $e\acute{i}$	= V. <i>e·i·</i>	<i>ze·i·vos.</i>
$\bar{e}i$	= ?	
oi	= ?	
$\bar{o}i$	= <i>o·i·</i>	<i>musθo·i·</i>
ai	= <i>a·i·</i>	<i>a·i·mo·i·</i>
$\bar{a}i$	= <i>a·i·</i>	<i>re·i·tiia·i·</i>
ηi	= ?	
$e\psi$	= <i>o·u·</i>	<i>lo·u·zera·i·, lo·u·zeroφo·s·</i>
$\bar{e}\psi$	= ?	
$o\psi$	= ?	
$\bar{o}\psi$	= ?	
$a\psi$	= ?	
$\bar{a}\psi$	= ?	
$\partial\psi$	= ?	

4. Nasals:

IE <i>m</i>	= V. <i>m</i>	initially and medially: <i>meχo</i> and <i>vo·l·tiiomno·s·</i>
	<i>n</i>	finally: <i>·a·hsu·n·, aza·n·</i>

<i>n</i> =	<i>n.</i>	<i>zōna·s·to, ·e·n·θo·l.</i>
<i>ŋ</i> =	?	
<i>ŋ̄</i> =	?	<i>·a·tra < *ŋtrā.</i>
5. Liquids:		
<i>r</i> =	<i>r</i>	<i>tola·r.</i>
<i>l</i> =	<i>l</i>	<i>lo·u·ki.</i>
<i>ɾ</i> =	?	
<i>ɺ</i> =	?	
6. Stops:		
<i>p</i> =	<i>p.</i>	<i>porah.</i>
<i>ph</i> =	?	
<i>b</i> =	<i>φ</i>	<i>φu·k·ka.</i>
<i>bh</i> =	<i>vh</i>	initially: <i>vhratere·i·, vhrefma.</i>
	<i>φ</i>	medially: <i>·o·poso-φo·s·, lo·u·zeroφo·s·</i>
<i>t</i> =	<i>t (θ)</i>	<i>zōna·s·to, zōna·s·θo.</i>
<i>th</i> =	?	
<i>d</i> =	<i>z</i>	<i>zōna·s·to, ze·i·vo·s·</i>
<i>dh</i> =	<i>vh</i>	initially: <i>vhaχ·s·θo.</i>
	<i>z</i>	medially: <i>lo·u·zera·i·</i>
<i>k̄</i> =	<i>k</i>	<i>e·kupeθari·s·</i>
<i>k̄h</i> =	?	
<i>ġ</i> =	<i>χ</i>	<i>·e·χo, vo·l·tiχno·s·</i>
<i>ġh</i> =	<i>χ</i>	<i>χalχno·s·</i>
<i>k</i> =	<i>k</i>	<i>-kenia, lo·u·ki.</i>
<i>kh</i> =	?	
<i>g</i> =	<i>χ</i>	<i>vho·u·χo·n·ta·i·</i>
<i>gh</i> =	<i>χ</i>	<i>maxello·n·</i>
<i>k̄ɹ</i> =	<i>k</i>	<i>-ke.</i>
<i>k̄ɹh</i> =	?	
<i>ḡɹ</i> =	?	
<i>ḡɹh</i> =	?	
7. Spirants:		
<i>s</i> =	<i>s.</i>	<i>vesoś.</i>
<i>sh</i> =	?	
<i>z</i> =	?	

B. INFLECTIONS

1. Substantives—

o and *io* stems, masculine and neuter—

nom. sg.: *ki·l·lo·s·, χo·l·tano·s·, ·e·r·monio·s·*

gen. sg.: *vo·χ·sii, re·i·tii*

dat. sg.: *musθo·i·, ·a·vhro·i·, tomatorio·i·*

acc. sg.: *maxello·n·*

dat. pl.: *·o·posoφo·s·, andeticobos*

ā stems—

nom. sg.: *tu·r·kna, ne·r·ka, iθuria, porah*

gen. sg.: *vhremahs·tnas*
 dat. sg.: *re·i·tiia·i·*, *akutna·i·*
 acc. sg.: *aza·n·*

i stems—

nom. sg.: *klubiari·s·*, *e·kupeθari·s·*; neut.: *·u·r·kli*
 dat. sg.: *·o·s·tiiare·i·*, *sahnate·i·*, *xe·n·θe·i·*

u stems—

nom. sg.: *katu·s·*
 gen. sg.: *vesoś (?)*
 acc. sg.: *·a·hsu·n·*
 acc. pl.: *·a·hsu·s·*

n stems—

nom. sg.: *·a·t·to*, *·u·ko*, *voθo*
 gen. sg.: *makkno·s·*, *χalχno·s·*
 dat. sg.: *pupone·i·*

nt stems—

nom. sg.: *va·n·t·s·*, *iiwa·n·t·s·*
 dat. sg.: *va·n·te·i·*

other consonantal stems—

nom. sg.: *·o·s·t·s·*, *e·xe·s·t·s·*
 dat. sg.: *vhratere·i·*, *exelore·i·*, *pilpoθe·i·*

2. Personal pronouns—

·e·χo, 1st pers. sg., nom.
meχo, 1st pers. sg., acc.

3. Verbs—

·e·s·t, 3d. pers. sg., pres. ind. act.
tola·r·, 3d. pers. sg., impersonal passive.
zoto, 3d. pers. sg., aor. ind. mid.
zona·s·to, 3d. pers. sg., aor. ind. mid., a sigmatic formation derived
 from a denominative stem.
vaχ·s·θo, 3d. pers. sg., aor. ind. mid.

4. Prepositions—

·e·n·θo·l·, with the genitive, "within."
per, postpositive, with the accusative, "for."

VI. TRANSLATIONS OF SELECTED INSCRIPTIONS

1. *PID* 26. Este. On a bronze pin.

meχo zona·s·to re·i·tiia·i· ner·ka lemeto·r·na
 "Nerka, daughter of Lemetor, dedicated me to Reitiia."

2. *PID* 19. Este. On a bronze pin.

vhremah·s·tna zoto re·i·tiia·i· (re·i·tiie·i·)
 "Fremastna dedicated (me) to Reitiia."

3. *PID* 30. Este. On a bronze pin.

meχo re·i·tia·i· zona·s·to vhuχiah va·n·tkenia
 "Fugia, daughter of Vants, dedicated me to Reitiia."

4. *PID 31*. Este. On a bronze pin of elaborate workmanship.
mexo zona·s·to sahnate·i· re·i·tiiā·i· porah·e·xetore·i· a·i·mo·i·ke
lo·u·zeroφo·s·
 “Pora dedicated me to Reitiia Sanatis (= the Healer, or Giver-of-Health) in behalf of her children Egetor and Aimus.” See page 43 above.
5. *PID 113*. Schiavonia, near Este. On a tombstone.
·e·xo vo·l·tiiomno·i· iuwa·n·tiiō·i·
 “I (am for, in memory of) Voltiiomnos, son of Iuvants.”
6. *PID 129*. Este. On a cinerary urn.
va·n·te·i· vho·u·xo·n·tio·i· ·e·xo
 “I (am for) Vants, son of Fougonts.”
7. *PID 141*. Padua. On a tombstone.
pupone·i· e·xo rako·i· e·kupeθari·s·
 “I (am) the gravestone(?) for Pupo Rakos.”
8. *PID 143*. Padua. On a large stone.
·e·n·θo·l· lo·u·ki θe·r·mo·n·
 “(This is) the boundary marker within the (sacred ?) grove.”
 The first word is a preposition with the meaning “within,” cognate with Greek *ἐντός* and, like it, governing the genitive case. Its final has, by external sandhi, been assimilated to the initial of the following noun; the cluster *-sl-* is not found in Venetic.
9. *PID 150*. Padua. On a vase.
voθo kluthiari·s· vhaχ·s·θo
 “Voto Clutiiaris made (this, or me).”
10. *PID 152*. Vicenza. On a large stone; “from the size and shape it would seem to be the founder’s and architect’s inscription of some good-sized public building.” Conway *ad loc.*, p. 143.
·o·s·t·s· katu·s· iahio·s· zona·s·to a·tra·e·s·t·e·r·monio·s·
ze·i·vo·s·
 “Osts Catus (iahio·s· ?) donated (it); here is (= dwells) the Great God.”
 The stone would seem to record the name of the donor of a temple and of the deity to whom it was consecrated. My interpretation of the epithet *·e·r·monio·s·* equates it with the Germanic **ermana-*, **ermina-*, which is found as the first element of several compounds occurring in early poetry, with the meaning, apparently, of “excelsus, erhaben, immense, universal.”
- | | |
|-------|--|
| OHG | <i>irmin-deot, irmin-got, irmin-sul</i> |
| OS | <i>irmin-man, irmin-thioda</i> |
| OE | <i>eormen-grund, eormen-bēod, eormen-cyn</i> |
| ON | <i>jǫrmun-grund, jǫrmun-gandr</i> |
| Goth. | <i>*Atrmana-reiks</i> |
11. *PID 166*. From the Gurina plateau, Carinthia. On a small bronze plate.
·a·t·to zona·s·to a·hsu·ś.
 “Atto donated the statues.”

VII. THE LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF VENETIC

It has been shown above that Venetic is certainly an Indo-European language; but the amount of material which has survived is too small to permit us to definitely determine its classification within the family. Therefore a diversity of opinions has arisen; these may be classified into two groups, both of which are currently maintained. There are those who regard Venetic as an Illyrian dialect, and therefore related to the language of ancient Illyria, and likewise to that of the Messapic inscriptions in southeastern Italy. In Illyria itself only a single inscription of but three words¹ has survived, and our knowledge of this language in its original home must therefore be based solely on personal and place names; the language of the approximately two hundred Messapic inscriptions is the only ancient tongue whose Illyrian character is beyond reasonable doubt.² Those who support the Illyrian hypothesis for Venetic must therefore show that its phonetic and morphological systems are in harmony with those of Messapic and with what can be gleaned from the proper names of Illyria, or at least that there are no serious discrepancies. There can be no valid reason for calling Venetic Illyrian unless it is closely related to Messapic.

This view may be said to be the prevailing one today, inasmuch as it has gained entry to the standard manuals as an established fact. Among its adherents may be mentioned Pauli,³ who first developed it, Deecke,⁴ Hirt,⁵ Conway,⁶ Much,⁷ Bonfante,⁸ Krahe,⁹ and Vetter,¹⁰ the two latter being its chief supporters of recent years. Herbig,¹¹ Hofmann,¹² Vendryès,¹³ and Whatmough¹⁴ also subscribe to it, but with certain reservations. Kretschmer,¹⁵ too, accepts it, but with even greater doubts. Meillet, however, who formerly¹⁶ approved it, gave it up in the last edition¹⁷ of his *Introduction*.

On the other side there are those who have denied this classification, and refused to see in Venetic a close relative of Messapic. Among these are von Planta,¹⁸ Thurneysen,¹⁹ Brugmann,²⁰ Buck,²¹ Sommer,²² and Kent.²³ Further-

¹ Krahe, *IF* 46 (1928) 183-185. The inscription reads "ANA Oethe iser" and seems to show noteworthy agreement with Messapic.

² Helbig, *Hermes* 11 (1876) 257 ff.

³ *Altitalische Forschungen* 1 (1885) 117 ff., 3 (1891) 298 ff.

⁴ *GGA* (1886) 49; cf. also *Rh. M.*, N. F. 36 (1881) 577.

⁵ *Die Indogermanen* 1 (1905) 150; *Indogermanische Grammatik* 1 (1927) 27.

⁶ *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 4 (1926) 444; *PID* 1 (1933) 163; cf. also *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., s.o.

⁷ Hoops, *Reallex.* 4 (1918-1919) 509.

⁸ *BSL* 36 (1935) 148 n. 1, 153.

⁹ *Balkanillyr. geog. Nam.* (1925) 108; and esp. *Die Welt als Geschichte* 3 (1937) 119 ff.

¹⁰ Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. Band 6 (1935) 310.

¹¹ *Reallex. der Vorgesch.* 14 (1929) 118.

¹² *IJ* 14 (1930). 174; *KZ* 63 (1936) 266.

¹³ *Les Langues du monde* (1924) 52.

¹⁴ *Foundations of Roman Italy* (1937) 103 f., 175 ff.; *ClPh* 34 (1939) 259.

¹⁵ *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (1896) 266, 422; *Gl* 21 (1932) 120 ff.

¹⁶ *Introduction*, 6^e éd. (1924) 52.

¹⁷ 7^e éd. (1934) 77.

¹⁸ *IF Anzeiger* 1 (1892) 119.

¹⁹ *WklPh* 9 (1892) 292.

²⁰ *Kurze vergl. Gram. d. indoger. Spr.* (1902), pp. 4 f., p. 10.

²¹ *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (1904), p. 2.

²² *Handbuch d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, 2d and 3d eds. (1914) 11; *IF* 42 (1924) 132.

²³ *Lang.* 12 (1936) 73.

more there are others—Torp,²⁴ Johansson,²⁵ Danielsson,²⁶ Pedersen,²⁷ and Dillon,²⁸—who not only do not agree with the prevailing hypothesis, but profess to believe that Venetic may be more closely related to Italic and Celtic,²⁹ and who would place it somewhere between the two. This is an impressive list of scholars, but their views consist for the most part merely of suggestions, and no thoroughgoing statement of this theory has yet been made. I believe that the available evidence points decidedly in this last direction, and that this hypothesis (for it can be nothing more than that in the present fragmentary state of our knowledge) deserves an adequate presentation.

It will be instructive to trace the genesis of the Illyrian theory. Pauli thought³⁰ that the Venetic language was Illyrian, first because some of its final inflections which he read as ending in *-h* had a specious resemblance to the ending of the gen. sg. masc. in *-ihi* of the certainly Illyrian Messapic; and secondly because names of participial derivation in Messapic which form their nom. sg. in *-at*, *-et*, and **-ot* (from earlier **-ant*, **-ent*, and **-ont*) without a final *-s* were regarded as having exact correspondences in the supposed Venetic *vant* and *vhouxont*. Then this evidence taken from the resemblances between Venetic and the Illyrian Messapic was thought to be confirmed by reference to the passage in which Herodotus speaks of the "Illyrian Veneti."³¹ In his second volume, six years later, Pauli,³² proceeding on the assumption that Venetic was Illyrian, attempted to demonstrate a widespread agreement between the personal names contained in the Venetic inscriptions and those in the Latin inscriptions of Venetia, Dalmatia, Pannonia, etc., as well as with the Messapic names. These, then, are the principal arguments; to them other scholars have subsequently added minor resemblances observed to exist between Messapic and Venetic, and between Illyrian and Venetic.

But the value of these asserted "proofs" does not maintain itself under critical examination. Let us take them up one by one. The symbol which Pauli read as *-h*, namely $\cdot|\cdot$, and which is still so transcribed everywhere by Conway, has been shown by Sommer,³³ as we have seen above, also to have the value of a pointed *i*; this reading of Sommer has been confirmed by subsequent discoveries. Sommer has also made a plausible case for taking as the dative that case which Pauli regarded as a genitive, and for considering that the Venetic genitive is a fundamentally different formation. The dative singular of \bar{a} stems ends in Venetic in *-ai*: *re·i·tiia·i·passim*; in Messapic in *-a*: *aprodita* 'Ἀφροδίτη', *passim*. The genitive singular of δ stems in Venetic ends in *-ii* (i.e., \bar{i}): *re·i·tii* and *vo·x·sii*; in Messapic in *-aihi* (i.e., apparently, $\bar{a}i$): *dazimahi passim*. The dative singular of δ stems in Venetic is in *-o·i·*, e.g., $\cdot o \cdot s \cdot tiio \cdot i \cdot$, 125a;

²⁴ "Bemerkungen zu den venetischen Inschriften," *Festschrift Oskar II* (1897), p. 16.

²⁵ *IF* 14 (1903) 267 n. 2.

²⁶ "Zu den venetischen und lepontischen Inschriften," *Skrifter utg. af Hum. Vetenskaps Samfundet i Uppsala* 13 (1909) 13.

²⁷ *KZ* 36 (1900) 300-301; *Groupement des dialectes indo-européens* (1925) 15; Hirt *Festschrift* 2 (1936) 583.

²⁸ *AJPh* 65 (1944) 128.

²⁹ Cf. also Vendryès, *Les Langues du monde* (1924), p. 54.

³⁰ *Altital. Forsch.* 1.117 ff.

³¹ "Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐφεροῦς," 1.196.

³² *Altital. Forsch.* 3.298 ff.

³³ *IF* 42 (1924) 103 ff.

this case is not attested in Messapic. It will be observed that in each instance Venetic and Messapic have different endings, and that Venetic has no cases ending in *-h*.

Pauli himself tacitly admits that his second feature of resemblance is in fact nonexistent, and that names of participial formation in Venetic have an *-s* in the nominative singular, and thus differ from the characteristic Messapic formation; for his translations³⁴ of the inscriptions in his second book on Venetic show that he recognizes that the forms *vant* and *vhouxont* as nominatives are nonexistent, that they rested on a false word-division. Nevertheless he does not make this admission in so many words; in fact, he actually repeats³⁵ his former notion in his later work.

We now come to the statement of Herodotus. This author, if he was referring to the people later called the Veneti who wrote our inscriptions, may well have intended his epithet only to distinguish the Veneti around the head of the Adriatic (and therefore neighbors of the genuine, Dalmatian Illyrians) from the Paphlagonian Eneti of Asia Minor who are mentioned in Homer;³⁶ he could not have called them the "Italian" *'Everoi* since in the fifth century the Greeks had no common name for the whole peninsula.³⁷ In any event, this reference can imply nothing about the linguistic affinities of the language of the inscriptions. It is possible, however, that this statement of Herodotus may have concerned, not our Veneti, but those people whose name Krahe,³⁸ following Tomaschek, reads as *Enedi* in a corrupt passage in the text of Pliny (3.22). This people, for whose name Krahe posits a voicing of intervocalic *-t-*, is placed by Pliny on the Dalmatian coast, and so, if they ever did exist, might well fit the description of Herodotus.

It has been generally recognized, indeed, that the points we have just discussed did not constitute anything that could be called cogent proof of the Illyrian nature of Venetic. It is otherwise with Pauli's attempted demonstration of agreement between Venetic nomenclature and that of Illyria and of the Messapii. This has been repeatedly quoted³⁹ as establishing definitely the relationship to be proved, and is commonly regarded as the decisive argument. And it does, in fact, show that a very large number of personal names is common to Venetia and to northern Illyria and the adjacent regions, Noricum and Pannonia (see p. 2 above). What it fails to show, however, is any substantial agreement between the Venetic and the Messapic names: only three or four approximate parallels to the hundred or more Venetic personal names could be found in the Messapic material. It is even more striking that not a single parallel to the Venetic names could be discovered in southern Illyria. On the other hand the correspondences between Messapic and southern Illyrian are plentiful enough.

³⁴ *Altital. Forsch.* 3.405 ff.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

³⁶ *Iliad* 2.852.

³⁷ Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 270.

³⁸ *Balkanillyr. geog. Namen*, p. 66; cf. also *ZONF* 7 (1931) 23.

³⁹ E.g., Conway, *PID* 1 (1933) 163 n. 1; Krahe, *Die Welt als Geschichte* 3 (1937) 123; Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, Vol. 2 (1907), p. 604; Schulze, "Lateinische Eigennamen," pp. 29 ff.

Several scholars⁴⁰ have interpreted these facts to mean that what is loosely called Illyrian consisted in reality of two sharply differentiated dialects, one of which is represented by Messapic and modern Albanian, and the other by Venetic and the names of northern Illyria. If this were so, then the agreement between Venetic and north Illyria need mean that only a single language was spoken in these two regions, a language whose differences from that spoken farther south and represented by the Messapic inscriptions are sufficient to give rise to the doubt whether the two groups were indeed dialects of one and the same subdivision of Indo-European; the two "Illyrian" languages would then be members of different Indo-European groups. Then it becomes a question of determining to which group within Indo-European the single language attested by the Venetic inscriptions and the proper names of northern Illyria belongs; to call this single language Illyrian is begging the question.

The discussion of Venetic grammar which follows is intended to show two things: first, that the divergences between Venetic and what we know of Messapic are more than sufficient to demonstrate that these two idioms did not belong to the same group within Indo-European, and that therefore Venetic is not "Illyrian"; and secondly, that there are striking resemblances to Italic (and to a lesser degree to Celtic and to Germanic), and that these are most easily explainable by the hypothesis of a close genetic relationship to these groups.

The most striking divergence between Venetic and Messapic is to be observed in their treatment of the Indo-European voiced aspirates. Here Venetic has *f* (spelled *vh*) for IE initial *bh*: *vhratere·i·*, *vhrema*, *vhuxia*, *vhafahtsa*. For IE initial *bh* Messapic shows *b*:- *ma-beran* 474a "conferant," *berada ibid.* < **bheroto*, cf. Lat. *fero*, etc.; *βαυριον* "house," a gloss, *PID* Vol. 2, pp. 423 ff., Gothic *bauan* "to build," IE **bhregā-*, cf. Whatmough *ad loc.*; *βρένδον* (δὲ καλοῦσι τὴν ἔλαφον Μεσσάπιοι: Etym. Magn. s.v. *Βρεντήσιον*): Swed. dialect *brind*, *brinde* "deer," cf. Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 424 ff. Medially in Venetic IE *bh* appears written as *φ*, i.e., probably, *b*: here the most cogent example is the suffix of the dat.-abl. pl. *-φo·s* in *·o·posoφo·s* "operibus," *lo·u·zeroφo·s* "liberis," and *visehioφo·s*; ⁴¹ cf. Lat. *-bus*, Osc. *-fs*, Gallic *-bo*, etc. Another example seems to be contained in the name *vhafahtsa*, Lat. *fabātus*, cf. supra: Lat. *faba*, O. Pruss. *babo* "bean," IE **bhabhā*. A third instance is to be seen in the pronoun *sselboisselboi* "sibi ipsi," which, as we have seen, has been compared with the OHG. *der selb selbo*; Walde-Pokorny derives the OHG word from a Germanic **selba-*, formed from an **(o)lo-* extension of the pronominal root **s(u)e-* by means of the derivative suffix **bho-*. Messapic also shows *-b-* for IE medial *-bh-*: cf. *PID* 526 *laidehia-bas logeti-bas*, two words both with the same suffix that we have already encountered in Venetic.

For IE *dh* we have in Venetic *vh* (i.e., *f*) initially, and *z* (i.e., probably phonetically *d*) medially. Here the parallelism specifically with Latin is particularly striking. For the initial position there is *vhax·s·θo*, which has been

⁴⁰ Pedersen, *KZ* 36 (1900) pp. 300 ff.; Kretschmer, *Einleitung* (1896), p. 271 ff.; Brugmann, *Kurze vergl. Grammatik* (1904), p. 4 f., 157.

⁴¹ Krahe, *IF* 53.65.

interpreted by several scholars⁴² independently of each other to mean "fecit, made," as if from **dhək-s-to*, an *s* aorist with the ending of the 3d pers. sg. middle from the *k* extension (as in Latin and Phrygian: cf. *αδ-δακερ*)⁴³ of the weak grade of the root **dhē-*. The purely Venetic character of this word has been cast in doubt by some writers,⁴⁴ who would regard the initial as due to Italic influence. But the vase on which it occurs is of a very early type assigned by archaeologists to the sixth century before Christ,⁴⁵ and the inscription itself, which contains one archaic feature, i.e., the use of 𐌆 instead of || for *h*, may be as old as the fifth century, very probably no later than the fourth; and this is a period in which the Veneti in their remote corner of Italy were well isolated from the Italic peoples by the Etruscans. Even if borrowing were possible, is it likely that a word of this sort, one of the commonest constituents of the vocabulary in any language, would be subject to borrowing or even to phonetic influence? I think we may safely accept it as good Venetic. And Krahe, one of the consistent supporters of the Illyrian hypothesis, would add⁴⁶ yet another example of this change: he would regard the *vhetiana* of *PID* 124 as an appellative with the meaning of "priestess," from **dhēti-*, cf. Lat. *fēti-alis*.

For *dh* medially there are two examples, both from the same base: *lo·u·-zeroφo·s* "liberis," and *lo·u·zera·i* "Liberae"; cf. Gk. *ἐλευθερος*, Osc. *Lúwfreis*. It is well to note the difference in treatment of this sound in Venetic initially and medially, which holds even if *z* represents the fricative *ð* and not the stop *d*.

Messapic has *d* for IE initial *dh* in *hipa-des* 396, 404, "dedicavit," with *-des* from **dhē-s-t*, cf. *τι-θη-μι*. I know of no reasonably certain examples for medial *dh* in Messapic, but there is no reason for thinking that it was reflected otherwise than by *d*.⁴⁷

Another fact whose significance has hitherto been overlooked is that, with but one, or possibly two, exceptions, *vh* (i.e., *f*) does not occur medially in the Venetic inscriptions; here too the situation in Venetic recalls that in Latin. The one certain example is *·a·vthro·i* "Afro," dat. sg. masc. of a personal name. This name, however, is quite common in the Italic dialects, and may well be taken as a borrowing from one of them into Venetic, analogous to similar borrowings from Celtic. The other may be contained in *PID* 15, where Conway reads *koliwhiila*, but which both Pauli and Krahe⁴⁸ transcribe as *koliahii(v)a*. If Conway is right, we should have a word whose aspect is distinctly that of a compound, and the second element of which may possibly be of a patronymic character—cf. Lat. *fīlia*. If the word is a compound, then the occurrence of medial *-vh-* need not surprise us.

Summing up, then, for *bh* and *dh*, we observe that the Venetic treatment of these Indo-European phonemes corresponds almost exactly to that of Latin,

⁴² Conway, *JRAI* 46 (1916) 223; Hempl, *Mediterranean Studies*, Stanford Stud. in Lang. and Lit., Vol. 5 (1930) 352; Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁴³ J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (1932), pp. 128 ff. *passim*, e.g., no. 2.

⁴⁴ Ribezzo, *RIGI* 8 (1924) 274; Walde-Hofmann, *Lat. etym. Wb.* (1932), p. 440; Whatmough, *HSCP* 44 (1933) 115.

⁴⁵ Conway, *PID* 1.127, 140.

⁴⁶ *IF* 53 (1935) 68.

⁴⁷ Whatmough, *PID* 2.604; Vetter, *Pauly-Wissowa*, Suppl. Band 6.311.

⁴⁸ *GI* 17 (1928) 91.

whereas Messapic everywhere has the voiced stops *b* and *d* for these sounds, thus agreeing with what is known of the sound laws in Illyrian itself.⁴⁹ This difference between Venetic on the one hand and Messapic and Illyrian on the other is striking, but not in itself sufficient to justify completely separating the two groups. But what we now add to this all points in the same direction, and it is the cumulative effect of the evidence rather than single facts that must convince.

The centum character of Venetic has never been cast in doubt; words like *·e·xo* "ego" and *mexo* "me," compared with Lat. *ego*, Gk. *ἐγώ* and contrasted with Avestic *azəm*, OChSl *aze* are sufficient to prove it, especially when they are combined with evidence from the place names⁵⁰ of the Venetic area for the preservation of the labiovelars as such: *Liquentia*, a river name, Plin. 3.18, mod. *Livenza*, cf. Lat. *liquor*; *Aquileia*, cf. Lat. *aqua*(?); *Piquentum* in Histria, *CIL* 5.428; *Quarqueni*, an ethnicon, Plin. 3.19, interpreted by Jokl⁵¹ and von Kienle⁵² as meaning "Eichenmänner" and being cognate with Lat. *quercus* and the ethnicon *Querquetulani* in Latium, and thus coming by assimilation from an earlier **perquō-* (cf. Skr. *parkatī*, Lombard *feraha*, OHG *forha*). This well-known change—IE **pequō* appearing in Latin as *coquo*, and IE **penque* appearing in Latin as *quinque* and in Old Irish as *cóic*—has hitherto been regarded as limited to Italic and Celtic; its occurrence within the Venetic territory is at least noteworthy. Other Venetic words which probably show preservation of the IE palatals as stops are the suffix in *vo·l·ti·xno·s·*, *volti·xenei*, *ve·i·-xno·i·*; cf. Lat. *mali-gnus*, *genus*, Gk. *veo-γνός*, Skr. *jánaḥ*; *χαλxno·s·*, cf. Goth. *galga* "cross, gallows," Lith. *žalgà* "long thin pole, rod," IE **ǵhalgh-*, and the personal name *Galgestes*, *CIL* 5.164, Pola.

The problem of the classification of Messapic and Illyrian in this respect is still unsolved; the evidence is not conclusive. Ribezzo⁵³ and Jokl,⁵⁴ among others, regard the satem character of Messapic and Illyrian as reasonably certain;⁵⁵ Krahe⁵⁶ and Whatmough⁵⁷ are equally sure that this has not been proven, and that evidence for the centum character of these languages is not lacking.

In vocalic as well as in consonantal structure Venetic diverges from Illyrian and Messapic. Here there are two significant differences, and in both instances Venetic agrees with Italic. The first concerns the IE vowel *ǵ*, preserved in Venetic and appearing as *a* in Messapic: cf. the endings of the nom. sg. of masculine *o* stems, e.g., in Venetic *·e·r·monio·s·*, *xo·l·tano·s·*, *vo·l·tiomno·s·*; and in Messapic *dazimas*, *morkohias*; those of the genitive singular of consonant stems, in Venetic *makkno·s·* and *χαλxno·s·*, and in Messapic

⁴⁹ A. v. Blumenthal, *IF* 49 (1931) 169 ff.; *Gl* 18 (1929) 153 f.; cf. also Krahe, *Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* 13 (1938) 191–207; v. Blumenthal, *Hesych-Studien*, pp. 2 ff.

⁵⁰ There are no certain instances of these sounds in the inscriptions themselves. But compare the digraph *kv* in the alphabetic sections of *PID* nos. 1 and 3.

⁵¹ *Reallex. d. Vorgesch.* 6 (1926) 42.

⁵² *Wörter und Sachen* 17 (1936) 150.

⁵³ *Encicl. Italiana* 22 (1934) 248.

⁵⁴ *Reallex. d. Vorgesch.* 6 (1926) 38.

⁵⁵ Anton Mayer, "Der Satem-Charakter des Illyrischen," *Gl* 24 (1936) 161–203.

⁵⁶ *ZONF* 7 (1931) 32 f.; *IF* 57 (1939) 127.

⁵⁷ *Lang.* 3 (1927) 226–231; *CIPh* 34 (1939) 264.

thaotoras and *baledonas*; and the secondary ending of the third person singular of the middle voice, in Venetic *zona·s·to* and *zo-to*, in Messapic *bera-da*. There are no certain examples of a change from *o* to *a* in Illyrian, but in Albanian Indo-European short *ǝ* becomes *a*, and Albanian may be descended from ancient Illyrian.

Nowhere in the Venetic inscriptions is the diphthong *-eu-* found, whereas this cluster is common in the proper names of Illyria. But in Venetic *-o·u-* is relatively frequent, and seems in most instances to have come from an earlier *-eu-*, thus repeating the same change made by the Italic languages. The following list includes all the Venetic occurrences of this spelling: *lo·u·zerofo·s·* and *lo·u·zera·i·*, cf. Osc. *lúvrets* and Greek *ελεύθερος*; *lo·u·kio* and *lo·u·ki*, cf. probably Latin *Lūcius*, Old Latin *loucom*, Greek *λευκός*; *θo·u·p·eio*, cf. *Τεύπ-αλος*; *so·u·-ana*, cf. Gallic *Sou-nus*;⁵⁸ and *ϑo·u·χο·n·tah* etc., cf. Illyrian *Feucontis*.⁵⁹ Some examples of the diphthong *-eu-* in Illyrian, all taken from Jokl,⁶⁰ are: *Teuta* (cf. Osc. *touto!*), *Λευκάριστος*, *Πευκετιαντες*, *Breuci*, *Ἵτευθανός*, *Deuri*, *Euristus*, etc.

The development of this diphthong in Messapic is difficult to determine in view of the confusing variety of spellings that are found of one and the same word: *theotoria* 426 side by side with *thaotoras* 474 and *thotoria* 548, or *klaohizis* 436 side by side with *klohizis* 476, both surely from an earlier **kley-*: cf. the Illyrian personal name *Ves-clevesis* *CIL* 3.3038. It might seem as if *-eu-* had become *-ou-*, parallel to Italic and to Venetic, and then that this secondary *-ou-* had become *-au-* (spelled *ao*) according to the change by which *o* became *a*, this secondary *ao* later being monophthongized to a sound spelled *o*. But such an explanation involves chronological as well as other difficulties: on the one hand the change of *o* to *a* is completed by the time of the earliest inscriptions, whereas the diphthong *eu* (written *eo*) must have been retained to a relatively late period in order to be reflected in the writing. And by one of the best known of Messapic sound laws the diphthong *au* becomes *-a-*, not *-o-*. Whatever the answer—and no satisfactory solution has yet been offered⁶¹—it seems clear that Messapic, like Illyrian, preserved this diphthong until a relatively later period, thus differing from Venetic, which has no trace of anything but *-ou-*⁶² and from Italic.

From forms quoted above it is clear that the dative-locative singular of *ā* stems, IE *-āi*, is reflected in Venetic by *-a·i·*, in Messapic by *-a*. This establishes one more divergence in the vocalism of the two languages.

In only one point does Venetic phonology differ from that of Latin: the final nasal everywhere appears as *-n*, where Latin and Oscan and Umbrian have *-m*. There are three examples: *maxello·n·*, *·a·hsu·n·*, and *aza·n·* (or *vza·n·*). The Venetic character of a fourth word, *ostiakon*, has been questioned by Vetter,⁶³ and will not be used in this connection. Yet this change of IE *-m* to

⁵⁸ Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* 2.66.

⁵⁹ Kretschmer (*Einleitung*, p. 267) compares the base of this word with that of Gk. *φελγω*.

⁶⁰ *Realex. d. Vorgesch.* 6 (1926) 34 ff.

⁶¹ Cf. Krahe, *Gl* 17 (1928) 94 f.; Whatmough, *PID* 2.601; and the unpublished Harvard dissertation of Peter Fishman, "The Vocalism of Messapic," 1934, pp. 192 ff.

⁶² At a late period Venetic *-ou-* appears to have become the monophthong *-o-*, as in Umbrian: cf. *ϑoχonta* 32, in a late inscription, beside the more common *ϑo·u·χο·n·t·*.

⁶³ *Gl* 25 (1936) 263 ff.

-*n* need not preclude a close relationship to Italic; Celtic, which is closely related to Italic, has made it, as have the modern descendants of Latin. The change in Venetic may well have occurred after the separation of Venetic from the main body of Italic, a separation which must in any event have taken place at a very early period. On the other hand, the fact that Messapic also shows final -*n* for -*m*: *veinan* 548, *aran* *ibid.* does not of itself establish any close relationship between it and Venetic, any more than the same shift in Greek does between it and that language.

The foregoing includes most of what can be said in a comparison of Venetic and Messapic phonology, keeping in mind the limitations of the material. Where the two languages show the same developments, it is in virtue of their common Indo-European ancestry; where they diverge, Messapic agrees with Illyrian and Venetic with Latin.

I pass now to a consideration of inflections, commencing with nouns. For *ā* stems, Messapic shows the following paradigm: nom. sg. *tabara*, acc. sg. *aran*, gen. sg. *bostahi*, loc.-dat. *aprodita*, *basta*. Here the nominative and accusative terminations continue those of Indo-European, except IE -*m* > -*n*, and are identical with the corresponding cases in Venetic. In the genitive there appears to have been a remodeling on the pattern of masculine *ō* stems, a process found likewise in Latin: *familiās* > *familiae*. Here Venetic has preserved the original ending. Again in the loc.-dat. Venetic reproduces more faithfully the original ending, and its -*a·i·* is to be equated directly with the Latin -*ai*, -*ae*.

For *ō* stems Messapic has the following forms: nom. sg. *dazimas*, gen. sg. *dazimaihi*, acc. sg. *argorian*; and for -*io-* stems nom. sg. *platorres*, gen. sg. *platorrihi*, dat. sg. *spatillai*(?). The forms *platorres* (< **platorios*) and *platorrihi* (< **platorīi*) illustrate an interesting feature of Messapic phonology, the gemination of consonants before -*ī*, as in West Germanic; Venetic shows nothing corresponding to it. In the endings of the nominative, accusative, (and dative?) Messapic shows no innovation other than that of *ō* > *ā* and of -*m* > -*n*, and here therefore, agrees with Venetic. But the genitive in -*aihi* (i.e., -*ai*) is a unique formation that cannot be paralleled in any other Indo-European language. It seems to consist in the joining of an -*ī* to the stem vowel, which remains, and is not, as in Latin, Irish, certain Sanskrit formations, and Venetic, completely replaced by the -*ī*. How this peculiar Messapic ending was created remains a mystery; it cannot be directly equated with the corresponding inflection in Venetic.

For *i* stems Messapic has the nom. sg. *odatis*, *grahis*, a dat. sg. *vastei*, and a dat. pl. *logetibas*. Here the nominative and dative singular and the dative plural continue Indo-European types, and the first two correspond to Venetic -*i·s* and -*e·i·*.

If the nominative singular of *n* stems ended in -*o* in Messapic, which is questionable, then it corresponds to the type represented by Sanskrit *rājā*, Lithuanian *piemuō*, Latin *caro*, and Venetic *·a·t·to*. The genitive singular—e.g., *χonedonas*, *baledonas*—exemplifies a pattern which has extended the long vowel of the nominative and accusative to the other cases, as in the Latin

natiō. But Venetic shows a different development, and has zero grade of the suffix, as in Latin *carnis* and Sanskrit *rājñas*.

Nt stems have a particular interest, since the type of formation which they show in Messapic was one of the features which first led Pauli to posit a relationship to Venetic. Messapic exhibits the nominatives *dazet* and *bosat* without a final *-s*, but Venetic has *va·n·t·s·* and *iūwa·n·t·s·*.

One of the striking characteristics of Messapic nominal inflection is the frequency of diphthongal stems, first in *-eǰo-*, *-aǰo-*, and *-ōǰo-*, and secondly in *-āǰ-*, *-ōǰ-*, and *-ēǰ-*. Venetic has some forms which may correspond to the first type:]·*e·hiio* 176, *θo·u·peio* 148,]·*r·klehio·i·* 119, *ia·o·s·* 152, *ta·i·io·s·* 118. This type has Latin analogues. But so far as I can see there is not a single shred of evidence (unless it be in the *ho·s·θihavo·s·* of 148) for any type of diphthongal stem in *-ǰ* in Venetic. Of this formation Whatmough⁶⁴ says: "It must be admitted that we are faced with an extension of *u* stems almost unparalleled in any other Indo-European tongue." This is surely true of Latin and Venetic.

The Venetic and Messapic verbal systems cannot be directly compared, since none of the forms certainly identified as verbs in either language has an exact parallel in the other. The Venetic *vaχ·s·θo* and *zona·s·to* have been called mediopassives of the sigmatic aorist; the Messapic sigmatic aorists *apaogrebis* and *hipades* must be assigned to the active voice. The same holds true for the athematic aorists, Messapic *pido* and Venetic *zoto*. Messapic has nothing corresponding to *tola·r·* and *·e·s·t*, Venetic nothing corresponding to *αφιναμι*, *hagarati*, *berada*, etc.

All of the small number of verbal forms in both languages can be satisfactorily explained by reference to common Indo-European types. It remains for one who defends the connection of Venetic with Italic to justify the presence of the mediopassive ending *-to*, which does not occur as such in the Italic dialects. According to the usual theories⁶⁵ the Latin deponent-passive consists historically of two elements, the Indo-European secondary middle endings and an *-r* which originally characterized a type of passive. So Latin *sequimur* consists of **seque-mo + -r*, *sequuntur* of **seque-nto + -r*, and *sequitur* of **seque-to + -r*. That this type of formation had not been fixed already in the period of Italic unity is proven by such forms as the Latin second person singular, *sequere* < **seque-so* without the *-r*, and by Umbrian *ferar*, Oscan *sakrafir*, and Venetic *tola·r·* without the secondary middle ending. It then becomes simple to account for *vaχ·s·θo* and *zona·s·to* as formations without the added *-r* of an Italic dialect which had early diverged from the parent stock.

The Latin perfects in *-s*: *dixī*, *scrīpsī*, *iūnxī*, etc., show that the sigmatic aorist of Indo-European remained productive in Italic; the *-s* in *vaχ·s·θo* and *zona·s·to* may thus be easily explained.

The treatment which is now concluded has shown, it is hoped, that Venetic does not share with Messapic any innovations which would place these two

⁶⁴ PID 2.608.

⁶⁵ Cf., e.g., Meillet-Vendryès, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques* (Paris, 1927), pp. 329 ff.; and C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Latin and Greek* (Chicago, 1933), pp. 251 f.

tongues apart as a special branch of Indo-European, that the points of difference between them are many and decisive, and that there are no serious difficulties in the way of regarding Venetic as an Italic dialect which broke off early from the parent stock but which still retained some remarkable features which link it more closely to the Latin-Faliscan branch of that stock.

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